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The Encoding of Avestan – Problems and Solutions

Abstract

'Avestan' is the name of the ritual language of Zoroastrianism, which was the state religion of the Iranian empire in Achaemenid, Arsacid and Sasanid times, covering a time span of more than 1200 years.[1] It is named after the 'Avesta', i.e., the collection of holy scriptures that form the basis of the religion which was allegedly founded by Zarathushtra, also known as Zoroaster, by about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Together with Vedic Sanskrit, Avestan represents one of the most archaic witnesses of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages, which makes it especially interesting for historical-comparative linguistics. This is why the texts of the Avesta were among the first objects of electronic corpus building that were undertaken in the framework of Indo-European studies, leading to the establishment of the TITUS database ('Thesaurus indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien').[2] Today, the complete Avestan corpus is available, together with elaborate search functions[3] and an extended version of the subcorpus of the so-called 'Yasna', which covers a great deal of the attestation of variant readings.[4]

Right from the beginning of their computational work concerning the Avesta, the compilers[5] had to cope with the fact that the texts contained in it have been transmitted in a special script written from right to left, which was also used for printing them in the scholarly editions used until today.[6] It goes without saying that there was no way in the middle of the 1980s to encode the Avestan scriptures exactly as they are found in the manuscripts. Instead, we had to rely upon transcriptional devices that were dictated by the restrictions of character encoding as provided by the computer systems used. As the problems we had to face in this respect and the solutions we could apply are typical for the development of computational work on ancient languages, it seems worthwhile to sketch them out here.

1 The Avestan script and its transcription

1.1 Early western approaches to the Avestan script and its transcription

The Avestan script has been known to western scholarship since the 17th century when the first accounts of the religion of the 'Parsees', i.e., Zoroastrians living in India and Iran, were published. The first notable description of the script is found in the travel report by JEAN CHARDIN who sojourned in Iran in 1673–7; in the 1711 edition of his report,[7] the author provides an 'alphabet of the ancient Persians', together with a lithographed table contrasting the characters of the Avestan script with their Perso-Arabian equivalents;[8] cf. the extract illustrated in Fig. 1.[9]

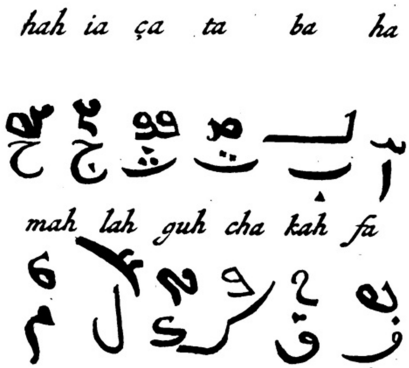

Fig. 1: CHARDIN's alphabet list (extract)

A much more interesting account than CHARDIN's,[10] who took the Persian letters to be 'small' variants of the 'big' Avestan ones,[11] is that of THOMAS HYDE who in his 'History of the Religion of the Ancient Persians, Parthians and Medes' of 1700 provided the first specimens of words written in Avestan characters along with a Latin transcription. The words are not in Avestan (or 'Zend'), however, but 'in the Pahlavi language, which is verily Persian' (cf. Fig. 2);[12] as a matter of fact, what we have here is a list of words in 'Pazend', i.e. Middle Persian (Pahlavi) written in Avestan characters.[13]

To the (postumous) second edition (of 1760) of HYDE's work, the editor (G. COSTARD) added a comprehensive Table displaying the 'Letters used in the books in Zend and Pazend, according to the copies by DR. HYDE, together with the Zend ligatures and abbreviations' *in toto*, together with a detailed explanation of their values in Latin script (cf. Fig. 3).[14]

An even more detailed account of 'Zend' and 'Pehlvi' characters was published by (ABRAHAM-HYACINTHE) ANQUETIL-DUPERRON in his comprehensive treatise on the 'Zend-Avesta' in 1771 (cf. Fig. 4).[15] ANQUETIL's description, which was derived from two manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is generally regarded as the beginning of modern Avestology. The transcription he used was clearly based upon French orthography. In a similar way, IGNACY PIETRASZEWSKI in 1858 explicitly applied Polish rules to his transcripts (cf. Fig. 5 and Fig. 6).[16]

Cap. 35. VETERUM PERSARUM. 427

unum accipe, ubi in *Ph. Gj.* de antiquo Rege *Gjemshîd* narratur quòd regni ſui Subditos diſpeſcuit diſtribuitque in 4 Claſſes ſeu Ordines in veteri linguâ ſuis nominibus diſtinctos; quibus (ut comparata meliùs eluceſcant,) ex adverſo appoſui nomina Medica quibus tales hodiè appellantur, ſeq. modo; ſimul cum quibuſdam aliis:

Lingua Medica, qua Perſæ audit. — *Lingua Tabiavi, qua verè Perſica.*

پارسا *Pârſâ* —— *Devotus, Religioſus* —— *Catûzi*

سپاهي *Spâhi* —— *Militaris* —— *Neiſâri*

دهقان ſeu دهکان *Dihcân* —— *Agricola* —— *Naſûdi*

دانا *Dânâ* —— *Doctus* —— *Ahanûchaſhi*

خدا *Chodâ* —— *Deus* —— *Yezdân*

خدا *Chodâ* —— *Deus* —— Ὠρομάσδης —— *Hormùzd*

فرشته *Phrîſhta* —— *Angelus* —— *Amſhâſpand*

دیو *Dîv* —— *Diabolus* —— Ἀρειμάνιος —— *Aharîman*

تشنگي *Téſhnaghi* —— *Sitis* —— *Tuſhnamâr*

گرسنگي *Gurîſnaghi* —— *Fames* —— *Guſhnamâr*

شستگي *Shûſtaghi* —— *Lotio* —— *Pâdyâvand*

خاموش *Châmûſh* —— *Silentium* —— *Bâgj* ſeu *Bâzh*

Primi Ordinis کاتوزیان *Catuzæos* conſtituit in Montibus & Speluncis vel habitare vel multùm verſari, ibique cultui divino & meditationi atque doctrinæ cœleſtis acquiſitioni vacare. Nam hoc erat longè ante *Zerdùſht*, ſc. tempore Sabaiſmi, quo Deum colebant (& ſimul Planetis adolebant) in Montibus, vel ut Strabo ait ἔθυον ἐν ὑψηλοῖς τόποις. Secundi Ordinis نیساریان *Neiſaræos* voluit ſeipſos dedicare τῇ سپاهگري *Spâhigheri* ſeu *Militiæ*. Tertii Ordinis نسودیان *Naſudæos* voluit Agriculturæ operam dare. Quarti Ordinis آهنوخشیان *Ahanûchaſhæis* præcepit omnis generis Literaturæ operam dare, ſc. bonas Literas colere & ſtudium in iis colloçare. Iſtam etiam Quadruplicem po-

Hhh 2 puli

Fig. 2: Pazend word list in HYDE, Historia, 1711

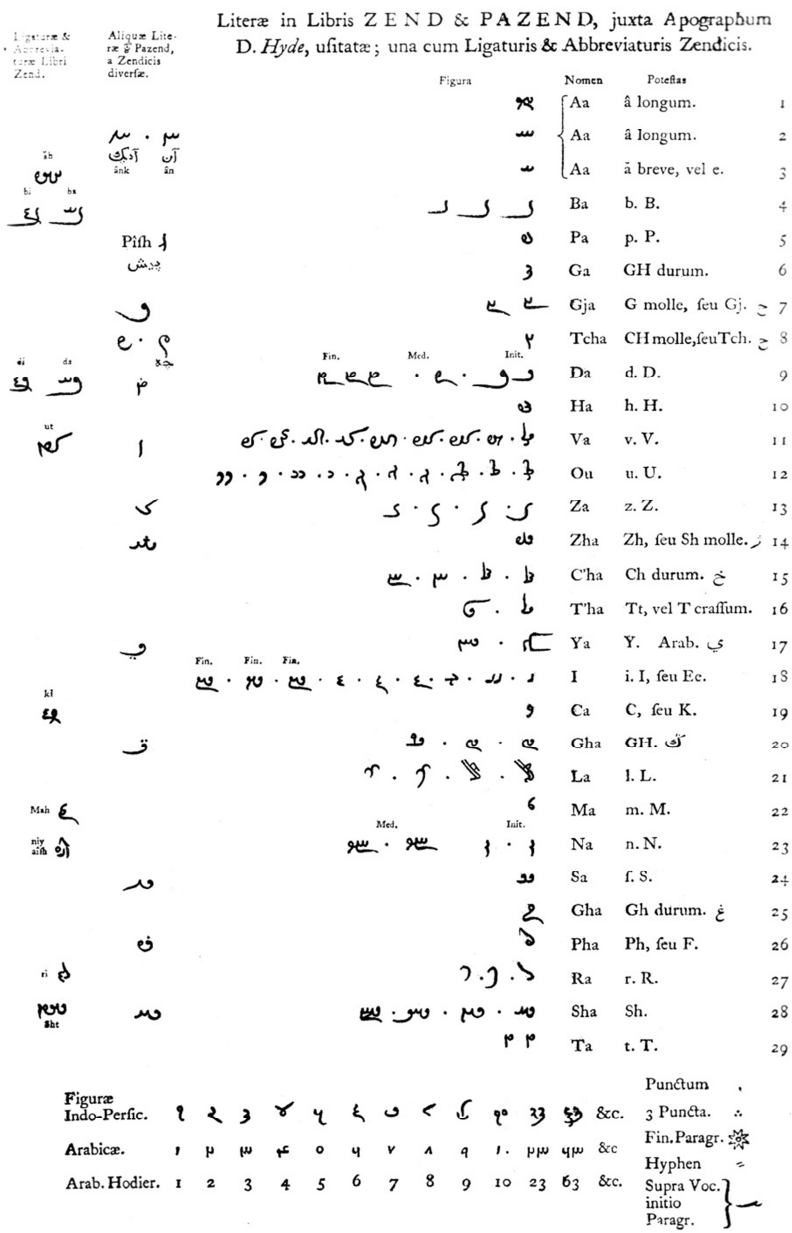

Fig. 3: Alphabet list in HYDE, Historia, 1760.

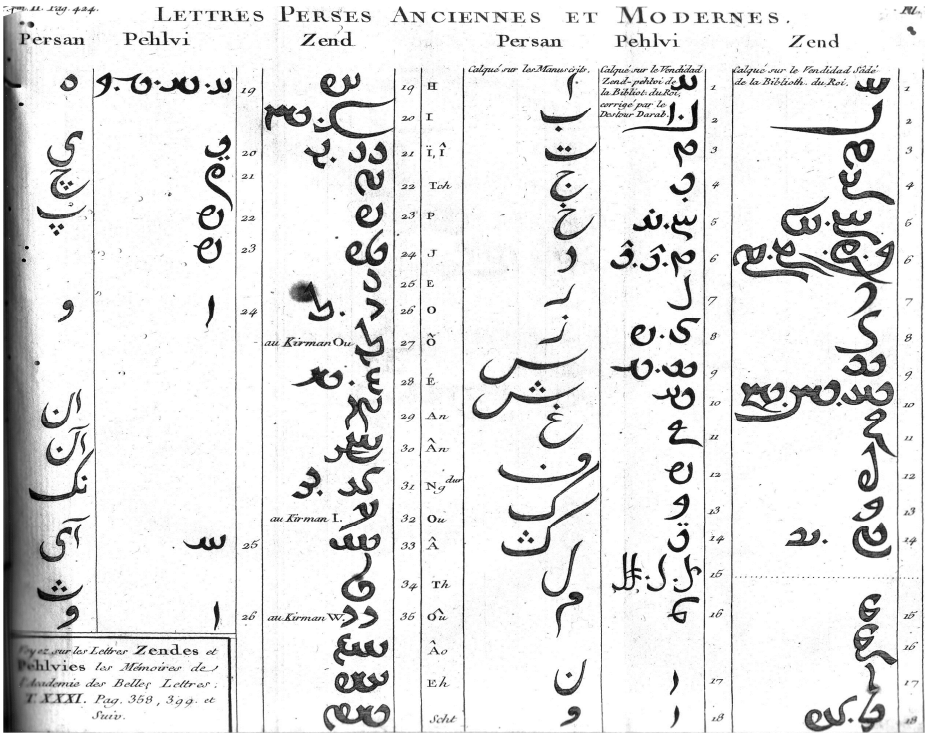

Fig. 4: Alphabet list in ANQUETIL-DUPERRON, Zend-Avesta

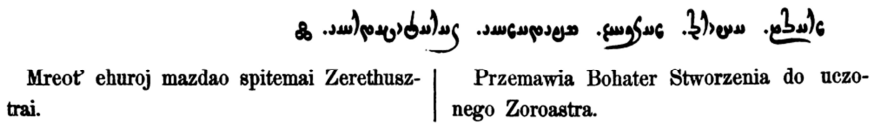

Mreot' ehuroj mazdao spitemai Zerethusztrai. | **Przemawia Bohater Stworzenia do uczonego Zoroastra.**

Fig. 5: PIETRASZEWSKI'S transcription (and Polish translation) of Vd. 1,1.

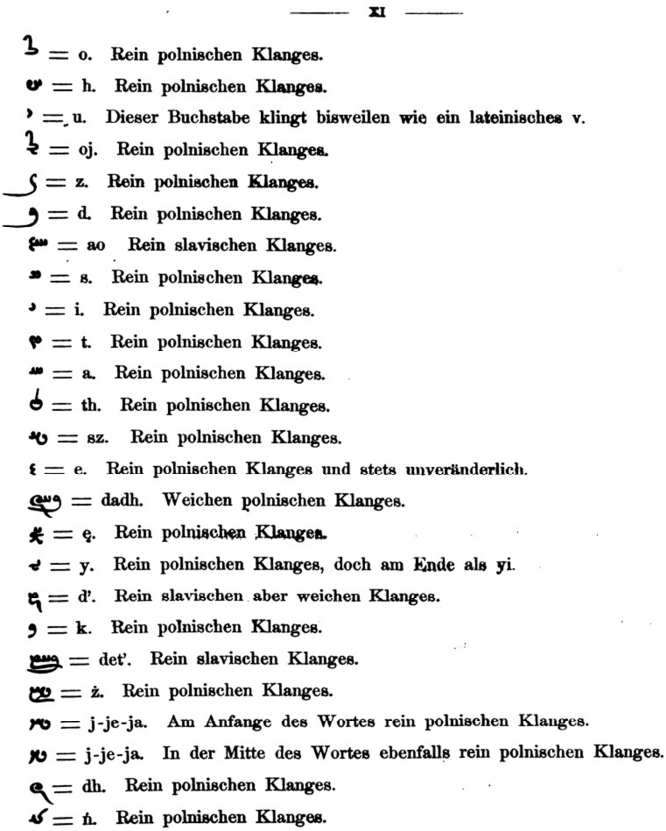

— XI —

= o. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= h. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= u. Dieser Buchstabe klingt bisweilen wie ein lateinisches v.
= oj. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= z. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= d. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= ao Rein slavischen Klanges.
= s. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= i. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= t. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= a. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= th. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= sz. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= e. Rein polnischen Klanges und stets unveränderlich.
= dadh. Weichen polnischen Klanges.
= ę. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= y. Rein polnischen Klanges, doch am Ende als yi.
= d'. Rein slavischen aber weichen Klanges.
= k. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= det'. Rein slavischen Klanges.
= ż. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= j-je-ja. Am Anfange des Wortes rein polnischen Klanges.
= j-je-ja. In der Mitte des Wortes ebenfalls rein polnischen Klanges.
= dh. Rein polnischen Klanges.
= ń. Rein polnischen Klanges.

Fig. 6: PIETRASZEWSKI's transcription

The different approaches to a Romanization of the Avestan script had reached a preliminary end by the beginning of the 20th century when CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE, first in his account on the Avestan and Old Persian languages in W. GEIGER's and E. KUHN's 'Outline of Iranian Philology' (1895-1901) and then in his 'Old Iranian Dictionary' (1904), proposed a transcription system that was based upon the choice of original characters used in K. F. GELDNER's edition of the Avesta (cf. Fig. 7 – Fig. 9). Due to the importance of the dictionary, which has remained the standard reference work of Avestan lexicography until the present day, BARTHOLOMAE's transcription system was used for many years to come.

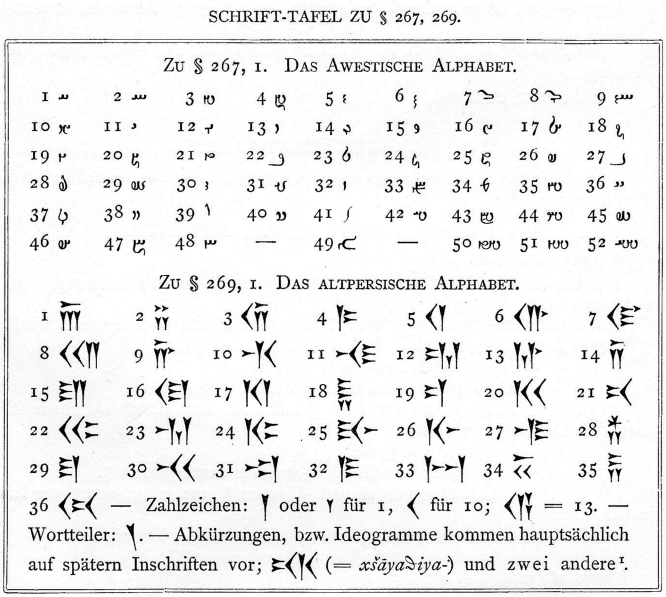

SCHRIFT-TAFEL ZU § 267, 269.

ZU § 267, 1. DAS AWESTISCHE ALPHABET.

ZU § 269, 1. DAS ALTPERSISCHE ALPHABET.

36 — Zahlzeichen: oder für 1, für 10; = 13. — Wortteiler: . — Abkürzungen, bzw. Ideogramme kommen hauptsächlich auf spätern Inschriften vor; (= *xšāyaϑiya-*) und zwei andere[1].

Fig. 7: The Avestan alphabet in BARTHOLOMAE (1895-1901: 161)

EINLEITUNG: DAS SCHRIFTWESEN.

I. DAS AWESTISCHE SCHRIFTWESEN.

Das Awesta ist in einer linksläufigen Lautschrift aufgezeichnet.

§ 267. *Die awestischen Buchstaben.*

1. Die Neuausgabe des Awesta, der ich mich in der Wiedergabe der awestischen Wörter — zwei Fälle ausgenommen (s. Buchst. 33 und 44) — anschliesse, verwendet 48 verschiedene Buchstaben; s. die Tafel, S. 161: 1 *a* 2 *ā* 3 *e* 4 *ē* 5 *ə* 6 *ə̄* 7 *o* 8 *ō* 9 *å* 10 *ą* 11 *i* 12 *ī* 13 *u* 14 *ū* — 15 *k* 16 *g* 17 *x* 18 *γ* 19 *č* 20 *ǰ* 21 *t* 22 *d* 23 *ϑ* 24 *δ* 25 *ṯ* 26 *p* 27 *b* 28 *f* 29 *w* 30 *ŋ* 31 *ŋ́* 32 *n* 33 *n, m* 34 *m* 35 *y* 36 *y* 37 *v* 38 *v* 39 *r* 40 *s* 41 *z* 42 *š* 43 *š̌* 44 *š* 45 *ž* 46 *h* 47 *ẖ* 48 x^v; ausserdem drei Ligaturen: für *št* (50), *šč* (51) und

Fig. 8: Transcription according to BARTHOLOMAE (1895-1901: 152)

1. Aw.	*a*	*ā*	*ə, ə̄*	*e, ē*	*o, ō*	*å*	*ą*	*i, ī*	*iy-*		*u, ū*	*uv-*	
2. Ap.	*a*	*ā*						*i, ī*			*u, ū*		
[Aw].	*k*	*g, γ*	*x*	*č*	*ǰ*	*t*	*d, δ*	*ϑ*		*ṯ*	*p*	*b, w*	*f*
[Ap.]	*k*	*g*	*x*	*č*	*ǰ*	*t*	*d*	*ϑ*	$ϑ^r$		*p*	*b*	*f*
[Aw.]	*ŋ*	*ŋ́*	*n*	*m*	*y*	*v*	*r, hr*	*s*	*z*	*š*	*ž*	*h*	*ẖ*	x^v
[Ap.]			*n*	*m*	*y*	*v*	*r*	*s*	*z*	*š*		*h, ʰu.*		

Fig. 9: Transcriptional alphabet in BARTHOLOMAE (1904: xxiii)

1.2 The 'Hoffmann system'

On the basis of a thorough reconsideration of the character inventory and its linguistic background, BARTHOLOMAE's system was challenged to a certain extent by KARL HOFFMANN (cf. Fig. 10).[17] It is HOFFMANN's merit to have clarified the function and mutual relationship of the three characters numbered 42–44, all transcribed by plain š in BARTHOLOMAE's works, as well as several other letters. Table 1 illustrates the peculiarities of the system thus achieved, which was the first to be strictly transliterative in the sense that all characters (rather: graphemes) of the original script are rendered by one unique Latin symbol, in contrast to the 'mixed' systems of former authors.[18]

Fig. 10: HOFFMANN's 'Zeicheninventar'

Original	Anqu.-No.	Anqu.	Pietr.	Bthl.-No.	Bthl.	Hoffmann	Original
𐬀	1	a, e	e	1	*a*	*a*	𐬀
𐬁	33	â	a	2	*ā*	*ā*	𐬁
𐬂	—	—	—	—	—	*å*	𐬂
𐬃	(36)	âo	ao	9	*å*	*ā̊*	𐬃
𐬄	29	an	—	10	*ą*	*ą*	𐬄
𐬅	—	—	ę	—	—	*ą̇*	𐬅
𐬆 19	—	—	—	—	—		𐬆 19
𐬇	28	e	e	5	*ə*	*ə*	𐬇
𐬈	—	—	—	6	*ə̄*	*ə̄*	𐬈
𐬉	28	e	j-je-ja	3	*e*	*e*	𐬉
𐬊	—	—	je	4	*ē*	*ē*	𐬊
𐬋	26	o	o	7	*o*	*o*	𐬋

Original	Anqu.-No.	Anqu.	Pietr.	Bthl.-No.	Bthl.	Hoffmann	Original
𐬀	27	ô	oj	8	*ō*	*ō*	𐬀
𐬁	25	e	i	11	*i*	*i*	𐬁
𐬂	21	ï, î	y	12	*ī*	*ī*	𐬂
𐬃	26	o	u	13	*u*	*u*	𐬃
𐬄	32	ou	uj	14	*ū*	*ū*	𐬄
𐬅	13	k, c	k	15	*k*	*k*	𐬅
𐬆	5	kh	ch	17	*x*	*x*	𐬆
𐬇				47	*ḣ*	*x́*	𐬇
𐬈	—	—	—	48	x^v	x^v	𐬈
𐬉	14	g^{dur}	g	16	*g*	*g*	𐬉
𐬊			—	—	—	*ǵ*	𐬊
𐬋	11	gh	gh	18	*γ*	*γ*	𐬋
𐬌	22	tch	cz	19	*č*	*c*	𐬌
𐬍	4	dj	dz, dż	20	*ǰ*	*j*	𐬍
𐬎	3	t	t	21	*t*	*t*	𐬎
𐬏	34	th	th	23	*ϑ*	*ϑ*	𐬏
𐬐	6	d	d	22	*d*	*d*	𐬐
𐬑			d’	24	*δ*	*δ*	𐬑
𐬒[19]			dh	—	—		𐬒[19]
𐬓	—	—	t’	25	*ṯ*	*ṯ*	𐬓
𐬔	23	p	p	26	*p*	*p*	𐬔
𐬕	12	f	f	28	*f*	*f*	𐬕
𐬖	2	b	b	27	*b*	*b*	𐬖
𐬗	18	v	w	29	*w*	*β*	𐬗
𐬘	31	ng^{dur}	ṅ	30	*ŋ*	*ŋ*	𐬘
𐬙			ń	31	*ŋ́*	*ŋ́*	𐬙
𐬚	—	—	—	—	—	$ŋ^v$	𐬚
𐬛	17	n	n	32	*n*	*n*	𐬛
𐬜	—	—	—	—	—	*ń*	𐬜
𐬜[19]	—	—	—	—	—		𐬜[19]
𐬝	30	ân	ą	33	*n,m*	*ṇ*	𐬝
𐬞	15	m	m	34	*m*	*m*	𐬞
𐬟	16	hm	ehm	—	—	*ṃ*	𐬟

Original	Anqu.-No.	Anqu.	Pietr.	Bthl.-No.	Bthl.	Hoffmann	Original
𐬬	20	i	—	49	*y*	*ẏ*	𐬬
𐬬			j-je-ja	35		*y*	𐬬
𐬬𐬬	21	ï, î	y	36		*ii*	𐬬𐬬20
𐬭	18	v	—	37	*v*	*v*	𐬭
𐬭 19	—	—	—	—			𐬭 19
𐬭𐬭	35	o^u	w	38		*uu*	𐬭𐬭20
𐬯	7	r	r	39	*r*	*r*	𐬯
𐬰	—	(l)	(l)	—	—	—	𐬰
𐬱	9	s	s	40	*s*	*s*	𐬱
𐬲	8	z	z	41	*z*	*z*	𐬲
𐬳	10	sch	sz	42	*š*	*š*	𐬳
𐬳			—	44		*ś*	𐬳
𐬴			ż	43		*ṣ*	𐬴
𐬵	24	j	ż	45	*ž*	*ž*	𐬵
𐬶	19	h	h	46	*h*	*h*	𐬶
𐬶 19	—	—	—	—	—		𐬶 19

Table 1: Transcription systems for Avestan

2. Encoding Avestan

2.1 A 7-bit rendering

In the middle of the 1980s, when the project of digitizing the Avestan corpus was initiated,[21] there was no use in trying to encode the texts in the original script, given that the line-based desktop computer available for the project was not programmable to non-Latin scripts.[22] The same holds true for several special characters used in K. HOFFMANN's transliteration system. As a matter of fact, the character inventory usable for the given task consisted of nothing but the items pertaining to the plain ASCII standard,[23] plus a few extra characters necessary for the encoding of German and Skandinavian languages, all stored in the 7-bit range of character encoding (code values of 0 to 127; cf. Table 2 showing the character set of the computer used, with the German non-ASCII characters printed on a shaded background). To maintain the principle of a unique one-to-one rendering of (transliterated) Avestan characters, the existing inventory had to be applied with awkward-seeming but 'natural' equivalences such as $ = *š*, ö = *ə*, or Z = *ž*. The transliteration system thus arrived at differed greatly from that of comparable digitization projects such as that of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā,[24] the most ancient text collection of Vedic Sanskrit, which made ample use of digraphical and trigraphical combinations of ASCII characters (cf. the example in Table 3).[25] The advantage of the 'clumsy' one-to-one encoding of

(transcriptional) Avestan simply consisted in the fact that it could easily be converted into any other code, without any further consideration of the length of coherent character sequences; in addition, we may state that the inventory necessary for rendering Vedic Sanskrit was much larger than that covered by Avestan (because of the great number of accented vowels it has to cover), and a 7-bit-based one-to-one rendering system (which cannot provide code points for more than ca. 120 characters) would not have been applicable for it.[26] Another reason to stick to a one-byte representation lay in the fact that the amount of disk space available was extremely limited when the Avesta project was started; there was no hard disk available yet, and the ca. 1.2 Million characters of the text collection were just what the two floppy disks manageable by the system could store (in a database application that had to be programmed especially for this task).

					0										1					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
000	◀	¿	X̄	N̄	α	β	Σ	Δ	←	σ	↑	λ	μ		τ	π	θ	Æ	æ	Å
020	å	Ä	ä	Ö	ö	Ü	ü	├	│	─	£	┼		!	“	#	$	%	&	‘
040	(	)	*	+	,	-	.	/	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	:	;
060	<	=	>	?	@	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
080	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	[	\	]	^	_	`	a	b	c
100	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w
120	x	y	z	{	|	}	~	▒												
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
					0										1					

Table 2: 7-bit character set applied in 1985

```
R700123011  AGNI!M+ NA!RO DI:!D)ITIB)IR ARA!N\YOR HA!STACYUTI:
            JANAYANTA PRAS=ASTA
R700123012  !M / DU:RED9!S=AM+ G9HA!PATIM AT)ARYU!M
R700123021  TA!M AGNI!M A!STE VA!SAVO NY 9&N\VAN SUPRATICA!KS\AM
            A!VASE KU!TAS= CI
R700123022  T / DAKS\A:!YYO YO! DA!MA A:!SA NI!TYAH-
R700123031  PRE!DD)O AGNE DI:DIHI PURO! NO! 'JASRAYA: SU:RMYA:&
            YAVIS\T\)A / TVA:!
R700123032  M+ S=A!S=VANTA U!PA YANTI VA:!JA:H-
```

1	*agníṃ náro dī́dhitibhir aráṇyor hástacyutī janayanta praśastám / dūredṛ́śaṃ gṛhápatim atharyúm*
2	*tám agním áste vásavo ny ṛ̀ṇvan supraticákṣam ávase kútaś cit / dakṣā́yyo yó dáma ā́sa nítyaḥ*
3	*préddho agne dīdihi puró nó 'jasrayā sūrmyā̀ yaviṣṭha / tvā́ṃ śáśvanta úpa yanti vā́jāḥ*

Table 3: Encoding of the Texas Ṛgveda (7,1,1-3) contrasted with the usual transcription

2.2 An 8-bit rendering

After having moved to an IBM-DOS-based system in 1986, the transcriptional data could for the first time be visualized both on a printer and on the screen. Equipped with a programmable EGA[27] graphics card and a 70 MB hard disk, the IBM-compatible PC used then was much better suited to the task of completing the electronic corpus of Avestan. Software for entering larger specimens of non-conventional text in a structured way was also available by then: even though it was still line-based, WordPerfect 4.1 was an excellent basis for this task as it enabled the user to check his or her input in a "Reveal Codes" screen and provided an interface for rendering the special transcription characters correctly even on a Laser Printer. For the encoding of Avestan (and other ancient Indo-European languages) in WP 4.1, a special font could thus be designed for both screen and printer representation; different from the 7-bit font used before, this was 8-bit based, with all "special" (non-ASCII) characters stored in the "upper" character range (code values extending from 128 to 255, cf. Table 4).

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
					0										1					
000		̣	̇	̄	̆	̌	́	̀	̈	̂	̋		̣		̆	̌	́	̀	̈	̊
020	″	§	̂	‚	‚	Ł	Þ	h	u	°	‘	‘		̌ !	“	#	†	°	+	'
040	(	)	*	+	,	-	.	/	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	:	;
060	<	=	>	?	√	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
080	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	[	\	]	^	̄	`	a	b	c
100	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w
120	x	y	z	{	|	}	~	≈	∵	ü	é	â	ä	à	å	ç	ê	ë	è	ï
140	î	ì	Ä	ø	ė	æ	œ	ô	ö	ò	û	ù	ẏ	Ö	Ü	ã	ẽ	ĩ	õ	ũ
160	á	í	ó	ú	ñ	ŋ	ā	ē	ī	ō	ū	ǵ	ǰ	ḱ	ł	ḱ	ȁ	ě	ȉ	ı
180	ȕ	ą̇	ā̃	x́	x^{v}	ž	$ŋ^{u}$	ṛ	ĭ	r̄	ŭ	ą	ę	ị	ǫ	ụ	i̯	u̯	ə	ə̄
200	ə̣	ą̃	ą́	ę̃	ę́	ẽ	é	ĩ	ị́	ũ	ú	ũ	ỹ	ý	β	ƀ	č	ḍ	đ	δ
220	ǵ	ġ	g̱	γ	ḫ	ß	ḥ	hu	ḱ	ḷ	ḷ́	ḹ	ḷ̃	ṃ	m̃	m̆	ṃ	ṅ	ń	ṅ́
240	ṇ	ṛ	ṛ́	ṝ	ṛ̃	r̃	ś	ṣ	š	ś	ṣ	ṭ	ṭ	ϑ	þ					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
					0										1					

Table 4: 8-bit font used for the encoding of Avestan and other ancient Indo-European languages (1986-1989)

2.3 The first 16-bit encoding scheme

In 1988, the project proceeded one step further by applying the first 16-bit character encoding available for PCs. With WordPerfect 5.0, the user had at hand a total of 1632 uniquely encodable characters, among them Greek, Cyrillic, Hebrew, and Japanese (*hiragana* and *katakana*) sets, but also a large set of Latin characters with diacritics that were not covered by 7-bit ASCII or its 'western' 8-bit successor, the ANSI standard.[28] For the encoding of the 'idiosyncratic' transcription of Avestan, even this character 'block' (cf. Table 5) was not sufficient though; instead, the project had to rely upon the extra-block of 'user definable' entities, which comprised up to 255 additional items, and characters such as *ẏ, ą̇* or *ə̄* had to be assigned code points in that range (cf. Table 6). For the screen rendering, which was still line-based, WP 5.0 provided a sophisticated solution to extend the 8-bit-based character set of the graphics cards used in PCs to 512 characters, and this was programmable to display the extra characters of Avestan transcription.

No.	Character	No.	Character	No.	Character
1,23	ß	1,90	Ǎ	1,162	Ő
1,24	ı	1,91	ǎ	1,163	ő
1,25	ȷ	1,92	Ā	1,164	Ō
1,26	Á	1,93	ā	1,165	ō
1,27	á	1,94	Ą	1,166	Œ
1,28	Â	1,95	ą	1,167	œ
1,29	â	1,96	Ć	1,168	Ŕ
1,30	Ä	1,97	ć	1,169	ŕ
1,31	ä	1,98	Č	1,170	Ř
1,32	À	1,99	č	1,171	ř
1,33	à	1,100	Ĉ	1,172	Ŗ
1,34	Å	1,101	ĉ	1,173	ŗ
1,35	å	1,102	Ċ	1,174	Ś
1,36	Æ	1,103	ċ	1,175	ś
1,37	æ	1,104	Ď	1,176	Š
1,38	Ç	1,105	ď	1,177	š
1,39	ç	1,106	Ĕ	1,178	Ş
1,40	É	1,107	ĕ	1,179	ş
1,41	é	1,108	Ė	1,180	Ŝ
1,42	Ê	1,109	ė	1,181	ŝ
1,43	ê	1,110	Ē	1,182	Ť
1,44	Ë	1,111	ē	1,183	ť
1,45	ë	1,112	Ę	1,184	Ţ
1,46	È	1,113	ę	1,185	ţ
1,47	è	1,114	Ǵ	1,186	Ŧ
1,48	Í	1,115	ǵ	1,187	ŧ
1,49	í	1,116	Ǧ	1,188	Ŭ
1,50	Î	1,117	ǧ	1,189	ŭ
1,51	î	1,118	Ǵ	1,190	Ŭ
1,52	Ï	1,119	ǵ	1,191	ŭ
1,53	ï	1,120	Ġ	1,192	Ū
1,54	Ì	1,121	ġ	1,193	ū
1,55	ì	1,122	Ĝ	1,194	Ů
1,56	Ñ	1,123	ĝ	1,195	ů
1,57	ñ	1,124	Ǧ	1,196	Ů
1,58	Ó	1,125	ġ	1,197	ů
1,59	ó	1,126	Ĥ	1,198	Ŭ
1,60	Ô	1,127	ĥ	1,199	ŭ
1,61	ô	1,128	Ħ	1,200	Ŵ
1,62	Ö	1,129	ħ	1,201	ŵ
1,63	ö	1,130	İ	1,202	Ŷ
1,64	Ò	1,131	i	1,203	ŷ
1,65	ò	1,132	Ī	1,204	Ź

No.	Character	No.	Character	No.	Character
1,66	Ú	1,133	ī	1,205	ź
1,67	ú	1,134	Ī	1,206	Ž
1,68	Û	1,135	ī	1,207	ž
1,69	û	1,136	Ĩ	1,208	Ż
1,70	Ü	1,137	ĩ	1,209	ż
1,71	ü	1,138	IJ	1,210	Ð
1,72	Ù	1,139	ij	1,211	ŋ
1,73	ù	1,140	Ĵ	1,212	Đ
1,74	Ÿ	1,141	ĵ	1,213	đ
1,75	ÿ	1,142	Ķ	1,214	L̄
1,76	Ã	1,143	ķ	1,215	l̄
1,77	ã	1,144	Ĺ	1,216	N̄
1,78	Ð	1,145	l·	1,217	n̄
1,79	đ	1,146	L'	1,218	R̀
1,80	Ø	1,147	l'	1,219	ṛ̀
1,81	ø	1,148	Ļ	1,220	S̄
1,82	Õ	1,149	ļ	1,221	s̄
1,83	õ	1,150	Ŀ	1,222	T̄
1,84	Ý	1,151	l·	1,223	t̄
1,85	ý	1,152	Ł	1,224	Ȳ
1,86	Ð	1,153	ł	1,225	ȳ
1,87	ð	1,154	Ń	1,226	Ỳ
1,88	Þ	1,155	ń	1,227	ỳ
1,89	þ	1,156	'N	1,228	D'
		1,157	'n	1,229	d'
		1,158	Ň	1,230	O'
		1,159	ň	1,231	o'
		1,160	Ṇ	1,232	U'
		1,161	ṇ	1,233	u'

Table 5: The 'Latin Extended' Block of WP 5.0

No.	Character	No.	Character	No.	Character
12,0	ẽ	12,40	š	12,76	ṣ
12,1	q̃	12,41	ṭ	12,77	ṭ
12,2	ẽ	12,42	i	12,78	ṭ
12,3	ĩ	12,43	u	12,79	z
12,4	ũ	12,44	B	12,84	ỳ
12,5	ũ	12,45	D	12,85	á
12,6	ú	12,46	D	12,86	í
12,7	q́	12,47	Ẽ	12,87	à
12,8	é	12,48	G̃	12,88	ì
12,9	í	12,49	H	12,89	ù

No.	Character	No.	Character	No.	Character
12,10	*ṷ́*	12,50	*H̲*	12,90	*q̇*
12,11	*l̃*	12,51	*Ĭ*	12,91	*ā̊*
12,12	*m̃*	12,52	*J̌*	12,92	*x́*
12,13	*r̃*	12,53	*K̲*	12,93	*x*^{v}
12,14	*r̂*	12,54	*Ō*	12,94	*ŋ*^{u}
12,15	*r̈*	12,55	*P̲*	12,95	*ṛ̀*
12,16	*â*	12,56	*R̄*	12,96	*ə̄*
12,17	*ê*	12,57	*Ṣ*	12,97	*ẓ*
12,18	*î*	12,58	*Ṭ*	12,98	*ƀ*
12,19	*ô*	12,59	*T̲*	12,99	*g̲*
12,20	*û*	12,60	*Ẓ*	12,100	*hʋ*
12,21	*ä*	12,61	∵	12,101	*ḱ*
12,22	*ë*	12,62	*b̲*	12,102	*ḷ́*
12,23	*ï*	12,63	*d̲*	12,103	*ḹ*
12,24	*ö*	12,64	*ḍ*	12,104	*m̊*
12,25	*ü*	12,65	*ĕ*	12,105	*ṃ*
12,26	*é*	12,66	*ə*	12,106	*ṅ*
12,27	*ẽ*	12,67	*ḡ*	12,107	*ŋ́*
12,28	*ỹ*	12,68	*ḥ*	12,108	*ṇ*
12,29	*Ẽ*	12,69	*h̲*	12,109	*ṛ*
12,30	*Ọ*	12,70	*ĭ*	12,110	*ṛ́*
12,31	*ọ*	12,71	*ǰ*	12,111	*ṝ*
12,38	*ḷ*	12,72	*k̲*	12,112	*ṝ́*
12,39	*ṃ*	12,73	*ŏ*	12,113	*ṣ̌*
		12,74	*p̄*	12,114	*m̄*
		12,75	*r̄*	12,115	*ṇ̄*

Table 6: Assignment of the 'User definable' Block of WP 5.0

2.4 Rendering the original script

The next version of WordPerfect, 5.1, was even programmable to display and handle the Avestan original script with its right-to-left directionality. The prerequisite for this was the installation of either the Hebrew or the Arabic language package, both of which added the necessary functionality for switching between bidirectional text passages. For Avestan, however, the packages offered no code space off-hand; instead, the Avestan characters had to be mapped onto one of the character sets of either Hebrew (block 9) or Arabic (blocks 13 and 14). As the latter was designed to imply the automatic adaptation of letters to their left and right environment (a feature not relevant to Avestan), the Hebrew block was much better suited for this purpose. The resulting assignment is illustrated in Table 7; for lack of demand, it was never applied to the rendering of the corpus.

WP	Heb.	Av.	Trs.	WP	Heb.	Av.	Trs.	WP	Heb.	Av.	Trs.
9,0	א	𐬀	*a*	9,19	ח	𐬑	*ϑ*	9,42	ּ	𐬁	*ū*
9,1	ב	𐬁	*β*	9,20	פ	𐬆	*f*	9,84	ב	𐬅	*b*
9,2	ג	𐬂	*γ*	9,21	ז׳	𐬖	*j*	9,85	ג	𐬄	*g*
9,3	ד	𐬃	*δ*	9,22	צ	𐬙	*c*	9,87	ד	𐬇	*d*
9,4	ה	𐬄	*h*	9,23	ק	𐬚	*ŋ*	9,88	וּ	𐬨	*ą*
9,5	ו	𐬅	*v*	9,24	ר	𐬛	*r*	9,89	וֹ	𐬩	*ą́*
9,6	ז	𐬆	*z*	9,25	שׁ	𐬜	*š*	9,90	ז׳	𐬊	*ž*
9,7	ח	𐬇	*x*	9,26	שׂ	𐬝	*š̆*	9,91	ה	𐬳	x^v
9,8	ט	𐬈	*ṭ*	9,31	ִ	𐬌	*i*	9,92	ט	𐬋	δ_2
9,9	י	𐬉	*ẏ*	9,32	ִי	𐬍	*ē*	9,93	י	𐬌𐬌	*y*
9,10	ך	𐬊	*ġ*	9,33	ֶ	𐬎	*e*	9,94	כ	𐬐	*k*
9,11	כ	𐬋	*x́*	9,34	ֻ	𐬏	*u*	9,103	מ	𐬩	*ŋ́*
9,12	ל	𐬌	(*l*)	9,35	ָ	𐬀	*ā*	9,104	נ	𐬨	*ṇ*
9,13	ם	𐬍	*ṃ*	9,36	ָם	𐬀𐬥	*ā̆*	9,106	ס	𐬱	*s*
9,14	מ	𐬎	*m*	9,37	ְ	𐬄	*ə*	9,107	פ	𐬲	*p*
9,15	ן	𐬏	*ṅ*	9,38	ֹ	𐬌𐬌	*ō*	9,108	צ	𐬙	*ŋ*
9,16	נ	𐬐	*n*	9,39	ִי	𐬍	*ī*	9,109	ק	𐬚	$ŋ^u$
9,17	ס	𐬑	*s*	9,40	ִי	𐬌𐬥	*å*	9,111	שׁ	𐬜	*š*
9,18	ע	𐬒	*ə̄*	9,41	ּ	𐬌	*o*	9,114	ת	𐬔	*t*

Table 7: Avestan characters mapped onto the Hebrew character set of WP 5.1

2.5 Towards unique encoding: Unicode

With the introduction of the World Wide Web in about 1994, it became necessary to provide a unique encoding scheme for the Avestan texts that was not restricted to proprietary formats. As none of the code pages that were usable in WWW applications then covered the special characters used in the transcription of Avestan, let alone the original Avestan script, the project had to rely upon the emerging 'Unicode' standard right from the beginning even though there was practically no support for this available when the first specimens of the corpus were put online on the server of the TITUS project in 1996. The first sample page, which is still available today (cf. http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/unicode/samples/homyast.htm), displays in Roman transcription a part of the so-called 'Hōm-Yašt' (i.e. Yasna 9,1-11,8) together with its Middle Persian ('Pahlavī') and Sanskrit translations and liturgical prescriptions in Pāzend (i.e. Middle Persian written in Avestan script). The page clearly indicates what was encodable and retrievable in the early years of Unicode: many characters could not be visualized because they (or their elements, diacritics or basic characters) were not covered by standard fonts, or they had to be left open as there were no code points available for them yet. Meanwhile, 15 years after these first attempts, Unicode has become prevalent as the most widely used encoding standard in the Web, and

there is no longer any problem in encoding, retrieving and displaying the transcriptional data of the Hōm-Yašt or any other Avestan text (cf. the online edition in http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/airan/avesta/avest010.htm#Avest._Y_9). It is true that many of the combinations of characters with diacritics that are used in the transcription (e.g., *ą̇*, *ţ*, or *x́*) cannot be encoded as such, i.e., as 'precomposed characters', because there are no code points available for them; instead they have to be encoded as sequences of basic characters and diacritics,[29] and it has taken quite some time until 'system fonts' and 'rendering engines' were able to display this kind of combinations in an acceptable way.

As to the original script, the development of a corresponding code block within Unicode took even longer, and only with the publication of Unicode version 5.2.0 in October 2009 has this goal been achieved.[30] The Avestan block consisting of code points 10B00 through 10B3F[31] now enables us for the first time to encode in a standardized way the complete text of the Avesta in the original script. However, for lack of standard fonts that comply to this standard, it will take some more time to make this encoding readily available to the public.

Still, we have to admit that the encoding provided by the new Unicode block is not exhaustive, given that there is still a small set of letters that have not been assigned a code point. The reason is that these letters (𐬀, 𐬁, 𐬂, 𐬃, 𐬄) have been regarded as mere glyph variants of other characters (𐬀 = ą̇, 𐬁 = δ, 𐬂 = ń, 𐬃 = v, and 𐬄 = h), mostly in accordance with traditional usage which did not provide separate transcriptions for them. However, this decision brings about a dilemma, not only with respect to displaying them in a scholarly context such as the present paper (as a matter of fact, the five letters in question are represented by images here): if we wanted to challenge the assumption of their being functionally identical with their encodable 'partners', we would have to check whether they only occur in distinct environments and never side by side with them within one and the same manuscript. But to check this thoroughly, we would have to encode the texts of all manuscripts accordingly – which we cannot, as there are no code points for these letters available. It is true that provisional code points could be provided in the 'Private Use Area' of Unicode;[32] however, the use of code points of this area may still lead to problems depending on systems and software used, and it is therefore not recommendable. For the time being, I suggest to solve the problem via transliteration, by assigning special (adapted) transliteration symbols to the five letters in question.

3 Summary

The different approaches to the encoding of the Avestan script, first in transliteration and later in the original form, are summarized in Table 8 below. The table also includes the five letters for which no Unicode code points are available, together with a proposal for their transliteration. The combinations of 𐬀𐬀 = ii and 𐬁𐬁 = uu are not included as they have been encoded right from the beginning as sequences of the two characters each that they contain.

Orig.	HP 86B[33]		WP4[33]		WP5[34]		Trl.[35]	Unicode[36]		Orig.
𐬀	a	97	*a*	97	0,97	9,0	*a*	0061	10B00	𐬀
𐬁	A	65	*ā*	166	1,93	9,35	*ā*	0101	10B01	𐬁
𐬂	ü	26	*å*	134	1,35	9,40	*å*	00E5	10B02	𐬂

Orig.	HP 86B[33]		WP4[33]		WP5[34]		Trl.[35]	Unicode[36]		Orig.
𐬀	Ü	25	*ą̊*	182	12,91	9,36	*ą̊*	0101 + 030A	10B03	𐬀
𐬁	ä	22	*ą*	191	1,95	9,88	*ą*	0105	10B04	𐬁
𐬂	Ä	21	*ą̇*	181	12,90	9,89	*ą̇*	0105 + 0307	10B05	𐬂
𐬃							*ą̄*	0105 + 0304		𐬃 19
𐬄	ö	24	*ə*	198	12,66	9,37	*ə*	01DD	10B06	𐬄
𐬅	Ö	23	*ə̄*	199	12,96	9,18	*ə̄*	01DD + 0304	10B07	𐬅
𐬆	e	101	*e*	101	0,101	9,33	*e*	0065	10B08	𐬆
𐬇	E	69	*ē*	167	1,111	9,32	*ē*	0113	10B09	𐬇
𐬈	o	111	*o*	111	0,111	9,41	*o*	006F	10B0A	𐬈
𐬉	O	79	*ō*	169	1,165	9,38	*ō*	014D	10B0B	𐬉
𐬊	i	105	*i*	105	0,105	9,31	*i*	0069	10B0C	𐬊
𐬋	I	73	*ī*	168	1,133	9,39	*ī*	012B	10B0D	𐬋
𐬌	u	117	*u*	117	0,117	9,34	*u*	0075	10B0E	𐬌
𐬍	U	85	*ū*	170	1,193	9,42	*ū*	016B	10B0F	𐬍
𐬎	k	107	*k*	107	0,107	9,94	*k*	006B	10B10	𐬎
𐬏	x	120	*x*	120	0,120	9,7	*x*	0078	10B11	𐬏
𐬐	X	88	*x́*	183	12,92	9,11	*x́*	0078 + 0301	10B12	𐬐
𐬑	w	119	x^{v}	184	12,93	9,91	x^{v}	0078 + 036E	10B13	𐬑
𐬒	g	103	*g*	103	0,103	9,85	*g*	0067	10B14	𐬒
𐬓	K	75	*ġ*	221	1,125	9,10	*ġ*	0121	10B15	𐬓
𐬔	G	71	*γ*	223	8,7	9,2	*γ*	03B3	10B16	𐬔
𐬕	c	99	*c*	99	0,99	9,22	*c*	0063	10B17	𐬕
𐬖	j	106	*j*	106	0,106	9,21	*j*	006A	10B18	𐬖
𐬗	t	116	*t*	116	0,116	9,114	*t*	0074	10B19	𐬗
𐬘	F	70	*ϑ*	253	8,17	9,19	*θ*	03B8[37]	10B1A	𐬘
𐬙	d	100	*d*	100	0,100	9,87	*d*	0064	10B1B	𐬙
𐬚	D	68	*δ*	219	8,9	9,3	*δ*	03B4	10B1C	𐬚
𐬛							*δ́*	03B4 + 0301		𐬛
𐬜	T	84	*ṯ*	251	12,78	9,8	*ṯ*	0074 + 0330	10B1D	𐬜

Orig.	HP 86B[33]		WP4[33]		WP5[34]		Trl.[35]	Unicode[36]		Orig.
𐬐	p	112	*p*	112	0,112	9,107	*p*	0070	10B1E	𐬐
𐬑	f	102	*f*	102	0,102	9,20	*f*	0066	10B1F	𐬑
𐬒	b	98	*b*	98	0,98	9,84	*b*	0062	10B20	𐬒
𐬓	B	66	*β*	214	8,3	9,1	*β*	03B2	10B21	𐬓
𐬔	q	113	*ŋ*	165	1,211	9,23	*ŋ*	014B	10B22	𐬔
𐬕	@	64	*ŋ́*	239	12,107	9,103	*ŋ́*	014B + 0301	10B23	𐬕
𐬖	Q	81	*ŋ*^{u}	186	12,94	9,109	*ŋ*^{u}	014B + 0367	10B24	𐬖
𐬗	n	110	*n*	110	0,110	9,16	*n*	006E	10B25	𐬗
𐬘	\	92	*ń*	238	1,155	9,15	*ń*	0144	10B26	𐬘
𐬘							*ṅ*	1E45		𐬘
𐬙	N	78	*ṇ*	240	12,108	9,104	*ṇ*	1E47	10B27	𐬙
𐬚	m	109	*m*	109	0,109	9,14	*m*	006D	10B28	𐬚
𐬛	M	77	*ṃ*	77	12,105	9,13	*ṃ*	006D + 0328	10B29	𐬛
𐬜	Y	89	*ẏ*	152	12,84	9,9	*ẏ*	1E8F	10B2A	𐬜
𐬝	y	121	*y*	121	0,121	9,93	*y*	0079	10B2B	𐬝
𐬞	v	118	*v*	118	0,118	9,5	*v*	0076	10B2C	𐬞
𐬞							*v̇*	0076 + 0307		𐬞
𐬟	r	114	*r*	114	0,114	9,24	*r*	0072	10B2D	𐬟
𐬠						9,12	*l*	006C	10B2E	𐬠
𐬡	s	115	*s*	115	0,115	9,17	*s*	0073	10B2F	𐬡
𐬢	z	122	*z*	122	0,122	9,6	*z*	007A	10B30	𐬢
𐬣	S	83	*š*	248	1,117	9,25	*š*	0161	10B31	𐬣
𐬤	C	67	*ś*	249	12,40	9,111	*ś*	0161 + 0301	10B32	𐬤
𐬥	$	36	*ṣ̌*	250	12,113	9,26	*ṣ̌*	0161 + 0323	10B33	𐬥
𐬦	Z	90	*ž*	185	1,207	9,90	*ž*	017E	10B34	𐬦
𐬧	h	104	*h*	104	0,104	9,4	*h*	0068	10B35	𐬧
𐬧							*ḣ*	0068 + 0301		𐬧
𐬨	.	46	.	46	0,46	0,46	.	002E	2E31	𐬨
𐬩	:	58	∵	128	12,61	12,61	∵	2235	10B3B	𐬩

Table 8: Encodings used for the Avestan script (original and transliteration)[38]

[1] I.e., from the middle of the sixth century B.C. up to the middle of the eighth century A.D.
[2] Cf. GIPPERT (1995).
[3] http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/airan/avesta/avest.htm.
[4] http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/airan/avesta/yasna/yasnavar/yasna.htm.
[5] Most of the text was input by SONJA FRITZ in 1985–88, the necessary programming being undertaken by the present author. Additions were provided by H. KUMAMOTO, M. DE VAAN and others.
[6] This is GELDNER's *Avesta* (1889-96). The same is true for WESTERGAARD (1852-54).
[7] Cf. JEAN CHARDIN (1711: 108–9 with Table LXX (Fig. T)); the first edition of CHARDIN's travel report, of which one volume appeared in 1686 in English (second edition 1691) and French, does not contain any relevant information (the subsequent volumes seem not to have been published then). Previous accounts of the Parsees and their religion are the second volume of HENRY LORD (1630), *A Display of two forraigne sects in the East Indies*, published under the title *The Religion of the Persees* etc. (see bibliography), and GABRIEL DE CHINON (1671); they mention the existence of the script without going into details (LORD 1630, p. [2 of 'The proeme']: 'I gained the knowledge of what hereafter I shall deliuer, as it was compiled in a booke writ in the *Persian* Character, containing their Scriptures, and in their owne language, called their ZVNDAVASTAVV.'; CHINON (1671, p. 437): '... voyans qu'ils n'avoient plus de Livres, en écrivirent un de ce qui leur étoit resté en mémoire de ceux qu'ils avoient tant lûs de fois. Celui-là leur est resté, je l'ai vû, il est assez gros, & écrit en caractères fort differens du Persan, de l'Arabe, & des autres Langues du païs, & et qui leurs sont particulieres. Ils le sçavent lire, mais ils disent qu'ils ne l'entendent pas.')
[8] CHARDIN (1711, Vol. 9, 109): 'J'ai inseré dans cet ouvrage, pour la satisfaction des Curieux, un Alphabet de ces anciens *Perses*, ou *Guebres*'.
[9] The illustration is taken from the online version provided by Google Books of the copy of vol. 9 kept in the Lyon Public Library (http://books.google.de/books?id=IjBhi4sF2loC); unfortunately, the Table has been clipped dramatically in the reproduction so that it shows only parts of two lines. The reproduction of the copy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10620739-2 (cf. also http://books.google.de/books?id=2HpCAAAAcAAJ) is even worse in this respect.
[10] An even shorter notice is contained in vol. 5 of CHARDIN's *Voyage* (1711, p. 41).
[11] CHARDIN (1711, ib.): 'en grandes & petites Lettres'.
[12] HYDE (o.c., p. 427): 'Lingua Péhlavi, quae verè Persica'.
[13] Not all entries are comprehensible.
[14] 'Literae in Libris ZEND & PAZEND, juxta Apographum D. *Hyde*, usitatae; una cum Ligaturis & Abbreuiaturis Zendicis', Table added after p. 580.

[15] ANQUETIL-DUPERRON (1771: Pl. VIII, opposite p. 424 ; in other bindings, opposite p. 432).
[16] PIETRASZEWSKI (1858: XI and 1).
[17] A corresponding table is printed in HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN (1996: 41).
[18] The differences are explicitly summarized in HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN (o.c., p. 43).
[19] Character not assigned a Unicode code point (cf. below).
[20] This is not a single character but the combination of two identical ones.
[21] The digitization was undertaken in connection with the project of a new dictionary of the Avestan language (run by B. SCHLERATH in Berlin), which was funded by the DFG in 1985-1988 with the exception of the computer equipment that had to be purchased for it.
[22] The computer used was a Hewlett-Packard 86B; cf., e.g., http://www.hpmuseum.net/display_item.php?hw=35. The restriction concerned the screen but not programmable printers such as the 24-dot matrix printer EPSON LQ-1500 used then.
[23] "American Standard Code for Information Interchange".
[24] Project undertaken in the 1970s under the guidance of W.P. LEHMANN by H.S. ANANTHANARAYANA in Austin, Texas.
[25] It must be stated that such a system does meet the requirements of an unambiguous encoding, but not on the basis of one-to-one correspondences.
[26] A similar rendering system is the so-called 'Beta-Code', which was invented for the rendering of Ancient Greek and which has been used until the present day in the 'Thesaurus Linguae Graecae' project at the University of California (Irvine) and in the 'Perseus' project of Tufts University.
[27] "Enhanced Graphics Adapter", a colour graphics card using a programmable 8-bit character set with a dot-matrix of 14 × 8 dots.
[28] "American National Standards Institute"; the standard is also known as ISO standard no. 8859-1.
[29] Cf. chaps. 5.6 ('Normalization') and 2.11 ('Combining characters') of the current Unicode Standard reference, http://www.unicode.org/versions/Unicode6.0.0/ch05.pdf and /ch02.pdf. The reason is that the Unicode Consortium stopped the integration of precomposed characters early in the process of development of the standard. Cf. http://unicode.org/faq/char_combmark.html as to useless attempts to have new precomposed characters added to Unicode.
[30] The proposal, which was prepared by M. Everson and R. Pournader, dates from March 22, 2007 (cf. http://std.dkuug.dk/jtc1/sc2/wg2/docs/n3197.pdf); cf. http://www.unicode.org/Public/UNIDATA/DerivedAge.txt for a full account of when a given code point was first assigned in Unicode.
[31] Cf. http://www.unicode.org/charts/PDF/U10B00.pdf. The block is contained in 'Plane 1', the so-called 'Supplementary Multilingual Plane (SMP)' of Unicode, which is

mostly designed to comprise 'historical' scripts that are no longer used (cf. chap. 2.9 of the current Unicode Standard reference, http://www.unicode.org/versions/Unicode6.0.0/ch02.pdf); in the case of Avestan, this remains problematic as the Parsee communities in India or elsewhere may return to employing the Avestan script one day.

[32] The 'PUA' ranges from E000 to F8FF and comprises up to 6,400 privately definable and usable characters.

[33] Code numbers represent byte values.

[34] Code numbers indicate the block and the number of the character within the WordPerfect character set (left column: transcription; right column: original script mapped onto Hebrew). Block 8 is the Greek character block.

[35] Extended transliteration including the non-encodable letters.

[36] Code points in hexadecimal notation (left column: transcription; right column: original script). Precomposed characters are indicated wherever they exist.

[37] For Greek *thēta*, there are two code points available (03B8 and 03D1); the first one is chosen here as this is associated with the round-shaped variant displayed here while the second is reserved for the 'open' variant (ϑ).

[38] Proposed encodings (for additional transcriptional characters) are marked with a shaded background.

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FOREWORD

I feel very happy in pronouncing before the scholarly world the English version of E. Blochet's *Studies in the Pahlavi Grammar* translated by Pranabesh Sinha Ray from a French original. Though before Blochet we have Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huzvaresch-Sprache* (Vienna, 1856), the edition of the Frahang-i Oil and the Sassanian Frahang ('Old Zand-Pahlavi' and 'Old Pahlavi Pazand' glossaries) by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay and London, 1867 1870, *Manuel de Pahlavi* of de Harlez (Paris 1880), Blochet's book, though small in size, weighs very heavily in contents, and excels many of his predecessors and even overshadowed many of his successors. Pahlavi, otherwise known as Middle Persian, belongs to one of the middle Iranian languages, to the line of Old Persian which is known to us through a series of Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Achaemenian period (B.C. 530-331). Pahlavi was the spoken and literary language of Sassanian period (? 1st century AD to 651 AD). Pahlavi is represented by *Huzvaresh* and *Pazand*. In this book the author has used many scripts, such as, Aramaic, Hebrew, Perso-Arabic, Chinese to strengthen his cases.

I believe this book will help the scholars to understand something about the Pahlavi language. This publication perhaps would not have seen the light of the day, but for the active co-operation of Dr. S. R. Banerjee, the present Library Secretary of the Society. I also thank our staff members of the Publication Section for their promptitude in doing any work. I shall be glad and happy if the book is received well by the scholarly world.

20 April 2005

Dilip Coomer Ghose
General Secretary

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Studies in the Pahlavi Grammar*

Introduction

The linguistic history of Persia or rather Iran is divided into three periods quite distinct from one another :

I. The Achaemenian epoch,

II. The epoch of the Arsacids and the Sassanids,

III. The Muslim epoch.

The spoken language or rather the written by the Achaemenid is known to us, in part, by a series of inscriptions of which the most ancient those of the Great Cyrus at Murghab reaches to the middle of the 6th century BC and the most recent of which is that which Artaxeres engraved at Susa at the most date period in the year 361. The most important of all is the great trilingual inscription of Darius the first at Behistan. It alone contains much more words and forms than all other inscriptions taken together.

Although these inscriptions finish us only with a very restricted vocabulary of about 400 words, and that these are far from containing all the grammatical forms they suffice to give a very neat and precise idea of the language of the Achaemenid kings. This idiom, a very close relation of Sanskrit and of the Zend offers, in its flexion the same sort of richness and wealth as manifested by Sanskrit and Zend; the nominal and pronominal declensions of the Achaemenian Persian was identical.

With that of the language of the Brahmins and that of the Magis, it makes a distinction, like the former between five voices, the general tenses which join together the implexions directly to the root and the special tenses which intercalate between these two

---

* The Pahlavi and the Chinese characters given in this work have been obligingly lent by the 'National Printing.'.

elements a variable syllable in conformity to the root and determining the class it belongs to. It is impossible to learn whether the language of the inscription of Behistan as quite the same as that of the people used to speak in Persia at that epoch when it was inscribed. Several passages give us the impression of a sort of manner of an archaic state of obsolescene rather than a really archaic or obsolete condition of the language and it seems quite possible that under the reign of Darius, Persian was a trite and wornout language already on its way, it was destined to be transformed into Modern Persian.

Whatever that might be, some two and a half centuries later, the inscription at Susa shows that Persian, like the dynasty itself was in complete decadence and that the time of its extinction was near at hand. It was so and the period of Darius demonstrates the same linguistic phenomena which have engendered the Romance languages from Latin: the declension has been unified by the passage of the stems in-*i* and in-*u* to those in-*a* which was shortly to become reduced to a declension into a single paradigm. Moreover, the distinction of genders tended to be effected in the inscriptional Persian of Arfaxexes, the accord of the cases and of numbers does not exist so to speak any longer; the pronoun and the verb present in the flexion as profound irregularities as the noun in its declension.

We do not know towards which epoch Persian, which has been the language of Cyrus and Darius came to an end as we do not possess any epigraphic document during the extreme end of the Achaemenian dynasty and neither had Alexander nor his successors left for us inscriptions written in Persian, the prolonged reign of the Arsacids which extended over a period of more than five centuries having been also poor and lacking in specimens and fragments and the coins of these sovereigns carried only legends in Greek; it is only towards the last days of this dynasty there began to appear some coins bearing legends composed in a form of language which was quite different from that of the Achaemenian-Persian although linguistically related

to this idiom and written in a character derived from the Aramaean script.

The centuries which separate the assassination of the last of the Achaemenians from the end of the Arsacid dynasty, are a lacuna from the linguistic as well as from the Iranian historical point of view which nothing ever fill up or surpass. This fact is all the more as much regrettable as it was precisely at this time that great linguistic changes had been accomplished that transformed the Achaemenian Persian into New or Modern Persian.

The solitary remnant of the language of Persia during the Arsacid period consisted in the proper names nouns found in the writing of the Greek and Latin historians and in a certain number of vocables borrowed by the Armenian; the Arabic vocabulary likewise contains some words of Iranian origin, the borrowings there of dating back to this period.

The Sassanid period which extends from the year 225 to the middle of the VIIth century of our era is, otherwise, rich in epigraphic as well as documents numismatic; we possess the inscriptions of the first sin sovereign of this dynasty and the last of them is not posterior to the end of the IVth century; coins are also found with the legends in the names of the Sassanids right up to the last lap of the days of this dynasty : their mintage has been initiated with Iranian legends by the Musulmans during the century following the death of Yazdegard, the inscriptions of the Sassanids are classified in the following manner :

Ardeshir 1st (225-240) artilingual inscription of Nakhsh i-Rustam;

Shahpur 1st (240-272) a monolingual inscription of Nakhsh i-Rajdeb; a bilingual inscription of Hādjibād;

Ahurmazed 1st (273) or Bahram II (276-283) inscription;

Monolingual of Pai-Kouli and great monolingual of Nakhsh-i-Rajdeb;

Naṛsaï (283-300) great monolingual inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam : monolingual inscription at Shahpur;

Shahpur II (309-379), monolingual inscription of Tak-i-Bustan;

Shahpur III (338-388) monolingual inscription of Tak-i-Bustan.

These inscriptions[1] are all written in a language which is called *Pahlavi*; the first ones those of Ardeshir at Nakhsh-i-Rustam and of Shahpur I at Hadjiabad are accompanied by a version in a different idiom which has been termed *Chaldean Pahlavi.*

This tongue is quite different from the Achaemenian Persian and it already presents the main characteristics of Modern PersianÇthe difference between the stems has been completely effaced as the consequence of levelling down and loss of final vowels, the declension of Persian disappeared and the conjugation is reduced to such a minimum that the modern form of the language had to create new forms to replace those abandoned during the passage of Persian to the stage of Pahlavi; the two solitary forms which, in fact, appear in the inscriptions are the themes of the present or the stem of the bare verb, ex. : *ap-nū-rangla pūn zanā dikīhanakhtūn* "and we place our foot on this stone" (Hadjiabad, line 7); *tamman vayāk zak angūn lā yahsūn* "there was not at the time any habitation"[2] (Hadjiabad, line 9); *mīnū yadā katab* "(a) divine hand (has) written" (Hadjiabad, line 12); *amat zanā khatyā shādit* "when this inscription (was) engraved"[3] (Hadjiabad, line 7). The conjugation is very badly known in the epigraphical Pahlavi, consequently because of paucity of forms which we come across in the inscriptions but originally they did not exist any more in the language of the manuscripts and it was replaced by syntactical process and procedures.

We did not possess any book the composition of which can, with any surety, be said to go back to the epoch of the Sassanids. It is more than doubtful that the commentary of the Yasna and of the Vendidad, certainly one of the oldest works in the Pahlavi literature had been written before the fall of the Sassanid dynasty.

It is probable that there is only one compilation made on the commentaries, which themselves could have been written under the Sassanids of which the authors were sometimes cited, such as Afarg, Roshan and Kushtan Bodjit. Regarding the Pahlavi papyrus fragments which have been found in Fayyoum they are posterior to the Hejira; besides, they are in such a tattered condition that there is nothing or next to nothing nearly to draw from them.

What is certain is that the inscriptions and the legends on the coins of the engraved stones are not wholly explicated by the Pahlavi, as it was known from the commentary of the Avesta and the other books which have been composed later on in this language. Not only are many of the epigraphic Pahlavi words found again in the Pahlavi of the manuscripts but furthermore these divergencies seem not quite uniquely a question of vocabulary but have to do with the question of form as well.

The Pahlavi of the manuscripts is much more better well known than the epigraphical Pahlavi, thanks to the very large number of works written in this language of which compositions abound from the 8th to the 15th centuries. The Pahlavi treatises which have been edited afterwards in India at this epoch all of them smack, more or less, the influence of modern Persian; even Arabic words are met with these, therefore, it is proper to separate them drawing out the tables of the forms of classical Pahlavi.[4]

The origin of the word *Pahlavi,* has been, for the first time, established by Olshausen. It is a Persian word and it was used only after the Muslim conquest. How did the Sassanids called their language? We do not know — they, undoubtedly branded it as "Persian" *Pārsik* or *"Iranian" - īrānīk.* The Persian lexicographers got the word *Pahlavi* پهلوی derived from the Persian vocable *Pahlu* پهلو which signifies 'coast' and they say that Pahlavi is the language of the frontiers. In reality *Pahlavi* is the adjective formed from the word *Pahlav* پهلو, which is

regularly derived from the name of the Parthians "Partava". It does not follow from this that Pahlavi was the language of the Parthians as what is true from the linguistic point of view will be historically false. The word *Pahlav*[5], derived from *Parthava*, designates a man of the old days without the acceptance of any particular epoch. It, in no way, signifies a Parthian and the word *Pahlavi* which is derived from it simply designates the language which the Persian regarded as the language of ancient Persia after the Muslim conquest, that is to say, the language of the Sassanids.

The Pahlavi of the manuscripts as well as that of the inscription offers one remarkable particularity which, so to say, in any known idiom and upto a certain point, would make no believe that this language was just an artificial creation, a sort of cryptography under which the veritable language of Iran is hidden. The attention of the pioneer philologists who had been occupied with the study of the Pahlavi was immediately drawn by the hybrid character of this language whose lexicon has been invaded and over-run by the Aramic elements.

It is not rare, in the Orient to find a language abandoning, without any apparent cause, quite a large part of its lexical items to replace it by the corresponding part of the vocabulary from another language. Thus it is that modern Persian has borrowed from Arabic almost all words expressing abstract ideas, not because it does not possess them, as in Pahlavi these do exist and that it was easy to form them as much as these would have been the need for them; likewise literary Turkish has hardly preserved of its vocabulary existing words expressing simple ideas and objects needful for the material life; but Persian has retained the Iranian grammar intact, not allowing to enter therein and encroach a single Arabic form and Turkish has preserved in its integrity the agglutinative mechanism of the dialects of Turkestan.

The case is quite different from Pahlavi : these are not those words conveying abstract ideas alone which have been

borrowed from Aramic, but solely words which are most usual and commplace, commonest words such as are never borrowed by any language from another language, moreover, pronouns and names of numbers are always expressed by Aramic forms and it is the same with the prepositions and adverbs. As regards the verbs, their Iranian forms are almost always replaced by a mixed form composed of a Semitic stem and an Iranian inflexion, several substantives equally offer this particularity of being formed of two elements, one Semitic the other Iranian. Pahlavi possesses two words meaning 'man' *mart* (Pers. مرد, *mard)* and *martūm* (Pers. مردم, *mardūm)* the first is only rarely found in Pahlavi and it is generally accepted by its equivalent in Semitic *gabrā* (Aramic גברא, cf. Arabic جبر). As regards the second, it is generally rendered by *gabrā ūm* in which the Aramic element *gabrā* is the translation of Pahlavi *mart* and *ūm,* the suffix of the Iranian word *mart-ūm.* In compound words the two terms can be replaced by their Semitic equivalents or by one of them only, the proper noun *Gōpatshāh* is often found in the Bundahish under the form *Gōpat malkā, malkā* (Aram. מלכא Arabic ملك, being the Semitic equivalent of the Persian word *Shāh* "king". The fire Farnbag is called in the Bundahish *Gadā-bag, gadā* having in Aramic (גדא ar, جد) the same sense as *farn* (Zend *huareno)* in Persian. Thus it is that the word *nimroūz* which signify "south" and which is made up of the two elements, *nīm* 'half' whose Semitic equivalent is *Palag* (Aram. פלג), and *rouz* "day", which is always rendered in the Semitic Pahlavi by *yōm* (Aram יום), can be replaced at will, by the forms *Palag yōm, nim yom* and *Palag-roūz* now, the word *nī-roūz* rendered thus in the Semitic translation is found to designate one of the large provinces of Persia, the Seistan and however, it is impossible to admit that one can, in this way, disguise the geographical names. We are led to ask the question whether Pahlavi is a language which used to be actually spoken or had it been simply a cryptography.

J. Darmesteter in his *Iranian Studies* (p. 33) has reached this conclusion; said otherwise, Pahlavi such as one finds in the inscriptions and manuscripts are but disguisements of the spoken language in Persia during the Sassanian period and for reconstructing it one needs to replace all the Semitic vocables by their Iranian equivalents : for example the sentence *"madam mifyā and min tak* Pūrsam *li-akhar oli-rattā yamallūn* is to be read BAR SUHHAN Chand AZTU Pūrsam BAZO MAN PASUKH GORĪ.[6]

A text of Ammien Marcellin appears to support this proposition, this writer in his *History* (XIX. 2) informs us that the soldiers of Sapor II called their emperor *Saansan,* which signify according to him "king of kings". Well, this title which is evidently, the shāhānshāh شاهانشاه of the modern language, it has never been used in the official protocol engraved upon the Pahlavi coins or at the beginning of Sassanian inscriptions; it is always replaced by the Aramic title of *malkā-ān-malkā* which is just a counter-tracing or imitation and which is contrary to a Semitic construction. We have reached this conclusion that at the Ammien Marcellin epoch *malkā-ān-malkā* used to be written what was pronounced *Shāh-ān-Shāh.* However, it is well to note that the witness of the Latin historians apply only to the Peuplade, i.e., people and that the language used by the soldiers do not at all supply any information on that of the high classes and the educated people of Iran.

Mohammad Ibn Ishak cites, in his work entitled *Kitāb-el-fihirist* a celebrated passage from Ibn-el-Mokaffa, which confirms the following hypothesis which one Pahlavi used to write in way and to be read in another way. Here is the Text of this passage :

ولهم هجا يقال له زوارش يكتبون بها الحروف موصول ومفصول وهو
نحو الف كلمة ليفصلوا بها بين المتشابهات مثال ذلك انه من اراد
ان يكتب كُوشت وهو اللحم بالعربية كتب بسرًا وتقراه كوشت

على هذا المثال [illegible] واذا اراد ان يكتب نان وهو الخبز بالعربية
كتب لَهْمَا وتقراه نان على هذا المثال [illegible] وعلى هذا كل شى
ارادوا ان يكتبوا الا اشيا لا يحتاج الى قلبها تكتب على اللفظ

"They (the Persians) have a graphic system named Zavarish; in the Zavarish, letters are jointly written and also separately, comprising about a thousand words, thus they make, for distinguishing, thanks to it[8] amongst ambiguous[9] expressions, of it there is, an example : he who would like to write *goūsht* which in Arabic, is called *lahm* "meat", written *bisrā* and read *goūsht* thus [illegible] , and he who wants to write *nān*, which in Arabic corresponds to *Khoubz* "bread", written *lahmā* and read *nān* thus [illegible], following this procedure are written everything except those which do not need to be changed. These latter ones are written as they are pronounced according to their pronunciation."

Thus following this evidence of Ibn-el-Mokaffa reproduced by Ibn Ishak the Semitic words used in the procedure called *Zavarish* are to be read as per their Iranian forms and not by their Aramaean forms which they have in writing. It is not at all to be doubted in Ibn-el-Mokaffas affirmation, who knew Pahlavi quite well and it is evident that while he read a text written in this language, he used to replace all the Aramic by Persian words corresponding to them. Must we then conclude that it has ever been so?

Before giving an answer to this query it is advisable and proper to look into what may be the origin of this strange and peculiar graphic system to which Ibn-el Mokaffa gives the name of *Zavarish*. This origin is the most obscure one and I do not know if it will be necessary to admit without any reserve what one attributes to it; according to the terms of Mohammad Ibn Ishak the *Zavarish* would have served to distinguish between the words

the readings of which offer some ambiguity in their readings. Now, the Pahlavi alphabet of the manuscripts is so much imperfect that this ambiguity is found, so to speak, in the domain of every word but it is noteworthy that they are greater for the very simple words, very short ones and of constant usage term for many of those words which express abstract ideas. It is certain that words like *nān* "bread" *dōu* "two" *khār* "donkey" give the greatest uncertainty in reading, still more, again, than an abstract word such as *āfrīnīshnīh* "action of creating" or one knows in advanced that cannot be read as-*ishn-*, only *īh* and where *lan* have all the chance of representing only *īn*; but it is necessary to note that, it is the same for the Aramic words as well, with which they have been replaced : *lahmā.* *talīn,* *khāmrā.* It is not with the desire of substituting words of difficult reading with those which are easy to decipher, that the origin of the *Zavarish* is to be searched; it would have been much simpler the day when one will have found oneself in a fix in such a difficulty to ultimately change the alphabet or at least to modify it in a way to make it intelligible.

Hugh was the first linguistician who got the idea of relating the mechanism of the Pahlavi to that of the language spoken till today, but he has drawn such conclusions there, from that his theories cannot be accepted by anybody.

It is known that Japanese is a language of the agglutinative type like Turkish and Mongolian with polysyllabic roots presenting a great wealth of forms as much in declension as for conjugation whilst Chinese is a monosyllabic tongue of isolating category, without inflexion nor agglutination : therefore there cannot possibly exist, two all the more different languages like that, and it appears that their vocabularies could never interpenetrate. It is just the reverse phenomenon which has been produced : now a-days the Japanese write entire sentences in their language in Chinese ideographic characters and all educated persons read them not with the phonetic values of the Chinese characters

scripts but by substituting the Japanese equivalents of each of the Chinese words which they represent by adding to them the verbal affixes/suffixes and the nominal flexions and finally by re-establishing the Japanese syntactical order of the sentence, which is quite different from that of the Chinese order.

There happens to be a veritable translation made in as much as the eye encompasses a group of Chinese characters forming a member of a complete sentence and not by quite simply replacing each of the Chinese characters by its Japanese equivalent which would form a series of incoherent words, not having and slum- neither in the one nor in the other of these two languages.[10] In order to make this transposition, with the book open, Chinese into Japanese would necessitate a perfect knowledge not only in Japanese but also in the equivalents in the Chinese ideograms in such a way as would produce much difficulty. That is why the Japanese thought out signs of quite an ingenuous system, by virtue of which they add to the Chinese characters. Japanese inflexions which make the root or the base to which they correspond the verbal and nominal forms and which allow to indicate the modifications to be brought in the order of the Chinese sentence to transform it to a Japanese structure, the signs of inversional change centering between the Chinese characters are uniquely confined only in the texts written in China and which one wants to read in Japanese; in the Japanese texts written in Chinese characters by the Japanese, it goes without saying that the writer respects the syntactic order of the Japanese sentence. Here is an example from a fragment of Chinese text prepared for Japanese reading[11] :

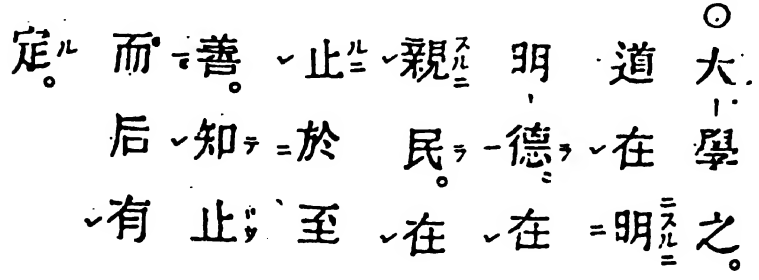

The Chinese characters read : Ta hio tchi tao,[3] tsài [2]ming [1]mingte, [6] tsai tshin[4]min[10]; tsai[9]tshi[8]yu[7]tshi[11] shan[12]. tshi tchi eul heou [14]yeou [13]ting, and the Japanese sentence : Dai Gaku no miti (ha), [1]med toku *wo*[2]akiraka *nisuruni*[3] *ari*; [4]tami *wo* [5]arata (ni) *suruni* [6]*ari*; [7]si sen [8]ni [9]todo ma*ru ni* [10]Todoma*ri wo* [12]siri*te* note [13]sadama*ru* [14]ari[12].

We see that there is no question of a Sino-Japanese language but solely a graphic system whose genesis can be easily explained and its development has, when you consider the intellectual influence that the Chinese civilisation, exercised during long centuries in the empire of the Rising Sun. It is quite probable that before the invention of the syllabary, Japanese used to be written entirely in the Chinese ideographic characters and that it was read in the Japanese way; it was only much later that people thought of adding to these, signs of phonetic complements and a numbering or notation which permitted one to find and retrace one's way anew in this labyrinth : the invention of the syllabary is the last phase of this graphic Japanese system, or rather it ought to have been so, as still today most of the Japanese texts are written according to the method which is going to be set forth.

This Sino-Japanese graphic system offers more than one similarities with what Ibn-el-Mokaffa calls '*zavārish*'. Let us take the following sentence in Pahlavi :

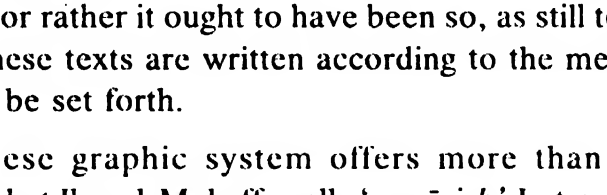

Here is the transcription of this sentence, the words and the parts of Semitic words being printed in italics : u datīgar *zak gabrā*-ūm *ol* gās-ī *nishā*-an mat *yakōyamūn*-īt *ap-ash nishā la* kart

yakōyamūn-īt u satīgar *zak anshūtā man* zivandāk ravan *lā* yasht *yakōyamūn*-īt u ahlavdāt *la* dāt *yakōyamūn* it.

Replacing the Semitic words by their Iranian equivalents we get the following sentence : *u datigar* ÂN MARI ūm ō gās ZAN an mat ISI it U ash ZAN NAkai : ISI it u satigar ÂN MARI ŪMKI zivandak ravan NA yasht ISI it u ahlav dat NA dat ISI it.

We can see that this procedure reminds us a lot of the that in which Japanese texts are written with the Chinese characters; Iranian words such as *ān* "that one, the latter" *o* "towards" *zan* "woman" have been replaced by corresponding Aramaean words '*zak*', '*ol*' '*nīshā*'; the suffixes of the declension and the flexions of the Iranian verbals have been added to the Semitic themes and roots, *nīshā-ān* being for *zan ān*, *yakoya mun it* for *ist-īt*; moreover, in order to mark well that the word which has been replaced by the Aramaean *gabrā* is to be read '*martum*', one has added to *gabrā* the suffix *um* in such a way that a word *gabrā-ūm* has been formed which could not have ever existed neither in Pahlavi nor in Aramaean. Under these circumstances, we may be permitted to ask if the first texts of Middle Persian would not have entirely been written with Semitic words or rather with Semitic stems and roots, that people translated gradually as the reading in the Iranian language then spoken in Persia went on by adding to these stems and roots nominal and verbal inflexions.

In fact, it is as it has been seen above the characteristic of the Sassanid inscriptions that one would have almost attempted to qualify it with latest inflexions. It was during the Arsacid epoch that this graphic system must have formed : Iran had been, at the time, fallen down enough in not having preserved anything of her civilisation of antiquity and the language of the Achaemenians had disappeared taking away its syllabary along, already from the times of the first descendants of Darius the Aramaeans had invaded and usurped the chancelleries and the administration of the Empire of the Great Kings; their importance was increased tenfold when the Empire founded by Alexander,

had, in its turn known the days of decadence and soon there were no longer left but the Semitic scribes only to wield the pen amid the Arsacid period of anarchy. Unfortunately, there no longer remains even a decipherable inscription nor any coin with an Iranian legend which would permit us to account for what had been the spoken form of the language at this epoch and the way in which it was used to be written.

The texts written thus could, at will, be read in Aramaean and in Iranian just like the Chinese texts set arranged for reading in Japanese could be read in Chinese or in Japanese. This graphic system did not take long to present difficulties in a considerable way and to become a truly historical nonsense. The day when Persia began to catch up and when the foreign influence lost its ground : it was then that there was the need for inventing this complementary phonetic system which allowed to express the Persian inflexions while writing the words in the Semitic script. One would note here that there was no need to invent markers of positions destined to modify the place of incidence of words of the words in the sentence for it is evident that one always wrote the Semitic words in the Iranian syntactical order and that one would have to do so only where it was wanted that a Semitic text be prepared for reading in Iranian.

We have seen that the translation of the Shahpur inscription at Hajiabad, as also those of several other epigraphic documents of the Sassanids are edited in a language which is termed Chaldean Pahlavi : this name has been given to it in despair only since it was not known and one would undoubtedly never come to know what people exactly spoke of it; it is almost certain that one must see herein only a graphic system which is analogous to that of Pahlavi. In fact, it is noted that in the Chaldean Pahlavi version of the inscription, of Hajiabad we have identical grammatical peculiarities as found in the original Pahlavi, the same uncertainty in the verbal forms and the same contrary inversions to the Semitic genious : thus it is that the title of *'malkā-ān-malkā'*, "king of kings" corresponding to *shāhān-shāh* of

modern Persian, is, in Chaldean Pahlavi rendered by *'malkīn malkā'*, a form which should have been *malkā malkīn* likewise as Pahlavi has borrowed words from Aramaean dialects Chaldean Pahlavi has also borrowed words from a Iranian dialect, which is not Pahlavi, and which is a linguistic stage of quite another order. The expression *'malkā ān malkā Aīrān u Anīrān'*, of the Pahlavi protocol is translated by *'malkīn malkā Aryān u Anaryān'*; the Pahlavi form *'Aīrān'* derived from an Iranian form '*A (i) ryānā'*, which itself issues from an earlier form *'Aryāna'* through epenthesis of the 'y' as in Zend, whilst the form *Aryān* of the Chaldean Pahlavi represent the form *Aryāna* borrowed from a dialect which certainly was one in which the process of epenthesis was unknown. The Pahlavi word *'shatrdār'* "possessor of the earth or the empire" source of Persian *shahriyār*, شهریار derives from an Iranian form *'khshatrodāra*; now the Chaldean Pahlavi rightly translated *'shatrdār'* by a word '*khshatrdār'*, infinitely closer than Pahlavi to the primitive form. This quite proves the absolute independence of the dialect from which the Chaldean Pahlavi borrowed its Iranian elements. That is what is met with in the Chaldeo Pahlavi— words which never existed in Pahlavi; on line 7 of the inscription of Hajiabad the Pahlavi word *dīk* "a stone" is translated by a work of enigmatic appearance '*vīm*'; now this word is derived from the Zend '*vaīma'* which has the same meaning. Similarly, a little above (line 4) Pahlavi '*napī'* 'a grandson' is rendered by *'puhri puhar'* "son of son" in Chaldean Pahlavi which was never a Pahlavi form. Moreover, one would note that '*puhri puhar'* is at the linguistic stage of modern Persian whilst the word '*khshatrdār'* is almost from the Achaemenian Persian linguistic stage. It is seen that the Chaldean Pahlavi was an admixture at least as singular as Pahlavi of vocables belonging to quite different dialects and of forms pertaining to periods having intervals between nine to ten centuries, like *'puhri puhar'* and *'khshatrdār.'*

Are we to admit that in the reading of the Chaldean Pahlavi, all the Iranian words are to be replaced by their Semitic equivalents or it used to be read such as it was written? In reality, it is difficult to advance an opinion motivated on this point probable is that at an epoch which remains to be determined, but which is, to be sure, comprised between the time of the death of Alexander the Great and the advent of Ardeshir, the 1st, say between 323 before the Christian era and the beginning of the 3rd century of our era, the political turmoil in Iran leading to a general confusion of the nationalities and of the dialects which penetrated and got itself entangled in a desire without anybody being aware of which, was Persian and which was Semitic. That is pretty nearly the same to what happened in India, where one may know several modern dialects without being capable, short of some research, to say what is the exact origin of a word common to them. The purity when they find themselves in the presence of a text written in this medley of words and dissimilar forms used to read them, according to their choice in the one or the other form of dialect, replacing all the Semitic words by the Iranian words when they wanted to read in Persian, and making exactly the reverse if they wished to read in the Semitic form. It will be always impossible to reply to the question how the people used to read at this epoch, it is necessary, at first, to know if at all they read.

Such is one of the hypothesis that one can formulate to explain or rather try to explain the strangeness of the graphic system to which Ibn-el-Mokaffa gives the name of *Zavarish* : this is not to say that it is better than that following which the *Zavarish* is a disguise wanted for the spoken language of Iran, a phantasy on the part of the pedants. The question is not mature for to be resolved and it will also be difficult to determine, in an absolute way, from what dialect the Semitic words used in Pahlavi have been borrowed : all one can say is that it appears that this dialect was akin rather to the Mandean than to the Palestinian idioms.

We have seen that Ibn-el-Mokaffa claims that the vocabulary of *Zavarish* is composed of about thousands of words; it is

noteworthy that the number of the words which are found in the Pahlavi-Pazand Lexicon published by Haugh is almost very little and that the reading of the texts does not increase sensibly[14], but this fact does not in any way authorise to pretend, as Haugh does in his *Essay on Pahlavi*, that Ibn el Mokaffa used to think of this work when he wrote the passage reproduced by Ibn Isak in the *Kitab el-fihirist*.

The etymology of the word *Zavarish*, in Pahlavi *huzvārishn*, has been explained for the first time by Darmesteter, who recognized in this word an abstraction in ش *ish*, analogous to '*kunish*' کنش, *parvarish* پرورش derived from a root *zvar*, *zbar* (Skt. *hvar*) "to be distorted, changed of direction", whence زوارش *zavārish* is the system to which the ordinary writing has been changed. A word derived from this root has been borrowed by Arabic, the second form of the root زور, زور in fact means "to alter, distort', this form is evidently drawn from the word, زور *zōr* 'a lie' which is borrowed from the Iranian languages. *hūzvārishn* is to be read *auzvārishn* or *ozvarishn*, because it is restored to a form, *avi+zvar*, it is likewise that the verb *ōshmūrtan* 'to remember", Persian شمردن derives from '*avi+smar*. It will be noted that Ibn el Mokaffa used the Arabic word قلب to designate the process of *Zavarish*; now, this word is exactly the translation of the Iranian *zvar*, *zbar*.

The ambiguity which results from the mixed nature of the Pahlavi vocabulary is not at all redeemed by the simplicity and by the clarity of its alphabet. We can scarcely compare it only to the Arabic alphabet before the orthographic reform which brought about the invention of diacritic marks and points thanks to which, letters formed by the same elements are easily distinguished one with the others.

At a period which we cannot determine in a rigorous way, the rudimentary alphabet of Pahlavi gave rise to a much more scientific form that distinguished between the vowels and the

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consonants and which expressed the consonantal nuances which would have been impossible to note with the fourteen Pahlavi signs. This alphabet was created perhaps for writing the Avesta, the language of which presents phonetic niceties unknown to Pahlavi.

So long as Pahlavi was the national language of Persia and as long as there had been a Mazdean civilisation of double complication of *zavarish* and of the polyphonous alphabet placed no obstacle to reading and understanding the religious texts at all : the traditional schools were there to prevent the exegetic errors and for safeguarding the orthodoxy of the establishment. It was totally otherwise when with the fall of the Sassanid dynasty and the vexations to which the Musalmans subjected all those who refused to be converted, the Mazdeans remaining faithful to their faith were forced to look for, less ferocious (i.e., more benign tr.) masters in Hindusthan. Persian did not take long to cede place to the Indian (Indo Aryan Tr.) dialects spoken by the population amongst whom the adorators of Ormazd became settled and the interpretation of Pahlavi which could be done only with the help of Persian, declined more and more as can be seen from the transcriptions of the XVth century; the tradition was already lost since a long time back when people tried to bring remedy for this situation. The dastoors (religious teachers Tr.) then thought of transcribing Pahlavi texts such as they pronounced them with the alphabet served to write the Zend text of the Avesta, and thanks to it, as it could be seen later on it was possible to express in a very simple way the least phonetic nuances which can be met with. A remarkable fact is that in these transcriptions all the Semitic words, without exception, are replaced by their Iranian equivalents whether it was so in the *zavarish* procedure or the Semitic words had come to be constrained in the written Pahlavi and a resolve was made to replace them by their equivalent Iranian words. The texts thus obtained are named Pazand[15] texts; its phonetics is slightly

different from that of Pahlavi, because they represented a pronunciation already a very softened down of the language, although they were not yet on the linguistic phase of (modern Tr.) Persian.

The ignorance of the Mazdeans accumulating century by century reached a day when the reading of the texts written characters of the Avesta was no more than an apanage of the savants; as at this epoch everybody knew Perso-Arabic script which was used very early in India. People transcribed the texts written in Avestan characters in Arabic letters; this was a retreat in an immense measure because the Arabic alphabet took under the *kalam* of the Hindu scribes forms as disconcerting and as ambiguous as those of the Pahlavi, and moreover it does not take any account of short vowels; these new texts are called 'Parsee'. Although at first sight, the language in which they are edited has the greatest analogies with modern Persian one should not allow oneself to be carried away by this apparent semblance that the similitude of the writings tends to be all the more deceptive : a deeper examination soon shows that in these texts there are hundreds of forms which are only transcriptions of forms used in the language of some fourteen centuries ago. The language of the texts called 'Parsee' is always the same Pahlavi which was the language of the subjects of Sapor and of Chosros, hardly rejuvinated by the modern pronunciation of the dastoors of Hindusthan; they present forms which are infinitely more archaic the most ancient texts and even that of Firdousi. One cannot but be astonished when one knows that the Pahlavi which conceals itself under the garb of Parsee, was a dead language of Persia in the 10th century of our era whilst Persian continued to be living since this epoch and begin to become transformed obeying laws of evolution and linguistic development which had started well before the time of Darius.

The Semitic words in Pahlavi

Many names borrowed from Aramaean are so in their emphatic forms ; besides, it is impossible to know why Pahlavi borrowed

some words in their emphatic forms and others in their ordinary and simple forms; Pahlavi renders the emphatic state of Aramaean in three different manners:

firstly, by *ā*;

Ex : *anshūtā,* man; Aram. אנשותא

torā, a bull; Aram. תורא

secondly, by *ya* :

Ex. *asryā,* ten; Aram. עסרא Ar. عشر

kanashyā : assembly; Chl. כנישא (cf. Arab. كنيسة)

thirdly, by which should be read as an inscriptional initial letter representing *ā* and not *m-n.*

Ex : *raglā,* foot; Aram. רגלא Ar. رجل

yada, hand; Aram. ידא ; Ar. يد

In the first transcriptions of Pahlavi this group was rendered by *m-n*, man which gave to the Semitic Pahlavi words a most disconcerting aspect. In reality, the group *m n* is but the end result of an Aramaean character, the *h* ה One can very well perceive in the Sassanid inscriptions that the words which in the Pahlavi of the manuscripts have the termination *m-n* end in a single character which is manifestly borrowed from the '*h*' of Aramaean. If the Syriac and modern Aramaean idioms express the state called emphatic by an adjunction of an *ā* at the end of the word, the ancient dialects, those which are known by epigraphic documents only, render this emphatic state by an addition not of an *ā* but of an *h*. It is not to be doubted that this *h* is not identical with the Hebrew article : in the definitive, the Aramaean dialects instead of prefixing the article of the word, suffixed it and instead of saying how the Hebrew הגבר, they said גברה; this ה, became *ā* subsequently, likewise the *h* ה of the Hitpael Hebrew is met with again in the fourth form of Arabic

under the form of an *a*. In any case, it is certain that the Aramaean forms in *h* and in *ā* are two very different linguistic stages; and it can be asked how is it that we find at the same time in the Pahlavi of the manuscripts forms like *anshuta* which are from Syriac and as *yada* (written *yad man*) which are as archaic as the Aramaean of the inscription from Zinjirli. Are we to admit that Pahlavi borrowed Semitic words from three different dialects : one on the stage of Syriac, the other of the ancient dialects, the third which knew the emphatic state in *ya* before becoming akin to the dialects of the Lower Euphratis? Must we explain these divergencies of forms by borrowings made at different dates? This last hypothesis will scarcely explain that the simultaneousness in Pahlavi of forms in *h* and in-*ā* but not the presence of words in the emphatic state in *ya*. In any case, we shall see that it is likely that Pahlavi appears to have made borrowings from very different Semitic dialects.

Phonetics of words borrowed from Aramaean

א is rendered by :

initial [illegible] Ex. [illegible] *asarūntan*, 'to attach'; Aram. אסר;

Ar. اسر

[illegible] *ozalūntan*[10], 'to go away'; Aram. אזל.

final [illegible]. Ex. [illegible] *li'alā*, upon; Aram. לעילא

For the way in which the emphatic state of Aramaean has been rendered, see above

ב

initial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *babā*, door; Chl. בבא.

[illegible] Ex. [illegible] *pazakūntan*, to disperse; Chl. בזק

medial [illegible]. Ex : [illegible] *gabrā*, man; Aram. גברא.

[illegible]. Ex : [illegible] a female slave; Aram. רביתא

final ـل. Ex : ـل *ab,* father; Aram. אב

ג

initial ג. Ex : *gamlā,* camel; Aram. גמלא.

medial ג Ex : *magiltā,* letter; Aram. מגלתא (cf. Ar. مجلد)

final ג. Ex : *palaq,* half; Aram. פלג

ד

initial د. Ex : *danā,* this the latter one; Aram. דנה. דנא

dak, that one; the former[17] Aram. דך.

ز. Ex : *zak,* that one, the former Aram. דך.

ه. Ex : *tahabā,* gold/well now; Aram. דהבא; Ar. ذهب.

For this last word we find the example of two other transcriptions, by d and z : *zahabā* and *dahabā.*

medial ذ. Ex : *kadbā,* falsehood; Aram. כדבא. Ar. كذب .

ه. Ex : *kolīnā,* mule; Aram. כולינא.

final ذ. Ex : *kabad,* much; Aram. כבד.

III

ה

initial ه. Ex : *havā* theme of the verb substantive; Aram. הוא.

medial ه. Ex : *zahabā* or, (vide the etymology above)

ו

medial ا. Ex : *tōrā,* bull; Aram; תורא ; Ar. ثور.

ז

initial ز. Ex : *zamarūntan,* to sing; Aram. זמר;

Ar. زبر.

medial [illegible]. Ex : [illegible] *pazakūntan*, to tear; Aram. בזק.
Ar. بزق.

ח

initial [illegible]. Ex : [illegible] *khafarūntan*, to pull away; Aram. חפר. (cf. Ar. حفر)

medial [illegible]. Ex : [illegible] *akhtā*, sister; Aram. אחתא;
Ar. اخت

final [illegible]. Ex : [illegible] *akh*, brother, Aram., אח; Ar. اخ.

ט

medial [illegible]. Ex : [illegible] *zaktalūntan*, 'to kill'; Aram. קטל;
Ar. قتل.

י

initial [illegible]. Ex : [illegible] *yadā*, hand; Aram. ידא; Ar. يد.

[illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *it*, there is, Aram. איתי.

medial [illegible]. Ex : [illegible] *karītā*, fortress; Aram. קריתא.
is not rendered : Ex : [illegible] *li'alā*, above; Aram. לעילא (cf. Ar. لعلى)

[illegible] *shedā*, demon; Aram. שידא.

(cf. Ar., شيطان, from a root شيط which is again met with in the name of the Egyptian god set).

rendered by [illegible] : Ex. : [illegible] *khazūrā*, wild boar; Heb. חזיר; Aram. חזירא.

final [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *zī*, relative pronoun; Aram. די ; Heb. זה (cf. the Arabic forms ذلك, الذى; the first being the Aramaean compound pronoun *zi*, from the *lam* of the article and the adverbial *k*).

non rendered : Ex.: [illegible] *li*, I, as for me; Aram. לי; Ar. لى to me.

כ

initial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *kabad*, much; Aram. כבד.

[illegible] *katarūntan,* to remain. Aram. כתר.

medial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *lakūm,* you. Aram. לְכוּם Ar. لكم.

[illegible] *malkā,* roi; Aram. מַלְכָּא . Ar. ملك.

k. Ex. : [illegible] *dakyā,* pure (by the side of [illegible] *dakyā*); Aram. דכיא. Ar. زكى.

[illegible] *kh.* Ex. : [illegible] *bakhūnastan,* to weep; Aram. בכה .

This form appears to be for **bakhahūnastan* derived from a regular form **bakahūnastan* in which the third radical, the aspirated ה has made the guttural *k* aspirated which is the second radical.

final [illegible] *k.* Ex. : [illegible] *lak,* thou; Aram. לִךְ (cf. Ar. لك).

[illegible] *gh.* Ex. : [illegible] *aīgh,* that is to say; Aram. איך

ل

initial [illegible]. Ex.: [illegible] *li,* as for me I; Aram. לי ; Ar. لِى (lit. to me)

[illegible] *lēlyā,* night; Aram. ליליא; Ar. ليل.

medial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *khalamūntan,* to sleep; Aram. חלם.

[illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *Khalmū,* dream, vision; Aram. חלם.

[illegible] *milyā,* word, parole, Chl. מלא.

final [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *al,* that not; Aram. אל. Ar. ال

[illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *ghal,* that one; Mandean אל.

م

initial [illegible] . Ex. : [illegible] *makhītūntan,* to strike; Aram. מחא; Ar. محو.

medial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *ramītūntan,* to fling; Aram. רמא; Ar. رمى.

final [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *am,* mother Aram. אם; cf. Ar. أم

נ

initial [illegible] n. Ex. : [illegible] *nafalūnastan*, to fall; Aram. נְפַל.

medial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *dīnā*, law; Aram. דִּינָא; Ar. دين.

final [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *tchabūn*, treasure, Heb. צְבוֹן.

ס

initial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *saryā*, bad; Aram. סריא; cf. Ar. شرّ, شرير.

medial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *asryā*, ten; Aram. עסרא ; Ar. عشر.

[illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *ashryā*, ten (beside *asryā*, vide the etymology to this root).

[illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *kōzbartā*, coriander; Aram. כוֹסְבַּרְתָּא.

final [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *as*, wine; cf. Aram. יסים.

ע

initial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *arshyā*, throne; Aram. ערסא ; Ar. عرش.

[illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *ghal*, this one, Mandean [illegible].

[illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *obdūntan*, to do, make; Aram. עבד; cf. Ar. عبد.

medial [illegible] Ex. : *li'alā* (see above)

[illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *ku'n*, now; Aram. כְּעַן

[illegible] *mandūm*, something; Aram. מִנְדַּעַם

[illegible] Ex. : [illegible] *tīshgā*, nine; Aram. תשׁעא, cf. Ar. تسع

final, always omitted. Ex.: [illegible] *arbā*, four; Aram. ארבע; syriac [illegible] ; Ar. اربع.

פ

initial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *farashyā*, cavalier; Aram. פָּרָשׁיָא. cf. Ar. فارس.

medial [illegible]. Ex. : [illegible] *shapīr*, good; Chl. שַׁפִּיר.

. Ex. : *cabūn,* treasure; Heb. צבון.

final . Ex. : *kasp,* silver, money; Aram. כסף.

initial . Ex. : *cabūn,* treasure; Heb. צבון.

cībā, wood, forest; cf. Chl. עיבן.

medial . Ex. : *kamcā,* grasshopper; Chl. חגבא Syr. ܩܡܨܐ, Ar. قمص.

otchatpā, finger; Chl. אצבע .

ק

initial . Ex. : *kalā,* voice, Aram. קלא; Ar. قول and the derivatives from the root قال (قَوَل).

medial . Ex. : *zaktalūntan,* to kill; Aram. קטל., Ar. قتل.

. Ex. : *zagtalūntan* beside *zaktalūntan.*

ר

initial . Ex. : *raglā,* foot; Aram. רגלא, Ar. رجل.

medial . Ex. : *bisriyā,* meat; Aram. בסרא.

. Ex. : *khamrā,* ass. Chl. חמרא.

tōrā, bull (see the etymology above)

final . Ex. : *shapīr,* good; Aram. שפיר.

. Ex. : *akhar,* thereafter; Chl. אתור; Heb. אחר; Ar. اخر;

ש

initial . Ex. : *shapīr,* good; Chl. שפיר.

shōkā, market; Aram. שוקא; cf. Ar. سوق .

medial . Ex. : *anshūta,* man; Aram. אנשותא.

. Ex. : *habsiyā,* prison; cf. Chl. הבשיא and the derivatives of the Ar. root حبس

ת

initial 𐭬. Ex. : 𐭬𐭥𐭱𐭥𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭬 *tabarūnastan*, to break; Aram. תבר.

medial 𐭬. Ex. : 𐭪𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭬 *katarūntan*, to stay; Aram. בהל.

§1. Pahlavi knows of no article, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭩 gabrā signifies 'man' as also "the man". However, we sometimes find the demonstrative pronoun 𐭩𐭪 *zak* 'that one' used before the nouns in a sense which is very vaguely of demonstrative nature.

Ex. : 𐭠𐭥𐭬𐭩 𐭩𐭪 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭩 𐭬𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭬 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭬 𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭲 𐭩𐭪 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭩 𐭠

The Semitic words used by Pahlavi being borrowed without any change, preserve the gender distinction which they had in Aramaean.

Ex. : [illegible] *barā* "son" (Aram. ברא) [illegible] *bartā* "daughter" (Aram. ברתא).

[illegible] *malkā* 'king" (Aram. מלכא): [illegible] *malkūtā* "queen" (Aram. מלכותא).

It is the same in modern Persian, which if it does not itself know of gender and as well say بچه for "boy" and for "girl", borrows simultaneously from Arabic the participle محبوب "beloved, dear" and its feminine محبوبه "mistress".

§ 3. Middle Persian had two numbers, the singular and the plural.

There are two ways of forming the plural which are found again in modern Persian. They are used indifferently for animate beings or for inanimate objects whilst Persian has specialised the first type for persons.

1. The first consists of adjoining *ān* to the singular : Pahl. [illegible] Pāz, *ā, ān*; Parsi. ان.

Singular Plural

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible] *frā* [illegible] *frārūn kūrūn kūnishn* "he who makes the good" *nishn-ān* :

Pāz. frārūn kūnshn *frārūn kunshn-ā.*

Parsi فزارون کنشن. فزارون کنشنان

This form of plural is used equally for the words borrowed from Aramaean.

Ex. : [illegible] *malkā* "king" plur. [illegible] *malkā-ān*

[illegible] *nishā* 'woman" [illegible] *nishā-ān.*

In the case where the Semitic words end in the ה, the marker for the Aramaean emphatic state the suffix ין of the plural is directly added to this final *-ā* forms with it a ligature of a special nature viz. *ā-ān*. It is not the same with the language of the inscriptions, the word מלכא *malkā* "king" forms the plural מלכאן *malkan* and not מלכאאן *malkā ān* which would correspond to the form [illegible] of the manuscripts of Pahlavi.[18]

Origin of the plural in *-ān*

The plural in *ān* has sprung from the genitive plural in *anam* of the Achaemenian Persian stems in a.[19]

Ex. : Pers. *Khshyathiya*, roi, gen pl. *khshayathiyānam*; Pers *Shāhān*.

This is the solitary plural which is used in the Pahlavi commentary of the Avesta; more modern texts, such as the Bundahesh do not use it exclusively anymore, in the modern language, it is totally replaced by the second form of the plural.

The second manner of plural formation consisted in adding *iha* to the singular; in Pahl. [illegible] *iha*, in Paz. *iha*, in Parsi and modern Persian ها.

Ex. : Sem. Pahl. [illegible] *baba*, pl. [illegible] *baba iha* "door" (Aram. בבא, doors, Ar. باب)

Iran Pahl. [illegible] *dar*,	[illegible] *dar iha*
Paz. *dar*	*dar-iha*
Parsi. در	درها

This plural formation is much more modern than the preceding and it does not appear, as we have just seen that in the works of relatively recent date, there were only four examples in the *Minokhirad* and five in the *Shikan gūmanih Vijar*.

From the fact that Pahlavi writes this flexion under the form [illegible] *i-h-a*, it must not be concluded that the initial *i* is long; in fact

Pazand writes-*ihā* with a short *i* and Parsi knows the form ها -*hā* only, and not - *ihā*; it is the same with modern Persian; this evidently proves that the *i* of the plural suffix was short. In the Pahlavi way of writing ایهان, the *i* is written only to represent the vowel and not for indicating that it is long; it is impossible to write *īhā* (with brevis Tr.) in Pahlavi, because if we confined to write ان-*hā,* we would not know that there is a short *i* in the suffix. In the manuscripts of a posterior period it is not at all rare to come across this plural ending written under the form ان -*hā,* which is a simple transcription of Persian ها. Ex. : یوم ان *yōm-hā* "the days". The two words *gunāh* "crime" and *kereba* "charitable deed" become in the plural *gunahyā, kerebayā* (Spiegel, *Grammatik der Parsi-Sprache,* p. 49).

Origin of the second plural. According to J. Darmesteter this form is sprung from the genitive plural in -*ākhām* of the personal pronouns. This origin is besides much more obscure than that of the first form of the plural.[20]

This same suffix-*ihā* serves equally in the formation of the adverbs.

§4. Plurals of plurals.

In the Bundahesh[21] a form وانیهان *kōf-ān-īhā* which seems to accumulate the two plurals, that in-*ān* and that in-*ihā.* As this form is absolutely isolated in the Pahlavi literature and as one does not find any parallel thing in modern Persian, it is probable that one should count it as but a mistake of the copyist. Double plurals are indeed encountered in the modern language but they are formed from a broken plural form of Arabic to which the termination of one of the Persian plurals are added, ex. جوامعها plural of جوامع, broken Arabic plural of جامع "a mosque where one offers the Friday prayer"; اطرافها plural from اطراف, *Arabic* broken plural of طرف " side, frontier"; this phenomenon is also common in Turkish where we find forms like, اطرافلر; but there

is nothing there comparable to a form like *kōf-ān-īhā*, because the Arabic plurals have nothing recognisable for the Persians, while everybody in Iran knows that *kōf-ān* is already, a plural.

§5. Expression of the unit.

In order to indicate that it is only a question of a solitary being where from a single thing, one makes follow the word which they express from *-ē*. The word *-ē* is written in two different fashions in Pahlavi, [illegible] *(a-i)* and [illegible]; this sign being no other thing than the figure representing the number one; this last procedure is very much employed. It is written *e* or *i*, sometimes *ē* in Pazand and ی in Parsi as in Persian. Ex.:

Pahlavi	[illegible] *gabrā+1* "a man".	[illegible] *shatrostān -1* "a town"
Pazand	*mardé*	*shahristāni*
Parsi	مردی	شهرستانی

Origin of the *-e* of unity.

This *-ē* which corresponds with the izafet of unity in modern Persian derives from the name of the Persian number *aiva* "one", Z. *aēva*, Gk. o'ïos for * oiFos. *mart ē* "a man", is the Persian *martiya aiva*. It is from this same word *aiva* that is derived by the adjunction of the derivative suffix *-ka*, the Persian adjective * *aiva-ka* lit. "first" (ordinal), that gave birth to the Pahlavi [illegible] *ēvak*, Persian یك one. The *ya* or *izafet* of unity of Persian is nowadays pronounced *-ī*, but it used to be pronounced *-ē* much earlier. This *ē* is what the Persian and Arabic lexicographers call یا مجهول, the "unknown ya".

§6. Expression of duality in Pahlavi.

Pahlavi, like the modern language, has lost every trace of the dual; we, however, find in the Pahlavi texts a formation which at

first sight would make us believe in the survival of the dual at least partially. In the same manner as Pahlavi indicates the unity by making the name of number 1. ـــل, to follow, it sometimes marks the duality with the help of the number ـــل 2. affixed to the substantive.

Ex.: ـــل گرابه *gabrā II* "two men"; ـــل یوم *yōm II* "two days".

What proves that this way of orthography is not the expression of a special flexion, is, that in Pahlavi, as in Persian , the name of number always precedes the substantive and never follows it, except, however, for the number 1(see § 5); moreover, the Persian and Parsi. transcriptions always replace it by the number dō "two" preceding the substantive. گرابه *gabrā II* is certainly pronounced not as *mart dō*, but *dō mart.*

As this graphical procedure is met almost uniquely in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta and in the texts that are imitated from them, it is more than probable that the translators wanted to render thus the case endings of the dual of the Zend words; also perhaps but less surely, one should see in this only an imitation of the use of the figure 1 to mark the unity in Pahlavi.

§7. Plural of the nouns ending in-*k* ک or in -*g* گ. The plural of these nouns do not present any irregularity in Pahlavi.

Ex.: بندک *bandak* "slave" Pl. بندکان *bandak-ān.*

بندگ *bandag* بندگان *bandag-ān*

These words underwent considerable change in Pazand and in Parsi.

1. Words terminating by -*ăk* in Pahlavi.

The ending -*ăk* in Pahlavi comes from a Persian form in -*ăka,* the final-*k* of Pahlavi has fallen away in the posterior period of the language represented by Pazand and Persian[22] and this -*k* has softened down to -*g* when intervocalic.

Ex. : Pahl. بندک *bandak* "slave" pl. بندکان *bandak-ān*

Paz. *bañda* *bañdag-ān*

Parsi. بندهٔ بندگان.

Said otherwise, to a Pazand, Parsi or Persian singular in *ă* deriving from a Persian form in *-ăka* there corresponds a plural in *-ă-gān*, the ending of the plural being always *ān* and not *gān*.[25]

Pazand has several ways of writing the final *ā* deriving from the Persian suffix *-ăka*; in most of the cases, it writes *a*; in the *Shikan-gūmānīh Vijār* the form *-aa*[26].

Ex. : *sardaa*, Pahl. سردگ *Sartak* "lot", or *ah*[27]. Ex. : *starah* Pahl. ستارگ *stārak* "star". Neither the one nor the other of these particularities has any influence upon the formation of the plural, *Sardaa*, makes in the plural *Sardag-ān*, and *stārah* makes *stārag-ān*.

The table below indicates the different stages through which the Persian suffix *-ăka* has passed to reach the Persian *ă*, as also the manner in which Arabic rendered it in the borrowings which it made from the Iranian languages, during the Arsacid, Sassanid and modern periods.[28]

Persian *-ăka* Borrowed by Arabic under the form

Pahlavi { *-ăk* ك. / *-ăg* ج - } ك and ق / ج sometimes ك

Persian *-a* written in Pazand *-a, aa, ah* / Parsi ه }

The Pahlavi forms in *-k* are the oldest but in the modern works and in the recent manuscripts of ancient works generally the terminator ك *-k* are found replaced by *-g* ق Ex. : بندق *bandag* "slave", pl. بندقان *bandag-ān* by the side of the most ancient form بندك *bandak*, pl. بندكان *bandak-ān*.

The same phenomenon is produced for the suffix *-īk* of the adjective; this alteration has been imitated even in the Semitic

words borrowed by Pahlavi; thus it is that beside the form *zak* "that one, former" we very often find *zag.*

§8. z. Words ending in - *āk* in Pahlavi.

The group *-āk* of Pahlavi which is derived from Persian - *āka,* became successively *-āī*[27] and *ā.* This reduction has been most rapid than that of *-ăk,* it is certain that at the Pahlavi period, it was already an accomplished fact, at least in certain cases; it is in this way that the word *dānāk* "the learned" becomes in the plural sometimes *dānāk-ān,* at other times *dānāyān*[28] ; it has been all the more complete because in the plural, the *-k* of the suffix *-āk* was not maintained in between two vowels, and that the group *-ākān* of Pahlavi is not preserved in the modern language, which only knows the forms in *-āyān*[29].

Ex. : Pahl. *tarsāk* pl. *tarsāk-ān.* "Christian".

Paz.	*tarsā*	*tarsāy-ā*
Pers.	ترسا.	ترسایان.

The modern language has lost all rememberance of the form in *-āk* and it considers the form in *-āī* as the most distant origin of the modern form in *-ā.*

Sometimes we find, but rarely in Pazand the plural of the nouns terminating in *-ā* under the form *yhā.*

Ex. *dānā* "the learned, savant"; pl. *dānā-yhā* (*Gujastak Abalish,* p. 9, 1.2). If these forms are not simple mistakes of copyists, it is evident that we see the influence of plurals in *ihā.*

§9. Plural of nouns ending in *ūk.*

In Pazand and in Parsi the *-k* of Pahlavi *-uk* falls away and this flexion becomes the vowel *-ū*; *in* modern Persian, in the plural, before the suffix *- ān,*the vowel *-ū* becomes a consonant and the consonant which immediately precedes it is vocalised by an *ŭ*, in other words, *-ū+ān* becomes *ŭvān.* We do not know

if it is the same in Pazand and in Parsi, because the graphic writings used in the two cases do not permit at all to decide this question, nevertheless, it is possible that the same phenomenon happened as it did in modern Persian.

Ex. Pahl. [illegible] *yātūk* pl. [illegible] *yātūk ān* "sorceror"

Paz. *djādū* *djādū ā*

Parsi جادو جادوان

§10. Pahlavi indicates the different relationships of word in a sentence, not by flexional processes but solely by syntactic processes. Hence we cannot speak of declension in Pahlavi any more than in modern Persian; it is only by an imitation of the grammatical terminology of the ancient idioms that we have sometimes arranged the substantives preceded or followed by prepositions in the tables analogous to those of the Latin, Greek or Sanskrit[30] declensions.

a) When a noun is subject of an active verb, it is neither preceded nor followed by any particle

Ex. : Pahl. ..... [illegible]

Parsi پرسید گجسته ابالش که

Pahl. *pūrsīt gujastak Abālish aīgh* ..... ; *Paz. purasit gadjashta Abālish ku* .... "the accursed Abalish enquired to know ....." (*Abalish*, II, 2.)

Ex. Pahl. [illegible]

Kaī-Khosrav haft kīshvar khūtāī yahvūnt "kai-khosrav was the sovereign of the seven keshvars."

b) Noun object of an active verb.

In the Pahlavi texts which are the oldest without even speaking of the inscriptions such as the Pahlavi translation of the *Vendidād* and of the Yasna the noun object of an active verb is not

generally accompanied by any particle. It is in this matter the same in the ancient books, e.g. the *Bundahesh*; in more recent texts above all in those which have been written in India towards the XIVth century and the still lower dates, it is indicated by the postposition to the object substantive of the particle *rāī* (Pahl.) Paz. *rā*, Parsi and Persian را; the fact that the direct object is not in any way indicated in the old texts render them sometimes quite difficult to understand, as one does not *a priori* know, which word is the subject and which the object; the Parsi transcriptions have often remedied this defect by adding the particle را to the words which would be due logically, in Pahlavi, to be followed by *rāī*.

We would see farther ahead the etymology of the preposition rāī.

c) The indirect complement is marked in several manners :

α) By using the postposition *rāī*, Pahl. (Pahl.) *rāī*, Paz. *rā*, Parsi را.

Ex. Pahl. [illegible]

Parsi فریدون سلم را اروم داد

Pahl. *Frītūn Salm rāī Hrūm yahbūnt*. Paz. *Fre'dūn Salm raArōm dāt* "Feridun gave to Salm (the land of) Rum."

β) By the preposition (Pahl.) *ō*, the Semitic equivalent of which is (Pahl.) *ol* or better *'al*; Paz. *ōī*; Parsi. او and اوی.

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible]

Parsi نماز او اتش ورهرام برُدن

Pahl. *namāj 'al ātāsh Vāhrām yadrūntan*; Paz. *namāz ōī ātash Biharāma burdan* "to address (lit. to carry) the prayer to fire Vāhrām."

At the place of the Semitic preposition *'al* of Pahlavi, one may have used its Iranian equivalent and say *namāj ō ātash*.

γ. The use of the *ō* is not maintained in modern Persian which indicates the indirect object by the preposition به ب *ba*. Ex. ..... سُلطان بوزیرش فرمود. "The sultan said to his vizir." "The preposition *pa*, Pers. ب *ba* is never used in Pahlavi where we find only its corresponding Semitic 𐭠𐭥𐭩 *pūn* and much more rarely 𐭥𐭩𐭥 *barā*.

Ex. Pahl. ..... 𐭠𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭠

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible]

Parsi. که از رمه خویش بیرون بیاورند

Pahl. *man min ramak-ī nafshā bīrūn barā yāītyūnd*; Paz. *ku az rama-i khvcsh bérūn bi āwarand,* "those who lead an animal out of its own troup". (*Abalish*, III, 5).

Pahl. [illegible] *min Kangdiz 'al Irānshatrō yātūnt.* "he went from Kangdiz the Iranshaliq" *Farv.*, 17.

Pahl. [illegible]

Parsi. کفشگر از آهنگر خواهشنی کند

Pahl. *kafshagar min āsingar khvahishn 'abdūnīt*; *Paz. kōfshagar az āhaṅgar khvāhashni kunāṭ* 'he shoemaker asks of the smith" (*Abalish).*

e. The instrument with which something is made or the sentiment which one experiences in an action is marked in two ways.

α. With the help of the preposition [illegible] *pūn*; Paz. *bi, ba*; Parsi به, ب.

Ex. Pahl. [illegible]

Parsi فرجفت بدرود شادی و رامشن

Pahl. *farjaft pūn shalam shātīh ū rāmishn*; Paz. *farjaft bi darūt shādī urāmeshn,* "termined with joy, contentment and pleasure".

β. By the Semitic preposition [illegible] *lvatā*, the Iranian equivalence of which *avā* is never found used in Pahlavi. This preposition is written [illegible] *apā* in the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary* (p. 18, last line); in Pazand it exists under the form *awā*; in Parsi it is اوا or با.

Ex. : [illegible]

lvātā

zōhrak danā barsōm boyahūnam ō danā izishn "with the libation, I call this Barsom to the sacrifice". *Yasna, Hall.* ξ1. 1. The place where one directs oneself is marked by different prepositions according to the direction of the movement considered.

"In" without movement is marked by [illegible] which is read *dar* or *andar*.

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible] *shatrōstānīhā ī dar damīk Irān shatrō kart yanō yamūnīt* "The towns which have been founded in the land of the Iranshaler".

The exact reading of this group is not known; the Pazand and Parsi texts transcribe it *añdar* and, اندر (cf. Gujastak Abalish, V, ξ5); it follows from this that its primitive significance is "between inside"; it has still this meaning in a number of passages. Ex. : Pahl. *hamāk pīshak andar havand*; Paz. *hama pèsha añdar hañd.* Parsi همه پیشه اندر اند "all the professions are inside it" (*Abalish*).

Under these conditions, it is possible that we fail to see in this group a graphical deformation, a ligature of [illegible] *barn*, corresponding to Arabic بَيْنَ "between" (Cf. West, *Glossary of Arda Virāf*)

"In" with the special nuance of "towards" said otherwise, with movement is expressed by *'al*, the Semitic equivalent of *ō*; Paz. *ōī* and Parsi او, اوی.

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible] *min Kangdīz 'al Irānshatrō yatūnt* "he went from Kangdiz in the Iranslahr."

We sometimes find *'al* replaced in Pahlavi by [illegible] *ghal*, which is the transformation of the same Semitic word.

Ex. : *ghalkām ravākīh* "in the act of giving to his desire", that is to say, to do what is pleasing (*Shikan* gumanih, 1.61).

The preposition *ō* is sometimes found used in Pahlavi in the place of '*al.*

Ex. : [illegible] *harvisp ahū-ī astōmand ō Irānvējfrāj ozlūnishnīh barāhāvāī* "corporeally everybody will be rendered present in the Iranardj" *Vendidad, 1.*

"On" is rendered with or without movement by the Semitic preposition [illegible] *madam,* the Iranian equivalent of which is [illegible] *avār,* very rarely employed by Pahlavi; Paz. *awar*; Parsi بر, ابر, اور.

Pahl. *u mā zak-ī madam kulā mandūm pātakhshāh*; Paz. u ci ā-i *awar har this pādishāh*; Parsi. تش پادشاه و چه آن اور هر "who is that one which is sovereign over everything?"

"On" again is rendered by [illegible] *pūn* Paz. *pa*; Parsi ب, با, به, but rarely enough, and generally when the sense of super position is not formally indicated.

Pahl. *pūn ashkōmb bastak yakhsanūnd*; Paz. *pa ashkōm bast dārañt*; Parsi اشکم بسته دارند "they carry tied on the belly" (*Gujastak Abalish).*

g. In ancient texts the vocative is marked by no particle neither placed before nor post-posed.

Ex. : [illegible]

pūrsīt Zartūsht min Aūhrmazd aīgh Aūhrmazd minōī-i af zūnīk-i dātār-i gīhān-i astōmand ahlav ..... "Zarathustra asked Ahuramazda : Ahuramazda beneficient spirit, creator of the world of existence, saint !" (*Vendidad* II, §I).

In the works written at a relatively recent date or retouched by the copyists, vocative is found to be indicated by the particle [illegible] or [illegible], which corresponds to the Persian ای "ah !",

Ex. : [illegible]

Uapash danā girāyit amat : Aī Djamshīt-i nīvak-i- Vyāngān "and he cried out : Oh beautiful Jamshid, son of Vivañhañt ....."

There is nothing there but just an imitation of modern Persian, and this procedure has nothing corresponding in the ancient tongue.

§12. Expression for relationship of possession.

In Middle Persian, the relationship of the possessive which corresponded to the genitive of the declensional languages was marked by the intercalation of an -i between the possessor noun and the noun possessed.

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible] *tan-ī ahlavān*

Paz. *tan-i-ashvā*

Parsi. تن اشوان.

Pahlavi very often omits marking this -i, which is almost never indicated in Parsi, and still less in Persian, while Pazand marks it regularly enough.

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible]

Parsi. او رمهٔ گوسپندان برند.

Pahl. '*al ramak xīrāān yadrūnt*; Paz. *ōi rama-i gōshpañ dan baréañt,* "they are led in the flocks of sheep" (*Gujastak Abalish*).

It is observed, in this example, that Pahlavi does not mark the *i* of relation, whilst Pazand does so as well as Parsi; it is to be noted that in the Parsi words which end in the unetymological *ha,* the *-i* is generally marked as in modern Persian by the *hamza*. It so happens that the -i of relation is marked neither in Pahlavi, nor in Pazand, nor in Parsi.

In the case where the *-i* is not written at all, one should, in spite of that indicate it in the transcription, because it constitutes an intervaling part of the construction of the sentence, which, if omitted, will be incomprehensible.

In the following examples, the *-i* not marked by Pahlavi will be indicated by short *i* and the *i* marked و by *ī*, without, that this graphic writing indicates that in the second case this *i* is long and that in the first case it is short.

Origin of the *-i* of relation.

This *-i* is the culmination of the relative pronoun *hya* of the Achaemenian Persian which was employed in the same sense. The Persian language although it still possessed all the forms and all the structures of Sanskrit loved to make use of the same analytical turns of expressions as those which exist in modern Persian; Persian could very well say : *manāpitā Vishāspā* "the father of me (is) Vishtāspa[31]"; *manābañdakā* "my servant"[32] but they would rather like to say *kārāhyāmanā* 'the army which (is) of me, my army[33]". This relative pronoun *hyā* of Persian is composed of the demonstrative stem *ha*-combined with the relative pronoun *ya* "who"; in fact, we find in Zend the relative pronoun *yā* used in the same sense as the compounded relative *hyā* of Persian[34].

Ex. : *fravashayō yāō iririthushām* "the Fouers (of the men) who (are) dead."

The Persian pronoun *hyā* gave *ī* in Middle Persian and if Pahlavi sometimes mark it by an و, that is to say by *-ī*, it is solely for marking the presence of this *-ī*, but in no way to indicate the quantity of the vowel.

Haugh, in his edition of the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary*[35], refused to admit that the relational *-i* of Middle Persian derives from Zend *ya*, and he remarked, with reason, that Zend initial *y* correspond to *dj* ج in MP and in exerting for those with whom the spoken word is veracious, of the masters of NP. Thus it is that the Persian word *yuviya* which is read in the inscription of Suez has become *jūī* جوی in NP. that **yātūka*(cf. Zend *yātū* "sorcerer") has become *jādū*, جادو in NP passing through the intermediary Pahlavi stage as *yātūk*. In reality, the

difficulty signalled by Haugh does not exist, because it is not in the Zend but well in Persian that we must look for the etymology of the MP forms and those of NP.; now, nothing stands in the way to it that Persian *hyā* is to become *ī* in consequence of the regular fall of the initial aspiration[46]. In any case, it is quite certain that we are not to find in this *ī* with Haugh, a particle of Semitic origin.

§13. We sometimes find in Pahlavi traces of the composition which play such a big role in the ancient form of the language and which in a great measure avoided, at least for the genitive, the use of the declension.

Ex. : [illegible]

Kai-Khōsrav haft kishvar khūtāī yahvūnt "kai khosrav was the sovereign of the seven keshvars" a sentence which will be in Persian : *Kavi-Husrava hapta karsh vare hvadatā* .....

Indication of the relation of kinship.

Pahlavi used to have a way to indicate the affiliation which disappeared in the NP., this consisted in reuniting the *i* of relation the name of the descendant with that of ascendant followed by the extensive suffix *ān*.

Ex. : [illegible]

من مردان فرخ هزمرد داد

Pahl. *Ī Gabrāān Farrūkh-ī Aūhrmazddāt ān*; Paz. *men Mardā Frōkha-i Hormazddāt* "I (who am) Mardan Farrukh, (son) of Ahuramazd-dāt" (*Shikan Gumānih*, I, §35).

Ex. : Pahl *Mitrō-Ayyār-ī Mahmāt an*; Paz. *Mihir Ayār-i Mahmād-ā*; Parsi. مهر ایار مهماد. "Mitrō Ayyār (Mihiryār) son of Mahmāt (*Shikan Gumānih*, II, §2).

This construction is not found in Persian, nor, what is more curious, in the Sassanid inscriptions in which the affiliation is always indicated by word *barā* "son".

Examples of this, are no more found in NP. but it is frequent enough in the language of the coins with Pahlavi legends of the Arab governors of Persia at the first century which followed the conquest. These facts may lend us to believe that not only did this construction exist at an ancient period and that it is only relatively modern invention of Pahlavi but again that it was a localised one. In spite of this, it is certain that the use of the suffix-*ān* to mark the extensive relations, go back to the first epochs of the Iranian language.

§14. Adjective.

The Adjective can be simple or compound.

1st. The simple adjective can be either Iranian or Semitic.

Ex. : *khūp* "good"; Persian خوب; *shapīr* "good"; Aram. שפיר. There exist only a sufficiently small number of adjectives which are borrowed from Aramaean, almost all are Iranian.

2nd. In compound adjectives the two elements can be now Semitic now Iranian. Ex. : *shapīr dīn* "he who has a good religion" compounded of the Aramaean adjective *shapīr* "good" and of the Iranian word *dīn* "religion", Persian بهدين; *khūpfarjām* "which has a good end", composed of the two Iranian words *khūp* "good" and *farjām* "end, termination".

The compound adjective can be formed, as in NP with a preposition and an abstract noun.

Ex. : Pahl. *pūn dānishn* "intelligent".

Paz. *bi dānishn.*

Parsi. به دانش

As in NP the adjective is invariable, and it does not take the sign of the plural except when it is used substantively. In any

case this construction only an exception : however, in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta, it happens that an adjective in the plural in the Zend text is rendered by an adjective in the plural in Pahlavi.

Ex.: [illegible] *dātār ıgıhān i astōmandān-i ahlav* "Saint creator of the corporal worlds !" translation of the Zend *Dātāre gaêthanām astvaitinām ashaum.*

Construction of the adjective.

The adjective can precede or follow the substantive to which is related; the second construction is much more frequent as it in NP.

1st. Ex. : Pahl. *shapīr gabrā*; Paz. *bimard*; Parsi به مرد. "a good man".

2nd. When the adjective follows the substantive, the two words are joined by an i , which in NP bears the name of *izafet descriptive.*

Ex. : Pahl. *gabrā-ī shapīr ravān*; Paz. *mard i bi roān*; Parsi مردی وه روان, "a man (who has) a holy soul".

The-*i* which denotes the relationship between the adjective and the substantive has the same origin as that which marks the relationship of possession between two substantives, that is to say, that it derives from the Persian relative pronoun *hyā* (see §12). If we do not find any example of this construction in the Achaemenian inscriptions which are known at present, it is much current in Zend that seems quite probable that it used to be employed in Persian.

Ex. : *Asha ya vahishta* "the saintliness which (is) perfect", is translated in Pahlavi *ahlāyīh-i pahlūm.*

The relational-*i* of the adjective may, like that of the substantive, be marked or not, in writing; in any case it must be always indicated in the transcription (see above, §12).

Ex. : [illegible]

گجسته ابالش زندی از ستهر بود

Pahl. *gujastak-Abalā (-i) zandīk min stakhar yahvūnt*; Paz. *gajasht abalish zeñdī az Satahir būṭ*, "the accursed Abalish, the Zendik was from the town of Stakhew" (*Gujastak Abalish)*.

Adjective used substantively.

The adjective used substantively ceases to be invariable and takes the sign of plural like all common nouns.

Ex. : [illegible]

که دروندان که بمیرند

Pahl. *mā darvandān amat barā yamītūnd*; Paz. *cidarvañdā kubi mīreñt*, "because the accursed, when they die" (*Gujastak Abalish)*.

§15. Degrees of comparison.

Comparative.

The comparative is formed by adding *-tar* to the adjective[37], be it Iranian or Semitic, simple or compound [illegible] in Pahlavi, *tar*, in Paz. تر in Parsi.

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible] *khūp* "good", [illegible] *khūp-tar "better"*,

Paz. *khvūb* *khvūb-tar*

خوب خوب‌تر

Construction of the comparative.

The second term of the comparison is put in the ablative, which as it has been seen farther above, §11 is marked in Pahlavi by the preposition *min*, in Pazand by *ac, az, ezh,* in Parsi by اج, اچ, اژ, از.

Ex. : [illegible]

mārāī martūmān yōm Khōrdat ..... min apārik yōmīha gīramīk - tar yakhsanūnd "why do men consider the day Khordat ..... as more precious than all the other days"

Pahl. *u min har kānīk-ī pa gēthī hūcidar-tar u veh* ; Parsi واز هر كنيك به گيتى هوچهر تر وبه "and which (is) more beautiful and more pretty than all the girls that are in the world ....." (*Minokhirad*).

2nd. There is a second construction of the comparative, more rare than the preceding one; it consists in the use of the conjunction *ku* "that" the Semitic equivalent of which is [illegible] *aigh* It is, as it can be seen indentical with the construction of French.

Ex.: [illegible]

درویش اکناه و دانا وه و کرامیتر که

[illegible]

پادشاه توانکر دوش اگاه

Pahl. *daryōsh-ī avinās u dānāk shapīr u gīramīk tar aigh pātakhshāhī-ī tūvangan ī dūshākas*. Paz *daryōsh ī agunah dāna veh u garāmī-tar ku pādishāhī tuāgar ī dushagah* "a poor one who has not committed any sin and who is learned, better and more precious than a powerful king who has a lowly knowledge" (*Minokhirad*, LVIII, §7).

One finds in the Pahlavi translation of the XVIIIth *fargard* of the *Vendidad* §123, an example of a construction rarer still, with *cigūn* "as, like".

Ex. : *gīhān zatār-tar vat-khīm-tar cīgūn zak zakai kalbā*, "who/ which is more destructor of the world, who / which has more evil nature than the other dogs"

This sentence is rendered in Parsi سگ دنیا زننده‌تر بد حصلتر چون آن دیگر سگ.

There is nothing in this comparable in NP.

When the comparative is used absolutely that is to say, without object it happens that it takes then the sense of the superlative.

Ex. : Pahl. *nīrōk katām avāyishnīk-tar u pūn khirat man bundak-tar*; Paz. *nīrō kadām āwāishnī-tar upakhardke buñda-tar*; Parsi نیرو کدام اوایشنیتر و بخرد که بندتر "who is the most suitable in force and who is the most perfect in intelligence" (*Minokhirad*, XXXIX, §§ 2,3). At other times and more generally, it retains its etymological sense.

Superlative.

The superlative is formed by adding -*tum* to the positive; Pahl. -*tūm*; Paz. -*tum* or -*tem*. Parsi. توم or تم.

Ex. : [illegible] دروند مردم او آن تاریك ترم دوزاخ رسد

Pahl. *darvand martūm 'al zak-ī, tārīk-tūm dūshahū yamtūnīt*; Paz., *daruañd mardum ō āi tārīk-tum dōzhakh ravat* "the naughty man arrives at the darkest of the hells (that is to say very obscure)" (*Minokh.*, VII §21).

Pahlavi renders the suffix-*tum* by *t-u-m*, that is to say, by -*tūm*, but this is not a proof at all that the vowel of the suffix was long -*tum* is, in fact derived from the superlative suffix -*tama* of the Achaemenian Persian, Skt. -*tama*, Zend, -*tema*; the -*ū* is written just to mark the quality and not the quantity of the vowel.

It is the same in this respect with *vâr* of the Parsi suffix توم beside تم. What quite well demonstrates that the vowel of the affix was not long at all is that Pazand renders it by -*tūm* and even by -*tem*.

Construction of the superlative.

It is constructed absolutely like the comparative, that is to say, by making the nominal object of the comparison by the preposition *min* in Pahlavi; *ac*, *az*, *ezh*, etc. in Pazand; in Parsi اج, اچ, از or ازْ .

Aūhrmazd min mīnōyān afzūnīktūm "Ormazd the most beneficient of the spirits".

The superlative may be found applied to a proper noun thus it is that the superlative is found زرتشت‌توم *zartūsht tūm*; Paz. *Zarathushtrōtem*; Parsi زرتشت‌توم; Zend. *Zarathushtrōtema*.

In Pahlavi this form is totally isolated as in French in the generalissimo word; it is but a transcription of the Zend word.

The suffixes used for building up of the comparative and of the superlative of adjectives equally serve to form the degrees of comparison of adverbs.

In order to amplify the sense of the adjective it is preceded by different prepositions following the nuance one wants to indicate.

Much is rendered by وژ *kabad*, the Iranian equivalent of which is وا *vas* which is very rarely used in Pahlavi; Paz. *vas* and *gas*. Parsi وس and بس; by وش *vésh*, Paz. *vésh* or *gesh*; Parsi وش or بیش by فرهیست, Paz. *frehest*, Parsi. فرهیست.

"Very" is expressed by تریست *tarīst* (lit. beyond), Paz. *tarest*, Parsi ترست .

The positive of some adjectives is used in the sense of the comparative or of the superlative; the most frequently used is شپیر *shapīr*, Paz. *vēh*, Parsi به, به, of which the comparative form is never found nor that of the superlative. It signifies "better" as well and "very good" as "good". This phenomenon recurs in Persian in the cases of some adjectives مه "great", به "worse", کم "less".

Ex. نیل کم از زندرود و مصر کم از جی, "The Nile is smaller than the Zendehroud, and Cairo than Djaï.

§16. Semitic etymologies of the names of numerals in Pahlavi.

We shall note that in the table of numbers, there are no Semitic formations for number 1; the Iranian Pahlavi form is *a-i-v-a-k*, which may be read *ēvak* considering it to be derived from a Persian adjective **aiva-ka* "first" derived from the Persian stem *aiva-* "one", Zend *aeva*. It is this word *aiva* which as it has been seen, has engendered the *ē*[18] of union both in Pahlavi and in NP.

The traditional reading of [illegible] is *khadūk*; if it is exact, this word should be related to the Aramaean חד, the Hebrew אחד Arabic احد and the Mandean הדא, הדא. In this hypothesis, the final-*k* will be easily explained; beside, the word *aiva-k* "one" there existed certainly a word *ē* having the same sense; as the Semitic equivalent of *ē* derived from *aiva* there was *khadū*, Pahlavi expressed *aiva-k(=ē+k)* by *khadū+k*, that is to say, by *khadūk*, said otherwise to the Semitic word was added what remains of *aiva-k-* when we fall back upon the Iranian equivalent of aiva-. The *k* of *khadū-k* would indicate only that one should read *aiva-k* and not *ē (=aī* for *aīv)*[36].

However the Iranian origin of the word [illegible] seems more probable; hence we read it *aivak* or *ēvak* and not *khadūk*.[39]

Value	Ciphers	Semitic Pahlavi	Semitic Iranian	Pazand	Parsi and Persian
1.	ـــ	. . .	[illegible] *ēvak*	*yak, īk* *é, éu*	یك
2.	۲	[illegible] *tarīn* / [illegible] *tanī*	[illegible] *dō*	*dú*	دو
3.	۳	[illegible] *taltā*	[illegible] *sī*	*se, sé, si*	سه

4.			*arbā*	*tchahāntchihar*		چهار
				pañtch		
5.		*khōmshya*		*pañj pañtcha*		پنج
				panjh		
6.		*shatā*	*shash*	*shash*		شش
7.		shabā	*hafi*	*hafi*		هفت
8.		*tōmānva*	*hasht*	*hasht*		هشت
9.		*tishga*	*nav*	*nuh*		نو
		tisā				
10.		*ashrya*	*(dah)*	*dah*		ده

§17. Remarks on the Pahlavi Ciphers.

The fundamental sign of the Pahlavi numeral system is و; isolated or placed at the end of a group, it takes the form ـل.

Ex.: ـل و 2 ـل 3. It is worth when it is found before a cipher of unity, or of hundred or thousand :

Ex. : ـل و =1 + 2 = 3

ـل و =1 × 100 = 100

and 20 when it is found before a figure denoting dozens.

Ex. : و = 20 + 40 = 60

This fact tends to prove that at a certain period the Iranian have had a system of bidecimal numeration, in fact, the figure و which has the value of 40 is evidently constituted by two times و, that is to say, 20+20; this explains why it has a special sign ل to represent 20; the origin of this last sign is quite unknown to us, as that of ل for 100(20×5?) and ل for 1000(20 ×50?). The sign for 10 ist و, which is evidently the و initial of the Zend *dasa* or of Paz. *dah.*

The numbers above 4 are divided following their length in two or several sections or series composed of three or four elements,

at most in order that it is easier to break them down at first sight. This procedure is analogous to what is used in the Phoenician and Palmyrian inscriptions.

The numbers representing the tens are formed from the figure 𐭩 preceded by the figure 𐭥 which, in this position, represent a ten or followed by 𐭥 with the value of 10.

𐭥𐭩 50[49] is composed of	𐭥 10+𐭩 40=50
𐭩𐭥 60	𐭥 20+𐭩 40 =60
𐭥𐭩𐭥 70	𐭥 10+𐭩 40+𐭥 20=70
𐭩𐭩 80	𐭩 40+𐭥 20+𐭥 20=80
𐭥𐭩𐭩𐭥 90	𐭥 10+𐭩 40+𐭥 20+𐭥 20=90

To express a date the number is made to precede which represent the years in the computation of Yazdegard of 𐭥𐭩𐭩 *madam,* lit "on" which rendered by اور in Parsi or by which is the modern form. This procedure is no longer followed in Persian.

§18. Ordinal Numbers.

These numbers which equally stand for numeral adverbs are formed by adding *-um* to the cardinal numbers : Pahl. 𐭥𐭩 *ūm*; Paz. *-um*; Parsi م'

The cardinal numbers can, as we have seen above in §16, be represented either by their phonetic expression, or by figures; it is the same for the ordinal numbers. It is found in a nearly equal way with the first ten ordinal numbers expressed in figures or all in words; beyond the "tenth" are the forms written in figures which dominate without that it is, however, extremely rare to meet forms like 𐭥𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭥𐭩 *vīstūm* "twentieth".

Distributive numbers.

The distribution may be expressed by repeating the cardinal number and by intercalating or by putting before the Pahl. particle

𐭠𐭥𐭩 *pūn*, Paz. *pa*, Parsi به ; even this particle can be omitted.

Ex. Three to three can be said :

Pahl. 𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭥𐭩, 𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭥𐭩, 𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭩

taltā pun taltā *pūn talta taltā,* *talta talta*

Paz. *se pa se* *pa se se,* *se se*

Parsi. سه به سه, به سه, سه سه

This distributive construction is also found even when it is not a question especially of a number. Ex. : 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭠 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭠 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭠 𐭠𐭥𐭩 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭠 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭠 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭠 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭠 *kabad stārak nāmcashtīk pūn kōstak kostak jīvāk jīvāk gūmārt* "numerous stars designated by a name, have been fixed to different sides, in different places" (*Bundahesh,* VII, §3.)

The distribution is likewise expressed by adding to the cardinal number, which can be represented in figures under its Iranian form or under its Semitic form, the suffix 𐭪𐭥𐭩 *kān* or 𐭪𐭥𐭩 *Kānak*; Paz. *gān* and *gāna*; Parsi گان and گانه.

Ex. Pahl. 𐭪𐭥𐭩 𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭩𐭥𐭩 *jūt jūt dūshkūnīshnīh ī nafshā dūkānak ōshmūri,* "and everyone on his side, they remember by twos their evil actions." *Bundahesh,* §11 .

The construction of the distributive numbers formed thus is analogous to the preceding one.

Origin of the suffix of the distributive numbers.

The Persian suffix it derives from does not have *k*; this consonant is introduced there just in consequence of a false etymology analogous to that which made us to believe that the suffix of the plural of the nouns ending in Persian by *h* was *gān* گان; this suffix *kānak* evidently derives from a Persian suffix **ānaxa* founded with the last syllable of a stem in *-ka*, that is to say, that it is **-ka-ānaka*. In reality, the suffix which serves

to form the distributive numbers is a suffix composed of two very distinct elements; at first of a suffix *-ka* which serves in Skt. to form the distributives, *trikā* "by threes"[50] to which the suffix *-āna* has come to be added that in Achaemenian Persian and in Zend has an extensive sense; it is this suffix which recurs in the name of the land *Vehrk -āna*, Persian گان, of *vehrka* "wolf" in **Spitāmāna* "son of Spitama", Pahl. [illegible] *spītāmān*, of *Spitama*, "name of man".

§19. Multiplicative numbers.

The multiplicative numbers are formed by the addition of the Pahl. suffix [illegible] *-tāk*, Paz. *tāk*, Parsi تا and تاك to the cardinal numbers either in figures or with their Iranian phonetic values or Semitic values.

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible] *cand-tāk* "composed of several, multiple".

Paz. *cañd-tāk*

Parsi چندتاك Persian چندتاك and چندتا.

Ex. Pahl. [illegible] *amat-ash mūï-ē-tāk li'akhar 'al zamīk yakōyamūnit* "when a unique sole hair falls (lit, ist) on the earth," *Vendidād, Farg.* VI §9.

The word *tāk* signifies properly speaking a "branch", it translates the Zend *āsush (Yasna, Hā* X, §4) and *yakhshti* (*Yasna, Hā* LVI, §§ 2 and 3)[51] of which the sense of "branch, twig, bough" is not doubtful at all. Contrary to the ordinary phonetic rules of MP the final *-k* of Pahlavi is retained in Pazand and in Parsi, but it is generally fallen in the modern language which no longer aware of the meaning of the suffix تا *tā*.

The multiplication can also be expressed with the help of the suffix of the distributive numbers.

Fractions.

The fractions are expressed in Pahlavi in two ways :

a) By making the denominator of the fraction by the number *ēvak*.

In this formation the denominator number can be represented in figures or else written all in letters. We, in fact, find by the side of the form *tchahar ēvak (Vendidad Farg.* IX § 160, Spiegel). This form is in Paz. *chahar yak* in Parsi چهار یك.

Ex. : *amat-ash (Aūhrmazd) 3 ēvak 1 guft ya hvunt Zannāk Mīnōī min bīm tandar anjit* "When he (Ormazd) said the third of it (of the prayer *Ahuna Vairya*), Zanak trembled in fright in his body (*Bundahesh*, V, § 7).

b) The second procedure, which has disappeared from NP, consists of adding the suffix *tak*[52], Paz. *ta*, Parsi تـ to the cardinal number.

$^1/_3$ is called in Pahl.	*shrish (o) tak*
$^1/_4$ "	*catrush (o) tak*
$^1/_5$ "	*panj tak*

The "half" is termed in Iranian Pahl. *nim*, Paz. *nim*, Parsi and Persian نیم, derived from the Persian **naima*, *Zend. naema*, Skt. *néma* "a part"; or *nemak* Paz. *nima*, Parsi and Persian نیمه, derived from Persian adjective **naima ka* drawn from **naima* by the addition of the suffix *-ka*, which serves to form adjectives; the Semitic equivalent of these two words is *palag*, Aram. פלג Ar. فلج.

Ex. Pahl.

Parsi و هست هر یك بار گناه پانزده و نیم تنافور

Pahl. *u īt kulā ēvbār vināS XV upalag tanafūhr* "and there is at every time a transgression of $15^1/_2$ *tanafur*" Paz. u *hest har évbār gunāh pānzhdah u nīm tanāfuhr* (*Ardaviraf*, XXII, § 7)

§20. Numeral adverbs.

The adverb numerals are formed by adding in Pahl. *bār,* Paz. *bār,* Parsi بار to the ordinal numbers expressed in figures or all by letters, in Iranian or in Semitic. See the example above, *uīt kulā ēvbār* .....

Ex. : 30 *bār pūn gōmīj fräj shoūīshnīh* "30 times the dilution with the '*gomez*'. *Vendidād*, Farg." VIII §279 Spiegel.

The element *bār,* Paz. *bār,* Parsi and Persian بار which takes part in these formations, is not a suffix but an independent word signifying "times".

"Once" is said *ēvkartakīh*[53] in Pahlavi.

§21. Pronouns.

A. Personal pronouns.

The personal pronoun is manifested under two forms, at the isolated state and as a suffix.

a. Isolated pronoun

Singular

	Semitic Pahl.	Iranian Pahl.	Pazand	Parsi & Persian
1.	*li*	*man*	*man, men*[54]	من
2.	*lak*	*tō*	*tō, thō*	تو
3.	*olā* *ghal*	*ō*	*ōi*	وی اوی او

Plural.

1.	*lanā*	*hamā, amā, émā*		ما اما
2.	*lakūm*	*shumā shumā*		شما
3.	*olāshān*	*ōlshān éshān*		ایشان اوشان

General remarks on the Pahlavi pronouns.

Save very rare exceptions, Pahlavi does never employ the isolated personal pronouns other than under the Semitic form; in the first and in the second persons these Semitic pronouns are the compounds of the Semitic preposition *'li* ' and of the corresponding pronominal suffixes.

b. Suffix pronoun

Singular.

	Pahl.	Aram.	Heb.	Mand.	Ar.
1st pers.	*lī*[55]		לי	ליא	لى
2nd pers.	*lak*		לך	לאך	لك
		Plural.			
1st pers.	*lanā*	לנא	לנו[56]	לאן	لنا
2nd pers.	*lakūm*	לכום[57]	לכם[58]	לאכן	لكم.

The Iranian forms of these pronouns are likewise oblique cases.

Man, the Iranian equivalent of Semitic *li* is derived from the Persian genitive *mana* "of me", and its plural *amā* evidently springs from the Persian *amākham* "of us" by the falling out of the final aspirate contained in the syllable. *Tū,* toi, correspond to the Persian genitive *tava*[59] "of thou" and *shumā* representing a Persian form **Khshmākham (Zend. Khshmākem*[60]*)* "of you".

This exclusive use of the oblique forms instead of the nominative is easily explained by the tendency which the Indo-European languages of Asia had in replacing the active construction by the passive construction. This is a fact in vogue in Classical Skt. and which emanates from the law of the least effort. Being given the sentence "I have done, thou had done such a thing" to render in Persian, there were two possible constructions, the first consisting in saying *adam tat akunavam, tum tat akunaus,* but we can also equally construe thus : "this thing has been made by me, by thee etc." or more simply yet by suppressing the verb to be, "by me, by thee ..... this thing done" *tat*

mana kartam, tat tava kartam. This second construction had on the first the advantage that one alone of the elements of the sentence, the personal pronoun was variable whilst the two others remained invariable for the three persons in the two numbers; in the first, on the contrary, the variation reached simultaneously the pronoun and the verb, and it was much more considerable. This fact explains that the Persian got itself rapidly habituated in the passive turn of expression which was simpler and more economical than the active turn of expression and that the oblique cases of the personal pronoun had gradually evinced the nominative forms in such a way that there remained, so to speak, no trace of it in the modern form of language.

This construction has passed from Persian to Pahlavi and the sentence *(tat) mana, tava .... kartam* has become *(ān) man, tū ..... kart.* That is why, the Pahlavi pronoun is *man* in 1st pers. sg. and *tū* in the 2nd pers., *li* and *lak* under the Semitic form. That is a proof that at an epoch when the Iranians borrowed a part of the Aram. vocabulary, we still have the notion that the personal pronouns were oblique cases made of which modern Persian has, since a long time lost knowledge completely.

§22. Pronoun of the 1st pers. deriving from a Persian nominative.

We have just seen that the personal pronoun derives from the oblique forms of Parsi and what is the reason for it; however, for the first person we find a form *az,* which is derived from the Persian nominative *adam.*[61]

We know uptil the present only two examples of it. The most important is the following :

aîgh az min lak khūr (t) tar havā-am pūn kabad gūnak cabūn "because as for me I am inferior (smaller than thou) in many kinds of wealth.[62]

The semitic form of this pronoun *anā* is also rare, though it is a little more frequent. It corresponds to Aram., אנה, אנא. Heb. אני (cf. אנכי), Mand. אנא Ar. أنا. Here are two examples :

nazdik hava am Zartūhasht anā man Aūhrmazd hava-am "I am nearer O Zaraθustra, I who am Aūhrmazda ...."

anā man Ahūrmazda havā am anā man dātār i shapir havā am "I who am Ahurmazda, I who am the excellent creator" *Vendidad.*

The reading of this word has been misconceived for a long time and the stem of the verb substantive *havā* "to be" has been seen therewith as much an apparent reason as one finds in the sense of "I". Far from being the first person of the singular of present tense of the verb substantive and consequently to be read *havā-am*, this word is to be read *anā am*; *anā* being the Semitic equivalent of *man*, and *am* being pronominal suffix of the first person singular; *anā am* is in the Semitic part of *man am* which is Persian منم "It is I who am" / "It's me who is (there)".

This form *man-am* composed of the personal pronoun independent with the suffix pronoun playing the role a verbal form is employed in Persian only in the special sense of "it is I who am".

§23. The third personal pronoun olā. pl. *olā-shān* is borrowed from the Semitic pronoun אל, which is found in Mandaean, in the plural, under the form אלין and of which the singular form is not used.[63] This pronoun is also found in Chaldean under the forms אֵלָה, אֵלֵין in Vérémia and in Daniel, plural of דְּךָ. We will compare Heb. pl. of זֶה and Ar. أولئك or أولاك, pl. of ذلك. Arabic is the only Semitic language which has kept the vowel o in this pronoun, as the Aram. dialect from which Pahlavi has borrowed it; all others have changed it to e or i.

Sometimes, as a variant of this pronoun [illegible] is found *of*[4] and [illegible] *ghol,* or *ghal* [illegible] is a graphic doublet of the preposition [illegible] '*al,* it is what explains its pejorative use as a pronoun.

The Iranian form of the 3rd pers. pron. [illegible] ō is very little used the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary* (p. 18) gives to this pronoun the plural [illegible] *ō-shān* formed from the singular by the addition of the pronoun suffix of the third person plural; but this form, which was still used in the last century the spoken Persian in India has been ousted by [illegible] *ī-shān,* Pazand *é-shā,* Parsi and Persian ایشان, pl. of the pronoun ē, also formed by the addition of the same pronominal suffix of the plural.

On the origin of the Persian forms, او, اوی, وی, see Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes,* vol. 1. p. 161 and 162.

§24. Use of the personal pronouns in the isolated state. The verbal inflections marking pronouns in Pahlavi, as in Persian, the use of the personal pronouns as subjects is of no use; moreover, the object is generally indicated by the pronominal suffixes thus they are hardly found used only for the oblique cases, or for the direct case when one wants to draw special attention on the subject.

§ 25. Pronoun suffixes.

	Singular		
	Pahl.	Paz.	Parsi and Persian
1st pers.	[illegible] *-am*	*-m*	م
2nd "	[illegible] *-at*	*-t*	ت
3rd "	[illegible] *-ash*	*-sh*	ش
	Plural		
	Pahl.	Paz.	Parsi and Persian
1st pers.	[illegible] *-mān*	*-mā*	مان
2nd "	[illegible] *-tān*	*-tā*	تان
3rd "	[illegible] *-shān*	*-shā*	شان

When the pronoun suffix is not attached to a particle or to a word of the sentence, it becomes a sort of an independent pronoun and takes the following forms :

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	[illegible] *am*	[illegible] *amān*
2nd "	[illegible] *at*	[illegible] *atān*
3rd "	[illegible] *ash*	[illegible] *ashān*

The pronoun suffix is never found but under the Iranian form, there is not a single example of pronoun subject borrowed from Aramaean.

§26. Use of pronoun suffix.

The pronoun subject has three uses in MP : it denotes the subject, every object and marks the possession, that is to say, that by it alone, it holds the place of every declension.

a. Pronoun suffix serving as the subject.

Ex. : [illegible]

وش مینشن از کارکرفه و یزشن یزدان کردن

[illegible]

اواج. دلشت

Pahlavi : *apash minishn min kārkirfak u izishn i yazdān obdūntan li-akhar dāsht*; Paz. : *vash mīnishn az kāre kerfa u izishn-i yazdā karadan awāj dāsht,* "and took away from him his spirit of good works and the action of making the sacrifice to the Izeds." (*Gujastak Abalish).*

When the pronoun suffix serves as a subject, it can so happen that the name of the person who performs the action indicated by the verb be expressed in such a way that it seems to have two subjects.

Ex. : [illegible] *guftash Aūhrmazda 'al Spītāmān Zartūsht* "Aūhrmazd said to Spitama Zaraθustra.

It is, above all, after the adverbs and the relative pronouns at the beginning of the incident sentences that the pronoun suffix is used in this manner.

In reality, in the examples given above, the pronoun suffix which appears to be subject of an active verb is nothing but the object of a passive participle. We have seen how the construction of the sentence is reversed in the Persian passage in Pahlavi. In the sentence *apash mīnishn min kār kirfak u izishn-i yazdān obdūntan liakhar dāsht,* the word *dāsht* which modern Persian regards as the third person of the preterite tense of *dāshtan*, is the passive participle of this verb, consequently, we must not, in order to be exact, translate it, by "he holds, he will consider", but by "held, considered by." This sentence should be understood "and by him (was) held the spirit set aside from good works and from the sacrifice to the Izeds". The modern language is no longer aware that *dāsht* is a passive participle and it sees therein a third person form of the preterite tense; that is why it has replaced the pronoun suffix-*ash* which is an oblique form, by the independent pronoun او, which is nominative and it would say, او میشن از کارکرفه ..... باز داشت.[65]

It is only by comparison with the modern Persian that the pronoun suffix -*ash* seems to fulfil the role of the subject; this explains why the verb always stays invariable even with a pronoun suffix in the plural, as apparent subject.

Ex. : [illegible]

وشان پس او ابالش کفت که

Pahl. : *af-shān akhar'al Abālish gūft aīgh*; Paz. *u-shān pas ōi Abālesh guft ku* "and thereafter they say to Abalish, namely ...

lit. and by them afterwards (it was) said to Abalish, namely ....." (*Gajastak Abalish*, IX, 1).

If, in this last example, *-shān* was a subject and that the verb was really in the preterite as modern Persian understands it *guft and* should be in the plural وایشان پس بابالش ... کفتند که.

We shall find an example of the same sort of use of the pronoun suffix after a preposition beginning an incident in the following sentence drawn from the *Shikan Gumanih*, §40.

Pahlavi *af am lā dānākān barā farhangikān u nūkafzā ran rai kart u ārāst*, Paz. *vaēm nē dānāgā bēfarahañ gañ u nōawazarā rā kard u ārāst*, Parsi : وم نه دانایان به

زهنکیان و نو اوزارن را کرد وآراست "and by me done and disposed not for the learned but for the learners and the novices."

b. Pronoun suffix marking the object.

The pronoun suffix marks as much direct object as indirect objects; it is placed, at least in the ancient works before the verb of it signals the complement.

Ex. Of indirect object.

Pahl. *af am būrzishnīktar madammunist*, "and it appears to me more marvellous".

Ex. Of ablative.

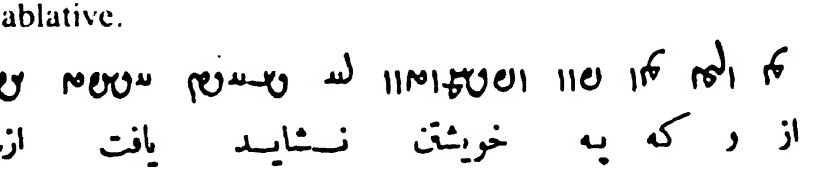

Pahlavi : *min olā man pūn nafshātan lā shāyat ayāft az-ash khvāstan lā vīcītārīhā*; Paz. : *az ōi ku pa kvéshtannashāyat yaft az-ash khvāstan na vazīdārhā,* "to him who can find nothing for himself, to ask (something) from him is not of good sense" (*Gujastak Abalish,*VI, §6).

Direct object.

Ex. : [illegible] *adīn-at pūn ham zamān barā zaktalūnam* "then I shall kill thee at the same moment".

c. Pronoun suffix indicating possession.

Ex. [illegible] *amat-am rōīshā paskūnid* "if of me he cuts the head".

In modern Persian, as in Pahlavi, the pronoun suffix indicating the object can be attached, it does not matter, to whichever of the words in the sentence.

Origin of the MP pronoun suffix.

It is derived from the enclitic pronoun of Persian the use of which recurs in Zend and in Sanskrit.

Ex. *A(h)uramazdā maiy upastām abarā* "Ormazd gave succour to me".

§27. Reflexive pronouns.

In MP there are three reflexive pronouns which recur in NP.

a. Pahl. [illegible] *khūt,* Paz. *khvat, khuṭ,* Parsi and Persian خود Semitic Pahl. is [illegible] *nafshā or* [illegible] *binafshā.*

Ex. : [illegible]

و بیست هشتم که خود نیکی کند

Pahl. *u vīst hashtūm man binafshā nī kīh obdūnīt*, Paz. *u vist hashtum ke khvaṭ nékī kunet*, "and the twenty-eighth is he who makes himself the wealth," (*Minokhirad*, XXX VIII).

This pronoun derives from a Persian form* *hvata* which will correspond to Zend *hvato* and to Sanskrit *svatas*; as this word is primarily an adverb, it applies equally to persons and to things. The old pronunciation of Pahlavi had to be *khvat* as the Pazand transcription *khvat* indicates it, it is in the course of the passage of Pahlavi to Persian that the *v* is vocalised and the form *khut* was born.

The Semitic pronoun [illegible] *nafshā* is the Aram. נפשא Ar. نفس; [illegible] *binafshā* is this same word preceded by the preposition *bi* "to, by"; Aram. בנפשא.

b. The second reflexive pronoun is *kvēsh*, Pahl. [illegible], Paz. *khvésh*, *khvéush*, *khésh*, Parsi and Persian خویش.

Ex. [illegible]

اوی مرد که کار خویش خشنوده کند

Pahl. : *olā gabrā man kār-i nafshā khūsnūtak obdūnīt*, Paz. *ōi mard kè kār khvésh khvushnūda kunet*, "this man whom his own action renders contented (*Minokhirad*, XXXII, §8)

This pronoun can take the mark of plural when it is related to a plural substantive.

Ex. Pahl. *nafshā-ān dāmān*; Paz. *khvésha dāmā*; Parsi خویشان دامان "his own creatures" (*Shikan Gumānih*. 1, §7)

It is exclusively used in talking of persons; it is used as an adjective in Pahlavi, as the forms prove it: Pahl. *khvīsh-kāmak*, Paz. *khvésh-kāma*, Parsi خویش‌کامة, "the good pleasure", and the following example :

[illegible]

کت از خویش کنشن زیان و پشیمانی نی رسد

Pahl. *aīgh-at min nafshā kūnishn ziyān u pashīmānīh lā yahamtūnīt*, Paz. : *ku-t ezh khvésh kuneshn ziāu pashémānī né raset* "so that of thy own actions there do not happen any damage or repentance" (*Minokhirad,* II, § 24).

Modern Persian still uses the plural of this pronoun خویشان as a substantive in the sense of "relatives, kinsmen"; it comes from a corresponding Persian form to Zend *havaētush* "a relation".

c. The third relative pronoun of MP is *khvēshtan,* Pahl. [illegible] Paz. *khvéshtan*; Parsi and Persian خویشتن, composed of the preceding one and of the word *tan* 'body"; this pronoun therefore signifies "his own body", it can, consequently be used only in speaking of persons and never of things and inanimate objects.

Ex. : [illegible]

و په خویشتن انیرنگ داشتن . پیمان

[illegible]

کوشنی په راه راستی وه

Pahl. : *u pūn nafshātan anērang dāshtan patmān gavishnīh pūn rās ī rāstīh shapīr,* Paz. *u pa khvéshtan anérāng dāshtan, paēmā gaveshnī pa rāh-ī rāstī veh,* "and conserve his own integrity, hold a moderated discourse in the path of verity, is the best thing" (*Minokhirad,* II, §73).

In Pahlavi, the two elements which enter into the composition of this pronoun are not yet indissolubly welded as in modern Persian, and it can be separated by one or several words.

§28. Possessive Pronoun.

MP does not possess a special form of the pronoun to indicate possession; to this end it uses the personal pronoun suffixes

or independent personal pronouns constructed in the possessive case, that is to say, relinked by the i of union to the noun possessed; it is in this matter indentical in modern Persian. Already in the language of the Persian inscriptions of the Achaemenids, the enclitic pronoun used in the sense of the possessive evinced the possessive adjective which should be ma in the first person *tuva* in the second, *(h) uva* (Skt. *sva*) in the third (J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes* vol. 1, p. 170).

§29. Demonstrative pronouns.

The two demonstrative pronouns which also serve as demonstrative adjectives are :

for the related objects

Semitic Pahlavi	Iranian Pahlavi	Pazand	Parsi/Persian
zanā	*in*	*īn, in*	این *'this one'*

for distant objects

zak	*dak*	*ān*	*ā, an*	آن *"that one"*

The demonstrative adjectives are never used in Pahlavi in Iranian form, but solely under their Semitic forms; in Pazand we find the variants *īn* and *an* for the first, *ā* for the second; they are absolutely invariables.

Zanā or *danā* is the Aram. דנא, דנה, Mand. דן, of which the plural is אלין or טלין one would compare the Mandean pronoun האידין, formed of דן by the adjunction of הא which is nothing but the Hebrew article and the ه of Arabic demonstrative pronoun هذا fem., هذه and of which the plural is האלין (cf. the Talmudic pronoun הדין).

Sometimes *zak* is also found under the form *dak*, this is the Chaldean דך, דא cf. Ar. ذاك and ذاك, الذى. The Chaldean דך is formed from the demonstrative pronoun *di* with the adjunction of *k* which is found in several pronouns and adverbs

ذلك is composed of the pronoun ذ, of the *lam* of the article, the لام التعريف, and of the ك formative which recurs in the adverb هناك; the pronoun ذ of Arabic and ד of Aramaean is again found in the relative pronoun in Pahlavi and in the pronouns דרא, הדא of the Talmudic Hebrew, both identical with the Arab. هذا, because the א, ה, ע interchange in the Aramaean dialects at the early period.

The pronoun *īn* "this one, latter" probably derives from a Persian form **aina* of which we do not find any corresponding Zend equivalent but which will be identical with Skt. *ena* (J. Darmesteter *Études iraniennes*, vol. 1, p. 171). Now, it is precisely this word *ena* which, in the Sanskrit translations of the Pahlavi works, renders the pronoun *īn* either in its Aryan form or under the Semitic form *zanā*.

The sentence [illegible] *Ivatā zōhrak zanā barsom bōyahūnamō zanōizishn,* "with this libation, I call this baresman at this sacrifice" is translated by Néryoseng *samam prānena enam baresmanam samīhe ijisnau (Yasna, HāII,* §8).

The pronoun *ān* which serves to designate distant things is not derived from the Persian stem *ana* which designate near objects only, but the adjective *anya*, 'other' (J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* vol. 1. p. 171).

§30. "This one, the latter" is also rendered by [illegible] *lidanā* or *lizanā*.

Ex.: [illegible] *lidanā Khōsrav malkān malkā Kavātān,* "this Khōsrav, king of kings, son of Kavāt."

This pronoun is composed of the Semitic preposition ל *li*, Ar. ل, and of the demonstrative pronoun *danā, zanā,* it is, therefore, etymologically a pronoun in the oblique case like the relative pronoun *binafshā*; it is rather rarely met and in certain cases it seems that it has been selected because it is in an oblique case.

Ex.: [illegible] *lidana yōm asp is farmāyīt yahbūntan* "and that day (lit. on that day) he ordered to give a horse".

The Parsis read this word as *ragōman*; the etymology, the reading and the translation of Haugh are unsustainable : he saw in it a compound of the personal pronoun *li* "as for me I" and of the first person singular of the present tense of the verb "to be", *havā-am*, which would signify "I am" (*Pahlavi Pazand Glossary*, p. 191).

The third person, personal pronoun is sometimes used as demonstrative pronoun. We have seen above that this pronoun is hardly found except under its Semitic form olā, the Aryan form of which is [illegible] *ō*, or [illegible] aī, [illegible] ē.[66]

Ex.: [illegible] *aigh am ē (aī) hēr patīh u hāvishtīh lā tavān kartan* "that is to say that I cannot do this job of her bed and of the priest instructor".

The demonstrative pronoun ē is often rendered in Semitic by [illegible] *anā*.

Beside the expression [illegible] *aī aigh*, "this consists in what ..." we very often find the form [illegible] *anā aigh*.

The origin of this word *anā* is obscure, the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary* (p. 18, line 8) gives the equivalence [illegible] *anā* = *an*, fully including these two words in the class of adverbs. Haugh found in *aī* the feminine form of the third person pronoun, Chald. היא, Syriac הי; it is much more likely that this word is just the pronoun in the third person singular under its Iranian form.

Mr. West considers the Semitic form *anā* as an exclamation "see there" "here !, look here!", in this it is closer to Hebrew הן, הנה "See here! look here!" and Syriac הן, הנא which means the same. Whatever it may be if the exclamatory sense

of this word really existed in MP. It totally disappeared from modern Persian and already in Pahlavi even, as is proved by the forms *anā rāī* = *ērai* "for this reason", زیرا for از ای را "because of that" *zakanā* beside *zak-āī* "other".

Dastur Peshotan indicates in his *Grammaire Pehlvie,* p. 97, a demonstrative pronoun; he cites two examples of it which prove nothing neither the one nor the other. In the first is perhaps for *hamōgūn* "of all kinds", or more simply, for *hamak* "everything, all", *hamōk vīnās-ī olāshān akhar yahvūnd* "every crime of those over there, are thereafter." In the second, is not a pronoun, but a substantive signifying "a collection, a compendium". *zanā ayyātkār .....hamōk min farmāndāt-i khōsrav malkā-ān malkā ... kart,* "this manuscript is a collection made at the order of Khosrav, the king of kings"; in this last sense *hamak* derives from the adverb *ham* "together".

§31. Indefinite pronoun.

The indefinite pronoun in MP is rendered by the third person plural.

Ex. :

وآن که اورا آموزند

Pahl. : *zak-tchi ziy-ash āmōḍjīnd*; Paz. : *ā tcha y-ash āmōzheñd* "and that which one teaches him (lit. what they instruct him").

When a text from the Avesta is cited the singular and not the plural is used.

Ex. : *pūn dīn yamallūnīt aigh* ..... "it has been said in Avesta that ....."

§32. Relative pronouns.

In MP there are several relative pronouns.

The relative pronoun *i* which is written و in Pahlavi, *i* in Pazand, which is not marked by either Parsi or Persian; in Semitic it is rendered by ز *zi* which is found in the inscriptions under the form *zī*, similarly as for the personal pronoun *li* of Pahlavi of the manuscripts there correspond a wider form *li* in these same inscriptions.

This pronoun is used as a subject.

Ex.:

ایشان دوازده اختر اژ دین دوازده سپهبد گفت

Pahlavi : *ōlāshān 12 akhtar-ī min dīn 12 sipāhpat gūft yakōyamūnīt*, Pazand : *éshā duazdah akhtar i ezh din duazdah spahpaṭ*[67] *guft estet*, "these 12 stars which, according to the Avesta, have been called the 12 generals (of the sky)" (*Minokhirad*, XII, §5).

Or as an object :

Ex. :

آن کرفه مرد اناکاهیها کند

Pahl. *zak karfak-ī gabrā anākāsīhā obdūnīt*, Paz. : *ā kerba i mard anāgāhihā kuned*, "these good actions which a man does unawares" (*Minokhirad*, I, §26).

It very often happens that this pronoun is not marked and the general sense of the sentence alone indicates its presence; for

ex. : *olāshān 12 akhtar min dīn ....,* in spite of this, it is well to mark it in the transcription indeed as the *i* of union.

§33. The relative pronoun *i*, Semitic *zi* can take, in all the cases where it is used, the pronoun suffix, this latter having the possibility of being a direct or an indirect object. It is to be noted that in Pahlavi we never find the pronoun و *ī* formed with the pronoun suffix, but only with the Semitic form ܙܝ *zī*; in Paz. the *i* vowel of the relative pronoun is changed into *y* before the vowel of the pronoun suffix.

Here is a table of these forms.

	Pahl.	Pazand	Parsi
	Singular		
1st Pers.	ܙܝ *zī-am*	*yam (yim)*	ایم ,یم
2nd "	ܙܝ *zī-at*	*yat (yit)*	ات ,یت
3rd "	ܙܝ *zī-ash*	*yash*	ایش ,اش ,یش
	Plural		
1st Pers.	ܙܝ *zī-mān*	*yashā*	ایمان ,یمان
2nd "	ܙܝ *zī-tān*	*yatā*	ایتان ,یتان
3rd "	ܙܝ *zī-shān*	*yashā (ćshā)*	ایشان ,یشان

Ex. : ۴۱۹ ۱ ۴۵۲ ۱ ۴۲۶ ۱ ۱۴ ۱۳ ۱ ۱۴۳ ۱ ۴۶۳

همت و هوخت و هورشت یت مینت و گفت و کرد

Pahl. : *hūmat u hūkht u hūvarsht ya-t mīnīt u gūfṫ u kart.* Paz. *humat u hūkht u hvaresht ya-t minīṭ u gufṫ u kard* "the good thoughts, the good words, the good actions which have been thought, said and done by thee" (*Minokhirad,* II, §136).

Origin of these pronouns.

The relative pronoun *i* derives from the relative *hya* of the Achaemenian Persian similarly as the *ya* of union in MP and of

the modern Persian; modern Persian has almost completely lost it, save in poetry where it still plays a certain role, but it is generally confounded mistakenly with the *ya* of union.

The Semitic pronoun *zi* has the same origin as the demonstrative *zak*; it is the Aramaean זי, Hebrew זה, the ذ of Ar. in ذلك, الذي.

§34. The use of the relative pronoun *i zi* is sufficiently restricted in MP, the veritable relative of which is *ki*, Pahlavi ود, Paz. *ke, ké, ki, ka* and *ku*, Parsi کی and که. The pronoun *ki* is never employed in Pahlavi, where only its corresponding Semitic מן *man* is found.

Ex. : מן לא מן ברא מן אנון תוכשאכיה אי נפשה מן מנדום וישתא מונית

که نه از فراوون تخشای خویش به از هن

מן חרן אנון תוכשאכיה

تش خورد

Pahl. *man lā min frārūn tūkhshākīh-ī nafshā barā min an mandūm vashta mūnīt*, Paz. : *ke né ezh frā rūn tukhshai-i kshvésh bé ezh han this khvareṭ*, "he who eats something, not as a sequence of his own regular activity, but as the sequence of that of another" (*Minokhirad* II, § 49).

Origin of this pronoun.

Several vocalizations of this pronoun *ka, ke, ké ki, ku* is found in Pazand; the conjuction "that" is likewise met with under the same forms, so that it is impossible to know what was the exact pronunciation of the pronoun and of the conjuction in MP and consequently to determine whether it comes from the stem *ka-* which is the relative pronoun of Persian or from the interrogative stem *ki-* whence the Skt. *kim* "what?" is derived? It is very much possible that the two stems relative and

interrogative are blended together; the Pazand relative *ka* derives from the Persian stem *ka-* as also the conjunction *ka*; the other forms *ké, ki* of the relative, *ki,* ke forms of the conjunction must be derived from the interrogative stem *ki-*. It seems that in modern Persian the relative and the conjuction *ka* have been evicted by the form derived from the interrogative *ki-*. The Persian form کی will not permit to resolve the question, as it can be pronounced as much کَ *ka* as کِ *ki*; but, in the most ancient Persian manuscripts the form کی *ki* is found exclusively in which the ی does not indicate the length of the vowel, but only its quality and is written only to form a group of two letters; this ی besides, disappears as soon as the pronoun or the conjunction کی enters into a composition, Ex. : چنانك. It is possible that at least a part of the *ki* forms derive from *kadha*[68]. The *ku* form of the relative and of the conjunction derive from the interrogative stem *ku*-parallel to *ki*; cf. Zend. *ku-da* "when?", *ku-thra* "where?" It seems that the stem *ka-* soon enough lost its interrogative sense to pass over to the relative sense; in fact, the ancient poets use the word کجا *kujā* formed from *ku* and *jā* 'place'[69] instead of *ki*.

The Semitic pronoun מן *man,* which should be taken care not to be confused with the proposition מן *min* "of" is the Aramaean מן, מון, Mandaean מאן, מאנו Ar. من; it is possible as we see by the Aramaean forms that we should pronounce this word as *mūn*.

§35. Construction of the relative pronoun in the oblique cases.

Middle Persian having lost the system of declension cannot render the oblique cases of the relative like "whose, of whom, to which, in which ....." unless recourse is had to the following periphrastic circumlocations "that of him, that to him, that in him ....." this construction is absolutely identical with those of the pronoun *zi* with the pronoun suffixes, therefore it is useless to insist in this matter any longer.

Ex. :

وم دید روان مردمی چند و زنی

چند کیشان نکون سر اندر دوژخ اکنخت ایستید

Pahl. *Afam khadītūnt ravān-i martūm-l tchand u nishā-l tchand manshān nikūnsar andar dushahūakankht yakōyāmūnit*; Pazand : *vam dīt ruāmardum étchañd u zanā étchand kushā nikūnsar añdar duzhakh akankht éstét*, "and by me seen the soul of some men and of some women in hell, with their heads suspended below[70]" (*Arda Virāf*).

In reality, in this example, as in almost all those which we can cite, *man* corresponding to the pronoun *ki* is rather the conjunction "that" than the relative pronoun "who".

On the origin of this construction and the traces that we find already in Zend, see J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* Vol. 1, P. 179.

§36. Interrogative pronouns.

Middle Persian has two interrogative pronouns, the first which is used indifferently for persons and for things and in Iranian Pahlavi *kī*, Pazand *ke*, with sufficiently rare variants *ké*, *ku*, Parsi کی; the pronoun *kī* is never used in Pahlavi and we find only its Semitic equivalent *man*.

Ex.:

په خرد که بوندتر و په خیم که اوستوارتر په [71]

کوشن که خوبتر

Pahlavi: *pūn khirat man bundaktar u pūn khīm man ūstubārtar pūn gavishn man khūptar*, Pazand : *pa khard ke buñdatar u pa khīm ke ustubārtar pa gaveshn ke khūbtar,* "who is the most perfect in intelligence, the most accomplished in character, the best in talks" (*Minokhirad,* XXXIX, §§3-5). Middle Persian possesses another interrogative which is used uniquely in speaking of things and never in speaking of persons. In Iranian Pahlavi it is found under the form [illegible] *tchīh,* in Pazand *tchi* with the variant *tcha* which is besides rare, Parsi and Persian چه; we never find it in the Pahlavi texts otherwise than under its Semitic form [illegible] mā.

Ex. : [illegible]

وش دیوان افسوس پدش کنند کوت از

[illegible]

اورمزد خدای و امشلسپندن و وهشت هوبوی

[illegible]

هورام چه مست و گل بود

Pahlavi : *af-ash shēdā-ān afsōs patash obdūnand aīgh-at min Aūhrmazd-ī khūtāī u Amahlaspandān u vahisht-ī hūbōī-ī hūrām mā mūst u gīl yahvūnt*, Pazand : *vash dévā awasōs padash kuneñd kut ezh Hormazd i khvadāé u Ameshā speñdā u vahésht-i hūbōī-i hūrām tchi must u gila būṭ* "and the demons make fun of him (saying) namely : to thee from the part of the lord Aūhrmazd and of the Amshaspands and from the perfumed and pleasant paradise, do happen trouble and torment?" ?(*Minokhirad,* II, §§184-185).

The pronoun *tchi* derives from the Persian stem *ci-* which is found in *ciy-karam* "how many". Ex. : *ciykaram avā dahyāvā*

hyā Darāyavūsh khshūyathiyā adārayā "how many were these regions which the king Darius possessed". This stem recurs in Zend under the same form, in the nominative *cish*; cf. Latin *qui* and the enclitic *cit* of Skt. *mā* is Aram. ; cf. : Ar. .

Which one of the two used to be called *katar* in MP, Pahlavi , Pazand kadār, Parsi ?

This pronoun derives from the comparative of the stem *ka* , *ka tāra*.

Which? in speaking of several is said in Pahl. *ka tam*, Paz. *kadām* (with the variants *kadām*, *kdām*). Parsi ; modern Persian pronounces it *kudām*. This pronoun is perhaps the superlative of the interrogative stem *ku* , **ku tama*; one would expect in this case to have in Pahlavi *kutom*, rather than *kutam*.

"How much" is called *tchand* in MP, Pahl. , Paz. *tchand*, with the variants *tchañt*, *tchīt*, Parsi and Persian

This pronoun derives from Persian form **cvañt* Zend *cvant* (cf Latin *quant-us*).

§37. Indefinite pronouns.

The indefinite pronoun for persons is *kas*, Pahl. which is almost never found to be used in the Pahlavi texts and which is generally replaced by its Semitic equivalent *ish*, Paz. *kas* with the variant *kash*.

Ex. :

وکت دید کو کس که ستهم و اپر کردن

Pahl. *u amat-at khadītūnt aīgh īsh man sitahm u apar kartan*; Paz. *u ka-t dīt ku kas ke stahm u apar kardan*, "and when thou seest (seen by thee) that somebody who was doing violence and injustice...." (*Minokhirad*, II, §132)

This pronoun derives from Persian *kas-ciy,* composed of the interrogative pronoun *ka* and the *ciy* enclitic (Pahl. [illegible]); the Semitic pronoun *īsh* is Hebrew איש "man", a contracted form of אנש of which the feminine is אשה at the constructed state for אנשת; cf. Aram. אנשותא. All the manuscripts read this word as *khadyā*, if this punctuation were exact, we must relate this word to Aram. חדא.

The indefinite pronoun for things is [illegible] *tchīsh,* [illegible] *tchish* which is never found to be used in Pahlavi texts where it is replaced by the Semitic word [illegible] *mandūm*; it is found in Pazand under the form '*this*' (with the variants *thish* and *thesh*); in Parsi it is تس and تش; the modern Persian corresponding form is چیز which is sometimes used in Parsi.

Ex. : [illegible]

و تش بخت ایستد وردینیدن شاید یا نه

Pahl. : "*u mandūm-ī khalakhūnt yakōyamūnīt vartīnītan shāyat ayav lā*; Paz. : *u this-i bakht estet vardīnīdan shāyat ayāo né,* "and something which has been fixed (by God) is it possible to change it or not? (*Minokhirad,* VII, §6).

The Pazand form *this* has sprung from an incorrect transcription of Pahlavi *tchish,* the letter [illegible] *tch* having been confused with [illegible] *th* which differs from only by direction (J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* Vol. 1, p. 39 and 40). *Mandūm* is Chaldean מנרעם and, with assimilation of the נ, מרעם.

§38. None is called in MP *hitch,* Pahl. [illegible] or *hītchī* [illegible], Paz. *hétch, hétchi* with the variant *hétcha*, in Parsi هیچ or ایچ.

Ex. : [illegible]

هیچ کس به ستدن از خویشکاری. اوادشاه

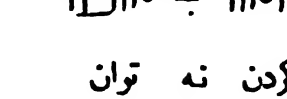

کردن نه توان

Pahlavi *hītch īsh barā yansagūntan min khvéshkārīh apātakhshah kartan lā tavān*; Paz. : *hétchi kas bé stadan ez khvéshkārī awādīshāh kardan né tuā* "no person can be seized by him nor be exempted himself from his surveillance" (*Minokhirad*, VIII, §9)

hītch derives from **aēta-cit*, that is to say, from the demonstrative pronoun which gave birth to the pronoun *ē*, of which the plural *ē-shān* ایشان has replaced the plural *ō shān* اوشان of the pronoun *ō* او.

All, everything is said 1st. in Pahlavi *har* which is very rarely found and which is almost always replaced by the Semitic *kulā*, Paz. *har*, Parsi and Persian هر.

har derives from Persian *haruva*, Zend *haurva*, Skt. *sarva*; *kulā* is the Aram. כלא Ar. كل.

2nd in Pahlavi *harvīsp* or *harvisp*, Paz. *harvisp*, with the variant *haratchisp* born out of a confusion that is habitual enough, between *w* and *zh* which have almost the same form; Parsi هروسپ; this pronoun has disappeared in Persian.

Ex. : 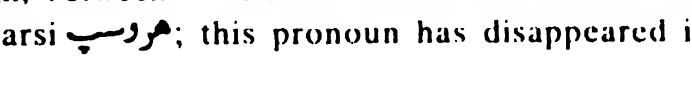

وش په گاه هروسپ پیسید اور نشانید

Pahl. *apash pūn gās-ī harvisp pāsīt madam nishānīt*, Paz. *vash pa gāh-i harvisp pésīṭ awar nishānīt*, "and he made him sit on a throne all bordered (by gold)" (*Minokhirad*, II, §154).

We find by the side of *harvīsp* a form *harvist*, *harvīst*, Paz. *harvist*, *harvest*, harwist, Parsi هروست.

Ex. Pahlavi : *u harvist dām u dahishn olā of apākhtarān tarvīnand*, Paz. *u harvest dām u daheshn ōihaft awākhtarā tarvineñd*, Parsi اواختران ترونند و هروست دام و دهشن اوی هفت, "and these seven planets bustle about the entire creation and all the creatures"(*Minokhirad,* VIII, §20).

all, everything is also said *harvistīn,* in Pahlavi Paz. *harvistīn,* Parsi هروستین .

Ex. : *od Tīshtar myā lvatā zak harvistīn tūm yansagūnāt*, Paz. : *añdā, Tistar āw āwā ā harvistīn thūm stanet*; Parsi اندا تشتر.آو اوا آن هروستین تم ستند, "so that Tishtar take the water with all these sowings" (*Minokhirad,* LXII, §42).

har-visp is composed of the pronoun *har* and of the pronoun *visp,* which means "all" and which is the Parsi-Zend *vispa* Skt. *viśva harvist* is evidently just a faulty orthography of *harvisp,* which goes back to a very distant epoch, as this form is found in the old manuscripts; perhaps it has been conserved or created, by this fact that it had the flexion of superlative; *harvist-īn* is formed of *harvist* with the addition of the suffix-*in* which form the names of colour and of material and which as we have seen above, is used equally for the formation of the ordinal numbers.

3rd. "all" is also called *hamāk* in Pahl., in Paz. *hanā*, in Parsi and Persian هما.

Ex. : Pahlavi : *pūn ravān rātīh u pūn hamāk gīhānrāstīh* Paz. *pa ruā rādī u pa hamā géhā rāstī* ; Parsi : راستی به روان رادی و به هما گیتی; "in the soul, the generosity in the whole world, the justice" (*Minokhirad,* III, §6)

This pronoun is Persian **hamā-ka* derived from *hamā* "all, everything" by the addition of the suffix-*ka* which builds adjectives; cf. Skt. *sama.*

§39. "Other" is said : in Pahlavi *an,* Paz. *han, hani,* Parsi هن (through a mistaken reading of the first *a* of Pahlavi taken *ash*).

Ex. : [illegible]
و هنیچه وس کار کزرگ وارزمند کرد

Pahlavi : *u an-ītch kabad kār-ī vadjūry u archiōmand kart*, Pazand *u hanitcha vash kār (i) guzurg u arzmand kard* "and also other great meritorious actions" (*Minokhirad* XXVII, §51)

This pronoun derives from Persian *anya* "other", it has completely disappeared from modern Persian.

2nd. In Pahlavi [illegible] *zak-aī* [illegible] *zag ai* or [illegible] *zakana, ana* being, as we have seen above, the Semitic correspondent of *an*

Ex. : [illegible] *u akhar magōī - martān u dastōbarān i dīn zak ai yahvunt hava nd,* "and after that, the other Magis and dasturs of the Law" (*Arda Viraf,* 1, §19). *Zak* being the Semitic equivalent of the pronoun *ān, zak-aī* therefore, represents a form of Iranian Pahlavi *ān-aī,* which to my knowledge, is no longer met within the texts

3rd. In Pahlavi [illegible] *datīgar,* Paz. *dadīgar* (with the variants *tadigar, dadhigar*) Parsi ددیگر, دودیگر.

Ex. : [illegible]
مهست کربه رادی و ددیگر راستی و خیتیودث

Pahlavi *mahist karfak rātīh u datīgar rastih u khvetukdas.* Paz. : *mahest kerba rādī u dadīgar rāstī u khvaétvōdath,* "the greatest pious work is the generosity, the other, the rightness and the consanguinary marriage" (*Minokhirad,* IV, §4)

datīgar signifies in reality "the second", as is proved by this passage from *Minokhirad* (II, §145).

Pahlavi : *akhar fartūm gām pūn hūmat u datīgar pun hūkht u sitīgar pūn huvarsht madam ārāmīt,* Pazand : *Pas fradum gam pa humat u dadīgar pa hūkht u satīgar pa hvaresht awar ārāmet.*
Parsi : یه هورشت اور پس فردوم گام یه همت وددیگر یه اور آرامد

هوخت وسدیگر "thereafter she advances with her first step at (the sphere of) the good thought, the second at (that of) the good speech, and the third at (that of) the good action."

This word derives from Persian *duvitiya karam "a second time" and it is reduced in modern Persian to, دیگر "some" is said چند *tchand* in Pahlavi *tchañd* in Paz. چند in Parsi and in modern Persian; it is equally said ڎ and, Paz. *añd* (with the variants *añt, añda, eñd),* Parsi اند whose etymology is obscure (cf. J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* Vol. 1, p. 183).

§40. Verb.

The Pahlavi verb is found, like the other elements of the language, either in its Iranian or its Semitic form; all the verbs except those of which only a few isolated examples are found, have this double form.

Ex. : *nishastan* "to sit". Paz., *nishastan,* Parsi. and Persian نشستن ; Semitic *yatībūntan,* from the Chaldean root יתב.

nishāstan "make one sit", Paz. *nishāstan,* Parsi and Persian, نشاستن Semitic *yatībū-nastan.*

There are some verbs of which we do not ever find so to speak, the Iranian form in Pahlavi but only the Semitic form; such as the following.

Ex. :

Iranian form	Semitic form	
sahastan	*madammūnistan*	"to seem"
varōīstan	*aīmanūistan*	"to believe"
īstātan	*yakōyamūntan*	"to be standing"
raftan	*sātūntan*	"to walk"

ōpastan	*nafatūntan*	"to fall"
āmatan	*yātūntan*	"to come"
āvortan	*yaītyūntan*	"make come"
shūtan	*'azatuntan*	"to go"

Other verbs, rarer otherwise, are hardly met with except under their Iranian form; thus it is, for example, that we almost never find in the Pahlavi texts the Semitic correspondent *kadakhūnastan* of the verb rūstan "to grow".

It is quite difficult to give any satisfactory reason of this fact which, must, however, have their causes.

Finally, there are certian verb, the Iranian form of which is used in general tenses while their Semitic form is reserved for use in special tenses.

The verb *gūftan* "to say, tell" is used in the passive participle form *gūft* and in the tenses derived from it while it is never found in the present *goūyam*, but only the Semitic *yamallūnam* ; it is the same for the verb *kartan* "to do, make", whose present is uniquely formed from the Semitic verb *obdūntan* Aram. עבד.

§41. The Pahlavi verbs borrowed from Aramaean device, some from the simple verb, others from different forms which the Semitic root can assume in the process of conjugation. The verbs of the first category are much more numerous.

a. Verbs derived from the simple Semitic root (*Péal* Aram; *kal* Heb., first form Arabic).

Ex. : *khalak -ūntan* "to share, give" from Aram. cf. Ar. خلق.

khalam-ūntan "to sleep" from Aram. חלם. Ar. حلم.

b. Verbs derived from the redoubled root (*Piel* Hebrew, second form Arabic).

[illegible] *app-ūntan* "cause to cook", Chald. אַפָּה Syr. אפא.

c. Verbs derived from a root preceded by aspiration *h* (*aphel* Syriac, *aphel* and *haphel* Aramaean *hiphil* Hebrew, fourth form Arabic).

Ex.: [illegible] *h-shkakh-ūntan,* from the Aram. root שכח, [illegible] ha-nkhat-ūntan "to place" from the Chaldean root נחת.

[illegible] *ya-hamat-ūntan* "to come" from Aram. root מטא.[72]

The Semitic form from which the verbs of this category are borrowed is intermediate between *hiphil* Heb. הקטיל on the one hand, *aphel* Syriac and the fourth form Arabic أَفْعَلَ on the other, it should be הָקְטֵל without too much presuming of the nature of the vowels of the formative *h* and of the second radical; it is, nevertheless, certain that they have been borrowed from a dialect which yet had the initial ה and which did not have it reduced to א as Syriac and Arabic did; the second of these verbs is, in fact, written in the Sassanian inscriptions *h-n-k-t-u-n* which proves that the initial [illegible] of the Pahlavi of the manuscripts is to be read *h* and not *a*. The formative syllable is to carry the vowel *a* and not *i*. The primitive form of *hiphil* in Hebrew has in fact an *a*, as can be seen in the infinitive and the imperative; in the perfect this *a* is changed into *i*.

d. Verbs derived from a shafel.

Ex. : [illegible] *shōtchar-ūntan or* [illegible] sōtchr-ūntan from the Aram. root סתר, at the form שתר[73].

[illegible] *vashtam-ūntan* (or rather *oshtam-ūntan*), from a shafel שטם. from the Aram. root טמם, Ar. طمم with the inversion of the *aīn* rendered by *o* and of the *sh*.

The formation of all the Pahl. verbs is not explained so easily and some of them resist all analysis.

Ex. : [illegible] *bōyah-ūntan* "to desire", from Aram. בעא. Talmud בעיא, Heb. בעה; this verb is undoubtedly to be read *bacy-ūntan*; then it will be directly borrowed from the Talmudic form בעיא.

§42. Formation of the verbs borrowed from the strong roots.

The Semitic Pahlavi verbs are formed by adding the inflexion of the Persian infinitive *-tan*.

1st. to the 3rd person masculine plural of the perfect.

2nd to the 3rd person masculine plural of the imperfect.

3rd to the nominative plural of the participle.

The first of these formation is by far the most frequent.

Ex. : 1st. A root flexed in the perfect.

[illegible] *khalakūn-tan* formed of *-tan* added to the 3rd pers.masc. of the pl. perfect of the root *khalaka*; Aram. חלקן; cf. Heb. חלקו Ar. خلقوا.

See farther ahead the remark on the fall of final-n.

2nd. A root flexed in the imperfect.

[illegible] *yazbakhūn-tan* "to sacrifice" formed from the 3rd pers. masc. pl. of the imperfect of the root *zabakha*, Chald. יזבחון. Heb. יזבחו. Ar. يذبحون.

Remark first. The conjugation of Syriac is very different from that of Chaldean and of Arabic, the third person masc. pl. of the imperfect is, in fact, נקטלן by the side of Hebrew יקטלו, Ar, يقتلون in this it is the same in Mandaean where the 3rd pers. masc. pl. of the imperfect is ניקיטלן.

Remark second. The formation of Pahlavi comprises a very important variant : the formative *ya* can be, in certain verbs and

always with the same verbs, replaced by ʒ *za* which yields forms without any possible etymology, whether Iranian or Semitic.

Ex. ʒ𐭩𐭥𐭬𐭲𐭥𐭬𐭩𐭥 *zaktalūn-tan* which is found beside 𐭩𐭥𐭬𐭲𐭥𐭬𐭩𐭥 *yaktalūn-tan* "to kill" from the root קטל, Chaldean יקטלון Hebrew, יקטלו Ar. يقتلوا.

This fact can be explained in two ways : the intial *ya* of these verbs in Pahlavi having two values *y* and *z*, it happened in a very ancient time that the *y* was taken for *a z* and replaced by the sign of this consonant. It is at least the simplest manner of explaining the formation of these verbs; we could therefore admit that in the dialect from which MP borrowed a part of its vocabulary, the formative of the third person of aorist was in some cases *z* in place of *y*. It is sure that there had been at one period and in one country also indeterminate, perhaps in the Upper Mesopotemia, a dialect where the formative was *dj* as the Arabic forms جعبر, جعفر prove, which are evidently only the third persons of the imperfect, masc. sg. for يعفر, يعبر from the roots. عفر, عبر.

Third remark. In the third person pl. of the perfect Hebrew and Arabic lost the final-n, which is found still preserved in Syriac : by the side of קטלו we find, in fact, the most complete form קטלון. It is known that *n* in these Semitic languages do not possess any great stability easily falls out, thus it is what explains that the *tanouin* (*tanvin Tr.*) of the indeterminate Arabic word disappeared as soon as the word is found in the constructed state. It is not the only case where Syriac has preserved the final-n, there where Hebrew lost it; beside the apocopated imperative forms קטולו and מטיזכי, which correspond to Hebrew קְטָלִי, קְטָל and to Ar. اقتلوا, اقتلى we find the full forms קטולון, קטולין . In Mandaean, as also in Syriac, in the language known under the name of Palestinian Syrian as in that of Targum of Jerusalem, we find beside the third person of the pl. in-*ou,* in the perfect

and the imperfect, fuller forms in *-oun*. Ex. : Mandaean עתרינלוי "they are chained", עשתאדכין "they are becalmed".

It happens that the flexion ין becomes ין by the insertion of an ל Ex. : קאבליון. This n falls out elsewhere before pronoun suffixes (Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, pp. 223 228).

3rdly. Verbs drawn from the participle.

Ex.: מקבלון *makbulūn -tan*[74] from the Aram. and Heb. קבל, Ar. قبل roots. In these verbs the root is inflexed in the pl. of the participle, so מקבלון Ar. مقبولون.

§43. Formation of the verbs borrowed from the roots with third guttural or with third radical א, ו, י.

The formation of these verbs is always the same, in that their root is terminated by ה, א, ו, י; it is probable that the Semitic dialect from which Pahlavi made its borrowings had, like Mandaean only one conjugation for all these roots. It consists in intercalating-*īt*-between the root and the inflection *ūn* , which indicates the third person of the masculin plural.

Ex. : חזיתון *khaz-īt-ūn-tan* "to see", from Aram. חזא Heb. חזה.

This formation corresponds to nothing known in Hebrew, in Chaldean, in Syriac or in Arabic; we could see in *khaz it* the second person of the fem. singular of the perfect of the Semitic languages, the Chald. חזית to which one would have added, we do not know why, the inflection *-ūn* of the third person of the pl. of יכלו[75]; one could still see in it an amplificating form analogous to that of the Arabic energitic اقتلَنْ beside اقتلَ; in reality, this form is very obscure.

§44. List of the Pahlavi verbs borrowed from Aramaean and most generally used in the texts, with their Iranian equivalents.

[illegible] *app-ūn-tan* "to get cooked", a form drawn from the piel of the root of Chald. and Heb. אפה, Syriac אפא, Iranian [illegible] *pūkhtan.*

[illegible] *khafar-ūn-tan* "to extract, dig", Aram. and Heb. חפר, Ar. حفر, Ir. [illegible] *kandan.*

[illegible] *alaf-ūn-tan* "to learn", Aram. and Heb. אלף, cf. Ar. الف Ir. [illegible] *āmūktan.*

[illegible] *khalak-ūn-tan* "to create, distribute to each the portion which reverts to him", Aram. חלק, cf. Ar. خلق, Ir. [illegible] *bakhtan* (cf. Persian بخشيدن).

[illegible] *khalat-ūn-tan* "to wash", Chald. חליל from the Aram. root חל Ir. [illegible] *shūstan,* Persian شستن.

[illegible] *khalam-ūn-tan* "to sleep", Aram. and Heb. חלם, Ar. حلم Ir. [illegible] *Khūftan,* Pers. خفتن..

[illegible] *khazītūntan,* observe [illegible] *khadītūntan.* [illegible] *khadītūntan* "to see" (var. [illegible] *khazītūntan*); Aram. חוא; Heb. חזה., Ir. [illegible] *ditan,* Pers. ديدن.

[illegible] *asarūntan* "to bind, to enchain", Semitic אסר, Ar. اسر, Ir. [illegible] *bastan,* Pers. بستن.

[illegible] *hashkakhūntan,* "to find, get", from an *afel* Aram. הנשכח; cf. Chald. & Syr., אשכח, Ir. [illegible] *vindātan.*

[illegible] *hankhatūntan* "to place", Sass, *h-n-kh-t-u-n* from an Aram. *afel* הנחת; cf. the Chald. *afel* אֶנְחַת for אֶנְבַּח from the root נְחַת, the Heb. *hiphil* הנחית, Ir. [illegible] *nihātan.*

[illegible] *havā*-stem of the verb to be (Sassanid *h-v-ā*), Aram. הוא, Heb. הוה.

[illegible] *khavītūntan* "to know" Aram. תיי, תיא Heb. הָיָה. Ir. [illegible], *dānistan*, Pers. دانستن.

[illegible] *khavītūnastan*, observe [illegible] *khavītūntan*. [illegible] *īt* "there is"; Sass. *īti* (*a i-t i*), Aram. איתי, איתי, איתא Ir. [illegible] *hast*, Pers. هست.

[illegible] *haītyūntan* "to bring" from a היתי of the Aram. root אתא; cf. the Chald. *afel* הֵיתִי and אֵיתַי, the Heb. *hiphil* הֵבִיא, the Syriac *'afel'* איתי, Ir. [illegible] *avōrtan*, Pers. بردن; cf. [illegible] *Yaītyūntan*.

[illegible] *haīminūnastan* "to believe", from an Aram. 'afel' הֵימִן; cf. the Chald. *hiphil* הימין from ימן, the Heb. *'hiphil'* הֶאֱמִין from the root אמן; cf. Ar. امن, Ir. [illegible] *varōstan*, Pers. گرویدن.

[illegible] ? "to make" translated by Iranian [illegible] *kartan*; this verb is undoubtedly a corrupted form of [illegible] *obadūntan* or *abadūntan*.

[illegible] *bakhūnastan* (for *bakūnastan*) "to cry, weep." Aram. & Heb. בכא, Ar. بكى, Ir. [illegible], *giristan*, Pers. گریستن.

[illegible] *bashalūntan* "to get cooked", Aram. בשל Ir. [illegible] *barishtan*, Pers. برشتن.[76]

[illegible] *bōyāhūntan*, or better *ba'yūntan*, "to want, wish, desire," Aram. & Heb. בעא, Talmud בעיא (cf. § 41), Ir. [illegible] *khāstan* and [illegible] *khvāstan*, Persian خواستن

[illegible] *bōyahūnastan*, or better *ba'yūnastan*, see the preceding.

[illegible], see the preceding.

[illegible], see [illegible].

[illegible] *parashūntan* "to explain", Chald. פרש, Ir. [illegible] *vicārtan,* Persian گذاردن.

[illegible] *pazakūntan* "to disperse", Aram. בזק, Ar. بزق, see the following [illegible].

[illegible] *pasakhūntan* "to disperse",of doubtful etymology : Chald. פסח, Heb. פשח, Ir. [illegible] *afshāntan,* Pers. افشاندن.

[illegible] *pasakūntan* "to cut", Aram. פסג and פסק, Ir. [illegible] *būrītan,* Persian. بریدن.

[illegible] *tabanīnastan* "to break, shatter," Aram. תבר Heb. שבר Ar. تبر and ثبر, Ir. [illegible] *shikastan,* Persian شکستن.

[illegible] *takalūntan* "to weight", Aram. תקל, Heb. שקל, Ar. ثقل, Ir. [illegible] *sakhtan,* Pers. سختن.

[illegible] *rahatūntan* "to run, precipitate," Aram. רהט, Ir. [illegible] *davītan,* Persian دویدن.

[illegible] *ramītūntan,* "to throw, fling," Aram, רמא. Heb. רמה, Ar. رمی, Ir. [illegible] *avgantan,* Pers. افکندن.

[illegible] *lūīt,* or more exactly lā'īt "there is not", Aram, לא איתי; cf. Aram. ליתי, Ir. [illegible] *nīst,* Pers. نیست.

[illegible] *zarakhūntan* "to put in the world", and "to be placed on the world, to be born", Aram. דנח and זרח, Heb. זרח, Ir. [illegible] *zātan,* Pers. زادن. This root is one of the rare Aramaean forms in which we find the exchange of ز and of ר.

[illegible] *Zarītūntan* "to cultivate", Aram. דרא, Heb. זרע, Ar. ذرأ, Ir. [illegible] *kīshtan,* Pers. کیشتن.

[illegible] see [illegible].

[illegible] see [illegible]

[illegible] *Zamarūtan* "to sing", Aram. Heb. זמר Ar. زمر, Ir. [illegible] *srūtan*, Pers. سرودن.

[illegible] old erroneous spelling for [illegible] *Zabanūntan*, "to purchase", Chald. זבן, Ir. [illegible] *kharītan*, Pers. خريدن, observe [illegible].

[illegible] *sātūntan* "to go". The reading and the etymology are dubious, cf. Heb. שוּם = שָׂמָה and שָׂם Talmed [illegible], Ir. [illegible] *raftan*, Pers. رفتن; observe [illegible].

[illegible] *yedrūntan* "to carry", Aram. דרא, Ir. [illegible] *burtan*, Pers. بردن.

[illegible] *sarītūntan* "to cohabit with a woman". The reading of this verb is not sure, though its sense is certain. Haugh and West have related it to the Arameaen [illegible] "to feel bad" or [illegible]; it is probable that the first of these etymologies is true, in spite of the far-fetchedness of the sense; Ir. [illegible] *gatan*, Persian كادن.

[illegible] The ordinary reading of this verb is *sazitūntan*, which does not correspond to any acceptable Semitic form; it is translated [illegible] *raftan*, Pers. رفتن "to go"; it seems to be a doublet of [illegible] the reading of which is equally doubtful. This last verb could be read [illegible] *yazitūntan*; cf. Heb. יצא, Aram. יצא; [illegible] perhaps a mistake very easily to be explained for [illegible] *yazitūntan* of יצא.

[illegible] *sadakūntan* "to tear, put into pieces," Aram. סדק, Ir. [illegible] *darītan*, Pers. دريدن.

[illegible] / [illegible] *sēdakūntan*

[illegible] *shadakūntan*; observe [illegible] *shabakūntan*.

[illegible] *shabakūntan* "to let", Aram. שבק, Ir. [illegible] *hīshtan* Persian هیشتن.

[illegible] *yahabūntan* for *yayhabūntan* "to give", Aram. Heb. יהב, Ar. وهب, Ir. [illegible] *dātan*, Pers. دادن.

[illegible] *yātūntan* "to come", Aram. אתא, Heb. אתה, Ar. اتى, Ir. [illegible] *āmatan*, Pers. آمدن.

[illegible] *shatūntan* "to send", doubtful reading; Aram. שדא, Heb. שדה, probably an old mistake for *yahītyūntan*, Ir. [illegible] *firistītan*, Pers. فرستادن.

[illegible] *shakabkhūntan* "to obtain", cf. Aram. & Heb. שכב probably an old mistake for *shakabūntan* Ir. [illegible] *vindātan*.

[illegible] *dakhallūntan* "to trouble, to be afraid". Aram. דחל, Ir. [illegible] *tarsītan*, Persian ترسیدن. It is difficult to explain the redoubling of the 'l' otherwise than from a wrong spelling which avoid the true form.

[illegible] *sharītūntan* "to open", Aram. שרה, שרא, Iranian [illegible] *vishātan*, Pers. کشادن.

[illegible] *yakhsanūtan* "to have", Aram. אחד Iranian [illegible] *dāshtan*, Pers. داشتن.

[illegible] *yahmtūntan* "to arrive", from a *'haphel'* 'יהמטן from the Aram. root מטא; cf. the Chald. יַמְטוּן the reading is substantiated by the form which is found in the Sassanian inscriptions *y-h-m-t-u-n*; Ir. [illegible] *rasītan*, Pers. رسیدن.

[illegible] *shōtchrūntan*, with the variant [illegible] *sōtchrūntan* "to ravage, pillage" a form drawn from a '*shafel*'

of Aram. צער Ar. غضر; it will be better to read *sha'tchrūntan* because the vav does not represent an o but the *'ain* of the Aram. root; the Iranian translation [illegible] *avōrtan* signifies only "to raise, lift; carry away".

[illegible] *yahvūntan* and more exactly *yahavūntan* "to be, exist", Aram. הוא, Heb. הוה, 3rd pers. pl. imp. יְהֻוֹן; Ir. [illegible] *būtan*, Persian بودن.

[illegible] *yahīty ūntan* "to bring" a form borrowed from a 'hiphil' of the Aram. root אתא; cf. Chald. איתי, היתי the Syriac *'afal'* איתי the Heb. *'hiphil'* הביא, and Ar. اتى; Ir. [illegible] *āvōrtan*, Pers. آوردن.

[illegible] a form sprung from an erroneous spelling; observe [illegible] *shabakūntan*.

[illegible] *katarūntan* "to stay, remain," Aram. & Heb. כתר, Ir. [illegible] *māndan*, Pers. ماندن.

[illegible] *katarūntan*, see the preceding.

[illegible] *karītūntan* "to call", Aram. & Heb. קרא, Ar. قرا, Ir. [illegible] *khvāntan*, Pers. خواندن.

[illegible] *kadakhūnastan* "to grow", Aram קדח. Ir. [illegible] *rūstan*, Pers. رستن.

[illegible] *kīlūntan* "to measure", Aram. כול; cf. the Syr. 'afel' אכיל, Heb. הכיל, Ar. كال, Ir. [illegible] *padmūtan*, Pers. پیمودن.

[illegible] *kīmūnastan* "to rise", Aram. קום, Ar. قام, Ir. [illegible] *khāstan*, Pers. خاستن; the Pahl. verb [illegible] being able to correspond to the Persian خواستن the verb [illegible] *kīmūnastan* could mean "to want" but we do not

see which Semitic root it will be suited, in this case, to attach it to.

[illegible] *makhītūntan* "to strike, kill," Aram. and Heb. מחה, מחא, Ar. محو "to efface, destroy", Ir. [illegible] *zatan,* Pers. زدن.

[illegible] faulty spelling for [illegible] *mazbunūntan* "to sell", Aram. זבן, Ar. زبن, Ir. [illegible] *frōkhtan,* Persian فروختن, افروختن.

[illegible] and [illegible] "to collect, gather; choose, reading and etymology doubtful; Ir. [illegible] *cītan,* Pers. چیدن.

[illegible] *makbulūntan* "to accept, receive" Aram. and Heb. קבל, Ar. قبل, Ir. [illegible] *patīraftan,* Pers. پذیرفتن.

[illegible] wrong graphy for [illegible] makbulūntan.

[illegible] *manītūntan* "to remember", Aram. מנא, Ir. [illegible] *ōshmūrtan,* Pers. شمردن.

[illegible] *madammunastan* "to seem, appear". This verb derives from the piel participle from the root of Aram. דמא, Heb. דמה, Syr. ܕܡܝ, which is מְדַמֵּא for מְדַמְּמָא; it is translated (*Pahlavi Pazand Glossary,* p. 13) [illegible] *sahastan.*

[illegible] *ōbarūntan* or *'abarūntan,* "to pass away, die", Aram. & Heb. עבר, Ar. عبر, Ir. [illegible] *vitārtan,* Persian گذاردن.

[illegible] *nafalūntan* "to fall", Aram. & Heb. נפל, Ir. [illegible] *ōpastan*; cf. افتادن.

[illegible] *nafalūnistan,* see the preceding.

[illegible] *natarūntan* "to scrutinise, examine" Aram. & Heb. נטר, Ar. نظر, Ir. [illegible] *pātan.*

𐭠𐭦𐭠𐭤𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 *ōzalūntan* or *'azalūntan* "to go", The reading is fixed by the form that is found in the Sassanid inscriptions *v-z-l-u n-t,* which removes the etymology from زل already proposed by Haugh. This verb is borrowed from the Aram. and Heb. root אזל, Ir. 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮 *shūtan,* Pers. شدن.

𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭮𐭥𐭮 The reading generally adopted for this word is *vashtamūntan* "to eat". It is attached to the Aram. root טעם, Ar. طعم, of which it appears to be a '*shafel'* with inversion of the *ain* and of the *sh* עשטם (§ 41); This verb, therefore, is to be read *ōshtamūntan* or *'ashtamūntan.* If this form is obscure, it is not in this respect the same with the root which is certain. Iranian 𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮 *khūrtan,* Pers. خوردن.

𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭮𐭥𐭮 The ordinary reading is *vashammūntan* "to listen, hear." The etymology of this verb is also evident than that of the preceding and it presents the same difficulties. It is connected with the Aram. and Heb. root שמע, Ar. سمع; the initial *vav* can be hardly indicated as a *niphal* נשמע, because it will be the sole example of a form of this genre borrowed by Pahlavi; moreover the reduplication of '*m'* seems to indicate a *piēl* perhaps that as in the preceding verb, the initial *vav* represents the *ain* of the root שמע past, one does not know why, nor how, at the head or front, under the form עשם; if this hypothesis is exact, we are to read *'ashammūntan'.*

𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭮𐭥𐭮 *nakasūntan* "to slay, kill", Aram. נכס Ir. 𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮. *kūshtan,* Pers. كشتن.

𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭮𐭥𐭮 *ōbadūntan* or *'abadūntan* "to make, do, perform," Aram. and Heb. עבד, Ar. عبد (Heb. and Ar. has the special sense of adoring God; cf. Latin colere, to cultivate and to adore), Ir. 𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮 *kartan,* Pers. كردن.

𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭮𐭥𐭮 *ōkhadūntan* or better *'akhadūntan* "to take", Aram. & Heb. אחד, Ar. أخذ, Ir. 𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮 *giriftan,* Pers. گرفتن.

[illegible] *yazbā'ūnastan* and [illegible] *yazbā'ūntan* "to wish, desire," Aram. [illegible], Ir. [illegible] *kāmistan,* Pers. کامستن.

[illegible] *yatībūntan* "to sit", Aram. יתב, Heb. יָשַׁב, Iranian, [illegible] *nishastan,* Pers. نشستن.

[illegible] *yatībūnastan,* see the preceding.

[illegible] *yazbakhūntan* "to sacrifice, offer sacrifice to" Aram. דבח, Heb. זבח, Ar. ذبح, Ir. [illegible] *yashtan,* Parsi. یشتن.

[illegible] *ya'zalūntan,* see [illegible] *'azalūntan.*

[illegible] *yaktalūntan* "to kill", Aram. & Heb. קטל, Ar. قتل, Ir. [illegible] *avzatan.*

[illegible] *yaktībūntan* "to write", Aram. כתב, Ar. كتب, Ir. [illegible] *nipishtan,* Persian نوشتن and نشتن.

[illegible] *yaktībūnastan,* see the preceding.

[illegible] *yakōyamūntan,* or more exactly *yakōyyémuntan* "to be standing" from a *pael* from Chald. יְקַיֵּם, derived from יְקוּם, of the Aram. root קום, Ar. قام Ir. [illegible] īstātan, Pers. استادن.

[illegible] *yakōyamūnastan* or *yakōyyémūnastan,* see the preceding.

[illegible] *yamallūntan,* see the following.

[illegible] *yamallūntan* or more exactly *yamallélūntan* "to speak, tell", a form derived from a *'pael'* or of a *'piel'* of the *Aramaen* root מלל, Chald. יְמַלְּלוּן, Ir. [illegible] *guftan,* Pers. گفتن.

[illegible] *yamītūntan* "to die" Aram. & Heb. מות, מית, Ar. مات, Ir. [illegible] *mūrtan,* Pers. مردن.

[illegible] *dōpakūntan* "to strike, beat", Aram & Heb. דפק; the etymology of this word is unsure, it is probably that the first *vav*

is wrongly written and that we should read *dapakūntan*, Ir. [illegible] *avzatan*.

[illegible] and [illegible] a wrong graphics of the following verb [illegible] *yansagūntan*.

[illegible] *yansagūntan* "to get hold of, seize", Chald. & Heb. נסג, this root is used only at the *'hiphil'* הסִיג for הִנָשִׂיג this is Aramaean form with the noun (*nun* Tr.) which has been borrowed from Pahlavi, we shall compare נסג "to reach" which at the *hiphil* has also the sense of "to seize", Ir. [illegible] *sītātan*, Pers. ستادن.

§45. Conjugation.

Middle Persian has a solitary conjugation for all verbs; it has three voices, the active, the passive, and the causal[77]. It distinguishes the tenses 1stly in special tenses, the aorist of which are formed the present indicative, the future, the subjunctive, the optative, the imperative, the present participle and the future participle, and 2ndly in general tenses comprising the two perfects, definite past, indefinite past and the passive participle.

The general tenses derive from the perfect stem which is identical with the passive participle and the special tenses are formed from the aorist.

This verbal structure of MP which is very nearly close to the structure of the verb of NP, derive from that of the Persian verb. The general tenses of Persian that is to say those which join the inflection directly to the root are the present indicative, the subjunctive, the imperfect, the imperative, the potential and the present participle; the special tenses are those which interpolate between the root and the inflection or syllable, termed characteristic, variable according to the class to which the root of the verb belongs.

In Persian these were, in so far as it is possible to judge of it, with the help of the few epigraphic documents dating from the Achaemenids, nine classes of verbs one of which used to correspond with the TW class of Greek verbs which was unknown to Skt. The diverse characteristics are no longer visible in MP, because, following the action of phonetic laws which has brought the Achaemenian Persian to the status of NP, they have been cast and converted even with the verb root; nevertheless, it is their latent existence which explain the divergences that exist between the stem of general tenses and that of the principal tenses.

§46. The infinitive of the verb in Pahlavi ends in ۱۱۴ *-tan,* Paz. *tan* or *dan,* Parsi. تن or دن, in Pazand, in Parsi. and in modern Persian the termination *-tan* is used after the hard (tenues Tr.) consonants and *-dan* after soft (medial Tr.) consonants or after a vowel.

Ex. of a verb the root of which ends in a hard consonant.

Pahl. ۱۱۴ه‌ز *bōkh-tan* "to save, rescue", Paz. *bokh-tan,* Pers. بوختن.

Ex. of a verb the root of which ends in a soft consonant or a vowel.

Pahl. ۱۱۴ه‌ز *būrī-tan* "to cut", Paz. *būri-dan,* Parsi. بریدن.

This ending emanates from the Persian termination *-tanaiy,* instrumental of *-tana*; the hard dental t is always maintained in Pahlavi except in some extremely rare cases which are, besides, only the rejuvenated forms and closely modelled on the Persian.

Ex. : ۱۲۱۹ *kan-dan* "to dig, the snatch away from" Persian کندن.

The stem of the perfect, identical to the passive participle is obtained from the infinitive by the suppression of *-an* :

Ex. : Infinitive, Pahl. [illegible] *kantan,* Paz. *kañdan,* Parsi. کندن. "to dig".

Stem of the perfect, Pahl. [illegible] *kant-*, Paz. *kañd,* Parsi. کند.

The stem of the aorist is formed from the stem of the perfect with the suppression of the final -t.

Ex. : Perfect stem, Pahl. [illegible] *kant-*, Paz. *kañd-*, Parsi. کند.

Stem of the aorist, Pahl. [illegible] *kan-*, Paz. *kañ-*, Parsi. کن.

The verbs wherefrom we thus obtain the aorist stem are very rare in middle Persian and in modern Persian; they have acquired the name of regular verbs to distinguish them from those which do not conform to this rule.[8]

§47. Formation of the aorist stem of verbs ending in [illegible] *-ītan* in Pahlavi, Paz., *-īdan,* Parsi & Persian یدن.

This stem is built from the stem of the perfect with the suppression of [illegible] *-it, -īd* یدن.

Ex. :	Infinitive	aorist stem
Pahl.	[illegible] *andēsh-ītan* "to reflect"	[illegible] *añdésh-*
Paz.	*andésh-īdan*	*añdésh-*
Parsi.	اندیشیدن	اندیش

The verbs of this category are, in reality, causative forms, formed from the aorist stem of the simple verb with the adjunction of a suffix deriving from the Persian suffix *-ayitanaiy.*

§48. Verbs of which the aorist stem is not obtained by the retrenchment of the *-t* of perfect stem, called as irregulars.

We do not always obtain directly the root of the verb otherwise called the aorist stem, by the suppression of the final-*t* of the

perfect stem or what reverts to the same as by suppression of the *-tan* suffix of the infinitive. In fact, the encounter of the -t of the termination of the Persian infinitive *-tanaiy* with the last consonant of the root has often completely modified it to the point of making it unrecognisable. Thus it is that the root *ruc* "to shine", with the prefixation of the preposition *'abi'*- there is formed a verb *af-rūkh-tan* (= *abiruc-tanaiy)* and that the *tap*- 'to shine, scintilate" the verb *tāf-tan* is derived. The pure and simple suppression of the *-t* of the perfect stem or of the *-tan* of the infinitive will yield the stems *firūkh*- and *tāf* of the aorist while the veritable stems are *firūz*- and *tab*-.

Here are the rules to be followed to get the aorist stem of the verbs the root of which is found modified by the adjunction of the suffix *-tan* of the infinitive.

After having the suppression of the *-t* of the perfect stem, we should change :

1stly. *kh* in *dj(tch)* in Pahlavi, *zh* or *z* in Pazand, z in Parsi.[79].

Ex. : Pahl. *āmōktan* "to teach" *amōdj-*

Paz. *āmōkhtan* *amōzh-*

Parsi. آموختن آموز

2ndly. After the suppression of *-tan, -f-* becomes *v* in Pahl. following the verbs, becomes *b* in Paz. and in Parsi., or else the rest *v*.

Ex. : Pahl. *firīftan* "to deceive" *firīv-*

Paz. *fréftan* *fréb-*

Parsi. فریفتن فریب

Ex. : Pahl. *raftan* "to go" *rav-*

Paz. *raftan* *rav-*

Parsi. رفتن رو-

3rdly. *-sh*-changes into -r-

Ex.: Pahl. *dāshtan* "to have, possess" *dār-*

Paz. *dashtan* *dār-*

Parsi. داشتن دار

The infinitive of these verbs is formed by a determinative in *-sh-* taken from the root : *dāshtan* derived from **dār-sh-tanaiy.*

4thly. *-s*-becomes *-i* and *-y* in front of veralic endings

Ex. : Pahl. *ārāstan* "to adorn" *ārāi.*

Paz. *ārāstan* *ārāi*

Parsi. آراستن آرای

These verbs come from roots terminating in a dental. *ārāstan* comes from **ā-rād-tanaiy* and the third person plural of the aorist *ārāy-* and from **ā-rād-anti* as the result of the well known weakening of *-d*-to *-y-*, which is found in *Speñtō-dāta* turning into *Isfandyār, *Mitrō-dāta* becoming *Mihiryār.* Pazand writes the group -ya-coming from the combination of the final semivowel of the aorist stem with the initial vowel of the verbal endings, under the form ē ; ex. : *ārāy-* and is written *ārāēñd*; we shall see farther ahead other examples this graphic evidently comes from a wrong reading of Pahl. read *a-r-a-e-n-d,* while the correct reading is *a-r-a-y-n-d.*

5thly. *-ū-* change into *-āī-.*

Ex. : Pahl. *farmūtan* "to command", *farmāī*

Paz. *farmūtan* *farmāī-*

Parsi. فرمودن فرمای

The verbs of which the infinitive is in *-ūtan* belong to the categories : the first hardly comprises other than those derived from the root *mā-*; the *y* of *ay-* of the aorist stem is not, as the

Persian grammarians teach an euphonic letter interpolated between the root of the verb and the verbal terminations as it is already found in Zend, where from the root *ā-mā* there forms *āmayāontē* "may they exercise". The aorist stem of these verbs probably comes from a causative *mā-ya* because the root *mā* in Skt. is conjugated with reduplication *mi-mī-te.*

The verbs which belong to the second category in *-ū* derive from roots in *-ū-* are conjugated with the characteristic *-aya-* where these are causative forms of these same roots, Ex. : root sru- "to sing", infinitive **sru-tanaiy,* Pahl. *srūtan* [illegible], Paz. *surūdan,* Parsi. & Persian سرودن; in the aorist the root *sru-* conjugated with the feature *-aya-* gives *srāvaya- (ti)*; cf. Zend **srāvayēiti* "he sings" (*Vendidad, Fargard* XVIII, § 24), which is found regularly formed with the characteristic *-nu-*. The group *-āvay* formed thus cannot be maintained in middle Persian, and is reduced to *-āy-* consequent upon the falling away of the syllable *va* (cf. *aiva* "one" becoming *aī*) *srāvayaiti,* therefore becomes *srāyad,* whence the aorist stem *srāy.*

6thly. In the verbs terminating with *ā* after the suppression of the *-t* of the perfect stem, the aorist stem is obtained by suppressing this *-ā.*

Ex. : Pahl. [illegible] *ūftātan* "to fall"[80] -[illegible] ūft-

Paz. *ōftādan* *ōft-*

Parsi. افتادن افت

Other verbs ending in *-ā* after the retrenchment of the final *-t* of the perfect stem form their aorist stem in a completely different way, identically like the verbs ending in *-ū*

Ex. : Pahlavi [illegible] *zātan* "to be born", [illegible] *zāy-*

Pazand *zādan* *zāy-*

Parsi. زادن زای

The verbs of this second category all derive from roots in *-ā* conjugated either with the characteristic *-aya-*, or in the causative, it is this characteristic which is met with again in the aorist stem in the form *-y-*. It is, therefore, absolutely inexact to say, as is currently done in Persian grammars that these verbs interpolate an *-y-* between the aorist stem regularly formed by the suppression of the suffix *-dan* of the infinitive and the personal endings. Upon the aorist stem of these verbs have been formed the infinitives in *-ūtan* on the analogy of *numūtan, numāy-* for example بخشودن beside the regular form بخشیدن.

7thly. Verbs in *-nistan.*

For forming the stem of the aorist of these verbs, we, after the suppression of the *-t* of the perfect stem retrench the syllable *-is-*.

Ex. : Pahl. 𐭩𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭥 *dānistan* "to know" 𐭩𐭥 *dān-*

Paz. *dānistan* *dān-*

Parsi. دانستن دان

The roots of these verbs are, in Persian, conjugated as in Sanskrit and in Zend with the characteristic feature *-nā-*, *dā-nā-* *mā-nā-*. The *-n-* of the characteristic has at last penetrated into those roots which have become *dān-*, *mān-*, whence infinitives *dān-ītan, nān-ītan* with aorist stems dān-, mān-. These infinitives are not used in middle Persian, where they have been replaced by *dān-istan, mān-istan,* forms composed of the false roots *dān-, mān* and of the infinitive not used at the isolated state of the verb *istan* "to hold, remain". (cf. Latin stare and Low Latin estare, whence French ester).

§49. Verbs whose aorist stem cannot be obtained by the application of the preceding rules.

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 *āfrītan.* There exists in Pahlavi and in Persian a verb آفریدن *āfrīdan* "to bless" which surely derives from a Pahlavi

verb [illegible], Paz. *āfrīdan,* which we do not find in the texts, but the derivatives of which are frequently used in middle Persian, the imperative of this verb [illegible] *āfrīn,* Paz. āfrīn, Parsi. آفرین, is used substantively in the sense of "benediction"; this verb is derived from the root *frī* "to love, like", present *ā-frī-nā-mi,* infinitive *ā-frī-tanaiy*; cf. Skt. *prī-,* whence *priya* "a friend."

[illegible] *āvōrtan* and [illegible] *āvortan.* "to bring", Paz. *āwardan* Parsi. آوردن aorist stem- [illegible] *āvōr*-and- [illegible] *āvar,* Paz. *āwar-,* Parsi. and Persian آور, in Persian most of ten contracted into آر.

[illegible] *khāstan,* "to jump", Paz. *khāstan,* Parsi. خاستن; aorist stem [illegible] *khīz, khidj,* Paz. *khīzh, khīz,* Parsi. & Persian خیز.

[illegible] *āmatan* "to come", Paz. *āmadan,* Parsi. & Persian آمدن. This verb is extremely rare in Pahlavi where we scarcely meet excepting with its Semitic equivalent *yātūntan.* The aorist stem is *āy-*. The 3rd pers. indicative in Pazand is *āēd* for *ayad,* Parsi. آید the infinitive of this verb and the stem of the perfect derive from the root *gam* "to go", **ā-gma-tanaiy* "to go ". cf. [illegible] *matan* "to go" of which we do not know the form of the aorist; the other tenses are derived from the root *i-*

[illegible] *andjītan* "to contract, recoil", Paz. *añdjīdan,* Parsi. انجیدن aorist stem *andjīn,* Pahl. [illegible], Paz. *añdjīn,* Parsi. انجین this verb derives from the root *ci (tchi)* conjugated with the characteristic *-nu-*; the infinitive is **ham-ci-tanaiy,* the 3rd. pers. sg. of the present of the indicative **ham-cī-no ti,* cf. [illegible] *cītan-*

[illegible] *khvāstan,* also written [illegible] *khāstan* "to want, wish", Paz. *khvāstan,* Parsi. & Pers. خواستن; this verb is very rarely used in the present tense in Pahlavi; in this tense we rather find the Semitic verb *bōyahūnastan* or better *ba'yūnstan* (see § 41); aorist stem *khvāh,* Pahl. [illegible] Paz. *khvāh-,* Parsi. خواه. This verb has *'hvad'* as root, the infinitive is **hvād-tanaiy,* whence *khvāstan*; the 3rd. pers. sg. of the aorist is **hvād-ati,* whence *khvāh-ad* (cf. J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* vol. 1. p. 207)

[illegible] *hīshtan* "to let, loosen," Paz. *héshtan,* Parsi. هیشتن Persian هشتن; this verb is very rare in Pahlavi, where it is generally replaced by the Semitic [illegible]; stem of the aorist *hīl,* Pahlavi [illegible] Paz. *hél,* Parsi. هل . This verb derives from a Persian root *hard-*, Zend *harez-*, Skt. *sṛj* "to let go, express"; the infinitive **hard tanaiy* became *hishtan,* and the 3rd pers. sg. of the aorist **hard-ati,* regularly *helad.*

[illegible] *bastan* "to tie, attach," Paz. *bastan* Persian بستن; stem of the aorist *band-*, Pahl. [illegible],Paz. *bañd,* Persian بند the infinitive of this verb is **ba(n)d-tanaiy,* whence *bas-tan* the 3rd pers sg. of the aorist *band-ati* (cf. Zend *bañdayéiti)* whence come the stem *band-*.

[illegible] *būtan* "to be" Paz. *budan,* Persian بودن; stem of the aorist *bav-*, Pahl. [illegible]; Pazand has a wrong reading of this form and has made *bahō* of it, in such a way that the 3rd pers. of the present indicative [illegible] *bavat* is *bahōt*[81] in Parsi. This aorist stem which derives from the root *bu-*, conjugated with the characteristic *-a-* let us say *bav-a-ti* has already been replaced in Pahlavi by another form *bāsh-*, derived from the future stem **bavishyāmi,* Persian باشم. Besides, this verb is very rarely used in Pahlavi where we hardly find but the Semitic form *yahvūhtan.*

[illegible] *patvastan* "to join" *Pazpaēvastan,* Persian پیوستن stem of the aorist, Pahl. [illegible] *patvand*-Paz. *paēvañd-*, Persian پیوند from *paitiband-*, see [illegible].

[illegible] *patīraftan* "to receive" , Paz. *padīraftan,* Parsi. پذیرفتن; stem of the aorist [illegible] *patīr,* Paz. *padīr.* Parsi. پذیر Persian is پذیرفتن.

[illegible] *firūkhtan* "to sell", Paz. *frōkhtan,* Parsi. فروختن; stem of the aorist, Pahl. [illegible] *frōsh-*, Paz. *frōsh,* Parsi. فروش.

[illegible] *pūkhtan* "to cook, get cooked", Paz. *pōkhtan,* Persian

پختن; stem of the aorist -پز Paz. -پچ *padj. patch,* Pazand paz and *pōz* Persian پز.

چیتن *cītan (tchītan)* "to collect, gather", Paz. *cīdan,* Persian چیدن; this verb is very little used in Pahlavi. The *Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary* gives it as a Semitic equivalent [illegible] and [illegible]; the stem of the aorist is *cīn-,* Pahl. -چن, Paz. *cīn,* Parsi. چین. This verb has *ci* as its root conjugated with the -nu-characteristic, which is blended in the root; the infinitive is *cītanaiy* and the 3rd pers. sg. of the aorist **cī-no-ti,* whence the stem *cīn-cf.* Pahl. [illegible] *vicītan.*

[illegible] *rustan* "to grow, become big", Paz. *rustan.* Parsi. رستن; stem of the aorist *rūy*-Pahl. روی, Paz. *rōi,* Parsi. روی Pazand combines the final *y* of the stem of the aorist with the initial vowel of the personal termination under the form *ē*; ex. : 3rd pers. sg. روی. *rūyit,* Paz. *rōēt.* This Pazand formation issues out of a false reading of Pahlavi. The root is *rūd-*.

زتن *zatan* "to strike, beat", Paz. *zadan,* Parsi. زدن; this verb is very rarely used in Pahlavi where we hardly get other than its Semitic equivalent [illegible] *makhītūntan*; stem of the aorist *zan-*, Pahl. زن, Paz. *zan-* Persian زن; the root of this verb is *jan-* (*djan-*), the infinitive is ** ja(n)-tanaiy,* the 3rd pers. sg. of the present ** jan-a-ti,*whence the stem of the aorist *zan-*.

[illegible] *sakhtan* "to weigh", Paz. *sakhtan,* Parsi. سختن, this verb is rarely used; stem of the aorist *sanj-* Pahl. - سنج, Paz. *sañc-,* Parsi. سنج.

دیتن *dītan* "to see", Paz. *dīdan,* Persian دیدن; this verb is very rarely used in Pahlavi and we scarcely ever find except the form [illegible] *khazītūntan*; the stem of the aorist *bīn,* Pahl. بین Paz. *bīn,* Persian بین. The stem of the perfect is that of the aorist deriving from two completely different roots, the first is *dī-,* "to see", whence **dī-tanaiy=dī-dan* (cf. Zend *dōithra* "eye" for **detra)*; the second is *vin-, vain-* (cf. *vaēn-*

in Zend), wherefrom **vain-ati =bīn-ad.* It is from this second root that derives the Pahlavi [illegible] *vīnīk,* Persian بینی "nose" and [illegible] *vīnāk* "clairvoyant", Persian بینا.

[illegible] *djastan* "to jump" , Paz *djāstan,* Pers. جستن stem of the aorist *djah-,* Pahl.- [illegible], Paz. djah-, Parsi. جه.

[illegible] *dātan* "to give", Paz. *dādan,* Pers. دادن; this verb is almost never employed in Pahlavi in the present and the tenses deriving from it; it is generally replaced by its Semitic equivalent *yahabūntan.* The stem of the aorist is *dah-,* Pahl. [illegible]. Paz. *dah-,* Pers. ده. The root of this verb is *dā-* which is conjugated means of reduplication: 3rd pers. sg. **da-dā-ti* "he gives" (cf. Zend *da-dhāi-ti*), cf. Gk. δί–δω–μι; the expected form will be *dah-ād* whilst the form in Middle Persian is *dah-ad.* It is probable that already in Persian perhaps even in the language whence it springs at the same time as the Zend, it was formed with a secondary root *dad-,* whence *dad-āti* "he gives", which will explain the form *dah-ad* whence comes the stem of the aorist dah-

[illegible] *shikastan* "to shatter, break", Paz. *shikastan,* Pers. شکستن, this verb is rare in Pahlavi where we rather find the Semitic equivalent *tabarūnastan.* The stem of the aorist is *shikan-,* Pahl. [illegible], Paz. *shikan,* Parsi. شکن. We find in Paz. and in Parsi. a verb *shikañdan* and شکندن, which is evidently renewed on this aorist stem and of which the original Pahlavi will be [illegible] *shikantan*; this latter verb does not appear to exist in modern Persian; the root is *skand-* (cf. J. Darmesteter, Ét. ir. vol. 1. p. 207).

[illegible] *shināktan* "to know, be acquainted with", Paz. *shināktan* Pers. شناختن, stem of the aorist *shinās-* Pahl. [illegible], Paz. *shinās,* Pers. شناس.

[illegible] *shūtan* "to become", Paz. *Shudan,* Pers. شدن this verb is never used in Pahlavi where we find its Semitic equivalent

'azalūntan only; we know its conjugation only through Parsi. and Persian. The stem of the imperative is *shav-*, Pers. شو; the Pazand and Parsi forms of this verb are generally very corrupted; the imperfect is often given under the form *shō-* and, by the side of the present *shavom* (for *shavam)*, which is regular, we find forms like *shahōt* which comes from a false reading of Pahlavi 𐭮𐭧𐭥𐭮 read *sh-(h)-u-t* in place of *sh-u-t,* in Parsi are found forms like, شهوت which are the imitation of these Pazand forms. The root is *shu-* **shu-tanaiy* has regularly given the infinitive *shu-tan* and **shav-ati* (cf. Zend 3rd. pers. sg. pro. middle *shav-aitē, Yasna, Hā* 29, §3) has given shav-ad, whence we have the stem shav-.

𐭪𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭩𐭯 *kāstan* "to diminish, decrease", Paz. *kāstan,* Pers. کاستن; the stem of the aorist *kāh-,* Pahl. 𐭪𐭠𐭥 Paz. *kāh-,* Pers. کاه the root is *kas-* (cf. Zend *kasu* "small"); **kas-tanaiy* has yielded the infinitive *kās-tan* and ** kās-ati* has become regularly *kāh-ati* then *kāh-ad,* whence we get the stem *kāh.*

𐭪𐭩𐭮𐭲 *kartan* "to do", Paz. *kardan,* Pers. کردن. This verb is very rarely used in Pahlavi, it is scarcely found other than in the passive participle 𐭪𐭩𐭮𐭲 *kart,* and in the tenses derived therefrom; it is generally replaced by its Semitic equivalent *obdūntan.* The stem of the imperative is 𐭪𐭥𐭮 *kūn* Paz. *kun-* Parsi. کن. This verb derives from the root *kar-* "to make" which is conjugated with the *-nu-* characteristic; Skt. *kṛ-ṇo-ti* "he does", Zend *kere-naoi-ti,* the group *-ere-*representing the *ṛ* vowel of Skt. Already at the time of Darius Persian lost the semivowels and rendered them by vowels, as Greek did, which form (s).

*m-*δελφος 'born from the same mother", Skt. **Saṃ-garbha,* built 'ἀδελφος (cf. Turkish قرنداش) *ku-no-ti* regularly became *kun-ad,* whence we have the aorist stem *kun-,* while *kar-tanaiy* gave the infinitive *kar-tan.*

mūrtan "to die", Paz. *murdan*, Pers. مردن; this verb is very rarely used in Pahlavi, where it is generally replaced by the Semitic equivalent *yamītūntan*. The stem of the aorist is *mīr*, Pahl. , Paz. *mīr*, Pers. . This verb derives from the root *mar* **mar-tanaiy* became *mur-tan*, as *bartanaiy* "to carry" became *bur-tan*, Skt., present indicative is *mr-iya-ti* "he dies" in Persian the stem of the special tenses was not *mr-iya-as* in Skt., but *mīr-ya-*, as is evidenced by Zend *ava-mair-yāitē* "he will die", from **mīr-ya-ti* is regularly derived *mīr-ad*, whence we have the aorist stem mīr.

nipishtan "to write", Paz. *navashtan* and better *nivishtan*, Pers. نوشتن and نوشتن. This verb is very rarely used in Pahlavi and it is generally replaced by its Semitic equivalent *yaktībūntan* or *yaktībūnastan*; the stem of the aorist is *nipīs-*, *nivis-*, Pahl. , Paz. *navis-*, *nivis-*, Parsi. نویس; this verb is derived from the root pis- with the preposition *ni-*.

visastan "to break", Paz. *gusistan* (an established form), Parsi. گسستن, stem of the Pahl., aorist *visīl-*, Paz. *gusīl-* (established form), Parsi. گسیل; this verb is derived from vi-card- (cf. J. Darmesteter Et. ir., vol. 1, pp. 84, 209).

nishāstan "to set, install", Paz. *nishāstan*, Parsi. نشاستن, the stem of the aorist *nishān-*, Pahl. Paz. *nishān*, Parsi. نشان; this verb is derived from the root *shad-* with the prefixation of the preposition *ni-* :

ni-shād-tan gave the infinitive *ni-shās-tan*, while the present *ni-shand-aya-ti* has given *ni-shān-ad*, whence the stem of the aorist *nishān* (J. Darmesteter, Ét. ir. vol. 1, p. 207).

vashtan "to turn, become," Paz. *gashtan*, Parsi. گشتن the stem of the aorist Pahlavi *vart-*, Paz. *gard-*, Pers. گرد; this verb derives from the root *vart* : *vart-tanaiy* has given the infinitive *vash-tan*, while *vart-ati* is reduced to *vart-at*, whence the stem of the aorist *vart*.

nishastan "to sit", Paz. *nishastan,* Parsi. نشستن, the stem of the aorist *nishīn-,* Pahl. *nishīn-,* Paz. *nishīn-,* Pers. نشین; *nishastan* is *ni-shad-tanaiy*; *nishīn-* comes from a stem *ni-shīnd-* (see J. Darmesteter, Ét. ir. vol. 1, p. 81).

gūftan "to say", Paz. *guftan,* Pers. گفتن; this verb, is, so to speak, never used in Pahlavi in the indicative present, where we find only the Semitic form *yamallūntan.* In the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary* (p. 13, line 6) the forms *gavēm* for the first pers. sg. (or pl.) of the present, *gavēt* for the third (or 2nd of the pl.). The verb deriving from the Persian root *gaub-, gaub-ataiy* "he speaks", these forms are quite those which we can rightly expect, however, the rare examples that we meet with in Pahl., it is found *gūyad* "he says" just as in modern Persian; the forms given by the *Pahlavi-Paz. and Glossary* are older forms. Whatever it be, the stem of the aorist of this verb is in Pazand *guy* likewise as in Parsi. گوی. Pazand combines the semivowel *g* of the stem with the initial vowel of the ending under the form *ē,* ex. : *gōēṭ* "he tells", for *gōyat.*

giriftan 'to take", Paz. *giriftan,* Pers. گرفتن; this verb is very rarely employed in Pahlavi where one rather find Semitic *'akhadūntan*; the stem of the aorist is *gīr-,* Pahl. *gīr-,* Paz. *gīr-,* Pers. گیر the root is *garb-.*

djūstan "to search", Paz. *djūstan,* djustan, Pers. جستن; the stem of the aorist *djūy-* Pahl. *djōy,* Paz. d*jōy,* Parsi. جوی, we find the orthography *djōēt* for *djōyat* for this verb.

§50. Conjugation.

The personal endings are the same for the special tenses and for the tenses in general, with nearly a single exception

Singular

	Pahlavi		Pazand	Parsi.
	Ist system	2nd system		
1st Pers.	-ēm, īm;	-am ōm;	-am, om, ōm;	م، ام
2nd Pers.	-āī;	-āī;	-aē, ē;	ی
3rd Pers.	-it;	-d;	et, ed;	د

Plural

1st Pers.	-ēm, -īm;	-ēm, -īm;	-im, -om;	م
	-īt;	-īt;	-ét, -éd;	ید
	-īnd;	-and;	eñd;	ند

This table is applicable for all the forms of the verb, except the imperative and for the third person of the perfect, which has no inflection at all; we shall see farther on what the cause of this fact.

§51. Origin of the personal terminations.

The system of the inflections of middle Persian derives from the conjugation of the stem of the causative of Persian (J. Darmesteter, Ét, ir. vol. 1, p. 189).

Singular	Plural	
ayā-mi	1st Pers.	*ayā-mahi*
aya-hi	2nd Pers.	*aya-ta*
aya-ti	3rd Pers.	*aya-nti*

It is from these forms that the Pahlavi inflections of the first system are derived.

Singular		Plural
-ēm, -īm	1st Pers.	-ēm, -īm
-āī	2nd Pers	-īt
-īt	3rd Pers.	-īnd

The system of the inflection of modern Persian is the following :

Singular		Plural	
ـم *-am*	1st Pers.	ـیم *-īm*	
ـی *-ī*	2nd Pers.	ـید *-īd*	
ـد *-ad*	3rd Pers.	ـند *-and*	

Of these six inflectional endings those which are marked by an asterisk, the second pers., sg., the first and second of the pl. only are identical with those of Pahlavi and derive from the stem in *-aya-* of the ancient Persian causative; the three others the first and the third of the sg. and the third of pl. are derived from the system of inflections of the Persian verb with stem in *-a.*

Singular			Plural	
Persian	Middle Pers.		Persian	Middle Pers.
bar-ā-mi	*bar-am*	1st Pers.	*bar-ā-mahi*	*(bar-am)*
bar-a-hi	(bar)	2nd Pers.	*bar-a-ta*	(bar-ad)
bar-a-ti	bar-ad	3rd Pers.	*bar-a-nti*	bar-and

The forms placed within parenthesis are those which are not used in modern Persian. Had middle Persian or modern Persian adopted the one or the other systems derived from these two conjugatios, the one with the *-a-* characteristic, the other with the *-aya-* characteristic, the morphology of the verb would have been impossible. In fact, the conjugation of the Persian root with the *-a-* characteristic used to give only four distinct forms, because in middle Persian the first person of the singular was identical with the first person plural and the third person singular was not being differentiated by anything of the second person plural. Had middle Persian adopted the forms derived from the conjugation of the root with the *-aya*-characteristic, that is to say, of the causative, it would not have been any lesser evil. In fact, there were also only four different forms, the two first persons of the singular and of the plural being confounded as well as the third person singular and the second of the plural.

From two sides, the language would have arrived at an inextricable confusion.

Middle Persian has combined the two systems in a manner to eliminate the common parts thus it follows the forms printed in italics representing those which are derived from the conjugation of the root with the *-a*-characteristic.

	Singular			Plural
Parsi.	Persian		Parsi.	Persian
bar-ā-mi	*(bar)-am*	1st pers.	*bar-ayā-mahi*	(bar) im
bar-aya-bi	*(bar)-ī*	2nd pers.	bar-aya-ta	(bar) id
bar-a-ti	*(bar)-ad*	3rd pers.	*bar-a-nti*	(bar) and

Let us note that the system of the inflections of modern Persian is the same as the second system of inflections of Pahlavi, as also those of Pazand and Parsi., that is to say, that already round about 11th century, and doubtlessly well before it, the system of inflections derived from the conjugation with the *-aya* characteristic had been replaced by the mixed system that is found in modern Persian. This phenomenon must have produced an effect at an early period for it was impossible to keep a conjugation which confounded forms very disparate in meaning and which to top it all does not make use of pronominal subjects.

The form *ōm*, Paz. *-om*, Parsi. ام of the first person singular, is not etymologically explained; it is met with in a few texts only, almost exclusively the most modern ones. The transformation of *a* to *o* is found in certain words without the knowledge of if it responds to a real change in pronounciation, thus it is that we find *Rūstōm* by the side of *Rūstam*; it often happens that even in the medial position of words, the copyists add a *vav* which have no sound value and which have no right to be indicated in transcription. However, it is possible that this orthography *ōm* corresponds to a dialectal pronounciation.

§52. Paradigms of the Conjugation.

We shall take for example the verb [illegible] *khūr-tan* 'to eat'', of which the Semitic is *oshtamūn-tan*[1], Paz. *khvar-dan,* Parsi. خوردن. The stem of the aorist is [illegible] *khūr-*, Semitic- [illegible] *oshtamūn,* Paz. *khvar-*, Parsi. خور.

1. Special tenses formed.

Aorist

Iranian Pahlavi

Singular

1st system		2nd system	1st system
1st pers.	*khūr-īm*	*khūr-am, khūr-ōm*	*oshtamūn*
2nd pers.		*khūr-ī*	
3rd pers.	*khūr-īt*	*khūr-ad*	*oshtamūn*

Plural

1st system		2nd system	1st system
1st pers.		*khūr-īm*	
2nd pers.		*khūr-īt*	
3rd pers.	*khūr-īnd*	*khūr-and*	*oshtamūn*

From this period are formed : 1st. The present of the indicative, by the prefixation of the Pahl. particle [illegible] *hamāī,* pazand *hamé,* Persian همی, modern Persian می.

Ex. : [illegible]

انیری اروم آیگان و ترکان‌چه اوا ایرانکان

... [illegible]

... اندا فرشکرد همی پیوندد

from the stem of the aorist

Semitic	Aorist Pazand	Parsi.
2nd system		
oshtamūn-am, oshtamūn ōm	*khvar am, khvar om*	خوردم
oshtamūn-ī	*khar-em*	خوردم
khar-aē	خوری	
oshtamūn-ad	*khvar-et., khvar-ed*	خورد
oshtamūn-īm	*khvar-īm*	خوریم
oshtamūn-īt	*khvar ét, khvar-éd*	خورید
oshtamūn-and	*khar-eñd*	خورند

Pahlavi : Anīrīh Hrūmākān u Turkān-iclvatā. Airānīkān 'ad frashkari hamāī patvandīt, pazend : ané rī-i Arūmāigā u Turukā ca awa Erānaga.... añdā frashégard hamé paēvañdet "the hostility of the Byzantines and the Turks against (lit. with) the Iranians prolongs upto the Re-surrecton" *Minokhirad* XXI, § 25-26)

It is a mistake to translate as it is sometimes done, the particle *hamāt* by "always"; it makes an integrating part of the form of the present of the indicative and it has no independent meaning.

2nd. The future, by the preposition of the particle *barā*, Paz. *bé*, Parsi. به , په , ب.

Ex. : [illegible]

وآن - اشوان روان په آواگی سروش اشو

[illegible]

په - ودیرد

Pahl. : *U zak-ī ahlavān ravān pūn āpākīh-ī Srōsh-i ahlav barā vitīrīt*, Paz. : *u ā-i ashōā ruā pa āwāgī-i Srosh ashō bé vadaret*, "and these souls of the saints will cross (the Cinvat Bridge) with the help of the saint Sraosha" (*Minokhirad*, II, §124).

Another example.

Pahlavi : *mā anshūtā ū cihārpāī mánmin am barā zarakhūnīnd*; Paz. *ci mardum u chihārwaē ka ezh māt be zāēnd*; Parsi. : بزایند چه مردم و چهارپای که از ماد "because the men and the quadrupeds which are born of a mother." (*Minokhirad*, XVI, §5)

In reality, for the future no special form exists. It appears that this lacunae in the conjugaton did not constrain the writers of the middle ages, since they looked for making good the deficit. In the Pahlavi texts written, or at least in revising at a recent time, in the XVth and the XVIth centuries and still later we sometimes come across an imitation of the Persian construction *'khāham kard* خواهم کرد "I shall do, make", but it is only a pure and simple transfer there which do not find in anything to the ancient language. We come across in the Pahlavi of the *Great Bundahesh* a construction which indicates an attempt for rendering the future more clearly than the construction of the aorist with the particle barā.

Ex. : [illegible]

Pūn Dīn yamallūnīt : dūshpātakhshā-hīh-i olāshān rōīshā yazbā'ūnīt yahvūntan "it is said in the Avesta; their accursed sovereignty shall take an end." The Semitic equivalent of the verb *'yazbā'ūntan'* is *'kāmistan'*, Parsi. کامستن (*Pahlavi Pazand Glossary,* page 13, line 3), the verb lost in Persian and replaced by کامیدن. The Iranian sentence which conceals under the Pahlavi sentence above from the *Great Bundahesh* is, therefore, : *pa Dīn guyad dūshpātakhshāhīh-i ōshān sar kāmēd būdan.* It follows therefrom that in this construction, the future used to be formed from the infinitive of the verb preceded by the

indicative present of the verb *kāmistan* "to desire", it has completely disappeared from the modern language.

§53. Present subjunctive.

Iranian Pahlavi	Semitic Pahlavi	Pazand	Parsi.
	2nd pers. sg.		
khūr-āī, khūr ī h	*oshtamūn āī, oshtamūn-īh*	*khvar-āī*	خورای
	3rd pers. sg.		
khūr-āt	*oshtamūn-āt*	*khvar āṭ*	خوراد
	3rd pers. pl.		
khūr-ānd	*oshtamūn-ānd*	*khvar ānd*	خوراند

The Persian subjunctive from which the subjunctive of middle Persian is derived used to be formed by the intercalation of an a- in front of the inflections of the indicative, or by the lengthening of the *-a-* of the stem ex. : *kunavāti* "that he makes" whence the form *kunāt* of the middle Persian. The subjunctive is often used in the function of the imperative.

Imperative

	Ir. Pahl.	Semit. Pahl.	Paz.	Parsi.
Sg.	1st pers. *khūr-āni* *khūr-ini*	*oshtamūn-āni*	*khvar ani*	خوراني
	2nd pers. *khūr*	*oshtamūn*	*khvar*	خور
	3rd pers. *khūr-āt*	*oshtamūn-āt*	*khvar at*	خوراد
Pl.	2nd pers. *khūr-it*	*oshtamūn-it*	*khvar it*	خورید

The first two persons of the singular derive from the corresponding Persian forms **hvar-āni, *hvar-āni, *hvar-a*; the third person has been simply taken from the subjunctive; as regard the second person plural it has been taken from the aorist. In modern Persian, to the exception of the 2nd pers. sg. which is the very root of the verb, the imperative is formed from the aorist with or without the prefixation of the particle(به ر ن).

§54. Present participles.

Ir. Pahl.	Semitic Pahl.	Pazand	Parsi.
Ist. *khūr-ān*	*oshtamūn-ān*	*khvār-ān, khvar-ān*	خوزان

This participle is derived from the middle participle in *-āna* of the Achaemenian Persian; beside this participle, Persian used to have another one in *-añt,* which gave birth to the second present participle of middle Persian.

2nd *khūr-ant*	*oshtamūn-ant*	*khvar-añd*	خوزند
khūr-and	*oshtamūn-and*		
3rd khūr-ant-ak	*oshtamūn-ant-ak*	*khvar-añd-a*	خوزنده

This latter participle is derived from the second participle of the middle Persian to which the suffix *-ak* has been added, which serves to build derived adjectives.

Future participle serving as an abstract noun.

khūr-ishn oshtamūn-ishn khar-ishn, khvar-eshn خوزش، خورشن

Verbal substantive used as an abstract.

khūr-ishn-ih oshtamūn-ishn-īh khva-reshn-ī خورشنی

§55. General tenses formed from the perfect stem.

Infinitive

Ir. Pahl.	Sem. Pahl.	Pazand	Parsi.
khūr-tan	*oshtamūn-tan*	*khvar-dan*	خوردن

Past participles

1st khūr-t	*oshtamūn-t*	*khvart-ṭ, khvar-d*	خوزد
2nd khūr-t-ak	*oshtamūn-t-ak*	*khvar-d-a, khvar-d-ah*	خورده

This participle drawn from the preceding by the *-ak* suffixation which serves to form derived adjectives has become passive participle of modern Persian, to the exclusion of the primitive form *Khūr-t*; in the modern language this participle is

simultaneously active as well as passive : at the same time it signifies "having eaten" and "eaten".

§56. System of the perfect.

Indefinite past.

The indefinite past of middle Persian is composed of the past participle conjugated 1stly with the present indicative of the verb 'to be' : *hom, hī, hast* etc., the infinitive of which is not used, and the Semitic equivalent of which is *havā-* (see § 44); 2ndly with the present indicative of the verb *īstātan* "to hold be" not used in Pahlavi and replaced by its Semitic form *yakōyamūntan* (see §44).

1st form : Past participle conjugated

	Iranian Pahlavi	Semitic Pahl.
	Singular	
1st pers.	*khūrthavā-am*	*oshtamūnt havā-am*
2nd pers.	..... *havā-i*	..... *havā ī*
3rd pers.	..... *havā-at*	..... *havā-at*
	.....*havā-ad*	.....*havā-ad*
	.....*īt (a-i-t)*	.....*īt(a-i-t)*
	Plural	
1st pers.	*khūrt havā-īm*	*oshtamūnt havā-īm*
2nd pers.	.....*havā-īt*	..... *havā-īt*
3rd pers.	..... *havā-and*	..... *havā-and*

2nd form : Past participle conjugated

	Singular	
1st pers.	*khūrt-yakōyamūm-am*	*oshtamūnt yakōya-mun-am*
2nd pers.	..... *yakōyamūn-ī*	..... *yakōyamun-ī*
3rd pers.	..... *yakōyamūn-īt*	..... *yakōyamūn-īt*
	..... *yakōyamūn-ad*	..... *yakōyamūn-ad*

Plural

1st pers.	*khūrt yakoyamūn-īm*	*oshtamunt yakōyamūn-īm*
2nd pers.	..... *yakōyamūn-īt*	..... *yakōyamūn-it*
3rd pers.	..... *yakōyamūn-and*	..... *yakōyamūn-and*

The indicative present of the verb "to be"

Pazand	Parsi.
Khaṛt hom, haom, hum	خورد ام , خورد هوم
.....*haē, hē, hahē*	خوردی , خورد ای , خوردهی
..... *hasṭ, hast, hét*	خورد هید , خورد است , خورد هست
kharṭ hēm, hém	خورد ایم , خورد هیم
..... *hét*	خوردید , خورد اید , خورد هید
..... *heñd, heñṭ, hañd*	خوردند , خورد اند , خورد هند

The present indicative of the verb *īstātan*

khvarṭestom, estōm	خورد ایستم
..... *estaē*	خورد ایستی
..... *esteṭ*	خورد ایستد
khvarṭ estom, estīm	خورد ایستیم
..... *estét*	خورد ایستید
..... *esteñd*	خورد ایستند

The past definite (see §57) of modern Persian derives from the first form of this tense; we know that the indicative present of the Semitic verb *havā-* represent the personal inflections of Persian, said otherwise it corresponds to the enclitic form of the Iranian verb substantive : *havā-am=am* ـم, *havā-īm =īm* ـیم, etc. if in the first paradigm, the different forms of *havā-* are replaced by their Iranian equivalents, we get the definite past of modern Persian :

	Pahlavi Singular	Persian	Pahlavi Plural	Persian
1st pers.	*khorthavā-am* =	خوردم	*khūrt havā-īm*	خوردیم
2nd pers.	.....*-ī* =	خوردی	..... *īt*	خوردید
3rd pers.			..... *and*	خوردند

The indefinite past of modern Persian is a parallel formation to the first past indefinite of middle Persian; it is formed from the second past participle خورده with the different persons of the verb substantive ام، ای، است, etc. خورده ام which would correspond to a Pahlavi form *khūrtak harā-am, -havā-i,* etc.

The past indefinite forms of modern Persian are sometimes found used in the texts which are called Parsi texts instead of the regular forms composed with the first past particple.

§57. Definite past.

The past definite of middle Persian is an impersonal form of the verb; this form is the same for the two numbers and the three persons; it is identical with the past participle.

Ir. Pahl.	Semitic Pahl.	Pazand	Parsi.
khūrt	*oshtamūnt*	*khvard*	خورد

Zartūhasht Dīn dar gihan ravāk barā kart "Zoroaster spread the Law in the world".

Ex. :

Cīgūn olāshān gabrā yōshdāsar hava-nd ahlav Aūhrmazd, man naṣāī frāj ọshtamūnt u kalbā barā vitart ayav anshūtā-ān.

"As those men are pure, O saint Aūhrmazd, who eat the carrion of dead dogs or of human beings!"

We have seen above, § 21 that there had been in the course of the passage of Achaemenian Persian to middle Persian, a complete reversal of the construction which from active became passive, in the first of these examples, the word '*kart*' seems, from the point of view of the modern language, to be the third person singular of the perfect of the verb "*kartan*" "to do, make", while, it is in reality, the passive participle of this same verb, and that we must understand the sentence *Zartūhasht Dīn dar gīhān .... ravāk barā kart* "By Zoroaster, the Law in the world spread (was) made" {(was) made spread (out) Tr.}; likewise the second sentence *olāshān gabrā ..... man nasāī frāj ashtamūnt* .... is to be rendered "these men .... who by them of the carrion (is) partaken of eaten." The adoption of this passive construction has reduced all the declensions to the ablative and the past tenses to the passive participle, which explains why the perfect and the tenses deriving from it only apparently exist and have but a single form for the three persons of the two numbers.

§58. Imperfect.

The imperfect is formed from the definite past (§57) by the prefixation of the particle *hamāī,* Paz. *hamé, hamē,* Parsi. همی.

Ex. : [illegible] *a f - a m khadītūnt ravān-i gabrā-I man pūn shānak-ī asīnīn gōsht min tan hamāī kashīt'al khūrtan hamāī yahabūnt* "and I saw (lit. and by me seen) the soul of a man of whom they are used to tear away (lit. of whom the flesh of the body torn away) with a hook of iron the flesh of the body and to whom one is used to give (lit. given) to eat."

§59. Present conditional.

Ir. Pahl.	Sem. Pahl.	Paz.	Parsi.
khūrt havā-ī	*oshtamūnt havā-i*	*khvarṭhaē*	ی ,خورد هی

This form is of a restricted use because we come across the conditional little enough in the ordinary texts written in middle Persian.

Ex. : [illegible] *hat li lā yahabūnt havā-ī ..... jivāk-i rāmishr dahishnīh* "if I have not created a place which bestows pleasure"; *hat li lā ..... yahabūnt havā-ī* is rendered in Persian translation of the Vendidād اگر من نه داد هست.

This construction has disappeared from Persian.

Conditional perfect.

Ir. Pahl.	Sem. Pahl.	Paz.	Parsi.
khūrt	*oshtamūnt*	*khvarṭ*	بودی , خوزد بود هی
yavūnt havā-ī	*yavūnt havā-ī*	*būṭ haē*	

§60. Passive.

The middle Persian has two ways of forming the passive :

1st. It combines the past participle with the auxiliaries "to be" *ah-*, Semitic [illegible] *havā, bū,* Semitic [illegible] *yahvūn* , or with verb *stā-* "to remain, be", Pahl. *istātan,* Paz. *estādan,* Parsi. ایستادن whose Semitic equivalent is *yakōyamūntan.* As it has been found this procedure confounded between the active and the passive, because *khūrt havā-am* used to mean simultaneously "I have eaten" and "I am eaten". Modern has extricated itself out of this difficulty by forming its passive with the passive participle conjugated with the different tenses of the verb شدن "to go, to become", Ex. خورده شده باشد "that he has been eaten". This construction is totally unknown in middle Persian, although the

verb *shūtan* has been used there in the sense of "to go" as it is found from the frequent use in the texts of its Semitic equivalent *ozalūntan* or *'azalūntan* (see § 44). It will suffice to give, in the paradigm of the passive the first person singular of each of the tenses, the flexion covering only on the stems *havā, yahvūn-* and *yakōyamūn-*, as we have already seen used in the inflexion of the active, this flexion present no irregularity.

The forms of the passive met with in the texts do not permit us to build up a complete paradigm without risking hazarous restorations. Here are given those which we come across most readily. (cf. West, *Arda Viraf, Glossary,* p. 346 and sqq).

Pré

Ir. Pahl.	Sem. Pahl.
khūrt havā-am	*oshtamūnt havā-am*
.....*yahvūn-am*	..... *yahvūn-am*
..... *yakōyamūn-am*	..... *yakōyamūn-am*
	Impcr
hamāī khūrt havā-am	*hamāī oshtāmūnt havā*
	-am etc.
khūrt yahvūn-t	*oshtamunt yahvun-t, Def.*
..... *yakōyamūn-at*	..... *yakōyamūn-āt*
khūrt yakōyamūnāt havā-am	*oshtamūnt yakāyamū Indef*
	nāt havā-am Past
khūrt yakōyamūnāt yahvūn-am	*oshtamūnt*
	yakōyamūnāt yahvūn-am
khūnt havā-ām	*oshtamūnt havā-ām*

Similarly the other auxiliaries are conjugated by ex. *hamāī khūrt yahvūn-am, hamāī khūrt yakōyamūn-am.*

2nd. The second formation of the passive is met with only the third pers. sg. it consists in joining the indic. pers. of the verb "to be", Semitic Pahl. *-īt* (§ 44), Ir. Pahl.- *hast,* Paz. *-hast* or héṭ, false reading of *īt*, wrongly considered as an Iranian word, Parsi. است , هست or هیت a simple transcription of Pazand *héṭ,* in the abstract noun formed from the stem of the aorist of the verb by

Sent

Pazand	Parsi.
khvarṭ hom, hōm, haom	خورد ام ، هوم
..... *bom, bōm*[84]	خورد بوم
estom, estōm, estem	خورد ایستوم ، ایستم
Perfect	
hamé khvarṭ hom, hōm, haom	همی خورد ام ، هوم
Past	
khvarṭ būṭ	خورد بود
..... *estāṭ*	خودد ایستاد
khvarṭ estāṭ hom, hōm[85], *haom*	خورد ایستاد ام ، هوم
Perfect	
khvarṭ estāṭ bōm, bom	خورد ایستاد بوم
juncture	
khvarṭ hām	خورد هام

The adjunction of the suffix *-īh*, such as *khūr-īh*, act of eating derived from the verb *khūr-tan*, or, in Semitic, *oshtamūn-īh* from *oshtamūn-tan*.

Ir. Pahl.	Sem. Pahl.	Paz.	Parsi.
khūrīh-it	*oshtamūnīh-it*	*khvari-hasṭ*	ی است
khūrīh-ast	*oshtmūnīh-ast*	..... *hesṭ orhest*	ی هست
		..... *héṭ*	ی هد

This construction of a very restricted use in middle Persian, has totally disappeared in modern Persian which

Ir. Pahl.

Ex. Simple Verb 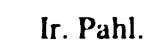 *khūr-tan* "to eat"

Causative *khūr-īn-ītan* "to feed"

2ndly. By adding the syllable *-an-* to the root of the aorist and by giving to the stem thus formed the ending of the Pahl. infinitive *-ītan,* Paz. *-īdan,* Parsi. یدن.

Ex.	Ir. Pahl.	Sem. Pahl.	Paz.	Parsi.
	khūr-ān-ītan	*oshtamūn-ān-ītan*	*khar-ān-īdan*	انیدن

The verbs thus formed follow the conjugation of the verbs in *-ītan* (§ 47).

The second procedure is more modern than the first, it belongs rather the present day Persian than to middle Persian and it is even probable that in the passages where we meet forms its passive uniquely with the help of the passive participle conjugated with the different tenses of the verb شدن "to become".

§61. Causative.

The causal or causative is formed in two ways in modern Persian : 1stly. By adding the syllable - *īn-* to the aorist stem and by giving to the causative stem thus obtained the termination of the infinitive, Pahl. *ītan,* Paz. *-īdan,* Parsi. یدن

Sem. Pahl.	Paz.	Parsi.
oshtamūn-tan	*khvar-dan*	خوردن
oshtamūn-īn-ītan	*khvar-īn-īdan*	خورینیدن

It has been introduced by the copyists at a relatively recent period, in the place of the ancient causative form in *-īn-ītan.*

§62. Denominatives.

The denominatives, that is to say, the verbs formed from substantives are built by the same procedure as the first causative (§ 61).

Ex. : رام *rām* "pleasure", Paz. *rām*, Parsi. رام, Pahl. denominative *rām-īn-ītan*, Paz. *rām-īn-īdan*, Parsi. رامینیدن.

These verbs also follow the conjugation of the verbs in *ītan* (§ 47)

§63. Invariable words. (Preposition)

1stly Prepositions :

"around" is said *pīrāmūn*, Pahl. پیرامون, Paz. *pérā mūn* or *perāmūn*, Persian پیرامون.

Ex. : ا ۲۱ سد ۱۳ د سد ۱۱ ۱۵ ۱۱ پیرامون ۱۱ ۱۳ د

و وینارشن البرز پیرامون کیهان

Pahl. "*vīnārishn-i Albōrj pīrāmūn-ī gīhān*; Paz. : *u vīnārshn-i Alburz pérāmūn (i) gēhā* "and the arrangement of the Alburz around the world (*Minokhirad*, LVII, 13.)

"With" is *pa* in middle Persian but we never find this particle which is always replaced by its Semitic equivalent پون, which is literally read *pūn*, but which is ought to be read better *pa'an*, the medial *vav* representing the *ain* of Aramaean פען. In Paz. "with" is said *pa*, Ir. Pahl. پد, Parsi. ب, به, پ, پا, به.
We shall find examples of this particle in the paragraph on declension (§ 11).

It is derived from Persian *upā*, we must well distinguish in modern Persian the preposition ب *ba* which issues from *upā* from the preposition ب *ba* which enters into the conjugation of verbs, which is *bé* in Pazand and of which we never find in Pahlavi but its Semitic equivalent *barā*, and finally the preposition ب ba, whose Semitic equivalent is *ol*, better *'al* and which means "towards".

"In" is said in Pahl. اندر *andar*, in Paz. *añdar* with the variants *ñdar*, *iñdar* in Persian (modern) اندر. The semitic equivalent of

this word is [illegible] which is traditionally read *dar* or *andar,* but which should probably be read *baïn*, we shall find the etymology and the examples of this particle in the paragraph on the declension (§ 11).

This preposition is derived from Persian *antar,* Zend *añtare,* "between".

"Behind" is called *pas* in middle Persian, Pahl. [illegible], Paz. *pas,* Persian پس: this preposition is little used in Pahlavi and is generally replaced by the Semitic words [illegible], [illegible] *akhar* and [illegible] *bātar.*

Ex. : [illegible]

وش پس پاده فراه و اناى کونه کونه

[illegible]

پدش کنند

Pahl. *apash akhar pātfrās u anākīh-ī gūnak gūnak patash 'abadūnand* ; Paz. *vash pas pādafrāh u anāi-i gūna gūna padash kuneñd* "and after that they inflict him (lit. they made on him) chastisements and sufferings of all sorts" (*Minokhirad,* VII, 26).

pas is derived from the Persian preposition *pasā* "behind" *akhar* is the Aram. אחור, Heb. אחר, Ar. اخر, [illegible] *bātar* is Aram. בתר.

§ 64. "upon, above" is in Pahl. [illegible] *azbar* or [illegible] *azpar,* Paz. *azhvar* [with variants *ezhvar, azhavar, azhtchar (written* **ažčar), *awawar,* the last two of which are the faults in reading], Parsi. ازور, Persian زبر and sometimes زور.**

Ex. : [illegible]

به خویشکاری و پاد هیزوابی ازور هر تس

Pahl. *barā khvēshkārīh u pāt hūzvānīh azpar kulā man-dūm*; Paz. *bé khvéshkāriu pāṭ hizvānī azhvar har this* "but the virtue and the reserve in words above everything" (*Minokhirad*, II, §92).

This particle derives from *haca* "of" + *upairi* "upon, on"; it is not exact to say that it is formed from *az* and *bar*, which are the two Persian particles derived respectively from *haca* and *upairi*, if it was so, in fact, we would have the form *azbar* only and not *azpar*, which cannot be explained except by *haca* + *upairi*.

"before, in front of" is called *pīsh*, *pēsh*, Pahl. [illegible] Paz. *pésh and pesh*, Persian پیش this preposition is little used in Pahlavi and it is generally replaced by its Semitic equivalent [illegible] *li-'aiàn* which is, ordinarily, wrongly read as *levīn*.

Ex. : [illegible]

اگر ادانای یا وستاری و دشاکاهی با

[illegible]

کناهی جهت اکن پیش دستوران و وهان په

[illegible]

پتت بهوت

Pahl. *u hat adānīh ayav vastārīh u dūshākāsīh rāi vinās-I djahit adīn li-'aiàn-ī dastōbarān u shapīrān pūn pītīt yahvūnīt*; Paz. *u agar adānāī ayāō vastārī u dushāgāhī rā gunāhé tchahiṭ aigin pésh-i dastūrā u vehā pa patit bahōt* "and if from ignorance, or from inconsistency, or by evil instruction, a crime happens then one makes (lit. there is) penitence before the dastures and the just people" (*Minokhirad*, LII §17)

pīsh comes from Persian *paitish*, Zend *paitisha* which have the same sense; [illegible] as we read li-'aiàn, is composed of the Semitic

preposition *li*, Aram. and Heb. ל, Ar. ل and of the word *'aïn*, which signifies in all the Semitic languages "eye"; *li- 'aïn*, therefore, literally mean "in the eye". The Semitic languages knew several constructions of the same genre; thus it is that for expressing "in front of, before", Ar. says بين يديه: "between his hands".

"Excepting" in middle Persian is said *djūt*, Pahl. [illegible] (*djūīt*) Paz. *djat, djut*, Parsi. جد. This preposition is made to follow the *i*-indicating relationship, since it is an ancient substantive where Pahl. *min* is built with the preposition *ezh*.

Ex. : [illegible]

و آن دروند روان جد از پاده فراه بودن

Pahl. *uzak darvand ravān djūt min pāta frās būtan*; Paz. *u ā-i darvañd ruādjat ezh pādafrāh būdan* "and he who has an accursed soul, to be in chastisement .... (*Minokhirad*, XL, §32).

This particle which is still used in middle Persian in an adjectival sense of "different, separate, distinct" (*Minokhirad*, 1 § 38; 42, § 9) derives from the Persian word **yuta-* "separate"; we do not find it in modern Persian except under the form جدا, which is derived from a Persian adjective **yutā-ka*, Pahl. [illegible] *djūtāk*, which also has the sense of "separate, distinct" and which is formed with the habitual adjectival, suffix *-ka*.

"Out of, outside of" is called *azh* in middle Persian, Pahl. [illegible], Paz. *ezh, ez, az, azh* Parsi. از, اژ, اج, اچ, Persian از. This particle is never used in Pahlavi where only its Semitic equivalent מן *min* is found. Examples of it will be found in the paragraph of declension (§11).

azh is the Persian *hacā* "with" (Skt. *saca*), מן *min* is Aram. and Heb. מן, Ar. من.

"on the outside of" is called *bīrūn*. Pahl. [illegible] Paz. *bérūn*, *bīrūn*, Persian بیرون, برون. This particle is made to follow the *ya* of unity, since it is manifestly yet, as elsewhere in modern Persian, a substantive.

"in the inside of" is in Pahlavi [illegible] *andarūn* and [illegible] *darūn*, Paz. *añdarūn* and *darūn*, Persian اندرون and درون.

Ex. : Pahlavi :*āsmān u zamīk u āv u apārīk kulā ma an darūn i āsmān* .....; Paz.: *āsmān u zamī u aw u awaré har tchi añdarun āsmān* ....., Parsi. : هر چه اندرون آسمان آسمان و زمی و آو و اوری "the sky and the earth and the water and all the other things which are in the sky" (*Minokhirad*, XLIV, § 8).

These two words are always used the *ya* of unity, because these are originally substantives, it is wrong that in the examples above Pazand has not marked this *i* ; they derive from *andar* and from *dar* by with the adjunction of the *ūn* suffix which is found in *īt-ūn*.

"In the midst of, between" is called *mīyān*, Pahlavi [illegible], [illegible], Paz. *myān*, *miā*, *miñ* [for *mi(a)ñ*] and *maān*, Persian میان.

Ex. : [illegible]

خر سه پای میان زره ورکش استید

Pahl. *khamrā-ī sī (3) pāī mīyān-i zarah-ī Varkash yatī būnīt*, Paz. *khar-i se pāē miān zreh-i Varkash estet* "The donkey with three feet holds itself standing in the sea Varkash (Vouru-kasha)" (*Minokhirad*, LXII § 26).

This word necessitates the *ya* of unity after it, as it is in reality as much in middle Persian as in modern Persian a substantive derived from Persian *maidhyāna* "the middle, the median part".

"Near" is termed : 1st *nazd,* Pahl. ، Paz. *nazd,* Persian نزد, followed by the *ya* of unity; 2nd *nazdik,* Pahl. Paz. *nazdīk,* Persian نزدیك also followed by the *ya* of unity. The first of these two words derives from Persian Zend *nazda* "close to" the second from *nazdīka* which means the same and which derives from the first by the adjunction of the adjectival suffix *-īka.*

"Below" is said *azīr,* Pahl. Paz. *azér, azhér,* Parsi. ازیر, زیر, Persian زیر , followed by the *ya* of unity.

Ex. :

آویچه نهانی ازیر زمی خورشید نکرشن کردن

Pahl. *myā-ci-ī nīhānīk azīr-zamīk khūrshīt nikīrishn kartan*; Paz. *āwitcha-i nihānī azér zamī khvarshéṭ nigereshn kardan* "and the sun regards the water hidden (which are found) under the earth" (*Minokhirad* LVII, §17).

This particle derives from a Persian formation parallel to the Zend, *adhairi* and better to *adhairyāṭ* "under, below" (J. Darmesteter, *Et. ir.* vol. 1. p. 243).

§66. "upon, on" is called *apar,* Pahl. , Paz. *awar, avar, war, bar,* Parsi. اور, ابر and بر, Persian بر. This particle is never used in Pahlavi, where only its Semitic equivalent *madam* is found.

Ex. :

وچه آنِ اور هر کس و هر تن پادشاه

Pahl. *u māzak-ī madam kulāīsh u kulā mandūm pātakhshah*;

Paz. : *u. tchi ā-i awar har ks u har this pādishāh* "and which (is he who is) sovereign over every person and over everything?" (*Minokhirad,* XLVII, § 3).

'*apar*' derives from Persian *upariy*; the etymology of the Semitic *madam* is not clear.

"towards, over to" in middle Persian is *pat* , Pahl. , Paz. *pad,* Persian بد; this particle is never used except with the pronominal suffix *-ash* of third person singular.

Ex. : [illegible]

دَدیگر که مان آتشان پدش کنند

Pahl. : *datīgar man mān-ī ātāshān pat-ash 'abadūnand*, Paz. : *dadīgar ke māni ātashā pad -ash kuneñd* 'in the second place (there) where over it (the earth) is made, the house of the fires (that is to say the pyres)" (*Minokhirad,* V, §5).

This preposition which derives from Persian *pati* "against, towards" (Zend *paiti*) has become بَ in modern Persian as a result of the falling off regular of the *-d,* the *d* reappearing only when this particle precedes the personal pronoun of the third person او, it is said بدو "to him" and not باو "because of" is said *rāī,* Paz. *rā,* Persian را see declension, § 10, c.

§67. Conjunctions.

"as, like" is said *cīgūn (tchīgun)* in Pahl., Paz. *cuñ (tchuñ),* Persian چون where *u* is short though it is marked with *vav.*

Ex. : [illegible]

و وجر و دایستان و آئین و بود چون لژ اویژه

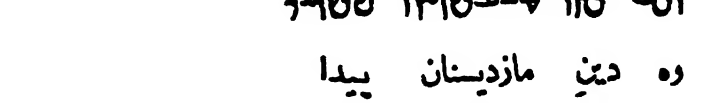

وه دینِ مازدیسنان پیدا

Pahl. *u vicir u dātistān u aīvīn u bōd cīgūn min avījak vēh dīn-i Mazdistān padtāk* ....., Paz. *u vazar u dāēstā u āīn u bod cuñ ezh awīzha veh din-i Mazdayasnā pedā* "and the opinion, the judgement, the manner of being and the sentiment as it is visible according to the good law of the Mazdeans" (*Minokhirad,* XXXI, § 6).

Cīgūn is composed of the interrogative stem *ci-* "which one" and of the substantive *guna* (Zend *gaona*) "manner, sort", *cuñ* from Parsi. and چون of Persian are the contracted form of *cigūn*; this word has the sense of interrogative still in many of the passages. We shall compare the Persian formations چگونه , چه‌گونه which are composed of in an identical way.

"And" is expressed in three different ways in middle Persian :

1st by *u,* Pahl. ۱, Paz. *u* Persian و.

Ex. : Pahl. : *u vicir u dātistān u aīvīn u bōd* ...; Paz. : *vazar u dāēstān u āīnu bōd* ... Parsi. دایستان و آئین و بود و وجر و and the opinion, and the judgement, and the manner of being, and the sentiment ... (*Minokhirad,* XXXI, §6).

2nd by ـچ -*ci,* -*ic* added after the word, Paz. -*ca (tcha, icha (itcha),* Parsi. ـچه, ـیچه.

Ex. :

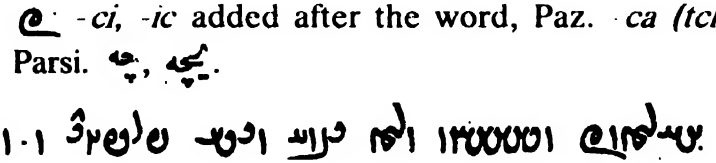

آهرمن‌یچه و دراں اوی مرد ویش ویوند و او

دوژخ نپند

Pahl. *Aharman-ci u shēdā-ān olā gabrā vēshfiripēnd u'at*

dūshahū gazalūn-a (n)d ; Paz. *Aharman ica u devā ōi mard vesh frévineñd u ō dōzhakh niēñd* "Ahriman and the demons seduce this man more and conduct him to hell (*Minokhirad*, LVII, §22).

This formation has totally disappeared from modern Persian.

3rd by combining the first two procedures, Pahl. [illegible] *u ci*, Paz. *u - ca*, Parsi. و — چه.

Ex. : [illegible]

و کشتاسپ چه و زرتشت و گیزمرد و اوری

[illegible]

ایشان که از وهیشت بهر اویرتر

Pahl. : *u Vishtāsp -ci u Zartūhasht u Gāyōkmart u aparīk olāshān man min vahishta behar avīrtar .....*, Paz. *u Gushtāspa ca u Gushtāspa-cā u Zarathusht u Gagōmard u avaré ēshāke ezh vahésht bahar avīrtar ....* "and Vishtasp, and Zoroaster, and Gayomart, and those over there, the others, who (have obtained) the paradise a part more elevated" (*Minokhirad*, LVII, § 20).

The conjunction *u* derives from Persian *utā* "and", *ci, ca, ic* is the enclitic well-known in the IE languages, Persian, Zend and Sanskrit *ca*, Gk-te, Latin *qule*.

§68. "as far as, till" is *andāk* in middle Persian, Pahlavi [illegible], Paz. *añdā* with the variant *ñdā*, Parsi. اندا, modern Persian تا. This word is never used in Pahlavi where we encounter its Semitic equivalent עד, which is generally read *ōd* or *vad*, but which it will be better to read as '*ad*, the initial *vav* representing the '*aïn* of Aram. and Heb. עד.

Ex. : עד [illegible]

و این چه پیدا که نه هزار سالِ فرشکرد اندا

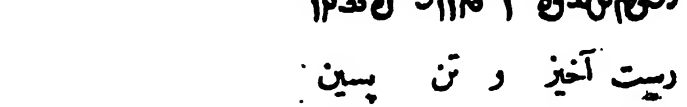

رست آخیز و تن پسین

Pahlavi : *u danā-ic padtāk aīgh 9 x1000 (nuh-hazār) shant-ī frashkart 'ad ristākhīz u tan-ī pasīn ....,* Paz. : *u iñ-capédā kunuh hazār sāl-i frashégard.añda rist ākhésh u tan-i pasīn.....* "and this also is visible (by the Avesta) which nine thousand years of frashkart (the period of the material life of the world)(happen) upto the Resurrection and the future existence of bodies"(*Minokhirad,* LVII, § 31).

The *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary,* page 18, line 7, gives the equivalence *'ad=tā,* but this last form is only the transcription of the modern Persian word تا. On the probable etymology of this conjunction, See J. Darmesteter, *Ét. Ir.* vol. 1,p. 247.

"Cohere" in Pahl. is , *ayav,* Paz. *ayāō* or *ayāo,* Persian یا.

Ex. :

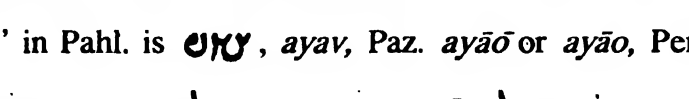

وهمگونه پدیره ماه و آتش وهرام یا اتش

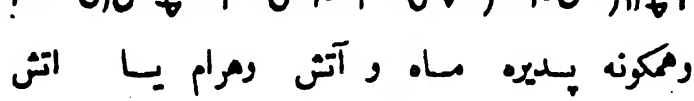

آدرو بامداد و نیم روز

Pahlavi : *u hamgūnak patīrak māh u ātāsh-i Vahrām ayav ātāsh-ī ātarūk bāmdāt u nīmrūj* ; Paz. : *u hamgūna padīra māh u ātash-i Vahrām ayāo ātash-i ādarō bāmdāt u nīmrōzh* "and in a like manner what looks at the moon, the fire Bahram or the fire which flames up, the aurora dawn and the noon[87] (*Minokhirad* LIII, § 5).

The reading *ayūp* must be rejected, because the reading *ayav, ayāo* is proved by the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary* which gives = ; in *a-y-u-p, u-p* represent in reality only the

semiyowel *v*; the *p* is written after the *vav* only to indicate that this *vav* is to be read as a consonant, that is to say, as *v*, and not as a vowel, that is as *u*. Likewise, in certain cases the orthography *u-b* has no other value; thus it is that Persian **rvan Zend (u) rvan*, Persian روان written in Pahl. as *r u b-a n*, which is not an impossible form and which, in reality, must be read *ravān* similarly *kh-u-s-r-u-b* is an orthography for *Khōsrav*, Zend *Husrava*, Persian, خسرو.

The origin of this conjunction is obscure, it appears to be a compound of *vā* (See J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* vol. 1. p. 246).

§69. "When" is called *ké* in middle Persian, Pahl. ך, Paz. *ke, ku*, Persian كه. This word is never used in Pahl. where we find its Semitic equivalent אמת *amat* only

Ex. : [illegible]

كه او آن فراج مد هوم وم ديد آن

[illegible]

ودردگان روان

Pahl. *amat 'al tamman frājmat havā-amat- amkhaditūnt zak vitartakānravān*; Paz. *ku ōiānfirāzh maṭ hom uam dīṭ ā vadardagā ruā* "when I was arrived in that place, I saw the souls of the dead" (*Arda Viraf*, IV, §§ 8 and 9).

The origin of Persian *ké* has been given above (see §34) *amat* is Aram. אימתי, אימת, מתי, Syriac אמתי, Mandean עמתי (=אמתי) Heb. מתי, Ar. متى. The original form of this conjunction was אמת *aīmat* as we find in the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary*, p. 18, line 6; it corresponds perfectly to the Aram. אימת and we must not consequently to read *admat*. It is to suppose that אימתי is composed of מתי = Ar. متى plus the particle אי which recurs

in the Ar. word اما which, in certain cases, is used as a support to the pronoun suffixes when we want to put them into relief in the sentence (see §21, note). To express "when" modern Persian makes use of the conjunction چون which in middle Persian has never no other sense than "like as; that is why the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary* gives the equivalence *tehūn=tchīgūn=amat* :

"That" in middle Persian is *ké* ود, Paz. *ka, ke, ku,* Parsi. کی, کو, Persian که, کی; this particle is not ever used in Pahlavi, where only its Semitic equivalent man (see § 34) is found. "If" in Pahlavi is اگر *agar,* اکر *akar,* Paz. *agar,* Persian اگر. This conjunction is never used in Pahlavi where we find only its Semitic equivalent هت *-hat* or *at.*

Ex. : [illegible]

و اگر پرگست اندر یزدان مینیوان، و گیتیان و مردمان

[illegible]

و گاوان و گوسپندان و سگان و سگ سردکان

Pahl. *u hat pargast andar yazdān-ī mīnōyān u gītiyān u anshūtā-ān u stōrān u tōrā-ān u gōspandān u kalbān u kalbā sartakān*; Paz. : *u agar pargast añdar yazdā-i mainyuā u géthyā u mardumā u gāvā u gōspeñdā u sagā u sag sardagā* "if it happens amongst the lzeds (spirits) of heaven and earth and the men, and the beasts of burden and the bulls, and the sheep and the dogs and the species of hounds" (*Minokhirad,* LIII §7).

agar, the original form of which is اکر *akar* is probably even *hakar,* derived from Persian *ha-karam (cf.* Sanskrit *sa-kṛt*) "once" (J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* vol. 1, p. 245); *at* or *hat* is Sassanian דת; the etymology of this word is obscure, there is hardly anything in Arabic which we can think of relating to it

than Ar. حتى although the meaning of this last word "upto" is sufficiently removed from that of Pahlavi *hat*.

§70. Compound Conjunctions.

anārāī aīgh, Paz. *é ra ku*, Parsi. ایراکه, *é rā ké* "because of"; *min anā rāī aīgh*, Paz. *ezh é ra ku*, Parsi. ازیراکه, Persian زیراکه "because of this that".

§71. Adverbs.

Adverbs of modality

Negation.

The negation in Pahlavi is *né*, Paz. *né*, *na*, Parsi. نی, نه modern Persian نه, ن. The Pahlavi word *nē* is not ever encountered in the texts and it is given by the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary* (p.8.1.1) only, we find its Semitic equivalent *lā* alone.

The negation *né*, Parsi نی derives from the Persian form *naig* Zend *nōit*, Skt. *nēt*, whilst the form *na*, Parsi. نه, certainly derives from *na* which is not met within Persian, but the existence of which is proven by the Zend and Skt. *na* and Latin *nē*. *lā* is the Aram. and Hebrew לא, Ar. لا.

The prohibitive negation in middle Persian is *mā*, Pahlavi *mā*, Paz. *mā*, Persian ما. The word *mā* is not ever met with in the Pahlavi texts save in its Semitic equivalent *al*: this negative is given under its Iranian Pahlavi form in the *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary*, p. 18. 1.11.

Ex. :

دم اوی سروش اشو وآتر یزد خواهشن کرد

کوم ایدر ما برید و اواز وردید

Pahlavi : *af-am 'al Srōsh ahlav u Ātar izat khvahishn kart aīgh-am litammanal yadrūnīt u li-akhar vartīt*, Paz.: *v-am ōi Srōsh ashō u ātar īzaṭ khvāhishn kard ku-m aédar mā baréṭ u awāzh vartéṭ* "and by me (was) asked of Srosh the saint and to the lzed Atar, namely, not carry me towards that place over there and return behind" (*Arda Viraf*, LIII, §§7,8). al is Aram. אל, Ar. ال.

§72. Adverbs of comparison.

"Equally, also, likewise" is called *ham,* Pahl. هم, Paz. *ham,* Pers. هم, derived from the Persian adverb **hamam* "together, cf. Zend. *hama* "the same", Skt. *sama,* Gk. ὅμοιος.

From this adverb are derived : *pun ham* 'together" Paz. *pa ham,* Parsi. پهم, هم; and the compound Pahl. *ham-ītūn* "in the same manner", Paz. *hamédūn,* Parsi. همدون (cf. the following).

"Thus" is in Pahlavi called ایتون *ītūn,* Paz. *édūn,* with the variants *édum, édhūn, édhum, édūñ,* Parsi. ایدون and ایدوم. This adverb had completely disappeared from the modern language, it derives from the demonstrative pronoun *aēta-* with the suffix *- vana*, so **aēta-vana* (J. Darmesteter *Ét. ir.* vol. I, p. 280). The Pazand forms *ēdum, ēdhum* and Parsi. ایدوم are orthographical corruptions of *ītūn* which do not have any real etymology for it.

The adverb of interrogation in Pahlavi is چیگون *cīgūn (tchīgūn),* Paz. *cūñ (tchūñ), cuñ,* in Parsi. چون (see § 67).

§73. Adverbs of time.

"Never" in Pahlavi is اکرلیچ *akar-ic,* هرگیژ *hargīzh* Paz. *hargizhitcha* (with the variants *hargezhitcha, har-gezhtcha, hargizitcha, hargitchitcha, hargatchitcha),* Parsi. هرگژچه, Persian هرگز.

Ex. : [illegible]

هورمزد نیکی کامه و هرگزچه انای نه پدیرد

[illegible]

ونه شیهد

Pahlavi : *Aūhrmazd nīvakīh kamāk u akar-ic anākīh lā rakbulūnīt u lā madammūnīt* ; Paz. : *Hōrmezd nékīkāma hargizhitcha anāī ṇé padireṭ u ne shīhéṭ.*

"Aūhrmazd having the desire for wealth, never he admits the evil and he does not at all cogitate it." (*Minokhirad*, VIII, §22).

We shall note that *havgiz* in Pazand of which an imitation is found in the Pahlavi formation *hargīzh* by the side of the primitive form *akar-ic*, the intervention of r as in *tcharkh* "a wheel", Persian چرخ derived from Zend *tchakhra*.

"Always, continually" is expressed by [illegible] *hamāī*, Paz. *hamé*, *hamê*, Parsi. همی, Persian همی and می.

We have seen in the chapter of the verb (§§ 52 and 58) the role played by this particle in the conjugation of middle Persian and of modern Persian.

"Now" in Pahl. is [illegible] *nūn*, Paz. *nuñ*, *nūñ*, Parsi. نون this word is very rarely used in Pahlavi where generally its Semitic equivalent [illegible] is found which is ordinarily read as *kūn*.

nun is the Zend *nū*, Gk. νῦν; this adverb has disappeared from modern Persian; however, it is still found in composition in کنون and اکنون, which are formed from *nūn* with the conjunction *ké* "that" کنون in reality means "as now"; *kūn* which it will be better to read *ka'an*, the medial vav representing the Semitic 'aïn in the Chaldean כען.

"Yesterday" in Pahlavi is *paran,* Paz. *parān,* Parsi. and Persian پرن; cf. پدرندوش "last night, yester-evening." This adverb is probably derived from Persian *paranam* 'previously". If there are no such forms as *parān* and پرن we can read Pahl. *parvan* and relate it to Zend *paurvanya* "anterior". "Always" is called in Pahlavi *hamīshak,* in Paz. *hamésha,* Persian همیشه

The prepositions *pīsh, li- 'aïn* (§ 64) are also used as adverbs in the sense of "in front of, before".

§74. Adverbs of place.

"Inside, at the interior" is called *andarūn*; "outside, at the exterior" is called *bīrūn*; "around" is *pīrāmūn*; "above" is *azbar*, words the derivation of which has been indicated above (§ 64 and 65).

"down" is called in Pahlavi *frōt,* Paz. *frōt,* Parsi. فرود, modern Persian فرو and فرود; we shall find the etymology of this adverb in the *Études Iraniennes* of J. Darmesteter, vol. 1, p. 154.

"up" is *bālāī,* Paz. *bālāī,* Parsi. بالای; this adverb is in reality a substantive which has changed the attribution.

"forward" is called in Pahl. *frāj,* Paz. *frāzh* and *frāz.* Parsi. فراژ, فراز, فراچ, فراج, Persian فراز, which is sometimes used in the Parsi. transcriptions.

"Far, away" is *dūr* in Pahl., Paz. *dūr, dur,* Persian دور; this adverb is sometimes replaced by the Semitic which appear to be a transformation of *rahik*, Aram. רחיק.

"Near" is called *nazd* and *nazdīk*, the etymology of which has been indicated above (§ 65).

Notes

1. Moreover, the inscriptions of Ardeshir and one of these of Shahpur at Nakhs-i-Rajeb have been translated into Greek.

2. *Vayāk* is the Persian گویه a place where on rebires, a cavern, a habitation; Haugh translates "there had not been there at the time any bird"(*sic*).

3. Haugh translated "when this arrow was flung". In fact, in Pahlavi we have a word '*khatiyā*' which currently means 'an arrow', but it is certainly not the same word as found in the Hadjiabad inscription, *khatiyā* is the Aramaen חטיא from the radical חטט to dig, to engrave, inscribe whence 'to write' cf. Arabic خط and خطّ, 'writing'.

4. See *catalogue of Mazdeam manuscripts of Bibliothique Nationale*, Paris, 1900.

5. The word *Partava* has become *Pahlav* through the well-known change of *r+dental* of Achaemenian Persian into *h+l* in New or Modern Persian : It is probable that this word *Partava* or rather the Indo-Iranian word **Parlà (vd)* from which is derived is equally the origin of the name of Parsa "Persia". In fact, one of the dialects of Persian, probably the Zend has reduced the original aspirations to spirants, which have in the modern language become simple sibilants; otherwise, in representing the aspiration by *t-h* and the spirants by *θ*, this dialect has transformed the word *Part-hava* into *paraθava* (the *θ* is being pronounced soft nearly as in English) from which has issued a form *Parsa* (cf. *manθra* becoming *manser* پسر, *puθra* becoming *puser* منسر, other have respected that aspiration without transforming it into a spirant, it is in these dialects the *Part-hava* has become *Pahlav*. Thus we can represent how it follows this double splitting up of **Partava:*

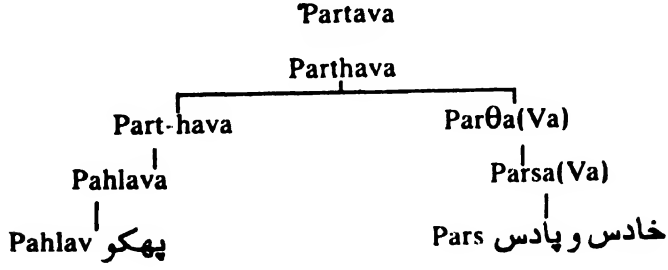

the word *Pahlava* is met with in Sanskrit under the form *Pallava* to designate the inhabitants of Iran, the Persian lexicographers give to the word *Pahlav* the sense of a brave man and they have likewise made out of it a name for the country on which they have not supplied any further information. Equally we find it used in the sense of a hero, as for instance in these verses of Firdousi :

چو تردیداست دستم فراز آمد نسار
به پیش شر همه دری از آمدمد
بکفتند کای پهلو ناهد او
نشاید از یز حات کیلاں کسو او

It is to this word *Pahlav* that is attached *Pahlava* پهلولا, which derives from a form **Parthavana,* in the *Shah-Numeh,* the most celebrated Iranian characters; it has rather lost its present day meaning as it does not signify any more than "a dancer on a line, an equilibrist."

6. In the first of these sentences the words given in the ordinary small hand letters are the Aramic words, in the second the words given in bold type capital letters are their Iranian counterparts with which they have been replaced.

7. This text has been signalled for the first time by Etienne Quatremère in his *Memoirs on the Nabateans* (in the *Journal Asiatic,* 1835, p. 256). Mr. Clermont Gahneau has rectified the inexactitudes in this translation and was the first to give this text in Arabic *in a letter to Mr. Muhl on a passage of the Kitab-el-Fihrist relating to Pahlavi and to the Huzvaresh* (in the *Journal Asiatique,* 1866, p. 430 sg.) Mr. J. Dererbourg adds a few remarks to this article in the same number of the issue, finally Haugh has reproduced the text of Ibn-el-Mokaffa in his *Essay on Pahlavi,* which serves as a preface to *'An old Pahlavi Pazand Glossary* (Bombay and London, 1870). He has equally given a translation which is nothing but a reproduction of that of Mr. Clermont-Gonneau.

8. In this graphic system, where, thanks to these thousand words بها may be understood in two ways.

9. Or at double sense, which can offer a double meaning. Here is a passage from the known (Sourate III, §5) where the word متشابهات is found

هو الذی انزل علیك الکتاب منه ایت محکمة هن امّ الکتاب

واخر متشابهات

"It is Him who has revealed the Book to thee there are unchangeable verses there, these are those which form the Mother of the Book," and othes too which offer several implications. Here is how the verse is rendered in the Persian translation :

او آنست که فرود آورد بر تو کتاب بعضی از آن ایتهای واضح

است آنجمله اصل کتاب است وبعضی دیگر مُحتمل معانی

10. It is, however, according to this process that the Chinese have composed the text of the Uigur letters which were explained in their College of the occidental languages. East and which are found in the vocabularies of the tributary people. They took the Chinese texts and under each Chinese word, they but the corresponding Uigur term, without worrying whether Uigur is a monosyllabic language like Chinese and if it has syntax different from that of the language of the celestial kingdom. These letters cannot, therefore, in any way, be given as authentic specimens of the language that was spoken at Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan or Turfan.

11. This text is borrowed from an article of Mr. M. Cowrant published in The *Journal Asiatic* 1897 Septr.-Octr. p. 222 under the title : *On the Japanese reading of the texts containing uniquely or principally the ideographic characters.*

12. In this transcription, the portions underlined represent the phonetic complements added to the Chinese words which are called *'kana'* in Japanese for example the third Chinese character of the second column *'mīng'* which correspond to the Japanese *'akiraka'* and followed by the phonetic complements *'ni suru ni'* ought to be read, not *'ming ni suru ni'* but *'akiraka ni suru ni'* the syllables between the parentheses are the particles which are necessary for the Japanese pronunciation of Chinese, but that one can either write or leave out; the exponents put infront of

the Chinese and Japanese vocables mark the corresponding words in the two sentences.

13. "and the second is that one which has gone where there have been women and who has not taken a woman; the third is the one who has not done the *'Zanda Ravan* 'and who has not given alms." *Yōsht-i-Fryān.* ed. West appendix to the *'Arda Viraf,* §45-46. Mr. West translates" a third is that man who has not honoured a living soul", but *'zanda ravan'* in Pahlavi *'zīvandak ravan'* is a liturgical expression, well-known in Mazdaism.

14. On the contrary, there is, in this Lexicon forms which one does not ever encounter in the texts, and which are not certainly corruptions due to the negligency of the copyists, since these explain all perfectly by a Semitic etymology.

15. There is no such language as *Pazand* any more than the Parsi. language : this comes from the same term of the Minokhirad colophon which was transcribed by Neriosengh, the son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi in the character of the Avesta : *iyam Pahilavi mainīūshar ddanāmni parakokiy, buddhis mayā Nair īūsanghena Dhavalasutena Pahilavībhāshāyā samskrtabhāshāyām avatāritā vishmapārasīkāksharebhy asca Avīstākhsharāis likhitā :* "This book, named *divine intelligence in Pahlavi Minokhirad* has been translated by me, Neriosengs, son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into Sanskrit after having been transcribed from the Pahlavi characters too difficult to read in the Avestan writing" (J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes.* 1, p. 41).

16. The *vav* of Pahlavi in the forms like *ôzalûntan* represent an analogous transcription to that of the ع which in certain Semitic words is equally rendered by the Pahlavi *vav.* In sum, the hamza being the soft variety of the Semitic *ain* it is not surprising that these two phonemes have, sometimes, been rendered similarly by the Iranians.

17. *Pahlavi Pazand Glossary,* edition Haugh, pages 10,2; 18, 3.

18. Besides, this difference has no linguistic importance, if it is admitted that the Aramaen words introduced in the Pahlavi are pronounced quite in another way than in the way they are written.

19. J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes,* Vol. 1, page 126 (Iranian Studies Tr.)

20. *Études iraniannes,* Vol. 1, page 126.

21 § XVIII. 14.

22. The fall of the final *-k* is a general linguistic fact which is met with again in many other languages from the Breton right up to the Turkish dialects. Thus it is that beside the old Mongol یاساق "law, regulation", we find a more modern form یاسا.

23. Modern Persian ended by losing the knowledge of this fact and in these words it considers *-gān* گان as the suffix of the plural, it is out of this confusion that are born the modern forms like بنده‌گان, ستاره‌گان which are barbarisms from the point of view of etymology.

24. The source of this way of writing is not clear, it is probable that it is, like what follows an inexact transcription of ه in بندَه.

25. This graphic writing is just an erroneous imitation and besides perfectly inexact of the Persian suffix ه; in بندَه the ه final *h* of Persian has no etymological value, it only serves to indicate that the preceding consonant carries a vowel. Vide J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* vol. 1, p. 122, n. 1.

26. See *Revue sémitique,* 1896, page 266 and ssq.

27. The group *-āī* of the modern language may equally be derived from a group comprising a dental. Ex. : **hvadātha,* Persian خدای *Khudāī,* then خدا *khōdā* "Lord", pl. خدایان; *pāda* 'foot', Persian پای *pāī* and پا *pā,* pl. پایان.

28. It is, nevertheless, possible that at a certain period, perfectly indeterminate, however, 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬜 is pronounced *dānāgan* 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬜 and not 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬜 *dānāyān,* the *g* and the *y* having, in Pahlavi writing the same form, it is impossible to know at what epoch *dānāgān* became *dānāyān.*

29. Except in the word نیاگان *nyāgān,* plural of نیا *nyā* "grandfather", the Pahlavi prototype of which is read in the *Vendidad,* Farg. XIX, § 22, under the form 𐬈𐬌𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬌𐬑 *niyākān.* cf. J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* vol. 1, p. 123 and Spiegel, *Grammatik,* p. 63.

30. The dastur Peshotan Sanjana in his grammar gives eight cases to Pahlavi following the grammar of Sanskrit, well, these cases never existed in this idiom.

31. Bistun inscription table I (Oppert, *Inscription des Achémenides,* p. 14 from a separate draught).

32. Ibid., p. 110.

33. Ibid., p. 116.

34. James Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes* vol. I, p. 131.

35. Page 115.

36. The fall of the aspiration is a well-known phonetic fact in Iranian J. Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes,* vol. 1, p. 60.

37. The suffix *tar* of the comparative is also used with the adverbs and the substantives which indicate the direction in space and in time. Ex. : *oshastar* "to the East", this formation goes back to Zend where the suffix of the comparative *-tara* had already this sense. *Oshasta-rem Hindum* "the East Indies" *Vendidad, Fargard I.*

38. If the word עאף, is really Semitic this would tend to prove that at the epoch in which the Semitic words used in Pahlavi were borrowed, one used to pronounce *aīv* still and not *aī* or *ē*.

39. In his Pahlavi Grammar, the dastur Peshotan Sanjana equally makes this term an Iranian word but he bestows to it as a Semitic equivalent a word *ahtā* derived from the root אחר, which is probably modelled upon Arabic *accal* with the adjunction of the sign of the emphatic state of Aramaean.

40. Aram. חדין, Mand. הדין and עהדין, this word presents the same change of primitive *n* into *r* as the Aram. בר son, beside Heb. בן and Ar. بن. *Tanī* often wrongly read *tand* and deriving from a Semitic form which preserved the primitive *n*, is used oftener in the sense of the second, it has likewise taken the adverbial sense of "afterwards".

41. Aram. תלתא, Mand תלאתא, Ar. ثلث.

42. Aram. ארבעא Mand. אربא with the fall of ע, ... which is a fact of Assyrian phonetics.

43. Aram. חמשא, Mand. האמשא, Ar. خمس.

44. Aram. שית and שתא, Mand. שיתא. שיתא Ar. ست.

45. Aram. שבעא Mand. שיבא and אשבא in the fem. with same fall of the *ain* that one notes in ארבא.

46. Aram. תמנא Mand. תמאניא Ar. ثمان.

47. Aram. תשעא, Mand. תשא, בתשא, Ar. تسع, for the number of there had been two efforts at the transcription of *ain*, in *tisa*, the *ain* of תשע is not rendered and the final *ā* is but the transcription of the emphatic state א of Aram., in *tisgā*, the *ain* has been reinforced into *ghain* غ and rendered by *g* in a very approximative way.

It will be noted that between the numbers 4 to 10, five transcribe the *ā* of the Aram. emphatic state by *ā* and three others by *yā*, it may be that it fails to find in this fact a proof that the Aramaean dialect from which Pahl. has borrowed its Semitic words was cognate with the ancestors of what is today known under the name of Mandeaen, *vis -á vis* Chaldeaen תמנא eight, three Mand., in fact, says תמאניא with the same suffix as that which is found in Pahl. We have already seen that the emphatic state of noun was equally rendered either by *ā* or by *yā* without which it is quite easy to explain the reason of this phenomenon.

48. Aram. עסרא, Heb. עשר, Mand. אסרא, Ar. عشر.

49. I do not give here the Semitic forms of these numbers such as they are indicated in the grammar of Dastur Peshotan Behramji Sandjana, because they are not met anywhere in the Pahl. texts and that they are restitutions made arbitrarily with the help of Arabic forms.

50. See J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, vol. 1, p. 151.

51. Ibid., p. 152.

52. On the source of this formation see. J. Darmesteter : *Études iraniennes* vol. 1, p. 153.

53. On the origin of this formation see. J. Darmesteter. *Études iraniennes*, vol. 1., p. 153.

54. Spiegel signals a variant in Pazand *mem*, Parsi. مم, which is evidently only a mistake of the copyist. *Gramatik der Parsisprache*, p. 64.

55. *li* in the Pahlavi inscriptions of the Sassanids.

56. "we" is equally said לאיאן in Mand., we are to decompose this word into ל־איאן; איא being the Ar. particle ایا, which serves as a support to the pronominal suffixes when one does not want to use them directly after the verb. Ex. ایاك نعبد "it is thee whom we adore.".

57. The forms לכון, לכן. are also found in Chaldeaens.

58. Variant לאיכון.

59. This pronoun could be phonetically derived from the form for the nominative *tum.*

60. J. Darmesteter *Études iraniennes,* vol. 1, p. 158.

61. Persian *d* can give *z* in Pahl. and in Persian (J. Darmesteter *Études iraniennes* vol. 1, p. 159). The *d* and the *z* being able to be represented in Pahlavi by the same sign, there are several Pahlavi words which appear to be intermediate between Parsi. and Persian, for example the word *damīk,* Persian زمین. There is there just a sentence due to the polyphony and everything is explained by the genuine reading of the word that is to say *zamīk.*

62. In a Pahlavi fable which I have published in the Revue de *L'Histoire des Religions,* nov. -dec. 1895, text, p. 18. cf. *Journal Asiatique, A note on the personal pronouns of the first and of the third persons in Pahlavi,* 1895.

63. Cf. Mandeaen האל composed of this pronoun אל and of the demonstrative ה, which is nothing else than the Hebrew article and the first element of Ar. هذا the pronoun is not, likewise, used in the singular and only the plural האלין is found.

64. It so happens that the preposition '*al* is confounded in the mediocre manuscripts with *otā* "this one, latter", but it is there just as a mistake due to the ignorance of the scribes.

65. This is uniquely because Pazand and Parsi. are only transfers or countertracings of Pahlavi that we find forms like '*vash*' وش, *that* was certainly not used at the period when Pahlavi texts have been transcribed in Zend letters or in Arabic characters than at present.

66. Farther ahead we shall see in the conjugation chapter that ـِ. ـِ very well represent the vowel *ē.*

67. Corrected from *spāvat* which is a clumsy fault of reading.

68. J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* vol. 1, p. 71.

69. Ibid., p. 181.

70. The two transcriptions in Pazand and in Parsi. are not found in the original, I have added them, therefore, of few examples of the three versions in Pahlavi, Pazand and Parsi. that we come across.

71. Pazand wrongly reads *khvastvärtar and the Parsi.* خسوارتر.

72. The current reading of these two verbs is *hanakhluntan, yämtūntan.*

73. The reading of this verb is perhaps *sha'tchr ūntan,* if the *ain* is not to be pronounced.

74. This verb is generally read *makablūntan,* it is this transcription which is adopted by Wist in the *Arda Viraf* and by Darmesteter in his *Avesta,* it will be found several times in the course of this work.

75. In Mandeaen, for the verbs with the third weak radical the first and the second person of the two genders in the perfect are indentical : קרא makes קרית in the strong verbs the difference consist only in the ל, which is not found in the second person, ex. 1st person קיטלית, 2nd masc. and fem. קטאלת from קטל.

76. The transcription and the etymology given above are inexact.

77. It has lost two of the voices of the Achaemenian Persian, the middle and the desiderative.

78. As the aorist stem is identical with the second person singular of the imperative, the Persian grammarians take the imperative as the second stem of the conjugation, but it is a linguistic error.

79. Some Persian verbs of this type form their aorist stem in a totally different way. As I have never met any of these verbs, whether in Pahl. or in Pazand I think it useless to make mention of this formation, which the reader will find exposed all along in the *Études iraniennes* of J. Darmesteter, vol. 1, p. 205.

80. This verb is, so to speak, never used in the Pahlavi of the manuscripts where we hardly find but *ōpastan* and above all the Semitic equivalent *nafalūntan,* of which we shall find farther above the Pahlavi graphics in the list of the verbs.

81. It is an analogous mistake that we find in the reading شهید from the Pahlavi [illegible] *shāyat* "it suits".

82. We have seen above § 41 and 44 that this verb the current reading of which is *vashtamūntan* is probably derived from a shafel of the root [illegible], [illegible] with the metathesis of the ain, that is [illegible], we could therefore transcribe this verb '*ashtamūntan*, in this I shall hold on in the paradigms to the transcription *oshtamūntan*, all the more, as we shall never know either what was the exact pronunciation of this word, or even if it used to be pronounced as *vashtamūntan* or *khūrtan*. It is for the same reason that, following in this the example of Haugh, West and above all Darmesteter, I transcribe it everytime by a as is pertinently known, that there is neither *a*, nor *o*, nor *i* and that I have not rendered by *é* or by something approaching the : of Chaldean.

83. Erroneous transcription of the Pahl. verb īt "*īt* is, there is", (see § 44)

84. The pres. indic. of the Paz. verb *būṭan* is in Paz. and in Parsi. : sg. I bōm, bom [illegible], 2, *bāc, baē,* [illegible]; 3. *bahōṭ, bahaōd, bahuṭ, bahut,* [illegible]. The plural forms are extremely rare in the texts.

85. With the Pazand variants *hum, hūm.*

86. These forms are in part re-established according to the forms : Pahl. *frīpīh*-ast "he has been deceived", Paz. *brehīnih-est,* Parsi برهین هست, which is found in the *Minokhirad* (cf. J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* vol. 1, p. 236). *Frīpīhast* is not to be analysed into *frīpī-hast*, since there does not exist, in Pahl. any form like *frīpī-*, but only one *frīpīh*, an abstract form from *frīp*, Persian فریب "act of deceiving" from the verb *firīftan* فریفتن.

87. West translates : and similarly, facing the moon and the fire- tempel or the fire in the fire-tempel, morning and noon ....., Skt. is : *ityecain sammukham candrasya, agneshca Baharāmasya atha agneshca ādaroyasya, pratyūshe madhanni* "which does not determine the exact sense of Pahlavi [illegible] *ātarūk.*

88. J. Darmesteter, *Ét. ir.* vol. 1, p. 250.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
[illegible]

MAN AND TEMPLE

In Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual

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NOTE
ON TEXTS IN RABBINIC LITERATURE

Rabbinic literature is a general term covering the literary works enumerated below :

Mishnah. The basic code of oral tradition collected in its extant form by Rabbi Jehudah the Patriarch in Galilee, *c.* 200 C.E. To the Mishnah were later attached as complementary texts the much larger collections of the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds respectively.

Tosefta. A work contemporaneous with the Mishnah, in many respects parallel to it, but containing much additional material, variations from and amplifications of the Mishnah.

Talmud. The name of two large collections containing the discussions of the great Palestinian and Babylonian schools on topics mainly contained in the Mishnah. The *Palestinian Talmud* (also called *Talmud Yerushalmi*—that is, Jerusalem Talmud) reached its final shape in the schools of Galilee about the end of the fourth century C.E. *The Babylonian Talmud*, more bulky, was closed about a century later in Babylonia.

Midrash. A generic term for literary works based upon biblical passages. They fall under two headings, Halakhic and Aggadic Midrashim :

Halakhic Midrashim are primarily interpretations of the laws of the Pentateuch, and comprise works such

as the Mekhiltha, Siphra, Siphre, Midrash Haggadol, etc.

Aggadic Midrashim aim at religious and moral instruction, though formally their expositions are attached to passages of the Scripture. To this group belong the Midrash Rabbah (Gen. Rab., Ex. Rab., etc.), Pesiqta di Rabh Kahana, Pesiqta Rabbati, Tanhuma, etc.

In period of time the Midrashim range from the second century C.E. to the Middle Ages.

The translations of the Hebrew and Aramaic texts are mine, with the following exceptions :

The Bible : Authorized Version, with amendments where it seemed necessary

Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphia : Charles' edition

Babylonian Talmud : the translations of those tractates available in Epstein's English edition (London, Soncino Press) were largely followed

ABBREVIATIONS

B.—The Babylonian Talmud, quoted by tractate, folio and page, *e.g.* B. Suk. 43a—Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sukkah, folio 43, page a.

Gen. Rab.—Midrash Genesis (*Berēshith*) Rabbah, quoted by chapter and paragraph, and the pages of Theodor-Albeck's edition, Berlin, 1912–1931, *e.g.* Gen. Rab. 78, 16, p. 936—Genesis Rabbah, chapter 78, paragraph 16, ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 936. Cf. also Rab.

M.—Mishnah, quoted by tractate, chapter and paragraph, *e.g.* M. Tamid 3, 2.

Rab.—Following the name of one of the five books of the Pentateuch (Gen., Ex., Lev., Num., Deut.) or one of the five Scrolls (*Megilloth*, Cant., Ruth, Thren., Eccl., Esth.)—the Midrash Rabbah to these books, quoted by chapter and paragraph of the Romm, Wilna, edition, *e.g.* Ex. Rab. 15, 22. Cf. also Gen. Rab.

Tos.—Tosefta, quoted by tractate, chapter and paragraph, and the pages of Zuckermandel's edition, Pasewalk, 1881, *e.g.* Tos. Suk. 4, 5, p. 198—Tosefta Sukkah, chapter 4, paragraph 5, ed. Zuckermandel, p. 198.

Y.—*Yerushalmi*, the Jerusalem, or better, the Palestinian Talmud, quoted by tractate, page and column of the Venetian edition, 1523.

THE TRANSCRIPTIONS OF HEBREW WORDS

Because of technical difficulties over the special letters used in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, a rough Anglicized transcription of them has been used for Semitic words quoted in this book

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

NATURE AND THE SUPERNATURAL

I

Modern researches probing from various angles into the social function of early religions have proved that a main concern of primary religious activities is to obtain and secure the maximum of material welfare for the whole of the community. Much has also been learned about the ways and means resorted to in order to bring about the regular functioning of nature upon which the well-being of man almost exclusively depended. In the ancient Near East, where intricate religious systems were evolved, these ways and means became crystallized into a complex ritual pattern centering round great seasonal festivals. The development of this ritual pattern has been subjected to thorough investigation by a number of scholars, the gist of whose findings Professor S. H. Hooke sums up in the following words :

> The picture which emerges from a study of the great seasonal rituals of the ancient East and their associated myths is that of a community seeking to bring under control by means of an organized system of ritual actions the order of nature upon the functioning of which its well-being depends.[1]

Not only in the great seasonal rituals, but also in many other practices of communal and private life, one could detect the working of the same trend, namely, towards influencing and controlling the order of nature.

Let us take a closer look at the process that may have led up to this "organized system of ritual actions" and to all the other communal and private rituals that abounded in the ancient Near East.

Ever since there emerged on earth that special form of existence which is called human life, its bearer, man, has endeavoured to make life more agreeable and to create for himself more comfortable living conditions. Man evolved tools to make it easier for himself to gather and to produce food, and to make life safer from the attacks of beast and man. He built himself shelters for safety and comfort. He made clothing to guard himself against the rigours of the climate, and applied ornamental embellishments to different parts of his body. He invented and improved methods for the production of food; he gradually became an expert in one or another special branch of production and developed specialized industries. He evolved various systems of property, stationary and movable, and learned to barter his own superfluous possessions for those of others. He developed regular relationships within smaller and larger human groups; and by giving more or less fixed forms to these relations in custom and law, he assigned to each individual a place within society circumscribed by special rights and duties.

In all these activities man appeared as a reasonable and rational being, who knew what he wanted and sought ways and means of obtaining it.

But the advantages and benefits man wished to derive from his natural and social environment were by no means of a material nature only, such as would satisfy physical, biological and social needs. The benefits were often psychological, satisfying mental needs having no biological, economic or social foundation, but arising from the special psychical constitution of man. Yet the measures taken to satisfy these mental or psychical needs might be the same as those taken for the satisfaction of the physical, biological and social needs, or at least very similar to them ; and might, and in fact very often did, pertain to concrete natural objects.[2]

Moreover, even in satisfying primary needs arising out of the physical nature of man, the actual practices adopted by him are in the great majority of cases not spontaneous and unpremeditated, but motivated in accordance with mental predilections and inclinations. A survey of the methods followed by various communities in their choice, preparation and consumption of food, as well as in the evaluation of food-stuffs as objects of property, would show what a wide range of difference can be introduced by these mental predilections and inclinations even into the forms of satisfaction of so vital and primary an impulse as hunger.

Thus we see that human actions directed towards natural objects are generated by both physical and

psychical necessities. The same two necessities prompt human activities also in relation to the supernatural.

II

The existence of the supernatural in one form or another is taken for granted by all the peoples of the earth, even the most primitive. Though its existence is in most instances somewhat obscure, proved only by what may be called secondary signs, it is nevertheless a certainty and reality. Prehistoric finds bear witness to the fact that already in the Old Stone Age man lived not only in the light of the physical world, but also in the shadow of the supernatural world.

It would be outside our present theme to deal with the extent and content of the supernatural world. Let us state only this : the lower boundary of the supernatural, that which borders upon the natural world, was seldom exactly the same in two different societies, nor was it constant within one and the same society over a considerable period of time. Furthermore, even in the same period and in the same society, different people had different conceptions of the supernatural, as also one and the same man may have in different moods or emotional situations.

Every culture and every cultural stage had its own accumulation of knowledge about the physical world, its own degree of familiarity with natural phenomena.

and it was in accordance with this actual knowledge of nature that the borderline between nature and the supernatural had to run. It would, though, be a mistake to suppose that the supernatural had always to be contented with such territories as were left over to it by the natural science of a given people at a certain time. We have rather to imagine a balance being maintained between two mutually active forces. More often than not it was the established view of the supernatural and its working which determined what territories should be left over to practical exploration and scientific investigation.

Lightning, for instance, belonged to the sphere of the supernatural with many ancient peoples, among them Israel and the Greeks. It was believed to be the arrow or the spear of the god. Modern physical science has subjected lightning to investigation and found that it is but an electrical phenomenon obeying certain physical laws. Physicists are even able to engender lightning artificially. Thus the supernatural had to yield this traditional weapon to natural science. Nevertheless, many a simpler folk still regards lightning as a heavenly weapon, and should a wicked man be struck by it, there would be no doubt as to the true significance of the event: a punishment from on high.

All this may seem to imply that there exists a sharply drawn line of demarcation between the natural and the supernatural. But nothing would be falser than such an assumption. Indeed natural and supernatural appear very often as intricately inter-

woven, and as merely two different aspects of the same object, action or phenomenon. It can even be said that each and every natural object, action or phenomenon may under given circumstances have also a spiritual quality, a supernatural aspect or value.

It is of interest to consider how man succeeded in harnessing for his use the supernatural powers also, or the supernatural aspect of the universe.

The need to do so was bound to arise when man was faced with a situation for which his practical experience proved insufficient. At the time of a crisis in private or communal life man feels that he needs the help of supernatural powers. In danger or in a situation the outcome of which is doubtful, when man, hoping for a certain thing to happen and at the same time fearing lest another thing might happen, has no power to influence the oncoming event by the usual *natural* means, he tries to realize his wish, and to prevent the unwanted, by applying to the supernatural for help. Thus Malinowski observed relative to practices in the Trobriand Islands:

> It is most significant that in the lagoon fishing, where man can rely completely upon his knowledge and skill, magic does not exist, while in the open-sea fishing, full of danger and uncertainty, there is extensive magical ritual to secure safety and good results.[3]

In the great majority of his undertakings primitive man is faced by two sets of problems. The one, the predictable and controllable, he can overcome with technical skill ; the second, the unpredictable and uncontrollable, he tries to solve by this appeal to

the supernatural. And just as the technical methods are never an improvisation but an application of well-tried ways and means, so the appeal to the supernatural too tends to assume fixed forms, and when often repeated—and especially when recurring seasonally—it becomes a rite, or, if more complex, a ritual.

Generally speaking, the less developed a community, the lower its culture and the poorer its civilizatory equipment, the greater will be the role played by the unpredictable and uncontrollable element in its life, and consequently the greater the importance of the function of the ritual directed towards the control of the elusive forces. Among primitive peoples almost everything has its ritual, every undertaking, every action and every event, down to such minute affairs as plucking a fruit or sitting down to rest. Among more advanced peoples *only the more significant events in private and* communal life retain their ritual, and among the peoples of modern western civilization ritual has *almost entirely lost its significance, surviving only* in occasional ceremonies of church and state.

III

Before coming to the actual procedure of what we called the "appeal to the supernatural," we have first of all to acquaint ourselves with the main principle on which are based most, if not all, the

attempts of primitive man at influencing nature. For, paradoxical as it may sound, most of the practices of primitive man in which the supernatural is resorted to are intended to influence the elements and phenomena of nature only.

Without entering into the problems presented by the various forms of outlook on nature, such as mana, pre-animism or animatism, animism and the personification and symbolical representation of natural forces and elements, let us state in brief that the common denominator of these different concepts is the assumption of a basic similarity between man and the other parts of nature. According to this assumption all the elements, parts, powers and phenomena of nature partake of "human nature." Popular imagination does not find it difficult to endow the component parts of nature even with human forms, but more often it is the inner constitution, the mental make-up of man, that is attributed to all parts of animate and inanimate nature. The Indians of Guiana, for instance, do not draw "any sharp line of distinction, such as we see between animals—man included—and inanimate objects. On the contrary, to the Indian all objects, animate and inanimate, seem exactly of the same nature, except that they differ in the accident of bodily form. . . ."[4]

The fact that primitive man draws no strict line of cleavage between the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms on the one hand, and human beings on the other, has been so often emphasized that it can be regarded as an anthropological common-

place.[5] Westermarck has adduced evidence to show that the primitive belief in the similarity between the lower animals and man is to be found again among the peoples of classical antiquity, those of the Middle Ages, and the simpler folk in modern civilized countries.[6] Elsewhere we have had occasion to show that the same concept was prevalent also among the ancient Hebrews both in biblical and in post-biblical times.[7]

For our present purpose it will be sufficient to stress only one detail in this general conception of "humanized" nature, namely, that which endows the heavenly bodies, the sun, moon and stars, with a nature and consciousness akin to man's own. Again, it will be unnecessary to attest with examples that among many primitive peoples these heavenly bodies are regarded as human beings, the sun as a man, the moon as a woman, or vice versa; and that by these peoples the stars too "are not merely talked of in fancied personality, but personal action is attributed to them."[8] It is well known that among many primitive peoples, as well as among the civilized peoples of antiquity, among them the early Hebrews, the heavenly bodies were not only personified but regarded as deities and as such revered and worshipped.[9] What is perhaps less well known is the significant fact that in later Jewish thought the heavenly bodies, though naturally no longer regarded as deities, were still looked upon as beings of human and even superhuman intelligence. According to Philo Judaeus (born *circa* 20–10 B.C.) the stars stand

even higher than the angels, in fact they are the highest class or degree of the cosmos ; they are eternal living beings who populate the heavens, and possess both soul and mind. Philo calls them "majestic, divine, soulful beings," or, leaning upon Pythagorean-Platonic ideas, even "gods perceptible by the senses."[10]

Exactly the same ideas about the human and superhuman nature of the heavenly bodies are found again in post-biblical Jewish literature. Ever since the creation of man, according to Jewish legend, the heavenly bodies have had ample opportunity to intervene in human affairs. There were occasions, it is true, when they showed themselves hostile to man, but in general their interventions were prompted by sympathy and kindness.[11] The concept that the heavenly bodies are beings similar to man in their mental make-up, but endowed with superhuman intelligence, was taught also by Arabic and Jewish philosophers in the Middle Ages. Maimonides (A.D. 1135–1204) said : "All the stars and spheres have souls, intelligence and understanding. They are living and they stand and recognize Him who created the world by His word. Each one of them according to its size and degree praises and worships its Maker just as the angels do. And just as they know the Holy One, blessed be He, so they know themselves and know the angels who stand above them. And the understanding of the stars and spheres is smaller than that of the angels, but greater than that of man."[12]

Hymns containing this concept are to be found in Jewish prayer-books to this day. In the Sabbath morning prayer the following passage occurs :

> Good are the luminaries which our God created. He made them to have knowledge, understanding and wisdom. He has endued them with power and might to be rulers in the world. They are full of splendour and radiate brightness, their splendour is graceful throughout the world. They rejoice when going forth and are glad at their return, they do with awe the will of their Creator. They give glory and honour to His name, joy and song to the memory of His kingdom.[13]

But to return to primitive peoples, to their outlook on nature and to the ways and means resorted to by them in their "appeal to the supernatural." We have seen that by simply attributing to nature human properties, primitive man has endowed nature with what in our view appears as a supernatural quality, but what is to him merely a recognition of the true state of things, the perception of the fundamental similarity underlying the apparent diversity of forms. This basic outlook on the spiritual homogeneity of all existing things has its analogy in the modern scientific approach to the physical world, discerning behind the great variety of elements the same ultimate components, the protons and electrons.

IV

Homogeneity in spiritual quality means not only a structural but also a functional similarity. As Hartland has remarked, "The external world is first

interpreted by the savage thinker in the terms of his own consciousness."[14] The natives of Central Borneo, for instance, "regard themselves as not essentially but only in degree different from the animals, plants and stones of their environment. Characteristically the Bahau ascribe not only to themselves but also to all animate and inanimate beings the possession of souls. According to their opinion, the soul of a tree, a dog or a rock, reacts in the same way as the soul of man and is moved by the same feelings of pleasure and pain. . . ."[15]

This essential similarity between man and the other parts of nature implies not only a similarity in reactions and feelings, but also the possibility of influencing all parts of nature by the same means and methods that have proved successful in social intercourse among human beings. This personalistic interpretation of nature, well attested in numerous primitive societies, extends the limits of society to include nature as a whole.[16] According to the Kpelle, for instance, "man, living or dead, demons, animals, plants and inanimate objects are essentially the same, and exist under similar conditions; they can in the same way influence man towards good or evil, they all can be either harmful or useful to him, and on the other hand he can influence them because they are all similar to him."[17] In other words, just as man is able to influence his fellow-men by words, signs or actions, within an ordered and properly functioning society, so he can do with nature. He can make his fellow-man do his will by begging,

coaxing, commanding, bribing or forcing him, and the same methods hold good also with nature. In addition to this, if he wants to achieve his end in society, he has to obey certain rules of conduct which often impose on him considerable discomfort, and similarly if he wants to be successful in his dealings with nature he has to perform certain actions bearing the same general character as his actions in respect to his fellow-men, both assuming on certain important occasions a ritual character. In short, the rules of active and passive conduct, well tried and proven in society, hold good—according to this concept—in nature also; nature is conceived of as a part of society, subject to the same rules of sympathy which govern society.

Since examples to illustrate this social attitude of man on a primitive level towards objects of nature abound in anthropological literature, it does not seem necessary to repeat any of them here.[18] We need but refer to that general type of rite in which man endeavours to ensure the fertility of plants, trees or fields by the simple method of resorting to the same acts as would cause the fertilization of women, or by enacting the ceremonies that in human relations usually precede the sexual connection, namely, the marriage ceremonies.[19] In other instances the growth of certain plants, regarded as personal beings, is promoted not by sexual acts but by oral influence, by persuasion and requests.[20]

Addressing objects of nature, such as the heavenly bodies, the wind, the rain, the waters, the mountains,

the trees, and so on, as reasonable beings and asking them to do this or that for the sake of man, is a method of influencing nature widely prevalent among primitive peoples both with or without the accompaniment of corresponding acted rites or ceremonies. It is not necessary to rely exclusively upon the concept of the "power of the word" so ably demonstrated by Ernest Crawley[21] for the explanation of the rites in which man endeavours to influence nature by word of mouth. In many cases, when the words expressing the wish are repeated many times the impression is quite clearly not that of delivering a command but that of putting forward a request, or, in other words, not that of magic control but that of social persuasion.

In rain-making ceremonies it is an almost universal feature that the request for rain, expressed in short sentences like "Rain, come!" or "Rains, fall!" and the like, is repeated hundreds of times, until either rain comes or the performers have to stop out of sheer exhaustion. This certainly is much closer to the behaviour of the poor beggar who ceaselessly repeats his humble request for alms, than to the action of the powerful rich man who has only to say the word and the amount needed by him is put at his disposal.

It is this sort of request mingled with persuasion that could without any strain or shock be transferred from being directed to the entities of nature to being addressed to the ruler over nature, God. It is, moreover, only this same sort of *dromenon*, thing

enacted, aimed at a quasi-social persuasion by showing what is desired of nature, which could survive in the form of complementary rites in public and official religious ritual directed towards a deity of the highest metaphysical quality. Rites aiming at the direct magical control of nature would have been essentially contradictory to the service of such a deity, and could scarcely have appeared in his temple-festivities hand in hand with prayers and supplicatory sacrifices. Divine service could, on the other hand, tolerate with some generosity supplication and persuasion directed to the lesser powers in nature, which, according to the religious conception, were subservient to God alone.

V

The question now arises, what has this quasi-social persuasion of the natural forces, elements and objects to do with the "appeal to the supernatural," which, as stated above, is a method complementary to, but distinct from, the practical steps undertaken by man to achieve certain concrete results? In fact, it is time to rectify and amend. When we said "appeal to the supernatural" we applied one of our categories to primitive mentality, in relation to which, strictly speaking, such categories are not applicable. When a savage prepares his garden, plants his fruit-tree, waters it, weeds it, and also executes high jumps and calls "grow high, grow high!" in order to "make" the plant grow high, and lays heavy

stones at its foot in order to "make" its fruit heavy, we feel that he uses in his gardening two fundamentally different procedures, the one based on practical knowledge, the other on supernatural influences. For the savage gardener himself no such distinction exists. He merely executes a series of actions all of which are necessary in one and the same degree in order to make the plant thrive. Let us not forget that for him the plant is a living being, very near to himself in substance and quality. He prepares the land and waters the plant just as he would prepare a comfortable couch and procure food for his child. And just as he would tell or show his child whatever he would wish him to do or to be, so he tells and shows the plant what he wishes it to do and to be: to grow high and to be heavy with fruit. From the point of view of the savage there is actually nothing supernatural in the whole procedure; he deals with a natural object, which has to undergo a natural process, in accordance with the natural properties he knows it to possess. But this natural object, like each and every object existing in the world, has also a spiritual quality. So he utters words and executes actions appropriate to the occasion and apt to influence the spiritual side of the plant.

VI

If this be so, another question will probably be asked. If the "appeal to the supernatural" was just a part of the natural dealing with the natural

elements and objects, a sort of social approach to their spiritual side, why did it, after all, become in almost every society the special field of activity of one or another type of "religious" authority, such as the magician, the diviner, the priest or the prophet ?

The specialization in the "supernatural" cannot be regarded as a phenomenon *sui generis*. It should be viewed as one instance of the general trend of occupational specialization which sets in everywhere when a certain level of cultural development is reached. When metal tools begin to be used, the average agriculturist does not find it practicable any more to make for himself his own tools as he did so long as the tools were of stone or flint. The community delegates one of its sons for the performance of the task that has grown too complicated. As soon as one of the community undertakes to be the smith and to supply all the others with tools, he by sheer routine develops his work until soon it grows so specialized, refined and complicated by innumerable tricks of the trade as entirely to surpass the products of the unpractised skill of the simple food collector or producer.

Thus too the "appeal to the supernatural." To deal with the inner, hidden qualities of the objects of nature required a special technique which, growing too cumbersome for the average hunter or agriculturist, became entrusted to the hands of a specialist who performed the necessary ceremonies for any individual layman or for the community as a

whole. And once in the hands of a specialist, the rites began to increase in both volume and intricacy ever more and more stress being laid on accuracy in rendering the oral parts of the rites and on precision in performing the *dromena*, the things done. The knowledge of rituals, especially that of the great seasonal rites, soon withdrew far beyond the reach of the average laymen whose participation in the life-giving performance became confined to secondary mass-roles following the instructions of the few privileged principals. The task of the primitive "divine" thus came to be recognized as that of dealing with the supernatural, and his profession became in many a society the first or even the only specialized work.

VII

In the foregoing very sketchy presentation of a cultural process we have endeavoured to deal only with that aspect of the supernatural which can be interpreted as the spiritual side of nature and its component parts. We have not touched upon those vast realms of the supernatural which human phantasy peopled with spiritual beings conceived as independent of any natural or physical form. Nor does our delineation lay claim to general validity. Cultural development followed everywhere its own way, and it would be futile to contend that the evolution of ritual and priesthood was the result of a process common to all the peoples of the world.

We have emphasized the social aspect of man's approach to the forces of nature not only because another aspect, the magical control of nature, has been only too often stressed and overstressed by many an anthropological writer, but also, and chiefly, because it seems to us that in many cases it is precisely this social approach that has left its trace on the outlook on nature as well as on the myth and ritual of the ancient Hebrews in biblical and post-biblical times. And it is with the relation of man and nature as reflected in ancient Jewish myth and ritual that the present study deals.

Professor Kelsen in a recent book has shown that primitive man sees in the working of nature the manifestation of the "principle of retribution." [22] Primitive man (and to a great extent also a community as advanced as the ancient Greeks), interpreting nature according to social norms, found the *lex talionis*, the norm of retribution, the biblical "an eye for an eye," not only in society but also in nature. In the following pages we shall try to show that other parallels, too, exist in what may be more comprehensively called "the law of sympathy in nature." The material we shall make use of will be drawn mainly from literary sources relating to the closing period of the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

Popular conceptions are not very easily discernible in the talmudic and midrashic literature originating in the first centuries of the Christian era. The sages of the Talmud who constitute the literary and religious sieve through which popular traditions had

to pass before entering the rich granaries of ancient Jewish literature, withheld many a grain of coarser quality and let through others only in a broken-up form or reduced size. The age, too, an age of turmoil, of political upheavals and national revolts, of philosophical innovations and new religious messages, was most unfavourable to the conservation of old popular traditions. If, in spite of all these adverse factors, so much of the popular traditional material gained access to those literary granaries, it was mainly due to two facts. First, much of what was originally folk-lore had become in the course of time sanctified and had grown to be inseparable from other items of religion of a quite different origin. Second, everyday life, of which much is recorded in ancient Jewish literature, was thoroughly permeated by popular traditions, customs, habits and usages. Be this as it may, the fact is that talmudic and midrashic literature constitutes a veritable storehouse for the folk-lorist and the cultural anthropologist. This material, though much richer than that contained in the earlier biblical and apocryphal literature, is far less easily accessible to students of anthropology, since it is written partly in Hebrew, partly in Aramaic, and partly in a mixture of both, and is translated only incompletely into European languages (mainly into German).

In these pages we should like to choose out of this rich material a few illustrations of the working of the principle of sympathy in nature as revealed in such diverse forms as rituals performed in the Second

Temple of Jerusalem, myths centering around this Temple, and beliefs concerning the conduct and actions of the people in general and of the children, the rulers, and the pious and righteous men in particular.

1 S. H. Hooke, in *The Labyrinth*, London, 1935, pp. 213 sqq.
2 B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, London, 1922, p. 89.
3 B. Malinowski, "Magic, Science and Religion," in *Science, Religion and Reality*, ed. by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, p. 32.
4 E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, 1883, pp. 350 sq.
5 E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894–96, vol. I, pp. 207 sq., and *Primitive Paternity*, London, 1909–10, vol. I, pp. 191, 246, 250; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4th ed., London, 1903, vol. I, pp. 467 sq.; James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd ed., vol. II, pp. 389 sqq., and *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, London, 1919, vol. III, pp. 415 sqq.; F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 17.
6 E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, London, 1906–26, vol. I, pp. 252 sqq.
7 Raphael Patai, *Man and Earth in Hebrew Custom, Belief and Legend, A Study in Comparative Religion* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1942–43, vol. I, pp. 23 sqq.
8 Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. I, p. 290, cf. also pp. 288 sqq.
9 Frazer, *The Worship of Nature*, London, 1926, vol. I, pp. 441 sqq.; Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. XII, pp. 48 sqq.; D. Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion und die mosaische Überlieferung*, Strassburg, 1904; W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed. by S. A. Cook, London, 1927, pp. 134 sq., 542, 649 sq., 669, 672; J. Morgenstern, "The Gates of Righteousness," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, VI (1929), pp. 1 sqq.; A. Lods, *Israel*, Paris, 1932, Index, s.v. lune,

soleil ; F. J. Hollis, "The Sun-Cult and the Temple at Jerusalem," in *Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke, Oxford, 1933, pp. 87 sqq. ; Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, 2nd ed., London, 1937, Index, s.v. Moon, Stars, Sun ; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore, 1942, p. 167.

10 Philo Judaeus, *de specialibus legibus*, I, 13 ; *de gigantibus*, 7 ; *de aeternitate mundi*, 45, 47 ; *de somniis*, I, 22, 34, 135 ; *de opificio mundi*, 27, 73 ; *de plantatione*, 12 ; *de Abrahamo*, 165 ; *legum alleg.* II, 10 ; *quis rerum div. heres sit*, 75 ; cf. Helmut Schmidt, *Die Anthropologie Philons von Alexandrien*, Würzburg (1934), p. 27 ; A. Aptowitzer, "The Rewarding and Punishing of Animals and Inanimate Objects," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, III (1926), p. 147.

11 Vita Adae et Evae, 36 ; Tanhuma Numeri, ed. Buber, p. 94 ; cf. B. Sanhedrin, 110a. More details see Patai, *Man and Earth*, vol. I, pp. 47 sqq.

12 Maimonides, *Mishne Torah*, part I, Yesode Torah, 3, 9, and cf. *The Guide of the Perplexed*, II, ch. 4.

13 Daily Prayers, New York, 1938, with English translation, pp. 350 sq.

14 Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914, p. 27.

15 A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, 1904, I, 96. Quoted by Kelsen, *Society and Nature*, Chicago, 1943, p. 7.

16 Cf. Kelsen, *Society and Nature*, Chicago, 1943, p. vii.

17 D. Westermann, *Die Kpelle*, Göttingen, 1921, p. 174.

18 Kelsen, *Society and Nature*, Chicago, 1943, ch. X, § 10 : "Actual Behaviour of Early Man Toward Objects of Nature," pp. 31 sqq.

19 Cf., for instance, Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., I, 40 ; II, 57, 100 sq., 316 ; also his *Aftermath*, pp. 153 sq. ; *Folk-lore*, vii (1896), p. 206 ; E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1927, vol. II, pp. 55 sqq. ; Richard Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, Berlin, 1904, p. 406 ; B. Nyberg, *Kind und Erde*, Helsingfors, 1931, pp. 199 sq. ; W. Crook, *The Native Races of the British Empire*, VI, *Natives of Northern India*, London,

1907, II, 115 sq.; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, London, 1921, vol. II, pp. 523 sqq.; E. Lehman, in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, Tübingen, 1925, vol. I, p. 41, etc.

20 So, for instance, among the natives of Dobu, cf. R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu*, 1932, pp. 94 sqq., 97, 101 sq., 107 sqq.

21 E. Crawley, *Oath, Curse and Blessing*, Thinker's Library, No. 40, London, 1934, pp. 1 sqq.; as to the ancient Jewish belief in the power of the word, cf. Patai, *Man and Earth*, vol. II, pp. 272 sqq.

22 H. Kelsen, *Society and Nature*, Chicago, 1943.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RITUAL OF WATER-LIBATION

I

THE most elaborate yearly ritual performed in the Second Temple of Jerusalem was one neither prescribed nor even mentioned in the Bible. It is the so-called "Joy of the House of Water Drawing"[1] to which a traditional setting was given by connecting it with the Feast of Tabernacles.[2] This feast was celebrated at the beginning of the Hebrew year, in the autumn, at the time when in Palestine the rainy season is about to begin.[3]

The festivities drew a large crowd to the Temple Mount. The people were kept busy day and night attending various ceremonies and public performances during the seven or eight days of the festival. On the first day of the feast they rose early in the morning to be present at the offering of the daily morning sacrifice which was slaughtered ere the sun rose.[4] After that they went to attend prayers at one of the synagogues that in the last decades of the Second Temple already abounded in Jerusalem. From the prayer back to the Temple to attend the Mussaf, the additional sacrifice of the feast, then again to the Mussaf-prayers. These over, some went to the School of the Law, while others felt the urge

to offer up private vows and alms. Thus noon arrived, when people would go to have their meals, after which again back to the school, to the study of the Law, until the Minha, the afternoon prayer and the daily sacrifice of twilight.[5] Immediately following these began the festivities of the Joy of the House of Water-Drawing, which lasted until the following morning when the water-libation (see below) took place.[6] This full programme of twenty-four hours was repeated during each of the seven days of the feast. And since it is impossible, as one of the sages remarks, for a human being to exist without sleep for several consecutive days, they used to slumber for short intervals each on the shoulder of his friend.[7]

But these were by no means all the duties the participants had to perform. Every day, with the exception of the Sabbath, they went down to the village of Motza, some three to four miles west of Jerusalem, called in those days also Kalonia, *i.e.* Colonia,[8] and gathered there willow branches each at least eleven cubits long, *i.e.* about four and a half yards. These branches, which had to be soft and flexible, were placed in a perpendicular position around the altar so that their tops would be bent over the altar itself.[9] When the altar was thus covered with a green coating the shofar horn was sounded: a *teqi'ah*, a long blast, a *teru'ah*, a tremulous blast, and again a *teqi'ah*, and the circumambulation of the altar began. This was done once every day accompanied by such cries as "O God, help us; O God, give us luck."[10] On the seventh day they

went round the altar seven times, and upon taking leave of the altar they cried, "Beauty hast thou, O altar! beauty hast thou, O altar!"

On this seventh day another rite was performed—a highly significant one as we shall later see—with palm twigs, or, according to another version, with willow branches. Such smaller branches were brought along and the festive throng beat them upon the altar.[11] This rite even gave the day its name: The Day of Branch-Beating (or of Willow-Beating). During every circumambulation each of the participants held his *lulab* in his hands. The lulab consisted, as it does to this day, of a long thin palm branch and some smaller branches of willow and myrtle tied together, used in conjunction with a citron, the so-called ethrog. This lulab was also carried along by each male wherever he went during all the seven days of the feast with the exception of the Sabbath. After the branch-beating on the seventh day the children used to tear the lulabs to pieces and to eat the ethrogs.[12]

Since on the Sabbath the general prohibition of carrying anything prevented the people from carrying their lulabs to the Temple, special arrangements were made. The lulabs were carried beforehand on the Friday to the Temple Mount, where the attendants of the Temple received the branches from their hands and arrayed them on shelves.[13] Before the people left the place they were instructed to say, "Whosoever gets my lulab in his hands, let it be his as a gift." This was necessary, as the use of a

borrowed or a stolen lulab was ritually forbidden. Next day, on the Sabbath, the courts of the Temple witnessed a tumultuous scene. As the masses of the people arrived, the attendants threw the lulabs among them and each one did his best to catch one of the flying branches, the struggle invariably ending in blows. When the *Bēth Din*, the Law Court, saw that these proceedings involved danger, they ordained that on the Sabbath each one should use his lulab only at his home.[14]

II

Let us now return to the first day of the festival or rather to its first night. Towards evening, at the close of the first day of the feast, began the "Joy of the House of Water-Drawing." This was the most magnificent and joyous festival of the whole Jewish ritual year. The description of this festival, contained in the Mishnah, opens with the following words: "Whosoever has not seen the Joy of the House of Water-Drawing has never seen real joy in his life."[15] The festivities began with a precautionary measure. Originally during the festivities women used to stand within the great courtyard called the Women's Court, which was the scene of the festivals, while the men were without. But the two sexes used to intermingle and to commit what is euphemistically called *qaluth rōsh*, "lightheadedness." The sages first ordained that the men and women should change places, but still "lightheadedness"

occurred. Then the sages, having had special galleries built round about three sides of the courtyard, ordered the women to sit in them, in order to prevent the people from giving way to the temptation of the "evil inclination" that overpowers man in the hour of joy.[16]

When the day grew dark the great candelabra were lighted. Each of these tall golden lampstands carried on its top four bowls which had to be filled with oil.[17] Four ladders were placed against the four branches of the candelabra, and up them climbed four of the priestly children called in Hebrew "the Flowers of Priesthood." In their hands they carried pitchers to fill the bowls.[18] Wicks for the outer lamps were made of the worn-out drawers and girdles of the priests, while the wicks of the inner lamps were made of the drawers of the High Priest.[19] The light shed by these high lamps was so great that the whole of Jerusalem was lit up by it, and, as it is specially recorded, women could sift wheat by this illumination.[20]

One must suppose that these preparations took considerable time. In the meantime spirits rose higher and higher until the "pious men" and the "men of [good] deeds," whose great hour this was, began to dance before the people with burning torches in their hands.[21] It is told of the venerable Rabban Shimeon ben Gamliel himself, that he used to dance with eight golden burning torches; he threw them high up into the air and again caught them alternately, and so great was his skill that no

torch ever touched another nor did any torch ever fall to earth. Nay, even more than that, Rabban Shimeon ben Gamliel could perform, alone of all men, the following form of prostration : he threw himself forward upon his face, supported himself for a moment with his two thumbs stuck to the floor, kissed the floor and immediately jumped back to standing position.[22] Other sages performed similar feats and entertained the audience with enigmatic sayings.[23]

In the meantime the Levites took up positions upon the fifteen steps leading from the Women's Court to the inner Court of the Israelites, the floor of which lay some yards higher. In their hands were harps, lyres, cymbals, trumpets and numerous other musical instruments, and they began to sing, accompanying themselves.[24] They sang the so-called fifteen "Songs of Ascents" contained in the book of Psalms.[25] The fifteen steps, the Mishnah expressly states, corresponded to the fifteen Songs of Ascents.[26]

While the greater part of the night was thus spent in singing, playing and dancing, two priests stood high above the humming crowd, at the upper gate which led from the Court of the Israelites down to the Women's Court. In their hands they held trumpets and they stood listening for the first crowing of the cock. As soon as they heard the cock crow they immediately lifted their trumpets to their lips and blew a triple blast, *teqi'ah*, *teru'ah*, *teqi'ah*.[27] These sounds were a signal for the cessation of the merriment. The crowd arrayed itself in the wake of the priests to descend in procession to the well of

Siloam. The procession, which went out through the eastern Water-Gate,[28] moved slowly, and was often brought to a standstill by repeated trumpet-blasts. When they reached the Water-Gate the people turned back towards the west, facing the Sanctuary, and solemnly declared :

> Our fathers who were on this place [stood] with their backs towards the Sanctuary and their faces towards the east, and they prostrated themselves eastwards to the sun.[29] But as for us, our eyes are turned to the Lord.[30]

Then the procession moved on, and when it reached the Siloam the priest who was charged with drawing the water from the well filled his golden pitcher, after which the whole procession returned the way it had come. When again reaching the inner courtyard, the priest mounted the ramp leading from the south side up to the altar, and poured the water into one of the two bowls that were placed there for the purpose. These two bowls were made of silver, or, according to another version, out of lime. Into the bowl on the western side the priest had to pour the water brought from the Siloam, while the eastern bowl was to receive a libation of wine. But as it often happened that the priest erred and interchanged the two liquids, both bowls became with time blackened by the thick red wine of Palestine, until their material became unrecognizable.[31] The libation of three "log," *i.e.* about one and a half litres, of water, and the same amount of wine was repeated during each of the seven days of the feast.[32]

The bottom of each bowl had a perforated spout

to let the liquid out, and before the priest performed the act of libation he stopped these up with corks. Then he poured the water and the wine into the respective bowls, and afterwards removed both corks simultaneously. In order that the thick wine should take exactly the same time to flow down as the much thinner water, the hole of the wine-bowl was made larger than that of the water-bowl. The water flowed down into the *shitin*, the perpendicular shafts underneath the altar, of the rich mythical connotations of which we shall later hear more, while the wine flowed into a small passage-way or vat which was situated to the south-west of the altar.[33] Once every sixty or seventy years priestly children descended into this vat to collect the congealed wine which accumulated there in a form resembling dried rounds of pressed figs, and burned it in a state of sanctity, that is, in a holy place in the Temple.[34]

The highly significant act of the water-libation had to be performed by the priest in such a way that all the surrounding people were able to see that he did in fact pour the water into the bowl on the altar. Once it happened that a priest of the Baitos family, of the Sadducees, who were in principle opposed to the ceremony of water-libation, poured the water on to his feet, whereupon the crowd pelted him with their ethrogs. From that time onward it became customary for the priest to be admonished before performing the libation with the words, "Lift up your hand!" so that everybody could see that the

jet of water issuing forth from the golden pitcher descended to its proper place, the western bowl on top of the altar.[25]

By the time the water-libation was finished the eastern side of the sky began to lighten. The time to offer the daily morning sacrifice was at hand, and so a new day of feasting and rejoicing began.

III

In order to make this complex ritual clear we need first of all to give its main component features as simple headings. The daily routine of the ritual comprised the following acts :

1 The covering of the altar with green willow branches
2 The circumambulation of the altar with the lulabs
3 The beating of the altar with palm branches or willow branches
4 The lighting of the lamps
5 The torch dance
6 Songs accompanied by numerous musical instruments ; repeated blasts of trumpets
7 The procession to the Siloam beginning at cock-crow
8 The water-drawing and the libation on the altar
9 The libation of wine

In addition to these, two further points should be mentioned, though not belonging to the daily ritual of the Temple. These two points, the significance of which will be discussed later, are :

10 The tumult with the lulabs on the Sabbath, and
11 The "lightheadedness," which led to the building of special galleries for the women

It would be easy to show that many of these points coincide with the elements of the New Year ritual, the centre and the climax of all the religious activities of the year,[36] as performed in Egypt, Babylonia and Canaan. The purpose of these central rituals was to reinvigorate nature for the duration of the new year just opening. Mythical elements, which were inseparably interwoven with the ritual, professed to supply the alleged reasons for the performance of the various ritual acts. The ritual was pronounced by these myths to be a re-enactment of the traditional creation of the world. That is, in the ritual itself the myth was declared to be the primary element and the ritual the secondary. Modern research has brought forth reasons for reversing this order, and for regarding the ritual as the primary element, in relation to which the myth is but secondary. This is the view held by Hooke, Hocart and others, who contend that the myth is but a secondary interpretation of the ritual, while actually the ritual is performed with an immediate practical purpose in view. Of the mythical associations of the water-libation in the Second Temple we shall hear later ; at this point we must discuss the immediate purpose of the ritual itself.

Even had I not mentioned already that the festivities were performed at the time of the year in which the beginning of the rainfall should occur, it would become sufficiently clear from the list of eleven points enumerated above, that the purpose of the ceremonies could be none other than one, namely, to

induce the fall of rain. Each and every one of these eleven elements has indeed numerous parallels in the rain-making ceremonies of many other peoples, examples of which abound in *The Golden Bough* of Frazer and in other collections and studies. These parallels may help to establish the hidden meaning of the ceremonies of the "Joy of the House of Water-Drawing," a meaning that in the days of their actual performance was already mostly forgotten. We may establish that the altar covered with green branches stands for the earth itself; that circumambulations have been and still are performed by many peoples in their rain-making ceremonies. The lighting of the tall candelabra, as the lighting of new fire in general, would indicate new life beginning with the new year,[37] while the fourfold arrangement of the lamps, as well as the four ladders, four priestly children, the shaking of the lulab towards the four cardinal points, would show the connection between the feast and the four winds, as also in other places ritual acts of a fourfold arrangement had an inner connection with the four points of the earth.[38] The ritual-mythical conception of lightning as torches in the Gilgamesh-Epic,[39] in the legend of Salmoneus, king of Elis,[40] and elsewhere, as well as the occurrence of torch-dances in ancient Mesopotamian and Canaanite rituals,[41] and the display of fire in the rain-making ceremonies of many other peoples[42]—all these would indicate that the Jerusalem torch-dances, too, were originally intended to bring about lightning, which is an accompanying phenomenon of

stormy, hence abundant, rains. But even without turning elsewhere for explanation, the true purport of the torch-dances is elucidated by a Jewish legend according to which Hiram, king of Tyre, tried by similar artificial means to imitate lightning.[43] Of the prostrations, jumps and dances, which were also performed without torches,[44] it need only be remarked in short that among quite a number of other peoples, both European, Oriental and primitive, the practice is well known of performing high leaps in order to ensure the growth of the crops to an equal height.[45] The singing and playing on musical instruments and the other sound effects are methods resorted to, whenever rain is needed, by a great number of peoples, among them various Arab and Oriental Jewish communities.[46] The same purpose was served also by the repeated blasts, which when produced by the shofar-horn were also regarded by the ancient Jews themselves as the surest means of producing rain in times of drought.[47]

It seems superfluous to point out that the festive procession to the Siloam, the drawing of the water and its subsequent pouring out into the western bowl on the altar (the west is the only side from which the rain clouds come in Palestine) is a simple and straightforward rain-making ceremony. Processions, water-drawings and libations are in fact the most widespread elements of the whole rain-making complex. To mention only one example: the inhabitants of *Kafr Silwān* (that is, the village of Siloam), the Arab village next to Jerusalem, go down

in procession in times of drought to the same well of Siloam out of which the water was drawn for the libation of the second Temple.[48] It will, perhaps, be of more interest to show that the cockcrow, at the sound of which the festive procession began, was no mere time-signal but the revelation of the propitious hour in which the success of the performance was most probable. The cock was regarded by the Jews, as well as by other peoples, as a bird of presage having special influence on the weather.[49] An important but hitherto insufficiently explained role was played by a sacred cock in the water-drawing, carrying and pouring ritual at Hierapolis in Syria, which contains quite a number of highly suggestive parallels to the Jerusalem ceremony.[50] It is Lucian who tells us in his famous *De dea Syria* that a great sacred assembly used to be held twice a year on the banks of the Euphrates. The people filled vessels with the water of the river, sealed them with wax, and presented them to a certain holy cock which dwelled hard by the lake. This bird on receiving the vessels from the bearers inspected the seals and pecked away the wax, receiving for this ritually significant action a remuneration in money. After this the bearers carried the water to the Temple and poured it into the mouth of a chasm that lay there beneath the Temple.[51] But more than that. A genuine talmudic tradition tells of a pagan temple where in days of drought a cock used to be sacrificed, whereupon rain fell.[52] So much for the cock.

As to the sacrificial use of wine, Robertson Smith

has remarked that it "seems to have been well-nigh universal wherever the grape was known";[53] moreover, the libation of wine and other alcoholic beverages in rain-making ceremonies was habitual among quite a number of peoples.[54]

As to the tumult that took place on the Sabbath at the distribution of the lulabs, particulars told of it permit us to conclude that the fight was not an occasional outburst brought about by the high spirits of the celebrating crowd—such as, for example, the pelting of the Sadducee priest with the ethrogs[55]—but a regular traditional, if not ritual, institution. The Mishnah records that on the Friday the elders laid their lulabs in a special chamber, apart from those of the general public, in order to avoid being jostled on the Sabbath by the crowd.[56] Hence it appears that the tumultuous scene was expected each year. This would be quite in keeping with the rite of beating the altar with palm or willow branches, which was performed on the seventh day of the feast. The beating of the altar was followed by the tearing away of the lulabs by the children, a proceeding that was also probably of a tumultuous nature. As to the ritual significance of beating with green branches, this served elsewhere either to ensure the fall of rain and through it the fertility of the earth, or, like the "Lebensrute" of Germanic peoples and the Lupercal leather-straps in ancient Rome, to give fertility to human beings.[57] The belief that beatings promote the growth of plants is implicit in the following saying of Rabbi Simon:

There is no single grass which has not its *mazal* [guardian angel] in the firmament, which beats it and says to it: grow![58]

And at least one example is known of primitive horticulturists who actually beat their plants to make them grow.[59] Also the belief in the beneficial effect on human beings of willow branches in particular is attested in talmudic literature. The Jerusalem Talmud records that willow-branches were waved over sick persons as a remedy.[60] We may note in this connection that in the Jewish community of Tripoli, North Africa, the supplicants, gathered in the synagogue on the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles, used to beat one another with willow branches.[61]

According to rabbinic sources the lulab was regarded as a powerful weapon against Satan[62] as well as a symbol of a spiritual victory won by Israel over the Gentiles in the contest of the danger-fraught days of the New Year, when the fate of every people is being decided before the heavenly justice. The appearance of Israel with the triumphal palm branches in their hands shows that they have come out victorious.

The lulab is as one who takes, conquers and comes. As usual in the world, when two competing racers have run a race, the one who is taken by the Eparch (the Prefect) on his right side is the winner. So at New Year all pass by before God like the Sons of Meron and nobody knows who has won, whether Israel or the Nations of the World. . . . But as soon as the first day of *Sukkoth* (the Feast of Tabernacles) arrives and all Israel, old and young, go out with their lulabs

in their hands, everybody knows that Israel has won in the court, and all their sins are forgiven, and they know that they have won. . . . Verily, you are brought the good tiding that you have conquered the Nations of the World. . . .[63]

In another passage the contest is compared to a trial before a law-court:

A parable: two entered to the judge and we do not know whom he has made winner. But when we see the one carrying a palm branch in his hand we know that he has won. So Israel and the Rulers of the Nations enter the Court before the Holy One blessed be He on New Year, and we do not know who shall win. But when Israel come out from before the Holy One blessed be He and their lulabs are in their hands and their ethrogs are in their hands, we know that Israel are the winners.[64]

The spiritual victory of Israel over the nations is spoken of in this passage as the winning of a case in the law-courts. This is in conformity with earlier Hebrew thought, in which—as Pedersen pointed out—the victory over enemies is "not different from victory in judicial proceedings."[65] The same concept goes back to even more ancient times in the Near East. In the myth of Horus at Edfu the victory of Horus over his enemies is described as his "justification" before the tribunal of the gods in the "Broad Hall."[66]

The ritual combat itself is not only a well-attested element in the New Year ritual of ancient Near Eastern peoples,[67] but finds a place in the ritual of a much wider circle of peoples.[68] The ritual combat is, to put it briefly, an organic part of the life-giving ritual. The beneficent forces of nature which must

start afresh with the opening New Year cannot do so until the opposing forces of evil have been subdued. The forces of evil which appear in various forms are *identified with the primordial forces of chaos* which were originally opposed to the act of creation but were overcome by the creator. The ritual combat is thus at the same time also the commemorative representation of that first and greatest combat between the creative forces of the Good and the opposing, obstructing Evil.

The possibility of yet another and more immediate purpose of the ritual combat should not be left unmentioned in this connection. In Morocco, as well as in other places, all kinds of games of ball and tug-of-war are resorted to in rain-making ceremonies. Westermarck inferred from the data collected by himself and by others in North Africa that the essential function of such games as a weather-charm is to bring about a change in the weather through the movements and changing fortunes of the games.[69] Ceremonial combats for the purpose of producing rain seem to have occurred also among the ancient Lybians and the inhabitants of Caesarea (the so-called "Caterva").[70]

We have last to touch upon the subject of the "*lightheadedness*" *of the people, to suppress which* the sages had to make repeated "amendments" until they finally settled the matter by relegating the women to special galleries. This "lightheadedness" was not, as may appear at first sight, a spontaneous expression of the festive gaiety. To rejoice was a

biblical command also on many other festive occasions that drew large crowds to the Temple,[71] and it is hard to understand why self-control should be so specially relaxed precisely on this of all feasts, unless there was a particular reason for it. In the next chapter we shall try to throw some light on the mythological and conceptual background against which we have to view this, presumably ritual, lightheadedness.

IV

Let us now refer briefly to the important inner evidence consisting of numerous sayings and proverbs of talmudic sages confirming the conclusions reached above by anthropological methods. The heads of the two competing schools, Rabbi Yishmael and Rabbi Akiba, who lived some decades after the destruction of the Second Temple (first and second centuries C.E.), both agreed that the Feast of Tabernacles is the time when the amount of rain for the following year is being decided upon in heaven. Rabbi Akiba moreover said :

> The Torah (the Law, referring to the Pentateuch) said, Pour out water at the Feast (of the Water-libation) which is the period of rains, that the rains may be blessed for you.[72]

Again, Rabbi Eliezer said:

> When on the Feast of Tabernacles the water-libations are carried out, Deep says to Deep, Let thy waters spring forth, I hear the voice of two friends (namely, the water and the wine poured on to the altar).[73]

The true significance of this saying will become clear in the next chapter. Thus at least concerning the purpose and working of the central feature of the ritual, namely, the water-libation, our explanation is fully corroborated by sages, some of whom may have personally witnessed in their early days that grandest of all Jewish festivals.

Another problem to which the sages of the Talmud applied themselves with interest concerns the origin of the ritual of water-libation. The prevalent opinion was that the water-libation was a command of the Torah, and as no overt mention of it is to be found in the Pentateuch, some sages, such as Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Jehuda ben B'thera, strove to read into certain passages of the Bible dealing with the Feast of Tabernacles,[74] the word *mayim*, water, which they then took for an enigmatic instruction to perform the libation of the water.[75] Other sages simply stated that the water-libation and the use of the willow branches were instituted by Moses, and already existed as a Mosaic tradition in the days of the First Temple.[76] According to talmudic legend the ritual of water-libation on the Feast of Tabernacles was performed even in days preceding the building of the Temple by Solomon. King David performed the ritual libation, to fetch the water for which three of his "mighty men" willingly risked their lives.[77] Other legends have it that the prototype of the libation of water and wine on the Feast of Tabernacles was the libation of these two liquids performed by Jacob over the stone

of Bethel on which he slept and dreamt his famous dream.[78]

Now, apart from legends, the fact is that nowhere in the Bible is there any mention made of any connection between the Feast of Tabernacles and a ritual libation of water. On the other hand, several libations are recorded in the Bible as a means of bringing about the fall of rain, though the connection between the libation and the ensuing rain is in no instance as clear as with the water-libation in the Second Temple. Samuel having gathered the people together at Mizpeh, they "drew water and poured it out before the Lord and fasted." Samuel then offered a lamb unto the Lord and cried unto Him, and the Lord heard him and "thundered with a great thunder on that day."[79] Another time, in the days of harvest, that is in the middle of the rainless Palestinian summer, Samuel only called to the Lord without accompanying his call with a water-libation, and God sent thunder and rain upon the awe-struck people.[80]

At a later age, a regular rain-making competition took place between Elijah and the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel.[81] In this competition both Elijah and the prophets of Baal performed a number of ritual acts, some of which were common to both, while some were peculiar to either party. We cannot here enter in detail into these rituals, which would necessitate a special study.[82] But let us place the two sets of ritual elements side by side for a comparison:

THE BAAL-PROPHETS	ELIJAH
1 Built an altar	1 Built an altar
2 Slaughtered a bullock and	2 Slaughtered a bullock and
3 *placed it on the wood on* the altar without setting the wood on fire	3 *placed it on the wood on* the altar without setting the wood on fire
4 Called on the name of Baal : "O Baal hear us !"	4 Called on the name of God : "Hear me, O Lord !"
5 Leapt around the altar	5 Made a trench around the altar and filled it with water
6 Cut themselves with knives and lancets till the blood gushed out upon them	

Thus the main difference between the rainmaking procedure of the Baal-prophets and that of Elijah was, apart from each calling his own god, that the prophets of Baal tried to produce rain by leaping about their altar and shedding their own blood, while Elijah had a trench made around the altar and had water poured on to the altar until the water filled the trench. Now, as to the procedure of Elijah, it evidently was a precursor of the later Jewish water-libation. But at least one of the rites peculiar to the Baal-prophets may too have succeeded in penetrating into the Jewish ritual, namely, the leaping around the altar, which in the Second Temple ritual appears as a mere circumambulation of the altar. However that may be, the leaping itself has survived among the Arabs of Palestine in its original form as a rite of leaping with bended knees, this ritual dance, now called *dabke*, being performed in order to produce rain.[83]

As to the other rite particular to the Baal-

prophets, the self-cutting with knives and lancets, we would not connect it with the injuries that the celebrating people inflicted upon one another on the Sabbath-tumult. It is, however, interesting to note that the ritual combat sometimes does take an emphatically bloody character, as, for instance, in Abyssinia, where the ceremonial fights between the villages for obtaining rain retained their cruelty and bloodshed in spite of the attempted reform of the emperor Menelik.[84] Self-laceration is practised as a rain-charm by several primitive peoples,[85] while oriental Jewish communities content themselves with substituting the blood of slaughtered animals for the human blood. To name only one instance, the Jews of Kurdistan in their rain-charms smear the blood of slaughtered animals upon their foreheads.[86]

V

To complete the picture before leaving this topic, we think it should not be left unmentioned that according to biblical evidence prayers for rain among the ancient Hebrews were coeval with rain-charms. Of Samuel we have just heard that apart from performing a ritual he also cried unto the Lord for rain.[87] The rain-making of Elijah, and it is true also of the Baal-prophets, was accompanied by calling upon the Deity.[88] In later times the rain-making ceremony vanished altogether—to return only at the close of the Second Temple period—and only the prayer

remained. Of King Solomon it is stated that he said in his prayer at the dedication of the Temple:

> When heaven is shut up and there is no rain . . . if they pray toward this place . . . then hear thou in heaven. . . .[89]

In the days of the prophet Joel, when there was a heavy drought, the prophet admonished his people :

> Sanctify ye a fast, call a solemn assembly . . . and cry unto the Lord.[90]

Again Judea suffered from dearth, in the days of Jeremiah, but God warned the prophet not to pray for the people[91]: from this it is evident that prayers were the usual means of averting drought in the times of Jeremiah. These occasional prayers for rain which were offered up in times of need finally became settled, after the erection of the Second Temple, as a regular ritual institution connected with the Feast of Tabernacles. Thus according to the evidence of the Prophet Zechariah:

> . . . every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles. And it shall be, that whoso will not come up of all the families of the earth unto Jerusalem to worship the King the Lord of hosts, even upon them shall be no rain. . . .[92]

Beneath the obvious religious content of these words, one cannot fail to discern the first faint indications of a conception, so prevalent in later Judaism, of the Temple as the centre of blessing, on which depended the well-being not only of the people of Israel but also of all the nations of the world.

This concept, which is closely interwoven with a number of myths on the cosmic significance and connections of the Temple, will constitute the theme of our next chapter.

1 As to the versions of the name of the festival cf. Venetianer, *Die Eleusinischen Mysterien im Tempel zu Jerusalem*, in Brüll's *Populär-wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter*, xvii, reprint, Frankfurt a. M., 1897, pp. 3 sqq.; Joseph Hochmann, *Jerusalem Temple Festivities*, London, n.d., pp. 54 sqq.; D. Feuchtwang, *Das Wasseropfer und die damit verbundenen Zeremonien, Monatschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, vols. liv–lv, reprint, Wien, 1911, p. 41; M. Stein, in *Tarbiz* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, vol. i, pp. 135 sq.; S. Liebermann, in *Qiryath Sepher* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, vol. xii, p. 56; Patai, *The Control of Rain in Ancient Palestine*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, vol. xiv, p. 259; id., *Man and Earth in Hebrew Custom, Belief and Legend* (in Hebrew), vol. ii, Jerusalem, 1943, p. 161.

2 On the Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkoth) cf. Grunwald, *Vorgeschichte des Sukkothrituals*, in *Jahrbuch für Jüdische Volkskunde*, vol. i, Berlin-Wien, 1923, pp. 427 sqq.; I. Elbogen, *Die Feier der drei Wallfahrtsfeste im zweiten Tempel*, 46. *Bericht der Hochschule* für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin, 1929.

3 According to the Hebrew calendar from the 15th to the 22nd of the month Tishri, the first of which is the New Year.

4 M. Tamid 3, 2.

5 Ex. 29, 39; Num. 28, 4; B. Pes. 58a sq.; Tos. Suk. 4, 5, p. 198; B. Suk. 53a; Y. Suk. 55b mid.

6 B. Yoma 26b; Tos. Suk. 3, 16, p. 197; sometimes the water-libation was performed before the daily morning-offering, even at night-time, cf. Y. Suk. 54d top.

7 B. Suk. 53a; Y. Suk. 55b mid.

8 Y. Suk. 54b bot. The Arabic village on the same spot is

called now *Kalonia*, while the Jewish village built on the hill near by is called by the ancient Hebrew name, *Motza*.

9 M. Suk. 4, 5; B. Suk. 45a–b and Rashi ib.

10 M. Suk. 4, 5; B. Suk. 38b.

11 So according to the text of the Mishnah Suk. 4, 6 of the Jerusalem Talmud, Suk. 54b top. The Mishnah text of the Babylonian Talmud, Suk. 45a, as well as the separate editions of the Mishnah, have "beat them on the ground at the sides of the altar."

12 M. Suk. 4, 6–7; Tos. Suk. 2, 10, p. 195; Y. Suk. 54a mid., b bot.; B. Suk. 41b, 43a–b, 44a, 46b.

13 B. Suk. 47b–48a.

14 M. Suk. 4, 4 and Obadia di Bertinoro ib.

15 M. Suk. 5, 1.

16 M. Suk. 5, 2; Tos. Suk. 4, 1; M. Mid. 2, 5; Y. Suk. 55b mid.; B. Suk. 52a.

17 According to B. Suk. 52b the lamps were 50 cubits high, according to Y. Suk. 55b mid.—100 cubits. One cubit corresponds to 17.6 inches or about 44 cms.

18 M. Suk. 5, 2; B. Suk. 52b.

19 Y. Suk. 55b bot.

20 M. Suk. 5, 2; B. Suk. 53a; Y. Suk. 55b top.

21 M. Suk. 5, 4; Tos. Suk. 4, 2, p. 198.

22 Tos. Suk. 4, 4, p. 198; Y. Suk. 55b bot.–c top; B. Suk. 53a.

23 Y. Suk. 55b–c; Targum Sheni ad Esth. 3, 8; M. Suk. 5, 4; Tos. Suk. 4, 2–3, p. 198; B. Suk. 53a.

24 M. Suk. 5, 4; Tos. Suk. 4, 7, p. 198 sq.

25 Psalms 120–134; M. Suk. 4, 4; M. Mid. 2, 5; Tos. Suk. 4, 7–9, p. 198 sq.

26 According to sep. edd. of the Mishnah Suk. 4, 4.

27 M. Suk. 5, 4; Tos. Suk. 4, 10, p. 199

28 On this gate cf. J. Morgenstern, *The Gates of Righteousness*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, vol. vi, pp. 1 sqq.

29 The reference is to Eze. 8, 16.

30 M. Suk. 5, 4; on the sun-cult in the Temple of Jerusalem cf. Hollis, in Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, Oxford, 1933,

pp. 87 sqq.; cf. Frazer, *The Worship of Nature*, vol. I, London, 1926, pp. 553 sqq. On the historical background of this saying cf. J. Morgenstern, *op. cit.* pp. 31 sqq.

31 Accordingly we have to suppose that only the inner surface of the bowls was visible. They may have been sunk into the surface of the altar. Cf. the so-called "cup-marks" on many an ancient stone altar in Palestine and Transjordan.

32 According to another version traditioned by Rabbi Jehuda, the libation consisted only of one "log," i.e. about half a litre, but was performed also on the eighth day of the feast, cf. M. Suk. 4, 9.

33 Cf. B. Suk. 49a: "Rabbi Eleazar ben Zadok stated, there was a small passage-way between the ascent and the altar." The ascent, or ramp, did not adjoin closely to the altar at the top, but was removed from it by two cubits. This small space was fenced up along its four sides, thus forming a vat which reached down to the marble floor of the court. Cf. Rashi *ad loc.*

34 M. Suk. 4, 9; Tos. Suk. 3, 14–15, p. 197; Tos. Me'ila 1, 16, p. 558; Y. Suk. 54c bot., d top; B. Suk. 48b, 49a–b.

35 M. Suk. 4, 9; Tos. Suk. 3, 16, p. 197; Y. Suk. 54d mid.; B. Suk. 48b; B. Yoma 26b; B. Pes. 57a; Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities*, xiii, 13, 5.

36 Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, p. 8.

37 Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., vol. i, pp. 251, 303; vol. x, p. 138.

38 Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1905, p. 263, n. 1; Frazer, *op. cit.* iii, 154; Hocart, *Kings and Councillors*, Cairo, 1936, p. 253.

39 Gilgamesh-epic, Table xi, lines 98–116.

40 Apollodorus, i, 9, 7; cf. J. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 79 sq.

41 Hooke, *The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual*, London, 1938, pp. 53 sq.

42 H. Pfannenschmied, *Das Weihwasser im heidnischen und*

christlichen Kultus, Hannover, 1869, p. 79 ; Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, i. *Der Baumkultus der Germanen*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1904, pp. 506, 511, 534 sq. ; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. i, Halle, 1888, pp. 34 sq. ; Frazer, *op. cit.* i, 248, 251, 300, 303 ; vii, 38, 54, 55, 59 ; Patai, *The Control of Rain*, p. 274 ; id. *Man and Earth*, ii, 175 sqq.

43 'Inyan Hiram Melekh Tzor, in Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, vol. v, p. 111 ; Yalqut Shime'oni ii. § 367 ad Eze. 28 ; cf. also Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. vi, pp. 424 sq.

44 Y. Suk. 55b–c.

45 Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 149 sqq. ; Frazer, *op. cit.* i, 137 sq. ; vii, 95, 111 sq., 186 sq. ; ix, 231 sq. ; Patai, *Man and Earth*, ii, 151 sqq., 177 sq.

46 J. Harrison, *Themis*, 77 sq. ; Kahle, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, vol. viii, 1912, p. 162 ; Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, Helsingfors, 1913, pp. 109, 123 ; Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden*, Heidelberg, 1934, p. 213 ; Meyouhas, *Ma'asiyyoth 'am libhne qedem*, Jerusalem, 1938, p. 165 ; Frazer, *op. cit.* i, 250, 255, 261, 267 sq., 276, 284, 287, 293 sq.

47 M. Ta'an, 1, 6 ; 3, 1–2 ; cf. Patai, *The Control of Rain*, 280 sq.

48 *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 111 sq. ; Kahle, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, vol. vi, p. 94 ; Patai, *Hamayim* (in Hebrew), Tel-Aviv, 1936, p. 52.

49 Cf. Patai, *The Control of Rain*, pp. 269 sqq.

50 Cf. *Revue des études juives*, vol. xxxvi, p. 317 ; vol. xliii, p. 195 ; Lagrange, *Études sur les religions Semitiques*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1905, pp. 166 sq. ; Rieger, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1926, January, p. 232. On the cock in rain-charms cf. also Gressmann, *Marti-Festschrift*, pp. 88 sqq. ; Jaussen, *Revue Biblique*, xxxiii, 574 sqq.

51 Lucian, *de dea Syria*, 13 and 48, ed. Strong and Garstang, pp. 51 sq. As to "the sea"=the Euphrates, cf. Philo-

stratus, *Vita Apoll.* i, 20 ; Robertson Smith, *Engl. Hist. Rev.* (1887), p. 312 ; id., *The Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed., p. 232. Some scholars, among them Strong and Garstang, ib., contend that the cock referred to by Lucian was a priest who for one reason or another was called by this name. Against them Clemen maintains that the reference is to a real cock. Cf. Carl Clemen, *Lukians Schrift über die syrische Göttin*, Der Alte Orient, Leipzig, 1938, vol. xxxvii, 3-4, p. 51. On the cock of Hierapolis cf. also Gressmann, *Der heilige Hahn zu Hierapolis in Syrien*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, xli, 1925, p. 88.

52 B. 'Ab. Zara 55a. The Aramaic word "gabhra" used in this connection to denote cock is by some scholars understood in its original sense as "man," f. i. Cook, in Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 581, n. 5.

53 Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 220 ; cf. the note of Cook ib. pp. 574 sqq.

54 Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.* i, 250 ; ii, 367, 370.

55 M. Suk. 4, 9. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii, 13, 5.

56 Cf. the explanation of Obadia di Bertinoro *ad loc.*

57 Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894–96, vol. i, p. 171 ; id., *Primitive Paternity*, London, 1909, vol. i, pp. 100, 108 ; Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, 3rd ed., Berlin, 1881–83, vol. i, p. 389; A. de Gubernatis, *Die Thiere in der indogerm. Myth.*, 173 sq.; Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte* i, 251 sq.; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii, 425, and Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, London, 1929, vol. ii, p. 331, 383; id., *The Golden Bough*, ix, 362 ; Ploss-Bartels-Reitzenstein, *Das Weib*, 11th ed., Berlin, 1927, vol. ii, p. 315.

58 Gen. Rab. 10, 6, p. 79 ; cf. the Slavonic Book of Henoch, 19, 4 ; the same idea with some elaboration in Zohar Gen. (Hashmatóth), p. 251a of the Wilna ed.

59 In New Caledonia, cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ix, 264.

60 Y. Suk. 54a mid.

61 Benyamin, Yisrael ben Yosef, *Sepher massa'e Yisrael*, Lyck, 1859, p. 127. English translation (*Eight Years in Asia and Africa*, Hanover, 1863, p. 331).

62 B. Suk. 38a ; B. Menahoth 62a.

63 Midrash Shoher Tobh, *Ps.* 17.

64 Yalqut Shime'oni, § 651 ; cf. Lev. Rab. 30, 2.

65 Pedersen, *Israel*, i–ii (1926), p. 539 (note to p. 429), referring to the following passages : 1 Sam. 14, 47; Ex. 22, 8; Deut. 25, 1; 1 Kings 8, 32; Ps. 37, 33; Prov. 12, 2; 17, 15; Job 40, 8; Isa. 29, 21; 54, 17.

66 A.M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu II," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. xxviii. (London, 1942), p. 32.

67 Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, 8, 24, 32, 84, 163; Blackman and Fairman, *op. cit.* pp. 32 sqq.; Ivan Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, Uppsala, 1943, p. 36.

68 Cf. Hocart, *Kings and Councillors*, Cairo, 1936, *pass.*

69 Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London, 1926, vol. ii, p. 271; cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ix, 179 sq.

70 Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii, 272, quoting St. Augustine, *De doctr. Christ.*, IV, 24 (53).

71 Lev. 28, 40 ; Deut. 12, 7, 11–12, 17–18 ; 14, 26 ; 16, 11, 14 ; 26, 11 ; 27, 7 ; cf. Neh. 8, 12–17.

72 Tos. Suk. 3, 18, p. 197 sq.; cf. Tos. Rosh Hash. 1, 12, 13, p. 210 ; Y. Rosh Hash. 57b mid.; B. Rosh Hash. 16a ; also M. Rosh Hash. 1, 2 ; B. Ta'an. 2a–b; Y. Suk. 54b mid.; Y. Shebi'it 33b bot. ; Pesiqta di Rabh Kahana, ed. Buber, 193b.

73 B. Ta'an. 25b and Rashi *ad loc.*

74 Num. 29, 19, 31, 33.

75 Y. Rosh Hash. 57b mid. ; cf. Y. Suk. 54b mid. ; B. Ta'an. 2b bot.; Y. Shebi'it 33b bot.; Pesiqta di Rabh Kahana, ed. Buber, 193b.

76 Y. Suk. 54b mid. ; cf. Y. Shebi'it 33b mid. and bot.; Y. Rosh Hash. 57b mid.; B. Suk. 34a, 44a sq.; B. Ta'an. 3a.

77 Y. Sanh. 20c top. Cf. Ruth Rab. 2, 9 end. The reference is to 2 Sam. 23, 15–17.

78 Gen. Rab. 78, 16, p. 936 ; Targum Yer. ad Gen. 35, 14. Cf. Book of Jub. 31, 3 ; 32, 4 sqq.

79 1 Sam. 7, 3–10.
80 1 Sam. 12, 17–18.
81 1 Kings 18.
82 Cf. Patai, *Man and Earth*, ii, 145 sqq.; id., *The Control of Rain*, pp. 254 sqq.
83 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, vol. i, Gütersloh, 1928, p. 146 ; id. *Palästinensischer Diwan*, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 267 sqq., 273. Cf. also the ancient Arab rite of the circumambulation of the Holy Stone (the *Ka'aba*) in Mecca in rain-making ceremonies, Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, 1897, p. 141. Cf. also Cook, in Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed., p. 671 sq.
84 Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i, 256 sqq.
85 *Op. cit.*, pp. 257 sqq.
86 Brauer, in *Magnes Anniversary Book* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1938, p. 53.
87 1 Sam. 7, 5, 9; 12, 17–18.
88 1 Kings 18, 24, 26, 28, 36–37.
89 1 Kings 8, 35–36.
90 Joel 1, 14.
91 Jer. 14, 11.
92 Zech. 14, 17–18; cf. also 10, 1.

Chapter Three

TEMPLE AND CREATION MYTHS

In the previous chapter it has been shown that the *immediate purpose of the great festivity called* "The Joy of the House of Water-Drawing," performed in the Second Temple of Jerusalem, was to ensure the fall of rain. In this chapter we shall inquire into the mythical connotations of this great feast.

Our contention was that the Joy of the House of Water-Drawing was a New Year ritual of the type performed year after year in numerous cult-centres of the ancient East. Accordingly we should expect *the mythical connotations of the feast to have to do* mainly with the traditional creation of the world. And, indeed, we shall not be disappointed in this expectation.

I

First it is needful to recall a detail of the festive ritual which we have so far not discussed. This is the singing of the fifteen Songs of Ascents by the Levites as they stood on the fifteen steps leading from the "Women's Court" up to the inner "Court of the Israelites."[1] These fifteen short Psalms (Ps. 120–134), each of which begins with the words *Shir hama'aloth*—"Song of Ascents,"[2] contain no express reference to the Feast of Tabernacles

or to the ceremonies of the water-drawing and libation. But later sources, the same as those from which we drew the data for the description of the ritual, abound in legends referring to the mythical significance of these fifteen songs. These legends take us back directly into the mythical atmosphere of primeval cosmic events. They have, it is true, a historical setting, being connected with the person of King David ; nevertheless they are typical flood-legends, the like of which in other mythologies are closely bound up with creation-myths and are regarded by scholars as variations of the original theme of creation.

King David, so the legend runs, wished to build the Temple of the Lord upon pure, virgin soil. After he had bought the threshing floor of Arawna he began to dig into the earth in order to find out whether the place was virgin soil, undisturbed by human hands ever since the creation. When David reached the depth of fifteen hundred cubits he came upon a sherd, sure proof that man had once been present there. And David exclaimed :

"After all the trouble I have taken, now I find this sherd!" Whereupon God gave a voice to the sherd and it said : "This is not my original place, but when the earth was split asunder (at the giving of the Torah at Mount Sinai) I descended here. If you do not believe me—behold, *Tehom*, the Deep, lies beneath me!" David picked up the sherd and the waters of the Deep rose to engulf him. David said : "Whosoever knows a word that will put a stop to this Tehom, and does not say it, may he suffocate!" And Ahitophel,[3] who stood there, spoke the word and arrested the Deep.[4]

An older and fuller version of this legend is preserved in the Babylonian Talmud:

Rabbi Johanan said . . . When David dug the Pits (that is, the perpendicular shafts reaching down under the Temple to the Deep), the Deep arose and threatened to submerge the world. "Is there anyone," inquired David, "who knows whether it is permitted to inscribe the [Ineffable] Name upon a sherd, and cast it into the Deep that its waves should subside?" There was none who answered a word. Said David, "Whoever knows the answer and does not speak, *may he be suffocated!*" *Whereupon Ahitophel . . . said* to him, "It is permitted." [David] thereupon inscribed the [Ineffable] Name upon a sherd, cast it into the Deep and it subsided sixteen thousand cubits. When he saw that it had subsided to such a great extent, he said, "The nearer it is to the (surface of the) earth, the better the earth can be kept watered," and he uttered the fifteen Songs of Ascents and the Deep reascended fifteen thousand cubits and remained one thousand cubits (below the surface).[5]

This legend, of which many other versions exist in traditional Jewish literature, has a remarkable parallel in a legend reported by Lucian in connection with the Temple of Hierapolis:

But a further story is told by the men of Hierapolis, and a wonderful one it is; they say that in their country a mighty chasm appeared which received all the water (namely, of the deluge), and that Deukalion on this occurrence reared altars and founded a temple to Juno above this chasm. I have actually seen this chasm, it lies beneath the temple and is of very small dimensions. If it was once of large size, and was afterwards reduced to its present small dimensions, I know not: but the chasm which I saw is certainly very small. They maintain that their tale is proved by the following occurrence: twice in every year the water comes from the sea to the temple. This water is brought by the priests; but

besides them, all Syria and Arabia and many from beyond the Euphrates go down to the sea ; one and all bring its water which they first pour out in the temple ; then this water passes down into the chasm which, small though it be, holds a vast quantity of water.[6]

The points of contact between this legend and that of Jerusalem are too numerous to be mere coincidence. The Hierapolis legend speaks of the appearance of a chasm in which the waters of the deluge were swallowed up. The Jerusalem legend, though it records the digging of David, also speaks of something like a chasm which appeared when the earth trembled at the Revelation on Mount Sinai, so that the sherd fell into it. In another version of the Jerusalem legend the function of the sherd in keeping down the Deep is more pronounced. When David dug and found the sherd, he wanted to lift it.

The sherd said : "You cannot lift me." David said : "Why?" The sherd said: "Because I am here to press down the Deep." David asked : "And since when are you here ?" The sherd answered : "From the hour when God let His word be heard on Mount Sinai saying, 'I am the Lord thy God.'[7] At (that time) the earth trembled and sank, and I was put here to press down the Deep. . . .[8]

Still more explicit is the version that connects the temple-shafts directly with the creation of the world. According to this version, when

God created heaven and earth He also created the stone over the Deep, and engraved on it the Ineffable Name consisting of forty-two letters, and fixed the stone over the Deep in order to keep down its waters. . . . But when the generation of the deluge sinned, He removed the stone and immediately all the sources of the great Deep sprang up. And when David

dug the shafts, the stone rolled aside and the waters came out and filled the whole world. . . . David took the stone and threw it back on the Deep whereupon the waters returned.[9]

Here it is expressly stated that the waters of the deluge issued from beneath the "stone," and that when David dug the shafts the Deep rose anew from beneath the "stone," and later again subsided beneath it. We shall later return to speak of this stone which was identified by legend with the so-called *Shetiyyah*-stone, the huge native rock upon which the Holy of Holies of the Jerusalem Temple was built.

The Hierapolis legend has it that the altars and the temple were built by Deukalion over the chasm after the waters of the deluge had subsided into it. In the Jerusalem legend, too, the building of the altar and the temple over the shaft follows the swallowing up of the waters in it, the altar being said to have been built by Noah, as reported in Genesis (8, 20). Late Jewish legends have it that Noah only rebuilt this altar, which had been already in use by Adam, Cain and Abel, and which was later to be used by Abraham, and finally included in the temple of Jerusalem.[10]

Thus the water-libations that were performed in both the Hierapolis and the Jerusalem temples are connected by the respective legends with the floods that were swallowed up in the chasms beneath the altars.

In Greece, too, occurs the idea that the waters of the deluge flowed down through a chasm. In Athens, within the great precinct overshadowed by the temple

of Olympian Zeus, there was a smaller precinct of Olympian Earth, where a cleft, one cubit wide, was pointed out in the ground. Down that cleft the waters of the deluge were said to have disappeared, and down it were thrown every year cakes of wheaten meal kneaded with honey.[11] The name "Festival of Water-Bearing"[12] may be taken as an indication also that water was poured down the cleft.[13]

II

But to return to Jerusalem. The connection between the rain and the subterranean waters is often enough emphasized in rabbinic literature. It was a traditional belief that the fall of rain is matched by a corresponding rise of Tehom, the waters of the Deep. Rabbi Levi said:

> It is the way of the world, rain descends and Tehom rises.[14]

Rabbi Shimeon ben Eleazar said:

> There is no hand-breadth [of rain] that descends from above but has two hand-breadths [of water] raised towards it by the earth.[15]

We have already heard that the water-libation served not only to bring down the rain from heaven but also to raise the waters of the Deep. Rabbi Eliezer said:

> When on the Feast of Tabernacles the water-libations are carried out, Deep says unto Deep, Let thy waters spring forth, I hear the voice of two friends (namely, the water and the wine poured on to the altar).[16]

The raising of the waters of the deep, we now understand, was brought about also by the singing of the fifteen Songs of Ascents, which were said to have been sung for the first time by David for the same purpose.

It will be of interest to note that the concept of the correspondence between the falling of rain and the rising of the Deep may be traced back in northern Canaan to a period preceding that of the Talmud by some fifteen hundred years. In the Ras Shamra texts we read:

> There will be no dew, no showers,
> No surging up of the Deep.[17]

Another example of this idea comes from Assyria:

> On high Adad made scarce his rain,
> Beneath [the fountain] was stopped . . .[18]

Or, again, we have the complementary description:

> Adad let loose his showers, Ea opened his fountains . . .[19]

This is very much the same as the words of Genesis:

> The same day were all the fountains of the great Deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.[20]

But to return to rabbinic material, in the name of Rabba an interesting mythological concept is reported following the saying of Rabbi Eliezer quoted earlier. Rabba said:

> I saw Ridya (the angel of rain) and he is like a three-year-old heifer with lips cleft asunder. He stood between the lower Deep and the upper Deep. He said to the upper Deep, Pour down your waters! and to the lower Deep he said, Let your waters spring up! . . .[21]

One would naturally be inclined to compare this water-bringing cosmic heifer to the heavenly cow of ancient Egypt,[22] sometimes identified with the sky-goddess Nut, who was usually depicted as the giver of rain.[23] The idea of symbolizing rain in the form of a bull seems to have been general in the ancient Near East. In the Ras Shamra texts, Baal, the god of storms and rains, was endowed with the strength of a bull, striking and destroying his enemies with his horns. When he was killed he was overcome in the form of a bull. He fell "like the bull under the sacrificer's knife." Aliyan Baal, the son of Baal, watches over the maintenance of springs and underground waters. The concept of the water as a fertilizing bull, or as an incentive for the cattle to mate, seems to underlie a passage in the Ras Shamra texts which describes a love scene between Aliyan Baal and a heifer.[24] With this should be compared the saying of Rabbi Jehuda ben Levi:

> In the hour when rain falls the cattle seeks [to fulfil] its task, that is, mates.[25]

Both in the Ras Shamra texts and, some one and a half millennia later, in the Jerusalem Temple legends, a scene in the yearly recurrent cycle of nature finds its poetic expression. The Ras Shamra texts depict the ceasing of the rain as the descent of Baal into the womb of the earth, which is followed later by the death of Aliyan Baal, that is, the 'disappearance' or diminishing of springs and rivers.[26] There follow the dry and rainless months of the prolonged eastern

summer characterized by the continuous sinking of the level of each still available source of water, such as the perennial streams, the few springs, and the cisterns in which the rain-water of the previous winter was stored up for drinking. After the first few rainy days in the autumn all this is suddenly changed. Opposite the rain falling from above, the waters from below actually seem to rise—and it is this situation, expected to come about in consequence of the water-libation, which is anticipated in the rabbinic legends.

The waters from above and the waters from below are in talmudic legends described as "the upper male waters" and "the lower female waters" respectively.[27] In the beginning, that is, before the Creation, "the world was but water in water."[28] Then God separated the two kinds of water from each other, relegating half of them to the firmament and half of them to the ocean.[29] This separation was not accomplished without resistance on the part of the waters. God said to them :

"Divide yourselves into two halves, and let the one half mount upwards, and the second half (descend) below." And they disobeyed and mounted all of them upwards. Then the Holy One blessed be He said unto them : "I said, Let the half of you mount upwards, and instead all of you mounted upwards." Said the waters : We shall not descend! They were daring in the face of the Creator, and therefore were they called "daring waters."[30] What did the Holy One blessed be He? He stretched out his small finger and tore them into two parts, and one half of them fell down below against their will. . . .[31]

In other versions of this legend the traces of a primeval combat between God and the waters are even more pronounced:

The Holy One blessed be He stamped upon all the primeval waters and cast them into the Ocean. . . .[32]

. . . the waters rolled down and gathered into valleys . . . and at once the waters became haughty and rose to flood the earth as in the beginning, until the Holy One blessed be He scolded them and pressed them down beneath the soles of his feet. . . .[33]

Rabh Jehuda said in the name of Rabh : At the time when the Holy One blessed be He desired to create the world, he said to the angel of the sea : Open thy mouth and swallow all the waters of the world (that the dry land may be seen). He said unto him : Lord of the universe, it is enough that I remain with my own! Thereupon *He* struck him with his foot and killed him, as it is written, " He stirreth up the sea with his power and by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab."[34]

Many other versions also tell how God " kicked " the waters, " killed " them and pressed them together into the ocean.[35] It is also told in these legends that when the upper waters were forced to separate from the lower waters, they wept,[36] and so did the lower waters.[37] Ever since the separation of the heavenly waters from their earthly mates, they continuously long for reunion with them:

The only craving of the rains is for the earth. . . .[38]

The reason why God separated the upper waters from the lower waters is also given in the following version:

Why did the Holy One blessed be He separate them ? Because the upper waters are male and the lower waters are

versions, contain motifs going back to ancient traditions attested in Canaanite culture already some two millennia earlier.

III

What was a mere threat in the days of creation came to pass later, in the days of the great flood. Thus we read in the Book of Henoch:

> And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth. And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. And they shall destroy all who dwell on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven.[47]

Similarly also according to a late midrash:

> Rabbi Zadoq said: On the tenth of [the month of] Marheshwan all the creatures entered the Ark, and on the seventeenth of it there descended onto the earth the waters of the deluge which are male waters, and [waters] came up from the Deeps (*Tehomoth*) which are female waters, and they united and grew mighty to destroy the world. . . .[48]

The idea that floods and inundations are the result of a union between male and female waters goes back to age-old traditions in the ancient East. Side by side with the tradition of the destructive deluge as reported, for example, in the Gilgamesh-Epic (Table xi), there existed in ancient Mesopotamia other conceptions in which the beneficial inundations

female, and when they tried to unite they almost destroyed the world. In that hour the waters ascended the mountains and descended the valleys, the male waters were running after the female waters, until the Holy One blessed be He *rebuked them, as it is written, "At thy rebuke they fled."*[39]

In another highly suggestive version these lustful primeval elements are personified as the male and female Leviathan, the great sea-serpent :

Rabh Jehuda said in the name of Rabh : All that the Holy One blessed be He created in His world He created male and female. Likewise, Leviathan the fleeing serpent and Leviathan the crooked serpent He created male and female, and had they mated with one another they would have destroyed the world. *What [then] did the Holy One blessed be He do ?* He castrated the male and killed the female . . . as it is written, "And he will slay the dragon that is in the sea."[40]

The motif of separation and castration remind us, of course, of similar motifs contained in ancient Egyptian, Greek, Vedic, Chinese, Polynesian, American-Indian, African, and other creation myths,[41] while the portraiture of the cosmic sources of water as dragons is well known from the ancient Accadian, Canaanite and Israelite mythological imagery.[42] "Leviathan the fleeing serpent" of the Bible[43] appears already in the Ras Shamra poems as "Lotan the fleeing serpent," and also the "crooked serpent"[44] and the *tannin*, the primeval dragon[45] of the Bible, have their counterpart in the Ras Shamra texts.[46] Thus we arrive at the interesting fact that the mythical tales about the rebellion of the primeval waters which are to be found in rabbinic literature as late as the fifth century C.E. in quite a number of

versions, contain motifs going back to ancient traditions attested in Canaanite culture already some two millennia earlier.

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The idea that floods and inundations are the result of a union between male and female waters goes back to age-old traditions in the ancient East. Side by side with the tradition of the destructive deluge as reported, for example, in the Gilgamesh-Epic (Table xi), there existed in ancient Mesopotamia other conceptions in which the beneficial inundations

were clad in mythological imagery. The annual life-giving floods, caused by the rising of the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, in consequence of which the dry fields were irrigated, were mythically represented as being the result of a union between male and female deities. In the introductory mythical section of a Sumerian incantation text, preserved on one of the early tablets from Nippur, the life-producing flood is pictured as being brought about by the union between two deities, Enki the god of the Deep, who had his dwelling in the Euphrates, and the goddess Ninella, a water deity, also referred to as Nintu, "the goddess of birth."[49] In this Sumerian text there is "expressed the symbolical parallel between the god pouring his 'water' into the 'ground' of the goddess and thus fructifying her, and the earth receiving water as a means of fertilization." The passage that speaks of a rainy season extending over nine months, "implies a parallel between the nine months of pregnancy and the process of fertilization until the fruit is ripe."[50] Also two other passages in Babylonian literature, concerning Enlil and Ninlil, and Ningirsu and Bau, "show that the water was regarded as the spermatozoa of the gods, and that the rise of the water in the two great rivers which irrigate that country was thought to be due to sexual union between a god and an earth goddess. . . ."[51] In this Babylonian conception the water is regarded as a male principle. That the same was true in Arabia is indicated by the fact that in that country "Athtar, the self-waterer,

was a masculine deity. . . . In Egypt the Nile-God, Hapi, was a male and a father god."[52]

Also according to rabbinic sources, something of the terrible union between the male and the female waters which took place at the time of the great flood occurs every year in the rainy season on a scale reduced to harmlessness and with salutary instead of destructive effects. Rabbi Levi said:

> The upper waters are male and the lower waters are female. And these say to those: Receive us, you are the creation of the Holy One blessed be He and we are his envoys. Immediately they receive them . . . like unto this female that opens before the male.[53]

Rabbi Abahu called the upper waters "bridegroom" and the lower waters "bride." He said:

> When do we begin to recite the benediction over rain?[54] When the bridegroom goes forth to meet the bride,[55]

I.e. when the waters accumulated on the ground rebound then rain-drops splash on them.

Other sages speak of the earth as the wife of the rain, which is the husband. Rabh Jehuda said:

> Rain is the husband of the soil, as it is written, "For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven and returneth not thither except it water the earth and make it bring forth and bud."[56]

Rabbi Aha in the name of Rabban Shimeon ben Gamliel said:

> Why is the early (autumnal) rain called *r'bhi'ah* (lit.: mating)? Because it mates (*robhe'a*) with the earth.[57]

IV

We find in the Babylonian Talmud an interesting controversy between Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua (end of the first century C.E.), who were fond of discussing cosmogonical and cosmological topics and who this time tackled the difficult question of the date of creation. The interesting point for us is that the statements of both sages are based on the assumption that the time of creation was a time of abounding fruitfulness, a sort of cosmic rutting season. Rabbi Eliezer said:

> In [the month of] Tishri the world was created . . . as it is written, "And God said, *Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed and the tree fruit. . . .*"[58] Which is the month in which the earth brings forth grass and the trees are full of fruit? You will have to say that this is Tishri, and that season was the time of the *r'bhi'ah* (the first rain, or, literally, "mating"), and the rains fell and [the plants] grew, as it is written, "And there went up a mist from the earth."[59] Rabbi Joshua said: Whence do we know that the world was created in [the month of] Nisan (*i.e.* March–April)? Because it is written, "And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit."[60] Which is the month in which the earth is full of grass and the trees yield fruit? You will have to say, this is Nisan. That season was the period when cattle, beasts and fowls copulate with one another, as it is written, "The rams have mounted the sheep."[61]

Thus according to Rabbi Eliezer the creation of the world occurred at the time of the year when the autumnal mating of the rain with th[illegible] takes place, that is, when a ne[illegible] of [illegible]

world is conceived. According to Rabbi Joshua, on the other hand, the creation of the world occurred at the time of the year when the spring-time mating of the animal world takes place. Jewish tradition decided in favour of autumn as the season of creation, and fixed the completion of creation on New Year's day. In accordance with this, already in talmudic times the following sentence was said in the New Year prayers: "This day is the beginning of Your works, a remembrance of the first day." [62]

We have thus become acquainted with several mythological conceptions, the most relevant of which can be summed up as follows:

1 The creation of the world was preceded by the forceful separation by God of the upper male waters from the lower female waters. The waters resisted but were overcome.
2 Creation was also conceived of as a kind of cosmic rutting season, when the rain came down, mated with the earth and fructified it.
3 At the time of the deluge the male and female waters again united to destroy the world. The waters of the deluge issued forth from the spot on which later the Temple was built.
4 Each year when rain falls, the upper male waters unite with the lower female waters, like a groom with his bride.
5 The creation of the world took place in Tishri. The beginning of the yearly rainfall, in which something of the creation is repeated, is expected in Tishri.

Viewed against this rich mythological background, that rather enigmatic "lightheadedness" alluded to in rabbinic sources seems to be more in keeping with all the other rites of the great Jerusalem festival, each

of which had the intent of procuring the blessing of fertility and especially the blessing of rain. We now suspect that the "lightheadedness" had something to do with the mythological conception of the natural phenomenon to bring which about was the purpose of the whole ritual.

Thanks to Mannhardt, Frazer, and others, we know that a very common method of promoting the fertility of the earth is the real or symbolic intercourse between the human sexes, on the fields or in temples, in seclusion or in public. "For," to quote the words of Frazer, "in the minds of many peoples at an early stage of culture the fertility of women is closely bound up with the fertility of the earth, and the same causes which promote or hinder the one are thought to promote or hinder the other, a ritual connection being supposed to subsist between the union of the human sexes on the one hand and the fruitfulness of the ground on the other."[63] From this symbolism arises also the abundance of obscene language and behaviour in sympathetic ritual, of which striking ancient examples are to be found in a Sumerian liturgy,[64] and in Greek, Roman, and Nabbataean rain-making rituals.[65] As Barton puts it:

> In countries like Babylonia and Egypt, where fertility depended upon the rise of the rivers, or like Palestine, where it depended on the rainfall, the flow of fertilizing waters was . . . thought of as the result of a divine sexual act—the marital union of a god and a goddess. In that stage of thought it would be equally natural that they should think that their deities could be encouraged to such a union by human examples. It is probable that at the religious feasts it was the

custom to indulge freely in such acts of union in order to encourage the deities to do likewise, that the fertilizing waters might flow, the earth be fertilized and fruits produced for the sustenance of mankind.[66]

V

We have already referred to the parallels between the temple festivities of Hierapolis and the Jerusalem feast of Water-libation. Now, the Hierapolis festivities were accompanied by licentious proceedings and orgies.[67] The myth and rites of Atargatis at Hierapolis were closely parallelled by those of Atargatis of Ascalon who, according to Albright, still survives to-day, in all probability, as the "Green Lady," *es-sitt el-Khadrā* or *Sittna al-Khadrā*. "In the spring the vernal equinox is celebrated by a procession to the sea, after which the unmarried youths and maidens of the village (ej-Jōreh) are said to bathe unclad in the surf.[68] Doubtless the prototype of this feast was a procession to the sea in which the image of the goddess was carried and bathed in the sea as at so many other places (among them in Hierapolis). In connection with this rite men and women probably bathed together and the lascivious held high carnival, as usual in the spring festival of the *dea syria*."[69]

It has repeatedly been said in this book that early religions were in the first place concerned with the material welfare of the people, the rituals serving to obtain tangible blessings for the community. In the next chapter, when returning to this question, we

shall try to show that the material welfare of the people was thought directly to depend on the proper performance of the ritual. As in the whole Near Eastern area the welfare of the people ultimately depended on an adequate natural water supply, the great temple rituals of these countries were obviously performed with the same purpose in view, namely, to secure the annual water supply by bringing about either the fall of rain, as in Jerusalem and Hierapolis, or the rise of the rivers, as in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Though sameness of purpose does not invariably lead to sameness of means, we shall not be surprised to find a certain similarity also between the water-rituals themselves which were performed in the great religious centres of the ancient Near East. Such similarities, especially as appearing between the Jerusalem and the Hierapolis rituals and myths, have already been pointed out. We can but surmise that the licentious proceedings that were customary both to the north and to the south of Jerusalem also left their traces in the late Jewish ritual, the "light-headedness" referred to in rabbinic sources being their last survival; to prove or disprove this by scientific argument would be extremely difficult.

VI

The same caution should be observed when attempting to relate the ritual beatings to the myths telling of the creator's struggle with the waters and

his victory over them. Neither the myth nor the ritual contains any allusion to the other. The question whether the ritual beatings and other tumultuous actions were originally intended to be commemorative of the primeval struggle that preceded creation has thus to remain open.

There are, however, a few more points to be considered when looking for traces of the ritual combat in Jerusalem. The ritual combat may take the form of a foot-race. In the temple of Jerusalem such a foot-race took place daily between the young priests who wished to perform the task of removing the ashes from the altar. We read in the Mishnah:

> Originally whosoever (of the priestly family the turn of which fell on that day[70]) desired to remove (the ashes from) the altar, did so. If they were many, they would run and mount the ramp (of the altar) and he that came first within four cubits (off the altar) obtained the privilege. . . .[71] . . . it once happened that two were even as they ran to mount the ramp. One of them pushed the other who fell (off the ramp) and broke his leg.[72]

In the Tosefta and later sources we have another version of the incident between the two priests, the event taking on a tragic colouring:

> Our rabbis taught: It once happened that two priests were equal as they ran to mount the ramp, and when one of them came first within four cubits of the altar, the other took a knife and thrust it into his heart. . . . The father of the young man came and found him still in convulsions. He said, May he be an atonement for you. . . .[73]

Here again, as in connection with the "light-

headedness," we hear of an enactment on the part of the Law Court:

"When the Court saw that they incurred danger, they ordained that the altar be cleared only by count . . ."[74] which was a method of casting lots. The officer[75] would say to them: Raise the finger for counting, and would place them in a circular queue, take the mitre off one of them and name an arbitrary number. He would then begin to count from the priest whose mitre he had taken off, and proceed to count round and round the circle by the raised fingers, until he reached the number he had named. The priest on whom the number fell received the task.[76] But even this counting of the priests was a rather stormy affair; to discourage priests who tried to cheat by lifting up both their forefinger and thumb, the officer would strike them with an Arab whip.[77] The picture we get from all this is that of a ritual race between young priests who in their zeal to obtain the privilege of cleaning the altar even let themselves be carried away to the extent of committing acts of extreme violence.

Another account, of a purely legendary nature in Judaism but reflecting actual races that were run in Byzantium, tells of a magnificent foot-race that took place in the Hippodrome of Solomon once a year, on the last day of the month of Kislèw and on the first two days of the following month of Tebheth. Ten thousand youths of the quickfooted tribe of Naphtali[78] took part in the races, each carrying a golden shield.[79] The Hippodrome occupied an area

measuring three parasangs by one. In the middle there were two rows of a sort of thicket into which were placed all kinds of beasts and birds, and around which the races were run eight times a day. Besides, there were two huge columns, on the top of each of which stood golden lions and from their mouths flowed all kinds of perfumes on to the people. The people were divided into fourfold and sevenfold divisions. Music was played: harps and flutes. The four parties of the spectators were dressed as follows: the king and his servants and the sages and their pupils, the priests and the Levites, were dressed in light blue garments, blue being the colour of the sky in autumn; all the rest of Israel wore white, white being the colour of the snow which falls in winter; the people who came from the towns and villages of Palestine were dressed in red, red being the colour of the good fruit which ripens in summer; finally, the nations of the world who came from faraway countries to bring their presents to the king were dressed in green, green being the colour of the sea in spring when its waters are favourable for seafaring. The four colours of the people thus represented the four seasons.[80]

Here we have at least a definite statement as to the connection of the races with the seasons. Moreover, the races were held on the last day of Kislew and the first and second days of Tebheth, these three consecutive days approximating to the winter solstice as far as this is possible in a solilunar calendar like the Jewish.[81] It seems a safe inference that the golden

shields carried in the races symbolized the sun, which begins its victorious race through the sky on the day of the winter solstice. This inference is strengthened by the Byzantine descriptions of annual races and circus-games, which show surprising similarity to the Jewish legend.

In the letters of Cassiodorus, who lived (end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries) at the courts of Odoacer and Theodorich, we find a much fuller symbolic explanation of the circus: In the circus there are represented the changes of seasons,[82] the circuits of the sun and the moon, and the divisions of time into months, weeks and days, which are based upon them. The four colours of the factions (there were four δῆμοι, or factions of the charioteers in the circus) represent the four seasons: the green the blooming spring, the blue the cloud-covered autumn, the red the fiery summer, and the white the frost-covered winter. The twelve signs and the seven winning-posts correspond to the twelve months and the seven days of the week. The twenty-four races of six chariots each correspond to the twenty-four hours of the day and the night. The two-horse chariots imitate the course of the moon and the quadrigas that of the sun. The wheels of the chariots designate the borders of Orient and Occident; the water-ditch of the circus (the so-called *euripus*) is a picture of the streaming sea; the lofty obelisks point towards heaven. Thus the mysteries of nature were represented in the colourful variety of the public games.[83] From another author we learn that

the significance of the contests was a prognostic one:

Oinomaos (the mythical king of Pisaea in Elis [84]) introduced first the colours of the circus by which he represented, as it were, the combat of the earth and the sea. Lots were drawn. He to whose lot it fell to play the role of the earth, dressed in a green dress; the representative of the sea, on the other hand, was clad in blue. This contest was arranged by Oinomaos on the 24th of March (the time of the vernal equinox). If the green colour won, all hoped the earth would be fertile; if the blue won, seafaring was expected to be lucky. This is the reason why the land-dwellers wished for the victory of the green colour, while the seamen for that of the blue.[85]

Still another source gives even more details:

It was Romulus who introduced circus-games in honour of the sun and the four elements, Earth, Water (Sea), Fire and Air. In the contest arranged by Oinomaos the seafarers and the inhabitants of the isles wished for the victory of the blue colour: its defeat would have caused storms, shipwrecks and poor fishing. The inhabitants of the dry land, on the other hand, wished for the victory of the green colour in order to be safe from bad crops and famine. . . . The circus itself was built according to the form of the universe. It represented heaven, earth and sea. Twelve doors represented the twelve signs of the zodiac, which determine the fate of the earth, the sea and human life. The surface on which the races took place depicted the earth, the water-ditch—the sea, the turning posts at the two ends—orient and occident, the seven running fields—the course of the planets, the quadriga—the four elements. . . .[86]

In the twelfth century C.E. these Byzantine games took place no longer on the day of the vernal equinox but on Christmas, that is, at the winter solstice, like the (legendary) races in the Hippodrome of Solomon

in Jerusalem. It is the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela to whom we owe this information. He writes :

> Close to the walls of the palace (in Constantinople) is also a place of amusement belonging to the king, which is called the Hippodrome, and every year on the anniversary of the birth of Jesus the king gives a great entertainment there. And in that place men from all the races of the world come before the king and queen with jugglery and without jugglery, and they introduce lions, leopards, bears, and wild asses, and they engage them in combat with one another ; and the same thing is done with birds. No entertainment like this is to be found in any other land.[87]

Even after this description of the cosmological significance of the Byzantine races, and the light it throws upon the Jewish legend of Solomon's Hippodrome, we can still say very little concerning the ritual significance of races in the Temple. The Jewish legend and the race of the priests to the altar, mentioned before, can serve to establish only the meagre fact that also outside the Sukkoth cycle races and competitions were known both in the Temple ritual and in legend.

It should not be left unmentioned that athletic games of a mythical-ritual significance were held in the ancient Near East at a much earlier period than the one to which the aforementioned rabbinic legends and Byzantine descriptions belong. In ancient Egypt one of the oldest and most important festivals was the king's jubilee. In the course of this festival, which was at one and the same time also the enthronement and New Year festival, ritual athletic games

were held, "enacting the defeat of the enemies, a condition for the resurrection-enthronement."[88]

In the Babylonian *Akitu* festival a race took place through the streets as a symbol of the "glad tidings" of the resuscitation of the god.[89] Also in the Hittite Antakhshum feast there figured a race as well as a sham-fight. A class of court-officials ran a race with the king's chariot and the winner became "royal rein-keeper." This race has been interpreted by Ehelolf as a vegetation rite, and compared with the *lismu* of the *Akitu*, the Roman *robigalia*, and the Easter-race of the Teutons. The sham-fight was fought out between two parties, the Khatti and the Māsha people.[90]

In Northern Canaan, as far as the Ras Shamra texts allow of a reconstruction of the ritual:

> The fighting scene between Baal and Mot may have been performed in a rather realistic way, like the fights of the Osirian drama in Egypt. We may say, however, that the whole population of and around Ugarit lived through the drama in anxiety and with responsibility in bringing about first the victory of Mot and the death of Baal (the crops), and then of realizing the final triumph of Baal (the rain, the green, the cattle).[91]

Characteristically enough, the "immovable East" preserved down to at least the nineteenth century most, if not all, of the features comprised in the ancient Near Eastern and Byzantine New Year celebrations.

In Persia until recently the Nauruz, the New Year festival, was celebrated in a traditional manner that in its main features seems to go back to at least pre-

Islamic days. For the Nauruz is a solar festival retained within the lunar calendar introduced by Islam. It begins at the precise moment of the vernal equinox as calculated by the royal astronomers. There are many descriptions extant of this festival; we shall follow that of Jakob Eduard Polak who was the Shah's personal physician about the middle of the nineteenth century, and as such repeatedly witnessed the festivities from close quarters.

Some minutes before the Nauruz the Shah entered his great hall of audiences, his clothing studded from head to foot with glittering precious stones under the weight of which he could hardly move. He addressed a few words to the chief priests, who invariably answered him: "Beneath the shadow of your Majesty, who is the Asylum of the Faith, religion takes root ever more deeply, and the number of unbelievers diminishes day by day!" The Shah then would question the Great Vizier as to the state of the provinces, and receive the stereotyped answer that the rain and the mercy of Allah descended on to the fields, everything flourished under the Shah's blessed hand, and fullness and superabundance reigned everywhere—this notwithstanding the fact that in reality whole provinces might be suffering from dearth and famine. The Vizier's address would contain reports of the progress of the industries and arts, of victories of the glorious army, of the erection of bridges and caravanserais, of the construction of roads—even though there might be no war on, no building activities, and so on.

On the second day a great public audience was held in the great courtyard, attended not only by numerous officers and officials but also by colourfully decorated elephants, giraffes, and ostriches. When the Shah appeared between the "Carrier of the Shield" and the "Carrier of the Sceptre," an orchestra of some forty musicians burst into music and a volley of 121 guns was fired. When the Shah sat down on the "Throne of Suliman" all made obeisance to him, including the elephants. A formal dialogue would follow between the Shah and the Vizier, though in the terrible din they could not hear each other, since the Vizier stood at a distance of some sixty feet from the Shah. The Shah would inquire, for example, as to the state of security on the roads, and the Vizier would answer: "The weather is favourable and invites your Majesty to hunting expeditions." The Shah then would drink coffee and smoke a narghileh, his eldest uncle and the chief priest would say benedictions over him, and then the court poet would read out a lengthy poem extolling the Shah's physical beauty, strength, and valour, describing his victorious fights against lions and tigers, and his conquest of Rum (Constantinople), and exhorting him to subject also China. A courier would then be led in, clad in riding-habit and covered all over with dust, as if he had just arrived from a distant province, and would bring tidings of new victories over the Turcomans—even though there might be no war at all.

Half-an-hour later the public games would begin

in the great *maydan* (playground). The Shah would watch them from a window. On the playground athletes would fight and wrestle with one another, jugglers and buffoons would leap about on stilts, rope-dancers, harlequins, and clowns dressed up as lions or bears would bustle about. Real lions, tigers, and leopards would be led on leashes among the crowd ; monkeys would play their tricks, while the elephants and giraffes would just stand by. Rams would be incited to fight with each other. Afghan fighters would fight sham duels with shield and sword. And all the time an orchestra would be playing. In days past, obscene farces also used to be produced.

The feast of Nauruz lasts thirteen days, which are spent in reciprocal visits according to a strict etiquette. On the ninth or the tenth day, horse-races would take place. The Shah would send a few of his horses to participate in them, as would the princes, governors, and other high officials. The hippodrome had a circumference of half a *farsakh* (about two miles, or 3.36 km.), forming a circle divided by milestones into four stations. The horses would participate in three consecutive races : in the first race they would run six rounds, in the second four, and in the third two, *i.e.* altogether twelve rounds. Though the races would ruin many a good horse, care was taken that the horses of the Shah should invariably win the first prizes. During the pauses music would play and dancers entertain the public with lascivious jumps and pantomimes.

One circuit of the hippodrome would then be run in a relay-race by royal runners. According to an old tradition, on the last (thirteenth) day of Nauruz the houses were threatened with collapse, and therefore everybody would leave the town and spend the day in the gardens outside the city walls.[92]

This Nauruz festival, the ancient features of which will be readily recognizable to the reader, is an excellent example of the survival of ancient forms even though emptied of their original contents. What was in the ancient Near East, and even in Byzantium, the *dromenon* of a meaningful ritual, became in the modern Nauruz a popular entertainment, while the spoken part of the ancient ritual now became a polite exchange of greetings and a mode of complimenting and extolling the reigning Shah.

VII

Let us turn now to a rabbinic legend in which is mentioned yet another struggle between the Creator and opposing forces. Before God could create the world, he had first to banish the Ruler of the Dark:

> . . . in the hour when the Holy One blessed be He created His world, He said to the Ruler of the Dark: Get thee hence, for I wish to create the world in light. And the Ruler of the Dark is similar to an ox. In that hour the Holy One blessed be He said: Ruler of the Dark! Get thee hence, and if thou dost not get thee hence I shall rebuke

thee, for I wish to create my world in light. . [93] In that hour the Ruler of the Dark said to himself: If I light up my darkness and hearken to him, I shall be a slave forever. I had better make myself as though I had not heard, and I shall [transgress] inadvertently and not wilfully. Immediately the Holy One blessed be He rebuked him. . . . When the Ruler of the Dark saw that the Holy One blessed be He rebuked him, he began to say before him: Lord of the World! Why dost thou want to create light before me? Said the Holy One blessed be He: If thou dost not get thee hence I shall rebuke thee and cause thee to perish from the world. . . .[94]

As we see, the struggle of God with the dark has been reduced in rabbinic legend to a bare minimum along the same line as the legend of God's struggle with the waters.

According to the biblical account the first thing created by God was light.[95] It is possible that the lighting of the tall candelabra was at some time held to be commemorative of this creative act. Moreover, light in biblical as well as rabbinic conception is the symbol of life and health, of joy and success.[96] The light created on the first day of creation, which is not identical with the light of the sun, the moon and the stars, which were created only on the fourth day,[97] is in the legends closely connected with the Temple. It was from the spot on which later the Temple was erected that the first ray of light issued and illuminated the whole world.[98] This light continued to emanate from the spot also after the Temple was built on it. Its source was the Holy of Holies in which the Holy Ark stood, and it lit up the Temple itself and shone forth through the windows. These

windows were built not to let the light in from the outside, as windows usually do, but to let out the light from within. In accordance with this reversed function the form of the windows was also reversed. They were narrow on their inner side and widened towards their outer side.[99] Thus it would appear that the lighting of the great candelabra at the annual "Joy of the House of Water-Drawing" may have been even more than the commemoration of the first creative act; it may have represented the kindling anew of the cosmic light at its proper place, the Temple, the centre and source of the light of the world.

Nor was the cosmic significance of the Temple exhausted with the light that emanated from it. In the middle of the Temple, and constituting the floor of the Holy of Holies, was a huge native rock which was adorned by Jewish legends with all the peculiar features of an *Omphalos*, a Navel of the Earth. This rock, called in Hebrew *Ebhen Shetiyyah*, the Stone of Foundation, was the first solid thing created, and was placed by God amidst the as yet boundless fluid of the primeval waters. Legend has it that just as the body of an embryo is built up in its mother's womb from its navel, so God built up the earth concentrically around this Stone, the Navel of the Earth.[100] And just as the body of the embryo receives its nourishment from the navel, so the whole earth too receives the waters that nourish it from this Navel. The waters of the Deep crouch underneath the *Shetiyyah* stone at a depth of a thousand cubits,

and down to them reach the *shitin*, the shafts, also created according to a legend in the days of creation.[101] Thus when the libations flowed down from the bowls on the altar into the shafts, they finally reached the waters of the Deep and could so fulfil their mission. They raised the level of the Deep, a task in which, as we have seen, they were assisted by the singing of the fifteen Songs of Ascents. Now, as the subterranean waters that supply the whole earth all issue from this place, the raising of the waters of the Deep here set the whole invisible irrigation system of the earth functioning. Quite a number of legends tell in an interesting variety of versions about this subterranean network of irrigation canals that issue from underneath the Temple and bring to each country its proper power to grow its particular assortment of fruits. If a tree were planted in the Temple over the spot whence a water-vein issued forth to a certain country, it would grow fruit peculiar to that country; this was known to King Solomon, who accordingly planted in the Temple specimens of fruit-trees of the whole earth.[102]

The waters that issued forth from the Temple had the wonderful property of bestowing fertility and health. Legends have it that as in days of old so again in the days of the Messiah "all the waters of creation" will again spring up from under the threshold of the Temple, will increase and grow mighty as they pour forth all over the land.[103] Water issuing forth from the Temple is a mythical picture already known from the new Sumerian

period: On the cylinder inscription B of Gudea, which describes the sacred marriage between Ningirsu and Bau, we read that after its consummation water streams forth from a basin that is placed next to the couch of the gods, and brings henceforth abundance like the Tigris and the Euphrates.[104] According to Jewish legend the waters issuing forth from the Temple will divide into twelve streams corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel, and "every field and vineyard which grow no fruit will be irrigated by these waters and they will bear fruit . . . and there, on the banks of the river, all kinds of fruit-bearing trees will grow . . . and they will bring forth their fruit each month anew . . . while these will be eaten those will bud forth . . . and whoever suffers of an ailment will take from their leaves and will be cured."[105] The ailments that the leaves of these trees will cure are especially dumbness and the sterility of women.[106]

Thus we have become familiar with two important features of the mythical picture of the Temple of Jerusalem. It is from the Temple that the light, the symbol of life and success, of health and joy emanate; and it is from the Temple that the waters pour forth bringing fertility to the world, to the vegetable kingdom as well as to man. In the next chapter we shall see that the smoke that rose from the altar on the Day of Atonement and the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles was also believed to indicate the course that the blessing of fertility would take during the ensuing year.

VIII

If it is from the Temple that the blessings of fertility issued forth to the whole world, within the Temple such blessings would of course prevail in an even more intensive manner. In order to understand the rabbinic legends in which this idea is expressed, one has to bear in mind that the temples of many an ancient people were regarded as the Nuptial Chamber in which the divine powers of fertility, the Father God and the Mother Goddess, celebrated their great annual wedding feast for the purpose of ensuring the fruitfulness of the earth and the multiplication of man and beast. From the new Sumerian period we have a description of the sacred marriage of the god Ningirsu with the daughter of heaven Bau. The warrior Ningirsu enters his temple like a whirlwind, Bau approaches him on his couch like the rising sun, and the union of the two provides abundance to Lagash just as the River Tigris when its waters rise high. After the marriage has been consummated and victory won over the enemies, Bau rests at the side of Ningirsu in the nuptial chamber.[107]

Again, Herodotus (Book I, § 181) tells of a sacred room at the top of the ziqqurat or stage-tower of the god Marduk at Babylon, where there was a richly adorned couch occupied by a woman "chosen for himself by the deity out of all the women in the land" and by the god who comes down in person into this chamber and sleeps upon the couch.[108] Such annual sacred marriages were also celebrated in

various places in Egypt and other countries of the ancient East.[109] In ancient Canaanite ritual and myth too we have indications pointing to the sacred marriage.[110] In the sacred marriage the king or the high priest usually had the role of the male fertilizing god, and the queen or priestess fulfilled the role of the goddess. Also beyond the borders of the ancient East, *e.g.* in Greece, the sacred marriage, the ἱερὸς γάμος, was a prevalent ritual,[111] as also in many other more remote places. In ancient Hebrew religion, as Professor Hooke pointed out, "the element of the sacred marriage had been spiritualized in the form of the conception of Jahweh as Israel's husband."[112] Professor Oesterley tried to find a remnant of the nuptial chamber in the "booths" that the Bible prescribed as a dwelling-place for the duration of the seven days of the Feast of Tabernacles.[113]

We cannot here probe into the tenability of this view, for to do this it would be necessary to investigate the rich legendary material connected with the booths. We should, however, like to show that traces of the idea of the Nuptial Chamber can be found in quite another direction in ancient Jewish legends. In these, to put it briefly, it is the Temple, more accurately the Holy of Holies, which is represented as a Nuptial Chamber, though not until a comparatively late period do we find the express statement that the couple whose Nuptial Chamber it was, were God and the Holy Matrona personifying the Community of Israel.

The sexual principle in the Temple, however, is

alluded to in earlier rabbinic similes and legends. Let us begin with a simile which compares the Temple to a couch. The passage in the Song of Songs, "Behold his couch which is Solomon's"[114] is explained as alluding to the Temple:

And why was the Sanctuary compared to a couch? Because just as this couch serves fruitfulness and multiplication (*i.e.* sexual intercourse), even so the Sanctuary everything that was in it was fruitful and multiplied.[115]

It should be remarked that the Hebrew expression translated here, "fruitfulness and multiplication" (*piryah w'ribhyah*), is one commonly used to designate procreation. Another simile has it that the Temple was like a forest,[116] because "just as the forest is fruitful and multiplies, even so the Sanctuary, everything that was in it was fruitful and multiplied."[117] A legend gives us a clue as to the source of this wondrous property of the Temple: During the three months in which the Ark of the Lord was kept in the house of Obed Edom, each one of the wives of his eight sons gave birth to a child every two weeks.[118] It was the Ark, then, in which lay the power of fertility.[119]

In the Temple itself lifeless objects grew and expanded and the wooden parts of the building burst into leaf and brought forth fruit under the influence of the Holy Ark's presence. Solomon "planted" trees of gold in the Temple and these brought forth fruit which served as nourishment for the priests.[120]

The cedar [beams] which Hiram king of Tyre sent to Solomon for the building of the Temple scented the Life of the World and became green.[121]

Or again:

Dry wood scented the Life of the World, blossomed, bore fruit and came to life.[122]

This "Life of the World" is none other than the Holy Ark:

Rabbi Levi said: When Solomon brought the Ark into the Sanctuary, all the trees and cedar [beams] which were there became green and brought forth fruit. . . .[123]

According to another version this life-giving "Life of the World" was nothing else but the *Shekhinah*, the personified Presence or Glory of God.[124]

Likewise, the staves that were used to carry the Ark during the wanderings grew longer in the Sanctuary, until they reached the Curtain that separated the Holy of Holies from the Holy Hall before it and caused the Veil to protrude as the two breasts of a woman.[125] This prolongation of the staves occurred when the Ark together with the two Cherubs was placed in the Holy of Holies. At the same time also the wings of the Cherubs spread out, covered the Ark and hovered over the Sanctuary.[126] As to the Cherubs themselves, they were regarded as the central part in the Sanctuary, exceeding in importance even the Holy Ark:

It is owing to their (the Cherubs') merit and the merit of their makers that the [holy] House stands. And they (the Cherubs) were foremost among all the things which were in the Temple, because it is upon them and upon the Ark that the *Shekhinah* rests. . . .[127]

The Cherubs depicted in a most tangible form the union between God and Israel:

Rabbi Qattina said: Whenever Israel came up to the Festival, the curtain would be removed for them and the Cherubs were shown to them, whose bodies were intertwined with one another, and they would be addressed: Look! You are beloved before God as the love between man and woman.[128]

As long as the people of Israel fulfilled the will of God, the faces of the Cherubs were turned towards each other like those of a loving couple to indicate that God loves Israel. But when the people of Israel did not fulfil the will of God, the Cherubs turned their faces miraculously away from each other, towards the walls.[129] We cannot here go into the implications of the legends in which the Cherubs appear as a Jewish counterpart of the widespread motif of the living statues,[130] nor can we do more than mention in passing that the Cherubs also bore the character of fertilizing winds.[131]

The most outspoken description of the Temple as the Nuptial Chamber of God and the Matrona, the symbol of Israel, is found in so late a work as the *Zohar Hadash*, the "New Light," one of the foremost works of Jewish mystical literature in the Middle Ages. There we read that since the destruction of the Temple the Matrona descends night after night to the place of the Temple, enters

the place of the Holy of Holies, sees that her dwelling-house and her couch are ruined and soiled, and she wails and laments, wanders up and down, she looks at the place of the Cherubs and weeps bitterly, and she lifts up her voice and says: My couch, my couch, my dwelling-place . . . place of precious stones . . . in thee came unto me the Lord of the World, my husband, and he would lie in my arms and all

that I wished for he would give me. At this hour he used to come unto me, he left his dwelling-place and played betwixt my breasts. My couch, my couch, dost thou not remember how I came to thee rejoicing and happy, and those youths (the Cherubs) came forth to meet me, beating their wings in welcome . . . how came to be forgotten the Ark of the Covenant which stood here. From here went forth nourishment unto all the world and light and blessings to all! I seek for my husband but he is not here, I seek in every place. At this hour my husband used to come unto me and round about him many pious youths, and all the maidens were réady to welcome him. And I would hear from afar the sound of the twin-bells tinkling between his feet that I might hear him even before he came unto me. All my maidens would praise and laud the Holy One blessed be He, then retire each to her place, and we remained in solitude embracing in kisses and love. My husband, my husband, whereto hast thou turned? . . . Dost thou not remember how thou heldst thy left arm beneath my head and thy right arm about me . . . and thou didst swear that thou wouldst never cease to love me, saying, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget. . . ."[132]

One cannot fail to perceive that all this is elevated to a lofty spiritual plane, in fact the same on which move also those Christian mystics who tell of their religious experience in terms of love between man and woman. It has repeatedly been pointed out that there exists a "tendency of religious emotion to express itself in the language of human love." This is common among the mystics. Thus St. John of the Cross, in "The Dark Night of the Soul," describes the mystic union in the following stanzas:

On my flowery bosom, kept whole for Him alone, there He reposed and slept; and I cherished Him, and the waving of the cedars fanned Him.

As his hair floated in the breeze, that from the turret blew, He struck me on the neck, with His gentle hand, and all sensation left me.

I continued in oblivion lost, my head was resting on my love ; lost to all things and myself, and amid the lilies forgotten, threw all my cares away.[133]

The pictorial language both in these stanzas and in the passage quoted from the *Zohar Hadash* is essentially the same. The ideas expressed are identical too, with the exception of the representation of the Temple as the Nuptial Chamber, which is absent in the words of St. John of the Cross, and which precisely is the oldest element in the passage of the book of "New Light."

1 Cf. above, p. 29.
2 With the exception of the second, Ps. 121, which has "*shir lama'aloth.*"
3 The teacher of David, cf. M. Aboth 6, 3.
4 Midrash Sh'mu'el, chapter 26.
5 B. Suk. 53a–b ; cf. B. Mak. 11a ; Gaster, *Sepher hama'asiyyoth*, 113–14.
6 Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 13, ed. Strong and Garstang, pp. 51 sq.
7 Ex. 20, 2.
8 Y. Sanh. 29a bot.
9 Sode Raza, Yalqut Reubeni ad Gen. 1, 1, ed. Warsaw, 1889, vol. i, p. 4 sq.; cf. Hakham Harazim, Yalqut Reubeni ad Num. 26, 56, ib. vol. ii, p. 109.
10 Pirqe R. Eliezer, 31 ; cf. 23 ; Targum Yer. (Yon.) ad Gen. 8, 20.
11 Pausanias, *Descr. Graec.*, I, 18, 7.
12 Plutarch, *Sulla* 14 ; Etymologicum Magnum, p. 774, s. v. ὑδροφορία ; Hesychius, s. v. ὑδροφόρια.
13 Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, London, 1919, vol. i, pp. 152 sq.

14 Gen Rab 32, 7, p 294
15 Gen Rab 13, 13, p 122 Cf B Ta'an 25b
16 B Ta'an 25b
17 Translation of Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p 140
18 S H Langdon, *The Mythology of All Races*, vol v *Semitic*, Boston, 1931, p 271, cf p 273
19 *Annals of Ashurbanipal*, ed R J Lau—S Langdon, *Semitic Study Series*, 11, Leiden, 1903, 1, 45 sq as quoted by Engnell, *Studies*, p 44
20 Gen 7, 11 , cf 8, 2
21 B Ta'an, 25b
22 A Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897, p 64 , Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1909, pp 7, 8, 15
23 Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1904, 11, 103 According to the evidence of the Vedas, the Brahmanas, etc , also the ancient Indians conceived of the heaven and the clouds as a huge cow which fertilizes with rain the earth and the fields, cf Gubernatis, *Die Thiere in der indogermanischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1874, pp 37 sq Also in German folklore the spirits of water and rain appear in the form of bulls and heifers, cf *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol ix, p 133
24 Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra Ugarit*, London, 1939, pp 63 sqq , 69, 70 sq
25 Gen Rab 13, 6, p 117 A similar idea is expressed by *Virgil, Georg* 11, 324 sqq
26 Schaeffer, *op cit* , p 70
27 Y Ta'an 64b mid , Y Ber 14a mid , Gen Rab 13, 13, p 122 , cf Patai, *Hamayim*, p 139 sq , id , *HUCA*, xiv, 261 , id , *Man and Earth*, 1, 123
28 Y Hag 77a top , c bot , Gen Rab 5, 2, p 33 , Ex Rab 15, 22
29 Gen Rab 4, 5, pp 28–29
30 Is 43, 16
31 Midrash Konen, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* 11, 25
32 Gen Rab 5, 2, p 33
33 Pirqe R Eliezer ch 5 , cf Midrash Shoher Tobh, Ps 93

34 Job 26, 12 ; B. Bab. Bath. 74b.

35 Ex. Rab. 15, 22 ; Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, pp. 97–98 ; Num. Rab. 18, 22 ; Cant. Rab. 15, 22 ; Midrash Wayosha', Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, i, 46 ; B. Bab. Bath. 74b ; Midrash Shoher Tobh, Ps. 93, 5 ; Tanhuma Hayye Sarah 3 ; ib. Hukkoth 1 ; cf. also B. Hag. 12a ; Lev. Rab. 10, 9.

36 Gen. Rab. 5, 4, pp. 34–35.

37 Baraita di Ma'ase Bereshith, ed. Eisenstein, *Otzar Midrashim*, p. 317 ; Ze Ma'ase Bereshith, ed. Eisenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 315 ; Midrash 'Asereth Haddibroth, Dibbur 1 ; Midrash Haggadol, p. 26.

38 Gen. Rab. 20, 7, p. 190 ; cf. Cant. Rab. 7, 11 ; Midrash Haggadol Gen. ed. Schechter, p. 98 ; Yalqut Shime'oni, Cant. 7, § 992.

39 Seder Rabbah di Bereshith di Merkabhah, ed. Eisenstein, *Otzar Midrashim*, p. 314 ; cf. Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 4. The quotation is Ps. 104, 7.

40 Is. 27, 1. B. Bab. Bath. 74b ; cf. ib. the similar legend on the Behemoth. Cf. Midrash Konen, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, ii, 26 ; Pirqe R. Eliezer, ch. 11 ; also S. Daiches, *Zeitschrift für Assyrologie*, vol. xvii (1903), pp. 394–99.

41 EGYPTIAN : Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1909, p. 7, 14, 35 sq. ; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 32 sq., 230 sqq. ; Wallis Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii, 96, 97 sq., 99, 100, 104 sq. ; Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 57 ; Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 23 ; Frazer, *Worship of Nature*, i, 70 sq., 355 sq. ; id., *The Golden Bough*, v, 283 ; Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1885–88, p. 581 ; Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. Earth. GREEK : Hesiodos, *Theogonia*, 517–20 ; Herodotos iv, 184 ; Strabo 17, 3, 2, etc. ; VEDIC : Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i, 327 sq. ; Hastings, *op. cit.* ; CHINESE : Tylor, *op. cit.* i, 326, 328, ii, 272. POLYNESIAN : Tylor, *op. cit.* i, 322 sq., 325 ; Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, vol. v (1914), p. 417 ; Frazer,

Worship of Nature, i, 26 ; id., *The Golden Bough*, v, 283 ; AMERICAN INDIAN : Hastings, *op. cit.* s. v. Earth ; AFRICAN : Frazer, *Worship of Nature*, i, 96, 109, 627.

42 Cf. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore, 1942, p. 149.

43 Is. 27, 1 ; cf. Ps. 74, 14 ; Job 26, 13.

44 Is. 27, 1.

45 Is. 27, 1 ; Ps. 74, 13.

46 Syria, xvi, pp. 29–45 ; Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra Ugarit*, pp. 65 sq. ; Millar Burrows, *What Mean These Stones*, New Haven, 1941, p. 268.

47 Book of Henoch 54, 7–10, ed. Charles, *Apocr. and Pseud.* vol. ii, p. 221.

48 Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 23.

49 Leonard W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition*, London, 1918, pp. 127, 128 ; cf. p. 53.

50 Morris Jastrow, Jr., *Sumerian Myths of Beginnings*, *American Journal of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 112, 113, 114. Cf. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 7th ed., Philadelphia, 1937, pp. 338 sq.

51 Cf. below, pp. 87, 88.

52 Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 145–47 ; Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 139 sq.

53 Gen. Rab. 13, 13, p. 122 ; cf. Y. Ber. 14a mid. ; Y. Ta'an. 64b mid. Cf. also the saying of Rabbi Hama bar Hanina : " The day when rain falls is as great as the day on which the heaven and earth were created," B. Ta'an. 7b.

54 Cf. B. Ber. 54a.

55 B. Ta'an. 6b.

56 Is. 55, 10 ; B. Ta'an. 6b.

57 Y. Ber. 14a mid.; Y. Ta'an. 64b mid.; B. Ta'an. 6b. Cf. *Zeitschrift für alttestam. Wissenschaft*, vol. xxxiii (1911), pp. 81–83.

58 Gen. 1, 11.

59 Gen. 2, 6.

60 Gen. 1, 12.

61 Ps. 65, 14 ; B. Rosh Hash. 10b–11a ; cf. ib. 27a.

62 B. Rosh Hash. 27a. Cf. Pesiqta Rabbati, ed. Friedmann, p. 186b, where it is stated that the work of creation began on the 25th of the month of Elul, the month preceding Tishri, so that the seventh day of creation was the first of Tishri, that is New Year's day. Cf. also Seder 'Olam Rabba, ch. 4.

63 Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, London, 1929, ii, 332. Of the vast literature on the subject let us quote here only a few instances : Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i, 140 sqq., ii, 97 sqq., v, 39, 67, vii, 111 ; id. *The Devil's Advocate*, London, 1927, pp. 44 sqq. ; *The Worship of Nature*, i, 380 ; Dehon, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1, 9, 144 sqq. ; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, London, 1909, ii, 115 sq., 151 sq., 171, 210 sq., 236 sq. ; Crawley, *Savages and Sex*, London, 1929, pp. 41 sq. ; Briffault, *The Mothers*, London-New York, 1927, iii, 198 sqq. ; Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1925, pp. 97 sq., 146 ; Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte* i, 480 sqq. ; Nyberg, *Kind und Erde*, Helsingfors, 1931, p. 240 ; Patai, *Man and Earth* (in Hebrew), ii, 124 sqq.

64 *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xli, pp. 143, 148. Cf. Cook, in Rob. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed., p. 613 sq.

65 Hesiodos, *Opera et Die*, 391 sq. ; Virg. *Georgica*, i, 338 sqq. ; Maimuni, *Guide of the Perplexed*, part iii, ch. 37. Cf. Patai, *Man and Earth*, ii, 140 sqq.

66 Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, pp. 160 sq., cf. also p. 112.

67 Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 20, 50–53.

68 Cf. *Bulletin of the American School in Jerusalem*, no. 6, p. 16.

69 Albright, *American Journal of Semitic Lang. and Lit.* vol. xli (1925), p. 91.

70 Tos. Ta'an. 2.

71 M. Yoma 2, 1.

72 M. Yoma 2, 2.

73 B. Yoma 23a. Cf. Tos. Yoma 1, 12, p. 181 ; Y. Yoma

39d top. According to B. Yoma 23a the two incidents happened separately.

74 M. Yoma 2, 2.

75 Cf. M. Sheq. 5, 1.

76 M. Yoma 2, 2 and Rashi and Bertinoro *ad loc.*

77 B. Yoma 23a.

78 Thus according to Rabbi Yose ; Rabbi Johanan maintains that they were of the tribe of Gad.

79 Cf. i Kings 10, 17 ; 2 Chron. 9, 16, where it is told that Solomon "made three hundred shields of beaten gold." These shields must have had some ritual significance ; only so can we explain the promptness with which Rehoboam replaced them, and them alone, by brazen shields, when Shishak looted them together with all the treasures of the Temple and of the king's house, i Kings 14, 25–27 ; 2 Chron. 12, 9–10. Cf. i Kings 14, 28 ; 2 Chron. 12, 11 : "And it was so, when the king went into the house of the Lord that the runners bare them (the shields) and (later) brought them back into the chamber of the runners."

80 The Throne and Hippodrome of King Solomon, ed. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, v, 38 sq. Another symbolism of the four colours of the chariots, cf. Yalqut Shime'oni ad Zach. 6, 1.

81 These three days are the last three days of the Hanukkah festival, which in its origin seems to have had some connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, cf. Rankin, The Festival of Hanukkah, in Hooke, *The Labyrinth*, London, 1935, pp. 159 sqq. Also the Byzantine races, to be dealt with *infra*, took place according to a Jewish traveller of the twelfth century, at Christmas, cf. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Adler, London, 1907, pp. 12–13.

82 Cf. also Corippus 1, 17, as quoted by Ducagne, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, i, 102.

83 *Cassiodorus, Variae Epistolae, III, 51. Quoted after* Perles, *Monatschrift für die Gesch. und Wiss. des Judentums*, 1872, p. 125 ; cf. also A. Wünsche, *Salomos Thron u.*

Hippodrom, Ex. Oriente Lux, II, 3, Leipzig, 1906, p. 40.

84 Cf. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, s. v. Oinomaos.

85 Excerpt from Greek manuscript historical collections, found in the notes of Nicolaus Alemannus to Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, c. vii, ed. Orelli, p. 333, as quoted by Perles, *op. cit.* p. 125.

86 Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Bonn, pp. 173–76, as quoted by Perles, ib. p. 126 sq. On the Hippodrome and circus in Byzantium see Charles Diehl, *Justinien et la Civilisation Byzantine au VIe siècle*, Paris, 1901, pp. 439–66.

87 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Adler, London, 1907, pp. 12–13.

88 Thausing, "Die Auferstehung im Sohne," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morganlandes*, xlvi (1939), p. 183, as quoted by Engnell, *Studies*, p. 11. As to the ritual combat in the annually performed religious drama at Edfu, cf. A.M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu II," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. xxviii (1942), pp. 32 sq., 37.

89 Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 52 sqq., Labat, *Le poème babylonian de la création*, Paris, 1935, pp. 42 sq., as quoted by Engnell, *Studies*, p. 65, n. 2. As for the foot-race in the Babylonian New Year festival between the demon Zu and the sun-god Ninurta in which Zu was defeated, cf. S. H. Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, p. 9. Sham fights represented the fight of the king-god with the powers of chaos and his victory over them; cf. Engnell, *Studies*, p. 36, and Langdon, *The Mythology of all Races*, vol. v ; *Semitic*, Boston, 1931, p. 321.

90 Engnell, *Studies*, p. 65, quoting Ehelolf, *Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1925, pp. 267 sqq. and other authorities. Pedersen, *Israel*, vol. ii (1934), p. 550, refers to this sham fight as a parallel of the combat between Aaron and the Egyptian magicians as a part of the Easter-night ritual.

91 F. Hvidberg, *Graad og Latter i det Gamle Testamente*, Koben-

havn, 1938, p. 37, as translated from the Danish by Engnell, *Studies*, pp. 101 sq.

92 Jakob Eduard Polak, *Persien, das Land und seine Bewohner*, Leipzig, 1865, vol. i., pp. 367–89.

93 Pesikta Rabbati, ed. Friedmann, p. 95a.

94 *Op. cit.* p. 203a.

95 Gen. 1, 3.

96 Ps. 97, 11 ; Esth. 8, 16 ; Job 22, 28 ; 33, 28 ; Gen. Rab. 6, 3, p. 42, etc.

97 Gen. 1, 14–19 ; Gen. Rab. 3, 6, p. 21 ; ib. 11, 2, p. 89 ; 12, 6, p. 103 ; 42, 3, p. 418 ; B. Hag. 12a, etc.

98 Gen. Rab. 3, 4, p. 20 ; Midrash Shoher Tobh, Ps. 104 ; Tanhuma Gen. ed. Buber, p. 112 ; Pesiqta di Rabh Kahana 21, ed. Buber, p. 145b.

99 Tanhuma T'tzaweh 6 ; cf. B. Menahoth 86b ; Lev. Rab. 31, 7 ; Cant. Rab. 4, 4 ; Gen. Rab. 55, 7, p. 591 ; Y. Yoma 42c mid. ; Pesiqta di Rabh Kahana 21, ed. Buber, p. 145b ; Patai, *Man and Earth*, ii, 218 sq.

100 Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* v, 63 ; Seder 'Arqim, ed. Eisenstein, *Otzar Midrashim*, p. 70 ; Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer ch. 35 ; Midrash Shoher Tobh, Ps. 91 ; Zohar Num. vol. iii, p. 322, ed. Wilna. Also the Holy of Holies of Egyptian Temples was regarded as the mound that first rose from the primeval waters. Harold H. Nelson, "The Egyptian Temple," *The Bibl. Arch.*, Sept. 1944, p. 78.

101 Tos. Suk. 3, 15, p. 197 ; Y. Suk. 54d top ; B. Suk. 49a.

102 Tanhuma Lev. ed. Buber, p. 78 ; Yalqut Shime'oni Eccl. § 967 ; Eccl. Rab. ad Eccl. 2, 5 and Rashi *ad loc.* ; Siphre Deut. 37. Solomon planted also golden trees in the Temple, B. Yoma 21b, 39b ; cf. also Y. Yoma 41d ; Num. Rab. 11, 3 ; Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, p. 33 ; Cant. Rab. 3, 9 ; Josephus, *Ant.* viii, 5, 2 ; Tanhuma T'rumah 11 ; Ahare Moth 8. According to Arab legends the four rivers of Paradise issue forth from beneath the Holy Rock in the Dome of the Rock, identical with the Shetiyyah Stone, Mujir ed-din, 205/6 ; Al-Musharraf, fol. 38 ; cf. Hartman, *Der Felsendom in*

Jerusalem, 1909, p. 10 ; Canaan, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, ix, 64 sqq.

103 M. Middoth 2, 6 ; Tos. Suk. 3, 3 and 10, pp. 195, 196 ; B. Yoma 77b–78a.

104 Franz M. Th. Böhl, *Zeitschrift für Assyrologie*, xxxix (1930), p. 91.

105 Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 51 ; cf. Y. Sheqalim 50a top.

106 Y. Sheqalim 50a mid. ; B. Menahoth 98a ; B. Sanh. 100a ; Cant. Rab. ad 4, 13. Cf. Wiesner, *Jahrbuch für Jüdische Volkskunde*, ii (1924–25), p. 77. On popular Jewish medicines for barrenness taken from the vegetable kingdom, cf. Patai, *Jewish Folk-Cures for Barrenness*, "*Folk-Lore*," London, Sept. 1944, pp. 117–24.

107 Franz M. Th. Böhl, *Zeitschrift für Assyrologie*, xxxix (1930), p. 91.

108 Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* pp. 678 sq. ; id., *Sumerian Myths of Beginnings*, *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 118 sq. ; cf. Gadd, in Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, pp. 56 sq. On the "bedroom" in the Mesopotamian Temple cf. also Leo Oppenheim, "The Mesopotamian Temple," *The Bibl. Arch.*, Sept. 1944, p. 55.

109 Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, pp. 9, 19, 34 sq.

110 Hooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 85 ; id., *Origins of Early Semitic Ritual*, London, 1938, pp. 31, 33, 35, 38, 41. Cf. Engnell, *Studies*, pp. 131 sqq. where Engnell has a remark that may bear upon the "levity" in the Jerusalem Temple : "The divine marital union is of a rather "democratized" character, in being consummated doubtless by a number of priests and priestesses, but perhaps even by others—as rightly seen by Gaster. For this is indicated . . . also by the distinct 'ecstasy signs' among the female participants. . . ."

111 Cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii, 143 n. 1 ; Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 91, 368 ; Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 4th ed., Tübingen, 1925, vol. ii, p. 321 ; Patai, *Man and Earth*, i, 117, ii, 133.

112 Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, p. 85.

113 *Op. Cit.* p. 139 sq. ; in this contention he was endorsed by Hooke who compared the booths to the *gigunu*, supposing the latter, with Sidney Smith, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1928, pp. 849–68, to have been a chamber used for the ritual of the sacred marriage, cf. Hooke, *The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual*, p. 54.

114 Cant. 3, 7.

115 Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber. p. 33.

116 Alluding to i Kings 7, 2.

117 Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, p. 33 ; Num. Rab. 11, 3 ; B. Yoma 39b.

118 Y. Yeb. 6b bot. ; cf. Num. Rab. 4, 20 ; Cant. Rab. 2, 5.

119 As to the actual role of the ark at its very beginnings, see J. Morgenstern, *The Ark, the Ephod and the Tent*, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xvii (1942–43), pp. 153–265, and xviii (1943–44), pp. 1–52.

120 B. Yoma 21b, 39b ; Y. Yoma 41d ; cf. Num. Rab. 11, 3 ; 12, 4 ; Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, p. 33 ; Cant. Rab. 3, 9 ; Josephus, *Ant.* viii, 5, 2.

121 Tanhuma T'rumah 11.

122 Tanhuma Ahare Moth 8.

123 Tanhuma T'rumah 11.

124 Tanhuma Ahare Moth 8.

125 Tos. Yoma 3, 7, p. 186 ; Num. Rab. 11, 3 ; Tos. Sheq. 2, 18, p. 177 ; B. Yoma 54a ; B. Men. 98a–b ; Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, p. 33 ; Tanhuma Naso 11.

126 Baraita di M'lekheth ha Mishkan, ed. Eisenstein, *Otzar Midrashim*, p. 301.

127 Midrash Tadshe, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* iii, 167.

128 B. Yoma 54a. Cf. ib. a–b : "Rabba bar Rabh Shilah said : Even as a man embraces his mate. Resh Laqish said : When the heathens entered the Temple and saw the Cherubs whose bodies were intertwined with one another, they carried them out and said : These Israelites, whose blessing is a blessing and whose curse is a curse, occupy themselves with such things ! And immediately they despised them. . . ."

129 B. Bab. Bath. 99a and the commentary of Rashbam

ad loc.; cf. Introduction to Lam. Rab. § 9; Pesiqta di Rabh Kahana, 19; Yalqut Shime'oni ad Is. § 474.

130 Cf. Patai, *Man and Earth*, ii, 14 sqq.

131 Cf. *op. cit.* ii, 208 sqq.

132 Ps. 137, 5; Zohar Hadash, Midrash Ekhah, ed. Warsaw, n. d., p. 183.

133 Robert H. Thouless, *An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 132.

Chapter Four

SYMBOLISM AND FUNCTION OF THE TEMPLE

I

We have in the previous chapter become acquainted with the types of legends which deal with the functional connection between the Temple and the cosmic order, and in which the Temple in general appears as the centre of life, fertility and well-being for the people. There remains now to describe another group of legends and beliefs clustering around the Temple of Jerusalem in which the Temple is represented as the symbol of the world and its equivalent, part for part and phase for phase.

That the Temple represents the universe is an idea which is well attested both within the cultural circle of the ancient Near East and without it, in other countries and periods. Hocart, in his book *Kings and Councillors*, dealt in a suggestive chapter with this phenomenon,[1] which had already received some attention from other scholars previously.[2] We shall confine ourselves to a few examples to make us familiar with the idea before we turn to the evidence of ancient Jewish writings.

In Vedic ritual, the sacred mound is the universe,

the bottom of it is the earth, the top the sky, and the intervening part the atmosphere.[3] In Persia, according to Porphyry, "Zoroaster first constructed among the hills . . . a natural cave, flowery and provided with springs, to the honour of Mithra, creator and father of all. The cave bore the likeness of the universe which Mithra created, and the things inside according to their proportional distances bore symbols of the cosmic elements and regions."[4] In ancient Babylonia the *ziqqurat* symbolized the world-mountain, and the great basin (*apsu*) symbolized the Deep.[5] The Egyptian temple "was built in the semblance of the world such as the Egyptians knew it. . . . The pavement, of course, represented the earth. . . . The roof, vaulted in Abydos, flat everywhere else, answered exactly to the idea they had of the sky. Each received a decoration appropriated to its meaning."[6] Ramses III built a temple to the god Amon in Phoenicia like "the horizon of heaven which is in the sky."[7] Of the origin of the temple of Vesta, Plutarch tells us that "Numa is said to have built the temple of Vesta in circular form as protection for the inextinguishable fire, copying not the figure of the earth as being Vesta but of the whole universe. . . ."[8] The Romans also had a sacred pit called *mundus*. This word, as Hocart remarks, "means both the world and the sacred pit, and is sufficient in itself to attest that the Romans looked upon this sanctum as a miniature of the world."[9]

In the previous chapter were given the Byzantine descriptions of the cosmic significance of the circus-

games: the Byzantine churches, too, had their cosmic significance.

> Each part of the church had its own significance, with which its decoration was brought into accord. The central dome represents the heavens. At the summit is Christ, Pantokrator; below him are archangels, apostles, or prophets. . . . The *bema*, or sanctuary, separated from the nave by the screen, or iconostasis, is still symbolical of heaven . . . the remainder of the church stands for the sensible world.[10]

II

Let us not follow this remarkable idea in the later stages of its wanderings in the western world, but return instead to the Temple of Jerusalem, in connection with which rabbinic legends have elaborated this microcosmic interpretation down to its minutest detail. Rudiments of this conception are discernible already in Ps. 78, 69:

> And he built his sanctuary like high [places], like the earth which he hath established for ever.[11]

Gray, in fact, contended that Solomon's temple may have been built in accordance with cosmic speculation.[12] Be this as it may, it is certain that in talmudic times cosmic significance was attached to the Temple. The sages stated that "the Court surrounds the Temple just as the sea surrounds the world."[13] The temple of Herodes, the Talmud states, was built of white and blue marble and alabaster, one row set inwards, the other protruding. When Herodes wanted to coat the walls with gold,

the sages dissuaded him, saying, "Let it be, it is more beautiful so, for it looks like the waves of the sea."[14]

One of the sages, Rabbi Jehuda bar Shalom, stated that, among other things, the great laver of brass[15] represented the waters of the sea, the candlestick of pure gold[16] the lights in the firmament, the winged Cherubs[17] "the fowl that flies in the firmament of heaven,"[18] the animal offerings[19] the living creature, etc.[20]

Here quoted in full is a more detailed version which, though preserved in a late recension, is attributed to Rabbi Pinhas ben Ya'ir, a talmudic sage of the second century[21]:

The Tabernacle was made to correspond to the Creation of the world. The two Cherubs over the Ark of the Covenant were made to correspond to the two holy names [of God: Yahweh and Elohim]. The heaven, the earth and the sea are houses with bolts. The house of the Holy of Holies was made to correspond to the highest heaven. The outer Holy House was made to correspond to the earth. And the Courtyard was made to correspond to the sea. The eleven hangings of the Tabernacle were made to correspond to the highest heaven. The table was made to correspond to the earth. The two shewbreads were arranged to correspond to the fruit of the earth. "In two rows, six in a row"[22] [were set the twelve cakes] to correspond to the months of summer and winter. The laver was made to correspond to the sea and the candlestick was made to correspond to the lights [of heaven]. "And he set up the pillars." . . . Jachin and Boaz[23] (let us note here that the legend now already speaks of the Temple and not of the Tabernacle!), Jachin (*i.e.* "he will establish") corresponding to [the moon as it is written], "It shall be established (*yikkon* in Hebrew) for ever as the moon,"[24] for it is the moon which establishes the feasts for Israel, as it

is written "He appointed the moon for seasons."[25] And Boaz (lit. "in it strength") corresponds to the sun which comes out in power and in strength, as it is written, "it [the sun] rejoiceth as a strong man to run the course."[26]

III

Let us pause here for a moment. Of all the component parts of the Temple the only ones that had no role whatsoever in the ritual were these two pillars, yet they were considered important enough to be called each by a separate name. The question of their significance continues to interest scholars to this day. Let us but mention that Robertson Smith was of the opinion that they were two high fire-altars.[27] Albright, dealing with the significance of the columns, considers three possibilities:

1 They may have been regarded as the reflection of the columns between which the sun rose each morning to pour its light through the portico of the Temple into its interior.
2 Like the Egyptian "djed" symbol they may also have denoted endurance, continuity, in which case their dynastic role would become self-evident.
3 They were interpreted historically to commemorate the pillar of cloud which accompanied the Israelites by day and the pillar of fire which went with them by night during their wandering in the desert.[28]

As we see, the interpretation of the midrash does not bear out either of these explanations. That two huge pillars should represent the sun and the moon is altogether not more strange than the symbols that

stood in the Byzantine circus for the sun, the moon and the stars: the quadriga, the four-horse chariot, representing the sun; the biga, the two-horse chariot, the moon, and the twelve doors the twelve signs of the zodiac.[29] But let us return to our legend which in the sequence concentrates its attention on the ample symbolism clustering around the brazen sea:

" 'And he made the sea solid,'[30] this is the world which is solid, as it is written (of the earth) 'when the dust groweth solid'[31] and (of the sky) 'strong as a solid-looking glass.'[32] " In the sequel of the legend each part of the passage describing the brazen sea is given a symbolic significance: " 'Ten cubits from the one brim to the other,'[33] these are the ten spheres of the void upon which the world stands. '. . . round all about' as the firmament is round, 'and his height was five cubits' corresponding to the walking distance of five hundred years which separates the earth from the firmament, 'and a line of thirty cubits' corresponding to the thirty days which are in each month, and [also] corresponding to the ten commandments and the ten pronouncements (which were uttered by God when he created the world) and the ten spheres of the void, '. . . did compass it round about' as the world stands by the merit of those who fulfil the ten commandments, and was created by ten pronouncements and its spheres number ten. Another explanation: 'and a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about,' this is the green line [of the ocean] which compasses the whole world round about, as it is written 'and

he stretched out upon it the line of *Tohu*.'[34] 'And under the brim of it were knops'[35] corresponding to the three hundred and sixty-five windows which are in the east and in the west, out of one of which, in the east, the sun comes out, and sets in one in the west, '. . . the knops were cast in two rows' these are the sun and the moon which compass the world round about and lead it. 'It stood upon twelve oxen' these are the twelve constellations by which the world is governed. 'Three looking towards the north' why is the north mentioned first? Because it is open, because the north wind is open to the world, as it is written, 'He stretcheth out the north over the *Tohu*'[36] and, moreover, every evil wind comes from the north, as it is written, 'Out of the north the evil shall break forth.'[37] The Ram, Lion, Archer turn towards north, the Bull, Virgin, Goat turn towards west, the Twins, Balance, Water-Bearer turn towards south, and the Crab, Scorpion, Fishes turn towards east. 'And the sea is above upon them'[38] because the world is set upon the seas, 'and all their hinder parts were inward' because they were created not for idleness but for the need of the world. 'And it was an handbreadth thick,' a handbreadth is five fingers, as the thickness of the firmament is a walking distance of five hundred years. 'And the brim thereof was wrought like the brim of a cup, with flowers of lilies,' as the heavens are wrapped round each other. . . .''[39]

We have quoted this lengthy passage in full in order to illustrate an exegetical method very common

in rabbinic literature. Any idea could be given sanction by connecting it with a passage from the Bible. The connection could be quite arbitrary or superficial, such as a word, a number, or such like, shared in common by the biblical quotation and the idea propounded. Thanks to this method many an innovation made by individual sages and many an ancient popular tradition could be connected with the Bible and incorporated into rabbinic literature. In our case the ancient popular conception of the symbolic significance of the Temple was elaborated in every detail by giving each phrase in the biblical description of the Temple a cosmic interpretation.

A similar interpretation of the significance of the Temple is found in the writings of Josephus Flavius. In his *Antiquities of the Jews* we find the following equations:

1 The three parts of the Temple = the three parts of the world, namely: the court = the sea, the Holy House = the land, and the Holy of Holies = the heavens.[40]
2 The twelve loaves on the table = the twelve months of the year.[41]
3 The candlestick of seventy parts = the Decaniae, or divisions of the planets into tens.[42]
4 The seven lamps upon the candlestick = "the course of the planets of which that is the number."[43]
5 The veils composed of four things = the four elements, namely: the plain linen = the earth out of which flax grows, the purple = the sea, because purple is gained out of the blood of a shell-fish, the blue colour of the veils = the air, and the scarlet = the fire.[44]
6 The vestment of the high-priest was made of linen = the earth, blue cloth = the sky, pomegranate = lightning, and the noise of its bells = thunder.[45]

7 The ephaptis (*ephod*) = the universe made of four elements. The gold interwoven = the splendour of the sun.

8 The breastplate in the middle of the *ephod* = the earth in the middle of the world.[46]

9 The girdle of the high-priest = the ocean that surrounds the world.

10 The two sardonyxes on the shoulders of the high-priest = the sun and the moon.

11 The twelve stones of the breastplate = the twelve months, or the twelve signs of the zodiac.

12 The mitre, blue of colour = the heavens.[47]

To this in Josephus's *Wars of the Jews* is added :

13 "The altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices with which the sea replenished it, signified that God is the possessor of all things that are both in uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use."[48]

IV

Another interesting comparison, carried through in every detail, is that between the human body and the world. We cannot elaborate here this point, which we have had occasion to treat elsewhere[49] but another comparison based upon the two parallels man = world, and Temple = world, deserves to be mentioned here. The threefold comparison world = man = temple, is a favourite theme in ancient Indian speculation,[50] while in Pauline and medieval Christian thought we find only the comparison of man to the temple.[51] We have already seen that the two pillars

Jachin and Boaz were by Jewish legend regarded as symbolic of the sun and the moon. The same source makes these two columns correspond also to the eyes in the human body. "Just as the eyes are high and are placed in the head, even so were these two pillars high and thick."[52]

In another Jewish legend we read:

In the hour when the Holy One blessed be He said to Moses, Make me a temple, Moses said, How shall I know how to make it? The Holy One blessed be He said, Do not get frightened; just as I created the world and your body, even so will you make the Tabernacle. How [do we know] that this was so? You find in the Tabernacle that the beams were fixed into the sockets, and in the body the ribs are fixed into the vertebra, and so in the world the mountains are fixed into the fundaments of the earth. In the Tabernacle the beams were covered with gold, and in the body the ribs are covered with flesh, and in the world the mountains are covered and coated with earth. In the Tabernacle there were bolts in the beams to keep them upright, and in the body limbs and sinews are drawn to keep man upright, and in the world trees and grasses are drawn in the earth. In the Tabernacle there were hangings to cover its top and both its sides, and in the body the skin of man covers his limbs, and his ribs on both his sides, and in the world the heavens cover the earth on both its sides. In the Tabernacle the veil divided between the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies, and in the body the diaphragm divides the heart from the stomach, and in the world it is the firmament which divides between the upper waters and the lower waters. . . .[53]

In another version of the same legend some additional equations are named:

In the Tabernacle there were fire and wind and water; the offspring of the heavens is fire, the offspring of the air is the

wind, the offspring of the earth is water. The fire is above and the water below, and the wind holds the balance between them. And in the body, the head is fire, the heart is wind (spirit) and the stomach water . . . "and thou shalt make a candlestick"[54] corresponding to the great light which was created on the first day in the world and was preserved in the body, as it is written, "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord. . . ."[55] In the world there are seven stars which shed light and the world is in need of them ever since the seven days of creation, and in the body there are seven servants which are: the eyes, the ears, the nostrils and the mouth. And the following is to be stated concerning the three worlds. . . . The four-square of the altar corresponds to the foursquare of the world, east, west, north and south, "and the height thereof shall be three cubits"[56] corresponding to the three parts which are in man: the head and corresponding to it fire in the world, and the stomach and corresponding to it wind in the world, and the feet and corresponding to them water in the world . . . the altars were of gold and brass[57]. . . of gold corresponding to the soul, of brass corresponding to the body. Just as the gold is dearer than brass, even so the soul is dearer than the body; just as on the brazen altar offerings were made of the flesh of animals, even so day after day one offers to the body that which was allotted to it from heaven. . . .[58]

A more elaborate version of the last mentioned equations is found in the Midrash Tadshe:

The golden candlestick has seven lamps corresponding to the seven lights in the world which are the seven stars. In the year there are seven holy days,[59] in man there are seven gates, two eyes, two ears, two nostrils and one mouth. . . . The soul is within the body corresponding to the altar of incense which is within the Tabernacle. The Table is in the north corresponding to the Garden of Eden in which all sorts of pleasures are kept for the Righteous. The candlestick is in the south corresponding to the World to Come in which

there is but the light of the Shekhinah (the Presence of God). There were there two altars, one of gold corresponding to the soul of man and one of brass corresponding to the body of man. . . . Just as the body eats, even so does the brazen altar whose offerings were food. And just as the souls do not enjoy anything but scent, even so nothing was offered on the golden altar but sweet incense, [a thing] which is done for scent. . . .[60]

In short, to use the succinct expression of Midrash Tanhuma:

The Temple corresponds to the whole world and to the creation of man who is a small world.[61]

One must on no account suppose that these symbolic interpretations are the result of idle speculation. Though we cannot in every detail demonstrate that all the parts of the Temple and its accessories had a function corresponding to the symbolic significance attached to them, yet we are in a position to show this at least with regard to some of them. As to the altar, the foursquare of which corresponds according to one of the legends just quoted to the foursquare of the four cardinal points, we have already pointed out[62] that at least during the Feast of Tabernacles the altar covered with green branches represented the earth. This interpretation to which we arrived from the study of the role and function of the altar in connection with the Water-libation, is fully borne out by the earlier symbolism of the altar as the "*har'el*," the mountain of god. Albright has contended that this name is borrowed from the Sumero-Accadian

Arallu or *Arallû*, which has the dual sense of "underworld" and "mountain of the gods," the cosmic mountain. Cosmic mountain, *kursag* or *kur*, was the name also of the Sumerian temple-tower, just as *ziqquratu* means literally nothing else than mountain peak.[63]

The symbolic interpretation of the candlestick as the planets (Josephus and Midrash Tadshe) or the cosmic light which was created on the first day (Midrash Rabbi Shema'ya Hashoshani) is borne out by the ritual role of the great candelabra. The lighting of these, we have seen, was part of the ritual of the "Joy of the House of Water-Drawing," and, as we have found, represented the kindling anew of the cosmic light, the source of which was believed to be in the Temple. That the noise of the bells on the garments of the high-priest should represent thunder (Josephus) will not surprise us if we remember that we found sound-effects of a great variety as part of the rain-making ritual. These sound-effects are, in fact, often said to imitate thunder with the purpose of bringing it about.[64] The "pomegranates of blue and purple and scarlet" that hung with the bells round the hem of the priestly robe,[65] were said by Josephus to symbolize lightning. We do not exactly know what these pomegranates were made of, but we may be permitted to suppose that they were said to symbolize lightning because of the light flashing from them, just as Hiram, king of Tyre, was said by a Jewish legend to have imitated lightning by flashing precious stones one against the other.[66]

V

From the static aspect of the mythical significance of the Temple let us now turn to its dynamic aspect, and see in what manner was the Temple service interpreted as a means of securing blessings of welfare for the people.

The idea that the material welfare of the people depends on the proper performance of the ritual is a primitive one which survived also in higher forms of religion. The primitive tribe, to quote Wissler, "professes to believe that if the ritual is performed, something beneficial will follow. . . . Wherever we observe primitive rituals, this idea appears, not merely as our interpretation but in the expressed attitude of the participants. There seems, then, justification for the statement that one basic idea, but not the only such idea, in ceremonies, is the promotion of welfare, health, and long life by magic."[67]

Also in more evolved religions the same idea appears. In China the abandonment of the rigid and ceremonial cult of Shang-te, the heaven-god, was supposed to lead to "the ruin of states, the destruction of families, and the perishing of individuals."[68] In Indian Brahmanism "the rites of the religion are the real deities, or at any rate they constitute together a sort of independent and superior power, before which the divine personalities disappear, and which almost holds the place allotted to destiny in other systems. The ancient belief, which is already

prominent in the Hymns, that sacrifice conditionates the regular course of things, is met with here in the rank of a commonplace, and is at times accompanied with incredible details."[69] The same holds good in the religion of Persia. Ahura Mazda said:

> If men sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, if the due sacrifice and prayer is offered unto him just as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness, never will a hostile horde enter the Aryan countries, nor any plague, nor leprosy, nor venomous plants, nor the chariot of a foe, nor the uplifted spear of a foe![70]

In the ancient Near East too it was the ritual that had to cope with the task of "securing the means of subsistence, to keep the sun and moon doing their duty, to ensure the regular flooding of the Nile, to maintain the bodily vigour of the king who was the embodiment of the prosperity of the community."[71] In the poems of Ras Shamra the ritual plays an important role. "Mourning for the death of the vegetation-god, rites to overcome his enemy, the god of death and the underworld, and to ensure the life-giving rains and the growth of the new year's crops, and rejoicing at the lamented god's restoration to life played a prominent part in these observances."[72] That the same attitude prevailed also in pre-Islamic Arabia can be gleaned from Himyaritic inscriptions. There we read of a people whose land was afflicted with hail and some other form of trouble, and who asked the god Almaqah, and were finally advised to perform certain ceremonies including the offering up of sacrifices. These proceedings were

effective; the fields were saved from hail and the other plague.[73]

So too in the ancient western world. Among the early Greeks and Romans it was a principle that the religion of the State should be the religion of the people, as its welfare was supposed to depend upon a strict observance of the established cult.[74]

The common idea underlying all these beliefs is that the performance of the ritual assures the welfare of the people, mostly because the ritual was prescribed by a god, or gods, who rule supreme over the elements and forces of nature. If the ritual is performed according to the will of the god, he procures blessings for the people by means of these forces, while in the contrary case he contrives to use them to punish man. The single example of the ritual of Water-libation would suffice to show that this trend of thought is a secondary one, evolved, with the emergence of the gods, out of a more basic conception of the connection between ritual and welfare. When we see that the ritual acts, even in their late and evolved form, closely correspond to the phenomenon in nature to bring about which they are performed, we shall have to suppose that in their original significance such acts were aimed at the producing of the desired phenomena in a more direct way, by imitating or symbolizing the effect wished for, and thus appealing to sympathy in nature, or by forcing nature to yield with what Frazer termed "sympathetic" or "imitative magic." In rabbinic sources we cannot expect to find this idea clearly

stated. We shall, in fact, find the idea of the omnipotence of God appearing everywhere between the ritual performances in the Temple and their effect in nature. Moreover, we shall not always be able to recognize the similarity between the ritual acts and the blessings brought about by them, at least not to an extent comparable to that of the Water-libation.

To begin with, the mere existence of the Temple had, according to legend, a beneficial effect on the functioning of the natural forces. Ever since the great flood, torrential rains fell forty days each year, and caused great damage to the earth. When Solomon built the Temple these torrents ceased.[75] Moreover, the structure of the whole world became firm only when the Temple was built:

> Rabbi Shemuel bar Nahman said: Before the Temple was built the world stood on a throne of two legs; but when the Temple was built, the world became [firmly] founded and stood solidly.[76]

Also the Jewish kingdom was firmly established by the act of the dedication of the Temple in the days of Solomon.[77] Again:

> In the days of Herod when the people were occupied with the rebuilding of the Temple, rain fell during the night but in the morning the wind blew and the clouds dispersed and the sun shone, so that the people were able to go out to their work, and then they knew that they were engaged in sacred work.[78]

As to the service performed in the Temple, most

of the rites were held to secure benefits that closely corresponded to the nature of the rites. Thus according to a saying of Rabbi Akiba:

The Torah said, Bring [an offering of] barley on [the feast of] Passover, because it is the season of the barley, in order that the crops should be blessed for you; bring [an offering of] wheat firstfruits on Pentecost which is the season of wheat, in order that the fruit of the trees should be blessed for you; pour water on [the feast of] Tabernacles, which is the season of rains, in order that the rains should become blessed for you. . . .[79]

As long as the sacrifices were offered in the Temple, the land of Israel had a wonderful fertility:

Rabbi Hiyya bar Abba (lived 3rd–4th centuries C.E.) said: When the sacrifices were brought, one measure[80] of Arbelian corn[81] when ground gave one measure of fine meal, one measure of flour, one measure of cibarium, one measure of bran-flour, one measure of bruised grain, and one measure of bran. But now, a man takes one measure of wheat to grind and does not bring back but the quantity he took along, and even a little less. Why? Because the presentation of the shewbread had ceased. See, how beneficial for them were the sacrifices which were brought upon the altar; for everything the kind of which was offered, brought blessing to its kind. . . . The bread of the commandments and the shewbread blessed the bread; the firstlings of the fruit blessed the fruit of the trees. It came to pass that Rabbi Jonathan ben Eleazar once sat under a fig-tree, and the fig-tree was full of beautiful figs. Dew fell and the figs exuded honey, and the wind kneaded them (the figs which dropped to the ground) in dust. There came a she-goat and from her dripped milk into the honey. And Rabbi Jonathan called his pupils and said to them: Come and see an example of the World to Come! And what was the reason for this [abundance]? That the sacrifices were being offered. It happened with a scribe who used to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem every

year, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem knew him to be great in [the study of] the Law. They said to him, Take [from us] fifty [pieces of] gold every year and stay with us. He said unto them, I have a vinestock which is more valuable to me than anything else. It gives me three vintages every year, making six hundred barrels every year. At the first vintage it makes three hundred barrels, at the second two hundred, and at the third one hundred, and I sell the barrels for much good money. And all this [abundance] is a praise of Jerusalem, because of the libations of wine which were offered [in the Temple]; and when they ceased all these benefits were withheld. So you find that when Israel were in the exile in Babylonia, Ezra said unto them, Go up to the Land of Israel. And they did not want. So the Holy One blessed be He said, When you offered the shewbread you sowed little and gathered plenty, but now you will sow much and gather little. . . .[82]

Shimeon the Righteous, who was of the remnants of the Great Synod, used to say:

Upon three things the world rests: upon the Torah (the Law), upon the Service, and upon deeds of charity.[83]

To this utterance, contained in the Sayings of the Fathers, it is added in the complementary work of Aboth di Rabbi Nathan:

[The world rests] upon the service. This is the service in the Temple. And so you find that all the time that the service in the Temple was performed, there was blessing in the world, and the prices were low, and the crop was plentiful, and the wine was plentiful, and man ate and was satisfied, and the beast ate and was satisfied, as it is written, "And I will send grass in thy fields for thy cattle that thou mayest eat and be full."[84] When the Temple was ruined the blessing departed from the world, as it is written, "Take heed to yourselves that your heart be not deceived and ye turn aside. . . . And the Lord's wrath be kindled against you . . . and the land yield not her fruit."[85] And even so

it is written, "And I called for a drought upon the land and upon the mountains,"[86] and so it is written, ". . . when one came to an heap of twenty [measures] there were but ten"[87] . . . and so it is written, "Ye have sown much and bring in little"[88] since the Omer (the offering of a sheaf of the firstfruit[89]) ceased. "Ye eat but ye have not enough"[90] since the shewbread ceased. "Ye drink but ye are not filled with drink" since the libations ceased. "Ye clothe you but there is none warm" since the garments of the priesthood ceased.[91] "And he that earneth wages earneth wages [to put them] into a bag with holes"[92] since the sheqalim (the yearly payment of one-third or one-half of a sheqel to the Temple[93]) ceased. And so it is written, "the fig-tree doeth not blossom"[94] since the firstfruit offerings ceased. "There is no fruit in the vines" since the libations of wine ceased. "The labour of the olive faileth" since the oil for the light and the anointing oil[95] ceased. "And the fields yield no meat"[96] since the wave offerings [of meat][97] ceased. "The flock is cut off from the fold"[98] since the continual burnt offerings[99] and additional offerings ceased. "And no herd is in the stall"[100] since the peace-offerings[101] ceased. . . .[102]

The sequel of the verses in Haggai upon which this passage is built, shows that the idea that it is the Temple upon which the fertility of the land depends was fully developed even before the Second Temple was built:

> Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Consider your ways. Go up to the mountain, and bring wood and build the house . . . ye looked for much, and, lo, it came to little. . . . Why? says the Lord of hosts. Because of mine house that is waste. . . .[103]

Rabbi Joshua made a statement to the same effect. His words are traditioned by Rabban Shimeon ben Gamliel:

Ever since the day that the Temple was destroyed there is no day without a curse, and no dew has fallen for blessing and the taste of the fruits has been taken away. Rabbi Yose said, Even the fatness of the fruits has been taken away.[104]

Rabbi Shimeon ben Eleazar said : The ritual purity which ceased caused the taste and smell of the fruit to cease. The tithe which ceased caused fat and corn to cease.[105]

So long as the service of the Temple exists, the world is full of blessing for its inhabitants, and the rains fall in their season, as it is written, ". . . to love the Lord your God and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul. That I give you the rain of your land in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain. . . ."[106] And when the service of the Temple does not exist the world has no blessings for its inhabitants and the rains do not fall in their season, as it is written, "Take heed to yourselves that your heart be not deceived. . . . And then the Lord . . . shut up the heaven that there be no rain. . . ."[107]

"Raphram bar Papa in the name of Rabh Hisda : Since the day when the Temple was destroyed the south wind has never brought rain,"[108] though it is this south wind which should "bring up drops of rain and make the grass to grow."[109] And again: "Raphram bar Papa said in the name of Rabh Hisda: Since the day when the Temple was destroyed the rains no longer come down from the Good Storehouse"[110] in which God keeps the rains of blessing.[111]

VI

The service and the mere existence of the Temple assured, in addition to the proper functioning of the fertile powers of nature, a number of other

benefits for the people. It warded off all kinds of catastrophes:

No conflagration ever broke out in Jerusalem, for the fire of the altar kept guard that no alien fire should break out. No collapse of houses ever occurred in Jerusalem, because the Shetiyyah Stone (the foundation stone of the world[112]) kept guard over all the building stones.[113]

The Tabernacle, the precursor of the Temple, assured not only material benefits but also spiritual blessings:

Rabbi Johanan said: Before the Tabernacle was built, evil spirits used to trouble the people in the world; but when the Tabernacle was built and the Shekhinah (the Presence of God) sojourned below [in it], the evil spirits ceased from the world.[114]

As to the supposed function of the Temple furnishings, we have a detailed account:

"And he made ten lavers"[115] in order to increase the rains, as there was water in the lavers. Ten lavers correspond to the ten commandments. And why did Moses not make in the wilderness more than one laver? Because Israel were in no need of rain in the wilderness, as the manna fell unto them and the well (of Miriam went everywhere) with them. Solomon made ten lavers in order to increase the rains, because (the Temple) was in an inhabited country and they were in need of much rain, as it is written, "a land of hills and valleys that drinketh water of the rain of heaven."[116] "And he made ten tables"[117] in order to increase the corn. And why did Moses only make one? Because in the wilderness they needed no corn, and when Solomon came he made ten of them in order to increase the corn. "Five on the right side and five on the left;"[118] why so? Because the south is called right and the left is called north . . . so he placed five on the right which is south, corresponding to the right side of the world whence the dews of blessing come to

the world.[119] Solomon said: By the merit of these tables set on the right side there should come rains of blessing and dews of blessing unto the world from the right. And therefore he placed five tables on the left against north which is left, whence the evils come unto the world. Solomon said: *Because of the merits of these tables set on the left, let the* evils be withheld from Israel. In a similar manner he placed of the ten lavers five on the right and five on the left. "And he made ten candlesticks of gold"[120] corresponding to the ten commandments, and in each candlestick there were seven lamps, that makes seventy, corresponding to the seventy nations; for as long as the lamps burn the nations stay in submission, and since the day that the lamps became extinguished they rose and overpowered [Israel].[121]

In short the function of the Temple furnishings was believed to be as follows:

1 The ten lavers containing water ensured the fall of abundant rain.
2 The ten tables ensured the growth of abundant crops.
3 Five lavers and five tables on the right side attracted the rains of blessing and the dews of blessing from the south.
4 Five lavers and five tables on the left side withheld the evils which come from the north.
5 The seventy burning lamps kept in submission the seventy nations of the world, that is, ensured political security for Israel.

The nations of the world, on the other hand, enjoyed benefits unsuspected by them from the Temple service:

Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said: Had the nations of the world known how beneficial the Temple is to them, they would have surrounded it by camps in order to guard it. For the Temple was more beneficial to them than to Israel. For so Solomon fixed it in his prayer, "Moreover, concerning the stranger, which is not of thy people Israel, but is come

from a far country for thy great name's sake, and thy mighty hand, and thy stretched-out arm ; if they come and pray in this house. Then hear thou from the heavens even from thy dwelling place, and *do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for* ; that all people of the earth may know thy name, and fear thee, as doth thy people Israel, and may know that this house which I have built is called by thy name." [122] But when he comes to speak of Israel, what is written? "... and render unto every man according unto all his ways, whose heart thou knowest." [123] Solomon said, Lord of the world! If he be worthy, give it (his request) to him, and if he be not worthy, do not give it to him. . . .[124]

The parts of the priestly garments which, according to Josephus Flavius, were symbolic of parts of the universe, had according to talmudic sages an important ritual function :

Just as the sacrifices atone, even so the garments [of the priests] atone.

The coat atoned for bloodshed, the drawers [125] atoned for fornication, the mitre atoned for haughtiness, the girdle atoned for the sinful thoughts of the heart, the breastplate atoned for the transgressions of judgment, the *ephod* atoned for idolatry, the robe atoned for slander, the plate on the mitre atoned for insolence.[126]

In the previous chapter it was stated that the blessing was believed to emanate from the Temple in the forms of light and water. Another medium that was held to indicate the way of blessing from the Temple was the smoke of the pile of wood which rose from the altar both on the Day of Atonement (the tenth of Tishri) and twelve days later, on the

last day of the Feast of Tabernacles. The direction of the smoke indicated the direction in which the blessing of fertility went. As the smoke of the pile of wood rose on high, the High Priest watched from the Holy of Holies and "observed and spied out the food of the entire year . . . and he came to know it from the year's beginning to its end. How was this? He watched, and if he saw that the smoke of the pile of wood rose towards the south, he knew that in the south there would be abundance, and thus to the north, and thus to the west, and thus to the east. If the smoke rose towards the firmament, he knew that in the whole world there would be abundance."[127]

We perceive that here the active influencing of nature has degenerated into mere divination, as it happened in many a case of magic among various peoples. But the direction of the smoke was by no means to be determined by a chance wind; the smoke had, according to a talmudic passage, a definite will of its own:

> The smoke arising from the pile of wood, even all the winds of the world could not move it from its place.[128]

In a similar manner the smoke of the pile of wood functioned also on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, with the difference that it did not serve to indicate the quarter that would be blessed with abundance, but rather to show whether in the coming year the weather would be generally favourable to the fertility of the land.

Rabbi Yitzhaq bar Abdimi said : On the night following the last day of the Feast, all were gazing upon the smoke ascending from the pile of wood. If it inclined northward, the poor rejoiced and the people of means were sad, because the rains of the coming year would be abundant and their fruits would rot. (Hence they would have to sell them fast, *i.e.* cheaply.) If it inclined southward, the poor were depressed and the men of means rejoiced, for there would be little rain that year and the fruit could be preserved. If it inclined eastwards, all rejoiced (because it meant average rain), if westwards, all were depressed (because the east wind dries up the fruit and the seeds and causes famine).[129]

VII

To close this lengthy description of the symbolism and function of the Temple, a few observations must now be made concerning legends in which the significance of the Temple is enhanced by the claim that it was a true likeness of a heavenly original. This idea, too, is found among other peoples, *e.g.* the Babylonians.[130] Its rudiments are discernible also in the Apocryphal literature.[131] In rabbinic literature we find statements such as: God showed Moses the heavenly Temple and said unto him: Make a likeness of it on the earth.[132] The lower Temple is set against the upper Temple.[133] The upper Holy of Holies is set against the lower Holy of Holies.[134] The throne of below, that is, the Ark, is set against the throne above :[135]

Rabbi Nathan said : The construction of the Ark is as dear (to God) as the Seat of Glory above . . . for the Temple is set against the Temple above and the Ark against the Throne.

Moses made above the Ark a cover, just as the Seraphs stand above God ; he made in the cover two Cherubs which are as dear as heaven and earth in which the seat of the Holy One blessed be He is . . . and even when the Israelites travelled they covered the Ark not with a scarlet cloth, or a purple cloth, but with an entirely blue cloth. Why ? Because the blue is like unto the sea, and the sea is like unto the firmament, and the firmament is like unto the Seat of Glory . . .[136] to teach you that the Ark was like unto the Seat of Glory.[137]

The upper Temple and the lower Temple are, moreover, very near to each other. We have already seen that the mythical distance between heaven and earth is five hundred years.[138] But at this holy spot this distance is diminished to a mere eighteen miles: since the upper Temple which is in heaven is only eighteen miles above the lower Temple which is in Jerusalem.[139]

Also the services performed in both Temples closely correspond to each other.

. . . With it (*i.e.* the Shetiyyah Stone) God created the upper Temple and the lower Temple, the one against the other. . . . In the days when the Temple existed the High Priest sacrificed and burned incense in the lower Temple, and the archangel Michael the High Priest stood opposite him and sacrificed and burned incense in the upper Temple. And when the [lower] Temple was destroyed, the Holy One blessed be He said to Michael : Michael ! Since I have destroyed my House and burned my Sanctuary and laid waste my Temple and threw down my altar, do not [continue to] offer sacrifices [which have the] form of oxen or the form of sheep or the form of goats. He (Michael) said unto him : Lord of the world ! Your children, what will happen to them ? (*i.e.* how will the sins of Israel be expiated failing the sacrifices ?). The Holy One blessed be He said to him : Offer up before me their merits and their prayers and the

souls of the righteous men that are hidden under the Seat of Glory and [the souls of] the school children, and with them I shall expiate the sins of Israel, for as long as this rejoicing (*i.e.* the Temple) existed below, there was this rejoicing above; now that the one below is mourning, this of above is mourning too. When that of below will be built anew, this of above will be built anew. . . .[140]

With this we may conclude our description of the working of the law of sympathy as discernible in the ritual of the Second Temple of Jerusalem and the abundant legendary material clustering around it. We have seen that the Temple was regarded as a miniature picture of the world, and at the same time as the centre, the Navel, of the earth. The welfare of Israel, nay, of the whole world of seventy nations, was dependent on the proper performance of the service in the Temple, each stage and each moment of which had a closely determined effect on some corresponding stage or moment in the beneficial working of the forces of nature.[141] When the Temple was destroyed the mental reaction was: now all the benefits of nature, too, have ceased. But this dejected state of mind could not last long, and, in fact, it was soon overcome, popular imagination having found another focus in which to concentrate its beliefs concerning man's power to influence nature without having recourse to ritual. Of this we shall hear later.

1 M. Hocart, *Kings and Councillors*, Cairo, 1936, pp. 220 sqq. Cf. also id., *Kingship*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 176, 191.

2 Cf. G. Buchanan Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 152 sqq.; S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, London, 1930, p. 54; etc.

3 *Satapatha Brahmana* xiii, 8, 1, 17; 5, 2, 2; vii, 1, 1, 13. Cf. vii, 5, 1, 1 sqq. as quoted by Hocart, *Kings and Councillors*, p. 222.
4 Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*, 6, as quoted by Hocart, *op. cit.* p. 223.
5 Gray, *op. cit.* p. 152; Cook, *op. cit.* 54. On the Ziqqurat cf. below, p. 117.
6 G. Maspero, *L'Archéologie Egyptienne*, Paris, 1887, p. 88; Engl. Transl. 1895, p. 90, as quoted by Hocart, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Cf. J. Capart, *Egyptian Art*, London, 1923, p. 107.
7 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv, 219; cf. ii, 883; iii, 412, as quoted by Cook, *op. cit.* p. 54.
8 Plutarch, *Numa*, 11. Cf. Dionysius Halicarnassiensis, *Ant. Rom.* ii, 66, as quoted by Hocart, *op. cit.* p. 224.
9 Plutarch, *The Life of Romulus*, 11, as quoted by Hocart, *op. cit.* p. 224.
10 O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art, A Survey of the Monuments*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 243 sq.
11 Cf. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, p. 467.
12 Gray, *op. cit.* p. 152.
13 Num. Rab. 13, 19.
14 B. Suk. 51b.
15 Ex. 30, 18.
16 Ex. 25, 31.
17 Ex. 25, 20.
18 Gen. 1, 20.
19 Lev. 1, 2.
20 Yelamdenu fragment, ed. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, vi, 88; Yalqut Shime'oni, § 719; cf. Midrash Shoher Tobh, Ps. 26; Bacher, *Ag. Pal. Am.* iii, 3, ch. 17 at the end.
21 Cf. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, p. xxxiv; Frenkel, Graetz' *Monatschrift*, xxv, 120, 330; Bacher, *Ag. Tan.* ii, ch. 18, on R. Pinhas ben Ya'ir.
22 Lev. 24, 6.
23 1 Kings 7, 21.
24 Ps. 89, 38.
25 Ps. 104, 19. In Hebrew seasons, *mo'adim*—feasts.

26 Ps. 19, 6.
27 Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed. pp. 487 sq.
28 Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore, 1942, p. 148, and also p. 139. Cf. R. B. Y. Scott, "The Pillars Jachin and Boaz," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1939, pp. 143 sqq.
29 Cf. above, p. 76.
30 1 Kings 7, 23.
31 Job 38, 38.
32 Job 37, 18.
33 1 Kings 7, 23.
34 Is. 34, 11.
35 1 Kings 7, 24 sq.
36 Job 26, 7.
37 Jer. 1, 14.
38 1 Kings 7, 25 sq.
39 Midrash Tadshe, ed. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 164 sq. Cf. Yalqut Shime'oni ad 1 Kings, § 185. In earlier times other interpretations were attached to the brazen sea and the twelve oxen, cf. Albright, *op. cit.* pp. 149–50 and notes.
40 Thus also in the Book of the Bee, cf. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 39. The heaven was represented also by the throne of Solomon, cf. Wünsche, *Solomons Thron*, etc., pp. 2 sqq.
41 And the zodiac, Josephus, *Wars*, v, 5, 5.
42 According to Philo, *Life of Moses*, 3, 10, the candlestick is the symbol of heaven. Cf. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, p. 175.
43 Cf. Josephus, *Wars*, v, 5, 5. Cf. also ib. vii, 5, 5.
44 Cf. Josephus, *Wars*, v, 5, 4.
45 Cf. Josephus, *Wars*, v, 5, 7; Sap. Sol. 18, 24.
46 Cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, iii, 7, 5; Philo, *Life of Moses*, 2, 12.
47 Josephus, *Ant.* iii, 7, 7.
48 Josephus, *Wars*, v, 5, 5. According to Philo, *Life of Moses*, 3, 10, the altar of incense was the symbol of things on earth.

49 Cf. Patai, *Man and Earth*, i, 165 sqq.
50 Hocart, *Kings and Councillors*, pp. 64, 65, 228.
51 1 Cor. 3, 16; 6, 19; cf. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*, München, 1922–1928, vol. iii, p. 335; Gulielmus Durandus, *Rat. Div. Off.*, Napoli, 1859, ii, 6, as quoted by Hocart, *op. cit.* 228.
52 Midrash Tadshe, ed. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 165; Yalqut Shime'oni ad 1 Kings, § 185.
53 Bereshith Rabbati, ed. Albeck, p. 32; cf. ib. additional sources.
54 Ex. 15, 31.
55 Prov. 20, 27.
56 Ex. 27, 1.
57 Ex. 27, 2; 30, 3.
58 Midrash Rabbi Shema'ya Hashoshani, ed. A. Berliner, *Monatschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, xiii (1864), pp. 227, 229, 230, 262.
59 New Year's Day, the Day of Atonement, the first and last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, the first and last day of Passover, and Pentecost.
60 Midrash Tadshe, ed. Epstein, *Miqqadmonioth Hayyehudim*, p. xxviii; cf. ed. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 175.
61 Midrash Tanhuma, Pequde, § 3.
62 Cf. above, p. 37.
63 Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 151–52; id., *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1920, p. 137.
64 For instance, Kahle, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, viii (1912), p. 162.
65 Ex. 28, 33–34.
66 'Inyan Hiram Melekh Tzor, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, v, 111; Yalqut Shime'oni, ii, § 367, ad Eze. 28. Cf. also Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vi, 424 sq., and above, p. 35.
67 C. Wissler, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, New York, 1929, p. 278.
68 Li Ki, vii, 4, 5 sq. as quoted by Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, London, 1926, vol. ii, p. 713.
69 Barth, *Religions of India*, pp. 47 sq., as quoted by Westermarck, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

70 Yasts, xiv, 48, as quoted by Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 661.
71 Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 2 sq.
72 Millar Burrows, *What Mean These Stones?* New Haven, 1941, p. 236.
73 Corpus Inscriptionum Himyariticarum, 74, as interpreted by D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*, London, 1924, p. 36.
74 Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 648.
75 Tanhuma Gen. ed. Buber, p. 43.
76 Tanhuma Ex. ed. Buber, p. 94. Cf. Pesiqta di Rabh Kahana, ed. Buber, pp. 5b sq.
77 Aggadath Esther, ed. Buber, p. 29. Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, iv, 40.
78 B. Ta'an. 23a, transl. Rabbinowitz, ed. Epstein, p. 115.
79 Tos. Suk. 3, 18, pp. 197 sq. Cf. Tos. Rosh Hash. 1, 12, p. 210; Y. Rosh Hash. 57b mid.; B. Rosh Hash. 16a.
80 In the original Hebrew *S'ah*, that is, appr. 12 litres.
81 Arbel was a village in Lower Galilee, to the north-west of Tiberias.
82 Tanhuma Ex. ed. Buber, p. 102½3; Tanhuma T'tzaweh § 13; Yalqut Shime'oni ad Hab. § 565; cf. B. Keth. 111b–112a; Y. Peah 20a bot.; Y. Sota 17b mid.; 24b bot.
83 M. Aboth 1, 2.
84 Deut. 11, 15.
85 Deut. 11, 16–17.
86 Haggai 1, 11.
87 Haggai 2, 16.
88 Haggai 1, 6.
89 Cf. Lev. 23, 10.
90 Haggai 1, 6, the continuation of the words quoted before. The passage is continued in the next two quotations.
91 Tanhuma Ex. ed. Buber, p. 103; Yalqut Shime'oni ad Proph. § 565.
92 Haggai 1, 6.
93 Neh. 10, 33. Cf. Ex. 30, 13.
94 Hab. 3, 17. The continuation of the verse is cited in the next two quotations.

95 Ex. 25, 6, etc.
96 Hab. 3, 17.
97 Ex. 29, 27.
98 Hab. 3, 17.
99 Ex. 29, 42.
100 Hab. 3, 17.
101 Ex. 24, 5; Lev. 3, 1, 6.
102 Aboth di Rabbi Nathan, version B, ed. Schechter, pp. 18 sq.
103 Haggai 1, 7–9.
104 M. Sotah 9, 12; cf. Tos. Sotah 15, 2, p. 321.
105 B. Sotah 49a; Tos. Sot. 15, 2, p. 321.
106 Deut. 11, 13–14.
107 Deut. 11, 16–17; Aboth di Rabbi Nathan, version A, ed. Schechter, pp. 19–20, version B, ch. 5, pp. 18–19.
108 B. Bab. Bath. 25b.
109 B. Bab. Bath. 25a–b.
110 B. Bab. Bath. 25b.
111 Cf. Deut. 28, 12.
112 Cf. above, p. 85.
113 Aboth di Rabbi Nathan, 35, 1.
114 Num. Rab. 12, 3; cf. Midrash Shoher Tobh, Ps. 91; Pesiqta Rabbati 80, 5.
115 2 Chron. 4, 6.
116 Deut. 11, 11.
117 2 Chron. 4, 8.
118 2 Chron. 4, 8.
119 Cf. Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 3.
120 2 Chron. 4, 7.
121 Midrash Tadshe, ed. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 164 sqq.; cf. Yalqut Shime'oni ad 1 Kings, § 185.
122 2 Chron. 6, 32–33.
123 ib. verse 30.
124 Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, p. 5; cf. ib. Ex. p. 93 sq.; Num. Rab. 1, 3; in Lev. Rab. 1, 11 there is a similar legend concerning the Tabernacle.
125 A. V.: "breeches," Ex. 28, 42.
126 B. 'Arakhin 16a; B. Zebahim 88b. A somewhat

different interpretation is found in Y. Yoma 44b bot. Cf. also Lev. Rab. 10, 6; Cant. Rab. ad 4, 1; Yalqut Shime'oni i, § 513.

127 Tanhuma Lev. ed. Buber, p. 60; Tanhuma 'Ahare Moth 3; Lev. Rab. 20, 4; Pesiqta Rabbati 190b.

128 B. Yoma 21b.

129 B. Bab. Bath. 147a; B. Yoma 21b. Weather auguries by means of smoke are practised to the present day by some peoples, f.i. the Swedes; cf. Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte*, i, 509.

130 Jeremias, *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, pp. 62 sq.

131 Charles, *Secrets of Enoch*, xix, 6; xxi, 1; Test. Levi iii, 5; and his commentary on Rev. iv, 6; Cook, *The Rel. of Anc. Pal. in the Light of Arch.*, p. 54.

132 Ex. Rab. 35, 6; cf. ib. 33, 4.

133 Midrash Shoher Tobh, Ps. 30; cf. Gen. Rab. 55, 7, p. 591; Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, v, 63; Eisenstein, *Otzar Midrashim*, 70, etc. A similar idea exists in Moslem tradition concerning the Ka'aba in Mecca, cf. Zamahshari ad Sura 52, 4; Ibn el Atir I. 28; Lane, s.v. *cataq* and s.v. *camarq*; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 36.

134 Cant. Rab. 3, 10; 4, 4.

135 Mekhilta Beshallah, ed. Horowitz-Rabin, pp. 149–50.

136 On the significance of the blue colour cf. Patai, *T'kheleth*, *in Ludwig Blau Memorial Volume*, Budapest, 1938, pp. 174 sqq.

137 Num. Rab. 4, 13.

138 See above, p. 110. This is what is meant by the expression "the thickness of the firmament."

139 Gen. Rab. 69, 7, p. 797; cf. Midrash Sekhel Tobh, p. 142.

140 Seder 'Arqim, ed. Eisenstein, *Otzar Midrashim*, p. 70. Cf. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, v, 63. Allusions to this legend are found also in B. Hag. 12b; cf. Yalqut Shime'oni ad Wayishlah 33, § 132.

141 After a survey of the "cosmic significance of various parts of the construction and paraphernalia of the Temple

of Solomon" Albright remarks that this Temple "possessed a rich cosmic symbolism which was largely lost in later Israelite and Jewish tradition" (*Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore, 1942, p. 154). I think that in view of the material presented above, this sentence should now be modified.

Chapter Five

SINS AND CALAMITIES

I

We have seen in the previous chapters that in popular imagination the fall of rain was conceived of as a union between the male and the female elements in nature. We have also seen that the yearly fall of rain was assured by a great annual feast, the "Joy of the House of Water-Drawing." Among the ritual performances of this feast we believe that traces have been found of that ritual union between the human sexes which was supposed by a great number of peoples to be necessary for the inducement of a similar union between the elements. Many peoples who indulge in such a sexual liberty of ritual import, when celebrating the great marriage-festival of Heaven and Earth, obey during all the rest of the year the strictest rules in their sexual relationships. Just as on such ritual occasions it is prescribed to indulge in sexual liberty in order to promote the fertility of the fields, so on the remaining days any kind of illicit love is strictly forbidden, lest it damage the crops or cause other harmful reactions in nature. In many primitive cultures incest, adultery or fornication, which usually cover a much wider range of prohibitions than among civilized peoples, are regarded as the most serious crimes, and are believed to result in

plagues, floods, droughts, famines or other calamities. Underlying this is the same belief in sympathy between man and nature on which rest also the Sacred Marriage and the ritual orgies. This belief in the reaction of nature has two complementary sides. On the positive side is the idea that the union of the human sexes is necessary in order to bring about the union of the male and female elements of nature. On the negative side we find the idea that man must refrain from illicit connections lest they cause illicit connections between the elements. Such illicit acts on the part of the forces of nature form the great natural calamities.

The analogy between the "illicit love" in society and that in nature is clearest in cases where human fornication is believed to cause storms, torrential rains and flood, which are regarded as illicit, unruly and unrestrained love between the male elements—such as the sky, the wind, the rain—and the female earth. Among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo, for instance, "immorality among the unmarried is supposed to bring a plague of rain upon the earth as a punishment inflicted by *Petara*," the supreme being.[1] The Galelareese of Halmahera, a large East Indian island, believe that when it rains in torrents somebody is guilty of incest.[2] The people of Mindanao, in the Philippines, believe that incestuous unions cause floods.[3] The Old Catholics among the South Slavs believe that a village in which the seducer is not compelled to marry his victim will be punished with hail and excessive rain.[4] In India, torrential rains

outside the rainy season are believed to indicate that too many marriages have taken place.[5] This last example, though it does not refer to fornication, yet expresses an idea belonging to the same trend of thought, namely, that excessive intercourse between the human sexes causes excessive intercourse between the elements.

These examples, drawn from all over the world, could be multiplied at will, but this would only be repetition. Let us instead turn to Jewish thought in which the analogy between fornication and the resulting calamity is expressed perhaps more clearly than anywhere else. We have heard already that in Apocryphal and rabbinic literature the great flood was regarded as the union between the upper male waters and the lower female waters.[6] This illicit and unnatural union between the two kinds of waters was brought about, according to the Midrash, by the illicit and unnatural sins such as paederasty and intercourse with animals, committed by the generation of the deluge :[7]

> The generation of the deluge was exterminated from the face of the earth through being immersed in fornication.[8]

Moreover, the sin and its consequent punishment had many sides in common: "Rabbi Yose ben Durmasqith said: They (the generation of the deluge) sinned with their eyes which are like unto water (by looking at strange women and inviting them to immorality), even so the Holy One blessed be He did not punish them but with water. Rabbi Levi said: They spoiled their seed (by having adulterous

and unnatural connections), even so the Holy One blessed be He upset unto them the order of the world."[9] Rabh Hisda said: "They sinned with a hot thing (namely, the heat of fornication), and with a hot thing were they punished,"[10] namely, as Rabbi Johanan put it, "every drop of water that the Holy One blessed be He let fall on them, He boiled in hell, then brought it up and let it fall upon them."[11] So it happened that the hot waters of the Deep "scalded their flesh and flayed them. . . ."[12] Moreover "the waters of deluge were thick like the male *semen*."[13] The duration of the rain that accompanied the deluge had also its analogy in the sin that caused it. They spoiled by illicit intercourse the form of the embryo which develops into an animated being forty days after conception,[14] by causing women to conceive bastards, therefore the rains of the deluge fell forty days and nights.[15] On the other hand, during all the time that Noah and his wife, as well as his sons and their wives, spent in the ark, they had to abstain from sexual intercourse,[16] an interdiction which can be well understood if one keep in mind the Indian belief quoted above, concerning the influence of numerous weddings on rain.

The rabbinic material on this point could be amplified, and other points added, as for instance the very interesting idea found both in rabbinic sources and among other peoples, that also fornications committed by animals among themselves cause storms and floods. There is, however, no need to elaborate this point further.

II

The next point to consider is a seemingly opposing belief, that the sin of fornication causes drought. In this cycle of ideas the sympathetic connection between man's actions and the reaction of nature is less easy to discern. None the less, the principle is the same: a disturbance in society causes a disturbance in nature.

We may forego here to demonstrate by examples the working of this notion among various peoples; the notion that fornication causes drought and other disturbances in nature being by now a commonplace in anthropological literature. Let us only mention that were one to follow the method of the classical evolutionist school, the data concerning this notion would readily lend themselves to a developmental alignment. The primitive stage would be that in which the sin itself brings about the disturbance. At a later stage it would be the earth that punishes the offender and his community by withholding the crops. At a still later stage the earth would assume the character of an earth-goddess or an earth-god; and ultimately the god would emancipate himself from his earthly attributes and grant reward and punishment in accordance with his moral code.

In this book it has been my aim to collect from biblical and talmudic literature statements and passages in which one can still discern the belief in the direct influence of man's behaviour on the physical world. Such cases, however, of the working of

sympathy between man and nature are relatively extremely few, and to judge the character of biblical and rabbinic literature according to them only, would be definitely erroneous. In order to avoid such a distorted impression, it is necessary to emphasize that the vast majority of the material preserved in biblical and rabbinic literature pertains to a stage in which man's attempts to influence nature have to pass through the mediation of God to whom alone man is responsible and nature subject.

One of the few cases in the Bible in which direct influence over nature is attributed to man's doings is a passage in Job in which the suffering Job declares that he is innocent of adultery :

> If mine heart have been enticed by a woman, or if I have laid wait at my neighbour's door. Then let my wife grind unto another and let others bow down upon her. For this is an heineous crime . . . for it is a fire that consumeth to destruction and uproots all my crops.[17]

Here we have the familiar idea stated quite clearly: adultery uproots the crops, causes famine.

Less clear, but still worth mentioning in this connection, are the passages containing admonitions to the people of Israel not to commit incest, adultery, and other sexual transgressions, the consequence of which would be that "the land would vomit out her inhabitants."[18] The meaning of this phrase becomes clear when we compare it to other similar warnings, where the threatened punishment consists of the absence of rain and the famine following in its wake. It is in consequence of famine that

the people are forced to leave the land, that the land vomits them out,[19] as it happened with Abraham, Isaac, the sons of Jacob, and Elimelech the father-in-law of Ruth.[20]

Also post-biblical Jewish literature yields ample evidence to the effect that fornication was regarded as the arch-sin, the greatest and gravest of all crimes, most hateful to God. In the Book of Jubilees we read, "and there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth. . . ."[21] The opinion that God shows patience and forgiveness to all crimes with the sole exception of fornication, or that God hates fornication, was expressed by a great number of talmudic sages.[22] Fornication was regarded as the cause of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorra,[23] and, according to Rabbi Simlai, it inevitably brings in its train great calamities in which the good and the wicked perish alike.[24]

It is interesting to note how the atonement for the arch-sin of fornication was alluded to in the ritual of Water-libation. In an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the wicks of the lamps lighted at the beginning of the festival were made of worn-out drawers and girdles of the priests. In the Jerusalem Talmud, which deals with this part of the ritual more closely, only the drawers of the priests are mentioned.[25] It is, moreover, stated there that from the worn-out drawers of the High Priest were made the wicks for the inner lamps, while those of the outer lamps were prepared from the drawers of ordinary priests. It would seem strange that such a minor detail as the

stuff of which the wicks of the inner and outer lamps were made should receive so much attention. The answer is that these wicks too had their ritual significance. They were made of the drawers of the priest; and the drawers, we shall recall, were just that part of the priestly garments which was supposed to atone for fornication. Thus the use of the garments as wicks may have served to indicate that the arch-sin of fornication on account of which the rains might be withheld was duly atoned for, and its blighting power put to naught.

III

Although fornication was generally recognized as the arch-sin, disastrous effects on the order of nature were ascribed also to quite a number of other sins. The assumption that all kinds of grave sins lie at the root of any disturbance in the proper functioning of the natural forces, such as drought, famine, bad crops, pestilence, and so on is fundamental in the biblical doctrine of sin, though here too, as in the instance of fornication, cause and effect are mostly connected with each other only through the central link of the divine judgment. All the same it is still God who gives the rains and the crops, if the people deserve it. This is explicitly stated in a great many biblical passages,[26] and elsewhere the idea is implicit.[27] It is because drought and famine were regarded as the manifest proof of sins committed by the people that

Ezekiel speaks of the "disgrace of famine,"[28] and that the people, when perceiving that the cisterns were empty, were overpowered by a feeling not of despair, as we might expect, but of shame, so vividly pictured by Jeremiah.[29]

The same idea prevails in Apocryphal literature, from which let us quote only two passages, both from the Book of Enoch, to show the supposed disturbing effect of sins on nature:

And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened,
And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,
And all things on the earth shall alter,
And shall not appear in their time:
And the rain shall be kept back
And the heaven shall withhold (it).
And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward,
And shall not grow in their time,
And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.
And the moon shall alter her order,
And not appear at her time. . . .
And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed).
And these shall alter their orbits and tasks,
And not appear at the seasons prescribed for them. . . .
And evil shall be multiplied upon them.
And punishment shall come upon them,
So as to destroy all.[30]

Now for the second passage: "Now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in heaven, from the sun and the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute judgment on the righteous. And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist and dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld

because of you from descending upon you, and they shall be mindful of your sins. And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descending upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend. When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snowstorms with all their plagues fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them."[31]

Now as to rabbinic sources, here we find in addition to fornication quite a number of sins that are expressly stated by one or more of the sages to be the cause—or even the exclusive cause—of drought. Such sins are: idolatry, bloodshed, promises of charity which were not kept, the neglect of heave offerings and tithes, slander, insolence, the neglect of the Torah (the Law), and violent robbery.[32] We cannot here discuss each one of these sins and their harmful consequences in the working of nature. But there is a group of three sins, the harmful effects of which on the heavenly water-supply is emphasized in talmudic literature,[33] and which constitute the three cardinal sins. These deserve closer examination. The three cardinal sins are Idolatry, Fornication, and Bloodshed. These three cardinal sins constitute a special group within the religious precepts. "Rabbi Johanan said in the name of Rabbi Shimeon ben Jehozadaq: By a majority vote it was resolved in the upper chambers of the house of Nithza in Lydda that in every [other] law of the Torah if a man is commanded, 'Transgress and suffer not death!' he may

transgress and not suffer death, excepting idolatry, fornication, and bloodshed."[34] Idolatry, fornication and bloodshed defile the earth and cause the Shekhinah, the Presence of God, to withdraw.[35] These three sins caused the Temple to be destroyed.[36] They were conceived of as the three *tum'oth*, defilements, which had to be atoned for by the High Priest on the Day of Atonement.[37] The nature of the impurity attached to these sins and of their defiling effect was investigated by Buchler in his usual thorough and painstaking manner.[38] We need not therefore go into this matter all over again, but can instead directly tackle the question of how the ancient Jews conceived of the reaction of physical nature to these three cardinal sins.

IV

We have already spoken of the evil consequences of the second of these sins, fornication, and have adduced evidence to show that it was what could be termed the original sin. Idolatry, though it is persistently mentioned in the first place whenever the three cardinal sins are enumerated, is, when compared with fornication, secondary. The fact that in the Bible idolatry is constantly referred to, and pictured, as "whoredom,"[39] shows this clearly enough. As to the consequence of idolatry in the way of punishment effected through the forces of nature, it is expressly stated: "Take heed to yourselves that

your heart be not deceived and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them; for then the Lord's wrath be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven, that there be no rain and that the land yield not her fruit; and ye perish quickly from off the good land which the Lord giveth you."[40] It is more than probable that when talmudic sages, such as for instance Rabbi Yishmael, speak of idolatry as a sin that defiles the land,[41] they have this passage in mind, defiled land being a land that shows the signs of barrenness. In fact, when in the Jerusalem Talmud the sins that cause drought are enumerated, the sin of idolatry and its effect, drought, are included with reference to the above quoted passage. This conception of idolatry as a sin that causes drought found its ritual expression in the festivities of Water-libation, when the participants emphasized their innocence of precisely this sin, saying: "Our fathers who were on this place [stood with] their backs toward the Sanctuary and their faces toward the east, and they prostrated themselves eastward to the sun (that is, they practised idolatry); but as for us, our eyes are turned to the Lord (that is, we serve only God).[42] When desiring to bring about a fall of rain, one would do well to declare one's innocence of one of the cardinal sins that cause drought.

The third cardinal sin, bloodshed, is well attested as a cause of other harmful reactions in the physical world besides the shutting up of the rains. The blighting effect of bloodshed on the fertility of the earth is reflected in the story of the first fratricide.

God said to Cain: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength. . . ."[43] Other biblical passages confirm that this is the result of polluting the earth by bloodshed.[44] This it is which has to be prevented by the performance of the rite of breaking a heifer's neck when the victim of an unknown murderer has been found.[45]

The belief in the blighting influence of bloodshed can easily be attested also from rabbinic literature. A legend has it that in the days of the creation all the trees had a wondrous fruit-bearing capacity. But when Cain murdered Abel, this fertility shrank and vanished.[46] According to another source, "When Cain killed his brother Abel all kinds of seeds and all kinds of trees which grew in the share of Abel the righteous, became blighted and sat in mourning and did not bring forth any fruit but fodder for the beasts . . . when Abel was killed the vine ceased to produce 926 kinds of fruit and nothing remained but one single kind. . . ."[47] Rabbi Jacob ben Nathanel tells in his *Book of Voyages* that in Caesarea there is the cave of the ten martyrs, the ten sages who were executed in connection with the revolt of Bar Kochba, and "no grass ever grows on the spot where these righteous men were killed."[48] The belief that grass will not grow on the spot where a man has been murdered is prevalent also among other peoples.[49]

V

Having now seen something of the sympathetic effect of the three cardinal sins, idolatry, fornication and bloodshed, on nature, let us go on to consider the expression of the supposed relationship between the sins of man and the reaction of nature. Of particular interest in this connection is the opinion of Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai who supposed that there exists a definite correspondence between the behaviour of the people and the nature of the rain.

Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai said: If Israel were good on New Year, and plenty of rain was allotted to them, and finally they sinned, it is impossible to diminish the rains once the decision has been passed. So what does the Holy One blessed be He do? He disperses the rains over seas and deserts and rivers, that the earth may not enjoy them. . . . If Israel were not good on New Year and little rain was allotted, and finally they repented, to add to the rains is impossible once the decision has been passed. So what does the Holy One blessed be He do to them? He causes the rains to descend *directly to the earth and causes dews to come* and winds to blow with them, that the earth may enjoy them. . . .[60]

Elsewhere it is repeatedly stated that though sins are punished with drought, repentance can alleviate the situation. This was in accordance with the ancient ritual practice performed in the Temple and elaborated in later times. The first ten days of the year, from New Year to the Day of Atonement (1–10 of Tishri), are the "ten days of repentance." On the Day of Atonement the forgiveness of God is

appealed to, and five days later the Feast of Tabernacles begins, which in its ancient ritual form was mainly devoted to the obtaining of the rains and the blessing of the fields.[51] What was thus performed in practice was succinctly expressed by the sages as a moral lesson in sayings such as, "The rains do not fall unless the sins of Israel have been forgiven,"[52] or, "When repentance ascends from the earth, immediately the rains fall,"[53] and the like.[54]

Just as fornication was not the only sin that affected nature, so drought was not the only ill consequence of man's wicked behaviour. In fact all the major misfortunes that befell Israel were attributed to their sins, to their transgression of God's commandments. In the following saying of Raphram bar Papa in the name of Rabh Hisda, the misfortune of insufficient rains appears as bound up with that greatest of all national catastrophes in the life of Israel, the loss of their native land: "While Israel fulfills the will of God, and Israel is on his own land, the rains come down from the good Storehouse (which is in heaven). But when Israel is not settled on his own land the rains do not come down from the good Storehouse."[55] Still other dread consequences are attributed to Israel's disobedience :

While Israel does the will of God and brings out his tithes as prescribed, "the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it (the land) from the beginning of the year even to the end of the year,"[56] and it (the land) does not suffer any harm. But when Israel does not do the will of God, and does not bring out his tithes as prescribed, "he looketh on the earth and it trembleth."[57]

But not only the blessings and punishment that come upon Israel are determined by the behaviour of the people; Israel is responsible for the very existence of the whole world. "Rabbi Hiyya bar Abba said in the name of Rabbi Johanan: . . . The earth said (in the hour when God gave the Torah to Israel), Say that Israel does not accept the Torah, and I shall return into my waters as I was. Thus also said Rabbi in the name of Rabbi Aha: . . . the world already was dissolving. Were it not that Israel stood before Mount Sinai (where the Torah was given) and said, 'All that the Lord hath said we will do and be obedient,'[58] the earth had returned to Tohu, to the void."[59] Of the numerous other sayings to the same effect let us mention the following:

"God said: Israel made peace between me and my world. Were it not for Israel, I would have destroyed my world." "When Israel accepted the commandment (which begins with the words) 'I am the Lord thy God'[60] the world became firmly founded." "All the benefits which come to the world come only for the merit of Israel. The rains do not fall but for his merit, the dews do not descend but for his merit."[61] "Were it not for Israel the rain would not fall unto the world, nor would the sun shine; only for the merit of Israel does the Holy One blessed be He give ease to the world."[62] ". . . even peace comes to the world only for your merit."[63] "The very families which live on the earth are blessed but for the sake of Israel . . . the very ships that sail from Gaul to Spain are blessed but for the sake of Israel."[64]

All the nations of the world are guarded by God for the sake of Israel.[65] The Sanhedrin, the Great Council, which holds its meetings in the very navel of the earth, protects the whole world.[66] And

oppressed and persecuted Israel pleads before the nations of the world :

"*Were it not for Israel, there would be no blessings in the* world . . . were it not for Israel, the heavenly lights would not shine . . . and the rains would not fall. . . . And Israel said to the nations of the world : All these the Holy One blessed be He gives unto you for our sake and still you hate us. . . . I sacrifice seventy bullocks on the feast for the seventy nations and I pray for them that the rains may fall, *but, alas, 'In return for my love they hate me!'*"[67]

VI

Nothwithstanding the great variety of sins resulting in natural calamities, the fact remains that fornication was looked upon as the arch-sin, the sin most hateful to God, the one sin that He can never forgive.[68] If we bear this in mind we shall most readily understand the important role that children played, and still play, in the rain-making ceremonies of so many peoples.[69] The travellers and writers who tell of the participation of children in these ceremonies often fail to mention why precisely children take part in them. But when they do tell us of the reason for the children's participation, this reason is invariably stated to be the innocence of the children. In Arab and Oriental Jewish communities the children are taught to sing during the ceremony verses in which they stress their innocence. Among the fellahin of Palestine rain-processions take place in the streets of the villages. In Northern Palestine, in *Tibnin* for instance, boys and girls walk about in the streets, each carrying

a stick to which is attached a rag which they dip into water. The adults sprinkle water on the children who sing:

Ya rabbina ya rabbina	O our Lord, O our Lord,
tib'a shite lizar'ina	give rain to our seed,
hinne kebār elaznabu	they are big who have sinned,
nehna zghār shū zambina	we are small, what are our sins ?

In *Kufr Abil* the children sing:

Ya rabbēna ya rabbēna	O our Lord, O our Lord,
ehna zghār esh zambēna	we are small, what are our sins ?
talabna khubz min ummēna	we asked bread from our mother,
darbatna 'ala thummena	she hit us on our mouth.

The first two lines of this doggerel verse are sung also in many other places in Palestine.[70] In still other places the innocence of the children is taken for granted and only the sins of the village elders are stressed. In *Beit Jala*, in southern Palestine, when there is a drought, all the children assemble with much noise, and run from one street to another, beating empty tins and singing:

Ya rabbina ma tuakhidna	O our Lord, do not punish us,
kullu min mashāyihna	everything [bad comes] from our elders,
mashāyihna halikbār	our elders, the great ones,
ya rabbi tihriqhun finnār	O my Lord, burn them in fire!

Since the inhabitants of *Beit Jala* are Christians, the children also appeal to St. Nicholas:

Mār Inqula jīna lēk	St. Nicholas, we have come to you,
shukhb elmatar dākhil lēk	O stream of rain, I implore you,
w'ihna 'lyōm 'abīdak	we are to-day your servants,
muftāh assamā fīdak	the key of heaven is in your hand,
haiy imbū, haiy imbū	bring water, bring water!

Dr. Canaan who published these songs remarks that the word *imbū* is baby talk all over Palestine for "water." Let us also remark that some of the rain-processions are composed exclusively of children.[71]

Among the Arabs of Kerak in Transjordan almost exactly the same words are addressed to a saint of whom the Bible tells that he brought rain, namely Elijah.[72]

Among the semi-Bedouin of *Sawakhereh al-Wad* the oldest woman of the village is placed on the back of a donkey, in front of her a hand-mill which she keeps turning. She is led thus through the fields accompanied by a troop of village children carrying a cock which they torment in order to make it cry aloud. The old woman sings the rain-song, and the children shout the response which consists of almost the same words as those sung by the children of *Kufr Abil*, in which they stress their innocence.[73]

Such a procession with an old woman on donkey-back is arranged in many other places in Palestine as a rain-charm. The presence of the old woman in the rain-making ceremony gives a valuable clue to the nature of the sins the absence of which qualifies the children as rain-makers. The old woman, as Canaan observes, participates in the procession because she is *qat'a*, that is, free from menstruation, and therefore *tahrā*, pure.[74] A similar kind of purity, namely purity from sexual sins, is that which distinguishes here the children from the adults. To use Dalman's words, "the sinlessness of the old woman who can no longer sin and of the children

who cannot yet sin" renders the request for rain more efficacious.[75] Thus we come once more to the same idea of fornication as the arch-sin that causes drought, and the absence of fornication as an absolute condition of the proper functioning of nature.

One might think that in respect of children it is their innocence in the broader sense of the word that is meant, and not necessarily innocence of sexual connections. But on examining the matter more closely, we soon realize that this impression is false. By "children" is generally understood boys and girls who have not yet reached puberty. Such children, and particularly the older among them, can and do commit all kinds of sins, such as lying, theft, robbery, and even bloodshed. The one sin that they are quite certainly incapable of committing is fornication. That this is the sin the absence of which makes children so efficacious in rain-processions, becomes even more clear when we find that old women whose sexual life is over are also held to have the same efficacy. For there is no doubt that as regards all other sins, such women are in no way different from other adults.

Let us now turn to the role of children in the rain-ceremonies of Oriental Jewish communities. In oriental countries in general the Jews have acquired, for one reason or another, a special reputation as rain-makers. Their rain-ceremonies are, in fact, often more elaborate than those of the surrounding Moslems. In Jewish rain-prayers the participation of children is a *conditio sine qua non*.

In Morocco the Jews send four children to the streets to march about holding the four edges of a white linen sheet. The children sing:

sabūla 'atshāna	the sheaf is thirsty
ghithha yā mulāna	water it, O our Lord!

and the people whom they pass pour water on the sheet.[76] In times of drought the children also sing:

O rain! fall! fall!
Richess is given by God.
His children are in the forest,
They call: "O father!
Buy me a shirt,
A shirt of carrots."
We have nothing to bite,
Nibble! nibble! Whatever can be nibbled.[77]

Among the Jews of Kurdistan, in Sineh, the skull of an ass is taken to the roof of a house and water is poured through it on to the ground. At the same time children collect pieces of wood, light them on the roof as a bonfire and throw the skull into it.[78] In Meshhed, in Persia, the prayers for rain are connected if possible with a circumcision ceremony. If in times of drought there chances to be a circumcision, the rain-prayers are said in the synagogue after the circumcision, while one of the supplicants holds the crying infant in his arms.[79] In the Caucasus, among the mountain-Jews, in times of drought, as Hahn reports, "children march round the churchyard several times and call upon Semirei, the god of rain."[80] Among the Yemenite Jews little schoolchildren are called upon to pray to God for rain.

They are bid to sit on the floor in the middle of the synagogue, and the head of the synagogue addresses them as follows: "Holy seed (that is, children, the seed of Abraham), why are you silent, call strongly to our merciful Father, perchance He will listen to your voices and hearken to the breath of your mouths; the voice of the herd that has not sinned will reach the ears of our merciful Father." Yemenite Jewish children also used to have songs that contain requests for rain, and these were sung to their everyday games.[81]

A very similar role was already allotted to children in talmudic times in rain-requests. In the Babylonian Talmud it is related that "when the world was in need of rain the rabbis would send school-children to Hanan-who-hid-himself, and they would take hold of the hem of his garment and say to him, Father, father, give us rain! Thereupon he would plead with the Holy One blessed be He: Master of the universe, do it for the sake of these who cannot distinguish between the Father who gives rain and the father who does not give rain."[82]

VII

After this digression on folk-custom we can now view with more understanding the role that children played in the Feast of Tabernacles in Second Temple days. It was their purity that qualified them to perform the various functions, which negligible as

they may seem at first glance had no doubt their ritual significance.

The first of these was the lighting of the candlesticks, which was performed by four "children of the flowers of priesthood," that is, priestly children. The meaning of the term "*pirhē k'hunah*," flowers of priesthood, is young priests,[83] but the Mishnah[84] in which the lighting of the candlesticks is described expressly states that it was done by "*four children* (*y'ladim*) of the flowers of priesthood." It is the children precisely, of whose ritual purity there can be no doubt, who have to perform the highly significant act of the lighting of the lamps, which was the beginning of all the festivities, just as the words "let there be light" were the beginning of the whole creation of the world.[85]

The second scene in which children are mentioned took place on the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles, after the altar had been beaten with the willow or palm-branches.[86] As soon as this was over, "immediately the children snatched their lulabs and ate their ethrogs."[87] Already the sages of the Talmud who lived but a few generations after the codification of the Mishnah,[88] no longer knew what exactly the children did on this occasion, as can be seen from the discussion on the subject. Later commentators, like Rashi and Obadia di Bertinoro, even held, in contradiction to the simple meaning of the text, that it was the adults who snatched away the lulabs of the children and ate the ethrogs of the children. What really happened becomes clear from a rabbinic legend

telling of a pious man who gave his last pieces of money to charity and thus could not buy food for the last day of the feast :

He was ashamed to go home, so he went to the synagogue and saw there (lying about) some of those ethrogs which the children threw on the day of Hoshana (that is the seventh day of the feast). . . . He took from them and filled his sack with them and went and sailed on the great sea (that is the Mediterranean) until he came to the city of the king. When he arrived there, it so happened that the king felt a pain in his intestines and they told him in a dream : Your remedy is to eat from those ethrogs which the Jews pray with on the day of Hoshana. At that hour they searched all the ships and all the towns and did not find. They went and found that man sitting on a sack. They said to him, Have you something (to sell) ? He said to them, I am a poor man, and I have nothing to sell. They searched his sack and found some of these ethrogs. They said to him : From where are these ? He said to them, From those with which the Jews pray on the day of Hoshana. They took the sack and brought it before the king. The king ate these ethrogs and recovered. They emptied the sack and filled it with golden denars.[89]

Let us combine the information contained in the Mishnah with that given by this story concerning the children and the ethrogs. The Mishnah reported that the children snatched their lulabs and ate their ethrogs. In this story we find that they threw at each other their ethrogs, which then remained scattered on the floors. The eating of the ethrogs thus seems to be reduced to a simple taking a bite into the fruit, which, as a matter of fact, is much too bitter in its unripe state in September-October to be really eatable. The picture that thus emerges from the only too meagre data is a joyful play of children

throwing at each other their lulabs and ethrogs.[90] As to the ritual significance of this children's game we have to rely entirely upon analogous practices of other peoples, of which let us quote one prevalent in Morocco. At Aglu the food received by the participants in the rain-processions is finally handed over to a woman who has five or six children alive (that is, a woman who is particularly blessed), and she prepares it. The food is then eaten by the children of the village who have assembled in her house, nobody else partaking of the meal. It is believed that if the children play with the food, throwing it at one another, the year will be plentiful, whereas if they behave sedately at the meal the year will be bad.[91]

In talmudic times the children were regarded as one of the pillars upon which rest the existence and the welfare of Israel and the nations :

> Rabbi Abba bar Kahana said : There were in the world no philosophers (here meaning clever and cunning men) like unto Balaam the son of Beor and Oenomaus of Gadara.[92] All the nations of the world came unto Oenomaus of Gadara and said to him : Tell us, shall we be able to destroy this nation (Israel) ? He said : Go and make the rounds of their synagogues and schools, if you find there infants twittering with their voices you will not be able to harm them ; but if not, you will be able to harm them. For so has their Father promised them, "The voice is Jacob's voice but the hands are the hands of Esau"[93]—when Jacob is twittering in the synagogues, Esau (that is, the gentiles) has no hands (no power over them).[94]

What applies to the whole nation holds good also for each of its cities :

Resh Laqish said to Rabbi Jehuda the Prince : I have this tradition from my fathers . . . every town in which there are no school children shall be destroyed.

So, in fact, it happened with Jerusalem:

Rabh Hamnuna said : Jerusalem was destroyed only because school children ceased (from study).

According to another sage, Rabha, Jerusalem was destroyed only because "men of faith" ceased in it.[95] But as the children do not know sin, their merit is even greater than that of the "men of faith" or of sages who devoted their entire life to the study of the Torah :

Rabbi Shimeon ben Laqish said in the name of Rabbi Jehuda the Prince : The world exists only for the sake of the breath of school children. Rabh Papa said to Abbaye : And what of yours and mine ? He answered him : A breath in which there is sin is not like unto a breath in which there is no sin.[96]

There remains now for us to speak of the men of faith, the Pious and the Righteous, and of their place and role in connection with the order of the world. Of this we shall hear in the last chapter.

1 Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii, 675 ; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii, 108 ; id., *The Devil's Advocate*, 47.
2 Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii, 111 ; id., *The Devil's Advocate*, 54.
3 Lord Raglan, *Jocasta's Crime* (Thinker's Library, No. 80), London, 1940, p. 10.
4 F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, Wien, 1885, p. 204, as quoted by Frazer, *The Devil's Advocate*, p. 98.
5 R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, London, 1927, iii, 199.

6 Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, 23 ; Henoch 54, 7–10. Cf. above, chapter iii, p. 62. In biblical thought torrential rains and the flood itself are regarded as the expression of God's wrath, cf. Gen. 6, 6–7 ; Ez. 13, 11, 13 ; 38, 22.

7 Gen. Rab. 26, 5, p. 248 ; cf. Lev. Rab. 23, 9 ; Tanhuma Gen. ed. Buber, pp. 16, 24; Tanhuma Bereshith 12; also other sexual transgressions, cf. Gen. Rab. 31, 1–2, p. 270 sq.

8 Lev. Rab. 23, 9.

9 Gen. Rab. 32, 7, p. 294 ; cf. B. Sanh. 108a.

10 B. Sanh. 108b ; cf. B. Rosh Hash. 12a ; B. Zebahim 113b.

11 Gen. Rab. 28, 9, p. 267 ; cf. Y. Sanh. 29b bot. ; Lev. Rab. 7, 6; Eccl. Rab. ad 9, 4.

12 Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 22 end ; cf. also Yalqut Shime'oni ad Is. 64, 1, § 508. Cf. also Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, v, 178, note 26 and the sources referred to there. As to the idea of "measure for measure" in connection with the sins of the generation of the deluge and their punishment, cf. ib. p. 183, note 42. The idea is expanded in the Zohar, Gen. 62a, 66a.

13 B. Sanh. 108b. Cf. B. Rosh Hash. 12a ; B. Zebahim 113b.

14 The belief that the embryo becomes a living being, "animatus," forty days after the conception, is an ancient Greek idea which penetrated into Christianity and Judaism. Cf. Aristotle, *De animalibus historiae*, vii, 3; Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, vii, 6 ; Philo, *Questiones in Gen.* i, 25 ; ii, 14 ; St. Augustine, *Quest. in Exodum*, 80; *Quest. Veteris et Novi Test.* 23, Migne xxxiv–xxxv, 626, 2229 ; Gratian, *Decretum*, ii, 32, 2, 8 sq. ; Ephraim i, 149E, Ephr. Syri *Op. Omn.* ed. P. Benedictus and Assemanus, Roma, 1737–43 ; M. Niddah 3, 7 ; Tos. Niddah 4, 17, p. 645; B. Niddah 30b ; Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, p. 29 ; B. Ber. 60a ; Num. Rab. 9, 1 ; Lev. Rab. 23, 12 ; cf. Ginzberg, *op. cit.* v, 106 sq.; *Meir Aldabi* (14th century), *Shebhile emunah*, iv; Preuss,

Bibl. Talm. Medizin, 451 sq.; Ploss-Bartels-Reitzenstein, *Das Weib*, i, 537 sqq.; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 416.

15 Gen. Rab. 32, 5, p. 292.

16 B. Sanh. 108b; Gen. Rab. 31, 12, p. 286; ib. 34, 7, p. 316; 36, 7, p. 341; Y. Ta'an. 64d bot.; Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 23; Tanhuma Gen. ed. Buber, pp. 42 sq.; Tanhuma Noah, 11–12.

17 Job 31, 9–12.

18 Lev. 18, 24–25, 27–28.

19 Deut. 11, 17; cf. Rashi ad loc., Targ. Onk. ad Lev. 18, 25; B. Sab. 33a.

20 Gen. 12, 10 sqq.; 26, 1 sqq.; 42, 1 sqq.; 43, 1 sq.; Ruth 1, 1.

21 Jub. 33, 20.

22 Gen. Rab. 26, 5, p. 249; Lev. Rab. 23, 9; B. Sanh. 93a, 106a; Lam. Rab. 5, 11. Cf. Ginzberg, *op. cit.* iv, 369 sq., vi, 404, n. 5. Cf. also Y. Ber. 13c mid., where an emphasis is laid upon the analogy between the sin of paederasty and its punishment.

23 Lev. Rab. 23, 9; Num. Rab. 9, 33; Y. Sota 17a.

24 Gen. Rab. 26, 5, p. 249.

25 Y. Suk. 55b mid.

26 Lev. 26, 3–5, 19–20, 34–36; Deut. 11, 13–17; 26, 15; 28, 4–5, 8, 11–12, 22–24, 38–40, 42; Is. 30, 23; Jer. 5, 23–25; 10, 13; 14, 22; 51, 16; Eze. 36, 29; Hos. 2, 23; Ps. 65, 10 sq.; 66, 9–10; 135, 6–7; 147, 8; Prov. 3, 20–21; Job 26, 8–9; 36, 27–28; 37, 6; 38, 25–28; 2 Chron. 7, 12–14; Sir. 43, 20 sq.; etc.

27 Jer. 3, 2–3; 12, 4; Is. 5, 10; 1 Kings 8, 35–36; 2 Chron. 6, 26–27.

28 Eze. 36, 30.

29 Jer. 14, 1–4.

30 Book of Enoch 80, 2–8, ed. Charles, *Apocr. and Pseud.* ii, 245.

31 Ib. 100, 10–13, ed. Charles, *op. cit.* ii, 272. Similar ideas are expressed also in 98, 6–8. Cf. also Hab. 2, 11.

32 Y. Ta'an. 66c mid.; B. Ta'an. 7b, 8b; B. Sabb. 32b;

Aboth di Rabbi Nathan. version B, ed. Schechter, p. 58a ; Mishle Rabtha 25. Such beliefs also exist among the fellahin of Palestine, cf. Kahle, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, 1912, p. 163 ; Canaan, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1913, pp. 289 sqq.; Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Gütersloh, 1928–35, i, 133 sqq.

33 Cf. Y. Ta'an. 66c mid.

34 B. Sanh. 74a. Cf. Y. Sanh. 21b top.

35 Midrash Tannaim, Deut. 21, 23, p. 132.

36 B. Yoma 9b.

37 B. Shebu'oth 7b; Sifra ad Lev. 16, 16, p. 81c.

38 Cf. A. Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, London, 1928.

39 For instance, Num. 15, 39; Hos. 1, 2, 7; Jer. 2, 20, 25; 3, 1 sqq.; Eze. 16, 15 sqq., etc.

40 Deut. 11, 16–17.

41 Y. Sanh. 26c mid.

42 Cf. p. 30.

43 Gen. 4, 10–12.

44 Cf. Num. 35, 33–34 ; Is. 26, 21 ; Eze. 24, 7 ; Job 16, 18.

45 Deut. 21, 1–9 ; cf. Patai, "The 'Egla 'Arufa or the Expiation of the Polluted Land," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xxx (1939), pp. 59 sqq.

46 Tanhuma, ed. Buber, Introduction, p. 158.

47 Geniza-fragment in the Tylor-Schechter collection of the Cambridge University Library, published by L. Ginzberg in *Haggoren*, ix, Berlin, 1923, p. 66.

48 Cf. A. Ben-Yisrael, *Aggadoth Haaretz*, vol. ii, p. 193.

49 Cf. for instance, F. Legey, *The Folklore of Morocco*, London, 1935, p. 30 ; Patai, *Man and Earth*, i, 249.

50 Y. Rosh Hash. 57b ; cf. Siphre Deut. 40 ; B. Ta'an. 8b. Just the opposite concept is found in Matthew 5, 45.

51 Feasts of atonement before the beginning of the rains were celebrated also among other peoples, for instance the ancient Greeks, Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* 162, and the Vedic Indians, Oldenberg, *Rel. d. Veda*, 319. Cf. also Volz, *Neujahrsfest*, 25.

52 B. Ta'an. 7b.
53 Y. Ta'an. 65b top.
54 Y. Ber. 9b top; Y. Ta'an. 63d top; B. Ta'an. 7b; Gen. Rab. 13, 14, p. 123.
55 B. Bab. Bath. 25b.
56 Deut. 11, 12.
57 Ps. 104, 32; Y. Ber. 13c mid.
58 Ex. 24, 7.
59 Pesiqta Rabbati 99b sq.
60 Ex. 20, 2.
61 Gen. Rab. 66, 2, p. 745.
62 Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, p. 5; cf. ib. Ex. p. 93; Num. Rab. 1, 3; Deut. Rab. 7, 7.
63 Deut. Rab. 7, 7.
64 B. Yeb. 63a.
65 Siphre Deut. 40.
66 B. Sanh. 37a.
67 Ps. 109, 4; Midrash Shoher Tobh Ps. 109; cf. Pesiqta di Rabh Kahana ed. Buber, p. 193b sq.; Rab. 21 Num.; Tanhuma Pinhas; B. Suk. 55b; etc.
68 Cf. p. 146
69 Cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i, 250, 272 sq., 274 sq., 276, 278, 289; id., *The Worship of Nature*, i, 268, 274 sq.; I. Schapera, *Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa*, London, 1934, p. 28; Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London, 1926, ii, 256, 257, 259, 260, 264, 265, 267; Romanelli, *Massa' B 'arabh*, Warsaw, ed. Traklin, p. 68; Abela, *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. Pal.-Ver.* vii, 1884, p. 94. A. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York, 1928, p. 10: when no rain comes "the girls and wives of the Bedouins form a procession with the *umm al-ghejth*, mother of rain (Fig. 1, p. 13). A woman's gown is stretched over two sticks forming a cross and is carried by a girl (virgin) at the head of the procession which wanders from tent to tent, singing" (verses follow; no reference to children or to sins).
70 Kahle, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, viii (1912), p. 163.

71 Canaan, *Zeitsch. d. d. Pal.-Ver.* xxxvi (1913), 290, 291; id. *Journal of Pal. Or. Soc.* xiv (1934), 67, 79.

72 Musil, *Arabia Petrea*, iii, 8. As to the rain-making of Elijah cf. above, chapter I, p. 43, and Patai, *Man and Earth*, ii, 145 sqq.

73 Hanauer, *Palestine Explor. Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1925, p. 35.

74 Canaan, *Zeitschr. d. d. Pal.-Ver.*, 1913, p. 292.

75 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Pal.*, i, 135; cf. ib. 136 sq. children's rain songs.

76 Oral communication of a Moroccan Jew in Jerusalem. Cf. similar cries among the Moroccan Moslems, Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 265.

77 Brunot-Malka, *Textes Judéo-arabes*, Rabat (Maroc), 1939, pp. 98–99, 305, where there are given further children's songs sung at the times both of drought and of torrential rains.

78 Brauer, in *Magnes Anniversary Book* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1938, p. 60.

79 Oral communication of a Meshhed Jew in Jerusalem.

80 C. Hahn, *Aus dem Kaukasus*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 194 sq., as quoted by Frazer, *Aftermath*, London, 1936, pp. 91 sq. Dr. J. J. Rivlin suggested to me that Semirei may be a corrupt form of *Shabriri*, a demon connected with water, cf. B. 'Ab. Zar. 12b; B. Pes. 112a; Mekhilta Jithro 6.

81 Jacob Saphir Halevi, *Ebhen Saphir*, vol. i, Lyck, 1866, p. 107a; Brauer, *Ethnologie der Jemenitischen Juden*, Heidelberg, 1934, p. 220; cf. Meyouhas, *Ma'asiyyoth 'am libhne qedem*, Jerusalem, 1938, p. 165.

82 B. Ta'an. 23b.

83 M. Middoth 1, 8; Y. Sota 17a top.

84 M. Suk. 5, 2.

85 The lighting of bonfires by children in the rain-charm of the Jews of Kurdistan is, by the way, not the only instance of the lighting of fire by children for ritual purposes. In a fertility rite in Lechrain, a high tree was set up which was lighted by children, cf. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, i, 510. "Among the Ba-Ronga of

South Africa pottery is made by women only, and they prefer to employ a child under puberty to light the fire in which the pots are to be baked, because the child has pure hands and the pots are therefore less likely to crack in the furnace than if the woman lit the fire herself:" Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii, 204 sq., quoting H. A. Junod, "Les Conceptions physiologiques des Bantou Sud-Africains et leurs tabous," *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, i (1910), p. 147. Among various peoples of Negro Africa a sacred fire is tended mainly by small girls, less often by small boys. Cf. Tor Irstam, *The King of Ganda, Studies in the Institutions of Sacral Kingship in Africa*, Stockholm, 1944, pp. 33, 137, 139, 140.

86 M. Suk. 4, 6.

87 M. Suk. 4, 7.

88 The codification of the Mishnah took place about the end of the second century C.E. Cf. B. Suk. 46b.

89 Lev. Rab. 37, 2.

90 As to the duty of small children to use the lulab, it is expressly stated in Y. Suk. 54a mid., "as soon as a child is able to shake a lulab he is obliged (to perform the rite of the lulab)."

91 Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 259.

92 Cf. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv, 4th ed., p. 175, 434; Bacher, *Ag. Tan.* ii, 31 sq.; Blau, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ix, 386, s.v. Oenomaus; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüd. Volkes*, 4th ed., vol. ii (1907), p. 55.

93 Gen. 27, 22.

94 Gen. Rab. 65, 20, p. 734 and parallel sources ib. Cf. the saying concerning the lamps of the Temple which while burning kept down the nations, p. 127.

95 B. Sab. 119b. About these "men of faith" we shall hear more in the next chapter.

96 B. Sab. 119b.

Chapter Six

FROM KING TO MESSIAH

I

In a previous chapter an account was given of the significance and function of the Jerusalem Temple according to popular imagination. When the Temple was destroyed, the natural order of things, which was in its entirety dependent on it, suffered a catastrophic disturbance. That this did not result in the extermination of Israel, nay, of all mankind, was due to the fact that besides the Temple Israel possessed another asset that made for the maintenance of the cosmic order, and this continued to function after the destruction of the Temple, perhaps even in an increased measure. This other beneficent influence emanated, according to popular belief, from the persons of the so-called "whisperers," "pious men," and " men of faith."

The belief that the welfare of the people depends on the behaviour and the qualities of a person who unites in himself both spiritual and political leadership is a very ancient one which is well attested among a great number of peoples. We now know for certain that in many instances the kingly office developed out of the profession of the tribal or village magician. The main original task of the priestly kings was the same as that which the magicians and

medicine-men of primitive tribes are expected to perform to this very day, namely, to ensure the welfare of the people by making the rain fall, the sun shine, the fields yield their crops, man and beast be healthy and fruitful, and so on. If something went wrong, this was invariably ascribed to the misbehaviour or disability of the king. This is a great theme of which much has been written and of which still much could be said. Here can only be shown the working of this principle among relatively advanced communities, by means of three examples which, as far as I am aware, have not yet been utilized in this connection.

Philostratus tells in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* that in a conversation that took place between Apollonius and Domitianus, the sage offered to the emperor to enumerate the causes of pestilences. "But," continues Philostratus, "the emperor, fearful, I imagine, lest Apollonius should reckon among the causes of such epidemics his own wrongdoing, and his incestuous marriage, and his other misdemeanours, replied, 'Oh, I do not want any such answer as that.'"[1]

The second example is found in a sermon of Savonarola from the year 1491: "I must tell you, then," said this preacher of puritan piety, "that all the evil and all the good of the city depend from its head, and therefore great is his responsibility even for small sins, since if he followed the right path the whole city would be sanctified."[2]

The third example takes us to the Far East, to China. From the times of the third traditional

dynasty there was preserved a collection called the *Great Law*, being a chapter of the famous Chinese Annals, and edited, according to Père Wieger, in the year 1050 B.C. This collection, which contains the traditional wisdom of many generations, is regarded as a sacred book. In this it is written:

It is the duty of the government all the time to watch carefully the phenomena of nature, which are the echo in the world of nature of the order or disorder in the world of government. The government is bound to watch the phenomena of nature in order to be able immediately to amend what is in need of amendment. When the course of nature goes its proper way, it is a sign that the government is good, but when there is some disturbance in nature, it is a sign that there is some sin in the government. With the help of fixed tables it is possible to learn from the disturbance in nature what is the sin that caused it. Any disturbance in the sun accuses the emperor. A disturbance around the sun—the court, the ministers; a disturbance in the moon—the queen, the harem. Good weather that lasts too long shows that the emperor is too inactive. Days which continue to be cloudy show that the emperor lacks understanding. Too much rainfall shows that he is unjust. Lack of rain shows that he is careless. Too great a cold shows that he is inconsiderate of others. Stormy wind—that he is lazy. Good harvest proves that everything is all right; bad harvest—that the government is guilty. When the pear-tree blossomed in the autumn, the court had to be warned that there was some hidden disorder there. . . .[3]

Père Wieger, from whose book on Chinese religious beliefs and philosophical opinions we take this quotation, remarks in conclusion that the belief expressed in this passage left its traces in Chinese history from the third dynasty and down to the twentieth century.

Before turning to the ancient Hebrews, it should be observed that the notion of the kings as responsible for the material welfare of their peoples was prevalent in the ancient Near East in general. In an enthronement hymn from the time of Merneptah we read:

> Rejoice, thou entire land: the goodly time has come. . . .
> The water standeth and faileth not, the Nile is running high.
> The days are long, the nights have hours, the months come aright.[4]

Pharaoh was hailed as "lord of flood, plentiful in grain, in whose footsteps is the harvest goddess," etc.[5]

It was a familiar feature of the Assyro-Babylonian religion that the king was held responsible, to the extent of being sometimes severely punished, for any calamity that descended upon his people.[6] The good king's rulership, on the other hand, means good crops.[7] In a blessing of Esarhaddon we find:

> The kingship as the plant of life may be good for the welfare of the people.[8]

The gods granted to Esarhaddon

> "abundant rains, copious inundations, acceptable prices; old men dance, young men sing; matrons, maidens are gay with laughter; men take wives, they bring about the births; they bring sons and daughters to birth, reproduction is prosperous; . . . those who have been sick many days regain life; the hungry are satisfied, the lean grow fat, the destitute are supplied with clothing."[9]

In a hymn to Shulgi the king is addressed as "he that overfloweth the face of the country with the water flood."[10] Another king is allotted the task

by Anu "to subjugate the enemy's country, make firm the fundament of the land; years of abundance, a reign of remote days [he has been granted]."[11] Nebuchadrezzar says of himself:

A reign of abundance, years of exuberance in my country I cause to be.[12]

With Assurbanipal's ascension to the throne

Adad let loose his showers, Ea opened his fountains, the corn grew five ells high in its ear (straw ?), the spike became five-sixths of an ell, the harvest was good, (there was) fulness of Nisaba, the giparu-tree was ever-bearing, the fruit-trees brought the fruit to luxuriant issue ; the cattle were prosperous in parturition ; in my reign exuberance superabounds, in my years superfluity is heaped up.[13]

As remarked already by Père Dhorme, this passage has a distinct messianic flavour[14]; and, as we shall see towards the end of this chapter, the same sort of messianism, projected, it is true, to the future, occurs also in rabbinic literature.

Other texts depict the social benefits enjoyed by the people under Assurbanipal: no force, no injury, security on the roads, no bloodshed, no outrage, general peace.[15]

In a Hittite text we read that Murshilish says about his father: ". . . under him the whole land of Khatti prospered, and in his time people, cattle, sheep multiplied."[16]

Also in the West-Semitic world the king is assigned a similar role. According to a Tell el-Amarna letter "the earth sprouts forth" at the king's word.[17] The king gives richess, sheep, flock, cattle, silver,

gold and byssos to his subjects, and there is no maltreatment under his rule.[18] As to the Ras Shamra texts, Virolleaud had stated that Dan'el is a divine king, with power over the crops.[19]

II

To turn now to the Jews, the belief that the orderly functioning of nature and the welfare of the people depend on a central personality is discernible in biblical as well as in talmudic times. In biblical literature this central personality was the king, while in stories dealing with the times before kings ruled over Israel, this belief is attached to the persons of kings of other nations. In Genesis we read of Abimelech, king of Gerar, that he took unto himself Sarah, not knowing that she was Abraham's wife. After God had revealed to Abimelech in a dream by night the real state of things, Abimelech said to Abraham:

> What hast thou done unto us ? And what have I offended thee that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin ?[20]

After what has been said above we shall understand why Abimelech thought his whole kingdom liable to punishment for a sin that he alone had almost committed. A sin committed by the king is visited on his whole kingdom.

The story of Moses who held up his hands to assure the victory of Israel over Amalek[21] was many times

expounded both by Jewish and by Christian theology in a lofty spiritual sense. But the text in itself will leave us little if any doubt as to the original meaning of the story:

And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. But Moses' hands were heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands the one on the one side and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun. And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword.[22]

What we have here is a clear instance of the direct sympathy between the leader and his people. When the leader holds up his hands, his people gain the upper hand in the struggle; when his hands tire and sink down, his people too tire and are beaten—hence the very physical help Aaron and Hur had to extend to Moses in holding up his hands.[23]

If this last example was a very exceptional instance of direct sympathetic connection between the leader and his people, the next two examples will again show how the actions of the king involved the welfare of his whole people through the medium of natural forces. The Gibeonites had had a "safe conduct" sworn to them by the Children of Israel, but King Saul, giving no heed to this ancient oath, slew a great number of Gibeonites. This perjury caused a famine lasting three years, until seven of the surviving sons of Saul were handed over by David to the Gibeonites that they might avenge their kinsmen's death.[24] On the other hand, when David numbered Israel and

Judah, this sin on the part of the king cost seventy thousand of his people their lives; this was the number of the victims of the pestilence that broke out as a consequence of David's sin.[25]

Before the rabbinic material is considered, brief evidence must be given that the belief in the king's influence on nature takes an important place also in the writings of the prophets and in the Psalms. The righteous rule of the "rod that shall come forth out of the stem of Jesse" will, according to Isaiah, have a wondrous effect also on the animal kingdom:

> The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.[26]

Similarly Joel:

> And it shall come to pass in that day that the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the rivers of Judah shall flow with waters and a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim.[27]

Again in Psalm 72 we have a more detailed description of the beneficial effects of the rule of the righteous king: It will be like rain that comes down upon the mown grass, and as showers that water the earth, and the good people flourish under him. His dominion shall expand. He will conquer all his enemies. "There shall be plenty of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains (almost unbelievable in Palestine where the tops of the mountains are mostly bare of any soil), the fruit thereof shall

rustle like Lebanon and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth."[28]

It will be of some interest to compare this passage with a few lines from the *Odyssey*, which show that exactly the same ideas as to the responsibility of the king for the food-supply prevailed in Homeric Greece. "Thy fame, O lady," said the disguised Odysseus to his wife, "shall reach the wide heavens, like that of some blameless king who, in the fear of god ruling over men many and stalwart, upholds the right, and black earth bears wheat and barley, the trees are laden with fruit, the flocks bear young without fail, the sea produces fish, by reason of good government, and the people prosper under him."[29]

III

Let us see now what talmudic literature has to say on this subject. Concerning the episode of David, the Gibeonites and the sons of Saul, rabbinic sources have it that "in the first year (of the famine) David began to admonish his generation at the time of the pilgrimage (when the Israelites gathered together in Jerusalem) and said to them, Perchance there are among you people who serve foreign gods, for the heavens are not shut up from giving dew and rain but on account of this sin. They went out and searched and did not find. The second year he said to them, Perchance there are among you people who commit incest, for the heavens are not shut up but

on account of this sin. They went out and searched and did not find. The third year he said unto them, Perchance there are among you people who shed blood, or who promise in public to give alms and do not keep their promise, or who withhold the tithes, for the rains are not kept back but on account of these sins. They went out and searched and did not find. Thereupon David said, The cause must lie in no-one but myself. So he began to ask the *Urim w'Tummim* (the oracle) 'and the Lord answered, It is for Saul and for his bloody house,'[30] for Saul that you did not show grace to him and he was not mourned for as he should have been . . . and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites.''[31]

What should especially be noted in this legend is that the king, when confronted with the phenomenon of drought, begins to investigate what sin might be the cause of it. The same notion occurs also in the following Indian story:

The god did not rain in the kingdom of Kalinga, and a famine arose, and fear of pestilence through lack of food. The people from all the kingdom gathered together, and came to the capital, and made an outcry at the king's gate. The king standing by the window heard the noise and inquired the cause. They told him why and entreated him, "Make the god to rain, O Great King!" The king asked, "What did the ancient kings do when the god did not rain?"—"They gave alms," was the reply, "they kept the Sabbath, made vows of virtue, and retiring to the royal chamber lay seven days on a grass mat. Then the god rained." The king did so, but still there was no rain. Then they said, "Dhananjaya, king of the Kurus, observes the Law of the Kurus; therefore in his kingdom the god rains every fortnight or ten days.

That is the power of the king's merit." So the king of Kalinga bade them bring home written on a plate of gold the Law of the Kurus which Dhananjaya observed. Now the law of the Kurus consisted of five commandments : "thou shalt not kill ; thou shalt not steal ; thou shalt not commit adultery ; thou shalt not lie ; thou shalt not drink intoxicants."[32] These not only the king observed faithfully, but his mother, his chief queen, his younger brother, the viceroy, the chaplain, the brahman, the land-surveyor, the councillor, the chief merchant, the collector of taxes, the prime minister, the porter, the courtesan. One and all however disclaimed faithful observance of the law. Each one alleged some petty and unintentional breach which weighed on his mind. . . . "The king abiding in the Kuru law fulfilled the five commandments. Then the god rained in the whole kingdom of Kalinga."[33]

A particularly interesting similarity in the stories about David and about the king of Kalinga consists in the idea that the rains are shut off even in consequence of sins committed by the king unknowingly. It is difficult to understand why the deity should punish the people so severely for a sin of which the king is not even aware, and which is discovered only after the most painstaking search. But if it is, or rather originally was, the sin itself that by its very occurrence brought about the dread consequence directly and without any higher intervention, then we can well understand that regarding the automatic effect there is no difference whatsoever between a sin perpetrated purposely and a sin committed unwittingly. Thus it is in this more original belief in the direct connection between sin and punishment that we have to look for the sources of that mental attitude which deduces from every misfortune that

some sin or other, whether intentional or not, must previously have been committed.

What appears in the form of stories and legends in Indian and rabbinic literature and elsewhere was in the life of ancient Mesopotamia dire reality. In the Sumero-Accadian world the king was continually and anxiously inquiring about hidden sins and had often to perform expiatory rites.[34] The ancient Babylonians were continually haunted by the fear of offending their gods, and as in the other instances they too became conscious of having committed a sin only as a conclusion drawn from the fact that some misfortune had overtaken them and had been interpreted as a punishment sent by an offended god.[35]

IV

It is now time to pass on to another type of rabbinic legends, in which the persons who rule over nature are not patriarchs and kings of yore but wise and pious men who had lived but a generation or two before the time of those who told the legends, or even were their contemporaries. The influence of these men over the weather was conceived in the following way. On the strength of their outstanding piety, or even of one single but extremely meritorious deed, they may turn to God who will in no case fail to fulfil their request. This, indeed, is a high religious idea, and were it not for the fact that the benefits asked for concern almost exclusively the weather, one would hardly recognize beneath it the

ancient substratum of the sympathy between man and nature.

Of the men having power over the weather let us begin with the type called "whisperers." Their power over nature, as over various ills, did not emanate from their moral qualities but from their technical knowledge, as it were, of the appropriate charms to be whispered. They knew certain magical formulae which were regarded as potent charms. The whispered formulae consisted mostly of quotations from the Bible or of unintelligible magic words, to establish the original meaning of which is a task as yet to be solved by comparative folklore. Such whispered charms were used to cure wounds,[36] to cure sore eyes,[37] or to help a person in whose throat something has got stuck,[38] and the like. The whispering was done directly into the ear of the sick person.[39] Such whisperings were used also to ward off snakes and scorpions,[40] and frequently they were connected with oil-magic.[41] As to the influence of these whisperers over nature, we have a statement from Rabbi Ammi. He said:

> If you see a generation over whom the heavens are rust-coloured like copper so that neither dew nor rain falls, it is because that generation is wanting in whisperers. What then is their remedy? Let them go to someone who knows how to whisper. . . .[42]

Another class of men, to whom much greater influence was attributed, was that of the "pious men of the generation," who would succeed even where the "whisperer" failed:

But if he has whispered and was not answered, what is his remedy? Let him go to the most pious man of that generation that he may intercede abundantly for him. . . .[43]

Yet a third class consisted of "men of faith," while those who succeeded in attaining a more lasting influence over Judaism than any of the preceding were the "Righteous," the "Tzaddiqim." According to a saying recorded in the name of Rabbi Ammi: "Rain falls only for the sake of men of faith."[44]

The most famous of all the meritorious men who could produce rain was Honi Hame'aggel, that is, Honi the Circle-Drawer. The following story tells of the reason for his name:

It happened that the people said to Honi the Circle-Drawer, "Pray for rain to fall." He replied, "Go and bring in the ovens (on which you have roasted) the paschal offerings so that they do not dissolve (being of clay)." He prayed but no rain fell. What did he do? He drew a circle and stood within it and exclaimed: "Master of the Universe! Thy children have turned to me for that I am like a son of the house before you. I swear by thy great name that I will not move from here until thou hast mercy upon thy children." Rain then began to drip, and thereupon he exclaimed: "It is not for this that I have prayed, but for rain [to fill] cisterns, ditches and caves." The rain then began to come down with great force, and thereupon he exclaimed: "It is not for this that I have prayed, but for rain of benevolence, blessing and bounty." Rain then fell as it should until the Israelites in Jerusalem were compelled to go up (for shelter) to the Temple Mount because of the rain. They came and said to him: "In the same way as you have prayed [for the rains] to fall, pray for the rain to cease." He replied: "Go and see if the stone of the claimants (this was a high stone from which lost and found property was announced[45]) has been washed away."

Thereupon Shimeon ben Shetah[46] sent to him saying: "Were it not that you are Honi, I would have placed you under the ban, but what can I do unto you who importune God and He accedes to your request as a son that importunes his father and he accedes to his request. . . .[47]

It is interesting to note that not only the simple folk but also the sages, the spiritual and religious leaders of the people, firmly believed in the powers of Honi. The "Men of the Hall of Hewn Stones," that is, the Sanhedrin, the great council that met in the Hall of Hewn Stones, even sent to him the following acknowledgment:

You have decreed [on earth] below, and the Holy One blessed be He fulfils your word [in heaven] above.[48]

The power to influence the rains passed down in inheritance, as it were, from Honi to his grandchildren.

Abba Hilkiya was a grandson of Honi the Circle-Drawer, and whenever the world was in need of rain the Rabbis sent a message to him and he prayed and rain fell.[49]

Another grandchild of Honi the Circle-Drawer was Hanan-who-hid-himself. He was the son of the daughter of Honi. We have already seen how school-children would be sent to him with a request for rain and how he used to transmit their innocent pleading to God.[50] Of this Hanan also Josephus reports that he prayed to God to give rain, and not without success. Josephus calls him Onias, and tells of him that he "hid himself because he saw that the unrest in his country would last a great while."[51] This is reported in rabbinic sources of a third grand-

son of Honi, also called Honi Hame'aggel: he hid himself in a cave and slept there for seventy years.[52]

Very interesting is the idea that when a pious man requests something it will unfailingly be fulfilled, but *the fulfilment of his wish is a "troubling of heaven."* So it is related of Rabha that King Sapor once wanted to punish him, but Iphra Hormuz, the mother of the king, said to her son:

Do not interfere with the Jews, because whatever they ask of their god he grants them. The king asked her, "For example?" "They pray and rains fall," [she replied]. He retorted, "That must have been because it was the season for rain; let them pray now, in the Tammuz cycle for rain." She sent a message to Rabha: "Concentrate now your mind and pray for rain." He prayed but no rain fell. He then exclaimed: "Master of the Universe! 'O God we have heard with our ears, our fathers have told us, a work thou didst in their days, in the days of old.'[53] But as for us, we have not seen it with our eyes." Whereupon there followed such a heavy fall of rain that the gutters of Mahuza[54] emptied their waters into the Tigris. Rabha's father then appeared unto him in a dream and said to him: "Is there anyone who troubles Heaven so much? Change your [sleeping] place." He changed his place and next morning he discovered that his bed had been cut with knives.[55]

Another story tells of the son of Rabbi Yose of Yoqereth:

Once Rabbi Yose had day-labourers [working] in the field. Night set in and no food was brought to them and they said to his son: "We are hungry." Now they were resting under a fig-tree and he exclaimed: "Fig-tree, fig-tree, bring forth thy fruit that my father's labourers may eat." It brought forth fruit and they ate. Meanwhile the father came and said to them: "Do not bear a grievance against

me ; the reason for my delay is that I have been occupied up till now on an errand of charity." The labourers replied : "May God satisfy you even as your son has satisfied us." Whereupon he asked : "Whence ?" And they told him what had happened. Thereupon he said to his son : "My son, you have troubled your creator to cause the fig-tree to bring forth its fruits before its time, may you too be taken hence before your time."

And so it happened.[56]

In biblical times the usual procedure to avert drought or any other great evil was to pray and to fast. Fasting was the habitual expression of repentance and the means of arousing the compassion of God.[57] The same usage prevails also among other peoples.[58] In rabbinic literature too we find the causal connection between sins and drought on the one hand, and between repentance and rain on the other. The feeling of repentance is usually expressed by fasting and by prayers performed on behalf of the community by a pious man. Rabbi Shemuel bar Nahmani, for instance, said:

When Israel commits sins and bad actions, the rains become shut up. Then they bring themselves an old man like Rabbi Yose the Galilean, and he intercedes on their behalf and the rains fall.[59]

Such a power was ascribed to a sage who belonged to the circle of Rabbi Jehuda the Patriarch, and of whom several sayings and explanations of Bible-verses are preserved in the Babylonian and the Palestinian Talmuds. "Rabbi [Jehuda the Patriarch] proclaimed a fast, and Rabbi Hiyya and his sons were bidden to *descend (to the reading desk to pray). As he (Rabbi*

Hiyya) exclaimed, 'He causes the wind to blow,' a wind blew. He proceeded, 'He causes the rain to descend,' whereat the rain descended. When he was about to say, 'He quickeneth the dead' (this is the sequel of the prayer), the universe trembled."[60]

It often happens that the fasting and the prayer is of no avail, and then the pious man, confident in his strength, admonishes and rebukes heaven, or even God himself.

Rabbi Hama bar Hanina ordained a fast, but no rain fell. People said to him, "When Rabbi Joshua ben Levi ordained a fast, rain did fall." He replied, "I am I, and he is the son of Levi (that is, he is greater). Go and ask him that he may come (and pray for us). And let us concentrate on our prayer, perhaps the whole community will be contrite in heart and rain will fall." They prayed and no rain fell. He then asked them: "Are you content that rain should fall on our account?" They replied, "Yes." He then exclaimed, "Heaven, heaven, cover thy face (with clouds)." But it did not cover (its face). He then added: "How brazen is the face of heaven!" It then became covered and rain fell.

Levi ordained a fast but no rain fell. He thereupon exclaimed, "Master of the Universe! Thou didst go up and take thy seat on high and hast no mercy upon thy children." Rain fell, but he became lame. . . .

Rabbi Hiyya ben Luliani, overhearing the clouds saying to one another, "Come, let us take water to Ammon and Moab," exclaimed: "Master of the Universe! When thou wast about to give the law to thy people Israel, thou didst offer it about amongst all the nations of the world, but they would not accept it, and now thou wouldst give them rain? Let them (the clouds) empty their waters here!" And they emptied their waters on the spot.[61]

Once it happened that (the inhabitants of Sepphoris) were compelled to call a fast, but no rain fell. (At the same time)

Rabbi Joshua ordered a fast in the south and rain fell; (whereupon) the Sepphoreans said, "Rabbi Joshua ben Levi brought rain to the southerners and Rabbi Hanina held back the rain from the Sepphoreans." Another time they were compelled to make (a fast). (Rabbi Hanina) sent and invited Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, saying to him, "Let the master take care and come out with us (before the synagogue) to fast. They both went out to fast but no rain fell. (Whereupon Rabbi Joshua) entered (the synagogue) and said before them: "Not Rabbi Joshua ben Levi brings down rain for the southerners and not Rabbi Hanina withholds rain from the Sepphoreans; but the southerners, their hearts are soft, they hear the words of the Teaching (that is, the admonition) and they humble themselves, whereas the Sepphoreans, their hearts are hard, they hear the words of the Teaching but do not humble themselves." When he returned (to the place before the synagogue where the fasting was held) and lifted up his eyes and saw that the air is clear (that is, there are no clouds), he said: "After all (these prayers) still so (clear is the air)!" Whereupon immediately rain fell. And he made a vow not do so again, saying (to himself), "Who am I to tell the Creditor that He should not collect His debt (that is, the punishment)!"[62]

In a previous chapter it was pointed out that according to ancient Hebrew belief, both biblical and rabbinic, fornication was the original sin, which caused the deluge, storms, lack of rain and as a consequence famine, as well as all kinds of other natural calamities.[63] This belief was supplemented by the concept that a person who prevents fornication thereby acquires such a great merit as to be able to bring down rain by his prayer. There are quite a number of stories or legends to this effect in the Palestinian Talmud, of which the following is an example:

Rabbi Abbahu saw in a dream that a fivefold sinner (in the original a Greek form, πεντακακός, is used) should pray and then rain would fall. (So it happened) and rain fell. (Thereupon) Rabbi Abbahu sent for him and let him be brought to him. He said to him : "What is your work ?" He (the fivefold sinner) said to him : "Five sins I commit every day. I lease prostitutes, decorate the theatre, carry their garments to the bath, clap hands and dance before them, and beat the drums before them." (Rabbi Abbahu) said to him : "And what good deed did you do ?" He said to him : "Once when I was busy decorating the theatre, a woman came there and remained standing behind a column and wept. I asked her, What (is the matter) with you ? And she said to me, 'My husband has fallen into captivity and I want to prostitute myself and ransom him (with my earnings).' And I sold my bed and my blanket and gave her the money and said to her, Here, ransom your husband and do not sin!" (Rabbi Abbahu when he heard his story) said to him : "Worthy are you to pray and to be answered!"[64]

The moral tone of this story is unmistakable.

V

According to Rabbi Johanan the study of the Torah, the Law, for its own sake was such a great merit as to "protect the whole world."[65] According to Rabbi Halbo in the name of Rabh Huna, "the words of every man in whom there is the fear of heaven are heard, as it is written, 'Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God and keep his commandments : for this is the whole of man.'[66] What do the words 'for this is the whole of man' mean? Rabbi Eleazar said :

The Holy One blessed be He said : The whole world was

created for nothing but for this (namely, the fear of God). Rabbi Abba bar Kahana said : This (the fear of God) counterbalances the whole of the world.[67]

When one compares these sayings with the function of the "whisperers" referred to earlier, one cannot fail to notice how the religious-moral element gains here the upper hand over the earlier "*magical*" method of influencing the weather. Not only that the God-fearing, pious man does not need to perform any specific act to have his wish realized, but his influence is no more confined to the bringing about of relief in a situation of special need, and his voice is heard whenever he raises it.

Let us consider here the striking parallel to this trend of development which is to be found in Moslem religious thought. In the pagan Arab world the following magical ceremony served to bring about the fall of rain in times of drought. Boughs of *Sala'*-trees (*saelanthus*) and *'Ushar*-trees were bound to the tails of oxen. The branches then were set on fire and the oxen were driven, dragging the burning branches after them, to the top of a mountain and were thrown down from there.[68] This procedure, called "*nār alistisqā'*," fire of watering,[69] was superseded in the days of the Islam by the "*salāt al-istisqā'*," the prayer of watering, that is, the prayer for rain.[70] And just as in talmudic Judaism the performance of the prayer by the pious and righteous men was believed to be always crowned with success, so Islam ascribed the same success to outstanding figures in its early history. Almutawakkil inscribed on a memorial

coin a poem which told about the family of Hashim that "through their merit rain is given to the earth after it had been withheld for a long time by God."[71] Again, Ibn al-Rūmī says in a *qasida* dedicated to the Calif Al-Mu'tadid (279–289 H): "Your forefather, Al-'Abbās, is the one whose name did not fail if used in the hour of need to obtain rain; he burst the clouds by intensive prayer and the flashings of the water-giving lightnings did his will."[72] Of 'Omar it is recorded that in times of drought he said in his "*istisqā*": "O Allah! We used in our requests to appeal to the Prophet, and you gave us rain; to-day we appeal to the uncle of the Prophet (Al-'Abbās), so give us rain!" And his request was granted.[73] In later days too the prayers for rain contained an appeal to contemporary holy men.[74]

To return to Judaism, the same sort of development impresses itself upon us when we follow up another line of thought. We have seen in the course of a previous chapter that the blessings of the material world, such as rain, abundant crops, fruit, etc., were attributed to the merit of certain ritual functions in the Temple. This idea—that the natural forces in the world function in a manner beneficial to man only as a reward for certain merits—also developed from a physical-ritual conception in a spiritual-moral direction. The "merit" becomes attached to a great variety of subjects, both concrete and abstract, until finally it settles on the person of the "Righteous," that is on men who are meritorious on account of their outstanding moral qualities.[75]

We read, for instance, the following sentence handed down by Rabbi Berekhya and Rabbi Halbo Papa, *in the name of Rabbi Eleazar:*

Sometimes it happens that the rains fall by the merit of one man, by the merit of one grass, by the merit of one field. . . .[76]

The merit of the field to bring down rain is stressed also by Rabbi Simon.[77] Again, another saying has it:

By the merit of three things the rains fall : by the merit of the earth ; by the merit of the mercy ; and by the merit of the sufferings.[78]

The same idea in a general but negative form was expressed by Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai with the aid of a simile:

Just as the mountains press down the waters of the Deep that they should not rise and flood the world, even so charity (in Hebrew : *tz'daqah*) presses down the severe judgment (of God) and the divine retribution that they should not come upon the world.[79]

Also the merit of two commandments alone, if kept by Israel, suffices to secure them the fall of rain: They are the Sabbath and the circumcision.[80]

The Fathers of Israel were the first men whose merits secured lasting benefits to coming generations.

Rabbi Jacob of Kfar Hanan said in the name of Rabbi Shimeon ben Laqish : *(God said to Israel) : In the hour* when Abraham, your father, fulfilled my will,[81] I swore unto him that I shall not remove the dew from his sons forever. . . .[82]

Abraham received hospitably the angels,[83] and how did the Holy One blessed be He pay it back to his

sons? The manna descended for them and the well[84] rose up for them, and the quails were found for them,[85] and the Clouds of Glory surrounded them, and the Column of Clouds travelled before them. . . .[86] In a fine simile we are given to understand how the merits of Abraham carried, as it were, all the generations:

Rabbi Abba bar Kahana said: It is customary in the world that if a man has a pair of double-beams, where does he put them? Is it not (that he puts them) in the middle of the hall, in order that they should carry the crossbeams (of the roof) which are both in front of them and behind them? Thus why did the Holy One blessed be He create Abraham in the middle of the generations? In order that he should carry the generations (which were) before him and (those which came) after him. . . .[87]

And just as in time the merit of Abraham reached from the beginning to the end, so in space it reached to the very ends of the world:

Rabbi Hanina said: Even the ships which were sailing in the sea were saved (from shipwreck only) by the merits of Abraham.[88]

Notwithstanding this, it is the actual presence of the Righteous One which secures real blessings. "Our fathers came to the country (that is, to Palestine) and blessing came through them,"[89] says a midrashic passage. And again:

Wherever the Righteous go, blessing comes (through them). Isaac descended to Gerar, blessing came to Gerar . . . Jacob descended to Laban, blessing descended through him . . . Joseph descended to Potiphar, blessing came through him . . . Jacob descended to Pharaoh, blessing descended through

him, as it is written, "and Jacob blessed Pharaoh."[90] What did he bless him with? That the years of hunger ceased. . . .[91]

Also according to Rabbi Yose ben Hanina: the hunger in Egypt which, according to the dream of Pharaoh, should have lasted seven years,[92] lasted only two years for when Jacob descended to Egypt the hunger ceased.[93] Jacob and Joseph were both men of blessing to an equal extent:

This one, the house of his father-in-law (Laban) became blessed for him; and that one, the house of his father-in-law (Potiphera) became blessed for him. . . . This one stopped the hunger, and that one stopped the hunger; this one satisfied (with food), and that one satisfied (with food). . . .[94]

Jacob's presence caused a wonderful multiplication of the water in the house of Laban. "You know," Laban later reminded his townsmen, "that we were hard pressed for water, and as soon as this Righteous One came, the waters became blessed."[95] And how did this miracle happen? When Jacob rolled the stone from the well's mouth,[96] "the well rose and poured forth water outside (its brim) and the shepherds saw it and wondered."[97] All the twenty years Jacob spent with Laban, the waters of the well poured forth in abundance, but on the day that Jacob fled from Laban, the miracle ceased and the waters never rose again.[98]

In these passages the expression rendered by the words "through him" ("the blessing came through him," etc.) is in the original Hebrew "*l'raglo*," having the primary meaning of "by his foot" ("the blessing came by *his foot*"). The same expression

is used already in Genesis: Jacob said to Laban: "The Lord hath blessed thee through me,"[99] *l'ragli*, verbatim "by my foot." To this passage the midrash adds:

> There is a man's foot that blesses the house, and there is a man's foot that ruins the house. And the foot of Jacob blessed. . . .[100]

A story similar to that of Jacob in the house of Laban is told in Mohammedan tradition of Abraham. Ibrahim dug a well in Saba', but the inhabitants of the locality molested him so much that he had to go away, whereupon the waters of the well dried up. Then the people of the place begged Ibrahim to return to them.[101] The fathers were a source of blessing even after their death. When Joseph died, the Egyptians "made him a metal coffin and placed it in the River Nile in order that its waters should become blessed."[102]

The belief in the blessing that emanates from the Righteous remained living in traditional Judaism down to modern times. To give only one single example, in the writings of Nahman of Bratzlav, a famous Hassidic rabbi of the eighteenth century, we find the following passage:

> Anyone in whose house the Tzaddiq (that is, the Righteous One; but here used in the specific sense of a rabbi of the Hassidim) sojourns as a guest, becomes blessed with sons.[103]

That is, the Tzaddiq has here the role that was fulfilled by the Ark according to early Jewish legend.

The merit of the Righteous assumes ever more superhuman dimensions:

Rabha, or, according to others, Rabbi Johanan, said: Were it not for Moses and Aaron, the world could not exist.[104]

The same is stated also of contemporaneous sages:

Rabbi Jehuda said in the name of Rabh: Every day a heavenly voice comes out from Mount Horeb (that is, Mount Sinai) and says, The whole world receives nourishment for the sake of my son Hanina [ben Dosa]. . . .[105] . . . Rabbi Eleazar said: Even for the sake of a single righteous man would this world have been created. . . . Rabbi Hiyya bar Abba said in the name of Rabbi Joshua: Even for the sake of a single righteous man does the world endure.[106]

"The righteous is an everlasting foundation,"[107] is said in the Book of Proverbs. The Hebrew original, "*tzaddiq y'sod 'olam*," can equally be rendered "the righteous is the foundation of the world," and it is on this sense of the passage that Rabbi Ele'azar ben Shamua' (lived about the middle of the second century C.E.) bases his saying that the world stands "on one pillar and *tzaddiq*, the righteous one, is his name."[108] Such a righteous one was Jacob who was the "fundament and foundation of the world."[109] According to Rabbi Eleazar ben Rabbi Shimeon, who lived a generation later than his namesake ben Shamua' (at the end of the second century C.E.), "the world was created for the sake of the righteous, for them it receives blessings, and as long as there are righteous men in the world, there is blessing in the world; once the righteous departed from the world, the blessing departed from the world."[110] In this connection should be quoted also the following passage which is often repeated in talmudic sources:

The world was created with ten pronouncements (the word "said" is ten times repeated in Genesis 1[111]). What does this teach us? It could have been created with one pronouncement (but it was created with ten), in order to increase the punishment of the wicked who ruin the world which was created with ten pronouncements, and to increase the reward of the righteous who preserve the world which was created with ten pronouncements.[112]

A righteous man may also be one of the Gentiles.

Rabbi Hanan said: In the cities of the sea sins are committed the like of which was not even in the generation of the deluge . . . so they would deserve extermination. And by what merit do they exist? By the merit of one Gentile (another version has: one proselyte) whom the Holy One blessed be He receives from them every year.[113]

The righteous one also takes upon himself the punishment of his generation. The righteous one suffers and his generation is redeemed from divine retribution.

Our Master (that is, Rabbi Jehuda the Patriarch) suffered for thirty years. . . . And in all those thirty years no woman died in childbirth in the land of Israel, nor did a woman miscarry in the land of Israel. . . .

When he was cured:

Rabbi Hiyya said: Woe to you women in childbirth in the land of Israel, woe to you pregnant women in the land of Israel! . . .[114]

Again, Shemuel, or, according to others, Rabbi Eleazar, said:

The whole world is nourished for the merit of the righteous, but they themselves are not nourished even by their own merit. . . .

To this Rabbi Jehuda in the name of Rabh added by way of illustration :

Every day a heavenly voice comes out from Mount Horeb (Sinai) and says : The whole world is nourished for the sake of my son Hanina, and my son Hanina contents himself with one small measure of carobs from one Friday evening to the next.[116]

In a previous chapter an account was given of the belief that the mere existence of the Temple secured the orderly functioning of nature and prevented the occurrence of natural calamities.[116] The same function, as we have just seen, was ascribed also to the Righteous and the Pious. And it is also owing to this belief that the rainbow was supposed to be absent during the lifetime of a truly righteous man. In Genesis it is related that God made a covenant with Noah, saying: "I do set my bow in the cloud and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. And it shall come to pass when I bring clouds over the earth that the bow shall be seen in the clouds. And I will remember my covenant . . . and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh."[117] According to talmudic conception, whenever the rainbow appears in the sky, it is a sign that the sins of the generation should by rights be punished with a new flood—were it not for the oath of God not to bring a second deluge on the earth. Thus it happens that no rainbow appears in the days of a pious generation, when there is no need of reminding God of his covenant. Such pious generations were those of

King Hezekiah and of the Men of the Great Council, in whose days the rainbow was absent.[118]

If a generation or a community was sinful, as ordinary generations or communities would be, there had to be in it at least one single pious man by whose merits the others too were saved from destruction. If the piety of this man was very great, the rainbow did not appear in his lifetime, since his mere existence sufficed to ward off destruction from the world. Such an exceedingly pious man was Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai, in whose days the rainbow never appeared in the clouds.[119] The sages once entered to him and said to him:

> Why is it that the rainbow never appeared in your days? He said to them: What else is (the rainbow) but (a sign) of punishment? I am worthy to withhold the punishment. . . . One of the sages present, on hearing this, rose up and said: "I set my bow in the clouds,"[120] this is Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai, who is the sign of the world. . . .[121]

The appearance of the rainbow thus became a criterion of the real piety of an outstanding man. If the rainbow appeared in his days—he was not a "*tzaddiq gamur*," a perfectly righteous man, but he was regarded as such if the rainbow did not appear as long as he lived. Thus it is related of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, who lived some generations after Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai, that "Elijah of blessed memory was studying with him the Law, and they were occupied in the teachings of Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai. Rabbi Joshua ben Levi had difficulties concerning a decision. Elijah said to him: Do you

want to ask it of Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai ? Come, and I shall raise him (from the dead) for you. At once they went and Elijah called Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai. At once he answered him. (Elijah) said to him: Rabbi Joshua ben Levi has come to ask you a decision. And (Shimeon ben Yohai) did not want (to answer him). (Whereupon) Elijah said to him: Rabbi Joshua ben Levi is worthy of seeing you. He is a righteous man. (Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai) said: Were he righteous, the rainbow would not have appeared in his days."[122]

VI

Reference has already been made in this book to the distinct messianic colouring of the ancient Near Eastern concept of the king's beneficial influence on his people's welfare.[123] It has been shown too that in biblical literature, in the Prophets and the Psalms, the same concept prevails: the days of the Messiah, the future king, are characterized not only by his righteousness which secures social justice and happiness for his people, but also—or, one may say, mainly—by the "messianic peace" in the animal kingdom and the wondrous fertility of all the creatures and the plants. These motives are very amply elaborated in rabbinic literature, often showing in their details surprising correspondence to the ancient Near Eastern ideas on the subject. Their general tenor, though, is different. While in the ancient Near Eastern texts *living* kings are flatteringly characterized

as bringing "messianic" prosperity to their country and people, the rabbinic material assigns the blissful state only to the "golden age" of a far-away past, and to the eschatological era of the "days to come," whereas the present is full of suffering and privations caused by the sins of man.

Let us begin our survey of the rabbinic statements with a quotation from Exodus Rabba:

> We find that the Holy One blessed be He will renew ten things in the days to come. . . . One: he will light up the world . . . even a sick man—the Holy One blessed be He will command the sun to cure him. . . . Two: He will cause to come forth living water from Jerusalem and cure with it all the sick. . . . Three: He will cause the trees to yield fruit every month and people will eat them and be cured. . . . Four: all the ruined cities will be rebuilt and there will be no desolate place in the world. . . . Five: He will build up Jerusalem in sapphire stones . . . and those stones will shine like unto the sun and the idolators will come and see the honour of Israel. . . . Six: the cow and the bear will feed together. . . .[124] Seven: He will bring all the beasts and all the birds and all the creeping things, and will make a covenant between them and Israel. . . . Eight: there will be no weeping and wailing in the world. . . . Nine: there will be no more death in the world. . . . Ten: there will be no more sigh, no more groan and no more sorrow, but everybody will be rejoicing. . . .[125]

Another source speaks not of ten things but of no fewer than "twenty-four good traits [which] were in the world and were put to naught by the sins, and at the end of the days the Holy One blessed be He will restore them to Israel." They are: Man's likeness to God; his stature (which was diminished); the garden of Eden; the tree of life; the heroism;

longevity; great number of children; the peace; the holy language (Hebrew); richess; the fruits; the manna; the well (which accompanied Israel in the wilderness); the pillar of fire; the pillar of smoke; the Tetragrammaton (the Ineffable Name); the rejoicing; the spring of Gihon; the Synhedrion; the kingship of David's house; the office of the High Priest; the Sanctuary; and the Holy Spirit.[126]

On some of these future blessings the sages have dwelt with special interest:

Rabbi Hiyya b. Joseph said: There will be a time when the land of Israel will produce baked cakes of the purest quality and silk [or woollen] garments. . . .[127]

Our rabbis taught: "There will be a rich cornfield upon the top of the mountains."[128] [From this] it was inferred that there will be a time when wheat will rise as high as a palm-tree and will grow on the top of the mountains. But in case you should think that there will be trouble in reaping it, it was specifically said in Scripture, "Its fruit shall rustle like Lebanon."[129] The Holy One blessed be He will bring a wind from his treasure houses which He will cause to blow upon it. This will loosen its fine flour and a man will walk out into the field and take a mere handful and, out of it, will [have sufficient provision for] his own, and his household's maintenance.

"With the kidney-fat of wheat."[130] [From this] it was inferred that there will be a time when a grain of wheat will be as large as the two kidneys of a big bull. . . .

"And of the blood of the grape thou drankest foaming wine."[131] It was inferred: The world to come is not like this world. In this world there is the trouble of harvesting and treading [of the grapes], but in the world to come a man will bring one grape on a wagon or a ship, put it in a corner of his house and use its contents as [if it had been] a large wine cask, while its timber (*i.e.* the stalk of the grape) would be used to make fires for cooking (lit.: under the dish).

THE KING	THE MESSIAH
New Foundations	
Ass. "Maker of Assyria"	Cities rebuilt
Founder of the palace	Jerusalem built in precious stones[139]
Renewer of the temples	The Temple rebuilt
Sustainer of the cult places[140]	The office of the High Priest and David's house restored
Blessing of the Light	
Eg. The days are long	The world is lit up
Bab. "The sun of Babylonia"	The Temple will light up the world[141]
Ass. "The sun of all peoples"[142]	The sun shines sevenfold[143]
	The "righteous" will shine[144]
Blessing of the Waters	
Eg. "Lord of flood." The Nile runs high	Living waters issue from Jerusalem
Ass. Abundant rains	The "Well" and the spring of Gihon appears
Copious inundations	
Blessing of the Vegetable World	
Eg. Plentiful in grain	Even wild trees bear fruit
Ass. Years of abundance	The land produces ready-baked cakes
The hungry are satisfied	
The corn grows 5 ells high	Wheat high as a palm-tree
	A grain of wheat as large as two kidneys
The spike becomes five-sixths of an ell	*Grapes reach enormous size, each* yields 30 kegs of wine
The Giparu tree is ever-bearing	Trees yield fruit every two months —every month—every day. Crops ripen every month—every 15 days
Fruit trees yield luxuriant fruit	The vine yields 926 kinds of fruit[145]
Ras Sh. Power over the crops	Amplitude of wheat, wine and oil[146]
Blessing of the Animal Kingdom	
Ass. Cattle multiply greatly	Fishes will multiply, and
Hitt. Cattle, sheep multiply	Mountains will flow of milk and honey[147]
Tel Am. Gives sheep, flock, cattle	

Blessing of Human Progeny	
Ass. Many children born *Hitt.* People multiply	Many children born Women will bear every day
Health	
Ass. The sick become cured	The sick become cured Bodily defects disappear[148] "The healing dew"[149]
Richess	
Ass. The destitute clothed Acceptable prices *Tel Am.* Clothes the poor in byssus Gives silver, gold, richess	The land produces silk (or: woollen) garments Richess
Lawfulness, Security, Happiness	
Ass. No force, no injury, no outrage, no bloodshed; security on the roads Man and women rejoicing	No sigh, no groan, no sorrow, no weeping, no wailing. Longevity ("Tree of Life," no death.) The Synhedrion.[150] Everybody rejoicing. God makes the world joyful[151]
Victory	
Ass. Enemy subjugated[152] "Brought subjection to the four quarters of the world"[154]	Heroism. "Idolators" come and see the honour of Israel.[153] Victory of Israel.[155] Israel's rule over the world[156]
Peace	
Ass. General peace	Peace between men and between animals[157]

The inference is clear: the "materialistic" traits of the rabbinic messianology go back to the very old conception of the magic or divine king, which was a common heritage of the peoples of the ancient Near East.

It is thus far that we can follow at present the course of development which leads from the magician, the priestly, and the divine king—through the whis-

perer and rain-maker—to the righteous and pious man, whose moral personality shouldered in rabbinic Judaism the responsibility for the welfare of his people, and whose image was projected into the future, there to become merged with the figure of the Messiah.

The very idea, that one single person is responsible for the whole community, emerges from our investigations as a heritage from cruder ages, in which the responsibility was of a physical, or rather a technical kind. With the advance of the ages the ancient idea of the necessity of performing ritual functions for the purpose of influencing nature and thus obtaining from it material benefits, underwent a slow but steady modification. In consequence of the destruction of the Temple the performance of the sacrificial ritual was stopped before it could become obsolete. In Divine Service the place of the sacrifices was taken by the prayer, while in popular imagination the place of the sacrificing priest, who set in motion the working of sympathy in nature, was taken by the "men of faith," the pious and the righteous, whose influence over nature came to be ascribed in an ever-increasing extent to their moral qualities, to their merits, and even to their sufferings. Instead of physical sympathy there thus developed a concept of spiritual and moral sympathy, in which the responding party was no longer nature but God himself.

1 Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, viii, 6. Loeb Class. Library, p. 281.

2 Pasquale Villari, *Life and Times of Savonarola*, London, 1888, p. 124.

3 L. Wieger, *Histoire des croyances religieuses et des opinions philosophiques en Chine*, Hien-Hien, 1922, p. 64. (The English translation is mine.)
4 Engnell, *Studies*, pp. 13 sq.
5 Breasted, *Eg. Rec.* III. §§ 265, 268, as quoted by S. A. Cook in Robertson-Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed., p. 537.
6 Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, pp. 374 sq.
7 Strack, *Assurbanipal*, II, p. 152, lines 5 sqq., as quoted by E. R. Goodenough, "Kingship in Early Israel," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1929, pp. 174 sq.
8 *Beiträge zur Assyrologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 3, 254, 10 sq., as quoted by Engnell, *Studies*, p. 29.
9 Engnell, *Studies*, pp. 43 sq.
10 Witzel, *Keilinschriftliche Studien* (1–7, Fulda, 1918–30), 5, pp. 52 sqq., as quoted by Engnell, *Studies*, p. 39.
11 Witzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 sqq., as quoted, *ib.* p. 40.
12 *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, 4, p. 172, as quoted by Engnell, p. 43.
13 *Annals of Ashurbanapal*, ed. R. J. Lau-S. Langdon (Semitic Study Series, 2, Leiden (1903), ll. 45 sq. as quoted by Engnell, p. 44.
14 Dhorme, *La religion assyro-babylonienne*, Paris, 1910, p. 173.
15 Engnell, *Studies*, pp. 44 sq.
16 *Op. cit.*, p. 68.
17 *Op. cit.*, p. 93.
18 The *Klmw* inscription, as quoted by Engnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 sq.
19 Virolleaud, *La légende phénicienne de Danel*, Paris, 1936, pp. 91, 121, 145, as quoted by Engnell, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
20 Gen. 20, 9. Cf also Gen. 26, 10, where the same story is told of Abimelech and Rebecca, the wife of Isaac.
21 Ex. 17, 8–13.
22 Ex. 17, 11–13. About the royal prerogatives of Moses, as pointed out by Philo, etc., cf. E. R. Goodenough,

"Kingship in Early Israel," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1929, pp. 178 sqq.

23 Less clear is the stretching out of the spear by Joshua which resulted in the capture of Ai, Josh. 8, 18.

24 2. Sam. 21, 1–9.

25 2 Sam. 24, 1–15 ; 1 Chron. 21, 1–14. Cf. C. R. North, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship," *Zeitschrift für alttestamentl. Wissenschaft*, 1932, pp. 10 sq.

26 Is. 11, 1, 6.

27 Joel, 4, 18.

28 Ps. 72, 6–9, 16. Cf. E. R. Goodenough, "Kingship in Early Israel," *J.B.L.*, 1929, pp. 199 sqq.

29 Odyssey xix, 108–14.

30 2 Sam. 21, 1.

31 Num. Rab. 8, 4 ; Midrash Shemuel 28 ; B. Yeb. 78b ; Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 17 ; Midrash Shoher Tobh, Ps. 17.

32 These are taken from the Abhidhanappadipika, No. 783. Cf. Digha, ii, 172 sqq. Hocart, *Kingship*, p. 23. (Note of Hocart, *Kings and Councillors*, p. 140.)

33 Jataka, ii. 366 sqq., as quoted by Hocart, *Kings and Councillors*, pp. 140 sq.

34 R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne*, Paris, 1939 (*Études d'assyriologie*, 2), p. 328, referred to by Engnell, *Studies*, p. 35.

35 Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 313 sqq. ; Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, passim.

36 M. Sanh. 11, 1 ; B. Sanh. 101a ; Y. Sanh. 28b top.

37 Y. Sotah 16d bot. ; Lev. Rab. 9, 153b ; Num. Rab. 9, 201d.

38 Y. Sab. 14d mid. ; Y. 'Ab. Zar. 40d mid ; Y. Ber. 3c bot.

39 Y. Sab. 8b bot.

40 B. Sanh. 101a.

41 Cf. S. Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature*, London, 1913.

42 B. Ta'an. 8a.

43 B. Ta'an. 8a.

44 B. Ta'an. 8a.
45 Cf. B. Bab. Metz. 28b.
46 C. 80 B.C.
47 M. Ta'an. 3, 8; cf. B. Ta'an. 23a; Y. Ta'an. 66d–67a. Cf. Patai, "The 'Control of Rain,'" *Hebrew Union Coll. Annual*, xiv, p. 282, notes 159 and 160.
48 B. Ta'an. 23a.
49 B. Ta'an. 23a.
50 B. Ta'an. 23b. Cf. p. 161.
51 Josephus, *Ant.* xiv, 2, 1.
52 Y. Ta'an. 66d bot., but cf. B. Ta'an. 23a.
53 Ps. 44, 2.
54 The town where Rabha lived; current editions have "Sepphoris."
55 B. Ta'an. 24b.
56 B. Ta'an. 24a.
57 Judges 20, 26; 1 Sam. 7, 6 sq.; 10 sq.; 1 Kings 21, 27; 2 Chron. 20, 3; Joel 1, 14; 2, 12; Jer. 36, 9; Ezra 8, 21 sq.; Neh. 9, 1; Ps. 35, 13; Zach. 8, 19.
58 Koran 2, 192; 4, 91, 96; 5, 91; 58, 1 sq.; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 315, 361; *Enc. Bibl.* s.v. Fasting (ii, 1508); Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. Fasting.
59 Y. Ber. 9b top.
60 B. Bab. Metz. 85b.
61 B. Ta'an. 25a.
62 Y. Ta'an. 66c bot.
63 Cf. also Patai, *Man and Earth* ii, 225 sqq., 236 sqq., 245 sqq.
64 Y. Ta'an. 64b bot.
65 B. Sanh. 99b.
66 Eccl. 12, 13.
67 B. Ber. 6b.
68 Al-Jauharī, s.v. sl'; cf. Al-wishāh wa-tathqif al-rimāh (Būlāq 1281, p. 80); Muhīt, s.v. I, p. 981b; Al-Damīrī I, p. 187 sq.; cf. also Wellhausen, *Reste*, 157; as quoted by Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, Halle, 1889, pp. 34 sq.

69 Al-Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-heywān*, fol. 245b, as quoted by Goldziher, ib. p. 35.
70 Koran 71, 9–10.
71 Al-Muwasshā, ed. Brünnow, p. 193, 9, as quoted by Goldziher, ib. ii, p. 108.
72 Yatīmat ad-dahr ii, p. 303, as quoted by Goldziher, ib. p. 109.
73 Aġ. xi, p. 81, Tahdīb, p. 332, as quoted by Goldziher, ib. p. 108.
74 Yāqūt, i, p. 418 bot. as quoted by Goldziher, ib. p. 313. In the following (pp. 313 sqq.) Goldziher adduces data to show that the habit prevailed to pray for rain on the graves of many a holy man. This custom is found also in Oriental Jewish communities.
75 The theological significance of the doctrine of merits was exhaustively treated by A. Marmorstein in his book, *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinical Literature*, London, 1920; we can, therefore, in the following confine ourselves to a few characteristic examples.
76 Y. Ta'an. 66c top.; Lev. Rab. 35, 12.
77 Y. Ta'an. 66c top.
78 Y. Ta'an. 66c mid.
79 Tanhuma Gen. ed. Buber, p. 34.
80 Pesiqta Rabbati 201b; cf. Eccl. Rab. 11, 2.
81 Cf. Gen. 22, 1–19.
82 Y. Ber. 9b top; Y. Ta'an. 63d top.
83 Gen. 18, 1 sqq.
84 According to legend the so-called Well of Miriam accompanied the Children of Israel everywhere during their wanderings in the wilderness, cf. Patai, *Hammayim (The Water), a Study in Palestinology and Palestinian Folklore* (in Hebrew), Tel-Aviv, 1936, pp. 153 sqq.
85 Cf. Num. 11, 31.
86 Lev. Rab. 34, 8.
87 Gen. Rab. 14, 6, p. 130.
88 Gen. Rab. 39, 11, p. 376.
89 Siphre Deut. 38.
90 Gen. 7, 47.

91 Siphre Deut. 38.
92 Gen. 41, 27.
93 Gen. Rab. 89, 9, p. 1098.
94 Gen. Rab. 84, 6, p. 1008.
95 Gen. Rab. 70, 19, p. 817; cf. Targum Yer. ad Gen. 29, 22.
96 Gen. 29, 10.
97 Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, ch. 36; cf. Midrash Haggadol, ed. Schechter, p. 457.
98 Targum Yer. ad Gen. 28, 10; 31, 22.
99 Gen. 30, 30.
100 Pirqe Rabbi, Eliezer, ch. 36. In recognizing the true content of the biblical passages speaking about the blessing which is inherent in the person of the "righteous," and in explicitly stating that this blessing spreads from the person of the "righteous" to his surrounding, the talmudic sages have thus anticipated Pedersen by some fifteen hundred years. Cf. Pedersen, *Israel*, Its Life and Culture, I–II (1926), pp. 209 sqq.
101 Cf. *Encyclopedia of the Islam*, s.v. Ibrahim, p. 432.
102 B. Sotah 13a.
103 Nahman of Bratzlav, *Sepher Hammiddoth*, s.v. banim, no. 78, ed. Traklin, Warsaw, p. 30.
104 B. Hul. 89a.
105 B. Ber. 17b; cf. B. Ta'an. 24b; B. Hul. 86b.
106 B. Yoma 38b.
107 Prov. 10, 25.
108 B. Hag. 12b.
109 Gen. Rab. 75, 11, p. 892.
110 Siphre Deut. 38.
111 Cf. also B. Meg. 21b.
112 M. 'Aboth 5, 1; cf. Fragments of Midrash Abqir, ed. by A. Marmorstein, in "*Debir*," Berlin, 1923, p. 120.
113 Gen. Rab. 28, 5, p. 264; Cant. Rab. ad 1, 4; cf. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, v, p. xlvi; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 4th ed., iii, 150–88, where the material is collected concerning Jewish proselytizing.

114 Gen. Rab. 96, 5; cf. Gen. Rab. 33, 3, pp. 306 sq.; Y. Kil. 32b mid.; Tanhuma Wayhi, 13.
115 *B. Ber. 17b.*
116 See p. 121.
117 Gen. 9, 13–15.
118 Gen. Rab. 35, 2, p. 328; Midrash Haggadol, ed. Schechter, p. 173; cf. Patai, "Haqqesheth," in the *Samuel Krauss Jubilee Volume* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1937, pp. 311 sqq., and especially pp. 319 sq., where evidence is adduced to show the existence of this belief among other peoples.
119 Y. Ber. 13d bot.
120 Gen. 9, 13.
121 Midrash Haggadol, ed. Schechter, p. 174.
122 Midrash Shoher Tobh ed. Buber, p. 252; cf. B. Ket. 74b; Gen. Rab. 35, 2, pp. 328–29; Patai, *Haqqesheth*, pp. 320 sq.
123 See p. 176.
124 Els. ii, 7.
125 x. Rab., 15, 21.
126 Midrash Haggadol, Genesis, ed. Schechter, p. 126 sq., cf. additional sources, *ib.* in the notes.
127 Cf. B. Shabbat 30 b, in the name of R. Gamliel.
128 Ps. 72, 16.
129 *Ib. ib.*
130 Deut. 32, 14.
131 *Ib. ib.*
132 B. Kethuboth 111b, translated by I. Slotki in *The Babylonian Talmud*, ed. I. Epstein, Soncino Press, London, 1936, vol. ii, pp. 720 sqq. Cf. Siphre Deut. § 317; Midrash Tannaim, pp. 192 sqq.
133 Pirqē Mashiah, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 77. Cf. Apoc. Baruch, 29, 5.
134 Ginzberg, "Aggadoth q'tu'oth," *Haggoren*, ix, Berlin, 1929, p. 66; cf. *ib.* pp. 58–59.
135 Yer. Sheqalim 50a, cf. Kethuboth, 112b.
136 B. Shabbat, 30b. Cf. also Midrash Tanhuma, ed. Buber, Introduction, 158; Gen. 7a, J. Klausner, *Die*

messianischen Vorstellungen im Zeitalter der Tannaiten, pp. 108 sqq; Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, London, 1909, p. 109; A. Jeremias, *Babyl. im NT*, p. 33; Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, v, 142, and additional sources, *ib.*; G. Foot Moore, *Judaism*, vol. ii, Cambridge, Mass. 1927, pp. 365 sq.; Patai, *Man and Earth*, i, 282 sq.

137 Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, iv, 271 sq. and the corresponding notes in vol. iv. Cf. B. Synh, 98b, 99a.

138 Cf. pp. 175 sqq.

139 Pirqē Mashiah, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 69.

140 Engnell, *Studies*, pp. 42, 192.

141 Pirqē Mashiah, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 69.

142 Engnell, *Studies*, p. 183.

143 B. Synh., 91b.

144 "The Wars of King Messiah," Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, vi, 119.

145 Tanhuma, ed. Buber, Introduction, p. 158.

146 Book of Elijah, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 66.

147 Pirqē Mashiah, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 74.

148 B. Synh., 91b; "The Wars of King Messiah," Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, vi, 119.

149 "The Signs of the Messiah," Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, ii, 59.

150 Cf. Is. 2, 4.

151 Pirqē Mashiah, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 70.

152 Cf. also Engnell, *Studies*, pp. 187 sq.

153 Cf. Is. 2, 3.

154 Engnell, *Studies*, 188.

155 Pirqē Mashiah, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, iii, 69, 70, 71.

156 "The Wars of King Messiah," Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, vi, 119.

157 Cf. Is. ii, 6 sqq. To the above two columns a third parallel column could easily be added listing the blessings secured by the functioning of the Temple in Jerusalem, or the existence of a "righteous man."

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MODERN INDIA

AND

THE INDIANS

BEING A SERIES

OF IMPRESSIONS, NOTES, AND ESSAYS

BY

Sir Monier MONIER-WILLIAMS, D.C.L.

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ADVERTISEMENT TO FIRST EDITION.

I HAVE frequently been requested to reprint my various communications to the *Times* Newspaper, *Athenæum*, *Indian Antiquary*, and other periodicals — many of which were written during my recent travels in India. The following pages are put forth in compliance with the request.

They are not a mere reproduction of what has already appeared. Much additional matter has been added, and an attempt has been made to connect the series in some sort of order corresponding to the course of my travels. They need no preface, nor introduction. They may be left to speak for themselves.

A further series of Essays embodying my principal researches into Modern Indian religious life will, I hope, be published hereafter.

OXFORD, *April*, 1878.

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THIS Edition will be found a great improvement on those that preceded it. I have taken care to avail myself of all such criticisms on particular passages in the previous editions as appeared to me to be just, and I have enlarged the work by considerably more than a hundred pages of additional matter. The chapter on the 'Villages and Rural Population of India' and several other sections of the work are quite new. Most of the matter in the two Essays on the 'Progress of our Indian Empire' appeared originally in the *Contemporary Review*.

M. W.

OXFORD, *September*, 1879.

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MODERN INDIA AND THE INDIANS.

THE FIVE GATES OF INDIA—GIBRALTAR, MALTA, PORT SAID, PERIM, AND ADEN.

THE good ship 'Venetia,' which took me to India on the occasion of my first expedition to the East, entered the Bay of Biscay on the 15th of October, 1875. Equinoctial gales had been raging for several days previously, and the Atlantic rollers, coming broadside on, soon discriminated between the passengers, instituting a process of natural selection, which resulted in the survival of those alone who were fittest to do justice to the diurnal bill of fare provided by the Peninsular and Oriental Company with a punctuality and regularity altogether weather-proof.

To be sure our decks were crowded with a motley assemblage of men, women, and children of all sorts and conditions; for example—a Duke and Prince of the Blood Royal, an Italian Countess, a general officer or two, some A. D. C.'s, several captains, one clergyman, numerous Indian civilians of various types, stations, and degrees, from judges of the High Court to the greenest of probationers just escaped out of the clutches of the Civil Service Examiners, sundry male oddities—long-bearded, short-bearded, and beardless, wived and wifeless—divers eccentric husbandless females of uncertain ages and vague antecedents, a few solitary wives on their way to join their husbands, one or two flirting bachelors, a bevy of pretty unmarried girls, a troop of young engineers from Cooper's

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Hill, a batch of serious commercial men, an unpleasant pack of obstreperous children, and a residuum of unsortable nondescripts, not to speak of a heterogeneous crew of English sailors, Lascars, Negroes, and Chinamen. None of this miscellaneous collection of human beings made their presence felt so plainly as the children. Sea-sickness is a powerful leveller and merciless humiliator, but was powerless either to repress or depress the children. Their self-assertion was only aggravated by the prostrate condition of their natural guardians. Indian nurses easily succumb, and are generally very attenuated and miserable in appearance; but the opposite extreme is occasionally exemplified. We had one Ayah on board, who was quite a curious specimen of abnormal portliness and unnatural hypertrophy. Another was a tall graceful woman attired in a long red robe, gold necklace, bracelets and bangles. Notwithstanding her ladylike mien, she was, of course, a woman of very low caste, probably a Mhār (or Dheḍ). She had some very peculiar blue cross lines tattooed on her forehead between the eyebrows, and a similar mark on one temple. Like all Indian women of her station, she had invested all her savings in ornaments, and carried them on her person.

Our fourth night at sea brought us opposite the mouth of the Tagus, and in sight of the Lisbon lights. At daybreak next day we were approaching Cape St. Vincent.

Life is made up of compensations. Our patient endurance of four miserable days was rewarded by a grand spectacle. Noble cliffs rose to a great height out of the sea, some glowing with red tints as if covered with heather, others frowning with black crags, and shelving suddenly into perpendicular precipices or scarps of dark granite, riddled with countless holes and caverns by the sheer force of the Atlantic. Here and there isolated needle-like rocks, and others of fantastic shapes, separated from the cliffs by seething channels, stood out from the mainland, or seemed to thrust themselves forward as if to

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court the first dash of the waves which covered their sides with sheets of foam. In the distance were lofty mountains, whose gilded summits appeared loftier through the morning mist which still clung to them. Cape St. Vincent has a lighthouse and telegraph station. We hoisted our signals, and our approach was instantly notified at Gibraltar.

At night we were in the Straits (anciently called the Straits of Hercules), with the Bay of Tangier on our right. Tangier is a sea-port of Morocco, and is now the property of the Moors under the Emperor of Morocco; the capital of the province, Fez, being about a hundred miles inland.

In four days and a half, or 108 hours from the moment of our passing the Needles, we were close to Gibraltar. The night was dark and squally, and great caution was needed. I was kept awake by the intermittent throes and gasps of our engine, which seemed to struggle for breath like a moribund monster dying hard. Very early in the morning its fitful throbbings suddenly ceased, and the silence of death followed.

The first sight of the Bay is grand beyond all expectation. It bends round in a long curve or elongated semicircle, surrounded in the distance by ranges of high hills, the towering rock of Gibraltar—said to be nearly three miles long, and 1400 feet high—overhanging the whole of one side and forming a promontory running north and south, joined to the continent of Spain by a narrow isthmus of land called the neutral ground. The latter is washed on both sides by the Mediterranean. At the furthest extremity of the promontory is Europa Point, with a lighthouse. The town of Gibraltar, resting on a long line of batteries, climbs about one-third of the western side of the rock. Rising conspicuously above the houses is a fine ruined keep—once a strong castle when the place was possessed by the Moors, and still scarred and scored with the marks of subsequent sieges.

Nearly opposite, on the shore of the bay, is the Spanish

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town of Algeciras. Further inland, on a hill near the bottom of the bay, is San Roque. At both towns bull-fights are popular amusements, and not despised by some of our own people, who resort to them from Gibraltar to relieve the monotony of their cramped and cage-like existence.

The rock of Gibraltar was first known to the Phœnicians under the name of Calpe. After them the Carthaginians, Romans, and Visigoths successfully gained a footing there. It did not rank as a fortress till A.D. 711, when it was fortified by a Saracen army under Tārik (or, according to some, Tārif), a Moorish conqueror, from whom it was called Jibal Tārik, or Tārik's mountain (in Arabic *Jabalu't tārik*). In 1309 Ferdinand IV took the fortress after it had belonged to the Moors for 598 years, but it was retaken by them in 1462, and held by them altogether for 726 years. We took it from Spain in 1704, and to us it has belonged, notwithstanding three attempts on the part of the Spaniards to recover it, for about 175 years. On a hill, at the lower end of the bay, is a stone cairn called the 'Queen of Spain's chair,' because a Spanish queen is said to have seated herself there during one of the sieges, and declared she would not rise from it till she had seen the English flag hauled down. This is such a hackneyed guide-book story that one is almost ashamed to repeat it.

Opposite Europa Point, on the coast of Barbary in Africa, is Ceuta—a town close under a rocky hill (Mount Abyla) which forms a pendant to the rock of Gibraltar, and represents the second pillar of Hercules. Near it is a much higher, grander, black-looking, craggy, precipitous hill, known as the Ape's Hill, which also claims, and with more apparent justice, to represent the other pillar. From this mountain at some primeval period came the tailless apes which to this day linger on the rock of Gibraltar like wild aborigines, hopelessly struggling to hold their own against civilized settlers. Eighteen apes are still left, and every one of them is known and held inviolable. To kill or even

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injure any one of them would be an unpardonable offence. Ceuta belongs to Spain, and is used by the government as a penal settlement. It is a most unpleasant place of residence, convicts being allowed to roam about loose. They cannot escape by land, as, once out of the town, they would certainly be killed by the Moors, between whom and the Spaniards inveterate enmity subsists. I believe some eccentric person, or persons, once started the idea that it would be well for England to restore Gibraltar to Spain and take Ceuta in exchange.

On landing at Gibraltar we lost no time in making our way to Europa Point, passing the Alameda—a name given to a kind of public square, or esplanade, planted with trees, which is an institution in all Spanish towns, and treated as consecrated ground by the inhabitants. The drive led up a hill over the lower slope of the rock, which on the town side is much less steep than towards the Spanish frontier. The vegetation is quite tropical. Prickly pears, cactuses, and pepper trees appeared to be growing luxuriantly, and aloes were as plentiful as blackberry bushes. Europa Point commands an unequalled view of the Straits, the coast of Africa, and Gibraltar Bay. The rock itself from this point reminded us of the Bastei in the district called Saxon Switzerland, near Dresden.

Returning to the town under a royal salute which announced the landing of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, we found it no easy matter to thread our way through the long principal street—crowded as it was with a motley multitude of Moors from Fez, Arabs, Negroes, Jews, Scorpions (or natives of Gibraltar familiarly so called), Spanish peasants, muleteers, English soldiers and sailors. The neutral ground on the northern side, opposite the Spanish lines, affords a striking view of the celebrated galleries which perforate the rock—here most precipitous. We could see the muzzles of monster guns protruding through innumerable port-holes. This, of course, would be the direction of an attack in case of a war with Spain. The

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wonderful construction of the galleries themselves, which we afterwards visited, is too well known to need description.

As we steamed out of the Bay the eastern side of the rock, which is much wilder and more craggy in appearance than the town side, showed itself to great advantage. Here a steamer passed us, crowded with Hājjīs, or pilgrims from Mecca, bound for Tangier. They were all dressed alike in coarse grey garments, with cowls on their heads, and were packed closely together like sheep in a pen. It is alleged that they never leave the deck, lie down, or change their clothes from the moment they quit Mecca till they reach home. Next, the grand range of the Sierra Nevada, with its sharp serrated outline, came into view on our left. I believe its principal mountain is little short of 12,000 feet high. About noon on the sixth day after leaving England, we passed Cape Tenez on the coast of Africa.

At sunset the whole western sky was on fire, while the serrated line of the African mountains seemed to be cut out of the glowing heavens, as if with a sharp knife, and painted jet black. When night fell we were opposite the Bay of Algiers, and could distinguish the lights of the town. Thence to Malta little of interest marked the ship's course. We passed Zembra, a fine rocky island (occasionally resorted to for coal) on one side of the Bay of Tunis, and about twelve miles west of Cape Bon. The latter is a noble headland on the African coast, with a lighthouse more than half-way down its precipitous sides. Pantelleria, the ancient Cossyra, came in sight—a grand volcanic island eight or ten miles long and thirty in circumference, said to be remarkable for a lake of unfathomable depth at the top of its highest mountain, and two caverns, one intensely hot and the other intensely cold, and hot springs in other parts. The town consists of a long line of staring white houses, with a large church and detached villas dotted at intervals over the slopes. I believe the island now belongs to Italy, and, until recently, was used as a convict settlement.

On the eighth day after leaving England we passed Gozo,

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an island twelve miles long (called Gaulos by the Greeks), lying to the north-west of Malta and close to it, being only separated from the main island by a narrow channel, in the centre of which lies a much smaller island, called Comino. Soon afterwards we anchored in the quarantine harbour of Malta.

Early in the morning we took one of the boats that crowded round our vessel (in form rather like Venetian gondolas) and landed at Valetta, the principal town of Malta, built in 1566 by La Valette, the grandmaster of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to which Order the Emperor Charles V of Germany made over the whole island in 1530. The town is regularly built on an elevated promontory just behind the fortress of St. Elmo, which, with a lighthouse, occupies its extreme point.

On one side of the promontory is the quarantine harbour for merchant ships and steamers. On the other is the great harbour for ships of war, commanded at its entrance by the fortress of Ricasoli, and indented with numerous inlets or creeks, each forming a small separate harbour, and the whole capable of being swept by the fortress of St. Angelo, bristling with guns on a promontory in the middle. In fact, the entire line of coast on the northern side of the island is hollowed out into creeks by the force of the Mediterranean currents. It is a kind of Connemara on a small scale. One considerable inlet, forming quite a harbour, is called St. Paul's Bay, because, according to tradition, the ship which contained St. Paul and his fellow-prisoners was cast on shore here.

On landing we found it impossible to shake off a swarm of importunate natives, either vendors of the produce of the island or would-be guides, who followed us about like tiresome flies intent on settling on us. We visited the cathedral of St. John, where the knights are buried under a beautiful Mosaic floor; the governor's palace, where there is some celebrated tapestry and a fine armoury, interesting from a well-arranged collection of the armour

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of the Knights of St. John; and the gardens of San Antonio, five miles in the interior.

The houses of Malta are all of white stone, with flat roofs. Their architecture has a half Italian, half Oriental character. The streets are built on each side of the rocky promontory in parallel lines, so as to join at right angles a long central main street, which forms a sort of backbone along the summit of the ridge. One or two are ascended by picturesque tiers of steps. The whole island appears to be one vast rock and stone quarry. Instead of hedges, lines of white walls intersect the interior in every direction, one rising above the other like terraces, with square look-out towers at intervals. Here and there the dull monotony of the stone terraces is relieved by tufts of dark foliage, dotted about promiscuously in every direction. These represent the tops of well-grown trees, which rear their heads above the walls, as if to bear witness to the fertility of the soil in the gardens underneath. It is difficult, indeed, to understand how any garden can be productive when nothing but rock is visible around. The explanation, I believe, is that rich soil is transported in small vessels from Sicily, and kept together by the walls. The Maltese are very industrious. Their commercial instincts are certainly developed by their brief and fitful intercourse with their Anglo-Indian visitors, and notably exhibited in the sums asked for the products of their small island. Swarms of petty traders, not content with pestering every passenger who lands for a few hours, hover about the decks of the steamers offering lace and coral ornaments at four times their value. The knowing purchaser waits till the steamer is just starting, and then bids a fourth of the first price asked. I saw a black lace shawl reduced in this way from £4 10*s.* to £1.

The population multiplies so rapidly that the island is quite inadequate to support its inhabitants. Numbers emigrate and spread themselves over the Mediterranean. No less than 10,000 Maltese are said to be settled in

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Tunis. Their own peculiar vernacular tongue is a corrupt form of Arabic largely intermixed with Italian words. No one who has seen the position of the noble harbours on the north coast of the island, can have any doubt that so long as we possess India and remain the greatest maritime power of the world, Malta must be held and its garrisons maintained by us in full efficiency *coûte qu'il coûte.* Protected by the guns of St. Elmo and Ricasoli, Tigne and St. Angelo, almost any number of our men-of-war and merchant vessels might find a safe anchorage. Strong north-easterly gales are the only winds that can affect them.

After leaving Malta we saw no land till we approached Port Said. The whole stretch of sea is, I believe, 900 miles long. Here would lie the danger to our commerce in case of any great naval power commanding the Black Sea and the coast of Syria. On Sunday the ship's company was mustered on deck before prayer-time. First, on the port side, appeared a line of twenty-two stewards and waiters, extending from the centre of the ship, every one in characteristic uniform. Next, on the same side, came eight or ten black, thick-lipped African negroes, commonly called Sīdīs or Sīdī boys, from the neighbourhood of Zanzibar. They were dressed in snow-white garments quite out of keeping with their occupation, which consists in shoveiling the coal into the furnaces, and contrasting curiously with their glossy coal-black countenances and dark thick woolly hair. They are a happy smiling race, always in exuberant spirits, though exposed to roasting heat, drinking nothing but water and nourished by a vegetable diet. They may be seen sleeping as soundly on the iron gratings of the engine-room as on a bed of down. Then came the Āg-wālās—men employed about the engine and fires. These were described to me as Konkanī Musalmāns, from the neighbourhood of Bombay. They were also dressed in peculiar white costumes—picturesque and immaculately clean. This formed the line on the port side. At the stern were the English officers of the ship,

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and nearest the stern, on the starboard side, a few English quartermasters or superior English sailors. After them came the long line of Laskars (or, as they call themselves, Khalāsīs, 'free,' vulgarly Klasees), marvellously transfigured in appearance, and quite belying their own identity, in spotless dresses, embroidered turbans, and scarves.

The word Laskar is derived from the Persian *lashkar*, an army. The name is somewhat sarcastically applied to a crew of Indian sailors who, in their ordinary work-day aspect, have nothing whatever about them suggestive of military smartness or effectiveness. To the uninitiated passenger these Laskars appear a very miserable squad, and no one can look at them without conjuring up fearful pictures of disaster to the ship in the event of cyclones and other possible emergencies. Yet the captain declared that, though comparatively inefficient in a cold climate, they do better than English sailors under a hot sun; that they are more tractable and docile, and, what is more important, that they never get drunk. They are, of course, Musalmāns; for Hindūs even of the lowest caste have an unconquerable religious antipathy to voyages on the 'black water[1].' In fact, the lower the caste in India the more tenacious are its members of caste-purity, and the more pride does each man take in protecting himself from what he believes to be contamination. Nothing is more essential to the preservation of caste-purity than unpolluted water, and nowhere is it so difficult to keep water ceremonially pure as on ship-board. As to the Musalmān Laskars, the best of them come from Kathiwar (more correctly written Kāṭhi-āwāḍ, the abode of the Kāthi tribes) and the neighbourhood of the Portuguese settlement of Daman. Their wages are, of course, less than those of English sailors, but if the Company save in this way, a *per contra* outlay is incurred, because more men are re-

[1] In Hindūstānī, *Kālā pānī*. This phrase is now commonly substituted for the more proper expression *Khārā pānī*, 'salt water.'

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quired to counterbalance the want of muscular power in each individual.

I asked the captain about their food, and whether they would eat meat. 'Yes,' he said, 'we sometimes, while in harbour, give them a sheep, which they kill in their own way. On the voyage they generally eat dried fish, rice, and dāl, and are not very particular about it. Though they are Muhammadans, they will even sometimes eat pork if we have nothing else to give them. They ask no inconvenient questions, but tie the forbidden animal—slaughtered, however, according to the most orthodox rules of Islām—on to the end of a line, and drag it after the ship for an hour or so; after which one of their number hauls it in, calling out with great solemnity as if he were using a formula of consecration, *Jāo sū'ar idhar āo machchī*, "go away, pig; come hither, fish."'

The regiment of Laskars was headed in the muster by the Sarang—a title corrupted from *Sarhang*, the Persian word for a general, and humorously applied to the native boatswain, who, in his turban glittering with gold embroidery, and attended by his two Tindals, or boatswain's mates, would assuredly have been mistaken for an Indian prince if he could have been transplanted into the middle of a London crowd.

Conspicuous among the Asiatics was one Chinaman—the ship's carpenter—in a broad straw hat. The whole company would have well illustrated a lecture on the ethnology of the world. At any rate, they formed a singularly picturesque and interesting line of 132 specimens of the human species, methodically arranged for inspection round the quarter-deck of the ship. The mixed crowd of passengers—some lolling lazily and apathetically in the central space, others standing up to gaze with languid curiosity or serene self-complacency on the miscellaneous assortment of their fellow-creatures, ranged round them like animals in a zoological show—offered quite as curious an exhibition of diversified humanity in their own

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way, while the captain and first officer walked round with an air of calm professional assurance, casting critical glances of appreciation or depreciation at each member of the ship's company, and receiving respectful salutes in return. Then at a given signal the Sarang sounded his whistle, the whole circle of unbelievers melted away in an instant, leaving the crowd of believing Christians in the centre to settle down for Divine Service.

We reached Port Said at 6 A.M. on the 12th day after leaving England. The first sight of Egypt excites no emotions of any kind. The town of Port Said—called after the late Viceroy—is a collection of mushroom buildings which have sprung into existence since the commencement of the Suez Canal. It is now lighted with gas.

Nor is the entrance to the Canal at all imposing. The adjacent coast for miles is apparently below the sea-level, making the approach to the harbour almost impossible except by daylight; but a lofty lighthouse, which was cleverly constructed by erecting wooden moulds one above the other and filling them with concrete, stands on a pier on the right, and gives out a flashing electric light visible at an immense distance. There are also two long breakwaters, one lower than the other, constructed of huge blocks of concrete, running far into the sea on either side of the harbour, which effectually prevent the sand from drifting inside and choking the mouth of the Canal.

We entered very cautiously at dawn of day, and moored our ship to two buoys. Two British ironclads—the 'Invincible' and 'Pallas'—were already in the harbour, and another fine steamer, the 'City of Venice,' was waiting to make the passage after us, while the 'Serapis' had recently passed on ahead. In half an hour we had paid the dues, which I believe amounted in our case to about £1500, and had entered the Canal, the entrance being merely a continuation of the harbour, without lock-gates of any kind. Here, on the right, there is a narrow strip of land covered with sheds, owned by the British nation.

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I was informed that when the works commenced, this land was offered to our Government for £800, and was declined. It is said to have been recently purchased by us for £26,000. This story will not appear incredible to any one old enough to remember the view Lord Palmerston took of the French engineer's great project.

Although the course of the Canal for the first thirty miles is as straight as an arrow, every mile of it abounds with interesting objects. The first thing noticed is an immense lagoon stretching for miles beyond the right bank, while on the left lies a trackless desert of sand, with here and there patches of what appears to be water, but is really nothing but the mirage produced by heated vapour. Then there are the natives on the bank in their picturesque costumes, the sturdy, half-naked Arabs at work in the water, the strings of camels with their burdens, the feluccas in the lagoon with their lateen sails, the myriads of water-fowl, and in the horizon long lines of flamingoes extending literally for miles, and standing motionless, like regiments of soldiers in white uniforms. But the one absorbing sight of all is the Canal itself. Such expressions as 'One of the wonders of the age,' 'a triumph of engineering skill,' give an inadequate idea of the magnitude of the work. It must be seen to be estimated at its right value.

Captain Methven, the commodore of the Peninsular and Oriental fleet, who watched the progress of the Canal from its commencement, and was one of the first of our fellow-countrymen to predict its success, favoured me with many interesting particulars which may be relied upon for accuracy. The lower platform at the base of the central channel is almost everywhere fully 70 ft. wide, and as the sides shelve off at an angle, there is generally a width of about 100 ft. at the surface of the water, the extreme depth of which is 27 ft., with a margin of 10 ft. or 12 ft. of shallow water on each side. The rule first made was that no ship drawing more than 26 ft. should be allowed to pass through. The

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ships in which I made the passage only drew about 22 ft. of water, and now it is found that any vessel drawing more than 25 ft. is likely to come to grief. Two large steamers (the 'Hibernia' and 'Seine'), laden with submarine cable, had just accomplished the passage. One of them, however, drawing 24 ft. 7 in., scraped her keel all through the Canal, and was obliged to steam at full speed to bring her through. The only difference in the level of the sea at the Mediterranean and Red Sea extremities is caused by the difference in the tides, the variation at the Mediterranean end being 18 in. in Spring tides, and that at the Red Sea end about 7 ft. or 8 ft. The effect of this difference is to cause a current at both extremities, and of course a tolerably strong flow from the Red Sea towards the great bitter lakes, situated near the centre of the Canal.

Every six miles there is a station-house (called by the French *gare*) and siding with signal-posts, fitted with black balls, by means of which the traffic is worked on the block system. As a rule, no ship is allowed to take less than one hour in steaming from one station to the next.

Two ships advancing towards each other in opposite directions are never allowed to meet while in motion. One is compelled to draw off to a siding while the other passes. This happened to us at a station called Kantárá, where we were made to shunt, while the 'Diomed,' a Liverpool steamer, passed us. Here a road—once the great highway between Egypt and Palestine. and still a high road between Cairo and Syria—leads over the Canal by a kind of flying bridge. A large caravan from Jerusalem, with hundreds of camels and a motley crowd of way-worn travellers—men, women, and children—were waiting to pass over close to our siding. It was a strange and interesting sight, which made us think of the going down of the Children of Israel into Egypt. Thence we glided on without interruption, but with the disagreeable accompaniment of an Egyptian plague of flies, passing on

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the right a statue of Lieutenant Waghorn, the pioneer and first organizer of the overland route in 1835.

At considerable intervals steam dredging-machines—four or five of which are now sufficient to keep the bed clear—were seen in active work. One was of monster proportions, and appeared to be ingeniously constructed for raising the sand from the bottom and delivering it on an inclined plane over the bank. The desert is occasionally dotted with patches of a kind of scrubby bush, the only merit of which is that it serves to relieve the intense glare, and to furnish food for camels. Here and there high banks of sand hid everything from our view. At 4 in the afternoon (having left Port Said at 7 in the morning) we emerged into the first bitter lake, called Lake Timsah, and steamed at increased speed close to the new town of Ismailia, named after the present Khedive. Here there is an oasis of green vegetation, and a principal station of the railway between Suez and Alexandria. De Lesseps himself has a house here. There is also a palace built by the Khedive for the sole purpose of receiving the Empress Eugénie, the Emperor of Austria, and other royal personages (but no representative from England) during the festivities at the opening of the Canal in November, 1870 [1].

On we steamed through the lake, and thence through a cutting to the second or great bitter lake, where we anchored for the night soon after sunset. These two remarkable lakes had nearly dry beds before the making of the canal. That happened to them which is now going on in the Dead Sea. The water had evaporated, and left a deposit of seven or eight feet of solid salt. The French engineers foresaw that this circumstance might be turned to account for the deepening of the central channel. When

[1] The Canal was first opened for traffic in 1869, and from 1870 to 1876 the net tonnage passing through it rose from 436,609 tons to 2,096,772 tons (the gross tonnage to 3,072,107); the receipts from £200,000 in 1870 to about £1,200,000 in 1875. Of the traffic 75 per cent. was British.

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the waters of the Red Sea were allowed to flow in, the layer of salt was dissolved and nearly eight feet of depth gained. The climate in the neighbouring districts is likely to be advantageously affected by the re-creation of these lakes. We had evidence next morning of an accession of humidity which may one day turn barren ground into fruitful fields. When we attempted to move on soon after daybreak, a thick mist enveloped us, and kept us stationary for more than an hour. Meanwhile, our ship's stern stuck in the sand, but with a little wriggling worked itself off. Then we glided out of the great lake through a deep cutting, which extended for some miles. At one o'clock the same afternoon we had entered the Gulf of Suez, and were steaming rapidly towards one of its spacious open docks and quays (constructed at an immense cost and loss under exaggerated ideas of the future commercial importance of a port, converted by M. de Lesseps' great work into a mere place of call) almost before we became aware that we had emerged from the Canal. We had accomplished the whole distance of 100 miles in about fifteen hours. I was surprised to learn on good authority that the total cost from first to last of the miracle of engineering skill which had transported our huge ship from one sea to the other so easily and pleasantly, was only eighteen millions sterling. Those who are competent to pronounce an opinion on the result achieved by the outlay consider that it was cheaply done for that sum. About two millions of the amount was freely given by the late Khedive in money and labour.

The compulsory labour system was first tried, but soon given up. Cholera broke out, and English public opinion was brought to bear on the matter. Then it was that the genius of M. de Lesseps organized a system of paid labour, the extraordinary success of which in a country like Egypt could never have been predicted. All honour to the indomitable will and scientific ability of one man, who, fighting his way through apparently insuperable obstacles,—

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physical, social, and political,—carried out one of the greatest projects of this wonder-working century.

But in appreciating to the full his energy and intellect, let us not withhold an equal tribute to the amazing tact and administrative capacity which enabled one man to train a whole army of ignorant and illiterate labourers, and inspire them with something of his own ardent, energetic, and enthusiastic spirit. Every individual, to the smallest donkey-boy, employed on the Canal seemed to take a pride and pleasure in doing his allotted task well, and contributing something towards the desired end. No great work has ever before been effected in Egypt with so much goodwill, cheerfulness, and activity, and with so small a sacrifice of human life. This will appear more remarkable when it is borne in mind that nearly a hundred steam dredging-machines were in constant operation, for the effective working of which a large number of men and boys with interdependent duties was indispensable.

And yet, after all, notwithstanding one's admiration of this great monument of scientific and administrative genius, it is singular that the chief impression it leaves on one's mind is that of incompleteness. The simple truth I believe to be that before the Canal can be pronounced really finished the width of the central channel must be doubled, and the banks from one end to the other lined with stone. If, when the success of the project was assured, and before the costly plant had been sold and the trained labourers dispersed, the principal European Powers had agreed to act in concert, each contributing its quota of a few millions, a really complete result might have been achieved, the capital expended might have been blotted out, and a Canal of the right dimensions presented to the commerce of the world. Now, the whole plant will have to be reconstructed, new workmen and labourers trained, and the entire process reorganized at a vast cost. Nevertheless, English enterprise and capital can do all that is needed, and will have to do it in the end.

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So surely as Russia is setting her face steadfastly towards Constantinople must England concentrate her attention on Port Said, the Suez Canal, and the coast of Syria. The day may be coming—and perhaps must come very soon—when no corner of Europe will be allowed to suffer any longer from the 'impotence' of Turkish rule. What then is to happen to Egypt? England's duty will be plain. We shall have to take the Khedive in hand ourselves, and peremptorily insist on his governing his own country well, righteously, and economically[1]. To this end we must help him, not with money, but with men.

We have a whole band of Indian civilians—men like Sir George Campbell, Mr. Seton-Karr, and Mr. Cust—who have served their time in India and yet have plenty of energy left, which they are ready to devote to the welfare of their fellow-creatures. Let them consent to aid the Khedive, and simply do in Egypt the work they have done in India as commissioners, collectors, judges, magistrates, members of council, and lieutenant-governors. The Province adjacent to the Indus, commonly called Sinde, has been significantly styled 'Young Egypt.' Old Egypt and 'Young Egypt' have certainly much community of character and many points of resemblance. Those who have made 'Young Egypt' prosperous under a strong, righteous, and energetic administration, are quite competent to raise old Egypt out of the depths of misgovernment into which she is fast sinking, and convert her from a poverty-stricken into a rich and thriving country. I submit that this would be a satisfactory solution of the Eastern Question, so far, at least, as England is concerned.

Soon after our arrival at Suez, a party of us took a Felucca, or native boat, with three men, and sailed up the creek to the town of Suez, three miles distant. The behaviour of our boatmen interested me not a little. It

[1] Let this be read in the light of present events (July, 1879). It was written in the winter of 1876.

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happened to be the concluding day of the fast of Ramazān (the ninth month of the Muhammadan year), and whether on this account, or because it was the stated hour of prayer, one of the men washed his face in sea-water, and then prostrated himself with his face towards Mecca in the bow of the boat. Soon afterwards we knocked our keel against some rocks and then scraped along a sand-bank, the tide running out very rapidly. Upon this two of the boatmen —very fine-looking fellows, half-naked, with well-developed muscular limbs—started up, seized two long poles, rushed towards the bow of the little vessel, applied the end of the poles to their shoulders, and running with naked feet along the upper edge of the boat's side, while they pushed the poles towards the stern, urged each other to increased exertions in the strongest guttural Arabic, till they had driven us in this manner over rocks and shoals for more than a mile, against a strong contrary wind, to the quay opposite the Suez hotel.

Their behaviour afforded a parallel to the practice of a certain good Christian, of whom it is recorded that he prayed always as if all results depended on God, but put forth all his energies as if success depended wholly on himself. It reminded one also of a story told of Muhammad. Travelling on a certain occasion through the desert, he refused to follow the example of his travelling companion, who, on arriving at the evening resting-place, turned his camel loose and then prayed fervently that God would keep the beast from straying; but, on the contrary, first took a good deal of trouble to tether his camel, and then prayed to God to prevent the animal from breaking loose.

We walked about Suez for an hour. Donkey-boys mobbed us at every corner, puffing the merits of their donkeys with much originality, if not in the most refined English. 'Dis de Claimant, Sar,' 'Try de Claimant, Sar,' 'Dis Sir Roger, Sar,' 'Dis very superior donkey, Sar,' 'Dis Kenealy, Sar,' 'Dis make loud bray, Sar.'

The town is a collection of flat-roofed ramshackle old

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houses, most of them in an advanced stage of decay, with crooked narrow irregular streets in which dirt, dust, and bad smells wait upon each other in close companionship. Many of the ruined buildings looked as if they might have once sheltered the children of Israel, who are supposed to have crossed the Red Sea somewhere in the neighbourhood. Our interest in everything triumphed over our disgust, though it was difficult to say which was the strongest feeling when we entered the Bazaar, where, in addition to dirt, every hole and corner harboured vast accumulations of cobwebs, left undisturbed for years as a standing menace, I suppose, to swarms of irrepressible flies which settled in millions on the eatables exposed for sale on the open counters. The narrow lanes were thronged with a mixed multitude of turbaned men and veiled women; some respectably dressed and moderately clean, threading their way through the crowd with calm Oriental dignity; others ragged and filthy, jostling each other, and vociferating in genuine Suez vernacular.

On the morning of the fourteenth day we commenced our course down the Gulf of Suez. The line of hills overhanging Suez, called *Attāka*, looked grand, red and glowing, and stood out in striking contrast to the marvellous green and blue of the sea. Soon the rugged and majestic pile of mountains of the Sinaitic Peninsula, of which Mount Sinai forms a part, opened out upon our left. This peninsula divides the Red Sea into two narrow gulfs—one, that of Suez down which we were steaming, and the navigation of which is extremely intricate, the other, that of Akāba which is not quite so long, and is seldom navigated at all.

Towards evening we came in sight of the lofty range of Mount Aghrib, on the coast of Africa, in Egyptian territory. The highest mountain of the range is alleged to be 10,000 feet high. I certainly never before supposed that Egypt possessed anything much higher than a pyramid.

The time consumed in steaming down the Red Sea to

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the Straits of Bābel Mandeb was five days. The coast is insufficiently lighted, and the sea unpleasantly full of coral reefs, sunken rocks, and small volcanic islands, but the P. and O. ships thread their way through all obstructions with as much precision as a well-driven hansom passes through Fleet Street. We had a steam punka in our sleeping cabin, besides the usual punkas in the saloon, but had nevertheless, to sleep on deck when the thermometer rose to ninety.

One evening we escaped a tremendous sandstorm, which, coming from the deserts of Africa eighty miles off, gathered over our heads in a densely black, ominous cloud. Happily the wind against which we were steaming carried the storm behind us, and we saw it descend in a dark column towards the northern horizon. Had the cloud burst over our heads we should have been half-blinded as well as smothered with sand, and the whole vessel so enveloped that a dense fog would have been less dangerous. The only showers in the Red Sea are showers of sand.

On the fourth day we passed the twelve rocky volcanic islands called the Twelve Apostles. In some of them coal-black scoria and ashes, looking as if quite recently ejected from crater-like cavities, were intermixed with bright red and yellow rocks and shone brilliantly in the fiery sunlight.

At dawn on the fifth day we were opposite Mocha on the Arabian coast, and had to take soundings. Rugged dark lines of mountains, some with sugar-loaf points, some with serrated edges, one behind the other, intensely arid and sterile in appearance, lined the coast. One long line of craggy hills presented the exact appearance of an old worn-out saw lying with its edge turned upwards. The opposite coast of Abyssinia was now drawing towards us. It is fringed with dark barren mountains resembling those on the Arabian coast, and in the distance was a lofty range, with one high peak, said to be somewhere in Abyssinia. The heat was intense, and the draught of air through the

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narrow channel, as the coast on each side began to close in upon us, made it penetrate more searchingly.

The small island of Perim was on our right as we steamed through the Straits of Bābel Mandeb (Arabic *bābu'l mandib*, 'gate of tears.'

The land opposite Perim juts out into a long narrow promontory covered with rugged, rocky hills. Under the principal rock on its barren and burning shore the French have built a large square house. They had once a settlement here, and I believe intended converting the promontory into an island by digging a canal across. Had they accomplished their object, their next engineering operation would have been a fort to balance ours at Perim, but the excitable and bellicose Arab tribes forcibly resisted the attempt to slice off a portion of their territory, and the French have now deserted the place. The staring house still remains, apparently in good repair, glittering in the glaring sunlight. Not a human being was to be seen about, but one or two deserted Arab fishing-boats were anchored near the shore.

Every person who passes Perim is sure to be asked whether he has heard the story of the stratagem by which we took possession of the island. I believe the anecdote rests on a basis of fact. But whether it does so or not, here is an epitome of it :—A French captain was sent in a man-of-war about five-and-twenty years ago to take possession of the island, and touched at Aden. Of course the English Commandant was too polite not to ask him to dine, and too hospitable not to ply him with good wine till he had drunk enough to exemply the old proverb *in vino veritas* and let out the secret of his expedition. Instantly the English Commandant, without leaving the dinner-table, gave private orders for despatching a gunboat with six sappers and miners, and one engineer officer, who landed on the island, planted the British flag on the heights, and next day were ready to receive the French captain and welcome him to British soil.

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Certainly the island is in an important position, at the very gate of the Red Sea, but its utter sterility, without a tree or even a blade of grass or bush to temper the glare of burning suns and cloudless skies, makes it even more entitled to be called an Eden than Aden itself—of course I mean on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle. It is simply a bare rock, about four or five miles in circumference, rising to an elevation of two or three hundred feet. The channel which separates it from the opposite point of Bābel Mandeb, and through which we sailed, is only one mile wide; but a channel of nearly eleven miles in width on the other side divides it from the African coast, and on that side the island possesses a small but deep harbour. We have built a lighthouse and insignificant fort on the highest point of the rock, and huts near it for a detachment of Sepoys with one or two Europeans. Since the erection of the lighthouse ships generally take the narrow channel.

We steamed through the channel against a strong heated blast of wind which blows constantly through the straits as through a funnel. In five days after quitting Suez dock we were well out of the Red Sea, and not sorry to see Perim receding from our sight, and our vessel making rapid way eastwards through the Indian Ocean in the direction of Aden, ninety miles distant When night fell, the lightship at the entrance of Aden harbour began to be visible.

By ten o'clock at night we were safely moored to two buoys near the lights of the town. The dark outline of the great rock of Aden loomed mysteriously in the weird light; lamps of various colours gleamed on the shore; native boats with vociferent Arabs crowded round our ship; half-naked men with dusky skins swarmed over the front of the vessel. It can easily be imagined that a place where rain only falls about once in two or three years must be pleasanter by night than by day. Yet, on the occasion of my second voyage, when we reached Aden by daylight, I greatly enjoyed a visit to the wonderful tanks three or four miles distant, dug out of the solid rock to catch the precious

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rain-water which occasionally makes up for lost time by pouring down in a deluge. The surrounding scenery is unequalled in ruggedness and sterility by anything I have ever seen. In fact, the whole place may be compared to a congeries of gigantic cinders or heaps of colossal coke. Yet it has many most striking and almost sublime features. It is certainly the Gibraltar of the Red Sea. The principal rock is even higher and grander than that of Gibraltar. It stands on a promontory in the same way, and is joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus.

Among the institutions of the place are the diving boys —small Somali negroes imported from the opposite coast of Africa—who gather round the ship in their toy canoes, each little curly-headed urchin paddling his own tiny coracle with wonderful dexterity. Their knowledge of English is restricted to the one sentence 'I dive, Sare, I dive,' which they all vociferate with great animation, till on the first sight of a silver coin thrown from the ship, the whole troop suddenly disappear feet uppermost in the water, leaving canoes and paddles to take care of themselves, and heedless of the presence of formidable sharks which usually follow in the wake of steamers, seeking whom or what they may devour. The smallest coin never escapes the lynx-sight of these amphibious imp-like little urchins. The fortunate finder scrambles into his own canoe, first holding up his prize in triumph, then stuffing it into the hollow of his cheek for safety, and then baling out the water with which his little cockle-shell is half-swamped, while he joins more energetically than ever in the general chorus of 'I dive, Sare, I dive,' which is kept up with spirit as long as any passenger shows himself on deck.

We left Aden on the morning of the twentieth day of our voyage. The endless serrated line of the hills on the Arabian coast continued in sight for some time. Indeed the whole interior of Arabia—so far as I was able to observe it during my voyages—seems to be shut in by a barrier of ranges of dark rugged sterile mountains, one

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behind the other—some rising to considerable elevations—which completely enclose it and serve as an effectual bar to the curiosity and cupidity of intruders. At Aden we had an addition of some interesting first-class passengers—a Khoja, or Bombay merchant of a particular class, who has a house of business in Zanzibar, returning to India with his wife and family. He was a stout stalwart man, with a handsome countenance. I believe some of the ancestors of the *Khojas* (a name corrupted from Khwāja, 'noble') centuries ago were pirates inhabiting the coast of Kutch. They gradually became rich, turned Muslims, and gave up disreputable practices. But, although now Muhammadans and followers of a certain Āghā Khān, they retain much of their Hindū character and often their Hindū names. Our fellow-passenger told me that the trade of Zanzibar is rapidly increasing and the place becoming very prosperous. The language spoken there is Swaheli (a kind of lingua franca of Eastern Africa), which the Khoja speaks as well as his native tongue Kutchī, and to which he adds Gujarātī, Hindūstānī, and a little English. He was accompanied by a Pathān or Afghān from Peshawar returning home from the Hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca, which every true Musalmān endeavours to perform once in his life, the other four religious duties enjoined by Muhammad being prayer five times a day, fasting for a month every year, almsgiving, and repeating the creed daily. We took in at the same time a number of Baniyahs or Hindū traders, who stationed themselves on the forecastle, and were to be seen there every evening dead-asleep, rolled up like their own bales of goods in white winding-sheets.

The run from Aden to Bombay was accomplished on calm seas and under bright skies in six days and a half. The serenity of the Indian Ocean is rarely disturbed by high winds after the termination of the monsoon.

The morning of one day was spent in visiting the mail room and post-office. The three mail agents have to work ten hours a day from the time they leave Suez, sorting

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about 46,000 letters and 35,000 newspapers, and distributing them in about 250 bags, ready for dispersion all over India immediately on the arrival of the ship at Bombay. The following is a specimen of the directions which occasionally tax the ingenuity of the sorters (copied literatim)—

J. Faden
Sapper
Engear
Bromeday.

This letter had been sent to three Bromleys in different parts of England before it was suspected that Engear meant India, and Bromeday, Bombay.

At daybreak on the twenty-seventh day after our departure from Southampton, the high land of the Ghāts, near Bombay, was visible about fifty miles distant. When the sun rose it disappeared in the haze. A few hours later we entered Bombay harbour, passing the 'Serapis' and several fine men-of-war lying at anchor. The advent of the Prince of Wales had preceded ours by about two days.

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FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1875.

WE need not quote a Western poet[1] in support of the trite truism that impressions on the mind, to be deep, must be made by scenes actually witnessed.

There is an Eastern saying that the distance between the ear and the eye is very small, but the difference between hearing and seeing is very great.

Much information can be gained about India from books and newspapers, and much by asking questions of old Indians who have spent their lives in the country, but, after all, India must be seen to be understood.

The instant I set foot on the landing-place at Bombay, I became absorbed in the interest of every object that met my sight—the magnificent harbour with its beautiful islands, secluded creeks, and grand background of hills; the picturesque native boats gliding hither and thither; the array of ships from every quarter of the globe riding at anchor—every feature in the surrounding landscape, every rock and stone under my feet, every animal and plant around me on the shore, every man, woman, and child in the motley throng passing and repassing on the quay, from the Bhīstī, or water-carrier, who laid the dust by means of a skin slung on his back, to the boy who importuned me for Bakhshīsh to exhibit a fight between

[1] 'Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.'

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a snake held in his hand and a mongoose concealed in a basket.

Though I was born in India, and had lived as a child in India, and had been educated for India, and had read, thought, spoken, and dreamt about India all my life, I had entered a new world.

On the esplanade, in front of the chief public buildings of Bombay, an extraordinary spectacle presented itself. An immense concourse of people was collected, waiting for the Prince of Wales, who was expected at the Secretariat to hold his first levée—no dingy crowd of Londoners hustling each other in a foggy, smoky atmosphere, but at least a hundred thousand turbaned Asiatics, in bright coloured dresses of every hue, moving sedately about in orderly groups under a glittering sky. The whole plain seemed to glow and flash with kaleidoscopic combinations of dazzling variegated colours. Rows of well-appointed carriages belonging to rich Bombay merchants, some containing Pārsī ladies and children in gorgeous costumes, with coachmen in brilliant liveries, lined the esplanade. Gem-bespangled Rājas, Mahārājas, and Nawābs dashed by in four-horsed equipages, with troops of outriders before and behind.

One part of the spacious plain was set apart for 12,000 children, from various schools—Hindū, Pārsī, Muhammadan, Roman Catholic, and Protestant—collected from Bombay and the neighbourhood. The fact that it was possible to bring together from a limited area so vast an assemblage of children, male and female, all under education in an Eastern country, was in itself full of significance and interest. They were seated in rows, one behind the other, grouped according to the communities to which they severally belonged, a passage being left in the centre for the Prince. Every child was provided with a printed hymn, or poetical address to the Prince in Gujarātī, to be sung by the whole assemblage at the moment of his appearance among them.

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I was told that the children were mostly from the middle ranks of the inhabitants of Bombay. Certainly it was difficult to believe in the poverty of their parents, dressed as they were, boys and girls, in rich silks, satins, brocades, and velvets of all colours, from bright red and yellow to simple white, with gold-embroidered caps and jewels of great value on their feet and arms, necks and ears.

It is no uncommon thing for parents to deck their children on festive occasions with ornaments worth hundreds of pounds. Their appearance and bearing suggested an idea that Asiatics think more of beauty of dress than beauty of form, Europeans more of beauty of form than of beauty of dress.

That same evening I left Bombay and travelled northwards through Gujarāt by the Bombay and Baroda railway. At the very first station out of Bombay, the anthill-like density of India's teeming masses made itself apparent. At least a thousand natives were collected, waiting for the train, some bound for Bombay to see the Prince of Wales, others on their way home after having witnessed the great Tamāshā. The vast crowd vociferated and swayed to and fro in an alarming manner. The sound was like the roaring of a mighty ocean. We began to think that a second mutiny was imminent, that our carriage would be stormed, and ourselves perhaps shot down on the spot.

Our fears were allayed on learning that the lower classes of Hindūs are in the habit of talking and shouting to each other at the top of their voices, in perfect good humour, whenever they are congregated in crowds[1]. Notwithstanding their apparent excitement, noisy demonstrativeness, and overpowering numbers, they made no attempt (as English excursionists would have done) to force their way into the first or second-class compartments, but sub-

[1] Sleeman remarks ('Rambles,' p. 77) that the stentorian voices of the natives are probably due to their meeting and discussing subjects connected with their own interests in the open air under trees.

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mitted quite patiently and resignedly to be penned like sheep in third-class carriages, some of which had an upper story. It was evident that no caste-prejudices interfered with their making full use of our railways.

As the morning dawned on us in our northward course, sensations of real cold made us forget we were in India, till, looking out, we were reminded of our locality by unmistakeable signs, and notably by certain ominous streaks of cloud in the horizon, which turned out to be flights of millions of locusts. When they are seen approaching, the natives assemble in crowds, fire guns, and make hideous noises to prevent their settling on their crops. After passing Surat, Broach, and Baroda, I alighted at the Mehmoodabad station, and began my Indian experiences in the Collector of Kaira's camp.

A brief description of my first day's adventures may give an idea of the kind of life led by Anglo-Indians when camping out in the country during an Indian winter.

My only room was of course a tent. It had four doors and no windows, and a fifth door leading into a kind of canvas lean-to or small annex, fitted up with a large bath. Happily no one need trouble himself with a portable bath in India, because this indispensable convenience is found everywhere. The tent had a lining of brown and yellow chintz, and for a carpet a stout blue and white cotton cloth laid on flax straw. All the doors had two coverings or rather flaps, one of the same material as the tent, the other a kind of wire screen, called a chick, to let in air, and keep out as far as possible inquisitive intruders—not men and women, but huge bees, wasps, grasshoppers, squirrels, snakes, and all manner of winged and creeping things innumerable. For furniture there were two or three chairs, a dressing-table, and a good iron bedstead with hard mattresses, woollen pillows, and musquito curtains, well tucked in all round. Let the reader, then, imagine me comfortably ensconced, after my month's voyages and travels, within my four canvas walls, and looking forward with pleasant

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anticipations to an undisturbed sleep in a veritable bed—my first since leaving England.

I go through every needful purificatory rite in my strange lavatory, and emerge refreshed from my tent door to peep at the scene outside and take my bearings. I find that we are in a large field or common, on one side of the Mehmoodabad station. The camp consists of about a dozen tents all under large spreading trees, with which the whole park-like country round is beautifully wooded. Most of the trees are new to me—the Mango, the Banian, the Pīpal, the Tamarind, the Nīm, and the Japanese Acacia with its lovely yellow flowers. No tent is ever pitched under a Tamarind. It is supposed, I believe, to exhale too much carbonic acid during the night-time. The Mango and Nīm are the tent-pitcher's favourite trees. Under one Mango there is a large pavilion-like erection for the Collector and his wife. Then there is another double tent, which serves as a dining-room and drawing-room, of ample dimensions, fitted up with carpets, tables, book-cases, easy chairs, sewing machine, and harmonium. Two or three others for visitors like myself; another for the baby and its Ayahs; another for the Portuguese butler, and of course a capacious tent with annexes, which together serve for the collector's Kutchery (properly written *Kacherī* or *Kachahrī*), magisterial court and other offices.

On one side under the dense foliage of a Banian is a circular canvas erection without any roof. This is the kitchen, where excellent dinners are cooked by means of two bricks and a hole in the ground. A little removed from the tents is the stable, an open space quite unprotected, except by foliage, where four Arab horses and two ponies are tethered by their heels, each attended by its man. Near them stand carriages, carts, and a curious vehicle called a Tonga (*Tāngā*), usually drawn by two ponies. It has two seats back to back, suspended on two wheels, and is covered by an awning. Not far off an all-but nude Bhīstī, dark as a negro, is seen plying

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his occupation. He supplies the camp with water, by means of two water-skins slung over the back of a bullock. Ranging about the field in promiscuous places are other bullocks, buffaloes, goats, sheep, geese, ducks, and fowls. The bullocks are for the carts, the buffaloes and goats for producing milk and butter. The other creatures come in usefully as raw material, out of which the excellent dinners before alluded to are supplied. A sheep in these country places only costs, I am told, about four rupees, or eight shillings. It is, however, a melancholy reflection that infliction of death is essential to the maintenance of an Englishman's life. For life is everywhere exuberant around me, and every living thing seems to enjoy itself, as if it were certain of being unmolested. Natives never willingly destroy life. They cannot enter into an Englishman's desire for venting his high spirits on a fine day by killing game of some kind. 'Live and let live' is their rule of conduct towards the inferior creation.

I walk about admiring every living creature, particularly the birds—the Hoopoo with its lovely crest hopping about near me, the doves very like those at home, the bright parrots, the jays, the woodpeckers. Then little grey and brown streaked squirrels are playing all around me. They jump about with wonderful agility, peer in at the tent doors, and try to secure little bits of cotton for their nests. The sounds are not always melodious. I hear a screeching note above my head. It comes from a kind of grey and red Toucan seated trustfully on a branch, and quite unundisturbed by my presence. Then another discordant cry, and a rush—a number of natives are driving away a troop of big, grey mischievous monkeys, some with little baby-monkeys clinging to them. They soon repel the invaders, but only by shouting in rather harsh vernacular 'the monkey-people, the monkey-people!' To shoot a monkey would be nothing short of sacrilege. I venture to follow the retreating intruders, but am

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arrested by hedges of prickly pear. Then I fall into ecstasies over the creepers, many of them of gigantic size, which twine themselves everywhere, covering hedges, bushes, and trees with their brilliant red, orange, and white flowers.

I must not omit to mention that dotted about the field are mounted and unmounted sepoys, with here and there a belted government servant (called a Paṭṭi-wālā, or Paṭṭa-wālā, because distinguished by a belt)—all within call—all ready to answer instantaneously to the Sāhib's summons, and eager to execute his behests. As to the big Collector Sāhib himself, in the eyes of the people of his district he is every inch a king. He speaks like one, acts like one, and really has the power of one. He says to one man 'come,' and he cometh, and to another 'go,' and he goeth. His title of Collector gives a very inadequate idea of his real duties and authority; unless it be taken to mean that in him all the administrative functions of the district are collected and comprehended. He not only collects the revenue, but has high judicial powers, and the whole welfare of a small territory is committed to him. He superintends police, civil engineering, road-making, rural economy, municipal government, sanitation, education, every conceivable matter.

But if every Collector is a small king, every Englishman in India is regarded as a petty prince. Obsequious natives watch his movements, and hang upon his words. I try to stroll about, but as I circle leisurely round the compound, attendant satellites hover about my path. I am evidently expected to develope wants of some kind or other in the course of my ramble. I ransack my store of correct Hindūstānī just imported from Europe for the most polite way of requesting to be left alone; but I feel as helpless as a child, and as shy as a new boy at school. Disconcerted and humiliated, I long for a little temporary obscurity, and hastily hide my head within the walls of my tent. But my tenacious followers are not to be shaken

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off so easily. I am conscious of being vigilantly watched through my barrier of canvas. By way of experiment I utter the magical formula *Qui hai?* (*Ko-ī hai?*), and a dusky form seems to rise out of the ground as if by magic. There he stands in an attitude of abject reverence and attention, waiting for me to issue my commands either in the best Gujarātī or purest Hindūstānī. But I do not rise to the occasion. I am not sure whether to be exhilarated by the opportunity of bringing my knowledge of Indian languages into play, or depressed by an uncomfortable consciousness of blank inability to deliver myself of any well-turned and highly idiomatic sentence expressive of a simple desire to know the dinner-hour. Just at this juncture I hear a commanding voice call out in the distance 'Khānā lāo.' This is the Collector's brief and business-like order for dinner. I repair with relief to the drawing-room and dining-room. The Collector and his wife, beaming with hospitality, make me sit down at a well-appointed dinner-table. I have a French *menu* placed before me. I eat a dinner cooked with Parisian skill, I drink wine fit for an emperor, and am waited on by a stately butler and half-a-dozen stately waiters in imposing costumes, who move about with noiseless tread behind my chair, and anticipate every eccentricity of my appetite. I am evidently on enchanted ground, and can only think of Aladdin in the Arabian Nights.

Dinner over, we sit out in the open air. The moon is shining with a lustre unknown in northern latitudes. We recline on lounging chairs round a blazing wood fire, not sorry to wrap ourselves up in our warm plaids. I retire early to my tent and compose myself for the luxurious slumber I had anticipated. But I am too excited to sleep immediately. With difficulty I gain the border-land between consciousness and unconsciousness. What is that sound, half snort, half snuffle, close to my head? I start, and sit up. Can it be the Brāhmanī bull I saw just before

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dinner roaming about at large in full enjoyment of a kind of sacred independence? Cautiously and guardedly I open my musquito curtains, intending to seize the nearest weapon of defence. Clink, clink! Clank, clank! Thank goodness, that must be the guard parading close to my tent; and sure enough there are sounds of a rush, and a chase, and a genuine bull's bellow, which gradually diminish and fade away in the distance.

Again I compose myself, but as night advances begin to be painfully aware that a number of other strange sounds are intensifying outside and inside my tent — croaks, squeaks, grunts, chirps, hums, buzzes, whizzes, whistles, rustles, flutters, scuffles, scampers, and nibbles. Harmless sounds proceeding from harmless creatures! I reason with myself. A toad is attracted by the water in my bath-room, a rat has scented out my travelling biscuits, musquitoes and moths are trying to work their way through my curtains, a vampire bat is hanging from the roof of my tent, crickets and grasshoppers are making themselves at home on my floor. 'Quite usual, of course,' I say to myself, 'in these hot climates, and quite to be expected!' Ah, but that hissing sound! Do not cobras hiss? The hissing subsides, and is succeeded by a melancholy moan. Is that the hooting of an owl? No! the moan has changed to a prolonged yell, increasing in an alarming manner. Yell is taken up by yell, howl by howl. Awful sounds come from all directions. Surely a number of peasants are being murdered in the adjoining fields. I am bound to get up and rush to the rescue. No, no, I remember. I saw a few jackals slinking about the camp in the evening.

Once more I try to compose myself, disgusted with my silly sensitiveness. Shriek, shriek, and a thundering roar! The midnight luggage-train is passing with a screaming whistle fifty yards from my head. At last I drop off exhausted into a troubled slumber. I dream of bulls, snakes, tigers, and railway collisions. A sound of many

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voices mingles with my perturbed visions. Crowds of natives are collecting for the six o'clock train two hours before sunrise. They talk, chatter, jabber, shout, and laugh to beguile the tedium of waiting, At five minutes to six the station bell rings violently, and my servant appears with my *choṭa hāzirī*, or little breakfast. I start up, dress quickly, remembering that I am expected to drink a cup of hot tea, and go out like a veteran Anglo-Indian, to 'eat the air' (*hawā khānā*), before the sun is well up.

I conform to the spirit of the trite precept *Si Romae fueris, Romano vivito more;* but the Collector and his wife are out before me, and are seen mounting their horses and starting off to scour the country in every direction for an hour or so. I find the morning breeze bite keenly, and am glad to walk briskly up and down the camp. I amuse myself by watching the gradual gathering of natives around the Kutchery—two or three policemen with a prisoner, a cheerful-looking man in a red turban and white garments carrying a paper or petition of some kind; several emaciated half-naked villagers bowed down to the dust with the weight of their poverty and grievances; a decrepit old man attended by a decrepit old woman; underlings who come to deliver reports or receive instructions; other persons who come to be advised, encouraged, scolded or praised, and others who appear to have nothing to do, and to do it very successfully. Every one has an air of quiet resignation, and nearly all squat on the ground, awaiting the Collector Sāhib's return with imperturbable patience. All these cases are disposed of by the Collector in person after our eight o'clock breakfast.

At eleven the post comes in; that is, a running messenger, nearly naked, brings in a pile of letters on his head from the neighbouring town. The Collector is immersed in a sea of papers until our next meal. Meanwhile a visitor from a neighbouring station makes his appearance riding on a camel, and is received in the

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drawing-room tent by the Collector's wife. Then a deputation of Brāhmans is seen approaching. They have come to greet me on my arrival; some of them are Pandits. A mat is spread for them in a vacant tent. They enter without shoes, make respectful salaams, and squat round me in a semicircle. I thoughtlessly shake hands with the chief Pandit, a dignified venerable old gentleman, forgetful that the touch of a Mleććha (English barbarian) will entail upon him laborious purificatory ceremonies on his return to his own house. We then exchange compliments in Sanskṛit, and I ask them many questions, and propound difficulties for discussion. Their fluency in talking Sanskṛit surprises me, and certainly surpasses mine. We English scholars treat Sanskṛit as a dead language, but here in India I am expected to speak it as if it were my mother-tongue. Once or twice I find myself floundering disastrously, but the polite Pandits help me out of my difficulties. Two hours pass away like lightning, the only drawback to general harmony being that all the Pandits try to speak at once. I find that no one thinks of terminating the visit. Native visitors never venture to depart till the Sāhib says plainly 'you may go.' I begin to think of the most polite Sanskṛit formula for breaking up my conclave, when I am saved from all awkwardness by a call to tiffin.

In the afternoon the sun acquires canicular power, the thermometer rises to eighty-two, and the temperature is about as trying as that of the hottest day of an English summer. Under the combined influence of tiffin, heat, exhilaration, humiliation, and general excitement, I am compelled to doze away an hour or two, till it is time to walk with the Collector to a neighbouring Bāolī, or old underground well (called in Gujarātī *Wāu*), now unused and falling into ruins, but well worth a visit. It is more like a small subterranean tank than a well, and the descent to it is by a long flight of stone steps, surrounded by cool stone chambers built of solid masonry, and supported by

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handsome pillars. In Eastern countries, benevolent men who have become rich and wish to benefit their fellow-creatures before they die, construct wells and tanks, much as we build hospitals in Europe. I return with the Collector to his camp as the sun sets.

So much for my first day's experiences, which are so vivid that I may be pardoned for having recounted them in the present tense.

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THE VILLAGES AND RURAL POPULATION OF INDIA.

One of my first acts after my day's rest in the Collector of Kaira's camp was to visit a neighbouring village called Khātraj.

The organization of Indian villages—meaning by a village not merely a collection of houses, but a rural commune or territorial division of cultivable land—is a highly interesting and instructive study both in its connexion with the early history of the Āryan races, and in its bearing on the present condition of rural society not only in India but in Europe. In no part of the world have the collection of communities which together make up the aggregate of a country's population been left so much to self-government as in India. Its village system is based on the purest form of Home-rule, which had its origin in the simple patriarchal constitution of society, when the family of brothers—joint owners of the family land—lived together and cultivated the soil, as co-partners under a paternal head.

Every Indian village is a collection of such families united in intimate corporate relations. And as each family is held together by a close interdependence of interests under a common father, so the members of each village community are united in close association under a presiding head-man, or chief of some kind. It must be borne in mind that the actual tillers of the ground in an Indian village constitute at least three-fourths of the population.

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In Gujarāt these cultivators are called Kumbī (Sanskṛit Kuṭumbī). The remaining inhabitants consist of various useful functionaries, artisans and mechanics, to be presently described—men of distinct castes and employments who are indispensable to the maintenance of every society, and minister to its wants in diverse ways.

Of course the detail of rural organization is not uniform in every part of India, nor does the system of self-government prevail with equal force everywhere. But in every village there is a close intertwining of communal relations, so that the separate existence and independence of any individual of the community is barely recognized.

The Sanskṛit name for a village commune is Grāma. It is clear from Manu's law-book that a regular system of village-administration prevailed in some parts of India many centuries before Christ. There was first a supreme village-lord or governor who was called Grāmādhipati and who governed 1000 villages, subject to the king's suzerainty. Under him were the lords of 100 villages constituting a district now called a Parganah, and under these again were the chiefs of each separate village-community. Some similar gradation of administrative authority probably existed long before the time of Manu's code. But the interconnexion between the village system and the state, the nature of the links which have united the higher with the lower power, and the amount of control which the one has exercised over the other, have varied with each change in the Supreme Authority. What has remained unchanged has been the simple self-contained village corporation. This has survived all changes, all political, religious, and physical convulsions—all wars, massacres, pestilences, and famines—in a word, all the external and internal disturbing forces that have swept over and agitated the country for more than three thousand years.

At present, under British rule, the village-overseers, or head-men, have different names in different places, according to their various functions or powers. For example,

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they are variously called Paṭel, Maṇḍal, Deśāī (=Deśādhi or Deśādhipati), Deśmukh (=Deśa-mukha), Mahā-jana, Lambardār, and Mukaddam. The two last names are more generally used in the Northern parts of India, Lambardār being a mongrel term made up of the English word 'number' corrupted into 'lambar,' and the Persian word 'dār,' a holder. In some Northern districts a large village will frequently consist of five or six rural communities, each under a distinct Lambardār, to whom a separate lease (*paṭa*) of a portion of land, with a number inscribed on the written document, is assigned. Sometimes a village is occupied conjointly by Hindūs and Muhammadans, who live very amicably and contentedly side by side. In such cases each religious community has its own Lambardār, who is its own special nominee and representative.

But the tenure under which the land is held by Indian cultivators and landowners varies throughout India in a very perplexing manner. In some villages the Ryots or immediate tillers of the soil, who constitute the mass of the population, are held to be the only hereditary proprietors. The land is parcelled out among them, and the tax assessed periodically by our own government-officers, all the cultivable ground thus divided being liable to further subdivision by the Hindū and Muhammadan law of inheritance, which gives an equal share to each son. Sometimes each cultivator holds his own share as a distinct estate, and is himself responsible for the payment of the government demand. Sometimes all the cultivators hold their lands as a common estate, dividing the profits as co-partners, and nominating their own head-man, or accepting one nominated by the Government, to whom the duty of collecting and paying the State assessment is committed.

In other villages the immediate cultivators are neither singly nor conjointly proprietors, but hold their lands on lease under one or more hereditary proprietors (sometimes called Pāṭi-dārs) to whom the whole collective area of the village territory, or some portion of it, is supposed to

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belong, and who are responsible to Government for the first charge on the produce, estimated at a certain value and always paid in silver. Again, in some parts of India the large proprietors of land are called Zamīndārs, or landholders. Such men not unfrequently have an hereditary right of property over areas larger than English counties, and in Bengal, Behār, and Orissa the perpetual settlement of 1793 converted them into actual proprietors who enjoy their estates in absolute ownership, on the sole condition of punctual payment of a fixed sum to the Government exchequer.

It is clear from these differences of tenure that the headmen of the village are not always employed as agents for the collection of the State assessment. Nor have they necessarily any connexion with Government at all. Yet every head-man must be a man of weight and influence among his own people. Indeed, he is elected by the community on account of some supposed superior qualifications, and is generally allowed independent jurisdiction in his own sphere. Frequently he has considerable powers committed to him. For example, he may arrange the village police, enforce sanitation, settle questions of ploughing and sowing, decide disputes among cultivators, provide for the entertainment of travellers. His remuneration consists of a certain proportion of the produce, or a fixed assignment of cultivable land rent free[1].

It must be noted that he is required to act in concert with the village council, or Panchāyat, of which he is the president. In India every village and every town has its Panchāyat, whose functions resemble in a manner those of European municipal boards. In fact the Panchāyat is a most ancient Indian institution, though differently constituted in different places. It must have consisted originally of five (*pancha*) members, but is nowhere now restricted to that number. Seven or eight members are now not

[1] In some parts of India he is allowed an acre in every twenty under cultivation.

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uncommon. In Manu's time (at least 500 years B.C.) two councils are mentioned, one of four members and the other of eleven [1].

Every caste, every trade, every separate association has its own peculiar and special Panchāyat. At one time even native regiments elected their own officers, and small states their own rulers by means of Panchāyats. Everything was managed and settled in this manner. A common proverb is current throughout India that 'the voice of God is in the five' (*Panch men Parameśvara*). Happily for India, and for our own tenure of the country, our policy has always been to preserve existing native institutions as far as possible intact. We encourage the people to settle their own disputes among themselves in their own way. We make a point of upholding the action of native Panchāyats, though we do not, of course, give legal validity to all their decisions.

With regard to the other functionaries of the village, there are at least twelve different kinds of village officials under the head-man, each paid by the cultivators in kind according to the value of the services he renders to the community, and each belonging to a separate caste, determined by the nature of his employment.

1. First comes the Paṭwārī, or village accountant and registrar, who is a kind of Government land-steward, keeping the Jama-bandī or account of the lands, produce, rents and assessments of his village. He sometimes acts as Majmūdār (otherwise Majumdār, corrupted into Mujumdār) or State Record-keeper, and in some parts of Western India is called Talāti. This functionary comes next to the head-man in importance and influence, having often independent authority, irrespective of his office as a Government agent. He usually receives about half the emoluments of the head-man.

[1] See 'Manu,' xii. 110: 'Any matter of law settled by a council consisting of ten law-abiding men under one head, or by three such men under one head, should not be violated.'

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2. Then secondly there is the village chaplain, or domestic priest (called in Sanskṛit Purohita, and in Gujarātī Gor for Guru)—who performs all religious ceremonies for the villagers, the impure castes only excepted. He is supported by fixed allotments of grain, and by special presents of food at caste dinners, or by gifts of money on occasions of births, weddings, and other family solemnities. He often combines supplementary functions of a kindred nature. For example, he may be astrologer, almanac-maker, and schoolmaster. Furthermore he and his wife are generally the village match-makers, arranging all the marriages of the community with careful attention to caste-usages.

3. Next comes the Nāī, or barber (Sanskṛit Nāpit, Arabic Hajjām, sometimes vulgarly called Wārand or Wāland, and in Gujarāt, Ghaenjo or Ghaeja)—who, with his kit of primitive razors and implements of the rudest description, does all the work expected of him admirably. No man in India thinks of shaving himself. Hence the barber is an important member of the community. His duties are not confined to shaving. He cuts nails, shampoos the limbs, and often acts as village doctor[1]. In some parts of India he helps to arrange marriages.

4. Fourth on the list may be placed the Kumbhār, or potter (Sanskṛit Kumbha-kāra)—who by means of a wheel (*chakra*) of the simplest construction, makes all the earthenware pots and platters of the villagers with a skill truly surprising. He generally uses a donkey to fetch his materials, and from his cleverness in moulding clay into any shape, is facetiously called Prajāpati, 'the creator.'

5. Fifth must be mentioned the Sūtār, or carpenter (Sanskṛit Sūtra-dhāra)—who also with the roughest tools does the village carpentering admirably. He ought perhaps to have been named earlier, as he ranks high in the social scale, and in proof of his superior pretensions even claims the privilege of wearing the sacred thread like a Brāhman.

[1] His wife is often the village midwife.

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6. Then in close company with the carpenter will always be found the Lohār, or blacksmith (Sanskṛit Loha-kāra). These two useful workmen together make and mend all the village tools and agricultural implements.

7. Next comes the Dhobī, or washerman—an important personage, for no family ever thinks of saving money by washing at home. This operation can only be performed by a man of the right caste.

8. Eighth in the list may be placed the Bhīsti (properly Bihishtī), or water-carrier—sometimes called Pakhāli. He generally carries water in two leather-skins suspended over the back of a bullock, or in one skin suspended over his own back.

9. Next ought to be reckoned the Darzī (often corrupted into Darjī) or tailor—sometimes called Sūī from his use of the Sūchi or needle, and in the Dekkan Sipī or Simpī. He is not so important a person as in Europe, for the simple reason that an ordinary Indian's clothes need very little stitching. Still such sewing as may be required is always done by the tailor and his wife, never by the women of the family.

10. The tenth personage in the catalogue is the Mochī, or shoemaker—who repairs the shoes of the community, and makes the leather-work required in yoking the bullocks. Many of the villagers are content to remain shoeless, but the cultivators require good thick soles, frequently made of rhinoceros-hide brought from Zanzibar.

11. Last but one, but not nearly least in importance, comes the Chaukidār, or watchman (in Gujarāt called Rakhewāḍ, or Paharī). Of these functionaries there are usually four, and in larger rural communes even fifteen or twenty. Though very poor, their trustworthiness when in charge of treasure or valuables of any kind is remarkable. In some places the watchman is also a Government official, who receives as his pay five acres of rent-free land. In Orissa, according to Dr. Hunter, he is generally allowed by the villagers to select the largest sheaf of corn in every field.

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12. Under the twelfth head must be placed the impure castes who do all the dirty work of the village:—for example the Chamār, or tanner (Sanskṛit Charma-kāra), who prepares and hands over to the shoemaker all the hides and skins of the sheep, oxen and other animals that die in the commune; the Dheḍ or Dher; and the Bhangī[1]. These last two personages are the village menials. Their work is absolutely necessary to the comfort if not to the very health and life of its population. They are not only sweepers and scavengers; they do other menial work, and are often trusted with the important duty of carrying letters. The Bhangī also shows the road to travellers, carrying a bamboo walking-stick with which he removes thorns and briars from the path. Both Dhers and Bhangīs are gross feeders. They devour the flesh of cows, buffaloes, and all animals that die a natural death in the village. They also drink spirituous liquor, but rarely become intoxicated. In some parts of Western India the low caste sweeper population are called Mhārs. In other parts of India the name Dom is common.

The various officials enumerated under the above twelve divisions along with the head-man, form the ordinary complement of servants and handicraftsmen needed for the maintenance of even the smallest rural communities. They are all paid by receiving portions of the grain or other produce in different proportions, according to the character and extent of their services.

Larger villages add other distinct functionaries, such as the *Guru*, or schoolmaster; the *Joshī*, or astrologer (Sanskṛit *Jyotishī*), who names the lucky days for sowing, ploughing, marriages, journeys, &c., draws out horoscopes and almanacs, and tells fortunes—a most important personage, for nine-tenths of the people of India are slaves to astrological superstition; the *Vaid*, or village apothecary and doctor (Sanskṛit *Vaidya*); the *Telī*, or oilman (Sanskṛit *Tailī;* in

[1] The proper occupation of the Bhangī is said to be that of breaking (Sanskrit *bhanj*, to break) reeds to make baskets.

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some places called *Ghanchī*); the *Kasārī*, otherwise *Kaserā*, or brazier; the *Kolī*, or weaver; the *Rangārī*, or dyer; the *Halwāī*, or confectioner. Then in some villages there is the *Gāpurgārī*, or hailstorm-charmer, who charms away hailstorms from the crops, and other varieties of charmers, such as the tiger-charmer, the snake-charmer, and above all the demon-charmer, who exorcises devils and other evil spirits.

In connexion with the subject of charmers, I extract a passage slightly abridged from Adam's educational report on the district of Nattore in Bengal, adding a few explanatory words of my own here and there.

In Bengal, he says, there is 'a class of pretenders, still lower than the village doctors, who go under the general name of conjurers or charmers. The largest division of this class are the snake-conjurers; their number in the single police division of Nattore being no less than 722. There are few villages without one, and in some villages there are as many as ten. These take nothing for the performance of their rites, or the cures they pretend to have effected. All is gratuitous, but they have substantial advantages which enable them to be thus liberal. When the inhabitants of a village, hitherto without a conjurer, think that they can afford to have one, they invite a professor of the art from a neighbouring village, where there happens to be one to spare, and give him a piece of land, and various privileges and immunities. He possesses great influence over the inhabitants. If a quarrel takes place, his interference will quell it sooner than that of any one else; and when he requires the aid of his neighbours in cultivating his plot of ground or in reaping its produce, it is always more readily given to him than to others.

The art is not hereditary in a family or peculiar to any caste. One charmer I met with was a boatman, another a Chaukidār, a third a weaver. Whoever learns the charm (perhaps consisting of some text from the Atharva-veda

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or from a Tantra) may practice it, but those are believed to practice it most successfully, who are 'to the manner born'; that is, who have been born under a favorable conjunction of planets. Every conjurer seems to have a separate charm, for I have found no two the same. No charmer objects to repeat his charm. He will even consent to do so for the mere gratification of a stranger's curiosity, and will allow it to be taken down in writing. Neither do such conjurers appear to have any mutual jealousy, each readily allowing the virtue of other incantations than his own.

Sometimes the pretended curer of snake-bites by charms professes also to possess the power of expelling demons, and, in other cases the expeller of demons disclaims being a snake-conjurer. Demon-conjurers are not numerous in Nattore; and tiger-conjurers who profess to charm away tigers or cure their bites, although scarcely heard of in that division, are numerous in those parts of the district where there is much jungle infested by wild beasts.

Distinct from these three kinds of conjurers, and called by a different name is a class of gifted (Sanskṛit *guṇī*) persons who are believed to possess the power of preventing the fall of hail on the village crops. For this purpose when there is a prospect of a hailstorm, one of them goes out into the fields belonging to the village with a trident and a buffalo's horn. The trident is fixed in the ground, and the 'gifted' charmer makes a wide circle around it, running naked, blowing the horn, and pronouncing incantations. It is the firm belief of the villagers that their crops are by this means protected from hail-storms. Both men and women practice this business. There are about a dozen in Nattore, and they are provided for in the same way as the conjurers.

Some of these details may appear unimportant, but they help to give an insight into the character of the humble classes who constitute the great mass of the people, and whose happiness and improvement are identical with the prosperity of the country. And although they exhibit

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proofs of a most imbecile superstition, yet it is a superstition which has its origin in a childish ignorance of the common laws of nature, not in vice or depravity. Such superstitions are neither Hindū nor Muhammadan, being equally repudiated by the educated portions of both classes of religionists. They are probably antecedent to both systems of faith, and have been handed down from time immemorial.'

I must not omit to mention that one indispensable person in all the larger villages is the Baniya or shopkeeper and trader, who is also a money-lender and a kind of petty banker. In Gujarāt he is often a Mārwārī. This personage makes advances to the villagers and binds his helpless debtors by stringent penalties. At least half the village is generally in bondage to him, and not unfrequently a great part of the land passes into his possession.

With regard to the impure castes already alluded to as constituting one element of all village communes, it should be noted that although regarded by the Brāhmans as impure, their usefulness is not the less recognised. Their services are, in fact, felt to be indispensable, and the treatment they receive accords with the urgency rather than with the character of their duties. No greater mistake could be made than to suppose that the condition of the low-caste people of India is one either of serfdom or slavery. Neither the Dher nor the Bhangī are outcastes. Albeit their occupation is of a mean kind they take a pride in doing it well and patiently. They are consequently not only well treated by others but they themselves have the same feelings of self-respect and caste-respect as the other classes of society. Nay, they are often stricter in the observance of their caste rules than men of the higher classes. The Dher is a degree higher in the scale than the Bhangī, and is not a little proud of this superiority. He will on no account eat with the Bhangī, and they never intermarry. The Dhers place great faith in the Kalki—a future incarnation of Vishṇu—who is to appear on a

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white horse with a flaming sword to take vengeance on unrighteous men, establish justice throughout the world, and restore the low castes to their proper position. Kalki, they say, is to marry a Dher woman, and the Dhers are then to take the place of the Brāhmans.

And I may here remark that the Hindūism of the present day is by no means a system that exists for the Brāhmans alone. It is no rigid unbending system of hard and fast lines. On the contrary it possesses great elasticity, and delights in compromises and compensations. If strict in some points it is lax in others; if it gives power to one caste it gives power of a different kind, or at least some compensating advantage to another.

The Bhangī, a man of the lowest caste in Gujarāt, may be despised by a few arrogant Brāhmans of the type described in Manu's Law-book. His touch, shadow, and very look may be avoided; yet the Bhangī has his hour of triumph, if not of revenge. The Brāhman is omnipotent during the day; his blessing makes rich, and his curse withers; but the moment the sun goes down, and darkness sets in, the Brāhman becomes powerless for good or evil. The tables are then turned, and the power of the Bhangī of Gujarāt begins. This is, curiously enough, displayed in some supposed command over the fords of rivers. No Gujarāt Brāhman of the strictly orthodox school will cross a ford after sunset, until he has asked permission of a Bhangī.

With regard to the general character of the rural population of Western India, I may state that an experienced military officer, for some time Surveyor-General of the Bombay Presidency, recorded, about fifty years ago, the impressions he formed in the course of a minute survey of the country[1]. At that time the villagers of every caste were found by him and his assistants to be 'simple

[1] See Lieut.-Colonel Monier Williams' 'Memoir of the Zilla of Broach,' p. 108. In quoting my father's authority, I may mention that his experience of India extended over twenty-four years of unbroken active service.

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and temperate' in their habits, 'quiet and peaceful' in disposition, 'obedient and faithful' in the fulfilment of duty. It was believed that they 'had the advantage of Europeans of the same class, not only in propriety of manners, but in the practice of moral virtues.' They had 'no conspicuous vices.' The affection and tenderness of parents was returned by the 'habitual dutifulness of their children.' Hospitality towards strangers 'was carefully observed.' Everywhere throughout the country 'there was charity without ostentation.' No beggars were to be seen 'except those who were religious mendicants by profession.' Though there was no poor law, 'the indigent and diseased were always provided for by the internal village arrangements.' There was everywhere such mutual confidence that 'no written documents in transactions involving money payments were required.' The cultivators paid their rents and took no receipts. Money and valuables were deposited 'without any other security than the accounts of the parties.' On a particular occasion at an immense religious fair on the banks of the Narbadā, two hundred thousand people were collected, yet there was 'no rioting, no quarrelling, no drunkenness nor disorder of any kind.' All were intent on their religious duties. The officers employed on the survey had 'no other guard but the village watchmen,' yet no robbery was committed, nor was the smallest article ever pilfered from the tents.

I cannot think that much change has passed over the people since this favourable impression made by their behaviour and general character fifty years ago. It is true that they now often appear in a very different light to their rulers. In our courts of justice they are constantly guilty of gross deception. But it seems doubtful whether Europeans would be very different in their attitude towards state officials under similar circumstances. Here in England a large number of people see no impropriety in evading the taxes, breaking the laws, and

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deceiving the police. In point of fact we are apt to judge the natives of India by the character they present to their foreign rulers, rather than by that they bear towards each other in their own homes. The same men who in our courts of law have no idea of the duty of truth will in their own Panchāyats settle disputes with perfect fairness.

As to the little village of Khātraj, which I have already mentioned as visited by me soon after my arrival in India, I found its inhabitants living in a collection of little better than mud huts and sheds, whose dilapidated walls looked as if they would revert to their primitive alluvium under the first heavy downpour of rain. All Indian agricultural labour depends on the ox, and much of the food of the peasantry comes from cows and buffaloes in the shape of milk and butter. Hence in Khātraj yards for cattle are interspersed everywhere with the mud tenements of the inhabitants. Men, women, children, cows, oxen, and buffaloes are huddled together in intimate communion and fellowship, amid dirt, dust, and strong smells of asafœtida and turmeric.

One curious feature in this village, as in most of the others I afterwards visited, was, that the walls of the dwellings were daubed with nasty-looking circular cakes, which looked like confections of mud and clay mixed with pieces of chopped straw. At first I was tempted to suppose that the children of the peasantry were addicted to the mischievous amusement of pelting the sides of their houses with dirt pies, which no one took the trouble to remove. But I found on inquiry that the whole fuel of the village is annually prepared and stowed away, by first kneading the excretions of the cattle into cakes, and then plastering them on the walls, where they are left to bake in the hot sun. It certainly strikes one as remarkable, and much to be regretted, that what ought to be devoted to the nourishment of the soil should be diverted from its proper use, and made to serve as an aliment for fire.

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Let no one, however, imagine that all was dirt, dilapidation, confusion, and disorder in this typical little village of Khātraj. On the contrary, I found an organized society subsisting harmoniously and in comfort on the produce of the village lands.

The plan of the village is very simple. It has one main irregular street crossed by two or three side alleys. Near the centre is an open space, on one side of which is a very primitive town-hall, consisting of a square plot of ground not bigger than the area of a small room, slightly elevated and protected above by a rough roof, supported by rude columns. The structure, though unimposing, obeys the usual law of adaptation found to prevail everywhere throughout the habitable globe. The thick roof is completely sun-proof, and the four open sides admit, as they ought to do, all the winds of heaven. Here, on all needful occasions, the village Panchāyat sits in dignified and comfortable coolness, if not in state and ceremony, the head-man of course presiding. In some smaller villages a cleared space under a large tree is the only meeting-place, and its foliage the only shelter from sun and rain. On the other side of the open space is another small raised platform of rough masonry, on which grow the Pīpal tree and Tulsī plant, the latter being held sacred as the favourite shrub of the god Vishṇu. There is a space all round for reverent circumambulation, as performed every day by the women of the community.

Furthermore, no village in India is without its temple or temples, though they are of a very rude kind. At Khātraj there are two shrines—one to Śiva (with his son Gaṇeśa, 'lord of demons') in his character of Father of all beings, the other to the local Mātā or Mother (otherwise called *Ambā*) of the village, generally identified by the Brāhmans with some form of Śiva's consort. But it must be observed that the village goddess (devī) has a special character and special name in every district and almost every village. In Khātraj she is called Khoḍiyār, or

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'Mischief,' because she is supposed, when in an amiable mood, to shield from harm. She will, however, equally cause harm, when her temper is ruffled by the slightest omission of any formula in the daily process of conciliating her favour. Though euphemistically styled 'Mother,' she has little of a maternal character about her. She not unfrequently sends diseases. If cholera or small-pox break out in the village, the Mother is offended and must be appeased with additional offerings. She is sometimes represented by a rudely carved image, sometimes by a simple recumbent unworked stone.

I soon discovered that the women of India are, like the women in other parts of the world, more regular in the performance of religious exercises than the men. But they are also far more bigoted, intolerant, and superstitious. In most places they confine their religion to a diligent worship of the Tulsī plant. At Khātraj, on the occasion of my visit, a woman was performing circumambulation (*pradakshiṇa*[1]) round this sacred little shrub 108 times, her simple object being to secure long life for her husband, and a large family of sons for herself. The right shoulder must always be kept towards the object circumambulated, probably with the idea of following the sun's course.

The men are, however, by no means deficient in the practice of religious duties. On the contrary, religion of some kind enters largely into their everyday life. Nay, it may even be said that religious ideas and aspirations—religious hopes and fears—are interwoven with the whole texture of their mental constitution. A clergyman, who has resided nearly all his life in India, once remarked to me that he had seen many a poor Indian villager whose childlike trust in his god, and in the efficacy of his religious observances—whose simplicity of character and practical application of the principles of his creed, put us Christians to shame.

[1] Pradakshiṇa was in all likelihood originally connected with Sun-worship.

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I asked one of the Khātraj Brāhmans to give me a specimen of his handwriting, or to write any sentence he liked best in the Sanskṛit language. Thereupon he wrote as follows: *Brahmānandam parama-sukhadam kevalam jnāna-mūrtim ekam nityam vimalam acalam sarva-dhī-sākshi-bhūtam namāmi*, that is (freely translated): 'I bow down before the One God, who is the only existing Being—who is all joy and the giver of all joy,—who is all knowledge—who is eternal, stainless, unchangeable, present as a witness in all consciences.' Another Brāhman, when asked to write his autograph, instead of his own name immediately wrote '*Bhagavate namah*'—'Reverence to God.' Another complied with a similar request for his autograph by writing the sacred monosyllable 'Om'—supposed to contain three letters symbolical of the three persons in the Hindū Triad of gods.

So much for rural life in India.

My next excursion was to the neighbouring towns of Mehmoodabad and Kaira. The name of the first (properly written Mahmūd-ābād, the city of Mahmūd) is an indication that it was founded by a Musalmān ruler. The latter is a mere corruption of the Sanskṛit kheḍa, or kheṭa, a town.

More thoroughly Eastern towns could scarcely have been selected for a first introduction to Indian civic life. They are both small in area—especially Mehmoodabad—but densely populated. In the one case about fifteen thousand people, and in the other twenty thousand are packed together in spaces, which in England would not contain half that number.

Of course self-government prevails in the native towns as well as in the rural communes. The native head of a township, corresponding to the head-man of a village, is called in some parts of India Nagar-sheth or Nagar-seth (from the Sanskṛit Nagara-śreshṭhin). He has always a Panch or council under him, which in some parts of Western India is called, I believe, Mājan (for Mahā-jana).

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Our Government is laudably endeavouring to establish municipal institutions on European principles everywhere throughout India, but even a town like Kaira is as yet not advanced enough to bear any form of self-government different from that which it has possessed from time immemorial.

Unhappily dirt and disease follow inevitably on overcrowding, and reassert themselves after every effort on the part of the proper authorities to keep them down. Hence both Mehmoodabad and Kaira are redolent with those peculiarly Eastern odours that arise from the absence of all drainage, and the abundant use of asafœtida, and other pungent vegetable products.

It is well known that the site of Eastern cities has been constantly shifted by despotic rulers, sometimes out of mere caprice, sometimes for the simple reason that each potentate has been ambitious of founding a city of his own. But a traveller has only to walk through a town like Kaira to understand that the expedient of removing whole populations from one place to another has often been a matter of sheer necessity. It is frequently the only method of escaping the diseases engendered by malaria exhaling from a soil loaded with the noxious accumulations of centuries.

Neither Mehmoodabad nor Kaira have a single European habitation, with the exception of the Collector's official residence at the latter, occupied by him for three or four months every year. They are simply enlarged and improved editions of the village of Khātraj.

Most of the narrow streets of the smaller town are mere lines of thatched-roofed mud cottages, often however ornamented with wooden projections, the wood of which, under the chemical action of the sun's rays, becomes of a deep brown colour—not unlike that of some Indian complexions—and is often beautifully carved by village artists whose only tools are a hammer, a few rude chisels or rusty nails.

Kaira—the larger and the more important town of the two—is encircled by an old wall, and is still more remarkable for

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its beautiful wood carvings. It has also many loftier and better residences built of sun-baked bricks, some of which, notwithstanding, look as if they would tumble into ruins on very slight provocation. Here and there the walls of the houses have staring bright paintings representing animals—generally elephants or monkeys, or the grotesque figures of gods, heroes, and men, and not unfrequently well-known characters in the national epics, drawn with about as much artistic skill as might be expected from a European village sign-board painter.

The streets are constructed with some regularity, but are broken up at intervals by cattle-sheds. Not a pane of glass is to be seen in any part of the town. In the bazaars or streets of shops, all the houses have open recesses for shops—without the faintest approach to a glass-window—under projecting wooden eaves covered with cocoa-nut leaves or bamboos. In these recesses all kinds of curious indigenous commodities—notably strange sweetmeats and odd compounds of coarse sugar—are exposed for sale by their half-naked owners. Here, too, artisans of an amusingly archaic type ply their occupations almost in the open air, while just as in villages, beasts and birds mix everywhere sociably, and on the best possible terms, with the inhabitants. Here and there sacred bulls are seen roaming at large about the streets, and insinuating themselves into any open door that takes their fancy. Happening to pass through the streets in the morning, I found nearly all the male population cleaning their teeth outside the doors of their houses.

What struck me most forcibly was the number of temples, small shrines, and sacred trees. In every English town—not excepting our ancient city of Oxford [1]—there is a public-house at every corner. Now, if for every public-house were substituted a temple or sacred object of some kind, an idea might be formed of the proportion

[1] I am told that in Oxford we have one public-house to every 98 persons.

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such objects bear to the other buildings of an ordinary native town. Of course many of these shrines are structures of a rough and ready character—often merely niches in walls containing perhaps nothing but a shapeless stone-symbol or grotesque idol smeared with vermilion. Often there is no idol at all but a mere daub of red paint on a wall or old tree. But they are all consecrated places notwithstanding, and the offerings of worshippers are always to be found near them.

At the very entrance to the town of Kaira there is a large temple dedicated to the great hero Rāma's monkey-ally Hanumān. It consists of an extensive enclosure surrounded by a Dharma-śālā or kind of cloister for the temporary accommodation of travellers. A rude image of the Ape-god smeared with vermilion—the sacred colour common to this god and Gaṇeśa—and surrounded with offerings of oil [1], occupies a central position under the principal shrine in the centre of the enclosure, while the image of the god Rāma, Hanumān's master, is placed quite subordinately on one side.

Between the two is a Dīpa-mālā or stone column for holding lamps arranged in circles, and lighted up on festival-days. Here also in the same enclosure is an image of Gaṇeśa and the Lingam, or symbol of Śiva, and a shrine to Sītalā, the goddess of small-pox, sometimes identified with Kālī or Durgā, Śiva's wife.

If any one inquires into the meaning of this miscellaneous medley of gods collected together in one locality, he is sure to be told that they all represent different manifestations of one and the same Supreme Being.

In the centre of the town, as at Khātraj, there is a quadrangular stone platform, on which are planted the Pīpal tree and the Tulsī shrub—the former sacred to Brahmā the Creator, the latter to Vishṇu the Preserver—with a space all round for reverential circumambulation.

[1] These, I was told, were the remains of 80 mānds of offerings of oil presented to the idol of Hanumān at a recent festival in his honour.

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In a neighbouring street is a temple containing an image of Vishṇu as Vithobā. This is the form in which he is worshipped at Pandharpur in the Dekhan. The figure of the god is upright. It is quite black, and in a standing attitude with the arms akimbo. I saw that an offering of flowers and food had been recently presented. Incense was burning and two or three lamps were lighted before the image.

The priest of the shrine was very obliging and ready to answer all my questions, though he declined at first to accede to my request that the door might be opened, giving as his reason that the god was in the act of taking his midday repast, and ought not to be disturbed.

I visited another small shrine erected to the honour of a Sādhu or holy man, whose name I understood to be Parināma and who has no large number of followers. There was no image, but only an empty seat or throne (gādi). I was asked to take my shoes off before entering the sacred enclosure. In all Asiatic countries a man must uncover his feet, instead of his head, if he wishes to show respect.

Passing other temples of less importance I emerged on an open piece of ground, where was a small public garden and a building used as a public library well stocked with standard English works. A sacred bull was reposing here close to a picturesque well. Here also was a small shrine erected over the ashes of a Satī, a faithful wife, who had burnt herself on this very spot with the corpse of her husband many years before. It contained nothing but a flat circular stone on which were her supposed footprints. Such shrines are revered as sacred by all sects and parties and are scattered over the whole of India, bearing witness to the former prevalence of a monstrous superstition, now happily abolished [1].

[1] It must not be supposed, however, that the practice was ever universal. Only an infinitesimally small proportion of the wives of India ever became Satīs, and whenever a widow had children, her children saved her.

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And what of the twenty thousand inhabitants? The streets are alive with men, women, and children, and the dark recesses of the ground-floor shops are veritable hives. As I walked along I was followed by crowds of curious but respectful observers. They behaved with the utmost decorum, and, if they occasionally pressed upon me a little too closely, were all kept in check by two sepoys.

By far the majority of the natives in Indian towns, even in times of plenty and prosperity, look half-fed and attenuated, and the old people quite emaciated. Here and there one is startled by the opposite extreme of abnormal obesity. A really fat Brāhman is a very comical and by no means uncommon spectacle. In fact excessive leanness and its opposite may be studied physiologically to great advantage in India. Very few men are oppressed by a superfluity of clothing, while the children, up to six or seven years of age, run about as they came into the world, without a single encumbrance, except perhaps a necklace and a few bangles.

The picturesque costumes of the better clothed—especially as shown in the graceful folds of their long loose robes, and the variegated colours of their turbans—the glossy skins of nearly nude youthful figures, and their movements and attitudes in walking or standing, would have thrown a true artist into ecstacies of delight and admiration.

As for the women, those that one sees in public are very seldom good-looking in any part of India; but nothing can equal the grace and charm of their attitudes and bearing when they go down in troops to the wells, carrying earthenware jars, or copper lotas for water on their heads. Their method of carrying their little children astride on their hips is not equally picturesque.

Their dress, happily for their husbands, is very simple, for no such thing as fashion exists in India. Indeed it may safely be affirmed that there has been no change in the character of an Indian woman's apparel for 3000 years.

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Their whole costume consists of two articles—a simple bodice fitting close to the chest, and one long cloth wound gracefully round the person, and often brought over the head. In the case of women of the higher classes, who are rarely seen in public except in the Marātha country, this long robe, which is called a sārī, is at least ten yards long and often of very costly material. Nevertheless what the husband gains by the simplicity of his wife's taste in the matter of her two garments, is more than counterbalanced by her penchant for expensive jewelry.

And here I may observe that notwithstanding the apparent poverty of the common people of India, they are rarely poor to the point of discomfort. Thanks to the climate they have few wants, and are very thrifty. However small the weekly earnings, a little money is sure to be saved, and that little is never wasted on strong drinks. Instead, however, of being laid by as it ought to be, in the Post-office Savings Bank, it is generally invested in jewelry for the adornment of the women and children of the family. Certainly, after looking at Indian females, whether old or young—their arms, legs, fingers, and toes covered with bangles and rings, generally made of silver and not seldom of gold—it is difficult to believe in the poverty, much less in the alleged bankruptcy of India. Scarcely a woman of the poorest families is without a nose-ring in one nostril, and many of the better classes have also necklaces and earrings. Sometimes the nasal organ is decorated with a small circlet of five or six pearls set in gold, with an emerald in the centre. I once saw a woman who lived in a mud cottage, and earned 20 rupees a month as nurse. She had a double row of chased gold beads round her neck. Her nose-ring had six fine pearls, but she had not yet saved enough money for the central emerald, which is sure to be procured and duly inserted a few years hence.

Again when I was at Ahmedabad, I was invited into the house of a man who has a large family, and who has been earning about £100 a year as a Government servant for

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many years. He took me into a private room, opened a deal box in the corner and displayed the jewels worn by his wife and children on festive occasions. I believe I am under the mark when I say that they might have been sold in England for at least £1500.

So also one has only to go to a railway station when a local train comes in to see an almost incredible amount of jewelry in the third class carriages. Men and women are packed like sheep, the sexes being kept separate, but scarcely a woman, except the very poorest, is without a nose-ring in one nostril, or an earring in one ear, or gold or silver ornaments of some kind.

Again we were one day taken by the Collector of Kaira's wife to a girls' school. My companions were ladies who inspected it closely. They informed me that 35 girls were assembled in the class-room awaiting their arrival with six women superintendants. All the girls, however poor, wore ornaments of some sort or other, and two or three tiny children of three or four years of age, though wholly unencumbered with clothing, were literally bowed down by the weight of thick bracelets, necklaces, and ankle-rings. A few, only of the poorest, had necklaces and ornaments made of straw. The teachers, too, were profusely decorated, only one poor widow in sombre attire, and undecorated by a single ornament, stood aloof as if apologizing for being present in the room, or indeed for being present in the world at all.

The children sang a song in melancholy tones, moving round and clapping their hands. Some read and answered questions in Gujarātī. Others showed their needlework and coarse embroidery.

As to the boys' schools in towns like Mehmoodabad and Kaira, they are often conducted by native schoolmasters in the open air. We passed one consisting of about forty children. The boys were repeating or rather screaming out the multiplication table up to a hundred times a hundred with wonderful energy, and kept time together with

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such accuracy, that their combined voices made a piercing roar. I found that most of the bigger boys could read books in the Gujarātī character with ease and fluency.

Of course the teaching of girls, whenever any teaching is given at all either at school or at home, cannot be carried on beyond the age of eleven. At that age they all begin domestic duties in their husband's homes. Most of the evils, religious, moral, and physical, under which India is still suffering, are due to early marriages and the ignorance of its female population. In 1872–73 British India had only 5700 girls receiving public education.

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SAMĀDH, SACRIFICE, SELF-IMMOLATION, AND SELF-TORTURE.

Kaira Districts, 1876.

A remarkable attempt at achieving a kind of canonization or saintship, by the accomplishment of an apparent Samādh, occurred in the district of Kaira in Gujarāt, presided over by Mr. Frederick Sheppard, the energetic Collector in whose camp I stayed on my first arrival in India. A brief account of the circumstances attending the discovery and interruption of the attempt may be acceptable to an increasing class of readers who take an interest in the various phases and peculiarities of Indian religious life. I propose, therefore, to introduce the narrative by a few remarks about sacrifice, immolation, and self-torture, all of which were once common in India.

In what may be called the Brāhmanical period, which succeeded the Vedic period of Hindūism, human sacrifice must have prevailed among the Brāhmanical races. This is sufficiently evident from the story of Śunahśepha in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa. It is even believed by many that the sects called Śāktas (or Tāntrikas) formerly ate portions of the flesh and drank the blood of the victims sacrificed at their secret orgies. Among the wild Hill tribes and primitive races of India, the chief idea of religion has been the necessity of appeasing the malice of malignant beings by oblations of blood, and on occasions of great emergency by the outpouring of human blood. Their gods thirsted for blood and preferred that of men, while that of children

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was an irresistible delicacy certain to put them in the best of humours.

Very little more than thirty years has elapsed since the suppression of human sacrifices among the Kandhs (often written Kondhs or Khonds), an aboriginal tribe of Orissa. Their terrible Earth-god was supposed to send famines and pestilences unless propitiated by blood. According to Dr. Hunter (Statistics of Bengal, xix. 235) 'the victims were of either sex, and generally of tender age. The detestable office of providing them formed a hereditary privilege of the Pāns, one of the alien low castes attached to the Kandh villages. Procurers of this class yearly sallied forth into the plains, and bought up a herd of promising boys and girls from the poorer Hindūs. Sometimes they kidnapped their prey; and each Kandh district kept a stock of victims in reserve, "to meet sudden demands for atonement." Brāhmans and Kandhs were the only races whose purity exempted them from sacrifice, and a rule came down from remote antiquity that the victim *must be bought with a price.*

'After a village had purchased a victim, it treated him with much kindness, regarding him as a consecrated being, eagerly welcomed at every threshold. If a child, he enjoyed perfect liberty; but if an adult, the chief of the village kept him in his own house, and fed him well, but fettered him so that he could not escape[1]. When the time of atonement had come, the Kandhs spent two days in feasting and riot; on the third they offered up the victim, shouting as the first blood fell to the ground, "We bought you with a price; no sin rests with us."'

Our Government, by Act XXI of 1845, entirely suppressed these horrible sacrifices, and established a special agency for enforcing obedience to the order for their abolition. Human sacrifices were offered in the city of Saugor during the whole of the Marāṭha Government

[1] A similar practice of feeding, fattening, and petting consecrated human victims prevailed, I believe, in Mexico.

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up to the year 1800, when they were put a stop to by the local native Governor, a very humane man.

'I once heard,' writes Colonel Sleeman, 'a very learned Brāhman priest say that he thought the decline of the Governor's family arose from this *innovation*. "There is," said he, "no sin in not offering human sacrifices to the gods where none have ever been offered; but where the gods have been accustomed to them, they are very naturally annoyed when the rite is abolished, and visit the place and people with all kinds of calamities."'

Human sacrifices, however, were probably rare among the purely Āryan races, while the sacrifice of animals became universal. The first idea of sacrifice of any kind—whether of grain, fruits, or animals—seems to have been that of supplying the deities with nourishment. Gods and men all feasted together. Then succeeded the notion of the need of vicarious suffering, or life for life, blood for blood. Some deities were believed to thirst for human blood, and the blood of animals was substituted for that of men. One of the effects of Buddhism was to cause a rapid diminution of animal sacrifice. It is now rarely seen, except at the altars of the fierce goddess of destruction (Kālī), or of forms and near relations of Kālī (such as the *Grāma-devatās*, 'village deities,' and *Mātās*, 'village mothers,') and at the altars of the tutelary deity Ayenār, and at devil-shrines in the South. I myself saw very few animals sacrificed even to the bloody goddesses, though I took pains to visit them on the proper days.

Other forms of immolation were once common in India. The Thugs (properly written *Ṭhags*) maintained that they sacrificed their victims to the goddess Kālī.

Now that Thuggism has been suppressed by us, a good deal of datura-poisoning is practised by the same class of people. Not long ago, an old man and his son were poisoned by a gang of these poisoners for the sake of a new blanket which the old man had purchased and im-

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prudently hung on a tree near his hut. The gang appeared to be travellers, and effected their object by making friends with him, cooking their dinner near him, and giving him a portion previously poisoned for his own use.

The killing of female infants once prevailed extensively in the Panjāb and Rājputāna, owing to the difficulty of providing daughters with suitable husbands and the immense expenses entailed by nuptial festivities. Through our instrumentality the practice has now been discontinued, or if rare cases of female infanticide occur, they are perpetrated with great secrecy.

Again, in former days, self-immolation was common. Many fanatical pilgrims, while labouring under violent excitement amounting to religious frenzy, immolated themselves at the festivals of the God Śiva (the proper god of destruction), and even at the great car-festivals (*ratha-yātrā*) of the god Vishṇu, voluntarily throwing themselves under the enormous wheels not only of the car of Jagan-nāth (Kṛishṇa or Vishṇu, as 'lord and preserver of the world'), at Purī in Orissa, but of other similar idol-cars also.

I found such cars attached to every large Vishṇu pagoda in the South of India. They are supposed to typify the moving active world over which the god presides, and the friezes of grotesque sculptures, one under the other, with which they are covered, exhibit the world's good and bad, pure and impure characters in disgustingly incongruous juxtaposition. Some of them are so large and heavy that they require to be supported on sixteen wheels, and on a particular day, once a year, they are drawn through the streets by thousands of people. Every now and then persons are crushed under the wheels; for a rather unexpected consequence of our civilisation has been to increase religious gatherings among the natives by creating facilities of communication, and the best government cannot always prevent accidents.

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Indeed, if the Orissa devotees are true to their own creed, 'accidental death' ought to be the formal verdict in every case of seeming suicide at Purī. For nothing, in fact, is more abhorrent to the principles of all Vishṇu-worship than the infliction of any kind of death on the most insignificant animal, and to die by one's own hand is a form of destruction to be shrunk from by a true Vaishṇava with the most intense religious horror.

The Jagan-nāth festival, writes Dr. W. W. Hunter, in the 19th volume of his Statistical Account of Bengal (p. 59)[1], 'takes place according as the Hindū months fall, in June or July, and for weeks beforehand pilgrims come trooping into Purī by thousands every day. The whole district is in a ferment. The great car is forty-five feet in height. This vast structure is supported on sixteen wheels of seven feet diameter, and is thirty-five feet square. The brother and sister of Jagan-nāth have separate cars a few feet smaller. When the sacred images are at length brought forth and placed upon their chariots, thousands fall on their knees and bow their foreheads in the dust. The vast multitude shouts with one throat, and, surging backwards and forwards, drags the wheeled edifices down the broad street towards the country-house of the world's lord (Jagan-nāth). Music strikes up before and behind, drums beat, cymbals clash, the priests harangue from the cars, or shout a sort of fescennine medley, enlivened with broad allusions and coarse gestures, which are received with roars of laughter from the crowd. And so the dense mass struggles forward by convulsive jerks, tugging and sweating, shouting and jumping, singing and praying. The distance from the temple to the country-house is less than a mile; but the wheels sink deep into the sand, and the journey takes several days. After hours of severe toil and wild excitement in the July tropical sun, a reaction necessarily follows. The zeal of the pilgrims flags before the garden-house is reached; and the cars, deserted

[1] In twenty volumes, just published by Messrs. Trübner and Co.

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by the devotees, are dragged along by the professional pullers with deep-drawn grunts and groans. These men, 4200 in number, are peasants from the neighbouring Fiscal Divisions, who generally manage to live at free quarters in Purī during the festival.

'Once arrived at the country-house, the enthusiasm subsides. The pilgrims drop exhausted upon the burning sand of the sacred street, or block up the lanes with their prostrate bodies. When they have slept off their excitement, they rise refreshed and ready for another of the strong religious stimulants of the season. The world's lord is left to get back to his temple as best he can; and in the quaint words of a writer half a century ago, but for the professional car-pullers, the god "would infallibly stick" at his country-house.

'In a closely-packed eager throng of a hundred thousand men and women, many of them unaccustomed to exposure or hard labour, and all of them tugging and straining to the utmost under the blazing tropical sun, deaths must occasionally occur. There have, doubtless, been instances of pilgrims throwing themselves under the wheels in a frenzy of religious excitement; but such instances have always been rare, and are now unknown. At one time several unhappy people were killed or injured every year, but they were almost invariably cases of accidental trampling. The few suicides that did occur were, for the most part, cases of diseased and miserable objects, who took this means to put themselves out of pain. The official returns now place this beyond doubt. Nothing, indeed, could be more opposed to the spirit of Vishṇu-worship than self-immolation. Accidental death within the temple renders the whole place unclean. The ritual suddenly stops, and the polluted offerings are hurried away from the sight of the offended god. According to Ćaitanya, the apostle of Jagan-nāth, the destruction of the least of God's creatures is a sin against the Creator. Self-immolation he would have regarded with horror.'

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Self-immolation, in other ways, was once extensively prevalent. Arrian, it is well known, describes how, in the time of Alexander the Great, a man named Kalanos —one of a sect of Indian wise men who went naked— burned himself upon a pile. This description is like that of the self-cremation of the ascetic Śarabhanga in Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 9. Cicero alludes to it in a celebrated passage: 'Est profecto quiddam etiam in barbaris gentibus praesentiens atque divinans: siquidem ad mortem proficiscens Calanus Indus, cum adscenderet in rogum ardentem; O praeclarum discessum, inquit, e vitâ.' (De Divin. i. 23.)

There are some sand-hills in the Sātpura range dedicated to Mahādeva—supposed, as Mahākāla, to preside over destruction. From a rock on these hills many youths have precipitated themselves, because their mothers, being childless, have dedicated their first-born sons to the god.

According to Col. Sleeman, 'when a woman is without children, she makes votive offerings to all the gods who can, she thinks, assist her; and promises of still greater offerings in case they should grant what she wants. Smaller promises being found of no avail, she at last promises her first-born, if a male, to the god of destruction, Mahādeva (Śiva). If she gets a son, she conceals from him her vow till he has attained the age of puberty; she then communicates it to him, and enjoins him to fulfil it. He believes it to be his paramount duty to obey his mother's call; and from that moment considers himself as devoted to the god. Without breathing to any living soul a syllable of what she has told him, he puts on the habit of a pilgrim or religious mendicant, visits all the celebrated temples dedicated to this god in different parts of India; and at the annual fair on the Mahādeva hills, throws himself from a perpendicular height of four or five hundred feet, and is dashed to pieces on the rocks below. If the youth does not feel himself quite prepared for the sacrifice on the first

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visit, he spends another year in pilgrimages, and returns to fulfil his mother's vow at the next fair. Some have, I believe, been known to postpone the sacrifice to a third fair; but the interval is always spent in painful pilgrimages to the celebrated temples of the god [1].'

This mode of suicide is called Bhṛigu-pāta, 'throwing one's-self from a precipice.' It was once equally common at the rock of Girnār, in Kāthiāwār, and has only recently been prohibited.

We have made great efforts to put a stop to these horrors by doing away with the fair. On one occasion our efforts were assisted by the cholera, which broke out among the multitude. This visitation was considered by the people as an intimation on the part of the god that they ought to have been more attentive to the wishes of the *white men*. It is noteworthy that Mahādeva is the only Hindū god represented of a fair colour—probably from his connection with the Snowy Mountains.

With regard to the immolation of the faithful wife, commonly called Sutee (=Sanskṛit *Satī*) who followed her husband in death, and burned herself on his funeral pile, everywhere in India I saw, scattered about in various places, monuments erected over the ashes of Satīs, and everywhere such monuments (often enshrining the supposed footprints of the faithful wife) are still regarded with the greatest veneration by the people.

Sometimes the poor women in their horror of burning have submitted to the alternative of being buried alive with their husbands. The practice of Satī was for a long period thought to be so intimately connected with the religious belief of the Hindūs, that our Government did not venture to put a stop to it. It was known to be enjoined in certain comparatively modern Indian codes, and for some time it was not discovered that the fanatical Brāhmans, to obtain the requisite authority for insisting on the continual observance of the rite, had permitted the

[1] Sleeman's 'Rambles and Recollections,' p. 133.

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fraudulent substitution of the words *agneh*, 'of fire,' for *agre*, 'first,' at the end of the Ṛig-veda text (X. 18. 7), thus translatable: 'without tears, without sorrow, bedecked with jewels, let the wives go up to the altar *first*.'

Our Government prohibited the burning of any widow except under strict regulations, and except with her own full consent; but, in consequence of our half-sanction, the number of widows actually returned as burnt in Bengal rose in one year to 839, while in other years the average was 500. In Lord Amherst's time the seven European functionaries in charge of the seven newly-acquired districts, one and all declared against the abolition of widow-burning, and such great authorities as Colebrooke and H. H. Wilson were against interference. Yet under Lord William Bentinck's administration a law was passed in 1829 (Reg. XVII) which suppressed the practice with entire success, and without difficulty or disturbance of any kind, notwithstanding all the bigotry, fanaticism, and prejudice brought to bear in opposition to the measure.

We have also prevented the burying alive of lepers, and others afflicted with incurable diseases, which was once universally prevalent in the Panjāb, and common in some other parts of India.

Of course leprosy in India, as in other Eastern countries, is a kind of living death. Lepers are excluded from society, and can find no employment. They often gave themselves up of their own accord to be buried alive, the motive simply being a desire to be released from physical suffering.

This burying one's self alive is called performing Samādh (=Sanskṛit *Samādhi*). The word properly means intense concentration of the thoughts on some holy object, or a temporary suspension of all connexion between soul and body by religious abstraction.

The tomb of a Sannyāsī, or holy Brāhman, who has given up all worldly connexions and abandoned caste-

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obligations, is also called a Samādh (=*Samādhi*). A holy man of this kind is never burnt, but buried; and his entombed body is supposed to lie for centuries in the Samādh trance. Such tombs are often great places of pilgrimage, resorted to by thousands from all parts of India.

Colonel Sleeman (in his 'Rambles and Recollections,' p. 345) describes how he once knew a very respectable Hindū gentleman who came to the river Narbadā, attended by a large retinue, to perform a kind of water Samādh, in consequence of an incurable disease under which he laboured. After taking leave of his family, he entered a boat, which conveyed him to the deepest part of the river. He then loaded himself with sand, and, stepping into the water, disappeared.

Self-immolation by drowning was once very common at Benares. Bishop Heber describes how many scores of pilgrims from all parts of India came to Benares every year expressly to end their days and secure their salvation. They purchased two large pots, between which they tied themselves. Thus equipped they paddled into the stream, the empty pots supporting their weight. Then they proceeded to fill the pots with the water which surrounded them, and in this manner sank into eternity. The British Government in the Bishop's time had not succeeded in suppressing the practice. Indeed, when a man has travelled several hundred miles to drown himself, it is never very likely that a police-officer will be able to prevent him.

I now come to the remarkable fact that two attempts at Samādh have occurred in the Collector of Kaira's district quite recently. A certain devotee announced his intention of adopting this extraordinary method of securing perfect abstraction and beatitude, and was actually buried alive in the neighbourhood of a village. His friends were detected by the villagers in pouring milk down a hollow bamboo, which had been arranged to supply the

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buried man with air and food. The bamboo was removed, and the interred man was found dead when his friends opened the grave shortly afterwards.

The other attempt is still more recent, and I here give Mr. Sheppard's own account of it almost in his own words: 'As I was shooting near my camp one evening, a mounted orderly came up with the news that a Bhāt had performed Samādh that afternoon in a neighbouring village, and that there was much consequent excitement there. Not having a horse with me, I directed the orderly to ride off to the village (picking up my police escort as he passed through my camp), to dig up the buried man, and to take into custody any persons who might endeavour to oppose the execution of my orders.

'On returning to my camp, I ordered the apprehension of all those who had assisted in the Samādh; and soon afterwards received a report that the man had been actually buried in a vault in his own house, but had been taken out alive. He was, however, very weak, and died the following morning. It was then reported to me that the limbs, though cold, had not stiffened; and the people, ready as of old to be deceived, and always inclined to attribute the smallest departure from the ordinary course of events to supernatural agency, declared that the Bhāt was not dead, but lying in the Samādh trance. There was, however, no pulse; and as it was clear that, even if the supposition of the villagers was correct, medical treatment would be desirable, I sent the body in a cart to the nearest dispensary, distant some six or seven miles, and in due time received a certificate of death from the hospital assistant in charge of that institution, together with a report of a post-mortem examination of the body, which showed that death had resulted from heart-disease.

'Meanwhile I visited the village and ascertained the following facts:—

'The deceased was a man in fairly comfortable circumstances, and with some religious pretensions. It was well

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known that he aspired to a still higher reputation for sanctity, and that with this view he had for several months been contemplating Samādh. The proper date for this rite had been finally settled after many solemn ceremonies, and the due observance of fasting, prayer, and charity.

'On the afternoon fixed for the Samādh he assembled the villagers, and told them that it had been imparted to him in a vision that the Deity required him to pass six weeks in religious abstraction, and that he felt compelled to obey the Divine command, and to remain in the vault prepared for him during that period. He then produced and worshipped a small earthen vessel containing the sacred Tulsī plant, and afterwards carefully planted therein twenty grains of barley, telling the villagers to watch for their growth, as it had been revealed to him that the grains represented his life. If, at the end of the six weeks, the grains had sprouted, the villagers were to understand that the Bhāt was still alive. He was then to be removed from the vault, and worshipped as a saint. If, on the other hand, germination had not taken place, they were to understand that the Bhāt was dead also, and the vault was in that case to be permanently bricked up, and the Tulsī planted over the grave.

'After giving these directions, the devotee recited some Mantras and entered the vault, bidding farewell to the world, and declaring his belief that his life would be miraculously preserved. The vault was then roofed over with boards, and plastered thickly with mud. About two hours after this event, he was removed from the vault by the police under my orders, and placed in the verandah, the house itself being locked up.

'After ascertaining the above particulars, I caused the house to be opened, and then discovered that a gross attempt at imposture had been practised. The grave was about three feet deep, being a hole dug in the floor of the inner room of the house. The wall of the room formed

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one side of the vault. The roof over the latter was a clumsy structure, and had been partly demolished to allow of the removal of the devotee. As usual in India, the only light admitted to the room was through the door, and the unsubstantial nature of the roof was not likely to attract the attention of the villagers. But I satisfied myself that the occupant of the vault might, with great ease, have demolished the covering which was supposed to shut him off from the world.

'The vault itself was of course dark. I entered it in order to ascertain how much space had been allotted to the occupant. I found therein the rosary of the deceased, and the chaplet of flowers which he had worn before his self-immolation. There was sufficient room for me to sit in tolerable comfort. On one side of the vault I felt a small wooden plank apparently let into the wall, and on obtaining a light I found that a trap-door about a foot square had been ingeniously contrived to communicate with the other room of the house. The trap-door was so hung as to open inwards towards the vault, at the pleasure of the inmate. On going into the outer room, into which communication had thus been opened, I found that a row of the large earthen jars, which Horace would have called *amphoræ*, and which are used in India to store grain, had been arranged against the wall. The trap-door into the vault was effectually concealed by them, and the supply of air, food, and water to the impostor within thus cleverly provided for. The arrangement was neatly contrived, and was not likely to have attracted suspicion. Had the Bhāt been a strong man, and in good health, he might, without any danger to life, and with only a minimum of discomfort, have emerged triumphantly after his six weeks' Samādh, and have earned a wide reputation. But the excitement and fasting were too much for him.'

As to the practice of self-torture this cannot be entirely prevented by our Government, but is rapidly dying out. Formerly it was possible for devotees,—with the object

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of exciting admiration or extorting alms, or under the delusion that their self-torture was an act of religious merit,—to swing in the air attached to a lofty pole by means of a rope and hook passed through the muscles of the back. Such self-inflicted mutilation is now prohibited.

Yet, even in the present day, to acquire a reputation for sanctity, or to receive homage and offerings from the multitude, or under the idea of accumulating a store of merit, all sorts of bodily sufferings, penances, and austerities, even to virtual suicide, are undergone—the latter being sometimes actually perpetrated out of mere revenge, as its consequences are supposed to fall on the enemy whose action has driven the deceased to self-immolation.

Three Brāhmans in a native State, who had their daughters forced from them by Muhammadans beyond the reach of justice, complained to the governor of the province; but finding no redress, they all swallowed poison and died at the door of his tent.

The practice of sitting in Dharnā was once common, but was made punishable by Reg. VII. 1820. It was thus performed:—A person who wished to compel payment of a debt due to him, sat at the door of a debtor's house and observed a strict fast. If he died from want of food, the consequences of his death were supposed to fall on the debtor, and if the person sitting was a Brāhman, the terrible guilt of Brahmanicide was believed to be incurred.

I saw a man not long since at Allahabad, who has sat in one position for fifty years on a stone pedestal exposed to sun, wind, and rain. He never moves except once a day, when his attendants lead him to the Ganges. He is an object of worship to thousands, and even high-caste Brāhmans pay him homage.

I saw two Ūrdhva-bāhus—one at Gayā and the other at Benares—that is, devotees who hold their arms with clenched fists above their heads for years, until they be-

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come shrivelled and the finger-nails penetrate through the back of the hands.

Another man was prostrating himself and measuring every inch of the ground with his body round the hill of Govardhan when I passed. He probably intended continuing the painful process till he had completed a circuit of twenty miles one hundred and eight times.

In most of the cases I have described, the laudable humanity of our Government in endeavouring to preserve human life has given rise to fresh evils and difficulties.

In the first place, population is increasing upon us in a degree which threatens to become wholly unmanageable. Then widows never marry again; not even if their boy-husbands die, leaving them widows at the age of six. A woman is supposed to be sacramentally united to one husband, and belongs to him for ever. Every town, every village, almost every house, is full of widows who are debarred from all amusements, and, if childless, converted into household drudges. They often lead bad lives. Their life, like that of the lepers, is a kind of living death, and they would often cheerfully give themselves up to be burned alive if the law would let them. The spirit of Satī still survives.

Only the other day in Nepāl, where our supremacy is barely recognized, the widows of Sir Jung Bahādur became Satīs, and burned themselves with their husband.

Then, again, the increase in the number of girls who cannot find suitable husbands is now causing much embarrassment in some districts. Even the lepers, whose lives we preserve, involve us in peculiar difficulties. These unfortunate creatures often roam about the country, exacting food from the people by threatening to touch their children. Here and there we have built leper-villages—rows of cottages under trees devoted to their use; and we make the towns contribute from local funds to support them, while charity ekes out the miserable pittance they receive.

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Yet notwithstanding all the fresh evils which our philanthropic efforts have introduced into the country, no one will, I think, dispute my assertion when I maintain that the suppression of Samādhs, human sacrifices, self-immolations, and self-tortures are among the greatest blessings which India has hitherto received from her English rulers.

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THE TOWERS OF SILENCE, AND THE PĀRSĪ RELIGION.

THE Pārsīs are descendants of the ancient Persians who were expelled from Persia by the Muhammadan conquerors, and who first settled at Sūrat between eleven and twelve hundred years ago. According to the last census they do not number more than 70,000 souls, of whom about 50,000 are found in the city of Bombay, the remaining 20,000 in different parts of India, but chiefly in Gujarāt and the Bombay Presidency. Though a mere drop in the ocean of 241 million inhabitants, they form a most important and influential body of men, emulating Europeans in energy and enterprize, rivalling them in opulence, and imitating them in many of their habits. Their vernacular language is Gujarātī, but nearly every adult speaks English with fluency, and English is now taught in all their schools. Their Benevolent Institution for the education of at least 1,000 boys and girls is in a noble building, and is a model of good management. Their religion, as delivered in its original purity by their prophet Zoroaster, and as propounded in the Zand-Avastā, is monotheistic, or, perhaps, rather pantheistic, in spite of its philosophical dualism, and in spite of the apparent worship of fire and the elements, regarded as visible representations of the Deity. Its morality is summed up in three precepts of two words each—'good thoughts,' 'good words,' 'good deeds;' of which the Pārsī is constantly reminded by the triple coil of his white cotton girdle. In its origin the Pārsī system is closely allied to that of the Hindū Āryans—as repre-

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sented in the Veda—and has much in common with the more recent Brāhmanism. Neither religion can make proselytes.

A man must be born a Brāhman or Pārsī; no power can convert him into either one or the other. One notable peculiarity, however, distinguishes Pārsiism. Nothing similar to its funeral rites prevails among other nations; though the practice of exposing bodies on the tops of rocks is said to prevail among the Buddhists of Bhotan.

And truly among the interesting contrasts which everywhere meet the eye of an observant European traveller, when he first arrives at Bombay, may especially be noted the different methods adopted by the adherents of different creeds for the disposal of their dead.

There in Bombay one may see, within a short distance of each other, the Christian cemetery, the Muhammadan graveyard, the Hindū burning-ground, and the Pārsī Dakhmas, or Towers of Silence. These latter are erected in a garden, on the highest point of Malabar Hill—a beautiful rising ground on the north side of Back Bay, noted for the bungalows and compounds of the European and wealthier inhabitants of Bombay scattered in every direction over its surface.

The garden is approached by a well-constructed private road, all access to which, except to Pārsīs, is barred by strong iron gates. I obtained leave to visit the Towers on two different occasions, and thanks to the omnipotent Sir Jamsetjee, no obstacles impeded my advance. Each time I made my appearance before the massive gates they flew open before me as if by magic. I drove rapidly through a park-like enclosure, and found the courteous Secretary of the Pārsī Panchāyat, Mr. Nasarwānjee Byramjee, awaiting my arrival at the entrance to the garden. On the occasion of my first visit he took me at once to the highest point in the consecrated ground, and we stood together on the terrace of the largest of the three *Sāgrīs*, or Houses of Prayer, which overlook the five Towers of

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Silence. These Sāgrīs are indispensable adjuncts to all Pārsī burial-towers in large towns such as Bombay, Surat, and Poona, but are not found attached to them in less important localities. They are not only places of prayer, they are sanctuaries for the sacred fire, which, when once kindled and consecrated by solemn ceremonial, is fed day and night with incense and fragrant sandal by a priest appointed for the purpose, and never extinguished. It is noteworthy that the wall of the Bombay Sāgrī has an aperture or apertures, so arranged that the light streaming from the sacred fire, or from a consecrated oil-lamp, kept burning throughout the night, may pass through similar apertures in the parapets of the towers, and fall on the bodies lying in the interior. The view we enjoyed when standing near the principal Sāgrī can scarcely be surpassed by any in the world. Beneath us lay the city of Bombay, partially hidden by cocoanut groves, with its beautiful bay and harbour glittering in the brilliant December light. Beyond stretched the magnificent ranges of the ghauts, while immediately around us extended a garden, such as can only be seen in tropical countries. No English nobleman's garden could be better kept, and no pen could do justice to the glories of its flowering shrubs, cypresses, and palms. It seemed the very ideal, not only of a place of sacred silence, but of peaceful rest.

But what are those five circular structures which appear at intervals rising mysteriously out of the foliage? They are masses of solid masonry, massive enough to last for centuries, built of the hardest black granite, and covered with white chunam, the purity and smoothness of which are disfigured by patches of black fungus-like incrustations. Towers they scarcely deserve to be called; for the height of each is quite out of proportion to its diameter. The largest of the five may be described as an upright cylindrical stone structure, in shape and solidity not unlike a gigantic millstone, about fourteen

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feet high and ninety feet in diameter, resting on the ground in the midst of the garden. It is built of solid granite, except in the centre, where a well, ten feet deep and about fifteen across, leads down to an excavation under the masonry, containing four drains at right angles to each other, terminated by holes filled with sand, or in some cases, with charcoal. Round the upper and outer edge of this circular structure, and completely hiding its upper surface from view, is a high stone parapet. This is constructed so as to seem to form one piece with the solid stone-work, and being, like it, covered with chunam, gives the whole erection, when viewed from the outside, the appearance of a low Tower. Clearly, one great object aimed at by the Pārsīs in the construction of these strange depositories of their dead is solidity. We saw two or three enormous massive stones lying on the ground, which had been rejected by the builders simply because they contained almost invisible veins of quartz, through which it was possible that impure particles might find their way, and be carried, in the course of centuries, by percolating moisture, into the soil. Earth, water, and fire are, according to Zoroaster, sacred symbols of the wisdom, goodness, and omnipotence of the Deity, and ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled. Especially ought every effort to be made to protect Mother Earth from the pollution which would result if putrifying corpses were allowed to accumulate in the ground (*Vandidād* iii. 27). Hence the disciples of Zoroaster spare neither trouble nor expense in erecting solid and impenetrable stone platforms fourteen feet thick for the reception of their dead. The cost of erection is greatly increased by the circumstance that the Towers ought always to be placed on high hills, or in the highest situations available (*Vand.* vi. 93). I was informed by the Secretary that the largest of the five Towers was constructed at an outlay of three lakhs (300,000) of rupees.

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The oldest and smallest of the five was built 200 years ago, when the Pārsīs first settled in Bombay, and is now only used by the Modi family, whose forefathers built it; and here the bones of many kindred generations are commingled. The next oldest was erected in 1756, and the other three during the succeeding century. A sixth Tower stands quite apart from the others. It is square in shape, and only used for persons who have suffered death for heinous crimes. The bones of convicted criminals are never allowed to mingle with those of the rest of the community.

But the strangest feature in these strange, unsightly structures, so incongruously intermixed with graceful cypresses and palms, exquisite shrubs, and gorgeous flowers, remains to be described. Though wholly destitute of ornament, and even of the simplest moulding, the parapet of each Tower possesses an extraordinary coping, which instantly attracts and fascinates the gaze. It is a coping formed, not of dead stone, but of living vultures. These birds, on the occasion of my visit, had settled themselves side by side in perfect order, and in a complete circle around the parapets of the Towers, with their heads pointed inwards, and so lazily did they sit there and so motionless was their whole mien that, except for their colour, they might have been carved out of the stone-work.

And now as to the interior of the Towers, the upper surface of the massive granite column is divided into compartments by narrow grooved ridges of stone, radiating like the spokes of a wheel from the central well. These stone ridges form the sides of seventy-two shallow open receptacles or coffins, arranged in three concentric rings, the last of the three encircling the central well[1]. The

[1] I hear from Mr. Cursetjee Rustamjee Cāma (who is a great authority on all points connected with his own religion) that all the Dakhmas have not seventy-two receptacles. Smaller towers have fewer receptacles. The number is not a fixed one, but depends on the needs of the place where a Dakhma is erected.

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ridges are grooved—that is, they have narrow channels running down their whole length, which channels are connected by side ducts with the open coffins, so as to convey all moisture to the central well, and into the lower drains. The number three is emblematical of Zoroaster's three moral precepts, 'Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds' (*Vand.* v. 67), and the seventy-two open stone receptacles represent the seventy-two chapters of his Yaśna, a portion of the Zand-Avastā.

Each concentric circle of open stone coffins has a pathway surrounding it, the object of which is to make each receptacle accessible to the corpse-bearers. Hence there are three concentric circular pathways, the outermost of which is immediately below the parapet, and these three pathways are crossed by another conducting from the solitary door which admits the corpse-bearers from the exterior, and which must face the east, to catch the rays of the rising sun. In the outermost circle of stone coffins, which stands for 'good deeds,' are placed the bodies of males; in the middle, symbolizing 'good words,' those of females; in the inner and smallest circle, nearest the well, representing 'good thoughts,' those of children. Each tower is consecrated with solemn religious ceremonies, and after its consecration no one, except the corpse-bearers—not even a high-priest—is allowed to enter, or to approach within thirty feet of the immediate precincts.

The first funeral I witnessed was that of a child. While I was engaged in conversation with the Secretary outside the Fire-temple, a sudden stir among the vultures made us raise our heads. At least a hundred birds, collected round one of the Towers, began to shew symptoms of excitement, while others swooped down from neighbouring trees. The cause of this sudden abandonment of their previous apathy soon revealed itself. A funeral procession was seen to be approaching. However distant the house of a deceased person, and whether he be young or old, rich or poor, high

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or low in rank, his body is always carried to the Towers by the official corpse-bearers, the mourners walking behind. The corpse-bearers are properly divided into two classes, named Nasa-sālārs and Khāndhiās. The former alone are privileged to enter the Towers, but they are assisted in carrying the bier by the Khāndhiās, and they carry the dead bodies of little children without the aid of the Khāndhiās. As these Nasa-sālārs are supposed to contract impurity in the discharge of their duty, they are obliged to submit to certain social disadvantages. For instance, they are generally expected to eat apart from the rest of the community at social gatherings [1]. They enjoy, however, a compensating advantage in being highly paid for the work they have to do.

Before they removed the body of the child from the house where its relatives were assembled, funeral prayers were recited, and the corpse was exposed to the gaze of the sacred dog, to be afterwards described.

Then the body, swathed in a white sheet, was placed on a curved metal trough [2], open at both ends, and the corpse-bearers, dressed in pure white garments, proceeded with it towards the Towers. They were followed by the mourners at a distance of at least 30 feet, in pairs, also dressed in white, and each couple joined by holding a white handkerchief between them. When the two corpse-bearers reached the path leading by a steep incline to the door of the Tower, the mourners, about eight in number, turned back and entered one of the prayer houses. 'There,' said the Secretary, 'they repeat certain Gāthās, and pray that the spirit of the deceased may be safely transported on the fourth day after death to its final resting-place.'

The Tower selected for the child's burial was one in

[1] My authority here is Mr. N. J. Ratnāgar, who contributed some valuable remarks on this subject to the January number of the 'Indian Antiquary' for this year.

[2] This form of bier is only used in the case of young children. See the description of the second funeral witnessed by me.

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which other members of the same family had before been laid. The two bearers speedily unlocked the door, reverently conveyed the body of the child into the interior, and, unseen by any one, laid it uncovered in one of the open stone receptacles nearest the central well. In two minutes they re-appeared with the empty bier and white cloth. But scarcely had they closed the door when a dozen vultures swooped down upon the body, and were rapidly followed by flights of others. In five minutes more we saw the satiated birds fly back and lazily settle down again upon the parapet. They had left nothing behind but a skeleton. Meanwhile the bearers were seen to enter a building shaped like a huge barrel. There, as the Secretary informed me, they changed their clothes and washed themselves. Shortly afterwards we saw them come out and deposit their cast-off funeral garments on a stone receptacle near at hand. Not a thread leaves the garden, lest it should carry defilement into the city. Fresh garments were supplied at each funeral. In a fortnight, or at most four weeks, the same bearers return, and with gloved hands and implements resembling tongs, place the dry skeleton in the central well. There the bones find their last resting-place, and there the dust of whole generations of Pārsīs commingling is left undisturbed for centuries.

The revolting sight of the gorged vultures made me turn my back on the Towers with ill-concealed abhorrence. I asked the Secretary how it was possible to become reconciled to such a usage. His reply was nearly in the following words :—'Our Prophet Zoroaster, who lived 6,000 years ago, taught us to regard the elements as symbols of the Deity. Earth, fire, water, he said, ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled by contact with putrefying flesh. Naked, he said, we came into the world, and naked we ought to leave it. But the decaying particles of our bodies should be dissipated as rapidly as possible, and in such a way that neither Mother Earth nor the beings she

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supports should be contaminated in the slightest degree. In fact, our Prophet was the greatest of health officers, and following his sanitary laws, we build our Towers on the tops of the hills, above all human habitations. We spare no expense in constructing them of the hardest materials, and we expose our putrescent bodies in open stone receptacles, resting on 14 feet of solid granite, not necessarily to be consumed by vultures, but to be dissipated in the speediest manner, and without the smallest possibility of polluting the earth, or contaminating a single living being dwelling thereon. God, indeed, sends the vultures, and, as a matter of fact, these birds do their appointed work much more expeditiously than millions of insects would do, if we committed our bodies to the ground. In a sanitary point of view nothing can be more perfect than our plan. Even the rain water which washes our skeletons is conducted by channels into purifying charcoal. Here in these five Towers rest the bones of all the Pārsīs that have lived in Bombay for the last 200 years. We form a united body in life, and we are united in death. Even our leader, Sir Jamsetjee, likes to feel that when he dies he will be reduced to perfect equality with the poorest and humblest of the Pārsī community.'

When the Secretary had finished his defence of the Towers of Silence, I could not help thinking that however much such a system may shock our European feelings and ideas, yet our own method of interment, if regarded from a Pārsī point of view, may possibly be equally revolting to Pārsī sensibilities.

The exposure of the decaying body to the assaults of innumerable worms may have no terrors for us, because our survivors do not see the assailants; but let it be borne in mind that neither are the Pārsī survivors permitted to look at the swoop of the heaven-sent birds. Why, then, should we be surprised if they prefer the more rapid to the more lingering operation? and which of the two

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systems, they may reasonably ask, is more defensible on sanitary grounds?

On the occasion of my second visit to the Towers I was permitted to witness the funeral of a Mobed, or one of the second order of priests, whose flowing white costumes (supposed to be emblematical of purity) are everywhere conspicuous in the Bombay streets. I may here mention parenthetically that I believe the word Mobed is merely a corruption of a Zand word equivalent to Sanskṛit *Magapati*, 'chief of the Magians.' Dastūr, the name of the high-priest, is a modern Persian word, the best equivalent for which would perhaps be 'chief ruler.' According to some the name Herbad (or Erwad)[1], is applied as a generic term to the whole sacerdotal order. In the Zand-Avastā the entire priestly class are called Athravan (in Pāzand Athornan). In the present day the rest of the community —all laymen in fact, who are not Herbads—are generally styled Behadīn, or Behdīn, that is, 'followers of the best religion.' They have also the name Ostā.

I reached the garden surrounding the Towers about half an hour before sunset. At that time the funeral procession was already winding up the hill. The deceased man had died early in the morning, and a rule of the Pārsī religion requires that no corpse shall be exposed on the platform of the Towers, to be consumed by birds of prey, unless the rays of the sun can first fall on it. Foremost in the procession walked a man carrying a loaf or two of bread wrapped up in a cloth. Then came the bier, which was flat and made of iron bars[2], having the body of the de-

[1] Mr. Cāma informs me that Herbad means simply a religious teacher. Another name for a Herbad is Nāvar, meaning one who has performed the Nāvar ceremony. Originally it may have meant a new member of the ecclesiastical fraternity. Every son of a priest is a Herbad. But some Herbads instead of becoming Dastūrs or Mobeds adopt a secular profession, discarding the white turban for a dark one. In that case they generally abandon the name Herbad. In fact, priestly denominations have fallen into disrepute. The title Dastūr is applied ironically to every one with a white turban.

[2] In the case of a child it is a curved metal trough.

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ceased stretched out upon it, covered only with a white sheet, and borne by four Khāndhiā bearers, accompanied by two Nasa-sālārs. After the bearers, at an interval of a few yards, followed a man leading a white dog, and behind him a long procession of at least a hundred priests in their robes of spotless white, besides relations of the deceased, also in white garments, walking in pairs, each couple following closely on the other, and each man connected with his fellow by a handkerchief held between them in token of sympathy and fellow-feeling. The procession advanced to a point about thirty yards distant from the portal of the largest Tower. There it stood still for a minute while the dog was brought towards the corpse, made to look at the features of the dead man, and then fed with bread.

Meanwhile all who followed the bier turned round, and walked back to the *Sāgrī*, or house of prayer erected near the entrance to the garden. There they chanted prayers while the corpse-bearers entered the Tower with the dead body, and exposed it naked in one of the receptacles on the stone platform. Their appointed task being then completed, they instantly quitted the Tower, and were seen to repair to a reservoir of water near at hand, where they went through the usual process of ablution, changing all their clothes, and depositing the cast-off garments in an open stone pit, almost hidden from view, on one side of the garden. And what happened in the Tower? Scarcely had the bearers closed the portal ere forty or fifty vultures, before seated motionless on the stone parapet, swooped down on their prey. In ten minutes they had finished their work. The body was reduced to a skeleton before the mourners in the *Sāgrī* had finished their prayers. There, in the open stone coffin, exposed to the dews of heaven, the bones rested for three or four weeks, till the Nasa-sālārs returned and reverently placed them in the central well, where the skeletons of the dead, whether of high or low degree, are left to turn into dust together.

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When I enquired about the meaning of the dog, I was told that, according to the teaching of Zoroaster, dogs as well as birds are regarded as sacred animals [1], and were formerly allowed to consume the dead bodies of Pārsīs. According to Mr. Khambātā ('Indian Antiquary,' July, 1878), the dog is of all animals the most dear to Pārsīs, on account of its undeviating faithfulness. Hence they keep up the practice of feeding a dog as a sacred obligation. In the present day a representative dog kept for the purpose accompanies the corpse, and is fed with bread as a substitute for the flesh of the dead body. Moreover, dogs are supposed to possess some mysterious power in preserving the spirits of men from the attacks of demons [2]. It is on this account that the corpse must be shewn to a dog, and if a proper dog cannot be found, any common dog taken out of the streets is brought, and the ceremony of exposing the dead body to its gaze, called Sag-dīd (from the Persian *sag*, and *dīdan*, to see), is performed some time after death. If this is not done, the soul of the deceased is liable to be assailed by evil spirits during the three days which intervene between death and judgment.

I should state here that in the belief of the Pārsīs the spirits of wicked persons are supposed to hover about in a restless state for the three days immediately succeeding death, in the neighbourhood of the Dakhmas, where also swarms of evil spirits congregate [3]. On the morning of the fourth day the soul is taken to judgment, which is passed on it by Mithra and the angels. It has then to pass a narrow bridge called *Chinvat-peretum*, 'the bridge where decision is pronounced.' The souls of the sinful,

[1] See *Vandidād* vii. 75, viii. 28; Bleeck's *Avesta*, Vol. I. pp. 104–109; Wilson's *Pārsī Religion*, pp. 325–328, 330.

[2] *Vandidād* (Bleeck) xiii. 25; Wilson's *Pārsī Religion*, pp. 49, 252.

[3] So at least says the Avastā, but according to Mr. Cāma the Pārsīs of the present day do not believe in the presence of evil spirits near the Dakhmas. He informs me that the Dakhmas of the Avastā were subterranean vaults and tombs, not towers.

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being unable to pass this bridge, imagined to be sharp as a razor, fall into hell on endeavouring to cross over. The Zand-Avastā even gives the names of certain dogs believed to protect the souls of men from the assaults of evil demons before crossing the bridge. The *Vandidād* (viii. 41, 42), moreover, states that a particular devil called Naśus is frightened away by a yellow dog with four eyes, and that such a dog ought to be led along the road of a funeral procession three times.

On this account, as was explained to me by a learned Pārsī, the funeral dog is supposed to be four-eyed—that is to say, it is supposed to have two real eyes and two round spots like eyes, just above the actual eyes. I was told, too, that many yellowish-white dogs in India have this peculiarity, and that the Pārsīs try to procure such dogs, and keep them for their funeral processions. I observed nothing of the kind in the funeral dog on the occasion of the particular funeral I have here recorded. It seemed to me that the dog was a mere cur of a very ordinary type; but it struck me (before I knew that the same idea had occurred to German scholars) that the singular practice of leading a white dog at the head of the procession points to the common origin of the Pārsī and Hindū religions. For in the latter system the god of death, Yama, has two four-eyed brindled watchdogs, children of Saramā [1], who guard the road to his abode, and whose favour and protection against evil spirits are invoked every day by pious Hindūs when they perform the *kāka-bali*, or offering of rice to crows, dogs, and animals at the end of the *Vaiśvadeva* ceremony before the midday meal. The mantra recited is as follows:—*Dvau śvānau śyāma-śabalau Vaivasvata-kulodbhavau tebhyām piṇḍo*

[1] Saramā is the dog of Indra, and is represented in *Ṛig-veda* X. 14. 10 as the mother of Yama's dogs, called in the *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi-parvan* 671, Devā-śunī. In the *Ṛig-veda* this dog is said to have tracked and recovered the cows stolen by the Paṇis. Saramā is even said to be the authoress of part of the *Ṛig-veda*, X. 108.

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mayā datto rakshetām pathi mām sadā, 'May the two dogs, dark and brindled, born in the family of Yama, protect me ever on the road! To them I present an offering of food.'

Having thus attempted to give some idea of the nature of a Pārsī funeral, and of the unique arrangements by which the Pārsīs endeavour to carry out the precepts of their prophet Zoroaster in the disposal of their dead, it will not be inappropriate if I add a brief account of Pārsī doctrines, and of the initiatory ceremonies performed on admission of young Pārsīs to the Zoroastrian religion, and on their incorporation as members of the Pārsī society.

I may first mention that according to the pūre form of the Zoroastrian faith—as propounded by learned Pārsīs of the present day—Ormazd (sometimes written Hormazd, contracted from the full expression Ahura Mazda) is the name of the Supreme Being, to whom there is no equal, and who has no opponent. It is a mistake to suppose that Ormazd is opposed to a being called Ahriman, commonly regarded as the spirit of evil. The true doctrine is that Ormazd has created two forces in nature, not necessarily antagonistic, but simply alternating with each other—the one a force of creation, construction, and preservation; the other a force of decay, dissolution, and destruction. The first of these forces is named Spenta-mainyus, while the second or destructive power, is commonly called Ahriman, or Hariman, for Anhra-mainyus (or *Anhro-mainyus*=Sanskṛit *Anho-manyu*). It is interesting to observe the analogy between the Hindū and Zoroastrian systems, Vishṇu and Rudra (Śiva) in the former being equivalent to Spenta-mainyus and Anhra-mainyus in the latter, while Brahma (neuter) corresponds to Ormazd. In later times the purity of the original doctrine became corrupted, and Ahriman was personified as a spirit of evil. In fact, all the evils in the world, whether moral or physical, are now attributed to Ahriman, while Ormazd is erroneously held to be the antagonistic principle of good.

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In short, it is contended that the Pārsī religion, in spite of its apparent dualism, is properly pure Monotheism, and that the elements and all the phenomena of Nature are merely revered as creations of the one God, and as symbolical of His power.

There can be little doubt, however, that with the majority of Pārsīs the elements are regarded as simple manifestations, or rather as *developments* of the Deity, and that which is called Monotheism is really a kind of Pantheism very similar to that of Brāhmanism. The absence of all image-worship, however, is very refreshing after the hideous idolatry of the Hindū system.

So much for the Pārsī creed; and now for a few words as to the form of admission into the charmed circle of the Pārsī community.

It is a controverted point whether if any outsider wished to become a Pārsī it would be possible, even in theory, to entertain the question of his being admitted to membership by his making public confession of his faith in the Zoroastrian system. As a matter of fact no one is at present allowed to become a Pārsī unless he is born a Pārsī. No provision seems to exist for the reception of converts, and the only form of admission is for the children of Pārsīs, though occasionally the children of non-Pārsī mothers by Pārsī fathers are permitted to become members of that community. Nevertheless it is certain, from a particular form of prayer still used by Pārsī priests, that Zoroaster himself enjoined on his disciples the duty of making proselytes, and had in view a constant accession of fresh adherents, who were all to be received as converts, provided they were willing to go through certain prescribed ceremonies.

With regard to the children of Pārsī parents, every boy is admitted to membership as a disciple of the Zoroastrian religion some time between the age of seven and nine, but more usually at seven years of age, in the following manner. He is first taken to one of the fire-

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temples, and in a room outside the sanctuary made to undergo a kind of baptism,—that is to say, he is placed nearly naked on a stone seat, and water is poured over his head from a loṭā by a Mobed appointed to perform the rite. Next, the child is taken out into an open area, made to sit on another stone seat, and required to eat one or two leaves of the pomegranate tree—a tree held very sacred by the Pārsīs, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples for use in purificatory ceremonies (*Yaśna* viii. 4). After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the water of a white bull [1]—also kept at fire-temples, and held in high estimation for its purifying properties. This completes the first portion of the ceremony. The concluding act is performed in an apartment of the fire-temple, and consists in investing the child with the sacred shirt or under-garment (called *sadara*), and sacred girdle (*kustī*). In the case of rich Pārsīs, several Mobeds, presided over by a Dastūr, are employed in celebrating this part of the rite, which is very like the Hindū *upanayana*, or induction into the condition of a twice-born man by means of the *yajñopavīta*. When parents are poor, two Mobeds may perform the ceremony, or even one may be sufficient, and a private room answers all the purposes of a fire-temple. The Mobeds sit on the ground, and the child is placed before them nearly naked. The sacred shirt is then put on, and the white woollen girdle fastened on around it, while the boy is made to repeat word by word the form of prayer which he is required to say ever afterwards, whenever the girdle is taken off or put on again (*Khurdah-Avastā* iv). The sacred shirt and girdle are the two most important outward signs and symbols of Pārsīism, and an impostor laying claim to the privileges of the Zoroastrian religion would be instantly detected by the absence of those signs,

[1] The Bull, whose urine is used, is called in Gujarātī *Varasīo*, and according to Mr. Khambātā must be entirely white. If a single hair of its body is not white, the bull is considered unfit for use at fire-temples.

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or by his wrong use of them. But they are far more than outward signs,—they are supposed to serve as a kind of spiritual panoply. Unprotected by this armour, a man would be perpetually exposed to the assaults of evil spirits and demons, and even be liable to become a demon himself. The shirt is made of the finest white linen or cambric. It has a peculiar form at the neck, and has a little empty bag in front to show that the wearer holds the faith of Zoroaster, which is supposed to be entirely spiritual, and to have nothing material about it. The sacred shirt has also two stripes at the bottom, one on each side, and each of these stripes is separated into three, to represent the six divisions of each half-year.

It has also a heart, symbolical of true faith, embroidered in front. The *kustī*, or girdle, is made of seventy-two interwoven woollen threads, to denote the seventy-two chapters of the Yaśna, but has the appearance of a long flat cord of pure white wool, which is wound round the body in three coils. Each end of the girdle is divided into three, and these three ends again into two parts. Every Pārsī ought to take off this girdle and restore it to its proper position round the body at least five times a day. He has to hold it in a particular manner with both hands; and touching his forehead with it to repeat a prayer in Zand invoking the aid of Ormazd (*Ahura-Mazda*) for the destruction of all evil beings, evil doers —especially tyrannical rulers—and imploring pardon for evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds. The girdle must then be coiled round the body three times, and fastened with two particular knots (said to represent the sun and moon), which none but a Pārsī can tie in a proper manner. Every Pārsī boy is taught the whole process with great solemnity at his first initiation. When the ceremony is concluded the high-priest pronounces a benediction, and the young Pārsī is from that moment admitted to all the rights and privileges of perhaps one of the most flourishing and united communities in the world.

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FUNERAL CEREMONIES AND OFFERINGS TO ANCESTORS AT BOMBAY, BENARES, AND GAYĀ.

When I commenced my researches in India I was prepared to expect much perplexing variety in religious and social usages, but the actual reality far outdid my anticipations.

On one occasion, soon after my visit to the Pārsī Towers of Silence, I gained admission to the Hindū burning-ground on the shore of Back Bay at Bombay, and witnessed a curious funeral ceremony there. The body of a man about forty years of age had been burnt the day before. On the morning of my visit about twenty-four men, his relations, gathered round the ashes to perform his funeral rites and soothe his departed spirit supposed to be hovering near in a state of feverish excitement after the fiery process to which the body had just been subjected. They offered no objection to my standing close to them, nor even to my asking them questions. The ceremony commenced by one of their number examining the ashes, and carefully separating any portions of the bones that had not been calcined by the flames on the previous day. These he collected in his hands and carried outside the burning-ground, with the intention, I was told, of throwing them into the sea near at hand. This being done, the whole party gathered round the ashes of the pyre in a semicircle, and one of the twenty-four men sprinkled them with water. Then some cow-dung was carefully spread in the centre of the ashes so as to form

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a flat circular cake of rather more than a foot in diameter, around which a stream of cow's urine was poured from a metal vessel. Next, one of the men brought a plantain-leaf, and laid it on the circle of cow-dung so as to form a kind of dish or plate. Around the edge of the leaf were placed five round balls (*piṇḍas*) probably of rice-flour, rather smaller than cricket-balls, mixed with some brown substance. Sprigs of the Tulsī plant and fresh leaves of the betel, with a few flowers, were inserted in each ball, and a coloured cotton cord loosely suspended between them. Next, one of the relations covered the five piṇḍas with the red powder called gulāl. Then five flat wheaten cakes were placed on the plantain-leaf inside the circle of the five piṇḍas, and boiled rice was piled up on the cakes, surmounted by a small piece of ghī mixed with brown sugar.

The funeral ceremony being so far completed the deceased man's nephew, or sister's son, took an empty earthenware vase, filled it with water, and held it on his right shoulder. Starting from the north side he commenced circumambulating the five piṇḍas and the five wheaten cakes, with his left shoulder towards them, while one of the relatives with a sharp stone made a hole in the jar, whence the water spouted out in a stream as he walked round. On completing the first circuit and coming back to the north, a second incision was made with the same stone, whence a second stream poured out simultaneously with the first. At the end of the fifth round, when five streams of water had been made to spout out from five holes round the five piṇḍas, the earthenware vase was dashed to the ground on the north side, and the remaining water spilt over the ashes. Next, one of the relatives took a small metal vessel containing milk, and, with a betel-leaf for a ladle, sprinkled some drops over the rice piled on the wheaten cakes. After which, taking some water from a small loṭā—or rather making another relative pour it into his hand—he first sprinkled it in a circle round the piṇḍas, and then over the cakes. Finally, bending down and raising his hands to his head,

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he performed a sort of pūjā to the piṇḍas, which were supposed to represent the deceased man and four other relations. This was repeated by all twenty-four men in turn. After the completion of the ceremony, the balls and cakes were left to be eaten by crows.

At Benares, honorific ceremonies and offerings in honour of departed ancestors, called Śrāddhas, are constantly performed near the Maṇi-karṇikā-kuṇḍ. This is a well, or small pool, of fetid water, not more than three feet deep, and perhaps not more than twenty feet long by ten broad, lying at a considerable depth below the surface of the ground, and declared in the Kāśī-Khaṇḍa of the Skanda-Purāṇa to have been originally created by Vishṇu from the perspiration which exuded from his body. Its highly sacred character in the eyes of the orthodox Hindū may therefore be easily understood. It is said to have been named Maṇi-karṇikā, because Mahādeva on beholding Vishṇu's well was so enraptured that his body thrilled with emotion, causing an earring to fall from his ear into the water. It is also called Mukti-kshetra, 'holy place of emancipation,' and Pūrṇa-śubhakara, 'cause of complete felicity.' This wonderful well is on a ghāṭ, by the side of the Ganges, and is resorted to by thousands of pilgrims, who may be seen all day long descending the flight of steps by which the shallow pool is surrounded on all four sides. Eagerly and with earnest faces they crowd into the water, immersing their whole bodies repeatedly, while Brāhmans superintend their ablutions, repeat and make them repeat Mantras, and receive handsome fees in return. In a niche upon the steps on the north side are the figures of Vishṇu and Śiva, to which the pilgrims, after bathing, do honour by bowing down and touching the stones underneath with their foreheads. The bathers, though manifestly much dirtier from contact with the foul water, go away under the full conviction that they are inwardly purified, and that all their sins, however heinous, have been washed away for time and for eternity.

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There is another well of almost equal sanctity, named the Jnāna-vāpī, or 'pool of knowledge,' situated under a handsome colonnade in the interior of the city, between the mosque built by Aurangzīb on the site of the original Viśveśvara-nāth temple and the present Golden Temple. It is a real well of some depth and not a pool, but the water is so abominably offensive, from the offerings of flowers and rice continually thrown into it and left to putrefy, that I found it impossible to do more than take a hasty glance into the interior of the well, or even to remain in the neighbourhood long enough to note all the particulars of its surroundings. All the day long a Brāhman stands near this well and ladles out putrid water from a receptacle before him into the hands of pilgrims, who either lave their faces with the fetid liquid, or drink it with the greatest reverence. The supposed sanctity of this well is owing to the circumstance that the idol of Śiva was thrown into it when the original temple of Viśveśvara-nāth was destroyed by the Musalmāns. Hence the pool is thought to be the habitation of Mahādeva himself, and the water to be permeated by his essence.

On the ghāṭ near the pool of Maṇi-karṇikā, on the day I visited it, a man was performing a Śrāddha for his mother, under the guidance of a nearly naked and decidedly stout Brāhman. The ceremony was the Daśama-śrāddha, performed on the tenth day after death. The officiating Brāhman began by forming a slightly elevated piece of ground with some sand lying near at hand. This was supposed to constitute a small vedi or altar. It was of an oblong form, but only about eight or ten inches long by four or five broad. Across this raised sand he laid three stalks of kuśa grass. Then taking a number of little earthenware platters or saucers, he arranged them round the vedi, putting tila or sesamum seed in one, rice in another, honey in a third, areca or betel-nut in a fourth, chandana or sandal in a fifth. Next, he took flour of barley (*yava*) and kneaded it into one large piṇḍa, rather smaller

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than a cricket-ball, which he carefully deposited in the centre of the sand vedi, scattering over it jasmine flowers, khaskhas grass and wool, and placing on one side of it a betel-leaf with areca-nut and a single copper coin. Then having poured water from a loṭa into his hand, he sprinkled it over all the offerings, arranged in the manner I have described. Other similar operations followed :—Thus, for instance, an earthenware platter, containing a lighted wick, was placed near the offerings; ten other platters were filled with water, which was all poured over the piṇḍa; another small platter with a lighted wick was added to the first, then some milk was placed in another platter and poured over the piṇḍa, and then once more the piṇḍa was sprinkled with water. Finally the Brāhman joined his hands together and did pūjā to the piṇḍa. The whole rite did not last more than ten or fifteen minutes, and while it was proceeding, the man for whose mother it was performed continued to repeat Mantras and prayers under the direction of the officiating Brāhman, quite regardless of much loud talking and vociferation going on around him.

The ceremony was concluded by another ceremony called the 'feeding of a Brāhman'—that is to say, another Brāhman was brought and made to sit down near the oblations, while the man for whose mother the Śrāddha was celebrated fed him with flat cakes, ghī, sweetmeats, vegetables, and curds placed in a plate of palāśa leaves. I observed that these eatables were devoured with the greatest avidity by the man for whom they were prepared, as if he had been nursing his appetite with the intention of doing full justice to the feast.

I come now to the celebrated Śrāddha ceremonies performed in the neighbourhood of the well-known Vishṇupada temple at Gayā. The city of Gayā is most picturesquely situated on the river Phalgū about sixty miles south-west of Patna, near some isolated hills, or rather short ranges of hills rising abruptly out of the plain. The town itself crowns two low ridges, whose sides, covered with the houses

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of its narrow tortuous streets, slope down to an intervening hollow occupied by the temple and sacred tank dedicated to the Sun.

But the most sacred temple and the great centre of attraction for all Hindūs who wish to perform once in their lives a Gayā-śrāddha for their fore-fathers, is the Vishṇu-pada temple, situated on one of the ridges, and built of black stone, with a lofty dome and golden pinnacle. It contains the alleged footprint of Vishṇu in a large silver basin, under a silver canopy, inside an octagonal shrine. Piṇḍas and various kinds of offerings are placed by the pilgrims inside the basin round the footprint, and near it are open colonnades for the performance of the Śrāddhas. About six miles from the city is the well-known place of pilgrimage called Bodh-Gayā, celebrated for a monastery and numerous temples, but chiefly for the ancient tower-like structure said by the natives to be more than 2,200 years old, and originally a Buddhist monument. It has near it other alleged footprints of Vishṇu (probably once assigned to Buddha), under an open shrine. Behind the tower, on an elevated stone terrace reached by a long flight of steps, is the sacred Pīpal tree, under which, according to popular belief, the Buddha attained supreme knowledge. The tree must be many centuries old, but a succession of trees is secured by planting a new one inside the decaying stem of the old. In a chamber at the bottom of the tower-like Buddhist monument—now used as a temple—a substitute for the original figure of Buddha (carried off by the Burmese about a hundred years ago) has been placed, for the sake of the Buddhist pilgrims who come to repeat prayers and meditate under the tree; and in the same place a linga has been set up, to which the Hindūs do pūjā. When I visited the spot many persons were in the act of worshipping, and several members of the Burmese embassy, who had come to meet the Prince of Wales at Calcutta, were to be seen reverentially kneeling, praying, and meditating under the sacred tree.

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Before describing the Śrāddhas at Gayā, I may state that I asked several Pandits in different parts of India, to give me the reasons for attaching special efficacy to the celebration of religious rites for ancestors in that locality. The only reply I received was that in the Gayā-māhātmya and Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati it is declared that a powerful demon (*asura*), named Gaya, formerly resided there and tyrannized over the inhabitants. Vishṇu took compassion on them, fought and killed the demon, and left a print of his foot (Vishṇu-pada, vulgarly called Bishanpad) on the spot where the fight occurred, ordaining that it should be ever after called Gayā and should be consecrated to him, and that any Śrāddha performed there for fathers, forefathers, and relatives should be peculiarly efficacious in securing the immediate conveyance of their souls to his own heaven, Vaikuṇṭha.

It is also stated in the Gayā-māhātmya that the great Rāma, hero of the Rāmāyaṇa (himself an incarnation of Vishṇu), and other heroes set the example of performing Śrāddhas to their fathers at Gayā. Brahmā is also said to have performed an Aśvamedha there, and to have consecrated the whole locality by this act. The plain truth probably is that as the Indo-Āryans proceeded southwards, the Brāhmans found it necessary to invent reasons for attaching sanctity and attracting pilgrims to other spots besides those already held sacred in the North-West.

It was on this account that the Māhātmyas of various places were gradually written and inserted in the Purāṇas. Some of these additions, intended to exalt the importance of places like Gayā, are comparatively modern, and the Māhātmyas of one or two tīrthas, such as Paṇḍharpur in the Dekhan, are said to have been added during the last fifty or a hundred years. I was even told that Paṇḍharpur has become of late years a kind of rival to Gayā. Alleged footprints of Vishṇu like those of Gayā are shown, and the Viṭhobā sects perform Śrāddhas there.

Models of the Gayā Vishṇu-pada are made in brass and

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in black stone, and sold for worship. Several were presented to me. They are often placed, like the Śālagrām stone, in the houses of the natives, for domestic pūjā.

With regard to the Śrāddha ceremonies generally, there seems to be much confusion of thought and obscurity, besides great inconsistency, in the accounts given by Pandits of the exact object and effect of their celebration. It may be well to explain that a distinction is made between Śrāddhas and funeral ceremonies (*antyeshṭi*). The latter are *amangala*, 'inauspicious,' while the former are *mangala*, 'auspicious.' To understand the reason for this, it should be borne in mind that when a man dies his *sthūla-śarīra* or 'gross body' is burned, but his soul quits it with the *linga-śarīra* or 'subtile body,' sometimes described as *angushṭha-mātra*, 'of the size of a thumb,' and remains hovering near. The deceased man, thus reduced to the condition of a simple individual soul invested with a subtile body, is called a preta, i.e. a departed spirit or ghost. He has no real body capable of enjoying or suffering anything, and is consequently in a restless, unsatisfactory and uncomfortable plight. Moreover, while in this condition he is held to be an impure being. Furthermore, if he dies away from his kindred, who alone can perform the funeral ceremonies, and who perhaps are unaware of his death, and unable therefore to perform them, he becomes a pisācha, or foul wandering ghost, disposed to take revenge for its misery upon all living creatures by a variety of malignant acts. I heard it remarked not long ago by a Pandit that ghosts are much less common in India now than formerly, and, on my enquiring the reason, was told that communication was now so rapid that few die without their deaths becoming known and without having funeral rites performed very soon afterwards. Besides, he added, it is now easy to reach Gayā by rail and by good carriage roads. The object, then, of the funeral rites, which are celebrated for ten days after death, is not only to soothe or give śānti by libations of consecrated water to the troubled spirit, but

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to furnish the preta with an intermediate body, between the *linga* or 'subtile' and the *sthūla* or 'gross' body—with a body, that is to say, which is capable of enjoying or suffering, and which is composed of gross particles though not of the same kind as those of the earthly gross body.

In this manner only can the preta obtain *gati*, or 'progress' onward through the temporary heaven or hell (regarded in the Hindū system as a kind of purgatory) to other births and ultimate emancipation. On the first day after death a piṇḍa or 'round ball' (generally of some kind of flour) is offered, on which the preta is supposed to feed, and which endows it with the rudiment or basis of the requisite body, whatever that basis may be. Next day another piṇḍa is offered, which gives it, perhaps, limbs, such as arms and legs. Then it receives hands, feet, &c. This goes on for ten days, and the offering of the piṇḍa on the tenth day gives the head. No sooner does the preta obtain a complete body than it becomes a pitṛi, when, instead of being regarded as impure, it is held to be a *deva*, or 'deity,' and practically worshipped as such in the Śrāddha ceremonies. Hence a Śrāddha is not a funeral ceremony, but a *worship of departed ancestors;* which worship, however, is something different from pūjā to a god. It is continued at stated periods with a view to accelerate the *gati*, or 'progress,' of the pitṛis either towards heaven—and so through the various stages of bliss, called Sālokya, Sāmīpya, and Sārūpya—or through future births to final union with the Supreme (*sāyujya*). The efficacy of Śrāddhas performed at Gayā is this, that wherever in this progress onwards departed relatives may have arrived, the Śrāddhas take them at once to Vaikuṇṭha or Vishṇu's heaven. The departed relatives especially entitled to benefit by the Śrāddha rites are as follow:—1. Father, grandfather, great-grandfather; 2. Mother, mother's father and grandfather; 3. Stepmother, if any; 4. Father's mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother; 5. Father's brothers;

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6. Mother's brothers; 7. Father's sisters; 8. Mother's sisters; 9. Sisters and brothers; 10. Fathers-in-law.

An eleventh person is sometimes added, viz. the family spiritual teacher (*guru*).

Let no one suppose that the process of performing Śrāddhas at Gayā is either simple or rapid. To secure the complete efficacy of such rites, a whole round of them must be performed at about fifty distinct places in and around Gayā, besides at the most holy spot of all—the Vishṇu-pada temple—the time occupied in the process being at least eight days, and sometimes protracted to fifteen, while the money spent in fees to the officiating priests (who at Gayā are called Gaywāls = Gayā-pālas, regarded by some as an inferior order of Brāhmans) is never less than Rs. 40. But only the poorest are let off thus easily. The Mahārāja of Kaśmīr, who is a very strict Hindū, and performed Śrāddhas at Gayā the other day on his way to Calcutta, is reported to have distributed Rs. 15,000 to the Gaywāl Brāhmans.

With regard to the Śrāddhas I myself witnessed at Gayā, they were all performed in colonnades and open courts round the Vishṇu-pada temple. One example will suffice. The party celebrating the rite consisted of six men, who were of course relations, and one Gaywāl. The men sat on their heels in a line, with the officiating Gaywāl (sometimes called Paṇḍa) priest at their head. Twelve piṇḍas were formed of rice and milk, not much larger than the large marbles used by boys (called 'alleys'). They were placed with sprigs of the sacred Tulsī plant in small earthenware platters. Then on the top of the piṇḍas were scattered kuśa grass and flowers. I was told that the piṇḍas in the present case were typical of the bodies of the twelve ancestors for whom the Śrāddha was celebrated. The men had kuśa grass twisted round their fingers, in token of their hands being perfectly pure for the due performance of the rite. Next, water was poured into the palms of their hands, part of which they sprinkled on the

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ground, and part on the piṇḍas. One or two of the men then took threads off their clothes and laid them on the piṇḍas, which act is alleged to be emblematical of presenting the bodies of their departed ancestors with garments.

Meanwhile Mantras, or texts, were repeated, under the direction of the Gaywāl, and the hands were sometimes extended over the piṇḍas as if to invoke blessings. When all the Mantras were finished, and one or two added to pray for pardon if any minute point in the ritual had been omitted, the whole rite was concluded by the men putting their heads to the ground before the officiating Brahmān and touching his feet. Of course the number of piṇḍas varies with the number of ancestors for whom the Śrāddhas are celebrated, and the size of the balls and the materials of which they are composed differ according to the caste and the country of those who perform the rite. I saw one party in the act of forming fourteen or fifteen piṇḍas with oatmeal, which were of a much larger size than large marbles. This party was said to have come from the Dekhan. Sometimes the piṇḍas were placed on betel-leaves with pieces of money (afterwards appropriated by the priests), and sometimes the water used was gradually taken out of little pots by dipping stalks of kuśa grass into the fluid, and sprinkling it over the balls. At the end of all the ceremonies the earthen platters employed were carried to a particular stone in the precincts of the temple and dashed to pieces there. No platter is allowed to be used a second time.

Amid this crash of broken crockery, the tedious round of rites, ceremonies, and vain repetitions, which, if they effect nothing else, certainly serve to enrich a goodly company of Brāhmans, is perhaps not inappropriately concluded.

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INDIAN ROSARIES[1].

Rosaries seem to be common in nearly all religious systems which attach more importance to the repetition, than to the spirituality, of prayers. It might be supposed, *à priori*, that to no one would a rosary be more useless and meaningless than to a Christian, who is taught when he prays to enter into his closet, to avoid vain repetitions, to pour out his heart before his Father in secret, and to cultivate spiritual intercessions 'which cannot be uttered.' Yet we know that in some Christian countries rosaries are regarded as indispensable aids to devotion. Palladius, who lived in the fourth century, tells of a certain abbot who used to repeat the Lord's prayer 300 times every day, and who secured a correct enumeration of the repetitions by dropping small pebbles into his lap.

The Kurān enjoins prayers five times a day, and good Muslims are very particular in going through prescribed forms morning, noon, and evening. It cannot, therefore, be matter of wonder that the use of rosaries (called *tasbīh*, 'praise,' and furnished with tassels called *shamsa*) is common among Indian Muhammadans. In all probability they were common among Hindūs and Buddhists long before the Christian era. Indeed, the Indian name for a rosary well expresses its meaning and use even in Roman Catholic countries. It is called in Sanskṛit *japa-mālā*, 'muttering-chaplet' (and sometimes *smaraṇī*, 'remembrancer'), because

[1] This article and that on Samādh appeared first in the Athenæum.

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by means of its beads the muttering of a definite number of prayers may be counted. But the pious Hindū not only computes his daily prayers as if they were so many rupees to be added to his capital stock in the bank of heaven, he sets himself to repeat the mere names of his favourite god, and will continue doing so for hours together.

When I was at Benares, I went early one morning to inspect the temple of the goddess Anna-pūrṇā. A devotee was seated at the door, with a rosary in his hand, muttering 'Rām, Rām, Rām' incessantly. When I had occasion to pass by a long time afterwards, I found him seated in precisely the same position, and engaged in precisely the same occupation, except that instead of repeating the god's name he prefixed to it that of his wife Sītā. I have no doubt that the whole day was divided between Rām and Sītā-ram, and an accurate account kept of the total number of repetitions.

In this respect Hindūism is behind the most corrupt forms of Christianity. It has been calculated that about ninety names and attributes are applied to Christ in the Bible. But no Romanist, however ignorant and superstitious, so far as I know, attaches any merit or efficacy to the repetition of the mere names of God.

Muhammadans reckon ninety-nine sacred names, or rather attributes, of the Deity. Some consider that the principal name, Allāh, must be counted separately. The tale is thus brought up to one hundred. I saw only ninety-nine names carved on Akbar's marble tomb near Agra, Akbar, 'the Great One,' being one of the ninety-nine. (See note at the end of this chapter.)

The voracious appetite of a Hindū in any matter connected with religious superstition far outdoes that of any other nation on earth. If one hundred titles of the Deity will satisfy the piety of an earnest-minded Muslim, nothing short of that number multiplied by ten will slake the devotional cravings of an ardent Hindū. The worshippers of Vishṇu adore him by 1,000 sacred

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names, and the votaries of Śiva by 1,008 names. The whole catalogue is given in the Mahā-bhārata and the Purāṇas.

Curiously enough among the names of Śiva occur Haya, 'a horse,' and Gardabha, 'an ass' (Mahā-bhārata XIII. 1149), which the Vedāntist has no difficulty in accepting as suitable titles of the One universal Being with whom the god Śiva and every existing thing in the universe is identified.

It is not unreasonable to conjecture that the original invention of rosaries is due to India. They were as much the offspring of necessity as was the invention of the Sūtras, or brief memorial rules for the correct performance of the complicated ritual. No other country in the world stands in such need of aids to religious exercises. Vaishṇavas, Śaivas, Buddhists, Jains, and Muhammadans depend upon these contrivances for securing the accurate discharge of their daily round of interminable repetitions.

The rosary of a Vaishṇava is made of the wood of the Tulasī (vulgarly *Tulsī*), or holy basil, a shrub sacred to Vishṇu, and regarded as a metamorphosis of Rāma's pattern-wife Sītā. This rosary should consist of 108 smooth beads. That worn by Śaivas consists of thirty-two and sometimes sixty-four berries of the Rudrāksha tree (Elæocarpus). These seeds are as rough as the Tulsī beads are smooth, and are generally marked with five lines, the roughness symbolizing, I suspect, the austerities connected with the worship of Śiva, and the five lines standing for the five faces or five distinct aspects of the god.

The Musalmān *tasbīh* contains one hundred beads, which are generally made of date-stones, or of the sacred earth of Karbalā. They are used in repeating the hundred names of God or certain words of the Kurān, every decade of beads being separated by a tassel. Some Sunnīs are prohibited from employing rosaries, and count by means of the joints of their fingers.

It might be wearisome if I were to attempt a description

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of the diverse uses to which different kinds of rosaries are applied in India.

I was told by a Gṛihastha, or layman of the Svāmi-Nārāyan sect of Vaishṇavas, that he was able by help of his *japa-mālā* to go on muttering Svāmi-Nārāyan, Svāmi-Nārāyan, Svāmi-Nārāyan one hundred and eight times with perfect precision at his morning and evening devotions, and that he attributed great efficacy to the act.

High-caste Brāhmans, on the other hand, merely use their rosaries to assist them in counting up their daily prayers, especially the well-known Gāyatrī from the Ṛig-veda (*Tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo naḥ praćodayāt*), which is repeated five, ten, twenty-eight, or one hundred and eight times at the dawn and sunset Sandhyās. The very sound of this precious mantra (called Gāyatrī, from the metre in which it is composed), quite irrespectively of the sense (which may be rendered, 'Let us adore that excellent glory of the divine Vivifier: may he enlighten our understandings'), is a mine of inexhaustible spiritual wealth to those favoured beings whose second spiritual birth—conferred by investiture with the sacred thread—entitles them to repeat it. Manu (II. 77) declares that this sacred text was 'milked out' of the three Vedas and ordains that 'a Brāhman may attain beatitude by simple repetition of the Gāyatrī, whether he perform other rites or not,' and 'that having repeated the Gāyatrī three thousand times he is delivered from the greatest guilt.'

It is noticeable, moreover, that the proud Brāhman who claims to be the true owner of this valuable piece of religious property is careful to conceal his hand in a sort of bag called a Gomukhī while engaged in counting out his morning and evening store of accumulated Gāyatrīs. In fact, every Hindū is persuaded that jealous demons are ever on the watch to obstruct his religious exercises, and ever eager, like cunning thieves, to abstract a portion of their merit. This is the true secret of the universal homage

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paid throughout India to Gaṇeśa, lord of the demon-hosts. I have myself often seen Brāhmans seated on the margin of sacred streams, with their faces turned towards the east, and apparently intently occupied in gazing on vacancy. On a closer inspection, I found that their right hands were mysteriously concealed in a red bag. Prayers were being repeated and counted up by help of the *japa-mālā*, and the repeater, even if too proud to betray any fear of thievish demons, seemed at any rate to understand that the value of his prayers would be increased by his taking heed not 'to be seen of men.' We must not forget, too, that a Hindū is taught by many of his own sacred precepts that the merit of religious exercises is destroyed by ostentation.

Nothing, however, comes up to the Buddhist's idea of the efficacy of repeated prayers. His rosary, like that of the Vaishṇavas, consists of 108 beads, which in China are often arranged in two rings. I never met with any native who could explain the proper meaning of *om maṇi padme hūm*, 'hail to the jewel in the lotus!' although every Buddhist in Tibet believes that the oftener this six-syllabled formula is repeated by help of rosaries and prayer-wheels the greater merit will accrue to the repeater. According to some, the repetition of the six syllables exercises some sort of protective or preventive influence with reference to the six Gatis, or forms of transmigration. In China the repeated prayer is 'Omito Fat' or 'Omito Fo' (for *amita Buddha*, 'the infinite Buddha'), or 'Nama Amitābha, and in Japan, 'Namu Amida Butsu' (for *nama amita Buddhāya*, 'honour to the infinite Buddha').

It is not uncommon to meet Buddhists in the neighbourhood of Darjīling who, while they are talking to you, continue whirling their prayer-wheels, held in their right hands, and made to revolve like a child's toy. The wheel consists of a metal cylinder on which the form of prayer is engraved. It must be whirled, by means of a handle, in a particular direction (I think with the sun); if made to revolve the other way the number of its rotations will

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be set down to the debtor rather than the creditor side of the owner's account.

A friend of mine who had to hold a conversation with a pious Buddhist, intent on redeeming every instant of time for the repetition of prayers, came away from the interview under the impression that all Buddhists regard all Europeans as possessed with evil spirits. The Buddhist's diligent gyration of his wheel was mistaken by my friend for a form of exorcism.

It is said that the Buddhist monks of Ladakh have a still more economical arrangement, and one not unworthy of the attention of monks in other monasteries—when regarded, I mean, from the point of view of an ingenious contrivance for saving time and making the most of both worlds. An infinite number of prayers are repeated, and yet the whole time of the monastery is saved for making money by industrial occupations. Long strips of the usual Buddhist prayer are rolled round cylinders, and these cylinders are made to revolve, like the works of a clock, by means of heavy weights wound up every morning and evening. A single monk takes five minutes to set the entire spiritual machinery in motion, and then hastens to join his brothers at their mundane occupations; the whole body of monks feeling that the happiness and prosperity of the community are greatly promoted by the substitution of the precept 'laborare est orare,' for 'orare est laborare.'

It should be mentioned that in times of emergency or difficulty additional weights are attached to the cylinders, and an additional impetus thus given to the machinery, and, of course, increased force and cogency to the rotatory prayers.

My friend the Collector of Kaira, in whose camp I stayed for about a fortnight, had occasion one day to ascend a hill in his district much overgrown with trees. There to his surprise he came suddenly upon an old hermit, who had been living for a long time without his knowledge in the jungle at the summit. Mr. Sheppard found the ancient

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recluse in a hut near a rude temple, concealed from observation by the dense underwood. He was engaged in his evening religious exercises, and, wholly regardless of the presence of his European visitor, continued turning with both hands and with evident exertion a gigantic rosary. A huge wooden roller, suspended horizontally from the posts of the shed, supported a sort of chain composed of fifteen rough wooden balls, each as big as a child's head. As he kept turning this enormous rosary round and round, each ball passed into his hands, and whilst he held the several balls in his grasp he repeated, or rather chanted in a low tone, a short prayer to the god Rāma. All the wooden balls underwent this process of pious manipulation several times before he desisted. The muscular exertion and consequent fatigue must have been great, yet the entire operation was performed with an air of stoical impassiveness. Then the devotee went into another shed, where on another cross-beam, supported by posts, were strung some heavy logs of hard wood, each weighing about twenty pounds. Having grasped one of these with both hands, he dashed it forcibly against the side post, and then another log against the first. Probably the clashing noise thus produced was intended to give increased effectiveness to the recitation of his prayers.

Sleeman somewhere relates how he happened once to be staying in the neighbourhood of an Indian village, the inhabitants of which were divided into two religious parties —those who advocated a noisy musical worship, and those who attributed greater efficacy to a quiet religious ceremonial. The two parties lived together very amicably, agreeing to set apart certain hours of the day for an alternate use of the village temple. When the noisy faction had possession the din was terrific.

In short, almost every religious idea that the world has ever known has in India been stimulated to excessive growth, and every religious usage carried to preposterous extremes. Hence, if a Hindū temple has a choir of musicians, its ex-

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cellence is estimated by the deafening discord it gives out at the morning and evening pūjā; and if a devotee uses a rosary its effectiveness is supposed to depend on the dimensions of its beads, which may vary from small seeds to heavy balls as big as a human skull.

Note.—The ninety-nine names or attributes of the Deity are called by the Muhammadans *ism-i'azīm*, 'The glorious names.' Some of these are as follow:—The Lord (Rabb), the King (Mālik), the Merciful (Rahmān), the Compassionate (Rahīm), the Holy (Kuddūs), the Creator (Ḳhālik), the Saviour (Salām), the Excellent ('Azīz), the Omniscient ('Ālim), the Omnipotent (Jabbār), the Pardoner (Ghafūr), the Glorious (Majīd), the Beneficent (Karīm), the Wise (Hakīm), the Just ('Ādil), the Benign (Latīf), the One (Wāhid), the Eternal (Bākī), the Survivor (Wāris), the Last (Āḳhir), the Guide (Hādī), the Director (Rashīd), the Patient (Sabūr).

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INDIAN FAMINES.

In the course of my travels through some of the famine-districts of India I made notes of a few particulars which came under my observation? These notes I here give just as they were written down at the time.

The area of the scarcity and famine is immense, stretching, as it does, from the neighbourhood of Poona, not far from Bombay, to Tinnevelly, near the extreme south of the Madras Presidency. But it must not be supposed that the drought has been equally severe everywhere. Although in many places, where the usual rainfall is thirty-five or forty-five inches, only fifteen or twenty have fallen, yet other parts of the country have been more favoured. Moreover, all the belts of land reached by the grand system of irrigation, which stretches between the Godāvarī, Kistna, and Kāverī rivers—fertilizing the soil wherever it penetrates, and forcing even haters of the English rule to admit that no other Rāj has conferred such benefits on India—present a marvellous contrast to the vast tracts of arid waste which meet the eye of the traveller as he journeys by the Great Indian Peninsula, Madras, and South Indian Railways.

A sad feature in the spectacle is the condition of the cattle. As I travelled from one place to another, often diverging from the neighbourhood of the railway to less frequented outlying districts, I saw hundreds of lean, half-famished kine endeavouring to eke out a doomed existence on what could only in mockery be called herbage. When it is remembered that the cow is a principal source of

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sustenance to Hindūs of nearly all castes, and that no such animal as a cart-horse is to be found in India—all agricultural labour depending on the ox—some idea may be formed of the terrible calamity involved in a mortality among cattle. Even the cows and oxen that survive will be almost useless. Utterly enfeebled and emaciated, they will have little power left either to yield milk or to drag a plough through soil caked and indurated by months of unmitigated sunshine.

But the saddest feature of all is the condition of the human inhabitants of this great peninsula. I will simply recount what I know and testify of what I have seen with my own eyes in the Madras Presidency. Only a fortnight ago, I saw many thousands of poor famine-driven creatures from the villages round Madras collected on the shore and on the pier. They were crowding round the sacks of rice-grain, with which the sands for at least a mile were thickly covered and almost concealed from view, the grain-bags being often piled up in mounds to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. Yet no onslaught was made on the grain. A few men scattered about, armed with canes, were guarding the sacks for the merchants who owned them, and were sufficient to prevent any attempts at depredation though here and there I detected surreptitious efforts, not so much to make incisions, as to enlarge any happy defects apparent in the material which enclosed the coveted food. What generally happened was this:—Very few of the grain-bags were so well made as to make any leakage impossible, and sprinklings of rice were thus scattered about everywhere. The knowledge of this circumstance was the cause of the vast concourse of miserable, half-starved, emaciated creatures who had walked many miles to the spot. Men and women, old and young, even cripples, mothers with infants on their hips, and naked children—all more or less pitiable in their leanness and in their hard-set aspect of misery — were earnestly engaged in gleaning up every grain that escaped from the sacks on the pier and on the shore. Many were

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provided with coarse sieves, by means of which a few rice-grains were, with infinite pains, separated from bushels of sand. On the pier every crevice was searched, and every discoloured grain eagerly scraped up, mixed as it was with dirt, ejected betel-juice, and filth of all kinds. This is a brief and imperfect description of what I saw with my own eyes.

And now it will be asked, what measures are being taken to meet and mitigate the impending calamity? My answer is that, so far as I have observed, the Governments of Madras and Bombay are fully alive to their duty. They are organizing relief as speedily as possible. Before I left Madras, I saw thirty ships laden with grain at anchor in the roads. Large surf-boats were continually plying between the ships and the shore; heavily laden trucks were passing and repassing on the pier; and dozens of huge cranes, worked by countless coolies, were refilling the trucks as they returned empty. Thirty-five thousand human beings were daily being fed at Madras with cooked food or supplied with raw rice, but of these about two-thirds were taken in hand by benevolent rich natives. Kuddapah, Bellary, Kurnool, and other towns were also feeding a large number; some as many as 2,000 every day. As I left Madras the rail was blocked with trucks laden with grain. Indeed, all the districts near the railway are tolerably certain of being adequately relieved. But how is it to be conveyed to distant corners of the famine-stricken land? And, worse still, how is the 'water-famine' likely to ensue two or three months hence to be met? There is a large tank near here which usually contains fifteen feet of water, and is now nearly dry. Possibly partial showers of rain may yet fall in particular districts. At Trichinopoly, where I have recently been staying with the Collector Mr. Sewell, more than three inches of rain fell on Sunday and Monday last. This downpour will, I trust, check the cholera already gaining ground there. Here at Madura scarcely any rain fell, while the adjoining district was being drenched.

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It is evident, indeed, that the most severe trial has yet to come, and a hard task lies before the Collectors and Deputy-Collectors everywhere. They must not intervene with aid before the proper time, and they must by no means intervene too late. They have to inquire when and where and how relief is to be given, and they ought to provide work for all who are relieved. Many Collectors are at work from morning to night in their offices deciding these difficult questions.

Surely, then, I may be allowed to close this imperfect account of the distressing scenes through which I have lately passed by adding a tribute to the energy and devotion of our fellow-countrymen—the rulers of this land—who are everywhere exerting themselves to the utmost in the present crisis. Numbers who had a right to furlough, or were looking forward to a holiday at Delhi, are remaining cheerfully at their posts.

Indeed, my second visit to India has impressed me more than ever with the desire shown by the Queen's officers in this country to govern India righteously and to make our rule a blessing to the people. Evidences of the benefits we have conferred, and are still daily conferring, meet one at every turn. But I crave permission to add a word or two of warning. In our anxiety to conciliate the natives, let us beware of alienating our own officers. Let the Central Governments balance the scales evenly between the two. Our hold of India depends mainly on the personal influence of the representatives of those Governments in the several districts, and the personal influence of these representatives depends mainly on the degree of support they receive from the central seats of authority. Every Commissioner and Collector is a little Viceroy in his own territory. He has vast responsibilities laid upon him, and he ought to be trusted by his superiors. It is right that the British public should be made aware that while the Queen is being proclaimed Empress at Delhi, and the loyalty of her Indian subjects is being evoked by the holding of Darbārs and

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the distribution of rewards to deserving natives in every Collectorate, much irritation of feeling is apparent among her European subjects. Over and over again I have heard able officers exclaim, 'I dare not act on my own responsibility in this emergency. Cholera may break out; symptoms of serious riots may show themselves; people may be dying of famine; instant action is needed, but I dare not trust to my own life-long knowledge and experience of India—I must telegraph for instructions.' There can be no doubt that the energy of the most successful administrator will be paralyzed if he is made to feel that a single blunder or an act of indiscretion will be visited by a formal reprimand, which is sure to find its way into every native newspaper and become the talk of all the bazaars throughout his district. I much fear that the benefits which have accrued to India from the trust reposed by the old East India Company in its officers are in danger of being sacrificed to the present mania for the centralization of authority.

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A RELIEF CAMP.

In my previous notes on some of the famine districts, I expressed a doubt as to whether any organization for the relief of the sufferers, however complete, would be able to reach every corner of the immense area over which the drought and dearth extend. Now that I have travelled in various directions over a great part of the country from Bombay to Cape Comorin, and noted with my own eyes what is being done to spread a network of this organization over every separate district, so as to embrace the most remote places, I am bound to admit that my fears were unfounded. Indeed, it would be difficult to use exaggerated language in speaking of the zeal, ability, and devotion displayed by Indian civilians and other executive officials in the present emergency.

I have recently been staying with the energetic Collector of Salem (Mr. Longley), and early one morning I visited with him one of the Relief Camps now being constructed in the large district over the welfare of which he presides. The spot chosen for this Camp is an elevated piece of ground beautifully situated near a spring of excellent water, close under some chalk hills (supposed by the natives to be formed of the bones of the mythical bird Jaṭāyus, killed by Rāvaṇa when carrying off Sītā), and not far from the base of the Shervaroy Hills—the sanatarium of this part of India. On this ground nearly twenty long huts or sheds—each capable of accommodating forty persons—had already been constructed with bamboo

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poles, course cocoa-nut matting, and palmyra leaves. I was told that as only three months of the famine have passed, and at least four months have still to be provided for, it will be necessary to erect 100 similar huts in this one Camp, with accommodation for 4,000 or 5,000 people.

In fact, these Relief Camps may be described as temporary workhouses with wards for the old, feeble, and infirm, where the famine-driven inhabitants of outlying districts will take refuge, and where they will be comfortably housed, fed, and, if strong enough, made to work, till better times arrive.

In Mr. Longley's camp the two classes of workers and non-workers into which every camp-community will be divided were plainly distinguishable from each other. The former were engaged in making new huts, breaking stones for a road, clearing the environs of the Camp, and keeping the whole place clean; while the non-workers were sitting on the ground in three rows, exposed, by their own choice, to the heat of a tropical sun for the sake of the warmth which insufficient food made necessary to them. It was piteous to see the emaciated old men and shrivelled old women, many of them blind or crippled, whose existence is being prolonged for a few months by the minimum of nourishment they are now receiving at the hands of a paternal Government; but still more sad to look upon the unclothed skeletons of young men, boys, and little children with drawn features, shoulder bones standing out, legs like thin sticks, and ribs enclosing the feeble organs of their shrunk bodies, like bony cages, every bar of which was visible.

Yet I was told that the great difficulty in Indian famines is not so much the effective distribution of relief as the effective application of any proper method of detecting the vast number of undeserving applicants who ought not to be relieved at all. We were informed that about 300 applicants for food, without work, ought to have been present on the day of our visit, but that more than half

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had run off during the night, either because they disliked the confinement to which they had been subjected, or because they had heard of the intended visit of the Collector and other Sahibs, and were filled with vague suspicions and fears of being questioned too closely. Yet no one is admitted to the Camp without a ticket, which is supposed to be given to deserving objects only. Those who were seated on the ground in our presence had empty earthenware bowls before them, in each of which about a pound of good boiled rice was placed while we looked on. This, with another meal administered in the evening, is held to be sufficient to keep the body and soul of a non-worker together. The workers are, of course, better fed. It was curious to observe the cleverness with which some of the recipients of the dole of boiled rice quietly pressed down the eagerly accepted ration with their hands, hoping thereby to be served with a little more than the due allowance. Each recipient then made a hole with his hands in the centre of his mess, and waited patiently till the half-pint of pepper-water (*mulliga tanir*), to which every one was entitled, had been poured into the cavity. Finally, by means of the spoons, with which every man was naturally provided, and in a manner which those only can understand who have seen a low-caste native seated on his hams with head bent back, mouth expanded to its utmost limits, and all four fingers and thumb converted into a convenient scoop for introducing into the aperture as much rice as a human being is capable of swallowing at once, every grain was disposed of before our eyes—in most cases with the utmost avidity and apparent satisfaction.

It is intended, I understand, that caste prejudices shall be, as far as possible, respected. Those of the same caste will be grouped together in separate companies, and cooks of sufficiently high caste will be provided. But no genuine Brāhman is ever likely to enter a Relief Camp. He will rather starve than submit to the chances of pollution, which to him would be worse than death. Starving

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Brāhmans, who in some parts of the country may be even more plentiful than starving Śūdras, will have to be cared for by their own richer caste-fellows. I am sorry to have to add to this brief narrative that pestilence is following closely in the track of famine. At Madras three Europeans have recently succumbed to attacks of cholera, and the number of fatal cases among the natives is increasing every day. In some country towns and villages I have visited I have been cautioned to beware of a bad type of the disease prevalent all around. Of course, I could go into further details, but what I have written will, at least, give an idea of how the seven or eight millions of pounds sterling[1] which the present famine is likely to cost will be spent.

[1] The actual cost turned out to be thirteen millions.

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GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AND NOTES AFTER TRAVELS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

BOMBAY, MARCH 6, 1876.

THE 'Serapis' is now lying at anchor before our eyes in Bombay Harbour, reminding us that the Prince of Wales is on his road to this port, and that England will soon be preparing to welcome his return home. The interest excited by his tour has now culminated, and special correspondents are either bound homewards or addressing themselves to an effective winding up of their communications by a telling description of the closing scene. Even after the Prince's return his doings in India are certain to continue a fashionable theme of conversation during the London season of 1876, and the Session will assuredly be marked by a constant recurrence to Indian topics. Every Parliamentary orator will drag in, relevantly or irrelevantly, allusions to the expedition and its results for the benefit of his constituents. Newspapers, reviews, and periodicals will contain trenchant articles, bristling with point, epigram, and criticism, if they do not cut the knot of our Indian difficulties.

Meanwhile, I will endeavour to record, in plain language, a few particulars relative to our Indian possessions, which have impressed themselves on me most forcibly in the course of my tour in the Prince's track.

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It must be confessed that the impressions of a flying traveller are not generally worth recording; but as circumstances have given me peculiar opportunities of observing the country, and mixing with the natives, after many years spent in studying their languages and literature, some value may possibly attach to my experiences, which I propose to recount under distinct heads, commencing with a few notes on the political divisions of India, ancient and modern.

Ancient Political Divisions.

India has no historical literature of its own. Hence there are only three means of arriving at any knowledge of its early history; 1. By sifting fact from fiction, sober narrative from poetical exaggeration in its early heroic poetry, especially in its two great poems, the Rāmāyana, and Mahā-bhārata; 2. By examining the inscriptions on rocks, pillars, and monuments, on copperplate grants of land, and coins scattered in various places from Kaśmīr to Kuttack; 3. By putting together all allusions to India, and observations on its condition to be found in the literature of other countries. The accounts written by two Chinese travellers—Fa-hian in the beginning of the fifth century of our era, and Hiouen Thsang in the beginning of the seventh—who made pilgrimages to all the early Buddhist shrines, have done good service in this latter way.

The very name India is partly derived from a foreign source. It is the European adaptation of the word Hindū, which was used by the Persians for their Āryan brethren, because the latter settled in the districts surrounding the streams of the Sindhu (pronounced by them *Hindhu*, and now called Indus). The Greeks, who probably gained their first conceptions of India from the Persians, changed the hard aspirate into a soft, and named the Hindūs Ἰνδοί (Herodotus IV. 44, V. 3). After the Indo-

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Āryans had spread themselves over the plains of the Ganges, the Persians called the whole of the region between the Panjāb and Benares Hindūstān, or 'abode of the Hindūs,' and this name is used in India at the present day, especially by the Musalmān population.

The classical names for India, however, as commonly employed in Sanskṛit literature and recognized by the whole Sanskṛitic race, are *Āryāvarta*, 'abode of the 'Āryas,' and *Bhārata-varsha*, 'the country of king Bharata' (a prince of the lunar dynasty, who must have ruled over a large extent of territory in ancient times). The former name is more particularly applicable to India above the Vindhya mountains.

After its occupation by the great Āryan race, India appears to have yielded itself up an easy prey to every invader. According to Herodotus (IV. 44), it was subjugated by Darius Hystaspes (called in Persian Dārā Gushtasp). This conquest, if conquest it deserves to be called, probably took place between 521 and 518 B.C., about the time of the rise of Buddhism, and must have been very partial. It was doubtless followed by a certain amount of traffic between Persia and India, and to this commercial intercourse may be due the introduction into India of many new ideas—religious and philosophical—and perhaps also of the Phœnician alphabet, with which that of some of the Aśoka edicts and inscriptions is thought to be connected (see p. 129, note 1).

The expedition of Alexander the Great (called by the Hindūs, Iskandar, or Sikandar) to the banks of the Indus, about 327 B.C., is a well-known and better authenticated fact. To this invasion is due the first trustworthy information obtained by Europeans concerning the north-westerly portion of India and the region of the five rivers, down which the Grecian troops were conducted in ships by Nearchus.

The first reliable date in Indian History is the era of Ćandra-gupta (=Sandrokottus)—the founder of the Maurya

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dynasty, who, after taking possession of Pāṭaliputra (Palibothra, Patna) and the kingdom of Magadha (Behār), extended his dominion over all Hindūstān, and presented a determined front towards Alexander's successor, Seleukos Nikator, the date of the commencement of whose reign was about 312 B.C. When the latter contemplated invading India from his kingdom of Bactria, so effectual was the resistance offered by Ćandra-gupta that the Greek thought it politic to form an alliance with the Hindū king, and sent his own countryman Megasthenes as an ambassador to reside at his court[1].

To this circumstance we owe the earliest authentic account of Indian manners, customs, and usages by an intelligent observer who was not a native, and Megasthenes's narrative, preserved by Strabo, furnishes a basis on which a fair inference may be founded that Brāhmanism and Buddhism existed side by side in India on amicable terms in the fourth century B.C. There is even ground for believing that King Ćandra-gupta himself was secretly a Buddhist, though in public he gave homage to the gods of the Brāhmans.

Ćandra-gupta's reign is thought to have lasted from 315 to 291 B.C., and that of his son and successor Vindusāra from 291 to 263 B.C.

Aśoka (who called himself Priyadarśin) the grandson of Ćandra-gupta, did for Buddhism what Constantine did for Christianity—gave an impetus to its progress by adopting it as his own creed. Buddhism, then, became the state religion, the national faith of the whole kingdom of Magadha, and therefore of a great portion of India. For gradually during this period most of the petty princes of India from Peshāwar and Kaśmīr to the river Kistna, and from Surat to Bengal and Orissa, if not actually brought under subjection to the kings of Magadha, were compelled to acknowledge their paramount authority. Aśoka's reign

[1] In the second century B.C. some of the Bactrian kings made conquests in India.

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was remarkable for a great Buddhist council (the third since Buddha's time), held about 246 or 247 B.C., when the Tripiṭaka or three collections of writings in the Pālī language (brought from ancient Magadha, and a form of Māgadhī Prākrit, though different from Jain Māgadhī), containing all the teachings of Buddha—who is supposed to have never written anything himself—was finally settled.

Moreover, Aśoka's edicts in Pālī[1] inscribed on rocks and stone pillars (probably between 251 and 253 B.C.) furnish the first authentic records of Indian history. According to Mr. R. N. Cust[2], ten of the most important inscriptions are found on five rocks and five pillars, though numerous other monuments are scattered over the whole of Northern India, from the Indian Ocean on the west to the Bay of Bengal on the east, from the slopes of the Vindhya range on the south to the Khaiber Pass on the north.

The five most important rock inscriptions are those on (1) the Rock of Kapurda-garhi in British Afghānistān, forty miles east-north-east of Peshāwur; (2) the Rock of Khalsi, situated on the bank of the river Jumnā, just where it leaves the Himālaya mountains, fifteen miles west of the hill-station of Mussourie; (3) the Rock of Girnār, half a mile to the east of the city of Junagurh, in Kathiāwār; (4) the Rock of Dhauli in Kuttack (properly Katak), twenty miles north of Jagan-nāth; (5) the Rock of Jaugaḍha, in a large old fort eighteen miles west-north-west of Ganjam, in Madras.

The five most important pillars are: (1) the Pillar at

[1] These inscriptions are in two quite distinct kinds of writing. That at Kapurda-garhi—sometimes called Northern Aśoka or Ariano-Pālī—is clearly Semitic, and traceable to a Phœnician source, being written from right to left. That at Girnār is not so clearly so. It probably came through a Pahlavī channel, and gave rise to Deva-nāgarī. General Cunningham believes this character—sometimes called Southern Aśoka or Indo-Pālī—to have originated in India.

[2] See an interesting article in the 'Journal of the National Indian Association,' for June 1879.

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Delhi, known as Firoz Shāh's Lāt; (2) another Pillar at Delhi, which was removed to Calcutta, but has recently been restored; (3) the Pillar at Allahabad, a single shaft without capital, of polished sandstone, thirty-five feet in height; (4) the Pillar at Lauriya, near Bettiah, in Bengal; (5) another Pillar at Lauriya.

The inscriptions on these monuments present us with the best and most interesting edicts of Aśoka. They prohibit the slaughter of animals either for food or for sacrifice, appoint missionaries for the propagation of Buddhistic doctrines in various countries, inculcate peace and mercy, charity and toleration, morality and self-denial, and what is still more remarkable, enjoin seasons of general national humiliation and confession of sin every five years.

Seven Buddhist kings of the Maurya dynasty, under whom the kingdom of Magadha continued to enjoy great prosperity (though probably not an equally extended dominion), reigned after Aśoka, until the year 195 B.C. They were succeeded by the Sanga Rājas, the chief of whom built the great Buddhist tope at Sanchī about 188 B.C., and by another line of Buddhist kings called Kanwa, who reigned till about 31 B.C. An Āndhra dynasty then acquired power in Magadha.

There were of course many rival principalities existing in India long before the rise of the kingdom of Magadha, some of which traced back the pedigrees of their kings to the ancient dynasties of the heroic period. No one kingdom ever acquired universal dominion, though occasionally a single prince, conspicuous for unusual energy and administrative power, compelled a large number of less able chieftains to submit to his suzerainty, in which case he was sometimes called a Mahārājādhirāja, and sometimes a Ćakravartī.

To fix the chronological order of the most ancient dynasties, is of course impossible. It will be sufficient to enumerate some of the most important (with occasional approximate dates) from the earliest times, merely pre-

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mising that two lines of monarchs were originally dominant in the north of India, one of which was called Solar, because fabled to have derived its origin from the god of the Sun, while the other, called Lunar, pretended to trace back its pedigree to the god of the Moon. Some of the modern Rājput princes claim to belong to one or other of these two lines.

I begin with an enumeration of the chief kingdoms in Northern India[1]:—

1. The ancient kingdom of Kośala, or Ayodhyā, the capital of which was Ayodhyā (now Ajūdhya) on the river Sarayu, or Saryu (now Gogra). Here reigned Daśaratha, of the solar race, and afterwards his son Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa.

2. The ancient kingdom of Videha (modern Tirhut) of which the first capital was Mithilā, and afterwards Benares. Rāma's wife, Sītā, was the daughter of Janaka, king of this country.

3. The ancient kingdom of the city of Hastināpur, 57 miles north-east of the ancient Delhi (Indra-prastha). These were the capitals of the heroes of the Mahā-bhārata and kings of the Lunar line, some of whom appear to have dwelt at Pratishṭhāna (Allahabad).

4. The kingdom of Avanti or Oujein (Ujjayinī) in Mālwa, reigned over by the celebrated Vikramāditya, whose reign is the starting point of the Hindū Samvat era, 57 B.C. He is said to have driven out the Śakas or Scythian (Turanian) tribes from Western India, and established his dominion over almost the whole of Hindūstān. According to some, he was afterwards defeated by the very tribes he first conquered.

5. The kingdom of Magadha already described.

6. The ancient kingdom of Kanyā-kubja or Kanauj, in the neighbourhood of Oudh (Pañcāla). It was intensely

[1] A good summary which I have here consulted, will be found in a 'History of India for Schools,' by Mr. E. Lethbridge.

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Brāhmanical and always took part with the Brāhmans against the Buddhists. A dynasty called Gupta (supposed to be descended from the great Rāma) was established here in the second century of our era. This dynasty conquered the Sāh or Sinha[1] dynasty of Gujarāt about the middle of the third century, and founded a powerful kingdom and a second capital at Vallabhī in Kāthiāwār. It may be noted that a dynasty of Rājputs called Rāhtor subsequently ruled in Kanauj from about A.D. 470.

7. The Vallabhī Gupta dynasty, just named, which reigned over Gujarāt till about the middle of the 7th century, and extended its dominion into Hindūstān and the Dekhan. Its second king, Samudra-Gupta, is said to have conquered Ceylon. One of its monarchs, named Śilāditya, who reigned in the fifth century, was converted to the Jaina religion. Its last king, Toramāna, was expelled by an invasion of Persians. The Vallabhī dynasty then migrated to Mewār or Rājputāna (where it became the founder of the Rājput state of Mewār or Udaipur). It left behind a Rājput tribe named Chaura who became the rulers of Gujarāt, and transferred their capital from Vallabhī to Anhalwāra, now called Patan. They were superseded by the Salonkhyas, about A.D. 942.

8. The Rājput state of Mewār or Udaipur founded by the Vallabhī Guptas from Oudh, as described above.

9. The Chaura kingdom established at Anhalwāra (now Patan) as mentioned above.

10. The Delhi Rājput dynasty, of which the last king was Pṛithivī Rāja (the hero of Chand's poetry), who was first victorious over and finally conquered by Muhammad Ghori in 1175.

11. A Brāhmanical dynasty settled at Lahor, in the Punjāb, known by its coins, having a bull on one side and

[1] The Sāhs or Sinhas are thought to have been of Parthian origin, and to have worshipped the Sun. A list of nineteen monarchs of the dynasty has been deduced from its coins, which are marked by an image of the Sun. Their capital was Sehore, but their sway extended over nearly the whole of what is now the Bombay Presidency.

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a horseman on the other. The last king was Bhīmapāl, whose predecessor Jaipāl was taken prisoner by Māhmūd of Ghaznī.

12. The kingdom of Gaur (Gauda) or Bengal. Not much is known of its earliest dynasties noticed in the Mahābhārata. The Pāl line of kings, who were Buddhists, reigned from the 9th to the 11th century of our era, and one of them was acknowledged as a Mahārājādhirāja. They were succeeded by the princes called Sena, one of whom (Ādiśvara) invited five pure Brāhmans to come from Kanauj to Bengal. These came, attended by men of the Kāyastha (writer) caste, and became the ancestors of the five classes of Brāhmans and Writers now found there. The capital of the Bengal dynasty was first Gaur and afterwards Nuddea.

The following are some of the ancient South Indian kingdoms:—

1. The Pāndya kingdom founded by a man named Pāndya who came from Ayodhyā. Its capital was Madura. It lasted from the fifth century B.C. till the eleventh century A.D.

2. The Chola kingdom, founded by Tayaman Nāle. Its capital was Kānchīpuram (Conjeveram). For a long period (between 350 B.C. and 214 A.D.) the Chola kingdom was united with the Pāndya, but again became independent. Then its capital was transferred to Tanjor. In the fourteenth century it was merged in the Marāṭha kingdom.

3. The Chera kingdom comprising Travankor, Malabar and Western Mysor. It existed from the first to the tenth century A.D.

4. The kingdom of Patan on the Godāvarī in the Dekhan, ruled over by the celebrated Śālivāhana, whose birth 77 or 78 after Christ is the beginning of the Śaka era. He himself was prince of the Śakas or Scythian (Turanian) races, who arrived in India before the Āryans, and were the great opponents of Vikramāditya.

5. The kingdom of a powerful tribe of Rājputs called Chālukya said to have come from Oudh and established at

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a place called Kaliān in what is now the Western part of the Nizām's territory, in 250 A.D. Its power was greatest during the fourth and fifth centuries and then extended over the Pāndyas and Cholas in the south, and Āndhras in the east. It became extinct in 1182.

6. The Ballāla dynasty which succeeded the Cheras, and ruled at Dwāra Samudra in North Mysor. One of its Jaina kings was converted by the Vaishnava reformer Rāmānuja in 1133.

7. The great Āndhra kingdom in the eastern part of the Dekhan established at Warangal, to the east of Hyderābād.

8. The kingdom of Deogarh (now Daulatābād) ruled over by a Yādava dynasty. It was very powerful in the twelfth century, and conquered the kingdom of Kaliān.

9. The kingdom of Orissa ruled over by the Kesari dynasty from an early date till 1131 A.D., and again by the Gajapati line of princes established at Katak.

10. The Bahmanī dynasty which held sway for 150 years (from A.D. 1347 to 1526) over a great part of the Dekhan. It ultimately became divided into the five Muhammadan kingdoms next enumerated.

11. The five Muhammadan kingdoms of (1) Bījāpur, founded by Ādil Shāh, A.D. 1489; (2) Ahmad-nagar, founded by Malik Ahmad, A.D. 1487; (3) Golkondah, founded by Kutb-ul-Mulk, A.D. 1512; (4) Berār (whose capital was Ilichpur) founded by Fath-Allah, A.D. 1574; (5) Bīdar and Galbargah, founded by Barīd Shāh.

12. The Hindū kingdom of Vijaya-nagar (Bījā-nagar) which became a strong power in the Dekhan, and was nearly co-extensive with the Madras Presidency. It lasted till the time of Akbar in 1565, and at its fall a line of Hindū Rājas maintained its independence in Mysore against the Mahrattas, the Nizams of the Dekhan and Nawābs of the Carnatic until 1761, when an officer in the Rāja's army named Haidar usurped the government and became King of Mysore.

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One of the princes of Vijaya-nagar was king Bukka, the patron of Sāyanāćārya, the Rig-veda commentator.

I may usefully add here a brief notice of the Muhammadan occupation of India.

Of course, many of the Hindū dynasties just enumerated were flourishing at the epoch when Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, laid the foundation of a new empire in Arabia, soon after his flight to Medina in A.D. 622.

Muhammad's successors, after occupying Damascus for about one hundred years, fixed their capital at Baghdad in 750, and thence their power extended into Afghānistān. The Arabs, however, never gained more than a temporary footing in India. Under the Khalīf Wālid I, in 711, Muhammad Kāsim was sent at the head of an army into Sindh, which was then added for a time to the Khalīfate, but the Muslims were expelled in 750; and for two centuries and a half India was left unmolested by invaders from the west.

About the year 950, when the power of the Arabs began to decline in Asia, hardy tribes of Tartars, known by the name of Turks (not the Ottoman tribe which afterwards gained a footing in Europe, but hordes from the Altai mountains), were employed by the Khalīfs to infuse vigour into their effeminate armies.

These tribes became Muhammadans and gradually took the power into their own hands. In the province of Afghānistān, Sabaktagīn, once a mere Turkish slave, usurped the government. His son Mahmūd founded an empire at Ghaznī about the end of the tenth century. A zealous iconoclast and great warrior, he made his first of sixteen incursions into India in the year 1000. In one of his later inroads he devastated the shrine of Somnāth in Gujarāt and carried off the sandal-wood gates of the temple as a trophy to Ghaznī. He was the first of a long series of Afghān kings who maintained a dominion in India for 500 years. One of his successors was Muhammad Ghori, who, after his assumption of the empire of Ghaznī, defeated and

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put to death Pṛithivī Rāja of Delhi, at the second battle of Thānesvar, and became the first Muhammadan conqueror of Delhi, and the real founder of the Musalmān power in India, 1193 A.D. Nevertheless, Kutb ud dīn, his lieutenant and successor (1206-1210), was perhaps the first real king of Delhi, as Muhammad Ghori returned home after the completion of his conquests.

During the thirteenth century the Mongol or Moghul hordes, under the celebrated Jangīz Khān, overthrew the Turkish or Tartar tribes; and in 1398 Tīmūr, uniting Tartars and Mongols into one army, made his well-known invasion of India. After desolating the country then ruled by the Afghān kings he retired, but the sixth in descent from him, Baber (*Bābar*), conquered Afghānistān, and thence invading India about 1526, founded the Moghul empire, which his grandson Akbar (son of Humāyūn) established on a firm basis in 1556. Previously to Akbar, however, and during the reign of Humāyūn an Afghān chief named Shīr Shāh Sūr, who had conquered Bengal, usurped, for a time, authority over Hindūstān. He was a wise and energetic ruler, and raised the empire to great prosperity.

The power of the Moghuls was at its height for a period of 150 years. It rapidly increased under Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāhjahān, until it culminated under Aurangzīb, began to decline under Shāh Ālam (Bahādur Shāh), Jahāndār Shāh, and Farrukh-Siyar; and under Muhammad Shāh, the fourth from Aurangzīb, took place the Persian invasion of Afghānistān and thence of India, undertaken by Nādir Shāh (A.D. 1738) to avenge on the Afghāns their inroads into Persia.

Hence, it appears that in all cases the Muhammadan invaders of India came through Afghānistān, and generally settled there before proceeding to conquer the Hindūs. For this reason, and from the proximity of Afghānistān, it has followed that the greater number of Muhammadan immigrants have been of Afghān blood.

As to the development of European influence and British rule in India, a brief account of this subject will be found

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in the first chapters on 'the progress of our Indian Empire' at the end of this volume.

Modern Political Divisions.

LET me note, for the benefit of those who have hitherto given little heed to the progress of our Eastern Empire, that the old tripartite separation of India into three Presidencies gives an inadequate, if not inaccurate, idea of its present political divisions.

The term Presidency is still conveniently retained for Bombay and Madras (whose governments correspond directly with the Secretary of State, and not through the Governor-General), but cannot now be suitably applied to the twelve divisions[1] more immediately under the Viceroy, and generally supplied with officers from the Bengal Civil Service.

[1] Mr. Trelawny Saunders in commenting on my *Times*' letter, June 14, 1877, enumerated these twelve divisions, and gave an official explanation of the present political divisions of India, part of which I here extract as useful and instructive, though his description of what he states ought still to be called the Bengal Presidency is likely to bewilder the general reader: 'Ever since the reduction of the lower Provinces of Bengal from being the chief Presidency to the position of a Lieutenant-Government, it has been the fashion in certain official quarters to deny the existence of the Bengal Presidency, and, indeed, of the Presidencies altogether. As, however, the officials of Madras and Bombay have not suffered any detraction from their rank as Presidencies, the fashion which prevails in Calcutta does not appear to have extended to Madras and Bombay; and thus the Professor allows that "the term may be conveniently retained" in their cases.

'But the Presidency of Bengal (or, technically, Fort William in Bengal), so far from having been abolished, has become so largely extended as to require that the local Government of the original Presidency should be delegated by the Governor-General of the extended Presidency to a Lieutenant-Governor, just as other parts of the Presidency have been. The honours of the Bengal Civil Service are now, therefore, no longer confined to the area under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but are disseminated throughout India, excepting Bombay and Madras. A reference to the "India List" will prove that, as a rule, it is Members of the Bengal Civil Service who are employed, not only in (1) the Lieutenant-Government of Bengal Proper, but also in (2) the North-Western Provinces (of Bengal) and Oudh, (3) the Punjab, (4) Rājputāna and Ajmir, (5) Central India, (6) the Central Provinces, (7) Hyderabad and Berar, (8) Mysore and Coorg. (9) Assam, (10) Manipur, a little state, east of Assam, on the frontier of Burmah, (11) British Burmah, (12) the Andaman and Nicobar

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It would be better, I think, to speak of Modern British India as divided into eight Provinces, each under its own Government. These are:—1. Bengal (sometimes called the Lower Provinces, consisting of Bengal, Behār, and Orissa); 2. the North-West Provinces (so called from their position relatively to Bengal); 3. the Panjāb; 4. the Central Provinces; 5. British Burmah; 6. Assam; 7. Bombay; and 8. Madras.

Till quite recently the province of Oudh formed a ninth division under a separate Government, but is now attached to the North-West Provinces.

Then there are now nine principal native territories surrounded by, or contiguous to, these eight British Provinces; and of course protected and controlled by us through Residents and Political Agents, viz. 1. Rājputāna; 2. Central India (including the dominions of Sindia and Holkār); 3. the Bombay Marāṭha States (especially that of the Gaikwār of Baroda); 4. Hyderabad or the Nizām's territory; 5. Mysor; 6. Travankor; 7. Nepāl; 8. Kaśmīr; 9. Afghānistān.

The recent war has added Afghānistān to the list. We have had to settle the question whether that country should be Russianized or Anglicized [1].

Most of these nine native states are independent of us in regard to their internal affairs, but all acknowledge our

Islands. All these distinct governments, whether under Lieutenant-Governors, Commissioners, Superintendents, or Native Princes, with political agents as their advisers, are supplied with British officials of the Bengal Civil Service, and are subject to the superior control of the Governor-General in Council. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay cover the remainder of India, and have their own distinct Civil Services (making in all fourteen great political divisions). The tripartite organization of India is also determined by this fact—that, although there are fourteen separate governments in India, including Madras and Bombay, the twelve divisions of the Bengal Presidency have no correspondence with the Secretary of State except through the Governor-General. Bombay and Madras, as separate Presidencies, retain that distinction.'

[1] In their speeches at the end of the present Session (August 14, 1879) Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. E. Stanhope well pointed out what the war has achieved for us: viz. absolute control over the foreign relations of Afghānistān; the appointment of a British Resident (Major Cavagnari) at Kabul; a greatly improved frontier, both military and political, through the

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supremacy. Hyderabad (where we have a Resident), though completely environed by British territory, is the largest and most powerful. It is the only great Muhammadan power that has survived the dissolution of the Moghul empire in India. It has an area of 100,000 square miles, and a population of eleven millions, and maintains an army of 50,000 men. No other native state approaches it either in area or population; Mārwār (Jodhpur) in Rājputāna, which is the next largest, having an area of only 36,000 square miles, and a population of less than two millions.

There are, however, five minor Muhammadan states, viz. Khairpur, bordering on Sindh; Bhāwalpur, contiguous to the Panjāb; Rāmpur in the North-West; Bhopāl (for Bhūpāl) in Central India; and Tonk in Rājputāna.

Of course some of the nine principal native territories include an immense number of separate states and principalities. For example, there are nineteen Rājputāna states, of which the three chief are (1) Jodhpur, or Mārwār, (2) Jaipur, and (3) Udaipur, or Mewār[1]. These (especially the last) are the most ancient sovereignties of India. Central India includes the state of Gwālior (with more than 33,000 square miles, a population of nearly three millions, and an army of more than 22,000 men), ruled by Sindia; and that of Indore (with little more than 8,000 square miles and half a million population, and, according to Colonel Malleson an army of 8,500 men), ruled by Holkār.

The Bombay Marāṭha states include (besides that of the Gaikwār of Baroda in Gujarāt) a large number of minor principalities in Kāthiāwār, and in the South, so that the grand total of native states and feudatories great and small, throughout India, is not far short of five hundred.

occupation of advanced strategical positions which give us the command of all the important Afghān stations and passes, as, for example, Quetta with the Bolan, Khuram, Sibi, Peshin, Ali Masjid with the Khaiber; a commercial treaty with Afghānistān, and the opening out of an enormous trade with Central Asia; and lastly, the power of conciliating, humanizing, and civilizing the lawless mountain tribes.

[1] Or Maiwār, said to be a contraction of *Madhyawār*, central region.

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Geographical and Physical Features.

It is no part of my plan to describe the physical geography of India. Let me merely direct attention to eight principal geographical divisions marked in the map which accompanies this volume thus:—

1. The lower valley or basin of the Ganges, including Bengal, Behār and Orissa; 2. the upper basin of the Ganges from Patna to the Sutlej, constituting Hindūstān proper, this being the only part of India properly called Hindūstān [1]; 3. the whole basin of the Indus, embracing the Panjāb and Sindh; 4. the Indian desert, including Rājputāna; 5. Gujarāt, forming with the peninsula of Kāthiāwār [2], or ancient Sauṛāshṭra, a large extent of fertile country of a horse-shoe shape, whose area is about equal to that of Great Britain; 6. the triangular plateau of Central India, including Mālwa, and on the east Bandelkhand, and in its widest sense comprehending the whole region between the Ārāvali and Vindhya ranges; 7. the plateau of the Dekhan, or, more properly, Dakhin, that is to say, the South Country, including part of the southern Marāṭha country, the central provinces, the Nizām's territory and Mysor [3]; 8. the valley of the Brahma-putra, including Assām.

With a view to clearness, the physical boundaries are

[1] The whole of Northern and Central India from the Himālayas to the Vindhya range is sometimes called Hindūstān, to distinguish it from the Dekhan.

[2] Properly written Kāthiāwāḍ, and meaning the abode of a tribe called Kāthi.

[3] The whole triangular plateau south of the Vindhya mountains as far as Cape Comorin (Kumārin) is correctly called the Dekhan or South Country, but it would be more in conformity with modern usage to say that the river Kṛishna divides the south into two plateaux, the Northern of which is the Dekhan proper, while Mysor forms the Southern plateau. In fact, the map of India may be conveniently divided into three broad belts, viz. 1. the Northern belt called Hindūstān, extending from the Himālaya to the Vindhya range; 2. the upper Southern belt called the Dekhan, extending from the Vindhya range to the river Kistna; 3. the lower Southern belt called the Peninsula, extending from the Kistna to Cape Comorin.

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purposely exaggerated in the map, and with the same object the true hydrographical lines are not quite correctly drawn.

The first noticeable feature is the vast alluvial plain which bends round in an immense curve from the mouths of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. Then, observe how the gigantic Himālayas (the abode of snow[1]) curve round as if to form a stupendous ring-fence towards the two seas; next, how the less lofty Vindhya[2] and Sātpura[3] ranges, traversing the centre of the country, have acted as a line of separation to mark off Central and Northern India, and Hindūstān from the table-land of the Dekhan, or Southern India, and helped to preserve a certain degree of individuality in each region; thirdly, how the line of the Vindhya range and Sone river, taken in conjunction with the line of the Ganges valley, and that of the Chittūr range and Chambal river, form the three sides of a central triangular plateau embracing Mālwa and Bandelkhand[4], or the Central India native states; fourthly, how the Ārāvali[5] range, running parallel with the Chittūr hills, shuts off Central India,—or, speaking roughly, the country called Mālwa—from the desert of Rājputāna.

India, like China, Babylonia and Egypt, owes much of its early prosperity and civilization to its inexhaustible supply of living waters. Indeed the history of the world proves that rivers are a country's very life-blood. If we compare the condition of India in this respect with that of the peninsula of Arabia, which has not a single navigable stream, it will not surprise us that rivers, like every

[1] From Sanskṛit *hima*, ice or snow, and *ālaya*, abode. Where they separate the Panjāb from Afghānistān, they have the name Sulaimān, and where they divide Sindh from Bilūchistān various local names, such as Halā, &c.

[2] *Vindhya* may be derived from the Sanskṛit *bind*, for root *bid*, to divide.

[3] *Sātpura* is probably for *Sāt-puḍa* for *Sāt-puṭa*, seven folds, or sinuosities.

[4] *Mālwa*, or more properly Mālava = *Madhya-deśa*, the middle country: *Bandelkhand* = the country of the Bandela tribe.

[5] From Sanskṛit *āra*, a point, and *āvali* a line.

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other object in nature from which great benefits arise, are personified and worshipped by the Hindūs as actual divinities.

Almost all the rivers in India have significant Sanskṛit names. The Indus is properly in Sanskṛit *Sindhu*. It has a special interest of its own, because it gives its name to India, the first settlements of the Indo-Āryans having been on its banks. Like the Brahma-putra it has a course of about 1800 miles.

But the first in importance, though not in length—its course being only 1514 miles—is the Ganges, the 'great goer,' its name in Sanskṛit being *Gangā* (from the root *gam*, to go). It has numerous important tributaries, such as the Jumnā (Sanskṛit *Yamunā*), the Chambal, the Gandak (Sanskṛit *Gaṇḍakī*) and the Sone (Sanskṛit *Śoṇa*).

Both the Indus and the Ganges, through taking opposite courses to the sea, have their sources, along with that of the Brahma-putra, at no great distance apart in the snows of the Himālayas; and, it may be noted, that the Ganges and Brahma-putra, flowing in the same direction, though on opposite sides of the vast mountain range, have deltas which run into each other and become intermixed in the plains around Calcutta.

Of the other principal rivers those which flow, like the Indus, into the Western or Arabian Sea, the Narbadā [1]—800 miles long—is perhaps the next most sacred river after the Ganges. Hence its proper Sanskṛit name is *Narma-dā*, or 'bliss giver.' Almost every river, however, rivals the Ganges in being held by those who live near it to have more sanctifying power than any other river.

The Taptī, 400 miles long, on which Surat is situated, takes its name from a word *tapatī* [2], derived from the Sanskṛit root *tap*, 'to be warm.'

[1] Broach (which is probably a corruption of Bhṛigu-kacha) is on this river. Its other name is Revā. The territory of the Rāja of Rewah (Revā) surrounds the sources of this river.

[2] More properly *tapantī*, heating, hot, warm. Another name for it is

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The Lunī[1], lying between it and the Indus, may be so called from its saline (*lavaṇa*) properties. The Sābharmatī[2] is said to be so named from Sanskṛit Sābhramatī, but is more probably from Śvabhramatī, 'having holes,' (*Śvabhra* being 'the hole of an animal').

Then come those rivers which flow like the Ganges into the Eastern Sea, or Bay of Bengal, viz., the great Brahmaputra (meaning in Sanskṛit 'Son of Brahmā') whose course is chiefly on the other side of the Himālayas; and the Mahā-nadī[3] (or 'great river'), 520 miles long. Then those which descend from the water-shed of the western ghāts, such as the Go-dāvarī[4] (meaning 'water-giver') with a long course of 898 miles; the Kistna (corrupted from Kṛishnā) 800, and the Kāverī[5], 472 miles long. There are three smaller rivers nearer to the mouths of the Ganges called the Subanrekha (for Sanskṛit *Suvarṇa-rekha*, 'golden-streaked'), the Baitaraṇī[6], and the Brāhmaṇī (respectively 317, 345, and 410 miles long), and some other less important streams, such as the Punnār and the Vaiga, may be noted in the south.

Extensive irrigation works have been successfully carried out in connection with the Go-dāvarī, Kistna, and Kāverī rivers. These are due to the skill and energy of Sir Arthur Cotton, and are of incalculable benefit to the country in times of drought and famine. The three districts watered and irrigated by these rivers, especially the Delta of the Kāverī round Tanjore, instead of adding millions to the grand total of famine-stricken people during the recent

Payoshṇī, 'warm as milk.' Surat ought to be pronounced Sūrat; it is from the Persian word for beauty of form.

[1] Loṇī is probably for Lavaṇī, lavaṇa meaning salt.

[2] Ahmedabad is on this river.

[3] Mahī in Sanskṛit means the earth. Baroda (a name said to be derived from *vaṭa*, the Indian fig-tree) is near this river.

[4] Godāvarī may also mean in Sanskṛit cow-giver. It is held very sacred.

[5] The Kāverī is said by those who live near it to have a fourth more power of washing away sin than the Ganges. It is however called by some *Ardha-Gangā*, half the Ganges.

[6] For Vaitaraṇī, the name of a fabulous river in the infernal regions.

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famine, poured millions of bushels of grain into the starving regions.

A study of the most prominent physical features of India makes it less difficult to comprehend how the Indo-Āryan settlers elaborated out of their own imaginations the singular, and to us ridiculous, system of geography recorded in their Purāṇas. Extending their immigrations first southwards and then towards the east and west, and surrounded on all sides either by the sea or by vast rivers, which in the rainy season spread themselves out like seas, they imagined India to be a flat circular continent, bounded on all sides by a ring-shaped ocean, to which they added six other ring-shaped continents[1], each surrounded by its own ring-shaped sea. Far off in the horizon the vast pile of the Himālayas towered upwards into the sky. Hence they believed the furthest ocean to be encircled by an impassable mountain wall, which formed the boundary and limit of the universe. Beyond this barrier neither land nor sea existed, and the light of the sun could not penetrate. All was blank space and total darkness.

And, in truth, this self-contained peninsula of India presents the students of physical geography, as well as every other student of nature and every admirer of scenery, with an epitome of the world. Where can be seen more wonderful contrasts, where such amazing variety? Monotonous plains, sandy deserts, noble rivers, fertile fields, immense districts wooded like English parks, forest, grove, and jungle, gentle undulation, hill and dale, rock, crag, precipice, snowy peak—everything is here. The one exception is lake scenery. India has nothing to offer like the picturesque lakes of Europe.

But the grand distinctive feature which impresses a traveller most is the sublime range which, stretching from

[1] The Indians were not so far wrong in their notion of seven continents, for America may fairly be reckoned as two continents, and a seventh continent is supposed to surround the South Pole.

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the east towards the west, blends with other ranges northwards, and surrounds the whole upper part of India (as the Alps surround Europe) with a mighty natural rampart, shutting it out from the rest of the continent of Asia, and, indeed, from the rest of the world, except from the sea. It is true that constant incursions have taken place from the earliest times through the principal passes of Afghānistān (especially the Khaiber and Bolan), as well as along the course of the Brahma-putra; and the later Muhammadan invaders have had little difficulty in following the same route; but all these invasions occurred before the existence of steam-navies, ironclads, railroads, and telegraphs. A great aggressive power like Russia may, hereafter, give us trouble by stirring up disaffection among the people of Afghānistān, and the excitable tribes in the neighbourhood of the passes[1], but no power that cannot beat us at sea is ever likely to dispossess us of India.

My first view of the Himālayan range on a clear evening from a point about 150 miles distant was absolutely overpowering. Imagine the Jung Frau piled on Mont Blanc, and repeated in a succession of peaks, stretching apparently nearly half round the horizon in an unbroken line, far more extended than that of the Alps as seen from Berne, and a faint idea may be formed of the sublimity of the spectacle presented by this majestic pile of mountains, some of which tower to a height of nearly 30,000 feet above the plain.

In regard to climate, too, India, which is in other respects a complete world in itself, seems to include all the climates of all countries. Far from being 'deadly' (at least, from November till April), as I have heard it described, I believe the winter climate of Northern India to be more salubrious than that of England. Perpetual sunshine, balmy breezes, perfect dryness of air and soil, with lovely flowers and summer foliage constantly before the eyes, cannot fail to exhilarate the spirits and benefit

[1] This was written in 1876, and may be read in the light of recent events.

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the health. Many invalids, who habitually resort to Italy to escape the damp and gloom of our English climate, would do well to devote a winter to India. The facilities now offered by the Suez Canal, and the beautiful weather prevalent in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean from November to April, make the passage itself not the least delightful part of the expedition; and if English tourists would oftener turn their steps towards our Eastern possessions, the present lamentable ignorance on Indian subjects, amounting in most cases to Cimmerian darkness, would be replaced by a better appreciation of the character of the country.

Would, too, that a few more students of astronomy could be induced to wend their way towards India! I inquired in vain for professional astronomers, and only came across one amateur during the course of my travels in Northern India. The sight he gave me of the planet Saturn through his well-appointed telescope at Allahabad, will remain indelibly impressed on my memory. How is it, then, that there are not more telescopic batteries directed against the heavens in an atmosphere unequalled for clearness, stillness, and all the conditions favourable to new conquests in the field of astronomical research?

Nor can I refrain from expressing my surprise that zoologists and botanists do not resort in larger numbers to India and revel in the rich fare—the endless variety spread out in every direction, and asking to be appreciated and enjoyed. For my own part, I would rather see them abound than sportsmen, of whom, indeed, there is no lack at all. It must be confessed that the omnipresent insects which most people execrate as the greatest pest incident to an Indian climate, are a little too demonstrative for the ordinary traveller and resident. Various appliances may temper extremes of heat and cold, but what can repress the irrepressible mosquito, or check the unpleasant exuberance of every form of insect life? 'If I could get £200 in England,' I have often heard irritated

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young civilians exclaim, 'I would give up my £800 a year in this country.' Certainly there are many drawbacks to a life in Eastern climates, and the insect nuisance is not the least of them. But one man's plague may be another man's prize. To an entomologist the study of Indian ants alone would be an inexhaustible subject of interest, while to the ordinary amateur what can be more attractive than the whole butterfly world of India. I well remember how, walking in a secluded lane, I was suddenly surrounded by a flight of at least a hundred gorgeous specimens of this form of insect life. How is it then that I looked in vain for entomologists and butterfly-collectors in my travels?

Races and Languages.

India, including the slopes of the Himālayas, presents us with examples of all the principal races of the world; for example, the Caucasian—Āryan in the Brāhmans and Rājputs, and Semitic in the Arabs[1]—the Mongolian, and even the Negro, some of the aboriginal hill tribes being manifestly either negroid or negrito. And all races are more or less blended. Yet Brāhmans, Rājputs, Jāts, Baniyas (in Sanskrit *Baṇijas*= *Vaiśyas*), Śūdras, and hill tribes differ as much *inter se* as Greeks, Italians, Saxons, Slaves, Celts, Finns, and Laps.

In point of fact, the insularity of India, caused by its vast natural barriers of mountain and ocean, enables us to understand how it has happened that when the whole country once became filled with Turanian and Āryan settlers, their manners, customs, domestic usages, religious ideas, and languages, have undergone less change through extraneous influences than they have in other parts of the world to which the same races have immigrated.

For there are really only three principal gateways through the mighty wall of the Himālayas, as roughly indicated in

[1] But it must be admitted that there is no great admixture of Arab blood.

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the map. Two of these are by the passes of the North-west, and the third by the Brahma-putra valley on the East into Bengal.

Few invaders have entered India except through the long and difficult passages constituting these gateways. Both Turanians[1] and Āryans came one after the other through the two North-western passes, some through the Khaiber Pass into the Panjāb, some through the Bolan Pass into Sindh.

The Indo-Turanians, whose original home was probably somewhere in Northern Turkestān, were nomad races who passed into India at different times and were the first to occupy all the Northern and Central regions.

The Āryans, who were half nomad, half agricultural, came from the more southerly districts of Central Asia and Turkestān—probably from the Pamīr plateau and the region surrounding the sources of the Oxus. They, too, entered India by successive waves of immigration, but their incursions did not begin till some centuries later.

The more peaceful Āryan immigrants finding the Turanians already in possession of the country settled down with them on the soil, and in conjunction with them formed the great class of the Vaiśya or agricultural population[2].

Other incursions of the Āryan race followed, and those who were intellectually superior took advantage of that growth of religious ideas which generally accompanies political growth, and formed themselves into a body of religious teachers, afterwards called Brāhmans,—while the more warlike tribes (afterwards called Kshatriyas), advancing southwards, drove the more independent and less submissive of the Turanians towards the Southern Peninsula. There these Turanian races retained their own languages,

[1] This term is properly only applicable to the people of Turkestān, though it is sometimes loosely applied to the omnium-gatherum of all races not Āryan or Semitic.

[2] Even now the great mass of the Hindū population are agriculturists, but they are no longer called Vaiśyas or 'settlers on the soil' (from the root *viś*). this name being applied to traders. The pure Vaiśya caste no longer exists.

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acquired an independent civilization, and were called by a distinct name—Drāvidians[1]—though they ultimately amalgamated to a great extent with the advancing Āryan immigrants and became Āryanized in religion, literary culture, and social usages.

The Drāvidians of the South were the Rākshasas, or powerful demons of Indian Epic poetry. The non-Āryan and non-Drāvidian races (consisting of the Kols, Santāls, Jūangs, &c., of Choṭā Nāgpur, and neighbouring districts) are now usually called Kolarian. Some of them may be of Tibetan origin, while others are rude aborigines whose origin cannot be traced beyond their present locality, and who have a manifest affinity with Negritos and Australian savages. The Tibetan tribes probably entered India through the Eastern gateway long before either Indo-Āryans or Drāvidians. These non-Drāvidian and aboriginal tribes were the monkeys of Indian Epic poetry.

As to the Muhammadan invasions of India, they were really little more than further incursions of Tartar (Turkish) races who had become converted to Islām, and who overran Sindh, Gujarāt, and the Panjāb, after first settling in Afghānistān and fusing to a certain extent with the Afghāns.

The Pārsīs represent a remnant of the ancient Persians, who, when the Khalīfs conquered Persia in the 7th and 8th centuries, retained their own religion, settling first at Yazd in Persia, and afterwards, to escape persecution, emigrating to the Western coast of India.

It is clear, then, that India has been continually overrun by successive immigrants and invaders from time immemorial. And of these immigrants the best fitted by physical energy, character and habits to achieve ascendancy were the Āryan races. In point of fact, these races have continued dominant in moral and religious influence, though political power has long since passed out of their hands. They may

[1] Properly Drāviḍāh, from Drāviḍa, the name given to the extreme South or Tamil part of the Peninsula.

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be called by the general name Indo-Āryans to distinguish them from the Āryans who spread themselves over Europe, and differences distinguish them as great as those which divide European Āryans.

Indeed, from their admixture with the Turanian and aboriginal races it is difficult to find pure Brāhmans[1], Kshatriyas[2], or Vaiśyas anywhere. A purely ethnical arrangement of the people of India is now practically impossible.

Reckoning, however, Āryans and non-Āryans, and taking difference of speech as marking and perpetuating separation of populations, though not as necessarily determining distinction of race, we are able to distinguish sixteen separate peoples in India, constituting what might almost be called sixteen separate nationalities.

First come eight divisions of the Indo-Āryans, all of whose languages are more or less Sanskṛitic in structure as well as in vocabulary.

1. *Hindī*, which we may calculate as spoken by about one hundred million persons in Hindūstān proper, including the High Hindī and the Muhammadan form of it called Hindūstānī, and the various dialects, called Braj, Kanaujī, Mewārī, Old Pūrbī, Awadhī, Bhojpurī, and Mārwārī, the last being particularly deserving of notice as spoken throughout Jodhpur, the most extensive of all the Rājput states.

2. *Bengālī*, spoken by about thirty-seven millions in Bengal, a little more than half of whom are Hindūs and the remainder Muhammadans.

3. *Marāṭhī*[3], spoken by about eleven or twelve millions chiefly Hindūs, throughout Mahārāshṭra or the Marāṭha country in the Dekhan, part of the province of Bombay

[1] The northern division of Brāhmans in Hindūstān claim to be of pure descent, especially the Kānyakubja and Sārasvata Brāhmans.

[2] The Rājputs of Rājputāna claim to be pure Kshatriyas.

[3] Mr. Beames considers that Maraṭhī has been formed by the Māgadhī and Saurasenī Prākrits quite as much as by the Mahārāshṭrī.

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and the Central Provinces, including a dialect in the Konkan, known as Konkanī.

4. *Gujarātī*, spoken by about seven millions in Gujarāt, and regarded by some as a mere dialect of Hindī.

5. *Panjābī*, spoken by twelve or thirteen millions in the Panjāb, of whom one half are Muhammadans. It is really a mere dialect of Hindī.

6. *Kaśmīrī*, a sister language of Hindī, spoken (with Dogrī, a dialect of Panjābī) by nearly two millions in the kingdom of Kaśmīr. According to Dr. Bühler there are three varieties of Kaśmīrī. The Kaśmīrī Pandits are among the finest types of the Āryan race.

7. *Sindhī*, spoken by about two millions in Sindh, of whom one fifth only are Hindū, the remainder being Muhammadan. Dr. Trumpp has published a scientific grammar of this language.

8. *Oriya*, spoken by about eight millions, chiefly Hindūs, in Orissa.

Next, taking the non-Āryans, we have eight other race-differences, which we may also mark by the names of eight languages. In the first place, six Drāvidian races (numbering nearly forty-six million persons), as follow :—

1. *Tamil*, spoken by about fifteen millions throughout an extensive region, beginning with the northern portion of Ceylon, and extending from Cape Comorin northward along the South of Travankor, and what is called the Karnatic; that is, along the southern part of the Coromandel coast to about a hundred miles north of Madras[1].

2. *Malayālam*, almost a dialect of Tamil, spoken by nearly four millions in Travankor and along the southern portion of the Malabar coast.

3. *Telugu*, called from its softness the Italian of India, spoken by nearly sixteen millions throughout a region beginning from a line about a hundred miles north of Madras, and extending along the northern part of the

[1] Tamil has an imperfect alphabet, and makes use of a separate literary character (*grantha*) for writing Sanskṛit.

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Coromandel coast, or Northern Circars, and over part of the Nizām's territory.

4. *Kanarese*, spoken by rather more than nine millions in Mysore, in the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency, in Kanara, and part of the Malabar Coast.

There are also two semi-cultivated Drāvidian dialects scarcely deserving enumeration, viz :

5. *Tulu*, spoken in a small district of Kanara by about 300,000 persons, and

6. *Koorg* or *Kodāgu*, spoken by only 150,000 persons in the hill district to the west of Mysore.

Then comes the chief uncultivated Drāvidian language, viz :—

7. *Goṇḍ*[1], spoken by nearly two million persons, divided into clans, some of whom are almost savages, while others are comparatively civilized, inhabiting Goṇḍwana (for Goṇḍavana, the forest of the Goṇḍs) in the Central Provinces. The language of the Goṇḍ race has been lately systematized and expressed in Deva-nāgarī characters.

The other uncultivated Drāvidian dialects, viz :—Orāon, Rājmahal, Khoṇḍ, Toḍa and Koṭa, belong to insignificant tribes rather than to races.

Lastly come the wholly uncultivated and barbarous non-Āryan and non-Drāvidian dialects, called,—

8. *Kolarian*, belonging to wild tribes inhabiting the plateau of Choṭā Nāgpur and some adjacent hills[2], and numbering more than three millions. They speak about seven rude dialects, of which the best known are those of the Kols, the Jūangs (the most primitive tribe in all India), the Santāls, the Mundas, and the Hos.

In the above enumeration are not reckoned the languages

[1] Goṇḍ may be a corruption of *Govinda*, a cow-herd. These tribes straggle southwards into the Tamil country as far as the latitude of Madras. They have adopted many Tamil words.

[2] The Kols are found not only at Rānchī but also at Sumbhulpur, and in hills belonging to the Sātpura range, and even at Nāgpur, Elichpur, and still further south at Kālahandī. The Bhīls are probably Drāvidian.

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which belong, so to speak, to the outer fringe of India proper, e.g. the Pashtu or Pakhtu of Afghānistān, the Nepālī or Nepālese of Nepāl, the Assamese of Assam, the Burmese of British Burmah, and the Sinhalese of Ceylon; besides an immense number of dialects spoken by tribes inhabiting the mountains of Nepāl, Bhūtān, and Assam (some of them coming under the Himālayan family, and many of them more or less connected with Tibetan), making about two hundred languages and dialects, cultivated and uncultivated, in the whole of India.

We see, therefore, that just as all the principal races of the world are represented in India, so also are all families of languages—Āryan, Semitic and Agglutinative (Turanian).

Perhaps the chief bond of union between the races is religion. All who believe in the Veda and the Brāhmanical system, whether they be Āryan or non-Āryan, may be called Hindūs, provided it be clearly understood that the term Hindū has no real ethnical significance. Similarly all who believe in the Kurān and the teaching of Muhammad may be called Muslims or Muhammadans, it being understood that they may have originally belonged to Hindū races.

Two languages also act as linguistic bonds—Saṇskṛit and Hindūstānī. Sanskṛit is, as everyone knows, the ancient classical language of all India, and the elder sister of Latin and Greek. It is to the Hindūs what Arabic is to the Musalmāns. The one is the language of the Veda, the other of the Kurān. Wherever the Hindū religion prevails there Sanskṛit is cultivated and venerated. It is a dead language like Latin, but is still spoken fluently by learned men throughout India as Latin once was throughout Europe. Moreover, though in one sense dead, in another it has the utmost vitality. It lives and breathes in the eight Āryan dialects already enumerated, which are merely spoken forms of it.

As to Hindūstānī, it is simply a modern modification of Hindī, serving as a lingua franca for the whole of India, like French in Europe. It is a highly composite language, and,

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like English, reflects the composite character of the people who speak it. In fact, Hindūstānī scarcely existed as a distinct language till the time of the Emperor Tīmūr—about the year 1400 of our era—when it was finally formed in his *Ūrdū*[1], or camp, by the blending of the Arabic and Persian of the conquering Muhammadans with the Sanskṛit and Hindī of the conquered Hindūs. Hence it has an Āryan stock, but has adopted a vast number of Semitic words, and is now taking English words largely from us. Few languages have a greater power of assimilating foreign vocables.

I have heard it asserted that English is likely to supplant Hindūstānī as a general lingua franca for the whole population of India. I see no signs whatever of this. On the contrary, English has scarcely made its way at all among the masses of the people. Nevertheless, the cultivation of the language of the ruling race is becoming increasingly common at all the principal towns. It is taught at all Government and Missionary Schools and Colleges, and even at all larger native schools. Everywhere I found it both cultivated and spoken fluently by most educated Indians—to the neglect, I am sorry to say, of their own vernacular languages. Not that English is often studied for its own sake, but rather, I fear, from purely interested motives, a knowledge of it being an indispensable qualification for Government situations.

Character of the People.

I have found no people in Europe more religious—none more patiently persevering in common duties, none more docile and amenable to authority, none more courteous or respectful towards age and learning, none more dutiful to parents, none more faithful in service. Superstition,

[1] This word, meaning camp, is of Turkish origin, and is often applied to the Hindūstānī language.

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immorality, untruthfulness, pride, selfishness, avarice, all these and other faults and vices, of course, abound, but not more than they do in other countries unpenetrated by the spirit of true Christianity, and not more than will be found among those merely nominal Christians who, after all, constitute the real mass of the people in Europe.

While on this subject, let me notice a few leading particulars as to creeds and religious usages.

Religious Creeds.

Just as all races and families of languages are represented in India, so are the four principal religious creeds in the world—namely, Brāhmanism or Hindūism, Buddhism, Islām or Muhammadanism, and Christianity.

The term Brāhmanism should, in my opinion, be restricted to the purely pantheistic and not necessarily idolatrous system evolved by the Brāhmans out of the partly monotheistic, partly polytheistic, partly pantheistic religion expressed in the sacred works collectively termed *Veda*. This system was fully developed in a still later work following on the Veda, called the Vedānta philosophy, where it is designated by the term *Advaita*—Non-Dualism. Brāhmanism, in fact, is a mere assertion of the unity of all being. Nothing really exists, it affirms, but the one Universal Spirit (named Brahman, from the root *bṛih*, 'to spread and pervade'), and whatever appears to exist independently is identical with that Spirit.

But it has also other characteristics. It may be described as in one sense the most self-annihilating system in the world, for it asserts that there can be no real *self* (*ātman*) existing separately from the one self-existent Supreme Self—called *Paramātman*, as well as *Brahman*, and when by the act of that Self the individuated spirits of men are allowed for a time an apparent separate existence, the ultimate end and aim of such spirits should

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be to attain complete reunion with the one Eternal Self in entire self-annihilation. A Brāhman, who holds this doctrine, thinks the religion of the Christian, who is conscious of severance from God, and yearns for reunion with Him, and yet does not wish his own self-consciousness to be merged in God, a very selfish kind of creed, compared with his own. It is evident, however, that there may be more real selfishness in the self-annihilating creed. For whatever may be said about the bliss of complete union (*sāyujya*) with the Supreme Spirit, the true aim of Brāhmanism, pure and simple, is not so much extinction of self, as extinction of personal existence for the sake of release from the troubles of life, and from the consequences of activity.

The term Hindūism, on the other hand, may be used to express Brāhmanism after it had degenerated—to wit, that complicated system of polytheistic doctrines and caste-usages, which has gradually resulted out of the mixture of Brāhmanism, first with Buddhism and then with the non-Āryan creeds of Drāvidians and aborigines. This system rests on the whole series of Hindū sacred writings—the four Vedas with their Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, the Sūtras, the laws of Manu, and Rāmāyaṇa and Mahā-bhārata, the eighteen Purāṇas and sixty-four Tantras. Hence, Hindūism is something very different from Brāhmanism, though the one is derived from the other. It encourages idolatry—that is to say, worship before the images and symbols of Vishṇu, the Preserver, and Rudra-Śiva, the Destroyer and Regenerator (the highest manifestations of Brahman) and other deities, as a help for weak-minded persons; and every enlightened Brāhman admits that the unthinking and ignorant, who are by far the majority, adore the idols themselves.

In fact, Hindūism is like a huge irregular structure which has had no single architect but a whole series, and has spread itself over an immense surface by continual additions and accretions. The gradual growth of its con-

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geries of heterogeneous doctrines is exactly reflected in the enormous mass of its disjointed sacred writings which, beginning with the Ṛig-veda, about the time of the composition of the Pentateuch, extend over a period of 2500 years. It is perhaps the only religion in the world which has neither any name derived from any single founder, nor any distinct designation of any kind. We may call it Brāhmanism and Hindūism, but these are not names recognized by the natives themselves. Its present aspect is that of an ancient overgrown fabric, with no apparent unity of design—patched, pieced, restored and enlarged in all directions, inlaid with every variety of idea, and, although looking as if ready at any moment to fall into ruins, still extending itself so as to cover every hole and corner of available ground, still holding its own with great pertinacity, and still keeping its position securely, because supported by a hard foundation of Brāhmanism and caste. It is only, however, by the practice of a kind of universal toleration and receptivity—carried on through more than 2000 years—that Hindūism has maintained its ground and arrived at its present condition[1]. It has been asserted that Hindūism is unlike Buddhism in not being a missionary religion. Certainly Buddhism was once a proselyting system (though its missionary spirit is extinct), and it is very true that a Brāhman *nascitur non fit*, but it is equally true that Hindūism could not have extended itself over India if it had never exerted itself to make proselytes. In point of fact, it has first borne with and then accepted, and, so to speak, digested and assimilated something from all creeds. It has opened its doors to all comers—and is willing to do so still—on the two conditions of their admitting the spiritual su-

[1] Moor, in his 'Pantheon' (p. 402), tells us that a learned Pandit once observed to him that the English were a new people, and had only the record of one Avatāra, but the Hindūs were an ancient people, and had accounts of a great many, and that if the Purāṇas were examined, they would probably be found to record the incarnation of Christ.

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premacy of the Brāhmans, and conforming to certain caste-rules about food, intermarriage, and professional pursuits. In this manner it has adopted much of the Fetishism of the aborigines of India; it has stooped to the practices of various primitive tribes, and has not scrupled to appropriate and naturalise the adoration of the fish, the boar, the serpent, rocks, stones, and trees; it has borrowed ideas from the various cults of the Drāvidian races; and it may even owe something to Christianity. Above all, it has assimilated nearly every doctrine of Buddhism except its atheism, its denial of the eternal existence of soul, and its levelling of caste-distinctions.

Buddhism originated in India about 500 B.C. It was a reformation of Brāhmanism introduced by a man named Gautama (afterwards called Buddha, 'the Enlightened') of the Śākya tribe, whose father was king of a district situated under the mountains of Nepāl.

It is noteworthy that the images of Buddha—which are probably, like the pictures of Christ, merely ideal—generally represent him with features and hair of an Egyptian or Ethiopian type, and with the curly hair of a Negro[1]. He is usually described as a Kshatriya, or man of the kingly and military class. According to some, it is not impossible that the tribe to which he belonged may have been of aboriginal extraction, or even Mongolian.

Buddhism was originally no new religion, but a mere modification or reconstruction of Brāhmanism, and even now has much in common with it. But the Buddha, in opposition to the Brāhmans, refused to admit that the doctrines of a supreme eternal Spirit, and of the eternity of the human soul were susceptible of proof, and repudiated the authority of the Veda, caste-distinctions, sacrifices, and sacrificing priests. His own doctrines were afterwards collected in the sacred writings called *Tri-piṭaka* or 'Triple-collection' (written in Pāli, the ancient lan-

[1] It is curious that the figures in the caves of Elephanta have also curly hair.

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guage of the Magadha district closely allied to Sanskṛit). He maintained that the only deity was man himself, when brought to a condition of Buddha-hood or perfect wisdom, and he made *Nirvāṇa*, 'extinction of all being,' take the place of *Sāyujya*, 'identification with one sole Being of the Universe,' as the great end and object of all human effort. His doctrines soon spread to Ceylon, Burmah, and other countries, but pure Buddhism does not exist any longer anywhere. In India it first co-existed with Brāhmanism, then met with some persecution, and finally lapsed back into Brāhmanism about the ninth century of our era.

Jainism, the home of cold indifferentism, even more unworthy to be called a religion than Buddhism, is now the only representative of Buddhistic ideas in India proper. I believe that, according to the last census, the number of Buddhists under our rule in British Burmah amounts to about two millions and a half. The Jainas or Jains, in India proper, only number about 380,000, at least half of whom are in the Bombay Presidency. They congregate most thickly in the districts round Ahmedabad.

The Jainas maintain that their system originated earlier than Buddhism, and from an independent source. Recent researches tend to show that there is ground for this assertion. Jainism and Buddhism probably represent two parallel lines of philosophical inquiry. One thing is certain, that Jainism has much in common with Buddhism, however it may differ from Buddhism in various ways. Perhaps the chief point of difference is that the Jainas retain caste-distinctions, but this again may be a later innovation. They are divided into two sects—the Śvetāmbaras, 'clothed in white,' and the Dig-ambaras, 'sky-clothed'—of which the latter sect was probably the earliest. The doctrines of both sects rest on sacred books, called Āgamas (divided into Angas, Upāngas, &c.), many of which are common to both. They agree with the Buddhists in rejecting the Veda of the Brāhmans. Formerly the Dig-ambaras, who are now the least numerous, were

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forbidden to wear clothing, and even to the present day they are said to eat naked.

The principal point in the creed of Jainas (as of Buddhists) is the reverence paid to holy men who by long discipline have raised themselves to a kind of divine perfection. The Jina, or 'conquering saint,' who having conquered all worldly desires reveals true knowledge, is with Jainas what the Buddha or 'perfectly enlightened saint' is with Buddhists.

Great numbers of the Mārwārīs and Baniyas, or traders of Western India, who claim to be Vaiśyas, are Jains. If a Jain wishes to acquire religious merit, he either builds a new temple to hold an image of one or all of the twenty-four Jina saints, or a hospital for the care of worn-out animals. No one thinks of repairing the work of his predecessor, though it be that of his own father. At Pālitāna, in Kāthiāwār, there are hundreds of new temples by the side of decaying old ones.

Jainism, like Brāhmanism and Buddhism, lays great stress on the doctrine of transmigration, or repeated births. Hence Jainas carry their respect for animal life—even that of the most minute infusoria—to a preposterous extreme. Their only worship, like that of the Buddhist, is adoration of human perfection. Though they dissent from the Veda, they regard themselves as Hindūs.

I have already (p. 93) described the religion of the Pārsīs, or, as it is sometimes called, Zoroastrianism. It represents the religion of ancient Persia imported into India by a small body of Persian immigrants, when driven out of Persia by the Muhammadan invaders, and rests on certain sacred writings called the Zand-Avastā—attributed to the prophet Zoroaster about 500 B.C.—which have suffered more from the inroads of time than any of the other religious books of the world. I may here add that the religion of the ancient Persians had a common origin with that of the Hindūs, and that Pārsīism, like Brāhmanism, is based on a kind of Monotheistic Pantheism.

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It has not, however, advanced beyond the stage of regarding Fire, Sun, Earth, and Sea as principal manifestations of the one Supreme Being, called by the Pārsīs Ormazd (the creator of the two forces of construction and destruction, Spentamainyus and Ahriman). It has never lapsed, like Brāhmanism, into gross and degrading idolatry.

The Pārsīs are certainly near relations of the Brāhmans, but they have kept themselves separate from the other races of India, and retained much of the natural vigour and energy of the Āryan character.

And now a few words on the subject of Hindū religious services and ritual. Of ancient Vedic sacrificial ceremonial and public religious worship very little is left. Nor is congregational worship performed in temples. The priests in charge of the idols decorate them and bathe them with sacred water on holy days, and do them homage (*pūjā*) with lights and a rude kind of music at stated periods, generally both morning and evening. Moreover, offerings of flowers, grain, fruits, &c., are presented to the idols of the most popular gods (practically to the priests) by lay worshippers, and *mantras* or texts are repeated with prostrations of the body. Common prayer, in our sense, there is none.

The religion of the mass of the people—much of which is probably aboriginal and pre-Āryan—resolves itself, I fear, into a mere matter of selfish superstition. It is principally displayed in endeavouring to avert the anger of evil demons and in doing homage to local divinities, supposed to guard their worshippers from the assaults of malignant beings, and believed to be specially present in rude idols, trees, rocks, stones, and shapeless symbols, often consecrated with daubs of red paint. In place of public worship, however, great attention is given to private religious usages and to the performance of domestic ceremonies at births, marriages, funerals, &c., conducted by Brāhman priests, who have nothing whatever to do with temples or with worship performed in temples. More-

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over, homage to ancestors and to the spirits of deceased fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, enters largely into the religious rites of the Hindūs as into those of the Chinese.

All these observances vary with caste, and caste is now so divided and subdivided that even the Brāhmans are broken up into innumerable classes and tribes, one claiming superiority over the other. Some of these are little more than groups of families bound together by peculiar usages. In other cases, caste is only another name for an association of men united by common occupation in a kind of trade union, every such combination being cemented in the same way by the practice of distinctive religious observances. In fact, caste in India is an essential part of religion. It is no longer to the same extent as it once was, a bond of union among large bodies of men. Its action tends to split up the social fabric into numerous independent communities, and to prevent all national and patriotic combinations. In the present day the family-bond (*bhāī-band*) appears to be stronger than that of caste. Certainly both these ties operate far more powerfully in India than in Europe, because they are both intimately associated with religion. I fear, however, that other ties are proportionately weak, and that Indians, as a rule, have few sympathies and little disposition to co-operate with others beyond the circle of their own families, and none at all beyond the limits of their own immediate castes.

Indian Muhammadanism.

Turn we next to a brief consideration of Indian Muhammadanism. The position of Islām, with reference to the idolatry of India, is very similar to that once occupied by Judaism relatively to the idolatry of Egypt and Canaan, and very similar to its own original position relatively to the Sabeanism of Arabia. In fact, Islām may be regarded as an illegitimate child of Judaism born in Arabia in the

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seventh century. It was a protest against the Sabeanism, idolatry, and fetish stone-worship prevalent in that country, and a declaration of God's Unity made by Muhammad in supposed continuation of the original revelation transmitted by Abraham through Ishmael, rather than through Isaac[1].

Indeed at one time it seemed likely that the religious reform preached by Muhammad would develope into a sect of Christianity, and had not the corrupt Christian doctrines with which Muhammad came in contact prevented his perceiving that the statement of a Trinity in Unity is also the strongest assertion of a Unity in Trinity, we might have had another Eastern Church in Arabia answering to those founded in Egypt, Syria, Armenia, and Constantinople.

The name Muhammad is simply the passive participle of the Arabic verb *hamada,* 'to praise,' and no more admits of any variety of spelling than our word 'praised,' nor can I see why the numerous arbitrary violations of orthography to which the false prophet's name has given rise should be perpetuated any longer.

It should be noted that although Muhammad was a self-deluded enthusiast, he did not put himself forward as the founder of a new religion, and would have indignantly forbidden the use of such a term as Muhammadanism. According to his own views he was simply the latest of four prophets (the others being Moses, Elias, and Christ), who were all followers of Abraham, the true founder of the doctrine of Islām, and were all Muslims because all preached the Unity of God and submission to His will[2]. In this

[1] The Ka'ba, or small cube-shaped temple of Mecca, is supposed to have been built by Abraham (who is called by Muhammad the first Muslim) over the spot where he was about to sacrifice Ishmael. The sacredness of the small black stone imbedded in the eastern angle is probably the result of the fetish stone-worship once prevalent in Arabia. Abraham is supposed to have stood upon this stone when he built the Ka'ba.

[2] In the Kurān, the Old Testament and the Gospel are spoken of with the greatest reverence, as the word of God. Muhammad never threw any doubts on the inspiration of either; faith in them was enjoined on penalty of hell. But the Kurān was a later revelation, and therefore a higher authority.

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respect he was like the other great religious leaders—Zoroaster, Buddha, and Confucius.

In the end, however, the necessities of his position obliged him to break away from both Jews and Christians, with whom at first on his flight to Medina (A.D. 622) he contemplated an alliance. Nor did his doctrine, like that of Buddhism, win its way anywhere in the world by persuasiveness, except on its first propagation. It is true that Muhammad at the commencement of his career fought his way through the idolatry around him with no other weapons but argument and persuasion, but when he had collected sufficient adherents, the force of circumstances compelled him to adopt a more summary method of conversion. His conversions were then made at the point of the sword, Muhammad became a conqueror and a ruler, and Islām became as much a State polity as a religion.

About forty-one millions of the inhabitants of India are Muhammadans. Indeed, one of the unexpected facts brought out by the last census was the vast increase of Indian Muslims. Great numbers of them are the descendants of Hindūs converted to Islām by the Muhammadan conquerors, and are much Hindūized in their habits and ways. In some places the lower classes of Musalmāns do homage to the Hindū goddess of smallpox, and take part in the Holī festival. It is certain that numbers of low-caste Hindūs formerly became Muhammadans with the sole object of raising themselves in the social scale. For all Muslims are theoretically equal, and since there is no equality, nor even any real citizenship, in a Muhammadan State for those who are not Muslims, it has often happened that whole communities have adopted Islām merely to place themselves within the pale of State protection, patronage, jurisdiction, and authority.

Unhappily, however, the Indian Muslims do not imitate the Hindūs in their toleration of each other's sectarian divisions.

There are, as most people know, two principal sects of

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Muslims, called Sunnīs and Shī'as. The Shī'as deny that the three immediate successors of the prophet—Abūbakr, Omar, and Othmān—were true Khalīfas. They declare that Alī, Muhammad's son-in-law, was his first rightful successor. The Turks and nearly all Indian Musalmāns, except those connected in any way with Persia, are Sunnīs. All Persians are Shī'as, and the animosity between the two divisions is even greater than between Roman Catholics and Protestants. I have heard it humorously said that, besides the Shī'as, there are seventy-two subordinate sects, each of which considers that the other seventy-one will assuredly go to hell.

I observed in my travels that the mass of Indian Muhammadans, who are ignorant and uneducated, have a tendency to deify either Muhammad himself, or his son-in-law Alī, or the innumerable Muhammadan saints (*Pīrs*), whose tombs are scattered everywhere throughout Hindūstān and the Dekhan. Many regard them as mediators.

Moreover, the Islām of India appears to have borrowed something not only from Hindūism but from Buddhism. I saw relics of Muhammad, including a hair from his head, preserved as sacred objects in Delhi and Lahor, and the impress of his foot is revered much as the Hindūs and Buddhists revere the footstep of Vishṇu and Buddha. When Islām thus lapses into too great exaltation of Muhammad, it may fairly be called Muhammadanism.

The attitude of a Muhammadan towards Christianity is far more hopelessly hostile than that of a Hindū, and it is generally believed that, although Indian Muslims in some parts of India are more active and intelligent than Hindūs, the teaching of the Kurān has a tendency to make them more intolerant, more sensual and inferior in moral tone. They are certainly more proud and bigoted, and are often left behind by the Hindūs for the simple reason that they refuse to avail themselves in the same way of the educational advantages we offer.

With regard to Christianity, I have no hesitation in

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declaring my conviction that it has more points of contact with Hindūism (notwithstanding the hideous idolatry encouraged by that system) than with Buddhism, Jainism, or even Islām. For example—Hindūs are willing to confess themselves sinful. They acknowledge the necessity of sacrifice. They admit the need of supernatural revelation, and they have a doctrine of inspiration even higher than our own. Their sacred scriptures are not the work of one mind like the Kurān, but represent a process of gradual accretion and progressive expansion like the sixty-six books of our own Holy Bible. They are familiar with the ideas of a divine trinity, of incarnation, and of the need of a Saviour, however perverted these ideas may be. Their Gāyatrī, a prayer repeated morning and evening by every Brāhman throughout India, might with slight alteration be converted into a Christian prayer. They believe in the 'vanity' of all earthly concerns. They affirm that the Supreme Being is a Spirit, omnipotent and omnipresent, and their dogma that 'God is existence, thought, and bliss,' is only inferior to the Christian assertion that 'God is love.'

With regard to the progress of Christianity in India, I will only at present record my opinion that the best work done by the missionaries is in their schools. In some important places, such as Benares, the missionary schools are more popular than those of the Government, although the Bible is read and religious instruction given in the former, and not in the latter. Education is, indeed, causing a great upheaving of old creeds and superstitions throughout India, and the ancient fortress of Hindūism is in this way being gradually undermined. The educated classes look with contempt on idolatry.

In fact, the present condition of India seems very similar to that of the Roman Empire before the coming of Christ. A complete disintegration of ancient faiths is in progress in the upper strata of society.

Most of the ablest thinkers become pure Theists or Unitarians. In almost every large town there is a *Samāj*, or

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society of such men, whose creed would be well expressed by the first part of the first Article of the Church of England. They retain the name Brahma as applicable to the Supreme Being, but they regard him as a personal god, to be addressed by prayer as well as praise. No sooner, however, is a Samāj formed than, as is usual in India, it splits up into subdivisions, some founding their theism on the Veda, others partially appealing to it, and others rejecting it altogether. Even great leaders like Keshab Chandra Sen, of Calcutta, are unable to unite all Indian Theists into one body.

Christianity has made most progress among people of low caste and with some of the aboriginal tribes, and will probably gradually work its way upwards as it did on its first propagation by our Lord and His disciples. The religion of conquerors is never likely to be popular with either the higher or lower classes, if it offers no political or social advantages; and controversial discussion, though it may convince the head, will not touch the heart. It should always be borne in mind that, unlike the Muhammadans and Roman Catholics, we have abstained, as a conquering government, from enforcing our religion by government influence and authority. Hence conversions to Christianity bear no adequate proportion to the teeming millions of India (as indeed the Indian Bishops themselves allow in their circular of November 27th, 1873). Nor will conversions, in my opinion, be more common until our religion is presented to the Hindūs in a more Oriental form,—that is, in a form more like that which belonged to it on its first foundation at Jerusalem; and by more Orientalized missionaries,—that is, by men who will consent to live among the natives and become themselves half Indianized. It is even a question whether certain caste-customs might not be tolerated among Indian converts.

At any rate, an Indian ought not to be expected to have less caste-prejudices than a European. He ought to be allowed, as a convert to Christianity, to retain such of his

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caste-customs as may not be inconsistent with his submitting to the test of baptism, and meeting other converts on terms of perfect equality at the communion table.

Our Administration of the Country.

No one can travel in India and shut his eyes to the benefits conferred on its inhabitants by English rule. In fact, our subjugation of the country affords an exemplification of the now trite truth that the conquest of an inferior race by a superior, so far from being an evil, is one of the great appointed laws of the world's progress and amelioration.

We are sometimes accused of governing India in the interest of England and English commerce—of making India the *corpus vile* of political, social, and military experiments, of thinking more of what is called the maintenance of our prestige than of the welfare of the country. Yet the traveller has only to look around to see everywhere conspicuous monuments of the good intentions, integrity, and efficiency of our administration. I believe that in no part of the world is so much work done, and so well and conscientiously done, and with such a single regard to the discharge of duty, as by the Queen's servants in India. Even men of inferior energy and mental calibre, who, in England, would do little to benefit society, are, by the circumstances of their position in India, drawn out and developed into useful officers and able administrators.

And what are the results? The picture once presented to our view was that of a country devastated by intestine wars, oppressed by despotic rulers, depopulated by famine, and left to succumb unresistingly to the attacks of pestilence or to the destructive energy of physical forces. Instead of which, what do we now find? The same forces tamed and controlled, steam and electricity made to subserve the purposes of traffic and intercourse, good roads, canals, and waterworks constructed, rights of all kinds

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secured, justice impartially administered, education actively promoted, and everywhere a thriving, law-abiding, rapidly increasing population.

Yet our very anxiety to do all we can for India may sometimes lead to our doing too much. The extension of the telegraphic system has necessarily caused greater centralization of Government authority at Calcutta. But India is a collection of countries which differ so essentially, and require such varied treatment, that each would probably be better governed by carefully-chosen men of strong will and judgment, if more power of independent action were conceded to them.

And now, again, submarine telegraphy has led to further centralization, so that India is at present more governed from the central terminus of Queen, Lords, and Commons, than by those who are at the Indian end of the wires. Formerly the ignorance and apathy of Parliament were of little importance; now its interposition may often complicate our difficulties.

Moreover, the possibility of conveying a message backwards and forwards between the India Office and Calcutta in a few hours fosters a forgetfulness of the enormous distance dividing the Western from the Eastern Empire, and of the vast gulf separating the condition of England and of English society and habits of thought from those of India. Hence it is often supposed that Western ideas may be suddenly transfused into an Eastern mind, and English institutions abruptly transplanted to an Indian soil, when neither the one nor the other is prepared to receive them. It may certainly be questioned whether we are not prone to too much and too frequent legislation, and whether, in many places, we are not fifty, or even a hundred, years too early with some of our laws and regulations, with our civil courts and trials by jury, with our appeals to supreme tribunals, and our modern municipal institutions.

The Collector of a large district assured me that, as chairman of a municipal board in a large town, he could

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make native members vote in any way he chose to direct. Clearly that town is not advanced enough for the rate-payers to elect their own municipal authorities. Yet India has for centuries been accustomed to a form of municipal self-government in its village corporations. What is wanted is a wise and cautious progress, a zeal according to knowledge, a discreet adaptation of legislation to varying conditions of time and place.

Our Connection with the Native States.

Few persons are aware that the number of native States and Principalities still remaining in India exceeds 460. They cover an area of about 600,000 square miles and are inhabited by about 50 million persons. They are certainly instrumental in preserving the distinctive nationalities of the separate races of India which are apt to melt into each other or lose the sharpness of their definition under our rule. Some frontier countries, like Nepāl, merely acknowledge our supremacy; others pay us tribute, or provide military contingents. Some have powers of life and death, and most of them are obliged to refer capital cases to English Courts. Nearly all are allowed to adopt on failure of heirs, and their continual existence is thus secured. In fact, we are bound by treaty to maintain them, provided they govern well. Some think that in case of a rising in our own territories, the native States will increase our risks and weaken our position, instead of becoming havens of refuge and sources of strength. No doubt, in such a case, most of the Mahārājas would be individually eager to aid us, because they know that their own existence is bound up in ours. Few of them would survive the anarchy that would inevitably follow if we were cruel enough to leave India to govern itself. Hence they would strive to help us. But very few have sufficient personal authority and influence with their own people, and even with their own troops, to control their hostility to us. I fear that the people

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generally prefer maladministration and a limited amount of oppression under their own rulers to good government under ours.

I ought here, however, to remark that it is naturally considered rather surprising that we only employ an army of 190,000 men (65,000 Europeans and 125,000 Natives) for the government of the 190 millions of people under our own direct administration, while native states with a population of only fifty million are allowed by us to employ armed men to the amount of nearly 315,000.[1] Of these men the troops of the Nizām and of Sindia are the best disciplined; and in case of a mutiny among our own native army they would probably add very seriously to our difficulties instead of helping us out of them.

Granted that of the others some troops would be controlled by loyal chiefs and ministers, as the Nizām's soldiers formerly were. Granted, too, that a vast number would be simply contemptible either as allies or as opponents. Yet the expediency of permitting the native feudatory princes to organize and equip, at the expense of their impoverished people, unnecessarily large forces, is certainly a matter which has not yet awakened the attention it deserves.

The external and internal security of the native states is guaranteed by our administration; and all they need is an effective police force, the maintenance of which would not drain the resources of their territories as standing armies do.

I believe that the gross revenue of all the feudatory states subject to our rule is about sixteen millions, and that out of that amount a sum of only three quarters of a million sterling is annually contributed towards the Imperial administration which guarantees to them complete immunity from foreign invasion and from internal rebellion. Surely a portion of the money now wasted on needless armaments and senseless military show, might reasonably be compelled by us to flow into channels which would improve and

[1] Col. Malleson enumerates the fighting men of the native states thus: 241,063 foot soldiers, 64,172 cavalry, 9,320 trained artillerymen, 5,252 guns.

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enrich the condition of the people. In this manner each particular state would be enabled to make an adequate return for the protection it receives, both indirectly and directly—indirectly by augmenting the general prosperity, directly by paying an equitable contribution to the Imperial Treasury.

At Calcutta, and other places in India, during the Prince's tour, I had unusual opportunities of becoming acquainted with the principal Mahārājas, and occasional interesting conversations with them and their Ministers. Some are enlightened men. Many have been brought up under our superintendence with great care. But I fear the truth about many of them is this. On coming of age they are allowed to manage their kingdoms, under the eye of our Residents and political Agents, who watch them without direct interference. At first they give great promise, but soon become surrounded by designing Ministers, who, to serve their own interests—which are better promoted by bad government than by good—encourage the young Rājas in a life of dissipation. Very few resist the evil influences of their surroundings for any length of time. By degrees they succumb and degenerate. In the end they fall into excesses and become debilitated in body and mind. Then their feeble sons, if they have any, generally die early, and an heir is adopted.

Happily, there are remarkable exceptions to this rule, and examples might be given of good native princes who devote themselves to the welfare of their territories.

As an illustration I may state that, when I was at Calcutta, I accepted the invitation of the Mahārāja of Kaśmīr to pay him a visit at Jammu. He is a son of Gulāb Singh, a Rājput chief who served under the Sikhs, and to whom we made over the Dogra district, of which Jammu is the capital, and Kaśmīr, of which Srinagar is the capital, for a stipulated sum of money after the first Panjāb war. The present Mahārāja is most desirous of pleasing us, and opens his kingdom to our travellers for eight months in the year, providing them with accommodation at his own ex-

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pense. He himself prefers living in the town of Jammu (probably named from the Jambu tree common in the neighbourhood), because it commands the entrance to his territories, which altogether cover an area larger than England. The town most picturesquely crowns one of the undulations which, rising abruptly from the Panjāb plains, are succeeded by wave after wave of higher ranges till they terminate in the white crests of the Himālayas. From the King's palace a grand view of the Tavī Valley, shut in at the further end by snowy ranges, may be obtained. Another palace, very like a large railway station, was built the other day for the occupation of the Prince of Wales at an alleged expense of £60,000.

The Mahārāja, whose appearance is handsome and soldier-like, is unwearied in his royal duties. He rises early, is strict in his devotions, and temperate in his habits, and every morning for several hours may be seen in a room overlooking the courtyard of his palace, surrounded by able advisers, and diligently superintending the affairs of his kingdom. What chiefly deserves mention as distinguishing him from the generality of native Sovereigns is his encouragement of literature. He is the Augustus of Indian Princes. Not only has he established the best native schools I have seen in India for the teaching of Sanskṛit, Arabic, Persian, and English, but he has also set up a press, with a type foundry, and keeps around him a large staff of Pandits and other learned men who are constantly engaged in translating the best European works into the dialects of the country. This dialect is a modification of Panjābi—called Dogra, as belonging to the Dwigarta district, between the Rāvī and the Chenāb. Translations have already been made of works on grammar, history, geography, mathematics, surveying, architecture, medicine, and several of the physical sciences. A dictionary has also been commenced in six languages. Moreover, a standard alphabet has been constructed with much skill by employing the Devanāgarī to improve the imperfect graphic

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system formerly current in the country. The King's zeal for learning was rather curiously exhibited for my benefit. He had a detachment of soldiers manœuvred before me that I might listen to the words of command, which were all in Sanskṛit. The spread of education and knowledge in the Mahārāja's dominion during the last ten years is most remarkable.

There are other examples of well-governed States, notably that of the Mahārāja of Travankor; but the description of one must here suffice.

Our Education of the People.

It is commonly alleged that if we go on educating on our present plan we shall soon lose India. No one will dispute that whatever the consequences may be our duty is to continue educating. Whether, however, our system is altogether wise, admits of question. I can certify that a vast work has been effected and is still proceeding. Everywhere there are schools—primary, intermediate, middle, and high—besides Colleges and Universities—and every year witnesses an increasing number of scholars and students. At Bombay I saw 12,000 children—all under education—assembled to greet the Prince of Wales. I also saw 1,263 candidates being examined for matriculation, and among them some young Princes. At Calcutta I saw even a greater number, and the standard of proficiency seemed higher than in England. Yet we have merely penetrated the outer fringe of society. Very little impression has yet been made on the masses of the people, and the chasm separating the educated from the uneducated is enormous. India cannot be said to possess a real middle-class, so that any middle education like that in England is impossible. Even in the case of those supposed to be under the higher form of education, I fear the work effected is rather information than education—rather informing the mind than forming the character and raising its tone.

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This sort of education is, in some cases, better than nothing, but too often inflates young men with conceit, unhinges their faith in their own religion without giving them any other, leads them to despise the calling of their fathers, and to look upon knowledge as a mere stepping-stone to Government situations which they cannot all obtain. I heard it stated (possibly with some exaggeration) that not long ago there were 500 applications for a municipal post at Kurnoul, worth only Rs. 15 per month. Those who are unsuccessful in gaining appointments will not turn to manual labour, but remain discontented members of society and enemies of our Government, converting the little real education they have received into an instrument to injure us by talking treason and writing seditious articles in native journals. I believe the defects of our present system are beginning to be acknowledged. Many think we shall be wiser to educate the generality of natives in their professions and callings rather than above them—to make a good husbandman a better one, a good mechanic more skilful in his own craft—and only to give higher forms of education in exceptional cases.

With regard to female education, although its bearing on the moral and intellectual and even physical progress of India can scarcely be overrated, little impression, I fear, has yet been made on the mass of the population. Scattered efforts are prosecuted with much energy and some success, but too often show signs of languishing. The truth simply is that, before we can raise the women of India, we must first raise the men. We must do more than inform their minds—we must form their whole characters and cast them in a higher mould; and if we cannot convert them to the dogmas of Christianity, we must instil into them Christian ideas and ways of thinking. When we have thus elevated the men, we may safely leave the women to their keeping. The women will then be raised to the level of the men by the act of the men themselves without our interference. At present Hindū

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women are generally faithful wives and devoted mothers, and have great influence with their families, but they are grossly ignorant; and to their ignorance, bigotry, and subjection to the Brāhmans, the maintenance of superstition and idolatry, which would otherwise rapidly lose ground among the men, is, I suspect, mainly due.

Disposition and Attitude of the Natives towards us and our Rule.

In the first place, how are they disposed to us personally? I am sorry to say that my travels in India have revealed to me that between the ruler and the ruled in India there is a great gulf fixed, which, since the Mutiny, has widened and is becoming more and more difficult to be bridged over. The very arrangement of every large town bears witness to the truth of this statement, the European residences being collected in a quarter of their own quite distinct from the native town. Another significant fact is that on railways Europeans and natives are never seen together in the same carriages.

The causes which lead to this separation are mostly patent, but a remedy is not easily applied. First, there is what is called the race feeling, by which is meant the natural antipathy between races of different coloured skins —a feeling which, however manifestly unreasonable, is difficult to overcome. Then there is the caste feeling, which we have quite as strongly in our own way as Indians. With us, however, it is of a different kind. It is not part of our religion. In the case of the Hindūs the principal result of caste, in relation to us Europeans, is that although they may be of the same rank as ourselves they will not consent to eat with us, or to drink water touched by us or our servants. We, on the other hand, are accustomed to regard dining together as essential to social intercourse, and are apt to resent their declining to sit at meat with us, as if we were personally insulted.

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But we ought to bear in mind that eating and drinking is, with a Hindū, bound up with his religion, or rather with its system of purificatory rites; and that the killing of animals (especially oxen) for food is regarded as an impious act, so that the absence of Hindūs from our tables ought not to offend us more than their absence from our churches.

Then there is the feeling naturally springing up between governors and governed. A commanding tone of voice may often be necessary for the maintenance of authority, but I fear we rulers are sometimes unnecessarily imperious. We are naturally conscious of our superiority, but need our bearing towards those we are ruling make them feel their inferior position too keenly?

An advanced native, of independent character, once complained to me that most Englishmen appeared to him to walk about the world with an air as if God Almighty intended the whole universe to be English. He had probably been thrown with young civilians recently imported from England. Few others would think of lording it over their Indian brethren in any offensive manner. A reaction in this respect has set in all over India. I could enumerate many cases in which the mild Hindū is not a whit milder in manner than those who are set over him.

Then there are other feelings springing from early training, habits, and association. It is difficult for a European, who has never been in the East, to estimate the difference in ideas and ways of thinking arising from this source. Not only is there a different standard of taste as shown in dress, music, &c., but even to a certain extent of right and wrong. For instance, if a Hindū thinks it wrong to kill animals for food, much more does he object to destroying life of any kind for sport. Again, an Asiatic, whether Hindū or Musalmān, thinks it highly improper for women to mix familiarly with men who are not relations, much more to dance with them. Then there are differences in nearly every common custom. For example,

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a Hindū shows respect by covering his head when a European uncovers it. In a few cases assimilation of habits has been effected, but when this has occurred the Indian has become more Europeanized than the European has become Indianized. It would be foolish to expect these differences to cease. What is really to be regretted is the estrangement they produce.

And now, in the last place, what is the attitude of the natives of India towards our Government? The most intelligent are quite ready to admit that they enjoy greater benefits under our rule than they would under any other; and the wiser, who know that universal disorder would follow its cessation, even pray for its continuance; but the mass of unthinking people would rather be badly governed by their own chiefs than well governed by us. In the native states they will acquiesce in exactions which in our territories would be regarded as intolerable. Of course nothing will conciliate those who are determined to dislike us. But even the wiser, who value our rule, consider that they have certain grievances. Why—I have often been asked—are we treated as if in mental capacity and moral tone we were all inferior to Europeans? Why are we never allowed to rise to the highest executive appointments? Why are those of us who compete for the Civil Service forced to go to England for examination? Supposing we are not yet fit for representative government, why are we not allowed deliberative assemblies, like the Houses of Convocation in the English Church, that our opinions may be made known before fresh laws are enacted? Why cannot justice be administered more cheaply and directly, and with fewer delays? Why does the Government spend so much of the revenues on public works and give us no new serais and tanks? These are a few of the complaints I have heard.

Perhaps some of them are not real, and others are in course of redress. I believe our Government admits that when natives can show themselves mentally and morally

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fit for the highest administrative offices they must be allowed to fill them[1]. We are certainly doing our best to redress political grievances. Let us also endeavour to do more than we have hitherto done towards bridging over the social chasm that at present separates the two races and complicates the difficulties of our position in India. Our great English Universities may contribute something towards this important object, if they will make facilities for the reception of young Indians and for their intercourse with young Englishmen. I believe that the young men of England and India may learn useful lessons from each other, and yet preserve their separate nationalities. We must of course be conscious of our own superiority in religion, morality, and general culture; but let us give our Indian fellow-subjects credit for such excellencies as they possess, and condescend to admit that good may accrue from some interchange of ideas and mutual attrition between the two races. Assuredly a better feeling between them must result from consciousness of reciprocal benefits bestowed.

One thing at least is certain, that India is given to us to conciliate as well as to elevate, even if she offers us nothing to imitate. In my opinion the great problem that before all others presses for solution in relation to our Eastern Empire is, how can the rulers and the ruled be drawn closer together? How can more sympathy and cordial feeling be promoted between them?

[1] By 33 Vict. cap. 3, sec. 6, it is no longer necessary for Indians to come to England that they may be eligible for civil appointments. The local governments can nominate a certain proportion (one fifth of the number of Europeans) every year, and the number of civilians selected in England is then diminished in a corresponding degree. The native candidates selected in India are not allowed to be more than twenty-five years of age, except in cases of special ability, and they are obliged to serve on probation for two years. The great difficulty is the adjustment of salaries. How can those of Europeans, working as exiles from their country and homes in a hot climate not always suited to their constitutions, be estimated on the same scale as those of natives?

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GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AND NOTES AFTER TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

SOUTHERN India may be regarded as embracing all India below the twenty-second parallel of latitude—that is to say, speaking roughly, all within the northern tropical line. It will, therefore, include that part of the Bombay Presidency south of the Narbadā, of which Bombay and Poona are the capitals; that portion of the Central Provinces, of which Nāgpur is the chief town; Orissa; the Nizām's territory, of which Hyderabad is the capital; Mysor, and the whole Madras Presidency, with Travankor as far as Cape Comorin. To these may be added the island of Ceylon, the south point of which is within six degrees of the Equator.

Climate of Southern India.

I described my experience of a winter in the Northern parts of India as delightful, and now a winter passed in the South has not changed my opinion as to the superiority of the Indian climate to our own for at least five months in the year. Indeed, I am satisfied that to those who can retire to the Hills for a time in the hot and rainy seasons, residence in India all the year round is attended with as little risk to health as residence in England.

But India is like a continent which offers every variety of sanitary condition, and it must not be forgotten that the whole of Southern India is within the Tropics. It has

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places which are correctly described as deadly in their effect on the health of Europeans, and in certain jungly districts, where there is no lack of moisture and the temperature is persistently high, rank deciduous vegetation generates fever as a matter of course. The rainfall on the western coast is the greatest, and with abundant tropical rain, and abundant tropical vegetation, comes inevitable malaria. It must be admitted, too, that so far as my experience has gone during the past winter, I found the climate of the whole of Southern India more trying to the health than that of the districts north of the Narbadā river and Vindhya hills. It is true that there is not the same intensity of summer heat in the South, and the temperature from one year's end to the other is more equable, but there are no intervals of bracing cold either in the winter or in the night time. I believe it may be proved by statistics that cholera is always more prevalent in the South than in the North. Certainly, in the beginning of 1877 a bad type of the disease prevailed in some of the districts through which I travelled, and I heard of many Europeans being attacked. Probably, however, the drought, famine, and badness of the water may have caused an exceptionally unhealthy season.

Physical Features of Southern India.

What strikes one most in travelling through any part of India is the vastness of the country. No sooner does one land in Bombay than one's whole ideas of distance have to be cast in a new mould. You are told that an old acquaintance is residing close to your hotel, and you find to your surprise that a visit to his house involves a drive of ten miles. The sense of vastness is not so overpowering in Southern India as in Northern, and yet the Nizām's territory alone embraces an area little less than that of the kingdom of Italy.

Perhaps the most remarkable physical feature of Southern India is the existence of an immense triangular plateau of

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table-land caused by the circumstance that the high ranges of hills on the western coast slope down gradually, but with numerous irregular depressions and isolated elevations, towards the eastern coast, where the plateau breaks up into lower ranges, leaving much level land between the heights and the sea. The two eastern and western coast ranges, which come to a point near Cape Comorin, are called Ghāts because they recede like steps (Sanskṛit *Ghaṭṭa*) from the sea-shore; and the triangle of table-land formed by their junction with the two extremities of the Vindhya range which traverses the centre of India, is called the Deccan, from Prakrit *Dakkin*, for Sanskṛit *Dakshin*, 'the south country.' The great Indian Peninsula Railway from Bombay to Jabalpore and Raichor conducts to this plateau by a wonderful piece of engineering skill up the Bhore Ghāt. Poona, the capital of our part of the Deccan, is nearly 2,000 feet above the sea; so is our military station of Secunderabad, close to Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizām's portion of the Deccan; and our station of Bangalor, in the Mysor country, is about 3,500 feet above the sea level. There is an extensive tract of ugly flat country round Madras, along the Coromandel coast and Northern Circars. But there is no lack of grand scenery on the Western Ghāts, especially towards their southern extremity, on the Nīlgiri, Animalli, Pulney, and Asambhu hills, some of which rise to an altitude of more than 8,000 feet. The ascent to Ootacamund is quite equal to the finest Swiss pass I ever saw. What it loses by the absence of snow is counterbalanced by the glories of its tropical vegetation. Moreover, all Europe cannot boast such waterfalls as the Gairsappa Falls, on the Malabar coast, and those of the River Kāverī in Mysor. The former even in the dry season present a perpendicular fall of a large mass of water 900 feet high. I have heard this called the third sight of India, the Himālayas coming first, and the Tāj at Agra second.

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Madras.

As to the chief town of the Madras Presidency, a situation more unsuited to a great capital can hardly be conceived. Madras has no harbour and no navigable river, and the ships anchored in its roads are in constant danger of being driven ashore, as the 'Duke of Sutherland' was the other day. Its drainage—if any is possible where the ground is often below the sea level—is so bad that cholera is never absent. Indeed, so far as my experience goes, Madras is inferior to Bombay and Calcutta, not only in a sanitary point of view, but in nearly every other particular, except perhaps in the one point that more English is spoken by the native servants. Its inhabitants are now making a great effort to improve its trade, and the present Governor, who has a decided penchant for engineering, is developing his taste in the interest of the merchants by promoting the construction of an artificial harbour, the cost of which is to be defrayed out of the revenues of India. Untold sums of money are being thrown into the sea in the shape of huge blocks of concrete, each of them about 12 feet long by 10 feet in breadth and 8 feet in thickness, for the formation of a breakwater, which is to encircle the present pier with two projecting arms. But the difficulty of enclosing a sufficient area of water, and the perpetual drifting of sand along the coast, make the success of the undertaking highly problematical. Under any circumstances, Madras, though large enough to attract a trade of its own, will never overcome its own natural disadvantages of position, so as to compete with either Bombay or Calcutta, the former of which is destined to become the great commercial emporium and capital of all India (if not of all Asia), the wealth and importance of which will be vastly increased so soon as the Baroda Railway is connected with Ajmere, Agra, and the North-West. Calcutta, too, is likely to continue the political capital of India, both from the convenience of its situation on the Ganges, in the midst

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of a naturally peaceful and law-abiding population, and from the obstacles its position offers to an attack from the sea.

Animal and Plant Life in Southern India.

Perhaps the most striking point of difference between Northern and Southern India is due to the circumstance that the South possesses all the characteristics of the Tropics in the greater exuberance of all kinds of life and vegetation. To realize this exuberance fully one must go to the extreme South and Ceylon. There one may come across almost every animal, from a wild elephant to a fire-fly. There, as one strolls through a friend's compound or drives to a neighbouring railway station, one passes the choicest plants and trees of European hothouses growing luxuriantly in the open air. As to animals, they seem to dispute possession of the soil with man. They will assert with perfect impunity their right to a portion of the crops he rears and the food he eats, and will even effect a lodgment in the houses he builds as if they had a claim to be regarded as co-tenants. This is a good deal owing to the sacredness of animal life in India. Not only is there an absolute persuasion in the mind of a Hindū that some animals, such as cows, serpents, and monkeys, are more or less pervaded by divinity, but most Indians believe that there are eighty-four lakhs of species of animal life through which a man's own soul is liable to pass.

In fact, any noxious insect or loathsome reptile may be, according to the Hindū religion, an incarnation of some deceased relative or venerated ancestor. Hence, no man, woman, or child among the Hindūs thinks it right to kill animals of any kind. Hence, too, in India animals of all kinds appear to live on terms of the greatest confidence and intimacy with human beings. They cannot even learn to be afraid of their enemies the European immigrants. Musquitoes will settle affectionately and fearlessly on the hands of the most recent comer, leeches will in-

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sinuate themselves lovingly between the interstices of his lower garments, parrots will peer inquisitively from the eaves of his bedroom into the mysteries of his toilet, crows will carry off impudently anything portable that takes their fancy on his dressing-table, sparrows will hop about impertinently and take the bread off his table-cloth, bats will career triumphantly round his head as he reads by the light of his duplex lamp, monkeys will domesticate themselves jauntily on his roof, and at certain seasons snakes will domicile themselves unpleasantly in his cast-off garments, while a whole tribe of feathered creatures will build their nests confidingly under the trees of his garden before the very eyes of the village boys who play near his compound. I have heard it said in England that the tigers of India will soon be exterminated; yet I looked down from the heights near Ootacamund on a tract of country swarming with tigers and wild animals of all kinds. Such animals are on the increase in these and other similar localities, notwithstanding the active hostility of rifle-armed English sportsmen. The truth is that those Europeans who venture into such jungles to shoot down tigers are themselves struck down, like Lord Hastings, by jungle fever; and before we can induce the natives to wage a war of extermination against beasts of prey, we must disabuse them of the notion that men are sometimes converted into wild beasts, and that the spirit of a man killed by a tiger not unfrequently takes to riding about on the animal's head[1].

With regard to plant life, it must be borne in mind that in the creed of the Hindūs even plants may be permeated by divinity or possessed by the souls of departed relatives. No Hindū will cut down the divine Tulsī, or knowingly injure any other sacred plant. As to the holy Pīpal, it may indulge its taste for undermining walls and houses, and even palaces and temples, with perfect impunity. Happily, there is a limit to even the most pious Hindū's respect for plant life.

[1] See Sleeman's 'Rambles and Recollections,' p. 162.

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Perhaps the most demonstrative and self-asserting and, at the same time, most useful of tropical trees is the palm. Palm trees are ubiquitous in Southern India, and yet the eye never wearies of their presence. One hundred and fifty different species may be seen in Ceylon, among which the most conspicuous are the cocoa-nut, the palmyra, the date, the sago, the slender areca, and the sturdy talipot—often crowned with its magnificent tuft of flowers, which it produces only once before its decay, at the end of about half a century. Avenues of palm trees overshadow the roads and even line the streets of towns. The next most characteristic tree of Southern India is the banyan. The sight of a fine banyan tree is almost worth a voyage from Southampton to Bombay, and it can only be seen in perfection in the South. One I saw in a friend's compound at Madura was 180 yards in circumference, and was a little forest in itself. Then there is the beautiful plantain, with its broad, smooth leaves, rivalling the palm in luxuriance and ubiquity. Then one must go to Southern India to understand how the lotus became the constant theme of Indian poets, as the symbol of everything lovely, sacred, and auspicious. Space indeed would fail if I were to tell of groves of mangoes and tamarinds, clumps of enormous bamboos, gigantic creepers in full blossom, tree ferns, oranges and citrons, hedges of flowering aloes, cactus, prickly pear, wild roses, and geraniums, or even if I were to descant at large on such useful plants as coffee, cinchona, tea, and tobacco.

With regard to these last I will merely say that our thriving colony of Ceylon is the true home of the coffee plant, and that I found coffee-planting there in a peculiarly flourishing condition. About £5 per cwt. was given in 1876 for coffee which formerly realised only £2 10*s*.[1] The

[1] According to a correspondent of the *Times*, 749,870 cwt. of coffee was shipped up to June 20, 1879, as compared with 529,807 cwt. for last year, and 770,679 for the year previous. It appears that there is now a certainty of ridding coffee plantations of that destructive pest—*Hemeleia vas-*

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island owes much of its present prosperity to Sir William Gregory's energetic governorship. Coffee in great quantities is also grown on the Nilgiris, the hill districts of Mysor, the Wynaad, Travankor, and the Asambhu hills. Cinchona (yielding quinine) is being cultivated with great success in Ceylon, Sikkim, and some hill stations of Southern India. As to tea, ever since the tea-plant was found to be indigenous in Assam and Kachār, its cultivation has gone on increasing so rapidly that it is likely to become one of the staple products of India, and will vie as an export with rice, opium, cotton, and jute. It is said that 357,000 chests were exported last year from Assam, Kachār, and Darjiling—the three chief tea districts—alone. Tea cultivation is also carried on in other hill stations of Northern and Southern India. I am told that a great future is in store for tobacco, and that it will take the place of opium as a source of revenue should the Chinese demand for the latter cease. All that is wanted is skill in its cultivation, and more delicate manipulation in the rolling of the leaves of the plant for the manufacture of cigars. Its success in British Burmah is remarkable. But enough of plants; let me turn to men.

Character of the People in Southern India.

If the most apathetic traveller is astonished by the nature of the climate, by the vastness of the country, by the diversity of the scenery, by the exuberance of animal and plant life in Southern India, much more is his wonder excited by the multiplicity of races which constitute its teeming population, by the variety of their costume, manners, social institutions, usages, religious creeds, and dialects. Biologists, ethnologists, archæologists, and philologists will find here (as in Northern India) a rich banquet set before them, from which they may always rise with an appetite for

tatrix—popularly known as leaf-disease, by means of a mixture of sulphur and lime recently invented by a certain Mr. Morris.

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more. The inhabitants of Bombay, whose number exceeds that of any other city in the British Empire (except London and Calcutta), may be said to belong partly to Gujarāt, partly to the Konkan, and partly to the Marāṭha country. When we have ascended the Bhore Ghāt and are in that part of the Deccan of which Poona is the capital, we are fairly among the Marāṭhas, who are the principal representatives of the Āryan race in Southern India. The Brāhmans and higher classes of this race are often fine intelligent men, and sometimes great Pandits, but withal proud and bigoted. Their women are kept less secluded, and are far more independent than the women in Northern India, where Muhammadan influences are much stronger. It is common to see Marāṭha ladies walking about in the streets of large towns and showing themselves in public without any scruple.

The rest of Southern India, not including the Āryan portion of Orissa, is peopled first by the great Drāvidian races (so called from Drāviḍa, the name given by the Sanskrit speakers to the Southern, or Tamil, part of the Peninsula), whose immigrations into India in successive waves from some part of Central Asia immediately preceded those of the Āryans. These Drāvidians are of course quite distinct from the Āryans; their skin is generally much darker, and the languages they speak belong to what is sometimes called the South Turanian (agglutinative) family. They may be separated into four distinct peoples, according to their four principal languages — Telugu, Kanarese, Tamil, and Malayālam (see p. 151).

Secondly, Southern India is peopled by the wild primitive races, some of them Negröid in complexion, and others Negrito, of a type similar to the savages of Australia. They are now usually called Kolarians[1]. Their irruptions preceded the advent of the Drāvidians, and they are still

[1] See p. 149. I believe the convenient designation Kolarian (formed from the word *Kol*, the name of a particular race) is due to Sir George Campbell, who first used it.

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found in the hills and other outlying localities. Of the Drāvidians the Telugu and Tamil speakers are by far the majority, each numbering fifteen or sixteen millions. The Tamil race, who occupy the extreme south from Madras to Cape Comorin, are active, hard-working, industrious, and independent. Their difficult and highly accentuated language reflects their character and possesses quite a distinct literature of its own. The Telugu people, inhabiting the Northern Circars and the Nizām's territory, are also remarkable for their industry; and their soft language, abounding in vowels, is the Italian of the East. The Kanarese of Mysor resemble the Telugu race in language and character, just as the Malayālams of the Malabar coast resemble the Tamils. I noticed that the seafaring Tamils of the Southern coast near Rāmnād, Rāmeśvaram, and Tuticorin are much more able-bodied and athletic than ordinary Hindūs. Numbers of them migrate to Ceylon, and at least half a million form a permanent part of the population of that island. They are to be found in all the coffee plantations, and work much harder than the Sinhalese.

Indeed, all the races of South India seem to me to show readiness and aptitude for any work they are required to do, as well as patience, endurance, and perseverance in the discharge of the most irksome duties. The lower classes may be seen everywhere earning their bread by the veritable sweat of their brow and submitting without a murmur to a life of drudgery and privation. But they are not, as a rule, physically strong, and their moral character, like their bodily constitution, exhibits little stamina. They have, so to speak, little solidity of backbone, either to keep them upright when they are brought into collision with stronger races, or to enable them to rise to the high standard of European morality. It must be borne in mind, too, that Europeans are sometimes strong in vices as well as in virtues; and that, as the Hindū rarely has the power of assimilating himself to our best qualities, he is apt to copy

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our worst. Even our Administrative Government, with all its moral purity, has introduced temptations which are to him a stone of stumbling. Yet I have been told by officers of long experience, who have witnessed the growth of much of our Indian Empire, that on the acquisition of newly-acquired territories, the inhabitants have never shown any immediate disposition towards deceit, litigiousness, subtlety, and avarice, or any of the faults they have afterwards displayed so conspicuously in our Courts of Justice, and in their dealings with us as rulers. The plain fact is, that the people of India are simply human beings with very human infirmities; and that, if the professing Christian finds it difficult to bear up against the tide of human care, crime, and trial which ever follows in the track of advancing civilization, much more does the non-Christian Hindū. I doubt, however, whether the worst Indians are ever so offensive in their vices as the worst type of low, unprincipled Europeans. At any rate, their vices are more secret and subtle. As servants, they are faithful, honest, and devoted, and will attach themselves with far greater affection than English servants to those who treat them well. They show greater respect for animal life than Europeans. They have more natural courtesy of manner, more filial dutifulness, more veneration for rank, age, and learning, and they are certainly more temperate in eating and drinking. I once asked a Peninsular and Oriental captain whether he preferred a crew of ordinary Indian or ordinary English sailors, and he unhesitatingly gave the preference to Indians, 'because,' said he, 'they are more docile, more obedient, less brutish in their habits, and can be trusted not to get drunk.'

Another point to be noted in comparing Indians with Europeans is that the rich among them are never ashamed of their poor relations, and, what is still more noticeable, neither rich nor poor are ever ashamed of their religion.

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Religions of Southern India.

Religion is even more closely interwoven with every affair of daily life, and is even more showily demonstrative in the South of India than in the North. Unhappily, it is not of a kind to strengthen the character or fortify it against temptation. Yet its action on social, domestic, and political life is so potent, that to make clear the condition of the people, I must briefly explain the nature of their creeds.

A distinction has already been pointed out between Brāhmanism and Hindūism[1]. Brāhmanism is the purely pantheistic and not necessarily idolatrous creed evolved by the Brāhmans out of the religion of the Veda. Hindūism is that complicated system of polytheistic doctrine, idolatrous superstitions, and caste usages which has been developed out of Brāhmanism after its contact with Buddhism and its admixture with the non-Āryan creeds of the Drāvidians and Aborigines of Southern India. Brāhmanism and Hindūism, though infinitely remote from each other, are integral parts of the same system. One is the germ or root, the other is the rank and diseased outgrowth. It is on this account that they everywhere coexist in the same localities throughout the whole of India. Nevertheless, the most complete examples of both creeds are now to be looked for in Southern India, because the North has been always more exposed to Muhammadan influences. In fact, it was the South which produced the great religious revivalists, Kumārila, Śankara, Madhva, Rāmānuja, and Vallabha.

The followers of Śankara (who lived about the seventh or eighth century of our era, and whose successors reside at Śringeri, on the Mysor Ghāts) are usually strict Brāhmans. They call themselves Smārtas, as observers of Smṛiti or traditional doctrines and ceremonies, and their creed is

[1] I was the first to suggest this distinction in the use of the terms Brāhmanism and Hindūism, and am alone responsible for it.

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generally pure Brāhmanism. In other words, they are pure Pantheists. They accept the Vedas, Itihāsas, Manu, and Purāṇas, and maintain the doctrine of one universal Spirit, manifesting himself equally in Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva, and developing himself in every other form of divine, semi-divine, human and demoniacal personality.

The adherents of Madhva, on the other hand, call themselves Vaishṇavas—as worshippers of the god Vishṇu alone, whom they regard as the one Supreme Being, admitting that he has assumed various incarnations for the preservation of his creatures. They also differ from the Smārta followers of Śankara in maintaining an eternal distinction between the human and Supreme Soul. This is a form of Hindūism which has more common ground with Christianity than any other. I have met with many excellent and intelligent Brāhmans and others in the South of India who profess it.

But the great majority of South Indian Vaishṇavas are followers of Rāmānuja, who led the Vaishṇava revival in the twelfth century. These illustrate the operation of a law which appears essential to the vitality of every religious and political system. They have separated into two grand antagonistic parties—the Tengalais, or followers of the Southern doctrine, who maintain the doctrine of absolute faith in Vishṇu, which they illustrate by a kitten's passive dependence on the hold of the mother-cat; and the Vadagalais, or followers of the Northern, who uphold the doctrine of man's co-operation with Vishṇu, illustrated by the young monkey's effort to grasp the mother-monkey when she moves from one branch to another. Their opposition is very similar to that which prevails in Europe between Calvinists and Arminians, and not unlike that between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Their quarrels in the present day relate more to the external mark of their sect than to differences in fundamental doctrine, the one party contending that this mark—made with a kind of white paint on the forehead—should represent both Vishṇu's feet

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and should extend half-way down the nose, while the other maintains that the mark should only represent one foot of Vishṇu and that the nasal organ is not entitled to be honoured with any paint at all. The proper marking of the idols in their temples is a special subject of contention and sometimes of litigation.

The Tengalai frontal mark, which has some resemblance to a trident, is represented below.

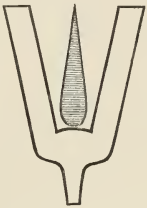

It is, however, no trident, if by that is meant a spear. The two outer lines which resemble prongs really stand for the two soles of Vishṇu's feet, while the line which extends down the nose is held to represent a kind of lotus throne on which the feet are supposed to rest, as in the annexed diagram.

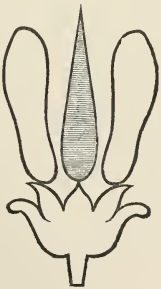

On the other hand the Vadagalai mark, as drawn on the next page, is said to stand for only one of Vishṇu's feet.

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The Vadagalais contend that since the Ganges sprang from the sole of Vishṇu's right foot, his right foot should be held in special veneration, and its sign impressed on the forehead.

Both parties agree in employing a central mark to symbolize Vishṇu's wife Lakshmī. But, it ought to be stated that educated Vaishṇavas repudiate the idea of Vishṇu's being really married. Vishṇu, they say, is merely a name for the Supreme Being or in other words for the Infinite Spirit of the Universe, who cannot have an actual wife. The goddess Lakshmī, according to their view, is no real deity, but simply an ideal personification of the mercy of God. For the religion of the Vaishṇavas is, at least theoretically, one of love, tenderness, and compassion, while that of the Śaivas is inclined to take a sterner and more austere view of God's nature.

Besides these three principal sects there is another, called Lingavats (vulgarly Lingaits), who are the followers of a leader Basava (=Vṛishabha). They are worshippers of Śiva (symbolized by the lingam worn round their necks); but abjure all respect for caste distinctions and observance of Brāhmanical rites and usages. A great part of the Kanarese population below Kolapore and in Mysor is Lingait.

In short, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism (or the worship of Vishṇu and Śiva as personal Supreme Beings) constitute the very heart and soul of Southern Hindūism. As to Brahmā—the third member of the Hindū Triad, and original creator of the world—he is not worshipped at all except in the person of his alleged offspring, the Brāhmans. Moreover, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism are nowhere so pro-

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nounced and imposing as in Southern India. The temples of Kanjīvaram (Kāńćīpuram), Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly, and Rāmeśvaram are as superior in magnitude to those of Benares as Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's are to the other churches of London.

Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that, although a belief in devils, and homage to *bhūtas* or spirits of all kinds, is common all over India, yet what is called 'devil worship' is far more systematically practised in the South of India and in Ceylon than in the North. And the reason may be that as Drāvidians and Āryans advanced towards Southern India, they found it peopled by wild aboriginal savages, whose behaviour and aspect appeared to them to resemble that of devils. The Āryan and Drāvidian mind, therefore, naturally pictured to itself the regions of the South as the chief resort and stronghold of the demon race, and the dread of demoniacal agency became more rooted in Southern India than in the North. Curiously enough, too, it is commonly believed in Southern India that every wicked man contributes by his death to swell the ever-increasing ranks of devil legions. His evil passions do not die with him. They are intensified, concentrated, and perpetuated in the form of a malignant and mischievous spirit. Moreover, the god Śiva is constantly connected with demoniacal agencies, either as superintending and controlling them, or as himself possessing (especially in the person of his wife Kāli) all the fierceness and malignity usually attributed to demons.

Such demons though worshipped, or rather propitiated, have never any imposing temple-like structure dedicated to them. Often a mere heap of earth piled up in pyramidal shape, or a similar erection formed with bricks and painted with streaks of white constitutes the only devil-shrine, while another heap in front with a flat top does duty for the demon's altar. There is rarely any image, and probably a tree above, or near at hand, is the devil's supposed dwelling-place.

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In fact, in the South of India, even more than in the North, all evils, especially drought, blight, and diseases, are attributed to devils. When my fellow-travellers and myself were nearly dashed to pieces over a precipice by some restive horses on a ghāt near Poona, we were told that the road at this particular point was haunted by devils, who often caused similar accidents, and we were given to understand that we should have done well to conciliate Gaṇeśa, son of the god Śiva, and all his troops of evil spirits, before starting. Of all gods Gaṇeśa is, perhaps, the most commonly conciliated, not, in my opinion, because he is said to bestow wisdom, but simply because he is believed to prevent the obstacles and diseases caused by devils. Homage, indeed, may be rendered to the good God, or Supreme Spirit pervading the universe, but he is too absolutely perfect to be the author of harm to any one, and does not need to be appeased. Devils alone require propitiation. Often the propitiating process is performed by offerings of food or other articles supposed to be peculiarly acceptable to disembodied beings. For example, when a certain European, who was a terror to the district in which he lived, died in the South of India, the natives were in the constant habit of depositing brandy and cigars on his tomb to propitiate his spirit, which was believed to roam about the neighbourhood in a restless manner and with evil proclivities. The very same was done to secure the good offices of the philanthropic spirit of a great European sportsman, who, when he was alive, delivered his district from the ravages of tigers.

Indeed, it ought to be mentioned that all evil spirits are thought to be opposed by good ones, who, if duly propitiated, make it their business to guard the inhabitants of particular places from demoniacal intruders. Each district, and even every village, has its guardian genius, often called its mother. If smallpox or blight appear, some mother (especially the one called Mārī Amman) is thought to be angry, and must be appeased by votive

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offerings. There are no less than 140 of these mothers in Gujarāt.

There is also one very popular male god in Southern India called Ayenār (*Harihara-putra*), son of Śiva and Vishṇu, to whom shrines in the fields are constantly erected. A remarkable point is that these guardian spirits —especially Ayenār—are supposed to delight in riding about the country on horses. Hence the traveller just arrived from Europe is startled and puzzled by apparitions of roughly-formed terra-cotta horses, often as large as life, placed by the peasantry round rude shrines in the middle of fields as acceptable propitiatory offerings, or in the fulfilment of vows during periods of sickness.

Another remarkable circumstance connected with the dread of demoniacal agencies is the existence in the South of India and Ceylon of professional exorcisers and devil-dancers. Exorcising is performed over persons supposed to be possessed by demons in the form of diseases. The exorciser assumes a particular dress, goes through various antics, mutters spells, and repeats incantations. Devil-dancing is performed by persons who paint their faces, or put on hideous masks, dress up in demoniacal costumes, and work themselves up into a veritable frenzy by wild dances, cries, and gesticulations. They are then thought to be actually possessed by the spirits and to become, like spiritualist mediums, gifted with clairvoyance and a power of delivering oracular and prophetic utterances on any matter about which they may be questioned. There seems to be also an idea that when smallpox, cholera, or similar pestilences are exceptionally rife, exceptional measures must be taken to draw off the malignant spirits, the supposed authors of the plague, by tempting them to pass into these wild dancers and so become dissipated.

I myself witnessed in Ceylon an extraordinary devil dance performed by three men who were supposed to personate or represent three different forms of typhus fever; and when I was at Tanjor, the learned Sanskritist Dr.

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Burnell, who is Judge of that district, gave me some interesting information in regard to the demon-festivals which recur periodically in the district of Mangalor where he held office for some time.

One of the most popular of these festivals called Illeéchida Nema is celebrated every fifteen or twenty years. At another called Kallyāta a wild dance is performed every 60th year before a particular rock or stone which is supposed to tremble and shake periodically.

Sometimes the performance takes place in a large shed in the middle of which burns a common lamp under a canopy. Around are images of the Bhūtas. At the distance of about a foot in front of the lamp is placed a common wooden tripod-stand, two or three feet high, on which is constructed a square frame of cocoa-nut leaves. Inside this frame a quantity of rice and turmeric is piled into a pyramid into which a three-branched iron lamp is inserted. Around are arranged offerings consisting of fruits and living victims such as fowls and goats. The latter are adorned with garlands, and both fowls and goats are afterwards decapitated, the warm blood being either poured out on the ground or on the altar, or else drunk by the officiating priest. The idea is that the demon thirsts for blood, and becomes irritated if his cravings are not satisfied. The sole object of sacrificing animals is to assuage his thirst and appease his anger.

All this is preliminary to the principal performance which takes place in an open space in front of the slaughtered victims. The priest, or some other devotee who has undergone a long preparatory fasting, comes forward to personate a particular demon. He is dressed up in a fantastic costume, often covered with grotesque dangling ornaments and jingling bells. Sometimes he wears a hideous mask; sometimes his face is daubed with paint of different colours. In one hand he holds a sword, trident, or other implement, and perhaps a bell in the other. He then commences dancing or pacing up and down in an

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excited manner, amid beating of tom toms, blowing of horns, and all kinds of noisy music, while an attendant sings songs or recites rude poems descriptive of the deeds of the demons. Meanwhile spirituous liquor is distributed, the performer becomes violently excited, and the demon takes complete possession of him. Finally he succumbs in an hysterical fit, and gives out oracular responses to any inquiries addressed to him. Most of the bystanders consult him as to their several wants and destinies, or the welfare of absent relatives, but are not allowed to do so without first presenting offerings.

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The figure on the preceding page represents a performer dressed up as a particular demon called Panjurli, whose worship is connected with some of the deeds of the god Śiva.

Another mischievous female demon called Kallurti, believed to be addicted to the unpleasant habit of throwing stones and setting fire to people's houses, is represented below with a torch in her hand.

This Kallurti is worshipped and conciliated by similar performances.

With regard to Buddhism, although its importation into Ceylon must have been effected to a great extent

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from Southern India, where its images still occasionally do duty as Hindū gods, yet it no longer exists there. In Ceylon it is a cold, negative, undemonstrative, sleepy religion, contrasting very remarkably with the showy, positive, and noisy form of Hindūism prevalent on the other side of the Straits. Its only worship consists in presenting flowers before images and relic shrines of the extinct Buddha, and in meditating on his virtues and on the advantages of doing nothing beyond aiming at similar extinction.

In times of sickness and calamity, the Sinhalese, having no Divine protector to appeal to, betake themselves, like the Hindūs, to the appeasing of devils or to the worship of idols borrowed from the Hindū Pantheon, whose temples often stand near their relic-dagobas. I myself saw several such temples near the celebrated dagoba erected over Buddha's eye-tooth at Kandy.

As to the South Indian Muhammadans, they are, of course, worshippers of one God, but I believe that even more than in the North they have made additions to the simplicity of Islām by the adoration of Pīrs, or saints, by the veneration of relics, and by conforming to Hindū customs and superstitions. In the Nizām's territory alone homage is paid to hundreds of Pīrs. The great Aurangzīb is buried near the tomb of a celebrated saint at Rozah, and crowds of pilgrims annually throng the shrine of a popular Pīr at Galbarga. In times of sickness I have seen the lower orders of Muhammadans resort to Hindū deities, especially to the goddess of smallpox. By far the majority are like the Turks, Sunnīs (not Shī'as), but from conversation I had with several learned men, I feel convinced that they have no idea of acknowledging the Sultan of Constantinople as their spiritual head, and that the existence of sympathy between India and Turkey (except perhaps in towns like Bombay) is a figment of political agitators.

The question now arises how far these creeds have tended to degrade the character and condition of the

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people of India. And here we must guard against confusing cause and effect. In my opinion, the present low intellectual and moral condition of the masses of the Hindū people is as much the result of their social usages as it is the cause of their own superstitious creeds. It is very true that these social usages, enforced by what are called caste-rules, are now part and parcel of their religious creeds, but they do not properly belong to the original pure form of the Hindū religion. They are merely one portion of its diseased outgrowth, and they are the true cause of that feeble condition of mind in which the later superstitions have naturally taken root and luxuriated.

Not that the rules of caste have been an unmixed evil. On the contrary, they have done much good service to India. Each caste has been a kind of police to itself, keeping its own members in check and saving them from lawlessness. But the advantage thus gained has been far outweighed by the irreparable harm done to the physical, mental, and moral constitution of the Hindū people by the operation of caste in three principal particulars—first, in making early marriage a religious duty; secondly, in enforcing endogamy—that is to say, in obliging castes, and even subdivisions of castes, to marry within themselves; thirdly, in surrounding family and home life with a wall of secrecy. The evils of early marriage are too manifest to need pointing out. I have sometimes examined the upper classes of Indian high schools in which half the boys have been fathers. In fact, the chief solicitude in the minds of parents is, not the education of their children, but their early marriage. When girls of twelve are mothers, and boys of sixteen fathers, it is surely too much to expect vigour of mind or body, and strength of character, either in parents or offspring. The children of mere children will probably remain children all their lives. They may have precocity and intelligence, but are very unlikely to develope manly qualities. More-

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over, the universality of early marriages tends to increase population in a way which adds greatly to our difficulties in times of drought and famine.

As to the evils of endogamy they are too well known to need pointing out. I believe that physiologists are agreed that when first cousins and other blood relations marry, the resulting offspring is generally of a feeble type. In the India of the present day polygamy is scarcely known, but endogamy is beginning to be common, and I firmly believe that with increasing subdivisions of caste into mere groups of families, and inhibition of marriages out of these families, serious deterioration of brain-tissues is likely to take place among certain classes.

The weakness entailed by the two pernicious caste rules I have mentioned might, perhaps, be partially overcome or counterbalanced, if it were not for the third pernicious rule —namely, the seclusion of women and the surrounding of family life with an impenetrable wall of secrecy. All nations are but a collection of families, and as are the homes so will be the condition of the people. In truth, the welfare of a country radiates from its homes—one might almost say from its nurseries. But no one knows what is going on in an Indian home, much less can any one, except a member of the family, enter there. It is so shut in by the close shutters of caste that healthy ventilation is impossible. The fresh air of heaven and the light of God's day have no free entrance. Weakly children are brought up by ignorant, superstitious, narrow-minded mothers in a vitiated atmosphere. Hence, in my opinion, the present deteriorated character and condition of a large majority of the people of India.

What, then, is the chief hope for the future? It seems to me to lie in a complete reorganization of the social fabric, in a new ideal of womanhood, and an entire renovation of family life. Before the people of India can be much elevated by their connexion with England they must learn from us to abolish caste regulations about early

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marriage; Indian fathers must keep their daughters under education as long as we do, and members of different castes must intermarry, as peer and commoner do in Great Britain. This, it will be said, amounts to an upheaving of the whole social fabric. Yet it is not, in my opinion, a work of such hopeless magnitude as some would make it out to be. Symptoms of impatience under caste-restrictions are already observable among the wealthier, better educated, and more Europeanized classes of natives, and social reform is openly advocated in some quarters. A great advance may be expected when the increasing contact of Indians with English social institutions in England itself, becomes still more common; when the visits of influential men to our shores are oftener repeated, and when the Baniyahs, or wealthy traders of the old Vaiśya class (some of whom, nevertheless, are the incarnate curses of India by the facilities they offer for borrowing money), succeed, as they appear likely eventually to do, in interposing a strong middle class and a firm barrier of public opinion between the Brāhmans and the lower grades of society.

All honour, too, to those noble-hearted missionaries who, like Bishop Sargent and Mrs. Sargent at Tinnevelly, are seeking, by the establishment of female schools, to supply India with its most pressing need—good wives and mothers; or, like Mr. and Mrs. Lash, are training girls to act as high-class schoolmistresses, and sending them forth to form new centres of female education in various parts of Southern India.

But let our missionaries bear in mind that something more than mere preaching, than mere education, than the alteration of marriage rules, is needed for the regeneration of India. The missionary bands must carry their ark persistently round the Indian home, till its walls are made to fall, and its inner life exposed to the fresh air of God's day, and all its surroundings moulded after the pattern of a pure, healthy, well-ordered Christian house-

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hold, whose influences leaven the life of the family and the nation from the cradle to the grave. My belief is that until a way is opened for the free intercourse of the educated mothers and women of Europe, trained to speak and understand the Indian vernaculars, with the mothers and women of India, in their own homes, Christianity itself, or at least its purer forms, will make little progress either among Hindūs or Muhammadans.

For Christianity is a religion which, before it can dominate over the human heart, requires a clear apprehension of certain great facts, and a manly assent of the reason to the doctrines and practice they involve. Although we Christians are required to be children in guilelessness, we are told to be men in understanding. That, indeed, is not true Christianity which does not make a kind of religion of manliness of character, healthiness of body and mind, and soundness of judgment. Now, it is certain that although exceptional cases of men of vigorous intellect exist in India, and its races differ considerably in physique, yet the ordinary Indian has hitherto inherited such a feeble condition of brain, such a diseased appetite for mental stimulants, such unhealthy biasses and habits of mind from his ancestors, that he is almost incapable of grasping plain facts, much less of incorporating them, like plain food, into the texture of his moral constitution. Nor is he generally at all capable of appreciating the importance of their bearing on daily life and practice. Hence the absence of all history in India, and hence the difficulty of obtaining any accurate, unexaggerated, or undistorted narrative of common occurrences. Here, too, in my opinion, lies the principal difficulty of convincing a Hindū of the superiority of the plain story of the Gospel to the wild exaggerations of the Rāmāyaṇa. The chief successes of Christianity in India have been hitherto achieved by Roman Catholics, who offer to the Hindū mind a kind of Hindūized Christianity, or, at any rate, present him with the images, symbols, processions, decorations, miraculous stories, mar-

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vellous histories of saints, and imposing ritual of which his present mental condition appears to stand inneed.

British Administration.

I am confirmed in the opinion I expressed after my travels in Northern India that the points we have most to guard against in the administration of our Indian Empire are, first, a desire to advance too rapidly and too uniformly; secondly, a tendency towards the over-centralization of authority.

It is common to say that India is a poor country. In real truth India is a rich country with a poor population, saddled with a costly Government. Naturally, therefore, we who form that Government are sensitively anxious to do work that shall really be worth the money we cost. Hence we are ever striving to benefit the people by fresh legislative measures, for which the country is not always prepared, and which we are inclined to apply too uniformly. Yet England's worst enemies cannot shut their eyes to the good our administration has effected. Indeed, my travels have convinced me that the Natives of India have no cause whatever to complain of our excluding them from their equitable share in the administration of their own country. Our Government is ever zealous for their interests, and ever on the watch to find competent Indians to fill responsible posts. For all the lower grades of executive offices they are now selected before equally competent Europeans.

In law courts, in police courts, at railway stations, post and telegraph offices, and in every department of the public service one meets with Indian functionaries doing the work which was formerly done by Europeans. English barristers and attorneys are now driven out of the field by Indian Wakeels. The same applies to the Educational Department. Headmasterships of High Schools, which were once reserved for Englishmen, and even filled by Oxford and Cambridge graduates, are now assigned to

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the ablest Native teachers. Even the highest judicial offices are now being filled by Natives who have gained admission to the Civil Service through the competitive examinations. The Judge of Ahmedabad, Mr. Satyendranāth Tagore, whose guest I was for a few days, is an Indian of a well-known family at Calcutta. He has been elevated to a higher position in the Service than competition-wallahs of his own year, and of at least equal ability. Another Indian gentleman, Mr. Gopāl-rāo Hari Deshmukh, whom I met frequently at Bombay—a man of great energy and ability, and a well-known social reformer—has lately been appointed joint Judge at Nāsik, with the personal title of Rāo Bahādur. The title was conferred the other day at a public meeting, and Judge Gopāl-rāo, in acknowledging the honour, is reported in the *Times of India* (September 4, 1877) to have said:—

'This Sanad is given to me for loyalty and services. I am sure that every sensible and well-informed man in this country is loyal. This country for many past centuries had no Government deserving the name. There was neither internal peace nor security from foreign invasion. There was no power in India which could put a stop to the evil practices of satī, infanticide, religious suicide, and human sacrifices. The whole nation presented a scene of stagnation and ignorance; but the case is now different. Under the auspices of a beneficent, civilized, and strong Government we have become progressive. Light and knowledge are pouring in upon the country. Old prejudices and errors are vanishing. We therefore count it a great privilege to be loyal subjects of the Empress of India. There is now security of life and property, as perfect as human institutions can make it. Those who are old enough are aware of the plundering excursions of Pindārīs, who, descending from the ghauts, spread terror in the Concan. These professional robbers have been extirpated by the British Government. We enjoy liberty of speech, petition, and press. We enjoy the blessings of

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education, useful public works, internal peace, and freedom from foreign invasions.'

Possibly, we are inclined to go beyond our duty in our appreciation of Native merit. It is certain that much bitterness of feeling is being excited among Anglo-Indians by the present laudable desire to do justice to Native ability. Everywhere I heard Englishmen complaining that their interests are set aside and their claims overlooked in favour of Natives. Language like the following is commonly used by members of the Civil Service :—'In thirty years,' say they, 'we English Judges and Collectors will be swept out of India. The Natives we have educated are gradually "crowding us out" of the country. Even our own Government is inclined to make light of our merits. We have harder work than ever laid on our shoulders; but we get neither thanks nor additional pay. If we were Hindūs we should be flattered and honoured, but, being Englishmen, we are snubbed and reprimanded.' Such language, though obviously too strong, may have elements of truth which call for careful consideration.

In the matter of over-centralization it seems to be now generally admitted that it results from an undue passion for what may be called administrative symmetry in an Empire far too vast, varied, and composite in its races, customs, religions, and climates, to admit of uniformity of treatment by means of telegraphic messages radiating from a central secretariat. Lord Lytton, who is supposed from his seat in the Viceregal council chamber of Calcutta and Simla to command the manipulation of the whole telegraphic system, was reported not long ago by one of *The Times'* Correspondents to be in favour of more decentralization in regard to taxation. I heard intelligent Natives in Madras complain that, although their ryotwary land tenure and their system of cultivation and irrigation bring in a larger revenue than the systems prevailing elsewhere, yet no benefit accrues to any particular dis-

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tricts in their Presidency, because their surplus goes to make up the deficit in other Provinces.

Nevertheless, it must be confessed that, if decentralization is carried too far, it will remove some salutary restraints on the eccentricities of inexperienced Provincial governors. If the strings of Government are pulled a little too strongly from the India Office and from the secretariats at Calcutta and Simla, they are also handled a little too freely by the array of secretaries at other central stations. In short, the India of the present period is becoming a little too secretariat-ridden. High functionaries, recently imported from England, are obliged, in their blank inexperience, to trust to their secretaries, and these, again, being often new to their work, have to trust to their under-secretaries, while these, again, are a good deal dependent on their head clerks. Thus the Government of a great Empire has a tendency to place too much power in the hands of a few clever under-secretaries' clerks, and to become, if I may be allowed to coin a new phrase, too much of a clericocracy. Half the time of a Collector is now occupied in replying to the inquiries of inquisitive under-secretaries. Every post brings piles of official documents and demands for reports and written statistics on every conceivable subject, while, in return, piles of foolscap find their way from the Collector's cutchery into the pigeon-holes of the Under-Secretary's office. There these precious bundles of foolscap are forthwith entombed, and from these graves there is seldom any resurrection to the light of day.

It is said that a Collector in the North-West Provinces was required, not long ago, to write a report on the habits of the Gangetic porpoise. Certainly it is not uncommon to hear language like the following from Collectors and Commissioners of long standing:—'It is impossible for me to get through my work as I did formerly. For instance, I cannot ride off 30 miles to the other end of my district to see that order is kept at a large religious fair now going

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on. I am no longer master of my own movements. I have to serve a dozen masters. I am compelled to furnish returns to the head of the Public Works Department, to Sanitary and Revenue Commissioners, to superintendents of police, to directors of public instruction, and to archæological and scientific surveyors. Then I have lately been politely requested to compile a complete Gazetteer of my own district, with an exhaustive account of its fauna and flora. In short, I am buried in piles of paper from morning till night.' There is certainly exaggeration in such language. Without doubt the writing of reports and compiling of gazetteers by some able civilians has already produced most valuable results, but the exaggerated language is an indication that in some directions we are attempting too much. At any rate, we are laying too great a burden on shoulders already overcharged.

In other directions we might do more. For example, we might carry on a more systematic defensive warfare against drought and famine by the storage of water in tanks, and its distribution by irrigation. India is blessed with abundant rivers. Why are not more anicuts, reservoirs, and canals made? Why should the water of any manageable river be allowed to lose itself in the sea? More might also be done in forest-management, in encouraging emigration, in developing the agricultural and mineral resources of the country; though judgment is here needed, especially in regard to agricultural improvements. For India, though potentially rich, has a poor population, not sufficiently advanced for the introduction of steam-ploughs, expensive machinery, and chemical manures. In some localities the land is so subdivided that its cultivation amounts to mere spade husbandry.

One thing requires instant attention. The connexion between agriculture, meteorology, and astronomy is now admitted on all hands, and no country in the world would be benefited more than India by systematic meteorological and astronomical observations carried on under Govern-

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ment direction. Much is already being done in this way. Yet I could only find one effective astronomical observatory, and that not adequately supported by Government, though I travelled from Kaśmīr to Cape Comorin. It is not generally known that from his observations of the present condition of the disk of the sun, in connexion with various atmospherical phenomena, the Madras astronomer, Mr. Pogson, prophesied in 1876 a recurrence of the drought and famine in 1877.

Again, more efforts might be made to promote the development of those industrial arts in which the natives are already skilled, and to teach them new trades and industries, such as printing, paper-making, book-binding, sugar-refining, and tobacco-curing.

One crying evil requires immediate redress. A limit should be put by law to the increase of native pleaders. If Indian money-lenders are metaphorically called incarnate curses, Indian Wakeels are rapidly earning a title to the same flattering appellation. I have heard natives complain of what they call the oppression of our Law Courts, with their elaborate machinery of expensive processes and appeals. What they mean is not that injustice is done, but that justice is overdone. They might, with more reason, complain of the oppression of their own Wakeels, who live by promoting quarrels, prey upon litigants, and drain the very life-blood out of their own fellow-countrymen.

The Native States of Southern India.

Under this head let me merely say that I visited three most prosperous and well-managed States of Southern India—Travankor, Cochin, and Hyderabad. Travankor and the little State of Cochin are both on the Malabar Coast. The former has a wise and enlightened Mahārāja, and his Prime Minister is a sensible high-minded man of large acquirements and great administrative ability. I sailed along the coast of Travankor from Cape Comorin to

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Cochin, and was much struck by the constant succession of thriving villages clustering under beautiful groves of palm trees close to the water's edge. Nearly all were overlooked by the lofty façades of substantially-built Roman Catholic churches, which are conspicuous objects everywhere on the Malabar coast, testifying to the almost superhuman energy and devotedness of the great missionary Xavier. The interior of these churches presents an appearance very like a Hindū Temple. They all contain images of the Virgin Mary, dressed up and decorated much in the same way as the idols of the Indian goddess Bhavānī. In every direction Roman Catholic churches force themselves on one's notice. On saints' days they are brilliantly illuminated, while displays of fireworks and Bengal lights, with explosions of crackers and guns, are made in front of the churches, much to the delectation of the native converts. I was told, too, that their priests endear themselves to their flocks by living among them very much like Indian Gurus, and by attending to their bodily as well as spiritual needs. Those who come from Europe set our Protestant missionaries a good example in at least two particulars. They are satisfied with wonderfully small salaries, and never think of going home.

There are also two very singular colonies of Jews at Cochin. The one set are quite white in complexion, and the other quite black. I was present at the service in a synagogue, and saw the richly-decorated rolls of the Books of Moses carried round in procession and kissed by the congregation, after the law had been read by the Rabbis from a central reading-desk.

My visit to Sir Richard Meade, our able Resident at Hyderabad, enabled me to judge of the condition of the Nizām's territory, which occupies the central plateau of the Deccan, and has a population of 10,000,000 or 11,000,000. It owes its present prosperity, as most people know, to the excellent administration of Sir Sālār Jung, who delivered it from a condition of chronic mismanagement. Our large

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military station at Secunderabad, six miles from the capital, contains 40,000 inhabitants, and is under our own jurisdiction. We also hold Berār (commonly called the Berārs) in trust for the payment of the Nizām's contingent. It was taken by us from the Marāṭhas, and we have administered it since 1853. It has thriven wonderfully under our management; but as we gave it to the Nizām in 1803, the surplus revenue goes to his treasury. We restored to him the Raichor Doāb, between the Kṛishṇa and Tungabhadra rivers, in 1860. Whether Berār ought to be so restored is another matter. Some authorities think we did wrong to give up our claim to Mysor, and that we might with as good reason give up Berār. Probably Berār would not suffer much by being given back, so long as the continuance of so able a Minister as Sir Sālār Jung at the helm could be secured. But India is not likely to produce two such men as Sir Sālār Jung and Sir T. Mādhava Rāo more than once in two or three centuries. I conversed with both these great Ministers not long since in their own houses (one at Hyderabad, and the other at Baroda) and found them capable of talking on all subjects in as good English as my own.

Sir Sālār Jung (whose person is familiar to many of us from his recent visit to England) showed me his everyday working-room—a room not so large as an Oxford graduate's study, plainly furnished with a few book-cases filled with modern books of reference, chiefly English. He has an extensive library in an adjoining gallery, with a window commanding a courtyard, where those who have to transact business with him assemble every day. I may mention as an evidence of his enlightened ideas that on hearing that a deserving young Indian at Oxford was in need of assistance, he at once assigned an annual allowance for his support, stipulating that he should be trained for the Nizām's educational service. He has other young Indians under training in London, similarly supported.

I was told that I should see numbers of armed ruffians

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and rowdies in the city of Hyderabad, and that I could not possibly traverse the streets unless lifted above all chances of insult on the back of an elephant. Yet I can certify that I saw very few armed men and no signs of disorder or lawlessness anywhere in the city, and that I dismounted from my elephant and walked about in the throng of people without suffering the slightest inconvenience, molestation, or rudeness. Of course, a town of 400,000 inhabitants is liable to disturbances, and it is certain that during my stay an Arab, whose father died suddenly, made a savage attack with his dagger in a fit of frenzy on the doctor who attended him. Nevertheless I am satisfied that the stories about murderous brawls in the streets are much exaggerated. Without doubt it must be admitted that the 7,000 armed Arab mercenaries, who form part of an army of 50,000 men, and the numerous armed retainers of the nobles, all of whom are allowed to roam about without much discipline, are generally ripe for turbulence and mischief. It is, moreover, a significant fact that about three-fourths of the wealth of Hyderabad is concentrated within the limits of the Residency, held to be British territory. These limits are carefully marked off from the rest of the city by walls and lines of streets; and here a population of 20,000 persons, including the chief rich bankers and merchants of the Nizām's dominions, cluster under the ægis of British jurisdiction and authority.

Education in Southern India.

South India is not behind the North in its zeal for education. Indeed, if advance of education is to be measured by its promoting among natives of all ranks the power of speaking English with fluency, the palm will have to be given to the Colleges and Schools of Madras. And here, as in other parts of India, missionary schools are, in my opinion, doing the best work. The education they impart is openly and professedly founded on a Christian basis.

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They teach the Bible without enforcing ecclesiastical dogmas on their pupils. Indeed, my second tour has impressed me more than ever with the benefits which India derives from the active efforts of missionaries of all denominations, however apparently barren in visible results those efforts may be. Moreover, I think that the part that they have hitherto played is as nothing compared with the *rôle* they are destined to fill in the future of our Eastern Empire. The European missionary is daily becoming a more important link between the Government and the people. He is confided in by natives of all ranks, and is often able to do what the Government with its necessary profession of neutrality cannot effect. Missionary schools attract the children of parents of all creeds, though they openly aim at permeating their minds with a spirit hostile to those creeds. It may be very true that their bible-teaching tends to destroy without reconstructing, but it is gradually and insensibly infusing principles incompatible with the pantheistic ideas with which the Indian mind is generally saturated. If it does not always build up the true creed in place of the false, yet it lays the foundation of a future belief in a personal God. It substitutes for the slippery sands of Pantheism a basis of living rock, which may be afterwards thankfully occupied by evangelizing missionaries as a common standpoint, when the Gospel is confronted in argument with the Veda and Kurān.

My conviction is that the vast work of Christianizing India will not be accomplished entirely through missionary instrumentality, but rather through the co-operation of divine and human agencies, working in a great variety of ways. Yet I am equally convinced that it will be principally effected, and far more slowly, gradually, and insensibly than is commonly expected, through impressions made on the minds of children by a process of education like that which our missionaries are carrying out in their schools.

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Of all such schools visited by me, in Southern India, there were two, the merits and effectiveness of which struck me very forcibly. They were those of the Free Church of Scotland at Madras, under Mr. Miller and Mr. Rae, where about 1,000 pupils are under education; and the Church Missionary schools, under Bishop Sargent, at Tinnevelly, in which latter district there are about 60,000 converts to Protestant Christianity. I regret I was unable to visit Bishop Caldwell's excellent schools at Edeyengoody. I could name a hundred others if space and time were at my disposal. Those founded by a native named Pacheappah at Madras and Conjevaram are rendering good service to the community. The Basle Mission schools at Mangalor are also most efficient and useful, and its members most devoted and self-sacrificing. Their example deserves to be followed in their plan of teaching trades and industries, and of instructing their converts how to be independent and support themselves. The schools of the Pārsīs at Bombay are also conspicuously good. And let it not be supposed that the work done by our Government schools and colleges is insignificant. Its importance can scarcely be overrated. Nevertheless, it is generally admitted that our whole educational system needs revision and amendment. The great complaint that one hears on all sides while travelling in India is that we are over-educating. We cannot, however, be accused of over-educating if our education is of the right kind. Quality, not quantity, is what is wanted for India. Excellence of quality can scarcely be over-done.

Probably there are three principal points that call for amendment in our present system. 1. We want more real education. 2. We want more suitable education. 3. We want more primary education.

As to the first point:—To secure more real education we have to make our native teachers understand that the human skull, which is their field of operations, is not in childhood a mere rigid case, or empty cavity, to be packed like a portmanteau with a given amount of knowledge

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in a given time, but rather an assemblage of organs and capacities to be gradually and carefully shaped, moulded, and expanded. We in England sometimes require to be reminded that the duty of an educator ought to be in accordance with the etymology of the word—that it should consist in gently drawing out rather than in roughly hammering in. Indian educators of Indian children are still more forgetful of this truth. Nor do they sufficiently bear in mind that the most valuable knowledge is that which is self-acquired when the faculties are matured, and that teachers are doing their business most effectively when they are teaching their pupils to be their own future self-teachers. I am afraid our Indian colleges and schools are turning out more well-informed than well-formed men, more free thinkers than wise thinkers, more silly sceptics than honest inquirers, more glib talkers than accurate writers, more political agitators than useful citizens. I do not mean to imply that our European principals and professors and directors of public instruction, generally chosen with care from our English Universities, are not perfectly aware of the defects in our system. On the contrary, I believe they are doing their best to make Indian education a reality. I have met, too, with native schoolmasters who are really able educators. What I mean is that a larger number of good normal schools and a better system of teaching how to teach are urgently needed in India, and some security is required that the applicants for masterships have really received adequate training. It is certain that assistant masters and subordinate teachers are too often found in positions for which they are not thoroughly qualified. Even in England the heads of our great public schools are beset with similar difficulties. Every one admits that national schoolmasters must be certificated as teachers, but no one dares to cast a suspicion on University first-class men, who would feel themselves humiliated at the bare suggestion that first-class scholarship and first-class teaching are two very different matters.

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The next point is that we want more suitable education. The sons of persons of low social status ought not (except, of course, in special cases when they show evident signs of unusual ability) to receive an education above the rank of their fathers. Let their training be the best of its kind, but let it be suited to their position and prospects. Furthermore, greater efforts should be made to co-ordinate the education of daughters with that of sons. In brief, we ought to aim at educating children in their fathers' stations, rather than above them—at making the son of a potter a better potter, the son of a carpenter a better carpenter. To this end I submit that we should immediately raise our school and college fees for high-class education. Not that I would place obstacles in the way of the lower castes elevating themselves, but I would at once correct the mistake of putting too low a price on the highest form of education. No parent of inferior rank will then be ambitious of a University degree for his son unless he is likely to repay with interest the outlay necessary to secure it. When I was at Poona, I found on inquiry, that a student at the great central Deccan College there could obtain a first-class education by paying rather less than 1*s.* 6*d.* per month for his room-rent, 10*s.* per month for his tuition, and 18*s.* or 20*s.* per month for his board. Of course Indian students are much more simple in their habits than Oxford undergraduates. They are satisfied with one chair, one table, and a mattress on the ground. They make free use of the College library, and they eat little except rice, with perhaps once a day a modicum of curry-powder. But even for Indians, the present charge for room-rent, board, and tuition at a first-class college is ridiculously small.

Further, I submit that in all our Indian colleges and schools we pay too much attention to the linguistic and literary element in education, and too little to the practical and scientific. A great improvement, however, is observable in this respect in some parts of India.

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With regard to languages I cannot help thinking that a great mistake is committed—a mistake which calls for the immediate consideration of the directors of public instruction. We do not sufficiently encourage the vernaculars. The classical languages receive due respect and attention, but the vernacular dialects of India, which ought to be stimulated to draw fresh vitality and energy from Sanskṛit, are everywhere showing signs of serious deterioration. Be it observed, however, that they are by no means dying out. It would be simple folly to suppose that we can impose English on 240 millions of people. But by enforcing English as a *sine quâ non* at our matriculation examinations, and by making a knowledge of it the only road to employment in the public service, we are dealing a fatal blow at the purity of the vernacular languages. My conviction is that unless more is done to encourage their cultivation, some of them will soon lapse into vulgar hybrid dialects. A highly-educated Marāṭha gentleman told me that he scarcely knew a man among his own fellow-countrymen who could write good Marāṭhī. Even the right spelling of the words derived from the Sanskṛit, which ought to be carefully preserved, is becoming hopelessly corrupted. A vicious style of verbose and inflated composition, copied from Dr. Johnson's 'Rambler,' is becoming common, and English words are ostentatiously imported into it, when far more suitable expressions might be drawn from a Sanskṛit source. Such great native poets as Tukarām and Morapant are becoming neglected; and intelligent men, who might do much to develope and improve their own languages, waste their time in concocting, and even printing and publishing, wretched English verses which no Englishman can read without a smile. The result of such a mistaken system is that India is flooded with conceited and half-educated persons who despise and neglect their own languages, and their own religious and political systems, without becoming good English scholars, good Christians, or good subjects

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of the Queen. And hence we are confronted with a difficulty which, even if it does not endanger our rule in India, is becoming more embarrassing every day—the difficulty of providing suitable employment for the thousands of young men we have educated badly and unsuitably. For excessive and misdirected education cannot be carried on with the same impunity in India as in England, where we have the safeguard of our Colonies and an outlet in India itself.

The third point is that we do not everywhere pay sufficient attention to Primary Education. It is superfluous to remark that no system of education can be satisfactory which does not begin at the right end, and rise from the lower to the upper strata of the community. In the villages and the indigenous rural schools a good system of teaching the vernacular dialects, with reading, writing, and arithmetic, is needed. And here is another reason for encouraging by every possible means the cultivation of the vernaculars, and their development and improvement by means of Sanskrit. I have seen a few excellent village schools, conducted in the open air under trees, where the children are taught to write on palm leaves, and can repeat the multiplication table up to a hundred times a hundred, and even multiply fractions together in their heads. The difficulty is to secure good village teachers. Sir George Campbell, and Sir Richard Temple, following his predecessor's lead, did admirable service in this way and started an excellent plan of primary instruction by trained teachers in Bengal. Much has been effected in the same direction all over India. In 1873 there were 30,477 primary schools, with 963,000 pupils. These seem sufficiently large figures, but remembering the increasing density of the population we have to deal with, we ought not to be satisfied till our system of primary instruction has really penetrated to the remotest corner of the lowest stratum of Indian society.

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Disposition and Attitude of the Natives towards us and our rule.

I confess that in travelling through Southern India it seemed to me that there is even less social fusion between the rulers and the ruled in Madras than in Bombay and Calcutta. Doubtless there are faults on both sides. The longer we continue to hold the country, the more its condition before we took it in hand is forgotten. In those parts of the Madras Presidency which have been longest under our rule, the people having had no personal experience of the evils from which their fathers were delivered through our intervention, are unable to cherish a due sense of gratitude towards us. I fear that Englishmen, unless they are plainly and sensibly benefactors, are not otherwise liked for their personal qualities. They are thought to be proud, cold, and reserved. Very much the same, however, might be justly said by us of the natives of India. The Hindūs, we might fairly allege, are even more exclusive than we are. They have little sympathy with any one outside their own caste. The impenetrable barrier with which they surround their homes and their refusal to sit at meat with Europeans are fatal to mutual friendliness and sociability. On the other hand, Englishmen, by reason of a concurrence of changed conditions, are certainly living in India more like strangers and pilgrims who have no abiding resting-place there. Increased facilities of communication between Europe and Asia, which ought to have drawn the two races closer together, have only tended to widen the separation between them. In former days it was not uncommon for a civilian or military officer to remain a quarter of a century in India without going home. He had then time and opportunity to identify himself with the people, and interest himself in their interests—to form friendships among them and win their affection. Now, if he has only three months' leave, he rushes to England, *viâ* Brindisi, in three weeks, and

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undergoes inordinate fatigue, that he may spend six weeks in the old country, and then rush as quickly back to the land of his exile.

The competitive system, too, has had a bad effect in severing some of the ties which once bound the two races together. It has deprived India of the successive generations of Outrams, Prinseps, Macnaghtens, and other old families who were drawn towards it by a long train of inherited associations, who were inspired with goodwill towards its people by the examples of their forefathers, and who imbibed Indian tastes, ideas, and predilections with their earliest education.

Let no one, however, from this time forward, accuse us of want of sympathy with our Indian fellow-subjects in their hour of trial and affliction. There may be increasing race-antagonism, less social blending, and more frequent misunderstandings between the governing and the governed in India, but the best practical proof has now been given of our disinterested desire for the well-being of the great country committed to our charge. The voluntary subscription of more than half a million pounds sterling in a few months for the relief of the famine-stricken districts, and the self-sacrificing courage, zeal, and energy displayed by every one of the Queen's officers, from the Viceroy downwards, in their efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the people, have for ever wiped away the reproach that the attitude of Great Britain towards its Eastern Dependency is cold and unsympathetic. I believe there have been no less than four Indian famines during the past ten years, and these have finally culminated in a period of distress the like of which has not afflicted the land since 1833. Yet this last famine, however deplorable in the present suffering it is causing, will have effected a great benefit, if it opens our eyes to India's needs and to our own shortcomings; if it convinces our Indian subjects of England's devotion to their welfare; if it evokes feelings of gratitude in return for the active sympathy displayed; if it helps to

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draw the rulers and the ruled closer together by bonds of mutual kindliness, confidence, and cordiality.

Let me, in conclusion, point out one or two causes of discontent which, so soon as the remembrance of our present efforts for the relief of the country has passed away, will most surely bring our rule into increasing disfavour with certain classes of the population. One cause is the constant necessity we are under of revising the land assessment. On the acquirement of any new territory, we have been obliged, of course, to settle the land revenue, and the first settlement has always been, very judiciously, a mild one. At the end of thirty years a new assessment has generally been made, and the necessary increase in the rate of payment has been demanded from the cultivators. Very naturally, this has always caused an outbreak of great discontent. Of late years a still more microscopic and, perhaps, occasionally vexatious revision of the assessment has led to still further irritation. The cultivators cannot be made to understand that with an increase in the value of land a higher rate of tax is justly due, and they will not be convinced that the Government is not breaking faith with them. There can be no doubt that Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement of the Government demand in Bengal, Behār, and Orissa, though it has proved a lamentable loss to the Indian revenue, has had its advantages, and nothing would tend to conciliate the whole population of India more than the application of a similar principle everywhere. This, however, in present circumstances, is, I fear, almost an impossibility.

Another source of dissatisfaction is now looming in the horizon. The maximum age for competing for the Indian Civil Service will be fixed in 1878 at nineteen, and the minimum at seventeen. Many Indians have complained to me that this lowering of the age will practically exclude natives from the competition. 'How can we send mere boys,' say they, 'on a long voyage at a great expense to a place like London to prepare for an examination of such

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difficulty? The risks will be too great. A certain number of appointments ought to be set aside for India—say six every year—and the printed questions might then be sent out under seal to the local Governments, who would appoint examining committees.' There is, doubtless, much justice in this proposal, and I hope it will receive due consideration. If it is eventually adopted, all selected native candidates ought to be positively compelled to go to England for two years' probation. I fervently hope, too, that the Government scholarships which were formerly founded to enable deserving young Indians to complete their education in England, but which were for some inscrutable reason abolished before they were fully tried, will be re-established. In this regard our Government ought to follow the example so wisely set by Sir Sālār Jung. Let the residence of Indians among us be encouraged by all means, and let them return to India—not, indeed, denationalized—but imbued with some of our most refining and purifying home influences, elevated by intercourse with some of our best men and women, and penetrated with an earnest desire to aid in the regeneration of their country by assimilating, as far as possible, its social institutions to those of England.

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INDIAN AND EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION IN THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER AND IN THEIR EFFECT ON THE PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY.

The kind of civilization to which I shall first advert is not that which we Englishmen have introduced into India, but that which has existed in India for at least three thousand years.

Of course very different ideas may be attached to the word civilization, and some may doubt whether, if religion is an ingredient of civilization, the Hindūs have ever possessed any true civilization at all. But when a people have a refined language, an extensive literature, an organized social system, fixed forms of government, with elaborate religious and philosophical systems, however false such systems may be, and have, moreover, made some progress in the arts and sciences, they may surely be called civilized, though their civilization may be very different in kind from that of other ancient peoples, or from that of modern Europe.

Doubtless every civilized nation is inclined to pride itself on its own institutions and to despise other countries. The Chinese, for example, look down with contempt on Europeans, and distinguish Englishmen in particular by epithets equivalent to foreign devils and uncivilized barbarians. Similarly, the Greeks called all other nations barbarians, and in the same way the Indians call us *Mleć̆has*. This was originally a contemptuous term applied by the Indo-Āryans to those who could not pro-

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nounce their sacred Sanskṛit. It is now commonly applied by learned Hindūs to Europeans. But this term by no means represents the amount of disrespect in which the rulers of India are held by Brāhmans of the old school. I have met with bigoted Pandits, whose contempt for us and our boasted civilization, notwithstanding they travel by our railways, use our telegraphs, and live in security under our rule, and albeit they take pains to conceal their real estimate of our character, is, I am convinced, quite as great as the contempt of their forefathers for any non-Āryan savages, whether styled Dasyus or Nishādas.

I may mention, in illustration, that I often wondered, when in India, why certain great Pandits preferred calling on me very early in the morning, till I found out accidentally that, by coming before bathing, they were able afterwards to purify themselves by religious ablutions from the contamination incurred by shaking hands and talking with me.

Nor have the Muhammadans, as a rule, any greater respect for us, for our social institutions, or for our religion. When they are less scornful than usual they confine themselves to calling us *Kāfirs*, unbelievers. But in India this epithet scarcely represents the amount of contempt with which we are commonly regarded by bigoted Muslims. Many of them have been seen to spit on the ground on leaving the houses of eminent civilians, after interviews in which the most courteous expressions had been interchanged.

The point, then, which I wish to bring out strongly on the present occasion is, that the chief hindrance to the progress of Christianity among the people of India is their intense pride in their own supposed moral, religious, and even intellectual superiority. What says a member of the Brahma Samāj, in a letter written about a year ago to the editor of the *Times* newspaper—

'I am convinced,' he says, 'that the state of the poor

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in the Christian countries of Italy, France, and England (all of which countries I have visited), especially in the large towns, is infinitely more wretched, godless, degrading, and barbarous than it is in heathen India.'

The fact is that the Hindūs believe that their whole national life and civilization, far from being heathenish, have been favoured above all countries with the special superintendence of the Supreme Being. Divine interposition commences with their very alphabet.

We in England think our A, B, C, a very human invention, which we owe to the Phœnicians, whereas to a Hindū every stroke of his complicated characters is thought to be due to direct supernatural inspiration. His Deva-nāgarī alphabet, as its name implies, came directly from the gods.

In the same way all the other elementary processes which lay the foundations of knowledge are divinely superintended. The whole of a Hindū's education is regulated directly by his god's guidance. We are accustomed to regard our European grammars as very human, and mostly very imperfect productions, whereas to a Hindū the great grammar of Pāṇini—the source of all other grammars—is not only the perfection of linguistic analysis, but Pāṇini himself is an inspired sage, who did not compose his own grammar with the painful thought with which such works are commonly elaborated, but *saw* it supernaturally, the opening rules having been directly revealed to him by the god Śiva.

Then, when we pass on to language and literature, we in England take a pride in the gradual welding together of our native tongue into one compact whole by Saxon, Dane, and Norman, but a Hindū prides himself on the alleged fact that the divine Sanskṛit came ready-made from the goddess Sarasvatī.

Moreover, in matters of literature our ideas are far behind those of a pious Hindū. We admit a human element even in our most sacred Scriptures, whereas to a Hindū,

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not only is the Ṛig-veda believed to have issued like breath from the Self-Existent, but every one of a hundred other works, constituting what may be called the canon of Hindū revelation, is either attributed directly to his god, or is thought to be more or less written under special Divine superintendence.

For example, the moral and political code propounded by Manu was revealed to that inspired sage by Brahmā himself.

Then, as to social institutions, it is difficult for us Europeans, notwithstanding our own peculiar caste feelings, to understand how the pride of caste, as a Divine ordinance, interpenetrates the whole being of a Hindū. He believes that his god created men different in caste, as he created different kinds of animals. Nay more, in the Ṛig-veda the Brāhman is declared to be the *actual mouth* of Brahmā, soldiers are his *actual arms*, husbandmen his *actual thighs*, while Śūdras or servants issued from his feet. No wonder, then, that a Hindū looks upon his caste as his veritable god; and those very caste-rules which we believe to be a hindrance to his adoption of the true religion are to him the very essence of all religion, for they influence his whole life and conduct. And the lower the caste, the more do its members appear to regard the observance of its rules as an essential part of all religion and morality. To violate the laws of caste is the greatest of all sins.

For example, marriage is a Divine institution closely connected with caste. It is declared to be a *Sanskāra*, or sacramental purificatory rite. Every man, as soon as he is old enough, is under absolute religious obligation to have his own wife, and every woman her own husband. For a man not to marry, or to marry out of his caste, is, with rare exceptions, a positive sin, fraught with awful consequences in a future state. Husband and wife are sacramentally united. The wife is half her husband's body. They ought not to be parted, even by death.

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Furthermore, all the caste-rules about food, its preparation, and the persons in whose company it may be eaten, are strictly a matter of religion. A Hindū abhors, as the most impious of beings, any one who allows himself unrestrained liberty in eating and drinking. Not only purity of blood, but religious purity also depends on purity of nutriment, and the distinction between lawful and unlawful food is even more observed as a Divine ordinance than it was with the Jews. No high caste will eat with a lower caste, and not even a low caste will eat with Christians.

Then, finally, in regard to the dead, funeral ceremonies among the Hindūs are of course solemn acts of religion, as in all other countries. But far more than this—the bodies of deceased Hindūs must be burnt by certain near relatives according to carefully prescribed rites, on pain of bringing misery on the disembodied spirits; and such rites must be repeated periodically. To maintain the perpetual memory of the dead, to make periodical offerings to the spirits of fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, is a peremptory religious duty.

But what are a Hindū's ideas about the nature of that God who thus superintends every act, and directs every step of his existence from the cradle to the grave? It is here that his pride in his own superiority may be said to culminate. The very point in which we think the Hindūs most mistaken is the very point in which they pride themselves most of all. We admit that they might, with reason, be proud of the perfection of their alphabet, of the symmetry of their language, of the poetry in their literature, of the subtlety of their philosophy, of the acuteness of their logic, of their invention of the ten arithmetical figures, of their advance in mathematics and science when all Europe was wrapped in ignorance, and even of the elevated sentiments in their moral code; but we cannot understand their being proud of their false ideas of the Supreme Being. The Hindūs, we affirm, have no know-

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ledge of the true God. They have not one God, but many. They degrade their deities to the level of sinful creatures by the acts, characters, and qualities they attribute to them.

Yet the Hindūs themselves maintain that they are not polytheists at all, but worshippers of one God, who manifests Himself variously, and that they have conceived sublimer notions of this Deity than any other people, ancient or modern. 'Our sacred books,' say they, 'insist on the unity of the Supreme Being, and abound in the grandest descriptions of His attributes.'

He is 'the most Holy of all holies; the most Blessed of the blessed; the God of all gods; the Everlasting Father of all creatures; omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent; He is the Life in all; the Father, Mother, Husband, and Sustainer of the world; the Birth, the Death of all; the Incomprehensible; the Ancient Sage, without beginning or end; the Universe's Maker; the one God hidden in all beings, and dwelling as a witness within their hearts.'

And are not we Christians bound to accept and approve such sublime descriptions of the attributes of the Deity, though we well know that in the books from which they are taken, abundant false conceptions are mingled with the true, and that a Hindū's boasted theism is simple pantheism, behind which, as behind an impregnable fortress, he retires whenever his polytheism and idolatry are attacked?

There is, however, one point left in which we think educated Indians must at last acknowledge themselves inferior to Christian nations. 'Your religion,' we affirm, 'leads to the grossest idolatry. Everywhere in India idol-worship and superstition are hideously rampant!' How great, then, is our astonishment when we are assured in India by the educated Hindūs that they are not really idol-worshippers. 'Worship *before* images, not *to* images,' say they, 'is practised by us as a condescension to weak-minded persons. The highest form of wor-

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ship is the *Mānasa-pūjā* and the *Nirākāra-pūjā*—heart-worship and formless worship.'

Hear what Mr. Pramadā-Dās Mitra, of Benares, in a recent address delivered at the Benares Institute, replied to one who accused his fellow-countrymen of the grossest idolatry: 'If by idolatry,' he said, 'is meant a system of worship which confines our ideas of the Divinity to a mere image of clay or stone, which prevents our hearts from being elevated with lofty notions of the attributes of God—if this is what is meant by idolatry, we disclaim idolatry, we abhor idolatry, and deplore the ignorance and uncharitableness of those that charge us with this grovelling system.' And he then goes on to point out that, so far from worshipping material images, the Hindūs are too spiritual to believe even in the existence of matter, the only really existing essence being (according to a dogma of their philosophy) the one universal spirit, of which the numerous gods, represented by images, are but manifestations.

Clearly, then, the chief impediment to Christianity among Indians is not only the pride they feel in their own religion, but the very nature of that religion. For pantheism is a most subtle, plausible, and all-embracing system, which may profess to include Christianity itself as one of the phenomena of the universe. An eminent Hindū is reported to have said, 'We Hindūs have no need of conversion; we are Christians and more than Christians already.'

In short, it is the old story. Pride and self-complacency are the chief obstacles to the entrance of truth into the human mind. We go to the Hindūs with a true revelation and the good news of God's love and good-will towards them in becoming incarnate for their sakes, and we find that they claim to have possessed a true revelation of their own, incarnations of their own, and a more excellent way of salvation suited to themselves, long before Europe had any revealed religion at all.

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I could proceed to point out other great hindrances in the Hindūs themselves, such as their peculiar mental constitution, their incapability of appreciating historical facts, their appetite for wild legends and monstrous exaggerations, their natural dislike to the doctrine of sanctification as the only evidence of regeneration; but it is time for me to come nearer home, and to direct attention to the hindrances arising from *our own self-complacency, our own pride in our own boasted civilization.*

Let me begin with the pride of race. It is now well known that, notwithstanding the recent demonstration of the original oneness of the Indo-Āryan and English races, there is at present little or no social blending between the rulers and the ruled in India. Both Indians and Englishmen may be equally in fault, and each lays the blame upon the other; but the simple fact is, that Indians and Englishmen keep as distinct from each other as oil and water. Even Christianity does not overcome this race feeling. It is, indeed, generally acknowledged that if a highly-educated Brāhman becomes a Christian, and thereby consents to sit at table with Christians, he ought to be admitted into the best European society, but the pride of race is generally too strong for the sense of duty, and I fear that, as a matter of fact, few English homes, except those of the missionaries, are really opened to high-caste converts.

Thus it arises that well-bred men, who are quite our own equals in rank and education, are deterred from an open profession of Christianity through the want of any respectable circle of society to which they can be admitted in the adopted religion. If the force of conviction compels them to seek baptism at any sacrifice, they are instantly excommunicated by their own community, and then, if no missionary family be near, have no choice except to live alone or put up with the society of low-born native converts, with whom, perhaps, they have nothing in common but their adopted faith.

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Then there is the pride of knowledge. The English in India must, of course, be conscious of their superiority in civilization and scientific knowledge, but they bring discredit on Christianity and hinder the missionary cause when they take no pains to conceal their contempt for Hindūs and Muhammadans; and, forgetting that India was given to us to elevate rather than to humiliate, make them feel their own inferiority too keenly.

But perhaps the greatest hindrance arising from ourselves is the pride of religion. We cannot glory too much in our possession of the Gospel of Christ. God forbid that we should not glory in what we believe to be the only power of God unto salvation to Jew, Greek, Hindū, and Muhammadan! But if our love for our Gospel truth leads us to shut our eyes to the elements of truth that underlie all false religions, how are we even to approach those religions, much less bring any force of argument to bear upon them?

The missionary who goes to a believer in the Kurān or the Veda with the Holy Bible in his hand, has no choice but to search diligently for a common standpoint. 'Anything in your Bible,' the Musalmān will say, 'which agrees with my Kurān I will accept, otherwise I will not even listen to it.' The same language will be held by the Hindū with regard to the Veda. It may, indeed, shock Christians in this Christian country of ours to think of our missionaries placing the Bible on the same platform with the Kurān and the Veda; but there is really no alternative.

Young and enthusiastic missionaries must not be surprised, nor must we in England blame them, if they are forced to imitate St. Paul — to become Muslims to the Muslims, Hindūs to the Hindūs (without, however, giving up one iota of the truth which they themselves hold), in order that both Muslims and Hindūs may be won over to Christ.

And is there really no common ground for the Christian

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missionary, the Muhammadan, and the Hindū to stand upon? Are there not certain root-ideas in all religions which bear testimony to the original truth communicated to mankind? Hindūism, at any rate, may be shown to be a system which, on a solid basis of pantheism, has brought together almost every idea in religion and philosophy that the world has ever known. Even some of the greatest truths of Christianity are there, though distorted, perverted, caricatured, and buried under superstition, error, and idolatry.

And is it not a proof of the Divine origin of Christianity, and its adaptation to humanity in every quarter of the globe, that some of its grandest and most essential dogmas, and, so to speak, its root-ideas, do indeed lie at the root of all religions, and explain the problems of life which sages and philosophers in all ages of the world have vainly attempted to solve? Is it not the fact that all the gropings after truth, all the religious instincts, faculties, cravings, and aspirations of the human race which struggle to express themselves in the false religions of the world, find their only true expression and fulfilment—their only complete satisfaction—in Christianity?

When I began the study of Hindūism, I imagined that certain elementary Christian conceptions—such as the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of God, and the indwelling of God in the human heart—were not to be found there, but a closer examination has enabled me to detect not only these, but almost every other rudimentary idea of our holy religion. They are nearly all to be found in Hindūism, like portions of adamantine granite beneath piles of shifting sedimentary strata, and they ought to be eagerly searched for by the missionary as a basis for his own superstructure.

Hindūism, in fact, is a mere general expression, invented by Europeans for all the innumerable phases of pantheistic worship which exist in India. And, verily, I believe that much has yet to be done before all the shapes, and, so

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to speak, dissolving views of this Protean system are thoroughly comprehended.

At any rate, we students of India (including missionary students) have not as yet produced, though we are trying to do so—witness the series of books just published by the Christian Knowledge Society—any thoroughly exhaustive and trustworthy account of Hindūism. We have not sufficiently studied it in its own sacred Sanskṛit. We under-estimate its comprehensiveness, its receptivity, its subtle compromising spirit, its recuperative hydra-like vitality; and we are too much given to include the whole system under sweeping expressions, such as 'heathenism' or 'idolatry,' as if every idea it contains was to be eradicated root and branch.

Again, our religious pride will operate prejudicially to the missionary cause if it leads us to expect a complete and universal adoption of our own form of English Christianity. We cannot indeed glory too much in our loved Church of England, in her organization and her Book of Common Prayer; but is our zeal altogether according to knowledge if we attempt to force the Act of Uniformity with too iron a hand on all our Indian fellow-subjects? Depend upon it, that when the fulness of time arrives, and the natives of India everywhere openly accept Christianity, they will construct for it a setting of their own. And bearing in mind that our religion originated in the East, and that the Bible itself is a thoroughly Eastern book, we shall not only expect, but joyfully acquiesce in an Indian framework for Indian Christianity.

I will merely allude to two other obvious hindrances which beset the missionary cause in India,—I mean our own divisions and our own inconsistencies. As to the first, after travelling from Kaśmīr to Cape Comorin, I am able to certify that I have found, as a general rule, Christians of all denominations working together harmoniously, and forgetting in their conflict with a

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common foe their own conflicts of opinion in unessential matters.

Still, grave differences have recently arisen in some localities; and I venture to submit that it may be well not to forget that in the first struggles of Christianity with the paganism of the Roman Empire, the one mark by which all Christians were singled out from the rest of the world was their love for each other. 'See how these Christians love one another.'

As to our inconsistencies, let me quote the same member of the Brahma Samāj. 'Why,' he says, 'do you not make more Christians among the respectable classes of society? Because there is little to recommend itself in your Christianity. Does it make your merchants honest men? Are their goods pure and unadulterated? Does it make your soldiers polite and moral?'

It is satisfactory, however, to note, as I have lately done, that although some professing Christians may still walk as if they were the enemies of the Cross of Christ, no glaring scandals are now common in India. Nor can it be said of us by the natives, as it was to Mr. Terry (the first English clergyman, I believe, who ever visited India) in 1616, 'Christian religion devil religion; Christian much drunk, Christian much do wrong, Christian much beat, Christian much abuse others.'

And surely there is comfort in the thought that our hindrances in India under our own friendly rule are not greater than the obstacles in Europe under the hostile Roman Empire; nor are they greater anywhere than they always have been everywhere and may be expected to continue. And is it not the case that a steadily advancing cause thrives best under impediments, and that success is only the last step in a series of failures, difficulties, and discouragements?

At any rate, it is certain that men may hinder and men may impede, but the living waters of the river of God's truth will flow on for ever. Nay more, it is certain

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that though barrier and embankment may obstruct their course, the heaped-up waters will only gather strength and volume, till, with accumulated force, they spread themselves irresistibly over every region of the habitable globe[1].

[1] The above was delivered as an address at a Missionary Congress held in Oxford on May 2, 1877.

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INDIAN MUHAMMADANISM IN ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY, AND THE PROSPECTS OF MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE TOWARDS IT[1].

In my travels through India, I repeatedly passed from Hindū to Musalmān places of worship, and my spirit, troubled by the hideous idolatry witnessed in the temples of Vishṇu and Śiva, was instantly tranquillized by the severe anti-symbolism conspicuous in all the surroundings of Muhammadan mosques.

It is true that the transition was a little too abrupt. The atmosphere and aspect of the mosque seemed to strike me with a sudden chill; I appeared to have jumped from tropical glare to Arctic ice. But when I beheld the earnest bearing of Muslims prostrating themselves in adoration on the cold stone, and apparently worshipping God in spirit, if not in truth, I felt that there was nothing in the outward appearance of either building or worshippers incompatible with the spirit of Christian prayer. Nay more—I felt as I watched the devout Muslims, that I also might have prayed in the same place in my own way, and even learnt from them to pray with more solemnity and reverence of manner than I had ever before practised.

On such occasions I frequently asked myself the question—How is it that the attitude of Islām towards Christianity is far more hopelessly hostile than that of the other two great false systems of the world, Brāhmanism

[1] Speech at the Croydon Church Congress, October 1877.

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and Buddhism? Have we not read of hundreds and thousands of Hindūs and Buddhists converted by Christian Missionaries? but where are the Muslims? Why is it that so few Muhammadans are found to give glory to God in the knowledge of Christ? We are verily guilty concerning forty-one millions of our Indian brethren, and we are bound to search and try our ways, and see where our fault lies.

In the first place, how do we meet the present intolerant bearing of Islām towards other religions? Our Government is wisely neutral, but in our Missionary efforts are we not inclined to fight Islām with its own weapon? do we not sometimes oppose intolerance by intolerance?

There is, I admit, a false and true tolerance. But do we bear with all that we can, and denounce as little as we can in a system whose founder, however fiercely intolerant of idolaters, never denounced the Founder of our own religion?

In an excellent work by a faithful Missionary, recently published[1], I find it advocated that the attitude of Christianity towards the religions of India ought to be one of true intolerance. And what is his reason? 'Because,' he says, 'there is none other name under heaven but one, given among men, whereby we must be saved.'

But need we give up one iota of this precious truth, because we welcome everything good in Muhammad's system, and because we hold that we can best overcome the uncompromising intolerance of modern Muslims by confronting it with the charity and forbearance of our Lord Himself, and the first Missionaries, His Apostles?

Let us never forget that however bitter the feelings of hostility now displayed by the followers of Muhammad towards the followers of Christ, the attitude of Muhammad himself towards Christ Himself and the Gospel, as exhibited in the Kurān, was not only tolerant, but friendly

[1] Robson's 'Hindūism, and its relation to Christianity,' p. 297.

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and reverential[1]. Indeed, the more I have reflected on the present want of success in winning Musalmāns to our own most holy faith, the more surprise have I felt that we do not oftener advance to meet them on the common ground which belongs to the Bible and the Kurān—that we do not oftener remind them that the Kurān itself exalts Christ above humanity and teaches a manifold connexion between Islām and the Gospel.

We ought to bear in mind that the people we call Muhammadans call themselves Muslims, that is, persons who were taught by Muhammad to believe that salvation consists in holding as cardinal doctrines the Unity of God, and resignation to His Will. Muhammad himself never claimed to be the originator of these doctrines, and never allowed them to be called by his name. He was, in his own view of his own mission, the latest of four prophets (the others being Moses, Elias, and Christ), who were all followers of Abraham, the true founder of the doctrine of Islām[2], and were all Muslims, because all preached the Unity of God and submission to His Will.

O for more of the wisdom and courage of the great Apostle of the Gentiles! Were he at this moment unfolding before Muslims the unsearchable riches of Christ,

[1] Sir William Muir (p. 157 of his excellent work, 'The Life of Mahomet') shows that no expression regarding either the Jewish or Christian Scriptures ever escaped the lips of Muhammad other than that of implicit reverence. Both Jews and Christians, however, are repeatedly accused of having falsified certain texts (see Kurān, Sūra II. 39, 134).

Islām was really an illegitimate child of Judaism, and Muhammad owed much of the sternness of his monotheism to the teaching of the Jews. Christians as well as Jews are styled in the Kurān 'people of the Book.' The Pentateuch, and sometimes the whole Old Testament, is called Taurāt, and the New Testament Injīl. All three—the Law, the Gospel, and Kurān—are spoken of as the Word of God, and belief in them is enjoined on pain of hell, but the Kurān, according to Muhammad, was the latest revelation. See Kurān, Sūra III. 2; V. 52. The miraculous birth of Christ is asserted in Sūra III. 40–42.

[2] Muhammad always called Abraham the first of Muslims. Islām and Muslim are from the same Arabic root *salama*, signifying 'to submit to God's Will,' 'to trust in God.'

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would he not begin by saying, 'I also, like Abraham, am a Muslim. I believe as strongly as you do in the Unity of God. I resign myself as submissively as you do to the Will of God. Whatsoever things are good, are true, are lovely, are of good report in your system, I think on them, I accept them, I welcome them, nay more, I call on you to hold them fast'?

And ought not every Missionary to begin by meeting the Muslim on the ground of his own Kurān, for the very reason that he may more effectually combat its soul-destroying errors.

I fear that the present position of the Church Militant on earth is making cowards of us all. We shrink from Unitarian Islām as if we dreaded the infection of a disease easily communicated. We are living in the midst of malarious influences — some outside, some inside our camp. Every man suspects the soundness of his neighbour's religious opinions. What excites especial alarm in our Indian Mission-fields is the spread of theistic and pantheistic ideas among educated natives. Even the religious atmosphere of Europe is believed to be largely impregnated with the subtle germs of many forms of deistic and materialistic philosophy. In our dread of wandering unguardedly into the neighbourhood of these contagious errors we are doubtless rightly careful to take our stand firmly on the sure foundation of the divinity of God the Son. But ought we on that account to insist less forcibly on the doctrines of God's Fatherhood and of Christ's humanity which equally lie at the very foundation of sound Christianity?

I trust I shall not be misunderstood if I venture as a layman deferentially to inquire why it is that nearly every sermon I have heard for many years, whether in India or England, has been eloquent of God the Son—few sermons of God the Father, and God the Holy Spirit? Why is Christ so constantly held up to believers and

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unbelievers as the one God—so rarely as the Man Mediator leading us by one Spirit unto the Father?

We cannot, indeed, wonder that deeply religious Christians should concentrate their affections on the Saviour of the world. Nor can they render to the world's Redeemer more love than is His due. Yet it seems to me that in combating Unitarianism in our Indian brethren we may possibly ourselves be fairly charged with lapsing into a subtle form of Unitarianism, if we habitually place the One Mediator in the position of the One God.

Let me not be mistaken. I trust no one believes more firmly than I do in the necessity for insisting on Christ's Divine nature. But I am persuaded that if we would achieve more success in our Missionary dealings with Muhammadans, our first care should be to convince them that Christianity alone satisfies the yearnings of the human heart for mediation and atonement, because Christianity alone presents us with the One perfect Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus.

For if Muslims admit that their own prophet believed himself to be an imperfect man who needed every day to pray for the pardon of his own sins[1], they are on that very account more likely to be impressed with the contrast, when we set before them Christ as the One perfect Representative of our race,—the One divine Mediator whose atonement was efficient, because He was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.

Depend upon it that in seeking to win Muslims to the true faith, we require to cultivate more of the wisdom of the serpent. We require to creep into their hearts by a frank admission of the Unity of the Godhead, and of the excellence of Muhammad's teaching in regard to this and other doctrines. We may then perhaps induce them to meet us half-way—to relax a little of their stern monotheism—to concede that sinful man's necessity may have

[1] See Kurān, Sūra XLVIII. 2.

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acted, like a prism on light, to exhibit a triple manifestation of the One God; and so may cautiously, tenderly, gradually, lead them on to a full sense of the complex existence of the Almighty Being Who created us in His own Image, and to an unqualified acceptance of the great central dogma of our Church. But even when we have brought the need of an everliving Mediator and eternal Paraclete home to their hearts, we may wisely hesitate to force upon them, before they are able to bear it, the acceptance of merely ecclesiastical terms not found in our Bible.

I know that we members of the Church of England are rightly jealous for the term Trinity. I know that half the Sundays of the ecclesiastical year remind us of our Trinitarian creed. I know, too, that we rightly fence round our great central doctrine with every possible ecclesiastical safeguard. But in our first efforts for the conversion of Muslims, we shall be equally right to bear in mind that the language of the Bible preceded the Book of Common Prayer, that Christ Himself declared the first of the commandments to be, 'The Lord our God is One Lord,' that in the first Article of our Church, and in all our Creeds, the Unity of the Godhead is asserted before the triple Personality.

Before I conclude let me express a doubt whether we Christians, who claim divine inspiration for the Bible, believed by us to be the only true Word of God, delivered through the minds of men, are quite as fair as we ought to be towards the book believed by Muhammadans to be a record of the actual words of the Almighty.

In travelling from Kaśmīr to Cape Comorin, I scarcely met a single Missionary who professed himself conversant with the language in which the Kurān is written. His chief knowledge of the book, held to be the direct word of God by forty-one millions of our Indian fellow-subjects, is derived from translations made by Christians who utterly disbelieve even its partial inspiration.

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Moreover, although innumerable commentaries on the Kurān have been written in Arabic by pious Muslims, not a single one is generally studied by our Missionaries, nor has a single one ever been translated into English [1], nor do our Missionaries think of accepting any other interpretations of difficult passages than those given by unbelieving Christians.

I ask then what should we think of Indian Musalmāns if, after organizing a mission to convert England to Islām, they were to send us Missionaries who judged of our Bible not from their own knowledge of the original text, or even of our own English translation, but from translations into Indian languages made by unbelieving Muslims?

Or again, if Musalmān controversialists were to interpret all the difficulties of our sacred Scriptures, not from the point of view of such Christian writers as Butler, Pearson, or Hooker, but from that of hostile Muslim commentators?

One reflection more before I conclude. If only the self-deluded but fervent-spirited Muhammad, whose whole soul was stirred within him when he saw his fellow-townsmen wholly given to idolatry, had been brought into association with the purer forms of Christianity—if he had ever listened to the true ring of the Gospel—if, from the examples which crossed his path he had formed a correct ideal of the religion of Christ, he might have died a martyr for the truth, Asia might have numbered her millions of Christians, and the name of a Saint Muhammad might have been recorded in the calendar of our Book of Common Prayer.

As it was, alas! the only Christianity presented to the Arab enthusiast, thirsting for the well of living water, was

[1] The two Arabic Commentaries of highest repute, and indispensable for a right understanding of the Kurān, are those of Zamakhsharī and Baidhāwī, the latter especially valuable for grammatical and historical explanations. There are excellent editions of these Commentaries by Lees and Fleischer, but no English translation. Two other well known Commentaries are by the two Jalālu'd-dīns.

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that adulteration of the truth prevalent in the seventh century, which he believed it his mission to supplant by a purer system. It has somewhere been affirmed that the religion of Jesus, and the precepts of the Gospel, may be found scattered piecemeal through the pages of the Kurān. What should rather be alleged is that the religion of a spurious Jesus, and the precepts of a spurious Gospel, may be extracted from such parts of Muhammad's pretended revelations as were communicated to him by the followers of a debased form of Christian doctrine.

Think, then, of the difference in the present condition of the Asiatic world, if the fire of Muhammad's eloquence had been kindled, and the force of his personal influence exerted on the side of veritable Christianity.

Ought not this thought to intensify the sense of responsibility in those of us who are living among Muhammadans? What examples are Christians setting in Muhammadan countries? What ideal of Christianity are they presenting to millions of Muslims in our own Indian territories?

It is I fear too true that the pages of the Kurān are ever presenting to the pious Musalmān yearning like ourselves for a perfect Mediator, the image of a counterfeit Christ and a counterfeit Gospel; yet the spuriousness of the copy will not be so clearly manifested by argument and controversy as by the exhibition of a true reflection of the Divine Original in the lives, acts, and words of Christian men.

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THE THREE RELIGIONS OF INDIA COMPARED WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH CHRISTIANITY.

Let me begin by declaring my conviction that the time is approaching, if not already arrived, when all thoughtful Christians will have to reconsider their position, and, so to speak, readjust themselves to their altered environments.

Be it observed, I do not say readjust their most holy faith—not the doctrines once for all delivered to the saints, which cannot change one iota with changing circumstances—but readjust themselves and their own personal views. All the inhabitants of the globe are being rapidly drawn together by facilities of communication, and St. Paul's grand saying, that God has made all nations of the earth of one blood, is being brought home to us more forcibly every day.

Steam-presses, railroads, electric telegraphs, telephones, are producing effects quite without a parallel in the records of the past, and imposing on us Englishmen, the principal colonizers of the world, new duties and responsibilities.

A mighty stir and upheaving of thought is shaking the foundations of ancient creeds to their very centre; and those not reared on the living Rock are tottering and ready to fall. Thinkers, speakers, and writers, Christian and anti-Christian, throughout Europe, America, and Asia, are eagerly interchanging ideas on all the unsolved problems that have for ages baffled the powers of the human mind.

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Christians, whether they will or no, are forced to regard the most sacred questions as admitting of other points of view besides their own. Christianity itself is tested like everything else—its time-honoured records placed (so to speak) in the crucible; its cherished dogmas submitted to that potent solvent, Reason.

Muslims, Brāhmans, Pārsīs, and even Buddhists and Confucianists, no longer ignore our Bible, presented to them in their own languages. Intelligent and educated adherents of these creeds are found to look upon Christianity with respect, though they regard it from their own respective stand-points, and examine it by the light of their own hereditary knowledge and traditional doctrines.

In fact, a conviction is everywhere deepening in men's minds, that it is becoming more and more the duty of all the nations of the world to study each other; to inquire into and compare each other's systems of belief; to avoid expressions of contempt in speaking of the sincere and earnest believers in any creed; and to search diligently whether the principles and doctrines which guide their own faith and practice rest on the true foundation or not.

And thus we have arrived at an important epoch in the history of the human race. Thoughtful men in the East and West are fairly trying to understand each other's opinions, and impartially weighing all that can be said in favour of every religion opposed to their own.

And we Christians are taking the lead, and setting the example. We are labouring to translate our own Holy Scriptures into all the languages of the world. We are sparing no expense in printing and distributing them lavishly. We are saying to unbelievers everywhere: 'Read, mark, learn,' judge for yourselves.

But this is not all. We are doing for the adherents of other religious systems what they are slow to do for themselves. We are printing, editing, translating, and publishing the ancient books which claim to be the inspired repositories of their several creeds. And thus to us

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Christians is mainly due that now, for the first time, it is possible for the adherents of the four chief antagonistic systems prevalent in the world—Christianity, Brāhmanism, Buddhism, and Islām—to study each other's dogmas in the books held sacred by each.

Here, then, we have before us four sets of books. First, and in the forefront, our own Holy Bible. All honour to our Bible Society! this sacred book, which we hope may one day be carried into every corner of the globe, has already been translated into 210 languages; and if we include the labours of other societies, 296 different versions of it exist. Secondly, the Veda, a word meaning *knowledge*, on which Brāhmanism rests. There are four Vedas (namely, Rig, Yajur, Sāma, and Atharva, written in an ancient form of Sanskṛit), each containing three divisions—Mantra, Brāhmaṇa, and Unpanishad—nearly all of which have been edited and nearly all translated. Besides the four Vedas, there are the eighteen Purāṇas which constitute the bible of popular Hindūism. Thirdly, we have the Tri-piṭaka, or three baskets, that is, the three collections of writings on which Buddhism rests (written in an ancient language of the Sanskṛit family, called Pāli). Three important portions of these collections have been edited by European scholars, and recently translated into English. They are called the *Dhamma-pada*, 'Precepts of Law;' *Sutta-nipāta*, 'occasional discourses;' *Jātaka*, 'previous births of the Buddha.' Fourthly, we have the Kurān, in Arabic, a word meaning '*the book to be read by all*,' on which, as every one knows, Islām rests, and of which Sale's excellent English translation has been long available.

I now give specimens of select passages from the Veda and Purāṇas, from the Tri-piṭaka, and from the Kurān.

From the Atharva-Veda (IV. 16).

The mighty Varuṇa, who rules above, looks down
Upon these worlds, his kingdom, as if close at hand.
When men imagine they do ought by stealth, he knows it.

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No one can stand, or walk, or softly glide along,
Or hide in dark recess, or lurk in secret cell;
The God detects him, and his conduct spies.
Two persons may devise some plot, together sitting
In private and alone, but *he*, the king, is there—
A third—and sees it all. This boundless earth is his,
His the vast sky, whose depth no mortal e'er can fathom.
Both oceans find a place within his body, yet
In that small pool he lies contained. Whoe'er should flee
Far, far beyond the sky, would not escape his grasp,
His messengers descend, for ever traversing
This world and scanning with a thousand eyes its inmates.
Whate'er exists within this earth, and all within the sky,
Yea, all that is beyond, the mighty king perceives.

From the Kaṭha Upanishad (Vallī 2).

The good, the pleasant, these are separate ends.
The one or other all mankind pursue,
But those who seek the good, alone are blest.
The careless youth, by lust of gain deceived,
Knows but one world, one life; to him the Now
Alone exists, the Future is a dream.
The highest aim of knowledge is the soul;
This is a miracle, beyond the ken
Of common mortals, thought of though it be,
And variously explained by skilful teachers.
Who gains this knowledge is a marvel too;
He lives above the cares—the griefs and joys
Of time and sense—seeking to penetrate
The fathomless unborn eternal essence.
The slayer thinks he slays, the slain
Believes himself destroyed, the thoughts of both
Are false, the soul survives, nor kills, nor dies;
'Tis subtler than the subtlest, greater than
The greatest, infinitely small, yet vast,
Asleep, yet restless, moving everywhere
Among the bodies—ever bodiless—
Think not to grasp it by the reasoning mind;
The wicked ne'er can know it: soul alone
Knows soul, to none but soul is soul revealed.

From the Vishṇu-purāṇa (V. 23).

Lord of the Universe, the only refuge
Of living beings, the alleviator
Of pain, the benefactor of mankind,

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Show me thy favour and deliver me
From evil; O creator of the world,
Maker of all that has been and will be,
Of all that moves and is immovable,
Worthy of praise, I come to thee, my refuge,
Renouncing all attachment to the world,
Longing for fulness of felicity—
Extinction of myself, absorption into thee.

From the Tri-piṭaka (*Dhamma-pada*).

Conquer a man who never gives, by gifts;
Subdue untruthful men by truthfulness;
Vanquish an angry man by gentleness;
And overcome the evil man by goodness.

The following is a prophecy from the Lalita-vistara of what the Buddha was to do for the world (translated by Dr. John Muir).

The world of men and gods to bless,
  The way of rest and peace to teach,
  A holy law thy son shall preach—
A law of stainless righteousness.

By him shall suffering men be freed
  From weakness, sickness, pain, and grief,
  From all the ills shall find relief
Which hatred, love, illusion, breed.

His hand shall loose the chains of all
  Who groan in fleshly bonds confined;
  With healing touch the wounds shall bind
Of those whom pain's sharp arrows gall.

His potent words shall put to flight
  The dull array of leaden clouds
  Which helpless mortals' vision shrouds,
And clear their intellectual sight.

By him shall men who, now untaught,
  In devious paths of error stray,
  Be led to find a perfect way—
To final calm at last be brought.

From the Tri-piṭaka (*Sutta-nipāta*).

How can a man who has fallen into a river, having bottomless water and a swift-flowing current, being himself carried away, and following the current, cause others to cross it?

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As one, skilful, attentive, and acquainted with the mode of steering, going on board a strong ship provided with oars and rudders, causes by means of it many others to cross the ocean; even so he who has attained the knowledge of religious paths, being devoted to meditation, very learned, and of an unmoved nature, can teach others who listen with attentive ears to his preaching.

Drinking of the water of a life of seclusion and of the water of subjugating the passions, drinking also of the pleasant beverage called the perception of truth, one becomes freed from emotion and sin.

Thou art the Buddha, thou art the Teacher, thou art the Vanquisher of the evil one (*Māra*), thou art the Sage; having cut off all thoughts, and crossed the sea of repeated births, thou hast taken over these beings to the other shore.

From the Kurān (Chapters II, VIII).

To God belongeth the east, and the west; therefore, whithersoever ye turn to pray, there is the face of God; for God is omnipresent, and omniscient. And when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, 'Be,' and it is.

The Jews say, the Christians are grounded on nothing, and the Christians say, The Jews are grounded on nothing; yet they both read the scriptures. But God shall judge between them on the day of the resurrection concerning that about which they now disagree.

Verily the true believers are those whose hearts fear when God is mentioned, and whose faith increaseth when his signs are rehearsed unto them, and who trust in their Lord; who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms out of that which we have bestowed on them. These are really believers. They shall have superior degrees of felicity with their Lord, and forgiveness, and an honourable position.

O true believers! answer God and his apostle, when he inviteth you unto that which giveth you life; and know that God goeth between a man and his heart, and that before him ye shall be assembled.

O true believers! deceive not God and his apostle, neither violate your faith, against your own knowledge. And know that your wealth and your children are a temptation unto you, and that with God there is a great reward.

Having, then, these books before us, it is clear that we ought not to despise documents held sacred by our fellow-creatures, as if they were too contemptible even to be glanced at from the elevated position on which we stand. Rather are we bound to follow the example of the great Apostle of the Gentiles—who, speaking to Gentiles, did

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not denounce them as atheists or idolaters, but appealed to them as Δεισιδαιμονεστέρους, very God-fearing; and even quoted one of their own poets in support of a Christian truth—and who, writing to Christians, enjoined them not to shut their eyes to anything true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, wherever it was to be found; but that if there was any virtue anywhere, or any praise anywhere, they were to think on these things.

And have not we Englishmen, in particular, to whose rule India has been committed, special opportunities and responsibilities, brought as we are there into immediate contact with these three principal religious systems—Brāhmanism, Buddhism, and Islām?

Let us look for a moment at any modern map of India. The first glance shows us that it is not one country but many. Nor has it one race, language, and religion, but many races, languages, and religions. Mr. R. N. Cust, late a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, and a member of the Legislative Council at Calcutta, has recently published a map of India (including all the territories subject to British imperial authority) in which the boundaries of all the languages are marked out. It is accompanied by a table which classifies the languages under eight heads. These are as follow:—(1) Āryan, 20; (2) Drāviḍian, 12; (3) Kolarian, 7; (4) Tibeto-Burman, 56; (5) Khasi, 1; (6) Tai, 5; (7) Mon-Anam, 5; (8) Malayan, 33; in all, 139 distinct languages. At least 100 dialects are not included in the above classification. We may safely affirm, therefore, that the languages and dialects of India amount to at least 200.

Its population, according to the recent census, now exceeds 240,000,000.

Of these, about 185,000,000 are Hindūs, nominal adherents of Brāhmanism.

Then, secondly, nearly 41,000,000 are Muhammadans, adherents of Islām—so that England is by far the greatest Muhammadan power in the world, and the Queen reigns

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over about double as many Muslims as the representative of the Khalīfs himself.

Then, thirdly, there are about 3,000,000 Buddhists, including the Jains (whose peculiar tenets and sacred scriptures are described at p. 159). This will appear a small number to those who are aware that there are nearly 500,000,000 nominal Buddhists now in the world, the numbers of nominal Christians being far less—only about 360,000,000.

Nevertheless, the original home of Buddhism was India, which it did not finally leave till about the eighth or ninth century of our era. It is now found in the Chinese empire, Ceylon, Burmah, Nepāl, Assam, and scattered here and there throughout India in the form of its near relative, Jainism.

For what purpose, then, has this enormous territory been committed to England? Not to be the 'corpus vile' of political, social, or military experiments; not for the benefit of our commerce, or the increase of our wealth—but that every man, woman, and child, from Cape Comorin to the Himālaya mountains, may be elevated, enlightened, Christianized.

Let us now, therefore, briefly inquire what are the leading ideas which characterize these chief religions of the world, as represented in India; and in doing so let us rise from the false to the true.

1. To begin with Brāhmanism.

This has two sides—two aspects—and a vast chasm separates the two. One is esoteric, the other exoteric; one is philosophical, the other popular; one is for the few, the other for the many.

What, then, is the highest or philosophical form of Brāhmanism? Its creed, which rests on the Upanishad portion of the Veda, has the merit of extreme simplicity. It may be described in two words: Spiritual Pantheism; or, in the original Sanskṛit, Ekam eva advitīyam, *One only Being, no second*—that is, nothing really exists but

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the one self-existent Spirit, called Brahma (neuter); all else is Māyā, or *illusion*. In other words, nothing exists but God, and everything existing is God. You, he, and I are God. We do not know that we are God, because God wills for a time to ignore Himself. When this self-imposed ignorance ceases, all distinction of personality vanishes, and complete oneness of being is restored. This is true philosophical Brāhmanism—*the unity of all being*.

An enormous gulf separates this pure pantheism from the popular side of Brāhmanism, which may be called Hindūism, and which rests on the Purāṇas, and is practically polytheism. But the gulf is bridged over by the word emanation. In the philosophical creed, everything is identified with Brahma; in the popular, everything emanates from Brahma. Stones, plants, animals, men, superior and inferior gods, good and bad demons, and every conceivable object, issue from the one self-existent universal soul, Brahma, as drops from the ocean, as sparks from fire. Men emanate in fixed classes. They cannot alter their social status in each separate existence. Born Brāhmans, they must remain Brāhmans; born soldiers, they must remain soldiers; born tillers of the ground, they must remain tillers of the ground; born menials, they must remain menials.

But what of stones, plants, animals? The spirit of men may pass into any of these, if their actions condemn them to fall in the scale of being; or, on the other hand, it may rise to gods.

And what of gods? There have been direct emanations from the Supreme Being in the form of personal gods: and it is noteworthy that these divine personalities are generally grouped in threes or multiples of three. In the Veda we have sometimes three principal gods, sometimes thirty-three gods named. The Vedic triad consists of—1. *Indra*, or the atmosphere personified; 2. *Agni*, Fire; 3. *Sūrya*, the Sun. The latter and better known triad consists of—1. *Brahmā* (masculine), the Creator; 2. *Vishṇu*,

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the Preserver; 3. *Rudra-Śiva*, the Dissolver of the world, and its reproducer.

This leads to the doctrine of Incarnation. The god Vishṇu, as Pervader and Preserver, passes into men to deliver the world from the power of evil demons.

His most popular and best known incarnations are those of Kṛishṇa and Rāma. The history of Rāma is told in the great epic poem called Rāmāyaṇa.

Again, many stories of miracles worked by Kṛishṇa—the other principal incarnation of the god Vishṇu—are told in the second great epic, called Mahā-bhārata. He is there represented as fighting with and destroying many evil demons, notably one in the form of a serpent (Kāliya), on whose head he is sometimes depicted as trampling.

What, then, is the end of Brāhmanism? Men, animals, plants, stones, pass through innumerable existences, and may even rise to gods. But gods, men, animals, plants, and every conceivable emanation from the supreme Soul, aim at, and must end by, re-absorption into their source, Brahma. This is Brāhmanism.

2. Turn we now to *Buddhism*.

Buddha was the son of a king who reigned in Kapilavastu, a district to the east of Oudh and south of Nepāl. He was, therefore, of the royal caste. The name Buddha is merely a title meaning *the Enlightened*. His other names are Gautama, Śākya, Siddhārtha. He lived about 500 years B.C.; that is, about contemporaneously with Pythagoras, Zoroaster, and Confucius—all wonderful men. He was a great reformer of Hindūism; but it is a mistake to suppose that he aimed at an entire abolition of Brāhmanism, with the philosophical side of which his system had really much in common. His mission was to abolish caste, to resist sacerdotal tyranny, to preach universal charity and love, and to enjoin self-mortification and self-suppression through perhaps millions of existences, as the only means of getting rid of the evils of life and self-consciousness by an extinction of all being.

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He was himself the model of a perfect ascetic. He never claimed to be a god, but only the ideal of that perfection of knowledge and self-subjugation to which every man might attain.

The Buddha had himself passed through millions of births, and was about to become extinct; but before his own attainment of Nirvāṇa, or annihilation, he was enabled, by perfect knowledge of the truth, to reveal to the world the method of obtaining it. He died, and exists no more. He cannot, therefore, be worshipped. His memory only is revered. Temples are erected over his relics, such as a hair or a tooth. The Dathāvanśa, a history of one of his teeth, has recently been translated from the Pāli. In the same manner every man must pass through innumerable existences, rising or falling in the scale, according to his conduct, until he also attains Nirvāṇa, and becomes extinct. The Buddha once pointed to a broom in a corner, which he said had, in a former birth, been a novice who had neglected to be diligent in sweeping out the Assembly Hall.

In Buddhism, then, there can be no God; and if no God, then no prayer, no clergy, no priests. By 'no God' I mean no real God. Yet action is a kind of God. Action is omnipotent. Action is all-powerful in its effects on future states of being. 'An evil act follows a man through a hundred thousand transmigrations, so does a good act.' By 'no prayer' I mean no real prayer. Yet there are two forms of words (meaning, when translated, 'reverence to the jewel in the lotus,' 'honour to the incomparable Buddha,') which repeated or turned in a wheel either once or millions of times, must produce inevitable corresponding results in future existences by the mere mechanical law of cause and effect. By 'no clergy,' I mean no real clergy. Yet there are monks and ascetics by thousands and thousands, banded together in monasteries, for the better suppression of passion and attainment of extinction. Many of these are religious teachers but not priests.

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Has Buddhism, then, no morality? Yes—a lofty system of universal charity and benevolence. Yet extinction is its ultimate aim. In this respect it is no improvement upon Brāhmanism. The more the depths of these two systems are explored, the more clearly do they exhibit themselves in their true light as little better than dreary schemes excogitated by visionary philosophers, in the vain hope of delivering themselves from the evils and troubles of life—from all activity, self-consciousness, and personal existence.

3. We now pass to *Islām*, sometimes called Muhammadanism, but not so called by Muhammad himself, who never claimed to be the founder of a religion. Its creed is nearly as simple as that of esoteric Brāhmanism. The one is stern pantheism; the other stern monotheism. The one says everything is God; the other says God is one, but adds an important article of belief—'Muhammad is the prophet of God.' In short, the mission of Muhammad, according to himself, was to proclaim the unity of God (*tawhīd*) and absolute submission to His will (*islām*). What is its end?

The Kurān promises to its disciples a material paradise (*jannat*) or paradises (for there are seven), with shaded gardens, fresh water—two great desiderata in Arabia—black-eyed Hūrīs, and exquisite corporeal enjoyments. It also declares the existence of seven hells. The seventh and worst is for hypocrites; the sixth for idolaters; the third for Christians; the second for Jews.

Islām is plainly a corruption of Judaism and Christianity, and in point of fact began by admitting the truth of both.

The end or aim then of Brāhmanism is absorption into the one Soul of the universe; of Buddhism is extinction; of Islām is admission to a material paradise.

4. So much, then, for the three great religious systems confronting Christianity. Now for Christianity itself, which, creeping onwards little by little, is gradually sur-

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rounding them on all sides—sometimes advancing on them by indirect approaches, sometimes pressing on them by direct attack. And here I desire to speak reverentially, deferentially, and with deep humility. But I have the highest authority for what I am about to state. Christianity is a religion which offers to the entire human race access to God the Father through Christ by one Spirit.

The end and aim, therefore, of Christianity is emphatically union with God the Father, but such a union—mark here the important point—such a union as shall secure the permanence of man's personality, energy, and individuality; nay, even shall intensify these.

Let us now, the better to compare the four systems, inquire by what means the end of each is effected. And here let us change the order, and begin with the religion which we believe to be the only true religion in the world.

Christianity, then, asserts that it effects its aim through nothing short of an entire change of the whole man, and a complete renovation of his nature.

The direct means by which its end is accomplished may be described as a kind of mutual transfer, leading to an interchange and co-operation between God and man's nature, acting on each other.

Man—the Bible says—was created in the image of God. But the first representative man fell, and transmitted a taint to his descendants which could only be removed by suffering and death. Hence the second representative man, Christ, Whose nature was divine and taintless, voluntarily underwent a sinner's suffering and death, that the taint, transferred from the tainted to the Taintless One, might be removed.

This is not all. The grand central truth of our religion is not so much that Christ died as that He now lives and lives for ever. It is Christ that died—yea rather, Who is risen again—that He may bestow, first, life for death: secondly, a participation in His own divine nature for the tainted nature He has removed.

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This is the mutual exchange that marks Christianity—an exchange between the personal man descended from a corrupt parent, and the Personal God made man and becoming our Second Parent. We are separated from a rotten root and grafted into a living root. We part with a corrupt nature and draw re-creative force—a new nature—from the ever-living Divine stem of the Second Adam, to which by a simple act of faith we are united.

Other religions have their doctrines, their precepts of morality, which, detached from much that is worthless, may even vie with those of Christianity.

But Christianity has what other religions have not—a Personal God, ever living to supply the regenerating Spirit and Life by which man, being re-created and again made God-like, and again becoming 'pure in heart'—yet still preserving his own personality—obtains access to God the Father, and fitness to dwell in His presence for ever.

Secondly, *Islām.* What are its means of effecting its end? Muhammad was the prophet of God, says the Kurān, but nothing more. He claimed no combination of Divinity with humanity. Even his human nature was not asserted to be immaculate. He made no pretensions to mediatorial or vicarious functions. He died like any other man, and certainly did not rise that his followers might find in him eternal springs of divine life and power. Even Muslims do not regard him as the source of any re-creative force, capable of changing their whole nature. Muhammad sets forth faith in Islām and in his own mission, repentance, the performance of prayer, fasting, alms, pilgrimages, and the constant repetition of certain words (especially parts of the Kurān), as infallible means of obtaining Paradise. In one place, patience, perseverance, walking in the fear of God, and attachment to Him, are insisted on. Yet it must be admitted that the Kurān elsewhere maintains that good works have no real meritorious efficacy in procuring Paradise, and that the righteous obtain entrance there through God's mercy alone. Indeed, every action in Islām is done

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'in the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate' (*b'ismillāh ar-rahmān ar-rahīm*). But it should be borne in mind that the Kurān is by no means systematic or consistent. It was delivered in detached portions according to the exigencies of the moment, and, being often confused and contradictory, had to be explained and developed by traditional teaching. It has some noble passages.

In one thing the Muslim sets the Christian an example —submission to the will of God. But can the submission enjoined in the Kurān bear comparison with the sublime example of the Redeemer in the Garden of Gethsemane? Is it the submission of a slave to the will of a master, or the dependence of a child on a loving Father for life and breath and all things?

Thirdly, *Brāhmanism.* What are its means of attaining its ends? In fairness we must allow that the lines of Brāhmanical and Hindū thought often intersect those of Christianity.

In the later Hindū system the end of union with a Supreme Spirit is effected by faith in an apparently personal God. But this seeming personality melts on scrutiny into a vague impersonal essence.

True, God becomes man, and interposes for the good of men. There is a seeming combination of the human and divine—an apparent interchange of action. Most remarkable language, too, is applied to Kṛishṇa (in the Bhagavadgītā) as the source of all life and energy. But how can there be any permanent interaction and co-operation between divine and human personalities when both must ultimately merge in the Oneness of the Infinite?

Fourthly and lastly, *Buddhism.* What are its means of accomplishing its end? Extinction of being is effected by self-mortification, by profound contemplation, and by abstinence from action. The Buddha himself is extinct. He cannot therefore, of course, be the source of eternal life. Nor can indeed eternal life ever be desired by those whose highest aim is to be blown out like a candle.

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It is refreshing to turn from such unsatisfying systems —however interspersed with sublime sentiments and lofty morality—to the living, energizing Christianity of European nations, however fallen from its true standard, however disgraced by the inconsistencies of its nominal adherents.

One more observation before I conclude.

Brāhmanism is not a missionary religion, and from its very nature never has been nor can be. Trades may be associated in castes, and such associations are even now admitted into the modern caste-system of Hindūism; but trade combinations are no part of its true creed. Brāhmanism cannot make a Brāhman, even if it would; and so far from distributing in other countries the texts or translations of its own sacred Vedas on which its creed rests, prohibits the general reading and repeating of them by its own people, indiscriminately. As to printing and editing these books, even for philological purposes, orthodox Brāhmans regard them as too sacred to be defiled by printers' ink. Had it not been for the labours of Christian scholars, their contents would have remained for ever a 'terra incognita' to the majority of the Hindūs themselves. Brāhmanism, therefore, must die out. In point of fact, false ideas on the most ordinary scientific subjects are so mixed up with its doctrines that the commonest education—the simplest lessons in geography—without the aid of Christianity, must inevitably in the end sap its foundations.

Buddhism, on the contrary, when it first arose in India, was pre-eminently a proselyting system. Hence its rapid progress. Hence it spread as no other false system has ever spread before or since. But its missionary zeal has now departed, its philosophy has lapsed into superstition, and of real religion it has none, nor ever claimed to have. Hence its fate in India, and hence the fate that awaits it everywhere. Buddhism does not seem to have been driven forcibly out of India; it simply pined away and died out. It could not maintain its hold upon the Hindūs, who are essentially a religious people, and must have a religion of

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some kind. Take away Brāhmanism, and they cannot again become Buddhists. They must become Christians, Muslims, or Theists.

Young Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, educated and Europeanized without being Christianized, may glory in Positivism; but these are not the real population of India. The masses will never be satisfied with mere European knowledge, or with systems of philosophy and oppositions of science falsely so called. Christianity has many more points of contact with their ancient faith than Islām has, and when the walls of the mighty fortress of Brāhmanism are encircled, undermined, and finally stormed by the soldiers of the Cross, the victory of Christianity must be signal and complete.

And how does the case stand with Islām? Here we have a system which is still actively proselyting, and therefore still spreading. Indeed, if Christians do not collect and concentrate their energies so as to stem the tide of its progress in Africa, the advancing wave of the Muslim faith—a faith attractive to uncultured minds from its simplicity—will rapidly flood that whole continent.

But of no other religion can it be affirmed so emphatically as of Christianity that the missionary spirit is of its innermost essence; for Christ, Who is the Life and Soul of Christianity, was Himself a missionary—the first and greatest of all missionaries. And if He had not ordained the Apostles to be His missionary successors, and if they had not ordained other missionaries, there would be no Christianity among us here, no Christianity anywhere in the world.

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PROGRESS OF OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.[1]

Part I.

Macaulay, in his essay on Lord Clive, asserts that every English schoolboy 'knows who imprisoned Montezuma, and who strangled Atahualpa,' but doubts 'whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Sujah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindū or a Musalmān.' Macaulay's review was written nearly forty years ago.

Whether the Tom Browns and Julian Holmes of the present day are equally well 'posted up' in Mexican history, and whether, when turned out into the world as educated men, they are equally ignorant of Indian history, admits of question. Probably the main facts of the material development of British India are better known than they were when Macaulay wrote his essays in the *Edinburgh*. Yet at a time when great statesmen speak of our Eastern Empire as 'founded on criminal ambition,' and when other politicians accuse Russia of a desire to extend her territorial possessions in a manner equally unscrupulous, it may not be unprofitable to recall attention to the irresistible current of circumstances which has landed us in our present position

[1] This and the following Essay appeared first in the *Contemporary Review*.

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in India, and made British Indian interests and British Indian duties important elements of the momentous Eastern problem which the recent war has not yet finally solved.

The history of European enterprise in the East begins with the maritime supremacy of the Portuguese. The journeys of the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, in Central and Eastern Asia, between 1291 and the close of the thirteenth century, and the narrative of his visit to the coast of India, excited much interest in Europe, and stimulated travellers and navigators to feel their way eastward.

Our fellow-countryman, Sir John Mandeville, left England in 1327, and, after wandering for thirty-three years through Europe and Asia, returned home and wrote his well-known narrative, which was printed in 1499. The marvels 'of Inde' which he described probably contributed to stimulate the prosecution of maritime discovery, though it is doubtful whether he was ever in India at all. Nicolo Conti, a noble Venetian, is said to have travelled in India between 1419 and 1444; Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian, between 1468 and 1474; Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, a Genoese, between 1494 and 1499; Ludovico di Varthema between 1503 and 1508[1]. The Portuguese navigator, Bartholomew Diaz, succeeded in rounding the southern promontory of Africa, called by him the Cape of Storms, and was the first real pioneer of the ocean route to India, about the year 1487. Ten years later his countyman, Vasco da Gama—whose tomb or cenotaph I saw in a large Protestant church at Cochin—sailed round the Cape and reached Calicut on the 11th May, 1498. The Portuguese found India torn asunder by internal dissensions, and were the first to take advantage of its condition of chronic disunion and so gain a footing on the western coast. But the Portuguese were not mere traders as we originally were—mere commercial speculators

[1] Dr. George Birdwood is my authority here. I had not had the advantage of reading his valuable Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records of the India Office when I wrote this and the succeeding paper for the *Contemporary Review*.

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who went to India to make money, and to return home with it when made. They aimed from the first at settling in the country, at establishing themselves there as a conquering nation, and achieving political dominion.

Their first Indian viceroy was Almeyda. The second, Albuquerque, landed in 1508, took Goa from the kingdom of Bījāpur, and made it the capital of the Portuguese possessions. The Portuguese, however, never possessed any considerable territory in India beyond the limits of their factories. Their progress was too rapid and their career too adventuresome to be lasting. In less than a century their power began to decline, and by 1640 nearly all their ports and forts were wrested from them. Bassein was taken from them by the Marāṭhas in 1765, and only Goa, Diū, and Damān, on the western coast, now remain. Yet the Portuguese have left their mark on India—a more abiding mark, in the opinion of some persons, than the impression we should leave if our rule were to cease to-morrow.

The Dutch succeeded the Portuguese in the maritime supremacy of the Eastern seas. Their chief settlement was in Bengal, at Chinsurah, near Hūglī, which remained in their hands till 1824, when it was ceded to the English in exchange for our possessions in Sumātra. All their other settlements have gradually been made over to us.

The Danes never possessed more than two settlements in India—to wit, Tranquebar and Serampur (Sri-rāma-pur), on the Hūglī, which our Government bought in 1845.

The English soon became rivals of the Dutch. The first Englishman known to have reached India *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope was a man named Thomas Stevens, or Stephens (also called Stephen de Buston, or Bubston, in Dodd's Church History, ii. 133). He belonged to the diocese of Salisbury, and, having given proof of ability, was sent as a student to Rome, where he became a Jesuit. It is stated that he was once a member of New College, Oxford, but no

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such name is on the books[1]. His superiors despatched him as a missionary to the East Indies in one of five ships which left Lisbon on April 4th, 1579, and reached Goa in the following October. Thence he wrote a letter to his father, which is preserved in Hakluyt's collection of voyages (1st edition, p. 160). He resided at Goa about forty years, during five of which he was rector of a Jesuit college there. The inhabitants respected him as a kind of apostle. His familiarity with the dialects of the country is proved by his having published three works—a Konkanī Grammar, an Account of Christian Doctrine, and a History of Christ, which he called a Purāṇa. I have seen an edition of his Grammar in the India Office library, but have never met with his other two works.

In 1583, a merchant of London, named Ralph Fitch, 'being desirous to see the countries of the East Indies, shipped himself in a ship of London, called the *Tygre*, for Tripolis, in Syria.' He was accompanied by another English merchant, 'Mr. John Newberie,' who was the bearer of a letter of recommendation from Queen Elizabeth to 'Echebar (Akbar), King of Cambay' (Hakluyt's Voyages, ii. 245). Messrs. Fitch and Newbury journeyed through Syria and by the Euphrates to Basora, whence they took ship to Goa. There the Portuguese authorities, jealous of the intrusion of two rich English merchants, found some pretext for throwing them into prison. Happily, the English Jesuit, Father Stevens, was already a man of influence, and procured their release. They fled from Goa to Bisapor (Bījāpur), where they saw 'idols standing in the woods, some like a cow, some like a monkey, some like buffaloes, some like peacocks, and some like the devil, with four arms and four hands.' The account they published of their travels (preserved by Hakluyt) would well repay republication in a modern form, especially if illustrated and annotated like Colonel Yule's 'Marco Polo.'

[1] I find that one Thomas Stevyns took his degree at St. John's College, Oxford, in June, 1577.

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On the 31st December, 1600, little more than two hundred and seventy-nine years ago, the East India Company was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth. Though a second company was formed in 1698, it was amalgamated with the first in 1702.

As Queen Elizabeth gave Mr. Newbury a letter to Akbar, so James I sent Captain Hawkins to Sūrat, in 1608, with a letter to the Emperor Jahāngīr, who permitted the English to establish four factories in his dominions. Our first settlement was at Sūrat (improperly called Surát), near the mouth of the River Taptī, in 1611, and here the Portuguese, the Dutch, and subsequently the French,—who made their first expedition to India about 1604,—erected factories near to ours. As early as 1608 Sūrat is described as 'one of the most eminent cities for trade in all India.' It had been conquered by Akbar in 1573, and was then called a first-class port. I have twice visited this place—the first focal point of all our operations in the East, and the centre of all our commercial dealings with the people of India. Every part of the town is suggestive of interesting reminiscences. The boundaries of the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French factories may still be traced, and the fort built by the French is kept by us in good repair.

T e first name of the town is said to have been Sūraj (Sanskṛit, Sūrya), 'City of the Sun.' A Muhammadan ruler, wishing to change its Hindū name into one more significant of Muslim domination, converted Sūraj into Sūrat, 'a chapter in the Kurān.' Another name given to it was Bāb ul Makka, 'gate of Mecca,' and one part of the town is to this day called the Mecca quarter, because the Muhammadans of India made this western port their starting-point for the *hajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca.

It is greatly to be regretted that the River Taptī, once deep and navigable, has been allowed to accumulate silt till large vessels can no longer enter.

In 1615 James I sent Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Moghul Court. It is not surprising that a man so

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distinguished for diplomatic ability and conciliatory manners should have secured the concession of many advantages to the British merchants. But he recommended the Company to be satisfied with quiet trade, and warned them against using force to promote their commercial objects. 'If the Emperor,' he wrote, 'were to offer me ten forts, I would not accept of one.'

It is more remarkable that the extension of our commercial privileges on the western coast and in Bengal should have been due to the professional skill of an English doctor who lived at Sūrat. A certain Dr. Broughton cured the Emperor Shāh Jahān's daughter in 1636, and rendered similar services to his Viceroy in Bengal. This good man must have been a model of unselfish patriotism, for he might have enriched himself, but preferred to secure commercial benefits for his country. Another generous doctor, named Hamilton, procured similar privileges for the Company in the same way in 1716.

And here a point, too often forgotten, ought to be brought out conspicuously. The position of the English in India was at first merely that of a Company of commercial speculators, who had invested a large amount of hard cash in their speculation and wanted a good dividend. For a long period after their first settlement in Sūrat, they were simply a body of keen traders. They had no other thought than the improvement of their commerce, no other aim than the realization of good interest for their capital, no other policy than peaceful negotiation. They were willing to undergo toil, hardship, suffering, perils by land and sea, if money was to be had. But they were not fighting men. It was only when absolutely compelled to take up arms for the defence of their property, that they built forts and factories side by side. Rather than threaten force they were willing to stoop to the employment of language which nothing but long familiarity with Eastern servility could justify.

Even so lately as 1712, the President of the Bengal

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settlements, Mr. Russell, is reported to have petitioned the Emperor of Delhi to the following effect:—

'The supplication of John Russell, whose forehead is the top of the foot-stool of the absolute monarch and prop of the Universe. We Englishmen having traded hitherto in Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, custom-free, are your Majesty's most obedient slaves. We have readily observed your most sacred orders, and have found favour. We crave to have your Majesty's permission in the above-mentioned places as before, and to follow our business without molestation.'

The first spark of England's military glory in India was kindled when the peace-loving, money-loving Company of British traders nobly defended Sūrat in 1664 against the founder of the Marāṭha power, Sivajī, who attempted to wrest it from the Moghul Empire. Our gallant defence of the town when deserted by the other European traders was rewarded by the concession of further commercial privileges.

It was then that military organization became a condition of our very existence in India. To the Sūrat merchants belongs the honour of having quickened the first germ of our now gigantic Eastern Empire. Naturally, therefore, the right of presiding over British Indian interests first devolved on these Sūrat traders. The Presidency of Sūrat was the first Indian Presidency, and with Sūrat the privilege of presiding over every other English factory remained till Bombay was given to Charles II by the Portuguese as part of the dowry of his Queen Catharine of Braganza in 1661. Bombay was delivered up in 1665 and made over to the East India Company in 1668. Its commanding position, and its magnificent natural harbour, gave it the superiority. It was then that the Presidency over British Indian commerce naturally passed from one town to the other, and Bombay became the chief centre of British trade on the western coast of India.

But even then no dream of empire disturbed the purely mercantile spirit of our fellow-countrymen. Money was their motive, money was their guiding principle, money was their end, intrigue and negotiation their *modus*

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operandi. In a paper of instructions issued by the Directors of the Company in 1689 occurs the first hint that territorial jurisdiction might become necessary for the security of their property.

Turning now to the Bengal side of India, we find that the first factory was established on the Hūglī, in 1640–42. The first fortress was erected in 1656. It is noteworthy that the Company had to encounter far more opposition from the natives in this part of India than they had experienced on the western coast.

The site of Madras was obtained by Francis Day, then president of the mercantile community on the eastern coast, as a grant from the Hindū King of Vijayanagar, and a factory was founded there about the same year as the Hūglī factory (1639). Only a few fishermen's huts were then to be seen on the spot. Soon afterwards Charles I built Fort St. George, round which clustered the nucleus of the future Madras. At the same time he conferred on the fort the privilege of presiding over the factories of the Coromandel coast, the term 'presidency' merely denoting, as before, superintendence over the other trading communities in that part of India.

It was not till about 1700 that the germ of the future Calcutta (*Kālī-kataka*, village of *Kālī*) was planted, not far from Hūglī, and the celebrated temple of the goddess Kālī. Here a collection of villages, originally obtained by the English settlers as a grant in return for a present to a son of the Emperor Aurangzīb, was converted by the Company's principal agent in Bengal, Mr. Charnock, into the nucleus of the great metropolis, whose population (794,645 according to the last census) now outnumbers that of every other city in the British Empire, London only excepted. A fort was commenced, but the 'Marāṭha ditch,' now almost obliterated, was not excavated till about 1742. Its object was to protect the Calcutta settlements from the attacks of the omnipresent Marāṭha armies which then overran the whole of India, demanding tribute (significantly called

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chauth, 'a fourth'). Fort William was completed soon afterwards.

The idea of founding an empire in India originated, not with the English, but with the French. The man on whose mind the conception first flashed was the French Governor, Dupleix. A French East India Company had been formed, under Louis XIV, in 1664, and a factory established near that of the English at Sūrat. Ten years afterwards Martin, to whom the French owe the foundation of the power they afterwards acquired in India, obtained Pondicherry from the King of Bijāpur, and fourteen years later Chandarnagar (Chandernagore), on the Hūglī, was received from Aurangzīb. It was not till 1741 that Dupleix was appointed Governor-General of the French Indian possessions. His aspiring genius not only conceived the idea of conquering India, but devised the expedient of making use of the Indians themselves to aid in subjugating their own territory. He was the first to discover any soldier-like qualities latent beneath the mild, apathetic exterior of the Indian character. He beheld around him men, if not equal in muscular power to Europeans, yet naturally careless of life, temperate, faithful, docile, and submissive. Drilled and disciplined they might be turned into an effective army. This was the brilliant conception which, emanating from French intelligence, was developed and improved upon by English administrative energy. It was evident that the ability of Dupleix was equal to the task of carrying his bold design of founding a French Eastern Empire into execution. But no sooner had he developed his plan of acquiring territorial dominion, than the English perceived that they would have to fight or abandon their property to French cupidity. Instantly our troops of merchants were transformed from peaceful traders into resolute soldiers, determined on disputing every inch of ground with their European rivals.

The history of India was now, for at least ten years, the history of the struggle between the French and English for

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political ascendency and territorial dominion. The Carnatic—a strip of country on the south-eastern coast from the river Kistna, north of Madras, to Cape Comorin—was the theatre of the conflict. For some time successes and reverses balanced each other on either side. At one period it appeared as if the French were about to gain the upper hand. The days of the English in the Carnatic seemed to be numbered. But this was never really so, although once (on September 21st, 1746) the English governor, Morse, was compelled to surrender Madras to La Bourdonnais, the colleague, and, happily for us, the rival of Dupleix. Defeat to an Englishman is almost a necessity of victory; not indeed to the traditional John Bull, surly, corpulent, and combative, but rather to the more worthy representative of English energy, the typical Tom Brown, trained at our public schools, reared in an atmosphere of discipline, taught to subdue self and sacrifice ease to duty. Our fellow-countrymen gathered strength from opposition, disappointment, and repulse. They were wholly disinclined to unsheathe their swords; but when their martial spirit was once roused, they were only beaten back to advance with more tenacity of purpose. Their blunders were their best teachers; their failures were the steps by which they mounted to ultimate success. The determination of the French to reign supreme and expel us from India was the principal factor among the various causes which resulted in the foundation of our Indian Empire. But many other circumstances combined at this time to force territorial dominion upon either the French or English.

The vigour of the Moghul conquerors of India was wonderfully shortlived. It commenced with Akbar's conquests in 1570, and endured barely as long as the career of the British conquerors of the Moghul conquerors has already lasted. It reached its culminating point under Aurangzīb, and began to decay at his death, in 1707. The constituent elements of the empire rapidly disintegrated during the first half of the eighteenth century. It was as if the im-

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perial crown, studded with the jewels of Golconda, had suddenly fallen to the ground, and a scramble had taken place for the scattered gems. Those who took part in the struggle were first the emperor's own Muhammadan deputies, and secondly his own Hindū subjects. Among the former were the Nawāb of Oudh, the Nawāb of Bengal, the Nizām ul Mulk, or administrator of the Dekhan, and the Nawāb of the Carnatic, nominally subject to the Nizām. Among the latter were the Marāṭhas, a powerful tribe of marauding freebooters, who first acquired power in the west of India under Sivajī, about 1650, establishing themselves on isolated hills whose basaltic summits formed natural forts, and fixing the seat of their dominion at different central localities, first at Satāra, then at Poona (under the Brāhman Peshwa, or Prime Minister[1]), and finally at Nāgpur, Gwalior, Indore, and Baroda.

Each of these principal dependents of the Moghul Empire engaged in the struggle for dominion, and the more ambitious not only converted their own territories into independent sovereignties, but aimed at conquering the possessions of their neighbours. The French took advantage of the general disorder. They were not, like the English traders, averse from military operations. Contending chiefs sought their aid and solicited their alliance. Nothing could be more natural than that our French rivals, while intriguing with chiefs and ministers, and increasing by intervention the chaos of conflicting parties, should have thought more of constructing an empire of their own than of helping to build up that of any native potentate.

In the middle of the eighteenth century (about the year 1750), the power of the French reached its climax, and Dupleix erected a column, with an inscription in four languages, to commemorate his victories. It was then that a French army under Bussy utterly defeated our ally, Muhammad Alī, Nawāb of the Carnatic. The fortunes of

[1] The first of these ministers was Bālājī, and the second, his son Bājī Rāo I.

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the English in India seemed hopelessly ruined. At this critical juncture, Clive's indomitable courage and extraordinary ability came to the rescue. A mere youth changed the whole aspect of affairs. With only 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, he seized Arcot (in the year 1751), defended it for seven weeks against overwhelming numbers, and added victory to victory till the power of the French was completely broken. The final blow was given at the battle of Vandivash (Vandvās), in December, 1759, when Colonel Eyre Coote (Clive having been called to Calcutta to avenge the Black-Hole atrocity) completely routed the French armies under Lally and Bussy.

The idea of a European Empire in India then, as it were, changed minds. It was abandoned by the French, to be taken up by the English. Not that any such conception had as yet really taken hold of the East India Company at home, whose sole aim continued to be money, and not war or political supremacy. Nor did the idea at once enter the minds of their daring representatives in India—Clive and Warren Hastings. It was forced upon them by the exigencies of the situation in which they found themselves. More than once they endeavoured to return to their stools and their desks; but the irresistible course of events hurried them away. The East India Company made them clerks and book-keepers. Necessity transformed them into conquerors and rulers. What, in fact, was the state of affairs at this momentous period of Indian history? Two of the competitors in the general scramble for the scattered jewels of the crumbling crown of Delhi were obliged for a time to retire from the field—the French disabled by Clive and Coote, the Marāṭhas paralyzed by their defeat at Panipat. There remained the Nawābs of Bengal, of Oudh, and of the Carnatic, the powerful Nizām of Hyderabad in the Dekhan, the Muhammadan usurpers of Mysor—Hyder Ali and his son Tippū. Each of these aimed at expelling the English from India, hoping to clear the field for their own ambitious designs. The English had again to accept the alternative

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of defending themselves by sheer hard fighting from the bitter hostility of the various competitors for empire, or abandoning the country altogether. They could not retire like cowards from the sphere of activity in which circumstances had placed them. They were drawn into the *mêlée.* A peaceful policy was possible among the Directors of the trading company at home—impossible among the English on Indian soil.

For example, what happened in Bengal, where the Nawāb Alīvardi Khān had been succeeded by the atrocious Sūraj-ud-Dowla? This man seized the English factory near Murshidābād, taking the officers prisoners (Warren Hastings among the number), and marched on Calcutta. There the garrison capitulated, and the Black-Hole tragedy was enacted. Colonel Clive, then at Madras, came again to the rescue of the British arms. With a handful of Europeans and 2,100 sepoys he defeated Sūraj-ud-Dowla on the celebrated field of Plassey (so called because planted with groves of the Palāsa tree), on the 23rd June, 1757. It was then that the Zamīndārī of the twenty-four Pargannahs round Calcutta was made over to the English, and the germ of our vast Indian Empire was first thrust upon us. What was to be done? Were we to decline the gift, and hand it over to monsters of the Sūraj-ud-Dowla type—to any of those unprincipled and unscrupulous adventurers who swarmed everywhere, eager for political power and intent on enriching themselves at the expense of the natives? True, we found ourselves strong enough to annihilate the Black-Hole miscreant, but the country gained nothing by the substitution of our creature, his successor, Mīr Jāfir.

Mīr Jāfir's administration of Bengal was corruption worse corrupted. We dethroned him in 1760, and set up his son-in-law, Mīr Kāsim Alī. This man began well, but turned out as great a monster as Sūraj-ud-Dowla; for when we attacked him at Patna in 1763, with the intention of reinstating Mīr Jāfir, he had 148 English prisoners massacred by a German serving in his army, under the name of

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Sumru (the native equivalent of Sombre)[1]. No one else would undertake the bloody task. Mīr Kāsim took refuge with Shuja-ud-Dowla, the powerful Nawāb of Oudh, with whom was the then less powerful Shāh Ālam, emperor of Delhi. The three combined against us, but our victory, under Munro's generalship, at Buxar, in October, 1764, made us virtually masters of the whole country from Calcutta to Delhi.

We were compelled, however, to clear Hindūstān of certain troublesome Afghān tribes in the Rohilla war of 1775. Then other wars were forced upon us; for as we had either to fight the Nawābs of Bengal and Oudh, or basely abandon that part of India to their tender mercies, precisely so had we to fight the other unprincipled competitors for empire—the usurpers, Hyder Ali and Tippū of Mysor, and the Marāṭhas. From the breaking-up of the Hindū kingdom of Vijaya-nagar a line of Hindū kings had reigned in Mysor till 1761, when Hyder Ali, a Muhammadan officer in the Hindū army, usurped the throne. The four Mysor wars followed, viz. those of 1767-9, 1780-4, 1790-2, and 1798-9. Finally we stormed Seringapatam, conquered Tippū, and brought part of his territory under our own jurisdiction in 1799.

As to the Marāṭhas, although their power had been broken at Panipat (7th January, 1761) by the Afghān chief, Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, or Durrānī, on his third invasion of India, yet in their case also four wars[2] had to be undertaken by us before they were subjugated. The treaty of Bassein, by which the Peshwa (Bājī Rāo II) engaged to receive a British subsidiary force, and to pay for its maintenance, ended the first war, and broke up the Marāṭha confederacy. The chiefs were then disunited. Sindia and Bhonsle would not accept the treaty, and prepared for the

[1] His real name was Reinhard. He was a native of Salzburg, and first served under the French, who nicknamed him Sombre, from his melancholy cast of countenance. The well-known Dyce Sombre was his grandson.

[2] These were the wars of 1780–82, 1803, 1804–5, and 1817–19.

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second war, during which Wellington defeated the Marāṭha army on the renowned field of Assai (September 23, 1803). Two other wars followed. The Marāṭha chiefs did not venture on open hostility, but excited the Pindārīs—wild, predatory tribes, the Bashi Bazouks of the Marāṭha armies—to attack us. All these marauding powers were put down during the administration of Lord Hastings. The last Marāṭha hill-fort was taken in 1819.

In the case of Hyderabad, we made a treaty with the then Nizām, in 1798, by which he was bound (and is still bound) to support a contingent of 6,000 troops, and dismiss all French or other European officers from his territory. In the case of Oudh, we made the then Nawāb an independent king in 1818; but his country fell into such utter disorder that it had to be annexed under Lord Dalhousie's administration.

Clive was appointed Governor of Bengal a second time in 1765, and on the 12th of August in the same year the Emperor of Delhi, Shāh Ālam, conferred on the East India Company the Dīwānī, or right of collecting the revenue—equivalent to the whole sovereignty—of Bengal, Behār, and Orissa. Warren Hastings was our first Governor-General, from 1774 to 1785. With all his faults he was perhaps the greatest of our great Indian rulers. He was the parent of our whole civil administration. In England the mistake was made of judging him by European standards of political morality. In spite of occasional acts of injustice, oppression, and extortion—the excusable result of bewildering difficulties and brain-disturbing complications—his conduct on the whole was marked by a high-minded integrity redounding greatly to his honour. He made all the servants of the Company sign a covenant not to accept presents or engage in any kind of private traffic. Thenceforward they were no longer merchants and traders, but administrators. At that time our possessions in India were (1) Bengal, Behār, Orissa, and Benares, (2) a jāgīr of land round Madras, and the strip of country on the eastern coast, called Northern

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Circars, (3) the island of Bombay. A few subsequent acquisitions may be here enumerated; for instance, the Carnatic in 1801; the upper Doab in 1803; Assam in 1826; Sindh in 1843; the Jullunder Doab in 1845; the Panjāb and Satāra in 1849; Pegu in 1852; Nāgpur and Jhansi in 1853-54; Oudh in 1856. Ceylon was taken from the Dutch in 1795-96. It was first annexed to Madras, but was made a Crown colony in 1803.

We see then that by a concatenation of circumstances unparalleled in the world's history, the whole of India from Kaśmīr to Cape Comorin, from Karāchī to Assam and Burmah, has gradually fallen under our rule.

Let us next inquire what statistics exist which will enable us to institute a comparison between the state of the country when its administration was first made over to us and its condition in our own time. Every good Government is sensible of the duty of making statistical investigations—of collecting, classifying, registering, tabulating, and comparing the facts of the every-day existence of the people committed to its rule. The Ayīn-i-Akbarī remains a monument of the great Emperor Akbar's efforts in this direction. He was far in advance of his age, and his successors were not equal to the task of carrying on his investigations. The East India Company, however, was never unmindful of its duties in this respect. Returns have occasionally been called for by the House of Commons. In every district a vast mass of knowledge on every conceivable subject relating to the condition of the country and its inhabitants has been collected, digested, and committed to writing; and from time to time the information thus gained has been carefully arranged and formulated. The first effort of this kind in Bengal dates from 1769, four years after that province began to be administered by the East India Company. In 1807, Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton was formally appointed to carry out a statistical survey of the Bengal Presidency. This survey, which only embraced the northern districts, including Behār, extended over seven years, but

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was never completed, though twenty-one thick volumes of manuscript were produced.

In fact, great difficulties have always impeded the progress of statistical investigation. Even to this day the natives of India are not sufficiently enlightened to understand our real motive. They have been so long accustomed to exactions, that, to their minds, government is only another name for oppression. They persist in expecting our little finger to be thicker than the loins of our predecessors. They are haunted by suspicions that every unusual inquiry is the precursor of a fresh assessment. During the taking of the census in 1871-72, a man detected in the act of hiding his babies gave as his excuse that they were too young to be taxed. Besides, designing agitators are always at hand to thwart the good intentions of our Government by exciting the superstitious fears of a credulous peasantry. In Murshidābād, the surplus population, according to popular report, was to be blown away from guns; in other places it was to be drafted to the hills, where coolies were wanted.

Sir William Muir, in his Report on Indigenous Schools, mentions that at the beginning of the inquiry a rumour spread among the natives of the North-West Provinces that four Christian missionaries, whom the Oriental imagination of the inhabitants converted into magicians, had come from Benares. One of them, it was alleged, was about to visit their houses in the garb of a mendicant; he would stretch a magic wand over the heads of their children, compel them to follow him, and turn them into Christians by witchcraft.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the collection and registering of accurate information has proceeded with a certain degree of continuity, though in an unsystematic manner. The energy and wisdom of Mr. Thomason, who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces in 1843, devised the first organised scheme. Every magistrate and collector was required to throw

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together and arrange all the information—historical, geographical, economical, educational—he could obtain regarding his own jurisdiction. These compilations were to serve as guides and companions for every district. One of them, by A. Shakespear, published in 1848, gives the result of a first census of the whole province, and the most minute information as to the area of revenues of each pargannah. A second census was made under Mr. Thomason's instructions on the night of December 31st, 1852. The results were published, and no such valuable returns were ever before obtained.

The year 1847 saw the first formation of a regular statistical department at the India-house, and the merit of constantly stimulating its activity belongs to one of the old Company's directors, the late Colonel Sykes. In 1853 this statistical office published the first series of statistical papers relating to India, illustrated by useful maps. A great deal of fairly accurate information was given under various heads, in sixty-seven folio pages. The latest orders of the Court of Directors on the subject of statistics were issued in 1855, three years before the government of India passed from the Company to the Crown. In 1867 the Governor-General in Council, in obedience to orders received from Her Majesty's Secretary of State, directed the preparation of a statistical account of each of the twelve great provinces of India.

In 1871 a department of revenue, agriculture, and commerce was established at Calcutta, having under its charge various statistical surveys — geological, ethnological, linguistic, archæological, industrial, and literary. Dr. W. W. Hunter was appointed Director-General of Statistics in India. He became the central guiding authority to all the local collectors of information; and great praise is due to him for the effective plan of operations he inaugurated.

In 1873 there issued from the India Office the first of a new series of statistical statements. It exhibited the moral and material progress and condition of India from 1871–

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72. This was a great advance on all previous Blue-books. A volume for 1872–73 followed. This was a revised and improved edition of that for the previous year. Since then supplementary statements have been published annually; but that for 1872–73—by Mr. Clements R. Markham—is incomparably the best work of the kind that the Home Government of India has ever produced. Its pages, though by no means free from inaccuracies and inconsistencies, are full of valuable information on every subject connected with our Eastern Empire—even including missionary progress—and the carefully-drawn maps with which it is illustrated are a highly instructive study in themselves. Its purely literary excellence is not the least of its merits. Every decennial period will, I believe, be marked by the publication of a similar volume.

Perhaps still greater praise, in respect of scientific completeness and accuracy, is due to Sir George Campbell's exhaustive report on his own administration of Bengal during 1872–73. This forms a thick octavo volume of about nine hundred pages. It is a perfect mine of valuable information.

Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal in twenty volumes[1] is the crowning production. Considering the difficulties with which the editor has had to contend, and, notwithstanding a few errors, omissions, inconsistencies, and repetitions, unavoidable in statistical returns comprising a record of the condition of countries and populations more numerous and varied in character than those of Great Britain, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy put together, we must pronounce this work to be a monument of scientific skill and patient elaboration. It shows the extent to which a desire for correct information has been diffused through all grades of the executive service. It represents the first effective advance towards a complete knowledge of the country. When Dr. Hunter commenced his labours, no

[1] A Statistical Account of Bengal. By W. W. Hunter, B.A., LL.D. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

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regular census of the population had been taken; and the enumeration of 1872–73, which gave the enormous result of 240 millions for the whole of India, inclusive of the native States, disclosed that the official estimates had been wrong as regards Lower Bengal alone, by more than 25 millions of souls. The estimate had stood at 40 millions for that province, whereas the total by the census amounted to 66¾ millions. The population of British India alone was about 190 millions, and the whole of India contained twice as many Muhammadans as the whole Turkish Empire. The result revolutionized our ideas in regard to the amount of the population, its distribution in different districts, its classification according to races, occupations, and religions. It quite altered our calculations in respect to the incidence of taxation, the consumption of salt, and many other matters.

When it is borne in mind that Dr. Hunter's twenty volumes represent the statistical account of the Province of Bengal alone, and that the materials for an Imperial Gazetteer of the whole of India, whose population exceeds that of all Europe exclusive of Russia, have already been collected, it must be admitted that our Government is doing its duty to the full in endeavouring to acquire a correct knowledge of the vast country committed to its rule.

But now comes the question: Are we availing ourselves of that knowledge for the benefit of the people? Having made ourselves thoroughly acquainted with what India was and is, do we make it our first endeavour to improve her own ancient institutions, to stimulate her own inherent energies, to utilize and develop her own existing resources, to direct and extend her own inherited civilization, to guide, mould, and expand her own deep-seated religious instincts, feelings, and convictions? Do the statistics we have collected furnish sufficient data on which to ground a fair opinion as to whether our government is advancing, stationary, or retrograde? Do they bear witness to the

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justice, the disinterestedness, the wisdom of our rule? Do they tell of order, organization, and progress in every department of our administration?

For example, do we find in India a thoroughly efficient system of education ascending from the lowest strata of society, pervading every corner of the social fabric, and supported by the State, the municipalities, the landholders, and the parents of the children? Is the education imparted something more than mere information? Does it have regard to forming the character as well as informing the mind? Is there adequate machinery for training qualified teachers, for supplying good class-books, and for testing the value of all instruction given? Are there good schools of science and art, equipped with effective laboratories, libraries, and museums? Is the press free? Are the native newspapers, for the most part, loyal in tone, and generally engines of good rather than of evil? Is there entire toleration by the State, and by the people, of every form of public worship, so long as such worship does not offend against police regulations and public morals? Is the welfare and contentment of the people secured by a wise adjustment of the sources and incidence of taxation? Is the State assessment on land fairly and judiciously fixed, either in perpetuity or for the average lifetime of a generation? Is the revenue collected by honest and efficient officers? Does the collection cause sales, ejectments, or imprisonments? Are there courts of civil and criminal justice presided over by independent and properly qualified officers, not afraid to decree against the powerful, using the vernaculars of the people, and guided by laws of procedure fixed and published? Are all men equal before the law? Is any class precluded from giving testimony, from conducting suits, or demanding justice, on account of religion or civil status? Is there any form of disguised or open slavery, helotry, serfage, unlawful apprenticing, &c.? Is there unlimited license of petition from the poorest to the highest official? Are

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State officers bound to receive and dispose of all petitions and record an order upon each several petition, a copy of which can be claimed by the petitioner with a grant of appeal to the officer of higher grade? Are the civil and executive officers constantly moving about in suitable weather from village to village, and living unarmed among the people? Are odious and abominable practices, such as female infanticide, burying alive, burning widows, human sacrifices, self-immolation, sitting in Dharnā, hook-swinging, allowed or winked at, in any class from rāja to peasant? Are capital executions rare? When they take place, are they conducted with decency? Are the gaols strictly supervised? Is it possible to imprison without a legal warrant? Is the formation of good roads, bridges, canals, irrigation-works, railways, telegraphs, postal communication, sedulously promoted in every province? Is travelling safe by night and by day? Are all bands of robbers, Thugs, and poisoners extirpated? Are measures taken to prevent or alleviate famines? Are sanitary arrangements promoted everywhere? In time of pestilence and scarcity are the sick and starving properly cared for? Are there abundant hospitals and dispensaries? Is there any military conscription? Have the military authorities any power whatever beyond the limits of the cantonments? Do the people show confidence in the honour and integrity of the State? Do they avail themselves of the post-office, the money-order offices, the savings banks, the State loans? Are the public officials paid regularly by a fixed salary, and rendered absolutely incapable of all corrupt practices, bribery, malversation, and oppression?

It is not too much to say that the most cursory examination of the India Office Statistical Returns must convince even a hostile critic that a favourable reply may be given to nearly all of these questions. Tried by these tests in 1879, the Government of India may hold up its head, and look its enemies in the face. Tried by some of these tests fifty years ago the Government of India must

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have sunk humiliated to the dust, with almost as much ignominy as the Turkish Government does now. In proof of this assertion let me next give a more particular account of the progress of India under two or three principal heads, commencing with education.

No one now disputes the proposition that one of the most sacred duties of every government is to promote and superintend the education of its subjects. We rulers of India are at length fully sensible of the obligation under which we lie to deliver the masses from the ignorance and superstition which have for centuries enslaved them. We are at length bestirring ourselves to bring the blessings of sound and useful European instruction within reach of the poorest and most insignificant member of the Indian body politic.

Yet fifty or sixty years ago the very reverse was the case. Our rule was believed to be accepted by the people as a boon after the oppression of their own masters. They longed for rest, and our supremacy secured it. They needed tranquillity, and our government enforced it. They had no desire for knowledge, and we had no desire to impart it. *Quieta non movere* was thought to be a maxim even more suited to Asiatics than to Europeans. To educate the masses was to sow the seeds of disquietude. To give them knowledge was to give them power, or at least to puff them up with a conceit of their own ability to govern themselves. Our security in India was believed to be bound up with the continuance of a blissful condition of crass ignorance in two hundred millions of living souls. Hence, when at the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813, an agitation was set on foot (chiefly I believe at the instance of a party inspired by William Wilberforce) for the promotion of education among our Indian subjects, very little effect was produced. Yet the House of Commons resolved at that time that a sum of £10,000 a year was to be set apart out of the Indian revenue for 'the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the

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introduction of a knowledge of European sciences among the people.' It is noteworthy that two distinct objects—the revival of Eastern learning and the introduction of European science—were clearly set forth in that resolution. It was not forgotten, in fact, that all Hindūs of the Āryan stock were already literary people. At a time when our ancestors were clothed in skins, and could neither read nor write, the Hindūs had made great advances in science and art. They were the first cultivators of the science of language. They fashioned for themselves one of the most complete alphabets, they constructed for themselves one of the most perfect grammatical systems, they elaborated for themselves by a process of analysis (*vyākaraṇa*) and synthesis (*sanskaraṇa*) one of the most finished languages that the world has ever seen. They were the original inventors of the ten arithmetical figures and invaluable decimal notation, which have done such good service in Europe. They devised their own processes of arithmetic and algebra. They calculated eclipses and made many shrewd astronomical guesses centuries before the existence of Copernicus and Kepler. They investigated for themselves the laws of thought, and contrived a logical method, which, if not equal to that of Aristotle, has peculiar merits of its own. They excogitated for themselves six most subtle systems of philosophy, of which all European systems are mere repetitions and reproductions. They wrote learned treatises on theology, long before any European thinker had bestowed a thought on the nature of God, or the relationship of spirit to matter. They cultivated the imaginative faculties more diligently, if not more successfully, than European nations, and composed long epic poems very little inferior, and in some respects—for instance, in the portrayal of domestic life — superior, to those of Greece and Rome.

It was thought that a people so acute in intellect, so remarkable for erudition, so successful in industrial arts, and the actual possessors of vast literary treasures, ought

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first to be encouraged to develop their own resources, to make use of the immense literary capital inherited from their ancestors, and then to make good their own deficiencies and extend their own acquirements by cultivating the more fruitful fields of European lore, and drawing fresh life from the fountain of European scientific truth.

But three main hindrances have always impeded the advance of education among the people of India. The first has arisen from the pride and selfishness of those who in ancient times secured the monopoly of all learning. The Brāhmans, having obtained possession of the temple of knowledge, resolved to keep the key in their own hands. They soon discovered that the maintenance of their intellectual supremacy, no less than the promotion of their material interests, depended on their excluding the *profanum vulgus* from access to the interior shrine. They never, it is true, discouraged the communication of mere rudimentary instruction to the people in the vulgar tongue, but instruction in their sacred Sanskṛit—the repository of their literature, religion, science, and law—has ever been reserved for their own sacred order.

A second hindrance has arisen from the utter narrow-mindedness of Indian Pandits. They have believed the whole circle of human knowledge to be contained in Sanskṛit writings. To this very day, the most bigoted are fully persuaded that to learn anything beyond the Śāstras is quite useless.

A third hindrance has arisen from the peculiar organization of Indian society. The Hindūs have always been great believers in division of labour as a divine institution. Learning, with them, has ever been regarded as the province of learned men. Pandits, writers, and accountants have formed, like agriculturists, soldiers, and merchants, separate divisions of the community. Each has belonged to a distinct caste, and each caste has been expected to confine itself to its own business. A fourth hindrance, to which I propose recurring hereafter, has been caused by

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the difficulty of teaching the complicated Indian alphabets.

Under such circumstances it was not surprising that the promulgation of the House of Commons' resolution of 1813 was received in India with apathy and indifference. The rulers feared the evil consequences of education for the ruled, and the ruled anticipated no good results for themselves. It was not till the 17th July, 1823, that action of any kind was taken by either one side or the other. This date marks the commencement of what may be called the first educational epoch in India. On that day it was resolved by the Governor-General in Council that a General Committee of Public Instruction should be constituted for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education, for the introduction of useful knowledge, and for the encouragement of native literature. Of this committee Sir Charles Trevelyan, who, when a member of the Bengal Civil Service, published a valuable little volume on Indian Education, was one of the most active members.

Two institutions were already in existence for the encouragement of Oriental learning—the Madrassa or Arabic College established by Warren Hastings at Calcutta in 1781; the Sanskṛit College founded by Mr. Jonathan Duncan at Benares in 1791, 'with a view to endear our Government to the Hindūs by exceeding, in our attention to them and their systems, the care ever shown by their own native princes.'

A third college was founded in 1816 by the voluntary contributions of the natives themselves. This latter seminary was called the Hindū Mahā-vidyālaya, 'great Hindū seat of learning,' but its principal aim was to instruct young Indians in English literature and the sciences of Europe. It owed its origin to the exertions of Sir E. H. East, Mr. David Hare, and Rāja Rām Mohun Roy, but was taken in hand and improved by the new committee of public instruction.

The committee also opened a Sanskṛit College at Cal-

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cutta, in 1824, and another College at Delhi in 1825, for instruction in the three classical languages of India, acting no doubt under the inspiration of the then celebrated Orientalist, and future Boden Professor, H. H. Wilson. There were also a few schools, and notably those founded at Chinsurah in 1814 by a worthy dissenting minister, Mr. May.

Here, then, we have the two distinct educational lines indicated in the House of Commons' resolution of 1813, definitely laid down. The one line led to the desired goal through the classical languages of India—Sanskṛit, Arabic, and Persian; the other through English. Both were recognized as media for the communication of European knowledge. Nevertheless, for the greater part of what I call the first or Orientalizing educational epoch, Oriental learning was in the ascendant. In the committee there was internecine war. Orientalists and Anglicists were irreconcilable. Each party contended for the exclusive application of its own instrument of education. Neither was tolerant of the other. In 1833 the committee consisted of only ten members. Five were for educating by means of Oriental learning. These were Messrs. Thoby Prinsep, James Prinsep, H. Shakespear, Macnaghten, and Sutherland. Five were Anglicists, viz. Messrs. C. E. Trevelyan, J. R. Colvin, Bird, Saunders, and Bushby. The latter were not only for imparting an European education through the medium of English; they were for cutting down the sum annually lavished on the support of Oriental students, and on the printing of Sanskṛit and Arabic translations. The fundamental difference of opinion between the two halves of the committee ended in a dead lock. No movement either forward or backward could be effected, because of the perfect balance between the two parties.

At this juncture (about the close of 1834) Macaulay arrived in India. The conflicting opinions of Orientalists and Anglicists were laid before him in his capacity of

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legislative member of the Supreme Council, and called forth his celebrated Minute of February 2nd, 1835. 'All parties,' he wrote in that Minute, 'seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.' He then decides in favour of English, and goes on to say:—

'The question before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach English, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems, which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier,—astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school,—history, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long,—and geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.'

This Minute—all the more misleading because penned by the most effective writer of his time—was followed by Lord W. Bentinck's equally celebrated Resolution of the 7th March, 1835, in the second clause of which his Lordship in Council expresses his opinion, 'that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India.' The concluding paragraph directs that 'all the funds at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language.' The date of this Re-

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solution marks the commencement of what I venture to call the second or Anglicizing educational epoch.

Of course the Governor-General's decision was final. The Anglicists were triumphant, and, to clinch the whole matter, Macaulay was made President of the Committee. Then followed the establishment of twelve new Seminaries, and a series of corresponding measures for the promotion of English studies. Dr. Duff sided with the Anglicists. A sudden passion for European literature, and its cultivation through the acquisition of English, sprung up among the higher classes of Bengālīs. English became an object of ambition, as the only avenue to good appointments, and to an improved position in society. Nor need it excite surprise that our Government should have encouraged the upper classes in their desire to become good English scholars. What strikes one as extraordinary is, that such a man as Macaulay should have set himself against vernacular education. To force English on the unlettered millions of India was, of course, impossible. Though we English-speakers in Great Britain are by far the majority, we have not yet succeeded, after more than a thousand years of close contact with the Welsh people, in inducing them to adopt our own language. Is it likely that in a vast and remote country, a few thousand Englishmen, who, although conquerors and rulers, are every year less disposed to treat India as their home, will ever succeed in imposing English on two hundred and forty-one millions of Asiatics, who possess about two hundred different dialects of their own, and whose organs of articulation and habits of thought, framed under opposite climatic and social conditions, are generally incapable of adapting themselves to European peculiarities of utterance, idiom, and syntax?

In Henry VIII's time there was scarcely anything to read for an Englishman who could not read Latin. So in India, in Lord Macaulay's time, there was scarcely anything worth reading for a native of Bengal who could

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not read Sanskṛit. Indeed, Sanskṛit was to all India more than what Latin was to all Europe. And what happened in England? The vernacular of the people, instead of decaying, drew vitality and vigour from the very language whose influence for a long time kept it in abasement. Strengthened and enriched by Latin, and recruited from other sources, English has grown into the most sturdy, copious, and effective of all languages. It has produced a literature more valuable than that of Rome or Greece.

Lord Macaulay did not seem to see that the same process had been going on in India. The vernaculars of India were quite as capable of being invigorated by Sanskṛit and Arabic as European vernaculars were by Latin and Greek. In point of fact, this had been partially effected long before Macaulay's time. A *lingua franca*, like French in Europe, had existed in India since the invasion of Timūr, A.D. 1400. Hindūstānī, a language formed by engrafting the Persian and Arabic of the Musalmān conquerors on a Sanskṛit-Hindī stock, had already been generally adopted by the natives of India as a common medium of communication. It was a thoroughly composite and eclectic language, which, like English, had a peculiar power of extracting from other languages the materials for its own expansion and development. It had naturalized Turkish and Portuguese words, and was assimilating English. It was a living and a growing language—so instinct, indeed, with life and growth, that the Hindūstānī of the early part of this century, as represented by the Bāgh o Bāhar, may be said to be already obsolescent. What Lord Macaulay and the Committee ought to have aimed at was first the improvement and enrichment of Hindūstānī by the introduction and assimilation of more words and expressions from Sanskṛit, Arabic, Persian, English, and other modern European languages, and secondly the composition of good Hindūstānī class-books, and the formation of a pure mo-

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dern Hindūstānī literature. And if the natives of Bengal and of other parts of India were incapable of being instructed in European science through the medium of Hindūstānī class-books, their own vernaculars, Hindī, Bengālī, Marāṭhī, Tamil, and Telugu were capable of being amplified, improved, and made the vehicle of scientific truth. And here it is to be observed, that although the Orientalists on the one side, and the Governor-General's Resolution of March 7th, 1835, on the other, very unaccountably omitted all mention of the vernaculars, a majority of the Education Committee seem in the end to have come to the conclusion that the exclusive encouragement of English could only be a temporary expedient, and 'that the formation of a vernacular literature was the ultimate object to which all their efforts ought to be directed.' Even Mr. (now Sir Charles) Trevelyan, the most enthusiastic and energetic of all the Anglicists, to whose educational labours India is deeply indebted, was of the same opinion. He looked through a vista of English to a time when Hindūstānī and Bengālī would become well fitted for every purpose of literature and science.

Lord William Bentinck, too, was far too wise, clear-sighted, and sagacious, not to have discerned the only possible method of reaching the mass of the people. A great impulse was given to the cultivation and development of the spoken dialects under his administration. Act XXIX of December 1st, 1837, abolished Persian and substituted the vernaculars as the language of all revenue and judicial proceedings in our Courts. 'The extraordinary ease,' wrote Mr. Trevelyan, 'with which this change was effected proves that it took place in the fulness of time. In Bengal the Persian language had disappeared from the Collectors' offices at the end of a month. It melted away like snow.'

Perhaps a still more important step had been taken previously. It was thought that before the Government did anything for the country, steps should be taken to ascertain what the country had done and was doing for itself. In a

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Minute, written as far back as January 20th, 1835, Lord W. Bentinck pointed out that at a time when the establishment of education upon the largest basis had become an object of solicitude, it was essential to ascertain the number of indigenous village-schools already existing in India, the nature and amount of instruction imparted in them, with all the particulars of their foundation and support. And he expressed his belief that the 'important end might be attainable, of making these institutions subsidiary and conducive to any improved general system which it might be hereafter thought proper to establish.' Accordingly an experienced, painstaking missionary, Mr. W. Adam, versed in the spoken dialects, was appointed to conduct an educational survey of Bengal. The investigation extended over three years, and a report was published containing valuable statistics and important information in regard to the intellectual condition of the peasantry. What that condition must have been in 1835 may be inferred from the fact that in 1873 (according to Sir George Campbell's statistics) only 2½ per cent. of the population of Bengal could read and write. The proportion for all India was only 1 in 400, while in England it was 1 in 7¾.

Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the number of Hindū indigenous schools, and of Maktabs or Muhammadan schools attached to mosques, was found to exceed all expectations. They were ascertained to be most numerous in secluded parts of the country remote from European influence, and from the disturbing effects of wars and invasions.

The Hindū indigenous schools are of two kinds—schools of Sanskṛit learning, called in Bengal Tols, and vernacular schools for instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, conducted by village schoolmasters, and called Pāṭha-śālās. These two kinds of schools have no interconnection. Pupils never pass from one to the other.

I made a point of visiting the well-known Sanskṛit Tols at Nuddea, and found them frequented by students from all parts of India, some learning grammar, which may occupy

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from seven to twelve years; some law, which may require a ten years' course; and a large number studying the Nyāya system of logic, which may necessitate from thirteen to twenty-two years' curriculum. Both teachers and students in these schools of learning are of course Brāhmans.

The Pandits, so far from receiving money from their pupils, not unfrequently contribute towards their support, being themselves supported by rich patrons. When the students have finished their course of instruction they receive from their masters an honorary title, which they retain for life. I also visited schools of native learning in other parts of India, and arrived at the conclusion that the old type of Pandit, trained to repeat whole departments of Sanskṛit literature by heart, is dying out. On the other hand, it seemed to me that Sanskṛit learning, as encouraged by us and learnt on principles of European philology, is decidedly on the increase.

Again, in traversing the country I often came across village vernacular schools, conducted in the open air or under trees. And here I may remark that no people in the world have been so long accustomed to self-government as the inhabitants of India. The whole country is studded with little independent republics. Every village has its headman, its council of five (*Panchāyat*), its regularly organized society, its complete assortment of servants, functionaries, and officials necessary to the corporate existence and well-being of the whole community. Among them is a schoolmaster (*guru*), from whom the children of the leading villagers receive a rude kind of education. We have elsewhere noticed a proverb current among the natives—*Panch mea paramesvarah*, 'the voice of God is in the council of five;' and the village school, no less than the village council, is in its way regarded as a kind of divine institution. Wars, revolutions, rebellions have desolated the land; famines and pestilences have decimated the population; but the school system has survived all convulsions—not, however, everywhere equally, and not always in its entirety. In

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some parts of the country vernacular schools have been swept away, while Sanskrit schools have survived. In other districts rural schools abound, while schools of learning are unknown.

Of course, nothing is learnt in the village vernacular schools but the merest elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic. No books are employed. The children are taught to read and write on the sand or on palm-leaves. What struck me as a remarkable feature of the teaching was the skill attained in multiplication. The multiplicand generally ascends to forty and often higher. The whole class of, perhaps, a hundred children repeat their tables together as if with one voice, the accumulated force of which rises to a deafening scream. They can all multiply by fractions, particularly by $\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, and $2\frac{1}{2}$, and they can multiply $2\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, and $4\frac{1}{2}$, by the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$.

Many of the punishments employed would probably be considered peculiar from a European schoolmaster's point of view. For instance: A boy is condemned to stand for half-an-hour or an hour on one foot. A boy is made to sit on the floor with one leg turned up behind his neck. A boy is made to hang for a few minutes with his head downwards, from the branch of a neighbouring tree. A boy is put up in a sack along with nettles, or a cat, or a noisome creature of some kind, and then rolled along the ground. A boy is made to measure so many cubits on the ground, by marking it with the tip of his nose. A boy is made to pull his own ears, and dilate them to a given point on pain of worse chastisement. Two naughty boys are made to knock their heads several times against each other. Some of these punishments are now discontinued.

The suggestion for basing all schemes of Indian education on existing indigenous institutions seems to have originated with Mr. W. Adam, in 1835. The idea was taken up, as we have seen, by Lord William Bentinck, but the merit of first carrying it into execution belongs to Mr. Thomason, who, ten years later, when he was Lieutenant-

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Governor of the North-west Provinces, organized a plan for utilizing the existing village schools, and training the native schoolmasters. He was the first to start what is called the Halka-bandī system, about the year 1845. A number of villages were linked together in a Halka or circle, and a central school under a trained native teacher was established within reach of each village, the expense being met by a local cess of 1 per cent. on the land-revenue, nominally voluntary. Unhappily, the efforts made to train the village Gurus did not always succeed, and the whole indigenous system had to be rehabilitated. But one great merit of Mr. Thomason's scheme of popular education was that it contained in itself great aptitude for internal development and improvement. His method was adopted as a model by other Governments, and led in the end to the celebrated educational Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India (Lord Dalhousie), dated July 19th, 1854.

This remarkable document—on which the whole system of education at present in force throughout India is founded—was really written by Sir Charles Wood (Lord Halifax), when President of the Board of Control, assisted by the late Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, when acting as his secretary. It commenced what I venture to call the third or Anglo-vernacular educational epoch.

As the main principle of the first educational epoch (commencing in 1823) was the prominence given to the learned languages of India, and of the second (commencing in 1839) the stress laid on English as an exclusive medium of education, so the special characteristic of the third was the importance assigned to the vernaculars. In fact, the first object of the great Despatch of 1854 was to insist on the communication of correct European knowledge to the mass of the people through the medium of their own spoken dialects. The second object was to lay down a complete scheme of higher education in which, without neglecting the vernaculars, English and the Indian classical languages,

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but especially English, were to be made the principal instruments of education.

And here it may be observed that as there is really as yet no considerable middle class in India, so there can be really only two principal kinds of education, higher and lower. It is true that what are called middle-class (Zillah) schools have been established, but the distinguishing feature of these seems to be that they combine the superior lower with the inferior higher kind of education.

With regard to the higher, the Despatch declared that the time had arrived for the founding of universities at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, not as places of education, but to test the value of the knowledge received in colleges and schools, and to confer degrees.

All the principal colleges, collegiate institutions, and schools already existing throughout the country, whether founded or aided by Government or independent, and conducted by persons of every variety of religious persuasion, Christians, Hindūs, Muhammadans, Pārsīs, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains, were to be affiliated to the universities, and to lead up to them. The indigenous schools were to be improved by Government aid and superintendence, and were to supply suitable education to the villages and rural population. The so-called middle-class Zillah schools (answering to the Tashīlī schools of the North-west Provinces), established at the chief towns of each district, were to educate the townspeople and prepare them for the high schools. The high schools, established at the larger towns and attached to every college, were to educate the higher classes up to the university matriculation examination, English being in that case the medium of instruction. The colleges were to admit matriculated students, and educate them up to examination for Bachelor degrees. The whole system was to be tied together by means of scholarships, which were to lead selected pupils from the Zillah to the high schools, and from the high schools to the colleges. The first university examination after matri-

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culation was to be called First Arts (F.A.) examination, and to take place after a two years' course at the colleges, and the examination for the Bachelor's degree was to follow after a further interval of two years. The final university examination was to be for the Master of Arts degree, which was to be a real distinction, only attainable by a select few who could give proof of high intellectual culture.

All these provisions and arrangements were gradually carried into execution. The three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were incorporated in 1857. They were quietly founded during the worst troubles and most appalling terrors of the Sepoy insurrection. A great stimulus was given to education everywhere. New colleges were founded and old ones improved. The Calcutta and Madras Presidency Colleges, the Bombay Elphinstone College, the Poona Deccan College, the Thomason Engineering College at Roorkee, and a large number of other colleges and schools were quickened into vigorous vitality. In short, a vast moral and intellectual revolution was inaugurated, and that, too, at a time when the downfall of our power was confidently predicted, and the very foundations of the Indian social system appeared likely to be upheaved. The undisturbed progress of Sir Charles Wood's great scheme of education is a valuable evidence that the agitation caused by the Sepoy revolt never spread among the masses of the people. And what are the results?

At the commencement of 1823 only two Government colleges existed in India, the pupils in which might possibly have numbered 300. In 1824, soon after the establishment of several new seminaries by the Committee of Public Instruction, the number of pupils in Government institutions rose to rather more than 3,000. In 1854 there were about 12,000 pupils. In 1859 educational institutions of different kinds had increased to such an extent that the pupils amounted to more than 180,000. The latest statistical returns from all India in 1875 showed that the number of

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pupils in colleges and schools of all kinds—Government, missionary, aided, and unaided—amounted to 1,689,138.

Yet we have hitherto made little or no impression on the countless millions reachable only through the vernaculars. The chief end aimed at by Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 has as yet been very imperfectly attained. Too much importance is assigned to English, and too little encouragement given to the native dialects. English is made a *sine quâ non* at the matriculation examinations. I saw 1,263 candidates being examined for matriculation at Bombay in 1875, and among them some young native princes. But not more than 12, or at most 15 per cent. of those who matriculate proceed to prepare for the degree examination. The great object is to gain a knowledge of English, and through that knowledge employment under Government.

Lord Lytton, in an eloquent address delivered the other day before the pupils of the Martiniere College, Calcutta, very significantly reminded his youthful audience that the object of education was not the improvement of their positions, but the improvement of their characters. I fear we too often wean boys from the plough, the chisel, and the loom, to make them ambitious of Government appointments, which they cannot all obtain.

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PROGRESS OF OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

Part II.

It is related of the Moghul Emperor Baber, that when the idea of conquering India first took possession of his mind, he resolved not to embark on so vast an enterprise till he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the country and its people. The better to effect this object, he is said to have disguised himself as a religious mendicant, and to have traversed the Panjāb and Hindūstān, noting the best approaches, marking the strongest positions, collecting the most minute information, and planning the whole scheme of his future military operations.

The result of his circumspection and forethought is well known. It cannot be said of our great generals that they were equally wise in their generation. They conquered by dint of dash and daring, combined, it may be, with occasional master-strokes of strategic skill and astute policy. They were aided by a strong tide of concurrent and co-operating circumstances. But they were innocent of long antecedent explorations of the enemy's ground. They were guiltless of deep-laid plots and tedious predeliberations.

Yet the present Empress of India is more securely seated on the throne of Delhi, than the most successful of the Mogul invaders. English pluck and prowess have effected more than Baber's forethought and energy, Akbar's wisdom and vigilance, Aurangzīb's cleverness and cunning. We have surpassed all other conquerors in the completeness of

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our material conquest. No power disputes our supremacy over a range of territory extending 2,000 miles from the Himālaya mountains to Adam's Peak. Are we inclined to be puffed up with the conceit of what we have effected? Let the knowledge of what remains to be done dissipate every thought of self-complacency. Let the sense of our failures neutralize all tendency to pride in our successes.

True, we are entitled to some credit. We are able, with a mere handful of our fellow-countrymen, to control two hundred and forty-one millions of Asiatics, to make laws, to administer justice, to preserve the peace. We have changed the whole face of the country by our railways, roads, canals, telegraphs, and public buildings. We have done more than any other Rāj to promote the physical prosperity and welfare of the people. We have even laboured successfully to stimulate the intellects and instruct the minds of the upper classes. We have founded Universities, established colleges, built schools, trained teachers, appointed directors of public instruction, and spent large sums on educational institutions, old and new.

All this we have done. Yet infinitely more has been left undone. We have yet to take in hand the poor benighted ryots; to elevate, to enlighten the myriads upon myriads of those who till the ground in the veritable sweat of their brow; to deliver the masses of the population from the tyranny of caste, custom, ignorance, and superstition. The moral conquest of India remains to be achieved. And to effect this second conquest we are wisely discarding all the dash and daring by which our first conquest was secured. We are advancing with careful predeliberation. We are even perhaps a little too tardy in our preliminary investigations. We have only recently instituted a thoroughly organised system of statistical inquiry, of which Dr. Hunter's twenty volumes of Bengal statistics are the first-fruits.

I closed my last paper with a summary of the present educational status in India, and I pointed out that Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 1854 is the basis on which the

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whole system rests. Excellent and carefully worded as the whole tenor of that despatch undoubtedly is, it makes one cardinal mistake. It encourages the false idea that instruction is a co-extensive term with education. The despatch had, as we have seen, two main objects. One was to promote the instruction of the higher classes in European science through the medium of English. The other was to provide proper teaching for the lower classes by means of the vernaculars. Its words are: 'We look to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge.'

And if our whole educational responsibility is bounded by the instruction of the upper classes of the people in European knowledge, we may perhaps take credit to ourselves for a fairly respectable fulfilment of our obligations.

But if our mission be to educate as well as instruct, to draw out as well as put in, to form the mind as well as inform it, to teach our pupils how to become their future self-teachers, to develop symmetrically their physical as well as mental, moral, and religious faculties, then I fear we have left undone much that we ought to have done, and acquitted ourselves imperfectly of the duties our position in India imposes upon us. Let me first glance at our so-called higher education.

In traversing India from north to south, from east to west, I visited many High Schools, examined many classes, conversed with many young Indians under education at our colleges, and was brought into contact with a large number who had passed the University matriculation examination, as well as with a few who had taken their degrees, and earned distinction for high proficiency. I certainly met some really well-educated men—like Rao Bahādur Gopal Hari Deshmukh, lately appointed a joint-judge—who, by their character and acquirements, were fitted to fill any office or shine in any society. But in plain truth, I was not always favourably impressed with the general results of our higher educational efforts. I came across a

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few well-informed men, many half-informed men, and a great many ill-informed and ill-formed men—men, I mean, without true strength of character, and with ill-balanced minds. Such men may have read a good deal, but if they think at all, think loosely. Many are great talkers. They may be said to suffer from attacks of verbal diarrhœa, and generally talk plausibly, but write inaccurately. They are not given to much sustained exertion. Or if such men act at all, they act as if guided by no settled principles, and as if wholly irresponsible for their spoken and written words. They know nothing of the motive power, restraining force, or comforting efficacy of steadfast faith in any religious system whatever, whether false or true. They neglect their own languages, disregard their own literatures, abjure their own religions, despise their own philosophies, break their own caste-rules, and deride their own time-honoured customs, without becoming good English scholars, honest sceptics, wise thinkers, earnest Christians, or loyal subjects of the British Empire.

Yet it cannot be said that we make higher education consist in the mere imparting of information, and nothing more. We really effect a mighty transformation in the character of our pupils. We teach a native to believe in himself. We deprecate his not desiring to be better than his fathers. We bid him beware of merging his personality in his caste. We imbue him with an intense consciousness of individual existence. We puff him up with an overweening opinion of his own sufficiency. We inflate him with a sublime sense of his own importance as a distinct unit in the body politic. We reveal to him the meaning of 'I am,' 'I can,' 'I will,' 'I shall,' and 'I know,' without inculcating any lesson of 'I ought,' and 'I ought not,' without implanting any sense of responsibility to and dependence on an Eternal, Almighty, and All-wise Being for life, for strength, and for knowledge—without, in short, imparting real self-knowledge, or teaching true self-mastery, or instilling high principles and high motives. Such

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a system carries with it its own nemesis. After much labour we rulers of India turn out what we call an educated native. Whereupon he turns round upon us, and, instead of thanking us for the trouble we have taken in his behalf, revenges himself upon us for the injury we have inflicted on his character by applying the imperfect education he has received to the injury of his teachers.

The spitefully seditious writing which our Government has lately found it necessary to repress by summary measures is due to this cause.

And how have we discharged the debt we owe to the lower classes? Let the truth here also be told with all plainness. In their case we have not yet matured any effective scheme—not even for the proper informing of their minds, much less for the proper forming of their characters.

Mr. Thomason, as we have seen, started a system of careful statistical inquiry. He ascertained the generally benighted condition of the masses within the area of his own administration. He was also the first to conceive the idea of stimulating the people to co-operate in educating themselves. It occurred to him that the necessity for registering land under the revenue settlement of the North-western Provinces might be turned to good account. He determined to use it as an incentive to the acquisition of so much knowledge of reading, writing, arithmetic, and measurement as would qualify each man to look after his own rights. Thereupon he organized a scheme of primary education based on the utilization of indigenous village schools. His method was held up as a model to other local governments. It was wisely followed and improved upon by other administrators, and notably by Sir George Campbell in Bengal. A good beginning has been made in some parts of India. But I fear we have as yet barely stirred the outer surface of the vast inert mass of popular ignorance and superstition.

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Where, then, lies our fault? Are we carrying into execution the admirable views expressed in Sir Charles Wood's despatch? Are we doing our best to encourage the improvement and enrichment of those vulgar dialects through which alone the masses can be instructed? I think not. What says the despatch?

'It has hitherto been necessary, owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India, and to the very imperfect shape in which European knowledge is to be found in any works in the learned languages of the East, for those who desired to obtain a liberal education, to begin by the mastery of the English language as a key to the literature of Europe; and a knowledge of English will always be essential to those natives of India who aspire to a high order of education. But it is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. And any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people,—whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a high order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language,—can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages.'

If, then, the Government of India were true to its own principles it would give more encouragement to the cultivation of the vernacular dialects. It would not expose them to the danger of degenerating into jargons—of becoming unfit to be converted into vehicles of European knowledge. It would not appoint any one to superintend educational work as a Director of public instruction, or as a principal or head master, without requiring him to give evidence of complete familiarity with at least two spoken languages—Hindūstānī and one other. It would not make proficiency in English an indispensable condition of matriculation examinations. It would be satisfied with proficiency in general knowledge displayed through the medium of any one or two of the principal vernaculars, Hindūstānī, Hindī, Bengālī, Telugu, and Tamil—especially through Hindūstānī, which should be encouraged to become the common medium of communication for the lower classes throughout all India, just as Sanskṛit is for the learned.

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And here I must advert to a point which, in my opinion, has an important bearing on the spread of European knowledge among the masses of our Indian subjects, I mean the application of the plain and practical Roman alphabet to the Indian vernaculars, especially to Hindūstānī.

I have elsewhere striven to show that the Indo-Āryans probably derived their alphabets from foreign sources. The first Indian idea of grammar was not that of a collection of written rules (γράμμα). It consisted simply in the analysis (*vyākaraṇa*) of language and the solution of etymological problems by means of brief memorial aphorisms so contrived as to be transmitted orally. In time, however, a growing literature defied even the prodigious memories of indefatigable Brāhman Pandits. Suitable graphic symbols had to be employed, and in all probability particular symbols were introduced into India by those trading nations whose commercial necessities led to the invention of writing. The first notion of representing ideas and language by pictorial signs seems to have originated in Egypt. Thence it passed into Phœnicia where a syllabic system was developed. This led to the phonetic alphabet afterwards adopted by the Greeks, and subsequently improved upon by the Romans. Doubtless some forms of writing found their way into India, but, like the acute Greeks, the subtle-minded Hindūs felt the imperfection of the consonantal systems current among Semitic peoples. If they received some symbols from foreign sources, they altered their forms and developed them in their own way. Moreover they invented for themselves their own system of vocalization, just as they worked out their own theory of grammar.

Nor did any ordinary standard of completeness satisfy the requirements of Indian scholars. With their usual love of elaboration they excogitated a philosophically exact system. But they overloaded it with symbols. They overdid the true theory of the necessary vocalization of con-

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sonants. They declared it impossible for any single consonant to stand alone without its inherent or associated vowel. Hence, we have an immense assortment of simple and conjunct letters, necessitating the employment of five hundred distinct types in the printing of the most ordinary Sanskṛit book. Such an overstraining of alphabetical precision was to the learned Hindūs a great recommendation. The perfection of its structure made the Deva-nāgarī alphabet a fit medium for the visible embodiment of their divine Sanskṛit. Even the very letters themselves came to be regarded as divine.

Now this superstitious adoration and quasi-deification of an intricate alphabet as the medium for the expression of a sacred language like Sanskṛit, was perhaps natural and excusable. But when it led to the employment of complicated symbols for the ordinary work-day spoken dialects, it placed a serious obstruction in the path of advancing education. And what is the actual fact at present in India? The process of learning to read is surrounded by a kind of thorn fence, bristling with a dense array of crooked strokes and tortuous lines. Difficulties unknown to an English child have to be surmounted at the very outset, and make every step painful. I am only now speaking of the Indian printed alphabets. What shall be said of the written characters? The worst English handwritings are no measure of their illegibility. The difficulty of deciphering them increases in a kind of compound ratio. Who, except grey-bearded scholars, can penetrate the mysteries of the inscrutable Shikasta? Who but veteran experts can unravel the intricacies of the Kaithī, or Hindī running-hand employed by the writer caste? of the Modī, or written scratches in use among the Marāṭhas? of the hopelessly illegible Mārwārī and equally indecipherable handwriting prevalent in Sindh? of the twists, twirls, and convolutions current in Southern India? If any one thinks I am here exaggerating, let him turn to a volume of specimens of different written characters which daily pass

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through the Indian Post Office, published by the Post Office authorities.

For this reason many eminent Indian administrators and scholars—at the head of whom must be placed Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, a true friend to Indian educational progress—have long felt that the application of the simple Roman alphabet to the Indian vernaculars would greatly facilitate the diffusion of knowledge among the unlettered millions of our Indian Empire. The recent formation of '*The Roman-Urdū Society*' by educated Indians at Lahore, and the publication of an able Journal by that Society in support of the Romanizing movement, is a significant fact. I may mention, too, that successful employment of what may be termed an Indo-Romanic alphabet—that is, the Roman letters adapted to Indian requirements by the use of dots and accents—in the printing of Sanskṛit books, is an evidence of its applicability to the Āryan languages of India with as much suitability as to the Āryan languages of Europe. But inveterate custom, early association, and inherited bias, are forces too strong to be easily overcome by the most beneficent and energetic of reformers. Changes, however manifestly advantageous, have no hope of general acceptance. Here in England we continue to resist the introduction of a decimal system; we adhere with obstinacy to all our worst spelling-anomalies, and we ridicule such convenient astronomical expressions as thirteen or fourteen o'clock, which correctly mark the rotation of our earth, and which, if adopted, would be an invaluable boon to the students of Bradshaw. In the same manner, without doubt, many generations must pass away before the superstitious veneration for existing alphabetical symbols is abandoned in India, and the simple Roman alphabet adopted for the expression of the more ancient Āryan vernaculars, Hindī, Marāṭhī, and Bengālī. With regard to the more modern Hindūstānī, which ought to be taught as a *lingua franca* in every school of India, the case is different. It has really no alphabet of its own, and the

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Directors of Public Instruction might reasonably, in my opinion, insist on its being expressed by the Indo-Romanic letters.

I come now to a subject which is perhaps the most momentous of all, in its relation to the progress of India and the promotion of Indian civilization. In England it has been said that the working people are our masters, and that we must educate our masters. There is another saying—equally true in India and England—that

'She who rocks the cradle sways the world.'

In plainer language, it may be said, that if the working men rule the world, the women rule, or at least influence the working men, and so become the world's mistresses. Clearly, then, it is important that the world should take the most direct and decided interest in the education of its own mistresses.

And here I must recall attention to a point to which I have before adverted, that, in all our schemes for educating and elevating the teeming millions of our Eastern Empire, we have to deal with a people who were among the earliest civilized nations of the earth, who in the best periods of their history were active promoters of social and intellectual progress, who have a literature abounding with lofty moral and religious maxims, who still preserve a profound veneration for learning, and who still maintain two lines of educational institutions, suited to the upper and lower classes of the male population, and distinct from the systems introduced by us. Manifestly, therefore, before propounding any scheme of our own for the education of the women of India, we have to ask the question, Is India herself doing anything, or has she ever done anything herself, for the promotion of female education? To answer this question properly, it will be necessary to glance first at the condition of women in ancient times, as depicted in early Indian literature; and, secondly, at their present condition, as shown by the statistics prepared under Government authority.

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In regard to the first point, no one can read the Vedic hymns without coming to the conclusion that, when the songs of the Rishis were current in Northern India (fourteen or fifteen centuries B.C.), women enjoyed considerable independence. Monogamy was probably the rule, though polygamy existed and even polyandry was not unknown. In Rig-veda i. 62. 11, it is said, 'Our hymns touch thee, O strong god, as loving wives a loving husband.' The Aśvins had only one wife between them (i. 119. 5). Women were allowed to marry a second time (Atharva-veda ix. 5. 27). Widows might marry their deceased husband's brother (Rig-veda x. 40. 2). There were even allusions to a woman's choosing her own husband (*svayam-vara*), which was a common practice among the daughters of Kshatriyas in the heroic period. One hymn reveals a low estimate of feminine capacity, declaring that women have minds incapable of instruction (*aśāsya*) and fickle tempers (viii. 33. 17).

The condition of women, as represented in the laws of Manu several centuries later (perhaps about 500 B.C.), was one of less liberty. But the contradictions in the code show that no settled social organization unfavourable to women prevailed at that epoch. True, a woman is said to owe her condition of inferiority to sins committed in former births. She is declared to be unfit for independence. She belongs to her father first, who gives her away in childhood to a husband, to whom she belongs for ever. Marriage is the final cause of her existence—to bear children the sum of her duty and the great end of her being. Women, says Manu (ix. 96), were created to be mothers. As a mother, he declares, a woman is entitled to more respect than a thousand fathers (ii. 145). And, to this day, marriage and the hope of giving birth to a family of sons form the sole object of ambition—the one all-absorbing subject which engrosses every Indian woman's mind. On the other hand, in one place Manu alludes to circumstances under which a maiden might be

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allowed to choose her own husband, although he visits her with penalties for doing so (ix. 92). He makes no mention of Satī (*suttee*), and permits—as the Mosaic law did (Deut. xxv. 5, St. Matt. xxii. 24)—a widow, under certain circumstances, to marry a deceased husband's brother.

As time went on, the jealousy of the opposite sex imposed various restraints, restrictions, and prohibitions. A more settled conviction as to some inherent inferiority and weakness in the constitution of women took possession of men's minds. Yet through the whole heroic period of Indian history, and up to the commencement of the Christian era, women had many rights and immunities from which they were subsequently debarred. It cannot, indeed, be said that any Eastern nation has ever been free from a tendency to treat women as inferiors. Even the Greeks and Romans were wanting in that reverence for the female sex which marked the Teutonic races, and was the result of their believing 'inesse feminis sanctum aliquid.' Nevertheless, in India, mothers have always been treated with the greatest reverence. We may note, too, that something of the spirit of chivalry was displayed in the tournaments of Indian warriors, who contended for the possession of the heroine of the Svayamvara. Women were certainly not yet incarcerated. They were not yet shut out from the light of heaven behind the Pardah or within the four walls of the Zanāna. It is even clear from the dramas that the better classes had received some sort of education, or could at least read and write; and it is noteworthy, that although they spoke the provincial dialects, they understood the learned language, Sanskṛit. They often appeared unveiled in public. They were not confined to intercourse with their own families. Sītā showed herself to the army. Sakuntalā appeared in the court of King Dushyanta. Damayantī travelled about by herself. The mother of Rāma came to the hermitage of Vālmīki. Rāma says in reference to his wife, 'Neither houses, nor vestments, nor enclosing

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walls are the screen of a woman. Her own virtue alone protects her.' All these characters may be more mythical and ideal than historical, but they are true reflections of social and domestic life in the heroic age of India. Nothing can be more beautiful than the pictures of the devoted wife in the two great Indian epics. Sītā's noble pleadings (in the Rāmāyaṇa) to be allowed to accompany her husband into banishment are well known. Addressing him, she says :—

'Thou art my king, my guide, my only refuge, my divinity.
It is my fixed resolve to follow thee. If thou must wander forth
Through thorny trackless forests, I will go before thee, treading down
The prickly brambles to make smooth thy path. Walking before thee, I
Shall feel no weariness : the forest thorns will seem like silken robes ;
The bed of leaves, a couch of down. To me the shelter of thy presence
Is better far than stately palaces, and paradise itself.
Protected by thy arm, gods, demons, men shall have no power to harm me.
Roaming with thee in desert wastes, a thousand years will be a day ;
Dwelling with thee, e'en hell itself would be to me a heaven of bliss.'

Many other examples of noble language expressive of conjugal fidelity might be adduced from Indian literature, and notably that of Sāvitrī, whose story is told in the other great epic (the Mahā-bhārata). When the god of death appears to summon her husband Satyavān, who was doomed to die a year after his marriage, she pleads passionately for a reprieve : 'Let my husband live ! Without him, I desire not happiness, not even heaven itself.'

Yet obviously such sublime devotion to a husband as to a god, was incompatible with independence of character. It is evident that any such useful domestic institution as a sternly critical wife was very unlikely to be common in a nation which made Sītā its paragon of female excellence.

Nor is there any evidence that the women of the heroic period had received much systematic education. They were certainly not thought capable of as high a form of religion as men, and seclusion must have been more or less practised by the upper classes, as indicated by

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Pānini's epithet for a king's wife, *asūryam-paśyā*, one who never sees the sun. Marriages were generally arranged without reference to the wishes of either bridegroom or bride. Polygamy prevailed among the richer classes, and polyandry, though a non-Āryan custom, to a certain extent counterbalanced it. Daśaratha had three wives. One of Pāndu's wives became a Satī. Draupadī married five brothers together.

All this shows that woman's downward course of degradation commenced in the earliest times. Step by step the decline went on, and every century added to her debasement. The introduction of Muhammadan customs after the first Muslim invasion of India (about A.D. 1000) greatly hastened the deteriorating process.

And what has been the condition of women under our own rule?

In Warren Hastings' time a number of the best Pandits were invited to Calcutta from all parts of India. They were directed to draw up an authoritative summary of Hindū law as laid down in their sacred works. A compilation was carefully made by these learned men from the code of Manu, and from all the best legal authorities of later date. A certain Mr. Halhed was directed to translate it for Government. The introduction is curiously characteristic of Hindū toleration.

'The truly intelligent well know that the differences of created things are a ray of the glorious essence of the Supreme Being. He appointed to each race its own faith, and to every sect its own religion; and having introduced a multiplicity of different customs, he views in each place the mode of worship respectively appointed to it. Sometimes he is with the attendants upon the mosque; sometimes he is in the temple at the adoration of idols—the intimate of the Musalmān, the friend of the Hindū, the companion of the Christian, the confidant of the Jew.'

Here are some specimens from the chapter on women:

'A man both night and day must keep his wife so much in subjection that she by no means be mistress of her own actions. If the wife have her own free will, she will behave amiss. A woman must never go out of the house without the consent of her husband. She must never hold converse

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with a strange man. She must not stand at the door. She must never look out at the window. She must not eat till she has served her husband and his guests with food. She may, however, take physic before they eat. It is proper for a woman after her husband's death to burn herself in the fire with his corpse.'

Warren Hastings wrote a letter to the Court of Directors in 1775, commending this compilation to their attention. We must bear in mind that law, according to Hindū ideas, is part and parcel of divine revelation. It is promulgated by human lawgivers; but they are divinely inspired. Smṛiti rests on Śruti. These ideas had acquired the greatest intensity when Warren Hastings was laying the foundation of our Empire. All the utterances of Manu and the later lawyers were accepted as echoes of the voice of God. They were held to be infallible guides. They represented women as created inferior to men; as born with evil dispositions; as incapable of education; as made worse by knowledge. Wives were divinely ordained to be the servants of their husbands. Their natures were too weak to stand upright, unsupported by the strongest safeguards. There was no security for their virtue but the absence of temptation. They were the absolute property of their husbands in death as well as life. Hence for a long time our Government felt that it would be dangerous to prohibit the practice of Satī. The Hindūs believed it to be enjoined by inspired authority. Nor was it discovered till quite recently that modern Hindū lawyers, to obtain the highest sanction for their deliverances, had fraudulently substituted the word *agneh*, 'of fire,' for *agre*, 'first,' at the end of a well-known Rigveda text (x. 18. 7. See p. 72). In one year the number of widows burnt in Bengal alone was 839. In other years the average was 500. This after all is no very large number when considered in relation to the density of the population. It proves, at any rate, that the custom was not universal.

And what is the present position of women in India?

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A little study of the India Office Statistics reveals a condition of prostration which even the most sanguine might pronounce hopelessly irremediable. One hundred millions of women, supposed to be actual subjects of the British Empire, are, with few exceptions, sunk in absolute ignorance. They are unable to read a syllable of their mother-tongue, they are never taught the rules of life and health, the laws of God, or the most rudimentary truths of science. In fact a feeling exists in most Hindū families that a girl who has learnt to read and write, has committed a sin which is sure to bring down a judgment upon herself and her husband. She will probably have to atone for her crime by early widowhood. And to be a young widow is believed to be the greatest misfortune that can possibly befall her.

Not indeed that an Indian woman's married life can be described as a blissful elysium. The women of India are victims of the worst form of social tyranny. They are allowed no voice in the selection of their own husbands. According to Dr. Hunter's Statistics (i. 56), infants are sometimes betrothed when but two or three months old.

'As soon as a daughter (of a particular tribe of Brāhmans) is born, the father immediately looks out for a male child belonging to a family equal in rank with himself. When he has succeeded in his search, and obtained the consent of its parents, he returns to his house, summons his relatives and neighbours to a feast, and solemnly affirms before them that his daughter is betrothed to such and such a man's babe. Nothing will induce him to break the oath which he thus takes.'

This is exceptional. As a rule, girls are betrothed at three or four (a barber being sometimes the match-maker) and married at six or seven to boys of whom they know nothing. They are taken to their boy-husbands' homes at the age of ten or eleven. From that moment they lose their freedom and even their personality. They merge their individuality in the persons of their husbands. They may be loved, and they are rarely ill-used, as they too frequently are in Christian countries, but they are ignored

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as separate units in society. They never pronounce their husbands' names, and they are never directly alluded to by their husbands in conversation. For another person to mention their names or inquire after their health would be a gross breach of etiquette. They never appear unveiled before their husbands in the presence of a third person. They often become mothers at eleven or twelve. Their life is then spent in petty household duties, in cooking for their families, in gossiping with female friends, in arranging the marriages of their children, in domestic jealousies and envyings, in a thousand foolish frivolities, in a wearisome round of burdensome religious ceremonies imposed by exacting priests. Add to this that the upper classes are cooped up behind Pardahs or in the stagnant atmosphere of Zanānas. There they are prisoners in apartments set apart for their exclusive occupation. They have no opportunity of listening to the intellectual conversation of educated men. They are shut out from every wholesome influence, and debarred from every healthy occupation likely to conduce to the improvement of their physical condition, or to their social, moral, and intellectual elevation. They become enfeebled in mind and worn out in body at a period of life when European women have barely reached their prime. They are neither fit for independence, nor have they any desire for it.

And what of the young widows? If a young wife has no individuality apart from her husband, a young widow has practically no existence. It is true that our law has prohibited a widow from being burnt with her dead husband. It is true, too, that an old widow is cared for by her children if she has remained a wife long enough to have a large family. She is even more than cared for. Every mother in India is an object of veneration to her offspring. As a wife she may be nothing. But as a mother, even though a widow, she is all in all to her children. It is only a young widow or a childless widow who is regarded as worse than dead. But nearly every

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household possesses a widow of this kind. Such a widow belongs for ever to her dead husband. A widower may marry again, but a widow never. She is made a household drudge. She is expected to get up at four a.m. before the servants of the family. No one will supply her with water. She must go to the well and fetch water for herself. It is unlucky to meet her. She is supposed to be in eternal mourning for her deceased lord, though she may never have seen him except at her child-wedding. She must practise a perpetual fast, and only eat one meal a day. If her young husband had acquired property of his own before his death and the household is still undivided, all such property is taken by her brothers-in-law. She retains nothing but her ornaments, which she must on no account wear. She is told that she cannot have food given to her till she has 'eaten her jewels.' In other words, she is expected to sell her ornaments to prevent herself from starving. In short, she suffers a living death, and would often cheerfully give herself up to be burnt, if the law would allow her.

Of course, there are exceptions to all this. In some parts of India—as for instance in the Marāṭha country—women of all classes are more independent, and assert themselves with more boldness.

There is also a bright side to the picture of female life and character. Hindū women must be allowed full credit for their strict discharge of household duties, for their personal cleanliness, thrift, activity, and practical fidelity to the doctrines and precepts of their religion. They are generally loved by their husbands, and are never brutally treated. A wife-beating drunkard is unknown in India. In return, Indian wives and mothers are devoted to their families. I have often seen wives in the act of circumambulating the sacred Tulsī plant 108 times, with the sole object of bringing down a blessing on their husband and children. In no other country in the world are family affection and reverence for parents so conspicuously operative as in India. In many households the first morning

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duty of a child on rising from sleep is to lay his head on his mother's feet in token of filial obedience.

Nor could there be a greater mistake than to suppose that Indian women are without influence. If there is any one thing that would lead a thoughtful person to despair of the regeneration of India, it is that female influence is as strong there as in other countries. For it must not be forgotten that the word family in India means much more than in England. An Indian family does not merely consist of husband, wife, and children. The universal prevalence of early marriages leads to an indefinite enlargement of the family circle. It is said that a Hindū family sometimes consists of a hundred members, including great-grandfather and great-grandchildren. Anarchy is prevented and harmony maintained by vesting supreme authority in the hands of the oldest member, whether male or female. A father often has no voice in the management of his own children. A grandmother or great-grandmother may be omnipotent. Unhappily her influence is generally exerted on the side of ignorance and error. Even in small families the women are powerful for harm. They mould the character of the younger children. They are often adepts in artifice and stratagem. They know how to hide their power over husbands and brothers under the guise of a simulated submission. To them is mainly due the maintenance of superstition and idolatry. The men would willingly emancipate themselves from the tyranny of caste, from the despotism of Brāhman priests, and from the bondage of senseless religious forms and absurd religious creeds, but they are prevented by female influence. Many an educated Indian is as bold as Luther in his public character, but sinks to the condition of a timid, priest-ridden, caste-ridden, wife-ridden imbecile in private life. He is a lion out of doors, but a lamb at home. He is cowed and crestfallen in the presence of the women of his family.

In some Native States women secretly pull all the wires

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of Government with consummate craftiness and ability. Great Britain itself is scarcely so opposed to a Salique *régime* as some Indian Principalities. Women not only reign, they are the real rulers and administrators. Even comparatively young widows have often great authority, if, at least, they have gained much previous influence as mothers. In the same manner ordinary families are often practically subject to feminine jurisdiction. A single old widow will sometimes keep order among a number of sons and daughters-in-law all living together under one roof. Her household is like a magazine filled with the most inflammable materials; yet she knows how to allay outbreaks of jealousy, keep down rivalries, and calm down explosions of temper.

Nor must it be supposed that the women of India are generally unhappy; that they regard themselves as slaves; that they long for independence; that they protest against seclusion; that they hanker after knowledge. They are too feeble-minded and apathetic to be conscious of degradation, too wedded to ancient customs to repine under absence of freedom or want of education. They esteem it an honour to wait on their husbands. The necessity for privacy, and the undesirability of a woman's learning letters, are ideas so intermingled with their earliest feelings—so interwoven with the whole texture of their moral being—that they have become cherished customs with the women themselves. They are more than customs: they are sacred religious obligations. So far from submitting to these restrictions from compulsion, no respectable woman would, as a rule, show herself freely in public, or allow herself to be taught reading and writing or any feminine accomplishment, even if permission were accorded to her. She has no conception of any benefit to be derived from a knowledge of letters, except for the promotion of female intrigue; and she would prefer to be accused of murder than of learning to dance, sing, or play on any musical instrument. She loves ornaments, but she regards ignorance as her truest

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decoration. She considers herself disgraced by sterility of body, but glories in sterility of mind. Education, music, and dancing are supposed to go together, and are to her badges of a life of infamy. When a sister is observed imitating a brother's first childish attempts at penmanship, she is peremptorily ordered to desist, and that too by the women of the household.

Is there, then, no remedy for this great social evil? Are we Englishmen, who are responsible for the welfare of our Indian Empire, and who derive so much of our own welfare from the purifying and elevating influence of our own home-life, chargeable with indifference to the condition of the women of India? We have made, and are still making, strenuous efforts to bring some sort of education within reach of certain classes of the male population. What are we doing, and what have we already done, to supply India with its greatest need—good wives, good mothers, and well-ordered homes?

All that can be affirmed is that we have been engaged for more than half a century in feeling our way towards the desired end.

In the case of male education the natives themselves have always, as we have seen, been ready to co-operate with us. Nay, they have eagerly seconded our efforts. Their own indigenous institutions have furnished a common standpoint for concerted action. The ground has been prepared and the way smoothed for the introduction of European knowledge. The same men who would have wasted their powers in elaborating ingenious word-puzzles in Sanskṛit verse, or in trying to comprehend the incomprehensible abstractions of Sanskṛit philosophy, have devoted themselves to the acquisition of scientific truth, through the medium of English. But in the case of female education all the conditions have been reversed. No basis of common action has been found, no ground has been cleared, no open door has invited us to enter. Every avenue of approach has been barred and barricaded. The natives have been

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more than content to leave their women engulphed in the depths of profound ignorance. They have opposed every attempt at raising or enlightening them as an offence against religion and morality. Without doubt, any scheme of direct Government interference for the education of Indian women would have threatened the people with vast social changes. It would have contravened the sacred usages of the most obstinately conservative nation in the world.

Wisely, then, has our Government proceeded in this matter with caution and circumspection. Something, indeed, has been effected by private efforts, by missionary operations, and even by indirect Government assistance. The first attempt to teach native girls in a regular school was made, I believe, by the worthy Dissenting missionary, Mr. May. He was the pioneer of lower female education, as he had already been of male. He opened a girls' school at Chinsurah, shortly before his own death in 1818, but it had so little success that its continuance was discountenanced by our Government. In April, 1819, other Baptist missionaries, wishing to commence an organized scheme of female education, circulated an appeal for help, in which it was stated that 'in the province of Bengal alone, at least ten thousand widows were annually sacrificed; and thirty times a day a deed was repeated, which ought to call forth our tenderest pity.' Such an exaggeration was rather inexcusable, but it had the effect of rousing the sympathies of a number of English ladies, who thereupon founded the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society, for the education of native females. At the end of the first year the number of its scholars amounted to only eight. At the end of five years it reckoned a hundred and sixty pupils in six schools.

In 1818, an institution called the 'School Society' was founded at Calcutta. Its object was male education. But in the course of its preliminary inquiries into the educational status of the people generally, it ascertained that

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out of forty millions of Hindū females, not four hundred could read or write. When the appalling fact was known in England, the British and Foreign School Society selected Miss Cooke, afterwards Mrs. Wilson, and sent her to Calcutta in 1821 to prepare herself for the delicate task of opening a girls' school. She commenced operations under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society in 1822, and on the 28th of January in that year, seven pupils assembled round her in one of the rooms of the School Society. In 1825, the number of scholars in various little day schools had increased to four hundred. But to bring the girls together it was necessary to employ a female messenger, who received a small gratuity from the Society for each child, and a breakfast of rice had to be given to each pupil, which the mother accepted as an equivalent for the loss of her child's services. In 1826, a wealthy Bābū (Rāja Baidanāth Roy) came forward and gave £2,000 to promote female education by the erection of a central school in the heart of the native city, with a residence for the European female superintendent. Mrs. Wilson took possession of this building in 1828, and here all her subsequent labours were concentrated. She was a noble-hearted, energetic woman, and her exertions were rewarded for a time with considerable success.

Similar efforts were attended with partial success in other parts of India, notably in the Bombay Presidency, and in Bombay itself, where the Pārsīs, who number about fifty thousand, were among the first to set an example of promoting female education. Their schools are to this day a model of good management, and are attended by nearly as many girls as boys, seven hundred and seventy girls being at this moment under instruction in three schools in the town of Bombay.

As a rule, however, female education has not hitherto extended beyond the lowest of the population, while male education has not extended beyond the higher classes. None of the female children of respectable or high-caste

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natives are permitted to leave their houses. It has not hitherto been possible to reach the Zanānas, or female apartments, of the better classes, except by a system of house to house visitation. This plan has been tried with some success in Bengal, and has been carried on here and there in the Bombay Presidency, and in other parts of India. But competent lady visitors are greatly needed. No lady is fit to undertake the arduous and delicate task, who is not thoroughly conversant, not only with the vernaculars, but with female manners, female habits of thought, female phraseology, and even female 'slang' (zanāna-bolī).

Something, too, has been done in the way of training native school-mistresses, especially under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society at the Sarah Tucker Institution, Palamcottah. I visited this institution in the beginning of 1877, and can testify to the reality of the work effected by its managers, Mr. and Mrs. Lash. They have successfully trained a large number of native female teachers, and established them at various centres in the Tinnevelly district. They have even succeeded in attracting high-caste girls to some of their best schools.

It is clear, then, that a few energetic missionaries and a few philanthropic private individuals have been the pioneers of female education in India. It is clear, too, that the British Government for a long time purposely abstained from acting towards its female subjects as it acted towards the male. It refrained from any systematic establishment of girls' schools. It doubted the wisdom of direct interference with long-cherished social usages, and deep-seated religious prejudices.

Lord Dalhousie was the first to commit the Government to a more active interest in the instruction of Indian women. In 1849 he ventured to announce that the British Government would encourage female education by its 'frank and cordial support.' And he was not a man of mere words. This great ruler boldly aided ex-

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isting girls' schools by considerable grants of money from the revenues of India, and took care to bestow honours on all founders of such schools. It was during his administration that the Bethune schools were established for the education of the daughters of the respectable citizens of Calcutta, and when the founder died, Lord Dalhousie himself defrayed the cost of supporting them out of his own pocket.

Sir Charles Wood's great Education Despatch of 1854 only devoted one paragraph out of one hundred to the important subject of female education; but it expressed concurrence in Lord Dalhousie's declaration. Paragraph 83 begins as follows:—

'The importance of female education in India cannot be over-rated, and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants in aid may be given, and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction.'

Here there is a clear promise of sympathy and of indirect support, but no allusion to direct Government action or interposition.

Soon after the mutiny Lord Canning's Government declared that unless female schools were really supported by voluntary aid they had better not be established at all. In 1867 a circular was issued which practically admitted that Government had no desire to take the initiative in the case of girls' schools as it had done in that of boys, but was ready to encourage existing schools by grants in aid.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that some direct action was taken. In 1870 out of £316,509 of public money spent on education in the whole Bengal Presidency a sum of £1,173 was assigned to Government girls' schools, and £4,462 to aided schools, chiefly in the North-west and

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Panjāb. In Bombay out of £198,182 a sum of about £4,000 was allotted to Government female schools. In Madras not a single girls' school was directly maintained by our Government.

In the year 1872 out of about 1,100,000 children in Government and non-Government schools of all kinds, only fifty thousand were girls, and only twenty-two thousand in Government schools. In 1873 there were only one thousand six hundred and forty girls' schools of all kinds in British India; but an American lady had organized a system in Calcutta by which forty or fifty governesses taught native girls in their own homes. In 1875 there were about one thousand Government female schools, with about thirty-four thousand pupils, in all the eight Provinces under Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Commissioners.

In some places and in some years there appears to have been a falling off rather than an increase. Thus, in 1872 the Government female normal school at Calcutta was abandoned as a failure, and the Lieutenant-Governor was inclined to think it 'dangerous to give native women education and a certain freedom of action without the sanction of some religion.'

In short, there is clearly as yet no constantly-increasing demand for either female teachers or female pupils. What demand really exists is generally confined to the low-caste population. Even those girls who are placed at schools are only half instructed, because they are removed to become wives at the age of ten or eleven.

The great question then is: Ought our Government to make direct efforts for female education in the same way as for male? And is this a mere question of supply and demand? And if there is no demand among the people of India, ought its rulers to create a demand? Ought they to force into existence what does not exist voluntarily?

In my opinion the demand ought to be created. But

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we ought to create it in the right way, and begin at the right end. We require to elevate and enlighten the men of India, before we can hope to elevate and enlighten the women. We require to raise up a whole generation—perhaps two or three generations—of really educated men—men, not only well instructed in scientific truth, but well imbued with moral and religious truth—with the spirit, if not with the letter of Christian teaching—and with European views on all social subjects. And to this end, we have not to denationalize the men of India: we have to strengthen and consolidate their own nationality. We have not to extinguish their own civilization: we have to refine and elevate it. We have not to sweep away their social institutions: we have to shape and mould them according to a higher pattern. We have not to erase every feature of their moral code: we have to expunge the bad and retain the good. We have not even to exterminate their religions: we have only to lay the axe to every root and fibre of error, and, after eradicating the false, to engraft the essential doctrines of Christianity on pre-existing germs of truth.

When we have thus elevated the condition of the men, the elevation of the women will follow as a matter of course. The men will themselves raise their own women. They will throw down the barriers which at present surround their homes. They will tear down their Pardahs, pull down the shutters of their Zanānas, throw open the doors of their inner apartments, invite us to enter in—entreat us to do for their wives and daughters what we have done for themselves.

But how is this previous process of elevating and Christianizing the men to be effected? We must begin with the schools. Our Government has wisely decided to be neutral in religious teaching. We have abstained from imitating the conquering Musalmān—from enforcing our religion by Government influence and authority. It would, indeed, be doubtful morality on our part to take money

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out of the pockets of native parents, and with it to pay teachers to teach the children of those parents a religion which they believe to be false. Nor under any circumstances could a sufficient number of Christian teachers be found. But our neutrality need not, and should not, imply indifference and inaction in regard to moral teaching; nor even in regard to instruction in certain fundamental truths common to all religions. The principles of true morality, be it remembered, are not confined to Christianity. They are to be found in Hindūism, in Buddhism, in Islām. Nay, I do not hesitate to affirm, that certain lines of rudimentary religion are discoverable in the texture of two of these false systems. I contend that a warp-like basis of truth is traceable in both Hindūism and Islām, though concealed by a thick woof of error and delusion. The fundamental threads of God's attributes and perfections, of His wisdom, goodness, omnipotence, and love for His creatures—of His indwelling as a guide and monitor in the human conscience—of man's duty towards Him as his Maker, and of man's duty towards his fellow-creatures—are all there, and ought to be carefully preserved. Even some essential threads of Christian doctrine (such as the Unity and separate personality of God, man's original corruption, the need of purity of heart, the uselessness of external forms) are there, and ought to be thankfully made use of, while every cross-thread of falsehood, superstition, and fatuous delusion is ruthlessly torn away. Nor are the sacred scriptures of India wholly destitute of true teaching in regard to the principles of domestic economy and social science.

My conviction is that we are bound to search for, and utilize educationally, every true idea in Hindūism, Buddhism, and Islām. And just as we have endeavoured to ground our system of literary instruction on inherent literary tendencies, and inherited literary knowledge already existing among Hindūs and Muslims, so we should ground our moral and religious teaching on their inherent moral

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and religions tendencies, and such inherited rudimentary truth as their own scriptures contain. We should collect their best moral, social, and religious precepts, separating them from everything false. We should teach them in conjunction with scientific truth in our Government schools. In this way we shall best prepare our Indian school-boys for a voluntary acceptance of Christian truth when their judgments are matured.

And more than this. We should strive to develop our youthful Indian physically as well as mentally, morally, and religiously. We should endeavour to introduce something of our public-school manliness of tone into Indian seminaries. We should aim at educating the whole man in his quadruple constitution of body, mind, soul, and spirit. In a word, we should convert our 'Directors of public instruction,' who are generally able and efficient officers, into 'Directors of public education.'

And when we have formed our real man, whether Hindū or Muhammadan, we should admit him to our homes. Having destroyed his caste-feelings, we should give up our own caste-feelings. We should receive our educated Hindū and Muhammadan on terms of social equality. In no other way, and by no other process, can we hope to reach the women of India.

The really educated and enlightened native who has been freely admitted to an English home, will return to his Indian home penetrated by the conviction that, if he would assist in raising his country, he must begin by raising his own household. He will accept the Christian truth that woman was created to be a help-meet for man. He will enter into the meaning of the Christian allegory that, when God formed woman, she was taken out of man's side to be his coadjutor; not out of his head, to be his intellectual rival; not out of his feet, to be trodden down and kept in subjection. He will educate his daughters, and keep them under education till they are eighteen years of age. He will on no account allow

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them to become wives and mothers till their bodily and mental powers are matured. He will aim at educating them up to the English poet's standard of an ideal wife—

> 'A perfect woman, nobly planned,
> To warn, to comfort, and command.'

He will permit them to choose their own husbands. He will open his house-doors to every refined and educated guest of whatever caste. He will expose the inner life of his own family to the fresh air of God's day. He will endeavour to mould his household after the fashion of a pure, healthy, well-ordered Christian home, whose influences leven the life of each of its members from the cradle to the grave.

I have left myself little space for two other tests of national progress to which I ought to advert, however briefly. One of these is the improvement in means of communication. I can bear testimony to the present excellence of the roads in various parts of India. I travelled over some which were as smooth and hard as a billiard-table, and unequalled by anything I have seen in Europe. On the other hand, my whole frame seems still to ache at the bare recollection of the joltings I endured in less frequented places. One of my contemporaries at Haileybury, Mr. Cust, has favoured me with a few notes of his journey from Calcutta to Delhi in 1843. He hired a palanquin in Calcutta, and set out in the cool of a January evening. Borne on the shoulders of coolies, and travelling all night and for a greater part of each day, he was five days in reaching Benares. The journey thence to Allahābād took another whole day. At Allahābād his palanquin was placed on a truck, and drawn by horses to Cawnpore. Thence to Agra and Delhi the palanquin was borne in the usual way by coolies. Travelling in this manner without a single day's rest, he was a month in reaching Delhi from Calcutta. The only line of carriage-road was between Allahābād and Cawnpore, and in no other part of the route were the streams bridged.

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The year 1845 witnessed the introduction of what was called an equirotal carriage. A palanquin was fitted to four equal wheels, and pushed by coolies. This was a proof of a great advance in the metalling of roads. Then followed the comparative luxury of the Dāk ghārī. These carriages were drawn by relays of Government post-horses, on what became at last the great trunk road traversing the entire country between Calcutta and Delhi. The jaded and dust-smothered traveller emerged half-stupefied at the end of his journey with the rattle of a ten days' continuous roll concentrated in the orifice of his ears. The Dāk system of travelling was not perfected till about the year 1852.

The turning of the first sod of the first railway line in India took place in 1851. In that year the East India Railway was commenced, and in September, 1854, a distance of thirty-seven miles was opened for traffic. In February, 1855, the line was opened as far as Rānīganj, a distance of 121 miles, and about ten years later as far as Delhi. The line between Bombay and Madras was completed on the 1st of May, 1871. The total mileage open on all Indian railways in 1866 was 3,472, and the number of passengers carried in the year was nearly thirteen millions. Ten years later, in 1875, the mileage open was 6,352, and the number of passengers carried nearly twenty-seven millions.

The late Lord Lawrence once told me that when he first went out to India he was allowed six months to find his way from Calcutta to Delhi. The journey may now be performed in forty-four hours. One of the most remarkable sights in India is afforded by the throng of natives of all castes, and conditions at the principal railway stations. The popularity of this mode of travelling, with people who are supposed to dread indiscriminate contact with each other, is astonishing. About thirty years ago, when the expediency of introducing railroads into India was first talked about, a great authority, Professor H. H. Wilson, expressed an opinion that they were quite unsuited

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to the habits of the natives, and that the rules of caste would prevent their being much used. What is the fact? To every solitary European lolling at full length amid rugs and cushions in a first-class compartment, hundreds of natives will be found jammed together in the third-class carriages. Crowds alight at every small town, and crowds are ready to take their place. No one can doubt that railways are among the greatest boons our rule has conferred on the country.

Next to railways come canals. But in India, as in Europe, the day of canals as effective lines of way and transit is over. No canals can ever be as effective as railways in conveying passengers or merchandise, or in transporting the surplus produce of a fertile province to remote districts whose crops are liable to fail in regularly recurring seasons. Besides, Indian canals have not sufficient water to serve for both navigation and irrigation. It is for purposes of irrigation that they are of incalculable importance. In times of severe drought, tanks and wells become dry, while canals are supplied with a perpetual stream of running water from mountain springs. Wherever it is physically and geographically possible to construct canals without ruinous outlay, and with some prospect of a return for the capital expended, there, without doubt, no amount of public money is likely to be thrown away in their construction. Nor has our Government been as unmindful of its duty in this matter as some critics have lately alleged. The Ganges canal—the greatest irrigation work ever constructed—is entirely the creation of British engineers. It was commenced in 1846, and opened by Lord Dalhousie in 1854. I heard natives complain that this canal has brought fever to previously healthy localities; and I believe that whenever a canal is constructed, drainage should be carried on simultaneously, to prevent the adjacent soil from becoming swampy and waterlogged.

Other gigantic works have been undertaken in the basin

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of the Ganges, as well as in that of the Indus, and in the portion of Orissa watered by the deltas of the Mahā-nadī, Brāhmaṇī, and Baitaraṇī rivers. While I was traversing the famine districts in 1876 and 1877, I witnessed a marvellous contrast in the regions fertilized by the grand system of irrigation which stretches between the Godāvarī, Kistna, and Kāverī rivers, and the vast tracts of arid wastes where no streams penetrate. Let no one doubt the good effected by the energetic and enthusiastic Sir Arthur Cotton.

No country in the world is so rich in running water as India. Any one who has observed with his own eyes what the country owes to its rivers, will not be surprised at their being deified by a people who connect every advantage they enjoy with direct divine agency. No wonder that the rain-god Indra—for ever battling with the demon of drought and darkness—is the chief god of the Ṛig-veda. No wonder that the Ganges is believed to have its source in the foot of Vishṇu; that its waters are believed to descend from heaven, cleansing from all sin; that its very sight is supposed to confer beatitude; and that every river of India is personified and worshipped by those who derive their wealth, their food, their health, their life from the beneficent influences of flowing streams.

No wonder, too, that the people of England are asking with some impatience: why is a single drop of this precious liquid allowed to find its way into the ocean? Without doubt, more might be done in storing up these fertilizing waters. Tanks and wells ought not to be suffered to fall into decay. It might even be possible, say some, by means of anicuts to intercept the onward flow of streams, and diffuse every particle of liquid by a network of small channels and feeders over every tract of arid country. But such admirable theorists forget that the dry regions of India are often on table-land, and that no engineer can make water flow up hill. Nor can even the most skilful cope with the vagaries of mighty unmanage-

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able rivers, which at one season roll down millions of tons of water with ungovernable fury, at another shift their channels, and shrink to tiny rills at the bottom of immense beds of burning sands.

Happily, the prevention of famines does not depend on anicuts and canals alone. Railroads have already done much, and will hereafter do more. After all, perhaps, the best remedy lies in the improvement of the condition of the people.

One important result of improved means of communication is an increase in postal facilities. Letters are now delivered in every village of India. In 1866, sixty-one millions of letters, newspapers, and packets passed the various post-offices. In 1875 the number had risen to more than one hundred and sixteen millions.

With regard to steam communication between England and India, most middle-aged people can remember that Mr. Waghorn was the pioneer of what was called the Overland Route. He was employed in this capacity by the Bengal Steam Committee between 1827 and 1835. No man ever deserved more credit, and ever received less, for successfully battling with every kind of difficulty and discouragement. A steamer called the *Hugh Lindsay* was the first to accomplish the voyage between Bombay and Suez. Every arrangement connected with its equipment and navigation was organized by Mr. Waghorn. She succeeded in passing up and down the Red Sea six times between 1830 and 1835 without encountering any accident, notwithstanding numerous dangers from unknown rocks and reefs. Her shortest run between Bombay and Suez was in thirty-one days and a half. The next steamer, called the *Forbes*, took sixty-nine days in the voyage from Calcutta to Suez. This vessel broke down after her first voyage. The first P. and O. steamer to reach India was the *Hindūstān*. She sailed round the Cape towards the end of 1842, landed passengers at Calcutta, and thence proceeded to Suez, whence she returned to Calcutta at the

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beginning of 1843, taking about six weeks to accomplish the latter run. A mail service was also established between Suez and Bombay, but was worked for some time by steamers of the Indian navy. Since then, facilities of steam transit between England and India have steadily advanced every year, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, has converted the dreaded voyage from Southampton to Bombay into a pleasurable trip of twenty-six and even sometimes twenty-five days, while that from London *viâ* Brindisi is often effected in nineteen days.

I cannot conclude my sketch of Indian progress without touching on the important subject of finance. Of course the crucial test of a well-managed State, as of a well-ordered household, is its financial condition. Do those who administer its affairs make both ends meet? Is the expense of governing the country covered by the revenue it can be made to yield? Is there any surplus capable of being laid out either in clearing off debt, or in diminishing the burdens of the people, or in public works of national utility? or is there a deficit making it constantly necessary to borrow money?

The capital expended by the East India Company in establishing itself in India was nominally six millions sterling, the interest for which (£650,000) had to be paid out of its Indian income. It was agreed that in consideration of the successful issue of a great commercial speculation, the shareholders were to have their principal reckoned as if doubled, making £12,000,000 of East India Stock. In addition to this, under Clive, the first conqueror of Indian territory, money had to be borrowed to the amount of about two millions. In the ten years from 1775 to 1785, we spent a great deal in extending our territory, and the debt increased to about eight millions sterling. Warren Hastings left a considerable revenue and surplus. For Bengal alone the income was nearly five and a-half millions; expenditure, nearly four and a-half millions; surplus, about one million sterling. Under Lords Cornwallis

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and Teignmouth the debt did not increase. Expensive wars were carried on by the Marquis Wellesley (1798–1805), and with great extension of territory in 1805, came an augmentation of the debt to about twenty-five and a-half millions.

Lord William Bentinck's administration (1828–35) was one of peace and prosperity. He conciliated the natives, abolished Satī, put down the Thugs, encouraged European education, and converted a deficit into a surplus of nearly one and a-half millions.

Then came the Afghān war under Lord Auckland, the conquest of Sindh under Lord Ellenborough, the two Sikh wars, and of course a consequent augmentation of the debt.

Lord Dalhousie's administration was marked by the greatest vigour and activity. He is said to have doubled the area of our Indian possessions. Besides conquering the Panjāb, and establishing our supremacy from Cape Comorin to the Himālayas, he undertook a second Burmese war, and annexed Pegu (British Burmah).

Then came the annexation of Nāgpur and the Central Provinces in 1853, and that of Oudh and Tanjor in 1856. Our progress was too rapid. Our debt nearly doubled itself and reached about fifty millions. A reaction became inevitable.

Lord Canning succeeded in 1856, and found much excitement prevailing among the native populations. Malicious agitators spread a rumour that all India was to be forcibly Anglicized. The English language was to be everywhere imposed on the country; religious prejudices were no longer to be respected; the Enfield cartridges were to be greased with the fat of cows and pigs; caste was to be summarily put down, and the Bengal army to be enlisted for general service. This agitation led to the mutiny of 1857, but the stability of our Empire was never really endangered. The mass of the people were unaffected by the Sepoy rebellion, and, when it was suppressed, the

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country settled down into immediate tranquillity, as if nothing had occurred. As a matter of course, however, our debt and obligations went on increasing rather alarmingly.

We have not space to follow out all the statistics. Let it suffice to note that repeated wars, annexations of territory, and famines, have caused repeated borrowings, and the return for 1875 gives no less a sum for our Indian debt than £130,493,284. The gross revenue for that year is returned at £50,570,171; the expenditure at £54,500,545; the deficit £3,930,374. Of that income £21,296,793 came from land, £6,227,301 from salt, and £8,556,629 from opium. Nearly eight and a half millions were produced by Excise, Customs, and Stamps. These are the six principal sources of Indian revenue. The income for the year ending on the 31st March, 1877, was £56,022,277; the expenditure £58,205,055; deficit £2,182,778. For the year which closed at the end of March, 1878, the revenue was expected to be £56,310,900. During the year 1876–77 about ten millions were spent on the moral and material improvement of the country—on education and public works of all kinds. No one can say that this sum, large as it is, was not well expended. Dr. Forbes Watson has shown that a gigantic trade has sprung up in articles formerly of small importance; for example, in grain, cotton, jute, wool, tea, and coffee. The exports of tea in 1857 were equal to 121,000 lbs., in 1877 to 2,607,000 lbs.

With these figures before us we may well ask ourselves the question: How is it that India—a country possessing unusual natural defences, vast internal resources, a perfect network of rivers, rich alluvial plains, a population easily governed because incapable of political combination, and, as a rule, singularly industrious, submissive, docile, peaceable, and law-abiding—is not able to pay the expense of its administration?

The Muhammadan Emperors were conquerors like our-

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selves, yet under them the Empire generally had a full treasury, spent a good deal on public works, and never contracted debts. How is this remarkable fact to be explained? It is obvious that imperial crowns, military pomp, princely palaces, gilded halls, a full treasury, and even good roads, railways, telegraphs, and canals, may all consist with abject penury, wretchedness, and degradation in the mass of the people.

The Emperor Akbar aimed at governing for the good of his subjects, but even under his administration the condition of the ryot was one of utter destitution. A yawning chasm separated the palace and the mud hovels of the cultivators. No intermediate links existed, by help of which the gulf might be bridged over. Under his successors the peasantry were ground down. The whole revenue system became corrupt. There was no idea of a reciprocity of duties between the governors and the governed. Nor did the Muhammadan Emperors permit, as we do, rich native states and principalities, possessing fertile tracts of soil, to enjoy the full revenue of their lands, and yet benefit by the general order and security maintained at the cost of the districts subject to imperial taxation.

Perhaps, some may contend that the condition of the peasantry under our rule is not one whit better. For my own part, after travelling over a great part of India I arrived at the conviction that there is more general comfort and happiness among the people than in any other country of the world. Certainly the peasantry are poor, but their condition under our administration has improved beyond all expectation during the last thirty years. It must, of course, be borne in mind that the wants of the natives of India are few. They never require more than two good meals a day. But not a single person (except in times of famine) ever has less. Nor is any one without a hut to shelter him at night. A labourer may not earn more than threepence a day, but he may purchase two

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pounds of nourishing grain for about a halfpenny. In Orissa the family of a husbandman, consisting of six persons, would be considered in good circumstances if able to spend sixteen shillings a month in food, and would consume every day ten pounds of rice valued at fourpence, vegetables, split peas, and fish, to the value of three farthings, oil and spice to the value of three farthings—in all fivepence halfpenny (Hunter's Statistics, xix. 93). With wants so easily satisfied it is difficult to make out cases of destitution when the seasons are propitious.

It is true that the cultivators of the soil, who constitute at least three-fourths of the whole population—instead of one-fourth as in Europe—are generally improvident. They live from hand to mouth. They have no reserve fund to fall back upon in times of scarcity, and, if able in any one year to save money, are prone to squander it in marriage-feasts, in caste entertainments, in jewelry, and personal decorations. It is true, too, that the financial condition of the country cannot at present be considered satisfactory. Famines are periodical. Deficits recur annually, and the public debt increases. What, then, is the remedy? Is more to be extracted out of a people already taxed to the utmost limit of their capabilities? Can more be wrung out of the three principal sources of revenue—land, salt, and opium? The slight turn of the screw to which the salt-tax has been recently subjected will weigh, like an additional incubus, on the poor, while the rich are left unaffected.

As to opium, a feeling in England seems to be gaining ground—not that it ought to yield more—but that this source of revenue ought to be wholly abolished. The Government is constantly reproached for sending poison to the Chinese. Let the finances of India be ruined, say these conscientious critics, rather than prop them up by an iniquitous traffic. Can it be right for our Government to degrade itself by dealing wholesale in a poisonous drug which it also produces and manufactures? On the other

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hand, the defenders of opium have plenty to say for themselves. Opium, in moderation, say they, is no more poisonous than spirituous liquor. In some parts of Assam, as well as in China, occasional doses are positively needed for the preservation of health. At any rate to abolish the distillation of spirits in Great Britain would be easier and involve a far less financial catastrophe. Besides, it is certain that, if our Government, yielding to the outcry, were to give up the opium monopoly, they would save their credit at the expense of both consumers and cultivators. The Chinese would certainly be more poisoned under a system of free trade, and the cultivators would probably be oppressed. At present we regulate both the strength and purity of the drug—we make advances to the ryots and treat them justly. I believe it is admitted on all hands that a system of excise in opium would be preferable to direct Government traffic. Excise has been already substituted in the case of salt. But how should we provide for the interval of transition? The revenue would collapse during the period needed for private companies to take up a vast concern involving complicated arrangements and an enormous outlay of capital.

It is clear that the abolition of what is styled an iniquitous traffic is easier to talk about than to carry into execution.

It is equally clear, however, that our hungry Indian finance-ministers cannot expect to grow fatter on opium any more than on salt. There remains the *pièce de résistance*—land. One of the great questions of Indian administration is: Do the rulers of India own the land? High authorities, like Lord Lawrence and Sir Fitzjames Stephen, deny that they do. What the Government claims, say they, is what all previous Governments have claimed—not any proprietary right in the soil, but the first charge on the crops. The people are the real owners of the soil. It was the object of Lord Cornwallis' permanent settlement to protect and create private property in land, and en-

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courage the outlay of capital for its improvement by fixing the Government demand in perpetuity. That this policy was wise is as certain as that it was badly carried out in Bengal, where a number of persons called Zamīndārs or landholders, who were not the real landowners, were converted into proprietors and allowed to reap all the benefits of a far too liberal assessment. It is well known that the Zamīndārs show no pity to their tenants. The last anna is extorted from the impoverished ryot; the Government is deprived of about half its due, and the money so gained is squandered. No part of it is spent on improvements.

Unhappily the bad application of a good principle in Bengal has prevented its wise application elsewhere. On the annexation of new territories we have generally fixed the assessment for a term of thirty years, and as favourably as possible to the cultivators. At the end of the term the land has been revalued, and a fresh assessment made. At present (as I am told by Sir William Muir) the rule in the North-west is that, if the gross produce of a piece of land is worth, say, Rs. 104 or 105, four or five rupees are taken for what are called cesses—that is, extra charges on the land for road-making, police, education, &c.—and one-half of the remainder, or Rs. 50, for the Government demand. It is admitted that if a landholder by skill, industry, and the employment of capital, improves the productive qualities of his holding, the Government, which does not take part in the industry or improvements, has no right to share in the increased value of the produce. The tax can only be justly augmented on general considerations, such as an advance in the prosperity of a country caused by roads, railroads, canals, and new markets. As a matter of fact, however, the fear of fresh microscopic revaluations at the end of periods of thirty years paralyses the productive energies of the people. Wells are filled up, land is allowed to deteriorate, and various expedients for its depreciation are resorted to when a fresh assessment is impending.

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In the opinion of those who know India best, a more moderate Government charge on the produce of the soil—not necessarily uniform, but adjusted to suit the circumstances of particular provinces—would in the end improve the financial condition of our Indian Empire. Our truest wisdom, it is thought, would be to encourage the outlay of capital on lands already under cultivation, and to attract capital towards those vast potential sources of revenue latent in lands not yet brought under culture, or not yet thoroughly cultivated. We can only effect this by securing fixity of tenure — by closing the account and fixing the assessment permanently when a district has been cultivated to the fullest extent. In this way we shall create a class of well-to-do contented landed proprietors, whose increased wants will help to fill the State treasury, and whose interest in the soil will be the best guarantee for the maintenance of our rule. Nothing will tend more to conciliate the people, to consolidate our empire, and make our revenue balance our expenditure. The extraordinary progress of the country during the last thirty years proves that India, with all her supposed immobility, is capable of rapid expansion, and responds instantaneously to the efforts of those who strive to develop her resources. Her potential income is beyond all calculation. If we educate the cultivators of the soil to be self-reliant and provident, to keep out of the clutches of the money-lender, to invest their savings wisely, and accumulate a reserve against times of scarcity, part of their growing wealth will as surely find its way into the coffers of the State, as running water flows into the sea. This is the true remedy for our present financial difficulties. Nevertheless, in the application of this, as of all other Indian remedies, there is need of cautious progress, slow haste, and a wise consideration of varying conditions, circumstances, and interests.

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PROMOTION OF GOODWILL AND SYMPATHY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

Any remarks on the best method of promoting goodwill between England and India may appear at the present moment[1] somewhat ill-timed. Two nations in the East of Europe have been locked together for the last few months in a deadly embrace. Their struggle has been marked by worse incidents of savagery than ever disgraced the world's first periods of primeval barbarism. Raging passions have been let loose. A portion of this fair Europe of ours—the boasted home of true Christianity—has been converted into a scene of deplorable atrocities. We Englishmen, who have happily played no part in the dreadful tragedy, have nevertheless watched with a kind of fascination the ebb and flow of the blood-stained tide of war. We have allowed our minds to be engrossed with graphic narratives of military evolutions;—our thoughts to run on fortresses and sieges;—our curiosity to be directed towards the effectiveness of terrible instruments of destruction, Krupp guns, breech-loaders and torpedoes;—our imaginations to be excited by the horrors of the battle-field, by images of dead and dying soldiers, mangled bodies and stiffened corpses;—our hearts to be torn by tales of inhuman cruelty, borne with superhuman resignation.

[1] This was delivered as an address at a Meeting of the National Indian Association, held, December 12th, 1877, at the Langham Hall, London, the Earl of Northbrook in the Chair. Peace had not then been concluded between Russia and Turkey.

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At such a time, I may be told, it would be more appropriate to discuss the best means of restoring peace and promoting goodwill between the two nations engaged in mortal strife. Or supposing it to be admitted that the exciting tragedy of the present war ought not to engross our attention to the exclusion of other interests, still I may be confronted, at the outset of my remarks, with a very natural enquiry;—Is this a suitable moment to plead for the display of more sympathy between the people of England and the people of India?

England has just given a conspicuous proof of her profound sympathy with her Indian brethren. She has voluntarily subscribed more than half a million sterling in a few months for the relief of the famine-stricken population, and in India itself every member of our Government—from the Viceroy downwards—has displayed the most self-sacrificing zeal and energy in efforts to prevent death and alleviate suffering. All this is of course true. And yet, I am persuaded, there is no one in this room with any experience derived from actual residence in India, who will regard an address on the subject which constitutes the very *raison d'être* of the National Indian Association, as either out of place or out of time at a season like this. The sympathy of the English people has indeed been evoked by a terrible calamity. And deep down in the lowest depths of the great British heart there is always a spring of true sympathy ready to gush forth and flow at the cry of suffering, whether towards wounded Turks, mutilated Russians, or famine-driven, fever-stricken Indians. If it is a sad reflection that war and famine are never likely to cease out of the land, there is at least some comfort in the thought that the battle-fields of Europe and the famine-desolated fields of India are never likely to be cut off from the healing, quickening influences of the perennial stream of English sympathy and English charity.

Let me, however, remind my hearers that there is yet

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another field, which, though it gives forth no hurtling sound of shot or shell, no piercing cry of wounded soldiers or famished peasantry, is not the less a field of conflict, of suffering, of loss and gain, of defeat and victory. I mean the battle-ground of daily life and daily work—with its fightings within and its fears without, its grapplings with duties, its wrestlings with temptations, its struggles with opposing forces, wills and interests. It is on this arena that the people of England and the people of India are brought together, not as enemies fighting for the victory over each other, but as fellow-soldiers striving together for the mastery over every form of evil; as fellow-subjects yielding allegiance to the same sovereign; as fellow-men and brethren, members of the great human family, owing love and sympathy and tender consideration towards each other.

And is not mutual sympathy needed by all who meet together as fellow-labourers on this common working-ground of daily duties and monotonous occupations—needed all the more because too frequently believed to be uncalled for and superfluous? Is it not needed by members of the same household, however nearly drawn together by bonds of family relationship? Is it not needed by people of the same country, however closely bound together by ties of social union and interest? Much more then is it needed by two peoples of two widely different countries, thrown by the force of circumstances into intimate political association, though separated from each other as far as the East is from the West by diversities of language, religion, customs, habits of thought, and social institutions.

What then are the best means of promoting this much-to-be-desired goodwill and sympathy between the people of England and the people of India? This is the question I have set myself to answer in the present lecture, and the answer is not difficult. I have nothing new to suggest, no special nostrum, no wonder-working panacea of my own

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to proclaim, no startling discovery to announce. I can only insist on principles well known to every one around me; I can add nothing to the trite truisms already familiar to all of us. How are goodwill and sympathy promoted between any collection of individuals of widely different characters who have to live in daily intercourse with each other? They must learn mutual forbearance, they must consider one another to provoke unto little acts of kindness—little abstinences and wise reticences—they must be charitable in judging of each other, in making allowance for each other's infirmities, in thinking no evil of each other, in bearing, believing, hoping and enduring all things. In a word, they must cultivate mutual charity.

Are, then, the people of England and the people of India wanting in this most excellent gift of mutual charity? Let Indians look into their own hearts, and examine their own consciences. My business as an Englishman is to enquire particularly into our own shortcomings. The question is one which cannot be lightly set aside. For if we are wanting in common charity,—including, of course, in that term the exercise of kindly feelings towards the people committed to our rule,—then it is clear that all our doings in India are nothing worth. We may make laws, administer justice, preach the Gospel, educate the people, lay down railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, develope the resources of the country, tame and control the forces of Nature for the public weal,—nay, more, we may bestow all our goods to feed the famine-stricken poor,—but our rule will not be rooted in the hearts of the people, our legislation will be as hollow as sounding brass, our preaching and teaching as unmeaning as the tinkling of a cymbal, our Empire as insecure as a tower built on sand, which some great storm will suddenly sweep away.

Now I am not here to look at the black side of anything, not even of my own character as an Englishman.

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I believe there is no nation in the world so abounding in true charity as the great British nation. I appeal to obstinate facts. I appeal to stubborn statistics. Nevertheless, without agreeing with those who consider it their privilege as Englishmen to be ever finding fault with themselves, I desire to face the plain truth. I am ready for my own part to confess that we are not all of us as charitable as we ought to be in our everyday ordinary relations with our Indian brethren,—not as fair as we ought to be in our judgment of their character, our estimate of their capacities, our toleration of their idiosyncracies, our appreciation of what is excellent in their literature, customs, religions and philosophies. And I am persuaded that both our want of charity and our want of sympathy proceed from no innate incapacity for charitable and sympathetic feelings, which are always ready to show themselves on great occasions; nor from any real want of fairness, which is usually a conspicuous feature in our national character, but simply and solely from our insufficient knowledge of India, its people and its needs. To put the matter plainly, we are only unsympathetic and uncharitable when we are ignorant.

Certain Hindū philosophers assert that all the phenomena of the universe are caused by ignorance. We cannot, however, quite go with the Vedāntist to the length of affirming that this beautiful world, this wonderful city of London, this fine Hall and everything good in it owe their origin to ignorance. But thus much, I think, we may allow, that all sin and misery, all war and enmity, all evils great or small that mar the fairness of God's earth—doubtings, difficulties, jealousies, misunderstandings, envyings, wrath, seditions, heresies,—all these are rooted in ignorance, and in ignorance alone. And is it not the case that we Englishmen often go to India with minds more ignorant than they ought to be of India's condition and India's needs? Sometimes, I fear, we do not even know enough to know that we do not know,

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and when we commence work on Indian soil, the pressure of necessary duties makes the task of acquiring any thorough knowledge of the country and its people very difficult of accomplishment.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am quite aware that many of the Queen's Indian officers, in spite of insufficient early training, become able Indian statesmen, and accomplished Indologists. What I am speaking of is the general ignorance of India—of its moral, religious, and intellectual history and condition—which prevails among younger men on their first arrival, who nevertheless become in the end quite conversant with the affairs of their own districts. As to the ignorance of India and its wants, which is nearly universal in this country, and even conspicuous in some of our most distinguished University men,—our first-class men and wranglers, our professors and writers, our magistrates and legislators (happily, however, not in all),—I cannot do better than quote the words of a citizen of Bombay who came to England as an agent of one of the native States, and in a letter to the *Times* wrote as follows (December 21, 1874):—'In my own experience among Englishmen, I have found no general indifference to India, but rather an eager desire for information. But I have found a Cimmerian darkness about the manners and habits of my countrymen, an almost poetical description of our customs, and a conception no less wild and startling than the vagaries of Mandeville or Marco Polo concerning our religion.'

I come, therefore, to what may be called the keynote of all I have to say in this lecture, namely, that if we wish to promote goodwill and sympathy between the people of England and the people of India, we must labour to promote *mutual knowledge*—that is—a correct knowledge of England in India, of India in England. And here, I may observe, that if want of sympathy is rooted in want of knowledge, it must not be assumed that the absence of knowledge is all on one side. The people of India are

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even more wanting in correct knowledge of England than we are in correct knowledge of India. Let Indians look to their own deficiencies. My present concern is to look at home and ask the questions:—What are *our own* shortcomings? What are *our own* needs?

Many they are, and of various kinds and in various degrees. Even our ablest Indian statesmen have to confess ignorance about many things. Such men would be the first to tell us that if we wish to promote a better knowledge of India among ourselves we ought to begin at the right end. We ought to introduce Indian studies as an element of education at our Schools and Universities.

I deeply regret that the study of Indian and Oriental subjects generally is practically under a ban at my own University, because Eastern acquirements are at present no avenue to a degree, but rather a hindrance. Any undergraduate who devotes himself to Oriental studies is likely to imperil his place in the class-list, and if he remains in England, his future prospects in life. That we Englishmen, with our enormous Indian and Colonial Empire, our vast Eastern commerce, our increasing interest in Egypt, Turkey, Mesopotamia, Burmah, Tibet, and China should show such indifference to studies which other nations, with little interest in the East, regard as important branches of education, seems, indeed, wholly unaccountable. For the most superficial observer must be convinced that the political interdependence, and, so to speak, solidarity of England and India, are becoming every day more complete, the affairs and interests, the loss and gain, the honour and dishonour, of the two countries more and more interwoven. Witness the increasing space accorded to news from India in our leading journals. Witness the vacation speeches of our leading legislators. Witness the debates on India and the Eastern question in both our Houses of Parliament. In fact, the improvements in telegraphy are constantly causing increased centralization of authority, and India is at present more governed by

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mandates and influences emanating from the central terminus of Queen, Lords and Commons, than by orders and enactments issuing from the Council Chambers of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

Surely, then, we are bound to ponder our heightened duties, our deepening responsibilities. We are bound seriously to lay to heart the undoubted fact that our rule over two hundred and forty-one millions of the human race depends more than it has ever done before—not only for its excellence but for its very continuance—on the promotion of a better knowledge of the history and condition of India among the few hundred individuals constituting our two legislative assemblies, most of whom have been educated at our public schools and Universities. It may be very true that the old ignorance and apathy of Parliament have passed away, and that the commencement of an Indian debate no longer acts like a dinner-bell on hungry members. Yet, I venture to assert, that no little indifference and a good deal of sciolism still prevail, and that urgent need exists for securing by early training a more solid foundation of correct knowledge on all Eastern subjects among all classes of the community: in other words,—that the neglect of Oriental knowledge, as a department of education, calls for immediate attention at the hands of our educators.

Let me substantiate my assertion by a few instances, beginning with the simple subject of Geography. An educated European may perhaps be pardoned for betraying ignorance of the exact position of Quetta, but is it not somewhat startling to be asked by men of rank and education in this country whether Lahore is near Benares, and whether Calcutta lies south of Bombay? Even in India itself I have met with many able civilians who have confessed to me their inability to pass an examination in the geography of India outside their own Presidency.

Much the same may be said of physical geography. India is blessed with numerous magnificent rivers, yet, even

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among Anglo-Indians, how many of those long resident in particular districts would be able to give an accurate account of India's marvellous network of running water, or the best method of utilizing it? Then how little is generally known of the Zoology and Botany of India! Doubtless there are scientific men to whom the fauna and flora of certain districts are familiar, but few Englishmen have an adequate conception of the marvellous wealth of India's animal and plant life. Sportsmen indeed abound everywhere by hundreds, but how many care for animals except to kill or eat them? It may be very true that some forms of life are a little too exuberant. Yet what country affords such beautiful specimens of the insect world? And how is it that Indian Zoologists and Entomologists may be counted on the fingers?

Then as to the vegetable kingdom. Nowhere in the world are there such opportunities for the study of botany, and nowhere is a knowledge of botany less common. Even well-informed persons have to confess their ignorance of India's vast and varied agricultural capabilities. For example, much has yet to be learnt about India's capacity for developing the cultivation of cotton. Again, quite within living memory the remarkable discovery has been made that the tea-plant is indigenous on Indian soil. Much ignorance, too, remains to be dissipated about the culture and preparation of coffee, cinchona, ipecacuanha, and above all of tobacco. Who can tell how far the latter may one day supply the eight or nine millions of revenue which must be sought for somewhere, should the conscience of Great Britain become too sensitive to permit her Indian Government to continue its dealings in opium? Who can tell, too, how far drought and famine may be averted when more is known about irrigation, the storing of water and the conservation of woods and forests? As to geology and mineralogy, it is difficult to estimate how much has yet to be ascertained about India's mineral

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resources—the exploration of coal-fields, the production of salt and iron, the exploitation of gold, silver, copper, and lead.

Archæology, again, presents an unbounded field, not yet adequately investigated. We are scarcely yet alive to the duty of searching out and preserving India's valuable antiquities, and of copying important historical inscriptions, all traces of which the climate is rapidly obliterating. I will not enter on the boundless subject of ethnology, except to remark that some of the oldest amongst us can remember the time when the near relationship of Englishmen to Brāhmans and Rājputs was barely suspected. I may mention, too, that no one in India could give me any clue to the ethnical classification of the Bhīls, and that the existence of Negrito and Negroïd races on the hills is a mystery.

Perhaps I should scarcely be believed if I were to relate with richness of detail the story of an intelligent young person, supposed to be fully educated, who was present the other day at a lecture on Zanāna work, and was heard to inquire with much *naïveté* whether the Zanānas were not a tribe of Afghāns. As to Indian history, all that can be said, I fear, is that the minds of most men are a perfect blank—a complete *tabula rasa.*

In regard to the languages and dialects of India, cultivated and uncultivated, how many persons are aware that their number amounts to at least two hundred? To know even two of these well is, of course, as much as can be expected of our administrators, and I willingly admit that they are generally well versed in at least one language. But I may be pardoned for bemoaning the almost universal ignorance of the classical languages of India,—Sanskṛit, Arabic and Persian, with their respective literatures. I have often been asked by learned Europeans—Has Sanskṛit any literature? The fact is that since the abolition of Haileybury in 1858 the study of Sanskṛit has remained voluntary. It is much to be regretted that few Indian

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probationers address themselves to this important language, and that those who begin learning it, rapidly drop all the knowledge they have gained in this country as soon as they commence their official duties.

Still more to be regretted is the neglect of Sanskṛit by missionaries. Happily there are signs of a better appreciation of its value in the future, and I even look forward to its eventual adoption in England as an element of linguistic training. Let us not forget that Sanskṛit is as closely allied as Greek to our mother-tongue, that its symmetrical grammar is the key to all other grammars, that its system of synthesis is as useful to the mind as the study of geometry, and that its literature contains models of true poetry and some of the most remarkable treatises on philosophy, science and ethics that the world has ever produced.

Above all, let those who are preparing for an Indian career bear in mind that Sanskṛit is the only source of life, health and vigour to all the spoken languages of the Hindūs, the only repository of Hindū religious creeds, customs and observances. 'The popular prejudices of the Hindūs,' said my illustrious predecessor at Oxford, 'their daily observances, their occupations, their amusements, their domestic and social relations, their local legends, their traditions, their fables, their religious worship, all spring from and are perpetuated by the Sanskṛit language.' Yes—to know a country, its people, its needs, and necessities, its mistakes and errors, all these things must be known and understood. Without such knowledge no respect can be felt for all that is good and true, no successful attempt made for the eradication of all that is evil, false and hurtful.

Indeed, I am deeply convinced that the more we learn about the ideas, feelings, drift of thought, religious and intellectual development, eccentricities, and even errors of the people of India, the less ready shall we be to judge them by our own conventional European standards—the

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less disposed to regard ourselves as the sole depositories of all the true knowledge, learning, virtue and refinements of civilized life—the less prone to despise as an ignorant and inferior race the men who compiled the laws of Manu, one of the most remarkable literary productions of the world—who composed systems of ethics worthy of Christianity—who imagined the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahā-bhārata, poems in some respects outrivalling the Iliad and the Odyssey—who invented for themselves the science of grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, logic, and six most subtle systems of philosophy. Above all, the less inclined shall we be to stigmatize as benighted heathen the authors of two religions, however false, which are at this moment professed by about half the human race.

And this leads me to express my sense of our remissness, whether as laymen or missionaries, in neglecting to study the sacred works on which the various religions of India rest. We cannot, of course, sympathize with all that is false in the several creeds of Hindūs, Buddhists, Jains, Pārsīs, Sikhs and Muslims. But we can consent to examine them from their own point of view, we can study their sacred books in their own languages, Sanskṛit, Pāli, Prākṛit, Zand, Gurumukhī and Arabic, rather than in imperfect translations of our own. We can pay as much deference to the interpretations of their own commentators as we expect to be accorded to our own interpretation of the difficulties of our own sacred Scriptures. We can avoid denouncing in strong language what we have never sufficiently investigated, and do not thoroughly understand.

Yes, I must speak out. It seems to me that the general ignorance of our fellow-countrymen in regard to the religions of India is really worse than a blank. A man, learned in European lore, asked me the other day whether the Hindūs were not all Buddhists. Of course ignorance is associated with indifference. I stayed in India with an eminent Indian civilian who had lived for years quite

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unconsciously within a few hundred yards of a celebrated shrine, endeared to the Hindūs by the religious memories of centuries. Another had never heard of a perfectly unique temple not two miles from the gate of his own compound. Ignorance, too, is often associated with an attitude of unmitigated contempt. Another distinguished civilian, who observed that I was diligent in prosecuting my researches into the true nature of Hindūism, expressed surprise that I could waste my time in 'grubbing into such dirt.' The simple truth, I fear, is that we are all more or less ignorant. We are none of us as yet quite able to answer the question:—'What is Hindūism?' We have none of us as yet sufficiently studied it under all its aspects, in its own vast sacred literature stretching over a period of more than two thousand years. We under-estimate its comprehensiveness, its super-subtlety, its recuperative hydra-like vitality; and we are too much given to include the whole system under sweeping expressions such as 'heathenism' or 'idolatry,' as if every idea it contains was to be eradicated root and branch.

Again I must speak out. I deeply regret that we are in the habit of using opprobrious terms to designate the religious tenets of our Indian brethren, however erroneous we believe those tenets to be. Unfortunately it is difficult to find any substitute for the convenient expression 'heathen,' but we ought to consider that the translators of our Bible only adopted this word as an equivalent for Gentile nations, and that the term is now frequently applied to wicked, godless people. I have constantly heard it so applied by our clergy when speaking of the most degraded section of the population of our large cities,—atheists, thieves, lawless people and criminals of all kinds, such as, in former times, congregated on wild *heaths*, remote from civilized towns. We are surely untrue to our own principles when we associate all unbelievers in Christianity with such people, by the use of a common term for both. Does not our own religion teach us that in every

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nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him?

I deplore, too, the ignorance displayed in regard to Indian religious usages. A recent book on India by an eminent Member of Parliament describes the mark on the forehead of the Southern Rāmānujas as the trident of Śiva, whereas it really represents the footprints of Vishṇu. Errors of this kind swarm even in the works of missionaries, and are generally caused by ignorance of Sanskṛit. As to caste, its working is very imperfectly understood, and few are aware that the Hindūs regard it as an imperfect condition of life, and hold that to attain supreme happiness caste must be abandoned. Again, we are apt to indulge in a wholesale condemnation of caste and to advocate its total abolition, forgetful that as a social institution it often operates most beneficially. Doubtless caste-rules are generally a great hindrance to progress, but their very connection with religious faith and practice may often furnish a salutary check where the mere belief in Vishṇu and Śiva is powerless to exercise any restraint at all.

Then, how often do we offend caste prejudices simply from ignorance of their strength and of their connection with venerated religious usage and deep religious feeling!

I, for my part, can believe that an earnest-minded Englishman might well hesitate to eat the flesh of oxen, while resident in certain districts of India where Hindū religious prejudices continue strongest, and where cow-killing is regarded as nothing short of impious sacrilege, remembering the words of a high Christian authority, 'if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth.' The Deputy-Commissioner at Rohtak was murdered the other day by a fanatical Hindū, who never spoke afterwards till the moment of his execution, except to whisper that he had a call from heaven to destroy cow-killers.

When I was at Jammu, one of the Mahārāja's Ministers told me that the punishment in Kaśmīr for killing oxen

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was imprisonment for life, and that he himself had such a horror of eating the flesh of oxen that, if the alternative were submitted to him of tasting beef or being beheaded, he would unhesitatingly choose decapitation.

It is said that a holy Brāhman who lived near Saugor determined to wrestle with the Deity till he should reveal to him the real cause of the general scarcity under which the land was groaning. After three days and nights of fasting and prayer, he saw a vision of some celestial being, who stood before him in a white mantle, and told him that all the calamities of the season arose from the slaughter of oxen by Englishmen and Muhammadans. Colonel Sleeman asserts that this actually occurred, and that it created a great sensation in the neighbourhood. At any rate, we may learn from such stories how deep-seated are the religious convictions on which the sacredness of the cow is based, and can understand how our practice of eating beef may generate bitter feelings of ill-will towards us. Let us suppose for a moment an imaginary case. Let us ask ourselves what our own feelings would be if a number of Chinese were to settle down in this country, and insist on constantly eating boiled rats with chop-sticks before our eyes. Yet our disgust would be as nothing compared with the revulsion in the mind of a pious Hindū caused by our devouring with avidity the flesh of animals which from his infancy he is taught to believe permeated with the essence of divinity.

Of course, I am not advocating a general abandonment of beef-eating throughout India. I am aware that many consider it a duty to show openly their disapproval of what they consider the absurd prejudices of a weak-minded people, and I admit that when religious customs are degrading and do violence to nature and humanity, like the rite of Satī, they ought to be put down. All I maintain is, that the time-honoured usages of particular districts, when intimately bound up with religious feelings, ought, as far as possible, to be respected. Ought we not, too, without

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making any concessions to what we believe utterly false in the religions of India, to be more diligent in searching for some common religious ground on which Europeans and Asiatics may take their stand together? Is it not the case that, among ourselves, people of the most opposite opinions find their religious differences softened down and their sympathies evoked by meeting face to face on the common platform of Conference and Congress Hall? Has England advanced with such gigantic strides beyond Eastern nations that no points of agreement in ideas, customs, usages, and religion can be found with an ancient people who had a polished language, an extensive literature, and a developed civilization when our forefathers were clothed in skins and could neither read nor write? Is so great a gulf now fixed between two races who once occupied the same home in Central Asia that no community of thought, no interchange of ideas, no reciprocity of feeling is any longer possible between them? I verily believe that an unfairly low estimate of the moral, social and religious condition of the people of India, and of their intellectual capacity, is really the principal obstacle to the promotion of sympathy between the two races.

The great historian Mill, whose History of India is still a standard work, has done infinite harm by his unjustifiable blackening of the Indian national character. He has declared (I quote various statements scattered through his work) that 'the superior castes in India are generally depraved, and capable of every fraud and villany; that they more than despise their inferiors, whom they kill with less scruple than we do a fowl; that the inferior castes are profligate, guilty on the slightest occasion of the greatest crimes, and degraded infinitely below the brutes; that the Hindūs in general are devoid of every moral and religious principle; cunning and deceitful, addicted to adulation, dissimulation, deception, dishonesty, falsehood and perjury; disposed to hatred, revenge, and cruelty; indulging in furious and malignant passions, fostered by the gloomy

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and malignant principles of their religion; perpetrating villany with cool reflection; indolent to the point of thinking death and extinction the happiest of all states; avaricious, litigious, insensible to the sufferings of others, inhospitable, cowardly; contemptuous and harsh to their women, whom they treat as slaves; eminently devoid of filial, parental, and conjugal affection.'

No wonder that young Englishmen, just imported from the ruling country, and fresh from the study of Mill's History, sometimes affect a supercilious air of superiority when first brought into contact with their Indian fellow-subjects. No wonder that Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee should have delivered a lecture three or four years ago before this Association and attempted to prove that the natives of India are often treated by Europeans 'with incivility, harshness, and even contempt and personal violence—that they are frequently stigmatized as Niggers, a nation of liars, perjurers, forgers, devoid of gratitude, trust, good-nature, and every other virtue, as rude barbarians and inhuman savages.'

Of course, we know that this Indian gentleman has overstated his case, and that his description applies to a condition of things which may have partially existed thirty years ago, but which has to a great extent passed away. Still, it cannot be questioned that, conscious of our own superiority in religion, science, morality, and general culture, we are too apt to under-estimate the character and acquirements of our Indian brethren. We may regret that they are not Christians, that they have not the moral stamina of Englishmen, that their social institutions are a source of weakness and an obstacle to all fusion between European and Asiatic races, their caste-rules a bar to progress, and the low condition of their women fatal to their elevation. We may tell them plainly that we aim at raising them—men and women—socially, morally, intellectually, to our own standard. But we must bear in mind, all the while, that they are human beings like ourselves,

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with feelings and infirmities like our own. We must give them credit for whatever is good, true, and lovely in their own national character; we must even be ready to admit that in some points—such as patient perseverance in common duties, courtesy, temperance, filial obedience, reverent demeanour towards their elders and betters, dutiful submission to governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters, faithfulness in service, tenderness towards animal life, toleration of religious diversities in foreigners and each other—they may possibly be our equals, if not our superiors.

Contrast with Mr. Mill's estimate of the Hindū character the opinion of the great Abūl Fazl (well called 'the father of excellence'), Akbar's celebrated Minister, who, though a Muhammadan, wrote in his Ayīn-i-Akbarī—'The Hindūs are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, prone to inflict austerities on themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity. Their character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers know not what it is to fly from the field of battle. When the success of the combat becomes doubtful they dismount from their horses and throw away their lives in payment of the debt of valour. They have great respect for their tutors; and make no account of their lives when they can devote them to the service of their God. They believe in the unity of the Godhead, and although they hold images in high veneration, yet they are by no means idolaters, as the ignorant suppose.'

I must admit that in another place he says that the Hindūs differ widely in different places, and that some have the disposition of angels, others of demons.

If I may be allowed to speak of my own experiences, I confess that to me the Indian character has seemed neither angelic nor demoniacal. But if the best Christian found a law in his members bringing him into captivity to the law of sin, so that when he 'would do good,

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evil was present with him,' how much more must this be true of the best Hindū! Surely, then, on the common ground of conflict with evil, both Christian and Hindū, though equipped for the fight with armour of very different temper, may meet and sympathize with each other. And if his own religion is to the one a power and to the other a weakness, surely the strong man armed may have some strength to spare for the encouragement and support of his more feeble brother.

I will not enter into the question of how far the social gulf which is now separating the two races is capable of being bridged over. When I was at Calcutta I found all the highest State functionaries — Lord Northbrook himself, our noble Chairman here, — the late high-minded Bishop Milman, and many others I could name, vying with each other in their efforts to conciliate the natives, and bring about more social fusion between the rulers and the ruled. I found, too, many of our devoted fellow-countrywomen doing their best to work their way lovingly and tenderly into the interior of many an Indian family. The present Viceroy, Lord Lytton, is not a whit behind his predecessors in endeavouring to counteract, by his personal example, the estrangement caused by race-antipathies. But I fear that little success will be achieved till the impenetrable barrier which now surrounds the homes of India is thrown down, till Hindūs and Muhammedans consent to eat and drink with Europeans, and till Indian wives, mothers, and daughters are elevated to their proper position in the family circle.

Nor will I now discuss the question of the duty of redressing so-called Indian grievances, because this is acknowledged on all hands. Traversing India as I have recently done from Kaśmir to Cape Comorin, I have found all intelligent natives generally satisfied with our rule. It is useless, however, to conceal from ourselves the existence of much discontent, chiefly among the men we have educated above their stations. When I have inquired of

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such men: What are your grievances? What does India want which India has not got? 'We want,' they have replied, 'complete social and political equality; we want admission to the highest executive offices; we want a more economical Government; we want a more permanent and moderate settlement of the land-tax; we want less tedious and costly litigation; we want power of sending a few representatives to the House of Commons; we want a certain number of covenanted civil appointments to be competed for in this country.' These are a few specimens of alleged wants. If any of them are *real* wants which it is possible and proper to meet, the Government seems to me to be inclined to go even beyond its duty in endeavouring to meet them. Our Indian Government, too, is now doing its best (just as the Emperor Akbar did more than 300 years ago) to organize in India systematic efforts for the acquisition and dissemination of accurate information on all the points I have mentioned in this address, and indeed on every minute particular bearing on the condition of the people committed to its rule.

The best evidence of this is afforded by the statistical account of Bengal, in twenty volumes, just completed by Dr. W. W. Hunter, Director-General of Statistics, and published in London by Messrs. Trübner and Co.

Yet in the preface of this great national work—a monument of exemplary industry as well as of literary ability—Dr. Hunter owns that it represents the first organized advance towards a better knowledge of India. 'When I commenced,' he says, 'the survey, no regular census had been taken of India, and the enumeration of 1872 disclosed that the official estimates had been wrong as regards Lower Bengal alone by more than twenty-five million of souls. No book existed to which either the public or the administrative body could refer for the most essential facts concerning the rural population. Districts lying within half-a-day's journey of the capital were spoken of in the Calcutta Review as "unexplored."'

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What I plead for, then, is a similar systematic organization and concentration of effort in this country for instilling a better knowledge of India into the rising generation. Unless we bestir ourselves, England will rapidly lose its position as the proper centre and focus of Eastern learning in Europe. Germany, France, and Russia are doing their best to take our place. Even Holland and Italy are rivalling us. All these countries have established chairs of most of the Indian languages, especially of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. Even now we often have to go to Germany for our Indian Professors, Librarians, Secretaries, and Cataloguers of manuscripts[1].

What are our requirements, then, with a view to more systematic organization for the promotion of Indian studies? In my opinion principally four, namely:—1. Formal University recognition by the establishment of an Indian School for obtaining degrees. 2. The appointment of Professors and Teachers of Indian subjects at Colleges and Schools. 3. The encouragement of Indian students by the foundation of Indian scholarships and fellowships. 4. Local centralization by the founding of Indian Institutes, containing libraries, museums, and lecture-rooms, at great educational centres—for example, here in London (according to the plan long advocated by my friend, Dr. Forbes Watson), and especially at Oxford. But why, it may be asked, especially at Oxford? I reply for two reasons:—1st. It can be proved by statistics that a large proportion of our members of Parliament—the real rulers of India—are Oxford men. I believe the majority over Cambridge is at present represented by 136 over 100, and there are now eight Oxford first-class men in the Cabinet, including the Secretary of State for India himself. 2ndly. Our Oxford system,

[1] I am told that there is not in England a single person who knows Tibetan, although teachers of this language are to be found in Germany, France, and Russia, and although it is spoken by numbers of our own subjects and by millions inhabiting neighbouring countries.

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which lays great stress on languages, history, law, and political economy, affords the best training for every kind of Indian career.

At last, therefore, I come to the goal to which my remarks have been converging—the need of founding at Oxford an institution which shall be a centre of union, intercourse, inquiry and instruction for all engaged in Indian studies. The Indian Institute will, I hope, be equipped in the most effective possible manner—both materially and personally. It will have Lecture-rooms, Museum, Library, and Reading-room, all aiding and illustrating each other, and closely connected with it an ample staff of University Professors and teachers, many of whom will have resided in India and have an intimate knowledge of the country. It will I trust, adapt itself to the needs of young Indians, who often go astray in this vast metropolis from the want of proper supervision; and who, as soon as our Oxford Indian School and Indian Institute are established, will probably frequent our University more than they have hitherto done. Oriental Fellowships, Indian Travelling Fellowships, Scholarships for Indians pursuing their studies at Oxford, Scholarships for Englishmen pursuing Indian studies, will, I trust, in time be connected with the Institute. It will, I hope, give prizes for essays on Indian subjects, and will invite able natives to deliver lectures in its lecture-rooms, where meetings and conferences on various topics relating to the welfare of our Indian fellow-subjects will occasionally be held. In brief, *its one aim* will be to concentrate and diffuse accurate information on every subject connected with the condition of our Indian Empire; *its one work* will be to draw England and India closer together, by promoting mutual knowledge, by furthering interchange of ideas, by encouraging reciprocity of feeling, by fostering goodwill and sympathy between the two countries.

This great aim—this great work, cannot and must not rest with the University of Oxford alone. Every society,

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every individual interested in the well-being of our Eastern Empire, will, I trust, lend a helping hand. The National Indian Association, with whose operations both in England and India I have cherished the warmest sympathy ever since the late lamented Miss Carpenter and myself met together for the promotion of similar aims in various parts of India, will, I am sure, co-operate with the Oxford Indian Institute, and both will direct their best endeavours towards the same high objects.

And need I add how much I believe the maintenance of goodwill and sympathy between England and India depends on the attitude and bearing of those who are highest in authority? It is said that what distinguished the great Emperor Akbar from all previous rulers was his personal attention to all the minutiæ of government, and his deference to the opinions of his subjects, however conflicting or opposed to his own. It would be impertinent in me to speak in praise of our noble Chairman on this occasion, but it seems to me that the success of Lord Northbrook's administration was not more due to his conversancy with every detail of State affairs than to his tact in preserving harmony between the discordant elements of which the Queen's Indian Empire must always consist, and his unvarying kindness and courtesy of manner towards every individual, whether Englishman, Hindū, or Muhammadan, with whom, as the Queen's representative, he was brought into contact.

The problem before us, then, has been—How can more cordial and sympathetic feeling be promoted between the people of England and the people of India? The solution of this problem may have been demonstrated by words, but the desired end will not be effected till the people of both countries join heart and hand in united efforts for the conciliation of each other's goodwill, and for the verification of the sublime doctrine—for the establishment of the eternal truth—that 'God has made all nations of men of one blood.'

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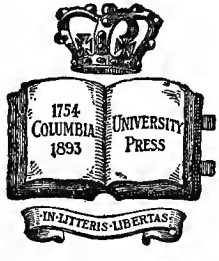

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To

DR. E. W. WEST

AS A MARK OF REGARD

PREFACE

THIS work deals with the life and legend of Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, the representative and type of the laws of the Medes and Persians, the Master whose teaching the Parsis to-day still faithfully follow. It is a biographical study based on tradition; tradition is a phase of history, and it is the purpose of the volume to present the picture of Zoroaster as far as possible in its historic light.

The suggestion which first inspired me to deal with this special theme came from my friend and teacher, Professor Geldner of Berlin, at the time when I was a student under him, ten years ago, at the University of Halle in Germany, and when he was lecturing for the term upon the life and teachings of Zoroaster. It was from him that I received my earliest vivid impression of the historic reality of the Ancient Sage. The special material for the work, however, has grown out of my own lectures, delivered several times in the regular university curriculum of Columbia. Students who may have attended the course will perhaps recognize some of the ideas as discussed with them in the class. As I have had the preparation of this volume in view for some time, I have naturally been constantly adding to my material or collecting new facts to throw light on the subject. It is the aim of the book to bring together all that is generally known at the present time, either from history or from tradition, about this religious teacher of the East.

Our knowledge of Zoroaster has been greatly augmented from the traditional side, during the past few years, especially through the translations made by Dr. West from the Pahlavi texts. This mass of Zoroastrian patristic literature tends

largely to substantiate much that was formerly regarded as somewhat legendary or uncertain. This has resulted in placing actual tradition on a much firmer basis and in making Zoroaster seem a more real and living personage. It is the object of the book to bring out into bolder relief historically the figure of this religious leader. In emphasizing more especially the reality of the great Master's life instead of elaborating the more mythical views of Zarathushtra which prevailed not so long ago, I may, in the judgment of some, have gone too far on the side of realism. But if I have done so, it seems to me that this is a fault at least in the right direction if we may forecast the future from the present. I can but feel that the old writers, like Anquetil du Perron, were nearer the truth in certain of their views of Zoroaster, than has sometimes been supposed. In taking a position so much in accord with tradition with regard to Zarathushtra I might adopt the plea which the old Armenian annalist, Moses of Khorene, employs in another connection: 'there may be much that is untrue in these stories, there may be much that is true; but to me, at least, they seem to contain truth.' I may only add that in general where there is so much smoke there must also be fire, and in the book I hope that others may discern some sparks of the true flame amid the cloud.

As to the arrangement of material and the form of the work, I have sought to make the first half of the volume more general; the second half I have allowed to be more technical. The story of the life and ministry of the Prophet is told in twelve chapters; the more critical discussion of mooted points is reserved for the Appendixes. The general reader may also omit all notes at the bottom of the pages.

In respect to the spelling of proper names the plan has generally been, in the case of Zoroaster, to employ Zarathushtra, Zaratūsht, or Zardusht, respectively, if it seemed necessary at any point to indicate the special sources from which I was drawing or to distinguish between Avestan, Pahlavi, and Modern

Persian. I have otherwise called the Prophet by his more familiar name of Zoroaster. The same holds true of his patron Vishtāspa, Vishtāsp, Gushtāsp, and of other ancient names. I have furthermore aimed at giving authority for all statements that I have made, as the abundant references to the original sources and the citations will show.

With regard to indebtedness, I have always tried to give credit to my predecessors and fellow-workers in the field; a glance at the footnotes, I think, will prove this. Each of those to whom I am under obligation will best recognize my indebtedness, and will best be aware of my appreciation. I should like to have referred also to Professor Tiele's latest book, which deals with the religion of Iran, because some twenty of its interesting pages are devoted to Zarathushtra; it arrived after my work was all printed, so I have been able only to add the title in my bibliographical list on p. xv, and to draw attention to the points which are of importance in connection with the present subject. Furthermore, in various parts of my volume I have made acknowledgment to several friends for kind aid which they have readily given on special points, and which I shall gratefully remember.

I now wish to express to the Trustees of the Columbia University Press my appreciation of their encouragement given to me to carry out the work; and I desire especially to thank President Seth Low for the personal interest he has taken in the book from the beginning, and to acknowledge the kind helpfulness of Dean Nicholas Murray Butler in all matters of detail. The Macmillan Company, likewise, have been constantly ready to meet my wishes in every regard; and I owe my thanks also to the printing firm of Messrs. Cushing and Company, to their compositors and their proof-readers, for their careful and prompt despatch of the work.

But beside these acknowledgments there remain two friends to mention, who come in for a large share of remembrance.

These are my two pupils, Mr. Louis H. Gray, Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, and Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., a member of the class of 1899 in the College, who has been studying Sanskrit and Avestan for the last two years. Since the first proof-sheets arrived, these two generous helpers have been unflagging in their zeal and willingness to contribute, in any way that they could, to giving accuracy to the book. Mr. Gray's indefatigable labor and scholarly acumen are especially to be seen in Appendix V., the completeness of which is due to his untiring readiness to pursue the search farther for texts that might hitherto have escaped notice; and to Mr. Schuyler's hand is owed many a happy suggestion that otherwise would have been lacking in the book, and more than one correction that without his aid might have been overlooked. To both of these scholars I wish to express my thanks; and I feel that they also will recall with pleasure the happy hours spent together in work as chapter after chapter came from the printer's hand. *Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.*

And now I send the book forth, hoping that in some measure it may contribute to a more general knowledge of this Sage of the Past, the Persian Prophet of old, the forerunner of those Wise Men of the East who came and bowed before the majesty of the new-born Light of the World.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

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'Vie de Zoroastre' (i. Part 2, pp. 1–70); very important. German translation by Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Thl. 3, pp. 1–48; excerpts in English by K. E. Kanga. Bombay, 1876.

Avesta. The Sacred Books of the Parsis. Edited by Karl F. Geldner. Stuttgart, 1885–1896.

All Avestan references are made to this edition except in the case of Yashts 22–24, for which Westergaard's edition was used. The Fragments are found in Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. 1–166.

Ayuso, F. G. Los Pueblos Iranios y Zoroastro. Madrid, 1874.

This volume of studies shows sympathy for tradition. Z. born in the west (p. 7); his date is placed in the Vedic Period, B.C. 2000–1800 (p. 14, cf. pp. 147–149), but confused by tradition with another Z. who lived about B.C. 600 (p. 15).

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Consult especially the full indexes at the end of the edition.

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ABBREVIATIONS

[Chiefly titles of Zoroastrian texts]

AJSL. = American Journal of Semitic Languages (formerly Hebraica).
Av. = Avesta, ed. Geldner.
BB. = Bezzenberger's Beiträge.
Bd. = Būndahishn (*SBE.* v. 1–151).
Byt. = Bahman Yasht (*SBE.* v. 189–235).
Dab. = Dabistan (tr. Shea and Troyer).
Dāṯ. = Dāṯistān-ī Dīnīk (*SBE.* xviii. 1–276).
Dk. = Dīnkarṯ (*SBE.* xxxvii. 1–397, 406–418; xlvii. 1–130).
JAOS. = Journal American Oriental Society.
JRAS. = Journal Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ. = Kuhn's Zeitschrift.
Mkh. = Maīnōg-ī Khiraṯ (*SBE.* xxiv. 1–113).
Ms., Mss. = Manuscript, manuscripts.
OIK. = Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur.
PAOS. = Proceedings American Oriental Society.
Pers. = Persian.
Phl. = Pahlavi.
SBE. = Sacred Books of the East. Ed. F. Max Müller.
Sd. = Sad-dar (*SBE.* xxiv. 253–361).
Shg. = Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār (*SBE.* xxiv. 115–251).
ShN. = Shāh Nāmah.
Sls. = Shāyast lā-shāyast (*SBE.* v. 237–406).
Skt. = Sanskrit.
Vd. = Vendīdād.
Vij. = Vijirkarṯ-ī Dīnīk.
Vsp. = Vīsperad.
Ys. = Yasna.
Yt. = Yasht.
YZ. = Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān (übersetzt von Geiger).
Z. = Zoroaster.
Zsp. = Selections of Zāṯ-sparam (*SBE.* v. 153–187 and xlvii. 131–170).
ZtN. = Zartusht Nāmah (in Wilson's Parsi Religion).

ant. = ancient.
cf. = confer, compare.
ed. = edited by, editor.
e.g. = exempli gratia, for example.
i.e. = id est, that is.
l. ll. = line, lines.
n. = note.
op. cit. = opus citatum, work quoted from.
orig. = original.
p. pp. = page, pages.
prob. = probably.
qu. = query, question.
seq. = sequens, and the following.
tom. = tomus, volume.
tr. transl. = translated, translation.
vol. = volume.

ZOROASTER

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, διὰ τί τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Ζάμολξιν οὐδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἴσασιν οἱ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέ τινες πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν.

— Iohannes Chrysostomos.

Zoroaster's Position among Early Religious Teachers — Zoroaster and Buddha — Plan and Scope of the Present Work — Zoroaster as a Historical Personage — Sources of Information — Zoroaster in the Classics — Conclusion

Zoroaster's Position among Early Religious Teachers. — Among the early religious teachers of the East, if we leave out the great founders of Judaism and of Christianity, the name of Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, the Persian sage and prophet of ancient Iran, is entitled to hold one of the most distinguished places. To Zoroaster is due the same rank, the same respect, the same reverential regard that is due to such seekers after light as Buddha, Confucius, Socrates. Even some of the great thoughts of Christianity may be found to have been voiced likewise by Zoroaster — a fact which cannot but be of interest — although it belongs elsewhere to discuss the possibility or impossibility of any closer or more distant bonds of connection between Judaism and Christianity and the faith of ancient Iran. Between India and Iran, however, a natural connection and kinship is acknowledged; and owing to the importance of Buddhism as a contrasted faith, a brief parallel between the teachings

of Zoroaster and the doctrines of Buddha may be drawn by way of introduction.

Both these prophets were filled with a spiritual zeal for relieving a people and ameliorating their condition; both of them were inspired with a righteous hope of bettering their peoples' lives and of redeeming them from misery and sin; and both men became founders of religious faiths. The end and aim in both cases was in general alike; but the nature of the two minds and of the creeds that were developed shows some marked and characteristic, if not radical, differences. The faith of Buddha is the more philosophical; the faith of Zoroaster, the more theological. Buddha's doctrine is a creed rather of renunciation, quietism, and repose; Zoroaster's creed is a law of struggle, action, and reform. India's so-called Prophet Prince is overwhelmed with the wretchedness of human existence, an existence from which the sole release is absorption into Nirvāna; Persia's Sage is equally cognizant of the existence of woe, but it is no world-woe without hope of triumphant domination. The misery which Zoroaster acknowledges to exist is due to an Evil Principle against whom man must struggle all his life and fight the good fight which will bring final victory and will win joys eternal at the resurrection. Nevertheless, as a faith in reality, Buddha's belief had in it more of the elements of a universal religion; Zoroaster's faith, as Geldner has said, possessed rather the elements of a national religion. Millions of human souls still take refuge in Buddha; the faithful followers that bear the name of Zoroaster to-day do not number a hundred thousand. In making such a comparison, however, with regard to the relative proportion between the two faiths in the matter of present adherents we must not forget that national events and external changes in the world's history have contributed as much to this apparent disproportion as any inherent and essential difference between the nature of the two creeds has done.

So much may be said by way of bringing Zoroaster into con-

trast with the founder of the Indian religion that came after his own; and as recent discoveries have thrown so much light upon Buddha's life, and archaeological finds have contributed so much to substantiating traditions that long have been familiar but were not always estimated at their true value, it seems worth while to take up the subject of Zoroaster's life anew and to ascertain all that we are in a position just now to find out regarding it. The purpose therefore of the following pages is to gather as much material as is accessible at present for illustrating the life and legend of the Prophet of Ancient Iran, and this will be done with special reference to tradition.

Zoroaster as a Historical Personage. — Before proceeding to details with regard to the prophetic teacher of Iran, one point must be emphasized at the outset, and an opinion must definitely be expressed; this is with reference to the question raised as to whether Zoroaster be a historical personage, a real figure whose individuality is indelibly stamped upon the religion of Persia of old. An affirmative answer must be given, for Zoroaster *is* a historical character. This point is emphasized because it is not so long ago that advanced scholarship for a time cast a cloud of doubt over the subject;[1] but happily the veil of myth is now dispelled. Scholars are generally agreed that although legend or fable may have gathered about the name of the prophet of ancient Iran, the figure of the great reformer, nevertheless, stands out clearly enough to be recognized in its general outlines; and sufficient data for his life can be col-

[1] Among other references noted by Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 708 n., mention may be made of Kern, *Over het Woord Zarathustra en den mythischen Persoon van dien Naam* (1867); observe also Spiegel's remark in *Die arische Periode*, § 43, p. 299 (Leipzig, 1887); and especially the late lamented Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Part i. Introd. pp. 76–79 (*SBE.* iv. Oxford, 1880). For the historical side of the question see Geldner, 'Zoroaster' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed. xxiv. 820, and consult Spiegel, *EA.* i. 707–708, and recently, with emphasis, in *ZDMG.* lii. 193. Darmesteter later expressed himself more cautiously, see *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 75 seq. (Paris, 1893), and *Zend-Avesta*, Introd. p. 63, § 10, 2d ed. (*SBE.* iv. Oxford, 1895).

lected to enable one to give a clear and correct idea of his personality and individuality.[1] There are parts, it is true, in every great man's life regarding which nothing is known (one has only to think of the Shakspere-Bacon controversy); and in the case of all early teachers' lives there are many lacunæ to be filled. The broken fragments of the statue are sometimes separated so far that we cannot find many of the missing chips, and we must be content to piece the parts imperfectly together. Caution must necessarily be used in such restorations. The existence of legend, fable, and even of myth, may be admitted in dealing with Zoroaster's life; some apocryphal literature is acknowledged to have grown up about the hallowed Messiah of Christianity;[2] but the shadowy substance gathered about the figure of Zoroaster must not be allowed to shroud and obscure his true personality. Cautious we must be, conservative we must be, yet not so far as to exclude a willingness to recognize characteristic traits and features, or to define more sharply objects and forms whose outlines are now and then somewhat dimly presented. In the present research an attempt will be made frankly to give warning where points are doubtful; and difficult as it is at this remote day, an endeavor will be made fairly and impartially to distinguish between fiction on the one hand and underlying facts on the other, so far as they may be looked upon as reasonably certain, presumable, or plausible. The achievement undoubtedly falls far short of the aim in the present monograph; and some will feel that too much weight is given to traditional statements; but in the absence of other authority we have at least these to turn to; and the purpose is to lay these down for reference and for judgment. After this prefatory note has been given, attention may now be directed to the sources of our knowledge in antiquity respecting the life and legend of Zoroaster as a historical personage.

[1] See especially Dr. E. W. West in *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. 29–30 (Oxford, 1897).

[2] See *Apocryphal New Testament*, London, 1820.

Sources of Information about Zoroaster's Life.—The data for reconstructing an outline of the life of the great reformer may be conveniently classified, first (1) as Iranian, second (2) as non-Iranian. Naturally the various sources are not all of equal importance; yet each has a certain intrinsic value.

Among (1) the Iranian sources of information the Avesta, of course, stands foremost in importance as the material with which to begin; and in the Avestan Gāthās, or Psalms, Zoroaster is personally presented as preaching reform or teaching a new faith. The entire Pahlavi literature serves directly to supplement the Avesta, somewhat as the patristic literature of the Church Fathers serves to supplement the New Testament. Especially valuable is the material in the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ and the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, material which has been made accessible by Dr. E. W. West in his 'Marvels of Zoroastrianism' (*SBE.* xlvii. Pahlavi Texts, Part V.; Oxford, 1897). Without West's work many of the following pages could not have been written. Of similar character, as based chiefly upon these two sources, is the later Persian Zartusht Nāmah, which was composed in the thirteenth century of our era.[1] Firdausī's Shāh Nāmah, of the tenth century A.D., contains abundant old material bearing upon the reign of Zoroaster's patron, King Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa).[2] Some other Parsi works and traditional literature may be included in the list, but these will be mentioned as occasion arises in the course of the investigation.[3] Zoroaster is not mentioned in the Ancient Persian Inscriptions, but the silence may be accounted for.

[1] See Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, pp. 477–522, Bombay, 1843. Consult West in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 122; *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. 20–24.

[2] Firdausī expressly states that the portion of his chronicle which relates to Zoroaster (Zardusht) is derived from his own poetic predecessor, Daḳīḳī, who was cruelly murdered when he had sung but a thousand verses. These Firdausī says he has incorporated into the Shāh Nāmah. Scholars are generally inclined to accept the truth of the statement. See Nöldeke in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 147–150.

[3] West, *The Modern Persian Zoroastrian Literature*, Grundriss der iran. Philol. ii. 122–129, and Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen* (Wien, 1860).

(2) The non-Iranian sources are either (*a*) Classical or (*b*) Oriental. The latter include especially the allusions to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic literature,[1] as well as some Armenian references and other incidental mentions.[2] In point of antiquity the classical references, as a rule, rank next to the Avesta; and these allusions, even though they are foreign, are often of real importance, as they serve to check or to substantiate results which are based upon various authorities.[3] The Appendixes to the present volume will render most of this material easily accessible.

Zoroaster in the Classics.[4] — All classical antiquity is agreed on the point that Zoroaster was a historical personage, even though his figure was somewhat indistinct in the eyes of these ancient authors. To the writers of Greece and Rome he was the arch-representative of the Magi;[5] and he sometimes seems to be more famous for the magic arts which are ascribed to his power than for either the depth and breadth of his philosophy and legislation, or for his religious and moral teaching. None the less, he was regarded as a great sage and as a prophet whose name was synonymous with Persian wisdom, or as the founder of the Magian priesthood who are sometimes said to be his pupils and followers.[6]

[1] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler, pp. 24–51, New York, 1894 (Columbia Univ. Press).

[2] Chinese, for example; but these have not yet been made generally accessible. Consult Appendix VI.

[3] For instance, an allusion to Zoroaster which is found in the Preface to the Younger Edda is probably traceable to some classical or Semitic original. See Jackson in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, xvi. p. cxxvi. March, 1894. Appendix VI.

[4] For a collection of the material on this subject, see Appendix V. at the end of this volume.

[5] Consult also the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ, 9. 69, 58; 4. 21. 34 (*SBE.* xxxvii. pp. 397, 412, 417), and see Av. *moγu*, *moγuṯbiš*, Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 235.

[6] Platonic *Alcibiades* I, p. 122, A, μαγείαν . . . τὴν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὡρομάζου· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Θεῶν θεραπεία. Cf. also Apuleius, *de Magia*, xxiv. (Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. p. 21 n.). So Hermodorus as cited by Diogenes Laertius, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* 9, ed. Müller; Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 46; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 304; Pliny,

The Magi, as we know from Herodotus, were a tribe, not merely a priestly family, and the right of the classics to call Zoroaster a Magian is borne out in other ways. The Pahlavi Dīnkart̲ regards the 'Avesta and Zand' as the sacred writings of the Magian priests.[1] The learned Arab chronologist Albīrūnī adds that 'the ancient Magians existed already before the time of Zoroaster, but now there is no pure unmixed portion of them who do not practice the religion of Zoroaster.'[2] Several Syriac and Arabic writers speak of him as 'a Magian,' 'head of the Magians,' 'chief of the sect,' 'Magian prophet,' 'diviner.'[3] This direct association of his name with the Magi is perhaps to be understood with some limitations; but the Magi were the reputed masters of learning in ancient times, and Zoroaster stood for this learning in antiquity.[4]

Of the Magian teachings and doctrines it is difficult to form a clear picture, except so far as we may believe them to be reflected in Zoroaster, after we have made due allowance for changes or reforms that he may have instituted. The classical tradition that Pythagoras studied under these masters in Babylon may not be altogether without foundation.[5] Plato we know was anxious to visit the Orient and to study with the Magi, but the Persian wars with Greece prevented him.[6]

Hist. Nat. **30.** 2. 1; Agathias, **2**, 24; Plutarch, *Numa*, 4; Suidas, *s.v.* Pythagoras; cf. Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. p. 21 seq.; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 44. See Appendix V. at the end of this volume.

[1] Dk. **4.** 21; **4.** 34, West, *Phl. Texts Trans.* in *SBE.* xxxvii. pp. 412, 417.

[2] Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, transl. by Sachau, p. 314, London, 1879.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, pp. 24–51, in Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler, New York, 1894 (Columbia Univ. Press).

[4] For example, Cicero, *de Divinatione*, **1.** 23 et al.; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 277 n.

[5] See Appendix V. below, and cf. Lucian, *Dialog.* cited by Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Anh. ii. 3, p. 104; Cicero, *de Finibus*, **5.** 29; Valerius Maximus, **8.** 7; Pliny, *H. N.* **30.** 2. 1; Apuleius, *Florid.* p. 19; Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagoræ*, 41; Lactantius, *Institutiones*, **4.** 2; Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagoræ*, 19; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 357. Consult Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 260–264.

[6] Diogenes Laertius, *Philosoph. Vit.* **3.** 7; Apuleius, *de Doctrin. Plat. Phil.* p. 569. The *Anonym. Vit. Plat.* p. 7, ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862, adds

The followers of the Sophist Prodicus, a contemporary of Socrates, are reported to have boasted their possession of secret writings of Zoroaster ;[1] and even a Magian teacher, one Gobryas, is claimed as instructor of Socrates.[2] Aristotle, Deinon, Eudoxus of Cnidus, and especially Theopompus, were familiar with Zoroastrian tenets.[3] A work bearing the name of Zoroaster by Heraclides Ponticus, a pupil of Plato and of Aristotle, is mentioned in Plutarch.[4] The distinguished philosopher Hermippus (about B.C. 200) made careful studies of Magism and of Zoroastrian writers, according to Pliny (*H. N.* **30.** 2. 1). Zoroaster and Magian were names to conjure with, and there are numerous allusions to ideas drawn from these sources in Plutarch, Strabo, Suidas, and others.

Titles of a number of purported books of Zoroaster are also given in the classics, such as *περὶ φύσεως*, *περὶ λίθων τιμίων*, *βίβλοι ἀπόκρυφοι Ζωροάστρου*, *ἀστεροσκοπικὰ Ζωροάστρου*.[5] Furthermore, some 'sayings' of Zoroaster, like those mentioned by Gemistus Pletho, *Μαγικὰ λόγια τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου Μάγων*, are both reported to have existed, and passages are occasionally claimed to be taken from them. Like other such productions, however, these are all probably apocryphal, although the encyclopædic character of the titles somewhat recalls the analysis and summaries that we have of the Zoroastrian Nasks.[6] At all events, these references and allusions show how great a reputation was enjoyed by Zoroaster in classical antiquity, even if his name does not occur in Herodotus[7] nor

that in Phœnicia Plato met with Persians who introduced him to Zoroastrian lore. Cf. Appendix V. § 1.

[1] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 357.

[2] Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 77.

[3] Diogenes Laertius, *Proœm.* 8; Pliny, *H. N.* **30.** 2. 1; Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 47; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 233 n., 279 n., and App. V. below.

[4] Plutarch, *Adv. Colot.* p. 1115 A; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 284. Thanks also to friend Lanman.

[5] See allusions in Suidas and in Pliny. Appendix V. below.

[6] West, *Pahlavi Texts*, *Translated* in *SBE.* xxxvii. 1-488.

[7] Cf. de Harlez, *Des Origines du Zoroastrisme*, p. 276, Journal Asiatique, 1878-79; Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 76.

in Xenophon, nor with certainty in the extant fragments of Ctesias. The earliest authenticated classical allusion to Zoroaster by name seems to be the reference in the Platonic Alcibiades ;[1] although, according to Diogenes Laertius (*Proœm.* 2), he was mentioned by the earlier Xanthus of Lydia.[2]

Conclusion. — As Zoroaster is one of the great religious teachers of the East, his life as well as his work is worthy of study from its historical importance. Our information regarding his life is to be gathered from the Zoroastrian scriptures, the Avesta and the Pahlavi writings, and other material must be used to supplement or to correct these sources. Due weight must be given to tradition. It must also be remembered that fiction as well as fact has doubtless gathered about the name of this religious reformer. This latter fact is all the more a proof of his great personality.

[1] See *Alcibiades* I, 122, p. 131, ed. Schanz.

[2] See Appendix V. below, and consult also my article 'Zoroaster' in Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, New York, 1897.

CHAPTER II

FAMILY HISTORY OF ZOROASTER

THE LINEAGE OF THE MASTER

Sa jāto yena jātena yāti vaṃs'aḥ samunnatim.
— HITOPADES'A.

INTRODUCTION — ZOROASTER AN IRANIAN — THE NAME ZOROASTER (ZARATHUSHTRA), ITS FORM AND ITS MEANING — THE DATE OF ZOROASTER — HIS NATIVE PLACE — ZOROASTER'S ANCESTRY AND HIS FAMILY; GENEALOGIES — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — When a man rises to lasting fame, all that is associated with his name and his times becomes of interest and of importance. Lustre is shed upon his family, and distinction is lent to the line that produced such a son. If great men are the children of their age, the age of a great religious teacher can but deserve attention. His own origin, the influences that may have been formative in his life, his environment and surroundings, alike become worthy of consideration. The nature and condition of the country which called him forth requires some remark, and with regard to Zoroaster it is to be regretted that we do not know more than we do of Iran in early antiquity, and that only a limited space can be devoted here to this special theme, although it receives more or less treatment in different places throughout the book. This prophet's teaching found fruitful soil in the land of Ancient Iran, because the seed was already in the hearts of the people, if we may adapt the phrase of a renowned author.

Zoroaster of Iran. — Zoroaster, it is believed, sprang up in the seventh century before the Christian era, somewhere in

the land between the Indus and the Tigris. Before our mind rises first a picture of the world outside of Iran, the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon, with their long line of dynasties reaching far back into history which antedates Iran;[1] to the southeast lies India, bound by the ties of Indo-Iranian unity; lastly, and to offset all, Turan, the rival and foe, the synonym of everything crude, uncouth, and barbarous, borders upon the Iranian territory to the north. But to return to the land of Iran itself during this period. There exists, or is claimed to have existed in early times, an eastern Iranian kingdom in Bactria. An uncertainty with regard to this point will be noted hereafter. Media, however, has already been known to fame in history long before this period; and in the eighth century B.C. its power was able to throw off the yoke of Assyria, and at the close of the seventh century (B.C. 606) to crush Nineveh and establish the Median dynasty of Ecbatana, which may be called the first of the great Iranian kingdoms.[2] But the decadence of Media swiftly follows, and its glory is dimmed before the splendor of the rising Persian sun. So much for the period and land in which Zoroaster appeared.

During the very lifetime of Zoroaster — if we accept the traditional dates — the Jews were carried into captivity in Babylon, and their return from exile to Jerusalem takes place less than a generation after his death. If the Persian wars with Greece stand for anything in the world's history, when Orient and Occident met at Marathon, Platæa, Salamis, when the East received its first shock and set-back from the West, certainly we must feel an interest in the life of that man who is commonly spoken of as the lawgiver of the Persians. His

[1] In the Avesta, Babylon is the seat of the semi-mythical tyrant and demon Azhi Dahāka, who destroyed the Iranian ideal king Yima (Jem-shēd) and ruled for a thousand years. On the religion of Babylon and Assyria, compare Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion*, i. 1. pp. 127–213.

[2] Cf. also the article 'Iranians' (*AVWJ.*) in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia*, iv. 670.

name, his date, and his native place, his family, his ancestry, and his associations, are all matters of some moment. These will be given in this chapter before turning to the more picturesque story of his life. The question of his religious beliefs, teaching, and philosophy, can be dealt with only incidentally, as this is reserved for treatment in another work.

The Name Zoroaster (Zarathushtra), its Form and its Meaning. — The form of the Prophet's name in the Avesta consistently appears as *Zaraθuštra*, or with the fuller patronymic as *Spitāma Zaraθuštra*.[1] The shapes or disguises which this appellative has assumed in other languages show as much variety as does the spelling of the name of the English reformer Wyclif (Wycliff, Wyclyffe, etc.). The familiar form (*a*) *Zoroaster* is adopted from *Zoroastres* of the Latin, which in turn is modelled after the Greek form. (*b*) In Greek the name commonly appears as Ζωροάστρης,[2] but sporadic variations are found, for example Ζωρόαδος, Ζαράδης beside Ζωροάστρης in Agathias **2**. 24, or the anomalous Ὠρώαστος (Georgius Hamartolus), see Appendix V.; or again, the forms Ζάρατος,[3] Ζάρης,[4] which are also quotable from the Greek, seem to be based upon the later Persian form. A græcized Armenian form (Arm. *Zaravěšt*) is cited from Cephalion;[5] and Diodorus Siculus (**1**. 94) has Ζαθραύστης,[6] which recalls the Avestan form, Zarathushtra,

[1] Consult Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 380, Marburg, 1895; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 44, 45; de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. xxi. Cf. also Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 2, Paris, 1771, and Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 307 seq. Oxford, 1700. See also Appendix I.

[2] Diogenes Laertius, *de Vit. Philos.* Procœm. 2. p. 1 (recens. Cobet), Paris, 1850. Observe that Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 46, once has Ζωρόαστρις, once the usual Ζωροάστρης (*Numa*, 4), and once the curious Σώσαστρος (*Quæst. Conviv.* **4**. 1. 1). On *Zoroastes* (sic) in Isidorus, see Appendix V. § 38; and on Ζαρατρέως (gen.) cf. Lassen *ZKM.* vi. 541, n. 2.

[3] Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagoræ*, p. 18, ed. Nauck (Ὁ Πυθαγόρας) πρὸς Ζάρατον ἀφίκετο.

[4] Suidas, s.v. *Pythagoras*; see Appendix V., § 45.

[5] From Cephalion through Eusebius (*Armen. Versio*, p. 41, ed. Maï), according to de Harlez, *Av. tr.* Introd. p. xx. See Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 380*a*, on Zaravastes in Müller, *Fragm.* iii. 626, 627.

[6] Diodorus Siculus, **1**. 94. 2, Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριανοῖς Ζαθραύστην. See Appendix V. § 3 below.

of the Prophet's name.[1] (*c*) An Armenian rendering of the appellative is given as *Zradasht*.[2] (*d*) The Syriac and Arabic writings show the name under a variety of guises, but they generally agree with the Pahlavi or Modern Persian form.[3] (*e*) The Pahlavi version of the name is usually given *Zaratūšt*.[4] (*f*) Some of the Modern Persian varieties are *Zartušt*, *Zardušt*, *Zārdušt*, *Zarduhašt*, *Zarātušt*, *Zarādušt*, *Zarātuhašt*, *Zarāduhašt*, *Zārāhušt*.[5] All these are variations of Avestan *Zaraθuštra*.

The question as to the significance of the name of Iran's prophetic teacher is not without interest. India's princely reformer was the 'Enlightened' (*Buddha*) or the 'Sakya Sage' (*Sākyamuni*); Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, was the Wonderful, the Counsellor, the Anointed (*Christus*). In ancient Iran Zoroaster, the Righteous, was called *Zaraθuštra*, or *Zaraθuštra Spitǎma*, *Spitǎma Zaraθuštra*, or sometimes simply *Spitǎma*. The title *Spitǎma* is a family designation, and the name comes from an ancestor of the Prophet, a heros eponymus of the clan.[6] The Spitaman name is elsewhere found early in Media. The derivation of this patronymic *Spitǎma*, used as an appellative, is apparently from the Av. root *spit-* 'be white' = Skt. *s'vit-*, and the significance is probably 'descendant of White,' like the English *Whit-ing*. The origin of *Zaraθuštra* itself is less

[1] The Greek form Ζοροάστρης, or Ζωροάστρης, is apparently to be explained as derived from Av. Zarathushtra through a Western Iranian presumable form **Zarah̥uštra*, cf. Bartholomae in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, i. §§ 93, 264 (8).

[2] See also Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 204, Strassburg, 1895.

[3] See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Writers*, p. 25 seq.

[4] West, *Pahlavi Texts Translated*, Part 5, in *SBE.* xlvii. 180, Index.

[5] Cf. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, ii. p. 103, Bonn, 1865; West, *The Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard*, p. 223; Stuttgart, 1871.

[6] See the genealogy given below, p. 19, and consult Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, sub voce; also *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895. Zoroaster's daughter is *Pourucistā Spitāmī*, Ys. **53.** 3; his cousin is *Maidyōimǎŋha Spitāma*, Ys. **51.** 19; the members of the family are spoken of as the Spitamas (Ys. **46.** 15) *Spitamǎŋhō*. In Pahlavi, the Prophet is called *Zaratūšt ī Spītāmān*, 'Zoroaster of the Spītāmas'; the Mod. Pers. has *Isfīmān*, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 309; Σπιταμᾶς, Σπιθάμης are quotable as ordinary Iranian proper names.

clear than Spitāma and the derivation has been much discussed. Scholars, however, are now generally agreed upon one point; it is that the second member of the compound (for the form must be a composite) is the word *uštra-* 'camel,'[1] but the precise nature of the compound and the true meaning of its first element are uncertain. The most probable significations that have been proposed are: 'one whose camels are old' (*zar* 'be old')[2] or 'old camel' (cf. Skt. *jarad-gava*, *jarat-kāru-*); or again 'one whose camel is fierce' (*zar* 'be angry') or possibly 'tormenting the camel'; or 'robbing a camel' (cf. Skt. *bharadvāja*). Numerous other suggestions and explanations have been offered; and some of them show a good deal of fancy; but doubtless the name is an unromantic, unpoetic name, a title which the man retained as his birthright even after he became famed as a spiritual and religious teacher. The very fact of his retaining this somewhat prosaic appellative testifies to a strong personality; Zoroaster remains a man and he is not dubbed anew with a poetic title when later sanctification has thrown a halo of glory about his head. For an outline of the various discussions of Zoroaster's name, the reader is referred to the special Appendix.[3]

The Date of Zoroaster. — With reference to the date at which Zoroaster lived and taught, there has been a wide diversity of opinion, but now a more general agreement between the views of scholars on the subject is beginning to prevail. The consensus of opinion has of late been growing stronger in favor of accepting the traditional view, based on the chronology of the

[1] The esteem in which the Bactrian camel is held is well known (cf. Yt. 14. 11–13). Other Iranian proper names contain *uštra*, e.g. *Frašaoštra* 'whose camels are fresh,' *Aravaoštra* 'whose camel does not bellow' (cf. *ravō-fraoθman*), *Vohuštra* 'having good camels' (Yt. 13. 122, cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 673). There are many similar compound appellatives with *-aspa* 'horse,' *gao-* 'cow,' *-uxšan* 'ox,' which are probably totemistic family survivals; see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 486 seq., Marburg, 1895.

[2] Cf. Hübschmann, *KZ.* xxvi. p. 203; Geldner, *Zoroaster*, Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed. xxiv. p. 820; Bartholomae, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* i. pp. 149–150; *A.F.* i. p. 160; *I.F.* vi. Anz. p. 47.

[3] See Appendix I. below.

Būndahishn, which places the era of Zoroaster's activity between the latter half of the seventh century B.C. and the middle of the sixth century. A detailed discussion of the question with a general presentation of the material on the subject has been given by the present writer in a monograph on *The Date of Zoroaster*, *JAOS.* xvii. 1–22, 1896 (reprinted in Appendix II.). The results are rendered even more precise by a slight chronological correction by Dr. E. W. West,[1] who gives the years B.C. 660–583 as probably the exact date of Zoroaster so far as tradition is concerned. There is space here only to summarize; for details reference must be made to Appendix II., III.

The statements of antiquity on the subject may conveniently be divided into three groups.

First (1) to be considered are those references that assign to Zoroaster the extravagant age of B.C. 6000. These are confined simply to the classics, but they have a certain claim to attention because they are based upon information possessed by Aristotle, Eudoxus, and Hermippus.[2] These extraordinary figures are due to the Greeks' not having quite rightly understood the statements of the Persians who place Zoroaster's millennium amid a great world-period of 12,000 years, which they divided into cycles, and in accordance with this belief Zoroaster's *fravaši* had actually existed in company with the archangels for several thousands of years. Second (2) come those statements which connect the name of Zoroaster with that of the more or less legendary Ninus and the uncertain Semiramis.[3] Third (3) the direct Zoroastrian tradition

[1] Personal letter, dated April 30, 1897, and in a published view with chronological table, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. 27–42. See Appendix III.

[2] The passages are given in full in Appendix II.; they are from Pliny, *H.N.* **30.** 2. 1; Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 46; Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades* I, 122; Diogenes Laertius, *de Vit. Philos.* Procem. 2; Lactantius, *Inst.* **7.** 15, and cf. Suidas, s.v. *Zoroastres.*

[3] Cf. Diodorus Siculus, **2.** 6; Fragments of Cephalion in Euseb. *Chron.* **1.** 43 and **4.** 35; Theon, *Progymnasmata*, 9; Justin, from Trogus Pompeius' *Hist. Philippic.* **1.** 1; Arnobius,

which is found in the Pahlavi book Būndahishn **34.** 1–9 and supported by Arṯā Vīrāf **1.** 2–5 and Zāṯ-sparam **23.** 12, as well as corroborated by abundant Arabic allusions (Albīrūnī, Masūdī, and others) unanimously places the opening of Zoroaster's ministry at 258 years before the era of Alexander, or 272 years before the close of the world-conqueror's life (B.C. 323). As Zoroaster was thirty years old, according to the tradition, when he entered upon his ministry; and as he was seventy-seven years old at the time of his death; and, furthermore, since we may assume an omission of thirty-five years in the Būndahishn chronological list, according to West, we have good reason, on the authority of the tradition, for making B.C. 660–583 as the era of Zoroaster.

Tradition also says that Zoroaster was forty-two years old when he converted King Vishtāspa, who became the patron of the faith. There is no good ground, however, for identifying this ruler with Hystaspes, the father of Darius. Such identification has indeed been made by Ammianus Marcellinus (**22.** 6. 32), and it has met with support from some; but the doubt on this point which was raised as early as Agathias (**2.** 24) is unquestionably well founded.[1]

Zoroaster's Native Place. — The question of Zoroaster's native place is a subject that has been much debated. The problem is more complicated because of the uncertainty which exists as to whether his birthplace and early home was necessarily also the chief scene of the teacher's activity. The whole matter may be brought under the heading of two inquiries: first (1), whether the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in the west of Iran, in Atropatene and Media; second (2), whether

Adv. Gentes, **1.** 5; Orosius, *Hist. contra Paganos* (Ninus); Suidas, s.v. *Zoroastres*. See Appendix II., V. Some incidental allusions connect Zoroaster's name with Abraham, Nimrod, Bel, Balaam. These also are quoted in Appendix II., V. below.

[1] Fuller discussion in West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. p. 38, and Jackson, *On the Date of Zoroaster*, *JAOS.* xvii. 17; Appendix II. below.

ancient Media was the scene also of his ministry, or are we to accept the claim of Bactria and eastern Iran? Possibly he may have taught in both lands. The subject is of interest, moreover, in the light of the recent important developments with regard to Buddha's birthplace, and the archæological finds which have lately contributed so much towards establishing the exact location where the gentle teacher of India was ushered into the world. Accordingly, the problem of Zoroaster's native place and then the possible scene of his ministry is discussed with considerable fulness in Appendix IV; it suffices merely to summarize here.

If we omit the question of his ministry for the moment and speak simply of his native place, we may say without much hesitation, that the consensus of scholarly opinion at this time is generally agreed in believing that Zoroaster arose in the west of Iran. Oriental tradition seems to be fairly correct in assigning, as his native land, the district of Atropatene or Ādarbaijān, to the west of Media, or even more precisely the neighborhood about Lake Urumiah. There is ground, furthermore, for believing in the tradition which says that his father was a native of Ādarbaijān, — a region of naphtha wells and oil fountains, — and that Zoroaster's mother was from the Median Raghā (Raī) — consult the map at the end of this volume. Explicit references for these statements will be found in Appendix IV. For the other problem, the one relating to the possible scene or scenes of Zoroaster's ministry, reference must be made to the extended discussion in the same appendix below. Here we need only bear in mind that there is every reason to believe that Zoroaster, for a time at least, wandered about in his missionary labors, and there is certainly a strong tradition to the effect that during the two opening years of his prophetic career he was for a while in the east, in Seistān, and also in Turan — see Map. One is reminded of the peregrinations of the Buddha.

Zoroaster's Ancestry and His Family. — The subject of gene-

alogy has not much interest for most readers, and a treatment of it is apt to recall the 'begat' chapters of the Biblical patriarchs. Nevertheless Zoroaster's line is not without importance, and it deserves to receive attention, as much as would the descent of Mohammed or of Buddha. If Indian legend and tradition in the case of the great Ganges teacher ascribes exalted origin from the princely family of the Sākyas, Iranian story is no less successful, for its part, in tracing Zoroaster's descent from a sort of royal Davidic line that ends in the house of Mānūshcīhar, sovereign of Iran,[1] or ascending still farther back through the forty-fifth generation to Gāyōmarṯ, the Iranian Adam, the father of all mankind.[2] The Prophet's more immediate ancestors are often referred to. Pourushaspa, the father, is mentioned several times in the Avesta and is frequently referred to in the Pahlavi texts and in the later Zoroastrian literature. The name of Zoroaster's mother is preserved in an Avestan fragment as Dughdhōvā (Phl. Dūghdāvō, Dūkdav or Dūkṯāūbō, Mod. Pers. Dughdū).[3] The name of Zoroaster's great-grandfather Haēcaṯ-aspa is mentioned in the Avesta (Ys. **46**. 15; **53**. 3), as is also the latter's sire Cikhshnush or Chākhshni (cf. Yt. **13**. 114); and Spitāma, the heros eponymus of the family, is referred to in the Gāthā allusions to the Prophet's kinsman Spitamāonhō (Ys. **46**. 15), whence his own appellative Zarathushtra Spitama, Zoroaster the Spitamid. The locus classicus for tracing Zoroaster's lineage is Būndahishn **32**. 1–2; it is supplemented by the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ **7**. 2, 70, the Selections of Zāṯsparam, **13**, 6, and by the Vijirkarṯ-ī Dīnīg; compare also the Nīrang-ī Bōīdāṯano va Yāṯkarṯano (*Grundriss* ii. 115).[4] The

[1] On Mānūshcīhar, cf. Peshotan Dastur, *Dīnkarṯ translated*, vol. vii. p. 429; cf. Yasht **13**. 131.

[2] Dk. **7**. 2. 70, Zsp. **13**. 5–6; cf. West, *SBE*. xlvii. pp. 34, 140, and *Grundriss d. iran. Phil*. ii. 95.

[3] Hāṯokht Nask Frag. cited in Sad Dar **40**. 4 et passim; cf. West, *SBE*. xxiv. 302; xxxvii. 444, 469, 483; xlvii. (eight times); Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. iii. 151; Zartusht Nāmah, p. 480 (in Wilson, *Parsi Relig*.) and Shahrastānī (see Appendix IV.).

[4] Consult West, *Pahlavi Texts translated*, *SBE*. v. 140–141; *Grundriss*, ii. 94, 95, and *SBE*. xlvii. 34,

same ancestral tree, but with the names disguised or misread, is found in Masūdī.[1] The line as far back as Manush-cithra may be worth recording from the accessible sources.

Dk., Būndahishn, and cf. Zsp.	Vijirkarṯ-ī Dīnīg.	Masūdī.
Mānūshcihar[2]	Mānūshcihar,	Manūshihar, (منوشهر)
Dūrāsrōbō	Dūrāsrōb . .	Dūrashrīn . (دورشرين)
Aīrīc or Rajan	Rajishn . .	Iraj . . . (ارج)
Nayāzem or Ayăzem[3] . . .	Nayāzem . .	Hāīzem . . (هايزم)
Vaēdisht or Vīdasht . . .	Vaēdisht . .	Vāndast. . (واندست)
Spītām or Spītāmān . . .	Spītāmānŏ .	Isbīmān . . (اسبيمان)
Hardhăr (Kharedhar) . . .	Haridār . .	Hardār . . (هردار)
Arejadharshn or Hardarshn .	Hardrshn . .	Arḥadas . (ارحدس)
Paētrasp or Pāītīrasp . . .	Paētirasp . .	Bātīr . . . (باتير)
Cīkhshnŭsh or Cakhshnūsh[4]	Cikhshnush .	Ḥakhīsh . (حخيش)
Haēcaṯăspō	Haēcaṯasp . .	Hajdasf . . (هجدسف)
Urugadhasp or Aurvadasp[6] .	Urvandasp .	Arīkdasf . (اريكدسف)
Paṯīragtarāspō or Paītirāsp[6] .	Paītīrāsp . .	Faḍarasf . (فذرسف)
Pōrūshăspō	Pōrūshāspō .	Būrshasf . (بورشسف)
Zaratūsht	Zarātusht . .	Zarādusht . (زرادشت)

139. See likewise Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 160; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 687; de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. ccxxviii; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 393.

[1] *Les Prairies d'or*, ii. 123, tr. Barbier de Meynard; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 34.

[2] Avesta, Yt. **13**. 131, *Manuš-ciθra*.

[3] Cf. also Dīnkarṯ **9**. 33. 5.

[4] Cf. Avesta, Yt. **13**. 114, *Cāχsni*.

[5] Zsp. **13**. 6 has *Ahūrvaḷāspō*.

[6] Dīnkarṯ, Bk. **7**. 2. 3, 70; Bd. **32**. 1; West, *Grundriss*, ii. 95, *SBE*. xlvii. 34, v. 140; or *Purtarāspō*, Zsp. **13**. 6, *op. cit.* p. 139.

Zoroaster's grandfather on the maternal side, according to Dk. **7.** 2. 3 and Bd. **32.** 10, was Frāhīm-rvanā-zōish or Frahim-rava; his maternal grandmother may have been called Frēnŏ (Zsp. **13.** 1), but the passage is not quite clear. There are several allusions to his paternal uncle Ārāsti and to the latter's son, Maidhyōi-māonha, who was Zoroaster's cousin and first disciple (Yt. **13.** 95; Bd. **32.** 2 et passim). According to the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, Zoroaster was one of five brothers. The passage states: 'Of the four brothers of Zaratūsht the names of the two before Zaratūsht were Ratūshtar and Rangūshtar, and of the two after him Nōṯarīgā and Nīvēṯish.'[1] But in each case the reading of the Pahlavi word is uncertain. A tabular statement of the Sage's family and kin may now be presented.[2]

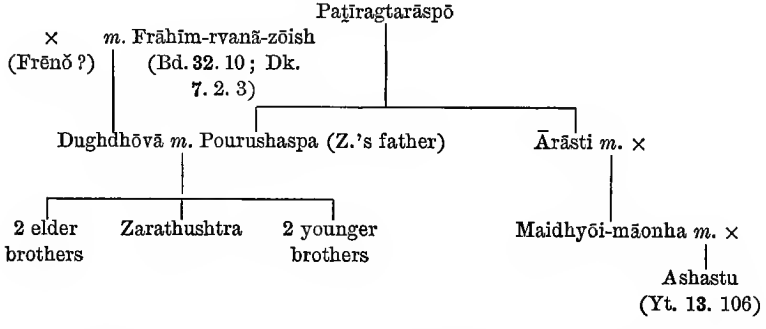

Tradition furthermore states that Zoroaster was thrice married and had several sons and daughters, and that the three wives survived him (Bd. **32.** 5–7; Vjkṯ. pp. 21–22). The names of the first wife and of the second are not preserved,[3] but the latter is said to have been a widow. By the first, or privi-

[1] Zsp. **15.** 5. West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 144; cf. also *SBE.* v. 187, note.

[2] Cf. also Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 393.

[3] See the information and corrections given by West, *Pahlavi Texts Translated*, *SBE.* v. 142–143, notes, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v. 'Urwarwiĭja,' p. 334; Hölty, *Zoroaster und sein Zeitalter*, p. 93, Lüneburg, 1836. West (*SBE.* V. 143, n. 1) refers to the apparent misinterpretation which gives the names of Zoroaster's first two wives as *Urvij* and *Arnij-baredā;* consult his reference, especially as to the second wife.

leged wife, the Prophet had one son and three daughters. Their names are several times mentioned in the Avesta and in Pahlavi literature.[1] One of the daughters, Pourucistā (Ys. **53.** 3), was married to the wise Jāmāspa. The son Isaṯvāstra, by the second wife, became head of the priestly class and had a son, Ururvija, who is also mentioned by name (Bd. **32.** 7). Isaṯvāstra was likewise made guardian of the children of his father's second wife who had borne two sons, Urvataṯnara and Hvarecithra, to Zoroaster (Yt. **13.** 98). These two sons were respectively regarded as the head of the agricultural class and of the warrior caste. The third wife, Hvōvī, was the daughter of Frashaoshtra and niece to Jāmāspa, attachés to the court of Vishtāspa (Yt. **13.** 139; **16.** 15; Dk. **9.** 44. 16; **9.** 69. 58). By Hvōvī no earthly children were born, but she is the noble consort from whom ultimately are descended the future millennial prophets, Ukhshyaṯ-ereta, Ukhshyaṯ-nemah, and the Messiah, Saoshyant (Yt. **13.** 128). The marvels of this preternatural conception are narrated in detail in Bd. **32.** 8–9, cf. Yt. **13.** 62, 128, 141–2, and elsewhere. The later descent from Zoroaster's line may thus be tabulated: —

Children by first wife	Children by second wife	Children by Hvōvī
× *m.* Isaṯvāstra (son)	Hvarecithra (son)	(Not yet born)
Frēnī (daughter)	Urvataṯnara (son)	Ukhshyaṯ-ereta
Thritī (daughter)		Ukhshyaṯ-nemah
Pourucistā (daughter)		Saoshyant
Ururvija		

A genealogical tree of the Hvōvid family into which the Prophet married and into which family he gave a daughter in marriage will make clearer some of the connections and alliances that appear in the Avesta; it is therefore given on the following page: —

[1] Ys. **23.** 2, **26.** 5; Yt. **13.** 98, 139; Bd. **32.** 5 et passim; Zsp. **23.** 11.

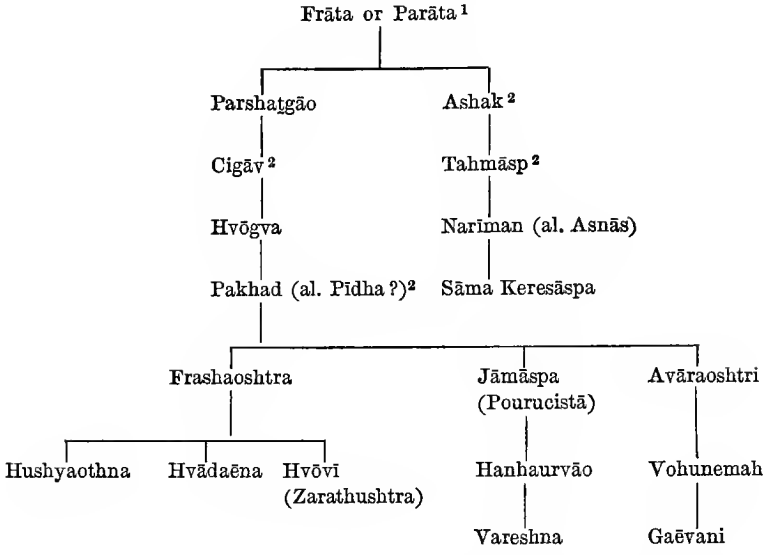

Summary. — After noticing in this chapter the fact that Zoroaster was an Iranian, we briefly followed in outline the position of Iran in ancient history. We next saw that the oldest form of Zoroaster's name is given as Zarathushtra. The statement was then made that we have reason for believing that he arose in western Iran (Atropatene and Media) about the middle of the seventh century B.C. The scene of his ministry is a question that was reserved for later discussion. As was shown, a long line of ancestry can be traced out for him, and we know something of his immediate family through tradition. But we bid adieu to these external matters to deal with his life itself.

[1] After Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 396.

[2] Not mentioned in the Avesta.

CHAPTER III

EARLY LIFE AND RELIGIOUS PREPARATION

THE LIFE OF THE PROPHET UNTIL THE AGE OF THIRTY

yehe zaθaēca vaxšaēca
uštatātəm nimravanta
vīspā spəntō-dātā dāmąn.
—AVESTA, Yt. **13.** 93.

INTRODUCTION—PROPHECIES OF THE COMING OF ZOROASTER, AND THE MIRACLES BEFORE HIS BIRTH—BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF ZOROASTER ACCORDING TO TRADITION—ZOROASTER'S YOUTH AND EDUCATION—PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS PREPARATION—CONCLUSION

Introduction, Prophecies of the Coming of Zoroaster.—The coming of a prophet or great teacher seems at times in the world's history to be looked for instinctively. We may see the truth of this statement exemplified in our own Gospels when the disciple asks of the Saviour, 'Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?' And when a blessed Master is at last recognized, the generations vie with each other in repeating how his advent was foretold. In the Zoroastrian scriptures, passages are adduced to show that the Sage's coming had been predicted ages before. In the Avestan Gāthās and in Pahlavi literature the soul of the mythical primeval bull, three thousand years before the revelation of the religion, beholds a vision in heaven of the *fravaši* or ideal image of the prophet Zarathushtra, Zaratūsht, that is to be.[1] Again, in the golden age of the world, King Yim (Jemshēd) forewarns the demons of their destined defeat and overthrow

[1] Ys. **29.** 8; Bd. **4.** 4–5; cf. Dk. **7.** 2. 67.

at the birth of the glorious manchild.[1] Lastly, in the reign of the patriarch ruler, Kaī Ūs, three centuries before the actual appearance of the hallowed saint, a splendid ox is gifted with the power of speech, so as to foretell the promised revelation which the future shall receive from the lips of Zaratūsht.[2]

Miracles before His Birth. — From the Avesta we also learn that the divine sacerdotal and kingly Glory (*hᵛarənah*) is handed onward from ruler to ruler, and from saint to saint, ever with a view to its illumining ultimately the soul of the inspired one.[3] It is ordained of heaven, moreover, that this Glory shall be combined with the Guardian Spirit (*fravaši*) and the Material Body, so as to produce from this threefold union the wonderful child.[4]

First, the Glory descends from the presence of Aūharmazd, where it abides in the eternal light; it passes through heaven down to earth; and it enters the house where the future Zaratūsht's mother herself is about to be born. Uniting itself with her presence it abides in her until she reaches the age of fifteen, when she brings forth her own first-born, the prophet of Iran. But before this event, as a girl she became so transcendent in splendor by reason of the miraculous nimbus of the Glory that resided in her, that, at the instigation of the demons, her father is convinced that she is bewitched, and he sends her away from his home to the country of the Spītāmas, in the district of Alāk or Arāk, to the village of Paṯīragtarāspō, whose son Pōrūshāspō (Av. Pourushaspa) she marries. The Glory is therefore upon earth, ready to appear in the form of man. Such at least is the scriptural account found in the Dīnkarṯ.[5]

Second, the archangels Vohūman and Ashavahisht, descending from heaven, convey to earth another of the three elements,

[1] Dk. 7. 2. 59–61; see West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 31.

[2] Dk. 7. 2. 62–69; Zsp. 12. 7–25.

[3] Yt. 19. 25–90; cf. also West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 30.

[4] Cf. Spend Nask Summary in Dk. 7. 14. 1 (*SBE.* xxxvii. p. 31); Dk. 7. 2. 2 seq.; Zsp. 13. 4 (*SBE.* xlvii. pp. 17, 139).

[5] Dk. 7. 2. 4–11; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 18–20.

the Guardian Spirit (Phl. *fravāhar*, Av. *fravaši*), bearing it in a stem of the Hōm-plant, the height of a man. For a time this precious stem is placed in the nest of two birds whose young have been devoured by serpents: it protects the brood and kills the reptiles. Thus it continues as a talisman in the keeping of the birds,[1] until required again by the archangels, and until Pōrūshāspō (Pourushaspa), who meanwhile had married Dūkṯāūb (Dughdhōvā), meets with the two presiding seraphim 'in the cattle-pasture of the Spītāmas' and receives from them the cherished rod, which he gives to his wife to preserve.[2] Much of all this, it is true, has a mythical ring or an allegorical note.

Third, the Substantial Nature (Phl. *gōhar*), or material essence, which completes the holy triad, is miraculously combined with the elements of milk, through the agency of water and the plants, or through the archangels Khūrdaṯ and Mūrdaṯ. The demons vainly seek to destroy this;[3] but the milk is mixed with Hōm and is drunk by the future prophet's parents. In this roundabout way the Pahlavi text accounts for the combination of the three elements, the glory, the spirit, and the body, and the child is conceived, despite the machinations of the demons.[4] Throughout the narrative the presence of an Oriental tendency to symbolism and ritualistic significance is manifest. The same story is repeated by the Arab writer Shahrastānī (A.D. 1086–1153), and it is narrated again in the Dabistān.[5]

The pregnancy of the mother whose womb is hallowed to bear such fruit, is attended by occurrences equally remarkable and by circumstances astounding in their nature. These miraculous occurrences are told and interpreted in the Dīnkarṯ, Zāṯ-

[1] Have we here a reflex of the ancient Sanskrit myth of Soma and the Eagle?

[2] Dk. 7. 2. 22–35.

[3] Dk. 7. 2. 44–45.

[4] Dk. 7. 2. 36–72; Zsp. 13. 4.

[5] Shahrastānī, *Uebersetzt*, Haarbrücker, i. 276 seq.; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48; Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 212 seq.

sparam, and Zartusht Nāmah, as well as recorded by Shahrastānī and repeated in the Dabistān.[1] We at once recall parallels in other nations.

Birth and Childhood of Zoroaster, according to Tradition.— The traditional source of information on the subject of the birth and early life of the Prophet, was originally the Spend Nask of the Avesta, which gave an account of the first ten years of Zoroaster's existence. Unfortunately this Nask has been lost; but its substance is worked into the Pahlavi literature, as is known from the summaries of the Nasks that we have in Pahlavi and in Persian;[2] and doubtless much of the actual material from it is preserved in the Dīnkarṯ, in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, and in the Modern Persian Zartusht Nāmah.[3] These works stand to Zoroastrianism somewhat as the Lalita Vistara to Buddhism. The general statements which are made in the following pages are based upon them, unless otherwise indicated, and the material they contain is supplemented by incidental allusions in such writers as Shahrastānī or in the Dabistān which draw from like sources.

These accounts of the birth and early life are largely legendary and they are colored by fancy. Some of them surpass in power of vivid imagination the stories that have gathered around Zoroaster's miraculous conception. But that need not awaken surprise. Legends have grown up about the birth and youthful years of Buddha,[4] and miraculous incidents are connected with the Mosaic Lawgiver. Persia is not behind in this.[5]

[1] Dk. **7.** 2. 53–55; Zsp. **14.** 1–5; ZtN. tr. Eastwick (Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 480–3).

[2] Dk. **8.** 14. 1–2; **9.** 24. 1–3; Pers. Riv. **2.** 13; Dīn-Vijirkarṯ, 13; see West, *Pahlavi Texts translated*, in *SBE.* xxxvii. pp. 31, 226–9, 425, 444, 469; also Shahrastānī, *Uebersetzt*, Haarbrücker, i. 276; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48; cf. next note.

[3] For translations, see West, *SBE.* vols. xxxvii. and xlvii. and Zartusht Nāmah, tr. by Eastwick in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 475–522. Constant use has been made of these translations.

[4] See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 82 seq. (Eng. translation); Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 38 seq.

[5] Some have even claimed that Mo-

In every religion the birth of its founder must be heralded by supernatural signs and omens and accompanied by wonders and prodigies. A star appears, a comet blazes forth, or the earth is shaken. In the Avesta all nature rejoices at Zoroaster's birth; the very trees and rivers share in the universal thrill of gladness that shoots through the world; while Ahriman and the terror-stricken demons take flight into the depths of earth.[1] His birth, moreover, is in answer to pious prayers addressed by his father to Haoma.[2] His fitness for the prophetic mission which he is to undertake is divinely recognized, and Ahura Mazda himself selects this inspired being as his own messenger to the world.[3] So much for the Avesta. The Pahlavi writings also do not tire of recounting how the fiends contended to prevent his birth; how a divine light shone round the house; and a shout of joy arose when life triumphed; and especially they recount the loud laughter which burst from the child as he came into the world.[4] The tradition that Zoroaster laughed instead of crying at his birth is as old at least as Pliny; it is current in Eastern writers and elsewhere.[5] Pliny at the same time adds that the child's brain throbbed so violently as

saic influences were at work in the Zoroastrian legends. See Kohut, *Zoroastrian Legends and their Biblical Sources* in the *Independent* (N.Y.), March 19, 1891.

[1] Yt. **13.** 93–94; Ys. **9.** 15; Yt. **17.** 19.

[2] Ys. **9.** 12–15; compare what was noted of the Hōm-branch above.

[3] Ys. **9.** 12–14; Yt. **17.** 18–20; Ys. **29.** 8; Yt. **5.** 17–18.

[4] Dk. **8.** 14. 2; **9.** 24. 1–10 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 31, 226–9, 469); and Dk. **7.** 2. 56–8; **5.** 2. 2; Zsp. **13.** 1–3 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 30, 122, 139); and Shahrastānī (Gottheil, *References*, p. 49). Other references below. The Apocryphal N. T. *Protoevang.* **14.** 11–12, and I. *Infancy*, **1.** 10, give a legend of our Lord's birth in a cave which is divinely illuminated. In the Sanskrit *Kathāsaritsāgara* (i. 325, transl. Tawney), the room in which a wonderful child is born is illuminated by a strange light.

[5] Dk. **7.** 3. 2 and 25; Dk. **5.** 2. 5; Zsp. **14.** 12 and 16; cf. West, *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 35, 41, 123, 142, 143; ZtN. p. 483; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker, i. 277, Gottheil, *References*, p. 49); Dabistān, i. p. 219, Mirkhond, tr. Shea, p. 286. Also Pliny, *H.N.* **7.** 16. 15; Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades;* Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, **21.** 14; all cited below in Appendix V., VI. See likewise preface to the Icelandic Snorra Edda (Jackson, *PAOS.* xvi. p. ccxxvi. March, 1894. See Appendix VI.).

to repel the hand laid upon his head — a presage of future wisdom!

Demons and wizards — for all the opponents of Zoroaster are conceived to be such — instinctively now foresee their destined defeat and ruin and Zoroaster's own glorious ascendency.[1] They seek accordingly to compass the young child's death. They fail in their efforts just as the powers of evil had already failed when they strove to prevent his coming into the world. The heretical Kavis and Karpans (Phl. Kīgs and Karaps), who are apparently idolatrous priests,[2] are his especial foes. The Turanian Karap Dūrāsrōbō (Dūrāsarūn, Dūrānsarūn) is the Herod of the day.[3] His wicked partner and villanous accomplice is one Brātrōk-rēsh, whose name is ultimately connected with Zoroaster's death when the Prophet was of advanced age.[4] Brāṯrōk-rēsh is one of five Karap brothers: the names of the quintette are given as Brāṯ-rūkhsh, Brāṯ-rōyishn, Brāṯ-rēsh the Tūr (or Tūr-ī Brāṯrōk-rēsh), Hazān, and Vadast.[5] The name of this Brāṯrōk-rēsh (or Brāṯar-vakhsh) occurs comparatively often in Pahlavi literature at least and it appears under a variety of forms.[6] The machinations of Dūrāsrōbō are particularly violent. It is only the intervention of a divine providence that saves the little Zaratūsht, while still an infant in the cradle, from having his head crushed in or twisted off by this fiendish man, or that wards off a pogniard stroke from the same hand which becomes withered as a punishment for its wicked attempt.[7] Some of the resemblances between this monstrous ruler and Pharaoh or Herod would not be uninteresting to trace if there were opportunity.

[1] Vd. **19**. 46, and elsewhere.

[2] See West's note in *SBE*. xlvii. 19.

[3] Dk. **7**. 3. 4–41, etc; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 87, ZtN. p. 484, and see West, *SBE*. xlvii. 175 (Index).

[4] This would assign to Brāṯrōk-rēsh an extraordinary longevity. See p. 128 (d). Perhaps a descendant of his is referred to.

[5] Zsp. **15**. 3; cf. Zsp. **17**. 1 (West, *SBE*. xlvii. 143. 147). The reading of the names is not absolutely certain.

[6] See Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 71.

[7] Dk. **7**. 3. 5–6; **5**. 3, 2; Zsp. **15**. 2–3; ZtN. p. 484; Dabistān, i. p. 219.

The malicious Dūrāsrōbō, moreover, is even successful for a time in making Pōrūshāspō afraid of his own son,[1] so that he does not prevent the machinations of those who are plotting against the young child's life. No angel is sent from heaven to tell his parents to take the child into another land. Four separate attempts at least are made to destroy the babe in spite of the mother's watchful alertness. An attempt is made, and not without the father's connivance, to burn the infant in a huge fire; but its life is saved by a miracle.[2] An endeavor is made by the sorcerers to have the babe trampled to death by a herd of oxen; the leading ox stands over the tiny prodigy and prevents it from perishing beneath the feet of the herd.[3] The same experiment is repeated with horses; the babe is rescued in the same marvellous manner.[4] Even wolves whose young have been killed do not harm a hair of the divine child's head; in their very den and lair he is suckled by a sheep.[5] The lion shall lie down with the lamb! In all these accounts, idealization is evidently at work. But after all we may perhaps imagine that a rationalistic background of truth possibly lies at the basis of each of these hairbreadth escapes of childhood's days magnified by coming ages. The allusion to exposure to a wolf throws light at least upon the conditions in the time at which the accounts were written.

Zoroaster's Youth and Education. — Before the boy's seventh year, his father Pūrshasp (as the Zartusht Nāmah calls him), knowing that even the demons and wizards[6] had predicted a great future for the youth, places the lad under the care of a wise and learned man, as the Zartusht Nāmah narrates.[7] The

[1] Dk. 7. 3. 7–8 seq.; Zsp. 16. 3–4; Dabistān, i. p. 219.

[2] Dk. 7. 3. 9–10; Zsp. 16. 7; ZtN. p. 484.

[3] Dk. 7. 3. 11–12; Zsp. 16. 4–5; ZtN. p. 485; Dabistān, i. p. 220.

[4] Dk. 7. 3. 13–14; Zsp. 16. 6–7; ZtN. p. 485–6; Dab. i. p. 220.

[5] Dk. 7. 3. 15–19; Dk. 5. 2. 4; Zsp. 16. 8–11; ZtN. pp. 486–7; Dab. i. pp. 220–221.

[6] We may conceive how the false teachers of the pre-Zoroastrian faith were looked upon as devils and necromancers.

[7] ZtN. p. 488. See also Dab. i. p. 224.

venerable teacher's name is then given as Burzīn-kurūs.[1] Pliny (*H. N.* **30. 2. 1**) seems to have understood from Hermippus that the name of Zoroaster's teacher was Aganaces (Azonaces), but the passage is not quite clear. See below, Appendix V. § 5.

In connection with the subject of Zoroaster's youthful days, it is proper to make passing mention at least of some Syriac and Arabic reports which connect his name with Jeremiah (or even with Ezra) and which make Zoroaster a pupil of Jeremiah, or even go so far as to identify him with Baruch, the latter's scribe.[2] These biassed accounts assert that the pupil proved treacherous to his master and was cursed by God with the affliction of leprosy. These passages are quoted elsewhere[3] and the most important are given below in Appendix IV.; it is not necessary therefore to cite them here nor to repeat how the identification probably arose from an erroneous connection of the name *Armiah* (Jeremiah) with *Urmiah* (Urumiah), Zoroaster's presumed birthplace; nor is it necessary to add how the name of *Zaratūsht* might become associated with the Hebrew *ṣara'ath* (*Zaraath*) 'leprosy,'[4] especially if Moslem influence wished to detract as much as possible from Persia's Sage.

The narratives given above are about all that we can gather in the way of tradition regarding Zoroaster's early youth and training. It is to be regretted that we do not know more of the moulding forces that were instrumental in forming so creative a mind; nor are we clear in every detail as to the conditions of the society in which he was brought up or in which he afterwards labored and taught. The picture which is sometimes vaguely outlined by the Gāthās or dimly suggested in the 'Younger Avesta,' or which one gains from a perusal of the

[1] Does this name contain a disguised form of Skt. *guru*, 'exalted teacher'? On the form *burzīn*, cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 74, 490, and add pp. 168, 499 (*Kūru*, *Kurūs*).

[2] See Appendix II. pp. 165-166.

[3] See especially Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Arabic and Syriac Literature* (Drisler Classical Studies).

[4] Cf. Kohut, *Zoroastrian Legends*, the *Independent*, (N.Y.), March 19, 1891.

traditions in Pahlavi literature is not altogether a bright one, if we are to interpret, as one might interpret, the allusions to devil-worship and Daēvas (which recall the present Yezīdīs) and the references to the slaughter and maltreatment of the kine, a lack of morality, falsehood, oath-breaking, and personal impurity. These are among the many things to which Zoroaster turned his attention when his reformatory work began.

Tradition goes on to say that even when the lad had attained his seventh year,[1] the inimical Dūrāsrōbō and Brāṯrōk-rēsh still continue to connive against him, to harass and assail him. By magic practices they endeavor to daunt his spirit, and they even attempt to destroy his body by poison.[2] It is evident that the real opposition and struggle which was later to arise in the Prophet's life between his own faith and the existing religion which it supplanted or reformed, is projected into the past and conceived of as a case of personal enmity and hatred already developed between the two representatives of the creed and the youthful Zoroaster.

If we are to judge at least from the later literature of the Pahlavi, black art and magic practices, occult science and necromancy were the order of the time. We seem to have a sort of background of Doctor Faustus and the Europe of the Dark Ages. Even Pōrūshāspō (Pourushaspa) himself is not free from the influence of the two sorcerers Dūrāsrōbō and Brāṯrōk-rēsh, with whom he not infrequently associates.[3] All these misguided persons, especially Dūrāsrōbō, are openly rebuked by Zaratūsht for their heresy, and are put to confusion by the young reformer when they endeavor to argue with him, much as Christ at the age of twelve disputes with the doctors in the temple, refutes their doctrines and vanquishes his opponents.[4]

[1] B.C. 653, according to West's calculations; see his table below, Appendix III.

[2] Dk. 7. 3. 32–33; ZtN. pp. 488–9; Dab. i. pp. 226–7.

[3] Dk. 7. 3. 32–35.

[4] Dk. 7. 3. 34–43; Zsp. 17. 1–6; 18. 5–7; 19. 8; ZtN. pp. 489–90; Dab. i. pp. 228–9.

The plotting Dūrāsrōbō, as a punishment for his wickedness in endeavoring to thwart the righteous, comes to a violent end, as fearful as it is strange. The circumstances are described in the Dīnkarṯ and the Zāṯ-sparam Selections.[1] Zaratūsht is next confirmed in the true religious vows by assuming the 'Kustī,' or sacred thread, at the age of fifteen;[2] and when he attains this year of his life the wiles of the fiendish magicians are practically brought to naught.[3] The age of fifteen years, even as early as the Avesta,[4] is regarded as an ideal age or the age of majority. A passage in the Pahlavi texts tells that when Zaratūsht attained his fifteenth year[5] he and his brothers 'demanded a portion from their father, and their portions were allotted out by him.'[6] As a part of his share Zoroaster chooses a girdle; this signifies the sacred girdle of religion which he assumed.

Period of Religious Preparation; from his Fifteenth to his Thirtieth Year. — From his fifteenth year to the age of thirty the tradition is more meagre in its details. The period is a time not so much of action as it is a time of religious preparation. And yet the lapse of these fifteen years is not devoid of recorded incident. An occurrence to show Zaratūsht's compassionate nature and sympathy for the aged is quoted in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, and another is cited to illustrate his generous disposition by his dealing out fodder, from his father's supply, to the beasts of burden of others in a time of famine.[7] The Zartusht Nāmah substantiates this reputation given to him for tender-heartedness and for goodness.[8]

At the age of twenty the Zāṯ-sparam recounts that 'abandoning worldly desires and laying hold of righteousness' he departs from the house of his father and mother and wanders

[1] Dk. 7. 3. 44–45; Zsp. 19. 7–8; Dab. i. p. 229.

[2] The Brahmanical cord of India shows that this investiture was an ancient institution.

[3] Zsp. 20. 1–2; ZtN. p. 490.

[4] Ys. 9. 5.

[5] B.C. 645, according to West; see Appendix III. below.

[6] Zsp. 20. 1–4; West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 151.

[7] Zsp. 20. 4–6.

[8] ZtN. p. 490, ll. 11–25.

forth, openly inquiring thus: 'Who is most desirous of righteousness and most nourishing the poor?' And they spoke thus: 'He who is the youngest son of Aūrvaītŏ-dih, the Tūr.'[1] Zoroaster goes 'to that place' and lends his coöperation in serving the poor with food. A further example of his compassion, as the text says, 'not only upon mankind, but also upon other creatures,' is given in the same passage. A starving bitch who has five puppies is seen by him whose soul is stirred by every misery. Zoroaster hastens to bring some bread to her, but the creature is dead before he reaches her.[2]

Of a different nature, but none the less characteristic, is an incident narrated in the same connection in the chapter. The account declares that when he wished to marry, with the approval of his parents, and 'his father sought a wife for him,' he requested that the bride should show her face before being taken in marriage.[3] This incident seems to point to an idea of social progress and reform in customs that is equally characteristic of the modern Parsis.[4]

Zoroaster's readiness to learn, moreover, and to profit by what is good even in the teachings of the bad is illustrated by additional actions. On one occasion, upon inquiring in open assembly, what may be accounted as the most favorable for the soul, he is told, 'to nourish the poor, to give fodder to cattle, to bring firewood to the fire, to pour Hōm-juice into water, and to worship many demons.'[5] Zoroaster gives proof of his eclectic tendency by performing the first four of these injunctions as worthy of a righteous man to do; but demon-worship he absolutely denounces.

There are no other specific details in Pahlavi literature to fill up the period from this moment to the coming of the revelation

[1] Quotations from Zsp. 20. 8–9 (West's translation). It is to be noted that the father *Aūrvaītā-dang* himself, as well as his son ('progeny'), is alluded to in Dk. 7. 4. 7–8, after Zoroaster had received the revelation.

[2] Zsp. 20. 10–11, *SBE.* xlvii. 153.

[3] Zsp. 20. 12–13.

[4] One need only read Dosabhai Framji Karaka's *History of the Parsis.*

[5] Zsp. 20. 14–16.

when he was thirty years old. They were undoubtedly the years of meditation, reflection, and religious preparation that correspond to similar periods of divine communings and philosophic introspection in other religious teachers. Parallels might easily be cited. It is to this period of Zoroaster's life that the Scholiast of the Platonic Alcibiades apparently alludes when he relates that Zoroaster kept silent for seven years ;[1] and it is referred to by Pliny in the statement that for twenty years Zoroaster lived in desert places upon cheese.[2] According to Porphyrius and Dio Chrysostom, he passed his time upon a mountain in a natural cave which he had symbolically adorned in a manner to represent the world and the heavenly bodies.[3] The mountain is illuminated by a supernatural fire and splendor. Lightnings and thunders were about the summit of Sinai also, and clouds and thick smoke shrouded its sides, while the base of the mountain quaked violently, when the voice of the Lord spoke unto Moses.[4] The Avesta (Vd. **22.** 19) mentions the 'Forest and the Mountain of the two Holy Communing Ones' — Ahura Mazda and Zarathushtra — where intercourse was held between the godhead and his prophetic representative upon earth. Ḳazwīnī calls this Iranian Sinai Mount Sabalān ;[5] Mirkhond similarly alludes to the mountains about the city of Ardabīl, and adds a quotation that is evidently drawn from the Avestan allusion to the adjoining river Darej.[6] A further

[1] Schol. ad Alcib. p. 122, *διὰ τὸ τὸν Ζωροάστρην ζ' γεγενομένον ἐτῶν σιωπῆσαι* ; see below, Appendix V. § 1.

[2] Pliny, **11. 42.** 97. A 'desert with a temple for star-gazing' is also mentioned by Yāḳūt (vol. iii. p. 487), and this desert is called 'the desert of Zardusht, the head of the Magians' (Gottheil, *References*, p. 47 n.). For the milk diet of Zoroaster, compare also Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* **4.** 1. 1. See Appendix V. §§ 5, 6, for the quotations.

[3] Dio Chrysostom, *Borysth. Orat.* xxxvi. and Porphyrius *de Antro Nymph.* **6.** 7, *Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος.* App. V. gives text in full. The passage is of special interest in regard to the Mithra cult, in which caves and mountains played a particular part. See Windischmann, *Mithra*, Ahh. f. k. d. Morg. i. 62, Leipzig, 1857 ; also *Zor. Stud.* p. 312.

[4] Exodus xix. 3–18. Cf. also Spiegel, *EA.* i. 697 ; and Darab Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 205.

[5] Gottheil, *References*, p. 40.

[6] Mirkhond, *History of Persia*, tr.

suggestion on the localization is offered below. Magian worship on the high mountains is familiar from the time of Herodotus (1. 131 seq.) onward.[1]

This time of early retirement and seclusion must have been the period in which Zoroaster fought out the fight that raged in his own bosom and in which he began to solve the problem of life, the enigma of the world, and the question of belief, as his religion solved it. Here he doubtless began also to formulate the first general truths out of which his religious system was evolved. It is the stillness of the forest or of some lone retreat that lifts the soul into communion with nature and with God. The long retirement and separation from men, the hours of meditation, introspection and abstraction, had brought the material frame into complete subjection, no doubt, and had lifted the spiritual body into a realm of ecstatic rapture and transcendent exaltation which prepared it for prophetic vision. At this moment came the Revelation and the first of the seven hallowed manifestations which only a soul inspired by the fervor of religious ecstasy was entitled to behold.

Conclusion. — The first few years of the life of Zoroaster are represented by a series of miraculous events which tradition has fancifully colored. When he becomes of age he retires from the world for a number of years which were doubtless given to meditation and religious preparation. At thirty the Revelation comes, and he enters upon his ministry.

Shea, p. 286, Zoroaster says 'this volume (the Zend-Avesta) has descended to me from the roof of the house which is on that mountain (cf. Vd. **19**. **4**. 11; Bd. **20**. 32; **24**. 15; Zsp. **22**. 12); see Appendix IV. pp. 194, 195, 201.

[1] One need only recall Behistān (*Baghastāna) 'place of the Godhead.'

CHAPTER IV

THE REVELATION

ZOROASTER'S SEVEN VISIONS AND THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE RELIGION

'You long to chase, uncaptured yet,
The young wild-fire of Shelley's mind,
And how your Zoroaster met
His shadow in the garden, find.'
— GEORGE E. WOODBERRY.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY — SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND WHAT WE GATHER FROM THEM — 'THE REVELATION' — FIRST VISION, CONFERENCE WITH AHURA MAZDA — SECOND VISION, VOHU MANAH — SCENES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE REMAINING VISIONS AND CONFERENCES WITH THE ARCHANGELS — THE TEMPTATION OF ZOROASTER — MAIDHYŌI-MĀONHA, HIS FIRST DISCIPLE — CONCLUSION

Introductory Survey. — The quickening spirit is now ready to bring forth the first fruit of its long labor. At the age of thirty comes the divine light of revelation, and Zoroaster enters upon the true pathway of the faith. It is in this year[1] that the archangel of Good Thought, Vohu Manah, appears unto Zarathushtra in a vision and leads his soul in holy trance into the presence of God, Ahura Mazda. The year of this first inspired revelation is known in the Pahlavi texts as 'the Year of the Religion,' and there are numerous allusions here and elsewhere to the fact that Zoroaster was thirty years of age at the time.[2] Parallels for the beginning of his ministry at this

[1] B.C. 630, according to tradition as calculated by West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and see Appendix III. below.

[2] Dk. 7. 3. 51; 8. 14. 3; Zsp. 21. 1; ZtN. p. 490; also Masūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. p. 153, tr. Barbier de Mey-

age are not far to seek. During the ten years that follow this apocalyptic vision, Zoroaster has seven different conferences with Ahura Mazda and the six Amesha Spentas.

Many events occurred during this time, and a number of marvellous incidents are recounted in connection with this opening period of his prophetic career, as narrated in the Dīnkarṯ, Zāṯ-sparam, Zartusht Nāmah, and elsewhere. His teaching does not seem at the outset to have met with favor. Reforms come slowly and the ground must be prepared. Ten years elapsed — years of wandering and struggle, of hope and dejection, of trial and temporary despair — before he won his first convert. This zealous adherent is his own cousin Maidhyōi-māonha (Phl. Mēṯyō-māh), who is often mentioned in the Avesta and other writings.[1] He is a very different character from Buddha's traitorous and schismatic cousin Devadatta, and he stands as the St. John of Zoroastrianism. Finally, in the twelfth year of the Religion,[2] Kavi Vishtāspa (Phl. Kaī Vishtāsp, Mod. Pers. Gushtāsp) is converted and becomes the Constantine of the Faith — the Rājā Bimbisāra, if not the Asoka, of Buddhism. After the king adopts the Creed, many conversions follow, and the Prophet's own family, relatives, and friends are frequently referred to in the Avesta and elsewhere as having become faithful adherents and believers.

All these events have so important a bearing that they must be discussed in detail. A sort of synoptic view may be gained by gathering together various pieces of the scattered material and by combining stray allusions into a connected narrative. A consecutive account of the occurrences is therefore here attempted, but it must frankly be stated that the exact

nard; cf. *JAOS.* xvii. p. 10; Schol. to Platonic *Alcibiades* I, p. 122 (Ζωροάστρην) μετὰ λ' χρόνους ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας; see Appendix V. § 1 (Plato) below.

[1] Cf. Yt. **13.** 95; Ys. **51.** 19; Bd. **32.** 2; Dk. **9.** 44. 19; Zsp. **21.** 3; **23.** 1, 8, 11; Syriac *Book of the Bee* (A.D. 1250), p. 81, ed. Budge, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Oxford, 1886.

[2] B.C. 618 of the tradition, West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

sequence of events is sometimes difficult to determine with precision. Caution may be used in accepting the results without qualification, as they cannot be freed from subjective tendencies. Nevertheless they represent in general outline the tradition. So much by way of introduction.

Sources of Information and what we gather from them. — The sources from which we obtain material to fill up the first period after the Revelation, the ten or twelve years that elapsed until the meeting between Zoroaster and King Vishtāspa, and the latter's conversion, are the same as have already been described. But now that we have reached the real period of Zarathushtra's prophetic career this material may be augmented in a special manner by the Gāthās or Zoroastrian Psalms. Like the Psalms of David these often indicate situations or conditions in a more or less direct manner, so that they help very much in drawing inferences.

From our various sources of information two facts may be gathered with certainty: one is, that after receiving the Revelation Zoroaster wandered about, as the dervishes of Iran still wander, going from place to place in search of a fruitful soil for his teaching; the other is, that during this period, like the prophets of old, he was inspired from time to time by supernatural visions and manifestations. The truth of both assertions is proved by the Avesta and the Pahlavi texts, and it is substantiated by Arabic and Syriac writers.[1]

The Arab writer Ṭabarī, who calls Zoroaster a disciple of Jeremiah and speaks of him as a native of Palestine, goes on to state in the course of his history that 'he wandered to Ādarbaijān and preached there the Magian religion; and from there he went to Bishtāsp (Vishtāspa), who was in Balkh.'[2] The chronicler Ibn al-Athīr (A.D. thirteenth century), who incor-

[1] Among Avestan passages compare Ys. **31**. 8; **43**. 5 seq.; **46**. 1 seq. and others to be noted below in connection with the Pahlavi and Arabic.

[2] For the full quotation, see Gottheil, *References*, p. 37, and compare also Appendix IV. p. 198 below, where comments are made.

porated much of Ṭabarī into his own work, is able to add that, preaching from his sacred book, the Avesta, '(Zardusht) went from Ādarbaijān to Fāris (Persia); but no one understood what was in it. Thence he wandered to India and offered it (the Avesta) to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Ferghānah, but its prince wished to slay him.[1] From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp, son of Lohrāsp (Aurvaṯ-aspa), who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time.'[2] This statement like the preceding is more fully discussed in Appendix IV. in its relation to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry. Such passages have the value at least of showing the existence of a tradition to the effect that Zoroaster wandered about as an itinerant teacher until fortune led him to Vishtāspa. Zoroaster was performing the part of one of those Āthravan priests to whom the Avesta alludes as 'coming from afar.'[3] Nor may his wanderings have been fruitless, for no doubt the seed that had been sown in these places did not prove barren but sprang up later when Zoroastrianism began to spread as the state religion over Iran.

But to return to Pahlavi literature and to Zoroastrian writings. The Zartusht Nāmah says: 'When Zoroaster attained his thirtieth year, he was relieved from danger and his works bare fruit. His heart was directed to Iran. He left his place in company with some others. Of those, some who were his relations accompanied him on this journey.'[4] On the way the party passes through a sea whose waters are lowered by a miracle so as to allow a free crossing.[5] They travel forward more

[1] Query. Have we here a reminiscence of Aūrvāītā-dang the Tūr, Dk. 7. 4. 7–14?

[2] Gottheil, *References*, p. 39.

[3] Cf. Eugen Wilhelm, *Priester und Ketzer im alten Eran*, in *ZDMG*. xliv. 143–144.

[4] ZtN. p. 490.

[5] ZtN. p. 490. This would be appropriate to Lake Urumiah, judging from the description given by Curzon, *Persia*, i. 533–5; Spiegel (*EA*. i. 694) suggests Lake Sevan.

than a month until they reach the confines of Iran. This day, according to the Pahlavi Zāṯ-sparam as well as the Zartusht Nāmah, was the last day 'Anērān of the month Spendarmaṯ (February 14–March 20)' — so precise is tradition.[1] Their destination, as the Zāṯ-sparam indicates, is the place 'where people went from many quarters out to the place of festival (*jašnŏcār*).'[2] The occasion is the celebration of the spring-tide festival. It seems to be a sort of annual religious convocation that they attend. We may remember in this connection that Gabriel revealed himself to Mohammed at the celebration of Ramaḍān. Thus Zoroaster, when halting in a plain of a river called Aēvatāk (one of the four branches of the Dāityā), receives the first premonition and manifestation of what is to come. It is a vision of the approach of a victorious army headed by his cousin Mēṯyōmāh coming northwards to join him.[3]

The Revelation — First Vision — Conference with Ahura Mazda. — The auspicious hour is at hand. The archangel Vohu Manah (Phl. Vohūman) is to reveal himself to Zoroaster. At dawn on the forty-fifth day of the Prophet's journey, or the 15th instant (Dadvō-pavan-Mitrō) of the month Arṯavahishtō (*i.e.* May 5) of the thirty-first year of the reign of Vishtāsp,[4] the Revelation comes.[5] Tradition takes delight in making exact statements. The scene where this event occurred is laid on the banks of the Dāitī (Av. Dāityā) — the Jordan of Zoroastrianism — a river in Aīrān-Vēj or Ādarbaijān.[6] The position

[1] Zsp. 21. 1; ZtN. pp. 490–1. On the correspondence between the month Spendarmaṯ and our calendar, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33.

[2] Zsp. 21. 1 (West's translation), *SBE.* xlvii. 155. So also ZtN. pp. 490–91, and Dabistān, i. p. 230.

[3] Zsp. 21. 2, 3; cf. Dk. 7. 3. 51. The Zartusht Nāmah (p. 491) is more elaborate in its details. Notice also the Dabistān, i. pp. 230–1.

[4] Arṯavahisht corresponds to April 20–May 19. The day, therefore, would be May 5. On the month, compare Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33–34. The year would be B.C. 630. See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 45, and Appendix III. below.

[5] Zsp. 21. 4; 22. 2; ZtN. p. 491.

[6] Dk. 7. 3. 51; 8. 60; 9. 23; Zsp. 21. 4, 'the Dāitīh, because it is the river of the conference, etc.'; Zsp. 21.

of this river is discussed below in Appendix IV. p. 211; it is represented perhaps by the modern Ḳizel Ūzen and its tributaries, which merges into the Spēd River of Ādarbaijān. It is crossed by Zoroaster at four different depths, or more probably he fords four different streams. These crossings symbolically represent four different eras in the history of the religion.[1] At the dawn, therefore, of the day named, as he stands upon the bank of the third channel, Aēvatāk, of the river Dāītī, after bringing up the holy Hōm-water, Zaratūsht suddenly beholds a glorified image of the archangel Vohūman (Good Thought) coming toward him from the south, and bearing in his hand a glossy staff — 'the spiritual twig of the religion (*maīnōg tāk-ī dēnō*).'[2]

In a brief space of time, as he reaches the fourth affluent, Aūshān-rūṯ, of the good Dāītī, the image of Vohūman becomes a realization, and a transcendent figure of colossal proportions, 'nine times as large as a man,' rises before him, reminding us somewhat of the great image that arose before Daniel, by the side of the river which is Hiddekel.[3] Vohūman opens his lips and begins to question the enrapt seer, — this situation is alluded to in the Avestan Gāthās, — and after bidding him to lay aside his 'garment' (or the vesture of his material body), the seraphic messenger leads away his soul in ecstatic trance into the glorious and dazzling presence of Aūharmazd and the Amshaspands.[4]

No sooner does Zaratūsht enter this radiant assembly than he ceases to behold 'his own shadow upon the ground, on account of the great brilliancy of the archangels'; and, as the words of the text continue, 'the position of the assembly was in

13, 'the position of the assembly was in Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dāītīh' (West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 157). Again, ZtN. p. 491.

[1] Zsp. **21.** 6–7; ZtN. pp. 491–2; Dab. i. 231–2.

[2] Dk. **7.** 3. 51–53; Zsp. **21.** 2, 5, 6 (West); ZtN. p. 492; Dab. i. 232–3.

[3] Dk. **7.** 3. 54; Zsp. **21.** 8–9. Cf. Daniel x. 4–21. I am furthermore indebted to Dr. Thomas Davidson, through my friend Mr. William Ross Warren, of New York, for some interesting hints and suggestions as to Daniel parallels.

[4] Compare Ys. **43.** 5 seq. with Dk. **7.** 3. 55; Zsp. **21.** 9–10.

Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dāītīh.'[1] He offers homage to Aūharmazd and the Amshaspands, saying: 'Homage to Aūharmazd, and homage to the archangels'; and then, as the passage adds, 'he went forward and sat down in the seat of the enquirers.'[2] The door of heaven having thus been opened, and the favored of the godhead having been ushered in, the first and most important of all the conferences is begun. The Supreme Being himself presides; the Prophet is instructed in the great cardinal doctrines of the Faith, by the Omniscient Wisdom; and thrice in the same day the beatific vision is repeated.[3] Marvellous signs are shown unto Zoroaster, and he is initiated into sublime secrets by ordeals which symbolize future epochs and crises in the history of the Creed.[4] The circumstances of the first vision of God are at least hinted at in the Gāthās,[5] which makes us still more regret the loss of the original Nasks; but the details are elaborated in Pahlavi literature and in Persian Zoroastrian writings which are probably based upon the older material.[6]

The Next Two Years — Zoroaster begins Preaching. — On the completion of the first conference and Zoroaster's return to earth he proceeds to obey Aūharmazd's command by teaching and prophesying, for the next two years, to the ruling heretical priests, Kīgs and Karaps, or the Kavis and Karpans, so often mentioned in the Gāthās. These are the 'blind and deaf to the Law,' as the commentary describes them. They are the accursed band of unbelievers, or, to use the words of one of the Gāthās, —

> The Kavis and the Karpans have united themselves with power
> For destroying the life of man by their evil deeds;

[1] Zsp. **21.** 13 (West's translation); cf. also Dk. **7.** 3. 60–61.

[2] Quotations from Zsp. **21.** 14 (West's translation).

[3] Zsp. **21.** 21.

[4] Zsp. **21.** 15–27; ZtN. p. 494. Compare also Bahman Yasht **1.** 1 seq. (West, *SBE.* v. 191 seq.).

[5] *E.g.* Ys. **31.** 8; **45.** 8, and cf. **43.** 5 seq.

[6] Zsp. **21.** 15–27; ZtN. pp. 492–5; Dab. i. pp. 233–4.

But their own soul and their religion will make them howl
When they come where the Bridge of the Accountant hereafter is,
To be inmates for ever and ever in the House of Falsehood. (*i.e.* Hell) ![1]

To these Zoroaster preaches the Mazda-worshipping religion, and the necessity of anathematizing the Demons, of glorifying the Archangels, and practising the next-of-kin marriage (*xvētūkdas*).[2] But in vain.

Zoroaster seeks the Turanian sovereign Aūrvāītā-dang, whose son has been mentioned above. This potentate, whom the Pahlavi text calls 'scanty-giver,' protects the Missionary, but refuses to be converted to the Creed and to follow its tenets, while his nobles are 'clamorers for Zaratūsht's death.' Curses are heaped upon him as a consequence.[3]

Zaratūsht at the bidding of Aūharmazd next visits a Karap, one Vaēdvōisht by name, whom God has blessed with this world's goods. He demands from the Karap a hundred youths, maidens, and teams of four horses, as a gift for the Almighty. An arrogant rebuff greets the Prophet of the Lord, and he flees for refuge to Aūharmazd and receives from him the comforting assurance of the fearful punishment by death eternal which shall be summarily meted out upon the proud offender for his misdeed.[4] And so also Elijah pronounced the doom of King Ahaziah because he recognized not that there is a God in Israel!

The fate of this Karap offender recalls some of the anathema passages in the Gāthās and that visitation of wrath, both here and hereafter, which these Psalms call down upon powerful and stubborn unbelievers.[5] To the same crew as Vaēdvōisht doubtless belong that creature of Satan, Hunu, if the word is a proper name,[6] and the infidel Usij, who, like the Karap, is a

[1] Ys. **46**. 11; cf. also Ys. **32**. 12, 15; **44**. 20; **48**. 10; **51**. 14.

[2] Dk. **7**. 4. 1–5; cf. also West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 95.

[3] Dk. **7**. 4. 7–20.

[4] Dk. **7**. 4. 24–28.

[5] *E.g.* Ys. **44**. 19.

[6] Ys. **51**. 10; cf. Phl. version. So Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, p. 354–355; Justi, in *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, p. 247, 234. Differently, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 334; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 132, reads *Hunuštar*.

representative of heretical priestcraft,[1] or again such miscreants as the perverse Grēhma, Bēndva, and Vaēpya Kevīna, who are anathematized in the Zoroastrian Psalms.[2] It was unhappy incidents like these and encounters with stiff-necked unbelievers who stopped their ears and refused to receive the healing word of the great Revelation, which the Prophet knew he was offering, that led to the embittered outpourings which we find in lines of the Gāthās. Such rebuffs could not but produce times of despondency and distress, an echo of which we hear lingering in these Hymns. Zarathushtra more than once breaks forth with a cry against such rulers and powerful lords who use not their sovereignty for the protection of the righteous and for the advancement of virtue. If it were not so, he would not thus have found himself a wanderer knowing not whither to turn.[3] Yet hope is mingled with discouragement, and yet again despair with expectation. We next find Zoroaster a long way off to the south and southeast of Iran in the land of Seistān. Consult the Map.

After failing with Vaēdvōisht, Zaratūsht receives comfort and direction from Aūharmazd. He takes his pilgrim path and missionary road to one 'Parshaṯ,' a ruler whose title is given as 'Tōrā' (Bull), and who dwells 'at the end of Sagastān' (Seistān).[4] This territory borders upon Afghānistān and Balūchistān, and by the expression 'end of Sagastān' may be meant somewhere in the region of Ghaznī.[5] A curious story is

[1] Ys. **44.** 20; cf. Phl. version and Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, pp. 216–217; also Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 289 (3d ed.); Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 294.

[2] Ys. **32.** 12–14; **49.** 1–2; **51.** 12. It is not certain, however, that Grēhma and Bēndva really are proper names. Vaēpya Kevīna, of evil fame, is called 'the Kaī sodomite Akht, the heretic of dark existence,' in Dk. **9.** 44. 14; cf. Phl. Ys. **50** (**51**). 12, and compare also Akhtyō of Yt. **5.** 82, and consult the references given by Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 13*a*, and *Iranische Religion* in *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, pp. 245–247.

[3] Compare, for example, the *Kām nemōi ząm* Gāthā, Ys. **46.** 1 seq., and Geiger in Darab D. P. Sanjana's *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 171–175.

[4] Dk. **7.** 4. 31.

[5] So Dr. West (letter), and see his note on Dk. **7.** 4. 31. In this connection we may recall a statement of Am-

now told to show the virtue of Hōm-water from the Iranian Jordan, or river Dāītī (Av. Dāityā). With the name Parshaṯ-tōrā we may compare the Avestan Parshaṯ-gāu.[1] This Parshaṯ begs for some of the holy Dāityā water. From what follows it is evident that Zoroaster must have combined with the mission of gospel teaching some claims also to medical skill and practice in healing. He first bids Parshaṯ to praise righteousness, to curse the demons, and openly to profess the Faith. Parshaṯ carries out the former two injunctions, but he fails to comply with the third by adopting the Creed. Zaratūsht therefore does not fulfil his request, but passes on, and by means of the Hōm-water which had not been bestowed upon the weakling, he cures a four-year-old bull that had lost its virile power.[2] The name of Parshaṯ disappears from sight.

The entire allusion to Seistān is of interest in connection with the Prophet's wanderings to remote places and to lands far distant from his home. Two facts also are recalled by it: first, the territory of Seistān is the place of origin of the Kayanian dynasty to which King Vishtāspa belongs; second, the scene cannot have been far removed from that seat of stiff-necked unbelief, the home of Rustam. Certain it is, that one of Vishtāspa's earliest missionary efforts after his own conversion was in the direction of this very scene where Zoroaster's earlier endeavor had been unsuccessful with Parshaṯ, the Bull, who dwelt 'at the end of Sagastān.'[3] From what comes after, it appears that the Prophet now journeyed back, perhaps by a round-about way, towards his own home, for we next find him

mianus Marcellinus, **23**. 6. 33, which associates Zoroaster's name with the northern territory of India—*superioris Indiae;* see Appendix V. § 22, also p. 72, n. 3, p. 87, n. 1, and the remarks on 'White India' in Appendix IV. p. 207, n. 2.

[1] Yt. **13**. 96. 127, and see West's note in *SBE.* xlvii. 57; cf. also Parshaṯ-gāvō in Dk. 9. 24. 17, *SBE.* xxxvii. 230.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 29–35 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 57–58).

[3] On the propaganda in Seistān, compare the Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of Sagastān,' referred to by West in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 118, and translated for me by Dr. West; also the Shāh Nāmah allusions; see below, Crusades (Chap. IX.).

in the northwest, in the region to the south of the Caspian Sea (cf. Map), proceeding apparently on his way to his native land of Ādarbaijān.

Second Vision — Conference with Vohu Manah. — In the seven or eight years that follow the first vision of the empyrean throne and the first communing with Ormazd, Zoroaster enjoys the divine favor of six more conferences individually with the six Archangels. We know of these from fragmentary accounts of the lost Avestan Nasks, or sacred books, and we have descriptions of them in Pahlavi literature, especially in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam.[1] They are attested also in Yasna **43** of the Gāthās and elsewhere in the Avesta. The interviews, questionings, or revelations occur in different places and at different times. The period of the ten years from thirty to forty in the Prophet's life was a time of great spiritual activity as well as of energetic labor. His soul lives partly in the world beyond the present; he sums up within himself the generation of those whose young men saw visions and whose old men dreamed dreams. As the veil is withdrawn from before his eyes the several Archangels appear at different times before his entranced sight. Each Amshaspand enjoins upon him special moral duties and practical obligations including particularly the guardian care of material or living things over which they preside in the physical world — the animals, fire, metals, earth, water, and plants.

The first of these seraphic manifestations, or the second revelation from heaven, is a conference with the archangel Vohūman, or Vohu Manah of the Avesta, who intrusts to the Lord's chosen minister the care and keeping of useful animals, for Vohu Manah's name, even in the Gāthās, is especially associated with the protection of the animal kingdom.[2] Accord-

[1] Zsp. **22**. 1–13. Add also Dk. **8**. 14. 2–9; ZtN. p. 495–8; Dab. i. 232–44.

[2] Zsp. **22**. 3–6; ZtN. p. 495; Dab. i. p. 240. And for the association of Vohu Manah's name with the care of cattle in the Gāthās, see Geiger, *Eastern Iranians*, transl. Darab D. P. Sanjana, i. p. xxxv.

ing to the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, the scene of this special interview granted by Vohūman to Zaratūsht, and the giving of injunctions to the inspired Seer, is laid in the region of Iran to the south of the Caspian Sea or in the Alborz mountains, for the text designates it as 'the conference on Hūgar and Aūsind,' which are regarded as two peaks of that range.[1]

Third Vision — Conference with Asha Vahishta. — The third interview is 'a conference at the Tōjān water';[2] this is held with the archangel Arṯavahisht, who enjoins upon Zoroaster the care of the Fire and the guardianship of all fires, sacred and secular.[3] The place where this apparition comes to the Prophet is to the south of the Caspian Sea and somewhat to the east, if I am right in identifying 'the Tōjān water' with the river Tajan (lat. 36–37; long. 55–56) — see the key to the Map.[4] This identification would agree well with the region of the preceding vision and with the probable situation of the following.[5] The territory, I believe, is volcanic in its character, which would also answer to the kingdom of fire over which Asha Vahishta is the presiding genius.

Fourth Vision — Conference with Khshathra Vairya. — The fourth ecstatic trance which is vouchsafed to the Seer brings him into the presence of the archangel Shatvēr (Av. Khshathra Vairya), who assigns to him the care and keeping of metals. The scene of this manifestation is not absolutely identified. The Selections of Zāṯ-sparam call the interview the 'conference

[1] Zsp. **22**. 3. From the Avesta we know that Mount Hukairya (Av. *Hukairya Barəzah*) is a peak of Hara Berezaiti (the Alborz chain); and Aūsind (Av. *Us Hindva*) stands in the Sea Vourukasha (Caspian Sea). Compare notes by West, *SBE*. v. 35, and Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. ii. 584.

[2] So Zsp. **22**. 7 (West's translation).

[3] Zsp. **22**. 7; ZtN. p. 496; Dab. i. p. 241.

[4] Consult also the maps in J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse, Cartes*, Paris, 1897. Cf. Curzon, *Persia*, i. 378, and his map.

[5] In a note on the passage, West (*SBE*. xlvii. 161, n. 2) doubtfully suggests the Tejend River; but if so, that would be the only instance of a vision being manifested in territory so far to the east. See also my next proposed identification.

at Sarāī (?), a settlement on the Mīvān (?).'[1] Dr. West draws attention to the fact that his reading of these names is uncertain and that he has not identified the places. I should venture to suggest that we are still in the South Caspian region, in the mountainous territory not far removed from the scene of the preceding interview. On the same river Tajan, that has just been alluded to, is the town of Sarī, to the east of Barfrush (see Map), which would correspond to the settlement Sarāī of the text, especially if there be mines in the neighborhood under Khshathra Vairya's dominion. The territory is Mazanderān, but we know that Zoroaster, dervish-like, wandered also in the country of fiends, demon-worshippers, and wicked unbelievers before he met with the one truly righteous king and protector.[2]

Fifth Vision — Conference with Spenta Ārmaiti. — For the fifth transcendent manifestation we must trace our way over various districts and provinces to the region of Lake Caēcista (mod. Urumiah), or back into Ādarbaijān.[3] From Zāṯ-sparam we know that this interview took place there, because the text states, that 'for the occurrence of the fifth questioning, which is Spendarmaṯ's, the spirits of the regions, frontiers, stations, settlements, and districts, as many as were desirable, have come out with Zaratūsht to a conference where there is a spring which comes out from the Asnavad mountain, and goes into the Dāītīh.'[4] Mount Asnavad, which is found also in the Avesta and is famous likewise as having been the seat of the Gūshnasp fire, is unquestionably to be localized in Ādarbaijān.[5] It is not to be confused with the 'Mountain of the two Holy Communing Ones,' described above (p. 34). As a likely identifica-

[1] Zsp. 22. 8; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 161, note 4.

[2] In offering this conjecture I am not unmindful of Sarāī near Bakū (see Saint-Martin, *Nouveau Dict. de Géographie*, v. 668); and Sarāī near Bokhara; Sarāī in India; and Sarain in Ādarbaijān; also Sarī near Marand in De Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab*, vi. 91, 213.

[3] Zsp. 22. 9; ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 242.

[4] Zsp. 22. 9, West's translation.

[5] For references, see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 161, n. 5; and Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 152–154; ii. 299, 620; cf. also Justi, *Hdb. der Zendsprache*, s.v. *asnavat*, where an identification with Takht-i Suleimān is mentioned.

tion I should suggest that the Mountains of Sahend (lat. 37.50; long. 46.50—see Map, square Bb.) would answer the requirements of the text here and elsewhere. Waters from a 'spring' on the mountain side might well flow in the manner described by the text if the Dāītīh be associated with the Ḳizel Ūzen and Spēd (Sefīd), as already proposed (pp. 40–41).

Sixth Vision — Conference with Haurvatāt. — The scene of the next hallowed interview is laid at the same place, near Lake Urumiah, and it may best be described by using again the words of the Zāṯ-sparam itself: 'For the occurrence of the sixth questioning, which is Khūrdaṯ's (Av. Haurvatāt), the spirits of seas and rivers have come with Zaratūsht to a conference at the Asnavad mountain, and he was told about the care and propitiation of water.'[1] Like the preceding interview the location therefore is Ādarbaijān.

Seventh Vision — Conference with Ameretāt. — The seventh and last enraptured sight, which completed the Revelation, is a vision accompanied by a conference with the guardian divinity of the plants, Amūrdaṯ (Av. Ameretāt).[2] This is not confined to a single spot, but Ādarbaijān is the scene. To quote the words of tradition, it occurred 'on the precipitous bank of the Dareja, on the bank of the water of Dāītīh, and different places.'[3] The Dareja or Darej is the ancestral river of Zoroaster, and it is to be localized in Ādarbaijān, as discussed above and in Appendix IV. In the same appendix, reasons are given for localizing the Dāītīh (Av. Dāityā) in Ādarbaijān.[4] Consequently, Zoroaster must gradually have found his way back to his home, and the scene of the final interview must have been in this territory, although the expression 'different places,' applied to the interview with Amūrdaṯ would seem to show that the questionings with this archangel were not confined to these two sites alone.

[1] Zsp. 22. 11 (West's translation), and cf. ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 242.

[2] Zsp. 22. 12; ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 243.

[3] Zsp. 22. 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 162.

[4] See also above, pp. 40–41.

Other Spiritual Manifestations. — In these various visions of Paradise which are granted to Zoroaster, and which rival the seven heavens of Mohammed, the Prophet becomes quite well acquainted with the empyrean realms and with the celestial hierarchy of God, the angels, and archangels.[1] The tendency to visionary trance is further manifested by the apparition of Haoma, which rises before Zarathushtra at the altar, as described in the Avesta (Ys. **9.** 1).[2] The Pahlavi commentary on this passage adds that Zoroaster at once recognized Hōm 'because he had had conferences with most of the angels (Izads) and he was acquainted with them.'[3] The same idea of heavenly visitations is implied elsewhere in the Avesta, for example, where Ashi Vanuhi is conceived of as conversing with Zarathushtra.[4]

To Summarize the Seven Visions. — At the age of thirty Zoroaster receives a revelation, and during the next ten years he beholds seven visions of Ormazd and the Archangels. In Zoroastrian literature there are several allusions to these manifestations. A chapter in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam describes the conferences with most detail. Its account implies that the visions occurred during the winters — a time when the Prophet perhaps chose to rest from his itinerant labors, like Buddha during the rainy season. The particular paragraph referring to this point is worth quoting. It runs: 'The seven questions are explained within the length of these winters, which are of five months, and within ten years.'[5] As to scene, the text says, at the outset, that 'the seven questions, with reference to religion, of the seven archangels, occurred in seven places.'[6] If

[1] In this connection, attention might, perhaps, be drawn to the chapter on the Yazatas (Izads) in the Great Iranian Būndahishn, translated by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 305–22; cf. West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 102 (par. 35).

[2] For a poet's view of Zoroaster's spiritual visions, we might recall the lines of Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*, 1. 1. 198–201.

[3] See Darmesteter, *ZA.* translated (2 ed.) in *SBE.* iv. 258, and also *Le ZA.* iii. 29.

[4] Yt. **17.** 15–21.

[5] Zsp. **22.** 13 (West's tr.).

[6] Zsp. **22.** 1 (West's tr.).

we follow tradition, the scenes of five of the visions, namely, the first, second, fifth, sixth, and seventh, are certainly to be localized in the west of Iran, in Ādarbaijān and the southern Caspian territory. If the identification, suggested above, of Tōjān and of Sarāī be correct, the place of the third and of the fourth conferences likewise is directly to the south of the Caspian Sea. Media Atropatene and Media Rhagiana may therefore be regarded, on the basis of tradition at least, as the place of Zoroaster's apocalyptic visions of heaven.

The Temptation of Zoroaster. — The ten years of interviews and communings with the Divine Beings are now at an end. The Revelation is complete. Zoroaster receives from Ormazd some final admonitions, and he carries with him from heaven the supreme knowledge contained in the Avesta and also the sacred Ahuna Vairya formula — the paternoster of Zoroastrianism. At parting he is warned to guard against the temptations of the fiends who will beset his path as he returns among men. It is the instant when a weaker spirit might be prone to falter, and when a false step would mean ruin and damnation. It is the moment when Māra whispered to the newly Enlightened Buddha, tempting him to enter at once into Nirvāna and not to give forth to mankind the illumination which he himself by so hard a struggle had won. The Powers of Evil now gather their forces for a combined attack upon Zarathushtra. A description of the Temptation is given both in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi writings. The demon Būiti (Phl. Būṯ) is sent by Ahriman to deceive and to overthrow the holy messenger. But Zoroaster is armed with a breastplate of righteousness and with the spiritual weapons of the Law, as well as materially equipped; and he defeats his spiritual enemies and puts them to flight. The Avesta pictures the situation as follows: —

'From the region of the north, from the regions of the north, forth rushed Anra Mainyu, the deadly, the Demon of Demons. And thus howled the maleficent Anra Mainyu, the deadly: "O Fiend, rush

on and kill him," O righteous Zarathushtra! The Fiend rushed then along, the demon Būiti, the secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver.

'Zarathushtra recited the Ahuna Vairya, saying: "As the Lord, etc." He worshipped the good waters of the good Dāityā. He recited the creed of the Religion of Mazda-worshippers. And away rushed the Fiend confounded, the secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver.

'The Fiend then howled back to Anra Mainyu: "Thou tormentor, Anra Mainyu! I can find no destruction for him—for Spitama Zarathushtra. All-glorious is Zarathushtra." Now, Zarathushtra perceived in his heart, "The fiendish maleficent Demons are plotting my destruction."

'Up started Zarathushtra, forward stepped Zarathushtra, undaunted by Evil Thought, by the hardness of his malicious questions, and wielding stones in his hand, stones big as a house, having obtained them from Ahura Mazda, he the righteous Zarathushtra.

'"Whereat in this broad, round earth, whose boundaries are far distant (asked the Demon), dost thou wield (these stones), thou who standest upon the high bank of the river Drej (Dareja), at the abode of Pourushaspa?"

'And Zarathushtra responded to Anra Mainyu: "O maleficent Anra Mainyu! I shall smite the creation of the Demons, I shall smite the Nasu (demon of Death), who is created by the Demons. (Yea), I shall smite the Enchantress (Pairika Khnãthaiti), until the Saviour (Saoshyant), the Victorious shall be born from the waters of Kãsava, from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn."[1]

'Thereupon to him howled back Anra Mainyu, the Lord of Evil Creation: "Do not destroy my creatures, O righteous Zarathushtra! Thou art the son of Pourushaspa; I was worshipped (?) by thy mother. Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, so as to obtain a boon such as Vadhaghana obtained, the ruler of a nation."[2]

'But Spitama Zarathushtra answered him: "No! I shall not

[1] This is the Messiah that is to spring from the seed of Zarathushtra; he is to be born in the land of Seistãn, the home of the Kayanian royal family.

[2] On the Vaṭakãn tyrant Dahãk, see Mkh. **57**. 25; Dãṭ. **72**. 5; **78**. 2; Dk. **9**. 10. 3; **9**. 21. 4; **7**. 2. 64; Zsp. **12**. 13 (West, *SBE*. xxiv. 103; xviii. 217, 228; xxxvii. 185, 212; xlvii. 32, 136).

renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, not though life, and limb, and soul should part asunder."

'And again to him howled out Anra Mainyu, the Lord of Evil Creation: "By whose word wilt thou vanquish, by whose word wilt thou withstand, and by what weapon will the good creatures (withstand and vanquish)[1] my creation, who am Anra Mainyu?"

'Spitama Zarathushtra answered him: "With the sacred mortar, with the sacred cup, with the Word proclaimed by Mazda, with my own weapon, and it is the best one. With this word will I vanquish with this word will I withstand, with this weapon will the good creatures (withstand and vanquish thee), O malignant Anra Mainyu! The Good Spirit created these, he created them in the Boundless Time; the Amesha Spentas, the good and wise rulers presented them."

'And Zarathushtra recited aloud the Ahuna Vairya.'[2]

The Dīnkarṯ has a briefer account of the episode; and the Zartusht Nāmah and Dabistān also allude to the assault of the princes of darkness upon Zoroaster as he is returning, and to their specious, guileful, and tempting words.[3] This temptation, therefore, offers an indirect parallel to that in Buddhism and in Christianity. No likeness is familiar in Mohammedanism nor in the Mosaic system. But besides this, another seductive deception awaits the Prophet of Mazda, like the Knight of true Holiness encountering Foul Error and Hypocrisy in the Faerie Queene, a passage which might be compared. For Zoroaster, as forewarned by Aūharmazd, is again tempted, this time by a Karap who has assumed the feminine form of Spendarmaṯ; but he discovers the disguise and exorcises the fiend as described in the Dīnkarṯ.[4]

Maidhyōi-māonha, the First Convert to the Faith. — We may now imagine Zoroaster in this tenth year of the Religion as busily engaged in his mission among men. The bugle note of

[1] So, after Darmesteter's construction of *hukərətāəhō*.

[2] Vd. **19.** 1–10; compare also Darmesteter's translation in *SBE.* iv. 208 seq. (2 ed.).

[3] Dk. **7.** 4. 36–41; ZtN. p. 498; Dab. i. p. 244.

[4] Dk. **7.** 4. 54–62; see West's translation.

success is sounded even though the full triumph and victory is still to be delayed for two years more. Yet only one convert has been made; but the conversion is important; it is Zarathushtra's own cousin Maidhyōi-māonha (Phl. Mēṯyō-māh) already mentioned (p. 20). The Zāṯ-sparam selection states the fact thus: 'On the completion of revelation, that is, at the end of the ten years, Mēṯyōmāh, son of Ārāstāī,[1] became faithful to Zaratūsht.'[2] The fact is definitely alluded to in the Gāthās and in the Younger Avesta (which contains lists also of later converts, in the Farvadīn Yasht),[3] and it is noticed in other Zoroastrian writings. Quotations are unnecessary. Maidhyōi-māonha's being drawn to the new faith and his acceptance of the creed is a fulfilment of the promise which Zaratūsht's first vision gave when he beheld the image of a victorious army under this leader coming to join him.[4] The Zāṯ-sparam rightly interprets the allegory: 'Mēṯyōmāh was the leader of all mankind who have gone out to the presence of Zaratūsht, and he became their guide, so that first Mēṯyōmāh and afterwards the whole material existence are attracted (to the faith).'[5] The scene of the conversion is laid by the Zāṯ-sparam 'in the forest of reedy hollows, which is the haunt of swine of the wild-boar species.'[6] It would be interesting if one could identify the situation. We may henceforth think of Maidhyōi-māonha as a sort of St. John the disciple.

Conclusion. — The first ten years of the Religion have now passed; seven visions have been seen; the Revelation is complete; Zoroaster has withstood the temptation and assaults of the Powers of Evil; he has also won his first disciple. And yet at this instant, after the exhilaration of success, there comes the moment of depression and despondency. We have

[1] See genealogical table in Chap. II.

[2] Zsp. **23.** 1. According to the traditional dating, the year would be B.C. 620. See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[3] Ys. **51.** 19; Yt. **13.** 95.

[4] Zsp. **21.** 2; ZtN. p. 491; Dab. i. p. 230–1. Cf. p. 40 above.

[5] Zsp. **21.** 3 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 155).

[6] Zsp. **23.** 8.

evidence of this; for, to quote the words of a Zāṯ-sparam selection, 'Afterwards, on having obtained his requests, he came back to the conference of Aūharmazd, and he spoke thus: "In ten years only one man has been attracted by me."'[1] Ormazd answers paradoxically, but the answer seems to have given an inspiration, for the efforts of the next two years are unceasing, — crucial years as they were, — success attends, the climax is reached, the achievement is won. This achievement is the conversion of Vishtāspa, the triumph of the Faith, as described in the next chapter.

[1] Zsp. 23. 2.

CHAPTER V

TRIUMPH

THE CONVERSION OF KING VISHTĀSPA IN THE TWELFTH YEAR OF THE FAITH

And hēt hine gān tō þām cynge and bōdian him rihtne gelēafan, and hē swā dyde, and se cing gecyrde tō rihtne gelēafan.

— ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

INTRODUCTION — ZOROASTER SEEKS VISHTĀSPA — MEETING BETWEEN ZARATŪSHT AND VISHTĀSP — ZARATŪSHT DISPUTES WITH THE WISE MEN — CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM; HIS IMPRISONMENT — THE EPISODE OF THE BLACK HORSE — COMPLETE CONVERSION OF VISHTĀSP — COMING OF THE ARCHANGELS — VISHTĀSP'S VISION — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — The eleventh and twelfth years of the Religion are stirring years in the Prophet's life;[1] they are years of struggle, bitter trial, temporary disappointment, but of final triumph; they are the two years devoted to the conversion of Vishtāspa; and when success finally crowns the effort, they form the great climax in Zoroaster's career. A firm and powerful hand is henceforth to uphold the Faith. The events, incidents, and occurrences, which are recorded by tradition in connection with this important era are presented here in detail; and the words of the texts themselves are employed, as far as possible in narrating them. In order truly to appreciate the spirit of the situation one should call to mind descriptions of similar conversions in the history of the world's great religions.

Zoroaster seeks Vishtāspa. — As already noted, an inspira-

[1] B.C. 619–618, according to the traditional chronology; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

tion seems to have come to Zoroaster that he should turn to the court of Vishtāspa. The Younger Avesta tells how he prayed to Ardvī Sūra, the goddess of waters, that he might win Vishtāspa to the Faith.[1] Vishtāspa is a king or princely ruler, but he and his court are represented as having been wrapt in the toils of evil religious influence and fettered by the false belief that was rife in the land. The picture which the Zoroastrian texts give is naturally a distorted one, colored by religious prejudice and animosity; but doubtless its darkness is not without reason. Everything is portrayed as bound by base superstition, or under the thrall of dread magic. There is the stifling atmosphere of the dark ages of the Atharva Veda that was still hanging like a pall over the cousin-land of India. Iran or the court of Vishtāsp is dominated by scheming and unscrupulous priests, the Kīgs and Karaps, or Kavis and Karpans of the Avesta. Especially powerful among these is one Zāk — a name that seems to occur only in the Dīnkarṯ, and his ill reputation has destined him otherwise for oblivion. The Dīnkarṯ gives a number of interesting particulars on the subject, which are translated by West, and are worth quoting in part. 'Zaratūsht became aware from revelation about the vileness and perverted religion of Zāk of the deadly Karaps of Vishtāsp and many other Kaīs and Karaps who were at the residence of Vishtāsp.'[2] Accordingly, 'after the continuance of the last questioning of the ten years of conference [he took] his departure alone, by the advice and command of Aūharmazd, to the residence of Vishtāsp and the precinct of that terrible conflict.'[3]

The Shikand-gūmānīk-Vijār, **10**. 64–66 also adds that 'Zaratūsht came alone on a true mission, to the lofty portal of Kaī Gushtāsp, and the religion was taught by him, with a powerful tongue, to Kaī Gushtāsp and the learned, through the speech of wisdom, through manual gestures, through definite words,

[1] Yt. 5. 105.
[2] Dk. 7. 4. 64.
[3] Dk. 7. 4. 65.

through explanation of many doubts, and through the presentation of the visible testimony of the archangels, together with many miracles.'[1]

The Dīnkarṯ speaks several times of the 'residence,' 'lofty residence,' 'abode,' 'capital or metropolis' of Vishtāsp, but it does not make clear where this was located.[2] Neither does the Avesta nor any known Pahlavi text make a precise and definite statement. But the later tradition, Persian and Arabic, persistently maintains that the city of Balkh was the scene of the conversion. A full discussion of this question is given below in Appendix IV., so it is omitted here. It must be remembered therefore when 'Balkh' is mentioned hereafter it is used because the name stands in the particular connection or source from which the material in question is being drawn; a final judgment on the matter is avoided for the present.

It is at this juncture that a curious legend is narrated of a strange incident which happened as Zoroaster was on his way to Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp). The modern Persian Dabistān, basing its statement upon the authority of a priest who quoted from an old treatise, recounts how two infidel rulers were punished for refusing to adopt the Faith at the holy bidding of the Prophet as he was proceeding to interview the great king. The selection reads: 'The Mobed Surūsh, the Yazdānian, has

[1] West, *SBE.* xxiv. 170–1.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 64, 65, 75, 76, 77, 84; 5. 2 (= *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 64 *bis*, 67, 68 *bis*, 70, 74); 8. 11. 3; in the Shik. Gūm. Vij. 10. 64, transl. 'lofty portal' (West, *SBE.* xxiv. 170). Dr. West (Aug. 2, 1897) writes me: 'In Dk. 7. 4. 64, 65, the word translated "capital" in the *Grundriss*, and "residence" in *SBE.* vol. xlvii. is *babā* (= *dar* Pers.). As a mint-mark on coins it is understood to mean "the capital, or metropolis." It also occurs Dk. 8. 11. 3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24). The word *mān*, "abode," "house," is also used in 7. 4. 75, 76, 77, etc. Whether the two words are used indifferently, or whether *babā* rather means "the city," and *mān*, "the palace," is uncertain. There is no hint in Dk. as to where this capital, or residence, was.' Furthermore (Jan. 7, 1898), 'Dk. 7. 4. 76, "lofty residence" = *būland mānishnŏ*, where *būland* may mean "high" either in position or character; "tall, exalted, or eminent."' If 'lofty residence' or 'capital' should perhaps signify Balkh, we might compare Shelley's 'that high capital,' meaning Rome.

been heard to say, "It is recorded in the treatise of Mīhīn Farūsh that, according to the doctors of the pure faith, when Zardusht had thus obtained the victory over the demons, and was proceeding to an interview with the great King Gushtāsp, there happened to be two oppressive and infidel kings in his road; these Zardusht invited to adopt the pnre faith and turn away from their evil practices; but they heeded not his words; he therefore prayed to God, and there began to blow a mighty wind, which lifted up these two kings on high and kept them suspended in the air; the people who came around were astonished on beholding this sight; the birds also from every quarter of the sky flocked around the two kings, and with beaks and talons tore off their flesh until the bones fell to the ground."'[1] The legend has a weird picturesqneness, to say the least!

Meeting between Zaratūsht and Vishtāsp. — If we understand the Dīnkarṯ text aright, the moment of the first meeting between Zaratūsht and Vishtāsp must have been when the king was on the race-course (Phl. *aspānvar*);[2] the Dīnkarṯ paragraph speaks of Zoroaster as 'uttering, on the horse-course of Vishtāsp, a reminder of the power and triumph of Aūharmazd over himself, as he invited Vishtāsp to the religion of Aūharmazd; and with great wisdom Vishtāsp heard the words of Zaratūsht, on account of his own complete mindfulness, and would have asked for an outpouring of prophecy. But thereupon — before the words of Zaratūsht (were fully) heard by him, and he could have understood the character of Zaratūsht — owing to the demonizing of the deadly Zāk and the rest of those Kīgs and Karaps, spoken out with slanderous knowledge and perverse

[1] Dabistān, tr. by Shea and Troyer, i. 244-245. A kindred idea perhaps is contained in Dk. 7. 4. 82 end.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 66. In answer to an inquiry if, possibly, a town might be intended, Dr. West says (Jan. 7, 1898), 'There is a town Asbānbur, or Asfānbur, but I have not been able to discover where it is. I am doubtful, however, if a town be meant by the words: *Madam Aspānvar-ī Vishtāspō*. I should be more inclined to read *aspakhvūr* for *aspākhvūr*, "a horse-stable."' In the latter case, one might think perhaps of the story of healing the black horse of Vishtāsp.

actions to Vishtāsp about Zaratūsht, there then (occurred) his consignment of Zaratūsht to confinement and punishment.'[1]

In the Zartusht Nāmah[2] the scene of the conversion is laid in Balkh, where Vishtāsp's father, the old king Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvaṯ-aspa) is generally stated to have lived in retirement after his abdication. Masūdī (d. A.D. 957) also makes it Balkh, and his testimony is nearly three hundred years earlier than the Zartusht Nāmah.[3] The Shāh Nāmah (A.D. 1000) does not make the assertion explicitly in so many words, but it lays all the following scenes at Balkh, as discussed below (Appendix IV. p. 214).[4] The Cangranghācah Nāmah likewise lays the scene of the rival Brahman's conversion at Balkh.[5]

The later tradition adds details and embellishes the account. According to the Zartusht Nāmah, King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) was seated in royal estate in his palace when Ormazd's apostle appeared.[6] According to Mohammedan writers, Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Athīr, Zoroaster enters the assembly in no ordinary manner, but by a miracle: the roof parts asunder to give entrance to his hallowed person.[7] Ibn al-Athīr also adds, that 'in his hand was a cube of fire with which he played without its hurting him.' The scene might make a subject for a painting. We must remember, furthermore, that Zoroaster originally sprang from the country of naphtha wells; moreover, he may not have been wholly unacquainted with effects produced by chemical experiments if we may judge from accounts of the scientific knowledge attributed to him.[8] The Shāh Nāmah

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 66–67 (West's translation). Cf. also Dk. 7. 5. 6.

[2] ZtN. pp. 498–499.

[3] See Masūdī's statement in Appendix IV. p. 199.

[4] Compare Mohl, *Livre des Rois*, trad. iv. 290, 291, 298, 300.

[5] See summary by Anquetil du Perron, i. part. 2, p. 50.

[6] ZtN. pp. 498–499.

[7] Gottheil, *References*, p. 40. Both of these writers belong to the thirteenth century of our era. Mirkhond (*History*, tr. Shea, p. 287) repeats Ibn al-Athīr's story of the wonderful fire. Recall also classical allusions to the fire. The reference is evidently to the Būrhzīn Mitrō fire described below.

[8] *E.g.* in the Nasks, see Chap. VIII. below, pp. 95–96; cf. also Dk. 7. 5. 8–10, and also the classical statements on p. 8 and in Appendix V.

similarly alludes to the censer or basin of fire which he brought from Paradise to present to the King.[1] In these fire references there seems to linger a reminiscence of the Būrzhīn Mitrō fire, shortly to be referred to. Ḳazwīnī apparently draws from some traditional source or Pahlavi text when he describes an ordeal of molten metal to which Zoroaster has to submit his person to prove the divine truth of his mission.[2] This is at least in harmony with 'the achievement of ordeal' referred to in the Dīnkarṯ as instituted or sanctioned by Zaratūsht who is there cited as giving authority for thirty-three kinds of this judicial test.[3] This very achievement of Zoroaster forms the prototype of a fiery ordeal undergone by one of his future apostles in Sassanian times, and of the usage of the ordeal in the religion.

Zaratūsht disputes with the Wise Men. — There is evidence enough to show that the Prophet had to win his way step by step during these two years of struggle and probation; and there is no doubt that he at once encountered the antagonism and vigorous opposition of the wise men of the king's court. According to tradition at least, there were not wanting those to plot against him.

'The Kavīgs and Karaps,' says the Zāṯ-sparam, 'in the manner of opponents propounded thirty-three inquiries to him, so that by command of Vishtāsp he became the explainer of those thirty-three inquiries.'[4] This and the later debates are alluded to in the Dīnkarṯ and elsewhere as 'the terrible conflict,' 'the terrible combat,' 'the great session,' 'the controversy about the religion with the famous learned of the realm' who were Zoroaster's 'fellow-disputants.'[5] The Zartusht Nāmah, drawing upon some source not now accessible, or supplying material from imagination, graphically describes the scene with Eastern pomp

[1] I.e. *mijmar-i ātaš*, ShN. ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1498; Mohl tr. iv. 290. On the amulet chain given to Isfendīār, see p. 67, note 6.

[2] Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 267; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 41; Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 287.

[3] Dk. 7. 5. 4–5 (West, *SBE.*).

[4] Zsp. 23. 5.

[5] Dk. 7. 4. 65, 69, 70, 73; 5. 2. 10; Zsp. 23. 5.

and Oriental detail.[1] The sages of Vishtāsp are seated in grave council to dispute with the new-comer and stranger, with the herald of Ormazd. The debate and controversy lasts no less than three days.[2] The Priest of the Zend-Avesta comes off triumphant at every point.[3] He claims the office of Prophet and begins to recite the sacred texts to the king.[4]

Conspiracy against Zoroaster; his Imprisonment. — Vishtāsp's interest is aroused, and the divine Seer seems to have produced a marked effect by being able through his prescience, as the story goes, openly to disclose and tell the thoughts of the king and of others, with astonishing results.[5] A plot, however, is concocted by those whose light the brilliancy of the new luminary has dimmed. The priests who are supplanted in influence enter into a conspiracy, like those who sought to find occasion against Daniel, and they intrigue for Zoroaster's death.[6] By suborning the porter of his lodging, as the tale relates, these wicked schemers succeed in hiding vile material within the holy man's apartments so that it may be used as evidence against him. The hair, nails, heads, of cats and dogs, together with various other paraphernalia of witchcraft and sorcery, are thus slipped in. On this false evidence Zoroaster is accused of being a wizard and necromancer; he is thrown into prison and is left to starve. Such is the account of the Zartusht Nāmah, and the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ alludes to the circumstance as well.[7]

The Episode of the Black Horse. — A miracle releases Zardusht. It is the miracle which he wrought by restoring to health the king's Black Horse, as described with great elaboration in the Zartusht Nāmah and incidentally referred to in the Dīnkarṯ.[8] The king has a favorite black horse.[9] Upon the imprisonment

[1] ZtN. pp. 499–501; repeated also in the Dabistān, i. pp. 245–250.

[2] ZtN. p. 501.

[3] One is somewhat reminded of the questionings of the scribes and Pharisees, if not of Luther's disquisitions.

[4] ZtN. p. 501; Dab. i. pp. 249–250.

[5] Dk. 7. 4. 71; 5. 2. 8.

[6] ZtN. p. 503 seq. repeated in Dab. i. p. 251.

[7] Dk. 7. 4. 64, 67; 7. 5. 6.

[8] ZtN. pp. 504–509; Dk. 7. 4. 70.

[9] Apparently named Bahzād (well-

of Ormazd's minister the animal's four legs are suddenly drawn up into its belly and the creature is unable to move. This occurrence is plainly a manifestation of the divine displeasure. In his dungeon cell Zardusht hears of what has happened. He offers, if released, to restore the horse to its former soundness; but he will do this only upon the fulfilment of specific conditions. These the king must agree to beforehand. Vishtāsp is overjoyed and promises to grant the Priest a boon for each foot of the charger that is restored to its proper state. The details which follow seem ludicrous, but such descriptions of cunning practices are not unique. Hocus-pocus has been employed elsewhere, and the situation doubtless had its parallels in other courts of Eastern despots in ancient days. We must not forget that even when St. Augustine preached Christianity to Æthelbert of England, it was in the open air, owing to the king's dread of witchcraft which might exercise a spell upon him if he were within four walls!

The first condition which Zardusht makes, is that Vishtāsp shall accept the Faith if one foot of the horse be restored. Upon the king's agreeing to this stipulation, and in answer to the Prophet's earnest prayer, 'the right fore-leg of the horse came out, since the word of the Shāh was true.'[1] Before the 'man of God' will grant the second boon, however, the king must promise that his own warlike son Isfendīār (Av. Spentō-dāta, Phl. Spend-dāṯ) shall fight as a crusader in support of the true Faith. Thereupon, 'the right hind-leg of the steed comes out by the commandment of God.' The third condition results in the granting of a wished-for favor, the privilege of converting the queen to the Faith. Upon its fulfilment the descent of the third leg is accomplished. The last promise includes the revealing of the names of the culprits who had bribed the

bred) in the Shāh Nāmah (Mohl, tr. iv. pp. 320, 335), unless this name be a merely typical one like 'Black Beauty' in English. Such at least is the tradition. See also Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 360 (Wehzāt), for other horses called by this name.

[1] ZtN. p. 507 (Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, from which the quotations are made).

doorkeeper and had plotted against the Prophet of the Lord. When these are revealed and the offenders appropriately punished by death, the horse is fully restored to health and leaps up upon his four legs as sound as before.

This absurd story, which the Zartusht Nāmah, as just described, tells minutely with considerable imagination and poetic embellishment, receives only brief notice incidentally in the Dīnkarṯ, when it refers to 'the wonder about the splendid horse of Vishtāsp,'[1] and when in another part of the work, it mentions 'the splendid horse of Vishtāsp' as the nonpareil of horses.[2] The episode is seriously recorded, earlier than the Zartusht Nāmah, by Shahrastānī (born A.D. 1086), who lived in Khorassān.[3] As the author of the Zartusht Nāmah (A.D. 1277) was a native of Raī in the West, it shows how current the story was. It is later repeated by Mirkhond.[4] How different from the narrative of Constantine and the Cross!

Complete Conversion of Vishtāsp. — The conversion of Vishtāsp is nearly complete, but he still seeks from Zardusht an additional proof, a vision, a manifestation, some sign or token, before he will be finally convinced. Inasmuch as he himself has freely granted four favors to Zoroaster in acknowledgment of his services, the king now himself makes four counter-requests, as the narrative tells before he fully adopts the Faith. The Zartusht Nāmah again relates these in detail, and we can infer from incidental allusions in Avestan and Pahlavi texts that the tradition was a recognized one.[5] The first of these four request by Vishtāsp is that he may know his final doom and see his place in Paradise; the second, that his body may become invul-

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 70.

[2] Dk. 9. 22. 2 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 220).

[3] Shahrastānī ed. Haarbrücker, i. 283; cf. Gottheil, *References*, p. 50. For references to Vishtāsp's horse Bahzād, see note on p. 62, above.

[4] Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, pp. 287-288.

[5] ZtN. pp. 509-11. Compare the fragmentary Avestan texts Vishtāsp Yasht, and Āfrīn Paighambar Zartūsht (Yt. 24 and Yt. 23). Cf. also Dk. 7. 4. 74-82; 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7 (*SBE.* xlvii. 67-70, 81, 164); Dk. 8. 11. 2-3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24).

nerable; the third favor is that he may have universal knowledge, knowing the past, present, and future; and fourth, that his soul may not leave his body until the resurrection. The Prophet of Ormazd gives assurance that all these requests may be granted; but he shows that such phenomenal privileges when granted could not be combined in the person of a single individual. The king must choose one boon out of the four. His selection is to have permission to behold the place which he shall occupy in heaven.

Coming of the Archangels. — This moment is the occasion of the coming of three Amshaspands, or Archangels, from heaven, to the palace of the king, as witnesses from Aūharmazd to the divinely inspired message of Zaratūsht. These three heaven-sent envoys are Vohūman, Ashavahisht, and the Propitious Fire (Būrzhīn-Mitrō, or Spēnisht, Av. Spénishta).[1] In its description the Dīnkarṯ quotes a passage from 'revelation' as follows: 'Then he who is the creator Aūharmazd spoke to them, to Vohūmanō, Ashavahishtō, and also the fire of Aūharmazd, the propitious, thus: "Proceed! you who are archangels, unto the abode of Vishtāsp, whose resources are cattle and who is far and widely famed, with a view to his reliance upon this religion (that is, till he shall stand up for this religion); and, as regards the answering words of the righteous Zaratūsht of the Spitāmas, to approve the nature of those words."'[2] And, as the paragraph continues, the archangels proceeded to the abode of Vishtāsp in such glorious effulgence that 'their radiance in that lofty residence seemed to him a heaven of complete light, owing to their great power and triumph; this was so that when he thus looked upon it, the exalted Kaī-Vishtāsp trembled, all his courtiers trembled, all his chieftains were con-

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 75, 78; 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7; Dk. 8. 11. 2–3; Bd. 17. 1, 8. See also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 155. It may be noticed that the Zartusht Nāmah makes the number of the messengers to be four, as it mentions two fires, Ādar Khūrdād and Ādar Gūshasp beside the two archangels.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 75–76 (West's translation).

fused, and he of the superior class was like the driver of a chariot-horse.'[1]

The Zartusht Nāmah colors this part of the account by graphically describing these messengers as majestic knights on horseback in cavalier style, bristling with armor and clad in green.[2] The Dīnkarṯ goes on to tell how the Fire speaks out and reassures the terrified king that they are come, not for alarming him as the two envoys of his mortal foe Arjāsp the Khyōn later would do, but that they are come with a bidding from heaven that he should receive the religion of Zaratūsht. In that event they promise him a long reign and a life of one hundred and fifty years(!), accompanied by many blessings and exalted by an immortal son Pēshyōtan (Av. Peshōtanu). On the contrary, if he will not accept the holy Faith, they threaten that his end will soon ensue. And the Archangels thereupon took up their abode with Vishtāsp.[3]

Vishtāsp's Vision.—It was after this stirring occurrence and after the obedient Vishtāsp had received the Creed, that a glimpse of Paradise and a spiritual revelation of his triumphant success in life is vouchsafed to him. In referring to this the Dīnkarṯ says: 'For the sake of daily[4] and visibly showing to Vishtāsp the certified victory over Arjāsp and the Khyōns, and his own superior position, unceasing rule, splendor, and glory, the creator Aūharmazd sends, at the same time, the angel Nēryōsang to the abode of Vishtāsp, as a reminder for the archangel Ashavahishtō to give to Vishtāsp to drink of that fountain of life, for looking into the existence of the spirits, the enlightening food by means of which great glory and beauty are seen by Vishtāsp.'[5] The king now quaffs an anodyne draft of 'the fountain of life'[6] from a fine saucer which

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 76 (West); cf. also Dk. 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7.

[2] ZtN. p. 510; repeated by Dab. i. p. 257.

[3] Dk. 7. 4. 77–82; and Dk. 8. 11. 3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24).

[4] Notice this word. It is also of interest in connection with an allusion in Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 12, and with the Holy Wars (Chap. IX.).

[5] Dk. 7. 4. 84 (West's transl.).

[6] Dk. 7. 4. 84–85.

is proffered to him by Ashavahishtō;[1] and at his instigation the queen also accepts the Faith.[2] The Zartusht Nāmah[3] completes the picture by describing how the king's son Peshōtan (Bashūtan) receives from the Prophet's hand a cup of milk which he drains and becomes undying until the resurrection.[4] The grand vizir, Jāmāsp, inhales some magic perfumes and becomes endowed with universal wisdom.[5] The valiant Isfendiār (Av. Spentō-dāta, Phl. Spend-dāṯ) partakes of a pomegranate, and his body is made invulnerable, so that he may fight the good fight of the Faith.[6] Thus are bestowed the four great boons which were asked by Vishtāsp.

Conclusion. — In reviewing the accounts of the conversion of Kavi Vishtāspa one can but feel convinced of the reality of the event. It is not easy, however, to decide how much may be actual fact and how much is fiction in the stories that are told. Nor is it easy to determine of how early or how late origin some of these stories are. Several of them appear to be hinted at in younger portions of the Avesta; they hardly would occur in the existing Gāthās, for the nature of those Psalms would rather preclude them. Some of them seem to be built up on the basis of old allusions which have been interpreted to suit a situation. Several of them strike us to-day as silly, but a number of them as picturesque and as tinged with Oriental fancy.

Nevertheless, amid all the dross, grains of gold are undoubtedly to be found; and beneath the blaze of tinsel and the glare

[1] So Dk., but by Zardusht, according to the Zartusht Nāmah, p. 511.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 86.

[3] ZtN. p. 511; repeated in Dab. i. pp. 259-260.

[4] In connection with this incident, compare also the paragraph on Pēshyōtan in Dk. 7. 5. 12 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 77). In the Avesta, and in Pahlavi writings, Peshōtanu is always spoken of as immortal.

[5] This is the character of 'the wise Jāmāsp' in the Avesta, the Pahlavi books, and the later writings. Compare also the Pahlavi treatise, Jāmāsp Nāmak, noted by West in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 110.

[6] In the Shāh Nāmah this quality is conferred by means of an amulet chain (kustī ?) which Zardusht is supposed to have brought from heaven, cf. p. 61, note 1, above. See Mohl, tr. iv. 407, and cf. Spiegel, in Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 211.

of gaudy coloring, a sober shade of truth may be recognized. Other nations and other generations have sought for a sign; the Zoroastrian writings are not the only texts that relate miracles. An Eastern ruler in ancient days may not have been insensible to influences which were of a cajoling character. And as for the intrigues against Zoroaster, his imprisonment and his release, we know that court jealousies and priestly conspiracies against a powerful rival have not been confined to Iran. Fanciful stories of a bewitched horse may likewise be found elsewhere. Banks and his horse, in Shakspere's day, would be an illustration. The conversion also of the queen of the realm opened many another door to influence, as did Emma to St. Augustine. Perhaps Hutaosa was early interested in Zoroaster's preaching. It suffices to say that even if the actual circumstances connected with the momentous event of Vishtāsp's conversion were not wholly as tradition later represents them, they might at least have been such or similar. *Voilà tout!* The triumph of the Prophet is supreme.

CHAPTER VI

THE COURT OF VISHTASPA AND ITS CONVERSION

THE GĀTHĀS OR ZOROASTRIAN PSALMS

Cœpere plures quotidie ad audiendum verbum confluere.
—BEDA, *Hist. Eccl.* **1.** 26.

ZOROASTER'S PATRON VISHTĀSPA — ROMANTIC STORY OF HIS YOUTH — INFLUENCE OF VISHTĀSPA'S ADOPTING THE NEW FAITH — MEMBERS OF VISHTĀSPA'S COURT; IMMEDIATE CONVERSIONS; LIVING PERSONALITIES IN THE GĀTHĀS — OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COURT CIRCLE CONVERTED — CONCLUSION

Zoroaster's Patron Vishtāspa. — Kavi Vishtāspa, or King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp), the Constantine of Zoroastrianism and defender of the Faith, presents a figure so important in its bearing that some additional details may appropriately be given concerning this pious ruler's history. His name is ever recurring in Avestan and Pahlavi texts, in the Shāh Nāmah, and in Mohammedan writers who allude to Persia. A collection of the references to his name in the Avesta, supplemented by general allusions in other Zoroastrian writings, is given at the bottom of the page.[1] Special points of interest about him

[1] **1.** The principal A'vestan references to Vishtāspa are: Gāthā, Ys. **28.** 7 (a boon to be granted to Vishtāspa and Zarathushtra); Ys. **46.** 14 (warrior V.); Ys. **51.** 16 (V. an ideal ruler in wisdom); Ys. **53.** 2 (a follower of Zarathushtra). — Yasna, Ys. **12.** 7 (a Zoroastrian); Ys. **23.** 2 and **26.** 5 (his *fravaši*). — Yasht, Yt. **5.** 98 (a Naotairyan); Yt. **5.** 105 (Z. prays for his conversion); Yt. **5.** 108–109 (V. prays for victory); Yt. **5.** **132** (type of successful conqueror); Yt. **9.** 29–32 (cf. Yt. **5.** 108; **17.** 49); Yt. **13.** 99–100 (hero of the Faith); Yt. **17.** 49–52 (cf. Yt. **9.** 29–32); Yt. **17.** 61 (prays to Ashi Vanuhi on the Dāityā); Yt. **19.** 84–87 (Kingly Glory,

may be found also in Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 372, 395, together with an elaborate genealogical table which should be consulted. An abridged list of Vishtāspa's next-of-kin, based upon Justi's table, is appended on the opposite page.

From this genealogical list we see that the patron of Zarathushtra was the son of Aurvaṯ-aspa (Lohrāsp) and was sprung from the old Kayanian line of kings.[1] He belongs to the Naotairyan family (cf. Av. Naotairya, Naotairyāna),[2] that is, he was descended from an ancestor Naotara (Firdausī's Naudhar).[3] His wife Hutaosa (Phl. Hūtōs), the patroness of Zoroaster, is likewise of the Naotairyan family;[4] his brother Zairivairi (Zarēr or Zarīr), a romantic hero and zealous convert, wins lasting fame by his valiant death in battle in the first Holy War, as described below. King Vishtāspa is the father of many sons and daughters.[5] Two of these sons, Spentō-dāta

defender of the Faith, conqueror); Yt. **23.** 1 seq. (Z.'s blessing upon V.); Ys. **24.** 1 seq. (Vishtāsp Nask).

2. Pahlavi references. The Phl. Comment. to Ys. **43.** 12 (cf. Ys. **27.** 6), **44.** 16, and also Dk. **9.** 33. 5, take Vishtāsp as a type of religious obedience, as representative of Srōsh on earth (see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 200, n. 24, and p. 283, n. 40; also his Index, s.v. 'Sraosha' in iii. 226). In general, the more important Pahlavi references, and there are many, will be given as occasion arises. Consult also the Indexes in West, *SBE.* vols. v. xviii. xxiv. xxxvii. xlvii. under 'Vishtāsp,' 'Kaī Vishtāsp.'

3. Mohammedan references, given below as they occur. Consult also Gottheil, *References*, p. (29), 33 *bis*, 34 (35), 37 (unimportant), 39 *bis*, 40 *bis;* also Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 284 (Balkh); Albīrūnī *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, pp. 100 seq., 206.

4. Classical references. The more important are given in this chapter, but consult also Appendix V. Mention might here be made likewise of the so-called oracular sayings of Vishtāsp; cf. Kuhn, *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, p. 217.

[1] Yt. 5. 105, *puθrəm yaṯ aurvaṯ-aspahe.* See also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 183. The question of a change of dynasty in the succession is referred to in the next note.

[2] For the connection between the Kavi dynasty and the Naotairyan clan by adoption, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 372, and West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80, n. 1.

[3] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, pp. 226–227. Moreover, on Phl. Nōṯar and Rāk, see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 29, 40, 44, 80, 147, and Appendix IV., below.

[4] Yt. 15. 35; cf. Yt. 13. 139; 9. 26; 17. 46. The Pahlavi narrative Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 48 (Geiger, p. 59), makes Hūtōs the sister as well as queen of Vishtāsp, according to Magian practice.

[5] No less than thirty are spoken of in

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF VISHTĀSPA.

After Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 395.

(Names printed with spacing are found in the Avesta.

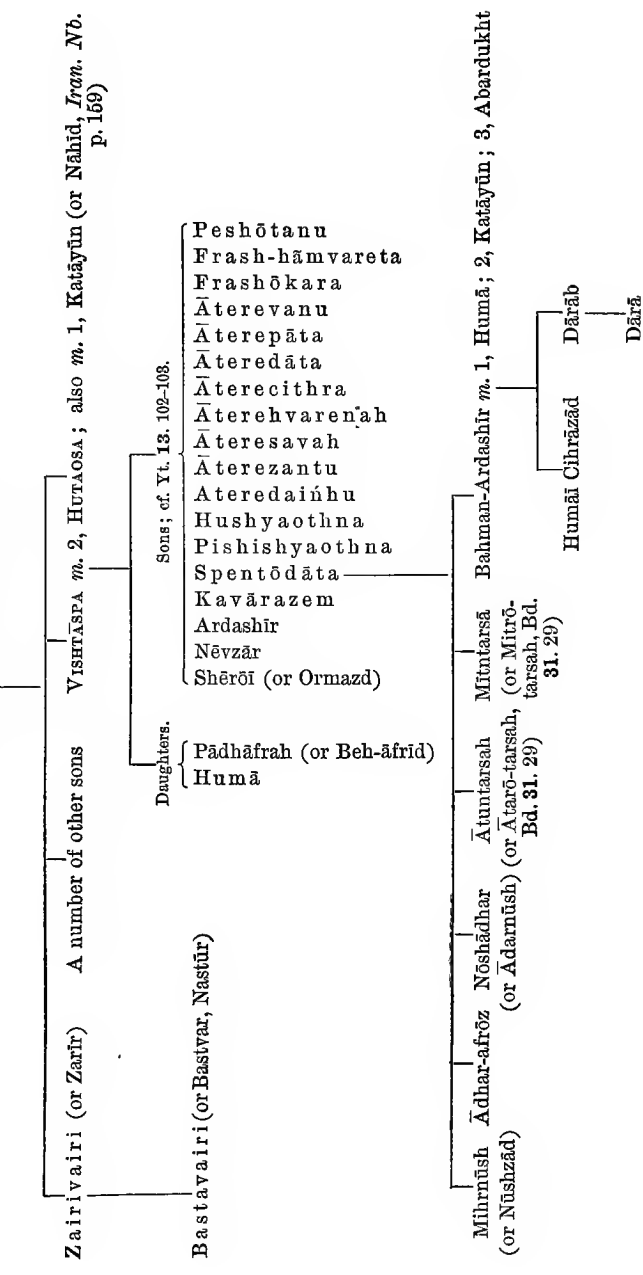

(Phl. Spend-dāṯ, Pers. Isfendīār) and Peshōtanu, have been alluded to already and they will appear again. A daughter Humā (Phl. Pers. Hŭmāī), renowned for her beauty, is carried away, along with her sister Beh-Afrīd, into captivity, by the king's mortal foe Arjāsp; but they both are gallantly rescued by their heroic brother Isfendīār, as told in the Shāh Nāmah.[1]

The principal facts which the Avesta emphasizes about Vishtāspa are, his conversion, his zealous support of the Creed, and his vigorous crusading in behalf of the Faith. It furthermore portrays this nonpareil of kings as the very incarnation of religious obedience and of priestly ideals; he is the representative of the priest-god Sraosha, whom he typifies on earth; and he will serve as an officiating pontiff at the final judgment of the world, among those who are to be selected for that office.[2] This accentuation of the priestly side of Vishtāsp's character, which is found in the sacerdotal writings, seems to accord with the tradition that, following historic precedent, he withdrew from active affairs in the latest part of his life, and gave himself up to pious pilgrimage or devotion.[3]

Romantic Story of Vishtāsp's Youth. — With respect to the youth of this ideal king we have only a romantic story told by Firdausī in the Shāh Nāmah and repeated by Mirkhond on authority of the Tārīkh Maʿjem.[4] According to the great

the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 48; compare also the partial list in Av. Yt. **13.** 102–103 (see genealogical table). Thirty sons are spoken of in the Shāh Nāmah as having been slain in different battles; it mentions two daughters by name, and one of these occurs in the Avesta. Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 395.

[1] Yt. **13.** 139 (Humā); Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 57 (Hūmāī), and compare Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 552, n.; Dk. **9.** 22. 2; ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. p. 364, and pp. 330, 341, 356, 364, 372, 390, 429, 435, 558. In YZ. § 57 (Geiger) and ShN. iv. p. 330, 341 (Mohl), Hūmāī becomes the wife of Isfendīār (or of Bastvar? YZ), according to Ancient Persian practice of next-of-kin marriage.

[2] See Pahlavi reference § **2** on p. 70.

[3] As an illustration, recall the classical accounts which record his retirement for a time to India (Sagastān, Cabul?), and connect with it also the religious wisdom implied in the oracular sayings attributed to his name. See also Chap. XI. and p. 87, n. 1.

[4] ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. 224 seq.,

poetic chronicler, Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) has some disagreement with his father King Lohrāsp, and quits the city of Balkh which his father has founded. He leaves Iran and wanders westward towards Rūm.[1] There, at the court of an emperor, he accomplishes deeds of unparalleled prowess, wins the hand of the princess, Katāyūn (Kitābūn, or Nāhīd), becomes reconciled to his father through the good offices of his brother Zarīr,[2] returns to Iran and receives the crown from Lohrāsp's hands. Such is the novelistic story of the Shāh Nāmah.[3]

A similar romantic episode is preserved in Athenæus (**19.** 275 a), as narrated by Chares of Mitylene, but it is told of the early years of Zariadres (presumably Zarīr), brother to Hystaspes of 'Media and the territory below.'[4] According to the account, Zariadres himself rules the territory from the Caspian Gates to the Tanais, in which region the scene is laid. The name of the princess, in this case, is Odatis. Whether this episode, like the preceding, be founded upon fiction or upon some basis of fact, it is of interest because it connects the name of Vishtāspa, for a time at least, with the country west of Asia.[5] When the Shāh Nāmah makes Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) return, and, like all the later tradition, it makes him succeed his father at the city of Balkh, we have a new point of contact between the West and the East, Media and Bactria, to add on the side of that theory which believes that the Religion, following Zoroaster himself, gradually changed from West to East.[6]

Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 263, 266; cf. also Nöldeke, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 133, 166.

[1] General designation for the Byzantine empire, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome.

[2] Mohl, iv. 278–281.

[3] ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. 288–289, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 159.

[4] Μηδίας καὶ τῆς ὑποκάτω χώρας; cf. Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 295; xlv. 197; lii. 193.

[5] Consult Rapp, *ZDMG.* xx. 66; Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 294 seq.; xlv. 197; lii. 193; Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxi. and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 382; Justi, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 403.

[6] On the question of change of dynasty in the succession of Vishtāsp, consult what is said by Justi, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, pp. 246, 252; *Grdr. iran. Ph.* ii. 410. See also Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 295; xlv. 197.

Far-reaching Influence of Vishtāspa's Conversion. — Viewed in its historic light the conversion of Vishtāspa is the main event of the Religion. The struggling creed now has a royal patron and protector. Zoroaster, therefore, at once proceeds to admonish his new convert concerning the path of holiness. A traditional reminiscence of these admonitions is found in the later Avestan Yasht Fragment, Vishtāsp Sāstō;[1] and the Zartusht Nāmah further exemplifies them from tradition by summarizing, in a general sort of way, the main outlines of the teachings of the Avestan Revelation.[2] The Pahlavi Dīnkart at this point adds a picturesque statement to the effect that 'When Zaratūsht chanted the revelation in the abode of Vishtāsp, it was manifest to the eye that it was danced to with joyfulness, both by the cattle and beasts of burden, and by the spirit of the fires which are in the abode.'[3] A new champion of the Faith, and protector of animal life as well, has been won, and joy reigns supreme. But the demons of Ahriman rush away to darkness.[4]

Members of Vishtāspa's Court — Immediate Conversions — Living Personalities in the Gāthās. — Two results followed as a natural sequel to the conversion of the king and his queen: one was, that the religion was at once generally adopted by the court; the other was, that it soon began to spread throughout the land. The former of these two results must first be discussed, and with it a brief description of the court personalities is necessary, as well as a few words upon the life and surroundings.

The best picture that we have of Zarathushtra's position at the court of Vishtāspa, and the most real and vivid glimpses that we can get so as to contrast the religious times before him with his present life, are to be found in the Gāthās themselves. Here we have the very words of the great Reformer or of his

[1] E.g. Yt. 24. 12; cf. also Dk. 8. 11. 1 seq.

[2] ZtN. p. 512 seq.

[3] Dk. 7. 5. 2 (West's translation).

[4] Byt. 2. 16; Dk. 7. 4. 87.

disciples; and the expressions heard in the Gāthās have as true and personal a ring as the cry of the Davidic Psalms. The tone of the Gāthās is varied. Hope, despair, exultation, discouragement, succeed each other with rapid change; for the moment, confidence and assurance, but then doubt and hesitancy; a period of zeal and activity must evidently have been followed by a time of repose and meditation; now admonition, exhortation, and promise; again philosophic speculation or veiled mystery, the spiritual sense of which could best be appreciated by the initiated; a shade of darkness, yet illuminated by a burst of light, by vision, by inspiration; then comes the final fiery outbreak of the prophetic soul in a clarion note of triumph and the transport of joyous victory. These are the tones that run in minor chords through the Gāthā Psalms. Well indeed would it be for the infidel and heretic if he would hearken unto wisdom and the Faith. The wicked man and the unbeliever, the Dregvant and the Daēva, are fiercely anathematized; the righteous Ashavan and the godly ruler are highly extolled.

The little band of the faithful forms a church militant. Of ritual there is little or none. The communicants at the new altar are few, but they move in procession distinctly before our eyes. The Gāthās mention some of them by name; certain of these are Zarathushtra's kinsfolk. The Haēcaṯaspas, descendants of Spitāma, who must have shared in Zarathushtra's success at the palace, are living personages. We recognize them when the Priest calls upon them in exhortation.[1] His favorite daughter Pourucista, whose marriage to Jāmāspa forms a theme in one of these Psalms, may be pictured as a type of filial piety and womanly devotion.[2] His cousin Maidyōi-mā-

[1] Cf. also Mills, *The Zend-Avesta*, in *SBE.* xxxi. Introd. p. xxvi; Geiger, in Darab D. P. Sanjana's *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 7–8, 163 seq.; and likewise the allusions to Vishtāspa's court in Geldner's forthcoming article, 'Persian Religion,' in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

[2] Compare also what is said of Pōrūcāst and Jāmāsp in the Pahlavi, Dk. 9. 45. 4 (West's translation, *SBE.* xxxvii. 299–300).

onha is already known to us as the earliest convert and as a sort of beloved disciple. The noble Frashaoshtra, vizir and attendant upon Vishtāspa's throne, shows his faithful devotion to the Messenger of Ormazd by giving his daughter Hvōgvī (Hvōvi) to be a wife to him. And lastly Jāmāspa, the wise counsellor and chancellor of the king, and brother to Frashaoshtra, proves to be so sage an adviser, as time goes on, and so valued a supporter of the Creed, that Zoroaster's prophetic mantle descends upon his shoulders after the death of the great high priest, and King Vishtāsp ordains him as the holy successor in the pontifical office.[1] It was he, according to tradition, who originally wrote down the 'Avesta and Zand' from the teachings of Zoroaster.[2] With regard to these personages of the Gāthās, it is needless to add references to the Pahlavi literature.[3] Some other details respecting them have been given above in Chapter II. A single quotation from the Avestan Psalms may be added here. It is from the Gāthā Ushtavaitī (Yasna **46**. 14 seq.). The Prophet with his own lips asks a question, and in rhetorical style he gives the answer himself.

'Who is it, O Zarathushtra, that is thy righteous friend; or who is it that wishes to be renowned for his great virtue? It is the warrior Vishtāspa, and, with the words of Vohu Manah (Good Thought) I invoke those in his abode whom he has converted by his praising (the Religion).

'Of you, ye children of Haēcaṯ-aspa, descendants of Spitāma, will I say this: that ye did distinguish the good from the evil, (and) ye have won for yourselves Asha (Righteousness)[4] by such acts as are the first laws of Ahura.

'Do thou, O Frashaoshtra, son of Hvōgva, go thither with the elect whom we wish to be in bliss; (go thither) where Ārmaiti (Har-

[1] See my note in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, pp. 138–139, Leyde, 1896.

[2] About B.C. 591; for the references, see Chap. VIII., pp. 97, 117, and Appendix III.

[3] E.g. Dk. 9. 28. 5, and scores of others, as a glance at the Indexes to West's 'Pahlavi Texts' in the Sacred Books of the East will show.

[4] Lit. 'have given Asha to yourselves.'

mony, genius of the Earth) is united with Asha (Righteousness), where Vohu Manah's Kingdom (Khshathra,) is established, according to desire, and where Ahura Mazda dwells amid abundance, and where, O Jāmāspa, son of Hvōgva, I shall proclaim the ordinances which are yours (ye Archangels) and nothing which is not in harmony with your ordinances.'[1]

Similar personal situations and allusions to the faithful are indicated in Ys. **51.** 16 seq., **53.** 1 seq., and elsewhere in these metrical hymns. But enough! The principal points regarding Zoroaster's own immediate family have been presented in Chapter II., which deals with that subject. The genealogical table of the Hvōgva family was presented in that chapter because it shows the connections which arose by the intermarriage of Pourucista and Jāmāspa, and of Hvōgvī and Zarathushtra himself.[2] It is easy to see how Zoroaster made his position at court still stronger by allying himself closely with those next to the throne. For almost all of the statements that have been made thus far the Avesta itself has been the principal source.

Other Members of the Court Circle converted. — Among other conversions of those belonging to the immediate circle of the court of Vishtāspa, two must at once be mentioned. These are the king's brother Zairivairi (Phl., Mod. Pers. Zarēr, Zarīr) and the king's gallant son Spentō-dāta (Phl. Spend-dāṯ, Mod. Pers. Isfendīār). Their names do not happen to occur in the Gāthās, but they are mentioned foremost among the faithful in the Avestan Yashts; and the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ and Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār commend them to praise among the earliest converts. These special Pahlavi passages also show that many of the nobility were early attracted to the Creed. The Dīnkarṯ states: 'At first Zarīr, Spend-dāṯ, Frashōshtar, and Jāmāsp,

[1] Ys. **46.** 17. I omit the latter part of this stanza, as unnecessary in this connection. For translations of this Gāthā, see also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 307–308; Geldner, *BB.* xiv. 23 seq.; Mills, *SBE.* **xxx.** 142 seq.; de Harlez, *Av. trad.* 2d ed. pp. 353–354; Spiegel, *Avesta*, übersetzt, ii. 155.

[2] See Chap. II., pp. 21-22, and compare also Dk. **9.** 44. 16–19; **9.** 45. 2–6, in *SBE.* xxxvii. 297–300.

several of the realm who were noble, conspicuous, and well-acting, the good and princes of mankind, beheld visibly the will and desirableness of Aūharmazd and the archangels, and the progressive religion of the creatures, fit for those completely victorious.'[1] The Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār adds its testimony, that 'Kaī Spend-dāṯ and Zarīr and other (royal) sons, instigating the many conflicts and shedding the blood of those of the realm, accepted the religion as a yoke, while they even wandered to Arūm and the Hindūs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.'[2] With regard to Spend-dāṯ (Spentō-dāta, Isfendīār) it is interesting to observe that the late Persian authority Mirkhond conveys the idea that this heroic youth was largely instrumental in inducing the king, his father, to adopt the Faith which he himself apparently had already accepted.

With the conversion of Zarīr to the Religion, later tradition associates also that of the old King Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvaṯ-aspa), who has abdicated and is supposed still to be alive, although the Avesta makes no special mention of his name in connection with the Creed.[3] The Shāh Nāmah is not altogether precise, but it includes Lohrāsp as 'the old king' among the number who, with Zarīr and other nobles, 'girded themselves with the sacred cord and became converted' to the faith which Vishtāsp had adopted.[4] The later Persian Dabistān, on the authority of the Behdīnians ('those of the good Faith') gives the specific occasion of the conversion of these two, somewhat picturesquely as follows: 'The doctors of the pure faith record that King Lohrāsp and Zarīr, brother to Gushtāsp, having fallen into so violent a malady that the physicians in despair desisted from all attendance upon them; but having been restored to health

[1] Dk. 5. 2. 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 125.

[2] SgV. 10. 67 (West's translation, *SBE.* xxiv. 171).

[3] Simply Yt. 5. 105, Aurvaṯ-aspa as father of Vishtāspa. Very doubtful are Yt. 24. 34, 46, as the word is there apparently an attribute.

[4] ShN. *bibastand kuštī bah dīn āmadand;* ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1498; cf. trad. Mohl, iv. 291.

through the prayers of Zardusht, they adopted the pure faith.'[1] Another instance of faith cure or healing by Zoroaster, aided, however, by herbs, will be recorded below. Zoroaster himself, however, speaks of his own office as 'the physician of the soul.'[2]

Conclusion.—The real success which Zoroaster won was first due to the influence of the king and the court. The Gāthās give us some idea of Zoroaster's preaching before the assembled community. His were new words and they were listened to by those who came from near and far (e.g. Ys. **45.** 1). With royal authority to back the Religion and noble power to support it, the advance and spread of the Faith must have been rapid, and accounts will next be given of other conversions and of the history of the religious propaganda.

[1] Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 255. Compare similarly Atkinson, *Firdausī Shāh Nāmah*, p. 258, ll. 4–10.

[2] Av. *ahūmbīš*, Ys. **31.** 19; **44** 2, 16.

CHAPTER VII

PROMULGATION OF THE GOSPEL

EARLY RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

yā jvantō vīspəng vāurayā. — AVESTA, Ys. 31. 3.

INTRODUCTION, THE CYPRESS OF KISHMAR — CONVERSIONS MORE NUMEROUS; SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL; EARLY RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA — SPREAD OF THE RELIGION IN IRAN — SOME CONVERSIONS IN TURAN — AVERRED CONVERSIONS OF HINDUS — STORY OF THE BRAHMAN 'CANGRANGHĀCAH' — THE HINDU SAGE 'BĪĀS' — FABLED GREEK CONVERSIONS — DID ZOROASTER VISIT BABYLON? — CONCLUSION

Introduction, the Cypress of Kishmar. — In telling the story of Zoroaster and of Vishtāspa's embracing the new Faith, the Shāh Nāmah narrates how Zardusht planted a cypress-tree before the door of the fire-temple at Kishmar, in the district of Tarshīz in Khorassān or Bactria, as a memento of Vistāspa's conversion, and had inscribed upon its trunk that 'Gushtāsp had accepted the Good Religion.'[1] Marvellous became the growth and age of this wonderful tree, the famous cypress of Kishmar (*sarv-i Kishmar*), as recounted by the Farhang-i Jahāngīrī, Dabistān, and other writings, as mentioned by Hyde and noticed more fully below in Appendix IV.[2] The allegory is rather fine; the tree typifies by its spreading branches the rapid advance of the Creed under the fostering care of the king and the court.

[1] *Kīh paδiruft Guštāsp dīn-i bahī*, ShN. ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1499; trad. Mohl, iv. 291–293; Farhang-i Jahāngīrī and the Muj. cited by Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* (1 ed.) 317, 327; the Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 306–309; Vullers, *Fragmente*, pp. 71, 72, 114–115; Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 15; Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, 444; and Anquetil du Perron, as alluded to below in Appendix II. A, iii. f., n. 1, p. 164.

[2] See references in preceding note.

Other Conversions; Spread of the Gospel; Early Religious Propaganda. — Outside of the immediate circle of the king, conversions begin rapidly to follow. The way no doubt had already been paved among the people, and Vishtāspa's own example and his enthusiastic zeal could but exercise wide-spread influence. With all the spirit and fire of a new convert he is untiring in his efforts for the establishment of the Faith. The unknown author of the Farvadīn Yasht, when he comes to Vishtāspa's name (Yt. **13.** 99–100), breaks out into a eulogy: —

> 'It was this righteous and bold warrior,
> The hero of redoubtable weapon,
> The very incarnation of the Law
> And devoted to the Lord—
> It was he, who, with advancing weapon,
> Sought out a broad path of Righteousness,
> And, with advancing weapon,
> Found the broad path of Righteousness.
> He, it was, who became the arm
> And the support of the Religion
> Of Zarathushtra, of Ahura;
> He, who dragged from her chains the Religion
> That was bound in fetters and unable to stir;
> And made her take a place
> In the midst (of the nations),
> Exalted with power, advancing and hallowed.'

We can but regret the loss of the eleventh Avestan Nask, which dealt particularly with the promulgation of the Faith. The Pahlavi treatise Dīn-Vijirkart̰ tells us of its missing contents as follows: 'In this Nask is the topic of the sovereignty of Gushtāsp, and Zaratūsht the Spītāmān, having brought the religion from Aūharmazd, King Gushtāsp accepted it, and made it current in the world,'[1] and the Persian Rivāyat of Kāmah Bahrah gives the same testimony.[2] It is true that the Bahman Yasht reserves till a generation later the accomplishment of the task of making the religion current in the 'whole' world, which is finally brought about by the Kayanian

[1] Dvj. § 11, tr. West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 442. [2] Riv. 11. tr. West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 424.

'Arṯashīr (Kaī), whom they call Vohūman son of Spend-dāṯ.'[1] Later writers bear the same testimony to the tradition of Vishtāspa's religious energy. The Arab Ibn al-Athīr, for example, states that when Vishtāsp accepted the Faith 'he compelled his people to do the same and he killed a large number of them until they adopted it.'[2] This may be a later Mohammedan view, but there is no doubt that fire and the sword were not absent in the Avesta, and further evidences will be seen in the next chapter of propaganda by religious crusades at home and abroad. First we must notice the spread of the Creed in Iran itself.

Spread of the Religion in Iran. — It is tolerably certain that within Iran itself the fire of the Faith of Zoroaster rapidly spread, fanned, as it was, by the breath of sovereign power. Conversions were undoubtedly the order of the day; adherents continued to multiply and devoted volunteers began to crowd into the ranks which had been captained at the court. From the Avesta and from later literature we know the names of many of these. In the Yashts[3] we have a prose list of nearly a hundred sainted persons who are connected with the Vishtāspa circle. They are evidently the first disciples — the so-called Paoiryō-ṯkaēshas — of the Zoroastrian Creed.[4] How far and how fast the religion actually spread in the earliest period we do not know. We know, however, that the land of Seistān was one of the earliest scenes of the promulgation of the Faith, as will be seen by the sequel and proved by the Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of Sagastān,' elsewhere referred to. There were doubtless parts of Iran which were Zoroastrian only in name. The surmises on the question of Vishtāspa's exact rank and

[1] Byt. 2. 17; the passage should be looked at in West's translation, *SBE.* v. 198–199.

[2] Cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40.

[3] Yt. 13. 95–110.

[4] With such names in the Avestan list as Parshaṯ-gao, Saēna, Vohvasti, Isvant (Yt. 13. 96), we may compare the Pahlavi texts, Dk. 9. 24. 17; 9. 33. 5. The French translation of the Yashts by Darmesteter (*Le ZA.* ii. 530 seq.) gives numerous identifications.

sovereignty have also been more than one. The problem of the exact lands and territories concerned, and at how early a period Persia Proper is to be included, requires discussion elsewhere. One thing is certain, that Zoroastrianism was destined to become the national religion of Iran.

Some Conversions in Turan. — Nor is the Creed circumscribed by the borders of Iran alone. From the Avesta we know that other lands and climes came in for a share of the good tidings of the Faith. The 'fravashis,' or guardian spirits of those who are righteous 'outside of the country,' or abroad, are invoked as well as those within the land.[1] All of which implies some lapse of time. And among a dozen such lands and countries, Turan comes in for a share of the blessing. Turanians are mentioned by name in the canonical list of the faithful whose 'fravashis,' or idealized spirits, are glorified (Yt. **13**. 111–129). In fact, among those catalogued for sainthood in the list is one Isvant, son of Varāza, whom the Dīnkarṯ counts as a Turanian when it includes his name as 'Isvant, son of Varāz, from the countries of Tūrān,' among those who will officiate on the last day at the general resurrection.[2] In the Gāthās themselves Zarathushtra devotes a stanza to the descendants of Fryāna of Turan, as he was one who had been attracted to the Prophet and is selected to receive a destined reward. Zoroaster speaks of him with favoring words (Ys. **46**. 12): —

'When Asha (Righteousness)[3] came unto those that are to be named as the children, and children's children, of Fryāna, the Turanian who zealously doth further the possessions of Ārmaiti,[4] and when Vohu Manah (Good Thought) took up his

[1] Ys. **26**. 9; Vsp. **16**. 2, *ādaṅyunąm-ca ašaonąm fravašayō yazamaide, uz-daṅyunąm ca,* an idea of universal brotherhood.

[2] Dk. **9**. 33. 5, West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 262; compare also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 530, n. 179, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 143.

[3] I.e. instr. sg. as subject; so also below and elsewhere.

[4] I.e. increasing Earth by agricultural activity.

abode with them, (then) the Lord Mazda is announced to them to their comfort.[1]

'This man who among men did propitiate Spitāma Zarathushtra by his generosity, he is exalted to be praised; and the Lord Mazda gave life unto him, and Vohu Manah furthered for him his worldly goods, and him we regard as your goodly ally in Righteousness (Asha).'

A descendant of this virtuous Turanian house,[2] Yōishtō yō Fryānām, is commemorated in a metrical passage of the Avesta, for his wisdom and for his victory over a malicious wizard Akhtya.[3] The episode is fully elaborated in the Pahlavi tale which bears the name Yōsht-ī Fryānō, and it need not be treated here.[4]

Averred Conversions of Hindus. — In the great Persian Chronicle Shāh Nāmah we have mention of the vigorous efforts that were made in the way of religious propaganda; Firdausī (or Daḳīḳī) speaks of Mobeds who were sent on this holy mission all over the world, assisted and aided by Isfendiār's conquering sword.[5] The land of 'Rūm,' or Asia Minor and the West, as well as Hindustān are included in the successful missionary fields. The earlier Pahlavi work, Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār (A.D. ninth century) narrates the same fact when it speaks of the valiant Spend-dāṯ and Zarīr, and of those other noble sons of Vishtāsp, who accepted the religion, of the con-

[1] Or 'for their protection.'

[2] The house of Fryāna has been aptly identified by Eugen Wilhelm with the family coming from Pīrān as ancestor, in the Shāh Nāmah. See his comment in *ZDMG.* xliv. 151, and compare also Justi, *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 251, and *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 106.

[3] This wizard is killed in the eightieth year of the Religion according to Zsp. 23. 10, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 166. That date would answer to B.C. 551, see Appendix III.

[4] Cf. Yt. 5. 81–83, and the Pahlavi Yōsht-ī Fryānō, §§ 1–6, tr. by West and Haug in *Arda Vīrāf*, pp. 247–266, London, 1872; also tr. by A. Barthélemy, *Une légende iranienne*, Paris, 1889. See West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 108, § 58, and Peshotan Darab Behramjee Sanjana, *Dīnkarṯ*, vol. v. p. 305.

[5] Further references will be given in the next chapter; meanwhile notice Shāh Nāmah, iii. 1498 seq., ed. Vullers-Landauer, and the translation of Mohl, iv. pp. 344, 499, 513, 542, 558.

flicts and bloodshed, and says 'they even wandered to Arūm and the Hindūs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.'[1] The claim to Indian converts is quite persistent in the later writings, which is not so strange when we consider the Indo-Iranian kinship and the fact that the Parsis found in India an asylum from Mohammedan persecution.

Story of the Brahman 'Cangranghācah.'—The most interesting episode, perhaps, of the foreign conversions is the later Persian story which is told of Cangranghācah, a Brahman sage who comes from India to Vishtāsp's court in order to refute Zoroaster's doctrines, but the Hindu teacher himself is taught by the greater master and becomes a devoted convert of the Priest of Iran. This picturesque narrative is recounted, with other matters, in the Cangranghācah Nāmah, a modern Persian poetical work of the thirteenth century.[2] The author of this treatise is stated to be Zartusht Bahrām Pazhdū, of the ancient city of Raī, who also composed the Zartusht Nāmah; and like the latter work it is claimed to be drawn from Pahlavi sources, if we may agree with Anquetil du Perron, who is our chief source of information on the subject.[3] This story of the Brahman's conversion is briefly repeated in the Dabistān and it is alluded to incidentally in the text of the Dasātīr and described in its commentary.[4] All this implies some currency of the tale. A brief abstract of the narrative, so far as it relates to the main event, is worth giving, and it is here presented, being

[1] Sgv. 10. 67–68, West, *SBE.* xxiv. 171.

[2] Ms. in Fonds d'Anquetil, 10. Supplément d'Anquetil, 13.

[3] Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 6, n., pp. 47–53, and p. xxxiii. ; also i. Pt. 1, p. dxxxvi. § 67 ; and again, ii. p. 790, Index. The value of this treatise is not very highly esteemed by Spiegel, *Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen,* ii. 182, nor by Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 445. But its reputation may grow like the Zartusht Nāmah. For other references, see farther on.

[4] Dabistān, tr. by Shea and Troyer, i. 276–277 ; Desatir, (Dasātīr) tr. by Mulla Firuz Bin Kaus, Bombay, 1818, ii. 125–126. See Appendix VI. On the character of the Dasātīr, see also Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411–412.

based on the fuller account of the Cangranghācah Nāmah found in Anquetil.[1]

Sketch of the Incident. — The aged Brahman sage, Cangranghācah, is a philosopher whose learning and wisdom were far-famed throughout India and known in Iran. He is reported even to have been the teacher of Jāmāsp, minister to King Vishtāsp, whose devotion to Zoroaster is regarded as a fall from grace. Accordingly the Brahman writes to Vishtāsp a letter remonstrating with the monarch for believing in the upstart Prophet. At the proposal of Vishtāsp he finally comes himself to 'Balkh' with a great following of devoted disciples, in order to debate with Zoroaster and to put the impostor to confusion. But he who came to scoff remains to pray. Zoroaster is prepared by premonition to answer all the seer's questions before he asks them; and amid a great assemblage of learned men who have gathered from many parts of the country to listen for days to the religious debate, the chosen Priest of Ormazd disarms his antagonist before the latter has time to lift his weapons in discussion and conflict. By reading a Nask or book of the Avesta, in which every difficult question prepared by the Hindu controversialist is already answered, he astonishes and utterly confounds the Brahman. So completely is the Hindu philosopher vanquished and convinced, that with remarkable candor he forthwith acknowledges his defeat, is converted, adopts the Faith, receives a copy of the Avesta from Zoroaster's own hands, becomes a zealous adherent, and joins in spreading the Prophet's teachings in Hindustān and the adjacent countries, so that eighty thousand souls in this way receive the enlightenment of the true Faith. A festival is instituted to commemorate this important event. Such in brief is the story, which remotely reminds us of the ecclesiastical convocations and the discussions and disputations of Luther.

This legend, as stated, seems rather to be of later origin, and

[1] Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, pp. 47–53.

it may have arisen after Zoroastrian believers found refuge in India in Mohammedan days; and where, as time went on, Brahmans and Dasturs perhaps came into debate and conflict. Nevertheless it is as old as the Zartusht Nāmah, which has been proved to contain old material, and it is by the same author, as already explained; and religious intercourse and connection between India and Iran at all periods in history is undoubted.[1] No great religion is confined to the bounds of its own country. And as for religious controversies and debates, nothing is more common. The Avesta alludes to a victorious debate with Nāidyāh Gaotema, whom some have tried, among several other suggestions, to identify with this same Brahman Cangranghācah.[2] The Pahlavi texts speak of Zaratūsht's discussions with learned men whose questions he is able to answer even before they ask them. The statements on this subject have been given above.[3] It is possible that in the Avesta we may discover the source of the story, which seems to be somewhat legendary, in a mistaken view that the Avestan adjective *caŋraŋhāc* (Vsp. **1. 1**, etc.) contains an allusion to a proper name. Anquetil du Perron himself understood that epithet in the Visperad as an allusion to the Hindu sage.[4] On the other hand some have seen in this tradition of an Indian wise man, who comes to Iran, a late story concocted as an allusion to the famous Vedāntist philosopher, S'aṅkara-Ācārya.[5] This view

[1] The references of the Pahlavi Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār and of the Shāh Nāmah to Zoroastrianism in India have been given above. Furthermore, on relations and intercourse between Persia and India in religious matters, see Shea and Troyer's note in *Dab.* i. 276 n.; also the story of Bīās, next to be given; and p. 72, n. 3.

[2] Yt. **13.** 16, see Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 29, who suggests the possibility; but this is rejected by Justi, *Hāb. d. Zendsprache*, s.v. *gaotəma.* The other identifications that have been suggested for Gaotema are discussed in Appendix II., p. 177–178.

[3] See p. 61, and cf. Dk. **7. 4. 73**; **5. 2. 10**; Zsp. **23. 5** (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 67, 124, 164).

[4] *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 92, and p. 51.

[5] See Bréal, *Le Brahme Tchengrénghātchah*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 497. Compare also Shea and Troyer, *Dabistān*, i. 276, n. (Paris, 1843); and Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. p. **444**, n.

is especially based on an identification of the great philosopher's name with the form of the Brahman's name which is found in the Dasātīr (vol. ii. 125) as Sankarākās (for which the Commentary understands Cangranghācah).[1] Such a view is to be maintained only by premising that we are to regard the story as a later invention, purposely made up to exalt the triumph of an Iranian over a Hindu philosopher.

The Hindu Sage 'Bīās.' — A sequel to the story of the conversion of Cangranghācah is found in the tale of 'Bīās' told in the Dasātīr and repeated from this source by the author of the Dabistān.[2] The account describes how, when the news of Cangranghācah's confession became noised abroad, another sage, Bīās (i.e. Vyāsa) by name, came from India to Iran in order to refute Zoroaster and to convert him. Like his predecessor, however, Bīās is soon impressed by Zardusht's superhuman knowledge and divine insight, which penetrates even into the inmost thoughts of his soul, so that he also accepts the religion, or (to quote the actual words of the Dasātīr commentary) 'he returned thanks to Yezdān and united himself to the Behdīn, after which he returned back to Hind.'[3] This story is merely a counterpart of the preceding — a combination of legend and myth that seeks to bring Vyāsa, the fabulous author of the Vedas, into connection with Zarathushtra.

Fabled Greek Conversions. — The statements of the Pahlavi Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār and of the Persian Shāh Nāmah have already been given as claiming traditionally that the West (Phl. Arūm, Pers. Rūm)[4] came under Zoroaster's influence. The tradition is late, but in one respect it might not be so far from the truth if we should choose to look at Zoroastrianism simply in the light of Mithra-worship which, as is well known,

[1] The Desatir (Dasātīr), Bombay, 1818, vol. ii. 125. See Appendix VI., where the passage is reprinted.

[2] Dasātīr ii. 126-143 (§§ 65-162) and Dabistān, i. 280-283.

[3] Dasātīr, ii. 144; Dabistān, i. 280-283. See Appendix VI.

[4] The comprehensive term to denote Asia Minor, Greece, and the Roman Empire.

pushed its way even far into Europe. It is not unnatural, moreover, for religious devotees to lay claims to extraordinary foreign missionary conquests. This third great debate or theological dispute into which Zoroaster is presumed to have entered and to have come off victorious, is with a Greek philosopher and master, as recorded in the Dasātīr and noticed by the Dabistān.[1] The account is doubtless apocryphal, but it deserves consideration with the other alleged conversions, and there is perhaps a far-off echo of it in Hamzah of Isfahān, in a passage which describes how the Greeks evaded attempts to convert them, and the passage is given below in Appendix IV.[2]

Briefly the Dasātīr story of this conversion incident is as follows: In a prophetic passage the text of the Dasātīr tells how a wise man, named Tiānūr (Pers. Tūtiānūsh) or Niyātūs, as the Dabistān calls him,[3] 'will come from Nūrākh (Pers. Yunān, i.e. Greece) in order to consult thee (O Zardusht) concerning the real nature of things. I will tell thee what he asketh and do thou answer his questions before he putteth them.'[4] The commentary upon this passage and also the Dabistān expressly state that the sages of Greece despatched this learned man after Isfendīār had promulgated the Faith in many lands. We may therefore infer that the event, if it occurred at all, took place some years after King Vishtāsp had accepted the Religion. The god Mazda, on this occasion likewise, instructs his prophet what he shall say and how he shall respond to the foreigner who is described as coming to 'Balkh.'[5] Ormazd assures Zardusht of success, and the commentary adds that 'when the Yunānī (i.e. Greek) sage heard all these words (of Zardusht), he entered into the Faith and

[1] Dasātīr, ii. 120–125 (§§ 42–62); Dabistān, i. 277–278.

[2] For the original, see Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 26; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33 and also p. 199 below.

[3] Dasātīr, ii. 120; Dabistān, i. 277, and Shea and Troyer's note to the passage. On the language of the Dasātīr, see what is said in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411–412.

[4] Dasātīr, ii. 120, §§ 42–43.

[5] See commentary upon Dasātīr, ii. 120, § 43; reprinted in Appendix VI.

studied knowledge under the beloved of God, Zardusht the Prophet. (As a reward, moreover), the king of kings, Gushtāsp, bestowed on him the office of Chief of the Hirbeds of Yunān, and of the Mobeds of that country. The accomplished man (accordingly), having returned back to Yunān, brought over the inhabitants to the religion of that blessed Prophet.'[1]

This story, whatever may be its worth or its worthlessness, is not uninteresting because it shows the existence of a tradition on the Oriental side regarding early connections between Iran and Greece in which religious matters came into play. There may, of course, lurk in such tradition some reminiscence of intercourse between the nations prior to the Graeco-Persian wars. The note of Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī on some attempt to spread Zardusht's Gospel among the Hellenes has been mentioned above, with a Pahlavi reference also and a tradition in Firdausī.[2] We must not forget that the Dīnkarṯ asserts that a Greek translation was made of the Avesta.[3] We may furthermore recall several allusions of the Greeks themselves to the effect that Plato, Hermodorus, Theopompus, and others came under the influence of Magian doctrines.[4] The name of this Grecian converted sage (Tiānūr, Tūtiānūsh, or Niyātūs) is very obscure and the reading is uncertain. But an identification with Pythagoras has been suggested on the basis of the point just presented.[5] Whether founded on fiction, as is likely, or based upon fact, as is unlikely, the account merits recording and is fully given in Appendix VI. below, while the classical passages on Pythagoras, who is said to have studied in Babylon under the Magi, and on Plato might be worth looking over again in Appendix V., and in Chapter I., p. 7, n. 5.

Did Zoroaster ever visit Babylon? — In this same connection, when speaking of Babylon, it may be appropriate perhaps to

[1] Dasātīr, ii. 125, § 62, commentary and text.

[2] See pp. 78, 84, 88.

[3] Dk. 3 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. p. xxxi.).

[4] For references, see Chap. I., pp. 7–8.

[5] See Troyer's note on Dabistān, i. 277. I should think 'Plato' might be as plausible a suggestion.

mention a statement made by the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ which ascribes to the religion of Zaratūsht the overthrow of error and evil in 'Bāpēl,' and it accounts this achievement as one of the marvels of the Faith.[1] The passage speaks of the existence of 'several matters of evil deceit which Dahāk had done in Bāpēl through witchcraft; and mankind had come to idol-worship through that seduction, and its increase was the destruction of the world; but through the triumphant words of the religion which Zaratūsht proclaimed opposing it, that witchcraft is all dissipated and disabled.'[2]

There is of course a distant possibility that after the Faith became fairly established Zoroaster himself actually did go on missionary journeys, teaching and preaching and exercising the influence of his own strong personality, We need only think of the three brief years of our Lord's ministry. At all events it is not wholly impossible to believe that several places were visited, perhaps including Persepolis also,[3] even if we are not prepared to accept so extravagant a view as that Babylon was among the number. It is true that some of the classical writers make Pythagoras a follower of Zoroaster or at least of the Magi, who were established at Babylon and into whose mysteries he was initiated.[4] The theory of personal travel need not be pressed too far; where the effect of the Religion came, there also the Master himself had gone in influence, if not in person. In

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 72, West's translation in *SBE.* xlvii. 66.

[2] The text does not indicate at what time in Zoroaster's career this event is supposed to have been brought about, or whether it did not come to pass later through the developments and spread of the Religion. The actual fall of Babylon occurred a generation after the Prophet. One might possibly conjecture from the passage that 'the Religion' perhaps joined hands with the conqueror Cyrus in destroying this city, which is spoken of with hatred in the Avesta as 'Bawri'; cf. Yt. 5. 29–31; cf. 15. 19–21. In Mkh. 27. 64–67, the old king, Lohrāsp, is regarded as having destroyed Jerusalem and dispersed the Jews, a statement which is found elsewhere; see West, *SBE.* xxiv. 64. Somewhat similar is Dk. 5. 1.5, cf. *SBE.* xlvii. 120. Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, p. 147, might be noticed.

[3] See references to Istakhr already given, and also below in Appendix IV.

[4] See references in Chap. I., pp. 7–8, and in Appendix V.

this we have only another phase of the footprints of Buddha. Regarding Babylon, moreover, everything which associates Zoroaster's name with this city can but be of interest to the student of the Exilic Period of the Bible.

Conclusion. — The story of the spread of the Faith, so far as we can gather it from tradition, implies that missionary efforts carried the Avesta to foreign lands as well as throughout the territory of Iran. Tales are told of Hindu conversions, and even Greeks are fabled to have accepted the Creed. Zoroaster himself may possibly have engaged personally in the general movement of the propaganda, but there is no proof that he visited Babylon. His time no doubt was constantly taken up in working for the Faith; some of the results which were achieved and some of the events which happened in the following years of the Religion are recorded in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGION

THE NEXT FEW YEARS OF ZOROASTER'S MINISTRY

Homo in sacerdotio diligentissimus.
— CICERO, *Oratio pro Rab. Perd.* **10.** 27.

INTRODUCTION — RECORD OF A NOTEWORTHY CONVERSION — TRADITION OF ZOROASTER'S HEALING A BLIND MAN — QUESTION OF ZOROASTER'S SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE — OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST, INCIDENTS, AND EVENTS — THE SACRED FIRES — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — Zoroaster's life was a long one and his ministry covered a number of years; yet tradition does not give us all the details which we might wish so as to be able more definitely to mark off into periods or epochs the fifteen years or more that intervened between Vishtāspa's conversion and the beginning of the Holy Wars that were waged against Arejat̲aspa. In other words, we are not altogether clear in dividing up and distributing the events that seem to have happened, roughly speaking, between Zoroaster's forty-fifth year and the sixtieth year of his life. We certainly know they must have been active years, the years of a man of vigorous mind who has just passed his prime, and no doubt some of the events which have been described in the preceding chapter may belong to this time, or even possibly later. The foregoing chapter, in fact, perhaps leaves an impression of too great precision in the distribution of its incidents. We may therefore take it with some latitude in connection with the present. If an attempted distinction is to be drawn, as the latter chapter dealt mainly with promulgation and conversion, this one may deal

rather with the ministration and organization, with missionary labors and the exercise of priestly functions. It must be kept in mind, however, that trying to locate in it the events which may have occurred at this time is a task that is difficult to perform with much satisfaction, and the work may be regarded rather as tentative, and as an endeavor to use material which remains at hand.

Record of a Noteworthy Conversion. — One event, however, is definitely located for us by tradition as belonging to a specific year in this period. The circumstance must have been regarded as one of real importance, owing to its being so emphatically chronicled; we shall therefore notice it at once. It is the conversion of a heretic, a Kavīg or ungodly priest, who is won over to the true Faith. This is recorded in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, which say: 'In the twentieth year (of the Religion) the Kavīg who is son of Kūndah is attracted (to the Faith).'[1] Although the name is not definitely known, the incident is none the less sure; and if we accept the traditional date of 'the twentieth year' of the Religion, we may set down this event for B.C. 611,[2] at which time Zoroaster would have been in the fiftieth year of his age. All this makes the incident not without interest.

Tradition of Zoroaster's healing a Blind Man. — In connection with Zoroaster's ministry and possibly as a reminiscence of a missionary journey, or work in that field, unless we are to refer it to an earlier period of his career, we may make mention here of a legendary story of his healing a blind man. The story is told by Shahrastānī of Khorassān (A.D. 1086–1153) who locates the scene rather in Persia Proper.[3] The

[1] Zsp. 23. 8, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 165. The reading of the proper name from the Pahlavi is not certain. West's note on the passage offers 'Kūnīh' as a possibility.

[2] According to the Būndahishn chronology worked out by West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[3] My attention was first drawn to this story by a letter from Prof. G. F. Moore, Andover, Mass., dated June 23, 1892.

account runs as follows: 'As he (i.e. Zardusht) was passing a blind man in Dīnawar,[1] he told them to take a plant, which he described, and to drop the juice of it into the man's eyes, and he would be able to see; they did this and the blind man was restored to sight.'[2] Even if this incident should belong to an earlier period of Zoroaster's life, or to the time of his wandering, it nevertheless serves to show a tradition that miraculous healing power was believed to be exercised both by Zoroaster and by virtue of the Faith itself. The latter point might find sufficient exemplification in the Avestan Vendīdād.

Question of Zoroaster's Scientific Knowledge.—The tradition which has just been recounted of the healing of the blind man brings up another point which requires note. This is the question of Zoroaster's scientific knowledge, which is a side of his character that is distinctly recognized by tradition, and which must have come into play in his ministry. There is evidence that he showed a practical bent of mind in his work as well as the theoretical and speculative turn in his teaching. All accounts of the Religion indicate that the necessity of ministering to the wants of the body, as well as to the needs of the soul, was fully comprehended. Nor is medical knowledge to-day regarded as unessential or to be dispensed with in some branches of foreign missionary work. The records of antiquity imply that the Zoroastrian books, by their encyclopædiac character, stood for many sides of life. Some of the original Nasks of the Avesta are reported to have been wholly scientific in their contents, and the Greeks even speak of books purported to be by Zoroaster on physics, the stars, and precious stones.[3] It is true these need not have come from Zoroaster at

[1] This village is located by Yāḳūt, twenty farsangs from Hamadān; it lies between this and Kīrmānshāh. See Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 251, p. 367 (Shīz), 515 (Māh-Dīnār); and for a description of the place see de Morgan *Mission scientifique en Perse;* Paris, 1894–97, especially tome iv. p. 290.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 50.

[3] See p. 8 above, and Appendix V. below, under Suidas and Pliny.

all; but this represents a phase of life that Zoroaster or his apostles stood for. Tradition recognizes the presence of this practical element in the Religion which made it appeal to many who might not otherwise have been attracted, and which must have contributed in no small degree to its spread. The priests were the real conservators of knowledge and learning.

As an illustration of their practical knowledge, so serviceable to mankind, we may notice a passage in the Dīnkaṛt, which claims that the debt owed to Zoroaster in this respect is extensive. The text reads: 'One marvel is the disclosure by Zaratūsht, in complete beneficence, medical knowledge, acquaintance with character, and other professional retentiveness, secretly and completely, of what is necessary for legal knowledge and spiritual perception; also, the indication by revelation, of the rites for driving out pestilence, overpowering the demon and witch, and disabling sorcery and witchcraft. The curing of disease, the counteraction of wolves and noxious creatures, the liberation of rain.'[1] This and a number of ordinary practices, which have a bearing upon every-day life, are included in this list of what the Pahlavi text calls 'worldly wisdom' (*gehānŏ-xiraṯŏīh*), as contrasted with 'angelic wisdom' or 'divine knowledge' (*yazdānŏ-xiraṯŏīh*).[2] The brief résumé sums up what was expected to be found in the repertory of the wandering Āthravan, or descendant of the Prophet, at least in Sassanian times, and quite as likely it represents some of the sides of Zoroaster's own activity during the long period of his ministry.

Other Items of Interest, Incidents, and Events. — Tradition has preserved a few more items of interest, incidents, or occurrences and events which may belong to the period of these years. A suggestion has been made that Zoroaster may have visited his own home in his native land of Ādarbáijān. Anquetil even thought that Urumiah is mentioned in the Avesta in

[1] Dk. 7. 5. 8–9, translated by West. [2] See West's note in *SBE.* xlvii. 76. *SBE.* xlvii. 75–76.

an injunction given by Ahura Mazda bidding Zarathushtra, as he conceived it, to proceed to a certain place. But this is a mistaken interpretation of the passage.[1] Anquetil also understood that Zoroaster and Vishtāsp were together in Istakhr (Persepolis).[2] This view is apparently based upon the fact that Zoroaster induces Vishtāsp to transfer one of the sacred fires from Khorasmia to Dārābjard, in Persia, as stated by Masūdī,[3] and based upon Ṭabarī (and Bundarī after him) who describes how the Avesta was written down in golden letters upon the hides of twelve thousand oxen and 'Vishtāsp placed this at Istakhr in a place called Darbīsht (or Zarbīsht?).'[4] This may be noticed also in connection with the tradition of Jāmāsp's writing down the Avesta from Zoroaster's teachings (p. 76), and is also brought up in connection with the tradition that the archetype copy of the Avesta was deposited in the 'treasury of Shapīgān' (or however we are to read the name and its variants) as discussed below in Appendix IV.

During this period we can likewise imagine Zoroaster as otherwise much engaged in organizing the new religion, in founding fire-temples as described below, and in exercising in various ways his function as Chief Priest; not the least of these perhaps was in establishing the rite of ordeal as already noticed, or in celebrating the event of Vishtāsp's conversion by planting the cypress of Kishmar, before described. There were also times when prophetic visions were granted and hallowed enunciations were made. The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht (and after it the Zartusht Nāmah) records a favored vision which was allowed to Zoroaster, in which he foresees, during a seven days' trance, the whole future of the Religion.[5] Even the Apocryphal New Testament in one passage claims that Zoroaster prophesied the

[1] Anquetil du Perron, i. Pt. 2, p. 52, n. 1. The misinterpretation of the words *Airyama Ishya* is repeated by Kleuker, *ZA.* Theil 3, p. 35.

[2] Anquetil du Perron, op. cit. p. 53 = Kleuker, *ZA.* Theil 3, p. 35.

[3] Masūdī, trad. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 75.

[4] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37; Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* p. 315 (1 ed.).

[5] Bahman Yt. 2. 6–9, seq., tr. by West, *SBE.* v. pp. 191–235.

coming of Christ;[1] and a Syriac writer, Solomon of Ḥilāṭ (A.D. 1250) tells a tradition of a special fountain of water, called Glōshā of Ḥōrīn, where the royal bath was erected and by the side of this fountain Zoroaster predicted to his disciples the coming of the Messiah.[2]

The Sacred Fires. — There can be little doubt that much of Zoroaster's time was spent in the care of the sacred fire or in the furthering of the special cult throughout the land. Tradition counts that one of the most important features of Vishtāspa's conversion was his active agency in founding new places in which the holy flame might be worshipped or in reëstablishing old Ātash-gāhs. In a special (prose) chapter, the Avesta describes the various sacred fires recognized by the Faith, and the Būndahishn gives additional details on the subject;[3] Firdausī mentions several so-called Fire-Temples,[4] and Masūdī, among other Mohammedan writers, devotes a number of pages to the subject of the Magian pyraea, several of which he says existed before Zoroaster came.[5] Numerous Arabic writers refer to the question, and as their references are accessible, they need only be summarized here.[6]

Masūdī and Shahrastānī tell of some ten different Pyraea or places of fire-worship which existed in Iran before Zoroaster's time, and they give the name or location of each. Zoroaster himself causes a new temple to be built in Nīshāpūr, and another in Nisaea.[7] Furthermore, at his request King Vishtāsp

[1] Apocr. NT. I. *Infancy*, ch. iii. 1.

[2] See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 29; Kuhn, *Eine Zoroastrische Prophezeiung*, p. 219 in Festgruss an Roth, Stuttgart, 1893; and Wallis Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 81 seq. in Anec. Oxon., Oxford, 1886. Of course compare Yt. 19. 89–95; Dk. 7. 8. 55.

[3] Avesta, Ys. 17. 11; cf. also Vd. 8. 73–96; Pahl. Bd. 17. 1–9. See especially Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 149–157.

[4] E.g. ShN. Mohl, iv. 291, 364, etc.

[5] Masūdī, *Les Prairies d'Or.* Texte et Trad. par C. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 72, 75 seq.; and see Shahrastānī, *Uebersetzt*, Haarbrücker, i. 275 seq.

[6] On the fires, see especially the material in Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 45–47; Hyde *Relig. Pers.* p. 353–362.

[7] Masūdī, *Prairies*, iv. 75; Shahrastānī, i. 276; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 45, 47.

seeks for the fire of Jemshēd, which is found in Khorasmia, and he has it transferred to Dārābjard in Persia. This latter fire is said to be especially venerated by the Magi. Other Pyraea are mentioned in Seistān, Rūm (Constantinople), Bagdād, Greece (without the fire), India, and in China. Not without interest is the mention of the fire-temple in Kūmīs (Comisene) which bore the name of 'Jarīr,' apparently after Vishtāsp's son Zarīr.[1]

Among all the fires there seem to be three which stand, in later times of the Sassanians, as the threefold representative of the sacred element, corresponding to the social division of the community into three classes, priests, warriors, and laboring men.[2] The names of the three great fires are given as follows: —

1. Ātūr Farnbag, the fire of the priests. This fire, whose name appears as Farnbag, Frōbā, Khurrād, Khordād, being a corruption of * Hvarenō-bagha or * Hvarenō-dāta, i.e. 'the fire of the Glory Divine, or the fire Glory-Given,' is one of the most ancient and most sacred of the holy fires in Iran.[3] Existing as early as Yima's reign, and having been established in the Khorasmian land or the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, it was removed by Kavi Vishtāspa to Cabul, if we are to accept the commonly received statements on the subject.[4]

[1] So Shasrastānī, i. 275, but seemingly a different reading or form of the name (i.e. Djerich) is found in Masūdī, iv. 74. See also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 45, 46.

[2] Bd. 17. 5–8, and Ys. 17. 11. Cf. Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 149 seq., and Masūdī, loc. cit.

[3] Cf. *Ardā Vīrāf*, tr. Haug and West, p. 146, note; and Bd. 17. 5–6.

[4] So Bd. 17. 5–6 if we read the Pahlavi name as 'Kābul' with West (*SBE.* v. 63); otherwise we may understand it was removed, not eastward, but to the west, if we follow Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 154, in doubting the reading 'Kāvul (Kābul)' which West, however, gives (*SBE.* v. 63). Darmesteter follows Masūdī, Shahrastānī, and Yāḳūt; similarly, Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (A.D. 910); Albīrūnī (p. 215, tr. Sachau) — all cited by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 43–47. The subject is also discussed below in connection with the scene of Zoroaster's ministry, Appendix IV., p. 217. It is evident that Shahrastānī's Āzarušā is for Ādarān shāh, 'king of fires,' Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 157, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 47.

2. Ātūr Gūshnasp (Gūshasp), the fire of the warriors. The name Gūshnasp is probably a corruption from * Varshan-aspa, 'male-horse,' cf. Skt. *vṛṣaṇ-aśvá*, an epithet of Agni, as noted by Darmesteter. This was a very ancient fire and it early played a part when Kaī Khūsrav exterminated idol-worship. It was situated in the neighborhood of Lake Urumiah, or on Mount Asnavand upon the shores of that lake.[1] According to the Zaratusht Nāmah, this was one of the fires which came with the Archangels to aid in Vishtāspa's conversion as described in Chap. V., p. 65, n. 1.

3. Ātūr Būrzhīn Mitrō, the representative of the laboring class. The name, also in Persian, Burzīn Mihr, corresponds to * Berezant Mithra.[2] This third fire, or the special fire of the laborer, played an important part in Vishtāspa's conversion. This is located on Mount Raēvant in Khorassān in the vicinity of Lake Sōvar (mentioned in the Būndahishn), in the region of Ṭūs, as noticed also below in Appendix IV., p. 216.[3] A similar situation is given to it by Firdausī.[4] Perhaps there is an echo of the name of this fire lingering in the name of the small town Mihr to the west of Nīshāpūr, although for a fuller statement of Houtum-Schindler's view, reference is made to p. 216. Several of the Mohammedan writers, as noticed above, state that the special fire of Zoroaster was in the neighborhood of Nīshāpūr. We recall that Khorassān was the land of the planting of the cypress of Kishmar, and the scene of the closing battles which ended the Holy War — all of which is of interest in connection with the field of Zoroaster's ministry.

Conclusion. — The aim of this chapter has been to present such material as we can gather for the events of Zoroaster's life during the years next preceding the outbreak of the Holy

[1] Bd. **17.** 7; Zsp. **6.** 22; West, *SBE.* v. 63, 173. See also p. 48 above.

[2] Cf. Av. *Miθrəm . . . bərəzantəm*, Yt. **10.** 7.

[3] Bd. **12.** 18. 32–35; Zsp. **6.** 22; cf. also Bd. **12.** 24; **22.** 3; West, *SBE.* v. 38, 41, 173. See likewise Anquetil du Perron, *ZA.* i. Pt. 2, p. 46, n. 2 (on Khorassān).

[4] Cf. ShN. iii. 1499, Vullers-Landauer = trad. Mohl, iv. 291.

Wars. In this way an impression has been gained of certain other sides of Zoroaster's character and activity, especially the practical side which his nature probably also had. The material from which to judge of these points, however, is found to be rather meagre. Finally, special attention has also been devoted to the subject of the spread of the fire-cult by Zoroaster and the work which was accomplished in founding new Ātash-gāhs or in reëstablishing the old Pyraea. But all these events did not come to pass without a struggle; nor were the actual results achieved without a hard fight. If the Faith which Vishtāspa has adopted is to become the state creed of the realm, this is not destined to come to pass without a struggle, especially with powers outside. Warfare is inseparable from crusading; and we see gathered in the horizon the clouds of the storm about to burst over Iran.

CHAPTER IX

THE HOLY WARS OF ZOROASTRIANISM

THE LAST TWENTY YEARS OF ZOROASTER'S LIFE

'Fight the good fight of faith.'
— TIMOTHY I. 6. 12.

INTRODUCTION — RELIGIOUS WARFARE IN THE AVESTA — AREJAṮ-ASPA, OR ARJĀSP AND THE HOLY WARS — OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES; CAUSES AND DATES — ARJĀSP'S ULTIMATUM — HIS FIRST INVASION; THE HOLY WAR BEGINS — ARJĀSP'S ARMY AND ITS LEADERS — VISHTĀSP'S ARMY AND ITS COMMANDERS — BATTLES OF THE FIRST WAR — ISFENDĪĀR AS CRUSADER, AND THE FOLLOWING EVENTS — ARJĀSP'S SECOND INVASION; THE LAST HOLY WAR — SUMMARY

Introduction. — Up to this point it might appear as if the progress of the Religion had been one only of success and smooth advance. Such, however, cannot have been the case in reality. We have to do with a church militant, and there is evidence, in its history, of more than one hard-fought battle before victory is achieved. Not all conversions were easily made. The sword rather than the olive-branch would be the more suitable emblem to deck the earlier pages of the history of the Faith.

Owing to circumstances the development of the idea of universal peace and of general good-will towards neighbors was not allowed to play so important a part as it might have played theoretically in the first stages of the new Religion. When crusading for the Faith began, bitter struggles and antipathies soon came into existence. The war-cry of creed *versus* unbelief begins to fill the air. Old political and

national feuds take on a new color — the tinge of religious antagonism. This latter statement is especially true of the ancient enmity between Iran and Turan. This breaks out afresh in the form of a war of creeds between the Hyaonian leader Arejaṯ-aspa, as he is called in the Avesta, or Arjāsp of Turan, as he is later generally styled, and the pious hero of Zoroastrianism, Kavi Vishtāspa (Vishtāsp, Gushtāsp). Victory ultimately attends upon the Creed of the Fire and the Sacred Girdle, but the stages of progress have to be fought step by step. Bloodshed and distress precede success and triumph.

Religious Wars in the Avesta. — Before turning to the great Holy Wars against Arejaṯ-aspa, we must first notice that the Avesta also records several other violent conflicts which are looked upon in the light of hallowed warfare against unbelief. The Avesta mentions some eight powerful foes over whom Vishtāspa, or his gallant brother Zairivairi (Zarīr) invoke divine aid in battle, and victory descends upon their banners in answer to their prayers. We know at least the names of these vanquished warriors, for they are given in the Yashts. We read of Tāthryavant and Peshana,[1] Ashta-aurvant, son of Vīspa-thaurvō-ashti,[2] Darshinika and Spinjaurusha[3] and of Peshō-cingha and Humayaka.[4] All are spoken of as infidels, heathen, heretics, or unbelievers. The details of the battles against them are unfortunately lost. In point of time some of these occurred in the period of conversions already described. From the claims of the sacred text we know that victory waited upon the faithful.

Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) and the Holy Wars. — The inveterate foe and mortal enemy of Vishtāspa, however, is Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp), or the infidel Turk, as later history would have styled him. He stands as the great opponent of the national Faith, and we are fortunate in having considerable traditional

[1] Yt. 5. 109; Yt. 19. 87; cf. Yt. 9. 31.
[2] So Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 439.
[3] Yt. 9. 30–31.
[4] Yt. 5. 113.

information preserved regarding these wars with him. They are of paramount importance in the history of Zoroaster and his Creed, and they require fuller discussion. Details of the campaigns may be gathered from the Avesta, the Pahlavi writings, the Shāh Nāmah, and from some allusions in Arab chroniclers. The account given in the Shāh Nāmah dates from the tenth century of our era, and it is partly by the hand of Firdausī's predecessor, Daḳīḳī, as Firdausī himself expressly states when he describes the thousand lines which he had received from Daḳīḳī in a dream — the thousand lines relating to Zoroaster and Gushtāsp and the founding of the Faith.[1] The principal references are here collected and presented for convenience.[2]

The warfare against Arejaṯ-aspa is known in the Pahlavi writings as 'the war of the religion.'[3] In the Avestan and Pahlavi texts Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) is the leader of the hostile folk known as Hyaonians (Av. H'yaona, Phl. Khyōn). This nation has rightly or wrongly been identified with the Chionitae of the classics. This subject is more fully discussed below in Appendix IV. In any event Arejaṯ-aspa stands for the head

[1] See p. 5, n. 2; also see Mohl, trad. iv. 286–357, and consult Nöldeke in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 148–150.

[2] References to Arejaṯ-aspa and the Holy Wars: Avesta, Yt. 5. 109, 113–117; Yt. 19. 87; Yt. 9. 29–31 = Yt. 17. 49–51. — Pahlavi, Dk. 7. 4. 77, 83, 84, 87–89; 7. 5. 7; 5. 2. 12 (note by West); 5. 3. 1 (West, p. 126); 8. 11. 4; 9. 61. 12; 4. 21 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 412); Bd. 12. 32–34; Byt. 3. 9 (and 2. 49, note by West); Zsp. 23. 8 (all these references are cited according to West's translations in the *Sacred Books*); furthermore, the Pahlavi Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān (which is constantly cited from the very useful contribution of Geiger, *Das Yātkār-i Zarīrān und sein Verhältnis zum Šāh-Nāme*, in Sb. d. k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss. 1890, Bd. ii. pp. 43–84. — Firdausī, Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, vol. iii. p. 1495 seq.; citations also made after the French translation by Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, iv. 293 seq. (Paris, 1877); cf. likewise the paraphase by J. Atkinson, *Shāh Nāmah, translated and abridged*, London and New York, 1886; furthermore, Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831. Pizzi's translation was not accessible. — Arabic Writers, Ṭabarī, extract quoted by Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii. 6–7, and by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster;* finally, Mirkhond, *History of Persia*, tr. by Shea, pp. 288–295, 313–326.

[3] E.g. Bd. 12. 33.

of the chief inimical power among the heathen ; the Shāh Nāmah regards him as the head of Turān, Turkestān, China.

We have evidence of two distinct invasions by Arjāsp's forces, although the Avesta does not make clear the fact that there were two wars. The Pahlavi texts are not so explicit on the subject as are the Shāh Nāmah and some works, but the traditional dates which cover a period of seventeen years, as given by the Pahlavi writings, allow the inference of the two wars or two invasions. Both these religious conflicts result in victory for Iran ; yet not without severest loss for a time. In the first war, Vishtāspa's brother Zairivairi (Zarēr, Zarīr) and the latter's son Bastavairi (Bastvār, so read for Nastūr)[1] are the heroes of the fight ; in the second war, Vishtāspa's son Isfendīār, by his deeds of marvellous prowess, eclipses even the glory of these two heroic combatants. It seems appropriate to give some description of these wars and some discussion of the subject because of its bearing upon the early history of Zoroastrianism. The sources have already been mentioned (pp. 5, 38) ; truly to appreciate the subject one ought to read the accounts of tradition, or of fiction as some may prefer to call it, in the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān and in the Shāh Nāmah, which have been oftenest drawn upon. Here there is space merely to give excerpts from their descriptions or to give an outline of their contents.

Outbreak of Hostilities ; Causes and Dates. — If we accept the date given by the Zoroastrian tradition, which belongs to the time of the Sassanidae, it was some seventeen years after Vishtāspa's conversion that the war against Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) broke out. The Pahlavi selections of Zāṯ-sparam state that 'in the thirtieth year (of the Religion) the Khyōns arrive, who make an incursion into the countries of Iran.'[2] On the basis of traditional chronology, as worked out by Dr. E. W. West,

[1] These names belong to the Avesta, the Pahlavi, and the Shāh Nāmah.

[2] Zsp. 23. 8, tr. West, *SBE.* xlvii. 165.

we may place this event in the year B.C. 601.[1] The Shāh Nāmah likewise shows that, after the conversion of the king, some time must have elapsed before the great war began.[2] The day of the final battle of this war, it may be added, is given by the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān as Farvadīn.[3]

As for causes, the ostensible ground for the original difficulty was found in Vishtāsp's refusal to continue the payment of tribute and revenue to Arjāsp and in the latter's consequent and persistent pressing of his demand. So much, at least, for the pretence. The actual ground for difficulty, however, seems to have been the religious difference; for Vishtāsp's adoption of the new Faith really lies at the basis of the trouble. The religious question is certainly mixed up with the tribute matter. Perhaps one could hardly expect the two to be separated. The affair of the tribute is recorded in the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ as well as in the Shāh Nāmah.[4] On the other hand, the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān makes the religious issue the main one.[5] In the Shāh Nāmah, when the question comes up, Zoroaster appears practically in the position of a cardinal vested with regal power and wielding a vigorous hand in matters of state. He urges Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa) absolutely to refuse payment of the tax. The great Priest's personal interest in the political situation and problem to be settled is evidently largely governed by religious motives; Arjāsp, it is known, had declined to accept the true Faith.[6] In the Prophet's eyes, therefore, Turan is destined to be damned. Accordingly it is the Powers of Hell itself that rise up to inflame Arjāsp's fury against Iran. The Dīnkarṯ

[1] See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[2] Cf. Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1500, *candī rōzgār*, and Mohl, iv. 293, 'quelque temps.' Note also that Zoroaster is now spoken of as 'old' (*pīr*); according to tradition he would have been sixty at the time. The Yāṯkār hardly implies the lapse of so long an interval, and it makes Zaratūsht play a lesser part than Jāmāsp who seems rather to be the religious adviser of the king.

[3] YZ. § 85 (Geiger).

[4] Dk. 7. 4. 77, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 68; ShN. tr. Mohl, iv. 293.

[5] YZ. § 1 seq.

[6] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 289, 294; YZ. § 1 seq.

believes that no less a personage than Aēshma, the Arch-demon of Wrath, conveyed clandestinely to Arjāsp the tidings of Vishtāsp's fixed and unswerving refusal. The statement tells the whole story: 'When Vishtāsp, accepting the religion, praises righteousness, the demons in hell are disabled; and the demon Aēshm (Av. Aēshma) rushes to the country of the Khyōns and to Arjāsp, the deadly one of the Khyōns, because he was the mightiest of tyrants at that time; and the most hideous of all, of so many of them in the country of the Khyōns, are poured out by him for war.'[1]

Arjāsp's Ultimatum.—Arjāsp forthwith makes a formal demand in writing and states the conditions upon which alone he will remain at peace; and he adds an ultimatum to the effect that Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa) must abandon the new creed or be prepared to have the country of Iran invaded within two months.[2] The authority for these statements is to be found in the Yāṯkār and in the Shāh Nāmah; the details of the messages, whether fictitious or actual, are preserved in their purport and intention, at least, in these same works. The names of the two messengers whom Arjāsp despatches to convey this decisive letter have been preserved as Vīdrafsh and Nāmkhvāst of the Hazārs.[3] The problem of the location of Arejaṯ-aspa's kingdom and of the Hyaonians of the Avesta has already been alluded to and it is more fully discussed below in Appendix IV.[4] Here we shall only note that the Shāh Nāmah locates the Turanians on the other side of the Oxus and makes Arjāsp despatch his envoys from the city of Khallakh or Khallukh to Vishtāsp in Balkh. Although Zoroaster was the chief

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 87, tr. West, *SBE.* xlvii. 72, and see Dk. 8. 11. 4, 'the demon of wrath.' Compare also the mention of 'wrath' in Byt. 3. 9, West, *SBE.* v. 218. The Shāh Nāmah has *narrah Dīvī*, ShN. iii. 1500, ed. Vullers-Landauer; cf. Mohl, iv. 293.

[2] On the time 'two months' see Shāh Nāmah, Mohl, iv. 298, and Yāṯkār, § 12.

[3] YZ. § 2 (Geiger, p. 47), ShN. Mohl, iv. p. 300. See also Dk. 7. 4. 77, 'the deputed envoys of Arjāsp . . . who demand tribute and revenue'; *sāk va-bāžŏ* (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 68).

[4] See p. 123 seq.

instigator of the trouble between the two rulers,[1] it is not unnatural, perhaps, that we find Jāmāsp assuming the chief rôle as counsellor, for he was prime minister, chancellor, and grand vizir.[2] On the receipt of the arrogant message, Vishtāsp's warlike brother Zarīr (Av. Zairivairi, Phl., Mod. P. Zarēr, Zarīr) at once steps forward and boldly hurls defiance in the face of Arjāsp's messengers; he endites in response a stern letter, to which the king gives approval, and he hands it to the envoys to deliver on their return.[3] War is forthwith declared.

First Invasion of Arjāsp, and the Holy War.—The Dīnkarṯ states that the missing Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask of the Avesta contained an account of 'the outpouring of Arjāsp the Khyōn, by the demon of Wrath, for war with Vishtāsp and disturbance of Zaratūsht; the arrangements and movements of King Vishtāsp for that war, and whatever is on the same subject.'[4] This brief but clear outline makes us regret the more keenly the loss of so interesting a book of the Avesta. But doubtless considerable of the material has actually been preserved, as in other cases, in the Pahlavi and later Persian literature; and this fact lends more weight to the statements of the Pahlavi Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān and of the Shāh Nāmah as being actually based on old foundations and therefore worthy of real consideration. This should be kept in mind in the following pages and in the descriptions which they present.

The Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān and the Shāh Nāmah both give vivid pictures, with imaginative coloring, of the marshalling of the forces and the numbers of the opposing hosts. As is common even in modern historical records, the estimates of the number of men actually under arms differ considerably. For Arjāsp's

[1] Dk. 8. 11. 4, 'the outpouring of Arjāsp the Khyōn, by the demon of wrath, for war with Vishtāsp and disturbance of Zaratūsht.'

[2] YZ. § 3 (Geiger, p. 48); ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 300–317.

[3] YZ. §§ 10–13 (Geiger, pp. 49–50); ShN. Mohl, iv. 301–303.

[4] Dk. 8. 11. 4, West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 24.

army one section of the Yāṯkār gives the number as 131,000 men.[1] The Shāh Nāmah is not so explicit, but puts the forces of the two wings of Arjāsp's host, and of the reserve, at 300,000, without including the main body of the army.[2] On the other side Vishtāsp's army is actually estimated by the Yāṯkār at 144,000 men,[3] although it once speaks as if the number were innumerable;[4] whereas in the Shāh Nāmah the strength is merely stated in a vague way as 1000 × 1000.[5]

Arjāsp's Army and its Leaders. — The tradition upon which Firdausī, or rather Daḳīḳī, based his poetic chronicle is consistent throughout with respect to making the city of Khallakh the place from which Arjāsp set out upon his campaign. Again we miss the lost Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask of the Avesta alluded to above! The poet is even able to give the order in which Arjāsp arranged his troops for the invading march. This differs considerably from the actual plan of marshalling his forces and commanders when in battle array; but even a poet would recognize the likelihood of changes and alterations according to the exigencies of the campaign and situation. On the march the troops were disposed of in the order given in the diagram on page 110.[6]

The advance guard is entrusted to Khashāsh. The two wings are assigned respectively to Arjāsp's own brothers Kuhram and Andarīmān (cf. Av. Vandaremaini) with three hundred thousand picked men. The chief in command is given to Gurgsār, while the flag is entrusted to Bīdrafsh. Arjāsp himself occupies the centre for safety and convenience; and Hūshdīv brings up the rear.

As already noted, the above line of march, however, differs

[1] YZ. § 46, but a few lines farther on (§ 50) the number is mentioned as 12,000,000 (probably a mistake in a figure). The prose Shāh Nāmah Nasr mentions Arjāsp's conscription as '15,000 men'; cf. Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* p. 325 (1 ed.).

[2] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 306, 319.

[3] YZ. § 49.

[4] YZ. § 16.

[5] ShN. Mohl, iv. 308.

[6] See ShN. Mohl, iv. 306 (line of march), opposed to iv. 319 (order of battle).

ARJĀSP'S ORDER OF MARCH

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[1]

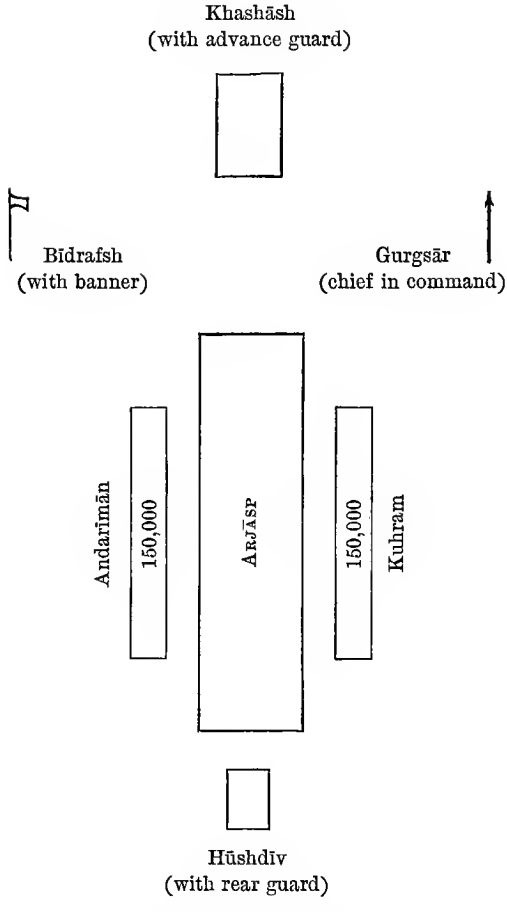

[1] See preceding note; and, on the proper names, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, as follows: *Xašāš*, p. 171; *Gurgsār*, p. 122; *Bīdrafš* (*Wīdrafš*), p. 368; *Andarīman* (*Wañdaremainiš*), p. 347; *Kuhram*, p. 166; *Hūšdīv* (*Hōšdēw*), p. 131; *Arjāsp*, p. 21.

from the arrangement of the forces in action on the field of battle. According to the picturesque account which is given in the Shāh Nāmah, we can imagine Arjāsp's forces drawn up in battle array in the manner indicated below. From the descriptions of the engagement it is evident that in Oriental fights, as often elsewhere, single deeds of great daring by brilliant leaders gain the day rather than combined efforts and the manœuvring of massed troops. We may conceive of the fortunes of the battle as guided by Ormazd and by Ahriman. The description in the Shāh Nāmah may indeed be poetic or journalistic, but it is worth reading, and the array of the enemy appeared as follows:[1]—

ARJĀSP'S ARRAY ON THE BATTLEFIELD

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[2]

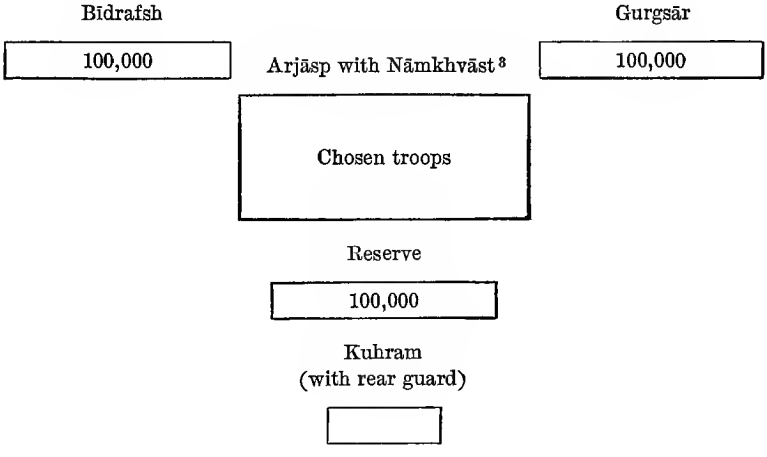

Bīdrafsh and Gurgsār are given charge of the two wings with 100,000 men each. Nāmkhvāst with picked troops has

[1] See Mohl, iv. p. 319 (and contrast with iv. p. 306).

[2] See preceding note; and, for the proper names, compare Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, as follows: *Gurgsār*, p. 122; *Bīdrafš* (*Wīdrafš*), p. 368; *Nāmxvāst*, p. 220; *Kuhram*, p. 166; *Arjāsp*, p. 21.

[3] Cf. ShN. Mohl, iv. 313, 319.

the centre where Arjāsp himself is stationed.[1] The reserve of 100,000 men is disposed in such a way as to support all the divisions. This time Kuhram [2] guards the rear, whereas Hūshdīv had held that position on the invading march. Among Arjāsp's leaders only two are really known to fame in the conflict: these are Nāmkhvāst and Bīdrafsh.[3]

Vishtāsp's Army and its Leaders. — The strength of Vishtāspa's forces has already been mentioned. The three principal heroes who win renown on the Iranian side are, first, Vishtāsp's intrepid brother, the valiant Zarīr (Av. Zairivairi, YZ. Zarēr, ShN. Zarīr); [4] second, the latter's son Bastvar (Av. Bastavairi, YZ. Bastvar, ShN. Nastūr); [5] and third, Vishtāspa's own glorious son Isfendiār (Av. Spentō-dāta, YZ. ShN. Isfendiār).[6] In the Yāṯkār, mention is likewise made of another of Vishtāspa's brothers, named Pāṯ-khusrav,[7] and also of a favorite son of Vishtāsp whose name apparently is Frashōkarṯ or Frashāvarṯ.[8] The Shāh Nāmah furthermore mentions Ardashīr, who is a son of Vishtāspa, Shērō or (according to Mohl)

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv, 313, 319. In YZ. § 50, Arjāsp, like Vishtāsp, has his place of observation upon a hill to direct the battle.

[2] The name of Arjāsp's brother, *Kuhram* or *Guhram*, appears as *Gōhormuz* in Ṭaharī; see Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii. 7, 8; Justi *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 112. If Kuhram accepted Shēdāsp's challenge (ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 321, 322), he must have come forward from the rear.

[3] YZ. §§ 29–30, and § 54 seq.; ShN. Mohl, iv. 319, 323, 327.

[4] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 382.

[5] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 65.

[6] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 308.

[7] YZ. §§ 29, 37; he is apparently not named in the Avesta; cf. Geiger, *Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān*, p. 77. For his name, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 532, suggested Av. Bujasravah, Yt. **13.** 101, but this is doubtful.

[8] YZ. § 30 (text corrupt), 39, 44. As the MS. at § 30 is corrupt (cf. Geiger, p. 75), one might think of Av. Frashōkara (Yt. **13.** 102), which is the reading of all good Avestan MSS. (*not Frashō-karəta*, as Geiger, YZ. p. 75); but West (personal communication) thinks they are all the same name. As Frash . . . falls in this battle, we must not (as does Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 533) confuse him with Farshīdvard, of the Shāh Nāmah, who does not fall now, but is slain in the second battle. Possibly it might be Av. Frash-hāmvareta (Yt. **13.** 102) if we set aside Darmesteter's connection with Pers. Farshīdvard. In any case Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 104 should be consulted.

Ormazd,[1] Shēdāsp,[2] Garāmī, the son of Jāmāsp,[3] Nēvzār, son of Vishtāsp,[4] Bashūtan (i.e. Peshōtanu), son of Vishtāsp,[5] and a son of Isfendīār called Nūsh-Ādar (i.e. Anōsh-Ādar) who is killed by Zavārah in the second war.[6] The valiant Isfendīār appears in all accounts of both wars. He is evidently com-

ARRANGEMENTS OF VISHTĀSP'S TROOPS FOR BATTLE

(According to the Shah Nāmah)[7]

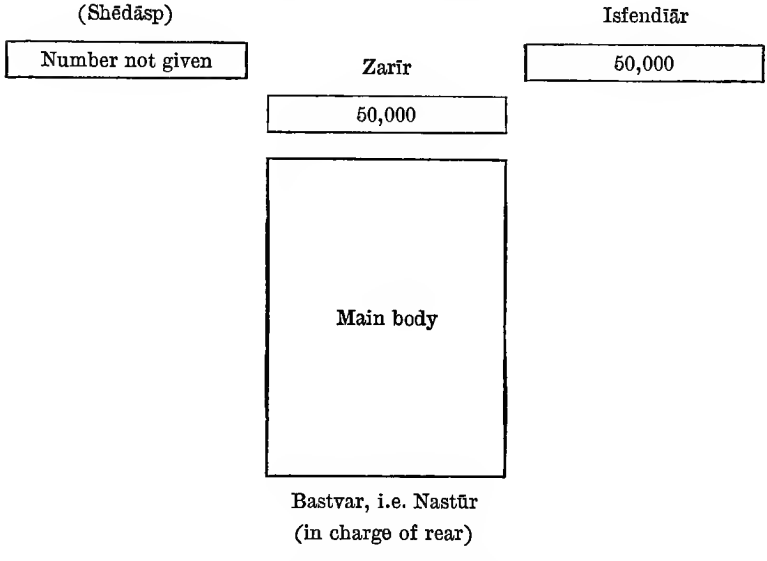

paratively young in the first war, and his renown as hero belongs rather to the second great action; but in both cam-

[1] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 297, Mohl, iv. 321.

[2] Son of Vishtāsp, Mohl, iv. 311, 318, 321; Justi, p. 294.

[3] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 311, 312, 323, and see next page.

[4] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 312, 324.

[5] ShN. Mohl, iv. 332, Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 251. Mentioned also by Ṭabarī in this connection (Tab. i. 676 f.; cf. Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.* ii. p. 7).

[6] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 338, 349; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 17*b*, 337 (*Uzwārak*).

[7] See preceding note; and, on the proper names, see Justi, *Iran Namenbuch*, as follows: *Zairivairi*, p. 382; *Isfendīār*, p. 308; *Shēdāsp*, p. 294; *Bastavairi*, p. 65.

paigns he is the same ideal hero, *sans peur et sans reproche.* Twenty-two other sons of the family of Vishtāspa are slain according to the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān (§ 29), but this treatise does not seem to take account of the second holy war against Arjāsp. The Shāh Nāmah makes the number of Vishtāsp's sons that were slain to have been thirty-eight,[1] but this number on the other hand seems to comprise both wars. On the field of battle Vishtāsp's troops, according to the Shāh Nāmah, were drawn up as presented in the preceding table.[2] We must regret once more that we have not the missing Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask which the Dīnkarṯ says described 'the arrangement and movements of King Vishtāsp for that war.'

Battles of the First War. — The location of the seat of war in the first great conflict is not wholly clear. The Shāh Nāmah speaks of the Jīhūn or Oxus — see Map; the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān seems to allude to Merv (also in the northeast) as the seat, but the text is not precise on the subject. The whole question is discussed below in Appendix IV., reference to which should be made.

It is evident, in this first war, that there were two principal battles, separated by a slight interval; some of the apparent differences and discrepancies between the Yāṯkār and the Shāh Nāmah are possibly to be accounted for in that way. As to the interval, the Shāh Nāmah recognizes a lapse of two weeks (*dū haftah*) between the first attack by Arjāsp and the combat which resulted in Zarīr's death.[3] As to the action, the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān naturally selects those situations and incidents which bring its hero Zarīr into the foreground. Both accounts tell how, on the eve of battle, the sage Jāmāsp in prophetic vision foresees all the gains and all the losses on each side; and he foretells to the king the joys and sorrows, the temporary defeat, but final, conclusive, and decisive victory of the following day.[4]

[1] Mohl, iv. 367, 376, 386, 445.

[2] See p. 113, and cf. Mohl, iv. 318.

[3] ShN. iii. 1527, *dū haftah*; cf. Mohl, iv. 325.

[4] YZ. §§ 28–30; ShN. iii. 1514–1521; cf. Mohl, iv. 309–317.

Vishtāsp beholds the fight from a neighboring elevation.[1] In the first action a number fall on the side of the Zoroastrian faith. Several of the names may be gathered; they are mostly sons of the king: Ardashīr, Ormazd (or Shērō), Shēdāsp, Nēvzār, Pāṯ-khusrav, and Frashāvarṯ(?).[2] Most of these are slain by the listful demon Nāmkhvāst. Of all the descriptions, one of the most picturesque, perhaps, is the account of the chivalrous deed of Jāmāsp's indomitable son Garāmī (YZ. Garāmīk-karṯ). In a moment of critical suspense he rescues the imperial banner by an act of heroism which is all-inspiring, and he saves the gonfalon, holding it between his teeth, and fights till he falls.[3]

The second and decisive battle follows this first sharp engagement after a brief interval. In this action there is no question that the hero is Zarīr (Zarēr, Zairivairi). He does not fall in open attack, but by an act of stealth at the hand of the sorcerer Bīdrafsh, whom he had challenged to mortal combat. Zarīr's unfortunate death is gloriously avenged by his young son Bastvar (Nastūr) and by the valiant Isfendīār. In the words of the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, as the battle opens, 'the dashing leader Zarīr began the fight as fiercely as when the god of Fire bursts into a hay-rick and is impelled onward by a blast of the storm. Each time as he struck his sword down, he killed ten Khyōns; and, as he drew it back, he slew eleven. When hungry and thirsty he needed only to look upon the blood of the Khyōns and he became refreshed.'[4] But treachery, as before stated, undoes the noble knight; he falls, pierced through the heart by a poisoned spear hurled from behind by the magician Vīdrafsh (Vēdrafsh, Bīdrafsh) who is promised the fair hand of Arjāsp's daughter Zarshtan as a reward.[5] The hero fallen, Vishtāsp now turns and offers his own lovely daughter Humāk (Hūmāī)

[1] YZ. § 49; ShN. Mohl, iv. 320.

[2] List made up from ShN. iii. 1523 seq.; cf. Mohl, iv. 311, 321; and YZ. §§ 29–30. Compare also Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 229 (*Nēwzār*), and the references given above, p. 113.

[3] YZ. § 79; ShN. iv. 323, 311–12; see also Geiger, *Yātkār*, p. 79.

[4] YZ. § 51 (Geiger, pp. 59–60).

[5] YZ. §§ 52–56 (after Geiger, pp. 60–61); cf. ShN. Mohl, iv. 327, 328. See also Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.* ii. 3.

to whosoever will avenge Zarīr's death.[1] The latter's youthful son Bastvar (Nastūr), a child in years but a giant in strength and courage, dashes forward and, accompanied by Isfendīār, slays the treacherous Vīdrafsh, routs the Turanian hosts, hews them down as he drives them before him, and with Isfendīār's aid sends Arjāsp defeated, humbled, mutilated, back to his own capital.[2]

The gallant Isfendīār now grants respite to the vanquished Turanians, which is in keeping with the nobility of his character, although his soldiers, as the poet describes, were inclined to butcher the entire army of refugees.[3] The Shāh Nāmah is able to give the numbers of those who fell in battle. Of Vishtāsp's forces the number of the slain is estimated at 30,000 including thirty-eight sons of the king.[4] On Arjāsp's side the list of those who were killed is reckoned to be more than 100,000. With the boldness of precision worthy of an epic writer who is giving details, the poet is able to add that 1163 of this number were men of rank, beside 3200 wounded.[5] Terms of peace with religious stipulations are entered into and the first great victory of Zoroastrianism is achieved.

The war over, Vishtāsp marches back through his own country of Iran to the city of Balkh, to celebrate the victory. In Persian fashion he is said to have given his daughter Humāī to the intrepid Isfendīār,[6] and he assigns to this young hero Bastvar (Nastūr) an army of 100,000 picked soldiers, bidding him to advance toward Arjāsp's capital, Khallakh, in order to complete the conquest. One other son, Farshīdvard,[7] is made suzerain over Khorassān, the territory which afterwards becomes famous as a seat of the second holy war against Arjāsp. Vishtāsp himself next founds a new fire-temple and makes Jāmāsp

[1] YZ. § 57; ShN. Mohl, iv. 330, 341.

[2] YZ. §§ 58–85 (Geiger, pp. 62–69); ShN. Mohl, 335–341.

[3] ShN. Mohl, iv. 339.

[4] But see the statement given above (p. 114) which explains this number as referring to both the wars.

[5] ShN. Mohl, iv. 341.

[6] YZ. § 57 seq. implies Bastvar; see above, p. 72, n. 1.

[7] ShN. Mohl, iv. 345.

high priest over it. His final and most important act for the Religion is to depute the dauntless Isfendīār upon a hallowed mission, a great crusade to foreign lands, enjoining upon him to convert all peoples and nations to the Faith of Zardusht. When this is accomplished he promises to recompense the valiant crusader and dutiful son by awarding him the crown and throne of Iran.

Isfendīār as Crusader, and the Following Events. — Tradition tells how fortune favors the gallant knight. So successful is his pious zeal, according to the Shāh Nāmah, that the countries even of 'Rūm and Hindūstān' are among those who despatched messengers to Vishtāsp, requesting to have 'the Zend-Avesta of Zardusht' sent to them. Vishtāsp eagerly complies with the request and sends a copy of the bible to every land.[1] An allusion to the Dīnkarṯ of crusading efforts in the direction of 'Arūm and the Hindūs' in connection with the name of Spend-dāṯ (Isfendīār) has already been noticed above.

There must have been a considerable lapse of time for all this to transpire, and a number of the events narrated in the chapters on conversions and the spread of the Religion perhaps belong here.[2] The interval of peace at home was doubtless used to advantage; and possibly about this time the Avesta was written down by Jāmāsp from the teachings of Zoroaster as referred to in the Dīnkarṯ.[3] All goes well. Each effort of Isfendīār is divinely crowned, and at last he feels himself entitled by his successes to turn to his father with the expectation of receiving the crown according to the royal promise. But he receives it not. A mischievous brother, Kurazm (Av. Kavārazem, Yt. **13.** 103)[4] with lying lips calumniates the valiant hero to his father. Isfendīār is rewarded by being

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv. 344–345.

[2] The Shāh Nāmah implies an interval of 'some time'; see ShN. iii. 1543, Vullers-Landauer = Mohl, iv. 345, 'quelque temps.'

[3] Dk. **4.** 21; **5.** 3. 4; **7.** 5. 11; **3.** 7. 1. Cf. pp. 76, 97. West places this event about B.C. 591. See *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[4] ShN. Mohl, iv. 346; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 159; Darmesteter, *Études Iran.* ii. 230.

thrown into chains and imprisoned upon a mountain in the fortress citadel of Gumbadān in Khorassān or Mount Spentō-dāta of the Avesta and Būndahishn as described below in Appendix IV. The Shāh Nāmah goes on to tell how King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) leaves Balkh shortly after this incident and goes for 'two years' to Seistān and Zabūlistān to visit Rustam.

It is at this point in the Shāh Nāmah that the narrative of Firdausī's predecessor Daḳīḳī is stated to end, and the story is taken up by Firdausī himself. This fact may account for certain differences of view and manner of treatment which are noticeable.[1]

Arjāsp's Second Invasion; the Last Holy War.—The chronicle of the Shāh Nāmah, as poetic history, seems to allow some years to elapse between the invasions of Arjāsp as already mentioned, and the traditional Zoroastrian chronology bears out this fact if we combine the dates which may be gathered.[2] The state of affairs in Iran begins to assume a different aspect. The Turanian Arjāsp, taking advantage of Isfendīār's imprisoment, reunites his forces and prepares to strike a blow of retaliation upon his former conqueror. Once more he invades Iran and the second war begins. The tradition which Firdausī follows is claimed by him to be ancient. It is curious, however, in some of its details, and it presents an odd picture of the management of a kingdom. Vishtāsp's absence from his capital seems to have left Balkh weakened or unprotected. Arjāsp successfully storms the city; the aged Lohrāsp falls in the fight before the city walls;[3] the temple of Nūsh-Ādar is sacked and destroyed; the priests are slain in the very act of their pious worship; the sacred fire is quenched by their

[1] On the Daḳīḳī portion of the Shāh Nāmah, cf. p. 5, n. 2, and see Nöldeke in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 148–150.

[2] The date of Zoroaster's death is set at B.C. 583, and this is supposed to have occurred during the Turanian invasion, as discussed in the next chapter.

[3] Shāh Nāmah, Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1560; Mohl, iv. 364, 558.

hallowed blood; and, worst of all, the Prophet Zardusht falls a martyr at the hands of the murderous and fanatical invaders of Turan, as he stands in the presence of the altar's holy flame which the Faith so devoutly cherished. The details of these particular circumstances are given more fully in the next chapter, together with some additional traditions regarding Zoroaster's death. This sad event serves to place the date of the second war at about B.C. 583 on the basis of the Būndahishn chronology.[1]

Events now follow in rapid succession. Vishtāsp learns in Seistān of the death of Lohrāsp and of the martyrdom of Zoroaster. He hastens to join forces with his son, Farshīdvard of Khorassān. The Shāh Nāmah states that Vishtāsp took the route towards Balkh, but from its description and from a Pahlavi allusion to the 'White Forest,' as discussed hereafter, it appears that Vishtāsp joined Farshīdvard in Khorassān, of which the latter was suzerain. We may recall here that Firdausī himself was a native of Khorassān and he must have been familiar with the tradition. The question of the scene of this opening battle is entered into more fully below in Appendix IV. So it need not be discussed here. We need only follow Firdausī's brief description of the drawing up of the opposing lines, and if we glance at Khorassān on the Map we shall have an idea, at least traditionally, of the battlefields on which the final victory of Zoroastrianism was won.

Alas! the valiant Isfendīār is no longer in command of the host that is fighting for the Avesta and the Faith of Iran. The princely Farshīdvard receives a wound that shortly proves fatal. Vishtāsp is routed, and he finds refuge only in the region of Nīshāpūr or of the Jagatai chain, as discussed in detail below, Appendix IV. The Iranians are beleagured on a lonely height; the Faith of Zoroaster seems about to totter and fall before the hated Arjāsp and Turan. But Isfendīār is

[1] See note above, and compare West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

once more the saviour of the hour. In the dire emergency it is universally felt that the captive prince, chained within the fortress which even in the Avesta has given his name to the

OPENING BATTLE OF THE SECOND HOLY WAR

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[1]

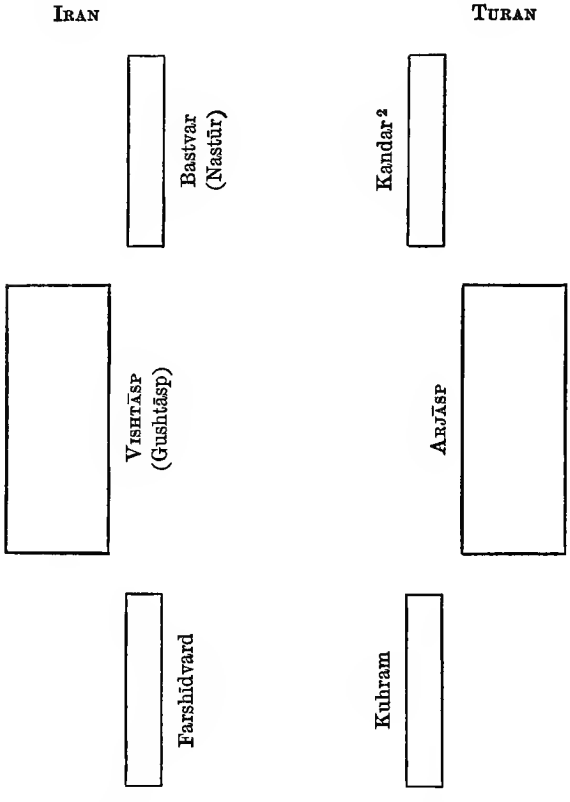

mountain, can save the State from its impending overthrow. According to the Chronicle, Jāmāsp secretly visits Isfendiār,

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv. 365, 366, 387. On the special proper names, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch* under *Frašhąm-varəta*, p. 104 (but recall discussion of the name above, p. 112, n. 8); *Bastvar*, Justi, p. 65.

[2] ShN. Mohl, iv. 366, 387.

and finally induces him to forget his cruel wrongs and to preserve his country from the certain ruin that hangs over it. Freed from the galling shackles, he hastens to the rescue and leads the hosts of Zoroastrianism once more to victory. Under the inspiration of his command a final battle is begun. Isfendīār receives full power and sway. The only change in the organization of Vishtāsp's forces, as noted in the Shāh Nāmah, is that Gurdōē (Kerdūī) succeeds to the place of Farshīdvard, who had died from the fatal wound received in the preceding fight, and Bastvar (Nastūr) consequently occupies the right wing.[1] Arjāsp's troops are marshalled in a manner differing but slightly from that before adopted. The disposition of the armies, as given by Firdausī, is shown in the diagram on page 122.

Isfendīār wins a complete and signal victory. Arjāsp flees back to Turan. But no quarter this time is granted. His country is mercilessly invaded by the invincible Isfendīār, his capital stormed and taken, and he himself is finally slain. The Dīnkarṯ likewise in one passage seems to contain an echo of the note of exultation over this event.[2] Victory rests everywhere upon the banners of Iran and upon the triumphant standards of Zoroaster's Faith.

Thus closed the second invasion of the great Holy War, which really served to establish the future of Zoroastrianism, for the Faith gained strength from the shock it withstood and the power it overcame. According to tradition, victory led to other attempts at universal conversion, but not all were unqualifiedly successful. The gallant Isfendīār, so zealous ever for the cause, is himself ultimately slain in single combat with Rustam, whom he sought to convert to the creed in accordance with King Vishtāsp's urgent desire and his own unflagging readiness for crusading. The story which Firdausī tells of

[1] On Gurdōē (Kerdūī), see ShN. Mohl, iv. 384; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, pp. 122, 161.

[2] See Dk. 7. 4. 88–90, in West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 72–73.

the details of Isfendīār's death may be apocryphal, but it contains some reminiscence of the missionary labors that are known to have been expended in the land of Seistān.

FINAL BATTLE OF THE SECOND HOLY WAR

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[1]

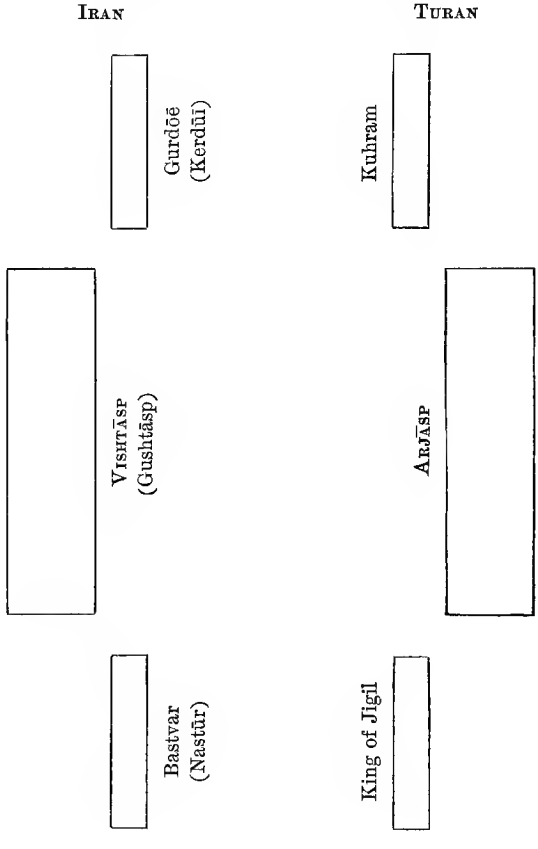

The Sacred Wars summarized. — Such is the story of the period of holy warfare against Areiaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) in behalf

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv. 384. For the proper names, see references above.

of Zoroaster's Faith, at least so far as we can gather history from sources which are chiefly chronicles. In the Avesta and in the Pahlavi writings Arejaṯ-aspa is a Hyaonian (Av. H'yaona, Phl. Khyōn); in the Shāh Nāmah and elsewhere he is understood to be a Turanian. Both designations apparently amount ultimately to the same thing. Furthermore, according to tradition, there were two separate wars or invasions by Arjāsp, although the earliest accounts do not make this point wholly clear. If we accept the Zoroastrian chronology based upon the Pahlavi Būndahishn, the defeat of Arjāsp in the first war must have occurred about B.C. 601. The principal battle of this war was the fight in which King Vishtāsp's brother Zarīr was slain. A considerable interval, nearly twenty years, is believed to have elapsed before Arjāsp began his second invasion. The date of this event is placed by the tradition as about B.C. 583, the year being given by the death of Zoroaster which seems to have occurred at this time. The amphitheatre in which the final engagements in this war took place appears to be Khorassān. Isfendīār, the great crusader, wins the final victory that establishes the Faith of Iran on a firm foundation, even though Zoroaster is no longer living to enjoy the fruits of triumph.

CHAPTER X

THE DEATH OF ZOROASTER

THE END OF A GREAT PROPHETIC CAREER

'Shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord?'
— LAMENTATIONS 2. 20.

INTRODUCTION — GREEK AND LATIN ACCOUNTS OF ZOROASTER'S DEATH BY LIGHTNING OR A FLAME FROM HEAVEN — THE IRANIAN TRADITION OF HIS DEATH AT THE HAND OF AN ENEMY — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — Those who have read Marion Crawford's novel 'Zoroaster' may perhaps recall the graphic scene describing the death of the Prophet of ancient Iran, with which the romance closes. Whatever may have been the novelist's source of information — if he had any source beyond his own vivid imagination — his picture is so well drawn that it seems real, and it may possibly not be so far, after all, from the truth. There is no authority, however, for believing that Zoroaster's death took place at Stakhar (Persepolis); but there is ground for believing that he may possibly have been slain while at worship in the sanctuary. Traditions on the subject differ; but it is the purpose of this chapter briefly to bring together the material that is accessible on the question of Zoroaster's death.

Greek and Latin Accounts of Zoroaster's Death. — From the fate of Empedocles we are not surprised to find a miraculous departure attributed to a great sage; and the Greek and Latin patristic writers give a fabulous account of the passing of Zoroaster. His is no ordinary end; he perishes by lightning or a flame from heaven, which recalls the descent of the fiery chariot and the whirlwind in the apotheosis of Elijah. For

such a description our principal source is the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* and the spurious Clementine *Homilies*, whose statements are followed by later writers. All these passages are given in Appendix V., so they are simply summarized here.[1]

(a) A passage in the *Clementinae Recognitiones* (dating about A.D. second century, and existing in the Latin translation of Rufinus),[2] identifies Zoroaster with Ham or Mesraim of the family of Noah, and anathematizes him as a magician and astrologer. To deceive the people, it is said, he was wont to conjure the stars until finally the guardian spirit or presiding genius of a certain star became angry at his control and emitted a stream of fire in vengeance and slew the arch-magician. But the misguided Persians deified the ashes of his body consumed by the flame, and they gave adoration to the star which had thus charioted him into the presence of God. Hence after his death he received the name Zoroaster, that is, 'living star,'—an interpretation by those who understood the Greek form of his name to have this meaning![3]

(b) The statement in the spurious Clementine *Homilies*[4] differs but slightly. Zoroaster is identified with Nimrod, who, in the pride of his heart, seeks for universal power from the star, whereat the lightning falls from heaven and Nimrod is destroyed, and he accordingly receives the surname Zoroaster for the 'stream of the star': *Ζωροάστρης μετωνομάσθη, διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνελθῆναι ῥοήν.* But the Persians, it is added, built a temple over the remains of his body and cherished the sacred flame that came from the

[1] The best material on this subject, from the classical side, is to be found in Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 306–309 (accessible now in translation, Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 131–135).

[2] Clem. Roman. *Recogn.* 4. 27–29 (tom. i. col. 1326 seq. ed. Migne). See Appendix V., § 12.

[3] For the text, cf. Appendix V., § 12.

[4] Clem. *Homilies*, 9. 4 seq. (tom. ii. col. 244, ed. Migne); see Appendix V., § 12, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 306–307 = Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, p. 133, and Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. p. 34.

coals of the heaven-sent bolt; and so long as they did this they had sovereignty. Then the Babylonians stole away the embers and thereby gained empire over the world.[1]

(c) Gregory of Tours (A.D. 538–593)[2] repeats the identification of Zoroaster with Ham (Cham, or Chus) and records the etymology of his name as 'living star,' stating that the Persians worshipped him as a god because he was consumed by fire from heaven. See Appendix V., § 37.

(d) The *Chronicon Paschale* or *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (last date A.D. 629)[3] makes Zoroaster foretell his fiery death, and bid the Persians to preserve the ashes of his charred bones. As he is praying to Orion, he is slain by the descent of a heavenly shaft, and the Persians carefully keep his ashes down to the present time. See text in Appendix V., § 39.

The same story is found in almost the same words, or with no material addition (see Appendix V., § 39) in the works of

(e) Johan. Malalas (A.D. sixth century) col. 84, ed. Migne; p. 18 ed. Bonnenn.

(f) Suidas (A.D. tenth century), s.v. *Ζωροάστρης*, *Ἀστρονόμος*, briefly records the death by fire from heaven.

(g) Georgius Cedrenus (c. A.D. 1100), tells the same in his *Historiarum Compendium* (col. 57, ed. Migne; p. 29 seq. ed. Bonnenn.), and adds, *τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι ἕως τοῦτου καταφρονήσαντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσον.*

(h) Michael Glycas (flor. c. A.D. 1150), *Ann. Pars II.* (col. 253, ed. Migne; p. 244 ed. Bonnenn.), simply repeats the Clementine statement. See Appendix V., § 47.

(i) Georgius Hamartolus (d. about A.D. 1468) merely reiterates the same in his *Chronology* (col. 56, ed. Migne).

All these latter quotations go back to the Clementine source.

[1] For the full text, see Appendix V., § 12.

[2] *Hist. Francor.* 1. 5 (col. 164 seq. ed. Migne).

[3] *Chron. Pasch.* col. 148 seq. ed. Migne; or i. p. 67, ed. Bonnenn.; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 308 note = Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, p. 135.

They all look upon Zoroaster as an astrologer who perished by a shaft from heaven, and they usually interpret this as a mark of divine displeasure.

It might be added, simply by way of greater completeness, that Orosius (A.D. fifth century) *Hist.* i. 4 (col. 700, ed. Migne) follows the current later classical story about Ninus and Zoroaster, and adds that Ninus conquered and killed him in battle, which perhaps is an echo of the war against Arjāsp.[1]

The Iranian Tradition of Zoroaster's Death. — Passing from the realm of fanciful legend to the more solid ground of tradition we have a very persistent statement in the later Zoroastrian sacred writings regarding the death of the Prophet, even if, for reasons to be easily understood, that event is not mentioned in the Avesta itself.[2] This tradition with absolute uniformity makes his death to have occurred at the age of seventy-seven years, and ascribes it to a Turanian, one Brāṯrōkrēsh.[3] Whether this occurred at the storming of Balkh or under other circumstances, will be discussed below. For the latest accessible material on the subject we may refer especially to West, *SBE.* xlvii. According to the Pahlavi selections of Zāṯ-sparam, Zoroaster passed away at the age of seventy-seven years and forty days in the 47th–48th year of the religion, or B.C. 583, of the Iranian chronology.[4] The month and the day are specifically named, as will be recorded below. The statement of his age being seventy-seven years is repeated elsewhere,[5] and the name of his murderer occurs a number of times as the following passages will show.

(a) The Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, **23.** 9 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 165) contain the following entry: 'In the forty-seventh year

[1] For the text, see Appendix V., § 27.

[2] See also Geldner, 'Zoroaster' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xxiv. 821, col. *a*.

[3] Cf. also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 71.

[4] See West's calculations given in Appendix III., p. 181, and consult the next paragraph.

[5] E.g. Masūdī, as given in Appendix II., p. 163.

(of the Religion) Zaratūsht passes away, who attains seventy-seven years and forty days, in the month Arṯavahishtō, on the day Khūr; and for eight rectified months, till the month Dadvō and day Khūr, he should be brought forward as to be reverenced.' The day of his death, according to tradition, is the day Khūr in the month Arṯavahishtō, on the eleventh day of the second month of the Zoroastrian year.[1]

(b) In Dīnkarṯ, 7. 5. 1 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 73) we read, 'About the marvellousness which is manifested from the acceptance of the Religion by Vishtāsp onwards till the departure (*vīxēžŏ*) of Zaratūsht, whose guardian spirit is reverenced, to the best existence, when seventy-seven years had elapsed onwards from his birth, forty-seven onwards from his conference, and thirty-five years onwards from the acceptance of the Religion by Vishtāsp.'

(c) Dīnkarṯ, 7. 6. 1 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 77) speaks, among other miracles, 'About the marvellousness which is manifested after the departure (*vīxēžŏ*) of Zaratūsht, whose guardian spirit is reverenced, to the best existence (i.e. Heaven), and manifested also in the lifetime of Vishtāsp.'

(d) Dāṯistān-ī Dīnīk, 72. 8 (West, *SBE.* xviii. 218) states that among the most heinous sinners, 'one was Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh, the Karap and heterodox wizard, by whom the best of men [i.e. Zaratūsht] was put to death.' If this be the same Karap that plotted against Zoroaster as a youth, it would imply an extraordinary longevity (p. 28, n. 4).

(e) Dīnkarṯ 5. 3. 2 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 126) mentions among the events in the history of the Religion, 'the killing of Zaratūsht himself by Brāṯrō-rēsh.' See also the note by Darab D. P. Sanjana in Geiger's *Eastern Iranians*, ii. p. 216. Compare likewise Dīnkarṯ translated by Peshotan Dastur Behramjee

[1] Or May 1, B.C. 583, if I reckon correctly. On the Zoroastrian months, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33–36, and Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, i. 149, 150; ii. 154. On the year, see West's calculations in *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, given below in Appendix III.

Sanjana, vol. vii. p. 485: 'Among wicked priests the most wicked was Tur-e-Baratrut (i.e. Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh) of evil nature and desirous of destroying Zarthusht's faith.'

(f) The Great Iranian Būndahishn in a passage cited and translated by Darmesteter (*Le ZA.* ii. 19, cf. also iii. Introd. lxxix.) describes the demon and wizard Malkōs, who shall appear at the end of a thousand years to bring distress upon the earth, as a manifestation of ruin springing 'from the race of Tūr-ī Brāṯrōk-rēsh who brought about Zaratūsht's death.'[1]

(g) The Persian prose treatise Sad-dar, **9.** 5 (West, *SBE.* xxiv. 267) includes among the list of sinners who are on a par with Ahriman, the same 'Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh who slew Zaratūsht.' The metrical Sad-dar repeats it also (Hyde, *Historia Religionis*, p. 441).

(h) The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht, **2.** 3 (West, *SBE.* v. 195) alludes to the same tradition, for when Zaratūsht in a vision asks immortality of God, Aūharmazd declines it, responding thus: 'When (i.e. if) I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratūsht the Spītāmān! then Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh the Karap will become immortal, and when Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh the Karap shall become immortal, the resurrection and future existence are not possible.'

The Pahlavi-Parsi tradition is therefore unanimous that Zoroaster perished by the hand of Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh or Brātrōk-rēsh, but it gives no specific details. Firdausī must be following an Iranian tradition in keeping with this when he assigns this event to the time of the Turanian invasion of Iran, and ascribes Zoroaster's death to the storming of Balkh and the destruction of the temple Nūsh-Ādar. Other Persian writers seem to accept the same tradition. The extracts are given.

(i) Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1559 graphically describes the final scene. I give a version of it, following Mohl iv. 363 and Vullers, *Fragmente*, 103: 'The army (of Turan) there-

[1] *Malkōs sēj-cīharī min tōxmak-ī Tūr-ī Brāṯrōk-rēš, ī ōš-ī Zaratūšt yahvūnt;* see Darmesteter.

upon entered Balkh, and the world became darkened with rapine and murder. They advanced toward the Temple of Fire (*ātaškadah*) and to the palace and glorious hall of gold. They burned the Zend-Avesta entire and they set fire to the edifice and palace alike. There (in the sanctuary) were eighty priests whose tongues ceased not to repeat the name of God; all these they slew in the very presence of the Fire and put an end to their life of devotion. By the blood of these was extinguished the Fire of Zardusht. Who slew this priest I do not know.'[1] The story is told over again, a few lines farther on, where the messenger bears to the absent Vishtāsp the awful news of the sacking of the city, the death of Lohrāsp, 'the king of kings,' and the slaying of the Sage or Master (*rad*), by which none other than Zardusht is meant. The lines run (cf. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1560, and Mohl, trad. iv. 364): 'They have slain Lohrāsp, the king of kings, before the city of Balkh; and our days are darkened and full of trouble. For (the Turks) have entered the temple Nūsh-Ādar and they have crushed the head of the Master (Zardusht) and of all the priests; and the brilliant Fire has been extinguished by their blood.'

(j) The prose chronicle Shāh Nāmah Nasr, which Hyde terms an abstract of Firdausī made by some Magian,[2] states similarly with reference to this event: 'They say that when Arjāsp's army invaded Iran, Lohrāsp left the place of divine worship as soon as he learned of this, and took to the field of battle. He killed a great many, but he himself was slain, together with eighty priests (who were in the temple at Balkh Bāmī). The fire was quenched by their blood; and among the number of the eighty priests was Zardusht the prophet, who also perished in this war.'[3]

(k) The later Persian work Dabistān (beginning of 17th

[1] See variant in Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1559, and the translation by Vullers, *Fragmente*, p. 103, and by Mohl, iv. 363.

[2] Hyde, *Historia Religionis Vet. Pers.* pp. 319–325 (1 ed.).

[3] After the Latin translation of Hyde, op. cit. p. 325.

century A.D.), claims that its statement is based upon ancient Iranian authority and gives a picturesque description of the manner in which the martyred Zoroaster avenged himself upon his slayer Turbaraturhash (i.e. Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh) by hurling his rosary at his murderer and destroying him. Or as the passage reads: 'It is recorded in the books composed by Zardusht's followers, and also in the ancient histories of Iran, that at the period of Arjāsp's second[1] invasion, King Gushtāsp was partaking of the hospitality of Zāl, in Seistān, and Isfendīār was a prisoner in Dazh Gumbadān; and that Lohrāsp, notwithstanding the religious austerities he performed through divine favor, laid aside the robes of mortality in battle, after which the Turks took the city. A Turk named Turbaratur, or Turbaraturhash,[2] having entered Zardusht's oratory, the prophet received martyrdom by his sword. Zardusht, however, having thrown at him the rosary (*Shumar Afin* or *Yād Afrāz*) which he held in his hand, there proceeded from it such an effulgent splendor that its fire fell on Turbaratur and consumed him.'[3]

(l) Two other late Persian passages imply that Zoroaster's end was violent. Both of these are noticed by Hyde, from whom they are adopted here.[4] The first is from the Persian historian Majdī (A.D. sixteenth century), who, after mentioning the dreadful invasion of Arjāsp and the death of the priests in the temple of Balkh, goes on to say: 'He quenched the fire of Zardusht with the blood of the Magi; and some one from Shīrāz then slew Zardusht himself.'[5]

(m) The second of these two passages is an allusion found in the Farhang-i Jahāngīrī, which apparently refers to the day of Zoroaster's death as well as to the day on which he first undertook his mission to Vishtāsp, for the dates resemble those

[1] Notice the word 'second' in connection with the preceding chapter.

[2] I.e. Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh.

[3] Dabistān tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 371–372.

[4] Hyde, *Historia Religionis Vet. Pers.* pp. 319, 325. On Majdī, cf. Ethé in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 332.

[5] Hyde, op. cit. p. 319; de Harlez, *Avesta tr.* p. xxv. note 7.

in Pahlavi sources as already described. The sentence reads: 'On the thirtieth day, Anīrān, he entered Irān (or Persia), and on the fifteenth day, Deybamihr, he departed in sorrow from Iran.' Hyde, p. 325, seems rightly to have interpreted the allusion thus, and he should be consulted in connection with pp. 40, 128, above.

Conclusion. — The accounts of Zoroaster's death by lightning or a flame from heaven, as found in Greek and Latin patristic literature, seem to be legendary. According to Iranian tradition his death was violent, and it occurred at the hand of a Turanian whose name is preserved to ill-renown. Whether his martyrdom took place in the temple when Balkh was stormed, as later Iranian writers all state, cannot positively be asserted, although such may have been the case.

CHAPTER XI

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AFTER ZOROASTER'S DEATH

THE LATER FORTUNE OF THE FAITH

'Still did the mighty flame burn on,
Through chance and change, through good and ill,
Like its own God's eternal will
Deep, constant, bright, unquenchable!'

— MOORE'S *Lalla Rookh.*

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS; THE COURSE OF EVENTS — THE FIRST TEN YEARS AFTER ZOROASTER'S DEATH — EVIDENCE OF FURTHER SPREAD OF THE RELIGION — DEATH OF THE FIRST APOSTLES — LATER DISCIPLES AND SUCCESSORS — PROPHECIES AND FUTURE EVENTS — SUMMARY

Introductory Statements; the Course of Events. — With the great Prophet dead, with the holy flame of the sacred shrine quenched in the blood of the martyred priests, we might have supposed for a moment that the Religion must perish too. Happily, as we have seen, this was destined not to be the case. Fate, circumstances, and merit issued other decrees. We have watched the spark of the altar flame kindling anew; the story of the glorious victories won in hallowed battles for Ormazd has been told; the banner of the Creed waves once more aloft. Little more remains to be chronicled beyond briefly tracing the course which events took in the years that followed Zoroaster's death. In other words, we are presently to enter the realm where actual history goes hand in hand with tradition.

Tradition according to the Bahman Yasht asserts that 'Arṯashīr the Kayān, whom they call Vohūman son of Spend-dāṯ,' and whom we know as Ardashīr Dirāzdast, or the 'long-handed,' is the one who 'made the Religion current in the

whole world.'[1] Actual history agrees with this in so far as it shows that Artaxerxes Longimanus, or the 'long-handed,' was an ardent Zoroastrian ruler.[2] From the pages of history, furthermore, we learn that by the time of the last Achaemenians, at least, Zoroastrianism is practically acknowledged to have become the national religion of Iran. History, alas, has also to chronicle in its memorial chapters the cruel blow which Alexander dealt to the whole Persian empire upon his triumphal march of world-conquest. Tradition again is in harmony in recording how the 'evil-destined' or 'accursed Iskander' brought ruin everywhere by his sword, and how he burned the sacred books of the Avesta, the archetype of the bible of Zoroaster, with the treasury of the ancient Persian kings. This last tragic event stands out as the darkest day in the history of Zoroastrianism until its final overthrow by Islam, when the Koran superseded the Avesta and Ormazd gave place to Allah.

But the two centuries or more between the death of Zoroaster and the coming of Alexander are filled by various religious events which the patristic literature of Sassanian times carefully records and which it is proper here to notice in connection with the history of Zoroaster's life. It certainly seems curious that we have no mention of Cyrus nor of the pious Mazda-worshipper Darius, unless we are to understand that the events of their reigns are merged in a general way into the achievements of Isfendīār. This is one of the problems which belong rather to the history of the Religion to discuss. For the years themselves that follow Zoroaster's death, the Pahlavi texts give enough general events or incidents to mark off the periods or epochs in a loose sort of way. The first few years at least are certainly worth recording on the lines of the tradition, and a glance should be taken at the

[1] Byt. 2. 17, West, *SBE.* v. 198–199.

[2] Yet see Justi's remark in *Iran. Namenbuch* p. 34, *Artaxšaθrā* 8.

chronological table in Appendix III., which gives some idea of the current of events.

The First Ten Years after Zoroaster's Death. — From tradition we know that King Vishtāspa outlived Zoroaster, and it is interesting to see from the assertions of tradition how the miraculous events which attended the Prophet's life do not cease with his death, but wonders and prodigies still continue to be witnessed during the reign of the patron king. The influence of the veil and glamour of the heavenly personage is not yet removed. The first decade after Zoroaster's death was certainly eventful for Vishtāsp, and we have a fanciful story told in Pahlavi of a wonder that came to pass and a sign that was manifested, which illustrates that the divine favor has descended upon the king and which symbolizes the progress of the Religion under the guise of a chariot in its onward course.

The Dīnkarṯ narrates how the soul of the old warrior Srītō, who had been dead several hundred years, appears again, visits the zealous monarch, and presents to him a wonderful chariot. The chariot instantly becomes twofold in form, the one being spiritual, the other material.[1] And, as the Dīnkarṯ passage continues, 'in the worldly chariot the exalted Kaī Vishtāsp travelled forth unto the village of the Nōṯars, in the joyfulness of good thoughts; and in the spiritual chariot the soul of Srītō of the Vīsraps travelled forth unto the best existence (i.e. returned again to heaven).'[2] This allegory of the chariot appears to smack somewhat of Buddhism and the Wheel of the Law; and we may also recall a classical tradition which implies Vishtāsp's acquaintance with the secret lore of the Brāhmans, and the legendary wisdom and prophetic vision which was ascribed to Vishtāspa down to mediæval times.[3]

Evidence of Further Spread of the Religion. — The Dīnkarṯ text declares that 'Vishtāsp the king, when he became relieved

[1] Dk. 7. 6. 1–11.

[2] Dk. 7. 6. 11, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80. Shall we compare ἅρμα in Appendix V., § 7?

[3] See Kuhn, *Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung*, in *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 217 seq.

from the war with Arjāsp, sent to the chief rulers about the acceptance of the religion, and the writings of the Mazda-worshipping religion, which are studded with all knowledge.' The text then goes on to affirm the rapid spread which the Faith saw by the end of the few years. The seed of the Religion was the blood of its martyrs slain. And so rapid does the progress seem to have been that the text claims as one of the marvels of history, the fact that at the end of fifty-seven years from the first revelation of the Religion, its advent is 'published in the seven regions' of the world, as was described in the lost Spend Nask of the Avesta.[1] All this is supposed to have occurred while Vishtāsp still lives. As a proof, moreover, of the general acceptance of the Creed, the same passage adduces the fact of 'the coming of some from other regions to Frashōshtar of the Hvōbas for enquiry about the religion.'[2] Two of the high priests who came on this holy quest from abroad are from the southeastern and the southwestern regions. Their names are given as Spiti and Erezrāspa — names which are found in the Avesta.[3] And, similarly, the Apostles went into many lands to preach the Gospel after the death of Christ.

Death of the First Apostles. — Frashaoshtra, Zoroaster's devoted friend, follower, and relative by marriage, lives for a number of years to exemplify the tenets and expound the doctrines of the Master who has 'passed away.' He himself is summoned, as the Zāṯ-sparam selections tell us,[4] some fifteen years after Zaratūsht, 'in the month Arṯavahishtō, in the sixty-third year of the Religion.'[5] His distinguished brother Jāmāsp, the wise Jāmāspa, grand vizir of the king, and successor of Zoroaster in the pontifical office of the realm, outlives Frashaoshtra but a year; or, as the selections of Zāṯ-sparam

[1] Dk. 7. 6. 12; cf. Dk. 8. 14. 10, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80; xxxvii. 33.

[2] Dk. 7. 6. 12. Recall also what has already been said in Chap. VII. about the promulgation of the Religion.

[3] Yt. 13. 121; Dk. 7. 6. 12. See West's note on Dk. 9. 21. 24, and Dk. 4. 22, in *SBE.* xxxvii. 218, 413.

[4] Zsp. 23. 10.

[5] B.C. 568, according to traditional chronology; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and below, Appendix III.

proceed to chronicle, 'in the sixty-fourth year of the Religion passed away Jāmāsp, the same as became the priest of priests after Zaratūsht.'[1] This sage was indeed a Mobed of Mobeds. Then in the seventy-third year he is followed by his son Hangāūrūsh, whose name appears also in the Avesta (Yt. **13.** 104).[2] Still another event is recorded in the eightieth year of the Faith; this is the death of the pious Asmōk-Khanvatō (Av. Asmō-hvanvat), as well as that of the wizard Akht, who is killed, and his name also appears in the Avesta as elsewhere.[3]

Later Disciples and Successors. — The same Pahlavi text from which the quotations have been made, furnishes also the names of 'six great upholders of the religion.'[4] These are Zoroaster's two daughters, 'Frēnŏ and Srītŏ, with Aharūbŏ-stōtō, son of Mēṯyōmah' — three names which appear in the Avesta and which have been given in Chapter II. Next is mentioned Vohūnēm (Av. Vohu-nemah, Yt. **13.** 104), whose birth occurred in the fortieth year of the Religion, or seven years before Zoroaster's death. But most important is Sēnō of Būst, in the land of Sagastān,[5] who is said to have flourished for a hundred years and to have left behind him, as the sixth prop and support of the Religion, a hundred pupils whose teaching fills the century until the coming of Alexander brought ruin and desolation upon the Faith.[6]

The Greeks likewise recognize a long line of apostles and dis-

[1] B.C. 567. See Appendix III. below.

[2] Compare Phl. Zsp. **23.** 10 with Yt. **13.** 104.

[3] Phl. Zsp. **23.** 10; Av. Yt. **13.** 96; **1.** 30 = **22.** 37; **5.** 82; cf. Yōsht-ī Fryānō **1.** 2, and West's note in *SBE.* xlvii, 166.

[4] Zsp. **23.** 11.

[5] Būst is described by the pseudo-Ibn-Ḥauḳal as being on the river Hērmend (Hilmend) between Ghōr and the lake (see Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 206). This information is from West in his letter translating for me the 'Wonders of Sagastān.'

[6] B.C. 331; see Appendix III. On the teacher Sēnō (Av. Saēna), cf. Yt. **13.** 97; Zsp. **23.** 11; Dk. **7.** 7. 6; and consult West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 118, § 99, Peshotan Dastur Behramjee Sanjana, Dīnkarṯ, vol. v. p. 308 (reading *Sēnō* for *Dāyūn;* cf. Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 530); especially also Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *The Antiquity of the Avesta*, p. 12 in *Bombay Branch, JRAS.* art. xvii. June, 1896.

ciples, or Magian priests, descending from Zoroaster. Diogenes Laertius (A.D. second and third century) *de Vit. Philos.* Proœm 2, seems to base his statement on the older authority of Hermodorus (B.C. 250) when he states that 'after Zoroaster there were many different Magians in unbroken succession, such as Ostanes, Astrampsychus, Gobryas, Pazates, until the overthrow of the Persians by Alexander.'[1] The Latin writer Pliny employs the name of a Magian, Apuscorus, and he designates as Osthanes the Magian priest who accompanied Xerxes on his great Hellenic expedition and introduced the Magic Art into Greece.[2] And so the chain runs on, link after link in unending sequence; and in spite of the changes and chances of transitory fortune, the line of apostolic succession remains unbroken to the present, down to its representatives to-day in the priesthood that cherishes the sacred flame in the fire-temple of Bombay!

Prophecies and Future Events. — As several times alluded to already, the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht describes an apocalyptic vision in which Zoroaster is supposed to have beheld, unfolded before him, the whole future history of the Religion. The four or seven branches of the tree which rises before his eyes, symbolize emblematically the gold, silver, steel, and iron, or other eras, of the Faith down to the final Millennium, all of which is foretokened. These prophecies are not ancient, however, but they date rather from the times that came after the Mohammedan Conquest, when Zoroastrianism sank before the rising power of Islam. Nevertheless, they sweep in rapid glance the whole history of the Religion and they summarize

[1] This subject has already been alluded to in Chap. I., and the text of the passage is given in Appendix V. and in Appendix II. The plurals indicate type or class. In connection with Astrampsychus, moreover, we may recall the later dream-book which bears his name, *Astrampsychi Oneirocriticon, sive Somniorum Interpretatio*, recogn. Scaliger, Paris, 1599.

[2] Cf. Appendix V., and also Kleuker, *Zend-Av. Anhang*, ii. Thl. 3, p. 91; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 285, n. 2, 286. Furthermore, on a mention of Osthanes, Hostanes, in Minucius Felix, compare Kleuker, tom. cit. p. 119.

the great eras which the Founder himself in his wise judgment and prophetic insight might in a general way have forecast as the history of nations and of faiths, even though he did not express it.

Summary. — Zoroastrianism does not die with its founder. National events have changed the course of its history, but it lives on. The occurrences of the years that intervened between the death of the Prophet and the coming of Alexander, so far as they are chronicled by tradition, are worth recording as the result, in a way, of Zoroaster's life, and they are interesting from the standpoint of comparison between tradition and actual history.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

'Read the conclusion, then.'
— SHAKSPERE, *Pericles*, 1. 1. 56.

AND now the story of the life and legend of the Prophet of ancient Iran — the sage who was born to leave his mark upon the world, who entered upon his ministry at the age of thirty, and who died by violence at the age of seventy-seven — is at an end. Hurriedly we may scan once more the pages of his career. Born in the fulness of time, he appears as a prophet in the latter half of the seventh century before the Christian era, and the period of his activity falls between the closing years of Median rule and the rising wave of Persian power. He himself stands as the oldest type and representative of what we may call, in the language of the Bible, the laws of the Medes and Persians. His teaching had already taken deep root in the soil of Iran when the Jews were carried up into captivity in Babylon and had learned of that law which altereth not, or before a Daniel came to interpret the ominous handwriting on the wall which the soothsayers failed to read. Zoroaster is the contemporary of Thales, of Solon, or of the Seven Sages of classical antiquity. He is the forerunner of Confucius, the philosopher who was to arise to expound to China the tenets of her people's faith. By him is sounded in Iran the trumpet-call that afterwards echoes with a varied note in India when the gentle Buddha comes forth to preach to thirsting souls the doctrine of redemption through renunciation. Zoroaster, finally, is the father, the holy prototype, of those

Wise Men from the East who came and bowed before the new-born Light of the World in the manger-cradle at Bethlehem.

Zoroaster was a Magian; the Magi, as Herodotus tells us, were a Median tribe. Although he was born in Atropatene in the west, it is not impossible that much of his prophetic career was spent in the east, in Bactria or in that region of country. We certainly have evidence that the seeds of his teaching found fruitful soil in eastern Iran. Crusading achieved the rest. The story of the Holy Wars between Iran and Turan, the storming of Balkh, the final victories in the great battles of Khorassān or Bactria, have all been told. The spread of the Creed continues. Media itself doubtless generally accepted the reform of the Prophet. The Median name Fravartish has been interpreted by Justi to mean 'Confessor' (i.e. of the Zoroastrian Faith), and has been instanced as a proof of its acceptance, although this appellation seems rather to be an old Magian name, agreeing with the concept *fravaši*, which apparently existed before the Zoroastrian reform. The Magians themselves were known long prior to the time of Zoroaster, as Albīrūnī (p. 314) expressly states; but, as he adds, in the course of time there remains 'no pure, unmixed portion of them who do not practise the religion of Zoroaster.' This tends to prove how universally the doctrines had found acceptance. The question as to the time when and the manner in which the Faith entered Persia Proper is reserved for discussion elsewhere.

As to the general deductions which have been drawn, we may say that time will doubtless prove or disprove the accuracy or inaccuracy of many of the statements upon which they are based. Some of these may be shown to rest upon a foundation of fact rather than fiction, especially if we may judge from the tendency of recent years in finding confirmation for tradition. Some, however, may be proved to be purely fanciful. We can but gain by the truth in either case. The historic import of

some, moreover, may be shown to be not without interest. In the light of such, perhaps, the current views with regard to the relationship between Zoroastrianism and Judaism may take on a new aspect, particularly if we emphasize the fact that Zoroaster arose in the west, in Atropatene and Media, about the time of the early Prophetic Period of Israel. From the Bible we know that captive Jews were early carried up from Samaria into certain cities of the Medes. From the Avesta, on the other hand, we know that Zoroaster had rung out a trumpet note and clarion cry of reform, of prophecy, and of Messianic promise, before the days of Babylonian Exile.

From our knowledge, too, of contemporaneous history we recall in the current of events that the reputed empire of Bactria, if it existed, had yielded the prestige to Media; and that the sovereignty of Media was swept away before the glorious power of Persia. In Persia, Greece recognized a culmination of the glory of Iran. Though the Greek vanquishes the Persian in battle, he still has stories to tell of Magian wisdom and of Eastern philosophy. Plato, Pythagoras, and other great thinkers are claimed to have emulated the teachings of the Magi; and later Moslem or Zoroastrian tradition asserts that the ancient sacred writings of Iran, the quintessence of all knowledge, were translated into Greek.

And as for imperial times, the Persian wars brought Rome into contact with Zoroastrians, as they had brought the Greeks. A phase of Zoroastrianism known as Mithraism penetrated into Rome and into Western Europe. The rise of the Neo-Platonic school was certainly not without influence from Zoroastrianism, nor without influence upon later Zoroastrianism. The tenets of Zoroastrian Manichæism even disturbed Christian thought for a time. In all such cases the relations doubtless are more or less reciprocal. Even the pages of the Koran and the doctrines of Mohammed are not free from the influence of the Faith which they vanquished by the sword. The spark of the sacred fire has never been quenched; the holy flame continues to

blaze; and the Religion of Zoroaster still lives on. Yes, and whatever may be the changing fates, it will live on, so long as there are successors worthy to bear the name of the Master, as are the Parsis to-day, those faithful followers of the Creed of the Prophet of Ancient Iran.

Khujastah paī va nām-i ū Zaradušt.

—FIRDAUSĪ, *Shāh Nāmah.*

APPENDIXES

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APPENDIX I

SUGGESTED EXPLANATIONS OF ZOROASTER'S NAME

THE number of etymologies or explanations for Zoroaster's name (cf. p. 14) is almost legion. In Greek classical antiquity, Deinon offered an interpretation or paraphrase, as he defined the Prophet's name as 'Star-worshipper' (ἀστροθύτης); see citation in Diogenes Laertius, *Proœm*, **1.** 6: Δείνων . . . ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι. The Scholiast of the Platonic *Alcibiades* I. p. 122, evidently accepts this derivation when he says: Ζωροάστρης . . . οὗ δὲ εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν μεταφραζόμενον τοὔνομα τὸν ἀστροθύτην δηλοῖ. See Appendix V. below. In this explanation the first part of the name (Ζωρ-) seems to be associated in some way with the later Persian *zōr* = Av. *zaoθrā-*, 'libation'; the latter portion of the name is Græcized as ἀστήρ; cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 275, and see also Pott, *ZDMG.* xiii. 425–428.

Somewhat similar appears to be the attempt of the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions to interpret as ζῶσα ῥοὴ ἀστέρος, or as *vivum sidus*, as given below in Appendix V., *Clem. Homil.* **9.** 3–6: διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν = *Recognitiones*, **4.** 27–29: *quasi vivum astrum. . . . Hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoroaster, hoc est vivum sidus.* See Appendix V., § 12, and cf. Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. 34.

The next explanations, if we follow chronological sequence, are to be found in the Syro-Arabic Lexica of Bar 'Alī (c. A.D. 832) and of Bar Bahlūl (c. A.D. 936) as 'golden kingdom' or 'royal gold,' *zar*, 'gold' + *wašt*, 'kingship'; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 27–28.

Lapse of time has not caused conjectures to cease, and etymologies have still continued to be offered. Hovelacque (*L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme*, p. 135 seq., Paris, 1880) enumerates various suggestions that have been made, including the Clementine *vivum sidus* given above and recorded by Barnabé Brisson, *De Regio Persarum*

Principatu, p. 387, Argentorati, 1710 (orig. ed. Paris, 1590); or another interpretation as 'friend of fire' proposed by Henry Lord, *Religion of the Parsees*, p. 152, London, 1630 = p. 332 a, Churchill ed. London, 1732; cf. likewise d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, art. 'Zoroastre'; or, again (as stated on Parsi authority), a proposed significance, 'bathed in gold,' 'melted silver,' *Zaer-sios*, *Zaersioest*, found in C. Le Bruyn, *Voyages en Perse et aux Indes orientales*, ii. p. 388. Most of these attempts are futile, as they were made without an acquaintance with the actual Avestan form *Zaraθuštra*.

The discussion by Anquetil du Perron (*Zend-Avesta*, i. Part 2, p. 2 seq., Paris, 1771) is of interest because he knew Avestan, but his conjecture '*Taschter* (astre) *d'or*'—connecting the name with Tishtrya—had little to recommend it. Eugène Burnouf was the first who rightly saw *uštra*, 'camel,' in the name and he explained *Zaraθ-uštra* as 'fulvos camelos habens' (*Comm. sur le Yaçna*, pp. 12–14, Paris, 1833); but he afterwards gave '*astre d'or*' (*Notes*, p. 166), see Brockhaus, *Vendidad Sade*, p. 361, Leipzig, 1850, and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 46–47, or earlier in *Jen. Litt. Zt.*, 1834, nr. 138, pp. 138–139. In the year 1855, Sir Henry Rawlinson made a guess that the name might be Semitic, i.e. *Zara-thuštra* = *Ziru-ištar* 'seed of Ishtar, descendant of Venus,' *JRAS.*, *Gt. Brit. and Ireland*, xv. 227, 246 (cf. George Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 455). On the contrary Haug, *Die fünf Gāthās*, ii. p. 246, *Abh. f. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, Leipzig, 1860, suggested 'trefflicher Lobsänger' (cf. Skt. *jarat* 'praising' + *uttara* 'superior') but he afterwards abandoned such a view. It was criticised also by Weber, *Lit. C. Bl.*, nr. 28, p. 457 (1861), nr. 27, p. 647 (1863) = *Ind. Streif.* pp. 449, 466 (1869). Also discussed by Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, p. 426 seq. (1892–4). Another scholar (Lassen, I believe, if we may judge from Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 46–47; Pott, *ZDMG.* xiii. 426 seq.) offered 'gold-smith' (cf. Skt. *hari* + *tvaṣṭar*). Jules Oppert made Zoroaster 'splendeur d'or' in his *L'Honover, le Verbe Créateur de Zoroastre*, p. 4, *Extrait des Ann. de Philos. Chrétienne*, Jan., 1862.

In the same year as Oppert (1862), Fr. Müller summarized a number of views that were current at the time and he explained *zaraθ-uštra* as 'muthige Kamele besitzend' (*Zendstudien*, i. 635–639, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie*, Dez., 1862, Wien, 1862 = transl. by Darab Peshotan Sanjana *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 172 seq.). [But cf. *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1863, p. 614; and later Müller offers the bizarre interpretation as *zāθra-ušta* 'von der Geburt an Glück habend'

(*WZKM.* vi. 264, Wien, 1892).] Spiegel proposed 'Kamele peinigend' (*Sitzb. kgl. bayer. Akad. phil. cl.* p. 10, Jan. 5, 1867). In 1871, the Spanish scholar Ayuso accepted the more or less familiar identification of part of the name with 'star,' as shown by his 'estrella de oro' (*El Estudio de la Filología*, p. 180, Madrid, 1871); and he repeats the same view in his *Los Pueblos iranios y Zoroastro*, p. 7, Madrid, 1874.

Returning to France, it may next be noted that J. Darmesteter (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 194, n., Paris, 1877) first proposed **zarat-vat-tra*, comparative degree of an adj. signifying 'rouge, couleur d'or'; but he later suggests 'aux chameaux jaunes' *zaraθu-uštra*, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 76, n., Paris, 1893; but on this see Bartholomae, *IF.* vi. Anz. p. 47. Ascoli once offered **zarat-vāstra* 'der bebauung des feldes zugewogen, zugethan' *Beiträge z. vgl. Spr.* v. 211, 1868. More recently Casartelli hinted at 'ploughing with camels' (cf. Skt. *hala-* 'plough'), *Academy*, vol. 31, p. 257, April 9, 1887. Other suggestions have been made such as Paulus Cassel, explaining as Hebraic 'Sternensohn' (*Zoroaster, sein Name und seine Zeit*, Berlin, 1886, cited from *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 40, n.). Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, p. 147, Leipzig, 1890. Kern's 'Goldglanz' (*Zara-thuštra*) and Brodbeck's 'Gold-stern' (evidently after Anquetil's etymology, cf. Brodbeck, *Zoroaster*, p. 30, Leipzig, 1893) are noted by Rindtorff, *Die Religion des Zarathuštra*, p. 13 (Weimar, 1897). E. Wilhelm has also incidentally dealt with the subject of Zoroaster's name in connection with the form Ζαθραύστης, which is found in Ctesias, in *Le Muséon*, x. 569–571, Louvain, 1891.

APPENDIX II

ON THE DATE OF ZOROASTER[1]

Presented to the American Oriental Society April 18th, 1895.

[Reprinted from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XVII., pp. 1–22, 1896. A few slight additions which have been made are indicated by enclosing them in square brackets. Some trivial changes made for the sake of uniformity, and several unimportant corrections require no notice.]

GREAT men are the children of their age. Heirs to the heritage of the past, they are charged with the stewardship of the possessions to be handed down to the future. Summing up within themselves the influences of the times that call them forth, stamped with the impress of their day, their spirit in turn shows its reflex upon the age that gives them birth. We read them in their age; we read their age in them. So it is of the prophets and sages, religious teachers and interpreters, which have been since the world began. The teaching of a prophet is the voice of the age in which he lives; his preaching is the echo of the heart of the people of his day. The era of a prophet is therefore not without its historic siguificance; it is an event that marks an epoch in the life of mankind. The age of most of the great religious teachers of antiquity is comparatively well known; but wide diversity prevails with regard to the date at which Iran's ancient prophet Zoroaster lived and taught; yet his appearance must have had its national significance in the land between the Indus and the Tigris; and the great religious movement which he set on foot must have wrought changes and helped to shape the course of events in the early history of Iran. The treatment of this question forms the subject of the present paper.[2]

[1] This paper forms a companion-piece to the present writer's discussion of 'Zoroaster's Native Place' in *JAOS.* xv. 221–232.

[2] [Since the appearance of the monograph on the 'Date of Zoroaster,' which is here reprinted, the general subject of Zoroastrian chronology has been ably treated by E. W. West (*SBE.* xlvii. Introd. p. xxvii. seq.). Dr. West's researches confirm the results here obtained; and he is in a position to define the date of Zoroaster still more precisely, at least on the basis of tradition, as B.C. 660–583. His entire discussion should be read. An extract from his chronological table is given in Appendix III.]

The Avesta itself gives us no direct information in answer to the inquiry as to the date of Zoroaster. It presents, indeed, a picture of the life and times; we read accounts of King Vishtāspa, the Constantine of the Faith; but the fragments that remain of the sacred texts present no absolutely clear allusions to contemporary events that might decisively fix the era. The existing diversity of opinion with reference to Zoroaster's date is largely due to this fact and to certain incongruities in other ancient statements on the subject. The allusions of antiquity to this subject may conveniently be divided into three groups:[3]—

[3] [The results of earlier investigators of the subject, Brisson, Stanley, Hyde, Buddeus, Prideaux, and others, as mentioned by Anquetil du Perron, are practically included in his examination of the problem of Zoroaster's date. Anquetil's treatise, together with Foucher's previous inquiries into the subject, are accessible in Kleuker, *Anhang zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1, pp. 325–374, and Thl. 2, pp. 55–81. They are of interest to the specialist. Cf. also Spiegel, *Avesta Uebersetzt*, i. 43, n. The later bibliography of the subject is given below in the course of the investigation.]

I. First, those references that assign to Zoroaster [= orig. p. 2] the extravagant date B.C. 6000.

II. Second, such allusions as connect his name with the more or less legendary Ninus and the uncertain Semiramis.

III. Third, the traditional date, placing the era of Zoroaster's teaching at some time during the sixth century B.C.

All the material will first be presented under the headings A. I., A. II., and A. III.; then a detailed discussion of the data, pages 16–19 = pp. 170–174, under the heading B; and, finally, a summary of results, under the heading C, pages 19–22 = pp. 174–177.

SYNOPSIS OF DIVISION A.

A. I. Classical passages placing Zoroaster at 6000 B.C.

- **a.** Pliny the Elder.
- **b.** Plutarch.
- **c.** Scholion to Plato.
- **d.** Diogenes Laertius.
- **e.** Lactantius.
- **f.** Suidas.
- **g.** Georgius Syncellus.

A. II. Passages associating Zoroaster's name with Semiramis and Ninus.

a. Ctesias.
b. Cephalion (Moses of Khorene, Georgius Syncellus).
c. Theon.
d. Justin.
e. Arnobius.
f. Eusebius.
g. Orosius.
h. Suidas.
i. Snorra Edda.
j. Bar 'Alī.

A. III. The native tradition as to Zoroaster's date.

a. Arṯā Vīrāf.
b. Būndahishn.
c. Albīrūnī.
d. Masūdī.
e. Ṭabarī.
f. The Dabistān.
g. Firdausī.
h. The Mujmal al-Tawārīkh and the Ulamā-ī Islām.
i. The Chinese-Parsi era.
j. Reports connecting Zoroaster and Jeremiah.
k. Pahlavi Perso-Arabic allusions to Nebuchadnezzar.
l. Ammianus Marcellinus and Eutychius.
m. Nicolaus Damascenus, Porphyry, etc.

A. Data for the Age of Zoroaster.

A. I. Allusions placing Zoroaster at 6000 B.C.

The allusions of the first group comprehend those classical references that assign to Zoroaster the fabulous age of B.C. 6000 or thereabouts.[1] These references are confined chiefly to the classics, and their chief claim to any consideration is that they [= orig. p. 3] purport to be based upon information handed down from Eudoxus, Aristotle, and Hermippus. Such extraordinary figures, however, are presumably due to the Greeks' having misunderstood the statements of the Persians, who place Zoroaster's millennium amid a great world-period of 12,000 years, which they divided into cycles of 3000 years,[2] and in accordance with which belief Zoroaster's *fravashi* had in fact existed several thousands of years. The classical material on the subject is here presented.

[1] So the general classical statements of '5000 years before the Trojan war,' or the like, although some variant readings 500 (for 5000) are found. The number 5000 (6000) is, however, the correct one.

[2] According to the chronology of the Būndahishn 34. 7, Zoroaster appeared at the end of the ninth millennium: compare, West, *Bundahish transl. SBE.* v. 149–151 notes; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 500–508; Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, 147–165; also Plutarch *Is. et Os.* 47, *Θεόπομπος δέ φησι κατὰ τοὺς μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν, τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τόν ἕτερον· τέλος δ' ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἅιδην.*

(a) Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79), *N. H.* 30. 2. 1 [Wn. 279, 288], cites the authority of Eudoxus of Cnidus (B.C. 368), of Aristotle (B.C. 350), and of Hermippus (c. B.C. 250), for placing Zoroaster 6000 years before the death of Plato or 5000 years before the Trojan war: *Eudoxus, qui inter sapientiae sectas clarissimam utilissimamque eam (artem magicam) intellegi voluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex milibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit; sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit et viciens centum milia versuum a Zoroastre condita indicibus quoque voluminum eius positis explanavit, praeceptorem, a quo institutum diceret, credidit Agonacen, ipsum vero quinque milibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse.* For that reason apparently (*N. H.* 30. 2. 11) he speaks of Moses as living *multis milibus annorum post Zoroastrem.* But Pliny also expresses uncertainty as to whether there was one or two Zoroasters, and he mentions a later Proconnesian Zoroaster: *N. H.* 30. 2. 1 *sine dubio illic (ars Magica) orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat;* and after speaking of Osthanes, the Magian who accompanied Xerxes to Greece, he adds: (*N. H.* 30. 2. 8.) *diligentiores paulo ante hunc (Osthanem) ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.* Pliny's Proconnesian Zoroaster must have flourished about the seventh or sixth century. [See Appendix V. § 5, below.]

(b) Plutarch (A.D. 1st century), adopts likewise the same general statement that places the prophet Zoroaster about 5000 years before the Trojan war: *Is. et Os.* 46 (ed. Parthey, p. 81), *Ζωρόαστρις (sic) ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν.* [See Appendix V. § 6, below.]

(c) The Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades* I. 122 (ed. Baiter, Orelli et Winckelmann, p. 918), makes a statement, in substance tantamount to the last one, as follows: *Ζωροάστρης ἀρχαιότερος ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν εἶναι λέγεται Πλάτωνος.* [See Appendix V. § 1.]

[= orig. p. 4] (d) Diogenes Laertius (A.D. 2d, 3d century), *de Vit. Philos.* Procem. 2 (recens. Cobet, Paris, 1850, p. 1), similarly quotes Hermodorus (B.C. 250?), the follower of Plato, as authority for placing Zoroaster's date at 5000 years before the fall of Troy, or, as he adds on the authority of Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500–450), Zoroaster lived 6000 years (some MSS. 600) before Xerxes. The text runs: *ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶν εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια· Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλιά φησι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως.* [See Appendix V. § 15.]

(e) Lactantius, *Inst.* 7. 15, must have entertained some similar opinion regarding Zoroaster; for he speaks of Hystaspes (famous as Zoroaster's patron) as being an ancient king of Media long before the founding of Rome: *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus . . . sublatum iri ex orbe imperium nomenque Romanum multo ante praefatus est, quam illa Troiana gens conderetur* (cf. Migne, *Patrolog.* tom. 6 and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 259, 293).

(f) Suidas (10th century A.D.), s. v. *Ζωροάστρης*, speaks of two Zoroasters, of whom one lived 500 (read 5000) years before the Trojan war, while the other was an astronomer of the time of Ninus — *ἐγένετο δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσιν φ'.*

(g) Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia*, i. p. 147, ed. Dindorf, alludes to a Zoroaster as one of the Median rulers over Babylon. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 302, and Haug, *A Lecture on Zoroaster*, p. 23, Bombay, 1865. On Syncellus' citation of Cephalion, see next page.

A. II. Allusions associating Zoroaster's Name with Semiramis and Ninus.

Second to be considered is a series of statements which connect the name of Zoroaster with that of the more or less uncertain Ninus and Semiramis.[1] These references also are confined almost exclusively to the classics, and the difficulty with them is that, in addition to their general character, which bears a legendary coloring, they are based apparently upon a misinterpretation of the name

Ὀξυάρτης or its variants in a fragment of Ctesias (discussed below), which has been understood as an allusion to Zoroaster.

[1] The date of Semiramis, however, is regarded by Lehmann (*Berliner Philolog. Wochenblatt*, Nr. 8, col. 239–240, 17 Febr. 1894, comparing Hdt. 1. 184) to be about B.C. 800.

(a) The authority of Ctesias (B.C. 400) is quoted by Diodorus Siculus (A.D. 1st century) 2. 6, for the statement that Ninus with a large army invaded Bactria and by the aid of Semiramis gained a victory over King Oxyartes. See Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias, ed. Gilmore, p. 29. Instead of the name Ὀξυάρτης, the manuscript variants show Ἐχαόρτης, Χαόρτης, Ζαόρτης. The last somewhat recalls the later Persian form of the name Zoroaster; and Cephalion, Justin, Eusebius, and Arnobius, drawing on Ctesias, make Zoroaster a Bactrian or the opponent [= orig. p. 5] of Ninus (see below); but Ὀξυάρτης may very well be an independent name, identical as far as form goes with Av. *uxšyaṯ-ərəta*, Yt. 13. 128, and it is doubtless the better Greek reading. The other statements are here given as they similarly come into consideration with respect to Zoroaster's native place. They are: —

(b) Fragments of Cephalion (A.D. 120), preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius, *Chron.* 1. 43, ed. Aucher: a passage describes the defeat of Zoroaster the Magian, king of the Bactrians, by Semiramis: "*Incipio scribere de quibus et alii commemorarunt atque imprimis Hellanicus Lesbius Ctesiasque Cnidius, deinde Herodotus Halicarnassus.*[1] *Primum Asiae imperarunt Assyrii, ex quibus erat Ninus Beli (filius), cuius regni aetate res quam plurimae celeberrimaeque virtutes gestae fuerunt.*" *Postea his adiciens profert etiam generationes Semiramidis atque (narrat) de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis certamine ac debellatione a Semiramide: nec non tempus Nini LII annos fuisse, atque de obitu eius. Post quem quum regnasset Semiramis, muro Babylonem circumdedit ad eandem formam, qua a plerisque dictum est: Ctesia nimirum et Zenone Herodotoque nec non aliis ipsorum posteris. Deinde etiam apparatum belli Semiramidis adversus Indos eiusdemque cladem et fugam narrat, etc.* This statement is recorded by Georgius Syncellus (c. A.D. 800), *Chron.*, ed. Dind. i. p. 315: "Ἄρχομαι γράφειν, ἀφ' ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἐμνημόνευσαν, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Κτησίης ὁ Κνίδιος, ἔπειτα Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεύς· τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου Νίνος." εἶτ' ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγου (MSS.

βάτου) ἔτει νβ' τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας. μεθ' ὃν Βαβυλῶνα, φησὶν, ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐτείχισε, τρόπον ὡς πολλοῖς λέλεκται, Κτησίᾳ, Ζήνωνι (Müller, Δείνωνι), Ἡροδότῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτούς· στρατείην τε αὐτῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἧτταν κ. τ. λ. Cf. also Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 303, Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* i. 676–677; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627. Furthermore, on the reputed work of the Armenian Moses of Khorene, i. 16, see Gilmore, *Ktesias Persika*, p. 30, n.; Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* i. 682; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 304–305; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627, v. 328; Langlois, *Historiens de l'Arménie*, ii. 45–175, Paris, 1867–1869. [The Armenian Thomas Arzrounī associates Zoroaster's name with Semiramis. See Appendix VI.]

[1] This mention of Herodotus might possibly be adduced as an argument that Herodotus was at least acquainted with the name of Zoroaster.

(c) Again, Theon (A.D. 130 ?), *Progymnasmata* 9, περὶ συγκρίσεως, ed. Spengel, *Rhet. Græc.* ii. p. 115, speaks of "Zoroaster the Bactrian" in connection with Semiramis: Οὐ γὰρ εἰ Τόμυρις κρείττων ἐστὶ Κύρου ἢ καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία Σεμίραμις Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου, ἤδη συγχωρητέον καὶ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος ἀνδρειότερον εἶναι. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 290, Spiegel *Eran. Alterthumsk.* i. 677. [See Appendix V. § 8.]

[= orig. p. 6] (d) Justin (A.D. 120), in his epitome of Trogus Pompeius' *Hist. Philippic.* 1. 1, distinctly makes Zoroaster the opponent of Ninus, and says that he was king of Bactria and a Magician: *postremum bellum illi fuit cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse.* [See Appendix V. § 10.]

(e) Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentes*, 1. 5, in like manner mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster: *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus.* See Gilmore, *Ktesias*, p. 36. [See Appendix V. § 16.]

(f) Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* 4. 35, ed. Aucher, has a like allusion: *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur adversum quem Ninus dimicavit;* and again (Windischmann, p. 290), *Praeparatio Evang.* 10. 9, 10, ed. Dind. I. p. 560, Νίνος, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. [See Appendix V. § 18.]

(g) Paulus Orosius (5th century A.D.), the Spanish presbyter, of whose chronicle we have also King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version, states that Ninus conquered and slew Zoroaster of Bactria, the

Magician. See Orosius, *Old-English Text and Latin Original*, ed. by Henry Sweet (Early Eng. Text Soc. vol. 79), p. 30–31: *Novissime Zoroastrem Bactrianorum regem, eundemque magicae artis repertorem, pugna oppressum interfecit.* Or, in Anglo-Saxon, *and hē Ninus Soroastrem Bactriana cyning, se cūthe ǣrest manna drȳcræftas, hē hine oferwann and ofslōh.*

(h) Suidas in his Lexicon (s. v. *Zoroaster*) assumes the existence of two Zoroasters (cf. p. 4 = p. 154), the second an astrologer: *'Αστρονόμος ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως 'Ασσυρίων.* [Appendix V. § 45.]

(i) In the Snorra Edda Preface, Zoroaster is identified with Baal or Bel, cf. Jackson in *PAOS.*, March, 1894, vol. xvi. p. cxxvi. [See Appendix VI.]

(j) In some Syriac writers and elsewhere an identification of Zoroaster with Balaam is recorded, for example in the Lexicon of Bar ʿAlī (c. A.D. 832), s. v. *Balaam*, 'Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians.' See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Lit.* pp. 27, 30 n., 32 (Drisler Classical Studies, N. Y., 1894). Sometimes he is only compared with Balaam. [An association of his name with Ham, Seth, and Abraham, is also found.]

A. III. The Native Tradition as to Zoroaster's Date.

Third, the direct Persian tradition comes finally into consideration. This tradition is found in the chronological chapter of the Būndahishn, 34. 1–9, is supported by the Arṯā Vīrāf, 1. 2–5 [and Zāṯ-sparam, 23. 12], and is corroborated by abundant Arabic allusions (Albīrūnī, Masūdī, *et al.*). It unanimously places the opening of Zoroaster's ministry at 258 years before the era of Alexander, or 272 years before the close of the world-conqueror's dominion. According to these figures, the date of Zoroaster would fall between the latter half of the seventh century B.C. and the middle of the sixth century; his appearance in fact would be placed
in the period just preceding the rise of the Achae- [= orig. p. 7]
menian dynasty. This merits attention also in detail.

(a) The Arṯā Vīrāf 1. 1–5 in round numbers places Zoroaster three hundred years before Alexander's invasion. Compare Haug and West, *Arda Viraf*, p. 141. 'The pious Zaratusht made the religion which he had received, current in the world, and till the end of 300 years the religion was in purity and men were without doubts. But afterwards the accursed Evil Spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, instigated the accursed Alexan-

der, the Rūman, who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; he also slew the ruler of Iran, and destroyed the metropolis and empire.' [The Zāṯ-sparam 23. 12 likewise alludes to the fact that the religion remained undisturbed 'until the 300th year'].

(**b**) The Būndahishn chapter (ch. 34) 'on the reckoning of the years' (to which one MS. adds — 'of the Arabs') more exactly computes the various millenniums that made up the 12,000 years of the great world-cycle recognized by the worshippers of Mazda. In this period the era of Zoroaster falls at the close of the first 9000 years. He is placed in reality at the beginning of the historic period, if the long reigns attributed to Kaī-Vishtāsp and to Vohūman son of Spend-dāṯ (Av. Spentō-dāta, N. P. Isfendīār), may with reasonably fair justice be explained as that of a ruling house. There seems at least no distinct ground against such assumption. [West also explains the fabulous length of 120 years for Vishtāsp's reign, or B.C. 660–540, as representing a short dynasty — *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 70]. The Būndahishn passage, 34. 7–8, in West's translation (*SBE.* v. 150–151) reads, (7) 'Kaī-Vishtāsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years, altogether a hundred and twenty years. (8) Vohūman, *son* of Spend-dāṯ, a hundred and twelve years; Hūmāī, who *was* daughter of Vohūman, thirty years; Dārāī, son of Cīhar-āzād, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohūman, twelve years; Dārāī, son of Dārāī, fourteen years; Alexander the Rūman, fourteen years.'

Vishtāsp, after coming of religion	90
Vohūman Spend-dāṯ	112
Hūmāī	30
Dārāī-ī Cīhar-āzāṯ	12
Dārāī-ī Dārāī	14
Alexander Rūman	14
	272

The result therefore gives 272 years from 'the coming of the religion' until the close of the dominion of Alexander the Great, or 258 years before the beginning of his power. A repeated tradition exists that Zoroaster was forty-two years old when he first converted King Vishtāspa, who became his patron. If we interpret 'the coming of the religion' to mean its acceptance by Vishtāspa, we must add 42 years to the number 258 before Alexander in order to obtain the traditional date of Zoroaster's birth. This would answer

to the 'three hundred years before Alexander' of the Arṯā Vīrāf. If, however, we take the phrase 'coming of the religion' to mean the date of Zoroaster's entry upon his ministry [= orig. p. 8] (as does West, *SBE.* v. 219), we must then add 30 years, which was Zoroaster's age when he beheld his first vision of Ormazd. [The latter view is the correct one as shown by West. It is worth remarking that as Zoroaster's revelation and the 'coming of the religion' are placed in the thirtieth year of Vishtāsp's reign as well as of the Prophet's life, both men accordingly would be represented as born in the same year if we adopt an Oriental custom in dating a king's accession to the throne from the day of his birth.]

A calculation based upon the figures of this tradition would place Zoroaster's birth 42 years + 258 years (= 300 years) before B.C. 330, the date of the fall of the Iranian kingdom through Alexander's conquest; in other words it would assign Zoroaster's birth to about B.C. 630. [But as West has shown (*SBE.* xlvii. §§ 53–54), there is an evident omission of 35 years in the reckoning; he accounts for this error and combines the items, 272 years of Bd. 34. 7–8 with this date of Alexander's death, B.C. 323, and with the 30th year of Zoroaster's life in which the Revelation came, and he finds B.C. 660 as the traditional date of the birth of Zoroaster and of Vishtāsp's accession. See below, Appendix III.] According to the same tradition the duration of the various reigns of the Kayanian dynasty would be about as follows [West's corrected chronology now included]:—

King.	Reigned years.	Fictitious date B.C.	[West's correction, including 35 years.]
Vishtāsp	120	618–498	660–540
Vohūman (Ardashīr Dirāzdast) .	112	498–386	540–428
Hūmāī	30	386–356	428–363
Dārāī	12	356–344	363–351
Dārāī-ī Dārāī	14	344–330	351–337
[Accession of Alexander to his invasion			337–331]

The results would be somewhat altered if the computation be made according to lunar years or if a different point of departure be taken. The excessive lengths of the reigns of Vishtāsp and Vohūman seem suspicious and suggest round numbers unless we are to interpret them as comprising successive rulers; for example, in historic times, beside Hystaspes, the father of Darius, we have the names of two other Hystaspes, later connected with the ruling house of Bactria.[1]

The historic reigns of the Achaemenians may be compared (cf. Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire*, p. 107).

Cyrus	B.C. 558–529
Cambyses	529–521
Darius I.	521–485
Xerxes	485–465
Artaxerxes Longimanus	465–425
Darius Nothos	425–405
Artaxerxes Mnemon	405–362
Artaxerxes Ochus	362–340
[Arses]	340–337
Darius Codomannus	337–330

Comparison may be made, as with West,[2] identifying the long reign of Vohūman who is called Ardashīr (Artaxerxes or Ardashīr Dirāzdast 'the long-handed') with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors. Historical grounds throughout seem to favor this. For Hūmāī, West suggests Parysatis as a possibility. The last two Dārāīs answer to Ochus and Codomannus, and the reign of Kaī-Vishtāsp 'seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes' (West).[3] There seems every reason to identify Vohūman Ardashīr Dirāzdast with Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to the Bahman Yasht (Byt. 2. 17), as this Kayanian king 'makes the religion current *in* the whole world.'[4] One might be possibly tempted to regard the Vishtāsp reign as representing the Bactrian rule until Artaxerxes, and assume that Zoroastrianism then became the faith of Persis.[5] This might account for the silence as to
[= orig. p. 9] the early Achaemenians and shed some light on the problem concerning the Achaemenians as Zoroastrians; but there seems to be no historic foundation for such assumption. Suffice here to have presented the tradition in regard to the reigns of the Kayanian kings as bearing on Zoroaster's date and the traditional 258 years before Alexander as the era of 'the coming of the religion.'

[1] See genealogical tables of the Achaemenidae in Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire, de Généalogie, et de Chronologie*, p. 108 (Leide, 1888); Pauly, *Real-Encyclopædie*, article 'Achaemenidae'; Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, p. 15; *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 398–399; and Smith, *Classical Dictionary*, article 'Hystaspes.'

[2] West, *Bundahish translated*, *SBE.* v. 150 n., 198 n.

[3] De Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, *Introduction* p. ccxxviii, thinks that the early Achaemenians were intentionally sacrificed. Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 203,

identifies the first Dārāī with Darius I., and believes that he was misplaced in the kingly list. This I doubt.

[4] West, *Byt. transl.*, *SBE.* v. 199. [See also above, pp. 81–82. Consult J. H. Moulton in *The Thinker*, ii. 498–501.]

[5] Dubeux, *La Perse*, p. 57, sharply separates the Oriental account of the Persian kings from the historical account.

(c) The sum of 258 years is given also by so careful an investigator as Albīrūnī (A.D. 973–1048). His statements are based on the authority of 'the scholars of the Persians, the Hērbadhs and Maubadhs of the Zoroastrians.'[1] In his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 17, l. 17 (transl. Sachau), is found a statement of the Persian view in regard to Zoroaster's date: 'from his (*i.e.* Zoroaster's) appearance till the beginning of the Æra Alexandri,[2] they count 258 years.' Several times he gives the received tradition that Zoroaster appeared in the 30th year of the reign of Vishtāsp. In another place, *Chron.* p. 196 (transl. Sachau), he gives further information in regard to Zoroaster's time: 'On the 1st Ramaḍān A.H. 319 came forward Ibn 'Abī-Zakarriyā. . . . If, now, this be the time (*i.e.* A.H. 319 = A.D. 931) which Jāmāsp and Zarādusht meant, they are right as far as chronology is concerned. For this happened at the end of the Æra Alexandri 1242, *i.e.* 1500 years after Zarādusht.' From this statement we may compute back to the year B.C. 569 as a date when a prophecy is supposed to have been made by Zoroaster and Jāmāsp. Albīrūnī is not exhausted yet. In *Chron.* 121 (transl. Sachau), he says, 'we find the interval between Zoroaster and Yazdajird ben Shāpūr to be nearly 970 years.' This gives the date about B.C. 571 if we count Yazdajird's reign as A.D. 399–420. Furthermore the carefully constructed tables which Albīrūnī gives from various sources are interesting and instructive, owing to their exact agreement with the reigns of the Kayanian kings as recorded in the Būndahishn. Thus, *Chron.* p. 112, 107–114 (transl. Sachau): —

Kai Vishtāsp till the appearance of Zoroaster	30
The same after that event	90
Kai Ardashīr Bahman (Vohūman)	112
Khumānī (Hūmāī)	30
Dārā	12
Dārā ben Dārā	14

On p. 115 he contrasts these dates with those given by [= orig. p. 10]
early occidental authorities. Finally, *Chron.* p. 32
(transl. Sachau), the name of Thales is brought into connection with

Zoroaster, cf. p. 169, n. 3 below. So much for the information furnished by Albīrūnī.

[1] Albīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, transl. and ed. by Sachau, p. 109.

[2] According to Albīrūnī, p. 32 (transl. Sachau) the Æra Alexandri would date from the time when Alexander left Greece at the age of twenty-six years, preparing to fight with Darius.

(d) Of somewhat earlier date but identical in purport is the statement found in Masūdī's *Meadows of Gold*, written in A.D. 943–944 (Masūdī died A.D. 957). Like the Būndahishn and like Albīrūnī, Masūdī reports that 'the Magians count a period of two hundred and fifty-eight (258) years between their prophet Zoroaster and Alexander.'[1] He reiterates this assertion in *Indicatio et Admonitio*[2] by saying 'between Zoroaster and Alexander there are about three hundred years.' Nearly the same, but not exactly identical figures, are found as in the Būndahishn, regarding the length of the reigns of the various Kayanian kings; Zoroaster is stated, as elsewhere, to have appeared in the thirtieth (30) year of Vishtāsp's reign and he dies at the age of seventy-seven (77) after having taught for thirty-five (35) years.[3] The statement that Zoroaster lived to the age of 77 years is also found elsewhere.[4] What Masūdī has to say on the subject of Nebuchadnezzar's being a lieutenant of Lohrāsp (Aurvaṯ-aspa) and regarding Cyrus as contemporary with Bahman will be mentioned below, as a similar statement occurs in the Dīnkarṯ (Bk. 5). [West, *SBE.* xlvii. 120.]

[1] Masūdī (Maçoudī), *Les Prairies d'Or, Texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard*, iv. 107 'Les Mages comptent entre leur prophète Zoroastre, fils d'Espimān, et Alexandre, une période de deux cent cinquante-huit ans. Entre Alexandre, qu'ils font régner six ans, et l'avénement d'Ardéchir, cinq cent dix-sept ans ; enfin entre Ardéchir et l'hégire cinq cent soixante-quatre ans . . . du règne d'Alexandre à la naissance du Messie, trois cent soixante-neuf ans; de la naissance du Messie à celle du Prophète cinq cent vingt et un ans.' Observe especially that Masūdī in *Indicatio et Admonitio*, (p. 327–328) accounts for the intentional shortening of the period between Alexander and Ardashīr. What he has to say on this subject is worth looking up in connection with *SBE.* v. 151 n.

[2] Masūdī, *Le Livre de l'Indication et de l'Admonition* (in *Prairies d'Or*, ix. p. 327), 'Zoroastre fils de Poroschasp fils d'Asinman, dans l'Avesta, qui est le livre qui lui a été révélé, annonce que, dans trois cents ans, l'empire des Perses éprouvera une grande révolution, sans que la religion soit détruite ; mais qu'au bout de mille ans, l'empire et la religion périront en même temps. Or entre Zoroastre et Alexandre il y a environ trois cents ans ; car

Zoroastre a paru du temps de Caïbistasp, fils de Caïlohrasp, comme nous l'avons dit ci-devant.' See Masūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p. 90 seq., ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1894. Compare also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 35 (in Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894); [and *Le Livre de l'Avertissement*, traduction par B. C. de Vaux (Société Asiatique), p. 140, Paris, 1896].

[3] Masūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. p. 123, ed. Barbier de Meynard. 'Youstasf (Gustasp) régna après son père (Lohrasp) et résida à Balkh. Il était sur le trône depuis trente ans, lorsque Zeradecht, fils d'Espimān se présenta devant lui . . . (p. 127). Youstasf régna cent [= orig. p. 11] vingt ans avant d'adopter la religion des Mages, pnis il mourut. La prédication de Zeradecht dnra trente-cinq ans, et il mourut âgé de soixante et dix-sept ans.' The detailed reigns (Masūdī, op. cit. ii. 126–129) are Vishtāsp 120 years, Bahman 112, Hūmāī 30 (or more), Dārā 12, Dārā son of Dārā 30, Alexander 6 (cf. vol. iv. p. 107 'Alexandre, qu'ils font régner six ans'). The latter would answer pretty nearly to the commonly received years of Alexander in Persia, B.C. 330–323. Observe that the years of the last three reigns vary somewhat from the Būndahishn. Deducting from Vishtāsp's reign the 30 years till Zoroaster appeared and counting simply to the coming of Alexander, the resulting 274 years would place Zoroaster's appearance at B.C. 604 or, if 42 years old at the time, his birth at B.C. 646. [See now West's correction which gives B.C. 660.] Bnt notice that instead of 274 years as here, Masūdī elsewhere says (*Prairies d'Or*, iv. 106, quoted above) there were 258 years between Zoroaster and Alexander.

[4] E.g. Dīnkarṯ Bk. 7. 5. 1 (communication from West) and in the Rivāyats.

(e) The period at which the Arabic chronicler Ṭabarī (died A.D. 923)[1] places Zoroaster in his record of Persian reigns, is practically identical with the preceding in its results, although he occasionally differs in the length of the individual reigns, e.g. Bahman 80 years (although he mentions that others say 112 years), Hūmāī about 20 years, Dārā 23 years. He tells also of a tradition that makes of Zoroaster one of the disciples of Jeremiah. The latter, according to the generally accepted view, began to prophesy about B.C. 626. These points will be spoken of again below.

[1] See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabari, traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-Ali Mo'hammed Bel'ami*, tome i. 491–508, Paris, 1867.

(f) The Dabistān (translated by Shea and Troyer, i. 306–309) narrates that the holy cypress which Zoroaster had planted at Kishmar in Khorassān [I formerly wrongly read Kashmir] and which was cut down by the order of Mutawakkal, tenth khalif of the Abbassides (reigned A.D. 846–860), had stood 'fourteen hundred and fifty years (1450) from the time of its being planted, to the year 232 of

the Hejirah (A.D. 846).' If these years be reckoned as solar years, according to the custom of the ancient Persians, and counted from the beginning of Mutawakkal's reign, the date of the planting of the cypress would be B.C. 604; but if reckoned according to the lunar calendar of the Mohammedans (i.e. equivalent to 1408 solar years), the epoch would be B.C. 562.[1] The former date (B.C. 604) recalls the reckoning of Masūdī alluded to above, on p. 10 [= p. 162]. The event of the planting must have been an occasion of special moment; from a reference to the same in Firdausī (translation by Mohl, iv. 291–293, Paris, 1877), the conversion of Vishtāspa is perhaps alluded to. If the conversion of Vishtāspa really be alluded to, 42 years must be added to give the approximate date of Zoroaster's birth. Perhaps, however, some other event in the prophet's life is commemorated.[2] In any case the results lead us to the latter part of the seventh century B.C. and the first part of the sixth century. [See now above, p. 80.]

[1] See the calculation [of Anquetil du Perron, in Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1. pp. 346–347, and] of Shea and Troyer, *Dabistān, translated*, i. 308, n., Paris, 1843 and Mirkhond's *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, transl. Shea, p. 281–282, London, 1832. According to E. Röth, 'Zoroastrische Glaubenslehre' in *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, i. 350, the era of the cypress is B.C. 560. This is adopted by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 15, 18 (Leipzig, 1881). [On Kishmar consult also Vullers, *Fragmente*, p. 113].

[= orig. p. 12]

[2] In case the 1450 years be reckoned back from the date of Mutawakkal's death (A.D. 860) instead of from the beginning of his power, the numbers would be respectively B.C. 590 (if solar), or B.C. 548 (if lunar).

(g) The figures of the chapter-headings in the *Shāh Nāmah* of Firdausī (A.D. 940–1020) likewise place the opening of Vishtāspa's reign at about three hundred years before Alexander's death.[1]

[1] Firdusii *Schahname*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1495 seq. See also Shea and Troyer's *Dabistān*, Introd. i. p. lxxxvi and p. 380. Consult the chapter-headings of the reigns in Mohl's translation of Firdausī, vols. iv.–v. Observe that Bahman is assigned only 99 years instead of the usual 112; the duration of Vishtāspa's reign is given in Mohl, vol. iv. 587, 'cent vingt ans' in harmony with the usual tradition.

(h) The Persian historical work, Mujmal al-Tawārīkh (A.H. 520 = A.D. 1126),[1] following the authority of the Chronicle of the Kings of Persia, brought from Farsistān by Bahram, son of Merdanshāh,

Mobed of Shapur, enumerates 258 years before Alexander.[2] The Ulamā-ī Islām counts three hundred.[3]

[1] See *Extraits du Modjmel al-Tewarikh, relatifs à l'histoire de la Perse, traduits du persan, par Jules Mohl* (Journal Asiatique, tome xi. pp. 136, 258, 320, Paris, 1841).

[2] Cf. op. cit. p. 230. The author acknowledges indebtedness also to Hamzah of Isfahān, Ṭabarī, and Firdausī. His chronology may be deduced from pp. 330–339 of the work cited; it runs, Lohrāsp 120 years, Gushtāsp 120 years, Bahman 112, Hūmāī 30, Dārāh 12 [or 14], Dārā son of Dārāb 14 [or 16], Alexander 14 [or 28]. Observe the alternative figures in the case of the last three numbers.

According to Röth, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, i. 351, the author of the Mujmal al-Tawārīkh places Zoroaster 1700 years before his own time; on this ground Röth places the death of Zoroaster at B.C. 522, and is followed by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18. Cf. Kleuker's *Zend-Avesta*, Anh. Bd. i. Theil 1, p. 347.

[3] See Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, p. 58.

(i) Interesting is the fact noticed by Anquetil du Perron,[1] that a certain religious sect that immigrated into China A.D. 600 is evidently of Zoroastrian origin and that these believers have an era which dates approximately from B.C. 559; this date Anquetil regards as referring to the time when Zoroaster left his home and entered upon his mission — a sort of Iranian Hejirah.

[1] See Anquetil du Perron quoted by Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, pp. 349–351; cited also by Shea, *Mirkhond's History*, p. 282, and by Röth in *Geschichte abendländ. Philosophie*, i. 353 and note 566, and followed by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18.

(j) Similar in effect as far as concerns the period at which they place the prophet, although of doubtful value or otherwise to be explained, are those Syriac and Arabic [= orig. p. 13] reports which connect the name of Zoroaster with Jeremiah and which make him the latter's pupil or even identify him with Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah.[1] Presumably this association is due to confusing the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah *Armiah* with Zoroaster's supposed native place *Urmiah* (Urumiyah).[2]

[1] (*a*) The Syro-Arabic Lexicon of Bar Bahlūl (about A.D. 963) s.v. Ḳāsōmā (divinator): 'Divinator, like Zardosht, who people say is Baruch the Scribe; and because the gift of prophecy was not accorded to him he went astray, journeyed to [other] nations and learned twelve tongues.' Cf. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 3704.

(β) Also Bishop 'Ishōdad of Ḥadatha (about A.D. 852), commentary on Matth. ii. 1, 'Some say that he (Zoroaster) is the same as Baruch the pupil of Eramya (Jeremiah), and that because the gift of prophecy was denied him as [had been] his wish, and because of that bitter exile and the sack of Jerusalem and the Temple, he became offended (or angry) and went away among other nations, learned twelve languages, and in them wrote that vomit of Satan, i.e. the book which is called Abhasta.' Cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 29.

(γ) Identically, Solomon of Ḥilāṭ (born about A.D. 1222), *Book of the Bee*, 'this Zārādosht is Baruch the scribe,' p. 81 seq., ed. Budge (Anecdota Oxoniensia), also E. Kuhn, *Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung in christlichem Gewande* (Festgruss an R. von Roth, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 219). Consult especially Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894).

(δ) Ṭabarī (died A.D. 923) likewise notices the association of Zoroaster with Jeremiah. According to him 'Zoroaster was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favorite. But he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore God cursed him, and he became leprous. He wandered to Ādarbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp (Vishtāspa), who was in Balkh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him, and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many people to death on its account. Then they followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve (112) years.' Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37. See also *Chronique de Tabari traduite* par H. Zotenberg, i. p. 499. [In the story of the leprosy can there be some reminiscence of Elisha's servant Gehazi, who was cursed with leprosy for falsehood after the cleansing of Naaman? See II. Kings, v. 1–27 and compare *sara'ath*, p. 30 above, and Hyde, p. 314.]

(ε) The same general statements of Ṭabarī are repeated by Ibn al-Athīr (13th century) in his *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-ta'arīkh*. See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 39.

(ζ) Once the Syrian Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā Abulfaraj (c. A.D. 1250) calls Zoroaster a disciple of Elijah (mistake for Jeremiah?), see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32.

(η) Similarly the Arab historian Abu Mohammed Mustapha calls Zoroaster a disciple of Ezīr (Ezra), see Hyde, *Hist. Relig. veterum Persarum*, p. 313.

[2] So suggested by de Sacy, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi*, ii. 319, see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (Drisler Classical Studies, p. 30 n.). [Anquetil du Perron's view was, that this is owing to an unwillingness to attribute to the Persians a prophet of their own, without Semitic influence; see his paragraph in Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1, p. 341. This is no doubt also true. See likewise p. 30 above.]

(k) Pointing to a similar era are the Pahlavi (Dīnkarṯ Bk. 5. and Mkh.) and Perso-Arabic allusions to Nebuchadnezzar as lieutenant

of Vishtāsp's predecessor, Lohrāsp, and of Vishtāsp himself as well as of his successor Bahman (Vohūman). [See also above, p. 91, n. 2.] In the same connection Cyrus's name is joined with Vishtāsp and Bahman.[1]

[1] (α) According to Ṭabarī (10th century A.D.) and Masūdī, [= orig. p. 14] Nebuchadnezzar was lieutenant successively under Lohrāsp, Vishtāsp, and Bahman ; the tradition regarding Lohrāsp's taking of Jerusalem is found in the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ Bk. 5 and Maīnōg-ī Khiraṯ 27. 66–67, transl. West, *SBE.* xxiv. 65. Ṭabarī (or rather the Persian version of the latter by Bel'amī) gives two different versions of the story (see *Chronique de Tabarī, traduite sur la version persane de Bel'amī par H. Zotenberg*, vol. i. pp. 491–507, Paris, 1867), and (Ṭabarī op. cit. p. 503) the return of the Jews to Jerusalem is placed in the 70th year of Bahman. Signs of confusion are evident. So also in Mirkhond (15th century A.D.) who in his history repeats Ṭabarī's statement with reference to Nebuchadnezzar and Lohrāsp, and makes Cyrus a son of Lohrāsp although he is placed in the reign of Bahman. He regards Bahman (Vohūman) as a contemporary of Hippocrates (B.C. 460–357) and Zenocrates (B.C. 396–314) which would harmonize properly with the traditional dates above given (pp. 8–9 = pp. 159–160) for Bahman's reign. See Shea, *Mirkhond's History*, pp, 264, 291, 343).

(β) Masūdī is worth consulting on the same point, especially in respect to certain presumed relations between the Persians and the Jews. See Barbier de Meynard, *Maçoudi Les Prairies d'Or*, ii. 119–128.

(1) At this point may be mentioned two other allusions that place Zoroaster's activity in the sixth century before the Christian era, although the former of these rests upon the identification of the prophet's patron Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. The first of these allusions, that given by Ammianus Marcellinus (5th century A.D.),[1] directly calls Vishtāspa (Hystaspes) the father of Darius, although Agathias (6th century A.D.)[2] expresses uncertainty on this point. The second allusion is found in Eutychius, the Alexandrine Patriarch, who makes Zoroaster a contemporary of Cambyses and the Magian Smerdis,[3] a view which is shared by the Syrian Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā Abulfaraj (c. A.D. 1250)[4] [and by the Arab chronologist al-Makīn[5]].

[1] Ammian. Marcell. 23. 6. 32, *Magiam opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato, Machagistiam esse verbo mystico docet, divinorum incorruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darii pater.* The general opinion is that 'saeculis priscis' is allowable in consideration of the thousand years that separated Zoroaster and Ammianus,

and assuming that Ammianus understood Zoroaster and Hystaspes to be contemporaries, cf. Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, p. 334.

[2] Agathias 2. 24, Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὀρμάσδεως . . . οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωροάδος, ἤτοι Ζαράδης — διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία — ὁπηνίκα μὲν ἤκμασε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔνεστι σαφῶς διαγνῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὑστάσπεω, οὕτω δή τι ἁπλῶς φασι γεγονέναι, ὡς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρείου πατὴρ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ὑστάσπης. [See Appendix V. § 35.]

[3] Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini *Annales*. Illustr. Selden, interpr. E. Pocock. Oxon. 1658, pp. 262–263, *Mortuo Cyro Dario Babelis rege, post ipsum imperavit filius ipsius Kambysus annos novem: post quem Samardius Magus annum unum. Hic, Magus cognominatus est quod ipsius tempore floruerit Persa quidam Zaradasht* (زرادشت), *qui Magorum religionem condidit aedibus igni dedicatus. Post ipsum regnavit Dara primus, annos viginti. Post illum Artachshast Longimanus cognominatus annos viginti quattuor.* On this authority Floigl, following Röth, wishes to assign the year of Zoroaster's death to B.C. 522, cf. *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18, and Röth, *Geschichte uns. abendländ. Philosophie* i. 353.

[4] Bar 'Ebhrāyā, *Arabic Chronicon*, p. 83, ed. Salḥani, Beirut, 1890 (cited by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32). 'In those days (of Cambyses) came Zaradosht chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Ādarbaijān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's (!) disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ.'

[[5] See Hyde *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* pp. 528–529.]

(m) Finally two other allusions are here added for the sake of completeness, as they have been interpreted as pointing to the fact that Zoroaster lived about the sixth century B.C. There seems to be nothing in them, however, to compel us to believe that Zoroaster is regarded as living only a short time before the events to which they allude. The first is a passage in Nicolaus Damascenus (1st century B.C.), who represents that when Cyrus was about to burn the unfortunate Croesus, his attention was called to Ζωροάστρου λόγια, which forbade that fire should be defiled.[1] The second item of information is found in such references as represent Pythagoras as following Zoroaster's doctrines.[2] Lastly, the association of Zoroaster's name with that of Thales, by Albīrūnī, has been noted above.[3]

[1] Nicolaus Damascenus Fragm. 65, *Müller Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. 409 δείματα δαιμόνια ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ οἵ τε τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὶ τά τε Ζωροάστρου λόγια εἰσῄει. Κροῖσον μὲν οὖν ἐβόων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πάλαι σώζειν. . . . Τόν γε μὴν Ζωροάστρην Πέρσαι ἀπ' ἐκείνου διεῖπαν, μήτε νεκροὺς καίειν, μήτ' ἄλλως μιαίνειν πῦρ, καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο καθεστὼς τὸ νόμιμον τότε βεβαιωσάμενοι. (Latin version) *Persas . . . religio ac metus divûm incessit: Sibyllae quoque vaticinia ac Zoroastris oracula in mentem veniebant. Itaque clamitabant, multo, quam antea,*

contentius, ut Croesus servaretur. . . . At Persae exinde sanxerunt juxta praecepta Zoroastris, ne cadavera cremare neque ignem contaminare posthac liceret, quod quum apud eos ex veteri instituto obtinuisset, tum magis confirmaverunt. Cf. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. pp. xliv, lxvii.

[2] The principal references are to be found in Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 260–264, 274, from whose work they are taken. Several of these allusions mention Zoroaster's name directly; in others we may infer it, since Pythagoras is made a student of the Magi, whom classical antiquity regards as the exponents of Zoroaster's teaching. Such allusions are: (*a*) Cicero, *de Fin.* 5. 29, *ipse Pythagoras et Aegyptum lustravit et Persarum Magos adiit;* (*β*) Valerius Maximus 8. 7 extern. 2, *inde ad Persas profectus Magorum exactissimae prudentiae se formandum tradidit;* (*γ*) Pliny, *N. H.* 30. 2. 1, *Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Plato ad hanc (magicen) discendam navigavere;* (*δ*) Porphyrius, *Vita Pythag.* 41, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς παρὰ τῶν Μάγων ἐπυνθάνετο, ὃν Ὠρομάζην καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι; and *Vita Pythag.* 12, ἔν τε Βαβυλῶνι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις συνεγένετο καὶ πρὸς Ζάβρατον [Ζάρατον, Nauck] (Zoroaster?) ἀφίκετο; (*ε*) Plutarch, *de animae procr. in Timaeo* 2. 2, Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος; (*ζ*) Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 1, p. 357 (ed. Potter) Ζωροάστρην δὲ τὸν Μάγον τὸν Πέρσην ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐζήλωσεν (MS. ἐδήλωσεν), cf. Cyrillus, *adv. Jul.* 3, p. 87, where Pythagoras is called πανάριστος ζηλωτής of Zoroaster; (*η*) Suidas s.v. Pythagoras, Πυθαγόρας· οὗτος ἥκουσε — Ζάρητος τοῦ μάγου (is it Zoroaster?); (*θ*) Apuleius Florid. p. 19 (ed. Altib.) *sunt qui Pythagoram aiunt eo temporis inter captivos Cambysae regis Aegyptum cum adveheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum magos ac praecipue Zoroastrem omnis divini arcani antistitem;* (*ι*) in Lucian's *Dialogue Menippus*, § 6, p. 463, the Babylonian Magi are the pupils and successors of Zoroaster μοῖ . . . ἔδοξε ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐλθόντα δεηθῆναί τινος τῶν Μάγων τῶν Ζωροάστρου μαθητῶν καὶ διαδόχων. Also some others.

[[3] See p. 161 above. The particular passage is one in which Albīrūnī discusses the various possibilities as to the date of Thales. He adds that 'if he (i.e. Thales) lived at the time of Kaī Ḳubādh, he stands near to Zoroaster, who belonged to the sect of the Ḥarrānians' (*Chron.* p. 32, l. 15, transl. Sachau).]

B. Discussion of the Data.

The material above collected presents most of the [= orig. p. 16]
external evidence that we have in regard to the age at
which Zoroaster lived. We are now prepared for a more comprehensive view of the subject, for a discussion of the data in hand, for a presentation of certain internal evidences that need to be brought out, and for arguments and possible deductions. Several points immediately suggest themselves for comment.

First, in discussing the classical allusions above presented, one is justified from the connection in assuming that such allusions as are

made to the name of Zoroaster as a religious teacher or sage, all refer to the one great prophet of ancient Iran. No account, I think, need therefore be taken of such views as assume the existence of two or of several Zoroasters, belonging to different periods in the world's history. Such a view was held by Suidas (s.v. *Zoroastres*) and was evidently earlier shared by Pliny;[1] it met with acceptance also among some of the old-fashioned writers in more recent times;[2] but there is no real evidence in its favor, and it is due to an attempt to adjust the discrepancy existing in classical statements with regard to Zoroaster's date. History knows of but one Zoroaster.

[1] Pliny *N. H.* 30. 2. 1. *sine dubio illic orta (ars Magica) in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat.* He adds a little later (30. 2. 8) *diligentiores paulo ante hunc* (i.e. *Osthanem*) *Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.*

[2] E.g. Kleuker (quoting the Abbé Foucher), *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 2, p. 68–81.

Second, among the three dates which may be deduced from the material above collected and which are summarized on p. 2 [= p. 152], we are justified upon reasonable grounds, I think, in rejecting the excessively early date of B.C. 6000 or thereabouts. The explanation above offered to account for the extravagant figures seems satisfactory enough.

Third, such dates as might be arrived at from the sporadic allusions that associate the name of Zoroaster with Semiramis and Ninus, with Nimrod and Abraham, or with Baal, Bel, Balaam, as above discussed, have little if any real foundation. In each instance there seem to me to be reasonable grounds for discarding them.

There remains finally a comparatively large body of material that would point to the fact that Zoroaster flourished between the latter part of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century before the Christian era. The material when sifted reduces itself: first, to the direct tradition found in two Pahlavi books, Būndahishn and Arṯā Vīrāf, which places Zoroaster's era three hundred years, or more exactly 258 years, before Alexander's day; second, to the Arabic allusions which give the same date in their [= orig. p. 17] chronological computations and which in part lay claim to being founded upon the chronology of the Persians themselves;[1] third, to similar allusions elsewhere which place Zoroaster at about this period.

[1] Compare Albīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 109, 112 (transl. Sachau); and the *Modjmel al-Tewarikh*, p. 142, 320, 330 (traduit Mohl, Journal Asiatique, xi. 1841), stating that the account is based on the Chronicle of Mohed Bahram.

Certain objections may be raised to a view based upon this material last given.

First among these objections is a claim often urged, that the traditional date rests upon an erroneous identification of Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. I cannot see, from the allusions or elsewhere, that the Persians made any such identification; the impression gained from the material presented is rather in fact to the contrary; one may recall, for example, how widely different the ancestry of Vishtāspa is from the generally received descent of Hystaspes the father of Darius (a point which Floigl and Röth seem to have overlooked). It was only the classical writer Ammianus Marcellinus who, in antiquity, made any such identification. The point has already been sufficiently dealt with above, p. 14 [= p. 167, and West now also treats it in like manner—*SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 70].

A second objection may be brought on the plea that the traditional date (7th to middle of 6th century B.C.) would not allow of the lapse of sufficient time to account for the difference in language between the Gāthās and the Old Persian inscriptions and for certain apparent developments in the faith. Furthermore, that a longer period of time must be allowed to account for the difference between the fixed title *Auramazda*, Ὠρομάσδης, current in western Persia in Achaemenian times, and the divided form of the divine name *Ahura Mazda* (or *Ahura* alone and *Mazda* alone) as found in the Avesta, especially in the Zoroastrian Gāthās. This point has been noticed in the interesting and instructive paper of Professor Tiele, *Over de Oudheid van het Avesta*, p. 16,[1] who comes to the result that Zoroastrianism must have existed as early as the first half of the 7th century B.C.[2] If we accept, as I believe we should, the theses that Vishtāspa ruled in eastern Iran, and that, although Zoroaster was a native of Ādarbaijān, the chief scene of his religious activity was eastern Iran,[3] and that the faith spread from Bactria westwards,[4] I cannot see that these arguments militate against the traditional date under discussion. Dialectic differences between the Bactrian region and Persia Proper would sufficiently account for arguments based on language alone. This, added to national and

individual differences, might well account for the fixed form of the name *Auramazda* among the Achaemenians as contrasted with the Avestan form. Who can say how rapidly the creed spread from the east to the west and what changes consequently in a short time may have resulted? New converts in their zeal are often more radical in progressive changes than first reformers. Persis, with its original difference in dialect, may in short time have developed the single title *Auramazda* from *Ahura Mazda* as watchword of church and state. See also note, p. 20, top [= p. 174].

[= orig. p. 18]

[1] Reprinted from the *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde*, 3de Reeks, Deel xi. 364–385.

[2] Tiele's little work argues admirably for the antiquity of the Avesta as opposed to Darmesteter's views for the lateness of the Gāthās. I wish I could be convinced by Professor Tiele (p. 19) that the names of the Median kings, Phraortes (*fravaši*), Kyaxares (*uvaxšatara*), Deiokes (**dahyuka*) as well as Eparna, Sitiparna of the early Esarhaddon inscription (explained as containing *hvarənah*, 'glory'), are due to concepts originated by Zoroaster and are not merely marks of beliefs which Zoroastrianism inherited directly from existing Magism. The name of Darius's contemporary Khsathrita (Bh. 2. 15; 4. 19, Bh. e. 6) is not so important for the argument. I confess I should like to place Zoroaster as early as the beginning of the 7th century. The earlier, the better. [On Phraortes viewed as a Zoroastrian, compare more recently, Justi, in *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 258; *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. p. 411.]

[3] On eastern Iran, cf. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur* (Erlangen, 1882) and English translation of same, Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Eastern Iranians* (London, 1885–1886).

[4] See Jackson, *Zoroaster's Native Place*, *JAOS.* xv. 230 seq. So in spite of Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 198 seq.

A final objection may be raised as to the real historic worth and chronological value of the Persian tradition which places Zoroaster three centuries before Alexander. This it must frankly be said is the real point of the question. Is there a possibility of Arabic influence at work upon the statements of the Būndahishn and Arṯā Vīrāf [and Zāṯ-sparam]? Is the whole chronology of the Būndahishn and that of the Persians artificial?[1] And did the Zoroastrians intentionally tamper with history and bring Zoroaster down as late as possible in order that the millennial period might not be regarded as having elapsed without the appearance of a Saoshyant, or Messiah?

[1] Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 506, with Windischmann, regards the data of the Būndahishn as 'unzuverlässig,' but it must be remembered that his figures, '178' years for the period between Zoroaster and Alexander, now require correction to 258, which alters the condition of affairs. See West, *SBE.* v. 150–151, and Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 203. Compare especially de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. ccxxviii.

These questions require serious consideration in detail. The introduction to the chronological chapter of the Būndahishn (Bd. 34) does indeed read, according to one MS., 'on the reckoning of the years of the Arabs' (see Būndahishn translated by West, *SBE.* v. 149), but the word Tāzhīkān 'of the Arabs' is not found in the other manuscripts. Moreover, the scientific investigator Albīrūnī, and also the Mujmal al-Tawārīkh, whose data agree exactly with the Būndahishn, affirm that the dates given for the Kayanian kings are obtained from the records of the Persians themselves.[1]
There seems no reason, therefore, to doubt that the [= orig. p. 19]
Būndahishn really represents the Persian chronology.
But what the value of that chronology may be, is another matter. Personally I think it has real value so far as giving the approximate period of three centuries before Alexander as Zoroaster's era. Every student of the classics knows the part that chronology plays with reference to the Magi; every reader of the Avesta is familiar with 'the time of long duration;' every one who has looked into the scholarly work of Albīrūnī will have more respect for Persian chronology. Errors indeed there may be; attention has been called above to the lack of agreement between the years assigned by tradition to the reigns of the Zoroastrian Kayanian monarchs and the generally accepted dates of the reigns of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes[1]; to the dynasty of these three kings there corresponds only the long rule of Vishtāspa (120 years) and a part of that of Bahman Ardashīr Dirāzdast, some of whose reign answers to that of Artaxerxes Longimanus. As above said, it is difficult to identify the Kayanians of the tradition with the early Achaemenians of Greek history, but this need not nullify the real value of the traditional 'three centuries before Alexander.' What Masūdī (c. A.D. 943) in his *Indicatio et Admonitio* can add on this subject is full of interest. Little attention seems thus far to have been drawn to this important passage and to the explanation which it contains.[2] Masūdī is fully aware of the difference that exists between the Persian and the generally accepted chronology and he shows how it was brought about by

Ardashīr's purposely shortening the period between Alexander and himself by causing about half the number of years to be dropped from the chronological lists, but the 300 years of Zoroaster before Alexander were allowed to remain untouched, for the old prophecy regarding the time of Alexander's appearance had been fulfilled. The passage in Barbier de Meynard is well worth consulting.[3]

[1] See note above, p. 8 [= p. 160].

[2] Cf. Barbier de Meynard in *Le Livre de l'Indication et de l'Admonition* (Maçoudī, *Prairies d'Or*, ix. 327–328). [See also the translation by Vaux, *Maçoudi, Le Livre de l'Avertissement*, p. 136; Paris, 1896.]

[3] See preceding note. I have since found the passage given by Spiegel in *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, iii. 193; compare also Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 202.

C. Results.

To draw conclusions, — although open to certain objections, still, in the absence of any more reliable data or until the discovery of some new source of information to overthrow or to substantiate the view, there seems but one decision to make in the case before us. From the actual evidence presented and from the material accessible, one is fairly entitled, at least, upon the present merits of the case, to accept the period between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B.C. [perhaps still better, between the middle of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth century B.C.], or just before the rise of the Achaemenian power, as the approximate date of Zoroaster's life.[1]

[= orig. p. 20] [1] Since the above was written Dr. E. W. West writes me (under date December 19, 1895) the interesting piece of information that his investigations into the history of the Iranian calendar have led him to the date B.C. 505 as the year in which a reform in the Persian calendar must have been instituted. He suggests that Darius, upon the conclusion of his wars and during the organizing of his kingdom and putting in force new acts of legislation, may with the aid and counsel of his priestly advisers have introduced the Zoroastrian names of the months which have supplanted the old Persian names which were given in the inscriptions. If this be so, the point may have a special bearing towards showing that the Achaemenians were Zoroastrians. From Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 17, 12; 55, 29; 205, 2; and 220, 19 (transl. Sachau), we know that Zoroaster himself must have occupied himself with the calendar. Benfey u. Stern, *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, p. 116, regarded the Medo-Persian year as having been introduced into Cappadocia probably

as early as B.C. 750. [Dr. West's paper on the Parsi calendar has just appeared in *The Academy* for April 23, 1896.] [Later postscript (1898), West gives his results in *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 79 seq.]

Similar results have been reached by others, or opinions to the same effect have been expressed; for example, Haug,[1] Justi (private letter),[2] Geldner (personal communication),[3] Casartelli,[4] and several names familiar to those acquainted with the field.[5] Some effort might be made perhaps if the premises will allow it, and some attempts have been made, to define the period more exactly by a precise interpretation of the various time-allusions with reference to cardinal events in Zoroaster's life — the beginning of his ministry at the age of 30, the conversion of Vishtāspa in the prophet's 42d year, the death of Zoroaster at the age of 77 years.[6] [See Appendix III.]

[1] Cf. Haug, *Essays on the Parsis* (West's Introduction, p. xlv.); although Haug had previously adopted various earlier eras for Zoroaster, e.g. B.C. 2300 (*Lecture on Zoroaster*, Bombay, 1865), not later than B.C. 1000 (*Essays*, p. 299, where the subject is discussed; cf. also *Essays*, pp. 15, 136, 264).

[2] Personal letter from Professor Justi, dated June 14, 1892.

[3] Geldner formerly placed the date of Zoroaster as prior to B.C. 1000 (see article 'Zoroaster,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition).

[4] *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, transl. Firoz Jamaspji, p. ii, 'about 600.'

[5] The best collections of material on the subject are to be found in de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, 2d ed. Introduction, pp. xx–xxv, ccxiv. [See also de Harlez, *The Age of the Avesta*, in *JAOS.*, New Series, xvii. 349, London, 1885, who finds no reason to place the Avesta earlier than 600 or 700 B.C., or in broader terms fixes 'the epoch of Zoroastrianism and the Avesta between 700 and 100 B.C.'], Spiegel, *EA.* i. 673–676, and Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 147, 162, 305; the latter suggested (*Zor. Stud.* p. 164) about B.C. 1000 as Zoroaster's date. The present writer (*Avesta Grammar*, p. xi) once held the opinion that Zoroaster lived 'more than a thousand years before the Christian era.' The date assigned by the Parsi Orientalist K. R. Kama is about B.C. 1300.

[6] E.g. Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 6, 60–62, assigns B.C. 589–512 as the age of Zoroaster; compare also Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, pp. 327–374; Thl. 2, pp. 51–81 (Foucher). [Anquetil's monograph should be consulted.] Floigl (*Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18), following Röth, gives B.C. 599–522 as Zoroaster's era and identifies Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. Neither Floigl nor Röth seem to take any account of the difference between the genealogy of Vishtāspa's ancestors as given in the Old Persian inscriptions and the lineage given in the Avesta, Pahlavi, and later Persian works. Floigl does not, moreover, sufficiently take into consideration (p. 17) that 42 years (or at least 30) must be

added in every instance to the 258 years before Alexander, as that was Zoroaster's age when Vishtāspa accepted the Faith. This would in any event place the date of Zoroaster's birth before B.C. 600.

[= orig. p. 21] The above results, if they be accepted in the light at least of our present information on the subject, seem to be not without importance for the history of early religious thought and of the development of ethical and moral teaching. If one carefully works through the material, it must be acknowledged that the most consistent and the most authoritative of all the actual statements upon the subject place the appearance of the prophet at a period between the closing century of Median rule and the rising wave of Persian power, that is, between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B.C.; [better between the middle of the seventh century and the former half of the sixth century B.C.]. It is the sowing of the fallow land that is to bring forth the rich fruits of the harvest. The teaching of Zoroaster must have taken deep root in the soil of Iran at the time when the Jews were carried up into captivity at Babylon (586–536), where they became acquainted with 'the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not'; the time was not far remote when the sage Confucius should expound to China the national tenets of its people, and the gentle Buddha on Ganges' bank should preach to longing souls the doctrine of redemption through renunciation. How interesting the picture, how full of instruction the contrast! And in this connection, the old question of a possible pre-historic Indo-Iranian religious schism[1] comes perhaps once again into consideration.[2] Certain theological and religious phenomena noticeable in Brahmanism are possibly not so early, after all, as has generally been believed. It may perchance be that Zoroastrianism in Iran was but the religious, social, and ethical culmination of the wave that had been gathering in strength as it moved along, and that was destined in India to spend its breaking force in a different way from its overwhelming course in the plateau land northwest of the mountains of Hindu Kush.

[1] The view strongly upheld by Haug.

[2] Deductions that might perhaps be made in the light of Hopkins, *Religions of India*, pp. 177, 186, 212, n. 3. Consult especially the suggestive hints of Geldner, article 'Zoroaster,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where the much-mooted question of *asura-ahura*, *daēva-deva*, 'god-demon,' is discussed.

The kingdom of Bactria was the scene of Zoroaster's zealous ministry, as I presume. [The question raised on this point is noticed in the present volume.] Born, as I believe, in Atropatene, to the west of Media, this prophet without honor in his own country met with a congenial soil for the seeds of his teaching in eastern Iran. His ringing voice of reform and of a nobler faith found an answering echo in the heart of the Bactrian king, Vishtāspa, whose strong arm gave necessary support to the crusade that spread the new faith west and east throughout the land of Iran. Allusions to this crusade are not uncommon in Zoroastrian literature. Its advance must have been rapid. A fierce religious war which in a way was fatal to Bactria seems to have ensued with Turan. This was that same savage race in history at whose door the death of victorious Cyrus is laid. Although tradition tells the sad story that the fire of the sacred altar was quenched [= orig. p. 22] in the blood of the priests when Turan stormed Balkh, this momentary defeat was but the gathering force of victory; triumph was at hand. The spiritual spark of regeneration lingered among the embers and was destined soon to burst into the flame of Persian power that swept over decaying Media and formed the beacon-torch that lighted up the land of Iran in early history. But the history of the newly established creed and certain problems in regard to the early Achaemenians as Zoroastrians belong elsewhere for discussion.

[Addendum 1. In an article on 'The Date of the Avesta,' *The Times of India*, March 11, 1898, now draws attention to the fact that Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana has again called up the proposed identification of Avestan Nāidhyāh Gaotema (in Yt. 13. 16) with the *rishi* Gāutama whose son is Nōdhās in the Veda. See this pamphlet *Observations on Darmesteter's Theory*, pp. 25–31, Leipzig, 1898. On his point and on the other suggested identifications of the Avestan Gaotema with Gotama the Buddha, or with the Brahman Cangranghācah (see pp. 85–88 above), we may refer to what has been said by Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 29, and to the references and discussion given by Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 99 (Leipzig, 1864), where good material will be found. Justi's statement in his *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 110 (Marburg, 1895) reads: 'Gaotema, vielleicht Name eines Gegners der Zarathustrischen Religion Yt. 13. 16; das Wort könnte auch appellativ sein; saṇskrit gótama.'

In the passage I do not think that the words *nā vyāxanō* necessarily refer to Zoroaster at all, but that they allude to some later follower of the Faith who may have vanquished in debate some opponent of the Zoroastrian creed. Notice also Justi's 'eines Gegners der Zarathustrischen Religion.' I cannot therefore see that we shall lose anything if we accept the view which was first suggested

by Haug, and interpret this allusion to Gaotama as a thrust at Buddhism, and regard *nāiδyāh* as a derogatory attribute, or connected with the Vedic root *nādh*.

Color is given to such an interpretation because, farther on in the same Yasht (Yt. 13. 97), mention is made of the pious Saēna, a great religious teacher and successor of Zoroaster, who flourished between one hundred and two hundred years after the prophet himself, or B.C. 531–431, if we accept the traditional Zoroastrian chronology, and who might therefore have been a contemporary with Buddha. Upon the date of Saēna, see also Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *The Antiquity of the Avesta*, Bombay, June, 1896. Saēna belonged to the ancient territory of Saka-stāna (Seistān) and thus to the region of White India; cf. p. 45, n. 4, 72, n. 3, 87, n. 1, and Appendix IV.

Now if in the particular case of Saēna (and the lines are metrical and therefore probably original) the Yasht actually makes mention of a Zoroastrian apostle who lives a century or more after the great teacher, I do not think we are necessarily forced to place Gaotama back into the Vedic period. In other words, in the case of Gaotema as of Saēna, the Yasht may be alluding to one who is born after Zarathushtra, and may be hurling anathemas against an opposing and heretical religion (and that religion Buddhism) which began to flourish about the same time as the Yasht may have been written. Of the various identifications I should prefer that of Gotama the Buddha, rather than to call in the Vedas and Gāutama whose son is Nōdhās.]

[Addendum 2. My pupil, Mr. Schuyler, draws my attention to a reference in a work that was published in the middle of the last century, which is of interest because it deals with the Huns and places the date of Zoroaster about the year '683 avant Jesus-Christ.' The reference is Deguignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, i. Pt. 2, p. 376, Paris, 1756.]

APPENDIX III

DR. WEST'S TABLES OF ZOROASTRIAN CHRONOLOGY

AS BASED UPON THE MILLENNIAL SYSTEM OF THE BŪNDAHISHN

(From *Sacred Books of the East*, xlvii. Introd. § 55.)[1]

AFTER investigating the traditional Zoroastrian chronology of the Būndahishn, and the statements of the other Pahlavi texts, which have been recorded in the preceding Appendix, Dr. E. W. West has compiled a series of chronological tables, synchronizing the Zoroastrian and European systems. The statement of Bd. **34**. 7, 8, places the death of Alexander 272 years after the coming of the religion, i.e. after the thirtieth year of Zoroaster's life and of Vishtāspa's reign. Combining these dates, and allowing for an apparent omission of thirty-five years (which is explained), the items 323 + 272 + 35 give as a result B.C. 660–583 as the date of Zoroaster, and B.C. 660–540 for Vishtāspa's reign,[2] which in Oriental manner is apparently conceived of as dating from the king's birth. West's tables are now presented (*SBE*. xlvii. Introd. pp. xxviii–xxx):—

'If we adopt the abbreviations A.R. for "*anno religionis*" and B.R. for "*before the religion*," we are prepared to compile the following synopsis of Zoroastrian Chronology according to the millennial system of the Būndahishn, extended to the end of time, but dealing only with traditional matters, combined with the European dates of the same events, deduced from the synchronism of A.R. 300 with B.C. 331, as stated above in § 54:'—

B.R. 9000, B.C. 9630. Beginning of the first millennium of Time; and formation of the Fravashis, or primary ideas of the good creations, which remain insensible and motionless for 3000 years (Bd. I, 8; XXXIV, 1).

[1] Through the courtesy of Dr. E. W. West and of Professor F. Max Müller, editor of the Sacred Books, I have been allowed to reproduce these pages; for which kindness I wish to express my appreciative thanks. —*A. V. W. J.*

[2] See *SBE*. xlvii. Introd. § 70.

B.R. 6000, B.C. 6630. Beginning of the fourth millennium, when the spiritual body of Zaratūsht is framed together, and remains 3000 years with the archangels (Dk. VII, ii, 15, 16), while the primeval man and ox exist undisturbed in the world, because the evil spirit is confounded and powerless (Bd. I, 20, 22 ; III, 1, 3, 5 ; XXXIV, 1).

B.R. 3000, B.C. 3630. Beginning of the seventh millennium, when the evil spirit rushes into the creation on new-year's day, destroys the primeval ox, and distresses Gāyōmarṯ, the primeval man (Bd. I, 20 ; III, 10–20, 24–27 ; XXXIV, 2). Z. appears to remain with the archangels for 2969 years longer.

B.R. 2970, B.C. 3600. Gāyōmarṯ passes away (Bd. III, 21–23 ; XXXIV, 2).

B.R. 2930, B.C. 3560. Masyē and Masyāōī had grown up (Bd. XV, 2 ; XXXIV, 3).

B.R. 2787, B.C. 3417. Accession of Hōshāng (Bd. XXXIV, 3).

B.R. 2747, B.C. 3377. Accession of Tākhmōrup (ibid. 4).

B.R. 2717, B.C. 3347. Accession of Yim (ibid.).

B.R. 2000, B.C. 2630. Beginning of the eighth millennium. Accession of Dahāk (ibid. 4, 5).

B.R. 1000, B.C. 1630. Beginning of the ninth millennium. Accession of Frēṯūn (ibid. 5, 6).

B.R. 500, B.C. 1130. Accession of Mānūshcīhar (ibid. 6).

B.R. 428, B.C. 1058. Spendarmaṯ comes to Mānūshcīhar at the time of Frāsīyāv's irrigation works (Zs. XII, 3–6). [West's brief remarks on correction of the MSS. here omitted.]

B.R. 380, B.C. 1010. Accession of Aūzōbō (Bd. XXXIV, 6).

B.R. 375, B.C. 1005. Accession of Kaī-Kobāṯ (ibid. 6, 7).

B.R. 360, B.C. 990. Accession of Kaī-Ūs (ibid. 7).

B.R. 300, B.C. 930. Zaratūsht first mentioned by the ox that Srītō killed (Zs. XII, 7–20).

B.R. 210, B.C. 840. Accession of Kaī-Khūsrōī (Bd. XXXIV, 7).

B.R. 150, B.C. 780. Accession of Kaī-Lohrāsp (ibid.).

B.R. 45, B.C. 675. The Glory descends from heaven at the birth of Dūkṯak (Zs. XIII, 1).

B.R. 30, B.C. 660. Accession of Kaī-Vishtāsp (Bd. XXXIV, 7). Vohūmanō and Ashavahishtō descend into the world with a stem of Hōm (Dk. VII, ii, 24). Zaratūsht is born (ibid. v, 1).

B.R. 23, B.C. 653. Z. is seven years old when two Karaps visit his father, and Dūrāsrōbō dies (Dk. VII, iii, 32, 34, 45).

B.R. 15, B.C. 645. Z. is fifteen years old when he and his four brothers ask for their shares of the family property (Zs. XX, 1).

B.R. 10, B.C. 640. Z. leaves home at the age of twenty (ibid. 7).

A.R. 1, B.C. 630. Beginning of the tenth millennium. Z. goes forth to his conference with the sacred beings on the 45th day of the 31st year of Vishtāsp's reign (Dk. VII, iii, 51–62 ; VIII, 51 ; Zs. XXI, 1–4).

A.R. 3, B.C. 628. Z. returns from his first conference in two years, and preaches to Aūrvāītā-dang and the Karaps without success (Dk. VII, iv, 2–20).

A.R. 11, B.C. 620. After his seventh conference, in the tenth year he goes to

Vishtāsp; Mēṯyōmāh is also converted (ibid. 1, 65; Zs. XXI, 3; XXIII, 1, 2, 8).

A.R. 13, B.C. 618. Twelve years after Z. went to conference, Vishtāsp accepts the religion, though hindered for two years by the Karaps (Dk. VII, v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 5, 7).

A.R. 20, B.C. 611. A Kavīg, son of Kūndah, is converted (Zs. XXIII, 8).

A.R. 30, B.C. 601. Defeat of Arjāsp and his Khyōns (ibid).

A.R. 40, B.C. 591. Vohūnēm is born (ibid.). About this time the Avesta is written by Jāmāsp from the teaching of Z. (Dk. IV, 21; V, iii, 4; VII, v. 11). [Compare also Dk. III. vii, 1, *SBE.* xxxvii. 406.]

A.R. 48, B.C. 583. Z. passes away, or is killed, aged seventy-seven years and forty days, on the 41st day of the year (Dk. V. iii, 2; VII. v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 9).

A.R. 58, B.C. 573. Arrival of the religion is known in all regions (Dk. VII, vi, 12). [Compare also Dk. IV, 21-22, *SBE.* xxxvii. 412–413.]

A.R. 63, B.C. 568. Frashōshtār passes away (Zs. XXIII, 10).

A.R. 64, B.C. 567. Jāmāsp passes away (ibid.)

A.R. 63, B.C. 558. Hangāūrūsh, son of Jāmāsp, passes away (ibid.).

A.R. 80, B.C. 551. Asmōk-khanvatō passes away, and Akht the wizard is killed (ibid.).

A.R. 91, B.C. 540. Accession of Vohūman, son of Spend-dāṯ (Bd. XXXIV, 7, 8).

A.R. 100, B.C. 531. Sēnō is born (Dk. VII, vii, 6).

A.R. 200, B.C. 431. Sēnō passes away (ibid.; Zs. XXIII, 11).

A.R. 203. B.C. 428. Accession of Hūmāī (Bd. XXXIV, 8).

[Some additional dates are given by Dr. West, which include the invasion of Alexander (A.R. 300 = B.C. 331) and his death (A.R. 308 = B.C. 323), and carry the chronology down to the final millennium of the world (A.R. 3028, A.D. 2398).]

APPENDIX IV

ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE AND THE SCENE OF HIS MINISTRY

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INTRODUCTION[1]

With regard to the native place of the founders of three of the great Oriental religions — Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism — the authorities are in agreement for the most part, and the recent discoveries with reference to Buddha's birthplace have rendered assurance doubly sure at least in his case. With respect to Zoroaster's native land, however, and with regard to the exact early home of Zoroastrianism, the case is different. In classic times

[1] [The question with regard to Zoroaster's native place has been examined by the present writer in *JAOS.* xv. 221–232. Some of the material which was briefly presented at that time is reproduced here, but it has been largely augmented and rewritten, and the subject is now treated entirely anew, especially with regard to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry.]

seveu cities claimed a share in the honor of being the birthplace of the poet Homer; hardly less can be said of the prophet Zoroaster, if we take into account the various opinions which have been held on the subject of his origin. The question is one of interest, for with this problem there is also closely connected the question as to where we shall place the cradle of the religion of Mazda.

The natural uncertainty as to whether a religious teacher's birthplace or early home is necessarily identical with the scene of his religious activity complicates the problem considerably. Manifestly it is fallacious to assume that the scene of Zoroaster's ministry must likewise of necessity have been his place of origin. This fact must be kept in mind when we examine the arguments that have been brought forward by some to prove that the east of Iran, or Bactria, must assuredly have been the original home of Zoroaster as well as the scene of the reform work of the so-called 'Bactrian Sage.' The same fact, on the other hand, must be kept equally in view when the claim is made that Zoroaster came from western Iran, whether from Atropatene or from Media Proper, or from Persia. In the present memoir an endeavor will be made to keep the two sides of the question apart, and to discuss, (1) first, the question of Zoroaster's native place; (2) second, the scene of his ministry.

With regard to the disposition of the subject, authorities are agreed that we must look either to the east of Iran or to the west of Iran for a solution of the problem. The question of north or of south is excluded by the nature of the subject. Since this is the case, we may examine the general points of view, and resolve these into three classes: —

1. First, the view that the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in the east of Iran, in the Bactrian region, and that the scene of his religious reform belongs especially to that territory.

2. Second, the view that the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in western Iran, either in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana) or in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene), and that the scene of his ministry was confined to that region.

3. Third, a compromise view, which maintains that Zoroaster arose in western Iran, in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene), or in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana), but that he taught and preached in Bactria as well.

In this threefold summary it will be noticed in the first place that Persis, or Persia in the restricted sense, is left out of considera-

tion — a justifiable omission because there is no especial ground for believing that Zoroaster originated in Persia itself. In the second place, it may be stated that there seem to be just reasons for coming to a definite conclusion that Zoroaster actually arose in the west of Iran. In the third place, it may be added that a definite conclusion as to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry need not for the moment be drawn, but that this problem must be discussed as a sequel to the question of his place of origin.

With these points to be kept in mind by way of introduction, and with this word of caution, we may proceed to examine the testimony of antiquity on the subject, which is the source from which we draw our information; after that we may go on to present arguments, or to draw deductions, which are based upon the material that is gathered. A division of the sources may be made into two classes: (*a*) Classical sources, Greek or Latin; (*b*) Oriental authorities, either Iranian or non-Iranian. The testimony of these witnesses will be taken first with reference to the light they may throw upon the native country of the Prophet.[1]

[1] Partial Bibliography. For general references, see Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place? JAOS.* xv. pp. 221–232. Consult also Appendix V. below. The principal classical passages have likewise already been given by Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 260 seq. (tr. by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās and in the Greek and Roman Classics*, p. 65b, Leipzig, 1897). This material is now to be supplemented considerably by references which have since become accessible in Pahlavi literature, and by abundant allusions found in Arabic and Syriac writers. For the latter, see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature,* Drisler Classical Studies (Columbia University Press), New York, 1894; for example, pp. 32, 33 (*bis*), 34, 37, 39, 40 (*bis*), 42 n., 44, 48 (*bis*). These latter 'References to Zoroaster' will be constantly referred to in the present article. Furthermore, the general question of Zoroaster's native place has often been discussed; it is sufficient to mention Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum*, p. 310 seq., Oxon. 1700; Barnabé Brisson, *De regio Persarum Principatu*, p. 385 seq., editio Argent. 1710 (orig. ed. Paris, 1590); Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, tome i. Pt. 2, p. 5 seq., Paris, 1771; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 676–684 (tr. by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 179–189, London, 1886); C. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. pp. 23–25, 2d ed. Paris, 1881; Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, tr. Introd. pp. 47–49, *SBE.* iv. 1st ed. Oxford, 1880.

Special notice is not taken here of works relating to the home of the Avesta itself as a sacred book, although this question is more or less directly connected with the present subject.

If references be desired, one may find the more important bibliographi-

I. ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE

A. Classical References to Zoroaster's Nationality

The classical references which allude to the country of Zoroaster seem very contradictory if they be viewed alone, and they are doubtless responsible for much of the uncertainty which has prevailed on the subject. It must also be remembered that a man is sometimes known to fame through his adopted country rather than through the land of his nativity. Although often conflicting, these classical references are of service in argument; it is well, therefore, briefly to present them, first giving those statements which connect Zoroaster's name with the west of Iran, with Media or Persia; second, giving those citations which imply that Zoroaster belonged to Bactria or eastern Iran. Most of the allusions date from the earlier centuries of the Christian era, or somewhat later, although claims may be made in one or two instances that the statements rest directly upon older authority.

1. Bactria — Classical References placing Zoroaster in Eastern Iran

Several allusions in the classical writers of Greece and Rome point to the fact that Zoroaster was thought of as a Bactrian, or, at least, as exercising his activity in the east of Iran. The writers seem to have somewhat of a hazy notion that Zoroaster was not a Magian only, but that he was a king and military leader, the opponent of Ninus and Semiramis. There appears to be a reminiscence of an early struggle between a presumable eastern Iranian monarchy and the Assyrian power of the west. Most of the classical allusions to Bactria seem to indicate a common source; this source may reasonably be traced back to a misunderstood allusion

cal material on the subject of the Avestan cradle noted by Geiger, *Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā und seiner Kultur*, Abhandlungen der kgl. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. philos.-philol. Cl. 1884, pp. 315–385. Geiger's list may be supplemented by de Harlez, *Der Avestische Kalender und die Heimath der Avesta-Religion*, Berliner Orientalische Congress, Abhdgn. ii. 237 seq., Berlin, 1882; Geiger's views are criticized also by de Harlez, *Das Alter und Heimath des Avesta*, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, xii. 109 seq., 1887; and by Spiegel, *Ueber das Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā, Zweiter Artikel*, in *ZDMG*. xli. 280 seq., 1887. Consult Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. Introd. pp. 89–90, Paris, 1893.

in Ctesias.[1] In his legendary accounts, Ctesias refers to wars carried on between Ninus and Semiramis and Ὀξυάρτης (variants, Ἐχαόρτης, Χαόρτης, Ζαόρτης); the allusion in Oxyartes (Av. *Uxšyaṯərəta*) is not to Zoroaster, although Cephalion, Justin, and Arnobius, who draw on Ctesias, make Zoroaster a Bactrian and the opponent of Ninus. The matter has been commented upon above (Appendix II. 154 seq.). The statements of these particular writers, however, are added for the sake of completeness, and they are supplemented by other classical citations. See also Appendix II.

(a) Fragments of Cephalion (A.D. 120) which are preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius, *Chron.* **1.** 43, ed. Aucher, describe the rebellion of the Magian Zoroaster, King of the Bactrians, against Semiramis: *de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis certamine ac debellatione a Semiramide.* Compare also, in this connection, Georgius Syncellus, Appendix V. § **41** below (cf. ed. Dind. 1. p. 315), and the reputed work of Moses of Khorene, **1.** 6, 'le mage Zoroastre, roi des Bactriens, c'est à-dire des Mèdes'; or, on the other hand, Moses of Khorene, **1.** 17, 'Zoroastre (Zeratašd), mage et chef religieux des Mèdes (Mar)' — see Langlois, *Collections des Historiens de l'Arménie,* ii. 59 and 69, also Appendix VI. § **1** below; here Zoroaster is a contemporary of Semiramis, and he seizes the government of Assyria and Nineveh; Semiramis flees before him, and she is killed in Armenia (Langlois, ii. 69). See also Gilmore, *Ktesias' Persika,* p. 30 n.; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde,* i. 682; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 302, 303; Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627, v. 328. For the statement of Thomas Arzrounī, see p. 217 below and Appendix VI.

(b) Theon (A.D. 130) *Progymnasmata,* **9**, περὶ συγκρίσεως, ed. Spengel, *Rhet. Græc.* ii. 115, speaks of 'Zoroaster the Bactrian' — Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου — in connection with Semiramis. See Appendix V. § **8** below, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 290; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde,* i. 677.

(c) Justin (c. A.D. 120), in his epitome of Pompeius Trogus' *Hist. Philippic.* **1.** 1. 9–10, makes Zoroaster a king of Bactria, a Magian, and the opponent of Ninus — *bellum cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum.* See Appendix V. § **10** below.

(d) Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentes,* **1.** 5, also mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians, under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster: *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus.* See Appendix V. § **16.**

[1] See also Justi in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* ii. 402.

(e) Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* **4**. 35, ed. Aucher, has a like allusion to Zoroaster, Bactria, and Ninus: *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur adversum quem Ninus dimicavit ;* and again (Windischmann, p. 290), *Præparatio Evang.* 10. 9. 10, ed. Dind. p. 560, Νίνος, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. See Appendix V. § **18** below.

(f) Epiphanius of Constantia (A.D. 298–403) *Adv. Hœreses,* Lib. I. tom. i. 6 (tom. i. col. 185 seq., ed. Migne) associates Zoroaster's name with Nimrod, and states that Zoroaster came to the east and founded Bactria: Ζωροάστρης, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίγνεται Βάκτρων. See Appendix V. § **21** below. The same statement is later repeated by Procopius of Gaza, see Appendix V. § **33** below.

(g) Ammianus Marcellinus, **23**. 6. 32, in discussing magic rites, connects Zoroaster's name with Bactria, but identifies Hystaspes (Vishtāspa) with the father of Darius: *cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darei pater.* See Appendix V. § **22** below.

(h) Paulus Orosius (5th century A.D.) states that Ninus conquered and slew Zoroaster of Bactria, the Magician. For the citation and for the Anglo-Saxon version see p. 157 and Appendix V. § **27** below.

(i) Augustine (A.D. 354–430), *de Civ. Dei,* **21**. 14 (tom. vii. col. 728, ed. Migne) follows the same idea in making Zoroaster a Bactrian whose name is associated with Ninus: *a Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse (Zoroastres) Bactrianorum, bello superatus est.* See Appendix V. § **28** below.

(j) Isidorus (A.D. 570–636), *Etymol.* **8**. 9 (tom. iii. col. 310, ed. Migne): *Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum, quem Ninus rex Assyriorum proelio interfecit;* and he alludes to a statement of Aristotle regarding Zoroaster's writings. See Appendix V. § **38** below. Again Isidorus, *Chron.* (tom. v. col. 1024, ed. Migne): *hac aetate magica ars in Perside a Zoroaste Bactrianorum rege reperta. A Nino rege occiditur.*

(k) Hugo de Sancto Victore (died A.D. 1140), *Adnot. Elucid. in Pentateuchon — in Gen.* (tom. i. col. 49, ed. Migne): *rex Bactriae Nino vicinus et vocatus Zoroastes, inventor et auctor maleficiae mathematicae artis.*

2. Media or Persia — Classical References placing Zoroaster in Western Iran

There are nine or ten classical allusions, on the other hand, which connect Zoroaster's name with Media, or rather with Persia, the latter term often being used doubtless in a broader sense.

(a) Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79), *N. H.* **30**. 2. 1, for example, gives his opinion that the art of the Magi arose in Persia with Zoroaster, but he is in doubt as to whether there were two Zoroasters or only one, and he alludes to a Proconnesian Zoroaster. Thus, in his first statement, he writes, *N. H.* **30**. 2. 1, *sine dubio illic* (*ars Magica*) *orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea alius, non satis constat.* Again, in his second statement, when speaking of the Magian Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes to Greece, he says, *N. H.* **30**. 2. 8, *diligentiores paulo ante hunc* (*Osthanem*) *ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.* See Appendix V. § **5**.

Perhaps in this same connection may be mentioned the curious remark of the Scholiast to the Platonic Alcibiades (see Appendix V. § **1** below), to the effect that, according to some, Zoroaster was a 'Hellenian,' or that he had come from the mainland beyond the sea: *Ζωροάστρης . . . ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἠπείρου ὡρμημένων [παῖδά] φασι, κ. τ. λ.* See Appendix V. § **1**, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 275 n.

(b) Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 200) speaks of Zoroaster either as a Mede or as a Persian, with an allusion incidentally to Pamphylia: *Strom.* i. (tom. i. col. 773, ed. Migne), *Ζωροάστρην τὸν μάγον τὸν Πέρσην*; and *Strom.* i. (tom. i. col. 868, ed. Migne), *Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μῆδος*. Cf. again *Strom.* v. on *Πάμφυλος*. See Appendix V. § **13** below.

(c) Origenes (A.D. 185–254), *Contra Celsum* i. (tom. i. col. 689, ed. Migne), speaks of Zoroaster as a Persian — *τὸν Πέρσην Ζωροάστρην*. See Appendix V. § **14**.

(d) Diogenes Laertius (flor. c. A.D. 210), *de Vit. Philos. Procem.* 2, writes of 'Zoroaster the Persian,' — *Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην*, — and apparently bases various statements which he makes about him on the authority of Hermodorus (B.C. 250?) and Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500–450). The text should be consulted; see Appendix V. § **15** below.

(e) Porphyrius (A.D. 233–304), *de Antro Nymph.* **6**. 7, refers, at

least, to Zoroaster's retirement into a cave 'in the mountains of Persia': Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος. The context shows that the region of Persia in a general sense is intended. See Appendix V. § **17**, and cf. Windischmann, *Mithra*, Abh. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. i. 62, Leipzig, 1857.

(f) Lactantius (about A.D. 300), *Inst.* **7**. 15, refers to Hystaspes (Zoroaster's patron) as an ancieut king of Media, long antedating the founding of Rome: *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus* (cf. Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* tom. 6, and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 259, 293).

(g) Gregory of Tours (A.D. 538–593), *Hist. Francor.* **1**. 5 (col. 164 seq., ed. Migne), identifying Zoroaster with Chus (Cham or Ham), places him among the Persians, to whom he is said to have immigrated: *hic ad Persas transiit; hunc Persae vocitavere Zoroastrem.* See Appendix V. § **37**.

(h) Chronicon Paschale or Chron. Alexandrinum (A.D. 7th century, but with spurious additions A.D. 1042), col. 148 seq., ed Migne, has ὁ Ζωρόαστρος ὁ ἀστρονόμος Πέρσων ὁ περιβόητος. Again the allusion is very general in sense. See Appendix V. § **39**.

(i) It may be noted merely in passing that Georgius Syncellus (about A.D. 800), *Chron.* i. p. 147, alludes to a Zoroaster who was one of the Median rulers over Babylon more than a thousand years before the Christian era. No emphasis need be laid upon the passage, nor any stress upon identifying the name necessarily with the Prophet; the chief interest of the allusion consists in its showing that the name Zoroaster was found in Media. See Justi, *Grundriss der iran. Phil.* ii. 402; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 302; Haug, *A Lecture on Zoroaster*, p. 23, Bombay, 1865. Consult Appendix V. § **41** below.

(j) Suidas (about A.D. 970), s.v. Ζωροάστρης, assumes a second famous representative of the name, a Perso-Median sage (Περσομήδης, σοφός). This is evidently the Prophet. See Appendix V. § **45**.

(k) Michael Glycas (flourished about A.D. 1150), *Ann. Pars* ii. col. 253, ed. Migne, repeats the statements current about Ninus, Semiramis, and Zoroaster, whom he speaks of under the general term of Persian, — Ζωρόαστρος ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος, — and he adds several allusions to the magic art in Media and Persia: τὴν ἀστρονομίαν λέγονται πρῶτον εὑρηκέναι Βαβυλώνιοι διὰ Ζωροάστρου, δεύτερον δὲ ἐδέξαντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι; τὴν δὲ μαγείαν εὗρον Μῆδοι, εἶτα Πέρσαι. See Appendix V. § **47**.

Estimate of the Classical Allusions. — The classical allusions on the subject of Zoroaster's nationality are rather contradictory and conflicting. They refer to Bactria on the one hand and to Media and Persia on the other. The allusions to Persia are doubtless to be taken in a broad and general sense. It will be noticed, moreover, that the direct place of birth is not necessarily implied in these national appellatives. In point of time, few of the classical passages are much older than the more direct Oriental allusions; some of them are even later. They are of value chiefly for bringing out both sides of the question of eastern Iran and western Iran, and they are of importance when checked by tradition or when used for throwing additional light on tradition.

B. Oriental References to Zoroaster's Place of Origin — The Tradition

Laying the classical authorities aside, we may now have recourse to the more direct Oriental tradition. For the most part the Oriental material is either directly Iranian or it is Arabic matter drawn from Iranian sources. This gives it a special value. The statements on the subject may therefore be taken up in detail; the allusions found in the Pahlavi or patristic writings of Zoroastrianism will first be presented; these will then be elucidated further by references in Arabic and Syriac authors; and, finally, they will be judged in the light of the Avesta itself. If the Oriental citations be examined critically, they will be found generally to be quite consistent in their agreement on the place of Zoroaster's origin.

Western Iran — Atropatene, Media — the Scene of Zoroaster's Appearance according to Oriental Sources

There is a general uniformity among Oriental writings which touch on the subject in locating the scene of Zoroaster's appearance in western Iran, either in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene) or in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana). The city of Urmī (mod. Urumiah, Oroomiah), Shīz, or the district round about Lake Oroomiah (Av. Caēcasta or Caēcista), and Raī (Av. Raghā) are the rivals for the honor of being his home. The sea of Caēcista is the Galilee of Zoroastrianism; Shīz and Raghā, the Nazareth and the Bethlehem of Iran. Urmī and Shīz represent Atropatene; Raī (Raghā) stands for Media Proper.

The rivalry between the two regions mentioned, and the association of Zoroaster's name, first with Media Atropatene (Ādarbaijān), and then with the Median Raī (Media Rhagiana), happily finds an explanation in a remark made by Shahrastānī (A.D. 1086–1153).[1] This Arab writer gives us the key to the problem when he says of Zoroaster that 'his father was of the region of Ādarbaijān; his mother, whose name was Dughdū, came from the city of Raī.'[2]

This statement of Shahrastānī is apparently vouched for by the Dīnkarṯ (**7.** 2. 7–13), from which source we learn that Zoroaster's mother before her marriage with Pourushaspa (Pōrūshāspō) resided in a different district from the latter. As a girl she becomes filled with a divine splendor and glory; the phenomenon causes her to be suspected of witchcraft, and her father is induced by idolatrous priests to send her from his home. She goes to Paṯīragtarāspō, 'father of a family in the country of the Spītāmās, in the district of Alāk (or Arāk),'[3] where she marries Pourushaspa the son. This district is probably connected with the 'Arag province' (Zsp. **20.** 4), which latter is undoubtedly a part of Ādarbaijān.[4] Furthermore, by way of localization, we note that the village of Paṯirāgtarāspō is stated to have been situated in a valley (Dk. **7.** 2. 11–13); and the house of the son Pourushaspa, Zoroaster's father, is elsewhere spoken of as occupying the bank of the river Darej, which may have been the home of the Prophet's parents after they married.[5]

Lastly, by way of introduction, it must be noticed that there is an old proverb in Pahlavi literature which characterizes anything that is preposterous as something that could hardly happen 'even if Rāk (or Rāgh) and Nōṯar should come together' (Dk. **7.** 2. 51; **7.** 3. 19; Zsp. **16.** 11–13, and cf. Dk. **7.** 3. 39). In Zsp. **16.** 12–13, these proper names, Rāgh and Nōṯar, are explained as 'two provinces which are in Ātūr-pāṯakān (Ādarbaijān), such as are at sixty leagues (para-

[1] See my article in *JAOS.* xv. 228.

[2] See *JAOS.* xv. 228, and cf. Hyde, *Hist. Religionis vet. Pers.* p. 298; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48 (*bis*); Darmesteter, *SBE.* iv. (2d ed.), p. 261, *Le ZA.* iii. 35, n. and Introd. p. 89, n. 2. See also p. 17 above and p. 199.

[3] Quotation from Dk. **7.** 2. 9 (West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 20).

[4] On 'Arag,' consult West, *SBE.* xlvii. 151, n.; and, slightly differently, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 89, n. 2. West writes me, Nov. 1, 1897, Rāgh = Rāk = Arāk = Alāk = Av. Raghā.

[5] Bd. **20.** 32; **24.** 15; Zsp. **22.** 12; Vd. **19.** 4; **19.** 11. Shahrastānī speaks of a mountain (*Ism*)*uwīz-xar* (reading?), in Ādarbaijān, associated with Zoroaster's birth.

sang, i.e. 210 to 240 miles) from Cīst;[1] Zaratūsht arose from Rāgh, and Vishtāsp from Nōṯar. And of these two provinces, Rāgh was according to the name of Ēricŏ, son of Dūrēsrōbō, son of Mānūshcīhar, from whom arose the race of Zaratūsht; and Nōṯar was according to the name of Nōṯar, son of Mānūshcīhar, from whom arose the race of Vishtāsp.'[2]

So much by way of introduction. We may now proceed to discuss Ādarbaijān (Atropatene) and Media (Media Rhagiana) respectively.

1. Ādarbaijān (Atropatene)

The connection of Zoroaster with Lake Caēcista, Urumiah, Shīz, and the territory round about, may be further illustrated by quotations in Zoroastrian literature.

a. Allusions in Zoroastrian Literature

The allusions to Ādarbaijān will first be presented, and then an attempt will be made to localize, if possible, the regiou known in the Avesta as Airyana Vaējah (Phl. Aīrān-Vēj), and the river called Darej or Dāraja.

(a) The Būndahishn places the home of Zoroaster in Aīrān Vēj, by the river Dāraja. Bd. **20**. 32, *Dāraja rūṯ pavan Aīrān Vēj, mūnaš mān-ī Pōrūšaspō abītar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bār yehevūnṯ*, 'the Dāraja river is in Aīrān Vēj, on whose bank (*bār*) was the abode of Pōrūshasp, the father of Zaratūsht.'[3]

(b) The Būndahishn, in another passage, also states that Zoroaster was born near the Dāraja River. Bd. **24**. 15, *Dāraja rūṯ rūṯ-bārān raṯ, mamanaš mān-ī abīṯar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bālx;*[4] *Zaratūšt tamman zāṯ*, 'the Dāraja River is the chief of exalted rivers, for the abode of Zaratūsht's father was upon its banks; and Zaratūsht was born there.'

[1] If we assume that Cīst (Av. Caēcista) is Lake Urumiah, then '60 parasangs' (210–240 miles) would place Rāgh and Nōṯar considerably outside of the boundaries of the present Ādarbaijān. So noticed by West (personal letter, dated Nov. 1, 1897). This would favor the common identification of Rāgh, the home of Zoroaster's mother, with the ruins of Raī.

[2] Zsp. **16**. 11–12 (West's translation, *SBE*. xlvii. 146–147). In the Avesta, Vishtāspa is of the family of Naotairyans, and so also is Hutaosa his wife. Cf. Yt. **5**. 98; **15**. 35 and *SBE*. xlvii. 80, n. 1 and p. 70 above.

[3] See also West, *SBE*. v. 82, and p. 204 below.

[4] To be emended; see the remarks on the reading of the word by West, *SBE*. v. 89, n. 6.

(c) Zāṯ-sparam, **22.** 12, makes one of Zoroaster's conferences with the archangels to have taken place 'on the precipitous bank of the Dareja' (*pavan Darejīn zbār*). See West, *SBE.* xlvii. 162 n. There can be little doubt that this assertion, like the unequivocal statements of the Būndahishn, rests upon good old tradition; the three allusions accord perfectly with hints which are found in the Avesta itself.

(d) In the Avesta, Vd. **19.** 4; **19.** 11, we likewise learn that Zoroaster's temptations by Ahriman, as well as his visions of Ormazd and the archangels, took place, in part at least, upon the banks of the river Darej, where stood the house of his father Pourushaspa: Vd. **19.** 4, *Drəjya paiti zbarahi nmānahe Pourushaspahe,* 'by the Darej, upon its high bank, at the home (*loc. gen.*) of Pourushaspa.' Compare Phl. *pavan Darejīn zbār* in the preceding paragraph. A little farther on in the same chapter we read: Vd. **19.** 11, *pərəsaṯ Zaraθuštrō Ahurəm Mazdąm . . . Drəjya paiti zbarahe, Ahurāi Mazdāi vaəhave, Vohu-Maite ąəhānō, Ašāi Vahištāi, Xšaθrāi Vairyāi, Spəntayāi Ārmatōe,* 'Zoroaster communed with Ahura Mazda on the high bank of the Darej, sitting (?) before the good Ahura Mazda, and before Good Thought, before Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Armaiti.'[1]

With regard to localizations, there is good ground for believing that Aīrān Vēj (Av. Airyana Vaējah) is to be identified in part at least with Ādarbaijān, and that the ancient Darej of the Avesta (Phl. Dāraja) is identical with the modern Daryai. The Daryai Rūd flows from Mt. Savalān (Sebīlān), in Ādarbaijān, northward into the Aras (Araxes).[2] If the identification be correct and the

[1] The reference to the elevation or the precipitous bank of the river, Av. *zbarah*, Phl. *zbār*, *bār* (cf. Skt. *hvâras*), seems to be in accordance with the tradition that Zoroaster retired to a mountain for meditation; see Vd. **22.** 19, *gairīm avi spəntō-frasnā, varəšəm avi spəntō-frasnā,* 'to the mountain of the two who held holy converse; to the wood where the two (Ormazd and Zoroaster) had holy communings.' See similar ideas above, p. 34. If it were not for the Pahlavi passages, one might be inclined to render Av. *zbarahi,* 'at a bend' (of the river), or as adj. 'meandering'; cf. Skt. √ *hvar,* 'to be crooked, to wind'; or even the idea 'in a cave' might be gotten etymologically from the word; and the cave played a part in Zoroastrian and Mithraic mysteries. On the latter point compare Windischmann, *Mithra*, pp. 62–64, in *Abh. K. Morg.* i. No. 1, 1857.

[2] See also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* tr. *SBE.* iv. Introd. p. 49 (1st ed.). For the river Aras (Araxes), see de Harlez, *Avesta* traduit, p. viii. map; also the map of Persia by Philip

ancient Darej, Dāraja, was in Atropatene, it is wholly in keeping with what follows; for in this connection may be noticed a later non-Iranian tradition which associates Zoroaster's name with Shīz (cf. Av. Caēcista) and with Mt. Savalān. Consult the Map.

This tradition which supports the assumed identification Darej, Dāraja, Daryai, is found in the Arabic writer Ḳazwīnī (about A.D. 1263).[1] The passage in which Ḳazwīnī speaks of Shīz in Ādarbaijān is as follows: 'Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here (*i.e.* Ādarbaijān). It is said that he came from Shīz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian, which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Gushtāsp, the son of Lohrāsp, the son of Kai-Khusrau, king of Persia.'[2] Mount Sabalān (Savalān) may be the Avestan 'Mount of the Holy Communicants,' with a sacred tree perhaps (Vd. **22.** 19, *gairīm spəntō-frasnā̊, varəšəm spəntō-frasnā̊*), for Ḳazwīnī elsewhere says of Sabalān: 'It is related that the Prophet (*i.e.* Mohammed) said: Sabalān is a mountain between Armenia and Ādarbaijān. On it is one of the graves of the prophets. He said further: On the top of the mountain is a large spring, the water of which is frozen on account of the severe cold; and around the mountain are hot springs to which sick people come. At the foot of the mountain is a large tree, and under this there is a plant to which no animal will draw near. If it comes near it, the animal flees away; if it eat of it, it dies.'[3] The religious character of the place, the mountain, the tree, the springs, would answer well for the identification suggested for the modern Daryai Rūd in Ādarbaijān.

This much having been prefaced with reference to Ādarbaijān and with regard to the river near which the Prophet probably passed some of his early years, or in the neighborhood of which he

& Son (London), Rand & McNally (New York), and especially by Keith Johnson (Edinburgh and London) at the end of this volume.

[1] Ḳazwīnī, ii. p. 267, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848 (Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40); consult also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, tr. *SBE.* iv. Introd. p. 49 (1st ed.), where Rawlinson's identification of Shīz with Takht-i Suleimān is noticed.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 41–42. According to Gottheil, the tree appears also in connection with Zoroaster in Syriac legends.

may have been born (Bd. **24**. 15), if not at Urumiah, we are next prepared to take np the question of Aīrān Vēj.

Direct Iranian tradition explicitly connects the opening of Zoroaster's prophetic career with Airyana Vaējah of the Avesta, or Aīrān Vēj in Pahlavi. This land is sometimes regarded as mythical; but, like a number of other scholars, I do not agree with that view. I am inclined strongly to favor the opinion of those who think we have good reason for believing that Airyana Vaējah is to be localized in the west of Iran, as the Pahlavi locates it, and that this also points to the notion that Zoroaster originally came from that direction eastward. The Būndahishn expressly connects Aīrān Vēj with Atropatene : Bd. **29**. 12, *Aīrān Vēj pavan kūst-ī Ātūrpāṯakān.* The present opinion of scholars tends to uphold this localization.[1] The river Darej, near which stood the house of Zoroaster's father, was in Aīrān Vēj, as already stated, and an identification was accordingly suggested. In the Avesta, moreover, Zoroaster is familiarly spoken of as 'renowned in Airyana Vaējah' (Ys. **9**. 14, *srūtō airyene vaējahe*). The Prophet is also there represented as offering sacrifice in Airyana Vaējah by the river Dāityā (see below): Yt. **5**. 104; **9**. 25; **17**. 45, *airyene vaējahi vaŋhuyå dāityayå.* The Būndahishn likewise alludes to the fact that Zoroaster first offered worship in Aīrān Vēj and received Mēṯyōmāh (Av. *Maiδyōi-måŋha*) as his first disciple. The passage reads, Bd. **32**. 3, 'Zaratūsht, when he brought the religion, first celebrated worship in Aīrān Vēj and Mēṯyōmāh received the religion from him.'[2] In the Dīnkarṯ also, as well as in the Avesta, the river Dāītī and its affluents in the land of Aīrān Vēj form the scene of Zoroaster's first revelation and of certainly one of his interviews with the archangels, the majority of which took place in Atropatene (Dk. **7**. 3. 51–54; 4. 29; 8. 60; 9. 23; Zsp. **21**. 5; **21**. 13; **22**. 2; **22**. 9).[3] In the later Persian Zartusht Namah, Zoroaster passes the Dāītī before he proceeds on his mission to King Vishtāsp.[4]

[1] Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 5–6 ; Geldner, *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 38 ; similarly Justi, Spiegel, and de Harlez make Media the home of the Avesta. The strongest opponent of this view, and warmest supporter of Bactria, is Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882 ; *Sitz. d. Kgl. bayr. Akad.*, Mai, 1884, and recently *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 389. Spiegel notices the question of Airyanem Vaējō in *ZDMG.* xli. 289.

[2] Cf. West, *SBE.* v. 141, and Justi, *Der Bundahesh*, p. 79.

[3] Cf. p. 40 seq., above.

[4] See Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 491.

The hallowed Dāityā[1]—a sort of Iranian Jordan—was perhaps a border stream between two territorial divisions; we recall that Vishtāspa sacrifices 'on the other side of it' (cf. *pasne*, Yt. **17.** 49) as discussed elsewhere, p. 211. The proposed identification of the Dāityā and its affluents, with the modern Ḳizel Ūzen, Spēd or Safēd Rūd and its tributaries in Ādarbaijān has already been mentioned as satisfying most of the conditions of the problem.[2]

β. Allusions in Mohammedan Writers

Having examined the direct Iranian sources in the light of possible allusions to Atropatene, we may now turn to other material on the subject. Mohammedan writers are almost unanimous in placing the first part of Zoroaster's prophetic career in Ādarbaijān (Āẓarbaijān) or in stating that he came originally from that region.[3] The traditions cluster about Urumiah (Urmī) and Shīz. The Arabic name Shīz is the counterpart of an Iranian Cīz (from Caēcista), or Lake Urumiah.[4] The Arab geographer Yāḳūt (A.D. 1250) describes 'Shīz, a district of Aẓarbaijān . . . which is believed to be the country of Zaradusht, the prophet of the fire-worshippers. The chief place of this district is Urmiah';[5] and under Urmiah he writes: 'It is believed that this is the city of Zaradusht and that it was founded by the fire-worshippers.'[6]

There are a dozen other such statements which will be given below, but before presenting them it will be well merely to note that two or three Arabic authors allude to Zoroaster as being of Palestinian origin, and they state that he came from that land to Ādarbaijān; and they proceed to identify him with Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah. This confusion is presumably due to their having confounded the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah, *Armiah* (أرميه)

[1] Lit. the 'river of the Law,' on which it was first promulgated.

[2] See pp. 41, 211. The same suggestion has been made tentatively by West, *SBE.* v. 79 n.; but Justi, *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 402, proposes either the Kur or the Aras. Similarly Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 6, n.

[3] The quotations in the following paragraphs are made from the monograph of my friend and colleague, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894 (Columbia University Press).

[4] See Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. p. xxi, n. 2, and cf. Justi, *Handbuch*, s.v. *Caēcasta.*

[5] See Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse, extrait de Yaqout*, Paris, 1861, p. 367.

[6] Ibid. p. 26, 85.

with Zoroaster's supposed native place Urumiah, *Urmiah* (أُرْمِيَة).[1] Having noticed this point we may present the Arabic and Syriac allusions to Zoroaster's native place, which are almost unanimous in mentioning Ādarbaijān (Āẓarbaijān).

(a) Ibn Khurdādhbah (about A.D. 816),[2] *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, p. 119 (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1889) writes of 'Urmiah, the city of Zarādusht, and Salamās and Shīz, in which last city there is the temple of Adharjushnas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians.'[3]

(b) Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (about A.D. 851) in his *Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān* (De Goeje, *Liber Expugnationis Regnorum*, p. 331. 1, Leyden, 1866), in mentioning the conquest of Ādarbaijān, adds the following note: 'Urmiah is an ancient city (of Ādarbaijān); the Magians think that Zāradusht, their master, came from there.'[4]

(c) Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (about A.D. 910), in his geographical account (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1885, p. 286) mentions as cities of Ādarbaijān: 'Janzah, Jābrawān, and Urmiah, the city of Zarādusht, and Shīz, in which there is the fire-temple, Ādharjushnas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians.'[5]

(d) Ṭabarī (d. A.D. 923), in his history, gives considerable attention to Zoroaster; out of a number of allusions one passage may be selected. It will be noticed, as explained above, pp. 38, 166, that Ṭabarī mentions a belief that Zoroaster was a native of Palestine who came to Ādarbaijān. In his *Annales*, Part I. p. 648 (Brill, Leyden, 1881), the passage runs: 'During the reign of Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp) Zarādusht appeared, whom the Magians believe to be their prophet. According to some learned men among the people of the book (i.e. the Jews), he was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favorite; but he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore

[1] Cf. pp. 30, 166 above and Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 30, n. 2.

[2] His father is stated to have been a Magian, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

[4] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33. It is not necessary at this point to repeat also the allusion to 'Persia' in the Christian patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria (A.D. 876–939) when he mentions Zoroaster. This author wrote in Arabic; the passage is given above in a Latin version in Appendix II. p. 168, and it may be found rendered into Latin in Migne, *Patrolog. Gr.*, tom. 111.

[5] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

God cursed him, and he became leprous.[1] He wandered to Ādarbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp, who was in Balkh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many of his people to death on its account. They then followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve years.'[2]

(e) Masūdī (writing A.D. 943–944, died 951) states in his *Meadows of Gold:* 'Gushtāsp reigned after his father (Lohrāsp) and resided at Balkh. He had been on the throne thirty years when Zardusht, son of Espimān, presented himself before him . . . he (Zardusht) was originally from Ādarbaijān and he is ordinarily called Zardusht, son of Espimān.'[3]

(f) Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī (A.D. eleventh century) in his *Annals*, p. 22, 26 (Gottwaldt, *Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium*, Libri x, Lipsiae, 1848) states: 'While King Lohrāsp was still living, the sovereignty was handed over to his son Gushtāsp; and in the thirtieth year of Gushtāsp's reign, when he himself was fifty years old, Zardusht of Ādarbaijān came to him and expounded the religion to him. He not only embraced the religion himself, but he also sent messengers to the Greeks in behalf of this faith and invited them to adopt it. They, on the contrary, produced a book which had been given them by Ferīdūn, in which it was agreed that they should be allowed to keep whatsoever religion they had themselves chosen.'[4]

(g) Shahrastānī (born A.D. 1086) has the famous statement already noticed, pp. 17, 192: 'They (the Zarādushtīya) are the followers of Zarādusht ibn Būrshasb (Purshasp), who appeared in the time of King Kushtāsf (Gushtāsp) ibn Lohrāsp; his father was from Ādarbaijān, and his mother, whose name was Dughdū, was from Raī.'[5] According to Shahrastānī the Prophet's birth takes place in Ādarbaijān.

(h) Ibn al-Athīr (A.D. 13th century) incorporates the greater part of Ṭabarī's history into his *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-ta'arikh*, with slight

[1] Cf. p. 30 and Appendix II. p. 166.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 36–37.

[3] From Masūdī (Maçoudī), *Prairies d'Or, Texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard*, ii. p. 123. See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 34.

[4] After Gottwaldt's Latin translation. See also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33.

[5] From the German translation by Haarbrücker, i. p. 275 seq.; see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48.

additions from other sources, and with a more concise arrangement. His account of Zoroaster closely follows Ṭabarī's lines, including the statement regarding Zoroaster's relation to Jeremiah,[1] and his wandering to Ādarbaijān: 'It is said, he adds, that he was a foreigner,[2] and that he had composed a book with which he went around in the land. No one knew its meaning. He pretended that it was a heavenly tongue in which he was addressed. He called it *Ashta*.[3] He went from Ādarbaijān to Fāris (Persia). But no one understood what was in it, nor did they receive him. Then he went to India and offered it to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Ferghānah, but its prince wished to kill him. From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp), son of Lohrāsp, who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time.'[4] And Ibn al-Athīr farther on relates: 'Then Bishtāsp caused Zarādusht, who was in Balkh, to be brought to him. When he stood before the king he explained his religion to him. The king wondered at it, followed it, and compelled his people to do the same. He killed a large number of them until they accepted (the new religion). The Magians believe that he took his rise in Ādarbaijān and that he came down to the king through the roof of the chamber. In his hand was a cube of fire with which he played without its hurting him; nor did it burn any one who took it from his hands. He caused the king to follow him and to hold to his religion, and to build temples in his land for the fires. From this they lighted the fire in the fire-temples.'[5]

(i) Yāḳūt (about A.D. 1250) has already been cited, but the allusions from Gottheil's collection (p. 42) are added here for completeness. The *Kitāb Muʿjam al-buldān* (vol. iii. p. 354, ed. Wüstenfeld) remarks of Shīz: 'It is said that Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, comes from this place. Its chief city is Urmiah. . . . In it is a fire-temple which is held in great esteem. From it are lighted the fires of the Magians from the east unto the west.' Also, vol. i.

[1] See comment on pp. 197–198.

[2] *Min al-ʿajam;* probably a Persian (Gottheil).

[3] Mistake for *Abasta*, *Avesta*.

[4] The notion of Zoroaster's wanderings is not inconsistent with what is implied in the Dīnkarṯ; the imprisonment is also familiar from the stories in the Dīnkarṯ and Zartusht Nāmah, p. 62 above.

[5] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 39–40.

p. 219, Yāḳūt has: 'Urmiah . . . people believe it to be the city of Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians.'[1]

(j) Ḳazwīnī (about A.D. 1263), *Cosmography*, ii. p. 267 (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848), speaking of Shīz in Ādarbaijān, recounts: 'Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here. It is said that he came from Shīz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Kushtāsp, the son of Lohrāsp, the son of Kai Khusrau, king of the Persians. He wished to get to Bishtāsp, but he did not succeed. Bishtāsp was sitting in the hall of state, when the roof of the hall parted in two, and Zarādusht came down from it.' And, after describing some of the details of Vishtāsp's conversion, Ḳazwīnī concludes: 'Zarādusht commanded that fire-temples should be built in all the kingdom of Bishtāsp. He made the fire a Kibla, not a god. This sect continued to exist until the prophet of God (Mohammed) was sent. They say that even to-day a remnant of it is to be found in the land of Sajistān.'[2]

(k) The Syriac writer, Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā (about A.D. 1250) in his *Arabic Chronicon*, p. 83 (ed. Salḥani, Beirut, 1890), following his Arab masters, says: 'In those days (of Cyrus and Cambyses) Zaradosht, chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Ādarbaijān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ, and that they should bring him gifts.'[3]

(l) Abulfeda (A.D. 1273–1331), *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 58, as cited by Hyde, states that Zoroaster arose in (ارمي) *Urmī* or (ارميه) *Urmiah*. See Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 311 (1st ed.). Hyde discusses other Arabic references, pp. 312–317. See below, Appendix VI. § 2.

Estimate of the Mohammedan Allusions.—According to the Arabic statements one would be justified in assuming that Zoroaster arose in Ādarbaijān; there seems also to be a preponderance of statements to the effect that Balkh was the scene of the Prophet's conversion of Vishtāsp.

[1] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 42.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 40–41.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32.

2. Raghā, Raī (Media Rhagiana)

All the above traditional Oriental allusions have been unanimous in placing Zoroaster's origin in Ādarbaijān, or Media Atropatene, whether in Urumiah, Shīz, or on the river Darej. There are yet two other passages, drawn from the Avesta, which connect Zoroaster's name with Raghā.

Raghā is generally identified with the city of Raī (Gk. Ῥάγαι) of Media, whose ancient ruins are still pointed out near modern Teheran. This was a famous city in antiquity, the 'Rages of Media' in the O. T. Apocrypha.[1] The Pahlavi texts seem to regard it as part of Ātūr-pāṭakān.[2] Perhaps the boundaries of Ādarbaijān were wider extended then than now, although Darmesteter suggests that possibly there may have been a Raghā in Ādarbaijān independent of Raī.[3] This seems hardly necessary from what follows. We must also remember that Ragā in the Ancient Persian inscriptions is a district or province, *dahyu*. The subject of Raghā requires further discussion, but it may be stated at the outset that these allusions, in any event, lend additional weight to the view of Zoroaster's belonging originally to western Iran.

But before taking up the detailed question of Av. *Raghā*, Phl. *Rāgh*, Mod. Pers. *Raī*, it will be well to cite an extract from the Dabistān, a work that is late in its present form (about A.D. 1650), but a book which contains old traditions. The passage runs: 'It is generally reported that Zardusht was of Ādarbaijān or Tabrīz; but those who are not *Beh-dīnians*, or "true believers," assert, and the writer of this work has also heard from the Mobed Torru of Busāwāri, in Gujarat, that the birthplace and distinguished ancestors of the prophet belong to the city of Raī.'[4] With this information we may turn to the Avesta itself.

(a) The first of the two Avesta texts which evidently associate Zoroaster's name in some way with Raghā is Vd. **1.** 15, and the Pahlavi version of the passage is interesting. The Avesta passage reads: Vd. **1.** 15, *dvadasəm asaŋhąmca šōiθranąmca vahištəm frāθ-*

[1] On 'Rhagæ,' see my article in Harper's *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*, pp. 1369–1370, New York, 1897.

[2] E.g. Zsp. **16.** 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 147, et al.

[3] *Le ZA.* ii. 13, n., 33.

[4] *Dabistān*, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. p. 263, Paris, 1843. The translator adds a note that Raī is the most northern town of the province Jebal, or Irak Ajem, the country of the ancient Parthians.

wərəsəm azəm yō ahurō mazdå raγąm θrizantūm, 'as the twelfth most excellent of localities and places, I who am Ahura Mazda created Raghā of the three races.' The Pahlavi commentary renders, *rāk ī 3 tōxmak ātūr-pāṯakāno*, 'Rāk of three races, of Ātūr-pāṯakān,'[1] and he adds the gloss, *aētun mūn rēī yemalelūnēṯo*, 'some say it is Raī.' Notice the footnote.[2]

(b) The second of the Avestan passages which connects the name of Zoroaster with Raghā is in Ys. **19**. 18. Mention is there made of five regular rulers, 'the lord of the house, the village, the province, and the country, and Zarathushtra as the fifth.' This order, as the text continues, holds good for all countries 'except the Zarathushtrian Raji (or *Raghi;* is it Raī ?).' 'The Zarathushtrian Raghā (*Raγa Zaraθuštriš*) has four lords, the lord of the house, the village, the province, and Zarathushtra as the fourth.' The text is appended.

Ys. **19**. 18, *Kaya ratavō ? nmānyō vīsyō zantumō dāhyumō zaraθuštrō puxδō. åŋhąm dahyunąm yå anyå rājōiṯ zaraθuštrōiṯ. caθru-ratuš raγa zaraθuštriš. kaya aiŋhå ratavō ? nmānyasca vīsyasca zantumasca zaraθuštrō tūiryō.* This construction evidently signifies that the *Dāhyuma*, or governor, is everywhere the supreme head, but there is acknowledged one who stands above him as representative of the church, as well as state, the chief pontiff Zoroaster (*Zarathushtra*), or 'the supreme Zoroaster' (*Zarathushtrō-tema*), as he is elsewhere termed (e.g. Ys. **26**. 1; Yt. **10**. 115, etc.). In the papal see of Raghā, however, the temporal power (Dāhyuma) and the spiritual lordship (Zarathushtra) are united in the one person.[3] For some reason Raghā is plainly the seat of the religious government. The Pahlavi version (ad loc.) speaks of it in connection with Zoroaster as being 'his own district' (*maṯā-ī nafšman*);[4] the Sanskrit of Nēryōsang glosses the allusion by asserting that

[1] Cf. Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Pahlavi Version of the Avesta Vendidad*, p. 8, Bombay, 1895.

[2] Allusion has been made above (p. 202) to the question of a Raghā in Ādarbaijān as possibly contrasted with the Ῥάγαι of the Greek, or possibly to a *Raγa Zaraθuštriš* different from Raī; cf. also the Anc. Pers. *Ragā* as a district or province, *dahyu;* but that is uncertain.

[3] See also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. p. 170.

[4] Notice the use of 'district,' and elsewhere Raghā is a region as well as a town of Media. On Greek allusions to Ῥάγαι, see also Haug, *Ahuna-Vairya-Formel*, pp. 133–134 (=45–46), München, 1872, and the article which is referred to on the preceding page (p. 202, n. 1).

Zoroaster was the fourth lord in this village, because it is his own —*tasmin grāme yat svīyam āsīt asāu gurus' caturtho 'bhūt.*[1] Raghā is plainly a centre of ecclesiastical power, as remarked above. This fact is further attested by Yāḳūt (i. p. 244), who says there was a celebrated fortress 'in the district of Dunbāwand, in the province of Raī' (notice the latter expression), which was the stronghold of the chief priest of the Magians.[2] If Raghā enjoyed such religious prominence there must have been ground for it, and we recall what was said above, in the Dabistān and Shahrastānī's statement, which connects Zoroaster's mother's family with Raī.

(c) As a sequel to this, comes an interesting comment in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam; this has already been noticed (p. 192), but it is worthy of being taken up again at this point, for it is a sort of Iranian adage like Macbeth's Birnam wood and Dunsinane. In Zsp. **16**. 11–12, an old proverbial affirmation is used to assert that something is impossible, and that it would not happen—'not though both the provinces of Rāgh and Nōṯar should arrive here together'; and the explanatory comment on these proper names is added, 'two provinces which are in Ātūr-pāṯakān, such as are sixty leagues (parasang, i.e. 210 to 240 miles) from Cīst.[3] Zaratūsht arose from Rāgh, and Vishtāsp from Nōṯar.' The rest of the passage and the Dīnkarṯ occurrences of the proverb have been given above (pp. 192–193), and should be consulted.

Rāgh (Av. Raghā) like Arabic Shīz is evidently a territorial designation as well as a town title, and certainly the Prophet's family on the maternal side came from there, if we are to place any reliance on tradition. Now, if the Prophet was born in a city of Ādarbaijān, whether in Urumiah, in the region of Shīz (Av. Caēcista, prob. Urumiah), or on the Darej River—and even Rāgh itself appears frequently in Pahlavi to have been regarded as a part of this land—it is by no means unlikely that a man with a mission like Zoroaster would have been drawn to so important a place as Raghā was in antiquity, especially if it was the home of his mother. All which would account for the association of the names together. An attempt has been made by the present writer, in *JAOS.* xv. p. 228–232, more fully to amplify this connection of Raghā with Zoroaster's teaching

[1] Cf. Spiegel, *Neriosengh's Skt. Uebersetz. des Yaçna*, Leipzig, 1861, p. 99.

[2] See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 46, n.; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 33; Darmesteter, *SBE.* iv. p. xlviii. (1st ed.).

[3] It is important to consult the footnote on p. 193.

and preaching, especially by an attempted explanation of the word *rajiš* in Ys. 53. 9.[1] But the passage and the commentary alike are difficult, and enough has been said already to show Zoroaster's connection with this region.

Conclusion as to Zoroaster's Native Place. — Zoroaster arose in western Iran. Apparently he was born somewhere in Ādarbaijān. The places specially mentioned are Urumiah, Shīz (Av. Caēcista, prob. anc. Urumiah) and the river Darej. His mother's family was connected with Raghā, which accounts for associating his name with that place; but it is not clear that this was the Median Raī (Ῥάγαι of the Greeks) although it was in the west. The latter seems to have been a district as well as town, and is sometimes regarded as a part of ancient Ātūr-pāṯakān. Zoroaster's youth was also certainly passed in western Iran.

II. SCENE OF ZOROASTER'S MINISTRY

General Remarks

The question regarding Zoroaster's native place may be looked upon as having been answered by placing it in western Iran, at least on the basis of present evidence and opinion. The question as to the scene or scenes of his religious activity, however, is a more unsettled problem. The uncertainty is doubtless due to the conditions of the case; missionary work by a reformer is not confined to a single field. Taking a general view, however, as stated on p. 186, scholars are divided between Media, in the broader sense, and Bactria, with a preponderance perhaps in favor of the former. The present writer has elsewhere maintained the ground that both sides of this question are possibly correct, in part, and that the conflicting views may be combined and reconciled on the theory that the reformer's native place was not necessarily the scene of his really successful prophetic mission.[2] In other words, the opinion was held that Zoroaster may have been a prophet without honor in his own country; that he arose, indeed, in western Iran, probably somewhere in Atropatene; that he presumably went at one time to

[1] First suggested by Geldner, *KZ.* xxviii. 202-203, and further discussed by the present writer in the article alluded to in the next note.

[2] Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place?* *JAOS.* vol. xv. pp. 221-232, New Haven, 1891.

Raghā (perhaps Media Rhagiana), but on finding this an unfruitful field he turned at last to Bactria. Under the patronage of Vishtāspa, his faith became an organized state religion; and then it spread, possibly through religious crusades, westward to Media and Persia. Progress was rapid; the fire of religious zeal was contagious; the district of Raghā, which was once a hot-bed of heresy (*uparō-vīmanōhīm*), became the head of the established faith of Media. Persia follows suit when she rises into power. That at least was suggested at the time — in other words that we have an earlier instance of the same story as Mohammed, or Mecca and Medina.

Such a view, however, is mere theory or speculation, at least so far as Bactria and the exact spreading of the Creed is concerned. Nevertheless it is not speculation built entirely upon baseless fabric. It has this in its favor, that it is based upon a combination of various statements in Zoroastrian literature which may be united with Arabic and Syriac material, and with Latin and Greek references, so as to make, in part at least, a fairly solid structure. The assumption of a double scene for Zoroaster's life, first for his birth and earlier years, and second for his later years and death, has also been inferred by others, naturally from the tradition.[1] It has an advantage in saving several points of tradition which would otherwise fall; but it is open to several serious objections which will be pointed out as the investigation proceeds. For the present, it will be a better plan simply to bring forward both sides of the question, the eastern and the western view, and to reserve final decision for later. The Bactrian side will first be presented; the arguments in favor of Media will then be arrayed to offset this.

Before proceeding to the discussion, it is proper to recall that we have no direct evidence to prove that Zoroaster spent the first thirty years of his life anywhere but in his native land, if we assume that to be Ādarbaijān. At the age of thirty came the Revelation, the opening of his ministry, and the first of the seven visions that filled the ten or twelve years which elapsed until Maidhyōi-māonha adopted the creed, and King Vishtāspa was converted. The whole of this question has been examined in Chapter IV. As it was there stated

[1] So Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, T. i. pt. 2, pp. 5, 29. (Anquetil's *Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Lett.* T. xxxi. p. 370 seq., as noted also by Kanga, *Extracts*, p. 55.) A similar view (but with modification), Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumsk.* i. 708, ii. 171. On the other hand, notice what is said by Geiger, *OIK.* pp. 488–492.

we have information from the Dīnkarṯ (see pp. 43–46 above), that Zoroaster went and preached before the Turanian Aūrvāītā-dang after the first conference with Ormazd; furthermore, that he expounded the tenets of his faith to Parshaṯ-gāu in Sagastān. From this it is manifest that during the first two years he must, at all events, have been in the east, apparently both northeast and southeast, even if one maintains the view that Vishtāspa lived nearer to the region of his own native land.

This tradition of wanderings to remote lands is in keeping with the Gāthā psalm of dejection, *Kām nəmōi ząm, kuθrā nəmōi ayenī*, 'to what land am I to turn, whither am I to turn,' Ys. **46.** 1 seq. An echo of it, moreover, as already stated (p. 200), is perhaps to be recognized in Ibn al-Athīr, who recounts how Zoroaster goes from Ādarbaijān to Persia, then to India,[1] China, Turkestan, Ferghānah, and that he finally converts Vishtāspa, who seems in this account to be in the east. Perhaps these statements regarding India are due to Zoroaster's having been in Sagastān or Seistān (see also footnote below) which forms part of the territory of White India.[2] It may be noticed that Ammianus Marcellinus also makes Hystaspes (or is it Zoroaster) pass some time studying in India (see Appendix II., p. 167). So much for the two years that followed the first ecstatic vision, and which correspond to different scenes in Zoroaster's missionary labors!

By the close of this period, Zoroaster appears to have wended his way gradually back again toward his native country, as may be inferred from the different localities in which the visions of the next eight years took place. Consult the Map. The second, third, and fourth visions took place on the homeward route to the south of the Caspian Sea, if the identifications in Chapter IV. be correct. The fifth and sixth visions were beheld in the region of the river Dāityā and Mount Asnavant (Mount Sahend and the Ḳizel Ūzen; cf. pp. 41, 48). Finally, the last interview with the archangels was manifested to him at his own home on the river Darej (pp. 34, 49, 194), which would agree with the Avesta (Vd. **19.** 4, 11), as this vision is also associated with the temptation by Ahriman. But now for the Bactrian question!

[1] Is it Sagastān (Parshat-gāu) and Turan (Aūrvāītā-dang)? Cf. p. 39, n. 1 above. See also next note and references.

[2] On 'White India,' the provinces of Iran which border upon India, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 4, 13, n., and cf. above, pp. 44, n. 4, 72, n. 3, 87, n. 1, 178, and p. 210.

1. Bactria and the East, or the View that Zoroaster's Ministry was in Eastern Iran

Irrespective of the question of the scene of Zoroaster's activity, the whole problem of the home of the Avesta itself, as a literary composition and religious work, has long been a common subject of discussion.[1] The assumption of a Bactrian kingdom which antedated the Median empire, or at least preceded the rise of the Achaemenian power, has generally been maintained by scholars, especially by the historian Duncker.[2] Criticisms of this view will be mentioned later; but it is important to notice that one of the strongest supporters of an eastern Iranian civilization, judging from geographical and ethnographical allusions in the Avesta, is the Iranist, Wilhelm Geiger.[3]

The Avesta itself does not give any definite statement with respect to the situation of Vishtāspa's capital, nor do the Pahlavi texts, to be discussed below, seem more explicit. Nevertheless, the Avestan geographical allusions tend to gravitate toward the east, rather than toward the west.[4] The heroic sagas of the royal line of kings in the Avestan Yashts are located for the most part in the east. According to the Zamyād Yasht (esp. Yt. **19**. 66–69), the home of the Kavi dynasty is in Seistān, and this is important to consider because of its bearing on the claim for the east and for Bactria. Firdausī, a native of Ṭūs, moreover, places the scene of the Vishtāspa-Gushtāsp cycle in eastern and northeastern Iran, as will be more fully explained below.[5] According to Firdausī (Daḳīḳī), Yāḳūt, Mirkhond, and others, Balkh was founded by Vishtāsp's father, Lohrāsp.[6] On the Græco-Bactrian coins is found an

[1] For some bibliographical references, see p. 186.

[2] *Geschichte des Alterthums.* iv. 15 seq.; Nöldeke, *Persia*, in Encyclopædia Britannica, xviii. 561 (9th ed.); Tomaschek, *Baktria, Baktriane, Baktrianoi*, in Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* ii. col. 2806 seq. (neue Bearb.).

[3] *Ostiranische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882; *Vaterland u. Zeitalter des Avesta* in *Sitzb. d. K. B. Acad.*, May, 1894; *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* ii. 389. This view is criticised by Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xxxv. 636, and rejected, *ZDMG.* xli. 292–296; cf. also in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschr.* N. F. 8. 1 seq. Again, it is opposed by de Harlez, *Das alter und Heimath des Avesta*, in *BB.* xii. 109 seq.; cf. also *Abh. d. Berliner Or. Congress*, ii. 270–277. The arguments in favor of Bactria from the classics are most strongly presented by Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. 27–33 (1865).

[4] Geldner, *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 38.

[5] See also Nöldeke in *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 131.

[6] Firdausī, *Livre des Rois*, tr. Mohl, iv. 224; Yāḳūt in Barbier de

ΑΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ (i.e. Aurvaṯ-aspa, Lohrāsp), evidently as heros eponymos of the place.[1] Albīrūnī states that 'Balkh was the original residence of the Kayanians,' and Mirkhond speaks of Lohrāsp as 'the Bactrian.'[2] Ṭabarī similarly states that Lohrāsp 'established his residence at Balkh,' where he places the seat likewise of Lohrāsp's son and successor, Vishtāsp;[3] yet it must not be forgotten in this connection that Ṭabarī also considers Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus to have been generals under Lohrāsp and Vishtāsp.[4] Masūdī joins in regarding Balkh as the royal capital until the seat of government was transferred westward to Irāḳ in the time of Hūmāī.[5] Other Persian and Arabic chroniclers and geographers place the seat of the Kayanian empire, at the time of Lohrāsp and Vishtāsp, in Bactria, i.e. to the north of Seistān, and there is a tradition about a portrait of Zoroaster at Balkh, as will be noticed in Appendix VII. The author of the Zartusht Nāmah and the Cangranghācah Nāmah, who was himself a native of Raī, localizes the scene of the meeting between Zoroaster and Vishtāsp in Balkh, where he also represents the famous debate between Zoroaster and the Brahman Cangranghācah to have taken place (cf. p. 85 seq. above). This is interesting when we consider that the writer came from the west and from a city which was so closely associated with Zoroaster's name; he must have had some strong tradition to that effect; his work, moreover, is known to be based upon Pahlavi authorities.[6] In the Dīnkarṯ, the meeting took place first on a 'race-course' (*aspānvar*), but the locality is not indicated, cf. p. 59, n. 2 above. From the Pahlavi treatise 'Wonders of Sagastān' it appears that at one time (perhaps after his conversion) Vishtāspa had conferences with Zoroaster and his apostles in Seistān—see passage translated below, p. 212.

Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 112; Mirkhond, *Hist. of Pers. Kings*, tr. Shea, London, 1832.

[1] See Tomaschek's article, *Baktria*, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ii. col. 2812–2813. Consult Stein, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins* in *Babyl. and Or. Record*, i. 157 seq.; notice a dissenting view by Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. ii. 432.

[2] Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, p. 100, London, 1879, and Mirkhond, tr. Shea, pp. 59, 264, 272.

[3] Ṭabarī, *Chronique de Tabarī, traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-Alī Mo'hammed Bel'amī*, par Zotenberg, i. p. 491 seq.; cf. similar allusions in Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 36–40.

[4] Furthermore, for the destruction of Jerusalem by Lohrāsp (!), see Maīōg-ī khiraṯ, 27. 64–67, tr. West, *SBE*. xxiv. 64–65, and Yāḳūt in Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 369. See also p. 91, n. 2 above.

[5] Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, tr. Barbier de Meynard, ii. p. 120.

[6] *Zartusht Nāmah*, tr. Eastwick, in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 498.

To return to Firdausī. As mentioned above, the Shāh Nāmah connects Lohrāsp with Balkh, and describes how the youthful Vishtāsp quits the realm and passes the first years of his life in the west, in Rūm (the Byzantine Empire).[1] He returns from thence to assume the sceptre of authority. It is not specifically stated that the years which directly followed were actually passed in Balkh, but it is certain that the last part of his reign is regarded as being passed there. Lohrāsp himself lives there in retirement after Vishtāsp had mounted the throne, and the lapse of time is shown also by the fact that Zoroaster is now spoken of as an old man (Pers. *pīr*).[2] Perhaps Vishtāsp formed a link between the east and the west, if the texts seem to imply a break in the regular succession as he came to the throne; see p. 223, n. 1 below.

At this point we may turn again to our earlier Iranian sources. As previously observed, neither the Avesta nor the Pahlavi writings are explicit in their statements as to the situation of Vishtāspa's capital. The Dīnkarṯ, it is true, speaks several times of the 'abode' (*mān*), 'residence' (*babā*), or 'lofty residence' (*buland mānišnō*) of Vishtāsp, but there is nothing precise as to the location.[3] The general allusions to Nōṯar, moreover, have already been noticed above, p. 192, and they will be referred to again, p. 222. The nearest approach in the Avesta to a definite statement regarding Vishtāspa's whereabouts is found in two references to places where he offers sacrifice for victory in battle over Arejaṯ-aspa in the holy war of the Religion, or when on a religious crusade. One of these sacrifices is offered 'on the farther side of the water of Frazdānava' (Yt. **5**. 108, *pasne āpəm frazdānaom*) for victory over three unbelievers one of whom is the inveterate foe, Arejaṯ-aspa (Yt. **5**. 109, *Tąθryavantəm dužda̧ēnəm | Pəšanəmca daēvayasnəm | drvantəmca Arəjaṯ-aspəm*).[4] But in Yt. **9**. 29 = Yt. **17**. 49, the same sacrifice is offered again by Vishtāspa for victory over exactly the same three foes, but including also the names of a number of other enemies; and (important to keep in mind) the sacrifice of this latter passage is not celebrated

[1] See pp. 72–73.

[2] See also Mohl, tr. iv. 293.

[3] Compare note on p. 58.

[4] It might possibly be suggested that we have in the name Tāthryavant a distant allusion to the Tantra philosophy of India; the Shāh Nāmah includes India among the lands to which Vishtāsp spread the gospel of Iran (cf. Mohl, iv. pp. 343–344; and above, p. 84 seq.; observe likewise Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 90). But such a conjecture could add little in favor of the eastern view.

near the Frazdānava, but is offered up on the farther side of the river Dāityā. Still further, Vishtāspa's brother Zairivairi (Zarīr), who is mentioned directly after Vishtāspa's sacrifice by the Frazdānava in the earlier passage, likewise offers similar worship on the same spot (Dāityā), with an identical wish (Yt. **5.** 112–113, *pasne āpō Dāityayā*); and directly afterwards in the same Yasht (Yt. **5.** 116) Arejaṯ-aspa invokes the same divinity near Vourukasha (Caspian Sea) for victory over Vishtāspa. This latter point will be taken up hereafter, pp. 212–213.

It is necessary to comment anew on the suggested identification of these places. From the discussion above, pp. 41, 197, it is to be inferred that the Dāityā was a sort of border stream in the west, to be identified with the Ḳizel Ūzen or Safēd Rūd. The river Ḳizel Ūzen is the classic Ἄμαρδος of Ptolemaeus, in Atropatene, and Andreas describes it as a natural 'markscheide.'[1] The Avestan word *pasne* is apparently used with a river name like the Latin usage of *trans* in Trans-Rhenanus (opp. Cis-Alpinus), compare the modern Iranian designation of Bīä-Pīš, 'before the rivers,' as opposed to Bīä-Päs, 'back of the rivers,' used in the adjoining territory of Gīlān.[2] The various streams which flow into the river to-day would answer to the tributaries of the Dāityā that are mentioned in the Dīnkarṯ and Zāṯ-sparam.[3] This is the river of the 'Law,' and the river which Zoroaster apparently crosses on his way to convert Vishtāsp.[4]

The Frazdānava, on the other hand, is to be sought in Seistān, in the east, if we accept the statement of the Būndahishn (Bd. **22.** 5), and is probably to be identified with the Āb-istādah lake, south of Ghaznī.[5] Being a member of the Kayanian line, Kavi Vishtāspa

[1] Andreas, *Amardos*, in Pauly's *Real-Encyl.*, neue Bearb., Stuttgart, 1894, vol. i. col. 1735, l. 44.

[2] Refer to Andreas, loc. cit. ll. 60–61, whose transcription 'Bīä-Pīš' is here followed. Cf. also de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, i. 209.

[3] Dk. **7.** 3. 51–56; Zsp. **21.** 5, **22.** 9. I believe that in Dk. **7.** 20. 30, we are to read *mayā-ī šēṯ* (not *Dāit*), as noted by West, *SBE.* xlvii. 25, n. 2, and compare the Shēṯ river of Bd. **20.** 7, *SBE.* v. 77; although there would be no real inconsistency in Dāit, as contrasted with Pourushaspa's dwelling on the Darej, as that may have been the home to which he removed after his marriage; see suggestion on p. 192.

[4] Zartusht Nāmah, p. 491.

[5] This view is opposed to Lagarde's *Hṛazdān* in Armenia (*Beiträge zur baktr. Lex.* p. 28), but I agree with Geiger's estimate of Hṛazdān in *OIK.* p. 108. The identification of Frazdānava with *Āb-istādah* is mentioned by West (*SBE.* v. 86, n. 3) as being from Justi (see his *Handb. der Zendsprache*, p. 197 b), although Justi now seems

is naturally associated with Seistān and Lake Frazdān. The Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of the Land of Sagastān,' makes Seistān the place of Vishtāsp's first religious propaganda, and apparently also a place where Vishtāsp conferred with Zoroaster and other apostles of the Faith, on matters of religious importance.[1] I am indebted to Dr. West's kindness for a translation of the 'Wonders'; the passage (Wond. of Sag. § 6) reads: 'King Vishtāsp produced the progress of religion on Lake Frazdān, first in Sagastān, and afterwards in the other provinces; also King Vishtāsp, in conference with Zaratūsht, and Sēnō, son of Ahūmstūt of Būst,[2] because his disciples of Zaratūsht have been the first in his long discipleship, (made) the various Nasks proceed in a family of the good, for the purpose of keeping the religion of Sagastān progressive for being taught.' We remember also that Zoroaster went in his earlier years to Seistān to preach to Parshaṯ-gāu (pp. 44–45). According to Firdausī, King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) was engaged upon a religious crusade in Seistān and Zabūlistān,[3] and was at the abode of the old hero Rustam, who still held out against conversion to Zoroastrianism, when the Turanians under Arjāsp stormed Balkh, slew Lohrāsp in battle before the walls, and killed Zoroaster.[4] Vishtāsp returns from Seistān for the finally routing of Arjāsp.[5]

It must be acknowledged that the twofold sacrifice by Vishtāsp, once on the Frazdānava and once on the Dāityā, causes some difficulty in connection with the identification of scenes in the Holy Wars. As already observed, the Frazdānava sacrifice, when placed in Seistān, certainly refers to the second and final invasion. The

rather to incline toward the view of Hṛazdān in Armenia, judging from *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, pp. 256–257. Geiger, *OIK.* p. 108, notices the identification of Frazdānava with the Ābistādah, but he prefers to explain the matter differently.

[1] See West in *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 118.

[2] Dr. West notes that this place is described by the pseudo Ibn-Ḥauḳal as on the river Hērmand, between Ghōr and the lake (see Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 206); it was therefore in Seistān.

[3] Cf. Mohl, tr. iv. pp. 355, 456; and also Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831, p. 97 and p. 125, n. 52.

[4] *Shāh Nāmah*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. pp. 1559–1560; but there is some uncertainty owing to a variation in the reading. Thus, *Kih īn hērbadrā kih kušt;* and again, *cirā hērbadrā bi-kušt;* but a few lines further on (p. 1560) the death is proved by *hērbadrā hamah sar zadand.*

[5] Mohl, iv. 354, 355, 365.

Dāityā sacrifice, we may presume, refers to the first invasion, if we make the twofold division mentioned on p. 105; but it is not easy to reconcile this with the assumption that the scenes of the first war belong rather to the territory of Merv (p. 114). Perhaps the Dāityā sacrifice is not to be pressed as referring to a special incident, and perhaps the prayer was general; or Vishtāsp was crusading in the west at the time; history offers examples of a Christian king of Europe offering up his prayers in the land of the Saracens. Darmesteter[1] does not seem to think it imperative to take the Dāityā sacrifice too seriously in the face of the Frazdānava passage which gives a scene located in Seistān; or, he thinks, the Dāityā allusion may be a reminiscence of the Median origin of Vishtāspa himself. Nevertheless, there is a certain discrepancy which must fairly be noticed, and having stated the difficulty we may turn to such arguments as can be brought up to show that Vishtāspa's foe, Arejaṯ-aspa, belongs rather to the east than to the west. This introduces the problem of the situation of Arejaṯ-aspa's kingdom, and the scene of the Holy Wars already alluded to.

In the Avesta, Arejaṯ-aspa is a Hyaonian (Av. *H'yaona*, Phl. *Xyōn*).[2] The name *h'yaona*, according to the ordinarily accepted view, is identical with the nation of the classic Chionitæ.[3] The identification, however, has been doubted by some. The subject is commented on by Darmesteter,[4] and especially by Geiger, and both of these scholars think (as well as Justi, see footnote) that there is authority also for the tradition which places the Hyaonians toward the east, even if they were located in the Gīlān territory in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus (**19**. 1. 2). The Shāh Nāmah tradition certainly looks upon Arjāsp as a Turanian, and places his kingdom on the other side of the Jīhūn (Oxus), and it makes him despatch envoys from the city of Khallakh to Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) in Balkh.[5] In the native lexicons, according to Vullers, Khallakh or Khallukh

[1] *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxiii.

[2] See Yt. **9**. 30–31, **17**. 50–51, **19**. 87, and the references on p. 104, n. 2.

[3] Spiegel in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, N. F. 8, p. 18; also other writers as noted below.

[4] Darmesteter does not seem certain of it in *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxiii seq.; cf. also Geiger in *Sitzb. d. K. B. Acad.*, 1884, p. 328 seq., and in his *Yātkār* in *Sitzb.*, Mai, 1890, p. 75. Justi allows also the possibility of placing the Hyaonians in the east on the authority of Joshua the Stylite; see *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, p. 256; but Justi favors the west.

[5] Firdausī, *Livre des Rois*, tr. Mohl, iv. pp. 302, 303, 319, 326 bis, 342, 360, 441, 459, 543, 558.

(خلّخ) is described as 'a great city in Turkestān in the district of Khaṭāī.'[1] In any case, it is evident that the kingdoms of Arjāsp and Vishtāsp cannot have been far separated from each other. The question of the invasion or invasions may now be taken up.

According to the sources which the Shāh Nāmah must have made use of (and we may infer the same from the Dīnkarṯ and Zāṯ-sparam)[2] there were, apparently, two separate invasions by Arjāsp, although the Avesta seems to speak of the war singly as 'the War of Religion.' The special chapter above on this subject (Chap. IX.) should be consulted. The Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān alludes only to what we may regard as the first of Arjāsp's wars, and lays the scene in the neighborhood of the plain of Merv.[3] Similarly, in this connection, the Shāh Nāmah speaks of the Jīhūn or Oxus, and the territory adjacent[4] (consult the Map). The scene of the battles of the second war was Khorassān, if we follow the Shāh Nāmah and notice an incidental allusion in the Būndahishn.[5] The circumstances of Arjāsp's second invasion need not be repeated; see Chapter IX. If we follow the Shāh Nāmah we may presume that Vishtāspa, after receiving news of the storming of Balkh, started from Seistān to join the forces of his son, Farshīdvard, whom he had appointed ruler of Khorassān. The first meeting between Vishtāsp and the invader Arjāsp may therefore have resulted in an engagement in Khorassān. From Firdausī, we may judge that this opening engagement of the second war, which is evidently counted as a part of the Balkh misfortune, was not successful for the Iranians.[6] An attempt may be made to locate the scene.

Now, the Bahman Yasht (3. 9), when speaking of three distinct times of crisis and trial in the history of the Religion, says: 'the second was when thou, O Zaratūsht the Spītāmān! receivedst the Religion, and hadst thy conference, and King Vishtāsp and Arjāsp, miscreated by Wrath, were, through the War of the Religion, in the combat of Spēṯ-razhūr ("the hoary forest");' and the text adds a

[1] Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, p. 121, where the Persian is quoted, and *Lexicon Persicum*, i. 706, 714. See also Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, pp. 467, 471.

[2] See chronological scheme by West, *SBE.* xlvii. p. xxx.; cf. Appendix III.

[3] YZ. § 12.

[4] Mohl, tr. iv. 309.

[5] Bd. 12. 32–34, given in full on p. 216.

[6] Notice that the Būndahishn (Bd. 12. 33) acknowledges an occasion where there was 'confusion among the Iranians,' but they were 'saved'; cf. p. 216 below.

comment: 'some have said it was in Pārs.'[1] The Avesta mentions the 'White Forest,' but not in connection with Arejaṯ-aspa's name. The *Spaēitita Razura* in the Avesta, is the amphitheatre of the great conflict between the earlier Iranian king, Haosrava, and his enemy, Aurvasāra.[2] According to Justi, the White Forest is in Kohistān, a part of Khorassān (lat. 33, long. 59; consult Map), between Ḳāīn and Birjand.[3] As a mere conjecture, in order to endeavor to reconcile difficulties, it might be suggested that we have here an allusion, perhaps, to the engagement that preceded the last in the war. In other words, as the White Forest seems to have been a designation covering a good deal of territory, it might be argued that Vishtāsp pushed onward, then northward to the mountains of Nīshāpūr and Mesh-hed, not far from the high citadel where his son Isfendīār was confined.

This citadel, as related by the Shāh Nāmah, was the mountain fortress of Gumbadān or Gunbedān (گنبدان).[4] Its location is in Khorassān,[5] for this fastness of Isfendīār is evidently Mount Spentō-dāta of the Avesta (Yt. **19.** 6), and Spend-yāṯ of the Pahlavi (Bd. **12.** 2, 23), situated on the 'Var of Rēvand,' which latter has been identified with the Bār mountains, northwest of Nīshāpūr, in an interesting article by Houtum-Schindler.[6] The Būndahishn adds details of the battle that enable us still further to locate the scene where Vishtāsp himself had to take refuge in a mountain in Khorassān, where he was beleaguered,[7] until the heroic Isfendīār is released from his chains and gains the victory. All this has been described above (p. 119 seq.), but the Būndahishn passage is important enough to repeat it again in full:—

[1] West, *SBE.* v. 218. As for the usage of 'Pārs,' it must be remembered that Sagastān itself is spoken of as a part of Pārs in Pahlavi literature (Bd. **12.** 9, **20.** 29; see *SBE.* v. pp. 37, 81).

[2] Yt. **15.** 31–32; cf. Yt. **5.** 49–50; Yt. **19.** 77.

[3] Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 42, 'Aurwasāra, König am Weissen Wald, d. i. Dascht-i Beyāṯ im Kōhistān von Qāīn und Birjand, Gegner des Kawa Husrawa (Kai Xusrau), Yt. **15.** 31. Syāwašnāmeh, 252.'

[4] *Shāh Nāmah*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1550, l. 156; cf. traduction de Mohl, iv. pp. 354, 370, 456.

[5] But Mirkhond (tr. Shea, p. 290) says he was 'imprisoned in the Fortress of Girdkūh, in the district of Rūdbār.' To which Shea adds, stating that Rūdbār is a district of the Jebal or Irak Ajemī.

[6] *The Identification of Some Persian Places*, in *The Academy*, No. 730, p. 312 seq., May 1, 1886; cf. also Justi, *Hdbch. d. Zendsprache*, p. 305.

[7] For allusions to the 'mountain,'

Bd. **12.** 17–18: 'The Padashkhvārgar mountain is that which is in Taparīstān and the side of Gīlān. The Rēvand mountain is in Khūrāsān, on which the Būrzhīn fire was established. (32–34): From the same Padashkhvārgar mountain unto Mount Kūmīsh, which they call Mount Madōfryāṯ ("Come-to-help") — that in which Vishtāsp routed Arjāsp — is Mount Mīyān-i-dasht ("mid-plain"), and was broken off from that mountain there. They say, in the War of the Religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, and slid down into the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by it, and it was called "Come-to-help" by them. The Ganāvaṯ mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vishtāsp (*pūšt-i Vištāspān*) at the abode of the Būrzhīn-Mitrō fire, nine leagues to the west.'[1] Mount Madōfryāṯ (Come-to-help) has been identified by Houtum-Schindler with the mountain near the present town of Farīūmad, northward of the high road between Abbāsābād and Mazīnān, and it is thus evidently a part of the Jagatai range.[2] The Ridge of Vishtāsp may be identical with the mountains, Binalūd Kuh, running northwest from Nīshāpūr, a little to the west of the modern Gunābad (lat. 36. 40; long. 59. 5 — see Map). The region where the final battle took place, with the utter rout of Arjāsp and the triumph of Iran over Turan, may be regarded as occupying a territory to the east of Mīān-i-dasht in Khorassān (lat. 36. 30; long. 56. 10 — see Map, square Gb). The caravan road between Mīān-i-dasht and Zaidar is still famous to-day for marauding attacks of the Turkomans upon pilgrims and travellers.[3]

The location of the sacred fires may be taken up in this connection. Vishtāsp's special fire, Būrzhīn Mitrō, is in Khorassān as already discussed in the pages devoted to the subject of the Sacred Fires (Chap. VIII.). From the passage just quoted (Bd. **12.** 17–18, 32–34) and from Bd. **17.** 8 there seems to remain little doubt on that point. The Shāh Nāmah implies a similar location, and three Mohammedan writers state that the special fire of Zoroaster, which is the Būrhzīn Mitrō, was in the neighborhood of Nīshāpūr. For the references, see p. 100. But more important still in connection with

cf. Mohl, *Livre des Rois*, iv. 367, 370, 373, 384.

[1] West, *SBE.* v. 40–41.

[2] See *The Academy*, p. 313, May 1, 1886. The town is easily located (lat. 36–37; long. 56–57) on the map in Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question*, i. p. 245.

[3] Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, i. 276–277, 280–281.

the ancient pyraea of Zoroastrianism, is the tradition of the Būndahishn (Bd. 17. 6) regarding the second famous fire, the fire Frōbak (Farnbag). This fire originally was located in Khorasmia or Chorasmia (Phl. *Khvārižem*) on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea — the region of igneous oil fountains, and it was removed by Vishtāsp to the east, to Cabul, or as the text reads: 'In the reign of King Vishtāsp, upon revelation from the religion, it was established out of Khvārizem, at the Rōshan ("shining") mountain in Kāvulistān, the country of Kāvul (Kābul), just as it remains there even now.'[1] This latter would make another distinct association of Vishtāsp with the east.[2]

In addition to the central or eastern location of two of the sacred fires which are directly connected with Vishtāsp's name, we may also recall the story of the cypress which Zoroaster planted to commemorate the event of Vishtāsp's conversion. This hallowed tree was planted at Kishmar in Khorassān, and it is spoken of in the Shāh Nāmah as 'the cypress of Kishmar.'[3] It must also be remembered that, according to the Shāh Namah, Khorassān was under the suzerainty of one of Vishtāsp's sons, as well as it was the amphitheatre of the final Holy War.

These latter points are of interest also in connection with Floigl's claim that Vishtāspa, of the Avesta, is identical with the historical Hystaspes, father of Darius; and that he belonged in the region of Hyrcania and ancient Parthia. Floigl's monograph should be consulted.[4]

It may incidentally be added that the Armenian historian, Thomas Arzrounī (A.D. tenth century) follows the tradition that Zoroaster was the opponent of Ninus and Semiramis and was defeated by them, but Semiramis made him commander of Babylon, Khoujīstān, and of all eastern Persia, and he adds, 'Zradasht, although possessing the countries to the east of Persia, did not cease to harass Assyria.'[5] This would associate him also with the east.

[1] Bd. 17. 6, tr. West, *SBE.* v. 63.

[2] It must be stated, however, that the reading *Kāvul* (*Kābul*) is questioned by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 154; and see the discussion above in Chap. VIII. p. 99, n. 4.

[3] *Sarv-i Kišmar;* see Vullers-Landauer, *Shah Name*, iii. 1498–1499, and Mohl, iv. 292–293; cf. also Appendix II., pp. 163–164.

[4] Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, Leipzig, 1881, e.g. pp. 14, 15, 17, etc.

[5] See Brosset, *Collection d'Historiens arméniens*, i. 30, St. Pétersbourg, 1874. See Appendix VI. § 1 below.

Furthermore, it should be noticed that Mills upholds the eastern region, at least as the place of origin of the Gāthās.[1] He reviews some of the indications which point to the west, as presented by Darmesteter; but after examining into the character of the civilization, and noticing points of Indo-Iranian unity and likeness to the Veda, and judging also from the spirit of the Gāthās, whose antiquity he emphasizes, Mills is led to believe that 'the scene of the Gāthic and original Zoroastrianism was in the northeast of Iran, and that the later Avesta was composed during the hundreds of years during which the Zarathushtrian tribes were migrating westward into Media.'[2] A discussion of the Avestan calendar led the Sanskrit scholar Roth strongly to support Bactria.[3] The younger Iranist Horn favors eastern Iran as the first scene, at least, of Zoroastrianism.[4] On the views of Tiele, see note below.[5]

Résumé of the Eastern View.—Among various points that may be brought up in favor of placing Vishtāspa in eastern Iran, and of believing that Zoroaster's prophetic career, at least, was associated chiefly with that territory, is the predominance of geographical allusions in the Avesta rather to eastern Iran. The Avesta does not state where Kavi Vishtāspa's kingdom was located; but it recognizes that the Kavi dynasty came from Seistān (Yt. **19**. 66 seq.). The Iranian tradition which is found in Mohammedan writers is almost unanimous in placing Vishtāsp's kingdom in the east, in Bactria. Among arguments which may be drawn from Pahlavi literature is the fact that the Būndahishn clearly locates the scene of the routing of Arjāsp in the territory of Khorassān. One of the sacred

[1] *SBE.* xxxi. Introd. pp. xxvii–xxx.

[2] Op. cit. p. xxvii.

[3] Roth, *Der Kalender des Avesta*, u. s. w., in *ZDMG.* xxiv. 1–24; cf. especially pp. 16–19 (criticised by de Harlez; see p. 219 below).

[4] Horn, *Die Reiche der Meder und Perser*, in Hellwaldt's *Kulturgeschichte*, 4 Aufl. i. 322.

[5] Tiele, in his early work entitled *De Godsdienst van Zarathustra, van haar ontstaan in Baktrië tot den val van het Oud-Perzische Rijk* (Haarlem, 1864), maintained the Bactrian view that was common at the time. So also in the genealogical table in his article 'Religions,' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xx. p. 360 (9th ed.), and in his *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, p. 174 (Amsterdam, 1876). But now, if I understand his latest view aright, he believes in northwestern Iran as the cradle at least of the Zoroastrian Reform: 'Ook ik neig zeer tot de meening dat de zarathuštrische hervorming van noordwestelijk Irān is uitgegan' (*Iets over de oudheid van het Avesta, Aanteekening*, in *Mededeeling d. K. Ak.* 3 de Reeks, Deel XI. Amsterdam, 1895, pp. 384 and 375).

fires is connected with Khorassān; another was removed from Khorasmia to the east. And now that so much has been said in favor of eastern Iran, including Bactria, we may pass without comment to the west and consider the claims of Media.

2. Media and the West, or the View that Zoroaster's Ministry was in his Native Country, Western Iran

It has been indicated sufficiently that a number of specialists, de Harlez, Spiegel, Justi, and others, associate the earliest history of Zoroastrianism not with Bactria and the east, but alone with Media, in its broad sense, and the west.

C. de Harlez, for example, in treating of the origin and home of the Avesta, as noted above, leaves eastern Iran out of consideration.[1] His discussion of the subject should be read; there is space here only to outline the reasons which lead him to confine the Avesta and Zoroastrianism to Media. I summarize them from the last article mentioned in the footnote: (1) Zoroastrianism and the Avesta is the work of the Magi, a tribe of Media, and the Magi are the Atharvans (πύραιθοι) of the Avesta. (2) The chief seat of the religion was the southern and southeastern coast of the Caspian Sea, as shown by the peculiar manner in which the peoples of the Caspian region and Hyrcania dispose of their dead. (3) Raghā in Media was the chief seat of the priesthood, and Media, therefore, was the centre of the Avestan religion. (4) The legend which makes Bactria the cradle of Zoroaster's faith, and claims that Vishtāspa was king and ruler of Bactria, is late; it comes, in fact, from mediæval times. Eastern Iran, in general, remains in the background until the time of the Achaemenidae.[2] Finally (5), the Parsi books themselves regard Zoroaster as arising from Media; and, even though many mediæval sources connect Vishtāsp with Bactria, as mentioned, there is not entire consistency in this, for some of them place him in Persis. The epitomist Khvāndamīr, for example, in his life of Gushtāsp,[3] says that this king had the city of Istakhr

[1] See de Harlez's definite statements on *Das alter und heimath des Avesta* in *BB.* xii. 109–111, and *Der Avestische Kalender und die Heimath der Avesta-Religion*, in *Abh. d. Berl. Or. Congr.* ii. 270–277, Berlin, 1882 (criticising Roth).

[2] For the latter statement, cf. *BB.* xii. 110.

[3] See de Harlez, *Av. Kalender und Heimath*, p. 277; Spiegel, *EA.* i. 698; and Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 318 (1st ed.); Ethé in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 356.

(Persepolis) as a royal seat — *Istakhr-i Fārs rā dār al-mulk kardādīd.* Again, Beiḍāwī (*Life of Gushtāsp*) says that Zardūsht occupied a mountain, Naphaht, near Istakhr.[1] And Majdī (*Zīnat al-Majālis*), after assuming that Zoroaster came from Palestine, adds that he gave himself out as a prophet in Ādarbaijān.[2] For these various reasons de Harlez concludes: 'Alles erklärt sich, wenn man unterstellt, dass der Zoroastrismus aus Medien stammt; Alles wird dunkel, wenn man dessen Wiege in Baktrien sucht.'

Spiegel has two or three times specially treated the question of the home of the Avesta and its bearing upon the Zoroastrian problem.[3] In his historical article on Vishtāspa and the Bactrian kingdom, in Sybel's *Zeitschrift*, he brings up most of the points that may be argued in favor of the east, — and these are such as have been stated above; he then weighs the west over against them. He particularly emphasizes the identification of Arejaṯ-aspa's nation, the Hyaona, with the Chionitæ, who are to be placed, it is claimed, to the west of the Caspian Sea. Again, he approves rather of de Lagarde's identification of the name and locality, Frazdānava, with the Armenian river Hṛazdān; and he points out some other names that refer especially to the west. As a result of this, although 'Baktra' is mentioned in the title of his monograph, he inclines to favor Media or Arran, rather than Bactria, as the realm of Vishtāspa and also as the home of Zoroaster. In his latest article on the subject (*ZDMG.* xlv. 280 seq., 1887), Spiegel points out one or two more points to strengthen the western view. An allusion to Armenia, for example, is claimed to be found in the Avesta (Yt. 5. 72). He draws attention also to the association of Hystaspes' name with Media and the west, by Chares of Mitylene (cf. p. 73 above),[4] and by Lactantius, who makes Hystaspes a king of Media (p. 154 above); and he throws renewed doubts upon the existence of the Bactrian kingdom maintained by Duncker.[5]

Several other scholars are of like opinion regarding Media and

[1] See also Hyde, p. 313. Reference to Istakhr (Persepolis) has been made above, pp. 91, 97.

[2] See also Hyde, p. 315.

[3] Spiegel, *Vistaçpa oder Hystaspes und das Reich von Baktra*, in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, N. F. 8, Bd. 44, pp. 1–21 (1880). Also *Ueber das Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā*, in *Sitzb. der K. B. Acad.* 1884, p. 315 seq. (1884). Again, ibid. (Zweiter Artikel) in *ZDMG.* xlv. 187 seq. (1891).

[4] Cf. also his later remarks in *ZDMG.* xli. 295 (1887), xlv. 197 (1891), lii. 193 (1898).

[5] *ZDMG.* xli. 288, 289, 292 seq.

western Iran. Eugen Wilhelm upholds Spiegel's identification of the Hyaonians with the Chionitæ and locates them on the west side of the Caspian Sea. The associated Avestan word *varəδaka* (Yt. **9**. 31 = Yt. **17**. 51) is likewise a proper name, i.e. Varedhaka, cf. Vertae, of Ammianus Marcellinus; and Av. *hunu* (Yt. **5**. 54) designates the Huns.[1] Lehmann expresses his opinion very strongly that the ancient Vishtāspa was not a Bactrian prince, but that he ruled in western Iran, in Media; that Zoroaster had nothing whatsoever to do with Bactria, where the crude civilization of his time would have been unsuited for his teaching, but that Media furnished exactly the soil that was needed for it to bear fruit.[2] Darmesteter several times expressed himself in favor of the west for the entire scene of early Zoroastrianism, because he considered the Bactrian tradition rather to be late.[3]

Justi. The most recent authority to touch upon the question and to uphold the western view is Justi (*Die älteste iranische Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathushtra*).[4] A brief summary of the deductions on this point in his important treatise is given. The numbered divisions are my own: —

1. The Avesta itself does not place either the home of Zoroaster or the kingdom of Vishtāspa in Bactria, nor mention either name in alluding incidentally to the city of Bactria. The rise of the Bactrian kingdom was post-Achaemenian. The transferrence of Vishtāspa's capital to Bactria, as is done in later times, is purely artificial. Spiegel's arguments are sufficient to overthrow the whole theory of a Bactrian origin of the Iranian religion.

2. The allusions to the sacrifices by Vishtāspa and Zairivairi on the Frazdānava and Dāityā, and to Arejaṯ-aspa as a Hyaona, are examined in their eastern aspect and in the western light. In Justi's opinion the Dāityā may be the Araxes on the northern boundary of Ādarbaijān, and the Frazdānava is more likely, perhaps, to be the Armenian Hṛazdān. Acts of worship performed in the Ādarbaijān territory would be appropriate to Iranians.

[1] Wilhelm, *ZDMG*. xlii. 96–101.

[2] Edv. Lehmann, *Die Perser* in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religions-Geschichte* (neue Aufl.) ii. 159–160. See also his comment on Phraortes, p. 156.

[3] Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, i. 10–13; *Zend-Avesta*, tr. *SBE*. iv. Introd. xlvii–liii (1st ed.); and his later statement, p. lxvii (2d ed.), together with *Le ZA*. iii. p. lxxxiii, where numerous suggestions and hints are given.

[4] In *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 255 seq., 1897.

More weight also is laid on the likelihood of the Chionitæ being placed in the Caucasus region and Gīlān. Like the later Huns, the invasion of Arejaṯ-aspa may have been made through the mountainous country to the west of the Caspian Sea.

3. It is notable that of the three most sacred fires one (Ādhar Gushnasp) belongs originally to Ādarbaijān, one (Ādhar Xurrah, or Farnbag) to Persis (Istakhr), and one (Ādhar Būrzhīn Mithr) to Khorassān, but none to Bactria. Yet see note at foot of this page.[1]

4. Media was the native place of Zoroaster, and it was also the home and realm of Vishtāspa. But Kavi Vishtāspa was not a great king, not a 'king of kings' (Anc. Pers. *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*); he was rather a minor prince (*daiṅhupaiti*) of Median Raghā. The suggestion is conjecturally put forward that we might, perhaps, assume that some great king of Media later accepted the religion and made it current in the world. Such a monarch would have been the Median Fraoreta (Phraortes) 'Confessor,' who may have adopted the faith and have thus received a Zoroastrian name. The father of Phraortes also had a Zoroastrian name as he was called Kyaxares (i.e. Huvaxšatara), beside his ordinary title Dahyauka.

5. Finally, by way of illustration, Atropates and his successors in Atropatene were zealous adherents of Zoroastrianism from Achaemenian times, and the Gāthās themselves show a religious intolerance that still remains typical of the Magi in Sassanian times, and is characteristic of the fanaticism that marks the later Assassins who likewise had their origin in Atropatene.[2] I may also add that Justi wrote me that it was only after long and careful consideration that he came to these conclusions and abandoned the view that Bactria was the home of Zoroastrianism or that Zoroaster perished there.[3]

Additional Arguments. — Some other arguments might be added to these already given in support of the west. For example:—

1. Vishtāspa and Hutaosa in the Avesta both were Naotairyans. The comment in Zāṯ-sparam places Nōṯar in the west, sixty leagues from Cīst, as explained above (p. 193, n. 1). If Vishtāsp be asso-

[1] Justi, op. cit. p. 257; but with regard to the Farnbag fire he seems to have overlooked the statement in Bd. 17. 6; see p. 99, n. 4 and p. 217 above. The question whether Bactria has any volcanic or petroleum fires might account for their not generally being connected with that particular region.

[2] Cf. op. cit. pp. 259, 256.

[3] Letters dated Jan. 8, 1897, and June 12, 1897.

ciated with Balkh, one would then have to assume that only his family came from the west. It is true that this might be quite possible in royal lines, and there actually seems to have been some change of dynasty or break in the succession when Vishtāsp came to the throne, as noted by Justi,[1] so this argument would not necessarily militate finally against the east; it is only a matter of proportionate probability. On account of the Rāgh and Nōṯar allusion it would be convenient to accept Vishtāsp as also belonging to the west.

2. The two Avestan Yasht fragments (Yt. **23**. 4, **24**. 2) give among the blessings which Zoroaster wished might accrue to Vishtāspa the boon: 'Mayest thou be able to reach the Raŋha, whose shores lie afar, as Vafra Navaza was able.' According to Darmesteter the circumambient stream Raŋha in the Avesta is to be identified with the Tigris.[2] This might, therefore, be used as a ground for placing Vishtāspa's kingdom in the west, but not necessarily so; the wish of a wide-extended kingdom might hold equally good if the star of Vishtāsp's empire were moving from the east westward.

3. As the Avesta constantly speaks of idolaters, unbelievers, devil-worshippers (*daēva-yasna*) it might be suggested that Zoroaster's reform was especially directed against the Yezīdīs, or devil worshippers, of the region about the Caspian Sea.[3]

4. Arejaṯ-aspa as noted above, p. 211, is represented in the Avesta (Yt. **5**. 116) as offering sacrifice near the sea Vourukasha (the Caspian Sea) — *upa zrayō vouru-kašəm* — asking for victory over Vishtāspa and (later addition) Zairivairi.[4] It might be claimed that we have Vishtāspa's enemy not only on the Caspian Sea, but possibly on the west side of it, although the expression with *upa* might equally refer to the eastern side of the Caspian which is still occupied by Turkomans.

5. A somewhat fanciful conjecture might be made that we may

[1] Justi, op. cit., pp. 246, 252, on a possible change of dynasty, and Spiegel, *ZDMG*. xlv. 196–198. Cf. p. 70, n. 2 above.

[2] *Le ZA*. ii. 382, ii. 73, 78; but Geiger, *OIK*. map, makes Raŋha the Yaxartes.

[3] On the Yezīdīs, see Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, p. 522, London, 1893; Bassett, *Persia, the Land of the Imams*, pp. 31–33, New York, 1886.

[4] The mention of Zairivairi would imply that the first invasion is intended if we follow the division into two wars, p. 105. Notice may here be taken of what is said of Zariadres and his realm on p. 73 above.

perhaps have an allusion to the west (possibly Persepolis?) in the Dīnkarṯ reference to the 'treasury of Shapīgan' (or Shaspīgān, Shapān, or Shīzigān — for such are the readings allowed by the MSS.), in which Vishtāsp deposited the original codex of the Avesta.[1] As further related in the Dīnkarṯ this fell into the hands of the Greeks and was translated into their tongue. The treasury of the archives is usually associated with Persepolis.[2]

6. Hamzah of Isfahān connects Vishtāsp with Persia, for he makes him build a city in the district of Dārābjard in the province of Persia.[3]

Résumé of the Western View. — The more general claim in favor of western Iran is, that the religion was probably developed in the country where Zoroaster himself arose; that in his day Bactria was still in the earliest stages of civilization and its name is not connected either with his or with Vishtāsp's in the older texts; that Media, on the other hand, would have been a suitable field for his teaching and that the allusions to the west give a more consistent theory for ancient times. It is claimed, moreover, that Vishtāspa's foe, Arejaṯ-aspa, belonged to western Iran, on the ground of identifying the Hyaona with the classic Chionitæ and of placing these in the Caspian region. Finally, Vishtāspa was a minor king, and it is possible that the Median ruler Fraortes ('Confessor') may have made Zoroastrianism the national religion of Media. The devil-worshippers of the Avesta would answer to the later Yezīdīs of the western territory.

General Summary

Although we may agree that Zoroaster by birth arose in western Iran, we cannot be equally sure that the chief seat of his activity was also there. Both sides of the latter question have been presented, as were the former. The classical references (as early as the second century A.D.) would imply the possibility of Bactria or the

[1] Dk. 3. § 3, 7. 7. 3, n., 5. 3. 4; *SBE.* xxxvii. p. xxxi; *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 82, 127.

[2] See also Ṭabarī (p. 675, Leyden ed.): 'Bishāsp sent this (archetype) to a place in Istakhr called Darbīsht' (vocalization uncertain), Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37. The same is repeated from Ṭabarī by Bundarī (with reading *Zarbīsht?*) in Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* pp. 314–315. See also above, Chap. VIII., p. 97.

[3] See Hamzah, ed. Gottwaldt, ii. 26, and cf. Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 212, note by Spiegel.

east, as a scene, as well as of Media (Persia) and the west. This fact might be interpreted that he taught in the east, though he arose in the west. The Avesta does not decide the case. An allusion to the scene of Vishtāspa's two sacrifices may equally refer to Seistān, and to Media and Atropatene. From evidence in Pahlavi literature, we know that Zoroaster himself was in Seistān for a while, during the early part of his prophetic career. From the same source we also know he was in Turan, and the Gāthās allude to a Turanian adherent. This would seem to speak, in part at least, for eastern Iran, even if his patron Vishtāspa ruled in western Iran. From the Pahlavi and later Zoroastrian literature, the scenes of the Holy Wars would appear to have been located rather toward the east, in Merv and Khorassān. On the other hand, the silence of the Avesta on some vital points in connection with the east, together with an inference that Vishtāspa belonged to the same country as Zoroaster, and spoke the same dialect, would argue rather in behalf of western Iran. This latter view would be strengthened if the existence of a Bactrian kingdom at an early period be doubted. The majority of Iranian specialists, perhaps, seem to have felt that a stronger case can be made for Media and the west as the scene alike of Zoroaster's activity and his birth. On the other hand, later tradition, which includes Mohammedan-Iranian sources, is almost unanimous in placing Vishtāsp's kingdom in Bactria, which is claimed to have been founded by Lohrāsp. Having now presented both sides of the question, we may refrain from drawing a conclusion between the two views, for the present, and content ourselves with recalling what was said at the outset, that Zoroaster was a reformer, and he had a mission; in modern times the field of a great missionary's work is not usually confined to a single part of a country, whatever it may have been in ancient times.

APPENDIX V

CLASSICAL PASSAGES MENTIONING ZOROASTER'S NAME

COLLECTED with the help of my student and friend Louis H. Gray, Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, to whom I wish to express my thanks with sincerity for his constant readiness to give assistance, especially in collecting the so-called Zoroastrian Logia. His kind aid is much appreciated. — A. V. W. J.

The list is confined simply to such passages as mention Zoroaster by name. Its compass might have been greatly extended if allusions to Magi, Persians, Hystaspes, or the like, had been included.

Much material from the Classics had already been gathered by Barnabé Brisson, *De Regio Persarum Principatu*, Paris, 1590; Hyde, *Religio veterum Persarum*, Oxon. 1700. The first systematic and excellent collection, however, of classical references on Persian subjects in general was made by J. F. Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Anhang z. 2ten Bd. 3ter Theil, Leipzig und Riga, 1783. This is still one of the standards. A different arrangement of the material is found in Rapp, *Die Religion der Perser und der übrigen Iranier nach d. Griechischen und Römischen Quellen*, in *ZDMG.* xix. p. 4 seq., xx. p. 49 seq. (translated into English by K. R. Cama, *Religion and Customs of the Persians*, Bombay, 1876–1879); it should be consulted, as it includes also Persian and Magian subjects. Consult also Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 260–313, Berlin, 1863 (translated into English by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 65–141, Leipzig, 1897). On special classical references, see, likewise, Jackson in *JAOS.* xv. 221–232; xvii. 1–22.

ALPHABETIC LIST OF AUTHORS AND EDITIONS

1. Look for the author under his approximate date given in this list, or consult reference by section (§).

2. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are cited as authorities by other writers or are mentioned by them.

Abdias, in Fabricius, Codex apocryph. Novi Test. i. 402–742, Hamb. 1719. See § 50.

Afer, C. Marius Victorinus (A.D. first half fourth century), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 8. See § **23**.

Agathias Scholiastikos (c. A.D. 536–582), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 88. See § **35**.

Ailios Theon, see Theon.

Ainaias of Gaza (fl. A.D. 487), ed. Barthius, Leipzig, 1655. See § **34**.

Alcuinus (A.D. 735–804), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 100–101. See § **40**.

Alexander Poluhistor (B.C. first century), see § **4**, also *cited under* Georgios Sunkellos, § **41**.

Ammianus Marcellinus (c. A.D. 330–400), ed. Gardthausen, Leipzig, 1874. See § **22**.

Anathemas against Manichæans, see § **42**.

Anonymi Vita Platonis, ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862 (same vol. as Diog. Laert.). *See under* Plato. § **1**.

Apuleius Madaurensis (temp. Antonini Pii), ed. Hildebrand, Leipzig, 1842. See § **11**.

* Aristotle (B.C. 384–322), *cited under* Pliny; Diog. Laert.

* Aristoxenos (fl. B.C. 318), *cited under* Origen, Contr. Hær. i.

Arnobius (c. A.D. 295), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 5. See § **16**.

* Athenokles (date unknown), *cited under* Agathias.

Augustinus (A.D. 354–430), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 32–47. See § **28**.

Aurelius Prudentius (A.D. 348–c. 410), ed. in usum Delphini, London, 1824. See § **26**.

Basilios (A.D. 329–379), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 29–32. See § **20**.

* Berosos (c. B.C. 250), *cited by* Agathias.

Cedrenus, see Georgios Kedrenos.

Chaldæan Oracles or Zoroastrian Logia, see § **51**.

Chronicon Paschale (A.D. 627, last date), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 92. See § **39**.

Claudianus Mamertus (A.D. fifth century, second half), ed. Engelbrecht, Vienna, 1885. See § **31**.

Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. first century, end), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 8–9. See § **13**.

Clemens Romanus (Bishop of Rome, c. A.D. 91, but probably the works ascribed to him to be assigned later), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 1–2. See § **12**.

Cornelius Alexander Poluhistor, see Poluhistor.

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Cyrillus Alexandrinus (d. A.D. 444), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 68–77. See § **29**.

* Deinon (date unknown), *cited under* Diogenes Laertius.

Diodoros Sikelos (temp. Augusti), ed. Müller, Paris, 1857. See § **3**.

* Diodoros of Eretria (temp. Augusti), *cited by* Origen, Contr. Hær. i.

Diogenes Laertios (flr. c. A.D. 210), ed. Cobet, Paris, 1862. See § **15**.

Dion Chrusostomos (born c. A.D. 50), ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1857. See § **7**.

Epiphanios (A.D. 320–402), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 41–43. See § **21**.

* Euboulos (date unknown), *cited by* Porphurios, de Antr. nymph.

Euchologion, siue Rituale Græcorum, ed. Goarius, Paris, 1647. *See under* Anathemas, § **42**.
* Eudemos of Rhodes (B.C. fourth century), *cited by* Diog. Laert.
* Eudoxos (c. B.C. 366) *cited by* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
Eusebios (c. A.D. 264–340), Chronicon, ed. Aucher, Venice, 1818. See § **18**.

Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, rec. Müller, 5 vols. Paris, 1841–1874.

Geoponica siue Cassiani Bassi Scholastica de re rustica Eclogæ (A.D. sixth century), ed. Beckh, Leipzig, 1895. See § **36**.
Georgios Hamartolos (c. A.D. 850), Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 110. See § **43**. *See also under* Chron. Pasch.
* Georgios Kedrenos (c. A.D. 1100), *see under* Chron. Pasch., and also Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 121.
Georgios Sunkellos (A.D. eighth century, last half), ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1829. See § **41**.
* Gregorios (c. A.D. 329–389), *cited by* Mich. Glukas.
Goarius, ed. Εὐχολόγιον, Paris, 1647. See § **42**.
Gregorius Turensis (A.D. 538–593), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 71. See § **37**.

Hamartolos, *see* Georgios Hamartolos.
* Hekataios (d. c. B.C. 476), *cited by* Diog. Laert.
* Hellanikos of Lesbos (c. B.C. 496–411), *cited by* Georg. Sunkell.
* Herakleides of Pontos (c. B.C. 360), *cited by* Plutarch, Adv. Colot., cf. also Anathemas and Petros Sikelos.
Herennios or Philo of Byblos, *see under* Eusebios.
* Hermippos (c. B.C. 200), *cited by* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
* Hermodoros Platonikos (B.C. fourth century), *cited by* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
* Herodotos (c. B.C. 484–420), *cited by* Georg. Sunkell.
Hieronymus (A.D. 331–420), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 22–30. See § **24**.
Hugo de St. Victore (d. A.D. 1141), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 175–177. See § **46**.

Isidorus (c. A.D. 570–636), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 81–84. See § **38**.

S. Iohannes Chrusostomos (A.D. 354–407), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 47–64. See § **25**.
Iohannes Ludos (horn c. A.D. 490), ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1827. See § **32**.
* Iohannes Malalas (A.D. sixth century, first part), *see under* Chron. Pasch. and also Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 97.
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Iulius Solinus, *see* Solinus.

Kassianos Bassos, *see* Geoponica.
Kedrenos, *see* Georgios Kedrenos.
* Kelsos (A.D. second century), *cited by* Origen, Contr. Cels. i.
* Kephalion (A.D. second century), *cited by* Georg. Sunkell.

*Klearchos of Soli (B.C. fourth century), *cited by* Diog. Laert.
*Ktesias (fr. B.C. 398), *cited by* Diodoros Sikelos; Georg. Sunkell.
Kurillos Alexandrinos (d. A.D. 444), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 68–77. See § 29.

Logia of Zoroaster, so-called, § **51**.
Lukianos (temp. Antoninorum), ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1858. See § **9**.

Magika Logia of Zoroaster, so-called, see § **51**.
Michael Glukas (A.D. twelfth century, first half), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 158. See § **47**.
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tomm.	1–2	Clemens Romanus (Bishop of Rome c. A.D. 91).
"	8–9	Clemens Alexandrinos (end of first century A.D.).
"	11–17	Origenes (A.D. 185–254).
"	29–32	Basilios (A.D. 329–379).
"	41–43	Epiphanios (A.D. 320–402).
"	47–64	S. Iohannes Chrusostomos (A.D. 354–407).
"	68–77	Kurillos Alexandrinos (d. A.D. 444).
"	80–84	Theodoretos Kuraios (d. A.D. 457).
"	87	Prokopios Gazaios (end of fifth century A.D.).
"	88	Agathias Scholastikos (c. A.D. 536–582).
"	92	Chronicon Paschale (last date A.D. 627).
"	97	Iohannes Malalas (early part of sixth century A.D.).
"	101–104	Photios (c. 820–c. 891 A.D.).
"	104	Petros Sikelos (forgery of twelfth century A.D.? *vide* Krumbacher, Gesch. der byzant. Lit.[2], München, 1897, p. 78).
"	110	Georgios Hamartolos Monachos (wrote c. A.D. 850).
"	121	Georgios Kedrenos (end of eleventh century A.D.).
"	158	Michael Glukas (A.D. twelfth century, first half).

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tom.	5	Arnobius (c. A.D. 295).
"	8	C. Marius Victorinus Afer (A.D. fourth century, first half).
"	22–30	Hieronymus (A.D. 331–420).
"	31	Orosius (A.D. fifth century, first half).
"	32–47	Augustinus (A.D. 354–430).
"	71	Gregorius Turensis (A.D. 538–593).
"	81–84	Isidorus (c. A.D. 570–636).
"	100–101	Alcuinus (A.D. 735–804).
"	175–177	Hugo de St. Victore (ob. A.D. 1141).
"	198	Petrus Comestor (d. A.D. 1178).

Nikolaos of Damascus (B.C. first century), *cites* Xanthus of Lydia. See § **2**.

Oracles of Zoroaster, see § **51**.
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* Ostanes, *cited under* Pliny ; Eusebios.

* Panodoros (fl. A.D. 400) *cited under* Georg. Sunkell.

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* Philon of Byblos (A.D. second century, first half), *cited by* Eusebios.

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Platon (B.C. 427–348) and Scholia, ed. Baiter, Orelli, Winckelmann, Zürich, 1839. See § **1**.

Plinius Secundus (A.D. first century), ed. de Grandsagne, Paris, 1827–1832. See § **5**.

Ploutarchos (c. A.D. 46–120), Vitæ ed. Döhner, Paris 1857–1862. See § **6**.

Ploutarchos (c. A.D. 46–120), Scripta Moralia ed. Dübner, Paris, 1841–1865. See § **6**.

Poluhistor, see Alexander Poluhistor and Solinus Polyhistor.

Porphurios (A.D. 233–306), de Antro Nymph. ed. Herscher, Paris, 1858. See § **17**.

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Prokopios Gazaios (A.D. fifth century, end), ed. Migne Patrolog. Gr. tom. 87. See § **33**.

Prudentius, *see* Aurelius Prudentius.

Scholiasticus Bassus, see Geoponica.

Scholion to Plato, see § **1**.

* Simakos = Symmachos (A.D. fourth century ?), *see under* Agathias, ii. 24.

Solinus Polyhistor, C. Iulius (A.D. third century), ed. Salmasius, Utrecht, 1689. See § **19**.

Suidas (believed to be A.D. tenth century, but date not known), ed. Kuster, Cambridge, 1705. See § **45**.

Sunkellos, *see* Georgios Sunkellos.

Theon Smernaios (temp. Hadriani), in Walz's Rhætores Græci, Stuttg. u. Tübingen, 1832–1836. See § **8**.

Theodoretos Kuraios (d. A.D. 457), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 80–84. See § **30**.

* Theodoros of Mopsuestia (A.D. sixth century), *cited by* Photios.

Theologoumena Arithmetika, ed. Ast, Leipzig, 1817. See § **48**.

* Theopompos (fl. B.C. 338), *cited by* Diog. Laert. ; Ainaios of Gaza.

Victorinus, see Afer.

Xanthos of Lydia (B.C. fifth century), *cited by* Nikolaos of Damascus ; Diog. Laer.

* Zoroaster, *cited under* Pliny ; Clemen. Strom. ; Origenes ; Eusebios, Præp. Ev. ; Ainaias of Gaza ; Geoponica.

Zoroastrian Logia, so-called, see § **51**.

§ 1. Platon

(B.C. 427–347)

Alkibiades Protos, 121 E–122 A (a spurious work, perhaps by Alexamenos of Teos, an elder contemporary of Plato and the first to compose Socratic dialogues. See Bergk, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1887, iv. 469): ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἑπτέτεις γένωνται οἱ παῖδες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τούτων διδασκάλους φοιτῶσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας ἄρχονται ἰέναι. δὶς ἑπτὰ δὲ γενόμενον ἐτῶν τὸν παῖδα παραλαμβάνουσιν οὓς ἐκεῖνοι βασιλείους παιδαγωγοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐξειλεγμένοι Περσῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δόξαντες ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τέτταρες, ὅ τε σοφώτατος καὶ ὁ δικαιότατος καί ὁ σωφρονέστατος καὶ ὁ ἀνδρειότατος. ὧν ὁ μὲν μαγείαν τε διδάσκει τὴν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὡρομάζου,[1] — ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῶν θεραπεία, — διδάσκει δὲ καὶ τὰ βασιλικά· ὁ δὲ δικαιότατος ἀληθεύειν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, κ.τ.λ.

Scholion on the First Alkibiades: ἑπτέτεις] ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν λόγον τότε ἄρχεσθαι τελειοῦσθαι, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν Ζωροάστρην ζ' γενόμενον ἐτῶν σιωπῆσαι, εἶτα μετὰ λ' χρόνους ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας, ἢ ὡς τῷ Μίθρᾳ οἰκεῖον τὸν ζ' ἀριθμόν, ὃν διαφερόντως οἱ Πέρσαι σέβουσιν.

Ζωροάστρης ἀρχαιότερος ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν εἶναι λέγεται Πλάτωνος· ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἠπείρου ὡρμημένων [παῖδά] φασι, πᾶσάν τε σοφίαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος ἐκμαθεῖν, τουτέστιν ἐπιτυχοῦς νοήματος· οὗ δὴ εἰς ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν μεταφραζόμενον τοὔνομα τὸν ἀστροθύτην δηλοῖ. τιμῆσαί τε αὐτὸν τὴν ἀνακεχωρηκυῖαν διαγωγὴν τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ δὴ τὴν τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχήν, συγγράμματά τε διάφορα καταλιπεῖν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ δείκνυσθαι τρία μέρη φιλοσοφίας εἶναι κατ' αὐτόν, φυσικόν, οἰκονομικόν, πολιτικόν.

Scholion to the Republic, X. p. 600 B: Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου δακτυλιογλύφου, Τυρρηνός. νεὸς δὲ ὢν ἦλθεν ἐκ Τυρρηνῶν εἰς Σάμον, καὶ διήκουσε Φερεκύδους τοῦ Συρίου, εἶτα Ἑρμοδάμαντος, ἐν Σάμῳ ἀμφοῖν, εἶτα Ἀβάριδος τοῦ Ὑπερβορέου καὶ Ζάρατος τοῦ Μάγου. μεθ' οὓς ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων ἐπαιδεύθη.

Anonymi Vita Platonis, ed. Westermann, p. 7 (Paris, 1862): μεμαθηκὼς δὲ [*sc.* ὁ Πλάτων] ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχον τῆς φιλοσοφίας οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου, ἦλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ κατορθώσας ἐκεῖσε τὴν γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἀνεχώρησεν. εἶτ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Φοινίκην περιέτυχεν ἐκεῖσε Περσαῖς καὶ ἔμαθε παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν Ζωροάστρου παιδείαν.

[1] Two Parisian MSS. (1811, 1812 — Becker's E, F) read ὡροζάμου.

§ 2. Xanthos (B.C. Fifth Century), quoted by Nikolaos of Damascus (B.C. First Century)

This entire passage is in Nikolaos of Damascus (B.C. first century) (Müller, *FGH.* iii. 409). Xanthos wrote B.C. 465–425 (cf. Christ, *Griech. Literaturgesch.*[2] 278; Bergk, op. cit. 240) (in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* i. pp. 36–44).

Fragm. 19 (Müller, p. 42): *Κροίσῳ μὲν οὖν ταχὺ στέγασμα πορφυροῦν ὑπερέτεινον· τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ ζόφου καὶ λαίλαπος ταραττομένοις, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστραπῶν, καταπατουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων τραχυνομένων πρὸς τὸν ψόφον τῶν βροντῶν, δείματα δαιμόνια ἐνέπιπτεν, καὶ οἵ τε τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὶ καὶ τὰ Ζωροάστρου λόγια εἰσῄει. Κροῖσον μὲν οὖν ἐβόων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πάλαι σώζειν· αὐτοὶ δὲ καταπίπτοντες εἰς γῆν προσεκύνουν, εὐμένειαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αἰτούμενοι. φασὶ δέ τινες Θαλῆν προειδόμενον ἔκ τινων σημείων ὄμβρον γενησόμενον καὶ ἀναμένειν τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην. τόν γε μὴν Ζωροάστρην Πέρσαι ἀπ' ἐκείνου διεῖπαν, μήτε νεκροὺς καίειν, μήτ' ἄλλως μιαίνειν πῦρ, καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο καθεστὼς τὸ νόμιμον τότε βεβαιωσάμενοι.*

See also Xanthos cited below under Diogenes Laertios, § 15.

§ 3. Diodoros Sikelos

(Wrote in the Reign of Augustus)

Lib. I. 94. 2: *καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ πλείοσιν ἔθνεσι παραδέδοται τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς ἐπινοίας ὑπάρξαι καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον γενέσθαι τοῖς πεισθεῖσι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀριανοῖς Ζαθραύστην ἱστοροῦσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ διδόναι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις Γέταις τοῖς ἀπαθανατίζουσι Ζάλμοξιν ὡσαύτως τὴν κοινὴν Ἑστίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωυσῆν τὸν Ἰαὼ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν, κ.τ.λ.*

II. 6. 1–2: *ὁ δ' οὖν Νίνος μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἠναγκάζετο, δυσεισβόλων*[1] *τῶν τόπων καὶ στενῶν ὄντων, κατὰ μέρος ἄγειν τὴν δύναμιν. ἡ γὰρ Βακτριανὴ χώρα πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις οἰκουμένη πόλεσι, μίαν μὲν εἶχεν ἐπιφανεστάτην, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ βασίλεια· αὕτη δ' ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Βάκτρα, μεγέθει δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὀχυρότητι πολὺ πασῶν διέφερε. βασιλεύων δ' αὐτῆς Ὀξυάρτης*[2] *κατέγραψεν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατείας ὄντας, οἳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἠθροίσθησαν εἰς τετταράκοντα μυριάδας. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις*

[1] Gilmore, *δυσκόλων*.

[2] Codd. A, B, D, *Ἐξαόρτης*; F, *ὁ Ξαόρτης*; G, M, *ὁ Ζαόρτης* (Gilmore).

ἀπαντήσας περὶ τὰς εἰσβολάς, εἴασε μέρος τῆς τοῦ Νίνου στρατιᾶς εἰσβαλεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔδοξεν ἱκανὸν ἀποβεβηκέναι τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐξέταξε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς οἱ Βακτριανοὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τρεψάμενοι καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν μέχρι τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ὀρῶν ποιησάμενοι, διέφθειραν τῶν πολεμίων εἰς δέκα μυριάδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰσβαλούσης κρατούμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσι, κατὰ πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἕκαστοι ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσι βοηθήσοντες. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας ὁ Νίνος ἐχειρώσατο ῥᾳδίως, τὰ δὲ Βάκτρα διά τε τὴν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ παρασκευὰς ἠδύνατει κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν. πολυχρόνου[1] δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γενομένης ὁ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος ἀνὴρ ἐρωτικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ συστρατευόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ, μετεπέμψατο τὴν ἄνθρωπον. ἡ δὲ συνέσει καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν συντείνουσι κεχορηγημένη, καιρὸν ἔλαβεν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετήν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μέλλουσα διαπορεύεσθαι στολὴν ἐπαγματεύσατο, δι' ἧς οὐκ ἦν διαγνῶναι τὸν περιβεβλημένον πότερον ἀνήρ ἐστιν ἢ γυνή. αὕτη δ' ἦν εὔχρηστος αὐτῇ πρός τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν ὁδοιπορίας, εἰς τὸ διατηρῆσαι τὸν τοῦ σώματος χρῶτα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πράττειν ὃ βούλοιτο χρείας, εὐκίνητος οὖσα καὶ νεανική. καὶ τὸ σύνολον τοσαύτη τις ἐπῆν αὐτῇ χάρις ὥσθ' ὕστερον Μήδους ἡγησαμένους τῆς Ασίας, φορεῖν τὴν Σεμιράμιδος στολήν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁμοίως Πέρσας. παραγενομένη δ' εἰς τὴν Βακτριανήν, καὶ κατασκεψαμένη τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἑώρα κατὰ μὲν τὰ πεδία καὶ τοὺς εὐεφόδους τῶν τόπων προσβολὰς γινομένας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐδένα προσιόντα, διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα· καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπολελοιπότας τὰς ἐνταυθοῖ[2] φυλακάς, καὶ παρεπιβοηθοῦντας τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κάτω τειχῶν κινδυνεύουσι. διόπερ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πετροβατεῖν εἰωθότας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων διά τινος χαλεπῆς φάραγγος προσαναβᾶσα, κατελάβετο μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, καὶ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τὸ κατὰ τὸ πεδίον τεῖχος ἐσήμηνεν. οἱ δ' ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῆς ἄκρας καταπλαγέντες, ἐξέλιπον τὰ τείχη, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπέγνωσαν.

§ 4. Kornelios Alexander Poluhistor, quoted by Other Writers

(B.C. First Century)

Fragmm. 138–139, apud Clem. Alex. Strom. I. 15 (tom. i. col. 776, ed. Migne) et Cyrill. adv. Iul. IV. p. 133 (tom. ix. col. 705, ed. Migne): Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων Ναζαράτῳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ μαθητεῦσαι ἱστορεῖ τὸν Πυθαγόραν (Ἰεζεκιὴλ τοῦτον ἡγοῦνταί τινες, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἔπειτα δηλωθήσεται), ἀκηκοέναι τε πρὸς τούτοις Γαλατῶν καὶ Βραχμάνων τὸν Πυθαγόραν βούλεται. ἱστορεῖ γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ

[1] Müller, πολυχρονίου. [2] Müller, ἐνταῦθα.

ἐπίκλην Πολυίστωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων Ἀσσυρίῳ τὸ γένος ὄντι τῷ Ζάρᾳ φοιτῆσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν.

See also under Georgios Sunkellos, § **41**.

§ 5. C. Plinius Secundus

(A.D. 23–79).

Nat. Hist. VII. 15: Risisse eodem die quo genitus esset unum hominem accepimus Zoroastrem. eidem cerebrum ita palpitasse, ut impositam repelleret manum futurae praesagio scientiae.

XI. 97: Tradunt Zoroastrem in desertis caseo uixisse, ita temperato ut uetustatem non sentiret.

XVIII. 55: Adiecit iis Accius in Praxidico ut sereretur, cum luna esset in Ariete, Geminis, Leone, Libra, Aquario. Zoroastres sole duodecim partes Scorpionis transgresso, cum luna esset in Tauro.

XXX. 2. 1: Sine dubio illic orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores conuenit. sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius non satis constat. Eudoxus, qui inter sapientiae sectas clarissimam utililissimamque eam intelligi uoluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex millibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit. sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit, et uicies centum millia uersuum a Zoroastre condita, indicibus quoque uoluminum eius positis explanauit, praeceptorem, a quo institutum diceret, tradidit Azonacem ipsum uero quinque millibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse. mirum hoc in primis durasse memoriam artemque tam longo aeuo, commentariis non intercedentibus, praeterea nec claris nec continuis successionibus custoditam. quotus enim quisque auditu saltem cognitos habet, qui soli cognominantur, Apuscorum et Zaratum Medos, Babyloniosque Marmarum et Arabantiphocum, aut Assyrium Tarmoendam, quorum nulla extant monumenta? . . . primus quod extet, ut equidem inuenio, commentatus de ea Osthanes, Xerxem regem Persarum bello, quod is Graeciae intulit, comitatus; ac uelut semina artis portentosae sparsisse, obiter infecto, quacumque commeauerat, mundo. diligentiores paulo ante hunc ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium. . . . est et alia Magices factio, a Mose et Iamne et Iotape Iudeis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem.

XXXVII. 49: Celebrant et astroitem, mirasque laudes eius in magicis artibus Zoroastrem cecinisse, qui circa eas diligentes sunt, produnt.

Ibid. 55: Zoroastres crinibus mulierum similiorem bostrychiten uocat.

Ibid. 57: Daphniam Zoroastres morbis comitialibus demonstrat.

Ibid. 58: Exebenum Zoroastres speciosam et candidam tradit, qua aurifices aurum poliunt.

§ 6. Ploutarchos

(About A.D. 46 to about A.D. 120)

Vit. Numae, IV.: ἆρα οὖν ἄξιόν ἐστι, ταῦτα συγχωροῦντας ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ Ζαλεύκῳ καὶ Μίνῳ καὶ Ζωροάστρῃ καὶ Νομᾷ καὶ Λυκούργῳ, βασιλείας κυβερνῶσι καὶ πολιτείας διακοσμοῦσιν, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐφοίτα τὸ δαιμόνιον;

De Isid. et Osir. XLVI.: καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις. νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο, καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους· τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα, θεόν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον, δαίμονα καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ Ζωρόαστρις ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο, τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δ' ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ, μέσον δ' ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι. διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσι· ἐδίδαξε τῷ μὲν εὐκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δ' ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά. πόαν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες Ὄμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλμῳ, τὸν ᾅδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος, εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ζῴων, ὥσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῦ δὲ φαύλου, τοὺς ἐνύδρους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσιν.

De defectu Oraculorum, X.: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσι πλείονας λῦσαι καὶ μείζονας ἀπορίας οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συνάγον εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ συνάπτον ἐξευρόντες· εἴτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην ὁ λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν, εἴτε Θρᾴκιος ἀπ' Ὀρφέως, εἴτ' Αἰγύπτιος, ἢ Φρύγιος, ὡς τεκμαιρόμεθα ταῖς ἑκατέρωθι τελεταῖς ἀναμεμιγμένα πολλὰ θυητὰ καὶ πένθιμα τῶν ὀργιαζομένων καὶ δρωμένων ἱερῶν ὁρῶντες.

Quaest. Conviv. IV. 1. 1: οὐ γὰρ ἐμεμνήμην, εἶπεν ὁ Φίλων ὅτι Σωσάστρον ἡμῖν ὑποτρέφει ὁ Φιλῖνος, ὅν φασι μήτε ποτῷ χρησάμενον ἄλλῳ μήτ' ἐδέσματι πλὴν ἢ γάλακτος διαβιῶσαι πάντα τὸν βίον.

Ibid. IV. 5. 2: *καὶ τί ἄν τις Αἰγυπτίους αἰτιῷτο τῆς τοιαύτης ἀλογίας; ὅπου καὶ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνα λευκὸν σέβεσθαι, καὶ τῶν θαλαττίων μάλιστα τρίγλης καὶ ἀκαλήφης ἀπέχεσθαι· τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Ζωροάστρου μάγους τιμᾶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὸν χερσαῖον ἐχῖνον, ἐχθαίρειν δὲ τοὺς ἐνύδρους μῦς, καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα πλείστους θεοφιλῆ καὶ μακάριον νομίζειν;*

De Animae Procreat in Timaeo, II. 2: *καὶ Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος ταύτην [sc. δυάδα] μὲν ἐκάλει τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ μητέρα, τὸ δὲ ἓν πατέρα· διὸ καὶ βελτίονας εἶναι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὅσοι τῇ μονάδι προσεοίκασι.*

Ibid. XXVII. 2: . . . *ἀνάγκην ἣν εἱμαρμένην οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν· Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ φιλίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ νεῖκος· Ἡράκλειτος δὲ, παλίντροπον ἁρμονίην κόσμου, ὅκωσπερ λύρης καὶ τόξου· Παρμενίδης δὲ φῶς καὶ σκότος· Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ νοῦν καὶ ἀπειρίαν· Ζωροάστρης δὲ θεὸν καὶ δαίμονα, τὸν μὲν Ὠρομάσδην καλῶν, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον.*

Advers. Coloten, XIV. 2: *ποῦ γὰρ ὢν τῆς ἀοικήτου τὸ βιβλίον ἔγραφες; ἵνα ταῦτα συντιθεὶς τὰ ἐγκλήματα μὴ τοῖς ἐκείνων συντάγμασιν ἐντύχῃς, μηδ' ἀναλάβῃς εἰς χεῖρας Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς, Θεοφράστου δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς, Ἡρακλείδου*[1] *δὲ τὸν Ζωροάστρην, τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου, τὸ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς ἀπορουμένων, Δικαιάρχου δὲ τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς, ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν φυσικῶν ὑπεναντιούμενοι τῷ Πλάτωνι καὶ μαχόμενοι διατελοῦσι.*

§ 7. Dion Chrusostomos

(Born about A.D. 50)

Borysthenica Orat. XXXVI. (vol. ii. p. 60 f., ed. Dindorf): *τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τέλειον ἅρμα τοῦ Διὸς οὐδεὶς ἄρα ὕμνησεν ἀξίως τῶν τῇδε οὔτε Ὅμηρος οὔτε Ἡσίοδος, ἀλλὰ Ζωροάστρης καὶ μάγων παῖδες ᾅδουσι παρ' ἐκείνου μαθόντες· ὃν Πέρσαι λέγουσιν ἔρωτι σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀποχωρήσαντα τῶν ἄλλων καθ' αὑτὸν ἐν ὄρει τινὶ ζῆν· ἔπειτα ἁφθῆναι τὸ ὄρος πυρὸς ἄνωθεν πολλοῦ κατασκήψαντος συνεχῶς τε κάεσθαι. τὸν οὖν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς ἐλλογιμωτάτοις Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πλησίον, βουλόμενον εὔξασθαι τῷ θεῷ· καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαθῆ, φανέντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἵλεων θαρρεῖν κελεῦσαι καὶ θῦσαι θυσίας τινάς, ὡς ἥκοντος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ θεοῦ. συγγίγνεσθαί τε μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ἅπασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄριστα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πεφυκόσι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ συνιέναι δυναμένοις, οὓς Πέρσαι μάγους ἐκάλεσεν,*

[1] On Herakleides of Pontos, cf. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. 197 ff.; Bähr, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, iii. 1142–1144.

ἐπισταμένους θεραπεύειν τὸ δαιμόνιον, οὐχ ὡς Ἕλληνες ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ὀνόματος οὕτως ὀνομάζουσιν ἀνθρώπους γόητας.

§ 8. Ailios Theon

(Flourished about A.D. 125 ?)

Progymnasmata, 9: οὐ γὰρ εἰ Τόμυρις ἡ Μασσαγέτις, ἢ Σπαρέδρα ἡ Ἀμώγου τοῦ Σάκων βασιλέως γυνὴ κρείττων ἐστὶ Κύρου, ἢ καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία Σεμίραμις Ζοροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου, ἤδη συγχωρητέον καὶ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος εἶναι ἀνδρειότερον, μιᾶς μὲν ἢ δύο γυναικῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων οὐσῶν, ἀρρένων δὲ παμπολλῶν.

§ 9. Lukianos

(Flourished about A.D. 160)

Nekuomanteia, 6: καί μοί ποτε διαγρυπνοῦντι τούτων ἕνεκεν ἔδοξεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐλθόντα δεηθῆναί τινος τῶν μάγων τῶν Ζωροάστρου μαθητῶν καὶ διαδόχων, ἤκουον δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπῳδαῖς τε καὶ τελεταῖς τισιν ἀνοίγειν τε τοῦ Ἅιδου τὰς πύλας καὶ κατάγειν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ὀπίσω αὖθις ἀναπέμπειν.

§ 10. M. Iunian(i)us Iustinus

(Period of the Antonines ?)

Hist. Philippicae, I. 1. 9–10: Postremum illi bellum cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum, fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas inuenisse, et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse. hoc occiso et ipse decessit, relicto impubere adhuc filio Ninya et uxore Semiramide.

§ 11. Apuleius Madaurensis

(Born about A.D. 125)

Florida, II. 15 (vol. ii. p. 59, ed. Hildebrand): Sunt qui Pythagoram aiant eo temporis inter captiuos Cambysae regis, Aegyptum cum adueheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum magos ac praecipue Zoroastren, omnis diuini arcanum antistitem, posteaque eum a quodam Gillo Crotoniensium principe reciperatum.

De Magia, XXVI. (vol. ii. p. 502 f., ed. Hild.): Auditisne magiam, qui eam temere accusatis, artem esse diis immortalibus acceptam, colendi eos ac uenerandi pergnaram, piam scilicet et

diuini scientem, iam inde a Zoroastre et Oromazo auctoribus suis nobilem, coelitum antistitem? quippe quia inter prima regalia docetur, nec ulli temere inter Persas concessum est magum esse, haud magis quam regnare. idem Plato in alia sermocinatione de Zalmoxi quodam Thraci generis sed eiusdem artis uiro ita scriptum reliquit: θεραπεύεσθαι δὲ τὴν ψυχήν, ἔφη, ὦ μακάριε, ἐπῳδαῖς τισί. τὰς δὲ ἐπῳδὰς τοὺς λόγους εἶναι τοὺς καλούς. quodsi ita est, cur mihi nosse non liceat uel Zalmoxis bona uerba uel Zoroastris sacerdotia?

Ibid. XXXI. (p. 514): Pythagoram plerique Zoroastris sectatorem similiter magiae peritum arbitrati.

Ibid. cap. XC. (p. 615 f.): Si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaueritis, ego ille sim Carinondas uel Damigeron, uel is Moses uel Iannes uel Apollonius uel ipse Dardanus uel quicumque alius post Zoroastren et Hostanen inter magos celebratus est.

§ 12. Clemens Romanus

(About A.D. 30–100, but probably written later)

Recognitiones, IV. 27–29 (tom. i. col. 1326 f., ed. Migne) (only in Latin transl. of Rufinus; dates about end of A.D. second century. Cf. Schoell, *Histoire Abrégée de la litt. grecque sacrée et ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1832, p. 220 f.; Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, 2d ed. p. 732). 27: Ex quibus unus Cham nomine, cuidam ex filiis suis qui Mesraim appellabatur, a quo Aegyptiorum et Babyloniorum et Persarum ducitur genus, male compertam magicae artis tradidit disciplinam; hunc gentes quae tunc erant Zoroastrem appelauerunt, admirantes primum magicae artis auctorem, cuius nomine etiam libri super hoc plurimi habentur. hic ergo astris multum ac frequenter intentus et uolens apud homines uideri deus, uelut scintillas quasdam ex stellis producere et hominibus ostentare coepit, quo rudes atque ignari in stuporem miraculi traherentur, cupiensque augere de se huiusmodi opinionem, saepius ista moliebatur usquequo ab ipso daemone, quem importunius frequentabat igni succensus concremaretur.

28: Sed stulti homines qui tunc erant, cum debuissent utique opinionem, quam de eo conceperant, abicere, quippe quam poenali morte eius uiderant confutatam, in maius eum extollunt. extructo enim sepulcro ad honorem eius, tanquam amicum dei ac fulminis ad caelum uehiculo subleuatum, adorare ausi sunt, et quasi uiuens

astrum colere. hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoroaster, hoc est uiuum sidus, appellatum est ab his, qui post unam generationem graecae linguae loquela fuerant repleti. hoc denique exemplo etiam nunc multi eos qui fulmine obierint, sepulcris honoratos tamquam amicos Dei colunt. hic ergo cum quartadecima generatione coepisset, quintadecima defunctus est, in qua turris aedificata est, et linguae hominum multipliciter diuisae sunt.

29: Inter quos primus, magica nihilominus arte, quasi corusco ad eum delato, rex appellatur quidam Nemrod, quem et ipsum Graeci Ninum uocauerunt; ex cuius nomine Niniue ciuitas uocabulum sumsit. sic ergo diuersae et erraticae superstitiones ab arte magica initium sumpsere.

Et eius, quem supra diximus indignatione daemonis, cui nimis molestus fuerat, conflagrasse, busti cineres tanquam fulminei ignis reliquias colligentes hi, qui erant primitus decepti, deferunt ad Persas, ut ab eis tanquam diuinus e caelo lapsus ignis perpetuis conseruaretur excubiis, atque ut caelestis deus coleretur.

Homilies (also spurious), IX. 4 f. (tom. ii. col. 244, ed. Migne): *ἐκ τοῦ γένους τούτου γίνεταί τις κατὰ διαδοχὴν μαγικὰ παρειληφώς, ὀνόματι Νεβρώδ, ὥσπερ γίγας ἐναντία τῷ θεῷ φρονεῖν ἑλόμενος, ὃν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ζωροάστρην προσηγόρευσαν. οὗτος μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν βασιλείας ὀρεχθεὶς καὶ μέγας ὢν μάγος τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ τὸν ὡροσκοποῦντα κόσμον ἀστέρα πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας δόσιν μαγικαῖς ἠνάγκαζε τέχναις. ὁ δὲ ἅτε δὴ ἄρχων ὢν καὶ τοῦ βιαζομένου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, μετ' ὀργῆς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προσέχεε πῦρ, ἵνα πρός τε τὸν ὁρκισμὸν εὐγνωμονήσῃ, καὶ τὸν πρώτως ἀναγκάσαντα τιμωρήσηται.*

ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ χαμαὶ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς ὁ μάγος ἀναιρεθεὶς Νεβρώδ, ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος πράγματος Ζωροάστρης μετωνομάσθη, διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν. οἱ δὲ ἀνόητοι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, ὡς διὰ τὴν εἰς θεὸν φιλίαν κεραυνῷ μεταπεμφθεῖσαν τὴν ψυχὴν νομίσαντες, τοῦ σώματος τὸ λείψανον κατορύξαντες, τὸν μὲν τάφον ναῷ ἐτίμησαν ἐν Πέρσαις, ἔνθα ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς καταφορὰ γέγονεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς θεὸν ἐθρήσκευσαν. τούτῳ τῷ ὑποδείγματι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐκεῖσε τοὺς κεραυνῷ θνήσκοντας ὡς θεοφιλεῖς θάπτοντες ναοῖς τιμῶσιν, καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἰδίων μορφῶν ἱστᾶσιν ἀγάλματα . . .

Πέρσαι πρῶτοι τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς λαβόντες ἄνθρακας τῇ οἰκείᾳ διεφύλαξαν τροφῇ καὶ ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον προτιμήσαντες τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πρῶτοι προσκυνήσαντες, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς πρώτῃ βασιλείᾳ τετίμηνται· μεθ' οὓς Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πυρὸς ἄνθρακας κλέψαντες καὶ διασώσαντες εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσκυνήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκολούθως ἐβασίλευσαν.

§ 13. Titus Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus

(Died between A.D. 211–218)

Stromata I. (tom. i. col. 773, ed. Migne): ἐπῆλθε γὰρ [*sc.* ὁ Δημόκριτος[1]] Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ Περσίδα καὶ Αἴγυπτον τοῖς τε μαγικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μαθητεύων. Ζωρωάστρην δὲ τὸν μάγον τὸν Πέρσην ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐδήλωσεν.[2] βίβλους ἀποκρύφους τἀνδρὸς τοῦδε οἱ τὴν Προδίκου μετιόντες αἵρεσιν αὐχοῦσι κεκτῆσθαι.

Ibid. (tom. i. col. 868, ed. Migne): προγνώσει δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ μέγας προσανεῖχεν ἀεί, Ἄβαρίς τε ὁ Ὑπερβόρεος, καὶ Ἀριστείας ὁ Προκοννήσιος, Ἐπιμενίδης τε ὁ Κρὴς ὅστις εἰς Σπάρτην ἀφίκετο, καὶ Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μῆδος, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος, καὶ Φορμίων ὁ Λάκων.

Ibid. Strom. V. (tom. ii. col. 156 f., ed. Migne): ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας Ἥρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου,[3] τὸ γένος Παμφύλου, μέμνηται, ὅς ἐστι Ζοροάστρης.[4] αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Ζοροάστρης γράφει· Τάδε συνέγραψεν Ζοροάστρης ὁ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Πάμφυλος. ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας ἐν Ἅιδῃ γενόμενος ἐδάην παρὰ θεῶν. τὸν δὴ Ζοροάστρην τοῦτον ὁ Πλάτων δωδεκαταῖον ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενον ἀναβιῶναι λέγει. τάχα μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τάχα δὲ ἐκεῖνα αἰνίσσεται, ὡς διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ζωδίων ἡ ὁδὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίνεται εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν γένεσίν φησι τὴν αὐτὴν γίγνεσθαι κάθοδον.

§ 14. Origenes

(A.D. 185–254)

Contra Celsum I. (tom. i. col. 689, ed. Migne): ὅρα οὖν εἰ μὴ ἄντικρυς κακουργῶν ἐξέβαλε [*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος] τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν σοφῶν καὶ Μωυσέα, Λῖνον δὲ καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ τὸν Φερεκύδην καὶ τὸν Πέρσην Ζωροάστρην καὶ Πυθαγόραν φήσας περὶ τῶνδε διειληφέναι, καὶ ἐς βίβλους κατατεθεῖσθαι τὰ ἑαυτῶν δόγματα, καὶ πεφυλάχθαι αὐτὰ μέχρι δεῦρο.

Contra Haereses I. col. 3025: Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός φησι πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐληλυθέναι Πυθαγόραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὖσιν αἴτια, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν φῶς, μητέρα δὲ σκότος, τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμόν, ξηρόν,

[1] Cf. Eusebius.

[2] Quoted by Cyrill. *adv. Iul.* iii. (tom. i. col. 633, ed. Migne) where, however, ἐζήλωσεν is read (cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* 263).

[3] Vid. Plato, *Repub.* p. 614 B.

[4] Ζωρόαστρις in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* XIII. 13, 30.

κοῦφον, ταχύ· τοῦ δὲ σκότους ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, βαρύ, βραδύ. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντα τὸν κόσμον συνεστάναι, ἐκ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος· εἶναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον φύσιν κατὰ μουσικὴν ἁρμονίαν, διὸ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν περίοδον ἐναρμόνιον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ κόσμου γινομένων τάδε φασὶ λέγειν τὸν Ζαράταν· δύο δαίμονας εἶναι, τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸν δὲ χθόνιον· καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνιέναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ ὕδωρ· τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος, θερμὸν τοῦ ψυχροῦ. διὸ καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀναιρεῖν οὐδὲ μιαίνειν φησὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα οὐσία τῶν πάντων. κυάμους δὲ λέγεται παραγγέλλειν μὴ ἐσθίειν, αἰτίᾳ τοῦ τὸν Ζαράτην εἰρηκέναι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ σύγκρισιν τῶν πάντων συνισταμένης τῆς γῆς ἔτι καὶ συνσεσημμένης γενέσθαι τὸν κύαμον. τούτου δὲ τεκμήριόν φησιν, εἴ τις καταμασησάμενος λεῖον τὸν κύαμον καταθείη πρὸς ἥλιον χρόνον τινά — τοῦτο γὰρ εὐθέως ἀντιλήψεται — προσφέρειν ἀνθρωπίνου γόνου ὀδμήν. σαφέστερον δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἕτερον παράδειγμα λέγει, εἰ ἀνθοῦντος τοῦ κυάμου λαβόντες τὸν κύαμον καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταθέντες εἰς χύτραν ταύτην τε καταχρίσαντες εἰς γῆν κατορύξαιμεν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀνακαλύψαιμεν, ἴδοιμεν ⟨ἂν⟩ αὐτὸ εἶδος ἔχον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς αἰσχύνην γυναικός, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατανοούμενον παιδίου κεφαλὴν συμπεφυκυῖαν.

Ibid. V. (auct. inc.) Migne, vi. col. 3170: δύναμις δεξιὰ ἐξουσιάζει καρπῶν· τοῦτον ἡ ἀγνωσία ἐκάλησε Μῆνα, οὗ κατ' εἰκόνα ἐγένοντο Βουμέγας, Ὀστάνης, Ἑρμῆς τρισμέγιστος, Κουρίτης, Πετόσιρις, Ζωδάριον, Βηρωσός, Ἀστράμψυχος, Ζωρόαστρις.

Ibid. VI. (col. 3228, Migne): καὶ Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος ἐκάλει τὸ μὲν ἓν πατέρα, τὸ δὲ δύο μητέρα.

§ 15. Diogenes Laertios

(Flourished about A.D. 210)

Proœm. 2 (ed. Cobet, Paris, 1862): ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶ εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια·[1] Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλιά φησι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως.

Ibid. 6: τὴν δὲ γοητικὴν μαγείαν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν [sc. οἱ Μάγοι], φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Δείνων ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν· ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι· φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πρεσ-

[1] Two MSS., ἑξακισχίλια.

βυτέρους εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα εἶναι Ζεὺς καὶ Ὠρομάσδης, τῷ δὲ Ἅιδης καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος. φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Μάγων καὶ Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ Περιόδῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, ὃς καὶ ἀναβιώσεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανάτους, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπικλήσεσι διαμένειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Εὔδημος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἱστορεῖ. Ἑκαταῖος δὲ καὶ γενητοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι κατ' αὐτούς. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ παιδείας καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς ἀπογόνους εἶναι τῶν Μάγων φησίν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκ τούτων εἶναι.

§ 16. Arnobius

(Wrote about A.D. 295)

Adv. Gentes I. 5 (col. 727 f., ed. Migne): ut inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus, non tantum ferro dimicaretur et uiribus, uerum etiam Magicis et Chaldaeorum ex reconditis disciplinis, inuidia nostra haec fuit?

Ibid. I. 52 (col. 788 ff.): Age nune, ueniat quis super igneam zonam, magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur auctori. Bactrianus et ille conueniat, cuius Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo, Armenius Hosthanis[1] nepos, etc.

§ 17. Porphurios

(A.D. 233 to about A.D. 304)

Vit. Pythagorae 12: ἔν τε Ἀραβίᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνῆν [ὁ Πυθαγόρας] ἔν τε Βαβυλῶνι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις συνεγένετο καὶ πρὸς Ζάβρατον ἀφίκετο, παρ' οὗ καὶ ἀκαθάρθη τὰ τοῦ προτέρου βίου λύματα καὶ ἐδιδάχθη ἀφ' οὗ ἁγνεύειν προσήκει τοῖς σπουδαίοις, τόν τε περὶ φύσεως λόγον ἤκουσε καὶ τίνες αἱ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχαί. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη πλάνης ὁ Πυθαγόρας τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς σοφίας ἐνεπορεύσατο.

De antro nympharum 6: οὕτω καὶ Πέρσαι τὴν εἰς κάτω κάθοδον τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ πάλιν ἔξοδον μυσταγωγοῦντες τελοῦσι τὸν μύστην, ἐπονομάσαντες σπήλαιον τόπον· πρῶτα μὲν ὥς φησιν Εὔβουλος, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος ἀνθηρὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιερώσαντος εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου, εἰκόνα φέροντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου, ὃν ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημιούργησε, τῶν δὲ ἐντὸς κατὰ συμμέτρους ἀποστάσεις σύμβολα φερόντων τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων καὶ κλιμάτων· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ζωροάστρην κρατήσαντος καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις

[1] MSS. Zostriani, cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* 289.

δι' ἄντρων καὶ σπηλαίων εἴτ' οὖν αὐτοφυῶν εἴτε χειροποιήτων τὰς τελετὰς ἀποδιδόναι.[1]

De Vita Plotini § 16: γεγόνασι δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, αἱρετικοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φιλοσοφίας ἀνηγμένοι οἱ περὶ Ἀδέλφιον καὶ Ἀκυλῖνον, οἳ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Λίβυος καὶ Φιλοκώμου καὶ Δημοστράτου καὶ Λυδοῦ συγγράμματα πλεῖστα κεκτημένοι, ἀποκαλύψεις τε προφέροντες Ζωροάστρου καὶ Ζωστριανοῦ καὶ Νικοθέου καὶ Ἀλλογενοῦς καὶ Μέσου καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων πολλοὺς ἐξηπάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠπατημένοι, ὡς δὴ τοῦ Πλάτωνος εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς νοητῆς οὐσίας οὐ πελάσαντος. ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐλέγχους ποιούμενος ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις, γράψας δὲ καὶ βιβλίον, ὅπερ πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικοὺς ἐπεγράψαμεν, ἡμῖν τὰ λοιπὰ κρίνειν καταλέλοιπεν. Ἀμέλιος δὲ ἄχρι τεσσαράκοντα βιβλίων προκεχώρηκε πρὸς τὸ Ζωστριανοῦ βιβλίον ἀντιγράφων. Πορφύριος δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ Ζωροάστρου συχνοὺς πεποίημαι ἐλέγχους, ὅπως νόθον τε καὶ νέον τὸ βιβλίον παραδεικνύς, πεπλασμένον τε ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν συστησαμένων εἰς δόξαν τοῦ εἶναι τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ζωροάστρου τὰ δόγματα, ἃ αὐτοὶ εἵλοντο πρεσβεύειν.

§ 18. Eusebios

(About A.D. 264–340)

This passage is usually assigned to Philo Byblius (flor. circ. A.D. 125), Fragm. 9, apud Euseb. Praep. Evang. I. 10 (tom. iii. col. 88, ed. Migne): καὶ Ζωροάστρης δὲ ὁ μάγος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ συναγωγῇ τῶν Περσικῶν φησι κατὰ λέξιν· Ὁ δὲ θεός ἐστι κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἱέρακος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἄφθαρτος, ἀΐδιος, ἀγέννητος, ἀμερής, ἀνομοιότατος, ἡνίοχος παντὸς καλοῦ, ἀδωροδόκητος, ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθώτατος, φρονίμων φρονιμώτατος· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πατὴρ εὐνομίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, αὐτοδίδακτος, φυσικός, καὶ τέλειος, καὶ σοφός, καὶ ἱεροῦ φυσικοῦ μόνος εὑρετής. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Ὀστάνης φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Ὀκτατεύχῳ.

Ibid. X. 9, 10 (col. 805 seq., ed. Migne): οὗ Νίνος ἐπώνυμος πόλις, ἣ Νινευὶ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὠνόμασται, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. Νίνου δὲ γυνὴ καὶ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας Σεμίραμις· ὥστ' εἶναι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ τούτους.

Eusebius Chron. II. 35, ed. Aucher (to year 9 of Abraham): Zoroastres magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur: aduersum quem Ninus dimicauit.

[1] Thus Nietzsche in his 'Also sprach Zarathustra' makes the Sage dwell in a cave, with a serpent and an eagle as his faithful companions.

§ 19. C. Iul. Solinus Polyhistor

(A.D. Third or Fourth Century)

I. Nascentium uox prima uagitus est: laetitiae enim sensus differtur in quadrigesimum diem. itaque unum nouimus eadem hora risisse, qua erat natus, scilicet Zoroastrem, mox optimarum artium peritissimum.

§ 20. Basilios Megas

(A.D. 329–379)

Epist. CCLVIII. (tom. iv. col. 953, ed. Migne): *τὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γεναλογίας οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος τῶν μάγων ἐμυθολόγησεν· ἀλλὰ Ζαροῦάν τινα ἑαυτοῖς ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους ἐπιφημίζουσι.*

§ 21. Epiphanios of Constantia

(A.D. 298–403)

Adv. Haereses, Lib. I. Tom. I. 6 (tom. i. col. 185 seq., ed. Migne): *Νεβρὼθ γὰρ βασιλεύει υἱὸς τοῦ Χοῦς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐξ οὗ Ἀσσοῦρ γεγέννηται. τούτου ἡ βασιλεία ἐν Ὀρὲχ γεγέννηται, καὶ ἐν Ἀρφὰλ, καὶ Χαλάννη. κτίζει δὲ καὶ τὴν Θειρὰς καὶ τὴν Θόβελ καὶ Λόβον ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίων χώρᾳ. τοῦτόν φασι παῖδες Ἑλλήνων εἶναι τὸν Ζωροάστρην, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίνεται Βάκτρων.*[1] *ἐντεῦθεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν γῆν παράνομα διανενέμηται. ἐφευρέτης γὰρ οὗτος γεγένηται κακῆς διδαχῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ μαγείας, ὥς τινές φασι περὶ τούτου τοῦ Ζωροάστρου. πλὴν ὡς ἡ ἀκρίβεια περιέχει τοῦ Νεβρὼθ τοῦ γίγαντος οὗτος ἦν ὁ χρόνος. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀλλήλων τῷ χρόνῳ διεστήκασιν ἄμφω, ὅ τε Νεβρὼθ καὶ ὁ Ζωροάστρης.*

§ 22. Ammianus Marcellinus

(About 330–400)

XXIII. 6, 32–34: magiam opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato machagistiam esse uerbo mystico docet, diuinorum incoruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus Darei pater. qui cum superioris Indiae secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam uenerat solitudinem,

[1] The same statement is later repeated by Prokopios of Gaza, see below, § 33.

cuius tranquillis silentiis praecelsa Bracmanorum ingenia potiuntur, eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus et siderum purosque sacrorum ritus quantum colligere potuit eruditus, ex his quae didicit, aliqua sensibus magorum infudit, quae illi cum disciplinis praesentiendi futura per suam quisque progeniem posteris aetatibus tradunt. ex eo per saecula multa ad praesens una eademque prosapia multitudo creata deorum cultibus dedicatur. feruntque, si iustum est credi, etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodiri, cuius portionem exiguam ut faustam praeisse quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt.

§ 23. Marius Victorinus Afer

(About A.D. 350)

Ad Iustinum Manichaeum (col. 1003, ed. Migne): Iam uidistine ergo quot Manis, Zoradis, aut Buddas haec docendo deceperint?

§ 24. Hieronymus

(A.D. 331–420)

Epist. 132 (tom. i. col. 1153, ed. Migne): In Hispania Agape Elpidium, mulier uirum, caecum caeca duxit in foueam, successoremque qui Priscillianum habuit, Zoroastris magi studiosissimum, et ex mago episcopum, cui iuncta Galla non gente sed nomine, germanam huc illucque currentem alterius et uicinae haereseos reliquit haeredem.

§ 25. Iohannes Chrustostomos

(A.D. 347–407)

Lib. de S. Babyla contra Iulianum et Gentiles (tom. ii. col. 536, ed. Migne): *εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, διὰ τί τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Ζάμολξιν οὐδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἴσασιν οἱ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέ τινες πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν; ἆρ' οὐχ ὅτι πλάσματα ἦν τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα ἅπαντα; καίτοι γε κἀκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκείνων συνθέντες δεινοὶ γενέσθαι λέγονται, οἱ μὲν γοητείαν εὑρεῖν καὶ ἐργάσασθαι, οἱ δὲ συσκιάσαι ψεῦδος τῇ τῶν λόγων πιθανότητι. ἀλλὰ πάντα μάτην γίνεται καὶ εἰκῇ, ὅταν ἡ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπόθεσις σαθρὰ καί ψευδὴς οὖσα τύχῃ, ὥσπερ οὖν, ὅταν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἀληθής, ἅπαντα πάλιν μάτην γίνεται καὶ εἰκῇ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν ἐπινοούμενα παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὐδεμίας γὰρ δεῖται βοηθείας ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ἴσχυς.*

§ 26. Aurelius Prudentius Clemens

(A.D. 348 to about A.D. 410[1])

Apotheosis, 492 ff.:

ecquis alumnus
Chrismatis inscripto signaret tempora ligno;
Qui Zoroastraeos turbasset fronte susurros.

§ 27. Paulus Orosius

(Wrote about A.D. 417)

Hist. I. 4 (col. 700, ed. Migne): Nouissime Zoroastrem Bactrianorum regem, eundemque magicae (ut ferunt) artis repertorem, pugna oppressum [*sc.* Ninus] interfecit.[2]

The passage contains some account also of Semiramis as well as of Ninus.

§ 28. Aurelius Augustinus

(A.D. 354–430)

De Civ. Dei, XXI. 14 (tom. vii. col. 728, ed. Migne): Solum quando natus est ferunt risisse Zoroastrem, nec ei boni aliquid monstrosus risus ille portendit. nam magicarum artium fuisse perhibetur inuentor; quae quidem illi nec ad praesentis uitae uanam felicitatem contra suos inimicos prodesse potuerunt. a Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse Bactrianorum, bello superatus est.

§ 29. Kurillos Alexandrinos

(About A.D. 376–444)

Contra Iulian. III. (tom. ix. col. 633, ed. Migne): *ὅτι μὲν οὖν οἱ Μάγοι Περσικόν εἰσι γένος, ἐροῦσί που πάντως. Ζωροάστρην γε μὴν οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλάξειε λόγος τοῦ ταῖς μαγικαῖς ἐνισχῆσθαι τέχναις, οὗ δὴ καὶ πανάριστον ζηλωτὴν Πυθαγόραν φασίν, ὡς καὶ βίβλους ἀπορρήτους παρ' αὐτοῦ συντεθειμένας αὐχῆσαί τινας.*

[1] Quoted also by Gregory of Tours, *Miraculor.* lib. i. cap. 41 (col. 743, ed. Migne).

[2] Praised by Ekkehard Urangiensis, col. 505, ed. Migne (vol. 154).

§ 30. Theodoretos of Cyrus

(About A.D. 387–457)

Graecarum Affectionum Curatio, IX. de legibus (tom. iv. col. 1045, ed. Migne): ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ζαράδου πάλαι Πέρσαι πολιτευόμενοι νόμους, καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς ἀδεῶς καὶ μέντοι καὶ θυγατράσι μιγνύμενοι, καὶ ἔννομον τὴν παρανομίαν νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ τῆς τῶν ἁλιέων νομοθεσίας ἐπήκουσαν, τοὺς μὲν Ζαράδου νόμους ὡς παρανομίαν ἐπάτησεν, τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην ἠγάπησαν. καὶ κυσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς προτιθέναι παρ' ἐκείνου μεμαθηκότες, νῦν τοῦτο δρᾶν οἱ πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἀνέχονται, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ κατακρύπτουσι, καὶ τῶν τοῦτο δρᾶν ἀπαγορευόντων οὐ φροντίζουσι νόμων, οὔδε πεφρίκασι τὴν τῶν κολαζόντων ὠμότητα.

§ 31. Claudianus Mamertus

(Wrote about A.D. 470)

De statu animae, II. 8 (col. 750, ed. Migne): Quid ego nunc Zoroastri, quid Brachmanum ex India, quid Anacharsis e Scythia, quid uero Catonum, quid M. Ciceronis, quid Crysippi, qui ab ipso paene principio sui operis animo dominandi ius tribuit, corpori legem seruitutis imponit, in defensionem ueri sententias adferam?

§ 32. Iohannes Laurentios Ludos

(Born about A.D. 490)

De Mensibus, II. 3 (p. 14, ed. Bonnenn.): [ὅτι οἱ περὶ Ζωροάστρην καὶ Ὑστάσπην Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πλανήτων ἐν ἑβδομάδι τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβον, καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν μίαν, ὡς καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, καλοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς μονάδος, ὅτι μόνη καὶ ἀκοινώνητος ταῖς ἄλλαις.]

Ibid. II. 5 (p. 16, ed. Bonnenn.): τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς μιᾶς, ἣν ὡς ἔφην πρώτην τό πλῆθος καλεῖ, ἣν κατ' αἴσθησιν ἡλίῳ ἀνέθεντο, ταμίᾳ μὲν τοῦ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ φωτός, δι' οὗ θερμαίνει τε ἅμα καὶ ἠρέμα ξηραίνει τὰ σώματα, ἑνὶ τῶν πλανήτων καθ' Ἕλληνας, κἂν εἰ Ζωροάστρης αὐτὸν πρὸ τῶν ἀπλανῶν τάττῃ.

Ibid. De Ostentis, 2 (p. 274, ed. Bonnenn.): ἁρμόδιον δὲ εἶναι νομίζω τῷ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων γράφειν ἐθέλοντι, πόθεν τε ἡ τῶν τοιούτων κατάληψις ἤρξατο λέγειν, καὶ ὅθεν ἔσχε τὰς ἀφορμάς, καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον

προῆλθεν ὡς καὶ αὐτούς, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, Αἰγυπτίους ὑπερβαλεῖν. τούτων γὰρ δή, μετὰ Ζωροάστρην τὸν πολὺν, Πετόσιρις τοῖς εἰδικοῖς τὰ ἐν γένει διαπλέξας πολλὰ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι βιάζεται, οὐ πᾶσι δὲ παραδίδωσι ταῦτα, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς καθ' αὐτόν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅσοι καὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς στοχασμοὺς ἐπιτηδειότεροι.

§ 33. Prokopios of Gaza

(Flourished about A.D. 500)

Comment. in Genesin [c. XI.] (tom. i. col. 312, ed. Migne): τὸν Ἀσσούρ φασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι τὸν Ζωροάστρην, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίνεται Βάκτρων.[1] οὗτός φασιν ἐξεῦρεν ἀστρολογίαν· πλὴν ὡς ἡ ἀκρίβεια τοῦ Νεβρὼδ τοῦ γίγαντος περιέχει, οὗτος ἦν ὁ Κρόνος· οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀλλήλων τῷ χρόνῳ διεστήκασι Νεβρώδ τε καὶ Ζωροάστρης· ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν Ἀρφαξάδ φασιν εὑρηκέναι τὴν ἀστρολογίαν.

§ 34. Ainaias of Gaza

(About A.D. 500)

Theophrastus, 77: καίτοι καὶ Πλάτων τῷ σώματι τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐξ Ἅιδου πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἀνάγει. ὁ δὲ Ζωροάστρης προλέγει ὡς ἔσται ποτὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ πάντων νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις ἔσται. οἶδεν ὁ Θεόπομπος ὅ λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸς ἐκδιδάσκει.

§ 35. Agathias Scholastikos

(About A.D. 536–582)

Hist. II. 24 (col. 1381 f., ed. Migne): Πέρσαις δὲ τοῖς νῦν τὰ μὲν πρότερα ἔθη σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα παρεῖται ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνατέτραπται, ἀλλοίοις δέ τισι καὶ οἷον νενοθευμένοις χρῶνται νομίμοις, ἐκ τῶν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὀρμάσδεως διδαγμάτων κατακληθέντες. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωρόαστρος[2] ἤτοι Ζαράδης — διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία — ὁπηνίκα μὲν ἤκμασεν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔνεστι σαφῶς διαγνῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὑστάσπεω, οὕτω δή τι ἁπλῶς φασι γεγονέναι, ὡς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρεῖου πατὴρ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ὑστάσπης. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δ' ἂν καὶ ἤνθησε χρόνῳ, ὑφηγετὴς αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος καὶ καθηγεμὼν τῆς μαγικῆς γέγονεν ἁγιστείας, καὶ αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς προτέρας ἱερουγίας ἀμείψας, παμμιγεῖς τινας καὶ ποικίλας ἐνέθηκε δόξας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὸν Δία τε καὶ

[1] For this statement, see Epiphanios of Constantia, above, § 21.

[2] Vulg. Ζωρόαδος; R. Ζορόαστρος.

Κρόνον καὶ τούτους δὴ ἅπαντας τοὺς παρ' Ἕλλησι θρυλλουμένους ἐτίμων θεοὺς πλήν γε ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς ἡ προσηγορία οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐσώζετο. ἀλλὰ Βῆλον μὲν τὸν Δία τυχόν, Σάνδην τε τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ Ἀναίτιδα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκάλουν, ὥς που Βηρωσσῷ τε τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ καὶ Ἀθηνοκλεῖ καὶ Σιμάκῳ, τοῖς τὰ ἀρχαιότατα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τε καὶ Μήδων ἀναγραψαμένοις, ἱστόρηται. νῦν δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς καλουμένοις Μανιχαίοις ξυμφέρονται, ἐσόσον δύο τὰς πρώτας ἡγεῖσθαι ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀγαθήν τε ἅμα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὄντων ἀποκυήσασαν, ἐναντίως δὲ κατ' ἄμφω ἔχουσαν τὴν ἑτέραν. ὀνόματά τε αὐταῖς ἐπάγουσι βαρβαρικὰ καὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώττῃ πεποιημένα. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθόν, εἴτε θεὸν εἴτε δημιουργόν, Ὀρμισδάτην[1] ἀποκαλοῦσιν, Ἀριμάνης δὲ ὄνομα τῷ κακίστῳ καὶ ὀλεθρίῳ. ἑορτήν τε πασῶν μείζονα τὴν τῶν κακῶν λεγομένην ἀναίρεσιν ἐκτελοῦσιν, ἐν ᾗ τῶν τε ἑρπετῶν πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὁπόσα ἄγρια καὶ ἐρημονόμα κατακτείνοντες, τοῖς μάγοις προσάγουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν εὐσεβείας. ταύτῃ γὰρ οἴονται τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ κεχαρισμένα διαπονεῖσθαι, ἀνιᾶν δὲ καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὸν Ἀριμάνην. γεραίρουσι δὲ ἐς τὸ μάλιστα τὸ ὕδωρ, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῷ ἐναπονίζεσθαι, μήτε ἄλλως ἐπιθιγγάνειν ὅτι μὴ ποτοῦ τε ἕκατι καὶ τῆς τῶν φυτῶν ἐπιμελείας.

§ 36. Scholastikos Kassianos Bassos

(A.D. Sixth Century)

Praef. in lib. I.: τὰ διαφόροις τῶν παλαιῶν περί τε γεωργίας καὶ ἐπιμελείας φυτῶν καὶ σπορίμων καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν χρησίμων εἰρημένα συλλέξας εἰς ἕν, τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίον συντέθεικα. συνείλεκται δὲ ἐκ τῶν Φλωρεντίνου καὶ Οὐινδανιωνίου καὶ Ἀνατολίου καὶ Βηρουτίου καὶ Διοφάνους καὶ Λεοντίνου καὶ Ταραντίνου καὶ Δημοκρίτου καὶ Ἀφρικανοῦ παραδόξων καὶ Παμφίλου καὶ Ἀπουληίου καὶ Βάρωνος καὶ Ζωροάστρου καὶ Φρόντωνος καὶ Παξάμου καὶ Δαμηγέροντος καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Σωτίονος καὶ τῶν Κυντιλίων.

Geoponica, 11. 18. 11: Ζωροάστρης δὲ λέγει, ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα μὴ ἀλγεῖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸν ἐν πρώτοις ἰδόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ μεμυκυίας κάλυκας, καὶ τρισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπομαξάμενον τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ τὰ ῥόδα καταλιπόντα.

Ibid. 13. 9. 10: Ζωροάστρης φησί, τῆς θρίδακος τὸ σπέρμα μετὰ οἴνου ποθὲν ἰᾶται τοὺς σκορπιοδήκτους.

Geoponica (continued): The following rubrics of "Zoroaster" will sufficiently indicate the character of the lore ascribed to him, without the necessity of presentation of the texts of the chapters under them.

[1] Vulg. Ὀρμισδάστην.

I. 7: ὅτι ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι, πότε ἡ σελήνη γίνεται ὑπὲρ γῆν, πότε δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν. Ζωροάστρου. (31 sections, pp. 11–15, ed. Beckh.)

I. 8: περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολῆς καὶ τῆς προγνώσεως τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμβαινόντων. τοῦ αὐτοῦ. (13 sections, pp. 15–17.)

I. 10: σημείωσις τῶν ἀποτελουμένων ἐκ τῆς πρώτης βροντῆς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν. Ζωροάστρου. (13 sections, pp. 19 seq.)

I. 12: δωδεκαετηρὶς τοῦ Διός, καὶ ὅσα ἀποτελεῖ περιπολεύων τοὺς δώδεκα οἴκους τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου. Ζωροάστρου. (40 sections, pp. 21–28.)

II. 15: προγνωστικόν, ὥστε εἰδέναι, ποῖα τῶν σπειρομένων γενήσονται εὐθαλῆ. Ζωροάστρου. (3 sections, p. 55.)

V. 46: ἐν ποίῳ οἴκῳ οὔσης τῆς σελήνης χρὴ τρυγᾶν, καὶ ὅτι ληγούσης αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπογείου οὔσης τὸν τρυγητὸν δεῖ ποιεῖν. Ζωροάστρου. (1 section, p. 164.)

VII. 5: περὶ ἀνοίξεως πίθων, καὶ τί χρὴ παραφυλάττεσθαι τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τούτων ἀνοίξεως. Ζωροάστρου. (3 sections, pp. 190 seq.)

VII. 6: περὶ μεταγγισμοῦ οἴνου, καὶ πότε χρὴ μεταντλεῖν τοὺς οἴνους, καὶ ὅτι διαφορὰν ἔχει ὁ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πίθῳ ἐμβεβλημένος οἶνος. τοῦ αὐτοῦ. (11 sections, pp. 191 seq.)

VII. 11: ὥστε ὑπὸ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν μὴ τρέπεσθαι τοὺς οἴνους. Ζωροάστρου. (1 section, p. 195.)

X. 83: δένδρον ἄκαρπον καρποφορεῖν. Ζωροάστρου. (3 sections, p. 319.)

XIII. 16: περὶ κανθαρίδων. Ζωροάστρου. (4 sections, p. 403.)

XV. 1: περὶ φυσικῶν συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν. Ζωροάστρου. (35 sections, pp. 432–436.)

§ 37. Gregorius Turonensis

(A.D. 538–593)

Hist. Francor. 1. 5 (col. 164 seq., ed. Migne): Primogenitus uero Cham, Chus. hic fuit totius artis magicae imbuente diabolo et primus idololatriae adinuentor. hic primus statuunculam adorandam diaboli instigatione constituit: qui et stellas et ignem de coelo cadere falsa uirtute hominibus ostentebat. hic ad Persas transiit. hunc Persae uocitauere Zoroastrem, id est uiuentem stellam. ab hoc etiam ignem adorare consueti, ipsum diuinitus igne consumptum ut deum colunt.

§ 38. Isidorus

(About A.D. 570–636)

Etymol. 5. 39 (tom. iii. col. 224, ed. Migne): Thara, an. LXX, genuit Abraham. Zoroastes magicam reperit.

Ibid. 8. 9 (col. 310), III. M. CLXXXIV.: Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum, quem Ninus rex Assyriorum praelio interfecit, de quo Aristoteles scribit quod uicies centum millia uersuum ab ipso condita indiciis uoluminum eius declarentur.

Chron. (tom. v. col. 1024, ed. Migne): Hac aetate magica ars in Perside a Zoroaste Bactrianorum rege reperta. a Nino rege occiditur.

§ 39. Chronicon Paschale or Chron. Alexandrinum

(Last Date A.D. 629[1])

Chron. Paschale (col. 148 seq., ed. Migne; I. p. 67, ed. Bonnenn.): *καὶ τελευτᾷ ὁ Κρόνος. ὁ δὲ Νίνος ἐπικρατὴς γενόμενος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κτίζει τὴν Νινευὴ πόλιν Ἀσσυρίοις, καὶ βασιλεύει πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχων τὴν Σεμίραμιν τὴν καὶ Ῥέαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὖν τοῦ γένους ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ Ζωρόαστρος*[2] *ὁ ἀστρονόμος Περσῶν ὁ περιβόητος, ὅστις μέλλων τελευτᾶν ηὔχετο ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναλωθῆναι οὐρανίου, εἰπὼν τοῖς Πέρσαις ὅτι ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ πῦρ, ἐκ τῶν καιομένων μου ὀστέων ἐπάρατε καὶ φυλάξατε, καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει τὸ βασίλειον ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν χώρας ὅσον χρόνον φυλάττετε τὰ ἐμὰ ὀστέα. καὶ εὐξάμενος τὸν Ὠρίωνα ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀερίου ἀνηλώθη. καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ Πέρσαι καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔχουσι φυλάττοντες τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεφρωθὲν ἕως νῦν.*

The same story is found in almost the same words, or with no material addition, in the works of Iohan. Malalas (A.D. sixth century) (col. 84, ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 121; p. 18, ed. Bonnenn.); Georgios Hamartolos (d. circ. A.D. 1468), Chron. (col. 56, ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 110). See, also, Georgios Kedrenos (end of eleventh century A.D.), who also adds (Historiarum Compendium, col. 57, ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 121; p. 29 f., ed. Bonnenn.): *τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι ἕως τούτου καταφρονήσαντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσον.*

[1] But with a spurious addition to A.D. 1042; cf. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzant. Literatur*², pp. 337–339).

[2] P, *Ζοροάστρης.*

§ 40. Flaccus Albinus Alcuinus

(A.D. 735–804)

De diuin. offic. VI. (spurious) (tom. ii. col. 1178, ed. Migne): Istorum enim Magorum primus Zoroastres rex exstitit, a quo originem feruntur traxisse.

§ 41. Georgios Sunkellos

(Flourished about A.D. 775–800)

Vol. i. p. 147 f., ed. Bonnenn.: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυίστωρ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ͵βυέ' [2405] κοσμικοῦ ἔτους βούλεται πάλιν τὴν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείαν κατάρξασθαι μυθολογῶν διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσων βεβασιλευκέναι Χαλδαίων καὶ Μήδων βασιλεῖς πϛ' [86] ἐν τρισμυρίοις ἔτεσι καὶ ͵δϟ' [49], τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν σάροις θ' [9] καὶ νήροις β' [2] καὶ σώσσοις η' [8], ἅπερ τινὲς τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡμῶν ἱστορικῶν οὐ καλῶς ἐξελάβοντο πάλιν εἰς ἔτη ἡλιακὰ ϟδ' [94] καὶ μῆνας η' [8], ἅπερ ὥς φασιν εἰς τὸ ͵βυϟθ' [2499] ἔτος κοσμικὸν συντρέχει. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πϛ' [86] δύο μὲν Χαλδαίων βασιλέων, Εὐηχίου καὶ Χωμασβήλου, πδ' [84] δὲ τῶν Μήδων, Ζωροάστρην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ζ' [7] Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς εἰσάγει, ἔτη κρατήσαντας ἡλιακὰ ρϟ' [190], ὁ αὐτὸς Πολυίστωρ, οὐκέτι διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀλόγου μυθικῆς ἱστορίας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἡλιακῶν ἐτῶν. τοὺς γὰρ προγενεστέρους ὡς θεοὺς ἢ ἡμιθέους νομίζοντες καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοὺς τὴν πλάνην εἰσηγούμενοι τῷ ὄντι χρόνους ἀπείρους βεβασιλευκέναι συνέγραψαν, ἀίδιον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον δοξάζοντες ἐναντίως ταῖς θεοπνεύστοις γραφαῖς. τοὺς δὲ μεταγενεστέρους καὶ πᾶσι φανεροὺς δι' ἡλιακῶν ἐτῶν ὡς θνητούς, καὶ οὐχ ὡς τῷ Πανοδώρῳ δοκεῖ καὶ ἑτέροις τισί, διὰ τὸ ἐσχάτως ὑπὸ Ζωροάστρου τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἐνὼχ ἐγνωσμένων ἔκτοτε ἡλιακοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐπιμετρεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἔτη.

Ibid. p. 315, ed. Bonnenn.: ὅτι δὲ ἀσυμφώνως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱστορικοὶ γεγράφασι περὶ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων παρέστω Κεφαλίων ἐπίσημος εἷς, οὐχ ὁ τυχών, οὕτω φάσκων· Ἄρχομαι γράφειν ἀφ' ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἐμνημόνευσαν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Κτησίης ὁ Κνίδιος, ἔπειτα Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεύς. τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου Νίνος. εἶτ' ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγου ἔτει νβ' [52] τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας.

(Also cited in the *Chronicon*, pars i., of Eusebius, tom. i. 43 f., ed. Aucher. Cf. Jerome's translation of the *Chronicon*, tom. viii. col. 46, ed. Migne.)

§ 42. Anathemas against Manichæism

(About 835)

Cited by Cotelerius, SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt opera. Paris, 1672; notes coll. 368–376.[1] These 'Anathemas' were to be recited by converts from Manichæism to Christianity. In this long and valuable document, Zarades (probably Zoroaster) and his prayers (the Avesta?) are declared accursed as being connected with the Manichæan faith. Anathemas: *ἀναθεματίζω Ζαράδην ὃν ὁ Μάνης θεὸν ἔλεγε πρὸ αὐτοῦ φανέντα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Πέρσαις, καὶ ἥλιον ἀπεκάλει· σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ζαραδείους ὀνομαζομένας εὐχάς. . . . ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τὸν Ζαράδην καὶ Βουδᾶν καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν Μανιχαῖον καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγοντας. . . . ἀναθεματίζω τὸν πατέρα Μανέντος Πατέκιον οἷα ψεύστην καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους πατέρα, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα Κάροσσαν, καὶ Ἱέρακα καὶ Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀφθόνιον τοὺς ὑπομνηματιστὰς καὶ ἐξηγητὰς τῶν τούτων συγγραμμάτων, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς ἅπαντας, Σισίννιον τὸν διάδοχον τῆς τούτου μηνίας, Θωμᾶν τὸν συνταξάμενον τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν λεγόμενον εὐαγγέλιον, Βουδᾶν, Ἑρμᾶν, Ἄδαν, Ἀδείμαντον, Ζαρούαν,*[2] *Γαβριάβιον, Ἀγάπιον, Ἰλάριον, Ὀλύμπιον, Ἀριστόκριτον, Σαλμαῖον, Ἰνναῖον, Πάαπιν, Βαραίαν, κ.τ.λ.*

Similarly Goarius, *Εὐχολόγιον* siue Rituale Graecorum, Paris, 1647, p. 885: *ἀναθεματίζω καὶ καταθεματίζω Σαράδην καὶ Βοδδὰν καὶ Σκυθιανὸν τοὺς πρὸ Μανιχαίων γεγονότας. . . . πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναθεματίζω καὶ καταθεματίζω σὺν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις πᾶσιν Ἱέρακα καὶ Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀφθόνιον τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς καὶ ὑπομνηματιστὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ βεβήλου Μανέντος καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ζαρουὰν καὶ Γαβριάβιον.*[3]

[1] See Kessler, *Mani.* i. 358–365, Berlin, 1889.

[2] *Ζακούας* siue *Ζαχούας*, Kessler.

[3] An important passage which serves to throw light on these Anathemas is found in Petros Sikelos (about A.D. 1100, see Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzant. Literatur*², p. 78), *Historia Manichæorum*, xvi. (col. 1265 seq., ed. Migne): —

ἦν δὲ πρὸ τούτου [*sc.* *Μάνεντος*] *καὶ ἕτερος τῆς κακίας διδάσκαλος ταύτης, Ζαράνης ὀνόματι, ὁμόφρων αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων· μαθεταὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου Μάνεντος γεγόνασι δώδεκα· Σισίννιος ὁ τούτου διάδοχος· καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν Μανιχαικὸν εὐαγγέλιον συντάξας· Βουδδᾶς τε καὶ Ἑρμᾶς, Ἄδαντος καὶ Ἀδήμαντος, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς διάφορα κλίματα κήρυκα τῆς πλάνης· ἐξηγηταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπομνηματισταὶ γεγόνασιν Ἱέραξ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ἀφθόνιος· ὑπῆρχον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτεροι μαθηταὶ τρεῖς, Ἀγάπιος ὁ τὴν Ἑπτάλογον συντάξας καὶ Ζαρούας καὶ Γαβριάβιος. . . . πᾶσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν βίβλον ὡς ἀσεβῆ διδάγματα κατέχουσαν καὶ βλασφημίας πάσης πεπληρωμένην καὶ πᾶσαν εὐχὴν λεγομένην παρ' αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ γοητείαν, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία ἀνεθεμάτισε.*

§ 43. Georgios Hamartolos Monachos

(Wrote about A.D. 850)

Chronicon, I. (col. 117, ed. Migne): καὶ πρῶτον θύειν θεοῖς Χαλδαῖοι δὲ ἐξεῦρον ἤτοι Κύπριοι, διαφοροῦνται γὰρ ἔθνος Περσικὸν ὑπάρχοντες· τὴν δὲ ἀστρονομίαν ἐφευρηκέναι πρῶτοι Βαβυλώνιοι διὰ Ὠρωάστρου,[1] ἐξ ὧν δεύτεροι παρειλήφασιν Αἰγύπτιοι. τὴν γεωμετρίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπλέτου τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν χώρων προδιδαχθέντες· καὶ εἶθ' οὕτω γράψαντες, ἕτεροι μετέλαβον. τὴν δὲ μαγείαν καὶ γοητείαν καὶ φαρμακείαν Μῆδοι μὲν ἐφεῦρον καὶ Πέρσαι, διαφέρουσι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἡ μὲν γὰρ μαγεία ἐπίκλησίς ἐστι δαιμόνων, ἀγαθοποιῶν δῆθεν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ σύστησίν τινος, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως θεσπίσματα δι' ἀγαθῶν γεγόνασιν· ἡ δὲ γοητεία ἐπίκλησίς ἐστι δαιμόνων κακοποιῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους τελουμένη ἐπὶ κακοῦ τινος σύστασιν· ὅθεν καὶ γοητεία κέκληται ἀπὸ τῶν γοῶν καὶ τῶν θρήνων τῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους γινομένων.

See also under Chronicon Paschale, § **39**.

§ 44. Photios

(Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 875–879)

Bibliotheca, Codd. LXXXI. (tom. iii.; col. 281, ed. Migne): ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Θεοδώρου Περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς καὶ τίς ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας διαφορά, ἐν λόγοις τρισί. προσφωνεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς Μαστούβιον ἐξ Ἀρμενίας ὁρμώμενον, χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ τυγχάνοντα. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ προστίθεται τὸ μιαρὸν Περσῶν δόγμα, ὃ Ζαράδης[2] εἰσηγήσατο, ἤτοι περὶ τοῦ Ζουρουάμ,[3] ὃν ἀρχηγὸν πάντων εἰσάγει, ὃν καὶ Τύχην καλεῖ· καὶ ὅτι σπένδων ἵνα τέκῃ τὸν Ὁρμίσδαν, ἔτεκεν ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Σατανᾶν· καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν αἱμομιξίας. καὶ ἁπλῶς τὸ δυσσεβὲς καὶ ὑπέραισχρον δόγμα κατὰ λέξιν ἐκθεὶς ἀνασκευάζει ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς δυσὶ λόγοις τὰ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διέρχεται πίστεως, ἀπὸ τῆς κοσμογονίας ἀρξάμενος, καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χάριτος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπιτροχάδην διελθών.

οὗτος ὁ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μοψουεστίας εἶναι δοκεῖ. τήν τε γὰρ Νεστορίου αἵρεσιν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ λόγῳ, κρατύνων προσαναφωνεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀποκατάστασιν τερατεύεται.

[1] Notice this contaminated form, a mixture of Zoroaster and Ormazd (?).

[2] Ζασράδης ς.

[3] Ζαρουάμ ς.

§ 45. Suidas

(Middle of Tenth Century A.D.)

Suidas (ed. Kuster, Cambr. 1705) sub voc.: Ἀντισθένης Ἀθηναῖος. . . . συνέγραψε τόμους δέκα, πρῶτον μαγικόν. ἀφηγεῖται δὲ περὶ Ζωροάστρου τινὸς μάγου εὑρέντος τὴν σοφίαν. τοῦτο δέ τινες Ἀριστοτέλει, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδωνι ἀνατιθέασιν.

Ἀστρονομία. ἡ τῶν ἄστρων διανομή. πρῶτοι Βαβυλώνιοι ταύτην ἐφεῦρον διὰ Ζωροάστρου· μεθ' ὃν καὶ Ὠστάνης· οἱ ἐπέστησαν τῇ οὐρανίᾳ κινήσει τὰ περὶ τοὺς τικτομένους συμβαίνειν.

Ζωροάστρης. Περσομήδης. σοφὸς παρὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀστρονομίᾳ. ὃς καὶ πρῶτος ἤρξατο τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς πολιτευομένου ὀνόματος τῶν Μάγων. ἐγένετο δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσιν φ' [500]. φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ φύσεως βιβλία δ'. περὶ λίθων τιμίων ἕν. ἀστεροσκοπικά. ἀποτελεσματικὰ βιβλία ε'.

Ζωροάστρης. Ἀστρονόμος. ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. ὅστις ηὔξατο ὑπὸ πυρὸς οὐρανίου τελευτῆσαι, παρεγγυήσας τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὴν τέφραν αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ βασιλεία οὐκ ἐκλείψει διὰ παντὸς, ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

Ζωρομάσδρης. Χαλδαῖος σοφός. ἔγραψε μαθηματικὰ καὶ φυσικά.

Μάγοι παρὰ Πέρσαις οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ φιλόθεοι, ὧν ἦρχε Ζωροάστρης, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον κατὰ διαδοχὴν Ὠστάναι καὶ Ἀστράμψυχοι.

Πυθαγόρας. εἶτα [sc. ἤκουσε Πυθαγόρας] Ἀβάριδος τοῦ Ὑπερβορέου καὶ Ζάρητος τοῦ Μάγου.

§ 46. Hugo de Sancto Victore

(Died A.D. 1141)

Adnot. Elucidat. in Pentateuchon—in Gen. (tom. i. col. 49, ed. Migne): Assur autem, recedens in terram quae postea ab ipso dicta est Assyria, multiplicatus est usque ad regem Ninum, qui ab eius progenie ortus est. hic condidit ciuitatem et uicit Cham in bello, qui usque ad illud tempus uixerat: factus rex Bactriae Nino uicinus, et uocatus Zoroastes inuentor et auctor maleficae mathematicae artis; qui etiam septem liberales artes quattuordecim columnis, septem aeneis et septem lateritiis, contra utrumque diluuium in utilitatem posterorum praeuidens scripsit. huius libros mathema-

ticae Ninus adeptus uictoriam combussit. post haec audacior factus inuasit Nemroth, id est Chaldaeos, et acquisiuit Babyloniam, transferens illuc caput imperii sui.

§ 47. Michael Glukas

(Flourished about A.D. 1150)

Ann. Pars II. (col. 253, ed. Migne; p. 244, ed. Bonnenn.): *μετὰ δὲ Κρόνον ἐβασίλευσε Νῖνος ἔτη νβ', ὅς γε τὴν οἰκείαν μητέρα Σεμίραμιν λαβὼν εἰς γυναῖκα, νόμος ἐγένετο Πέρσαις λαμβάνειν τὰς ἑαυτῶν μητέρας καὶ ἀδελφάς. ἐξ οὗ γένους ἐγένετο καὶ Ζωρόαστρος ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος, ὃς εἶπε τοῖς Πέρσαις, ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ — τοῦτο γὰρ ηὔχετο — λάβετε ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ φύλασσετε εἰς σύστασιν τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν. ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἱστορίαις αἷς ἐχρήσατο κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ ὁ θεολόγος μέγας Γρηγόριος καὶ τάδε φησί· τὴν ἀστρονομίαν λέγονται πρῶτον εὑρηκέναι Βαβυλώνιοι διὰ Ζωροάστρου, δεύτερον δὲ ἐδέξαντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· τὴν δὲ μαγείαν εὗρον Μῆδοι, εἶτα Πέρσαι. διαφέρει δὲ μαγεία γοητείας, καὶ ἡ μὲν μαγεία ἐπίκλησίς ἐστιν, ὥς φασι, δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινος σύστασιν. γοητεία δέ ἐστι δαιμόνων κακοποιῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους εἰλουμένων ἐπὶ κακοῦ τινος σύστασις. γοητεία δὲ ἤκουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν γοῶν καὶ θρήνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς τάφοις γινομένων· μαγεία δὲ ἀπὸ Μαγουσαίων, ἤτοι Περσῶν, ὅθεν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Μαγὼς ἐγχωρίως οἱ Πέρσαι λέγονται.*

§ 48. Anon.

Theologoumena Arithmetika, p. 42 f., ed. Ast (Lips. 1817): *ἢ μᾶλλον, ὃ καὶ Πυθαγορικώτερον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ Ὀστάνης καὶ Ζωροάστρης ἀγέλας κυρίως καλοῦσι τὰς ἀστρικὰς σφαίρας, ἤτοι παρ' ὅσον τελείως ἄγονται περὶ τὸ κέντρον μόναι παρὰ τὰ σωματικὰ μεγέθη· ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σύνδεσμοί πως καὶ συναγωγαὶ χρηματίζειν δογματίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν φυσικῶν λόγων, ἃς ἀγέλους κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καλοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις, κατὰ παρέμπτωσιν δὲ τοῦ γάμμα ἐφθαρμένως ἀγγέλους· διὸ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην τούτων τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐξάρχοντας ἀστέρας καὶ δαίμονας ὁμοίως ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους προσαγορεύεσθαι, οἵπερ εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὥστε ἀγγελία κατὰ τοῦτο ἐτυμότατα ἡ ἑβδομάς.*

§ 49. Petrus Comestor

(Died 1178)

Hist. Schol. Lib. Genesis XXXIX. (col. 1090, ed. Migne): Ninus uicit Cham, qui adhuc uiuebat, et regnabat in Bractia (*sic, al.*

Thracia), et dicebatur Zoroastres inuentor magicae artis, qui et septem liberales artes in quattuordecim columnis scripsit, septem aeneis, et septem lateritiis, contra utrumque iudicium [*al.* diluuium]. Ninus uero libros eius combussit. ab eisdem orta sunt idola sic.

§ 50. Abdiae Apostolica Historia

(Quotation of a Name Zaroës[1])

Abdiae Apostolica Historia, Lib. VI. 7. Passio SS. Simonis et Iudae: Atque haec de Iacobo. cuius fratres maiores natu, Simon cognominatus Chananaeus et Iudas, qui et Thaddaeus et Zelotes, et ipsi apostoli Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cum per reuelationem Spiritus Sancti per fidem fuissent religionem ingressi, inuenerunt statim inter initia suae praedicationis duos ibi magos, Zaroen et Arfaxat, qui a facie Sancti Matthaei Apostoli de Aethiopia fugerunt. erat autem doctrina eorum praua, ita ut Deum Abraham et Deum Isaac et Deum Iacob blasphemantes, Deum dicerent tenebrarum, et Moysen dicerent maleficum fuisse, denique omnes prophetas Dei a deo tenebrarum missos adsererent. praeterea animam hominis partem Dei habere dicerent, corporis vero figmentum a Deo malo factum esse, et ideo ex contrariis substantiis constare, in quibus laetatur caro, anima contristatur, et in quibus exultat anima, corpus affligitur. solem et lunam deorum numero applicantes, aquam simul deitatem habere docebant. Dei autem Filium, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, phantasiam fuisse, nec uerum hominem, nec ex uera uirgine natum, nec uere tentatum, nec uere passum, nec uere sepultum, nec uere tertia die resurrexisse a mortuis adfirmabant. hac praedicatione polluta Persida post Zaroen et Arfaxat, magnum meruit inuenire doctorem, per beatos apostolos Simonem et Iudam, id est Dominum Iesum Christum.

Ibid. 13: Haec et alia cum dux apud regem Xerxen disseruisset, excitati in zelum, qui cum rege fuerant Zaroes et Arfaxat magi, simul indignabundi rumores sparserunt: malignos eos homines esse, qui contra deos gentis contraque regnum tam astute molirentur. nam si uis scire rex — inquiunt — quod ea uera sunt quae dicimus, non prius permittemus hos loqui quam deos tuos adorauerint. tum

[1] This is cited because Zaroes (Ζαρόης) has been identified with Zoroaster by Nöldeke in p. 76 of *Ergänzungsheft zu Lipsius Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, Braunschweig, 1883-1890. But Gutschmid, *Rhein. Mus.* xix. 380 seq. identifies Zaroes with Zarvan.

dux: audetisne cum illis habere conflictum, ut si uiceritis eos, tum demum abiciantur? dixerunt magi: aequum est ut sicut nos adoramus deos nostros, ita adorent et illi. respondit dux: hoc scilicet conflictus uester ostendet. ad haec iterum magi: uis uidere — inquiunt — potentiam nostram ut probes quia non poterunt loqui nobis praesentibus: iube adstare hic qui sint eloquentes in linguis, acutissimi in argumentis, et clamosi in uocibus. et si tunc ausi fuerint nobis praesentibus loqui, probabis nos esse imperitissimos. tunc iussu regis et ducis omnes aduocati praesto facti, ita sunt a duce admoniti ut quanta possent constantia haberent cum his magis contentiones et eos a defensionum proposito, argumentorum suorum proposito excluderent. et cum in praesentia regis et ducis cunctorumque sublimium magi locuti essent, omnis illa aduocatio ita muta facta est, ut nec nutibus quod loqui non poterat indicaret. et cum unius fere horae transisset spatium, dixere magi ad regem: ut scias nos ex deorum esse numero, permittimus eos quidem loqui, sed ambulare non posse. quod cum fecissent, adiecerunt dicentes: ecce reddimus eis gressum, sed faciemus eos apertis oculis nihil uidere. cumque et hoc fecissent, expauit cor regis et ducis, dicentibus amicis eorum, non debere contemni hos magos, ne et regi et duci inferant debilitatem in membris. igitur hoc spectaculum a primo mane usque ad horam sextam dum spectatur, aduocati maerore confecti, ad suas reuersi sunt quique domos, nimio animi impulsu fatigati.

Ibid. 17: Haec cum dixissent apostoli, deportati sunt ad hospitalia magi, qui per triduum nec cibum capere nec bibere ullo modo poterant, sed in his sola uociferatio doloribus extorta incessabilis extitit. postea cum iam res in eo esset ut pariter expirarent magi Zaroes et Arfaxat, accesserunt eos apostoli dicentes: non dignatur Deus habere coacta seruitia. igitur surgite sani habentes liberam facultatem conuertandi a malo ad bonum et exeundi a tenebris ad lumen. at illi permanentes in perfidia sua, sicut a facie Matthaei apostoli fugerunt, sic et ab his duobus apostolis fugientes, ad simulacrorum cultores, per totam Persidis regionem, ut apostolis inimicitias excitarent, ubique dicebant: ecce ueniunt ad uos inimici deorum nostrorum, etc.

Ibid. 20: Quippe Zaroes et Arfaxat magi facientes scelera multa per ciuitates Persidis, et dicentes se esse ex genere deorum, semper a facie apostolorum fugientes, tamdiu erant in quacunque ciuitate, quamdiu cognoscerent apostolos aduenire.

Ibid. 23: Quo tempore et duo, de quibus diximus, magi Zaroes et Arfaxat ictu coruscationis adusti ad carbonem conuersi sunt.[1]

Lib. VII. 1 de S. Matthaeo: In quam [*sc.* Aethiopiam] profectus ipse, cum in ciuitate magna quae dicitur Naddauer moraretur, in qua rex Aeglippus sedebat, contigit ut duo magi Zaroes et Arfaxat simul essent, qui regem miris modis ludificabant, ut se deos esse remota ambiguitate crederet. et credebat eis rex omnia et omnis populus non solum memoratae urbis sed ex longinquis etiam regionibus Aethiopiae ueniebant quotidie ut adorarent eos. faciebant enim subito hominum gressus figi, et tamdiu immobiles stare quamdiu ipsi uoluissent. similiter et uisus hominum et auditus a suo officio refrenabant. imperitabant serpentibus ut percuterent, quod et Marsi facere solent et ipsi incantando multos curabant. et ut dici uulgo solet, malignis maior reuerentia exhibetur ex timore quam benignis ex amore, sic et illi uenerabiles apud Aethiopes, in magno diu pretio fuerunt.

Ibid. 4: Conabantur autem interea arte sua magica excitare eos [*sc.* suos duos dracones ante pedes Matthaei apostoli dormientes] Zaroes et Arphaxat, et non poterant neque oculos aperire neque penitus commouere quidquam.

§ 51. The So-called Zoroastrian Logia or Chaldæan Oracles

ΜΑΓΙΚΑ ΛΟΓΙΑ
ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΖΩΡΟΑΣΤΡΟΥ ΜΑΓΩΝ

Introductory Note by Louis H. Gray. — Amid the luxuriant growth of apocryphal and prophetic literature, which sprang up in the first centuries of our era, no small part is ascribed to the faith of Iran. The wonderful eschatology of the Persian religion made a deep impression on the Hellenic mind at an early date, and this was to bring forth fruit in the development of Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism. Apparently in this way arose the so-called Chaldæan Oracles, which bear the mark of Gnostic and Neo-Platonic mysticism and somewhat recall the Christian forgery of the Sibylline Oracles.

The pseudo-Zoroastrian compositions had but a short shrift. The great Porphyry ruthlessly attacked them and suppressed them, and they are lost to us forever. Doubtless they were no better and no worse than the great majority of similar writings which have survived; perhaps we may even say that the

[1] Is this a reminiscence of the legend of Zoroaster's death by lightning, p. 124 seq.?

Oneirokritikon of Astrampsuchos, a Christian forgery of about the fifth century, affords a type of some of these lost books.

But in the writings of the Neo-Platonic philosophers there lay hid a mass of citations, termed 'Chaldæan Logia,' or more usually, simply 'Logia,' or again, introduced by the formula: 'As saith one of the Gods,' or even appearing without any introductory phrase whatsoever.[1] These Logia date in general about the end of the second century A.D., and they present to us a heterogeneous mass, now obscure and again bombastic, of commingled Platonic, Pythagorean, Stoic, Gnostic, and Persian tenets.[2] I am inclined to doubt that the entire mass comes from a single source, although some have suggested that a certain Julian the Chaldæan or his son, who lived in the period of the Antonines, may perhaps have been the author.[3] However trivial the Logia justly appear to us, they received the serious attention of Iamblichos, Proklos, Simplikios, Damaskios, and Iohannes Ludos, while Hierokles and later Plethon wrote 'compends of the Zoroastrian and Platonic Systems.'[4]

In the fifteenth century Georgios Gemistos Plethon, led on, as I venture to suggest, by some such allusion to Ζωροάστρου λόγια as the reference contained in the citation from Xanthos, preserved by Nikolaos of Damascus, boldly foisted upon Zoroaster the Logia which had been hitherto only 'Chaldæan.' This we may term the first recension. It consists of sixty lines and was first published by Ludovicus Tiletanus, together with Plethon's commentary, at Paris in 1563.[5] This text was also commented upon by Psellos as early as the eleventh century. Possibly we may even regard Psellos as the compiler who gathered the scattered fragments which go to make up this collection.

The second recension, if we may employ so dignified a term, was made by Franciscus Patricius in 1591. A second edition of this appeared at Venice in 1593. This second edition forms the basis of Stanley in his *History of Philosophy*, 4 ed., London, 1743, Latin translation, Leipzig, 1711, and it was the only one accessible to me except Stanley. On this new collection of Patricius the present edition is based. The object of my work here has been to secure as good a text as possible. My chief aid, or rather my only aid, has been the masterly discussion by Kroll, "De Oraculis Chaldaicis," in the seventh volume

[1] See Kroll, *de Oraculis Chaldaicis*, pp. 6–9, Breslau, 1894.

[2] Kroll, pp. 66–72.

[3] Ibid. 71.

[4] Ibid. passim; *Kleuker Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, ii. Theil 1, pp. 8–9, 16–18. Plethon's *Compend.* is edited by Migne in his *Patrol. Græc.* tom. 160. 973–974.

[5] This has unfortunately been inaccessible to me. I have used instead the edition by Servatius Gallæus in his Σιβυλλιακοὶ Χρησμοί, Amstelod. 1689, and by Migne in his *Patrol. Græc.* tom. 122. 1115–1154, including also Psellos's comment. In addition to the books already cited, I should mention the valuable compendium of the tenets of the Oracles contained in the seventeenth letter of Michael Italikos (for this identification see Treu, *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, iv. 1–22) edited by Cramer in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, iii. 180–183 (Oxford, 1836), and for the entire subject the valuable discussion in Harles's edition of Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Græca*, I. 307–315 (Hamb. 1790).

of the *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* (Breslau, 1894). That his readings are given in the notes does not signify a rejection of them. They would generally appear in the text if I did not desire to preserve Patricius's text except where the latter is absolutely unintelligible. The motive for preserving this has been purely historical. The Breslau professor has practically collected the Logia anew, and he has learnedly discussed their sources and philosophical import. To him, moreover, the references to the Neo-Platonic authors cited in my footnotes are mainly due. Mine has been the humbler task to reprint an obsolescent collection, with only those emendations which are absolutely necessary. I have made a translation of the Oracles or Logia, which I hope later to publish with a version of the other Greek and Latin citations found in this Appendix.

The Oracles have never had many friends, and as a comment on them I may note that good old Thomas Hyde prayed that these 'pseudoracula pessime conficta carmine Graeco' might perish like others of their stamp (cf. *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.*, Pref. p. vi.). His prayer has been in great part fulfilled. In estimating, moreover, the general value of the Logia, we may say, in the words of Shakspere, that the good points in them, like Gratiano's reasons, 'are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff.'

ΜΟΝΑΣ, ΔΥΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΑΣ

Ψέλ. ὅπου πατρικὴ μονάς ἐστι.[1]
Δαμ. ταναή ἐστι μονὰς καὶ δύο γεννᾷ.[2]
Πρόκ. Δαμ. δυὰς γὰρ παρὰ τῷδε κάθηται, καὶ νοεραῖς ἀστράπτει τομαῖς,[3]
καὶ τὸ κυβερνᾶν τὰ πάντα, καὶ τάττειν ἕκαστον οὐ ταχθέν.
5 Δαμ. παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριὰς ἧς μονὰς ἄρχει.[4]
ἀρχὴ πάσης τμήσεως ἥδε ἡ τάξις.[5]
Πρόκ. εἰς τρία γὰρ νοῦς εἶπε πατρὸς τέμνεσθαι ἅπαντα,
οὗ τὸ θέλειν κατένευσε, καὶ ἤδη πάντ' ἐτέτμητο.[6]
εἰς τρία γὰρ εἶπε νοῦς πατρὸς ἀιδίου[7]
10 νῷ πάντα κυβερνῶν.
Δαμ. καὶ ἐφάνησαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἥ τ' ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ σοφία,
καὶ ἡ πολύφρων ἀτρέκεια.[8]
τῇ τῶνδε ῥέει τριάδος δέμας πρὸ τῆς οὔσης,
οὐ πρώτης, ἀλλ' οὗ τὰ μετρεῖται.[9]

[1] Proc. in Euclid. i. def. 2 (p. 98, ed. Friedlein); in Alcib. 356. 20.

[2] Proc. in Euclid. i. def. 2 (p. 98, ed. Friedlein); Dam. ii. 29. 16, ubi ἡ legitur et apud Patric.

[3] Om. γὰρ, Kroll. Proc. in Crat. 56. 6; in Remp. 376. 34; Dam. ii. 177. 20, etc.

[4] Dam. i. 87. 3; ii. 87. 14.

[5] Dam. ii. 58. 20.

[6] Proc. in Parm. 1091. 6; Dam. i. 253. 25; ii. 60. 28; 62. 28.

[7] Proc. in Timæ. 313 F. νοῦς εἶπε, Kroll.

[8] Dam. ii. 45. 10. τε pro τ', Kroll.

[9] ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δὴ τῶνδε ῥέει τριάδος δέμα πρώτης | οὔσης οὐ πρώτης, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ νοητὰ μετρεῖται, Dam. ii. 63. 21; Kroll.

15 ἀρχαῖς γὰρ τρισὶ ταῖσδε λάβοις δουλεύειν ἅπαντα.[1]
ἱερὸς πρῶτος δρόμος, ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσῳ
ἠέριος, τρίτος ἄλλος, ὃς ἐν πυρὶ τὴν χθόνα θάλπει,[2]
καὶ πηγὴ πηγῶν, καὶ πηγῶν ἁπασῶν.
μήτρα συνέχουσα τὰ πάντα.[3]
20 ἔνθεν ἄρδην θρῴσκει γένεσις πολυποικίλου ὕλης.
Πρόκ. ἔνθεν συρόμενος πρηστὴρ ἀμυδροῖο[4] πυρὸς ἄνθος,
κόσμων ἐνθρῴσκων κοιλώμασι. πάντα γὰρ ἔνθεν
ἄρχεται εἰς τὸ κάτω τείνειν ἀκτῖνας ἀγητάς.[5]

ΠΑΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΥΣ

Ψέλ. ἑαυτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἥρπασεν οὐδ' ἐν ἑῇ
25 δυνάμει νοερᾷ κλείσας ἴδιον πῦρ.[6]
Ψέλ. οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς ἀτελές τι τροχάζει.[7]
πάντα γὰρ ἐξετέλεσσε πατὴρ
καὶ νῷ παρέδωκε δευτέρῳ,
ὅν πρῶτον κληίζεται πᾶν γένος[8] ἀνδρῶν.[9]
30 Πρόκ. πατρογενὲς φάος πολὺ γὰρ μόνος
ἐκ πατρὸς ἀλκῆς δρεψάμενος νόου ἄνθος.[10]
ἔργα νοήσας γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος αὐτογένεθλος,
πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρεν δεσμὸν πυριβριθῆ ἔρωτος,
ὄφρα τὰ πάντα μένῃ, χρόνον εἰς ἀπέραντον ἐρῶντα
35 μήτε πέσῃ τὰ πατρὸς νοερῷ ὑφασμένα φέγγει·[11]
ὡς ἐν ἔρωτι μένῃ κόσμου στοιχεῖα μένοντα.[12]
ἔχει τῷ νοεῖν πατρικὸν νοῦν ἐνδιδόναι
πασαῖς πηγαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς.
ἔστι γὰρ πέρας τοῦ πατρικοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ πηγῆ τῶν νοερῶν.
40 μήδε προῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ βυθῷ,[13]

[1] Dam. ii. 217. 5. λάβροις pro λάβοις, Kroll.

[2] Dam. ii. 217. 5. ἐν τούτοις, praeponit Kroll.

[3] Dam. i. 242. 18; 274. 7; ii. 67. 1, etc. πηγὴ τῶν πηγῶν, μήτρα συνέχουσα τὰ πάντα, Kroll.

[4] ἀμυδροῖ pro ἀμυδροῖο, Kroll.

[5] Proc. in Timæ. 118 C (v. 1); theol. Plat. 172. 6 (v. 2, 3 a); 171. 9 (v. 3 b, 4). ἀποθρῴσκει pro ἄρδην θρῴσκει, Kroll cum coniectura ἄδην.

[6] Psell. 58–59. ὁ πατὴρ ἑαυτὸν ἥρπα, σεν, comment.

[7] Psell. 9. ἀπαλ, Kroll.

[8] Alii ἔθνεα pro πᾶν γένος, Psell. 53–54. κληίζετε, Kroll.

[9] Psell. 53–54.

[10] Proc. in Timæ. 242 D.

[11] μηδὲ pro μήτε, Kroll. πᾶσι, νοερῶς, Patric.

[12] ᾧ σὺν ἔρωτι μένει κόσμου στοχεῖα θέοντα, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 155 E–F.

[13] Proc. in Timæ. 167 C.

καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ κατὰ τὴν θεοθρέμμονα σιγήν.
οὐ γὰρ εἰς ὕλην πῦρ ἐπέκεινα τὸ πρῶτον
ἑὴν δύναμιν κατακλείει ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ νόῳ.[1]
σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἔσπειρεν κατὰ κόσμον
ὃς τὰ νοητὰ νοεῖ καὶ ἄφραστα κάλλη νοεῖται.[2]
Δαμ. ὁλοφυὴς μερισμὸς καὶ ἀμέριστος.
νῷ μὲν κατέχει τὰ νοητά, αἴσθησιν δὲ ἐπάγει κόσμοις.[3]
νῷ μὲν κατέχει τὰ νοητά, ψυχὴν δ' ἐπάγει κόσμοις.

ΝΟΥΣ, ΝΟΗΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΝΟΕΡΑ

Δαμ. καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς νοῦ τοῦ νοητοῦ.
Πρόκ. οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ νόος ἐστὶ νοητοῦ· οὐ χωρὶς ὑπάρχει.[4]
τὰ μέν ἐστι νοερὰ καὶ νοητά, ὅσα νοοῦντα νοεῖται.[5]
τροφὴ δὲ τῷ νοοῦντι τὸ νοητόν.[6]
μάνθανε τὸ νοητόν, ἐπεὶ νόου ἔξω ὑπάρχει.[7]
καὶ τοῦ νοῦ, ὃς τὸν ἐμπύριον κόσμον ἄγει.
νοῦ γὰρ νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ κόσμου τεχνίτης πυρίου.[8]
οἳ τὸν ὑπέρκοσμον πατρικὸν βυθὸν ἴστε νοοῦντες.[9]
ἡ νοητὴ πάσης τιμήσεως ἄγει.
ἔστι δὲ δή τι νοητόν, ὃ χρή σε νοεῖν νόου ἄνθει.[10]
Δαμ. ἢν γὰρ ἐπεγκλίνῃς, ὡς ἂν νοῦν, κἀκεῖνο νοήσῃς,[11]
ὥς τι νοῶν, οὐ κεῖνο νοήσεις.
ἔστι γὰρ ὀλκῆς ἀμφιφαοῦς δύναμις,
νοεραῖς στράπτουσα τομαῖσιν, οὐ δὴ χρὴ
σφοδρότητι νοεῖν τὸ νοητὸν ἐκεῖνο,
ἀλλὰ νόου ταναοῦ ταναῇ φλογὶ[12]
πάντα μετρούσῃ, πλὴν τὸ νοητὸν ἐκεῖνο.
χρεὼ δὴ τοῦτο νοῆσαι· ἢν γὰρ ἐπεγκλίνῃς
σὸν νοῦν, κἀκεῖνο νοήσεις οὐκ ἀτενῶς,

[1] Proc. in Timæ. 157 A; theol. Plat. 333. 29; Dam. ii. 136. 10. *ἐς* pro *εἰς*, Kroll.

[2] Proc. in Crat. 23. 23. Sic Kroll. Stanl. Lond.,[4] *καλληίται*, sec. Patric. pro *καλλεῖται*; Lips., *καλλωπίζει*.

[3] Proc. in Timæ. 68 F, 164 C; in Crat. 56. 5; Dam. ii. 177. 20, etc. *κατέχειν* et *ἐπάγειν*, Kroll. δ' pro δὲ, Patric. [4] Proc. in Timæ. 267 D.

[5] Proc. in theol. Plat. 179. 7. *νοητὰ καὶ νοερά*, Kroll.

[6] Cf. Proc. in Timæ. 6 D.

[7] Psell. 50. *μάθε . . . ἔξω νόου*, comment.

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 157 A; theol. Plat. 333. 29; Dam. ii. 136. 10.

[9] Dam. ii. 16. 6; Proc. in Crat. 62. 9. Stan. *ἔστε*.

[10] Psell. 51. δὲ δή, omis. comment. *γάρ* pro δὲ δή, Kroll. *ἄρχει* pro *ἄγει*, Patric.

[11] *σὸν* pro *ὡς ἂν*, Kroll; *ἐπεγκλίνῃ* et *νοήσῃ*, Stan. [12] *οὐδὲ* pro *ἀλλὰ*, Kroll.

ἀλλ' ἁγνὸν ἐπίστροφον ὄμμα,[1]
φέροντα σῆς ψυχῆς τεῖναι κενεὸν νόον
70 εἰς τὸ νοητόν, ὄφρα μάθῃς τὸ νοητόν,[2]
ἐπεὶ ἔξω νόου ὑπάρχει.[3]
τὸν δὲ νοεῖ πᾶς νοῦς θεὸν, οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ
νόος ἐστὶ νοητοῦ, καὶ τὸ νοητὸν οὐ νοῦ χωρὶς ὑπάρχει.[4]
τοῖς δὲ πυρὸς νοεροῦ νοεροῖς πρηστῆρσιν ἅπαντα
75 εἴκαθε δουλεύοντα πατρὸς πειθωνίδι βουλῇ.
καὶ τὸ νοεῖν, ἀεί τε μένειν ἀόκνῳ στροφάλιγγι.
πηγάς τε καὶ ἀρχὰς, δινεῖν, ἀεί τε μένειν ἀόκνῳ στροφάλιγγι.[5]
ἀλλὰ δι' οὔνομα σεμνὸν ἀκοιμήτῳ στροφάλιγγι
κόσμοις ἐνθρῴσκον, κραιπνὴν διὰ πατρὸς ἐνιπήν.[6]
80 ὑπὸ δύο νόων ἡ ζωογόνος πηγὴ περιέχεται ψυχῶν.
καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς, ὃς αὐτουργῶν τεκτῄνετο τὸν κόσμον,[7]
ὃς ἐκ νόου ἔκθορε πρῶτος,[8]
ἐσσαμένος πυρὶ πῦρ, συνδέσμων ὄφρα κεράσσῃ[9]
πηγαίους κρατῆρας, ἑοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἐπισχών.[10]
85 νοεραῖς ἀστράπτει τομαῖς, ἔρωτος δ' ἐνέπλησε πάντα.[11]
τὰ ἀτύπωτα τυποῦσθαι.[12]
σμήνεσσιν ἐοικυῖαι φέρονται, ῥηγνύμεναι
κόσμου περὶ σώμασι.[13]
ἃ νοῦς λέγει, τῷ νοεῖν δήπου λέγει.[14]
90 ἡ μὲν γὰρ δύναμις σὺν ἐκείνοις, νοῦς δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνου.[15]

ΙΥΝΤΕΣ, ΙΔΕΑΙ, ΑΡΧΑΙ

πολλαὶ μὲν αἵδε ἐπεμβαίνουσι φαεινοῖς κόσμοις,[16]
ἐνθρῴσκουσαι, καὶ ἐν αἷς ἀκρότητες ἔασιν τρεῖς.[17]

[1] ἀπόστροφον pro ἐπίστροφον, Kroll.

[2] ἐς pro εἰς, Kroll.

[3] νόου ἔξω, Kroll. Dam. i. 154. 16.

[4] Proc. in Timæ. 267 D; Dam. ii. 16. 20; 57. 26.

[5] Proc. in Timæ. 242 D. ἔχει τὸ νοεῖν πατρικὸν νοῦν ⟨καὶ νόον⟩ ἐνδιδόναι πάσαις πηγαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ δινεῖν αἰεί τε κ.τ.λ., sic recte Kroll.

[6] ἀλλ' ὄνομα σεμνὸν καὶ ἀκοιμήτῳ, Kroll. ἐνθρώσκων, Patric. Proc. in Crat. 23. 20.

[7] Leg. ὡς pro ὃς.

[8] δεσμῷ Ἔρωτος ἀγητοῦ ὃς ἐκ κ.τ.λ., Kroll.

[9] πέρι πῦρ συνδέσμιον, Kroll.

[10] Proc. in Parm. 769. 7.

[11] Proc. in Timæ. 219 B. τὰ πάντα, Patric.

[12] Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 143 (p. 613, ed. Diels).

[13] Proc. in Timæ. 267 F.

[14] Psell. 1145 B.

[15] ἐκείνῳ pro ἐκείνοις, Kroll. Proc. in theol. Platon. 365. 1; in Alcib. prim. 392. 7.

[16] μὲν δὴ αἵδε, Kroll.

[17] καὶ om. Kroll. Dam. ii. 88. 3.

ὑπόκειται αὐταῖς ἄρχιος αὐλών.[1]
ἀρχὰς, αἱ πατρὸς ἔργα νοήσασαι νοητά,[2]
95 αἰσθητοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ σώμασιν ἀπεκάλυψαν,[3]
διαπόρθμιοι ἑστῶτες φάναι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ,
καὶ τὰ ἐμφανῆ μιμήματα τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐργαζόμεναι.
καί τ' ἀφανῆ εἰς τὴν ἐμφανῆ κοσμοποιίαν ἐγγράφοντες.
νοῦς πατρὸς ἐρροίζησε, νοήσας ἀκμάδι βουλῇ
100 παμμόρφους ἰδέας. πηγῆς δ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀποπτᾶσαι
ἐξέθορον. πατρόθεν γὰρ ἔην βουλή τε τέλος τε.[4]
δι' ὧν συνάπτεται τῷ πατρί, ἄλλην κατ' ἄλλην
ζωήν, ἀπὸ μεριζομένων ὀχετῶν.[5]
ἀλλ' ἐμερίσθησαν, νοερῷ πυρὶ μοιρηθεῖσαι,
105 εἰς ἄλλας νοεράς· κόσμῳ γὰρ ἄναξ πολυμόρφῳ
προὔθηκεν νοερὸν τύπον ἄφθιτον, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον[6]
ἴκνος ἐπειγόμενος μορφῆς καθ' ἃ κόσμος ἐφάνθη.[7]
παντοίαις ἰδέαις κεχαρισμένος, ὧν μία πηγή,[8]
ἐξ ἧς ῥοιζοῦνται μεμερισμέναι ἄλλαι,
110 ἄπλατοι, ῥηγνύμεναι κόσμου περὶ σώμασιν,
αἱ περὶ κόλπους σμερδαλέους, σμήνεσσιν ἐοικυῖαι,
φορέονται τραποῦσαι· περὶ δ' ἀμφὶ ἄλλυδις ἄλλη,[9]
ἔννοιαι νοεραὶ πηγῆς πατρικῆς ἄπο
πολὺ δραττόμεναι πυρὸς ἄνθος[10]
115 ἀκοιμήτου χρόνου. ἀκμὴ ἀρχεγόνου ἰδέας[11]
πρώτη πατρὸς ἔβλυσε τάσδ' αὐτοθαλὴς πηγή.
νοούμεναι ἴυγγες πατρόθεν νοέουσι καὶ αὐταί,
βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοισι κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι.[12]

[1] Dam. ii. 88. 7. ὑποκέκλιται, Kroll. Alii ἀύλων (cf. Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 145, p. 623, ed. Diels).

[2] τὰ νοητά, Kroll. [Kroll.

[3] Dam. ii. 200. 23. ἀμφεκάλυψαν,

[4] δὲ μιᾶς, Kroll; μιᾶς ἄπο πᾶσαι, coniecit Schneck apud Kroll. Proc. in Parm. 800. 11.

[5] Om. has lineas duas Kroll.

[6] οὗ κατ' ἄκοσμον pro οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, Kroll. [7] μέτα pro καθ' ἃ, Kroll.

[8] κεχαρ;μένος pro κεχαρισμένος, Kroll.

[9] στράπτουσαι pro τραποῦσαι, Kroll sec. Thilo. περί τ' ἀμφὶ παρασχεδὸν ἄλλυδις, Kroll.

[10] πουλύ | δρεπτόμεναι, Kroll sec. Thilo.

[11] ἀκμῇ | ἀρχεγόνους, Kroll.

[12] Psell. 55–56, in comment. αἱ ἴυγγες νοούμεναι πατρόθεν. ἀφθέγτοις, Kroll. βουλῶν ἀφθέγτων, comment. per has ἴυγγας (cf. Kroll, p. 41) a Laevio frag. 10 ed. Müller, Lips. 1892 inter 'omnia philtra' laudatas, conatur Pater animam humanam reducere. haud aliter apud Theocritum Idyl. ii. incantat pharmaceutria:

ἴυγξ, ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρον.

ΕΚΑΤΗ, ΣΥΝΟΧΕΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΤΑΡΧΑΙ

ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ πάντες ἐκθρῴσκουσι.[1]
ἀμείλικτοί τε κεραυνοὶ καὶ πρηστηροδόχοι κόλποι
παμφεγγέος ἀλκῆς πατρογενοῦς Ἑκάτης,[2]
καὶ ὑπεζωκὸς πυρὸς ἄνθος ἠδὲ κραταιὸν
πνεῦμα πόλων, πυρίων ἐπέκεινα.[3]
φρουρεῖν αὖ πρηστῆρσιν ἑοῖς ἀκρότητας ἔδωκεν,
ἐγκεράσας ἀλκῆς ἴδιον μένος ἐν συνοχεῦσιν.[4]
ὦ πῶς ἔχει κόσμος νοεροὺς ἀνοχῆας ἀκαμπεῖς.[5]
ὅτι ἐργάτις, ὅτι ἐκδότις ἐστὶ πυρὸς ζωηφόρου,
ὅτι καὶ τὸ ζῳογόνον πληροῖ τῆς Ἑκάτης κόλπον,
καὶ ἐπιρρεῖ τοῖς συνοχεῦσιν ἀλκὴν ζείδωρον πυρὸς
μέγα δυναμένοιο.[6]
ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουροὶ τῶν ἔργων εἰσὶ τοῦ πατρός.[7]
ἀφομοιοῖ γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτόν, ἐκεῖνος ἐπειγόμενος
τὸν τύπον περιβάλλεσθαι τῶν εἰδώλων.[8]
οἱ μὲν τελετάρχαι συνείληπται τοῖς συνοχεῦσι.[9]
τοῖς δὲ πυρὸς νοεροῦ νοεροῖς πρηστῆρσιν
ἅπαντα εἴκαθε δουλεύοντα.[10]
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑλαίοις ὅσα δουλεύει συνοχεῦσιν.[11]
ἐσσαμένου πάντευχον ἀλκὴν φωτὸς κελάδοντος[12]
ἀλκῇ τριγλίχῳ νόον ψυχήν θ' ὁπλίσαντα[13]
παντοίαδος σύνθημα βάλλειν φρενί,[14]
μηδ' ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐμπυρίοις σποράδην ὀχετοῖς,
ἀλλὰ στιβαρηδόν.
οἱ δὲ τὰ ἄτομα καὶ αἰσθητὰ δημιουργοῦσι,
καὶ σωματοειδῆ καὶ κατατεταγμένα εἰς ὕλην.

[1] τοῦδε δὲ ἐκθρῴσκουσιν ἀμείλικτοί τε κ.τ.λ., Kroll.

[2] αὐγῆς pro ἀλκῆς, Kroll. Hecaten, quae a Proclo Hymn. vi. 1 θεῶν μῆτερ appellatur, una cum Rhea a Platonicis confusam esse demonstrat Kroll, pp. 27–31 (cf. p. 69).

[3] Proc. in Crat. 63. 4; 85. 22; Dam. ii. 89. 31; 133. 3.

[4] Dam. ii. 125. 22.

[5] Psell. 57, πᾶς ⟨γὰρ⟩ pro ὦ πῶς, Kroll. ὦ, omis. comment.

[6] Proc. in Timæ. 128 B.

[7] Proc. in Theol. Plat. 205.

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 103 E–F.

[9] Dam. de princip. 234.

[10] Dam. ii. 87. 21.

[11] Dam. ii. 87. 21.

[12] Dam. i. 155. 11. ἐσσάμενον, ἀκμὴν, Kroll.

[13] Dam. i. 254. 1; ii. 62. 29; 95. 23. τριγλώχινι pro τριγλίχῳ, Kroll.

[14] πᾶν τριάδος pro παντοίαδος, Kroll.

ΨΥΧΗ, ΦΥΣΙΣ

145 ὅττι ψυχὴ πῦρ δυνάμει πατρὸς οὖσα φαινόν,[1]
ἀθάνατός τε μένει καὶ ζωῆς δεσπότις ἐστὶν
καὶ ἴσχει κόσμου πολλὰ πληρώματα κόλπων.[2]
νοῦ γὰρ μίμημα πέλει, τὸ δὲ τεχθὲν ἔχει τι σώματος.[3]
μιγνυμένων δ' ὀχετῶν, πυρὸς ἀφθίτου ἔργα τελοῦσα.[4]
150 μετὰ δὴ πατρικὰς διανοίας ψυχή, ἐγώ, ναίω·
θερμή, ψυχοῦσα τὰ πάντα.[5] κατέθετο γὰρ
νοῦν μὲν ἐνὶ ψυχῇ, ψυχὴν δ' ἐνὶ σώματι ἀργῷ
ἡμέων ἐγκατέθηκε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.[6]
ἄρδην ἐμψυχοῦσα φάος, πῦρ, αἰθέρα, κόσμους.[7]
155 συνυφίσταται γὰρ τὰ φυσικὰ ἔργα τῷ νοερῷ φέγγει
τοῦ πατρός.[8] ψυχὴ γὰρ ἡ κοσμήσασα τὸν μέγαν
οὐρανὸν καὶ κοσμοῦσα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.
κέρατα δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐστήρικται ἄνω.[9]
νώτοις δ' ἀμφὶ θεᾶς φύσις ἄπλετος ᾠώρηται.[10]
160 ἄρχει δ' αὖ φύσις ἀκαμάτη κόσμων τε καὶ ἔργων,
οὐρανὸς ὄφρα θέῃ δρόμον ἀίδιον κατασύρων·
καὶ ταχὺς ἠέλιος περὶ κέντρον, ὅπως ἐθὰς ἔλθῃ.[11]
μὴ φύσεως ἐμβλέψῃς εἱμαρμένον οὔνομα τῆσδε.[12]

ΚΟΣΜΟΣ

ὁ ποιητὴς ὃς αὐτουργῶν τεκταίνεσθαι τὸν κόσμον.[13]
165 καὶ γάρ τις πυρὸς ὄγκος ἔην ἕτερος· τὰ δὲ πάντα[14]
αὐτουργῶν, ἵνα σῶμα τὸ κοσμικὸν ἐκτολυπευθῇ,
κόσμος ἵν' ἔκδηλος, καὶ μὴ φαίνηθ' ὑμενώδης.
τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς[15]
καὶ παντοτρόφου αἴθρης.[16]

[1] Psell. 22–24. *ὅτι ψυχὴ πῦρ οὖσα φαεινὸν δυνάμει πατρός*, comment.

[2] *ἔχει* pro *ἴσχει*, comment.

[3] Proc. in Timæ. 87 E. *νοῦ μὲν γὰρ*, Kroll.

[4] Proc. in Remp. 399. 33.

[5] Proc. in Timæ. 124 D. *θερμῇ*, Kroll.

[6] *δήσας* pro *ἡμέων*, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 124 D.

[7] Simplic. 143 (p. 613, ed. Diels).

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 106 A, C.

[9] Alii legunt *κράτη*.

[10] Proc. in Timæ. 4 D; in Parm. 821. 5; in Remp. 22. 17.

[11] Proc. in Timæ. 4 D, cf. 323 B; Dam. ii. 157. 15. *γὰρ* pro *δ' αὖ*, Kroll.

[12] Proc. theol. Plat. 317. 29; de prov. 155. 26; 164. 7; in Timæ. 322 D.

[13] leg. *ὡς* pro *ὃς τεκτήνατο*, Stan.

[14] *τάδε* pro *τὰ δὲ*, Kroll. om. *γὰρ*, Patric.

[15] *ἐξ ὕδατος*, Kroll.

[16] Proc. in Timæ. 154 E.

170 τ' ἄρρητα καὶ τὰ ῥητὰ συνθήματα τοῦ κόσμου.
ἄλλην κατ' ἄλλην ζωὴν ἀπὸ μεριζομένων ὀχετῶν.
ἄνωθεν διήκοντος ἐπὶ τὸ κατ' ἀντικρυ
διὰ τοῦ κέντρου τῆς γῆς καὶ πέμπτον μέσον, ἄλλον
πυρήοχον, ἔνθα κάτεισι μέχρι ὑλαίων ὀχετῶν,
175 ζωηφόριον πῦρ.[1]
κέντρῳ ἐπισπέρχων σαυτὸν φωτὸς κελάδοντος.[2]
πηγαῖον ἄλλον, ὃς τὸν ἐμπύριον κόσμον ἄγει.[3]
κέντρον ἀφ' οὗ πᾶσαι μέχρις ἄντυγος ἴσαι ἔασιν.[4]
σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἔσπειρε κατὰ κόσμον.
180 μέσον τῶν πατέρων ἑκάστης κέντρον φορεῖται.[5]
νοῦ γὰρ μίμημα πέλει· τὸ δὲ τεχθὲν ἔχει τι σώματος.

ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ

ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἐξώγκωσε πατὴρ στερεώματα κόσμων.[6]
τὸν οὐρανὸν κυρτῷ σχήματι περικλείσας,
πῆξε δὲ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν,[7]
185 ζώων δὲ πλανομένων ὑφέστηκεν ἑπτάδα.[8]
γῆν δ' ἐν μέσῳ τιθεὶς, ὕδωρ δ' ἐν γαίας κόλποις,
ἠέρα δ' ἄνωθεν τούτων.
πῆξε δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν,[9]
μὴ τάσι ἐπιπόνῳ πονηρᾷ.
190 πήξει δὲ πλάνην οὐκ ἐχούσῃ φέρεσθαι,
ἔπηξε δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν
τὸ πῦρ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐναγκάσας,
πήξει πλάνην οὐκ ἐχούσῃ φέρεσθαι.
ἐξ αὐτοὺς ὑπέστησεν, ἕβδομον ἠελίου[10]
195 μεσεμβολήσας πῦρ,
τὸ ἄτακτον αὐτῶν εὐτάκτοις ἀνακρεμάσας ζώναις.
τίκτει γὰρ ἡ θεὰ ἠέλιόν τε μέγαν καὶ λαμπρὰν σελήνην.
αἰθήρ, ἥλιε, πνεῦμα σελήνης, ἠέρος ἀγοί,
ἡλιακῶν τε κύκλων, καὶ μηναίων καναχισμῶν

[1] Proc. in Timæ. 172 C. ζωήφορον, Patric.

[2] Proc. in Timæ. 236 D. ἑαυτὸν, Stan.

[3] Proc. in Timæ.

[4] Proc. in Euclid. i. def. 15–16 (p. 155, ed. Friedlein). (Patric. ἂν τυχόν.)

[5] Dam. ii. 164. 18. μέσσον, Ἑκάτης, πεφορῆσθαι, Kroll.

[6] Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 144 (p. 616, ed. Diels).

[7] πηγνύναι, Kroll.

[8] ζώνων . . . ὑφιστάνειν, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 97 A.

[9] Proc. in Timæ. 280 B, ubi tamen χρωμένων pro φέρεσθαι legitur.

[10] Proc. in Timæ. 280 B.

200 κόλπων τε ἠερίων.
αἴθρης μέλος, ἠελίου τε καὶ μήνης ὀχετῶν, ἤ τε ἠέρος[1]
καὶ πλατὺς ἀήρ, μηναῖός τε δρόμος, καὶ ἀεὶ πόλος ἠελίοιο.[2]
συλλέγει αὐτὸ λαμβάνουσα αἴθρης μέλος,[3]
ἠελίου τε σελήνης τε καὶ ὅσα ἠέρι συνέχονται.
205 πῦρ πυρὸς ἐξοχέτευμα καὶ πυρὸς ταμίας.[4]
χαῖται γὰρ ἐς ὀξὺ πεφυκότι φωτὶ βλέπονται.[5]
ἔνθα Κρόνος,
ἠέλιος πάρεδρος ἐπισκοπέων πόλον ἁγνόν.[6]
αἰθέριός τε δρόμος καὶ μήνης ἄπλετος ὁρμὴ
210 ἠέριοί τε ῥοαί.[7]
ἠέλιόν τε μέγαν καὶ λαμπρὰν σελήνην.

ΧΡΟΝΟΣ

θεὸν ἐγκόσμιον, αἰώνιον, ἀπέραντον,
νέον καὶ πρεσβύτην, ἑλικοειδῆ.
καὶ πηγαῖον ἄλλον, ὃς τὸν ἐμπύριον κόσμον ἄγει.

ΨΥΧΗ, ΣΩΜΑ, ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ

215 χρή σε σπεύδειν πρὸς τὸ φάος καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐγὰς
ἔνθεν ἐπέμφθη σοι ψυχὴ πολὺν ἐσσαμένη νοῦν.[8]
ταῦτα πατὴρ ἐνόησε, βροτὸς δ' οἷ ἐψύχωτο.[9]
σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἐνέσπειρε ταῖς ψυχαῖς,[10]
ἔρωτι βαθεῖ ἀναπλήσας τὴν ψυχήν.
220 κατέθετο γὰρ νοῦν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἐν σώματι δὲ
ὑμέας ἐγκατέθηκε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.
ἀσώματα μέν ἐστι τὰ θεῖα πάντα,
σώματα δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμῶν ἕνεκεν ἐνδέδεται[11]
μὴ δυναμένων κατασχεῖν ἀσωμάτους τῶν σωμάτων,[12]

[1] μέρος ἠελίου τε (an μένος?), Kroll. ἠδ' pro ἤ τε, Kroll.

[2] ἀείπολος pro ἀεὶ πόλος, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 257 E.

[3] Proc. in Timæ. 311 A. συλλέγειν, λαμβάνουσαν, μέρος, Kroll.

[4] Proc. in Timæ. 141 F.

[5] Proc. in Remp. 387. 43. μὲν post χαῖται, inserit Kroll et legit πεφρικότι.

[6] Proc. in Timæ. 279 F. ἠελίοιο, Kroll.

[7] Proc. ap. Simpl. 614. 2.

[8] Psell. 13–14.

[9] Proc. in Timæ. 336 A. δέ οἱ, Kroll.

[10] Psell. 49 comment. omis. γὰρ et ταῖς, et legit ἔσπειρε.

[11] δὲ pro δ' ἐν, Kroll.

[12] μετασχεῖν, ἀσωμάτως τῶν ἀσωμάτων, Kroll.

225 διὰ τὴν σωματικὴν εἰς ἣν ἐνεκεντρίσθητε φύσιν.[1]
ἐν δὲ θεῷ κεῖνται πυρσοὺς ἕλκουσαι ἀκμαίους
ἐκ πατρόθεν κατιόντες, ἀφ' ὧν ψυχὴ κατιόντων[2]
ἐμπυρίων δρέπεται καρπῶν, ψυχοτρόφον ἄνθος.
διὸ καὶ νοήσασαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς
230 μοίρης εἱμαρμένης τὸ πτερὸν φεύγουσιν ἀναιδές.[3]
κἂν γὰρ τήνδε ψυχὴν ἴδῃς ἀποκαταστᾶσαν,
ἀλλ' ἄλλην ἐνίησι πατὴρ ἐναρίθμιον εἶναι.
ἦ μάλα δὴ κεῖναί γε μακάρταται ἔξοχα πασέων[4]
ψυχάων, ποτὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προχεόνται.
235 κεῖναι ὄλβιαί τε καὶ οὐ φατὰ νήματα ἔχουσαι.[5]
ὅσσαι ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος, ἄναξ, σέθεν, ἢ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐκ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο μίτου κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.[6]
ἡγείσθω ψυχῆς βάθος ἄμβροτον, ὄμματα δ' ἄρδην
πάντα ἐκπέτατον ἄνω.[7]
240 μήτε κάτω νεύσῃς εἰς τὸν μελαναυγέα κόσμον,[8]
ᾧ βυθὸς αἰὲν ἄπιστος ὑπέστρωταί τε καὶ Ἅιδης[9]
ἀμφικνεφής, ῥυπόων, εἰδωλοχαρής, ἀνόητος,
κρημνώδης, σκολιός, πωρὸν βάθος αἰὲν ἑλίσσων,[10]
ἀεὶ νυμφεύων ἀφανὲς δέμας, ἀργόν, ἄπνευμον.[11]
245 καὶ ὁ μισοφανὴς κόσμος καὶ τὰ σκολιὰ ῥεῖθρα
ὑφ' ὧν πολλοὶ κατασύρονται.[12]
ζήτησον παράδεισον.[13]
δίζεο σὺ ψυχῆς ὀχετόν, ὅθεν ἢ τίνι τάξει[14]
σώματι θητεύσας, ἐπὶ τάξιν ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρύης[15]
250 αὖθις ἀναστήσεις, ἱερῷ λόγῳ ἔργον ἑνώσας.[16]
μήτε κάτω νεύσῃς, κρημνὸς κατὰ γῆς ὑπόκειται,[17]
ἑπταπόρου σύρων κατὰ βαθμίδος· ἣν ὕπο[18]

[1] Proc. in Remp. 359. 23 B.
[2] κατιόντας, Kroll.
[3] Proc. in Timæ. 321 A.
[4] πασῶν, Kroll.
[5] ὄλβισταί, νήματ', Kroll.
[6] Synes. de insomn. 151 C.
[7] Psell. 37–38. οἰγνύσθω, Kroll. ὄμματα δὲ πάντα | ἄρδην, comment.
[8] μηδὲ pro μήτε, Kroll.
[9] Sic Dam. Synes., ἄμορφος ὑπέστρωται καὶ ἀειδής.
[10] πηρὸν, Kroll.
[11] Dam. ii. 317 (Synes. de insomn. 138 C).
[12] Proc. in Timæ. 339 B. μισοφαὴς, οἱ πολλοὶ, Kroll.
[13] Psell. 25.
[14] [καὶ] pro σὺ, comment. δίζηαι ψυχῆς, Kroll.
[15] ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρύης, om. comment. et Kroll, qui legit θητεύσασ' et coni. ὑπέβη καὶ πῶς.
[16] ἰθὺς pro αὖθις, comment. Psell. 1–6.
[17] μὴ [δὲ] pro μήτε, comment. μὴ ⟨δὲ⟩, Kroll.
[18] ὑφ' ἣν ὁ τῆς | ἀνάγκης, comment. et Kroll. Psell. 4–6.

δεινῆς ἀνάγκης θρόνος ἐστίν.
μὴ σὺ γ' αὔξανε τὴν εἱμαρμένην.[1]
255 ψυχὴ ἡ μερόπων θεὸν ἄγξει πῶς εἰς ἑαυτήν.[2]
οὐδὲν θνητὸν ἔχουσα, ὅλη θεόθεν μεμέθυσται.[3]
ἁρμονίαν αὐχεῖ γὰρ ὑφ' ᾗ πέλε σῶμα βρότειον.[4]
ἐκτείνας πύριον νοῦν ἔργον ἐπ' εὐσεβίης,
ῥευστὸν καὶ σῶμα σαώσεις.[5]
260 ἔστι καὶ εἰδώλῳ μερὶς εἰς τόπον ἀμφιφάοντα.[6]
πάντοθεν ἁπλάστῳ ψυχῇ πυρὸς ἡνία τεῖνον.[7]
ὁ πυριθαλπὴς ἔννοια πρωτίστην ἔχει τάξιν.
τῷ πυρὶ γὰρ βροτὸς ἐμπελάσας θεόθεν φάος ἕξει.[8]
δηθύνοντι γὰρ βροτῷ κραιπνοὶ μάκαρες τελέθουσιν.[9]
265 αἱ ποῖναι μερόπων ἄγκτειραι[10]
καὶ τὰ κακῆς ὕλης βλαστήματα χρηστὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.
ἐλπὶς τρεφέτω σε πυρήοχος ἀγγελικῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ.[11]
ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσδέχεται κείνης τὸ θέλειν πατρικὸς νοῦς,
μέχρις ἂν ἐξέλθῃ λήθης καὶ ῥῆμα λαλήσῃ.
270 μνήμην ἐνθεμένη πατρικοῦ συνθήματος ἀγνοῦ.[12]
τοῖς δὲ διδακτὸν φάους ἔδωκε γνώρισμα λαβέσθαι.
τοὺς δὲ ὑπνώοντας ἑῆς ἐνεκάρπισεν ἀλκῆς.[13]
μὴ πνεῦμα μολύνῃς, μηδὲ βαθύνῃς τὸ ἐπίπεδον.[14]
μηδὲ τὸ τῆς ὕλης σκύβαλον κρημνῷ καταλείψῃς.[15]
275 μὴ ἐξάξῃς, ἵνα μὴ ἐξιοῦσα ἔχῃ τι.[16]
βίῃ ὅτι σῶμα λιπόντων ψυχαὶ καθαρώταται.[17]
ψυχῆς ἐξωστῆρες, ἀνάπνοοι, εὔλυτοί εἰσιν.[18]
λαιῇσ' ἐν λαγόσιν Ἑκάτης ἀρετῆς πέλε πηγὴ[19]

[1] Psell. 8. συναυξήσῃς, comment.
[2] Comment. omis. ἡ et πῶς. αὐτήν, Kroll.
[3] θεόθεν, om. comment.
[4] Psell. 19–21.
[5] Psell. 30–31. εὐσεβίας, Kroll; πύρινον, Stanl.
[6] Psell. 27.
[7] Psell. 45.
[8] Proc. in Timæ. 65 B (ubi legitur τὴν πυριθαλπῆ ἔννοιαν πρωτίστην ἔχειν τάξιν).
[9] Proc. in Timæ. 65 D. Omis. γὰρ, Kroll.
[10] Psell. 36.
[11] Olymp. in Phæd. 31. 21; 34. 3.
[12] Psell. 10–12. Omis. comment. τὸ θέλειν.
[13] Synes. de insomn. 135 A. διδακτὸν ἔδωκε φάους, Kroll. καὶ post δὲ, inser. Kroll.
[14] Psell. 26. τοὐπίπεδον, Kroll.
[15] Psell. 28. οὐδὲ καταλείψεις, Kroll.
[16] Psell. 29; cf. Plotinus Enneades, i. 9. In comment. ἑξίῃ ἔχουσά τι.
[17] Psell. 1141 B. κατάρατοι, coniec. Kroll.
[18] Psell. 16. ἀνάπνοες, comment. et Kroll.
[19] λαιῇς ἐν λαγόσιν κοίτης, Psell.

ἔνδον ὅλη μίμνουσα, τὸ πάρθενον οὐ προιεῖσα.[1]
280 ὦ τολμηροτάτης φύσεως ἄνθρωπε τέχνασμα,[2]
μὴ τὰ πελώρια μέτρα γαίης ὑπὸ σὴν φρένα βάλλου,
οὐ γὰρ ἀληθείης φυτὸν ἐνὶ χθονί.[3]
μήτε μέτρει μέτρα ἠελίου κανόνας συναθροίσας,[4]
ἀιδίῳ βουλῇ φέρεται οὐχ ἕνεκα σεῖο.[5]
285 μηναῖόν τε δρόμημα καὶ ἀστέριον προπόρθευμα.[6]
μήνης ῥοῖζον ἔασον, ἀεὶ τρέχει ἔργῳ ἀνάγκης
ἀστέριον προπόρθευμα, σέθεν χάριν οὐκ ἐλοχεύθη.[7]
αἰθέριος ὀρνίθων ταρσὸς πλατὺς οὔποτ' ἀληθής.
οὐ θυσιῶν σπλάγχνων τε τομαί· τάδ' ἀθύρματα πάντα,[8]
290 ἐμπορικῆς ἀπάτης στηρίγματα· φεῦγε σὺ ταῦτα
μέλλων εὐσεβίης ἱερὸν παράδεισον ἀνοίγειν,
ἔνθ' ἀρετὴ σοφία τε καὶ εὐνομία συνάγονται.[9]
σὸν γὰρ ἀγγεῖον θῆρες χθονὸς οἰκήκουσιν.[10]
αὐτοὺς δὲ χθὼν κατοδύρεται ἐς τέκνα μέχρις.[11]

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ, ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙ

295 ἡ φύσις πείθει εἶναι τοὺς δαίμονας ἁγνούς,
καὶ τὰ κακῆς ὕλης βλαστήματα χρηστὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.[12]
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἀβάτοις σήκοις διανοίας ἀνελίττω.
πῦρ ἴκελον σκιρτηδὸν ἐπ' ἠέρος οἶδμα τιταῖνον,[13]
ἢ καὶ πῦρ ἀτύπωτον ὅθεν φωνὴν προθέουσαν,
300 ἢ φῶς πλούσιον ἀμφιγειήν, ῥοιζαῖον, ἐλιχθέν·[14]
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππον ἰδεῖν φωτὸς πλέον ἀστράπτοντα,
ἢ καὶ παῖδα θεοῖς νώτοις ἐποχούμενον ἵππου,[15]
ἔμπυρον ἢ χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένον ἢ παλίγυμνον[16]

[1] μένουσα et παρθένιον, comment. Psell. 17–18.

[2] Psell. 39. τολμηρᾶς ἐκ, comment.

[3] ἐν pro ἐνὶ, Kroll.

[4] μηδὲ pro μήτε, Psell. et Kroll; μέτρον, Kroll.

[5] πατρὸς post φέρεται, Psell. et Kroll. σοῦ, Kroll. Psell. 1128 B, C.

[6] Proc. in Timæ. 277 D. προπόρευμα, Kroll et Psell.

[7] Proc. in Timæ. 277 D, et Psell. 1128 B, C. προπόρευμα, Kroll et Psell.

[8] ὄτομαι, Patric.; ὄθομαι, Stanleius.

[9] Psell. 1128 B. C.

[10] Psell. 7. Comment. omis. γὰρ.

[11] Psell. 15. ἀεὶ τούσδε . . . ἃ ἃ τούσδε, Kroll. κατωρύεται, comment. κατώρικται, Patric.

[12] Psell. 34–35. In comment. inserit πιστεύειν post πείθει.

[13] Proc. in Remp. 380. 5.

[14] ἀμφιφαὲς, Stan. Lips. ἀμφὶ γυὴν, Kroll.

[15] Melius Kroll, θοοῖς pro τεοῖς.

[16] πάλι γυμνόν, Kroll.

ἢ καὶ τοξεύοντα καὶ ἑστῶτα ἐπὶ νώτοις.[1]
305 πολλάκις ἢν λέξῃς μοι, ἀθρήσεις πάντ' ἀχλύοντα·[2]
οὔτε γὰρ οὐράνιος κυδρὸς τότε φαίνεται ὄγκος.[3]
ἀστέρες οὐ λάμπουσι, τὸ μήνης φῶς κεκάλυπτει,
χθὼν οὐχ ἕστηκεν, βλέπεταί τε πάντα κεραυνοῖς.[4]
μὴ φύσεως καλέσῃς αὔτοπτον ἄγαλμα,[5]
310 οὐ γὰρ χρὴ κείνους σε βλέπειν πρὶν σῶμα τελεσθῇ.
ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς θέλγοντες ἀεὶ τῶν τελετῶν ἀπάγουσιν.[6]
ἐκ δ' ἄρα κόλπων γαίης θρῴσκουσι χθόνιοι κύνες,
οὔποτ' ἀληθὲς σῶμα βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ δεικνύντες.[7]
ἐνέργει περὶ τὸν Ἑκατικὸν στρόφαλον.[8]
315 ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μήποτ' ἀλλάξῃς,[9]
εἰσὶ γὰρ ὀνόματα παρ' ἑκάστοις θεόσδοτα
δύναμιν ἐν τελεταῖς ἄρρητον ἔχοντα.
ἡνίκα βλέψῃς μορφῆς ἄτερ εὐίερον πῦρ[10]
λαμπόμενον σκιρτηδὸν ὅλου κατὰ βένθεα κόσμου,
320 κλῦθι πυρὸς φωνήν.
ἡνίκα δαίμονα δ' ἐρχόμενον πρόσγειον ἀθρήσῃς,
θύε λίθον μνίζουριν ἐπαυδῶν.[11]
εἰσὶ πάντα πυρὸς ἑνὸς ἐκγεγαῶτα.[12]
πατὴρ οὐ φόβον ἐνθρῴσκει, πειθὼ δ' ἐπιχεύει.[13]

[1] ἑστηῶτ', Kroll.

[2] πάντα λέοντα pro πάντη λεκτόν, comment. πάντη λεκτόν, Psell. Nos sec. Kroll.

[3] κυρτὸς pro κυδρὸς, comment. et Kroll.

[4] Psell. 40–44. φλέγεται, melius Kroll.

[5] Psell. 1136 C.

[6] Proc. in Alc. 340. 6. τελεσθῆς, Kroll.

[7] Psell. 32–33. οὔτ', comment. Om. ἀνδρὶ in comment. Alii, ἐκ δ' ἄρα κόλπων γαίης θρώσκουσ', οὔποτ' ἀληθὲς | σῆμα βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ χθόνιοι κύνες δεικνύντες.

[8] Psell. 1133 A.

[9] Psell. 1132 C.

[10] ⟨δὲ⟩, Kroll. Psell. 46–48.

[11] Psell. 1148 B. μνούζιριν ἐπᾴδων, Kroll. sub voce μνίζουριν suspicor forsan corruptionem part. pass. arab. منظور (manẓūr) de verbo نظر (naẓar) 'videre' sublatere. si hoc recte se habet, de sententia confer Geoponica xv. 1. 8: ὁ λύκος προορῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀσθενέστερον αὐτὸν καὶ ἄφωνον ποιεῖ . . . ὀφθεὶς δὲ πρότερος ὁ λύκος αὐτὸς ἀσθενέστερος γίνεται. verba ex linguis orientalibus in incantamentis huiusmodi frequentissime usurpari docet Heim in Annal. Philol. Suppl. xix. (1892) p. 528, qui etiam exempla multa Ἐφεσίων γραμμάτων profert pp. 529–542.

[12] Psell. 52.

[13] Psell. 60.

APPENDIX VI

ALLUSIONS TO ZOROASTER IN VARIOUS OTHER OLDER LITERATURES

1. Armenian Allusions.
2. Chinese Allusions.
3. Syriac, Arabic, and other Mohammedan or Persian References.
4. Icelandic Allusion.

I

Allusions to Zoroaster in Armenian Literature

The references to Zoroaster in Armenian literature, so far as I know, are few, but other scholars may be able to add to the list. Those allusions easiest to be found are in Langlois, *Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1867–1869; see tome i. pp. 28, 29; ii. pp. 59, 69, 189, 191, n., 230 (377), 381. These references are used here in part.

(a) The So-called Armenian History of Khorene. — The chapters of the so-called Armenian history of Moses of Khorene which refer to Zoroaster give the same or a similar record as Cephalion and others [1] in associating his name with Semiramis. Zoroaster is a Magian and religious chief of the Medes. Semiramis gives into his charge the government of Assyria and Nineveh, and entrusts to him the greatest power, while she withdraws to her favorite city in Armenia. Zoroaster raises a rebellion against Semiramis, and the issue of the war is told.

Several translations of Moses or of this passage are accessible: Whiston, *Moses Chorenens.*, London, 1736, 1. ch. 16 (quoted in Müller's *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. p. 627, and in Gilmore, *Persika of Ktesias*, London, 1888, p. 30, n.); Langlois, *Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1867–1869, tome ii. 59, 69; cf. *ibid.* i.

[1] E.g. Agathias; cf. Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 412.

p. 28 (Mar Apas Catina, ch. **10**); Lauer, *Moses von Chorene, Geschichte Gross-Armeniens übersetzt,* Regensburg 1869, p. 13 seq. The sources are discussed by Carrière, *Nouvelles sources de Moïse de Khoren,* Vienna, 1893; cf. also Vetter in *Festgruss an Roth,* p. 81 seq.

For a rendering of the passages, in which Zoroaster is alluded to in Moses of Khorene, I am indebted to the kind help of my colleague, Mr. Abraham Yohannan, of Columbia University, whose version is here given for convenience.

Mos. Khor. 1. 6 [in speaking of Zrvan and basing the narrative on the legendary Berosian Sibyl, Moses of Khorene alludes to three princes of the earth, 'Zrvan, Titan, and Japhet' (Zrvan, Didan, Habedost). In his opinion these are identical with 'Shem, Ham, and Japhet' (Sem, Kam, Habet). He then goes on to state, upon the authority of the Berosian Sibyl], 'These divided the whole world between them. Over the other two, Zrvan gained the mastery, — he, of whom Zoroaster (Zradasht) king of the Bactrians, that is the Medes, states that he is the source and father of the gods.'

Mos. Khor. 1. 17 (16) 'About Semiramis — The reason why she slew her sons — How she fled from Zoroaster (Zradasht) the Magian into Armenia — And how she was put to death by her son Ninyas (Ninouas): — This queen was always accustomed, for her recreation, to pass the summer in the northern region, in the fortified city which she had built in Armenia. She left Assyria and Nineveh in charge of the governor Zoroaster, a Magian and patriarch of the Medes. And having repeatedly done this, she (finally) entrusted the sovereignty entirely to him.'

'Being herself often rebuked by her sons because of her wanton and meretricious character, she put them all to death; only Ninyas (Ninouas) escaped. She chose to bestow upon her paramours all the power and treasures, without any regard to her sons. Her husband Ninus was not dead, nor buried by her in the palace of Nineveh, as is reported; but he abandoned the realm and fled to Crete, because he was aware of her vice and shameless behavior.'

'It was then that her grown-up sons reminded her of all this in hopes of restraining her from her devilish and warlike desires and of having the power and treasures entrusted to them. Becoming excessively enraged thereat, she killed them all, and only Ninyas remained as we have described above.'

'But when some misunderstanding occurred on the part of Zoroaster with reference to the queen, and enmity arose between the two, Semiramis made war against him because he was desiguing to rule by force over all. In the midst of the war Semiramis fled before Zoroaster into Armenia.'

'At this juncture, Ninyas (her son), taking advantage of the opportunity for revenge, killed his mother and reigned over Assyria and Nineveh.'

(b) Elisæus, who is presumably a contemporary of Vartan (A.D. fifth century), in his history of the latter, and of the wars which the Armenians waged against the Persians, alludes incidentally to the

'Magians,' and the 'religion of Zoroaster'; see Langlois, op. cit. ii. 189, 230.

(c) The Armenian Eznik (A.D. fifth century,) in his refutation of the sects and of heretical opinions, devotes an entire division (ii.) of his work to the false tenets of the Persians who maintain the doctrine of Ormazd, Ahriman, and Zrvan, and, in this connection, he incidentally mentions 'Zradasht' (Zoroaster) as responsible for the heretical views as to the origin of the sun and moon, cf. Langlois, op. cit. ii. 381. Most of this passage is translated in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 542–551, but not the paragraph relating to Zoroaster; cf. also Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 13.

(d) Thomas Arzrounī, the learned Armenian annalist (A.D. ninth–tenth century),[1] gives a series of statements regarding Zoroaster and the Persian belief in Ormazd. Some of his allusions are identical with the common accounts which associate Zoroaster's name with Ninus and Semiramis. One passage is also of importance in connection with the prescriptions of the Vendīdād. It gives a legendary explanation of the origin of the injunction which Zoroaster gave for killing noxious animals. The passage is to be found translated in the valuable publication of Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens; Th. Ardzrouni*, etc., tome i, S. Pétersbourg, 1874. As this work is not easily accessible and as the passage does not seem to be generally familiar to Zoroastrian students, it is worth while to reproduce Brosset's translation (op. cit., livre 1, § 3, pp. 19–22, 25; § 4, p. 27).

1. 3, 'De l'empire des Assyriens; que Zradacht et Manithop furent chefs des contrées orientales; leurs dogmes absurdes.

'Des temps écoulés entre Bel et Ninos, il ne reste dans les livres anciens, ainsi que nous l'avons dit précédemment, aucune trace considérable et éclatante, et cela, sans doute, par plusieurs raisons. D'abord, par suite de la confusion des langues, il régnait une fâcheuse mésintelligence, puis les annalistes chaldéens ne retraçaient pas les faiblesses des hommes de haut rang. Et encore, si même les exploits et actes de bravoure de Ninos ont été racontés, comme Bel et pis encore, il en vint à un tel degré d'orgueil, qu'il se regardait comme le premier des héros, comme le premier des rois, et ayant fait rassembler en un tas, en grande hâte, tous les écrits anciens, il les livra aux flammes, afin que par la suite il ne restât plus de souvenir d'autre personne illustre que la sienne.[2] Il passe donc pour avoir régné sur toute l'Asie, l'Inde exceptée et sur la Libye. Il fit aussi réparer, pour l'honneur de son nom, la ville de Ninive, autrefois construite par Assour, pour être la résidence royale, et qu'avait ravagée Nébroth. Il détrôna ensuite le mage Zradacht, roi des Bactriens et des Mèdes, et le chassa

[1] Cf. Neumann, *Geschichte der armen. Lit.*, pp. 123–125, Leipzig, 1836.

[2] Mr. Gray notes a similar act by Tsin-Chi-hoang-ti.

jusqu'aux frontières des Héphtalites, devint le maître puissant de tout le Khoujastan, des contrées de l'orient et de la Perse, jusque par-delà Balkh et Dépouhan ; de Comaïd, de Gauzpan, de Chéribamamacan, de Khodjihrastan, et pour vrai dire, il soumit durant 52 ans, avec une incroyable valeur, tout le pays jusqu'à la mer des Indes. Lorsqu'il mourut, ne laissant que de très jeunes enfants, il remit l'autorité à sa femme Chamiram, qui l'exerça elle-même avec plus de vigueur que Ninos ; car elle enceignit Babylone de murailles, dompta la rébellion de Zradacht et le reduisit en servitude. Mais l'ivresse des voluptés lui faisant oublier ses fils, elle prodigua ses trésors à ses amants favoris et établit Zradacht commandant de Babylone, du Khoujastan et de toute la Perse orientale. Pour elle, elle passa en Arménie, ou l'attirait la renommée d'un descendant d' Haïc. Quant à son arrivée en ce pays, aux détails de la bataille, à la construction de superbes édifices, veritablement admirables, à la revolte de Zradacht, à la mort de Chamiram, aux récits des magiciens, à ce sujet, tout cela a été raconté par d'autres. Elle avait régné 42 ans. L'autorité passa à son fils Zarmia, qui fut appelé Ninovas, du nom de son père. Celui-ci fut maître de l'Assyrie et, durant un temps, de l'Arménie. Peu soucieux d'agrandissements, doué d'un caractère paisible et non belliqueux, il passa tranquillement ses jours.'

'Cependant Zradacht, possédant les contrées à l'orient de la Perse, cessa depuis lors d'inquiéter l'Assyrie. Dédaignant comme vieilleries et choses par trop obscures, les récits sur Bel et sur les autres descendants des génies, il débita sur son propre compte de nouvelles fables, afin de séparer du même coup les Perses et les Mars des Babyloniens, et, par ses doctrines et par des noms, de se mettre en communication avec les Assyriens. Il se mit donc à appeler [de?][1] nouveau Zrovan et souche des dieux Sem, fils de Noé. "Celui-ci, dit-il, voulant devenir père d'Ormizd, dit : "Qu'ainsi soit, j'aurai pour fils Ormizd, qui fera le ciel et la terre." Zrovan conçut donc deux jumeaux, dont l'un fut assez rusé pour se hâter de paraître le premier, "Qui es-tu? lui dit Zrovan. — Ton fils Ormizd. — Mon fils Ormizd est lumineux et de bonne odeur, et toi tu es obscur et mauvaise langue." Celui-ci ayant beaucoup insisté, il lui donna le pouvoir pour mille ans. Ormizd, étant né au bout de ce terme, dit à son frère : "Je t'ai cédé pendant mille ans ; cède-moi présentement." Connaissant son infériorité, Ahrman résista et se révolta, et devint un dieu opposé à Ormizd. Quand Ormizd créa la lumière, Ahrman fit les ténèbres ; quand Ormizd créa la vie, Ahrman fit la mort ; quand Ormizd créa le feu, le bien, Ahrman fit l'eau et le mal. Pour ne point dire tout, l'un après l'autre, tout ce qui est bon et les gens vertueux proviennent d'Ormizd ; d'Ahrman, tout ce qui est mauvais et les démons. Maintenant à celui qui pensera que ces doctrines ne méritent qu'une explosion de rire, et qui traite de fou le roi Zradacht, réponds que ce dieu impuissant, Ormizd, ne travaille pas en vain, et que les deux frères, bien qu'ennemies mutuels, se courrouceront à la fois pour l'exterminer.'

'Le même insensé Zradacht raconte encore qu'une guerre s'étant élevée entre Ormizd et Ahrman, le premier éprouva une faim enragée et courut les champs, pour trouver de la nourriture. Il rencontra un bœuf, qu'il déroba.

[1] Added by Mr. Schuyler, who also notes from Brosset that Arzrounī always writes *Ormzd*, *Ahrmn*.

L'ayant tué et caché sous un tas de pierres, il attendit le crépuscule, pour enlever chez lui le produit de son larcin et rassasier sa faim. Le soir venu, il était tout joyeux et allait se gorger de nourriture, mais il trouva le bœuf gâté, devoré par les lézards, par les araignées, les stellions et les mouches, qui avaient fait leur proie de son gibier. Maintenant donc la légion des cloportes et des jjacs vinrent, et comme ils firent beaucoup de mal au dieu, Zradacht prescrivit une quantité de règlements puerils. Ce n'est point à la légère que nous sommes décidé à écrire ces choses, mais parce que cette doctrine satanique a causé bien des catastrophes sanglantes à notre Arménie, qu'elle a ruinée entièrement, ainsi que le fait voir l'histoire des saints Vardanians, écrite par le vénérable prêtre Eghiché. Les fils des pyrolâtres sont là, pour l'affirmer encore.'

'Cependant Manithop, roi des Hephtals, ajoute et affirme encore ceci: le feu, suivant lui, n'est pas la créature d'Ormizd, mais sa substance. Héphestos et Promithos, *i.e.* le soleil et la lune, ayant dérobé le feu d'Ormizd, en donnèrent une partie aux hommes. La terre est l'asyle du dieu Spandaramet—Bacchus; —elle n'a été créée par personne, mais elle existait, telle qu'elle existe; elle continue d'être, et l'homme est né de lui-même.'

Three pages farther on (p. 25) is found another allusion to Zoroaster: 'Quant aux autres assertions des mythologues, et à leurs dires sans fondements, j'en prendrai, pour le réfuter, ce qu'il y à de plus raisonnable dans les traditions confuses, transmises à leurs sectateurs par les orientaux Zradacht et Manithop.'

[In the next chapter Thomas Arzrounī summarizes the reigns of the successive Assyrian rulers down to the rise of the kingdom of Persia under Cyrus, and Zoroaster's death is incidentally mentioned. From the allusions to Ninus and Semiramis and Abraham, it is evident that he places Zoroaster at an early period. The text runs]: 'Nous avons suivi méthodiquement la série des générations et rangé avec soin les ancêtres de l'empire d'Assyrie, dont le premier héritier fut Zamésos [*i.e.* Zarmia, plus haut], le même que Ninovas, fils de Ninus et de Chamiram, en la 53e année de la vie du patriarche Abraham, qui régna sur toute l'Asie et l'Arménie. Zradacht étant mort, il fut de nouveau, 38 ans durant, monarque pacifique de tout ce qui est à l'O. de la Perse, qui lui obéit et lui paya tribut. Après lui, son fils Arias, le 4e depuis Ninus, durant 30 ans. Après lui les rois d'Assyrie, se succédant au pouvoir, de père en fils, ne firent rien de remarquable, et pas un seul d'entre eux ne régna moins de 20 ans.'

II

Allusions to Zoroaster in Chinese Literature

For my first direct information on this subject, a year ago, I am personally indebted to the Sinologist, Dr. F. Hirth, of Munich, whose kindness I cordially appreciate, and whose suggestions I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. Hirth recently wrote me that some of the material of which he spoke to me is easily accessible in the monographs of Messieurs Chavannes and Devéria, from which I give

selections, as they can but be of special interest to students of Zoroastrianism. Dr. Frederick W. Williams, of Yale University, New Haven, furthermore draws my attention to the existence of a number of references in Chinese literature to the religion of Zoroaster as *Po-sz king kian*, 'religion of Persia,' or Po-sz. I am sincerely indebted to these gentlemen, and I hope that, joined perhaps by Mgr. C. de Harlez and others, they may pursue their researches farther in this particular line, and add to our knowledge of the Prophet of Ancient Iran, and his influence in the Far East.

In a letter which Dr. Hirth wrote to me, he says: 'What I consider to be the Chinese transcription of the name *Zoroaster* occurs in a work called *Si-ki-tsung-yü* (chap. 1, p. 20). Speaking of the deity, Mahēsvara (in Chinese *Ma-yi-schou-lo*), the author, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century (cf. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 128) says: "It [the deity] originally came from the great country of Persia, and is [there] called *Su-lu-tschë*. The god had a disciple by the name of *Yüan-tchēn*, who studied the doctrine of his master, etc., in Persia, and afterwards travelled to China to spread it there." '[1]

M. Éd. Chavannes, *Le Nestorianisme et l'Inscription de Kara-Balgassoun* in *Journ. Asiatique*, Janv. Fév. 1897, p. 61 seq., gives some very interesting allusions to the Persian religion and its spread in China, onward from the seventh century of our era. I select two extracts which mention Zoroaster. The monograph itself should be consulted.

Chavannes, op. cit. p. 61, notes, by way of introduction: 'A la date de la 5e année *tcheng-koan* (631),[2] le *Fo-tsou t'ong ki* dit (Chapter xxxix. p. 71 V°, 9e cahier de la lettre[3] dans l'édition japonaise du Tripiṭaka de la Société Asiatique): —

"Autrefois *Sou-li-tche* (Zarathushtra, Zoroastre), du royaume de Perse, avait institué la religion *mo-ni*-enne du dieu céleste du feu; un édit impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de *Ta-ts'in*."[4]

'Dans le même ouvrage (chap. liv. p. 151 r°), on lit: —

[1] On seeing Devéria's citation of the same passage (given above), Dr. Hirth supplements his note by adding that it is perhaps the intention of the passage to indicate that the doctrine rather than Yüan-tchēn travelled to China. See Devéria's quotation.

[2] I.e. A.D. 631.

[3] Here follows a Chinese character.

[4] I.e. Chaldea; see Devéria, op. cit. p. 456. Similarly De Rosny, *Le Culte de Zoroastre chez les Chinois* in *Congrès int. des Orient.*, 1me Sess. ii. 323–326.

"Pour ce qui est de la religion *mo-ni*-enne du dieu céleste du feu,[1] autrefois, dans le royaume de Perse il y eut Zoroastre ; il mit en vigueur la religion du dieu céleste du feu ; ses disciples vinrent faire des conversions en Chine ; sous les *T'ang*, la 5e année *tcheng-koan* (631), un de ses sectateurs, le mage *Ho-lou* vint au palais apporter la religion du dieu céleste ; un décret impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de *Ta-ts'in*."'

M. G. Devéria, *Musulmans et Manichéens Chinois* in *Journ. Asiatique*, Nov. Déc. 1897, p. 445 seq., especially discusses certain Chinese material on the subject of Manichæism; he cites and translates (on p. 456) the last passage given by Chavannes, and notes also the one to which Hirth had already called attention.

Devéria, op. cit. p. 462 : 'Yao-Koan des Song dit : les caractères [. . .][2] désignent l'Esprit étranger du ciel ; [. . .] se prononce *hien;* son culte est celui que les livres sacrés bouddhiques appellent le culte de Mahesvara ; c'est dans la grande Perse qu'il prit naissance ; on l'y nomme (culte de) Zoroastre ; celui-ci eut un disciple appelé Hiuan-tchen (Céleste vérité ou Véridique céleste), qui étudia la religion du maître ; il descendait de Jouhouo-chau (Joukhshan ou Soukhshan ou Djoukhshan ?), grand gouverneur général de la Perse ; sa propagande s'exerça en Chine.'[3]

III

References to some Syriac, Arabic, and other Mohammedan or Persian Allusions to Zoroaster

The most convenient collection of material on Syriac and Arabic allusions to Zoroaster is by Gottheil in the book so often quoted above and easily accessible. I merely repeat the title below. To supplement this, see brief remark in *AJSL.* xiii. 225 and I note also (by pages) such references as I have observed in Hyde, Barbier de Meynard, Vullers, or elsewhere, as the works can be consulted.

1. Gottheil, R., *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, collected in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, New York, 1894 (Columbia University Press), pp. 24–51. This monograph gives abundant bibliographical material.

[1] Devéria, op. cit. p. 456, renders 'de la religion de *Mo-ni* de l'Esprit céleste du feu,' and notes that *Mo-ni* refers to the Manichæans (p. 464).

[2] Here are Chinese characters.

[3] Cf. also Fergusson, *Chinese Researches*, Part I., pp. 15 seq., Shanghai, 1880, on the Chinese knowledge of Bactria and Persia. Specialists can doubtless add much on this subject. Professor Bang reminds me of *ZDMG.* xliv. 151 ; xlv. 627 ; *WZKM.* xii. 51.

2. Hyde, T., *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum,* Oxon. 1700, the following pages: —

Shahrastānī, p. 153 (fires), 294–296 (Magian doctrines and Z.), 298–300 (cf. Gottheil, p. 46 seq.), 382 (Messianic prophecy by Z.).
Ibn Shahna, p. 162 seq. (Z. and dualism).
Shāh Kholgī, p. 164 (Z. and the Gāhānbār).
Bar Bahlūl (Syriac), p. 310 (etymology of Z.'s name; Messianic prophecies; cf. Gottheil, p. 28).
Abūlfeda, p. 311 (Z. born at Urumiah).
Beiḍāwī, p. 313 (Z. and religion; Z.'s mountain at Istakhr).
Abū Mohammed Muṣtafā, p. 313 (Z. and Ezra; doctrines).
Bundārī, p. 314 seq. (after Ṭabarī).
Majdī, pp. 315–317, 319, 385 (Z. Palestine and Ādarbaijān; conversion of V.; molten brass ordeal; cypress of Kishmar; Jāmāsp).
Khvāndamīrī, p. 317 seq. (Z. and fire-worship; V. at Istakhr).
Shāh Nāmah Nasr, pp. 319–325 (abridged prose account from ShN. of Z.'s conversion of V., and his history).
Abūl-Faraj, p. 384 (Messianic).
Khalīl Sūfī, pp. 385, 421 (Jāmāsp = Daniel; the Persian language).
Sad-dar, p. 433 seq. (gives a Latin translation).
Al-Makīn, p. 529 (Z. contemporary with Smerdis; Z. institutes a communion).
Eutychius, see Appendix II., p. 168 above.

3. The *Mujmal al-Tawārīkh* (A.D. 1126, author unknown). *Extraits du Modjmal al-Tewarikh, relatifs à l'histoire de la Perse,* traduits par Jules Mohl (*Journal Asiatique,* tome xi. pp. 136, 258, 320, Paris, 1841). This work is later than Ṭabarī, Hamzah, and Firdausī. The author makes use of Hamzah. The special pages which are of interest in connection with Zoroaster are the following: p. 147 (chronology), 160 (Lohrāsp), 161 (Gushtāsp), 162–163 (Bahman, Hūmāī, Dārāb, Dārā, Sikander), 333 (the reign of Gushtāsp, war with Arjāsp).

4. Barbier de Meynard *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des Contrées adjacentes, extrait du Módjem el-Bouldan de Yaqout,* Paris, 1861. Zoroaster is especially mentioned in the following articles, which should be consulted, and quotations have already been made from them: pp. 26, 85 *Ourmiah,* p. 33 *Oustounawend,* p. 367 *Schiz,* p. 514–515 *Mah-Dinar* (orig. *Din-Zeraduscht*).

Important information further illustrating the subject may be found under the following heads in the same translation from Yāḳūt (the list, however, not complete): p. 27 *Erwend, Elvend,* 63 *Irān,* 75 *Badeghis,* 80 *Bamiān, Bamīn,* 86 *Bakhdjermiān,* 100, *Bost*

(in Seistān), 106 *Bosht* (mentions Vishtāsp), 107 *Boschtenfurousch* (for Vishtāsp), 112 *Balkh* (for Lohrāsp), 124 *Behistoun*, 167 *Djounbond*, *Gounbed* (for Isfendīār), 183 *Djeihoun* (Jīhūn, Oxus), 197 *Khoraçān* (anc. Pers. kings), 224, 236 *Debawend*, *Demawend*, 251 *Dinewer*, 268 *Rouiān*, 272 *Riwend*, 273 *Rey*, *Raī* (but Z. is not mentioned), 280 *Zaboulistān* (Rūstam), 284 *Zerd* (mt.), 300 *Sebelān* (mt., but Z. is not mentioned), 300–305 *Sedjestān*, *Seistān*, 367 *Schiz*, 413 *Farmed*, 464 *Qoumè* (Kūmish), 467 *Qohendez* (qu. Av. Kanha Daēza?), 469 *Kaboul*, 471 *Kariān* (Magian pyraea), 477 *Kourr* (no mention of Vishtāsp), 489 *Kouschtasfi* (mentions Vishtāsp), 489 *Keschmer* (no mention of Z. or V.), 569 *Noubehar* (temple at Balkh).

5. Iskandar Nāmah. Sketch of the Codex of Iskandar Nāmah, Nizāmī, in *Catalogo della Biblioteca Naniana*, Assemani, vol. i. pp. 112–122, esp. 119 seq. Division xv. (Lohrāsp, contemporary of Jeremiah and Daniel; at his time lived Zardusht, but Abūlfaraj makes him flourish under Cambyses; Lohrasp reigned 120 years). Division xvi. Vishtāsp and Zoroaster (doctrines of Zoroaster; Vishtāsp reigned about 120 years; in his time lived Socrates of Greece, and Jāmāsp the Persian Philosopher). Divisions xvii.–xx. (sketch of following reigns down to Iskandar).

6. 'Ulamā-ī Islām, a Persian work in prose. This treatise of the twelfth century A.D. deals rather with a vision of Zardusht and with eschatology. It is accessible in English and in German: Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 560–563, I'lmā-i-Islām translated; Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, pp. 43–67, Ulemaï Islam übersetzt. See also comment by Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 135, and Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, ii. p. 339, West, in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 123.

7. Dasātīr. This curious collection, with its commentary, professes to be old; but it is criticised adversely by Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411–412. It is quoted by the Dabistān. Some selections, with commentary, from the chapter on Zardusht's philosophy are added here from the only edition with translation that is accessible. The spelling of the edition is preserved practically unchanged, but with a few corrections of accents. The title of the edition reads: *The Desatir or Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets;* in the Original Tongue; together with the Ancient Persian Version of the Fifth Sasan; carefully published by Mulla Bin Firuz Kaus. With English translation. 2 vols. Bombay, 1818.

Dasātīr, p. 120, § 42. 'Now a Wise Man, named Tiânûr,[1] will

[1] Tûtiânûsh, *Pers.*

come from Nûrâkh[1] in order to consult thee concerning the real nature of things.'

§ 43. 'I will tell thee what he asketh, and do thou answer (*his questions*) before he putteth them.'

Commentary. — 'It is said that when the fame of the excellence of the nature of Zertusht had spread all over the world, and when Isfendiâr went round the world, erected fire-temples, and raised domes over the fires; the wise men of Yunân selected a sage named Tûtiânûsh, who at that time had the superiority in acquirements over them all, to go to Irân and to enquire of Zertusht concerning the real nature of things. If he was puzzled and unable to answer, he could be no real prophet; but if he returned an answer, he was a speaker of truth. When the Yunânî Sage arrived at Balkh, Gushtâsp appointed a proper day, on which the Mobeds of every country should assemble; and a golden chair was placed for the Yunânî Sage. Then the beloved of Yezdân, the prophet Zertusht advanced into the midst of the assembly. The Yunânî Sage on seeing that chief said, "This form and this gait cannot lie, and nought but truth can proceed from them." He then asked the day of the prophet's nativity. The prophet of God told it. He said, "On such a day and under such a fortunate star a deceiver cannot be born." He next enquired into his diet and mode of life. The prophet of God explained the whole. The Sage said, "This mode of life cannot suit an impostor." The prophet of Yezdân then said to him: "I have answered you the questions which you have put to me; now, retain in your mind what the famed Yunânî Sages directed you to enquire of Zertusht and disclose it not; but listen and hear what they ask; for God hath informed me of it, and hath sent his word unto me to unfold it." The Sage said, "Speak." Thereupon the prophet Zertusht ordered the scholar to repeat the following texts:'

Dasāt. p. 121, § 44. 'The friend of acuteness will say unto thee, The Nûrâkh[2] Sages ask, What use is there for a prophet in this world?'

[Here follow a number of the supposed questions that will be asked, and then a prophecy is made of Vishtāsp and an account given of how the Avesta came into the hands of Alexander the Great.]

Dasāt. p. 123, §§ 58–59. [The sacred book of the Iranians is referred to in the text and the commentary says, among other things]:

Commentary. — 'That book is the inspired volume which the prophet of God, Zertusht, asked of God that he should send down as his book for the purpose of advice; that when the time of Sekander should arrive, the Destûrs might exhibit it, and he being gratified with it, become more attached to the faith of the Pure. Yezdân, approving of the request of his prophet, sent down a part of

[1] Yunân, *Pers.*; that is, Greece. [2] Yunân, *Pers.*

his word in the form of an Advice to Sekander; and the King (*i.e.* Gushtâsp) placed it, sealed with the seals of the Destûrs, in the Treasury. When Sekander gained the ascendency in Irân, Peridukht Roushenek and the Destûrs delivered that volume into his hands. He read it, applauded the religion of Ahâd (on which be blessings), praised the greatness of Zertusht and the truth of that Religion, and commanded the Moheds that they should make that book a portion of the Desâtîr. That sacred volume is known under the name of Sekander, as it is for his instruction that it was revealed to Zertusht; and the beginning of it is, "In the name of the Giver of Knowledge Mezdâm."'

Dasât. p. 125, § 64. 'O prophet and friend! Hertûsh son of Heresfetmâd! When Senkerâkâs[1] arrived, he was turned into the right road by one fershem of the Navîsshâ,[2] and returned back into Azend.'[3]

Commentary.—'Chengerengâcheh was a sage renowned for his acuteness and wisdom, and the Moheds (wise-men) of the earth gloried in being his scholars. When he heard of the greatness of the prophet of Yezdân, Zertusht the son of Isfentemân, he came to Irân with the intention of overturning the Good Religion. When he reached Balkh, before he had dropped a single word from his tongue, and before he had asked a single question, the prophet of Yezdân, Zertusht, said into him, "Commit not to your tongue what you have in your heart, but keep it secret." He then addressed a Sage who was his disciple, saying, "Read to him one section (Nisk) of the Awesta." In this blessed section of the Awesta were found the questions of Chengerengâcheh with the answers, which He (God) himself had communicated to the prophet; forewarning him, that such a person, of such a name would come; that his first question would be *this*, and that the answer was to be *so*. When Chengerengâcheh saw this miracle, he was converted to the Good Faith, and returning to the land of Hind remained steady in this blessed religion. May Yezdân the Bountiful grant to us and our friends this best of Faiths!'

Dasât. p. 126, § 65. 'Now a Brahman named Birâs[4] will come from Azend very wise, insomuch that there are few such persons on earth!'

§ 66. 'He, in his heart, intendeth to ask of thee, first, Why is not Mezdâm the immediate maker of all things having being?'

§ 67. 'Say thou unto him; Mezdâm is the Maker of all things; and used the medium of no instrument in bestowing existence on the Chief of Angels; but in regard to all other existence he made use of an instrument.'

[1] Chengerengâcheh, *Pers.*

[2] By one Nisk (i.e. Nask or section) of the Awesta, *Pers.*

[3] Hind, *Pers.*

[4] Biâs, *Pers.* Undoubtedly the celebrated Vîâs or Vyâsa.

Commentary. — 'The First Intelligence received being from the Bestower of Being without the intervention of any instrument; while all other beings received existence by the intervention of instruments and media.'

[Here a long series of questions and answers are given to Zoroaster so as to prepare him. The text then continues as follows.]

Page 143, § 162. 'When you have expounded this matter to him, he will become of the true faith, and be converted to your religion.'

Commentary. — 'It is said that when Bîâs, the Hindî, came to Balkh, Gushtâsp sent for Zertusht, and informed the prophet of Yezdân of that wise man's coming. The prophet said, "May Yezdân turn it to good!" The Emperor then commanded that the Sages and Mobeds should be summoned from all countries. When they were all assembled, Zertusht came from his place of Worship; and Bîâs, also having joined the assembly, said to the prophet of Yezdân; "O Zertusht, the inhabitants of the world, moved by the answers and expounding of Secrets given to Chengerengâcheh, are desirous to adopt thy religion. I have heard, moreover, of many of thy miracles. I am a Hindî man, and, in my own country, of unequalled knowledge. I have in my mind several secrets, which I have never entrusted to my tongue, because some say that the Ahermans (devils) might give information of them to the idolaters of the Aherman faith: so no ear hath heard them, except that of my heart. If, in the presence of this assembly, you tell me, one after another, what those secrets are that remain on my mind, I will be converted to your faith. Shet Zertusht said, O Bîâs, Yezdân communicated to me your secrets, before your arrival. He then mentioned the whole in detail from beginning to end. When Bîâs heard, and asked the meaning of the *words*, and had them explained[1] to him, he returned thanks to Yezdân and united himself to the Behdîn, after which he returned back to Hind.'

§ 163. 'In the name of Mezdâm! O Zertusht! my prophet! After thee shall Simkendesh[2] appear, and afterwards the *First* Sâsân, the prophet, shall come and make thy Book known by a translation.'

§ 164. 'And no one but he shall know the meaning of my words.'

Commentary. — 'Hence it was that Shet Sâsân made an *interpretation* of the Book of Shet Zertusht agreeably to its sense.'

8. Dabistān (Persian) gives an account of the Persian religion, and of Zoroaster, and it has often been quoted above. This is accessible in Shea and Troyer's translation: *The Dabistān or School of Manners*, translated from the original Persian, by D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843, vol. i. pp. 211–253.

9. Sources like the Shāh Nāmah, Zartusht Nāmah, Cangranghācah

[1] Since they were spoken in a Persian language which he did not understand.
[2] Sekander.

Nāmah and Mirkhond, have been sufficiently discussed above. For titles and editions of other Persian works on Zoroastrianism, reference may be made to West's Appendix, *The Modern-Persian Zoroastrian Literature of the Parsis* in the *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 122–129.

IV

Allusion to Zoroaster in the Snorra Edda Preface

[Reprinted, with unimportant omissions, from my *Notes on Zoroaster and the Avesta*, in *Proceedings AOS.*, March, 1894, vol. xvi. pp. cxxvi.–viii.]

In the preface to the Younger Edda there is a passage relating to Zoroaster which is perhaps worth recording among the allusions to his name found in non-Oriental literature. The preface to the Snorra Edda, after giving a brief sketch of the history of the world down to the time of Noah and the Flood, proceeds to an account of the Tower of Babel and the dispersion of the races through the confusion of tongues. Foremost among the builders of the tower was Zoroaster; the text adds that he became king of the Assyrians, and that he was the first idolater. In consequence of the confusion of tongues he was known by many names, but chief among these was Baal or Bel.

The text *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, formāli* 2, ed. Jónsson, p. 5, is here given for convenience of future reference: *Ok sā, er fremstr var, hēt Zōrōastres; hann hlō, fyrr enn hann grēt, er hann kom ī veröldina; enn forsmithir voru* II *ok* LXX, *ok svā margar tungur hafa sīthan dreifst um veröldina, eptir thvī sem risarnir skiptust sīthan til landa, ok thjōthirnar fjölguthust. Ī thesum sama stath var gjör ein hin āgætasta borg ok dregit af nafni stöpulsins, ok köllut Babīlon. Ok sem tungnaskiptit var orthit, thā fjölguthust svā nöfnin mannanna ok annara hluta, ok sjā sami Zōrōastres hafthi mörg nöfn; ok thō at hann undirstœthi, at hans ofsi væri lægthr of sagthri smīth, thā fœrthi hann sik thō fram til veraldligs metnathar, ok lēt taka sik til konungs yfir mörgum thjōthum Assirīōrum. Af honum hōfst skurthgotha villa; ok sem hann var blōtathr, var hann kallathr Baal; thann köllum vēr Bel; hann hafthi ok mörg önnur nöfn. Enn sem nöfnin fjölguthust, thā tȳndist meth thī sannleikrinn.*

5 (p. 7). *Ok af thessu hōfst önnur villa millum Krītarmanna ok Macedoniōrum, svā sem hin fyrri methal Assirīōrum ok Kaldeis af Zōrōastre.*

This may be rendered: 'He who was the foremost (builder of the tower) was called Zoroaster; he laughed before he cried when he came into the world. But there were (in all) seventy-two master-builders; and so many tongues have since spread throughout the world, according as the giants afterwards were scattered over the land and the nations multiplied. In this same place was

built a most renowned town, and it derived its name from the tower, and was called Babylon. And when the confusion of tongues had come to pass, then multiplied also the names of men and of other things; and this same Zoroaster had many names. And although he well understood that his pride was humbled by the said work, nevertheless he pushed his way on to worldly distinction, and got himself chosen king over many peoples of the Assyrians. From him arose the error of graven images (i.e. idolatry); and when he was sacrificed unto, he was called Baal; we call him Bel; he had also many other names. But, as the names multiplied, so was the truth lost withal.'

5. '(From Saturn) there arose another heresy among the Cretans and Macedonians, just as the above mentioned error among the Assyrians and Chaldæans arose from Zoroaster.'

This passage is interesting for several reasons.

First, it preserves the tradition elsewhere recorded regarding Zoroaster's having laughed instead of having cried when he was born into the world. [This has already been discussed above, p. 27.]

Second, the two allusions here connecting Zoroaster with Assyria, Chaldæa, and Babylon are to be added to those references which associate his name also with these places (e.g. consult Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 303 seq.); or again they are to be placed beside the statement of the Armenian Moses of Khorene, Thomas Arzrounī and others who make Zoroaster a contemporary of Semiramis, and appointed by her to be ruler of Nineveh and Assyria. (See Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, 1. 682 [and the quotation of the passage in this Appendix].)

Third, in connection with the reputed multiplicity of names of Zoroaster, and the association of his name with *Baal*, *Bel*, attention might be called to the citation in the Syro-Arabic Lexicon of Bar 'Alī (c. A.D. 832) s.v. *Balaam*, 'Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians' (cf. Gottheil, *References*, in the *Drisler Classical Studies*).

APPENDIX VII

NOTES ON SCULPTURES SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT ZOROASTER

THERE is a supposition that we are not wholly without some representation of the personal appearance of Zoroaster, at least according to the conception which prevailed in Sassanian times. One sculptured image, in particular, has been supposed to represent in effigy an ideal of the great Master. It is also stated that there is a picture of Zoroaster in a fire-temple at Yezd, which is said to be taken from an old sculpture that exists at Balkh. This tradition, together with other facts and material on the subject of portraiture of Zoroaster, is given in the following pages. The modern Zoroastrians themselves can doubtless add much more valuable information on this interesting subject. It is hoped that they will do so.

(a) In the first place we may refer to a very old tradition on the subject of an effigy of Zoroaster; this is found in the Syriac work called the 'Oration of Meliton the Philosopher; who was in the presence of Antoninus Cæsar, and bade the same Cæsar know God,' etc. This interesting allusion is quoted by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (p. 27), from the translation of Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855, p. 44, cf. p. 91, n. 36; it mentions an 'image of Orpheus, a Thracian Magus; and Hadran is the image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus.' The special point of importance is that it shows the existence of a tradition as to a representation of Zoroaster.

(b) E. G. Browne, in his valuable work, *A Year amongst the Persians*, London, 1893, p. 374, describes a visit which he paid to three Zoroastrian fire-temples at Yezd. The third temple which he mentions, serves as a theological college for training youths for the priesthood, and it contains a relic of interest. On the walls of one of the rooms of this building, Dr. Browne saw a picture which attracted his notice, or to use the words of his own description (p. 374): 'A picture of Zoroaster (taken, as Ardashīr [the host and guide] told me, from an old sculpture at Balkh), and several inscriptions on the walls

of the large central room, were the only other points of interest presented by the building.' It would be highly interesting if we could secure a copy of this portrait or of its reputed original at Balkh, because this would best represent the modern Zoroastrian traditional idea of the appearance of the great High Priest. Possibly we may obtain it. The mention of Balkh, moreover, is interesting if this be a different representation from the supposed effigy at Takht-i Bostān. Should this be the case, and the location of the sculptured figure be found to be at the old temple Nūbahār, we should have a new proof of the traditional association of Zoroaster's name with Balkh.

(c) The modern Parsi historian Dosabhai Framji Karaka, whose work, *History of the Parsis*, London, 1884, is indispensable to students of Zoroastrianism in our day, presents in his second volume (ii. 146) an idealized colored portrait of the founder of the Faith, which is here reproduced (see Figure I.), without the coloring, however. The portrait is evidently based upon the sculptures next to be described, and it has the value of giving the Parsi conception directly.

(d) The Takht-i Bostān Sculpture. Not far distant from Behistān, and near the city of Kermānshāh (see Map,—square Bc), in the valley of Takht-i Bostān or Tek-i Bostān, on a hillside, is to be found a series of six historic bas-reliefs. The sixth or last of these bas-reliefs comprises a group of four sculptured figures, reproductions of which are presented below, being based upon the copies found in Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia*, etc., London, 1822, vol. ii. 191; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, i. Planche 14, texte p. 6; George Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, London, 1876, p. 64; K. D. Kiash, *Ancient Persian Sculptures*, Bombay, 1889, p. 211; and especially the photographic copy of de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, Paris, 1894, vol. ii. plate xxxiv. p. 104–5; vol. iv. plate xxxv. p. 310–11. The photograph of the sculpture taken by M. de Morgan is so interesting that it seems appropriate to make it accessible to those who cannot consult the valuable original work. A brief description of the possible subject of this four-fold group, which, unfortunately, bears no inscription, is not out of place here.

Sir R. K. Porter (p. 191) records that this rock-sculptured group is called by the natives 'The Four Calendars,' but he does not explain why the name is given (see Figures II. and III.). He regards

the figure on the extreme left (or to the right as we face the picture) as the god Ormazd presenting the ring or emblem of sovereignty to Ardashīr Bābagān, who stands in the centre of the group, 'and both are trampling upon a similar royally-habited figure symbolical of the fallen Arsacidæ.' Of the fourth or remaining figure, the one in which we are particularly interested, Sir Ker Porter says (p. 192): 'The personage to the right of the centre figure [or to the left as we face the group] is of rather a singular appearance. His head is protected by a similar kind of cap, but without the ball, and with the extraordinary addition of a circle of rays blazing round his head and down to below his shoulders. He holds in both hands a fluted staff, or sceptre, of great length. The rest of his vesture nearly resembles that of the murally crowned figure. He stands upon a plant, not unlike a sunflower, the stalk of which is short and thick, and curved down into a lower part of the rock. The prostrate person is greatly mutilated; but his pearl-wreath, collar, and sword show that his consequence was not inferior to the two who trample on him. . . . The radiated personage [the one under discussion] may either be a personification of the Mithratic religion restored by him [i.e. by Ardashīr, the central figure]; which the sunbeams round the head and the full-blown flower rising under their influence at his feet, seem to typify; or the figure may be meant for the glorified Zoroaster himself; some Persian writers ascribing to him the reflected honor of that god-like attribute. The altar-platform near this bas-relief, and also the source of the river (two sacred Mithratic appendages), support the idea that this sculpture contains more than human images.'

Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, new edition, London, 1829, vol. i. p. 545 (cf. earlier edition i. 258), speaks of the two figures with the circle or ring as 'two sovereigns upon a prostrate Roman soldier;' and he adds: 'A figure supposed to be the prophet Zoroaster stands by their side; his feet rest upon a star, and his head is covered with a glory or crown of rays.' And he adds in a foot-note: 'I am informed by the Parsees, or Guebres, that in almost all the paintings or sculptures that represent Zoroaster he is always distinguished by a crown of rays, or glory, as I have described.' This shows, at least, the prevalence of a tradition that representations of Zoroaster were thought to be not uncommon, whatever we may think on the subject. Flandin also believed the radiated figure to be Zoroaster (*Voyage en Perse* de MM. Flandin et Coste, i. 442, Rélation de Voyage, Paris, 1851).

Figure II

A Sculpture at Takht-i Bostān

Edward Thomas, *Sassanian Inscriptions*, in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society of Gt. Brit. and Ireland*, new series, vol. iii. p. 267, n. 3, London, 1868 (= *Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins*, p. 27, London, Trübner, 1868), argues that the figure with the rays and staff represents the god Ormazd, and he bases his identification upon an acknowledged representation of Ormazd in a Naḳsh-i Rustam bas-relief (op. cit. p. 269).[1] As for the rays, he adds in a note that a similar form is given to Ormazd's headgear in a coin of Hormisdas II. The other two figures in our group he regards, as do others, to be the representation of Ardashīr presenting the crown of Iran to his son Shāpūr.[2]

Canon George Rawlinson (op. cit. p. 64) agrees with Thomas that the radiated figure is Ormazd, not Zoroaster; that the other two are Ardashīr and Shāpūr, and that the prostrate figure represents 'either Artabanus or the extinct Parthian monarchy, probably the former; while the sunflower upon which Ormazd stands, together with the rays that stream from his head, denote an intention to present him under a Mithraic aspect, suggestive to the beholder of a real latent identity between the two great objects of Persian worship.' Professor Rawlinson, therefore, like Thomas, is not of the same opinion as those who presume that the figure represents Zoroaster. Similarly also, M. Dieulafoy, *Suse*, iv. 409, and Curzon, *Persia*, i. 563.

The Parsi scholar, Kawasjee Dinshah Kiash, who visited Takht-i Bostān in 1878 and sketched the group, gives, in his serviceable book (*The Ancient Persian Sculptures*, p. 212), an interesting tradition regarding this bas-relief which seems not to be recorded by other writers on the subject. But first we may notice the details that he gives concerning the special figure, which, like the other effigies, stands about seven feet in height. 'The head of the first figure [the one we are discussing] is covered up with a piece of cloth, and a *serpach* flows down the back. He is clad in a short, plain coat, and wears a belt. He holds in both hands a club three feet long and three inches thick. The rays of the sun shine direct upon his head, and a star glitters beneath him.' Kiash next notes that some scholars call this a 'sunflower' rather than a star, and he further describes the other three figures of the group. Then follows the interesting tradition: —

[1] Some notes on sculptured images of Ormazd will appear in my article on *Ormazd* in *The Monist*, Chicago, Dec., 1898.

[2] On the subject of Ardashīr and his history, see Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Kārnāmē ī Artakhshīr ī Pāpakān*, new ed., Bombay, 1896.

'Owing to the deficiency in the inscription, tradition says: "The first figure with the club is that of Prophet Zoroaster, the second is that of Gustasp, the fifth king of the Kayanian dynasty, the third is that of his son, the mighty Asphandiar [Isfendīār], who had established the Zoroastrian religion through the whole of Persia, and the last is that of Arjasp, the grandson of Afrasiab of Tooran, or Tartary. The circlet shows that the whole world is in their possession."'

He then adds: 'The above tradition, I believe, is taken from the Shah Nameh. The Persians take great pride in speaking of their by-gone kings. Ancient and modern writers contradict these statements, and doubtless the figures were not sculptured by the Kayanian kings, but by Ardeshir Babighan, the first ruler of the last dynasty of the Zoroastrians.' Mr. Kiash goes on to say he agrees with the view that the sculpture is of Sassanian origin, that the second and third figures apparently represent Ardashīr and Shāpūr I., and the dead figure is emblematical of the downfall of the Parthian dynasty. As to the first only is he in doubt, 'as it is of peculiar construction and differs from others I have seen in different parts of Persia. On comparing it with the two figures holding clubs at Nacksh-i-Rajab (op. cit. p. 112) and Nacksh-i-Roostum (p. 121), both the dress and crown differ. I am unable to give the name of any religious personage or celestial being, but simply state that it must be a sign of the Mithraic religion. According to the opinion of my co-travellers, it is believed to be a form of the Prophet Zoroaster.'

Whatever may be the origin and worth of the 'tradition' which Mr. Kiash quotes as connecting the figures with Vishtāspa and his contemporaries, it certainly is very interesting in connection with Chapter X. and the characters who act in the drama of the Holy War, especially Arjāsp, the foeman of the Faith, with whom we have become sufficiently acquainted. The statement which the Parsi writer records of the opinion of his co-travellers to the effect that the figure is that of the Prophet Zoroaster, shows, like kindred statements, a preponderance of traditional authority on the side of the Zoroastrians, at least, in identifying this figure with their Prophet. Everything of that kind has its weight and importance when we enter upon the question of such identifications or endeavor to interpret sculptured remains.

The evidence on the subject of this particular sculpture, as we look it over, seems to be about evenly balanced. Tradition apparently favors the identification of the effigy with Zoroaster; the

Figure III

A Drawing of the Takht-i Bostān Sculpture

more technical scholarly opinion of recent times, on the other hand, seems rather to regard the figure as a representation of Ormazd. The claim to Mithraic characteristics is not so easy to recognize. This much may be said in favor of tradition, that the figure would answer well to the glorified image, with 'dazzling wand' and 'lustrous glory' around the head, which is the guise under which the Zoroastrian writer of the Zartusht Nāmah, in the thirteenth century, describes the vision of the Prophet's appearance (see Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 481). It is to be regretted that M. de Morgan (iv. 310; observe his note) does not especially discuss the figure. For the sake of sentiment we should, perhaps, best like to imagine that the whole group really represents a Sassanian conception of a scene from the Holy War of Zoroastrianism, in which the great High Priest figured so prominently, and to which Kiash alludes in his 'tradition'; but, after all, we should have to acknowledge that this is due, perhaps, to our sentiment and fancy.[1]

The whole subject of the portraiture of Zoroaster requires further investigation.[2] Much will doubtless be added on this question from time to time.[3] Let us hope especially that additional information

[1] Murray's *Handbook of Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia*, etc., London, 1895, p. 327, merely gives the common statement that this is a 'Sassanian panel, which is supposed to represent the investiture of Shapūr I. with part of the kingdom, by his father, Ardeshīr.'

[2] A figure has been published as a portrait of Zoroaster in Dr. Wallace Wood's *Hundred Greatest Men*, p. 125, London, 1885, but I have not been able to find authority for attributing the likeness to Zoroaster. It represents the head of a grave-faced priest and counsellor, with the familiar mitre-shaped pontifical head-covering of Sassanian times. On p. 496 of the volume, a note is added that the figure is copied from a bas-relief at Persepolis. Mention is made of Thomas, *Early Sassanian Inscriptions*. The portrait is reproduced as a frontispiece to an article on *Mazdaism* in the *Open Court*, xi. 129, Chicago, 1897. In a following number of *The Open Court*, xi. 378, a Parsi, N. F. Bilimoria, writes that the portrait was new to him and to his co-religionists. As an ideal it is good; but it seems to lack traditional authority. I may learn more about it.

[3] At the moment when I am sending the final proof-sheets to the press, there arrives from my friend Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Harvard University, a prospectus of an important work just issued by Mr. Quaritch of London, and the Harvard Library kindly forwards to me the magnificent facsimile. It is entitled *A Florentine Picture-Chronicle by Maso Finiguerra*, and it is a reproduction of a fifteenth century folio of Italian drawings now in the British Museum. Among these drawings are '14. Zoroaster,' '49. Oromasdes raising the Dead,' and '50. Hostanes.' The 'Zoroaster' is a typical magician with books of black art and imps rather than an antique sage.

or suggestion on this special theme may be obtained particularly from the Zoroastrians themselves. Any material that can be found to throw more light on the problem will be welcomed. The subject is one that is worthy of earnest consideration because it stands, in a certain manner, for an ideal. I shall be glad if these notes have contributed anything by drawing attention to this interesting theme for research. And with these words I close the book, adding only a line which the Pahlavi scribes of old liked to add in the colophon:

Frajaft pavan drūṯ va šāṯīh va rāmišn.

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KEY TO THE MAP

KEY TO THE MAP

1. On Iranian geography, see especially Geiger in *Grundriss der Iran. Philol.* 371–394, where a Bibliography is given.
2. Avestan, Pahlavi, or Ancient Persian names in the list are designat *italics.*
3. Conjectural identifications are indicated by (?) or by 'prob.' (probably)

Abbasabad	Gb
Adarbaijan (Azerbijan)	ABCabc
Airyana Vaejah = Adarbaijan?	ABCabc
Alburz Mts.	CDEFb
Alvand Mt.	Cc
Amu Daria (see Oxus)	
Aras (Araxes)	Ba
Ardabil	Ca
Asnavant Mt. = Sahend?	
Atropatene = see Adarbaijan	
Bactria	KLMbc
Badghis	IKc
Balkh	Mb
Barfrush	Eb
Behistan (Besitun)	Bc
Binalud Kuh	Hb
Birjand	Hd
Bokhara	La
Caecista (*Caecasta*)	Ab
Caspian Sea = prob. Vourukasha	CDEab
Cha-kansur	IKe
Chorasmia (see Kh.)	
Chorassan (see Kh.)	
Daitya river = Kizel Uzen ?	BCb
Darej river = Daryai	Ba
Demavand Mt.	DEc
Dinaver (Dinewer) (not on Map)	Bc
Dranjiana	IKe
Ecbatana (Hamadan)	Cc
Elburz (see Alburz)	
Elvend = Alvand	Cc
Farah Rud	IKde
Fars (Persis)	DEFefg
Ferghanah (in Turkestan, NE)	
Ganzaca	Bb
Ghazni	Nd
Ghilan	Cb
Ghor	Ld
Ghuznee (see Ghazni)	
Gunabad	Hb
Hamadan (Ecbatana)	Cc
Hamun swamp	Ie
Hara Berezaiti (see Alburz)	
Hassar (see Hissar)	
Herat	Kc
Hilmend River	KLMe
Hissar	MNa
Hyrcania	EFGb
Ispahan (Isfahan)	Dd
Istakhr = Persepolis (NE of Shiraz)	Ef
Jagatai Mts.	Gb
Jihun (Oxus) River	IKab
Kabul	Nc
Kaian (Kain)	Hd
Kansava = prob. Cha-kansur	IKe
Karman (see Kerman)	
Kashaf River	Hb
Kerman	
Kermanshah	
Khorasmia	EI
Khorassan	FGH.
Kirmanshah	
Kizel Uzen (Sefid, Safed) River	B
Kuh-i Mish	Gl
Kumish	Gl
Kunduz	N
Kurdistan	ABl
Lake Urumiah	A
Madan	H
Maragha	Bl
Mash-had	Hl
Mazanderan	DEb
Media	CDEbc
Merv	IKb
Meshed (see Mash-had)	
Miandasht	Gb
Mihr	Gb
Murghab River	Kbc
Nihavand	Cc
Nishabur (Nishapur)	Hb
Oxus (Jihun River)	IKab
Parthia	FGbc
Pasargadæ	Ee
Persepolis (NE of Shiraz)	Ef
Persis (Fars)	DEFefg
Radkan	Hb
Ragha (Rai)	Dc
Rai	Dc
Safed, Sefid River (Kizel Uzen)	BCb
Sagastan (Seistan)	IKLde
Sahend, Mt.	Bb
Samarkand	Ma
Sari	Eb
Savalan Mt.	Ba
Sehna	Bc
Seistan	IKLde
Sbiraz	Ef
Shiz (cf. Takht-i Suleiman)	Bb
Sogdiana	LMNa
Spet Razhur	Hd
Susa	Cd
Taberistan	Ec
Tajan River (Thejend)	Eb
Takht-i Bostan	Bc
Takht-i Suleiman	Bb
Teheran	Dc
Tojan = ? see Tajan	
Turan = Turkestan	
Turkestan	FMab
Tus	Hb
Urumiah (Urmia)	Ab
Vourukasha = prob. Caspian Sea	
Yazd (Yezd)	Fe
Zenjan	Cb

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65. No one can see the fire of an Atash Behram, except Dasturs, and Herbads who are Navazud, i.e., who have been qualified with the greater Khub ceremony
66. About the establishment of fire-temples and the care of fire
67. The fifth question from the Gajasta Abalish about the adoration of fire
68. [Gifts for the Atash Behram may be accepted from those of a foreign faith]
69. Fire and water to be kept at a distance from nasa
70. Punishment for bringing nasa in contact with water and fire
71. Do water and fire kill men?
72. Punishment for throwing nasa frequently in water
73. First and second questions from 'Gajasta Abalish' about water and fire
74. Water to be properly preserved from the impurity of nasa and explanation of rain-water falling on nasa in the Dakhma
75. The nasa of the living is the same as nasa of the dead, when taken to fire or water
76. Hihar-nasa (i.e. the bodily refuse of the living and the dead) coming in contact with a heap of corn in corn fields
77. How far should the Barsom and other sacred implements be kept away from the Nasa of the living
78. Difference observed as regards the culpability of the righteous and the wicked, when the bodily refuse of either comes in contact with water or fire
79. Before cultivating land, care should be taken to free it of nasa, if any

80. Proper precautions about nasa to be observed in the cultivation of the fields of a Zoroastrian under the superintendence of Zoroastrian or non-Zoroastrian servants
81. Cultivation of a field held by a Zoroastrian in partnership with a juddin
82. How should a Zoroastrian act when he sees nasa on a piece of land cultivated by a juddin
83. Precautions about dead matter in flowing and stagnant waters
84. Disposal of the nasa of a non-Zoroastrian lying on the road, by Zoroastrians
85. How should nasa lying on the main road be disposed of
86. How should nasa of Behdins or juddins lying in a cultivated field be disposed of
87. Well-water polluted by nasa
88. Water should not be drunk nor spilt unnecessarily at night and other precautions about water
89. How and when should the water of ponds be used
90. Different kinds of water spilt on the earth mixes with sub-soil water at different periods and about the water of Aredvi Sura Anahita
91. Alburz mountain, Farakh-kart sea and Khar-i talata (i.e., the three-legged ass)
92. The Saokant Mountain
93. The Hom-tree and the Kar fish
94. The Khar-i talata and the Hom-tree, according to the 'Minu-khrat'
95. The birds Amrush and Chamrush
96. [The sea-ox Sarsaok]
97. Walking bare-footed
98. Happy and unhappy lands
99. On making water
100. Foundation laying of the Dakhma (i.e., the tana ceremony)
101. Construction of a new Dakhma and repairing an old Dakhma
102. Water collecting in the inner well, of the Dakhma should be let out by boring a hole into it
103. Quotation from Vendidad 3 about the Dakhma
104. About erecting a new Dakhma, and keeping water away from nasa
105. Controversy raised at Surat about the disposal of the corpse of Nanabhai Punjya in a new Dakhma
106. Plan of the Dakhma
107. How should land be cultivated in which a Dakhma or an old astodan (ossuary) stands, or if there is any bodily refuse of the living on it
108. How should nasa be removed by the nasa-salars in the inner well of the Dakhma
109. Ceremonial disposal of the corpse of a person killed by a wild animal
110. Juddins cannot carry the biers of Zoroastrians
111. Precautions to be taken by the nasa-salars and hammals (i.e., the principal and assistant corpse-bearers), if blood or any matter exudes from the body, or if the paiwand is let slip, or if they utter anything without finishing the baj
112. The dasturi formula
113. What should the nasa-salars do, if any open part of their body or their garments comes in contact with nasa
114. How should one purify oneself after coming in contact with a dead dog
115. Precautions observed by nasa-salars when their hands with the gloves on come in contact with any bare part of nasa
116. Sagdid, i,e., the dog's gaze and the kinds of dog required for sagdid
117. Various precautions to be observed while carrying the corpse to the Dakhma: who, besides the nasa-salars, can carry the corpse, in case of necessity?
118. Precautions to be observed with regard to the corpses of persons dying unnatural death
119. Precautions to be observed if death occurs in a Yasna-gah
120. Death in an Atash Behram
121. Nasa on a high road or in a cultivated piece of land
122. Nasa coming in contact with a wooden couch, or a plastered piece of ground or a piece of land set with stones, or with felt-rugs, &c.
123. Death on the upper floor or a terrace; death by hanging; death on the ground-floor; death in a common passage leading to two rooms
124. On a davand throwing nasa the house of a Behdin, out of spite

125. Nasa coming in contact with a wooden structure
126. About the door or threshold of a house polluted with nasa and about horses or draught-animals coming in contact with nasa
127. One coming in contact with nasa should undergo Bareshnum purification
128. Death of a person seated upright
129. Death on a tree
130. How far does pollution go, if one amongst a multitude of men dies
131. Nasa lying in a heap of wood, or in corn, or in corn-fields, or in stalks, or straw
132. Bricks, earth, mortar, dung-fuel, and ashes, &c., coming in contact with nasa
133. Nasa in a jar of wines or of oil
134. Death occurring on the sea
135. How sagdid should be performed over a corpse buried underneath a debris of brick-bats or earth
136. Precautions to be observed by Behdins when juddins carry a corpse
137. Bones of men or animals found in the folds of garments
138. Spines of a hedgehog found in the dung of animals
139. Bareshnum purification to be undergone by one polluted with nasa
140. Difference between the nasa of a Behdin and of a darvand
141. About coming in contact with nasa in mown grass
142. About dead matter crushed with a stick
143. Keeping a lamp or light near a dead body at night, and the1 space of ground polluted by nasa
144. About food cooked in a house where death occurs
145. After how long does the ground of a covered place become pure after death
146. Temporary nasa-khana or, Zad-marg should be erected for the dead
147. When is pollution of nasa worse
148. The shroud (Kafan) for the dead
149. The legs of the dead should be bent, before taking them to the Dakhma
150. Precautions to be observed by the nasa-salars from the time when the dead body lies in the house up to the time when it is finally disposed of in the Dakhma
151. The gah-sarna (Yasht-i gahan)
152. Juddins cannot carry the biers of Zoroastrians to the Dakhma: precautions to be observed by the corpse-bearers
153. Consumption of a corpse by vultures
154. A person going in a funeral procession as well as those who have seen the corpse must, take a bath
155. Fresh meat should neither be cooked nor eaten for three days in a house where death occurs
156. Mourning for the dead prohibited
157. The form which the soul assumes for the first three days after death and the places frequented by it during that period
158. Tars-i Studan ceremony in honour of Srosh
159. How do the souls of the righteous and the wicked feel when the corpses are eaten away by vultures
160. What becomes of the five spiritual faculties of a man after death
161. The journey, to the Chanvad bridge of the souls of the righteous and the wicked
162. On the Srosh ceremony of the dead and the consecration of pure white garments with Darun
163. The dignity of Srosh Yazad
164. Ceremonies of the dead for the whole year
165. White garments (jama-i ashodad) consecrated in honour of the dead
166. Principal ceremonies of the dead for the first year
167. Sidab (rue) to be prepared with garlic on the third day's ceremony of the dead
168. Dahman Afrinagan to be recited on the dawn of the fourth day after death
169. If the three days' after the death of a person have not been performed owing to unavoidable circumstances, they should be performed thereafter
170. The souls of the pious come down here on their rojgar ceremonies
171. Ceremonies of one dying during five Gatha days
172. Invocation, in ceremonies, of a dead person whose name is unknown
173. Ceremonies on the death of a child aged one day up to seven years
174. Children dying aged one day up to 8 years will look like those aged 15 years, in the next world

175. Zinda-ravan ceremony can be performed for a boy or a girl 11 years and 3 months old, and not of one under that age
176. Dastur Noshervan Marzban's last testament: advice to his son as to what he should do after his father's death
177. Ceremonies to be performed for one year on the death of a person aged 15 years and upwards
178. On the bringing up of children
179. On the duty of educating children
180. Submission to the authority of parents and teachers and abstaining from harassing them
181. Which parent is created superior to the other -- the father or the mother
182. Children should not neglect the duties towards their parents
183. Disobedient children to be deprived of patrimony
184. Ritual prescribed for one who dies aged 12 years and under
185. On adoption -- its varieties
186. Proper age of betrothal and marriage
187. On the merit of contracting marriage
188. On negotiating marriage contract
189. Five kinds of marriage
190. The marriage ceremony, the dowry, and the announcement of the mahr, or, the marriage gift
191. The status of the five kinds of wives under different circumstances and the remarriage of widows
192. Patrimony to be divided among survivors
193. On divorce
194. Consorting with one's wife
195. Nocturnal pollution
196. On suckling a child
197. On adultery
198. On the hamemal sin, or, sin affecting the accusers
199. Obedience of wives to their husbands and of children to their parents
200. About menstruous women and the davazda-hamast ceremony performed for the expiation of sins committed by them
201. Treatment of women after childbirth and still-birth and about a woman who dies during her periods or pregnancy
202. About purifying the clothes of the carriers of the dead and those which have become riman (i.e., defiled) otherwise
203. On the purification of metals, stones, etc. which have become defiled
204. On cooking and drinking vessels
205. Pollution of wood
206. Trimming the hair and ceremonial disposal thereof
207. Nail paring
208. On swallowing a tooth unawares: on a sore mouth: on the soreness of any part of the body
209. Blood-letting
210. About a child biting another child
211. About burns and brands
212. About a child falling in water
213. On suckling a child (see p. 196)
214. About a child defiled by coming in contact with the dead
215. Kinds of animals regarded as nasa when dead
216. About Jam and Jame and different species of men and animals
217. The dog zarrin-gosh
218. About protecting a hedgehog and killing a tortoise
219. Story of Jam and Jame
220. Animals, birds, and fish which are fit to be eaten
221. On the lawful slaughter of cattle and fowl
222. Eating unconsecrated flesh of cattle is unlawful
223. Offering the fat of a gospand, lawfully slaughtered, to the fire of the Atash Behram on the fourth day after death
224. Domestic animals to be properly taken care of

225. On the domestic animals and the cock: the head of a domestic animal lawfully slaughtered can be consecrated
226. On wearing silken clothes and on the use of honey and opium
227. On drinking wine
228. On the consumption of ghee or clarified butter prepared by darvands
229. Fruits and vegetables sold by juddins
230. Hot water does not remove druj-i nasush
231. Hides tanned by juddins
232. On killing noxious creatures and on the eating of the flesh of a kharfastar
233. Food gnawed by noxious creatures
234. About the cattle which have eaten dead matter
235. Dead matter taken as medicine
236. How should Barashnom purification be administered to one of a foreign faith, who wished to be cleansed of the pollution by nasa
237. On peaceful and forcible conversion
238. On the treatment of juddins: their conversion
239. Diseases and their remedies
240. Amahraspands and Yazads to be propitiated, to avoid calamities and to ward off diseases
241. The blind and the maimed to be contented with their lot
242. On being grateful to God: Adarbad Marespand on gratefulness -- his miracles
243. How man brings on himself calamities: prevention is better than cure
244. Behdins on attaining to majority should do various good deeds, chiefly six; penalties prescribed for not doing them; enumeration of greater and less sins and margarjan crimes
245. Degrees of crimes and margarjan sins: sins which make one riman or margarjan
246. The merit of Kwedodas
247. On sodomy
248. On padyab (ablution) with gomez and water: story of Ibliis (Satan) and Tehmuras, illustrating the efficacy of bull's urine
249. Nirang to be recited on applying gomez
250. Different prayers to be recited during the five gahs: the duration of each gah
251. The Rapithwin gah: its celebration
252. The Afrinagan of Rapithwin -- when recited: the Afrinagan given in Avesta
253. Afrin-i Rapithwin (p. 303)
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255. Number of Yatha [Ahunwar] to be recited in place of different Avestas
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269. Baj to be recited before and after taking meals, and on eating meals with baj, i.e., by observing silence: the manner of cleansing the mouth after eating: meals not to be eaten by two persons together from the same plate: meals supplied by darwands, not to be taken: cleansing the mouth with hot water after meals and spitting it out on the ground is a sin -- the way in which the mouth and the teeth should be cleansed (p. 310)
270. On fasting
271. On the recital of Afrinagans (p. 313)
272. Dibache, or, Introduction of the Afrinagans

273. The last portion of the Dhup-nirang (or, nirang bui dadan)
274. Afrinagan of Ardafravash, as recited in Iran (to be recited with the karda of Tao ahmi nmane)
275. Afrinagan with the Khshnuman of Mihr
276. Afrinagan of Warharan Yazad
277. Afrinagan of Mino Ram (to be recited on occasions of joy, entertainments, and marriage)
278. Myazd ceremony to be performed five days in a month
279. Khshnuman of the Afrinagan of Rashnu Yazad
280. ... of Ashtad Yazad
281. ... of Anagran Yazad
282. ... of day Ohrmazd, month Frawardin
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284. ... of day Hordad, month Frawardin
285. ... of day Tishtar, month Tishtar
286. ... of day Mihr, month Mihr
287. ... of day Aban, month Aban
288. ... of day Adar, month Adar
289. ... of day Frawardin, month Adar and of day Khwarshed, Month Dae
290. ... of day Vohuman, month Vohuman
291. ... of day Spandarmad, month Spandarman and of Haft Amahraspandan
292. ... of day Hordad, month Spandarmad
293. ... of Nonabar (for the first day)
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296. Khshnuman of the Afrinagan recited on the erection of a new building
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298. Afrinagan Dahman, with Afrinami (with the Persian translation of Afrinami
299. Afrinagan of Gahambar
300. Afrinagan of Gathabyo
301. Afrinagan of Srosh
302. Afrinagan of Srosh recited for the first three days in the Aiwisruthrem gah in a house where death occurs and also on the second day of Nonabar
303. Afrinagan of Siruza (abbreviated)
304. Afrin-i Shash Gahambar (in Persian characters)
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307. Afrin-i Zartosht (in Avesta with Persian translation)
308. Afrin-i Ardafravash (in Persian characters)
309. Afrin-i Buzorgan (in Persian characters)
310. Afrin-i Dahman (in Persian characters)
311. Doa-i Behram Varjavand, i.e., Chithrem Buyad, (Pazend in Avesta characters)
312. Doa-i Hoshedar and Behram Varjavand, to be recited after prayers, especially the Niyayesh -- recited in Iran (in Persian characters)
313. Doa Nam-Setayashna (Pazand in Av. characters)
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315. Doa Nam-Setayashna (Pazand with Persian translation)
316. Marriage ceremony as performed in Iran (Paz. in Av. characters)
317. Doa-i Nekah, i.e., Tandarosti, as recited in Iran after the marriage ceremony (in Persian)
318. Paiman-i Pahlavi, or, Marriage ceremony, as performed India (in Persian characters)
319. Doa-i Nekah, i.e., Tandarosti
320. About Gahambars and the use of Sudab (rue), and Noshirvan Marzban's account of the Gahambars
321. Story of the Gahambar of Noshirvan, the just and Marzban Karsani
322. The Zand or Commentary on Afrinagan Gahambar (Paz. with Persian rendering)
323. The Yasna service as recited in the Gahambars, with the Khshnuman
324. The Yasna service of the five Fravardigan days the five Gatha days

325. Number of Barsom rods to be used in different Yasnas and the Khshnuman of Vendidad
326. The Paragna Ceremony, or, the Ceremony preparatory to the Yasna
327. Number of Yatha to be recited in different Yasnas
328. Barsom rods used in Yasna services
329. Barsom twigs of the gaz (i.e., of the tamarisk tree) only to be used in the service and not of any metal
330. 33 alats or apparatus, round about the Hawan
331. 15 hunar or capabilities of a herbad and the 5 virtues to be acquired by the faithful
332. Nirang is the life of Religion; -- who is a Dastur? -- the five nirangs to be learnt by herbads and the question asked of Adarbad by Husht
333. About acknowledging a Dastur and providing him with one-tenth of one's income
334. Rozgar of the departed relatives
335. Performance of the Darun ceremony
336. The souls of the departed visiting this earth
337. On Farvardegan days
338. Ceremonies of the dead and the Staomi (Y26)
339. The ritual of the Farvardegan days
340. Baj of 1200 Ashem and of 1200 Yatha
341. Darun to be consecrated in the Gatha days, with the Afrinagan of Panji
342. Darun-i Fravashi in the Panji
343. Khshnuman of the Darun of Mino Marespend
344. Rasmaha-i Behdinan (about Farvardigan days)
345. Khshnuman of the Darun of Ohrmazd roz
346. ... Vanant Yazad
347. Ritual of the Farvardegan days
348. Where to recite avanghao and staomi in the Darun consecration
349. Khshnuman of the Darun of day Hordad of the month Farvardin
350. The greatness of the day Hordad of the month Farvardin
351. Darun of Haft Amshaspand and its Khshnuman
352. Nirang of the 5th day of the 12th month (in Pahlavi) and the description of this day
353. The Hordad sal gah and its Khshnuman (6th day of the 12th month)
354. Khshnuman of the Darun ceremony of day Teshtar of month Teshtar
355. [An account of the Tiragan Jashan]
356. Khshnuman of the Darun of day Mihr, month Mihr
357. ... Aban, month Aban
358. ... Adar, month Adar
359. ... Vohuman, month Vohuman
360. ... of Srosh
361. Four Daruns consecrated for the dead on the dawn of the fourth day
362. Zinda-ravan ceremony with the four Darun ceremonies consecrated on the dawn of the fourth day
363. Khshnuman of the Darun-i Safar
364. One going on a journey of 12 farsangs must have darun consecrated in the manner of Warharan Yazad
365. Khshnuman of the Darun of Warharan Yazad
366. Khshnuman of the Darun consecrated with the head of a gospand
367. Khshnuman of the Darun consecrated with the head of fowl or bird
368. Khshnuman of the Darun of Rapithwin
369. Khshnuman of the Darun of Nonabar
370. Khshnuman of the Darun of Siruze
371. Khshnuman of the Darun of Shahin baj
372. How each day of the month is styled and mentioned in the Khshnumans
373. Khshnumans -- greater and smaller -- for each of the 30 days
374. How the days and months and the five Gatha days are mentioned in the Darun consecration
375. The manner of reciting the Yasna, etc.
376. [Ink prepared by darvands should not be used]
377. Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands

378. Loin-cloth should not be worn
379. Parts of the body to be covered while reciting Niyayesh
380. Priests should not eat the food cooked by Behdins (i.e., laymen), nor should they come in contact with them while eating
381. Pronunciation of the compound ao and of s in Spitama
382. Secrets should be written in Avesta or Pahlavi characters
383. Nirang av-padyav yashtan, i.e., consecration of Nirangdin (in Pazand)
384. The same -- twice (in Pazand)
385. How should one act in the nine nights' retreat, after undergoing the Barashnom purification
386. Administration of Barashnom to one who is not riman (polluted)
387. The Indian Parsis asked by their Persian confreres to go to Persia and learn there the technicalities of the ritual
388. Bagh-i Barashnom (i.e., the place where Barashnom is administered); -- how should it be prepared -- with a plan; the qualifications of a Yaozdathragar
389. The consecration of ab and padyab (i.e., water and gomez;) laying out the Barashnom gah, with a plan; administration of the Barashnom to an ordinary person, as well as a riman, etc.
390. Administration of the Barashnom to a riman with a plan of the Barashnom gah
391. Barashnom purification with the retreat of 9 nights; when is this retreat vitiated and when not; the order in which the different members of the body are washed and the manner of drinking gomez
392. About the purification of various things which are defiled
393. Zand or Commentary of Vendidad 9 (abbreviated): and about the Barashnomgar and Barashnom
394. The qualification of a Yaozdathragar
395. On the qualifications of a Yaozathragar and the merit of undergoing the Barashnom purification (composed in verse by Noshirvan Marzban)
396. Qualifications and reservations under which Herbadship, i.e., proper priestly duty should be preformed
397. sudre and Kusti should be in proper order, especially at the time of any consecration
398. Precautions to be observed when there is any bodily refuse within three steps of the ceremonial apparatus
399. Consecrations offered with or without zur
400. About the consecration of Fravashin
401. About the consecration of Vendidad
402. About the performance of Yasna
403. Merit of the performance of various ceremonials as well as of the Gahambars
404. Merit of performance of Vendidad, Yasna, Visperad, and Darun, with or without zur
405. Correct preparation of Darun and Farsast: Symbolism of the Darun
406. The erection of a Dar-i Mihr
407. Reward or retribution for the priest, for proper or improper consecration
408. About the garments worn by priests
409. Punishment of an unqualified Yaozdathragar
410. Four kinds of Yasnas offered to the Yazads
411. About the merit of Yasna and Myazd
412. Manner of reciting and consecrating Vendidad
413. A Yasna service which is virasta and gumani and drayan
414. The proper occasions when the formula avanghao and staomi are recited in the consecration of Vendidad: When is the Khub valid and when vitiated
415. The proper manner of consecrating Darun
416. About the varas (hair) of the sacred bull
417. Barsom twigs to be gathered from the pomegranate or the tamarisk only
418. About the hom sent to India from Iran and about the urvaram
419. The Navazud or Navar initiation
420. Can a Herbad who has gone into a Dakhma be again fit for Herbadship? (see II, p.9)
421. About the division of the dioceses (husht) by the Herbads and their emolument (nirmad)
422. The ceremony of Geti-Kharid or Navazud
423. On Zinda-ravan ceremony
424. Geneology of Zartosht
425. Zartosht and the future prophets

426. The Resurrection
427. The day Hordad of the month Farvardin
428. About 9000 years of existence
429. The faces of the soul
430. The spiritual parts in the body of men: their functions
431. The meaning of dreaming a dream
432. Division of the things of this world into 25 parts
433. Composition of men's body (from `Ulema-i Islam)
434. Mount Alburz
435. The signs of the Zodiac and lunar mansions
436. Seven demons: seven planets: seven heavens
437. Chekat Daiti and Chinwad Bridge
438. {The seven Keshvars}
439. The influence of the stars
440. [Hell]
441. Ten demons residing in men
442. The livelihood of the creatures of Ohrmazd and Ahriman
443. The righteous and the wicked
444. The blind, the deaf and the maimed should be content with their lot
445. Going on a journey without any safeguard
446. The Zand-Avesta
447. Behram Varjavand, the last apostle
448. The Immortals
449. Good and bad effects of drinking wine: About meritorious deeds
450. Yovad-shah, son of Agriras
451. A vow to be fulfilled on the birth of a male child
452. Parahom to be given to a newly born infant for drinking
453. Seven wonderful things invented by Jamshed
454. `Ulema-i Islam (first treatise)
455. `Ulema-i Islam (second treatise)
456. Vohuman Yasht
457. Jamaspi
458. Jamaspi, or Ahkam-i Jamasp (longer version)
459. Sadar Bundehesh
460. Yatha-ahu-vairyo, the foundation of Religion and 101 names of God, with longer commentaries
461. Letter brought by Behdin Bahman Suratya (Punjya) from Kerman
462. Another letter from Turkabad
463. Another letter from Kerman
464. Vasf-i Amshaspandan
465. Mar-nama and Burj-nama
466. Story of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni
467. Story of an ignoble person who backbited the Behdins of Yazd
468. Some verses about Dastur Noshirwan Kermani
469. A year of famine and the dreams of a chaste woman with regard to it
470. Appearance of Mihr Yazad in a dream dreamt by Dastur Noshirwan
471. About the kindling of a lamp and its miracles
472. Story of Jam and Jame -- death of Jamshed
473. A tale of Afrasiab son of Pashang
474. Miracles of Zartosht with regard to the planting of the cypress tree
475. Some statements about religion
476. Story of Mazdak and Noshirwan
477. Noshirwan's enthronement; the marguzan (i.e., dakhma) of Noshirwan and the pilgrimage thereto of Abu Ja'far, the Khalif
478. The Prince of Iran and Omar Khuttab

479. Mino-Kherad (in Persian prose)
480. Iran-gaviz and its climate
481. Var Jamkart
482. Meaning of (l) Nemo-aongham, (2) atha-ima-vacho, (3) Airyama-ishyo, (4) az-hama gunah .... (5) Mazdayasno-ahmi, (6) ahmai raeshcha
483. Meaning of (1) Khshnaothra -- Ashem -- Fravarane -- Panj-gah i fravarane -- baj of Ohrmazd -- Yatha -- Yenghe-hatam and Yesnemcha
484. Some nirangs or incantations
485. Jamaspi (in verse)
486. Zartosht's prophetship -- his miracles and the establishment of Atash Behram
487. Some tales in verse, pointing a moral
488. Arda Viraf Nama
489. Qissa-i Sanjan
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491. Nariman Hoshang's Rivayat
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512. Maktub-i Maneck Changa]
513. [Some technical words, used in the Rivayat's, explained] ----------

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NOTE:

Spelling of Zoroastrian technical terms has been normalized with other texts to facilitate searches:

- Dh: 'Afringan', here: 'Afrinagan'
- Dh: 'Aharman', this ed: 'Ahriman' (Dh also uses Ahriman in places)
- Dh: 'barashnum, bereshnum', this ed: 'barashnom'
- Dh: 'barsam', this ed: 'barsom' (Dh also uses 'barsom' in places)
- Dh: 'Behram', here: 'Warharan'
- Dh: 'Chinvat', here: 'Chinwad'
- Dh: 'div', here: 'dev'
- Dh: 'Khetyodath', here: 'kwedodas'
- Dh: Khorshed, here: Khwarshed
- Dh: 'Meher', here: 'Mihr'

- Dh: Nyaishes, here: Niyayeshes
- Dh: Ormazd, here: Ohrmazd
- Dh: 'Sarosh', here: 'Srosh'
- Dh: 'Zend', here: 'Zand'

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Review of Raphael Patai, *Man and Temple in Jewish Myth and Ritual*

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Review of Raphael Patai, *Man and Temple in Jewish Myth and Ritual*

Abstract
Patai's *Man and Temple* was originally researched and written during the thirties and the forties, when the myth and ritual approach to the study of religions was at its peak.

Disciplines
Cultural History | Folklore | Jewish Studies | Near and Middle Eastern Studies

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BOOK NOTES

FROM CONTRIBUTORS

Man and Temple in Jewish Myth and Ritual. By Raphael Patai. (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1967. Reprint of 1947 edition with a new introduction and postscript. Pp. xiv + 247, index. $5.95.)

Patai's *Man and Temple* was originally researched and written during the thirties and the forties, when the myth and ritual approach to the study of religions was at its peak. Accordingly, he drew analogies between Jewish festivals and other Near Eastern celebrations and considered the water libation rite, the principal ritual with which he was concerned, as a rain-making ceremony similar in kind and pattern to other Babylonian and Egyptian New Year fertility rites. After presenting a detailed reconstruction of this festival as it took place in the Second Temple in Jerusalem, based upon Mishnaic and Talmudic sources, Patai expounds on the mythical connotations of the ritual. These involved, among other things, the conception of the Temple as a symbol of the universe, standing upon the very place from which the creation of the world began, which became in turn the center of the cosmos. These symbols served, according to the myth and ritual hypothesis, the pragmatic purposes of the ritual.

In spite of his acceptance of the theory of the priority of ritual over myth Patai noticed that "in the ritual itself the myth was declared to be the primary element and the ritual secondary" (33). Although the question is no longer considered crucial, this study still has merit. The well-organized presentation of the data and the many references to material scattered in sources not easily accessible make this reprint valuable for future studies of the myths and the rituals in the ancient Near East.

University of Pennsylvania DAN BEN-AMOS
Philadelphia, Pa.

European Folk Ballads. Edited by Erich Seemann, Dag Strömbäck, and Bengt R. Jonsson. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1967. European Folklore Series, vol. 2. Pp. xxxii + 248.)

European Folk Ballads includes among other things a ballad from Russia ("The Robbers' Sister"). The title and the first lines of this ballad, however, bear absolutely no resemblance to Russian. This is probably due to the fact that after the death of Erich Seemann evidently neither of the remaining members of the editorial committee knew Russian. The lines in question appear as follows:

Kak Dvra Mo
Kaky by lato žila da molo do vydova,
molo dato vydo va da vdova pašipa
Ka kyu toj de vydo vy da by do pa šm noj (104).

They should read,

Starina pro vdovu pašinu
Kak byla-to žila da moloda vdova,
Moloda-to vdova da vdova pašina.
Kak u toj le vdovy da bylo pašinoj.

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Sha'ar Ha-Gilgulim (the Gate of Reincarnations), ch. 1-5

from the teachings of Rabbi Yitzchak Luria, translated by Yitzchak Bar Chaim, edited by Shabtai Teicher

The Soul (NRNChY):
נֶפֶשׁ (nephesh), רוּחַ (ruach), נְשָׁמָה (neshamah), חַיָּה (chayah), יְחִידָה (yechidah)

The Worlds (ABYA):
אֲצִילוּת (atziluth), בְּרִיאָה (beriah), יְצִירָה (yetzirah), עֲשִׂיָּה (asiya)

The Partzufim:
אָרִיך אַנְפִּין (arich anpin) long countenance, אַבָּא (aba) father, אִמָּא (ima) mother, זְעִיר אַנְפִּין (za'ir anpin) small countenance, נְקֵבָה דְזְעִיר אַנְפִּין (nekevah deza'ir anpin) female of 'small countenance'

> *"ד- — an Aramaic prefix meaning 'that'. It is parallel to the Hebrew prefix -ש. Example: means דחכא 'that here'. It also means 'belonging', parallel to the Hebrew של. Example: מימרא דרבא — the saying of (the Amora) Rava" (Haim Perlmutter, Tools for Tosafos; Appendix 4: Dictionary; Prefixes; Common prefixes Used by Tosafos).*

The Sephiroth:
כֶּתֶר (kether) crown, חָכְמָה (chokmah) intelligence, בִּינָה (binah) understanding, חֶסֶד (chesed) benevolence, גְּבוּרָה (geburah) courage, תִּפְאֶרֶת (tiphereth) beauty, נֶצַח (netzach) eternity, הוֹד (hod) grandeur, יְסוֹד (yesod) foundation, מַלְכוּת (malkuth) kingdom

Chapter One

Section 1: The Five Names of the Soul

We will begin with what the rabbis wrote that the Nefesh has five names.
From the bottom up they are Nefesh, Ruach, Neshama, Chaya, and Yechida.
Certainly, these names have not been ascribed by chance or convenience. Rather, know that the person himself is the spiritual element within the body, while the body is only a garment for the person—not the person himself. This is what is written, “On the flesh of man do not anoint...” (Ex. 30:32), as is noted in ari, Parashat Bereishit, 20b.
Since man connects all four worlds of ABY”A by necessity, there has to exist within him sections from all four worlds, and each section is called by one of the five names: NRNCh”Y (Nefesh, Ruach, Neshama, Chaya, and Yechida), as we will explain.

Section 2: Spiritual Growth from Level to Level

He does not acquire all of them [all five levels of soul] at one time, but rather according to his worthiness. At first, he obtains the lowest of them, which is called “Nefesh.” Afterwards, if he so merits, he then also attains “Ruach.” This is explained in several places in the Zohar, such as in Parashat Veyechi, and Parashat Teruma, and specifically at the beginning of Parashat Mishpatim (94b): “Come and see: When a person is born, he is given a Nefesh.” All Nefashot are only from the World of Asiya; all Ruchot are from the World of Yetzira; and, all Neshamot are from the World of Beriya. However, the majority of people do not have all five parts, which are called NR”N, etc., but only the Nefesh from Asiya.
However, even this nefesh has many levels, and this is because Asiya itself also divides into five Partzufim, called: Arich Anpin, Abba, Imma, Zer Anpin, and Nukveh de’Zer Anpin.
Before a person can merit to attain his Ruach from the world of Yetzira, he must first be complete in all of the five partzufim of the Nefesh of Asiya.

Section 3: Path Of Rectification

Even though, as is known, there are people whose Nefesh is from Malchut of Asiya, and others who are from Yesod of Asiya, still, every person must rectify the entire spectrum of Asiya. Only then can a person receive his Ruach from Yetzira, since Yetzira is greater than all of Asiya.
Similarly, in order to attain his Neshama from Beria, a person needs to rectify every part of his Ruach in all of Yetzira, after which he can then receive his Neshama from Beria.
It is insufficient for him to rectify only the particular place in which his soul-root is grounded.
Rather, he must rectify [all parts of each level as] we have mentioned, until he is fit [to receive the Nefesh of] all of Asiya, and then he can attain his Ruach of Yetzira. It is this way with all the worlds.
The import of this [above mentioned rectification—tikun] is that one must be involved with [the study of] Torah and [the performance of] mitzvot that correspond to all of Asiya—not just those which correspond to the specific place to which his Nefesh is attached.
This [above mentioned rectification] is [thus also applicable] in the realm of “upholding Torah and mitzvot.”

Section 4: Acquiring Levels of Soul

1. It is not sufficient to only rectify the particular spot to which his soul is connected. Rather, he must rectify (all aspects of each level as) we have mentioned, until he merits all of Asiya, at which time he can achieve his Ruach of Yetzira. It is this way with all the worlds.
2. This means that one must be involved with (the study of Torah) and (the doing of Her) mitzvot….
   Likewise, if a person sins and blemishes a particular spot in Asiya, even though it is not the place to which his Nefesh is attached, he must rectify it.
3. However, if another Nefesh failed to perform a specific mitzva from the world of Asiya, or sinned and blemished [something in the world of Asiya], this does not obligate him to rectify the missing mitzva or the blemish caused by the sin of the other [Nefesh]. If they are both from the same place, [however], then this is not the case, as we will explain later on, with G-d’s help.
4. Alternatively, it is possible that the concept of tikun-rectification applies only to blemishes resulting from sin, and not from the [lack of] performance of any of the 248 positive commandments.
5. Or, the following is possible, and it is the correct [interpretation]. Let us say that a soul is from the Malchut of the Nukveh of Asiya, called the Nefesh of Asiya….
   He will have to rectify all of the malchuyot (plural of malchut): of Ruach, and Neshama, and Chaya, and Yechida of Asiya.
   Someone who only rectifies the Malchut of Asiya only acquires the Nefesh of the Nefesh that is within Asiya.
   A person who also rectifies the Zer Anpin of Asiya acquires both the Nefesh and Ruach from Asiya.

If he also rectifies the Imma of Asiya then he attains the Nefesh, Ruach and Neshama from Asiya. It is the same until he rectifies all five partzufim of Asiya, in which case he will have acquired all the NRNChY.

Section 5: Stages Traversed on Each Level of Soul

Similarly, [this process of spiritual growth continues] in this way, until the person has thus rectified all five partzufim of Asiya, giving him NRNCh"Y, which is called a whole Nefesh of Asiya.
Each aspect of the five levels is complete in its three sections, Ibur, Yenika, and Mochin, alluded to in the verse, "His mother would make him a small robe, etc." (I Samuel 2:19).
Then he merits the Ruach, which comes from Yetzira. On this level there are also five parts, and they make up the complete Ruach of Yetzira. It is the same with respect to Neshama from Beria, Chaya [from the world of Atzilut], and Yechida [which corresponds to the level called "Adam Kadmon"—"First Man"]. However, this is not the place to elucidate.

Section 6: Asiya Is Different Than Yetzira, Beria and Atzilut

It is important to explain a difference between the nefesh of Asiya, and the rest of the divisions, Yetzira, Beria, and Atzilut. This will also help us to answer a difficult question: How can a person, whose root is in malchut of Asiya, be able to ascend to keter of Asiya? Since every Jew must reincarnate until all the aspects of NRNCh"Y are completed, then by necessity every Jew will ascend to the keter of Asiya, [then eventually]) to keter of Yetzira, and [then finally] to keter of Beria. [That being the case, then] all the other [lower] levels would [eventually] become nullified!
However, this is unimaginable. Obviously, there are Jews who are on the level of malchut, and others from yesod, etc., as mentioned at the beginning of Sefer HaTikunim: "There are 'leaders of thousands of Israel' from the side of keter, 'wise men' from the side of chochma, and 'men of understanding' from the side of bina…."
However, the explanation is based upon the difference between Asiya and all the other three worlds.
For, someone whose root is in the malchut of Asiya is obviously rooted there specifically. Yet, by rectifying his actions he can purify his nefesh, level after level, until it actually reaches and becomes part of the keter of Asiya.
Nevertheless, though it ascends to the keter of Asiya, even there it remains on the level of the malchut of the keter of Asiya, since its root is on the level of malchut specifically.
However, he must be purified until he actually ascends to the keter of Asiya, even though it will only be called the level of malchut of keter of Asiya. This is true regarding any of the levels of Asiya [to which he may ascend]: he will only be considered the malchut of that level.
However, concerning Yetzira, Beria, and Atzilut, it [the process] is different. A person whose soul-root is malchut of Yetzira who has rectified and completed that level, also receives a ruach from the yesod of Yetzira after he has also purified and rectified the yesod of yetzira.
The first ruach that he had from the Malchut of Yetzira remains below [in its original place] in the Malchut of Yetzira, since that is where it belongs.
Likewise, when he completes the hod of Yetzira, he leaves the second ruach that he had from yesod in yesod of Yetzira, and instead he receives a ruach from the hod of Yetzira. And this is the way it continues up to the keter of Yetzira.
Since he has rectified all the levels of his nefesh from Asiya, he is able to receive ruach from all levels of Yetzira. It will be likewise with respect to the Neshama from Beria.
The reason for this difference is that Asiya is the lowest of all worlds, and is, therefore, encompassed by the kelipot.

Consequently, even though a person has already rectified the root level of his nefesh in Asiya, still, if he leaves it on that level, there is a fear that the kelipot there will latch on to it.
Therefore, he must constantly refine his actions until he rises as high as he can, until he reaches his root in the keter of Asiya.
However, in the World of Yetzira, and how much more so in the worlds above it, there is no fear of the kelipot latching on, as there was in Asiya.
Hence, when a person rectifies the root of his ruach in Yetzira, he can rectify another ruach from a higher level. Then the first ruach can remain in its place, in his root. He can acquire a second from a higher place without having to raise up the first ruach to a higher place because the fear (of the kelipot latching on) is not there (in the world of Yetzira).

Section 7: To Be Like Moshe Rabbeinu

The following is the esoteric meaning of the verse, "G-d spares [yisa] no one [nefesh]; He considers thoughts so that no one be banished from him" [II Samuel 14:14]. These considerations – that no one be banished – are only for the sake of the nefesh, since the nefesh is in Asiya, and thus, because of the kelipot there, in danger of being "banished from him."
Therefore, because of this concern the remedy for the nefesh is that "G-d does spare—yisa—the nefesh."
In other words, G-d does not "lift up" [noseh] and raise a person in order to give him another nefesh from a higher level than that of his actual root. That would necessitate leaving behind the first one in its place, leaving it vulnerable to the kelipot there.
Acordingly, He [G-d] does not give him another nefesh, more elevated and exalted. Rather the original nefesh itself ascends upward according to the person’s actions, up until the level of the keter of Asiya. He never possesses any other nefesh.
However, this is not the case in Yetzira and the other worlds, where his ruach or his neshama, etc., remains on the level of its root. Instead, the person earns an additional, higher, ruach commensurate with the perfection of his deeds, as discussed earlier.
This is the esoteric meaning of the well-known statement: Every person can be like our teacher Moses [i.e.,] if he is willing to perfect his actions. For [by doing so] he continues to acquire higher levels of ruach until [he finally attains] the uppermost level of Yetzira. Similarly, [this advancement continues, and a person can ultimately obtain] a neshama from the uppermost part of Beria, etc.

Section 8: Help from Heaven

According to this, you can also understand another well known concept of our rabbis: ruchot or neshamot of the righteous are infused into a person, in accord with the esoteric principle called "ibur," to assist a person in his service of G-d.
As is written in Midrash Ne’elam, [still] in handwritten manuscript [form], concerning the statement that "Someone who comes to purify himself, they help him."
Rebbe Nathan said: The souls of the righteous come and help him.
The same is found in the Introduction to the Zohar, on Genesis, where Rav Hamnuna Sabba came to Rebbe Elazar and Rebbe Abba in the appearance of a donkey loader, etc.
Undoubtedly, the ruchot and neshamot of tzadikim are "hidden away" and "bound up" with the "Bundle of Life", each in his respective root, and G-d does not cause them to descend at all. However, what descends are the ruchot that remained behind at each level of Yetzira, and which did not ascend, as we have spoken about. It is these that descend and enter other people to help them. However, the highest level of ruach that the righteous person acquired as a result of his deeds is bound up forever with the "Bundle of Life" [after he dies], and it does not move from there. This is true concerning the [levels of] neshama, chaya, and yechida as well.

Section 9: Asiya Is Only One Sefira

There is a second reason for the difference between Asiya and the other worlds. As known, all the worlds have ten sefirot [collectively]. Now Asiya, in its entirety, has only one sefira [of the collective ten], the sefira of malchut.

Thus, the nefesh that is there is able to rise as high as the keter of Asiya, because it is all one sefira.

However, Yetzira corresponds to six sefirot: chesed, gevura, tiferet, netzach, hod, and yesod, each of which is a separate level. Therefore, if someone's root is the malchut of Yetzira and it becomes rectified, it cannot ascend and become part of the yesod of Yetzira. It must remain below and he will have to acquire a new ruach from the yesod of Yetzira if he wants to become elevated through his actions. This is true of the rest of the "Six Extremities" as well.

The five partzufim in every world— Arich Anpin, Abba, Imma, Zeir Anpin, and Nukva—correspond to the five levels of a person's soul, which are from the bottom to the top: nefesh, ruach, neshama, chaya, and yechida.

Nefesh is from the Nukva [Malchut] of Zeir Anpin, whereas ruach is from Zeir Anpin itself.

Neshama is from Imma [Bina], and chaya is from Abba, which is called chochma because that is the place of life, as it has been taught concerning the verse, "Wisdom gives life to its owner" [Eccles. 7:12].

Yechida is from Arich Anpin, called keter, because it is alone and special with respect to the rest of the sefirot because it lacks a "female" counterpart.

This is known from the verse, "See now that I, I am He" (Deut. 32:39), as elucidated in the Zohar, in Parashat Bereishit.

Section 10: Gilgulim and Ruchot of Righteous People

Know, that if a person merits to obtain his nefesh, ruach, and neshama, and then blemishes them through sin, he will have to be reincarnated to rectify the damage.

When he returns in a gilgul with his nefesh and he rectifies it, his ruach will not join him. This is because his ruach remains blemished, and it cannot rest upon a rectified nefesh.

Therefore, his [blemished] ruach will be reincarnated into another person, joining up with the nefesh of a convert. The neshama will likewise do the same.

And the nefesh that was rectified will receive a rectified ruach of a righteous person who was similar to him in some of the particular good deeds that he performed. It will actually take the place of his own ruach. Similarly, if he rectifies his [blemished] ruach completely, then he will receive a neshama from some righteous person, which will act in place of his own neshama. This is the esoteric meaning of what Chazal say: "Righteous people are greater in death than during their lifetimes [Sanhedrin 47a]."

Now, after this person dies, his [own rectified] nefesh will go togther with this ruach [of a righteous person] and through it [i.e., the ruach] receive the blessing fitting for itself. When his own ruach, which joined with the nefesh of a convert, becomes completely rectified, then his original nefesh will say, "I will go and return to my first husband," since it has been rectified.

It works in the same way for the neshama with respect to the ruach. After a person dies, they return in a gilgul and achieve tikun together.

Chapter Two

Section 1: Concerning the Entry of Nefesh, Ruach and Neshama

When a person is born, his nefesh enters him. If he is adequately rectified through his actions, his ruach will enter him at the end of his thirteenth year when he becomes a "completed person." His neshama will enter him only when he completes his twentieth year, as it says in the Zohar (Mishpatim 94b).
However, if he does not completely rectify his ruach, then the neshama will not enter him and he will remain with only his nefesh and ruach. Likewise, if he doesn't completely rectify his nefesh, then he will remain with only his nefesh, lacking both his ruach and neshama. The ruach and neshama will remain in a place known to The Holy One, Blessed is He, and there a place will be prepared for each one.
Now, if a person does not completely rectify his nefesh the first time and dies, then his nefesh will have to reincarnate, perhaps even many times, until it is sufficiently rectified. However, since he only achieved tikun through a gilgul, even after complete rectification is achieved his ruach will not enter (unless there is a pressing need, as will be explained, G-d willing).
He will have to die and return in order to receive the ruach. Furthermore, once the ruach is sufficiently rectified, then he will also have to reincarnate before receiving a neshama, as was the case with the ruach.
If the ruach is not sufficiently rectified, then the nefesh and the ruach will have to come back again, perhaps many times, until the ruach is rectified. Once rectification is achieved, then the person will die and his nefesh and ruach will come back with the proper neshama until all three are rectified. Once this is done, there is no need for any further gilgulim. When his neshama is completed, he has become a "complete person."

Section 2: Different Levels of Rectification

If a person rectified his nefesh, and came back to receive and complete his ruach, but during that gilgul he sinned, then his nefesh will not be affected in such a way that it would be forced to come back by itself to become rectified once again.
Rather, because he now has a ruach, the sin will only damage the ruach, and only this will need rectification. Therefore, if an additional reincarnation is necessary to rectify the ruach, then both the (rectified) nefesh and the (blemished) ruach will come back again together. This will continue until the ruach is rectified, after which he will have to die in order for the rectified nefesh and ruach to reincarnate with the neshama. If he has accomplished this and then sins, then it will only damage the neshama, just as we explained with respect to the tikun of ruach.
It can also happen that the nefesh becomes rectified and purified to such a great extent that it need not come back again with the ruach for the rectification of the ruach. Rather, the nefesh remains Above in a place fitting for it, "bound up with the Bundle of Life."
In such a case, the ruach would have to come back alone to rectify itself. However, this is not possible. Therefore, it reincarnates with the nefesh of a convert, as it says in (Zohar) Sabba d'Mishpatim. They will reincarnate together until the ruach is rectified.
Once that is achieved, then the person dies and the first nefesh comes back to join with it (the ruach) in order to receive and rectify the neshama.
Or, the ruach may come back by itself with the neshama until the neshama is rectified, after which time the three of them no longer need to return and are instead "bound up with the Bundle of Life," as is fitting for them.
The nefesh of the convert that was joined to the ruach has helped it to perform good deeds in this world, and has been a vehicle for it in this world; through their union the ruach was able to achieve its tikun. This nefesh of the convert will also become elevated with the original nefesh of this particular ruach. The two of them will be on the same level in the World to Come, like "neighbors," and they will never part from one another.

Section 3: The Rectified Nefesh Can Receive an Ibur

If a nefesh reincarnates and becomes rectified through its actions to the point that it is ready for its ruach, he cannot receive his ruach, as it has been explained. (If it is not his very first gilgul, then) two or three levels of soul cannot become unified in one gilgul without great need, as we will mention later. Rather, each one requires its own gilgul.

First the nefesh needs to be rectified, and even when this happens he will not receive his ruach until after he dies. Then the nefesh can reincarnate and merit the ruach. The same is true of the two of them; if they become rectified to the point that they are ready for their neshama, they cannot receive it until they reincarnate again. Then they can merit their neshama.

What happens for the nefesh that is already rectified but lacks a ruach?

This is the sod: From the same level of purity and extent of tikun attained by this nefesh, there will reincarnate into the body of this person, while he is still alive, the nefesh of a righteous tzadik that has already completed gilgulim and rectification, and does not need to reincarnate here. By entering here, the nefesh of this tzadik takes the place of the ruach of this person.

Sometimes, it is even possible for the souls of early tzadikim, such as the nefesh of our patriarch Abraham, or similar souls, to reincarnate. This depends upon the tikun and purification of the nefesh of the person.

Gilgulim (of this type) which occur during the lifetime of a person are called by the rabbis, "sod ibur." And this is the basic difference between a regular gilgul and an ibur.

Section 4: Ibur of Righteous Souls

Sometimes it is possible, even in this late period of history, for the ruach of a righteous tzadik, even from one of the Forefathers, to come as an ibur. It will all depend upon the level of the mitzvot being performed by the person. Some mitzvot have the power to draw down the nefesh of a righteous tzadik into ibur, whereas others can draw down the ruach of the tzadik.

It is also possible for a person to receive the nefesh of one righteous person, and after that merit another nefesh from another righteous person, even greater than the first. In such a case, he will have his own nefesh, the nefesh of the first righteous person as his ruach, and the second, higher nefesh, acting in the place of his neshama.

Or, perhaps, the nefesh will be perfected to the point that after already receiving the nefesh of a righteous person, he will merit the ruach of a second righteous person, even possibly the ruach of Abraham the Patriarch!

This is the inner meaning of what they wrote in the Midrashim, in particular Midrash Shmuel: There is no generation in which there is not someone like Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, etc. (Bereishit Rabba 56).

There is no pen that will prove sufficient to record all the details in a book. Nevertheless, an understanding person will comprehend and make the necessary inferences on his own.

In summary, based upon the tikun and purification of a particular nefesh, it can even merit a neshama from the earliest generations, including the most elevated of all; and it can happen even in this generation of ours.

Furthermore, it is exactly the same when a nefesh and ruach reincarnate together and become rectified, but are unable to acquire their neshama without first dying and reincarnating. They can receive the nefesh, ruach, or neshama of a righteous tzadik as an ibur, and it will act as their neshama. All the details that were described in the case of the nefesh alone that has completed its tikun will apply here also.

On occasion, it can happen that all three levels of soul will reincarnate together and become rectified. Then the nefesh or ruach of a righteous tzadik may impregnate him (as an ibur). When he leaves this world he will ascend to the same level as the righteous tzadik that came to him as an ibur. In the World to Come they will actually be on the same level.

This is the inner meaning of what is written in the introduction to Zohar Bereishit (7a): Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai fell on his face and he saw Rav Hamnuna Sabba. He said that in "that world" (the World to Come),

both he and Rav Hamnuna Sabba would be shining together.
This is enough.

Section 5: Reason for Ibur of Righteous Souls

Ibur occurs for two reasons. First, through the ibur of the righteous, the nefesh of a person can become rectified to the level of the nefesh of the righteous tzadik. In the World to Come he will ascend to that level since the righteous tzadik will have helped him to add mitzvot and holiness to his life. This reason serves the person [receiving the ibur] himself.
The second reason is for the sake of the righteous tzadik who was the ibur. By helping the other person to perform mitzvot and rectification, he gains a portion in them. This is the sod of what Chazal wrote: Great are the righteous people, for even in death they merit children (Sanhedrin 47a). In other words, when they cause the person to increase his merit they become like "fathers" who guide and help. This is to his merit.
The righteous soul which enters a person and assists him during his life, as an ibur and not as a gilgul, "easily attains reward and is distant from loss."
Every time the person does a mitzvah, he (the righteous soul) receives reward. This is the secret of what is written, "A righteous person receives his reward and the reward of his friend in Gan Eden (the Garden of Eden)" (Chagiga 15a). Understand this deep secret well, though now is not the time to discuss it at length.
On the other hand, if the (host) person does evil, the righteous soul will not suffer any punishment or loss since he only came to help him, not to cause him evil. On the contrary, if this person negates what he rectified, then the righteous soul will leave him.
The sod of ibur is that it occurs during a person's lifetime and therefore does not bind (the nefesh of the righteous tzadik) to the body. This is unlike a nefesh that reincarnates, that enters as a gilgul from the time of birth and is unified and bound with the body without exiting from there until death. On the other hand, the nefesh of the righteous tzadik enters as an ibur willingly and leaves at will. If the person continues to act righteously, then the righteous soul will remain there in order to receive a portion in the actions of the person. It will remain there until the host dies, when they will both go up to the same place, as mentioned previously.
However, if the person does evil, then the righteous soul will become disgusted with this union and leave it. He is not permanently there, but "borrowed," like a guest who remains with his host until he feels it is time to leave.
For the same reason the righteous tzadik will not feel any pains that may occur to the host person and he does not have to suffer them, because he is not "attached" to the body; he is only "borrowed."
The rule is that a person who performs a mitzvah of great importance can merit an ibur of the nefesh of a righteous tzadik from an earlier generation. As a result, it is possible [for him] to become rectified and purified to the point that his nefesh will actually become transposed onto the same level as that of the righteous tzadik. Afterwards, the person will have to rectify his ruach and neshama to such an extent of purity that they will be worthy to be clothed by this nefesh.
Then he will actually become transposed [in his entirety] onto the level of the righteous tzadik, having ascended beyond the original root-level of his soul from whence he came. All of this is the reason for the help and assistance of the righteous soul.

Section 6: Soul Combinations

It is also possible for the nefesh of a person to ascend until his nefesh will be from the world of Atzilut.
Generally speaking, the nefesh is from Asiya, the ruach is from Yetzira, and the neshama is from Beria.
However, on a more specific level, each world has its own levels of nefesh, ruach, neshama (NR"N).
Hence, it can be that sometimes the NR"N of a person is from Asiya, Yetzira, and Beria.
Sometimes, though, his NR"N can be from the malchut, the Zeir Anpin, and the Imma of Asiya.

Sometimes, the three of them will be from Yetzira, or from the world of Beria, or all of them will be from Atzilut. (In the latter case,) the nefesh will be from the nukva of Zeir Anpin (malchut of Atzilut), the ruach from Zeir Anpin (Yetzira of Atzilut), the neshama from Imma (bina of Atzilut), and the Chaya from Abba (chochma of Atzilut).
Another combination can be the nefesh from Asiya, and the ruach and neshama from Yetzira. Or, the nefesh can be from Yetzira and the ruach and neshama from Beria. Alternatively, the nefesh can be from Beria while the ruach and neshama are from Atzilut.
This is possible because the four worlds, ABY"A (Atzilut, Beria, Yetzira, Asiya), are each comprised of four (sub-)worlds of ABY"A and their own set of ten sefirot. Those ten, in turn, are comprised of their own ten sefirot, and so on.
Sometimes, the three of them will be from Yetzira, or from the world of Beria, or all of them will be from Atzilut. (In the latter case,) the nefesh will be from the nukva of Zeir Anpin (malchut of Atzilut), the ruach from Zeir Anpin (Yetzira of Atzilut), the neshama from Imma (bina of Atzilut), and the Chaya from Abba (chochma of Atzilut).
Another combination can be the nefesh from Asiya, and the ruach and neshama from Yetzira. Or, the nefesh can be from Yetzira and the ruach and neshama from Beria. Alternatively, the nefesh can be from Beria while the ruach and neshama are from Atzilut.
This is possible because the four worlds, ABY"A (Atzilut, Beria, Yetzira, Asiya), are each comprised of four (sub-)worlds of ABY"A and their own set of ten sefirot. Those ten, in turn, are comprised of their own ten sefirot, and so on.
However, when we say that sometimes the NR"N is from Yetzira, or from Beria, it does not mean that he lacks a nefesh from Asiya! After all, even the Shechina is called "Malchut" and It "nests" in Asiya. How much more so the nefesh of a person!
Rather, what it means is that the nefesh originated from Asiya, but that it became so purified that it cannot be sensed in comparison to the (newly acquired) light of the nefesh of Yetzira within him.
Therefore, it is all called the nefesh of Yetzira.
It is the same for all the aspects: when we say that his NR"N is from Atzilut, really he has a nefesh, ruach, and neshama from Asiya, Yetzira and Beria (respectively). However, they are not referred to by their names, and all of them are considered secondary and referred to as being from Atzilut.
You can apply this concept to any of the other details that have been mentioned.

Section 7: Yibum -- A Special Case

Within the concept of gilgulim there is a distinction between reincarnation into any body that may be ready for his gilgul, and reincarnation through a brother, which is the sod of yibum.
In a normal gilgul, the nefesh, ruach and neshama (NR"N) do not reincarnate together, or even two at once. Only the nefesh reincarnates until it is rectified. Afterwards, in another gilgul, the nefesh and ruach return together until they are rectified. When that occurs, then the entire NR"N (reincarnates together) until the neshama is rectified, which completes his gilgulim. Or, sometimes each of the three reincarnates individually (and achieves tikun independent of the others): the ruach with another nefesh in another body, and the neshama with a different nefesh and ruach in a different body.
However, when a man reincarnates through his brother, the entire NR"N may do so together.
Chaim Vital says: It seems from Sabba of Mishpatim that even with respect to yibum all three do not come back together, but only the nefesh and the ruach without the neshama. This requires further investigation.

Chapter Three

Section 1: Ibur While Alive

Ibur takes place during a person's lifetime, as we have already mentioned.
Normally, ibur takes place during a person's lifetime; it involves parts of soul that come to a person years after he is born. Gilgul, on the other hand, involves parts of soul that a person is born with. They reincarnate from the time he is born, and they stay with him until the end of his lifetime.
Sometimes a certain mitzvah may come before a person, and he performs the mitzvah as it should be done. At that point the nefesh of an earlier righteous person who had performed this same mitzvah correctly will join the person as an ibur, since they are alike with respect to this mitzvah.
Not only this, but it is also possible that the righteous person is alive during his lifetime, and still ibur can occur. Thus, if a person performs a particular mitzvah or mitzvot relevant to a righteous individual who also performed correctly, then the nefesh of that righteous tzadik can enter the person, even while they are both alive at the same time.
This is the secret meaning of the verse, "The nefesh of Jonathan became attached to the nefesh of David" (I Samuel 18:1). In other words, even while they were both alive, the nefesh of David was joined with Jonathan as an ibur.
This accounts for the strong soul bond they had while they were alive.

Section 2: The Effect of The Sin of Adam

With respect to the concept of gilgulim, we will begin the discussion with Adam HaRishon, the First Man, to more easily grasp the matter.
To begin with, when Adam HaRishon sinned he blemished all the sparks (nitzutzot) of his nefesh, ruach, and neshama. Just like a person's body contains many sparks throughout his 248 Limbs and 365 Tendons, and consequently there are many sparks in his head, in his eyes, and in every limb--it is the same with a nefesh as well.
The Midrash Tanchuma (Ki Tisa 12) and Midrash Rabba (Ex. 40:3) provide an explanation for the verse (Job 38:4), "Where were you when I founded the earth?"
When Adam was created, the Holy One, Blessed is He, showed him every righteous person who would ever descend from him: from his head, his hair, his neck, his two eyes, and some from his nose. His ruach is also divided in this way, as is his neshama.
When he sinned, he blemished the majority of the sparks of his nefesh, ruach, and neshama, causing them to become immersed in the kelipot.
This is the sod of what is written in Sefer HaTikunim (Ch. 5), on the verse, "like a bird that wanders from her nest …" (Proverbs 27:8). The Divine Presence is exiled amongst the kelipot. The (souls of the) righteous tzadikim wander after Her from place to place.
The place to which the sparks are exiled in the realm of the kelipot is according to the aspect (of the soul of Adam) from which they have come. If they have come from the head, then they are exiled into the head of the kelipot; if from the eyes, then to the eyes, etc. This is the sod of the idea of the "exile of the souls" that is mentioned there.

Section 3: Rectification or Additional Blemish

Cain and Abel, the sons of Adam HaRishon, committed their own sin in addition to that of their father and thus caused their sparks to become more deeply immersed in the kelipot.
However, in each generation some of the sparks reincarnate into the world to become rectified.

The level of the "quarry" of the souls of a particular generation can be either that of the sparks of the head, or the eyes, etc.

Section 4: Intermediate Category -- Ibur from Birth

Some reincarnate to become rectified, but they are not (entirely) careful and sin. Such a spark will become immersed again in the kelipot, with all the (minor) sparks that derive from it and depend upon it.
What we are considering here is an intermediate case that includes both gilgul and ibur.
All the sparks of the nefesh, even those that are already rectified, return in a complete gilgul at the time of birth with the individual spark that was damaged. They do not separate from one another until the day of death.
However, the rectified sparks reincarnate as an ibur.
They do not share in the sins of this body, only the merits. It is similar to the souls of righteous tzadikim who have died and come as an ibur during a person's lifetime and not at birth.
Thus, a spark that has not been rectified whatsoever by the performance of those mitzvot to which it is related or [has not been rectified] as a result of transgressing those sins from which there is no revival must reincarnate into a second body, which will be named for that spark.
However, sparks that have achieved rectification through the performance of mitzvot, but have also been blemished through the transgression of "light" sins, only reincarnate as an ibur of the sort mentioned previously (i.e., ibur from birth), even though it is also a gilgul.
In contrast, there are sparks that have not been blemished through sins after having been rectified by mitzvot.

Section 5: Summary and Completion

Thus, what we have learned (from the previous section is as follows):
The main part of the gilgul associated with the body is specifically that part which was damaged. The other parts of the soul previously rectified in other reincarnations only return as aspects of ibur. When the part which is associated with the body performs a mitzvah in this world, the other parts share a portion of the mitzvah, since they have assisted in the performance of the mitzvah, as explained earlier concerning the soul of a righteous tzadik that comes as an ibur. Since they only come to assist for the sake of good they do not share the punishment when the main nefesh transgresses.
When a person reincarnates, the entire nefesh returns. However, the essence of the gilgul is only the part that sinned in a previous body and returns to become rectified. It is associated with the body, and reward and punishment are applicable to it. However, the rest of the nefesh takes part in the reward but not in the punishment.
Now, the nefesh in its entirety suffers and receives punishments in the existing body, besides what was suffered by the sparks in previous bodies. And it will suffer as well the pain of death and the pain of what comes after death. Consequently, there is atonement for the earlier ("light") sins. Moreover, through the mitzvot of previous gilgulim and the present one in which they have a portion, as we have said, the tikun of the nefesh becomes complete.
However, if they had a portion in the (present) sins as well, there could never be tikun for the nefesh. A person usually sins, and this would only add sin to sin and there would be no end to it!
However, since the rest of the nefesh does not share responsibility in the evil of this spark -- only in its merits, sins can be atoned for and not increased. New merits can be added through each gilgul. There can be a conclusion to the cycle of reincarnations and tikun for the nefesh. Understand this well.
In this way, the nefesh achieves completion in all it's sparks; through reincarnation completion is achieved for all the sparks from the "head" of the nefesh to its "feet".
Once the "feet" are reached, then Mashiach will come, as it says in the Zohar (Parashat Pekudei pg. 258, and the end of Parashat Vayakhel).

Section 6: Between Yibum and Gilgul

Yibum is not like gilgul because it is for a different reason. When it comes to the rest of the sins of the Torah, rectification can be achieved through suffering in this world and after death in Gehinom (Purgatory). Thus, not all sparks of the nefesh need to reincarnate, but they may come back only as an ibur of the type mentioned in the previous section. Only specific sparks actually reincarnate.

However, yibum occurs because the person died before having children, a lack of success that makes it as if he never came into the world, as if his first body did not exist at all, as it says in the Zohar (Vayashev 187a). Therefore, the entire nefesh that was in the first body must return again for its own sake.

In the end, it is the second body that becomes his main one. After rectification and death in this world the nefesh will resurrect only in this second body. There will be no soul to enter the first body, other than the "ruach [spirit] that he put into his wife", as it says in Sabba of [Zohar] Mishpatim.

This is the difference between someone who has died without leaving children and must return in the secret of Yibum, and one who dies with sins and must reincarnate.

All the details we have explained regarding the sparks of the nefesh apply as well to ruach and neshama.

Section 7: A Second Difference

There is another difference between yibum and gilgul, which was mentioned at the beginning of this analysis. If a person reincarnates in the secret of yibum, his first body is considered as if it had never existed at all. For this reason, the entire nefesh returns as a new creation. It is possible, therefore, that the ruach and neshama can reincarnate together with the nefesh, though not all at one time.

When he merits and performs mitzvot fitting for the ruach, then it will enter him; and it is the same with respect to the neshama. About a person who came into the world for the first time the Sabba of [Zohar] Mishpatim explained, "If he merits more, they bring him a ruach; if he merits more, they bring him a neshama, etc." This is not the case, as we have explained, for someone who reincarnates.

Therefore, someone who returns in the secret of yibum is similar to a new creation, and he is able to achieve his nefesh, ruach and neshama (NR”N) in one gilgul, if his actions warrant it, as was mentioned. This is the esoteric meaning of the verse, "If he sets his heart upon it, then he would gather into himself his ruach and his neshama" (Job 34:14). This is understood in Sabba of [Zohar] Mishpatim in a deep way to refer to one who has returned in the secret of Yibum.

Just as the brother-in-law has the ability to return a portion of the nefesh of his brother into this world through yibum, so too can yibum itself collect and return to the nefesh both the ruach, and neshama. However, it must be dependent upon good deeds, just as it says, "If he sets his heart upon it." (Ibid.)

A gilgul, on the other hand, does not have the ability to draw all three parts of the soul to him, but only one at a time. As mentioned before, first the nefesh reincarnates alone until it becomes completely rectified, after which the person dies. Next, the ruach alone is born into a different body until it is rectified. The nefesh will also reincarnate together with it, but only as an ibur, since it is already rectified. The only reason it comes back is in order to help the ruach to do good, and not bad. Therefore, it receives a portion of the good deeds of the ruach, but not the bad deeds, just as we said with respect to the nefesh itself when rectified sparks return in the secret of ibur.

This is another explanation of how there can be an end to the reincarnations of the nefesh, for it has no part in the sins of the ruach, as mentioned.

After he dies and the neshama reincarnates to become rectified, then the nefesh and the ruach reincarnate only in the secret of ibur, until it is purified. After that, there will no longer be any need for this person to reincarnate into this world for his own sake. However, he may return into this world as an ibur in another person, during that person’s lifetime, to assist him and thereby receive a portion with him, as was explained previously at length.

Section 8: Nefesh, Ruach and Neshama for a Slightly New Gilgul

Now we will explain what was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. A secret of gilgul is that when the need is great, a slightly new gilgul can achieve nefesh, ruach and neshama at one time in a single incarnation, without the need for multiple reincarnations since the three of them will achieve tikun in one body.
Normally, such a person cannot [rectify his] ruach in the same gilgul. He has to die and be reborn with his nefesh and ruach together. However, there are special cases "when the need is great" that he can attain ruach-- and even neshama-- in the same gilgul in which his nefesh has been completed. This is possible even though it is not the first gilgul of the nefesh.
Normally, when the nefesh comes alone and achieves rectification and purification, the ruach cannot join it since the nefesh has been rectified while the ruach has not. However, there is a way to achieve rectification [together in the same gilgul] when the nefesh is already completely rectified.
When a person sleeps at night he can deposit his nefesh with G-d, as is known. Thus, it is possible for the nefesh to remain Above, adhering to the "Supernal Well" and in the secret of "Mayin Nukvin".
When he awakens in the morning, his ruach will then enter by itself, as if reincarnated into a different body. Once the ruach is also rectified like the nefesh, there is no hindrance to its becoming ensconced within the nefesh, and the nefesh becomes its vehicle.
Likewise, after the ruach becomes completely purified, then both the nefesh and the ruach can leave the body at night during sleep and be "deposited" Above, where they will remain (for the time being). In the morning, when he awakens, the neshama will enter into him. It will become rectified, and once rectification is complete, then the previously rectified nefesh and ruach can return. The three of them will join together in the same body, and one will become the "vehicle" for the other(s). No more reincarnations will be necessary.
All of this is alluded to in the verse "My nefesh has desired You at night; even (with) my ruach that is within me will I seek You…" (Isaiah 26:9).
[The interpretation:] My nefesh became purified until it was able to cling to You in the secret of "and cling to Him" (Deut. 11:22). It then desired You, and yearned to cling to You. The time of desiring and yearning is specifically at night, when souls may be deposited because they are ascending in the secret of Mayin Nukvin to cause a supernal zivug.
The strength of this yearning, because it is pure, makes possible total adherence. The nefesh can remain there and not descend.
In the morning when it comes time for the nefesh to descend once again and it does not, then "my ruach" can enter me instead. This is why it is not "my nefesh" that "seeks for You"/"in the morning".
Rather it is his ruach that enters him to become rectified.
Therefore, the initial letters of the Hebrew words that have been translated "in the night my nefesh, even my ruach" (bait-aleph-reish) spell "be'er" (well); this alludes to what was mentioned earlier, that the nefesh longs to ascend to the Supernal Well.
Hence, if a person knows on his own that he has rectified his nefesh, he can say the verse, "My nefesh has desired You at night; even (with) my ruach that is within me will I seek You (ashachreca)…" before laying down to sleep. He should recite it concentrating upon the esoteric meaning that has been explained here in order to attain his ruach, and similarly his neshama. Then he will not need additional gilgulim. Understand this esoteric secret well and be cautious with it.
However, the verse that we are accustomed to say, "In Your hand I will deposit my soul…" (Psalms 31:6), doesn’t help to accomplish what has been explained here. It only means that the nefesh will ascend as a "deposit". In the morning it will return to descend. However, the verse, "My nefesh has desired You at night; even (with) my ruach that is within me will I seek You…" means that the nefesh will remain Above, and that either the ruach or the neshama will descend in its place.
(Note: Shmuel says: The verse "My nefesh has desired You at night; even (with) my ruach that is within me will I seek for You…" is explained in Gate Six of Shaar HaKavanot. See there.)

Chapter Four

Section 1: When Second Gilgul Is Like First

There are two other distinctions that apply only to gilgulim.
Firstly, if a first-time gilgul earns his Nefesh, Ruach and Neshama (NR"N) and then sins and blemishes them, in his next reincarnation he cannot rectify them all at once except through the device that was explained beforehand. When going to bed he should recite the verse, "My Nefesh has desired You at night…."
Secondly, if a first-time gilgul earns only his Nefesh, and sins and blemishes it, when he reincarnates he can achieve NR"N in that gilgul itself. Since he had not previously damaged his Ruach and Neshama, they can join the nefesh after it has been rectified, as if it were a first incarnation, just as it said, "If he merits more..."
This is not the case when they have all come, and all have become blemished. For how can a rectified Nefesh become the vehicle for a damaged Ruach or Neshama? However, if he only damaged the Nefesh, then all three can return together in a single gilgul.

Section 2: Association of Mitzvot to Tikun

It seems to me that all the aspects of rectification are really the fulfillment of mitzvot, which are dependent upon the "limbs" of the Nefesh. All blemishes result from violating negative mitzvot.
It is well known that there are 365 positive mitzvot and 248 negative mitzvot. The negative mitzvot tell us what not to do. Their number corresponds to the 248 limbs of the human body, which is made in the image of the Nefesh. Thus, each one of the negative mitzvot corresponds to one of the limbs of the Nefesh, and transgression of any one of them causes a corresponding blemish or damage in one of the limbs of the Nefesh.
The complete entry of the Nefesh into the body, which is called tikun of the Nefesh, is accomplished only through the performance of mitzvot. Although sins blemish the Nefesh, they do not prevent its sparks from entering.

Section 3: Reincarnation & Resurrection

However, there are two other aspects regarding this matter.
(The first aspect concerns a person) who only received a Nefesh during his first lifetime but didn't merit to completely rectify it--and then died. Since this first body did not complete the rectification of all aspects of the Nefesh, then, at the time of Resurrection of the Dead, only those parts that were rectified in the lifetime of that body return with it.
Therefore, when this Nefesh reincarnates into another body to complete its tikun, it can achieve NR"N.
Then all the parts of the Nefesh that were rectified in the second body, together with the Ruach and Neshama, belong to the second body at the time of the Resurrection.
The first body has no portion in the Ruach and Neshama, but it does have a share in part of the Nefesh, the part that was rectified with it. The remainder of the aspects [of the rectified soul] belongs to the second body.
This is like what was explained in Sabba of Mishpatim regarding Yibum. The first body did not succeed at procreating. It only merits the individual spark of the Nefesh. This is the spark that was left inside the woman during the first intimacy. However, the rest of the Nefesh with the Ruach and the Neshama belong to the second body.
This is the secret of what is written in the Zohar (Chaya Sarah 131a): "Those bodies that were not successful are as if they never existed." This is remarkable, because [it is known that] there is no Jew who is not "filled with mitzvot like a pomegranate" (Berachot 57a). Why should it (an "unsuccessful" body) be non-existent at

the time of resurrection?
However, this alludes to the idea that the main source of pleasure in the Time-to-Come is on the level of Ruach and Neshama. This first body does not even have a completed Nefesh. All it has is the spark "left in his wife by the initial intimacy." Thus, it has no pleasure and is if it doesn't exist.

Section 4: Double Reincarnation

The first body merits to rectify the entire Nefesh, but later blemishes it.
When this Nefesh reincarnates with the Ruach and Neshama into the second body, they do so with the spark of another Nefesh in order to help them perform mitzvot.
This is called a "Gilgul Kaful" (Double Gilgul).
Remember this well.
However, at the time of resurrection the NR"N will return to the first body. The second body will only merit the spark of the additional Nefesh that came, since it was the main [vehicle] for it. The original Nefesh was completely rectified in the first body (and belongs to it). Thus he [the Nefesh of the second body] will have worked for another, as is alluded to by Rav Sheshet who said, "Rejoice my Nefesh! Rejoice my Nefesh! For you have I read … for you have I learned …" (Pesachim 68b).

Section 5: The Soul of a Convert

If a person merited his Nefesh, Ruach, and Neshama, but then blemished them, the three do not return together. Rather, each one returns in a separate gilgul. But what are the laws governing rectification of each one?
When a Nefesh reincarnates into a body for tikun and becomes rectified, then the Ruach is not able to join with it. As we have already mentioned, a blemished Ruach cannot join an already rectified Nefesh. And certainly a blemished Ruach cannot join the Nefesh before it is rectified because the Ruach can enter only after the Nefesh, which is on a lower level, is completely rectified.
Thus, the Ruach must reincarnate alone with the Nefesh of a convert whose Nefesh is in place of his own, and there it will become rectified. In the same way, the Neshama will come into another body together with the Nefesh of a convert.
This is the secret of what is written in Sabba of Mishpatim (98b): "The Neshamot that encounter the Nefashot of converts … and they merit through them." A Ruach alone, or a Neshama alone, can only enter a body if there is a Nefesh there. Instead (of their own Nefesh) they take the Nefesh of a convert, and through it they achieve rectification.
Having said this, we can answer an important question. The majority of people only merit their Nefesh. And only a small amount in these later generations ever merit to their Ruach and Neshama. Yet, we know that the son of David will not come until all the Ruchot and Neshamot are rectified (Talmud Yebamot 62a).
Now we understand that the Ruach and Neshama can reincarnate into other bodies on top of the Nefesh of a convert, and they, too, become rectified.
However, when the original Nefesh eventually achieves rectification, it can receive in place of his own the Ruach of a righteous tzadik whose deeds were similar to his. This will be in place of his own Ruach. Similarly, he can achieve the Neshama of a righteous tzadik.
If his Nefesh leaves this world before the original Ruach has finished its tikun, then the Nefesh can, in the meantime, accompany the Ruach of the righteous tzadik to the World-to-Come and through it, receive its fitting reward. Once its own Ruach completes its tikun through its own gilgul in another body, as explained above, then the Nefesh will say, "I will return to my first husband," and it will reunite with its Ruach. Likewise, once the Neshama becomes rectified, his Nefesh and Ruach will return to become one with it.

Section 6: The Righteous and the Wicked

We will now explain the difference between a righteous person and an evil person. This will allow us to better understand the differences among the verses and the things discussed by our sages.

Sometimes we see that a person only reincarnates three times, according to the esoteric meaning of the verse, "Behold, G-d does all these things, two or three times with a man" (Job 33:29). There is also the esoteric meanings of the verses, "For three sins of Israel, but for the fourth I will not return …" (Amos 2:6), and "… Who visits the sins of the fathers on the children unto the third (generation) and unto the fourth (generation)" (Ex. 20:5). Yet, it says in Sefer HaTikunim (69) that a righteous person reincarnates up to one thousand generations, and there are other sources similar to this.

The verse itself answers the question. The "four generations" refers to evil people, as it says, "…Who visits the sins of the fathers… to those who hate Me." In contrast, to whom is He "…doing kindness for a thousand generations" (ibid. 6)? The same verse answers, "…to those who love Me and keep My commandments." Those who hate G-d are the evil people, to whom the four-generation limit on reincarnations applies. Those who love G-d are the righteous people, to whom "a thousand generations" of reincarnations applies.

The explanation is as follows: When the Nefesh of a person comes into the world for the first time and sins, becoming blemished and forcing it to reincarnate into another body to become rectified, this is its first reincarnation. If it doesn't become rectified, then it returns in a second reincarnation. If it is not rectified then, it returns in a third reincarnation, but from then onward he will not be able to attain rectification by reincarnating again. It is then said about it that "the Nefesh will be cut off from his people," completely (Gen.17:14).

However, this is only when a person failed to accomplish any rectification over the course of the first three gilgulim. On the other hand, if at some point during those three [reincarnations] he began the process of tikun, even a little, then he will not be cut off. It is even possible that he could return to achieve rectification over the course of a thousand generations, if necessary.

Hence, one who does not achieve any rectification at all is called "evil," but one who rectifies even a little is called "righteous." All his subsequent gilgulim will complete the rectification process.

I believe that I heard from my teacher that all this is only true regarding the Nefesh, since it is from the world of Asiya that is immersed in the kelipot. That is why excision (karet) is only mentioned with respect to the Nefesh, because only it can be cut off from holiness and remain immersed in the kelipot.

However, the kelipot do not have such a strong hold over the Ruach and Neshama, which are from Yetzira and Beriya. Therefore, a person is able to rectify them without failure, although there are those that accomplish tikun quickly, and there are those who do it over a longer period of time after many reincarnations.

How is such a thing possible? We have already discussed the verse (Samuel II 14:14) where it is written that G-d "…devises stratagems in order that the banished ones should not be banished," that no Nefesh should descend into the kelipot and be cut off there, never to be redeemed.

However, this matter can be understood in the following way: The good that was accumulated during the three reincarnations is dispersed among others. The evil that is now left isolated and alone is dissipated and destroyed.

Section 7: Many Chances for the Righteous

There is another difference between a righteous and an evil person that will be elucidated now, and in doing so we will be able to understand what the sages wrote regarding Elisha (who was called) Acher.

"He (Elisha) cannot be judged because of his involvement with Torah."

If a righteous person learned Torah, especially if he is one of those from the "early generations," then he is not sentenced to Gehinom.

He must be cleansed of his sins [to the extent] that he will be able to enter Paradise. Therefore, there is no other tikun for him except reincarnation. For each and every sin that he did not atone for through suffering during his

lifetime, and for which he cannot receive punishment in Gehinom, he will have to reincarnate. He will reincarnate as many times as is necessary in order to rectify each and every one of them.
Therefore, he will reincarnate through many gilgulim in order to atone and rectify his sins. This is not the case for an evil person who can go to Gehinom to be cleansed there of all his sins. He will not need to come back to reincarnate.
Now there is room for a question. Would it not be preferable to go to Gehinom to immediately clear all of one's sins, instead of returning through many reincarnations?
Humbly, I, Chaim, will answer this question. The Holy One, blessed is He, is Omniscient and knows that if an evil person reincarnates he will only add to his sins and the abundance of his transgressions will outweigh his merits. Since it is known that he has already completed the few mitzvot that are absolutely vital to the root of his Nefesh, it is better for him to be removed from the world. G-d removes him from the world, and lowers him into Gehinom to cleanse his sins, while the merit of his mitzvot remains intact. "G-d desires kindness!" However, with respect to a righteous person whose sins are less than his mitzvot, the suffering during gilgulim can cleanse them.
His many merits will remain intact even while he is increasing them with each gilgul. His reward will be tremendous, without limit. This is along the lines of what the sages have said: "The Holy One, Blessed be He, wanted to merit Israel. Therefore, He gave them much Torah and mitzvot" (Makkot 23b).

Section 8: The Story of Rav Sheshet

Earlier we spoke of the gilgul of Rav Sheshet when discussing the concept of Double Gilgul. The Talmud says that Rav Sheshet was blind. When he studied Torah he was joyous and he would say, "Rejoice my Nefesh! Rejoice my Nefesh! For you have I read … for you have I learned!"
It seems hard to understand when they say that he was benefiting himself and not others!
"If you have become wise, you have become wise for yourself…(Proverbs 9:12)."
In addition, why did he specifically say "…my Nefesh"? And, why is all of this recorded regarding Rav Sheshet and no one else?
To answer these questions we require an introduction regarding his gilgul. Baba ben Buta the Pious was a student of the elder Shammai. All of his life he daily brought a Doubtful Transgression Offering.
It was Baba ben Buta who returned as the reincarnation of Rav Sheshet in order to complete some tikun that was required of him. Since King Herod had taken out the eyes [of Baba ben Buta], therefore he [Rav Sheshet] was also blind, as is known.
In the form of gematria called "AT-BaSh" the letters that spell Baba change into the letters that spell Sheshet.
Now we can arrive at the explanation. A person who does not complete his tikun in his first gilgul, even if only by a small amount, must come back to complete it in a second gilgul. When he completed his Nefesh in the first gilgul except for a small amount, and he reincarnates a second time, then all the reward for the Torah and mitzvot performed during the second gilgul are for the sake of the Nefesh that came to complete its tikun. At the time of the Resurrection, the Nefesh will return to the first body within which the majority of Torah and mitzvot that were required of him were performed. It had only come into the second body in a "borrowed" way.
Rav Sheshet knew that his Nefesh had first been in the body of Baba ben Buta, a man of great learning and well known for his piety. He only reincarnated a second time to rectify a small amount that had been left incomplete. This made his body sad, because it meant that all of his efforts were for the sake of that Nefesh, which in the end would return to that first body in the time of the Resurrection. All the benefit of the Torah that he studied and the mitzvot that he performed were for that Nefesh, and not his body. It was the Nefesh that had to rejoice, and not the body. Thus, he (Rav Sheshet) would say, "Rejoice my Nefesh…" and not me. "For you I read, for you I studied." It was for your benefit, and not my own.

Chapter Five

Section 1: Two Types of Reincarnation & Ibur

There are two types of gilgulim and two types of ibur.
The first type of gilgul is when a single Nefesh enters the body of a person at the time of birth.
A second type is also possible: two Nefashot may reincarnate together also at the time of birth. This is called "Double Gilgul" (Gilgul Kaful). It was explained in the previous chapter, and in other places.
Both these Nefashot (in Double Gilgul) reincarnate and come into the world together when the person's body is born. They do not separate until death. They are called one Nefesh. As one they suffer the pain and punishments that are inflicted on the body throughout its lifetime, as well as the pain of death.
When he (the soul of the tzadik) comes for his own sake, then he does not enter the person until he is thirteen years old and one day. At that time the (host) person becomes obligated in Torah and mitzvot. In this way, he (the tzadik) can also rectify himself through this person and that is why he does not enter before this time, but only after the obligation of mitzvot has taken effect.
At that time the soul of the tzadik enters and spreads throughout the entire body, just like the person's own Nefesh. The two of them suffer all bodily pain together and equally. It remains there for a set time to rectify and complete that which it needs. Then, it leaves while the person is still alive, and returns to its place Above in Paradise.

Section 2: Four Souls, One Person

We will now further clarify the subject that we began previously. The verse says, " Visit the sins of the fathers on the children for three and four (generations)" (Ex. 20:5). This means that up to three reincarnating Nefashot can reincarnate with a new Nefesh together in one body at birth. This makes for a total of four Nefashot at one time. This is the secret of "four."
It is also the secret of the verse " two or three times with a man" (Job 33:29). Three Nefashot are able to reincarnate with one "man", who is this new Nefesh. However, it is not possible for more than this to reincarnate at one time. However, less than this amount is possible.
It is possible that one Nefesh can reincarnate alone in a body; or one reincarnated Nefesh with a new Nefesh. Or, two reincarnated Nefashot by themselves can go into one body; or two reincarnated Nefashot with a new one; or three reincarnated Nefashot by themselves; or three reincarnated souls with a new one. However, more than this is not possible within one body.
Know that those that are reincarnating together in a single body must all be of a single "root". This is the esoteric meaning of the verse " he shall redeem the property of his brother" (Lev. 25:25).
As a result, even though the first time gilgul has not committed any of the sins of the previous gilgulim, he will still have to cleanse the blemish and stench that resulted from their earlier sins. This will be the case if he is from a more internal [primary] level than the others, such as the sinews of Adam HaRishon, as opposed to the Flesh [which is more "external"].
This is in order to draw life to the entire root.

Section 3: Ibur & Growth

Ibur has similar limitations [as does gilgul].
Up to three Nefashot can come to help a person's Nefesh. The total will then be four. More is not possible, but less is.
However, those who had come in the secret of gilgul only came to help themselves, to rectify their sins, or to

fulfill a mitzva they had yet to perform.
Expanding upon the discussion of ibur, the following is an example.
Consider a person who has reincarnated into a body to rectify himself. He has ten Nefashot in his root that are higher than himself. If he merits it, then the tenth, lowest Nefesh, which is still higher than he is, will enter him as an ibur and help him to achieve tikun. If he increases his merit then he will receive the ninth Nefesh as an ibur, and if he merits more, then the eighth Nefesh will enter. Thus, he will have received three Nefashot, and, including his own, there will be four in total. More than this is not possible.
However, if he further increases his merits, then he can even receive the seventh Nefesh as well, causing the tenth Nefesh to surrender its light to the three higher iburim.
This is the way it continues until he achieves the three highest Nefashot of the ten: the first, second, and third. The light of these three will be revealed in this ibur to assist him. The other seven will lose their light to them; in contrast to the light of the three upper Nefashot, they will seem as if they no longer exist. This is because only three Nefashot, in addition to the Nefesh of the person himself, are possible (in one gilgul).

Section 4: Two Sets of Three, Plus One

The verse says, "All these things G-d does, two or three times with a man," (Job 33:29).
In the first three gilgulim, the Nefesh of a person reincarnates by itself without any partnership in the body. However, if after these three times his Nefesh is still not rectified, it must come back an additional three times, but not alone since it lacks the ability to become rectified (on its own).
Therefore, it returns together "with a man." This is a righteous tzadik who will come as an ibur to help him and direct him in the right direction.
Therefore, the verse does not say "three times," which would seemingly refer to the first three times, but rather "two or three times…."
This teaches that during a second set of three gilgulim he will have a "man" as a partner with him.

Section 5: Connected Levels of Soul

A fascinating concept is explained in Sabba of Mishpatim regarding the body of someone who has reincarnated many times. In what body does the soul arise in the time of the Resurrection?
We have already explained earlier what the Introduction to Tikunim (pg.1b) says regarding the verse, " like a bird that wanders from her nest" (Proverbs 27:8).
And we have discussed what the Zohar says in parashat Pekudei (258a) with respect to the Shechina. She is exiled among the kelipot until her legs are immersed in impurity.
We also spoke about how the souls of righteous people are exiled with the Shechina in the kelipot as well.
In earlier times the souls that are exiled with her are the sparks and sections from the levels on which the Shechina stood at that time. It is the same in every generation.
Thus, at this time in history the Shechina has already descended until the legs, and the souls of these generations are from the level of the legs.
Since all the souls were exiled among the kelipot together with the Shechina, those earlier souls that were already rectified and elevated, now they descend to direct and correct the lower souls in order to rectify them.
Thus, we find that every soul has many parts and sparks, and they are all called a single soul, and this is true for all the souls.
When the time for resurrection arrives, each body will take its portion of soul according to the level (that was rectified) in its time.

Section 6: Switched Souls

It can be that even though a person has a single, pure, and elevated Nefesh, he may become angry, and it will leave him. A lesser Nefesh will replace it. Or, he may contract a terrible sickness, and an exchange of souls may occur. Or, he may contract a debilitating illness, and his Nefesh may be exchanged and go to another person, while he receives a different Nefesh. This is the secret of what is said, "A righteous person all of his life, only to become evil in the end" (Berachot 29a).
Or, just the opposite may occur.
Having said this, it is also possible for a woman who was originally meant to be the wife of a particular person, but his soul gets switched and she becomes the wife of the other person [into whom his soul migrated].

Section 7: The Legs & the Ten Martyrs

It is possible for the Nefesh, Ruach, or Neshama of a person to elevate its sparks that were immersed in the depths of the kelipot. They will be rectified through him, like what was explained concerning the deaths of the Ten Political Martyrs. See there.
The time of the Ten Political Martyrs was the time of the destruction of the Second Temple. At that time sin was so prevalent that people did not have the power to purify the sparks through prayer and to raise them up in the secret of ma'n.
Moreover, even the ma'n of bina descended downward and got mixed up once again among the kelipot, as it is written, "For your sins your Mother was sent away" (Isaiah 50:1).

Section 8: Return Due to Lack of Procreation

There is a difference between someone who reincarnates because he was childless and did not perform the mitzva of procreation, and someone who reincarnates because of any other transgressions that he may have committed. Someone who reincarnates for not having procreated will not be able to return alone, but only in partnership with another.
This will (also) be the case even if he is like Shimon ben Azzai who did not need to reincarnate to have children.
Nevertheless, when he reincarnates at birth because of a different sin, or to assist someone else, or to come as an ibur during lifetime, it will not be possible to return alone, but only in partnership with another.
Since he is "half of a body"; he cannot come alone.
It could be that this is also called a "Double Gilgul," as we have discussed in previous chapters. This gilgul is not because of yibum. So it seems to the humble opinion of Chaim.

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AN OLD

ZAND-PAHLAVI GLOSSARY.

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL CHARACTERS

WITH A TRANSLITERATION IN ROMAN LETTERS, AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND AN ALPHABETICAL INDEX

BY

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PREFACE.

During my tour in Gujarat which was undertaken by order of the Government of Bombay in search of Zand, Pahlavî, Persian and Sanscrit MSS. in the cold season of 1863 to 64 in company of Destur Hoshengji, my attention was several times directed to an old Zand-Pahlavî vocabulary which goes by the name "*Farhang i oîm yak*". [1] As I found it on examination to be very important, I proposed, after my return to Poona, to the late Director of Public Instruction, Edward I. Howard, Esq., to recommend to the Government the employment of Destur Hoshengji for the purpose of preparing an edition of this and another (Pahlavî-Pâzand) glossary, along with a transliteration of the ambiguous Pahlavî characters in Roman letters, and an English translation. The liberal Government of Sir Bartle Frere which always extended its patronage to publications relating to oriental literature, acceded as readily to the Director's recommendation to sanction my proposal as he had recommended it.

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1) It is the same which has been published by Anquetil Duperron in his Zend-avesta. On the value of this publication see the note by Destur Hoshengji on the first page of his introduction.

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Destur Hoshengji, a young Parsi scholar of great ability who possesses an excellent knowledge of several languages, principally of Pahlavî and Persian, and of the whole traditional literature (he is the younger brother of Destur Nassarwanji Jamaspji, Highpriest of the Parsis in the Dekhan, and was at that time officiating as Highpriest in Malwa), accepted the appointment and came forthwith to Poona to commence his labours under my superintendence. He prepared the works in question during the year 1865. Shortly before leaving India (in March 1866) I was requested by the Government through the present Director of Public Instruction, Sir A. Grant, Bart., who shows the same favour to publications of this kind as his predecessor, to revise and print in Europe the two gtossaries which had been prepared by the Destur. As Zand and Pahlavî type were requisite, which are in Germany only to be had at the Imperial printing office at Vienna (the Zand type of Berlin is very bad, and Pahlavî they have none there), I found it necessary to purchase (on my account) a fount of both from Vienna to avoid, on future occasions, the trouble and vexation one is put to when printing oriental works in characters which are only to be had in one or two establishments on the whole continent. The Vienna Zand type is, no doubt, the finest in existence; but as regards its Pahlavî type, the fount is neither complete, nor are all the characters correct. Several compound letters in which the Pahlavî writing abounds, are wanting. I hope, on a future occasion, to supply the defects of the fount by having the wanting signs cut. The characters of lapidary Pahlavî which are occasionally used in the introduction have been cut and cast here.

My share in the work has become much larger, than I originally anticipated, as I found it necessary to add many notes, and make of the alphabetical index which contained, as prepared by the Editor and Translator, the words of the glossary without meanings and explanations, a kind of small Zand-English vocabulary.

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Besides, some novel views put forth by Destur Hoshengji in his introduction, induced me to write in support of them (as I believe them, on the main, to be correct) some introductory remarks, to which two important Pahlavî documents, relating to the history of the Zoroastrian writings, have been added.

As regards the original text, I made no changes, as I have only *one* MS. of the work at my disposal, whereas the Destur had many, but had it printed just in that form in which it had been transmitted to me. Some scholars will find the orthography of some Zand words as printed here, objectionable; but I made no alterations, on purpose, as the whole orthography of Zand is still in a very unsettled state, and that one employed in the printed editions of the Zand-avesta also open to objections.

In the transliteration of the original characters in Roman letters which will assist principally the students of Pahlavî I tried to bring more uniformity into the system followed by the Editor. It is, as may be easily imagined, no easy task to transliterate the exceedingly ambiguous Pahlavî compound letters, some of which (for instance ـهـ, ـس) possess about *ten* different phonetic values. [1]) Great difficulty is offered by the Semitic words of the Pahlavî, as we cannot correctly transliterate them, before we know their origin. The majority of those words will be found explained in the copious index to the Pahlavî-Pâzand Glossary.

In the English translation I made comparatively more changes than in any other part of the Destur's work; they refer, however, more to style and composition, than to the sense; the latter I altered but in few instances where I found it necessary.

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1) I possess a long list (about 12½ pages in folio) of almost all the compound signs with all the phonetic values attached to them (as far as they are known) which has been prepared for me by my friend, E. West, Esq., from the materials furnished by me. I hope to revise it by endeavouring to reduce the number of values and to enlarge it by adding some signs which formerly escaped us. It will be published on a future occasion.

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During the time the original text with the transliteration and translation were carried through the press, I received great assistance from E. West, Esq., late Chief Engineer of the Bombay Railway Establishment, who is favourably known to the readers of the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society by his articles on the cave inscriptions [1]. He assisted me, during his stay here, (from 1866 to 67) in correcting the proofs, and the English translation and arranging the alphabetical part of the index, for which service my best thanks are due to him.

The Pahlavî-Pâzand Glossary of which the text is already printed, will appear early in the next year.

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1) He is now engaged on preparing an alphabetical index of the Bundehesh for my edition and translation of this important mythological work.

Stuttgart, July 12, 1867.

M. Haug.

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Introduction.

Though the Editor and Translator of this Glossary lays no claim to having performed a work of any great research or ability, yet he may justly say that its publication is the first of the kind that has as yet been laid before the European public by a Destur.

A few introductory remarks, describing the value, possible age and general usefulness of the contents of the present volume, as well as the difficulty the Editor and Translator has had to contend with in its preparation, may not be considered here out of place.

The Zand-Pahlavî glossary which is here published for the first time [1]) is the so-called "*Farhang i oîm yak*" which has hitherto been almost totally neglected, though it is very important.

This glossary, it seems to me, was originally prepared from several works of the same nature for the use of the students of the Zand language to be learnt by heart, as it is the case with the *Amara kośa*, *Pâṭhâvali* and *Dhâtukośa* in Sanscrit, *Nissâb us-sibyân* (in verse) in Arabic, *Amad-nâmeh* and *Fârsîyât* (in prose) in Persian. In these books the glossarist

1) Tough in 1771 M. Anquetil Duperron published this Glossary along with a Pahlavî-Pâzand one in his ground work on the Zand-avesta; they were not given in their original form, but in an alphabeticat arrangement, and the arrangement, as well as the meaning and translation in Pahlavî and French are so incorrect, that, for all practical purposes, they are useless, and the inaccuracies are such that it appears to me that the learned Frenchman either misunderstood the meanings, or his teacher, Destur Dârâb of Surat, was unable to explain to him the contents correctly.

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gathers the commonest, simplest and most useful words, and arranges them (if the vocabularies are in prose) according to their different classes in separate chapters, e. g. "words belonging to Godhead", "words belonging to husbandry" etc. But it appears that the alphabetical order also was not totally unknown at the time when this glossary was prepared, as will be observed that in some places the words are arranged according to their classes, and in others alphabetically, while again in some instances the words are put together indiscriminately, no particular order or class being strictly observed. It is, therefore, resonable to suppose that this Zand-Pahlavî glossary is a collection of fragments from several works of the same description which may have been found scattered and were probably collected (however incomplete) in the reign of king Ardeshir Bâbegân (A. D. 226.), or shortly after him. The observation that this glossary is not at all one, but scattered pieces of different books, as they collected whatever they found, is further strengthened by the fact, that it is now universally acknowledged that almost all books of the Zand-avesta now extant, such as Vendidâd, Yasna etc. are not in a perfect state, but incomplete and several pieces not put in the right place; for they were arranged, as the collectors found them scattered. The incompleteness of the glossary is further markedly apparent from the last line of the work itself, since the last sentence is obviously incomplete.

As regards the age of this glossary, it is impossible to ascertain the particular time, when it was composed. However, I am of opinion that it must have been compiled some time before the Achæmenian dynasty, and certainly before the Macedonian conquest of Persia (330 B. C.) that is to say, some time about 700 B. C., if not anterior. Tough I am well aware, that by setting forth such a strange hypothesis, I shall find much opposition on the part of other scholars and literati who maintain that the so-called *Pahlavî* or *Hozvâresh* language was only current during the time of the Sasanian dynasty; yet before condemning my humble opinion, I request them to examine the proofs carefully which I am going to give.

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Firstly. History records that Persia was ruled over for about 500 years (from 1230 to 708 B. C.) by the Assyrian race, whose language was Syriac of the Semitic stock. Now, it is an obvious fact, that after a foreign conquest, the manners, customs, religion, as well as the language of the conquerors begin to spread amongst the people, as it is the case throughout the world. If the Assyrians reigned in Persia for 500 years, without interval, a mixture of Syriac words with Persian (as is the case with the *Hozvâresh* or rather *Huzvânash* [1]) language) must have naturally occured at that time (700 B. C.)

Secondly. It has never been proved that this *Pahlavî* or *Hozvâresh* language sprung up at the time of Ardeshir Babégân A. D. 226. We have every reason to suppose, that Ardeshir, as he was desirous of reviving the old customs, manners and religion of the Parsis, may have also revived the old Pahlavî by making it the language of the court. We learn from the historians that at his time the *Dari* language (old Persian) was the common language of the people and consequently he (Ardeshîr) himself wrote one of his books *(kâr-nâmch)* in Pahlavî, the language of the court, and a book of precepts and morals in *Dari*, the language of the common people, for general use. This fact also proves that the current and common dialect of his (Ardeshir's) time was not *Pahlavî* but *Dari*, and in the same manner at the time of the Achæmenians the language of the court was that of the inscriptions, and the common language was, no doubt, *Pahlavî*.

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1) This word which has been a great puzzle to the European scholars can be explained in a very simple, and I think, satisfactory way. Huzvâresh means nothing, and can neither be explained from the Persian, nor from a Semitic language; it is simply a mispronunciation of Huzvânash which is to be divided in huzvân-ash i. e. the language of Ash, which can be only Assyria; the full form may have been Huzvân-Ashar which was afterwards shortened and corrupted. To this interpretation I was led by Dr. Haug who directed during our frequent conversations several times my attention to the fact that the Pahlavî was more closely related to the Assyrian than to any other Semitic language. As regards the syllable ان ân in Huzvânash, it is to be remarked, that the Pahlavî ân is always changed to âr in Persian or Dari, as matan to meher, âtan to adar, shatan to shahar ete. Accordingly huzvânash became huzvârash.

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Now, to prove my own hypothesis that the Pahlavî versions of the Vendidâd, Yasna, and Visparad, as well as fragments of this small glossary, are no compositions of the Sasanian period but *ante-Sasanide*, I may adduce the following reasons.

Firstly. Because in the version of the Vendidâd as well as in this small glossary, there are several names of uncommon Nosks, such as *Huspâram*, *Sakâdum*, and *Nehâdum* frequently mentioned as authorities and passages quoted from them. Now it is natural that those Nosks must have been in the possession of the authors when they quote them; but it is a well known fact that these above named Nosks were already lost and destroyed before the time of Ardeshîr, as is mentioned in the third volume of the *Dînkard*, as well as in the *Ardâi Vîrâf* and other works of that dynasty. These facts confirm that the Zand texts found at the time of Ardeshir were those, which are still in our possession, and that no more were to be had at his time than the present literature of Zand-avesta. Therefore it is natural to suppose that the abovementioned books (version of the Vendidâd etc.) in which unknown Nosks are cited, must have been compiled long before that time.

Secondly. In the version of the Vendidâd names of several Desturs, such as *Gogoshasp*, *Dâdfarrôkh*, *Adanpâd*, *Koshtanbûjid* etc., are mentioned as authorities, which proves that they must have lived long before the compiler's time; for they would not have quoted them, if their authority would not have been well established for a considerable time. This fact speaks for itself that there must have been some books in Pahlavi in existence from which the compilers cited passages and opinions.

Thirdly. Because in this glossary as well as in the version of the Vendidâd, Yasna etc. a tolerably good knowledge of the Zand language and its grammar is exhibited in several places by their authors; and though this knowledge of grammar is not uniformly correct, yet it shows that they must have been composed at a time when the Desturs had, if not a profound, yet some knowledge of Zand grammar, which unfortunately decayed

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and died out already during the time of the *Sasânians* as we perceive from some later versions of Zand-avesta, such as *Afrîn* etc.

Fourthly. It is traditionally known to all Desturs and even mentioned in the Rivâyats that all these translations etc., are productions of the disciples of Zoroaster, and that they were not composed at the time of Ardeshîr. This evidently justifies us in assigning them to the ante-Sâsânian period [1]).

But it is evident that, though they are of an Ante-Sasanian date, they were rearranged from the scattered fragments, and recollected from different places during the time of Ardeshîr and hence the confused state of the present books, such as the Vendidâd, can be easily understood, as the collectors at that time (A. D. 226) put together whatever fragments they found for their preservation in the form of books. In the same way was, I believe, this glossary made up.

In the third volume of Dînkard it is mentined that "the *Dinkard* "was originally composed by the disciples of Zoroaster (i. e. before the "Achæmenian dynasty, some time during the Assyrian reign, when the "Pahlavî language may have been in existence), and were preserved in two "copies in two different forts, *Shaspigān* and *Shapān;* the former copy "was destroyed by Alexander; at the time of that good king Ardeshir "they found out from the report the second copy (from the Shapan "fort) which was much injured and scattered and in a very bad state, "from which a learned Destur, *Tosreh* by name, recomposed it after

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1) The later inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings (400 B. C.) add more strength to this supposition, as in these inscriptions we find already the grammatical forms greatly confounded and the inflections lost, which confusion we also observe in some places in the Vendidâd, Yashts etc. This fact also leads us to suppose that at that time there must have been some other language of an uninflected nature in current use (which was probably Pahlavi) and the language of the cuneiform inscriptions was the court, and official language, as it is obvious that, before a language becomes dead, several changes and mixtures take place in it, as it is the case with the Prâkrit of the Marâthi and Gujarâti languages. I must here also mention that many words quoted in this glossary are totally unknown to the present Zand-avesta.

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"comparing the fragments with Zand-avesta. The work was again in a "scattered and fragmentary state at the time of the Arabs (A. D. 640); the "fragments were rearranged by the present author". [1])

It is not correct, I think, therefore, to suppose, that this glossary, or the version of the Vendidâd, was composed under the Sasanian dynasty. They were composed prior to it, though long after the Zoroastrian time, but still much anterior to the Christian era. Space will not allow me to dilate more on this subject; the reader, however, from what has been advanced already, will be able, I hope, to form a correct idea of the glossary.

It is also remarkable to observe that only a very few verbal forms are given in it. This may lead us to suppose that very likely the Persians had, like their Hindu brethren, two different sorts of Dictionaries of this kind, one devoted to nouns, just as the *Amara* and *Viśva kośas* in Sanskrit, and *Fârsîyât* in Persian; and another appropriated to all verbal forms, just as the *Dhâtu Pâṭha* in Sanskrit, and *Amad-nâmeh* in Persian.

Regarding the grammatical knowledge of the glossarist, it is evident, as I mentioned before, that he was not quite destitute of a knowledge of Zand grammar, as will be perceived from his lengthy remark on this subject after the numerals (see pagg. 2. 46).

Now this remark as well as the words *chikayaḍ, chikayatô, chikayên*, for singular, dual and plural, and several other remarks of the same nature in the same place, show that the glossarist must have known something of grammar. A still more striking feature in this grammatical definition is this, that the remark on the difference between dual and plural is thus simplified, "and from three upwards any more additions are also plural". However it shows that, though the glossarist knew the different

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1) See the Dinkard volume 3. A copy of an extract from it, touching the history of the Zoroastrian writings, has been published by Mulla Firoz in Avîzehdîn 1830 A. D. Bombay). He has read and interpreted several words wrongly, such as پرگندگی which he read farengi, and translated it "greek"; but the word is only "pargandagi" scatteredness. [The extract is printed in full along with a translation farther below. M. H.]

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grammatical forms, his knowledge may have come to him only by tradition, as it appears he could not, in other instances, distinguish exactly the different cases and their inflections, or terminational changes; for instance, the Zand termination *anām, ām* [illegible] = [illegible] for the genitive plural, he takes simply as plural, but not as the genitive case [1]).

But though it is but justice to the glossarist to say that in his time grammar was very little understood, we cannot but regret that, since his time, our Desturs, instead of improving, have still more neglected the study of grammar, so much so indeed that they knew nothing whatever of it [2]) until a knowledge of it along with a critical study of the Zand texts was revived by the successive laborious studies and deep researches of some eminent European scholars, principally those of Burnouf, Bopp and Haug, and by the excellent edition of almost all the Zand texts by Westergaard, which is highly appreciated by the Desturs.

As regards the meanings which the glossarist (without regard to inflections and terminations) gives to the words, they are in most instances correct. But owing unfortunately to the ambiguity of the Pahlavî character, in which the meanings are given, and to the decline of a proper knowledge of this language among the Parsi priests, the meaning of the words has become in some places doubtful. The Editor and Translator has tried his best to find out those meanings which the compiler appears to have had in view.

The principal reason that the understanding of the Pahlavî meanings given by the glossarist has become so difficult is, that, although this glossary is to be had in almost all Zand and Pahlavî libraries in India and

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1) In the Persian this original termination became ân, which is applied now in all the cases of plural indiscriminately.

2) The following paragraph, from Ulemâi Islâm, written shortly after the termination of the Sâsânian dynasty, will give an amusing but a lamentable exemple of the utter ignorance of the Desturs of at even that date in this respect: Avestâ zebân i Ormuzd ast, u Zand zebân i mâ, u Pâzand în ast ke paidâ kunam. The reasoning of the Destur in the above passage is this, that Avestâ is the language of God and that one could not understand it without Zand.

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known to the Desturs only as a Dictionary of the Zand-Pahlavî language, yet it seems never to have been carefully or critically read by any of them; nor do they seem to have cared at all for it, as there is nowhere a single quotation from it to be found. Again, in many manuscripts, some of the Desturs have inserted interlineal Persian meanings to some words, giving them quite different from each other, for when one reads a word *bunesteh*, another reads it *bandideh*, one reads the word *dovin*, another *doniv*, a third has *dogun*; one reads the word *va-de-heshne*, another *vaniâeshne;* one reads the word *dokhti*, another *dvâti*, and so on, the instances being too numerous to be enumerated here. To make the "confusion worse confounded", the whole mass of these incorrect readings are jumbled together in Anquetil's volume, where again the meanings are still differently and most incorrectly rendered, which shows that even Destur Dârâb, the professed teacher of Anquetil, misunderstood and misinterpreted the meanings to his zealous pupil, the learned Frenchman, who made Europe for the first time acquainted with the Zand-avesta by publishing a translation of it.

The task of the Editor, to render the meanings correctly was, therefore, as may be easily imagined, no easy one; for in several places it was very difficult for him to arrive at an accurate and exact understanding of what the glossarist meant, on account of the ambiguity of the Pahlavi character in general, the great misconceptions on the part of the copyists, and the different incorrect renderings by the Desturs. Although the Editor and Translator has tried his best, to give a correct translation of the meanings of the glossarist, he cannot expect, nor is he vain enough to hope that this his first attempt will be found free from the imperfections incident to a work of this kind in respect of the arrangement and the romanizing, and especially as regards the translation of the work itself written in a doubtful manner in a language which has neither been carefully nor critically studied for many centuries past, and that translation too in the English language a correct idiomatic knowledge of which, it is hoped, will not be expected of him.

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It may be added that, though from a philological point of view, the Editor found several words and especially forms wrongly interpreted in the MSS. themselves, yet as an honest Editor he has thought it his duty not to make any change in the original opinion of the glossarist, of whatever nature it may be.

As at the commencement of the preparation of this work it was not thought, nor proposed, as it now is, to prepare a series of Pahlavî works, in continuation of this, the Editor and Translator has hitherto thought it hardly worth while to mention his own way of reading and pronouncing the Pahlavî words, although he has since long been of opinion that the present way of pronouncing some of them (either European or Indian) is not only incorrect and imperfect, but also without any foundation; and though he is of this opinion he has not thought it proper to bring his own system into full use in the present work, which he cannot do without, in justice to himself, previously fully publishing his reasons for the change; for, to publish a thing at once in quite a new and unusual system, (however sound that system may be) in the absence of the necessary explanations, would be apparently absurd and open to criticisms from all sides. With the exceptions, therefore, of a few essential changes in the pronunciation, all other Pahlavî words are transliterated as they are read by the Indian Desturs.

As this Zand-Pahlavî glossary is the earliest attempt at the compilation of a Zand dictionary, it will not be out of place to enumerate here the lexicons, glossaries, indexes which are known to me, with a few remarks on them.

1. There is a copy of a very old but incomplete Zand-Sanscrit glossary which I saw, in company with my learned friend Dr. Martin Haug, for the first time at Surat while employed in our tour through Gujerat in 1863 to 64. This small book was then examined by me. In it are to be found only those Zand words which are contained in the Yasna with their Sanscrit equivalents, which latter are exactly the same as to be found in Neriosang's version of the Yasna. The author of it is unknown, as unfor-

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tunately there is neither a beginning nor an end to it. It cannot, therefore, be ascertained whether it was made by Neriosang before his own version to assist himself, or was compiled from his version by somebody else. It is not made in an accurate manner, several words, though alphabetically arranged, being wanting. As regards the meanings, they are the same as given by Neriosang.

2. A small Zand and Persian glossary compiled by Destur Byramji Jamshedji Jamasp Asa (my great-grand-father). It contains about 500 or 600 words in all. The significations are given after the Pahlavî explanations without regard to etymology or classification. It is in my possession, and I believe there is no other copy of it extant.

3. Mr. Dhanjibhay Framji Patell of Bombay, the worthy son of our most esteemed townsman, the Hon'ble Framji Nassarwanji, Esquire, gave notice about fifteen years ago of his intention to publish a complete Zand-English Dictionary, but up to the present day the book has not made its appearance in public, nor have I had the fortune of inspecting it. I therefore can give no opinion on it.

Amongst the works of this nature of European authorship, I have to enumerate the following.

1. A carefully made Index of *Vendidâd Sâde*, with a glossary, published by Professor H. Brockhaus in his romanized edition of *Vendidâd Sâde.* Leipzig, 1850. This book was the first of this kind ever published. It contributed largely towards making the study of the Zand language more general in Europe. As usual with Dr. Brockhaus the task is very dexterously and accurately performed.

2. A complete alphabetical Index of all the remaining pieces of the Zand-avesta, which had not been indexed by Brockhaus, including all the Yashts and fragments, Afringan etc. (pages 144 to 342 of Westergaard's edition of the Zand-avesta) by Dr. M. Haug, compiled for his own private use. Copies of this book, however, circulated both in Europe (principally at Göttingen where it was copied from the original by Professor Benfey,

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who allowed some of his pupils to take copies of it) and In India, though the work has not been published.

3. Handbuch der Zendsprache von Ferdinand Justi which contains a Zand-dictionary. In this book which appears to be based on the two indexes mentioned, the passages in which the words are to be found in the various texts are cited which makes it very valuable for the students of the Zand langnage. The author has displayed great energy in its performance and deserves great credit for it. But I must add here that as regards the traditional explanations of the words which the author pretends to give he has mostly followed, it seems, Dr. Spiegel who has but an imperfect, and inaccurate knowledge of our tradition, as shown in his translation of the Zand-avestâ which is decidedly inferior to those we have in Gujarati. Many of his explanations are, therefore, erroneous. Though we cannot expect of him any good knowledge of our tradition, it is to be regretted, that so many words are rendered on mere guesses of the author, as these serious imperfections greatly diminish the value of this otherwise most useful book and make it desirable that a better Zand dictionary should be compiled by a more competent scholar.

In preparing this Edition I have used the following MSS.:

1. D. H. This is the oldest and most important of all MSS. from which the present text has been prepared. It was preserved in the library of Destur Khorsedji Barjorji of Surat, and presented in 1864 to Dr. Martin Haug in recognition of the great services rendered by him to Zand and Sanscrit philology [1]).

2. D. J. The second MS. was written by Destur Jamshed Jâmâsp Asâ of Nausarî (my great-grand-father), and is in my possession. It was written in the year Yezdegard 1160.

3. The third MS. written by Destur Jamshed Edal Behram Jamshed Jâmâsp Asâ (my uncle) in the year Yezdegard 1194 which is also in my possession.

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1) See about it pagg. 79. 80. M. H.

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4. D. N. The fourth MS. written by Destur Nosherwan Jamasp Asâ at Nausari in the year 1150, also in my possession.

5. The fifth MS. written by Destur Asa Nosherwan of Jamasp Asâ family (my father-in-law) in the year 1208.

6. The sixth, a very correct MS. which is about 300 or 350 years old. The name of the author, or the year in which it was written is not mentioned. It belongs to my friend Jamaspjî Bomanjî Bhowanagarî of Surat, to whom I am much obliged for having readily complied with my request to allow me the use of his numerous Pahlavî MSS. all of which are very valuable, and will be used for the preparation of the Government series of Pahlavî works with which I have been entrusted.

Poona, April 1867.

Hoshang Jamasp Destur.

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Introductory remarks

by M. Haug, Ph. D.

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1. On the age and origin of the Pahlavî language.

The opinion advanced by Destur Hoshengji in his introduction (pag. II. III.) that the *Pahlavî* or so-called *Huzvâresh* language originated during the reign of the Assyrians over Persia, from 1230 to 708 B. C., will surprise all scholars who have as yet paid any attention to that language, and as the majority is wedded to preconceived opinions, they will, without proper examination, almost unanimously condemn it as an absurdity. Although he has given no sufficient proofs, yet his view deserves all consideration, as it is, to a certain extent, the traditional opinion of the whole Zoroastrian priesthood on the age of the Pahlavî language. It is actually strange to perceive that those scholars who make so much fuss about the all-importance of Parsi tradition, adhere to it only in minor points, such as the meanings of certain words, but abandon it altogether as regards the most important questions, such as the age of Zoroaster, the composition and preservation of the sacred books, the age of the Pahlavî language etc. Instead of paying, in this respect, the slightest attention to the traditional reports, they maintain, that, for instance, the Zand-alphabet is of post-Christian origin, and that the Zand-avesta, as we possess it now, was not written before the time of the Sasanidæ, and had been preserved for many centuries exclusively by memory, opinions which are laughed at and

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ridiculed by every Parsi priest (and I think justly) as absurdities. The Pahlavî language is assigned to the Sasanian period, as we do not find it employed in inscriptions, and on coins before Ardeshîr. But the promoters and advocates of this opinion have never, it appears, fully considered the questions which here quite naturally arise: how did the Pahlavî which is taken as a mixture of Semitic and Iranian languages, become the language of Persia, superseding the Persian? and why did the Sasanian kings who were so extremely zealous in preserving the national customs, manners and religion, make an essentially Semitic idiom their official language, disregarding thus the national language of Persia? As nobody will, I suppose, maintain, that a Semitic idiom was the original language of the Persians and Medes who were Aryans, we must account, in one way or other, for the fact that a Semitic language spread over the whole Persian empire to such an extent thad it could be made the official language. One has adduced commercial and literary grounds, by saying, that the Babylonian was the commercial language of Asia and that, since Christianity began to spread, Syriac books were much studied in Persia; but these reasons are certainly not sufficient to account for the official employment of the Pahlavî language under the Sasanian dynasty, and the fact, that all the commentaries on the sacred books were written in it. In every country where a foreign language is very extensively employed, and almost universally understood, it has been spread by conquest only. Persian did not become, for instance, the official language of India, before Mohammedan, nor English, before the English conquest, nor French that of England, before the Normans conquered it. Now the only foreign nations who held sway over Iran for any length of time during the period when alone the Pahlavi can have originated, were the Assyrians and the Greeks. The Assyrian reign terminated, if we take the latest date, certainly with the destruction of their capital, Niniveh, by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar in 606 B. C.; but the Medes shook off the Assyrian yoke (or rather began to shake it off) already at the time of *Dejoces* (700 B. C.) after the rule of the Assyrians had been lasting, as Herodotus (I, 95.) informs us, for 520 years.

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The overthrow of the Assyrian tyranny which appears however, not to have been completed before the end of the seventh century B. C., must have given a great impetus to the revival of national manners, customs, and the paternal religion which we have all reason to believe was that of *Zarathushtra Spitama.* It is a very significant fact that Pârsî tradition unanimonsly places Zoroaster at the very time of the complete termination of the Assyrian sway, that is, towards the latter part of the seventh century B. C.; for we learn from the *Ardâi Vîrâf nâmeh*, (composed during the first century of the Sasanian dynasty) that the Zoroastrian religion had been in existence for 300 years when Alexander conquered Irân, and destroyed Persepolis along with the library in which the original copy of the Zand-avestâ was kept (see my Lecture on an original speech of Zoroaster with remarks on his age pag. 20); this brings back the age of the prophet to 630 B. C. With this date agrees on the whole a statement by *Masûdî* (about 950 A. D.) [1]), that the Magi affirm, that Zoroaster lived 280 years before Alexander, that is, 610 B. C. Further weight is added to it by a story, related in the Dâbistân according to Pârsi and Mohammedan reports (1, pag. 308), that the Khalif *Mutawakkal* ordered in the year A. D. 846 the cypress which Zoroaster was said to have brought from the garden of paradise, and planted at the gate of the fire-temple at *Kishmâr* to be cut off, after it had been standing for 1450 years. If we take solar years, as we are fully justified in doing, we arrive at 604 B. C. as the date when the tree was planted; this was done, as it appears, shortly after the fall of Niniveh, in commemoration of some great event, probably the revival of the ancient Zoroastrian religion. All these statements tend to prove that at the time of the Median king *Cyaxares* who was ruling during the period indicated a great movement in favour of the Zoroastrian faith took place, which can be only a revival, as the founder, according to the unanimous statements of early Greek and Roman authors, lived long before that time. The Zoroastrian religion appears, as we may

1) See Chwolsohn, Die Sabier II, pag. 690.

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learn from *Agathias* (II, 24. pag. 117 ed. Niebuhr) to have become almost extinct during the Assyrian reign, and entirely amalgamated with Babylonian and Assyrian idolatry, as the Persians worshipped, before the Zoroastrian innovations, (as Agathias calls the doctrines of Zoroaster) i. e. before the revival of the old religion, Bel, Sandes, Saturn etc. This circumstance throws light on the expression *paoiryôḍkaêsho* "a professor of the ancient religion" by which the traditional books, chiefly the *Dînkart*, understand only the Zoroastrians. Their Fravashis appear to have been introduced into the prayer formulas at the time of the restoration of the old religion; for before that time there would have been no occassion, as all Parsis appear to have professed the Babylonian religion, or rather a mixture of it with their own, and made no distinction between their own and that of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

It is to the time of Cyaxares that we must ascribe the invention of the so-called Zand-alphabet for the purpose of preserving the sacred texts; for at the time of Ardeshîr Bâbegân, there would have been, according to the statements of the Dînkart and the Ardâi Vîrâf nâmeh and the tradition of the Pârsi priests about the great ignorance of the priesthood regarding the religion at that time, no one able to invent such a minute alphabet, expressing every shade of articulated sounds of a language which had been dead, at that period, for a considerable time. It was at the same time and the early period of the Achæmenian rule that the books of the Zand-avestâ of which the present Zandtexts are fragments were collected, arranged, commited to writing, and commented on, and not at any period subsequent to it, for during the rule of the Achæmenian dynasty to which the Magian priests never appear to have taken a liking, as tradition has forgotten them almost entirely, whereas Cyaxares *(Hushîdar, Uvakhshatra)* is expected to appear again for the restauration of the Zoroastrian creed, the Zoroastrian religion was, on political grounds, not better cared for than the Babylonian or Assyrian idolatry, though the kings professed the Zoroastrian creed, as we may learn from the facts

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that, according to the Bisutûn inscription, Darius restored the temples [1]) which *Gumâta*, the *Pseudo-Smerdis*, had destroyed, and *Artaxerxes Mnemon* (404—368 B. C.) ordered images of *Anâhita* to be made and put up at various temples (see Clem. Alexandr. Protrept. ch. 5. pag. 43. ed. Potter) which must have been regarded as an abomination by the true Zoroastrians, just as it is done by them now-a-days. As the Magi were Medes, and desirous of wresting the sceptre over Irân from the hands of the Persians, the Achæmenian rulers had no occasion to strengthen them and fan their fanaticism by collecting their books, restoring their religion and spreading their tenets by force, as they would have been expected to do. Only the two first kings of the Achæmenian dynasty, Cyrus and Cambyses, appear to have given much support to the Magian religion, but after the attempt of the Magi to seize the reins of government, had been frustrated by Darius, he and his successors had all reason to remain as indifferent as possible to their religion, and avoid taking the lead in any thing which might have fostered their fanaticism.

Notwithstanding, the Zoroastrian religion remained a recognized, and even to a certain extent, the state religion of the Persian empire during the Achæmenian rule, and religious learning could be easily kept up by the priesthood. Many commentaries and original books on religious matters may have been composed during that time. But the Macedonian conquest which was completed in the year 330 B. C. changed entirely the state of affairs. The Greeks, in order to take revenge for the destruction of the temples at Athens by Xerxes, destroyed Persepolis, killed the priests, and burnt the library containing the original copies of the sacred books, the texts along with the commentaries, as we learn from the Dînkart and the Ardâi Vîrâf. From this blow which is unanimously, and I think justly, attributed by tradition to Alexander, and not to the Arabs, the Zoroastrian religion never recovered. The books were scattered, and the priests became every day more ignorant, as no native rulers had any interest in

1) These can be only idoltemples, as the Magian priests had no temples at all, and hated idolworship as fanatically as the Jews, or Musalmans.

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promoting a knowledge of the Magian religion. After an interval of about 500 years, during which the religion as well as the sacred texts must have suffered greatly, the restorer of the paternal religion appeard in the person of Ardeshîr Bâbegân (A. D. 226.). Under his reign the texts along with the commentaries were recollected, and Zoroastrianism made the religion of the state. The Pahlavî was raised to the rank of an official language.

Now the question arises, why did Ardeshîr Bâbegân introduce the Huzvâresh language which had not been the official language during the reign of the preceding dynasty, the Arsacidæ? As he was the restorer of the national customs, and the ancestral creed, we may expect him to have given his support to the cultivation of the national language. But Huzvâresh, on account of its purely Semitic character, chiefly as shown in the inscriptions, can never have been the vernacular language of Persia, which rank must have always been held by the Persian, as we find it there in antiquity as well as in modern times and up to the present day. Had it once died out, it would be no longer existing, as a language once dead, is generally never made a living one. The preference given to Huzvâresh by the Sasanian kings over the vernacular can be only accounted for by supposing that the character of sacredness was attached to it, as it was the language in which all commentaries on the religious books, and on the laws were written, occupying for the Zoroastrian community the rank of a church and law language just as Latin in the middle ages in Europe.

The question about the age of the Huzvâresh language is closely connected with that about the age of the Huzvâresh commentaries on the sacred texts, and the traditional books written in it. The two most important documents relating to the history of the Zoroastrian writings, the introduction to the Ardâi Vîrâf, and a passage from the Dînkart (see the appendix to this tract) clearly state, or indicate that commentaries on the sacred books, and original compositions in the Pahlavî (Huzvâresh language) were extant at the time of the destruction of the great library at Persepolis by the Greeks (330 B. C.). For the *Dînkart* which is by far the

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largest Huzvâresh work in existence[1]), and the most important storehouse of traditional lore, comparable to the Jewish Talmud, is said to have been originally composed by the disciples of Zoroaster himself (though it is admitted that it was, after the copies had become scattered, and destroyed several times, recomposed from the fragments). According to the Ardâi Vîrâf, the original copy of the sacred texts which was deposited in the fort at Persepolis, contained both *Avesta* and *Zand;* but by *Zand* one understood throughout the Sasanian period only the Pahlavî language, and commentaries written in it, as the reader may learn from the first pages of this Zand-Pahlavî glossary. If we further consider, that almost the same character of sacredness was ascribed to the *Zand* or original Pahlavi commentary as to the *Avesta* or original text itself, as is clearly shown by some explanatory remarks added (during the Sasanian period) to the Pahlavî translation of some passages of the *Yasna*[2]), and by the fact that the Pârsi scripture is commonly called *Avesta-Zand* in the traditional books, we are driven to the conclusion that commentaries in the *Huzvâresh* language on the sacred texts must have been in existence long before the Sasanian period. For at the time of the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion by Ardeshîr Bâbegân the priests were so ignorant (as we learn from the Ardâi Vîrâf, and as it is generally believed by the Parsis now-a-days) that they had been utterly unable to compose only half as good a commentary as that one on the Vendidâd is. All they could do was to collect the texts and

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1) There is unfortunately only one complete copy of it in existence which is at Nausari in the library of the Destûr-i-Destûrân. I saw it together with Destûr Hoshengji on our tour through Gujarat in January 1864; it comprises about 2000 huge pages. Notwithstanding the numerous efforts which have been made, no transcript of it could be obtained. Parts of it are in several other libraries. I possess (out of the seven volumes) the second and seventh, which contain the most valuable information (hitherto utterly unknown), principally lengthy extracts from some Nosks which are now lost, and many traditional reports about Zoroaster. As regards the understanding, it is the most difficult Pahlavî work in existence, differing widely from the easy style of the Bundehesh, Ardâi Vîraf, and other compositions of the Sasanian period.

2) tâ in Yas. 30, 1. 31, 1., and vâ 29, 7. are explained by ابستاک و زند Avestâk o Zand.

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translations, and all other helps, such as glossaries etc., and try their best to obtain an understanding of them. Of the Pahlavî versions of the Vendidâd, Yasna and Visparad now existing, we can only assign the glosses to the Sasanian time, but the actual renderings must rest (chiefly those of the Vendidâd) on much earlier translations.

Now, if according to all the evidence [1]) which has been adduced, it is hardly possible to deny the existence of translations of the sacred texts before the Sasanian times, and if we bear in mind the importance attached to the Huzvâresh as shown above, we may safely conclude, that this language must have been in use among the Magian priesthood long before that time.

However I know very well that all the arguments adduced are not sufficient to prove the origin of the Huzvâresh language during the Assyrian period. This is only possible by showing an actual identity of the Huzvâresh with, or at any rate, the closest relationship to the Assyrian of the cuneiform inscriptions. Although several important items can be pointed out (as will be done hereafter) to prove a closer connection of the Huzvâresh with the Assyrian than with any other Semitic dialect, yet our knowledge of the Assyrian is not advanced enough to settle the question finally.

Before entering on this discussion I must state my opinion on the nature of the Pahlavî language which the Sasanian kings employed in their inscriptions, and its relation to the Pahlavî of the books. Professor Westergaard believes them to be essentially different, as he takes the former for a purely Semitic, the latter for an Iranian language. But on a closer investigation of the Sapor inscription A of *Hajiâbâd* (B shows another Semitic idiom which is no Pahlavî, but very near it) I became fully convinced of the complete identity of the language exhibited in it with the Pahlavî

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1) To it the statement of Pliny (N. H. 30, 2.) may be added who says that Zoroaster composed, according to Hermippos (250 B. C.), two millions of verses. This notice is only intelligible, if the commentaries are also counted, as the pure Zand texts cannot have been so numerous according to Parsi tradition. Pliny mentions even commentarii on the Zoroastrian writings, but states that they perished (that is chiefly since the time of Alexander).

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of the books, and of the purely Semitic nature of both. I give here my proofs in short [1]).

1. The termination man which is known as a peculiarity of the book-Pahlavî is to be met with also in the inscriptions, and added to the very same words as in the former; it is expressed by the character . Instances from the Saporinscription A (Westergaard's Bundehesh pag. 83): lin. 1. 5. 7. 13. *zanman* = *danman* "this"; l. 3. *barman* = *benman* "son"; l. 8. 16. *olman* = *varman*, or *valman*, *olman* "he, him, it"; l. 9. *tamman* = *tamman* "there"; l. 10. 12. *homan* = *homan* "it is" (in *homan-am* "I am", *homanâd* "he is"); l. 11. *lanman* = *roman, lanman* "we"; l. 12. 16. *yadman* = *yadman* "hand"; l. 12. *lagalman* = *ragalman* "foot". — In the inscription B the termination occurs only in some of the words mentioned, such as *zanman*, *tamman*; but, instead of *yadman*, we have *yadâ*, a purely Chaldaic form, and *homan* is not to be found at all; instead of *lanman* "we" there is only *lan* (lin. 10.).

2. The peculiar prepositions and adverbs of the Pahlavî books are also to be found in the inscriptions. Instances: l. 2. 4. *min* = *min* "from"; l. 4. *apan* = *avan* "in"; l. 6. 12. *pavan* = *pavan* "in"; l. 13. 15. *ol* = *var*, *val*, *ol* "to, into" (comp. Hebrew על); l. 5. *âmat* = *âmat* "that"; l. 8. 9. *aik* = *âigh* "ὅτι"; l. 9. *lâ* = *lâ* "not"; l. 11. 14. *akhar* = *akhar* "after".

3. The pronouns are in both the same. Instances: l. 1 *li* (the same as in B) = *le, li* "I"; l. 11. *lanman* = *roman, lanman*

1) A translation and explanation of both texts of the bilingual Sapor inscription I hope to publish soon.

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"we"; [illegible] *zanman* see under 1; l. 9. 12. 13. 15. [illegible] *zak* = [illegible] *zak* "this".

4. The verbs are, on the whole, the same. Instances: l. 5. 6. 14. [illegible] *shadîtan* [1]) (B *shadît*, past part. fem. of *sh'dai*, Chald. שְׁדָא "to throw") = [illegible] *shadôntan* "to send" (see the *Pahlavî-Pâzand Glossary* pag. 17. l. 5.); l. 7. 13. [illegible] *hanahtûn*, 3 pl. perf. of *hanaht* (Chaldee and Syriac אַחֵת *akhēt* "to put, place", instead of *an'khêt*, causal of נְחַת *n'khât* "to descend") = [illegible] *anâtûntan* (read: *anakhtûntan*) "to put, place" [1]); l. 8. [illegible] *lamîtan* (B *ramît*, past part. fem. of *ram'ai* "to throw", Chald. רְמָא) = [illegible] *ramîtûntan* "to throw"; l. 9. [illegible] *yehavôn* (B. the same) = [illegible] *yehavûnat* "it is" (Chald. הֲוָא *havâ'* "fuit"); l. 10. [illegible] *yehavôn homan* = [illegible] *yehavûnt homanad* in the phrase: [illegible] *patyâk* (instead of *paitâk*) *yehavôn homan* "it is public, known" = [illegible] *pêtâk yehavûnt homanad.*

5. There are nowhere in the inscription Iranian verbal terminations to be observed, but the few which are found, are undoubtedly Semitic; see those mentioned under 4. Of nominal terminations we observe only the plural suffix *ân* in [illegible] *malkân* "kings", [illegible] *shataldalân* (instead of *shatardarân*) "Satraps" etc. which is generally derived from the old Persian gen. plur. *anām*, but it may be as well, and I think with more reason, explained from the Assyrian where the emphatic plural is *ân*, nom. *ânu*, acc. *âna*, gen. dat. *âni* (see Oppert in the Journal Asiatique, Tome XV,

1) This [illegible] is no part of the infinitive termination t a n, but a suffix, very likely that of the first person plural. Grammatically the infinitive is impossible in those cases in which it is found after [illegible] t in the Saporinscription.

2) The inscription B which is only a translation of A has instead of it h a s a i m ù n which is clearly a Hifil of שׂוּם "to put".

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of 1860, pag. 111; his statements are confirmed by the texts). For the proper plural termination in Zand is *ăm*, and *ănăm* only used of the words ending in *a*. The change of a final *m* in Zand and old Persian to *n* in modern Persian appears to me very doubtful, as I am not aware of a single iustance which would really prove this change. The other Persian plural termination in *hâ* cannot be explained from Zand or old Persian at all, and we have to look for an explanation from the languages of the cuneiform inscriptions. The only trace of Iranian grammar in the inscription A appears to be the application of the *Iḍhâfet i* in ܫܟܦܫܘܪܝ *Shakhpukhri;* but I have no doubt that on further investigation it may be also traced to Assyrian origin.

The only Iranian elements to be found in the inscriptions are a few words chiefly relating to religion which were borrowed from the Persian, such as ܡܙܕܝܣܢ *mazdayasn* "a Zoroastrian" ܡܝܢܘ *minû* "divine, heavenly", ܝܙܕܢ *yazdân* "God", ܦܪܡܬ *parmât* "ordered" *(pairimâta*, Persian *farmûda)* etc.

The only real difference which appears to exist between the language of the inscriptions and that of the books is, that the Irânian terminations of moods, and the persons in the verbs are omitted altogether in the former, whereas they are to be met with constantly in the latter. This can be easily accounted for, if one bears in mind that the Parsi priests have become accustomed for many centuries to pronounce all Huzvâresh words, as if they were Persian. They write, for instance, ܝܗܘܢܬܢ *(yehavûntan)*, ܝܗܘܢܬ *(yehavûnat)*, ܝܗܘܢܝܕ *(yehavûnêd)*, ܝܗܘܢܬ *(yehavûnt)* etc., but read always *bûdan*, *bavâd*, *bavêd*, *bûd* etc. As the Assyrian way of distinguishing persons, moods and tenses differed very much from the Irânian, and was, in several respects, much more defective than the latter, it was thought necessary, in order to preserve the correct understanding of the old Assyrian *(Huzvânash)* versions, to add the Irânian terminations to the Assyrian words. This was originally the so-called *Pâzand* i. e. the commentary on the Zand in the language known to every one, whereas Zand

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(i. e. Pahlavî) was the language of the priests and learned men. This Pâzand is certainly of Sasanian origin, and was added only after the collection of the fragments of the Avesta with the old Huzvânash versions. In the course of time both the *Zand (Pahlavî)* and the *Pâzand* (Persian) were mixed up into one jargon, which has taken almost up to the present day with the Pârsi priests the same place which Latin occupies with the scholars of Europe. This is the Pahlavî of the books which is, as we have seen, no Iranian language at all.

Now I have to state what I know of the relationship in wich the Pahlavî stands to the Assyrian language, or rather of the supposed identity of both. Of the Assyrian with which the Babylonian appears to have been identical we have to distinguish two principal dialects, which may be called High-Assyrian, and Low-Assyrian, the former being the language of the cuneiform inscriptions, the latter that of the common people which was generally written with the old Aramæan or Phenician character; they appear to stand to one another exactly in the same relationship as the language of the Hieroglyphics to the Demotic. The High-Assyrian, as exhibited in the third language of the trilingual cuneiform inscriptions, and in the records of the Assyrian and Babylonian rulers, is distinct from all other Semitic dialects with which we are acquainted. It is richer in forms than either the Chaldee or the Hebrew, and stands in this respect nearest the Arabic. The Low-Assyrian is an Aramæn dialect and stands nearest the Chaldee. In later times it was known by the name of the *Nabathæan* language. We find it officially employed during the time of the Achæmenian dynasty, as we may learn from the legends on coins which were struck by various Satraps during that period. The few words which occur in them show some features peculiar to the Pahlavî, such as the vowel *u* (ו) at the end of names whether they are of Iranian or Semitic origin. Thus we find תריבזו *Tiribazu*, פרנבזו *Pharnabazu*, תבלו *Tabalu*, עבד זהראו *'Abd-zohar'u*, תדנמו *Tadnamu* [1]). The relative pronoun זי *zi*

1) See Duc de Luynes, "Essai sur la numismatique des Satrapies sous les rois Achéménides. Paris 1848". Blau, "De numis Achæmenida-

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which is employed in Huzvârash (the Iranian pronouns being generally added to it, [illegible] *zîm* etc.) is also found on a coin of *'Abd-Zohar*, the Satrap of Cilicia.

In the legends on the Nabathæan coins of Petra which appear to have been struck since 151. B. C. we find that most of the proper names end in *u*, for instance, נבטו *Nabṭu* Nabathæa, מלכו *Malku* (Malchus, name of a Nabathæan king), אמנו *'Amanu*, חלדו *Khuldu*. The same we observe in the Sinaitic inscriptions which are of Nabathæan origin (instances: ירחו *Yarkhu*, משו *Mashu*, וילו *Vîlu* etc.); the use of this *u* is, however, not restricted to proper names, but it is found in common nouns also, such as אמירו *'Amiru* "Emir" [1]).

As regards this final *u*, we may well say that it is one of the most distinctive features of the Huzvârash, as it is added there to almost all nouns, infinitives and past participles which end in no vowel expressed by writing. The most curious views have been set forth on it. Some regard it as a miswriting, or quite a meaningless addition, others read it *n* which cannot be explained in any satisfactory way, others *a*, as some of the words which are marked with it, are pronounced in Persian with final *a*, for instance קנתו *(kantu) karda*. There can be no doubt that the real meaning of this final *u* has been as unintelligible to the Parsi priests almost since the beginning of the Sasanian times as the cases of the Zand-language. In the Sasanian inscriptions it is not employed, which clearly shows that, as it was no longer pronounced (or understood), it was not expressed in writing. But the priests who slavishly stuck to the old Huzvânash versions kept it when making their copies.

In the High-Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions we find this *u* very frequently employed in nouns as a sign of the nominative case, e. g. סרו *saru*

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rum Aramæo-Persicis. Lipsiæ 1855." (pagg. 5—7. 12. 13.). J. Brandis, "Das Münz-, Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorder-Asien. Berlin, 1866." (pagg. 351. 429 etc.)

2) See the article by Levy on the Nabathæan inscriptions in "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlændischen Gesellschaft" vol. XIV, pagg. 363—484.

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"king", רבו *rabu* "great", אבו *'abu* "father", but it appears to have been used also for the oblique cases, principally in proper names; compare *sar Babilu*, "king of Babylon". In the Low-Assyrian written in the Aramæan character we find it also used at a very early time, as we learn from a seal found at Koyunjik which bears the inscription לעתרעזו *le'atr'azu* "belonging to *'Atra'z*". [1])

From the final *u* to be found so frequently in nouns and infinitives we must distinguish the final *u*, or *vu*, to be met with after verbs, e. g. טיוטיפו *yehavunêtu*. This is also to be traced to an Assyrian source, but of quite a different nature and origin. We find in the Ninivite inscriptions very frequently after the aorists (expressed by the second tense of the Semitic languages) the syllable *va* [2]) which appears to express the reference of the preceding action to the following, and can often be translated by "and", "and then", but not always. It is not the common particle "and", as it never appears between nouns.

Let us now mention some other peculiarities of the Assyrian and Huzvâresh languages which point to a common source.

1. In the Pahlavî we observe that nouns which end in Persian in a vowel, are generally followed by a guttural, e. g. *avestâ* is *avestâk, karfa* "a meritorious action" is *karpak*, *kanpak*, *nu* "new" is *nuk* etc. The same peculiarity we find in the Assyrian inscriptions, as we learn, for instance, from the way, in which the final *a* of *Ahura-mazdâ* is written. Though the sign of the syllable *da* would have been sufficient to express the *a*, we find often a guttural *h (kh)* added after it, so that the Assyrians probably pronounced the name *Ahurmazdâkh;* other instances:

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1) See Layard, Niniveh and Babylon pag. 155.

2) See the great inscription of Sanherib col. I, lin. 29—35 in "The Cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia edited by Sir Henry Rawlinson vol. I"; the great inscription of Nebucadnezar both in the archaic and common character (in the same work) col. 1, lin. 63; the Assyrian inscription of Persepolis 3: iddinu va "he gave", Oppert, Expédition en Mésopotamie II, pag. 252; the inscription of Sardanapal in the Louvre, lin. 2, asbat va "I seized", Oppert, E. M. II, pag. 358.

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Akhamanishi(kh), "Aryaramna" (a proper name); *Hishi(kh)arsha(kh)*, *Khshyarsha* "Xerxes"; *Uvidarnakh* "Vidarna" (a proper name) etc.

2. The suffix [illegible] which forms adverbs from substantives and adjectives, is apparently identical with the Assyrian suffix *ish* which serves exactly the same purpose. The Pârsi priests read it *ihâ* or *hyâ* which reading appears to have been current already ad the time of Neriosang (about A. D. 1350), as we may learn from his Pâzand transliterations of Huzvâresh texts. It is, however, just as incorrect as many other readings of old Huzvânash words, as it cannot be explained from any Iranian or Semitic language. We are, however, perfectly justified in reading it *yash* or *îsh*, in which case the whole mystery is cleared up. Instances from the Huzvânash: [illegible] *vanâskârîsh* "in the way of a sinner, sinfully"; [illegible] *dâtîsh* "in the right way, rightly, properly"; from the Assyrian: שַׁלְמִשׁ *shalmish* "up to the end, completely" (from שלם), כַּכַּבִּשׁ *kakkabish* "with, in stars" (Hebr. כּוֹכָב *kôkâb*), *ṭabish* "in a good manner" (Hebr. טוֹב *ṭôb*). [1])

3. The name of *Ahura-mazda* in the Huzvânash versions, [illegible], which is traditionally read *Anhoma*, can be only explained from the Assyrian. All attempts made by some modern scholars to read out of it *Hormazd* are in vain, as the Pahlavî characters of [illegible] can by no means express the sounds required for *Hormazd*. Moreover, it would be very strange to suppose that the Pârsi priests should have forgotten the pronunciation of the name of their God, or wilfully mispronounced it, as this would have been a great sin according to their religion. The explanation is, however, simple enough. They found the name constantly written [illegible] in the old Huzvânash versions which were collected at the time of Ardeshîr, and kept it conscientiously. This can be the only reason that they did not substitute [illegible] *Hormazd* for it. The writing [illegible] represents, however, the name *Ahura-mazda* just as well as [illegible]. We must

1) See Oppert, Expédition en Mésop. II, pag. 269; Grammaire Assyrienne §. 198.

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divide it into *an.* [1]) *ho. ma.* The first is the well-known Assyrian word *an* "God" (originally expressed by the image of a star, as we learn from the inscriptions in the archaic character), which always precedes the names of the Gods; *ho* is the abbreviation of *hur*, *hor*, and *ma* that of *mazd*, the whole meaning thus "the God Hormazd".

4. Another strong argument for the supposed original identity of the Huzvânash with the Assyrian is furnished by the occurrence of Turânian suffixes and words in the Pahlavî. As the Assyrians borrowed their whole system of writing along with the phonetic values attached to each character from a Turânian nation [2]), it is quite natural to suppose that Turânian words crept into their language and could interchange with their own. And indeed several Assyrian words as read at present do not appear to be of Semitic origin. So, for instance, the auxiliary verb *tur* "to be", which is so frequently met with in the Assyrian inscriptions, is no Semitic word, but we find it in the Turânian version of the Bisutun inscription [3]).

The suffix ش‌ن, ش‌ن‌د, *eshn, esn esni* which is of very frequent occurrence in the Pahlavî [4]) cannot be explained from any Iranian or Semitic language; but it is partly employed in the same sense as in the Pahlavî (as a 3 person of the imperative) in the Turânian versions of the Bisutun and Persepolitan inscriptions, e. g. *farpisni* "let him kill", *nusgasni* "let him protect" [5]). The word ش‌ن‌س‌و "a place, district" which is traditionally read *jinak* is also of Turânian origin. For it is, in my opinion, identical

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1) In the Rivâyats this a n is sometimes regarded as being separate from the name "Hormazd". For in a passage of a fine Rivâyat belonging to the collection of Zand, Pahlavî and Persian MSS. which I made for the Government of Bombay, (Nr. 29, b. fol. 403, a) the name is written س ش‌ن‌ش‌ن‌ذ An Hormazd.

2) This has been shown by Oppert beyond doubt in his Exp. en Més. vol. II.

3) See my pamphlet "Ueber Schrift and Sprache der zweiten Keilschriftgattung". Göttingen 1855, pag. 33.

4) See my pamphlet "Ueber die Pehlewisprache". Göttingen 1854, pag. 17.

5) See "Ueber Schrift and Sprache der zweiten Keilschriftgattung" pagg. 31. 42; Oppert, Exp. en Més. II, pag. 198.

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with the Turânian *kintik* "place, town, a cultivated field" the ideographic sign of which is always added to the names of certain places, such as Babylon, Borsippa, Sippara, Accad, Elam, the river Euphrates etc. [1]) Another word of the same origin is *damdamâ* "sea" *(Pahlavî-Pâzand Glossary* pag. 2, l. 10), Turânian *dim, tim* "water, sea".

The arguments adduced in the above will be sufficient to make the original identity of the Huzvârash with the Assyrian appear very probable to every impartial and judicious scholar. Additional proofs I may give on another occasion, as my own knowledge of this very difficult subject advances.

The Assyrian appears to have been well known in Irân even at the time of the composition of the original *Avesta*; for we find in the present texts at least two words wich were of frequent use in the Assyrian, but cannot be explained by means of the Aryan languages. These are *asperena* and *naska;* on *asperena* "a particular weight, a talent" see note 3 on pag. 60. *Naska* "book" Pahlavî ܢܘܣܟ *nusk (Nosk)* is the Assyrian *nusku* which does not signify "unction", as Oppert, mislead by a false etymology, supposés, but something connected with writing. *Nusku* which is still preserved in the Arabic *nuskhat* "a copy of a book" is the Assyrian pronunciation of a very frequent character which was pronounced *pa* [2]) in the Turânian (Casdo-Scythic), and expresses ideographically the God *Nebo* who is the writer of the gods [3]); if preceded by the ideographic sign for "wood", it is pronounced in Assyrian *ḥarat* [4]) which cannot mean

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1) See Oppert, Exp. en Més. II, pag. 95. 89. (nos. 23–29. 34. 35). 108 (no. 18).

2) See the bilingual explanation of ideogrammes in "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, edited by Sir Henry Rawlinson" vol. II, pag. 2 lin. 344.

3) See "Chwolsohn, Die Sabier". II, pagg. 164. 685. Nebo has revealed the cuneiform character (makmir, the writing of the kemarim כְּמָרִים who are well known in the Old Testament as the Babylonian and Assyrian idolpriests); see the preface of Sardanapal to his vocabularies in Oppert, Exp. en Més. II, pag. 360.

4) See Oppert. Exp. en Més. II, pag. 87.

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"sceptre" as Oppert thinks, but "style used for writing" [1]) (compare חֶרֶט "style" Jes. 8, 1.), as the root חרט *kharaṭ* means to "cut, to sculpt, engrave" in the Semitic languages, but has nothing to do with words meaning "to rule, staff, sceptre". *Nusku* probably signifies "book", and Nebo, as the secretary to the gods, was the "God of books".

It is, according to this investigation, not at all improbable, that the Huzvânash language originated at such an early period as that one assigned to it by Destur Hoshengji.

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1) The passages from the great Nebucadnezar inscription col. I. lin. 43. 60. where the words haratu and harana occur, appear to have been misinterpreted by Oppert, Exp. en Més II, pagg. 312. 13. 15. The words harata isharti usadmih gatûa (yadûa) mean: he (Nebo) made my hand raise the style of justice, i. e. Nebo directed my hands to write just decrees; usadmih is the Safel (causal) of damakh which root means in Arabic "to be raised". The other passage lin. 60 harana ishartam tapakid-su, I translate "thou (Nebo) hast made him keep the style of justice" i. e. thou hast confided it to his hands, made him thy trustee on this earth; for the king's decisions are believed to be inspired by Nebo, the secretary to the gods who knows all their thoughts. It is, however, possible that in later times the style was mistaken for a sceptre.

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Appendix.

1. Extract from the third volume of the Dînkard (taken from Mulla Fîrûz, Avîzeh dîn pagg. 5—22). [1]

1. [illegible]

1. Maam dînu napîk Dîn-kant-napîk man nakîzand vehdînu homandu Dîn-kant-napîk kant, ait man visp dânâkê pâshîd dînu mahêst paitâkê.

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1) This text does not appear to have formed an original part of the Dînkart. It must have been added when its fragments were collected and arranged for the last time, to serve as a historical record of the fate of this storehouse of traditional lore. I print it here from a copy which has been written by Destur Hoshengji for my own use. In my transliteration I have introduced some changes, for the principal of which I think it necessary to state my reasons. [illegible] which is generally read var, I transliterated ol, as it is the Semitic עַל, the ע' being expressed in the Pahlavî by [illegible]; compare [illegible] vad "to, up to", Hebrew עַד. The preposition [illegible] "in" which is read dayen, I read yen or 'in, as it is comptetely identical with the Assyrian אִן 'in "in". The [illegible] after the verba finita I transliterated vu (va would be perhaps better) as it is evidently the Assyrian va employed in the same way; see pag. XXVI. The final [illegible] has been pronounced u throughout; see pag. XXV. [illegible] "spirit" which is generally read madonad, or taken for a mispronunciation of minui "heavenly" in Pâzand, I read mainivat which I regard as an old Persian word conveying the same sense as the Bactrian mainyu. [illegible] "God" which is pronounced yehân or ihân by the Desturs is not identical with yazdân, as some European scholars have taken it, but also an old Persian word, yasana, or yadana "deserving worship". — As regards the translation, I have used the Pâzand by Mulla Fîrûz and his Gujarâti version, along with the corrections made by Destur Hoshengji, but without constantly adhering to their interpretations.

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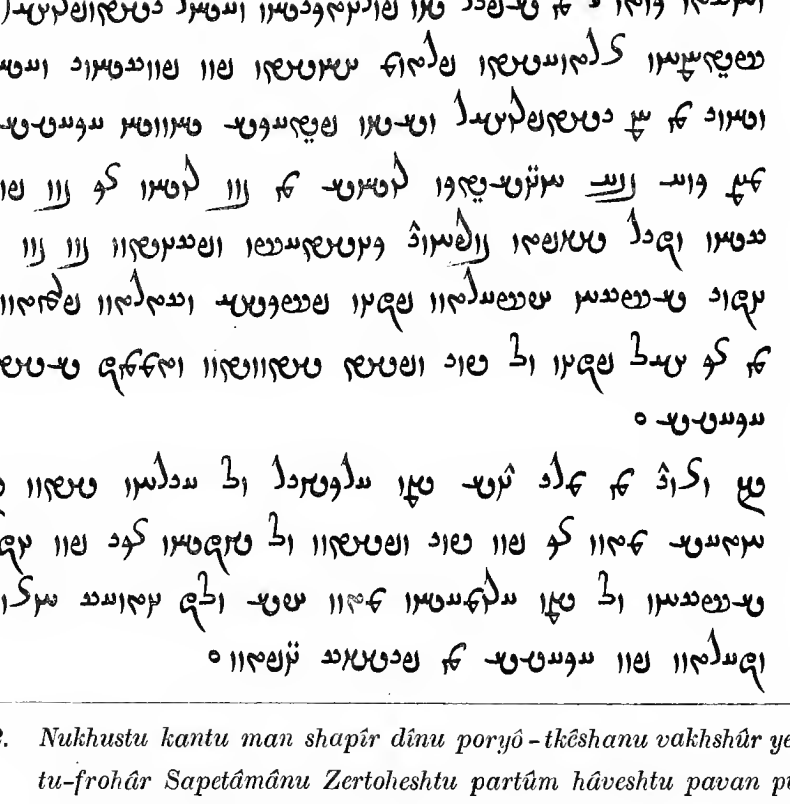

2. *Nukhustu kantu man shapîr dînu poryô-tkêshanu vakhshûr yeshtu-frohâr Sapetâmânu Zertoheshtu partûm hâveshtu pavan punseshne vakhshûneshne man ham yesht-frohâr vehdînu paitâkê yehavûneshn âgâsî.*

3. *Maam kenâ babâ angushîtak roshnî man bun roshanu zak bun punseshn vachîr dahyupatu burzânvad kai Vishtâsp napîkînîtvu bun bun ol ganju i Shaspikân avaspârdvu pazhînu pazhîzkihâ vastartanu parmûtvu.*

4. *Man zak akhar pazhînu ol dazhu i nipisht shadûnîtvu tammanach dâshtanu âgâsî.*

5. *Yen vazand man marê dosh-gadman Alaksandar ol Airânushatanu yen khotâê mat; zaki pavan dazhu i nipisht ol sochashn; zaki pavan ganchu i Shapîkân ol yadman Arûmayânu matvu. Avash olach Yûtnâik huzvân vichârtvu pavan âgâsî man pêshînîk guftanu.*

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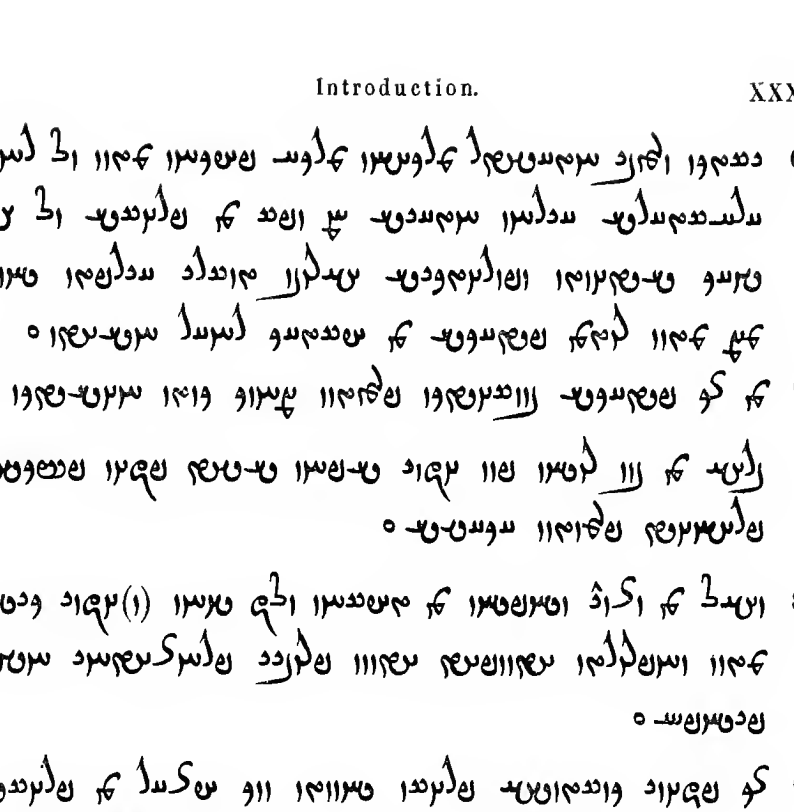

6. Jastaku olmanbi Antakhshatar malkaân malkâ Pâpakânu matvu ol lakhâr ârâstârî Airânu khudâyâ; ham napîk man pargandagî ol aêvak jinâk jaitgûnatu; u poryutkêsh ahlubu Tosre Harpatu yehavûnad maam matvu rutman paitâkê man avistâk lakhâr andakhtu.

7. Man zak paitâkê bundakînîdaku parmûtvu damânak kantu angushîtaku man barash man bun roshnu pavan ganju i Shapânu dâsht pazhînu pashîzkîhâ perâkhînîd permûtvu âgâsî.

8. U akhar man vazand vashupeshnu man Tâzîgânu olach dînânu (u) ganchu i kîshûr matvu vohuparvartu Atanu-pât Atanufrobak i Ferakh-zâtân i hudînân pêshupâi.

9. Zak pazhînu i kostuihâ pergandaku yehavûntu nûk apzâr man pargandagî lakhâr ol hamê dînânu zêsh babâ jaitgûntu yen

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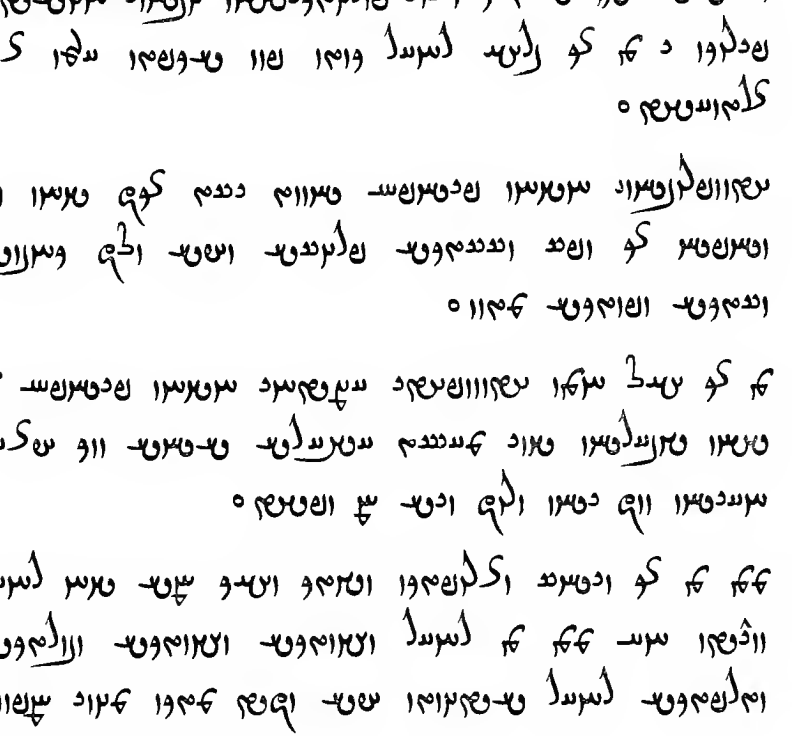

nakirishn andâzeshni ol shapîr dîn Avistâk u Zand pouryutkêshânu . gobeshni angushîtaku pîruku i man zak barash lakhâr kantu pavan shukuptu âramu Zand Zertohesht.

10. *Atanu-frobakânu i hudînânu pêshupâi yehavûnt jast zakach dînânu ol vashûpashn zak napîk visastagî pargandagî avash olach ka hûbanî vastagî u pûtagî matvu.*

11. *Man zak akhar humanu Atanupât i admîtân i hudînânu pêshupâi man yasânu sobâreshnu dînu i mahêst aibârî deheshnî nûk apzâr khâeshnu u vach sakhûn u ranj vêsh ham nipisht.*

12. *Meman man zak muskhîk u zrûptaku u sûtak u khâk hamê dinân lakhâr vandîtu ana meman man lakhâr vagûnatagî vadûnatagî u burdagî u taraptagî lakhâr jaitgûnatu avash vazêd ma-*

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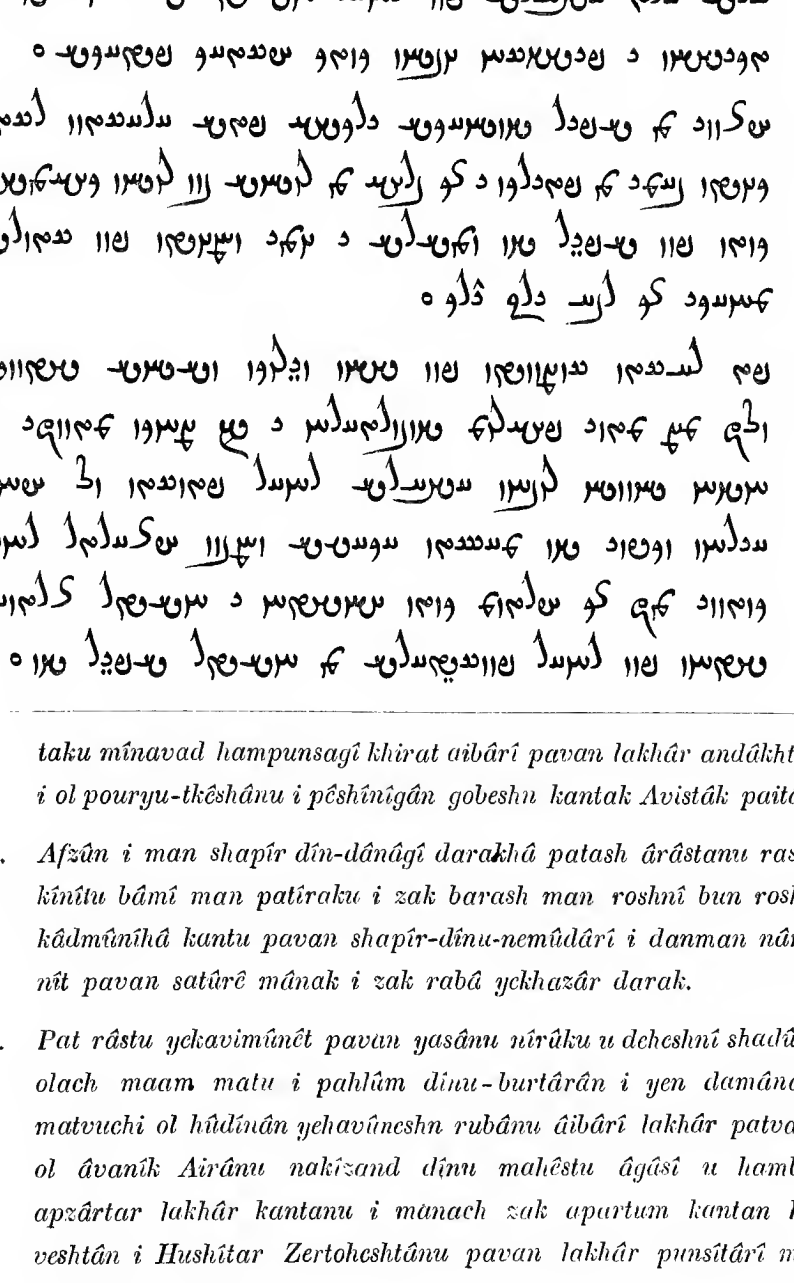

taku mînavad hampunsagî khirat aibârî pavan lakhâr andâkhtârî i ol pouryu-tkêshânu i pêshînîgân gobeshn kantak Avistâk paitâkê.

13. *Afzûn i man shapîr dîn-dânâgî darakhâ patash ârâstanu rastakînîtu bâmî man patîraku i zak barash man roshnî bun roshnu kâdmûnîhâ kantu pavan shapîr-dînu-nemûdârî i danman nâmînît pavan satârê mânak i zak rabâ yekhazâr darak.*

14. *Pat râstu yekavimûnêt pavan yasânu nîrâku u dcheshnî shadânêt olach maam matu i pahlûm dînu-burtârân i yen damânaku matvuchi ol hûdînân yehavâneshn rubânu âibârî lakhâr patvastu ol âvanîk Airânu nakîzand dînu mahêstu âgâsî u hambun apzârtar lakhâr kantanu i mânach zak apartum kantan hâveshtân i Hushîtar Zertoheshtânu pavan lakhâr punsîtârî man Hushîtar shapîr dînu.*

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Translation.

1. The book "Dinkart" is a book on the religion, that people may obtain (a knowledge of) the good religion. The book "Dînkart" has been compiled from all the knowledge acquired (to be) a publication of the Mazdayasnian (Zoroastrian) religion.

2. It was, at first, made by the first disciples [1]) of the prophet Zertosht Sapetman — may his guardianangel be worshipped — who belonged to the people of the ancient religion whose faith was good, in questions and answers, that the good religion of all those whose guardian angels are to be worshipped (i. e. the Zoroastrians) might be made public and known.

3. The excellent king Kai Vishtâsp ordered to write down the information on each subject, according to the original information, embracing the original questions and answers, and deposited them from the first to the last in the treasury of *Shaspigân* [2]). He also issued orders to spread copies (of the original). (4) Of these he sent afterwards one to the castle (where) written documents (were preserved), that the knowledge might be kept there. (5) During the destruction of the Irânian town (Persepolis) by the unlucky robber Alexander, after it had come into his possession, that (copy which was) in the castle (where) written documents (were kept) was burnt. The other which was in the treasury of Shaspîgân fell into

1) The original has only the singular "the first disciple"; but the reading is hardly correct, as in such a case the name of the disciple would not have been left out. The sense requires evidently the plural.

2) This was, perhaps, the name of the fort at Pasargadæ where Cyrus was buried, whose tomb was watched by Magian priests. It was not situated at Persepolis, as we may learn from the circumstance that another castle which is called dazhu-i-nipisht is mentioned, which formed, in all probability, part of the fort at Persepolis on the following reason. The copy which was preserved in the dazhu-i-nipisht was destroyed during the invasion of Alexander, as we learn from the fifth para. of this chapter. Now the Ardâi Virâf (see §§ 4. 5. of its beginning) states that the fort at Persepolis containing the complete copy of the Avesta-Zand was burnt by Alexander. If we combine both statements, it appears to be very probable that the dazhu-i-nipisht was the library at Persepolis.

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the hands of the Romans (Greeks). From it a Grecian translation was made that the sayings of antiquity might become known.

6. 7. Ardeshir Bâbekân, the king of kings, appeared. He came to restore the Iranian empire; he collected all the writings from the various places where they were scattered. There appeared a professor of the ancient religion, the holy Herbad Tosre, with a publication from the Avesta which he had recollected. He (Ardeshir) ordered to prepare from this publication a complete (copy). It (the Dînkart) was then (thus) restored, and made just as perfect [1]) as the original light (copy) which had been kept in the treasury of Shapân (Shaspigân). [2]) He ordered to spread copies of it that it might become known.

8. 9. After the damage and destruction which came over the believers (Zoroastrians) by the Arabs at the treasury of Kishûr [3]), the distinguished Adarbâd Adar-Frobag Farakhzâdân, the chief of the people of the good faith (Zoroastrians), arranged the old copies which were scattered, from the fragments, and brought them to all the believers in the residence (Isfahân) [4]), after having inspected and collated them with the Avesta and

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1) The expression in the original is barash which must be identified with the Persian harzh "perfect, entire, full splendour", as no other meaning would give any sense.

2) Destur Hoshengji believes this to be the name of a fort to which Ardeshir Bâbegân sent the copy of the Dînkart which had been prepared from the fragments of the Avesta-Zand. But I think Shapân is only a corruption of Shaspigân. The copy which was kept at that fort, had not been burnt, as is expressly stated, but fell into the hands of the Greeks who had it translated. If, therefore, a recovery of the fragments from which the book was restored, is mentioned, we can only understand copies of that one which had been kept at the Shaspigân fort, or fragments of the original. By paying heavy sums to the Greeks the Zoroastrian priests could easily get possession of the books again which had fallen into the hands of their conquerors. Moreover, the translation could not be made without the assistance of the Magian priests.

3) Destur Hoshengji identifies this word with kishvar, and takes it in the sense of "country". But it is evidently the name of a certain place.

4) The word babâ "gate, door", appears to signify here "the residence, the capital" which was Isfâhân during the later Sasanian times. In this sense the word

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Zand of the good religion professed by the people of the ancient creed. The sayings of antiquity were restored according to the full splendour (the original text), that the delightful Zand of Zertosht might be admired.

10. Adar Frobagân, the chief of the men of the good faith, passed away; the believers had to suffer, the written documents fell to pieces and were scattered; they became worn out by age and rotten.

11. After this (time) Humûn Atûnpât Admîtân, the chief of the people of the good creed, expecting that God would help the Mazdayasnian religion, wished to restore (the old books), and wrote the (divine) words and sayings with great pains.

12. Whatever of worn-out, mouldering and dusty books had been recovered by the believers, he collected by constantly carrying them off, and taking even forcibly possession of them. He was assisted by conversations with the divine spirit in his endeavours to recollect the sayings of antiquity kept by the men of the ancient religion, (and) to make the Avesta known (again). (13) He set free prosperity (i. e. he conferred a great boon upon the community) by his composing chapters for the knowledge of the good religion. He illustrated the old works by receiving the full splendour from the light which was originally shining (from the original copy), and called this work "the guide to the good religion", which comprises one thousand chapters in lines (verses). (14) It was accomplished through the power of God, who sent (this) gift. It came to the principal leaders of the religion; in time it also came to the people of the good religion; the soul received again the assistance (from the religion). In the rest of Irân they will receive the knowledge of the Mazdayasnian religion. The followers of Hushîdar, the son of Zertosht, will reestablish the good religion as firm as it was in the beginning, and make it preeminent by their information from Hushîdar.

occurs on many Sasanian coins (see Mordtmann, Erklærung der Münzen mit Pehlewi Legenden in Zeitschrift der D. M. G. vol. VIII, pag. 12). In the Ardâi Virâf, Persépolis is to be understood by it. No other interpretation gives any sense.

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2. The beginning of the Ardâi Vîrâf nâmeh [1]).

(1) [illegible] (2) [illegible] (3) [illegible]

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(1) Aêtûn yemanûnêt âigh aêvakbâr ahlubu Zertohesht dînu makderânt yen gehân robâk benâ kantu vad bundagî 300u sanat dînu yen avîzagî u anshota yen apagumânî yehavânt homanad. (2) u akhar gujastaku Gunâk-mînavad darvand gumânu kantanu i anshotaân pavan denmen dînu râi zak gujastak Alaksagdar i Arûmâyâk i Mudhrâyâk- [2]) *mâneshnu niyâzânîtu i pavan gerân sazd u napartûn dihîk ol Airân shatanu jâtûnt. (3) Avash olman Airân dahyopat jakta-*

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1) The text has been prepared from two Pahlavî MSS. which are in my possession. The first and most valuable forms part of the "Great Bundehesh", the same work which contains a copy of the Zand-Pahlavî glossary (see about it pag. 80); the second is quite modern, but correct; it was presented to me by Destur Khorsedji at Poona (a native of Nausari, and a very pious and learned Zoroastrian priest), who had written it for his own use, and for the study of the work. For the transliteration and the translation I have used the Pâzand and Sanserit translation by Neriosang, an old copy of which is also in my possession. Destur Hoshengji has prepared a revised Pahlavî text with a complete Pahlavî-English vocabulary which will be published soon, I hope, as the MS. is quite ready for the press.

2) The word [illegible] is transliterated by Neriosang in this way: [illegible] az chi râh, which he translates in connection with mâneshn, mârganivâsa 'dwelling on roads, i. e. poor, wretched". But this interpretation is certainly wrong. The words Alexander, and arûmâyâk are omitted in his

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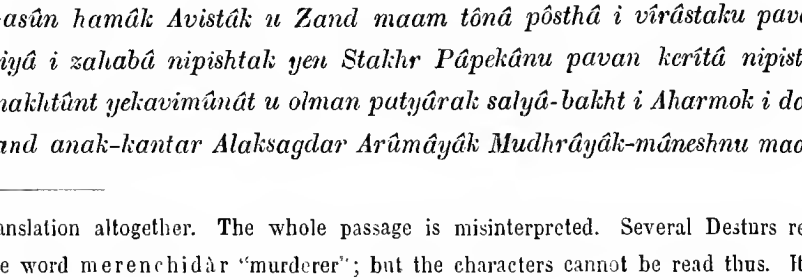

lûntu babâ u khotâi vashuft u avîrân kant. (4) u denmen dînu chasûn hamâk Avistâk u Zand maam tônâ pôsthâ i vîrâstaku pavan miyâ i zahabâ nipishtak yen Stakhr Pâpekânu pavan kerîtâ nipist [3]) *anakhtûnt yekavimûnât u olman patyârak salyâ-bakht i Aharmok i darvand anak-kantar Alaksagdar Arûmâyâk Mudhrâyâk-mâneshnu maam*

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translation altogether. The whole passage is misinterpreted. Several Desturs read the word merenchidâr "murderer"; but the characters cannot be read thus. It is clearly the name of a country. I regard for dh in Zand; but the character ter is often used for z in old MSS.; we obtain thus mudhrâyâk, or muzrâyâk which is the Semitic and Persian name of Egypt (Mudrâya in the cuneiform inscriptions).

3) The words pavan kerîtâ nipist etc. are thus transliterated into Pazând: pa qândan nivist nihâdan istât; and translated into Sanscrit: âkâritê likhitvâ nihitam prasthâpitam 'after it had been written, it was deposited, it was placed in âkârita". The last word is only a literal translation of pa qândan "in calling, reading". Ner. had identified kerîtâ with kerîtûntan 'to call, to read", Hebrew קרא. But as the whole translation is artificial, and gives no sense, several modern Desturs interpreted it as daftar-khânah i. e. library. This is, I think, correct. kerîtâ is not to be traced to kerîtûntan, but to the Chaldee קִרְיָא, קִרְיָתָא qiryetâ' "a town", Syriac qerîtô, Hebrew קִרְיָה qiryâh (principally used in poetry, and as part of proper names), Assyrian kar, (עִיר 'îr of the same origin as qiryâh) "a forteress" (Oppert, Exp. en Més. II, 116. 117. nos. 234. 44.). The original meaning was, no doubt, a fortified place, a fort. is thus identical with dazhu-i-nipisht in the passage from the Dînkart 4. 5., and means "fort of written documents" i. e. the fort in which the library was.

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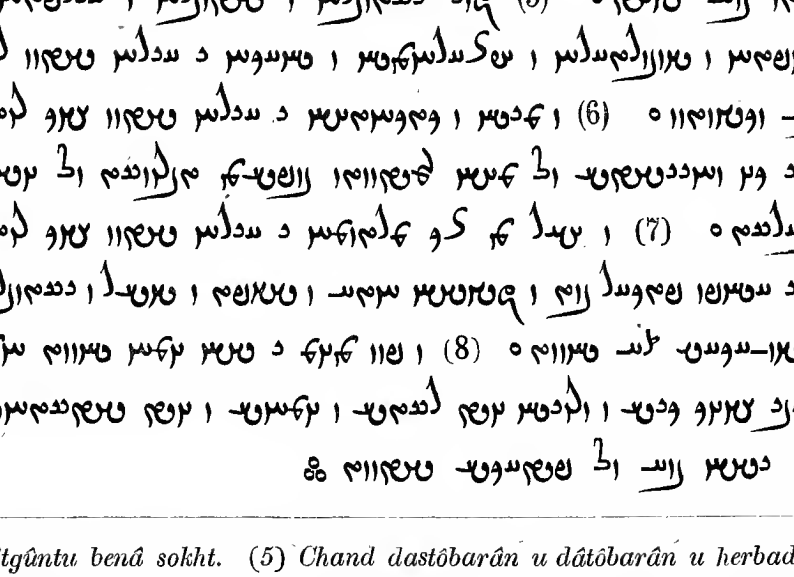

jaitgûntu benâ sokht. (5) *Chand dastôbarân u dâtôbarân u herbadân u magopatân u dînu-burdârân u avzârhomandân u dânâgân i Airân shatanu râi benâ naksûntvu.* (6) *u masân*[4]) *u katak-khotaân i Airân shatanu aêvak rotman tani kîn u andîshtî ol miyân ramîtûntu benafshman tabrûnast ol dozakh denbârist.* (7) *u akhar men zak martumân i Airân shatanu aêvak rotmen tani ashupu patkâr bût u ckasûnshân khotâ u dahyopat u sandâr u dastôbar i dînu-âgâs lâ yehavûnt.* (8) *U pavan mandûm i yasân gumân yehavûnt homanad u kabad ayinînak kêsh u varôishn javît rastî u gumânî u javît dâdestânî yen gehân benâ ol paitâkî jâtunt.*

Translation.

(1) It is thus reported that after the religion had been received and established by the holy Zertosht, it was up to the completion of three hundred years in its purity, and men were without doubts (there were no heresies). (2) After (that time) the evil spirit, the devil, the

4) The Pâzand has miyân "among, amidst", Neriosang madhyê; but I think, it is incorrect.

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impious, instigated, in order to make men doubt of the truth of the religion, the wicked Alexander, the Roman, residing in Mudhrai (Egypt), that he came to wage a heavy fight and war against the Iranian country. (3) He killed the ruler of Irân, destroyed the residence and empire, and laid it waste. (4) And the religious books, that is, the whole Avesta and Zand which were written on prepared cow-skins with gold-ink, were deposited at Istakhr Bâbegân (Persepolis) in the fort of the library. But Aharman, the evil-doer, brought Alexander the Roman, who resided in Egypt, that he burnt (the books); (5) and killed the Highpriests (Desturs), the judges, the Herbads, the Mobeds, the bearers of the religion, the warriors and the scholars in Iran. (6) The noblemen, and the heads of (the several) communities hated one another, attacked one another, were thus destroyed, and went to hell. (7) After this time the Irânians were in a complete disorder waging wars among themselves. It came to pass, that there was no master, no king, no chief, no Destur, nor any one who knew the religion. (8) And everywhere doubts arose about God and many different creeds and sects, which were devoid of truth, and (full) of doubts, and without proper laws sprung up in the world.

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2. On the age of this glossary and its value.

The *Zand-Pahlavî* (or rather *Avesta-Zand)* glossary, which is here published, affords the best opportunity to make some remarks on the value of the traditional meanings which are given to the words of the *Avestâ*, as it contains a collection of a large number of these interpretations.

First of all it will be necessary to venture upon some opinion about the possible age of the glossary in question. Destur Hoshengji believes it to have been compiled about 700 B. C., or even before that time (pag. II). I think this date is much too early, as it cannot have been composed before the Achæmenian times. On a cursory inspection of it we find at once that it is quite incomplete, consisting of several parts of unequal value, and certainly of quite different ages. According to the topics treated of in in it, and the alphabetical arrangement we can divide it into twenty-seven chapters. First the numerals as far as *ten* are enumerated; from "one" to "three" and of "six" there are the cardinal and ordinal numbers mentioned, of "two" and "three" (according to the Pahlavî translation) the multiplicative numbers also, and of "three" the fractional number (*thrishva* "a third") is added; of "four" and "five" there is the fractional, and the ordinal numbers; of "seven" and "eight" we have only the fractional, and of "nine" and "ten" only the ordinal numbers.

The second chapter is of great interest; it contains grammatical remarks on the masculine and feminine genders, and on the singular, dual and plural numbers, of substantives, adjectives, pronouns and verbs. Remarkable are the different cases of *va* = *dva* "two" with the peculiar application of each to different objects. The difference between the Avesta (Bactrian, commonly called Zand) and the Zand (Pahlavî) languages is exemplified as regards the numbers of the nouns and verbs. The difference of the Gâtha dialect *(gâsânîk)* from the common Avesta language is shown in

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the pronouns of the first and second persons. The various conditions of women, and their qualities are enumerated along witn some words denoting different degrees of relationship. Of great interest is the word *hapsnai-apnô-khavô* "a bigamist". Some adverbs are also mentioned, and the different meaning of some words, such as *nâ*, *vî*, *apa*.

Now follows a long chapter (3) in which the different parts of the body are enumerated. This contains many words which do not occur in the Zand texts now extant, and quotations from some Nosks which are lost, such as the *Nehâdûm* [1]). Words reating to speech are also mentioned in it.

The next chapter (4) treats of the relative pronoun, and the words related to, or derived from it. It contains also quotations of Zand passages which are not found in the works known to us. Some of them, principally those relating to astronomical matters, appear to have been taken from the *Nâdur Nosk* which treated, according to the statements of the *Dîn-i-vajarkart*, "of astronomy, of the stars belonging to the zodiac, and those which do not belong to it [2]), of the good and bad qualities of each star with reference to their influence on man, their course etc". Some of the

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1) Of the seven lists of the Nosks, viz. four from the Rivâyats: Punjya, Nerîman Hoshang, Barzu Kiyâm eddîn, and an anonymons one, three from Pahlavîworks, the Pahlavî-Pazand Farhang (pagg. 22. 23 of our edition), Dîn i vajarkart, and Dînkart which are at my disposal, only those contained in the Pahlavî-Pâzand Farhang, and Dînkart have the name Nehâdûm which is enumerated among that class of Nosks which was styled (dâtîk i. e. relating to law, systematic books). In all the other lists we find the name Niyâram which is very likely only a mispronunciation of, and identical with Nehâdûm. This Nosk contained according to the statements we have of it actually "all that is in the body of men".

2) This is the traditional explanation of the terms akhtar, and apakhtar, or avakhtar. The first is evidently the Bactrian (Zand) hakhedhra "a constellation", "a group of stars", and apakhtar is the opposite of it. The latter appears to mean all stars which neither form part of the zodiac, nor of the lunar mansions, that is chiefly the planets, and other stars which appear to be single. — Fragments of the Nâdur appear to be extant in the Rivâyats, but only in a Persian translation; for the numerous astronomical and astrological notices to be found in the Rivâyats which are at my disposal I can only trace to some ancient astronomical work of celebrity, as the Nadur was, which was translated into Arabic and Persian.

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passages are taken from the *Gâthas*; the Gâtha form of the relative pronoun is even expressly mentioned. To the forms of the relative pronoun, *ya* and the adverbs derived from it, the glossarist added other words commencing with the same letter *(y)*, and left thus the original arrangement according to topics.

From the fourth to the twenty-fourth chapters the words are arranged according to the letters of the alphabet in the following order: *y, k, kh, sh, m, a, â, v, u, p, m, s, f, d, j, b, r, t, ch, z, g, g', gh, th, h.* This order differs materially from the three principal Zand-alphabets which are found in the Rivâyats, viz. that one in use among the Indian Desturs, that one used in Kermân and Yazd, either of which is very old, and that one arranged according to the Arabic alphabet with the addition of the consonants peculiar to Zand, and the vowels [1]). Some initial letters, such as *e, i* and *n*, are left out altogether. As we cannot discover any scientific principle on which the arrangement may be based, nor an adaptation to any other alphabet known to us, it is difficult to determine the period in which it originated; but it appears to be certain, that its origin can neither be traced to the Sasanian, nor to later times, as it neither agrees with the other Zand alphabets which have been preserved, nor with the Arabic or Sanscrit. The

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1) These three alphabets, preceded by the Pahlavi alphabet, are contained in the fine Rivâyat belonging to the Collection of the Government of Bombay (No. 29, a fol. 108). They are identical with those published by Anquetil and Burnouf, and reproduced by Lepsius in his valuable essay "Das ursprüngliche Zend-alphabet. Berlin, 1863". That one marked Nos 1 and 2 in the lithographed table I which is added to it, contains the order used by the Indian Desturs; No. 3 is used in Kerman and Yazd, and No. 4 appears to have been in use there also; No. 5 is arranged according to the Arabic alphabet, and, no doubt, much later than the two first. In the first, the Zand characters are divided into 23 (according to the Rivâyat), or 22 (according to a Zand primer in Gujarâti), and amount to 60 (just as many, as Masûdî A. D. 950 states; see Quatremère in the July number of the "Journal des Savants" of 1840, pag. 413); in the second we have 56 characters, divided into 27 groups, and in the third 54 in 37 groups. The Pârsi priests in India attach the character of sacredness to it. Many pious Mobeds repeat it when reciting their daily prayers, just as pious Brâhmans repeat the first Sûtra of Pânini when performing their Brahmayajna.

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glossarist did certainly not invent it, but adopted an arrangement which had already been in use in some particular province, or among a particular sect. Very remarkable is the circumstance that several words are mentioned under ג g (pag. 31) which character has almost entirely disappeared from the MSS. of the Zand-avestâ which are known. As this alphabet is not preserved to us in its completeness we must refrain from all further remarks on it. The alphabetical arrangement is occasionally disturbed, and words are misplaced. The number of words contained under each letter is comparatively very small, and much less than we find in the present Zand texts. But notwithstanding there are in this part also some words to be found which do not occur in the present Zand-avesta.

The twenty-fifth chapter enumerates various crimes and offences, defining each of them very clearly. Several names of offences appear in their Persian, and not in their old Zand forms; the terminations are often dropped. Several of them are not mentioned in the Vendidâd; but we find them in Pahlavî works; some, such as *dudhuwibuzda*, are nowhere else to be met with. This chapter is followed by a collection of miscellaneous words and some phrases; several of these words are strange to the present Zand texts.

The last (27) chapter treats of the measures of length, and of time [1]. It contains several names of measures and words which do not occur in other Zand books, and quotations of passages from Zand texts which are no longer extant. The work concludes quite abruptly; the end is wanting.

As regards the composition of the glossary, we can distinguish at least two parts, which may have originally formed part of two different glossaries, the one arranged according to topics, the other according to the alphabet. The first appears to be the older work, the latter of later date.

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1) As regards the measures mentioned on pag. 43, my friend, E. West, Esq. has made me in his letter (dated, St. Heliers, Jersey, June 25th 1867) some very valuable suggestions which I print here in full. He gives preference to the text of

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Fragments of two or more works of this kind must have been in existence when the old Zand and Huzvânash works were collected by the

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my old MS. which differs from that one given by Destur Hoshengji, and is, no doubt, preferable to it. The text runs there as follows according to Mr. West's arrangement:

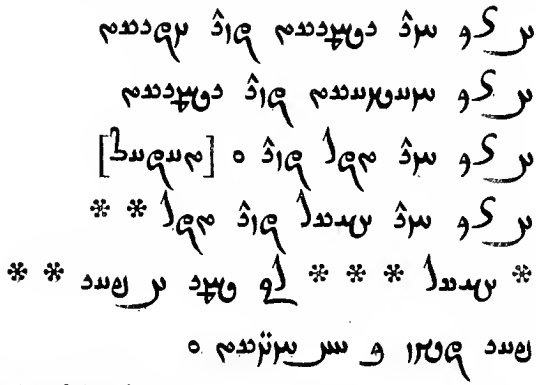

This he translates thus:

2 dashmêst = 1 yojêst
2 givast = 1 dashmêst
2 tajar = 1 * * * (givast?)
2 hâsar = 1 tajar
1 hâsar = 1000 gâm of 2 pâi
1 pâi = 14 angost.

Tabulating this series, and taking the angost = 3/4 English inch, he obtains the following result:

Say in English measure	angosht	pâi	gâm	hâsar	tajar	givast	dash-mêst	yojêst
ft. in.								
— 3/4	= 1							
— 10 1/2	= 14	= 1	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 9	= 28	= 2	= 1	—	—	—	—	—
1750 —	= 28,000	= 2,000	= 1,000	= 1	—	—	—	—
3500 —	= 56,000	= 4,000	= 2,000	= 2	= 1	—	—	—
7000 —	= 112,000	= 80,00	= 4,000	= 4	= 2	= 1	—	—
14,000 —	= 256,000	= 16,000	= 8,000	= 8	= 4	= 2	= 1	—
28,000 —	= 512,000	= 32,000	= 16,000	= 16	= 8	= 4	= 2	= 1

"This calculation, he adds, would make the yojêst to be about 5 1/3 English feet, which, I believe, does not differ much from some calculations of the (Indian)

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Sasanian kings. For it is quite out of question to trace the whole of our glossary to the Sasanian, or even to later times, as the grammatical knowledge exhibited in it, is far superior to any thing we can, according to credible statements about the great ignorance of the priesthood at the time of the Sasanian restoration of the religion, expect of the most learned scholars of those times. The glossary must have been composed at a time when the priests (or at least the most learned of them) had a tolerably good knowledge of the grammar of the Avesta language. As the old Persian language was already in the fourth century B. C. in a state of decay (to judge from the Persian cuneiform inscriptions of those times) we cannot fix the compilation of a work, exhibiting such a good knowledge of the old Avesta (Zand) language which stands next the old Persian, at any later period. It is possible and even very likely that works of the same nature were composed already at the times of Cyaxares, or Cyrus. If we consider that the Assyrian king Sardanapal V ordered vocabularies of several languages to be composed at such an early period as 650 B. C., there is nothing surprising, if we ascribe the same to the kings of the Median and Persian dynasties.

The alphabetical part of the Glossary which is, on the whole, of much less value than the other part, may be of later date. A vocabulary of this kind may have been composed, from old sources, already during

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yojana (which appears to range from 4½ to 9 miles). The Zand text gives only 2 dakhshmaiti = 1 yijaiasti, 2 hâthrem = 1 tacharem, corresponding with the first and fourth terms of the Pahlavî series, and as these two terms are totally disconnected, there must be at least two intermediate steps wanting, as appears in the Pahlavî. The word 'tadhao' cannot well be a fragment of the missing steps, nor does it appear to be the third term in the Pahlavî series, which is omitted where it ought to be repeated; but it looks more like an interpolation (tâchâr) for correcting the Pahlavî word tachar, as you have suggested. The Pahlavî term I have read givâst might of course be read jinâst, dînâst, snâst; etc.; my reading was chosen to make it correspond as nearly as may be with the Sanscrit gavyâti which bears the same proportion to the yojana, as the givâst does to the gâm. Your MS. differs from the Destur in making it equal to 2 pâi in other places than the Vandidâd, where it equals 3 pâi; which is consistent with the after mention of the hâsâr being equal to 1000 gâm of 2 pâi; that is, the common gâm".

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the Parthian reign. At the time of the restoration of the religion by Ardeshir, when all works bearing on the understanding of the sacred books were eagerly sought after, the fragments of old glossaries were certainly not overlooked, and it is to that period that we owe this Zand-Pahlavî Glossary in its present incomplete and fragmentary state. It was subsequently only copied, and appears to have been occasionally interpolated, chiefly in the alphabetical part. Besides, it suffered much from the hands of the copyists who were hardly able to understand it.

Another argument for the ante-Sasanian date of the parts of the work are the numerous quotations from Nosks which were either lost already before the Sasanian times, or in a very mutilated and fragmentary state, and the occurrence of many (certainly genuine) Zand words which are not found in the texts now extant. The authors of the glossary must have had a much more extensive Avesta-literature along with translations at their disposal than we have now [1]). This leads us again to the Achæmenian times, as only then the Avesta literature was in its completeness.

In respect of the interpretations to be found in this glossary, their value is not the same. The most valuable are of course those which are derived from sources of the Achæmenian times. The first glossaries of this kind were, no doubt, based on the Huzvânash versions of the Avesta books, as they were the only sources whence to derive a knowledge of the Bactrian (Zand) language. And, indeed, we find the interpretations given of the Avesta words in our Zand-Pahlavî glossary quite in accordance with the renderings of the Pahlavî translations of the Vendidâd, Yasna etc. which we still possess. The value of our glossary depends, therefore, mainly on that of those translations on which I have to say here a few words.

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1) It is very remarkable, that we possess no Pahlavî translation of other works than the Vendidâd, Yasna, Visparad, a few fragments of the Hadokht Nosk, and some minor Yashts and prayers, but none of the larger Yashts, such as Tîr, Mihir, Fravardîn etc., the Vîstâsp Nosk and fragments of some other Nosks, although most of these works have been in constant use with the priests. The only reasonable explanation of this fact is, that no Huzvânash versions were found when the old books were recollected.

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As the Pahlavî translations of the sacred books are in that form in which they have reached us certainly works of the Sasanian period, it will be of the utmost importance to determine, as far as possible, in what state the old Huzvânash versions were recovered by the Sasanian kings, how much has been preserved of them, and how much added subsequently. According to the reports we have on the fate of the Zoroastrian writings, there can be no doubt, that the Huzvânash versions were in a very incomplete state at the time of the restoration of the religion. Besides, their understanding was very difficult, in consequence of the ambiguity of the Pahlavî character, and the occurrence of many words which must have been obsolete by that time. The priests who were charged with the arrangement of the fragments found of the original Avesta along with their versions, had often occasion to supply the defects of the translation by their own conjectures. As the original versions contained, no doubt, only literal renderings which were written under every Avesta word (in which manner translations are still prepared), with but few explanatory notes, the collectors, or subsequent scholars had to interpret them according to the best of their ability. Thus the numerous glosses originated which we find in the present texts of the translations. In the course of time additions were made, and changes introduced harmonising with the opinions of learned copyists or interpreters, as the ambiguous Pahlavî characters were read differently by different scholars (as it is done up to the present day by different Desturs who interpret the Pahlavî each in his own way). Thus the original versions of the Achæmenian times have become greatly corrupted, changed and misinterpreted by the Parsi priests. This is the principal reason that so little reliance can be placed on the present texts of the Pahlavî translation of the Avesta, principally that of the Yasna which appears to have been, for the most part, composed during the Sasanian times, as it is much inferior to that of the Vendidâd the bulk of which I unhesitatingly ascribe to the Achæmenian period.

Let us illustrate these remarks by a few instances. Rare and obsolete words are generally not translated in the verbatim Pahlavî renderings,

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but only transliterated in the Pahlavî character with the necessary phonetic changes required for making them look like real Pahlavî words. Thus the word *grēhma* (Yas. 32, 12—14.) is rendered by [illegible] *gerahmak* which is to the letter the same word. As it was no longer understood, the Sasanian interpreters tried, as it was usual with them in such cases, to find its meaning by means of an etymology. They seem to have connected it with *gerew* (Sanscrit *grih*) "to take, seize", and took it accordingly as "what is taken, accepted", which they further interpreted by *pârak* = Pers. *pâra* "bribe", as a bribe has no sense, if it is not "taken" by him for whom it is intended. It is remarkable, that the interpretation "bribe" is not mentioned, nor intended in 32, 12., but only in 32, 13. 14., where the nominative *grēhmô* is translated by [illegible] *pavan garahmak* i. e. the instrumental, or locative, and interpreted [illegible] *pavan pârak*, in order to obtain any sense by introducing the meaning "bribe" into the passages. But from 32, 13. it follows clearly that *grēhma* [1]) is the proper name of some enemy of the Zoroastrian religion; see the index.

The words *karapanô kâvayascha* (Yas. 46, 11.) i. e. the priests and sacrificers of the Devareligion [2]), are rendered by [illegible] *mûn kayk u karap homanad.* Both are evidently the same words as *kâvayas* and *karapanô*, but in the Pahlavî form. If [illegible] is read *kayk*, instead of *kîk*, as we can do, we obtain the Persian *kay* "king" which precedes the names of several kings, and is only a corruption of *kavi*,

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1) Etymologically the word has no connection whatever with the Sanscrit grâsa "devouring, a mouthful", as has been supposed by some modern Zandists. Even granted, the meaning "bribe" were correct, what has "a bribe" to do with "a mouthful"? grâsa does not mean "a piece in general", as the Persian pâra, but a portion of food which may be devoured at one time. It occurs most commonly in the compound go-grâsa (wich has been omitted in the great Sanscrit Dictionary published at St. Petersburg) "the portion of food, reserved at the beginning of a meal to be given to a cow".

2) See my work on the Gâthas I, pagg. 177. 179. II, 238—40; my Essays on the Sacred language etc. pagg. 245. 46.

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which is used in the Zand texts before the same royal names; compare *kai Gushtasp* = *kavi Vîstâspa*. *karap* is clearly enough only a transliteration of *karapanô* with the omission of the suffix and the termination. As both words which are frequently put together are used in a bad sense, the Sasanian interpreters did not venture to identify *kâvayas* with *kavi* "king", but put the meaning "blind" upon it. To this they were apparently lead by *karap*, as they identified this word with the Persian *kar* "deaf". If *karap* meant "deaf", the signification "blind" lay very near for *kayk*. And, indeed, they could easily obtain it by reading *kîk* which means in Persian "the pupil of the eye", or *kîkh* "matter collecting in the corner of the eye". The traditional meaning of *kavayas* and *karapanô* "the blind and the deaf" rests thus entirely on bad etymological guesses, and it shows little taste, and far less critical judgment, if European scholars adopt such absurd interpretations which are without any foundation whatever. What sense has Yas. 46, 11. if we translate it "the blind and the deaf are vested with royal powers to destroy the human life through their wicked acts"? What harm can blind and deaf persons do to others? To heighten the absurdity we find them (in Justi's so-called "Old-Bactrian Dictionary") further defined as "the spiritually blind [1]) and deaf", as if the Zoroastrian religion knew any thing of such Christian terms!

An interesting instance how the renderings of the literal old Huzvânash versions were misinterpreted is furnished by the word *verezēna*. To this the meaning "neighbour, a person that lives under one's protection, a client" is ascribed by Pârsi tradition. But, on a closer inquiry into the Pahlavî version of those passages of the Gâthadialect in which alone the word occurs, we find that the interpretation rests on a misunderstan-

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1) In the appendix to Destur Edulji Darabji's Gujarâti version of the Khordah-Avesta (3. edition pag. 430) we find the following explanation of kîk: "he who appears blind i. e. any one who regards the beauty of the creator Hormazd with a bad look, or who cannot see, is called a kîk". This interpretation clearly shows that the Zoroastrian priests are unacquainted with the Christian idea of spiritual blindness.

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ding. The Huzvânash version renders it constantly by [illegible] *vârûn* which can, by no means, convey the sense ascribed to it by Neriosang. It is apparently identical with the Persian *vârûn* "unfortunate, wretched" (compare *apârûn* "bad", *frârûn* "good, virtuous" in Pahlavî). And some such meaning was intended by the original translators. *verezēna* can, without difficulty, be identified with the Sanscrit *vṛijina* [1]) "crooked, wicked, distressed". Its root is *verez* "to work", a derivation of which could easily be used in the meaning indicated, as the labouring class is comparatively in a worse condition than the higher classes of society. — The meaning "client, neighbour" originated in the following way. In Yas. 33, 1. is the word *verezēnahyâ* followed by *nazdishtăm* "the next" which is rende- by [illegible] *man nazdîk*, "from near", and interpreted by [illegible] *hamēsâyakân* "neighbours". In Yas. 46, 1. then *verezēnâ hēchâ* is rendered by [illegible] *vârûnîkach hāmsâyakach*, the latter being the explanation of the former, based on a misconception of Yas. 33, 4., if it be not the translation of *hēchâ* which is quite possible. From a misunderstanding of these two passages, Neriosang and other Desturs derived the meaning "neighbour, client" [2]). But two other passages clearly show, that *vârûn* was not taken in that sense. In Yas. 32, 1. the word is not explained in any way, and 40, 4. *hamsayâk* "neighbour" is the translation of *hakhema* "a companion", and not of *verezēna* which is rendered by *vârûn* without any explanatory note. But even granted, the meaning "neighbour" were really intended by the old Huzvânash version, how could it be explained in any reasonable way? The root is clearly *verez* "to work". But what connection has "working" with "neighbour"? It is amusing to see, how the uncritical European advocates of the most fancifnl

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1) The word is not rare in the Rigveda-Samhitâ. In one passage (VII, 104, 13.) it is put together with kshattriya which shows that a certain class of men of wretched condition, or ill-repute could be denoted by it. A similar sense has vrijina-vartani I, 31, 6. In the Gâthas the corresponding verezêna signifies actually a certain class of people, "slaves, servants, or working men". See my Gâthas II, pagg. 135. 36.

2) See my article in the Zeitschrift der D. M. G. vol. XIX, pagg. 581—83.

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parts of Parsi tradition (as the real tradition is hardly intelligible to them) get over this difficulty. In that large collection of philological fancies which bears the title "Old-Bactrian Dictionary by Justi" we find the following amusing interpretation of the word (pag. 284): "the voluntary working in the service of another in whose protection the worker stands, thence clientship, neighbourhood". But by which part of the word *verezēna* is the idea "voluntary" expressed, which would be in this case quite essential, and could not be omitted on any account, as the *voluntary* labouring for others without special benefits for mere protection is scarcely known? Fortunately the word for "neighbour" is still preserved in the Zand texts; it is *hadhô-gaêtha* "one who has the same *gaêtha* or farm". For the expression of the idea "neighbour" we require in the Iranian languages words expressing "nearness, sameness, joining" but no trace of them is to be found in *verezēna*.

After having thus shown the misinterpretations of the old Huzvânash versions in later times, it will not surprise the reader if I cannot place much confidence in the traditional meanings of Zand words as given at present. The most searching criticism is required to find out the original meaning intended for by the Huzvânash translators of the Achæmenian times, and trace the source of the subsequent misinterpretations. This remark applies equally to our Zand-Pahlavî glossary. As the interpreters of the fragments of the ancient glossaries and versions possessed neither a good nor a critical knowledge of the Zand and Huzvânash languages, they supplied the defects by guesses and the most fanciful etymologies, in which respect they have found very zealous competitors in their successors up to the present day and implicit believers in some European Zandists. Instances are furnished by our vocabulary. The common word *athauronô* (gen. sg. of *âthrava* "a fire priest") is explained as "thus agreeable" (pag. 62), the word having been divided into *atha* "thus", and *urunô* to which (from what reason I am unable to say) the meaning "pleasant, agreeable" was given. *yashtâ* (pag. 57) is explained as "he has come", which is a mere guess, as no root *yash, yas* "to come" exists in the Zand and San-

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scrit languages [1]) (see note 2, pag. 57). — *zaêmanô* (pag. 56) cannot mean "they live", or "may they live", as the Pahlavî translator explains it, as it cannot be traced to *jîv* "to live"; see my note (pag. 56). Some times the translators, or interpreters seem to have confounded Zand and Pahlavî words. So we find *avare* "assistance" explained as "dust, earth" (pag. 20) which can only rest on the identification of the word with the Huzvânash ورا *avrâ* "dust, earth" (see Pahlavî-Pâzand Glossary pag. 2, lin. 3). But I doubt that the original glossarist of the Achæmenian times committed such a blunder. It originated very likely in some misreading of the

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1) In Justi's "Old-Bactrian Dictionary" we find actually such a root mentioned (pag. 244), and several passages of the Zand-avesta explained by it. The whole article shows (as well as a hundred others, such as revî, taradhâta, deretâ, paêsa, vîshaptatha, raji, varet, vâra, nighna, avapasti, hasha, zarem, é, hûfrâshmô-dâiti, dregvâo etc. etc. which contain mere fancies) the incompetency of the author to write a Dictionary of the Zand language, as he displays there a perfect ignorance of grammatical matters, not to mention the nonsense he forces on the respective passages. He identifies this supposed root yas with Sanscrit yam, yacch. But the meanings of this root "to coerce, restrict to give, provide" are quite different from that one ascribed by him to yas. yam means nowhere "to come" in the Sanscrît. As regards the form yastâ, it never could be traced to yam, yacch, as the 3. pers. imperf. middle, for which he takes it, is yacchata, ayacchata, to which yasata might correspond in the Zand. His supposed root yas bears to yam the same proportion as the actual root jas "to come" (gacch in Sanscrit) to gam 'to go'. Now the imperf. of jas is only jasad, the connecting vowel **a** being kept throughout the so-called conjugational tenses and not jast, as it would be according to Justi's supposition. If he traces apa-yasaitê, "it is cursed" apa-yasânê "I will curse" to this root "yas", and ascribes to it the meaning "to take off, to destroy", it is only a further proof, that his powers of discrimination are just as poor as his grammatical knowledge. If yas means "to come", apa-yas can only mean "to go away, to leave", but not "to destroy". What sense should we obtain in Vend. 19, 8. 9. by translating "with what word shall I go away"? It is clear, if apa-yasânê means "I will destroy", it must be traced to another root. But to wich root? As far as our present knowledge goes, we can only trace it to yâs which corresponds, as to its meaning, to the Sanscrit icch "to wish". The shortening of **â** to **a** may either rest on a clerical error, or be the consequence of the preposition apa being joined to it, or of the middle voice; compare krâmati, and kramatê of kram "to walk". His article on yâs is an uncritical compilation from Burnouf's statements.

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Pahlavî word [illegible] *aibâryâ* "assistance" by which *avare* was translated in the original, and which is the real meaning of the word. — The preposition *â* is explained as "this" (pag. 60) which seems to rest on some misunderstanding, perhaps on an identification with the Huzvânash [illegible] *ai, hi.* The original glossarist had very likely the root of *ahya* "of this", *ahmâi* "to this" in view, which is *a*, but not *â*, and then he is quite correct.

Notwithstanding these defects, which can be, for the most part, traced to misunderstandings, the Glossary is of the greatest value, as it contains the correct renderings of many Zandwords, and besides, many which are not known to us from other sources It will take in Zand philology where a Dictionary, i. e. a work stating the meanings and etymologies only with tolerable correctness is still wanting, the same rank which is occupied by the *Nighaṇṭavas* in the Vedic, and the *Amara kośa* in the classical Sanscrit literatures. Although the original glossarist possessed a much greater acquaintance with the Avesta language than any Parsi priest since the time of Ardeshîr Bâbegân, we cannot expect of him any critical knowledge of Zand philology in the European sense of the word. His grammatical knowledge was not very complete. He knows only two genders (masculine and feminine), whereas the Zand has actually three. Of the meaning of the tenses he had no clear conceptions. All his statements must be critically investigated into, though he deserves more credit than his interpreters.

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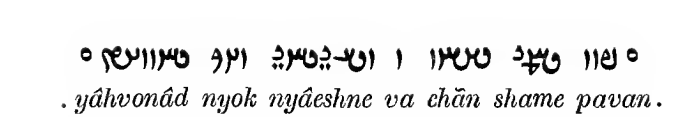

. yâhvonâd nyok nyâeshne va chān shame pavan.

avastâk mahrîgâne va vâj shanâkhtâne benâ korâsheh denmen

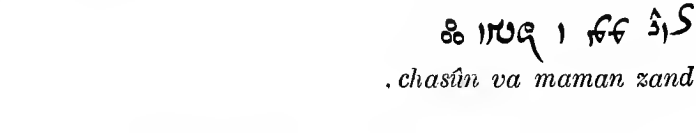

. chasûn va maman zand âghash

I. Numerals, and some adverbs.

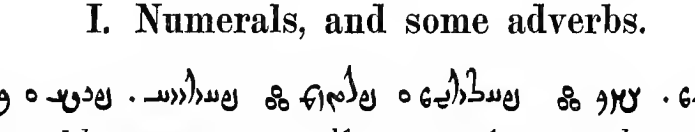

dva. pēsh, paurva. pardûm, paourîm. ayok, oîm

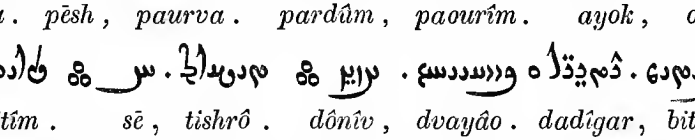

thritîm. sē, tishrô. dônîv, dvayâo. dadîgar, bitim. dô

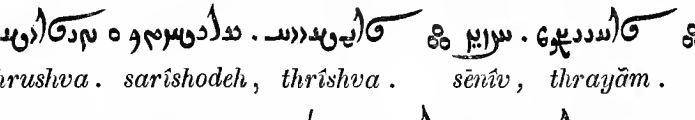

chithrushva. sarîshodeh, thrîshva. sēnîv, thrayām. sadîgar

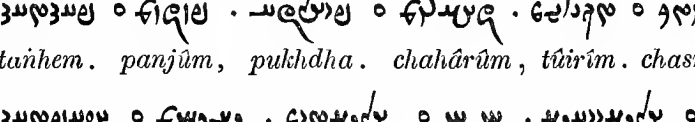

paṅtaṅhem. panjûm, pukhdha. chahârûm, tûirîm. chasroshodeh

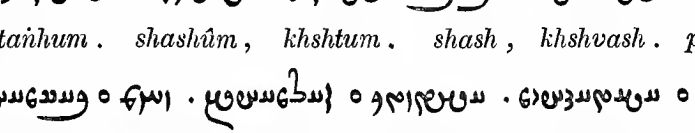

haptaṅhum. shashûm, khshtum. shash, khshvash. panjudeh

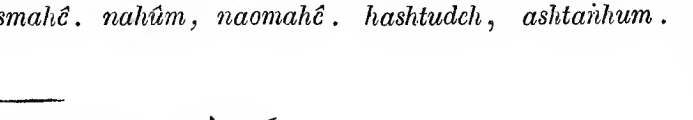

dasmahê. nahûm, naomahê. hashtudeh, ashtaṅhum. haftudeh

. dahûm

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1 Corrected from .

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II. Genders. Singular, dual and plural of pronouns, verbs, nouns, and adjectives.

tâkî va nakadî va zakarî avastâk men mahrigān âvânik denmen

agharî va myānagî va nûtumî va sarîtarî va shapîrî va davâtî va

va sâtonêd rotman padash va jâtonêd ān âgh mûn avshashi va

râi mûn chasûn ash andâzeh va dâdastān padvandêd ān âgh khubîe

. zand avash javîtar avastâk chand va êkvîmonēd mad modâ dîn yen

(Pronouns.)

vaibya. nakad dô kenâ mâm, vaiê. zakar dô kenâ mâm va

va vastarg khurshna dô kenâ mâm va. nakad va zakar dô kenâ mâm

. basteh dô kenâ mâm, vayô. mînoe va satâ dô kenâ mâm

kenâ mâm, vayâo. salyâ va nyok nîv dô kenâ mâm, vayâoschid

mâm, vacha. âînān dô kenâ mâm, vayâo. darvandân va ahlobān dô

ayoke, hakereḍ. akhvān dô kenâ mâm, ubôibyâ. kadâr dô kenâ

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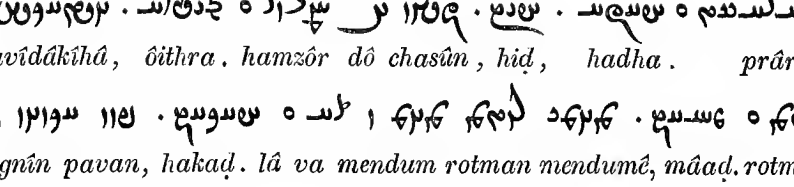

javîdâkîhâ, ôithra. hamzôr dô chasûn, hiḍ, hadha. prârâst

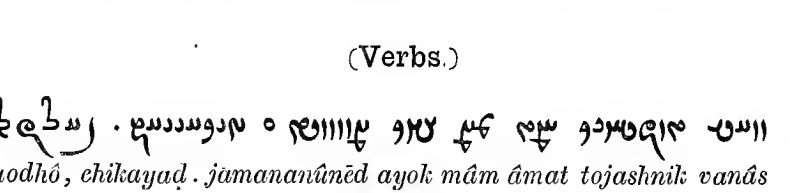

.agnîn pavan, hakaḍ. lâ va mendum rotman mendumê, mâaḍ. rotman

(Verbs.)

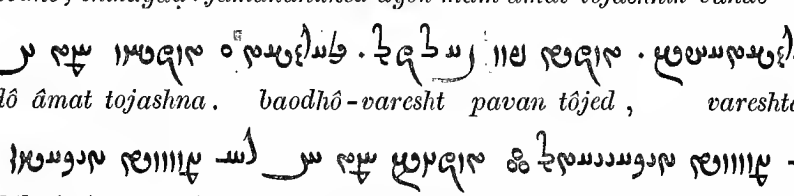

baodhô, chikayaḍ. jamananûnēd ayok mâm âmat tojashnik vanâs

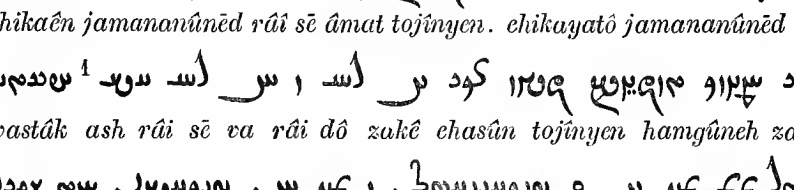

dô âmat tojashna. baodhô-varesht pavan tôjed, vareshtahê

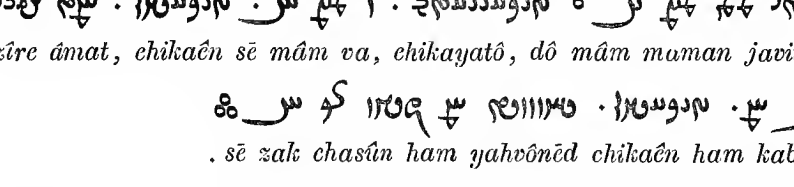

. chikaên jamananûnēd râî sē âmat tojînyen. chikayatô jamananûnēd râi

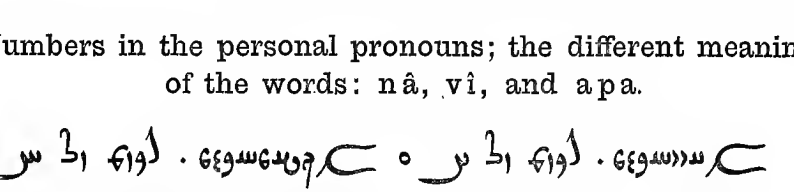

avastâk ash râi sē va râi dô zakê chasûn tojînyen hamgûneh zand

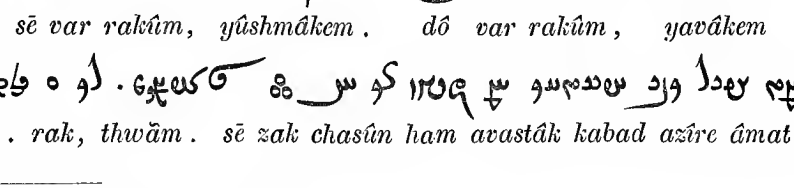

azîre âmat, chikaên sē mâm va, chikayatô, dô mâm maman javitar

. sē zak chasûn ham yahvônēd chikaên ham kabad

Numbers in the personal pronouns; the different meanings of the words: nâ, vî, and apa.

sē var rakûm, yûshmâkem. dô var rakûm, yavâkem

vô. rak, thwăm. sē zak chasûn ham avastâk kabad azîre âmat va

---

1 Corrected from .

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aît, nâ. gâsânîk rômane, nē. rôman, nô. gâsânîk rakûme, vē. rakûm

rakûm âgh jinâk aît, vî. ayov âgh jinâk aît gabnâ âgh jinâk

mîâ âgh jinâk aît, apa. javîd va, qâheshne âgh jinâk aît va

.benâ âgh jinâk aît va rakhâr âgh jinâk aît va

Numbers in the nouns.

, sē âmat. perenâyu, dô âmat. perenâyush, ayok âmat pôrnâ

.aperenâyuka, dô âmat. aperenâyukô, ayok âmat avarnâ perenâyunām

, dô âmat. narsh, ayok âmat gabnâ. aperenâyukanām, sē âmat

.narô , sē âmat. nara

Qualities and appellations of women, etc.

âmat va. nâirikanām, nâirikayâo, nâirika, hamgûneh nasâman

, jaê, jē, saliâ âmat. vantanām, vantâhva, vanta, khup

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1 Inserted from Anquetil Du Perron's Zand-avastâ vol. 2 page 460.

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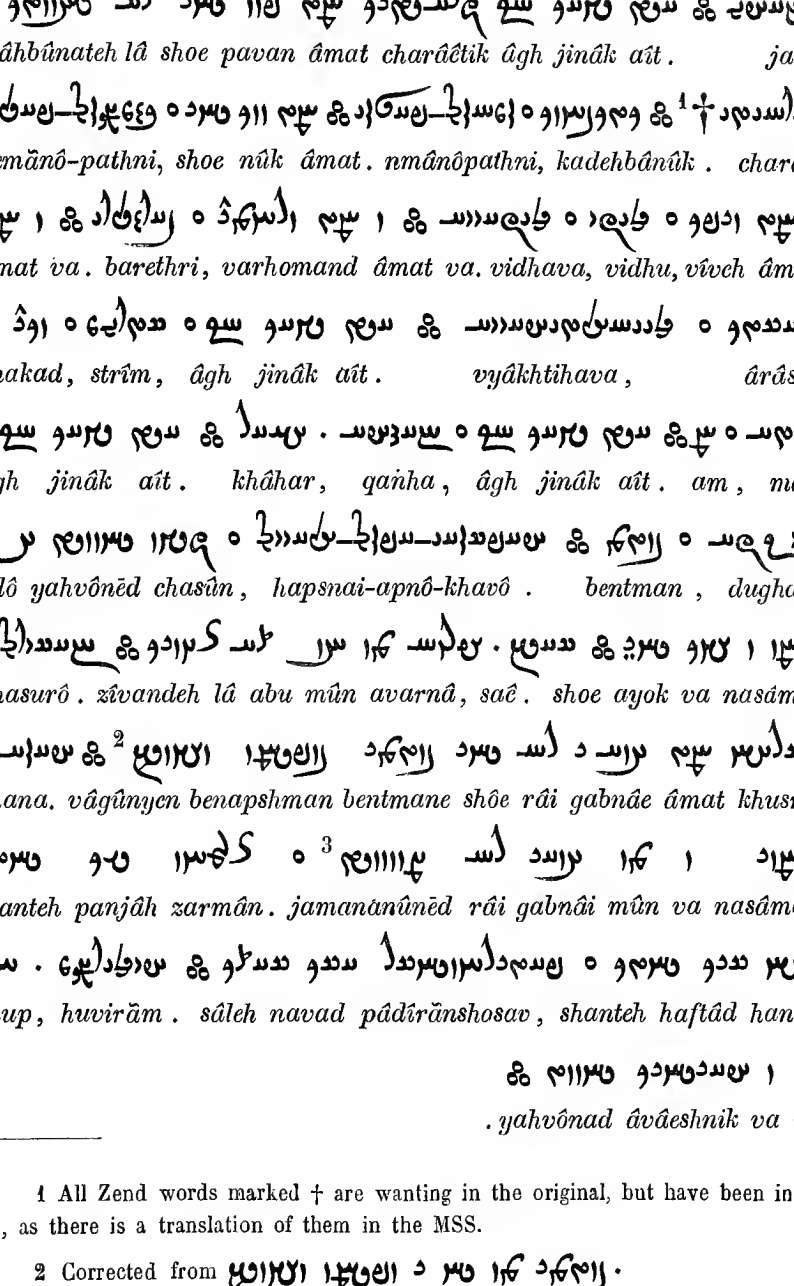

,yâhbûnateh lâ shoe pavan âmat charâêtik âgh jinâk aît. jahî

demānô-pathni, shoe nûk âmat. nmânôpathni, kadehbânûk. charâiti

âmat va. barethri, varhomand âmat va. vidhava, vidhu, vîvch âmat.

.nakad, strîm, âgh jinâk aît. vyâkhtihava, ârâsteh

âgh jinâk aît. khâhar, qaṅha, âgh jinâk aît. am, mâta

dô yahvônēd chasûn, hapsnai-apnô-khavô. bentman, dughdha

khasurô. zîvandeh lâ abu mûn avarnâ, saê. shoe ayok va nasâman

.hana. vâgûnyen benapshman bentmane shôe râi gabnâe âmat khusraô

shanteh panjâh zarmân. jamanānûnēd râi gabnâi mûn va nasâmani

khup, huvirām. sâleh navad pâdîrānshosav, shanteh haftâd han va

.yahvônad âvâeshnik va vîr

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1 All Zend words marked † are wanting in the original, but have been inserted, as there is a translation of them in the MSS.

2 Corrected from .

3 Corrected from .

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III. Parts of the body, and its qualities.

huraodhô. ast pavan khûpî chasûn hûtâshîdch, hutâshtô

chasûn hukarap, hukerefsh. basarîâ pavan khûpî chasûn hûrosteh

horâcha. nesâk chasûn bâmîk, bâmya. andām e pasizagîhâ

âkhar, hutarest. tarest va, parûn, hôrûn; tarascha, parâcha,

. kostch hamâk man

.roeshman pavan zake man javîd andamān pavan moe, hugaonem

. gaêsa, ârâsteh sē va dô pavan va. varsa, roeshman mâm zake

. pîr-moê, paourusha-gaonem. moê siâh, vôhugaonem

,sura. pâh-vastarg, pasu-vastrahê. post, pāstahê

. zivandch mârdûme e post

kas i aît va mas i aît avash, roeshman e post aêdha

,aêdha masyaṅhô heñti kaya, jamnûnēd nehâdûm pavan chasûn

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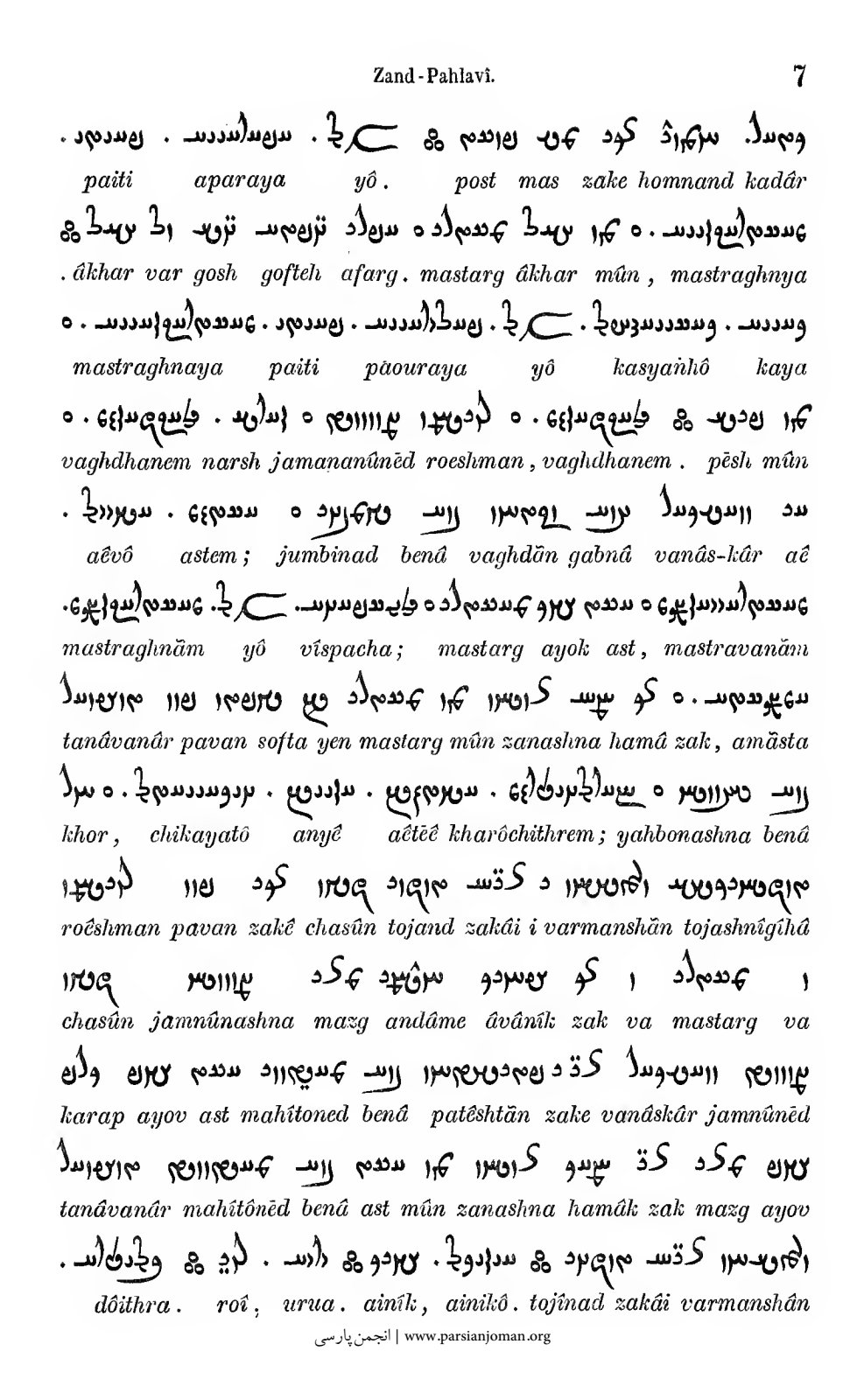

paiti aparaya yô. post mas zake homnand kadâr

. âkhar var gosh gofteh afarg. mastarg âkhar mûn, mastraghnya

mastraghnaya paiti pâouraya yô kasyaṅhô kaya

vaghdhanem narsh jamananûnēd roeshman, vaghdhanem. pēsh mûn

aêvô astem; jumbinad benâ vaghdân gabnâ vanâs-kâr aê

mastraghnâm yô vîspacha; mastarg ayok ast, mastravanâm

tanâvanâr pavan softa yen mastarg mûn zanashna hamâ zak, amâsta

khor, chikayatô anyê aêtêê kharôchithrem; yahbonashna benâ

roêshman pavan zakê chasûn tojand zakâi i varmanshân tojashnîgîhâ

chasûn jamnûnashna mazg andâme âvânîk zak va mastarg va

karap ayov ast mahîtoned benâ patêshtân zake vanâskâr jamnûnēd

tanâvanâr mahîtônēd benâ ast mûn zanashna hamâk zak mazg ayov

dôithra. roî, urua. ainîk, ainikô. tojînad zakâi varmanshân

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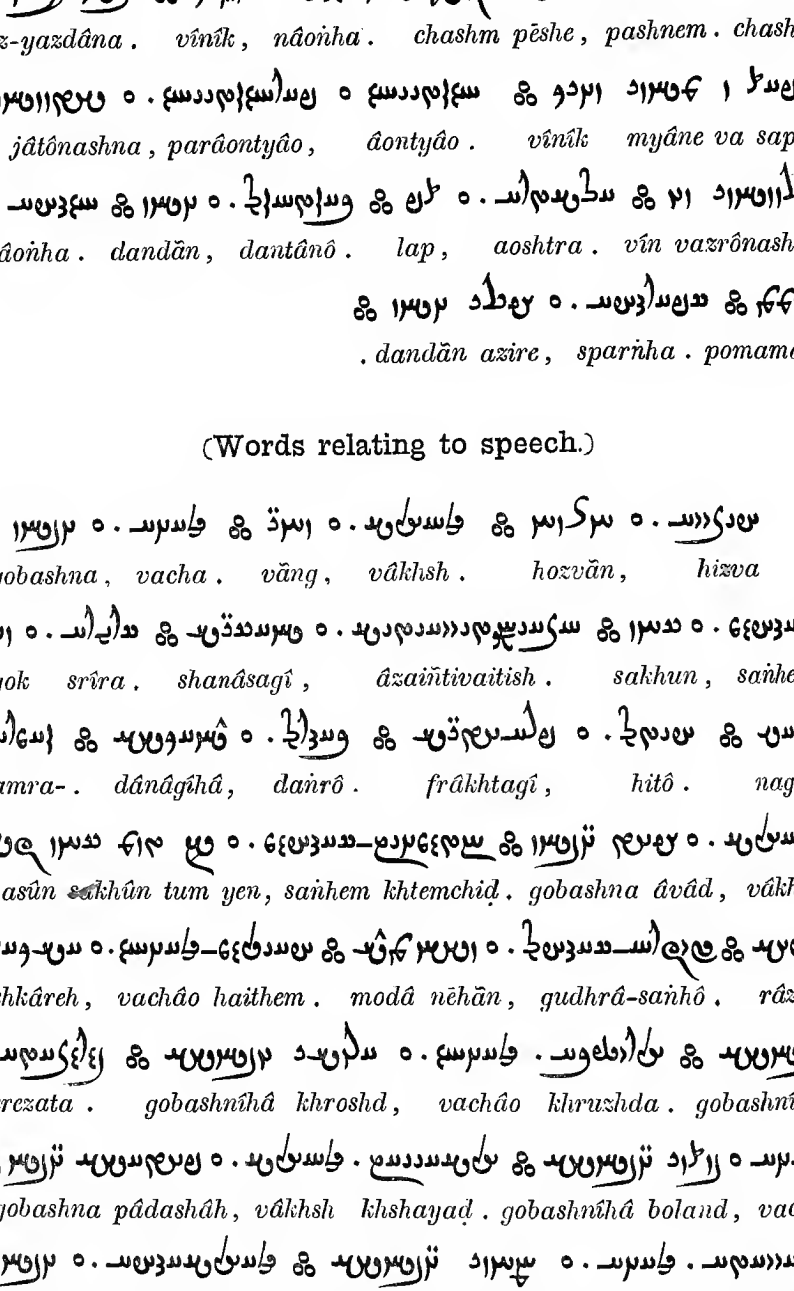

, uz-yazdâna . vînîk, nâoṅha . chashm pēshe, pashnem . chashm va jâtônashna, parâontyâo, âontyâo . vînîk myâne va sapâl âoṅha . dandăn, dantânô . lap, aoshtra . vîn vazrônashne . dandăn azire, sparṅha . pomaman

(Words relating to speech.)

. gobashna, vacha . văng, vâkhsh . hozvăn, hizva nyok srîra . shanâsagî, âzaiñtivaitish . sakhun, saṅhem namra- . dânâgîhâ, daṅrô . frâkhtagî, hitô . nagâs chasûn sakhûn tum yen, saṅhem khtemchiḍ . gobashna âvâd, vâkhsh âshkâreh, vachâo haithem . modâ nēhăn, gudhrâ-saṅhô . râzhâ berezata . gobashnîhâ khroshd, vachâo khruzhda . gobashnîhâ . gobashna pâdashâh, vâkhsh khshayaḍ . gobashnîhâ boland, vacha gobashni, vakhshaṅha . gobashnîhâ hamâvand, vacha amavata

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gobashna, varethraghnibyô beretibyô vâkhsh. homandîhâ sûd

frârûn zake ,ukhdhâo rathwyâo. pirozgarîhâ e dadrûnashna

deretô avastâtem pairishtem srîrem ukhdhem. modâ

sarosh e dâshtâr e ekvîmûnâd mâm nagîrîdch nyok e modâ ,sraoshem

vaṅhâo mashyô ukhdhashna. ekvîmûnêd kard dastobar pavan âgh

mardûme shanâs modâ zake ,vachâo ukhdhô daṅhrô yatha

mravaḍ. goft ,mraoḍ .jamnûn modâ dânâke zak chasûn shapîr

paitiastô. gobashna pasakh ,paityâdha. jamnûn, mru. jamananûnēd

nyoshashna ,sâsnâo gushta. gobashna padîrashna ,vachâo

. âmojashna

parô. dashna va hôe ,dashinô ,haoiô . gosh ,gaosh

us. azvar va azir, uparô ,adharô . âkhar va pēsh ,pascha

· pirâmun ,pâiri. nîmch harvast ,naêmăm vîspê. lâlâ

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[illegible] [illegible][1] [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] [illegible]

. vaghdân e âkhar , vaghdhanem pascha . aërvâreh , hañhuharen

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

arethnâo . bâzâ , bâzava . dosh , daosha . gardân , manaothı

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

mushta . arashnachand , chiäkadhavatô . yadman , zasta . areti

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

, frârâdhân , arazân . angusht , erezu . mushtmasâ , masi

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

varô . nâkhûn chasûn saroba , frauâkhsh . angusht âkhar va pēsh

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

e ändarg chasûn âs , ashayâo . pêstän , fshtâna . âsyá

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

nâfô . shakamba , uruthware . kakhsh , kashaibya . var softo

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

. khûn pavan e post , vañhäm . tiz e post , ushadhäm . nâveh

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

. pahluk e roeshman pavan e taluk , barozhdahum . pahluk , paresu

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

, yâkare . dil , eredhaêm . sosh , sushi . sîneh , pasânô

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

. zahreh , zârascha . sapârz , spereza . rodîk , urvatem . jegar

[illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible]

, hakhta . sarîneh , sraoni . kumik , frashnem . gordeh , veretka

---

1 Omitted in all MSS.

2 Corrected from [illegible] and [illegible] .

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. maêsh , maêsma . gond , erezi . kîr , fravâkhsh . hakht

. shatman , dhadhaṅha . rîdânî , shâma . shosar , khshudrâo

. pateshtān , paitishtâna . zânuk , zhnûm . rān , râna

. raglaman c azir , hakhi , hakhem . frabd , frabda . zang , zeṅha

kerepcmcha . ast , astem . damâ , vohuni . khochá , qaêdhem

. andām e aranj , haṅhâma . mazg , mazgemcha . basarya karp

drva- . ckvîmônî kard farpêh âgh ekvîmônî varîda , varedha

. khodâî kâmeh , vasokhshathrām . robashnî dorast , tâtem

tan- . apatyâragî khodâî kâmeh , apaitirita khshayamana

tan , havaṅhem dareghem urunaêcha haosravaṅhem vaêcha

astvâo aṅhush vispô bvaḍ . ahosh dēr robān va khosrobî

yavê yaḍ dareghem apayā afithyô amarshā azaresô

va amarg azarmān astahomand akhoc harvast yahvônēd , vispâi

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aghryôtemô aspô. visp var vad hamâ darang apoeshna va ashud

sosyâ ,arejô azinăm gavăm ashta varemanô daṇhvê

chchâr sudârî khodâ pavan ckvîmônêd doshîd mâdyăn mûn aghrîktûm

. arzêd az chehâr va tônâ

IV. The relative pronoun, and some adverbs derived from it. Words beginning with y.

vâêdhâ vâ nâiri vâ nâ utâ âaḍ yathâ

. âshkâreh dânand nâirik va zakar dô kenâ zak aêdûn , haithîm

avaêshăm nitemchiḍ . zamîk denmen chand ,zâ îm yatha

nîtûm zâkache ,vaghdhanem madhmyêhê narsh yatha stârăm

ashtish yatha .vaghdăn miânch gabnâe chand stârăn varmanshăn men

.padîreh pavan ashtch chand ,â bunem atha paityahmi

ashâ yathrâ ;tamâman jinâk kenâ yathrâ zandi

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.minashnî bundeh rotman ashavahisht âgh tamaman ,ârmaitish hachaitê

lâlâ khurshîd zâk âgh tamaman ,uzâiti hvare avaḍ yathrâ

,bakhshaḍ fradathem ahurô-mazdâo vô yathra . uzĕd

pavan âvânik . arkônad frâdaheshnî râi rakûm anhomâ âgh tamaman

. hastān men kadârzâ aêdûn ,kahmâichiḍ yathacha , hamsakhûn

ahlâ- va gospand mûn , dâḍ ashemchâ gāmchâ yē zandi

âvânik va andâzeh zak pavan , yē ,gâsān pavan . yahbônad cshacha

yô ,jamananûnēd vêsh maman ke ; mûn zand hamgûneh avash ,yô ,jinâk

patkârdâr gabnâ mûn , dadhâiti paiti nôiḍ peremnâi naêrê

. vâdûnyen lâ rakhâr dâdastān e pasokh âghash , yahbônēd lâlâ lâ

gâs dâtobar parêzvān pavan ,zarvânemcha varascha gâtumcha

frâ- rathwya dâitya ahubya vispacha . zamān va var

---

1 The words [illegible] do not occur in D.H.

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ahvî harvastacha ,vahishtahê dâtâish ashahê raithya

. avāsh dâdastān frâz frârûnî va radî va dâdî va

naêrê ,yô .jamananûnēd vêsh va ayok mâm ,mûn ,yô

âgh jamananûnēd gabnaān var mûn chasûn ,chichi mê frâ aokhtê

;nasâman ayok ayov gabnâ dô e mâm ,mûn ,yâ . tojashna frâztar

âgh dadrûnyen gâs gabnâ dô âmat ,baraitê gâtum nara yâ

pavan ,drujim vanâêmâ veredâ yêhyâ .vâdânad zamāni

,tavâchâ isâi yavaḍ . druj vânshēd gordî varman e zak

. ahlâesh khâeshni âmokhtam and zak homnam tobānik khâstâri chand

vâhisht var râs jâmtônēd vadarg hamâ ,jimaiti peresâ yâmēñg

. doshākh va

âdâ pavan âmat vad hamâ ,javaiti gaya yavata

---

1 As this passage disturbs the context, it has been enclosed in brackets.

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. gayomard jodān , marata gayêhê yavata . zivēd

aêtê yava . angârēd anbām pavan , yava , âgh jinâk aît

. homnad yahvonad varmanshān anbām , zarathushtra aṅhem

yoishtô . zâêd frâz ayojashna , fraêazaitê yoghedha

parmān tokhshâk kas , paitishâthrâo hvoishtô thwakhshitâo

. dâdâr parmān tokhshâk mas yahvônēd bordâr

. homnēd mardûm mûn rakûm , yûshmâkem yô yûzhem

thra- puthra yôi tê yujiti pourushaspô yukhta

yukhta . benman Ferîdûn varmanshān homnad ayukht , êtaonahê

. beshîzeh sosiâ chehâr ayujashni , aspahê chathware

astry- yâtem . gehān bahri , gaêthanām yâtem

jâdu- , pairikanāmcha yâthwām . astraēd jâdu , êhê

. parikān va kān

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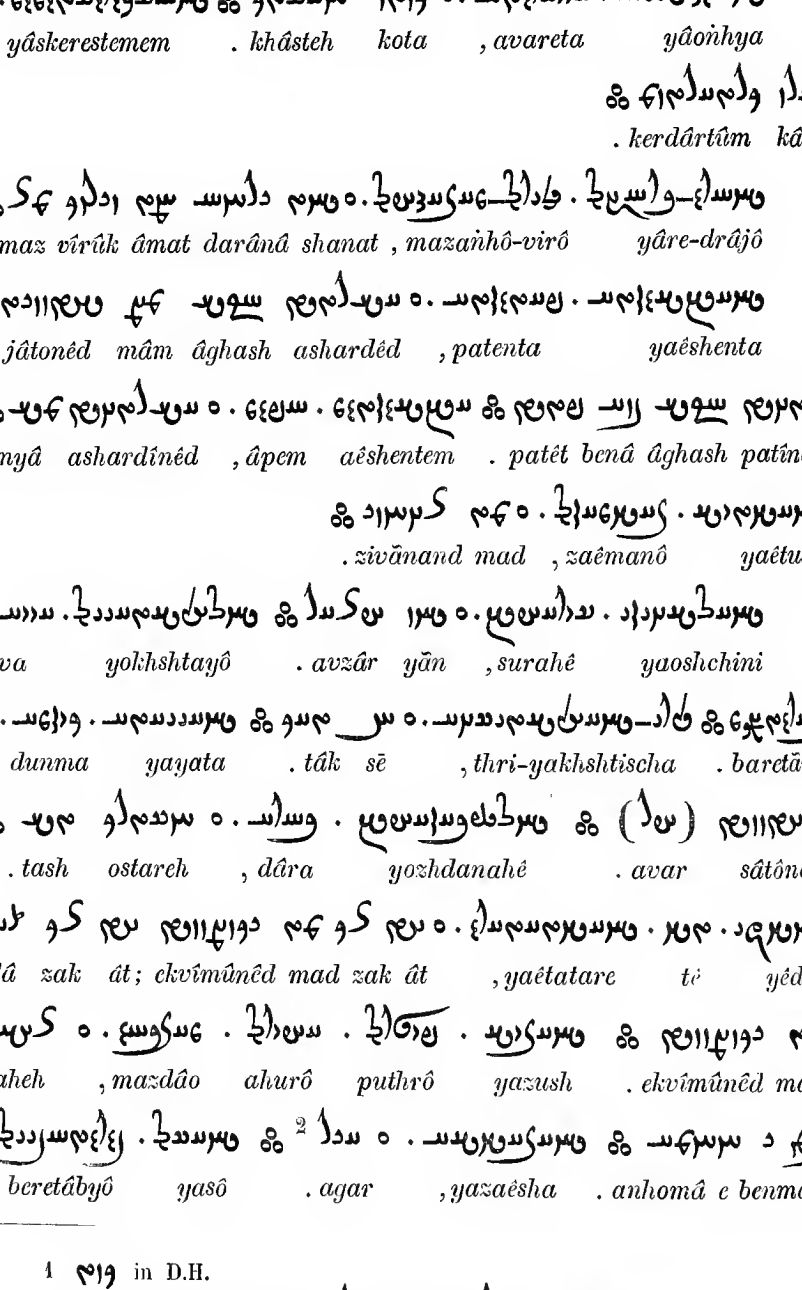

, yâskerestemem . khâsteh kota , avareta yâoṅhya

. kerdârtûm kâro

. maz vîrûk âmat darânâ shanat , mazaṅhô-virô yâre-drâjô

jâtonêd mâm âghash ashardêd , patenta yaêshenta

. myâ ashardînêd , âpem aêshentem . patêt benâ âghash patînêd

. zivānand mad , zaêmanô yaêtush

ava yokhshtayô . avzâr yān , surahê yaoshchini

, dunma yayata . tâk sē , thri-yakhshtischa . baretām

. tash ostarch , dâra yozhdanahê . avar sâtônêd

lâ zak ât; ekvîmûnêd mad zak ât , yaêtatare tê yêdhî

zaheh , mazdâo ahurô puthrô yazush . ekvîmûnêd mad

beretâbyô yasô . agar , yazaêsha . anhomâ e benman

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1 in D.H.

2 In my manuscript there is , instead of . M. H.

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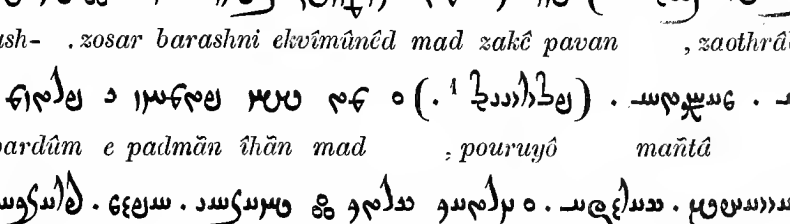

yash- . zosar barashni ekvîmûnêd mad zakê pavan , zaothrâbyô

. pardûm e padmân îhân mad ; pouruyô mañtâ tâ

frazdâ- âpem yazâi . sardeh jordâk , saredha yavahê

yasnemcha . sîstân pavan c parazd e miâ ezbahûnam , naom

va nyâeshna izashna , âfrînâmi zavarascha uzascha vahmemcha

var vad , yavaêtâtaêcha yavaêcha . âfrînam zosar va ôj

. robashnî hamâ hamâ

V. Words beginning with ka, kaê, khsh, sh, etc.

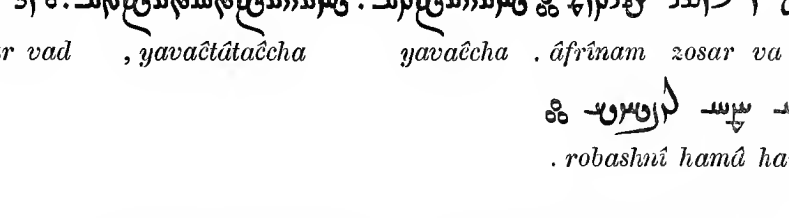

. dâtobar âgh aît jinâk va dînâk jinâk farhest , ḍkaêshô

c dâtobar aît kadâr , vivishdâtô ḍkaêshô asti kô

mûn , frazânaiti arethra pairi aêta yô . dâd âgâs

---

1 The Zand words in brackets have been inserted here, as their Pahlavî equivalents are found in all MSS.; they appear to have been left out by some clerical mistake.

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varman âmatacha anîtônêd frâz benâ saroba men dâdastān zak men

, dâd âgâs ast zak va negardâr mâm saroba men dâdastān kabad

lâ âmatacha anîtônêd frâz lâ benâ saroba men dâdastān zak mûn va

dâd anâgâs pavan acha dâdastān varman mâm lâ va saroba kabad

e vastarg , bâmanyâo kashâo vacha vastrâḍ . dâsûnashna

vyâ- râzām karashô . kîshvar , karashô . tarâz bâmîk kote

hapt , karshuâm hapta . anjumanîk e vîrâi kîshvar , khanām

. zarîtônêd frâz kêsh , frakârayôish karshaschiḍ . kîshvar

. kêsht , karshtêê . kêshinjâr e zāmîk , karshvâo zemô

. malkâ , khshayô . rostâk , shoithrô . khodâi , khshathrô

. rôshnî chasûn shêd , khshaêtô . pâtakhshâ , khshayamana

. shâdî , shaitô . âsânî , shyâtô . khâsteh , shaêtô

. shîrînî , khshuidha . katrûnashna , shiêiti

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[illegible]

, parshva . khushnûd , khshnuta . sitâeshna , stuiti

[illegible]

, shudhem . shumaj , shutasmê . vadâkht , shustem . parashveh

[illegible]

. sâtonad , khshtât . shîn , khshîm . dēg , shenem . shud

[illegible]

. âkhar , fshyô . pēsh , fshu . sâtonêd , shaoshaiti

[illegible]

. anahûkînêd , anâhita

VI. Words beginning with ma, mâ, or containing these syllables.

[illegible]

, mâ . ra , mām . padmān , maitê . vanâsashna , mayad

[illegible]

kharad , khratumâo . padmān âgh e jinâk aît ; mâh , mâo . al

[illegible]

e padmān harvast , mâianuhê vispem . hamgûneh , mâi . padmān

[illegible]

. ozmûd , âmâta . padmān va amîtar , mâta . frâgoyod e matûn

[illegible] (2) [illegible]

. amarg , amesha . anozmûd , anâmâta , amana

---

1 Corrected from [illegible].

2 Corrected here from the Vendidâd, as [illegible] is doubtful.

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VII. Words beginning with a, â, an, ai, etc.

shaknâh , ainitôish . akînî , ainitôiḍ . asar , anaghra

. atojashna , achithô . arîsh , airishtô . akhâstgîâ chasûn

. anekvîmônêd , astâtô . khâk , avare . apêdâk , achithrô

. jojun , asperenô . avdûm , apemô . anîtônatan yen , apvatiê

. ast , asta . tîz , âsu . yahvônad , âs . yahvônêd , as

. zak , â . yetîbônast , âstê . atyâ vistâri , astaishum

, âaḍ . roman , ahmâkem . amâvandî , amhâi . zak , ahmâi

. padash , â . aêdûn , atha . âsûn , adha . aêdûn , âḍ . âsûn

, aghrem , aghra . âj , âzôish . sahîâ , agha . dûd , âtha

. rakht , arura . zarhonada azâdî , âdhâta . aghrîk , sraghrem

---

1 Corrected from .

2 In the old MS., D. H., which has been written in the year 766 of Yazdagird, (1396 A. D.) and is now in the possession of Dr. Haug, dh is often written for z. âdhâta stands therefore, very likely, for âzâta. In Pahlavî

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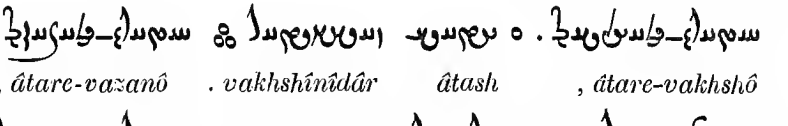

, arēna . orûn , aora . mîtarg , awra . arvand , aurvaḍ

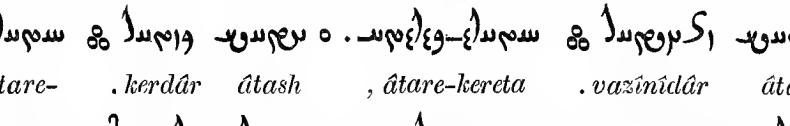

aratô- . bundeh , arem . hervad , aêthrapaitish . apatkâr

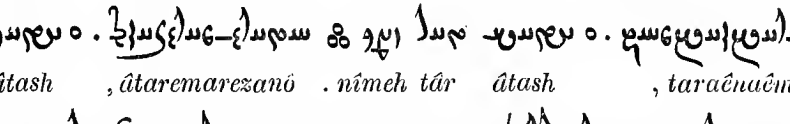

. izashnekerdâr , kerethinô

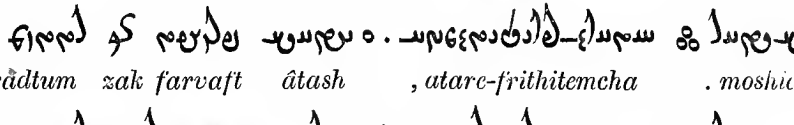

, âtare-vazanô . vakhshînîdâr âtash , âtare-vakhshô

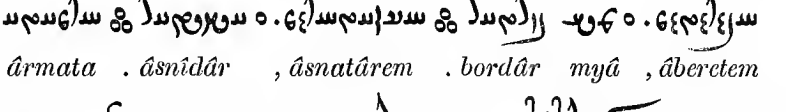

âtare- . kerdâr âtash , âtare-kereta . vazînîdâr âtash

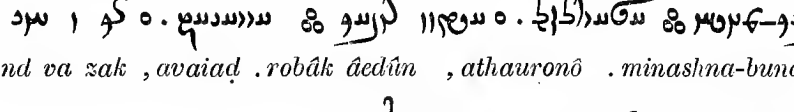

âtash , âtaremarezanô . nîmeh târ âtash , taraêuaêmâḍ

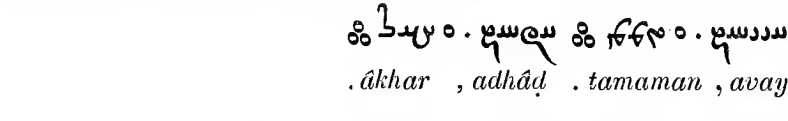

. râdtum zak farvaft âtash , atare-frithitemcha . moshidâr

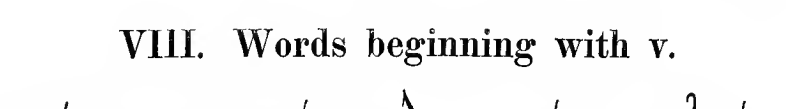

, ârmata . âsnîdâr , âsnatârem . bordâr myâ , âberetem

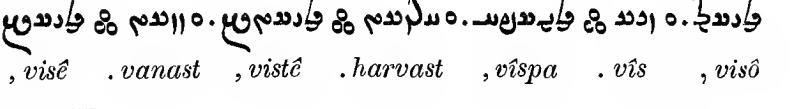

. and va zak , avaiaḍ . robâk âedûn , athauronô . minashna-bundeh

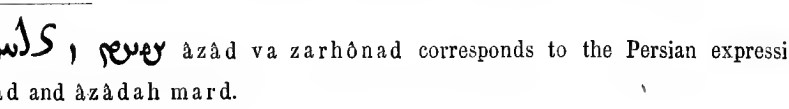

. âkhar , adhâḍ . tamaman , avayâḍ

VIII. Words beginning with v.

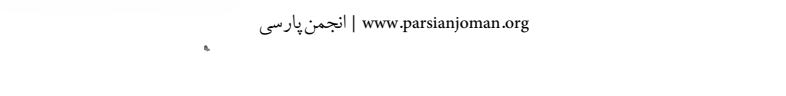

, visê . vanast , vistê . harvast , vîspa . vîs , visô

 âzâd va zarhônad corresponds to the Persian expressions âzâd and âzâdah mard.

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, vahmâi . kâmeh , vasmi . vastarg , vastra . makdarûnyen

, vitasti . âgâs , vidush . ashkahûnâd , viñdad . nyâeshna

. rakûm , vô . gopt , vaohkhtê . vafra , vafra . vîdast

, veredvô . vânîdâr , vanatâm . vânêd , vanaitê . van , vana

, vehrkahê . gokâs , vaikayô . ojdahêshna , viusaiti . narm

. kabadgord , vaăkrem . nîshkâs , vanarc . varg , varckahê . gorg

. gobashna , vacha . pîrôzgar , varethra . varzân kabad , varechâo

, vâtem . vanâs âgh e jinâk aît gobashna va kâlâ , vâchem

. myâ nas,honad , rakăuvarôish . vahâr , vadhairayosh . vâo

va- . vârêd , vâraiti . varân , varô . vârêd , varedhaye

. navikînam , vaêdhayama . roman , vaêm . gordik , reshy

. vafluk , varanava . vugh , vadhagha . âstonad , vaêna

1 Corrected from .

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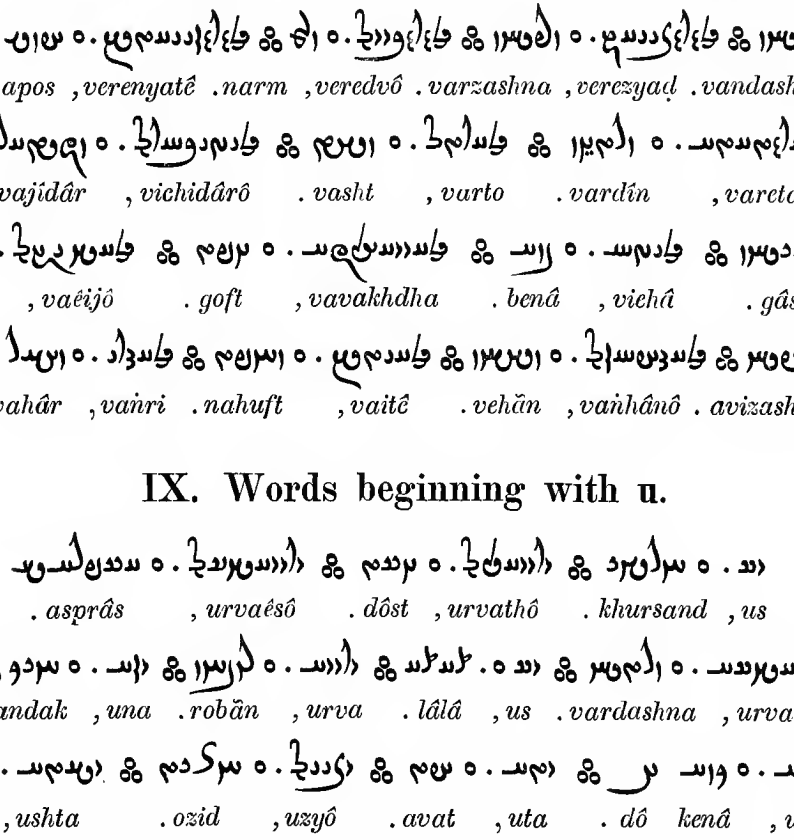

, vâstrayaṅhva . âgâsî , vaidhim . varsak , vareina

, văthwa . pâhlum , vahishtem . shapîr , vôhû . kârvarzashna

, vostrem . andâeshna , voithwa . admoeshna , verenavaḍ . rameh

. apos , verenyatê . narm , veredvô . varzashna , verezyaḍ . vandashna

c vajîdâr , vichidârô . vasht , varto . vardîn , varetata

, vaêijô . goft , vavakhdha . benâ , viehâ . gâsăn

. vahâr , vaṅri . nahuft , vaitê . vehăn , vaṅhânô . avizashna

IX. Words beginning with u.

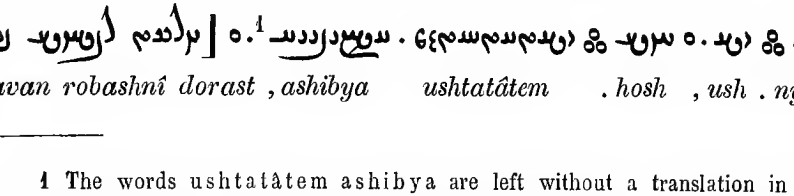

. asprâs , urvaêsô . dôst , urvathô . khursand , us

. andak , una . robăn , urva . lâlâ , us . vardashna , urvaêsa

, ushta . ozid , uzyô . avat , uta . dô kenâ , uva

pavan robashnî dorast , ashibya ushtatâtem . hosh , ush . nyok

---

1 The words ushtatâtem ashibya are left without a translation in the MSS. That one given in brackets is furnished by myself. For the Pahlavî word

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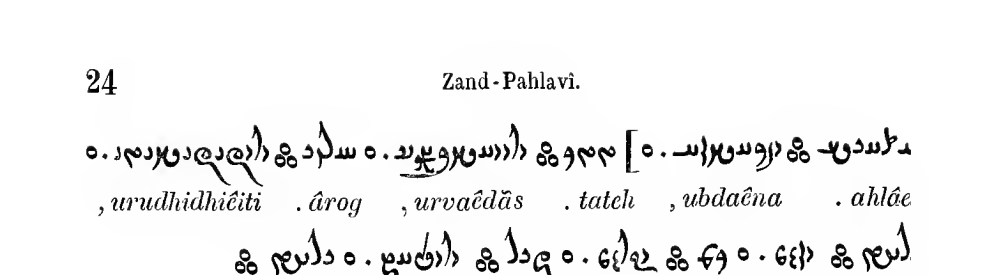

, urudhidhîêiti . âroq , urvaêdâs . tatch , ubdaêna . ahlâe

. darakht , uruthaḍ . chîr , ughrem . kam , unem . âri

X. Words beginning with p.

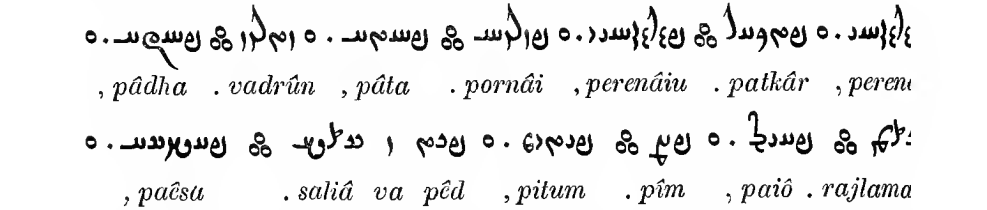

. pur , perenem . vadarg , peretush . punsashna , parâta

, pâdha . vadrûn , pâta . pornâi , perenâiu . patkâr , peren

, paêsu . saliâ va pêd , pitum . pîm , paiô . rajlama

pañ- . panjâh , pâñchâstem . panj , pukhdha . pêse

. âzâr , pairiêtê . avăm , pârem . raz panj , chasat

. avarâ , pāsanush . râs , pathô . tanâvanâr , peshotanus

. patêt , ptaḍ . pudeh , paosh . vâfrîgăn , perenâvayâ

. avarsar , pusăm . pad , paitî . patat , paitiê

---

the original Zand was wanting. Since the preceding as well as the follo wing words commence with the letter **u**, and the Zand word ubdaêna is twi translated by in the Pahlavî of the fifth and seventh fargards of the Vend dâd, I thonght myself justified in introducing ubdaêna.

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XI. Words beginning with m.

, moshu . khâneh , merezu . rotman , maḍ . gomêzeh , mithwa

. vâdûnat , vavachata . kabad , mas . murd , mustemeshô . tîz

. hushmardâr hamîsheh , mimarô . ra , mām . mayud , mayâo

, mashyô . ezbahûn anhomâ , mazdayasnô . avîvak , magha

. garajdaman chasûn , murâ , merezânâi . mûdeh , mruta . mardûm

, myaêshi . mutrasht , muthrem , mazd , mezhdem . mai , madhu

. magas , makhshi . magh , maghem . barhânch , maghna . moshashna

. maruchînashna , merekhsh

XII. Words beginning with s.

. vînâk , sucha . shakbahônêd , saitê . khunsandî , saidhê

. sûd-khâstâr , sēvishta . sûd , svô . vînashna , sukem

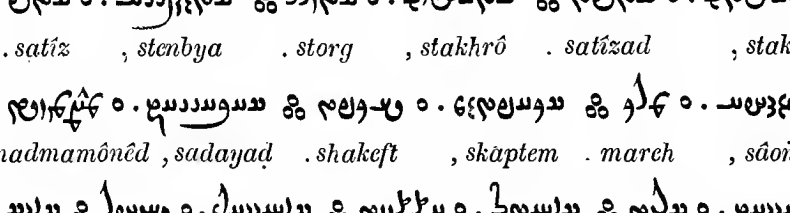

spakh- . nakad , stri . sahîd , sidhiaḍ . shekast , schindayaḍ

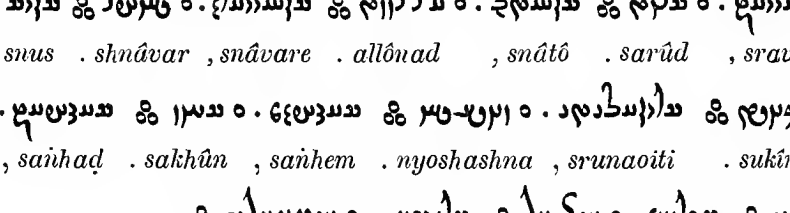

. nyok-negâs , srîrâo . nāmîk , sruta . pâspān , shtim

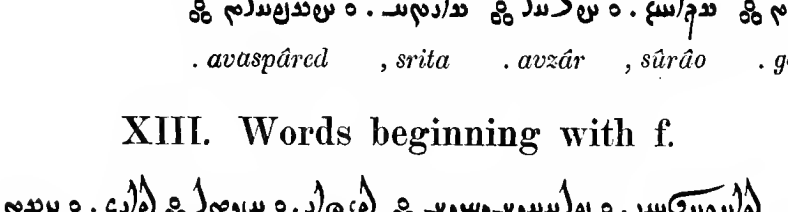

. hoshtâp , srvatô . sazashna , sakhti . ekvîmonashna , stâta

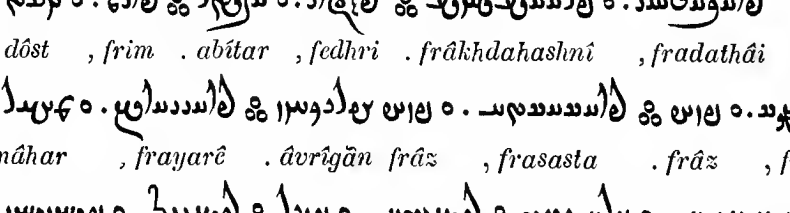

. saṭîz , stenbya . storg , stakhrô . satîzad , stakhtô

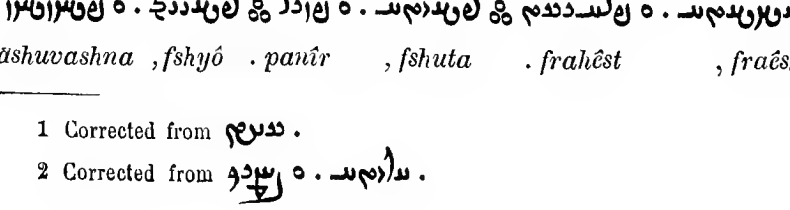

. madmamônêd , sadayaḍ . shakeft , skāptem . march , sâoṅha

, snus . shnâvar , snâvare . allônad , snâtô . sarûd , sravaḍ

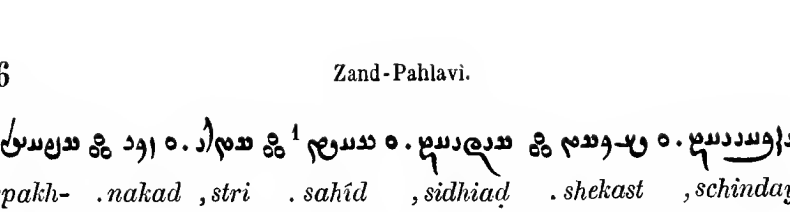

, saṅhaḍ . sakhûn , saṅhem . nyoshashna , srunaoiti . sukînêd

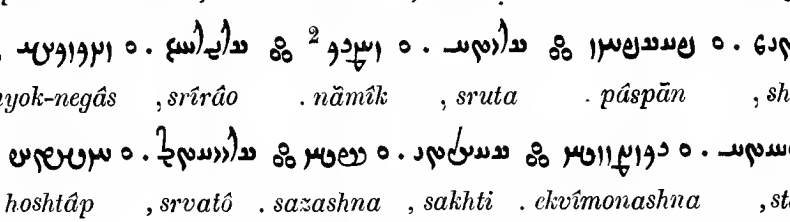

. avaspâred , srita . avzâr , sûrâo . gopt

XIII. Words beginning with f.

. dôst , frim . abîtar , fedhri . frâkhdahashnî , fradathâi

. mâhar , frayarê . âvrîgān frâz , frasasta . frâz , frās

. fāshuvashna , fshyô . panîr , fshuta . frahêst , fraêshta

---

1 Corrected from .

2 Corrected from .

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XIV. Words beginning with d.

. namûd , daêvayaḍ . azān , dakhmô . dahm , dahmô

. dakhshak , dakhshta . âstônad , darevaḍ . yahbûn , dazdi

. sakht , darezera . sôzêd , dazhaḍ . kod , dâshta

. dush-âmojashnî , dush-sastish . dush-srobî , dush-sravaṇhê

. dush-dām , dush-dâma

XV. Words beginning with j.

, jum . mahîtônashna , janaḍ . avsahînêd , jinâiti

, jakhshavâo . mad , jimâḍ . zofar , jafra . zîvandeh

, jaidhyāḍ . vâgûnashna , jareta . jâmtônashna , jataṅhaḍ

. jeh , jaêsh . zêd

---

1 Corrected from .

2 Corrected from .

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XVI. Words beginning with b.

, baē . dabîsh , ḍbaêshâo . bêshazînashnî , baêshaza

, buyâḍ . bagh , bagha . bâstān , bâdha . d

. vîmâr , bañtâo . band , bañdâo . bakhedar , bakhdhra . yahvônâ

, baodhô . bîm , byaṅha . âvastan chasûn bordâr , barethra

, frâz bojêshki , bishish-framâtô . vînâk , baodhaṅhô . bod

, bashi . bokht , buji . bujashna , baoshem . ozmûdâr

. bahûn , bāthrô . bajîneh

XVII. Words beginning with r.

. râd , raêrê . rāmashna , rafnē . rayomand , raêva

, raodhaḍ . rîsh . râjim . rajasteh , râshtem . vîrâsteh , raz

. roshnî , raochaṅhem . rôs

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XVIII. Words beginning with t.

tañ- . zakacha , tâcha . taj , tacha . robashna , tâtô

. khôrd , taremanô . tagîktûm , tarēmanô . tagîktûm , chishtem

, tanumāthrô . tosht , tushish . rak , tûm . doj , tâya

. tarvînîdâr , taradhâta . tâshîd , tashaḍ . tanfarmān

XIX. Words beginning with ch.

. kerdârān , charetăm . asporâs-darânâ , charetu-drâjô

. tojashna , chitha . tokhm , chithra . pêdaki , chaêteñti

, charetutârô . châreh , chârām . chand , chaiti . kâmeh , chakana

, chinaîĉmi . farzâneh , chistish . doshâram , chinmanô . kerdârtum

. karîtônam

---

1 This Zand word is written partly in the Pahlavi character in the MSS.

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XX. Words beginning with z.

.numâeshnîk maman ,zî .tobân ,zastavaḍ .yedman ,zasta

,zusha .ârâeshna chasûn avzâêd ,zita .damastân ,zyâm

,zaothra .derham ,zushta .doshashna ,zaoshô .khustok

.zamîk ,zâo .shanâinashna ,zañta .zôr ,zâvare .zosar

,zarva .zamân ,zrva .mozd ,zemana .zarhônad ,zâthwa

zaê- .dâmâd ,zâmaoiô .zîsht ,zâêshô .zarmânî

zuro- .gerd ,zgeregnem .javîd ,zagathaḍ .zyoânad ,nañha

.rabmaman ,zeredhaiêm .khâstek zôrbordâri ,avarctâo beretâo

.mahîtônad ,zatô .jâdûk e zend ,yâtumeñta zinda

XXI. Words beginning with g.

.vagûnêd ,gerewnaḍ .grahmeh ,grehmô .mad ,gatêê

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1 Omitted in all MSS. I have inserted it here from the first fargard of the Vendidâd.

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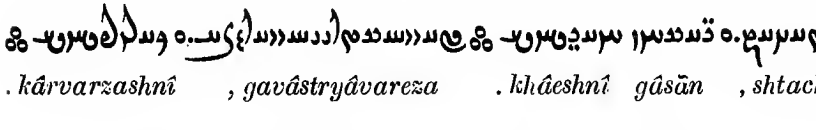

, gudhra . sarîtarān e yedman chasûn , gôh , gava . jeh , gē

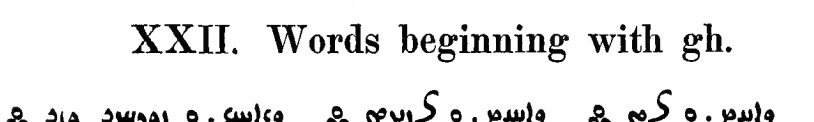

, gaêm . garísteh , geredha . nyoshêd , gushta . nêhânik

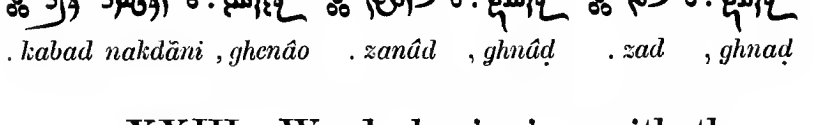

gâthwô- . garzashna , garezhda . gospand , gām . gayômard va âdâ

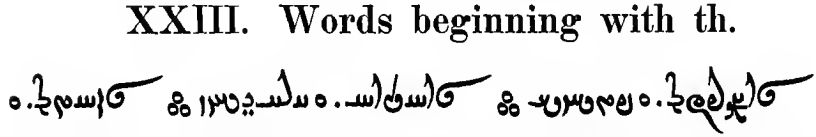

. kârvarzashnî , gavâstryâvareza . khâeshnî gâsān , shtachaḍ

XXII. Words beginning with gh.

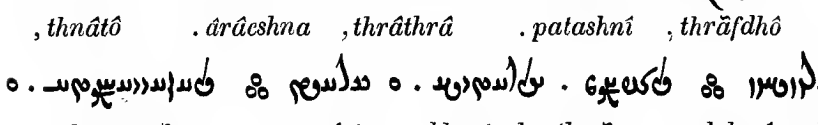

. kabad nakdāni , ghenâo . zanâd , ghnâḍ . zad , ghnaḍ

XXIII. Words beginning with th.

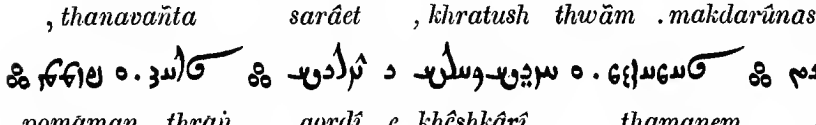

, thnâtô . ârâeshna , thrâthrâ . patashnî , thrāfdhô

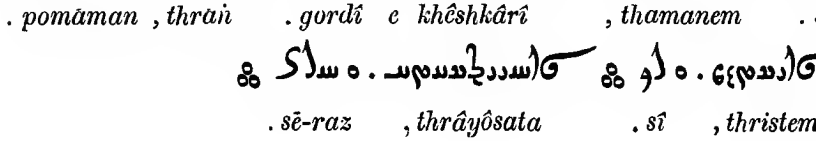

, thanavañta sarâet , khratush thwām . makdarûnashna

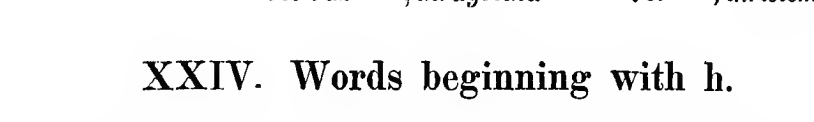

. pomāman , thrāṅ . gordî e khêshkârî , thamanem . sûst

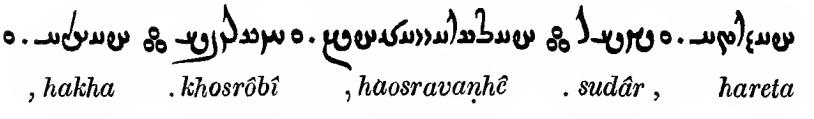

. sē-raz , thrâyôsata . sî , thristem

XXIV. Words beginning with h.

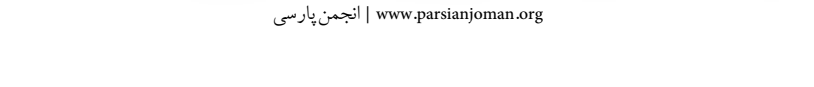

, hakha . khosrôbî , haosravaṇhê . sudâr , hareta

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âsh- , haithi . âshkârch , haita . agnîn , hadha . hamkhâ

, hichitâ . nafshman , hvăm . hêd , haiti . nafshman , kârâh

, hikush . ashûnjêd , hiñchaḍ . âkhêzad , hikhshaḍ . pâkî

haň- . hamdahishnî , hañdâta . hêna , haêna . khushk

, jamananûnêd chasûn farjăm , hadhaṅrô . angardînam , kârayaêmi

anhomâ zakê pâneh farjăm , ukhdhăm mazdâi pâm hadhaṅrô

. sakhûn

XXV. Crimes and offences.

bodyok- , baodhô-varshtahê . bodozêd , baodhajaḍ

topâh va zadan mâm va yahvônêd va zad vînâgîhâ chasûn . varasht

---

1 Corrected from .

2 From this point the MS. is very corrupt, and in several places quite unintelligible. I have corrected it according to the best of my ability. The small alterations I was obliged to make are too numerous to be mentioned. I may, however, state, that I have adhered, as far as possible to the readings of the MSS.

3 D. H. has zatûm in both places. M. H.

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(1 [illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

gobashna kadbâ pavan jamananûnêd vêsh nagîrashnîk mandûmi e kandan

3 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 2 [illegible] [illegible]

ash kâstârî va goêd va takâêd nagîrashnîk vanâshêd âvânîk

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 4 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

mandûmi e kandan topâh zadan mâm chasûn . bodyozad vâdûnyen

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 5 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

mardumân pavan kâdyôzad e vanâs . kâdyôzad vanâsêd sûdgîk pavan

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 6 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

varsht bodyok men javîd yok jast aêdûn pâsê bodyozadgîk men zak

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 7 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

avîsûdagî pavan âgh gospandân yen zak bodyozad va parâst

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 8 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

chasûn mardumân yen e vanâs kâdyozad va bodyozad va . nagîrashna

---

1 Inserted here.

2 Corrected from [illegible].

3 [illegible] kastârihâ D. H. The words vàdûnyen hodyo are omitted in the same MS.; only zad is written. The omission is evidently a clerical error. **M. H.**

4 Omitted in D. H. **M. H.**

5 D. H. has [illegible] instead of sudgîk vanâsêd. **M. H.**

6 The passage from "kâdyôzad pavan" to "aêdûn" reads thus in D. H.:

[illegible]

pavan mardumân mûn bôdòzêt pasâi kîk aèdûn. **M. H.**

7 D. H. has [illegible]. **M. H.**

8 Instead of the passage "âgh pavan" to "kâdyozad" D. H. reads as follows:

[illegible]

bodyozad is here omitted. **M. H.**

âstrêt . karîtônêhêd robānik vanâsi âvânîk zak va hamîmâlān vanâsi

. vanâskârān pavan sudârî astaraspān âstârînêd âshkâreh

âghat ac jamnônêd âmat yahvônêd zak gobashnihâ jâduk , yâtukhta

yâv madonail c avsûnî pavan âmat , maruchînam benâ jâdûgî pavan

yahvônêd zak numâeshnî sahm ,dudhuwibuzdu . hamgûnch jamananûnêd

, vâiti . mahûtônam sûtâihâ sanchâ pavan âgh jamananûnêd âmat

âdasi c âkhar men vanâskârî pavan âmat yahvônêd zak khaishnî

men âdas âmat yahvônêd zak handarakht hañderekhti . râdûnêd

ayov topâh varmani var ayov va dâsûnêd pâdîrān akhêshkârî

---

1 Omitted in D. H. M. H.

2 D. H. has . M. H.

3 D. H. has only vanás. M. H.

4 D. H. has . M. H.

5 Corrected from and . D. H. hankereiti.

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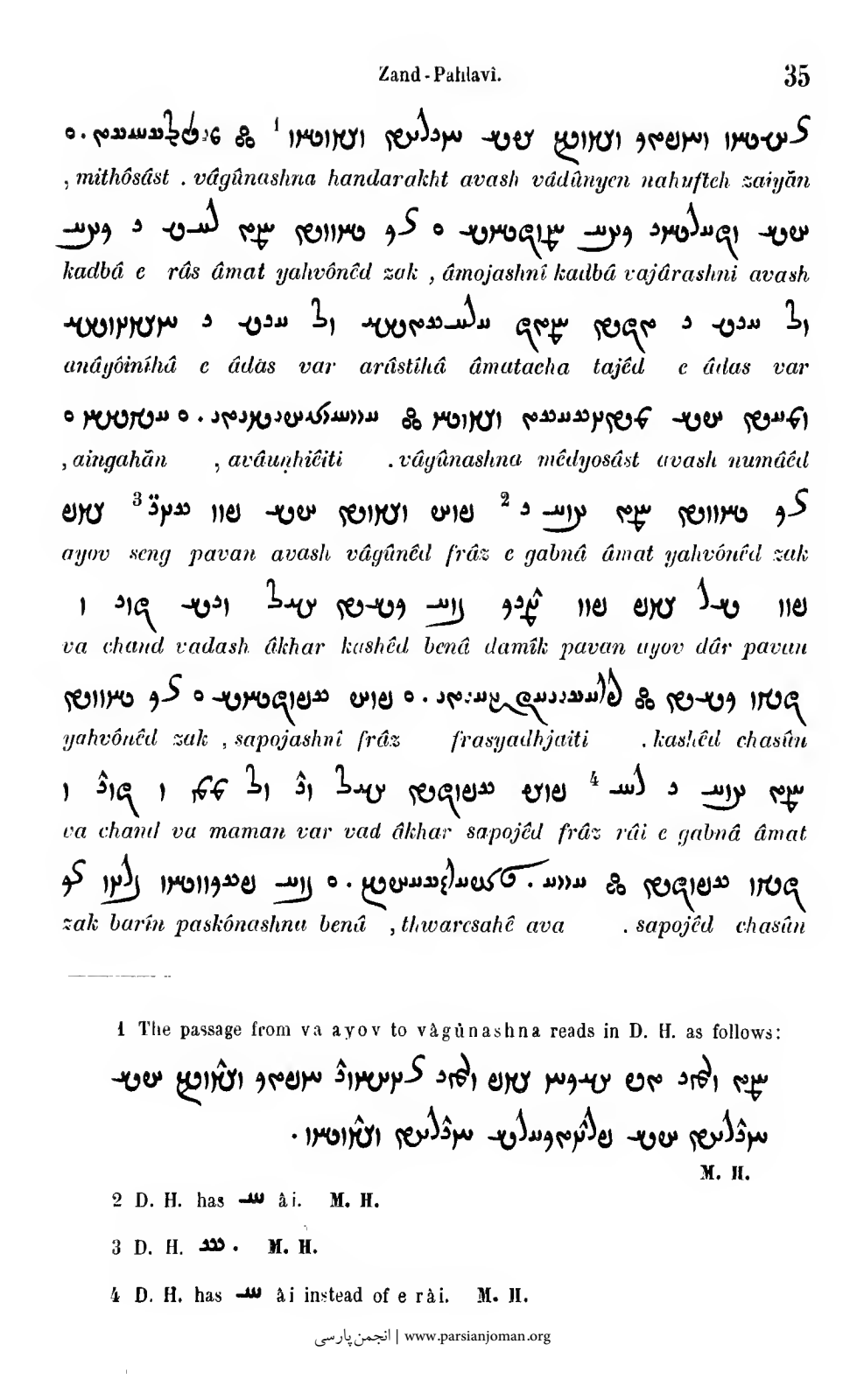

, mithôsâst . vâgûnashna handarakht avash vâdûnyen nahuftch zaiyăn
kadbâ e râs âmat yahvônêd zak , âmojashnî kadbâ vajârashni avash
anâyôinîhâ e âdâs var arâstîhâ âmatacha tajêd e âdas var
, aingahăn , avâunhîêiti . vâgûnashna mêdyosâst avash numâêd
ayov seng pavan avash vâgûnêd frâz e gabnâ âmat yahvônêd zak
va chand vadash âkhar kashêd benâ damîk pavan ayov dâr pavan
yahvônêd zak , sapojashnî frâz frasyadhjaiti . kashêd chasûn
va chand va maman var vad âkhar sapojêd frâz râi e gabnâ âmat
zak barîn paskônashna benâ , thwarcsahê ava . sapojêd chasûn

---

1 The passage from va ayov to vâgûnashna reads in D. H. as follows:

M. H.

2 D. H. has ـــ âi. M. H.

3 D. H. ـــ. M. H.

4 D. H. has ـــ âi instead of e râi. M. H.

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zak rêsh chasûn khor , qarahê . jâtônêd avash khûn mûn amâr

chand va chasûn âgh vadash âkhar jâtônêd avash khân mûn amâr

benâ zak men zak rîsh bûnî men e zak mahîtônêd maman pâvan

yahvônêd zak âgereft . karîtônad huramacha chasûn , shuãs . avzâêd

avâva- . vâgânyen mâm sanch râi e avanâs mahîtônatan pavan âmat

âmat . vardêd mâm saneh râi e avanâs âmat yahvônêd zak resht

hamahubûnacha . sham ardûsh unâtônad mâm sanch vanâskârî pavan

tajârêd robashna khûn mahîtônashnî bâzâ . sham khur yahvônêd râi

patêt pavan yahvônatan shâêd tâvãn padash mardûm e robãn âgh

---

1 In D. H. vâdônt is added after âgereft. **M. H.**

2 Intead of avâvaresht D. H. reads: . **M. H.**

3 D. H. has yâtân. **M. H.**

4 D. H. reads and omits âgh. **M. H.**

5 Instead of padash tâvân D. H. has . **M. H.**

6 Instead af pavan patêt D. H. has . **M. H.**

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[illegible] [3] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [2] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [1] [illegible]

bâbâ ahu men mûn rîsh . avash tojashna rîsh yâtâ . tojashna

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

khor va ardush va avâvaresht va âgereft hamgûnch yahvônêd and zak

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

vâgûnchêd andâzagîhâ ham pavan kerfchcha karîtônchêd yât va bâzâi

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

peshôtanush . karîtônchêd hamgûnch padmân va sanch e sham va

[4] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

zakâi e vanâs raz sê chasûn tanâvanâr zand . pairyêtê tanum

[5] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

avash va karîtônand tanâvanâr râi andâzagihâ ham va hamgûnch

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

tanâvanâr men va .jâtônêd yen vanâs pavan tanâvanâr shame va chîm

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [6] [illegible]

vajârêd âdâ men frâz mûn frâzoshtân aît . jau . avzâêd

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

maman kenâ pavan goftan âvâêd javîdâk âdâ men âghash denmen pavan

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1 D. H. [illegible]. M. H.

2 Omitted in D. H.

3 The passage from avash to ahu runs as follows in D. H.: [illegible]. M. H.

4 Instead of vanâs e zakâi D. H. has [illegible]. M. H.

5 D. H. has [illegible] which is probably a mistake. M. H.

6 In D. H. there is [illegible]. M. H.

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kerfehâ men pâd daheshna ham che lâ padefrâs râeshna tanâvanâl

ataftdâd .jamananûnêd mazadtar vêsh tanî zake e hâvandish loêt

toeshna va sûd mûn khârashna va khoreshna âmat yahvônêd zak

fryôshêd hâvangâs pavan nchâzagî hangăm .dâsûnêd rakhâr padash

âtarsh asti thripithwódhi âgh jamananûnêd sakâdûm pavan chasûn

atha aiwi-gâmê bipithwô hama mazdao ahurahê

âmat anhomâ e âtash aît pashûn sē maman ,ushavanó narô

ardvchesht chchâr mûn ahlob gabnâ aêdûn damastān pavan dulín

.dâsûned se pavan ae varhomandî yen ekvîmônêd yahvôned padîsâr men

.kamêst tobăn âstônatan âgh dânad pêdâkî benâ ,vîchithremchid

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1 Instead of tanâvanâl, as the editor sometimes writes, D. H. has constantly tanâvanâr. M. H.

2 D. H. has . M. H.

3 This passage appears to be an interpolation.

4 âmat appears to be miswritten for hamin.

5 D. H. has .

6 After tobân D. H. inserts the words: . M. H.

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. vâyûnyen âkhar men kâlâ âmat yahvônêd zak khroseh , khrasyô

zînîdar , zyêiḍ . khêsînad ghan âmat yahvônêd zak khîsîdeh , voiô

âzord sataîhâ pêd azu satâmch , hazô . âzargîhâ dînâ avash

tâyush- . yahvônêd taraft dozdîhâ taraft , tâyô . yahvônêd

chasûn vanâskâr aêdûn avshârch dozd va avshârch dozd , âoscha

dasa pañcha . tojashna avash gabnâ va nakad va torâ dozdi

pānzdêh bâzeh-masâ agâhî vîn ham pavan , masâo sraoni pasvô

e zak va pēsh e nîmek chasûn bâzehmasâ . pânzdêh sîna-masâ

mâlman e jojan dvâzdeh kaspi âê gospand chasûn . sîna-masâ âkhar

dô e khorashnacha havand ayov kantak dô âi yom kenâ kantak si

va jamananânêd râi bokhtak e pûrnâ gabnâ e rodhîk arzêd kartak

. hudâshtan khorashna e kasp hâvand vastarg nakad

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1 D. H. inserts here . H. M.

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XXVI. Miscellaneous words.

pasu- , pasushurvān . arzânûgîhâ mazd , pâdhaiñuhañtem

.yahvônêd karitônad shopānacha sandâri chasûn pasushurûn shorvān

va yahvônêd avăm vakhshi sâtônatani , pafraêta . avăm , pârem

râzâr- , vizuta . yahvônêd parvarashna men arzûnîk va shapîr tâni

kavachiḍ . yahvônêd kârvarzashnî , vavâstrinām . yahvônêd gânî

.goftch râi jinâk kenâ zamîk denmen pavan chîgāmcha , zemô aṇhâo

chaḍcha .goftch râi âdasi kenâ , astvatô aṇhēush kaschiḍ

âdasi kenâ sateh ahlobān e zak chîgāmchâ , stôish ashaonô

e zak men âgh jamanânûnêd denmen pavan , yaêtushâḍa . goftch râi

,nizentem .sazâktâr varman nyoshîdani va vajîḍan pavan ekvîmônêd

. zarhônêd khânch pavan e nezand

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1 D. H. . M. H.

2 Thus have all MSS. M. H.

3 D. H. inserts here .

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XXVII. Measures of length, and of time.

chasûn ,vitasti . angôsht chehârdeh chasûn pâe ,padhem

,uzashta . angôsht doâzdeh chasûn ,dishta . angósht doâzdeh

, gâim . âdâ , gaêm . angôsht hasht chand hasht lâlâ

prâ- jinâk âvânîk pavan e zak va pâe sē vandidâd pavan zak gām

. angôsht zak chand , aêtshaya chavaiti . goft râst

, thwām añtare dashcha dvacha gâmān vâ yatha

andarg gām bîstochâr ayov ,robashna andarg e gām doâzdeh chand

yijai- yavaḍ dakhshmaitish bishaêtavaḍ . robashna

chand yojêst and zak yojêstâ chand dashmêst zak dô , astish

hâthrem aêtavaḍ bish tadhaô . chand tajar zak e dashmêst

hâsar . tajar chand hâsar and zak ae , tacharem yavaḍ

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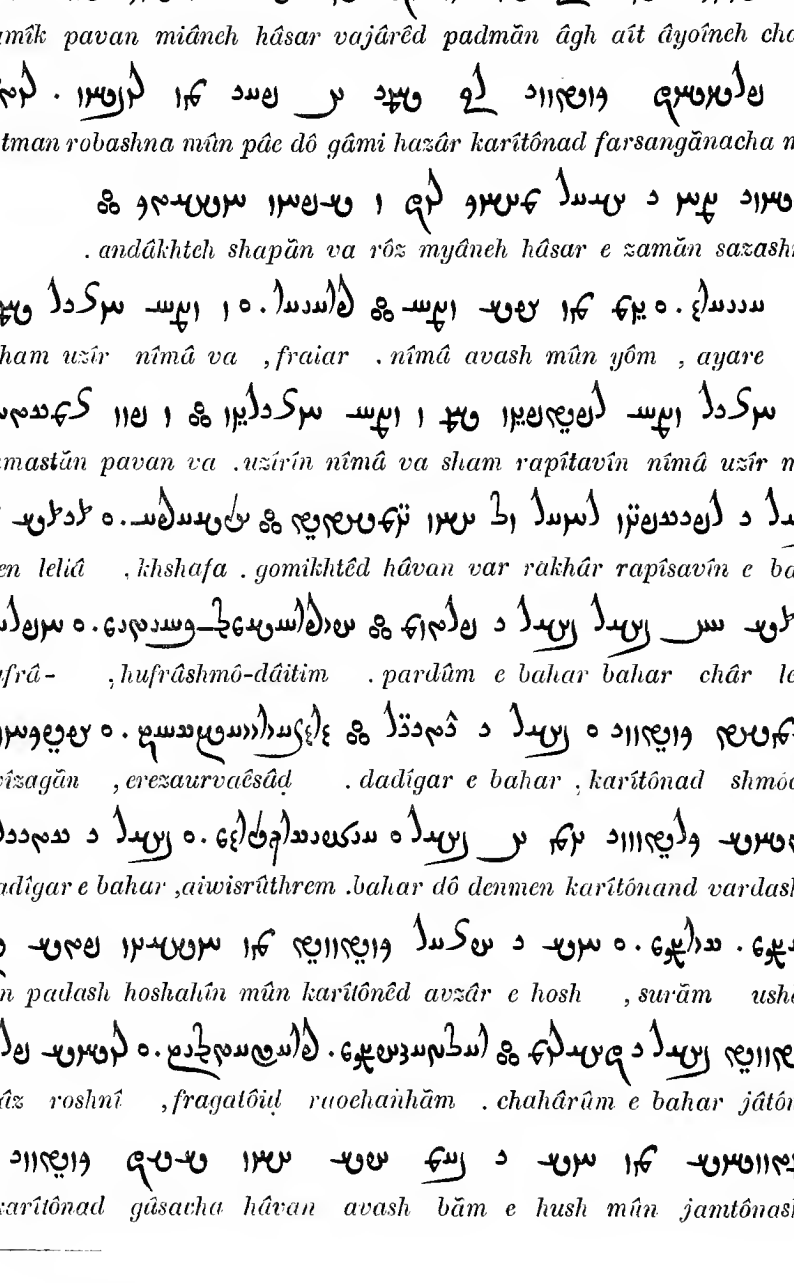

zamîk pavan miâneh hâsar vajârêd padmăn âgh aît âyoînch chand

rôtman robashna mûn pâc dô gâmi hazâr karîtônad farsangănacha men

. andâkhtch shapăn va rôz myâneh hâsar e zamăn sazashnai

; sham uzîr nîmâ va , fraiar . nîmâ avash mûn yôm , ayare

zamastăn pavan va .uzîrîn nîmâ va sham rapîtavîn nîmâ uzîr men

men leliâ , khshafa . gomikhtêd hâvan var rakhâr rapîsavîn e bahr

hufrâ- , hufrâshmô-dâitim . pardûm e bahar bahar châr leliâ

avîzagăn , erezaurvaêsâḍ . dadîgar e bahar , karîtônad shmódût

,sadîgar e bahar ,aiwisrûthrem .bahar dô denmen karîtônand vardashnî

yen padash hoshahîn mûn karîtônêd avzâr e hosh , surăm ushăm

frâz roshnî ,fragatôiṇ raochaṅhăm . chahârûm e bahar jâtônêd

. karîtônad gâsacha hâvan avash băm e hush mûn jamtônashnî

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1 D. H. . M. H.

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ast hâsar dvâzdeh ,ayare aghrem asti hâthrem dvadasan

doâzdeh yên , aghar rôz mûn shapăn rôz zak yôm aghari e zak

hâsar .nîtum e châr o bist va .myâneh bîst va hâsar

, thrivachahim hâthrem netemem , aêtem .amâr padmăn kabad

, thrigâmem gâmahya taḍ .gobashna sē padmăn nîtûm ăn

taḍ ḍkaêshahê taḍ .gām sē e zak gâmăn men aêdûn

taḍ , gâm sē yen gokâs aêdûn dâtobar aêdûn , vîkaiêhê

yen hamâk sakhûn dâdastăn aêdûn ,arethavanô taḍ arethahê

pêshmâl va pasmâl homnad dâdastăn aedûn dâsûnashna gâm sē

vajârêd denmen dâtobar ,zushtô vayô .gâm sē yen dînâ tani

jamananûnêd chasûn aît ayorî e nyoshîdâr va varhomand e khâstâr âgh

.sanjêd drva

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roeshman khuramî va rāmashnî va shâtî va shûm pavan parjvat

zarhonate herpad bandeh dîn ra napashtam vâje avastâk yahvônêd

. hormazdyâr magôpat nasli men rām pashîntan

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Translation.

In the name of God, and to his praise! May this explanation [1]) for understanding the words and phrases of the Avesta, that is the meaning in which, and how (they should be taken), be good (for the reader)!

I. Numerals.

Oîm, one. — *paourîm*, first. — *paurva*, before.
Dva, two. — *bitim*, second. — *dvayâo*, twofold.
Tishrô, three. — *thritîm*, third. — *thrayâm*, threefold. — *thrîshva*, the third part.
Chithrushva, the fourth part. — *tûirîm*, fourth.
Pukhdha, fifth. — *pañtañhem*, the fifth part.
Khshvash, six. — *khshtum*, sixth.
Haptañhum, the seventh part. — *ashtañhum*, the eighth part. — *naomahê*, ninth. — *dasmahê*, tenth.

1) In my MS. [illegible] mâm, "on, about," is used instead of [illegible] denmen korâsheh. This appears to be a later addition, as korâsheh is no proper Pahlavî term, but an Arabic expression, khulâsat (the essence of a thing), which in the meaning of "explanation, elucidation" is very frequently used in the Gujarâtî (khulâsô) as spoken by the Parsîs of Western India. M. H.

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II. Genders.

Singular, dual, and plural in nouns and verbs. Adjectives.

The following words from the *Avastâk* are either masculine or feminine, singular or plural, of good or bad qualities (adjectives), positive, comparative or superlative, according to the termination which is added to them, and with which they are construed, or the adjective to which they are joined. Their meaning and signification should be taken accordingly as they are mentioned in the religion (that is the religious books); and also there are some words *(avastâk)* which have some different meaning *(zand)*.

Genders and numbers of dva, va, "two". Some adverbs.

Va, (nom. accus. of the dual, masc., instead of *dva* two) two males. — *vaiê*, (nom. accus. dual, fem.) two females. — *vaibya*, (dative and instrumental of the dual) for both male and female, and for both food and clothing, and also for both this and the other world. — *vayô*, (locative of the dual) two things joined. — *vayâoschiḍ*, (genit. of the dual) for both good and bad. — *vayâo*, (genit. of the dual) for both pious and impious, *(asha va darvand)*. — *vayâo*, (genit. of the dual) for both ways or customs (good and bad). — *vacha*, either. — *ubôibya*, (dative of the dual of *ubê* both) for both worlds (or lives).

Hakereḍ, done at once. — *hadha*, *hiḍ*, are used when two things are joined. — *ôithra*, separately. — *mâaḍ*, together with, and "not," (a negative). — *hakaḍ*, at once.

When a punishment for a crime for one is mentioned then one uses *chikayaḍ baodhôvareshtahê*, i. e. he should be punished with death (singular); when a punishment for two is mentioned, *chikayatô* (dual); when for three *chikaên* (plural) is used. The *Zand* is the same, *tojênd*, for two, or for three, but the *Avastâk* (for the dual and plural) is different; for when two are spoken of, *chikayatô*, and when three, or more, are spoken of, *chikaên* is used.

Numbers in the personal pronouns; the different meanings of the words: nâ, vî, and apa.

Yavâkem, of you two. — *yûshmâkem*, of you three, and if more, (or) many are spoken of, the *Avastâk* is the same as for three. — *thwăm*,

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thou. — *vô*, you, in the *Gâthâ* dialect, *vē*, you. — *nô*, [1]) we, in the *Gâthâ* dialect, *nē*, we. — *nâ*, means in some places "a man", and in others "or". — *vî*, in some places means "you", and in others it means "privation," "against", or "without." — *apa*, means in some places "water," and in others "back," also "without."

Numbers in nouns.

If one grown-up person is spoken of, then *perenâyush* is used; when two, *perenâyu;* when three, *perenâyunăm.* If one child is spoken of, *aperenâyukô*; if two children are spoken of, *aperenâyuka;* and if three, *aperenâyukanăm.* If a single man is spoken of, *narsh*; if two men, *nara;* if three, *narô* is used.

Qualities and appellations of women.

The same is the case with the word "woman" as *nâirika* (singular), *nâirikayâo* (dual) and *nâirikanăm* (plural).

When a good (virtuous) woman is spoken of, she is called *vanta* (singular), *vantâhva* [2]) (dual) and *vantanăm* (plural). When a bad (lustful) woman is spoken of, she is called *jē*, *jaê* and *jahî*. When an unmarried girl is spoken of, she is called *charâiti.* [3])

Nmânôpathni, the mistress of the house. — *demănôpathni*, a newly married woman, a bride. — *vidhu*, *vidhava*, a widow. — *barethri*, a pregnant woman. — *vyâkhtihava*, a dressed or adorned woman. — *strîm*, a woman. — *mâta*, a mother. — *qaṅha* [4]), a sister. — *dughdha*, a daughter. — *hapsnaî-apnô-khavô*, a husband having two wives, a bigamist. — *saê*, a child whose father is not living, an orphan. — *qasurô* [5]), a father-in-law.

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1) This word, meaning we, is translated by [illegible] you, which being evidently a mistake, I have corrected it to [illegible] we.

2) This form does not look like a dual; it is the locative of the plural, fem.
M. H.

3) The MSS. give only the Pahlavî meaning; but the original word of the Avastâ is omitted in all. I have inserted it from the third Fargard of the Vandîdâd and the Hadokht Nosk.

4) The Pahlavî meaning of this word is omitted in D. H.

5) In all MSS. both this word and the next were written in Pahlavî characters

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Hana, a man, and also a woman. If they are 50 years old, then they are called *zarmān;* if they are 70, *han;* and if 90, *pâdirānshosar* [1]). — *huvirām*, good-looking, and one with the requisite qualities.

III. Parts of the body, and its qualities

Hutâshtô, well formed as regards stature. — *huraodhô*, beautiful, of good complexion. — *hukerefsh*, well-formed, beautiful. — *bâmya*, splendid, spacious, as *nisâ (Nishâpur)* [2]).

Horâcha, *parâcha*, *tarascha*, this side, and that side, and across. — *hutarest*, beyond all sides.

Hugaonem, the hair of the body, except that of the head. — *varsa*, the hair of the head. — *gaêsa*, the hair dressed in two or three curls. — *vôhugaonem*, black hair. — *paourusha-gaonem*, grey hair. — *pāstahê*, skin. — *pasu-vastrahê*, (gen. sing.) wearing a dress of skin. — *sura*, the skin of a living man.

Aêdha, the skin of the head. There is a large *aêdha* and a small *aêdha*, as mentioned in the *Nahâdûm (Nosk): kaya heñti masyañhô aêdha?* which is the large skin (of the head)? — *yô aparaya paiti mastraghnya*, that which is on the back of the skull. Afarg says, it is from the back of the ear. — *kaya kasyañhô? yô pâouraya paiti mastraghnaya*, which is the small *aêdha?* that which is on the forehead.

Vaghdhanem, head, as it is mentioned (in the *Nahâdûm Nosk*, in the passage quoted). — *narsh vaghdhanem*, one who shakes the head of the man, (without a *Sagdîd)* is a sinner. — *astem aêvô mastravanām*, or shakes any of the skull bones. — *vîspacha yô mastra-*

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instead of those of the Avastâ, which I restored here in their original form. In D. H. qasurô is omitted, but its Pahlavî meaning is given.

1) In the Pahlavî commentary on the third, and seventh fargards of the Vendîdâd, where these words occur, the age of the hana is stated at forty, and that of the zârman at fifty years.

2) Bâmî is taken by the Dasturs in the meaning of "splendid" and derived from bâm, "the dawn", but it appears to me that it also means "wide", "spacious", as a country, as will be seen from the first fargard of the Vendidâd, as well as from the instance above. Bâmî and hâmên, are also the names of large towns, the former in Balkh, and the latter in Herât.

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ghnăm amăsta [1]), all striking by which the skull is injured (pierced) should be taken as (the act of a) *tanâvanâr*, (the sinner who cannot pass the bridge *Chinavad* [2]). — *qarôchithrem aêtêê anyê chikayatô*, they undergo the punishment for a *khor* (inflicting of wounds) for the other (parts), just as that which is mentioned for (wounding) the head, skull, and the other parts of the brain (head); so one calls him a criminal who strikes a foot, a bone, the fleshy parts, or the brain (head); every one who breaks a bone, should undergo the punishment of a *tanâvanar* for (injuring) the other (parts of the body) [3]).

Ainikô, forehead. — *urua*, face. — *dôithra*, eye. — *pashnem*, eyelids or eyelashes. — *nâoṅha*, nose. — *uzyazdâna*, bridge of the nose, or nostril. — *âontyâo*, *parâontyâo*, breathing, inhaling and exhaling. — *aoshtra*, lips. — *dantânô*, teeth. — *âoṅha*, mouth. — *sparṅha*, gums of the teeth.

Words relating to speech.

Hizva, the tongue. — *vâkhsh*, voice, a sound. — *vacha*, utterance. — *saṅhem*, a word. — *âzaiñtivaitish*, with a meaning or signification. —

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1) The Pahlavî translation contains more than the Zand original; the latter may be translated as follows: "every one who thought of skull-breaking". That such a one was to be taken for a tanâvanâr, is either an addition of the translator, or the Zand original conveying this sense has been left out by the transcriber.

2) The passages from narsh-vaghdhanem to qarôchithrem are quotations from the Nahâdum Nosk, but incomplete. They very likely refer to some surgical operation, or the construction of a temporary place for disposing of the dead, at times, when the winter or weather may have been too severe to allow them to be taken out to the Tower of Silence. This temporary place is called in the 5th fargard of the Vendidâd daityô-kata, or thrâyôkata, and is described to be so formed, that the head, body, hands, or feet of the corpse may not touch the walls or any other surrounding parapet or railing of the kata (see Vendidâd 5, 11. ed. Westergaard); but here both the Avestâ (Zand original) and Zand (Pahlavî translation) are very corrupt and obscure. I have given, in the translation, the ideas which they contain, but it is very difficult to give an exact rendering.

3) The translation of the commentary on qarôchithrem etc. has been left out by Destur Hoshengji. I have supplied it. The meaning is, that the punishment for a khor, i. e. the inflicting of wounds, remains the same whichever part of the body may have been injured; but if a bone should be broken, the punishment is heavier. M. H.

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srîra, not envious, kindly disposed; handsome; exalted. — *hitô*, ease; exalted. — *daṅrô*, wisdom. — *namravâkhsh*, words of benediction. — *qtemchiḍ-saṅhem*, dark (mysterious) words. — *gudhrâ-saṅhô*, secret words. — *haithem-vachâo*, simple, or plain words. — *khruzhda-vachâo*, harsh words. — *berezata vacha*, with a loud voice, or high words. — *khshayaḍ-vâkhsh*, proper words, or royal words. — *amavata vacha*, bold speech, or victorious words. — *vakhshaṅha* [1]), salutary speech. — *vâkhsh-beretibyô vârethraghnibyô*, speech which brings victory and success. — *rathwyâo ukhdhâo*, good words. — *ukhdhemsrîrem pairishtem avastâtem deretô sraoshem*, a matured, well-considered, dignified and orderly speech, which is composed according to rule. — *ukhdhashna mashyô vaṅhâo yatha daṅhrô ukhdhô vachâo*, one who fully understands the composition of words (poetry) is as good as a poet. — *mraoḍ*, he said (imperf. of the verb *mru* "to say"). — *mravaḍ*, he may say (3[a] person singular of the conjunctive, present tense, of *mru*). — *mru* (imperative) speak! — *paityâdha*, answering. — *paitiastô vachâo*, words of assent. — *gushta-sâsnâo*, listening to advice, or following avdvice.

Gaosh, ear. — *haoiô, dashinô*, left and right. — *parô, pascha*, backwards and forwards; before and behind. — *adharô, uparô*, lower part and upper part. — *us*, up, high. — *vîspê-naêmăm*, in all directions. — *pâiri*, surrounding. — *haṅhuharenê* [2]), jaws, or jaw-bones. — *pascha vaghdhanem* [3]), the back of the head. —

Continuation of the parts of the body.

Manôthri [4]), neck. — *daosha*, shoulder. — *bâzava*, arm. — *arethnâo*, elbow. — *zasta*, hand. — *chiăkadhavatô (arashnachand)*, an arm's

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1) This is probably a mistake for vakhshvanha.

2) The meaning of this word is omitted in all MSS., here I have restored and explained it from Yasna 11, 4. ed. Westergaard. In Pahlavî it is translated with [illegible], which is rendered by Dastur Dârâb Pâhalan, in his Persian version, as "jawbones", though some Dasturs take it for "left ear" also; but this is a mere guess, as in the Vendidâd "left ear" is expressed by havya gaosha.

3) This is translated by [illegible] vaghdân only, the meaning of pascha, "behind", being omitted in all MSS.

4) Corrected from manaothri, see Vendidâd 13, 37. ed. Westergaard.

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length, a cubit. — *mushta-masô*, a handful. — *erezu*, finger (an inch). — *arazân, frârâdhân*, the forefinger and the little finger. — *fravâkhsh*, a horny substance like the nail. — *varô*, the bosom, the breast. — *fshtâna*, breast (*pistân*, in Persian). — *ashayâo*, the part between the shoulder and breast. — *kashaibya*, armpit. — *uruthware*, belly. — *nâfô*, the navel. — *ushadhăm*, the backbone [1]). — *vaṅhăm*, upper part of the foot [2]). — *paresu*, the side (hypochondria). — *barozhdahum*, the upper part of the side. — *pasânô*, the bosom. — *sushi*, lungs. — *eredhaêm*, heart. — *yâkare*, the liver. — *urvatem*, a gut, intestine. — *spereza*, the spleen, the milt. — *zârascha*, the gall-bladder, bile. — *veretka*, kidney. — *frashnem* [3]), testicles. — *sraoni*, the buttocks. — *hakhta*, the sexual parts (male or female) [4]). — *fravâkhsh*, male organ of generation. — *erezi*, the testicle, the scrotum. — *maêsma*, urine. — *khshudrâo*, semen, sperm or seed. — *shâma*, the excrement. — *dhadhaṅha*, the backside. — *râna*, the

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1) The editor and translator has left this difficult word without any translation. The rendering "backbone" has been added by me. I followed the original reading of the MSS. posht-i-tîz, which has been changed by the Destur to post-i-tîz in his edition (pag. 10, lin. 8). The reading adopted by him I cannot understand, as post-i-tîz could only mean "a sharp skin", but what that is, I am unable to say. If we adhere to the original posht-i-tîz then it would literally mean "a sharp back"; which is, in all probability, a technical term for the backbone, the spine. This interpretation is supported by the fact, that we do not meet in this very copious enumeration of parts of the body with any other term which signifies "backbone".
M. H.

2) The two words, ushadhâm and vanhâm are translated in Pahlavî with "posht-i-tîz" and "posht-i-pahan", which should be, I think, post-i-tîz and post-i-pavan khun, as neither "tîz" nor "pahan" have any connexion with posht, (back). vanhâm means blood, or "bloody part". In the 3rd fargard of the Vendidâd the word "pânsto-frathanhem" is translated in Pahlavî with post pahnâ; but the Zand word here is quite different from that of the Vendidâd; therefore I believe they were miswritten in Pahlavî for pôst-i-tîz and post-i-pavan khun. [vanhâm appears to mean the "spinal marrow"; it is identical with the Sanscrit vasâ "marrow". The translation "upper part of the foot" cannot be right.
M. H.]

3) This word is translated in Pahlavi by kûmîk which in D. N. is translated into Persian by khâyegân bâshed, "it may mean testicles".

4) In my MS. there is a Persian gloss in which the expression is restricted to the sexual parts of females. M. H.

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thigh. — *zhnûm*, the knee. — *paitishtâna*, foot. — *zeṅha*, the leg. — *frabda*, a bridge of the foot from heel to toe, or a foot's length. *hakhem*, the sole of the foot.

Qaêdhem, perspiration, spittle, sweat. — *vohuni*, blood. — *astem*, bone. *kerepemcha* [1]), a body of a man or animal. — *mazgemcha*, brain. — *haṅhâma* [2]), joints of the body. — *varedha*, fatness, or obesity. — *drvatâtem*, doing well, vigour, health. — *vasô-khshathrăm*, the attainment of one's own desire. — *khshayamana apaitirita*, an uncontrolled power. — *tanvaêcha haosravaṅhem urunaêcha dareghem havaṅhem*, comfort to body and freedom from death to the soul for a long time (i. e. health and long life). — *bvaḍ vispô aṅhush astvâo azaresô amarshă afithyô apayă dareghem yaḍ yavê vispâi*, may all this world be without decay, mortality, hunger or thirst for a long time, for ever!

Aspô aghryôtemô daṅhvê varemanô ashta gavăm azinăm arejô, a most excellent horse, i. e. a mare which has been milked, has the value of four cows and four goats to a governor (if presented to him).

IV. The relative pronoun; some adverbs, derived from it (yatha, yathra). Words beginning with y.

Yathâ âaḍ utâ nâ vâ nâirî vâ vaêdhâ haithîm, that thus both, man and woman, may publicly know! — (Yasna 35, 6. W.). — *yatha îm zâ*, so much of this earth. — *nitemchiḍ avaêshăm stârăm yatha narsh madhmyêhê vaghdhanem* [3]). Each setting of those stars is as the middle of a man's forehead.

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1) The Desturs take this also in the sense of "corpse" or "carcase".

2) In Pahlavî it is [illegible]: in Persian the word âranj means also "elbow".

3) This, as well as the following passage, are evidently taken from some astronomical or, rather, astrological work, which is now lost. As they are torn out of their connection, a correct understanding of them will be for ever impossible. The several words of this passage are clear enough; but it is difficult to state even its general sense. The meaning appears to be: "as often as those stars are setting, they touch the middle of a man's forehead, and have him thus always in their power; his fate is indissolubly connected with them". This was really the belief of the ancient Persians, as any reader of Pahlavî books may know. M. H.

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Yatha ashtish paityahmi atha bunem â. (The Pahlavî translation is here unintelligible) [1]).

The meaning of *yathrâ* in all places is "where" or "there". — *yathrâ ashâ hachaitê ârmaitish,* where there is the *ashavahishta* (purity), with the *ârmaiti* (contentment). — *yathrâ avaḍ hvare uzâiti,* where the sun rises. — *yathrâ vô Ahurô-mazdâo fradathem bakhshaḍ,* where Ormazd may grant you prosperity for ever. In all other places or comparisons *yathacha* is used, as *yathacha kahmâichiḍ,* thus to all and every one individually.

In the *Gâthâ* dialect *yē* means "that", "who" and "he who"; in other places (the common *Zand) yô* is used in its place, but the meaning is the same, as "that", "who", (compare, for instance, the passage in the Gâtha dialect), *yē gămchâ ashemchâ dâḍ (Ormazd),* he who created cattle and also purity (or light, as fire, etc.); (with the common Zand) *yô naêrê peremnâi nôiḍ paiti dadhâiti*, he who does not give answer to (his) adversary, as we should not give answer to an adversary.

Gâtumcha varascha zarvânemcha, "pavan parêzvăn dâtobar gâs var va zamăn" [2]). — *Vispacha ahubya ratubya* [3]) *dâitya rathwya frâ*

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1) The Pahlavî translation omits the last three words of the Zand passage, atha bunem â, altogether; its rendering of the first three words is hardly intelligible. The Zand ashtish is translated by ashteh which is evidently the same word, and paityahmi by padîreh "acceptable, accepter", which is probably only a guess. As the Pahlavî translation is, in this place, of no use, we must try to axplain the Zend direct. Ashtish, which is not found in any passage of the now existing Zand-avasta, can be derived either from ashta "eight", or from ash, "to reach, arrive". If derived from ashta, it could mean only 'a set of eight', or 'a period of eight days'. As such an explanation does not bring any sense into the passage, we better derive the word from ash, and take it in the meaning of arrival. It is, no doubt, an astronomical term as well as paityahmi (probably locative of paiti which is declined like a prononu) and bunem. As the two latter words are evidently opposed to one another, and bunem means 'bottom, ground', I take the first in the sense of zenith, the latter in that of nadir. The passage may be translated as follows: "as the arrival (of the star) at the zenith, so (is its arrival) at the nadir". M. H.

2) This and the following passage are evidently either interpolations, or quotations which have been mutilated, as they have neither a connection with the preceding nor the following sentences, in which the use of the relative particle yô, yê, and its genders and numbers are mentioned. They appear to refer to judicial

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raithya ashahê dâtâish vahishtahê, and all (kind of) authority and chieftainship is to proceed justly and in a good and proper manner through *Asha-vahisht*, i. e. purely [1]).

Yô, i. e. who, which. If one and more are spoken of, *yô* [2]) is used, as *yô naêrê aokhtê frâ mê chichi*, just as one tells the men that they are to be punished severely. For the dual of the masculine, or the singular of the feminine, *yâ* is used, as *yâ nara gâtum baraitê* [2]), which two men bring time, i. e. appoint a time [3]). — *yêhyâ veredâ vanaêmâ drujim* [4]), that we may slay the *druja* by that army. — *yavaḍ isâi tavâchâ* [5]), as much as I have the means so much will I desire purity (meritorious works). — *yâmêñg*

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proceedings, just as the preceding sentence yô naêrê etc., and are very likely taken from the same work. The Pahlavî explanation, of which Destur Hoshengji has given no translation, may be translated as follows: a "plaintiff requires a judge, a place (tribunal), a board (to write his complaint on), and a time (for hearing)". parêzvân, or perîzpân can be only traced to the Persian periz "a complaint" with the suffix vân or pân, "having a complaint". var by which the Zand varas(cha) is translated, is probably identical with the Persian var "a board to write upon". M. H.

3) This word has been omitted in the text, but it is found in D. H. M. H.

1) I cannot agree with the above translation of my learned friend, which he has made without strictly adhering to the Pahlavî in this place, but would propose the following rendering of this incomplete passage: "and all things that are proper (and) seasonable for the two lives (which are) the chiefs, are to proceed according to the laws of Asha-vahishta". Ahubya and ratuhya are datives of the dual, and cannot be translated as nominatives of the singular. The "two lives" are this life, and the next, and are often mentioned in the Zand-avasta. The 'laws of Asha-vahishta' are the laws of nature, as the original meaning of asha is not "purity", but 'going on in a regular way, regularity'. The Pahlavî translation of this passage is hardly intelligible; it appears to express the following sense: "all mastership, and justice and chieftainship, and excellence are his laws (the laws of Ashavahisht)". M. H.

2) This statement is not correct; yô is only the singular of the masculine of the relative pronoun; the plural is yôi; that of the neuter ya. In the MSS. of the Zand-avasta we find indeed in several places yô used as the plural of the relative pronoun; see, for instance, Vendidâd 2, 39. 41. 42. in the editton of Westergaard. M. H.

3) This is here evidently a 3d person dual, present tense, middle voice; it stands instead of baraêtê. M. H.

4) See Yasna 31, 4. M. H.

5) Yasna 43, 9. M. H.

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peresâ jimaiti [1]), the whole bridge (chinvad) goes on the way to heaven aud hell.

Yavata gaya javaiti, may they live for ever! — *yavata gayêhê marata* [2]), young Gayômart (name of the first king of the Peshdâdian dynasty. — *yava*, means in some places reckoning of a period, as *yava aêtê aṅhem* [3]) *zarathushtra*, it is their period.

Yoghedha fraêazaitê, by joining will be born [4]). — *yoishtô thwakhshitâo hvoishtô paitishâthrâo*, the one who exerts himself less should be a dependant, and the one who exerts himself more should be a commander.

Yûzhem yô yûshmâkem, you who are men.

Yukhta pourushaspô, yujiti tê yôi puthra thraêtaonahê, those sons of *Ferîdûn* are very industrious [5]). — *yukhta-chathware-aspahê*, power of four strong horses.

Yâtem gaêthanăm, share, the fortune of this world (i. e. any wealth or estate in this world). — *yâtem astryêhê*, sorcery should be punished. — *yâthwăm pairikanămcha*, sorcerers and fairies.

Yâoṅhya avareta, small fortune. — *yâskerestemem*, most efficacious.

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1) Yasna 48, 2. Instead of peresâ, peretha must be read, if the Pahlavî translation be correct, as it is rendered by 'bridge' (perethu). — yâmêng is translated by hamâ 'all', which is certainly a mere guess. M. H.

2) This passage is hardly intelligible. The Pahlavî translator takes yavata in the sense of yuvan 'young' which is not possible without changing it into yuvata. It is doubtful whether Gayomart, the Adam of the Iranians is meant here. M. H.

3) Instead of anhem (1st pers. sg. imperf.) we expect here anhen (3d pers. pl. imperf.), as the first does not give any sense. M. H.

4) The meaning is doubtful. I have translated it according to the Pahlavî. [The translation appears to be incorrect; fraêazaitê cannot be derived from the root zan "to produce, to be born", as the translator has done; but it is to be traced to yaz "to worship", as the ê after fra is either a contraction of aya, or stands for ya. The meaning probably is: "he prays having joined (his hands)"; yoghedha is not the past participle of the root yuj "to join", but an adverb derived from the same root by means of the suffix dha which serves such a purpose. M H.]

5) This passage is not completely translated in the Pahlavî, as the name of Pourushasp is mentioned in the Avastâ (Zand), but omitted in the Pahlavî. [Yujiti is not correct; it ought to be yujêinti, or yujyêintê, to correspond with its noun puthra, which is in the plural. M. H.]

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Yâre-drâjô virô-mazaṅhô, for a year (he will be subject to) *vîrôm* (i. e. a sin committed by the breach of a promise to the value o human being, whether slave or betrothed).

Yaêshenta patenta, seething; if it (the pot) boils over, it spills (the ter), that it falls out. — *aêshentem âpêm*, boiling water. — *yaêt zaêmanô*, may they live long [1]).

Yaoshchini surahê (yăn [2]) *avzâr*), fortunate, victorious.

Thri-yakhshtischa, three twigs of the *barsom*, (an implement used the Pârsî priests, when performing "*yazashnē*" and other ceren nies). — *yayata dunma*, the passing of the clouds.

Yozhdanahê dâra, a razor for shaving. — *yêdhi tê yaêtatare* [3]), if it procurable, or not procurable (i. e. if they have any means th

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1) This translation cannot be correct, as the Pahlavî word m a d does uot me "long", but "he has come". Thus the Pahlavî translators of the Zand-avasta ren the Superlative y a ê t u s h t e m a, deriving it from the root i, or y â, "to go". T is only a guess, as this meaning does not suit the sense. As the word is here together with words signifying "to boil, to seeth", it may appear to have a simi meaning. In Vispered 11, 3. (W.) we find y a ê t u s h î s c h a z a o t h r â o, where it q lifies the holy-water (z a o t h r a). As it is also used of the fire (Yasna 1, 2.), whi is said to be the y a ê t u s h t e m a of all the angels, it cannot have that meaning boil), but it appears to signify 'agile', which would be in the case of water "bu bing up", and in that of fire "blazing up". The root is y a t "to be active, make exertions"; as to the form, it is the participle of the perfect tense in the acti voice. — The meaning of the word z a ê m a n ô (genit. sing. of z a ê m a n) cannot "may they live"! as the Pahlavî renders it, as z a ê m a n is a substantive, meani probably "activity" (see Yasna 44, 5.), and no verb, nor traceable to the root j "to live". M. H.

2) According to Dr. Haug the term یزان (See Gâthas of Zarathustra I, pagg. 41–4 yân in Pahlavî does not simply signify "magnitude, good, happy" as explained; b it means any thing seen in a state of ecstacy. The word سورا s u r a is to be trac to the Sanscrit sûra "a hero"; which is always explained in Pahlavî by اوزار avzâr. The words y o k h s h t a y ô a v a b a r e t â m, are not translated in the origir MSS.

3) The form y a ê t a t a r e appears to be the 3d person dual, present tense, of t root y a t (See my Essays on the Sacred Language, etc. pag. 78.). The Pahlavî trar lation appears to contain a perception of this verbal form being a dual, at it translated by an alternative sentence. M. H.

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should do it, otherwise it is optional for them to do). — *yazush puthrô ahurô mazdâo*, the sublime son of *Ahurômazdâ*. — *yazaêsha*, if [1]). — *yasô berctâbyô (zaothrâbyô)* by virtue of that well-made *zôr* (by taking *zôr* in the *yazashnē* ceremony). — *yashtâ mañtâ (pouruyô* [2]) the receiving of the first measure. — *yavahê saredha*, cereals. — *yazâi âpem frazdânaom*, I pray to the water, *Frazdān*, which is in Sîstân. — *yasnemcha vahmemcha uzascha zavarascha âfrînâmi*, I bless with my praise, sacrifice, and with all my might. — *yavaêcha yavaêtâtaêcha*, for ever and ever.

V. Words beginning with ka, kaê, khsh, sh, etc.

Dkaêshô. In most places it means order, religious commandment, and also a Destur, or a judge, as in the passage: *kô asti ḍkaêshô vivishdâtô*, who is the judge gifted with discernment? — *yô aêta pairi arethra frazânaiti*, one who can discern a case, from (a few) words, is an *âgâhdâd* (a competent judge); but one who, notwithstanding his hearing much, cannot understand anything from it, is to be taken for an *anâgâhdâd* (an incompetent judge).

Vastrâḍ vacha kashâo bâmanyâo, a small, wide, silken dress [3]).

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1) This word is rendered in Pahlavî by ʃ "ra", which is evidently wrong; yazaêsha means "thou shalt worship".

2) See Yasna 31, 7. The Pahlavî translation which is here found, agrees with the one given by the Pahlavî translators of the Yasna; but its correctness is very doubtful. Yashtâ (instead of yas-tâ) is rendered by mad, "he has come"; (the meaning "receiving", given to it by Destur Hoshengji is unknown to me); the translators derived the word therefore, from the root yâ "to come", which is grammatically impossible; mantâ they take in the meaning of padmân "measure", which is another grammatical impossibility; if taken as a noun, it can be only a nomen actoris, from the root man "to think", signifying "a thinker"; but it never can mean "measure" or anything like it; in that case we should have to expect the form mâna. In my work on the Gâthas (see I, pag. 11. 131. 32.) I have rendered the whole passage: "who thought this first" i. e. invented it. I took mantâ as a verbal form (3d pers. sing. aorist, middle voice) which is grammatically possible; it may, however, be taken in the sense of a nomen actoris; but the meaning of the sentence would remain the same. M. H.

3) The translation of this passage was left out in Destur Höshengji's MS. I have supplied it here. The Pahlavî rendering does not appear to be correct, as vacha cannot mean "small"; it means either "two" (from dva with cha), or "speech"; as

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Karashô, a zone, climate. — *karashô-râzăm vyâkhanăm*, a good ad ministrator of a zone, who belongs to the assembly (i. e. well spoke of by the assembly of the good [1]). — *hapta karshuăm* [2]), the seve countries, or seven zones. — *karshaschiḍ frakârayôish*, thou shalt draw the *kêsh*, i. e. lines in magical circles. — *zemô karsh vâo*, land fit for tilling. — *karshtêê*, (dative singular of *karshti)*, field for corn. — *khshathrô*, master, ruler, lord. — *shoithrô*, a cou try, a region. — *khshayô*, the king. — *khshayamana* [4]), ruling, po sessing. — *khshaêtô*, splendor (as in light). — *shaêtô*, wealth, pr perty. — *shyâtô*, ease. — *shaitô*, marriage, merriment. — *shiêi* living, residence. — *khshuidha*, a sweetmeat, sweetness. — *stui* praise. — *khshnuta*, pleased, satisfied.

Parshva, snow, hail [5]). — *shustem*, melted, dissolved. — *shutasmê*, lar

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the latter meaning is inadmissible here, we can only apply the first. Kashâo b manyâo are (grammatically) genitives of the dual from kasha, and bâmani; kasl is identical with the Sanscrit kaksha, Persian kash, "the armpit", and appears have the sense of sleeve in this passage. I render the Zand words: "a dress wi two wide sleeves". M. H.

1) Instead of karashô, karshô is to be written. The Pahlavî translation neither exact nor correct; karshô does not mean kishvar, "a zone", which karshvare in Zand, but "a line", "ploughing", "a furrow". Vyâkhanâ appea to mean "congregation", and not "belonging to a congregation". I render the tv words: "the congregation for superintending ploughing". Compare the fratres a vales of the Romans. M. H.

2) The names of the haft kishvar "seven kishvars" in Pahlavî are as follow 1 Arzeh, 2 Shaveh, 3 Fardidafsh, 4 Verdedafsh, 5 Vauru, 6 Vaur zaresht, 7 Khunaras bâmîk.

3) The Pahlavî has the 3d and not the 2d person, as the Zand has. M. H.

4) Khshayamana as well as pâtakhshâ, by which the word is rendered the Pahlavî, are taken by the Desturs also in the sense of "certainty", "witho any objection", "by all means", or "they are permitted to do so". [Khshayama apaitirita appears to have been a title of kings. It bears, as to its meaning, striking resemblance to the title mahârâjasa apadihatasa βασιλέως ἀνικήτου, i. "the invincible king" on the Indo-Bactrian coins. M. H.]

5) In Pahlavî this word is rendered by parashveh, which is the origi word itself; but the meaning here is taken from Yasna, 68, 6. Westergaar where the word parshuyâo occurs and is translated in Pahlavî by "snow" "hail".

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prepared for sowing [1]). — *shudhem*, hunger. — *shenem* [2]), sword, utensil, pot. — *khshim*, lamentation. — *khshtât*, he goes, stays. — *shaoshaiti*, it goes. — *fshu*, before. — *fshyô*, after. — *anâhita*, unpolluted, pure.

VI. Words beginning with ma, mâ, or containing these syllables.

Mayaḍ, destruction, decay. — *maitê*, a measure. — *mām*, I, me. — *mâ*, not (a negative). — *mâo*, the moon. In some places it means "measure" and "appropriate"; as, *khratumâo*, one who possesses the requisite knowledge. — *mâi*, the same as the preceding word (measure), as *vispem mâianuhê*, all the measures of Meher (mithra) the possessor of wide pastures. — *mâta*, mother, and also a measure.

VII. Words beginning with a, â, an, ai, etc.

Amâta, tried, experienced, examined (as a medical man). — *amana (anâmâta?)* unexamined. — *amesha*, immortal. — *anaghra*, everlasting, endless (as, light, lustre, etc.). — *ainitôiḍ*, without hatred, or ill-will. — *ainitôish* [3]), poor, one without money or means. — *airishtô*,

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1) This word is rendered in Pahlavî by [illegible], which I read shûmaz (shûmiz in Persian).

2) Some MSS. read shnem, but this appears to stand for shenem. The Pahlavî translation is [illegible], which can be read either deg or tegh; but the former is the most usual.

3) Both words, ainitôid and ainitôish, are evidently only two cases of the same word, ainiti, the former being the ablative, the latter the genitive, and cannot have such widely different meanings, as assigned to them here, by the Pahlavî translators. They appear to have confounded ainiti with ainishti, the latter meaning "poverty"; ainiti they seem to have traced to aênanh, "sin, hatred", with the negative a. But this appears to be nothing but an etymological guess. If derived from a root in, "to hate", we should expect aininiti, and not ainiti, as the negative a takes the form of an before words commencing with a vowel. We have therefore to derive the words either from an + iti, or from a + niti, or perhaps from the root an, "to breath, to blow", (in Sanscrit). I prefer the second derivation; as niti can only mean "the state of being down, oppressed", ainiti must mean "ease", "easiness". This appears to be really the meaning of the word in

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not wounded, uninjured. — *achithô*, unpunishable. — *achithrô*, invisible, unproduced. — *avare*, dust, earth [1]). — *astâtô*, one who does not exist. — *apvatiê* [2]), to know well, to understand fully. — *apemô*, endmost, (sometimes it means topmost). — *asperenô* [3]), a *direm* or *dirham*. — *as* and *âs*, he (she, it) was (3[d] pers. sing. imperf. of *as* to be). — *âsu*, swift. — *asta*, bone. — *astaishum*, one who asks for an arrow, one who wishes for an arrow, (a warrior, or soldier). — *âstê*, he is sitting (present tense of *âs* "to sit"). — *â* [4]), that, this. — *ahmâi*, to that, to him. — *amhâi*, victory [5]). — *ahmâkem*, we (genit. plur.,

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Yasna 58, 4. West.; compare ainita Yasht 13, 34. 51. as an epithet of the Fravashis. M. H.

1) This meaning rests on nothing but an erroneous identification of the Zand avare, which is a Gâtha form of the common avanh, avô, "help, assistance", (avas in Sanscrit) with the Pahlavî avrâ, "dust", which is a purely Semitic word. M. H.

2) The correct form appears to be apavatayê, dative of apavati. The Pahlavî translator derives it from apa-vat, "to know, to understand", and takes it in the sense of an infinitive of the purpose. But this interpretation is very doubtful, as we should, in that case, expect a crude form apavataiti, or apavatana. I take it as the negative of pavati, "putrefaction", meaning 'exemption from decay'. M. H.

3) This is a very remarkable word. That it means a particular weight, and not a coin, as coins were unknown at the time of the composition of the Zand-avastâ (we find nowhere any trace of them), follows from the inscription on a bronze weight which has been found near Abydos in Asia Minor. The inscription is in the ancient Aramæan character, and runs as follows: אספרן לקבל סתריא זי כספא, which I read and explain: asparan leqabbel satirayyâ zi kaspâ, i. e. "an asparan for (weighing) the silver-staters" (a silver-stater is equal to two drachmas or dirhems). The interpretations mentioned by J. Brandis in his valuable work "*Das Münz-, Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien bis auf Alexander den Grossen. Berlin 1866.*" (pag. 54, 2.) are destitute of sense, and unphilological. Satarayyâ cannot mean "satraps", or "conservators of silver", as the interpreters have taken it. It is precisely the Pahlavî-Persian istîr, the name of a particular weight, and identical with the Greek στατηρ, which is by no means a Greek, but a foreign word, which the Greeks borrowed, along with their weights, from the Babylonians. The asparan-weight in question represents a talent, the highest unit of weight among the Greeks. M. H.

4) This word has never in Zand the meaning assigned to it here; it is everywhere a preposition, or postposition, like the Vedic â. The Pahlavî translators appear to have identified it with the Pahlavî âi, "this". M. H.

5) This meaning appears to rest on a complete misunderstanding, as amhâi

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"of us"). — *âaḍ*, then. — *âḍ*, thus. — *adha*, then. — *atha*, thus. — *â* [1]), to. — *âtha*, smoke. — *agha*, badness, wickedness. — *âzôish*, the *âzish deva*, one who is opposed or an antagonist to *khordâd amshâspand* (*âz* in Persian means also passion, lust, avidity, covetousness, etc). — *aghra*, *aghrem*, *sraghrem*, uppermost, the highest or superlative. — *âdhâta*, born in prosperity, lucky. — *arura* [2]), a suit of clothes. — *aurvaḍ*, swift (as a horse). — *awra*, a gentle breeze, zephyr. — *aora*, this side, here; good-looking. — *arēna*, unopposed. — *aêthrapaitish*, a herbad, the first clerical title or order; a tutor. — *arem*, contented, content; complete. — *aratô-kerethinô*, celebrated for making *yazeshne* (offering, etc.).

Atare-vakhshô, a fire kindler, an officiating priest called *râspi*, who is in company with the *zôta*, when performing the *yazeshnê* ceremony. — *âtare-vazanô*, a fan to kindle the fire. — *âtare-kercta* (*âtash-kerdâr*), the vessel in which fire is placed. — *âtare-taracnaêmâḍ*, the square stone to put the fire-vessel on, or the inner vessel in which, after filling it with ashes, fire is placed. — *âtare-marezanô*, the fire extinguisher. — *âtare-frithitemcha*, one who consecrates the fire; the high priest.

Aberetem, water bearer (traditionally the name of an angel who stands in his respective place with *Havanân* and the other five angels, at the time of performing *yazeshne*; see *Vîsparad* 3.). — *âsnatârem*, the *âsnîtâr* (an angel, co-operator with the above-mentioned angels; one who has good wisdom, or one who purifies or washes another). — *ârmata*, having a contented mind, the *ârmaiti*, an epithet of earth,

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is nothing but another pronunciation of ahmâi (dat. sing. masc. of the demonstrative pronoun). M. H.

1) In the MSS. is پد pad, "master", "lord", which appears to be miswritten for پدش padash. [This is a misunderstanding; pad, which is the same as the preposition paiti in Zand, is quite a correct rendering of â, "to"; the suffix ash is not wanted here. M. H.]

2) arura is rendered in Pahlavî by ارم, which can be read either "rakht" or "râd"; the former means "a suit of clothes", the latter signifies "a benefactor", "a generous person"; but as in the Zand avastâ "râta" or "dâta" is generally used in the latter sense, I have adopted the former here.

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which is called *Espândamad Amshâshpând.* — *athauronô*, thus agreeable [1]). — *avaiaḍ*, that, that much, as much as. — *avayâḍ*, there. — *adhâḍ*, then, afterwards.

VIII. Words beginning with v.

Visô, street, abode, house, place. — *vîspa*, all. — *vistê*, ugly, bad. — *visê*, they accept. — *vastra*, clothes. — *vasmi* [2]), desire. — *vahmâi*, prayer. — *viñdaḍ*, may he obtain, get. — *vidush*, one who knows, intelligent. — *vitasti*, a span. — *vafra*, snow. — *vaohkhtê*, he told, said. — *vô*, you. — *vana*, a tree, a forest. — *vanaitê*, he will lessen, decrease. — *vanatăm*, one who decreases. — *veredvô*, smooth, fine, (generally applied to aromatic wood for fire). — *vîusaiti*, rising, (of sun, moon, etc.). — *vaikayô*, witness. — *vehrkahê*, wolf. — *varekahê*, leaf. — *vanare* [3]), well informed, one having much knowledge of a thing. — *vaăkrem* [4]), very courageous, very round. — *varechâo*, a discriminator, one who distinguishes between things. — *varethra*, victorious, successful. — *vacha*, a word. — *vâchem*, voice, speech; in some places it means also sin. — *vâtem*, air, breath, wind. — *vadhairayosh* [5]), a channel of water, a flowing canal, a spring. — *vakăuvarôish*, a meandering stream. — *varedhaya*,

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1) This rests on an etymological misconception; it seems the Pahlavî translator took the Zand as two separate words, "atha" and "uruno"; but the word means "priest", "clergyman", which meaning is too well known to admit of any doubt.

2) This is no noun, but the first person, present tense, active voice of vas, "to wish". M. H.

3) The Pahlavî word اندسودن by which vanare is rendered, can be read veshâgâh, and also nasâkash. The former means "intelligent, or well-informed"; the latter signifies "one who drags the nasâ", i. e. dead bodies. This is an animal, a kind of wild cat, which digs holes, and carries off the bones, flesh, etc. of dead bodies from the grave-yard. In Hindî it is called ûd, in Gujarâti vanôrûn.

4) kabad gond (or gord) by which the word is translated in Pahlavî means "very rough", "coarse", and also "very courageous"; gord stands perhaps for gird, "round".

5) In Pahlavî it is very obscure; اندهار can be read nâhar, vahar, nakhâr, or neher; here I have adopted the last.

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growth. — *varô*, a cave, an excavation. — *vâraiti*, it should rain. — *vareshyô*, heroism. — *vaêm*, we. — *vaêdhayama*, I invite, invoke. — *vaênaḍ*, he should see. — *vadhagha* (*vugh*), a tyrant, (an appellation of *Zôhâk*, king of Persia). — *varanava*, a fall. — *vareina* [1]) *(varsak)*, a bit of cloth, or small bag, in which medicines or drugs are put. — *vaidhim*, knowledge, intellect, information. — *vâstrayaṅhva*, agriculture. — *vôhû*, good. — *vahishtem*, best. — *vāthwa*, flock, herd (multitude of cattle, animals, or men). — *verenavaḍ*, getting, following, believing. — *voithwa*, plastering, cement, plaster, incrustation. — *vostrem*, acquiring. — *verezyaḍ*, taking, adopting, laboring. — *veredvô*, smooth, fine. — *verenyatê*, delivery of a child prematurely. — *varetata*, surrounding. — *vartô* [2]), good, beautiful, a dance. — *vichidârô*, a reciter of *gâthâs*. — *vichâ*, without, by, through. — *vavakhdha*, said, told. — *vaêijô* [3]), pure. — *vaṅhânô*, good men. — *vaitê*, concealed, hidden. — *vaṅri*, spring, beginning of summer.

IX. Words beginning with u.

Us, content, happy. — *urvathô*, a friend. — *urvaêsô*, an open field (without any buildings), an extensive plain. — *urvaêsa*, circle, surrounding. — *us*, high up. — *urva*, soul, spirit. — *una*, less, little. — *uva*, both. — *uta*, thou, thee. — *uzyô*, it comes up, rises. — *ushta*, good, blessed. — *ush*, death; dawn; understanding, judgment [4]). —

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1) This is doubtful; the translation is written in Zand character, varsak, which has the above meaning; but in other places varena is translated by [Pahlavi] kâmak (desire, hope, etc.).

2) In Pahlavî this word is rendered by [Pahlavi], which I read vasht and translate accordingly.

3) The Pahlavî term in the MSS. is [Pahlavi] "rising". This is a mistake for [Pahlavi] which signifies "pnre"; on which account I corrected it here accordingly, as in Avastâ it means "pure" throughout, and not "rising"; compare the Persian, vîzeh, avîzeh and vîjak.

4) The various English terms applied here, are only translations of one and the same Pahlavî word, hosh, osh, or ush, which may have any of the meanings assigned to it here by the translator. M. H.

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ushtatâtem ashibya good conduct proceeding from rectitude or purity. — *ubdaêna* [1]), clothes made of leather. — *urvaêdăs* [2]), belch, stench, dirt. — *urudhidhiêiti*, *ârâd* [3]). — *unem*, less, deficient. — *ughrem*, powerful, overcoming, triumphant, victorious. — *uruthaḍ*, a tree.

X. Words beginning with p.

Parâta, questioning, asking. — *peretush*, way, path, a channel. — *perenem*, full. — *perenâi*, a discussion, a controversy. — *perenâiu*, a youth. — *pâtà*, protect, guard (2[d] pers. plur. imperative). — *pâdha*, foot, leg. — *paiô*, milk. — *pitum*, father, and also "bad". — *paêsa*, leprosy. *pukhdhà*, five (the fifth). — *pâñchâstem*, fifty. — *pañchasata*, five hundred. — *pârem*, a debt. — *pairiêtê*, disease, pain, hurt, malady; a low wall in front of a house. — *peshotanush*, tanâfur, one who cannot pass the bridge chinvad after his death on account of his sins. — *pathô*, path, roadway. — *păsanush*, dust, mud. — *perenâvayâo*, blessings. — *paosh*, rotten, old, weak. — *ptaḍ*, he should fall [4]). — *paitiêtê*, patet, a kind of confession and repentance of sins. *paitî*, a head, a chief. — *pusăm (avarsar)*, a crown [5]), a diadem, the head.

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1) In the Pahlavî, ushtatâtem ashibya is translated by tateh ﻭﻫﻢ, which has no sense here. It appears to me that the meaning was, by some mistake, left out in the MSS. As the Pahlavî tatah, "clothes made of leather", translates the Zand word ubdaêna (see Vendidâd 7, 15. ed. Westergaard), I have introduced the latter into the text (see my note pagg. 23, 24), and translated accordingly.

2) In D. J. it is urvaêzâm aêdhô, and in Pahlavî drunak, which means "the inner part of the belly", or "rainbow", but in all other MSS. it is in Avastâ "urvaêdhâs", and in Pahlavî ﻫﻮﻟﻮﻙ airogh, and is given here accordingly.

3) Destur Hoshengji has left both the Zaud and the Pahlavî words unexplained here. The meaning of ârât, or âirât, by which urudhidhiêiti is translated, is just as obscure as the original; urudhidhiêiti can be traced to the root urudh = rudh, ruh, in Sanscrit "to grow"; it appears to be a compound of urudh "growth" with dhâ, which is used for the formation of denominatives (see my Essays on the Sacred Language, etc. pag. 60); it would simply mean "he grows". M. H.

4) This explanation is not quite correct; ptad is no potential, but the 3[d] pers. sing. imperf. of pat "to fall". M. H.

5) It appears that avarsar here stands for afsar, i. e. the thing which is used above or over the head or forehead, a crown.

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XI. Words beginning with m.

Mithwa, mixed together, coupled. — *maḍ*, with. — *merezu*, a border or boundary of a country. — *moshu*, swiftly, immediately, at once. — *mustemeshô*, myrtle. — *mas*, much, more, greater. — [*vavachata*, he makes] [1]). — *mayâo*, cohabitation. — *mãm*, me. — *mimarô*, a constant reciter, a repeater. — *magha*, a bachelor [2]). — *mazdayasnô*, a worshipper of Ormazd (God). — *mashyô*, man, people. — *mruta*, injured, infirm. — *merezânâi*, *murâ* [3]), belly. — *madhu*, wine. — *mezhdem*, reward, remuneration. — *muthrem*, urine. — *myaêshi*, to make water. — *maghna*, naked, nude. — *maghem*, "*magh*", stones arranged to sit on for *barashnum* or the cleansing of the body by bathing. — *makhshi*, a fly. — *merekhsh*, to crush, to destroy, to kill.

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1) This explanation is evidently wrong, as the word is only derivable from the root vach "to speak". As to the form, it appears to be a dual form of the perfect tense, or a kind of pluperfect, in the 3d pers. sing., middle voice. M. H.

2) This explanation rests entirely on a misunderstanding of the difficult passage Vend. 4, 47. West.: yatha magavô fravâkhshôid, which is rendered by the Pahlavî translation as follows: [illegible] chasûn mûn pavan maghî panâj sâtûnt yekavvîmûnîd agh nesâman loît, "just as he who may enter the state of maghî, i. e. the state of not having a wife". This latter remark does not refer to a state of celibacy, but only to a temporary abstinence from having intercourse with a wife, while being engaged in the great Barashnom ceremony. As the word nâirivaitê "having a wife" is mentioned in the preceding sentence, and the passage contains throughout such contrasts, as vîsâi evîsâî, etc., it was concluded that magavô must have a meaning opposed to nâirivaitê; but it is to be borne in mind that the structure of the other sentences differs from the one in question; magavô does not form any opposition to nâirivaitê; but the one expected (anâirivaitê) has been left out. Magavô means here the same as it does elsewhere, "a magian priest"; particularly one who performs the magic ceremonies. (See my Essays on the Sacred Language etc. pag. 66). M. H.

3) These words are not fully translated; in D. H. and D. N. a blank is left, after which is written [illegible] but in D. J. it is [illegible], according to which I took it here for garojdaman, i. e. belly.

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XII. Words beginning with s.

Saidhê, contentment. — *saitê*, desired, wished, got. — *sucha* [1]), a looke on. — *sukem* [1]), to look. — *svô*, benefit. — *sêvishta*, one who d sires a benefit. — *schindayaḍ*, a break, a defeat. — *sidhiaḍ*, wishes, desires. — *stri*, a female. — *spakhshtim*, a protector, a gu dian. — *sruta*, renowned, celebrated. — *srîrâo*, one having a go sight. — *stâta*, standing. — *sakhti*, decaying, ending. — *srvatô*, fine. — *stakhtô*, contending, obstinate, oppressing. — *stakhrô*, te rible, impudent, large. — *stenbya*, a quarrel, an opposition, ange hatred. — *sâoṅha*, a measure, a cash calculation, a number. - *skaptem*, wonderful, surprising. — *sadayaḍ*, he wishes or desires. - *sravaḍ*, sung, chanted. — *snâtô*, washed, bathed. — *snâvare*, *(shn var)* [2]), a bow and arrow, or a bow-string. — *snus*, he may or w benefit. — *srunaoiti*, hearing, paying attention. — *saṅhem*, a wor *saṅhaḍ*, he said. — *sûrâo*, heroic, having a supernatural power. - *srita*, made over, handed up.

XIII. Words beginning with f.

Fradathâi, furthering. — *fedhri*, father. — *frim*, friend. — *frâs*, ove up. — *frasasta*, well-known, lauded. — *frayarê*, to-morrow. - *fraêshta*, fully, abundantly. — *fshuta* [3]), cheese. — *fshyô* [4]), mil

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1) These words are rendered in Pahlavî by "a looker-on" ایرسو and "lookin ایرسیا, which are evidently correct. The Desturs identify them with the Persi sozashne, "burning" and "to burn".

2) By a mistake in the original MS. وسرسد shosar, was written instead وسرسد shanâr (د and ذ being much alike) and the word was then re shosar, "seed, sperm", which is evidently wrong, as in the 14th fargard of t Vendidâd, the word "snâvare" is translated by shanâr and not by shosar.

3) Corrected from peshuta,

4) Corrected from pashuyô as in Yasna, 10, 48. Westergaard, and also a cording to the alphabetical arrangement.

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XIV. Words beginning with d.

Dahmô, pious, religious, godly, devout. — *dakhmô*, a tower of silence, a tomb, a grave. — *daêvayaḍ*, he should look. — *dazdi*, give! (imperative). — *darevaḍ*, he showed, he saw. — *dakhshta*, a mark, a sign (a natural or physical defect). — *dâshta*, made. — *dazhaḍ*, he inflames, he burns. — *darezera* [1]), vigorous, powerful. — *dush-sravaṇhê*, having an ill word. — *dush-sastish*, ill-advising, ill-teaching. — *dush-dâma* [2]), having a bad creation.

XV. Words beginning with j.

Jinâiti, he exhausts, it decays. — *janaḍ* [3]), killing. — *jum*, living. — *jafra*, a den, a cave, a ditch. — *jimâḍ*, he may reach (3[d] pers. conjunctive, present tense), should reach. — *jakhshavâo* [4]). — *jataṅhaḍ*, to arrive, to reach. — *jareta*, to take. — *jaidhyaḍ*, he asked. *jaêsh*, whoredom, adultery.

XVI. Words beginning with b.

Baêshaza, healing, health. — *ḍbaêshâo*, injury, harm, hurt, sickness. — *baê*, two. — *bâdha*, always, ever, constantly. — *bagha*, a lot, a part, luck. — *buyâḍ*, may he be! (used in a blessing) [5]). — *bakhdhra*,

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1) In D. H., which has often dh for z, it is daredhera. In Pahlavî it is , which I read sakht. I corrected it here to darezera, as the word occurs in the Ardibehesht Yesht, Westergaard 3, 5. with the same meaning.

2) Corrected from to ; as the word occurs in several places in the present Avastâ in opposition to hudaô.

3) This cannot be the meaning as to the form. Janad may be a third person sing. imperf. conjunctive of the root jan, "that he might slay". It can be also taken in the sense of an indicative, "he slew". M. H.

4) This word has no Pahlavî translation in any MS.; therefore no meaning is given here. [It is very likely the past participle, active voice, of the desiderative of the root zan "to slay, destroy", meaning "one who had the desire of destroying". M. H.]

5) See about this form of the precative, my Essays pag. 67. M. H.

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uncastrated, not gelded (as bullocks). — *bañdâo*, a band, a tie. — *bañtâo*, sick, unwell. — *barethra*, pregnant. — *byaṅha*, fear. — *baodhô*, life, spirit. — *baodhaṅhô*, a seeker, one who searches. — *bishish-framâtô*, a well experienced doctor (in medicine). — *baoshem*, freedom, liberation. — *buji*, released, liberated, saved, free. — *bashi* [1]), a cucumber. — *bāthrô*, difficult.

XVII. Words beginning with r.

Raêva, having splendor. — *rafnē*, happiness, pleasure, merriment. — *raêrê*, benevolent, generous. — *razô*, well arranged, decorated and adorned. — *râshtem*, true, just. — *râjim*, a wound, a hurt. — *raodhaḍ*, he grew up. — *raochaṅhem*, light.

XVIII. Words beginning with t.

Tâtô, lasting, duration, current, continuous. — *tacha*, flowing. — *tâcha*, also he, and he, and that. — *tañchishtem*, most vigorous, very strong. — *tarēmanô*, most vigorous, very strong. — *taremanô*, small. — *tâya*, (instead of *tâyu)* a thief. — *tûm*, thou. — *tushish* [2]), a spade, a hoe, a gardener's sack. — *tanumāthrô* [3]), one who has command over his body, active, hard-working, or a most obedient person. — *tashaḍ*, he formed, he created, he made. — *taradhâta*, a destroyer or breaker of things.

XIX. Words beginning with ch.

Charetu-drâjô, an open field for riding, a square piece of ground, a square course for horses. — *charetām*, workers, doers. — *chaêteñti*,

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1) In Pahlavî it is written [illegible], which I have read bujînak (cucumber), but if taken for the Persian word buzînah, or bôzanah, then it signifies "figs, an ape, or a bud which is not expanded".

2) If the Pahlavî [illegible] is pronounced tusht, it means a "hoe" or a "spade", but if it is pronounced tarsht, it means a "gardener's sack"; here the the former signification is more suitable than the latter.

3) tanfarmân (in Pahlavî) is an appellation of the angel Sarosh; it is taken in the sense of "most obedient to God".

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plainness, obviousness, clearness [1]). — *chithra*, seed, progeny or organism. — *chitha*, a punishment, an atonement. — *chakana*, a wish, a desire. — *chaiti*, how many? how much? — *châram*, reparation, remedy, redress. — *charetutârô*, very active, one who makes great efforts. — *chinmanô*, esteem, love. — *chistish*, a wise man, a philosopher. — *chinaiêmi*, I pray, I implore.

XX. Words beginning with z

Zasta, a hand. — *zastavaḍ*, mighty, able, one having power, might or means. — *zî*, for, because, why, (a causal particle). — *zyăm*, winter, snow, cold season. — *zita*, an increase, as in adorning or arranging something. — *zusha*, hurt, injured; asked, wished [2]). — *zaoshô*, a pleasure, a wish or inclination. — *zushtâ*, a derhem, a Babylonian coin, and also a Persian coin. — *zaothra*, "zor", the consecrated water used in the Yazeshne ceremony. — *zâvare*, strength, power. — *zañta*, meaning, a commentary. — *zâo*, earth, ground. — *zăthwa*, born, created. — *zemana*, remuneration, reward. — *zrva*, time. — *zarva*, declining age, old age. — *zaêshô*, ugly, awkward. — *zâmaoiô*, a son-in-law. — *zaênañha*, watchful (in sleep, as a dog asleep). — *zagathaḍ* [3]), he separated, parted, fled, disappeared. — *zgeresnem* [4]),

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1) This explanation is certainly a mistake, as chaêtenti can be only a third person plural of the present tense, of a root chaêt, or the participle, present tense, in the feminine gender, of the root chit, "to know". In the latter case it corresponds exactly with the Vedic form chetantî (Rigveda Samhitâ 1, 3, 11, where it refers to the goddess Sarasvatî) which the commentator explains by jnâpayanti "she who makes known". M. H.

2) According to the Pahlavî mode of pronouncing, it can be read khusteh or khâsteh, and I have accordingly given here the signification of both words.

3) In all MSS. it is gathad, which appears to me to be miswritten for zagathad. As the preceding and following words commence with z, I have corrected it to zagathad. In Pahlavî it is rendered by [illegible] which, I think, is also miswritten for [illegible], as in the 9th fargard of the Vendidâd 46, ed. Westergaard, the word zagathaitê is translated in some copies with [illegible] in others with [illegible], both of which mean "apart", "asunder". I have accordingly corrected both Avastâ and Zand, from gathad and duist, to zagathad and joid.

4) This word is corrected from zgeregnem to zgeresnem, as the writers of

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round, circular. — *zurô-berctâo-avaretâo*, one having strength and money (a strong and wealthy person). — *zeredhaiêm* [1]), heart (the word is also taken in the sense of violent, hard). — *zinda yâtu-meñta*, a great sorcerer. — *zatô*, stricken, beaten.

XXI. Words beginning with g.

Gatêê, he reached, he has gone. — *grehmô*, a bribe, a gift. — *gerewnaḍ*, he may take. — *gê* [2]), whoredom, adultery. — *gava* [3]) *(gôh)*, hand of a wicked person. — *gudhra*, mysterious, secret. — *gushta*, he may listen or hearken. — *geredha*, a hole in the ground, a burrow. — *gaêm*, soul, life; and also *Gayômard* (the name of the first Persian king of the Peshdâdian dynasty). — *gām*, cattle (such beasts as cows, sheep, oxen, etc.). — *garezhda*, complaining, murmuring, a cry against injustice. — *gâthwô-shtachaḍ*, one who repeats the *Gâthâs* constantly to learn them by heart [4]). — *gavâstryâvareza*, agriculture.

XXII. Words beginning with gh.

Ghnaḍ, he killed, or destroyed. — *ghnâḍ*, may he destroy! — *ghenâo*, women.

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the MSS. often confound س s with ذ g. The word occurs in the Vendidâd 14, 10. Westergaard, where he preferred uzgeresnô, but he also found zgeresnô in K. 1, 2, 9. Dr. Spiegel has uzgeresnô in his edition, page 41, and the same is also in the edition published in Bombay under Destur Edul-Dârû Sanjânâ in the year 1201, Yezdegard; in some MSS. g is often written ذ, which resembles س s very much; hence the mistake.

1) This word is not translated in the Pahlavî. Its Pahlavî meaning is given from Vend. 1, 4.

2) This stands instead of jê.

3) gava here is taken as the hand of a wicked person, but in some other place it is taken in the meaning of "tongue".

4) This explanation of the Pahlavî translator is evidently a mistake, as gâthwô cannot be identical with gâtha, "a stanza", but is gâtu, "a place", with the ô in which the first part of compound words often ends. The meaning of the whole is unknown. M. H.

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XXIII. Words beginning with th.

Thrăfdhô, descent of an angel upon a particular day, a favored person [1]. — *thrâthrâ*, adorning. — *thnâtô*, acceptance. — *thwăm-khratush* [2], he sings. — *thanavañta*, lazy, sluggish, unwilling to work. — *thamanem*, industrious, independent, a co-operator, heroic, manly. — *thraṅ*, the mouth. — *thristem*, thirty. — *thrâyôsata*, three hundred.

XXIV. Words beginning with h.

Hareta, a head, a chief, a master. — *haosravaṇhê*, pertaining to royalty, kingdom or the royal dynasty. — *hakha*, a friend. — *hadha*, with, at once, together with. — *haita*, existing, public, known, evident, clear. — *haithi*, public-spiritedness, a public benefaction. — *haiti*, it is. — *hvăm*, self, himself. — *hichitâ*, purity, cleanliness. — *hikhshaḍ*, he rises [3]. — *hiñchaḍ*, he sprinkled. — *hikush*, dried, free from moisture. — *haêna* [4], an army. — *hañdâta*, having the same gift. — *hañkârayaêmi*, I accomplish, or I perform a ceremony. — *hadhaṅrô*, the end, as it is said *hadhaṅrô păm mazdâi ukhdhăm*, protecting at the end are the words of Ormazd [5].

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1) The original meaning of thrâfdhô is "descent", but technically it is taken as a descent or alighting of an angel for making a revelation, etc., which is called in Arabic tanzîl and vorûd.

2) It appears that this is a quotation from some unknown Nosk. The passage is not completely given here, either in Avastâ or in Pahlavî. In the Pahlavî, there is only the word [illegible] sarâed, which stands as a translation for both words in the above quotation.

3) The Pahlavî interpretation here rests only on the similarity of sound which exists between hikhshad, and âkhîzed "he rises" (in Pahlavî and Persian). It is only one of the numerous, bad, etymological guesses with which the Pahlavî translations abound. Etymologically, hikhshad can be only derived from the root hinch "to sprinkle", of which it is an aorist form. M. H.

4) Corrected from [illegible] zhaêna to [illegible] haêna.

5) This translation can be hardly correct, as ukhdhâm, which is an accusative, has been taken as a nominative by the Pahlavî translator. As the real meaning

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XXV. Crimes and offences. [1]

Baodhajaḍ (bodozêd), the name of a sin. — *baodhô-varshtahê (bodyokvarsht)*, when one wilfully kills another, or knowingly persuades others to destroy or kill another person, doing a wrong thing to make worthless a good act of another, etc. — *bodyozad*, the wish to do another person wrong, ill using any one or anything, and all sins of a like description (save the *bodyokvarsht)*. — *kâdyozad*, the same as the above, the ill-usage of cattle or man; it is included in the *hamimâl* or *robânik* sins. — *astaraspân*, making oneself the head of the sinners. — *yâtukhta (jâdûk-gobashnîhâ)*, the sin, when one threatens another to kill him by sorcery, or intends to use sorcery for destroying or ruining another. — *dudhuwibuzda (sahm numâeshnî)*, a sin, such as threatening to kill with uplifted weapon, or threatening to torture another person. — *vâiti (khâishnî)*, a sin, such as pursuing another with malicious intent to kill or injure. — *hañderekhti (handarakht)*, a sin, such as maliciously and secretly ruining or injuring another person. — *mithôsâst (kadbâ vajârashnî va âmojashnî)*, a sin, such as giving a wrong explanation or instruction, or misleading another, or wrongfully abating another's dues; this is called *mêdyosâst*. — *avâuṇhiêiti (aingahân)*, a sin, such as recklessly dashing another to the ground, or against hard projections,

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of hadhanrô (which occurs nowhere in the present texts of the Zand-avastâ) is uncertain, it is impossible to give any satisfactory explanation of the passage. M. H.

1) The text of this chapter is too corrupt to admit of any accurate translation. In the following, only the general sense is given. [Many of the Zand words are not given in their original, but in a somewhat corrupt form which probably represents the popular Persian pronunciation of them. Thus we find mithô-sast instead of mithô-sasti, avâvaresht for avâvareshti. Bodyozad appears to be no proper Zand word, but an old Persian one, the original form having been bodyozati which would correspond to baodhô-jaiti, "the slaying of the life (soul)", in Zand; just as baodhô-varshta in Zand was baodyo-varshta in the old Persian, as may be seen from the Pahlavî bodyok-varsht; the Iranian words in Pahlavî always represent Zand, and no old Persian words. Kâdyo-zad appears to be also an old Persian, and no Zand word. The explanation of these criminal terms is probably correct on the whole, but it appears to represent the views of a particular school of priestly lawyers. M. H.]

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so as to cruelly injure him, without intermission to the last. — *frasyadhjaiti (frâz sapojashnî)*, the sin of driving another to desperation, or stabbing or wounding him, without ceasing. — *ava-thwaresahê*, the sin of cutting or wounding, and causing blood to flow. — *qarahê (khor)*, the sin of wounding any one and causing the blood to flow, or retarding the cure of a wound and thus increasing the injury. — *shuãs*, a sin like *huram*, that is, pride. — *âgereft*, the sin of raising a weapon to injure an innocent person. — *avâvaresht*, the sin of advancing on an innocent person, with a raised weapon, in a threatening attitude. It is also called *avâvaresht* when the assault is nearly perfected. Maliciously stabbing is called *ardûsh;* if the wound is serious, it is called *khor;* and if much blood flows, and the wound is great and serious, it is called *bâzâ*. For all which crimes the delinquent is liable to punishment besides *patêt* [1]). — *âgereft, avâvaresht, ardûsh, khor, bâzâi, yât*, all these are the sins of cutting and wounding, or disfiguring by degrees, and the *kerfeh* (or the good works and atonement) and punishment are meted according to the nature of the offence, as well as its degree and aggravation. — *Peshôtanush tanum pairyêtê*. The explanation is a *tanâvanâr*. They call three hundred other sins of the same quality and measure, *tanâvanâr*; they have the nature and the name of *tanâvanâr*, which may still increase. — *jau* [2]).

Khrasyô (khrosch), one who runs or cries after another threateningly. — *voiô (khîsîdeh)*, making one terrified (and so injuring him). — *zyêiḍ (zînîdâr)*, one who injures through violation of the law. — *hazô (satâmch)*, injured, wronged or oppressed. — *tâyô*, hidden or fled (as a robber). — *tâyushâoscha*, an abettor of thieves, a thief, or a

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1) In the fourth fargard of the Vandidâd, there is the same interpretation given.

2) The following sentences are hardly intelligible, and have been left untranslated by Destur Hoshengji. The passage from hangâm to tobân kamêst is evidently an interpolation. It contains a quotation from the Sakâdum Nosk, which is no longer extant, in which it is said that "the fire (the son) of Ahura-mazda is thripithwôdhi in summer, and bipithwô in winter". Pithwa appears to mean a part of the day; compare arem-pithwa Yasna 44, 5. West. "noon, midday" The meaning seems to be: the fire has three times a day in summer, and two in winter, as Rapithwan (noon) Gâh comes together with Havan Gâh (from 6 o'clock in the morning to noon). See pag. 76. M. H.

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nest of rogues are all called by this name, and are punishable in the same manner as thieves of cattle, both man and woman. The atonement is *pañchadasa pasvô sraoni masâo* [1]).

XXVI. Miscellaneous words.

Pâdhaṅuhañtem, deserving of remuneration. — *pasushurvăn*, the shepherd-dog, one like a shepherd-dog who guards the flock. — *pârem*, a debt. — *pafraĉta*, the act of repaying debts by instalments; one who is thriving and satisfied, or happy and healthy. — *vizuta*, trade, merchandize. — *vavâstrinăm*, a husbandman, or agriculturist. — *kavachiḍ aṅhâo zemô*, anywhere on this earth. — *kaschiḍ aṅhēush astvatô*, every one in this world. — *chaḍcha ashaonô stôish*, any one from amongst good and pious men. — *yaĉtushâḍa*, one who is capable of hearing and speaking. — *nizentem*, one who is born in the house [2]).

XXVII. Measures of length, and of time.

Padhem, the measure of a footprint of fourteen inches (or finger-breadths). — *vitasti* [3]), a measure of twelve inches. — *dishta*, a measure of ten

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1) This passage has been left untranslated by Destur Hoshengji. The sense is not clear as the Pahlavî translation does not appear to agree with the Zand text. The latter has only one measure, sraoni-masâo, but the Pahlavî has two, bâzeh-masâ "of the length of an arm", and sîna-masâ "of the length of a breast". Both expressions may be interpretations of sraoni-masaô which must signify a certain value. As this is preceded by pasvô (pasavô) cattle, the whole may mean "fifteen pieces of the sraoni weight, each of the value of a piece of cattle". This view seems to be taken by the Pahlavî commentary. The value of a gospand, "sheep", is calculated at twelve silver pieces, and thirty zozan of full weight; gospand is the translation of pasvô. The sraoni was a measure which had a certain weight, and a certain length; it had perhaps the form of a sheep, or a cow, or their figures on it. The first is the more likely as the Assyrian weights which have been found, show the forms of animals, such as a duck, and a lion. M. H.

2) The meaning and etymology of this word call to mind the Sanscrit nija one's own, as a slave, servant. The form of the Zand word is however different; it is an active participle of the present tense of the root zan "to produce" with the preposition ni. The meaning "born in the house" becomes thus somewhat doubtful. According to etymology it would mean "producing as one's own". M. H.

3) This word is found in the same form and meaning in the Sanscrit, vitasti. M. H.

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inches. — *uzashta*, a measure of eight inches. — *gaêm*, soul. — *gâim* [1]), a measure of a footmark. In the Vandidâd, it is of three footmarks; in other places, of only one footmark. — *chavaiti aêtshaya*, how many inches? — *yatha vâ gâmân dvacha dashcha añtare thwâm* [2]), as much as twelve footmarks, or twenty-four footmarks. — *bish aêtavaḍ dakhshmaitish yavaḍ yijaiastish*, two *dashmêst* [3]) are one *yojêst* [4]), and two *yojêst* are equal to one *tadchar* [5]). — *tadhaô bish aêtavaḍ hâthrem yavaḍ tacharem*, a measure of three *hâsar* is one *tachar* [5]). There are several kinds of *hâsar* to measure with, as in measuring land it is like a *farsang*, that is, a measure of one thousand footmarks; also in walking. A *hâsar* is also applied to the measure of time, i. e. night and day.

Ayare, a day, half of which is called *fraiar*, and another half is *uzîr* [6]),

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1) This form can hardly be correct. We ought to expect gâma instead of gâim. M. H.

2) The Pahlavî translation of the Zand passage contains more than the original. It appears that the latter, as is often the case, was not given in full. The Zand passage knows only of "twelve steps", but the Pahlavî mentions besides them "twenty-four steps" also. The words antare thwâm "between thee, within thee", are rendered by andarg robashne "within the walk, the course", which must rest on some misunderstanding, as thwâm can be only the accusative of the pronoun of the second person, and can by no means have the meaning of "going, walking". M. H.

3) These terms of measure are unknown.

4) The Pahlavî is not in accordance with the Zand original. The latter means "a dakhshmaiti is twice as much (double) as a yijaiasti" (two names of measures which are quite unknown). The Pahlavî translation contains the addition: "a yojêst is equal to a tachar" The words: [illegible] are an interpolation, representing the view "that a dashmêst and a yojêst are equal", which contradicts the sense of the original. M. H.

5) The Pahlavî does not agree with the Zand. The word tadhaô as it is written in the MSS., is not translated in the Pahlavî. It does not appear to mean "a measure", and is very likely a clerical error, [illegible] to be read as tâchâr, being written in the Pahlavî character. The meaning of the Zand original is: a tachar is twice as much as a hâsar. M. H.

6) Frayar and uzîr are Pahlavî forms of ancient Persian words, the primitive forms being frayara, and uzayara, the former meaning the first part of the day,

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which has again two parts, the first is called *rapîtvîn*, and the other *uzîrîn;* in the summer months the *rapîtvîn* again is mixed up with the *Hâvan Gâh.* (Then the *Rapîtvîn Gâh*, afternoon, is called *hâvan*, that is to say, the *rapîtvîn* remains for seven months only, and for five months the two *hâvans)* [1]).

Khsafa, night; it is divided, into four parts, the first part is *hufrâshmôdâitim* [2]) *(hufrâshmôdât* in Pahlavî); the second part is called *crezaur-*

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the forenoon, the latter the second, the afternoon. Uzayara is divided into two parts, rapithwina gâtha, and uzayêirina gâtha, the former lasting from noon to three o'clock in the afternoon, the latter from that time to sunset. M. H.

1) The words in brackets contain an explanation added by Destur Hoshengji, and are not found in the text. M. H.

2) This passage settles for ever the real meaning of the word hûfrâshmôdâitim which had been explained hy some Zand scholars as "sunrise" That it means just the opposite, i. e. sunset, as I have already shown in the preface to the second volume of my work "Die fünf Gâthas Zarathustra's" (pag. XIII) follows with certainty from this passage. Additional proofs are furnished by some passages of the Neringistân, a work on the ceremonies, principally on the prayers, both in Zand and Pahlavî, of which I possess a fine copy. There we read on fol. 71, a and b:

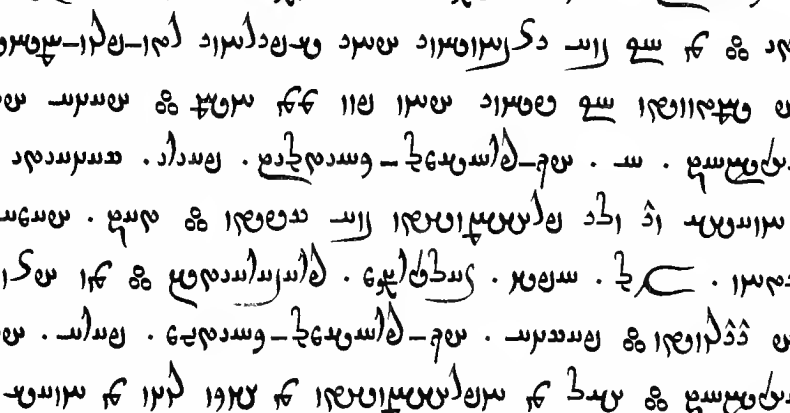

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vaĉsâḍ, the turning of the pure. Both these parts are counted in the *aiwisrûthrem (Gâh)*. The third part is *ushãm surãm (hosh e avzâr* in Pahlavî) with which the *osahhîn* (*Gâh*) commences. The fourth part is *raochaṅhãm fragatôiḍ*, when the light and dawn commence; that part is also included in the *Hâvan-gâh*.

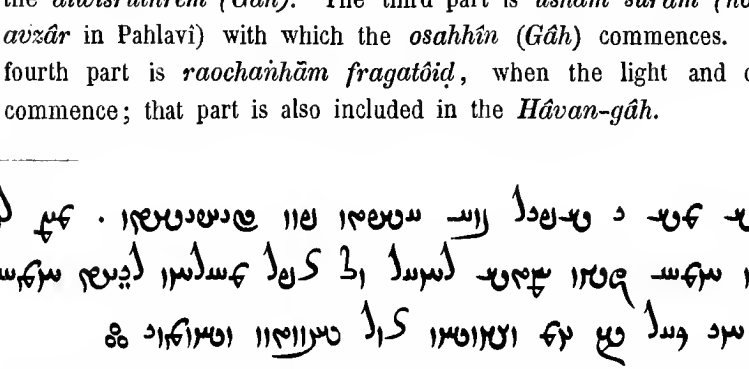

The following is a translation ôf the Zand text: "from which time (of the day) begins the filling (in, and consecrating) of the good waters? i. e. during what time of the day may the waters be consecrated? (Answer). This lasts from sunrise to sunset in the summer (about the winter nothing is stated). He who brings the zaothra (holy water) after sunset (and) before sunrise does no better work than if he should drag secretly (with malicious intent) the cloth of the water-poisoning demon Azhi". The Pahlavî commentator remarks, that the ceremonies are to be performed during the day, and that one is only permitted during that time to bring the Zor. This is quite in accordance with the sacrificial customs of both the Parsîs and Brahmans. No ceremony, no Izeshne, no Afrîgân, or Darûn, can be performed at night. From this circumstance it is evident that the time from hû-vakshât to hûfrâshmô-dâitîm is the time from sunrise to sunset.

On fol. 75, a and b of the same work we read:

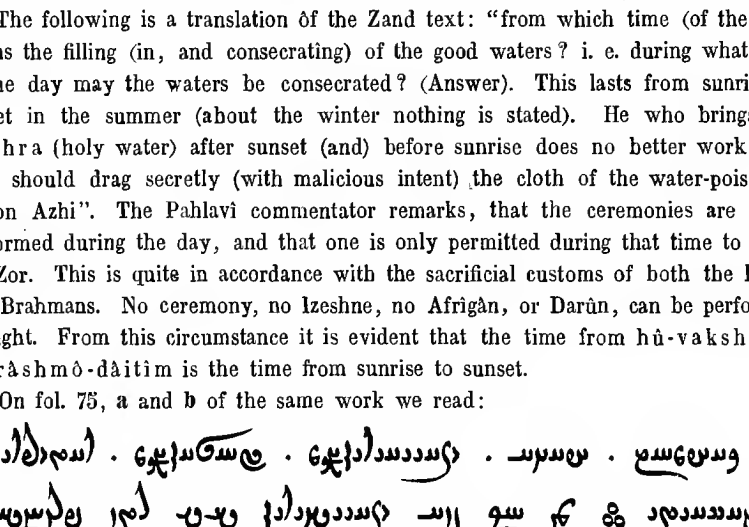

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Dvadasaṅhâthrem asti aghrem ayare, of twelve *hâsar* is the first day and night, of twenty [1]) is the middle, and of twenty-four is the lowest.

There are several ways of measuring a *Hâsar*; *aêtem netemem hâthrem thrivachahim*, the lowest (smallest) *Hâsar* is three paces. *Taḍ gâmahya thri-gâmem*, "this from paces, three paces are the lowest"; *taḍ ḍkaêshahê taḍ vîkaiêhê*, thus the judge and the evi-

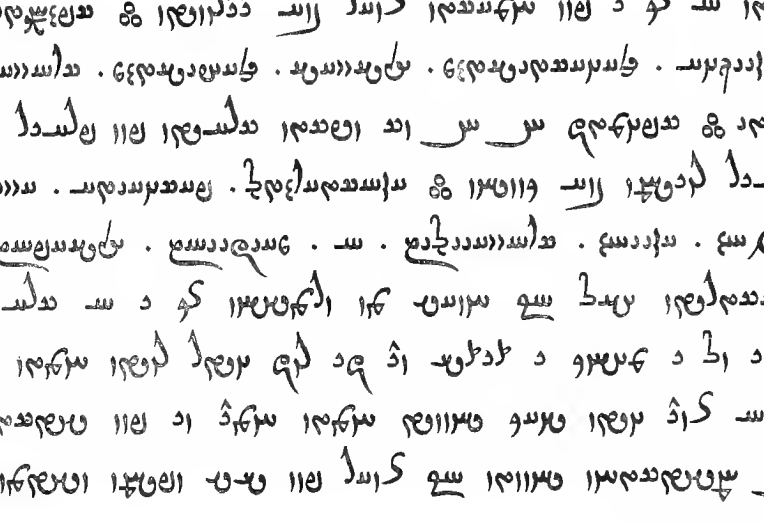

I render the Zand as follows: "from which time in the afternoon does the satisfaction of the ratus (heads of creation) begin? (Answer). It lasts from uzaryara (uzayara, the beginning of the afternoon) to its middle (about 3 o'clock), from uzaryara (the second half of the afternoon, from 3 o'clock) to sunset in summer as well as in winter. If one repeats before sunset the Ahuna vairya prayer often (at) the ceremonies, and the Spentâ-mainyû-lines (verses) six times very well, then one may, without suffering any injury, afterwards repeat those other (Gâthas) up to midnight". M. H.

1) Instead of twenty, eighteen, is to be read. In the MSS. there are the numerals for 18 with an additional ۱, which Destur Hoshengji appears to have read for ۲ 2; but this would be a very strange way of writing the numerat 20. The passage itself is hardly intelligible, as it is difficult to say what is meant by the first day and night, the middle, and the lowest. M. H.

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dence (should be within three paces). *Taḍ arethahê, taḍ arethavanô,* thus in all answers three paces are mentioned; and in justice to the plaintiff and defendant it is also mentioned within three paces. *Vayô zushtô* [1]).

May it (this work) be completed to the joy, satisfaction, pleasure and delight (of the reader, or writer). I, Pashîntan Râm, a servant of the religion, a Herbad by birth, of the family of the Mobed Hormazdyâr, wrote the Avastâ words [2]).

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1) The translation of the last sentence has been left out by Destur Hoshengji. I render it as follows: "the judge should decide this (case) of the plaintiff and the defendant; what (each of them) may say he ought to weigh rightly, (and decide) accordingly". It is difficult to say how the Pahlavî translator understood the preceding Zand words, vayô zushtô; they appear to be only the beginning of a quotation, which is not given in full. The meaning of zushtô is "pleased, satisfied"; that of vayô cannot be so easily made out, as it is capable of conveying more than one sense. As the passage refers to judicial proceedings, it means very likely, "quarrel, dispute"; and may be derived from the preposition (and adverb) vi "asunder, against, separately"; vayô zushtô would thus mean: "a settled dispute". To this the Pahlavî commentary evidently alludes. M. H.

2) The translation of this postscript of the writer (which may serve as a specimen of this kind of writing) has been supplied by me. The writers call themselves dîn bandeh "servant of the religion", and herbad-zâdeh "the son of a Herbad" (aêthrapaiti), that is, belonging to a priestly family. The postscript given here, is found in my MS.; the words [illegible] are, however, omitted. Although there is no date mentioned at the end of the glossary, we can fix the time when the writer, Pashîntan Râm, lived, as the glossary forms only part of a miscellaneous volume written by the same hand, in which the writer mentions himself and his ancestors, as well as the date when he made his copy. So we read on fol. 204 a, at the end of the Ardâ Vîrâf nâmeh and Gosht Faryân:

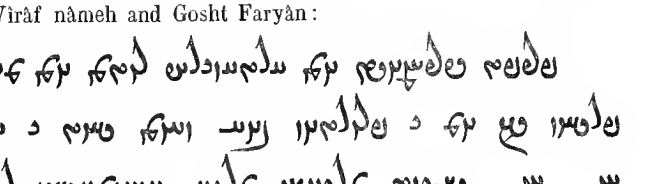

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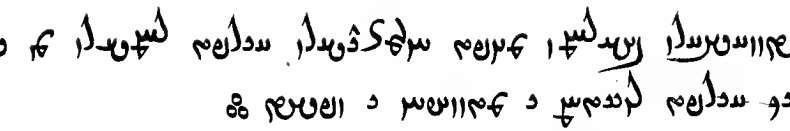

i. e. may it be completed and finished (to the joy of the reader)!

This Ardâ Vîrâf and the story of Gosht Faryân, I the servant of the religion, a Herbad by birth, a teacher (of the religion), Pashîntan Râm, (a descendant) of Kâmdîn, of Shaharyâr, of Neriosang, of Shaharasbay, of Bahrâm, of the Mobed Hormazdyâr, of the Herbad Râmyâr, wrote (them) from the copy of the Herbad Rustam, the son of Mihirâbân, on the day of Fravardin, in the month of Vohuman, in the year 766 (A. D: 1396) of Yazdagard, the King of Kings, the Ormazd worshipper".

The same genealogy of the writer we find on fol. 43, a, b. of the same MS. There it is stated that Pashintan Râm wrote the copy in "the country of the Hindus" (bûm-i-Hindugân), in the city of Baroch (in Gujarat), which has been a seat of Zand and Pahlavî learning for several centuries.

The original copy of the miscellaneous work, of which the Zand-Pahlavî Farhang forms a part, came from Nishapûr in Khorâsân and belonged to the Mobed Seroshyâr, as is to be learnt from my old MS. of it, fol. 203, a. M. H.

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Alphabetical Index

to serve as a Zand-English Glossary.

N. B. The alphabetical arrangement of this index is that of the Sanscrit alphabet, with the modifications necessary for adapting it to the Zand letters, and is as follows:

Vowels.

a, *â*, *i*, *î*, *u*, *û*, *e*, *ē*, *ê*, *o*, *ô*, *âo*, *ā*.

Consonants.

Gutturals: *k*, *kh*, *q*, *g*, *gh*, *ṅ*, *n*.

Palatals: *ch*, *j*, *zh*, *z*, *ñ*.

Dentals: *t*, *th*, *d*, *ḍ*, *dh*, *n*.

Labials: *p*, *f*, *b*, *m*.

Semivowels: *y*, *r*, *v*, *w*.

Sibilants, etc.: *sh*, *s*, *h*.

The first number, in each reference, indicates the page, and the second number the line; but when there are more than one reference to the same page, the number of the page is not repeated. — In the pages of Zand-Pahlavî text, only the lines in that type are counted [1]).

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1) All the grammatical explanations and etymologies as well as the critical remarks enclosed in brackets which are contained in this index have been added by me. M. H.

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A (a).

ainikô, s. (nom. sg. m.) forehead 7, 13. 49, 11.

ainitôiḍ, s. (abl. sg. of *ainiti*) without hatred 20, 1. 59, 16. — *ainitôish*, (gen. sing.) without means 20, 1. 59, 17. [ease, see 59, not. 3.]

airishtô, past part. (nom. sg. m.) of *rish* "to injure" uninjured. 20, 2. 59, 17.

aiwigâmê, s. (loc. sg. of *aiwi-gâma*) in winter 38, 6. 77, 27.

aiwisrûthrem, s. (nom. sg. n.) the first half of the night. 42, 9. 77, 2.

aurvaḍ, adj. (nom. sg. n. of *aurvant*, of the root *ár* "to run") swift. 21, 1. 61, 7.

aêta, dem. pr. (nom. acc. pl. n.) this 17, 10. 57, 13. — *aêtem* (acc. sg. m.) 43, 4. 78, 4. — *aêtêê* (dat. sg. m. f.) 7, 8. 49, 3. — *aêtê* (nom. pl. m.) 15, 2. 55, 6.

aêtavaḍ, adv. so much. 41, 8, 10. 75, 6, 8.

aêtshaya (or *aêta shayă*, nom. pl. n.) these inches 41, 5. 75, 3.

aêthrapaitish, s. (nom. sg. m.) a herbad. 21, 2. 61, 9.

aêdha, s. (nom. pl. m. n.) skin of the head, scalp. 6, 11, 12. 48, 15, 16.

aêvô, num. (nom. sg. m.) one. 7, 5. 48, 24.

aêshentem (acc. sg. m. of the active part. of *aêsh*, *yaêsh* "to boil") boiling. 16, 5. 56, 5.

aokhtê v. (3 sg. pres. middle of *vach* "to speak"), he tells. 14, 4. 54, 5.

aora adj. (inst. sg. n. of *aora* = *avara*) this side; good-looking. 21, 1. 61, 8.

aoshtra s. (nom. dual) both lips. 8, 3. 49, 14.

agha, s. (nom. pl. n.) badness. 20, 9. 61, 2.

aghra, adj. (nom. pl. n.) highest. 20, 9. 61, 5. — *aghrem*, (nom. sg. n.) highest. 20, 9. 43, 1. 61, 5. 78, 1.

aghryôtemô, adj. (nom. sg. m. of the superlative of *aghrya* first, excellent) most excellent. 12, 1. 52, 15.

aṅhush, s. (nom. sg. m.) life. 11, 11. 52, 11. — *aṅhēush* (gen. sg.) 40, 7. 74, 10.

aṅhem, v. (instead of *aṅhen* 3 pl. impf. of *as* "to be") they were. 15, 3. 55, 6. [see pag. 55 not. 3.]

aṇhâo dem. pr. (loc. sg. f. of *a*) on this. 40, 6. 74, 10.

achithô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) unpunishable. 20, 2, 60, 1.

achithrô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) unproduced. 20, 3. 60, 1.

azhôish, s. (gen. sg.) Azhi-demon. 76, 29.

azaresô, adj. (nom. sg. m. of *azaresa*) without decay. 11, 12. 52, 12.

azinām, s. (gen. pl. of *azi*) of goats. 12, 2. 52, 15.

añtare, prep. in, within41, 6. 75, 4.

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atha, adv. thus, so. 12, 10. 20, 8. 38, 6. 53, 1. 61, 1.

athauronô, s. (gen. s.) thus agreeable. 21, 9. 62, 1. [an individual of the *âthrava* caste, a priest.]

adha, adv. then. 20, 8. 61, 1.

adharô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) one who is below. 9, 12. 50, 20.

adhâḍ, adv. (of *adha* + *âḍ*) afterwards. 21, 10. 62, 3.

anaghrâ, adj. (nom. pl. n.) endless. 20, 1. 59, 15.

anâmâta, past part., untried. 19, 10. 59, 15.

anâstaretô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) not suffering any injury. 78, 11. [The meaning "without lying down to sleep" suits better.]

anâhita, adj. (nom. sg. f.) unpolluted. 19, 5. 59, 3.

anyê, pr. (dat. sg. f. of *anya* another) to the other 7, 8. 49, 3. — *anyâo*, others acc. pl. f. 78, 12.

apa, s. and adv. water; back; without. 4, 3. 47, 4.

apaitirita, adj. (nom. pl. m. n. of *paiti-irita* "opposed" with the negative *a*) unopposed, uncontroled 11, 9. 52, 8.

apayă, adj. (nom. sg. m. pres. part. act. of *pâ* "to drink" with the negative *a*) not drinking, without thirst. 11, 12. 52, 12.

aparaya, adj. (inst. sg. f. of *apara* the latter, future) on the hinder part 7, 1. 48, 17.

apemô, adj. (nom. sg. m. of the superl. of *apa*) endmost. 20, 4, 60, 4.

aperenâyuka, s. (nom. dual, "not having the full age, child") two children. 4, 6. 47, 9. — *aperenâyukanăm*, (gen. pl.) of the children. 4, 7. 47, 10. — *aperenâyukô*, (nom. sg. m.) a child. 4, 6. 47, 9.

apăm, s. (gen. pl. of *âp* water) of the waters. 76, 20.

apvatiê, s. (dat. sg. f. of *apavati* exemption from decay; see note 2 on pag. 60) for the full understanding 20, 4. 60, 3.

afithyô, adj. (nom. sg. m. of a supposed noun *piti*, *fithi* which may mean feeding, nourishing, of *pâ* "to drink") without hunger. 11, 12. 52, 12. [In the Yashts as edited by Westergard there is *afrithya;* see 19, 11. 89. 24, 45.]

amana adj. (nom. pl. m. n., or inst. sg., or nom. sg. f. standing probably for *anâmâta* unexperienced) untried. 19, 10. 59, 14.

amarshă, adj. (nom. sg. m. of pres. part. act. of *maresh* "to die" with the negative *a* "not decaying") being immortal. 11, 12. 52, 12.

amavata (vacha), adj. (inst. sg. m. n. of *amavat* "strong") bold (speech.) 8, 12. 50, 7.

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amesha, adj. (nom. pl. m. n. of *amesha* = *amarta*) immortal. 19, 10. 59, 15.

amāsta, v. (3 sg. aor. middle of *man* "to think") he thought, believed. 7, 7. 49, 1.

amhâi, dem. pr. (dat. sg. m. of *a*) that. 20, 7. 60, 9.

ayare, s. (nom. sg. n.) a day. 42, 4. 43, 1. 75, 13. 78, 1.

arazân, s. (nom. sg. m.) forefinger. 10, 4. 51, 12.

aratô-kerethinô, adj. (nom. pl. of *aratô-kerethin*, instead of *ȧretô-kerethinô* "performing sacred rites") performing Izashne. 21, 2. 61, 10.

arura, s. (nom. pl. n.) a suit of clothes. 20, 10. 61, 6.

arejô, s. (nom. sg. m.) value. 12, 2. 52, 15.

arethavanô, adj. or s. (nom. pl. m. of *arethavan* "having a law-suit") suitors, the plaintiff and defendant. 43, 8. 79, 1.

arethahê, s. (gen. sg. of *aretha* "a case") of the case, law-suit. 43, 8. 79, 1.

arethnâo, s. (nom. pl. f.) elbows. 10, 2. 50, 25.

arethra, s. (nom. pl. m. n., probably an error for *aretha*) cases, law-suits. 17, 10. 57, 14.

arem, adv. content. 21, 2. 61, 10.

arēna, adj. (nom. pl. m. n. or sg. f. of *rēna* opposed, enemy) unopposed. 21, 1. 61, 8.

avaiaḍ, adv. that much. 21, 9. 61, 2.

avaêshām, dem. pr. (gen. pl. m. of *ava* that) those. 12, 7. 52, 22. — *avaḍ*, (nom. acc. n.) that 13, 2. 53, 5.

ava-thwaresahê, s. (gen. sg. of *avathwaresa* "incision, cutting in") name of a crime. 35, 9. 73, 3.

ava-baretām, past part. (acc. sg. f.) of *bare* "to bring" + *ava* "brought to". 16, 7. 56. 32.

avayâḍ, adv. there. 21, 10. 62, 2.

avare, s. (nom. sg. n., a Gâtha form for *avô* "help", see not. 1 pag. 60) dust. 20, 3. 60, 2.

avareta, s. (nom. pl. n. of the part. *avareta*) small fortune 16, 1. 55, 18. — *avaretâo*, (nom. pl. f.) 30, 8. 70, 1. [This is a mistake; the word is a past participle meaning "not put on, a thing with which nothing has been covered, not used", such as new clothes, carpets etc.; see Vend. 5, 60. 18, 34. 9, 30. Yt. 17, 7.; "not covered with grass" Vend. 19, 26.; it can only be derived from *vare* "to cover" with the negative *a*.]

ȧvastâtem, adj. (nom. sg. n. of the part. *ava-stâta* "composed, consisting") dignified. 9, 3. 50, 10.

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avâuṇhiĉiti, s. name of a crime. 35, 4. 72, 20. [It is a verb, 3 sg. pres. act. of *ah* = *as* "to throw", meaning "he throws, dashes against"; compare Sanscrit *asyati.*]

avâo, dem. pr. (nom. pl. f. of *ava* "that") those. 78, 11.

awra, s. (nom. sg. f. or pl. n.) a gentle breeze. 21, 1. 61, 7.

ashaonô, adj. (gen. sg. of *ashvan*) pure. 40, 8. 74, 11. — *ashavanô,* (nom. pl.) the pure 38, 7.

ashayâo, s. (gen. du) the part between shoulder and breast. 10, 6. 51, 4.

ashahĉ, s. (gen. sg.) purity, nature 14, 1. 54, 1. — *ashâ,* s. (nom. sg. f.) Ashavahisht. 12, 11. 53, 4.

ashemchâ, (nom. acc. sg. n.) and purity. 13, 6. 53, 13.

ashibya, s. (dat. instr. du. of *ashi* "purity") for the two Ashis. 23, 11. 64 ,1.

ashta, num. eight. 12, 2. 52, 15.

ashtaṇhum, s. (nom. sg. n.) an eighth part. 1, 9. 45, 13.

ashtish, s. (nom. sg. f.) arrival. 12, 9. 53, 1. [See note 1 on pag. 53.]

as, v. (3 sg. imperf. act.) it was. 20, 5. 60, 5.

asta, s. (nom. pl. n.) a bone. 20, 5. 60, 6. — *astem,* (nom. sg.) a bone. 7, 5. 11, 5. 48, 24. 52, 4.

asta-ishum, s. (acc. sg. m. of *asta-ishu*) an arrow-seeker. 20, 6. 60, 6. [This interpretation given by Destur Hoshengji on pag. 60 is neither in accordance with the Pahlavî, nor with the Zand; it means "having an arrow discharged"; *asta* "thrown", *ishu* "an arrow".]

astâtô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) non-existent. 20, 3. 60, 2. [not standing.]

asti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *as* "to be") is. 17, 9. 38, 5. 43, 1. 57, 12. 78, 1.

astryĉhĉ, v. he should be punished. 15, 11. 55, 16. [It is no verb, but a noun, the gen. sg. of *astrya* which may mean "one who is no wife", a kind of hermaphrodite; it may be also miswritten for *astairyĉhĉ,* the name of a particular disease; see Vend. 20, 3.]

astvatô, adj. (gen. sg. m. n. of *astvat*) endowed with a body. 40, 7. 74, 11. — *astvâo,* (nom. sg. m.) 11, 11. 52, 12.

aspahĉ, s. (gen. sg. of *aspa*) of a horse. 15, 10. 55, 13. — *aspô,* (nom. sg.) a horse. 12, 1. 52, 15.

asperenô, s. (nom. sg.) a dirham. 20, 4. 60, 4. [See note 3 on pag. 60.]

ahunãscha, s. (acc. pl. m.) repetitions of the *ahuvairya* prayer. 77, 28.

ahubya, s. (dat. du. of *aṅhus* life) for both lives. 13, 12. 53, 19.

ahurahĉ-mazdâo, (gen. sg.) of Ormazd. 38, 6. — *ahurô-mazdâo,* (nom. sg.) Ormazd. 13, 3. 16, 11. 53, 6. 57, 2.

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ahmâi, dem. pr. (dat. sg. m.) to that. 20, 7. 60, 8. — *ahmâd*, (abl. sg. m. n.) from that. 76,28.

ahmâkem, pers. pr. (gen. pl.) of us. 20, 7. 60, 9.

A (â).

â, dem. pr. this. 12, 10. 20, 6, 8. 53, 1. 60, 8. 61, 2. 76, 23. 78, 12. [prep. to, at.]

âaḍ, adv. thus; then. 12, 5. 20, 7. 52, 20. 61, 1. 77, 27.

âzaiñtivaitish, adj. (acc. pl. f. of *âzaiñtivat* "having a meaning-*âzaiñti-*) significant. 8, 6. 49, 18.

âzôish, s. (gen. sg. of *âzi* "lust"), the Azi devil 20, 9. 61, 2.

âtare-kereta, s. (nom. sg. m.) the fire-vessel. 21, 5. 61, 14.

âtare-taraê-naêmâḍ, s. (abl. sg. m.) the fire-vessel stand, or the inner fire-vessel. 21, 5. 61, 15.

âtare-frithitemcha, s. (acc. sg. with *cha*) the fire-consecrator. 21, 7. 61, 18.

âtare-marezanô, s. (nom. sg.) the fire-extinguisher. 21, 6. 61, 17.

âtare-vakhshô, s. (nom. sg.) the fire-kindling priest. 21, 4. 61, 12.

âtare-vazanô, s. (nom. sg.) the fire-fan. 21, 4. 61, 14.

âtarsh, s. (nom. sg.) fire. 38, 5.

âtha, s. (nom. sg. f.) smoke. 20, 9. 61, 2.

âd, adv. thus. 20, 8. 61, 1.

âdhâta, adj. (nom. sg. f.) lucky, 20, 10. 61, 6.

âpem, s. (acc. sg.) water. 16, 5. 17, 3. 56, 5. 57, 6. — *âpê*, dat. sg. of *âp* "water"). 76, 25. [It stands for the acc. *âpem*.]

âfrînâmi, v. (1 sg. pres. act.) I bless. 17, 5. 57, 8.

âberetem, s. (acc. sg. of *âberet* "one who brings to") name of a certain priest engaged on the Visparad ceremony, the water-bearer. 21, 8. 61, 20.

âmâta, part. (nom. sg. f.) tried. 19, 9. 59, 14.

ârmaitish, s. (nom. sg.) Armaiti, the angel presiding over the earth. 13, 1. 53, 4.

ârmata, adj. (nom. sg. f.) having a contented mind. 21, 8. 61, 5.

âs, v. (3 sg. imperf. of *as* "to be") was. 20, 5. 60, 5.

âsu, adj. (nom. sg. n.) swift. 20, 5. 60, 6.

âstê, v. (3 sg. pres. middle of *as* "to sit") he is sitting. 20, 6. 60, 8.

âsnatârem, s. (acc. sg. m.) name of a certain priest at the Visparad ceremony. 21, 8. 61, 22.

I (i).

isâi, v. (1 sg. pres. conjunct. middle of *is* "to have, possess") I may have the means. 14, 8. 54, 10.

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I (î).

îm, dem. pr. (nom. acc. sg.) this. 12, 7. 52, 21.

U (u).

ukhdhashna, adj. (nom. sg. m.) of a compound *ukhdha-sna*, "understanding, knowing words", *shna* standing for *zna;* compare *jña* „knowing" in Sanscrit) one who fully understands the composition of words. 9, 5. 50, 12.

ukhdhem, past part. of *vach* to speak (nom. sg. n.), speech. 9, 3. 50, 10. — *ukhdhô,* (nom. sg. m.) speech, word. 9, 6. 50, 13. — *ukhdhâo,* (nom. pl. f.) words. 9, 2. 50, 9. — *ukhdhām,* (acc. sg. f.) 32, 6. 71, 17.

ughrem, adj. (nom. sg. n.) powerful. 24, 2. 64, 4.

uzayairinām, adj. (gen. pl. of *uzayairin* "belonging to the second half of the day, to the afternoon") of the *uzîren gâhs,* the afternoon hours 77, 22. — *uzaryarâḍ*, s. (abl. sg. m. of *uzaryara*) from the afternoon. 77, 24, 25.

uzashta, s. (nom. sg.) a measure of eight fingers. 41, 2. 75, 1.

uzascha, s. (nom. acc. sg. n. of *uzaṅh* = *aojaṅh* "strength") might 17, 5. 57, 7.

uzâiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *i* "to go" and *uz* "up", instead of *uzaêiti*) it rises. 13, 2. 53, 5.

uzyazdâna, s. (nom. du.) nostril. 8, 1. 49, 12.

uzyô, v. (nom. sg. m.) it rises. 23, 10. 63, 21. [It is the part. fut. pass. of *vaz* "to carry", meaning "he is to be carried.]

uta, pr. thou. 23, 10. 63, 21. [This is a mistake; it is a conjunction, meaning "and, also".]

utâ, conj. (Gâtha form for *uta*) and, as well as. 12, 5. 52, 20.

una, adj. (nom. sg. f.) little. 23, 9. 63, 20. — *unem,* (nom. sg. n.) deficient. 24, 2. 64, 3. [The more correct form is *ûna.*]

uparô, adv. above. 9, 12. 50, 20. [It is adj. nom. sg. m. "one who is above".]

ubôibyâ, adj. pr. (dat. du. of *ubê* "both") to both. 2, 11. 46, 19.

ubdâena, s. (nom. pl.) leather clothes. 24, 1. 64, 2. [See note 1 on pag. 64.]

urua, s. (nom. sg.) face. 7, 13. 49, 11. [This meaning is very doubtful, and appears to be only a guess from the Persian *rûi* face; the word is probably the same as *urva* soul.]

uruthaḍ, s. (nom. sg. n.) a tree. 24, 2. 64, 4. [part. n. act. of *uruth* "to grow".]

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uruthware, s. (nom. sg. n.) belly 10, 7. 51, 5.

urudhidhiĉiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *urudh* "to grow") 24, 1. 64, 3. [See note 3 on pag. 64.]

urunaĉcha, s. (dat. sg. of *urvan* soul) and to the soul. 11, 10. 52, 9. — *urva*, (nom. sg.) spirit. 23, 9. 63, 20.

urvaêdās, s. (acc. pl. of *urvaĉda* "what is to be got out of the body, excrements") dirt. 24, 1. 64, 2.

urvaĉsa, s. (nom sg. f.) a circle, surrounding. 23, 9. 63, 19.

urvaĉsô, s. (nom. sg. m.) an open plain. 23, 8. 63, 18.

urvatem, s. (nom. sg. n.) an intestine. 10, 11. 51, 10.

urvathô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a friend. 23, 8. 63, 18.

uva, pr. or. num. (instead of *uba* nom. du. "both", or *va* = *dva* two) both. 23, 10. 63, 21.

ush, s. (nom. sg.) understanding, judgement. 23, 11. 63, 22. [Se note 4 on pag. 63.]

ushādhām, s. (acc. sg. f.) backbone. 10, 8. 51, 6. [See noto 2 on pag. 51.]

ushām-surām, s. (acc. sg. f. of *usha*) *sura* the third quarter of the night. 42, 10. 77, 2. [*usha* = Sansc. *ushâ* morning dawn; *sura* instead of *sûra* heroic, victorious.]

ushta, adj. (nom. sg. f., or nom. pl. n.) good. 23, 10. 63, 21.

ushtatâtem, s. (acc. sg. f. of *ushtatât*) excellence. 23, 11. 64, 1.

us, prep. up. 9, 12. 23, 9. 50, 21. 63, 20.

us, adj. or adv. happy. 23, 8. 63, 18.

E (e).

erezaurvaĉsâḍ, s. (abl. sg. of *ereza-urvaĉsa*) from the circle of the pure, name of the second quarter of the night. 42, 8. 76, 7. [The Pahlavi interpretation is only a bad etymological guess; the word appears to be an astronomical term referring to the movement of the celestial globe.]

erezi, s. (nom. sg.) testicle. 11, 1. 51, 13.

erezu, s. (nom. sg.) finger. 10, 4. 51, 1.

eredhaĉm, s. (nom. sg. n.) heart. 10, 10. 51, 9.

O (o).

oîm, num. one. 1, 4. 45, 6. [another more contracted form for *aĉvem*, or *aĉvîm* n. of *aĉva* one.]

O (ô).

ôithra, adv. separately. 3, 1. 46, 22.

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Ao (âo)

âoṅha, s. (inst. sg.) mouth. 8, 3. 49, 14.

âontyâo, s. (gen. or abl. sg. f. of *âonti*) inhaling, 8, 2. 49, 13. [The root is *an* "to blow, to breathe, the suffix is *ti*.]

K (k).

kaya, interrog. pr. (nom. pl. n. of *ki* = *chi* which?) which? 6, 12. 7, 3. 48, 16, 19.

karashô, s. (nom. sg. m., instead of *karshô*) a zone. 18, 6. 58, 1.

karshaschiḍ, s. (nom. acc. sg. n. of *karshaṅh* "a line" with the enclitic *chiḍ*) any line. 18, 8. 58, 4.

karshuãm, s. (gen. pl. of *karshvare* "a zone") of the (seven) zones. 18, 7. 58, 3. [Instead of *karshvãm*, *karshvãn* is perhaps to be read which is the acc. pl. See the names of the seven zones in note 2 pag. 58.]

karshôid, v. (3 sg. potent. act. of *karsh* "to drag") he may drag 76, 30.

karshtêê, s. (dat. sg. of *karshti* "ploughing, a ploughed field") a corn-field. 18, 9. 58, 6.

karshvâo, adj. (nom. sg.) fit for tilling 18, 9. 58, 5. [gen. du. of *karshvare*.]

kavachiḍ, adv. anywhere. 40, 5. 74, 10.

kashaibya, s. (dat. instr. du. of *kasha*) armpit. 10, 7. 51, 5.

kashâo, s. (gen. du. of *kasha*) two sleeves. 18, 5. 57, 18. [See note 3 on pag. 57.]

kaschiḍ, indef. pr. (nom. sg. m.) any one 40, 7. 74, 10. — *kahmâichiḍ*, (dat. sg. of *ka* who? with *chiḍ*) to any one. 13, 5. 53, 8.

kasyaṅhô, adj. (nom. pl. m. of the comparative of *kasu* little) less. 7, 3. 48, 19.

kahmâḍ, interrog. pr. (abl. sg. m. of *ka*) from which? whence? 76, 20. 77, 22. — *kô*, who? 17, 9. 57, 12.

kerepemcha, s. (acc. sg. of *kerep* with *cha*) and the body. 11, 5. 52, 5.

Kh (kh).

khratumâo, adj. (nom. sg. m. of *khratumant* "endowed with wisdom") one who is possessed of knowledge. 19, 7. 59, 8.

khratush, s. (nom. sg. m.) wisdom, intellect. 31, 7. 71, 3. [See note 2 on pag. 71.]

khrasyô, adj. s. (nom. sg. m.) one who threatens another by crying, a kind of offender. 39, 1. 73, 23. [It is probably miswritten for *khrusyô* "crying".]

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khruzhda, adj. (nom. pl. n.) harsh. 8, 10. 50, 4.

khshaêtô, s. (nom. sg. m.) splendor. 18, 11. 58, 9. [a king.]

khshathrô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a ruler. 18, 10. 58, 7.

khshathrăm, (see *vasô-khshathrăm*) 11, 8. 52, 7.

khshafa, s. (nom. sg., instead of *khshapa*) a night 42, 6. 76, 6. — *khshafâd*, (abl. sg.) a night. 78, 12.

khshayaḍ-vâkhsh, an adjectival compound (nom. sg.), the royal word. 8, 11. 50, 6.

khshayamana, part. middle (nom. pl. m. n.) ruling. 11, 9. 18, 11. 52, 8. 58, 8.

khshayô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a king. 18, 10. 58, 8.

khshim, s. (nom. sg. n.) lamentation. 19, 3. 59, 2.

khshuidha, s. sweetness. 18, 13. 11. 58,

khshudrâo, s. (nom. acc. pl. n.) semen. 11, 2. 51, 14.

khshtât, v. he goes. 19, 3. 59, 2. [3 sg. imperf., or aor. act. of *stâ* to stand; "he stood".]

khshtum, s. (nom. sg. n.) the sixth part. 1, 8. 45, 12.

khshnuta, past part. of *khshnu* "to please, satify" (nom. sg. f., or nom. pl. m. n.) pleased. 19, 1. 58, 12.

khshvash, num. six. 1, 8. 45, 12. 78, 9.

Q (q).

qaêdhem, s. (nom. sg. n.) sweat. 11, 5. 52, 4.

qaṅha, s. (nom. sg. f.) a sister. 5, 5. 47, 22.

qarahê, s. (gen. sg. of *qara* "a wound") name of a crime. 36, 1. 73, 5.

qarôchithrem, s. (nom. acc. sg. n., of *qarô-chithra*) the inflicting of a wound. 7, 8. 49, 3.

qasurô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a father-in-law. 5, 7. 47, 25.

qtemchiḍ (*saṅhem*), adj. with the enclitic *chiḍ* (nom. sg. n.) dark (words). 8, 8. 50, 3.

G (g).

gaêthanăm, s. (gen. pl. f. of *gaêtha*) of the world. 15, 11. 55, 15.

gaêm, s. (acc. sg. m.) soul; Gayomart. 31, 2. 41, 3. 70, 10. 75, 1.

gaêsa, s. (nom. sg. f.) curled hair. 6, 7. 48, 11. [This throws light on the word *gaêsu* Yas. 9, 10. which has been misunderstood by all European interpreters; it means "wearing the hair in curls"; see my article in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlændischen Gesellschaft vol. 19, pagg. 588, 89.]

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gaonem, s. (nom. sg. n.) hair. 6, 6, 8. 48, 10, 12.

gaosh, s. (instead of *gaoshô*) ear. 9, 11. 50, 19.

gatêê, v. he reached. 30, 10. 70, 6. [It is no verb, but the dat. sg. of a substantive *gati*, *gaiti* "going"; these datives are used in the sense of infinitives, see my Essays pag. 85.]

gaya, s. (inst. sg. m.) life (see *gaêm*) 14, 12. 55, 3.

gayêhê-marata, s. Gayomart, the first king of the Iranians. 15, 1. 55, 3. [The form cannot be correct; it should be *gayêhê marathnô* gen. sg.]

garezhda, s. complaining. 31, 3. 71, 12. [3 sg. aor. middle of *gerez* to cry, "he cried", see my work on the Gâthas I pag. 74.]

gava, s. hand of a wicked person. 31, 1. 70, 7.

gavâstryâvareza, s. agriculture. 31, 4. 70, 14. [It is a compound standing for *gâu-vâstryavareza*, the cultivation of the fields by means of cows, or oxen.]

gavăm, s. (gen. pl. of *gâu*) of cows. 12, 2. 52, 15.

gâim, s. a measure of three feet, or one footstep. 41, 3. 75, 2. [It appears to be a mispronunciation for *gâmem* which has the meaning indicated.]

gâtum, s. (acc. sg.) a time. 14, 6. 54, 8. — *gâtumchă*, and a time 13, 11. 53, 18.

gâthanăm, s. (gen. pl. f. of *gâtha*) of the times of prayer, prescribed in the Parsi religion 77, 22.

gâthwô-shtachaḍ, adj. or s., repeating the Gâthas (songs of Zoroaster) constantly. 31, 3. 70, 13. — [This interpretation is a mere guess; see note 4 on pag. 70.]

gâmahya, s. (gen. sg. m. of *gâma*, a measure of two or three feet) 43, 5. 78, 6. — *gâmem*, (acc. sg.) 43, 5. 78, 5. — *gâmăn*, (acc. pl.) footmarks. 41, 6. 75, 10.

gudhra, ad. (nom. pl.) secret. 31, 1. 70, 8. [root *gudh* = *guz* "to hide".] — *gudhrâ* (*saṅhô*), secret (words). 8, 9. 50, 3.

gushta, v. he may listen. 31, 2. 70, 8.; listening 9, 9. 50, 18. [It is either the past part. of *gush* "to hear", or the 3 aor. sg. middle "he heard".]

geredha, s. a burrow. 31, 2. 70, 9.

gerewnaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *gerew* to take, "he took") he may take. 30, 10. 70, 6.

gē, s. (nom. sg. f.) adultery. 31, 1. 70, 7.

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gām, s. (acc. sg. of *gâu* cow; see *gavām*) cattle. 31, 3. 7, 11. — *gām-châ*, and cattle. 13, 6. 53, 13.

grehmô, s. (nom. sg. m., instead of *grēhmô*) a bribe. 30, 10. 70, 6. [This meaning rests evidently on a guess; the word occurs only in Yas. 32, 12—14, and is apparently a proper name of some enemy of the Zoroastrian religion; the meaning "bribe" gives nowhere any sense; see my work on the Gâthas I pag. 176.]

Gh (gh).

ghenâo, s. (nom. pl. f.) women. 31, 5. 70, 17.

ghnaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *jan* = *ghan* "to kill) he killed. 31, 5. 70, 17.

ghnâd, (3 sg. subjunct.) may he destroy. 31, 5. 70, 17.

Ch (ch).

cha, enclitic, appended to many words, "and, also".

chaiti, adv. how much? 29, 7. 69, 3.

chaĉteñti, s. plainnes, clearness. 29, 6. 68, 23. [This is a mistake, see note 1 on pag. 69.]

chakana, s. a wish. 29, 7. [It is no noun, but 3 sg. perf. act. of *kan* to wish, "he has wished"; see my Essays pag. 81.]

chathware, num. (n.) four. 15, 10. 55, 13.

chaḍcha, pr. any one 40, 7. 74, 11. [instead of *chiḍcha* any thing whatever.]

charâiti, s. (nom. sg. f.) an unmarried girl. 5, 2. 47, 18.

charetutârô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) very active. 29, 7. 69, 4. [This interpretation rests on a wrong etymology; the word cannot be derived from *kere* "to make" as the Pahlavî translator has done, but is a determinative compound (Tatpurusha) *charetutârô* meaning "crossing the riding-ground".]

charetu-drâjô, a square riding-ground. 29, 5. 68, 22.

charetām, s. workers. 29, 5. 68, 23. [acc. sg. f. of *chareta*, course, a race course; see Yt. 19. 77.]

chavaiti, adv. how many? 41, 5. 75, 3.

chârām, s. (acc. sg. f.) redress. 29, 7. 69, 3.

chiākadhavatô, adj. (gen. sg. of *chiākadhavat*) of an arm's length a cubit. 10, 3. 50, 26. [*chiākadha* appears to signify the fore-arm.]

chikaĉn, v. (3 pl. potent. act. of *ci* "to atone") they should be punished. 3, 5, 7, 8. 46, 27, 30. — *chikayatô*, (3 du. potent.) both should be

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punished 3, 5, 7. 7, 8. 46, 26, 29. 49, 3. — *chikayaḍ*, (3 sg. potent.) he should be punished. 3, 3. 46, 25.

chichi, v. is to be punished. 14, 4. 54, 5. [The form is unexplicable; it appears to be miswritten for *chidhi* which wôuld be the imperative of *chi*.]

chitha, s. (nom. sg. f.) punishment. 29, 6. 69, 2.

chithra, s. (nom. pl.) seed. 29, 6. 69, 1.

chithrushva, s. a fourth part. 1, 6. 45, 10.

chiḍ, an enclitic (n. of the pronoun *chi*) which is appended to nouns and pronouns making their sense more general, e. g. *kaschiḍ* anyone, whosoever.

chinaiĉmi, v. (1 sg. pres. act. of *chin*) I pray. 29, 8. 69, 6.

chinmanô, s. (gen. sg. of *chinman*) esteem. 29, 8. 69, 5.

chistish, s. (nom. sg.) a sage. 29, 8. 69, 5. [wisdom, knowledge.]

J (j).

jaidhyaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *jadh* "to ask, implore") he asked. 27, 8. 67, 13.

jau, s. (nom. sg. instead of *java* or *jva* life, living) part of the soul 37, 8. 73, 22. [1])

jaê, s. (nom. sg.) instead of *jahi*) a lustful woman. 4, 10. 47, 14.

jaêsh, s. adultery. 27, 9. 67, 14.

jakhshavâo, (part. perf. act. of the desiderat. of *jan* "to destroy) one who had the desire of destroying. 27, 7. 67, 12.

jataṅhaḍ, arriving. 27, 8. 67, 13. [The interpretation is wrong, as the word cannot be derived from *jam*, *jim* "to go"; it is *jata aṅhat* "he (or she) was beaten".]

jafra, s. (nom. sg.) a cave. 27, 7. 67, 11. [adj. deep.]

jareta, s. taking. 27, 8. 67, 13. [nom. sg. praiser of *jar* "to praise".]

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1) The explanation which is given of this term by the compiler of the glossary on pagg. 39. 40. has been left untranslated by Destur Hoshengji. I render it as follows: "jau is the continuous power of life (frâz-ushtân) which separates from the soul in such a one (a criminal), that is, one may call it (the ushtân) separated from the soul in any Tanâvanâr (a sinner who cannot pass the bridge); punishment is awarded, but there is no compensation by means of good works (i. e. the good works of the Tanâvanâr are not counted, they are all lost in consequence of his mortal sins)".

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javaiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *jiv* "to live") he lives. 14, 12, 55, 3.

jahî, s. (nom. sg. f.) a lustful woman. 5, 1. 47, 17.

jinâiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *ji, jyâ* "to grow old") he exhausts. 27, 6. 67, 10.

jimaiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *jim* "to come") he comes 14, 10. 55, 1. — *jimâḍ*, (3 sg. pres. subjunct.) he may reach. 27, 7. 67, 11.

jum, adj. (acc. sg. m. of *jvâ*) living. 27, 6. 67, 10.

jē, s. (nom. sg. instead of *jahî*) a lustful woman. 4, 10. 47, 17.

Zh (zh).

zhnûm s. (acc. sg. of *zhnu*) knee. 11, 3. 5, 52.

Z (z).

zaêṅanha, adj. wakeful. 30, 6. 69, 18. [s. instr. sg. n. of *zaêṅanh* watchfulness, "with watchfulness".]

zaêmanô, may they live! 16, 6. 56, 6. [s. gen. sg. of *zaêman* activity, see note 1 on pag. 56.]

zaêshô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) ugly. 30, 6. 69, 17.

zaothra, s. (nom. sg. f.) holy-water. 30, 3. 69, 13. — *zaothrâbyô*, (dat. pl.) 17, 1. 57, 3. to the waters. — *zaothrăm*, (acc. sg.) holy-water. 76, 25.

zaoshô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a pleasure. 30, 3. 69, 11.

zagathaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *zagath*) he separated. 30, 7. 69, 19.

zañta, s. (nom. sg.) a meaning, commentary. 30, 4, 69, 15.

zatô, past part. (nom. sg. m. root *zan* "to strike") beaten. 30, 9. 70, 4.

zarathushtra, s. (voc. sg.) Zoroaster, the prophet of the Parsis. 15, 3. 56, 66.

zarva, s. (nom. sg.) old age. 30, 5. 69, 17. — *zarvânemcha*, (acc. sg.) and time. 13, 11. 53, 18.

zavarascha, s. (nom. sg. n. with *cha;* instead of *zavare*) strength. 17, 5. 57, 8.

zasta, s. (nom. du.) hand. 10, 3. 30, 1. 50, 26. 69, 8.

zastavaḍ, adj. (nom. sg. n.) mighty. 30, 1. 69, 8.

zâ, s. (nom. sg. f.; instead of *zâo*) earth. 12, 7. 52, 22.

zâmâoiô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a son-in-law. 30, 6. 69, 17.

zârascha, s. (nom. sg. n. with *cha*) bile. 10, 11. 51, 10.

zâvare, s. (nom. sg. n.) strength. 30, 4. 69, 14.

zita, past part. (nom. sg. f.) increased 30, 2. 69, 10.

zinda-yâtumeñta, (nom. pl. n.) a great sorcerer. 30, 9. 70, 3. [The two

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words from no compound; *zinda* is a substantive in the nom. pl. n., and *yâtumeñta* is its adjective; they may be translated "sins of sorcery"; *zinda* is the Persian *zhinda* "ugly, horrible".]

zî, conj. for. 30, 1. 69, 9.

zurô-beretâo, adj. (a compound, nom. pl. f. of *zurô* = *zâvare* "strength", and *beretâo* "brought", or "bringing") having strength. 30, 7. 70, 1.

zusha, injured; asked. 30, 2. 69, 11. [*zusha* is incorrect; it ought to be *zushta* past part. of *zush* "to be pleased"; it means "pleased, satisfied" and not "injured", or "asked".]

zushta, s. a derhem. 30, 3. 69, 12. [This meaning is very doubtful; it appears to rest only on the mistaken identification of *zushta* "pleased" with the Pahlavî *zozan*, which is the name of a certain coin.]

zushtô, part. (nom. sg. m.) settled.43, 10. 79, 4.

zeṅha, s. (nom. sg. f.; instead of *zăṅga*) leg. 11, 4. 52, 1.

zemana, s. (nom. sg. f.) reward. 30, 5. 69, 16.

zemô, s. (gen. sg.) land. 18, 9. 40, 6. 58, 5. 74, 10.

zeredhaiêm, s. (nom. sg. n.) heart. 30, 8. 70, 2.

zâo, s. (nom. sg. f.) earth. 12, 7. 52, 22.

zăthwan, born. 30, 5. 69, 15. [nom. sg. n. birth of *zan* "to be born" with the abstract suffix *thwan*.]

zgereqnem, adj. (nom. sg. n.) altered to *zgeresnem*, round. 30, 7. 69, 19. [See note 4 on pagg. 69. 70.]

zyêiḍ, s. a kind of offender. 39, 2. 73, 24. [It is a verb, 3 sg. imperf. act. of *zyâ* to injure, "he injured".]

zyăm, s. (acc. sg. f.) of *zyâ* winter. 30, 2. 69, 9. [snow.]

zrva. s. (nom. s. m.; see *zarva*) time. 30, 5. 69, 16.

T (t)

tacha, s. flowing. 29, 1. 68, 13.

tacharem, s. (nom. acc. sg. n.) a measure of three Hâsars. 41, 11. 75, 8. [See note 5 on pag. 75.]

tañchishtem, adj. (nom. acc. sg. n.) most vigorous. 29, 1. 64, 14.

taḍ, dem. pr. (nom. sg. n.) this. 43, 5, 6, 7, 8. 76, 24. 78, 6, 7. 79, 1.

tadhao, 41, 10. 75, 7. [a mistake; see note 5 on pag. 75.]

tanum, s. (acc. sg.) body. 37, 5. 73, 19. — *tanush*, s. (nom. sg.) 24, 8. 37, 4. 64, 13. — *tanvaêcha*, (dat. sg.) to the body. 11, 9. 52, 9.

tanumăthrô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a body-subduer 29, 3. 68, 7. [Te word is

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generally used as an adjective, meaning "one in whose body the sacred words are" i. e. thoroughly knowing the religion.]

taradhâta, s. (nom. sg. f.) a destroyer. 29, 4. 68, 19. [past part. of *taradhâ* "to pervert", generally used in the phrase *taradhâtem anyâish dâmăn* Yt. 12, 1. 2. 19, 9. etc. "perverted, spoiled by the other creatures"; the inborn light, the primitive intellect *âsnô khratush* are regarded as spoiled by their contact with other things.]

tarascha, adv. and across. 6, 4. 48, 8.

taremanô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) small. 29, 2. 68, 15. [The meaning is very doubtful.]

tarēmanô, adj. (nom. sg. n.) very strong. 29, 2. 68, 15. [part. pres. middle of *tar* to cross, "crossing, running".]

tavâchâ, v. (1 sg. subjunct. middle of *tu* "to be able" with the enclitic *cha*) I may have the means 14, 8. 54, 10.

tashaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. of *tash* "to cut") he formed. 29, 4. 68, 19.

tâcha, dem. pr. with *cha* (nom. acc. pl. n.) and that. 29, 1. 68, 13.

tâtô, s. (nom. sg. m.) duration. 29, 1. 68, 13. [past part. of *tan* "to stretch, extend".]

tâya, s. (nom. sg.; instead of *tâyush*) a thief. 29, 3. 68, 16.

tâyushâoscha, s. (nom. pl. f.) an abettor of thieves, a nest of rogues. 39, 4. 73, 27. [It is a compound, *tâyu-sha*, which may mean place of thieves.]

tâyô, hidden. 39, 4. 73, 26.

tishrô, num. f. three. 1, 5. 45, 8.

tûirîm, s. (nom. sg. n.) the fourth parth. 1, 7. 45, 10.

tûm, pers. pr. (nom. sg.) thou. 29, 3. 68, 16.

tushish, s. (nom. sg.) a spade. 29, 3. 68, 16. [See note 2 on pag. 68.]

tê, dem. pr. (nom. pl. m. of *ta* this) these 15, 8. 16, 10. 55, 12. 56, 11.

Th (th).

thanavañta, adj. (nom. pl. n.) lazy. 31, 7. 71, 4.

thamanem, adj. (acc. sg. m.) industrious, independent, heroic. 31, 8. 71, 4.

thnâtô, s. (nom. sg. m.) acceptance. 31, 6. 71, 3. [past. part of *thnâ*, a root of uncertain signification.]

thraêtaonahê, s. (gen. sing.) Feridûn. 15, 8. 55, 12.

thraṅ, s. (nom. sg.) the mouth. 31, 8. 71, 6.

thrayăm, num. (gen. n.) threefold. 1, 6. 45, 8.

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thrâthrâ, s. (instr. sg., or nom. pl. n. of *thrâtar*, protector, nourisher, or of *thrâtrem* nourishing) adorning [1]). 31, 6. 71, 3.

thrâyô-sata, num. (both words being in the nom. pl.) three hundred. 31, 9. 71, 6.

thri-gâmcm, s. (nom. sg. n. of a Dvigu-compound) a measure of three paces. 43, 5. 78, 6.

thritîm, adj. (nom. sg. n. of the ordinal number *thritya*) third. 1, 5. 45, 8.

thripithwô-dhi, adj. (a Tatpurusha compound of *thripithwô* three stations, three times, and *dhi* making) holding three times. 38, 5.

thri-yakhshtischa, adj. (nom. sg. m. f. of a possessive compound) and three twigs (having three twigs, consisting of them, as the Barsom) 16, 8. 56, 8.

thri-vachahim, (nom. sg. acc. m. f. of a possessive compound) having three words. 43, 4. 78, 5.

thristem, num. thirty. 31, 1. 71, 6.

thrîshva, (instead of *thrishva* inst. sg. or nom. du.) a third part. 1, 6. 45, 8.

thrāfdhô, s. (nom. sg. m.) descent of an angel. 31, 6. 71, 2.; see note 1 on pag. 71.

thwakhshitâo, adj. (gen. du. of *thwakhshita*) energetic, active. 15, 5. 55, 7. [See under *paitishâthrâo*.]

thwăm, (acc. sg. of *tûm* thou) thee. 3, 10. 31, 7. 41, 6. 46, 34. 71, 3. 75, 5.

D (d).

daêvayaḍ, (3 sg. impf. of the causative) he should look. 27, 1. 67, 3. [The Pahlavî translation *namûd* means "he showed". If the form is correct, then the root is *div* which means in the Zand "to cheat, deceive"; but the translator appears to have traced it to *dî* "to see", *dîdan* in Persian. *v* may, however, stand for *p*, in which case it might be a regular causative of *dî;* but it is very likely a clerical error for *daêsayaḍ* "he showed".]

daosha, shoulder. 10, 2. 50, 25.

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1) This is the translation of [illegible] ârâeshna by which the word is rendered. It is, however, nothing but a clerical error for [illegible] serâyashna being of the same root (thrâ) as the Zand thrâtâ; for the latter is generally rendered so in the Pahlavî translation of the Yasna and Vendidâd. See Yas. 50, 1. Vend. 2, 4. 5. In Yas. 71, 13. it is translated by [illegible], "assistance, help". M. H.

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dakhmô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a depositary for the dead, tower of silence. 27, 1. 67, 2.

dakhshta, s. (nom. pl. n.) a mark. 27, 2. 67, 4.

dakhshmaitish, s. (nom. sg. f.) a certain measure. 41, 8, 75, 6.

daṅrô, or *daṅhrô* adj. (nom. sg. m.) wisdom, [wise]. 8, 7. 50, 2.; wise, intelligent. 9, 6. 50, 12.

daṇhvê, s. (dat. sg. of *daṇhu* "a province") to the governor. 12, 2. 52, 15. [The Pahlavî translator has identified it with *daṇhu-paiti* "a ruler, governor"].

dazhaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *dazh* "to burn") he burns. 27, 3. 67, 5.

dazdi, v. (2 sg. imperat. of *dâ* "to give") give! 27, 2. 67, 3.

dadhâiti, v. (instead of *dadâiti* 3 sg. pres. act. of *dâ* "to give") he gives. 13, 9. 53, 15.

dantânô, s. (nom. pl. of. *dantan* "a tooth") teeth. 8, 3. 49, 14.

dareghem, (adj. nom. sg. n.) long. 11, 10, 12. 52, 9, 12.

darezera, adj. (nom. sg. f.) powerful. 27, 3. 67, 6.

darevaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf.) he saw. 27, 2. 67, 4. [miswritten for *daresaḍ*, of *dares*, to see.]

dashinô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) right. 9, 11. 50, 19.

dashcha, num. with *cha*, and ten. 41, 6. 75, 4. [instead of *dasacha*.]

dasmahê, adj. (gen. sg. m. n. of *dasema*) tenth. 1, 9. 45, 14.

dahmô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) pious, religious, devout. 27, 1. 67, 2.

dâitya, s. justice, propriety. 13, 12. 53, 19. [adj. nom. pl. n. proper, suitable.]

dâtâish, s. (instr. pl.) through, with the laws. 14, 1. 54, 1. [past. part. of *dâ* "to make".]

dâḍ, v. (3 sg. aor. act. of *dâ* "to make, create") he created. 13, 6. 53, 13.

dâra, s. (nom sg. f.) a razor. 16, 9. 56, 11.

dâshta, past part. made. 27, 3. 67, 5. [It appears to be miswritten for *dâta*.]

dishta, s. a measure of ten fingers. 41, 2. 74, 17.

dughdha, s. (nom. sg.) a daughter. 5, 6. 47, 22.

dudhuwibuzda, s. name of a crime, threatening to kill with uplifted weapon. 34, 5. 72, 12. [It does not appear to be a compound, but two words, *dudhuwi* s., and *buzda*, past part., both in the instr.; *dudhuwi* is very likely the name of a particular weapon, and *buzda* may mean

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"turned" (root *buz* = *buj* to inflect); the whole phrase would thus signify "with a weapon, turned, pointed at".]

dunma, s. (nom. sg. n.) a cloud. 16, 8. 56, 10. [The phrase *yayata dunma* means "the cloud is passing, or has passed moving about".]

dush-dâma, adj. (nom. sg. f.) having a bad creation. 27, 5. 67, 8.

dush-sastish, s. (nom. sg.) ill-advising. 27, 4. 67, 7.

dush-sravaṇhê, adj. (dat. sg. m. n.) having bad words. 27, 4. 67, 6.

demânô-pathni, s. (nom. sg. f.) a bride. 5, 2. 47, 19. [mistress of the house.]

deretô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a holder. 9, 3. 50, 10. [It is past part. of *dere* "to hold", forming the first part of the Tatpurusha compound *deretô-sraoshem* holding Serosh, keeping him; the past part. has in Zand now and then the meaning of the act. part., see my Essays pag. 84.]

dôithra, s. (nom. sg. f., or nom. du.) eye. 7, 13. 49, 11.

drâjô, s. (nom. sg. n.) length, extent. 16, 3. 29, 5. 56, 1. 68, 22.

drujim, s. (acc. sg. of *druj*) Daruj, an evil spirit 14, 7. 54, 9.

drvatâtem, s. (acc. sg. of *drvatât*) health. 11, 7. 52, 7.

dva, num. two. 1, 4. 45, 7. — *dvacha*, and two. 41, 6. 75, 4.

dvadasaṅ-hâthrem, a Dvigu-compound (nom. sg. n.) a measure of twelve hâsars. 43, 1. 78, 1.

dvayâo, nom. (gen. du. f. of *dva*) twofold. 1, 5. 45, 7.

D (ḍ).

ḍkaêshahê, s. (gen. sg. of *ḍkaêsha*) 43, 6. 78, 7. — *ḍkaêshô*, (nom. sg.) a command; a judge. 17, 8, 9. 57, 11, 12. [This is the traditional explanation which can scarcely be proved from the Zand-avastâ as far as it still exists. The word may have had the meaning of "judge" in works which are no longer extant, or in the old Persian language; as regards the Zand I doubt it very much. In the existing Zand texts it clearly means "creed, religion; religious doctrine", forming very frequently the latter part of a compound (e. g. *ahura-ḍkaêshô* "professing the Ahura religion", *paoiryô-ḍkaêshô* "an adherent of the ancient religion") which is now and then dissolved into its component parts, but without altering the sense (so for instance *paoiryanăm ḍkaêshanăm* instead of *paoiryô-ḍkaêshanăm*). It is originally the same with the Sanscrit *dîkshâ* "instruction, initiation principally into

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sacred rites". No other etymology is possible; those which have been proposed by same modern Zandists are absurd. See my work on the Gâthas II, pagg. 177. 78.]

ḍbaêshâo, s. (nom. pl. n. of *ḍbaêshaṅh*) injury. 28, 1. 67, 16.

Dh (dh).

dhadhaṅha, s. (instr. sg. n.) the backside. 11, 2. 51, 15. [It is the same as *zadaṅh* podex.]

N (n).

naêmăm, adj. (acc. sg. f.) half. 9, 13. 50, 22. [*vîspê-naêmăm* in all directions.]

năêrê, s. (dat. sg., instead of *năirê* of *nar* a man) to a man. 13, 9. 14, 3. 53, 15. 54, 5. — *nara*, (nom. du.) two men. 4, 8. 14, 6. 47. 11. 54. 7. — *narô*, (nom. pl.) men. 4, 8. 38, 7. 47, 11.

naomahê, adj. (gen. sg. m. n. of *năoma*) ninth. 1, 9. 45, 14.

namra-vâkhsh, an adjectival compound (nom. sg. *namra* + *vâksh*) words of benediction. 8, 7. 50. 2. [This meaning is doubtful; it appears to be based only on an identification of *namra* with the Persian *nemâz* prayer; the real meaning cannot be made out.]

narsh, (gen. sg. of *nar*) of a man. 4, 7. 7, 4. 12, 8. 47, 10. 48, 23. 52, 23.

nâ, s. and adv., a man; or. 4, 1. 12, 5. 47, 2. 52, 20.

nâiri, s. (nom. sg.) a woman. 12, 5. 52, 20.

nâirika, s. (nom. sg. f.) a woman. 4, 9. 47, 13. — *nâirikanăm*, (gen. pl.) of women. 4, 9. 47, 14. — *nâirikayâo*, (gen. du.) of two women. 4, 9. 47, 14.

nâfô, s. (nom. sg. n.) navel. 10, 7. 51, 6.

nizentem, act. part. pres. (acc. sg. m.) one who is born in the house. 40, 10. 74, 13. [See note 2 on pag. 74.]

nitemchiḍ, s. (nom. acc. n. of *nita* with *chiḍ*) each setting. 12, 7. 52, 22. [See note 3 on pag. 52.]

netemem, adj. (nom. acc. sg. n. instead of *nitemem*) lowest. 4, 3, 4. 7, 8, 3.

nē, pers. pr. (acc. dat. gen. pl., Gâtha form) we. 4, 1. 27, 2. [us, to us, of us.]

nô, pers. pr. (acc. dat. gen. pl.) we. 4, 1. 47, 1. [See *nē*.]

nôiḍ, adv. not. 13, 9. 53, 15. 76, 23.

nâoṅha, s. (nom. sg. f.) nose. 8, 1. 49, 12,

nmânô-pathni, s. (nom. sg. f.) mistress of the house. 5, 2. 47, 19.

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P (p).

paio, s. (nom. sg. n. instead of *payô*) milk. 24, 5. 64, 10.

paiti, prep. on, at. 7, 1, 3. 48, 17, 20.

paiti-dathâiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *dhâ* + *paiti*) he returns, answers. 13, 9. 53, 15.

paitiastô (*vachâo*), adj. words of assent. 9, 8. 50, 17. [instead of *paityastô* assenting.]

paitiĉtê, s. Patet, confession and repentance of sins. 25, 10. 64, 17. [The form cannot be correct; *patet* comes from *paitita* "fallen", compare *patita* in Sanscrit "fallen from virtue"; if it be a noun, it can only stand for *paititi* "fall, confession of a fall".]

paitishâthrâo [1]), s. a commander 15, 5. 55, 8. [The interpretation is doubtful; at to its form, it is a gen. du. The derivation from *paiti* "lord", and *khshathra* "rule" which the compiler had in view cannot be right. I derive it from a word *paiti-shâtra* which may mean "a meeting convened for opposing another one, a party", as *shâtra* is only traceable to *shad, had*, "to sit", being a corruption of *shastra*, the *s* being dropped, and the *a* lengthened in compensation for the loss; compare *hâdrôyâ* (gen. du. of *hâdri* which is a Gâtha from for *hathri*) Yas. 32, 7. with my remarks on it, Gâthas I, pagg. 167. 68.]

paitishtâna, s. (nom. du.) foot. 11, 3. 52, 1.

paitî, s. (nom. sg. instead of *paitish*) a chief. 24, 10. 64, 18.

paitiapta, adv. with malicious intent. 76, 30. [instr. sg. of the past part. *paityapta*.]

paityahmi, s. (loc. sg.), an astronomical term, probably zenith. 12, 10. 53, 1. [See note 1 on pag. 53.]

paityâdha, s. answering. 9, 8. 50, 17.

pairi, prep. about. 17, 10. 57, 13.

pairiĉtê, s. pain, malady. 24, 7. 64, 12. [The form cannot be correct; it if be a substantive, it ought to be *pairyaiti* or *pairiti*.]

pairikanâmcha, s. (gen. pl. of *pairika* "a fairy" with *cha*) and of fairies. 15, 12. 55, 17.

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1) The passage in which the word occurs, looks like a proverb. I propose the following translation: "he who belongs to two industrious people is of two parties". The meaning appears to be, that one cannot serve two masters.

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pairishtem, adj. (nom. sg. n.) well considered. 9, 3. 50, 10. [It is formed like a past part. from *pairish*, "round about", meaning "turned about", looked at, chiefly used of wood, if properly examined before it is thrown into the sacred fire.]

pairi-sachaiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *sach* "to pass" with *pairi*) it lasts 76, 23.

pairyêtê, v. (3 sg. pres. middle of *pere* "to destroy" instead of *pairyêitê*, see Vend. 4, 17. West.) is joined to *tanu*, meaning "he destroys his body, becomes a Tanâvanar". 37, 5. 73, 19.

paurva, adv. before. 1, 4. 45, 6.

paêsa, s. leprosy. 24, 5. 64, 10.

paouraya, adj. (instr. sg. f.) 7, 3. 48, 19. — *paourîm*, adj. (nom. sg. n.) first. 1, 4. 45, 6.

paourushagaonem, an adjectival compound (nom. sg. n.) grey hair. 6, 48, 12.

paosh, adj. rotten. 24, 9. 64, 16. [s. gen. sg. of a word *pu;* perhaps it stands for *paosha*.]

pañtañhem, s. (nom. sg. n.) a fifth part. 1, 7. 45, 11.

pañchadasa, num. fifteen. 39, 6. 74, 3.

pañchasata, num. five hundred. 24, 6. 64, 11.

pañchâstem, num. fifty. 24, 6. 64, 11.

patenta, v. it falls out. 16, 4. 56, 4. [pres. part. (nom. pl.) of *pat* "to fall".]

pathô, s. (gen. sg. acc. pl.) a path. 24, 8. 64, 15.

padhem, s. (nom. sg. n.) a foot. 41, 1. 74, 16.

pafraêta, s. paying of debts by instalments; happy, healthy. 60, 3. 74, 7. [It may be the past part. of an intensive of *pere* "to fill", meaning "completely fulfilled, discharged"; with reference to debts "paid off". *pa* may also stand for *upa*, and *fraêta* be derived from *frî*, *prî*, meaning "satisfaction".]

pura, prep. before. 76, 26. 77, 28.

para-sachaiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *sach* to pass with *para*) it lasts. 77, 26.

parâcha, adj. (instr. sg. of *para* another) on that side. 6, 4. 48, 8.

parata, s. asking. 24, 3. 64, 7.

paresu, s. (nom. sg.) the side. 10, 9. 51, 7.

parô, adv. before. 9, 11. 50, 19.

parâontyâo, s. (gen. sg. of *parâonti*) exhaling. 8, 2. 49, 13. [See *âontyâo*.]

parshva, s. snow. 19, 1. 58, 13.

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pashnem, s. (nom. sg. n.) eyelid. 8, 1. 49, 11.
pasânô, s. (nom. pl.) bosom. 10, 10. 51, 8.
pasu-vastrahê, adj. (gen. sg.) clothed in skins. 6, 9. 48, 13.
pasushurvân, s. (gen. sg.) a shepherd-dog. 40, 1. 74, 5.
pascha, adv. after, behind. 9, 12. 10, 1. 50, 19, 22. 76, 26.
paschaita, adv. (instead of *paschaêta*) afterwards. 78, 11.
pasvô, s. (nom. pl. of *pasu*) cattle. 39, 7. 74, 3.
pâiri, surrounding. 9, 13. 50, 22. [prep. instead of *pairi* round.]
pâta, (2 pl. imperat. act. of *pâ*) protect! 24, 4. 64, 9.
pâdha, s. a foot. 24, 4. 64, 9.
pâdhaṅuhañtem, adj. (acc. sg. m. of *pâdhaṅuhañt*) deserving rewards. 40, 1. 74, 5.
pârem, s. (nom. sg. n.) a debt. 24, 7. 40, 3. 64, 12. 74, 6.
pitum, s. and. adj. (acc. sg.) a father; bad. 24, 5. 64, 10. [The word cannot have both these meanings; in that of "father" the compiler confounded it with *pitar* which has this meaning. Whether it means "bad", or rather "badness", as it can be only a substontive, cannot be decided from the existing Zand texts, where *pitu*, means "nourishment"; but it is quite possible that it conveyed the sense of "badness" in passages which are now lost; compare *pejus* worse in Latin, *pîyati* "to scorn" in Vedic Sanscrit, see Rigv. 1, 147, 2.]
pukhdha, adj. fifth. 1, 7. 24, 6. 45, 11. 64, 11.
puthra, s. (nom. pl.) sons. 15, 8. 55, 12. — *puthrô*, s. (nom. sg.) a son. 16, 11. 57, 2.
pusăm, s. (acc. sg. f.) a crown. 24, 10. 64, 18.
peretush, s. (nom. sg. m.) a way, a channel. 24, 3. 64, 7.
perenâi, s. (dat. sg. of *perena*) a discussion. 24, 4. 64, 8.
perenâiu, s. (instead of *perenâyu*) a youth. 24, 4. 64, 8. — *perenâyu*, (nom. du.) two adults. 4, 5. 47, 8. — *perenâyunăm*, (gen. pl.) adults. 4, 6. 47, 8. — *perenâyush*, (nom. sg.) an adult. 4, 5. 47, 7.
perenâvayâo, s. blessings. 24, 9. 64, 15. [This meaning is very doubtful, as the word cannot be derived from *â-frî* "to bless" which the compiler appears to have done. It seems to be miswritten for *perenâyavâo* gen. du. of *perenâyu* "a youth".]
perenem, adj. (nom. sg. n.) full. 24, 3. 64, 7.
peremnâi, s. (dat. sg.) to an adversary. 13, 9. 53, 15. [pres. part. middle of *pere* "to fight".]

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peresâ, s. (nom. sg. f.) bridge. 14, 10. 55, 1. [*peresâ* is only the Persian pronunciation of the Bactrian *perethâ;* see note 1 on pag. 55; the translator has identified it with *perethu* "bridge", referring it to the bridge *Chinvaḍ* which separates heaven from hell. This interpretation is very doubtful, as *perethâ* is the nominative, and gives no good sense. I have explained it in my work on the Gâthas II pag. 163. as "fight, strife, war" to which interpretation I still adhere.]

peshotanush, s. (nom. sg. m.) a Tanâvanâr, a great sinner. 24, 8. 64, 13. — *peshôtanush*, s. (nom. sg. m.) 37, 4. 73, 19. [The correct form is *peshô-tanush* which is a Tatpurusha compound of *peshô*, instead of *peretô* "destroying" (the past part. being used in the sense of an active one) and *tanush* "body", the whole meaning "destroying the body" that is, suicide. It does, however, not necessarily imply the idea of suicide, but sins which are regarded as aggravating and great as the destruction of one's own life is according to the Zoroastrian religion.]

pouruyô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) first. 17, 2. 57, 5.

pourushaspô, s. (nom. sg. m.) Pourushasp, the father of Zoroaster. 15, 8. 55, 12.

pām, adj. (acc. sg. of *pâ*) protecting. 32, 6. 71, 17.

pāsanush, s. (nom. sg. m. instead of *pāñsush*) dust. 24, 8. 64, 15.

pāstahê, s. (gen. sg. m.) of the skin. 6, 9. 48, 12.

ptaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *pat* "to fall") he fell. 24, 9. 64, 16.

F (f).

fedhri, s. (log. sg. instead of *pitari* of *pitar*) a father. 26, 9. 66, 18.

fraiar, s. (instead of *frâyara*) forenoon. 42, 4. 75, 13.

frauâkhsh, s. (nom. sg.) horny substance. 10, 5. 51, 3.

fraêazaitê, v. will be born. 15, 4. 55, 7. [probably miswritten for *frayazaitê* 3 sg. pres. middle of *yaz*, "he prays", see note 4 on pag. 55.]

fraêshta, past part. (instr. sg. used in the sense of an adverb) abundantly. 26, 11. 66, 20.

frakârayôish, v. (2 sg. potent. act. of the causal of *kare*) thou shalt draw. 18, 8. 58, 4.

fragatôiḍ, s. (abl. sg. of *fragati*) beginning. 42, 11. 77, 4.

frajasaiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *jas* = *gachh* "to go" with *fra*) it begins. 76, 20. 77, 23.

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frazânaiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *zan* "to know" with *fra*) he discerns, decides. 17, 10. 57, 14.

frazdânaom, s. (acc. sg. of *frazdânu*), name of a river in Sejestân 17, 3. 57, 6.

fradathem, s. (nom. acc. sg. n.) prosperity. 13, 3. 53, 6. — *fradathâi*. (dat. sg.) for furthering. 26, 9. 66, 8.

frabaraitê, v. (3 sg. pres. middle of *bare* "to bring" with *fra*) he brings. 76, 25.

frabda, s. a bridge of foot from heel to toe, a foot's length. 11, 4. 52, 2.

frayarê, adv. tomorrow. 26, 10. 66, 19.

fravâkhsh, s. (nom. sg.) male organ of generation. 11, 1. 51, 13.

frashnem, s. (nom. sg. n.) testicles. 10, 12. 51, 11.

frasasta, past part. of *sǎs* "to praise" with *fra*, well-known. 26, 10. 67, 19.

frasyadhjaiti, s. name of a crime, the sin of driving another to desperation, or stabbing and wounding him. 35, 7. 73, 1. [It is a compound; *jaiti* means "striking, a blow"; *syadh* appears to mean "stabbing, piercing".]

frasrâvayêiti, v. (3 sg. pres act. of the causal of *sru* "to hear" with *fra*) he repeats, sings. 77, 29.

frâ, prep. (instead of *fra*). 14, 4. 54, 5.

frâtish, s. (nom. sg.) filling. 76, 20. [It is to be derived from *pere*, *pare* "to fill" with the suffix *ti*, being a contraction for *paratish*.]

frâraithya, part. fut. pass. (nom. pl. n.) they are to proceed. 13, 12. 53, 19. 54, 1. [It is to be traced to a denominative of *ratha* "carriage", meaning "to move".]

frârâdhân, s. (nom. sg.) little finger. 10, 4. 51, 2.

frim, s. (acc. sg. m. or. nom. n. of *frya* dear, beloved) a friend. 26, 9. 66, 18.

frǎs, adv. over. 26, 10. 66, 18.

fshu, adv. before. 19, 4. 59, 3. [This meaning appears to rest entirely on an identification with the Persian *pêsh* "before". The word is of frequent occurrence in the Zand texts at the end of compound words, meaning "increasing"; in some words it is a contraction of *pasu* "cattle".]

fshuta, s. cheese. 26, 11, 66, 20.

fshyô, adv. after. 19, 4. 59, 3. [This meaning is unknown in the existing

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Zand texts; it may be an adjectival from of *pas* behind, meaning "one who is behind".]

fshyô, s. (nom. sg.) milk. 26, 11. 66, 20. [This form is a correction from the *pashuyô* of the MSS.; it ought to be *fshuyô* meaning "what comes from cattle, cows" i. e. milk, *fshu* being a contraction of *pasu*.]

fshtâna, s. (nom. du.) the breast. 10, 6. 51, 4.

B (b).

baê, num. (instead of *duyê*) two. 28, 1. 67, 17.

baêshaza, s. (nom. pl. n.) health. 28, 1. 67, 16. [remedy, medicine.]

baodhaṅhô, s. (gen. abl. sg. n.) a seeker. 28, 5. 68, 3. [part of the soul, soul, life.]

baodhajaḍ, s. name of a crime. 32, 8. 72, 2. [It stands for *baodhô-jaiti* "the slaying of life", see note 1 on pag. 72.]

baodhô, s. (nom. sg. m.) life, soul. 28, 4. 68, 3. [scent, smell, *bûi* in Persian.]

baodhô-varshtahê, s. (gen. sg. of *baodhô-varshta*) capital punishment. 3, 3, 46, 25.

baodhô-varshtahê, (gen. sg.) name of a crime of murder for which the severest kind of capital punishment is awarded. 32, 8. 72, 2. [As to the etymology of this compound, the first part *baodhô* "soul" is clear; the second *varshta* cannot be taken as past part. of *varez* "to make, do", as it would give no sense; it is to be traced to the root *vraś'ch* "to tear", of which it can be a past. part; compare the forms fut. *vrashṭâ*, inf. *vrashṭum*, part. fut. pass. *vrashṭavyam* of this root in Sanscrit, *Pâṇini* 8, 2, 36. The whole compound thus means: the tearing of life (out of the body) which applies to a very severe kind of capital punishment, such as disembowelment, or cutting the body in pieces. That it clearly means the heaviest kind of punishment, follows from the passages of the Zand-avastâ where it is mentioned.]

baoshem, s. (nom. sg. n.) freedom. 28, 6. 68, 4.

bakhdhra, adj. uncastrated. 28, 3. 67, 18. [The word occurs in Vend. 19, 21. The readings of the MSS. differ; Westergaard has *bikhedhrem;* my Vendidâd Sâde fol. 228, a has *bakhedhrem*; my Pahlavî-Vendidâd reads as West. does; the Vend. Sade published in Bombay in 1232 Yazdagird, has *bakhdharem*. The Pahlavî translation has which must be read *bakhdarah*, as is only *b*; my Pahlavî-Persian

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Vendidâd which has been copied from a Surat MS. reads it *bâkhtah* and translates it by *bî koftah* not bruised, i. e. uncastrated. The reading *bikhedhrem* appears to owe its origin to etymology; the first part *ba* having been taken as *bi* = *vi* "without". Although the meaning "uncastrated, not gelded" is on the whole undoubtedly correct, the form *bikhedhrem* is hardly the right one; I prefer *bakhdhra*, or *bakhdhar* which was simply an expression for the male, the bull.]

bakhshaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. of *bakhsh* "to make a present") he may grant. 13, 3. 53, 6.

bagha, s. (nom. pl. m. or n.) a lot. 28, 2. 67, 17.

bañtâo, adj. (nom. pl. f.) sick. 28, 3. 68, 2.

bañdâo, s. (nom. pl. f.) a tie. 28, 3. 68, 1.

baraitê, v. (3 du. pres. middle of *bere*, *bare* "to bring") they (two) bring. 14, 6. 54, 8.

bareta, *bereta*, past. part. of two roots 1. *bare* = Sanscrit *bhṛi* "to bring"; 2. *bare* = S. *hṛi* "to take"; e. g. *yasôbereta* "taken under prayer".

baretăm, past. part. of *bere*. 16, 8. 56, 32.; see *ava-baretăm*.

barethra, s. (nom. sg. f.) a pregnant woman. 28, 4. 68, 2. [The form is uncommon; it appears to stand for *barethri*; very probably it is only a clerical error.]

barethri, s. (nom. sg. f.) a pregnant woman. 5, 3. 47, 20.

barozhdahum, s. (nom. sg. n.) upper part of the side. 10, 9. 51, 8.

bashi, s. (nom. sg.) a cucumber. 28, 6. 68, 6.

bâzava, s. (nom. pl. of *bâzu*) arms. 10, 2. 50, 25.

bâdha, adv. always. 28, 2. 67, 17.

bâmanyâo, adj. (gen. du. of *bâmani*) wide. 18, 5. 57, 18. [See note 3 on pagg. 57. 58.]

bâmya, adj. splendid; spacious. 6, 3. 48, 6. [See note 2 on pag. 48.]

bitim, adj. (nom. sg. n., instead of *bitîm*) second. 1, 5. 45, 7.

bipithwô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) having two times, stations. 38, 6. [See note 2 on pag. 73.]

bîsh-aêtavaḍ, adv. twice as much. 41, 8, 10. 75, 6, 8.

bishish-framâtô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a well-experienced doctor. 28, 5. 68, 4. [*bishish* appears to be only the old Persian form of the Zand *baêsh-aza*, meaning "medicine"; *framâtô* is past part. (nom. sg. m.) of the root *mâ* with *fra*, and has the same meaning as *âmâta* "experienced".]

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buji, adj. liberated. 28, 6. 68, 5.

bunem, s. (nom. sg. n.) bottom. 12, 10. 53, 1.

buyâd, v. (3 sg. precat. act.) may he be! 28, 2. 67, 18.

berezata (vacha), adj. (instr. sg. of *berezat* "high, loud") a loud voice. 8, 10. 50, 5. [with a loud voice.]

beretâbyô, past part. (dat. pl. f. of *bereta*) to those (waters) which have been taken. 16, 12. 57, 3. — *beretâo,* nom. acc. pl. f. 30, 8. 70, 1.

bâthro, adj. (nom. sg. m.) difficult. 28, 7. 68, 6.

byaṅha, s. (instr. sg.) fear. 28, 4. 68, 2.

bvaḍ, v. (3 sg. pres. subjunct. act. of *bû* "to be") it will be. 11, 11. 52, 11. [on the meaning as future, see my Essays pag. 82.]

M (m).

maitê, s. (nom. sg. instead of *maiti*) a measure. 19, 6. 59, 7.

maidhyâi, adj. (dat. sg. of *maidhya,* middle) to the middle. 77, 25. — *maidhyâḍ,* (abl. sg.) 78, 12.

mainyûcha, s. (nom. du., or acc. pl. of *mainyu* with *cha*) in connection with *spentô-mainyu,* the name of the third Gâtha, meaning "the verses beginning with *Spentô-mainyu*". 78, 9.

maêsma, s. (nom. sg. of *maêsman*) urine. 11, 1. 51, 14.

makhshi, s. (nom. sg.) a fly. 25, 7. 65, 12.

magha, s. a bachelor. 25, 4. 65, 6. [See note 2 on pag. 65.]

maghem, s. (nom. sg. n.) a stone to sit upon, when undergoing the great purification ceremony which lasts for nine nights. 25, 7. 65, 10.

maghna, adj. naked. 25, 7. 65, 10.

mazaṅhô, s. (gen. sg. of *mazaṅh* "largness, greatness") see *virô-mazaṅhô.* 16, 3. 56, 1.

mazgemcha, s. (nom. sg. n. of *mazga* with *cha*) and the brain. 11, 6. 5, 25.

mazdayasnô, adj. s. (nom. sg. m.) worshipping Mazda, a worshipper of Ormazd. 25, 4. 65, 6.

mazdâi, s. (dat. sg.) Ahura-mazda, Ormazd, the name of God. 32, 6. 71, 17. — *mazdâo,* s. (nom. sg.) 13, 3. 16, 11. 38, 6. 53, 6. 57, 2.

mañtâ, s. receiving. 17, 2. 57, 5. [a noun, denoting the doer, to be derived from *man* "to think", meaning "the thinker"; see note 2 on pag. 57.]

maḍ, prep. with. 25, 1. 65, 2.

madhu, s. (nom. sg. n.) wine. 25, 6. 65, 8.

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madhmyêhê, adj. s. (gen. sg. of *madhmya* "middle") middle, the middle. 12, 8. 52, 23.

manôthri, s. (nom. sg. f.) neck. 10, 2. 50, 25.

mayaḍ, s. destruction. 19, 6. 59, 7. [As to its form, it is the pres. part. n. of *mî* "to destroy" which has the same meaning in Sanscrit.]

mayâo, s. cohabitation. 25, 3. 65, 5. [This meaning appears to rest principally on the word *stryômayâo* Afrig. 1, 4. which is interpreted by the Desturs as "cohabiting with women". There is some ground for this meaning, as the modern Persian *mâyeh* "origin" is either identical, or closely related to it. See more about it in my Gâthas I. pag. 206.]

marata, s. Gayomard. 15, 1. 55, 3. [See *gayêhê marata* pag. 91.]

mashyô, s. (nom. sg. m.) man, mankind. 9, 5. 25, 4. 50, 12. 65, 7.

mas, adv. (instead of *maz* "greatly") much. 25, 2. 65, 5.

masô, s. the latter part of the compound *mushta-masô*. 10, 4. 51, 1.

masâo, s. (nom. pl. f.) greatness, value. 39, 7. 74, 3. [It forms part of the compound *sraoni-masâo* having the value, or greatness of a sraoni; see note 1 on pag. 74, and *sraoni*.]

mastraghnaya, or *mastrahnya*, s. (instr. sg. f. of *mastraghna*, or *mastraghni* skull) on the skull. 7, 2. 3. 4. 48, 17, 20. — *mastraghnām*, (acc. sg.) 7, 6. 48, 25. the skull. [The meaning is undoubtedly correct; but it is difficult to reconcile it with the obvious etymology of the word which is composed of *mastra*, and *ghna* "beating, striking"; *mastra* is identical with the Sanscrit *masta*, *mastaka*; it thus means "striking the head"; how can this term be applied to the head? One may think of the brain; but the expression would not be very appropriate, as the brain does not strike the skull, and moreover there is another term used for it in Zand, viz. *mazga*, Persian *mazg*. It very likely refers to the bones of the neck which are in contact with the skull; see *mastravanām*.]

mastravanām, s. (gen. pl. of *mastravan*) the skull. 7, 6. 48, 24. [It is evidently only miswritten or mispronounced for *mastraghanām*, gen. pl. of *mastraghan*, *mastraghna*, which appears to signify not simply the skull, but its bones and those closely connected with it. The same word is *mastarēghanascha* Yt. 10, 72. where *mastraghanascha* should be read.]

masyaṅhô, adj. (nom. pl. m. of the comparative *masyô* = *mazyô* of *maz* "great") greater. 6, 12. 48, 16.

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mâ, adv. (prohibitive particle) not. 19, 6. 59, 8.

mâaḍ, adv. together with; not. 3, 2. 46, 22. [When it means "together", it is only a lengthy pronunciation of *maḍ* "with"; when it is a negative, it is a contraction of *mâ* "not", and *âd* "thus, so".]

mâi, s. measure. 19, 8. 59, 10. [perhaps for *mâya*.]

mâiaṅuhê, s. measure. 19, 8. 59, 11. [It is either the dat. sg. of a noun *mâyaṅh*, or 2 sg. imperat. middle of *mâ* "to measure" instead of *mâyaṅuha*. The first explanation is probably the correct one; it thus means "for measuring".]

mâta, s. (nom. sg.) a mother; measure. 5, 5. 19, 9. 47, 22. 59, 12.

mithôsâst, s. (nom. sg., instead of *mithô-sâsti*) name of a crime, false teaching, giving wrong instruction. 35, 1. 72, 17. [*mithô* adv. falsely, wrongly, *sâsti*, s. of *sâs* "to teach", doctrine.]

mithwa, adj. mingled. 25, 1. 65. 2 [s. joining, a pair.]

mimarô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a reciter. 25, 3. 65, 5. [It is an intensive formation of the root *mar* "to repeat, count", meaning one who constantly repeats, recites prayers.]

muthrem, s. (nom. sg. n., instead of *mûthrem*) urine. 25, 6. 65, 9.

murâ, s. (nom. sg. f.) the belly. 25, 5. 65, 8. [See note 3 on pag. 67. The meaning is very doubtful.]

mushta-masô, adj. (nom. sg.) handful. 10, 3. 51, 1. [*mushta* = *mushṭi* the fist.]

mustemeshô, s. (nom. sg.) myrtle. 25, 2. 65, 4.

mezhdem, s. (nom. sg. n., instead of *mîzhdem*) reward. 25, 5. 65, 9.

merekhsh, s. destruction. 58, 8. 65, 12. [In the shape mentioned it is only the root, meaning "to destroy"; the substantive which the compiler had in view, may have been *merekhsha*.]

merezânâi, s. the belly. 25, 5. 65, 8. [The meaning is not distinctly stated; see note 3 on pag. 65; it is clearly traceable to the root *merez* "to wipe off, take off". It appears to be the name of some object, perhaps that of a broom.]

merezu, s. (nom. sg.) a boundary. 25, 1. 65, 2.

mê, pers. pr. (gen. dat sg.) of me, to me. 14, 4. 54, 5.

moshu, adv. quickly, at once. 25, 1. 65, 3.

mâo, s. (nom. sg.) the moon; measure, appropriate. 19, 7. 59, 8. [The author takes the suffix *mâo*, nom. sg. m. of *man*, *mant* in the meaning of "appropriate" which is, however, erroneous. In this sense it means only "endowed with".]

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mām, pers. pr. (acc. of *azem*, I) I, me 19, 6. 25, 3. 59, 7. 65, 5.

myaêshi, s. making water. 25, 6. 65, 9. [This meaning is either wrong, or the word is miswritten, or mispronounced. If it means "making water", it can be only traced to *miz* = *mih* in Sanscrit "to make water"; then we ought to expect *maêza* or *maêzi*. I am inclined to take it as a verb 2 sg. pres. potent middle of a root *mi*, standing for *mayaêsha*.]

mraoḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *mru* "to speak") he said. 9, 7. 50, 14.

mravaḍ, v. (3 sg. subjunct. act.) he may say. 9, 7. 50, 15.

mru, v. (2 sg. imperat. act.) speak! 9, 8. 50, 16.

mruta, adj. injured. 25, 5. 65, 7. [I cannot trace it to any root which can convey such a sense. It is miswritten or mispronounced. The Pahlavî has *mûda;* the original Zand may have been *mûta*, of the root *mû* "to fasten" in Sanscrit which is preserved in *amuyamna* "inviolable".]

Y (y).

yaêtatare, v. (3 du. perf. act. of *yat*) it is procurable. 16, 10. 56, 11. [See note 3 on pag. 56.]

yaêtush, v. has come. 16, 6. 56, 5. [See on the form and meaning note 1 on pag. 56; "aspiring after".]

yaêtushâḍa, adj. one who is capable of speaking and hearing 40, 9. 74, 12. [It appears to be an abl. of *yaêtush*, standing for *yaêtushâḍ*.]

yaêshenta, pres. part. of *yaêsh* "to seeth" (nom. pl. n.) seething. 16, 4. 56, 4.

yaoshchini, adj. fortunate. 16, 7. 56, 7. [The form is somewhat doubtful; instead of *yaoshchini*, *yaoshchina* is to be read, as *china* is now and then used as an enclitic, just as the Sanscrit *chana*, generalising the meaning; *yaosh* = *yos* "fortune, prosperity" of the Vêdas is known form the Gâthas Yas. 44, 9. (see my article in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlændischen Gesellschaft vol. VIII, pagg. 740—43), and forms part of the well-known verb *yaozh-dâ* which is generally interpreted as "to purify", a meaning which appears to be only a derived one. *yaoshchina* may be, however, incorrect, and the correct reading may be *yazaoschina* (gen. sg. of *yazu* "sublime, high" see my Gâthas I, pagg. 137. 138.), as we find Yt. 24, 48. West. *yazaoischina* (my MS. of the Vîstâsp Nosk has *yazaôischina*). I prefer *yazaoschina*, as the sense "all that is high, sublime" agrees better

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with the adjective *sûrahê* "heroic, victorious", than with *yaosh* "fortune, prosperity".]

yakhshtischa, s. (nom. sg. with *cha*) and a twig. 16, 8. 56, 8.

yazaêsha, adv. if. 16, 12. 57, 2. [This is a mistake; it is a verb 2 sg. potent. middle of *yaz*, "thou shalt worship"; see note 1 on pag. 57.]

yazâi, v. (1 sg. subjunct. middle of *yaz* "to worship") I pray. 17, 3. 57, 6.

yazush, adj. (nom. sg. m.) sublime. 16, 11. 57, 1.

yatha, adv. as; so much; as much; just as. 9, 6. 12, 7, 8, 9. 41, 6. 50, 12. 52, 21, 22. 53, 1. 75, 4. 76, 29.

yathacha, adv. and thus. 13, 5. 53, 8.

yathâ, adv. (Gâtha form) thus. 12, 5. 52, 20.

yathra, adv. where. 13, 3. 53, 6.

yathrâ, adv. where. 12, 11. 13, 2. 53, 3. 5.

yaḍ, relat. pr. which. 11, 12. 52, 12. 76, 29.

yayata, v. (3 sg. potent. act. of *yat*) it may pass. 16, 8. 16, 10. [3 sg. perf. of *yat* to move, make exertions.]

yava, s. reckoning of a period. 15, 2. 55, 5. [It is either instr. sg., or nom. pl.; the latter suits best the sene of the passage where it occurs, *yava aêtê aṅhem zarathustra* "these were the periods, o Zoroaster". In the passages of the existing Zand texts is is better taken as an instr. sg. in the sense of an adverb "ever".]

yavaêcha, s. (dat. sg. of *yava* "duration") for ever. 17, 6, 57, 9.

yavaêtâtaêcha, adv. and for ever. 17, 6. 57, 9. [The Pahlavî translator takes it as consisting of two words *yavaê*, "always, ever", and *tâtaê* "going on". Grammatically it is the dat. of an abstract noun *yavaêtât* "eternity, duration", meaning "for ever, for all time".]

yavata, adj. (instr. sg. of *yavant* "how long", and *yavan* = *yuvan* "young") for how long a time; young. 41, 12. 15, 1. 55, 3.

yavaḍ, adv. as much. 14, 8. 41, 8, 11. 54, 10. 75, 6, 8.

yavahê, s. (gen. sg. of *yava* grain) of grain. 17, 3. 57, 5.

yavâkem, pers. pr. (gen. du. of *tûm* thou) of you two. 3, 9. 46, 33.

yavê, s. (instead of *yavâi*) for all time, eternity. 11, 12. 52, 12.

yashtâ, s. receiving. 17, 1. 57, 4. [It is a contraction of *yas* relat. pr., and *tâ* dem. pr.; see note 2 on pag. 57, and also my Gâthas I, pag. 132.]

yasô, which has come. 16, 12. 57, 3. [The Pahlavî translator derives it from a root *yas* to which he attributes the meaning "to come" which

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has no foundation whatsoever. It is a noun, occurring in the compound *yasô-bereta* which is applied to the *zaothra* i. e. holy-water, and means "taken (not "brought") under prayer, with prayer", *yasô* standing in this compound for the instr.]

yasnemcha, s. (acc. sg. with *cha* of *yasna*) praise. 17, 4. 57, 7.

yâ, rel. pr. (nom. sg. f. du. m.) who, which. 14, 5, 6. 54, 7.

yâkare, s. (nom. sg. n.) the liver. 10, 10. 51, 9.

yâtukhta, s. name of a crime, threatening to kill another by sorcery. 34, 3. 72, 10. [a spell, spoken by a sorcerer; *yâtu* "a sorcerer, and *ukhta* "spoken".]

yâtumeñta, s. a sorcerer. 30, 9. 70, 3. [adj. nom. pl. n., endowed with sorcery, witchcraft.]

yâtem, s. (nom. sg. n.) a share, fortune; sorcery. 15, 11. 55, 15, 16. [In the sense of "sorcery" it stands very likely for *yâtum* which has that meaning.]

yâthwām, s. (gen. pl. of *yâtu* a sorcerer) of sorcerers. 15, 12. 55, 17.

yâmēñg, adj. all, the whole. 14, 10. 54, 11. [This is a mistake. The reading is very doubtful. Westergaard reads *yâ mēñg* Yas. 48, 2. whence the quotation is taken. If the reading *yâmēñg* be correct, it would be the accus. pl. of *yâma;* if *yâ mēñg* be right, the first is the instr. sg. of the relat. pronoun, and *mēñg* a corruption of *manaṅh* "mind"; see my Gâthas II, pag. 163.]

yâre, s. (nom. sg. m.) a year. 16, 3. 56, 1. [The traditional explanation of this word by "year" which has been followed by all European interpreters is hardly correct. If we closely examine such passages as Yas. 1, 9. Visp. 1, 2., where the invocation of the *yâirya ratavô* i. e. the masters of a *yâre*, is followed by an enumeration of the six Gahânbârs or seasons, we have all reason to conclude that it means a season, a period of about two months, and not a year; *yâre-drâjô* during a season.]

yâskerestemem, adj. (nom. sg. n. of *yâskerestema*, superlative of *yâskeret* "active, energetic") most efficacious. 16, 1. 55, 18.

yijaiastish, s. (nom. sg.) name of a measure. 41, 8. 75, 6.

yukhta, past. part. of *yuj* "to join" (nom. pl.) joined; strong. 15, 8, 9. 55, 12, 13.

yujiti, v. (instead of *yujêiñti* 3 pl. pres. act. of *yuj*) they are industrious. 15, 8. 55, 12.

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yûzhem, pers. pr. you. 15, 7. 55, 11.

yûshmâkem, pers. pr. (gen. pl.) of you. 3, 9. 15, 7. 46, 33. 55, 11.

yê, relat. pr. (nom. sg. m. Gâtha form) who, which. 13, 6, 7. 53, 10, 13.

yêzi, conj. if. 77, 28.

yêdhi, conj. (the same as *yêzi*) if. 16, 10. 56, 11.

yêhyâ, relat. pr. (gen. sg. m., Gâtha form) that. 14, 7. 54, 9. [whose.]

yoishtô, adv. the less. 15, 4. 55, 7. [The meaning is very doubtful; but it is difficult to find out a better one. As *hvoishtô* is its correlate, both may mean "the less, the more"; but it cannot be proved. I take it as a contraction of *yô ishtô* "who is wishing, or wished for".]

yokhshtayô, s. (nom. pl. *yokhshti* means, power). 16, 7. 56, 32. [Te word is not translated in the Pahlavî.]

yoghedha, s. (instr. sg.) by joining. 15, 4. 55, 7.

yozhdanahê, s. (gen. sg.) for shaving. 16, 9. 56, 11. [*yozhdana* "cleaning"; *yozhdanahê dâra* a razor.]

yô, relat. pr. (nom. sg. m.) who, which, what. 7, 1, 3, 6. 13, 8. 14, 3. 15, 7. 17, 10. 48, 17, 19, 25. 53, 11, 15. 54, 4, 5. 55, 11. 57, 13. 76, 25.

yôi, relat. pr. (nom. pl. m.) who, which. 15, 8. 55, 12.

yâo, relat. pr. (nom. pl. f.) 78, 12.

R (r).

raêrê, adj. generous. 28, 8. 68, 9.

raêva, adj. (nom. sg.) splendid. 28, 8. 68, 8.

raochaṅhem, s. light. 28, 10. 68, 11. [adj. acc. sg. m. of *raochaṅha, raochâo* "having light, shining"; the compiler confounded it with the substantive *raochaṅh* "light, splendour".]

raochaṅhăm-fragatôiḍ, the fourth quarter of the night, when light and dawn commence. 42, 11. 77, 4. [literally, "from the beginning of the lights"; *raochaṅhăm* gen. pl. of *raochaṅh* light.]

raodhaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *rudh* to grow) he grew up. 28, 8. 68, 10.

razô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) decorated. 28, 9. 68, 9. [It stands perhaps for *râza,* at the end of compound words, meaning, "arranging, adjusting".]

ratufrish, s. (nom. sg. m. instead of *ratufritish,* as the word is written in the Zand-avasta) satisfaction of the heads of creation by invoking them. 77, 22. [This is a very remarkable word, as it furnishes among many others a very decisive proof of the close connection which the

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ceremonies and prayer formulas of the Zoroastrian creed have with those of the Brahmans as shown in the Vedas. For *ratu* is, as to its origin, identical with the Sanscrit *ṛitu* "a season", but is used in a far more comprehensive sense, signifying not only the six Gahânbârs which correspond to the six seasons of the Hindus, but the parts of the day also, as well as any other regular period, and even any being of the visible and invisible world, under whose rule a certain class of creatures of a cognate nature are supposed to stand, in which sense it is best translated by "head, chief", the seasons under whose influence all beings are, being taken as the principal heads of creation. *friti* is completely identical with the Sanscrit *prîti*. Now at all the so-called *Ishṭis* (i. e. the minor sacrifices, exclusive of the Soma sacrifices of which they form only part) the *Yajamâna* i. e. the man in whose favour the sacrifice is brought has to repeat, after the performance of each of the five *Prayâjas* (see my *Aitareya Brâhmaṇam* II, pag. 18, note 12.), a *mantra* in which the words *ṛitu* and *prîṇâti*, *prîtaḥ* etc. occur. The first is as follows: *vasantam ṛitûnâm prîṇâmi, sa mâ prîtaḥ prîṇâtu* i. e. among the seasons I please the spring; may he, pleased, please me (also)! The same formula is applied only with the change of the name to the other seasons, *śiśira* and *hemanta* being taken as one; see the *Saṁhitâ of the Black-Yajurveda* 1, 6, 2, 3. (I, pag. 859 ed. Cowell). The *ṛitus* are regarded as the deities which occupy the objects of the Prayâjas.]

ratubya, s. (dat. du. of *ratu*) for both chiefs. 13, 12. 53, 19.

rathwya, adj. (nom. pl. n.) seasonable, in proper manner. 13, 12. 53, 19.

— *rathwyâo*, (nom. pl. f.) 9, 2. 50, 9.

rafnē, s. (nom. sg. n.) pleasure. 28, 8. 68, 8.

râjîm, s. (acc. sg.) a wound. 28, 9. 68, 10.

râzām, adj. (acc. sg. f.) of *râza*, arranging. 18, 6. 58, 1.

râna, s. thigh. 11, 3. 51, 15.

râshtem, past. part. of *râz* (nom. sg. n.) just. 28, 9. 68, 10.

V (v).

va, num. (nom. acc. du. m.) two. 2, 6. 46, 12.

vaiĉ, (nom. acc. du. f.) two. 2, 6. 46, 12.

vaikayô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a witness. 22, 5. 62, 12.

vaitĉ, adj. hidden. 23, 7. 63, 15. [I doubt very much the existeuce of

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such a word; it appears to be the dat. of the suffix *vat*, *vant*, to which some interpreters might have attributed the sense indicated.]

vaidhim, s. (nom .sg. n.) knowledge. 23, 1. 63, 6.

vairyān, adj. (acc. pl. m.) the Ahuna vairya prayers (see *ahunāscha*), 77, 29.

vaibya, (dat. instr. du.) to two, both. 2, 6. 46, 13.

vaêijô, adj. (nom. sg.) pure. 23, 6. 63, 14.

vaêdhayama, (1 pl. imperat. act. of the causative of *vid* "to know") let us invite. 22, 11. 63, 2.

vaêdhâ, v. (3 sg. perf. of *vid*) he knows. 12, 5. 52, 20.

vaênaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. conjunct. of *vaên* "to see") he should see. 22, 12. 63, 3.

vaêm, pers. pr. (nom. pl. of *azem* I) we. 22, 11. 63, 2.

vaohkhtê, v. (instead of *aokhtê* 3 sg. pers. middle of the root *vach* "to speak") he speaks. 22, 3. 62, 8.

vaākrem, adj. (nom. sg. n.) very brave, or round. 22, 6. 62, 14.

vakāuvarôish, s. (gen. sg. of *vakāuvari* which stands probably for *vākravari* "a crooked stream, canal") a meandering stream. 22, 9. 62, 19.

vakhshaṅha, s. (instr. sg. of *vakhshaṅh*, nom. *vakhshô*) through salutary speech. 8, 12. 50, 7.

vakhshâḍ, abl. sg. see *hû-vakhshâḍ*, 76, 23, 27.

vaghdhanem, s. (nom. sg. n.) the head. 7, 4. 10, 1. 12, 8. 48, 22, 23. 50, 23. 52, 23.

vaṅri, s. (nom. sg.) spring. 23, 7. 63, 15.

vaṅhânô, adj. (nom. plur. m. of *vaṅhan* "being good") good men 23, 7. 63, 14.

vaṅhuûnâm, (gen. pl. f. of *vohu* "good") good. 76, 20.

vaṅhô, (nom. sg. n. of the comparative of *vohu*) better. 76, 28.

vaṅhām, (acc. sg. f. of *vaṅhâ*) spinal marrow. 10, 8. 51, 7.

vaṅhâo, adj. (nom. sg. m. of the comparative of *vohu* good) better, a better man. 9, 5. 50, 12.

vacha, s. (instr. sg., or nom. pl. n.) utterance, a word. 8, 5, 11, 12. 22, 7. 49, 17. 50, 5, 7. 62, 16.

vacha, num. (instead of *dva*) and two, either. 2, 10. 17, 5. 46, 19. 57, 18.

vachastishtem, s. (acc. sg. n. instead of *vachastashtem*) according to the sentences, verse lines. 78, 9.

vachahim, 43, 4. 78, 4.; see *thrivachahim*.

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vachâo, s. (nom. pl.) words. 8, 9, 10. 9, 6, 9. 50, 4, 5, 13, 17.

vadhairayosh, s. (gen. sg.) a brook. 22, 9. 62, 18. [The meaning is very doubtful; see note 5 on pag. 62.]

vadhagha, s. (nom. sg.) a tyrant, an appellation of Zohâk. 22, 12. 63, 3. [Vend. 19, 6. *vadhaghanô daṅhupaitish*.]

vana, s. (nom. sg. f.) tree, forest. 22, 4. 62, 9.

vanaitê, v. (3 sg. pres. subjunct. middle) he will lessen. 22, 4. 62, 9. [3 pres. indic. he lessens, destroys.]

vanaêmâ, v. (3 pl. potent. act. of *van* "to slay, destroy") we may slay. 14, 7. 54, 9.

vanatâm, s. a diminisher. 12, 4. 62, 10. [pres. part. (gen. pl.) of *van* "to destroy", meaning "of those who are destroying, of the destroyers".]

vanare, adj. or s. (nom. sg. n.) well-informed; a particular animal dragging dead bodies. 22, 6. 62, 13. [See note 3 on pag. 62.]

vanta, adj. (nom. sg. f.) virtuous, if said of a woman. 4, 10. 47, 15. — *vantañam*, (gen. pl.) virtuous women. 4, 10. 47, 16. — *vantâhva*, (loc. pl.) virtuous women. 4, 10. 47, 16.

vafra, s. (instr. sg.) snow. 22, 3. 62, 8.

vayô, num. (loc. du. of *dva*) in both, in two. 2, 8. 46, 15.

vayô, s. (nom. sg. m.) dispute, case. 43, 10. 79, 4. [See note 1 on pag. 79.]

vayâo, num. (gen. du. of *va*, *dva* "two") of both. 2, 9. 46, 16.

vayâoschid, num. (gen. du. of *va*, *dva* with *chid*) of all two. 2, 9. 10, 46. 17, 18.

varanava, s. a fall. 22, 12. 63, 4.

varascha, s. (nom. acc. n. with *cha*) and a board. 13, 11. 53, 18. [See note 2 pagg. 53. 54.]

vareina, s. a small bag, in which medicines are put. 23, 1. 63, 4. [See note 1 on pag. 63.]

varekahê, s. (gen. sg. m.) of a leaf. 22, 6. 62, 13.

varechâo, s. (nom. sg. m.) discerning, a discriminator. 22, 7. 62, 15.

varetata, s. surrounding. 23, 5. 63, 12. [3 sg. imperf. middle of *varet* = Sanscrit *vṛit* "to turn", he turned.]

varethra, adj. (instr. sg., or nom. pl. n., instead of *verethra*) victorious. 22, 7. 62, 16. [s. victory; see my Gâthas II, pagg. 105. 106.]

varedha, s. fatness. 11, 7. 52, 6.

varedhaya, s. growth. 22, 10. 62, 19. [2 sg. imperat. of the causal of *varedh* "to grow", meaning "make grow".]

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varemanô, s. rule. 12, 2. 52, 15. [pres. part. middle (nom. sg. m.) of *vare* "to choose", meaning "being chosen". It refers to the horse which is to be presented to a governor, or king.]

vareshtahê, 3, 4. 46, 25.; see *varshtahê*.

vareshyo, s. heroism. 22, 10. 63, 2. [As to the form, it appears to be a part. fut. pass. (nom. sg. m.) of *varez* "to work" meaning "one who has to work".]

varô, s. (nom. sg.) the bosom. 10, 5. 51, 3.

varô, s. (nom. sg.) an excavation. 22, 10. 63, 1.

varto, past part. or adj. (nom. sg.) beautiful. 23, 5. 63, 12. [The MSS. have *varto* which is miswritten for *vartô*.]

varshtahê, past part. of *varch* = *vrasch* "to tear" (gen. sg.) 32, 8. 72, 2.; see *baodhô-varshtahê*.

varsa, s. (instr. sg., nom. pl.) hair of the head. 6, 7. 58, 10.

vavakhdha, v. (3 sg. reduplicated aorist, middle of *vach* "to speak") said. 23, 6. 63, 14.

vavachata, v. he makes. 52, 2. 65, 4. [3 sg. subjunct. aor. of *vach* "to speak".]

vavâstrinâm, s. (gen. pl. of *vavâstri*) an agriculturist. 40, 5. 74, 9.

vasô-khshathrăm, s. (acc. sg. f.) attainment of one's desires. 11, 8. 52, 7. [*vasô*, *vasaṅh* desire, wish.]

vastarem, s. (nom. acc. sg. n. instead of *vastrem*) cloth, dress. 76, 30. — *vastra*, s. (nom. pl. n.) clothes. 22, 1. 62, 6. — *vastrâd*, abl. sg. a dress. 18, 5. 57, 18. — *vastrahê*, gen. sg. 6, 9. 48, 13.

vasmi, s. desire. 22, 1. 62, 6. [1 sg. pres. act. of *vâs* "to wish", I wish.]

vahishtahê. gen. sg. 14, 1. 54, 1. — *vahishtem*, adj. (nom. acc. sg. n. of *vahishta*, superlative of *vohu* good) best. 23, 2. 63, 7. 78, 9.

vahmâi, s. (dat. sg.) prayer. 22, 1. 62, 6. [Literally *goodness*, being of the same root as *vohu* "good" instead of *vahu*, Sanscrit *vasu*.] — *vahmemcha*, s. (acc. sg. m. with *cha*) and prayer. 17, 5. 57, 7.

vâ, conj. either, or. 12, 5. 61, 6. 52, 20. 47, 4.

vâiti, s. name of a crime, persuing another with malicious intent. 34, 6. 72, 14.

vâkhsh, s. (nom. sg. f.) voice. 8, 5. 8, 11. 49, 17. 50, 2, 6.

vâkhsh-beretibyô, s. bringing, or taking speech. 9, 1. 50, 8. [dat. pl. of *bereti* "bringing", or "taking", derived from *bare*, *bere* by means of the sflix *ti*. It is a Tatpurusha compound, meaning "the taking of

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speech (the *vâch* of the Vedas, *bâj* in Pârsi) at the beginning of ceremonies. In Gujaratî it is called *bâj levâvî* "the taking of bâj" which is done by the repetition of an introductory formula, after which nothing alien to the prayer which is repeated, or the rite which is performed, is allowed to be spoken, or done, before the prayer or ceremony is over, after which the *bâj* is set free, which is called *bâj chhoḍâvî*, the liberating, dismission of the *bâj*. Compare the sacrificial custom of the Brahmans in this respect, Aitareya Brâhmanam 2, 21.; pag. 119 of my translation.]

vâchem, s. (acc. sg. f. of *vâch* voice, speech; sin. 22, 8. 62, 6.

vâtem, s. (nom. sg. n.) air. 22, 8. 62, 7.

vâraiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *vâr*) it should rain. 22, 10. 63, 1. [It is a deminutive of *vâra* rain; on the different meanings of this word see my Gâthas 1, pagg. 190—92.]

vârethraghnibyô, adj. (dat. pl. f. of *varethraghni*) victorious. 9, 1. 50, 8.

vâstrayaṅhva, s. agriculture. 24, 1. 63, 6. [It looks like a loc. pl. of *vâstrya*, an agriculturist.]

viusaiti, s. rising. 22, 5. 62, 11. [loc. sg. of the pres. part. *us* "to shine", + *vi*, meaning "in rising", "when it rises".]

vicha, adv. without. 23, 6. 63, 13.

vichidârô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a reciter of Gâthâs. 23, 5. 63, 13. [Either the form, or the meaning which is given here, is incorrect. If the form be correct, the word cannot mean "reciter", as the only root to which it could be traced, would be *vach* "to speak", and not *vich*. The original form appears to be *vachitârô* nom. pl. of *vachitar* "a speaker, reciter".]

vizuta, s. trade. 40, 4. 78, 8.

viñdaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *viñd* "to obtain") may he obtain. 22, 2. 62, 7. [he obtained.]

vitasti, s. (nom. sg.) a span. 22, 2. 41, 1. 62, 8. 74, 17.

vidush, part. perf. act. of *vid* "to know" (nom. sg.) knowing. 22, 2. 62, 7.

vidhava, s. (nom. sg. f.) a widow. 5, 3. 47, 20.

vidhu, s. (nom. sg.) a widom. 5, 3. 47, 20.

virô, s. (nom. sg. m.) in the compound *viro-mazaṇhô*. 16, 3. 56, 1. (instead of *vîrô-mazaṅhô* gen. sg. of *mazaṇh* greatness) of the value of a male, slave or bride; it is the name of one of the *mithras*, i. e. promises, contracts; see Vend. 4, 4.

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vivishdâtô, past part. (nom. sg. m.) competent, having knowledge. 17, 9. 57, 12.

vishâpahê, adj. (gen. sg.) water-poisoning. 76, 29. [literally "having poison water".]

visê, v. (3 pl. potent. of *vis* "to accept") they may accept. 21, 11. 62, 6. [1 sg. pres. middle, I obey, accept.]

visô, s. (gen. sg. of *vis*, or nom. pl.) an abode. 21, 11. 62, 5.

vistê, adj ugly. 21, 11. 62, 5.

vispacha, adj. (nom. pl. n. with *cha* instead of *vîspacha*) and all. 13, 12. 53. 19. — *vispâi*, (dat. sg.) for all. 11, 13. 52, 12. — *vispô*. (nom. sg. m.) all. 11, 11. 52, 11.

vî, pers. pr., or adv. you; privation; against, without. 4, 2. 47, 3.

vîkaîchê, s. (gen. sg. of *vîkaya* = *vaikaya*) of a witness. 43, 7. 48, 7.

vîchithremchiḍ, adj. (nom. sg.) knowing without being known. 38, 10. [This meaning which is given by the compiler appears to rest on etymology; *vî* was taken in the sense of "without"; *chithrem* in that of "public, known", and *chiḍ* in that of "knowing". I prefer to take *vîchithrem* as "decision", derived from *cith* with *vî*, and *chiḍ* as the well-known enclitic. The word appears to mean "any decision".]

vîspa, adj. (nom. pl. n.) all. 21, 11. 62, 5.

vîspê-naêmăm, adj. (acc. sg. f.) in all directions. 9, 13. 50, 21.

verezyaḍ, pres. part. act. of *verez* "to work" (nom. sg. n.) taking, labouring. 23, 4. 63, 10.

verezyêiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *verez*) he performs. 76, 28.

veretka, s. (gen. du.) kidney. 10, 12. 51, 11.

vereda, s. (instr. sg. of *vered*) through an army. 14, 7. 54, 9.

veredvô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) smooth. 22, 4. 23, 4. 62, 10. 63, 11.

verenavaḍ, adj. getting, following, believing. 23, 3. 63, 8.

verenyatê, s. premature childbirth. 23, 4. 63, 11. [It appears to be a denominative of *verena* "pregnancy," meaning "she is with child".]

vehrkahê, s. (gen. sg. of *vehrka* wolf) of a wolf. 22, 5. 62. 12.

vē, pers. pr. (acc. dat. gen. pl., Gâtha form, of *tûm* "thou") you. 4, 1. 47, 1. [you, to you, of you.]

voiô, s. (nom. sg.) name of an offence, doing injury by terrifying one. 39, 2. 73, 24.

voithwa, s. plastering. 23, 3. 63, 9.

vostrem, acquiring. 23, 3. 63, 10.

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vohuni, s. (nom. sg. f.) blood. 11, 5. 52, 4.

vô, pers. pr. (acc. dat. gen. of *tûm* "thou") you. 3, 10. 13, 3. 22, 3. 47, 1. 53, 6. 62, 9. [you, to you, of you.]

vôhugaonem, s. (nom. sg. n.) black hair. 6, 8. 48, 12.

vôhû, adj. (nom. sg. n.) good. 23, 2. 63, 7.

vāthwa, s. a herd. 23, 2. 63, 7.

vyâkhanām, adj. (gen. pl.) belonging to an assembly. 18, 6. 58, 1. [of assemblies; see note 1 on pag. 58.]

vyâkhtihava, s. an adorned woman. 5, 4. 47, 21. [loc. pl. of *vyâkhti*.]

SH (sh).

shaitô, s. (nom. sg. m.) marriage. 18, 12. 58, 10.

shaêtô, s. (nom. sg. m.) wealth. 18, 12. 58, 9.

shaoshaiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act.) it goes. 19, 4. 59, 3.

shâma, s. (nom. pl.) excrements. 11, 2. 51, 15.

shiêiti, s. residence. 18, 13. 58, 10. [As to its form, it looks like a verb, 3 sg. pres.]

shuās, s. name of a sin, pride. 36, 4. 73, 7.

shutasmê, s. (loc. sg.) land ready for sowing. 19, 2. 58, 13. [This word is apparently a corruption of *khshûistê zemê* Vend. 2, 31. which is rendered in Pahlavî [illegible] *shosâr damîk*; in my Pahlavi-Persian Vendidâd it is explained by *âb zamîn* "water of the earth", which can in our passage only be understood as "irrigation". The meaning is in the main correct, as the sentence *khshûistê zemê vîshâvayêiñtê* can only be translated "they make (the earth) go asunder (by treading, and other operations) in a field which has been irrigated". The Pahlavî translation takes *khshûistê* and *zemê* as two accusatives depending on the verb *vîshâvayêiñti*, which is rendered by [illegible] *benâ sâtûnînand* "they make go" (*benâ* is explained in the Persian translation by *be*, not by *bî*). The sense according to the Pahlavî translation is: "they make the water flow through the field i. e. they irrigate it". The translator identified *khshûistê* with *khshudra* "semen virile" which is rendered by *shosâr*, and attributed to it the meaning of "water". This is a mistake; but both words are of the same root *khshud*, or *khshvid* "to move, flow".]

shudhem, s. (acc. sg. m.) hunger. 19, 2. 59, 1.

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shustem, past. part. (nom. acc. sg. n.) melted· 19, 2. 58, 13. [The root is *shud*, *khshud*, Skr. *kshud* which has the meanings "to bruise", and "to move, flow".]

shenem, s. (nom. sg. n.) sword; pot. 19, 3. 59, 1.

shoithrô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a country. 18, 10. 58, 7.

shtachaḍ, pres. part. act. in the compound *gâthwô-shtachaḍ*, repeating. 31, 4. 70, 13. [See *gâthwô-shtachaḍ*.]

shkyaothananăm, s. (gen. pl. of *shkyaothaná* "works") of works. 77, 30. — *shkyaothanem*, (nom sg. n.) work. 76, 28.

shyâtô, s. (nom. sg. m.) ease. 18, 12. 58, 10.

S (s).

saitê, v. (3 sg. potent. act.) he should wish, may wish, desire 25, 9. 66, 2. [3 sg. pres. middle of *sî* "to lie down.".]

saidhê, s. contentment. 25, 9. 66, 2.

saê, s. (nom. sg.) an orphan. 5, 7. 47, 24.

sakhti, s. (nom. sg.) decaying. 26, 3. 66, 7.

saṅhaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *saṅh* to say, speak) he said. 26, 7. 66, 15.

saṅhem, s. (acc. sg.) a word 8, 6, 8. 26, 7. 49, 18. 50, 3. 66, 14. — *saṅhô*, (nom. sg. m.) word. 8, 9. 50, 3.

sachaiti, with *pairi*, v. (3 sg. pres. act.) it lasts. 76, 23. 77, 26.

sadayaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *sad*) he wishes. 26, 5. 66, 11. [he made to happen, to cause; see my Gâthas II, pag. 209.]

saredha, s. a year. 17, 3. 57, 6.

sastish, in the compound *dush-sastish*, s. (nom. sg.) teaching. 27, 4. 67, 7.

sâsnâo, s. (acc. pl.) teachings. 9, 9. 50, 18.

sidhiaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. act. of *sidh* = *sad*) he wishes. 26, 1. 66, 4. [It is apparently only miswritten for *sadhayaḍ*.]

sukem, s. (acc. sg. m. instead of *sûkem*) looking. 25, 10. 66, 3. [faculty of seeing.]

sucha, s. a looker-on. 25, 9. 66, 2. [burning.]

sura, s. skin of a living man. 6, 9. 48, 13.

surahê, adj. (gen. sg. instead of *sûrahê*) victorious. 16, 7. 56, 7.

surăm, adj. qualifying *ushăm* (acc. sg. f.) 42, 10. 77, 2.; see *ushăm*.

sushi, s. (nom. du.) lungs. 10, 10. 51, 9.

sûrâo, adj. (nom. acc. pl. f. of *sûra*) heroic. 26, 8. 66, 15.

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sēvishta, adj. one who desires a profit. 25, 10. 66, 3. [This meaning rests entirely on a preposterous etymology of the word; *sēv* was identified with *sûd* "profit", and *ishta* taken in the sense of "desiring". It is the superlative of a *sēva* = *sâva* "advantage, profit", meaning "most useful, advantageous".]

sâoṅha, s. a measure, a number. 26, 5. 66, 10.

skaptem, adj. (nom. sg. n.) wonderful. 26, 5. 66, 11.

schindaiaḍ, s. a break. 26, 1. 66, 4. [v. 3 sg. imperf. of the causal of *schind* "to cut", he cut.]

stakhtô, past part. (nom. sg. m.) obstinate. 26, 4. 66, 8.

stakhrô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) terrible. 26, 4. 66, 8.

stâta, past part. of *stâ* "to stand", standing. 26, 3. 66, 7.

stârăm, s. (gen. pl. of *star* "a star") of stars. 12, 8. 52, 22.

stuiti, s. (nom. sg.) praise. 91, 1. 58, 11.

stenbya, s. anger, quarrel, hatred. 26, 4. 66, 9. [As to the form it is a dat. instr. du.]

stôish, s. (gen. sg. of *sti* world, creation) of creation. 40, 8. 74, 11.

stri, s. (nom. sg. f.) a female. 26, 1. 66, 5.

strîm, (acc. sg.) a woman. 5, 4. 47, 22.

snâtô, past. part. of *snâ* "to wash" (nom. sg. m.) washed. 26, 6. 66, 12.

snâvare, s. (nom. sg. n.) a bow-string. 26, 6. 66, 12.

snus, v. (3 sg. potent.) he may benefit. 26, 6. 66, 13. [It is no verb but a noun of *snu* "to flow". The compiler derived it from *su* "to be useful".]

spakhshtim, s. (acc. sg.) a protector. 26, 1. 66, 5.

sparṅha, s. (nom. pl.) gums of the teeth. 8, 4. 49, 15.

speñtâ-mainyûcha, 78, 8.; see *mainyu*.

spereza, s. the spleen. 10, 11. 51, 10.

sraoni, s. (nom. sg.) buttocks. 10, 12. 51, 12.

sraoni-masâo, adj. (nom. pl. as large as a *sraoni*). 39, 7. 74, 3. [See note 1 on pag. 74.]

sraoshem, s. (acc. sg. m. of *sraosha*) Serosh, the angel presiding over the divine worship. 9, 4. 50, 10.

sraghrem, adj. (nom. sg. n.) highest. 20, 10. 61, 5.

sravaḍ, pres. part. of *sru* "to hear" (nom. sg.) sung. 26, 6. 66, 12. [hearing.]

srâvayêiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of the causal of *sru*) he repeats. 78, 9.

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srâvayôiḍ, v. (3 sg. potent. act. of the causal) he may repeat. 78, 12.
srita, past part. of *sri*, made over. 26, 8. 66, 16.
srîra, adj. (nom. sg. f.) well-disposed. 8, 6. 50, 1. — *srîrem*. (acc. sg. m., or n.) 9, 3. 50, 10.
srîrâo, (nom. sg.) one having a good sight. 26, 2. 66, 6. [nom. acc. pl. f. of *srîra* fortunate, happy.]
sruta, past part. of *sru*, famous. 26, 2. 66, 6.
srunaoiti, v. (3 sg. pres. act. of *sru* "to hear") he hears 26, 7. 66, 14.
srvatô, s. a fine. 26, 3. 66, 7. [The word looks like a gen. sg. pres. part. of *sru* "to hear".]
svô, s. (nom. sg. m.) benefit. 25, 10. 66, 3.

H (h).

haita, adj. public. 32, 1. 71, 11.
haiti, v. (3 sg. pres.) it is. 32, 1. 71, 12. [This is a mistake; the compiler has taken the Pahlavî ديم *ait*, *hait*, "it is" for a Zand word.]
haithi, s. (nom. sg.) public-spiritedness. 32, 1. 71, 12.
haithîm, adj. (acc. sg. n. used as an adverb) in public, publicly. 12, 6. 52, 20.
haithem-vachâo s. (nom. pl.) plain words. 8, 9. 50, 4.
haêna, s. (nom. sg. f.) an army. 32, 4. 71, 15.
haoio, adj. (nom. sg. m.) left. 9, 11. 50, 19.
haosravaṅhem, s. (nom. acc. sg. n.) comfort. 11, 10. 52, 9. — *haosravaṅhê*, s. (loc. sg.) royalty 31, 10. 71, 9. [It is derived from *husravaṅh* which is the proper name of one of the most celebrated kings of the Kayanian dynasty, of *Kavi Husrava*.]
hakaḍ, adv. at once. 3, 2. 46, 23.
hakered, adv. at once. 2, 11. 46, 21.
hakha, s. (nom. sg. m.) a friend. 31, 10. 71, 10.
hakhem, s. (nom. sg. n.) sole of the foot. 11, 4. 52, 3.
hakhta, s. (nom. pl.) the sexual parts. 10, 12. 51, 12.
haṅhâma, s. (nom. pl.) joints of the body. 11, 6. 52, 6.
haṅhuharenê, s. (nom. du.) jaws, jawbones. 10, 1. 50, 22.
hacha, prep. from. 76, 20, 23. 77, 22, 25.
hachaitê, v. (3 sg. pres. middle of *hach* "to follow") is followed, accompanied. 13, 1. 53, 4.
hazô, s. (nom. sg. n.) wronged. 39, 3. 73, 25. [violence.]

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hañkârayêmi, v. (1 sg. pres. act. of the causal of *hañkare*) I accomplish, I perform a ceremony. 32, 5. 71, 16. [This is the only correct interpretation; the meaning "I proclaim" which is given to it by some modern Zendists in Europe, is incorrect and does not show much acquaintance with sacrificial customs, the tradition and the meaning of the word in the Iranian languages; see my Gâthas II, pagg. 99. 100.]

hañdâta, past part. of *dâ* (nom. pl. n.) similary gifted. 32, 4. 71, 15. [the continuous parts of a prayer.]

hañderekhti, s. (nom. sg.) name of a crime, secretly ruining another person. 34, 8. 72, 16.

hadha, prep. with. 3, 1. 32, 1. 46, 21. 71, 10.

hadhaṅhrô, s. (nom. sg. m.) the end. 32, 5. 6. 71, 16, 17.

hana, s. (nom. sg. f.) an aged person. 5, 8. 48, 1.

hapta, num. seven. 18, 7. 58, 3.

haptaṅhum, s. (nom. sg. n.) a seventh part. 1, 8. 45, 13.

hapsnai-apnô-khavô, s. (nom. sg. m.) a bigamist. 5, 6. 47, 23.

hama, s. (instr. sg.) in summer. 38, 6. 76, 24. 77, 27.

hareta, s. (nom. sg.) a chief. 3, 10. 71, 9.

havaṅhem, s. (acc. sg. n.) freedom from death. 11, 10. 52, 10.

hâthrem, s. (nom. sg. n.) a measure of length. 51, 10. 43, 1, 4. 75, 8. 73, 1, 4.

hikush, adj. (nom. sg. m.) dry. 32, 3. 71, 14. [instead of *hishku*.]

hikhshaḍ, v. (3 sg. pres.) he rises. 32, 3. 71, 13. [3 sg. aor. act. of *hiñch* to sprinkle.]

hichitâ, s. (nom. sg. f.) purity. 32, 2. 71, 17.

hizva, s. (nom. sg. f.) tongue. 8, 5. 49, 17.

hiñchaḍ, v. (3 sg. imperf. of *hiñch* "to sprinkle") he sprinkled. 32, 3. 71, 14.

hitô, past part. (nom. sg. m.) ease. 8, 7. 50, 1.

hiḍ, (for *hadha*) adv. together. 3, 1. 46, 21.

hîm, an enclitic pronoun, it, him. 76, 29.

hukerefsh, adj. (nom. sg. m.) well-formed. 6, 2. 48, 6.

hugaonem, s. (nom. sg. n.) hair of the body. 6, 6. 48, 10.

hutarest, adv. beyond all sides. 6, 4. 48, 9.

hutâshtô, past part. (nom. sg. m.) well-made in stature. 6, 1. 48, 5.

huraodhô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) beautiful. 6, 1. 48, 5.

huvirâm, adj. (acc. sg. f.) good-looking. 5, 10. 48, 3.

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hu-frâshmô-dâitêê [1]), s. dat. sg. to sunset. 77, 25. — *hufrâshmô-dâitim*, acc. sg. the first quarter of the night, sunset, and the time following it. 72, 7. 76, 6. — *hû-frâshmô-dâitîm*, acc. sg. 76, 26. — *hû-frâshmô-dâitôiḍ*, abl. sg. 76, 23. 77, 28. [All the passages of the existing Zand texts in which the word occurs confirm the correctness of this interpretation. In the Abân Yasht Yt. 5, 91. the time of the day during which alone *Ardvi sûra anâhita*, the celestial water, can be worshipped, and water for sacrificial purposes be taken from her, is stated to be *hacha hûvakhshâḍ â hû-frâshmôdâtôiḍ* which can only mean "from sunrise to sunset", as Anâhita is not allowed to be worshipped after the night has set in, or before the sun has risen, nor

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1) In addition to the two passages quoted from the Neringistan (see pagg. 76—78) regarding the meaning of this word I have to mention a third one which is apparently incorrect, and seems to have given rise to the misunderstanding of the word by some modern Desturs. On Fol. 77, a of my MS. it is read:

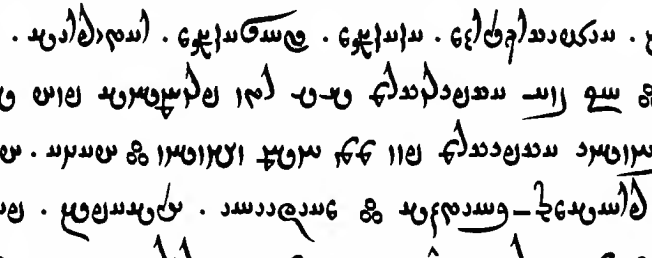

(Question.) "From which (time) in the Aiwisrûthrem Gâh (lasting from sunset to midnight) begins the satisfaction of the ratus (heads of creation)? (Answer) It lasts from Hûvakhsha to Frâshmôdâiti, to midnight; in summer and winter it is the same". The Pahlavî commentary has: it lasts from Hûfrâshmôdât to the middle of the night. Hûvakhshâd is evidently a clerical error, as it does not give any sense. It is to be read: hûfrâshmôdâitôid, and vakhshâd is to be struck out altogether, as the Pahlavî does. If the reading were correct we should have to take hûvakhsha in the sense of "sunset" which contradicts the use of the word in all other passages, and its etymology; only in that case, hûfrâshmôdâiti could mean, "midnight" as it has been interpreted by some Desturs. The use of the word in the Zand-avestâ does, however, leave no doubt whatsoever about its real sense in this glossary (pagg. 42. 76.) and the two passages which have been already adduced from the Neringistân.

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water to be consecrated (see the note on pag. 77). To consecrate water *pascha hû-frashmôdâitîm* i. e. after sunset, is regarded as a custom of the Devaworshippers, not to be imitated by the Zoroastrians (Yt. 5, 94.). *Sraosha,* th guardian angel of the religion commences to fight against the Devas (who injure and disturb the good creation *pascha hû-frâshmôdâitîm* Vend. 7, 58.) and to protect the good creation *pascha hûfrashmôdaitîm* i. e. after sunset (Yas. 57, 10. 16.); for the work of Serosh begins at once after sunset, and lasts until the light appears again; on which account the pious Parsis pray to him when the night is setting in, as I have witnessed many times. Mithra touches both ends of the earth, i. e. the horizon, *pascha hûfrâshmôdâitîm* (Yt. 10, 95.) after the sun has set having passed over the earth in her breadth, in which position he remains until he rises again, protecting the creatures against the attacks of Aharman which are only made at night. This exposition in connection with the other proofs will be sufficient I think to refute for ever the interpretation so pertinaciously persisted in by Prof. Spiegel that the word means "sunrise, or daybreak".]

hû-vakhshâḍ, s. abl. sg. from sunrise. 76, 22, 26.

horâcha, adj. (inst. sg. of *hora*) and this side. 6, 3. 48, 8. [It is an adverbial expression.]

hvare, s. (nom. sg. n.) the sun. 13, 2. 53, 5.

hvoishtô, adj. (nom. sg. m.) the more. 15, 5. 55, 8.; see *yoishtô*.

hvãm, pr. (acc. sg. f. of *hva*) self. 32, 2. 71, 13.

Additions [1]).

aêthrapaitish, and *hâvishta.* As regards the etymology of this very common word, by which the lowest grade of the clerical order is understood now-a-days, it is a compound of *aêthra* and *paitish* meaning "the master", lord of an *aêthra* (compare *nmânô-paitish* "master of the house"). *aêthra* itself occurs never in the Zand-avesta, but an adjectival form of it, *aêthrya*, is found in several places, Yas. 26, 7. 8. 68, 12. West. Yt. 10, 116. 119. The Pahlavî translation renders it by

1) All the following remarks have been added by me. M. H.

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which is read by the Desturs *âhûshtân* and *hâveshtân*, and explained as *shâgirdân* i. e. pupils, and as *beh-dîn* i. e. laymen. In my Pahlavî Persian Yasna it is once (26, 7.) translated by *zôtî* i. e. the *zota* at the Izeshne ceremony. The reading *hâveshtân* is the only correct one as we find this very word several times in the Zand texts in the form *hâvishta* Yas. 68, 12. Yt. 10, 116. Unfortunately the identity of both words, Zand *hâvishta*, and Pahlavî *hâveshtân* which lies at hand, appears to have escaped the Pahlavî translators; for in Yas. 68, 12. *hâvishta* is rendered by which is read *hâmîgan* (more correct is *hamyâgân;* it stands perhaps for *hamsâyakân* "neighbours") and interpreted as "companions" (Persian *hamyâz*) only on account of its being joined to *hashăm* which they wrongly identify with *hakha* "friend". The real sense of *hâvishta* can be easily ascertained from the use of the word in Pahlavî, and its etymology. The proper meaning of *hâvesht* is "a layman", and stands thus always in opposition to *aêthrya*, or *âthrava* which terms are only applicable to the priestly order. Thus the Parsis distinguish two kinds of *Penom (paiti-dâna* the cloth with which the mouth is covered when ceremonies are performed), *padâm i harbadi*, the Penom of Herbads, *(aêthrapaiti)*, and *padâm i hâveshti*, the Penom of laymen; for the laymen wear the Penom when they make *Abân Nyâyish*, *Atesh Nyâyish*, *Patet* etc. by simply holding up their Sadra, or the sleeves towards the mouth [1]). Etymologically it can be only traced to *hu* "to extract the Homa juice, to perform the Homa ceremony", or rather to its causal *hâvay* "to make another perform the Homa ceremony"; as it has the superlative suffix *ishta* (compare *vâzishta* from *vaz*) the word means "one who gets performed many Homa ceremonies" i. e. very pious. As the performers must be priests, the *hâvishta*

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1) These two kinds of Penom are hinted at Vend. 18, 1. paitidânem ainim baraiti which is translated in Pahlavî padâm zakâi bared "he wears the other Penom", that is the Penom only to be worn by the priests who have taken their orders, and not the common one which the laymen are permitted, or even enjoined to wear. The European interpreters have not nnderstood the real sense of the passage, as they have omitted the word ainim which is essential.

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who is always distinguished from them is the *Yajamâna* (to use a Brahmanical term) i. e. the man for whose benefit the ceremony is performed, who can be only a layman, as the Zoroastrian priests require no assistance when performing a ceremony. As all those who stand under the spiritual guidance of the priests are regarded as pupils who are to be instructed by them in the principles of religion, it was taken by some in the sense of "pupil". — According to this investigation the translation of *aêthrya* by *hâvesht* must rest on some misconception. Very likely the interpreters were lead to this explanation by the constant connection of *aêthrya* with *aêthrapaiti;* they probably thought, if the *aêthrapaiti* is the master, then the *aêthryas* are his pupils. But what is the real meaning of *aêthrya?* Simply "one who belongs to, or has an *aêthra*". *aêthra* itself must mean "a fire place", as it can be only derived from *idh* "to burn"; compare Greek *αἴθω*, "to burn", *αἴθρα*, "a clear sky". It was in all probability the name of the places where the sacred fires were kept and which were spread all over Persia; the word *πυρεῖον* which the Greek writers apply to them, may be only a translation of it. The *aêthrapaitish* is thus the master, or superintendent of such a fireplace, the *aêthryas* are the priests subordinate to him, or the servants, or other people, belonging to such a place. That *aêthrya* cannot mean "pupils" (if it had this meaning, it could be only a derived one) may be gathered from the compound *satô-aêthryô* Yt. 13, 97. where it is said of *Ahûm-stut*, *yô paoiryô satô-aêthryô frakhshtata paiti âya zemâ*, which cannot be translated "who first appeared with a hundred pupils on this earth" [1]), as it would be against all common sense to suppose that the only remarkable fact known of Ahûmstut was, that he had for the first time a hundred pupils on this earth. Such an insignificant fact (great teachers in the Orient do not count their pupils by hundreds, but by thousands, and ten of thousands) nobody would have thought worth commemorating. The statement that he was "the first *satô-aêthryô*" indicates that *satô-aêthryô* must be a title of high honour which but few did obtain. If we take it in the sense of "one who has a hundred fireplaces", i. e. one who has established a hundred places

1) This translation is actually to be found, among a hundred other absurdities, in the so-called Old-Bactrian Dictionary by Justi.

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of worship, or kindled a hundred sacred fires, then we have a fact which really deserved to be handed down to posterity. The Sanscrit term *satakratu* "one who has performed a hundred sacrifices" (generally an epithet of Indra) may be best compared; the translation proposed by some modern Sanscritists "one who has a hundred intellects", is a mere guess.

pairishtem. The etymology of this word offers some difficulty. There are three possible ways of explaining it, by deriving it from *pairish* "round about" (see the index), or from the root *ish* "to wish", or "to come" with *pairi*, or from *pairi-shta* "standing about". The traditional explanation is [illegible] *pavan roshnî nakîrît* "inspected as regards its lighting" i. e. its fitness for feeding the sacred fire with it. This inspection must be undertaken just before the piece of wood is thrown into the fire, to see whether there is nothing on it what is technically styled *nasâ* i. e. any impurity, such as hair, dirt etc. According to the Pahlavî, the term does not mean "dry", as has been supposed, as the Pahlavî [illegible] *hushk* "dry" never corresponds to *pairishta.* The derivation from *pairi-shta* the original meaning of which seems to be "stale, without vigour", is applicable to the term *pairishta-khshudra* "whose sperm is without vitality". But it is very doubtful whether it can be applied to *aêsma* "wood", as it would mean in that case only "what has been standing about, i. e. dry", which is clearly not in accordance with the views of the Pahlavî translators Besides, the compound *dahmô-pairishta* [1]) Yas. 65, 10. (it is used of the *zaothrâo* "the sacrificial water"), which is translated by

[illegible]

dahâmânu-nakîrîtu âigh pavan sandâr dâsht yekavîmânêt (i. e. inspected by a *dahman* who is kept as a chief), does not fovour this view. The derivation from *ish* + *pairi* is, in the two last cases the most

---

1) In the "Old-Bactrian Dictionary", the term is explained "sifted with prayers" which is sheer nonsense! How can waters be "sifted"? dahma does uot mean "prayer" (see the index), as has been supposed by Professor Benfey, which opinion has been copied by the hasty, uncritical and fantastical compiler of the said Dictionary. The term simply means "inspected, or kept by a pious man" whereby principally a priest with unimpaired magical powers is to be understood.

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likely; but it is difficult to determine in what sense the root *ish* which has several meanings is to be taken. I prefer the signification "to search", which can mean in connection with *pari* "to examine". The most suitable etymology would be afforded by *îksh* "to look", *parîksh* "to examine"; but I have not yet found sure traces of this root in the Zand, if it be not *pairi-ish* itself.

Errata.

page 2, lin. 13 for Pronouns, read, Genders and numbers of dva, va "two". Some adverbs.

— 5 — 14 — *khasurô* read *qasurô*

— 5 — 20 — *pâdîrânshosav* — *pâdîrânshosar*

— 6 — 24 — [illegible] — [illegible]

— 7 — 16 — *kharôchithrem* — *qarôchithrem*

— 8 — 17 — *khtemchiḍ* — *qtemchiḍ*

— 9 — 23 — [illegible] — [illegible]

— 13 — 23 — [illegible] — [illegible] . [illegible]
ahubya *ratubya* . *ahubya*

— 14 — 14 — *vanâêmâ* — *vanaêmâ*

— 21 — 14 *atare* — *âtare*

— 22 — 21 — [illegible] — [illegible]

— 29 — 4 — [illegible] — [illegible]

— 29 — 11 — [illegible] — [illegible]

— 31 — 22 — [illegible] — [illegible]

— 38 — 18 — *dâsûned* — *dâsûnahna*

— 31 — 4 — [illegible] — [illegible]
doâzdah chasûn *dch chasûn*

— 72 — 33 — Zand and no old Persian words, read, no Zand, but old Persian words

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pag.	76	lin.	6	for	*khsafa*	read	*khshafa*
—	77	—	3	—	*osahhîn*	—	*oshahîn*
—	78	—	6	—	*this*	—	*thus*
—	81	—	10	—	*n*	—	*ṇ*
—	87	—	32	—	*ubdâena*	—	*ubdaêna*
—	92	—	1	—	7	—	70
—	92	—	17	after	7.	insert	69, 2.
—	93	—	20	for	14	read	17
—	93	—	30	—	39. 40.	—	37. 38.
—	96	—	14	—	I	—	and I
—	100	—	2	—	same	—	some
—	102	—	25	—	60	—	40
—	104	—	14	—	aggravating	—	aggravated
—	105	—	6	—	8	—	18
—	108	—	27	—	5, 25.	—	52, 5.
—	110	—	24	—	58	—	25
—	113	—	28	—	all	—	every
—	115	—	18	—	*pṛîṇâmi, pṛîṇâtu*	—	*príṇâmi, prîṇâtu*
—	117	—	11	—	12	—	22
—	118	—	14	—	58	—	48
—	118	—	17	—	52	—	25
—	119	—	33	—	widom	—	widow
—	123	—	14	—	91	—	19
—	125	—	18	—	3	—	31
—	125	—	20	—	51	—	41
—	126	—	1	—	*hu*	—	*hû*
—	127	—	7	—	*frash*	—	*frâsh.*

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0 100 200 300 mi
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Archaeological sites
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Other ancient sites
Modern pockets of Zoroastrianism
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Zoroastrianism
(Mazdaism)

II. Persian Religion Before Zoroaster

A. Most of what we know is from the hostile *Gathas*, hard-to-interpret references in inscriptions of Achaemenians kings and post-Gathic Avestan texts

B. Popular religion was perhaps similar to that as reflected in the Vedas

C. Common people worshipped powers known as *daevas*

1. Usually identified with the *devas* or "shining ones" in *Rig Veda*
2. Associated with the powers of nature

D. Priests also recognized the *ahuras* (lords)

1. Considered to be the highest among the gods
2. Located in the heavens and concerned with cosmic order
3. Thus, a hierarchical order among the gods

E. Popular Gods

1. Indara or Intar (Vedic Indra)--means *he who struck down Verethra,* an obstruction that held back the rain waters (Vedic Vritraa

2. Intar was overshadowed by Mithra (Vedic Mitra)--a popular god who seems to have been known by Aryans everywhere

   a. In a Hittite document of 1400-1300 B.C.E. found in Asia Minor, Mithra is mentioned under name of Midr

   b. He was chief god of the Mitannia, an Aryan group in northern Mesopotamia

   c. Mithra was known as the god of light

   d. In a later Avesta, he is portrayed as the god *to whom the princes pray when they go forth to battle*

   e. Mithra could mean *treaty* or *pact*

3. A Hittite document refers to a god called Uruwana (Greek Ouranos; Vedic Varuna)

   a. He is the god of the domed sky

   b. He is the lord (*ahura*) of the moral order with a high ethical character

4. Vayu, the wind, a companion of Intar
    a. Appears under the aspect of good and bad winds
    b. He blows from the beginning of time
5. Yima (Vedic Yama), the ruler of the dead, the first man to die

F. Underlying world order was a cosmic principle called *asha* or *arta*

1. Attributes are truth, right, justice, divine order
2. Similar to Vedic *Rita*

G. Fire Worship

1. The divine powers were worshiped under the open sky, with aid of priests, fire worship, and potion of haoma (Vedic soma)
2. Fire ceremonies similar to Vedic India
3. Atar was the god invoked and worshipped during these rites

4. The ceremony
    a. The sacrificial fire is lit and reverenced
    b. The grass around the altar was consecrated, sprinked with haoma-juice and would be made the table upon which were laid portions of the sacrifice
    c. Sacrifice might be animal or cereal
    d. In the case of an animal, the victim would be touched the *barsom,* a bundle of boughs worshipped as supernatural and held before the face during the adoration of the sacred fire

The Prophet Zoroaster

O, What a Blessing! For us is born
The Divine Helper, Zarathushtra the Spitama!

A. His early life

1. Date and birthplace highly controversial

   a. Many scholars will place his birth around 660 B.C.E.

b. Greek scholars such as Aristotle place him at 6000 B.C.E.

c. Believing that certain features of Gathic language are older than Sanskrit and the Rig Veda being written in 1800 B.C.E. cause some to believe that he lived prior to this time

d. Birthplace according to the Avesta is on the banks of the river Vaejah

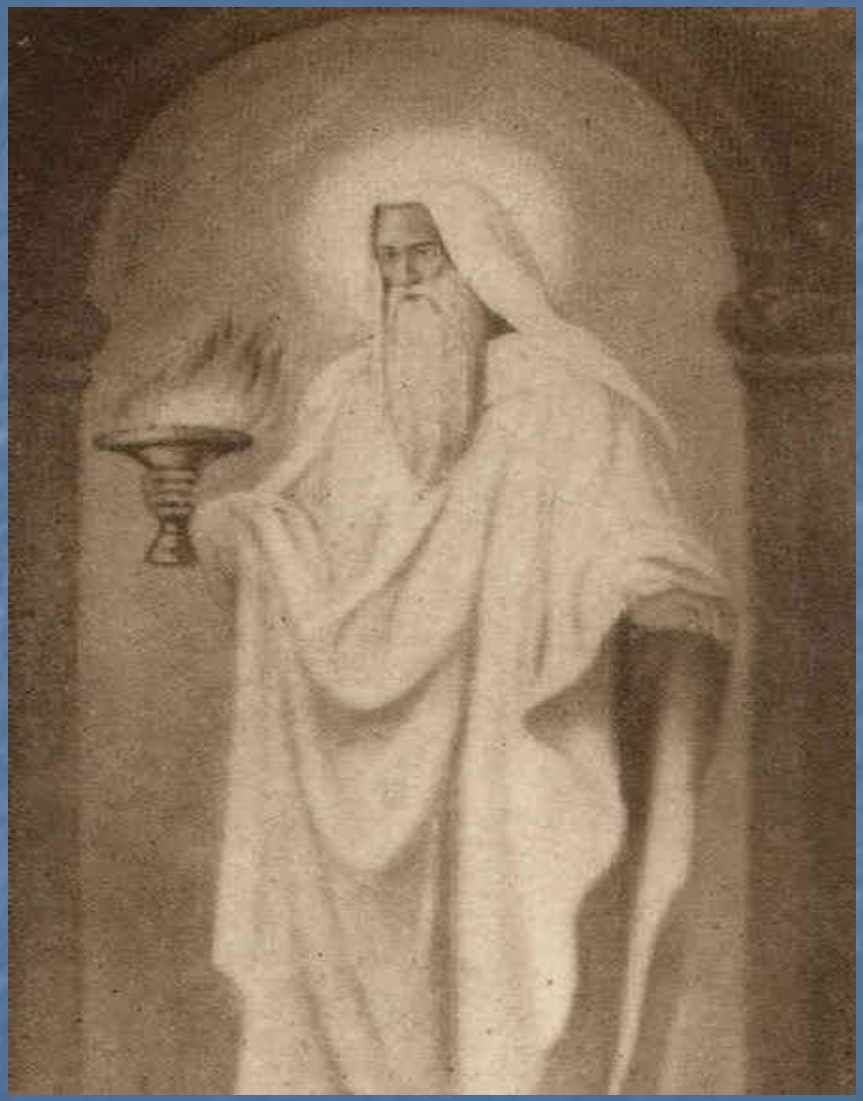

e. Some believe that he was born in the city of Ragha, near modern Tehran

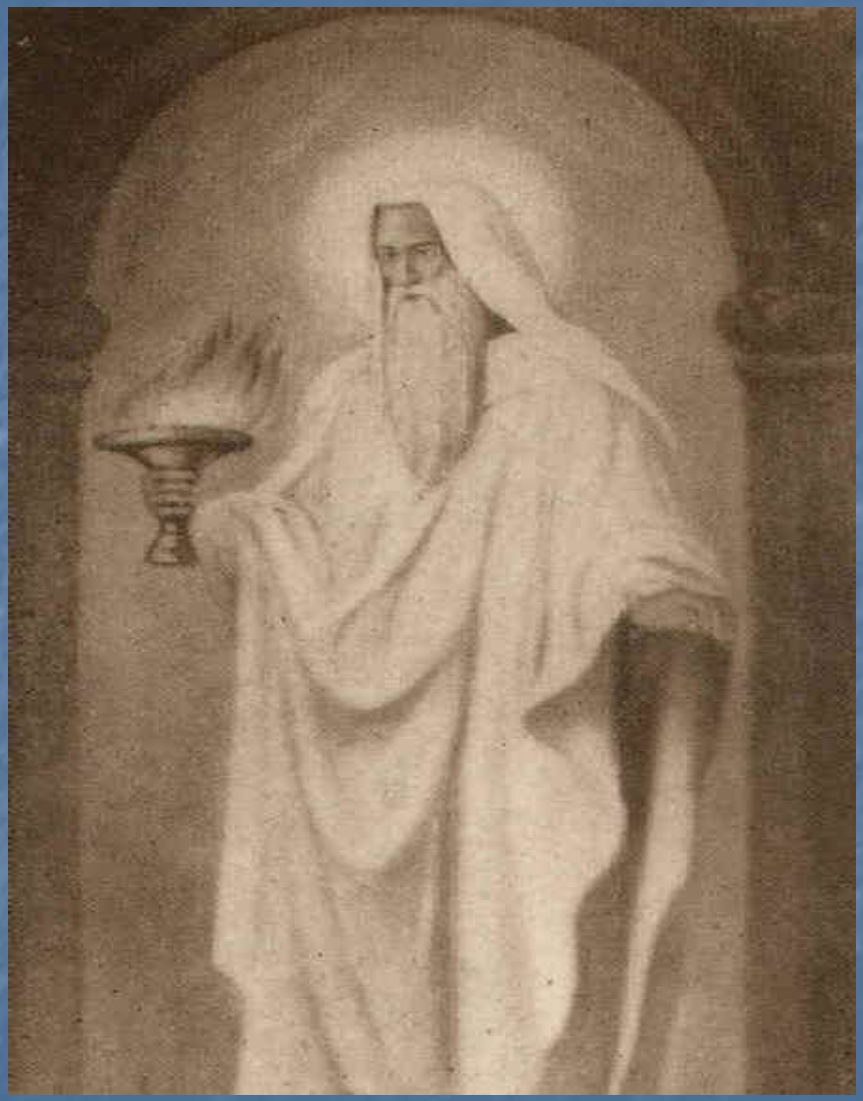

2. Tradition has him assuming the *kusti* or sacred thread at the age of 15

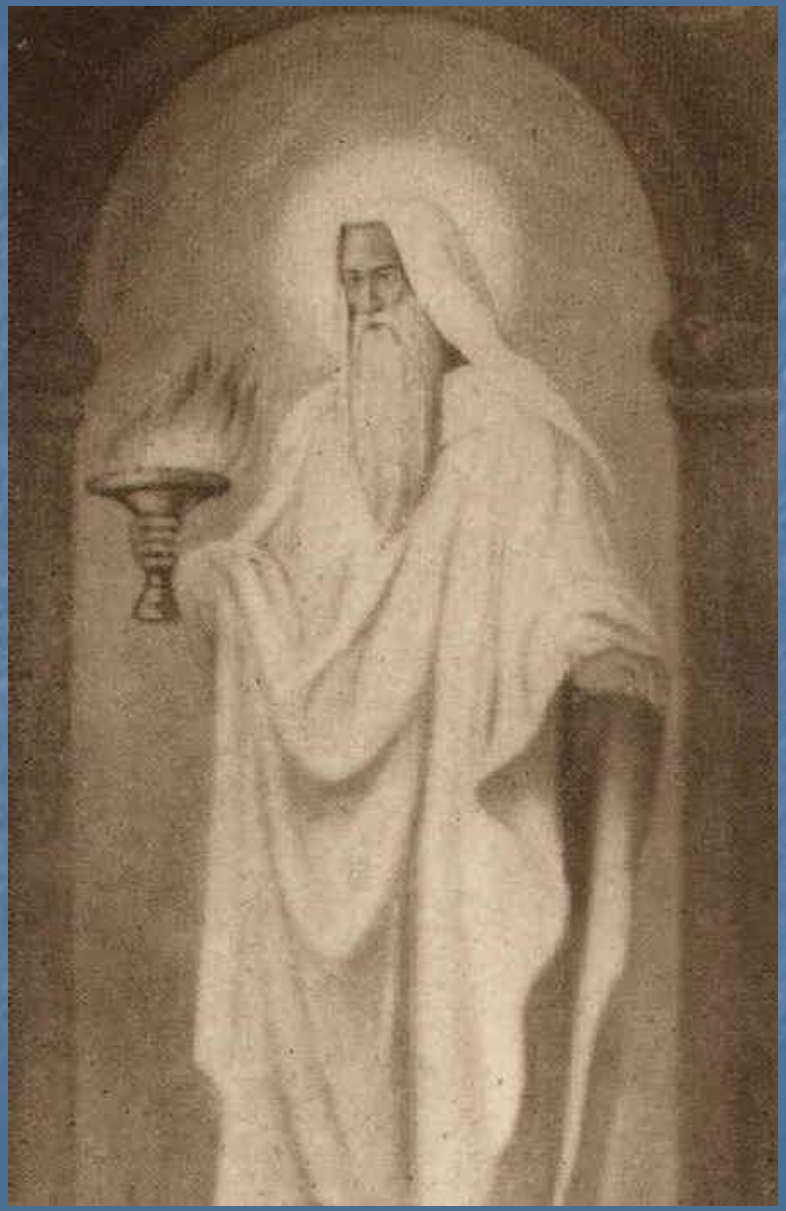

3. At 20 he left his parents and wife to wander and seek truth

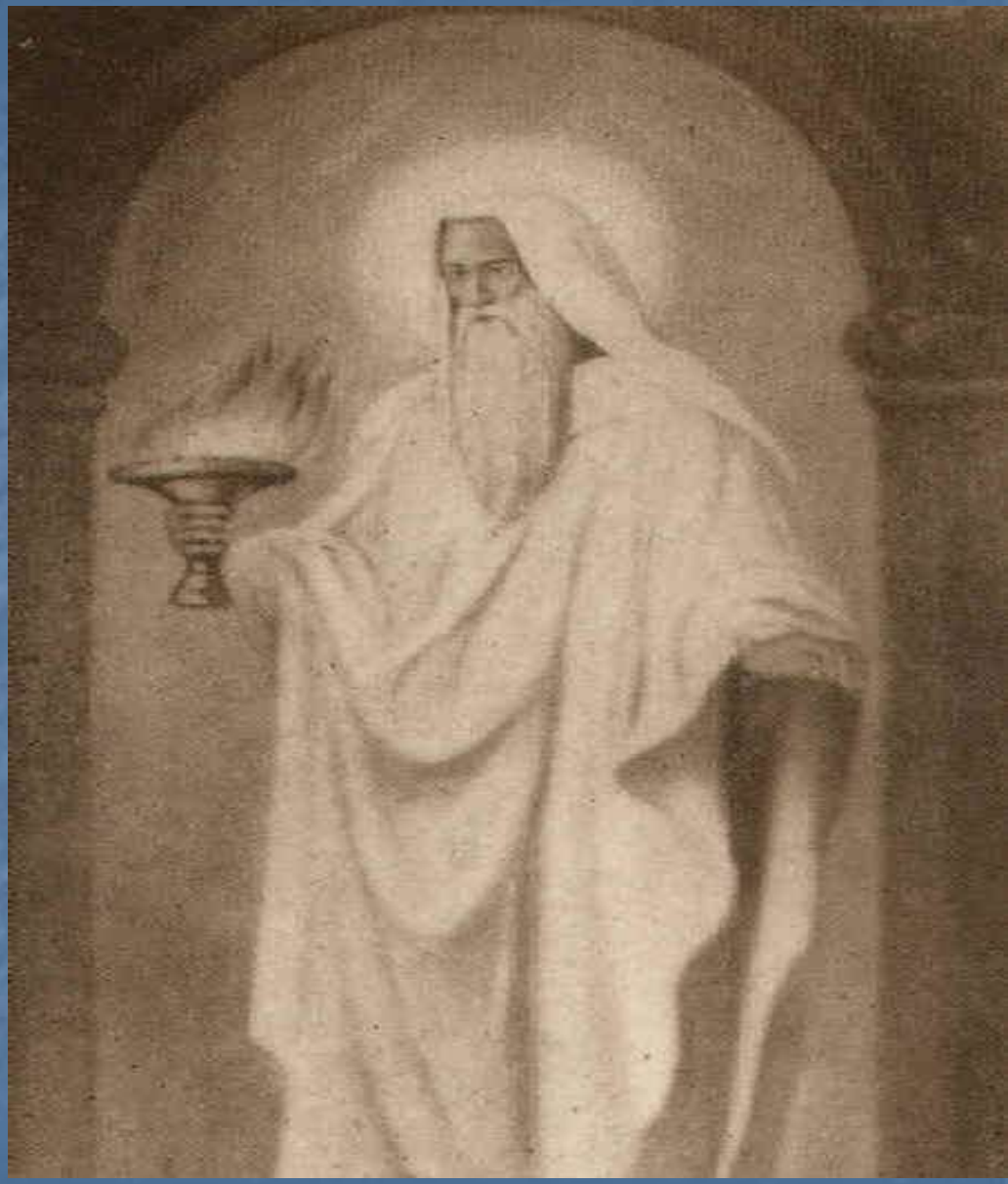

B. The Revelation

1. At the age of 30 he received his revelation

Holy Creative Spirit: Human Beings

2. Legend has magnified the initial revelation to a series of miraculous visions

Holy Serenity, Devotion: The Earth

a. First and most dramatic vision occurs on the banks of the Daitya River near his home

Holy Creative Spirit: Human Beings

b. A figure "nine times as large as a man" appeared to him

Holy Serenity, Devotion: The Earth

c. The figure was the archangel *Vohu Manah* (Good Thought) who questioned Zoroaster and commanded him to lay aside the *vesture* of his mortal body and appear before *Ahura Mazda* (Wise Lord) as a disembodied soul

d. *Ahura Mazda* instructed him and called him to become a prophet of the true religion

e. During the next 8 years he would meet the six principal archangels and each meeting would make the revelation more complete

Immortality: Plants

3. In the *Gathas*, Zoroaster's own words tell the revelation:

As the holy one I recognzed thee, Mazda Ahura, when Good Thought (Vohu Manah) came to me and asked me " Who art thou? to whom dost thou belong? By what sign wilt thou appoint the days for questioning about thy possessions and thyself?" Then said I to him: "To the first (question), Zarathustra am I, a true foe to the Liar, to the utmost of my power, but a powerful support would I be to the Righteous, that I may attain the future things of the infinite Dominion, according as I praise and sing thee, Mazda,"

4. After the revelation he began to preach immediately, but was not very successful

a. Being discouraged he was tempted by the Evil Spirit *Angra Mainyu*, who encouraged him to renounce the worship of *Mazda*

b. Zoroaster refused him with the words, *No! I shall not renounce the good religion of the worshipers of Mazda, not though life, limb, and soul should part asunder*

5. After the revelation he began to preach immediately, but was not very successful

a. Being discouraged he was tempted by the Evil Spirit *Angra Mainyu*, who encouraged him to renounce the worship of *Mazda*

b. Zoroaster refused him with the words, *No! I shall not renounce the good religion of the worshipers of Mazda, not though life, limb, and soul should part asunder*

6. The next 20 years were spent in propagating the faith
7. Two holy wars would be fought defending the faith
    a. The first would see the rise of Isfender who would rout the invading northern nomads
    b. The second would led to the prophet's death at the age of 77

C. According to the Younger *Avesta,* two persons served in semi-prophetic positions before Zoroaster

1. Gaya Maretan--the primeval man--the first mortal who hears the divine tenets

   a. He is the first ruler of Iran

   b. He is the prototype of humanity

2. Yimi (Vedic Yama)--also a king of Iran and prototype of a good ruler

a. His reign was associated with justice and peace

b. God warned him of three consecutive cold winters that would destroy all living things on earth

c. He constructed a cave into which he took the seeds of various plants, every kind of cattle, and the best of human beings

d. He ascended to the spiritual world and returned to earth

The Teachings

A. The religion was one of ethical monotheism

1. The moral law required human righteousness and proceeded from the one good God, Ahura Mazda (Wise Lord)
2. His clan seemed to have given this god special devotion
3. Although no longer referred to as Varuna, many scholars see Ahura Mazda as taking Varauna's place

B. Final Revlation of One Supreme Deity

1. The *Gathas* sets forth that he had been called by Ahura Mazda himself and that the religion revealed to him was the final and true religion

a. Ahura stems from the root Ah, meaning "to be, to exist"

b. Mazda stems from Mana, meaning wisdom and intelligence

c. Thus, Ahura Mazda is the Essence of Being and Wisdom

2. Unlike, later followers who would create dualistic deities, his deity was the one supreme ruler, creating both dark and light

3. The *Gathas* state:

Who is by generation the Father of Right (Asha) at the first? Who determined the path of sun and stars? Who is it by whom the moon waxes and wanes again? . . . Who upheld the earth beneath and the firmanent from falling? Who made the water and the plants? Who yoked swiftness to winds and clouds?. . . What artist made light and darkness, sleep and waking? Who made morning, noon, and night, that call the understanding man to his duty? . . . I strive to recognize by these things thee, O

Mazda, creator of all things through the holy spirit

C. Spenta Mainyu--Good Actions

1. Ahura Mazda used a Holy Spirit (Spenta Mainyu) and various modes of divine actions called the "Immortal Holy Ones or Amesha Spentas to accomplish his deeds

2. These modes of ethical activity bear names such as:

    a. Vohu Manah--Good Thought or Sense

    b. Asha--Right

    c. Kshathra--Power or Dominion

    d. Haurvatat--Prosperity

    e. Armaiti--Piety

3. These modes appear to be abstract qualities or states, but some scholars believe he personified them

D. Angra Mainyu--Evil Actions

1. Ahura Mazda is supreme but not unopposed

a. Against Asha (Right) is Druji (The Lie)

b. Against Truth is Falsehood

c, Against Life is Death

2. Zaehner believes that the *Gathas* teach that Ahura Mazda had twin "sons" and gave them free choice

   a. One became Spenta Mainyu--Good or Holy Spirit

   b. One became Angra Mainyu--Evil Spirit

c. The *Gathas* read:

Now the two primal Spirits, who revealed themselves in vision as Twins, are the Better and the Bad in thought and word and action. And between these two the wise once chose aright, the foolish not so. And when these twain Spirits came together in the beginning, they established Life and Not-Life; and that at the last the Worst Existence (Hell) shall be to the followers of the Lie,but the Best Thought (Paradise) to him that follows Right. Of these twain Spirits he that followed the Lie chose doing the worst things; the holiest Spirit chose Right

E. The Struggle of the Soul

1. Each human soul is the seat of a struggle between good and evil
2. Mazda gave each human freedom to chooses between good and evil
3. It is necessary for each human to decide between Mazda and Mainyu

F. Good and Evil

1. The *Gathas*, devotional hymns, do not give a definitive definition of good or evil
2. They do, however, give an indication of the practical differences
3. The good are those who accept the true religion
4. The evil are those who reject the true religion, especially those who practiced the "old religion"

5. The good are those who till the soil, raise grain, grow fruits, root out weeds, reclaim wasteland, irrigate the barren ground, and treat animals kindly, especially cows

6. The evil have no agriculture

He that is no husbandman, O Mazda, however eager he be, has no part in the good message

The Liar stays the supporters of Right from prospering the cattle in district and province, infamous that he is.

7. The meandering nomads represented evil at its worst

G. Purification of ceremonies

1. The old Aryan ritual is purged of magic and idolatry
2. Orgies attendant upon animal sacrifices are eliminated
3. The ritual intoxication with Haoma-juice is condemned
4. The drinking of the urine from haoma-drinking priests was forbidden
5. The fire ritual was retained; fire was a symbol of Mazda

H. Final Victory of Ahura Mazda

1. A general resurrection will take place at the end of the present order
2. Good and evil persons will be subjected to an ordeal of fire and molten metal
3. Later teachings indicate that the righteous will go through the fire with no pain; the evil will suffer but will exit the fire pure

J. Final Judgment of the Soul

1. Individual judgment follows shortly after death and the state of the soul remains until the general resurrection

2. Each soul must face judgment at the Bridge of Separator (Chinvat) Bridge which spans the abyss of hell and paradise

   a. At the bridge the record of the soul is read

   b. A balance of merits and demerits is cast

   c. If good dominates over evil, the "pointing of the hand" of Mazda will be toward Paradise

d. If evil dominates over good, the hand will point to the abyss below the bridge:

*Their own Soul and their own self [*daena*] shall torment them when they come to the Bridge of the Separator. To all time will they be guests for the Houses of the Lie.*

e. The *daena* refers to the moral center of the personality

V. Development in the Later Avesta

A. Information between 300 B.C.E. to 700 C.E. is scarce

1. It is not known whether Zoroaster's reform made its way to the main Mesopotamian basin or whether another parallel reform took place

2. During the Achaemenid dynasty (559-330 B.C.E.), under rulers such as Cyrus, Darius I, and Xeres, priests (magi) predominated

3. Mazda would be worshiped along with other deities

4. The Arsacids, Parthians, ruled from 250 B.C.E. to 226 C.E.

B. The Sassanid Revival, 226-651 C.E.

1. Zoroaster's name would come to the forefront once again
2. The *Avesta,* later Zoroastrian scriptures would be assembled
3. Zoroastrianism became the state religion with great modifications

C. Zoroaster elevated through myth

1. A worshipful attitude came to be taken toward Zoroaster

a. He became a godlike personage whose existence was attended by supernatural manifestations

b. His coming was known and foretold three thousand years before by the mythical primal bull and King Yima, in the Golden Age warned the demons of their coming demise

c. The “Glory” of Ahura Mazda united itself with Zoroaster’s future mother at her birth and rendered her fit to bear the prophet

d. Concurrently, a divinely protected stem of a haoma plant was infused with the *fravashi* (genius or ideal self) of the coming prophet

e. At the proper time, his parents drank its juices mixed with a potent milk which contained the material essence (body protoplasm) of the child about to be conceived

2. After his birth, all nature rejoiced and demons and wizards surrounded him

   a. The baby would almost be killed in his cradle, burnt in a huge fire, and trampled to death by a herd of cattle

   b. He was placed in a cave with wolves whose young had been killed--they allowed a ewe to suckle him

4. Greeks and Romans would be impressed by what they heard of him
5. Plato wanted to study Zoroastrianism but was prevented with the outbreak of the War of Sparta with Persia in 396 B.C.E.

D. The Sharing of Power with other Divinities

1. Even though Mazda was still considerred to be the supreme deity, old Aryan nature-gods (whom Zoroaster condemned) crept back into the faith
2. The early Gathas did recognize the existence of “Immortal Holy Ones” but they were regarded as “modes of divine action”

3. The later *Avesta*, depicts *Yazatas* (angels or sub-deities), most of whom were Indo-Aryan in character (about 40 are named)

a. **Mithra**--the greatest of them all

(1) His name would be repeated with Mazda in many later inscriptions

(2) Although technically subordinate to Mazda, he attained a supreme stature as the god of light for the masses

(3) He was seen as the rewarder of those who spoke truth

(4) He was relied to help in the journey after death

b. **Haoma**--refined from earlier use, the intoxicant became deified

(1) Animal sacrifices were made to him

(2) He became again the "Averter of Death", as associated in the *Rig Veda* with long life and immortality of the soul

c. **Verethragna** (Vedic Indra)--the strongest and most aggressive

d. **Vayu** (Vedic Vayu), a winged god who had a double nature, a good and evil side

4. A group of beings called *Fravashis* were also recognized

   a. Originally they seemed to have been ancestral spirits, guarding and expecting worship from the living

   b. Later, they would stand for "ideal selves", who were also guardian genii--both of gods and of humans

   c. Each person was thought to have a *fravashis* (eternal element)

E. The concept of evil would be intensified

1. Concept of evil approached an almost complete dualism
2. The spirits of evil would be more sharply defined and individualized
3. In later *Avesta,* Angra Mainyu shared in the creation

4. Mainyu created demons to help him
   a. Aka Maah--Bad Thought
   b. Andar (Vedic Indra)
   c. Naohaithya (Vedic Nasatyas)--the heavenly twins now reduced to one being
   d. Druj--the Lie, appearing in the likeness of a female demon
   e. There were also myriads of evil spirits and daevas

F. The development of *Zurvan* (space-time)

1. Another answer to the dualism saw Mazda and Mainyu springing as twins from a unitary world-principle called Zurvan (boundless Time or Space)
2. Thus, God and devil would be co-equal
3. But the ultimate victory of good over evil was declared to be certain

G. Concepts of the Final Judgment grew in detail

1. The future life was worked out in graphic detail
2. At death, the soul remains for four days on earth and mediates upon its good and evil deeds
3. On the fourth day the soul comes to the Chinvat Bridge to stand before judges--Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu

4. In a Pahlevi text called the *Bundahishn* the would walks on the bridge

. . . there is a sharp edge which stands like a sword . . . and Hell is below the Bridge. Then the soul is carried to where stands the sharp edge. Then, if it be righteous, the sharp edge presents its broad side. . . . If the soul be wicked, that sharp end continues to stand edgewise, and does not give a passage . . . With three steps which it (the soul) takes forward--which are the evil thoughts,evil words, and evil deeds that it has performed--it is cut down from the head of the Bridge, and falls headlong to Hell

H. Final Rewards and Punishments

1. A concept of world-ages developed, each age lasting three thousand years
2. Zoroaster appeared at the beginning of these ages

3. He would be succeeded by three savior-beings, each appearing at an interval of 1000 years

a. Aushetar--born a thousand years after Zoroaster

b. Aushetarmah--born two thousand years later

c. Soshyans (Saoshyant)--at the end of the world

d. Zoroaster would be the father of each

(1) His seed was being miraculously preserved in a lake in Persia

(2) At intervals of 1000 years, three pure virgins would bathe there and conceive the deliverers

e. With the appearance of Soshyans, the “final days” will begin

(1) All the dead would be raised

(2) Heaven and Hell would be emptied

(3) Righteous and Wicked would be separated

(4) A flood of molten metal would pour out upon the earth and hell, purifying each reunion

(5) All living souls would have to walk through the flaming river; to the righteous it would appear to be like warm milk, to the wicked it would bring terrible agony as their sins are being purged

(6) The fate of Mainyu has several versions, but somehow will be destroyed

(7) Adults would remain forever at the age of 40 and children at 15

I. The Holy Scriptures

1. The size of the original Avesta is unknown

2. Two early Muslim scholars stated that the whole Avesta was written on 12,000 cowhides; two copies were written

a. One copy was deposited in Persepolis and burned during the invasion of Alexander

b. The second copy would be taken to Athens where it was translated into Greek

3. This early Avesta consisted of 21 volumes (*nasks*); later reorganized into three parts

   a. *Gassanik* (Garthic or devotional hymns)

   b. *Hadha Mansarik* (combination of spiritual and temporal teachings

   c. *Datik* (law)

4. Contemporary Avesta is divided into five parts

a. *Yama* (reverence)--72 chapters (*haiti*)

(1) Contains the two Gathas

(2) Deals with the creator, revelation, eternal law, freedom of choice, purpose of life, immortality of soul, law of consequences, and renovation of the world

b. *Vispred* (revered)--Composed in praise of the *Yazatas*

c. *Yasht* (all festivals)--24 chapters--relates to the six thanksgiving festivities--the *Gahanbars*

d. *Vendidad* (law against demons and false deities)--mainly rules of hygiene

e. *Khordeh Avesta* is bilingual and contains the daily prayers, part of which are in Persian--represent the Sassanian and post-Sassanian prayers

5. The Zend Avesta is a translation of the Avesta in Pahlavi with commentaries during the Sassanians

6 . The *Gathas* are considered to be the most sacred and authentic part of the *Avesta*

VI. Modern Zoroastrianism

A. Effects of Muslim Conquest

1. Islamic armies conquered the Sassanids in 651 (652)

2. For a century, the Arab conquerors attempted no wholesale pressure for conversion

3. However, within a hundred years a great number of them left Persia

4. From the eighth century onwards there was considerable migration to India
5. They would be called Parses in India

B. The Gabars

1. Zoroastrians in Persia would be called Gabars (infidels) by the Muslims, they called themselves Zardushitians or Bahdinan (those of the good religion)

2. A series of persecution made them secretive

3. They strive to maintain the old sacred rituals and ceremonies

C. Fire Temples

1. Both in Persia and India the fire-temples cannot be distinguished from other buildings

2. But the sacred fire is kept inside

3. Various sacred fires have different qualities of holiness

4. The more holy fire has to be compounded of sixteen different fires, all purified after a long and complicated ritual

GLOSSARY and Standardized spelling of Zoroastrian terms

Go to: A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

I have normalized the spelling in the texts in this series in order to be consistent, and to facilitate searches. Wherever possible I have used the spellings of F.M. Kotwal and J. Boyd, *A Guide to the Zoroastrian Religion,* Scholars Press, 1982.

Abbreviations:

Ar.	Arabic
Av.	Avestan
Guj.	Gujarati
OP.	Old Persian
Paz.	Pazand
Pers.	Persian
Phl.	Pahlavi
RCC	J. J. Modi, *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (Bombay, 1922)
Skt.	Sanskrit

A

Aban (Phl., Pers.):	water; name of a yazad presiding over water; name of the tenth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the eighth month.
ab-zohr (Phl.):	lit. "libation to the waters"; a section of the Yasna. (Y62.11-Y70).
Achaemenian:	the dynasty which ruled Iran from the time of Cyrus the Great (559 B.C.) to the invasion of Alexander the Great (330 B.C.) (Var. 'Achaemenid')
Adar:	fire; yazad presiding over fire; name of the ninth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar. (Var: ader, Pah. 'atash, atesh, adur', Av. 'Atar')
Adar Burzin (Phl.):	one of the three greatest sacred fires of Zoroastrianism (the other two being 'Adar Farnbag' and 'Adar Gushasp'). It was placed in a temple by Kay Vishtasp himself, after it had 'revealed many things visibly, in order to propagate the faith' (GBd 18.14). (Var: 'Adur Burzen-Mihr')
Adar Farnbag	A Sacred fire.
Adar Gushasp	A Sacred fire. (var. Ader Goushasp)

Adarbad Mahraspandan (Phl.):	a Zoroastrian High priest, prime minister of Shapur II (309-379 A.C.)
Aeshma (Av):	Name of a demon. See Eshm.
Afrasiyab (Pers.): [use Franrasyan]	a Turanian king who repeatedly attempted to overthrow the Iranians. (Var: 'Franrasyab')
afrin (Phl.):	lit. 'blessing, benediction', specific prayers of blessing (in Pazand). (Contrast with *nafrin*, a curse.
afrinagan (Phl.):	(1) A multi-part ceremony of blessing; (2) specific prayers in the Avesta which are recited during afrinagan ceremonies; (3) a ceremonial vessel in which the sacred fire is tended. (Var: 'afringan, afargan')
Agerept:	A particular grade of sin.
agiary (Guj.):	lit. 'place of fire', a fire temple. The more traditional term is 'Dar-e Mihr' (Var: 'agiari')
Ahriman (Phl.):	the Devil, lit. 'Hostile/Destructive Spirit'. (Var: Phl. 'Ahreman', GAv. 'Angra Mainyu', StdAv. 'Anra Mainyu').
Ahu (Av.):	("lord") spiritual lord or master, often found in conjunction with 'ratu'.
Ahunawad:	name of the first Gatha; name of the first Gatha day.
Ahunwar (Phl.):	the holiest prayer of the Zoroastrians. It begins with the Av. phrase 'yatha ahu vairyo'. (Var: 'Ahunvar, Ahunawar', Av. 'Ahuna vairyo').
Ahura Mazda (Av.):	God, lit. 'Wise Lord', the Supreme Being of the Zoroastrians. (Var: Phl. 'Ohrmazd')
Airik	(pr n) Son of Faridoon (Var. Iraj)
Airyaman:	yazad of friendship and healing.
Airyanem Vaejah (Av.):	See Eranvej.
Alburz:	a cosmic mountain, aka 'Haraiti' or 'Hara Berezaiti'; an actual mountain range in northern Iran.
Amahraspand (Phl.):	lit. 'Beneficent Immortals', the highest spiritual beings created by Ahura Mazda. Sometimes referred to as 'archangels'. Their names are (Phl.): Vohuman, Ardwahisht, Shahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordad, Amurdad. (Var. 'Amashaspand, Amahraspand', Av. 'Amesha Spenta')
Ameretat (Av.)	see Amurdad.
Amesha Spenta (Av.)	See Amahraspand.
Amurdad (Phl.):	lit. 'Immortality', the Amahraspand presiding over the Earth; name of the seventh day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the fifth month. (Var: Av. 'Ameretat', Phr. 'Amardad')
Anagran:	lit. 'endless light', name of a yazad; name of the thirtieth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; (Var. Aneran)
Andarz (Phl.)	(lit. 'gnomic, precept') collection of aphorisms, especially of pragmatic advice or moral instruction
Aneran:	See Anagran.
Angra Mainyu:	(devil) See Ahriman.
anjoman (Pers.):	association (Var: 'anjuman')

anosharawan (Phl.):	soul of deceased person, as opposed to Zinda-rawan, a living soul. (Var: 'anosheh-ravan')
Aoshnar	(pr. n) Name of an illustrious personage
ard:	lit. 'good blessings, rewards', name of the yazad presiding over blessings; name of the twenty-fifth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar. (Var: 'Ashishwangh, Arshishwang', Av. 'Ashi Vanghuhi')
ardafrawash (Phl.):	lit. 'Asha-possessing farohar', i.e. the farohar (guardian angel) of a holy person.
Ardashir (Pers.):	a king of ancient Iran, founder of the Sasanian dynasty. (Var. Ardeshir)
Ardavan	(pr. n) Artabanus IV/V)
Arda Viraf (Pers.):	a priest of the early Sasanian period, author of a Pahlavi book which describes his visions of heaven and hell (Var: Phl. 'Ardag Wiraz')
Ardibehesht (Pers.):	see Ardwahisht.
Ardwahisht (Phl.):	the Amahraspand presiding over Asha and fire; name of the third day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the second month (Var. Av. 'Asha Vahishta', Phl. 'Ashwah, Urdwah, Urdibehesht')
Aredvi Sura Anahita (Av.):	lit. 'strong, immaculate Anahita', name of a female yazad; name of a mythical river. (Var: Arduisur)
Arezahi:	See karshwar.
Arjasp:	(pr. n) King of Turkestan
Arnavaz:	(pr. n.)
Arsacid:	a royal dynasty founded by Ashk. It is also known as the Parthian dynasty (247 B.C.-226 C.E.)
Asha (Av.):	a fundamental concept of Zoroastrianism; there is no adequate translation, although the following are often used: World-order, Truth, Right, righteousness, holiness; Ardwahisht (Skt. 'rta')
Asha Vahishta (Av.):	see Ardwahisht.
ashavan:	lit. 'possessing Asha', a righteous or just person or being.
ashem vohu (Av.):	one of the most sacred prayers of Zoroastrianism, which praises Asha.
Ashirwad:	benediction, a prayer of admonitions addressed to a marrying couple. (RCC 37)
Ashishwangh [Ard]:	Yazad
Ashk (Phl.):	founder of the Arsacid dynasty (Var: 'Arshak', Greek 'Arsaces')
Ashmogh (Phl.):	An apostate, a heretic. (Av. Ashemaogha)
Ashtad (Phl.):	lit. 'rectitude, justice', name of a yazad presiding over justice; name of the twenty-sixth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar. (Var. 'Arshtat')
Asman (Phl.):	lit. 'sky', name of the yazad presiding over the sky; name of the twenty-seventh day of the month according to the Zoroastrianism religious calendar.
Astwihad (Phl.):	a demon of death. (Var: Phl. 'Astvihad, Astovidad', Av. 'Astovidhotu, Asto-widhatu')

Astyages:	(pr. n.) king
Aspandyar (Parsi Pers.):	an early hero of the Zoroastrian religion, son of Kay Vishtasp. (Var. Pers. 'Ispandiyar, Isfandiyar')
atash (Phl., Pers.):	See Adar.
Atash Adaran (Pers.):	the middle grade of consecrated fire.
Atash Bahram (Pers.):	lit. 'victorious fire', the highest grade of consecrated fire.
Atash Dadgah (Pers.):	the lowest grade of consecrated fire.
athornan (Paz.):	a man of priestly class (Var: 'athrawan, athravan').
Auzobo	(pr. n.)
Avesta (Pers.):	the holy scriptures of Zoroastrianism (Var: Phl. 'abestag, abistag'); the language of the Avesta (Var. 'Avestan');
ayathrem:	feast (gahambar) of bringing home the herds.
Az (Phl., Pers.):	the demon of greed.

B

baga (Pers.):	God.
Bahman (1) (Pers.):	see Vohuman.
Bahman (2) (Pers.):	name of an Achaemenian king.
Bahram (1) (Pers.):	See Warharan.
Bahram (2) (Pers.):	name of several kings in Iranian history.
Baj (Pers.)	ritual silence, lit. 'framing', a ritual utterance or prayer which frames an action with the power of the manthra; a high liturgical service (Dron service); the monthly or anniversary day of the deceased.
bandagi (Pers.):	prayer.
barashnom (Phl.):	a major ritual of purification lasting nine days. (Var. 'bareshnum, barashnum, barashnum-i no shab').
baresman (Av.):	see barsom.
barsom (Phl.):	a bundle of twigs, tied together with a date-palm cord, held by the priest during high liturgies. Current practice is to substitute metal wires; grass laid out for the yazads to sit on. (Var. Av. 'baresman')
behdin (Pers.):	lit. 'of the Good Religion', a Zoroastrian, especially a lay person.
behesht (Pers.):	paradise.
Bhagaria (Guj.):	a group of priests noted for upholding ancient traditions. They are headquartered in Navsari.
bhandar	the central well of the dakhma
Bharucha (Guj.):	a group of priests headquartered in Bharuch.
bhasam:	consecrated ash from a Fire-temple, used ritually. RCC 114, 259
bi-namaz	lit. 'without prayer', a term for women in menses.
boy (Phl.):	lit. 'offering incense', a ceremony of offering sandalwood and frankincense to the consecrated fire during each of the five watches of the day. (Var. 'bui, nirang-i bui dadan, boy dadan')
Bradrok-resh	(pr. n.)

Bundahishn (Phl.): a ninth-century Pahlavi text.

Bushasp (Phl.): the demon of sloth (Var: Av. 'Bushyasta')

C

Chechast (Phl.) mythical lake.

Chinwad (Phl.): a bridge which souls of the dead cross, and where they are judged (Var: Chinvat, Chinvar, Av. Chinavat)

D

daena (Av.): See den.

daeva (Av.): See dew.

dagli (Guj.): A white formal jacket-like garment traditionally worn by Parsi/Irani laymen and priests on formal occasions. Compare *jama*. (Var. *daglo*)

Dahak: (use Zohak)

Dahm (Phl.) (pl 'dahman') a yazad honored on the fourth day after death; the plural, 'dahman' is synonymous with hamkar.

Dahman Afrin embodiment of Prayer

Daitya (Av.): a sacred river in Eranvej.

dakhma (Av.): a tower-like structure on which dead bodies are exposed, also known as 'tower of silence'.

Damawand (Phl., Pers.): a famous mountain in Iran tied with Zoroastrianism. (Var: 'Demavand')

Dar-e Mihr (Pers.): a lesser fire temple; the area of a fire temple where high liturgies are performed. Lit. 'Place of Mihr (Var. Dar-i Mihr, Dar-i-Meher)

dashtan (Phl., Pers.): menstruation.

dastur (Pers.): a high priest (Var: Phl. 'dastwar')

dawar (Pers.): a judge. (Var: Phl. 'dadwar')

Day-pa-Adar: name of the eighth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar.

Day-pa-Den: name of the twenty-third day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar.

Day-pa-Mihr: name of the fifteenth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar.

den/din (Phl., Pers.): 1. 'religion', 2. 'inner self/conscience', name of the yazad presiding over the religion; name of the twenty-fourth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar. (Var: Av. Daena).

Din Dabireh Avestan alphabet. Name of the traditional script used for writing the Avesta. (Var: Din Dabiri, Den Dabiri, Den Dabireh)

Denkard (Phl.) a ninth-century Pahlavi text, comprising a major survey of the religion. (Var. Dinkard, Dinkart, Denkart)

dew (Phl.): a demon. (Var: 'dev', Av. 'daeva', OP. 'daiva')

dharma-shala (Guj.):	charitable institution.
dibache (Pers.)	lit. 'preface', an preliminary prayer (in Pazand) which names the spiritual being that a ceremony is dedicated to. It also names the benefactor and person in whose honor the ceremony is performed, and the town where it is being performed. Also known as (Phl.) *Nirang Ashoan* ('rite for the righeous souls'), (Phl.) *Nirang i Boy Dadan* , or (Guj.) *Dhup Nirang* ('rite for offering incense'). Also known as *Nirang Peroz Bad* from the opening words.
dozakh (Pers.):	hell.
dron (Phl.):	consecrated flat unleavened bread; a service in which bread is consecrated. (Var: 'darun', Av: 'draona, draonangha').
druj (Av.):	embodiment of evil and pollution, demon of the lie, falsehood. (Var: 'drug', OP. 'drauga')
druj i nasush (Phl.):	the corpse demon.
Dukdaub (or Dugdov)	(pr. n.)
Durasrobo	(pr. n.)
duwazdah homast (Phl.):	a high liturgy consisting of 12 sections, where Vendidad and Yasna is recited. (Var. 'dwazdah-homast, dvazdeh-homast, davazdah hamast')

E

Eranvej:	lit. 'Iranian expanse', home of the Aryans. (Var. 'Eran-wez', Av. 'Airyanem Vaejah, Airyana Waejah')
Erenavak [use Arnavaz]	
ervad (Parsi Guj.):	a priest, originally a title used for higher ecclesiastics, currently used to refer to a priest who has undergone the first stage of initiation into priesthood (nawar). (Var: Phl. 'erbad', 'herbad', Av: 'aethrapati')
Eshm:	demon of Fury/Wrath. (Var. Av. 'Aeshma', Phl. 'Xeshm')

F

Faranghis (Pers.):	(Pr. n.) daughter of Afrasiyab
fargard (Phl.)	lit. 'chapter, section', a term designating sections of the Vendidad and other books of the Avesta. Compare with kardah. (Var. 'fragard')
Farhad:	(pr. n.)
Faridoon (Pers.):	name of a heroic king of ancient Iran who flourished centuries before Zarathushtra. (Var: Av. 'Thraetaona', Pers. 'Fariydun')
farohar (Pers.):	guardian angel, guardian spirits of the living and dead. (Var: Phl. 'frohar, fravard, fravahr', Av. 'fravashi')
farokhshi (Guj.):	Parsi name for a ceremony dedicated to the farohars.
farziyat (Ar.):	obligatory prayers said in each of the five watches ('gahs') of the day.
Fasli (Pers., Ar.):	Zoroastrians who follow a religious calendar which intercalates one day

	every four years, patterned after the Gregorian calendar. (Compare with Qadimi and Shahanshahi.)
Firdausi (Pers.):	author of the Persian epic Shah-nama (Book of Kings) in which many Zoroastrian myths are recorded.
fireshte (Pers.):	a spiritual being/angel, used interchangeable with yazad. (Var. 'fireshta, fereshte')
Fradadhafshu:	see karshwar.
Franrasyan:	(pr. n.)
Frashegird:	lit. 'making wonderful', renovation of the universe, the last judgment. (Var: Av. 'Frasho-kereti')
Frashostar (Phl.):	(Pr. n.)
Frasiyav:	(Pr. n.)
fravashi (Av.):	See farohar.
Frawardigan (Phl.):	the last ten days of the religious calendar, during which the farohars of the departed are remembered, aka All-Souls days, Mukhtad. (Originally 'rozan Frawardigan'.)
Frawardin:	name of the nineteenth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the first month.

G

gah (Phl., Pers.):	one of the five watches or periods of the day (named 'ushahin', 'hawan', 'rapithwin', 'uzerin', and 'aiwisruthrem'); also 'place' or 'area'. (Var: 'geh')
gahambar (Phl., Pers.):	six major seasonal festivals, named 'maidyozarem' (mid-spring), 'maidyoshahem' (mid-summer), 'paitishahem' (bringing in the corn), 'ayathrem' (homecoming of cattle), 'maidyarem' (mid-winter), and 'hamaspathmaidyem' (coming of the whole group [of farohars]). (Var. 'gahanbar')
Gaokerena:	mythical cosmic tree.
garothman (Parsi Guj.):	the 'House of Song', i.e. heaven. (Var: Av. 'Garo-nmana', Phl. 'garodman', 'garotman')
Garsivaz (Pers.)	(Pr. n.) brother of Afrasiyab (Av. Keresavazda)
Gatha (Av.):	the five sacred hymns of Zarathushtra (Yasna chapters 28-34, 43-51, 53), part of the Avesta; the five supplementary days at the end of the Zoroastrian religious calendar and the fireshtes presiding over them.
gaw (Phl., Pers.):	name of a yazad personifying cattle; an ox, bull or cow.
Gayomard (Phl.):	lit. 'mortal life', mythical first man according to some Phl. texts. (Var: Av. 'Gayo-maretan')
geh-sarnu (Parsi Guj.):	recitation of the Gathas during a funeral service. (Var: Phl. 'geh-sarna, gahan-srayishn')
gehân	an iron bier on which a dead body is removed
getig (Phl.):	material existence; the world. (Compare with 'menog'.)
getig-kharid (Pers.):	a ceremony of redemption, consisting of the recital of nine Yasna

	services.
Gewra	Ceremony which qualifies priests to initiate as candidate into the priesthood. It consists of performing the Yasna ritual for six consecutive days. (RCC, p. 202) (var. Gewrâ)
giriban (Pers.):	a small pocket on the throat of the sudre (sacred shirt), also known as "kissa-e kerfa" (the bag of good deeds) (Pers.).
God:	see Ahura Mazda.
Godavara (Guj.):	one of the Gujarat ecclesiastical groups of priests, serving a large rural area, headquartered in Anklesar.
gomez (Phl.):	(unconsecrated) bull's urine.
Goshorun:	lit. 'the soul of the cow (or settlement)'; name of the fourteenth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; (Av. Geush Urvan)
Gowad:	See Wad.
Gushnasp	See Adar Gushnasp

H

Hadish	A sacred being.
hamaspathmaidyem (Av.):	lit. 'coming of the whole group [of farohars]', feast of All Souls. (Var. Hamaspathmaedaya)
hamazor (Phl.):	a ritual greeting.
hamistagan (Phl.):	purgatory, a neutral place between heaven and hell where souls go when their good deeds equal their evil deeds. (Var: 'Hameshta-gehan')
hamkar (Phl.):	lit. 'co-workers', associates of the yazad which presides over the day. The term 'dahman' is also used.
haoma (Av.):	name of a plant with medicinal and spiritual properties; name of the yazad presiding over the haoma plant. (Var: Phl. 'hom').
Haptoring (Phl.)	Constellation
Hara:	Mythical mountain. (Var: 'Hukairya')
Hasar (Phl.) (Av. hathra)	Ameasure of distance, as well as of time
Hathêvâro:	Hand fastening; part of the marriage ceremony (RCC 33).
Hathra:	a measure equal to one-half of a charetu, or about 3.5 furlongs.
Haurvatat (Av.):	see Hordad.
Hawan (Phl.):	name of the second watch (gah) of each day (sunrise to midday, i.e., 12 noon); a yazad presiding over the second watch. (Var. 'havan', Av. 'havani')
herbad:	See ervad.
hom (Phl.):	see haoma.
Hooshang (Pers.):	a mythological ruker of ancient Iran, founder of the Peshdadian dynasty, He is credited with the discovery of fire. (Var. 'Hushang', Av. 'Haoshanha')

Hordad (Phl.):	lit. 'Perfection or Health', name of an Amahraspand; name of the sixth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the third month. (Var: Av. 'Haurvatat')
Hormazd (Pers.)	name of various kings of the Parthian and Sasanian dynasties.
Hoshedar (use Ushedar)	(Pr. n.)
Hoshedarmah (use Ushedarmah)	One of the future Soshyants.
Hukairya:	See Hara.
Hutos	(Pr. n.)
Hvov (Phl.)	(Pr. n.)

I

Ilm-i Khshnoom:	a Parsi occult movement, heavily influenced by Theosophy and the pseudo-Zoroastrian Azar Kayvani sect.
Indar:	Name of a demon. (Var: Skt. 'Indra')
Iraj: use Airik	Son of Faridoon
Iranshah (Pers.)	the oldest sacred fire (Atash Bahram) in India, now in Udvada.
Isadvastar:	(Pr. n.) son of Zarathushtra

J

jama (Guj.):	A long white formal garment traditionally worn by Parsi/Irani priests, especially on formal occasions. Compare *dagli*. Its use has to some extent been replaced by the dagli.
Jamasp (Phl.):	an early hero of the Zoroastrian religion. He was King Vishtasp's Prime Minister, and the son-in-law of Zarathushtra. (Var: Av. 'Jamaspa')
Jamshed (Pers.):	a famous king of ancient Iran. (Var: 'Jamshid', Av. 'Yima Khshaeta')
jashan (Phl. Pers.):	a frequently-performed religious service, in which an afrinagan ceremony is performed. (Var: 'jashn', Parsi 'jasan').
jizya:	poll tax levied from non-Muslims.
juddin:	non-Zoroastrian.

K

kabiseh:	intercalation done to keep calendar consistent with seasons
Kangdez	A country.
kaplo (kâplô):	A knife with metallic handle, used for cutting purposes. RCC 288
karb:	priest of the old religion. (Var: Av. 'Karapan').
karapan (Av.):	See karb.
kardah:	A section or division of most Yashts and other books of the Avesta.

	Compare with fargard.
karsha:	A furrow drawn on the ground to isolate impurities. RCC 109
karshwar (Pah.):	one of the seven continents of the earth, named 'Arezahi' (West), 'Sawahi' (East), 'Fradadhafshu' (Southeast), 'Widadhafshu' (Southwest), 'Wouru-bareshti' (northwest), 'Wourujareshti' (Northeast), and 'Xwaniratha' (central). Eranvej is located in the latter.
Kavi Haosravah (Av.)	(king) (= Pers. Kay Khosraw)
Kavi Usan (Av.)	(king) (= Pers. Kay Kavus)
Kavi Vishtaspa (Av.)	(king) (= Pers. Kay Gushtasp)
kay:	See Kayanian.
Kayanian:	a prehistoric dynasty of ancient Iran. (Var: 'kay, kayag, kavi', Av. 'kavaya')
Kay Arsh (Phl.):	Legendary king
Kay Kaus (Phl.):	a Kayanian king. (Var: Av. 'Kavi Usan')
Kay Khosraw (Pers.):	a Kayanian king, grandson of Kay Kaus. (Var: Av. 'Kavi Haosravah')
Kay Kobad (Pers.):	founder of the Kayanian dynasty. (Var: Av. 'Kavi Kavata.')
Kay Loharasp (Pers.)	Legendary king. See Lohrasp. (Av. Aurvat-aspa)
Kay Vishtasp (Phl.):	king of ancient Iran, patron of Zarathushtra. (Var: Av. 'Vishtaspa', Pers. 'Gushtasp')
kem na mazda (Av.):	an exorcism prayer from the Avesta.
Keresavazda (Av.)	(pr. n.) (= Pers. Garsivaz)
Kersasp (Phl.):	a king of ancient Iran. (Var: 'Garshasp', Av. 'Keresaspa')
Keshmak (Phl.):	(pr. n.) ('the Karb')
Khambata (Guj.):	a group of priests, headquartered in Khambat.
kheshm (Phl., Pers.):	the a demon of wrath.
Khorda Avesta (Pers.):	the 'Small Avesta', a prayer book with excerpts from the Avesta.
Khordad-sal (Pers.):	the sixth day of the year.
Khorshed (Parsi Pers.):	See Khwarshed.
Khshathra Vairya (Av.):	see Shahrewar.
khshnuman (Phl.):	lit. 'dedication', a dedicatory section (in Avesta) naming the yazad in whose honor a ceremony is performed. There are two types of khshnumans, nani ("shorter"), and wadi ("longer").
khwan (Phl., Pers.):	stone table or slab used for rituals. Stands on fout feet, cut from ordinary stone or marble. (Var. Khwân) (Modi, RCC 270-4)
khwarrah (Phl.):	divine grace or glory. (Var: Phl. 'farr', 'farrah', 'khurra', Av. 'khvarenah', 'khwarenah', 'hvareno').
Khwarshed:	'the shining sun'; name of the yazad presiding over the Sun; name of the eleventh day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; (Var: Pers: Khurshid)
khwetodas (Phl.):	next-of-kin marriage. (Var: Av. 'khvaetvadatha')

kriya (Skt.): ritual action.

kusti (Pers.): sacred cord worn around the waist by Zoroastrians; the short ritual of untying and retying the kusti.

L

Lohrasp (Phl.): a king of ancient Iran, father of Kay Vishtasp. (Var: Av. "Aurvat-aspa")

M

maga A pit, dug during the barashnom ritual. RCC 109

magus: a priest (pl. magi). Compare with "mobed".

mah (Phl., Pers.): moon; month; name of the twelfth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the yazad presiding over the Moon.

Mahraspand: lit. 'Holy Word', name of a yazad who embodies the Holy Word; name of the twenty-ninth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar. (Var: Av. 'Manthra Spenta')

Mahrkus (Pahl.) Legendary Sorceror

maidyarem: mid-winter feast (gahambar).

maidyoshahem: mid-summer feast (gahambar).

maidyozarem: mid-spring feast (gahambar).

Mani (Phl., Pers.): founder of Manichaeism, a Gnostic religion with Zoroastrian elements, considered an arch-heretic (lived from 216 A.C.-275 A.C.)

manthra (Av.): Holy Word; specific passages of the Avesta with specific poetic and spiritual properties. Compare with Mahraspand.

Manuschihar (Phl.) (pr. n.) Legendary king. See Minochehr. (Av. 'Manuschithra')

maratab (Ar.): a ceremony which qualifies a priest to perform higher rituals. Compare with nawar. (Var. 'martab')

margarzan (Phl.): mortal sin.

Mashye-Mashyane (Phl.): the first human couple, sprung from the seed of Gayomard, the first man.

Mazda (Av.): see Ahura Mazda.

Mazdayasni (Av.): another term for the Zoroastrian religion, lit. "worship of Mazda".

Mazendaran: A land north of Iran. (Var. 'Mazana'; modern 'Mazandaran')

menog (Phl.): spiritual existence; spiritual world. (Compare with getig.) (Var: Av. 'mainyu')

Mihr (Phl., Pers.): yazad presiding over the contract; name of the sixteenth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the seventh month.

Mihragan (Phl.): a festival honoring the yazad Mihr, celebrated on the 16th day of the seventh month. (Var: Mehragan, Mehregan, MEHREG?N).

Minocheher (Pers.): a king of ancient Iran. (Var: 'Manuchihr', Av. 'Manuschithra')

mobed (Pers.): a Zoroastrian priest, orig. head priest ('Magu-paiti', master of Magi).

Mukhtad (Pers.?): All Souls festival. See Frawardigan.

myazd (Phl.): a ceremonial food offering.

N

nahn: ablution, a ritual washing of the entire body, a higher form of purification than padyab.

nama karana ceremony for naming a newborn, usually 10-12 days after birth

namaskar (Guj.): a short prayer of homage. (Var: 'nemaskar')

Nam Stayishn (Phl.): name of a Pazand prayer praising Ohrmazd, part of the Khorda Avesta.

naogar (naôgar): A stick with nine knots, used in purifying ceremonies. RCC 109.

nasa (Pers.): dead matter, pollution; demon of putrefaction. (Var: Av. 'nasu', Phl. 'nasush')

nask (Phl.): lit. 'book, volume,' one of the 21 volumes into which the Avesta was divided in ancient times; a religious service (Sudgar, Warsht-mansr, bag, damdad, nadar, pazag, ratushtaiti, barish, kishkisrub, Wishtasp-sast, Washtag, Chihrdad, Spand, Bagan-yasn, Nigadum, Duwasrud, Husparum, Sagadum, Jud-dew-dad, Hadokht, Stud-yasn)

navjote (Parsi Guj.): initiation into the Zoroastrian religion, a ceremony of investiture of the sudre and kusti. Also called 'sedra pushun'.

Navsari (Pers., Guj.): a town in Gujarat India, a stronghold of Zoroastrianism.

nawar (Phl.): a four day ceremony which qualifies a candidate for the priesthood. Compare with maratab,

Nawruz (Pers.): New Years Day. (Var: 'Noruz', 'No Roz')

Neryosang (Phl., Pers.): name of a yazad. (Av. 'nairyosangha')

nirang (Phl.): lit. 'formula, spell', a short ritual accompanied by Avestan or Pazand prayers; consecrated gomez.

nirang-i kusti bastan (Pers.): formula for retying the kusti, this short ritual is a necessary prelude to longer prayer.

nirangdin (Phl.): name of the most exalted and elaborate of Zoroastrian high liturgies.

niyayesh (Pers.): one of five Zoroastrian litanies from the Avesta, part of the daily prayers. (Var: 'nyayesh, nyayishn')

nyayesh: see niyayesh.

O

Ohrmazd (Phl.): God, the supreme being; name of the first day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar. (Var: Ormazd, Av. 'Ahura Mazda')

Old Persian: language of the Achaemenian empire, recorded in cuneiform inscriptions.

Osta: lit. 'disciple', a candidate for priesthood. (Av. 'havishta')

Osti: a woman of priestly family.

P

padan (Pers.) a white cloth mask used by a priest during ceremonies to keep his breath from directly touching the fire.

padyab (Pers.): a ritual washing of the exposed parts of the body. Compare with nahn.

padyab-kusti (Pers.): a ritual ablution followed by the ritual untying and retyingof the kusti.

pagdi traditional headgear (compare *pheta*).

Pahlavi the Middle Persian language, used between 300 B.C. and 950 A.C, in which many Zoroastrian writings are preserved.

pairika (Av.): witch, sorceress; shooting star.

paitishahem: feast (gahambar) of bringing in the harvest.

panchayat: local association of Zoroastrians.

Palash (Parsi Pers.): a Parthian king (51-80 A.C.). (Var. Greek 'Vologeses I', Phl. 'Walakhsh')

panj tay (Pers.): a ceremony performed with a 'five-wire' barsom, which is prerequisite for performing any high liturgy for the day. (Var: 'baj of panch tai')

panthak (Guj.): priestly jurisdiction.

Paoiryo-tkaesha (Av.): lit. 'primitive doctrine', forerunner of Zoroastrianism. Alternately, one of the first teachers of the Zoroastrianism. (Var: Phl. 'poryotkesh')

paragna: a ceremony which precedes the Yasna. (Var: 'Paragnâ')

Parsis: Zoroastrians who settled in India. Sg: Parsi. (Var: 'Parsees')

Parthian: a royal dynasty ruling Iran from 250 B.C.-226 A.C.

patet (Phl.): prayer of penance (in Pazand).

pavi (pâvi): *Lit.* "sacred" or consecrated. A permanently constructed ritual furrow (*karsha*, qv). RCC 115. The platform of the dakhma is divided into separate sections names *pavis*. RCC 68

paywand (Phl.) (paewand, paiwand): lit. 'connection,' ritual contact between persons serving as a shield against pollution. A ritual connection. "To hold a "paywand" means to be in close contact or touch. This is done by holding a piece of cloth or cotton tape by two persons to show that they are associated or joined in doing a thing." (Modi, *funeral*)

Pazand (Phl.): Pahlavi texts in which Aramaic elements are replaced with their Iranian equivalents, transcribed in the Avestan script.

Peshdadian: the first dynasty of ancient Iran.

Peshotan (Pers.): an early hero of Zoroastrianism, he was the son of Kay Vishtasp.

Pesho-tanu (Av.): a 'mortal-sin'; an individual who has committed a mortal sin.

pheta traditional headgear. (Var. *feta*.) (Compare *pagdi*.)

Porseh Ceremony Memorial Service

Pourushasp (Phl.): name of Zarathushtra's father. (Var: Av. 'Paourushaspa')

Q

Qadimi (Pers., Ar.): one of the three movements within Zoroastrianism which observe different religious calendars (the other two are called Fasli and Shahanshahi). The Qadimi calendar is one month ahead of the Shahanshahi.

R

Ram: lit. 'joy', name of a yazad; name of the twenty-first day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar.

Rapithwin (Av.): the period of the day (gah) from noon to mid-afternoon; a yazad presiding over the Rapithwin gah. During five months of the year it is replaced by a second Hawan.

Rashn (Phl.): lit. 'truth, justice', name of a yazad; name of the eighteenth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; (Av. Rashnu).

Rashnu (Av.): see Rashn.

raspi (Pers.) assistant priest.

ratu (Av.) judge, often found in conjunction with 'Ahu'. (Var. Phl. 'rad')

rawan (Phl.): soul. (Var: Av. 'urvan')

riman (Phl., Pers.): something that has become polluted by contact with dead matter; a ceremony of purification, used by Parsees in place of barashnom to purify lay persons.

Rivayat (Ar.): a collection of letters in Persian from Iranian priests in response to questions by their Indian counterparts on a variety of religious topics, written between 1478 and 1773 C.E.

Rustam (Pers.): a hero of ancient Iran.

S

sada (Pers.) lit. 'pure, simple,' Avestan texts without Pahlavi commentaries.

sagdid (Phl.): lit. 'a dog's gaze', this term refers to the practice of exposing a corpse to the gaze of a dog, which is believed to drive away some of the power of the druj.

sagri (Guj.): a small building near a dakhma where a fire is kept burning.

Sanjana (Guj.): a group of priests headquartered in Udvada.

Saoshyant (Av.) see Soshyant.

Sasanian: the Zoroastrian dynasty which ruled Iran from circa 226 A.C.-651 A.C. (Var: 'Sasanid')

satum: meal offering ritual prayer for dead.

Second Hawan: the third watch (gah) of each day (noonday to 3 p.m.) during part of the year. Compare with Rapithwin.

sedra-pushun:	see navjote.
Shahanshahi (Pers.):	one of the three movements within Zoroastrianism which observe different religious calendars (the other two are called Fasli and Qadimi.)
Shahrewar (Phl.):	lit. 'Desirable Dominion', the Amahraspand presiding over metals; name of the fourth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the sixth month. (Var: Av. 'Khshathra Vairya')
***Shayest Ne-Shayest*(Phl.)**	Middle-Persian religious text (Var. Shayast-la-Shayast)
sijda	A bow of last respects. RCC 66
siroza, siruza (Pers.):	lit. '30 days', a prayer from the Avesta which honors 30 yazads.
Soshyant (Phl.)	the (World) Savior. (Var: Av. 'Saoshyant')
Spandarmad (Phl.):	lit. 'Holy Devotion', the Amahraspand presiding over the earth; name of the fifth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the twelfth month. (Var: Av. 'Spenta Armaiti')
spenta (Av.)	holy, beneficent.
Spenta Armaiti (Av.):	see Spandarmad.
Spenta Mainyu (Av.):	Holy Spirit. (Var: Phl. 'Spenamino')
Spentomad:	name of the third Gatha; name of the third Gatha day.
Spozgar (Paz.):	demon of thunderstorms.
Srosh (Phl.):	lit. 'Hearkening'; name of a yazad; name of the seventeenth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; a spirit being who guards the soul for three days after death (Var: Av. 'Sraosha')
stum (Parsi Guj.):	a prayer recited on meals in honor of the dead. (Var: 'satum')
sudre (Pers.):	sacred shirt. (Var: 'sudra, sudreh')
sudre-kusti (Pers.):	sacred shirt and girdle.
Siyamak (Phl.):	a hero of ancient Iran, son of Gayomard, the first king of Iran. (Var: 'Siamak', 'Syamak')
syaw (Parsi Guj.):	a suit of white clothes consecrated during the Dron service. (Var: 'siav, shiav')
Syawakhsh (Phl.):	name of an ancient Iranian hero, son of Kay Kaus.

T

Tahmurasp (Pers.):	name of an ancient Iranian hero, son of Hooshang.
tana	the ceremony of laying the foundation for a new Dakhma.
tanapuhr (Phl.):	a mortal sin, or a good deed which can balance a mortal sin.
tan-dorosti (Paz., Pers.):	a prayer of benediction (in Pazand).
Taromaiti (Av.)	(Phl. Taromat) Name of a demon, opposed to Armaiti.
Tâvize (Phl.):	Amulet.
Tir (Phl.):	see Tishtar.
Tiragan:	Religious celebration in honor of Tishtar.
Tishn (Phl.):	demon of thirst.

Tishtar (Phl.):	the star Sirius; name of the yazad presiding over Sirius; name of the thirteenth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the fourth month. (Var: Phl. 'Tir')
topi:	traditional skull cap generally worn during prayers.
Tur (Pers.):	name of an ancient Iranian hero, one of the three sons of Faridoon.
Tura, Turanian:	a foreign tribe mentioned in the Avesta, probably originally Scythian, later applied to all Central Asian nomads.

U

urvan:	soul.
urvis:	lit. "turning point" (as in a racecourse). Cosmic racecourse, also, the ritual "circle or the limits within which the celebrants have to remain." Also, the ritual table (altar, khwan) at which the ritual implements (alat) are arranged (Khwan of alat). Urvis-gah (Urviçgâ) is a synonym of Yazashna-gah. [Var. 'rwaisa' (Gathic Avestan), Urviç, Aurves, Aûrvés, Aurvis, urwes, urwis, urwês, urwîs.] (Cf. Modi RCC 263, 271, 277; DD48.13; Windfuhr 2004, pp. 176-7.)
Ushahin:	name of the first watch (gah) of each day (from midnight to daybreak).
Ushedar (Phl.):	(pr. n.) One of three future world saviours (Var. Aushedar, Hoshedar)
Ushedarmah (Phl.):	(pr. n.) One of three future world saviours (Var. Aushedar-mah, Hoshedar-mah, Hoshedarmah)
Ushtawad:	name of the second Gatha; name of the second Gatha day.
uthamnu (Guj.):	a communal service performed on the third night after death. (Var. 'Uthamna')
Uzerin:	the fourth watch (gah) of each day (from 3 p.m. to sunset).

V

Vanant (Av.)	Yazad of the Star Vega.
Vendidad (Pers.):	one of the books of the Avesta; a high liturgical service in which the Vendidad is recited.
Vishtasp (Phl.):	see Kay Vishtasp.
Vispa Humata (Av.):	a short prayer from the Khorda Avesta focussing on good thoughts, words, and deeds.
Visperad (Phl., Pers.):	one of the books of the Avesta; a high liturgical service dedicated to Ahura Mazda.
Vohuman (Phl.):	lit. 'Good Mind', one of the Amahraspands; name of the second day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar; name of the 11th month. (Var. Av. 'Vohu Manah')
Vohu Manah (Av.):	see Vohuman.
Vourukasha (Av.):	lit. 'of many bays', mythical ocean.

W

Wad:	lit. 'wind, atmosphere', name of the yazad presiding over the wind; name of the twenty-second day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar. (Var. Gowad, Govad).
wahisht (Phl.):	paradise.
Wahishtoisht:	name of the fifth Gatha; name of the fifth Gatha day.
warasyo (Parsi Guj.):	a consecrated white bull. Its hair is used for ritual purposes. (Var: 'varasyo', Av. 'varesa')
Warharan:	lit. 'victory', name of a yazad; name of the twentieth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar. (Var: Pers. Bahram, Behram.)
Wohukhshathra:	name of the fourth Gatha; name of the fourth Gatha day.

Y

Yasht (Phl.):	one of the hymns of the Avesta honoring various spiritual beings.
Yasna (Av.):	one of the books of the Avesta; the name of a high liturgical service in which the text of the Yasna is recited. (var. Yaçna, yazashna)
yatha ahu vairyo (Av.):	the first phrase of the Ahunwar prayer. (var. Ahunvar)
yazad (Phl.):	a created spiritual being, worthy of being honored or praised. Used interchangeably with fireshte. (Var: Ijad, Av. 'Yazata')
Yazdegird (Phl.):	the last Sasanian king. The Zoroastrian calendars numbers the year based on his reign, and uses the label 'A.Y.' for 'after Yazdegird'.
yenghe hatam (Av.):	one of the most sacred prayers of Zoroastrianism.
Yima (Av.)	See Jamshed.
yozdathregar (Av.):	lit. 'purifier', the priest who administers the barashnom ceremony of purification. (Var: Av. 'yaozdathragar')

Z

Zam:	lit. 'earth', yazad presiding over the earth; name of the twenty-eighth day of the month according to the Zoroastrian religious calendar. (Var. 'Zamyad')
Zand:	translation and exegesis. The term 'Zand-Avesta' or 'Zend-Avesta' refers to an edition of the Avesta which has Zand interspersed with the Avesta text. (Var. Zend.)
Zaothra:	libation (Var: Phl. 'zohr')
Zarathushtra (Av.):	name of the founder of Zoroastrianism. (Var: Parsi Guj. 'Zarthosht', Phl. 'Zartosht, Zardusht', Greek 'Zoroaster')
Zarthosht (Parsi	see Zarathushtra.

Guj.):	
Zend-Avesta:	see Zand.
Zinda-rawan (Pers.):	lit. 'living soul' (as distinguished from anosharawan, the soul of a deceased person); a ceremony honoring the yazad Srosh on behalf of a living person. (Var, 'Zenda-ravan')
Zohak (Pers.):	a mythical tyrant. (Var. 'Zahhak', Av. 'Azi Dahaka')
Zoroaster (Greek):	see Zarathushtra.
Zoroastrianism:	the religion founded by Zarathushtra (12th century B.C.?), the oldest of the great prophetic religions.
zot (Phl.):	officiating priest.

Tikkunei Zohar

Unlocking the Mysteries of Creation: A New Journey Through the Tikkunei Zohar

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FIRST EDITION

Translated to English and Interpreted

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TIKKUNIM

Tikkun 1

"Rabbi Shimon opened [his discourse] and said, 'I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys.' As a rose among thorns, so is my beloved among the daughters."

This verse, originally from the Song of Songs, is interpreted in a mystical context. The 'rose' is often seen as a symbol of the Shechinah, the divine presence among the people of Israel.

In Kabbalistic thought, the Shechinah is seen amidst the 'thorns' – the challenges and sufferings of the physical world. The rose's beauty amidst thorns symbolizes the persistence of divine presence and hope in times of difficulty.

Tikkun 2

"Like an apple tree among the trees of the forest, so is my beloved among the young men. In his shadow I was delighted to sit, and his fruit was sweet to my taste."

This verse continues the theme of divine presence and protection. The 'apple tree' is often interpreted as a metaphor for the Torah or divine wisdom.

The delight in the shadow of the tree symbolizes the joy and protection found in spiritual pursuit and adherence to divine wisdom. The sweetness of its fruit represents the deep satisfaction and enlightenment derived from spiritual study and practice.

Tikkun 3

"He brought me to the banqueting house, and his banner over me was love."

The 'banqueting house' or 'house of wine' is often interpreted as a place of spiritual elevation and divine embrace, where the soul experiences the depths of divine love.

In Kabbalah, this verse is seen as an allegory for the soul's ascent to higher spiritual realms, where it is enveloped in the love and light of the divine. The 'banner of love' symbolizes the protective and guiding presence of the divine in this journey.

Tikkun 4

"Sustain me with raisin cakes, refresh me with apples, for I am lovesick."

This verse expresses a deep yearning for spiritual sustenance. Raisin cakes and apples are seen as metaphors for forms of divine nourishment that revive the soul.

In mystical interpretation, this yearning is for spiritual connection and enlightenment. The soul, 'lovesick' for the divine, seeks sustenance in forms of spiritual wisdom and experiences that rejuvenate and deepen its connection to the divine.

Tikkun 5

"His left hand is under my head, and his right hand embraces me."

This verse is often interpreted as symbolizing the balance of divine attributes – the left hand representing judgment and restraint, and the right hand symbolizing kindness and expansion.

The mystical reading sees this as a depiction of the divine embrace, encompassing both mercy and judgment, providing a balanced nurturing of the soul. It reflects the harmonious interaction of contrasting divine forces in the elevation and support of the soul.

Tikkun 6

"I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, by the gazelles or by the hinds of the field, that you not stir up nor awaken love until it pleases."

This verse, often interpreted as a call for patience and readiness in spiritual matters, uses the imagery of gazelles and hinds to symbolize grace and beauty.

In Kabbalistic thought, this adjuration is seen as an instruction for the proper approach to divine mysteries and spiritual awakening. It emphasizes the importance of allowing spiritual processes to unfold in their own time.

Tikkun 7

"The voice of my beloved! Behold, he comes, leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills."

This verse conveys a sense of anticipation and joy at the arrival of the divine presence. The imagery of leaping and skipping signifies the dynamic and joyful nature of this spiritual encounter.

In mystical interpretation, this arrival represents the sudden and profound experiences of divine revelation, where the divine presence transcends the ordinary, symbolized by mountains and hills.

Tikkun 8

"My beloved is like a gazelle or a young stag. Behold, he stands behind our wall, he looks in through the windows, peering through the lattice."

The beloved, symbolizing the divine, is described as both powerful and elusive. The imagery of looking through windows and lattice suggests a presence that is both near and yet partially hidden.

This verse in Kabbalah symbolizes the ways in which the divine reveals itself in the world – often partially and indirectly, inviting a deeper search and contemplation to fully grasp its presence.

Tikkun 9

"My beloved spoke, and said unto me, 'Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.'"

This call represents a divine invitation to spiritual elevation and awakening. It's a beckoning to move beyond the current state into a closer communion with the divine.

In mystical understanding, this invitation is seen as a call to the soul to embark on its spiritual journey, leaving behind the mundane to embrace a deeper, more profound spiritual reality.

Tikkun 10

"For lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone."

This verse symbolizes a transition from a state of spiritual dormancy or challenge (winter) to a time of renewal and clarity (spring).

In Kabbalistic terms, the passage from winter to spring represents the soul's journey from concealment and hardship to a state of revelation, growth, and spiritual blossoming.

Tikkun 11

"In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was unformed and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God hovered over the face of the waters."

This opening verse of Tikkun 11 mirrors the beginning of Genesis. It sets the stage for a mystical exploration of creation. The unformed and void earth symbolizes the initial state of potential before creation. The darkness represents the hidden aspects of the Divine, while the Spirit of God hovering indicates the imminent emergence of light and structure.

The text reflects the Kabbalistic understanding of creation as a process involving both concealment and revelation. The unformed earth and darkness signify the concealed aspects of God, known in Kabbalah as Ein Sof. The hovering Spirit represents the active, dynamic presence of God initiating creation.

Tikkun 12

"And God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light."

This verse, from the Genesis narrative, is deeply significant in Kabbalistic thought. It marks the first divine utterance and the emergence of light, representing the first revelation of the Divine in the process of creation.

In Kabbalistic terms, this light is not merely physical light but symbolizes the initial emanation of the Sefirot, the divine attributes. It signifies the beginning of the process where the infinite aspects of God become manifest in finite forms, a concept central to the mysticism of the Zohar.

Tikkun 13

"And God saw the light, that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness."

In this passage, the act of seeing and dividing reflects a deeper metaphysical process. The acknowledgment of the light's goodness implies a divine valuation, and the separation signifies the differentiation necessary for the manifestation of creation.

This verse highlights the Kabbalistic theme of 'Tzimtzum', the divine contraction. God's act of dividing light from darkness symbolizes the creation of space within the Divine Infinity to allow for a finite, structured reality. This concept is pivotal in understanding the dynamics of divine light and darkness in Kabbalistic cosmology.

Tikkun 14

"God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, one day."

The naming of day and night introduces the concept of time into creation. This distinction is not just a physical separation but also a spiritual one, marking the alternation between revelation and concealment of the Divine Presence.

In Kabbalah, Day and Night are not merely times of day but represent states of spiritual awareness. Day symbolizes clarity and divine revelation, while Night signifies concealment and the potential for growth in darkness. The cyclical nature of day and night reflects the dynamic and ever-changing relationship between humanity and the divine.

Tikkun 15

"And God said, 'Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.'"

This verse describes the creation of the firmament, an act that further structures the nascent universe. The division of waters introduces the theme of boundaries and separation, essential for the ordered existence.

The 'waters' in Kabbalistic thought often symbolize states of potential and spiritual energy. The firmament's creation represents the establishment of a cosmic structure, delineating different spiritual realms and levels of consciousness.

Tikkun 16

"And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament; and it was so."

This passage deepens the concept of separation introduced earlier. The firmament is not merely a physical barrier but represents a metaphysical boundary, delineating different realms of spiritual existence.

In Kabbalistic symbolism, the waters above and below the firmament can be seen as different levels of divine emanation. The 'waters above' represent the higher, more concealed aspects of divinity, while the 'waters below' signify the more revealed, accessible aspects. This division is crucial in understanding the structured hierarchy of the spiritual universe in Kabbalah.

Tikkun 17

"And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day."

By naming the firmament 'Heaven', a new dimension of creation is established. This naming act is a divine declaration that infuses the creation with purpose and identity.

In Kabbalistic thought, Heaven is not just a physical space but a spiritual state. It symbolizes a level of existence that is closer to the divine source, a realm where spiritual entities and processes operate. The transition from day to night and back signifies the ongoing process of divine revelation and concealment.

Tikkun 18

"And God said, 'Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear'; and it was so."

This verse introduces the concept of gathering and revelation. The gathering of waters to reveal dry land symbolizes the idea of unification and revelation in the divine plan.

In Kabbalah, the act of gathering the waters can be seen as a metaphor for the unification of disparate spiritual forces. The revelation of dry land represents the emergence of a stable, structured reality from the primordial spiritual potential.

Tikkun 19

"And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called He Seas. And God saw that it was good."

In this passage, the Earth and Seas are not only physical entities but also represent different aspects of the divine creation. The Earth symbolizes solidity, stability, and the potential for growth, while the Seas represent the vast, unbounded aspects of creation.

This naming and differentiation further emphasize the Kabbalistic theme of divine balance and harmony. The Earth and Seas symbolize the balance between form and fluidity, between the finite and the infinite in the divine scheme.

Tikkun 20

"And God said, 'Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth'; and it was so."

This verse signifies the beginning of life, the emergence of living entities from the Earth. It represents the actualization of potential into manifest forms of life, each according to its own kind.

In the mystical tradition of the Zohar, this verse symbolizes the unfolding of divine energy into diverse forms of creation. Each plant and tree, with its unique seed, represents the diverse expressions of the divine creative force in the world.

Tikkun 21

"And God said, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years.'"

This verse introduces the celestial bodies, serving not only as physical lights but also as metaphysical symbols in the divine structure of time and space.

In Kabbalistic thought, these lights represent more than just the sun and moon; they symbolize the greater cosmic forces that govern the rhythm of life and spiritual energy in the universe. They serve as tools for divine orchestration of time and space, reflecting deeper spiritual cycles and processes.

Tikkun 22

"And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: He made the stars also."

This passage details the creation of the sun and the moon, assigning them roles in the governance of time. The sun and moon are not only celestial bodies but also represent different aspects of divine illumination.

In the mystical interpretation, the sun symbolizes the sefirah of Chesed (kindness), radiating warmth and light, while the moon represents Gevurah (severity), reflecting light in the darkness. These bodies exemplify the balance of opposing forces in the divine scheme.

Tikkun 23

"And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good."

This verse emphasizes the governance and separation of light and darkness, a recurring theme in the creation narrative. It highlights the divine intent in creating a balanced and orderly universe.

The Kabbalistic view sees this governance as a reflection of the balance between mercy and judgment, light and darkness. This balance is essential in maintaining the order and harmony of the universe, according to divine will.

Tikkun 24

"And God said, 'Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.'"

Here, the focus shifts to the creation of life in the waters and the skies. This verse speaks to the diversity and abundance of life forms, each according to its own kind.

From a mystical perspective, this verse represents the emanation of life force in various forms and dimensions. The aquatic and avian creatures symbolize different aspects of spiritual energy, populating the different realms of the created world.

Tikkun 25

"And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good."

This passage elaborates on the diversity of life created by God. The emphasis on 'after their kind' signifies the uniqueness and purpose of each creation.

In Kabbalah, each creature is seen as a distinct manifestation of divine energy, with its own role in the divine plan. The diversity reflects the multifaceted nature of the divine expression in the world.

Tikkun 26

"And God blessed them, saying, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.'"

This verse conveys the divine blessing for proliferation and the filling of the earth with life. The emphasis on multiplication reflects the abundance inherent in the divine plan.

From a Kabbalistic viewpoint, this blessing is not just a command but a channeling of divine energy into creation, enabling it to flourish and evolve. The act of multiplication is seen as an extension of divine creativity and abundance.

Tikkun 27

"And the evening and the morning were the fifth day."

This concluding statement of the fifth day of creation signifies a transition, marking the completion of another phase in the divine plan. The pattern of evening and morning underscores the ongoing process of creation and revelation.

In Kabbalistic thought, the cyclical nature of evening and morning represents the constant flow of divine energy and the rhythmic balance between concealment and revelation in the divine process.

Tikkun 28

"And God said, 'Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind'; and it was so."

This passage marks the creation of terrestrial life, each species according to its kind. The earth is portrayed as a fertile ground for the manifestation of diverse forms of life.

Each type of creature symbolizes different aspects of divine attributes and energies. Kabbalah sees the diversity of terrestrial life as a reflection of the multifaceted nature of divine expression in the material world.

Tikkun 29

"And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good."

This verse reiterates the diversity and goodness of God's creations. The repeated emphasis on 'after his kind' underscores the uniqueness and intentionality of each form of life.

The affirmation of goodness signifies the alignment of the created world with divine will. In Kabbalah, this goodness reflects the harmony and balance inherent in the divine plan, where each creature plays a specific role in the cosmic order.

Tikkun 30

"And God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.'"

This pivotal verse introduces the creation of humanity, made in the divine image. The grant of dominion over other forms of life signifies a special role and responsibility for humans within creation.

In Kabbalistic terms, being made in the 'image of God' implies that humans possess a unique spiritual capacity that reflects divine attributes. The dominion over nature is viewed not as exploitation, but as stewardship, with a responsibility to maintain the balance and harmony of creation.

Tikkun 31

"So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them."

This verse emphasizes the dual aspects of humanity's creation, reflecting the divine image in both male and female forms. It signifies the completeness and balance inherent in the divine plan.

In Kabbalistic thought, the male and female aspects symbolize different qualities of divine energy. Their union represents the harmonious balance of these energies, essential for the sustenance and perpetuation of creation.

Tikkun 32

"And God blessed them, and God said unto them, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.'"

This verse conveys the divine blessing for human proliferation and stewardship over the earth. The command to 'subdue' and 'have dominion' emphasizes the responsibility and authority granted to humanity.

From a mystical perspective, 'subduing' the earth does not imply exploitation but rather a harmonious interaction with nature, guiding the material world towards its divine purpose. The dominion is seen as a moral and spiritual responsibility.

Tikkun 33

"Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat."

This verse establishes the provision of food for humanity, emphasizing the natural abundance and the interconnectedness of all life forms.

In Kabbalistic terms, this provision symbolizes the divine sustenance that flows through all creation. The mutual dependency of humans and nature reflects the underlying unity of the divine creation.

Tikkun 34

"And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat: and it was so."

This passage extends the provision of sustenance to all living creatures, highlighting the universal care and providence of the divine.

The universal nourishment provided by the divine emphasizes the interconnectedness of all life. In Kabbalah, this reflects the idea that all creation is sustained by the same divine energy, manifesting in different forms.

Tikkun 35

"And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day."

This concluding statement of the sixth day of creation underscores the completion and inherent goodness of the divine work. The repeated pattern of evening and morning marks the transition from creation to the next phase of the divine plan.

The declaration of 'very good' signifies a higher level of divine approval, indicating the completion of a harmonious and balanced creation. In Kabbalistic thought, the culmination of creation with the Sabbath represents the transition from action to contemplation, from formation to sanctification.

Tikkun 36

"Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them."

This verse marks the completion of the creation process. The 'heavens and the earth' encompass the entirety of the cosmos, while 'all the host of them' refers to the diverse forms of life and matter within it.

In Kabbalistic thought, this completion signifies the full emanation of divine energy into the various levels of creation. The heavens and earth, in their completed state, represent the harmonious union of spiritual and physical realms.

Tikkun 37

"And on the seventh day God ended His work which He had made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made."

The concept of divine rest on the seventh day introduces the idea of the Sabbath. This day of rest is not just a cessation of labor but signifies a deeper spiritual state.

In Kabbalah, the Sabbath is viewed as a time of spiritual elevation and reflection. It symbolizes the integration and sanctification of the preceding days of creation, offering a glimpse into the divine tranquility and completeness.

Tikkun 38

"And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it He had rested from all His work which God created and made."

The blessing and sanctification of the seventh day elevate it beyond a mere day of rest. It becomes a day imbued with spiritual significance and divine presence.

The Sabbath, in mystical Judaism, is seen as a time when the spiritual and physical worlds are in closer alignment. It's a day for humanity to connect more deeply with the divine essence and to celebrate the completion and harmony of creation.

Tikkun 39

"These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens,"

This verse serves as a transition, summarizing the creation narrative and introducing the subsequent unfolding of events in the earthly realm.

In Kabbalistic interpretation, the term 'generations' refers not just to lineage but to the ongoing process of creation and transformation. It implies a dynamic, ever-evolving universe, guided by divine providence.

Tikkun 40

"And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the LORD God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground."

This passage reflects on a time before the full manifestation of plant life, highlighting the interdependence of natural processes and human cultivation.

From a mystical perspective, this verse alludes to the latent potential within creation, waiting to be actualized. It suggests a partnership between the divine, nature, and humanity in the continual unfolding of creation.

Tikkun 41

"But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground."

This verse speaks of a mist arising to nourish the earth, symbolizing the infusion of divine energy into the physical world.

In Kabbalistic terms, this mist can be seen as an expression of the divine presence nurturing creation. It symbolizes the continuous flow of spiritual sustenance from the divine source to the material realm.

Tikkun 42

"And the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."

This passage describes the creation of the first human, emphasizing both the physical formation from the earth and the spiritual infusion of life from the divine.

The act of God breathing life into man is seen in Kabbalah as the infusion of a divine spark, the 'neshama', into the physical form. This divine breath represents the spiritual essence that animates human existence.

Tikkun 43

"And the LORD God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there He put the man whom He had formed."

The establishment of the Garden of Eden represents the creation of an ideal, harmonious environment for the first human.

In mystical thought, Eden is more than a physical location; it is a state of spiritual perfection and closeness to the divine. It symbolizes the potential for harmony between humanity and the divine will.

Tikkun 44

"And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil."

This verse introduces the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, key elements in the Garden of Eden narrative. They represent profound spiritual concepts.

In Kabbalistic interpretation, the tree of life symbolizes the sefirotic structure of the divine emanations, while the tree of knowledge represents the moral and ethical dimensions of human consciousness.

Tikkun 45

"And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads."

The river flowing from Eden symbolizes the abundance and vitality flowing from the divine source.

This river, in mystical thought, represents the flow of divine energy and wisdom into the world. The division into four streams can be seen as an allegory for the dissemination of this divine influence into various aspects of creation.

Tikkun 46

"The name of the first [river] is Pishon: it is it that compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold."

This verse describes the first river, Pishon, and its association with the land of Havilah, noted for its gold.

In Kabbalistic thought, the river Pishon and the land of Havilah may symbolize spiritual abundance and enlightenment. Gold, often a metaphor for spiritual value, signifies the richness and purity of divine wisdom.

Tikkun 47

"And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone."

The emphasis on the quality of gold and the presence of precious substances in Havilah continues the theme of spiritual richness and beauty.

Bdellium and onyx, in mystical symbolism, can represent various divine attributes or sefirot. Their presence in Havilah alludes to the manifestation of divine qualities in the physical world.

Tikkun 48

"And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush."

Gihon, the second river, and its association with the land of Cush are introduced, continuing the allegorical description of the rivers flowing from Eden.

Gihon, in Kabbalistic symbolism, may represent another aspect of divine flow, perhaps alluding to emotional or prophetic inspiration, as Cush is often associated with spiritual richness in Jewish mysticism.

Tikkun 49

"And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates."

The Hiddekel and Euphrates rivers are mentioned, each with its own geographical and spiritual significance.

In Kabbalah, these rivers can symbolize different pathways of divine energy and wisdom. The directions and locations associated with them may represent various aspects of human experience and spiritual journey.

Tikkun 50

"And the LORD God took the man, and put him into the Garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it."

This verse highlights the human role in Eden: to cultivate and maintain the garden, indicating a partnership with the divine in the stewardship of creation.

In mystical thought, "dressing and keeping" the garden symbolizes the spiritual work of humanity - to nurture and safeguard the divine spark within and to engage in the ongoing process of creation and spiritual elevation.

Tikkun 51

"And the LORD God commanded the man, saying, 'Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat.'"

This verse reflects God's generosity and the abundance provided to humanity, with access to the riches of the Garden of Eden.

In Kabbalistic terms, this can be seen as an invitation to partake in the divine emanations, represented by the trees. It signifies the potential for spiritual nourishment and growth.

Tikkun 52

"But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

The prohibition against eating from the tree of knowledge introduces a moral dimension to the narrative, signifying the complexities of moral awareness and choice.

In mystical thought, this commandment represents the boundary set by the divine to maintain the balance of creation. Eating from this tree symbolizes the awakening of deeper consciousness and the responsibilities that come with it.

Tikkun 53

"And the LORD God said, 'It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him.'"

This verse introduces the concept of companionship and partnership, recognizing the need for relationship and mutual support in human experience.

From a Kabbalistic perspective, this can be understood as the divine intention to create a harmonious balance between opposing forces, symbolized by the male and female aspects of humanity.

Tikkun 54

"And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof."

This passage illustrates the role of humanity in creation, specifically the authority and responsibility in naming the creatures.

In mystical thought, naming is an act of defining and understanding the essence of things. Adam's role in naming reflects humanity's capacity to discern and categorize the various manifestations of divine creation.

Tikkun 55

"And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for Adam there was not found a help meet for him."

Adam's act of naming continues, yet it highlights his own solitude, underscoring the need for a companion who matches his nature and essence.

The act of naming, while signifying dominion and understanding, also reveals Adam's awareness of his unique role and the absence of a corresponding entity with whom he can share his existence.

Tikkun 56

"And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and He took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof."

This verse describes a divine intervention where Adam is put into a deep sleep, leading to the creation of his companion from his rib.

In Kabbalistic thought, this process symbolizes the separation and subsequent unity of the masculine and feminine aspects of the divine, represented by Adam and his companion. It reflects the idea of balance and harmony in creation.

Tikkun 57

"And the rib, which the LORD God had taken from man, made He a woman, and brought her unto the man."

The formation of woman from man's rib signifies the deep connection and interdependence between the genders.

This creation narrative symbolizes the intrinsic unity of male and female energies. In mystical terms, their reunion represents the harmonization of these energies, essential for the completeness of creation.

Tikkun 58

"And Adam said, 'This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man.'"

Adam's recognition of the woman as part of himself emphasizes their profound connection and shared essence.

In Kabbalah, this acknowledgment is seen as a realization of the underlying unity within creation. It symbolizes the reunion of fragmented aspects of the divine.

Tikkun 59

"Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh."

This verse establishes the principle of marital union, defining a sacred bond and the merging of lives into a single unit.

This merging is understood in mystical Judaism as a microcosm of divine unity, where separate entities come together to form a harmonious whole, reflecting the underlying unity of all creation.

Tikkun 60

"And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed."

The absence of shame in their nakedness indicates an initial state of innocence and purity in the human condition.

In Kabbalistic terms, this state of being symbolizes the original spiritual purity of humanity, unmarred by external influences or self-consciousness. It represents a state of natural harmony with the divine order.

Tikkun 61

"Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, 'Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?'"

The introduction of the serpent, a symbol of cunning, brings a pivotal turn in the narrative, raising questions about divine commandments and the nature of prohibition.

In Kabbalistic thought, the serpent represents the embodiment of the yetzer hara (the evil inclination) or the challenging force that brings about spiritual growth through opposition and choice.

Tikkun 62

"And the woman said unto the serpent, 'We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden.'"

The woman's response to the serpent reflects a basic understanding of the divine command, yet also introduces the potential for misunderstanding and deviation.

This dialogue symbolizes human engagement with moral and ethical dilemmas, highlighting the complexities of discernment and the challenges of adhering to spiritual truths.

Tikkun 63

"But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, 'Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.'"

The woman's elaboration of God's command introduces an additional element, the prohibition of touching, which was not originally stated. This reflects the human tendency to build fences around divine commandments.

In mystical tradition, this addition symbolizes the layers of interpretation and safeguards that humans apply to spiritual laws, sometimes leading to further complexity and potential misinterpretation.

Tikkun 64

"And the serpent said unto the woman, 'Ye shall not surely die.'"

The serpent's contradiction of God's warning represents the introduction of doubt and the challenge to divine authority.

This exchange symbolizes the eternal struggle between faith and doubt, belief and skepticism. In Kabbalah, such challenges are seen as opportunities for spiritual growth and strengthening of faith.

Tikkun 65

"For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil."

The serpent's statement introduces the concept of knowledge as a means to divine-like understanding, tempting the human desire for wisdom and autonomy.

In mystical thought, this temptation represents the allure of transcendental knowledge and the risks inherent in pursuing divine wisdom. It reflects the fine line between seeking understanding and overreaching one's spiritual boundaries.

Tikkun 66

"And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat."

This pivotal verse describes the act of eating the forbidden fruit, an act driven by desire and curiosity, marking a significant moment in human spiritual history.

In Kabbalistic terms, this moment represents the introduction of duality and moral complexity into the world. The decision to eat the fruit symbolizes the transition from a state of divine simplicity to one of human complexity and the awakening of deeper consciousness.

Tikkun 67

"Then the eyes of both of them were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons."

The newfound awareness of their nakedness signifies a shift in consciousness. This awareness leads to their first creative act in response to this new state of being.

The act of covering themselves is seen as a metaphor for the human response to the realization of moral and spiritual vulnerability. It symbolizes the beginning of human creativity and problem-solving but also the emergence of self-consciousness and shame.

Tikkun 68

"And they heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God amongst the trees of the garden."

This verse portrays the immediate aftermath of the transgression, with Adam and his wife attempting to hide from God. It reflects the instinctive human reaction to hide from one's mistakes or wrongdoings.

In mystical understanding, the act of hiding signifies the separation between humanity and the divine caused by transgression. It represents the first experience of spiritual alienation and the loss of the intimate connection with the divine.

Tikkun 69

"And the LORD God called unto Adam, and said unto him, 'Where art thou?'"

God's question is not one of location but a deeper inquiry into Adam's state of being and consciousness.

In Kabbalah, this question can be seen as an invitation for introspection and acknowledgment of the changed state. It's a call to confront and understand the consequences of one's actions and the new reality they have created.

Tikkun 70

"And he said, 'I heard Thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.'"

Adam's response reveals his fear and awareness of his vulnerability, a direct result of his newfound knowledge and the accompanying loss of innocence.

This confession reflects the human realization of moral autonomy and the accompanying burden of responsibility and guilt. In mystical thought, this moment marks the beginning of a more complex spiritual journey for humanity, filled with challenges, growth, and the pursuit of redemption.

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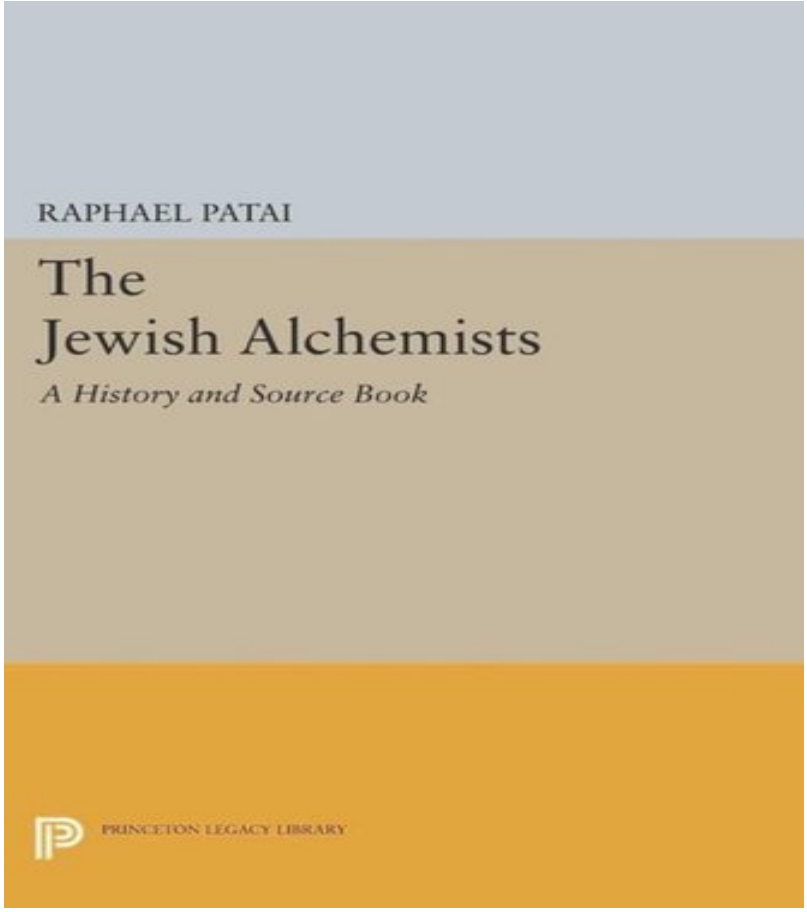

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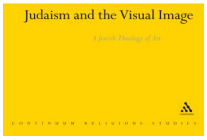

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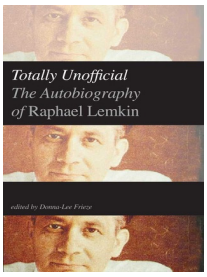

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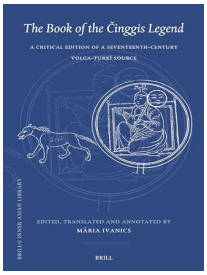

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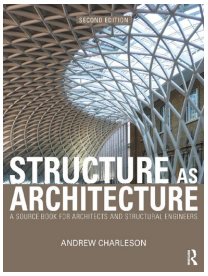

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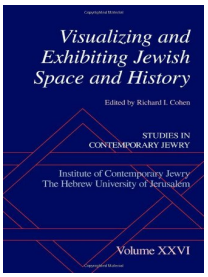

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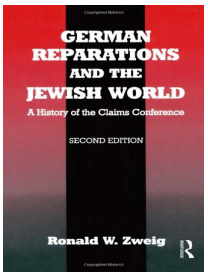

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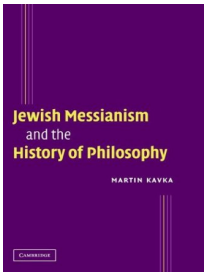

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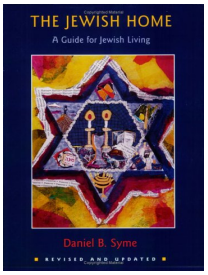

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The Jewish Alchemists

The Jewish Alchemists

A HISTORY AND SOURCE BOOK

Raphael Patai

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To the memory of
Harry Starr

Whose chance remark on Jews and alchemy,
made many years ago,
first planted the idea of this book
in my mind
and

To my brother
Saul Patai

---

the chemical encyclopedist,
from whom I learned
how much more—and less—
chemistry is than alchemy

The vocable *alchemia* (or some alternate form such as *ars chemica*) appears in the West from the twelfth century onward in reference to the medieval quest for a means of transmuting base metals into gold, for a universal cure, and for the "elixir of immortality" The alchemist's quest was not scientific but spiritual

Mircea Eliade,
"Alchemy" in *Encyclopedia of Religion*

Alchemy is the art of liberating parts of the Cosmos from temporal existence and achieving perfection which for metals is gold, and, for man, longevity, then immortality, and finally, redemption

H J Sheppard,
"Chinese Alchemy" in *Encyclopedia of Religion*

At times alchemy was an organic part of a comprehensive tradition which in some manner embraced all aspects of human existence The transmutation of base metals into gold is certainly not the true goal of alchemy Alchemy treats the soul as a "substance" which has to be purified, dissolved, and crystallized anew

Titus Burckhardt,
Alchemy

Alchemy is usually defined as the art of transmuting base metals into gold

Encyclopedia Americana

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I also wish to express my thanks to the editors of the periodicals and books in which chapters included here in a revised form were originally published, to wit: *Ambix, Medical History, Hebrew Union College Annual*, and *Orient and Occident.*

ABBREVIATIONS

A.	Arabic
Berthelot, *Grecs*	Marcellin P. E. Berthelot and Charles Emile Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1888; reprint London, 1963)
EI[2]	*Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1960–)
EJ(B)	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin, 1928)
EJ(J)	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1972)
G.	Greek
Ger.	German
H.	Hebrew
I.	Italian
JE	*Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1901–)
L.	Latin
P.	Persian
S.	Spanish
Skt.	Sanskrit

PART ONE

Prelude

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

SCHOLARS who have written about alchemy are far from agreeing about what alchemy actually is (or was). Some go along with the popular view that alchemy is nothing but the art that tries, or claims to be able, to transmute base metals into gold. This view considers alchemy as a whole a pseudoscience, a misguided attempt at dealing with the properties of matter, which produced a few practical results before it was superseded in the late eighteenth century by Antoine Lavoisier's establishment of modern chemistry. Others, at the opposite extreme of the range of opinions, hold that alchemy is basically a spiritual endeavor whose aim is to transmute the imperfect human soul into a more perfect spiritual entity. This latter view has antecedents as far back as Maria the Jewess, the famed Hellenistic Jewish founder of alchemy.

Several Renaissance alchemists considered the stages in the alchemical work steps in the mysterious process of spiritual regeneration. Thus Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1601) interpreted transmutation itself as a mystical process occurring within the adept's soul. Highly individual is the cosmological-psychological approach of C. G. Jung (1875–1961), who held that "alchemy is pre-eminently concerned with the seed of unity which lies hidden in the chaos of Tiamat [Jung used the name of this ancient babylonian deity to designate the primordial matriarchal world] and forms the counterpart to divine unity."[1] However, the entire construct erected by Jung in his *Psychology and Alchemy* is summarily dismissed by the *Encyclopedia of Religion* with the statement that "Enticed by the resemblance between the dreams of his patients and alchemical symbols," C. G. Jung concluded that "the attribution of life to matter was the foundation of alchemical belief," which belief he "read . . . from his psychoanalytic standpoint as the projection of inner experience onto matter, and thus as the identification of matter with the Self."[2] Further examples of the great variety in the identification and interpretation of alchemy could easily be culled from the huge literature on alchemy.

During the Renaissance, alchemy broke up into competing schools among whom little sympathy was lost. The spiritual alchemists looked down with contempt at those who labored on transmuting metals, and dubbed them "sooty empirics" and "puffers." On the other hand, the claim of being in possession of spiritual truths revealed by God evoked the jealousy and wrath of many churchmen who remained indifferent to

the smell of the retorts but smelled heresy in what they felt were spiritual pretensions of the alchemists, and were scandalized by such alchemical doctrines as the one that identified the philosophers' stone with Christ, since both redeemed base matter. One of the few to take a contrary view on this issue was Luther, who praised alchemy for its verification of Christian doctrine.

The contrary definitions of alchemy bring to mind the old Indian story about the group of blind men who were trying to identify an elephant. Their guide took them to the courtyard where the maharaja's elephants were kept, and let them touch one of the big beasts. One blind man happened to get hold of the elephant's trunk, and exclaimed, "The elephant is a big fat snake!" Another touched the elephant's leg and said, "No, the elephant is like the trunk of a big tree!" The third one grabbed its tail, and cried, "No, no! The elephant is like the hawser of a ship!" And so on, for the elephant's various parts.

The fact is that alchemy was everything its practitioners claimed it was, and its aims comprised everything its historians attributed to it. They included the transmutation of base metals into silver and gold, the doubling or otherwise increasing the weight of gold, the manufacturing of pearls and precious stones, the production of all kinds of tinctures and other substances, the concoction of dyes, and the making of all kinds of remedies for healing every disease of which humankind suffered, and the creation of the quintessence, the fabulous elixir, which healed, rejuvenated, and prolonged life for centuries. Because health, youth, and long life were always at least as important desiderata as riches, most alchemists were also physicians, and used their alchemical expertise for manufacturing remedies, searching for the elixir, and ministering to the sick and the old in any manner they could. All this was part of the practical aspect of alchemy.

Another of its aspects was the theoretical. Everything the alchemists did was based on theories in which they believed, and which were the guarantee that their quest would ultimately be crowned with success. The most important of the alchemical theories was that of the unity of all nature. Wherever alchemy developed—in China, India, the Ancient Near East, the Arab world, Christian Europe—it was built on the theory that all the visible forms of matter, whether mineral, vegetable, animal, or human, were manifold forms of one basic, essential substance. A rock, a piece of iron or gold, a tree, a human body—however different they appeared to be, they were but variant physical manifestations of the one and only essence contained in all of them. This is why a malfunction of a human body (i.e., an illness) could be healed with a remedy derived, or rather an essence extracted, from some mineral, vegetable, or animal

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 lips, and a light cloud to asciMid froin the howl of his pipe. The (•(UiiK'il, of (!o\irsp. supposed liiui cuj^a.^fMl in (loop sleep for tho poodnf theeac(d'ul soul having escaped in the last whitT that curled from his tobacco pipe. In a word, the renowned Walter tlu; Doubter, who had so often slumbered with his contemporaries, now slept with his fathers, and VVilhelmus Kiei't guverued iu his stead. 'i li

li il \ 112 HISTORY OF NEW YORK, BOOK lY. CONTAINING THE CHRONICLED OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE TFSTY. CHAPTER T. SHOWING THE NATURE OF HISTORY IN GENERAL; CONTAINTNO FURTHERMORE THE UNIVERSAL ACQUIREMENTS OF WILLIAM THE TESTY, AND HOW A MAN MAY LEARN SO MUCH AS TO BENDER HIMSELF GOOD FOR NOTHING. When the lofty Thucydides is about to enter upon liis description of the piague that desolated Athens.

 or to protect the injured and defenceless, but merely to gain the vaunted glory of being adroit and successful in massacring their fellow-beings ! What are the great events that constitute a glorious era? — The fall of empires — the desolation of happy countries — splendid cities smoking in their ruins — the proudest works of art tumbled in the dust — the shrieks and groans of whole nations ascending unto heaven ! It is thus the historian may be said to thrive on the miseries of mankind, like birds of prey which hover over the field of battle, to fatten on the mighty dead. It was observed by a great projec a- of inland lock navigation, that rivers, lakes, and oceans, were only formed to feed canals, — In like manner I am tempted to believe, that plots, conspiracies, wars, vi.itories, and massacres, are ordained by Providence only as food for the historian. It is a source of great delight to the philosopher, in studying the wonderful economy of nature, to trace the mutual dependencies of things, how they are created reciprocally for each other, and how the most noxious and apparently unnecessary animal has its uses. Thus those swarms of flies, which are so often execrated as useless vermin, are created for the sustenance of spiders — and s])iders, on the other hand, nro evidently mado to devour flies. So those heroes who have been such scourges to the w(.rld, were bounteously provided as themes for the]ioet and historian, while the poet and the historian were destined to record the aeliievements of heroes ! These, and many similar reflections, naturally arose in my mind, as I took up my pen to commence the reign of William Kieft: for now tlie stream of our history, which hitherto has rolled in a tranquil current, is about to depart forever from its peaceful haunts, and brawl througli many a turbulent and rugged scene. As some sleek ox, sunk in the rich repose of a clover-field, dozing and chewing the cud. will bear repeated blows before it raises itself; so the]trovince of Kieuw JN'ederlands, having waxed fat under the drowsy reign of the Doubter, needed cuffs and kicks to rouse it into action. The reader will now witness the manner in which a j>eaceful community ads'ances towards a state of war; Avhich is apt to be like the a})proach of a horse to a drum, with

much])rancing and little progress, and too often with the wrong end foren)ost. Willielmus Kieft. who, in IG.'U. ascended the gubernatorial chair (to borrow a favorite though clumsy ajipellation of nu)deru phraseologists), was of a lofty descent, his father being ;1 Li' i J .i f ! (k

 inspector of windmills in the ancient town of Saardam ; and our hero, we are tolil, when a boy, made very curious investigations into the nature and operation of these machines, which was one reason why he afterwards cam'^ ^' be so ingenious a governor. His name, according to thf. iuk,..'. authentic crymologists, was a corruption of Kyver ; that is to say, a wrangler or scolder; and expressed the characteristic of his family, which, lor nearly two centuries, had kept the windy town of Saardam in hot water, and produced more tartars and brimstones than any ten families in the place ; and so truly did he inherit this family peculiarity, that he had not been a year in the government of the province, before he was universally denominated William the Testy. His appearance answered to his name. He was a brisk, wiry, waspish little old gentleman ; such a one as may now and then be seen stumping about our city in a broad-skirted coat with huge buttons, a cocked hat stuck on the back of his head, and a cane as high as his chin. His face was broad, but his features were sharp ; his cheeks were scorched into a dusky red, by two fiery little gray eyes; his nose turned up, and the corners of his mouth turned down, pretty much like tiie muzzle of an irritable pug-dog. I have heard it observed by a profound adept in human physiology, that if a woman waxes fat with the progress of years, her tenure of life is somewhat precarious, but if haply she withers as she grows old, she lives forever. Such promised to be the case with William the Testy, who grew tough in proportion as he dried. He had withered, in fact, not through the process of years, but through the tropical fervor of his soul, which burnt like a vehement rushlight in his bosom; ino.iting him to incessant broils and bickerings. Ancient traditions speak much of his learning, and of the gallant inroads he had made into the dead languages in which he had made captive a host of Greek nouns and Latin verbs ; and brought off rich booty in anciejt saws and apothegms ; which he was wont to parade in his public harangues, as a trium])lia"t general of yore, his spolia opima. Of metaphysics he knew enough to confound all hearers and himself into the bargain. In Icjic, he knew the whole family of syllogisms and

dilemmas, and was so proud of his skill that he never suffered even a self-evident fact to pass unargued. It was observed, however, that he seldom got into an argument without getting into a perplexity, and then into a passion with his adversary for not being convinced gratis. I

 He had, moreover, skirmished smartly on the frontiers of several of the sciences, was fond of experimental philosophy, and prided himself upon inventions of all kinds. His abode, which he had tixed at a Bowerie or country-seat at a short distance from the city, just at what is now called Dutch-street, soon abounded with proofs of his ingenuity : patent smokejacks that required a liorse to work them ; Dutch ovens that rousted meat without tire; carts that went before the horses: weather-cocks that turned against the wind ; and other wronglioaded contrivances that astonished and confounded all beholders. The house, too, was beset with paralytic cats and dogs, tlie subjects of his experimental philosophy ; and the ytlling aiid yelping of the latter unhappy victims of science, while aiding in the pursuit of knowledge, soon gained for the place the name of " Dog's Misery," by which it continues to be known even at the present day. It is in knowledge as in swimming ; he who flounders and splashes on the surface, makes more noise, and attracts more attention, than the pearl-diver who quietly dives in quest of treasures to the bottom. The vast acquirements of the new governor were the theme of marvel among the simple burghers of New Amsterdam ; he figured about the place as Icvarned a man as a lionze at Pekin, who has mastered one-half of the Chinese alphabet : and was unanimously pronounced a " universal genius ! " I have known in my time many a genius of this stfjnp ; but, to speak my mind freely, I never knew one who, for the ordinary }\)urposes of life, was worth his weight in straw. In this respect, a little sound judgment and plain common sense is worth all the sparkling genius that ever wrote poetry or invented theories. Let us see how the universal acquirements of William the Testy aided him in the affairs of government. i ;'

CHAPTER II. HOW WILIilAM THE TESTY UNDERTOOK TO CONQUER BY PROCLAMATION— HOW HE WAS A (JREAT MAN ABROAD, BU^f A LITTLE MAN IN HIS OWN HOUSE.

i 1 No sooner had this bustling little potentate been blown by a whiff of fortune into the seat of government than he called iiis council together to make them a speech on the state of affairs.

m .■\ 1 t If ■ i i It li 140 BISTORT OF NEW YORK. Caius Gracchus, it is said, when he harangued the Roman populace, modulated his tone by an oratorical flute or pitchpipe ; Wilhelmus Kieft, not having such an instrument at hand, availed himself of that musical organ or trump wliich nature has implanted in the midst of a man's face ; in other words, he preluded his address by a sonorous blast of the nose ; a preliminary flourish much in vogue among public orators. He then commenced by expressing his humble sense of his utter unworthiness of the high post to which he had been appointed ; which made sorae of the simple burghers wonder why he u.ic artook it, not knowing that it is a point of etiquette with a public orator never to outer ujjon office without declaring himself unworthy to cross the threshold. He then proceeded in a manner highly classic and erudite to speak of government generally, and of the governments of anciont Greece in particular; together with the wars of Rome and Carthage ; and the rise and fall of sundry outlandish empires which the worthy burghers had never read nor heard of. Having thus, after the manner of your learned orators, treated of things in general, he came by a natural, roundabout transition, to the matter in hand, namely, the daring aggressions of the Yankees. As my readers are well aware of the advantage a potentate has of handling his enemies as he pleases in his speeches and bulletins, where he has the talk all on his own side, they may rest assured that William the Testy did not let such an opportunity escape of giving the Yankees what is called "a taste of his quality." In speaking of their inroads into the territories of their High Mightinesses, he compared them to the Gauls who desolated Rome ; the Goths and Vandals who overran the fairest plains of Europe ; but when he came to speak of the unpforalleled audacity with which they of Weatherstield had advr,nced their patches up to the walls of Fort Goed Hooj). and threatened to smother the garrison in onions, tears of rajjc started into his eyes, as though he nosed the very offence in question. Having thus wrought up his tale to a climax, he assumed a most belligerent look, and assured the council that he had devised an instrument, potent in its effects, and which he

trusted would soon drive the Yankees from the land. So saying, he thrust his hand into one of the deep pockets of his broad-skirted coat and drew forth, not an infernal machine, but an instrument in writing, which he laid with great emphasis upon the table. ■ !

 Ionian pitchent at wliich other of tho public TIki burghers gazed at it for a time in silent awe, as a wary hoiisowifo does at a gun, fearful it may go off half-cocked. The dooument in question had a sinister hiok, it is true ; it was crabbed in text, and from a l)roa(l red ribbon dangled tlie threat seal of tlui province, about tlu; size of a buckwheat pancake. Still, after all, it was but an instrument in writing. Herein, liowever, existed the wonder of the invention. The (locument in queshion was a Pkocla.matiox, ordering the Y'ankees to depart instantly from the territories of their Hi'^di Mightinesses under pain of suffering all the forfeitures and punish ;:ients in such case made and provided. It was on the moral effect of this formidable instrument that W'illielmus Kieft calculated; j)ledging his valor as a governor tliat, once fulminated against the Yaidcees, it would, in less tlian two months, drive every mother's son of them across the l)onl'M'S. 'riie council broke up in jierfect wonder, and nothiv.g was talked of for some time among the old men and women of New Amsterdam but the vast genius of the governor, and his new and cheap mode of fighting by proclamation. As to Wilhelnuis Kieft, h;iviiig despatched his proclamation to the frontiers, he put on his co(dedingly common in these modern days, was very rarc^ among the ancients, if we may judge from the rout made about the domestic economy of honest Socrates j which is the only ancient case on record. V'-. \ ^\" , n fm m ;U

li r 148 HISTORY OF NEW YOliK. The great Kieft, liowevev, warded off all the sneers and sarcasms of liis particular friends, who arc ever ready to j .ki! with a man on sore [HMiits of the luiid, by aliej,'iiig that it was a o-overnnient of liis own election, to which he submitted thn)Ugh choice ; adiling at the same time a i)rofound niaxim ft'hich he had found in an ancient author, that "he who would aspire to (/ooem should first learn to obet/." CHAPTER III. IN WHICH ARE RECORDKD THE SAGE PROJECTS OP A RULER OF UNIVERSAL GENIUS THE ART OK EIGHTING BV TROCLAMATiON AND HOW THAT THE VALIANT JACOBUS VAN CURLKT CAME TO BE FOULLY DISHONORED AT FORT GOED liOOP. Never was a more comprehensive, a more expeditious, or, what is still better, a more economical measure devised, than this of defeating tlie Yankees by proclamation — an expedient, likewise, so gentle and humane, there were ten chances to one in favor of its succeeding, — but then there was one chance to ten that it would not succeed — as the ill-natured fates would have it, that single cliance carried the day ! The proclamatif)n was perfect in all its parts, well constructed, well written, well sealed, and well published — all that was wanting to insure its effect was, that the Yankees should stand in awe of it; but, provoking to relate, they treated it with the niost absolute contempt, ajiplied it to an unseemly purpose, and thus did the first warlike proclamation come to a shameful end — a fate which I am credibly informed has befallen but too many of its successors. So far from abandoning the country, those varlets continued their encroachments, squatting along the green banks of the Varsclie river, and founding Hartford, Stamford, Xew Haven, and other border towns. I have already shown how the onion])atches of Pyquag were an eyescore to Jacobus Van Curlct and his garrison ; but now these moss-troopers increased in their atrocities, kidnapping hogs, impounding horses, and sometimes grievously rib-roasting their owners. Our wuithy forefathers could scarcely stir abroad without danger of])eiiig outjockied in horseflesh, or taken in in bargai ling; while, in their absence, sonno daring Yankee pedler wouivi penetrate to their house tin-ware an 1 am wel of my hist heart, amoi draw

there] that valian of a dead li< narrating t is ten cha.n certain of t raise such sliall need oso, to pro Should s nicnt — no headed pe offence at i ancestors i all my hea the sacred tlie honest work woul of Connect nien have observe t)\ inijjartial wrongs ai tliat. thou; t(Mnporary up. who w Tlius th rant it, wl Nieuw N(1 The folio " III tlio m Innili' of Com linvc liiiiiili'ii'i nl-io sowcil 111 iiitciiilcil to s< ClIMlpMMil', wl pticks and pic Diickinjr." I K\ (lilWIir \ t'VV s " I'liosp of prclriicc tlial iMlHTiliinrc 5't liir ditina^' men uBcd to i ■ 1 -All

 good housewives with tlipir household, and nearly rtnn the tiii-ware and wooden bowls. ^ I am well aware of the perils whieh environ me in this part of my history. While raking, with curious hand but f ious licart, among clie mouldering remains ol' former days, anxious to draw therefrom the honey of wisdom, I may fare somewhat like that valiant worthy, Samson, who, in meddling with the carcass of a dead lion, drew a swarm of l)ees about his ears. Thus, while narrating the many misdeeds of the Yanokie or Yankee race, it is ten chances to one but 1 offend the morbid sensibilities of certain of their unreasonable descendants, who may fly out and raise such a buzzing about this unlucky head of mine, that 1 shall need the toagh hide of an Achilles, or an Orlando Furiosi), to i)roteet me from their stings. Should such be the case, 1 should deeply and sincerely laiiK'ut — not my misfortune in giving offence — but the wrongheaded pervt'rseness of an ill-natured generation, in taking off"nee at any thing I say. That their ancestors did use my ancestors ill is true, and 1 am very sorry for it. I would, witii all my heart, the fact were otherwise ; but as I am recording the sacred events of history, I'd not bate one nail's breadth of the honest truth, thougli 1 were sure the whole edition of my work woidd bf^ bought U]) and burnt by the common hangman of Connecticut. And in sooth, now that these testy gentlemen have drawn me out. 1 will make bold to go farther, and ol)serve t)>.at this is one of the grand pur])oses for which we inilt.'irtial historians are sent into the world — to redress wrongs atid r(Mid(>r justice on the heads of the guilty. So that, thougli a powerful nation may wrong its neighbors with temporary impunity, yet sooner or later an historian springs)ip. wlio wreaks amjde chastisement on it in return. Thus these mos.s-troopers of the East little thought, I'll warrant it, while they were harassing the inoffensive province of Nicuw Nederlands, and driving its unha])py governor to his 1 The followiiiir cases in point iipprnr in Hiizard'^ Collection of Stnto TapiTs. " In tlio mciintinu", tlifv of Hartford have not oiicly usnrpod and taken in the innilc of Conncctifott, althoiifth unri(»ht('ougly and ajiaihst tlie laws of nations, but Imvc hindciril our

iiMtioii iti sowlnjj tlieire own purchased broken \ip lands, but have nNii sowed Ihein with come in the night, which the Nederlande;s had broken upand iiitciiiied to sowe : ;ind h.ive beaten the servants of the lilpli and niifrhty the lionorcd cuiiipiiiiie, which were liiboriiiji upon tlieire master's lanilinckink| a hole in his head, with a stick, so that the bloode ran ilowiii' very stioiiiilv dowiie upou his body." " i'liose of Harllord sold a ho.uf?, that belonged to the honored ciinpf nie, under pretiiice that it hud eaten of tlieire grounde grass, wlien they had I'o' any loot ot Inlierltiince Tliey protVered the liopg for fls. if the contniiiisioners w„uld have given &'< tor damage- ; which the commirisiunerH denied, becaase noe man's uwii ho„'g (as men uBvd to say) can tietipagg upon liisowne master's grounde." h . M : ,i 1,

 wit's end, that an historian would evor arise, and give thoin tlieir own, witli interest. Since, tlicn, I am but perforniing my bounden duty as an historian, in avenging the wrongs ot our rerered ancestors, I shall make no further ajjology, and, indeed, when it is considered tliat T have all these ancient borderers of the east in my power, and at the mercy of my pen, I trust that it will be admitted 1 conduct myself with great liumanity and moderation. It was long before William the Testy could be pei-suaded that his much vaunted war measure was inelTeclual; on the contrary, he flew in a passion whenever it was doubteil, swear, ing that though slow in operating, yet when it once began to work, it would soon purge the land of these invader;. When convinced, at length, of the truth, like a shrewd })hysician ho attributed the failure to the quantity, not the quality of the medicine, and resolved to double the dose. He fulminated, therefore, a second proclamation more vehement than tlielirst, forbidding all intercourse with these Yankee intruders ; ordering the Dutcli burghers on the frontiers to buy none of their pacing horses, measly pork, apple sweetmeats, Weathersfield onions, or wooden bowls, and to furnish them with no supplies of gin, gingerbread, or sourkrout. Another interval elapsed, during which tho last proclama' tion was as little regarded as the first, and the nonintercourso was especially set at naught by the young folks of both sexes, if we may judge by the active bundling which took place along the borders. At length one day the inhabitants of New Amsterdam were aroused by a furious barking of dogs, great and small, and beheld, to their sirrprise, the whole garrison of Fort Good Hope straggling into town all tattered and wayworn, with Jacobus Van Curlet at their head, bringing the melaniiholy intelligence of the capture of Fort Good Hope by the Yankees. The fate of this important fortress is an impressive warning to all military commanders. It was neither carried by storm nor famine ; nor was it undermined ; nor bombarded ; nor set on fire l)y red-hot shot; bui, was taken by a stratagem no less singular than eifectual. and Avhieh can never fail of success, whenever an opportunity occurs of putting it in practice. It seems that the

Yankees had received intelligence that the garrison of Jacobus Van (Jurlet liad been reduced nearly oneeighth by tlie death of two of his most corpulent soldiers, who had overeaten themselves on fat salmon caught in the Varsche river. A secret expedition was immediately set on foot to sur

 prise the fortress. The crafty enemy knowing the habits of the garrison to sleep soundly after they had oaten their dinners and smoked their pipes, stole upon tliem at the noontide of a sultry summer's day, and surprised them in the midst of tlieir slumbers. In an instant the flag of their High Mightinesses was lowered, and the Yankee standard elevated in its stead, being a dried codfish, by way of a spread eagle. A strong garrison was appointed, of long-sided, hard-fisted Yankees, with WeathersHeld onions for cockades and feathers. As to Jacobus Van Curlet and his men, they were seized by the nape of the neck, conducted to the gate, and one by one dismissed with a kick in the crupper, as Charles Xllth dismissed the heavy -bottomed Kussians at the battle of Narva ; Jacobus Van Curlet receiving two kicks in consideration of his official dignity. CHAPTER IV. I 1 CONTAINING THE FEARFUL WRATH OF WILLIAM THE TESTY, AND THE ALARM OF NEW AMSTERDAM — HOW THE GOVERNOR DID STRONGLY FORTIFY THE CITY OF THE RISE OP ANTONY THE TRUMPETER, AND THE WINDY ADDITION TO THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF NEW AMSTERDAM. Language cannot express the awful ire of William the Testy on hearing of the catastrophe at Fort Goed Hoop. For three good hours his rage was too great for words, or rather the words were too great for him, (being a very small man,) and he was nearly choked by the misshapen, nine-cornered Dutch oaths and epithets which crowded at once into his gullet. At length his words found vent, and for three days he kept up a constant discharge, anathematizing the Yankees, man, woman, and child, for a set of dieven, schobbejacken, deugenieten, twistzoekeren, blaes-kaken, loosen-schalken, kakken-bedden, and a thousand other names, of which, unfortunately for posterity, history does not make mention. Finally, he swore that he would have nothing more to do with such a squatting, bundling, guessing, questioning, swapping, pumpkin-eating, molasses-daubing, shingle-splitting, cider-watering, horse-jookeying, notion-peddling crew — that they might stay at Fort Goed Hoop and rot, before he would dirty his hands by attempting to drive them away; in proof of which he ordered ! I I - I ! \l

 tho new-raised troops to bo inarched forthwith into winter quarters, altiiougli it was not as yet quite midsummer. (Jrcat despondency now fell upon tlie city of New Amsterdam. I|, was feared that the conquerors of Fort Goed Hoop, fluslicd with victory and apple-l)randy, iniyht nuindi on to tlie eapit;il, take it by storm, and antuix the whole province to Connecjticut. The name of Yankee became as terrible amonj; the Kieuw Nederlanders as was that of Gaul amonj; the ancient Uomaiis; insomuch that the good wives of the Manhattoes used it as a bugbear wherewith to frighten their unruly children. Everybody clamored around the governor, imploring him to put the city in a complete])osture of defence, and ho listom'd to their clamors. Nobody could accuse William the Testy of being idle in time of danger, or at any otlier time. lie was never idle, but then ho was often busy to very little puri)0?e. When a youngling he had been impressed with the words of Solomon, " Go to bhe ant, thou sluggard, observe her ways and be wise," in conformity to which he had ever been of a restless, antlike turn ; hurrying hither and thither, nobody knew why or wherefore, busying himself about small matters with an air of great importance and anxiety, and toiling at a grain of m.ustard-seed in the full conviction that he was moving a mountain. In the present instance, he called in all his inventive powers to his aid, and was continually pondering over plans, making diagrams, and worrying about with a troop of workmen and projectors at his heels. At length, after a world of consultation and contrivance, his plans of defence ended in rearing a great flag-staff in the centre of the fort, and perching a windmill on each bastion. These warlike preparations in some measure allayed the public alarm, especially after an additional means of securing the safety of the city had been suggested by the governor's lady. It had already been hinted in this most authentic history, that in the domestic establishment of William the Testy " tlu; gray mare was the better horse;" in other words, that his wife " ruled the roast," and, in governing the governor, governed the province, which might thus be said to be under petticoat government. Now it came to pass, that about this time there lived in

th? Manhattoes a jolly, robustious trumpeter, named Antony Van Corlear, famous for his long wind; and who, as the story goes, could twang so potently upon his instrument, that the effect upon all within hearing was like that ascribed to the Scotch bagpipe when it sings right lustily i' the nose. This sou pleasant, I had Ills litl ;t r()\ sti'llll till' biirglif jinidigious is saitl to h oil the fail gate' To this turned in t seeoiid and kind of pet house, at w as has bee result of th peter to th(of New An; The city dune one's and tidgetii down the ra as does a m the other si Corlear thii th(! horn of (d' Alecto ; tlie ram's which the lie all th the east gn invasion ; of Fort (lO So far fron Now Amst(iial)le, lillin trade with jiroiie to ge The old governor's awe insi)irc the windy 'Tlie bridfie the toll is Heldu ants oi'tlie putr

 Tliis soundor of brass was moreover n lusty bachelor, with a pleasant, burly visapje, a long nose, and huge whiskers. He liiul liis little boH'crii', or retreat in the country, where he ltd ;t r(i\ .stt'ini;^ lite, giving (lances to the wives and (laughters of the burghers ol the Alanliattoes, insomuch that he became a hi(i(ii;^'i(ius favorite with all the wonuMi, young and old. He is s;iiii to have been the iirst to collect that famous toll levied nil tlie fair sex at Kissing liridge, on the liighway to llellK:it.'.» To this sturdy bachelor the eyes of all the women were tinned in this time of darkness and peril, as the very man to sr(^()nd and carry out the plans of defence of the governor. A kiiiilof petticoat council was forthwith lield at tlie government house, at which tln^ governor's lady jjresided ; and this lady, as has been hinted, l)eing all jjotent with the governor, the result of these councils was the elevation of Antony the Trumpeter to the p(;st of commandant of windmills and champion of New Amsterdam. The city being thus fortified and garrisoned, it would luive (lone one's heart good to see the governor snapping his fingers and fidgeting with delight, as the trumpeter strutted up and down the ramparts twanging defiance to the whole Yankee race, as d(jes a mod(frn editor to all the principalities and i)owers on the other side of the Atlantic. In the hands of Antony Van (,'oilcar this windy instrunieiit ap})eared to him as potent as the horn of the paladin Astolpho, or even the more classic liorn ol Alecto ; nay, he had almost the temerity to compare it with the ram's horn celebrated in holy writ, at the very sound of which the walls of Jericho fell down, l!t^ all this as it may, the apprehensions of hostilities from the east gradually di(Hl away. The Yankees made no further invasion ; nay, they declared they had only taken possession of Fort (iced Hoop as being erected within their territories. So far from manifesting hostility, tlu^y continued to throng to New Amsterdam with the most innocent countenances imaginable, filling the market with their notions, being as ready to trade with the Nederlanders as ever — and not a whit more jiroiie to get to the windward of them in a bargain. The old wives of the Manhattoes who took tea with the governor's lady attributed all this affected

moderation to the awe inspired by the military preparations of the governor, and the windy prowess of Antony the Trumpeter, >Tlie bridfie li«>ro nioiiUouocJ by Mr Kniokerbocker still exists; but It is said ttiat the tull is seldom eolli-oted uuw-u'dayti exupptliig un sleif^bing parties, by the desceudaots ol'tbe putriarubs, wbo still prvsurve tbe trudiliuns uf tbe city. T

I V ■A I j1J hfT 154 ntSTORY OF NEW YORK. There were not wanting illiberal ininila, however, who sncorod at the governor for thinking to defend Ins city as ho gov«>rned it, by niero wind; but William Kioft was not to lm j('(!n'd out, of his windmills — ho had seen them perched tipon the ramparts of his native city of Saardani, and was persuiulcd they were connected witli the great science of defence; nay, so much])iqued was he by having them made a matter of riili (ude, that he introduced them into the arms of the city, where they remain to this day, quartered with the ancient beaver of the Manhattoes, an end)lem and memento of his pt)liey. I must not omit to mention that certain wise old burghers of the Maidiattoes, skilful in expounding signs and mysteries, after events have come to pass, consider this early intrusion of the wiiulmill into the escutcheon of our city, which beforo had been wholly occujned by the beaver, as portentous of its after fortune, when the quiet Dutchman would be elbowed aside by the enterprising Yankee, and patient industry overtopped by windy speculation. CHAPTER V. of thk jurisprudence of william the testy, and his admirahle kxi'kdiknts for the sufpre88ION op poverty. Among the wrecks and fragments of ex.alted wisdom which have Hoated down the stream of time from venerable antitpiity, and been picked up by those humble, but industrious wights who I)ly along the shores of literature, v/e find a shrewd ordinance of Charondas the Locrian legislator. Anxious to preserve the judicial code of the State from the additions and amendments of country members and seekers of popularity, he ordained that, whoever proposed a new law should do it with a halter about his necik ; whereby, in case his proposition were rejected, they just hung him up — and there the matter ended. The effect was, that for more than two hundred years there was but one trifling alteration in the judicial code ; and legal matters were so clear and simple that the whole race of lawyers starved to death for want of employment. The Locrians, too, being freed from all incitement to litigation, lived very lovingly together, and were so happy a people that they make S'^arce any figure in history ; it

being only your litigious, quarrelsome, rantipole nations who make much noise in the world.

nisroiiv Of nkw yohk. 166 T havfi boon roiniiidcd of tlicso liistorical facts in comintj courts of law would never be so crowded with petty, vexatious and disgraceful suits, were it not for the herds of])etti Coggers. Tliese tn!nj)er with the passions of the poorer and more ignorant classes ; who, as if q»! fi I I •■ ,' liil ! i '.

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PREFACE.

BY

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This book consists of a number of papers on various subjects, all bearing on the connection of Iranians with India from the most ancient times upto about the sixteenth century after Christ. It is evidently the result of extensive study, patient compilation and thought. The author Mr. Hodivala has written as a scholar for scholars, in most cases fully quoting his authorities. But his book will also be interesting to the general reader, especially Parsi, with a taste for history or antiquities. The author has done me the honour of asking me to write the preface, and I have accepted the task after some hesitation, as I have doubts about my fitness for it. I have set down below my views about some of the many subjects dealt with by the author likely to be of interest to the reader. As some of the subjects are of a controversial nature, views are likely to differ, and the author has very fairly told me to express mine even though they may not coincide with his. But my main object has been to supplement, not criticise.

The Aryans.

From the very great similarity in the ancient languages, thoughts, traditions, rituals, and ways of life of the Iranians and Aryan Indians it has been inferred that their ancestors must have formed a common nation at one time, and there is such a mass of evidence to support this inference, that it is commonly accepted by scholars. On the other hand, the theory that the Zoroastrians were a colony from northern India, that a schism took place there, and the Zoroastrians migrated westwards is one not commonly accepted. The belief commonly accepted and based on a large amount of evidence is that after the ancestors of the Indians came to India, the Iranian and Indian branches, although in some contact, developed independently, that the separation took place long before the time of Zoroaster, that Zoroaster was an Iranian and did all his work on Iranian soil among Iranian peoples.

Parsu and Prithu.

That the Persians or Parthians are mentioned by name in the Rigveda is extremely doubtful. Both tradition and modern scholarship are opposed to this view.* In Rv. I-105-8 पर्शव: very probably means "ribs," and in Rv. VII-83-1 पृथुपर्शव: "with broad sickles." In Rv. VIII-6-46 पर्शु is a proper noun, but that it means "Persian" there is nothing to show.

In this connection it must be remembered that the appellation "Persian" came to be applied to the whole Iranian nation only after the rise of the Persian Achæmenians, long after the period of the Rigveda. Before then, it was confined to the people of Persis, the modern Fars, a region in the south-west of Iran, very far from India, and the Iranians called themselves by the name Airya, corresponding to the Indian आर्य Arya. The name of Persia does not occur even in the Avesta; much less is it likely to occur in the Vedas.

* See Sâyana's commentary on the three verses of the Rigveda quoted at page 2 of this book; also the articles Parsu and Prithu in Macdonell and Keith's Vedic Index, and the authorities quoted there, and the same words in Monier—Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Further, the Persians called themselves पार्स Pârsa as in the Behistun inscriptions, and the Hindus were not likely to change that word to पर्शु Parsu; in later times they had no difficulty in adopting the correct word पारसीक Pârasîka.

For the reason last mentioned and in the absence of other evidence it is also difficult to believe that the tribal name पर्शु used by Pânini referred to the Persians, although it is likely he knew the Persians, as he belonged to the extreme north-west of India and probably flourished about 300 B. C." (Macdonell's Sanskrit Litarature, p. 431). Pânini's Parsu would seem to have been a local tribe.

The theory that the Persians were known as Parsuas by the Assyrians is denied by a competent authority Ed. Meyer in the following words in his article on Persis in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Edition, Vol. XXI, p. 253 :—" The Persians are not mentioned in history before the time of Cyrus; the attempt to identify them with the Parsua, a district of the Zagros chains south of Lake Urmia, often mentioned by the Assyrians is not tenable." He has made a similar statement in his article on Persia, Ancient History, in the same book, p. 203.

Pahlava.

The name Pahlava पह्लव is generally believed to have been applied in India to the Parthians. The Iranian word Pahlav is derived by philologists from Parthava, and seems to have been applied in the first instance in Iran to Parthian magnates under the Arsacides and from them to have been transferred later to the heroes of ancient Iran.* We know from classical authors that there were Parthian rulers in India about the beginning of the Christian era, and a class of coins found in and near India bearing usually legends in Greek and the Indian Kharoshthi script and Iranian names are attributed to these rulers, who are called Indo-Parthian by modern scholars.* In Indian inscriptions and literature the Pahlavas are often mentioned with the *S*akas and Yavanas, foreigners who came into India about the same period within a few hundred years. It is inferred from these three facts, *viz.* (1) the practical identity of the Iranian name Pahlav with the Indian Pahlava, (2) the existence of Parthian rulers in India, and (3) the conjunction of the Pahlavas with the *S*akas and Yavanas in Indian literature, that the Pahlavas were Parthians, and the inference is justifiable. On the other hand it has to be noted that there does not appear to have been found upto now any coin bearing the word Pahlava, nor any inscription or writing mentioning a Pahlava with an indubitable Iranian name.† The name of the Pahlava in Rudradâman's inscription at Girnar mentioned at page 11 of this book cannot be called indubitably Iranian.

That the Pallavas पल्लव of Southern India were identical with the Pahlavas पह्लव is a theory based on slender foundations, and denied by V. Smith in the second edition of his work p. 423, where he writes :—" The name Pallava resembles Pahlava so closely that Dr. Fleet and other writers have been disposed to favour the hypothesis that Pallavas and Pahlavas were

* See Ed. Meyer's article Parthia in the Encyclopædia Brit. 11th Ed., Vol. XX, p. 871, and E. Wilhelm's article on Parthia translated by Dastur Rustomji in the Dastur Hoshung Memorial Volume, p. 322 ff.

* See Vincent Smith's Early History of India 2nd Edition, p. 224 ff. This book will be referred to later simply as V. Smith's History.

† This is so far as I know, but I may be wrong. Of course such a name may be found in the future, and would supply very good confirmation of the identification.

identical, and that consequently the Southern Pallava dynasty of Kânchi should be considered as of Persian origin. But recent research does not support this hypothesis, which was treated as probable in the first edition of this work, and it seems more likely that the Pallavas were a tribe, clan, or caste which was formed in the northern part of the existing Madras Presidency, possibly in the Vengi country, between the Krishnâ and the Godâvari."

Parasika.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the word Pârasîka पारसीक means Persian. The whole word including the suffix with the long vowel would seem to be Iranian, Pârsîk being the Pahlavi term for an inhabitant of Pârs, *i.e.* the ancient Persis or modern Fars. It is possible that the word came into use in India only after the restoration of Persian power under the Sassanians in the third century after Christ. The instances of its use in India do not seem to be previous to the fifth century or perhaps the fourth. Kâlidâsa who has used it probably flourished in the fifth century.* It is given as the epithet of a Persian horse in the Amara Kosa, which may date from about 500 A. D. according to Macdonell (p. 433), or from the fourth century according to Pathak (B. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXIII, p. 280). The passages of the Vishnu Purâna and Mahâbhârata, which mention the Pârasîkas also refer to the Hûnas and are hence probably not older than the fifth century, as the Hûnas broke into India in that century (V. Smith's History p. 289). The Mudrâ Râkshasa was written in the eighth century, and the Kathâ—Sarit-Sâgara in the twelfth, and the fact that they connect the Pârasîkas with events which occurred some centuries before Christ is of very little weight; they are works of imagination, and the authors, seeming to mean only northern freigners in general, have named those known to them in their own times, the Sakas being included in the list of the former, and the Hûnas and Turushkas in that of the latter.

The Sanjan Landing.

There is no good reason to doubt the tradition that the great majority of Parsis now living in India are descended from a band of Iranian refugees, who landed at or near Sanjân in the early centuries of the Yazdajardi Era, and were given asylum there by a Hindu ruler. But the date of this landing and the identity of the Hindu ruler are matters of dispute, about which various theories have been put forward from time to time. In Chapter 6 of this book Mr. Hodivala has sought to establish, that the landing took place about A. D. 697 in the reign of the Châlukya king Vinayâditya of Badami, and that the Hindu ruler who is called Jâdî Rânâ in the Kisse-i-Sanjan was either Vijayâditya, son and heir-apparent of Vinayâditya, or Jayâshraya cousin and subordinate of Vinayâditya with his head-quarters at Navsâri. This inference is based on the fact that in three of his grants Vijayâditya has described his father Vinayaditya as having levied tribute from several persons including a Pârasîka or Pârasîkas. The words are the same in all three grants, and may mean either "a king of a Persian island," or "King of Persians," or simply "Persians." It is possible that there is here an allusion to the payment of tribute by the Parsi refugees, who landed at Sanjan but having regard to the extremely vague language used,* one can hardly say

* See Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, p. 325, and the foot-note in V. Smith's History, p. 288.

* To give an idea of this vagueness I will mention a few interpretations, which can be plausibly put on it. It is quite

more. If there had been any reference to Sanjan or a landing of Parsis or to giving asylum to Parsis within the king's own territory, there would have been good reason to connect the language with the event in question. Some of the other theories about the same subject are just as possible as Mr. Hodivala's, but in my humble opinion none can be regarded as beyond reasonable doubt. However in trying to establish these theories their authors, as in the present case, have brought to notice a large number of interesting facts buried in out-of-the-way books, or put old facts in a new light, and this is service which all Parsis must acknowledge with thanks. It is quite possible that new facts may be discovered, which in combination with those already brought out by them, may eventually solve the problems they have attempted and many others.

The Mewar Inscription.

The Mewâr inscription referred to in Chapter 8 is worth noting, but the theory that Arisinha fought against Alauddin with the help of Parsis seems hardly tenable. The original translation by the Bhavnagar Archæological Department is quite natural, and the word Pârasîka seems to have been used for the Mahomedans with whom Arisinha fought. It is true that Turushka is the usual term applied to Mahomedans by Hindu writers, but this is not always the case. In this book there is quoted at page 122 another inscription coming from this very province of Mewâr of about the same period as the one in question in which the Mahomedans have been called *S*aka and Yavana. There was better reason to use the term Pârasîka, for the invaders used the Persian language, and some of them may have even been natives of Persia, although Mahomedan in religion. There is no mention of any Parsi allies of Arisinha either in the Rajput or Mahomedan records, to say nothing of Parsi tradition; such omission would hardly have occurred, if the help was of such importance, that it deserved special mention in a poem in praise of the family, when none of the other helpers, even those of Arisinha's own family and race, are mentioned. Further whence could the poet have got such information nearly two centuries after the event?

If the theory is untenable, naturally so are the inferences drawn from it in this Chapter, such as that there was no battle at Sanjan.

The Sixteen *S*lokas.

The 16 Sanskrit *S*lokas (षोडश श्लोकाः) contain an account of the Parsi religion and customs, as it is supposed to have been given to Jâdi Rânâ by the Parsi emigrants. They have been rendered accessible to Parsi readers by Mr. Hodivala, who has edited them with his own and previous English and Gujarati translations and a Sanskrit commentary in the Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume and allowed the greater part of the same to be reprinted with Mr. R. B. Paymaster's edition

possible that it refers to the levy of tribute from Nestorian Christians from Persian territory as conjectured at first by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. (See V. Smith's History p. 222). It is quite possible that it refers to an embassy from a Persian chief either Mahomedan or Zoroastrian with complimentary gifts, which patriotism has interpreted as tribute; or perhaps it was payment for commercial purposes or services rendered It is even possible that the tribute consisted of nothing more than import dues levied on goods or ships coming from Persian ports; for this very reason the Gujarat Sultans considered the ports of Persia, Arabia, China, and even Malta as paying tribute to them. (See Bayley's History of Gujarat, pages 18 and 19).

of the Kisse-i-Sanjan.* An edition of the *S*lokas has also been prepared from various manuscripts by the late well-known scholar Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, which will be shortly published by the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat of Bombay. The oldest manuscript known, which contains only the first two *S*lokas, was written between 1654 and 1694 A.D. Other manuscripts containing all the 16 *S*lokas are of the 18th century or later, and some of them give the name of the author as Akâ Dhâru or Ako Adhyâru आको अध्यारु. Among the latter is one of A. D. 1767 containing a Sanskrit commentary, the Hindu author of which calls himself *S*ivarâma in his opening verse of homage to *S*iva.† Under ordinary circumstances the epithet Adhyâru ‡ would have given rise to the inference that the author was a Parsi priest, but Ako is not a common Parsi name, and the contents of the *S*lokas, as will be presently seen, point to a Hindu rather than a Parsi as the author; at least, if he was a Parsi, he seems to have lost touch to some extent with Parsi doctrine and sentiment. As to the age of the *S*lokas one can make no definite assertion, save that they were known towards the end of the seventeenth century A. D. It is possible that they were written some centuries before, but at present there appears no reliable ground for asserting so.

In Chapter 9 of this book Mr. Hodivala has compared with minuteness the account of the Parsi religion in the Kisse-i-Sanjan written by Bahman Kaikobad in A. D 1599 with that in the 16 *S*lokas of Ako, and while fully appreciating the value of his work, I regret, I cannot agree with his conclusions. The resemblance between the works of Bahman and Ako seems no more than what would be due to the sameness of the subject, whereas the difference in treatment is so great as to leave little doubt that neither copied or attempted to copy the other in detail, even if he knew of the other's work. Bahman's work is more orderly and logical, and is

* An English translation of the *S*lokas published in 1808 by Dr. Drummond in his Gujarati and Marathi Grammar, and a Gujarati transliteration and translation published in 1826 by Dastur Aspandiarji of Broach in his famous book about the Kabisa have been reprinted in Mr. Paymaster's book, which also contains an old Gujarati translation, the language of which seems to be of the 17th or early 18th century. An English translation based principally on materials supplied by Dastur Hoshang of Poona was published in 1872 by Dr. Burgess in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. I, p. 214), The *S*lokas as found in a manuscript in Kathiawad were brought to the notice of the Rajkot Gujarati Sâhitya Parishad in 1909 by Mr. B. E. Enti of Bhavnagar, and published by him under the name of Pârsi Smriti with a modern Gujarati translation made by a Hindu scholar.

† The information in the last three sentences is derived from the materials collected by Sheriarji. There are undated manuscripts, but none can be said to be earlier than the 18th century. It is *S*ivarama's Sanskrit commentary of 1767 A. D. which Mr. Hodivala has published but without the opening verse containing his name. Sheriarji has also included it in his edition from a modern copy of the same made in 1887 but containing the opening verse as well as original colophon of 1767.

‡ Ako Adhyâru may be the name of a Hindu. My friend Mr. N. B Divatia, a recognised authority on the Gujarati language, informs me that Ako is a Hindu name, though not a common one, for example, a Pol (street) in Ahmedabad is named from one Akâ Sheth. He also informs me that the word Adhyâru, besides being the surname of some Hindu families, is applied to a Hindu priest, who at present performs the humble functions of delivering invitations to dinners, caste-meetings, and the like. The word may be derived from the Sanskrit Adhvaryu, and Mr. Divatia is prepared to accept this derivation at present in spite of some philological misgivings. An Adhvaryu is a priest who institutes the Adhvara sacrifice. This name is especially applied to the Soma sacrifice. As the Parsi Haoma ceremony, the most importnnt part of the Yasna (Ijashni) ritual, ia the equivalent of the Hindu Soma, one can understand how a Parsi priest came to be called Adhvaryu.

entirely in consonance with Parsi doctrine, sentiment, and custom, whereas Ako's is not so on various points, which I proceed to note.

(*a*) Bahman begins, exactly as a Parsi would, with the name of God as the first object of worship and foundation for all the rest. On the contrary Ako begins with the name of the sun, then refers to the five elements of Hindu philosophy, and puts Hormazd in the third place. The order is not accidental, for in Hindu poetry, with which Ako seems familiar, it is a rule to put in the beginning the name of the chosen deity इष्टदेवता. To Ako, either for himself or for the Parsis, the sun was the chosen deity, not Hormazd.

(*b*) Ako puts in the second place for worship the five elements पंचतत्वं of Hindu philosophy, *viz.*, ether, air, fire, water and earth. The Parsi religion does not recognise the doctrine that these five elements constitute the material world and are hence entitled to worship. One of them, *viz.*, ether* is unknown to it. It is true that Bahman also prescribes reverence for the sun, moon, fire and water, but as he explicitly states, it is because they are objects of God's good creation with good qualities, and God has himself ordained their worship.

(*c*) In the first *S*loka Hormazd is referred to as Sure*s*a सुरेश "ruler of the gods," an expression hardly suitable to mono-theistic Parsis, who have therefore in their Gujarati translations altered "gods" to "angels." The Hindu writer of the Sanskrit commentary as well as the Hindu translator of Mr. Enti's manuscript have used the proper synonym for Sura, *viz.* Deva "god." It is probably for the same reason that Sheriarji has substituted the reading Mahesha महेश "the great ruler" for Sure*s*a in spite of all the manuscripts.

(*d*) In the third *S*loka Ako compares the kusti to a snake, an idea entirely foreign and even repulsive to a Parsi, for the snake is a prominent object of the evil creation.* The idea belongs to the Maga sun-worshipers of India, and is fully developed in the Bhavishya Purâna (Chapter 142 of the first Parva), where the sacred girdle is derived from the snake Vâsuki.

(*e*) The 6th *S*loka lays down pure dualism putting Hormazd and Ahriman practically on an equality.† An ordinary post-Sassanian Parsi would hardly use such language; he would usually indicate in some way that the evil one was inferior, limit-

* आकाश in this case is not the sky, but ether called in the *S*loka आद्यं "the first," which is the position of this element in Hindu philosophy.

* As the simile appears in the texts of Dastur Aspandiarji and Mr. Enti, in the old Gujarati translation and that of Dr. Drummond, there is little doubt that it belongs to the original. The fact that it does not appear in some manuscripts including the one with the commentary is probably due to the sentiment noted above; the wording would seem to have been purposely altered. It is possible that the idea was repeated in the 13th *S*loka, as the reading Nâga of Mr. Enti's manuscript for the obscure Yoga of the rest suggests; but it does not seem safe to base this conclusion on the reading of a single manuscript when opposed to others.

† I am responsible for the emendation निरवधि for the obscure नरावधि of the manuscripts, and for the interpretation of this *S*loka adopted in this book by Mr. Hodivala. It seems to mean "we are the Parsis in whose doctrine are mentioned the two limitless beings, the creator and the destroyer, (respectively) made of light and darkness, like joy and sorrow, happiness and unhappiness, knowledge and ignorance, religion and irreligion, pure and impure (?), health and disease, above and below." I have since found that Sheriarji has put a similar interpretation on this passage, namely, as a description of Hormazd and Ahriman, but he has substituted for नरविधिपुरुषौ the expression नरयुगलसमौ, which does not occur in any manuscript. The argument in the text above will hold good even without the emendation निरवधि.

ed, and subject to destruction. There is no such indication in the *S*lokas.

(*f*) Both Dastur Aspandiarji and Mr. Enti read Deva Pûjâ देवपूजा in the third line of the 7th *S*loka for "worship of God." The use of the word Deva for God does not prove that the writer preceded Neriosengh Dhaval, as Mr. Hodivala suggests, for the Iranian word Dev had its evil significance long before Neriosengh. Its use only proves that the writer was not fully in touch with Parsi sentiment.

(*g*) Mr. Hodivala has himself drawn attention to the peculiar Hindu expressions Jâhnvî-Snâna in the 13th *S*loka, Pancha-gavya in the 14th and Hormizda-mukham in the 16th, and I will not repeat his remarks. As the *S*lokas were written presumably for the information of Hindus, the use of such expressions as Pitri, *S*râddha and Homa for equivalent Parsi terms would be natural even for a Parsi, but this explanation can hardly apply to the terms just mentioned, and still less to the other facts noted above.

Not only is Ako's work unconformable to ordinary Parsi doctrine and sentiment, but also as remarked above, it is less orderly than Bahman's. Bahman has dealt with each subject in its place, first the objects of worship, primarily Hormazd and next his creatures, after that the Sudra and Kusti, and last the observances of women in the state of ceremonial impurity caused by different circumstances in due order. On the other hand Ako has dealt with the same subject in two or more different places, *e. g.* the objects of worship in the 1st and 12th *S*lokas, the Sudra and Kusti in the 3rd and 13th, et cetera, and has mixed up a number of other matters with the subject of ceremonial impurity, which itself has been treated in a confused and imperfect manner.*

It has been suggested that verse 170 is a repetition by Bahman of verses 168 and 169, because the 12th *S*loka is a repetition of the 1st. The latter is a repetition, but the former is not. Verses 168 and 169 refer to respect and appreciation, whereas verse 170 refers to worship; the two are not identical, the latter being a consequence of the former.† The preceding arguments are I believe sufficient to show that Bahman has not copied Ako.

Many of the facts noted above make it doubtful whether Ako was a Parsi. No strong inference can be drawn as to Parsi authorship from the use of Parsi technical terms such as Hormazd, Nyâsa, Yazad, Kusti and Atash,‡ for even a Hindu writing about the Parsi religion would

* I have numbered the *S*lokas as edited by Mr. Hodivala, as that seems to be the order of the majority of manuscripts, and was probably that of the original. Burgess and Sheriarji have followed a different order, the former remarking, "The 8th, 9th, 10th 11th and 13th in this recension are the 10th, 11th, 8th, 13th and 9th respectively of the older version." Whichever be the original order, the remark above holds good, as there is confusion in either case.

† In a manuscript of the Kisse purporting to be in Bahman's own hand in the library of the lato Ervad Manekji R. Oonvala, verses 170 and 172 to 181 are entirely wanting, the second half of the verse 168 reads, "Parastâr i mah o Khûrshîd o nâhîd," and in verse 169 in place of the words "Nîku mi danîmash" there occur the words "Parastish mî kunîm." From this and other facts of the like kind this manuscript seems to be a draft, the text now current being the finished product. The changes in verses 168 and 169 show that Bahman did not merely copy or use words at random, but wrote after independent thought and weighed his words. Further it may be noted that Nâhîd means here the angel Anâhita or Ahân, not the planet Venus.

‡ The words Vidina and Pula cited by Mr Hodivala in this connection are doubtful emendations not occurring in any manuscript, but even if they were used in the original the same argument would apply to them as to the other words.

have become familiar with them in his study and might have used them in his description. Before concluding this subject I would draw attention to the use of the word Vyoma for heaven in the 15th *S*loka in place of the ordinary Svarga. Vyoma* means the sky, the abode of the sun, and is a term specially applied to a temple of the sun. This and the facts (*a*) and (*d*) noted above lead one to believe that the writer was either a Maga Brahmana himself, or at least a person acquainted with their doctrines, and inclined to identify them with those of the Parsis. What has gone before will show that no inference can be drawn as to the age of the *S*lokas from that of the Kisse or that of Neriosengh Dhaval. [See point (*f*) noted above]. Nor can any be drawn from the resemblance of a few expressions on the subject of Dâna, "gift" in the 5th *S*loka to those in a verse in the Chândâ Prakâ*s*a, † for such expressions are common in Hindu books.

The Magas.

The account of the Magas in Chapter 10 is very interesting, and Mr. Hodivala has brought out at least two facts, which, I believe, were not noted before, namely, the use by the Magas of the Iranian word Paitidâna (p. 82), and worship by them of the Iranian angel Sraosha (p. 90) under the name Sraosha स्रौष. The appearance of Mihira on the Kushan coins, the early grants for his worship, and the description in the Brihat Sanhitâ, all point to the conclusion arrived at by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, that this cult must have been introduced under Kushân or *S*aka princes in the early centuries of the Christian Era and not later under Sassanian influence as suggested by others. The Magas could not have been orthodox Zoroastrians even before they came to India. Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspentas, the cardinal figures of Zoroastrianism, do not appear at all in their cult, their place being taken by Mihira and his attendants; while image-worship, which is forbidden by Zoroastrian teaching, is the centre of their ritual, and the main purpose for which they were imported. Further, having regard to the fact that their native country is represented as Sâka Dwîpa, it is not improbable that the Magas were not even by race Iranian Magi, but priests of Saka or other connected tribes, who had adopted a mixed religion derived partly from Zoroastrian and partly from other sources, and the word Maga as applied to them meant merely "priest."

The names of two Iranian angels besides Mihira appear in the doctrines of the Magas, as described in the first Parva of the Bhavishya Purâna, namely Sraosha and Rashnu. Mr. Hodivala has already noticed (p. 90) the name of the first in the word स्रौषाय in Bh. P. I—143-40. The preceding word राज्ञाय is not an adjective qualifying स्रौषाय, but the name of another personage राज्ञ in the dative case. This will be apparent from verses 13, 21, 22, 23 and 24 of Chapter 124, in which the attendants of the sun are described and verses 52 and 63 of Chapter 130. Râjna and Srau-

* Chapters 125 and 126 of Part I of the Bhavishya Purâna are devoted to a description of the Vyoma.

† This is a work on the calendar said to have been written in A. D. 1566 by one Chândâ. The only manuscript of it known at present is that of Mobed Edulji Nowroji bin Shapurji Kaka, who prepared an edition of it with a Gujarati transliteration and translation in A. D 1830 during the Kabisa controversy. Ervad Sheriarji has prepared an edition of the same, practically a copy of Edulji's work, which will be shortly printed in the same volume as the 16 *S*lokas. The genuineness of this work and of passages in it is not free from doubt. Even if there was borrowing, it is just as possible that Ako borrowed from Chândâ as the reverse.

sha* are the two door-keepers द्वारपाली of Mihira and stand close to him. Râjna is identified with the Hindu Kârttikeya कार्त्तिकेय and Srausha with the Hindu Hara हर. Fanciful etymologies are given for each name. Râjna is derived from the root Râj राज् "to shine" with the suffix Na न, and Srausha from the root स्रु "to move" with the suffix Sa स. Monier-Williams' dictionary shows that the common form Râjan is sometimes used for Râjna. The following reasons render it probable that Râjna or Râjan is the same as the Iranian angel of justice, the Avesta Rashnu, and Pahlavi Rashn.

(*a*) Just as Râjna and Srausha are here associated with Mihira, so in the Avesta as well as Pahlavi writings, Rashnu and Sraosha are closely associated with Mithra. According to the Mihr Yast § 41 Rashnu and Sraosha help Mithra to defeat the armies of his enemies, the liars and breakers of promises, according to § 100 in similar operations Sraosha stands to the right of Mithra and Rashnu to his left, according to §§ 79 and 81 "Mithra made a dwelling for Rashnu and to Mithra Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship." With the last statement may be compared the words of the Bhavishya Purâna I-130-63 गृहराज्ञोऽथ रुद्रस्तु * द्वावेतौ भास्करप्रियौ । "Râjna of the house and Rudra, both of them are dear to the sun" In other parts of the Avesta also Mithra, Sraosha and Rashnu are put together in various connections (see Srosh Yast § 21, Farvardin Yast §§ 85, 86, Ashi Yast §16, Afrin i Paigambar Zarthust §§ 6, 7, Yasna XVI-5). They also occur together in the calendar as the angels presiding respectively over the 16th, 17th and 18th days of the month. Darmesteter states in his introduction to the Rashnu Yast, "Rashnu Razishta, the truest True, is the Genius of Truth; he is one of the three judges of the departed with Mithra and Sraosha; he holds the balance in which the deeds of men are weighed after their death.....He is an offshoot either of Mithra, the god of truth and the avenger of lies or of Ahura Mazda himself, the all-knowing lord." That Mihr, Srosh and Rashn record the deeds of men and take part in the judgment after death, Rashn holding the balance, is related in Pahlavi books† such as the Dâdistân

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* In verse 21 the name of Srausha is mis spelt as *S*reshtha in the only version of the text accessible to me, namely, in the edition printed in *S*rivenkateshvara Press, Bombay, in Samvat 1967. In all the other verses the name is properly spelt as Srausha, and no doubt is left on the point by the etymology in verse 23. I give below the verses as printed :—

द्वारपालौ स्मृतौ तस्य राज्ञश्रेष्ठौ
महाबलौ ।
कार्त्तिकेयः स्मृतो राज्ञः श्रेष्ठश्चापि
हरः स्मृतः ॥ २१ ॥
राज दीप्तौ स्मृतो धातुर्नकारस्तस्य
प्रत्ययः ।
सुरसेनापतित्वेन स यस्माद्दीप्यते
सदा ।
तस्मात्स कार्त्तिकेयस्तु नाम्ना राज्ञ
इति स्मृतः ॥ २२ ॥
स्रु गतौ च स्मृतो धातुर्यस्य स
प्रत्ययः स्मृतः ।
गच्छतीति रहस्तस्मात् पर्यायात्
स्रौष उच्यते ॥ २३ ॥
प्रथमं यद् भवेद् द्वारं धर्मार्थाभ्यां
समाश्रितम् ।
तत्रैतौ संस्थितौ देवौ लोकपूज्यौ
द्विजोत्तमाः ॥ २४ ॥

* If is possible that by Rudra is meant in this case Sraosha, for the latter is identified, as shown above, with Hara, and both Rudra and Hara are names of *S*iva But on the other hand it has to be remembered that another attendant of the sun is also identified with Rudra, namely Dindin दिण्डिन् or Dindi दिंडि (Bh. P. I-124-1 and 30).

† This part in the judgment after death, assigned to these three angels in the Pahlavi and later writings, is not to be found in any of the Avestâ Yasts specially

i Dînîk XIV-3-4, Mîno i Khirad II-119 to 163, and the Pahlavi Ardâ Virâf Nâma Chapter 5.

(*b*) In Varâhamihira's Panchasiddhântikâ (I. 24 and 25) occur the names of the 30 lords of the 30 degrees of a sign of the Zodiac which there are good reasons for believing to be the names of the angels presiding over the 30 days of the Parsi month,* the identity of a large number of them being beyond reasonable doubt. In this list in one of the two manuscripts known the angel of the 18th day Rashnu is given as Guha. Now according to Monier-Williams' dictionary one of the meanings of the word Râjan is "the name of one of the 18 attendants of Sûrya, identified with a form of Guha." As one authority identifies Guha with Rashnu, and the other with Râjan or Râjna, the two latter are also probably identical. Monier-Williams' identification with Guha is consistent with that of the Bhavishya Purâna, as Guha is also a name of Kârttikeya.

(*c*) Finally there is the resemblance between the names Rashn and Râjan or Râjna. It is even possible that Rashn was pronounced by some Iranians or the Sakas as Razhn, Razn, or Rajn. Rashn is derived by some philologists from the root Raz "to rectify." (See Kângâ's Avesta Dictionary).

Even though thus Mithra, Sraosha and Rashnu appear to have been imported into India, they seem to have lost most of their special Iranian characteristics at least in the Bhavishya Purâna. Mithra is not the special angel of truth and good faith the preserver of promises and moral relations, but has risen to identity with the supreme god of Hinduism. On the other hand, Sraosha, the angel of divine worship, and through it the protector of the good creation against evil, and Rashnu the angel of justice, the best smiter of thieves and bandits, have sunk to be mere attendants of Mihira without any special moral function.*

The subject of the Magas may be closed with the mention of a peculiar circumstance noted by Alberuni in his book on India (Sachau's Translation Vol. II, p. 184), that the festival in honour of the sun used to be celebrated in Multan by his worshippers by a year of exactly 365 days. Such a year is not generally employed in India, but it has been commonly used throughout Iranian lands and Central Asia, having been probably introduced from Egypt by Darius in his later years or Xerxes. It is another indication of the place whence the worship of the sun was imported. Calculation based on the data† given

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devoted to these angels, nor, so far as I know, in any other Avesta writing, and on the other hand these angels do not appear in the Avesta passages dealing with the judgment after death, namely, Vendidâd XIX—26 to 34, Yast XXII, and Yast XXIV, 53 to 65. This fact becomes very significant when one notes the great resemblance of this episode to the Egyptian representation of the judgment of the dead by Osiris and his attendants in the Hall of Truth. It looks as if the incident was borrowed from Egypt while in the occupation of the Achæmenians, and if this be so, the fact tends to show that the Avesta writings in question preceded the Achaemenian rule.

* See my Paper on this subject in Jour. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIX p. 118.

* Can it be that the two Dadophori or Torch-bearers of Western Mithraism, constant attendants of Mithra and forming with him the "Triple Mithra" were the result of a similar transformation of the Iranian Sraosha and Rashnu? (see Cumont's Mysteries of Mithra translated by Mc-Cormack, page 129.)

† The interval between the epoch of the era of Yazdajard and that of the Khandakhâdyaka is 11968 days (see p. 48 of the same book). To this add 98040 the number of the day of the latter era on which the festival fell. Divide the total 110008 by 365, andthe quotient 301 is the number of the Yazdajardi years elapsed, and the remainder 143 is the number of the day of the current 302nd year, on which the festival fell.

by Alberuni shows that the festival must have fallen in the 302nd year of Yazdajard on the 143rd day of what is called the Persian year by Alberuni. This day, the 23rd of the 5th month of what is now known as the Kadimi calendar, does not coincide with any festival of the Persians now known or recorded by Alberuni. But it is also the 138th day of the Sughdian year of Samarkand and on that day, namely Roz Rashn of the month Ashnâkhandâ fell the Sughdian festival of "Bâbâkhwâra, also called Bâmikhwâra, that is, drinking the good pure must." (See Sachau's translation of Alberuni's Chronology of Ancient Nations, pages 56 and 221). Whether this is a pure coincidence or otherwise, it is not possible to say at present.

Dr. Spooner's Paper.

It would be out of place to discuss Dr. Spooner's paper here, but I may remark that I agree to a large extent with Mr. Hodivala's conclusions, although not with some of his arguments. No doubt Persia borrowed from India and India from Persia in various matters at various times. It is possible that the idea of an Indian coinage was first suggested by the Persian, and it is probable that the Kharoshthi script derived from the Aramaic was introduced into India by Persian officials. There are good reasons for believing that the regal pomp of the Mauryan court was to some extent copied from the Persian, that the Mauryas employed Persians as soldiers, architects, masons, and in other capacities, that stone architecture on a large scale, sculpture, and the erection of monuments with inscriptions were due to Persian iufluence under the Mauryas. It is even possible that the Mauryan palaces were imitated from those at Persepolis. It is also not improbable that Iranian doctrine, tradition, and ritual had some share in the formation of Mahâyâna Buddhism. But with all possible deference to Dr. Spooner's great learning it is difficult to believe that the Indian court in the time of Chandragupta "was almost wholly Persian," that there was a following of Persian customs "all along the line—in public works, in ceremonial, in penal institutions, everything," that Asura Maya is identical with Ahura Mazda, that the words Maurya and Meru have Iranian origins, that the Mauryan monarchs were "Iranians in race and Zoroastrian in faith," that Chânakya and even the Nandas were Iranians, that the Atharva Veda is the production of Magian priests, that Magadha is the country of the Iranian Magi, that Garuda is the Iranian Garo Nmâna, that the Yavanas who invaded Orissa were Iranians, and that they penetrated even to Assam, that the worship of Sakti is also due to the Iranian Magi, that the Sakas were really Iranians, that the Sâkyas were really Sakas and so Iranian, that hence Buddha was Iranian in origin and his teachings Zoroastrian in source, that "the details of the Buddha story, particularly in the cycle of the nativity, were brought into India before the Buddha's birth, and were then attached to his person with local adaptations," that "Buddhism is a spiritual acclimatisation ofa section of domiciled Iranians."

I will conclude with some remarks about my letter to Mr. Hodiwala printed at page 105 of this book and his comments on it. The Ptolemy with whom Weber has sought to identify Maya is not one of the kings of Egypt, as might be inferred from the author's remarks at p. 102 of this book, but the great astronomer, from whom the Ptolemaic system derives its name, and who flourished in the second century A. D. It is only for the identification of the name, not of the person that Weber has referred to the inscription of Asoka.

In spite of the comments at p. 106 on the last part of my letter, and the remarks in connection with "Buildings in Rigvedic times" at p. 104, for the reasons given by me in the said letter I must adhere to

my opinion, which is in agreement with that of Dr. Spooner. The question can hardly arise as to the material of the pillars in the two verses of the Rigveda quoted at p. 104, namely Rv. II—41—5 and V—62—6, for they are the pillars of an imaginary building in heaven, the home of the two gods Mitra and Varuna.* But the bard may have had in mind some earthly building for comparison, and the pillars of such a building were more likely to have been of wood than of stone.

General Cunningham's remark can hardly apply to Vedic times, for he limits the knowledge of stone architecture to two centuries before Asoka However that may be, the only reason of his that is quoted, namely, the derivation of the name Takshasilâ is an extremely dubious one. The true derivation seems to be that given in Monier-Williams' Dictionary under the word Takshasilâ, which is also preferred by the writer of the article on Shahdehri in the Imperial Gazeteer of India 1911. Takshasilâ means "the rock of Taksha." This Taksha is identified with the Nâga King Taksha who had his residence there according to the Râmâyana VII—101—11. Whether this identification be correct or not, the derivation is grammatically correct, whereas Cunningham's does not seem to be so. The name is simply Takshasilâ as given by Pânini (IV—3—93). without any word like Nagara after it, which Cunningham seems to have added to justify his etymology. Further "cut stone" would be Tashtasilâ तष्टशिला, not Takshasilâ तक्षाशला.

The argument in favour of the early existence of stone architecture in India would have a stronger foundation in the Rigvedic verse IV—30—20, if Pur can be taken to mean "town." But according to very competent modern authority,* in the Rigveda it only means a place of temporary refuge, a rampart of hardened earth with palisades and a ditch strengthened occasionally with stone. Even iron (आयसी) Purs are mentioned in the Rigveda, and even Dutt admits at the very place quoted by Mr. Hodivala (Ancient India Bk. I Chap. III) that "this must be taken in a figurative sense as signifying strong forts." The Sûtra of Apastamba only refers to a palace and a hall, not to the material of which they were built.

As I have said in my letter, "one cannot be sure in the matter." The present opinion is based only on the existing evidence; fresh discoveries may lead to a change. I cannot close this subject better than by quoting the words of a fully qualified judge, V. Smith, in the 1920 Edition of his Oxford History of India p. 111:—"The general use of stone in northern India for building, sculpture, and decoration certainly dates from the reign of Asoka, who was influenced by Persian and Greek example. I do not either assert or believe that prior to the days of Asoka the art of building in stone was absolutely unknown in India, or that all artistic work was executed in perishable material, but the ascertained facts indicate that previous to his reign permanent materials were used rarely and sparingly either for architecture or for ornament. When Megasthenes was at Pataliputra, the city was defended by a wooden palisade. The walls, the stone palace within the city and many sacred edifices are ascribed to Asoka."

* See p. 23 of Macdonell's Vedic Mythology in Buhler's Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research.

* Macdonnell and Keith's Vedic Index, article "Pur." See also Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature p. 158, where he ends with the sentence, "There is nothing to show that they were inhabited, much less that Pur ever meant a town or city, as it did in later times."

NOTE.

BY

MR. G. K. NARIMAN.

It was some twenty years ago that I had to appeal to the Parsi community to get out of the groove of the traditional studies by which I meant the Avesta and kindred texts and the Western translations, commentaries and histories written by English and continental authors all of whom had more or less confined their researches to the Greek and Latin writers with an occasional glance at the men who have bequeathed to us their observations and studies in the Arabic language. For it was part prejudice and part ignorance which were responsible for the total neglect of Arabic sources. Barring the authors usually drawn upon, the huge mass of Arabic literature with its constant and contemporary references to Persia remains at least as regards the social conditions of mediæval Iran a *terra in ognite.** I have endeavoured to show how much of Parsi interest lies interred in the unindexed volumes in Arabic in my "Iranian influence on Moslem literature."†

The Armenians who were long the contemporaries of the Sasanians have left annals which have not been utilised with an eye to Persian matters since the day of Patkanian.‡ No beginning as yet has been made in scientific investigations into the huge Chinese annals relating to Zoroastrianism, no effort systematic or otherwise has been made to secure this valuable and reliable auxiliary in determining the circumstance under which immediately after the disruption of the Sasanian Empire certain Parsis settled in China and established fire-temples.* The Syriac literature with its biographies of Persian martyrs to Christianity which introduce us to many an aspect of the sacerdotal life of Sasanian Zoroastrians has not awakened the curiosity of the learned Parsi.†

* A description of Sasanian Persia from within in all its social and political phases is provided in my forthcoming "Persia of the Sasanians."

† See p. 163 et seq.

‡ The publications of the Societe des Etudes Armeniennes promise to be the most interesting in the latest literature on the subject. As M. Meillet says "the words borrowed by the Armenian language from the Parthians are among the most valuable sasets of the Iranian linguistics."

* The studies of Chavannes and J. Marquart have not yet attracted sufficient attention. See the *Eran-shahar* of the latter (p. 90) on Buddhism in Baktria.

Sharastani enumerating some of the Fire-temples mentions those in India and China in the last section of Vol. I of his *Milal wal Nahal.*

On Arabic literature as a source of Parsi history I have touched at length in my "Notes on Parsi History in Arabic Works," Journal of Iran Association Sept. 1918, p. 201 et seq.

† The fact of Pahlavi works translated into Syriac fulfilling the role of intermediary between the East and the West is now an established commonplace.

The Syriac Acts of Zoroastrian Martyrs to Christianity, though to be cautiously used for obvious reasons, are a mine of information on the domestic life of Sasanian Iran. The collections of Assemani and Bejan were drawn upon by Hoffmann forty years ago, Auszuge aus Syrischen Akten. Particularly interesting are the sketches of the life of Adarparwa and Meher-narsi and their sister Mahdukht; of Gushtazad, of Shahdost. Sometimes we know only the Christian names like Berik-yeshu, Abd-yeshu. It is interesting to notice the difference between Christian and Islamic biographers with regard to the biographies of the converts. The Christians give details of the career of the converts so far as they are able to ascertain; the Moslem do not consider the life as worth recording except after the adoption of Islam. Thus while it is difficult to learn the antecedents

That the Parsis should have created no important literature of their own since their advent to India except Rewayats*, transcriptions of texts and a few translations is conceivable but it is regrettable that the Sanskrit texts which speak of the Parsis and of tribes more or less religiously allied have also been allowed to remain a sealed book.

A systematic examination of the Puranas especially the Bhavishya for the purpose of learning the conditions of people who strike us by their similarity with the Parsis was first suggested by me when I came upon the startling resemblances between the Parsi customs and those depicted as peculiar to the Magas in the Magavriti.* Since then I have looked into the cognate Bhavishya

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of such neo-Moslems as the poet Mahyar, the minister of Mamun Fazl ibn Sahl and his brother, and many another who are famous in the annals of Islam, we are well posted as to the particulars of the lives of Behnam and Sara, of Gurbarlaha and Kazo the childern of King Sapor, of Gregory whose Zoroastrian name was Piran-gushnasp and George who was born of Mehrangusnnasp. Some of these Christian converts carried into their adopted faith their hereditary religious zeal and rose to be Patriarchs like Mar Aba (536-552 A. D.).

I have already indicated elsewhere that the Bible was translated into Pahlavi for the benefit of Parsi proselytes to Christianity and that the fragment of a Pahlavi Vocabulary has been discovered which could have been designed mainly for the converts.

On the position of Pahlavi as the language of religious and intellectual intercourse in the Christian centuries preceding the Arab invasion, see my Literary History of Sanskrit Budhism, Appendix V, p. 224-230.

The most readable account of Christianity in the Sasanian Empire is Wigram s "Assyrian Church," a quaint (but justifiable) designation which has probably hindered the popularity of the book. The best French works are Labourt's *Christianisme dans l empire Perse* and R. Duval's *Litterature Syriaque.*

* In spite of the half hearted assurances from our Dasturs and other custodians of our traditional literature that there are no *mss.* in Pahlavi, Pazand or Persian which have not been published, it would appear that the Parsi community is still not in a position to face the learned Occident and asservate that it has placed at the disposal of the latter for research all the traditional material in its possession. The principle of K. R. Cama in this respect has ceased to be operative. Our pioneer scholar stressed the vital importance of printing everything of our literary heritage. At my request Mr. Dhabhar, M. A , has drawn up a provisional list of texts, Pahlavi and Persian, which await publication if not edition :

PAHLAVI.

1. Shayast la Shayast.
2. Dadistan (second half).
3. Rivayet of Hemet-i Ashavahishtan,
4. Aogemaide
   (Avesta-Pazand was published in 1878 by Geiger).
5, Andarz-i Aoshnar Danak (about 1400 words),
6. A short text of 90 words about the best and the worst things.
7, Madigan-i Si-roz (about 1150 words).
8. A commentary on Ashem Vohu.
9. Nirang av u padyare Yashtan (ceremony of the consecration of Nirangdin) with other ritual directions in Pahlavi as given in the Yasna Mss.

PERSIAN.

1. Zartosht-Nameh.
2. Saddar Nazm.
3. Saddar Biher-i Tawil.
4. Dodar bin Dadukht.
5. Araste.
6 Changraghach-nameh.
7. Olma-i Islam and Saogaud-nameh (published abont 50 or 60 years ago by Mohl.)

A codex worthy of attention reposited in St Petersburg, is described by C. Salemann which does not seem to be familiarly known in Bombay. It contains, *inter alia*, Hormazd Yesht in Pazand and Pahlavi, the Pazand of certain sections of Vandidad VIII, two glossaries and Atash Nyayish. The codex does not seem to be provided with a colophon,—a serious defect. But its contents deserve a detailed scrutiny in English. It testifies to the popularity of the *omena et portenta literature* of the Parsis unfavourably commented upon by Aratic writers like Ibn Kutaiba.

* The value of Magavritti and Parasiprakasha of Krishnadasa for the history of Parsis in India has been touched upon by me in the literature columns of the "Bombay Chronicle" My copy of the former has unfortunately been lost by Dr. Spooner who could not obtain it elsewhere in India and to whom it was loaned by me Weber who has carefully studied the latter surmised a Parsi hand in the compilation of this Parso-Sanskrit glossary,

Purana and although portions of the present text of Bhavishya Purana are palpable interpolations, the light it throws on the tribe or tribes whose customs so forcibly remind us of our own, represents practices of a tolerable antiquity.* It admits of little doubt that there were settlements in India of Parsis or peculiar sects of Parsis before the conquest of Persia by Islam.

Mr. S. K. Hodivala who has patiently and systematically laboured to ascertain what the Purana has to give us in the shape of reliable information regarding the Parsis, has touched upon the genesis of this migration from Persia into India. As in most Islamic problems it seems to me that rival texts could be endlessly adduced on one side or the other. What I have shown to my community is not that the Parsis at the first impact of the Arab invaders started to live a life of ideal earthly prosperity in Persia, but that a dispassionate analysis of the causes of their downfall and conversion proves that society and state were rotten to the core under the later Sasanians which circumstance was responsible more than any zeal, enthusiam or bigotry on part of the Islamic Arabs for the well-nigh total extinction of Zoroastrians from Persia in an inconceivably short period. Whatever the attitude of the ruling classes and theologians, it cannot be denied that there were impartial men of intellect who have treated the religion and custom of the former rulers of Persia in a spirit of impartiality. If a comparative study is made of the religious spirit of the Parsis towards Christianity and the attitude of the Islamic Persians towards non-Moslems and if the Shia religious literature of Persia is scrutinised, it will be found that the zealotry of the modern Moslem Persian is but a heritage of his Zoroastrian ancestor. But even if the large Arabic literature were saturated with prejudice against the Parsi, its neglect as a source of indirect information is unjustifiable. For it is impossible for any coherent thinker to indulge in diatribes against his opponents without here and there unwittingly giving us welcome knowledge. In the early Arabic literature there are few names associated with greater literary activities than that of Jahiz. This prolific writer who flourished in the century is not particularly partial to the Parsis, but fully illustrates my contention that even he who enters with zest into religious controversies against the Zoroastrians is obviously worthy of study on account of the glimpses that he incidentally affords us of the social and religious practices of Zoroastrian Persia under the Khalifas. In his *Kitab al Haywan* for instance, Jahiz has a long tirade against the tenents of Zoroaster but in the midst of his polemic he gaves two bits of historical and social interest. Whenever any inexplicable or unfashionable custom is to be denounced it is the tendency of the advanced among our community to promptly refer it to Moslem or Hindu influences. The attitude of a scientific inquirer would not be one of offhand condemnation, of what appeared out of harmony with our modern conceptions of right and the ethically acceptable. What appears to us objectionable in our modern semi-Christian environments was owing to intelligible reasons regarded as salubrious by our ancestors. We do not know, for instance, how to account for the orthodox Parsi prejudice against the cat. But it certainly is not due to any foreign

* I can claim to have first invited the notice of my co-religionists to the sun worshippers called Bhojakas or Magas "undoubtedly connected with the Zoroastrian sun and fire cult" to whom a section has been devoted in the Bhavishyapurana. In order to bring its importance to the notice of the widest interested circle I translated for the "Bombay Chronicle" the entire masterly analysis of the Puranas by Winternitz soon after I received his *History of Indian Literature* in 1913.

influence. It is conceivable that the animal was hated because partiality was shown to it by the Arab Musalmans but that this feeling of loathing towards the domestic animal was as old as the tenth century we learn from the polemical passage in question from Jahiz. Further the same section tells us of the custom which was universal even in his time among the Zoroastrians not to proselytise. It has often been contended that as conversion is enjoined in the older Avesta texts it could not have been interdicted in Persia but that it was prohibited only in India on the all-sufficing ground of the dangerous possibility of the absorption of the community by the millions of the non-Zoroastrians of India. But from Jahiz we learn that the same disinclination to, if not positive embargo on, conversion obtained in his day in Mesopotamia and Persia.

It will take years perhaps generations before we have among us Parsis of wealth and influence such as would rise superior to popular trend of thought and devote their means to the ascertaining of truth regardless of its provenance. It is not every decade that produces a Sorabji Jamshedji who gathered together a large number of Arabic and Persian texts and demonstrated the sympathy of some of the Musalman authors* and theologians for Persians in an age when an effort of the kind must have sounded irrational if not heretical to minds accustomed only to anathemas against non-Zoroastrian and especially Moslem authors.

It is a matter of solid congratulation, therefore, that middle class men of enlightenment like Mr. J. E. Saklatwalla have come forward to give the lead to their immeasurably more prosperous co-religionists. The little book of my erudite friend Mr. Hodivala whose devotion to learning is undisputed, is a substantial contribution to investigations on the lines indicated by me long ago. The labour of original research involved in the preparation of the monograph reflects as much credit on his unassuming perseverance as on the enlightened generosity of his patron whose liberality is not the less admirable because it is exercised by one in his moderate circumstance. It was easier for a Baronet

* The Pahlavi book of Ganjeshayigan has the unique merit to supply direct source of chapter in Firdausi. There is almost complete identity between the Persian version and the Pahlavi text It is most important that as against Noeldeke and others, Darmesteter holds that there is strong ground to believe that Firdausi was familiar with Pahlavi. In one of Firdausi's lyrics for instance he refers to Pahlavi as distinguished from Arabic in a manner which leaves little doubt about his having directly studied Pahlavi materials.

Basi ranj didam basi guftah khvandam

Ziguftari tazi wz Pahlavi.....

This Pahlavi text supplies us a key to the method followed by Firdausi which becomes apparent from a juxtaposition of the Pahlavi and the Persian. He has adhered faithfully to his original except in matters of religion where the Zoroastrian view would too glaringly have obtruded itself on his Musalman readers. He has availed himself of a poet's license sometimes to add immaterial matters for the purpose of rhyme. The Ganjeshaegan was translated into Arabic by Ibn Muskavaih. Both Firdausi and Ibn Muskavaih worked independently. The latter has preserved more of the Pahlavi than of the former. For the history of the Persian philology it will be interesting to compare Firdausi's version with the Persian translation prepared from the Arabic rendering of Ibn Muskavaih by the order of Akbar and called Javidan Khired.

Ibn Muskavaih was closely connected with Zoroastrianism. Musalman writers have given unstinted praise to the Jawidan Khirad and love to describe how this treasure of ancient wisdom was discovered in the time of Mamun and how when translated for him the Khalifa exclaimed "Here is speech not what we utter" One of these descriptions is preserved in a didactic tract of Ghazali called Tabar-al-Masbuk which was originally composed in Persian for Malekshah the Saljuk and subsequently turned into Arabic.

For Persian works of importance from the Zoroastrian stand-point as well as for a more detailed indication of the "Sources of Parsi History" see Journal of the Iranian Association, 1918 Dec, p. 326.

to endow a scholarship or even a chair of Zoroastrian research than for a man of Mr. Saklatvala's means to promote religious investigation which promises no material return.

I hope the example set here may prove contagious. Let another Parsi scholar do, say for a Persian text, what Mr. Hodivala has achieved for the Sanskrit Purana. The parochialism which would have research into Parsi antiquities by a Parsi or no research at all is happily extinct in the community. But the spirit uufortunately abroad among wealthy circles inclines to the opposite. It refuses to see genuine scholarship among Parsis and is eager to patronise pliant and subservient Madrasis. It is more reprehensible than the orthodox illiberality which saw no beneficent activity in the non-Parsi world.

NOTE.

BY

MR. A. GOVINDACHARYA SWAMIN OF MYSORE.

The account of the Parsis of India is well drawn by the author and the book contains numerous quotations from various sources. The author has spared no pains to spread before the reader a vast collection of opinions and incidents anent substantiating his conclusions that the Parsis were originally the Aryans of Aryavarta.

The reader is puzzled to know how and under what circumstances the original whole of the Indo-Aryan stock came to be riven into two separate sections nearly rendering the identity of the one part with the other extremely difficult.

The quotations cited in this book lead one to think of the Parthians, the Prithus or the Parsus or the Modern Parsis themselves as being quite alien in view of the animosity and jealousy displayed by tho ancient Hindu kings towards them. Moreover the constant struggle among both the parties and the eventual subversion of the Parsis are facts well nigh proving that they were entirely alien who could not be allowed to settle themselves in the land without experiencing utmost resistence. The mention of the Parsis (the Pahlavas) as Kshatri tribe in Manusmriti and their having been condemned to the condition of Sudras on account of the omission of rites and transgressing the orders of the Brahmanas does not prove that they were Indo-Aryans, as other tribes also have been mentioned in the same strain, who are distinctly foreigners which the word Mleccha justly signifies. It may therefore be concluded that in the absence of sufficient data the Parsis cannot be conclusively proved to be an identical section of the Indo-Aryans but may be safely asserted that they were the earliest immigrants into India.

The later history of the influence of the Parsis can be gathered from what prevailed at the time of the rule of the kings of the Mauryan Dynasty over India. It is surmised also that the Mauryan kings were the followers of Zoroastrianism not unmixed with Buddhism however, Can it be said that religious persuasions prove national identity? Nor can we assert that all Christians are Hebrews because the Christ was Hebrew by nationality.

It may be that the Parsis an obscure horde of Scythian Origin from all the provinces of Upper Asia had migrated into India, and having been subdued by the Hindu kings who compelled them to adopt a last position in the scale of Hindu society as we know from the story of the King Sagara as related in Vishnupurana and Harivamsa that when the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Paradas and *Pahlavas* were about to be destroyed by Sagara, they went to Vasishtha his family guru for surrender and were compelled to abandon their religion and association with the twice born—tbe *Kshatriyas* (?) and to wear their hair free and wear beards also It is interesting to note that Dr. R. Caldwell thinks that Sagara commanded the different races he subdued, to do merely what they had been doing. According to the latter opinion it may be concluded that the Pahlavas or Parasikas had been commanded merely to revert to their own religion which of course was not the same as that of Sagara although they had come to adopt a religion to which Sagara belonged.

That the Parsis of the present day are classed as a separate tribe is a well known fact. Their worships of the Fire and other elements are not proofs of Hindu identity, as we know that the ancient Drûids had a system of worship and a conduct of life which resembled that of the Hindus in many respects. Can they be said to belong to the Hindu category?

That the Parsis settled themselves in India long before historical times and that they were not however Indo-Aryans may be fairly concluded. But they absorbed to the utmost the Hindu ways.

The book discusses many important issues anent the Parsis, all of which is extremely interesting and reflects great credit on the part of the author who is not dealing with the questions with any bias or predilections. He lays facts, sometimes, as they are found and leaves the reader at liberty to form his own opinion: thus paving a way for others interested in the subject to discuss it in the best way they can.

We are much indebted to the author for the vast collection of material which bespeaks an extensive acquaintance with the literature extant concerning a subject not attempted to be dealt with so exhaustively hitherto.

The book is so replete with materials for a thesis either for or against the common cradle Hindustan, both for the Hindus and the Parsis, that time permitting, many more reflections are capable of being advanced. This I shall attempt and do for a future occasion. Meanwhile the Hindu-Parsi origin is a particular species of the more general problem of the common cradle of the whole Aryan branch of prehistorical humanity. In my book on Ideals of India I have launched a suggestion of all humanity having migrated from the regions of the Himalayas. My book on Mazdeism in the Light of Vaishnavism has a great bearing also on this subject and I may advert to these questions again. Meanwhile the Memorial volume for my spiritual son Dorabji Sakalatwala, so ably prepared by Sri Hodivala is warmly recommended to the public.

FOREWORD

BY

THE AUTHOR.

The subject matter of this book, which contains various references to the Parsis in Sanskrit books, inscriptions &c. was read in the form of several papers in the meetings of the "Society for the Promotion of Researches into Zoroastrian Religion" about three years ago. Mr. M. P. Khareghat, who is one of the respected Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay and who has been unanimously recognised as a veteran Oriental Scholar of rare ability, has been as the chairman of the abovenamed Society taking deep interest in its proceedings. He was good enough to attend almost all the meetings, and sometimes when pressed he offered remarks in his usually very terse and guarded manner. For instance, on one occasion he observed that the references in the Mahâbhârata &c were probably interpolations of much later times than I supposed, and on another occasion he pointed out that the word "Pârasika" in the Mewar inscription seemed to be used for Mahomedans. Now in the whole range of Sanskrit literature the word "Pârasika" has been, so far as I knew, used for the Parsis only and for no other nation. This was one of the reasons why I was inclined to put a new interpretation upon the passage and bring forth a novel theory, although I knew that it would not be easily acceptable. I was well acquainted with the fact that there was no tradition—nothing in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan or any other book—about the Parsis having fought at Chitor with the Mahomedans; but the hitherto uucorroborated incidents of the battle of Sanjan recorded in the Kisseh fitted in so exactly with those of the Chitor battle, that I did not hesitate to suggest the theory either that Bahman had made a confusion about the battlefield, or that he was ignorant of this other battle. I do not claim infallibility for my interpretation and the conclusion based upon it; more convincing proof than that of Mr. Khareghat might show that I was wrong; but I shall deem my labours amply repaid, if my arguments appeal to some of the readers to make further investigations either as regards the battle of Chitor, or regarding any reference to the word "Pârasika" in Sanskrit literature used indubitably for an alien. Believing firmly as I did that a student, who startled the scholarly world with a new theory, should not fight shy of adverse criticism, I was determined that when the book was printed, I should request Mr. Khareghat to write a preface embodying his views whether for or against the different questions dealt with in the book. The fact that he had helped me by giving his views about Asura Maya, which are incorporated in this book, (see pages 105 and 106) emboldened me to think that he would not displease me. Accordingly at my request he took up the work and finished it with great credit to his learning, for which I hereby tender my best thanks.

I welcome Mr. Khareghat's views given in unambiguous language, although in some places he has contradicted mine, as I had expected from such a well-read scholar of great critical acumen, and ripe judgment. Mr. Khareghat's remarks, specially those wherein he differs from me, would undoubtedly supply food for thought and material for investigation to any future inquirer. For instance, according to him the

word "Pârasika" used in the Mudrâ Râkshasha and Kathâ-sarit-sâgar referred to events which occurred many centuries before them and that it was used by the authors for "the northern foreigners," because these people (the Pârasikas) were mentioned along with the Shakas and Hunas, who broke into India long after the said events. But the argument that the Pârasikas, Shakas and Hunas were brought to India by the invaders as hirelings at a certain time and that probably they went back to their countries after doing their duty, is quite different from the argument that they came to India as invaders or even as conquerors long after the time mentioned above. Indeed I cannot understand why Mr. Khareghat says under the heading "Pârasika," that the word "Pârasika" used by the author of Mudrâ Râkshasha was meant only for "northern foreigners in general," when he himself, in another place, (namely under the heading "Dr. Spooner's Paper") admits that "there are good reasons for believing that.....the Mauryas employed Persians as soldiers." However that may be, the point raised by Mr. Khareghat is important. Similarly in regard to the question of the Prithus and Parshus in the Rigveda, and the question whether stone buildings existed in India in pre-Mauryan times or not, I must say that I am at a loss to know whether one should give the palm to Western scholarship or to Eastern scholarship. Take the question of the date of Pânini. European scholars like Max Muller and Macdonell would assign about 300 B.C. to Pânini; whereas Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Dutt and others would push back the date by about 5 centuries. Whom are we to believe? It is clear that those who have taken their education in European atmosphere (I do not refer to Mr. Khareghat, but I speak generally) prefer European scholarship, which, as is well known, has been in several cases found lacking. Personally I prefer to follow Eastern scholarship with due safeguards.

Mr. Khareghat's different interpretations about the inscriptional passage of the Châlukya king Vijayâditya will have to be considered in the light of the context and the then circumstances. The questions about the date and authorship of the 10 Sanskrit Shlokas are important. They were discussed somewhat in the meetings of the above-mentioned Research Society by some members. The commentary edited by me in the Dastur Hoshung Memorial Volume might lead one to suppose that Akâ was one of the commentators and not the original writer Perhaps the Shlokas have undergone revision in later times by some Hindu scholar. However that may be, it is impossible to believe that the writer of the 5th and 3rd Shlokas could have borrowed from the work of Mobed Chândâ, whose command over the Sanskrit language was extremely poor. I am afraid, no two scholars would agree on the questions of date and authorship of the Shlokas. It is no wonder therefore that Mr. Khareghat differs from me considerably but there is no doubt that further light will be obtained, if we come across new manuscripts or fresh materials, to get which no money or energy should be considered ill-spent.

My thanks are also due to my friend Mr. G. K. Nariman, whom the Parsis may with just pride claim as an all-round accomplished scholar for his introductory note on Bhavishya Purâna. I must admit that it was Mr. Nariman's suggestion from the platform and the press, which inspired me to study the Bhavishya Purâna to determine who the Magas were When Mr. Nariman saw my manuscript, he desired to see it soon in print, and it was he who suggested to our mutual friend Mr. Jamshedji Edulji Saklatwalla to patronise my

book, to which the latter readily agreed and for which I am cordially indebted to Mr. Saklatwalla.

The history of the Parsis of Ancient India from the hoary past down to the 16th century after Christ is almost a blank. Open the first volume of the Parsi Prakâsh, that monumental work of the late Khan Bahadur Bomanji B. Patel, and you will find that only about three or four pages have been devoted to events connected with the Parsis during the abovesaid period. I therefore thought that the Sanskrit and other passages referred to by me will at least be regarded as a first step for filling up the wide gap. There is little doubt that many more references could be given; but personally I was unable to quote them on account of want of time an proper facility. I therefore requested some of my Poona friends to help me herein. I a so requested Mr. Saklatwalla to write to his Madrasi friends to give me references other than those I had come across. I am glad to say that our mutual friend Mr. A. Govindâchâraya has written a note, which has been printed in the foregoing pages, and f r which I am thankful to Mr. Govindâcharya.

Mr. V. Venkatâchellam Ayar of Nellore has come across a new reference, about which he says :—

"There is one reference which with some labour I have ferreted out. I do not know, if it is quite in point. But there are more doubtful instances relied on by the learned author, who I must admit has taken immense pains to lay under contribution everything that can be interpreted as a reference to the ancient Iranian people in connection with India.

"In Shadgurusishya's Commentary on Sarvanukramani (a Vedic Index), he records a tradition as to the revelation of a Rik (a hymn of the Rigveda) in the VI th Mandal, ascribed to a seer Payu by name, son of Bharadwâja It is recorded that two princes (of the Sanskrit speaking race), Châyamâna चायमान and Prastoka प्रस्तोक fought against powerful enemies of a nation named Pârasikhas पारशिखाः and were defeated. That they then approached their high priest Bhardwâja and expressed their consternation that notwithstanding a Rishi of such spiritual eminence was their adviser, that they should be defeated in battle by their enemies. The Rishi then commissioned his son Payu to devise some charm or spell, by which they could succeed. The son sat in meditation and saw (composed) the Rik aforesaid, and sprinkled charmed water over the chariots, harness, horses arms and accoutrements. The princes now took courage and went out to battle again and defeated their enemies, the Pârshikhas.

"I do not know if this word was meant for the Persians; the difficulty is about the ख. For invariably we find in Sanskrit ka used as the terminal क. × × × × ×

"The reference I have noted above may be read in A. A. Macdonell's Edition of Kâtyayana's Sarvanukramani with Shadgurusishya's commentary, Oxford Edition, Page 128, bottom lines, note 75 and the next page. The variations in the reading of the word Pârasikha found in the foot-notes must be regarded with care and dealt with. Our reading shows also the more desirable form of पारशिक."

I thank Mr. Ayar for the above reference. As he says my object was to collect all possible references to the Zoroastrians living in India in older times. Indeed most of the quotations in the first Chapter fall under this category of doubtful references. It was the Iranian ring of the names Khaharâta and Nahapâna which had led some scholars to look upon them as Persian, and I have thought it advisable to follow

these scholars. The Kushan coinage suggested Iranian influence to some extent; even this was considered worthy of note in this book. King Krishna, a prince of Gujarat in about 7:0 A. D. has been noted (see p. 25) for the simple reason that he has been called a "Pahlava" prince, although he was a worshipper of Shiva. All these and other doubtful references and quotations have been incorporated in this book with the object, that in future some further light may be thrown on the different matters recorded in this book.

Misprints* and slips may be easily condoned by the reader.

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* Page 1, Col. 1, line 2, for "to" read "in," (India)

Page 32, after पाणौ read वर्म.

Page 139, 2nd Col. 6th line, for "injunctions" read "references."

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PARSIS OF ANCIENT INDIA.

CHAPTER No. 1.

Arrival of the Persians to India from old mythical times.

Traditions of ancient Persian kings and generals having come to India are met with in Firdusi's Shâhname, Abou Fazal's Ain-i-Akbari and Fireshta's History.

Firdusi narrates that Faridun's mother Franak sent her infant son Faridun to Hindustan to save him from the murderous hands of Zohak, who invaded and conquered Persia.

Firdusi also gives the story of Asfandiâr the son of Gushtasp, who came to India and persuaded the Indian Emperor to adopt fire-worship and accept the Zoroastrian religion. Many more references from the Shahname might be given to show the connection of the ancient Persians with India (Elliot's History V, 568, Kütar's Shâh ame VI, 86-87).

The Ain-i-Akbari gives the following account of the kings of Persia, who had come to India :—

Hoshang, the founder of the Peshdadian dynasty, was the first Iranian king to come to India. Jamshid who next visited India is said to have gone to China from India *via* Bengal. Narimân Kersasp, Sâm Nariman, Zal Sâm, and Framazd Rustam are also said to have come to India for conquest.

It is stated that Kersasp was told by astrologers that his dynasty's rule over Zabulistân would be overthrown and that his and his heir's remains would be disinterred by the enemy. With a view to avoid this mishap, he ordered that his remains might be buried at Kanauj in India. This was complied with. His example was also followed in the case of Narimân, Sâm and Rustam. Bahman after overrunning Zabulistân in revenge of Rustam's killing his father Asfandiar, came to Kanauj to disinter the remains of Kersâsp and his descendants, all of whom had a lot of money buried with them and had on their tombs tablets with a request to the visitors not to meddle with the remains. Bahman carried away the treasure but abstained from his original intention of destroying the remains in revenge.

According to Ferishtâ there existed good relations between the Indian king Krishna and the Persian emperor Tehemurasp. Krishna's nephew sought shelter with king Faridun, who sent his general Kersâsp bin Atrud (Atrat) to India to compel the king to give a portion of his territories to his nephew. After this time, Sâm Nariman invaded Punjab at the direction of the Persian monarch. He was opposed by one Mulchand, who at last sought peace. From this time forward, Punjab remained in the hands of the descendants of Faridun, and was governed by Kersasp and his family. It formed a part of the country of Kabul, Jabul, Sind and Seistan, which was under the sway of Rustam's family. Kesurai the successor of the above Indian king asked the help of king Minocheher against some of his rebels. Minocheher sent Sam Nariman to his help. He met Kesurai at Jallander and helped him in subduing his tributary kings. Kesurai was succeeded by Firujrai, who after

the death of Sam Nariman, rebelled against the suzerainty of Persia and freed Punjab from its yoke. Up to time of king Kaikobad, Punjab remained independent under the Indian kings. Rustam then invaded India, defeated the Indian Raja and placed one Surajrai on the throne. Later on Kedar Raja paid a tribute to Kâus and Kaikhusru.*

In support of the statements of Fireshta Dr. J. J. Modi and Prof. Darmesteter give the tradition about the fort of Jamrud in the Khyber Pass, namely that the said fort was connected with the name of the king Jamshid of the Peshdadian dynasty.

That the Persians had come to India and lived there from the Vedic times downwards is affirmed by several scholars:—

(1) Prof. Spiegel in his introduction to Avesta (Vol. II. pp CVI ff) says :—" The original abode of the Indo-Germanic race is to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian country, in the tract where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise.....It might be imagined that not only the Indians, but also the Iranians along with them, had migrated to the countries on the Indus; and that Iranians, perhaps owing to religious differences, had retraced their steps to the westward."

(2) Prof. Max Muller says:—" It can now be proved even by geographical evidence, that Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they immigrated into Persia. I say the Zoroastrians, for, we have no evidence to bear us out in making the same assertions of the nations of India and Persia in general. That the Zoroastrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vedic period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece." (Chips, I, 86).

* See also Dr. J. J. Modi's Asiatic Papers Part II pp. 262–294. And Vendidad I. 19 and Yasht X. 104.

The same opinion is repeated by Prof. Max Muller in his Lectures on the Science of Language (I, 235):— " The Zoroastrians were a colony from northern India. They had been together for a time with the people, whose sacred songs have been preserved to us in the Veda. A schism took place, and the Zoroastrians migrated westward to Arachosia and Persia."

(3) Professors Bhagvat and Apte have, in their " Key to interpret the Veda," pointed out that there are references to the Persians and Parthians in the Rigveda. In Rv.I-105-8 we have सं मा तपन्ति अभितः सपत्नीरिव पर्शवः । " The Parshus (Persians) harass me all round like cowives."

Rv. VIII-6-46 :—शतमहं तिरिन्दिरे सहस्रं पर्शवा ददे राधांसि याद्वानाम् "I wrested from the Yadva (tribe) one hundred cattle (in the province of) Tirindira, and one thousand cattle (in the province of) Parshu."

Rv. VII. 83-1 ;—युवां नरा पश्यमानास आप्यं प्राचा गव्यन्तः पृथुपर्शवो ययुः । दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावसावतम् ॥ " O you men, looking to you and your wealth the Prithus and Parshus, fain for spoil, march forward. O Indra-Varuna, you smote and slew the Dasa and Aryan enemies, and helped Sudas with favour." Prof. Ludwig also renders पृथुपर्शवः by " Parthians and Persians."* (According to Panini V. 3-117 the words पार्शवः in the singular, पार्शवौ in the dual and पर्शवः in the plural, are taken as the name of a warrior tribe—the last of the three forms suggesting

* See Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume, p. 319. According to Dr. Teile, " Parsuas appear to have dwelt east of Elam at the time of Senacherib. Perhaps they were Persians though the name might equally be a disguise for Parthavas or Parthians. In the annals of Salamanassar II (9th c. B. C) he relates of a victory over a certain Artasur who lived not far from Parsuas " (Teile's Religion of Iranians translated by G. K. Nariman. Indian Antiquary XXXII, 228.)

the singular पर्शु. In the cuniform inscriptions at Behistan we have the countries *Pârsah* and Partava, which might be compared with the पर्शु and पृथु of the Rigveda.)

Thus the *Parshus* and *Prithus* would appear to be either inhabitants or invaders of India.

(4) As has been shown by Dr. Muir in his Sanskrit Texts (Vol II, p. 364 ff.) the word *Dasyu* is used for men and not demons in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII–18), Manusmriti (X–43 ff), Mahâbhârâta ; Shanti-parva (65-2429, 168-6293) and even some passages in the Rigveda (IV-41-2,VI-14-3, X-22-8 &c). He further says :—"I have gone over the names of the Dasyus and Asuras mentioned in the Rigveda, with the view of discovering whether any of them could be regarded as of non-Aryan origin; but I have not observed any that appear of that character." (Sk. Texts, Vol II, p. 387).

Thus then the Dasyus were Aryan people.* Now in the Manusmriti (XI 43-45) we are told that the Kambojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Paradas, *Pahlavas* &c. were Dasyus. The Pahlavas were either Persians or Parthians, as several scholars have asserted. If then the Dasyus dwelt in India in the Vedic and post-Vedic times, they probably included the *Pahlavas*.

Abisares, King of North Punjab.

In historic times Punjab formed part of the Persian dominions from its conquest by Darius Hystapes † about B. C. 510 till the later days (B. C. 350) of the Achæmenian dynasty (Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchy, IV, 433).

In the hilly country above the territories of Taxiles and Porus, the historians of Alexander place the dominions of Abisares. Arrian states that the *Soamus*, the present Suhan river rises in the "mountainous parts of Sabissa," that is, in the hills of Murri and Margala Pass. This is the exact position of the district of *Abhisâra* according to the Rajatarangini and other Hindu authorities. From the earliest times this country has been occupied by the Gakars, who seem to be the descendants of the Persians who were the coreligionists of king Abisares in the time of Alexander. (This point is proved beyond all reasonable doubt by the name of Abisare's brother, whom Arrian calls *Arsakes*. This name refers the people to a Parthian origin.) According to one account, the ancestors of the Gakars were transplanted by Afrasiyab into the N. W. Punjab, under a leader named *Kid Kaid*.

In the year B. C. 326 Alexander crossed the Indus and advanced to Taxila, where he received an embassy from Abisares, " king of the Indian Mountaineers." After the battle with Porus, Alexander received a second embassy from Abisares, "with a present of money and forty elephants " Again on his return to the Akesines, a third embassy arrived, headed by Arsakes. the brother of Abisares, bringing valuable presents and thirty more elephants. The dominions of Abisares must have been very extensive, as he was able to make a present of seventy elephants. His territory touched the Indus on the west. Arsakes, the brother of Abisares, is described as the governor of the adjacent province, and as he waited upon Alexander at Taxila, his province was not very far distant from that city. M. Troyer calls him " governor of the district of *Urasa*," the *Varsa Regis* of Ptolemy, and the *Rash* of the present day, which lies immediately to the north of Dhanra-

* See Zarathustra in Rigveda (pp. 8-9) " Strabo asserts that Arsakes, the founder of the Parthian Monarchy was called Dahæ. The name Dahæ is derived from the Zend *Dahyu* (Sk. *Dasyu*)" (Cunningham's Archæological Survey, Vol II, p. 46).

† The invasion of India by Darius is so well known, that we need not refer to it at great length.

war. (Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India, II, pp. 23-29.)

Were the Mauryan rulers Zoroastrians ?

The excavations of the historic site of Patliputra under the supervision of Dr. D. B. Spooner led him to write an important paper which was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in January and July 1915. This paper is of special interest to the Parsis, because it opens up a new vista of research regarding what Dr. Spooner calls "the Zoroastrian Period of Indian History." From the Inscriptions of Darius we know, that the Achæmenian emperors ruled over north western provinces, such as Kandhar, Panjab &c. These provinces were divided into different Satrapies (Rawlinson's Herodotus, II, 487); and on the authority of the Greek writers, it is stated, that Indian regiments under the Persian generals fought with the Greeks on behalf of their Persian rulers. (Herodotus, IV, 63, 347, 398). But the theory that the Zoroastrians extended their sway as far as the Gangetic valley and ruled at Patliputra as imperial rulers came as a surprise among the scholarly world.

We Zoroastrians are highly indebted to Dr Spooner for his researches, and would indeed be very pleased, if it could be satisfactorily proved, that there was in ancient times "a Zoroastrian period of Indian History" The history of the Parsis of ancient India for about a thousand years after the time of Darius was supposed to be a mere blank. Great was therefore the enthusiasm of the Parsi writers and speakers, when they came across Dr. Spooner's paper, which seemed to supply a great missing link in the history of the Parsis, namely that the Mauryan rulers at Patliputra belonged to the Zoroastrian or Magian faith. To determine the correctness or otherwise of this assertion, a full discussion of Dr. Spooner's paper becomes a matter of paramount necessity. Dr. Spooner has made use of every conceivable argument he could think of in favour of the subject, which is so very important for us, that it would be necessary to analyse every single argument to see whether it would stand the test of criticism. But it would not be proper to insert here the extremely long discussion which, being a subject by itself, would be dealt with in a separate book to be published hereafter. We will only give a summary of the result which is that the Mauryan emperors were not Zoroastrians, that the Persians had come to India to fight for Chandragupta the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, that they lived in India as subject races, that some of these served as chiefs and petty Rajas in the Mauryan times, and that they probably had a hand in the erection of the Mauryan palaces, which were built after the style of the Persepolitan halls.

Chapter No. 2.

References to Parsis and Persians in Sanskrit Books.

In this chapter, we propose to consider the passages in Sanskrit works, relating to the Parsis of India in ancient times. The Hindu writers used the word *Parasika* for the Parsis and *Pahlavas* for the Parthians or Iranians generally.

Pahlavas and Parasikas in Mahabharata.

(1) From a passage in the Shanti Parva of the Mahâbhârâta (Sec. 65, lines 2429 ff), we are in a position to say, that the Persians were a subject race in ancient times. In that passage the King Mandhatri asks the following question :—

यवनाः किराताः गान्धाराश्चीनाः शर्वरवर्वराः ।
शकास्तुषाराः कंकाश्च पहलवाश्च चांध्रमाद्रकाः ।
.....कथं धर्मांश्चरिष्यन्ति सर्वे विषय-
वासिनः । मद्विधैश्च कथं स्थाप्याः सर्वे वै
दस्युजीविनः ॥

" The Yavanas, Kiratas, Gandharas, Chinas, Sharvaras, Varvaras, Sakas, Tusharas, Kankas, *Pahlavas*, Andhras, Madras.....how shall all these (people) living in different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those, living as Dasyus ?" *

We see from the above question that the Pahlavas resided in the dominion of the king. As Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Prof. Max Muller, Dr. Muir and other scholars say, these Pahlavas were the Pahlavi or Parthian people, (Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 54. Muir's Texts, II, p. 259, S B. E. XXV. Intro. p. 115, B. B. R. A. S. XVI, p. 215).

(2) In the Bhishma Parva of the Mâhâbhârata (Sec. IX, §§ 64-67)we find a complete list of the numerous tribes * dwelling in Bhâratavarsha or India, among whom the following tribes are mentioned :—

यवनाश्चीनकांबोजा दारुणा म्लेच्छजातायः ॥
(§ 65)
सकृद्ग्रहाः कुलत्थाश्च हूणाः पारसिकैःसह ॥
(§ 66)

* * * *

खाशीराश्चांतचाराश्च पल्हवा गिरिगव्हराः (§68)

"The *Yavanas*, Chinas, Kambojas † Dârunas, and Mlechha tribes. The Sakritgrihas, Kulatthas, Hunas ‡ with *Pârasikas*. The Khâshiras, Antachâras, *Pahlavas* and Girigahvaras."

In the paras Nos. 42 and 51 we read about the *Magadhâs*, and *Sakas*. It will thus be seen, that the Yavanas, Parasikas, Pahlavas, Magadhâs and Sakas were looked upon as different tribes.

When did the Pahlavas come to India ?

As to the latest date assigned to the *present* form of the Mahâbhârâta. Mr. Vaidya says:—" We have the direct evidence of Rhetor Dion Chrysostom, that the Mahâbhârâta with its one lac of verses was well known even in South India in 50 A. D.....As the present Mahâbhârâta mentions the Yavanas admiringly, but does not anywhere mention the Râshis, one is justified in holding, that it was recast into its present shape some time between 300 and 100 B. C." (See Vaidya's Mahâbhârâta, p. 13 ff).

But in spite of this opinion of Mr. Vaidya, we have reasons to believe that the Mahâbhârata contains many later interpolations. We cannot therefore say definitely, when the

* See Roy's translation of Shanti Parva, Sec 65, Muir's Sk. Texts I. (p. 484). For references to Pahlavas in the Ramâyana, see Griffith's translation index.

* Mr. Roy correctly states in the footnote of his translation that the names are those of the tribes, and not of places or provinces. (p. 31)

† People of Kabul (Bom. Gaz I. Pt. p. 491, 498). ‡ Huns.

passages above referred to were written. This much however is certain that the Pârasikas and Pahlavas lived in India long before 50 A. D. According to Pandit Bhagvânlâl the Pahlavas came to India about B. C. 150 (Bom. Gaz. Pt. I., p. 144).

According to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer, seven leading hordes entered India from the north-west and west. The Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks came into India from about B. C. 250 to 125; the Pahlavas or Parthians from B.C. 170 to 100; the Sakas of two main hordes, namely the Su-Sakas about B C. 150 to 100 and the Kushans about B. C. 130 &c. (Bom. Gaz. IX pt. I, p. 455). Dr. Bhandarkar held, that the Pahlavas and Sakas made their appearance in the Andhrabhritya country at any time between A. D. 16 and 133 A. D. (Id. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 317).

In his paper on Junagur inscriptions Dr. Bhau Daji says about the King Gautamiputrâ, the son of Padumâvi (about 120 A. D.) as follows:—"Gautamiputra boasts of having established the glory of the Satavâhana family, and of having defeated Sakas, Yavanas and *Pahlavas*" (B. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. VII, p. 117). This shows that the Pahlavas were in India in about 120 A. D.

Parasikas in Vishnu Purana.

(3) The Vishnu Purâna* contains names of tribes inhabiting Bhâratavarsha. It mentions, among others, the Kurus, Pânchâlas, *Mâgadhas*, Saurashtras, Hunas, *Parasikas*. (Wilson, Vol. II, p. 132f, Muir's Sk. Texts I, p. 495).

* Composed about 450 A. D. (See A K. Mozumdar's Hindu History, p 26) In the Mârkandeya Purâna there are three references to the Pahlavas in Chapters 57-58.

Parasikas in Mudra Rakshasha.

(4) It is seen from the Mudrâ Râkshasha,* that the Parsis helped Chandragupta in his invasion of Northern India. The Sanskrit passage runs thus:—

अस्ति तावत् शकयवनकिरातकांबोजपारसीक बाल्हीकप्रभृतिभिः चाणक्यमतिपरिगृहीतैः चंद्रगुप्त पर्वतेश्वरबलैः समन्तात् उपरुद्धं कुसुमपुरम् ॥

" Kusumapura (=Patliputra) is beseiged on all sides by Sakas, Yavanas, Kiratas, Kambojas, *Pârasikas*, Bâhlikas † and others, (who are) the forces of the King Chandragupta, (and who are) guided by the intellect of Chanakya."

On the authority of the same book, we know that पारसीको मेघनाद: ‡ ("the Parsi named Meghanâda ") was a Râjâ and friend of Chandragupta. (see Act V). The same name occurs in another passage (Act I, verse 20), where we read :—

मेघाख्यः पंचमोस्मिन् पृथुतुरगबलः पारसीकाधिराजा §

" Among these, the fifth is one of name the Megha, a great King of the Parsis, who has got a large cavalry."

This name *Megha* might be identified with the first part of the names *Maga-bâtis*, *Maga-pânas* $ &c , or it might be a purely Hindu name, used as in our own times.

* A Sanskrit drama written by Vishakhadatha in the 8th century A D. It embodied genuine historical traditions.

† These were not people of Baktria but of Multan in India (Bom. Gaz. I Pt. I p. 103).

‡ The other readings are मेघार्क, मेघाक्ष and मेघाख्यः In Prakri it is मेहणाद (See Telung's edition, pp. 221, 204).

§ See also idem p. 221.

$ Compare Moghistan (=land of Moghs or Magi) another name of Hormuz island (See Dr. J. J. Modi's, Dastur Bahman Kaikobad & Kisseh-i-Sanjan, p. 46).

Pahlavas in Manu Smriti.

(5) In Manu Smriti (X-43, 44) written in about the 2nd century B. C., we come across the names of the foreign tribes inhabiting northern India, among whom we find the Yavanas, Sakas, *Pahlavas* &c.

The passage runs thus :—

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपाद् इमाःक्षत्रिजातयः ।
वृषलत्व गता लोके ब्राह्मणातिक्रमेण च ॥
पुण्ड्काश्चोड्र द्रविडाः कांबोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदा पल्हवाश्चीना किराताः दरदास्तथा ॥

Translation :—Gradually by omission of rites and by transgressing the orders of the Brahmans these Kshatri tribes, (namely) Pundras, Dravidas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Paradas, *Pahlavas*, Chinas, Kiratas and Daradas have degenerated to the condition of the Sudras in the world."

Parasikas in Raghu Vamsa.

(6) In the Raghu Vamsa* (IV—60) we read about Raghu, the great grand-father of Râma as under :—

पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना

" Thence he set out by an inland route to conquer the *Parasikas*." The commentator explains that the *Parasikas* were "Mlechha Râjâs living on the banks of the river Sindhu or Indus." (सिंधुतटवासिनो म्लेच्छराजान्). This is quite correct, because the author Kâlidâs himself says further up (in verse No. 67), that the horses of Raghu relieved their fatigues by rolling on the banks of the river Sindu. The author also tells us, that Yavanas, Kambojas and Hunas were defeated by Raghu.

Much ingenuity has been spent by scholars to identify the event referred to by Kâlidâs. It is assumed on the grounds, which we consider extremely flimsy that the event must be one, which happened in the poet's life-time. Professor Pathak thinks that Kâlidâs took the description of the conquest of Raghu from the account of the conquest of the contemporary king Yashodharman (A. D.490-550) into Kashmir. Mr. Manmohan Chakravati identifies the event with the conquest of Skandagupta in the reign of the Persian King Piruz (A. D. 457-484,) son of Yazdgird II. The Ephtalites or White Huns helped Piruz against his brother in securing the throne of Persia, but afterwards he fought with them and was killed in the battle. The white Huns overran the territories of the Persians, which included the frontiers of India. Dr. Hoernle rejects the above theory, because Piruz had lost only Gandhar and not the country on the direct frontiers. According to him the Persian King was Kobad who with the help of the Huns removed his brother Jamasp from the throne (A. D. 499). The Huns fought with the Indian King Yashodharman. They were assisted by Kobad who lost Sindh and some eastern provinces. This is the loss referred to by Kâlidâs when he speaks of the defeat of the Parasikas.

Firdusi says nothing about loss of the Persian territories in the frontiers of India either in Piruz's or Kobad's time. From a passage in Tabari however (Zotenberg's French Tr., Vol. II, p. 221) it appears that a part of the Indian frontier belonged to the Persians in Beramgor's time. It passed back into the hands of an Indian king before Noshirwan's time.

We have nothing to say against the above historical events, but have we any substantial proof to show what was in the mind of Kâlidâs ?

Parasikas in Katha—Sarit Sagara.

(7) In the Katha-Sarit Sagara* (Vol I, Tr. pp. 150-151), we read :—

* Of Kalidas, the latest date assigned to whom is about 550 A.D. (See also Dr. Bhau Daji's Paper B. B. R. A. S. VI., p. 230.)

* Written by Somadeva in 12th century A D.

"*Udayana*, King of *Vasta* defeated the king of the *Chola** race..... Having subdued the King of Sindh at the head of his cavalry, he destroyed the Mlechhas The cavalry squadrons of the *Turushkas*† were broken on the masses of his elephants... ...The august hero received the tribute of his foes and cut off the head of the wicked king of the *Parasikas*. His glory after he had inflicted a defeat on the Hunas,‡ made the four quarters resound."

Now Udayana was a ruler of the country known as *Vatsa*, the capital of which was *Kaushambi*, near the modern Kosam about 30 miles above Allahabad. The king Udayana was a celebrated prince of the lunar race. He is the hero of the play named Ratnâvali, which is ascribed to Bâna, who lived in the latter half of the 6th century A D.

Cunningham refers to the story of *Udâyana* thus:—"The story of *Udâyana*, king of Kosâmbi is referred to by the poet Kâlidâs in his 'Megha-duta' or 'Cloud Messenger,' where he says that *Avanti* (or Ujain) is great with the number of those versed in the tale of Udâyana. Now Kâlidâs flourished shortly after A. D. 500. In the 'Vrihat Katha' of Somadeva, the story of Udâyana is given at full length.....Kosâmbi, the capital of Vatsa Raja, § is the scene of the pleasing drama of 'Ratnâvali' or the 'Necklace,' which was composed in the reign of King Harsh Deva, who is most probably the same as Harsha Vardhana of Kanoj (A. D. 607 io 650)." (See Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 392).

"The name of Udâyana was more famous among the Buddhists.....In the 'Lalita Vistâra,' which was *translated* into Chinese between 70 and 46 A. D., and which could not therefore have been composed later than the beginning of the Christian era, Udâyana Vatsa, son of Satânika, king of Kosâmbi is said to have been born on the same day as Buddha.....Hwen Thsang relates that the famous statue of Buddha, in red sandal-wood, which was made by King Udâyana during the life-time of the Teacher, still existed under a stone dome in the ancient palace of the kings." (idem, p. 393).

If Udâyana was a contemporary of Buddha,* the "wicked Parsi king" referred to above, lived in about the 5th century B. C. Could this king be Xerxes, who was killed in B. C. 465, and who was, according to some writers, (whom, however, we cannot believe) cruel and wicked?† Did Xerxes ever visit India? We know that Darîus the father of Xerxes conquered the Indians, and subjugated India which was his 20th satrapy, and also that Xerxes in his expedition into Greece was furnished troops by the Indians. Xerxes is supposed by some to be Ahasuerus, who disgraced Vashti and made Esther his queen (Rawlinson's Herodotus II, 403; III, 32; IV, 4, 53, 215). It is possible that the Hindu writer may have confounded facts and wrongly attributed those connected with the father to the son. The evidence for the identification of the "wicked Parsi king" is, however, very meagre.

Pahlavas in Brihat Samhita.

(8) Al-Biruni in his India (Tr. by Dr. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 300) mentions the names of the people of India on the authority of the Vâyu

* Tamil people of Southern India, from whom the Croromandal coast (चोलमंडल) receives its name; they are mentioned in Asoka's inscriptions and also M. Bh.

† Turks (See Epigraphia Indica II. p. 181).

‡ Huns.

§ Or king of the Vatsas.

* He was also a contemporary of Ajâtashatri B. C. 496 to 473 (Hindu Hist. by A. K. Muzumdar p. 321.)

† See Pallonji B. Desai's Achæmenian Hist. p. 340.

Purâna placing the *Pahlavas* among the people in the north.

In the same book (p. 302) he says, that according to the *Samhitâ* of Varâha-Mihira one of the names of the people in the South-west was *Pârasava i. e.* Persians.

Varâha-Mihira was a celebrated astronomer and the author of *Brihat-Samhita* &c He died in 587 A. D.

Turning to the Brihat Samhitâ of Varâha Mihira (chap. 14 §§ 17-19) we find that the people in the South-western direction were the *Pahlavas*, * Kâmbojas, Sindhu-Sauviras,.....Anartas... . ...Yavanas .....*Parshavas*, Shudras, Barbaras, Kiratas,..... &c. (Dr. Kiru's Tr. J. R. A. S. NewSeries, Vol. 5, p. 84).

Kumarila Bhatta's Book.

(9) The most famous Mimânsâ treatise existing in India is *Kumarila Bhatta's Tantra-vâ ttika*, a commentary on Jaimini-sutrâs. Kumârila lived at the end of the seventh century A D While annotating on 1-3-10 Kumârila suggests, that by the application of affixes &c. it may be possible to convert Mlechchha words into Sanskrit words ; then he says :—

यदा आंध्रद्राविडभाषायां ईदृशी स्वच्छन्द-कल्पना तदा पारसिकबर्बरयवनरोमकादिभाषासु किं विकल्प्य किं प्रतिपत्स्यन्ते इति न विद्मः ।

"When such is the formation (of the words) at will in the Andhra-Dravida language,† we do not know how they are formed and used in the *Pârasika*, Barbara, Yavana, Romaka and other languages."

This suggests that the language of the Parsis was studied in India by learned Hindus in or about 700 A.D.*

Legends About Pahlavas.

(1) We come across a few legends about the Pahlavas in Sanskrit works. In the Harivamsha (v. 1425 ff) we are told that Kusha had four sons Kushika, Kushanâbha, Kushâmba and Moortimat. Kushika was the grand-father of the well-known Vishvâmitra † Now as regards Kushika, the author says :—

पह्लवैः सह संवृद्धो राजा वनचरैस्तदा ।
कुशिकस्तु तपस्तेपे पुत्रं इंद्रसमं विभुः ॥

"Growing among the Pahlavas, the glorious king Kushika practised austere penance to get a son equal to Indra." Indra was pleased, and Kushika begot a son named Gâdhi, who became the king of Kânyakubja (Kanouj) and was the father of Vishvâmitra (See Muir's Sk. Texts, I, pp. 351, 390.)

It would appear from this legend, that the Pahlavas lived in India in the Rigvedic times, to which Vishvâmitra belonged, but we have reasons to believe, that the legend must have originated in far later times.

(2) In the Adi Parva of the Mahâbhârata (v. 6638 ff), we have an interesting legend of Vasishtha and Vishvâmitra, who were bitter enemies of each other. Once upon a time when out hunting, Vishvâmitra came to the hermitage of Vasishtha, who received his rival with great honour. He gave to Vishvâmitra precious jewels &c , which were obtained from his wonder-working cow. The cupidity of Vishvâmitra was aroused,

* The Pahlavas are also referred to in Brihat Samhitâ Chap. XVI-38, XVII-6 and the same author's Samâsa-Samhitâ (J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. 5, pp. 235—236,—242) It may be stated that there were five Varâha Mihiras known to history (1) The first author of Vrihat Samhitâ in 58 B. C. (2) The author of a revised edition of Brahma Siddhânta in 80 A. D. (3) The author of the present Vrihat Samhitâ in 285 A. D. (4) The author of Pancha Siddhântikâ in the 6th C. A. D. (5) He who lived in 1600 A. D. (A. K. Mozumdar's Hindu History, p. 64).

† Tamil language.

* See also Indian Antiquary. I, p. 310.

† According to the Vishnu Purâna, *Kushâmba* was the grand-father (Wilson, pp. 398-400.)

and so he asked Vasistha to give him that animal in exchange for a hundred million cows or even his kingdom When Vasistha did not comply with his demand, Vishvâmitra threatened to use force. He dragged the cow,* beat her and pushed her hither and thither, but she would not move. She became very angry, and in order to punish Vishvâmitra and his army, she created *Pahlavas*, Drâvidas, Sakas, Yavanas, Kirâtas and other tribes from her body. (The words of the poet are :—असृजत् पह्लवान् पुच्छात् प्रस्रवाद् द्रविडान् शकान्। योनिदेशाच्च यवनान् शकृतः शबरान् बहून् ॥)

Beholding this great miracle, the product of Brahmanical might, Vishvâmitra was humbled at the impotence of a Kshatriya nature, and exclaimed :—

धिग् बलं क्षत्रियबलं ब्रह्मतेजो बलं बलं । बलाबलं विनिश्चित्य तप एव परं बलम् ॥

' Shame on a Kshatriya's strength; the strength of a Brahman's lustre is strength (indeed). Determining (what is) strength and (what is) weakness, (we see that) penance is the greatest strength."

This legend is also found in Râmâyana (I, chap. 51-65.)†

The substance of the legend seems to be, that the Brahmans destroyed the force of the Kshatriyas with the assistance of foreigners, such as Pahlavas, Sakas, Yavanas and others. We are unable to say, to what time this legend relates, but it cannot be very old.

* The fable of Vasishtha's wonderful cow Nandini is also referred to in the Nagpur stone inscription dated Samvat 1161 or A. D. 1104-5 (Epigraphia Indica, III p. 190.)

† For comments &c., see Muir's Sk. Texts, I, pp. 391, 397) Does this legend refer to the forces raised by Chandragupta?

CHAPTER No. 3.

Persians mentioned in inscriptions.

Having seen the references to the Parsis and Persians in Sanskrit books, we now propose to give those in inscriptions. They are in Aramaic, Sanskrit and Pali languages.

Taxila Inscriptions.

(1) Sir J. H. Marshall has found an Aramaic inscription on the site of the ancient city of Taxila. It is carved on a fragment of a pillar of white marble and is incomplete. In the 7th line Prof. Cowley reads the words "*this Vohuvarda*," and compares the name with the Persian "*Huvardhi*." In the 9th and 12th lines he reads a word (Marhaz?) which, he says, was the title of a Persian governor. He ascribes the inscription to about 450 B. C. and thus concludes :—" Taxila was the chief city of the Kharosthi district. The view that Aramaic was officially used by the Achæmenians, that after their conquest of Northern India about 500 B. C. it became current there, and that Kharosthi was derived from it in this way, is thus being gradually confirmed" (J R. A. S., 1915, pp. 340-346.)

Girnar Inscription.

(2) The most remarkable inscription of the Shah Kings is that on a bridge near Girnar at Junagadh in Kathiawar, known as Rudra Dâman's bridge.....We shall give important extracts from the inscription hereafter. We are told therein that the ancient bridge was swept away by an inundation, that it was repaired by Pushpagupta, whose sister Chandragupta had married and who was of Vaishya caste, that it was subsequently repaired by *Tushâspa*, the Yavana Râja, an officer of Asoka, and that finally it was constructed

by the great satrap Rudra Dâman in the year 72 (Saka, *i. e.* 150 A. D.)*

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer, who notes this passage, rightly observes, that *Tushâspa* is called *Yavana Râja*, and the use of the word Râja † shows, that he was a dignitary of high rank. That he is called *Yavana Râja* does not prove that he was a Greek. All the scholars unanimously admit, that he was a Persian viceroy or governor.

Girnar Inscription-(*Continued.*)

(3) In 1862 Dr. Bhau Daji read a paper, on the abovesaid inscription at Junagadh in which he said, that the name of the actual builder of the bridge on the lake *Sudarshana*‡ near Girnar was the *Pahlava* minister of Rudradâman named *Suvishâkha*, a Sanskrit adaptation of the Persian name *Siâvaksha*. His father's name was *Kulaipa*, and Siâvaksha appeared to have been the Governor of Anarta and Saurashtra (that is, Kathiawar.) §

* * *

[Some comments on the derivation of the names above given may not be out of place. As the Pali *l* stood for *r*, we think, that *Kulaipa* would be the same as *Khura-pa*, "protector of the sun;" or *Kura-pa* might mean "protector of the blind." $

As regards the name Suvishâkha the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says:—"The name Suvishâkha, as Dr. Bhau Daji suggests, may be a Sanskritised form of Siâvaksha. One of the Karle inscriptions gives a similar name Sovasaka. apparently a corrupt Indian form of the original Persian, from which the Sanskritised Suvisâkha must have been formed. Sovasaka is mentioned in the Karle inscription as an inhabitant of Abulâmâ, apparently the old trade mart of Obollah at the head of the Persian Gulf. This trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the Western India seaboard must have led to a settlement, from very early times, of Pahlavas, who gradually became converted to Buddhism" (Bom Gaz. Vol. I, pt. I, p. 35; IX, pt. I. p. 433.]

* * *

We shall now give here important extracts from the Sanskrit inscription of Rudradâman at Junagadh referred to above, which has been reproduced and translated in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. VII, pp. 257-263)* by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji and Dr. G. Buhler. In the preface the writers observe:—"From the following inscription it appears that an artificial lake, called Sudarsána, was situated at the foot of the Girnar. It had first been dug by the brother-in-law of the Maurya king Chandragupta, a Vaisya called Pushyagupta, and had been adorned with outlets by Tushâspa, the Yavana governor of Asoka. In the 72nd year† of Rudradâman's reign, on the first day of the dark half of

* Dutt Anc. India, Vol. II. p 46; Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. pt. II pp. 13-14; V. Smith Hist, of India p. 125; J R. A. S. 1915, p 72.

† The word *Râja* may simply mean a "ruler" or even "archon" or "consul" (Rhys-David's Buddhism p. 92).

‡ Referred to in Rudradâman's inscription mentioned above.

§ See B. B. R. A. S. Journal Vol, VI, p. 114. Quoted in Thomas' Essay on Bactrian Coins ft. note p 104. See also Ind Ant. VII—263 and Bomb. Gaz. XIII. Pt. II p. 414; XIII Pt. I p. 443; I—p. 64.

$ Dr. Buhler suggests "Khoraib" in S. B. E. XXV. Intro. p. 115.

* See also Bhavanagar State Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, pp 20 21.

† This refers to the era used on the coins, and not the length of Rudradaman's reign. Rudradâman the son of Jayadâman ruled from A. D. 143 to 158. He was probably the greatest of the Western Kshatrapas. (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. I. 34).

Mârgashirsha, a heavy storm, attended by a copious rainfall, happened, quite out of season, and so much increased the force of the current of the rivers, which flowed through the lake, that it destroyed a great portion of the embankment, which closed the latter. The water of the lake ran off, and its loss no doubt caused great inconvenience to the inhabitants of Junâgadha.

A little later the dyke was repaired by the Pahlava Suvisâkha, who as Rudradâman's governor of Surâshtra (southern Kathiavâd) and Anarta (northern Kathiâvad) resided at Junâgad."

The inscription runs thus :—

इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगराद्रिपादरम्... पर्वतपादप्रतिस्पर्द्धि सुश्लिष्ट (बंधं)

"This Sudarsana lake at the foot of Girinagar hill.....possesses a well-joined construction rivalling the spurs of the mountain."

×××× तदिदं राज्ञो.....महाक्षत्रपस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्तनाम्नो रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे ७२ मार्गशीर्षबहुलप्र (तिपदि).....सुसृष्ट वृष्टिना पर्जन्यनेन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेः ऊर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकतापलाशिनी-प्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्वृत्तैर्वेगैः सेतुम..... कार्यमाणानुरूपप्रतिकारमपि गिरिशिखरतरुतटा-ट्टालकोपतल्पद्वारशरणोच्छ्रयविध्वंसिना युगनिधन-सदृशपरमघोरवेगेन वायुना प्रमथितसलिल-विक्षिप्तजर्जरीकृता.....

"This same (*lake was destroyed*) in the 72nd year of the king, the great Kshatrapa Rudradâman, whose name is repeated by great men, on the *(first day)* of the dark half of the month Mârgashirsha..... when in consequence of the rain which had fallen very copiously, the earth had become as it were, one ocean, by the excessive swelling of the currents of the Palâsini, Suvarnasikatâ and other rivers, which (*come*) from Mount Urjayat, the embankment &c.....In spite of suitable devices employed, an extremely furious hurricane, similar to the storm at the Deluge, throwing down hill-tops, trees, rocks, terraces, *(pieces of)* the neighbouring ground, gates, houses and pillars of victory, violently stirred the water, which displaced and broke *(this lake.)*"

×××× मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चंद्रगुप्तस्य राष्ट्रियेण वैश्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं। अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य ते (न) यवनराजेन तुषास्पेनाधिष्ठाय प्रनाळीभिः अलंकृतं तत्कारितया च राजानुरुपकृतविधानया ×××× प्रणाळ्या

"The Vaishya Pushyagupta, the brother-in-law of the Mauryan King Chandragupta had caused (it) to be constructed. It had been adorned with conduits under the superintendence of that* Yavanarâja Tushâspa of the Maurya, Asoka; with the conduit made by him and the construction of which was worthy of a king" &c.

Note :—Then we have a long passage, which refers to the glory and kingdom of Rudradâman.

महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गोब्राह्म... ...र्थम धर्मकीर्तिवृद्ध्यर्थं च अपीडयित्वा कर-विष्टिप्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात् कोशात् महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुणदृढतरविस्तारायामं सेतुं विधाय..... सुदर्शनतरं कारितं इति।

"The great Kshatrap Rudradâman, for the sake of a thousand years, for the sake of .....cows and Brahmans and for the increase of his merît and fame, has rebuilt (the embankment) three times stronger in breadth and length, in not a very long time, expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town by (*exacting*) taxes, forced labour or donations, (and)..... has made the lake more beautiful."

तस्मिन्नर्थे महाक्षत्रपस्य मतिसचिवकर्मसचिवैः अमात्यगुणसमुद्युक्तैः अपि अतिमहत्वात् भेदस्य अनुत्साहविमुखमतिभिः प्रत्याख्यातारंभं पुनः सेतुबंधनैः आश्यात् हाहाभुतासु प्रजासु इहाधि-

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**That* means "the celebrated"; "it is not improbable that he was more than a mere official" (footnote by Dr. Buhler).

ष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नानां आनर्तसुराष्ट्राणां पालनार्थनियुक्तेन पह्लवेन कुलैपपुत्रेण अमात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थधर्म व्यवहारदर्शनैः अनुरागम् अभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्तेन अचपलेन अविस्मितेन आर्येण अहार्येण स्वधितिष्ठता धर्मकीर्तियशांसि भर्तुः अभिवर्द्धयत अनुष्ठितम् इति ।

"When in this affair the great Kshatrap's advisers and engineers, though possessed of the qualifications of ministers, lost heart on account of the enormous size of the gap and gave up the undertaking and when the people, despairing of seeing the embankment rebuilt, began to lament, *(the work)* was accomplished by the minister Suvisâkha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who has been appointed by the king, out of kindness towards the town and country people, to protect the whole of Anarta and Surâshtra, who by the proper dispensation of justice in matters of money and merit, increases the affection *(of the subjects)*, who is able, of subdued senses, neither nasty nor wanting in prescience of mind, of noble family and unconquered, who *governs well* and increases the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master.

As we have already seen "Siâvaksha appears to have been the governor of Anarta and Surâshtra." (B. B. R. A. S., VII 7, p. 114.)

Karli Inscription.

(4) The great rock temples in and near Thana district, which date from the centuries before and after Christ, seem to have been planned and sculptured by Parthian or Persian artists. *Harphâran* of Abulâmâ,* whose name appears in one of the Karli inscriptions (namely inscription No. 20) was a Parthian or a Persian. The inscription runs thus:—

राज्ञवासवीपुतस सरपुदुमावस सवछर चतुवीसो २४ उपासकस हरफरनस सतुपरणपुत्रस्य सेवसकस अवुलोमय वथवस्य रमदेय धम ।

The Sanskrit of the above Pali passage is as under :—

राज्ञः वासवीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुदुमावस्य संवत्सरे २४ उपासकस्य, हरफरनस्य सत्रुपरणपुत्रस्य सेवासक्तस्य अवुलोम वास्तव्यस्य रम्यदायधर्मः ।

"In the 24th year of the King Shri Pudumâva, son of Vâsava, (this) beautiful religious assignation (is made) of the mendicant Harapharana, son of Satru-parana, the devoted inhabitant of Abulâma" (B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, p. 158.)*

In his "Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India" (p. 36) Dr. Burgess reads the above inscription somewhat differently as follows :—

रञो पासिठिपुतस सिरिपुळिमाविस सवछरे चतुविसे २४ ..... उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरणपुत्तस्य सोवसकस्य अवुलामाय वथवस्य इम देयधम मटपो

Sanskrit of the above :—

राज्ञो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलिमावेः संवत्सरे चतुर्विशे २४ ..... उपासकस्य हरफरणस्य सेतफरणपुत्रस्य सोवकस्य अवुलामायां वास्तव्यस्यायं देयधर्ममंडपो ।

"The King Vasithiputa, the illustrious Pulimâvi in the year (*of his reign*) twenty-four, 24, this meritorious gift of a mandapa by the *Upâsaka* Harapharana, son of Setapharana, Sovasaka, native of Abulâmâ &c."

With reference to the names in the above inscription Dr. G. Buhler remarks :—"Harapharana and Setapharana are clearly two Persian names. The former corresponds with the Greek Horophernes or Holophernes. The latter part of both, *pharana* is the Persian *frana* 'lord'. Seta is perhaps the ancient *Khshaeta* and the modern *Shed*."

Dr. Burgess says "the names of the Upâsaka Harapharana and his father Setapharana are unlike any in use in India and may possibly be of

* Obollah, a port near Basra on the Persian Gulf.

*Dr Stevenson's translation of the passage (in B.B.R.A.S., Vol. V, p. 158.) is not correct,

Parthians. The name of their family *Sovasvka* has a resemblance to Syâvaka, but their native place Abulâmâ has not an Indian name."*

The name "Harapharana" is composed of two words "Har or Ar," which is the first part of the name "Arâspes" and "Pharana" (=Hvarena) which is the first part of the name Fârandâtes."

The first part of the name Satruparana" might be the same as the first word in "Satro-pâtes."

As the word *upâsâka* is generally used for Buddhist mendicants, it appears that Harapharana was a Zoroastrian at one time and he subsequently became a convert to Buddhism.

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer thinks that the above identification of Harapharana supports the close connection by sea between the Parthians and West coast of India in the centuries before and after the Christian era. The animal capitals of the pillars at Karli, Bedsa and Nasik are so closely alike to those at Persepolis and Susa, that according to Fergusson the early Buddhists of Western India either belonged to the Persian empire or drew their art from it. Rawlinson's description of the Halls at Hatra (Anc. Mon. VI, 379) has several points of likeness to Western India Cave temples; for example, semicircular vaulted roofs, no windows, the light coming through an archway at the east end and a number of small rooms opening from a central hall. Among the Sopâra relics the resemblance between Maitreya's head-dress, and the Parthian helmet adopted by Mithridates I about 150 B. C. is worthy of notice (Bom. Gaz., XIII, pp. 413,421, 429).

Inscriptions of Nahapana's Family.

(5) There are six inscriptions of Nahapâna's family in the cave at Nasik, one at Karli and one by Nahapâna's minister at Junnar. The Karli inscription No. 13 is as follows :—

रञो खहरातस खतपस नहपानस जामातरा दिनिकपुतेन उसभदातेन त्रिगोसतसहसदेण नदिया बणासयं सुवण [ति] रथकरेण [देवा] ण ब्रह्मणानं सोळस गामदे (न) पथासे पूततिथे ब्रह्मणाणं अठभायाप [देण]

Sanskrit of the above :—

राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दिनीकपुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन त्रिगोशतसहस्रदेन नद्यां वार्णशायां सुवर्णतीर्थकरणे देवेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन प्रभासे पूततीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यो अष्टौ भार्याप्रदेन ।

"Usabhadâta son of Dinika and son-in-law of the king Khaharâta Khatapa Nahapâna, the giver of 3,00,000 cows, having given gold and being a visitor to *tirtha* at the Banâsâ river, * the giver of sixteen villages to gods and Brahmans at the holy place Prabhâsa † the giver of eight wives to Brahmans &c." (Inscriptions from Cave Temples by Burgess, p. 33.)

Further up we are told that at Valuraka (a monastic establishment at Kârle) Usabhadata gave the village of Karajaka to the *sangha* of ascetics.

In the Nasik cave inscription No. 4, the text of the inscription is the same up to भायापदेण (भार्यापदेन). Then we read :—

भरुकछे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे चतुशाला-वसथप्रतीश्रयप्रदेन आरामतडाग-उदपानकरेण इबा-पारादमण तापीकरबेण-दाहनुकानावापुण्य-तरकरेण एतासांच नदीनां उभतो [य] तीर (रे) सतत्र [सभा].

"At Bharukachha (Broach), Dasapura, Govardhana and Shorparaga (Sopârâ) he made square buildings for houses of shelter;

*Inscriptions from Cave-Temples p. 37, also Archæological Survey of India, IV, p. 113.

* This river flows from the base of Abu into the Run of Cachh ; it may also be the river in eastern Rajputana flowing into the Chambal.

† Somanâtha Pattana.

he made gardens, tanks, and watering places; he placed charitable ferry-boats on the rivers Ibâ, Pâradâ, Damana, Tâpi, Karavenâ, Dâhanukâ* and places for the charitable distribution of water on both sides of these rivers." (B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, pp. 49-50.)

Now Khaharâta and Nahapâna of the above inscriptions were Persians or Parthians according to several scholars. Dr Stevenson says:— "The Nasik cave inscriptions Nos 4, 5, 6 and 7 were excavated by the son-in-law of one of the Kshatrapas or Satraps of the Parthian monarchs, who, about the commencement of the Christian era, reigned over Western India. The Kshatrapa's name is Nahapâna†, and the sovereign's Kshaharâta. Neither of these names is Indian. The latter however is not unlike Phrahates and may not improbably be intended for the fourth Parthian monarch of that name who reigned about B. C. 22. The son-in-law named Ushavadâta,‡ son of Dinika was evidently from these names a Hindu. His wife, too, named Dakshamitrâ had no doubt an Indian Mother." (B. B. R. A. S., V, p. 40).

In his paper on the Junagadh inscriptions Dr. Bhau Daji takes "Ksahharâta" to be equivalent to Phrahates, "a satrap of the Parthian dynasty." (B B. R. A. S., VII., p. 117). Elsewhere he speaks about the Parthian King Nahapâna (B B. R. A. S, VII, p XIX) Dr. J. F Fleet says:—"I hold that the (Sâka) era was founded by the Kshaharâta § King Nahapâna, who reigned in Kathiawar and over some of the neighbouring territory as far as Ujjain from A. D. 78 to about A. D 125 and held for a time Nasik and other parts north of Bombay, and who seems to have been a Pahlava or Palhava, *i.e.* of Parthian extraction."* (J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 992-993).

It appears from the Junnar inscription No. 26 that Nahapâna may have become an independent ruler in course of time; for, we read therein:—

[रञो] महाखतपस सामिनहपानस [आ] मात्यस वछसगोतस अयमस देयधम.

Sanskrit:—

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिनहपाणस्यामात्यस्य वत्सगोत्रस्यायमस्य देयधर्म:

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* Ambikâ, Pâr, Damangangâ, Tapti, Kaveri and Dâhânu (Bom Gaz, I, Pt. I. p. 25). See also Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol IV, pp. 99-100).

† A D. 78-120 (Bom. Gaz. I III, p. 24).

‡ A. D., 100-120 (Idem p. 25) also Bom. Gaz. XIII p. 142.

§ We discuss below the derivations of some of the names in the inscriptions:—

Khaharâta—The Avestan *kha* is changed to *fa* in Persian; compare *yukhta*=P. *jofta; aokhta*=P, *goft*. Now if we apply the Avestan rule, to Sanskrit, we have Sk. *khaharâta*=P. *Faharâta*, which by dropping the aspirate *ha* would become *Farâta* =Phrâtes=Fravartas.

Nahapâna—Its latter part is clearly Iranian; compare Marzanân, Yazdânpân &c. The first part *Naha* is probably a short form of *Narsha;* compare Kâhâpana=Kârshâpana. The whole name would mean= "protector of men."

Usabhadâta or Usavadâta.—This name might be made up of *ushâo+dâda*(=given by dawn). Cf *Atarô-dâd* (=given by fire). The latter part of the name is *dâta*, which shows that it could not be a Hindu name; otherwise we would expect *data* (=*datta*) as in the names Sulâsadata, Utardata Râmadata, Vinudata, (=Vishnudata) (&c., B B R.AS, Vol. V. p. 171). Since he gave 16 villages in honour of the *Devas*, we think he had become a convert to the Hindu faith. His father's name was *Dinika*, which looks like the Persian name *Diniyâr* and the name *Dinidâru*.

Note:—Usabhadâta was a Saka according to the Nasik inscription No. 14 (See Bom Gaz. I, Pt. I, p. 25, also, Archæological Report of Western India Vol. IV p. 101). Now according to Mr. Rapson some of the Sakas were connected with the Pahlavas in about the first century B C. and first century A.D. (Rapson's Anc. India, p. 138). Maues was a Saka This also shows that Usabhadâta may have been a Parthian or Persian at first.

* Mr. R. Banerji disputes that the Saka era was founded by Nahapâna, as he places the date of Nahapâna in the end of the last century B.C., or the beginning of the first century A.D. (J.R.A.S. 1917, p. 289. See also Bom. Gaz. I, Pt I, 26 ff.)

"The meritorious gift ... of Ayama of the Vachhasagotra, prime minister of the King Mahakhatapa (*great satrap*) the *lord* Nahapâna". (Inscriptions from Cave Temples pp. 51–52. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, p. 169.)

Pahlavas In Nasik Inscription.

(5) In the Nasik cave inscription No 1. we come across the names of the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. In that inscription it is stated that the King Gotamiputra was the ruler of the provinces of Mundaka, Saurâshtra, Kukura, Aparânta, Anupa and Vidarbha, and was the lord of the Vindhya and Paryâtra (western part of the Vindhya) mountains, the Sahya (Western Ghauts) and Kanha (Kanheri) hills &c. He subdued Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas about whom we read as under :—

खतिय दपमाने मदनेस सक यवन पलहव-नीसूदनस "(Of him) the Kshatriya , who flaming like the god of love, subdued the Sakas, Yavavas and Palhavas"* (B. B. R. A. S , V., p. 41).

Inscription on the Manikiala † stone.

(7) Learned attempts have been made by eminent scholars, like M. Senart, Prof. Luders and Mr. Pargiter to decipher this important inscription, and its reading may now be taken as almost certain. We make no apologies to give some extracts of Mr. Pargiter's paper on the subject given in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1914 (p. 641 ff). We have adopted Mr. Pargiter's translation with slight modifications. The inscription is in Kharosthi script, and is written in Prakrit or Pali language. It contains some Iranian words, such as पुर्वस्प (Av—Puru-aspa), वेस्पशि or वेएशि (=Vese, Av. Vaeska), स्पन्तक (Av. Spenta=Holy one), and करप (=priest of hostile religion). It also contains pure Sanskrit and Greek words, such as संवर्धक and होर respectively.

The inscription stone was put up in a market place, close to the object of donation, which was most probably an instrument for measuring time. The donation was a joint gift of a Zoroastrian donor and a Buddhist priest.

I give below Mr. Pargiter's reading,* omitting the first and last two lines, which are not important for our purpose :—

सं १८ क्षथ्रपुर्वस्प महरजस कनेष्कस गुषणोवशसंवर्धक ललनो जनयगो वेस्पशिस छत्रपस होरमुर्तसतस अपणगे विन्हति होर-मुर्तेअश्वनन भणव शुधनव पति स्थवयेति ॥ सह तअेन वेस्पशिएन खुदेन्तिएन वुरित्रेणच विहरकरफएण संवेण च परिवेषण ॥ सधक दन कुशलमुलेन बुधेहि च स्पन्तकहि च सच सद भवतु ॥

If turned into Sanskrit, the above inscription would run thus :—

सं १८ क्षत्रपुर्वस्पः महराज्ञः कनिष्कस्य गुषणवंशसंवर्धकललनः जन-आर्यकः वेस्पशि (स्य) क्षत्रपस्य होरमुहूर्तीसक्तस्य आपणेके विहान्तिम् होरमुहूर्तआश्वनना (abl) भाणा (abl) वा शुद्धज्ञापनं प्रतिष्ठापयति ॥ सह तेन वेस्प-शिना खुदेन्तिना वुरित्रेण च विहारकरफेण

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* Gotamiputra son of Pudumâvi ruled in 120 A. D., according to the Bom. Gaz. He was the most distinguished monarch of the Shâtakarni or Andhra dynasty. In the Archæological Survey of India Vol. IV., (pp. 108–109) the reading of the above passage is as follows :—

खातियदपमानमदनस सकयवनपलहवनिसूदनस "Of him who humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas—of bim who destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas."

† Manikiâla inscription is a Kharoshthi record from the Râwal Pindi District (J. R.A.S., 1914, p. 373).

Manikiâla was one of the most famous places in the Panjab at a very early period. The old town was called *Mânikpur* or *Mâniknagar*. It was on the South-east of Peshâwar, and also of Taxila but nearer the latter namely about 34 miles from it. (Cunningham's Anc. Geography of India, pp. 104 and 121 ff and Archæo. Reports, II., p. 152 ff.)

* The inscription is referred to also by Sir A. Cunningham in his Archæological Reports II, p. 163.

सर्वेण च परिवारेण ॥ साधकदानं कुशलमूलेन बुधेहि च स्पन्तकहि च सत्यं सदा भवतु ॥

Translation:—"In the year 18, the King Puru-aspa, the son (ललन) and aggrandiser of the Kushan race of Kanishaka, the nobleman of the people, establishes in the market place of the Satrap Vespashi, who is fond of the hours, (*i.e. muhurtâs*), a *vihanti* (=a clock ?) for clear announcement through the ringing or proclamation of the hours, (*i.e. muhurtâs*),—along with Vespashi, with Khudenti and with Buritra, the priest of the *Vihâra* (Buddhist monastry) and with all attendants. May the useful gift, by (its) meritorious foundation, with (the aid of) Buddha and Spenta (=the Holy one), be always true."

* * *

[A few annotations on important words are given below :—

Kshatra Puru-aspa—Mr. Pargiter supposes this to be the Iranian equivalent of the country (क्षत्र) *Ashvaka* (in Sanskrit) and *Aspassioi* (in Greek) (Mr. Crindle's Anc. India., pp. 22, 33). But the full name is *Puru-aspa*, not *Aspa;* hence we take *Puru-aspa* to be a proper name for *Pourushashpa*. *Kshathra* is an Avestan word, which means "king." Mr. Pargiter takes the word *Kshathra* in its other sense, namely "realm," and taking ललन as a proper noun, he translates the first two lines thus :—

"In the year 18, Lalana, the President of the people, the aggrandiser of the Gushan race of Kanishka, the great king of the realm Puru-aspa, establishes &c."

We take ललन as a common noun, forming a compound with संवर्धक. If संवर्धक is a form of the nominative singular, पुर्वस्प would also be the same. It is to be noted that the nominative singular also ends in ओ as we see in ललनो and जनयगो. This is both after the Prakrit and Avestan fashion. The writer at times uses Avestan forms; in गुषणोवंश the compound is formed according to the rules of Avesta grammar, since its first member is in the nominative singular*. The instrumental forms such as तएन and करफएन instead of तेन and करफेण show Avestan influence.

Vespashi—This word has been read by Pro. Luders as *Ve-eshi*. Could this be *Vese*, Avestan *Vaeska ?*

Khudenti is read as *Khujachi* by Prof. Luders.

Karapa—This is an Iranian word. As Mr. Pargiter says :—"No Buddhist title such as *swâmin* is used, but the Iranian word *Karpan*, which was applied to teachers and priests hostile to the Zoroastrian religion, is used."

Hora—This is the Greek word, meaning "hour." The word *muhûrta* is used as its equivalent, or as the nearest Indian approach, since *muhûrta* contains 48 minutes. *Hora* would have been familiar in the Greco-Bactrian states and to the author of this inscription, but not to the Indians. Hence the use of both the words in apposition.

Vihanti—This is a doubtful word. The meaning of the word (*Ghati*) (water-clock) would suit admirably, but the two words cannot be connected linguistically. The context suggests, that it must be the name of some instrument for measuring time.

Budhehi and *Spentakahi*—Might be genitive singular after the Avesta fashion. Mr. Pargiter takes them as crude instrumental plural.

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* The use of the nominative at the end of the first part of the compound is well known in inscriptions ; Cf. *pâsâdotoranam* (Epigraphia Indica, II, p. 195 ; also I, p. 375.)

Instead of सच सद we might adopt the reading सचसन (सत्यासन) "seat of truth." In that case the last line might be rendered thus:—
"May the useful gift, by its meritorious foundation, be the seat of truth of the Buddha and the Spenta."]

* * *

CHAPTER No. 4.

References to Persians in History.

In this Chapter, we give references to the Persians in historical works and books of standard authors, pointing out what we know about their religion.

Parthians in Gujarat and Sindh.

(1) Ferishta speaks of an Indian king named Sinsârchand who paid tribute to the Iranian king Godrej. The latter was a Parthian king. Briggs thought that Sinsârchand was Sandrocotus or Chandragupta; but in our opinion this does not appear to be correct. (Brigg's Ferishtâ, Vol. I.)

(2) Major-General Cunningham says:— "Thathâ was the actual position of the *Minhâbari* of the Arab geographers, and of the *Min-nagar* of the author of the Periplus....The name *Manhâbari* is variously written as *Mehâbari* and *Manjâbari*, for which we might perhaps read *Mandâbari* or *Mandâwari* 'the city of the *Mand* tribe.' This *Mand* tribe is referred to by Edrisi, Ibn Haukal, Rashid-ud-din and Masudi. The name is variously written as *Mer*, *Med*, *Mand* and *Mind*. "The *Mand* tribe occupied Lower Sindh in great numbers from the beginning of the Christian era. To this people I refer the name of *Min-nagar* or 'city of Min,' which was the Capital of Lower Sindh in the second century of the Christian era. *Min* was a Scythian name....The appearance of the name in Sindh would alone be sufficient to suggest the presence of Scythians; but its connection with them is placed beyond all doubt by the mention, that the rulers of *Min-nagar* were rival *Parthians*, who were mutually expelling each other.* These Parthians were

* Peripl. Mar. Eryth; in Hudson's Georg. Vol. I-22. These contending Parthians must have been the remnant of the Karen Pahlavas who joined with the Kushâns fo attack Ardeshir Papakan (Journ. As. 1866, VII-134. Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. I, p 544.)

Dahæ Scythians from the Oxus, who gave the name of Indo-Scythia to the valley of the Indus." (Ancient Geography of India, pp. 289-292.)

(3) According to Lieut-Col. James Tod:—" Arrian, who resided in the second century at Barugaza (Broach,) described a Parthian sovereignty as extending from the Indus to the Nerbadda. Their capital was Minagara." (Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 179)

Indo-Parthian Kings.

(1) The Indo-Parthian dynasty, which ruled in the Panjab from 120 B.C. to 60 A.D. is of the greatest interest for us. Mithridates I. of Parthia* annexed the country between the Indus and Hydaspes (Jhlam) or in other words, the kingdom of Taxila, towards the close of his reign, in or about 138 B.C. That kingdom, the western Panjab, seems to have formed an integral part of the Parthian dominion for a few years, but upon the death of Mithridates I about 136 B. C., the control of the government over the outlying provinces was relaxed; and about 120 B.C. a chieftain named Maus (Moa=Mahâ) † made himself king of Taxila, and enjoyed practical independence. Some of his coins bear legend राजाधिराजस महतस मोअस " of Moa the great king of kings."

Besides the coins of the great Moga or Moa and his successors, those of Vonones, Spalahores, Spalirises and Spalagadames were found in Peshawar and the districts on the west bank of the Indus (Cunningham's Archæological Reports, II, p. 59.)

* Von Gutschmid referring to Orosius (V-4) and Diodorus attributes to Mithridates the annexation of the old kingdom of Poros without war.

† Rapson says (and he is supported by Cunningham, vide Anc. Geography of India, p. 178), that Maues is identified with *Moga*, which name is a dialectical variant of *Moa* (Ancient India, p. 141). Dr. Fleet disputes this (J.R.A.S. 1914, p. 798.)

(2) Mithridates II suppressed the independence of Sistan with its appanages, and incorporated those provinces in the Parthian empire. Azes (or Aya), who was deprived of Arachosia (Kandhâr) was permitted to succeed Maus at Taxila and to establish a dynasty there (90 B. C.) The legend on his coins is महाराजस राजराजस महतस अयस " of Aya, the great, the great king, the king of kings."

(3) Azes was succeeded by his son Azilises (Ayilisha)* in 40 B. C. He ruled for 25 years. He was succeeded by Azes II in 15 B. C.

(4) Then came Gondophares in 20 A. D., and ruled up to 60 A. D. He extended his authority over Arachosia, Sistan and the valley of the lower Indus. In his coins, his name is written as Gadaphras. † Lastly came Abdagases (Avadagasha.) In the latter part of the 1st century A.D. the author of the Periplus found the valley of the Lower Indus, which, he called Scythia, under the rule of Parthian chiefs. At this time the Sakas, Yueh-chi and other nomad hordes from the steppes of Central Asia were swarming down upon the North-Western frontier of India. Abdagases reigned for a short time and his kingdom passed into the hands of foreigners. (V. Smith's Catalogue of Coins, pp. 33, 36, and Hist. of India, pp. 202-7.)

We have to note, that " there was an intimate connection between the family of the Pahlava Volones and that of Maus. This connection is proclaimed by certain coins, on which the brother of the king, Volones, is definitely associated to Azes. The family of Volones ruled in Seistan, Kandhâr and North Baluchistan, and that of Maus ruled in Punjab and Sindh, until towards the end of the 1st quarter of the first

* *Ayilish* or *Avirish* is the Avestan word *Airya*. Dr. Buhler supposes *Aya* to be the short form of *Arya* (See Epigraphia Indica, II, pp. 396, 398.)

† Gadman, and Farra or Hvarena.

century A. D., the two kingdoms were untied under the sway of the Pahlava Gondopharnes or Gadmanhvarena." (Rapson's Anc. India, pp. 144-5, 184.)

The coins of Gondophares and his successors are found in Seistan, Kandhâr and Sindh and in the South Panjâb. Those of Gondophares are found also at Kabul. He was thus the ruler of Seistan, Kandhâr and Sindh. This is confirmed by the fact, that Gondophares is almost certainly the same as Gondoforus of the early Christian legends, who is said to have put St. Thomas to death. In the *Legenda Aurea*, Gundoforus is called king of India—a title which agrees with the recorded accounts of the scene of St. Thomas' mission in Parthia, Persia and India. But the place of his death is even more distinctly stated by Bishop Sophronius, who says, "*dormivit in civitate, Calamina, quæ est Indiæ.*" An old inscription of A. D. 1070 on the door of the Basilica of St. Paul on the Ostian road, also testifies that he was put to death in India. These and other statements lead Sir A. Cunningham to show that king Gundoforus of the Christian legends was the ruler of Western India in the time of St. Thomas, and as king Gondophares of the coins was the ruler of the same country about the same time, the two names were probably of the same person. The rule of Gondophares must have extended over the Eastern Panjâb, as his coins are found in Multân and in all the ruined mounds to the south of Lahor. Shortly after his death or in A. D. 79, one of his successors must have lost the Southern Panjâb; as the great victory of Sâlivâhana over the Sakas, at *Kahror* near Multân, can only apply to them. We may also infer, that Abdagases the nephew, and Sasan * the relative of Gondophares must have reigned in the Panjâb, as their coins are found there only; and that for a similar reason, Orthagnes, another relative must have reigned in Kandhar, Seistan and Sindh. The coins of Arsakes and Sanabares precede those of Gondophares; but the coins of Pakores and of at least two other princes, the successors of Orthagnes, show that this dynasty must have ruled down to about 100 A. D. (Cunningham's Archæological Reports II, pp. 59-61).

* A coin of king Sasan was found in No. 15 mound at Manikyâla (Arch. Reports. II, p. 167).

Kushan Coins Proving Zoroastrian Influence.

Now we shall note some numismatic facts which show what influence Iran exercised over the religion of the Kushan tribe in the early centuries after Christ. About 126 B.C., the little kingdom of Bactria came to an untimely end through the invasions of the Yu-chi * and other cognate Turanian tribes, who swept through Central Asia, and subsequently conquered Kabul, and occupied the country as far as the Indus. Kanishka, † a great king of their race came to the throne in 120 A.D. He was a great conqueror and his empire extended from Kabul and Yarkand as far as Agra and Gujarat. He was a Buddhist. He held the great council of the Northern Buddhists; and emissaries were sent to introduce Buddhism in the neighbouring kingdoms. Now the empire of Kanishka merits special mention on account of its peculiar religious attitude, which may be gathered from the coins. As already stated, Kanishka had embraced Buddhism, and many of his coins bear the image and name of Buddha. Iranian divinities, how-

* That is Tartar.

† The dates of his successors are.—Huviska 150 A.D., Vâsudeva 180 A. D. (V. Smiths' Catalogue of Coins, p. 64).

Dr. Buhler gives Samvat 39 to 48 and 80 to 98 to Huvishka and Vâsudeva respectively (Epigraphia Indica, I, p. 373). According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Kanishka ruled from A.D. 78 to 100, Huvishka from A.D. 100 to 123, and Vasudeva from A.D. 123 to 150 (?) (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. I, pp. 22, 37).

ever, predominate on the coins of Kanishka and his successor Huvishka —such as, Miiro *(Meher*, sun), Mâo *(Mâh*, moon), Athsho *(Âtash*, fire), Oado *(Vât*, wind), Shaoreoro *(Sheherevar)*, Orthagno *(Verethraghna)*, Pharro *(Farna, hvarena*=majesty of kingship), Nana *(Anahita)* &c.

Here then we have a perfect example of syncretism. Buddhism and Zoroastrianism have been wedded in the state religion, and in characteristic Indian fashion are on the best of terms with one another. (Encycl. Br., Ed XI, Vol. 21, p. 116).

Stein observes, that the eloquent and most authentic evidence of the Turushka coinage furnishes a safe starting point for all future inquiries into that fascinating epoch of the history of the Aryan nations, which witnessed the interchange of Buddhist and Magian influences between India and Iran*.

In this connection the following remarks are quite appropriate:— "The newer Buddhism of Kanishka's day, designated as the Mahâyâna or "great vehicle," was largely of foreign origin, and developed as the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic and Hellinic elements."

The name of *Huvishka* † the successor of Kanishka, is the Iranian word *Huvaksha*; however, the legend on his coins (महाराजा देवपुत्र हुविश्क) shows, that he was not a *pukka* Zoroastrian; no orthodox Zoroastrian would connect his name with *Deva*. He resembled Kanishka in an eclectic taste for a strange medley of Greek, Indian and Persian deities. The types on his coins include Herakles, Sarapis, Shiva, Skanda with his son Vishâkha, Pharro and the Fire-god; but the figure and name of Buddha are wanting.

*Stein's Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins, p. 12.

† We also come across the form Huksha (see Epigraphia Indica, II, pp. 197–198 & 206.)

Huvishka was succeeded by *Vasudeva*.* His coins present the royal figure clad in the garb of Persia, and manifestly imitated from the effigy of Sapoor I. (238 to 269 A. D.). (V. Smith's Hist. of India, p. 233, 239). From the fact, that the Kushân dynasty in Northern India, and the Andhra in the Deccan disappear almost at the moment, when the Ashkhânian dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sassanian, it is conjectured that the three events were connected in some way, (possibly by a predatory invasion by the Iranians) which explains the renewed Persian influence.

Sassanian Persians Connected With India.

(1) The Sassanian dynasty was on terms of close friendship with the rulers of Western India and became the leading traders in the eastern seas. In proof of this we notice Beheram Ghor's visit (A. D. 436) to the king of Kanauj (A. D. 423–438)† probably to ask for help in his struggle with the White Huns, his marriage with an Indian princess, his founding of the dynasty of the Gardhabin kings, and the introduction of Indian music and literature into Persia. It was under the Sassanians, that the Persians brought chess and the Arabian Nights from India (Bom. Gaz., Vol. XIII, pp. 248, 419; Asiatic Researches, IX, pp. 147-155).

The Hindu princess with whom Beheramghor married was Sapinuda

* From the pure Hindu name of Vasudeva Cunningham says that it might be supposed that he was a Hindu; but as the coins give him the tribal name of *Korano*,...he must have been an Indo-Scythian. Cunningham thinks, that the descendants of the Indo-Scythians gradually became Indianized, and that they must be sought for amongst some of the inferior tribes in the North-West, such as the Gats and Gujars (J.R.A.S. New Series, Vol 5, p. 195). He draws attention to the evidence of the early adoption of Hindu names by the Indo-Scythians (Ach. Reports, III–41, 42, V–140).

† Cosmas Indikopleustas (A. D. 545) found the Persians among the chief traders in the Indian Ocean. (Yule's Cathay I, 177–179).

according to the Shahname. Firdusi says that when Beheramghor carried away Sapinuda and came to the sea, he saw a group of Iranian traders, about whom the poet says :—

" Ke bâzârgânâne Irân budand,
Ba âbo ba khushki delirân budand."

"Because they were Iranian traders; they were bold in travelling by land and sea." * (Kutâr's Shahname, Vol. VIII, p. 139).

This shows that the Iranian traders went to India both by land and sea.

In his paper on Parsis and Early Islam Mr. G. K. Nariman quotes Tabari to show that Shapur II built cities not only in Sagistan, but actually in Sindh. Again king Piroz founded two cities in India proper—called Ram Piroz and Roshen Piroz. (The Praja Mitra and Parsi, 28th February 1918)

(2) Both Naushirvân the Just (A.D. 531-579) and his grandson Parviz (A. D. 590-628) were united by treaties and by the interchange of rich presents with the rulers of Southern India and Sindh.

About 565 A. D. the dominions of the White Huns, namely Kashmir, Gandhâra and Peshâvar passed into the hands of the Persians; but their grasp soon relaxed. On the authority of Tabari it is stated, that king Khusru II of Persia received an embassy from king Pulikessin II in about 625 A. D., and a return embassy was sent from Persia, which was received with due honour at the Indian court. A large fresco painting in cave No. 1 of Ajantâ (near Aurangabad), although mutilated, is easily recognised as a vivid representation of the ceremonial, attending the presentation of their credentials by the Persian envoys. The picture also shows, that the Ajantâ school of pictorial art was derived from Persia* (V. Smith's Early Hist. of India, p. 325).

Regarding the above Dr. Fleet says :—

Mr. Fergusson has shown that there is an Arabic chronicle, which records the fact that in the 36th year of the reign of Khosru II, of Persia, presents and letters were interchanged between him and Pulikesi II. (610-634 A. D.) In the same paper Mr. Fergusson has drawn attention to a painting in one of the Ajantâ caves, which depicts the presentation of a letter from a Persian king to an Indian king who is supposed to be Pulikesi II. (J. R. A. S., XI, p. 155. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 25).

According to Mr. G. K. Nariman :—"We read of a king, whose real name must be Shri Harsha of Sindh, in whose time a Persian army pushed into Sindh. The king fell in the battle, but the Persians contented themselves with devastating a portion of the country and returned, the throne of Sindh being once more occupied by the son of the slain ruler. He was himself overthrown in 641, which leads us to conclude that the occupation of the Persians took place in the reign of Khosru Parwez...Coins discovered in North-West India with Indian and Pahlavi legends prove that this territory belonged to the king or kings of Persia at a certain period. The most important of the coins...bears the legend of 'Khosru Shahanshah.' On the obverse are the impressions of the sun god of Multan and the year corresponding to the Christian date 627 on the reverse." (The Praja Mitra and Parsi, 28th February 1918).

* Wilford says, " Hindus to this day (1809) show the place where he (Behrâmgour or Gadhâ-rupa) lived about one day's march to the north of Broach, with the ruins of his palace" (Asiatic Researches, IX, p. 151).

* The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol 1², p. 248) says :—

Naoshirvan's embassy to Pulikesi II the ruler of Bâdâmi in the Southern Maratha Country, is believed to be the subject of one of the Ajanta cave paintings and another of the pictures is supposed to be copied from a portrait of Parvez and the beautiful Shirin (Masudi's Prairies d'Or II, 201).

(3) Dr. Bhau Daji opines that it was Burzuchumihr, the minister of Naushirvân, who despatched the physician Barzuya to India for obtaining a copy of the *Panchatantra*, or original of the *Hitopadesha*, which he got translated into Pahlavi. He also introduced the game of chess from the same source.

Dr. Daji surmises that the name *Barzuyā* is in all likelihood the same as *Vararuchi*.* He says :— Whether this Vararuchi is the same as one of the "nine gems"† at the court of Vikramâditya, we have no means of ascertaining ; but when we consider, that he was able to translate the *Panchtantra* rapidly into Pahlavi, and that he was acquainted with medical and other writings of the Hindus, which at that time were chiefly in the Prakrit language, we are led to believe, that the later Vararuchi of Harsha-Vikramâditya's court was this Barzuya. We write this with the knowledge that the *Kalila va Dimna*, the Arabic translation of the Pahlavi version, informs us, that the *Panchtantra* was obtained at Patliputra, and that it takes no notice of Ujjayini." (B. B. R. A. S. VI, p. 226.).

(4) According to one account, early in the 7th century, a large body of Persians landed in Western India, and from one of their leaders whom Wilford believed to have been a son of Khosru Parviz, the family of Udepur is to have sprung. (For authorities see Bom Gaz. XIII, p. 248).

(4a) General Cunningham has noted that the influence of the Sassanians was most strongly felt in Sindh and Western Rajputana, where India and Persia came into direct contact; but in North-Western India and the Punjab, it was disseminated by the White Huns and the Little Yuchi, who successively held the Kabal valley. The former were certainly fire-worshippers, and the latter were apparently Brahmanists, but both had adopted the style of the Sassanian coinage, and as the date of the Sassanian influence is well known, it is a convenient and well-marked distinction to call it the *Indo-Sassanian* period This period, Cunningham extends down to A. D. 700, shortly after which the direct Persian influence was brought to a close in Western India by the Mohammedan conquest of Sindh and Multân in A. D. 711. (See Cunningham's Archæological Reports, III, p. 5).

(4b) The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer notices the traditional connection between Valabhi and the Rânâs of Mewâd with the Sassanian kings of Persia (AD. 250-650). In support of the tradition, Abul Fazal (A. D. 1590) says that the Rânâs of Mewâd consider themselves descendants of the Sassanian Naushirwân (A. D. 531-579), and Tod quotes fuller details from the Persian history of Maaser-al-Umra. No evidence seems to support a direct connection with Naushirwân. At the same time marriage between the Valabhi chief and Mâhâ Bânu the fugitive daughter of Yazdgard the last Sassanian (A. D. 651) is not impossible. And the remaining suggestion that the link between Naushirwân's son Naushizâd, who fled from his father in A. D. 570 receives support in the statement of Procopius, that Nanshizâd found shelter at Belapatan in Khuzistân, perhaps Belapatan in Gurjaristân. As these suggestions are unsupported by direct evidence, it seems best to look for the source of the legend in the fire symbols in use on Kathiawad and Mewâd coins. These symbols betray from about the sixth century a more direct Sassanian

* The full name is "Barzuchihar" ; *z* would be pronounced as *h* ; thus we would have "Barhuchihar." Dropping both the aspirates *h*, the word would be 'Baruchira', which by transposition of the last *r* would form 'Bar'ruchi" or "Vara'ruchi." Thus Dr. Daji's surmise seems to be correct.

† In the Jyotirvidabharana Kavya Chapter XXII § 10 it is stated :—

"Dhanwantari, Kshapanaka, Amarsinha, Shanku, Vitalabhatta, Ghatakharapara, Kalidâs, the renowned Varâha Mihira and Vararuchi, are the nine gems of Vikrama."

influence. (Bom. Gaz., I, Pt. I, p. 102).

(5) *Drammas*,* which are still found in the Konkan, are believed by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji to be the coins of a corrupt Sassanian type, which are better known as *Gadhiâ-paisâ* or ass-money. The *Pâruttha Drammas* mentioned on a stone, which records the grant of land in Uran by the Silâhâra king Someswar in 1249 A D. seem to be Parthian Drammas or Dirhems. (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 13, pp 427-428). (J. R A. S., XII, pp. 325, 328).

(6) In his paper on the Ancient Dynasties of Kathiawar and Guzerat Mr. Justice Newton remarks :—"We find little in the Greek or native histories to assist us in determining whether the impulse, which resulted in the establishment of the Shâh empire, emanated from the Bactrian or the Parthian division of the kingdom of Alexander. The Bactrian King Demetrius, who must have reigned about B. C. 190, is stated by Strabo to have made conquests in India, but we have no evidence that he reached Guzerat and Kathiawar. That Menander, in about 130 B. C. ruled in the North-West of India seems certain. Mr. Princep has remarked, that the execution of the Shâh coins leads us rather to look to those of the Parthians as the originals from which they were derived, and this connection, though not certain, may incline us to view Parthia rather than Bactria as the monarchy, from which in some way the Shâh empire took its rise.† We certainly have evidence of a connection between Persia and Western India at a later period, in the fact that a subsequent deteriorated issue from some mint in Guzerat, now known as "Gadhiâ Paisâ*" has plainly been imitated from the coins of the Sassanides.....That the Parthians had power, shortly before the accession of the Shâhs, to extend their territory in the direction of Guzerat is evident, since for the century before, and during the century following, they were the formidable antagonists of Rome. In this state of things, too, we have perhaps an explanation of the rise of a new dynasty, and of its being left free to pursue a career of conquest eastward and southward, as described in the Shâh inscription at Girnâr. The Indo-Scythians had probably rendered Bactria unable to interfere, and the Parthians had sufficient occupation in their conquests with Scythia and the Romans."

Further up the learned Judge says :—"The downfall of the Valabhi empire was attributed by Colonel

* The Drammas are mentioned in the Harsha Stone Inscription dated Samvat 1030 (see Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 125, 130).

† About A. D. 30 or 40.

* James Princep in his Essays on Indian Antiquities Vol I p. 335 says :—"The popular name of these rude (silver and copper) coins is in Guzarat *Gadhia kâ paisâ*=ass-money or rather the money of Gadhia, a name of Vikramâditya. This king was × × a powerful king of the Western provinces, his capital being Cambat or Cambay : and it is certain that the princes of these parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period." Further up Princep says :—"Scholars have discovered on the coins the profile of a face after the Persian model on one side and the Sassanian fire altar on the other. If this is admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurâshtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yazdgird the son of Beherâmgor. This is supported by the testimony of the Agni Purâna, that Vikrama the son of Gadhâ-rupa (=Beheramgor according to Wilford) ascended the throne of Mâlayâ (Ujjain) in A. D. 441." (Ibid, pp. 341-342).

According to Pandit Bhagwanlal the name of the coin is from the Sanskrit गर्धभीय, meaning, of the Gardhabhi dynasty, (B.B.R. A. S. XII-329). Wilford thinks that Gardhabhi is a name to a family of Sassanian kings subsequent to the period of Vaharâm Gor' Consequently the date of the beginning of this currency would be subsequent to A.D. 420, when the king flourished" (Asiatic Researches IX, p. 149).

Tod* to an army of Parthians and Scythians, but Mr. Elphinstone has suggested, that the invaders may have been Sassanians, probably under Naushirvân ; and in this event, we have doubtless an explanation of the occurrence of the *Gadhia* coins already referred to. Barbarized as these are, the attempt to delineate the bust and fire altar of the Sassanides is evident ; and it is certain, therefore, either that the Sassanian monarchy obtained a footing at Guzerat, or as is more probable, that an off-shoot of the dynasty succeeded in establishing an empire there × × × × × ×

If the number of the debased Gadhias, which from time to time come to light, may be looked on as indicative of rule extending over a century or two, our researches hitherto will bring us down to the commencement or end of the seventh century of our era, and close with a race of Sassanian origin reigning in Kutch, Kathiawar and Guzerat." (B.B.R.A.S. Journal, VII, pp. 30-36).†

Indo-Sassanian coins are found in Mâlwâ and Gujarât....The earliest coins are of large size and their imitation of the Sassanian money is direct and obvious. But the latter coins depart more and more from the original, so that it is not easy at first sight to trace their descent.....Mr. Codrington, Secretary of Bombay Asiatic Society, selected a series of coins to show the gradual change of the Persian head on the obverse and the fire-altar on the reverse of the Sassanian coins into the oblong button and the series of dots and lines found on the Gadhia coins. (Cunningham's Archæological Reports, XI, p. 176, Bombay B. Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, XII, 325). *

Cunningham came across 13 fire altar Indo-Sassanian coins at Nâgri (about 11 miles north of Chitor) and to them he assigns as the date, the 7th century to the commencement of the 8th century A. D. (Arch. Reports, VI, 200, 201).

(7) Cunningham notices a Pahlava prince of Kathiawar in 720 A. D. He says :—"About A.D. 720 Krishna, the Pahlava prince of the peninsula (of Gujârat), built the fort of *Elâpur*, the beauty of which, according to the inscription, astonished the immortals. In it he established an image of Siva adorned with the crescent. Following this clue I incline to identify Elâpur with the famous city of *Somnâth* which as the capital of the peninsula, was usually called Pattan Somnâth. According to Postans the old city of Pattan is built upon a projection of the main land, forming the Southern point of the small port and bay of *Verâval*. This name I take to be the same as *Elâpur* or *Elâwar*, which by a transposition † which is very common in India, would become *Erâwal*" (Ancient Geography of India, p. 319.)‡

As regards the word *Pahlava*, Prof. Weber considered that, it "became early foreign to the Persians, learned reminiscences excepted ; in the Pahlavi texts themselves, for instance, it does not occur. The period

* Tod (Râjasthana I, pp. 83, 217, 218) says : The invaders were Scythic, probably Parthians from Minagara and that the fall of Valabhi took place in A. D. 524. So Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Ind.* II, p. 70, and Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ* I, p. 21. But we now know that the Valabhi dynasty lasted for 200 years after this. (See also Dr. Burgess' *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, VI p. 3).

† This information given by Justice Newton is very interesting but unfortunately it is vague. There are also chronological difficulties, which Dr. Burgess had tried to explain away. (Bom. Gaz. VIII p. 274 ; also I pt. I p. 94 note).

*In B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XII-325, 326, Pandit Bhagwanlal says that "twenty Gaddia coins were so arranged by Mr. Codrington in a plate as to give the gradual transition from the Persian face and fire-altar seen in the former (Sassanian coins) into the oblong button dots and lines on the latter (Gadhia coins) and which showed pretty plainly that the so called Gadhias are a debased imitation of the coins of the Sassanian kings of the 6th and the 7th century A.D."

†Cf Narsingh=Ran-si ; Ranod=Narod.

‡ See also Bom. Gaz. XIII, p. 414.

when it passed over to the Indians, therefore, would have to be fixed for about the second * to the fourth century A. D ; and we should have to understand by it, not directly the Persians, who are called Pârasikas rather, but specially the Arsacidan Parthians." (Hist. of Indian Literature, p. 187, note 201 *a*).

The king Krishna referred to above could not be a *puccâ* Zoroastrian. His Hiudu name and the fact that he had established an image of Siva show that he observed a mixed religion. Cunningham has not quoted his authority.

(8) In the Saddar † Nasr or the prose Saddar (ch. X-7) we read :— " When similarly some one in Kashmir or Iranvej or Kandez or the enclosure formed by Jam performs a good work, and we are not able to perform it with *hamâ-zor*, then they and we who wear the sacred thread-girdle on the waist, are naturally connected and equally meritorious, one with the other." We notice here that about the time the Saddar was composed, there was a colony of Parsis in Kashmir ; for, it is suggested that the Kusti is a token, which unites Zoroastrians of distant lands. Now the date of the Saddar is uncertain but we find in the introduction to the Saddar-i-Bahar-i-Tavil or the long-metre Saddar (A. D. 1605) that the prose Sadar was composed by three Dasturs named Vardust, Medyomâh, and Syâvaksha *at the time of the Arab conquest*. (S B. E Vol XXIV, p. 269, introd p. 37 ; also B. N. Dhabhar's Saddar Nasr, introd. p.p. 7-8)

Note:—According to Reinaud under the Arsacidae or Parthian dynasty, the Persians took a great part in oriental navigation. There was a considerable Indian trade up the Persian Gulf and by land to Palmyra ;* and it seems to have been under the Parthian influence, that the Persians overcame their horror of the sea, and rose to be the greatest sea-traders of the east. The trade connection between the Thana coast and the Parthian rulers in the Persian Gulf has a special interest at this period, as in the latter part of the 1st century after Christ, the Andhras were driven from Konkan and north Deccan by foreigners apparently from Northern India, who founded the Indo-Parthian dynasty.

Religion of Persians of India.

Now let us say a few words about the religion of the Farsi residents of India of olden times. We have seen, that the religion of Kanishka and his successors was a syncretistic religion, it was not *orthodox* Zoroastrianism.

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer remarks, that the history of the Parsis, who for a time lost most of their peculiarities, shows how easily a settlement of Persians may embrace Hinduism. Wilford believes, that there is a strong Persian element in the Konkanastha Brahmans and the Marathas. He remarks, that there is nothing in the theory or practice of Hinduism to prevent foreigners, who are willing to conform to the Hindu religion and manners, being admitted to be Hindus.†

Pahlavas Abandon Religion.

About 150 A. D. the Pahlava chief Sivaskanda of Kanchipur (= Conjiveram), 46 miles south-west of Madras, was admitted as a member of the sacred clan of the ancient Rishi Bharadwâja.....Under him as their leader, a large body of Pahlavas or Parthians continued to form a separate

* Second century B. C. would be more accurate.

† Saddar Nazm or Metrical Sadder was written in 1495 A. D.

* Reinaud's Abul-fida, Chap. 77.

†Heliodorus a Greek ambassador from the Greek King Antialcidas adopted the Hindu faith and became a worshipper of Vishnu, as is seen from the inscription of the Besnagar column in Gwalior (Rapson's Anc. India, pp. 134, 156-7).

class of Hindus (Bom. Gaz. XIII, Pt. II, pp. 442,445).

An important story of the king Sagara, related in the Vishnu Purâna (Bk. IV, Sec. 3), and also in the Harivamsa (§773), shows that the Pahlavas were compelled to abandon their religion. The story runs as under :—

Bâhu, the seventh king from Harishchandra was overcome by the Haihayas and Tâlajanghas and compelled to fly with his queens to the forests, where he died. After his death, one of his wives gave birth to a son named Sagara. When he grew up, he* became vexed at the loss of his paternal kingdom and he vowed to exterminate the Haihayas, Tâlajanghas and others. Accordingly he destroyed nearly all the Haihayas. As the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pâradas and Pahlavas were about to be destroyed, they went to Vasistha the family-priest, for surrender. He representing them as virtually dead, though living, spoke to Sagara thus:— "You have done enough, my son, by pursuing these men, who though alive are as good as dead. In order that your vow might be fulfilled, I have compelled them to *abandon their own religion* and association with the twice-born" (एते च मया एव त्वत्प्रतिज्ञापरिपालनाय निजधर्म द्विजसंगपरित्यागं कारिता). Agreeing to his *guru's* proposal, Sagar compelled these tribes to alter their costume (वेशान्यत्वमकारयत)†

He then ordered अर्द्धम् शकानां शिरसो मुंडयित्वा व्यसर्जयेत । यवानां शिर: सर्वम् कांबोजानां तथैव च । पारदा मुक्तकेशाश्च पहलवा : श्रुधारिण : ॥ ‡

"The Sakas should have half their head shorn, the Yavanas and Kambojas the whole, the Pâradas should wear their hair free and the Pahlavas should wear beards." *

In consequence of the abandonment of their religion and of their devotion by the Brahmans, they became Mlecchas (तेच निजधर्मपरित्यागात् ब्राह्मणैः परित्यक्ताः म्लेच्छत्वं ययुः) †

It is clear from the above story, that the Pahlavas had abandoned their religion. It is supposed, that this story has probably a reference to the victories of the great Samudragupta‡ (A. D. 370-395,) (See Bom. Gaz. XIII, pp. 448-9.)

Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji notices the *Pârajas* a class of Kathiawar craftsmen, whose name, appearance and peculiarities of custom and dress seem to point to a Parsi or Parthian origin. (Wilford's As. Res. X-90-91, IX, 156, 233. Bom. Gaz. XIII, pp. 410-14).

The Pallavas, who began to rule in the Deccan § in the 2nd century after Christ, were identical with the Pahlavas, who fought their way across India. They were known as living near the Hindu Kush in very early times. Like many other foreigners, the Pallavas became Hindus and are lost in the great mixture of tribes, which the name Maratha covers. $ In religion the Pallavas were orthodox Hindus. Several of their princes and râjâs were devoted to the worship of Vishnu and inclined to the cult of Siva. (V. Smiths' Early Hist. of India, pp. 348-350. Bom. Gaz. XIII, pp. 413-414).

* The original Sk. passages in the Vishnu Puran and Harivamsa have bean quoted in Dr. Muir's Sk. Texts Vol I, pp. 486-7.

† So far we have given a literal translation from the Vishnu Purâna.

‡ This is quoted from Harivamsa.

* Dr. R. Caldwell thinks that what Sagara is represented as commanding the different races to do is merely what they had been already in the habit of doing. (Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV., p. 167).

† Quoted from Vishnu Purâna.

‡ The King Sagara is referred to in the Pali (village in Allahabad) Copper-plate-Grant of Maharaja Lakshmana dated 158 of the Gupta Samvat (Epigraphia Indica II, p. 365.)

§ Their capital was Kânchi (=Conjeevaram). Rapson's Anc. India, p. 167.

$ Fleets' Kanarese dynasties, 14-15.

CHAPTER NO. 5.

Bhavishya Purana about Magas.

The Bhavishya Purâna deals with the religion, customs and practices of a tribe, known as the Magas or the so-called Magian priests of India. It is argued that as these Magas ate in silence, worshipped the sun at the three Sundhyas, allowed their beards to grow, and were prohibited from touching the dead, they were the Zoroastrian Magi.

It is not difficult to show, that all these customs were enjoined by the Hindu religion also. The Hindus were commanded to eat in silence as we see in the Vishnu Dharma Sutra (XII-19; S.B.E. XIV. p. 61). They had to worship the sun three times—in the morning, evening and day-time, as we read in Baudhyâyana Dharma Sutra (II-4-7) and Kaushitaki Upanishada.* (S.B.E.I., p. 285; see also Bhavi. Pur., Brahma Purva 165-§3). Among tbem also the dead body was not to be touched. For example, in Garuda Purâna Sârodhâra (IX-40) we read :—

निर्विचेष्ट शरीरंतु प्राणैर्मुक्तं जुगुप्सितं ।
अस्पृश्यं जायते सद्यो दुर्गंधं सर्व निंदितम् ॥

"The motionless, dead body, left by the vital breath, becomes detestable and *unfit to touch*, it soon becomes foul smelled and disliked by all." Moreover, those, who came into contact with the dead body, had to observe certain rules. (Vishnu Smriti XXII-63, 64, Gautama XIV &c.)

Dr. Wilson has noted several peculiarities in the customs of the Magas—namely that they wore *aviang* or thread girdle, used *Varma* (that is Bursam), † and while worshipping held *Poornaka* ‡ in one hand and *Sankha* in another.

* Also Kaushitaki-Brahmana-Upanishda II-7 quoted in Bhandarkar's Vaishnavism &c. p. 151.

† Barsum was held in the hand by the Magi, when saying prayers Cf. Bulsara's Nirangistan, p. 351 and Strabo.

‡ A kind of tree.

We shall discuss hereafter in another place the customs and practices of the Magas, from which we shall be able to arrive at a definite conclusion. We shall see from a literal translation of several chapters of the Bhavishya Purâna, that the Magas observed a religion, which was a mixture of Hinduism and Zoroastrianism.

Magas and Worship of Magha.

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1890 (p. 431), Mr. Hewitt observes :—" It is in the country of Magadha and throughout Eastern India, that the worship of the Great Mother, the Mother Earth, is most prevalent at the present day, that it was in the Kalinga country that the custom of human sacrifice called the Meriah, lasted longest, and that it was these sacrifices, which were originally offered by the *Magas* to their mother goddess Maghâ." * (Bom. Gaz. Vol XIII, pp. 413-414.)

Thus the Magas seem to be the worshippers of the Hindu goddess Maghâ.

Magas admitted into Brahmanism.

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer thinks, that the Magas were foreigners, who were admitted into Brahmanism. Two established instances of outsiders being admitted to be Brahmans are the priests of the Bahikas, (apparently the Sakas of the second and first century before Christ). and the priests of the Mihiras in the fifth and sixth century after Christ. The priests of the Mihiras were, according to the Rajtarangini, under the special favour of the White Huna conqueror Mihirakula (A.D. 480-530. Troyor's Tr. I-307-309). They obtained recognition as Brahmans, and still under the name Magha Brahmans form one of the leading priest-

* Probably Kâli.

ly classes of South Marwar. Many of these Magas* are Shevaks or family priests to Oswâl and other Mârwar Shrâvaks. They are acquainted with the story of their origin in the Bhavishya Purâna. Marriage with local women has blotted out the special characteristics of most..... In India the Maghas started either the worship of a combination of the Sun and of Siva under the name Mihireshwar, or a simpler sun worship, as at Multân, Dwârka and Somanâtha (Bom. Gaz. IX, 439-440).

Weber's Opinion about Magas.

Prof. Weber's opinion about the Magas is as under :—

"The period during which the Grecian successors of Alexander and after them the Indo-Scythians reigned in North-Western India had not only procured admission for Hellinic and in later times for Christian conceptions, but had also directed towards India the followers of the Iranian cult of Mithra, and curiously enough had there introduced their sun worship in connection with the worship of Krishna. The name of these priests, Maga, was transferred in later times also to the adherents of the teaching of Zarathushtra, when in order to escape Islamic persecution, they similarly settled in Western-India. These latter coming in great numbers, founded independent communities and colonies, and still flourish vigorously under the name of *Parsees*. While on the other hand the Magas seem to have visited the country as missionaries only, and were partly adopted, probably together with some members of the other stratum of the Iranian immigrants, into the ranks of the Brahmans themselves under the name of Sâkadvipiya Brahmans." (Weber's History of Religion in India translated by G. A. G.; Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 281).

In another place the same scholar says :—"The Magas go back to an old mission of the Mithra cult, the members of which, after their arrival in India, (about the first two centuries A. D.) were incorporated into the Brahman caste." (see Weber's paper on the Mugavyakti in the Monatsberichte 1879 pp. 458, 466, also paper on the Magas or Sâkadvipuja Brahmans in the Monatsberichte 1880. Indian Antiquary XII., p. 162).

We think, that when Prof. Weber identifies the Magas with the ancestors of the Parsis, he probably follows the opinion of Dr. Wilson. The Magas appear to be the members of the Mithra cult, who observed a religion which was partly Zoroastrian and partly Hindu, and who were subsequently merged into the Brahman caste.

Sir Râmkrishna Bhandârkar says:—"The Magas...were gradually thoroughly Hiduised, until they became undistinguishable from the other Hindus." (Vaishnavism, Shaivism &c. p. 155). If so, they could hardly have been our ancestors, who landed at Sanjan.

Sakas Merged Into Hinduism.

Having seen the religious condition of the Pahlavas and the Magas, let us say a word about that of the Sakas, whom Dr. Spooner identifies with the Iranians. They also merged into the lowest dregs of Hindu society. This is proved by the story of Sagara already referred to above. That a large number of the defeated Sakas became Chândâls is proved by the

* The Gehlots and other Rajputs who trace their origin to the Bâlas or Vâlas of Valabhi are Mihiras and therefore Gurjjaras, since Mihira is a respectful name for Gurjjara. In the Punjab the Gurjjar title of honour is Mihir or Mahar (Bombay. Gaz. XIII, p. 479). The Maghas or Mihiras occur in Multan, Dwarka, Marwar and Kashmir. To explain the admission of these strangers, tales were invented. According to Bhavishya Puraua. Gauramukha advised that Maghas should be brought from Sâkadwipa as priests. According to the Multan legend, they were brought by the eagle Garuda (Bom. Gaz. IX, 430-440.)

fact, that one of the low dialects or *vibhâshâs* is called either *Sâkâri* or *Chândâlikâ*. (Bom. Gaz. Vol. XIII, p. 454.)

The list of the tribes of the degraded Kshatriyas mentioned in Manu Smriti (X, 43, 44) includes Pahlavas, Sakás and Yavanas.* Some Purânic lists also include the Sakas and Yavanas. (Idem p. 447).

The fact that these tribes were regarded as *degraded*, shows that they were foreign tribes who had embraced Hinduism.

It is fully established, that the Khatris of Sindh and Multan are strangers, either of Saka or of Huna origin. (Idem, p. 453). "In the Dakhan, Gautamiputra about A.D. 150, in Mâlwa Sâgara about A.D. 400, in the North-West Provinces Chandragupta in. A.D. 396-415, in the South Panjab Yasodharman about A.D. 530, and Sri Harsha in Central India and the North-West Provinces between A.D. 607 and 617, all gained credit from overthrowing, either invading or settled northerners—such as Pahlavas, Sakas, Yavanas, White Hunas, and Turks—and preventing or putting a stop to the confusion of caste." (Idem, pp. 453, 454, 458).

From all the proofs given above, we see that the Pahlvas, Sakas, and Magas were incorporated into the Hindu society long before the Arab conquest of Iran.

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* शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपाद् इमा क्षत्रिजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गताः लोकं ब्राह्मणातिक्रमेणच ॥

"These Kshatriya tribes gradually became corrupt (or degraded), because they omitted sacrifices and opposed the (sayings of) Brahmans." Then the writer mentions the tribes in the next verse.

CHAPTER No. 6.

Kisseh-i-Sanjan and King Jadi Rana.

From some traditional accounts and a few reliable notices it appears that after the downfall of the Sassanian Monarchy several bands of Parsis, who were greatly oppressed by the Arab conquerors,* left their mother-country and came to India. The date when they first landed and the place where they first put up are controversial matters.

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*In his Paper on "Parsis and Early Islam," Mr. G. K. Nariman shows from Arabic books, specially Bilazori (pp. 64-65, 71, 78, 80, 200,) that "the Parsis are in India not because their ancestors fled from savage Arabs for the sake of their religion dearer than life," but because they were pursued with cruel bigotry.....on the part of those Zoroastrians, who were constantly growing into a large majority and who had more or less voluntarily renounced the faith of their fathers to embrace Islam." Mr. Nariman quotes Paul Horn as under :—' With force at first the Zoroastrians were not proselytised. Rather were they accounted on a level with Jews and Christians, who, as the Koran lays down, were the recipients of a scripture *(Ahl Kitab)* and therefore by the paymeut of a poll-tax could continue in their religion. It was only in later times that Zoroastrians were declared unbearable. Finally under the intolerable oppression of their own people, who persecuted them with the real fanaticism of fresh converts, they emigrated to India." See *Praja Mitra & Parsi* dated 27-2-1918, *also* 16-8-1919). For references to Arab and other writings, see Mr. Nariman's article on "Parsi Immigration" in the *Times of India*, dated 7-2-1920.

Dr. J. J. Modi does not agree with Mr. Nariman, to whom he gives his reply in the *Times of India* dated 12-2-1920. Dr. Modi quotes Pahlavi writers. He says that in one MS. of the Bundehesh, there is a clear reference to the intolerance of the Arabs. It runs thus :—"And when the sovereignty came to Yazdagard.....then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude.....The country of Iran remained with the Arabs and their own irreligious law was propagated by them; the religion of the Mazdayasnians was weakened.....From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this has not happened ; for, through their evil deeds—on account of want, foreign habits, hostile acts, bad decrees and bad religion—ruin, want and other evils have taken

According to the account of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, about 115 years after the overthrow of the Sassanian dynasty, a number of Zoroastrians came to India and landed at Div off the coast of Kathiawar. Having stayed there for 16 years, they went to Sanjan. If we take the battle of Nahavend (A. D. 641) to have decided the fate of the Persian empire, it would appear that the Zoroastrians landed at Sanjan in A. D. 775. Some scholars, taking A. D. 651 (when the King Yazdagard was killed) as the starting point, arrive at the date A. D. 785. But as Sir James Campbell observes, the accepted date among the Parsis for the settlement at Sanjan is the Yazdagardi year 85, A. D. 716, given on the authority of Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji of Broâch in his book named "કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કેસર," published in 1826 (p. 149). Ervad Maneckji R. Unwalla has got a MS. about 150 years old, which gives the following note :—"સંવત ૭૭૨ વર્ષે શ્રાવણ શુદિ ૯ વાર શુક્રે રોજ ૨) માહા ૪) સને ૮૫ ઇજદજરદી એવે દને શ્રી ખોરાસાનથી શ્રી વેહેદીનાન શ્રી સંજાણ મધે માહારાજ્ય શ્રી જાદીરાણના વખતમાં આવ્યા."

It will be seen that the above memorandum gives a slightly different account from that of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. The date is 716 A. D., and not 775 or 785 A. D.; besides there is no reference to the landing at Div. The reason for this difference in the accounts may be, as suggested by Wilford, that the history of at least two bands of refugees has been mixed up. Such discrepancies, coupled with other circumstances, have led some scholars to challenge every detail of the Kisseh-i- Sanjan. On the other hand there are scholars who would put blind faith in each and every particular given in the Kisseh. The middle course has not been adopted. The Kisseh has its value, which must not be overrated nor under-estimated.

In our opinion the Kisseh-i-Sanjan does not claim to be a historical document correct in *every* detail. It roughly lays down certain facts, which should be carefully weighed, and the crust should be separated from the kernel in the light of the few historical reminiscences, which have remained down to our own times. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that it records some genuine traditions, which we cannot disbelieve; for instance, the tradition about the king Jâdi Rânâ, and the first Parsi refugees explaining their religion and customs could hardly have been a *fabrication* of later times. Nevertheless it would be readily admitted, that accretions and additions must have grown round the original tradition in course of time.

The late Mr K. R. Kama was the first to point out that the Hindu date did not coincide with the Parsi *roj*, *mah* and year. To explain the difficulty it was suggested by Mr. Kama and subsequently by our learned friend Prof. S. H. Hodivala, that

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iodgment." Dr. Modi also quotes references from the Epistles of Manuscheher, Pahlavi Jamaspi, and Dinkard Bk. VII. Chap. 8, which contain vague references. Firdusi (A.D. 10th century) in his account of the reign of Yazdagard, speaks of the Arab rule as "hell from the midst of heaven." Yazdagard in his letter to the governor of Tus, says :—"The fires in the fire-temples have been extinguished. The religious festivals of Naoroz and Sadeh have been darkened."

We read in the French historian R. Dozy's "Spanish Islam" (tr. by Stokes, p. 18), as under :—"After the capture of Mecca, the remaining pagan tribes soon found further resistance useless, and the threat of a war of extermination induced them to embrace Islamism.....with the Koran in one hand and a sword in the other."

M. Cl. Huart in his "Histoire des Arab" says :—"They (the Khalifs) made life so troublesome, so intolerable to the non-Musulmans that they converted themselves formerly in large numbers to the new religion. There remained only few Jews, Christians and Mazdians (Zoroastrians) in the cities. The population in the country became all, and very rapidly, Musalmans, except in the mountainous cantons."

the Samvat figure 772 should be read 992. This is possible,* but what shall we say about the Yazdagardi year, which would not coincide with Samvat 992?

As is seen in the three Pahlavi inscriptions at Kanheri, it was the practice of the ancient Parsis to mention the *roz*, *mah* and the Yazdagardi year.† In the Pahlavi Texts written by Dinpanah Itarpat Dinpanah, the date is given in *roj*, *mah* and Yazdagardi year, namely 324, as is supposed by a majority of scholars.

The practice of mentioning Vikram Samvat is first traced in the Sanskrit Ashirwards; since in the oldest MS. in the library of the late Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji, the date is given as संवत्सरेषु चतुर्दशसतेषु (Samvat 1400). In the Parsi year 692 the well-known copyist Meherban Kaikhusru records roj, mah and Parsi year only in the Pahlavi colophon. The MS. contains also the Hindu date in Sanskrit, but that is clearly a later interpolation. We are therefore of opinion that originally it was usual with the Parsi writers to mention roj, mah and Yazdagardi year only.

In the early and western Chalukya periods, the Shaka era was used throughout in Western India. Dr. J. F. Fleet points out in his book "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,"‡ that "the records that have survived of the important and powerful dynasty of the Chalukyas are carefully dated in almost every instance in the well-known Shaka era." In another place the same scholar says:— "Though the Western Chalukya kings of the main line of Bâdâmi used the Sáka era, the local era of the country extending from probably the Damangangâ on the south to the Mâhi on the north was the Kalachuri era,* which we meet with in records of the seventh and eighth centuries, not only in the Gurjara territory in the northern part of the stretch of the country, but even the Lâta province of the Chalukyas in the Southern part of it" (Bom. Gaz. I pt II, p. 295)

In numerous grants of Kathiawar and Gujarat we come across the Valabhi Samvat (which began in 319 A. D.), or the Chedi Samvat (which began in 249 A. D.) or Sàka Samwat. (See Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions collected by the Bhavnagar State, pp. 30-67, Antiquary XIII, p. 77).

Even Prof. Hodivala has seen the difficulty. He therefore says:— "It may be said, that the Shaka era was used throughout the Western Coast, and that all the Silhârâ dates are in that era. How then could the Vikram Samvat have been employed by these Parsis? The answer is easy. These Zoroastrians came to Sanjan from Div in Kathyawar, and it was there, they had become first acquainted with the Hindu system of reckoning time. It is well known to scholars that the Hindu era generally in use in *Kattyawar and Gujarat* during these centuries was the *Vikram and not the Shaka Samvat*. All the Châvdâ, Châlukya and Vâghelâ dates of Gujarat province are in the Vikram era, and the numerous inscriptions also of that period mentioned in the Kattyawar Gazetteer are almost all in the Vikram era."

Prof. Hodivala has mentioned eleven dates, which are found in different inscriptions, but all of them are later than Vikram Samvat 772.†

* There were two figures in use to denote the number nine (B. B. R. A. S. XII, 331.)

† (See Dr. E. W. West's Paper, Indian Antiquary IX, 265 ff),

‡ p. 17, 23-30.

* Same as Chedi era which begins in 249 A.D. (Bom. Gaz. I. pt. II, pp. 364, 293, 295).

† A plate of the king *Jayikadeva*, who is styled the *adhipati* of the Saurâshtra Mandal bears the date Vikram Samvat 714. But this inscription is not genuine. (Bom. Gaz. VIII, 275). Dr. Bhagvânlâl believes the plate to be a forgery of the eleventh century. He gives the Vikram Samvat 794, and nos 714 (Bom. Gaz. I., Pt. I, p. 137).

In the time of the Châvdâ kings, the earliest Vikram date, which is of any applicability, is 752, when the Châvdâ king Jayashekhara of Punchâsar was attacked by the Châlukya king. But this date is given on the authority of the author of Ratnamâlâ a poetic history (1230 A. D.), and was probably a matter of calculation. (Bom. Gaz I, Pt I, p. 150, and 149 note). It has been pointed out by Pandit N. Bhashyacharya that "no inscription before the 11th century A. D. adopted the Samvat (Vikramaditya) era." (Age of Sri Sankaracharya p. 8). Herein he follows Dr. Bhau Daji (B. B. R. A. S. VIII, p 242).

But we do not wish to press this point further. It is enough to say that there are a few historical notices, * and copper-plate inscriptions of the Châlukya king Vijayâditya which show that the Parsi refugees could not have come as late as A.D. 936.

In Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal (A.D. 902-968) it is stated that some parts of Hind † and Sind belonged to the Guebres. No doubt as Elliot says, the word Guebre meant a non-Mussalman generally and a Zoroastrian specially. Therefore this proof may be regarded as doubtful. But the authority of another writer, Masudi (A.D 916) is more reliable. He noticed that in his time there were many fire-temples in Sindh and India ‡ (Misaar-bin-Mahalhil, Elliot's Hist. of India I-97. Bom. Gaz. IX pt II, 185 ff). It is clear at least from Massudi's notes that the Parsis must have been in India before A.D. 936.

* We shall see hereafter that according to the Arab traveller Missar bin Mukhâlihal there were *fire-temples* in Cheul in A. D. 950, which date is given as A. D. 942 in Bom. Gaz. I Pt I, pp. 216-217. Now if the Parsis came in A. D. 936, we could hardly expect *fire-temples* within such a brief period as 14 years.

† Gujarat (Bom. Gaz. I., pt. I., p. 511). Haukal finished his work in A.D. 976 (Idem, p. 507).

‡ Prairies d'Or IV-86. Bom. Gaz. Population p. 186.

Was Sanjan Known to Masudi or Not ?

In this connection we are obliged to notice a remark of Prof. Hodivala, in his paper on "Jâdi Rânâ and the Kisseh i-Sanjan" where he says:— "There is, no doubt, notwithstanding the mention of a *Sindan* by the Arab geographers of the ninth century, that the Konkan Sanjan first came into existence only in the tenth century, and that its prosperity dated from the incoming of the Parsis and other foreigners. The writer of the chapter on the Arab References in the Bombay Gazetteer History of Gujarat has seen this very clearly and pointed out, that the earlier references of Bilâduri 892 A.C., Ibn Khordâdbih 912 A.C., and Masudi 915 A.C. are all about the Kacch Sindan (Bom. Gaz I, pt I, pp. 520-1). There can be no doubt, that the Konkan Sanjan was originally a colony founded by the Zoroastrian refugees, who gave it its name after *Sanjan*, a town in the Khwâf district of Kohistan."

Now the abovesaid Bombay Gazetteer writer says on p. 514:— "Al-Masudi (A.D. 915) in speaking of the ebb and flow of the ocean mentions Kambâya. He notices that Kambâya was famous in Baghdâd, as it still is famous in Gujarat for its shoes. These shoes, he says, were made in Kambâya and the towns about it like *Sindan* * (*Sanjan in Thana* and Sufârâh (Supâra)."

If this identification is correct, it shows that Sanjân in Thâna (in the Konkan) was known to Masudi in A. D. 915 and that therefore it was colonised by the Parsis before that date.

Place Where Parsis First Landed.

Now we shall take up the question:—"What was the place where the Parsi refugees first landed" ? We saw

* Dr. J. J. Modi takes it to be the other Sanjan. (See Asiatic Papers, p. 205).

that according to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan they first landed at Div. According to the Gujarati memorandum the new comers from Khorasan landed at Sanjan. There is a third account of almost the same date as when the Kisseh-i-Sanjan was written. Rev. Henry Lord, who was at Surat in 1621 A. D. * wrote a book, named "the Discovery of the Banyans and the Parsees," in which he has given an account of the exodus, as he had heard from an Andhiâru friend of his. In the introductory Chapter Lord says:—"I observed in the town of Surat, the place where I resided, another sect called the Persees.....I thought it would not be unworthy of my labour to bring to the eyes of my countrymen this (Persee) religion also, especially since I never read of any, that had fully published the same; but that it has remained obscure and hid from common knowledge. For this cause, desirous to add anything to the ingenious.....I joined myself with one of their churchmen called their *Dáro* and by the interpretation of a Persee, whose long employment in the company's service had brought him to a mediocrity in the English tongue, and whose familiarity with me, inclined him to further my inquiry." Further on in Chapter I we read: "About 996 years elapsed, one Yesdegerd was native king of Persee.....What time the Arabian captains of the sect of Mehomet made invasion into his country, about the 19th year of his reign.....he was forced to fly to *Karason*, where he died suddenly in the 20th year of his reign.....

"The Mehometans upon the death of Yesdegerd carried all in conquest before them, and subjected the natives of the country as vassals into them, and as new lords bring in new laws, they contented not themselves to bring them to their form of government in state subjection, but also in matters of religion, to live according to the Mehometan custom, contrary to the form of their own religion and worship.

"These Persees not enduring to live contrary to the prescript of their own law and less able to reject their yoke, many of them by privy escape and as close conveyance as they might of their goods and substance, determined a voyage for the Indies, purposing to prove the mildness of the Banian Rajahs; if there, though they lived in subjection for matter of Government, they might obtain liberty of conscience in course of religion.

"So repairing to Jasques, a place in the Persian gulf, they obtained a fleet of seven junks to convey them and theirs, as merchantmen bound for the shores of India, in course of trade and merchandise.

"It happened that in safety they made to the *land of St. Johns* on the shores of India, and arrived together at or near the port of Swaley,* the usual receptacle of such ships as arrive. Treaty was made by some of them with a *Rajah living at Nuncery*† (Nowsari), publishing their grievances and the cause of their coming thither, as also their suit to be admitted as sojourners with them, using their own law and religion, but yielding themselves in subjection to their government; *upon payment of homage and tribute, they were admitted to land*, the passengers contained in five of their junks.

"The other two junks remaining one of them (*sic*) put into the road of Swaley and treated with a Rajah, that then ruled at Baryaw near unto Surat, who entertained them on like conditions to the former, but the Rajâh of that place having wars with a neighbouring Rajâh, who got the conquest, the Persees that resided

* A. D. 1620 according to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer IX Pt. II, p. 190.

* Perhaps Sumali, an old sea-port in Surat (Bom. Gaz. II, p. 332).

† Sir Streynsham Master says in a letter that the town Nausarree was called Nunsaree by the English (Quoted from Dr. J. J. Modi's Asiatic Papers Part II, p. 30).

with the conquered, were all put to the sword as adherents to the enemy.

"The last junk coasted along the shores, and arrived at Cambaya where they were received upon the prementioned conditions, so that however this people have been dispersed in India since their arrival, it has been from some of these places."

The above account is important in more ways than one. Although it does not give any dates, it confirms the statement of the Gujarati memorandum that the refugees first landed at Sanjan. It does not mention Div. But the very valuable information it giver is this, that some of the Parsis made a treaty with a *Rajah living at Nowsari, and upon payment of homage and tribute* the passengers were allowed to land;* for, as we shall see later on, the Parsis were "made to pay tribute" during the reign of the Châlukya king Vinayâditya when his son Vijayâditya was a Yuvarâja or prince-regent. In this account we have also an allusion to the battle of Variâv, but to our regret we find, that Lord's informant has made a sort of confusion by making its time coincide with the date of our ancestors' first arrival in India, although the said battle took place several centuries afterwards.

We have two other accounts of almost the same generation as that of the writer of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. Sir T. Herbert a well-known traveller and author who had come to India in A. D. 1626 said :—"Into India these Persees came in five junks from Jasquez, sailing to *Surat*, when after treaty with the *Rajeaes* and Bannyans they got leave to plant."

Nicolao Manucci, a Venetian traveller wrote in A. D. 1656 :—"When first the Mahomedan religion got into Persia, the king tried to force them (the Parsis) to become Mahomedans. For this reason, they sent an embassy to the *Hindu prince of Surat*, asking him to grant them permission to emigrate into that country with their families."

This last account is important, as showing that it was a Hindu *prince* who received the embassy. From the different accounts given above it will be seen that the place of the first landing is uncertain. One thing however seems almost certain, that the *first permanent colony* established by the Parsis was at Sanjan in (Konkan) as stated in the Kisseh. Sindân has been mentioned by several Arab writers but unfortunately we have no reference to it before the 9th century A. D.* Neither do we come across *Hanjamana* (or Sanjana) † in Sanskrit inscriptions of a date earlier than the 11th century A. D.

Political Condition of Western India in 7th-8th Century.

Let us now consider the political condition of the Western coast of India on or about the traditional date (A. D. 716), when the Parsis are supposed to have first arrived at Sanjan. From a number of reliable sources, C. Mabel Duff has written a book, containing events in chronological order. Some of the events of time in question are given below :—

A. D. 636—Usman ibn Asi Saqafi, Governor of Bahrain and Uman under the Khalif Umar appoints his brother Hakim to Bahrain, and proceeding himself to Uman sends an expedition to pillage the coasts of India. About the same time Hakim sends a force against Bharoch and dispatches his brother Mughirah Abul-Asi to Dibal,‡ where he defeats enemy. (Bom.Gaz. I, pt. I, pp. 505-6).

A. D. 704—Jayabhata § IV, latest known Gurjara of Bharoch.

* The Kisseh-i-Sanjan states that the Dastur went to the king with a *hadiah* (present).

* See Bom. Gaz. I. pt. I, pp. 514, 590.

† See Indian Antiquary V-278, IX-35-44.

‡ Karachi or Thatta (Bom. Gaz. I. Pt. I, p. 508).

§ Properly Jayabhata III.

The invasion of Gujarat by the Tajikas or Arabs seems to have occurred in his reign. It is mentioned in the grant of the Gujarat Châlukya Pulikesi (A. D 738), which states that Sindh, Kachh, Kathiawad and the whole of Gujarat as far as Navsâri were subdued and the Gurjara king was one of the conquerred princes. (Idem, p. 117)

A. D. 711— Hajjaj, Governor of Irâq, sends Muhammad Imâdud-Din ibn Qâsim to invade Sindh.

A. D. 712—Campaign of Muhammad Ibn Qâsim in Sindh. Fall of Dibal.

A. D. 724—Junaid ibn Abdur Rahman al Murri...sent expeditions against Bharoch, Ujain and other places. (Idem, p. 506).

A. D. 739—The Tajikas or Arabs having over-run Sindh, Kachh, Saurâshtra, Châvotaka, the Maurye and Gurjara kingdoms seem to have invaded the Navsari district and to have been defeated by Pulikesi.

A. D. 776—The Khalifah Al-Mahdi sends an army to India under Abdul ibn Shihabul-Masammai. The town of Barada is captured. A number of the troops perish through sickness, the remainder being wrecked on their return off the Persian coast.

It will be seen from the above chronicle, that there was a long interval of 68 years between the first and second Arab raids, and consequently it might be contended, with some force, that the more favourable time for the arrival of the Parsi fugitives must be before A. D. 704. Indeed that was the case, because the Parsis "were made to pay tribute" by the western Châlukya king Vinayâditya (A. D. 680—696-7) according to three Sanskrit inscriptions, which we shall examine hereafter. But the fact that times were more favourable before A. D. 704 does not preclude the possibility of some bands of refugees having come later on, after that date. Besides we must remember that the Arab raids extended as far as Nowsâri only twice, namely in A. D. 704 and 739, and in the latter year the enemies were severely beaten, as we learn from the Nowsâri grant of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya II. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 375)

History of Gujarat and Kathiawar Important to Identify Jadi Rana.

Keeping the traditional date in view, we shall have to discuss the then history of the rulers of Gujarât and Kâthiâwâr to ascertain whether there is any allusion to the Parsis in their numerous grants and to see, if we can identify the king Jâi or Jadi-Rânâ. We propose to give short historical notes about the following dynasties:—(1) The Western Châlukya kings, who were the supreme rulers of Southern Gujarât and Konkan and whose capital was at Vâtâpi* or Bâdâmi in the Bijapur district; (2) the Gurjara kings, who were feudatories of the Western Châlukyas and whose capital was at Broach; and (3) a minor branch of the Châlukyas, who were also feudatories of the main branch, with their capital at Nowsari. But before we proceed, let us say a word about the various attempts to identify the king Jâdi Rânâ.

Supposed Identification of Jai or Jadi Rana.

Dr. Wilson thought, that the name of the king was a corruption of the Hindu name Jayadeva, otherwise known as Vanrâj Châvdâ of Anhilwad Pâtan, who reigned from 745 to 806 A.D. † (B.B.R.A.S. I, p. 175; Ind. Ant. I, 214). Sir James Campbell took him to be some "Yâdava chief of South Gujarat." (Bom.

*In much later times Somesvara II. (A. D. 1068 to 1075) and his successors made Kalyâna their capital (Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese districts, p. 4, 48, 52).

†The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer gives the dates A.D. 765 to 780, (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. I, pp. 152, 155).

Gaz. XIII, Pt. I, p. 249). Dr. J. J. Modi thought, that he was some local ruler of Sanjan. Prof. Hodivala, reading the Samvat date of immigration as 992(=936 A.D.) identified the king with Vajjada deva of the Shilhâra dynasty of Northern Konkan who became king in 935 A.D. (J.B.B.R.A.S XXIII, p. 358). It will be seen, that all these gentlemen have based their identifications upon their conclusions regarding the date of our ancestors' first arrival in India, and we could hardly be expected to depart from these lines. Adopting the traditional date as the basis, we have proceeded with the inquiry, and arrived at certain conclusions, which are given below.

Western Chalukyas.

We take up the history of the Western Châlukyas. Kirtivarma I, left three sons, Pulikesi II, Vishnuvardhan I, and Jayasimha II. There was a formal division of the kingdom between the two elder brothers—Pulikesi* taking the western dominions and establishing himself at Vâtâpi or Bâdâmi, and Vishnuvardhan taking the eastern dominions and establishing himself at Vengi Country between the rivers Krishnâ and Godâveri.

Pulikesi II (610 to 642 A. D.) was the most powerful and illustrious of the early kings of his dynasty. His conquests were numerous and widely spread, and included the Râshtrakutas, the Kadambas of Vanavâsi, the Gangas, the Alupas, the Mauryas of Konkan, the Lâtas, the Mâlavas, the Gurjaras, the three countries known by the name of Mahârashtra, the Kosalas, the Kalingas, the Pahlavas of Kânchi, the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pândyas.

As we have already stated Mr. Fergusson has shown that there is an Arabic Chronicle, which records the fact, that in the 33th year of the reign of Khusru II (A.D. 626) presents and letters were interchanged between him and Pulikesi II. A painting in one of the Ajanta caves depicts the presentation of a letter from the Persian king to Pulikesi (J. R. A. S. XI, p. 155). This shows that the Sassanians were on friendly terms with the Châlukyas and it is but natural that seventy years later on, when they were hard pressed by the Arabs, they should have turned their eyes to their Hindu friends.

After the death of Pulikesi II the kingdom of the Western Châlukyas appears to have been invaded by the Pallavas, who succeeded in driving them for a time on the west, back to and below the Western Ghauts and on the South to the Karnul district. In this the Pallavas appear to have been aided by a confederacy of the Chola, Pândya and Kerala kings. (Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, pp. 23–26).

After Pulikesi came his son Vikramâditya, who ruled from 655 to 680–81 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Vinayâditya, who ruled

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* The geneological tree of Pulakesi's family is given below :—

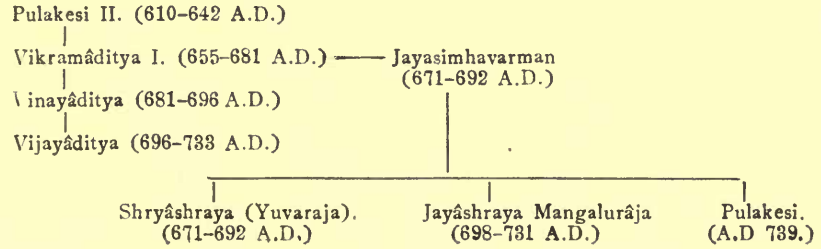

from 680–81 to 696 * A. D. He was also called Satyâshraya, "the asylum of truth," and *Rajashrya* "the asylum of kings." There are seven inscriptions of his time, six bearing the Sâka dates 608, 611, 613, 614, 614 and 616, and one being undated. One of his copper-plate grants is from Surat. His warlike expeditions appear from the inscriptions to have been very numerous and extensive. He is described as arresting the extremely exalted power of the three kings of Chola, Pândya and Kerala, and as reducing the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Haihayas, Vilas, Mâlavas, † Cholas, Pândyas, and other peoples to a similar state of servitude with his hereditary servants, the Alupas, Gangas and others. He levied tribute from the rulers of the Kaveras or Kameras, and the *Parasikas* and the rulers of Simhala, *i.e.* Ceylon. He acquired the *palidhvaja*-banner and other insignia of sovereignty. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 368).

Parsis Mentioned in Vijayaditya's Inscription.

Now let us consider the passage of the inscription of Vijayâditya (A.D. 696-733), the son of Vinayâditya, in which the *Pârasikas*, are mentioned. The passage which we quote below is found in three copper-plate grants edited by Dr. Fleet in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, pp. 127, 131 and 133. The first two grants are dated Saka 622 (=A.D. 700-1), Saka 627 (=A.D. 705-6), and the last is undated. The passage runs thus :—

(विक्रमादित्य) प्रियसूनोः पितुराज्ञया बालेन्दुशेखरस्य तारकारातिरिव दैत्यबलं अतिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्यकांचिपतिबलं अवष्टभ्य करदीकृतकमेरपारसीकसिंहलादिद्वीपाधिपस्य सकलोत्तरापथनाथमथनोपार्जितोर्जित-पालिध्वजादिसमंतपारमैश्वर्यचिन्हस्य विनयादित्यसत्याश्रय-श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य.

Dr. Fleet translates the passage thus :—

"His (Vikramâdityai's) dear son was Vinayâditya Satyâshraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one, who having at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the lord of Kânchi, whose kingdom consisted of three (*component*) dominions just as Târakârati (=Kârttikiya) (*at the command*) of (*his father*) Bâlendushekhara (=Siva) did arrest the power of the demons, caused the rulers of Kamera and Pârasika and Simhala and other islands to pay tribute ; and who was possessed of the *palidhvaja* and all the other mighty insignia of supreme dominion, which he had acquired by crushing the lord of all the regions of the north." (Indian Antiquary IX, p. 129).

Interpretation of the Important Passage in the Inscription.

The expression important for our purpose is करदीकृतकमेरपारसीकसिंहलादिद्वीपाधिपस्य which is capable of at least *three* interpretations. अधिप might mean "*king*" or simply "*head*" or "*leader*." We shall give the different senses and discuss them :—

(1) "Of him who made the kings of Kamera (island) Pârasika, (island), Simhala (island) and other islands to pay tribute."

From Kamera or Kâvera (which is the reading in another plate), the river Kâveri takes its name. Kavera is the name of a country or people (Ind. Anti. IX, p. 127 footnote). It may have been an island or a country situated between two rivers ; for a *doab* is usually called an island by Sanskrit writers.

Simhala or Ceylon is certainly an island. Assuming, therefore, Kamera

* According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar he died in A.D. 697 (Bom. Gaz. I. pt. II, p 187.)

† People of Malwa or people of Malaya country in the Western Ghauts (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p.368).

or Kâvera to be an island, it would appear that *Pârasika dvipa* might be an island inhabited by the Parsis. Now as the dominion of Vinayâditya consisted of Western and Southern India, we might be led to think of the island of Div referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan as the Pârasika island. But the question is whether Div formed part of the dominions of Vinayâditya. We are therefore compelled to examine the history of Kâthiawâr and Northern Gujarât of the time. It is stated that the kings of the Valabhi dynasty were rulers of Kâthiawâr and Northern Gajarat from A. D. 507 to 766. Their first king was Bhattâraka (509 A. D.) and last Shilâditya VII (766 A. D.) (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. I, pp. 78, 93.) While referring to the Western Châlukya king Mangalesha (A. D. 597-98 to 608), Dr Fleet says :—"At that point, the progress of Mangalesha was stopped by the rulers of Valabhi, who held Kâthiâwâd and the northernmost parts of Gujarât... There was thus constituted a kingdom (namely, that of the Western Châlukyas), which embraced the whole of the Bombay Presidency, excepting Kâthiâwâd and Northern Gujarât, where the kings of Valabhi continued to reign till about A. D. 766" (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 336).

We do not know, whether it would be safe to follow Dr. Fleet's statement given above, although it is supported by Pandit Bhagvânlal* and other scholars; but it is our duty to point out certain circumstances, which appear to contradict it. It is doubted by some scholars, whether the supremacy of the Valabhi kings continued so far as A. D. 766. The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says :—" As Shilâditya VI was reigning in 447 of the Valabhi era, the sack of this capital (Valabhi) cannot have occurred before A. D. 765 and probably five to fifteen years later. This would bring the ruin of the city and the dynasty to such comparatively modern times, that it may fairly be attributed to Muhammadans from Sindh and entirely precludes the possibility of its destroyers being Sassanian kings as conjectured by Elphinstone.....If Burgess's explanation (note I page 76 Vol IV Archæological Survey) be followed, then the 447 of the plate of Shilâditya VI. would be A. D. 642 and the Sassanians may after all have destroyed Valabhi."* (Bom. Gaz. VIII, p. 274).

One of the inscriptions (which however is not genuine) shows that in Jayadeva's time (Vikrama Samvat 714) Dhinki was the eastern part of his dominion at Saurâshtra, thus showing that the Saurâshtra of those days was limited to the coast belt of the peninsula of Kâthiawâr (Bom. Gaz, VIII, p. 275). But the questions whether Div belonged to the Châlukyas or not and whether it was ever known as a *Pârasika island* remain unanswered.

Even supposing that Div belonged to the Châlukyas and was named the "Parsi island" after the Parsis, still we are unable to think of a Parsi king ruling there at the time. Under the circumstances it would not be correct to render the word अधिप as "*king*."

(2) Now we give the second sense of the Sanskrit passsge below :—

"Of him who made the kings of the Kameras, of the Pârasikas and of Simhala and other islands to pay tribute."

As stated above it is difficult to say, who the *king* of the Pârasikâs could be in Southern Gujarat and Konkan

* In A. D. 775 (Bom. Gaz. 1, Pt. I p. 138).

* We shall see hereafter that the Gurjara kings were the feudatories of the Western Châlukyas. One of them Dadda III is, in the Record of the year A. D. 706 represented as waging war with the king of the West, who was certainly a Valabhi king and the Record of A. D. 736 states that Jayabhatta III quieted in battle the impetuosity of the king of Valabhi. (Bom Gaz I, pt. II, p. 316). This however does not show, that Valabhi kings were the vassals of the Gurjaras.

in Vinayâdityâ's time. If we take आधिप here in the sense of the "head" or the "leader," there is no difficulty, so far as the Parsis are concerned, but that sense would not apply to the other nations. As the Kisseh-i-Sanjan mentions Div as the first place of landing, (although the Gujarati memorandum and the travellers' accounts do not mention it at all), we may well say that the tradition in the Kisseh may have been derived from some such interpretation of the inscription, as we have given above. In that case the traditional date of the coming of our ancestors at Div would be *exactly* 19 years A.D. before 716 when the Parsis are said to have landed at Sanjan.

Mr. Lewis Rice,* who has also noticed the above inscription says:—"It is strange to find a Pârasika island in this connection, unless indeed the Pahlavas, *retaining the tradition of a supposed Persian origin*,† should have given the name to some island in the south." (Indian Antiquary VIII, p. 24).

(3) But a third meaning is also possible, and that too strictly in accordance with the rules of Sanskrit grammar. We dissolve the compound thus:—

करदीकृता: कमेरा; पारसीका: सिंहलादिद्वीपाधिपाश्च येन तस्य। "Of him who made the Kameras, the Pârasikas and the kings of Simhala and other islands to pay tribute."

It will be seen that in this translation, there is a reference simply to the *Pârasikas* and not to their king. These were made to pay tribute by the Hindu monarch Vinayâditya, who ruled in Southern Gujarat and Konkan from 680-81 A.D. to 696 A.D. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar however, he died about 697 A.D. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 187).

Date of Landing in India and Payment of Tribute.

There are 2 stone inscriptions and 5 copper-plate grants of the time of Vinayâditya. His last copper-plate grant is dated Saka 616 (A. D. 694). As his rule extended up to A. D. 696-7 and as none of his inscriptions or grants that we have come across contain any reference to the *Pârasikas*, it is reasonable to infer that the event of the *Pârasikas* having paid tribute must have taken place between A. D. 694 to 696-7. Now according to the traditional account of Lord's informant, the Pârsis first landed at Sanjan and some of them went to Nowsari, *where on payment of tribute and homage, they were allowed to land by the Raja*. No doubt at the time Nowsari was the capital of *a minor branch* of the Châlukyas, but the kings of this branch were feudatories of the main Western Châlukya dynasty. Vinayâditya's copper-plate grants were issued from Sorab in Mysore, Lakshmaneshwar in the Miraj State, and *Surat* and other places. Vijayâditya's grants were issued from Bâdâmi in Bijapur state, Nerur in Sawantwadi State, and *Bulsar* and other places. This shows that Vijayâditya and his father ruled over the territory from Mysore to Bulsar and Surat. (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. II, pp. 368-374.)

Considering all these circumstances we might infer that the *Pârasikas*, who were made to pay

*He translates the passage thus:—"Levier of tribute from the rulers of Kavera, Pârasika and Simhala and other islands."

†An answer to the above remarks in italics may be given in the words of Prof. Weber, who puts up the following note on the word Pahlava occurring in the Râmâyana and Mahâbhârata:—"As the name of a people, the word Pahlava became early foreign to the Persians, learned reminiscences excepted: in the Pahlavi texts themselves, for instance, it does not occur. The period when it passed over to the Indians therefore would have to be fixed for about the 2nd–4th century A.D. and we shall have to understand by it, not directly the Persians, who are called Pârasikas, rather, but specially the Arsacidan Parthians." (Hist. of Indian Literature, p. 188.)

tribute by Vinayâditya, were most probably the Parsi refugees from Iran.

The fact that according to the 16th Sanskrit Shloka* (as given in the manuscript P. S.) the king grants permission to the Parsis to come (आगच्छन्तु प्रकामं) corroborates the inference, which we have arrived at above. If so, the Parsis came to India in A. D. 697. But the traditional date of their landing at Sanjan is A. D. 716. How are we to reconcile the two dates ? The solution is certainly difficult.

According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan the Parsis first landed at Div, and after staying there for 19 years they moved to Sanjan. Thus they arrived at Div in A. D. 697, since as stated above, the traditional date of the coming of our ancestors at Sanjan is A. D. 716. But as neither Lord's informant nor the Gujarati memorandum mentions Div at all, it may be that two bands of fugitives came to Sanjan at different times—one in A. D. 697 and the other in A.D. 716 or that the Parsis after landing at Sanjan in A. D. 697 went to Div,† whence they returned to Sanjan in A. D. 716, to live there *permanently* .‡

Before we pass on we will just allude to a remark of our friend Prof. Hodivala. In support of his theory that the Parsis arrived in India in Vikram Samvat 992 (A. D. 936), he said that the proposition "explained why not a single reference to the Parsis in Western India during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries has been ever found, though they are *popularly supposed* to have arrived so early as 716 A. C." The answer is found in the inscriptions already quoted, namely that they have been expressly mentioned in the grants of Saka 622 (A.D. 700-1), and Saka 627 (A. D. 705-6), and an undated grant, probably of a later date.

Vijayaditya.

According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan it was the kind Jâdi Rânâ or Jai Rânâ, who gave shelter to the hapless Parsis, though we must say that Lord's informant and the other travellers simply mention a Hindu Râjâ without naming him. We are deeply indebted to the writer of the Kisseh for preserving the name of the beneficent king Jâdi or Jai Rânâ. It is also found in the Gujarati memorandum which however does not agree with the Kisseh in other respects. By A. D. 692 in his father's time, Vijayâditya had been appointed *Yuvârâja* or prince-regent. As Dr. Fleet says, "this title was used to denote a person, who having been selected by the reigning king as his

* A note on the date of the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas is given in another chapter.

† Supposing, of course, that Div belonged to the Châlukya emperors.

‡ Mr. G. K. Nariman in one of his lectures referred to a passage in Futh-ul-Buldân, which makes allusion to a number of Zoroastrians, who left Kerman in ships just about the time, which would synchronise with the traditional advent of the Parsis into India. (Sanj Vartman Pateti No. of 9-6-1916, p. 132). Dr. J. J. Modi quotes Ahmed Al-Biladuri (about A. D. 850) who says about an Arab general :—"He conquered Jiraft by force and having proceeded to Kerman subjugated the people and made for Kafs, where a number of the Persians, who had immigrated, opposed him at Hormuz. So he fought with and gained a victory over them and many people of Kerman fled by sea ". This passage speaks of an immigration to Hormuz, a fight with immigrants, and a flight by sea. All these coincide with what is said of the Parsi immigration in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan and support it. (See Dr. Modi's article in the *Times of India* dated 12-2-1920).

The traditional date of landing is 85 Yazdagardi. It must be noted that at that time there were three eras current in Iran, one the Yazdagardi era, which commenced in A. D. 631, the other the Persian era, which commenced in A. D. 611 and the third the Parsi era which commenced in A.D. 651. About the second era. Prof. Rehatsek says, that "it was established ten years before the Hijra" (See his paper on the Baw and Gâobârâh Sephabuds B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII pp. 439-450) Could it be that the date was given as *sâl 85*, meaning the Persian year, and not the Yazdagardi year ?

successor, was admitted meanwhile to a share in the administration—probably with a view to really securing the succession" (Bom. Gaz. I pt.II, pp. 371, 285 note). That Vijayâditya exercised vast powers appears clear from a grant of A. D. 692 wherein at his request his father granted a village to some Brahmans. He assisted his father in a campaign to the north, and pushing on further to the north even than his father, there acquired for him the signs of the rivers Gangâ and Yamunâ.(Idem, pp. 369, 371). It is therefore highly probable, that Vijayâditya may have been directly or indirectly *connected* with the greatest event in the history of the Parsis. As stated above the event is not mentioned even in the last grant of Vinayâditya dated the full-moon day of Kârtika Saka 616 (9th October 694); it must therefore have taken place after this date, but before Vijayâditya's accession in Shrâvana Saka 619 (A. D. 696),* when we may well suppose his father to be in a tottering condition of health. The event has been mentioned in Vijayâditya's inscriptions only, although it is connected with his father's time, which shows that even in his father's life-time shortly before his death, Vijayâditya was virtually the paramount ruler. Was he then the Jadi or Jai Rânâ? The answer is somewhat difficult as we shall see later on. There are 11 inscriptions of his time, seven of which are stone inscriptions and four copper-plate grants. The last grant is from *Bulsar* in Gujarat, which contains a charter issued from the town of Mangalâpuri..... Contrary to the usual practice of the Gujarat grants, it is dated not in the Kalachuri or Chedi era, but in Samvat Saka 653 (A. D. 731-32) (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, pp. 370-374).

We now give a brief sketch of the history of Vijayâditya. According to Dr. Fleet he came to the throne in the month of Shravan Saka Samvat 619 current or in A.D. 696. (*N. B.*:—At one time the learned Doctor put the date in A.D. 697) (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 370 note). Vijayâdita continued to reign till Saka 655 A.D. (733–34). Of his time we have several inscriptions. He is spoken of in the inscriptions as a king, who maintained the supremacy acquired by his father in the north and by his grand-father in the south. His reign seems to have been a peaceful one, with his capital at Vâtâpi or Bâdâmi. (Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, pp. 28–29, Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, pp. 371–74). His name also appears in the form Vijayâditya Deva. He used the titles, महाराजाधिराज, परमेश्वर, भट्टारक and in one instance परमभट्टारक, ("the most worshipful one".)

* Or A. D.697 Ind. Ant. VII, 301. Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II p. 370. ant p. 189.

Hindu Names Contracted. Vijayaditya=Jadi.

It is common knowledge that Hindu names undergo contractions in various ways. The following important points should be noted:—

(1) The names of kings and royal personages usually consist of two component parts. The terminal part is more or less an epithet of honour and is some such word as देव, आदित्य, आश्रय, अर्क, राज, भट्ट, दुर्ग वर्ष, वर्मा, मल्ल, रुद्र, तुंग, अंक, वर्धन &c.

(2) Sometimes two different terminal words are applied to the name of one and the same king; for example, दंतिदुर्ग दंतिवर्मा, जगत्तुंग जगदरुद्र, जयवर्मा जयसिंह, विजयराज विजयवर्मा, कीर्तिवर्मा कीर्तिदेव, विजयादित्य विजयार्क &c.

(3) At times the terminal word is optionally dropped; as शांतिवर्मा=शात विक्रमांक=विक्रम, विक्रमादित्य=विक्रम, षष्टदेव=चट्ट, तैलप=तैल. In some instances, some letters of the terminal word are optionally dropped; as मंगलीश्वर=मंगलीश (Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, pp. 18b, 32b, 86b, 90, 96b).

(4) We also find that words are added in the beginning to show greater respect; for example, सोमेश्वर=वीरसोमेश्वर, बल्लाल=वीरबल्लाल (idem, p. 18b, 64).

(5) An instance in which both the preceding and terminal epithets are dropped is found in the name of the later Western Châlukya king Someshvara IV (1182 to 1189 A. D.), who was also called *Vira-Someshvara* or simply *Soma* (idem, p. 54).

(6) Vikramâditya VI (A. D. 1075 to 1126) was a famous Western Châlukya king, who bore other names such as कालिविक्रम, विक्रमांक, विक्रमार्क and पेरमादि This last is a corrupt form of प्रेमादि=प्रेमादित्य This king पेरमादि of the Kadamab dynasty was also named पेर्म (Fleet's Kanarese dynasties, pp. 48, 92.)

(7) Lokâditya, a feudatory of the Râshtrakuta king Krishna II had his name contracted to *Lokade*, evidently a corrupt form of *Lokâdi* (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 411, note.)

8. The Eastern Châlukya king Jayasinha I was also named Vijayâditya I. (Ind. Ant. VII, p. 243). In one place Pundit Bhagwanlal Indraji calls *Vijayadeva*, a vicarious name for *Jayadeva* (Ind. Ant. XIII, p. 424).

(9) The consonant य in the body a word is sometimes dropped for euphony; for example विजयांवा=विजांवा. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 296).*

Considering all these instances it is possible that the name विजयादित्य would be changed to जयादित्य† then जयादि, then ज्यादि and जादि (*Jâdi*).

By dropping the terminal word आदित्य from जयादित्य, we get the name Jaya, which is the name found in some of the manuscripts of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan.

Jai or Jadi Rana in Kisseh-i-Sanjan. Was he Vijayaditya ?

A few close parallels showing the identification of Jâdi (Rânâ) with Vijayâditya are given below :—

(1) As seen above the name Jâdi was a short form of Vijayâditya.

(2) In the Kisseh-i-Sanjan Jâdi Rânâ is called *Rae-rayan*, "king of kings." *

The Dastur speaks about the king thus :—

Ja nasla shâh-râyan, nik-kâr ast
Ba Hind andar hamishah nâm-dâr ast.
Dehad dar shahar o mulka khud panâhash
Kunad dar hâl aj shekaftah negâhash.

"He is beneficent and descended from kings of kings.† He has been always famous in India. He will give shelter in his own city and kingdom. He will look upon our condition with an eye of mercy."

In the inscription Vijayâditya is called पृथिवीवल्लभमहाराज-अधिराजपरमेश्वर-भट्टारक (the favourite of the world, great king, supreme king, supreme lord, the venerable one). Further he is called समस्तभुवनाश्रय : (asylum of the whole world), शत्रुमदभंजनत्वात् (by reason of having broken the pride of enemies), उदारत्वात् (by reason of liberality) and निरवद्यत्वात् (by reason of blamelessness (Ind. Antiquary IX, 128–129).

(2) In two places in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan Jâdi or Jai Râna is called a prince—in couplet No. 149 he is called *Râi-Jadah* and in No. 214 *Shah-Jadah*. This seems an in-

* Cf. also Vijayangara=Bijnagar (B. B. R. A. S. XII, p. 336.)

† It may be noted that Jayâditya was the name of the Author of the Vritti Sutra, *i.e.* Kâshikâ (B.B.R.A.S. XVI,-200).

* See couplet No. 141 in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan by R. B. Paymaster.

† Kingly kings. (Eastwick.)

consistency; for, as already seen he has been called "king of kings." The other traditional accounts also speak of him as a Hindu râjâ or a Hindu prince. It appears that the writers of the tradition have confounded the two facts—namely that the Râjâ was a prince-regent for some time, and that he became a paramount king afterwards.

(3) According to Henry Lord's informant the Râjâ was living at Nowsari, which was the capital of the Lata territory * or Southern Gujaratâ, ruled over by a branch of the Western Châlukyas. It was known in those days as *Navasá-riká* (Bom. Gaz I, Pt II, p. 310). The mention of this city is the only obstacle in our way to decide that Jâdi or Jai was Vijayâditya, since his capital was at Vâtâpi or Bâdâmi. But there is no doubt that Nowsari was the capital of his feudatory Jayâshraya, and was under his suzerainty. We learn from the inscription that the tribute was taken from the Parsis by Vinayâditya. He was very old at the time and his affairs were managed by his son Vijayâditya, who was his regent. Hence it is not difficult to understand how according to the tradition, the Parsis are said to have paid tribute to Jâdi Rânâ (or Vijayâditya).

(4) As the Râjâ ruled from A. D. 696–7 to 733, the traditional date of the installation of the Iranshah Atash Beheram at Sanjan fell during his reign.

Was Jayashraya, Jai Rana ?

We give below an extract from the account of a minor Châlukya dynasty given by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his Early History of the Dekkan :—

During the reign of Vikramâditya I (A. D. 655-680), a branch of the Châlukya dynasty was founded in Southern Gujarat or the country called Lâta in ancient times. Vikramâditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasimhavarman Dharâshraya, who thus was another son of Pulakesi II. Shryâshraya Shilâditya son of Jayasimhavarman made a grant of land, while residing at Nowsâri* in the year 421 of the Traikutaka era (A. D. 670) and another in 443 of the same era (A. D. 692), while encamped at Kusumeshvara. In both these Shryâshraya is called *Yuvârâja* or prince-regent and not a king. Another son of Jayasimhavarman named Vinayâditya Yuddhamalla Jayâshraya Mangalarâja issued a similar charter in the Shaka year 653 (A. D. 731). Pulakesi the younger brother of Jayâshrâya Mangalarâja granted a village in 490 (A. D. 739). Both are styled kings. It appears that Jayasimhavarman though made sovereign of Southern Gujarat did not rule over the province himself but made his son Saryâshraya his regent, who held that position for more than 22 years. He died before his father. Jayâshraya Mangalarâja succeeded the latter as king, and he was succeeded by Pulakesi † . .....Thus Shryâshrayas' dates were A. D. 670 or 671 to 692, of Jayâshraya A. D. 731, and of Pulakesi A. D. 739. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, pp. 186–187).

* From the Mahi or the Kim to the Damaganga (Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties p. 131).

* श्राश्रयश्रीशिलादित्ययुवराज (:) नवसारिकामधिवसन् नवसारिवास्तव्यकास्यपसगोत्रागामि स्वामिन : पुत्र : स्वमंतस्वामी तस्य पुत्राय... भागिकस्वामिने ... आसट्टिग्रामं ... दत्तवान् "Shrâshraya, Shilâditya, the heir-apparent residing at Navasari gave the village of Assatti...to Bhâgikasvâmi...the son of Svamantasvami, who is the son of Agamisvami of the Kashyapa stock living at Navasari" (B. B. R. A. S. XVI, pp 1–4)

† In Pulakesi grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of *Tâgik-as* (or Arabs) which had destroyed the Saindhava, Kachchhela, Saurashtra, Châvoataka, Manrya, Gurjara and other kings and on its way to Dakshinâpatha...had come to Nowsari,... which was the captial of the Châlukyas of Lâta or southern Gujarat (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II., p 187 8).

We also give a short summary of the account by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji :—

The Châlukyas conquered their Gujarat provinces from the south after subduing the Konkan Mauryas of Puri, either Râjâpuri, that is, Janjira, or Elephanta in Bombay Harbour. The regular establishment of the Châlukyas in Southern Gujarat seems to have been the work of Dhârashraya Jayasimhavarman, son of Pulakesi II, and younger brother of Vikramaditya Satyâshraya (A. D. 670-80).

A grant of Jayasimhavarman's son Shilâditya found in Nowsari describes Jayasimhavarman as receiving the kingdom from his brother Vikramâditya....He had 5 sons and enjoyed a long life, ruling apparently from Nowsari....Five copper-plates remain of this branch of the Châlukyas....Two of these show that these kings treated as their overlords the main dynasty of the Southern Châlukyas, as respectful mention is made in the first plate of Vikramâditya Satyâshraya and in the second of his son Vinayâditya Satyâshraya.

Jayasimhavarman ruled from A. D. 666* to 693. He was succeeded by his second son Mangalarâja who ruled from A. D. 698 to 731.† (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. I, pp. 107–8). About this latter king, Dr. J. F. Fleet says in his Dynasties of Kanarese Districts:—

"A copper-plate grant of Vijayâditya from Bulsar dated A. D. 731–2 contains a charter issued from the town of Mangalapuri by the *Rájá* Mangalrasa who had the *birudàs* (other names) of Vinayâditya, Yuddhamalla and *Jayâshraya*, and was the second son of Dharâshraya-Jayasimhavarman, the younger brother of Vikramâditya I" (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 374).

* Dr. Fleet gives A. D. 671–692.

† B. B. R. A. S., XVI-5.

It will be seen that Shryâshraya was a Yuvarâja till his death in A. D. 692. According to Pandit Bhagvanlal, his brother Jayâshraya Mangalarâja came to the throne of Nowsari in A. D. 698. His father must have lived till then, although we have no definite record, and as second brother he must have succeeded his brother as a *Yuvrâjà* after him. The date A. D. 698 given by Pandit Bhagvanlal for his accession has not been given by Dr. Fleet and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 336b), who leave a gap between the years A. D. 692 and 698. Therefore the date of his accession might be a little before A. D. 698. This Jayâshraya was the ruler at Nowsari up till A. D. 731. He was thus a contemporary and feudatory of Vinayaditya and Vijayâditya. His name might be contracted into "Jaya." Besides as the epithet *Devà* was usually applied to the names of kings, his name might have been shortened from *Jàvàdevà* into Jaide or Jadi. Under the circumstances Jayâshraya might have been the *Jadi-Ráná* of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. The traditional date of the advent of our ancestors very nearly coincided with the date of his accession, and the traditional date of the building of the Atash Beheram Iranshah did certainly fall during his reign. In the commencement of his rule his paramount lord was Vinayâditya.

The passage in the inscription, which we have already considered, states that the Pârasikas were made to pay tribute by Vinayâditya. It might be that the transaction of the payment of tribute by the Parsis was negotiated and carried out by the local ruler of Nowsari, but as he was a mere feudatory of the paramount sovereign Vinayâditya, the transaction might have been ascribed to the latter in the inscription, just as in our own days we see that the acts of ministers are ascribed to the sovereign.

We have stated all the facts &c. as they stand. We must however

candidly admit that the evidence in our records is so very meagre, that it is extremely difficult to choose between Vijayâditya and Jayâshraya, but with the materials at hand one may think with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, that Jayâshraya was the Jai Rânâ of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, although we are greatly inclined to identify Vijayâditya with Jyadi or Jadi (Rânâ), specially because he was a king of kings.

* * *

A Feudatory of Chalukyas.

We now propose to give here (of course parenthetically) a short account of another feudatory of the Western Châlukyas. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji has determined the dates of some of the Gurjara kings. A Gurjara copper-plate grant found at Nowsari gives the following geneology :—Dadda I, Jayabhata I, Dadda II, Jayabhata II, Dadda III, Jayabhata III. This last king ruled from the years 456 to 486 of the Chedi era, that is from A. D. 704–5 to 734–5. In one of the inscriptions his name is also given as Jayabhata-deva (Ind. Ant. V, 109 ff). Five grants namely the Kâvi, Nowsari, Kaira, Umetâ and Ilâo grants give us particulars about the abovesaid Gurjara dynasty. Of these, the last two have been supposed to be forgeries. The Nowsari grant was issued from the camp at Kâyâvatâra, which is identified with Kâvi in the Jambusar Taluka of the Broach district. The villages mentioned in the grants are all in the Broach district. From one of the grants it appears that Akrureshwar or Ankleshwar Taluka also belonged to the Gurjara kings. In the Umetâ and Ilâo grants Dadda II is called a Mahârâjâdhirâja, but these grants have been as seen above rejected as spurious. In the Nowsari and Kaira grants he is simply described as having attained *Panch-mahâ-shabda* (five titles) and in the seals of the Kaira grants he is simply called a *Sâmanta* (a feudal lord). Dadda III and Jayabhata III are described in the Nowsari grant as having attained the *Panch-mahâ-shabda*, and the latter has also in the Kâvi grant the title of *Maha-samantadhipati* (or lord over feudal chiefs). This title shows considerably higher rank than that of Dadda I, but it still indicates subordination to some higher authority. Pandit Bhagwanlal thus concludes :—"The Gurjaras could not have been vassals of the rulers of Valabhi ; for Dadda II gave protection to the lord of Valabhi, when he had been defeated by Harsha-deva ; and in the Kâvi grant Jayabhata III prides himself upon having quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi. It was probably the Châlukya family whether the Gujarat branch or Vâtâpi dynasty, that the Gurjaras acknowledged as their supreme lords." (Ind. Ant. XIII, pp. 73, 80.) The Kaira grant was issued from Nândipuri (Nandod or Nandipure to the east of Broach). Hence Pandit Bhagwanlal thought that the Gurjara power extended over the present Broach district.

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says :—"It is possible that the power of the earlier Gurjara kings spread as far as Bulsâr and even up to the Konkan limits. It was apparently from them that during the reign of his brother Vikramâditya*, Jayasimhavarman took south Gujarat, driving the Gurjaras north of the Tapti, and eventually confining them to the Broach district,—the Gurjaras either acknowledging Châlukya sovereign or withstanding the Châlukyas and retaining their smal territory in the Broach district by the help of the Valabhis, with whom they were in alliance. In either case the Châlukya power seems to have

* Father of Vinayâditya (A. D. 655-680). Bom, Gaz. I, pt II, p. 336 b.

hemmed in the Broach Gurjaras." (Bom. Gaz. I, pt I, p 108).

It thus appears that the dominion of Jayabhatta III did not extend as far as Nowsari or Sanjan. Therefore, although his name might assume the contracted form *Jaya*, still, in our opinion, he could not have been Jadi or Jai Rana.

* * *

Were Parasikas Syrians?—Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Letters.

But a question might be asked whether the *Pârasikas* mentioned in the inscription were Parsis. The question might seem absurd in view of the fact, that the word *Pârasikas* has been used for the Parsis by all the Sanskrit writers, and also it occurs in that sense in the sixteen Sanskrit Shlokas supposed to have been recited before Jâdi Rânâ. However Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar stated in his Early History of the Dekkan that "they were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabar" (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 189.) This conjecture of the learned Doctor would be regarded as fatal to the arguments advanced above. I therefore wrote him letters, to which he kindly replied. The correspondence is given below :—

On the 11th October 1917 I wrote to my worthy Guru as under :—

"I hope you will remember me as your old pupil of the Deccan College in the years 1892 to 1894 and will be pleased to know that I have been continuing the studies of Sanskrit, in which I take deep interest. I have been for some time past reading a long paper on the Ancient Parsis of India before one of the literary societies here, with a special reference to the passages in Sanskrit books and inscriptions. Recently I came across the important inscription of the Western Châlukya monarch Vinayâditya (A. D. 680 to 697). (Indian Antiquary IX, p. 127 ff). Therein we read करदीकृतकामेर-पारसीक-सिंहलादि-द्विपाधिपस्य &c. In your Early History of the Dekkan I was surprised to read that 'the Pârasikas were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabar.' (Bom. Gaz. 1, pt. II, p. 189); for, I all along thought, that the Pârasikas meant the Parsis and none else.

"Now, Sir, the date of the arrival of the Parsi refugees after the overthrow of the Sassanian dynasty is traditionally known to be A. D. 697 (716). I therefore thought, that when the inscription stated, that the Parsi '*king*' was made a tributary, it referred to the first arrival of our ancestors, who came to India just about the time of Vinayâditya's rule and during the *Yuvarajaship* of his son Vijayâditya (= Jayâditya= Jyâdi or Jâdi Rânâ of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan). This Jâdi Rânâ gave us protection and has been remembered with gratitude by the Parsis for the last twelve centuries.

"I do not know what led your learned self to think of the Parsis as Syrians, but I guess, that you may have had a difficulty in identifying a Parsi kingdom on the western coast of India at the time. Can we not take अधिप to mean simply a '*leader*'? The Kisseh-i-Sanjan refers to a learned Dastur as the leader of the band, and it is just likely, that he may have belonged to the royal family. On the other hand to avoid the difficulty, may we not take अधिप with सिंहलादिद्वीप and translate the passage thus :—'Of him, who made tributary the Kameras, the Pârasikas, and the kings of Ceylon and other islands ? The passage would show that the Pârasikas were made to pay certain taxes.

"In conclusion, I hope you will excuse the trouble and shall deem it

a great favour, if you will kindly reconsider the matter and let me know your views."

In continuation of the above letter, I wrote on the 15th October 1917 thus :—

"In continuation of my previous letter, I respectfully draw your attention to the fact, that according to one of the traditions recorded by Rev. Henry Lord in A. D. 1621, the Parsi refugees were allowed to land on payment of homage and tribute. This is exactly what is stated in Vinayâditya's grant."

In his reply dated 22nd October 1917 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says :—

"I am in receipt of yours of the 11th and the 15th instant. Referring to the passage in my Early History of the Dekkan, you will see that I have spoken of the Pârasikas as *probably* the Syrians settled in the Southern part of the western coast of India. You will see that the word *probably* was used to show, that it was a mere conjecture. To that conjecture I was led by the *Kâvera* or *Kerala* and the *Simhala* Island being situated on the southern coast. If you connect *Adhipa* with *Kâvera* or *Kerala* and *Pârasika*, it will be a good deal difficult to arrive at the sense, which you wish to lay on the passage. But most of the difficulty will disappear, when you connect *adhipa* with *Simhalâdidvipa* only, and the sense will then be 'of him who made the Kâveras or the Keralas, and the Pârasikas, as well as the kings of Simhala and other islands to pay tribute.' That the early Châlukyas founded a branch kingdom in Southern Gujarat is shown in my Early History. of Dekkan pp. 54-55, corresponding to pp. 186-187 of B. G. I., Pt. II. It is not unlikely therefore that the expression करदीकृतपारसीक may refer to your ancestors, who paid a tribute to the local Hindu prince. Your 'Jyâdi' might be regarded as a correct form of Jayâditya, who probably represented at that time the Châlukya power in Southern Gujarat. But I do not think that Vijayâditya, the son of Vinayâditya, could have been meant, as you will see from the short notice of the Gujarat branch given in my book and referred to above.

"These antiquarian matters require a long time to be properly considered, and my eyesight which is considerably impaired, as well as general debility have increased my difficulties. However I have given you the best solution, I can now think of, of the question raised by you."

I thanked the worthy Doctor for the trouble he had taken and wrote back on the 24th October 1917 as under :—

"I cordially thank you for your very kind, prompt and full reply.

"I am glad, that you agree with me on good many points—the difference of opinion between us being extremely small. As you say that you do not think that Vijayâditya could have been Jâdi Rânâ, I take the liberty to place some more facts before you, and I hope, you will, in view of the importance of the subject, excuse me for this further trouble.

"It is only in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan (A. D. 1600), that we come across the name of Jâdi Rânâ. Some of the manuscripts of that book give the reading Jâi (=Jaya in Sanskrit) Rânâ. According to one of the traditional accounts the Parsi refugees went to the Rânâ of Nowsari, and on payment of homage and tribute, they were allowed to land.

"Now I find from your Early History of the Dekkan, Dr. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts and other works, that the kings of a minor branch of the Western Châlukyas had their capital at Nowsari. They were feudatories of the main branch, and we see that Vijayâditya (A. D. 696-733) of the main branch was a contemporary of Jayâshraya Mangalarâja

(A. D. 698-731) of the minor branch. The question that puzzled me most was whether Vijayâditya (= Jaya or Jâdi) was the Jaya or Jâdi Rânâ, or whether Jayâshraya was the Jai of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. As stated above the data for the solution of the problem are very meagre. The Kisseh-i-Sanjan is our main source of knowledge. In one place, the writer calls the Râjâ *rai rayân* (= king of kings) and in two other places he is called *Shâh-jâdah* and *rai jâdah* (= prince). There is an inconsistency here ; but I thought, it was important, as showing that Jâdi Rânâ was at one time a prince-regent, and at another time, an emperor. That Vijayâditya acted in both the capacities, as also the fact that the epigraphic record is found in his copper-plate grants led me to conclude, that Vijayâditya was Jâdi Rânâ. If we chuck up Vijayâditya, do you think Jayâshraya was the Jai Rânâ ? Hoping to be excused &c."

To the above letter the learned Doctor replied on the 29th October 1917 as under :—

" The evidence for determining what the name was of the Châlukya prince, who received the Parsis at Nowsari is meagre. The Kisseh-i-Sanjan was written, according to date given by you, about 900 years after the event, which it reports, and it is quite possible, that facts belonging to different periods or different conditions of things were jumbled together in the tradition reported by the author of the work. Still taking the reading Jâi Rânâ to be correct and comparing the dates as given in the Early History of the Dekkan, I think it not unlikely, that the prince, who admitted the Parsis was Jayâshtraya, the successor of Shryâsraya and second son of Jayasimhavarman, to whom the Lâta province was allotted by Vikramâditya."

We need hardly say that we fully agree with the remarks of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar about the Kisseh-i-Sanjan that " it is quite possible that facts belonging to different periods and different conditions of things were jumbled together," and the truthfulness of these remarks is apparent, although we must say, that we yield to none in our appreciation of the great value of that traditional record.

Summary.

The result of our survey may be briefly given here. It will be seen that there are two sets of circumstances to be considered :—

(1) According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan the Parsi refugees first landed in the island of Div, and 19 years later they moved to Sanjan. According to Henry Lord's and other accounts they landed first at Sanjan.

(2) The date of their arrival has been given as Yazdgardi year 85 (=716 A. D.) It may be the date of the *permanent settlement* at Sanjan.

(3) The Sanskrit inscription of Vijayâditya (697 A. D.) refers to the payment of tribute by the Parsis. Lord's tradition mentions the payment of the tribute by the Parsi refugees to the Hindu king of Nowsari near Sanjan ; and according to the 16th Sanskrit Shloka they were granted permission to land and live in prosperity.

(4) The Sanskrit inscription may be translated to mean that " the leader of the Parsi island was made to pay tribute." Unfortunately we have so far no proof to say that the " Parsika island " was Div, or that it belonged to the Châlukya kings.

(5) Vijayâditya was the regent in 696-697 A. D., and Jayâshraya was a tributary king of Nowsari at the time.

(6) The name Vijayâditya might be contracted into Jyâdi, and similarly Jayâshraya into Jaya (=Jâi). Both these were rulers in 716 A. D., the traditional date of the arrival of

our ancestors at Sanjan, and in 721 A. D. when the Iranshâh Fire was installed, supposing the traditional dates to be correct.

From the above facts and circumstances, it would not be wrong to conclude that our ancestors were on payment of tribute allowed to land on the Western coast of India in 696 or 697 A. D. when Vijayâditya was practically the dominant ruler with Jayâshraya as his feudatory at Nowsari near Sanjan, and that A. D. 716 was most probably the date, when the Parsis made a permanent settlement and home in Sanjan.

Arrival of Parsis to India by Sea.

An argument has been advanced, that the story of the Parsis coming to India by sea is not tenable, as in those days the sea swarmed, with pirates and sea-robbers. It is true, that besides storms the Indian seas were full of dangers, and the worst of all dangers was from pirates. In the 8th and 9th centuries Sangârs, Kerks and Meds sallied from the coasts of Sindh, Cutch and Kathiawar, ravaged the banks of the Euphrates, and even the coasts of the Red Sea as far as possible. The Persians complained of the Indian pirates in the 6th century. In the 7th century the islands of Bahrein in the Persian gulf were held by the piratical tribe of Abd-ul-Kais and in 880 A. D. the seas were so disturbed, that the Chinese ships carried from 400 to 500 armed men and supplies of Naphtha to beat off the pirates. They stretched 5 or 6 miles apart in fleets of from 20 to 30 boats, and whenever one caught sight of a merchant vessel, he raised a smoke, and all who saw, gathered, boarded and plundered to stop, but *let it go, hoping again to fall in with it.**

In spite of all this the trade with the western coast of India did not cease; on the contrary it flourished every day—the most important reason being, that although all made voyages across the sea, they preferred as much as possible to hug the coast. Also as Pliny says, the merchant vessels carried a guard of archers. It was this close connection between the Western India and Persia, that in 638 led the Khalif Umar (634-643 A. D.) to found the city of Basra partly for purposes of trade and partly to prevent the Indian princes sending help to the Persians.* × × ×

From the 6th century, when the Persians began to take a leading part in the trade of the East, they not only visited India, but sailed in their own ships as far as China (Reinaud's Abulfeda I-II-383). Auquetil Du Persou (Zend Avesta I-336) speaks of Persians going to China in the 7th century with a son of Yazdezard. According to Wilford (As. Res. IV-235) another party of refugees went in 750 A. D. when the dynasty of the Abbasâd Khalifs began to rule. In 845 A. D. there is a mention of Muhapas or Mobeds in Canton (Yule's Cathay I-96) and about 60 years later Macudi notices that there were many fire-temples in China (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 13, p. 248). The Chavdâ kings, Vanarâja (A. D. 745-806), and his son Yogarâja (A. D. 806-841) are recorded to have made great efforts to put down piracy on the west Kathiawad coast (idem, p. 527). The Chinese ships in the 7th and 8th centuries coasted along Western India by Div in Kathiawar and Diul in Sindh (Yule's Cathay I-78.) The chief centre of trade was Thana' which is mentioned as a mart by the Arab writers of the 9th and 10th

* Yule's Marco Polo II--380. Renand's Memoir 181, 200, 283. Ind. Ant. VIII-385. Bom. Gaz., Vol. 13 pp. 432-434.

* See also Tabari par Zontanberg, Vol. III, p. 401.

centuries. × × × Sanjan* was a mart and great city in the 10th century. The chief ports with which the Thana coast was connected in the 9th to 12th centuries were Broach, Cambay, Somnath in Gujrat, Dihval in Sindh, Basrah, Obdollah and Ormaz on the Persian Gulf, Aden, Socotra on the Red Sea, Mombaza in Africa, Java, Malacca and China.

The articles of trade sent from the Thana ports—(namely Sopara, Sanjan, Kalyan and Chaul), to Persia were cocoanuts, mangoes, lemons, betel-nuts, leaves, muslin, ivory, timber, teak and bamboos. The articles imported from Persia were dates, Dirhem coins, copper, wines, silks, swords, horses &c. No ships came to Thana without horses. As many as 10,000 horses a year were imported. Women, eunuchs and boys are said to have been brought by Jews through the Persian Gulf. (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 13, pp. 431-434).

If then the trade survived all the dangers of the sea, if according to our account the Iranian refugees had nothing valuable with them, and if they were fully armed as the tradition goes, why should we not believe the story of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, that the Iranian refugees crossed the sea to reach India? It is very likely that in accordance with the tradition they came hugging the coast—thus avoiding the dangers of the sea and the risk of breaking the rule about not defiling the sea† with human impurities. These ancestors of ours were *orthodox* Zoroastrians—who practised ancient customs and performed religious ceremonials strictly in conformity with the orthodox belief, as we learn from the 16 Sanskrit *Shlokas*, which have come down to us. These ancestors of ours have handed down the religion to us in its prestine purity. It is therefore our bounden duty to keep alive their memory in one shape or another; and this chapter, we need hardly say, is our humble attempt in that direction.

*Albiruni says :—"From Bahruj (Broach) to Sindan (Sanjan) is 50 parasangs; from thence to Subarah, (Sopârâ) 7 parasangs; and from thence to Thana 5 parasangs." The correct distances would be 40, 16, and 5 parasangs. (Rienand's Frag. Arab et Pers. p. 121; Indian Antiquary I-321.")

† According to Herodotus (I § 139) the Persians did not defile *rivers* with impurities.

Chapter No. 7.

History of 700 Years.

From the time of the arrival of the Parsis to India down to the fifteenth century their history is almost a blank. We have brief notes of about three dozen events which we give below with their respective dates.

A. D. 850.—Some Parsis engraved their Pahlavi signatures as witnesses to a copper-plate grant in Southern India probably before A. D. 850 (See Dr. E. W. West's reply dated 10-6-1898 *re* Dastur Meherji Rana controversy printed in "Dastur Meherji Rana and the Emperor Akbar," p. 79).*

Middle of the 9th Century A. D.—Mardân-farukh son of Auharmazd-dâd the author of the Pahlavi work Sikand-Gumânik Vijâr who wrote the book after the middle, but before thé end, of the ninth century, came to India, to make investigations about religious topics. (See :Sikand-Gumânik Vijâr Chap. X-44 ; S. B. E. Vol. XXIV. Intro. pp. 25-27, and p. 169. Also Sk. Collected Writings, edited by Sheheriarji Bharucha Intro. p. 2.)

A. D. 916.—The Arab writer Masudi says : " Up to now (Hijari 304) the Magi worship fires of different kinds in Irak, Fars, Kerman, Sedjestan, Khorasan, Tabaristan, Djebal, Azerbaidjân, Errân, *Inde* (Hindustan), *Sind* and China." (Moacudi, Les Prairies, D'or par C. B. de Maynard Vol. IV, p. 86.)

A. D. 950.—The Arab traveller Misar bin Mukhâlihal (A. H. 339) speaks about Chaul thus :— " There are Musulmans, Christians, Jews and Fire-worshippers there (= at *Saimur* or Chaul).....In the city there are mosques, Christian churches, Synagogues and Fire-temples." Another traveller of the same time Ibn Haukal says :—" The Moslims and infidels in this tract (between Cambay and Chaul) wear the same dresses, and let their beards grow in the same fashion" (see Elliot's Hist. of India, Vol. I, pp. 39, 97). The Bombay Gazetteer gives the date as A. D. 942 (I, Part I, pp. 216-217).

A. D. 942-997.—Some of the Parsis, who since their arrival in India, had remained in the South of Gujarat were attracted to the settlement near the temple of the Kumarika Kshetra (Cambay) at the mouth of the Mahi. The first-comers succeeding in trade, others followed, and in time the Parsi settlement became so strong that by their overbearing conduct, they forced the Hindus to leave the city. Among those who fled was a man of the Dasa Lad caste of Wâniâs, Kalianrai by name. He took refuge in Surat,* where in a short time by trading in pearls, he acquired a large fortune. His wealth gave him consequence, and he had the address to bring together a numerous band of Rajputs and Kolis, who in the night attacked the Parsis, putting many to the sword, and setting fire to their houses. The rest took to flight, and not a single Parsi was to be seen in Kumarika Kshetra. (Account of Cambay in Bom. Gaz. VI, p. 216.)

A. D. 10th Century.—In Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal (A. D. 902-968) it is stated that some parts of Hind and Sind belonged to *Guebres*. The Guebres *might* be Persian Zoroastrians, but we are not quite sure.

A. D. 955.—Pahlavi texts were written by Dinpanah Itarpat Dinpanah in the Yazdagardi year 324 at Broach. Some scholars take the year to be 624 instead of 324.(See Dr. Modi's Dâstur Bahaman Kaikobad

* Also Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee. Vol. pp. 442.

* If this is Surat and not Sorath. Kalianrai's date can hardly have been before the 14th century—Foot-note, Bom, Gaz. VI, p. 216.

and Kisseh-i-Sanjan. p. 28; also Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji's Pahlavi texts, introd. p. 5, text p. 83).

A. D. 1009.—Two Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri caves show that certain Parsis visited the caves on the day Auharmazd of the month Mitro Yazdagardi year 378 (10th October 1009), and on the day Mitro of the month Avân 378 Yazdagardi (24th November 1009).* (See Dr. Burgess's Inscriptions from the Cave Temples, pp. 62-64; and K. R. Kama's Zarathosti Abhyas Ank III. p.160, wherein the date is given as A. D. 999.)

A. D. 1011.—Some Pahlavi memoranda were written by Dinpanah Itarpat Dinpanah above mentioned at Broach for the use of his pupil named Shâzât Shât Farkho Auramazd in Samvat 1067 on Roz Gos, Mah Ardibehesht [Dastur Peshotun B. Sanjana's Ganje Shâyagân introd. p. 3. The date given in Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji's Pahlavi Texts, introd. by Mr. Beheramgore Anklesaria is 1077 Hindustani (= 1021 A. D.) at p. 5 and 1067 Hindustani(=1011 A. D.) at p. 34]†

A. D. 1021.—A third Pahlavi inscription in the Kanheri caves shows that another batch of Parsis went there on the day Din, month Mitro of the year 390 Yazdagardi (30th October 1021). [See Burgess's Inscriptions from Cave Temples p. 65].

A. D. 1030.—Alberuni in his "India" says :—Then Zarathushtra went forth from Adharbaijân and preached Magism in Balkha..... ... There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called Maga. (See Alberuni's India, translation by Dr. Sachau Vol. I, p. 21 and Vol. II, p. 262).

A D. 1079.—Ibraim the Gaznavid attacked a colony of fireworshippers at Dehra Dun.

A. D. 1081—A grant of "some drammas to the Khârâsân Mandli" was made by the king Anantdeva, the ruler of Konkan in Sake 1003 (*i. e.* A. D. 1081). (Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 18 n. 7). Pandit Bhagwanlal while translating the passage has put a querry (?) after the words Khârâsân Mandli, showing that he did not understand them. Prof. S. H. Hodivala, in an article entitled "Jâdi Rânâ and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan" thinks, that the words "Khârâsân Mandli" mean "Khorasân Anjuman," and may refer to "the colony at Sanjan of the Parsi settlers,

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*Dr. Weat says :—The Parsis who inscribed their Pahlavi signatures at the Kanheri caves..... may have come from Sanjan." (Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Vol. p. 442.)

† In an important letter dated 3-6-1915 addressed to this writer, Prof. S. H. Hodivala says:—"Peshotan's introduction to the Ganje Shâyegân is full of historical blunders. He seems to have read 1067 Samvat, not 1077. Besides he pretends that his manuscript was actually written in 627 A. Y. of which there is no proof. The date 627 is merely the date of the Paimânak-i-Katak Khutâik given on p. 141 of Beheramgore's Pahlavi Texts. The date conclusively shows that Meherpân translated his copy not from Dinpanah's copy (as Beheramgore says), but from his uncle Rustam Meherban's who was in India in the *Parsi* Year 627 (A. Y. 647), *i. e.* 1278 A. C., as is shown by the colophon of the Pahlavi Vispard he wrote in Anklesvar in that year.

As to your idea that 1077 Shake is the true date, there is this to be said that in all the other MSS. I am acquainted with (about four in number) the date is merely 77 *haftado haft*. T. D. is the only MS. in which it is *Yak-hazar-haftad-o-haft* and Maneckji Unwalla tells me that the MS. originally belonged to him and that he gave it to Mr. Tehemuras, and that the sign for *Yak-hazar* is written above and not in a line with *haftad-o-haft*. In fact it is one of the many interpolations by a later scribe of which this MS. is full . . . You say Mr. . . . takes it to be 977 Sâke. 977 Sâke would be 1058 A. C. i. e. not 324 A. Y. but 424 A. Y. Your 1077 Sâke would be 1155 A. C. and 524 A. Y. Is there any agrument for prefering 524 A. Y. to 424 A Y.? I at least know of none. But there is an argument for holding that 624 A. Y. is the true reading and that is based on the inference from the word *derzivat*. It is possible to hold that *derzivat* may mean something else, but I take it in the sense put upon by Beheramgore."

who had come from Khorasân." In our opinion the words were probably meant for the descendants of the original Parsi settlers. (B. B. R. A. S. XXIII, 349-70).

Close of 11th Century A.D.—Battle of Variav, which will be referred to hereafter.

Close of 11th Century A.D.—A Pahlavi manuscript of Vendidad (K 1 in the University Library of Kopenhagan) was copied in Sistan in A. D. 1205 by Ardeshir Bahman for an Indian priest named Mâhyâr, an inhabitant of Auchak in Sindh as we shall see hereafter. The head priest of that place was Shâhmard son of Mâhyâr son of Shâhzâd son of Mitrojiv.* The last name is equivalent to the modern Meherji. The termination *ji* is purely Indian; hence Mitrojiv must have lived in India about 1100 A. D. (See Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Pahlavi Vendidad introd., p. 39.)

A. D. 1142—A mobed named Kamdin Zarthosht came to Nowsari from Sanjan for performing the religious ceremonies of the Parsis of Nowsari.†

A. D. 1153.—The Arab geographer Edrisi refers in his book to Sanjan and its inhabitants (Parsis?) "who were famous for their industry and intelligence, who were rich and war-like" (See Jaubert's Geographie d' Edrisi, p. 172).

A. D. 1166 (about)—Approximate date of Nerioshang Dhaval, who was the most learned of the old Parsi priests of India. His translation of the Pahlavi Yasna into Sanskrit is a convincing proof of his extensive knowledge of both the languages. He also translated some of the Khordeh Avesta into Sanskrit, and produced a Pazend Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi Minokherd. Nerioshang was the contemporary of Hormazdiar Râmyar (See Dr. West's reply re: Dastur Meherji Rana above referred to.) In S. B. E. Vol. XXIV introd. p. 20 Dr. West gave the 15th century A. D. as the date of Nerioshang, which was evidently incorrect).

12th Century A. D.—In this century the Parsis are said to have incited the Hindus against the Musalmans of Cambay and in a riot destroyed their mosque. This coming to the ears of Siddharâja Jayasimha, he supplied the means of rebuilding the mosque and minarets. (Elliot's Hist. II. 163-4).

A. D. 1205.—A Parsi priest named Mahyâr returned to Uchh in the Punjab with a Pahlavi Vendidad MS. after residing 6 years in Seistan.* (See Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Pahlavi Vendidad, introd. pp. 36-40).

A. D. 1214.—Mobed Hom Bahmanyâr came from Broach to Nowsari in the Yazdagardi year 583 (See Dastur Meherji Rana and Emperor Akbar p. 286).†

A. D. 1257. (about)—A Mobed named Kâmdin Shahryâr Neryosang Samand wrote some manuscripts, one of which was Ayibâtkâr-i-Vazorg-Mitro. This Mobed was most probably the grand-father of Peshotan Râm Kâmdin Yaztyâr (="Shahryâr") ‡ Neriosang, Shahmart (or Gâyomard)§ (See Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji's Pahlavi Texts Introd. pp. 6-34).

A. D. 1250-1300.—Parsi and Nawâyat Musalmân refugees from

* In the colophon of the MS. of Pazend Jâmâspi written by Rânâ Jesung, father of Dastur Meherji Rânâ, it is stated that the writer wrote from a copy of Herbad Karvâ son of *Bikajiv* (Bhikâji, Vikâji). The MS. is dated Samvat 1560. See Dr. Modi's Parsis ot Court of Akbar p. 169.

† Parsi Prakash Vol. I p. 2.

* Prof. Westerguard, the Parsi Prakâsh and Dossabhoy Karaka give the date A. D. 1184. Hist. of Parsis I. p. 38.

† In the લશ્કરસાથ વંશાવલી the date is not correctly given. The Parsi Prakâsh gives A. D. 1215.

‡ The word might be read *Shatro-ayibâr* or *Yazt-ayibâr*,

§ The reading Samand might be a corruption of *Shahmart* or (*Gâyomart*),

Khulagu Khan's devastation of Persia came to Gujarat (Dr. G. A. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India Vol. IX, Part II, p. 324).

A. D. 1269.—An Iranian priest named Rustam Mihrapan came to India (Dastur Darab's Vendidad, introduction p. 41).

A. D. 1278.—Rustam Mihrapan wrote a Vispard at Ankleswar.

13th Century—Zakariya-al-Kazwini says that Chaul (now called Revadânda) was inhabited by a number of Parsis in the 13th century (B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII, p. 57).

A. D. 1303.—Battle of Chitor in which the Parsis helped the Hindus by fighting with the Mahomedans under Ala-ud-Din. This battle forms the subject of the next chapter.

A. D. 1309.—A Dokhma was built at Broach by one Pestonji on the land of one Patel Dâbhai Medâsh on Jeth Sud 2 Samvat 1365 (Parsi Prakash I, p. 4).

A. D. 1322.—A French bishop named Jordanus, who travelled as a missionary from Thana to Broach in A. D. 1320-1322 wrote: "There be also other pagan-folk in this India, who worship fire ; they bury not their dead, neither do they burn them, but cast them into the midst of a certain roofless tower, and there expose them totally uncovered to the fowls of heaven. These believe in two First Principles, to wit, of Evil and of Good, of Darkness and of Light." (Jule's Jordanus' Mirabilia, p. 21).

A. D. 1323.—Odoric an Italian monk who came to Thana in 1323 said:—"The people thereof (Thana) are idolators, for they worship fire... .....and here they do not bury the dead, but carry them with great pomp to the fields, and cast them to the beasts and birds to be devoured." (C. H. Yule's Cathay Vol. I, p. 57-59).

A. D. 1323-24.—Mihrapan Kaikhusro great-grand-nephew of Rustam Mihrapan wrote two Pahlavi Yasnas, two Pahlavi Vendidads, and some other manuscripts for Chahal Sang of Cambay (Dastur Darab's Vendidad, introd. p. 41). Some of the MSS. were written in Thânâ (see Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Texts Intro. p. 6 and text pp. 83, 167-168).

A. D. 1383.—A Pahlavi Nirang to kill noxious animals was written in 752 A. Y., the date being given in old Gujarati (Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Texts, Introd. p. 8, text p. 170.)

A. D. 1397—The manuscript M. 6 of the Bundehishna was written at Broach in A. Y. 766 by Peshotan Râm Kâmdin Sheheriar Nerioshang Shahmard Sheheriar Bahman Auramazdiâr Râmyâr. (S. B. E. Vol. V, introd. to Bundehishna. p. 43.)

Note:—Nerioshang Dhaval was a contemporary of Auramazdiâr Râmyâr. He lived 8 generations (8×25 years) before A. Y. 766, that is in A. D. 1197, which almost tallies with his date given above. Both Râm and Kâmdin were learned men. The latter was probably a pupil of Mihrapan Kaikhusro.

A. D. 1414.—About 26 Behedins of Bulsar signed an agreement to the effect that they had requested the Nowsari Anjuman to lend the services of the Mobed named Shapurji Rânâ for the performance of ceremonies. (Parsi Prakâsh I, p. 4).

A. D. 1415—Ervad Rânâ Kâmdin wrote a MS. containing Sanskrit and old Gujarati translations of the Iranian texts. (See Collected Sk. Writings of the Parsis Pt I. introd. p. VII.) The MS. belongs to Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji of Poona. It was written in A. Y. 784 corresponding to चतुर्दशशतेषु संवत्सरेषु.

This manuscript contains an important note about Sanskrit Ashirwâds, which runs thus :—इयं वैवाहस्य पइमांनी संस्कृतभाषायां पहिल्वीभायाः दीनिदारु (दास) बह्मनेन अवतारिता. "These marriage Ashirwâds have been translated

from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language by Dinidâru (dâsa) Bahman."

Another MS. belonging to Dastur Kaikhusro Jamaspji containing Avesta and Sanskrit translation was written not earlier than Samvat 1400; as in the Sk. Ashirwâda we meet with the phrase संवत्सरेषु चतुर्दशशतेषु. It must have been written before Samvat 1499 (A. D. 1443), but after Samvat 1400 (A. D. 1344).

A. D. 1419.—The Iranshâh Fire was brought to Nowsari on 26th June 1419 (Parsi Prakash, p 5). Khan Bahadur Bomanji B. Patel doubts the correctness of this date. The date given in the MS. of Ervad Hormazdiar Framarz dated A. D. 1660 is Samvat 1475 Maha Shehrivar, Roz Marespand, Akhad 5, Wednesday. (See Dr. J. J. Modi's Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan p. 23)

A. D. 1430.—A medical book was written in Sanskrit for the son of an Andhiaru named Ardeshir. About this book Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says :—In the class of works on Hindu medicine we have fragments of Charaka and Susruta Samhitas, and a copy of Vâgbhata's important work the Ashtânga-yoga-hridaya, which however is incomplete. The last MS. was caused to be transcribed in the Samvat year 1486 at Brigu-Kshetra or Broach by Ardhhasera (Ardeshir), who was a learned Adhyaru or priest of the Parsika race for his son to study This shows that about 450 years ago Parsi priests valued and cultivated the study of Sanskrit lore. The following is an extract from the book :— संवत् १४८६ वर्षे माघवदि १ गुरावद्येह श्रीभृगुक्षेत्रे पारसीकवंशप्रवीण आध्यारु श्री अर्द्धसेर-सुतस्याध्यायनाय कल्पसिद्धिस्थानमलीलिखत् । "On Mâgha Vad 1st in the year Samvat 1486, on this day, Thursday, here in Bhrigu Kshetra, the completion of the work (written) for the study of the son of the Adhyaru Ardeshir who is clever in the Parsi race, is written (by me)." (Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during 1882-83, pp. 35-36 and 221.)

A. D. 1450.—About the middle of the 15th century a king of Ahmadabad is said to have levied tribute from the Parsis of Chandauli (Chandravati) near Panch Mahals. (Burne's Account of Abu, 1828).

A. D. 1478.—The date of the earliest known Revayat brought by Nariman Hoshang. Eight years afterwards, he brought another Revayat from Iran.*

* Darab Hamaziar's Revayat, Bombay University MS. Vol. I. pp. 11, 13, See also Dr. Modi's Parsis at the Court of Akbar, pp. 53-54.

CHAPTER No. 8.

Battle of Sanjan.

Let us now consider another important event in the history of the Parsis which is referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. We are told that seven hundred years after the arrival of the Parsis to India, a calamity came over them. The kingdom of the Hindu Râjâ of Sanjan was invaded by the Mahomedans under Alafkhan, the general of Sultan Mahomed. The Râjâ called his Parsi subjects to help him. Under the leadership of one Ardeshir, an army of 1,400 Parsis fought with the Mahomedans and defeated them. Alafkhan then came with very large numbers. A second battle was fought, in which all the Parsis and the Hindu Râjâ were killed.

Now the question as to who the Sultan Mahomed and his general Alafkhan were, has been the subject of keen controversy for many years past. Dastur Frâmji Aspandiarji Rabâdi, Dr. John Wilson, and Mr. Dossabhoy Karaka* thought that the Sultan was Mahmod Begda (A. D. 1459-1511). This theory has in our times secured the support of Dr. J. J. Modi, Prof. Hodivala and others.

Not being satisfied with this theory Sir James Campbell, the compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer, suggested another theory, namely that the Mahomedan ruler was Muhammad Shah or Ala-ud-din Khilji (A.D 1297-1317). He said :—"The conqueror cannot be Mahomed Begda, as authorities agree that after long wanderings the Sanjan fire was brought to Nowsari early in the 15th century (A. D. 1419).† Alafkhân may be Ulughkhân, Ala-ud-din's brother, who is sometimes by mistake called Alpkhân,* or he may be Alpkhân, Ala-ud-din's brother-in-law. Ulughkhan conquered Gujarat (A. D. 1295-1297), and Alpkhan governed Gujarat (A. D. 1300-1320)." (Bombay Gaz. XIII, pt. I, p 250). This theory was followed by Mr. Dossabhoy Karaka, who changed his former view. (Hist. of Parsis, 2nd ed., p. 43). It has been accepted in our own times by Mr. Pallonji Desai, and others.

Sanskrit Inscriptions.

Scholars have thrown considerable light on the history of Ala-ud-din Khilji and Mahomed Begda. They have shown that Begda's conquests extended as far as Bassein, Mahim and even further in the South. Some have also stated that Ala-ud-din's conquests did not extend as far as Sanjan. † But it must be acknowledged, that in spite of all their efforts they have not come across a single *direct* historical reference, showing that a battle was fought at Sanjan by the Parsis with the Mahomedans. There is however a Sanskrit epigraphic record, which, if correctly interpreted, shows that the Parsis fought with the Mohamedans under Ala-ud-din at Chitor on behalf of the Hindu râjâ of the place. If this is the battle which the writer of the Kisseh i-Sanjan referred to, we are compelled to say that he has made a muddle by confounding the location of the battlefield. If on the other hand the battle of Sanjan was different, Bahman was grossly ignorant about an

* Hâdisânâmâ pp. 122, 129, B. B. R. A. S. I-182, Hist. of Parsis 1858 p. 16.

† Mistake for A. D. 1416 (Dr. J. J. Modi's Few Events in Parsi Hist. p. 64).

* Elliot's Hist. of India III, 548.

† See Dr. J. J. Modi's "A Few Events in Parsi History p. 65) In A. D. 1297 Aluf Khan, Ala-ud-Din's brother, was sent with an army to reduce Gujarat. (Brigg's Hist. of the Rise of Mahomedan Power I. p. 327), and according to Abul Feda, Sanjan was the last town in Gujarat (Elliot V, Dawson I. 403). In A. D. 1312 an army was sent to the Deccan under Mullik Kafoor who laid waste the countries of Maharashtra and Canara from Dabul to Choule, as far as Rachoor and Moodkul (Brigg's His. I. p. 379). Thus Sanjan may have been included in the conquests.

important event in the history of the Parsis. We admit that it is quite possible that the raids of Begda, which extended as far as Bassein, Mahim and Chaul, may have scared away the Parsis (if any) from their old colonies at Sanjan and neighbouring places, but from that we cannot infer that the Parsis fought with the Mohamedans at Sanjan.

A collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions has been published by the Bhavnagar Archæological Department under the auspices of His Highness Raol Shri Takhtsingji, Mahârâjâ of Bhâvnagar. It contains a number of important Sanskrit inscriptions. One of them No. IX is a stone inscription placed at Udepur in Mewâr in the temple of Ekalingaji, the tutelary god of the Sisodia kings of Mewâr dated Samvat 1545 (A. D. 1489), published on pp. 117 to 133 in the aforesaid book. It contains about a hundred Sanskrit Shlokas and gives an account of the different gifts of villages by the kings of Chitor for the maintenance of the temple. The verses Nos. 18 to 20 run as under :—

No. 18 कति कति न बभूवुर्भोजखुम्माणमुख्या
रणभरनिरपाये वाष्पभूपान्ववाये ।
तदपि समुपनीतामंदसंपत्समूह :
समभवदीरिंसिह : केवलं वीतमोह : ॥

No. 19 चित्रदुर्गगिरि–दुर्गरक्षणे स क्षणेन
विरचनमहारणे ।
जीवितं परिजहार नोर्ज्जितं वीरवर्त्मनि
समर्ज्जितं यश : ॥

No. 20 नरपतिररिसिंह : पारसीकै : समीकं
यदयम् अभयचित्तश्चित्रकूटे चकार ।
असुकुसुमसमुहैरेनमानर्च्च चासाविति
हितरतिरेतद्वंशजान्नोजहाति ॥

The above Shlokas are thus translated in the book :—

(No. 18)—"There were many kings like Bhoja, Khummâna and others in the time of Bâshpa, never flinching in battle; still one deserves mention, *viz.* Arisimha, who acquired great prosperity and was totally free from all sensual pleasures.' (No. 19)—"He (Arisimha) fighting great battle for protecting mount Chitrakuta abandoned life in a moment, but not the great fame acquired in the path of brave men." (No. 20)—"As this Arisimha, who possessed a dauntless heart, fought with the Parsis, and worshipped Shankar with the flowers of the lives of the dead, his descendants are not abandoned by him (Shankar)."

Further up in verse No. 21 we are told, that "He (Arisimha) was succeeded by the sun-like Hamira." We may mention, that in verse No. 20 the translator has omitted to translate the word चित्रकुटे, which shows, that the battle was fought at Chitrakuta * or Chitor.

Battle of Variav.

Let us for a moment accept the translation of the verse No. 20, as it is given in the book. It seems as if the Hindu king fought with the Parsis, killing many of them. Now we know with certainty about only one battle, which the Parsis fought with a Hindu Râjâ, and that was the battle of Variav. Two slightly different accounts of this battle are met with. The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer gives the following account :—

"Towards the close of the 11th century, Parsis were one of the chief classes of traders in Cambay. It is stated, that the Parsi settlers enraged the Rajput chief of Ratanpur by refusing to pay tribute and defeating a body of troops sent to enforce the order. When a fresh force arrived from Ratanpur, the Parsi men were absent at a feast outside the limits of Variav, but the women donned the armour of their husbands and relations and opposed the troops valiently. When about to obtain a victory, the helmet of one of the female warriors dropped and exposed her dishelled hair. On this the Ratanpur force rallied, and made a

* Chitrakuta= Chitod (Bom. Gaz. I Pt. I p. 469.)

desperate assault. The women preferring death to dishonour heroically drowned themselves. The day of this disaster (Fravardin month and Arshishvang roz) is still commemorated at Surat by special religious ceremonies. The year is unknown. (Bom. Gaz. IX pt. II, p. 185 ff).

Mr. Dossabhoy Karaka relates the story thus:—"A small Parsi colony had settled at Variav, which is situated at some distance from Surat. It was at the time under the rule of the Râjâ of Ratanpur, a Rajput chief. This chief attempted to exact an extraordinary tribute from the Parsis, but the latter refusing to submit to the extortion, opposed and defeated the troops sent to enforce the demand. Unable to avenge themselves openly, the soldiers of the Râjâ sought an opportunity of supressing those, who had defeated them in the field, and a marriage festival, to which all the Parsis in the place had been invited was chosen as affording the most favourable occasion for gratifying their cowardly revenge. Unconscious of what was impending, the Parsis were surprised in the midst of festivities, and together with the women and children were ruthlessly massacred by the ruffians." (Hist. of Parsis 1884, Vol. I, p. 49).

It is easy to see that this could not be the same as the battle of Chitor in the inscription, according to which the Hindu king was killed in the battle. Also in verse No. 8 of the stone inscription No. VI, dated A. D. 1429 (page 102, Collections by Bhavnagar State) it is stated that:—

नरपतिररिसिंह : शस्त्रशास्त्रोपदेष्टा वितरण-
रणकर्णो विश्वविख्यातवर्ण : ।
स्फुरदमलगुणौघ : पुण्यपुण्योक्ष (गण्याग्र नामा)
नयविनयविवेकोद्यानपुंस्कोकिल : सन् ॥

"Arisimha was a king who was master of the art of using arms, who was like Karna in making gifts and in battle fields, whose greatness was known throughout the world, who possessed bright *pure virtues*, whose great name was worthy of being included in the first rank of the *meritorious*, and who was like a male Kokila (bird) in the gardens of *justice, modesty and politeness*."

Such a virtuous, meritorious, just, modest and polite king could hardly be expected to order violence referred to in the stories of the battle of Variav. Indeed such a cruel act would hardly be suitable for any inscription.

Annals of Rajasthan.

Again turning to Colonel Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. I. (p. 215) we find, that Ursi (a short form of the name of Arisimha) was killed in the war with Ala-ud-din in or about 1303 A. D. Therefore the battle at Chitor was not fought with the Parsis, unless they assisted the Mahomedans, proving treacherous to their kind Hindu masters—a thing inconceivable in itself and for the reason that Ala's troops were never in need of any help.

Parsis and Kings of Mewar.

One further point, which has been already referred to, requires notice, namely that the Rânâs of Mewar were traditionally connected with the Sassanian kings of Persia. In support of the tradition Abul Fazl (A. D. 1590) says, that the Rânâs of Mewar consider themselves descendants of the Sassanian Naushirvan, (A. D. 531-579), and Col. Tod quotes fuller details from the Persian history Maaser-al-Umra. No evidence seems to support a direct connection with Naushirvan. At the same time marriage between the Valabhi chief and Maha Banu, the fugitive daughter of Yazdagard the last Sassanian is not impossible. The suggestion that the link may be Naushirvan's son Naushizad, who fled from his father in A. D. 570 receives support from the statement

of Procopius. According to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer, the fire symbols on Mewar coins betray a more direct Sassanian influence. (Tod's Annals I, 235; Bom. Gaz. I. pt. I. p. 102).

From this we would at least expect that the Parsis were on good terms with the kings of Mewar.

Correct Translation of Inscription.

For all the above reasons, we are convinced that the translation of the verse No. 20 referred to above is not satisfactory, or at any rate it is *vague*. The reason is not far to seek. The translator did not care to consider the surrounding circumstances.

In Sanskrit the instrumental* case, when it is not followed by some such words as समं, सह, &c. conveys two senses—namely "with" and "by" or "assisted by." The Râjâ did not fight the Parsis, but he fought (with the Mahomedans) "assisted by the Parsis." We therefore translate the verses Nos. 19 and 20 as under:—

"While great battles were being fought for the protection of the fort on the mount Chitrakuta, he Arisimha abandoned his life in a moment, but not the great fame acquired in the path of brave men. As this Arisimha who possessed a dauntless heart, fought a battle (assisted by) the Parsis at Chitrakuta and worshipped him (Shankara) with the numerous flowers of the lives of the enemies, he (Shankara) being fondly attached does not abandon his (Arisimha's) descendants."

The writer uses a highly poetic style. Shankara or Shiva is the third god of the Hindu trinity, who is entrusted with the work of destruction. Arisimha worshipped him not with ordinary flowers, but flowers in the shape of the lives of the enemies. The enemies have not been named, either because the writer wanted to show his contempt and hatred or because they were so well known at the time that it was not necessary to name them.* The Rânâ's bravery met with its proper reward, namely that his line did not become extinct.

Could Parasikas be Mahomedans?

As already stated, it is possible that the Sanskrit passage in question may be explained to mean, that the Parsis helped the Mohamedans against the Hindus. That the Parsis would help a cruel and lustful emperor like Ala-ud-din, who had a large army of his own, is simply inconceivable. They would be the last to prove faithless and treacherous to the kind Rânâs of Mewâr.

It would be ridiculous to urge that the word Pârasikas may have been used for the Mahomedans. The word has been used by the Sanskrit writers for *Parsis* only. For instance, in the sixteen Sanskrit Shlokas, we read about the Parasikas in several places:— गौराः धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः। "Those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant and very strong."

Also in the Ashtânga-yoga-hrdaya, we have just read:– संवत् १४८५ वर्षे माघवदि १ गुरावद्येह श्रीभृगुक्षेत्रे पारसीक-वंश प्रवीण-आध्यरु श्री अर्द्धशेर (र: ?) सुतस्या ध्यायनाय कल्पसिद्धिस्थानं अलीलिखत्।

"On Mâgha Vad 1st of the Samvat 1486 (A. D. 1430) on this day Thursday Ardeshir a well-versed priest in a Parasika family caused the book to be written for the study of

* The instrumental denotes the instrument by which a thing is accomplished. Here the Parsis were employed as an instrument for the fight. Compare Raghu Vamsa VII-59 for construction and meaning.

* Inscription No. VIII (dated A.D. 1440) of the Bhavnagar State Collection shows that Bhuvanasinha fought with Ala-ud-din and conquered him.

his son here in Bhrigu-Kshetra." (Report on the search of Sk. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during 1882-83 by R. G. Bhandarkar, pp. 35-36 and 221).

It will be noted that in the above passage the word पारसीक was used for the *Parsi* only about half a century before the date of the inscription.

Even in A. D. 1906 Ervad Sheheriarji Bharucha calls his "Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis" पारसीकधर्मादि-विषयक-संस्कृत-पुस्तक-संग्रह: Many more instances might be cited to show that the *Pârasikas* meant the *Parsis* and none else.*

Moreover in the inscriptions relating to the kings of Mewar, the word used for the Mahomedan enemies is *Turushkas* or Turks (See Bhavnagar State Inscriptions, pp. 94-107).

Parsis not on good terms with Mahomedans.

It is needless to say, that the Parsis of olden times were not on friendly terms with the Mahomedans. In the 12th century A. D. mention has been made of the Parsi and Musalman riots in Cambay. One of the Musalmans, whose faction was worsted made his way to Anhilvâda, and meeting the Châlukya king Sidhrâj Jaysing (A. D. 1094-1143), complained to him that the Parsis and Hindus had attacked the Musalmans, killed eighty of them, and destroyed their mosque and minaret. Subsequently the king heard enough to convince him, that the Musalmans had been badly used. He summoned to his capital Anhilvâda two leading men from each class of the people of Cambay, Brâhmans, Fire-worshippers and others (Jains) and ordered them to be punished. At the time he made over to the Musalmans money enough to rebuild their Mosque and towers. (Elliot's Hist. II, 162-164, Bom. Gaz. VI, 215).

* In the Pahlavi Text (Darakht-i-Asurik) the Pahlavi word *Parsik* is used for "Parsi" (See Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji's Pahlavi text, p. 111, line 1st, word 6th).

Parsis Spoken of Contemptuously by Amir Khusru.

The following passage from the poem Ashika of Amir Khusru is important, as showing that the Parsis were treated with contempt by the Mahomedan rulers of the time.

In his encomium on Hindustan, the poet says:—"From Gazni to the shore of the ocean you see all under the Dominion of Islâm. Cawing crows (crow-like Hindus) see no arrows pointed at them; nor is the *Tarsâ* (Christian) there, who does not fear (*taras*) to render the servant equal with God, nor the Jew who dares to exalt the Pentateuch to a level with the Korân; nor the *Magh* who is delighted with the worship of fire, but of whom the fire complains with its hundred tongues." (Elliot's Hist. III, p. 546).

As the writer of Bombay Gazetteer says, the above-said Maghs were the Parsis.* The above passage clearly shows that the Parsis were contemptuously treated by the Turks at the time. Evidently the poet wrote the passage, after all the nations had been reduced and made subject to the rule of Ala-ud-din. Supposing therefore that the Parsis helped Ala-ud din, we can hardly expect the poet who had accompanied Ala-ud-din at Chitor to speak about them in such contemptuous terms—namely that "the fire complained about the Parsis with its hundred tongues." (Elliot's Hist. III, p. 77 ff).

History of Mewar Kings and Conquest of Ala-ud-din.

The Annals and Antiquities of Râjasthân by Col. Tod contain a long account of the kings of Mewâr. The chapters IV to VI deal with the sovereigns from Bappa to Samarsi.

* Magh=Maghu, Mobed.

After Samarsi, Rahup * obtained Chitor in A. D. 1201. From Rahup to Lakumsi, in the short space of half a century, nine princes of Chitor were crowned. Lakumsi succeeded his father in A. D. 1275. Bhimsi was the uncle of the young prince and protector during his minority. He had married the beautiful and accomplished lady Padmani. Ala-ud-din heard about this beautiful princess and he determined to march an army against Chitor. In course of time the Afghans reached Chitor. The Rajputs locked themselves in their rocky fortress. For a long time the fortress was besieged, but all in vain. Ala-ud-din at last sent a message to Bhimsi, that if he would allow him to see the image of his wife in a mirror, he would be satisfied and go away. The Rajput could see no harm in this. Ala-ud-din, unarmed, entered the fortress and saw the image, as he had desired. Ala-ud-din had shown his confidence in the honour of the Rajputs by entering their fortress alone. Bhimsi, to show confidence in the honour of the Turks walked also unarmed into their camp. But the crafty Ala-ud-din had prepared an ambush for the Rajput prince. Bhimsi was seized and carried away. Ala-ud-din now offered to deliver their prince to the Rajputs, if they would deliver Pâdmani to him. Great was the rage of the Rajputs at this dishonourable act. Padmani was informed of this, and together they thought of a scheme. The princess sent word to Ala-ud-din that she would come to his camp, accompanied by all her handmaids in a manner befitting a princess. Ala-ud-din agreed to this, and no less than 700 palanquins were carried into the royal camp. One of them contained the queen, in the others were hidden bravest warriors of Chitor. Ala-ud-din had no intention of delivering up Bhimsi, but he was outwitted this time. No sooner was Bhimsi brought forward than the Rajputs leapt from the litters surrounded their prince and princess and cut their way in a body through the Turk warriors to their fortress. The siege was renewed by the Turks. Many brave Rajputs were slain, after making a havoc in Ala-ud-din's ranks. Ala-ud-din was defeated in his object and was obliged to desist from the enterprise for a short time. Having recruited his strength, he again attacked Chitor. The annals state this to have been in A. D. 1290, but Ferishta gives the date 13 years later. The Rânâ (Lakumsi) became anxious for the safety of his crown. During a night of watchful anxiety, he slept on his pallet, pondering on the means, by which he might preserve from the general destruction one at least of his twelve sons. A voice broke on his solitude exclaiming *myn bhooka ho* (I am hungry), and raising his eyes, he saw the majestic form of the guardian goddess of Chitor. "Not satiated," exclaimed the Rânâ, 'though eight thousand of my kin were late an offering to thee."? "I must have regal victims, and if twelve, who wear the diadem, bleed not for Chitor, the land will pass from the line." Thus said, she vanished. On the second day she appeared again and said "On each day enthrone a prince.....for three days, let his decrees be supreme. On the fourth day let him meet the foe and his fate. Then only may I remain." (Annals of Rajasthan I, 214-15, also Index). A general contention arose among the brave brothers, who should be the first victim to avert the denunciation. Ursi urged his priority of birth. He was proclaimed, the umbrella waved over his head, and on the fourth day, he surrendered his short-lived honours and his life. Ajeysi the next in birth demanded to follow, but he was the favourite son of his father and at his request he consented to let his brothers precede him. Eleven had fallen in turn, but one victim re-

* He changed the title of his family from the clan name of Gehlot to the Subdivisional name Sesodia (Gaz. India XIII, 403).

mained to the salvation of the city. A contest arose between the Rânâ and his surviving son, but the father prevailed, and Ajeysi in obedience to his commands, with a small band, passed through the enemy's lines and reached Kailwarra in safety. The queens, wives, daughters and the fair Padmani all immolated themselves in a funeral pyre. The Rânâ threw open the portals, and with a reckless despair carried death and met it in the crowded ranks of Ala-ud-din. Thus fell in A. D. 1303 this celebrated capital of Chitor in the conquest of Ala.....Guarded by faithful adherents Ajeysi cherished for future occasion, the wrecks of Mewar. It was the behest of his father, that after him the son of Ursi, the elder brother should succeed him. This injunction met a ready compliance. Hammir was the son destined to redeem Chitor. (Annals of Râjasthân, pp. 212-217).

Another Inscription.

Now turning to the Sanskrit inscriptions in the Bhavnagar collection we see that there is a complete geneology of the Mewâr kings in the inscription No. VIII of A. D, 1440. It mentions 41 kings, beginning with Bappa. Leaving the first 29 kings, it is seen that the 30th king was Tejasvi-simha, 31st Samarsimha, 32nd Bhuvanasimha, who is called श्रीअल्लावदीनसुरत्राणजैत्रबप्पवंश्य : (the descendant of Bappa and the conqueror of Shri Alla-ud-din Sultân), 33rd Jayasimha, 34th Lakshmasimha, 35th Ajayasimha, 36th his brother *Arisimha*, and 37th Hammir.

It will be seen that Bhuvanasimha was Bhimsi, since the name Bhuvanasimha would be contracted into *Bhûmsi* and then corrupted into *Bhimsi*. We have already seen that Ala-ud-din became unsuccessful in his first attack of Chitor, which was resisted by the Rajputs under Bhimsi. Arisimha was undoubtedly Ursi. In the inscription No. V, Samarsimha is said to have rescued the submerged *land of Gurjara from the ocean-like Turushkas or Turks*. From Tod's Annals we saw that Arisimha (Ursi) was the father of Hammir and brother of Ajeysi. It was he who "urged his priority of birth and was proclaimed king, and on the fourth day he surrendered his short-lived honours and his life," while fighting with Ala-ud-din's troops. The author of the inscription rightly says that "he possessed a dauntless heart," and that in the great battle of Chitor "he abandoned life in a moment, but not the great fame acquired in the path of brave men." It was this Arisimha or Ursi whom the Pârasikas assisted in the fight.

Campbell on the Battle fought by Parsis.

The fact that the Parsis helped the Hindus in the fight with Ala-ud-din has been long since pointed out by Sir James Campbell, but he too had not the battle of Chitor in his mind. He says :—"Dr. Wilson (B. B. R. A. S. I-182) suggested, that the Mahmud Shâh of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan was Mahmud Begda, who reigned in Gujarat from A. D. 1459 to 1513. The mention of Châmpâner as his capital makes it probable that the author of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan thought, that the Musalman prince was the well-known Mahmud Begda. But the completeness of Alp Khan's conquest of Gujarat leaves little doubt, that Sanjan fell to his arms. The conqueror might possibly, though much less likely, be Muhammad Shâh Tughlik, who reconquered Gujarat and the Thana coast in A. D. 1348. It cannot be Mahmud Begda, as authorities agree that after long wanderings, the Sanjan fire was brought to Nowsâri in the fifteenth century (1419). Alp Khân may be Ulugh Khân, brother to Ala-ud-din, who is sometimes by mistake called Alp Khân, or he may be Alp Khân brother-in-law to Ala-ud-din. Ulugh Khân conquered Gujarat (1295-1297) and Alp Khân governed Gujarat

(1300-1320). The Alp Khân of the text was probably Ulugh Khan. (Elliot III, 157-163). Neither Farishtah nor the Ferozshâhi has any reference to the Parsis. But Amir Khusru's (A. D. 1300) phrase "*The shores of the Gujarat sea were filled with the blood of the Gabrs*" (Elliot III 549) almost certainly refers to or at least includes Parsis, as he notices in another passage (Elliot III-546), that among those, who had become subject to Islam were the Maghs, who delighted in the worship of fire." (Bom. Gaz. Population, p. 187.)

Who were Gabrs?

Now the question is whether the Gabrs referred to above were Parsis. In Elliot's History of India Vol. III in the appendix, there is given an *abstract* of the poem named Asika of Amir Khusru. It is a kind of epic or historical poem, having for its main subject the loves of Dewal Râni, daughter of the Rai of Gujarat and Khizar Khan, eldest son of Sultan Ala-ud-din. Under the heading "Conquest of Gujarat, Chitor, Mâlwa, Siwana" we read as under :—

"The poet passes to the conquest of Ala-ud-din in Hindustan. Ulugh Khân sent against the Rai of Gujarat 'where the shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of Gabrs.' The conquest of Somnath, Jhain and Ranthambor whose ruler was Pithu Râi. This fort was two weeks' journey distant from Delhi and its walls extended for three *parasangs*. Terrible stones were sent against them with such force, that the battlements were levelled with the dust. So many stones were thrown, pile upon pile, that it would have taken thirty years to clear the road to one of the gates. The king took the Fort in one month, and made it over to Ulugh Khân. The conquest of Chitor, which was named Khizrâbâd after Khizr Khan (is then referred to).....After that the king's attention was directed towards the South."

Further up under the heading "the conquest of Telingava, Mabar, Fatan" we read :— "There was another *rai* in those parts.....named Pandyâ Guru.....His capital was Fatan, where there was a temple with an idol in it laden with jewels. He had many troops and ships; and Mussalmans and Hindus were in his service.....The rai, when the army of the Sultan arrived at Fatan, fled away.....The Mussalmans in his service sought protection from the king's army.....They then struck the idol with an iron hatchet and opened its head. Although it was the very *kibla* of the *accursed Gabrs*, it kissed the earth and filled the holy treasury. (Eliot's Hist. III, pp. 549-551).

It will be clearly seen that the word Gabrs* is used for the Hindus in the last passage. Besides we see that the conquest of Gujarat took place in A. D. 1297, that of Rutunbhore in A. D. 1299, whereas the battle of Chitor was fought in A. D. 1303 (Brigg's Hist. I, pp. 327, 337, 353-4). Therefore the Parsis who fought for the Rânâ of Chitor could not be the Gabrs referred to by Amir Khusru.

We must also bear in mind that Ala-ud-din sent Alp Khan (his brother) to conquer Gujarat and also Rutunbhore; but he himself marched towards Chitor, which was reduced after a siege of six months (Brigg's Hist. I, pp. 327, 337, 353).

Mahmud Begda Fought at Barot.

From the accounts given in the Tarikh-i-Ferista, Tabakat-i-Akbari, Tarikh-i-Alfi and Mirat-i-Sikandari, our learned friend Prof. Hodivala has pointed out, that in A. H. 869 (A. D. 1465) Sultan Mahomed Begda fought a battle with a Hindu râjâ at Bârad or Bârot Hill, other-

* Cf :—Sutal Deo, a Gabr was the râjâ of Siwana, near Delhi. Gabrs were worshippers of stones and stone cows (Elliot III, pp. 78, 83, 511).

wise known as Sanjan Peak or St. John's Point, situated about fourteen miles South of Sanjan. He has also shown, that the expedition against Sanjan must have taken place before A. D. 1478, since no notice is taken of the Parsis of Sanjan in Nariman Hoshang's two Revayats, the first of which was written in A. D. 1478, and that therefore the Parsis of Sanjan were driven from their homes before that date. * As he observes, this last point goes decidedly against Dr. Jivanji Modi's surmise of the battle having been fought in A. D. 1490.

Are we then to understand that the battle of Bârot was the battle referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan? All the historical accounts agree in stating, that after reducing the fortress, the Sultan restored the country to the Râjâ on receipt of tribute. The Râjâ was thus alive after the battle, whereas according to the Kisseh he was killed. Prof. Hodivala had also seen the difficulty and was therefore constrained to remark as under:—"We must suppose the râjâ of Bârot to have been a different person altogether from the chief of Sanjan; for, the Kisseh represents the latter to have been slain in the last day's battle." This is, we submit, an unwarrantable supposition. We think, that the fact of the râjâ being killed in the battle and the fact of the Parsis having fought for him are the essential parts of the story, and any account which fails or omits to take notice of these points must be condemned as irrelevant. We are therefore compelled to think, that the theory of Mahomed Begda having fought with the Parsis at Sanjan must be abandoned.

Conclusion.

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan states that the general of the Sultan, who fought with the Parsis was named Alp Khan. Men of that name served as generals in the armies both of Mahomed Begda and Ala-ud-din Khilji, but no specific mention is to be found in the accounts of the battle of Bârot or of the battle of Chitor, we have referred to. It appears, that facts belonging to different conditions of things are jumbled together by the writer of the Kisseh. He is quite correct when he says, that Mahmud Sultan or rather Muhammad Sultan fought a battle with the Parsis, who helped the Hindu râjâ, and that the latter was killed in the fight; but he has wrongly located the battle at Sanjan, wrongly hinted that this Mahomed was the victor of Châmpâner and wrongly supposed that the Sultan's general took an active part in the battle. We fully concur with Prof. Hodivala, who says:—"Nothing, indeed, can be a greater error than to suppose that Bahman was a great poet, a serious historian or a man of multifarious and accurate scholarship. At the same time, he was not an ordinary man. He belonged to a family possessing remarkable literary aptitudes.....and it would be folly to suppose, that all his statements are unworthy of credit. But it must be also recognised that he is occasionally out of his depth."

* See Bom. Gaz. Pt. II, p. 189.

CHAPTER No. 9.

DATE OF THE 16 SANSKRIT SHLOKAS.

Passages in the Sanskrit Shlokas referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan.

The writer of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan had evidently knowledge of the contents of the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas, * supposed to have been recited before the king Jadi Rana by the Parsi refugees from Iran. Whether he knew Sanskrit or whether he relied upon a translation while giving a summary of some Shlokas, we do not know. But we are inclined to think that he had a smattering of Sanskrit. The Shlokas referred to are found in the Couplets No. 165 and 168 to 181 of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. We shall see what passages of the Shlokas are referred to:—

Yakin dâni ke mâ Yazdân-parastim.

"Know for certain that we are worshippers of Yazdan." This is taken from *the Shloka No.* 1 श्री होर्मिज्दं सुरेशं (or महेशं) ध्यायंति ये वै "Who (that is to say) the Parsis—worship Ahuramazda the lord of the Angels (or the Great Lord)".

Couplets Nos. 168-169:—

. . . . . .

Adab dârim az mahtâb o khurshid;
Sedigar gâo râ bâ âb o âtash,
Niku midârimash az har sefâtash.

"We revere the Moon and the Sun, thirdly we esteem the cow, water and fire on account of their good qualities."

The fact that the Parsis revered the Sun, fire and water is referred to in the Shlokas No. I and XII; reverence to the moon is referred to in the Shlokas No. XI and XII, and that to the cow in Shloka No. II, The phrase "on account of their good qualities" is important. It is an effort to translate बहुगुणगरिमाणं in Shloka No. 1, on the part of Bahman, the writer of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan wrongly taking it as an adjunct of सूर्यम्, हुतवहं and तोयं each one separately. As a matter of fact the phrase is an adjunct of Hormazd.

Couplet No. 170:—

Parastesh mikunim az âtash o âb,
Hamân az gâo o az khurshid o mahtâb.

"We worship fire and water, also the cow, the Sun and the Moon." We might well ask why the worship of the fire, water &c. has been referred to once again. The reason is that the worship of the sun, moon, fire and water is, as seen above, referred to in two places in the Shlokas. The reverence to the cow is referred to in one place only; although it is indirectly referred to in Shloka No. XIV in which there is the expression पशुममि सहसा हन्ति. The commentator takes पशु to mean " धेनु (cow), वृषभ (ox) &c."

Couplet No. 171:—

Khudâ dar dehad har chiz âfridast,
Nemâzash mi barim u khud guzidast.

"Whatever God has created in the world, we pray to since He Himself has approved of it." Besides fire, water, cow, sun and moon, the Shloka No. I mentions wind, earth and sky, which are referred to in the passage: "Whatever God has created in the world" by the author of the Kisseh. The expression "since He Himsself has approved of it" is, we think, an attempt to translate the words तमेकं कृपालुं in Shloka No. I.

Couplet No. 172:—

Hamân kusti mâ haftâd o du târ,
Ba-bandim o bakhwâbim bâdil abrâr.

"This kusti of ours, with 72 threads, we bind and we sleep with a pure heart." The first half of the couplet corresponds with धनगुणरचितां मेखलां धारयन्ति in Shloka XIII: "Who

* These Shlokas have been edited by us in Rustom Paymaster's Kisseh-i-Sanjan and also in Dastur Hoshang Memorial Voiume.

put on the sacred girdle, which is made of many threads." The second half of the verse has its original in the Shloka VII, where we read मुद्राबाह्यं न निद्रा जपनवमनसा "without the girdle there is no sleep with fresh mind —in other words, with the girdle there is sleep with pure mind." Bahman the author of the Kisseh has omitted the translation of the word जप.

Couplets Nos. 173-174 :—

Zanânhâi ke dar dashtân nashinand,
BaKhurshid o samâ o meh na binand.
Ham az âb o ham az âtash bud dur,
Azirâkân bud az khwastah nur.

"The women, who sit (apart) in monthly course, do not look to the sun, the sky and the moon. They keep at a distance from water and fire, since these things are of the essence of light." In Shloka No. XI Bahman seems to have read about women giving birth to children thus:— ध्यायन्ते नैव नित्यं मरुदनलधरातोयचंद्रार्कयज्दान्। येषां वर्णो न हीनः। And he takes this passage in connection with ऋतुसमयदिनाः in verse No. IX. Taking ध्यै in the sense of "seeing" and मरुत् to mean "windy sky," Bahman tries to render the passage as under :— "Women in monthly course do not see the sky, fire, earth (this word is omitted), water, the moon, and the sun " &c. येषां वर्णो न हीन : is taken with चंद्रार्कयज्दान् through misapprehension and is rendered thus :— " Whose वर्ण (colour, *that is* light) is not inferior." This is the reading of P. S.,* which may well be supposed to have been consulted by the author of the Kisseh.

Couplet No. 175 :—

Za har chiz mikunand parhiz bisiyâr,
Ba ruz rushna o andar shab târ.

They carefully abstain from all things, during the light of day-time and the darkness of night." Here Bahman endeavours to translate the two words सततं अभियता : taking them with the women above-mentioned. (See Shloka No. XI). The words are taken to mean :— " They are always (*i. e.* day and night) under restraint."

Couplet No, 176 :—

Nashinad tâ ke zu dashtân shud dur,
Chu shuyad sar ba-binad âtash o hur.

" So long as the menses disappear they sit (apart) and when they wash their heads, they see fire and the sun." This couplet has been prepared from the following Sanskrit passages :—

(1) स्वपिति महिधराशय्यहो पुष्पनारी

(Shloka No. X.) " *The woman in menses sits apart on the earth.*"

(2) जपविधिनिरता स्नानसूर्यार्चनेषु

(Shloka XI). " Who are engaged in silent prayers while worshipping *the sun* after ablution."

(3) अग्निश्चिन्त्यः (Shloka X) "Fire is to be worshipped." This last expression in Shloka No. X is torn from its context and applied to the women in menses. As a matter of fact, it is meant to be applicable to men.

Couplets Nos. 177-178 :—

Digar ân zan ke u farzand zâyad,
Chehal ruzash hami parhiz bâyad.
Chunân parhiz shâyad chun ke dâshtan.
Na parhiz shâyad khwâr hastân.

"Again the woman who begets a child must remain apart for 40 days. She must abstain herself just as when she was in menses; if she does not do so, the things (she touches) become polluted." These couplets are the translation of the first two lines of Shloka No. IX, येषामेवांगना या ऋतुसमयदिना : ..... पूताः सूताश्च मासे प्रसवनसमयाद् देहशुद्धास्तथैव ।

In this Shloka there are two statements, one as regards women in menses and another regarding women who give delivery. Bahman omits the words सप्तरात्रौ भवेयु : and puts in some such word as इव after

* Pârsi Smriti. This was an old and important manuscript.

ऋतुसमयदिना: ..... He translates the Sanskrit passage thus:—"Their women who beget children become pure after a month from the time of delivery; they (sit apart) like women who are in menses; they thus become pure in body." Aspandiarji, Drummond and all Gujarati translators assume that females become pure after 40 days after delivery. That seems to be the old custom as we read in the Shloka XI, but the Sanskrit text here speaks of one month only.

Couplets No. 179-181:—

Za zan farzand andak mi ke àyad,
Az ân farzand ku murdah ba-zàyad,
Na har jâi ravad yà u batàzad,
Abà kas gofto gui ham na sâzad,
Hamân zan nizbâ parhiz bisiyàr
Chel digar ruz nashinad darinkàr.

"The woman who gives premature birth or birth to a still-born child, cannot go or run about where she likes. She even cannot converse with any person. That woman with great abstinence sits apart for 41 days." * The text for these three couplets is to be found in Shloka XI, चत्वारिंशद्दिनानि प्रचरति न वधु : ..... प्रसूता । मौनाढ्या स्वल्पनिद्रा ।

"The woman who has given birth to a child does not move about for 40 days. She observes silence, and sleeps little." In couplets Nos. 177-178 Bahman saw an allusion to women giving child-birth. He therefore thought that the Shloka No. XI related to women who gave premature birth or birth to a still-born child. This is not warranted by the Sanskrit text. We are at a loss to understand why (if our translation be correct) Bahman gives the period as consisting of 41 days instead of 40, as in almost all the manuscripts. In one MS. belonging to Ervad Tehmurasp Anklesaria, we read चत्वारिसप्तदिनानि which might mean four weeks. Ervad Jamshed Maneckji Rustomji in his Gujarati translation dated Samvat 1874 rendered the expression thus:— ચિઆર દહાડાની સાત દહાડાની રતુવંતી હોય.

Evidently his MS. also read चत्वारिसप्त दिनानि. He would not take प्रसूता with वधु:, supposing वधु to mean पुष्पनारी and taking प्रसूता with the second line.

It will be seen that Bahman has in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan translated passages and expressions from Sanskrit Shlokas Nos. I, II, VII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. The contents of the remaining Shlokas have been summarised in the Couplet No. 182 thus:—

O digar har che rasma o ràh budah,
Hami dar pish u yak yak namudah.

"And whatever other customs and rules they had were all described to him one after another."

Raja grants permission to land.

The 16th Shloka, as given in P.S., runs thus:—

श्री होर्मज्दज्यमुख्य सकलविजयकृत् पुत्रपौत्रेषु वृद्धिदाता व: पातु सोऽयं बहुधनकृद् नाशयेत् पातकं च ।

આ આશીર્વાદ સાંભળી રાજાએ કહેલો શ્લોક

ये यूयं पारसीका : सततविजयिन : श्रीजयैश्वर्यवन्त : । आगच्छन्तु प्रकामं बहुबलनिलया : प्राप्नुवन्तु प्रवृद्धिम् ॥

"May Hormuzd, the chief of the gods, the giver of victory and the giver of great wealth and the giver of prosperity to children and grandchildren protect thee, and destroy sins." Hearing this benediction the Râjâ said:—"May you, who are Parsis, who are ever victorious, who are possessed of victory and power, and who carry much strength come at pleasure, and obtain prosperity." The contents of this Shloka may be compared with the Couplets Nos. 141

* Might mean "for another 40 days," but we do not find anything in Sanskrit bearing this sense.

and 185 in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, where we read:—

Duàyash kard o goft ay râe râyân.

. . . . . .

Hamàn hukma karda àn niku ràya,
Ke dar mulk marâ sâzid mâwâya,

"He (the Dastur) gave him benediction and said O king of kings..... The very moment the good Raja ordered them to take their residence in his kingdom."

Five Conditions Imposed by the Raja.

It is stated in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan that before allowing the Parsi refugees to land, the Raja wanted to know whether they would accept the following five conditions, namely:—(1) that they should give him some information about their religion, (2) that they must give up the language of Iran and speak the language of India, (3) that their women must put on clothes like Hindu women, (4) that they must lay aside weapons and swords and (5) that good works such as marriages should be performed in the evening. * Bahman tells us that the Parsis accepted all these conditions.

Now the question is where did Bahman get all this information from. We do not know whether the Sanskrit Shlokas were actually recited before the Raja. It seems highly probable that an account of the religion and customs was given to the Raja at his request, and that later on when the Parsis acquired good command over the Sanskrit language, the account was versified. It may be that the Raja imposed the condition that the Parsis should in political and other matters use the Hindu language. But what shall we say about the condition that the Parsis should give up their language of Iran? Also if the females were made to put on clothes like Hindu women, we might well ask why the males were not put under similar compulsion. Our opinion is that either Bahman or some one before him in comparatively recent times, looking to the then customs of the Parsis was, on the strength of certain passages in the Sanskrit Shlokas, led to put forward the theory that the Parsis who revered their old customs, could only have been compelled by the Raja to accept Hindu customs. That some Parsis knew Sanskrit pretty well in the time of Nerioshang follows from the fact that his translation was made in the Sanskrit language for pupils, non-pupils and others.* The knowledge of Pahlavi and Pazand gradually disappeared and their place was taken up by Sanskrit, which was the common language, and learned Mobeds may well have tried to hide their ignorance of their religious tongues under the pretext that the Raja compelled them to give up Iranian languages. The second line of the 4th Shloka is thus read in P. S.—
श्रीगंधाढ्यं सुगंधं वपुषि युवतयो धारयन्तीह येषां
"Whose females apply to their bodies सुगंध &c."

Now turning to the other MSS. we find that the ladies are said to have "*put on*" चंदनाद्यम् (sandal and other things). The question as to what आद्यम् could be, was not difficult to answer; it was meant for "fragrant substances." But it seems, that some one seeing that the dress of our females was adopted from the Hindus started the theory that the Parsi ladies were compelled to dress like Hindu females by the king Jâdi Rânâ.

* See Couplets Nos. 158-160.

* In his introduction to the translation of Ijashne for instance Nerioshang says:—
इदं इजिस्निजंदपुस्तकं मया निरिओसंघेन धवलसुतेन पहलवीजंदात् संस्कृतभाषायां अवतारितं सुखप्रबोधाय उत्तमानां शिष्याशिष्याणां श्रोतृणा (श्रोत्रियाणां)।
"I, Nerioshang Dhaval, have translated this book of Ijashne-zand from Pahlavi-zand into Sanskrit language for being easily understood by good pupils, non-pupils, and learners (priests)."

In Shloka III we read :—

रम्यं वस्त्रं पवित्रं कवचगुणमयं कुंचुकं ये धरन्ते *

"Who put on a clean sacred garment (Sudreh) which has the quality of a coat-of-mail." The comparison of the Sudreh with a coat-of-mail may have induced some one to believe that at the time when the Shlokas were written, armoured dress had disappeared from among the Parsis, and that the Sudreh was the only dress, which reminded one of their war-like habits. Now the Parsis were a military nation when they landed in India. Therefore it was concluded that they must have been compelled to lay aside arms by the Raja.

In Shloka IV we read :—

यन्मांगल्ये विवाहे कथितशुभदिने सुस्वरं गीत-वाद्यम् ।

" Melodious songs are sung and music is played at auspicious marriage ceremonies on auspicious days mentioned (to them). " कथितशुभदिने means "on auspicious days mentioned" of course, by mobeds, astrologers and others but some one took कथित to mean "as *ordered* by the king," and seeing the custom of the performance of marriage ceremony in the evening he started the theory that it was under compulsion from the Raja that the custom was adopted by the Parsis.

Thus then in our opinion an explanation of the five conditions, which were alleged to have been imposed by the Hindu king, is found in the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas themselves. It seems to us that the tradition in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan about our arrival to India, was based on these Shlokas and the inscription of the Châlukya king Vinayâditya (A. D. 697).

Date of the Shlokas.

It is not known when the Sanskrit Shlokas were written. There are however a few points, which help us to determine the date approximately. We have no doubt whatever that these Shlokas must have been written by some learned Parsi, since a Hindu could hardly be expected to use such technical words as Hormazd, Yazads, Kusti, Atash, and Nyâsa,* and such Pahlavi words as पुल *puhal*, विदीना (*Veh dinân*)† &c.

That these Shlokas existed in the time of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan (A. D. 1600) is quite certain, since Bahman has, as we have already seen, given a summary of some of the important Shlokas. The date can be pushed back to A. D. 1567 when Chândâ-Prakasha was written. This book was composed in Sanskrit verses by a Mobed named Chândâ on the question of intercalation. After referring to the ceremonies to be performed in the intercalary month, the author mentions the things to be given to learned Mobeds in charity. The Shloka No. 17 in his book runs somewhat incorrectly thus :—

खाद्यं मिष्टान्नदानं ददतु गुणवतां सर्वदा पंडितानाम् । प्रथ्वीवस्त्र च कांचनगोहययुतं मेष वर्षे षुदानं । उर्णी कुस्तीषुकंचूकं वर-फलवहुलं मद्यदुग्धंच रौप्पीयं । घटाषुपात्र मुक्तावलिसहीतं द्रव्यदानं च नित्यं ॥

"Sweet food and eatables should always be given to learned persons, also land, cloth, gold, cow, horse and other gifts in the (intercalary) year—also woollen Kusti and good Sudreh which has a great merit; also wine, milk and rupees. Money should always be given with rows of pearls, given in good vessels and jars."

The writer of this Shloka has evidently borrowed some of the phrases and expressions from the Sanskrit Shlokas Nos. V and III. The first line of the above Shloka may be compared with मधुरसमयं चान्नदानादि नित्यं.....वस्त्राद्यं द्रव्यदानं ददति गुणवतां सर्वदा याचकानाम्

* See also Shloka XIII.

* See Shlokas I, XI, III, XVI, XII.

† Shlokas V, XI.

in Shloka V. The words उर्णा कुस्तीम् and कचुकं are met with in Shloka III. The expression वरफलबहुल is the same as in Shloka II. Even the very metre appears to be the same as that of the Shlokas, namely *Sragdharâ*.

The Chândâ-Prakâsha enables us to see that Parsi scholars of the time had very imperfect acquaintance with the Sanskrit language. The Sanskrit kolophon of Meherbân Kaikhusru dated Samvat 1378 also shows that the then Parsis could not write good Sanskrit. * It seems almost certain that since the time of Nerioshang a decay or deterioration had set in, which grew worse and worse in course of time. On the other hand the perfect metre, felicitous expressions and well-arranged compounds in the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas leave no doubt in our mind that they must have been composed in the time of Nerioshang or even earlier.

Was Nerioshang Dhaval the Writer of the Shlokas?

It is not difficult to see that the Sanskrit Shlokas were meant to explain our religious matters clearly to the Hindu Râjâ, or at any rate to the Hindu people. This is proved by such expressions as जान्हवीस्नानतुल्यां (Shloka XIII), अहिमुखसमतावंधनां (Shloka III.) and नागाकारां (Shloka XIII) as applied to our *Kusti*. In the Hindu scriptures Agni is called देवानां मुखं (mouth of gods); similarly in Shloka XVI Atash is called होर्मज्दमुखं (mouth of Hormazd). The Muktâd days are spoken of as श्राद्धकाल in Shloka X. Offering of dry Sandalwood to fire is spoken of as होम in Shloka VIII. Now so far as we know, Nerioshang Dhaval never wrote for the Hindu people. Therefore he could not have been the author of the Shlokas. There are two other cogent reasons for arriving at the same conclussion.

The doctrine of dualism is referred to in Shloka VI, and the two spirits are spoken of as सृष्टिसंहारकारौ निरवधिपुरुषौ "the two limitless beings, the creator and the destroyer." In Nerioshang's translation of the Yasna XXX-3 the two spirits are said to be Hormuzd and Ahriman. This shows that the writer of the Shlokas must be different from Nerioshang.

Nerioshang always translates the Avesta word *Fravashi* (Pahlvi *Farohar*) by वृद्धि. * But in Shloka X, the word used is पितृ, which shows that the writer could not be Nerioshang and that he selected this technical word, so that it may be easily understood by the Hindus.

Date Determined Approximately.

P. S. seems to be a very old manuscript, since it is the only manuscript, which contains a reference to the "worship of the cow" and as the Kisseh-i-Sanjan also refers to "cow-worship," it is reasonable to assume that Bahman had P. S. before him. Now in P. S. the expression देवपूजादि-कार्यं occurs in Shloka VII, where the word देव is used in a good sense. Turning to Nerioshang's translation, we find that the Avestan word *daeva* is not translated by him anywhere but is transcribed as देव in the sense of a "demon." In the Sanskrit Ashirwâda in the manuscript H1 belonging to the late Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji of Poona, (dated Samvat 1471=A. D. 1415), the word *daeva* (देव) is rendered as दैत्य (demon) ; and the word has continued to bear this meaning down to our own time.

* It is true that a manuscript of a medical book was caused to be transcribed in Samvat 1486 (A. D. 1430) at Broach by Ardeshir, who was a learned Andhiaru, for his son to study. (See Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on Sk. MSS. 1882-83). But we do not know whether this medical student could write good Sanskrit.

* See Ervad Sheheriarji Bharucha's Collected Sk. Writings II, Note 98.

Accordingly we think that the word देव ceased to be used in a good sense (namely, for "a good god") from the time of Nerioshang at least. We are therefore inclined to place the date of the Shlokas before Nerioshang's time.

The expression धीरा: (bold), सुवीरा: (great warriors), and बहुबलनिलया: (possessed of great strength), all show, in our opinion, that the martial spirit was still alive. The expression प्रगदितमहिमा: (in Shloka XV) shows that the glory of the Parsis was the subject of talk at the time. These expressions and the last Shloka, in which according to P. S. the king grants permission to the Parsis "to come and live in prosperity" (आगच्छन्तु प्रकामं प्राप्नुवन्तु प्रवृद्धिम्) prove that the Shlokas must have been composed some centuries before the time of Nerioshang.

The word गौर is usually taken to mean "*white*." That sense would hardly be in keeping with the words धीरा: सुवीरा: &c. Could it be that that word was meant for the people known as *Gauras or Gabras*,—a name which came to be used in a bad sense in later times? In our opinion this word *Gabra* was connected with* the name of the Gaobârâh Sepehbads, whose dynasty ended with the Sepehbud Khorshed in the reign of Khalif Mancur (A. D. 754-775.) If the warlike spirit had not disappeared, the Shlokas may be supposed to have been composed shortly after our arrival in India. But there are other considerations.

It is stated in verse No. XIV that if an animal was killed by any one even accidentally, he had to drink पंचगव्य. This surely was a Hindu custom; and we may well suppose that between the time of our arrival and the adoption of this custom, about a couple of centuries may have passed. Since the Shlokas were in our opinion written before the time of Nerioshang, we think that in view of the above Hindu custom, which had most probably disappeared in the time of the Revayats, and in view of the fact that foreigners like the Parsis would require at least a couple of centuries to get complete mastery over such a difficult language as Sanskrit, the date of the composition of the Shlokas may be placed somewhere near 900 or 1000 A. D.

* Gaobar=Gav-bar=Gab-bar=Gabar.

CHAPTER No. 10.

THE MAGAS OR THE SO-CALLED MAGUS IN THE BHAVISHYA PURANA.

Story of Samba.

Some scholars have relied upon certain passages in the Bhavishya Purâna to show that the Magas or "silent worshippers of the Sun from Sāka-dwipa," were "the fire-worshippers of Iran residing in India." With a view to see clearly what the customs and practices of these so-called Indian Parsi priests were, it is necessary to give a literal translation of some of the chapters dealing with the Magas in the Bhavishya Purâna.

By way of introduction we shall first give a very brief summary of the story of the Magas, as related by Dr. Wilson:—Sâmba, the son of Krishna, who was a prince, became leprous through the imprecation of the irascible sage Durvâsas, whom he had offended. Despairing of a cure by human skill, he went from Dwârkâ, and having crossed the river Chandrabhâgâ (Chinâb) went to Mitravana, where by fasting and prayer, he acquired the Sun-god's favour and was cured of his disease. Out of gratitude, he built a temple of the Sun. Sâmba wished to keep Brâhmans for performing rites and for receiving the donations he would make in honour of the Sun; but he was told, that according to the Hindu religion, the Brâhman who performed idol worship as a source of emolument was to be condemned. He was therefore asked to go to Gauramukha, the Purohita to Ugrasena, king of Mathurâ, who would tell him about the priests he wanted to employ. Sâmba was then told to go to Sâka-dwipa to bring the Magas.*

* As the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says, tales were invented to explain the admission of the Magas into Brahmanism (Bom. Gaz. IX, p. 439-440).

Then Dr. Wilson gives details of the customs and religious practices of the Magas, and concludes "these details are more than enough to establish the fact, that the Bhavishya Purâna intends by the Magas, the Mughs of the Persians, the Magi of Greeks and the Parsees of India."

Samba becomes leprous. (Brahma Parva, Chapter 66).

Sâmba says to Vashishta:—'The irascible sage Durvâsas was laughed at by me through intoxication; then I acquired great leprosy through his imprecation (शाप) (§ 30.) Afterwards I, who was stricken with the disease of leprosy, went to (my) father, and with shame spoke these words very arrogantly (§31):—"O father, my body burns, my voice falters, the great disease of terrible form kills my body (§ 32). I, who am wholly distressed, am suffering on account of a cruel act; pacification is not likely to be attained by me through physicians or drugs. Therefore I (who am) such, wish to give up my life with your permission. If I am to be favoured (=kindly) grant me permission". (§§ 33-34). The father, who was told thus, became afflicted with the sorrow of the son. He then thought for a moment, and spoke thus to him (§ 38):— "O son, take courage: do not let (your) mind be sorrowful; (for), a disease kills a sad person, just as (= as easily as) wind (blows away) dry grass-(§ 36). O son, be devoted to the worship of the gods, do not be sad" (§ 37).

* * *

Note:—Sâmba is then asked to worship the Sun. Leaving several Chapters we read as under.

* * *

Samba is cured of leprosy —Brahma Parva, Chapter 127.

Sâmba says:—"O sire, I am going to the forest; you should give me permission (§ 5). (Then) he, who was given permission by Krishna, went from the northern shore of the Indus, and crossed the great river Chandrabhâgâ (= Chinab) (§ 6). Then having gone to Mitravana, the *Tirtha* which was well known in all the three worlds, and having observed a fast (there) Sâmba muttered a secret incantation and worshipped the Sun (§§ 7-8),

[Having prayed to the Sun, he asked the following boon].

"May the impurity, which is located in my body be destroyed by thy favour, so that, O Sun, the whole of my body may be clean." The Sun said, "very well"; (then) Sâmba did cast away that disease from (his) body, just as a snake casts off skin (§ § 27-28). Then he became beautiful again with a divine appearance, and bowing to the god with his head, he stood before him (§ 29). The Sun said, "Hear again, O Sâmba! I am pleased, and I say to you, O devoted one, that from to-day people (will be) faithful to those, who erect holy shrines (connected) with thy name for me in this world. Place me (in a shrine) on this auspicious bank of the Chandrabhâgâ (river), O Sâmba; by thy name this city will be very famous...." .....

Samba acquires Sun's idol--Brahma Parva, Chapter 129.

Then Sâmba, accompanied by other men practising penance, went to the river Chandrabhâgâ, at not a very great distance (from it), for placing (the idol of the Sun in a shrine). (§ 2). Having called to mind the round form of the Sun, he daily took a bath with devotion, and while bathing, he contemplated over the form (of the image), he should put up. Having taken a bath, (one day) he suddenly saw in front of him, the shining image of the Sun, being carried by the waves of water (§ § 3-4). Having taken it out, he placed it in that region of Mitravana (§ 5). Sâmba, having placed the idol of that great Sun in the world, and having established the Sun god (मित्रं) in that beautiful Mitravana with devotion, asked that very image of the Sun with a bow, "O Lord, who created this thy image, which is beautiful?" (§ § 6-8). The image said to him, "Hear, O Sâmba, I will tell you, who created this worldy form of mine. Formerly my form was enveloped with great lustre, and it was unbearable for any creature. I was therefore requested by the gods, thus:— "May thy form be one, which will be bearable by all the creatures." Then I ordered Vishva-Karmâ, whose austerities were great, thus:— "Having pacified (= lessened the effect of) the lustre, change my form (§ § 9-11). Afterwards He by my order having gone to Sâka-dwipa changed my form (§ 12). Then having formed me on the Himâlaya Mountain, which is inhabited by Sidhhas (= inspired sages), he caused me to be brought down for thy sake to the Chandrabhâgâ" (§ 14).

Samba asks Narada about temple—Brahma Parva, Chapter 130.

Then Sâmba goes to Nârada and asks: "How is the temple to be made and in what region, O best of Brâhmans; what (kind of) temple is enjoined to be made, O twice-born, for the god of gods"(§ 7).

Having heard Nârad's reply, Sâmba says:—

"In that region, the best *temple* of the Sun shall be made" (तस्मिन् प्रदेशे वै कार्यम् भानोर्मन्दिरम् उत्तमम्) (§ 40.)

Magas, Zarthushtra, Padan Avyanga—Brahma Parva, Chapter 139.

Sâmba says to Nârada:—"Through your favour I obtained this my original appearance, and also (got) personal audience with the great Sun. Having got all this, my mind is again overpowered by anxiety, as to who will do the continuation (*lit.* the keeping up) of the Sun's worship. O Brahmana, you should in order to oblige me, tell (me) about the twice-born, possessed of virtues, and able to continue (the worship)." Thus spoken to by Sâmba, Nârada returned him answer:—"The Brâhmans do not accept money offered to the Devas. Wealth remains (behind) in this world. (Therefore) virtue is to be obtained; the ceremony which is done for money obtained through worship of a god is not holy. Those Brâhmans, who disregarding (this rule), do the ceremony overcome by greed are low Brâhmans in this world, and are unfit to sit in the same row with caste-people(अपांकतेयः). That man of wicked soul, who lives through avarice on god's wealth or Brâhman's riches, lives on the leavings of a vulture's food. Therefore no Brâhman should do the service of god (for money) (§§ 1–7). The god (Sun) only will be able to tell you about the man, who knows the ceremony, who is learned and who is fit to do the service ; therefore go to him for assistance. Or O Lion of the Yadus, go to Gauramukha, the family priest of Ugrasena, and ask him. He will fulfil your desire" (§§ 8–9). Thus spoken to by Nârada, Sâmba, the son of Jâmbavati, having gone to the Brâhman Gauramukha, who had finished his religious duties of the forenoon, spoke these words with modesty:—"By the favour of the Sun, I have made a large house (विपुलं गृहं) (§§ 10–12)... I have furnished it with everything and have placed the idol; therefore I wish to give donations, which I am thinking of, to worthy persons. O great sage, accept all (I want to give you), if you love me." Hearing these words of Sâmba the great sage replied (§§ 13–14).

* * *

Note:—The reply is given at great length, but the purport is that, a Brâhman should not accept any donation, nor should a king give anything to a Brâhman for the service of god.

* * *

Sâmba said:—"If the Brâhmans are not to accept (the donation), to whom shall I give it ; you should tell me what you may have heard or seen" (§ 27). Gauramukha replied:—"O king, hand over this city to *Maga* ; his is the right to the grains offered to the gods" (§ 28). Sâmba said:— "what have you been told about this *Maga*, in what place does he stay, whose son is he, O best of Brâhmans, what is his appearance like"? (§ 29). Gauramukha replied, "he who is spoken of as Maga, is a divine excellent Brâhman ; he is the son of the Sun (§ 3). O Yâdava, the goddess Nikshubhâ, who is worshipped by the people, having been cursed, acquired human form and came to this world from the Sun (world). Her family (गोत्र) was known as *Mihira* ; it possessed the best quality of Brâhmanhood. There was formerly a pious son of a Rishi, named Sujihva; to him a daughter was born named Nikshubhâ. That good dame was matchless in form, and was considered most beautiful in the world (§ § 31-34). By her father's orders, that girl was thrown into fire (§ 35).

While she was being thrown into fire according to law, the Sun, the god of gods, saw her. Then that Lord of the gods became fascinated by her, who was endowed with beauty and youth, and thought (thus):— "How shall I marry her. This fire, which is worshipped by the gods, has been kicked by her. Having entered the forest, I shall marry that thin-bodied one, who is worshipped by the people' (§ § 33-38).

Thus thinking, the Sun of numerous rays, entered the fire and at that time became its (= fire's) son. Then she, who had charm, loveliness, beauty, youth and broad eyes, jumped over the burning fire. He (the fire god's son) became angry, and assuming his own form saw the girl and was afflicted. The fire (=fire-god's Son) then caught (her) hand with (his) hand, and spoke, O Lion of the Yadus, thus:— "The sun has not arisen, as you have abandoned the rites enjoined by the Vedas and jumped over me, (§ § 39-42). Therefore (although) begotten by me, that one known as *Jarashabda*, the increaser of the fame of his family, will not be (regarded as my) son" (§ 43).

* * *

Note:—The name *Jarashabda* was probably a bad reading for *Jarashashda*.

The story of Jarashabda given here closely resembles the account about Zarathushtra given in the Dinkard Book VII, Ch. II 3-7. There it is stated that the *Khureh* (Divine glory) flying on to the Sun, the moon and the stars, joined with the Atash (fire) which was kept in the house of Zois. Subsequently it left the Atash and joined with the wife of Frâhimrava-Zois. This lady gave birth to Zoroaster's mother Dughdâ, who, when she was born, had such a shining face, due to the *Khureh* in her, that darkness was dispelled by her presence. Now in the story of the Bhavishya Purâna, the lady named Nikshubhâ is the mother of Jarashabda, and the Sun who married the damsel seems to be *Khureh*. If Frâhimrava is a corrupt form of *Frâhumrava* (=the good speaker), his name may be identified with *Sujihva* (=the good tongued one). Thus it appears that the writer of the Bhavishya Purâna has adopted the story about Zoroaster given in the Dinkard (S. B. E. Vol. 47, pp. 18-19). Could he have taken it from the Dinkard itself? An answer in the affirmative is "not impossible," in view of the fact that much later events are referred to in the Bhavishya Purâna.

Bhandarkar's Account of Magas.

Note:—Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar gives an interesting account of the Magas in his book, "*Vaishnavism, Saivism*" &c. (pp. 153-155), from which we quote the following important, though somewhat long, passage:—

"Varâhamihira (in Brhatsamhita, Chap. 60, 19) tells us, that the installation and consecration of the images and temple of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas, and generally those who worship a certain deity according to their special ritual should be made to perform the ceremony concerning that deity. This shows that the Magas were, according to Varâhamihira, the special priests of the sun-god. There is a legend concerning this matter in the Bhavishya Purâna (Chap. 139). Sâmba, the son of Krishna by Jambavati, constructed a temple of the Sun on the banks of the Chandrabhâgâ, the modern Chenâb in the Punjab, and no local Brâhman would accept the office of a regular priest of the temple. He thereupon asked Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena. He was told to get Magas, who were special sun-worshippers from Sâka-

dwipa. Then is given the history of the Magas. Sujihva was a Brâhman of the Mihira Gotra. He had a daughter of the name of Nikshubhâ, with whom the sun fell in love. The son of these two was called *Jarashabda* or *Jarashasta*, and from whom sprang all Magas. Thereupon Sâmba went on the back of Garuda, his father's vehicle, to Sâkadwipa, brought some Magas from it and installed them into the office of priests of the temple, he had constructed.

"The Magas have long been known in the literary history of India. There is an inscription at Govindapur in the Gayâ District, dated Sâka 1059, corresponding to 1137-38 A. D., in the opening stanza of which the Magas, who sprang from the Sun, are represented to have been brought into the country by Sâmba... There are traces of the Magas elsewhere, and there are Brâhmans of that name in Râjputânâ and some other provinces of Northern India. Now these Magas are the Magi of ancient Persia, and the name Jarashasta mentioned above as occurring in the Bhavishya Purâna connects them with the Avesta prophet Zarathushtra. The Avyanga, which according to the Purâna they wore round their waist, was the same as the Aivyâonghem of the Avesta language, which last signifies the Kusti worn by the Pârsis at the present day.

"Alberuni, speaking of the Persian priests Magians, says that they existed in India and were called Magas (India Vol. I, p. 21). The idea of locating them on a continent called Sâkadwipa must have arisen from the fact, that they were foreigners like the Sakas, with whom the Indians had been familiar, since the second or third century before the Christian era. Evidently then the worship of the sun or Mihira-worship was brought into India by the old Persian priests Magi, but at whose instance and under what circumstances they came, it is difficult to say. The legendary tradition of their having been brought by Sâmba was current in the first half of the twelfth century, as we have seen from the inscription. The temple on the Chandrabhâgâ referred to above was that, which existed at Multan and a glowing description of which is given by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang. Four centuries later it was seen by Alberuni (India Vol I, p. 116). It existed till the 17th century, when it was finally destroyed by Aurangzeb. Multân is the same as the Sanskrit *Mûlasthâna*, and this name may have been given to the place, because the new worship of the sun was first organised there, and it was its original seat.

" On the coins of Kanishka there occurs a figure with the name Miro--Mihira by its side..... The cult of Mihr had originated in Persia and it extended itself up to Asia Minor and even Rome, and the proselytising energy, which characterised its first adherents must have led to its extension towards the east also, and of this extension the figure of Mihira on Kanishka's coin is an evidence. The cult, therefore, must have penetrated into India about the time of that Kushan prince, and the Multân temple, which was its original seat, must have been consecrated about the same time.

" An inscription at Mandasaur records the construction of a temple to the Sun in the year 437 A. D. by a guild of weavers, and its repair in the year 473 A. D. Another on a copper plate found at Indore..... mentions ān endowment of Devavishnu in 464 A. D. for lighting a lamp in a temple of the Sun. And in a third is recorded a grant in 511 A. D. to a temple of Aditya or the sun. A great many more sun temples have been dtscovered especially

in Western India from Multân down to Cutch and northern Gujarat. *

" The form of the idol of the sun worshipped in such temples is described by Varâhamihira (Brhatsamhitâ, Chap. 58), but the features mentioned by him which have a significance for our purpose are that his feet and legs should be enclosed or covered up to the knees...and he should be encircled by an Avyanga (v. 46-47). Accordingly the images of the sun, that are found in the temples mentioned above have boots reaching up to the knees and a girdle round the waist with one end hanging downwards. This last is a Persian feature,.....it is certainly not Indian. The features of the idol of the sun and the fact of Magas, who were descended from the Persian Magi being its priests, point unmistakenably to the conclusion, that the cult was introduced into India from Persia, and I believe that the construction of so many temples was also due to the foreign influence; for, in the account of the Saura systems, there is not the remotest allusion to the temple of the sun. According to all appearances, therefere, the cult prevalent in Northern India was entirely distinct from these systems.... *The Magas themselves, the priests of the new cult, were gradually thoroughly Hinduised, until they became undistinguishable from the other Hindus and formed only a separate caste.* In the copper-plate grant of Harshavadhana who lived in the middle of the seventh century, his father, grand-father and great grand-father are all styled great devotees of the sun (परमादित्यभक्त) (Epigraphia Indica Vol. I, pp. 72-73). This is an evidence to show, that the sun cult, probably made up of a mixture of the indigenous and foreign form, prevailed in the beginning of the sixth century and was professed by great princes."

* Burgess Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat.

In Alberuni's "India" (translation by Dr. Sachau Vol. I, p. 121) we read about the Magas as under:— " Further he (Râma) ordered that servants and priests to minister to the idols should be nominated from different classes of the people. To the idol of Vishnu are devoted the class called Bhagavata, to the idol of the Sun, the Maga, *i. e.* the Magians."

* * *

Note on Govindpur Inscription re: Magas.

As stated above, the legend of the importation of the Magas by Sâmba is referred to in the Govindpur stone inscription dated Saka 1059 (1137-38 A. D.).

This was an inscription on a slab of stone in Narsingh Mali's house at Govindpur, in the Nawâdâ sub-division of the Gayâ district of the Province of Bengal. The inscription consists of 39 Sanskrit verses written in Nâgari characters, and at the end it bears the date Sâka 1059. The immediate object of the inscription was to record, that a man named Gangâdhara, who had himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank, near which the inscription must have been put up.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Vishnu, the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies Aruna (*i. e.* the Dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun), " whose presence sanctifies Sâkadwipa, where the Brâhmans are called Magas. " It also sanctifies the Magas themselves, who are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by Sâmba. The verse 2 runs thus :—

देवो जीयात् त्रिलोकीमणिरयमरुणो-
यन्निवासेन पुण्यः ।

शाकद्वीपस्य दुग्धाम्बुनिधिवलयितो
यत्र विप्रे मगाख्या ।
वंशस्तत्र द्विजानां भ्रमिलिखित-
तनोर्भास्वतः स्वाङ्ग (मुक्तः) ।
शांबो यानानिनाय स्वयमिह
महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥

"Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruna, whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Sâkadwipa, where the Brâhmans are named Magas! There is a race of twice-born (sprung) from the Sun's own body, ground by the wheel,* whom Sâmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they honoured in the world."

Further up the author says, that the first of these Maga Brâhmans was Bhâradvâja, whose family had a hundred branches. In one of them, a certain Dâmodara was born, whose son Chakrapâni was a poet. One of the sons of this poet was Manoratha, who, according to our author, was a "modern Kalidâsa" (नूतन-कालिदासः) and his own father. The inscription tells us distinctly that Gangâdhara, his father and grand-father were all poets. (See Epigraphia Indica, pp. 330-342).

The above inscription shows that the legend of the Magas having come to India must have been in existence some centuries before Saka 1059 or A. D. 1137-38. On the other hand the legend is not found in Harivamsa, Vishnu Purâna and Bhâgavat Purâna, in which other legends about Krishna and his descendants are narrated. Hence according to R. Chanda, it cannot be treated as an evidence of the early migration of the Magas to India. (See R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 224-225).

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer observes, that the Multan sun-worship was introduced under the Sassanian influence. (Bom. Gaz. Vol I, pt. I, p. 142).

* To diminish the Sun's intensity Vishvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (Vishnu Purâna III-2). It is suggested that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the Sun's body.

* * *

Cunningham's Account of Multan.

Major-General Cunningham's account of the ancient city of Multân is very interesting and important in connection with the story of Sâmba, and we think it right to give below a long extract from his book, named "Ancient Geography of India" (pp. 230-240):—

"The famous metropolis of Multân was originally situated on two islands in the Râvi, but the river has long ago deserted its old channel, and its nearest point is now more than 30 miles distant. But during high floods the waters of the Râvi still flow down their old bed... .....Multân is known by several different names, but all of them refer either to Vishnu or to the Sun, the latter being the great object of worship in the famous temple, that once crowned the citadel. Abù Rihân * mentions the names of *Kasyapa-pura*, *Hansapura*. *Bhâgapura* and *Sâmbapura*, to which I may add *Prahlâdapura* and *Adyasthâna*. According to the traditions of the people, *Kasyapa-pura* was founded by *Kasyapa*, who was the father of the twelve *Adityas* or Sun-gods by *Aditi*, and of the *Daityas* or Titans by Diti. He was succeeded by his son, the Daitya named *Hiranya-Kashipu*, who is famous throughout India for his denial of the omnipresence of Vishnu, which led to the manifestation of the *Narasinha Avatâr*. He was followed by his still more famous son *Prahlâda*, the ardent worshipper of Vishnu, after whom

* Abu Rihân Al Biruni (A. D. 970-1039) (Bom. Gaz. I. pt. II. p. 507).

the city was named *Prahlâda-pura*. His great-grand son, *Bâna* (commonly called *Bâna* the *Asur*) was the unsuccessful antagonist of Krishna, who took possession of the kingdom of Multân. Here *Sâmba*, the son of Krishna, established himself in the grove of *Mitra-vana*, and by assiduous devotion to *Mitra* or the 'Sun' was cured of his leprosy. He then erected a golden statue of *Mitra*, in a temple named *Adyasthâna* or the 'First Shrine,' and the worship of the Sun thus begun by *Sâmba*, has continued at Multân down to the present day.

The story of *Sâmba*, the son of Krishna, is told in the *Bhavishya Purâna*, but as it places the *Mitravana* or 'Sun-grove' on the bank of Chandrabhâga or Chinâb river, its composition must be assigned to a comparatively late period, when all remembrance of the old course of the Râvi flowing past Multân had died away. We know, however, from other sources, that the Sun-worship at Multân must be very ancient. In the seventh century Hwen Thsang found a magnificent temple with a golden statue of the god most richly adorned, to which the kings of all parts of India sent offerings. Hence the place became commonly known amongst the early Arab conquerors as the 'Golden Temple,' and Masudi even affirms that *Multân* means 'medows of gold.'

"The people refer the name to *Mûlasthâna*, which agrees with the form *Mûlatâna*. *Mûla* means 'root or origin,' and *sthâna* or *thâna* means 'place or shrine.' Hence *Mûlasthâna* is the 'Temple of Mûla,' which I take to be an appellation of the Sun. In the *Amarakosha* one of the names of the Sun is *Vradhna*, which is also given as a synonym of *Mûla*.....In Latin *radix* signifies not only origin or root, but also the radish; so also does *Mûla* signify origin or root and *Mûlaka* or *Muli*=radish. The connection between a sunbeam and a radish obviously lies in their similarity of shape .....For these reasons I infer that *Mûla* is only an epithet of the Sun, as the god of rays, and that *Mulasthânapura* means simply "the city of the Temple of the Sun."

"*Bhâga* and *Hansa* are well-known names of the Sun; and therefore *Bhagapura* and *Hansapura* are only synonyms of the name of Multân. The earliest name is said to have been *Kasyapapura* (usually pronounced *Kassappur*), which I take to be the *Kaspapuros* of Hekatæus, and the *Kaspaturos* of Herodotus, as well as the *Kaspeira* of Ptolemy. The last town is placed at a bend of the lower course of the *Rhuadis* or Râvi, just above its junction with the *Sandobâg* or *Chandrabhâgâ*..... This identification is most important, as it establishes the fact, that Multân or Kaspeira.....must have been the principal city in the Punjâb towards the middle of the second century of the Christian era. But in the seventh century it had already acquired the name of Mulasthâna or Multân, which was the only name known to the Arab authors down to the time of Abu Rihân, whose acquirement of Sanskrit gave him access to the native literature, from which he drew some of the other names already quoted. The name of *Adyasthâna* or "First Shrine" is applied in the Bhavishya Purâna to the original temple of the Sun, which is said to have been built by Sâmba, the son of Krishna; but *Adya* is perhaps only a corruption of *Aditya*, or the Sun...*Prahlâdpur* refers to the temple of *Narsingh Avatar*, which is still called *Pahlâdpuri*... The great temple of the Sun was destroyed during the reign of Aurangzeb and the Jumai Masjid erected on its site.

"By the identification of *Kasyapapura* with the *Kaspeira* of Ptolemy I have shown, that Multân was situated on the bank of the Râvi in the first half of the second century of the Christian era. Hwen Thsang

unfortunately makes no mention of the river; but a few years after his visit the Brahman Rajah of Sindh, named Chach, invaded and captured Multân, and the details of his campaign show, that the Râvi still continued to flow under its walls in the middle of the seventh century.....In A D. 713 when the citadel was besieged by Muhammed bin Kasim, it is stated by Biladuri,* that 'the city was supplied with water by a stream flowing from the river' (the name being left blank). 'Muhammad cut off the water, and the inhabitants, pressed by thirst, surrendered at discretion.' I am willing to accept this account as a proof, that the main stream of the Râvi had already deserted its old channel; but it is quite impossible that Multân could have been forced to surrender for want of water..... Even in the time of Edrisi† the environs of the town are said to have been watered by a small river and I conclude that some branch of the Râvi must still have flowed down to Multân.....Muhammad Kasim may have captured Multân in the same way that Cyrus captured Babylon, by the diversion of the waters, which flowed through the city into another channel."

We have quoted this long passage to show, that the Bhavishya Purâna, which mentions that the temple of the Sun was built on the bank of the Chinâb, could not have been written before the middle of the seventh century A. D.

* * *

[Now let us proceed with the text.]

"The Magas are said to have sprung from the fire, the Brahmans from the moon, and the Bhojakas from the Sun, because they are famous as being divine" (§44). Having thus spoken, the Sun god disappeared. Then the Rishi (Sujihva) knew by means of meditation, that the child was conceived (§45). That one of great lustre, who was very wise, and who had Rigveda on his tongue, threw himself down, (and) cursing her, spoke these words:—"O most unlucky girl, the fœtus, which was covered over with fire from the fault of your own lustful self, will become unworthy of honour" (§§ 46–47). That girl, who was distressed with grief for (her) son, with painful eyes, began to think sorrowfully about that one (=the Sun), who has the form of fire (thus):—"This child in my womb is of (*i.e.* by) (you) the best of gods; this great curse is given me; you should make me worthy of honour (§§48–49). O Lord of gods, do that by which he may become worthy of honour." While she was thus thinking, the Sun god, having obtained the form of fire, spoke these words:— ....."That illustrious (Rishi), who has Rigveda on his tongue, acts according to scriptures; (therefore) the curse pronounced by him cannot be altered (§§ 50–52). However, on account of the gravity of the matter, I shall make thy son, who is unworthy of honour, fit, best and well versed in the Vedas. (§53). His family members will live as great descendants of Vasistha, limbs of my body, possessed of great soul and expounders of the Vedas. They will be my singers, my worshippers, my devotees, my praisers, my servants and my vow-observers. They, the discerners of truth, will honour thee and me, and the Veda according to law—always being devoted and attached to me (§§54–56). .....They will always wear *matted hair* and *beard* (जटाश्मश्रु), will be always devoted to me, and will know *the rites of the five periods* (पंचकालविधानज्ञा) (§ 58). Having held *Poornak* in the right hand and *Varma* in the left, and having *covered the face, which is always pure with Pati-*

* An Arab writer A. D. 892 (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. I, p. 505).

† End of 11th century A. D. (Elliot I-74).

dâna (*i.e.* Padâna) they are ever holy." (§ 59).

* * *

Note.—The text of the last passage which is very important is as under:—

पूर्णैकदक्षिणे पाणौ वामेन धारयन् ।
पतिदानेन वदनं प्रच्छाद्य नियतः शुचिः ॥

Dr. Wilson probably read *Varshma* instead of *Varma*, which latter means "armour." If the reading be वर्ष्म it would refer to Barsam. The most important word is *Patidâna*. There is no such word in the Sanskrit language, whose meaning would fit in with the context. The word is clearly the Avestan *Paitidân* (=Padân), meaning "a mouth piece" or "piece of cloth with which the mouth is covered."

* * *

"They *will dine in silence*, (thus) gaining the strength of the great. They will have sorrowful minds if there is want of self-control or want of kindness (§ 60). Even those who will worship me hereafter without rite or Mantra will, although they will fall from heaven, play in the sun world until (they are) exhausted (§61). Such will be thy sons on the earth—the Mahâtmâs (great souled ones) in the *family of Maga*, who *will be well versed in Vedas and Vedângas*" (§ 62).

* * *

Note:—We find that the Magas wore *matted hair*, and expounded the Vedas and Vedangas. They were specially called for the service of Sun's *idol*. This shows that they were mixed Zoroastrians.

* * *

"Having thus consoled that divine nymph, the Sun, the water-thief,* the one of great lustre disappeared, and she became glad. Thus, O son of Krishna (=Sâmba), the Bhojakas † were born—(thus) they, the lights of Vishnu, (विष्णुभाः) those sprung from the Aditya (आदित्याः), those honoured by the people, were born." (§§ 63-64).

"To them give this town; they are competent to receive gifts from you and me, and to worship the Sun." (§ 65). Having heard these words of Gauramukha, Sâmba, the Yâdava and son of Jâmbavati bowed with his head, and spoke:— "O lion of the Brâhmans, where do these Bhojakas, the sons of the Sun, the Mahâtmâs live, so that I may bring them" (§ § 66-67), Gauramukha said:— "I do not know, O you of great arms, where the Magas live; the Sun knows that; therefore go (to seek) his assistance" (§ 68). Thus spoken to by the Brâhman (Gauramukha), Sâmba bowed to the Sun with his head, and spoke to him as follows:— "Who will perform thy worship?" (§ 69). Thus questioned by Sâmba, the image (of the Sun) spoke to him "O sinless one, there is none fit to worship me in Jambudwipa (§ 70). Go to Shâkadwipa and bring here my worshipper. Sâkadwipa is remembered (as being) on the yonder coast of the ocean of salt and (as being) surrounded by the ocean of milk and on the further

* वारितस्करः *lit.* one who steals water by drying it up.

† The Magas were also called Bhojakas.

side of Jambudwipa. There the people are said to be of 4 kinds. They are *Magas*, *Magagâs*, *Mânasâs*, and *Madangâs*. The Magas are chiefly Brâhmans; the Magagas are known to be Kshatriyas; the Mânasâs are known as Vaisyas; and their Sudras are Madangas." There is no intermarriage (संकर) * among them at any time so as to protect the religion (*i. e.* so that religion might remain intact) (§ § 71-74)....

* * *

Note:—In the Vishnu Purâna (II-4-69, 70). *Magâh (or Mrgâh)*, *Magadhâh*, *Mânasâh* and *Mandagâh* are given as the names of the Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras respectively of Shâkadwipa.

In a Bengali MS. of the Mahâbhârata, the first two names are *Magâ* and *Masakâ*. In the Bombay edition of the Mahâbhârata, we have *Mangâh* and *Mrgâh* instead of *Magâ*.†

The *Magadhâ* of the Vishnu Purâna is evidently a mistake‡ or misreading for *Masakâ* of the Mahâbhârata, and therefore the Magadhâs cannot be connected with Shâkadwipa. But as the Magâs are not mentioned in the earlier books, although the Magadhâs § are, the time of the Magâs coming to India cannot be pushed far back. According to Prof. Weber "the Magas go back to an old mission of the Mithra-cult, the members of which, after their arrival in India (about the first two centuries A. D.), were incorporated in the Brâhman caste." (Indian Antiquary XVI, p. 162).

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says:—"That the Multân sun-worship was introduced under Sassanian influence is supported by the fact, that the figure of the Sun on the fifth century Hindu Sun coins is in the dress of a Persian king: that the priests who performed the Multân sun-worship were called Magas; and by the details of the dress and ritual in the account of the introduction of sun-worship given in the Bhavishya Purâna. That the Meyds or Mands had some share in its introduction is supported by the fact, that the Purâna names the fourth or Sudra class of the sun-worshippers Mandagas. That the Meyds were associated with the Magas is shown by the mention of the Magas as Mihiragas. The third class whom the Bhavishya Purâna associates with the introduction of sun-worship are the Mânas.....The association of the Mânas with Mihiras or Maitrakas suggests that Mâna is Mauna, a Puranik name for the White Huns. That the Multân sun-idol of the sixth and seventh centuries was a Huna idol and Multân the capital of a Huna dynasty seems in agreement with the paramount position of the Rais of Alor or Rori in the sixth century." (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. I, pp. 142-3).

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says:—"On the coins of Kanishka there occurs a figure with the name Miiro (=Persian Miher, Avesta Mithra) by its

* This shows that the Magas had no marriage connections with other nations, when they were in their native country.

†In the M. Bh. (Bhishma Purva XI-34-36) we read:—

"In that Shâkadwipa are four sacred provinces. They are the Mrigas, Mashakas, Mânasas and Mandagas. The Mrigas are for the most part Brâhmans.....Among the Mashakas are various Kshatryas &c."

‡ C. V. Vaidya says:—"In our opinion the statements in the Vishnu Purâna are not of much value. The Purâna must have been recast during the revival of Hinduism at the hands of illiterate men." (Vaidya, M.Bh. p. 79).

§Cf. Atharva Veda V. 22; also XV. where Magadha is related to Vrâtya, mentioned in Panchvimsha Br. XVII-4. (Vrâtya was a descendant of a Sudra father and Kshatriya mother).

side.....The cult, therefore, must have penetrated to India about the time of that Kushana prince (120 A. D.), and the Multân temple, which was its original seat, must have been constructed about the same time."*

"The Magian missionaries of Mithraism probably did not come to India alone, and were adopted, as Weber observes, into the ranks of the Brâhmans themselves under the name of *Shâka-dvipiya Brâhmans*, together with some members of the other Iranian immigrants."† (Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 224-227.)

* * *

" Their Vedas are four, and were produced and made by me with (their) secrets and accompanied by various great and secret incantations mentioned in the Vedas, (§76). They think of me only, they always worship me, their minds are devoted to me, they are my worshippers, my devotees, my praisers, my servants, my vow-observers. They put on *Avyanga* with (religious) acts accompanied by ceremonies. "

* * *

Note :—The text runs :—अव्यंग धारिणश्चैव विधिदृष्टेन कर्मणा ।
Avyanga seems to be *Aivyanghan* or sacred girdle as suggested by Dr. Wilson. The word occurs very often as we shall see later on.

* * *

" They, who are my followers, always offer best prayers to me (§§ 77-79).....O Sâmba, having mounted Garuda and going quickly without further thought, bring those Magas here from Sâkadwipa for my worship " (§82). The sun of Jâmbavati (= Sâmba) said " very well ; " and having taken his permission went back to the city *Dwârvati* (Dwârkâ), attended with lustre (§83). He told his father everything about his audience with the god. Having obtained Garuda from him, Sâmba mounted it. and marched on. Sâmba whose hairs stood on their ends (out of joy) reached Sâkadwipa and saw there the illustrious Magas as he was told (§§84-85). They were worshipping the Sun with incense, lamp and other auspicious things. He bowed to them, and having first made circumambulation (out of honour), he asked those illustrious persons about their welfare and said :—" You are the performers of holy acts and are well disposed towards beautiful objects You are devoted to the worship of the Sun and to you gifts can be (lawfully) given "(§ 87). Know me to be the son of Vishnu, named and famous as Sâmba. I have enshrined the (idol of) Surya on the banks of the Chandrabhâgâ (§88). I am sent here by him. Get up and let us go " They then answered Sâmba :—" Yes, undoubtedly. " (§89). The god told us also formerly. (Therefore) 18 families of Magas, who know the Vedas, will go with thee as ordered by the god" (§ 90).

Then Sâmba, having placed those 18 families together on Garuda hastily returned (§ 91). In only a very short time, Sâmba reached Mitravana from there, having carried out the orders of the Sun ; and he told (the Sun) everything. (§ 92). The Sun said " very good, " and gladly spoke to Sâmba (thus):—" These are my worshippers, who are the pacifiers of people. O best of Yadus, they will perform my

* Vaishnavism &c. p. 154.
† See also Indian Antiquary XXX, p. 287.

worship according to law ; you shall never again have any anxiety for them" (§§ 90-94).

Customs and Ceremonies of Magas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 140.

Having thus brought the Magas, that Mahâtmâ Sâmba took them into the town on the banks of the river Chandrabhâgâ ; and having enshrined the Sun (idol), he collected much money and gave it to the Bhojakas (§ § 1-2). That town, which was sacred to the Sun, is famous in the three worlds, and is known as Sâmbapura, since it was built by Sâmba. In the middle of that town, the Sun god was enshrined ; and all were made to settle by him in that town which bore the stamp of his name. (§ § 3-4). The Magas' acts were worthy of the families, who had experience of (such) acts ; their service of the god was chanted with the rites mentioned in the Vedas. (§ 5). Then young and holy Sâmba, whose object was fulfilled, having obtained the boon, having bowed to the Sun, the first and oldest god, and afterwards having bowed to all the Magas and having saluted them, started to go to the City Dwâravati. (§§ 6-7). (Then) the gentile, great-souled grand-son of Vasudevâ called the daughters of Bhoja for the purpose of the Magas. The best of the Bhojakas gave daughters to those Magas. All those girls were together adorned with coral and jewels (§§ 8-9). All those were honoured (by Sâmba) and were sent to the temple of the Sun (सवितुर्गृहं). Then Sâmba going there again asked the Sun god :— "Tell me about the history, Vedas and *Avyanga* of the Magas." Hearing these words of Sâmba, the Sun spoke :— "Go to Nârada and ask him; he will tell you everything." Thus spoken to, Sâmba went to Nârada (§ § 10-12).....

Nârada professing ignorance asked him to go to Vyâsa. Sâmba repeated the story and said :— "While contemplating the Sun, while thinking about the Bhojakas and their history, there is a doubt in my mind (§ 22), How are they the worshippers (of the Sun)? Who are the Magas? Who are the Bhojakas? What is the best thing to be known about them? Who among them is famous? (§§ 2-3). Why are they called divine, why do they hold *Koorcha*, why are they devoted to the Sun, why are they known as *Vâchakas*?"

* * *

Note:—The text runs thus :—

दिव्येति ते कथं प्रोक्ताः किमर्थं कूर्च-धारणं ।
सौरव्रतं किमर्थं तु वाचकास्ते कथं स्मृताः ॥

In Sanskrit कूर्च stands for a bunch of Kusha grass, but we believe that this word is a corrupt reading for *Goorja* (mace), which was carried by the priestly class of the Zoroastrians. सौरव्रत means devotion or vow to सुर *i. e.* the Sun. It would be wrong to say that this word is a bad reading for Ahura, because the word occurs in several passages, and everywhere it is used for the Sun god only. The Magas are called *Vâchakas*, probably on account of the Bâj prayer or ceremony.

* * *

"Why and for what purpose do they chant the Vedas energetically, and what is the measure of the auxiliary part of the bodice?" (§ 25).

* * *

Note:—The last passage is:— अथाहि कंचुकस्यांगं कि प्रमाणं । In the printed book अथाहि कंचुक is one word; it may be अथो हि कंचुक. If we take the whole as one word, the meaning may be that the bodice resembles (*i.e.* is as thin as) the skin of a snake. कंचुक probably refers to the *Sudreh*. The same word is used in the same sense in the 3rd Shloka of the 16 verses said to have been recited before the king Jâdi Rânâ. अंग means the component or auxiliary part. This auxiliary part of the *Sudreh* is *Kusti*, the measure of which is given hereafter. It may be noted that in the 3rd Shloka recited before the king Jâdi Rânâ, the ends of *Kusti* are said to resemble the mouth of an *Ahi* or snake.

* * *

"How do they chant (prayers) to the gods and how do they perform sacrifice? (कथं देवांश्च गायंति यज्ञं कुर्वन्ति ते कथं) (§ 26). What is their Agnihotra; what are known as their 5 festivals? Tell me about all these customs of the Bhojakas (§ 27)".

Hearing these words of Sâmba, the sage of great lustre Krishna-dwaipâyana (*i. e.* Vyâsa), the son of Kâli, spoke these noble words:— "O best of Yadus, good, very good; you have asked me good questions; O you, strict in the observance of vows, the customs of the Bhojakas are undoubtedly difficult to be known (*i.e.* are incomprehensible). (§§ 28-29). By the favour of the Sun, I also learnt (them) from the Smriti, and I shall tell you fully, as they are mentioned by Vasishtha (§ 30). O son of Krishna, the customs of the Magas are the best; hear (them). They are well-versed in knowledge, and are devoted to religious and worldly rites (कर्मयोगं समाश्रिता:) (§ 31). All these Rishis are known to observe the rules of conduct with silence and also all these great sages eat with silence, (§ 32). Moreover they the dwellers in Sâka-dwipa are the performers of all the rites, that sages perform. Therefore he who does not desire demerit should eat in silence (§ 33).....They are known to be always devoted to the worship of the Sun (§ 34). They are known as Bhojakas, as they were (the progeny) of the daughters of Bhoja. Just as there are four Vedas known among the Brâhmans—namely Rigveda, Yajurveda, Sâmaveda and Atharvaveda, so O you of good vows, the Vedas of the Magas are also known (§§35-36). These Vedas of theirs are known to be false (they are) Veda, Vishvamada, Vidvata and Vahni-rasa (§ 37). Formerly the Prajâpati communicated these Vedas to the Magas" (§ 38).

* * *

Note:—Veda, Vishva-mada &c. are said to be the Vedas or religious works of the Magas.

It is difficult to identify them, but we *guess* that "Veda" was probably *Avesta—vesta—vetta—Veda*; Vishva-mada might be Vispard, Vidvat might be Vidævodât and Vahni-rasa, might be Atash Nyâsh. The Sanskrit writers usually gave Hindu appearance to foreign names, as we see in the case of the names of the personages in the Bible referred to in the Bhavishya Purâna.

Could it be that the Smriti referred to by Vyâsa was the "Parsi Smriti" the old manuscript P. S., containing the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas, according to which also the Parsis worshipped the Sun and observed silence, while taking meals? More satisfactory proof is however required

for the identification. The word Smriti occurs again in Chapter 142 §§ 6-7.

* * *

"Just as flowers are arranged by the Brâhmans at the time of worship, just as *Darbha* * grass is arranged among the twice-born in all the rites and sacrifices, and just as these are regarded as holy among them, so also is the case with the Magas—by these verily the chiefs of the Magas obtain success in that island. (§§ 41-42).

They are learned, they belong to best families, they have holy customs, they are attached to sacrifices, they are devoted and they recite Mantras in the commencement (§ 43). O lion of the Yadus, O delighter of the Yadus, the dear Bhojakas recite the Veda Mantra, which is like a missile (§ 43). O best of Yadus, the *Sâvitri* † of all Brâhmans is considered our best, first utterance. (§ 45).

It is but proper, that they eat with silence, humility and freedom from infatuation; what belongs to *Smriti* ‡ is not to be touched (among us, and so) it is not to be touched among them (§ 46).

Although not desiring to live, they live. They go round their dear Sun (idol), and always bow to it with sacrifice, Mantras and rites mentioned in the Veda (§ 47). As the sacrifice of the Magas, who believe in the *Tatva*, is performed with several Mantras, therefore they are known as sacrificers (§ 48).

Just as among the twice-born, *Agni hotra* is well known, so among the Magas, *Adhvahotra* is performed. The name of that sacrifice is *Achcha;** such is undoubtedly the statement of the Rishi (§ 49).

Five times incense is to be offered; this always brings success in the world.

Magas Marry Bhojaka Girls-Brahma Parva, Chapter 141.

Sâmba said:—" The *Avyanga* of the Bhojakas, which you spoke of and which purifies the body, is said to be the bond of devotion. What is their caste"? Vyâsa said:—"When all those sons of Bhojakas were questioned by you, what did they tell you. Tell me that fully" (§§ 1-2), Sâmba said:—"I have told you fully about the habitations of the Bhojakas. You will tell me truly, what is their caste" (§ 3).

Then that glorious one, who was skilful in speech spoke these words:—"O Sâmba, the youths of the Bhojakas, about whom you spoke and heard

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* Dr. Wilson says, that the Magas used *Varshma*; we have seen that in Chapter 139-59 the word used is *Varma*=armour. But here it appears that the Magas also used Darbha.

† *Sâvitri* or *Gâyatri* is the verse in Rigveda III—62-10, which runs thus:—तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्॥ "May we attain that excellent glory of Savitar the god. So may he stimulate our prayers." This *Gâyatri* resembles our *Ahunavar* in every respect. *Ahunavar* is also represented as a missile in Vendidad XIX-9. Could the Mantra of the Magas be *Ahunavar*? The evidence is certainly very meagre.

‡ The passage is:—अमोहकेनाथ विमानभुंजी मौनेन चापि यथा हि युक्तं। न चापि किंचित्स्मृतिकं स्पृशेच्च तच्चापि नात्रैव च संस्पृशेद्धि॥ What is *Smritika*? Does it refer to Myazda, which is not to be touched by aliens? The reading मृतकं (dead) might be suggested for स्मृतिकं. In that case the meaning would be that the dead body was not to be touched.

* What is this *Achcha* sacrifice, it is difficult to say. In Sanskrit, अच्छ means pure, clear." The sacrifice may be Yasna ceremony. Just as *Matsya* becomes *Machcha*, so, *Yasta* (*Yastya*) might become *Yachcha* (*Achcha*).

are to be known as my Magas.* Eight of these were Sudras, called Madangas."

"Having known this and with a bow to the Sun with the head, ten girls born in the family of Bhoja† were given (in marriage) to ten (youths). And to the Madangas also, eight girls were given. (§§ 4-6). Then O Sâmba, I entered their town. Remember this, that the slave girls (दासकन्या:) were eight and the Bhoja girls were ten —those ten and eight (girls) should be known as (the wives) of those youths. There the twice-born begot those sons on the Bhoja girls; those sons were called Bhojakas and were Brâhmans, named '*the divine.*' Those who were begotten on the slave girls by the *Madangas*, named '*the degraded,*' were really the Madangas who were worshippers of the Sun. They were surrounded by wives and sons in that Brâhmanic town (§§ 7-10). By those Rishis, who had begun to sacrifice according to their own religious duties, the Sun was worshipped in Sâkadwipa with Vedic Mantras of different kinds (§ 11). (These) men, putting on *Avyanga* pray to the Sun. Seeing their *Avyanga*, my curiosity was excited" (§ 12).

Sâmba, once again bowing, said to the son of Satyavati (=Vyâsa) :—"O best of sages, what is this excellent *Avyanga*, which you spoke of. Whence was it produced, why is it considered pure? When is it to be tied, why is it put on, what, Sir, is said to be the measurement of this *Avyanga*?" (§§ 13-14).

Hearing these words of the son of Jâmbavati, Vyâsa, the son of Kâli spoke to Sâmba (thus):— "O lion of the Kurus, their caste is, no doubt, exactly as I told you. I shall also tell you about the characteristic of *Avyanga*; hear, as it is mentioned.

Avyanga or Kusti of Magas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 142.

Vyâsa said:—"The gods, sages, serpents, Gandharvas, numerous celestial damsels, Yakshas, and Rakshasas live in the Sun in different seasons in regular order (§ 1). There (the celestial serpent) Vâsuki hastily raised up a cloud—the chariot of the Sun—and with a bow to the Sun quickly returned to his own place (§ 2). As a favour he gave the Sun an Avyanga, which was celestial, decorated with the heavenly Ganges, and not very red nor very white (§ 3). He tied it lovingly round his body; for this reason, (the Avyanga) which was produced from the body of the king of snakes, was worn by the Sun.* (§ 4). Therefore out of affection for the Sun, a Bhojaka desiring to worship (him) wears it and becomes holy by the performance of ceremonies and by truth (§ 5). If it is worn daily, the Sun becomes pleased. But those of the Bhojakas, the Sun-worshippers who do not wear it, are undoubtedly beyond the circle of the Sun-worshippers, are not venerable and are impure. They are unfit to carry on the duties enjoined by Smriti and are unworthy to worship the Sun (§§ 6-7). If they worship the Sun they fall into the Raurava Hell; they do not smile nor do they stand up, to reap (the fruit) of their prayer" (§ 8).

* * *

* Here is a very important statement for us namely that the Bhojakas and the Magas were identical. The words are used indiscriminately by our author.

† The Magas are said to have married Bhoja or Rajput girls and to have become the Brâhman Bhojakas of Dwârkâ (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. I, p. 142).

* The above story of the Sun receiving Avyanga from the celestial snake may be connected with the legend in the Haoma Yashta § 26 in which it is stated that Ahuramazda first brought for Haoma the Kusti, which was decorated with stars.

....." It (the Avyanga) should be made of one colour, so that it brings about success in actions; in measurement it should be 100 more than 100 (*i. e.* 200) finger breadths (अंगुल). Such an Avyanga is the longest in measurement; one of middle measure should be 20 more (than 100 *i. e.* 120 finger breadths); and the shortest should be 8 more than 100 (*i. e.* 108 finger breadths).* Shorter than this it should not be (§§ 10-11).

Its form was made and produced by Vishva Karmâ (the Almighty); among the Bhojakas it is called *Parasshata*. (§ 12). Although cleansed one does not become pure without it; therefore, O hero, by wearing it, he becomes pure at the time (§ 13), (when) oblations, offerings &c. and all auspicious ceremonies take place (§ 14)....

As it was produced from the body of a serpent, therefore it is called *Avyanga* (अहेरंगात् समुत्पन्नो ह्यव्यंगस्तु ततः स्मृतः ।) (§ 15): because it is a part of this serpent, therefore it is called *Avyanga* (यस्मादस्याद् अहेरंगं अव्यंगस्तेन चोच्यते ।).

.....O best of Yadus, those who worship the Sun without it (*Avyanga*) do not obtain the reward of worship, and they go to hell" (§ 27).

Worship of the Sun Idol—Brahma Parva, Chapter 143.

That wise Sâmba, having thus heard the origin of *Avyanga* from Vyâsa, the son of Satyavati, went away. Then that illustrious Sâmba going again to the hermitage of Nârada of great power, spoke these words to him, "O Rishi, how is the incense-smoke (offered in honour) of the Sun produced by the Bhojakas, and how, O Mahâtmâ, the ablution (स्नान), sipping of water before religious ceremonies (आचमनं) and the giving of venerable offerings (अर्घ्यदानं) (are made by them)"? Having heard these words of Sâmba, the great sage Nârada spoke (§§ 1-4):— O lion of Kurus, I shall gladly tell you about the incense, smoke and ceremonies (to be offered) to the Sun; also about ablution, water-sipping and gifts of gold. Having sipped water thrice, having taken a bath, and putting on stainless, clean and holy clothes, which should not be moist, he (the Bhojaka) should stay and with pious effort drink, facing the north and east (§§ 5-7). He should not drink while in water, but should do so devoutly, coming out of water; (for) in the water there are the Sun, fire and the goddess mother Sarasvati (§ 8).....Having washed the hands and feet as far as the knees, he should devoutly and gladly drink water which is well-collected three times (§ 10). He should twice do the anointing (of the idol), and thrice the sprinkling (of it) by water, (after) having touched (with water) his own forehead and cavities of the body.

Having sipped water, he should bow to the Sun, and become holy among holy persons. He who performs ceremony without sipping water through infatuation, is a *Nas ika* (=an unbeliever) (§ 12). All his ceremonies here undoubtedly become fruitless, because the Vedas state, that the gods are desirous of purity (§ 13).....Having sipped water, and remaining silent, he should go to the house of god (देवागारं); having covered the breathing organs (mouth and nose) (for preventing the breath from touching holy objects) (श्वासरोधनिमित्तं तु प्राणमाच्छाद्य वाससा), and having covered the head devoutly for turning off water from the hair, he should perform the wor-

*A *Gaja* is thus defined:—साधारण नरांगुल्या त्रिंशदंगुलिको गजः । "A *Gaja* is 30 finger breadths of an ordinary man." Therefore the longest Avyanga is $\frac{200}{30}=6\frac{2}{3}$ *Gajas* long; the middle one is $\frac{120}{30}=4$ *Gajas* long; and the shortest one is $\frac{108}{30}=3\frac{2}{5}$ *Gajas* long. These are just the measurements of our Kusti.

ship of the Sun with holy flowers of various kinds. * (§§ 15-16).

Having recited the Gâyatri with a bow and with devotion, one should offer to the fire, incense with the offering of *guggula* (a fragrant substance). (§ 17). Then having held a handful of flowers in its flame with devotion, it should be placed on the head of the Sun (idol) after having recited the Deva-Mantra (§ 18)..... The times for offering incense are known as five; in the five *Dhûpas* I shall observe the five ceremonies, namely *havana*" &c.... ..... From the appearance (*i. e.* rising) of the Sun, its worship should be performed three times. In the forenoon the sun is half risen; then half the sun is powerful. In the forenoon, (the following) should be offered to the *Heli* (=morning Sun), in the noon to the *Jvalana* (=burning Sun), and in the afternoon to the *Jvalana*(=burning Sun)—(namely) lotus flowers mixed with sandal water, and with fragrant water, and *Kara-vera* tree-leaves and red chalk (§§ 22-24). Having put flower-water mixtures, *Kurunta* flowers and charming fragrance etc. in a copper vessel and having offered incense and offering of *guggul* to the fire, O hero, and having taken an *Arghya* (offering) vessel one should invoke the Sun (thus) (§§ 25-26):— "O you, Sun of the thousand rays, mass of lustre, lord of the world, be merciful to me. O Sun god, accept the offering" (§27). With this (prayer), the invocation should be made; and falling on the knees to the earth, and going near the chest of the Sun (idol), he should give the offering to the Sun (§ 28). "Om, a bow to the Sun, the lord, the Vishva (= god), lying in the sky, the Brâhman, the maker of the worlds, the ruler, the old one of thousands of eyes, a bow to you, to Soma, to Rik, Yajus, and Atharva; (a bow to) the earth, atmosphere, heaven, *Mahar* (fourth world), *Janah* (world of deified mortals), *Tapas* (Tapas-world) and *Satya* (Satya-world). A bow to Brâhman, the Sun, to its top, middle portion and front. * (§§ 29-30).

.....Having offered incense to the Sun with this ceremony, the Bhojaka shall enter the interior house (§ 37). Having entered there, he should offer incense to the idol (प्रतिमायै) with the Mantra thus:—"(this is) ever for *Mihira*, for *Nikshubhâ*. Then a bow to *Rádni* (Sun's wife), then a bow to *Nikshubhâ*; a bow to the one who bears the name *Danda-nâyaka* (judge); a bow to *Pingala* (name of an attendant on the Sun); and a bow to the lord *Srausha* and to the lord Garuda. (§§ 38-40).

* * *

Note:—The last passage तथा राज्ञाय स्रौषाय (नमः) is very important. राज्ञाय is a corrupt form; but what is *Srausha*? In the dictionaries and Koshas, the word is not to be found. It is evidently the Zoroastrian angel

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* Here the author describes the Sun-worship. Regarding the Sun-worship performed by the Sauras or Sun-worshippers, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says:— "Water is sipped by repeating a formula expressive of a wish, that the Sun, Manyu and Manyupati may protect the adorer from sins. After that three offerings of water with or without the other ingredients are made to the Sun after repeating the Gâyatri, and then the water is whirled round his head by the adorer by repeating the Mantra (That Aditya is Brahman)" (Varshnavism &c. p. 151).

* *The prayer runs thus* :—

ओं नमो भगवते आदित्याय विश्वाय खेशाय ब्रह्मणे लोककर्तृणे। ईशानाय पुराणाय सहस्राक्षाय ते नमः॥ सोमाय ऋग्यजुरथर्वाय॥ ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः ओं महः ओं जनः ओं तपः ओं सत्यं ब्रह्मणे मुण्डे मध्ये पुरतः। आदित्याय नमः॥ As this prayer contains the mystic words भूर्भुवःस्वर् and the syllable ओं it is clear beyond doubt, that this prayer is un-Zoroastrian.

Srausha. This passage shows, that in their worship, the Magas and Bhojakas invoked Hindu as well as Zoroastrian deities.

* * *

Then having made circumambulation, an offering should be made to the gods of the quarters* (§ 40).

If best flowers are not available, then leaves might be offered. If leaves cannot be had, then incense. If incense cannot be had, then water. If none (of these) is available, then one should worship by falling prostrate. If one is unable to fall prostrate, one should worship the Sun in (lit. by) the mind. All these (alternative) ritual offerings are enjoined, when there is no money. He, who has money, should offer all (these) (§ § 51-53). When one offers incense to the Sun with Mantras and ceremonies, the Sun becomes pleased with incense by their recitation (§ 54). He, having devoutly and properly covered his head, nose and mouth, should worship the Sun and should not be lax (in worship) (§ 52).

Derivations of the Words Maga and Bhojaka-Brahma Parva, Chapter 144.

O best of men, those who meditate accurately upon *Omkâra* (= the sound *Om*), which is made up of three letters, and upon that *Omkâra* which consists of three half syllables, who speak the *Makâra* (sound *ma*) which is a consonant, (regarded) as a half syllable, and who ponder over the knowledge contained in the *Makâra*, which is Truth itself—the Makâra being known as the lord god Sun—are known as *Mogas* on account of the contemplation and meditation of the Makâra (§ § 23-25).

Because they cause the thousand rayed Sun to be glad (भोजयन्ति) by incense, flowers and offerings, therefore they are called *Bhojakas*. *

An Account of Bhojakas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 145.

Vasudeva said :—" O great sage, best of Brâhmans, give me an account of the Bhojakas as my curiosity is very great " (§ 1). Vyâsa said :— " Learn the account, as I speak. " He (Bhojaka) abandons the dress, which is contaminated by bones, which has come into contact with (fleshy) muscles, which is soiled by flesh and blood, which is tied by skin, which is foul smelling, which is spoiled by urine and fæces, which is worn by persons in old age and sorrow, and which is stained by menses. (§§ 2-3)……

Who are Low Bhojakas?—Brahma Parva, Chapter 146.

That Bhojaka, whose wife is a Shudrâ, and who does not wear Avyanga should be undoubtedly known as unworthy to sit in the same row at dinner (§ 12). O eminent lion of Yadus, (in the house of) that Bhojaka worshipper, who worships the Sun with ceremonies, (but) without having bathed and without *Avyanga*, who eats food from the Sudras, who ploughs, † who abandons even the god's idol, who does not perform the ceremonies of the birth of a child &c., who does not recite *Gâyatri* with the *Mantras* at dawn—in that Bhojaka's wicked house, a Brâhman

* In subsequent passages we read, that a bow should be made to all the gods, to the Rudrâs, to the serpent *Shesha*, to the Daityas, Dânavas and Pishachas of *Tala*, Sutala, *Pâtâla*, *Atala Vitala*, *Rasâtala* and other hells. This throws abundant light on the religion of the Bhojakas.

* The author gives fanciful derivations of the words *Maga* and *Bhojaka*.

† Ploughing was probably a duty of the low class at the time. According to Bhagvad Gitâ XVIII-44, ploughing (कृषि:) was a duty of the Vaishyas.

who eats, is not pure (§§ 13-15). He who eats without performing worship of the Sun, the manes, gods, (pious) men and beings, is irreligious. He, who is *devoid of Abhyanga* * and *without Shankha* and who wears hairs on the head should be known as the meanest Bhojaka (§§ 16-17).

All (ceremonies) of a Bhojaka, who performs god's worship, Homa offering ceremony, and ablution, who gives offerings to the manes, gives charity and praises the Brâhmans, but who is devoid of *Abhyanga*, become fruitless (§ 18). O lion of Yadus, this *Abhyanga* is known as pure and best, and is under the protection of all gods and Vedas. O best of Yadus, at the end of the *Abhyanga* of the Bhojakas stands *Hari* (*i.e. Vishnu*), in the middle *Brahmâ* of great lustre, and in the front *Shiva*. At its end is Rigveda, in its middle Sâma Veda entirely, and also the best Yajur Veda with Atharva Veda. The three fires and the three worlds (also) stand (there) in (proper) order; such is the sacred *Abhyanga* of the Bhojakas (§§ 19-22). That Bhojaka, who is devoid of it, is a low Bhojaka, he should be known as one unworthy of dining together (§ 23). Offerings of eatables, red chalk (*Kunkuma*) (offered) to the gods and the Sun are pure. Those Bhojakas who give or sell (them) to the Sudras and who take away things belonging to God should be known as the lowest Bhojakas (§ 24).....

Good and Bad Bhojakas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 147.

Those Bhojakas, who do not capture others' wives and treasures and who do not revile the gods, are always my favourites (§ 3). Those Bhojakas who deal in merchandise and agriculture and (those who) speak ill are all my enemies (§ 4). Those, who take away others' wives, who plough (land), or take up king's service, are to be known as fallen,* those, who eat food (prepared) by Sudras, are my enemies (§ 5).....

Those, whose heads are always shaven, who wear *Abhyanga*, *who blow* the *Shankha* (शंखं वादयन्ति) are thought to be divine Bhojakas (§ 12). Those who have well washed (their bodies) and are devoid of anger, who always worship me three times, are my dear Bhojakas (§ 13). Those who *observe a fast* on my day (मदीये वारे Sunday) at night, and on the 6th Tithi and on the 7th Tithi and on *Sankramana* day† are to be known as Bhojakas, divine Brâhmanas and my worshippers (§§ 14-15).

O hero, those wise men, who on my day (= Sunday) and also on the 6th Tithi, *do not eat at night* are my favourite Magas (§ 20).

Those Bhojakas who do not make offerings every year on the (death anniversary) day of (their) fathers and mothers are not my favourites (§ 21).....

A Bhojaka is said to be venerable (पूज्य) specially to the *Sauras*. Just as husbands are venerable to wives, and masters to pupils, so the Bhojaka, O Yâdava prince, is venerable to the *Sauras*. (§ 33).....all those *Sauras* who eat the food (prepared by) the Bhojakas without hesitation, are freed from sin and go to the world of the Sun (§ 35).

Saura Religion—Brahma Parva, Chapter 151.

This best and famous Saura religion of all people, who are plunged into the ocean of worldly life, was produced for the well-being of the

* Here instead of the word *Avyanga* we have *Abhyanga* which is also very commonly used.

* A Brâhman should only do the service of the gods, he should not be an agriculturist or a servant of any kind.

† Day on which the Sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another. It must be stated that the Zoroastrians do not blow *Shankha* or observe fasts.

world. (§ 16). Those, who being devoted to the Sun, with quiet minds and with the desire to obtain happiness, serve the great religion, are undoubtedly Sauras. (§ 17). They, who remember the Sun with prayer once or twice or thrice every day, are at once freed from all sins, although committed in seven births. (§ 18).....The essence of the Saura religion is that the Sun's worship is indispensable. That (worship) is mentioned by the Sun to the gods as consisting of 16 parts:—(§ 21) namely, (1) ablution in the morning, (2) muttering prayer, (3) Homa ceremony, (4) worship of god, (5) honouring Brâhmans with devotion, (6-7) worship of the cow and *Ashvattha* tree, (8-9) hearing history and Purâna with devotion and faith, (10) study of the Vedas, (11) love for people, with my worship, (12) faith in prayer, which is worthy of respect, (13) loudly reading books with devotion before me—(a thing) which is always dear to me, (14) hearing my stories always, (15) change in voice and (motions of) eyes and body (स्वरनेत्रांगविक्रिया), (16) always remembering me with prayer and faith. .....Him who worshipfully offers to me leaves, flowers, fruit and water, I do not injure, nor does he injure me * (§§ 21-25, 28).

[We shall now translate some of the passages from Chapter 117, which gives, as it were, a summary of all, that we have noted above].

Religious Customs of Bhojakas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 117.

O Garuda, I (Sun) will tell you what Bhojaka is like. He carries out my orders and is always ready to obey (me) (§43). The study of the Vedas is the first thing; then marrying a wife. He always wears Abhyanga and performs three *Savanas* (Soma ceremonies) (§ 44). I am always worshipped *five times* by *night* * and *day*.

A Bhojaka should not perform the consecration of the idol of any other god. He should never do even mine all alone (§ 46). A Bhojaka should never eat all the food, which is offered (to the god); he should not go to a Sudra's house and eat (there) (§ 47). Bhojakas should always with effort abandon the remains of a Sudra's dinners. How can those Bhojakas, who always eat food of the Sudra at his house, obtain in this world the fruit of their worship? (§§ 48-49). A conch should always be blown near me by a Bhojaka (§ 50). When the *Shankha* is blown all of a sudden, my love undoubtedly springs up, (and continues) for 6 months, just like the hearing of Purâna (§ 51). Therefore the *Shankha* should be always sounded by a Bhojaka devoutly; his chief function is making offerings to me. (§ 52). They are said to be Bhojakas, because they do not eat what is not to be eaten; those who (always) think about *Maga* are called *Magadhas*. (नाभोज्यं भुंजते यस्मात् तेनैते भोजकाः मताः। मगं ध्यायंति ते यस्मात्तेन ते मगधा स्मृताः) (§ 53). They always make me enjoy, therefore they are known as Bhojakas (भोजयंति मां नित्यं तेन ते भोजकाः स्मृताः); and the *Abhyanga*, which is the best purifier is worn with devotion (§ 54). A Bhojaka, who is devoid of *Abhyanga* becomes impure without any doubt. He who, O hero, worships me without *Abhyanga*, has no progeny, and I do not love him. The *head should be shaved and a tuft of hair kept with perseverance.* (§§ 55-56). On Sunday at night and on the 6th Tithi and the 7th Tithi and my *Sankramana day*, a Bhojaka should observe fast out of love for me and he should mutter *Gâyatri* loudly thrice a day

* This description of the Saura religion shows that it must be *Mithra worship*, which was spread far and wide a few centuries after Christ.

* The Zoroastrians do not worship the Sun at night.

before me. (§ 58). Having covered his mouth with effort and having abandoned silence and anger with perseverance, he should worship me (§ 59). He, who through avarice or greed gives the holy remains of my offerings to Sudras and Vaishyas, verily goes to hell (§ 60). That wicked-souled Bhojaka, who through avarice gives my flowers to another, without placing them on me, should be known as my great enemy; he is not fit to worship me. The remains of my offerings should be given to (holy) men like Brâhmans (§ 61-62). He should always eat things offered to me (§ 63). He who takes away flowers from my body should immediately throw them into water; my offering should not be given to another..... Whatever fragrant thing or flower has touched my body should never be given to Vaishyas or Sudras; he should take it himself; and should not sell it on any account (§ 66). He who without placing flowers on me, gives them in the world, verily goes to hell (§ 67).

* * *

Conclusion.

None of the Purânas was written before 400 A. D. The date of Bhavishya Purâna cannot be determined accurately, but it could not be earlier than 400 A. D. What is known as the Bhavishya Mahâ Purâna clearly appears to be an extension of the old Purâna, belonging to very recent times; because, in the *Pratisarga Parva* there are chapters, which contain interesting particulars about Adam, Noah, Christ, Mahomed, Taimurlang, Kabir, Nânak and even Akbar.

Considering all the evidence before us, we conclude that the Magas were not *pucca* Zoroastrians. They appear to have been the priests of the Mithra worship of about the 5th or 6th century A. D., and were devoted to the worship of the Sun-idol. Their religion was a mixture of Hinduism and Zoroastrianism and in course of time they were incorporated into the Hindu caste.

* * *

APPENDIX. *

Criticism on Dr. Spooner's Paper

Re:

A Zoroastrian Period of Indian History.

Dr. D. B. Spooner who was in charge of the excavations at Patliputra wrote an important paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in A. D. 1915. The paper deals with a novel but interesting theory about what he terms "a Zoroastrian period of Indian History" which we propose to discuss.

In the very beginning we must say that in spite of our best efforts to fall in with the views of Dr. Spooner, we could not in our heart of hearts bring ourselves round to accept his theory, which however fascinating and agreeable it appeared to the Parsi community, failed to appeal to us, as it was inconsistent with the facts and circumstances we had known from the histories of different religions. We need hardly say that although we differ from the worthy Doctor on several points. still we thoroughly appreciate and sincerely admire the zeal and enthusiasm which inspired him in his arguments.

Patliputra was an ancient city, the capital of Magadha or South Behar. It was the capital of Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty (320 to 290 B C.). † It was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sona, and has been identified with the modern Patna. Exception was taken to this identification, as Patna is not situated near the confluence of the above said rivers. This however has been explained by a change in the bed of the river Sona, which is established on best geographical evidence. (Max Muller's Ancient Sk. Literature, p. 280; Vincent Smith's Early History of India, p. 114).

Patliputra * was also called Kusumpura, Kusumadhvaja and Pushpapura, (Dutt's Anc. India Vol. II, p. 121; V. Smith's Early Hist. p. 31), and was known as Palibothra in the Classical writings.

Megasthenes, who was the ambassador sent by Seleukos Nikator † to the court of Sandrokottos, that is, Chandragupta, was the author of a book on India. He was an acute observer and was of an inquisitive turn of mind. In this book he has given a faithful account of what fell under his observation. This work is lost, but numerous fragments from it have been preserved by Strabo, Arrian, Pliny and others. Megasthenes describes Palibothra as being the Capital in those days. The city was a long narrow parallelogram about 80 stadia or 9·2 miles long (stadium = 202¼ yards), and 15 stadia or 1.72 miles wide, and was surrounded by a ditch 600 feet wide and 30 cubits deep. Its walls were adorned with 570 towers and 64 gates. (Mc. Crindle's Anc. India, pp. 204-8; Smith's Early Hist. of India, p. 114, and Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I; p. 217, Cunningham's Anc. Geography of India, p. 452).

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* As stated at page 4, it was at first intended to reserve the discussion on Dr. Spooner's paper for a separate book, but as his theory and the several points he has urged in favour thereof are intimately connected with the subject matter of this book, it was at the suggestion of a friend, thought advisable to insert our criticism here.

† According to Max Muller 315 to 291 B. C. (S. B. E. Vol. X Pt. I, Introd. p. 39)

* Bhâsha in his play, Act I. twice mentions Pataliputra as a capital of Darsaka, who ruled till 464 B C. Darsaka was succeeded by his son Udayâshva. who in 460 B. C. built Kusumapura–"the City of Gardens" now Bankipore. (Hindu History by A. K. Mozumdar, pp. 321-322) (Archæological Survey of Westren India Vol. 5, p. 43).

† One of Alexander's great generals, and king of Syria, who sent Megasthenes in 300 B. C. to Chandragupta (Rapson's Anc. India, p. 174.)

Asoka (260 to 222 B. C.) * who was the grandson of Chandragupta built an outer masonry wall round this famous city and beautified it with innumerable stone buildings. A great portion of this city and the remains of the palace of Asoka, still lie buried under the houses and fields of the village of Kumrahâr on the south side of the railway between Patna and Bankipur at a depth of from 10 to 20 feet. (Encycl. Bri. 11th Ed. XX, p. 929; V. Smith's Hist. of India, p. 114).

Excavations at Patliputra.

The first excavations of Patliputra were made about 25 years ago under the supervision of Colonel Waddell, and Mr. P. C. Mukherji. The second excavations were commenced in the beginning of 1913 by the Archæological Department of the Government of India under Dr. Spooner. For this purpose the late Sir Ratan Tata of Bombay had made a munificent donation of Rs. 20,000 every year for a number of years.

While the excavations were being carried on, Dr. Spooner came across one big column and fragments of polished pillars and other relics, from which he concluded that there must have been a vast pillared hall on the spot. From further materials he concluded, that this hall was "square with stone columns arranged in square bays over the entire area, placed at distances of 15 feet or 10 Mauryan cubits each from each." Now as it is well known, that the edicts of Asoka are after the style of the cuniform inscriptions of Darius Hystapes, and as the excavated columns had the peculiar Persian polish, it was inferred that the hall at Patliputra closely resembled, nay it was almost a copy of the throne room of Darius, the hall of a hundred columns at Persepolis. Further excavations led Dr. Spooner to believe, that not only the hall but its surroundings also showed close likeness of the Achæmenian prototype, and that here "we had a conscious Mauryan copy of Persepolis."

Dr. Spooner being a great Archæologist, we as laymen have nothing to say against his archæological conclusions. But it is the literary evidence, which is of the utmost importance for us, because on this evidence the learned Doctor bases his inference as regards the "Zoroastrian period of Indian History."

Dr. Spooner observes:—"Asoka has hitherto been credited with having introduced the use of stone, and Greeks have shared with Persians the hononr of inspiring him." But he asks: "Is there any trace of Greek influence at Chandragupta's court in all the records of Megasthenes?"

We know that the Greeks as well as the Persians had assisted Chandragupta in his wars against the last monarch of Magadha, namely Dhana Nandana and it appears clear, that the connection of the Greeks must be as close as that of the Persians. The very fact that Megasthenes was *frequently* sent as an ambassador to Chandragupta proves this.* (Max Muller's Anc. Sk. Literature, p. 277; McCrindle's Anc. India, p. 88). As we shall see later on, the Greeks were as well famous for their architectural buildings as the Persians. But in spite of this it might be, that the Mauryan hall was built after the design of the Persepolitan hall by some Persians at the court of Chandragupta or his successors.

Evidence of Mahabharata and Asura Maya.

Let us now consider the literary evidence. Prof. Jacobi's suggestion

* Dutt's Anc. Ind. I, p. 24; and S. B. E. X. Pt. I, Intro. p. 39. Dr. Bhandarkar in his Early Hist. of Deccan (p. 14) gives 263 to 229 B. C.

* Daimachus was sent as an ambassador by Antiochus I. (280-261 B. C) and Dionysius by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) (See Rapson's Anc. India, pp. 103-4).

that the Mahâbhârata might throw some light on the question, drew the attention of Dr. Spooner to a passage in Hopkins' Great Epic (p. 391). In this passage Hopkins remarks, that "the architecture, which is of stone and metal, is attributed in all the more important building operations to the demon Asura, or Dânava Maya who by his magic power builds such huge buildings as are described, immense moated palaces with arches and a roof supported by a thousand columns."

Dr. Spooner supposes, that Asura Maya is the exact equivalent of Ahura Mazda, and that his association with architectural buildings is in entire accord with the language of the inscription on the great Porch of Xerxes, wherein the emperor said, that "he made the portal and many other noble monuments in Parsa by the grace of Ormuzd." (J. R. A .S. 1915, p. 444).

Although *Ahura* is the exact equivalent of *Asura*, still *Mazda* cannot be equated with *Maya*, as Dr. Spooner has himself acknowledged. But it is stated that an ordinary Indian would not care to follow the rules of philology and would roughly following the sound, equate Ahura Mazda with Asura Maja and then Asura Maya. This argument is reasonable, but we must not forget, that ever since the later times of the Rigveda, the word Asura had come to be used in a bad sense and a Hindu writer, such as that of Mahabharata could hardly be expected to use a bad word for the Hindu deity or divine personage connected with architecture.

Dr. Spooner quotes a few passages from the sacred book of Mahâbhârata in support of his argument. He lays great stress upon the following passages, wherein Asura Maya thus speaks about himself:—

अहं हि विश्मकर्मा दानवानां महाकविः ।.....
दानवानां पुरा पार्थ प्रासादा हि मया कृताः ।

The passages are translated thus:-

"For I am the Creator, the great Kavi of the Dânavas...O Pârtha (=Arjuna) aforetime the palaces of the Dânavas were wrought by me."

In this translation Dr. Spooner renders विश्वकर्मा as the "Creator" but this is not correct, as we shall see hereafter. The learned Doctor says, that "Asura Maya was the Creator, and that Maya could not state his identity with Ormuzd in clearer terms . . . . . Neither in the epitaph on the Porch of Xerxes nor in Persia generally was Ahura Mazda looked upon, in Achæmenian times as the literal builder. But neither need we suppose, that in the days of the Mauryas, the Asura Maya was so looked upon either. The conception of the Asura Maya as an active architect is an essentially later development."

Our objection is that, even if we take विश्वकर्मा in the sense of the Creator, still the parallelism between the passages of the Mahâbhârata and the inscription of Xerxes, which Dr. Spooner refers to, fails. because in the Sanskrit passage the Creator is represented as building the palaces, whereas in the Persian inscription the palaces were wrought not by Ahura Mazda himself but by the grace of Ahura Mazda.

Danavas.

The other objection, to the argument of Dr. Spooner is the meaning of the word Dânava. We are told that the Sanskrit word for Venus being Asura-guru (teacher of the Asuras), and also Dânava-pujita (one worshipped by the Dânava), the Dânavas were identical with the Asuras.

It is not difficult to see that the fallacy consists in this, that although some of the Asuras were Ahurians or believers in Ahura Mazda, all* were not and that Dânavas were

* For example, Gayasura, Bânâsura, Jatâsura, Vâtâpi-asura, Illavasura could not be Persian names.

probably those Asuras,* who did not believe in Ahura Mazda. It is an important question to determine who these Dânavas were; and herein the knowledge both of Avesta and Sanskrit is quite essential.

In two passages in the Fravardin Yasht (Yt. XIII. 37, 38) we see, that the Dânus were the enemies of Zoroastrians; for we are told that "where the powerful warriors raise a war against the Dânus, there the Farohars go to help the warriors; there they break off the strength of the Turâni Dânus; there they remove the wickednesses of the Turâni Dânus." Now as Dr. Geiger says, the word Dânu is also found in the Rigveda, as well as Dânava, *another form of it*. (Civilisation of Eastern Indians Dastur Darab Sanjana's Tr. Vol. I p. 34). In several passages of the Rigveda (IV, 30, 7; II, 11, 13) the Dânus are represented as the enemies of the Vedic people.

Even in the Atharva Veda† and Mahâbhârata we see, that the Dânavas were treated as enemies. According to Dr. Haug both in the Avesta (Yt. V. 73.) and the Veda (Av. IV. 24-2), the Dânavas were the enemies with whom wars were waged.

We thus see that the Dânavas were enemies of those who believed in Ahura Mazda. If then Asura Maya was the great god of the Dânavas, he could not be identical with Ahura Mazda.

References about Asura Maya in Mahabharata.

Dr. Spooner has quoted some passages from the Mahâbhârata and put certain interpretation upon them. To test the correctness of this interpretation, it is quite essential to quote other passages. In Chapter 228 of the Adi Parva of the Mahâbhârata (called Maya-darshana Parva), we are told, that while the Khandava forest was being burnt, an Asura, named Maya came out of the dwelling of Takshaka and begged Arjuna to protect him. The words of the author are:—

.....तथासुरं मयं नाम तक्षकस्य निवेशनात् ॥ विप्र द्रवंतं सहसा ददर्श मधुसूदनः । तं अग्निः प्रार्थयामास दिधक्षुर्वातसारथिः ॥ शरीरवान् जटीभूत्वा नदन् इव बलाहकः । विज्ञाय दानवेंद्राणां मयं वै शिल्पिनाम् वरम् ॥ जिघांसुर्वासुदेवस्तं चक्रं उद्यम्यधिष्ठितः । (§§ 39–42).

"Then Madhu-sudana (Krishna) saw an Asura named Maya, running away quickly from the dwelling of Takshaka. Then Fire, with wind for its charioteer, wanted to burn him. So he assumed a body; and putting on matted hair, he thundered like a cloud. Knowing that he was Maya, who was the *best of the chief Dânavas* and the *best of architects*, Vâsudeva (Krishna) stood with a Chakra lifted up.

In the *Sabhâ Parva*, which is the second book of the Mahâbhârata, and from which Dr. Spooner has quoted passages to form his theory, Maya tells Arjuna, that as he wants to return his obligation, Arjuna should say what he wishes him to do. Maya says:—अहं हि विश्वकर्मा वै दानवानां महाकविः । सोऽहं वै त्वत्कृते कर्तुमकिंचिद् इच्छामि (§ 6) "I am the all-doer, a great sage of the Dânavas. O, Pândava, I desire to do something for thy sake."

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* An Asura is thus defined in the Chhândogya Upanishada VIII–8-5 :—
तस्माद् अपि अद्य इह अददानं अश्रद्दधानं अयजमानं आहुः असुरो बत इति.
"Hence even at this day, one who does not give (in charity), or has no faith, or does not sacrifice, is said to be an Asura." Then the writer proceeds :—"They (the Asuras) adorn the bodies of the dead with gifts, with raiment and jewels, and imagine that by this means they shall attain the world to come." (See Muir's Sanskrit Texts II. p. 396). According to the Shatapatha Brahmana XIII–8-1-5 the Asuras constructed round graves. These Asuras could not be Zoroastrians.

Nishambhu and Hayagriva were names of Dânavas, which are not Persian names.

† Atharva Veda X–6-10, and M. Bh Vana Parva Chapters 94 §§ 7-11, 100 §§ 3-4, 154 § 23 &c.

Then Arjuna answers:—न चापि तव संकल्पं मोघं इच्छामि दानव। कृष्णस्य क्रियतां किंचित् तथा प्रतिकृतं मयि ॥ (§ 7). "O *Dânava*, I do not desire to frustrate your intentions; do something for Krishna, so that I shall consider myself requited." In this last verse we clearly see, that Maya is called a Dânava. Similarly in the Adi Parva (Chap. 234 § 18), * Maya is called दानवः मयः "Maya Dânava." Now if Ahura Mazda was the great Kavi (*i. e.* great god) of the Dânavas, who, according to Dr Spooner, were Zoroastrians, would it not be absurd to call Ahura Mazda a Dânava that is a human being, and not a god?

Let us proceed. Krishna says to Maya:—

यदि च त्वं कर्तुकामोऽसि प्रियं शिल्पवतां वर।
धर्मराजस्य दैतेय यादृशीं इह मन्यसे ॥ यां कृतां नानुकुर्वंति मानवाः प्रेक्ष्यधिष्ठिताः। मनुष्यलोके सकले तादृशीं कुरु वै सभाम् ॥ (§§ 11-12.)

"O best of architects, if you desire to do me a good turn, then O Daitya (=Dânava), build such a hall for Yudhishthira, that no one in the whole world will be able to imitate it." Here again Maya is called "the best of architects" and he is to build the palace for Yudhishthira.

Further up we read:—

प्रतिगृह्य तु तद्वाक्यं संप्रहृष्टो मयस्तदा।
विमानप्रतिमां चक्रे पांडवस्य शुभाम् सभाम् ॥

(§ 15). "Then Maya, who was pleased, accepted his word, and made Pândava's beautiful hall of the form of a balloon." After a couple of verses, the author informs us, that "Maya began to build the palace-hall *for the Pândavas*." (§ 18). The statement, that the hall was built for Yudhishthira or the Pândavas (that is, Yudhishthira and his brothers), is very important. For, if this hall was the same as that of the Mauryas, it might follow that the Mauryas were the Pândavas—and this conclusion very few scholars will be prepared to accept.

The author further tells us that:—

अभिप्रायेण पार्थानां कृष्णस्य च महात्मनः।
पुण्येऽहनि महातेजाः कृतकौतुकमंगलः ॥
तर्पयित्वा द्विजश्रेष्ठान् पायसेन सहस्रशः।
धनं बहुविधं दत्वा तेभ्यः एव च वीर्यवान् ॥
सर्वर्तुगुणसंपन्नां दिव्यरूपां मनोरमां।
दशकिष्कुसहस्रां तां मापयामास सर्वतः ॥

(§§ 19-21). "According to the intention of the Pândavas and the high-minded Krishna, the illustrious (Maya) did auspicious acts. Then having satisfied thousands of best Brâhmanas with (sweet) drink and giving them wealth of various kinds, that strong one measured ground, 10,000 arms square, which was beautiful, heaven-like and full of merits in all seasons." Further up we are told that the throne-hall was built in 14 months.

Thus then the Sabhá Parva clearly shows that Asura Maya was a human being. No doubt, as we shall presently see, Maya was endowed with supernatural powers in much later times; but that has happened in the case of all illustrious persons.*

Asura Maya in Katha-Sarit-Sagara.

Now let us turn for a moment to Kathâ-Sarit-sâgara—a work written by Sonadeva in the 12th century† A. D., from which Dr. Spooner also quotes a phrase. We read in that book, as under:—"There is a mighty Asura of the name Maya, famous in

* See also Chap. 48 § 8 where he is also called Dânava.

* In the Râmâyana Râma is depicted as a man, but in the Mahâbhârata he appears as an incarnation of Vishnu. (R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races, p. 116). Through the performance of good deeds the Ribhus obtained divinity. They prove the admission at an early date of the doctrine that men might become divinities (Wilson's Rv. IV-35 3, 8). The Andhra King Royadoo is to-day worshipped as a god at Siccacollum on the river Krishna. (Muir's Sk. Texts II-432).

† R. C. Dutt's Anc. India Vol. II, p 299. Max Muller's Anc. India p 243.

the three worlds. And he . . . fled to Shiva as his protector. Shiva, having promised him security, he built the palace of Indra. But the Daityas were angry with him, affirming that he had become a partizan of the gods." *

It will be seen from the above passage that *Maya was a worshipper of the god Shiva.* This latter fact is corroborated by another passage, where *Maya advises the king Chandraprabhâ to perform a great sacrifice in honour of Shiva.* (Tr. by Towney Vol. I. p. 416),

The hermit Kashyapa speaks to Maya as a human being when he says :—" My son, thou didst remain undaunted, even when Indra lifted up his weapon to strike, therefore thou shalt remain unharmed by the plagues of *sickness* and *old age*" (Vol. I. p. 434).

Maya was well versed in the art of magic; for we read that " he recited the Sânkhya and the Yoga doctrine with its secrets and taught the king the magic art of entering another body (Vol. I. p. 418).

In some places we find that Maya was endowed with supernatural powers. We read, for instance, that Maya took leave of the king and quickly carried off to Pâtâla, Suryaprabhâh and his ministers.....There he taught the prince ascetic practices of such a kind, that by means of them, the prince and his ministers quickly acquired the sciences. And he taught him also the art of providing himself with magic chariots." (Vol I. p. 407).

The fact, that Asura Maya had built the assembly hall of Yudhishthira, is also mentioned in the Kâtha-sarit-Sâgara, where we read: "There is a great Asura Maya by name, an incarnation of Vishvarkarman, who made the assembly hall of Yudhishthira" (Vol I. p. 310).

* Translation by Towney I. p, 258.

Finally, we are told in several places, that Maya was "the king of the Dânavas (Vol I. pp. 414, 421) and "the excellent Dânava."

We thus see, that the Kathâ-sarit sâgara completely corroborates the story of Mahâbhârata and strengthens our conclusion about Maya being a human personage with this difference, that in some places he is represented as being possessed of miraculous powers. He was probably a foreigner and had subsequently become a worshipper of Shiva.

There are references to Maya in the Surya Siddhânta also, according to which some time before the end of the Krita age, Maya practised the most difficult penance and obtained knowledge of astronomy.

Probable Date of Asura Maya.

Now let us for a moment consider the question of dates. We admit, that the dates of all ancient works cannot be determined with accuracy. The early portions of the Mahâbhârata are supposed to belong to B. C. 1000 to 800, and the later interpolations to 400 B. C.* (Bom. Gazetteer Vol. I. pt. I. p. 11; Dutt's Anc. India Vol I. p. 120 ff). The latest date assigned to the Rânâyava by Gorresio is 950 B. C. Therefore, since the story of Maya is mentined in these Epics, the conclusion is that Maya may have lived before 400 B. C. But this conclusion may not be readily accepted, specially because R. Chanda and Vaidya assign the date 200 B. C. and 100 B. C. respectively to the present form of the Mahâbhârata. We have, however, more substantial ground to go upon.

The name of the important personages of the Mahâbhârata–such as

* Mr. Ramâprasad Chandra states that the M. Bh. was reduced to its present form about 200 B.C. (Indo-Aryan Races, p. 116). It is however mentioned in Ashvalâyan's Grihya Sutras and in Panini VI-2-38 idem p. 28).

Yudhishthira, Arjuna, Bhima, Subhadrâ &c. are distinctly mentioned in Pânini's grammar, which according to Prof. Max Muller belonged to 400 B. C., and according to Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar 800 B. C. (Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 44. B. R. A. J. 1885 p. 341). Therefore, Yudhishthira must have lived before 400 B. C.* at the latest. Now if Asura Maya built the palace for Yudhishthira, as we gather from the old traditions in the Mahâbhârata and Kathâ-sarit-sagara, the conclusion is that Maya did so before 400 B. C. ——a date long prior to the date of the Mauryan kings. According to some later Hindu writers, as will be seen hereafter, Maya was a Yavana or Greek. If so, he could not be the actual builder of the palace of Yudhishthira and must therefore be an architect of later times. But in our opinion the writer who called Maya a *Yavana* used that word in the sense of a *foreigner*, while later writers took it in the sense of a person of the Greek nationality.

Why is Asura called Vishva-Karma ?

We have seen that Maya was an architect, an astronomer, a magician and an expert in ascetic practices, and as the Kathâ-sarit-sâgara says "he was a treasure house of all sciences (Vol I. p. 432). Therefore he might well be called *Vishva karma* "a man of all works."

This is also one of the senses of that word in the Rigveda (X.-166-4). Asura Maya was not विश्वकर्मा the "Creator," he was simply an "all-doer." He was not a *Kavi* or "god" of the Dânavas, he was merely a "sage" of the Dânavas, a "king of the Dânavas," an "excellent Dânava."

* According to R. Shamshashtri, Yudhishthira died in 1260 B. C. (Gavam Ayanam p. 153). Varaha Mihira says in Brihat Samhita (XIII-3) that the Great Bear was in Maghâ, when that king ruled, that is in B. C. 2448 (Dr. Kern's translation J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. I p. 79).

Patliputra built by Magic (!)

Dr. Spooner refers to Kathâ-Sarit-Sâgara, in which occurs the phrase मायार्चितं पाटलिपुत्रं. According to the learned Doctor this signifies, that Patliputra was built by magic; and magic was the peculiar property of the Zoroastrian Magians. We regret we cannot agree to this. The other nations knew magic as well as the Magi. The Hindus practised magic. For example it is stated that Maricha the friend of Râvana, turned himself by his magic power into a golden deer, which carried away Sita * (Griffith's Râmayana, p. 277).

Therefore the phrase मायार्चितं पाटलिपुत्रं does not carry us further than the fact. that Patliputra was built by the Dânavas, who were expert in magic.

We are inclined to believe, that the description of Patliputra being built by magic, is metaphorical. Fa Hian the Chinese traveller uses a similar metaphor, when he says about Patliputra, that:—"In the city is the royal palace, the different parts of which Asoka commissioned the *genii* to construct, by piling up the stones. The walls, door-ways and sculptured designs are no human work." (Dutt's Anc. Hist. Vol. I p. 58). The metaphor is not difficult to understand. We have seen, that *at one time* the Dânavas were the enemies of the Indian Aryans. But the word "Dânavas" was also used in its extended sense of the "enemies of gods," † or "demons," as we clearly

* The Brâhmana Indradatta passed into the body of the dead king Nanda of Magadha and made grants to Brâhmans out of the dead king's mouth. Ammianus Marcellinus (A. D. 380) heard that the Brâhmans moved in the air among the altars; in the early sixth century the Chinese traveller Sung-Yun found, under Brahman spells a dragon turned into a man; he was himself cured of sickness by charms (For authorities see Bom. Gaz. Vol. 9, p. 437).

† See Geiger's C. E. I. tr. by Dr. Darab Sanjana I. p. 34; Wilson's Vishnu Purâna p. 72, Sacred Books of Marathas IX p. 77 and M. Bh. XII, 185-122.

see in the Mahâbhârata in the Vishnu Purâna, and in the Garuda Purâna.

Now the descriptions of the palaces referred to in the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana &c. shows that it was the usual practice to attribute the erection of large magnificent palaces of later times to Dânavas or demons. We can thus easily understand why the Chinese traveller Fa Hian and also Houen Tsang * said that the buildings were built by genii.

Asura Maya according to Weber.

Let us now see, what European scholars have to say about the identification of Asura Maya and his nationality. On of the inscriptions of Asoka gives the clue. Therein we read :—

अत अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा । पलं चा तेना अंतियोगेना चतालि लाजाने तुलमय नाम, अंतेकिने नाम, मका नाम, अलिक्यशुदले नाम ॥

(See Wilson's Rock Inscriptions, p. 73).†

"Where the King of the Yonas (Greeks), Antiyoka by name dwells and beyond this Antiyoka (dwell) the four kings, Turamaya by name, Antikina by name, Maka by name, and Alikasudara ‡ by name."

Scholars have identified the king Turamaya mentioned in the inscription with Ptolemy of Egypt who ruled from 285 B. C. to 247 B. C. (Mc. Crindle's Anc. India 374, 52; Dutt's Anc. India II-12 ff). Thus then we see that the name Ptolemy assumed the form "Turamaya"* into Pali.

Prof. Weber thinks that "Asura Maya was Turamaya or Ptolemaios of the Greeks" (Hist of Indian Lit. pp. 253, 274). Burgess in his Surya Sidhânta says, that "this conjecture of Weber is powerfully supported by the fact, that Al-Biruni ascribes the Pâulica Sidhânta.....to Paulus-al-Yunâni, Paulus the Greek." But the question is whether Ptolemy Philadelphus or his predecessor or successor known as Ptolemy or any other Ptolemy is referred to in the passage of the Mâhâbhârata, which we are considering. It is true that Ptolemy, who was called the son of Lagos, but who was in reality the son of Phillip was one of the generals appointed by Alexander in his Indian conquests. This Ptolemy may have come into close contact with the Indians. But we have no definite evidence to say, who was the architect of the palaces.

Were the Palaces Built by Greeks or Persians ?

The next question is, whether the palaces were built by some architect belonging to the Greek nationality. We must say, that there is a considerable difference of opinion among the scholars about the influence exercised by Greek architecture over India. We give below the opinions of some. Vincent Smith says, that "there is no evidence, that Greek

* These travellers came to India ia A. D. 399–413 and 629-645 respectively (Cunningham's Anc. Geography pp. VIII, IX)

† The 13th Edict at Shâhbâzgiri gives the text in full thus :—
यत्र अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अंतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम (Epigraphia Indica II. p. 463).

The inscriptions of Asoka are found at Girnar near Junâgad in Kathiawar, at Dauli in Kattak, at Kapurdigiri or Sâhbazgiri in Afghanistan, at Jangad near Ganjam in the Northern Circars, and at Khalsi, near Masuri, in the Himalayas (B. B. R. A. S. XVI, p. 308).

‡ These sovereigns were :—(1) Antiochus II of Syria (B. C. 261–246), (2) Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (B. C. 285–247), (3) Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon (B. C. 277–239), (4) Magas of Cyrene (B. C. 285–239) and (5) Alexander of Epirus (B. C. 272). (See Rapson's Anc. India p. 21). The dates of the deaths of these kings as given by Lassen differ somewhat (See Epigraphia Indica II, p. 471).

* स् in Sanskrit becomes त् in Pali, thus नास्ति=णत्थि. Similarly dropping अ the word असुर becomes तुर into Pali.

architecture was introduced into India....The earliest known example of Indo-Greek sculpture belongs to the reign of Azes (50 B. C.)" (Early Hist. pp. 212-213), Weber informs that in the most ancient edifices, the presence of Greek influence is unmistakable (Hist. of Indian Lit. p. 274). Sir John Marshall observes that the columns and capitals of Asoka were wrought by Greco-Persian masons (J. R. A. S. 1915 p. 71). Major-General Cunningham, noting a few specimens of the *Indo-Persian Style* of architecture, which according to him belonged to the two centuries between 50 B. C. and 150 A. D., says:—"As the different styles of Greek architecture must have been introduced into the Kabul valley and the districts lying along the Indus as early as B. C. 200, it is a source of great disappointment to me, that no specimen of Indo-Grecian architecture has been discovered, to which I can assign an earlier date than about 80 B.C." (Archæological Survey Vol. V, pp. 185-89). R. C Dutt concludes, that the Greek influence greatly modified the style of architecture of Gândhâr Vihâras or monasteries, and many capitals and figures discovered in the Punjab are distinctly Greek in style (Anc. India II, p. 80).

Asoka has been credited with having introduced the use of stone for buildings, and it is believed by some scholars, that in this he was inspired by the Greeks, and by other scholars, that he was inspired by the Persians. Sir John Marshall is of former opinion, Dr. Spooner holds the latter opinion.

In the face of this contradictory evidence it would not be safe to assert, that the palaces of the Mahâbhârata were built under the supervision of a Greek architect.

Palaces in Mahabharata.

Now we might well ask, whether there is anything in the passages of the Mahâbhârata to show, that the palaces referred to therein were the palaces of Patliputra. We answer, that there is no such proof. *

On the contrary the proof is against such a theory. From several passages in the Mahâbhârata, we find that the Sabhâ or hall was built in Indraprastha † and not in Patliputra. Indraprastha has been identified with the modern Inderpat near Delhi; it stood on the left bank of the Yamunâ while Delhi stands on the right, whereas, as we have already seen, Patliputra was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sona. (See M. Bh. Sabhâ Parva Chapter I-21, II-1, XXII-19, 20). Thus these two cities were totally distinct cities, and therefore the palaces in them were not identical.

Dr. Spooner quotes verses from the Mahâbhârata to show, that Maya built in former times splendid palaces, pavilions, pleasure gardens, fancy ponds &c. for the Dânavas. These Dânavas (or Asuras, as they were called) were not the aboriginal tribes of India. There is so specific evidence, that the early Hindus had such buildings. Passages quoted by Curtius and Strabo from Megasthenes show that we come across similar buildings, pavilions, gardens, ponds &c. belonging to the Court of Chandragupta. Therefore Dr. Spooner would identify the palaces &c. mentioned in the Mahâbhârata with those of Chandragupta at Patliputra.

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* Unless it is conciusively proved, that all the passages relating to the Sabhâ (or Hall) were later interpolations. We know that some scholars hold this opinion but the fact that both the Mahâbhârata and the Kathâsarit-sâgara distinctly mention, that the Hall was built by Maya *for Yudhishthira* points to a deep-rooted tradition in olden times. Mr. Vaidya has, in his book, given a list of the Chapters which appear to him to be later interpolations by Sauti the third editor of the Mahâbharata (between 300 and 200 B.C.) but the chapters relating to the Sabhâ are not included in the list (See Vaidya s Mahâbhârata pp. 193, 196).

† Its another name was Khândavaprastha. It was the capital of Yudhisthira and the Pandavas. See Vaidya's Mahâbhârata p. 129,

We are sorry, we cannot readily accept this conclusion. In the Adi Parva (Chapter 207) of the Mahâbhârata, there is a beautiful description of the town, Indraprastha, which so closely resembles that of Patliputra given by Megasthenes, that we shall quote a few stray passages from the Chapter referred to there.

सागरस्य प्रतिरूपाभिः परिखाभिरलंकृतं । प्राकारेण च संपन्नं दिव्यमावृत्य तिष्ठता ॥ द्विपक्षगरुडप्रख्यैः द्वारैः सौधैश्च शोभितं । गुप्तं अभ्रचयप्रख्यैः गोपुरैः मंदरोपमैः ॥ (30-31).

"It was adorned with a ditch as deep as the sea, and was surrounded by a rampart wall, which reached the skies. It shone with doors as beautiful as the wings of a *garuda* bird, and with tall houses; it was closed by gates, which reached the sky and resembled Mandara mountain."

विरोचमानं विविधैः पांडुरैर्भवनोत्तमैः । तत् त्रिविष्टपसंकाशं इंद्रप्रस्थं व्यरोचत ॥ .....तत्र रम्ये शिवे देशे कौरवस्य निवेशनम् ॥ (36-37)

"It was shining with several, best, white mansions. It resembled heaven and was called Indraprastha . . . . There in that delightful blessed region, there was the palace of the Kaurava."

सर्व-शिल्पविदस्तत्र वासाय अभ्यागमंस्तदा । उद्यानानि च रम्याणि नगरस्य समन्ततः ॥ (§ 39) गृहैः आदर्शमलैः विविधैश्च लतागृहैः ॥ मनोहरैश्चित्रगृहैस्तथा अजगतिपर्वतैः ॥ (§§ 45-46) रम्याश्च विविधास्तत्र पुष्करिण्यो वनावृताः । तडागानि च रम्याणि बृहंति सुबहूनि च ॥ (§ 48)

"There all architects came to reside. On all sides of the town, there were delightful *gardens*. It shone with *houses*, as pure as looking-glasses, with vine *pavilions* of various kinds, with pleasant picture-houses and *artificial mounds*. Beautiful *lotus-ponds* of various kinds, covered over with lotuses were there; and (also) many large and delightful lakes."

It will thus be seen, that the above description of the town Indraprastha is almost the same as that of Patliputra. In the Epic period, the Hindus had many clever architects. Besides the royal hall at *Indraprastha*, we read of another grand hall, built at *Hastinâpura*—a town situated about 50 miles north-east of the modern Delhi. In the 49th Chapter of the Sabhâ Parva (§ 48), Dhritarâshtra, father of Duryodhana, the king of the Kurus, says:—स्थूणासहस्रैर्बृहतीं शतद्वारां सभां मम । मनोरमां दर्शनीयां आशु कुर्वन्तु शिल्पिनः ॥ "Let the architects quickly build for me a large, pretty and beautiful hall, with one thousand pillars and one hundred doors." सहस्रस्तंभां हेमवैदूर्यचित्रां शतद्वारां तोरण-स्फाटिकारव्याम् । सभां अग्र्यां क्रोशमात्रायतां मे तद् विस्तारां आशु कुर्वन्तु युक्ताः ॥ "Let able men quickly build for me a grand hall, one *kos* in length and breadth, with a thousand pillars, with pictures of gold and *lapis lazuli*, with one hundred doors, and with crystal festoons."

Then we are told, that thousands of clever architects (सहस्रशः शिल्पिनः युक्ताः) built the hall, which was similar to that of the Pândavas (see Sabhâ Parva Chap. 56, § 15-20, Chap. 58 § 7). Now according to the Mahâbhârata, the blind king, Dhritarâhtra with his hundred sons, continued to rule at the old capital of *Hastinâpura* on the Ganges, while he assigned to his nephews, the five Pândus, a district on the Jamnâ, where they founded *Indraprastha*. (Rapson's Anc. India p. 173). Thus we see that these two were totally different cities, and each contained a royal hall in it.

Buildings in Rigvedic and Later Times.

We come across thousand-pillared buildings in the Rigveda, in the second book of which we read:—"Those two kings , ... take their seat in their supremest house, the thousand-pillared, firmly-based" (Rv. II-41-5, V-62-6). In another place, we read of Varuna's house with thousand portals (Rv. VII-88-5). In a third place we have a reference

to a "hundred *stone-built* towns" (शतं अश्मन्मयीनां पुराम्), (Rv. IV-30-20). This passage* is very important, as showing that stone-built towns were known even in the Rigvedic times. Dutt rightly says about the Vedic Hindus, that "in numerous Hindu towns many structures and surrounding walls were of stone. That the art of building was carried to some degree of excellence appears from many allusions to mansions with thousand pillars" (Anc. India Vol. I, p. 46).

In the Epic period (1400 to 1000 B. C.) also the Hindus built many beautiful cities and palaces.

In the Apastamba Sutra (II-10-25), the king is directed to build a royal town and a palace for himself, so that "the palace shall stand in the heart of the town and in front of it, there shall be a hall, called the hall of invitation." This work of Apastamba belonged to the Rationalistic period, that is, between 1000 B. C. to 320 B. C (Dutt's Anc. India I, pp. 14, 220).

We therefore cannot agree with Dr. Spooner, when he says, that "there is one period of Indian history and one Indian Court, where definite evidence exists for just such things, as are mentioned in the Mâhâbharata, and the works of the Classical writers, who have quoted Megasthenes."

Mr. Kharegat's Views about Asura Maya and the Hall.

In reply to our letter Mr. Muncherji Pestanji Kharegat (I. C. S., retired) writes his views as under:—

The passage of the Brihat Jâtâka alluded to by me at last Saturday's meeting * is the 1st verse of the 7th Adhyaya, which deals with *Ayurdâya* or length of life. It runs:—

मय-यवन-मणित्थशक्तिपूर्वै दिवसकरादिषु वत्सराः प्रदिष्टाः ।
नवतिथि विषयाश्चिभूतरुद्रै दशसहितादशभिः स्वतुंगभेषु ॥

"The years assigned by Maya Yavana, Manittha and Saktipurva (*i. e.* Parâsâra) to the Sun and others (moon and five planets), when they are all in their exaltations are (respectively) ten accompanied by nine, fifteen, five, two, five, eleven, and ten (*i. e.* 19, 25, 15, 12, 15, 21 and 20).

Bhattotpala in his commentary on this passage says:—मयनामा दानवः सूर्यलब्धवरप्रसादः । "The person named Maya was a Dânava who had obtained the favour of a gift from the Sun." This commentary is of Shaka 888 (976 A. D.)

You will find references to Maya—

(*a*) in Weber's Sanskrit Literature pp. 253, 254, 260, 274 and 275 (3rd edition of 1892).

(*b*) in S. B. Dikshit's (Marathi) History of Indian Astronomy pp. 178, 468, 482, 486 and 513.

(*c*) Whitney's and Burgess' Surya Siddhanta—comments on the opening 8 verses.

(*d*) Dawson's Dictionary of Hindu Mythology.

In the present Surya Siddhanta, Maya is said to propitiate the Sun (Surya) by great penance and to obtain knowledge of astronomy from him through a representative of the Sun, and to communicate it later on to some Rishis. In the second verse Maya is described as मयनामा महासुरः । Ranganâtha in his commentary on the Surya Siddhanta (Shaka 1525—

* Col. Waddell says that the buildings previous to his (Asoka's) epoch. as well as the walls of the city, seem to have been of wood." (Col. Waddell's Report of Excavations at Patliputra p. 7). Cunningham holds a different opinion. (Archæological Reports XXII. Introd. p. 4).

* Meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Research into Zoroastrian Religion held on 9th June 1917, where the first part of the Paper was read.

A. D. 1603) says :—मयेति नाम यस्य मयाख्यो महादैत्यः कश्चित् ।

Weber (p. 253) says, that "according to later tradition (that of Jnân-Bhâskara, for instance) this Maya is distinctly assigned to Romaka-pura in the West." I have not got the Jnâna-Bhâskara, which appears to be a work on medicine. But we find the same tradition in some copies of the Surya Siddhanta. In some of these (one of which copies was seen by Dikshit and two by Burgess) the 7th Shloka of the 1st Adhyâya is :—

तस्मात् त्वं स्वां पुरीं गच्छ तत्र ज्ञानं ददामि ते ।
रोमके नगरे ब्रह्मशापात् म्लेच्छावतार-धृक् ॥

(The Sun says to Maya after his penance) :—" Therefore do you go to your native city ; while I am (*or perhaps*, you are) holding the Avatâra of a-Mlechha owing to the curse of Brahmâ."

Dikshit thinks this Shloka to be a later interpolation and Whitney thinks, it is a part of the original book. However that may be, it seems, that the Hindus themselves had the tradition of Maya being a Greek long before the time of the modern European scholars.

The tradition is also supported by a statement of Al-Biruni in his work on India (Ch. XIV p. 157 of Sachau's translation Vol. I), that one of the authors of a Jâtaka work was Mau the Greek ; this seems to be a transcription of मय यवन. He is mentioned in connection with Parâsara, Satya and Manittha, so that there can be little doubt, that he is the same as the Maya of the Hindu writers, and thus the tradition seems to be at least as old as 1030 A. D.

That Maya's name became known to the Hindus at a late stage may also be inferred from the fact, that it does not occur in the old Vedic literature or even in the Brahmanas, or even in Pânini (so far as I know). This name is not quoted by Macdonell in his Vedic Mythology or Index. He is therefore not an ancient Asura, but a foreigner, who had been, according to the custom of the Hindus, called a Daitya, Dânava or Asura.

It may be noted, that Maya's name is also quoted in connection with the building of houses (Vâstu Adhyâya and Vajralepa Adhyâya) in Varâha's Brihat Samhitâ and lines from his work are also quoted by the Commentator Utpala. This work may have been a special one on architecture, or a general one like Varâha's Samhitâ. One can easily understand, how to such a writer came to be ascribed the building of the Sabhâ Mandapa in the Mahâbhârata.

Of course as I said at the meeting, the fact that Maya was a foreigner, does not by any means justify his identification with Mazda. Neither the position ascribed to him, nor the acts done by him, as was pointed out by you, bear any resemblance to those of Ahura Mazda; his position as well as his acts are those of a man, cleverer than ordinary but still a man. At the time the epithet Maya came to be applied to him, the Hindus did not certainly use the word to mean a god but just the reverse.

I may remark, that Hindus may have pillared halls long before the Mauryan dynasty, as pointed out by you, but it seems probable that those pillars were of wood. Of course one cannot be sure in the matter. But the absence of the remains of any stone structures of times preceding Mauryas, as well as the testimony of Megasthenes about the wooden architecture of Patliputra seem to point to this conclusion.

Cunningham's Opinion about Stone Buildings.

With reference to Mr. Kharegat's remark in the last para we take the liberty to point out, that Major-General Cunningham holds a different opinion. He says:—" I have long

held the opinion, that the Hindus knew and practised the art of stone-cutting at least two centuries before the time of Asoka. Indeed the very name Taxila or *Takshashila Nagar* 'the city of cut-stone buildings' proves, that the art was known and used long before the time of Alexander." (Cunningham's Archæological Reports XXII Intro. p. IV.)

Were the Mauryas Zoroastrians?

Dr. Spooner takes us a step further when he says:—"The palaces, to which the Mahâbhârata refers, are those of Patliputra. We have, however, seen above, in the line दानवानां पुरा पार्थ that these structures were erected by the Dânavas, who according to Weber were a foreign people. But if, the monarchs for whom Persian palaces were built by a divine spirit reminiscent of Ahura Mazda, were themselves non-Hindu as the Mahâbhârata implies, it follows obviously enough, that they must have been Iranian in race and Zoroastrian in faith. Were then the Mauryas Zoroastrians? I do not myself see any escape from this conclusion. The logic of the argument seems to me unimpeachable." Further up the learned Doctor proceeds to argue that the Indians pronounced the Avestan word *Danghâvo* (the cognate of Sanskrit *Dasyavah*) as *Dânavah* and as Manu associated the Pahlavas, who were Zoroastrians, with the *Dasyavah* the Dânavas were Zoroastrians. Therefore if the Mauryas were Dânavas, they were Zoroastrians.

Our answer to the above argument is that the students of the Mahâbhârata know, that the Dânavas were not Zoroastrians. They were the sons and descendants of Danu, one of the daughters of Daksha. About 50 Dânavas have been named in the Adi Parva, Chapter 65, but none of the names is Iranian.

We know, that *Dainghâvo* is the plural form of *Dainghu*, which is but another form of *Dakhyu*. The exact Sanskrit equivalent of *Dakhyu* is *Dasyu*. As we have already seen the Avestan *Dânu* is the same as the Sanskrit *Dânu*. Therefore *Dânu* and *Dasyu* are quite distinct terms, bearing opposite meanings; for, the *Dânus* were the enemies of the Zoroastrians. We therefore cannot admit, that the *Dainghâvo* were the same as the Dânavas, although we agree with Dr. Spooner's remark, that "One cannot too strongly stress the fact, that in dealing with foreign names and borrowed foreign words in India, the rules of ordinary phonetics can almost never be applied."

We now come to the question: "Were the Mauryas Zoroastrians?" Dr. Spooner adduces proofs to show, that not only Chandragupta was a Zoroastrian, but that even *Chânakya*,* the well-known Brahman Minister of Chandragupta was a Zoroastrian. As Asoka was a great patron of the Buddhists, attempts were made by Buddhist writers to prove that Chandragupta belonged to the same family as Buddha. But we are surprised when Dr. Spooner tries to show, that Buddha also was a Zoroastrian.

The name *Maurya*† arrests our attention first. A native tradition assigns the paternity of Chandragupta to Dhana Nandana (the last of the Nanda kings, who ruled over Magadha) by a woman of Sudra caste named Murâ. The Brahmana Chânakya made this base-born child of the king the instrument of his wicked designs, and putting Nanda and his sons to death, placed him on the throne. Dr. Spooner does not believe this story of Murâ

* Otherwise called Kautilya or Vishnugupta (V, Smith's Hist. of India p. 36) or Drâmila, which name is inscribed on Kanheri rock (B. B. R. A. S, V. p. 2-29.)

† Traces of the Mauryas remain in the Maratha surname More (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 13 p. 420).

but we must say, that the classical writer Justin confirms it, when he says that "he was of humble origin" (Max Muller's Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 275).

There is another story, related in the Buddhistic books, which is not referred to by Dr. Spooner. Tradition runs, that Chandragupta's father reigned over a small kingdom, situated in a valley among the Himalayas and called Maurya, from the great number of Mayura or peacocks. He was killed in an invasion by his enemies, but his queen escaped to Pâtliputra, where she gave birth to Chandragupta. She exposed him in the neighbourhood of a cattle shed. A bull named Chandra protected him for some time. The child was found by a shepherd, who called him Chandragupta, *i. e.* "protected by the bull Chandra." At that time a Brahman named Châkya, who came from the city of Taxila in the Punjab, was living in Patliputra. To him Dhana Nandana, the king of Patliputra, had given an insult. Consequently Châkya was casting about for means to effect the destruction of the king. He bought the royal boy Chandragupta from the shepherd and trained him in the art of war. Chandragupta in due course collected a force of mercinaries, invaded Magadha, killed the king and captured his capital Paltiputra. This tradition is found in a Ceylonese chronicle, named *Mahavamso** and in a Pali commentary named *Atthkathà*, a commentary on Dhammapada by Buddhaghosha, written in the 5th century A. D. [Bhandarkar's Early Hist. of Deccan p. 11, B. B. R. A. S. 1885 p, 276]. In these books Châkya is clearly referred to as the "Brahmana Châkko." The Vishnu Purâna calls him "the Brahmana Kautilya" (Wilson's tr. p. 468). In the Sanskrit drama Mudhrâ Râkshasha also he is spoken of as a Brâhmana, who had taken a vow, that he would not tie up his tuft of hair, until he had completed his task.

According to Prof. Max Muller the title Maurya was used by the Buddhists as a proof of Asoka's royal decent, although it is explained by the Brâhmanas as a metronimic—Murâ being given as the name of one of Nanda's wives. This however only rests on the authority of the commentator of the Vishnu Purâna;* but Chandragupta's relationship with Nanda and so also his low caste origin, are confirmed by the Mudrâ-Râkshasha†(Max Muller's Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 297.)

Mouru, Merv and Meru.

Dr. Spooner connects the name Maurya, with the Avestan town Mouru, which is known as Margu in the Achæmenian inscriptions. He goes a step further and locates the mount Meru of the Hindu mythology in Merv. But he does not take this Merv to be the modern Merv, since he identifies it with Mervdasht, the plain of Merv, sometimes called the plain of Murghab, on which the Persepolitan platform stands, and on the strength of this identification he argues that the royal hall at Patliputra was erected against a sacred mountain, just as was the case at Persepolis. But as Dr. J. J. Modi has pointed out, it is certain that at least the Mouru of the Vendidad is the Central Asian Merv, and not the Merv of the Mervdasht or Murgab in the west. (Asiatic Papers Pt. II p. 268). Dr. Modi thinks that the names Mervdasht and Murgab, which are applied to places near Persepolis are more modern, not Achæmenian or old Iranian (idem p. 269). We therefore think that Meru could not be in Iran. Nay, ac-

* Pali epic poem of Ceylon written in the 6th century A. D. (Rapson's Anc. India p. 75) Max Muller gives the date 459-477 A.D. (see S.B.E. Vol. 10 Pt. I Intro. p.39.)

* See Wilson's tr. p. 469.

† In Act III-11 Chandragupta is called *Maurya vrishala* i.e. Maurya the Sudra.

cording to some scholars it was only a fabulous mountain.

Dr. Spooner urges that Mourva is an altogether fitting centre for the Meru legend for the following reasons:—(1) A Pali tradition runs that the Asuras were located at its base and the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods was situated upon its summit.

(2) This number "thirty-three" has according to the learned Doctor peculiarly Zoroastrian associations.

(3) The recorded height of the mountain is also Zoroastrian. The Purânas tell us, it was 84,000 *yojanas* high. The number is curious. It is derived by multiplying the two pre-eminently sacred numbers of the Persians, *seven* and *twelve*.

We regret, we cannot subscribe to the above opinion. The number "thirty-three" was a very usual number among the Hindus also, as we shall see hereafter. The numbers seven and twelve were equally sacred among the Hindus. For instance in the Rigveda we read about 7 horses of the Sun, 7 metres of the Veda, 7 priests, 7 regions of the earth, 7 Rishis, 7 rivers, 7 Adityas, 7 castles, 7 communities, 7 fiends, 7 flames, 7 hotris, 7 singers, 7 sisters, 7 splendours and many other seven things. In the white Yajur Veda we read of 7 waters, 7 Hotars, 7 domestic animals, 7 organs of perception, 7 vital airs, 7 mansions of Agni, 7 logs of wood. Instances might be multiplied *ad nauseam*. Similarly about the number twelve. We know of 12 days, * 12 moons, 12 forms, 12 spokes, 12 Adityas, 12 letters of Jagati Chhanda † etc.

Alleged Proofs about Mauryas being Zoroastrians.

Dr. Spooner produces four kinds of further proof to show that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians—namely, (1) the evidence of the coins; (2) a passage in Patanjali; (3) aversion to the Mauryas; (4) assistance from Persian troops. We shall have to deal with each of these questions at some length.

(I.) Evidence of Coins.

Now first as regards the coins. What are called the "punch-marked" coins, were the oldest coins of India. They were so called, because the devices on the coins were impressed not by means of a die, covering the face of the coin, but by separate punches applied irregularly at various points on the surface. According to Vincent Smith, these coins were a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling powers. The obverse punches were impressed by the different moneyers, and the reverse marks were the signs of approval by the controlling authority (V. Smith's Catalogue of Coins p. 133). Dr. Spooner opposes this theory. In his opinion these were Mauryan coins, the component parts of which were a symbol of the sun, a group of suns, a branch, a bull and a *chaitya*. The sun was worshipped by the Zoroastrians. The branch, which is untraceable in the Hindu Symbolism is, according to Dr. Spooner, intelligible as the sacred branch of Haoma. The bull was the Mithraic bull. The Chaitya, which signified a hill, suggested the mount Meru, which was situated in Merv in Iran. Hence from this evidence of the Mauryan coins, the learned Doctor thinks, that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.

A conclusive answer to these arguments is furnished by the monograph of E. Thomas, entitled "the Earliest Indian Coinage." We can only quote extracts. As to the symbol of the sun, he says:—

"Savitri or Surya undoubtedly held a high position in the primitive Vedic theogony; and it is a coincidence singularly in accord with its

* Cf Prâkrit Yadna.

† For this and "12 days" see M. Bh. Vana Parva Chap. 134 § 19.

typical isolation on these pieces, that the Indo-Aryans, unlike their Persian brethren, dissociated the sun from all other planetary bodies.....Then again arises the question, as to whether the sun-type, which appears the earliest among all the mint dies.....does not refer to the Indian traditionary family of the Surya Vamsas" (p. 9).

The symbol of *Chaitya* is important. It is a pyramidical symbol, usually made up of two semi-circles placed side by side with one semi-circle placed exactly above them. Sometimes we come across a pyramid of three semi-circles, with two above them and one at the top. The word *Chaitya** was connected with चिता (heap) and it is supposed that it formerly meant a "mount" or "hill." With reference to this symbol on the coins E. Thomas observes:—"Its form ultimately entered largely into the exotic elements of Buddhism, but it is doubtful, if Buddhism as expounded by Sákya Singh (*i. e.* Buddha) was even thought of, when these fanciful tumuli were first impressed upon the public money....As the Buddhist religion avowedly developed itself in the land and was no foreign importation, nothing would be more reasonable than that its votaries retain many of the devices, that had already acquired a quasi-reverence among the vulgar." (Earliest Indian Coinage, pp. 10-11).

According to James Prinsep "this symbol of Chaitya occurs on the Pantaleon Greek coins, on the Indo-Scythic group, on the Behat Buddhist group, on similar coins dug up in Ceylon and in India." (J. R. A. S. B. VI, 389 ; IV-686).

As to the device of the Tree, Thomas observes:—"The Tree is another chosen emblem of later Buddhism, but it did not appertain exclusively to the Buddhists in early times, as it is to be seen on a very ancient coin, implying a directly opposing faith, in the fact of its bearing the name of Vishnu-deva. The Bodhi tree is no more essentially Buddhist than the Assyrian sacred tree, the Hebrew grove or the popularly venerated (Tulsi) trees of India." (pp. 20 and 5).

In the Plate, which Thomas has given in his book, we find a number of devices, which are found on ancient coins—and these include bulls, cows and other animals.

Regarding the symbol of the four-fold sun we read that "Many of these ancient symbols, more especially the four-fold sun, are found established on the fully-struck coinage of Ujain, of a date not far removed from the reign of Asoka, who once ruled as a sub-king of that city." In short, "these primitive punch-dies seem to have been the produce of purely home fancies and local thought."

It will thus be seen, that Dr. Spooner's arguments about the symbols on the Mauryan coins, do not prove, that they were the exclusive property of the Zoroastrians. If there had been any Zoroastrian influence, we would have come across the usual fire-altar, or images of Yazads, or the Taurus symbol or the Farohar symbol. Finally it may be pointed out that in 1906 Dr. Spooner thought, that the above mentioned symbols were Buddhist and in 1915 he thought that they were Zoroastrians. In our opinion they were neither the former nor the latter.

(II.) Passage in Mahabhashya.

Now we come to the passage of Patanjali, the author of Mâhâbhâshya, which was the commentary on

* In Buddhistic architecture it had quite a different signification; it meant "a church or assembly hall, excavated in rocks." The Kanheri cave near Bombay, the Karli cave between Poona and Bombay &c. are Chaityas (Dutt's Anc. India Vol. II, p. 72).

Pânini's Sutras.* According to Eggling, Max Muller, Apte, Peterson, Keilhorn and Bhandarkar, this commentator lived in about 150 B. C. Now Pânini's Sutra V-3-96 states, that when from a word such as अश्व you wish to form the name of likeness or imitation of the object, you must add the termination क: thus अश्व = horse, and अश्वक = the imitation or figure of a horse. But Sutra No. V-3-99 says, that जीविकार्थे चापण्ये, that is to say, you must drop क, when the figure in question is one by which a man earns his livelihood and which is not vendible.

On this Patanjali makes his comment in his Mahabhashya thus :— अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति। शिवः स्कंदो विशाख इति। किं कारणं। मौर्यैःहिरण्यार्थिभिः अर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः॥ भवेत् तासु न स्यात्। यास्वेताः संप्रतिपूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति॥

This is a very difficult passage, which has taxed the energy and called forth all the powers of learned scholars like Goldstucker, Peterson, Nâgojibhatta, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and others. Sir Ramkrishna has discussed the translations of the first three scholars in the pages of the journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1885. We shall give here Sir Ramkrishna's translation or rather explanation.

" Pânini lays down a rule, that the termination क, which is appended to the name of an object to signify something resembling that object (इवे), provided that something is an image (प्रतिकृतौ), is dropped (कनो लुप्,) when the image is used for deriving a livelihood (जीविकार्थे), and is not vendible (अपण्ये). Now Patanjali raises this question : The addition of the condition, that the image should not be vendible renders such forms as शिवः, स्कंदः and विशाखः grammatically unjustifiable (तत्रेदं... ...विशाख इतिः). He must here be taken to mean, that these figures are current and that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to them. "Why not" (किं कारणं), he asks. "Because the Mauryas, seeking for gold or money, used images of gods as means" (मौर्यैः.....प्रकल्पिता). Here then the author must be understood to say, that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to the images शिवः, स्कंदः and विशाखः, because such images were sold by the Mauryas. They are therefore vendible objects, though as a matter of fact they are not for sale, and though the selling of such images of gods is discreditable...Hence the termination (क,) cannot be dropped in accordance with the rule, and they should be called शिवकः, स्कंदकः and विशाखकः; but they are called शिवः, स्कंदः and विशाखः। "It may be (भवेत्), that the rule about the dropping of क is not applicable (न स्यात्), to them, *i. e.* to those (तासु) images of gods, which were sold by the Maurya. But as to these (एताः) (*viz.* those called by the names शिवः, स्कंदः and विशाखः the correctness of which is in question), which (याः) are at the present day used for worship (संप्रति पूजार्थाः), the rule is applicable to them (तासु भविष्यति)." That is, the termination क should be dropped in their case, and the forms whose correctness was questioned are correct.

"If the passage were put in the form of a dialogue between a Doctor and his opponent, it would stand thus:—

"Opponent—Panini inserts the condition, that the image should not

* An interesting "battle of books" has been waged by scholars about the date of Pânini. The latest date is that assigned by Max Muller, who places him in the 4th century B. C. According to Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and Mr. Dutt. he lived in the 8th century B. C. See Shatapatha Br. p.-29, M. Muller's Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 44. 243. J. R. A. S. 1885 pp. 181-341. Dutt's Anc. India I. p. 274; Indian Antiquary I, p. 302.

be vendible. Then the forms शिव:, स्कंद: and विशाख: are not correct according to this rule, (because, these forms express images of those gods and should have the suffix क).

"Doctor—Why ?

"Opponent—Because, the Mauryas desirous of raising money, used as means the images of gods, *i. e.* they bartered them.....and they consequently belong to the class of vendible objects.)

"Doctor—Those images may not come under the rule (because they bartered them, and consequently they may not drop क.) But these (*i. e.* those in question) which at the present day are used for worship, come under the operation of the rule (and consequently the क is dropped.)

"*Explanation*—The forms are correct, because they signify images of gods, which are *now* worshipped and are not vendible objects, because such images were used by the Mauryas for raising money; but the vendibility of some does not make those, that are worshipped vendible, and consequently the names of images do come under Panini's rule and drop क.....

"Does this passage contain history"? Sir R. G. Bhandarkar answers that the past tense.....shows that the Mauryas existed at a time, which preceded the present time ; and the present time must clearly be the time, when Patanjali wrote. Sir Ramkrishna thinks, that the Mauryas could not have been a caste of idol-makers, as Nâgojibhatta supposed ; for if they were, there was no necessity for referring them to past time. But Nâgojibhatta lived about 150 years ago and did not care at all for history.

"The word Maurya is used in the Mârkandeya Purâna to express a certain class of demons. But these demons could have nothing to do here. The word therefore must be understood in the only other known sense, namely that of the royal dynasty founded by Chandragupta about 320 B. C. Now what is this fact, which Patanjali mentions regarding the Mauryas ? It may be as Prof. Weber has stated, that the Mauryas coined money by stamping images of god's pieces, or it may be anything else" (J. B. R. A. S. XVI 1885 pp. 206-10)

Dr. Spooner says :—"The Mauryas did manufacture images and made a trade in them but they were not used by any Pujâri as a source of livelihood and were not the object of direct adoration. Images of the latter class we shall call *idols* ; those the Mauryas made were merely statues. This is the distinction, which Pânini would make."

We may not dispute Dr. Spooner's interpretation or rather explanation ; but we do not agree with him, when he suggests, that as this distinction is appropriate for Zoroastrian sculpture, and as idolatry was unknown to the Zoroastrian religion, the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.

We shall presently see, that the Hindus practised idolatry in the Mauryan period; but was it universal ? According to Dutt, "The Vedic religion was to the very last a religion of elemental gods, of Indra, Agni, Surya, Varuna, Maruts, Ashvins and others * . . . . From the most ancient times down to the last days of the Rationalistic period (1000 B. C. to 320 B. C.), kings, priests as well as humble house-holders offered sacrifices to the fire and knew of no image worship." Dutt's proposition may not be readily accepted, for, as we shall see later on, we are told in Lalita Vistara, that some days after the birth of Buddha, his mother took him to a temple, which contained the images of Shiva, Skanda and other deities. It appears probable that *some* Hindus practised idolatry

* Prof. Max Muller says, "the religion of the Veda knows of no idols (Chips I. p. 38).

in the time of Buddha, but *all* did not. It is certain as Dutt says that "when the Code of Manu was completed, image worship was gaining ground and was condemned by that conservative law-giver. The practice however steadily gained ground, until it became the essence of modern Hindu rites and celebrations." (Anc. India Vol. II, pp. 188-189). Thus we see, that in the time of Manu,* which was about the time of the Mauryan period, some Hindus still condemned idolatry. Therefore we have no proofs to say that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.

Pandit N. Bhashyacharya in his book "the Age of Patanjali" (pp. 7-9) thus concludes:—"The Mahâbhashya says that the Mauryas were makers and worshippers of idols, such as those of Shiva, Skanda and Visâkha and were begging from door to door, taking the idols with them. If according to the Buddhist records, the Mauryas had belonged to a royal family instead of being beggars, then these Mauryas mentioned in the Buddhist records must be quite different from those mentioned in the Mahâbhâshya. If they had been Buddhists, they would not have been worshippers of idols . . . . If the Aryans were worshippers of idols, he would have said so; on the contrary, he alludes all along in his work to the Aryan worship of the 33 Vedic gods. It is therefore conclusive, that when he speaks of the idol worship of the Mauryas, a non-Aryan tribe is meant . . . . . The Mauryas who were poor and who earned their livelihood by (making and) selling images were not a tribe in any way connected with the Mauryas who were ruling princes, such as Chandragupta, Asoka etc. "The old MSS. (of the Mahâbhâshya) of the South make the allusion of making and selling idols apply not to *Mauryas* but to *Pouras*, a peculiar tribe also mentioned in the Vîshnu Purâna* . , ... If *Pouras* be the right word, so much controversy about the allusion of Patanjali to the Mauryas will vanish at once."

Mauryan Religion.

The *Arthashâshtra*† of Kautilya or Chânakya throws light on the religion of the Mauryan period. In the section on the "Buildings within the Fort," Kautilya orders, that "the नगरराजदेवता (Royal deity of the city) shall be situated to the north. In the centre of the city the apartments of gods such as Aparajita, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Siva, Vaishravana and Ashvin shall be situated."

The chapter on "Means to injure Enemy" concludes with these formulas:—"Salutation to Aditi, salutation to Anumati, to Sarasvati and Savitri; Svâhâ to Agni, Svâhâ to Soma, Svâhâ to Bhuh; Svâhâ to Bhuvah."

The chapter on medicines and mantras contains the following verse:

"I bow to Bali, son of Vairochana; to Shambara acquainted with a hundred kinds of magic; to Bhandirapâka, Naraka, Nikumbha, Kumbha, Devàla and Narada.....I bow to the goddesses Suvarnapushpi, and Brahmani, to (the god) Brahma, and Kushadvaja, to serpents and goddesses."

Further up we see that *Devatapratima* (images of gods), *Chaityas* and *Stupas* (that is to say, the sepulchral mounds inhabited by evil spirits) were regularly worshipped.

* Dr. Buhler fixes the remoter limit of the date of Manusmriti in about 2nd century B. C. (S. B. E. Vol. XXV. Intro p. 117). In Manusmriti III. 152 and 180 the *Devalakâs* or "temple priests" are hated. The distinctive feature of Purânic Hinduism in the matter of observance is image worship (Dutt Anc. India Vol. II, p. 188).

* Amsa 4. Ch. XXIV. p. 326 (Madras Edition).

† A Sk. treatise on the conduct of affairs of state. It confirms the account of Megasthenes.

The fourth edict of Asoka refers to religious processions, that he arranged for the edification of his subjects. In these processions images of gods riding on chariots and elephants were exhibited. One of the passages of the inscription runs thus :—" Those gods, who up to this time had been unassociated (with men) in Jambudvipa, have now been made associated with them." * These gods were not the Vedic gods or gods of the modern Hindus, but they were the Brahmanical gods of the people of Magadha.

It is clear that the religion as set forth above could not be Zoroastrian or Magian religion. No doubt *Mâyâ-yoga* (*i. e.* Magic) occupied a very prominent place in it ; for instance, in the Artha-Shâstra we read, that " persons acquainted with the rituals of the Atharva-Veda, and experts in magic and yoga shall perform such ceremonials, as ward off the danger from demons." But magic was not the monopoly of the Magi. As Dr. Otto Schrader says :—" There was among the Aryans, just as among all other people, a more ancient way of bringing the supernatural within reach of the natural than sacrifice and prayer, namely, *magic*." (Encycl. of Reli. and Ethics II. p. 40; R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races pp. 230-239).

(III). Aversion to Mauryas.

We now come to the third point. As to the aversion to the Mauryas implied by the silence of the Hindu books in regard to them, Dr. Spooner observes, that that is conceivable, so far as Asoka is concerned, as he was a Buddhist. But what about his grandfather Chandragupta ? As the first Indian emperor, we should not have been surprised to find him deified.

The reason is quite clear to us. Chandragupta was after all a usurper, and had come to the throne by the machinations of a disaffected Brahman minister of his predecessor. We have seen, that according to the Hindu tradition and also the classical writer Justin, he was of humble origin. This coupled with the fact that he was mentioned in glowing terms in the works of the Buddhists who had chucked up Hinduism, is the reason why he and his followers were treated with contemptuous silence in the Hindu books.

(IV) Help by Persian Troops.

Let us now take up the fourth point, namely, that when Chandragupta invaded Magadha, he was assisted by Persian troops. This fact is referred to in the Sanskrit drama, Mudrâ Râkshasha, composed by a writer named Vishâkha-datta, who according to the late Mr. Telang lived about the beginning of the 8th century A. D. Mudrâ Râkshasha means " Râkshasha with a signet. " It is a drama of political intrigue, consisting of 7 acts and is partly based on historical events. According to Vincent Smith, it undoubtedly embodies a genuine historical tradition (Early Hist. of India p. 113).

In the second act of the drama, we read, that Chandragupta besieged Kusuma-pura, (that is Patliputra) with his troops consisting of the Sakas (Scythians), Yavanas (Greeks), Kiratas (people living below the Himalayas), Kâmbojas, (Kâbulis), Pârasikas (Persians) and Bâlhikas (Bactrians).

In the fifth act, the armies of Malayaketu, who was the survivor of the Nanda line, have been mentioned as consisting of Khasas (Khasia of Bengal), Magadhas, Gandhâras

* The text in the Shâhbâzgari, inscription runs thus:—

विमनं द्रशनं हस्तिनो जोतिकंधनि अनानि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयित्न जनस ॥

It is thus translated by Dr. G. Buhler :— " The sight of the cars of gods, elephants and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people." (Epigraphia Indica Vol. II. pp. 451-2, 467).

(people of Kandhar), Yavanas, Sakas, Chinas and Hunas (Huns).

It will thus be seen, that both the sides raised armies of mercenaries and that the Pârasikas or the Persians were engaged, along with other foreigners, for the purposes of invasion. We have nothing to show, that the Persians who fought under Chandragupta, were men of his own religion, as Dr. Spooner suggests.

Possible Objections to Dr. Spooner's Theory.

But what shall we say about the reputed connection of Chandragupta, with the Nandas, and what about Chânakya, through whose machinations Chandragupta became successful? Were these Nandas and this Chânakya Zoroastrian?

Dr. Spooner's answer is, that "the alleged connection of Chandragupta was with the नव Nandas, that is to say, with the *new* Nandas, and not the *nine* Nandas. The earlier Nandas were good Hindus, but all authorities agree in putting a great gulf between these ancient kings and the low upstarts, who succeeded them. The latter were hated cordially, and is it not recorded, that they exterminated all the Kshatriyas? If they were Persian invaders, this is sensible enough. If they were Hindu Kshatriyas themselves, the thing is unintelligible."

We cannot accept Dr. Spooner's above statement in view of what we read in the Vishnu Purâna, namely:—

"The son of Mahânanda will be born of a woman of the Sudra class; his name will be Nanda, called Mahâpadma; for, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; after him the kings of the earth will be Sudras. He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella. He will have eight sons, (Sumâlya and others), who will reign after Mahâpadma, and he and his sons will govern for a hundred years. The Brâhman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas." (Wilson's Tr. pp. 467-468).*

We need hardly point out that the statement of the Vishnu Purâna is in the form of a prophesy, although it was really a matter of the past. It is thus easily intelligible why the first Nanda and his successors were cordially hated. The last two Nandas† were undoubtedly the worst of the whole lot. But the conclusion that the Nandas must have been Persian invaders, because they were hated by the Hindus, is strange as well as absurd.

Was Chanakya a Zoroastrian?

Now we come to the other question:—Was Chânakya a Zoroastrian? Dr. Spooner says, that he was not an orthodox Hindu Brâhman, and practically suggests, that he was a "Magian Minister of State." He was a native of Taxila, who began his career as a practitioner in medicine; and medicine, although particularly associated with the Magians, has never found much honour in the East. Also the fact, that Chânakya dedicated his book, named *Artha-shâshtra* to Venus and Jupiter shows, that he was a student of astrology,

* Dutt remarks:—"we find in the above extract mention of low caste kings, ascending to the throne of the Kshatriyas..... We have also mention of Kautilya, the renowned Chânakya, who vowed vengeance against the house of the Nandas, and helped Chandragupta to ascend the throne of Magadha" (Anc. India Vol. II p. 36).

† From the records of Megasthenes it appears that when Alexander was stopped in his advance at the Hyphasis (Bias) in 326 B. C., he was told of a king of Magadha, who must have been one of the Nandas. This reigning king was alleged to be extremely unpopular owing to his wickedness and base origin. He was the son of a barber, who having become the paramour of the queen of the last sovereign contrived his death.....and exterminated the royal family. Afterwards he got a son, who was reigning at the time of Alexander's campaign and who was odious and contemptible to his subjects (V. Smith's Hist. of India, pp. 33-35),

in which the Persian priests were experts. For these reasons Dr. Spooner would look upon Chânakya as a Zoroastrian.

It is true that medicine, though well regarded in general, did not come off without a sneer among the Brâhmans. In the Taitteriya Samhita (VI-4-9-3 Cf. Maitr Sm. IV-6-2 and Shat Br. I-5-14) we read:— ब्राह्मणेन भेषजं न कार्यम्। "a Brâhman should not practise medicine"—the reason, that is assigned, being that the physician is impure, and that the practice entails promiscuous mingling with men. Medicine was connected with the Atharva-Veda, which, as we shall see hereafter, was looked upon with contempt in the later Hindu literature. But as Prof. Bloomfield remarks, " the Vedic people could not fail altogether, *when in the proper mood*, to estimate the medicine of the time at its right value." (S.B.E. Vol. 42 Intro. pp. 39-40).

In the Rigveda, Atharva Veda and other Vedic texts, we come across *Oshadhi-stutis* or hymns in praise of the curative qualities of plants. Contrary to the statement in the Shatapatha Brâhmana, we find that in far earlier times, the Brâhmanas had acquired great fame as good doctors.* We read for instance, in the Rigveda, that that Brâhman was called a physician, who had many herbs at hand, who was a fiend-slayer, and chaser of disease. (Rv. X-97-6). Also we read, that the plants saved from death the man, whose cure a Brâhman undertook (Rv. X-97-22). The doctors prepared medicines from plants, which not only saved the lives of men, but they had Amrits, which made men live for a hundred years. They must have been indeed clever physicians, for the poet-doctor, while treating his patient cries out, " as many plants, as human physicians know to contain a remedy, so many, endowed with healing quality, do I apply to thee." (Av. VIII-7-26). Medicine was indeed a very honourable profession as we find a poet boasting, that his father was a doctor (Rv. IX-112-3). That medicine was held in great respect by a majority of the Hindus is proved by the fact, that we meet with several divinities presiding over medicine. "Rudra is the lord of balmy medicines, and his hand is full of sovran medicines (Rv. I-43-4, I-114-5). The Ashvins are called leeches with medicines to heal men. (Rv. I-157-6). Soma-Rudra are invoked to heal men and cure them." (Rv. VI-74-3).

It is interesting to know, that 22 centuries ago, Alexander the Great, kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases, which Greek physicians could not heal. (S.B.E. Vol. 42, p. 257). Such was the great respect enjoyed by the Hindu doctors.

Astrology Among Hindus.

We admit that astrology and fortune-telling were regarded as impure occupations.(Baudh-yâyana II-1-2-16, Manu IX-258). The practice of astrology was forbidden to ascetics; and the astrologer was excluded from the Shrâddha. (Manu VI-50, III-162, Vishnu 82-7). But this was also due to the fact, that these practices were connected with the Atharva Veda, which was cried down by the law givers.

Chanakya's Book and Atharva Veda.

Dr. Spooner proceeds to point out, that in his book Arthashâshtra, Chânakya places *Anvikshiki*, which comprised Yoga, before the three Vedas; and as the Yoga practices were akin to Magian mummeries, the suggestion is thrown out, that Chânakya was a Magian.

It may be, as Dr. Spooner observes, that no orthodox Brâhman would give precedence to anything before the triple Vedas. But we do come

* See Rv. X-97. A. V. VIII-7, Maitrâyani Samhita II-7-13, Taittiriya Samhita IV-2-6, Vajasneyi Samhita XII-75-96.

across passages, in which the Atharva Veda (the fourth Veda) is exalted above the three Vedas. For instance, in the cosmogonic account of the universe, as given in the Gopatha Brahmana (I-1-4-10) the Atharva Veda stands before the Rik, Yajus, and Sâman; and in the Vaitâna Sutra (6-1) the Atharvan is placed at the head of the four Vedas. (S.B.E. Vol. 42 Intro. pp. 48-49).

Even if we admit, that Chânakya's orthodoxy is impugned, still that does not mean, that he was a Magian. The reason why *Anvikshiki* (*i. e.* Nyaya, or Reasoning or Investigation) is placed first is thus explained by Chânakya:—

"Righteous and unrighteous acts are learnt from the triple Vedas; wealth and non-wealth from *Vârtta* (agriculture or business); the expedient and inexpedient, as well as potency and impotency, from the science of Government; *Anvikshiki*, viewing these sciences in the light of reason, does good to the world, keeps the mind steady in weal and woe alike, and bestows skill in knowledge, speech and action." Further up *Anvikshiki* is called प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानाम् "the lamp of all sciences." (See R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races pp. 228-229).

Now as regards the Yogins, we may say that they had several duties to perform, such as, assuming special postures for meditation, regulation of the breath and abstraction of the organs from their natural functions. It was obligatory on them to practise धारणा (steadfastness), ध्यान (contemplation), and समाधि (meditation). The early exercises to be practised by the Yogins were *asceticism* and the *muttering of the mantras*. These were supposed to overcome all afflictions, egoism and desire. The object of Yoga was to preclude future births. The occult powers described in the Yoga Sutra of Patanjali (B. C. 150) were indeed wonderful. A Yogin knew the past and the future, made himself invisible to men, observed what was passing in distant regions or in the stars and planets, conversed with spirits, travelled in the air or through water, and acquired various superhuman powers. (Dutt's Anc. India II. pp. 286-287).

Were these duties and exercises practised by the Magi or the Zoroastrians? Is there any trace of future births or occult powers in our religion? The answer is emphatically in the negative.

We know that the old name of the Atharva Veda was *Atharvângiras*. Both the elements in this name—Atharvan and Angiras—are recognised as "good Persian" * words by Dr. Spooner. Hence he supposes that although the entire Veda is not of Persian origin, still it is a mixture of the Magian doctrines with similar beliefs among the Hindus of the time.

We admit, that this is a very interesting question for the Parsis, and the answer may be found in the very learned introduction by Prof. Bloomfield in the Sacred Books of the East Volume 42nd. The term *Atharvan* referred to the *Bheshajani i. e.*, auspicious or holy practices of the Veda, which conferred prosperity; on the other hand the term *Angiras* referred to the *Abhichâra* or the hostile sorcery practice—namely the "terrible witch-craft."

Prof. Bloomfield has collected a number of passages from the whole range of the Hindu scriptures to show, what position the Atharva Veda occupied in the times of the Vedas, Brâhmanas, Upanishadas, Grihya-Sutras, Smritis, Epics and Purânas. He shows that from the Vedic times down to the times of the Smritis "there is no evidence of repugnance or exclusiveness" of the Atharva Veda, and concludes, that

* Atharvan is the same as the Avestan Athravan; but what is the equivalent of Angiras? Is it Angra in Yasna Ha 43-15?

"a sober survey of the position of the Atharva Veda.....yields the result, that it was considered within its own sphere as a Veda *in perfectly good standing*" (S. B. E. Vol. 42 Intro., p. 40).

Now coming to the times of the Smriti or law books we find that "there also the Atharva Veda retains in a measure its place by virtue of its profound hold upon popular beliefs, because indispensable sciences like medicine and astrology are Atharvanic by distinction, and because it performs for the king inestimable services in the injury and overthrow of enemies"* (idem p. 46).

On the other hand, the inferiority of the Atharvan is put outright in the Apastamba (II.-11, 29, 10-11), where it is said, that "the knowledge of women and Sudras is a supplement of the Atharva Veda" The Vishnu Smriti (V-19I) counts him, who recites a deadly incantation from the Atharva Veda, as one of the seven kinds of assassins. Magic practices against non-relatives which abound in the Atharva Veda, are forbidden by Manu Smriti, Vishnu Smriti &c. (idem pp. 48-50).

The position of the Atharvan in the Mahâbhârata and Râmâyana is, that its practices are familiarly known and not subjected to any criticism (idem p. 51). The Purânas speak of the Atharva Veda with favour, but the Vishnu Purâna and Bhavishya Purâna speak about the Angiras as one of the four Vedas of the Magas, who have been identified with the Magi, (idem p. 20). The reason why Angiras was called a Veda of the Magas is, the fact that that Angiras meant witch-craft. No doubt "sorcery and house-practices there were in India at all times," even from the Rigvedic times downwards (Cf. Rv 1-191, VII-50, VII-104-16). But a change of thought had come round in later times, probably due to excesses in witchcraft and magic. Granting that Angiras was the Veda of magic, it does not follow that it was influenced by Magian doctrines, since magic was not the exclusive property of the Magi. In the Arthsahâshtra it is stated, that a king should employ as Purohita or family priest him, who performed rites according to the Atharva Veda and the king shall follow him. From this, Dr. Spooner concludes that Chânakya was a follower of the Atharva Veda, "which is pre-eminently the Veda of magic.....Consequently there was every likelihood of the ceremonies and doctrines of the Magian people of India, being preserved in such a book, though, of course, in fragments. If the first imperial rulers of India were Persians, it is not strange, that this otherwise singular pre-eminence at court was gained by the Atharvan priesthood."

We cannot answer Dr. Spooner's argument better than in the words of Prof. Max Muller, who says:—"The original division of the Veda.....was a three-fold division. This however proves by no means, that at the time, when the Brâhmanas were composed, the songs of the Atharva Veda did not exist. It only shows, that originally it formed no part of the sacred literature of the Brâhmans. A passage in the Shatapatha Brahmana (XIII-3 1-1) shows,* that at the time when it was composed the

* To illustrate these remarks we shall quote a few passages:— In Manu Smriti (XI-33), the Atharvan and Angiras are recommended as the true weapons with which the Brahman may slay the king's enemies. According to Yâjnavalkya (I-312), the king must choose for his *Purohita* or chaplain one who is skilled in the Atharva Veda. In the Atri Samhita the Atharvan priests skilled in astrology are recommended for the performance of Shrâddhas and sacrifices.

* At first the Vedas were known as three:—Compare Shatapatha Brahmana IV-6-7-1 त्रयी वै विद्या ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि इयं एव "There was three-fold science, namely Rich, Yajush, and Sâma—this only. "See also Sh. Br. XI-5-4-18 and Ait. Br. V-22, Chhandogya Upanishad IV-17-1 and Manusmriti I-23.

songs of the Atharvangiras were not only known, but had been collected, and had actually obtained the title of Veda.... These songs were chiefly intended to counteract the influence of any untoward event, that might happen in the sacrifice. They also contained imprecations and blessings and various formulas..... If once sanctioned, these *Magic* verses would soon grow in importance.....According to the original distribution of the sacrificial offices among the four classes of priests (Brâhman, Bahvricha, Adhvaryu and Chhândoga), the supervision of the whole sacrifice and the remedying of any mistakes, that might happen, belonged to the Brâhman. He had to know the three Vedas to follow in his mind the whole sacrifice. If it was the office of the Brâhman to remedy mistakes in the performance of the sacrifice, and if for that purpose the (magical) formulas of the Atharvangiras were considered of special efficacy, it follows that it was chiefly the Brâhman, who had to acquire a knowledge of the formulas....It was evidently the most important office, and in many instances it was held by the Purohita or the hereditary family priest....Because a knowledge of the songs of the Atharvangiras was most important to the Brâhman or Purohita, these songs, when once admitted to the rank of a Veda, were called the Veda of the Brâhman." (Anc. Sk. Lit. pp. 446-450).

In the last Chapter of the Aitareya Brâhmana and in the Adi Parva of Mahâbhârata, it is seen that it was obligatory on a king to appoint a Purohita or house-priest. According to Yajnavalkya (I, 312) and Gautama (XI-15-17) the king must choose for his Purohita one who is skilled in the Atharvan and Angiras.

We have already quoted a passage from the Vishnu Purâna, which mentions Chânakya as the "Brâhman Kautilya." The Atthakathâ clearly says, that " Chânakko lived in the city of Taxila. He was the son of a certain Brâhman at that place, and a man who had achieved the knowledge of the three Vedas, could rehearse the *mantos* (*i. e.* mantras), was skilful in strategems and dexterous in intrigue as well as policy." (M. Muller's Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 286). Thus we have the clear testimony of the native writings to say, that he was a Brâhman, and not a Zoroastrian.

Exposure of Corpses Among Hindus.

In connection with the Atharva Veda, Dr. Spooner puts up a footnote, which is very important. He suggests, that there is a possible allusion in the Atharva Veda to Parsi funeral customs. Some years ago in a paper read before the Society of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion we showed on the authority of the Atharva Veda and Al-Biruni, that exposure of the corpses was one of the methods followed by the Hindus in ancient times.

In the Atharva Veda (XVIII-2-34) we read :—

ये निखाता ये दग्धा ये चोद्धिता:।
सर्वान् तान् अग्न आवह पितॄन् हविषे अत्तवे॥

" They, that are buried, they that are scattered away, they that are burnt, and they that are set up—all those Fathers, O Agni, bring thou to eat oblation." The commentator Sâyana explains उद्धिता: as संस्कारोत्तरकाले ऊर्ध्वदेशे पितृलोके स्थिता: " Standing on an elevated place (and afterwards) in the world of the Fathers, at the time of the disposal ceremony." Whitney says, that "this method refers to the exposure on something elevated, such as is practised by many people." Macdonell and Keith are also of the same opinion (see Vedic Index Vol. I p. 8).

Al-Biruni, in his India, says:—"In the most ancient times, the bodies of the dead were exposed to the air by being thrown on the fields without

any ceremony...Thereupon there appeared a legislator, who ordered people to expose their dead to the wind. In consequence they constructed roofed buildings with walls of rails, through which the wind blew, passing over the dead, as something similar is the case in the grave towers of the Zoroastrians. After they had practised this custom for a long time Nârâyen prescribed to them to hand the dead over to the fire, and ever since they are in the habit of burning them." (India Vol. II, p. 167).

The writer of the Mahâbhârata also speaks of 4 different modes—namely cremation, burial, exposure and disposal of the corpse by drowning it into water.* The following *Shloka* refers to exposure:—

यदा तु तान् वितुदन्ते वयांसि तथा गृध्राः शितिकंठाः पतंगाः। कथं भवंति कथमा भवंति (Adi Parava Chap. 90-17) "When the bodies are eaten up by birds, in what condition do they remain; how are they re-born?" This is spoken in connection with the Hindus.

No doubt exposure was practised by the later Buddhists, as it is practised to this day in Tibet. But it is almost certain, that Buddha never *preached* it; for, if he did, we fail to understand why his own body was cremated by his followers. (S.B. E. X. Intro. p. 31, Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I. p. 341).

According to Vincent Smith exposure was, in the ancient times, the usuage of the Lichhâvis† of Vaisâli, a city 27 miles from Patna. (Hist. of India p. 135; Rapson's Anc. India p. 169; Cunningham's Geogr. p. 443.)

It is also to be noted, that in Jâvâ a sect of the Hindus was said in 1818 to expose the dead to the air as an offering to the sun. (As. Res. XIII. 137. Bom. Gaz. Vol. XIII. p. 440.)

It is therefore incorrect to suppose that the Buddhists adopted the custom of exposure from the Zoroastrians. The custom existed also among the Hindus who may have influenced the Buddhists.

Magadhas.

As we have already seen, Atharva Veda is also called Atharvângiras—Atharvan and Angiras. Now in the Vishnu Purâna there is a statement to the effect, that the Angiras is one of the Vedas of the Sâka-dwipa—the warrior class of which was called Mâgadha, and we are told, that in Sanskrit, "Mâgadha" means not only a resident of Magadha, but also a "Persian warrior" and "half caste."

We admit, that in Manusmriti (X–11–17.), *Mâgadha* is defined as the name of a mixed tribe, who were children of Vaishya fathers and Kshatriya mothers. Similarly in Amarakosha we read:—क्षत्रियायां वैश्याज्जातो मागधः। "One born of a Vaishya father on a Kshatriya woman is a Mâgadha." But we have no proof to show that Magadhas were Persian warriors.

Dr. Spooner points out that in the Atharva Veda (V—22), the Magadhas are spoken of contemptuously, and that in the later work Prabodhachandrodaya* the country Magadha is named among "those inhabited mostly by Mlechhas." (म्लेच्छ–प्राया जनपदाः)

But the answer is that Mlechhas were not necessarily Persians or Zoroastrians. This word Mlechha is used in the Bhavishya Purâna &c. for Christians, Mahomedans and others.

In the Vishnu Purâna it is stated that in Sâka-dvipa the Brâhmans were called Magas, and the Kshatriyas were called Magadhas. Dr.

* Adi Parva, Chap 90 § 6, 17.

† Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushan thinks that "they were a Persian tribe whose original home was Nisibis, which they left for India and Tibet in the 8th and 4th century B. C. respectively" (Indian Antiquary XXXVII. p. 78.)

* Written about the latter half of the 11th century A. D.

Spooner relies upon this Purâna, but the Magadha in the Purâna is a mistake for Mashaka* in Mahâbhârata, which was an earlier work. The Magadhas were not therefore connected with the Magas. The fact that they were spoken of with contempt in the Atharva Veda does not prove that they were Zoroastrians.

We do not say for a moment, that the Persians were not living in the Gangetic valley in ancient times. On the contrary we have ample evidence to show, that they were living in northern India, and had probably got mixed up with the Indian people by ties of marriage or otherwise. We therefore welcome the pregnant notices of the Bhavishya Purâna, that in olden times (probably after 400 A. D.) some Persians or mixed classes of Persians were living in India. †

Saka-dvipa and Magas.

According to Hindu Mythology, the world consists of a number of islands, the usual number being seven. Sâka-dvipa was one of these. Dr. Spooner identifies it with some "vague Persian country" from a notice of the Bhavishya Purâna, which led Dr. Wilson to believe, that the "Magas or silent worshippers of the Sun from Sâka-dvipa were the fire-worshippers from Iran." Now we Zoroastrians do not worship the Sun silently. However we are prepared to concede that these Magas were the Magi, who had come to India some centuries after Christ, and who had got mixed up with the Hindu people in course of time ; and it is probably these Magi, that the Bhavishya Purâna refers to.

Garuda and Garonmana.

If the Magadhas *i. e.* Magi came from Sâka-dvipa, how did they do so ? Dr. Spooner says, that "the vehicle, by which these Magi entered India was Garuda," and that he was much impressed with the striking resemblance between the sculptured images of Garuda in India, and the usual figure of Ahura-mazda in the ancient Persian art. He was therefore much gratified, when he read the Vendidad passage, namely "I invoke the Garo-nmânem, the abode of Ahurâ-mazda."

Dr. Spooner seems to take "*Garo*" to be in some way connected with "*Garuda*" or "*Garutmat.*" But there is no such connection.. "*Garo,*" "*Gara*" or "*Garonmâna*" means "the abode of songs" from *gar* (गॄ) to sing." This idea that the heaven is the abode of songs is also found in the Rigveda (X-135-7).

The discussion of the vehicle, Garuda, leads the worthy Doctor to think of the Gâruda Purâna. According to Dr. Wilson, Gâruda Purâna shows nothing in its contents, which could justify the name, as it deals with Sun-worship, astrology, &c. Hence, Dr. Spooner guesses, that this Purâna is "a document of local Indo-Zoroastrian origin."

The answer is that Garuda* is the Sun-bird, the Sun itself. In the often quoted verse of the Rigveda, दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गुरुत्मान् "He is heavenly noble-winged Garutman" (Rv. I-164-46), Garutman is the celestial bird, namely the Sun. Therefore it is but natural that the Purâna about Garuda or the Sun, should deal with the Sun-worship.

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* Mahâbhârata Bhishma Parva XI, 34-36, Roy's Tr. p. 38.

† The Purânas are 18 in number. Dutt assigns them the period between 500 to 1000 A. D. According to Vincent Smith the Vâyu Purâna is the oldest and was written in about 400 A. D. (Early Hist. of India p. 25). Dr Wilson supposed that the story of the Magas in Bhavishya Purâna had a reference to the Parsis who had come to India after their flight in the 8th century A. D. On the other hand the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says that the account of the introduction of fire-worshipping priests of Persia belongs to the 6th century ascendancy of the fire-worshipping Mihiras. (Gaz. IX. Pt. II. p. 183).

* In M. Bh, he is the brother of Aruna, the Charioteer of the Sun. (Adi Parva Chap. 31 §34).

Yavanas.

Now the question is :—"Who were Yavanas"? The word "Yavana" was usually applied to the Greeks in olden times and we have the authority of one of the inscriptions of Asoka to say so; for, as we have already seen, Antiochus has been there called a "Yona" rajâ. In the Kanheri inscription No. VIII a Greek architect, named Dhenukakati (Xenocrates) who lived in about the first century B.C. is mentioned. He is expressly called *Yavana* in the Karle inscription No. XIV. (B.B.R.A.S. V. pp. 20, 156, 176). Dr. Wilson reads the name as *Dhanakkaja* and identifies it with Theonikos (B.B.R. A.S. IV. p. 372). But two centuries afterwards we find, that in the Girnar inscription of Rudradâman (150 A.D.), *Tushâspa*, who was a Persian officer of Asoka was called a Yavana râja.

The word "Yavana" has attracted the attention of several scholars. In E. J. Rapson's opinion:--"The Persians became acquainted with the Greeks chiefly through the Ionian colonists, and therefore came to use the term *Yauna*, "Ionians," which occurs in the inscriptions of Darius in a wider sense to denote *Greeks*..... The corresponding Indian forms (Sk. *Yavana* and Prakrit *Yona*), which were borrowed from Persia, have the same meaning in the Indian literature, and inscriptions of *the last three centuries before and the first two centuries after the Christian era*. At a late date, these terms were used in India to denote *foreigners* generally"* (Anc. India p. 86).

According to Prof. Weber, under the name Yavana we are to understand the Bactrian Greeks or their successors. The name Yavana passed from the Greeks over to their Indo-Scythian successors and finally to the Arabs (See Indian Antiquary I p. 178).

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says:—"That the Indians called the Greeks only Yavanas during the three centuries preceding the Christian era and about as many after, is a fact. Asoka calls Antiochus, king of Syria, a Yona-râjâ. Milinda or Menander is so styled in the Milindapanho (a Pâli work), and in the Gârgi Samhitâ the Yavanas are spoken of as good astronomers; wherefore the Greeks must have been meant. Kanishka and his successors are called Turushkas in the Râjatarangini, and the Indo-Scythians, who overran a large part of the country, were called Sakas. Persians or Parthians are spoken of as Pahlavas; and the Huns, who poured into the country are styled Hunas." (B.B.R.A.S. XVI-p.215).

Dr. Spooner states that the word *Yavana* meant a Zoroastrian. We agree with him so far as to admit that in later times, namely after the second or third century A.D., Yavana meant a "*foreigner*," including probably a Zoroastrian. We have, therefore, nothing positive to assert, that the Yavanas who invaded Orissa between 538 and 421 B C., and again between 421 and 300 B.C. were Zoroastrians, as Dr. Spooner supposes.

Legend about Yavana King.

But in order to prove, that the Yavanas were Persian tribes, Dr. Spooner brings into requisition certain legends from the Purânas. He refers to the Yavana king Bhagadatta, who was a king of Prâgjyotisha, and tries to determine his nationality. The name Bhagadatta might be a Sanskrit form of a Persian name, the first part of which is the Avesta word *Baga*. Prâgjyotisha* might be a

* In the Chitorgadh inscription of the prince Mokala of Mewad dated Samvat Vikrama 1485, the words *Yavana* and *Saka* are used for the Mahomedans (See Epigraphia Indica Vol. II p. 409).

* Mr. A. K. Mozumdar says:—"In Jyotisha *i. e.* astronomy, Brahma, Garga, Vivasvan and other seers were very great. It is said that Brahma, when he lived in Kâmarupa (Assam) for some years for pene-

Magian settlement because the word signified " astrology "—in which science the Persians were experts. Therefore the learned Doctor concludes, that the king was a Persian and was the ruler of a Persian settlement. Moreover the king was called an Asura, and was the ally of the king Kâlayavana, who attacked Mathurâ with the help of a number of Mlechhas. Also when Prâgjyotisha was attacked and stormed, it contained 21 lakhs of horses from Kâmboja, a country "near the Pâradas and Pahlavas on the confines of Persia."

We regret to say, that it is extremely risky to build up theories on words, such as "Bhaga" and "jyotish," which however are purely Sanskrit in form. The fact, that Kâlayavana was assisted by the Mlechhas does not prove, either that he was a Persian or that the Mlechhas were Persians. Nor does the presence of Kâmboja horses in Prâgjyotisha prove, that it was a Persian settlement.

Dr. Spooner has referred to the Purâna stories relating to Bhagadatta but has omitted to give the story about the same king, which we come across in the 26th Chapter of the Sabhâ Parva of Mahâbhârata. Arjuna wanted to conquer the whole world. Having defeated the kings of the Shâkala-dwipa and Sapta-dwipa he invaded Prâgjyotisha. At the time there was a great king named Bhagadatta ruling there, with whom the Pândavas fought many battles. Having fought with Arjuna for 8 days, Bhagadatta thus spoke to him :—अहं सखा महेन्द्रस्य शक्रादनवरोरणे, न शक्ष्यामि च ते तात स्थातुं प्रमुखतो युधि ॥

"I am the *friend* of the great Indra, and am in no way inferior to him in warfare; but I am unable, O father, to stand against you in battle." Here then we have an important statement. Bhagadatta was a friend (that is a worshipper) of the great god Indra, and was therefore a Hindu. The Zoroastrians always hated Indra as an enemy of their religion (Vendidad XIX-43).

Sakti and Sakta Cult.

Dr. Spooner then proceeds to trace the origin of the goddess *Sakti* to a Persian or Magian origin. He says :—" The goddess Ishtar was perhaps the most popular divinity among the Persians, particularly associated with the Asuras and Dânavas. Witness the compounds *Asuragura* (teacher of the Asuras) and *Dânavapujita* (worshipped by the Dânavas), both of which are Sanskrit names for Venus.....Are not the Tântrik system and the Sâkta cult a development on the Indian soil of the sympathetic magic rites in connection with this goddess (Ishtar), as the symbol of fertility, which Jastrow tells of ? This unravels for us the whole mystery * to which Wilson calls attention. Furthermore this explains the curious fact mentioned to me by Mahâ-mahopâdhyâya Haraprasâd Shâstri, that according to his own researches, the Sakadvipin Brâhmans were specially associated with this cult."

Our answer is that Ishtar was not a Persian or Magian goddess, but she was a Babylonian divinity. After the conquest of Elam by the Medes and Persians, the old goddess Innana (of Erech) was identified with Anâhita and under that name enjoyed extensive homage...The cult of Anâhita spread from Iran to the west. *Anâhita* (*Ardvisura*) was the goddess of sacred waters. Under the influence of the

tential purpose, made certain astronomical observations. Hence that country received the name *Prâg-jyotisha* (first astronomy)" (Hindu History p. 141). According to Prof. Apte Prag-Jyotisha was the capital of Kamarupa on the Brahmaputra.

* Namely, that Assam, or at least the north-east Bengal, seems to have been, in a great degree, the source from which the Tântrik and Sakta corruptions of the Religion of the Vedas and Purânas proceeded.

Chaldean star-worship, * *Anâhita or Nâhida* became the planet Venus.

The Indian goddess *Sakti* or *Durgâ* who was worshipped by her devotees, called the Sâktas, cannot be compared with the Iranian divinity Anâhita; because Sakti was the mother of all, the creatress even of Brahmâ, Vishnu and Shiva; whereas Anâhita occupied a very subordinate position to Ahura Mazda. The Hindu divinity, who was identified with Venus was not the goddess Durgâ, but the god Sukrâchârya, the preceptor of the Asuras.

It is not correct to say, that "the Sâka-dvipin Brâhmans were specially associated with the Sakta cult." The history of the Sâkadvipiya, Bhojaka or Maga Brâhmans shows, that they were associated with the worship of the *Sun and Stars*. For example, in the *Brihat-samhita* of Varâhamihira (587 A.D.) it is stated, that "the consecration of the images and temples of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas."†

Who were Sakas ?

This leads us to a consideration of the word *Saka*, which according to Herodotus, Fleet, Max Muller, Buhler, Telang and others means the Scythians. Dr. Spooner admits the correctness of this meaning, but argues that the word for a long time also meant "men of Sâka-dvipa," that is to say, the Iranians. Consequently he says that the Sakas, who lived in Gujarat and northern India in the early times were Iranians. Several scholars have dealt with the question as to who the Sakas were and where they came from. We propose to give short extracts from their books.

Von. Schlegel says that the Sakas were nomad tribes, inhabiting Central Asia, the Scythians of the Greeks whom the Persians also, as Herodotus tells us, called Sakae, just as the Indians did. (Lib. VII 64; Griffith's Ramayana p. 66). In the inscriptions of Darius we find, that one of the nations conquered by Darius was the Saka (Col. I para 6).

According to Vincent Smith the Sakas or the Se (Sek.) of Chinese histories were a horde of pastoral nomads, occupying the territory to the west of the Wu-sun horde, apparently situated between the Chu and Jaxartes (or Syr Daryâ) rivers to the north of the Alexander mountains. Strabo clearly stated, that the Sakae came from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes. Megasthenes said, that on the north of India and beyond the Himalayas, the country was inhabited by those Scythians, who were called Sakai. About 163 B. C. they were expelled from their pasture grounds by another horde, the Yueh Chi, and compelled to move in the southerly direction. The flood of the barbarian invasion burst upon Bactria about 140–130 B. C. The Saka flood, pouring on, surged into the valley of the Helmund river, and so filled that region, the modern Sistan, that it became known as Sakastene * or the Saka country. Other branches of the barbarian stream, which penetrated the Indian passes, deposited settlement at Taxila in the Punjab, and Mathura on the Jamnâ, where they displaced the native Râjas and ruled for several generations, assuming the ancient Persian title of Satrap. They were seemingly in subordination of the Parthian power. Probably they recognized Mithridates I. (174 to 136 B. C.) and his successors...as their over-lords. They could not otherwise

* Such is the view of the Enclyclo. of Religion and Ethics 1 p. 415-*b*. see Bundehishna chap. V.

† See R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 153-163.

* Isidorus of Charax, who lived about the beginning of the Christian era, gives the name of *Sakastene* to the greater part of Drangiana, and calls the people Saka-Scythians (Cunningham's Archæological Reports II. p. 45.) The Sakas are mentioned in the Jain inscription No. 32 of about the first century B. C. One Gotiputra is called a black serpent (=a great fighter) who fought with them (Epigraphia Indica I-394).

have adopted the Persian title of Satrap. Another section of the horde, at a later period, pushed southwards and occupied the peninsula of Saurâshtra and Kâthiawad, founding a Saka dynasty, which lasted for centuries and was overthrown in 395 A. D. (V. Smith's Early Hist. of India pp. 186, 187, 200, 202, 218, 255; Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I p. 223).

Mr. Telang observed, that the Sakas were a tribe, inhabiting countries on the north-west frontier of India 'between the Indus and the sea.' They gave their name to the royal dynasty, from which the Marâthi word शक, meaning era, is derived. * Mr Telang is supported by the writer of Periplus (A. D. 250). (Bom. Gaz. I Pt.I. p. 543), who calls the valley of the Lower Indus Scythia.

Sir A. Cunningham says:—"From Kipin (=Kabul), the Sakas rapidly extended their conquests to the eastward, until they occupied the whole valley of the Indus. Ptolemy apparently limits his district of Indo-Scythia to the province of Sindh, below the junction of the five rivers .....The author of the Erythræan Periplus † calls the countries at the mouth of the Indus 'the sea-board of Scythia,' but the capital which he names Minnagar, was at some distance inland." (see Archæological Reports, II. pp. 45-46).

It is easy to see, that Plotemy, Telang and the author of Periplus give the habitation of the Sakas of *much later times*.‡ What we are concerned with is to know the *original* home of Sakas in 477 B. C., when Gautama Buddha died. Also the fact that about the year 160 B. C., the Sakas were under the domination of the Persian kings, and were influenced by the Zoroastrian religion, does not prove that they were Zoroastrians in the days of Sâkya Muni, that is, Gautama Buddha. They were then the enemies of the Persians.

E. J. Rapson also points out, that Herodotus expressly states that the term Sakas was used by the Persians to denote Scythians generally. It is true, that some of the Sakas were connected with the Pahlavas; but that was the case in *about the first century B. C. and first century A. D.* for, says Rapson:—"There is evidence of an intimate connection between Pahlavas and Sakas, *i. e.* between the family of (the Pahlava) Volones, with the family of (the Saka) Maues. This connection appears to be proclaimed by certain coins, on which Spalirises the brother of the king Volones is definitely associated to Azes who was almost certainly the successor of Maues. The family of Volones ruled in Seistan, Kandahar and north Baluchistan, and that of Maues ruled in the West Punjab and Sindh, until towards the end of the first quarter of the first century A. D., the two kingdoms were united under the sway of the Pahlava Gondopharnes, as to the Parthian character of whose name there can be no possible doubt." (Rapson's Anc. India pp. 144-5 & 184).

Thus then we see that a Saka line of rulers was connected with the Pahlavas, and were probably influenced by the religion of the latter only *in about the first century before Christ.* We have no evidence before that date.

Were Sakyas Zoroastrians?

Dr. Spooner says, that the word *Sâka* is the same as *Saka*, and reminds one of *Sâka-dwipa*; and as the Sâkas or Sakas were Zoroastrians, Sâka-dwipa was necessarily the land or home of the Zoroastrian Magi. Further up the learned doctor points

* Mudra Rakshasha intro. p. 28; V. Smith's His. of India p. 207.

† A sailing directory for Greek Merchants; see Pandit Bhagvanlal's Remains at Sopara, p. 6.

‡ The Sakas invaded N. W. India in about 100 B. C. (Rapson's Anc. India p. 184).

out, that in the Vishnu Purâna and in the Mahâbhârata there is a description of the Sâka-dwipa whence came the Magians. He has quoted for our information the passage from the Mahâbhârata, that "there was a mighty *Sâka-tree* in the Sâkadwipa," and that "there was no king there."

But we regret, that he has omitted to tell us from the same Chapter of the Mahâbhârata (Bhishma Parva XI-28), that the people of the Sâkadwipa always adored the above-said Sâka tree, and that in that island *Shiva was worshipped.* Are we ready to believe, that the Zoroastrians or the Magians were ever devoted to the worship of Shiva? Besides it should be noted that "this Sâkadwipa was surrounded on all sides by ocean." If so it may well have been the country between the Indus and the Sea; although according to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer it was Sakastene, since that "name explains the statement in the Bhavishya Purâna, that Sun-worsbip was introduced by Magas into Multân from Sâkadwipa, the land of the Sakas," (Bom. Gaz. I. Pt. I. p. 143), and that "the Multân sun-worship was introduced under Sassanian influence" (idem p. 142).

Leaving aside the question whether Sâkadwipa was Seistan or the country between Indus and the sea, one thing seems certain that it was situated in the west.

Dr. Spooner argues that from Sâka we get the lost form "Sâkiya," from which came "Sâkya." The original home of the Sâkyas being Sâkadvipa (as the etymology proclaims), the ancestors of Buddha, the Sâkyas of Kapila-vastu are not to be differentiated from the other Sâkadvipins, or in other words the ancestors of Buddha were the inhabitants of the land of the Sakas and were Zoroastrians. For this reason and for many other reasons to be mentioned hereafter, we are asked to believe, that Buddha was a Zoroastrian.

We have seen that Sâkadvipa was in the west; and Dr. Spooner admits it. On the other hand, Kapila-vastu, which was the birth-place of Buddha, was in the Sâkya territory at the foot of the Nepal hills, in what is now known as the Nepalese Tarai. This Sâkya territory was bordered on the north by the Himalaya Mountains, on the east by the river Rohini, and on the west and south by the river Achirâvati (Râpti). It was to the north of the modern Basti and Gorakhapur districts, and was a dependency of Kosala, the modern Oudh. (V. Smith's Hist. of India pp. 24-25, 139; Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I p. 320; Rapson's Anc. India p. 161). Therefore we have reasons to believe, that *Sâka dwipa* was quite distinct from the *territory of the Sâkyas*, and that the Sâkyas had no connection with the Sakas.

Sakyas and Next-of-kin Marriage.

Dr. Spooner tries to support his theory by relying upon a legend of the Sâkyas, which is as follows:— A king named Ambattha sent his sons into exile at the instance of his most favourite wife. They took with them their sisters. They met the sage Kapila on the shore of a lake surrounded by a forest of Sâka trees and there they settled. In the absence of suitable wives in that locality, they wedded their own sisters. This act delighted their father when he heard of it, and he cried out शक्या वत भो राजकुमाराः परमशक्या भो कुमाराः "Clever indeed are the princes, they are indeed extremely clever."

We can see, that in the above passage, there is evidently a pun on the word शकय or शाक्य. Now the statement, that the Sâkyas married their own sisters, points to a similar custom attributed (wrongly in our opinion) to the Zoroastrians or Magians of olden times. And for this

reason Dr. Spooner concludes that the Sâkyas "were of Zoroastrian origin." We shall see hereafter that some of the ancient Hindus also practised next-of-kin marriages. If so, the statement that the Sâkya princes married their sisters, does not conclusively prove, that they were Zoroastrians.

Buddha a Zoroastrian!

The discussion of the word Sâkya leads us to think of the great Sâkya Muni, Gautama Buddha (B. C. 537 to 477). Relying upon certain external and internal circumstances the learned Doctor does not hesitate to put forward the astounding theory, that Buddha too was a Zoroastrian.

(1) One of the external circumstances has been referred to above, namely that the Sâkyas of Kapilavastu, the ancestors of Buddha practised next-of-kin marriages like the Magians or Zoroastrians, and that therefore they were identical with these people.

Next-of-kin Marriages—Persians, Hindus, &c.

We have shown elsewhere that the so-called next-of-kin marriages referred to in our religious books were but legendary descriptions of certain natural phenomena and that they were misinterpreted by some ruling monarchs for their nefarious object.* It is impossible to believe, that the religion sanctioned the alleged practices or that masses of Zoroastrians indulged in them. But are not such practices referred to in the Hindu books? Stories of the incest of Prajâpati wlth his daughter are related in several books—such as the Aitareya Brâhmana, Shatapatha Brahmana, Pancha-vimsha Brahmana, and even in the Rigveda (Ait. Br. 3-33, Sha. Br. I-7-4-1ff, Pan. Br. 8-2-10, Rv. I-71-5).* Kumârila, the well-known opponent of Buddhism and the predecessor of Shankarâchârya correctly explains this fable. He says "Prajâpati, the Lord of Creation, is the name of the sun, and is so called because he protects all creatures. His daughter Ushas is the Dawn. And when it is said, that he was in love with her, this only means, that at sun-rise, the Sun runs after Dawn."

Similarly we find in the Rigveda, (VI-55-4-5, I-115-2) that Pushana is the paramour of his own sister Dawn and his own mother Suryâ. Now Pushana is nothing but the sun and Suryâ the light of the sun. Thus the fable relates the close connection of the sun with the dawn, and its own light. (Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I. p. 186).

Similar legends are found in our religious books† also. In the beginning of creation, the male element was Ahura-mazda himself. He created Spendarmad, who was therefore his own daughter. This was the first female element. Ahuramazda married his daughter, and Gayomard, the primitive man, was born from the earth. Here then we have a philosophical legend of the creation of the first man; and it indicates the divine and earthly elements of which man is made.‡ Further we are told, that Gayomard married

* For the story of Bahman marrying his so-called sister Homâya see Kutâr's Shahname Vol. VII. p. 8 and preface. According to Herodotus Cambysis married his sisters; but Herodotus clearly says that no Iranian married his sister before Cambysis (Herodotus III. § 31).

* Also in Rv. X-61-4 to 7, and Bhagvata Purâna III-12-28ff. See also Muir's Sk. Texts V. pp. 45-47.

† Dinkard II. Chap. 80 by Dastur Peshotan B. Sanjana.

‡ Cf. Bhagvad Gita XIV. §§ 3-4 :—

मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म तस्मिन् गर्भं दधाम्यहम् ।
संभवः सर्व भूतानां ततो भवति भारत ॥ सर्व
योनिषु कौन्तेय मूर्तयः संभवन्ति याः । तासां
ब्रह्म महद्योनिरहं बीजप्रदः पिता ॥

"My womb is the great Brahma; in that I (Shri Bhagavân) place the germ; thence comes the birth of all beings, O Bhârata. In whatever wombs mortals are produced, O Kauntiya, the great Brahma is their womb, I their generating father."

Spendarmad, who was his own mother. They became the parents of Mashi and Mashyâni, the first human twins, who married and begot the human race. The author of this legend did not care to see, that it contained a very obnoxious principle. It was, however, readily caught hold of by some unscrupulous kings and their followers.

The same was probably the case with at least three sects of the Hindus, namely the Gandharas, people of the Uttara Kurus and Pandias; and as early Buddhism was a sect of Hinduism (as we shall see hereafter,) it would not be wrong to infer, that the Buddhists might have borrowed their custom of the next-of-kin marriage from these Hindus.

Unlawful Marriages Among Gandharas.

The *Râjtarangimi* which is a Sanskrit chronicle of the Kashmir kings written by Kahlâna Pandita in the 12th century A.D. *is a book dealing with several important points of history. One of the passages in this book relating to the Gandhara Brahmans runs thus:—अग्रहारान् जगृहिरे गांधारब्राह्मणास्ततः । ..... भगिनीवर्गसंभोगनिर्लज्जाः म्लेच्छवंशजाः । स्नुषासंगतिसक्ताश्च दारदाः संति पापिनः । " Then the Gândhâra Brâhmans took rent-free lands. They were descendants of Mlechhas and were shameless to consort with (their) sisters. These sinners, who were attached to the intercourse with their daughers-in-law offered their wives (to others)." (Raj. Tar. I. 307 ff.)

Now who were these Gândhâra Brâhmans? The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer thinks, that the Râjatarangini describes the Mâgadhas as Gândhâra Brâhmanas brought by Mihirakula (A. D. 450-530), who were the lowest of Brâhmans, the accursed children of Mlechhas, marrying their own sisters. (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 9. pt, I. p, 440). As we have already stated, Dr. Spooner identifies the Mâgadhas with the Persians. It would follow, that the Gândhâra Brâhmans were Persians. We have however shown that the Magadhas were not Persians. The Gandharâs were Indians for the following reasons:—

(1.) The Gândhâra Brâhmans are mentioned in the Karna Parva of the Mahâbhârata (verse 2076 ff), where we read :— भवत्येकः कुले विप्रः प्रसृष्टाः कामचारिणः । गांधाराः मद्रकाश्चैव बाहिकाश्चालपचेतसः ॥ "The senseless Gândhâras, Madrakâs and Bâhikâs are lustful and without restraint ; (but) only one in a family *is a Brâhman.*"

(2). In the Shatapatha Brahmana there is an allusion to a royal sage Svarjit, son of Nagnajit, the Gândhâra, which runs thus:—अथ ह स्म अह स्वर्जिद् नाग्नजितः । नाग्नजिद्वा गांधार । ...यत् स तदुवाच राजन्यबंधुरिव त्वेव तदुवाच । "Then Svarjit, son of Magnajit spoke. Now Nagnajit was a Gândhâra. This which he spoke, he spoke as if he were a Kshatriya brother."

(3) Nagnajit, the Gândhara is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brâhmana (VII-34) as one of the persons, who received instruction of a particular rite from Parvata and Nârada.

(4) In the Mahâbhârata (I-2439, 24 41) we read:—" Nagnajit (the disciple of Prahlâda) and Subala were then born.....Two children were born to the king of Gândhâra (Subala), Shakuni Saubala and the mother of Duryodhana."

As Dr. Muir says, these passages are sufficient to show, that the Gândhâras were a people, with whom the Aryans of India were in the habit of holding intercourse and contracting affinity. Prof. Wilson notes that these Gândhâras were a people found both on the west of the Indus and in the Punjab and were well known to classical writers

* Dutt's Anc. India Vol. V. p. 42.

as Gandarii * and Gandaridæ (Vishnu Parâna p. 191; As. Res. XV-105). Lassen concludes that "though in individual passages of the Mahâbhârata hatred and contempt are expressed in reference to the tribes living on the Indus, yet there is no trace of these tribes being ever regarded as of non-Indian origin. That there was no essential difference in their language is proved by the testimony of Pânini."

We therefore conclude with Dr. Muir, that the tract of the country to the west of the Indus was inhabited by races of Aryan origin *and of common descent with the Indians.* (Muir's Sk. Texts Vol. II pp. 483, 484, 353-356).

We may here say that in view of a passage in the Atharva Veda, the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer is not correct, when he identifies the Gândharas with the Mâgadhas. The passage runs thus :—"As soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou sojournest among the *Bahlikas.* † Go Takman, to the Mujavats, or far away to the Bahlikas.....We transfer Takman, as a servant, and as a treasure, to the Gandhâris, the Mujavats, the Angas and the Magadhas" (Av. V- 22-5, 7, 14). Now as Dr. Muir says :—"The Mujavats, being mentioned along with the Bahlikas,† a Bactrian race, and with the Gandhâris, may be a hill tribe in the north-west of India.....The Angas and Magadhas were, on the contrary, tribes living in South Behar. We have thus in the verse two nations situated to the north-west and two to the south-west." (Muir's Sk. Texts Vol. II pp. 351-352). It will thus be seen, that the Gandhâris were totally distinct from the Mâgadhas. This is further seen from Varâha Mihira's Brihat Samhitâ (chap. XIV), in which Magadha is classed among the countries in the east and Gandhâra among the countries in the north (see J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. 5. pp. 82, 86).

Thus then the Gândhâras who practised illicit marriages were Hindus and not Persians.

Incest Among Uttara Kuru Tribes.

The practice of the next-of-kin marriage was prevalent among the people of the Uttara Kurus also. In the Bhishma Parva of the Mahâbhârata (Sec. VII.) there is an account of these people. Verses Nos. 7 to 12 run thus :—

देवलोकच्युताः सर्वे जायंते तत्र मानवाः । शुक्लभिजनसंपन्नाः सर्वे सुप्रियदर्शनाः ॥ मिथुनानि च जायन्ते स्त्रियश्चाप्सरसोपमाः । तेषां ते क्षीरिणां क्षीरं पिबन्ति अमृतसंनिभम् ॥ मिथुनं जायते काले समंतत् च प्रवर्धते । तुल्यरूपगुणोपेतं समवेषं तथैव च ॥ एवमेव अनुरूपं च चक्रवाकसमं विभो । निरामयाश्च ते लोका नित्यं उदितमानसाः ॥ दशवर्षसहस्राणि दशवर्षशतानि च । जीवंति ते महाराज न चान्योऽन्यं जहत्युत ॥ भारुंडानामशकुनाः तीक्ष्णतुंडामहाबलाः । तान् निर्हरंति इह मृतान् दरीषु प्रक्षिपंति च ॥

"All men there take birth (as if) fallen from heaven. All are of pure birth and are extremely handsome. There twins (of opposite sexes) are born, the women resembling Apsaras in beauty. They drink the milk, sweet as Amrit, of those milk-giving trees. And the twins born there grow up equally; both (male and female being) possessed of equal beauty, both endowed with similar

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* Cunningham says:—Gandhara is described by Strabo under the name *Gandaritis* as lying along the river Kophes, between the Choaspes and the Indus. Its chief towns were Pushkâlâvati (Peukelaotis), Varusha (Paladheri), Sâlâtura (Lahor) and Parashâwara (Peshawar). (See Ancient Geography of India p. 47 ff). It corresponds with the modern districts of Peshawar. (Archæological Survey Reports I. p. 15). Gandhara is placed by Lassen to the west of the Indus and south of the Kabul river. (See Muir's Sanskrit Texts II. p. 342),

† The view of Roth and Weber, which Zimmer once accepted namely that this was an Iranian tribe (cf. Balkh) is not accepted by Macdonell and Keith. (Vedic Index Vol. II p. 63).

virtues and both equally dressed; thus, O king, *both grow up in love, like a couple of Chakra-vâka birds.* These persons are free from illness and are always cheerful. Ten thousand and ten hundred years they live, O king, and *never abandon each other.* A class of birds called Bhârundâ, furnished with sharp beaks and possessed of great strength, take them up, *when dead,* and *throw them into mountain caves.*"

We have here references to the practices of next-of-kin marriage and exposure of dead bodies. The Commentator, while explaining चक्रवाकौ says:—चक्रवाकौ सहचरौ पक्षिदंपती. "The Chakravakas are bird-couples, who move together." Hence it is suggested that the twins lived as husband and wife. Further up the Commentator explains न जहति thus:—सममेव द्वौ अपि शरीरं त्यजतः। "The couples abandon their bodies together." This evidently refers to the custom of Sati, in which the wife consigned her body to the flames along with her dead husband.

Now who were these people of the Uttara or Northern Kurus? Aitareya Brahmana (VIII, 13-14) shows that they were Hindus. They could not have been Zoroastrians in view of the Sati practice which prevailed among them. According to M. M. Kunte these people and the Madrâs lived on the Punjab side of the Himalayas. (See Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India p. 374).

Incest Among Pandias.

Mr. Vaidya says:—"The curious story is related by Greek authors, that Heracles (*i. e.* Krishna) had a daughter by name Pandia, on whom he raised progeny by incest, and assigned it to a country, which lies to the south and extends to the sea (McCrindle's Ancient India). Here is a jumble of names and facts. The Pandavas were no doubt the sons of Krishna's father's sister, and his own sister was the mother of the next heir. But the Pandias were a different race of Indians altogether who settled in the south of India, and among whom peculiar marriage institutions obtained (probably copied from the native inhabitants), such as the marriage between sisters and brothers. The same story has been copied by Ferishta" (Vaidya's Mahâbhârata p. 67).

Comment is unnecessary. We think, that in view of the above facts it is high time that the general idea that the customs of the next-of-kin marriage and exposure of corpses were peculiar to the "Zoroastrians* or Magians is either modified or given up.

Gaya, Buddha's Holy Place.

(2) The second external circumstance, which we have to consider is, that Gautama selected Gayâ as his centre. According to the Dabestân. "The ancient Persians claimed Gayâ as a temple of their foundation, where Gayâ (that is, Kaiwân or the planet Saturn) was worshipped. Dr. Spooner thinks, that it is now intelligible what the author of the Dabestan meant. "Gayâ was an early seat of Magian worship. Gautama Buddha, as a religious student went thither as to the holy place of his own people, the Zoroastrians. The Magian Brâhmans, who did not accept his reforms, had held the spot sacred before his time, and his followers naturally held it doubly sacred after him."

Let us however see, what the Dabestan says on the subject. After referring to the fire-temples in Iran the writer says:—"They also assert, that there were fire-temples in several parts of India, as in Dwârkâ was the temple of Saturn, called Dizh-i-Kaivân (Saturn's fort), which the Hindus turned into Dwârkâ.

* For incest among other nations see Genesis XI-29, XX-12, Exodus VI-20, Mc. Lennan's Anc. Hist. pp.175.177; Fraser's Adonis Attis Osiris pp. 394-397.

And in Gyâ * also was an idol-temple, called Gâh-i-Kaivân (or Saturn's residence), which was turned into Gyâ. In Mahtrâ also was an idol-temple of Saturn, the name of which was Mahetar; that is, chiefs or Mahetar resorted thither, which word by degrees became Mahtrâ" (Shea and Troyer Vol. I. pp. 52-53).

Now Dwârkâ. Gayâ and Mathurâ are pure Sanskrit words. But the author of the Dabestan, who belonged to comparatively modern times, wanted to derive these names anyhow from Persian words, because he had heard, that there were Parsi fire-temples there. It may be, that Gayâ was a holy city of the Hindus in ancient times, (and no doubt that was so, as we see in the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana,† &c.), it may be that Buddha was born in this holy city, it may be that, the Zoroastrians built their fire-temples in this city, but are we justified in concluding from these premises, that Buddha was a Zoroastrian? Why could it not be, that this city was a holy place of all the three religions at different times or possibly even at one and the same time?

As to Dwârkâ, it was an ancient town built by Krishna and destroyed by an inundation of the sea (Vishnu Purana pp. 566, 613). It actually exists as a town with a celebrated temple in Gujarat. We have already seen that according to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer "The Hindu account of the fire-worshipping priests from Persia into Dwârkâ probably belongs to the 6th century-ascendancy of the fire-worshipping Mihiras or Gurjjaras and white Huns" (Bom. Gaz. IX pt. II. p. 183 note).

Parallelisms Between Buddhism & Zoroastrianism.

Dr. Spooner then adduces internal proofs, which have been noted by Spiegel and others. We must say that these same parallelisms were noted long ago by our learned friend Mr. G. K. Nariman to show the influence of our religion on Buddhism.

The learned Doctor notes the following parallelisms :—

(1) Zarathushtra planted a cypress tree before the fire-temple; Gautama planted the bo-tree at Bodh-Gayâ.

(2) Kharenangha or kingly glory is mentioned in our religion. This closely resembled the Chakravartin idea of the Buddhists.

(3) The Fravashi of Zarathushtra was seen by Geush Urvan as residing in heaven long before his birth; similarly Gautama's spirit was in heaven long before he was born.

(4) In both the religions the heaven was the region of "eternal light."

(5) The doctrine of future millennial prophets in our religion, is analogus to that of the Boddhisatvas.

(6) The Buddhist books mention the "heaven of 33 gods." We have 33 ratus, 33 Firashtâs 33 forms of ordeal &c.

(7) When Zarathushtra was conceived in his mother's womb, Vohuman and Ashavahishta conveyed to earth his Fravashi which combined with Khureh and material body. Similarly at the birth of Gautama, Brahmâ and Indra attended, as is seen from the bas-reliefs.

(8) All nature rejoiced at the birth of Zarathushtra, and similarly at the birth of Buddha. The evil attempts made to kill the infant Zoroaster are analogous

* In the foot-note the translators say, that "the true name is Gayâ, a town in the province of Behar, 35 miles south of Patna. It is one of the holy places of the Hindus, to which pilgrimages are performed. It was made holy by the benediction of Vishnu, who granted its sanctity to the piety of Gayâ, the Rajarshi, or according to another legend to Gaya, the Asura, who was overwhelmed by the deities with rocks. This place is also considered by some Hindus either as the birth-place or as the residence of Buddha."

† Râmâyana Bk. II. Ch. 107, and Kathâsarit-sagara Vol. II. p. 333. M. Bh. Vana Parva Chap. 84 §§ 82, 96, 97; Garuda Purâna Chap. 13.

to the attempts made on the life of the infant Buddha.

(9) At the age of 30, both Zarathushtra and Buddha received enlightenment or divine light of revelation. After the revelation came the temptation by evil fiends in the case of both the prophets.

(10) Asoka was a true copy of Vishtâspa—both being famous for their proselytising zeal.

From all these circumstances, Dr. Spooner arrives at the conclusion, that "Buddha's system was an adaptation of the Magian faith to Indian conditions," or in other words Buddhism was a cult of Persian origin, wherein both Magians and Hindus were united in one common fold."

Buddhism originated from Hinduism.

We regret, we cannot agree to the conclusion of the learned Doctor. All the scholars are unanimous that Buddhism was a modification of Hinduism. We give below the opinions of some of them.

Prof. Max Muller says:—"Although Buddhism, as a religious, social and philosophical system is a reaction against Brahmanism, there is an unbroken continuity between the two.....Buddha himself shows no hostility to the Brâhmans in general, nor does he seem to have been fond of arguing against Brâhmanism.....What he attacks is Brâhmanic sacrifice, as it had been developed in the Brâhmanas, the privileges arrogated to their caste by the Brâhmans, and the claim of a divine revelation set up for the Veda, particularly by the Brâhmans." (Physical Religion pp. 94-95).

In another place the same scholar says," Buddha learned the Rigveda and was proficient in all the branches of Brahmanical lore. His pupils were many of them Brâhmans, and no hostile feeling against the Brâhmans finds utterance in the Buddhist canon. Buddhism in its original form, was only a modification of Brâhmanism" (Anc. Sk. Lit. pp. 261-262).

Ganga Prasad in his book, the "Fountain Head of Religion" tries to show, that Buddhism was based on the Vedic religion. He says:—"Buddhism spread in this country, because originally it was only a righteous protest against the unjust distinction of caste, cruel slaughter of animals, and an appeal for the practice of virtue and morality" (p. 59).

Dutt says:—"Gautama was not a thoughtless destroyer, nor a heedless and enthusiastic opponent of all, that was orthodox and ancient..... He denounced caste, because he found it mischievous and believed it to be a late and corrupted form of ancient Brahmanism. He proclaimed the fruitlessness of Vedic rites, because he found them as then practised to be silly, meaningless forms, attended with needless cruelty to animals and loss of life" (Anc. India Vol. I. p. 296 ff).

Rhys Davids says:—"Gotama was regarded by the Hindus of that time as a Hindu.....We should never forget, that Gotama was born and brought up and lived and died a Hindu. His teaching, far-reaching and original as it was, and really subversive of the religion of the day, was Indian throughout." Further up the same writer thus concludes:—"Buddhism is essentially an Indian system. The Buddha himself was, throughout his career, a characteristic Indian. And whatever his position as compared with other teachers in the west, we need here only claim for him, that he was the greatest and wisest and best of the Hindus" (Buddhism, its History and Literature, pp. 116, 117).

R. Chanda's arguments on this point are quite conclusive. He says:—"The accepted view that Gautama Buddha was born a Hindu is based on traditions and legends, enshrined in such canonical works, as the

Mahâvastu, *Divyâvadâna* and *Lalita Vistara*, and non-canonical works like *Ashvaghosha's Buddha-charita* and the Pali *Nidânakathâ*. These works agree in representing Suddhodana (father of Buddha) as a Brâhmanist. A Brâhman named Udayana was his Purohita (domestic priest). Ten days after the birth of the future Buddha, we are told in the *Buddha-charita* (I-88, 89), Suddhodana 'offered for his son most elaborate sacrifices to the gods with muttered prayers and oblations,' and gave to the Brâhmans cows full of milk. According to the *Mahâvastu*, when the child first entered Kapilavastu with his mother, he was taken to the temple named *Sâkya-vardhana* for bowing to the feet of the goddess Abhayâ. (अभयाये देवीये पादवंदनं). In the *Divyâvadâna*, the temple (देवकुलं) is called *Sâkyavardha*. In the *Lalita Vistara* it is said, that the temple contained the images of Siva, Skanda, Nârâyana, Moon, Sun, Vaishravana, Shakra, Brahmâ and the Lokapâlâs. If one chooses to ignore these traditions, while crediting others like the next-of-kin marriage practised by Buddha's ancestors, anything can be proved about him." (R. Chandra's Indo-Aryan Races pp. 241-242.)

According to Vincent Smith "Buddhism was a sect of Hinduism unknown beyond very restricted limits .....When Asoka accorded to it his invaluable support, it was but one of the many sects struggling for existence and survival." (Hist. of India pp. 167 8).

Cardinal Truths of Buddhism.

The four cardinal truths,* enjoined to be practised by Buddhism were:—

(1). Life is suffering. (2). The cause of suffering is thirst after life. (3). The conquering of that thirst leads to cessation of suffering, and (4) The extinction of that thirst can be achieved by a holy life. (Mahâvagga I-6 quoted in Anc. India Vol. I. p. 343, 355). Mr. Ganga Prasad points out, that these truths occur repeatedly in books of Vedic religion and philosophy. For example, in the Nyâya Sutras (I, 2) we read :—दु:खजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमिथ्याज्ञानानाम् उत्तरोत्तरपाये तदनन्तरापायाद् अपवर्गः । "Of suffering, attachment (to life), evil motive and false knowledge, the extinction of one leads to the extinction of that, which precedes it; and the extinction of suffering is the *summum bonum*."

Commandments of Buddhism.

According to *Dhâmmika Sutra* the five commandments, which are obligatory on all Buddhists are:—

(1) Not to kill living beings; (2) Not to take what is not given; (3) Not to speak falsehood; (4) Not to drink intoxicating drinks and (5) Not to be unchaste.* Dutt says: "these (commandments) were suggested by Vasistha's five *Mahâpâtakas* or great sins. (Anc. India Vol. I. p. 358). Ganga Prasada tracing them to the five *yamas* or rules of conduct, mentioned by Patanjali† in his Yoga Sutra. (II-30) [अहिंसासत्यास्तेय-ब्रह्मचर्य्यापरिग्रहा यमाः । "Not to kill animals, not to speak falsehood, not to commit theft, not be unchaste, not to indulge in sensual pleasures, are the rules of conduct,"] concludes thus:—"Buddha did not preach any *new* religion or

* The four Truths or the four words of truth are:—दु:ख "pain" समुदय "origin" निरोध "destruction" and मार्ग "road" (Dhammapada Chap. 20 § 273; S. B. E. Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 67). Elsewhere the four holy truths are given thus:—Pain, the origin of pain, the destruction of pain and the eight-fold (way that leads to the quieting of pain. Dhammapada Chap. 14 § 91 S. B. E. Vol. I Pt. I. p. 52).

* See S. B. E. Vol. 10 Part II-p. 66.

† It might be argued that Patanjali was probably a later writer. The answer is that such Sutras must have been in existence long before Patanjali's time; the Brahmans would not borrow any dogma from their enemies the Buddhists, who had chucked up Hinduism.

any *new* truth. He only repudiated certain evils, which were no part of true Vedic religion. Buddhism, therefore (by which we have to understand the noble precepts taught by Gautama), is based on Vedic religion." (See Sacred Books of Hindus Vol. IV. p. 155; Fountain Head of Religion pp. 54 62.)

Parallelisms.

As regards the various parallelisms we will at once admit, that our religion may have exercised some influence on Buddhism. There is no religion in the world, which has not exercised some sort of influence on another religion, which came after it. It is well known, that Buddhism exercised some influence on Christianity, and the latter on Mahomedanism. Buddhism sprang up directly from the Vedic religion—such is, as we have seen, emphatically the opinion of Max Muller, Dutt, V. Smith, Ganga Prasad and others. It is therefore our duty to be cautious, and see whether the parallelisms cannot be traced back in the ancient Hindu scriptures.

Zoroastrian Influence.

The influence of the Zoroastrian religion on Buddhism, however slight it may have been, has to be acknowledged. The temptation of Buddha by the evil spirit *Mâra* may have been borrowed from the Zoroastrian books, in which we read about the temptation of Zarathushtra by the evil spirit. Spiegel thought, that this was the *single* borrowing from a Persian source, although Max Muller held a different opinion, even as regards this influence. But as Max Muller has not adduced proofs, we are not inclined to accept his view.

We have come across another parallelism, which is not found in Hindu books and which we give subject to correction. In the Hâdokhta Nuska we read that after the death of a pious man, his good actions assume the form of a beautiful damsel, who comes to receive him on his way to heaven. Similarly in the Dhammapada (verse 220) we read:—"There do his good works receive him, who has done good, and has gone from this world to the other, as kinsmen receive a favourite on his return." We must admit that this parallelism is not so complete, as we would wish it to be.

Chakravartin and Shri Ideas.

Kharenangha or kingly glory has been compared with the *Chakravartin* idea of the Buddhists. It might be, as well, compared with the idea of *Shri** or Lukshmi in the Mahâbhârata. We are told, that "the Asuras† were originally just, good and charitable, knew the Dharma, and sacrificed, and were possessed of many other virtues. And therefore, *Shri* the goddess of prosperity dwelt with them during Yugas from the beginning of the world. But afterwards, as they multiplied in numbers, they became proud, vain and quarrelsome; they infringed the Dharma and neglected to sacrifice.....As they had thus changed their nature, *Shri* forsook them." (M. Bh. XII-8268ff. Fausball's Indian Mythology p. 20. M. Bh. Vana Parva Chap. 94. M. Bh. Santi Parva Chap 228 § 20ff).

Region of Light and 33 Gods.

It is stated, that according to the Zoroastrian as well as the Buddhist religions, the heaven was the "region of eternal light." Do we not read in the Rigveda, that the heaven

* Cf. Skandagupta's inscription at Junagar where we read क्रमेण बुध्या निपुणं प्रधार्य ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नान् गुणदोषहेतून् व्यपेत्य सर्वान् मनुजेन्द्रपुत्रान् लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयांचकार ॥

"Luxmi, having with a firm mind well considered the causes of good and bad qualities, rejected one after another, sons of kings, and at last married him herself." (B. B. R. A. S. Journal VII. pp. 122, 128).

† That is, Daityas and Dânavas.

is a place (यत्र ज्योतिरजस्रम्) "where there is ever-lasting light" (Rv. IX-113-9).

Dr. Spooner observes about the त्रयस्त्रिंश् or Buddhistic heaven of 33 gods, that "this number thirty-three in application to the gods is also Zoroastrian. It occurs to be sure in the Rigveda also, but in India the idea is less prominent in Hindu works than in the Buddhist." We regret, we cannot subscribe to this. We should think, that the idea is more prominent in the Hindu scriptures. More than half a dozen passages can be quoted to show, that in the Rigveda, we have mention of 33 gods. (See Rv. I-34-11, I-45-2, I-139-11, III-6-9, VIII-28-1, VIII-30-2, VIII-39-9, IX-92-4). If these are not enough, we can quote instances from the Black Yajur Veda (I-4-10-1), the White Yajur Veda (XIV-31), the Atharva Veda X-4-27, X-7-13, 23), Shatapatha Brahmana (4-5-7-2. 14-16-3), Aitareya Brahmana (I-2-10, III-22), Vishnu Purana,* Râmâyana (I-41), and Mahâbhârata.† Dutt rightly observes, that "Gautama adopted the popular belief in the Hindu Pantheon—*the 33 gods of the Rigveda*, and Brahmâ and the Gandharvas." (Anc. India Vol. I. p. 356).

Doctrine of Future Prophets.

As regards the doctrine of future millennial prophets, which we come across in the Zoroastrian and Buddhist scriptures, we may say, that it is found in the Hindu books also. The ten incarnations or *avatârs* of Vishnu are referred to in the following verse :—

मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहश्च वामनः।
रामो रामश्च कृष्णश्च बुद्धः कल्की तथैव च॥

"Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, Parashurâma, Rama, Krishna, Buddha and Kalki" (are the 10 Avatârs).* Of these the first nine appeared in archiac and ancient times, but Kalki is still to come. In his tenth and last *avatâra*, Vishnu will appear as the destroyer of the wicked and liberator of the world from its enemies. This is to take place at the end of the four Yugas. Jayadeva thus refers to the Kalki *avatâra* in *Gitagovinda* —110 :— म्लेच्छानिवहनिधने कलयसि करवालं धूमकेतुमिव किमपि करालम्। केशव धृतकल्कि शरीरं जय जगदीश हरे॥ "O Keshava, at the destruction of the multitude of the Mlechhas, you will wield the dreadful sword, which is like a comet. O Hari, lord of the world, may you be successful having got the body of Kalki." It will be seen, that Kalki will perform a function similar to that of our Sosiosha. (See Fravardin Yt. § 129, also Garuda Purana p. 62, Note by Earnest Wood).

Nature Rejoiced at Zoroaster's and Buddha's Births.

An important comparison is seen in the fact, that all nature rejoiced at the birth of Zoroaster and that of Buddha.

Now it is well known to students of comparative religion, that glowing and miraculous accounts are found as quite usual about the births and lives of prophets, apostles and important personages. We are not therefore surprised at the resemblances of the birth-accounts of Zoroaster, Buddha, Christ and Râma. We shall quote a few passages from the Râmâyana :—

Râma was born on the 9th day of Chaitra, when :—

The moon within that mansion shone,
Which Aditi looks kindly on,
Raised to their apex in the sky,

* See Wilson p. 123. These were 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, 12 Adityas, Prajapati and Daksha.

† Adi Parva Chap. 66 § 37.

* Bhâgvata Purâna gives 22 incarnations; of these the last two, Buddha and Kalki, are to come in the future (see also Muir's Sk. Texts IV p. 156).

Five brilliant planets * beamed on high,
Shone with the moon, in Cancer's sign,
Vrihaspati with light divine.
(Râmâyana Bk. I. Ch. 19).

Prof. Griffith says, that the poet intended to indicate the vernal equinox, as the birth-day of Râma; for, Chaitra is the first of the two months assigned to spring. We thus see, that Râma was born in the commencement of spring; and such was also the case with Zarathushtra.

The birth of Buddha was presided over by the *Pushya Nakshatra.* † The birth of Bharata, the brother of Râma, was presided over by the same constellation Pushya, as we read in the Râmâyana (Bk. I. Ch. 19).

The Archangels Vohuman and Asha conveyed Zarathushtra's Fravashi, which united with the Khureh in his mother's womb. Dr. Spooner supposes, that these Ameshaspents were the archtypes of Brahma and Indra, which loom largely in the bas-reliefs of the birth of Buddha. He adds, that "even the words Vohuman and Brahma are to be connected." We however fail to see any connection, because the Sanskrit word वसुमनस् is the exact equivalent of the Avesta word *Vohumanangh.* This point, however, is immaterial. But what shall we say about Ashavahishta and Indra? They are certainly the enemies of each other, as we see in the Vendidad and Bundehishna. (Vend. XIX-43. Bund. I-27, XXX-29). At the birth of Zarathushtra, the god Indra and several other devas were terrified and they tried to find out means to kill him (Vend. XIX-43/46). We thus see, that the analogy entirely fails here.

Turning to the Gâthas (Ha XXIX) and Bundehishna (Chap. IV.) we see, that a council of the Angels is held under the presidentship of Ahuramazda, in which Geush Urvan — the world's soul—complains of the calamities and miseries on this earth, and implores the heavenly spirits for help. Ahuramazda shows to Geush Urvan the Fravashi of Zarathushtra, which was created long before his birth, and says, that Zarathushtra will be sent as a prophet to remedy the evil.

A similar story is seen in the Râmâyana. At the sacrifice of Dasharatha, (father of Râma)—Vishnu, Indra, Maruts and all the holy gods assemble and complain to Brahmâ, the ruler of the sky, about the torments of Râvana thus:—

That lord of giants fierce and fell,
Scourges the earth, and heaven and hell,
Mad with the boon, his impious rage
Smites saint and bard and god and sage.

Then Vishnu said, that he would divide himself into 4 parts; half of his self would take birth as Râma, one quarter as Bharata, and one quarter as Luxman and Shatrughna.

Then Vishnu, fain on earth to dwell,
Bade the Almighty Sire farewell,
And vanished, while a reverent crowd
Of gods and saints in worship bowed (Griffith's Tr. Ramayana I, Ch. 14-15-19).

Don't we see very close resemblance in the two stories?

A better parallelism is however found in the Bhâgavata Parâna, for which I am indebted to my friend Mr. K. E. Punegar. The poet says:—"The goddess Earth, being oppressed by the heavy load of tens of thousands of Daitya hosts, who were born as arrogant kings, sought the

* Aditi is the lady of the lunar mansion *Punarvasu.* The five planets and their positions are given thus:—the Sun in Aries, Mars in Capricorn, Saturn in Libra, Jupiter in Cancer and Venus in Pisces.

† Ganga Prasad's Fountain Head of Religion (p. 51).

shelter of Brahma. She took the form of a cow, and with tears running down her cheeks, piteously related her grievances to the Lord Creator. Brahma carried the complaint of the cow to Vishnu, and the result was the avatarship of Shri Krishna" * (Study of Bhagavata Purâna by P. N. Sinha p. 245).

No doubt Purânas are later productions, but it is easy to see, that the Hindus would be the last men to borrow ideas from their religious enemies the Buddhists.

Let us proceed further. Raghu-Vamsa, the well-known poem of Kâlidâs gives us genuine tradition and semi-historical account of Râma and his ancestors. The three wives of Dasharatha, who had become pregnant at one and the same time, saw in their dreams, that their own persons were protected by angelic beings, that they were carried in the sky by the Garuda of golden wings, that they were waited upon by *Luxmi*, and that they were worshipped by the seven holy Rishis (Raghu Vamsa X-59, 63).

Now does not this *Luxmi* resemble *Khureh*, which encircled Zoroaster, and *Mâyâ* which grasped Buddha? Do not the angelic beings remind us of the archangels, who attended on the infant Zoroaster, and the gods Indra and Brahmâ, who waited upon the infant Buddha?

* C. V. Vaidya points out that.—" The usual story of Avâtaras given in the Puranas, namely, that the Earth, oppressed, goes to Vishnu in the form of a cow to implore for redress, and he comes to life together with all the deities of heaven for the purpose of destroying her oppressors is found in the Mahâbhârata in a nucleus form. In Chapters 65 and 66 of the Bhishma Parva it is stated that Brahma, surrounded by Rishis and gods.....praised Vishnu, the Supreme Being, and implored him to be born for the deliverance of the earth. Vishnu thereon was pleased and promised to grant his request.'.....In Chapter 167 of the Adi Parva, the oppressed Earth goes to Brahma, who directs all gods to go down to the earth and be born as mortals. They then all go to Narayana and Indra implores him to be born on the earth &c. (See Vaidya's Mahâbhârata pp. 40-48).

The author further tells us, that the infant Râma was of unrivalled lustre. He outshone the lamps in the lying-in-chamber. At the birth of Râma, the four quarters breathed freely, as it were, by means of the breezes, that were free from dust. Fire and the sun, who were oppressed by the Râkshashas became freed from grief—the one on account of his being smokeless, the other on account of his clearness. The fortune of the Demon shed drops of tears. The gods played on the musical instruments in heaven, and the all-yielding Santânaka tree poured a shower of flowers in the palace of the king Dasharatha (Raghu Vamsa X, 66-67).

Does not all this show, that nature rejoiced at the birth of Râma, just as it did in the case of Zarathushtra and Buddha? What ground have we to say that the Zoroastrian religion influenced Buddhism in this matter and that the Hindu religion did not do so?

Buddha & Zoroastrianism.

The theory, that Gautama Buddha was a Zoroastrian, is indeed astounding. One point would strike every Avestan student. As we are told, that the Sâkyas, the ancestors of Buddha, were Zoroastrians, Buddha must have been a Zoroastrian from his birth. Now it is argued by some scholars,* that the Gautama of the Fravardin Yashta was Gautama Buddha. If so, we see that a born Zoroastrian had questioned the truth of his own religion, and had invented quite a new faith; in other words, he was the first apostate, and such a circumstance would have been handed down to posterity in indubitable terms.

Doctrine of Karma.

The theory of transmigration or rather of Karma might here claim a few words from us. Gautama Buddha held, that after the death of any being, there survived nothing at all but that

being's Karma, the result of its mental and bodily action, and that every individual was the last inheritor and the last result of the Karma of a long series of past individuals. We read, for instance, in the Buddhist Sutras, that "after death the wrong doer is reborn into unhappy state, and the well doer is reborn into happy state." The Dhummapada (verse 325) says: "when a man becomes fat and a great eater, a sluggard rolling this way and that,..... again and again does that fool enter the womb." In the Sutta Nipâta (verse 647), the writer "calls him a Brâhman, who sees through heaven and hell, and who has reached the end of births." In the Sotâpattisanyutta," men are said to be reborn in purgatory, animal kingdom, and condition of ghosts, gods and men."

Now the question is whence was this theory borrowed by the Buddhists. There is certainly no such theory in our scriptures. According to Rhys Davids "the Aryans did not bring a belief in transmigration with them in India, and this doctrine is entirely absent in the Vedas." We however find traces thereof in the Rigveda (X-16), which may have been later interpolations. Anyhow in the Upanishadas (600 B. C.) the theory suddenly appears in perfect completeness. For example in the Chhândogya Upanishada (V-10) we read: "Those whose conduct has been good, will quickly attain a good birth as a Brâhman, Kshatriya or Vaishya." Similarly in the Kaushitaki Upanishada it is stated that "all who depart from this world go to the moon.....In the dark fortnight the moon sends them into new births... and they are born as worms, grasshoppers, fishes, birds, lions, boars, serpents, tigers, men &c. according to their deeds and knowledge." Buddha and his followers adopted this theory with the modification, that they added the doctrine of the *eternity* of transmigration. (Rhys Davids' Origin and Growth of Religion, Buddhism pp. 92, 106, 107, 236,80, 73, 83).

Thus then this important theory of Buddhism was certainly not borrowed from the Zoroastrians.

Moral Triad in Buddhism and Hinduism.

We have done with Dr. Spooner's important arguments, so far as Buddha is concerned. But our learned friend Mr. G. K. Nariman has adduced some more arguments, which arrest our attention. In our religion there are constant references to the moral philosophy contained in the Triad of *Humata*, *Hukhta* and *Hvarshta*. "Good thought, good word and good deed" or the opposite thereof. There are similar references in the Buddhist scriptures. For example, in the Dhammapada (XXVI verse 391) a Brâhman is thus defined:—"He who commits no sin by body or speech or mind, and is restrained in the three respects–him I call a Brâhman."* Now was this moral triad peculiar to the Zoroastrians and the Buddhists? Not at all. We come across the triad in the Hindu scriptures also. Here is a passage from the Brâhmana of the Yajur Veda:—

यन्मनसा ध्यायति तद् वाचा वदति ।
यद् वाचा वदति तत्कर्मणा करोति ।

"What a man contemplates in thought, he speaks in speech; what he speaks in speech, he does in deed."†

In the Manusmriti we read:—

शरीरजैः कर्मदोषैर्याति स्थावरतां नरः ।
वाचिकैः पक्षिमृगतां मानसैरन्त्यजातिताम् ॥

(Manu XII. 9) "Man attains the (fixed) condition (of vegetables and minerals) on account of his faulty

* See also Dhammapada VII § 97 where we read:—"His thought is quiet, his word and deed are quiet" (S. B. E. Vol 10-pt. I. p. 28.) Cf. Kâlavagga XIII-7.

† Quoted in Fountain Head of Religion by Ganga Prasad p. 168. See also Muir's Sk. Texts Vol. I, p. 81.

actions arising from the body; the condition of birds and quadrupeds on account of his (faulty) *speech*, and the lowest condition on account of his (faulty) *thoughts*."

In Garuda Purâna Sâroddhâra (III-12) we read:—चारास्ते धर्म राजस्य मनुष्याणां शुभाशुभं। मनोवाक्कायजं कर्म सर्वे जानन्ति तत्वतः॥ "Those followers of the King of Justice (Yama) know accurately all the virtues and vices of mankind, and the Karma born of mind, speech and body." (Also see idem VIII-36, VIII-59, X-47).

In Bhagvad Gita XVIII-15 we have:—शरीरवाङ्मनोभिर्यत्कर्म प्रारभते नरः "Whatever action a man begins to do by his body, speech and mind" &c.

Prof. Max Muller's remarks on this subject are quite convincing. He says:—"That this very natural three-fold division, thought, word and deed, the *trividha-dvâra* or the three doors of the Buddhists was not peculiar to the Buddhists or unknown to the Brâhmans, has been proved against Dr. Weber by Prof. Koppen in his 'Religion des Buddha' I. p. 445. He particularly called attention to Manu XII, 4-8; and he might have added Mahâbh. XII, 4059, 6512, 6554, 6549; XIII, 5677 etc. Dr. Weber has himself afterwards brought forward a passage from the Atharva-Veda VI-96-3 (यच्चक्षुषा मनसा यच्च वाचा उपारिम), which however has a different meaning. A better one quoted by him from the Taitt. Ar. X-1-12 (यन्मे मनसा वाचा कर्मणा वा दुष्कृतं कृतं).* Similar expressions have been shown to exist in the Zend-Avesta and among the Manichæans. There was no ground, therefore, for supposing, that this formula had found its way into the Christian liturgy from Persia; for, as Prof. Cowell remarks, Greek writers, such as Plato employ very similar expressions." (S. B. E. Vol. X pt. I. p. 29 note).

* "What evil deed was done by my mind, speech or deed."

Killing Noxious Creatures.

Another parallelism is, that both in our religion and Buddhism there are injunctions to kill noxious creatures.* A similar commandment was also in vogue among the Vedic people. In the Rigveda (I-191-15) we read:—

इयत् तकः कुषुम्भकः तकं भिनद्मि अश्मना।
ततो विषं प्रवावृते पराचीरनुसंवृतः॥

"The poison-insect is so small; I crush the creature with a stone; I turn the poison hence away, departed into distant lands." This stanza is a part of the hymn, in which venomous reptiles, insects, scorpions, aquatic worms and noxious creatures, lurking in grass, cow-pens, houses etc. are made to vanish by spells and charms. Under these circumstances we cannot say with certainty, whether the Buddhistic moral triad and the commandment to kill noxious creatures were borrowed from the Zoroastrian or the Hindu religion.

Temptation by Evil Spirit.

Now as to the temptation of the prophets by an evil spirit Prof. Max Muller observes:—"We are not surprised, that Buddha should be represented as having been tempted by an evil spirit called Mâra, for, such temptations form an inevitable element in the lives of saints and founders of every religion."

Further up the same writer says:—"'At the incarnation of Buddha a great light appeared, the blind received their sight, the deaf heard a noise, the dumb spoke one with another, the crooked became straight, the lame walked &c.' But such phrases are found in the Rigveda also. Thus in Rv. II-15-7 'the lame stood, the blind saw, Indra did this in the joy of Soma.'

* Mr. G. K. Nariman quotes a passage from the Pali Jâtaka in J. R. A. S. 1912 p. 256.

In Rv. VIII-79-2 the same miracle is ascribed to Soma himself: 'Soma covers what is naked, he heals all that is weak; the blind saw, the lame came forth. In Rv. I-112-8, the Ashvins are said to have helped the blind and lame to see and to walk.' If the ancient Vedic gods could do this, it was but natural, that the same miracle in almost the same words should be ascribed to Buddha." (Max Muller's Physical Religion pp. 390-394).

Dr. Spooner's Letter in the Bengalee.

Dr. Spooner has restated his theory in a modified form in a letter published in the *Bengalee* of Calcutta, dated 11th March 1916. In this letter he says :—"I do not say, that either Chandragupta or the Buddha was a Persian in our modern sense. I say, they were members of a body of Aryans, who came into this country at a date subsequent to the arrival of the first Aryan immigrations, when sufficient time had elapsed for the Vedic Hindus and their Iranian cousins to have developed differences of faith."

Dr. Spooner then proceeds to sum up his evidences thus:—"When the Linguistic Survey of India shows us, at that time beyond all explanation, that the Aryan languages of North India fall into two groups; when the Prakrit grammarians assert, that the (obviously Iranian) dialect of Balkh was integral part of Mâgadhi; when the language of these Outer Band Districts display Iranian characteristics, when excavation at Patliputra discloses pottery with the Persian fire-altar emblazoned on it, as well as a group of palaces agreeing in minute detail and even in grouping with the complex of Persepolis; when the *Prabodha-chandrodaya* tells us, that Magadha was a country peopled mostly by foreigners; and when the present population of Bihar shows such a number of admittedly Sâkadvipin Brâhmans, is it so wholly preposterous to suggest, that this region must have been settled by an Iranian body in prehistoric times"?

If by the expression "A Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" Dr. Spooner means that the Zoroastrians *settled* in India in prehistoric times, we have nothing to say against his abovesaid conclusion, although the premises might be easily challenged; but that is evidently not his meaning, when he calls the Mauryas Zoroastrians, and Chandragupta Maurya a Persian, (J. R. A. S. 1915 pp. 413, 417), and uses such expressions as "the first imperial rulers of India were Persians, &c." (p. 421 idem).

R. Chanda's Reply.

Dr Spooner's premises have been challenged by R. Chanda in his book named "the Indo-Aryan Races" (p. 220 ff) from which we propose to give a brief summary with our remarks.

(1) The classification of the Aryan languages of Northern India into two groups was never regarded as beyond all explanation. One of the explanations put forth by Dr. Hœrnle and adopted by Sir George Grierson is as under:—

The *Midland* extended from the Himalayas on the north to the Vindhya Hills on the South, and from Sarhind in the Eastern Punjab on the West to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna on the East. Round it lay the *Outer Band*, which included the modern Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Râjputâna, Oudh and Bihar. Now a comparison of the modern vernacular shows that the dialects of the Outer Band are more closely related to each other than the dialect of the Midland. It appears, that at an early period there must have been two sets of Indo-Aryan dialects—one for the Midland and the other for the Outer Band. From this it is argued that the inhabitants of the Midland represent the latest stage of Indo-Aryan immigration. The earliest arrivals spoke one dialect and the new-comers another.

Dr. Haddon thinks, that some members of the Alpine race from the highlands of South-West Asia came into India in pre-historic times.

[**Note**:—In his review of R. Chanda's book Dr. Keith disputes both the theories given above. He says:—"The theory of Dr. Spooner, which sees in the outer people, descendants of Magian immigrants, is decisively rejected; but in place of Magians are supplied men of the physical type of the *Homo Alpinus*, the original inhabitants of the Pamirs and the Takla-Makan desert, as determined by the investigations of Mr. Joice, speakers of Tocharian, an Indo-European but not Indo-Iranian speech.....It cannot be too often and too clearly asserted, that the two invasion hypothesis of Dr. Hœrnle and Sir Grierson has not the slightest support whatever in the Vedic literature. It has clearly no secure support in the Prakrits..... It has therefore to depend on theories as to the modern vernaculars, *i.e.*, deductions are to be drawn for the period 1500–1200 B. C. from our imperfect knowledge of the comparative development of these tongues in the last five centuries or so."] (J. R. A. S. 1917 pp. 167-175).

(2) Among the languages of the Outer Band, the modern languages of Bengal, Behâr, Assam and Orissa owe their origin to Mâgadhi Prâkrit. A glance at the tables given by Dr. Muir in his Sanskrit Texts Vol. II. will show, that Prâkrit and Pâli languages display Indian peculiarities to a very great extent.

(3) The Persian pottery and the Persipolitan style of the Mauryan palaces disclosed by the excavations at Patliputra should be attributed to the Persian architects employed by the Mauryas, and not so the natives of Magadha, whose ancestors are supposed to have come from Iran.

(4) *Prabodha-chandrodaya* is a Sanskrit drama written about the latter half of the eleventh century A. D. * It contains a statement, that "Magadha was mostly inhabited by *Mlechhas*" (म्लेच्छप्राया:). But the Mlechhas could not necessarily be the Persians. In the Bhavishya Purâna Noah is called a Mlechha, Moses an Achârya of the Mlechhas and Mahomed the Preceptor of the Mlechhas. They were not Persians. The word Mlechhas was undoubtedly used in the sense of "foreigners."

(5) The Sâkadvipin Brâhmans are also known as Bhojaka or Maga Brâhmans, as we have already seen.

Thus then the data submitted by Dr. Spooner are easily disputed.

Facts Brought out by Dr. Spooner.

But notwithstanding all, that we have said above, we must say, that we Zoroastrians would be failing in our duty towards Dr. Spooner, if we did not appreciate his arduous work both literary and archæological. We must acknowledge our indebtedness to Dr. Spooner for bringing into prominence the following facts, namely—that a few centuries before Christ, the Persians fought in India for their Mauryan masters, that their masses lived as subject-races in Northern India long before the Arab conquest of Persia, that their leaders were made chiefs and even petty Râjâs, and that their masons had probably a hand in the erection of the Mauryan palaces after the style of the Persepolitan halls.

Note on Nahapana (pp. 14-15)

V. Smith says:—"The arrow and thunderbolt of Nahapâna's coins connect him with the Parthians, and the northern Satraps Hagâna and Hagâmasha." "Nahapâna is a good old Persian name." (Cat. Coins in I. M. Vol. I. p. 195; J. R. A. S. 1906 p. 211).

* See Epigraphia Indica I. p. 220.

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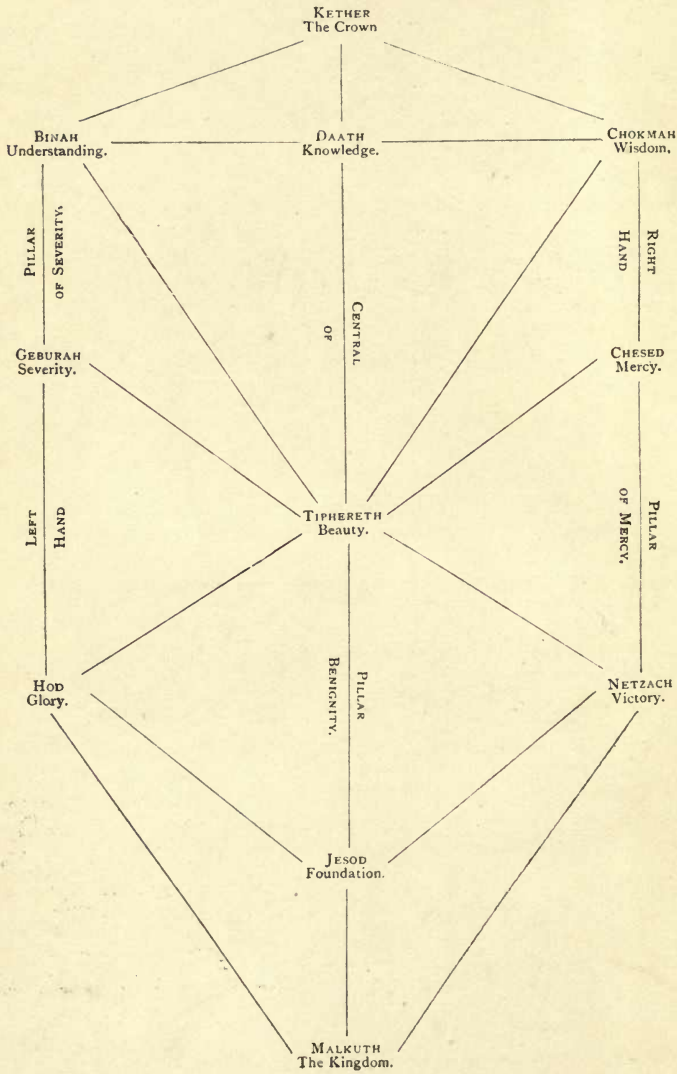

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DOCTRINE AND LITERATURE

OF

THE KABALAH

BY

ARTHUR EDWARD WAITE

AUTHOR OF

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PREFACE

FEW educated persons, and certainly none belonging to the class of students for which this work is more especially designed, will require to be told that the Kabalah is a form of esoteric philosophy, that it makes for itself a high claim, or that this claim has, from time to time, been admitted by persons who are entitled to our consideration. Nor will it be needful to state that the literature called Kabalistic rose up among the Jews during the Christian centuries which succeeded their dispersal and the destruction of their Holy City. It offers a strong contrast to the sacred scriptures of Israel, which are direct, beautiful and simple, while Kabalism is involved, obscure and in many ways repellent as regards its outward form. The Bible is in focus with humanity; the Kabalah is distorted out of all correspondence with the simple senses, and we must grind our intellectual lenses with exceeding care if we would bring it into perspective.

From whatever point of view it may be approached, the Kabalah is, however, of importance: it connects with literatures which are greater than itself and with pregnant issues of history. It is part of the history of philosophy, and as such it once entered into the thought of Europe. It is responsible, broadly speaking, for all that strange tissue of symbolism and ceremonial which made up the magic of the Middle Ages; at a later period it sought to transform alchemy; it tinctured many of those conventional practices and beliefs which we term super-

stition generically, and the guise in which we know them is therefore chiefly a Kabalistic guise. If we might dare to suppose for a moment that behind magic, behind alchemy, behind astrology there is any mystery of secret and real knowledge, then it is entitled to peculiar respect, because, by the hypothesis of some of its defenders, it is through this seemingly impassable literature that the road to the secret lies.

A comprehensive account of the Kabalah, in the main bibliographical and historical, but seeking to establish its connections with other forms of occult philosophy and to determine its influence and importance from more than one standpoint, is the design of the present work, in which special regard has been also paid to the limitations and requirements of English readers —in other words, of those unacquainted with the languages, dead and living, in which Kabalistic literature has been, with few exceptions, available heretofore. The subject is exceedingly abstruse, and has been presented by some of its expositors after a highly technical fashion; in this case there is no knowledge assumed in the reader, and hence all technicalities have been avoided, while the scope of the enterprise much exceeds the one or two attempts—mostly in foreign tongues—which have been made to simplify the study of the Kabalah. It is the result of an inquiry undertaken, in the first instance, for my own personal requirements; and I must add, in fairness to my readers and in gratitude to early labourers in this obscure field of research, that the abounding difficulties of the Hebrew and Aramaic originals have been simplified by recourse to the vast storehouses of Rabbinical lore entombed for some centuries in such Latin collections as those of Buxtorf, Bartolocci,

Pistorius and Rosenroth; a very large proportion of the materials necessary for an intelligent familiarity with Jewish esoteric tradition are, indeed, to be found in these. These and other resources have been strengthened subsequently by a considerable range of reading among modern writers in England, France and Germany who, directly and indirectly, have concerned themselves with the subject. The work has therefore the learner's advantage of being without pretence and without ambition, but it is believed at the same time to contain all that the ordinary student is likely to require in order to appreciate at their proper worth the various claims preferred on behalf of the Kabalah by those who take it seriously at this day. It is necessary to add that it has been written by a transcendentalist and chiefly for the use of transcendentalists; in offering materials for their judgment, it also indicates the lines of the conclusions to which the writer leans himself, and seeks to enforce some of them. It has been preceded in England by only two books dealing directly with the subject; one is the slight but not inconsiderable essay of Dr. Ginsburg,* which is critical rather than descriptive, and is, on the whole, hostile in its tendency. It has been, moreover, long out of print. The other is the "Kabbalah Unveiled"† of Mr. S. L. MacGregor Mathers, which is largely translation and commentary, and, in addition to other limitations, embraces therefore only

* "The Kabbalah." By C. D. Ginsburg. London, 1865. 8vo.

† "The Kabbalah Unveiled, containing the following books of the Zohar: 1. The Book of Concealed Mystery; 2. The Greater Holy Assembly; 3. The Lesser Holy Assembly, Translated into English from the Latin version of Knorr von Rosenroth, and collated with the original Chaldee and Hebrew Text." By S. L. MacGregor Mathers, London, 1887. 8vo. The Commentary is partly that of Rosenroth, and partly the work of the translator.

a small portion of an extensive literature. The present comprehensive account fulfils a distinct purpose, and may, it is hoped, be held to occupy, not altogether unworthily, a vacant place from which there is a wide prospect, by no means deficient in importance for those who are not transcendentalists, for the student of philosophy and history, and for the curious in paths of literature which the elder D'Israeli, despite the bias of his birthright, forebore to enter.

The works containing the esoteric tradition of Israel, as distinguished from the exoteric tradition embodied in the Talmud and its dependencies, fall, under two heads:

a. The Sepher Yetzirah, or "Book of Formation."

b. The Zohar, or "Splendour."

Connected with the "Book of Formation" are its commentaries, foremost among which are those of Saadya Gaon, Rabbi Azariel Ben Menahem and Rabbi Abraham Ben Dior. The treatise itself is comprised within a few pages.

The Zohar proper is a commentary on the five books of Moses,* but a number of distinct treatises are connected with or embedded therein. There are also supplements and additions which must be considered to some extent separate from the original collection.

With the Zohar, furthermore, are connected certain important developments and commentaries, some of which are included in the *Kabbala Denudata* of Rosenroth. They fall under two heads:

1. Those which deal with the subject-matter of

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* This at least is its conventional description; Graetz, the German historian, seems uncertain as to its correctness, but does not offer an alternative. It is really a theosophic medley connected with the Pentateuch, and arising therefrom.

the work, and are designed to elucidate certain of its most obscure treatises.

2. Those which expound and extend the doctrines of Pneumatology which are established in the Zohar.

These commentaries are, of course, the work of later Kabalists whose dates can be fixed with more or less certainty. Such Zoharistic writings have been sometimes confused with the Zohar.†

Some classifications of the Kabalah also include and give prominence to:

c. The *Sepher Sephiroth*—i.e., the "Book of Numerations," or "Emanations."

d. A treatise entitled *Æsh Metzareph*, or "Purifying Fire."

Whatever their authority and importance, there is no warrant for placing these works among the great classics of the Kabalah. The "Book of Emanations" is more properly set down among the dependencies of the Sepher Yetzirah, while that of "Purifying Fire" occupies a peculiar position, as it is almost without a history, and as it is perhaps the only Kabalistic treatise which deals directly with alchemy. Its date is doubtful and its authorship entirely unknown.

A short but comprehensive account of all the works which have been mentioned above will be found in Books IV., V., and VI.; an attempt at such a formal tabulation has not been made previously in the English language. The first three books contain a historical and critical survey of the entire subject,

† Thus in the "Kabbalah Unveiled," Mr. Mathers mentions the "House of God," or of "The Elohim," and the "Book of the Revolutions of Souls," among the most important sections of the Zohar. (Introduction, p. 15.)

showing the philosophical system embodied in the Kabalah, the method by which it was developed, its connections with previous theosophies, designed, like itself, to explain the fundamental mysteries of the universe, and the evidences for its antiquity.

The seventh book is devoted to the Christian students of the Kabalah, and collects for the first time the opinions of the chief Christian scholars whose names have been connected with Kabalism. The design of this book is to exhibit a consensus of opinion among all those authorities who are most in vogue with occultists as to what is of value in the Jewish esoteric traditions and as to what is waste substance. On this point there has never been any real difference of sentiment, except in the modern school of transcendentalism, which, devoid of a proper criterion of judgment, and regarding the entire subject from a new standpoint, has been disposed to accept everything indiscriminately as part of the genuine tradition, and has thus esteemed the apparatus of *Gematria* and *Notaricon* as no less important and mysterious than the Zoharistic philosophy of the unconditioned summed up in *Ain Soph.*

Thc eighth book deals briefly with other channels through which the esoteric tradition is believed to have been perpetuated in the West and their connection with the channel of Kabalism.

To those who may approach the work from the historical and bibliographical standpoint the presence of its leading motive and its appeal to a single class of students may require some explanation. It has, I believe, been suggested that since the appearance of Dr. Ginsburg's destructive criticism there has been no

interest among English scholars in the subject of the Kabalah. Among mere scholars — that is to say, within the region of research which has only a scholastic horizon—there was no interest which calls for special mention at the period which preceded that work immediately, and it is quite true that there has been as little subsequently to its publication, but not mainly on account of Dr. Ginsburg's criticism. There has been always, or, speaking exactly, since the days of Thomas Vaughan, Cudworth and the Cambridge Platonists, a certain class of thinkers for whom the claims made by and on behalf of the Kabalah have possessed great interest and importance, and this class is now much larger than at any date prior to 1865. It also forms intellectually a more respectable and considerable body than the academical reader might be disposed to imagine in the absence of much acquaintance with the literature by which it is represented. One is obliged to speak of these thinkers under the generic designation of occult students, though the phrase is somewhat inexact and has been used to describe persons who have little title to earnest consideration. A proscribed mode of thought is here, as in other cases, identified ungenerously with the meaner capacities that follow it, and an unpopular subject is classed according to the waste and drift which has collected about it. But the class to which I have adverted does not in itself deserve either ridicule or contempt; it is that which believes in the perpetuation of a secret religious, or, more correctly, theosophical, tradition from an early period of human history, and this is not manifestly an unwarrantable consequence to draw from the study of religions undertaken philosophically. Now,

the Kabalah is not only, as I have said, the occult philosophy of Jewry, it is not only one of the chief sources from which occult science and philosophy have drawn in the western world, but it has been further represented to be the channel of such a tradition as I have just mentioned. It is therefore not merely reasonable to suppose, but it is true as a fact, that to occultists, and to them almost exclusively, an inquiry like the present must appeal. Other interests are accidental; their interest is vital. To determine the claims of the Kabalah as a department and inspiring centre of occult philosophy is to determine that which is of most real moment regarding it.

It is for this reason that I have been led to consider the Kabalah, not, indeed, as an occultist in the accepted sense, but from the occult standpoint, and to recur with so much frequency to the belief in a secret doctrine of religion, as well as to some other connected questions which need reconsideration at the hands of those who hold them. If I have had in the course of the inquiry to reduce certain illusions to their proper place in the realm of the fantastic, more especially if I have contracted the sphere of what is called Mysticism within its proper dimensions, I trust that I shall be justified, so far as regards my intention, by those whom I have sought to disabuse. From its nature the foundation of Mysticism cannot be in occult science or in occult philosophy, while it is on the historical side alone that it connects with any traditions of the past, popular or achromatic.*

* The reason is indicated by Schopenhauer, when he remarks on the astonishing unanimity of mystics in all ages, unlike in everything except those principles which constitute mysticism, and yet not holding those principles as a sect clings to its tenets, for they are not and can never be a sect.

In the course of the general inquiry I have endeavoured to elucidate the most curious Kabalistic teachings on the subject of the soul, its origin and destiny, the primal state of man, the life of the world to come and the Messianic dream of Jewry.

I should add that this study is mainly concerned with the documents, and as such it cannot deal exhaustively with all the issues. It is also bibliographical rather than philosophical. The exhaustive study of the Kabalah would have to be made in connection with that of comparative religion, demanding qualifications to which I can make no claim and a space for its development which would have been, under any circumstances, impossible. I could wish my inquiry to be regarded rather as the note-book of a student methodised. Finally, the work has been performed in a spirit of impartiality, and this is perhaps the only side on which it leans towards perfection. There has been no interest at stake which I have felt myself compelled to defend, and it is therefore free from the animus of extreme hostile criticism, as well as from the unreasoned assumptions of those—in the main non-critical believers—who still have the cause of the Kabalah at heart. I claim, furthermore, that I have considered honestly and sympathetically all the interests at stake, including those which the bias of modern scholarship is inclined to overlook, or to dismiss in an intolerant spirit.

I should add that the history of this book has been chequered and somewhat unfortunate. The manuscript was completed for press at the end of 1898, and in the year following the greater part had been set up and a number of the sheets machined, which were wholly destroyed in a fire at the printer's.

The delay which thus occurred was considerable in itself, and was increased still further through the suspension of the publishing house by which it was to be issued. In the interval which has elapsed during the course of those fresh negotiations which have resulted in its production under the auspices of the Theosophical Publishing Society, and during the resetting of the entire work, Dr. S. Karppe has published in Paris his elaborate *Étude sur les Origines et la Nature du Zohar*, which approaches the subject from a standpoint entirely different to my own, but is at the same time a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Jewish theosophy, and I note with satisfaction that there are many debated points on which, working thus independently, we have reached the same conclusion. Dr. Karppe's study is designed for the scholar and the philosopher, while my own, as already explained, is intended, primarily at least, for the occult student. The Jewish mysticism which led up to and preceded the Zohar is very fully presented by him, but of the influence exercised by that work and of its after history he has nothing to tell us. On the other hand, the scheme of my own treatise has led me of necessity to pass lightly over pre-Zoharic theosophy, over Saadyah, Ibn Gebirol, Judah Ha Levi, Aben Ezra, Maimonides, &c., because they did not affect materially the occult thought of Europe, and to give prominence to Kabalistic literature in its later phases, to the Christian students of the subject, and to its influence upon other channels of esoteric tradition in Europe. Among the points of agreement between Dr. Karppe and myself may be mentioned the common recognition of the heterogeneous nature of the Zohar, which has

justified me in terming it a medley; of the specifically Jewish character of Zoharic mysticism, which has justified me in denying that it is referable exclusively to any one school of thought outside Jewry; of the rapid deterioration of the Kabalah, subsequent to the appearance of the Zohar, into a thaumaturgic system; of the undue prominence which has been given to the commentaries on the Zohar and the false impressions which have been the result; of the preconception which governed the mind of most Christian students of the literature, by which they were led to regard it as an unacknowledged depository of Christian doctrine; of the absence in the Sepher Yetzirah of any distinctive pantheism or emanationism. There is also considerable similarity, both of thought and treatment, in the development of the Kabalistic and typically Zoharic doctrines concerning God and the universe, more especially concerning *Ain Soph* and creation *ex nihilo*. It would be easy to multiply these instances, nor less easy to furnish numerous points of divergence, for, on the other hand, Dr. Karppe has, I think, laid too much stress on his distinction between the early Jewish mysticism and that of the Zoharic period, not because such a distinction is either non-existent or unimportant in itself, but because I cannot find that it has been challenged by any qualified writer. And I must, of course, as a mystic, take exception to the conception of mysticism expressed or implied throughout the whole work. Mysticism is not a double doctrine, whether of monotheism for the initiate and of many deities for the vulgar, or of any other such antithesis as the priestcrafts may have derived in the past, but it is outside possibility to do more in the present place than

refer to this point and register the bare fact that the students to whom personally I appeal will join issue with Dr. Karpe as to all that follows from his conception, whether it be a matter of simple definition, such as that mysticism is a reprisal of faith against science, or of historical criticism, as for example, when he observes that the doctrine of ecstacy is almost unknown to Jewish theosophy, a statement, however, which the author himself abundantly, though not explicitly, modifies at a later stage of his study. To this exception may be added certain points of critical importance, to which, personally, I have only had occasion to refer in passing. The student will also notice a tendency in certain instances to pass over questions of criticism as if there had never been a dispute regarding them: on the one hand the commentary of Hay Gaon is made use of as if no scholar had challenged its authenticity; and, on the other, the late date of the *Bahir* is taken for granted. Criticism may not have said its last word on either subject, but Dr. Karppe ignores the criticism.

The limits of the present work which, as regards the original intention, have been already exceeded, have necessitated the omission of a number of subsidiary yet not unimportant matters. I will mention two only: certain developments of pneumatology and eschatology which are representative of the doctrinal or systematic part—let us say, the hells of Kabalism: certain historical consequences, such as the mission of Sabbatai Zevi, the Neo-Pietists and the Zoharists. But in each case these omissions are without real consequence for the occult student.

BOOK I

POST-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE OF THE JEWS

ARGUMENT

The literature of Kabalism has a philosophical, historical and, within certain limits, an exegetical interest for ordinary students, but it has a living interest only for those who believe; (*a*) That a secret religious tradition has been perpetuated from the early ages of history, and (*b*) That Kabalistic literature has been one of its vehicles. Such persons are here termed occult students. The purpose of the present book is to show that whatever be the value of the first view (*a*), imperfect investigation has placed the second (*b*) in a false position. The occult estimate of the Talmud is cited as a case in point, and the divisions of the Kabalah are distinguished to make clear the issues and to correct some other misconceptions.

I. INTRODUCTORY

THE construction of the exile placed by the "princes of the exile" upon the sacred oracles of ancient Israel cannot be dismissed as unimportant. From the period of the dispersal of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian down even to our own times, Hebrew literature has developed in many of the chief centres of Europe, but outside the scattered remnant of the children of the covenant it has remained largely unknown. Many persons, not otherwise ill-formed, would be astonished to discover that so far back as the

end of the seventeenth century there were nearly four thousand works* written in the Hebrew tongue which were individually known and quoted by one authority on rabbinical bibliography, namely, Julius Bartolocci, of the Reformed Order of St. Bernard.† Almost every conceivable department of human learning and intellectual activity is represented in this literature,‡ which, in things secular as in things sacred, has the seal of the sanctity of Israel upon all its leaves. It is otherwise an extremely curious and in some respects a profound literature, which translation has done little to make known, which is represented incompletely enough even in the great and authoritative text-books of Hebrew history. There is no need to add that its extent and its difficulties make it a formidable subject of approach. It is, indeed, an undiscovered country, still awaiting its Columbus;§ a land full of wealth and mystery, of strange shrines and sanctuaries shining weirdly far away through the darkness of our ignorance with a light which might well be a reflection of the Shekinah, so foreign does it seem to that which enlightens most men who are born into the modern world.

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* It is perhaps unnecessary to say that they were for the most part in MS.

† *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica. De scriptoribus et scriptis rabbinicis, ordine alphabetico Hebraice et Latine digestis, auctore* D. Julio Bartoloccio de Cellerio, 4 vols. Roma, 1678-1692. The work is printed from right to left, after the Hebrew manner.

‡ For one of the accessible collections which give some idea of its variety, see the "Catalogue of Hebraica and Judaica in the Library of the Corporation of the City of London." With a Subject-Index by the Rev. A. Löwy. London, 1891.

§ The work of Dr. Moritz Steinschneider, the German bibliographer of rabbinical literature, is the most important contribution to our knowledge which has been made during this century.

Within this literature there is, so to speak, another and stranger literature included, the report of which has been amongst us for several centuries, and in a certain way and measure it must be admitted that it is known to some of us, chiefly because it has been made available by the fathers of bibliographical erudition, the Latin-writing scholars of the past. This storehouse of Hebrew theosophy, for such it is, has exercised a peculiar fascination on many great minds of Christendom, and its Gentile students, even at the present day, may, for all that we can tell, be as numerous as its Jewish disciples. It is called the Kabalah, of which term there is more than one explanation suggested by the makers of romance in etymology. For example, the word has been derived from the name of the Hindoo teacher Kapila,* to whom a philosophy of numbers is ascribed, seemingly on the slender ground that one branch of Kabalistic literature also deals largely with this subject. Another equally fanciful suggestion makes the term an analogue of Cybele,† the mythological Queen of Heaven, who is thus connected with the Jewish personification of Wisdom under a female aspect. As to the true derivation there is no room for uncertainty, and it possesses that simplicity which is so often the seal of truth in things of language as it has been said to be in

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* Mr. C. W. Heckethorn has made himself responsible recently for this view in the new and enlarged edition of his very unequal work, "Secret Societies of all Ages." See vol. i. p. 83.

† The responsibility in this case rests with the late Edward Vaughan Kenealy, whose anonymous "Book of God" and its sequels are quoted frequently as an authority by occult writers. Its philology is of the period of Godfrey Higgins, of the author of "Nimrod" and of Bryant's "Ancient Mythology." See Kenealy's "Introduction to the Apocalypse of Adam-Oannes," p. 613.

those of Nature and Art. The word comes from a Hebrew root which signifies to receive. Kabalah equals reception.* The knowledge embodied in the literature which passes under this title purports to have been transmitted orally from generation to generation. The literature as it exists is the tradition put into writing, and in this form it is supposed to be veiled—that is to say, the meaning which appears on the surface is not the true sense.†

The Kabalah then claims to be the light of a secret traditional knowledge‡ preserved among the "chosen people,"§ and the subjects with which it is concerned, as might be expected, are sacred and divine subjects; they include, indeed, the most profound mysteries of God and the emanations of the Deity; the celestial economy; the process of creation; the scheme of Providence in regard to man; the communications of God in revelation and to the just in his church; the offices and ministries of good and evil angels; the nature and pre-existence of the soul, its union with matter and its metempsychosis; the mystery of sin and its penalties; the Messiah, his

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* The "Encyclopædia Perthensis" observes that the word is written also as Gabella, which is, of course, a nonsensical corruption, and would not be worth noting if it were not true in fact that it occurs in this form among a few old writers on magic. See "Encyc. Perth." iv. 543, 544.

† We shall see afterwards that this view must be received with a certain amount of caution.

‡ One of the titles ascribed to it was ChKMH NSThRH, that is, secret wisdom; the initials of these words gave another title, signifying Grace. See Kitto's "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," *s.v.* Kabbalah. (Third edition, London, 1864.)

§ The recipients of this knowledge were termed Mekkubalim, a name which will be familiar to the readers of the Astrologer Gaffarel. On this point see the worthless article, *s.v.* Kabbalah, in T. H. Blunt's "Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology." London, 1872.

kingdom and his glory to be revealed; the state of the soul after death and the resurrection of the dead. It is needless to say that by a literature so considerable in its capacity there are many other subjects embraced, but these are the heads of the instruction as I find them set forth in an excerpt from a Latin epistle in the collection of Baron von Rosenroth.* The Kabalah, in a word, is the hidden thought of Israel upon the doctrines of the Jewish religion, which are in most cases Christian doctrines, and upon the proper understanding of that Written Word which is referred to a divine origin both in Christendom and Jewry. It is therefore obvious that in a general sense it may be expected to cast light of some kind upon the problems of Christian faith; but its Christian expounders have held that it does this also in a more special way, that the New Testament and the writings of the early fathers of the church did not only derive from the inspired memorials of the first covenant, but from the construction placed on those memorials by this esoteric tradition.†

According to the literature which embodies it, the tradition in question originated with God himself, by

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* *Kabbala Denudata, seu Doctrina Hebræorum Transcendentalis et Metaphysica*, vol. i. *Apparatus in Librum Sohar, pars secunda*, pp. 3–5.

† "It is apparent from the many similarities in this Qabbalistic philosophy to the doctrines in the New Testament and early Patristic literature that both of the latter most probably have had a common germ and origin in the esoteric teachings of the Israelites, as well as in the more open and exoteric teachings of the Hebrew Holy Writings." Isaac Myer, LL.B., "The Philosophical Writings of Solomon Ben Yehudah Ibn Gebirol," Philadelphia, 1888, 8vo., p. 7. The letter of St. Jerome to Paulinus, which dwells consecutively upon the mysteries contained in all the books of the Old and New Testaments, has been sometimes regarded as a case in point.

whom it was communicated to chosen ministers in the angelical world; and it was imparted by divine revelation to Adam in his unfallen state. When he lapsed from that pure condition he lost this precious deposit, but it was subsequently restored to him in order that he might return towards perfection. It was handed down through Noah to Abraham and thence derived to Moses. It is the concealed sense of the Mosaic Pentateuch, the secret of which was entrusted by the law-giver to the seventy elders, and from these in due course it passed onward to David, and was possessed in an especial manner by Solomon. It was not committed to writing until after the destruction of the second temple.* A genealogy of this kind will, of course, recall the fabulous origins ascribed to institutions like Freemasonry, the appeal made by the alchemists to the sages of antiquity, and many other fictions which deserve to be classed as monstrous. We should beware, however, of fixing imposture on an esoteric literature because its attribution is mythological; it should be remembered that we are dealing,

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* The legend has many variations and has been loosely reproduced by many inexact writers. Naturally enough, it takes occasionally the guise of a book delivered to Adam. An old Jewish tradition tells us that this volume was brought by the Angel Razael. Mr. John Yarker, in his "Notes on the Scientific and Religious Mysteries of Antiquity" (London, 1872, p. 21), connects this myth with the pre-Zoharic "Book of Razael," not the imposture of Ceremonial Magic sometimes referred to under this name, but presumably the ancient legendary Midrash, afterwards developed by Eleazar of Worms and reproduced under various forms by debased Kabalism. Compare E. V. Kenealy's mythical notice of a Book of the Wisdom of Adam, received in an ecstasy and "full of mysteries and signs expressive of the most profound knowledge." See "Book of God," p. 243. See also *ibid.*, p. 273 *et seq.*, for a rabbinical account of a staff given to Adam, which is supposed to signify the support of a secret knowledge.

by the hypothesis, with a body of symbolism, and the genealogy may be itself an evasion. Moreover, an oral tradition is peculiarly liable to the exaggeration of its antiquity, and we must distinguish therefore between the possible fact of its existence at a remote period and the growth of legend about it. We have the testimony of Christ Himself as to the existence of a tradition in Israel, and we have also His judgment upon its value. It is in one sense the purpose of this inquiry to determine whether the later literature of the reception is entitled to be included in the condemnation of the Divine Rabbi.

II. THE OCCULT STANDPOINT

As the Kabalah claims to be a tradition long received in secret by one generation from another and reduced at length into writing, so one of its classics informs us,* because of the bad state of the affairs of Israel, but yet written after a concealed manner,† it is to be expected that its literary methods will offer difficulties to the ordinary student. It has, indeed, proved so unintelligible upon its surface that, on the one hand, it has been considered merely meaningless jargon, while a few who pretend to have penetrated to its real sense have, on the other, found pleasure in believing that it is sealed to uninitiated persons, for whom it must ever remain a matter of curious and unrewarded research, though not perhaps wanting

* The *Sepher Yetzirah* or "Book of Formation," but the statement is probably the explanation of a commentator.

† Obscurities, complexities and confusions do not necessarily point to the existence of a double sense.

some gleams of unexpected suggestion. The first view suggests that more patience and greater pains were needed; the second, that the faculty for painstaking is a kind of peculiar election which is possible only to the few, and this appears unwarranted.

Specialists in cryptography assure us, and we have even higher warrant in the testimony of reason itself, that no cipher writing devised by human ingenuity is incapable of solution also by human ingenuity, but the assumption, of course, supposes good faith in the cipher; it must follow a certain method and conceal a definite sense. There is also no system of symbolism and no form of philosophical speculation, however complex, which will not surrender its secrets to the searchlight of analysis, provided always that the symbolism is systematic and that the speculation is methodised, however curious in its involutions. There are cryptic philosophies and concealed metaphysics, even as there is cryptic writing; but if they possess a meaning, it cannot escape ultimately the penetration of the patient and skilled critic, subject, however, to the distinction which must subsist of necessity between the sense of a cipher—which is unmistakable from the moment that it is disengaged—and the construction of a speculative hypothesis which in its minor issues may always be open to debate.* In regard to occult philosophies it is usual

* The best example of a really cryptic literature is that concerned with Alchemy, and yet it is not cryptic in the sense of cipher-writing. It has a perfectly simple surface meaning; the concealment is the significance of certain conventional words and recipes. This also is its great difficulty; while cryptography must disclose its secret to skill and patience, it is nearly impossible to say what the word Vitriol, for example, may represent to any writer, if it be not the ordinary substance passing under that name.

to say that they are unintelligible till the key is supplied, which in its legitimate meaning is true; but just as cipher writing will surrender its secret to analysis, which is the master-key to all cryptography, so will occult philosophy also disclose its mystery,* without conventional initiation, though supposing the existence of a royal road of this kind, it might be regarded as a labour-saving apparatus which, if accessible, it would not be prudent to set aside.

There are, however, two considerations on the surface of a question like the present which will at once arrest attention. The first is whether the occult philosophies are not inherently unmeaning, and unable therefore to disclose what, in fact, they do not possess. Or alternately, in the case that they are methodised, whether the mystery which they cover is not out of all proportion to the enormous intellectual cost of unravelling it.† Of these two points one at least must be determined according to individual predilection. For my own part, after spending some years among strange pathways of human ingenuity, I know certainly that the occult sciences do constitute a methodised system which is singularly inwrought,‡ and since *la science est une noblesse qui oblige*, I must bear testimony to this fact, even though an imaginative reader may transfigure the statement and interpret too liberally the narrow concession which I have here made to sincerity. About the second point it is

* In most cases this mystery is merely the difficulty of the single sense.

† I refer here to the unravelling of the first sense; the existence of any other is a matter of conjecture.

‡ In the sense that, for example, numerical mysticism runs through all departments of occultism.

extremely difficult to indicate even a personal opinion. So far as knowledge is its own reward, I suppose that it may be worth its cost; but if any department of research should be ruled out of the sphere of operation possessed by this truism, it is occult science and philosophy, so far, at least, as the majority are concerned. The labour involved by their exhaustive study repays those who undertake it only in a few cases. In the pursuit of occult knowledge Campaspe is never finished. But it is precisely for this reason that an inquiry like the present may be held to deserve a welcome, because it offers to all those who may be disposed to concern themselves with one important department of occult philosophy an intelligible statement of the issues which will save most of them the need of personal research.

The importance of the written tradition of Kabalism can be regarded only from two standpoints. There is that which it may possess for the sacred scriptures of the Jewish and Christian religions and for the exoteric doctrines which more or less derive from these.* Under this first head may be also included its significance, if any, for the science of comparative theology and for the history of human thought. Besides such obvious and unquestioned grounds upon which it is entitled to consideration,

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* From the occult standpoint this is of more consequence than from that of ordinary exegesis. Adolphe Bertet, in his *Apocalypse du bienheureux Jean . . . devoilée* (Paris, 1861, p. 51), gives the position very clearly. "We find on every page of the five books of Moses Kabalistic expressions which proclaim that everything must be taken in a figurative sense, yet in none of these books do we possess a complete treatise of initiation, whence it follows that prior to Moses oral tradition was alone charged with transmitting the secret of initiation." Bertet owed his inspiration and frequently his language to Éliphas Lévi.

there is another warrant in the interest which it possesses for the seeker after occult knowledge. And here it is necessary to determine what is meant and involved by occultism. The study of the large literature of the secret sciences is pursued by many persons from many motives, but few of these can, in the proper sense of the term, be regarded as occult students. Nor, indeed, does the attempted practice of any of the secret sciences in itself constitute a claim to that title. In a very large number of cases such practices suggest titular distinctions which are not of a flattering kind. As I understand him, the true student of occultism believes in the existence of a knowledge—which in effect is occult science—handed down from remote ages,* and that it concerns, broadly speaking, the way of union between man and God. It has, according to its legend, assumed, for various reasons, the disguise of many veils; it is not confined to one country or people, nor is it the interior sense of any single religion or of any single cycle in literature to the

* The best aspects of this belief are, as might be expected, quite modern; it can scarcely be said to have existed prior to the end of the eighteenth century, but even then it had taken no definite shape. One of its aspects was developed in a remarkable manner by M. de Brière, who in his *Essai sur le symbolisme antique de l' Orient, principalement sur le symbolisme Egyptién* (Paris, 1847), maintained: (*a*) A common origin for all religions; (*b*) The existence of sacerdotal sciences as the exclusive patrimony of the priesthood; (*c*) The existence among all eastern priests of a common idiom of high antiquity, which passed as a theurgic, magical and efficacious language; (*d*) The reproduction of this language by hieroglyphics which were also theurgic and magical; (*e*) A dual sacerdotal method of expressing the principles of priestly sciences, and chiefly of theology: (1) Imitation of words = hieroglyphs of the texts; (2) Imitation of thoughts = images, idols, emblematic figures of gods; (*f*) The existence of the sacred language and hieroglyphic writing among all peoples possessing sacerdotal sciences, the Phœnicians and Chaldeans for example.

exclusion of all others; there are traces of its existence in all times, among all nations, through all religions;* it is behind the conventional occultism of Magic and the transcendental physics of Alchemy; among occult philosophies, Kabalistic literature is one of its most important vehicles.

From this standpoint the true message of the Kabalah is not exegetical or historical; it is not of systems, schools, or interpretations; it is of a living and spiritual kind. This is, indeed, the only vital point of view from which the subject can be regarded, and it redeems the whole circle of occult science from the charge of vanity.

Given this standpoint, Kabalistic literature is indescribably momentous, and yet to concede the position is impossible for ordinary criticism, and should not, indeed, be expected by those who hold it intelligently. It is, in truth, very difficult to defend, because heretofore it has been occupied either on the warrant of a knowledge which cannot be made public, and is therefore idle to proclaim, or on that of evidence which is without much title to serious consideration. If we take, for example, the expository literature of Kabalism which has been written from the occult standpoint in any modern language, there is not a single work which does not break down at once in the hands of the most temperate criticism. Mr. Mathers, in England, has translated a small portion of the Zohar, and has prefixed an introduction which

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* As regards the Christian religion, see Eckartshausen concerning "a more advanced school," or "invisible celestial Church," to which the "deposition of all science has been confided." *The Cloud upon the Sanctuary*, Letter I. Translated by Isabel de Steiger, London, 1896.

takes the whole claim for granted, while he leaves on the mind of his readers an indistinct impression that Dr. Ginsburg, who errs on the side of hostility, is not only one of its supporters, but gives credit to the most fabulous side of Kabalistic legend. In America, Isaac Myer, whose erudition entitles him to our respect, is forced on crucial points to assume many things that are required for his hypothesis.* In France the real questions at issue are scarcely skirted in the otherwise careful tabulation attempted by Papus.† In Germany, which exhausts everything, I do not know that in any true sense of the term the position has a single defender. It is not my purpose either to question or maintain the general fact alleged, namely, that a secret doctrine has been transmitted from antiquity; it would be scandalous as a reasonable person to challenge the possibility. I propose only to determine whether there is ground for believing that the Kabalah has been a channel of such tradition, and if this view must be abandoned, to place those who are willing to follow me in possession of a method of regarding it which will make its existence at least intelligible without taking anything for granted and without appealing to any source of knowledge which is not fully in evidence.

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* He assumes in fact the existence, antiquity and general but concealed diffusion of a Wisdom Religion, a term borrowed from modern theosophy, and one which, in the last analysis, is not entirely satisfactory to the mystic.

† *La Kabbale. Tradition Secrète de l'Occident. Résumé Méthodique.* Paris, 1892, 8vo.

III. THE KABALAH AND THE TALMUD

The post-Christian literature which is of authority in Israel must, of course, be distinguished from the multifarious productions of its scholars and *literati* which it was the object of rabbinical bibliographies, like those of Bartolocci and Wolf,* to resume in brief. In order to understand the place occupied by the Kabalah it is necessary to say something of that great and authoritative collection which is known to everyone as the Talmud. The latter is a larger as it is also an older growth. Its starting-point has been placed by a moderate criticism shortly before the birth of Christ,† and, to use a somewhat conventional phrase, its two canons were fixed in the fourth and sixth centuries, A.D., at which periods, although there are evidences in abundance of a more esoteric doctrine, it cannot be shown conclusively that Kabalistic literature, according to the restricted sense in which the term is here applied, had as yet come into existence. Put shortly, the sources of the Talmud are said to be "the customs and regulations practised by the authori-

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* *Bibliotheca Hebræa, sive notitia tum auctorum Hebraicorum cujuscumque ætatis, tum scriptorum, quæ vel Hebraice primum exarata, vel ab aliis conversa sunt, ad nostram ætatem deducta.* 4 vols., Leipsic and Hamburg, 1715, 4to.

† There are critics outside occult circles who ascribe a similar antiquity to the Kabalah, as, for example, the author of the article *s.v. Cabale* in the *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du* XIXe *Siècle* (Pierre Larousse), t. iii. Paris, 1867. "In reality the Kabalah originated among the Jews five centuries before our era. Formed of the mixture of oriental ideas and Mosaism at the epoch of the captivity, it was elaborated silently, and in the main among the sect of the Karaites, but did not attain its definite development till the period of Philo and the schools of Alexandria." The inspiration here is Franck.

ties in their administration of religious and civil affairs."* It is claimed that this source goes back to the period of Esdras, and there can, at least, be no doubt that the materials embodied in the literature are far older than their earliest collected forms. These materials were certain *Mishnayoth*, a term signifying repetitions—namely, notes of academical teachings, which received subsequently many additions.† About the year 220, A.D., a considerable proportion of these was engarnered by Rabbi Judah the Prince,‡ by whom they were methodised carefully, short comments of his own being also occasionally added.§ In this way the collection received the impression of his peculiar views, from which other authorities differed. He endeavoured to destroy all rival *Mishnayoth*, but some of them were preserved in secret and came to light after his death. In this way we have—

(*a*) The *Mishna*, or repetition, being the methodised selection of Rabbi Judah.

(*b*) The *Tosephtoth*, or additions, also called *Baraithoth*,‖ outsiders, or secondary matter, terms

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* "The Babylonian Talmud." English Translation. By Michael L. Rodkinson. Vol. i. New York, 1896, 8vo., pp. xv., xvi.

† In the *Halichot Olam* it is said that Jewish teachers had little schedules or scrolls of parchment, in which they set down all the traditions, sentences, statutes, decisions and so forth which they learned from their masters and that these scrolls were called the volumes of things secret.

‡ He was the third patriarch of the Western Jews, and a legend says that, having converted the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, he compiled the Mishna at the command of that Prince. See E. H. Palmer: "History of the Jewish Nation," London, 1883, pp. 204, 205.

§ For an old account of this labour, see David Ganz: *Germen Davidis, sive Chronologia Sacra et Prophana.* Leyden, 1644.

‖ And extravagances, in the sense of things extraneous.

applied by the followers of Rabbi Judah to the rival *Mishnayoth*, by which the original collection is said in the course of time to have been almost extinguished. Their rival claims were ultimately harmonised by later rabbis, and thus arose

(*c*) The *Gemara—i.e.*, conclusions or completion.*

The union of the *Gemara* and the *Mishna* forms the Talmud,† or instruction, from a word signifying "to teach," of which there are two versions, the *Mishna* being the same in each. The *Gemara* collected by Jerusalem rabbis, representing the school of Tiberias and R. Johanon Ben Eliezer, with the *Mishna*, forms the Jerusalem Talmud, and belongs to the end of the fourth century. The *Gemara* collected by Babylonian rabbis, and especially by Rabhina, R. Ashi and R. José, with the *Mishna*, forms the Talmud of Babylon, four times larger than that of Jerusalem.‡ It was begun in the fifth and completed in the sixth century, but even subsequently to this period much additional material was gathered into it.

It is exceedingly important that we should understand the position which is occupied by the great collections of the Talmud in respect of the literature which is termed technically the Kabalah. In the first place, this name, technical or conventional, as I have said, has suggested many errors of comparison. By

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* Simeon ben Jochai is represented as asserting that the study of the *Gemara* was more meritorious than that of the *Mishna* or the sacred Scriptures. But here a later predilection has perhaps sheltered itself under an earlier name.

† Strictly speaking, the term Talmud applies only to the *Gemara*, but it has obtained the wider application because the *Gemara* always accompanies the *Mishna*, the text being essential to the note.

‡ The proportion of the Babylonian *Gemara* to the original *Mishna* is about eleven to one.

the hypothesis of both literatures the Talmud is Kabalah even as the Zohar is Kabalah, because both are a reception by tradition.* But to say that the Talmud is Kabalistic in the sense of the Zohar is extremely misleading. The cycles are distinct and almost divergent. There is no question as to the age and the great authority of the one,† while some centuries of inquiry have not as yet determined the claims of the other. Moreover, if we assume the equal antiquity of both, the nature of the tradition is still generically different. The Talmud is not, at least, primarily a philosophical system; ‡ it is law and commentary; it is the construction placed by authority on the jurisprudence, ecclesiastical and political, of old Israel.§ It is sociology, not metaphysics, even though it has admitted metaphysics and has accretions which can be termed mystical.‖ To place it by the arbitrary

* "In older Jewish literature, the name (Kabalah) is applied to the whole body of received religious doctrine with the exception of the Pentateuch, thus including the prophets and Hagiographa, as well as the oral traditions ultimately embodied in the Mishna." —*American Encyclopædia*, iii., pp. 521, 522.

† I do not mean that there has never been a question, for the French ecclesiastic Morin, proceeding on the principle that the Jews cannot be believed in anything relating to the age of their literature, endeavoured to refer the Mishna to the beginning of the sixth century and the Gemaras to some two hundred years later.—*Exercitationes Biblicæ*, Paris, 1660.

‡ Hence all the conspicuous philosophical doctrines of the Kabalah have no place therein. For example, the Sephirotic system, with which we shall be concerned later on, and the theory of emanation which it involves, cannot be traced in the Talmud. Consult Edersheim: "History of the Jewish Nation," third edition, p. 406.

§ It has been described as "a *corpus juris* in which the law has not yet been differentiated from morality and religion." See Farrar's "Life of Christ," illustrated edition, *n.d.*, p. 758.

‖ It is possible to institute a comparison between the Talmud and the Kabalah as between Freemasonry and late Western Occultism. The Talmud is not mysticism, but it became the asylum of some

use of a conventional term in the same category as the literature which discusses the mysteries of the "Supreme Crown," the evolution of "negative divine subsistence," so-called, into positive being, the emanation of the *Sephiroth* and the origin, metempsychosis and destiny of souls, is to make a foolish and deceiving classification. M. Isidore Loëb* offers us the equivalent of an admirable distinction between the two literatures in his observations upon the comparative position of the French and Spanish Jews at the period of the promulgation of the Zohar. Talmudic Israel was, he tells us, circumscribed by the circle of the Law; it had no horizon and no future; it had no place in the life of philosophy.† The Zohar gave to Israel the splendid impulsion of the ideal; it gave philosophy; it created a wide horizon; it brought the

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mystic traditions. Freemasonry is not Occult Science, but under the standard of the Craft all occult science of the eighteenth century found not only a refuge, but a field of work and of development. The way of entrance in the one case was the Haggadic morality, in the other it was the high grades.

* *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Paris, 4to, *s.v. Cabbale*, vol. viii.

† "In the immense collections which have come down to us from the fifth or sixth centuries of the Christian era, in the Talmud as in the allegorical interpretations of the Bible, there is no trace of philosophical speculations. If we find reminiscences of the Kabalah, they concern, so to speak, the exoteric portion, or angelology; the existence of the speculative part is shown in these books solely by the reference to the mysteries contained in *Bereshith*, or the first chapter of Genesis, and in the *Mercavah*, or Vision of Ezekiel."—S. Munk: *La Philosophie chez les Juifs*, Paris, 1848, p. 8. The author was an informed and accomplished defender of the existence of Kabalistic tradition in Talmudic times. It should be added that the Talmudic references to the Work of the Creation and the Work of the Chariot would, if collated, go far to verify the opinion that such a tradition was known as regards the fact of its existence, but it was referred to only enigmatically, and its nature does not really transpire. While the Talmud records occasionally that there were conversations betwen the doctors of Israel thereon, it does not report the utterances.

exiled Jew into correspondence with the thought of the world; it communicated the Eternal.

The first result of the confusion in question is to place a wrong construction upon Talmudic literature, to affirm that, as believed of the Kabalah proper, it possesses a double meaning, and that we are to look below its literal sense.* It has been well pointed out that it would be as reasonable to admit a metaphysical construction in the Common Law of England, the deliberations of a Holy Synod in the collections of State Trials, and a theory of transmutation in Conveyancing. Yet this is what has been done actually in the case of the Talmud by the one Kabalistic expositor whose influence with occult students in France and England is so paramount as to have been considered almost beyond appeal. To Éliphas Lévi, who, as a fact, misstated so much, we owe a grandiose presentation of the Talmudic system which does grave outrage to good sense.† He lays down that the first Talmud, the only truly Kabalistic one, was collected during the second century of the Christian era by "Rabbi Jehudah Hakadosh Hanassi—that is, Judah

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* Edersheim divides Talmudic traditionalism into two portions: Halakha = the legislative enactments of the Fathers; and Haggada = free interpretation.—"History of the Jewish Nation, p. 136. Some of the Haggadic legends may possess an inner meaning, that is, they are allegorical stories; the history of the salting of Leviathan is so absurd in its literal sense that one is driven out of mere generosity to suppose that it meant something which does not appear on its surface. Compare "Israel among the Nations," by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, p. 24. As Halakha is rule, *norma*, so Haggada is legend, saga, "a collection of miscellaneous utterances touching on every possible subject." The Halakha alone is law.

† *La Clef des Grands Mystères.* Paris, 1861, 8vo, p. 351, *et seq.* See also Waite: "Mysteries of Magic." Second edition, London, 1897, 8vo, pp. 112-120.

the most holy and the prince"—who "composed his book according to all the rules of supreme initiation." He "wrote it within and without, as Ezekiel and St. John have it, and he indicated its transcendental sense by the sacred letters and numbers corresponding to the Bereshith of the first six *Sephiroth*."* This asserted Sephirotic correspondence has no place in fact. The Mishna comprises six sections, of which the first concerns tithes, the beasts which it is unlawful to pair, the seeds which must not be sown together in the earth, the threads which must not be interwoven, the fruits which must not be gathered till the trees have passed their third year, and so forth. It is by no means chiefly, much less exclusively, agricultural, as Lévi, who had obviously not read it, represents. Nor has it any special correspondence with *Kether*, except on the thin ground that "in the notion of the Supreme Crown is contained that of the fructifying principle and of universal production." Any attribution could be accredited after this fashion.

The second book concerns the festivals of Israel, the meats which are prohibited on these, the days of fasting and so forth. There is no attempt to justify the attribution which connects it with *Chokmah*. The third book concerns marriage and divorce, or, in the

* I should note that, long prior to Éliphas Lévi, Adrianus Relandus (*Analecta Rabbinica*, 1702) and Galatinus (*De Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis*, 1656) supposed a second sense in the Talmud. It was not, however, metaphysical or mystical, but was a concealment prompted by the necessities of a persecuting time. This supposition is not less idle than the other, for the first thing which prudence would have suggested would be to hide the real feelings of Talmudic Jews towards Christians, and these are not dissembled in the Talmud. There are, of course, many histories in the Talmud which must not be construed literally, but, as in the case previously cited, they belong merely to the domain of allegory.

words of Lévi, "it is more particularly consecrated to women and the fundamental basis of the family." The fourth book deals with civil contracts, general jurisdiction, civil and criminal actions, penalties, &c. Éliphas Lévi says that it is superior to any code of the Middle Ages and accounts for the preservation of Israel through all its persecutions. According to the natural order of the *Sephiroth*, it corresponds with *Chesed* or Mercy, but as it looks better under the attribution of Justice, the Sephirotic system is reversed accordingly. The fifth book, which is allotted to Mercy by this transposition, treats, according to the French transcendentalist, of consoling beliefs and things holy, which creates a completely false impression concerning it. As a matter of fact, it is dedicated to votive offerings. The sixth book treats of purifications, which Lévi terms "the most hidden secrets of life and the morality which directs it." *

It is procedures of this kind which have made occult criticism deservedly a byword among scholars.†

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* The exegesis thus inaugurated loses nothing in the hands of later occult writers. For example, an occult *opusculum* observes that the key which will alone open the revelations of the Christian Scriptures and manifest their interior sense, "exists in a book proscribed by the Christian Church—the Jewish Talmud." See "The Astral Light," by Nizida. Second edition, London, 1892, pp. 50, 51. It is just to add that this work is not regarded as of consequence by the circle to which it makes appeal.

† Some criticism which is not the work of occultists deserves the same condemnation. Mr. C. W. Heckethorn, author of the "Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries" (new edition, 2 vols., 1897), has presumed to treat the subject of the Kabalah in the absence of elementary knowledge. Thus, he tells us that the literal Kabalah is called the Mishna (vol. 1. p. 85), which, as we have seen, is the traditional commentary on the legislative part of the Mosaic *Thorah*. So also Walton, in his eighth prolegomena to the "Polyglot Bible," observes that the terms Kabalah and Massorah are applied to one science by the Jews. Richard Simon draws attention to this error, saying that

The Talmud has its correspondences with the Kabalah, but they are of method rather than material. It is highly desirable to study it in connection with the Zohar, but it is a consummate act of ignorance to confound and to regard them as written upon the same principle and with the same objects.

Another writer, also an occultist, but governed by very different sentiments of scholarship, Mr. Isaac Myer, makes an exceedingly proper distinction when he affirms that the Kabalah and the Zohar "allow a great margin to speculative thought." He means to say that they are purely speculative philosophy, while the Talmud "deals with everyday life and humanity under the Law;" that the one "starts from a spiritual point of view, contemplating a spiritual finality as regards the Law and its explanation," but that the other is "eminently practical in both its starting-point and end, and having, in the face of ignorance, want of perception and natural waywardness of the masses, nothing but the strict observance of the Law in all its details in view." *

IV. DIVISIONS OF THE KABALAH

Before we can proceed with our subject it will be necessary to remove some further false impressions which, unlike the transcendental aspect attributed to

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the Massorah is the criticism of the Hebrew text.—*Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, p. 498. Amsterdam, 1685.

* "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 35. Compare W. B. Greene, "The Blazing Star," 1872, 12mo. "The Massorah is in every respect the converse of the Kabalah. The Massorah is that which was openly delivered by the Rabbi; the Kabalah is that which was secretly and mysteriously received by the disciple," p. 29.

the Talmud, are not errors peculiar to occult writers, and have consequently a wider sphere of operation. They concern the nature and applications of the tradition which is supposed to have been perpetuated in Israel. For most popular writers, for almost all encyclopædias which have not had recourse to a specialist, the Kabalistic art is simply the use of sacred names in the evocation of spirits,* or it is that at least above all and more than all.† We find it in standard sources of reference like the great dictionary of Calmet,‡ while it obtains still in many slipshod accounts which pass from book to book, without any attempt at verification on the part of those who reproduce them. It illustrates the importance which is everywhere attributed to magic, for in the last analysis all occult science and all its oral traditions are resolved by the popular mind into a commerce with the denizens of the unseen world. I have done full justice elsewhere§ to the enormous influence exercised by the belief in this commerce, so that the vulgar instinct is not entirely at fault. In a higher sense than that of ceremonial magic the ends of all occult science are assuredly in the unseen, and as to the

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* Compare Frinellan: *Le Triple Vocabulaire Infernal* (Paris, *n.d.*), p. 30: "What is termed the Kabalah is the art of commercing with elementary spirits."

† Sometimes, however, it is closely united with astrology, and to speak of this occult science is considered equivalent to speaking of Kabalistic matters. Such, apparently, was the notion of Démeunier, *L' Esprit des Usages et des coutumes des différens Peuples*, *tom.* ii. lib. xi. London, 1776.

‡ "Dictionary of the Bible." For convenience of reference, consult C. Taylor's translation, London, 1823, vol. i. *s. v.* Cabbala.

§ "The Book of Black Magic and of Pacts," part i. c. i. p. 5 *et seq.* London, 1898, 4to. It must be admitted that the term Kabalah was applied early in its history to some form of theurgic practice.

processes of evocation I have said already that they are largely Kabalistic processes.* They are, however, either late and corrupt derivatives which are not the esoteric tradition, but applications, and hence accidents thereof; or, if we must admit that there were magical practices involving a conventional procedure and a formal ritual prevalent among the Hebrews at a remote period,† which were also handed down, and are therefore entitled to be classed, in a sense, as Kabalah, then that reception must be distinguished very carefully from the Kabalah with which we are here concerned.‡ The tradition of the "Book of Formation" and the "Book of Splendour" is not of magic but of philosophy. It has not been incorrectly described, though by an unknown writer, in the following terms: "The Kabalah claims to be that spontaneous philosophy which man, quoad man, naturally affirms now, always has affirmed, and always will affirm so long as man is man. The worlds confessed by the Kabalah are worlds known to man, worlds upon which man has set the seal of his own nature, worlds related to man and of which man is the

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* Refer to preface.

† It is to these practices that I suppose Richard Simon alludes, when he says that "the ancient Jewish doctors brought many superstitious sciences from Chaldea," p. 93. This author can be hardly regarded as an authority on Kabalistic questions; indeed, he seems to confess (*op. cit.*, pp. 116, 117) that he had not thought it worth while to expend time over "the ancient allegorical books of the Jews," such as the Zohar and the Bahir.

‡ The opposite is held by an American writer, T. K. Hosmer, who says: "From this source all Jewry was overrun with demonology, thaumaturgy, and other strange fancies."—*The Jews in Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Times*, London, 1890, pp. 222, 223. Speaking generally, it is most in consonance with the facts to regard the magic which Europe received at Jewish hands as a debased application of Kabalism.

authentic form. There is nothing in the Kabalah which is not found also in the nature of man." *

As we have found it expedient to set aside the Kabalah of the Talmud in order to clear the issues, so also, or at least till a later stage of our inquiry, we must ignore the Kabalah of magic. We are dealing with an attempted explanation of the universe, which is something entirely distinct from all formulæ of evocation. The theurgic and talismanic use of divine names and the doctrine of efficacious words belongs to a distinct category, and is liable to be encountered everywhere in Jewish Theosophy. As will be seen later on, there is no question as to the antiquity of these notions.

By another error the subject-matter of the secret tradition is confused with certain exegetical methods by which a scriptural authority is found for it. These methods obtained very widely, and there is no doubt that many of their most curious results contributed to swell the volume of the tradition, but the method which deals with material, and may even occasionally supply it, must be held distinct therefrom. They were, however, a matter of tradition, and as such are Kabalah, but they are not the doctrinal Kabalah, and in the attempt to methodise our subject these also must be held as embodying things distinct.†

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* W. B. Greene: "The Blazing Star," p. 57. It follows from the specific teaching of the chief storehouse of Kabalism, the Zohar, that apart from the human form, permanence and organisation are impossible to finite existences, whence, also, it is the form in which God communicates Himself.

† P. J. Hershon divides the Kabalah into two parts, symbolical and real. The first teaches the secret sense of Scripture and the thirteen rules by which the observance of the Law is expounded Kabalistically, *i.e*, *Gematria*, *Notaricon*, *Themurah*, &c. The real Kabalah he sub-

It follows from the above discriminations that there are, broadly speaking, four separate groups or species of tradition in Israel which, by virtue of the meaning of words, are entitled to rank as Kabalah:*

1. The administrative tradition of the Talmud, the authoritative regulations as to the laws, customs, ceremonies and civil life of the Jewish nation. The literature of this tradition is of great historical value, but it has little place in philosophy.

2. The magical tradition of the Hebrews, very important to the history of occult science, very obscure in its history, very much exaggerated by those who write about it, possessing little literature prior to the fourteenth century of the Christian era, by which time it had lost most of its antique elements."†

3. Certain exegetical and other traditional

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divides into theoretical and practical; the one is concerned with the emanations and worlds of Kabalism, the nature and names of God, the celestial hierarchy and its influence on the lower world, the mysteries of creation and so forth; the other deals with the mystical properties of divine and angelic names and the wonders performed with these.—"Talmudic Miscellany," London, 1880.

* Dr. Wynn Westcott, in his work on "Numbers, their Occult Power and Mystic Virtue," observes (p. 11) that the word Kabalah "includes the Hebrew Doctrines of Cosmogony and Theology as well as the Science of Numbers." The first he terms the Dogmatic and the second the Literal Kabalah. The Kabalistic Science of numbers is included in *Gematria.*

† The indefectible title of magic to a place in Jewish Kabalah is enforced by all modern occultists, who have helped very much to confuse the issues in question. So far back as the end of the seventeenth century the distinction between the magical tradition and the philosophical or doctrinal was recognised by R. Simon (*Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament.* Amsterdam, 1685, 4to), who said: "There is another sort of Kabalah which is more dangerous and forms part of that which is commonly called Magic. It is a mere illusion, the prepossession of certain persons who believe they can perform miracles by means of it." (p. 374).

methods by which a secret sense was extracted from the letter of Holy Scripture. Very curious results were sometimes obtained by these solemn follies which appear so childish and ridiculous at the present day.* They comprise:

a. Gematria, by which the letters of a word were converted into numbers, and the arithmetical value was used to explain its internal sense.

b. Notaricon, by which each letter of a word was taken as the initial of another word, or, conversely, the initial letters of an entire sentence were combined to form a word, which word was held to throw light on the sentence.

c. Themurah, that is, the transposition of letters in a given word or sentence.

It is obvious that the field of these methods is not confined to one language or one literature; their application to the plays of Shakespeare might produce results which would exceed even the pretensions of the "Great Cryptogram." It is a little humiliating to find an important subject and a fascinating literature connected with such diversions, but we shall see later on that the peculiar views of the Hebrews upon the divine character of their language invested them with a certain speciousness, while, for the rest, our inquiry is fortunately not concerned with them. These methods are sometimes termed the artificial or prac-

* The Kabalistic method of interpreting scripture, "which reduces the sense of the sacred books to vain and ridiculous subtleties, the mysteries contained in letters, in numbers, and in the dismemberment of certain words," was supposed by Simon to have passed from the school of Platonism to that of the Jews, chiefly in Europe. There is no ground for this view. He adds (*op. cit.*, p. 374) that this "speculative Kabalah" was, in his own day, still highly esteemed by the Jews of the Levant."

tical Kabalah.* Their antiquity, like that of the Hebrew vowel-points, is a debated question. By some critics their traces have been discerned even in Holy Scripture.† One point, however, which should be especially noted is that recourse to these methods is met with comparatively seldom in the Zohar.

4. The philosophical tradition, embodied in the "Sepher Yetzirah" and the "Zohar" cycles. To this only, in the interests of clearness, should the conventional term Kabalah be applied, and it is this which is really signified by every well-informed writer who uses it. It is divided by the Kabalists themselves into

a. The Doctrine of Creation,

b. The Doctrine of the Chariot—*i.e.*, the chariot of Ezekiel's vision.‡

These divisions are concerned respectively with the natural and the transcendental world, and are sometimes termed collectively the theoretical Kabalah.

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* They assumed sometimes the most extravagant forms. For example, the middle letter of any sacred book was written in an unusual position or of an unusual size, and was regarded as possessing a deep spiritual meaning. See "The Bible Handbook," by Joseph Angus, D.D., 1860, p. 499. "The modes by which the Kabalah educes the secret meaning veiled under the words of the Hebrew scriptures are manifold, extending to every peculiarity of the text. Even in what we should regard as critical marks or as errors or fancies of some transcriber, as when a letter is written too large or too small, is inverted or in any way distinguished, an occult intent was presumed." *American Encyclopædia*, iii. 521, 522.

† The Chaldaic paraphrase of Jonathan ben Ouziel has recourse occasionally to a species of transliteration when dealing with certain obscure scriptural names.

‡ Both these divisions are mentioned in the Mishna by name (*Chagiga*, xi. 2), and are said to be secret doctrine, but the *Maasse Bereshith* and the *Maasse Mercabah* there referred to are not a written tradition, nor does that of the written Kabalah necessarily represent it. The Zohar identifies the *Mercabah* with the *Sephiroth* or Ten Emanations, which see.

It is this which gave to Israel the intellectual horizon which was impossible to the Talmudic Jew, and it is this also which gave the Children of the Exile a place in Western philosophy. When we hear that the Kabalah once fascinated some of the great minds of Christendom, it is to this only that the statement can be applied.* It is this, finally, which it is the purpose of the present inquiry to elucidate.† It should be added that outside the cycle of the Zohar there is a large Jewish theosophical and mystical literature, of which the Sepher Yetzirah is an instance. It was this which led up to the Zohar, and was embraced thereby. But whether it was Kabalistic in the sense of the latter is one of the disputes of scholarship.

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* Drach distinguishes three uses of the term Kabalah for which authority can be cited: (1) It is frequently applied by the Talmud to the books of the Old Testament outside the Pentateuch; (2) The rabbins apply it to the legal or talmudic tradition; (3) It signifies especially the "mystic, esoteric, acroamatic portion of the oral tradition."—*De l'Harmonie entre l'Église et la Synagogue. Par le* Chevalier P. L. B. Drach, 2 vols., Paris, 1844.

† I must not pass over the division of the Kabalah proposed by Dr. Papus in one of his latest publications, though I regard it, critically speaking, as fantastic. The Kabalah is, in his opinion, attributable to Moses, and the written word of Scripture is therefore naturally a part of the tradition. We have thus: (*a*) The written word; (*b*) The oral word; (*c*) An intermediate portion, being rules insuring the preservation of the text, *i.e.* Massorah. The last is the body of the oral tradition; the Mishna and Gemara are its life; the Sepher Yetzirah and the Zohar are its spirit. Unfortunately Dr. Papus has not made his thesis so clear as he does usually, and he seems to assume some of the most important points at issue. See *Traité Elémentaire de Science Occulte*, 5e édition, Paris, 1898.

BOOK II

THE DOCTRINAL CONTENT OF THE KABALAH

ARGUMENT

The fundamental doctrines of the Kabalah are shown to be: (*a*) The Philosophy of the Absolute; (*b*) The evolution of the universe by way of emanation; (*c*) The distinction of the emanation into Four Worlds issuing one from another. The subsidiary doctrines connected with these are: (1) The contrast between God in Himself and God as revealed to His people; (2) The Sacramental nature of the conventional symbols of the human Logos; (3) Certain ways and methods by which knowledge and wisdom are attainable; (4) A complex system of pneumatology. These subjects are regarded from the occult standpoint, but a sufficient warrant is not found for the view that they represent an occult doctrine of Absolute Religion.

I. THE UNMANIFEST GOD

THE conventional division of Kabalistic doctrines into transcendental and physical, though valuable for purposes of tabulation, must not be held to signify that there is a clear line of demarcation in virtue of which the literature branches off into divergent paths, much less that the Kabalah offers a natural history of the universe. Its physics, so far as it can be said to have any, are transcendental physics. Admitting of no separation between God, Man and Nature,* the

* That is to say, the mystic communication is permanent, but the pantheistic doctrine of identity is quite foreign to the position of Kabalism.

science which explains them is likewise one, and the best manner of studying it is to follow its view as to the eternal order. It begins in that Absolute which it is the purpose of all fundamental wisdom to make known or communicate to man; it attempts to exhibit the transition from the Absolute to the related, from the noumenal to the phenomenal, and to establish a chain of correspondence between the infinite and the finite. It is, however, more than a philosophical attempt to bridge over the gulf which separates the timeless from the temporal; that is the side on which it connects with philosophy, as commonly understood. The intermediaries of the transition are the ladder of ascent by which man returns to the Divine; hence also it is more than an explanation of the universe; it is, speaking correctly, a sum of religion, and as it is founded, no matter how, on those Scriptures which Jew and Christian have recognised equally as the peculiar revelation of God, the text-book of true religion, we shall see readily what depth and mystery are sought to be infused by the Kabalah into the Bible. We shall also agree with those discerning critics who describe it as, strictly speaking, a system of theosophy; it is the application of the wisdom of Israel to the unsearchable mystery of God, and it begins, as we might have expected, by confessing that it is unsearchable, that beyond our best conceptions of all that is most divine, as beyond so many veridic illusions, there is the unknown and unknowable God.*

* According to the Zohar, it is impossible to know that which there is in this principle, for it never stoops to our ignorance and is above even wisdom. See "The Lesser Holy Synod," when treating, for example, of the *Caput quod non est caput . . . quod non comprehenditur Sapientia nec intellectu. Kabbalæ Denudatæ Tomus Secundus*, p. 528.

Even in the mystic communication possible between the divine and man, which is an old doctrine of Jewish mysticism, long anterior to the Zohar, at least in its present form, the essence escapes our apprehension. We can, indeed, know God, but not as He is in Himself, our knowledge being made possible through the manifestation of the Deity, and this takes place after two manners—by the mediation of the Law of Nature, that is to say, in the physical universe; and by the Law of Grace, which is the manifestation of God in his relation with the souls of his elect. It will be seen that both these methods are sacramental, and the sacramental system is the form of all mysticism. For the Kabalistic Jew the Law and the Covenant were signs or mysteries capable of a plurality of interpretations, while the whole outward world was omen and metaphrasis. It is therefore to be expected that in the written word we must look for another meaning than is conveyed by the outward sense. It was also a part of Jewish mental bias to look for an inward significance which was opposed to the external, and strikes unfailingly the modern observer as strained and unnatural.

In the eternity which preceded either of the manifestations which I have mentioned, the Deity was withdrawn into Himself and subsisted after a manner which entirely transcends the conception of human faculties.* The names which are ascribed to the

* The tract entitled the "Faithful Shepherd," which forms part of the Zohar, says, on the authority of R. Simeon ben Jochai, that before God created the archetypal idea which underlies the form of the world, He was alone, without form or similitude, and hence there could be no cognition of him. (*Raÿah Mehemnah*, in the Cremona edition of the Zohar, pt. ii. col. 73). There was, of course, no intelligence to

Deity in this abyssal condition are not names which present either the condition or the Divine Nature; they are the conventions of the philosophical hypothesis; they are terms which serve to indicate that God, prior to manifestation, is nameless, even as He is beyond reach.* He is the Ancient One, and the most Ancient of all the Ancients, but this describes only the eternity of His subsistence; He is the Hidden of all the Hidden Ones, but this concerns only His concealment; He is *Ain Soph*, a phrase which Rosenroth renders *fine carens*,† the unlimited or infinite, but it also includes, by the separate significance of the word *Ain*, the abstract competition of nothingness, and this registers only the inconceivable nature of His infinite mode.‡ According to the "Book of Concealment," His dwelling is the place which is not a place, or more literally, *locus qui non est*.§ There is at first sight a touch of atheistical impiety in this attempt to describe God as the

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comprehend Him, but the idea which underlies the confusion is that the supposed period of God's eternal rest is now beyond the comprehension of the human mind. We are unable to conceive a state or period in which the world was not, but God alone.

* The interrogative pronoun *Who?* is ascribed by the Zohar to this state of the Supreme. Earlier mysticism speaks of God being alone with his Name, *i.e.*, the Divine Tetragram, which, according to Maimonides, preceded the whole creation.

† *Apparatus in Librum Sohar pars prima, Kabbala Denudata*, vol. I. p. 81.

‡ Zoharic teaching specifically affirms this point. It is said, for example, that prior to the creation of the world, prior to the production of any image, God was alone, formless and resembling nothing. In this state it is forbidden to represent Him by any image or under any form whatsoever, even by His Holy Name, or by any letter or any point.—*Zohar*, ii., 42 *b.*, Mantua.

§ *Liber Occultationis, seu Mysterii*, c. i. § 5. *Kabbala Denudata*, vol. ii. p. 348.

Non-Ens dwelling in the *Non Est*, but it is really a philosophical subtlety which seeks, by successively stripping off every attribute pertaining to manifest existence, to attain some idea of unmanifest, unconditioned, abstract being. The key is given in the treatise entitled *Pardes Rimmonim*, by R. Moses of Cordova,* which says that the Cause of Causes is called *Ain Soph* because His excellence is without bound, and there is nothing which can comprehend Him.

It will be seen that the Kabalistic conception is one which is familiar to later forms of transcendental philosophy under the name of the Absolute, a term which, in the last analysis, is not wanting in similar intellectual difficulties, or, rather, it symbolises our intellectual recognition of that which exceeds our intelligence.† In this Absolute resides the essence or potentiality of all;‡ it is not accurate to say that it is the subsistent principle which underlies the objective state termed existence, because existence is a condition of the finite and the created, though there is a true and real sense in which God may be said to

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* *Pardes Rimmonim*, *i.e.*, Paradise of Pomegranates, Tract iii. c. i. Moses of Cordova belonged to the more modern school of Kabalists, and his treatise is exegetical and not authoritative in Kabalism.

† See, however, Dr. Noah Porter: "The Human Intellect," London, 1868, who argues that in its proper definition the Absolute becomes knowable. Our idea of the Absolute belongs, nevertheless, to that region of our consciousness which Herbert Spencer terms indefinite and escaping formulation.

‡ Hœne Wronski, whose mathematical transcendentalism is of high authority with French occultists, affirms that the reality of the Absolute is the first principle of reason, and in the absence thereof every assertion made by reason would be valueless. On this principle, as on an indispensable condition, he establishes absolute philosophy in his work entitled *Apodictique*.

encompass, overstand and subtend the visible world.* *Ain Soph* is the subsistent state of Deity itself,† whence it follows that there is from the Kabalistic standpoint a manifested state of the Divine Nature, and this is certainly not the visible world. Where this manifestation occurs will be indicated in the next section.

It will be obvious that all ordinary notions of a personal God are destroyed or transcended by this *Non-Ens* or *Non-Ego* of the Kabalists; it is absolutely simple, unity without any multiplication, above all number, above Wisdom, which, as we shall see, is, however, one of its first emanations. It is also without sex, and it is therefore, strictly speaking, inaccurate to make use of the masculine pronouns in reference thereto. According to Moses of Cordova, the angels are neither simple nor without multiplication in comparison with it. The book entitled "Faithful Shepherd"‡ says: "Woe unto him who makes God to be like unto any mode or attribute whatever, even if it be one of His own; but woe still more if he make Him like unto the sons of men, whose elements are earthly, and so are consumed and perish! There can be no conception attained of Him, except in so far as He manifests Himself when exercising

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* According to the Zohar, God is immanent in all that has been created or emanated, and yet is transcendent to all.

† Occultists should beware of giving further currency to the absurd description of this state as "negative existence." So far back as 1867 Herbert Spencer established clearly in his "First Principles" that "the Unconditioned must be represented as positive and not negative."

‡ Quoted in *Beth Elohim*, or the "House of the Gods," Dissertatio i. c. i. See *Kabbala Denudata*, vol. ii.; *Partis Tertiæ Tractatus* i., *i.e.*, *Pneumatica Kabbalistica*, p. 187.

dominion by and through some attribute. Abstracted from this there can be no attribute, conception, or ideal of Him. He is comparable only to the sea, filling some great reservoir, as, for example, its bed in the earth, wherein it fashions for itself a certain concavity, so that thereby we may begin to compute the dimensions of the sea itself."

It remains for me to state that the doctrine of *Ain Soph* is not found in the earliest Kabalistic literature, and appears to have been first developed by the commentators on the Sepher Yetzirah and in the school of Isaac the Blind.

II. THE DOCTRINE OF THE TEN EMANATIONS

Having thus postulated the existence of the Absolute and the Unconditioned, the next concern of the Kabalah is the mode of the manifestation of that withdrawn and inconceivable nature. Having attained its ultimate and fundamental conception of the Deity by the process of elimination to which reference has been made already, it was inevitable that the attribution of absolute reality to that which had been stripped of all realism should have produced as a result something which was outside intellectual comprehension. It is perhaps open to question whether this fact justified the transcendency with which *Ain Soph* was invested, as it is also doubtful whether the methodical and elaborated antithesis of anthropomorphism thus created was not as much a convention of the human mind as that which it sought to replace.

The intellectual difficulty was, however, the ground for the exaltation of the conception at the expense of the human mind by which it had been devised so laboriously.* Now, the Jew was confronted by at least two problems which called for the exercise of his further ingenuity as regards the *latens Deitas* of *Ain Soph.* He had to account for the bond of connection between this abyss of the Godhead and the visible universe, having man for its mouthpiece, but so far this is only the common problem of all philosophy which begins and ends in the unconditioned. He had further a problem peculiar to his own inheritance and election, and this was to establish another bond of connection between the absolute transcendency of *Ain Soph*, apart from all limitation, outside all human measurement, isolated from all relationship, and the anthropomorphic Lord of Israel, whose stature and measurements were not beyond the ingenuity of rabbinical calculations, and most of whose members are mentioned with sufficient fulness and frequency in the sacred writings for any devout student to possess a clear notion of the "body of God," and to describe it, did he please, and we shall see later on that he did, with considerable precision, in a book dedicated to the question. For the moment, however, we are concerned only with the first problem, namely, the difficulty of conceiving why the abyssal state in which God unmanifest had been sufficient from eternity to Himself should at any period have had another mode superadded to it. I say superadded by convention

* The Zohar says that it is called *Ayin*, not on the ground of nonentity, but, it may be inferred, because that which is wholly outside our knowledge is for us as nothingness.

based on the notion of sufficiency; it is not a reasonable term to make use of in such a relation, to which no terminology is suitable. The *non ens* dwelling in the *non est* is like the cipher of the decimal system;* of itself it is nothing, and its extension produces nothing; so also it is not possible to add to it, but it gives power to all numbers. The solution offered by Kabalism does not differ materially from that which has been always given. It is, in a word, the movement of the Divine Will. "In this," says Myers, "the Unknown Absolute, above all number, manifested itself through an emanation in which it was immanent, yet as to which it was transcendental."† We are dealing here with a system of speculative philosophy, and, traditional or otherwise, it must not be supposed to be free from the disabilities of other philosophies or from the crudities of its particular period. The Kabalistic hypothesis supposes an eternity antecedent to this initial operation of the Divine Will, and in the latent subsistence of *Ain Soph* it would appear an inconsequence to assume that there was either will‡ or consciousness possible.§ Both, however, by a common and almost inevitable anachronism, are attributed to *Ain Soph*, despite the warning of the Zohar already quoted: "Woe unto him who shall compare Him with any mode or

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* The circle is, in fact, a Kabalistic symbol of *Ain Soph*.

† "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 266.

‡ The Zohar, however, says expressly that "in the beginning was the will of the King." Cremona edition, i., fol. 56.

§ "Exceeding comprehension it must be regarded as the *non-Ego* rather than the *Ego*. All that is in man depends from it, but it transcends consciousness; it transcends what we conceive by the terms personal and individual." Myer: "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol."

attribute, even with one of his own."* The later commentators on the Zohar either do not recognise or are content to ignore the difficulty. Thus a treatise entitled "The Royal Valley," by Rabbi Naphthali Hirtz, says: "Blessed be His Holy Name! Before anything was, He, by His simple will, proposed to Himself to fashion the worlds. For the King is not given without the people, as it is written in Proverbs xiv. 28: 'In the multitude of the people is the King's honour.' And it is the nature of the Supreme Goodness to dispense good. Now, if the world were not, on whom could He bestow it?"† The exegetical literature, treatises like the "Gates of Light," indicate that the exertion of the Divine Will in the production of the emanations is a path so secret that no creature, not even Moses himself, can understand it.‡ At the same time, that will is *beneplacitum*, or good pleasure, and *beneplacitum termine carens*, without end or limit. Hence the motive by which the universe is accounted for is the same motive which communicates the mercy of God to them that fear Him, after which it will be unnecessary to say that optimism is the fundamental characteristic of Kabalism, or that, according to to the Zohar, this is, in some respects, the best of all possible worlds.

Seeing then that the transition of the Divine Being from the state of the *non ens* was accomplished, like the conversion of man from the condition of a merely material creature, by an operation of the

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* Zohar, pt. ii. (*Rajyah Mehemna*), col. 73, Cremona edition.

† *Kabbala Denudata*, tom. ii., *partis primæ tractatus secundus*, §1, *De Mundo Infinito primo*, p. 152.

‡ *Kabbala Denudata*, tom. i., *Apparatus in Librum Sohar pars prima*, pp. 691, 692.

mystery of the will, we have next to ascertain something of the nature of this process, and this leads us to the word which I have already mentioned inadvertently, namely, emanation.* In specifying what followed from the motion of the Divine will, we must, I think, in an elementary treatise, set aside too subtle inquiries into the sense in which terms were used. It must be allowed in any case that the Kabalah repudiates implicitly the axiom *ex nihilo nihil fit*, for the *non ens* dwelling in the unconditioned state wherein is neither time nor place† is the fulness which contains the all. *Ex plenitudine ista omnia fiunt.* In this divine plenitude pre-existing eternally was the substance of all the worlds, which therefore came forth from God. Hence the Kabalistic system is one of emanation.‡ When it is said that emanation is not

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* In which the idea of pantheism is almost always, but not, I think, of necessity involved. There is, of course, a certain sense in which that notion is not escaped even on the hypothesis of creation, and further there is a higher sense of pantheism from which no spiritual philosophers could wish to escape. But as regards Jewish mysticism, while there is always some doubt in what way it made use of the term emanation, there seems to me no doubt that its system does not answer to what is commonly understood by pantheism, though it has often a pantheistic aspect. God was all for the Kabalist, as he is for the Christian, and yet the theosophic Jew no more than the orthodox theologian would admit that God was one with the material world. When, therefore, Solomon Munk (*Dictionnaire de la Conversation*) says that the Kabalah issued from the amalgamation of oriental pantheism with the religion of the Hebrews, we can accept this only by supposing that the pantheism in question had suffered a peculiar alteration.

† "The No-Thing is not, however, an absolute negative or void, but some-Thing unknown to man." Myer: "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 378. It should be added that Nachmanides was one of the few Kabalists who maintained creation *ex nihilo.*

‡ In Book IV. § 2, we shall see that this statement is subject to a reservation regarding the most ancient document of the Kabalah, and it should be noted in this connection that at least one scholar of

its only foundation, for it rests also on the identity of thought and existence,* or otherwise the doctrine of Divine Immanence, there is much in the literature which would tempt us to endorse this view, after due allowance has been made for the confusion and obscurity of the originals.† But it is not necessary to follow it at any length; it is enough for the present purpose to say that the term emanation is more in harmony with the doctrine of the Kabalah than is that of creation, and the rejection of the axiom already mentioned is perhaps little more than a play upon words.

We are not, however, concerned as yet with the evolution of the physical universe. The first consequence which followed the operation of the Divine will was the manifestation or unfolding of the Divine attributes—in a word, the transition of Deity from the latent to the active state. As in the one He was above all number, so in the other He may be said to have produced numbers, and the decade is the emanation of *Ain Soph.* We must not be so crude as to suppose that the mere arithmetical numerals are here intended; it was powers, forces, vitalities, virtues, attributes, principles, which were thus produced,‡ and in the first instance the *Sephiroth*, as they are termed,

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authority has rejected the general view, and does not regard the Kabalah as a system of emanation. See Joel, *Philosophie Religieuse du Zohar.*

* Isaac Myer: "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 266.

† That is to say, the terms emanation, creation, formation and such like, signifying distinct ideas, are used somewhat indiscriminately by the Kabalists.

‡ Azariel, in his work on the Canticle of Canticles, terms them "measures and organs," and in the Zohar itself they appear as divine emanated essences.

belong solely to the world of Deity. The names which are assigned to them are:

I. KETHER, the Supreme Crown.
II. CHOKMAH, Wisdom.
III. BINAH, Intelligence or Understanding.
IV. CHESED. Mercy, otherwise Gedulah, Magnificence or Benignity.
V. GEBURAH, Severity.
VI. TIPHERETH, Beauty.
VII. NETZACH, Splendour.
VIII. HOD, Victory.
IX. JESOD, the Foundation.
X. MALKUTH, the Kingdom.

The conjunction of *Chokmah* and *Binah* produced a quasi-emanation called *Daath*, knowledge, but it is not one of the *Sephiroth*.*

To these ten emanations or numerations various profound meanings are attached; indeed, the study of the Kabalistic system of the *Sephiroth* constitutes a science by itself, and one which is full of complexity. We are not concerned here with its exhaustive presentation, which would fill volumes, or with more than its elementary symbolism. We are concerned, in a

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* A term derived from a word signifying "to number," though late Kabalists offer other etymologies, as, for example, the Greek σφαῖραι The singular is *Sephira*. The emanations are regarded as vessels, receptacles of the Divine Power and attributes as they developed, and there is no doubt that these vessels were usually considered spherical. See especially the treatise *Beth Elohim* concerning *Kether*, in which the idea of circularity is involved. The author of the "Gates of Light" refers the term to the Hebrew word signifying sapphire, which stone, on account of its brightness and purity, is a symbol of the *Sephiroth*. Other rabbinical authorities have supported this view. See Jellinek: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala*. Leipsic, 1851.

word, not with what it may have been designed to conceal for the benefit of a circle of initiates, which is the claim of occult science, but with what it was intended to explain, and this explanation may offer some warrant for concluding that outside it there is only the province of fantasy.

Beyond a certain point it is not reasonable to suppose a double meaning in any literature; the theory of many-sided allegories does credit only to the ingenuity of the critic, and of its general value we have had a typical instance in Talmudic exegesis.*

The initial purpose of the Sephirotic system was undoubtedly to provide intermediaries between the Deity and the material world. It is that of all doctrines of emanation. But while we reject conjectures for which no warrant is produced we must be careful not to fall into the opposite error. To bridge the gulf between the finite and the infinite, and to effect a correspondence by stages between the inconceivable purity of the Divine Nature and the uncleanness attributed to matter by all the old theosophies, was not the sole purpose of the Sephirotic system, a point which is sometimes missed by the merely academical critic.

It is affirmed by hostile writers, for example, by

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* After an exhaustive study of modern occult literature, I doubt much whether the occultist really concerns himself with the discovery of a concealed sense in the Kabalah. It is a sufficient exercise of his patience to codify and harmonise the outward sense, which is perhaps a little irradiated and transcendentalised by his methods, but is assuredly not removed. Take, for example, the conception of *Ain Soph*: he certainly does not look for any notion more withdrawn than that of divine latency therein. The inner meaning of the Kabalah is its proper and single sense, which has been confused by the obscurity of its style and its subject.

Dr. Ginsburg,* that as the earliest Kabalistic literature does not contain the doctrine of *Ain Soph*, so also it wants that of the *Sephiroth*, but it is above challenge that the germ of the Sephirotic scheme must be sought in the Sepher Yetzirah. The ten numerations of that treatise are, in fact, the *Sephiroth*, and it seems quite impossible to maintain the contrary opinion.†

III. THE DOCTRINE OF THE FOUR WORLDS

The Sephirotic system was concerned first of all, as I have indicated, with the mystery of Divine Evolution. From that unsearchable condition which is above consciousness, by a mysterious operation, the Uncreated Will moved outward, and subsequently three manifestations or relations of Deity were established. By the first manifestation the *Ain Soph* passed from latency into activity; the *non-Ego* became *Ego*, subsisting still, however, in a condition which is humanly inconceivable, in the state of pure abstract thought. The concentration of this thought is depicted in *Kether*, which is also the Divine Will in its primordial manifestation. The Supreme Crown‡ is, symbolically speaking, the base or sphere

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* More especially in his article, *s.v.* Kabbalah, contributed to the third edition of Kitto's "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature."

† William Postel, the first translator of the Sepher Yetzirah, indubitably regarded the Ten Numerations as identical with the *Sephiroth* of more evolved Kabalism.

‡ In the treatise entitled the "Gates of Light," it is said that the name of *Kether* is applied to the first *Sephira*, because even as the crown encircles the head so does *Kether* encircle every *Sephira*. It is

of the Divine Consciousness. By the second manifestation the abstract thought entered into or developed the relationship of time, so that it could be now regarded as that which was, which is and is to come. Lastly, it established a relation with Nature—that is to say, its development produced the universe.

By a slight extension of the symbolism *Kether* is also regarded as the Throne of the Ancient of Days,* and as the Divine Consciousness is the veil of the subsistent state, *Ain Soph* is further represented as the central point of *Kether*, regarded as a sphere, and the circumference is infinity, which is, as it were, the Divine Vestment. The later Kabalists explain that this is because *Kether* has no vessel or receptacle wherein it may be contained.† Hence also it is beyond all cognition. The "Book of Formation," however, affirms that the properties of all the *Sephiroth* are infinite, "the infinite of beginning, the infinite of ending, the infinite of good, the infinite of

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the world of "Direction," which encompasses all things. This statement involves the view that the *Sephiroth* were emanated as a series of concentric circles, a point which will be dealt with later on.

* The term Throne is applied to several of the *Sephiroth*. Thus *Malkuth* is the throne of judgment, *Tiphereth* that of mercy. Sometimes, however, *Binah* is termed the throne of mercy, because it is as a seat under the supernal dilections. *Tiphereth* is also called the throne of glory when it receives the influence of the thirty-two paths of wisdom. See Bk. i. § 10. The same name is applied to *Malkuth*, because it is the seat of *Tiphereth*. The term throne taken simply signifies *Malkuth*, and *Binah* which is the seat of Malkuth. *Kabbala Denudata, Apparatus in Librum Sohar*, s.v. *Thronus*, vol. i. p. 483. These points are cited only to show the chameleon character of the symbolism.

† I owe this statement to the "Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite," compiled by Albert Pike, Grand Commander of the Southern Jurisdiction of the U.S.A. The authority is not stated, but it is, I believe, from "The Royal Valley," by R. Napthali Hirtz.

evil, the infinite in elevation, the infinite in depth, the infinite at the East, the infinite at the West, the infinite at the North, the infinite at the South, and the Lord alone is above all; as a faithful King He governs all from the height of His throne in the ages of ages."* As the vessel of the Divine Consciousness, which itself is contained by nothing,† *Kether* contains all things;‡ it is the egg in which reposes the germ of the universe, to borrow the symbolism of another system. In particular it contains the remaining *Sephiroth*, which are the sum of all things. The Word of God circulates in all, and *Kether* is, in a special sense, the Spirit of the Living God.

The second *Sephira* is Wisdom, but seemingly of a middle quality, for the highest of all, the truly celestial Wisdom, can be referred only to *Kether*. That of *Chokmah* is, notwithstanding, so transcendent that no creature can attain it. It was concealed from Moses, and the Wisdom for which Solomon was magnified belongs to an inferior order, which connects with the lowest of the *Sephiroth*. The *Sephira*

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* Sepher Yetzirah, c. i. par. 4.

† This appears paradoxical, but just as Fichte and Carl du Prel have maintained that the human ego is not wholly embraced in self-consciousness, so *Kether* is presumably the vessel of the Divine Consciousness in the sense that it receives an influx therefrom. Readers will remember the Universal Solvent which yet could be contained in a phial, a diverting incident in one of the "Tales of the Genii." According to the "Royal Valley," *Ain Soph* had full consciousness and appreciation, prior to their actual existence, of all the grades and impersonations contained unmanifested within Itself.

‡ There is hence, as Isaac de Acco observes in his treatise on "The Enlightenment of the Eyes," a unity of the ten *Sephiroth* in themselves, which unity is concentrated always in *Ain Soph*. It must, perhaps, be admitted that this idea is contained implicitly in the Zoharic statement that *Ain Soph* is the beginning and end of all degrees in the creation.

Chokmah is described by the "Book of Formation" as the Breath of the Spirit of God.

Binah, Intelligence or Understanding, is symbolically represented by the same fundamental authority as the moisture of the Breath of the Spirit. It is the highest *Sephira* with which man can establish correspondence, but it contains at the same time one mystery which was also concealed from Moses. The root of all roots and the foundation of all foundations is by it communicated to man, who could otherwise have no knowledge of the antecedent states of the Divine Nature.*

Magnificence or Mercy, *Gedulah* or *Chesed*, the fourth emanation, is the warmth or fire contained within the moisture breathed forth by the Spirit of God. It expresses the eternal love and compassion, connecting with life and vitality. It is the base of the *beneplacitum termine carens* mentioned in the last section and supposes implicitly the free will of the Divine Agent. It follows from this as a consequence that the universe was made or emanated, not because anything was wanting to the Divine completeness, but out of the fulness of goodwill, which is, however, in distinct opposition to some of the later Kabalists, especially Isaac de Loria.† Symbolically speaking, *Chesed* is therefore the *Sephira* by which God constituted the world.

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* All things, according to the commentary of Isaac de Loria, in a certain and most abstruse manner, consist and reside and are contained in *Binah*, which projects them and sends them downwards, species by species, into the several worlds of Emanation, Creation, Formation and Fabrication. *Binah* is hence represented as a great reservoir or ocean; it is the source of prophetic inspiration, as *Chokmah* is that of revelation.

† See *Liber Drushim*, a metaphysical introduction to the Kabalah, *Kabbala Denudata*, vol. i. pt. 2 Also Book vi. § 1 of this work.

The fifth *Sephira* is *Geburah*, signifying Judgment, Justice, Judicial Power, known also as *Pachad*, or Fear. It is the supernal tribunal before which nothing can subsist.

Tiphereth, or Beauty, the sixth *Sephira*, is, in a sense, the conjunction of Mercy and Judgment and summarises the Divine goodness; it is the heart of the pillar of benignity.

But the Divine Benignity is manifested by the victory signified in *Netzach*, the seventh *Sephira*. There are three rays diffused from the splendour of Providence—Benignity, Beauty and Victory. When they shine and are diffused over the *Sephiroth* the whole world is filled with joy and perfection, for the Divine goodness itself looks forth upon all creatures, and all the worlds are in fulness and completeness.* This *Sephira* is also termed Eternity.

The eighth *Sephira*, *Hod*, signifies Glory, Adornment, Splendour. In combination with *Netzach* it is termed the armies of Jehovah. All the salutations and praises contained in the Psalter of David belong to this emanation. It is the place of praise, the place of wars and victories, and of the treasury of benefits.†

Jesod, the Basis or Foundation, the ninth *Sephira*, is the storehouse of all forces, the seat of life and vitality, and the nourishment of all the worlds.‡

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* *Apparatus in Librum Sohar. Kabbala Denudata*, s.v. *Superatio*, i.e. *Netzach*, p. 589 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* s.v. *Decus*, *Gloria*, i.e. Hod, p. 268 *et seq.* According to the Zohar *Netzach* and *Hod* correspond to extension, multiplication and force, and thence issue all the forces of the universe, for which reason these *Sephiroth* are also termed the Armies of the Eternal. *Zohar*, iii., 296 a, Mantua.

‡ *Kabbala Denudata*, *Apparatus*, s.v. *Fundamentum*, i.e., *Jesod*, p. 439 *et seq.*

Malkuth is the tenth *Sephira*, signifying Dominion, Royalty, Kingdom. In the "Lesser Holy Synod" it is termed "the Mother of all the Living." It is the final manifestation, emanation, or development of the Divine Nature taking place in the Divine World, and is, therefore, that point at which the more external orders make contact with the supernal.*

To this brief general description, which rests on the authority and reproduces the words of the Kabalists, I will now add the heads of an occult interpretation, which is, of course, conjectural, but has a very reasonable aspect.

Ain Soph, the Unknowable and Absolute, manifests through the efflux of the spiritual and material universe, using the *Sephiroth* as its media. The first emanation symbolises Abstract Thought, the Absolute assuming consciousness to manifest outwardly. The second emanation represents the association of abstract ideas in the intellect, which association is Wisdom. The third emanation is Mind receiving the impression of the abstract ideas. These three constitute the Spirit of the World. The second triad of *Sephiroth*, Mercy, Judgment and Beauty, includes the principles of construction and symbolises the abstract dimensions of matter, length, breadth, depth and their double polarity. *Chesed* and *Geburah* are the centripetal and centrifugal energies between the poles of the dimensions. In their junction with *Tiphereth* they represent all ethical life and perfection. They correspond to the Soul of the

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* Hence it is said that the tenth *Sephira* is the *Shekinah*, that is, the place of the manifestation of Deity.

World. The third triad is dynamic; its *Sephiroth* signify the Deity as universal potentiality, energy and productive principle. They answer to the idea of Nature, the *natura naturans*, however, and not the *natura naturata*. The tenth *Sephira*, or *Malkuth*, represents the Concrete, and is the energy and executive power of the Abstract Intellect.*

The important point to remember as regards both tabulations is that, although their wording is open occasionally to another significance, they are neither concerned as yet with any material evolution, but solely with that development of the Divine Principles which found its ultimation at last on the material plane, between which and the Divine there was the intervention, as we shall see, of two mediate worlds.†

Now, it must be confessed that the distinction seems absolute between the Sephirotic system and any anthropomorphic conception of Deity; it is arbitrary to the point of fantastic, but it seems outside all human correspondences. Its point of view is that the visible world is the last consequence in the development of the attributes of God, or that God in order to create had to pass outward from his eternal subsistence. The *Sephiroth* are the symbolism of the attributes, and the course of their efflux is the history

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* Summarised from Isaac Myer's "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," § xiii.

† So also it is said by the later Kabalists that God called Himself Wisdom in *Chokmah*, Intelligent in *Binah*, in *Chesed* He took the character of Great and Benignant, in *Geburah* of Rigourous, in *Tiphereth* of Beautiful, in *Netzach* of Overcoming, in *Hod* of our Glorious Author, in *Jesod* of our Support, by Jesod all vessels and worlds being upheld, while in *Malkuth* He applied to Himself the title of King.

of the Divine evolution.* This course or sequence is the subject of much discussion among Kabalistic writers. It is generally held that the *Sephiroth* were contained originally one within the other, that is, *Kether* enclosed all those below it, *Chokmah* enclosed *Binah*, while *Binah* contained the seven last, produced by a successive efflux. "Originated by points, they expanded in circular shape—ten circles under the mystery of the ten *Sephiroth* and between them ten spaces."†

The entire emanation, unlikely as it may seem, was collected together under the notion of a heavenly man, Adam Kadmon, archetypal and primordial. It was similarly collected under the notion of a supreme world, termed *Atziluth*, the World of Deity,‡ of which Adam Kadmon§ was the sole occupant.‖ This in a special manner is termed the World of Emanations. From this proceeded a second world, having also its Sephirotic decade, that of Creation, called *Briah*, but not, as I infer, to be understood in the usual acceptation of that term, for *Briah* also came forth or was emanated. It was, in fact, a consequence of the superior world, namely, of the effectuating energies of the Supreme Will, resident in the Archetypal World. The Sephirotic forces were carried forward in *Briah* and by this prolonged emanation was the world of highest finite intelligence, technically that of the arch-

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* It is in this sense that the ten *Sephiroth* are said to form a strict unity among themselves and also with *Ain Soph*.

† *Introductio in Librum Sohar, i.e., Vallis Regia.* See *Kabbala Denudata*, vol. ii. p. 152 *et seq.*

‡ The "intelligible world," of the Zohar.

§ That is, the Man from the East.

‖ Myer: "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 418.

angels, produced. But the Sephirotic prolongation was continued into a third world, that of *Yetzirah*, or formation, the abode of the angelic choirs. Though further removed from Supreme Perfection, there is not a taint of the material in this abode of incorporeal beings. It is otherwise with the World of Action, the fourth product of the tenfold emanation, *Assiah*, the region of matter and also the dwelling of the demons, called shells or *Cortices* by the Kabalists. In common with many other systems of emanation this material world is regarded as the gross purgations of the upper regions. It should be observed, however, that the *Sephiroth* permeate the four systems, but they deteriorate as they proceed further from *Ain Soph* and the corruption of the infernal world, the formless region and the seven hells of Kabalism are the extreme limits of the emanation which begins in *Kether*. Thus, in order to explain the imperfections found in the world-craft of a perfect author the deterioration of his infinite energy is not disdained as a resource. It is easy to criticise such a system, or to set it down as beneath criticism, but, again, the disability is common to the dreams of all emanationists. It remains to say that we have the distinct authority of the Zohar for regarding the demons as products of the will of God and designed for a specific purpose; but this point may be reserved for further consideration at a later stage.*

Broadly speaking, the Four Worlds of the Kabalah may be regarded as corresponding in the physical order:

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* We have already seen that, according to the "Book of Formation," the ten *Sephiroth* are the infinite of evil as well as of good.

(*a*) ATZILUTH, to the Primum Mobile.
(*b*) BRIAH, to the sphere of the Zodiac.
(*c*) YETZIRAH, to the planetary chain.
(*d*) ASSIAH, to the world of the four elements.

Thus, astronomy is at the basis of the conception.

The doctrine of the Four Worlds was developed between the period of the Sepher Yetzirah and that of the promulgation of the Zohar, and it received many increments from the commentators on the latter work. It is first met with in the "Book of Emanation," which is a product of the school of Isaac the Blind. This treatise is ascribed to R. Jacob Nazir. Its distribution of the Four Worlds differs from the above tabulation in one or two respects, as, for example, by referring the souls of the just to *Briah*, the archangelic world. It should be added that the Zohar also recognises a distribution of the *Sephiroth* into Three Worlds—(1) Intelligible, (2) Moral, (3) Natural.

IV. THE DOCTRINE OF THE COUNTENANCES

The Four Worlds are also depicted in a single Sephirotic scheme, and this leads us to another order of symbolism established for a distinct purpose, namely, the vindication of the relationship between man and God. This vindication is founded, it will be superfluous to say, on God's providence regarding the Jewish nation, as it is recorded in the sacred literature of the First Covenant. There are many respects,

however, in which it is not at all peculiar to that nation, and there are indeed traces of a very liberal and almost Catholic doctrine in the books which form the Kabalah. The Chosen People is the channel by which all grace and favour are communicated from above, but the gifts of the Divine Mercy derive through Israel to the world at large; the union of the divine potency with Zion incorporates all things together, so that they are as one body, and by this union the whole universe is found to be in joy.* Again, it is said that a certain light falls from the supernal which blesses the whole world, so that wrath is no longer found in the universe; "all the worlds rejoice and are fulfilled with all perfection."

The relations of God with man are, however, those which are delineated in the dealings between Jehovah and Jewry, and the conception of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had to be harmonised with the exalted or at least recondite Godhead of *Ain Soph* and the Sephirotic system. Now, *Ain Soph*, as such, the *latens Deitas*, being essentially unknowable and outside the region of correspondence and relationship, enters by manifestation into a quasi-knowable but still unsearchable and transcendent state in the supernal triad of the *Sephiroth*. Therefore, this triad is taken to represent the entire Sephirotic system of the Atzilutic world. We have seen that this world is regarded as the abode of *Adam Kadmon*, who is also its sole denizen. In the alternative symbolism with which we are now dealing, this notion of the Body of

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* See "The Lesser Holy Synod," § xxii., *Kabbala Denudata*, II., p. 592 *et seq.*

God is replaced by that of a Vast Countenance,* resident in *Kether* and termed the *Macroprosopus.* By this head, devoid of all lower conformation, the antithesis of anthropomorphic Deity is shadowed forth, and the qualities ascribed to it are also the antithesis of the embodied Jehovah. As *Ain Soph* is the Closed Eye of the Unknown Darkness, so in the Vast Countenance the eye is open aud never closes.† for the subsistence of the universe and all its worlds depends upon the light which shines therefrom.‡ In this Vast Countenance there is neither wrath nor judgment, while all wrath and judgment which operate in the world and in humanity are held in check by the mercy and longanimity of *Macroprosopus* to such an extent that they may be regarded as counterbalanced and annulled in the last disposition. There is no need to expatiate here on the symbolism, to which reference must be made again. It is sufficient to note that the first Sephirotic emanation, corresponding to the self-consciousness and abstract thought of the Supreme Being, is a God described by the Kabalists in terms which are intentionally the reverse of the salient characteristics ascribed to the Old Testament Deity. From *Macroprosopus*, through the *Sephira* Wisdom, under the aspect of a masculine potency, and through the third *Sephira*, the feminine *Binah*, Understanding,§ there is

* Called *Arik Anpin* in the Zohar and its dependencies.

† "Book of Concealment," c. i. v. 14.

‡ The same notion is found in Indian mythology, and readers of Southey's "Curse of Kehama" will remember what followed the sudden veiling of the eyes of Seeva.

§ These are the Supernal Father and the Supernal Mother, who must be regarded, however, as modes of the manifestation of *Macroprosopus.*

emanated the Lesser Countenance,* or *Microprosopus*, possessing bodily configuration and extended through the six emanations from *Chesed* to *Jesod* inclusive. It embraces, therefore, the two inferior triads of the *Sephiroth*, the worlds of Creation and Formation. But as *Kether* in the world of *Atziluth* is attributed specially to the Vast Countenance, so is *Tiphereth* in *Briah* to the Lesser Countenance. As longanimity is the characteristic of *Macroprosopus*, so is "swiftness to wrath" that of the inferior being, *parvam faciem habens, cito irascens.*† These comparative qualities are typified by length and shortness of face. *Microprosopus* is regarded by modern occultism as the shadow or reflection of the superior manifestation, but this view is not entirely borne out by Kabalistic literature. Making due allowance for all inexactitude, it represents in a general manner what is designed to be enforced by the symbolism, and the sole point which we are concerned in establishing here is that *Microprosopus* is the mediator between God and Man. It is not, however, in the Christian sense of mediation, that of intercession, for wrath, vengeance and judgment are not in the Vast Countenance, even as they are not in *Ain Soph.* The mediation is communicative or sacramental. In the natural order it is the human conception of Deity, to which God condescends and may be said in a sense to verify and even to inform.‡ Conversely, as regarded from above, it is the construction of the Divine Nature, so that its

* Called *Zair Anpin* in the Zohar.

† *Apparatus in Librum Sohar*, *Kabbala Denudata*, vol. i. p. 312, s.v. *Macroprosopus*.

‡ Éliphas Lévi, *Le Livre des Splendeurs*, Paris, 1894, p. 69.

knowledge and its power may be derived to mankind. It is the adjustment of the infinite being to finite possibilities, so that the limited may receive a certain measure of the boundless. It is so much of God as man by his constitution and estate is capable of comprehending; it is Divine Providence leading humanity by an administration suited to humanity, by the way of contest and prize, by the way of kindness and severity, of reward and punishment. God in Himself is above all these things, but they are necessary to His froward children. In a word, it is so much of the *Principia* of Newton as would be understood in a village school, namely, the illustration of the falling apple.

That this is the significance of the symbolism is evinced further by the Sephirotic allotment of certain Divine Names which occur continually in the Bible. The affirmation of self-existence and self-consciousness is made in the Name which signifies, I am that I am, AHIH,* and this is referred to *Kether*, while the world of *Atziluth* generally embraces the mysterious name, never uttered and therefore regarded as incomprehensible and unpronounceable, JOD, HE, VAU, HE.† When the Israelite comes to this name in the Bible, he omits it altogether, or substitutes ADNI, Adonai, the Lord. The word

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* "It is possible," says Maimonides, "that in the Hebrew language, of which we have but a slight knowledge now, *Tetragrammaton*, in the way it was pronounced, conveyed the meaning of absolute existence." — M. Friedlander: "The Guide of the Perplexed of Maimonides," vol. i. (*Moreh*, part i. c. 61) p. 228.

† It is unpronounceable, because its real vowels are unknown. See Renan: "History of Israel," note to c. vi. More accurately, the first three letters belong to the supernal Sephiroth and the fourth to the inferior seven. The attributions, however, vary.

which we render Jehovah belongs, therefore, to the symbolism of the Vast Countenance, to the God who is not as man is. But AL and its derivatives, Jehovah, or the Lord of Hosts, those lesser names of which the contents can be grasped by the human mind and can therefore be uttered, are the Names of the Lesser Countenance. The relation between *Macroprosopus* and *Microprosopus* is the philosophical hypothesis of the correspondence between the absolute as it is and the absolute as conceived by man. The disparity between them registers the inadequacy of all human conceptions of the Divinity, fully recognised by every Kabalist as abounding in that book which he regarded as more Divine than any.

Like the Sephirotic system, the doctrine of the Four Worlds and the two Countenances is curiously involved, and though in its elements it is exceedingly simple, in its elaborations it is highly technical. As in the single Sephirotic scheme with which we have been dealing here the first triad of emanations is held to represent the world of *Atziluth*, so the second triad comprehends *Briah* and the third the world of Formation, or *Yetzirah*. *Assiah*, the fourth world, is contained in *Malkuth*. Now, with *Microprosopus* there is associated the symbol of a Bride, who is in fact *Malkuth*, or the Kingdom, in which sense it would follow that the visible creation is the Spouse of God, or rather of that lesser Divine Manifestation which alone communicates with man. The *locus sanctorum*, the organ of nuptial intercourse, is, however, "the place called Zion and Jerusalem,"* and it is,

* Laurence Oliphant quoted these and similar passages to prove the sanctity and mysticism with which the notion of sexual conjunction,

therefore, in Israel only that the communication is received. The office of Israel is hence the dispensation of the divine to the world and men.*

The doctrine of the Countenances is the subject of special development in the "Book of Concealment" and its supplements, being tracts introduced into the Zohar; it was unknown to the Sepher Yetzirah or its early commentators.

V. THE INSTRUMENTS OF CREATION

It must be confessed that, so far, Kabalistic literature deserves to be called philosophical. The doctrine of *Ain Soph* may be classed with Platonic conceptions; the Sephirotic system will not suffer by comparison with any other dream of emanation and may even challenge all; the motive which underlies the metaphysics of the two Countenances is singularly profound and may be regarded as the chief glory of the Kabalah. We must now, however, approach its fantastic portions. We have seen that the World of *Briah* is that of Creation, but whatever reservations may be inferred from Kabalistic writers on the axiom *ex nihilo nihil fit*,† we have seen also that their use

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and the act itself, was invested, as he said, from the earliest times. But his opinion of the Kabalah was derived only from Mr. Mathers' translation of the "occultation" series, and he had probably never heard of the controversial history of the Zohar. See "Scientific Religion," London, 1888, Appendix I.

* This is a further development of the Talmudic doctrine that Zion is not only the centre of the earth but the starting point of the universe. Consult also the *Kuzari*, of R. Judas Ha Levi.

† According to Myer, the speculative or metaphysical Kabalah is an attempt to harmonise Hebrew monotheism with the "fundamental

of the term Creation does not at all correspond to the sense of Christian cosmology, because that which they called Nothing evasively was the plenitude in which the All lay latent. Further, the world of *Briah* was not that in which anything material was formed, emanated, or otherwise brought into actual being; it was rather the Elohistic world, that of Panurgic force and intelligence, which became formative in *Yetzirah*, but did not produce matter except in the fourth world. Now the materials used and shaped, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, the instruments, the matrices of the material world, are said by the Kabalists to have been the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. According to the Sepher Yetzirah, God imparted to them form and weight by combining and transforming them in divers manners, *Aleph* with all the rest and all the rest with *Aleph*; *Beth* with all and all with *Beth*; and so of the rest.* Some hundreds of permutations were obtained in this manner, which are the origin not only of all languages but of all creatures. As these permutations can, by the hypothesis, be reduced to a single name, that of *Tetragrammation*, the JOD, HE, VAU, HE, which I have had occasion to mention previously, it is said that the entire universe proceeds from this name.† The

principle of ancient philosophy," namely, the axiom quoted above. "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 230. This was also the design of Maimonides in his "Guide of the Perplexed."

* Sepher Yetzirah, c. ii. par. 4. Cf. the Talmudic teaching that the present world was created by God with the letter *He* and the world to come with the letter *Jod*.

† And thus the comprehension of this name gives all knowledge according to the Kabalists. Compare Éliphas Lévi, who reduces the doctrine to an axiom: "All knowledge is in a word, all power in a name; the intelligence of this name is the Science of Abraham and Solomon." *Clefs Majeures*, Paris, 1895.

reader will discern at once the nature of the device, which may be methodised by a simple process:

The world came forth from God:
But the name of God is יהוה;
Therefore the world came forth from יהוה.*

The fundamental letters of the Book of Formation are not, however, those which compose the Divine Name; they are *Aleph* (א), *Mem* (מ) and *Shin* (ש), distinguished as the Three Mothers and corresponding to Air, Water and Fire. The heavens are formed of Fire, the Earth is of Water, and the Air of the mediate Spirit.

Their correspondences are: in the year, the torrid, frigid and temperate seasons; in man, the head, belly and breast.

Besides the Three Mothers there are seven double letters—*Beth* (ב = B), *Ghimel* (ג = G). *Daleth* (ד = D), *Kaph* (כ = K), *Pe* (פ = P), *Resh* (ר = R) and *Tau* (ת = T, Th). These seven signs stand in the Book of Formation for:—

Life	and their opposites	Death
Peace		Strife
Knowledge		Ignorance
Wealth		Poverty
Grace		Sin
Fruitfulness		Sterility
Dominion		Slavery

* It will be unnecessary to point out that this is a logical *non sequitur*, but it must be added that for the Kabalistic Jew the true name of God, as indeed of any existence, was a manifestation of its essence and, as such, inseparable therefrom.

Their correspondences in the universe are:—

East	Depth
West	North
Height	South

and the Holy Palace, fixed in the centre and sustaining all things. When the seven double letters had been shaped by the Deity, He combined and created therewith the planets in the heaven; the days in the year—*i.e.*, the seven days of creation; and the gates in man—*i.e.*, eyes, ears, nostrils and mouth.

There are, finally, twelve simple letters, having the following correspondences in man and the world:—

He	=	ה,	E	=	Sight	=	N.E.
Vau	=	ו,	V	=	Hearing	=	S.E.
Dzain	=	ז,	Z	=	Smell	=	E. Height
Cheth	=	ח,	Ch	=	Speech	=	E. Depth
Teth	=	ט,	T	=	Digestion	=	N.W.
Jod	=	י,	I	=	Coition	=	S.W.
Lamed	=	ל,	L	=	Action	=	W. Height
Nun	=	נ,	N	=	Motion	=	W. Depth
Samek	=	ס,	S	=	Wrath	=	S. Height
Ain	=	ע,		=	Mirth	=	S. Depth
Tsade	=	צ,	Ts	=	Meditation	=	N. Height
Quoph	=	ק,	Q	=	Sleep	=	N. Depth

By means of the twelve simples there were created the signs of the zodiac, the twelve months and the twelve directors of man—*i.e.*, the two hands, the feet, the two kidneys, the liver, the gall, the spleen, the colon, the bladder and the arteries.

I must leave my readers to decide how this

bizarre system is to be interpreted. It has been regarded by one or two critics who have no occult leanings as a serious attempt to devise a philosophical cosmology;* but for myself I must confess that I do not see in what manner it is superior to the familiar fable of the elephant and the tortoise. There are those, of course, who discern in it a secret meaning, who remember, for example, that the letters of the Hebrew alphabet stand also for numerals, and do not fail to cite the scriptural statement that God made everything by weight, number and measure.

Indeed, the Sepher Yetzirah may be regarded as a commentary on this declaration. As a rule, however, I think that the Kabalists, like other makers of philosophy, meant that which they said, and if they did not say all that they meant the unexpressed residuum was along the lines of the sense expressed. When they affirmed, therefore, that the world was made by means of the letters of the alphabet, they really meant what they stated; but if it be asked whether they understood by those letters the symbols of arcane powers, it must be answered that they did. The letters are, however, more than mere symbols; they are vessels or manifestations of the concealed powers. The sense is therefore true *ex hypothesi* in a literal and arcane manner.

The warrant of the hypothesis must be sought in the Talmudic system, which believed that the body of the sacred text was divine like the sense which was

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* Dr. Alfred Edersheim seems to speak in this sense in his "History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerusalem." I have used the third, posthumous edition, revised by the Rev. H. A. White, M.A. London. 1896. See p. 408.

its soul, which soul had, like man himself, an inner spirit, the highest of all, namely, the concealed meaning. Now, the letters of the alphabet were the materials of the textual body, to the care and preservation of which the traditional science of the Massorah was devoted.* For the mystical Jew, who discerned strange abysses of mystery in the smallest peculiarities of the *Thorah*, there was a weird fascination in the fact that all the wonders and sanctities of the Law and the Prophets resulted from the diverse combinations of twenty-two letters, and he came to regard this handful of conventional hieroglyphs as so many sacraments or instruments by which the divine wisdom was communicated to man. In a word, for him they ceased to be conventions; a divine revelation required a divine language to express it, and the alphabet of that language was a derivation from the noumenal world, vessels of singular election, instruments of Deity, from which it was an easy transition to suppose that such channels of spiritual grace and life must have fulfilled some exalted office in the shaping of the universe itself.

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* The Massorah was concerned with the body of the text, the rules as to reading and writing the *Thorah*, and special considerations on the mystic sense of the sacred characters. It was hence the criticism of the Hebrew text. It was also, as already seen, that which was openly delivered by the rabbins in contradiction to that which was supposed to have been communicated secretly. Thus it taught the true reading of doubtful passages, the true pronunciation of uncertain words, the correct subdivisions of the books, and so forth. Buxtorf's work entitled "Tiberias" (Basiliæ, 1620, 4to) deals with the Massorah. Compare Molitor's "Philosophy of Tradition." Occultists pretend that its exoteric formulæ were designed to conceal every trace of a secret sense in the *Thorah*. See "Mission des Juifs," p. 646, by Saint-Yves d'Alveydre, who follows Fabre d'Olivet in *La Langue Hébraïque Restituée*. The Massorah compiled from MSS., alphabetically and lexically arranged, has been published by C. D. Ginsburg. 3 vols London. 1880-85.

This doctrine of the instruments of creation is the oldest part of Kabalistic literature, which, it follows, improved very much as it developed. It was intimately connected with the idea of the pre-existence of the *Thorah*, and to say that the world was created by the inscription of letters in the air was, in one sense, only another manner of saying that it was created by the *Thorah*, while the latter affirmation is not incapable of being regarded in a philosophical manner by the help of the Kabalistic doctrine of correspondences, for which the *Thorah* of Moses would be only the mundane type of the Eternal and Divine Law.

VI. THE PATHS OF WISDOM

In the Latin collection of Pistorius the marrow of philosophical Kabalism is presented in the form of certain terse propositions or dogmas,* according to one of which the ways of eternity are thirty-two—*Viæ æternitatis sunt triginta duo.*† These are the paths of the Sepher Yetzirah, namely, the ten *Sephiroth* and the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, The doctrine concerning them is a dependency of this fundamental treatise, but of much more recent date,

* They are the extremely interesting theses of Picus de Mirandola, which will be found in Book vii.

† They are referred to the *Sephirah Chokmah* and are termed occult channels, at once hidden and revealed. In the "Faithful Shepherd" *Chokmah* is called the highest of all paths, embracing and including all that are beneath it, and the influx of all is derived therefrom. The same treatise connects with *Chokmah* the words in Job, xxviii. 7: "The bird hath not known the path, neither hath the eye of the vulture beheld it."—*Kabbala Denudata*, *Apparatus*, i. 601, 602.

and without even an imputed authorship. It tabulates the special graces and illuminations which may be communicated to man from above by means of these channels, and is very interesting because it shows that the most philosophical part of Kabalism had a practical application to the human mind, and was not merely a speculative system. It is outside the province of this work to offer translations to the student, but as in the present instance it would be difficult to summarise the tabulation more briefly, I shall give it *in extenso*, premising only that it has been translated more than once into English, and is indeed available in a number of European languages.

The first path is called the Admirable Intelligence, the Supreme Crown. It is the light which imparts understanding of the beginning which is without beginning, and this also is the First Splendour. No created being can attain to its essence.

The second path is called the Illuminating Intelligence. It is the Crown of Creation and the splendour of the Supreme Unity, to which it is most near in proximity. It is exalted above every head and is distinguished by Kabalists as the Second Splendour.

The third path is called the Sanctifying Intelligence and is the foundation of Primordial Wisdom, termed the Creation of Faith. Its roots are אמך. It is the mother of Faith, which indeed emanates therefrom.

The fourth path is called the Arresting or Receiving Intelligence, because it arises like a boundary to receive the emanations of the higher intelligences which are sent down to it. Herefrom all

spiritual virtues emanate by the way of subtlety, which itself emanates from the Supreme Crown.*

The fifth path is called the Radical Intelligence, because it is more akin than any other to the Supreme Unity and emanates from the depths of the Primordial Wisdom.†

The sixth path is called the Intelligence of Mediating Influence, because the flux of the emanations is multiplied therein. It communicates this affluence to those blessed men who are united with it.‡

The seventh path is called the Hidden Intelligence, because it pours out a brilliant splendour on all intellectual virtues which are beheld with the eyes of the spirit and by the ecstasy of faith.

The eighth path is called the Perfect and Absolute Intelligence. The preparation of principles emanates therefrom.§ The roots to which it adheres are in the depths of the Sphere Magnificence, from the very substance of which it emanates.

The ninth path is called the Purified Intelligence. It purifies the numerations, prevents and stays the fracture of their images,‖ for it establishes their unity

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* Dr. Westcott, following the Hebrew text of Rittangelius, makes this rendering: "The fourth path is named Measuring, Cohesive, or Receptacular; and is so-called because it contains all the holy powers, and from it emanate all the spiritual virtues with the most exalted essences; they emanate one from the other by the power of the primordial emanation," *i.e.*, *Kether*.

† Or, "the primordial depths of *Chokmah*."—Westcott, Sepher Yetzirah, p. 28.

‡ "It causes that influence to flow into all the reservoirs of the Blessings with which these themselves are united."—*Ibid.* p. 29.

§ According to Westcott "it is the means of the primordial."—*Ibid.*

‖ Or, "proves and corrects the designing of their representations."—*Ibid.*

to preserve them from destruction and division by their union with itself.*

The tenth path is called the Resplendent Intelligence, because it is exalted above every head and has its seat in *Binah*; it enlightens the fire of all lights and emanates the power of the principle of forms.†

The eleventh path is called the Fiery Intelligence. It is the veil placed before the dispositions and order of the superior and inferior causes. Whosoever possesses this path is in the enjoyment of great dignity; to possess it is to be face to face with the Cause of Causes.‡

The twelfth path is called the Intelligence of the Light,§ because it is the image of magnificence. It is said to be the source of vision in those who behold apparitions.

The thirteenth path is called the Inductive Intelligence of Unity. It is the substance of glory, and it manifests truth to every spirit.||

The fourteenth path is called the Illuminating Intelligence. It is the institutor of arcana, the foundation of holiness.

The fifteenth path is called the Constituting Intelligence, because it constitutes creation in the

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* Or, "disposes their unity with which they are combined without diminution or division."—*Ibid.*

† "Causes a supply of influence to emanate from the Prince of Countenances."—*Ibid.*

‡ Westcott gives an entirely different version: "It is the essence of that curtain which is placed close to the order of the disposition, and this is a special dignity given to it that it may be able to stand before the face of the Cause of Causes."—*Ibid.*

§ Or of Transparency.—*Ibid.*

|| "It is the consummation of the truth of individual spiritual things."—*Ibid.*

darkness of the world.* According to the philosophers, it is itself that darkness mentioned by Scripture (Job xxxviii. 9), cloud and the envelope thereof.

The sixteenth path is called the Triumphant and Eternal Intelligence, the delight of glory, the paradise of pleasure prepared for the just.

The seventeenth path is called the Disposing Intelligence, It disposes the devout to perseverance and thus prepares them to receive the Holy Spirit.†

The eighteenth path is called the Intelligence or House of Influence,‡ and thence are drawn the arcana and the concealed meanings which repose in the shadow thereof.

The nineteenth path is called the Intelligence of the Secret or of all spiritual activities. The fulness which it receives derives from the highest benediction and the supreme glory.

The twentieth path is called the Intelligence of Will. It prepares all created beings, each individually, for the demonstration of the existence of the primordial glory.

The twenty-first path is called the Rewarding Intelligence of those who seek.§ It receives the divine influence, and it influences by its benediction all existing things.

The twenty-second path is called the Faithful

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* "It constitutes the substance of creations in pure darkness."—*Ibid.*, p. 30.

† Westcott adds: "It is called the foundation of excellence in the state of higher things."—*Ibid.*

‡ Westcott adds: "By the greatness of whose abundance the influx of good things upon created beings is increased."—*Ibid.*

§ Westcott gives "the Conciliating Intelligence."—*Ibid.*

Intelligence, because spiritual virtues are deposited and augment therein, until they pass to those who dwell under the shadow thereof.*

The twenty-third path is called the Stable Intelligence. It is the source of consistency in all the numerations.

The twenty-fourth path is called the Imaginative Intelligence. It is the ground of similarity in the likeness of beings who are created to its agreement after its aspects.

The twenty-fifth path is called the Intelligence of Temptation or Trial, because it is the first temptation by which God tests the devout.

The twenty-sixth path is called the Renewing Intelligence, for thereby God—blessed be He!—reneweth all which is capable of renovation in the creation of the world.†

The twenty-seventh path is called the Active Intelligence, for thence is created the spirit of every creature of the supreme orb, and the activity, that is to say, the motion, to which they are subject.‡

The twenty-eighth path is called the Natural Intelligence, whereby the nature of everything found in the orb of the sun is completed and perfected.§

The twenty-ninth path is called the Corporeal

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* Westcott's literal rendering reads, "by it spiritual virtues are increased, and all dwellers on earth are merely under its shadow."—*Ibid.*

† "All the changing things which are renewed by the creation of the world."—*Ibid.*, p. 31.

‡ "The twenty-seventh path is the Exciting Intelligence, and it is so called because through it is consummated and perfected the nature of every existent being under the orb of the sun, in perfection."—*Ibid.*

§ This path is omitted both in the text of Rittangelius and in Westcott's version.

Intelligence; it informs every body which is incorporated under all orbs, and it is the growth thereof.

The thirtieth path is called the Collective Intelligence, for thence astrologers, by the judgment of the stars and the heavenly signs, derive their speculations and the perfection of their science according to the motions of the stars.

The thirty-first path is called the Perpetual Intelligence. Why is it so called ? Because it rules the movement of the sun and the moon according to their constitution and causes each to gravitate in its respective orb.*

The thirty-second path is called the Assisting Intelligence, because it directs all the operations of the seven planets, with their divisions, and concurs therein.

The modern accent of this tabulation will occur at once to the reader, but its quotation was necessary to exhibit the intellectual profit believed to follow from the study of Kabalism, and still more that it was in the last resource the understanding of man methodised,† and embracing, as such, the entire circle attributed to human knowledge.‡

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* According to Eliphas Lévi, this verse contains the secret of the great work of alchemy. The reason assigned is that path thirty-one corresponds to the Hebrew letter *Shin* (Sh), which represents the magic lamp, or the light between the horns of Baphomet. "It is the Kabalistic sign of God or the Astral Light, with its two poles and equilibrated centre." The sun mentioned in the paragraph represents gold, the moon silver, and the planets correspond to the other metals.—*La Clef des Grand Mystères*, p. 234. It is needless to say that the Sepher Yetzirah and its developments have nothing to do with alchemy.

† "Man is the Kabalistic balance," according to Mr. W. B. Greene.—"The Blazing Star," p. 51.

‡ However, it fell, as may be expected, into superstitious uses and became a kind of theosophic divination, based on the first chapter of Genesis, wherein the name Elohim is mentioned thirty-two times.

For the sake of completeness, and because an occult importance has been attributed to it, though in the absence of any real warrant, a word may be added concerning a somewhat conventional piece of Kabalistic classification, entitled the Fifty Gates of Understanding. It is referable to *Binah*, the third Sephira, and is an attempt to sketch the outlines of universal science, to embrace, as Éliphas Lévi observes, all possible departments of knowledge and to represent the whole encyclopædia. At the present day such classifications have something of a ghostly aspect. There is, however, no intention to methodise human science after the impossible manner of Raymond Lully and his *Ars Magna Sciendi*. I infer also that, in spite of the exalted themes which are included in the scheme, it concerns only intellectual knowledge, acquired by the external way, and thus constitutes a kind of scholastic introduction to the paths of *Chokmah* or of Wisdom,* by which the holy men of God may, as Kircher observes, after long toil, long experience of divine things and long meditation thereon, penetrate to the concealed centres.† The principle of the enumeration must perhaps be sought in the symbolism of the Hebrew word *Koll*, which signifies All, and the consonants of which are equivalent to the number fifty.

The consultation of this chapter was accompanied by prayers extracted from the divine name in question, and, according to Kircher, by suitable ceremonies.

* According to Papus, the thirty-two paths are deductive like the Sepher Yetzirah itself, which starts from the notion of God and proceeds thence to natural phenomena, while the fifty gates are established on the inductive principle, ascending from Nature to Deity. —*La Kabbale*, p. 132.

† Kircher, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, Rome, 1623, fol.

The Gates of Understanding, considered as an introduction to the Paths of Wisdom, which diverge, as we have seen, from Chokmah, are essential to the higher knowledge approached by these.* It would serve no purpose to enumerate them all categorically; they begin with the first matter, the Hyle or Chaos, proceed through the various elements of ancient science to the theory of composite substances, thence to organic life and the physical, intellectual and psychic nature of man, afterwards to the heaven of the planets, that of the fixed stars and the *primum mobile*, then to the nine orders of the angelical world, and, finally, to the supermundane and archetypal world, that of *Ain Soph*, unseen by motal eye, transcending human intelligence. It is said that Moses did not attain to this, the fiftieth, gate, and some stress seems to be laid on this point, one would think a little superfluously, as it is obvious that what is beyond all finite capacity must have been beyond the law-giver of Israel.

The scheme of the Gates of Understanding is late in Kabalism; it is found in the treatise entitled "The Gates of Light,"† which is full of references to the mystery of the word *Koll* (KL). All created things, it explains, have come out of these gates, so that in a sense their knowledge connects with the mystery of universal generation, in reference to which it may be observed that the addition of the feminine letter H = 5 to the word KL = 50 gives KLH = the Bride of *Microprosopus*, the Lesser Countenance,

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* They are called gates, because no one can attain to the paths unless he enters by these.—*Ibid.*

† By R. Joseph Gikatilla ben Abraham.

whence follows the whole mystery of spiritual generation in man, for KLH connects with KNSTL, *i.e.*, the Church, *Ecclesia Israel*, and brings us back to that place called mystically Zion and Jerusalem, in which the divine is communicated to man, as stated in the fourth section of this book. It is by little gleams of suggestion of this kind that the barren science of *Gematria* is illuminated occasionally.

VII. THE DOCTRINE OF PNEUMATOLOGY

We have now ascertained the heads of Kabalistic instruction as to the essential nature of God, the transition from the divine unmanifest into the manifestation of divinity, the extension of the powers and attributes thus developed through the archetypal, creative, formative and material worlds, the Kabalistic hypothesis of creation and the doctrine of transcendental and natural science. It remains for us to present in brief outline the doctrine of spiritual essences according to Jewish theosophy. This is, perhaps, the favourite and certainly the most recurring subject of the Zohar, and it is this also which was destined to receive fuller development than any other in the later literature of Kabalism. The history of its growth is also worth noting. Pre-existence and the subdivision of the spiritual nature are found in the Talmud, but the Sepher Yetzirah has nothing to tell us on the subject, and there is very little in the first commentators on that treatise. It may be said, with considerable truth, that the book and its connections

were concerned rather with the physical forces which produced the universe, but the commentaries at least are sufficiently discursive to have included it in their scheme if they had anything to say upon the subject. It remains, therefore, that the fascinating hypothesis with which we are here dealing is in the main a late growth. The distinction between a holy intelligence and an animal soul in man is found, however, in the "Book of Concealment," * which, so far as can be judged from its form, is the most ancient portion of the Zohar. The latter cycle may be regarded, broadly speaking, as the chief source of pneumatology in Kabalism proper. The indications contained therein became a vast and ponderous system in the schools of Isaac de Loria and Moses of Cordova. This system has at all times exercised the greatest influence on occultists, and, chiefly, perhaps, because it has been made available in Latin by Rosenroth, has superseded that of the Zohar itself. Franck states that it is not true Kabalism and hints that it is full of distorted rabbinical reveries, but it may be doubted whether there is any real canon of criticism. The later speculations are in any case founded on the Zohar, and the following slight sketch contains the general elements of the subject.

We have seen that the world of *Briah* is that of Creation so-called, that is, of the emanation of creative forces. These forces are the *Elohim*, and *Briah* is

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* "When the inferior man descends (namely, into this world) there are found (in him) two spirits, according to the supernal form. Man (therefore) is constituted from the two sides, the right and the left. As from the right side he has a holy mind, as from the left an animal soul." The extension of the left side was the consequence of the Fall. —"Book of Concealment," c. iv. par. 7-9.

therefore the Elohistic world; in other words, it is that of the lesser or secondary gods. It is also called the world of archangels. It would not be exact to say that the archangels are *Elohim*, much less that Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Metatron and so forth, are deities according to the Kabalah.* The system is much too involved to admit of such clear identifications. In a general way it may perhaps be affirmed that the intelligent forces of the Briatic world, when assumed, so to speak, by the divine world, may be regarded as the *Elohim*. Thus, according to Kabalism, the three men who appeared to Abraham in the vale of Mamre to announce the destruction impending over the cities of the plain were three archangels, but they were also *Adni*, the Lord, for they were the forms assumed by the Divinity.

Of the hierarchy of spiritual beings outside humanity we meet with various classifications by different Kabalistic writers, the sources of which must be referred to Talmudic times; but, as regards the descending scale more especially, later authorities do not even hesitate to contradict Zoharic statements. The archangels of *Briah*, corresponding to the extension of the *Sephiroth* in that world, are usually enumerated as follows:

I. METATRON, Angel of the Presence, World-Prince, corresponding to *Kether*.†

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* Isidore Loëb, however, describes *Metatron* as a species of *Demiourgos*, following presumably the heterodox opinions of the Talmudic R. Acher. Franck also regards him as a divine hypostasis.

† When written with a *Jod* (MITTRVN), the name *Metatron* signifies the *Shekinah;* without that letter it signifies the angel who is the "legate of *Shekinah*," also called NGHR = Boy, and hence *Metatron* is said to be a boy-angel.—*Kabbala Denudata, Apparatus*, i. 528.

II. RATZIEL, the Herald of Deity, corresponding to *Chokmah.*

III. TSAPHKIEL, Contemplation of God, corresponding to *Briah.*

IV. TSADKIEL, Justice of God, corresponding to *Chesed.*

V. SAMAEL, Severity of God, corresponding to *Geburah.*

VI. MICHAEL, Like unto God, corresponding to *Tiphereth.*

VII. HANIEL, Grace of God, corresponding to *Netzach.*

VIII. RAPHAEL, Divine Physician, corresponding tc *Hod.*

IX. GABRIEL, Man-God, corresponding to *Jesod.*

X. SANDALPHON, Messias, the second phase of Metatron, corresponding to *Malkuth.*

As the Sephirotic forces of the Atziluthic world are represented as resumed under the likeness of a man, Adam Kadmon, so those of *Briah* are resumed under the form of a second Adam, who is regarded as the sole inhabitant of that world, as Adam Kadmon is of *Atziluth.*

The world of *Yetzirah* or Formation is said to be that of the angels, who are divided into nine choirs, which are very nearly identical with the hierarchy of pseudo-Dionysius, whose scheme has become part of Christianity.* Those who attribute a high antiquity to the Kabalistic tradition say that Dionysius drew

* It should be noted, however, that unlike Christian angelology, that of the Zohar represents the divine messengers as altogether inferior to man and most certainly to the souls of the just, which ascend higher and attain a superior rank. See the Mantua edition, iii. 68 *b*.

from the oral doctrine of Israel; others pretend that Dionysius and the Kabalah both derive from Neoplatonism, but Greek and Hebrew thought had joined hands before the date of the Areopagite. Dionysius, perhaps, may be taken to represent the point of contact between Hellenism and Jewry after modification by Christianity. The Kabalah may represent, but at a much longer distance, in the form of its extant literature, the point of contact between Hellenism and Israel unmodified by Christianity.

According to the most usual attribution the choirs of *Yetzirah* are as follows :—

I. CHAIOTH HA KADOSH, the holy living creatures, or animals of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse, corresponding to *Kether* and to the Christian Seraphim.

II. OPHANIM, or Wheels, also mentioned in Ezekiel, corresponding to *Chokmah* and the Cherubim.

III. ARALIM, or Mighty Ones, corresponding to *Briah* and the Thrones.

IV. HASHMALIM, or Brilliant Ones, corresponding to *Chesed* and the Dominations.

V. SERAPHIM, or Flaming Serpents, corresponding to *Geburah* and the Powers.

VI. MELACHIM, or Kings, corresponding to *Tiphereth* and the Virtues.

VII. ELOHIM, or Gods, corresponding to *Netzach* and the Principalities.

VIII. BENI-ELOHIM, or Sons of God, corresponding to *Hod* and the Archangels.

IX. CHERUBIM, the Seat of the Sons, corresponding to *Jesod*, the Foundation, and the Angels.

The tenth order required to complete the Sephirotic attribution is found in the ISHIM, or beatified souls of just men, corresponding to *Malkuth* and the great multitude of the redeemed seen by St. John in the Apocalypse.

These orders are also summarised in the notion of a third Adam, *Yetzirah* represented by the Malkuth of the Yetziratic world, man in the likeness of the angels—in a word, the unfallen Adam of Genesis.

The world of *Assiah*, or of matter, is that into which Adam descended at the Fall, the abode of the evil spirits, the Shells, Envelopes and *Cortices* of the Kabalah.* It contains the orders of retrograde spirits corresponding by inversion to the angels of *Yetzirah* and the arch-fiends corresponding after the same manner to the archangels of the Briatic world.† They are usually enumerated as follows:

I. THAUMIEL, the doubles of God, said to be two-headed and so named, because they pretend to be equal to the Supreme Crown. This is properly the title of the averse *Sephira* corresponding to *Kether*. The cortex is CATHARIEL, according to the supplements of the Zohar. Satan and Moloch are said to be the arch-demons, but the attributions are hopelessly confused throughout, partly owing to the obscure classifications of the Zohar and the contradictions of later Kabalists.

II. CHAIGIDIEL, a term connecting with the significance of *placenta*, or, according to other authori-

* For some information on Kabalistic demonology, see *Die Kabbala. Ihre Hauptlehren und ihr verhältniss zu Christenthum.* Innsbruch, 1885.

† But there are also many material correspondences which are not of shells and demons.

ties, with that of obstruction, in the sense of an impediment to the heavenly influx. This averse *Sephira* corresponds to *Chokmah.* Its cortices are the OGHIEL or GHOGIEL, which cleave to illusory or material appearances in opposition to those of reality and wisdom. This explanation is, of course, very late. The arch-demon is said to be ADAM BELIAL, and so again is Beelzebuth. The Dukes of Esau are also connected with this number.

III. SATHARIEL, the concealment of God, meaning that this averse *Sephirah*, unlike *Binah*, or Intelligence, hides the face of mercy. In the Supplements of the Zohar it is termed SHEIRIEL, from the hirsute body of Esau. The Dukes of Esau are referred to this number, instead of to the averse correspondence of *Chokmah*, by the same work. LUCIFUGE is said to be the arch-demon, but this is obviously not a Kabalistic term; it is known, however, to the grimoires and to some late demonologists of the Latin church.

IV. GAMCHICOTH, or GOG SHEKLAH, disturber of all things, the averse correspondence of *Chesed.* According to the Zoharic Supplements the cortex seems to be AZARIEL. The arch-demon is ASTAROTH in late Kabalism.

V. GOLAB, or burning, in the sense of incendiarism. This is the averse correspondence of *Geburah* and the antithesis of the Seraphim or Fiery Serpents. The cortex is USIEL. The arch-demon of late Kabalism is ASMODEUS.

VI. TOGARINI, wranglers, because, according to Isaac de Loria, this averse correspondence of *Tiphereth* strives with the supernal *Geburah.* The

cortices are called ZOMIEL and the arch-demon is BELPHEGOR.

VII. HARAB SERAP, dispersing raven, referring to the idea that this bird drives out its young, the averse correspondence of *Netzach*. The cortices are the THEUMIEL and the arch-demon is BAAL CHANAN.

VIII. SAMAEL, or embroilment, corresponding to *Hod*, the supernal Victory. The cortices are THEUNIEL according to the Supplements of the ZOHAR, and ADRAMELEK is the name assigned to the arch-demon by late writers.

IX. GAMALIEL, the obscene, in averse correspondence with *Jesod*, which signifies the generation of the higher order. OGIEL, which other classifications attribute to the averse correspondence of *Chesed*, seems to be the cortex mentioned in the Zoharic Supplements, and the arch-fiend is LILITH, according to late Kabalism.

X. LILITH * is, however, according to another tabulation, the averse correspondence of MALKUTH, with whom later Kabalism connects NAHEMA,† the demon of impurity.

In Zoharistic doctrine, however, the chief personalities of *Assiah* are SAMAEL, who is to some extent the averse Adam Kadmon, though in a better sense we may presume that this title is applicable to natural humanity as a whole, and his bride LILITH. The Sephirotic attributions are obscure and incomplete,

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* According to the Zohar she is a stryge who slays infants.

† A succubus who brings forth spirits and demons after connection with men, says the Zohar, which in various places further develops this idea.

but in a general way it is said that as in the Holy Kingdom so is it in that of iniquity,* as in the circumcision so also in the uncircumcision. SAMAEL is said to be the uncircumcised and his bride is the prepuce, which, it adds significantly, is the serpent.†

I have given space to this portion of the pneumatic hypothesis of Kabalism, part of which is post-Zoharic, not because it is of any inherent importance, or can be regarded otherwise than as a disfigurement of the philosophical doctrine, but because we shall have later on to give account of the connection between the Kabalah and ceremonial magic, and the doctrine of angels and demons is necessary to the understanding of this connection.‡ It should be added that the doctrine of the celestial and infernal hierarchy is not found in the most ancient portions of the Zohar.

The psychological doctrine concerning the nature of man is of greater interest. It is now a matter of general knowledge that the belief in the soul's immortality, which is not found in the Pentateuch or the prophets, was held by the Jews in later times in connection with that of the resurrection of the body

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* Hence the true name of Satan is said to be that of YHVH reversed.—Pike, "Morals and Dogma," p. 102.

† R. Simeon ben Jochai in *Tikkunim*, or "Supplements," No. 18. See *Beth Elohim*, by R. Abraham Cohen Irira, c. ii., *Kabbala Denudata*, ii., Part 3, Tract 1, *i.e.*, *Pneumatica Kabbalistica*, p. 188 *et seq.*

‡ The Talmuds abound with legendary history and teaching on this subject, for they are as much a storehouse of folk-lore as of jurisprudence. It has been even proposed that the mediæval notion of vampirism is to be traced to Talmudic fables concerning stryges. See A. Brierre de Boismont, "Des Hallucinations," &c. Second ed. p. 395. Paris. 1852.

and appears freely in the Talmuds.* Occultists, who remember that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, conceive it to be impossible that he should have known nothing of doctrines which were known to all Egypt, and they hold accordingly that he communicated them secretly to a circle of initiation, by which they were perpetuated in the oral way. Others incline to the notion that they were acquired by the Jews in Babylon. In the Græco-Egyptian period it was, of course, impossible that the learned rabbins of Alexandria should not have been acquainted with the great speculation of a future life. In one way or another it was inevitable that the Jews should have acquired it, which they did accordingly, and the particular date or circumstances are a minor question, about which there can be no certainty. The doctrine, as taught by the Talmud, though recognising five divisions of the soul having names familiar to Kabalism, is comparatively of a simple kind; it does not possess, for example, that philosophical aspect which we find in Philo, and even those who discern Greek influence in early Kabalism must admit that its pneumatology, after allowing for pre-existence, shows very little trace of Platonism.†

Broadly speaking, the Kabalistic hypothesis

* "The immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body figure in the Talmud as tenets of the Synagogue. They form the thirteenth and last article in the profession of faith of Maimonides."—Leroy-Beaulieu, "Israel among the nations," p. 17. This is not quite accurate, as that article concerns the resurrection only. "I firmly believe that there will be a resurrection of the dead, at the time when it shall please the Creator, blessed be His name!"—M. Freidländer, "Text Book of the Jewish Religion." 4th ed. London. 1896.

† For a good summary of Kabalistic pneumatology the German student may consult, *inter alia*, Leiningen's *Leelenlehre der Qabalah*. Leipsic. 1887.

divides man into body, soul and spirit,* and thus the triad reigns in things below as in those which are above. These divisions are the animal nature, *Nephesh*;† the rational nature, *Ruach*; and the seat of individuality, *Neshamah*. The system is, however, in reality far more complicated. In the first place, *Nephesh* is the animal soul rather than the physical body, or, more exactly, it contains also the triad. There is thus a *Neshamah* of *Nephesh*, which is the principle of the whole, there is a *Ruach* of *Nephesh*, and a *Nephesh* of *Nephesh*, which is the physical part.‡ The whole together is, according to the Zohar, the living man in this world.§ It may be gathered also from the same work that the natural man is complete in this one division, and that it depends upon himself to attain or receive the others.‖ The true

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* The most universal and natural of all extant classifications. The Kabalah also holds that the higher rules the lower. Compare Mrs. Crowe's translation of Kerner's "Seeress of Prevost," pp. 125, 126, where the "revelation" given in the magnetic condition reads like a simplified Kabalism.

† Papus states that *Nephesh*, "the inferior principle," is not the material body, because matter has no existance essentially. I find this doctrine nowhere in Kabalism, for which matter was a vile reality. The text will explain further in what sense *Nephesh* is and is not the physical body. But Papus also admits that *Nephesh*, *Ruach* and *Neshamah* are practically identical with the body, life, and will of "modern science."—*La Kabbale*, pp. 91, 92.

‡ The German Kabalist, Carl de Leiningen, in a communication addressed to the Munich Psychological Society, includes the material body under the *Nephesh* division. There can be no question that this view has the countenance of the Sepher Yetzirah by which the term is applied to the human body as long as it is alive.

§ Rosenroth, however, identifies *Nephesh* with *Psyche*, the vegetative soul and the plastic part of the soul. He regards it also as the *Anima vivens* of the Zoharic Supplements.—*Apparatus, Kabbala Denudata*, i. 589.

‖ R. Isachar ben Napthali; *Synopsis Libri Sohar, Titulus* xiii. *è dictis in Geneseos*, No. 22. *Cum homo nascitur, non nisi Psychem*

Ruach, or rational principle, and the true *Neshamah*, or spiritual individuality, are for those "who deserve to do the work of the Master." *Neshamah* correponds to *Briah*, *Ruach* to *Yetzirah* and *Nephesh* to *Assiah*. The junction of *Ruach* with the natural man constitutes a state to which the term *Chiah* is given by the Kabalists. The junction of *Neshamah* with both adds another principle termed *Jechidah*. *Jechidah*, *Chiah* and *Neshamah* are also said to be the highest triad. The doctrine of the four worlds suggests, however, that there is a still more exalted part of man, coresponding to *Atziluth*, and of which the *Neshamah* is only a shadow reflected. This is called *Tsure*, which signifies Prototype, and it never quits its exalted abode in the archetypal world. It is connected with the *Neshamah* by an invisible thread, and the aspiration of the lower to the higher opens the path of ecstasy.* The doctrine of the Mystic Marriage in Christian transcendentalism has analogies with some developments of this speculation. But its immediate connections in Israel are with the Ten Degrees of contemplation described in the Babylonian Talmud, and with the later ritual of the *Pardes*.

In the hands of the later Kabalists Zoharic pneumatology became still more involved. The Sephirotic attribution of the triple triad and the supernal part is,

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solam accipit, et præterea nec spiritum nec mentem: cum autem deinde incedit in via virtutum, eidem super additur Spiritus et Mens.

* Compare Tauler's "divine knot which binds happily the soul with the Saviour in the eternity of His kingdom."—*Institutiones Divinæ*, c. xxxix. in the collection of Surius, Cologne, 1548. It is a part of Kabalistic teaching that the path of ecstasy is not entirely closed to man even in this life, which may to some extent be held to follow from another doctrine, namely, that life draws at once from above and from below.—*Zohar* 1, 60 *et seq.*, Mantua.

of course, obvious, though it is not methodised in the Zohar. It was, however, taken up by the school of Isaac de Loria, and the operation of the ten *Sephiroth* is elaborated in each of the ten divisions. It is not necessary to enter into these refinements.

It should be added that the Zohar teaches the pre-existence and foreknowledge of the soul.* but the revolutions of Kabalism are not precisely what modern occultism understands by reincarnation.† The works of Isaac de Loria treat very largely of this subject, but have been regarded as full of innovations.‡

It will be seen that the doctrines of the Kabalah, taken *per se*, are nearly all of consequence to occultists, but it is necessary to add that the aspects under which they are presented do not increase that consequence, while the presumption that they are part on their surface. There is nothing in the doctrine of of a tradition delivered from generation to generation, deriving from a remote past, by no means appears *Ain Soph* which will warrant us in placing it on a higher level than any other theory of the Absolute;

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* All souls, moreover, were created together. Later writers introduced the idea of transmigration. Thus the treatise entitled "The Royal Valley," says that the soul of a slanderer is transmigrated into a silent stone, and that of the murderer into water.

† They are still less what Christian mysticism understands by regeneration, a misapprehension peculiar, I believe, to the late Lady Caithness.—See "Old Truths in a New Light," p. 370. "We now know that the doctrine of regeneration was secretly taught among the Jews in the 'Mysteries,' or Sacred Kabalah," the regeneration in question being the transformations and mysterious trials, the goings and returnings of souls and spirits, described in the Zoharic "Discourse of the Ancient Man."

‡ In a general sense Mr. W. T. Flagg is correct when he states that "the Gnostics and Kabalists held that perfection was arrived at by means of successive reincarnations."—See "Yoga or Transformation." New York and London. 1898.

there is much in its modern presentation by some occultists, who most strenuously defend its antiquity, and even its divine derivation, which helps to place it outside philosophical consideration; in its fundamental nature it is the common inheritance of all human speculation; it needs neither revelation nor oral tradition to perpetuate it. The doctrine of the *Sephiroth*, on the other hand, is at most a degree better than any other system of emanation, and no such theory can be accepted as a satisfactory attempt to explain the universe. At the epochs when these theories were possible they were serious and excellent in their intention, and up to that point their interest is permanent for the history of human thought. To revive them at the present day is beside all reason. Just as the necessity of final causation, with all the difficulties which it involves, is not dispensed with by recourse to evolution, so the transition from infinite to finite, from eternal to temporal, from absolute perfection to the imperfect order of the physical and moral world, from God, in a word, to the material, is not assisted by supposing stages between them. This kind of compromise belongs to a period of human thought which has utterly passed away. It is the same with the doctrine of the two Countenances; it was admirable for its time as an *eirenicon* between the God of the philosophers and the God of old Israel, but at the present day there is not much need to bridge that gulf, and occultists in particular who have abandoned the orthodox in faith, who are also very proud of this fact, and very resolute as to its importance, are less in need than others of such an accommodation. Speaking generally, the Kabalah is

an attempt to give depth and significance to a form of religious faith which occultism has, at least in its literal aspects, agreed to set aside. Its pneumatology is important to those who take ceremonial magic seriously, and the doctrine of the virtue in words, contained by implication in that of the Instruments of Creation, is much in favour with a certain school of occultism; but, taken altogether, the content of the Kabalah does not possess the momentous character which has been ascribed to it by those whose beliefs have invested it with something of living interest. The next stage of our inquiry is to determine as far as possible its claims to antiquity.*

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* It may be mentioned in conclusion that the reader who has a little knowledge of Hebrew will do well to consult the curious diagrams as well as the Latin text of the rare fourth part of Rosenroth's *Apparatus in Librum Sohar*.

BOOK III

SOURCE AND AUTHORITY OF THE KABALAH

ARGUMENT

The two chief cycles of Kabalistic literature, in spite of destructive criticism, are referable, by their materials, to Talmudic times. There is no reason why the "Book of Formation" should not be the work of R. Akiba, as tradition affirms. There is no solid evidence to support the theory that R. Moses de Leon wrote the Zohar at the end of the thirteenth century. At the same time, the belief of occult students that these works represent a tradition dating from an early period of history has also little to support it. The attempts to refer the Kabalah in a direct manner to some prior philosophical system must be largely set aside; it has its antecedents everywhere, but its analogies with other systems are referable to a natural similarity between independent conclusions on fundamental problems of being. Antecedent Jewish influence through the school of Aristobulus and Philo must not be overlooked, but also it must not be exaggerated. The Kabalah is *sui generis*. It has its scholastic connections, and it has its Mohammedan correspondences. If there be any preponderance in a given direction, its sphere of influence has been Christian rather than Jewish.

I. DATE AND DOCTRINE OF THE "BOOK OF FORMATION"

WE are now in possession of the most important elements of Kabalistic doctrine and the chief heads of its philosophical instruction. There is much, very much, more in its literature, some of which must be set

aside altogether from consideration in a work which would exceed its purpose if it entered into abstruse and technical matters, while some has been postponed till a later stage of our study, because, although it is highly important to the right understanding of the subject, it does not involve the points with which we are concerned at the inception. First among these points is whether and how far we are warranted, by evidence that can be produced in the open day, in regarding the literature which contains the doctrines summarised by the preceding sections as possessing an authentic character, or the doctrines themselves as part of a tradition perpetuated in Israel from very early times.

For this purpose it will be convenient to accept the literature as divisible into four classes—(1) The "Book of Formation"; (2) The commentaries on that work which preceded the public appearance of the Zohar; (3) The Zohar itself; (4) The writings subsequent thereto.*

The report of an esoteric tradition in Israel did not begin to circulate through Christendom till the fourteenth century, and this, as we shall see later on, is explained by the fact that the chief collection of its archives was unknown, at least generally, in Jewry itself till about 1290, A.D. This collection is that

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* Solomon Munk, one of the highest French authorities on Kabalism, tabulates the following classification in the *Dictionnaire de la Conversation*, *s.v. Kabbale.* (1) A symbolical portion, namely, mystical calculations, *i.e.*, *Themurah*, *Gematria*, *Notaricon*, on which refer to Book I. § 4; (2) A dogmatic or positive part, which is, in fact, concerned with the hypothesis of spiritual essences, *i.e.*, angels, demons, human souls and their transmigration; (3) A speculative and metaphysical part, namely, Sephirotic doctrine and so forth. It is not a satisfactory classification, but there is no need to criticise it here.

which is termed by Kabalists the work of the Chariot, in other words, the Zohar. The work of Creation—that is, the Sepher Yetzirah—was known, as we have ground for believing, to at least one Christian student so far back as the middle of the ninth century, but there was no consequence attached to it for Christendom. The Sepher Yetzirah is supposed to embody a tradition handed down from the time of Abraham, and there is no doubt that the uncritical spirit of several centuries represented the patriarch as its author. This does not seem, however, as some modern criticism has loosely supposed,* to have been the view universally adopted by the Jewish learning which accepted the document. That he received and he transmitted it was undoubtedly held, but the work itself does not pretend to have been reduced to writing till after the destruction of Jerusalem, and tradition has ascribed its formal authorship to Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, the pupil of R. Joshua ben Chananja, who was himself the successor, as he was also once the opponent, of Rabban Gamaliel. There is nothing flagrantly improbable in this attribution, though it reaches us late in history. Akiba was a mystic with whose notions the scheme of the Sepher Yetzirah was in complete accordance, and he is the reputed author of another work dealing with the mysteries of the Hebrew alpha-

* Dr. Edersheim, "History of the Jewish Nation," observes that it is properly "a monologue on the part of Abraham, in which, by the contemplation of all that is around him, he ultimately arrives at the conviction of the unity of God." 3rd. ed. p. 407. So also Ginsburg says that it professes to be a monologue of the patriarch. It does nothing of the sort; but the fifth chapter mentions "Abraham our father." Of course, the legend of patriarchal derivation became stereotyped quickly. In the twelfth century, R. Judah Ha Levi speaks of "the Book of the Creation which belongs to our father Abraham."

bet.* In his interpretation of Scripture he followed and exaggerated the principles of Hillel the Great and Nahum of Giso. He promulgated, or, at least, gave the weight of his authority to, the doctrine that "every sentence, word and particle in the Bible had its use and meaning."† His literary labours were also very great, for to him is attributed the arrangement and redaction of the Halakha. Subsequent generations were so impressed by his marvellous knowledge of divine things that he was asserted to have discovered much of which even Moses was ignorant, which, in the sense not intended, is indubitably true. If we admit the existence of a secret tradition in Israel, we shall not need to question that Akiba was initiated therein; if we admit the existence of the Sepher Yetzirah in the second century, we can imagine no more probable author for that work.‡ Nor is the date essentially disagreeable to a moderate criticism;§ it is merely unestablished for want of exact evidence,||

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* It is called the alphabet of R. Akiba, being the letters allegorically explained. Buxtorf says that it was printed at Cracovia in 1597, with a *Commentarius Prolixus*. See *Bibliotheca Hebræa Rabbinica*. Basilia, 1618-19, 4 vols. fol. An earlier edition of the Alphabet appeared at Venice in 1546. See Bartolocci, iv. 274.

† Edersheim, "History of the Jewish Nation."

‡ Curiously enough, M. Nicolas admits the date necessary but not the authorship it suggests, on the ground that Akiba was a rigid and head-strong doctor of the Law and not likely to indulge in speculative lucubrations. This estimate, with which it is difficult to agree, has also the authority of Franck, on the ground that the Talmud reproaches Akiba for his incommensurate notions of God, but Franck is possibly more influenced by his belief in the earlier origin of the work.—*La Kabbale*, p. 87 *et seq.*

§ Quite independently of occult prepossessions it has been argued that the language of the Sepher Yetzirah is a Hebrew wholly analogous to that of the Mishnah.

|| Dr. Schiller-Szinessy expressly says that the book no doubt belongs to Akiba, "both in substance and form."—*Encyclopædia Bri-*

which begins only with the ninth century, when there is tolerable reason to infer that it was known by St. Agobard.* It is not possible from any internal testimony to fix the work as belonging to the later period, for obviously any book may be far older than the date of its first quotation, while the fact, if established, that it was known in France in or about the year 850 † would create a presumption that it was in existence much earlier, for literature travelled slowly in those days. We must remember also that a Sepher Yetzirah is mentioned in both Talmuds in connection with the doctrine that heaven and earth were created by a mysterious combination of letters, and that Franck characterises the attempt of modern scholarship to

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tannica, 9th ed., *s.v. Midrashim*, a term derived from a root signifying to seek out or to question. Munk also takes this view in the article *s.v. Kabbale*, contributed to the ninth volume of the *Dictionnaire de la Conversation et de la Lecture*, Paris, 1833.

* The English reader may consult Taylor's translation of Basnage's "History of the Jews," p. 590 *et seq.* London. 1708. Agobard was Archbishop of Lyons, and wrote against trials by ordeal and other superstitions of his period. See the Abbé Migne's *Dictionnaire des Sciences Occultes*, vol. i. col. 32. Despite this apparent enlightenment he figures among the persecutors of Jewry. See Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, t. v. pp. 1493, 1494.

† The evidence falls short of demonstration, and is confined to two short passages in the *Epistola S. Agobardi . . . de Judaicis Superstitionibus*. In the first, the Jews are branded for their gross notions of the Deity, on the ground that they believe Him to be possessed of a bodily form, having distinct members and lineaments, including organs of seeing, hearing, speaking and so forth; also that they note only one difference between the body of God and that of man who is in His image, namely, that the fingers are inflexible, because God effects nothing with his hands. It seems certain that St. Agobard draws here from the "Description of the Body of God." In the second passage it is said: "Further, they believe the letters of their alphabet to have existed from everlasting, and before the beginning of the world to have received diverse offices, in virtue of which they should preside over created things."—*S. Agobardi, Lugdunensis Episcopi, Opera Omnia. Patrologiæ Cursus Completus . . . accurante* J. P. Migne. Paris, 1851, p. 78 *et seq.*

distinguish two works under an identical title as founded in gross ignorance.* If, however, we do not place the work in Talmudic times, we may concede that it came into existence within a measurable distance of the stormy period in which the great Talmudic canons were forcibly closed.

We have next to distinguish between the date which may be surmised for the treatise and that which must perhaps be attributed to the teaching embodied therein. Have we any ground for believing that the doctrine of the Sepher Yetzirah is older than the Egyptian captivity, as its legend affirms? This question must be answered by an emphatic negative. The doctrine under notice gives prominence to the sacred and divine character of the Hebrew alphabet, and we have no warrant for supposing that the art of writing was possessed by Abraham; every probability is against it and every authority is agreed on this point. But the Sepher Yetzirah contains, by implication at least, the doctrine of an occult power and sanctity inherent in certain divine names, and we know that this belief is very old in humanity, that it is found at an early period in Chaldea, Akkadia and so forth. It is afflicting to modern intelligence, but it is of great antiquity, and as it belongs to those countries with which Israel was in contact, we have reason to think that it became part of the religious baggage of the Hebrew people long before the Sepher Yetzirah, the Alphabet of Akiba, or the Mishna itself were dreamed of. Occultism has

* On this fact Franck insists very strongly, maintaining that these references demonstrate the existence of a work reserved to a few and that this work is identical with the Sepher Yetzirah as we now have it.—*La Kabbale*, Paris, 1843, p. 75 *et seq.*

attached itself to this doctrine,* and we must allow, therefore, to occultists that the most ancient document of Kabalism† does embody something of tradition from the past, perhaps even from the period of the Babylonian captivity, as the Talmud itself indicates. On the other hand, we have no evidence to show that the doctrine of the Instruments of Creation is much prior to the date of the treatise which develops it; it has no history previously, and can therefore be placed only in Talmudic—*i.e.*, in post-Christian—times. It should be added that the Sepher Yetzirah is part of a considerable literature of an occult or mystical complexion covering the period between the closing of the Talmudic Canon and the first report of the Zohar.

II. MODERN CRITICISM OF THE BOOK OF SPLENDOUR

The commentaries on the Sepher Yetzirah which preceded the publication of the Zohar make no claim

* And so also, it would seem, has the less pronounced form of modern Christian mysticism. See, for example, the interesting collection entitled "Letters from a Mystic of the Present Day," by an anonymous writer. Second edition, London, 1889, pp. 205-207. "We seem to have to learn the *various* names of God before we can grasp *the* Name. *The* Name grasps us, while the others are various outer courts through which we come into the Sanctuary or Name of God; in that name we find pasture wherever our outer life may take us." Compare Saint-Martin, *L'Esprit des choses*, tom. ii. 65 *et seq.*

† I ought not, perhaps, to omit that Mayer Lambert, one of the latest editors of the Sepher Yetzirah, affirms that it has nothing in common with the Kabalah, by which he understands a mysterious explanation of the Bible drawn from the letters of the text and a metaphysical theory which connects God with the world through a series of emanations of divinity. As regards its date, he agrees that it is one of the numerous *Midrashim* produced by the Talmudic period.

on antiquity, and may therefore be reserved for consideration in their proper place later on. The alleged traces of Kabalism in writers of known dates also prior to that event may in like manner be left till we deal with the documents consecutively. We may, therefore, proceed at once to the absorbing problems connected with the Book of Splendour. Chief among these are the vital questions: (1) Whether modern criticism is right in ascribing the Zohar to the thirteenth century as its period, and to R. Moses Shem Tob de Leon as its author. (2) Whether we have evidence that some at least of its doctrine was in existence at a much earlier period, or, as its legend states, at the time of the Roman Emperor Antoninus. To determine these points we shall do well to glance first of all at the history of the criticism which has befallen this vast document.

We shall get very little help from the insight of contemporary Israel as to either point. The Sepher Yetzirah was known and accepted before documentary criticism can be well said to have been born, and so also when the Zohar was promulgated it was among a mixed audience who either took or rejected it on *à priori* grounds. Those who loathed the yoke of Aristotle, which Abraham ben David Ha Levi, Aben Ezra and Moses Maimonides would have placed on the neck of Jewry, accorded it a glad welcome;* all that great section of Jewry which was

* The contrariety of the two systems is best shown by this fact. Myer says: "Its opponents were almost universally Jewish Aristotelians who opposed the ancient secret learning of the Israelites because it was more in accord with the philosophy of Plato and Pythagoras, and indeed most likely emanated from the same sources, the Aryan and Chaldean esoteric doctrine."—*Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol*, p. 12. It is the fact

addicted to astrology and magic took it into their heart of hearts: it was neither astrology nor magic, but it harmonized with their transcendental aspirations. On the other hand, it was hated by the Aristotelians because it did not consort with their methods.* It is not till recent times that we have any intelligent defence on the part of Jewish thinkers—Konitz in 1815, Franck in 1843, David Luria in 1857, Munk in 1859; or, on the other hand, a strong and informed hostility, as that of Graetz† in Germany, to quote only one instance.

In the influence exercised by the Kabalah upon certain minds of Christendom, the Sepher Yetzirah must be distinguished from the Zohar. The former has had no influence; it was indeed introduced to our knowledge by a monk of exalted erudition and of eccentricity equally great, but it was not till the sixteenth century and it found no sphere of operation. Some of its Sephirotic developments, the com-

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only which is of value; Mr. Myer's explanation may be read in the light of Book iii., § 5.

* "When the Saracens became the patrons of philosophy . . . the attention paid both by Arabians and Christians to the writings of Aristotle excited the emulation of the Jews, who, notwithstanding the ancient curse pronounced on all Jews who should instruct their sons in the Grecian learning . . . continued in their philosophical course reading Aristotle in Hebrew translations made from the inaccurate Arabic, for Greek was at this period little understood."—Gould, "History of Freemasonry," London, 1885, ii. 66, 67; see also 69, 70.

† Perhaps it is more strong than it is well informed. I see no trace in Graetz of any real acquaintance with the Kabalah, about which he writes savagely and with the indiscrimination which we connect with a savage. Thus, he terms the Zohar "a notorious forgery," whereas the chief notoriety concerning it is that after eight centuries of criticism scarcely two authorities can be found to agree in their estimate. Throughout this part of his history we find continually things uncertain described in the language of certitude, and things for which there is little evidence as if there were overwhelming testimony.

mentaries of Rabbi Abraham and Rabbi Azariel, met with a certain audience among a few men of learning, but they can bear no comparison with the appeal made by the larger cycle. For all Christian students the Kabalah was substantially the Zohar, and, as we shall see subsequently, the office attributed to it was almost exclusively evangelical; that is to say, the discovery that there had existed in Israel, from time immemorial, as it was alleged, a secret doctrine which appeared to contain analogies and even identities with fundamental dogmas of Christianity, put the Jews so clearly in the wrong, by their own showing, that their conversion was deemed inevitable.* Thus, the antiquity of the tradition was not at that time challenged in Christendom, and again it was not a period when documentary criticism was pursued with any keenness. The fourteenth century made the grave, but yet excusable, mistake of supposing that most people wrote the books attributed to them. They accepted the claim of the Zohar for much the same reason that they were persuaded of the antiquity of Homer. In the existing state of scholarship to have challenged one might have opened an abyss beneath the other, and could well have included all ancient literature in a common uncertainty. Of course, as time went on, and

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* "Some Christians have also esteemed them (*i.e.*, the Kabalistic books and their connections) because they found them more favourable to the Christian religion than the recent commentaries of the Rabbins. But they failed to consider that these same allegorical books are filled with an infinitude of ridiculous fables, and that Jewish superstition is much more clearly proved from them than are the mysteries of our religion. William Postel has imposed on several theologians in this matter, having pretended to find Christianity in the books of the Zohar."—Richard Simon, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, p. 371.

the evangelical instrument proved to be of no effect, its validity began to be challenged, but even then it was scarcely on critical grounds. So also, even at the inception of the enthusiasm, some sceptical voices were raised, but again from uncritical and predetermined motives.* The Christians who rejected the Zohar were like the Jews who rejected it—the latter because they were Aristotelians, the former because they were Christians, who saw no good in the Ghetto, and only the final impenitence of the lost thief in the erudition of Toledo.†

The credulity, or at least the disability, of early students has been amply atoned for in the spirit which has governed the later critics of the Kabalah. I must confess that in some cases they seem, after their own manner, to have prejudged the question much as that laborious bibliographer Julius Bartolocci prejudged it in the seventeenth century. It was offensive to the dignity of the Latin Church to suppose that there was a rival tradition, full of illumination and wisdom, preserved unknown to the church in the rejected house of Israel. By a similar sentiment it has seemed intolerable to modern taste that any occult literature should possess a real claim on attention. It is there-

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* Among writers who did not permit themselves to be deceived by the alleged instrument of conversion, a high place must be accorded to Petrus Galatinus and his *De Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis contra Judæorum perfidiam*, first published in 1518.

† The connection between Christianity and the Zohar still finds an occasional expositor in occult circles. Consult Stanislas de Guaita, *Essias des Sciences Maudites. I. Au Seuil du Mystère. Nouvelle édition, corrigée.* Paris. 1890. "The Zohar has wedded the Gospel; the spirit has fructified the soul; and immortal works have been the fruits of this union. The Kabalah became Catholic in the school of St. John," &c. A romantic criticism inspired by Éliphas Lévi.

fore said out of hand that the Kabalah, represented by the Zohar, is a forgery of the thirteenth century. We must endeavour to comprehend precisely what is involved in this standpoint.

There are some literary fabrications which do not need a high degree of scholarship to expose them, for they may be said to betray themselves, often at every point. In the department of *belles lettres* it is sufficient to mention the so-called Rowley poems. These, as everybody is well aware, were forgeries pure and simple, and their disguise is so entirely spurious that it can be peeled off without any difficulty. It is not necessary to add that they possessed their believers, and not further back than the days of the Bell edition of Chatterton, the race of Rowleyites had still a few survivals, for we find the editor describing their characteristics in terms which have a wider application than he was concerned with at the moment. A true Rowleyite, he says, is not open to conviction, and the statement obtains in the case of all pertinacious defenders of spurious literary productions. The position of the Rowley MSS. is fairly paralleled by that of many occult documents, among which, as typical instances, we may select the handbooks of Ceremonial Magic. There are no works which betray themselves more transparently and abundantly than the "Key of Solomon" and the "Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage," and yet they possess at this day their believers, enthusiasts for the good faith of their claims to a high antiquity or a Hebrew origin, as the case may be.

There are again some fabrications which possess a certain basis in fact, over which a mass of forgery

has been arranged. One ready instance in point is found in the poems of Ossian, for which there was indubitably a nucleus of floating Gaelic tradition which was wrought into his imposition by McPherson. The result may deceive for a moment even sound scholarship, but its full exposure is only a matter of time. In this case the epic of "Wallace" was fatal to the possibility of Fingal. Perhaps the Latin alchemical writings attributed to Geber may be regarded as typical instances in occult literature of this form of fraud. They have scarcely any resemblance to the Arabic originals, but such originals exist.

Finally, there are certain works which may or may not be fabrications, but they either incorporate so much genuine material belonging to the department of literature which they pretend to represent, or else are so skilfully constructed that the balance of probability is poised pretty equally concerning them, and it is almost impossible to arrive, by impartial methods, at the determination of their claims. I do not know whether there is any good instance in *belles lettres* of this kind of alleged fabrication. Hogg's "Jacobite Relics of Scotland" is perhaps the nearest approach to a parallel. That collection undoubtedly contains a large proportion of genuine material, but it is suspected that the Ettrick Shepherd supplied a proportion of the collection by his own skill in verse-craft, and criticism, though it has not concerned itself very seriously, is perhaps fairly divided on the question. In occult literature we have several signal examples of this suspected writing which has not been found out to the satisfaction of the impartial mind.

For example, a few of the Hermetic books, which are usually classed by scholars as productions of the Alexandrian period, and therefore post-Christian, are held by others to represent occult traditions of considerable antiquity, and I do not think that the case has been decided for all time as regards some of these works. But the most renowned of all the instances is that with which we are here concerned—the Kabalah itself. Destructive criticism has maintained that its foremost work was forged by a single writer, of indifferent claims to our intellectual consideration, at the end of the thirteenth century. There is, as we shall see, no positive evidence on this point which is worth naming, and the presumptive evidence is not at all strong. There is very good proof of late writing, but the theory of the fabrication of the Zohar by Moses de Leon puts an almost impossible burden on the shoulders of that questionable personage, and is generally the work of writers who have not paid sufficient regard to the possible existence of much of the traditional doctrine which is summarised in the Zohar at a period preceding its appearance by some centuries.

We admit, therefore, that Kabalistic literature belongs to a suspected class, but how we are to regard its impeachment is a different question. The fact that this inquiry has been undertaken will indicate that, in my own opinion, the hostile critic must change the nature of his indictment. As regards its material, and usually as regards its motive, spurious literature belongs to the most accountable class. It falls into line readily. Where there are complex workings of the human mind, as in the Zohar, there sincerity is

usually present. The Kabalah is much too singular in its mechanism to be referable to a solitary author. So far as there is evidence on the subject, that evidence tends to show that it grew, and that in its final state it was neither wholly old nor entirely new, but doctrine more or less familiar or following from familiar doctrine.* These facts are now in course of recognition outside occult circles, in the academic places which rule general opinion. Of this Dr. Schiller-Szinessy offers the best evidence when he observes that "almost all that the latest critics have said concerning the age of the various Targumim and Midrashim," including the Zohar, "will have to be unsaid."

III. THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK OF SPLENDOUR

The theory which accounts for the Zohar on the ground that it was written by Moses de Leon in the latter half of the thirteenth century does not depend merely on internal evidence; it is not exclusively an inference made by modern criticism from allusions to late events found here and there in the work; it is

* This is very nearly the position of Solomon Munk, who maintains that the Zohar and its connections, that is, the various tracts and fragments which enter into the compilation, are not the inventions of an impostor, but that ancient documents were used by the editor, including Midrashim which are not now extant.—*Mélanges de Philosophie, Juive et Arabe.* Paris. 1859, p. 275 *et seq.* In spite of this, Munk did not consider the Zohar, at least in its present form, as anterior to the seventh century, but rather that the Kabalistic developments which it represents took place in the thirteenth century, and were either influenced by Gebirol or by sources common to both.—*Ibid.* pp. 276, 277.

not a presumption arising only from the fact that the Spanish Jew who is suspected of the splendid imposture lived by transcribing copies of it,* that it had never been heard of previously, or that the original MS. from which R. Moses claimed to have drawn has never come to light. It is based upon evidence which claims to be contemporary, or thereabouts, with the appearance of the Zohar itself. It may be highly probable that in the absence of any such testimony the same point would have been reached independently, but the fact remains that it is not the discovery of modern criticism at all; it transpired without being sought for, and hence the case against the work is based both on external and internal grounds. It is not therefore at first sight a weak case, and I have sketched it fully and frankly that I may not be accused of any bias in the matter. At the same time it is my purpose to show that the indictment breaks down altogether.

Let us dispose first of all of the alleged external evidence. In the year 1566 there appeared in Hebrew at Constantinople a work entitled *Sepher Yuhasin*, or "Book of Genealogies," by R. Moses Abraham ben Samuel Zakut, who belongs to the

* Although I have called this a fact, because it is accepted by all critics who accept the account of the Zohar given in the *Sephir Yuhasin*, it seems to me that the statement has an air of fable. The Zohar is a very large work, and Moses de Leon must have employed a very large staff of copyists in order to transcribe it frequently. There is no evidence, however, that he employed any one; but if he worked single-handed, he could not have "made large sums," as alleged, by so slow a process. It has been suggested alternatively that he profited much by the patronage of the wealthy Jews, to whom he dedicated his works, but as to this there is no conclusive evidence. It is merely an inference from the fact that he dedicated several other works to co-religionists who were his patrons.

second half of the fifteenth century.* Its point of view with regard to the Zohar is that the splendour of that work is truly an illumination of the world; that it contains the deep secrets of the Law and of the concealed tradition in Israel; that it is conformed to the truth as regards the written and oral law; that it embodies the sayings of R. Simeon ben Jochai, of the period of the Emperor Antoninus, under whose name it appears, but is really the work of his disciples; and that, finally, it did not become public till after the death of Nachmanides, namely, the second half of the thirteenth century. It is therefore obvious that Zakut must not be classed among those who opposed the Zohar, as some modern critics have attempted.

It will seem almost incredible that in this work, which so elaborately defends the Zohar, a narrative should appear which represents it as an imposture devised from mercenary motives by Moses de Leon, yet such at first sight is the case, and as such it has been accepted by those who impeach the Kabalah. The explanation is in reality simple; the narrative in question is a fragment, and the proof that its missing conclusion is really to the credit of the Zohar, and exculpatory as to the transcriber of that work, is found in the fact that the person whose adventures it relates became subsequently assured that the Zohar was not a sordid forgery, as he embodied some of its principles in one of his own treatises. The most biassed of

* That is to say, to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. He was a Jew of Salamanca, but he taught at Saragossa. When the edict of expulsion was published he retired into Portugal and was appointed Royal Historiographer by King Emanuel. His work embraces the entire period between the creation of the world and the year 1500 A.D.

modern critics, Dr. Graetz, admits the force of this fact.

The narrative is concerned with the adventures of Isaac de Acco,* a disciple of Nachmanides, who laid claim to the performance of miracles by a transposition of the Hebrew letters according to a system which he pretended that he had learned from the angels. Independently, therefore, of the Zohar, he was a Kabalist after his own fashion, and, we may suspect, a visionary. In either case, he was at Novara, in Italy, about 1293, when he heard that a Spanish Rabbin was in possession of the original Zohar MSS., and, being very anxious to see them, he made a journey into Spain. He there learned by report that the erudite Moses Nachmanides was said to have transmitted the book to his son in Catalonia from Palestine,† but that the ship which bore it was driven by the wind to Aragonia‡ or to Catalonia, and the precious volume came into the hands of Moses de Leon. At Valladolid Isaac de Acco made the acquaintance of the latter, who declared upon oath that he was in possession of the MS. and that it was at his home in Avila, where he would exhibit it to Isaac. They undertook a journey together with this object, but Moses de Leon died at Arevolo on the way.§ His companion proceeded to Avila, and there

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* *I.e.*, Acre, besieged by the Sultan of Egypt in 1291. Isaac was one of the Jewish refugees from that city, and seems to have suffered imprisonment for a time.

† It is curious that the disciple should first learn that his master was in possession of such a treasure by a floating rumour from a great distance.

‡ The reference is probably to Tarragona, as Aragon has no seaboard.

§ So far the account represents Moses de Leon as acting with perfect sincerity in the matter.

prosecuted his inquiries among the relatives of the deceased. By one of these, namely, by David Rafon, of Corfu, he was informed that Moses de Leon had been a spendthrift who derived great profit from his writings, but neglected his wife and daughter, while as for the Zohar he had made it up out of his own head. How far Isaac was impressed by this statement does not appear explicitly, but he next had recourse to a wealthy Rabbin of Avila, named Joseph, who communicated with the widow and daughter of Moses, offering for the maiden the hand of his son and a substantial dowry if they would produce the original MS. of the Zohar. The women had been left in poor circumstances, and there was every reason to suppose that they would comply gladly. They, however, concurred in affirming that there was no such MS., that the dead man had composed the work out of his own head and written it with his own hand.* His quest having thus failed, Isaac de Acco left Avila and proceeded to Talavera, where he met with R. Joseph Hallevy, the son of a Kabalist named Todros, who, in reply to his inquiries, affirmed that the genuine Zohar was in the hands of Moses de Leon, as he had himself proved conclusively. The nature of the proof does not appear, and the account of Isaac breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence describing some testimony which he received at Toledo as to an ancient Rabbin, named Jacob, who had "testified by heaven and earth that the book

* Hence he did not employ transcribers, and whatever price he may have obtained for copies of the work he could not have multiplied many. If assiduous, he could have had no time for squandering; if idle, no money to spend.

Zohar, of which R. Simeon ben Jochai is the author * * *."

I have passed over purposely in this brief account several minor details which have awakened suspicion as to the honesty of the narrative, for it is unnecessary to confuse the issues. The point is that it closes with two solemn testimonies to the authenticity of the Zohar, and by the course which he subsequently took Isaac de Acco must have concluded to abide by these. Assuming that the narrative is truthful, the evidence which was set aside as insufficient by the one person who has recorded it cannot be accepted by impartial criticism unenforced by other considerations. So far therefore as the account in the *Sepher Yuhasin* is concerned, it is not proved that Moses de Leon wrote the Zohar "out of his own head."* Zakut himself mentions an opinion that he did write it under the guidance of the Writing Name, *i.e.*, by angelic revelation, but I do not conceive that it is necessary to discuss this possibility.

The state of the case as it stands is confused, and most persons who have taken part in the controversy have been led into more or less contradiction. Those who have regarded Moses de Leon as nothing more than a transcriber have had to reckon as they could with certain damaging references to late events which

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† Outside this document there is, moreover, no proof, so far as I am aware, that he was even connected with it as transcriber. Further, speaking still under correction, the *Yuhasin* is the one authority by which we can fix so important a date as the death of Moses de Leon. Who was the Rabbi of this name and place, for whom Samuel, son of Isaac, transcribed a copy of the *Moreh*, *anno* 1452, which copy is still preserved in the Günglung Library, Paris? It is numbered 771, according to Friedländer's preface to the third volume of his version of Maimonides, p. xiv.

are found in the Zohar, and their explanations are often quite worthless; those who regard the transcriber as the concealed author have had to meet as they might the extreme difficulty of supposing that such a collection was the production of one individual, and that individual Moses de Leon. Their explanations also are of little value and are for the most part merely ingenious assumptions.

The internal evidence against the Zohar may be reduced under the following heads:

(1) It refers to the vowel points which are alleged to have been invented in post-Talmudic times.* (2) It quotes or borrows from a book entitled the "Duties of the Heart," written by a Jew of Saragossa,† about the middle of the eleventh century. (3) It mentions two kinds of phylacteries, or Tephilim, which fact is supposed to prove the late origin of the entire work.‡ (4) It quotes authorities posterior to its alleged period. (5) It is written in Aramaic, whereas at the period to which it is ascribed Aramaic was the vernacular, while Hebrew was made use of in religious writings.

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* Elias Levita, a German Jew of the sixteenth century, was one of the first to affirm the late institution of the points, which he ascribed to the Jews of Tiberias about the beginning of the sixth century. In reply to this it has been advanced that at the period the schools of Judæa had been closed, and that Jewish learning was then centred at Babylon (see David Levi: *Lingua Sacra*, part i. c. iii. § 1, London, 1785). Ginsburg, however, adopts the theory of Levita, subject to the modification that they were introduced by the Karaite, R. Mocha, at the end of the sixth century. David Levi, on the other hand, makes their reception by the Karaite Jews a proof of their antiquity, because they were "professed enemies to tradition and innovation." Unfortunately, there are no pointed Hebrew MSS. prior to the tenth century.

† R. Behai ben Joseph Ibn Bakoda.

‡ For a general description of the *Tephilim*, see Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tom. iii. p. 752 *et seq.*

These difficulties are met by defenders of the Zohar in the following way:

(1) The vowel points are not the invention of times posterior to the Talmud; the proof is that they are mentioned in the Talmud, and there is no question that this work is long anterior to the thirteenth century. In the Talmud they are said to have been a rule given to Moses on Mount Sinai.* The pre-Christian existence of the point system with the exception of a very few cases occurring in the Pentateuch, which, moreover, are not vowel-points, this is one thing, and must be left to those who affirm it; its existence in Talmudic times,† that is, prior to the close of the sixth century is another, and all that is required in the present case to destroy the validity of this objection to the genuine character of the Zohar.‡

(2) The treatise on the "Duties of the Heart" is certainly a work of the eleventh century, but it is advanced that its author himself borrowed from the Zohar in an early form, the existence of which is traceable, from Talmudic references, under the name

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* Treatise *Nedareem*, also *Bab. Megillah*, *Bab. Berocoth*, and *Bab. Eruvin*. This is also the testimony of the Zohar, obviously reproducing current legend, or borrowing from the traditional storehouse of the Talmud.

† See David Levi, *op. cit.*, who says that in several places of the Babylonian Talmud mention is made of "the distinction of the accents, and, in particular, of the accents of the law, which might be shown and pointed at by the hand, consequently they must be visible marks or figures, and are to be understood both of the vowel points and accents." Though belonging to an early period of the controversy, Levi's defence is still worth reading. Basnage, tom. ii. p. 763, refers the invention to the eleventh century.

‡ The commentary of St. Jerome on Jeremiah is positive proof that the vowel signs were not in existence in his day.

of the *Midrash* of Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai.* It is also said that the author was a contemporary of Rabbi Abraham, who wrote a commentary of repute upon the Book of Formation, but this mysterious personage, the pretended instructor of Nicholas Flamel in the secrets of alchemy, died at the close of the twelfth century. As it is obvious that the objection with which we are here concerned is equivalent to begging the question at issue, so it is fairly met by the opposite assumption. It is unserious and may be dismissed.

(3) The existence of two kinds of phylacteries arose through a difference of rabbinical opinion as to the Scriptural passages to be used on them. The question is whether this difference of opinion occurred in the eleventh century and later, or whether it originated in earlier Talmudic times. Certain statements and inferences therefrom are set forth by defenders of the Zohar in support of the second view, but the use of two kinds of phylacteries before the tenth century has not been clearly demonstrated.

(4) The citation by the Zohar of late authorities belonging to the Amoraim school is met by representing it in its present form as the growth of several centuries, which is provably true of most early Hebrew literature, canonical or not. The indirect strength of this view is considerable, but it is much weakened by its supporters when they attempt to argue that had the Zohar been forged by Moses de Leon he would

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* According to Jellinek the great classic of the Kabalah has passed under three names: (*a*) *Midrash* of the Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai; (*b*) Midrash: Let there be Light! (*c*) Zohar, *i.e.*, Splendour or Light, after Daniel xii. 3.—*Die Kabbala, oder die Religions philosophie der Hebraëi von Franck.* Leipsic, 1844. The *Midrash* is a symbolical narrative or account.

have carefully avoided the citation of later authorities. The history of literary impostures points wholly in the opposite direction, and the objection demonstrates quite clearly that the work as we have it is later than its latest authority. For it to be otherwise is impossible. How the late authorities came to be included is a distinct matter.

(5) When Isaac de Acco set out on his quest for the original MS. of the Zohar, he is recorded to have said: "If it be written in the Jerusalem idiom it is genuine, but if in Hebrew it is not." The value of an objection to the Zohar founded on its use of Aramaic is here exhibited by the express statement of a Jewish *littérateur* in the thirteenth century.* It is argued furthermore, by its defenders: (*a*) That Aramaic is the language of the Targums, which are mystical. (*b*) That the common language is used to increase the symbolism, but this may be regarded as a subtlety. (*c*) That supposing the antiquity of the Zohar, the scribe of Simeon Ben Jochai was undoubtedly the Rabbi Abbah that it mentions, and he as a Babylonian must have been thoroughly conversant with Aramaic.† (*d*) That supposing the Zohar to be a forgery produced by Moses de Leon, he was more likely to have

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* Compare the article *s.v. Midrashim* in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, Reader in Talmudic at Cambridge. "The Zohar was begun in Palestine late in the second or early in the third century, A.D., and finished at the latest in the sixth or the seventh century. It is impossible that it should have been composed after that time and before the Renaissance, as both language and contents clearly show."

† There is no evidence for the editorship of R. Abbah, but if anything Zoharic was committed to writing in the second century there would be good ground for accepting the express statement of the "Lesser Holy Synod" that the recorder was the son of R. Simeon.

written it in Hebrew, which is the language of his other books.*

From these objections and these answers the general conclusion must be that the internal evidence for the late origin of the bulk of the Zohar as it stands is not of any real force. The two tabulations have by no means exhausted the difficulties or the counter-evidence, as to which, even at the present day, Franck is in many cases the best and certainly the most lucid expositor. The absence of Christian influence, if not absolutely of all reference to Christianity, the absence also of Aristotelian influence, and some points of the argument from the dialect in which the work is written, seem to possess as much force as they did originally in 1843. But the strength of the case in favour of the Zohar is also the strength of the chief objection against it. It does quote later authorities, but this may exhibit that it grew like the Talmudic writings and several of the canonical Hebrew books. It has been well urged that if contemporary with the Talmud, the latter ought to have mentioned it, and it is replied that it does, not, however, under the catch-

* On the entire question compare Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie, Juive et Arabe*, pp. 280, 281. "The Aramean dialect of the Zohar is not that of Daniel and Ezra, of the Chaldaic paraphrase of Onkelos and Jonathan, of the Targums, the Talmuds, the *Midrashim* or the *Gueonûm*, but an incorrect and most corrupt mixture of all." M. Munk also sees traces in the Zohar of unfamiliarity with the language used. By this a double and altogether intolerable burden seems placed on the shoulders of its reputed forger. On this subject the question raised by Franck in 1843 remains still pertinent and still unanswered:—How could Moses de Leon at the beginning of the fourteenth century treat matters of the most elevated order in an idiom which the most distinguished scholars had been for so long content merely to understand and which, on this hypothesis, had not produced a single work capable of serving him as a model?—*La Kabbale*, p. 104.

word of its late name, but by the title of the Secret Learning, and by other titles which have been mentioned in this section. It would exceed the province of an elementary work to pursue the subject further. The minute considerations are of course highly technical, and there are some on both sides which it is wise to abstain from pressing. One of these is the argument that Moses de Leon was an unlikely person to have written such a work as the Zohar, because he was intellectually and morally unfit.* I have noted that he was unlikely, but possibilities of this kind can only be determined by the event. Many great books have been accomplished by persons who were antecedently improbable, and after all, at the best, we know Moses de Leon only through the testimony of a hostile relative. There is no doubt that the Zohar was to some extent sprung upon the Jewish people at the period of its publication. The manner of its reception was not unmixed; it was the kind of reception which would be given to a work which was old as regards its materials, but unfamiliar—less or more—in its form, and this is sufficient to account for any silence of previous authorities, while in the shaping of those materials and the impressing of that form the individual who multiplied the copies may have had a hand.†

* Dr. Schiller-Szinessy shows that he was proud of the authorship of his books, and hence unlikely to conceal his hand in the composition of any, but this argument also must not be pressed too far. The same writer terms him an inferior Kabalist, and it seems admitted on all sides that his original books are poor in quality. From these works Jellinek has extracted passages which are parallel to others in the Zohar and some critics have thence concluded an identity of the authors. In any other branch of research such parallels would be held to prove nothing.

† And by those who accept this view it is considered that he interfered only to disfigure it.

IV. THE AGE OF ZOHARIC TRADITION

It must not be supposed that the field of criticism is entirely occupied by a hypothesis of unmixed fraud, or that this hypothesis has always fastened upon the same person.* The most favoured delinquent is, of course, Moses de Leon, because he is reported to have circulated the Zohar, but occasionally he appears as the tool of other conspirators. Thus, Samuel Cohen maintains that the Zoharic writings were composed by a convocation of converted Rabbins, convened for the purpose in a Spanish monastery, employing Moses as their publisher, and thus the Church itself seems to figure as an accomplice.† Others, like M. H. Landauer, argue that the true author was Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia, while the voice of Dr. Graetz is raised in favour of the school of Abraham ben David of Beaucaire. Abraham ben David of Posquière and Isaac the Blind are also favoured names, to whom it is indubitable, in any case, that Kabalism owed something of development and of impulse. Meanwhile this extreme opinion in all its varieties is balanced by

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* Basnage is inclined to refer the original Zohar to the tenth century, and, following Bartolocci (*Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, t. iv. p. 82), represents Moses de Leon as in possession of several exemplars which he amplified.—*Histoire des Juifs*, t. ii. 781; t. v. 1775, 1776.

† At the opposite extreme was Christianus Schœttgenius in his considerable work, *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in Theologiam Judæorum Dogmaticam antiquam et orthodoxam de Messia impensæ*, 2 vols., Dresden and Leipsic, 1733, 1742. See vol. ii. *Rabbinicorum Lectionum Liber Secundus*, c. ii., *docens R. Simeonem filium Jochai, auctorem Libri Sohar, Religionem fuisse Christianam.* There are eight heads to the argument, the most important being that the Zohar contains the precise, orthodox doctrine concerning the Messiah and His divine and human nature, and this not in one place or mysteriously, but in many and openly.

counterviews which also denaturalise the literature. It may be suspected, therefore, with reason that on both sides there is an error of enthusiasm: there are the children of intelligence who look to find the secret doctrine of Judea a mere transcript from that of Egypt, or whatever land is for them the well-spring of all truth and all truly sacred knowledge. These remember, for example, that Abraham was in Egypt, and, accepting at once the fairy-tale attribution of the "Book of Formation" to the patriarch, conclude that this document is older than the Ritual of the Dead. It is useless to reason with those whose confidence is not shaken in the face of impossibilities, whose imagination can bridge all gulfs in evidence by fantastic suppositions. On the other hand, there is the crass criticism which rules off a literature by a single stroke of the pen into the region of forgery and imposture, as it rules off all occult psychology into that of imposture or hallucination. It does not matter that this criticism is always in disgrace. It proved Troy town to be solar mythos till Troy town was excavated; it undermined, as it believed, the book of Daniel till fresh archæological discoveries cast it into the pit which it had dug. It is truly not less stupid, and it is far less engaging, than the opposed excess.*

The importance of the Zohar does not depend so much upon the date of its documents as on the possible claims of its tradition. The collapse of its claim to antiquity, in that respect, and this only, will

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* Its typical representative is Graetz, and one can scarcely conjecture by what principle he was guided in his estimate of Moses de Leon. It is the height of exaggeration, the account in the *Yuhasin* transcendentalised till it almost exceeds recognition.

reduce it to the full rank of imposture. It is clear that the speculations, for example, of mediæval or later Rabbins, if we waive the dishonesty of a false pretension, will have at most some literary, historical, or exegetical interest, but it will differ in kind rather than degree from that which must attach to a tradition which interlinks with the far past. We are therefore more concerned in ascertaining the state in which modern criticism has left the content of the Zohar than the form in which it is presented to us. The early students of the work, who accepted and defended its antiquity, did not make this saving distinction, and in many instances modern hostility does not make it either. Upon the surface of the history of Kabalistic criticism the first presumption is, of course, unfavourable to any hypothesis of antiquity, because this would seem to have been admitted in days when scholarship was insufficiently equipped for the determination of such a question. In the light of fuller knowledge it will be thought that the claim has lapsed, or remains only as a pious belief prevailing among an uncritical minority, a few persons being always found whose mental bias predisposes them to the defence of exploded views. In such a case, however, an indiscriminate rejection is not much less superficial than an unenquiring acquiescence in a non-proven claim. The history of debated questions of this kind teaches another lesson, and the closest approximation to truth is found usually in the mean of extreme views. Now, in the history of Zoharic criticism we find that the old students not only accepted the claim of the tradition to antiquity, and were disposed to understand the genealogy more or less literally, but that further they

regarded the books which contain both as belonging to certain dates and produced by certain writers without much suspicion, on the simple authority of the literature.* Later scholars, on the other hand, having found something to countenance the modern origin of the documents, have frequently overlooked the possible antiquity of their tradition. The reference to this antiquity as something which deserves to be regarded apart from the date of publication will explain what I mean by the moderate and middle view in which the truth must be sought. If we fail entirely here we may regard the case as closed.

Now, I believe that a careful and unbiassed comparison of all the evidence will lead us to conclude that there are elements of old doctrine in the Zohar; their exact antiquity is, in part, highly speculative, but it is quite sufficient to invest them with considerable interest. Like the Sepher Yetzirah, some of it may even be referable to the period of Esdras. I refer here to the Yetziratic notions concerning the virtue of Divine Names, for this is also found in the Zohar, as it is abundantly found in the Talmud; a residuum of its teaching concerning angels and demons may be also an inheritance from Babylon. All this, however, is the worthless part of the Zohar, as it is the worthless, if curious, part of Talmudic literature. With

* Some modern ecclesiastical historians, for no solid reason, incline to this view. Thus, we have in Dean Hook's compilation, "A Church Dictionary" (fourteenth edition, London, 1887), the statement that the chief Kabalistic author was Simeon ben Jochai, and also that most of the heretics in the primitive Christian Church fell into the vain conceits of the Kabalah, particularly the Gnostics, Valentinians and Basilidians. There is more warrant for the second than the first view, as readers of Matter's *Histoire du Gnosticisme* and of King's "Gnostics" will not need to be told.

regard to the Scriptural exegesis which constitutes so large a portion of it, we shall not offend possibility by supposing that some of it may be a transmission from Talmudic times.* If we take the obscure but ample hints and references found in the Talmuds to the existence of a mystic tradition, and follow them through the large mystical literature which intervened between those works and the Zohar as we now have it, we shall be led not to the conclusion of the occultist, that there was a great body of secret doctrine which became revealed gradually, but that there was a kernel of tradition which was planted in the secret heart of Israel, which many watered and fostered, till the growth at length put forth, not without something of transformation and of suddenness, the strange flower of the Zohar. As regards form its most ancient part is probably the Book of Concealment, but it is entirely improbable that any conspicuous portion could have existed in writing till after the sixth century, while the growth of most of it is perhaps much later and subsequent to the latest date which can be ascribed to the Sepher Yetzirah.† It is

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* In other words, we may follow the learned author of the article on the *Midrashim* in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," who says that the nucleus of the work is of Mishnic times and that R. Simeon was its author in the same sense that R. Johanan was of the Palestine Talmud, namely, that he gave the first impulse to its composition."

† I mention this possibility because Dr. Schiller-Szinessy has not stated his reasons why it is impossible that it should have been later than the seventh century, and subject to the conclusiveness of those reasons. We may speculate what Dr. Szinessy would think of Mr. Zangwill did he read the epilogue to the "Children of the Ghetto," in which it is casually remarked that the Zohar was "forged by a Spanish Jew in the thirteenth century." By the way, are copies of the Zohar likely to be found in a small room, used as a synagogue, outside Jerusalem and so poor that it is bare even of seats?

advanced, as we have seen, by its defenders that it is the subject of reference in several texts both of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmud under the name of the *Midrash* of Simeon ben Jochai, and the parallels between Talmudic sayings attributed to this Rabbi have been exhaustively compared with the Zohar, with a view to exhibit their identity. The existence of a work entitled the "Mysteries of Simeon ben Jochai" before the middle of the eleventh century and possibly much earlier, is acknowledged by Dr. Graetz. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that early written and oral materials entered into the composition of the work as we now possess it.* This is the most that can be urged, and this is sufficient to prove that no one person wrote it out of his own head.†

It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the legend which attributes its origin to R. Simeon ben Jochai seems to have made an unfortunate choice, for this great authority of the Talmud represents a reaction against the mystical tendencies of R. Akiba, and there is some evidence for believing that he did not investigate the hidden meaning of Scripture, but rather its rational principles. He is described by a

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* An interesting article by M. Nicholas in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, t.xi. *s.v. Cabale* (Paris, 1877), regards it as certain that the philosophical speculations which compose the Kabalah generally began to form during the century which preceded the Christian era, but they were oral, imparted to a few only, and under the seal of secresy. Unfortunately, the article is not trustworthy, representing, as it does, the *Ain Soph* doctrine to be part of the Sepher Yetzirah.

† Compare Blunt's "Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology," which argues that the variety of style and the disjointed character of its contents show that the Zohar is the growth of ages. Unfortunately, Blunt's work indicates no real acquaintance with the Kabalah and its criticism.

modern writer as cold, exclusive and stoical. At the same time, if we accept the existence of a genuine tradition which became incorporated in the Zohar, it is difficult to reject its leading and central figure.*

If we turn now for a moment to the standpoint of modern occultism we shall see that so far we have no warrant for connecting the chief cycle of Kabalistic literature with the high antiquity to which occultists incline.† While we leave them once more in full possession of the alleged virtue inherent in divine names, and perhaps with some elements of legend concerning angels and demons, we are forced to take all that remains a considerable distance into the Christian era. But the Zohar, although it embodies the entire content of Kabalistic doctrine, is not the sole nor the earliest storehouse of that doctrine, and we have next to consider whether the antiquity of the philosophical tradition given in the second book is to be inferred from its points of contact and correspondence with other theosophical systems which have prevailed in the past.

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* The author of the article "Cabala" in Herzog's *Real Encycklopädie* takes a middle view, namely, that the Zohar is not the work of Moses de Leon, nor is it of R. Simeon's period, though its doctrines are referable to him. It was completed in the eighth century. The evidence adduced for this view seems inconclusive, so far as this article is concerned.

† Take, for example, the following typical instance of the exaggerations which have found currency on this subject. "The origin of the Kabalah is lost in the night of time. Is it of India or of Egypt? We do not know; but it is certain that to Egyptians and Indians it was alike known. Pythagoras returned with it into Greece after his travels in the East, then the region of the light. One asks vainly whether its first revelation was divine or the product of inspiration."—Desbarrolles, *Les Mystères de la Main*, 14*me édition*, Paris, *n.d.* M. Desbarrolles knew nothing of the Kabalah, but he reflected his friend Lévi, who claimed knowledge but wrote frequently in the same distracted strain.

V. ALLEGED SOURCES OF KABALISTIC DOCTRINE

We are now able to reach a specific conclusion with regard to our subject and to affirm that many of the materials collected in the Zohar are earlier than the period of their promulgation. We cannot say whether the Sepher Yetzirah is much anterior to the ninth century.* But both works are in connection with Talmudic times and, within the limits of the Christian centuries, there seems therefore to have been an esoteric tradition in Israel.† Whether it existed prior to Christianity itself is the next concern of our inquiry. At this point the difficulties begin to multiply, because the range of research is exceedingly large, and it has been covered in every direction by successive generations of hardy speculators. We must proceed step by step and shall do well to begin first of all by a general survey of the subject.

The doctrine of the Kabalah has been referred for its origin to almost every philosophic and religious system of antiquity, and its points of correspondence with each have been carefully tabulated. It has been shown to be derived from Akkadia, from India, from China, from ancient Egypt,‡ from Platonism and Neo-

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* But we can say that one of the most pronounced opponents of Jewish theosophy assigns it to early Gnostic times.—See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden.*

† One of the exponents of the English school of Kabalism states that, according to Hebrew tradition, the doctrines of the oldest portions of the Zohar are antecedent to the second Temple.—W. Wynn Westcott, Sepher Yetzirah. Translated from the Hebrew. Second edition. London, 1893.

‡ This is the view which obtains most widely among occultists. "It is in Egyptian science," says Stanislas de Guaita, "carried from

Platonism, from the categories of Aristotle, from early Christian Gnosticism.* The most philosophical conclusion which can, I think, be drawn from all this rival evidence is that it is not derived from any one of them specifically and exclusively, but rather that the human mind, when engaged on certain fundamental and perhaps insoluble problems of the universe, tends independently to reach conclusions that are similar and may even wear sometimes an aspect of literal identity; that the Kabalah is largely an outcome of such unaided research; that its results are in the main *sui generis*, but that they offer points of contact with other attempts of the kind in all ages and nations. We must, of course, distinguish the fundamental part of the Kabalah from its developments. Included in the first class are the doctrine of the Ten Emanations, that of *Ain Soph*, of the *Macroprosopus* and the *Microprosopus*, some of which may go far back in the history of post-Christian Jewish literature, indeed almost to Talmudic times. The subsequent developments possess a complexion derived from many sources, not excluding the scholastic philosophy of Christian Europe during the Middle Ages.† *Ain Soph* is that final concept of the Deity which is

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Mitzraïm by Moses at the exodus of the Sons of Israel, that we must discern the source of that sacred tradition transmitted among the Jews from generation to generation, by the oral way, down to the disciples of Simeon ben Jochai, who wrote, at the dictation of this master, about the second century of the Christian era, the Great Book of the Light (Zohar)."—*Au Seuil du Mystère*, pp. 183, 184. The last statement is, of course, merely an assumption of the vital point at issue.

* Even the so-called "Symbols of Pythagoras" have been approximated to Kabalistic teaching. See "Collectanea Hermetica," edited by W. Wynn Westcott, vol. v. (*Somnium Scipionis*, &c.), London, 1894.

† I refer here to the Kabalistic schools of Isaac de Loria and Moses of Cordova.

reached by all metaphysics; it is not necessary to suppose that it was derived from Babylonian initiations during the exile of seventy years, or from Greek speculation at Alexandria; it may be regarded more reasonably as a product of the unfinished exile of the Christian centuries. But in either case it is the ultimate point of theosophic speculation possible to the human mind, at which the mind always arrives. The doctrine of the *Sephiroth* is, in its turn, a very intelligible form of another widespread device of the world's thought when it seeks to bridge the gulf between finite and infinite, betweed absolute purity and that material world which, in one or other way, seems always to be regarded as unclean. The *Macroprosopus* and the *Microprosopus*, whether late or early in Jewish literature, are late at least in the history of human speculation. They are an attempt to distinguish between God as He is in Himself and in His relation with His children. As might be expected, they are the most characteristic of Jewry and, as such, offer the least connection with any external system. Yet they have some points of contact. As regards each and all, the first point to be fixed firmly in the mind is that they are the natural results of legitimate intellectual inquiry. Given the times and the circumstances, they are the kind of speculative doctrine which one might have expected *à priori*.

When we remember the persistence of tradition which has always characterised the most persistent of all races, when we remember that the Jew of the Christian dispensation may be said to have

lived in the remembrance of his glory passed away, we can well believe that he was encompassed by an atmosphere of legend on which his fervid mind was at work continually, out of which he never stepped, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that all his literature, like all his thought, was not profoundly tinctured by this his intellectual environment. But it is a wide and an unwarrantable step from the belief in such a natural and inevitable operation to a belief that Jewish tradition must or may be referred to any distinctive source in the past, from which it was perpetuated by some conventional initiation, as occult writers suppose, and some others also who have no such bias towards the mysterious to intervene in apology for their opinion. We have no ground for affirming with Basnage* that old Egypt is the true nursery of the Kabalah, though it is quite possible that Israel brought something from the Nile valley which does not appear in the Pentateuch. Nor are we justified in agreeing with the illustrious Grand Master of the Ancient and Accepted Rite of Freemasonry, United States Southern Jurisdiction, when he suggests a direct communication of doctrine from the religion of Zoroaster† to Kabalism which must be referred to the period of the exile.‡ That the Jews derived

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* L. iii. c. xiv.

† For some tables indicating "the harmony and identity of the Chaldean philosophy with the Hebrew Kabalah," see the "Chaldæan Oracles of Zoroaster," edited by *Sapere Aude*, London, 1895, pp. 8-11. The true value of such parallels is shown by such frenzied developments as Archbishop Meurin's *Synagogue de Satan*, which will be noticed in Book vii. § 19.

‡ "Morals and Dogma," Charleston, A.M. 5641, pp. 266, 267, and elsewhere throughout the compilation. Compare Matter, *Histoire*

something from Babylon I have already noted, and amidst their chequered experience under Persian domination, after their final scattering, possibly the great body of Haggada may have received increment and colouring. More fantastic theorists have imagined that not only is there a Chinese Kabalah, but that it is the source of that which was in Israel. That the great unknown empire, in which all things from alchemy to the art of printing seem to have germinated, possessed, and still possesses, a vast body of traditional lore, of so-called secret teaching,* is mere commonplace on which there is no call to insist, and if occultists will be so unphilosophical as to term this Kabalah, there is as little need to dispute with them about the improper and confusing use of a mere word. That the book called "Yi-King,"† or Mutation, contains an esoteric religious tradition which has, as it is said, some analogies with Kabalistic doctrine, is neither surprising nor significant of anything except the irresistible tendency of the human mind to reflect after much the same manner, in all lands and times, upon mysteries that are everywhere the same, ever urgent, ever recurring. Such

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Critique du Gnosticisime, who refers the Gnostic systems to the Zendavesta and the Kabalah.

* In conformity with which Bryant's "Analysis of Ancient Mythology" (vol. i. p. 94) and Oliver's "History of Initiation" (p. 79 *et seq.*) would have us believe that there were mysteries in China "similar to those of India," which again were more or less the same as those which subsequently flourished in Greece.

† For some information concerning this work and its Kabalistic analogies, see *L'Initiation, revue philosophique des Hautes Études*, tom. xxxvii. No. 3, Dec., 1897. Paris. *S.v. Y-King, Tao-see, Tao-te-King et la Numération*, p. 266 *et seq.* Also Eugène Nus, *A La Recherche des Destinés.* Paris, 1892.

analogies do not prove, as occultists would have us believe, the existence of a Wisdom-Religion, which, if they will suffer the interpretation, may be presumed to mean the secret science of the reintegration of the soul in God accumulated through the ages of initiation. In the natural order, the truly fundamental religion is the common ground of all, which stands in need of no formal perpetuation, as it is inborn in the heart and mind of humanity.* And yet the undoubted existence of the Mongolian race in Mesopotamia almost at the dawn of history may suggest that the Semite drew something from Mongolian Chaldea even in the days of Abraham,† as afterwards the Jew of Babylon may have had a certain contact with Confucianism in its earliest form. We may admit, readily and reasonably, that the Jew received everywhere and always retained the reception, provided that we leave him everywhere his own intellectual initiative, and bear in mind that the process was everywhere natural and informal, not arbitrary and conventional.

Passing over the regions of wild surmise in which Odin the Norse God becomes identified with the Kabalistic *Abba*, Frea with *Aima*, Thor with *Arik Anpin*, the Lesser Countenance, and the Supreme

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* I refer here to sacramental and not to natural religion so-called.

† "The power of the Mongol rulers of Chaldea, about the time of Abraham, was far more extensive than that of the contemporary rulers of Thebes and of the Delta, and the victories of the great eighteenth dynasty in Egypt, extending over some three centuries at most, form only a passing episode in the story of Asiatic civilisation, which dates back probably earlier than the time of the Pyramids, which was native and original, and from which Egypt borrowed much in the days of its greatest rulers."—"Babylonian Discoveries," *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1898.

Being discerned behind the northern mythology with *Ain Soph*; passing over also certain Druidic correspondences into which it might be unwise to enter,* we may take much the same view as before regarding the alleged Gnostic connections of the Kabalah. We may concur cordially with King when he argues that whatever the date of the Zohar in its present form, its principles and traditions are similar to those taught in the schools of Babylon and Tiberias.† They are the same and they are also different, and the difference represents the growth of the intellectual thought of Israel, its proper native development under the various impulsions which it received between the period of Gnosticism and the period of the promulgation of the Zohar. We may acknowledge also that Marcus, as "a born Jew," devised something of the national heritage to the system which he produced. Yet Gnosticism is not Kabalism, though there are striking analogies between them, and something of common source is attributable to both. M. Amélineau is nearer the truth when he speaks of a coincident development of the two systems.‡ There are analogies in nature and

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* Pike, following no doubt some unnamed authority, affirms that the Druids were true children of the Magi, whose initiation came from Egypt and Chaldea, "that is to say, from the true sources of the primitive Kabalah."—"Morals and Dogma," p. 103.

† "The Gnostics and their Remains." Second edition. London, 1897.

‡ *Essai sur le Gnosticisme Egyptien, ses développements et son origine Egyptienne. Par M. E. Amélineau*, published in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, tom. xiv. Paris, 1887, but written so far back as 1882, the date affixed to the preface. Compare Edersheim, who believed that "Gnosticism, like later Jewish mysticism, sprang from the contact of Judaism with the religious speculations of the farther East."

appearance between glass and rock-crystal, but glass is glass and a pebble is a pebble.*

It is unphilosophical because unneedful to go far back and far off when the explanation of given facts lies near in time and place. "That is best which lies the nearest," says the poet, and, artists or occultists, makers of verse or Kabalistic commentators, we should shape our work of art or interpretation without drawing needlessly from things remote. The prototype of Yetziratic and Zoharic theosophy is close to our hand in Jewry. The fusion of all systems which is a characteristic of the present day, has its parallel in that epoch of the past which witnessed the rise of Christianity. "At the time when John the Baptist made his appearance in the desert, near the shores of the Dead Sea, all the old philosophical and religious systems were approximating toward each other. A general lassitude inclined the minds of all toward the quietude of that amalgamation of doctrines for which the expeditions of Alexander and the more peaceful occurrences that followed, with the establishment in Asia and Africa of many Grecian colonies, had prepared the way. After the intermingling of different nations, which resulted from the wars of Alexander in three-quarters of the globe, the doctrines of Greece, of Egypt, of Persia, and of India met and intermingled everywhere. All the barriers that had formerly kept the

* The *Pistis Sophia* is the most valuable document for the analogies between Gnosticism and the Kabalah, but it is easy to exaggerate its evidence. Mr. C. W. King says that the doctrines are identical, and that it exhibits the leading principles of the Kabalah, but he does not seem to speak with a first-hand knowledge of Jewish theosophy.

nations apart were thrown down; and while the people of the West readily connected their faith with those of the East, the latter hastened to learn the traditions of Rome and Athens. . . . . The Jews and Egyptians, then the most exclusive of all peoples, yielded to that eclecticism which prevailed among their masters, the Greeks and Romans."* National ambition, however, rather than eclecticism influenced the Jews, and though it was impossible, having regard to their environment, that they should not be largely tinctured, it was their object to tinge other systems and not to modify their own, to show that the ethnic philosophers owed everything to the divine doctrine of Palestine. Philo the Greek of Alexandria to some extent Hellenised the Hebrew religion that he might the better Judaise the philosophy of Hellas. From this fusion there arose the nearest approach, if not in time and place at least in form and subject, to Kabalistic theosophy as regards its source in Jewry. There is no need in this elementary study to refer to Aristobulus, who a century before had received a similar vocation. Philo, and the movement and mode of thought which he represents, cannot reasonably have been without an effect upon the literature of later ages in Jewry,†

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* "Morals and Dogma," p. 247.

† I should observe here that Mr. Arthur Lillie, who has much argued a process in the Buddhistic origin of Christianity, has discovered in the Zohar not only the Trinity of Philo, but the Trinity of Buddhism, and he holds that the Kabalah "was one of the secret books of the Essenes."—*Modern Mystics and Modern Magic*, p. 14. He also says that it was "written down from tradition by one Moses de Leon," thus showing that he is not aware of the existence of Kabalistic books outside the Zohar.—*Ibid.*, p. 13. Finally, he says that it is "a book of Magic."—"Madame Blavatsky and her Theosophy," p. 194. After this

though the history of that influence and the mode of its transmission cannot be traced conclusively. We must not, however, fall into the error of supposing that the Kabalah is Platonism derived through Philo and the Jewish school of Alexandria, or that it is Jewish tradition modified by Philoism. When we find in the Sepher Yetzirah the alphabetical symbols of the Logos made use of by God in the formation of the universe, it is very easy to set it down to Greek influence, but the fact remains that the "Book of Formation" is essentially and characteristically Hebrew, and this fact lifts it altogether out of the category of Platonic succession. Yet we know where to look for the explanation of its points of contact. As regards the doctrine developed by the commentators on the Sepher Yetzirah prior to the appearance of the Zohar, as regards the literature which makes contact with these, and as regards the Zohar itself, saying nothing of the later literature, which had recourse consciously and openly to Greek sources, the case is much stronger.* Philo

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we shall not be surprised to find that St. Paul was a Kabalist.—*Ibid.* So also was Jacob Bohme, whose three principles, one of which was the "Kingdom of Hell," have something to do with the three supernal *Sephiroth.* For similar speculations, see "Buddhism in Christendom."

* For example, the *Porta Cœlorum* of R. Abraham Cohen Irira, which forms the third part of Rosenroth's *Apparatus in Librum Sohar*, was written expressly to exhibit the correspondences between Kabalistic dogmas and the Platonic philosophy. Later on the same theme was taken up by Christian writers, some of whom connect the Kabalah with Aristotle, and so we have works like Burgondo's *Podromus Scientiarum Artiumve liberalium ad ipsos Peripateticæ Scholæ et Kabbalisticæ doctrinæ purissimos fontes revocatus*, Venice, 1651. So also at an earlier period Thomas Campanella in his *De Sensu Rerum et Magia*, Frankfort, 1620, joined Neoplatonism and Kabalism in his attempt to explain the universe.

insists on the antithesis between God and the material world, the infinite and the finite; so, let us say, does the Zohar, which may be taken to stand for the whole literature. Philo affirms the absolute transcendency of God; so does Zoharic doctrine. Philo regards the divine nature as in itself escaping definition and in itself without quality; Kabalism denounces those who would attempt to describe God as He is in Himself even by the attributes which He manifests. Philo's descriptions of God are all negative; compare the *latens Deitas* of the Kabalah. Philo says that no name can be given Him; all Kabalism agrees. Philo regards the scriptural Deity as anthropomorphic, and allegorises upon all the descriptions, attributions and manifestations of Deity therein; compare the doctrine of the Two Countenances, designed to explain the same anthropomorphisms. Philo regards the letter of Scripture as a veil; so does the Zohar. Philo interprets it literally or mystically according to his purpose; so does Kabalistic exegesis. Philo regards the visible world as the gate of the world unseen, he believes in the possibility of an immediate contemplation of God, in the existence of an archetypal world, that things seen are a counterpart of things unseen,* in all of which we are enumerating express points of Kabalistic doctrine. These

* There is a twofold correspondence in Kabalism between superior and inferior things: one transcendental, being that of phenomena with their archetypes in the noumenal world, and one natural in the narrower sense of the term, being that which is summed up in the axiom: "There is no herb on earth to which a certain star does not correspond in the heaven." See Kircher, *Mundus Subterraneus*, ii. 401*b*. The whole theory of natural magic is contained in this maxim.

analogies are too numerous, too close, too consecutive, to leave any room for doubt that the heads of Kabalistic teaching pre-existed in Jewry, and we have further the explicit testimony of Philo as to the existence of a mystic doctrine in Jewry. Spontaneity, initiation, subsequent influences, all remain unimpeded and are all necessary to explain the existence of the Zohar and its connections, but its source is not indeed Philo of necessity, much less Philo exclusively, but that which produced Philo. But more than all, it is hardy, independent speculation, wearing tradition like a veil which does not conceal its essential individuality, and much nearer to ourselves at times in its spirit than we should ever suspect from its form. Yet we may suspect it on philosophical grounds, for however concealed behind the veil of symbolism, however much distorted in strange glasses of vision, the sentiments and aspirations of humanity have ever a common ground, and through the vehicle of Kabalistic apparatus, under many covers and tinctured by many fantastic colourings of art and artifice, we see that our own yearnings and longings find expression, after their own manner, in this book of the words of the exile. We acknowledge with the poet how truly all the lore and the legend is

> "A part
> Of the hunger and thirst of the heart,
> The frenzy and fire of the brain,
> Which yearns for the fruitage forbidden,
> The golden pomegranates of Eden,
> To quiet its fever and pain."

When the "Faithful Shepherd" of the Zohar puts

these words into the mouth of the Father of universal Israel: "In this world my Name is written YHVH and read *Adonai*, but in the world to come the same will be read as it is written, so that Mercy shall be from all sides,"* we see that at the beginning of the twentieth century we might have expressed differently the longing, the hope, the faith, for which this symbol stands, but it is still that which we all desire to express, and, furthermore, I do not know that our modern terms could have represented it better. Herein is the justification of the ways of God to man and herein the pious conviction of the believing heart that in the great day of the Lord there shall be no scandal to His children; that in spite of the darkness of our ways we have held rightly that He is light, that though we write Mercy in our hearts but read Law and its inflexible order in all around us, we shall one day know that it is Mercy on every side, the highest expression of the Law, or that Law is that order under which the Divine Charity is manifested. It is in messages like this that the abiding beauty and significance of the Kabalah are contained, not in the beard of *Microprosopus* or in the number of worlds suspended from the hair on the cranium of *Arikh Anpin*. *Gematria* and *Metathesis* may be pastimes fit only for children, but the voice of the Rabbis of the Zohar expressing the language of the heart of Israel needs no *Temurah* to expound its meaning, and it is by the ring of such utterances that the true believer of to-day is made conscious electrically that the Holy Synods were composed of men who are our brethren.

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* Cremona edition, part ii. fol. 106*a*.

As this view disposes implicitly of the claim to a divine authorship, and places the theory of aboriginal tradition among fables, so also it forbids us to suppose that Kabalistic doctrines are the work of any single mind.

One feels instinctively, without any necessity of evidence, that these things are not and cannot be the unaided work of Moses de Leon.* They are a growth and a result. As, however, the Zohar assumed its present shape at a late period admittedly, it may credibly have taken part of it at the hands of this Spanish Jew. That his other works are inferior is no argument. Cervantes wrote many worthless romances before and after the sum of all chivalry. The "Galatea" did not make "Don Quixote" impossible. So also Beroalde de Verville wrote books on alchemy which are despised even by alchemists, but he wrote also the *Moyen de Parvenir.* Every *magnum opus* is antecedently improbable, and the intellectual distance between the "Sorrows of Werther" and the second part of "Faust" is like the void between *Ain Soph* and *Malkuth*, which it was the purpose of the *Sephiroth* to fill.

But if all masterpieces are antecedently improbable, it is true also that they are impossible without antecedents. There are certain dull old histories known to *literati* which were necessary to the plays of Shakespeare. So the formulation of the Zohar

* According to the Zohar itself, or more precisely, to a tract which it includes under the title of the "Faithful Shepherd," nine authors combined for the production of the work, but it is not necessary o attach any serious import to this statement.

must have been preceded by much raw material, both oral and written, parts of which were no doubt incorporated without any change in their formulation. For example, the "Book of Occultation" bears all the marks of antiquity, no less considerable than that of the "Book of Formation."

There is, of course, a point beyond which the reasonable critic will not pass. So far as it goes we are on safe ground with the meagre testimony of St. Agobard; with R. Simeon Ben Jochai we are on purely traditional ground, and it is not to be supposed for a moment that more authenticity resides in the *dramatis personæ* of the Holy Synod than in those of the *Turba Philosophorum*. I do not mean that such names are entirely pretexts, for they may possess an honest basis in legend, but they are not literal or historical. They occupy a middle position between the script of a shorthand reporter and imaginary conversations like those of W. S. Landor.

VI. ISLAMIC CONNECTIONS OF THE KABALAH

When the Jew of the Exile sought a consolation in philosophy, and thus produced the higher part of Kabalism, compounded of his traditions, his speculations, his external receptions, his longings, the memories of his election and its glory, we must bear in mind that all exotics adjust themselves to their environment, not without certain changes even in the most persistent types. Now, the Jew is an anthro-

pological exotic in all countries of the world and just because his persistence is so enormous that it is explained by a special law of Providence, we find that in all countries he has been modified sufficiently to guarantee his survival. As in things physical, as in matters of daily life, so in the intellectual order, he lost nothing but he assumed much. The Jew of Salerno differed from that of France, and the Jew of Spain offered contrasts to both. Without attempting to add another hypothesis to the scores extant as to the origin of Kabalism, I propose to indicate that this literature is naturally, if partially, elucidated by the features of its partial birthplace.

Having made a reasonable allowance for spontaneity in Jewish thought, and having noted its observed connections and correspondences in distant times and places, it seems fitting that we should look now to that which lay the nearest. Without disputing or defending the opinion that Israel may have possessed a tradition handed down by the oral way from early times, of which we have enough evidence to warrant the presumption that it existed but not enough to determine what it actually was, let us begin by considering where the Kabalistic books first began to circulate. That was in Spain. Now, what was the environment of the Jews in the Peninsula at the period in question—let us say, from the ninth century and onward? It differed considerably from that which surrounded them in other countries of Western Europe. Spain was for Israel not indeed a Garden of Paradise, but a species of oasis in the great wilderness of the Exile, for the simple reason that

much of it was not then under Christian rule.* The Jew of Spain enjoyed comparative immunity; he possessed even political influence; he rose occasionally to high political power. It is not surprising, therefore, that Spain became a centre of Jewish literature and philosophy. Thence Jewish treatises passed into France and Italy under the Arabian equivalents of their authors' names, and were accepted as the speculations or teachings of the learned among the Moslems. Avicebron is a case in point. There can be no doubt whatever that the erudition of Mohammedanism exercised an influence on the Rabbins,† who reacted in their turn on the Moslem doctors.‡ The questions of priority and preponderance may be passed over, because they are here of no importance.

We have concluded already that the Zohar presents the mystic thought of preceding centuries in Israel under a certain aspect of transformation. The traditional knowledge, of which we have evidence as to its existence in Talmudic times, had received many developments from many sources and under the influence of many minds. There is ground for supposing that the nucleus in Christian times is first heard of in Palestine, which indeed follows from its connection, once admitted, with R. Simeon

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* So also the necessities of the Christian princes in Spain till the thirteenth century led them usually to protect the Jews.

† The translation of the Talmud into Arabic by R. Joseph, disciple of Moses the sack-clothed, during the reign of Haschem II., King of Cordova, is the best evidence which can be cited on this point.

‡ Islamic mysticism is almost coincident with the mission of the great Islamic prophet. For example, the Ghoolat sect, famous for the "extravagance" of its doctrines, is referred to the time of Ali. See "Secret Societies of the Middle Ages," London, 1846, pp. 29, 31.

Ben Jochai. But despite the legend which represents the Zohar as sent from Palestine by Nachmanides, everything points to Spain and the South of France as the chief scenes of the final developments of the Kabalah, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it has been affected by the prevailing tone of mystic thought in one or both of these places. There is evidence to show that such influence was at work outside the Zohar and prior perhaps to its existence in the form that it now possesses. It was then most probably a part of the very large influence of Avicebron. In post-Zoharic mysticism, and in the commentaries on the Zohar which are the work of Spanish Jews, it may be traced more fully and plainly. In no case does it justify the now exploded criticism which would make the Zohar merely a reproduction or echo of Arabian theosophy, or would regard all Kabalism as referable to Islamic mysticism for its sole source, plus the Greek influence at work in Islam. This was the hypothesis of Tholuck. We are concerned only with a question of complexion and of tincture, and have other criteria by which to judge the true significance of the points of doctrinal resemblance between Sufi and Kabalist concerning the latent state of Deity, the operation of the Divine Will at the beginning of creation, the emanation of the world, &c. The analogies are interesting enough and the Orientalist who first specified them had everything to justify him at his period.* As it may not be uninteresting to cite a few

* See F. A. D. Tholuck: Sufismus Sive *Theosophia Persarum Pantheistica*, Berlin, 1831, c.v. *passim*. Also *De Ortu Cabbalæ*, Hamburg, 1837.

cases in point derived from other sources, let us take a fact, one of many concerning which we possess impregnable testimony. About the middle of the fifteenth century, or, more exactly, from 1414 to 1492, there flourished a Sufi poet named Nuruddin Abdurrahmann, known as Jami of Herat, among whose works the "Seven Thrones" is most famous. One of the poems in this collection is entitled "Salomon and Absal," a mystic story of earthly and heavenly love. In the epilogue to this poem, where the author unfolds his meaning, the following lines occur:

> The Incomprehensible Creator, when this world
> He did create, created first of all
> The First Intelligence, First of a chain
> Of Ten Intelligences, of which the last
> Sole agent is in this our Universe,
> Active Intelligence so called.

It may at once be admitted that if we are to accept the method and admit the quality of evidence which has satisfied heretofore the several authorities who have referrred Kabalism to definite sources in philosophy and religion, we are at liberty to infer from this passage that somewhere about the year 1450 a Sufic poet, so far away from Spain as Herat, was adapting, with slight variations of a verbal kind, the Sephirotic doctrine of the Kabalah a century before the Book of Formation and the Zohar came into circulation through the medium of print. I have chosen this instance because it proves nothing of itself on account of its lateness, but it gives a point of departure backwards for tracing a possible connection between the mystical sects of Mohammedanism and the mystical sects of Israel.

With this let us compare for a moment the doctrine developed in the "Celestial Desatir," which has been described as "a very early attempt on the part of the ancient Persians to form a cosmological theory."* The *Desatir*, it should be observed, is a revelation addressed to the great prophet Abad, who is identified with Abraham. "The nature of God cannot be known. Who can dare to know it but He (Himself)? The entity and the oneness and the personality are 'His very nature and nothing beside Him.'" From this Being proceeded by free creation "him whose name is *Bahnam*, and called Prime Intellect and First Reason," and through him "*Asham*, the second intellect," who created in turn the intellect of the next lower heaven named "*Famesham*." From these proceeded the "Intellect of the heaven of *Kanian*," or Saturn; of *Harmuzd*, or Jupiter; of *Bahram*, or Mars; of *Khurshad*, or the Sun; of *Nahid*, or Venus; of *Zir*, or Mercury; and of *Mah*, or the Moon.

Here, again, we have the production of ten primary intelligences, recalling the Sephirotic emanations, which themselves have planetary attributions.

Let us now take another step. At the beginning of the twelfth century, or actually in the year 1100 A.D., Abū Bakr Ibn Al-Tufail, a noted Arabian physician, poet, mathematician and Sufi philosopher, was born at Guadix in Spain, and he died at Morocco in 1186. His chief work is a species of philosophical romance called "The Life of Hai Ebn Yokdan, the

* My knowledge is confined to the translation by Mirza Mohamed Hadi which appeared in successive issues of the "Platonist," vols. iii. and iv.

self-taught Philosopher." In this curious narrative we find Ibn Al-Tufail using a form of comparison which occurs almost verbatim in the Kabalistic books. "The Divine Essence is like the rays of the material sun, which expand over opaque bodies and appear to proceed from the eye, though they are only reflected from its surface." We find also substantially: (*a*) The *Ain Soph* of the Kabalists under the name of that One True One. (*b*) The reflection of that Being dwelling "in the highest sphere in and beyond which there is no body, a Being free from matter, which was not the Being of that One True One, nor the sphere itself, nor yet anything different from them both; but was like the image of the sun as it appears in a well-polished mirror, which is neither one nor the other, and yet not distinct from them." (*c*) The immaterial essence of the sphere of the fixed stars. (*d*) The Sphere of Saturn—and so with the rest in harmony with the scheme of the *Desatir*, ending at this world, which is subject to generation and corruption, and comprehending all that is contained within the sphere of the Moon. None of the material essences were identical and yet none were different, either as regards the rest or in comparison with the One True One.*

The doctrine of the Divine Absorption is the very essence of Sufism and Sufism is contemporary with Mohammedanism itself. It is also mainly Pantheistic, as may be gathered from its proposed

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* See the "Improvement of Human Reason exhibited in the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan. Written in Arabick above 500 years ago, by Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophail." . . . Newly translated from the original Arabick by Simon Ockley, A.M. London, 1711.

object. Some refer it to India, others to a Gnostic origin, but the question does not concern us, for the significant fact is that this form of Islamic mysticism was one of the environments of the Kabalistic Jews to whom we are indebted for part at least of the Zohar. The influence of this environment was felt outside the Kabalists, and was confessed even by the most inflexible of the sects in Jewry—that of the Kairites, or Literalists, who rejected all innovations in the primeval doctrine of Israel, who set no store by tradition, and were thus as much opposed to the Talmud as to the Zoharic writings. The proof is their analogies, indeed one might say their fusion, with the Motozales, a sect of scholastic Arabs.* A Kairite Jew of the period allows that his brethren followed the doctrines of this sect, and they even assumed its name.

The purpose of this section should not be misconstrued. Once more, it is by no means designed to indicate that the mystic sects of Mohammedanism are responsible for the peculiar scheme of the Kabalah, or that the Sufi drew from the rabbin. Such devices belong to a scheme of criticism which has fittingly passed away. If we know anything concerning the early connections of Sufism it is that they are Neoplatonic, and that the Gnostics of the early Shiite sects were attracted to it because of these connections.† But to name Neoplatonism and Gnos-

* Munk: *La Philosophie chez les Juifs*, p. 10.

† On this point the reader may consult with advantage an admirable account of Islâmic mysticism in "A Year Among the Persians," by E. G. Browne. London, 1893. It makes no references to Kabalism, with which the author seems unacquainted, but it may be gathered from what it tells us of Sufic commentaries on the Koran that

ticism is to cite analogies of Kabalism. To say that Sufism has been referred to a woman who died at Jerusalem in the first century of the Hegira is to say that Sufism began to live and move in an atmosphere of Jewish tradition. To say that Spain was the forcing-house of the Kabalists is to say that the mystic doctors of Jewry brushed arms with those of Islâm, and to deny that there was any consequence of such contact is to deny nature. Sufism was Pantheistic and emanationist; Kabalistic emanationism was saved from Pantheism by the doctrine of divine immanence, and their literatures have no real likeness; but between the metaphysics of the Divine Love and the mystical absorption of Islâm, and between the Kabalistic return of the soul to God or its union with the transcendent principle, which never departs from *Atziluth*, and the theory of ecstasy in Israel, it seems reasonable to suppose that there was not only the connecting link of the analogy between all mystics but a bond even in history.

VII. INFLUENCE OF THE KABALAH ON JEWRY

There is perhaps no one at the present day, certainly no Christian or occult student of the

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these, although Pantheistic, have many points of contact with later Kabalism. We find not only the unmanifest state of Deity, but the attempt to explain why the contingent world (compare the *Liber Drushim*) was evolved from "the silent depths of the non-existent," the use of which term is so typical of the Ain Soph doctrine. See p. 129 for Mr. Browne's opinion that the early schools of Mohammedan philosophy in Persia were adaptations either of Aristotle or Plato, and were also the scholasticism of Islam.

subject, who is in a position to say exactly what kind of profit accrued to the mind of Jewry from the promulgation, let us say, of the Zohar. From one point of view such an inquiry may be held to strike at the root of all occult science and philosophy, and for the rest it is one of those subjects which do not readily occur to the occultist. I remember a conversation which I once had with a priest of the Anglican Church, who had passed through every school of initiation with which I am acquainted and through others which are outside my knowledge. He assured me that the most profound student of occultism among all students whom he had met in his long experience was a Jew—I think of Poland. Let us make the most of this statement, since we know that there are initiations, and that the Jew is in most of them, concerned as he is in all interests, in evidence as he is in all lands, and, with due consideration to the late Sir Richard Burton and his posthumous treatise,* much better described by the famous passage in "Coningsby" than by a somewhat vexatious criticism pivoted on a monstrous charge. But it is quite certain that the adyta of the secret societies, though they are not closed to the Jew, are not in any sense possessed by the Jew, while as regards all such external signs of activity

* See "The Jew, the Gypsy and El Islam." London, 1898. The charge is human sacrifice; its *pièce de résistance* has been omitted by the editor on grounds that may be conjectured. Cf. Desportes, *Le Mystère du sang chez les Juifs de tous les temps*, Paris, 1890, the year of Burton's death. Readers of Josephus will remember the curious story adduced by Apion concerning the Greek captive found in the Temple at Jersualem by Antiochus. *Contra Apionem*, ii. 7. Cf. Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, "The Blood Covenant," London, 1887, Appendix. p. 321.

as are manifested by current literature of occultism, any bibliography will show us how little he has done in this respect. What is much more important, however, is that, so far as it is possible to ascertain, the Kabalah has exercised only a very subsidiary influence upon the Children of the Exile. We can point to certain enthusiasms for which it is partially responsible, and they are those precisely which did their best to wreck Jewry and of which Jewry is now ashamed. The history of Abraham Abulafia, of Sabattaï Zevi and the founder of the Chassidim,* are typical cases in point, which warrant us in saying that the Kabalah gave spurious Messiahs to Israel.† It was perhaps the last instance of its activity before it ceased to exercise any powerful influence, and with this also it began, if we care to believe that Rabbi Akiba was the author of the "Book of Formation," in which case one of the supreme sources of Kabalism is connected with the bogus or at least the frenzied mission of Bar Cochba. When that false Messiah had been finally silenced by the sword, his disciple, or perhaps his instigator, and the inspirer also of R. Simeon ben Jochai, the head and crown of Kabalism, was barbarously martyred

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* *I.e.*, the new order of the mysterious Baal Shem, which is still said to have its representatives in a number of Jewish communities and still holds the Zohar in high esteem.—"Israel among the Nations," pp. 61, 40, 345. The sect has its chief hold among Russian and Galician Jews; the name signifies "pious ones." In the time of Judas Maccabæus, it was the strict party among the Jews.—Edersheim, "History of the Jewish Nation." These are Scaliger's Order of the Knights of the Temple. The accounts of the original Chassidim are full of mythical elements.

† Mr. Zangwill in his "Dreamers of the Ghetto" has brought this notion recently to the knowledge of the external world.

for his share in the unhappy rebellion. If a literature may be judged by its influence, that of the Kabalah has been small; it has encouraged false enthusiasm, and has been the warrant for direct imposture.*

So far as its operation was intellectual, there is very good ground for thinking that its field was the Christian rather than the Jewish mind.† And having established one useful point there is an opportunity here of making another. Kabalistic influence on Christendom has been of two kinds, but it has been much more of one kind than another. It has been an influence exercised by an occult claim upon the students and the acceptors of occult claims. But it has been much more the influence of possible missionary material on the missionary enterprise of the Christian Church. To begin at a late date—What gave the Kabalah of the Zohar to the Latin reading scholars of Europe? The *magnum opus* of Rosenroth. What impelled Rosenroth? The "splendid spectrum" of the conversion of Jewry *en masse*. And now, if we sweep backward to the very

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* It has given also a few obscure sects to Jewry. A knowledge of Kabalistic mysteries was alleged to have imparted superhuman power to Löbele, chief Rabbi of Prague; to Jacob Franck, the Polish distiller, of whose followers the so-called Christian Jews of Poland are still a small survival; and to his contemporary, Israel of Podolia, who established the New Saints and had a recipe for miracles by means of the name Tetragrammaton.

† Mr. Zangwill is not of this opinion. Referring to the period which antedated immediately the mission of Sabbatai Zevi, he says: "The *Zohar*—the Book of Illumination, composed in the thirteenth century—printed now for the first time, shed its dazzling rays further and further over every ghetto." But perhaps he follows here the principle he has borrowed from Spinoza, "to see things *sub specie æternitatis*." I wish the same principle had inspired him to lay less stress on the exact date of the Zohar.

beginning of the Christian interest in Kabalism, almost coincident, in fact, with the appearance of the Zohar, and suppose that Raymond Lully was really, as it has been said that he was, the first Christian student of the Kabalah, what was the life-long labour of that amazing seneschal of Majorca, and for what did he renounce the world? To wrest, as it has been said, from reluctant Nature the elusive mastery of Nature, the Great Palingenesis of alchemy? The Hermetic treatises falsely ascribed to him may say Yes, but we know that they are the products of the school of forgery which produced the spurious Geber,* and that this was by no means the ambition of Raymond Lully. But was it the attainment of the religion behind all religions? Nothing of the sort; that is modern fantasy. The work of Raymond Lully was apostolical and missionary, and it closed with martyrdom at Bugia, in a feverish attempt to evangelise "Mahound." What prompted the fiery energy of Picus de Mirandola, that he filled the Papal Court with the rumour and the wonder of the Jewish tradition? The fact that he also regarded it as a certain mystic way by which the princes of the Exile might be brought to the gates of the Eternal City and the Ghetto might be transformed into a baptistry. Suppose, lastly, that Nicholas Flamel was really initiated by the "Book of Abraham the Jew," so that Kabalism connects integrally with alchemy, what prompted the unostentatious scrivener of old Paris to make precious metals by occult arts when his wants were few and his trade sufficient for a

* M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Age, tome premier. Essai sur la transmission de la science antique au Moyen Age, passim.*

modest man? Why, he also had the missionary spirit—witness his bequests, real or fabulous, for the conversion of the heathen.

The inference is that the Kabalah was imported out of Jewry to prove that Jewry might be Christianised if it were handled wisely according to the lights given in the Holy Synods.*

Now, I do not need to say that there are very few occultists who would take any interest in the Kabalah regarded from this point of view. They are not, as a class, inspired by missionary zeal for any form of official religion, and their literature, as it stands, does not manifest more than sufficient respect for the great orthodoxies of Christendom. On the other hand, it is only in virtue of some immense misapprehension that the esoteric tradition of the Jews can be supposed to offer them the religion behind all religions. What it does offer them falls almost infinitely short. At its highest a bizarre but truly strenuous attempt to unriddle the universe, the most unaided of all metaphysics, the *systema mundi* excogitated in a darkened synagogue with the praying-shawl drawn over the eyes. What darkness to be felt in the void! What strange lights flashing in the darkness! In such a state Spanish Jew or Spanish Mystic of the Latin Church, Moses de Leon,

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* One writer in modern times has even gone so far as to maintain that "Christian doctrine, except the Trinity, which is Platonic, issues wholly, with all its details, from the Talmud. Christianity is son and brother of the Talmud."—Alexander Weill, *Moise, le Talmud et l'Évangile*, ii. 92. The statement sounds perilous, but M. Weill is not to be taken seriously. Compare *ibid.* ii. 91, "The Talmud is itself the most violent adversary of Moses," *i.e.*, the Moses of M. Weill. One paradox enables us to judge another.

if you will, or St. John of the Cross, exile of Babylon or recluse of the Thebaid, must enjoy a certain communication of the infinite. But to say more than this is frenzy. And at its lowest, that is to say, on that side upon which it makes contact no longer with the infinite, but with the occult as it is understood by occultism, finite of all things finite, what sombre trifling unredeemed by the saving sense of triviality, the physiognomy of the section *Yithroh*, the astrology of the processes of Gaffarel, the star messages of the Hebrew planisphere, the paper tubes of Éliphas Lévi ;* or, again, *notaricon*, *metathesis*, *gematria*,† the arcana of the extended name, the virtues of *Agla* and *Ararita* for conjuring heaven and earth. It is here that occultism illustrates how it receives only what it can give and how it comes to pass that the interest of the occultist in the Kabalah is less inspired by the occult theorems of the Zohar than by the magic garters of the "Key of Solomon." Hence even writers, like Papus in France, who have exceptional claims on our consideration, find it necessary to include in their scheme of Kabalism the sorry literature of the Grimoires.‡ And they and he have nothing to tell us of the Zohar. But we do not find the Grimoires in Picus de Mirandola, or in Raymond Lully ; we do not find much trace

* And the kind of Kabalah which A. Lelièvre undertook to defend in his *Justification des Sciences Divinatoires* (Paris, 1847).

† Observe also the developments which these subjects received in works like the *Caballa Anagrammatica* of Ranutius Longelus, *Placentiæ*, 1654—*ars mirabilis* indeed, as the author terms it.

‡ *La Kabbale*, pp. 10, 16, 26, the last especially, where the reference to Molitor makes the author of the "Philosophy of Tradition" apparently responsible for the identification of the *clavicula* and "magical MSS." as a serious branch of Kabalism.

of magic in the *Kabbala Denudata.* The Lexicon of Rosenroth does not include the occult wonders of *Agla*, nor does it tell us after what manner the extended name is compounded, by a childcraft of acrostics, out of three verses in Exodus. We do find all these in Agrippa, who wrote as a young man of things that he had heard and read, making a very dignified retractation of it all in his book of great excellence upon vanity.

There remains, of course, the mystic side of Kabalism, the return of the soul to God, and that path of ecstasy already mentioned, by which it was conceived that the soul might effect such reunion even in this life, but it is precisely this mystic side of which we see no effect in Jewry, and it is also this side which is neglected by modern occultism. For example, the present work is the first published in England which has any reference to the highest principle of the human soul in Kabalism and the instrument of unification with the Divine.

BOOK IV

THE WRITTEN WORD OF KABALISM: FIRST PERIOD

ARGUMENT

The traces of Kabalistic literature outside the Sepher Yetzirah, and prior to the publication of the Zohar, are enumerated briefly to indicate that there was a gradual growth of the tradition and to correct exaggerated notions concerning it. There are several ancient treatises which connect with Kabalism, but are not regarded by modern scholarship as Kabalistic in the technical sense. This is the case with the Sepher Yetzirah itself; but there is no doubt that all these works pretend to embody an occult tradition, or that it was the elements of oral tradition which subsequently received development from the commentators on the Sepher Yetzirah, as well as from the Zohar, and, later still, from the expositors of Zoharic mysteries. The attention of early Kabalists was concentrated on the "Book of Formation," and numerous elucidations of that work appeared between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

I. EARLY KABALISTIC LITERATURE

It is beyond controversy that there was a great body of mystic speculation and doctrine grown up in Jewry, of which the roots are to be found in the Talmud, while it is connected occasionally with brilliant and even with some great names. It is this transcendentalism which led ultimately to the Zohar,

and should scholarship forbid us to confer on it the distinctive denomination of Kabalism,* we must defer to scholarship, though with the mental reservation that if the question be more than of words it is at most one of stages of growth, for that which was of mysticism in Israel between the period of the Talmud and the period of the promulgation of the Zohar is that which in the course of its evolution became the Kabalah and the Zohar.

The title of this section is to some extent tentative or speculative, but the modest conclusions of the previous book are a sufficient warrant for supposing that there are traces of Kabalism, outside the Sepher Yetzirah, prior to the promulgation of the Zohar, and possessing some literary remains. It is indeed essential to the natural history of the later work that it should have had its antecedents in literature. According to the most acceptable view these were certain *Midrashim* which, for the most part, are not now extant, and it is fair to suppose that, assuming such memorials, they must have exercised some influence.

So also the Sepher Yetzirah, whatever the date ascribed to it, was of high authority, and the veneration in which it was held was of the kind which creates literature. We must beware, however, of supposing that there was an unbroken line of Kabalists from the second to the twelfth century, as some occult writers have pretended. Supposing the Sephir Yetzirah in its present form to be later than the second century,

* There can be, I think, little doubt that the Kabalah was the "reception" of the *Bereshith* and *Mercabah* mysteries mentioned in the Talmud, or that this was the view always taken by Kabalistic Jews.

we must regard as its prototype a work already mentioned under the title of the Alphabet of Akiba, while the antithesis of "The Book of Occultation," one of the most important sections of the Zohar, must be sought in the anthropomorphic *Schiur Komah, i.e.*, "The Measure of the Height," in other words, the "Description of the Body of God," or development of the various Scriptural places in which the divine members are mentioned. The dates of these fragmentary works are conjectural, but there can be no doubt, as indeed there is no question, of their comparative antiquity. Connected with these are the Greater and the Lesser Palace, known also as the "Delineation of the Heavenly Temples,"* which, in common with the others, is not regarded by modern critics as Kabalistic, but it is allowed that all were instrumental in calling the Kabalah into existence.†

In accordance with the exigencies of his standpoint, Dr. Graetz, who may be taken to represent all that is most acrid and uncompromising in hostility to Jewish mysticism, fixes the origin of Kabalism, as to its date, in the tenth century, and thus by implication denies the claim of the Sepher Yetzirah to be included in its literature. He is followed, as we have seen, by

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* Not to be confused with a work mentioned by Bartolocci under the name of R. Eliezer and dealing with the measurements of the earthly temple.

† "By the difficulty," says Ginsburg, "in which they placed the Jews in the South of France and in Catalonia, who believed in them almost as much as in the Bible, and who were driven to contrive this system whereby they could explain the gross descriptions of the Deity and of the plains of heaven, given in these Haggadic productions." It may indeed be affirmed that one spirit informed the chief works of mystical complexion which preceded the Zohar.

Ginsburg,* but it is not open to question that the work is indispensable to the Kabalah, or that it is an integral and fundamental part thereof. The tenth century is, however, an important period in Jewish history and Jewish letters, for at this epoch the quickening of the Arabian mind was followed by that of Israel† and was sometimes eclipsed thereby. There was for a moment a lull in persecution ; the academies in the East flourished, and in the West the internecine struggle of Christians and Moslems in Spain ensured a breathing space to the Children of the Exile. Prior to that period, from the sixth century and onward, there was a hiatus in the literature of Israel. The canons of the Talmud were closed, by the terror and peril of the time rather than inherent necessity, and the history of Israel became one of bitter struggle for existence. A certain hazardous shelter was found under Persian dominion, and ultimately the intellectual lamp of Israel shone forth clearly and steadily during the Moslem domination of Spain, which country from that period till the beginning of the thirteenth century was like a second Palestine to the Jew, and this land of refuge, under the tolerant and enlightened sway of the Spanish Khalifs, became almost as dear to his heart as the Land of Promise. Montpellier in France and Salerno in Italy were famous for their Jewish schools, but that of Seville was, perhaps, more illustrous than either. Spain also was a nursing-land of Kabalistic literature, and the traces of the esoteric tradition

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* Kitto's "Cyclopædia," third edition, 1864, *s.v.* Kabbalah

† Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, livre vii. c. 4, tom. v. p. 1503 *et seq.*

between the epoch which produced the "Book of Formation" and that of the "Book of Splendour" must be sought chiefly therein, though in the twelfth century something may be gleaned from Southern France and earlier still from Hay Gaon who flourished in the eleventh century, a Babylonian, on the borders of the Caspian Sea.*

There is neither space nor occasion here to produce a bibliographical list, and indeed the materials at our command can scarely be regarded as extensive, serving mainly to correct false and highly coloured impressions regarding the claims of Kabalistic tradition. The chief names of the period with which we are now concerned are:

I. Rabbi Eliezer, whose mystic system, as presented in the *Pirke*, connects on the one hand with the Sepher Yetzirah, and on the other with Zoharic teaching. We have, in the first place, God subsisting prior to the creation of the world alone with his Ineffable Name; next, the creation, prior to the visible world, of the *Thorah* or Law, together with the Throne of Glory, the Name of the Messiah, Paradise, Hell and the Temple of Jerusalem, *i.e.*, the archetype of the earthly temple; subsequently, the creation of the world by means of ten words. With this work may be connected the ancient *Midrash Conen*, which represents the *Thorah* as the foundation of the universe. It is a matter of con-

* Outside the dates and authorship ascribed by the old Kabalists to the Sepher Yetzirah and the Zohar there are other treatises attributed to the early days of the Exile. Thus tradition regards Eliezer Hagabite, son of Jose, a contemporary of Simeon ben Jochai, as a Kabalistic doctor and the author of a treatise on the thirty-two qualities of the Law. The antiquity of this work is doubtful.

jecture whether these works are slightly later or earlier than the Sepher Yetzirah.

II. The Gaon R. Saadiah, head of the Persian Academy of Sora, was the author of a commentary on the Sepher Yetzirah preserved in the Bodleian Library and only printed recently in France, as we shall see in the third section of this book.

III. The Gaon R. Shereerah, head of the academy of Pherruts Schibbur* in the neighbourhood of Babylon, was perhaps more distinguished for the violence with which he wrote against the Christians than for his Kabalistic knowledge. But Nachmanides† has preserved his observations on the "Delineation of the Heavenly Temples,"‡ or more correctly on the fragments which it embodies under the title of the "Proportion of the Height," otherwise called the "Description of the Body of God," which shows the Kabalistic leanings of Shereerah and creates the antithesis to the anthropomorphism of these early works which has been mentioned already as a key-note of Kabalism. "God forbid," he exclaims, "that man should speak of the Creator as if he had bodily members and dimensions!" This Rabbi was despoiled of his wealth and hanged by order of Cader, Khalif of the race of the Abassides.

IV. The Gaon R. Hay, son and successor of Shereerah as the head of the Babylonian School of Schibbur, is also credited with a commentary on the Sepher Yetzirah, which will be dealt with in its

* Or of Pumbaditha according to some authorities, including Graetz.

† In his commentary on the *Thorah*.

‡ Attributed to R. Ishmael, apparently the doctor of that name whose sentences are sometimes quoted in the Talmud.

proper place. The interpretation of dreams was one of the daily occupations of the Jewish academies, and their skill exhibited therein, or the credulity of the times, often purchased toleration and respect for the Rabbis at the hands of the Khalifs. To Rab Hay is attributed a treatise on this art, which was printed at Venice.* Outside his alleged commentary on the "Book of Formation" his voluminous works have many Kabalistic references, especially that entitled "The Voice of God in its Power." It will be sufficient to mention among these the doctrine of correspondences, of man as a microcosm and a peculiar theory of mystic contemplation. He possessed enormous influence and became subsequently the head of the academy of Pumbaditha in the neighbourhood of Bagdad. He died in 1038.

V. R. Chasdai† was a Prince of the Exile and temporal head of the Jews in Cordova. He was also a political minister under two Khalifs. He is said to connect the school of Hay Gaon with that of Gebirol.‡

VI. Solomon ben Yehudah Ibn Gebirol, the scholastic Avicebron and in all respects, Kabalistic and otherwise, a focus of intellectual and literary interest, was a contemporary of the famous Nagrila.

VII. R. Abraham ben David or Ben Dior Ha Levi, the great orthodox apologist of the twelfth century, has been included in the chain of Kabalism.

VIII. Moses Ibn Jacob ben Ezra,§ one of the

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* Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, ii. 387.

† *I.e.*, Abu-Yussuf Chasdaï ben Isaac Ibn Shaprut.

‡ He died about the year 970.

§ See "Essays on the Writings of Ibn Ezra," in the Transactions of the Society of Hebrew Literature.

greatest Jews of his time, was of Granada, and flourished in the earlier part of the twelfth century. His work entitled the "Garden of Aromatics" shows traces of the doctrine of Gebirol, but it appears by his "Commentary on Isaiah" that he was in disagreement with this doctor. Basnage says that he did not reject the Kabalah, though he knew its weakness, because he did not wish to be embroiled with contemporary writers.* He wrote upon the Divine Name and the mystic attributes of numbers in connection therewith.

IX. The names of Juda Hallevi, who has some references to the Sepher Yetzirah in his work entitled *Kusari*, of Jacob Nazir, of Solomon Jarki, of R. Abraham ben David, the younger, bring us to the thirteenth century and to the period of (*a*) Maimonides, who is reported, chiefly on the authority of R. Chaiim, to have turned Kabalist at an advanced age but in any case connects with mysticism, and was acquainted at least with the existence of the twofold mystic tradition distinguished as that of the Creation and that of the Chariot; (*b*) R. Azariel, of Valladolid, famous commentator on the Sepher Yetzirah; (*c*) Shem Tob Ibn Falaquera, a disciple of Maimonides, who connects with Gebirol; (*d*) R. Abraham Abulafia,† who wrote on the Tetragrammaton and

* Basnage quotes Skinner's letters and Usher in support of this view, but he and they are in some confusion as to important dates in Kabalistic history and literature. Graetz has a good account of Ibn Ezra, but it is unnecessary to say that his analogies with Kabalism are not mentioned.

† See Frankel, *Monatshrift für Geschichte und Weissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. v. p. 27, Leipsic, 1856. Graetz has also a long account of Abulafia, designed to ridicule the mental condition to which he refers the Kabalah.

the Mysteries of the Law, but his works have not been published.* He endeavoured to combine the theoretical and practical schools, but he was a quixotic adventurer and a Messianic enthusiast, to whose opinions it is unnecessary to give weight. It may be noted, however, that he exhibits some Christian tendencies.

Those who defend the authenticity of Kabalistic tradition find something to their purpose in all these writers and personalities, but they often proceed on a misconception. What, for example, is more likely to lead an unpractised student astray than the treatise of Abraham ben David Ha Levi, by the mere fact of its title? It is called *Seder Ha Kabalah*, the Order of the Tradition.† As a fact, it is the least mystical of all productions, and though I have termed its author a great orthodox apologist, he had a strong Aristotelian leaven. The occasion of his book was a Sadducean heresy prevalent in Castile and Leon, and represented by the work of Abu Alphrag, which maintained that the true synagogue was to be found among the Sadducees. The *Seder Ha Kabalah* vindicates the authority of the orthodox claim under the two heads of succession and universality, or community of doctrine among all the synagogues It embraces the entire history of the Jewish Church and the perpetuation of the Mosaic doctrine, which is the

* They include also the "The Fount of Living Waters," of which there is a Latin version in the Vatican. Graetz extends the number of his works to twenty; Bartolocci knew only of three.

† It was the prototype of several later works, such as Ghedalia on the Chain of the Kabalah, the *Yuhasin* of Zakut, famous in connection with the Zohar, and the *Tsemach David*, already quoted.

tradition named in the title.* The work of Abraham ben David Ha Levi is perhaps greater than was the occasion which called it forth. The Jews were divided among themselves upon many questions, of which Sadducean pretensions were certainly not the most important. The great distinction of the time for the purpose of our own inquiry was between the Jews who had adopted Aristotelian principles and the Jews who opposed the innovation. The enlightenment and culture were incontrovertibly on the side of the former; the fascination of mystic thought, in a word, all that we connect with the ideal of rabbinical Israel, went, however, into the opposite scale. There were great names on both sides. Rabbi Abraham and his *Sepher* exercised a large influence; his contemporary, Maimonides, who survived him by almost a quarter of a century, was described by the enthusiasts of his period as "the elect of the human race," and by a play upon his name it was said of him that "from Moses to Moses there was no one like unto Moses."

The rival school was to some extent represented by Avicebron, and some of those who assert that the Zohar incorporated traditions belonging to preceding centuries are content to rest their case on the writings of this poet and philosopher. The evidence, however, is in a very confused state. On the one hand, the system of Avicebron has many Aristotelian traces; on the other hand, it has been asserted that Maimonides has much to connect him with Avicebron, though he was not acquainted with his works, while,

* Bartolocci, *Magna Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, i. p. 18 *et seq.*

further, the great masterpiece of the Talmudic Jew of Cordova, entitled "The Guide of the Perplexed," offers many indications of his sympathy with the speculative Kabalah.* In a general sense, however, those who wished to introduce Aristotelian principles into Jewish philosophy belonged to that school which subsequently opposed the Zohar,† as, for example, Abraham Ibn Wakkar of Toledo, at the beginning of the fourteenth century,‡ while those who accepted the Zohar belonged to that school which connects with Avicebron, among whom was Rabbi Abraham ben David of Posquière, to whom one section of modern criticism attributes the invention of the Kabalah, and Isaac the Blind, with his disciples Azariel and Ezra, whose superior claim is favoured by Ginsburg.§ The Kabalistic interests of this school are outside all debate; it prized the Sepher Yetzirah, and one of

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* There does not seem, however, the slightest ground for supposing, with Isaac Myer, that Maimonides was acquainted with the Zohar. On the contrary, there is more perhaps to be said for the conjecture of S. Munk that the Zohar quotes, or rather borrows, from Maimonides. See *Mélanges*, &c., p. 278. Among the Kabalistic correspondences of Maimonides are (1) His recognition of a secret sense in Scripture; (2) Of the inaccessible nature of God; (3) Of the universe as an organic whole. The student should also consult an interesting *Notice sur la Cabale des Hébreux*, prefixed by the Chevalier Drach to the second volume of his work already cited on the "Harmony between the Church and the Synagogue." He establishes (*a*) That where Buxtorf supposes the Talmud (Tract *Rosh Hashanah*) to allow the same authority to the Kabalah as to the text of Moses, the reference is really to the spiritual power of the Synagogue; and (*b*) that the alleged mention of the mystic Kabalah by Maimonides is a misconception (*L'Harmonie*, ii. xvi. xvii. xviii.). It is certain, however, that Maimonides mentions a lost tradition.

† In which, however, Munk traces Aristotelian influences. —*Mélanges*, pp. 278, 279.

‡ See the English translation of Steinschneider, p. 114.

§ Who follows Graetz literally.

the most important commentaries on that treatise was produced within it.

When we investigate the claim made with regard to Avicebron, we must not be discouraged at finding that writers like Isaac Myer have much enhanced the real strength of his Kabalistic connections. We find, it is true, the doctrines of the Inaccessible God, of the intermediaries between God and the universe, of the emanation of the world, and even of the universal knowledge attributed to the pre-existent soul of man by all Jewish mysticism. But what we should like to meet with in a mystic of the eleventh century is a distinct trace of typical Zoharic doctrine, let us say that of the Countenances, and not Yetziratic references, Sephirotic correspondences and so forth. The latter are to be expected at the middle of the eleventh century, and in this case the former are wanting. There remains, however, sufficient to interest us, perhaps even to warrant the inclusion of Gebirol among the precursors of Zoharic Kabalism, and a short account of this author may be appended as a conclusion to this section.

At that period when the influence of Arabian imagination was infused into the romantic literature of Western Europe, scholastic philosophy and theology were receiving the tincture of Arabian thought, but as, on the one hand, this tincture was received sometimes without much consciousness of its origin, so, on the other, influences were occasionally referred to Arabian sources which were in reality referable only to the Spanish Jews living under the protection of the Khalifate during the Moslem domination of the peninsula. A case in point was

the once renowned Avicebron, whose identity with Solomon ben Yehudah Ibn Gebirol, a Jew of Cordova, was first demonstrated by Munk in the early part of the present century.* His chief treatise, entitled the "Fountain of Life," in a Latin version ascribed to the middle of the twelfth century, became widely diffused; Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas of Aquin and Duns Scotus, all cited it; and it is said to sum the philosophy of the thirteenth century. According to Renan, Avicebron preceded the school of Arabian philosophy which arose in Spain. He wrote philosophy in Arabic and poetry in Hebrew; the Jews valued his poetry, but his metaphysics were not in repute among them; the Christian scholastics adopted his philosophical ideas, and knew nothing whatever of his verses. By both classes of his admirers he was respectively celebrated as the greatest philosopher and the greatest poet of his time. But the nominalists denounced him; realists like Duns Scotus entailed on him their own condemnation; while he is said to have exercised an influence upon the mystics of the Middle Ages, he was proscribed by the University of Paris at the period of the publication of the Zohar on the ground that he favoured Aristotle. When the school of Averroes arose he was unknown among it; at a later period he was unknown to Maimonides; he was unknown also to the encyclopædic learning of Picus de Mirandola; and on the

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* *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe.* The hostile school of Zoharic criticism has not done sufficient credit to Munk for his interesting discovery, but he is not a *persona grata* on account of his theory that the Zohar was founded on genuine ancient *Midrashim.*

threshold of the Reformation his memory may be said to have perished at the pyre of Giordano Bruno.

Avicebron was born about the year 1021 at Malaga; he was educated in the University of Saragossa, and he died at Valencia in 1070. He was patronised by Nagdilah—*i.e.*, Samuel-ha-Levi ben Josef Ibn Nagréla—a Prince of the Exile, who was also Prime Minister of Spain under the Kalifate of Habus. Nagdilah was the centre and mainspring of Jewish learning in that country, and it is thought that through him the sacred tradition of the Hebrews was communicated to Avicebron at a period when the Zohar and its connections were still in course of formation. It seems certain, in any case, that some of the conceptions and the system incorporated in these books may be found in his writings, more especially in the "Fountain of Life" and the "Crown of the Kingdom." The first is affirmed to be the earliest known exhibition of "the secrets of the speculative Kabalah."* The second, composed towards the end of his life, is a hymn "celebrating the only one and true God, and the marvels of His creation."

The existence of the Zoharic tradition some centuries previous to the time of Moses de Leon, the reputed forger of the Zohar, has been rested, among other supports, on the writings of this Spanish Jew, and he seems to have been acquainted indubitably with the Book of Formation. In the second book and twenty-second section of the

* There is some confusion here, as the Sepher Yetzirah is certainly speculative as contrasted with the so-called practical Kabalah, which was mainly the working of miracles by the use of the Divine Names.

"Fountain of Life" this passage occurs: "Hence it hath been said that the construction of the world was accomplished by the inscription of numbers and letters in the air," which is obviously the fundamental notion of the Kabalistic work in question. The table of the Thirty-Two Paths, which arises out of the Book of Formation, was the theme of one of his poems. Whether the later Kabalists derived from Avicebron or both from a common source cannot be conclusively determined, but having regard to the Jewish indifference for his philosophical writings, and to the probable existence of a vast mass of floating esoteric tradition, there can be no doubt as to the direction in which probability points.*

The connection between Avicebron and the Kabalah is not sufficiently explicit upon the surface of the "Fountain of Life" to have attracted the attention of critics like Ernest Renan; while Kabalistic critics refer the system which it develops to the ten *Sephiroth*, others suppose it to be based on the ten categories of Aristotle, a pantheism analogous to that of the early realists. "On the one hand," says Renan, "his application of Peripatetic principles to Mosaic doctrine alarmed the theologians; on the other hand, his concessions to orthodoxy concerning the creation and the free will of the Creator did not satisfy the extreme Peripatetic Jews." Of his alleged Kabalistic connections Renan was either unaware, as already suggested, or they were ignored by him.

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* Graetz takes the opposite view, saying that the Kabalah borrowed many principles from Ibn Gebirol. He, of course, offers no reasoning on the subject.

An impartial examination of the "Fountain of Life" makes the pantheism of Avicebron less apparent than his Kabalistic correspondences. So far from identifying the universe with God, it establishes no uncertain contrast between them. In order to bridge the abyss, and to make it conceivable that one derived being from the other, he supposes nine intermediaries, *plus* the Divine Will, "through which the Absolutely Existing, who is above number," is "attached to its corporeal universe." The analogies which this conception offers to Yetziratic doctrine are self-evident and do not need enforcing, and yet our impartial judgment must pronounce the philosophy of Avicebron to be of Greek rather than Jewish complexion. It is at least clear that the *Fons Vitæ*, which is a dialogue after the manner of Plato, is tinctured deeply by Hellenic thought.

Modern scholarship has recognised three chief schools which led up to Zoharic Kabalism: (*a*) that of Isaac the Blind, to which belongs Azariel with his celebrated commentary on the Sepher Yetzirah; (*b*) that of Eliezar of Worms, which is largely of the theurgic order; and (*c*) that of Abulafia, which to some extent united the preceding and made use of the theurgic formulæ combined with contemplation to achieve union with God.

II. THE BOOK OF FORMATION

In developing the Kabalistic doctrine of the Instruments of Creation, in describing the Paths of Wisdom and in attempting to determine the date

of the Book of Formation in connection with our investigation as to the authority of the Kabalah, we have nearly exhausted the subject of the tiny treatise which is regarded by most scholars and by every occultist as the nucleus of all Kabalism. It is difficult, however, to omit it in giving an account of the documents, and it will perhaps be best to begin this brief bibliographical notice by a summary of the points which have been determined previously concerning it.

The legend which attributes it to the patriarch Abraham, who transmitted it orally to his sons, by whom it was perpetuated in turn till the "sages of Jerusalem," committed it finally to writing, so that the tradition might not perish even when the chosen people seemed themselves on the eve of perishing—this, we have seen, is legend. It is interesting and respectable in its way. At the period when we first hear of the existence of such a tract it was possibly already old, and most old books have myths designed to explain them. Those who take the myths historically convert honest legend into something approaching farce. We must be content therefore to say that the Sepher Yetzirah is first mentioned probably in the ninth century; there is some reason to suppose that it is quoted in the Talmud, but it is not wholly certain;* it

* The treatise *Sanhedrim* contains the following passage: "By means of combining the letters of the ineffable names as recorded in SPR ITsIRH (*i.e*, the sealing names enumerated in the first chapter, being permutations of IHV), Rava once created a man and sent him to Rav Zeira. The man being unable to reply when spoken to, the Rabbi said to him, Thou art a creature of the company (initiated in the mysteries of necromancy): return to thy dust."

may have antedated its first citation in literature by a generation, a century, or an age. Let us realise that we do not know, and that those who judge the question dogmatically on either side deserve to be classed as intemperate.

Let us now look a little more closely at the work itself. It is divided into five chapters, the first being concerned with the office of the *Sephiroth* in creation and the remaining four with what have been termed the Instruments—namely, the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. It was after the revelation of these mysteries to Abraham that he received the manifestation of God and that the covenant was instituted. According to the expression of the original, God "bound the twenty-two letters" on the tongue of the patriarch and discovered to him all their secrets.*

The symbolism of the Book of Formation having been sufficiently considered in the second part of our inquiry, there are only two points which require to be noted here. One is the absolute distinctness between God and the instruments of creation,† whether numbers or letters, which is

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* *Sepher Yetzirah*, chap. vi.

† Hence Mr. C. G. Harrison is in error when he implies that pantheism is involved in the Sephirotic system, and thence proceeds to argue that, "It takes no account of the element of illusion which is necessarily implied in the theophanic doctrine."—See "The Transcendental Universe," London, 1894, pp. 86, 87. *Cf.* Alexander Weill, *Lois et Mystères de la Création conformés à la Science la plus Absolue.* Paris, 1896. The writer refers to a work under a similar title which he issued forty years previously, purporting to be the translation of a Hebrew MS. by a master of Kabalah. "This writing is distinguished from all rabbinical and philosophical treatises by proclaiming the identity of the Creator with His creatures, based on the text of Genesis itself." Weill is a fantasiast who pretends to separate the frauds and contradictions which Esdras and his assistants introduced into the Pentateuch

established by this early Kabalistic work. Separated from all number and transcending all expression, He is represented as a faithful king sojourning in eternity and ruling the *Sephiroth* for ever from His holy seat. The second point concerns the emanation of the *Sephiroth*, to which, in preference to their creation, all later Kabalism inclines. There is little on the face of the Book of Formation to countenance this view; they appear as the instruments and servants of the King of Ages, informed by whose word they go forth "and returning, fall prostrate in adoration before the Throne."* It is said, however, that their end is joined to their beginning, as the flame is joined to the firebrand, and perhaps the principle of emanation is contained implicitly in this statement. We have no reason for rejecting a construction which has been adopted invariably, but it is just to draw attention to the fact that the first work which mentions the *Sephiroth* leaves this point in obscurity, while it certainly depicts God as the active architect of the universe, who graved, sculptured and builded.

The first *Sephira* is described as the Spirit of the Living God, the blessed and again blessed name of God living eternally. Voice, Spirit and Word—these are the Holy Spirit. TWO is the Breathing of the Spirit; the twenty-two tetters depend herefrom and each one of them is Spirit. THREE is the moisture

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from the real work of Moses. *Cf.* the same author's *Moïse, le Talmud et l'Evangile.* Paris, 1875, tom. i. p. 99. According to Franck, the last word of the system developed by the Sepher Yetzirah is the substitution of absolute unity for every species of dualism.—*La Kabbale*, p. 159.

* *Sepher Yetzirah*, chap. i.

which comes from the Breath; herewith God sculptured and engraved the first lifeless and void matter. He built TOHU, the line which circles snake-like about the world, and BOHU, the concealed rocks imbedded in the abyss whence the waters issue. This triad of the Spirit, the Breath and the Water corresponds to the conception subsequently formed of the Atzilutic or archetypal world. FOUR is the Fire which comes forth from the Water; with this God sculptured the Throne of Honour, the Ophanim or Celestial Wheels, the Holy Animals—*i.e.*, the four living creatures and the other serving Spirits. Within their dominion He established His habitation. This numeration seems to contain in itself the conceptions of *Briah* and *Yetzirah*, the archangelic and angelic worlds. It should be remembered, however, that the Book of Formation is concerned only with the sphere of operation tabulated subsequently as the third world of Kabalism. As each *Sephira* was supposed to contain all the *Sephiroth*, so there was a superincession of the four worlds which were all contained in each. The arrangement of the Sepher Yetzirah does not exhibit this clearly, but the numerations from five to ten inclusive must be held to represent Assiah. FIVE is the seal with which God sealed the Height when He contemplated it above Him. He sealed it with the name IEV. SIX is the seal with which He sealed the depth when He contemplated it beneath Him. He sealed it with the name IVE. SEVEN is the seal with which He sealed the East when He contemplated it before Him. He sealed it with the name EIV. EIGHT is the seal with which He sealed the West when He contemplated it behind Him. He

sealed it with the name VEI. NINE is the seal with which He sealed the South when He contemplated it on His right. He sealed it with the name VIE. TEN is the seal with which He sealed the North when He contemplated it on His left. He sealed it with the name EVI. The ten numerations are finally classed together under the one title of "Ineffable Spirits of God." The sealing names are combinations of three letters, successively transposed, which enter into the name *Tetragrammaton.*

The Sepher Yetzirah was published at Mantua in 1592, but the Latin translation of Postel had preceded it by ten years.* The Mantua edition was accompanied by five commentaries.† Another Latin version will be found in the collection of Pistorius; it is ascribed to Reuchlinus and Riccius. In 1642 a further edition was published at Amsterdam in Hebrew and Latin by Rittangelius. It was issued by Meyer at Leipsic in 1830, with a German translation and notes, and at Frankfort, 1849, with a German translation and commentary,‡ by L. Goldschmidt.

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* The full title of this curious little volume is ABRAHAMI PATRIARCHÆ LIBER JEZIRAH, *sive Formationis Mundi, Patribus quidem Abrahami tempora præcedentibus revelatus, sed ab ipso etiam Abrahamo expositus Isaaco, et per Profetarum manus posteritati conservatus, ipsis autum* 72 *Mosis auditoribus in secundo divinæ veritatis loco, hoc est in ratione, quæ est posterior authoritate, habitus. Vertebat ex Hebræis et commentariis illustrabat* 1551, *ad Babylonis ruinam et corrupti mundi finem,* GULIELMUS POSTELLUS, *Restitutus. Parisiis,* 1552.

† It also contained two recensions of the text, the differences between which are regarded by some authorities as considerable and by others as unimportant variants.

‡ The "American Encyclopædia," iii. 521, 522, mentions the Amsterdam edition of 1642, with a Latin translation, but does not connect it with Rittangelius.

In 1887 Dr. Papus made a French translation to which he added the Thirty-two Paths of Wisdom and the Fifty Gates of Intelligence. With characteristic sincerity he admits that this was superseded by Mayer Lambert in 1891.

The one question which now remains for consideration is how we are to account for the importance attributed by occultism to such a work as the Sepher Yetzirah. Do its defenders believe that the combination of *Aleph* with all the other letters and all the rest with *Aleph*, *Beth* with all the others and all the rest with *Beth*, &c., &c., actually produced the universe? That seems an insupportable assumption. Do they regard the letters as symbols of forces and hold that the Sepher Yetzirah teaches that the universe originates in the orderly combination of certain forces? That is reasonable enough, but it is a commonplace which seems scarcely worth stating and certainly does not require a secret tradition to secure it. But do they consider that the letters represent occult forces, of a fixed, determinable character, and that initiation into the real meaning of Kabalistic tradition will discover their nature, explaining thus the secret behind the arbitrary doctrine of a virtue inherent in words and letters? This might indeed be valuable, but I have never met with an occultist who took such a view, or had anything to substantiate it if he did. In the absence of any light on this point we can only conclude that it is the arbitrary doctrine in question which accounts for the interest taken in the Sepher Yetzirah; but the truly occult student, as I have defined him at the outset of this inquiry, can only

be scandalised at the childish nature of Yetziratic tabulations.

III. CONNECTIONS AND DEPENDENCIES OF THE BOOK OF FORMATION

Were there evidence to warrant us in believing that Moses de Leon did actually, as his hostile relative is reported to have affirmed, write the Zohar bodily "out of his own head," there would still be substantial evidence that the Kabalistic system which it contains was not his invention. The existence of the Sepher Yetzirah is part of this evidence, which appears, however, more fully and more strongly in the commentaries and developments of that work. We have seen already that when it came to be printed at Mantua, the Book of Formation was accompanied by five such connections, which at the same time do not exhaust the list that might be given in a full bibliography. The best known is unquestionably the *Sepher Sephiroth*, or "Commentary on the Ten *Sephiroth* by way of Questions and Answers," the work of R. Azariel ben Menahem; that of Rabbi Abraham has been regarded as the most important from an occult standpoint, while the earliest in point of time is the work of Saadya Gaon in the tenth century. Another, which has been attributed to Hay Gaon in the early part of the eleventh century, would rank next in antiquity, but it has been usually rejected as spurious. Commentaries are also attributed to R. Moses

Botrel,* R. Moses ben Nahmann, R. Abraham ben David Ha Levi the younger and R. Eliezer. With the exception of the one last mentioned they are all prior to the period when Moses de Leon is supposed to have been at work on the Zohar, and they have been used to show that the novelty of that work "is of form rather than material."

The commentary of R. Saadya Gaon was published in Hebrew at Mantua together with the Sepher Yetzirah,† but it was written originally in Arabic, and a copy is preserved in the Bodleian Library. After remaining in MS. for over eight hundred years this Arabic original was at length printed at Paris, together with a French translation, in 1892. In the introduction prefixed to his version, M. Lambert observes that Saadya Gaon appears as a theosophist in his commentary, which is equivalent to saying that the first expository treatise on the Sepher Yetzirah possesses a Kabalistic complexion, though the author is frequently regarded as a purely rationalistic writer. It must be confessed, however, that Saadya offers little connection with Zoharic doctrine. We have noted that the *Sephiroth* of the Sepher Yetzirah show scarcely any trace of an emanational system. For Saadya Gaon there is one intermediary between God and the world, but this is the physical air and not the transcendental numerations. In this air God is everywhere present, and it penetrates all bodies, even the most compact. Of the doctrine of *Ain Soph* there is also no real trace. It is,

* He describes the Kabalah as a most pure and holy philosophy, but exhibits no acquaintance with the Zohar.

† Bartolocci, iv. 267.

however, recognised, on the one hand, that we cannot have an adequate notion of the Divinity or His correspondences with the world, but, on the other, that some approximate idea may be obtained as to the latter and that they may be shown forth by means of figures and comparisons. One of these illustrations tells us that God is the life of the world as the soul is the life of the body, and as in man the soul is all-powerful, so God is omnipotent in the world. He is also its Supreme Reason, and as in man the rational faculty is the guide of life, so the Divine Power is directed by the Divine Reason. Above this elementary and commonplace form of natural theology the commentary never soars, and we may be indeed warranted in saying that the work, as a whole, has no inherent interest, though it is valuable as a historical document.

Unlike the Sepher Yetzirah, which makes no reference to pneumatology, Saadya Gaon devotes a certain space to the consideration of the soul in man ; and here, in a sense, he connects with Zoharic Kabalism, though he rejects metempsychosis, for he recognises its five aspects and calls them by their conventional names, which names, however, occur, as we have seen, in the Talmud.* Unfortunately, his classification is exceedingly clumsy, and he begins by following Plato in the recognition of three faculties—reason, concupiscence and anger. On account of reason the soul is called *Neshamah*, on

* Despite his hostility to reincarnation as understood by the Kabalah he accepts the pre-existence of souls and teaches that the resurrection of the body will take place when all souls destined for earthly life have passed through it.

account of concupiscence it is called *Nephesh*, and on account of anger it is called *Ruach*. The two other names, *Chaiah* (living) and *Jechidah* (unique), refer to the vitality of the soul and to the fact that no other creature resembles it.

The doctrine concerning divine and angelic names is also the subject of some references which are important to our inquiry because they establish the fact that Saadya Gaon did not ascribe to them any occult virtue. The names of the angels vary according to the events which they are commissioned to accomplish, and, in like manner, those referred to the Deity are descriptive of His operations. In the work of the creation He terms Himself *Elohim;* when ordaining the covenant of circumcision He is called *El Shaddai;* He is the I AM in connection with the wonders of the ten plagues; and He is *Jah* when producing the great miracle of the Red Sea.* As it is with the names of God and the angels, so is it with those of the stars, which vary according to their qualities—namely, their greater or lesser brilliance, their hot or cold natures, &c.

When explaining the object of the Sepher Yetzirah as representing the manner in which created things come into being, there is a reference to the ten categories—namely, substance, quantity, quality,

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* The Zohar teaches that the name AHIH, which signifies I AM, indicates the unification and concealment of all things in such a manner that no distinction can be established between them. The name ASLR AHIR, I WHO AM, represents God on the point of manifesting all things, including His Supreme Name. On the other hand the name Jehovah or AHIH AShR AHIH, I AM HE WHO IS, refers to the Deity, or is that name assumed by Him, on the occasion of the manifestation of the Cosmos.—Zohar iii. 65*b*, Mantua.

relation, place, time, powers, position, activity, passivity, and if these are to be regarded as referring to the numerations of the Sepher Yetzirah, it is clear that Saadya Gaon understood the latter as an Aristotelian philosopher. With these categories, the ten commandments are also forced to correspond in an arbitrary manner. For example, that against adultery answers to the category of position, for the act itself is a position and a contact.

Lastly, in his analysis of the Hebrew alphabet, the commentator seeks to account for its sequence. *Aleph* is the first sound pronounced—*i.e.*, it is vocalised at the back of the tongue. *Shin* is vocalised in the middle of the mouth and *Mem* on the lips. Unfortunately for the analogy, *Mem* precedes *Shin* in the alphabet, and indeed the design of the speculation seems past conjecture.

About the commentary ascribed to Hay Gaon there is considerable confusion, which Isaac Myer increases by representing that it deals with the "Book of Concealment," instead of that of Formation. There are no historic notices and no traces whatsoever of the former tract before the appearance of the Zohar, in which it was first made known. The work of Hay Gaon needs only to be mentioned in passing on account of its disputed authenticity. Other works attributed to him are not above suspicion, but it may be admitted in a general way that he had more distinct Kabalistic connections than Saadya. The condemned commentary deals largely with the mysteries of the Tetragrammaton and gives perhaps for the first time the curious quadrilateral method of writing it by means of letters and circles, to which so much

importance was afterwards attributed by occult writers.* The commentary of Abraham ben David Ha Levi,† the younger of that name and a contemporary of Maimonides, whom he attacked bitterly, is also included in the Mantua edition of the Book of Formation, and was used largely by Rittangelius in that of Amsterdam, 1642.‡ The intensest confusion prevails with regard to the personality of the author, who, on the one hand, is frequently identified with the writer of the *Seder Ha Kabalah*, and is, on the other, the subject of many contradictory myths prevailing in occult circles. Éliphas Lévi, who cites a passage from his treatise as a proof of the authenticity and reality of his own "discovery" of the *Magnum Opus*,§ makes a great deal of mystery concerning it and its rarity, but he has used evidently the edition

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* By Éliphas Lévi above all, who reproduces its diagram with additions which I regard as fanciful (*Dogme de la Haute Magie*, section dealing with the Kabalah), and elsewhere (*La Science des Esprits*) illustrates these additions by a Kabalistic document which I think also is one of his specimens of invention.

† Bartolocci, i. 15.

‡ *Liber Jesirah* (Hebrew and Latin) *qui Abrahamo patriarchæ adscribitur, una cum commentario Rabbi Abraham* F. D. (*i.e.*, Ben Dior) *super* 32 *Semitis Sapientiæ . . Translatus et Notis illustratus à Joanne Stephano Rittangelio...Amstelodami*, 1642. The thirty-two Paths referred to at the beginning of the Sepher Yetzirah are given in Latin and Hebrew, each followed immediately by the commentary of R. Abraham, likewise in Latin and Hebrew. Then comes the explanation of Rittangelius, which sometimes extends to many pages, quoting many authorities, including the Zohar and its Supplements. After the Paths, we have the Sepher Yetzirah itself, in Latin and Hebrew, with the editor's commentary, also in both languages. It should be added that the entire commentary of R. Abraham is not given by Rittangelius, who is content with presenting that part only which is devoted to the Paths of Wisdom.

§ *Rituel de la Haute Magie*, c. 12, where the Hebrew passage cited is completely unintelligible. *Cf. La Clef des Grands Mystères*, pp. 233, 234.

of Rittangelius, which is perfectly well known and attainable in almost any national library.

We have admitted that the commentary of Saadya Gaon can scarcely be termed Kabalistic; we have agreed to set aside another which abounds in Kabalistic material because its date and attribution have been challenged; in the work of R. Abraham, however, there are Zoharic elements which admit of no question, and it is indeed to the school which he represents that Graetz and others have referred the authorship of the Book of Splendour. There is the peculiar distinction between upper and lower *Sephiroth* which is not only characteristic of the Zoharic period, but offers a connecting link between R Abraham and the late Kabalism of Isaac de Loria.* But more than this, there is the doctrine of the Unknowable God, of "the Cause of Causes which is not apprehended by any one outside Itself," being void of all distinction and all mode of existence. It has not assumed the final shape in which it is presented by the Zohar, and it appears to be something more concealed and latent than the conception of *Ain Soph*, the *Non Ens* or *Corona Summa*, which again is distinguished by R. Abraham from *Kether*, the Crown of Creation, on the ground that "the accident is not made from the essence nor the *Res* from the *Non Res* or *Non Ens*," thus occasioning an insoluble difficulty as to the emanation of the manifest universe. For the rest, the *Ain Soph* of our commentator is described in terms which are almost identical with

* There is no doubt that the ten *Sephiroth* were an evolved system in the time of the Yetziratic commentator.

Zoharic teaching. "Neither unity nor plurality can be attributed to It, because unity cannot be ascribed to that which is incomprehensible in its essence," the reason being that number is an accident belonging to the world of extension, place and time.

Among minor Zoharic correspondences, it may be noted that a peculiar importance is attributed to the letter *Aleph;* it is the form of all the letters, and all the paths of wisdom are contained therein, but after the universal mode. There are also traces of the peculiar angelical system which was destined to receive so much elaborate extension from the commentators on the Book of Splendour.

Before dismissing this commentary we may note the alleged connection of its author with that Abraham the Jew* who belongs to the literature of alchemy. The testament of this mysterious personage transformed Nicholas Flamel from a simple scrivener into a seeker after the Great Work—a search, moreover, which legend represents as a success. The memorial in question was addressed to the nation of Israel dispersed by the wrath of God in France, by one who styled himself "priest, prince, Levite, astrologer and philosopher." The description which constitutes our sole knowledge concerning it is given in another testament, that of Nicholas Flamel, and it is very difficult to decide how far this can be regarded as authentic. Belonging as they do to alchemy, there is no ground here to discuss their respective claims,

* This title is used by Bartolocci in his bibliography to describe numerous writers who cannot be more closely identified.

but it is well to say that the attempt made by Éliphas Lévi to identify the Abraham of Flamel with the commentator on the Sepher Yetzirah not only institutes a connection between alchemy and Kabalism which is unwarrantable in itself but has no colourable evidence to cite in its own support, as there is no trace whatever of any alchemical meaning in the Hebrew commentator. Abraham the Kabalist belongs to the twelfth century. Flamel was two hundred years later, and the book which he mentions could scarcely have existed in Jewry, on the Lévi hypothesis, for such a space of time without something transpiring concerning it.

As a literary and philosophical work the first place among the dependencies of the Sepher Yetzirah seems correctly assigned to the commentary of Azariel. Its author was born at Valladolid in or about the year 1160. According to some authorities he was a pupil of Isaac the Blind,* but others say that his teacher was R. Jehuda, son of Rabad. He became in turn the instructor of R. Moses Nachmanides, who also belongs to the chain of Yetziratic tradition.†

He is said to have travelled much in search of secret wisdom, but it was an age when men of learning were frequently wanderers, and it was perhaps less recondite motives which actuated him. He connects with the Kabalistic system which was expounded by the school of Gerona, and there are no

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* A.D. 1190 to *circa* 1210. He taught the doctrine of metempsychosis and a few fragments of his writings are still extant.

† And brought, as Graetz admits, the influence of his great reputation to bear upon its fortunes.

real grounds for supposing that he acquired knowledge elsewhere, but he added the result of his own reflections. Many works have been attributed to him, of which some are lost and some have remained in MS. "The Explanation of the Ten *Sephiroth* by way of Questions and Answers" must have helped to shape the metaphysical speculations of the Kabalah and may well enough have originated more than it derived.

The teachings of Azariel aroused the opposition of the Aristotelian Jews, and it is thought by Isaac Myer that the logical form of his commentary was a concession to this school of thought. Whatever its motive, the fact, broadly taken, is of importance to our inquiry; it shows that the Sephirotic notion in its earliest development could not really have been that of the categories, since it had to be conformed to the principles espoused by the disciples of Aristotle. The Jewish *literati* followed various schools, and the influence attributed to the Stagirite has perhaps been exaggerated. The votaries of the so-called secret wisdom were a small minority. Platonism, as it is needless to say, was very little known in the West at the period in question, though it appears in the later Kabalism.

As regards both matter and form, Azariel's commentary has been the subject of high praise. It contains the doctrine of *Ain Soph*, which is not in the Sepher Yetzirah, and it has express views on the emanation of the *Sephiroth*, which are said to be contained in *Ain Soph* and of no effect when separated. Their emanation was possible because it must be within the omnipotence of the Deity to

assume a limit. The essence and the real principle of all finite things is the Thought of the Supreme Being; if that were withdrawn, they would be left as empty shells, and this is true not only of the visible world but of the intermediaries between God and the creation. With his philosophical speculations the Kabalist mingles something from the fantastic region, attributing, for example, certain symbolic colours to the *Sephiroth.** *Kether* is "like the Concealed Light," or the light which is veiled in darkness, the comparison intended being probably that of a luminous mist. *Binah* is sky-blue, because *Binah* is the great sea of Kabalism. *Chokmah* is yellow, *Chesed* white and *Geburah* red; *Tiphereth* is white, red, or pink, *Netzach* is whitish-red and *Hod* reddish-white. *Jesod* is the combination of the previous triad, while *Malkuth* is like the light which reflects all colours. Azariel also countenances the Sephirotic division of the human body which is found in later Kabalism.

Moses ben Nahman, or Nachmanides, was born in 1194 at Gironne. Before he made acquaintance with the Kabalah he is said to have had a prejudice against it, but he was afterwards an enthusiastic student both of its speculative and practical parts, and both by his writings and influence contributed much to its development. His Kabalistic "Explanation of the Law" was completed in 1268, and among his many other works that called the "Garden of Delight," and another on the "Secrets of the *Thorah*,"

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* According to the Zohar the colour attributions are as follows: *Kether*, black, white, or colourless; *Tiphereth*, purple; *Malkuth*, clear sapphire.

are full of theosophical speculations.* He left his native land to settle in Palestine, where he died, apparently at a great age, but at what precise time is not known.

The commentary on the Sepher Yetzirah which passes under the name of R. Eliezer seems to have been the work of a German Jew of Germesheim,† author of the "Vestment of the Lord," one of the greatest Kabalists of his period. That he was the instructor of Moses Nachmanides, as some authorities have stated, is, however, a mistake, as Basnage has indicated, for he belongs to a later date. His works, which are wholly Kabalistic, are (1) "The Vestment of the Lord," but this has never been printed· (2) "The Guide of Sinners," exhorting them to repentance and amendment of life (Venice, 1543). (3) A Treatise on the Soul, cited by Mirandola in his thesis against the astrologers. (4) An explanation of Psalm cxlv. (5) A commentary on the Sepher Yetzirah, appended to the Mantua edition of that work. The author flourished before and after the middle of the fourteenth century. Commentaries on the Sepher Yetzirah are ascribed to R. Aaron

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* His other works include an epistle on the use of matrimony in exercising the fear of God; a work on the nature of man from the text of II. Samuel, vii. 19; a book of Faith and Confidence; another on Wars; and yet another on the Pomegranate. These are not professedly Kabalistic, like the "Treasure of Life," the "Treasure of the Lord," the "Garden of Pleasure" (mentioned in the text above), or the mystical epistle on the thing desired. As regards the practical part of the Kabalah, he treated it with grave consideration, including its arts of necromancy, the evocation of evil spirits and the methods of their control.

† Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, c. vii. t. v. p. 1859. See also Bartolocci.

the Great,* under the title of "Book of the Points"; R. Judas Levi;† Sabbatai Donolo;‡ Juda ben Barzillai;§ and Isaac the Blind.

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* Bartolocci, i. 15.
† *Ibid.*
‡ Edited by M. Castelli. Florence, 1880.
§ Edited by M. Halbertstamm. Berlin, 1885.

BOOK V

THE WRITTEN WORD OF KABALISM: SECOND PERIOD

ARGUMENT

The divisions of the Zohar are set forth in successive sections so as to furnish a clear and comprehensive notion of the materials incorporated by this composite work. Its doctrinal content is established by means of copious quotations, selected with special reference to its importance from an occult standpoint.

I. THE BOOK OF SPLENDOUR: ITS CONTENT AND DIVISIONS

THE cycle of the Sepher Yetzirah lies within a manageable compass, and its most important dependencies are all available to the student by means of Latin translations. The *Sepher Ha Zohar*, on the other hand, is large in itself, it has considerable supplementary matter belonging to a later period and an extensive connected literature; it has not been translated into Latin nor into any European language.* The consequence, especially

* The Italian reader may, however, be referred to an analysis of the Zohar by the Abbé de Rossi, which appeared in his *Dizionario storico degli Autori Ebrei*. The writer follows Morin as to the late date of the work.

to esoteric students, has been very unfortunate.* Great confusion has obtained in regard, firstly, to the content of the work and, secondly, to the comparative importance of its various divisions. Part of this must be undoubtedly attributed to the ambitious design of Rosenroth's great collection. The *Kabbala Denudata*, by attempting to cover much too wide a field, gives no adequate idea of the work which it is meant to elucidate. It attributes an exaggerated, though not inexcusable, importance to three tracts introduced into the body of the Zohar and to late commentary on these; the apparatus in the form of a lexicon which fills most of the first volume, though it has a methodical appearance, is little more than a chaos, in which late and early expositors are bundled together after the uncritical manner of the period; in a later section undue prominence is given to some personal discussions and correspondence between the Editor and Henry More, the English platonist; finally, the second volume includes an enormous treatise on the doctrine of the Revolutions of Souls by a Kabalist of the seventeenth century. With all its defects the *Kabbala Denudata* remains of real value, but it would have been beyond all price had a clearer genius governed its arrangement. As it is, the class of persons who are most

* Outside esoteric students the case of Basnage may be mentioned as that of a well-informed writer, whose history of the Jewish people from the time of Jesus Christ to his own date—the beginning of the eighteenth century—is memorable in several respects, yet whose knowledge of the Zohar does not even extend so far as it might have been taken by Rosenroth. He terms (*Livre* iii. p. 775) the Book of Concealment the first part of the work, and seems to regard it as comprised simply in that and the two Synods. In a word, he had not read the preface to the *Kabbala Denudata*, vol. ii.

concerned with the subject have been content to follow the lead of Rosenroth, and to accept a little tract known as the "Book of Concealment" as the fundamental part of the whole Zohar, and the developments of that tract as entitled to the next highest consideration. There are, of course, many sources of information, for the most part not of an occult kind, by which this false impression might have been corrected—the work of Franck in France and that of Ginsburg in England, to name two only—but it has endured notwithstanding, and the latest instance is found in the latest work published by Dr. Papus. There the bibliographical appendix states that "the only complete translation" of the Zohar is that of M. H. Chateau,* whereas the enterprise in question is confined only to the tracts rendered into Latin by Rosenroth, and these have been available for years in the English version of Mathers. The Book of Occultation and its Zoharistic commentaries are only accidents of the Zohar, and they furnish no real notion of the scope of that work. I should add that from the occult standpoint the Zohar itself is only an accident of the Kabalah—an accident in the life of the alleged tradition, much as, from the standpoint of Latin Christianity, the New Testament is not the exclusive foundation of the Church but an event in her development.

The Zohar proper, as I have stated in my

* *Le Zohar, Traduction française et Commentaire de* M. H. Chateau. The bibliographical annotation accredits the translator with *minutieuse érudition* and adds that he has carefully collated the Hebrew texts, the Latin and the other versions. The work is poorly produced, it bears no trace of the scholarship imputed to it and the commentary is of slight value.

preface, purports to be a commentary on the Pentateuch, and to indicate its general scope I shall deserve well of my readers if I depart from my general rule of confining quotations from modern authors to footnotes and summarise the admirable observations of Ginsburg: "The Zohar does not (apparently) propound a regular Kabalistic system, but dilates upon the diverse doctrines of this theosophy, as indicated in the forms and ornaments of the Hebrew alphabet, in the vowel points and accents, in the Divine Names and the letters of which they are composed, in the narratives of the Bible and in the traditional and national stories. The long conversations between its author, R. Simeon ben Jochai, and Moses, which it records; the short and pathetic prayers inserted therein; the religious anecdotes; the attractive spiritual explanation of Scripture passages, appealing to the hearts and wants of men; the descriptions of the Deity and the *Sephiroth* under the tender forms of human relationship, comprehensible to the finite mind, such as father, mother, primeval man, matron, bride, white head, the great and small face, the luminous mirror, the higher heaven, the higher earth, &c., which it gives on every page, made the Zohar a welcome text-book for the students of the Kabalah, who, by its vivid descriptions of Divine Love,* could lose themselves in rapturous embraces with the Deity."

We are placed by this quotation in a position to understand, firstly, after what manner the literature

* It is in this respect that the Zohar suggests analogies with Arabian Sufism.

of Kabalism affected the fervid imagination of the Jew and the kind of influence which it had on him, well illustrated in the fascinating and terrible histories of Messianic enthusiasm and illusion, as already noted. We can understand, secondly, how much there is to correct in the occult theory which has fixed upon the Zohar as embodying the traditional knowledge of a religion behind all religions. No system responds less readily to what is involved in such a conception; no person could be less disposed than the occultist to accept the full Kabalistic notion of religion, were he really acquainted therewith. The philosophical doctrines which I have sketched in the early sections of the previous book do certainly connect superficially with occult philosophy, which itself seems to connect magnetically with everything that is unsound in faith and unreasonable in doctrine. The connection in the present instance can only show that neither is of serious account in the last analysis. That God is immanent in the material world is a much simpler and more rational hypothesis than to establish intermediaries between finite and infinite, which create innumerable difficulties without resolving any. Far more truly philosophical is the doctrine of the Countenances, which I have described already as the chief glory of Kabalism, but, so far as all effect is concerned, it has passed away, like the Shekinah from the Holy Place. At the present day we have other and better means of excusing the anthropomorphisms of the Bible, and, for the rest, no attempt to excuse them has any connection, approximate or remote, with the ground which occult philosophy assumes to cover.

The Zohar is divided by Rosenroth, after a somewhat artificial manner, into internal and external parts.*

I. The internal parts are those which are combined together in one scheme. They are:

(*a*) The text of the Zohar, properly so called. Apart from all its additions this is not of unmanageable dimensions.

(*b*) The *Sepher Dzenioutha*, or Book of Concealment.

(*c*) The *Idrah Rabbah*, or Greater Synod.

(*d*) The *Idrah Zuta*, or Lesser Synod.

(*e*) *Sabah D'Mishpatim*, the Discourse or Story of the Ancient One in section *Mishpatim*.

(*f*) *Midrash Ruth*, or Commentary on the Scriptural book of that name. There are fragments only.

(*g*) *Sepher Ha Bahir*, the Renowned or Illustrious Book, sometimes called Book of Brightness.

(*h*) *Tosephthoth*, *Addenda*, or Additions.

(*i*) *Rayah Mehemnah*, or the Faithful Shepherd.

(*j*) *Haikluth*, *i.e.*, Palaces, Mansions, or Abodes.

(*k*) *Sithrai Thorah*, or Mysteries of the *Thorah*, *i.e.*, the Law.

(*l*) *Midrash Hannelam*, or the Secret Commentary.

(*m*) *Razé Derazin*, or Secret of Secrets.

From this account are omitted the following tracts and fragments, on the ground that they do not

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* *Kabbala Denudata*, vol. ii. p. 8.

appear in the Mantua edition of *circa* 1558, known as the Little Zohar: *

(*a*) *Midrash Hazeeth*, or Commentary on the Song of Solomon.

(*b*) *Pekoodah*, or Explanation of the Thorah.

(*c*) *Yenookah*, or the Discourse of the Youth.

(*d*) *Maamar To Hazee*, or the discourse beginning, Come and See.

(*e*) *Hibboorah Kadmaá*, or Primary Assembly.

(*f*) *Mathanithan*, or Traditional Receptions.

The ground on which these portions are set aside appears insufficient, as the sections *e*, *f*, *g*, *j*, and *m* in the first tabulation are also wanting in the Mantua edition. The Great Zohar, the Cremona edition (1558-60), contains all the treatises enumerated in both the above lists. I am not aware that any superior authority resides in the Mantua Zohar.†

II. As understood by Rosenroth, the external parts are those superadded to the earlier editions. These are:

(*a*) *Tikkunim H'Zohar*, or Supplements of the Book of Splendour, called also the Ancient Supplements, to distinguish them from further and later additions.

(*b*) *Zohar Chadash*—the New Zohar, containing matters omitted in the printed editions. This has four parts.

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* The Greater Zohar being that of Cremona. Blunt's Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology makes a ludicrous confusion over this point, representing the Greater Zohar as the commentary on Genesis and the Lesser as the Book of Concealment.

† A Hebrew translation in MS. by Barachiel ben Korba is preserved in the Library of Oppenheimer.

(1) The text of the Zohar itself, scattered through which is the supplement of the tract *Midrash Hannelam*, part of which appears in the original work.

(2) *Tikkunim Chadashim*, or New Supplements.

(3) *Zohar Shir Hashirim*, or Exposition of the Canticle of Canticles appertaining to the Zohar.

(4) *Zohar Aike*, or Exposition of Lamentations, appertaining to the Zohar.

In the above tabulations are contained everything of the Zohar that has come down to us.* It will be unnecessary to say that its authenticity did not increase with its bulk.

For the better comprehension of the cycle Rosenroth recommends:

(a) Sepher Deruk Ameth, that is, the Way of Truth, being various readings in the Zohar arranged according to the Mantuan edition.

(b) Binah Amri, or Words of Understanding, being an elucidation of difficulties in the Zoharistic vocabulary.

(c) Zohar Chamah, or Splendours of the Sun, being a short commentary which follows the Mantua edition.

(d) Pardes Rimmonim, or Garden of Pomegranates, by R. Moses of Cordova, an explanation of numerous texts in the Zohar and *Tikkunim*.

(e) Mequr Chokmah, or Fount of Wisdom,

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* *Kabbala Denudata*, ii. p. 9.

forming a continuation or new part of the Way of Truth.

(f) Marah Kohen, or the Vision of the Priest, a synoptic work, the greater part of which appears in the *Kabbala Denudata*, vol. ii. part i.

(g) Zar Zahab, or a Crown of Gold, used largely in the apparatus of Rosenroth.

(h) Pathach Ainim, or Gate of the Eyes, for the Biblical quotations in the Zohar and *Tikkunim*.

Rosenroth also highly recommends and largely reproduces the vast manuscript treatises of Isaac de Loria, compiled by R. Chaïm Vital, and further acknowledges his indebtedness to two other unprinted works, a Kabalistic commentary on the whole Law and a treatise entitled *Chesed* Abraham.

The Zohar proper, the conversations of Simeon ben Jochai with the prophets by whom he was visited, with the disciples by whom he was surrounded and of these, as we have seen, with each other, is not a work that is to be judged by the same standard as the purely allegorical portions which have been incorporated therewith, and to which Christian students of Kabalism have given so much prominence. It is, in the first place, far more natural and comprehensible, less distorted by monstrous symbolism, having occasionally a touch of nature to indicate its kinship with humanity, and condescending even at times to a Rabelaisian episode.* Finally, it does not betray much trace

* Some hundred rabbinical histories, fables and apologues are narrated in it, sometimes elucidating a knotty point of Scripture, as, for example, whether the destruction of animal life at the Deluge may indicate that the beasts also sinned, sometimes recounting the death of a just man, sometimes describing visions and narrating tales of wonder.

of that inner meaning which is loosely supposed of its entire content, for the most part, by those who would and do likewise discern a latent transscendentalism in Pantagruelism.* To determine whether the work, as a whole, is important from the standpoint of modern occultism, I shall now give a short synopsis of its doctrine on several vital questions of religion and philosophy. We have seen that in a certain manner—somewhat occasional and informal—it is a commentary on the Pentateuch, and it is understood and passed over that it is a forced, arbitrary commentary, which has nothing in harmony with the simple sense of Scripture. It would serve no purpose to enlarge upon this fact, which applies to all Kabalistic exegesis. The governing principle of its interpretation or treatment is the existence of several senses in the written word. These are differently enumerated, and there seems no reason why they should not be extended indefinitely, but they are reducible broadly under three heads, which are compared by the Zohar to the garment, the body which is within it and the soul which is within the body. "There are those unwise," it says, "who behold how a man is vested in a comely garment, but see no farther, and take the garment for the body, whereas there is something more precious [than either], namely, the soul. The Law has also its body. Some of the commandments may be called the body of the Law, and the ordinary

* Following the lead of Éliphas Lévi, especially in *Le Sorcier de Meudon*.

recitals mingled therein are the garments which clothe this body. Simple folk observe only these garments, *i.e.*, the narrations of the Law, perceiving not that which they hide. Others more instructed do not give heed to the vestment but to the body which it covers. And there are the Wise, the servants of the Great King, who dwell on the heights of Sinai and concern themselves only with the soul, which is the foundation of all and the true Law. These shall be ready in the coming time to contemplate the soul of that soul which breathes in the Law."*

This passage illustrates what I mean by the added depth and significance which the Kabalah reads into the Bible,† and it is, I think, also an instance of the intellectual humility of the great rabbins of the Exile who confessed to a sense in Scripture which exceeded their loving penetration,‡ so that after all subtleties of exegesis, all the symposiums of synods, the Word of God issued in a mystery, and the key of this mystery was the reward of the just and wise man in the world to come.

The necessity of the manifold sense followed from the insufficiency of the letter. Simple recitals and common words suggested only the human lawgiver; if those only were the sum of the *Thorah*, it would be possible to equal, perhaps even to excel

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* Zohar, part iii. fol. 152*b*, Mantua edition.

† I mean, of course, *ex hypothesi*. The extracted sense was too often a ridiculous illusion.

‡ Mr. Isaac Myer supposes that the higher soul of the *Thorah* signifies God Himself, but no doubt it is the divine sense of the Word which gives knowledge of the Word Itself.

it. Moreover, the sayings of Esau, Hagar, Laban, of Balaam and Balaam's ass, could not be "the Law of Truth, the Perfect Law, the faithful witness of God."* And hence the transcendental meaning, in which was the true Law, was supposed, to save Israel from scepticism, and it postponed rationalistic criticism for some centuries. It led of course into extravagance; the second sense became in its turn inadequate and one more concealed was inferred. So also, besides a general latent meaning, there was that more particular triple significance attributed to each several word. As the possibilities suggested by such a method are infinite, it is unnecessary to say that these senses were never methodised, or that the Zohar does not unfold in a consecutive form either the allegorical or mystical meaning. It gives glimpses only, and it may be in this sense that the original Zohar is said to have been a camel's load. That original was a latency in the minds of Kabalistic rabbins, but it was never written with pen.

As the Zohar establishes the necessity of the concealed meaning on the insufficiency of the outward, and as the sense of such insufficiency is indubitably a late event in the history of sacred documents, we have full evidence for deciding the value of the claim which it elsewhere makes to a high antiquity for its interpretation. Had the Jew never come in contact with culture outside Judea he would never have conceived the "tradition," and the kind of culture which helped him to the sense

* Mantua edition, fol. 149*b*.

of insufficiency is not to be looked for in Egypt or in Babylon, but in the Hellenised thought of Rome.*

Having established the general principle of Zoharic exegesis, let us see next the kind of light which it cast upon the letter of Scripture and, in the first place, upon the creation of man. We know that, according to Genesis, he was made of the dust of the earth, that the breath of life passed over him and that he became a living soul. The Zohar is able to tell us what transpired before this event: "When it entered into the will of the Holy One to create man, He called before Him many hosts of the superior angels and said unto them, 'It is my will to create man.' They answered Him, 'Man will not continue one night in his dignity.'† Then the Holy One extended His finger and burned them. Thereafter He summoned other hosts into His presence, saying unto them, 'It is my will to create man.' They answered, 'What is man that Thou rememberest him?'‡ He said unto them, 'But this man shall be in our image, so that his wisdom shall be greater than your wisdom.' When *Elohim* had created man, when man had fallen into sin, going forth as one guilty, there came Uzza and Azaël, saying to the Holy One, 'We have an

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* It does not follow that the Kabalah is Platonism. It was the consequence of a contact, but the growth and the increase was in the mind of Jewry.

† The reference is to Ps. xlix. 12, and the pleasing anachronism, by which the angels are made to quote David before the creation of man, is paralleled, if Poe may be trusted, by the Aristotelian phrases which Milton puts into the mouth of Lucifer.

‡ Quoting Ps. viii. 4.

accusation against Thee. Behold this son of man whom Thou hast made, how he hath sinned before Thee.' He answered them, 'If ye had been in like case, ye would have done worse than he has.' What then did the Holy One? He cast them down from their sacred station, even from heaven.* It must be confessed that this ridiculous fable has neither an inward sense nor an outward light. We know that Latin Christianity has a legend of the fall of the angels which connects that event in some misty manner with the scheme of redemption; it is sufficiently childish, but it speaks with the tongue of seraphs in comparison with this history, in which the superior good sense of the hierarchy is punished by burning and expulsion. There are, of course, many other passages in the Zohar which are explanatory of the creation of man. The breath of life is said to be the holy soul which has its origin from the Life Divine, and thus man started on his mundane course with a sanctified natural life (*Nephesh*) communicated from the heavenly *Chaiah*. And in this connection there is a suggestive and beautiful thought. "So long as that holy soul communicates with the son of man, he is the well-beloved of his Master. How many keepers watch and encompass him on all sides! He is the symbol of goodness both above and below, and the Holy Shekinah rests upon him. But when he turns aside from this path the Shekinah abandons him, the holy soul has no longer any intercourse with him, and from the side of the mighty evil spirit [Samaël]

* Zohar, edition of Zolkiew, iii. 208*a*.

there is put in action a spirit which goes up and down in the world, resting only in those places from which sanctity has withdrawn, and thus the child of man is corrupted."* We learn also that the Throne of Glory had six steps,† and man was created on the sixth day "because he is worthy to sit on this throne."‡ There are again obscure references to the original physical condition of humanity. Adam and Eve were created side by side, not face to face; that is, seemingly, there was not a "desire of the female towards the male."§ It does not, however, appear that the awakening of this desire was the real cause of the lapse from perfection, a notion quite discordant with rabbinical views upon the sanctity and symbolism of sexual intercourse. The Kabalah and the mysticism which led up to it offer a very high ideal of the nuptial state. It is true that in the fragments of the *Bahir* the sin of Eve is presented as sexual, but if this is to be understood literally it was one of monstrous intercourse. According to Maimonides, however, the serpent represented the imaginative faculty.

Enough has been quoted to show that there is a curious theosophic lore in the Zohar concerning the creation of man, but there is nothing of any real occult significance; it is suggestive occasionally with the suggestion that is never wanting in fable and mythos, and it is most interesting within its own sphere, which is that of mythology and not certainly

* Cremona ed., part ii. fol. 21*a*.

† *Ex Hypothesi*. The prototype of Solomon's throne, as described in I. Kings x. 19. The Throne of Glory is in the Briatic world.

‡ Cremona ed., part ii. fol. 25*a*.

§ *Ibid.* fol. 26*a*.

of mystic religion. We may take the inquiry a step further and ascertain what the Zohar teaches concerning the state of Adam prior to his fall. We are told that he was clothed "in the garment of the Upper Splendour,"* for which Jehovah Elohim afterwards substituted the garment of skin, thus indicating that the fall was followed by a change of physical condition. There is no need to mention that this legend prevailed in many Eastern mythologies; it is not, on the one hand, the special inheritance of the Kabalah, nor can the latter show that it really came by it through an oral succession from early times. As often happens in the Zohar, there is a poetical inference from the fable which is better than the fable itself. "The good deeds which the son of man accomplishes in this world draw from the Light of Glory above, and he prepares for himself a garment against the day when he shall enter that world and appear before the Holy Blessed One."†

The Fall of man in the Zohar, as in its connections, insists upon the fact that it was the serpent Samaël who brought death into the world; but this serpent is to some extent allegorical, and the lapse was a lapse of the soul by the desire of the things below it. The death seems to be spiritual, for it is said that "the serpent takes away the higher souls [*Neshamoth*] of all flesh."‡ The tree of the trespass was banished from Paradise,§ which sounds fantastic; but the tree is allegorical and moves with man

* Fol. 103*b*. *Cf.* Mantua Edition, ii. 229*b*.

† *Ibid.* Cf. the parallel mythos of Talmudic times, which represents good deeds as creating good angels.

‡ Cremona ed., part i. fol. 28*a*.

§ *Ibid.* fol. 126*b*.

through his pilgrimage. Adam also was the cause of the eternal banishment of his descendants. In dealing with other sections of the Zohar we shall have occasion to refer again to the mythos of the Fall and shall observe that it is further involved by the introduction of monstrous elements.

If we turn now to the mystery of original sin, we shall find that it is intensified rather than explained. In Psalm xci. 11, it is said: "He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways," which passage the New Testament applies in a special manner to Christ. The Zohar explains it as follows: "When man comes into the world there appears in him at that moment the evil spirit which always arraigns him. . . . This evil spirit never forsakes man from the day that he is born into the world. But the good spirit comes to the man from the day that he is made clean. When does a man become clean? At the age of thirteen years. Then he joins himself with both spirits, one on the right hand and one on the left, even the good to the right and the evil to the left, and these are the two spirits which are appointed ever to remain by man. If he strive after perfection the evil spirit is restrained, so that the right rules the left, and then both unite to secure him in all his ways."* It follows from this statement that the child is delivered over to iniquity in an especial manner, as it does not receive the good angel until it reaches the age of puberty.

Closely connected with the doctrines of the Fall of man and original sin is that of the Messiah, who,

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* *Ibid.* fol. 95*b*.

for Jew and Christian alike, is a deliverer and an atonement, and much that we find in the Zohar recalls a host of Talmudic speculations on the same subject. In common with all souls, that of the Messiah is pre-existent. It was the spirit of the King Messiah which brooded over the waters at the creation.* He governs both above and below, gladdening the heart of Israel, but a judgment on idolatrous nations. When the souls in the Garden of Eden behold the just suffering for their Master they return and inform the Messiah. "When they inform Him of the afflictions of Israel in exile, and of sinners in Israel who reflect not that they may know their Lord, He lifts up His voice and weeps, as it is written, 'He was wounded for our transgressions'" [Is. liii. 5].† We read, again, of a Palace of Wicked Children in the Garden of Eden, to which the Messiah repairs, and there invokes upon Himself all the tribulations of Israel. "If He had not thus taken upon Himself the punishments for the transgressions of the law, no man would be able to endure them."‡ More curious and more significant is the passage which follows immediately. "Whilst the children of Israel abode in the Holy Land, they averted from the world all pain and suffering [? in the sense of punishment for trespass] by their prayers, worship and sacrifice, but now this is performed by the Messiah," yet so long only as man remains in the world, for he must receive his retribution afterwards. As it does not appear that Jews or Gentiles really escape the consequences of their mis-

* Cremona ed., part i. fol. 127*b*. † *Ibid.* part ii. fol. 95*b*.
‡ *Ibid.*

deeds, this notion of vicarious atonement is quite of the fantastic order. Elsewhere, however, it is said that the righteous are the sacrifice and the atonement of the world. We must remember that the Zohar is a medley, and that medleys are not in correspondence at all points. I must be content to refer briefly to a very long passage which has been the subject of much controversy as to the date of the Zohar and is concerned with the appearance of the Messiah. It will be a time of woe and salvation, and of special affliction for Israel, but "he who is persistent in the faith shall attain the joy of the King." After this tribulation further distress shall follow from the combination of nations and kings, and then a pillar of fire extending from heaven to earth shall become visible to all men, at which time the Messiah shall come forth from the Garden of Eden and appear in Galilee, which was the first province to suffer destruction in the Holy Land and is the first, therefore, in which He must reveal himself. Thence He shall stir up war against the whole world. There will be many signs in the heavens, stars warring against the star of the East, after which the Messiah will be invisible for twelve months and at the expiration of that period will be taken up into heaven to receive the Crown of the Kingdom. He will again reveal Himself and wage war against the whole world, &c.*

It is idle to suppose that such a Messianic doctrine,† or, speaking generally, the scheme of

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* Zohar, ii. fol. 7, Amsterdam edition.

† For very full information on the whole subject, see A. Hilgenfeld's *Messias Judæorum*, Leipsic, 1869, and Vincent H. Stanton's "Jewish and Christian Messiah," Edinburgh, 1885.

Kabalistic scriptural interpretation, can have the slightest occult importance ; it is essentially a Jewish scheme, supposing the exclusive claim of Jewry to the divine election, and the last source to which we can look for confirmation of the romantic notion that a transcendental doctrine of absolute religion has been perpetuated from the far past. Understood as it actually is, a thesaurus of Jewish theosophy, Jewish visionary doctrines, Jewish yearning and aspirations, which, because Jewry is part of humanity, is in contact at a thousand points with the aspiration and yearning of the whole heart of the world, it is a priceless memorial, but it loses all its significance in the attempt to misplace it. Because it is theosophical although Jewish, it has, of course, its points of connection with other occult systems, and not infrequently with matters which are beyond the range of that which is understood by occultism, in a word, with the things of mysticism, as, for example, in its transcendental speculations on the identity of subject and object in God and perhaps even in the mystic experience of the soul. It enters a good deal into that strange doctrine of correspondences which we meet everywhere in the domain which is embraced in the higher understanding of the term Magic. It might be described indeed as the extended mystery of correspondence. "Whatsoever is found on earth," says the Zohar, "has its spiritual counterpart on high and is dependent on it. When the inferior part is influenced, that which is set over it in the upper world is also affected, because all are united." From this doctrine the art of talismanic magic is the first logical consequence.

Elsewhere it is said: "That which is above is in the likeness of that which is below, and the likeness of that which is below is in the sea [regarded as the mirror of the inferior heaven], but all is one." * This is, of course, identical with the pseudo-Hermetic maxim, *Quod superius est sicut quod inferius et quod inferius est sicut quod superius*, &c., which may even have been formulated along the lines of the Zohar.

The peculiar philosophical system of the Kabalah of course receives a very full development in its chief literary memorial, but we are sufficiently acquainted with the heads of this system to make extensive quotation superfluous. The primordial manifestation of the unknown God was the production of a luminous point, which is Kether, and it seems certain that hereby the Zohar understands the Ego, for it says expressly that this was the light which Elohim created before everything. The nucleus of the luminous point is Thought, which is the beginning of all things. In its union with the Spirit † it is called Binah, and the diffusion of this Spirit brings forth a Voice, which in turn produces the Word, for the Zohar is a philosophy of the Word.‡ In this Thought the forms of all things were evolved. The light of the Divine Consciousness is therefore the first matter of the manifested universe. "When *Elohim* willed to make the world, He produced a concealed light from which all the manifested lights were afterwards radiated, thus forming the superior

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* Zohar, Cremona, part ii. fol. 9*a*. *Cf.* part i. fol. 91*a*. "As it is in all things below, so it is above."

† Kether is itself the Spirit, according to the Sepher Yetzirah.

‡ Cremona ed., part i. fol. 131*a*.

world," or *Atziluth*, from which the other worlds were subsequently emanated.* It is said also, as we have elsewhere seen, that "in the beginning was the will of the King, prior to any existence which came into being through emanation from this will."† With this will is connected the notion of thought as the principle of all things, but unrealised in the primordial condition, and contained within itself. The expansion of thought produces spirit, which next assumes the title of intelligence, in which state the thought is no longer self-centred. The spirit in the course of its development produces a voice or word, but the thought, the understanding and the word are one alone, while the thought itself is bound up with *Ain Soph* and is never separated therefrom. This is the significance of the Scriptural statement that Jehovah is one and his Name is one.‡ Among the most suggestive and also the most recurrent teachings is the importance and universality of man in the scheme of things. For the Zohar, as for the poet, the world is "a disguised humanity," and "all that interests a man is man." It was the form of celestial man that God assumed at the beginning of his manifestation. This is the Shekinah, this the Mercabah or chariot, and this also is the sacred name of Jehovah. The form of man comprises all that is in heaven or on earth, and prior to its manifestation no form could subsist. It is the perfection of faith in all things and the absolute form of all. It is the summary and the most exalted term of creation. As soon as man appeared all was

* *Ibid.*, fol. 3*a*, 24*b*, 98*b*. † Crémona ed., part i. fol. 56.
‡ Zohar, i. 246*b*, Mantua.

completed, both of the world above and the world below. Even those physical parts which he puts aside ultimately are conformed to the secrets of the Supreme Wisdom. So also in his threefold nature he is a faithful image of that which passes on high, and the souls of the just are above all the powers and all the servitors that are on high.* There is even a certain withdrawn and inconceivable sense in which man through Sephirotic mediation brings the *latens Deitas* into manifestation, and as all things exist and subsist for man, so the problem of evil in the universe is solved in his interest, as it is the condition of his development; while with a Catholic comprehensiveness which has no parallel in any sacred literature the scheme of human existence is regarded by the Zohar with an optimism strange in its profundity, from man's pre-existence in the archetypal world to the beatific vision, the absorption and the eternal nuptials which await him.

The pneumatology of the Zohar is more fully developed in the connections of that work than in the commentary proper. The spiritual man is the highest degree of creation; in him it was completed and he comprises everything. The soul originates in the Supreme Intelligence. "At the time when the Holy Blessed One desired to create the world . . . ., He formed all the souls which should be given afterwards to the children of men."† It is also stated expressly that the soul enters the body when her time has come with protestations, grief and unwillingness.

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* Zohar, Mantua edition, ii. fol. 42; iii. 114*b*; iii. 144*a*; iii. 48*a*; 191*a*; ii. 142*a*; i. 91*b*.

† *Ibid.*, part ii. fol. 43*b*.

It is equally clear that it acquires nothing by the experience, unless it be the dignity of an ordeal which has been withstood successfully, for "all that souls learn in this world they knew already before they came into the world, which follows from the Talmudic doctrine that they were acquainted with the whole *Thorah*.* Their proper end is the return into Deity, but there are various abiding places and destinies for the higher spiritual principles, and even in this life they may depart from an unclean person.† It may be added that souls are created in pairs, but these pairs do not invariably come at the same time into the world.

In the excerpts which have been now given the Zohar appears at its best, but I may observe in conclusion that, again after the manner of a medley, it combines with things precious others that are of little value and not a few that are indescribably foolish. There are, for example, gross absurdities in the pneumatological portions. When the soul enters the body of the infant it cannot find room and has to await the growth of its envelope in considerable discomfort. Points of this kind might be multiplied indefinitely. They extend to all departments of the doctrine and obtain especially concerning the resurrection of the dead, which, according to the Zohar, as there is no need to say, is the restitution of the physical body together with its proper soul. As this resurrection can take place only in Palestine the bones of Israel in exile will be transported thither.

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* *Ibid.*, part iii. fol. 28*a*. Compare, however, Franck, *La Kabbale*, p. 236, where the very opposite teaching is ascribed to the Zohar.

† *Ibid.*, part i. fol. 37*b*.

It may be added that the Zohar took the Sepher Yetzirah into its heart of hearts, dwelt upon it, extended, magnified, almost transformed its symbolism. The Hebrew letters which figure in the earlier tract as the instruments of creation are for it the ciphers or vestures of the written law, the expression of the *Thorah*, and the *Thorah* is the archetype of all the worlds. Whether or not we are able to agree with Franck that the Sepher Yetzirah ends where the Zohar commences, and that they are the exact complements of each other, it is certain that the instinct of the early students who singled the "Book of Formation" from the rest of the pre-Zoharic *Midrashim* was not at fault in regarding it as the head and source of Kabalism.

But, in conclusion, as there was an occultism and mysticism in Israel prior to the *Sepher Raziel* and to the Zohar, so both were incorporated in the latter; both in the process underwent a species of transmutation, and as I venture to think the process, like that "sea-change" of the poet, produced something more strange and rich.. There are, at least, flights of mystic thought and aspiration in this great book of theosophy which are unknown to Gebirol and Ibn Ezra, and are more direct and strong in their appeal to the inner consciousness of man in this dawn of the twentieth century than in the famous commentary of Azariel or in the School of Isaac the Blind. And to confess this is to confess out of hand that the Zohar has still a message for the mystic. Perhaps all that is of value therein would be contained within a few leaves,

but, as said of the choicest poems of Coleridge, it should be bound in pure gold.

II. THE BOOK OF CONCEALMENT

The *Sepher Dzenioutha*, the Book of Concealment or of Occultation, to which so much prominence has been given by occult writers, is not, therefore, as they occasionally seem to suppose, the beginning of the great cycle entitled the Zohar. In the Sulzbach edition, edited by Rosenroth, it begins at fol. 176*b* and ends at fol. 178*b* of the second volume. Most editions are either paged in correspondence with one another or refer readers to the pagination of the previous codices. Among early codices that of Lublinensis follows the Cremona edition, which, though used by Rosenroth for his references, was regarded by him as inferior to the simultaneous or slightly prior edition of Mantua. The latter he terms invariably *Codex correctus.* From the silence of occultists on the subject of the Zohar proper it might be judged that they do not regard it as of great occult importance; but there is a simpler explanation, which, as seen, is not far to seek. The "Book of Concealment," on the contrary, though small in its dimensions, is of the highest occult importance; it is regarded as the root and foundation of the Zohar,* as it is generally understood, and also as the most ancient portion of that collection, which is almost

* Mathers, "Kabbalah Unveiled," p. 14.

provably correct.* It has been said further that it is a theogony comprised in a few pages, but with developments more numerous than the Talmud.† In a word, for occultists, the Book of Concealment and the Book of Formation are the fountain heads of all Kabalism. The Hebrew term which is rendered Mystery, Concealment, or Modesty by Isaac Myers, is given as Concealed Mystery by Mathers, without pretending that the version is actually literal. For *Sepher Deznioutha* Rosenroth gives *Liber Occultationis.*‡ The work is concerned with the manifestation of the Divine Being as the term of His concealment in the eternity which preceded manifestation. The first chapter deals with the development of the Vast Countenance, the image of the Father of all things, the *Macroprosopus*, when equilibrium had been established in the universe of unbalanced forces. This Countenance, which is referred to Kether, or the Crown, is compared by the Zoharistic commentators to the tongue of a balance, *lingula examinis.* When equilibrium obtained, the Countenance was manifested, the Ancient of Days appeared, God issued from His concealment.§ This symbolism of the balance depicting the harmony of the universal order

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* Myers, "Qabbalah," p. 118.

† Éliphas Lévi, *Le Livre des Splendeurs*, preface, p. ii.; "Mysteries of Magic," 2nd ed., p. 97.

‡ Rabbi Loria says that it refers to things which are secret and should be kept secretly, and compares Prov. xxv. 2, The Glory of God is to conceal the word. But he also supposes an allusion to the circumstances under which the work is reported to have been composed—namely, during the concealment of R. Simeon for twelve years in a cave.

§ See *Commentarius Generalis Methodicus . . . è Libro Emek Hammelech* in *Kabbala Denudata*, vol. ii. p. 47 *et seq.* of the second part.

is the key-note of the treatise, which, in its own words, is the book describing "the libration of the balance." The balance is suspended in the place which is no place, that is to say, in the abyss of Deity, and it is said to be the body of *Macroprosopus*, referring to the *Sephiroth* Wisdom and Understanding,* which are the sides of the balance. The Countenance, which no man knoweth, is secret in secret, and the hair of the head is like fine wool hanging in the equilibrium. The eyes are ever open, and the nostrils of the Ancient One are as two doors whence the Spirit goes forth over all things. But the dignity of all dignities is the beard of the Countenance, which also is the ornament of all. It covers not only *Macroprosopus* as with a vestment, but also the *Sephiroth* Wisdom and Understanding, called here the Father and the Mother,† descending even unto *Microprosopus*, and it is divided into thirteen portions, flowing down as far as the heart, but leaving the lips free. Blessed is he, says the text, who receiveth their kisses! From the thirteen portions there descend as many drops of purest balm, and in the influence of all do all things exist and all are concealed.

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* "For Wisdom is on the right upon the side of Benignity; Understanding is on the left upon the side of severity; and the Crown is the tongue in the centre which abideth above them."—*Ibid.*, p. 48. The meaning of the symbolism is that the equilibrium between Justice and Mercy must be assumed before the universe, having man for its object, could become possible, and the source of this notion must be sought in the *Bereshith Rabbah*. Compare also the teaching of the pre-Zoharic *Midrash Conen*, according to which the Grace of God prevents the opposing forces out of which the world was created from mutual destruction.

† *Ie.*, *Abba* and *Aima.*

The "Book of Concealment," though small, as I have said, in its compass, is full of digressions which destroy its continuity and make the sense difficult to extract. In addition to the manifestation of *Macroprosopus*, it shows how the Most Ancient One expanded into *Microprosopus*, to whom is referred the name *Tetragrammaton*, whereas "I am" is that of the first Ancient.* The letter I, which is the first of the *Tetragrammaton*, corresponds to the *Sephira* Wisdom, the supernal H to Understanding, of which *Microprosopus* is the issue, corresponding to the six *Sephiroth* from Mercy to the Foundation inclusive, and referred to the letter V. It will be seen, therefore, that the primal manifestation of Deity, which is connected with the conception of the Crown, has no other name than that which proclaims His self-existence, and that the Hebrew Jehovah is in a sense a reflected God. *Macroprosopus*, although manifesting in the Crown, is still regarded as ever hidden and concealed, by way of antithesis in respect of *Microprosopus*, who is both manifest and unmanifest. When the life-giving influx rushes forth from the Ancient One, amid the intolerable refulgence of that great light the likeness of a head appears. The distinction between the two Countenances is the distinction of the profile and the full face, for whereas the God of reflection is manifested fully, the Great Countenance is only declared partially, whence it is perhaps inexact

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* Compare Bk. ii. § 4, where it is stated that AHIH is referred to *Kether*, *i.e.*, as representing the world of *Ain Soph*; and the *Tetragrammaton* to *Atziluth* generally. There are various aspects of the symbolism, but they are not really in contradiction.

to speak of *Microprosopus* as a reflection,* as He is rather a second manifestation, taking place in the archetypal world.

From the sides of the Lesser Countenance depend black locks, flowing down to the ears; the eyes have a three-fold hue, resplendent with shining light; and a three-fold flame issues from the nostrils. The beard, considered in itself, has nine portions, but when that of *Macroprosopus* sheds down its light and influence they are found to be thirteen. Though the Ineffable Name is referred to the Vast Countenance, it is also said that the manifestation of *Microprosopus* is represented by the ordinary letters of the Tetragam, his occultation by the transposition of the letters.

The Book of Concealment is described in its closing words as the withdrawn and involved mystery of the King, and as it is added that "blessed is he who cometh and goeth therein, knowing its paths and ways," there is urgent need for some explanation of its significance. This, as we shall see later on, was unfolded in many rabbinical commentaries, which are all confessedly posterior to the period of the public promulgation of the Zohar. There are, however, two works possessing the same authority as the Book of Concealment, for which also the same authorship is claimed, and constituting extensions of that work. The first of these will be the subject of some consideration in the next section.

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* It is the device of Éliphas Lévi and connects with his method of interpretation.

III. THE GREATER HOLY SYNOD

The Book of Concealment has been simplified to the utmost in the preceding account. It may be now added that it is anonymous; it quotes no rabbinical writers and has no references by which a clue to its date may be obtained. It has, however, two characteristics which give it the appearance of a much older document than those which follow it immediately, and are designed, as already said, to develop and expound it. These are its rudeness and the mutilations which it would appear to have undergone. The first translator, Rosenroth, supplies the gaps and omissions thus occasioned by conjectural words and passages placed within brackets, but even with these it is in an exceedingly faulty state. The treatise now under consideration is in most respects entirely different. It possesses almost a literary aspect, begins in narrative form, methodises the ensuing dialogues in a manner which is perfectly explicit and stands in need of few emendations. It deals, of course, with the barbarous symbolism of the preceding book and so far is admittedly repellent to modern taste, a fact which has been noted by at least one sympathetic critic who was himself an elegant and highly suggestive writer.* The first point which otherwise calls for notice is that the Greater Sacred Synod claims Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai as the author of the "Book of Concealment," and itself contains the discourses of this Master in Israel, delivered in a

* Éliphas Lévi, *La Clef des Grands Mystères.*

field beneath trees in the presence of his disciples, namely, Rabbi Eleazar, his son, Rabbi Abba, Rabbi Jehuda, Rabbi Josi, the son of Jacob, Rabbi Isaac, Rabbi Chiskiah, the son of Rav, Rabbi Chia, Rabbi Josi and Rabbi Jisa. These are historical names belonging to the period which succeeded the destruction of Jerusalem.

For an account of Rabbi Simeon himself we must have recourse to tract Sabbath of the Talmud, Babylonian recension, which contains the narrative which I will here give in its substance:

"On a certain occasion R. Jehudah, R. Josi and R. Shimeon were sitting together, and with them also was Jehudah, the son of proselytes. R. Jehudah opened the conversation, saying, 'How beautiful are the works of this nation (the Romans). They have established markets; they have built bridges; they have opened bathing-houses.' Whereupon R. Josi was silent. But R. Shimeon ben Jochai answered, saying: 'All these things have they instituted for their own sake. Their markets are gathering-places for harlots; they have built baths for their own enjoyment, and bridges to collect tolls from those who cross them.' Jehudah, the son of proselytes, repeated this conversation, and it came to the ears of Cæsar, who proclaimed: 'Jehudah, who extols us, shall be extolled; Josi, who said nothing, shall be exiled to Saphoris (*i.e.*, Cyprus); Shimeon, who has disparaged us, shall be put to death.' R. Shimeon and his son then went out and hid themselves in the lecture-hall, but afterwards in a cave, where a miracle took place, a date-tree and a spring of water being raised up for them. They laid aside their garments

and sat covered with sand up to their necks, studying the whole time, and assuming their vestures only at prayer-time, for fear that the same might wear out. In this wise they spent twelve years in the cave, when Elijah came to the opening, and said: 'Who will inform the son of Jochai that Cæsar is dead and his decree is annulled?' Hereupon they left the cave."* The secret wisdom embodied in the Zohar is supposed to have been the fruit of the long seclusion enforced upon R. Simeon by the Roman decree.

The Talmud mentions expressly the learning obtained during this period, but without specifying its kind, According to the tradition of the Kabalists the "Book of Concealment" was the first form in which it was reduced to writing. The discourses of the "Greater Sacred Synod" were recorded by Rabbi Abba and so also in the case of the "Lesser Synod." When the conversation was about to begin a voice heard in the air showed that the Supernal Synod had assembled in heaven to hearken, and the commentators add that the souls of the just gathered round the speakers, coming from their rest in Paradise, and the Holy Shekinah of the Divine Presence.

The explanations and developments concern the world in its void state before the manifestation of the Supreme Countenance, the conformations of that Countenance, or *Macroprosopus*, as also of *Microprosopus*, the Lesser Countenance, and after what manner the inferior depends from the superior. It must be said that the expounding and the extension

* Rodkinson, Babylonian Talmud, vol. i. pp. 57-59.

neither are nor assume to be explanatory in the sense that they unfold the real significance of the symbolism. As a fact, the treatise ends, like all treatises concerned with the mysteries of initiation, by saying that he is blessed who has known and beheld the concealed words and does not err therein. In an account like the present, which does not even pretend to be synoptic, it is impossible to attempt a tabulation of the singular typology with which the Greater Synod is concerned, and it should be noted in this connection that the few modern writers on Kabalism who claim to speak magisterially and from within an occult circle of knowledge, may have shown us glimpses in one or two rare instances of the system on which the typology is constructed, but have done nothing to elucidate and therefore to recommend it to our understanding. It is a question which it is hard to approach from the side of the literal sense, and to the occult student, in the absence of initiation, the esoteric aspects of the literature are chiefly a subject of curious speculation. Fortunately it has other aspects which make it deserving of consideration, or there would be no purpose in the present inquiry.

The unbalanced forces of the universe, the world in its void state, are considered under the symbolism of the kings who reigned in Edom before a king was raised up to rule over the children of Israel, that is to say, before the emanation of *Microprosopus.**

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* The Kabalah represents the present universe as preceded by others which passed away quickly. According to Basnage, this notion also occurs in the Talmud, where it is said, with characteristic crassness, that when God was alone, in order to kill time, He diverted

At that time there was neither beginning nor end, and the Edomite kings were without subsistence. According to Rosenroth this signifies the fall of creatures partly into a state of rest, such as that of matter, and partly into one of inordinate activity, such as that of the evil spirits, in which case we are dealing not so much with cosmology as with the legends of souls. So also when the "Greater Synod" represents the Ancient of Ancients creating and producing the essence of light, the same interpreter, who speaks with the authority of immense knowledge, as regards at least the literature of Kabalism, observes that the reference is to the Law,* in other words, to the letters of the alphabet, by the transpositions of which the Law was recorded subsequently. For the rest, symbolism of this order is not simplified by its multiplication, and the record of Rabbi Simeon's discourses is only the "Book of Concealment" dilated in a glass of vision. Compare, for example, the description of *Macroprosopus* with the indications on the same subject contained in the previous section. "White are His garments as snow, and His aspect is as a face manifested. He is seated upon a throne of glittering brightness, that He may subdue them. The whiteness of his bald head is extended into forty thousand worlds, and from the

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Himself by the formation of divers worlds which He destroyed forthwith. These were successive attempts at creation, by which Deity became experienced and at last produced the existing physical order. —*Histoire des Juifs*, t. ii. p. 712. Compare also the *Pirké* of R. Eliezer, according to which the basis of the existing universe is the repentance of God over His previous failures. This work is referred to an early period of the ninth century. For other Zoharic references to this subject see *Zohar* ii. 20*a*, Mantua.

* Understood as the essence of the light.

light of the whiteness thereof shall the just receive four hundred worlds in the world to come." The Vast Countenance itself is said to extend into three hundred and seventy myriads of worlds. The brain concealed within the skull is the Hidden Wisdom, and the influence of this Wisdom passes through a channel below and issues by two and thirty paths. The hair of *Macroprosopus* radiates into four hundred and ten worlds, which are known only to the Ancient One. The parting of the hair is described as a path shining into two hundred and seventy worlds, and therefrom another path diffuses its light, and in this shall the just shine in the world to come. When the forehead of *Macroprosopus*, which is the benevolence of benevolences, is uncovered, the prayers of the Israelites are received, and the time of its uncovering is at the offering of evening prayer on the Sabbath. The forehead extends into two hundred and seventy thousand lights of the lights of the supernal Eden. For there is an Eden which shines in Eden; it is withdrawn in concealment, and is unknown to all but the Ancient One. The eyes of the Vast Countenance differ from other eyes, having neither lids nor brows, because the guardian of the supernal Israel knows no sleep. The two eyes shine as a single eye, and were that eye to close even for one moment the things which are could subsist no longer. Hence it is called the open eye, ever smiling, ever glad. In the nose of *Macroprosopus* one of the nostrils is life, and the other is the life of life. With regard to the Beard of the Vast Countenance, called otherwise the decoration of all decorations, neither superiors nor inferiors, neither men nor prophets nor

saints, have beheld it, for it is the truth of all truths. Its thirteen forms are represented as powerful to subdue and to soften all the stern decrees of the judgments. Thirteen chapters of the "Greater Synod" are devoted to the consideration of this subject, including the number of the locks in each portion, the number of hairs in each lock and the number of worlds attributed to them. This ends the discourse concerning *Macroprosopus*, and the treatise proceeds thence to the consideration of the Lesser Countenance. The conformations of *Microprosopus* are disposed from the forms of the Vast Countenance, and His components are expanded on either side under a human form. When the Lesser Countenance gazes on the Greater, all inferiors are restored in order, and the Lesser is vaster for the time being. There is an emanation from the Greater towards the skull of the Lesser, and thence to numberless lower skulls, and all together reflect the brilliance of the whiteness of this emanation towards the Ancient of Days. From the brain of *Macroprosopus* an influence descends, from the hair an emanation of splendour, from the forehead a benevolence, from the eyes a radiance, from the nostrils a spirit and the spirit of life, from the cheeks gladness, and all these fall upon the Lesser Countenance. From the brain of *Microprosopus* there are emanations of wisdom, emanations of understanding, and emanations of knowledge; in each lock of the hair of *Microprosopus* there are a thousand utterances; his forehead is the inspection of inspection, and when it is uncovered sinners are visited with judgment. For the lesson of the

"Greater Synod" is that wrath may dwell with *Microprosopus*, but not in the Ancient of Days. So also the eyes of the Lesser Countenance possess lids; when the lids are closed judgments subdue the Israelites and the Gentiles have dominion over them. But the eyes, when they are open, are beautiful as those of the dove, for they are then illuminated by the good eye. With one of those pathetic touches which soften occasionally for a moment the unyielding lines of Kabalistic symbolism, it is said that two tears dwell in the eyes of the Lesser Countenance, and the Holy of Holies, when He wills to have mercy on the Israelites, sends down these two tears to grow sweet in the great sea of wisdom, and they issue therefrom in mercy upon the chosen people. The special seat of severity in *Microprosopus* is the nose, and judgment goes forth therefrom, except when the forehead of the Vast Countenance is uncovered, when mercy is found in all things.

As in the case of the Ancient of Ancients, the discourse appertaining to the beard of *Microprosopus* fills many chapters, full of strange scholia on various passages of Scripture, and details minutely the conformations of its nine divisions, what it conceals of the Lesser Countenance, what it permits to be manifested with observations on the descent of a holy and magnificent oil from the beard of *Macroprosopus* and a general description of the correspondences and differences of the two adornments.

It should be observed that the body of *Microprosopus* is androgyne, and as at this point the symbolism is concerned very largely with the sexual organs, it will be obvious that it becomes still more

discordant with modern feeling, and exceeds occasionally what it is considered permissible to express in English. A modern symbologist has said that nature is not ashamed of her emblems,* and there is no doubt that for the Kabalist the body of man was peculiarly sacred, whence for him there would be nothing repellent in dealing exhaustively with its typology. But it will be unnecessary in a descriptive summary to do more than allude to it. The student who desires to pursue the subject must be referred to the Latin version.

The sum of the whole treatise may be given in the words of the original. "The Ancient of Ancients is in Microprosopus; all things are one; He was all things; He is all things; He will be all things; He shall know no change; He knoweth no change; He hath known no change."† Thus God in manifestation is not really separable from God in concealment, and if the symbolism depict Him in the likeness of humanity, it is by way of similitude and analogy.

At the conclusion of the "Greater Synod," we are told that three of the company died during the deliberations, and their souls were beheld by the remainder carried by angels behind the "veil expanded above."‡

Amidst all its obscurity and uncouthness there are sublime touches in this treatise. The Kabalah is perhaps the first of all books which appeared in the

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* Gerald Massey on phallic symbols, in a letter contributed to the *Spiritualist.*

† *Idra Rabba, seu Synodus Magna, sectio* xxxix. par. 920, in *Kabbala Denudata*, t. ii.

‡ *Ibid.*, § xlv. par. 1138.

western world reciting with no uncertain voice that God is altogether without mutation and vicissitude—that wrath and judgment are of man alone, placing thus a new construction on the divine warning, "Judge not, lest ye be judged"; and showing also the higher significance of the not less divine promise, "I will repay." Never for the true Kabalist could this mean that God would repay the sinner in his own spirit, outrage for outrage, hate for hate. The repayment of God is the compensation of the everlasting justice or the gratuity of the everlasting bounty. In a sense the writers of the Zohar anticipated the most liberal conclusions of modern eschatology.* Amidst the firebrands of the Papal Church, it promulgated for the first time the real meaning of the forgiveness of sins.

IV. THE LESSER HOLY SYNOD

Similar in most of its characteristics to the more extended discourse which preceded it, the "Lesser Holy Synod," or *Idra Zuta*, is termed by Rosenroth the Swan's song of Simeon ben Jochai, a supplement to the subjects not exhaustively treated in the Greater Assembly. As the master's death is recorded at the end of the treatise, the translator's words must be understood of the instruction it contains and not of its setting. The Synod consists

* Franck summarises the position as follows:—Nothing is absolutely evil, nothing is accursed for ever, not even the archangel of evil, for a time will come when his name and angelic nature will be restored to him. *La Kabbale*, p. 217.

of the survivors from the former conclave, with the addition of Rabbi Isaac. Simeon begins by affirming that it is a time of grace; he is conscious of his approaching end; he desires to enter without confusion into the world to come; and he designs to reveal those sacred things in the presence of the Shekinah which hitherto have been kept secret. Rabbi Abba is appointed as scribe, and Simeon is the sole speaker. The discourse still concerns *Macroprosopus* and *Microprosopus*, with the correspondences between them, but it sketches only the subject of the concealed Deity and deals at great length with the manifestation of the Lower Countenance. In both cases, as would indeed be expected, it repeats, substantially and verbally, much of the preceding Synod; but it gives some additional symbolism, as, for example, concerning the three heads of *Macroprosopus*, "one within the other and the other above the other," and at a later stage a very considerable extension of symbolism regarding the first manifestation of the Ancient One under the form of male and female, which is, in fact, the emanation or "forming forth" of the supernal *Sephiroth—Chokmah*, or Wisdom, and *Binah*, or Understanding. So also the instruction concerning *Microprosopus*, when it is not a close reflection of the "Greater Synod," deals with His androgyne nature and His union with the Bride, who cleaveth to the side of the male until she is separated, *et accedat ut copuletur cum eo*, face to face. Out of this comes the great Kabalistic doctrine of the sexes, so much in advance of its time, in whatever Christian century we may elect to place the literature, namely, that male and female

separated are but mutilated humanity, or, as it expresses the idea, are but half the body, that no blessing can rest on what is mutilated and defective, that no divided being can subsist for ever, nor receive an eternal blessing, "for the beauty of the female is completed by the beauty of the male."* The conjunction of the supernal male and female is said to be in the place called Zion and Jerusalem, which further on are explained to signify Mercy and Justice. "When the Bride is united to the King in the excellence of the Sabbath, then are all things made one body. And then the most Holy God sitteth on His throne, then are all things called the complete name, the Holy Name. When this Mother is united to the King, all the worlds receive blessing and are found in the joy of the universe."†

About this point the discourse of Simeon ceases and Rabbi Abba, the scribe, still in the act of writing and expecting that more should follow, heard nothing. But afterwards a voice cried, "Length of Days and Years of Life," and yet another, "He seeketh Life from Thee." A fire abode in the house the whole day; when it was taken away Rabbi Abba saw that the holy light, the holy of the holy ones, had been wrapped away from the world; he lay upon his right side and a smile shone upon his face. Rabbi Eleazar, the son of Simeon, rose up and taking his hands, kissed them. "But I," says Abba, "licked the dust under his feet." It is added that during

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* *Idra Zuta, seu Synodus Minor*, § viii. *passim*. The foundation of this mysticism concerning the nuptial state must be sought in Talmudic literature.

† *Ibid.*, § xxii. par. 746 *et seq.*

his obsequies the bier of the deceased saint was raised in the air, and fire shone about it, while a voice cried, "Enter in unto the nuptial joys of R. Simeon."

It will be seen that in spite of a somewhat monstrous symbolism the Kabalistic narratives have at times the touch of nature which gives them kinship with this world of ours.

V. THE DISCOURSE OF THE AGED MAN

The prominence given by Rosenroth to the Book of Concealment and its sequels was not without its warrant, as they are certainly the most arresting, I might almost say sensational, of all the tracts imbedded in the Zohar. Those which remain to be examined will now be taken in the order in which they are placed in the *Kabbala Denudata*, and their inferior, or at least more sober, interest will appear by the short analyses which will accompany their tabulation. The first to be enumerated is that entitled *Sabah D'Mishpatim* (*Historia de sene quodam in sectione Mishpatim*). The term *Sabah* signifies ancient man and Mishpat is judgment, referring to Exodus, from the beginning of c. xxi.—"Now these are the judgments"—to the conclusion of c. xxiv. The discourse occurs in the Cremona edition, pt. ii. fol. 43, col. 169; in the Mantua, vol. ii. fol. 94; in the Sulzbach, vol. ii. 94*a*. It narrates a conversation between the prophet Elias and Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai on the subject of the ordeals and metempsychosis of the soul, to which there are allusions at

some length in the *Bereshith* section of the Zohar proper. Isaac de Loria's elaborate doctrine concerning the "Revolutions of Souls" is drawn from this discourse of Elias with the mystic light of Kabalism. We shall have again to consider this doctrine in connection with later Kabalism, in order to disabuse occultists of the idea that any reasonable view of reincarnation is contained in the Kabalistic writings. A specimen of the original text may, however, be given in this place, separated from many technicalities which would be burdensome to the beginner.

"All souls go up with the revolutions or windings [that is, are subjected to the law of transmigration], but the children of man do not know the ways of the Holy One; they know not how He judges the children of man every day in all time, how the spirits (*Neshamoth*, the higher soul, *anima animæ* of Christian theology) ascend to be judged before they descend into this world, or again how they go up to judgment after that they have departed from this world; to how many revolutions and mysterious ordeals they (or their essential substances) are subjected by the Holy Blessed One; how many naked souls and how many naked spirits enter the other world, yet not through the King's curtain; how many worlds revolve with them and how the world itself turns about in many concealed wonders. And the children of men do not know, neither do they comprehend, how souls revolve like a stone which is cast from a sling, even as it is written: 'And the souls of thine enemies them shall He sling out, as out of the middle of a sling.' But while it is permitted to reveal, now is the

time to make known all these mysteries, and how all the spirits go out from that great tree and from that mighty river which flows from Eden, but the lesser spirits *(Ruachin, Ruach,* the *anima* or *pysche)* issue from the small tree. The higher spirit comes from above, the lesser from below, and they are united as male and female."*

The Kabalistic division of the soul into five parts has been given in Book II. of the present work with the necessary elucidations. The basis of the doctrine is set forth as follows in the "Discourse of the Ancient One":

"When the child of man is born into this world there is appointed to him animated life (*Nephesh*) from the side of the animals, the clean side, from the side of the Holy Wheels (the *Auphanim*, a Kabalistic order of angels, assigned by some attributions to *Chokmah*). Should he deserve more there is appointed to him a rational spirit (*Ruach*) from the side of the Holy Living Creatures (*Chaioth Ha Kadosh*, another order of angels, commonly attributed to *Kether*, which seems, however, inconsistent with this tabulation). Should he still deserve more there is appointed to him a higher spirit, even from the side of the Thrones (*i.e.*, *Aralim*, the order of angels ascribed to *Binah*, whence come the higher souls, according to the *Bereshith* section of the Zohar proper). These three are the mother, the male servant and the handmaid, even the Daughter of the King. Should he deserve yet more there is appointed to him an animal soul (*Nephesh*) in the

* Zohar, Cremona ed. part ii. fol. 45*a*.

way of *Atziluth* (that is, the lowest essence of the supernal portions of the soul), from the side of the Daughter, *Jechida*, the only one (*Jechida* is the quintessence, the highest nature of the soul), and the same is called Daughter of the King. If he still deserve more, there is appointed to him the rational spirit (*Ruach*) of *Atziluth*, from the side of the Central Pillar (that is, Benignity, the middle pillar of the Sephirotic Tree), and he is called the Son of the Holy Blessed One, whence it is written: 'Ye are the children of the Lord your God (Deut. xiv. 1). And if he deserve even more there is appointed to him a higher spirit (*Neshamah*) from the side of *Abbah* (the supernal Father, attributed to *Chokmah* in the Atzilutic world) and of the Supernal Mother (*Aimah*. attributed to *Binah* in the same world), whence it is also written: 'And He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life' (literally, souls of life, Gen. ii. 7). What is life? It is *Jah* (the Divine Name attributed to *Chokmah*), whence we have heard: 'Let everything that hath breath (*i.e.*, life, *i.e.*, all souls) praise the Lord' (*i.e.*, *Jah*), (Ps. cl. 6). And in it is Tetragrammaton (*i.e.*, J.D.V.D., *i.e.*, JHVH) perfected. But if he deserve still more there is appointed to him JDVD, in its full completeness, the letters of which are Jod, He, Vau, He: Heh, Vau, Heh, Jod, which is man in the path of *Atziluth*, and he is then said to be in the likeness (*simulacrum*) of his Lord, whence also it is said: 'And have dominion over the fish of the sea' (Gen. i. 28)), that is, he shall rule over all the heavens and over all the *Auphanim* and *Seraphim*, over all the Hosts and Powers, above

and below. When, therefore, the child of man deserves the *Nephesh* from the side of the daughter *Jechida*, this is to say: 'She shall not go out as the men-servants do'" (meaning probably that he shall serve God in His house for ever, Exod. xxi. 7).*

This passage is worth quoting not only as an illustration of the discourse in which it occurs, but because it gives a clue to the probable meaning of occultists when they speak of a concealed sense in the Zohar. It is not to be supposed that when Kabalism divides and subdivides the soul it means anything else than to distinguish certain essences and qualities therein; in a word, it means what it says, just as modern theosophy does at the present day when it affirms seven principles in man. The concealed sense of the Zohar, as before indicated, is simply the extraction of some method from its vast and confused mass, whichat first sight appears altogether delirious. In the present instance it will be seen that the animistic nature of man has a sevenfold aspect, whereas other Kabalistic dicta really extend it to ten. When these discrepancies are harmonised we have the concealed sense of the Zohar as to the inner nature of man.

Perhaps we might reach it by supposing that the discourse of Elias really describes the development of mystic experiences in seven stages, ending, as it states literally, in the communication of the divine to man.

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* Zohar, ii. 94*b*, Brody ed.

VI. THE ILLUSTRIOUS BOOK

Excerpts of considerable length, purporting to come from a work entitled *Sepher Ha Bahir*, or *Liber Illustris*, are given in the Cremona edition of the Zohar at the places which here follow. Part I., col. 76, 79, 82, 86, 88, 104, 110, 112, 122, 125, 127, 130, 137, 138, 185, 241, 462. Part II., col. 145 and 259. Part III., col. 151, 176, 301, and 333. They are omitted in the so-called "Little Zohar" of Mantua, but reappear in Rosenroth's Sulzbach edition and in those of later date which are based thereon. In 1651 these excerpts were brought together into a volume and published at Amsterdam, which was at that period a great stronghold of Jewry. A reprint of this volume appeared at Berlin in 1706. Some interesting but complex questions are involved in the consideration of this work, which is thus known to us only by quotations. It is alleged on the one hand to be of higher antiquity than any Kabalistic book and hence of superior importance to the Sepher Yetzirah itself; on the other it is affirmed to be a manifest forgery, included in the condemnation of the Zohar, and by implication also the fruit of the inventive faculty of Moses de Leon. Between these extreme views there is placed that which considers the extant extracts unauthentic but believes in the existence of an old Kabalistic treatise, under the same title, which is now lost. An examination of the ascertainable facts does not, I think, compel our respect for any one of these opinions, and a more modest, indeterminate conclusion will perhaps be the

safest to form. In other words, there is evidence that the *Sepher Ha Bahir* was in existence prior to the promulgation of the Zohar,* but there is no evidence that it preceded it by a considerable period, and there are no means of knowing whether or not the extracts which occur in the Zohar represent in some sense the original work.

It is to be regretted that occult students have passed over the fragments of the *Sepher Ha Bahir* as they have passed over the Zohar proper, and for the same reason, namely, because it is not available by translation. It would have been interesting to know whether they would have accepted the Kabalistic legend which has gone abroad concerning it. Of that legend one aspect appears in the bibliography of Papus, which, however, indicates no first-hand research, and simply reproduces information of which Molitor is the avowed source. In the "Methodised Summary of the Kabalah" the president of all Martinism ascribes the *Sepher Ha Bahir*, which he renders "Light in the Darkness," to R. Nechoniah ben Hakannah, the master of R. Ismaelis ben Eliezer, the high-priest, who flourished during the half-century preceding the birth of Christ. Such is the Kabalistic legend concerning the authorship of the work. Some notable sayings of Nechoniah are preserved in the Talmudic collections, and other works are also ascribed to him, namely:

(*a*) Letter on Mysteries or Secrets concerning

* Because it was denounced as a forgery by Rabbi Meir ben Simon in the first half of the thirteenth century, thus antedating the period at which hostile criticism places the public appearances of the Zohar. Graetz ascribes the forgery to Azariel himself, on what grounds may be gathered from the general warrant of his Kabalistic criticism.

the advent of Messiah, His divinity, incarnation and resurrection. This epistle was addressed to his son, who is said to have embraced Christianity. It betrays the hand of a Christian, and there can at least be no question that it is a late imposture. Paulus de Heredia Hispanus translated it into Latin and dedicated it to Henry of Mendoza, legate of the King of Spain.

(*b*) *Sepher Kanah*, the Book of the Fragments of the Temple, but this is also attributed to Ismael (Samuel) ben Eliezer. It is in any case another forgery, which deals with the generation of Christ, embodying apocryphal narratives taken from the Talmud.

(*c*) A Kabalistic Prayer, to be recited by pupils on entering or leaving the gymnasium. It is included among the *Mishnayoth*, a fact which shows that it is not Kabalistic in the proper sense of the term.

(*d*) *Sepher Happeliah.*

(*e*) *Sepher Haminchad*, concerning the mystery of the name of God, a work akin to the *Bahir.*

The other aspect of Kabalistic legend concerning the "Illustrious Book" may be used to colour the pretension that the Zoharistic quotations do not represent the original. It is said to be of such profound occult significance that it has been preserved among the hidden treasures of Israel, *in Manus Cabbalistorum Gennanorum*, says Wolf,* quoting Shem Tob. Buxtorf,† Bartolocci‡ and Buddæus,§

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* *Bibliotheca Hebræa.*

† *Bibliotheca Hebræa Rabbinica.*

‡ *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica.*

§ *Introductio ad Historiam Philosophiæ Hebræorum.*

relate the same story, but none of them challenge the excerpts found in the Zohar, receiving them explicitly as genuine, while all likewise agree that the *Bahir* was regarded by Kabalists as their oldest document. The question of authenticity was in recent times first raised by Simon, who, speaking of the book printed in Holland, observes: "It does not appear that this is the ancient *Bahir* of the Jews, which is much more extended and has not yet been printed."* It is obvious that this is neither the language of criticism nor of knowledge; we may infer that Simon was unacquainted with the fact that the Amsterdam publication only collected the Zoharic extracts, and that he might not have impeached the extracts had he been aware of that circumstance. Bartolocci mentions a general opinion that manuscript copies of the *Bahir* were to be found in many Continental libraries and particularises one such MS. in the Vatican collection.

The impeachment of the Zoharic excerpts naturally became part of the general charge against the Zohar itself; the theory which ascribed that work to Moses de Leon was exceedingly comprehensive and made a clean sweep of everything included therein. It finds an almost exact parallel in the consistent application of those principles which are held to prove the Baconian authorship of the Shakespeare plays; serving equally well for Marlowe, Massinger and all Elizabethan literature, that literature directly or indirectly is attributed to Bacon. Legend says as we have seen, that the complete Zohar was origin-

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* *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament.*

ally a camel's load; were the whole of it now extant no doubt the Jew of Leon would still have been its exclusive author. Raymond Lully is said to have written five hundred separate treatises; the list may be seen in the first volume of an unfinished and impossible attempt to collect them into a folio edition, the editor supplying not only the precise years but the months in which they were composed. What Raymond did, as they say, could not have been impossible to Moses. But, as a fact, the *doctor illuminatus* wrote only a low percentage out of all that gorgeous list, and reasonable criticism regards the spendthrift Israelite as a possible compiler and polisher who may have played a little at "writing out of his own head," and that is all, not, however, because it regards the Zohar as the work of Simeon ben Jochai, or even of R Abba, but because it regards R. Moses as human.

Graetz, the German historian of Jewry, whose distinctive criticism of Kabalistic literature has obtained much vogue, lays down a principle of criticism which ought to be written in capitals at the head of most impeachments of the Zohar, namely that it is not compulsory for a hostile critic to be more careful in his arguments than those who plead in defence. Without seeking to determine what is compulsory in criticism, it may be observed that there is also no binding law to enforce serious consideration for a scholar who adopts that principle. What Graetz did openly has been done tacitly or unconsciously by others. Taking the case now under notice, I do not know of one instance in which the challenge of authenticity has been accompanied by an assigned

reason; it is simply part of the programme to get rid anyhow of anything which goes to show that the whole Zohar was not written at the end of the thirteenth century. The reason is not far to seek; the excerpts from the *Bahir*, if genuine, involve the existence not merely of purely Kabalistic but of typically Zoharic teaching prior to that date; as this proves too much for the imposture theory, they are set down as part of the imposture. One critic who espouses the antiquity of the Zohar has, however, rejected the *Bahir*. He says: "The *Sepher Ha Bahir*, attributed to Nechonia ben Hakana, contemporary of Hillel the Elder and Herod the Great, is often cited. Various fragments, manifestly unauthentic, still pass for extracts from this book."* Perhaps so; but why, if so? It is for some determinate and material reason that one looks and waits in vain, failing which the identity of the Zohar quotations with the original must be accepted as a tolerable hypothesis, because no reason has been given to the contrary. It is quite another thing to affirm that they are the work of Nechoniah, or that they are older than the Sepher Yetzirah. Placing this cosmogony somewhere about the ninth century, because it was then almost indubitably quoted and it is not worth while to dispute as to how long it antedates the first reference made to it; regarding the Zohar itself as, at least, a gradual growth between that period and the date of its publication, there seems no objection to considering the *Bahir* a

* Adolphe Franck, *La Kabbale, ou la Philosophie Religieuse des Hébreux*. Paris. 1843. If the unauthentic nature follows from the fact that it is falsely attributed, then the Sepher Yetzirah belongs to the same category.

production of the formative age of the work which is made to quote it. When the extracts were inserted therein we do not know; absent from the Mantua edition, which was simultaneous with that of the Cremona codex which contains them, it is possible that they were first added when the Zohar was prepared for press under the supervision of R. Isaac Delates, that unknown but "highly learned Jew unsurpassable in all the branches of knowledge required," whom the publisher describes. In this case, they have no connection with Moses de Leon.

There is, of course, little unanimity in hostile or indeed any Kabalistic criticism. As, on the one hand, a defender of the Zohar challenges the *Bahir* excerpts, so the latter have been exalted as the prototype and actual inspirer of the former work. This view, though in any case of little moment, involves the existence of the *Bahir* prior to the alleged date about which the Zohar was produced out of the head of Moses de Leon, like Minerva out of the head of Jupiter, ready made and at one leap. Morinus, who has left perhaps the most sensible review of the subject, founds his opinion that the *Bahir* was a product of the thirteenth century, on the silence of writers prior to that date, and especially of Moses Nachmanides, a Kabalistic Jew of Jerusalem, whose literary labours belong to the period before and after 1250. According to Wolf the first reference to the *Bahir* is made by R. Shem Tob, who was a contemporary of Moses de Leon, but belonging to a younger generation. This, however, is a mistake, because R. Azariel, the author of the great treatise on the Sephirotic system, and born, as we have seen, about 1160, in his commentary on the Canticle of

Canticles, sometimes ascribed to Nachmanides, quotes the *Bahir*, not under its own name but under that of *Yerushalmi*. The proof is that the Italian Jew Recanati, contemporary of Moses de Leon, used these quotations, and, misled by the name, inferred that they were from the Jerusalem Talmud, but afterwards discovered them in the *Bahir*, to which a Palestinian origin is ascribed. By how much the lost treatise antedated Azariel we have no ground for conjecturing, but the position of Wolf and Morinus is destroyed by the fact here recorded, which leaves the *Bahir* where we should be disposed to place it, between the date when the Sepher Yetzirah is first mentioned and the publication of the Zohar.

The name *Bahir* is referred to Job xxxvii. 21: "And now men see not the bright light which is in the clouds," according to the Authorised Version, or according to Dr. Durell's amended rendering, "And now men see not the light which is above (or within) the clouds, &c." Hence "light in darkness," is a good equivalent of the Hebrew word. The subject-matter of the book, which is in the form of a dialogue between certain illuminated doctors, is the mystery inherent in the divine names, and it contains a very full exposition of the celebrated *Shemahamphoras*, the expounded name of deity. It belongs therefore to the least philosophical part of Kabalism, and we can understand and sympathise with the instinctive dislike of Franck to accept the excerpts by which it is known to us. Facts, however, must have precedence of predilections, and though the later history of the doctrine of divine names may well make an admirer of the higher Kabalism ashamed of

the connection, it is far older than that of the *Sephiroth* or the two Countenances. Some other matters are also discussed, including a single reference to *Ain Soph*, and the two quotations which here follow exhibit a close connection between the *Bahir* and the "Discourse of the Ancient Man." The first concerns *Jechidah*, the fifth principle of the human soul.

"It is written: The silver is mine and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of Hosts. What does this mean? It is like unto a king having two treasures, one of silver and one of gold. The first he put to his right and the second to his left, saying: This is prepared so that it is easy to spend it. He has done everything in an easy way. Hence it is said: Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power. (Ex. xv. 6). If a man may rejoice in his inheritance, it is good, but if not, it is said: Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy. (*Ibid.*) What does this signify? Surely this is the gold. It is written: The silver is mine and the gold is mine. Why do they call it gold? Because three measures are included in it. [That is to say, the word consists of three letters, Z H B, *Dzain*, *He*, *Beth*]. The *Dzain* is seven measures [*i.e.*, this letter represents the number 7]; the *He* is Unity [*i.e.*, A Ch D V Th, Unity=419=5 according to Kabalistic addition, and 5 is the number of *He*]; the *Beth* [representing the number 2] signifies *Chokmah* and *Binah*, and they are called *Neshamah* because of the last five *Sephiroth*. The *Neshamah* has five names: *Nephesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshamah*, *Chaiah* and *Jechidah*."*

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 116*b* and 117*a*.

The second excerpt concerns the Fall of Man, and its quotation is of some importance for the purpose of this study.

"It is written: Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field (Gen. iii. i.). R. Isaac said: That [the serpent] is the evil inclination. R. Judah said: It is a real serpent. When they came to R. Simeon, he said unto them: Surely it is all one; This is Samaël, and he has been seen upon a serpent, but his shadow and the serpent are Satan, yet all are one. When Samaël descended from heaven, riding on this serpent, and his shadow was seen, all creatures fled from him, but coming to the woman with soft words he brought death to the whole world. Surely with wiles he invoked curses on the world and despoiled the first tree which the Holy Blessed One created in the world. [The reference here is apparently to the Sephirotic tree and, by implication, to the primordial Adam. Compare the Kabalistic thesis of Picus de Mirandola: *Peccatum Adæ fuit truncatio Malkuth ab arbore Sephirotico.*] The *Neshamah* of the male comes from male, and of the female from female [*i.e.*, from the male and female sides of the Sephirotic tree]. This is why the serpent had recourse to Chavah. He said unto himself: Because her soul is from the North I can persuade her quickly. [The North, says Myer, is the left side, facing eastward in worship; it is therefore the side of wrath and severity, connected by the Kabalists with the idea of the female. But the *Tikkune Ha Zohar* terms *Netzach* and *Hod* the *latera Aquilonis.* There is no consistency in these attributions.] And the persuasion has been because he came on her. The disciples

asked: How did he that? He said unto them: He, Samaël, the wicked one, intrigued with all the hosts above against his Master, because the Holy Blessed One had said unto Adam: Thou shalt have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air [understood of the evil spirits and the angels]. Samaël asked: How therefore can I make Adam sin before Him, so that he shall be driven away from His sight? So he descended with all his hosts, and he sought upon the earth a companion like unto himself, but it had an appearance even as a camel. [This curious comparison is based on the fact that the Hebrew G M L means camel when certain vowel points are added to these consonants, and reward or recompense with others. The significance of this is developed in the *Pekude* section of the Zohar, commenting on Gen. xxiv. 64: And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she lighted off her camel. The camel is here said to signify the mystery of death, referred to in Prov. xix. 17: That which he hath given will He pay him again. The connecting idea is, firstly, that reward, in the sense of retribution, came into the world by the serpent, and, secondly, that the peculiar nature of the Fall is indicated by the alleged hidden sense of the term camel which represents the *pudenda*. Compare Cazotte's *Diable Amoureux*, where the impure demon is revealed at last with the head of that animal.] So he rode upon it and came to the woman and said unto her: Did not *Elohim* forbid thee to partake of any of the trees in the garden? She answered: We have been forbidden only the tree of knowledge which is in the garden;

of that only did *Elohim* say, Ye shall not partake thereof, neither touch it, lest ye die. What, then, did Samaël the wicked one? He touched the tree, and the tree cried out. Then said Samaël: Lo, I have touched the tree, yet I have not died. Do thou touch it, and thou also shalt not die. Whereupon the woman laid hold of the tree, and beholding the angel of death approach her, she said: Surely I shall now die, and the Holy Blessed one will form another woman and will give her to Adam. But I will do thus; I will cause him to eat with me, so that if we die we shall die together, and if we live we shall live together. . . . Then the Holy Blessed One said unto her: Is it not enough that thou hast sinned but thou must also bring sin unto Adam? Then answered she: Lord of the world, the serpent induced me that I should sin before Thee. So the Holy Blessed One caused all three to come before Him and condemned them with nine curses and with death. He also cast Samaël and his followers down from the place of their holiness in heaven; He cut the feet off the serpent and cursed him, yea, more than all beasts, and commanded that he should lose his skin after seven years."*

I have said that this passage is of importance to our subject, because it shows the kind of light which Kabalistic literature casts upon the first and greatest event in the spiritual history of man as it is presented by Scripture. Literal or mystical, the story of the Fall is not elucidated by the addition of monstrous elements, and the occult student in

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 28*a*, *b*.

particular will feel that the *Sepher Ha Bahir* exhibits in this place neither depth nor dignity. Like the Zohar itself, and most other tracts which it embodies, it has occasionally a suggestive passage. For example, it affirms that the world to come is a world that has come to pass already, because six out of the seven portions of the primordial light which was produced by God for the creation of the universe are reserved as the portion of the just in the life which is beyond.

It remains to say that William Postel is reported to have rendered the *Bahir* into Latin, but, if so, I can find no record that the translation was ever printed.

VII. THE FAITHFUL SHEPHERD

The Zoharistic treatise bearing this title records conversations between Simeon ben Jochai and Moses, who appeared to the great light of Kabalism and gave him many instructions and revelations. Elias took part in the conference, and the witnesses included not only Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, David and Solomon, but God Himself. This indicates that in spite of the transcendental doctrine of *Ain Soph* and the Two Countenances, the Zohar recurs occasionally to the same anthropomorphic conceptions that are found in the Talmud. Ginsburg says: "The chief object of this portion is to show the twofold and allegorical import of the Mosaic commandments and prohibitions, as well as of the Rabinical injunctions and religious practices which obtained in the course

of time." The extant excerpts from these discourses are dispersed through the Cremona edition in the following order: Part I., col. 104, 126, 207, 211, 214, 247, 322, 343, 346, 378, 483; Part II., col. 72, 165, 203, 281, 328; Part III., col. 1, 26, 32, 42, 45, 47, 56, 57, 79, 122, 144, 147, 171, 187, 209, 214, 233, 235, 277, 289, 329, 332, 339, 343, 394, 400, 404, 408, 413, 422, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 447, 451, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 466, 468, 472, 519, 534. As regards their authenticity, Franck classes these excerpts along with those of the *Bahir*, but, as in that instance so in this, he gives no account of his suspicions, which may be taken, however, to follow from his conviction that much of the Zohar is really attributable to the period of Simeon ben Jochai and the disciples that came after him. In either case, the "Discourse of the Faithful Shepherd" contains much that is important to our purpose. Its views on vicarious atonement and on the Messiah to come will enable us to appreciate further the value of the occult standpoint; some of its moral teachings will illustrate its ethical position; its references to the Shekinah will cast light on this curious feature of Kabalism; and its speculations on angels and demons will show the Zoharistic foundation for the later system of pneumatology which was developed by Isaac de Loria.

The discourse introduces two phases of vicarious atonement, the one effected through the sufferings of just men and the other by means of the Messiah.

"When the righteous are afflicted by disease or other sufferings in atonement for the sins of the world, it is so ordered that all the sinners of their

generation may obtain redemption. How is this demonstrated? By every member of the physical body. When all these are suffering through some evil disease, one of them is afflicted [*i.e.*, by the instrument of the leech] so that the others may recover. Which member? The arm. It is chastised by the blood being drawn from it, which ensures healing in all the other members of the body. It is in like manner with the children of the world; the members are in relation with each other even as those of the body. When the Holy Blessed One willeth the health of the world, He afflicts a just man therein with pain and sickness and heals the rest through him. How is this shown? It is written: But He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and with His stripes we are healed (Isa. liii. 5). 'By his stripes,' as by the bruises [incisions] made in bleeding the arm, are we healed, that is, recovery is insured to us as members of one body."*

Here, it will be said, the Kabalah recognises the great and fruitful doctrine of the solidarity of humanity. That is quite true, and it is one of those instances wherein Jewish theosophy has forestalled modern ideas. But if we take the illustration which it gives, we shall see that it is fantastic in character; the affliction of a diseased rabbi does not as a fact benefit his neighbour physically, and only on the most arbitrary hypothesis can we suppose that the patience with which he may suffer will reflect credit

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part iii. fol. 101*a*.

on any one but himself. It would be barely reasonable to dispute about such a position were it not necessary to show occultists the real messages of the Kabalah on points with which they are concerned. Now the modern students of occult philosophy everywhere reject with disdain the doctrine of vicarious atonement. Let us pass thence to the question of Messianic atonement, concerning which it is said in the Vision of the Faithful Shepherd:

"This is also exemplified in the history of Job. For the Holy Blessed One, seeing that the entire foundation was sinful, and how Satan appeared to accuse them, said unto Him, 'Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth' (Job i. 8), to save his generation through him?" This may be illustrated by the parable of a shepherd who beheld a wolf approaching to rend his sheep and destroy them. What did this shepherd? Being wise, he gave unto the wolf the strongest and stoutest bell-wether, even that which the flock was accustomed to follow, and while the wolf was bearing it away, the shepherd hurried with his sheep to a place of safety, and then returning rescued the bell-wether from the wolf. So does the Holy Blessed One deal with a generation: He surrenders a righteous man into the power of the accuser for the salvation of the generation through him. But when such an one is strong like Jacob, it is said, A man wrestled with him (Gen. xxxii. 24). But he (Satan) will be unable to prevail, and in the end he will supplicate the righteous man to release him (*Ibid.* 26), for the righteous man, chosen by the Holy Blessed One, is too strong for the evil one and bears the most

cruel afflictions willingly for the redemption of his generation; whence also he is held as their saviour, and the Holy Blessed One constitutes him shepherd over all the flock, to feed them in this world and to rule over them in the world to come."*

The clumsy and inadequate parable which thus represents the Almighty flying from Satan as the shepherd flies from a wolf, and in accordance with which the just man is at first compared to a bell-wether and afterwards to the shepherd of the flock, is something more than a literary failure. Theologians have, I believe, found some trouble in locating the accuser of Job, and it is perhaps most accurate to say with the poet that "He, too, is God's minister," but the Zoharic commentary on Job makes him in most respects a match for the Almighty, who must have recourse to a stratagem in order to save his people. The Kabalah on the problem of evil is therefore, in this place, neither illuminating nor reassuring; it is, in fact, crass and childish. "The ancient pillars of the world [the intellectual luminaries of Israel] differ," says the same disquisition, as to the nationality of Job. One affirms that he was a righteous Gentile who was chastised for the atonement of the world. At a certain time R. Hammarumnah met the prophet Elijah and said to him: How is it to be understood that the righteous man suffers while the wicked one has joy of his life? He answered, saying, The just man of few sins receives his punishment for these in this world, and hence it is that he suffers here; but the man whose sins are many, while his good deeds

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part ii. fol. 100*b*.

are few, receives recompense for the latter in this world and hence has the joy of life."*

In this instance the Kabalah offers an explanation which, shallow though it be, is identical with that accepted by some sections of Christian theology, by which, however, it is applied more mischievously. Thus, not only the sporadic good actions of those who are wicked habitually but all natural goodness can find their reward only in this world. The Kabalah is not disfigured by methodised enormities of this kind. There are times also in which it loses its grotesqueness for a moment, and by some not unhappy reference to Scripture illustrates an elementary spiritual truth, as, for example, concerning the change necessary to sinners.

"Those who are oppressed with sin need a change of place, a change of name and a change in their actions, even as it was said unto Abraham: Get thee out of thy country (Gen. xii. 1). Here is a change of place. And: Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham (Gen. xvii. 5). Here is a change of name. A change of deeds: he changed from his former evil actions to good actions."† The Christian mystic might develop the significance of this quotation in connection with the new name of the Apocalypse, the new name received in confirmation, ordination and the monastic and conventual life. Such analogies, though suggestive, are of slender value; the change mentioned in the

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* Zohar, Cremona ed., part ii. fol. 106*b*. Compare the Mantua edition, 1, 6, 8, where it is said that the pure man is in himself a true sacrifice and that the just are the expiation of the universe.

† Zohar, Cremona ed., part ii. fol. 98*b*.

Zohar has indeed no special mystical importance; it concerns only the initial fact of spiritual life.

We have seen in the fragments of the *Bahir* that the scriptural history of the Fall of man is disfigured rather than elucidated by Zoharic commentary. The consequences of the first sin are thus described in the Faithful Shepherd.

"Come, see! Had Adam not sinned man would have known not the taste of death before he ascended to the superior world, but having sinned he became acquainted with the taste of death before ascending to the world above. Through the sin of Adam the rational spirit (*Ruach*) is separated from the body which remains in this world. It has to cleanse itself in the river of fire (Dan. vii. 10), to receive punishment, after which it goes up to the Garden of Eden, which is above the earth, and there are prepared for it other garments of light, in conformity with the appearance of the body in the present world; it is clothed therein and therein is its habitation for ever."*

This passage is important because it shows that Jewish theosophy has nothing better to offer us than the old Biblical instruction that sin "brought death into the world and all our woes." It is not our purpose here to question that doctrine, but simply to demonstrate that the Zohar, where it is intelligible, does not improve on accepted religious instruction.

Let us now select an instance from one of those portions which are more peculiarly Kabalistic in their

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* *Ibid.*, part iii. fol. 79*b*. According to the *Idra Zuta* the Upper or true Eden is the principle of life and understanding.

subject. The Zoharistic speculations on the Shekinah have an air of mystic symbolism which would be perhaps naturally wanting in commentary upon ordinary doctrinal matters. It is said that the relation of the Shekinah to the other lights of creation is like that of the soul to the body, but she—for the divine manifestation is presented under a feminine aspect—"stands to the Holy Blessed One as the body stands to the soul." In this, of course, there is nothing profound; the Shekinah is the vestment of the Almighty. But the discourse of the Faithful Shepherd adds that all are one, that is, God is one with His manifestation. This may be illustrated by the much more interesting and spiritual doctrine of the Eucharist; the bread is the vestment of Christ, the mode of His manifestation in His Church, but Christ, by the hypothesis of the doctrine, is one with the veil which He assumes. It is otherwise in man, says the Zohar. "His body is earth, but the soul is called reason. The one is death, the other is life." This is the ascetic notion which modern occultism has agreed to reject. "But the Holy Blessed One is life, and the Shekinah also is life. Whence it is written: She [meaning the Shekinah, but the Scriptual reference is to Wisdom] is a tree of life to them that can lay hold upon her" (Prov. iii. 18). The Shekinah of Kabalism is not, however, merely the visible splendour which shone in the Holy of Holies. The Faithful Shepherd affirms that the Holy Blessed One is concealed in the mysteries of the *Thorah* and is known or manifested by the commandments, for these are His Shekinah and this is His image. This is a very beautiful, spiritual and poetic conception, and it does

not need the gift of the mystic to understand and appreciate it. It is one of those instances in which we feel that a depth is added to the sacred tales of Jewry. We may not at this day feel disposed to accept literally and, so to speak, physically the alleged manifestation in the Temple; here the Zohar helps us to something truer and profounder than the letter of the legend, and we acknowledge gladly that the little people of Palestine, encompassed by the idolatrous nations, had truly something of the divine in the law which was given them. The passage continues: "As He is humble, so is the Shekinah humility; as He is benevolent, so is she benevolence; as He is strong, so is she the strength of all the nations of the world; as He is the truth, so is she the truth; as He is the prophet, so is she the prophetess; as He is righteous, so is she righteousness; as He is King, so is she Queen; as He is wise, so is she wisdom; as He is intelligent, so is she His intelligence; as He is the crown, so is she His diadem, the diadem of glory. Therefore the masters have decided that all those whose inward part is not like unto the outward semblance shall have no admission to the house of the doctrine. As the image of the Holy Blessed One, whose interior He is, whose outward splendour is the Shekinah; He, his interior internally, she his exterior externally, so that no difference subsists between her the outward and Him the inward, as she is an outflow from Him, and hence all difference is removed between external and internal, and as, further, the inner nature of YHVH is concealed, therefore is He only named with the name of the Shekinah,

Adonai; hence the masters say, Not as I am written [YHVH] am I read."*

The connection between the Shekinah and *Malkuth*, in the light of the alleged unity of God and the vestment which conceals Him, suggests the identity of the divine and the universe, but it is only in the sense of immanence. The Kabalah, as we have seen many times, is in some respects the very opposite of pantheism.

Our quotations must close with a few references to the pneumatology of the Faithful Shepherd. They concern, firstly, the great Presence Angel Metatron, who is the sole occupant of the Briatic world, as the supernal Adam is of that of *Atziluth*. He is the garment of Shaddai. According to some his form is that of a boy, while others ascribe to this angel a female aspect. This shows a connection with the Shekinah, and indeed Metatron, with the difference of an added letter, signifies the cohabiting glory.† There is, secondly, some information concerning Samaël, or Satan, and his wife Lilith. The first was once a servant of the Holy Blessed One and the second a maid of Matroncetha.‡ Their ultimate destruction is hinted, but meanwhile Lilith is the devastation of the world and the lash in the hands of the Holy Blessed One to strike the guilty. So she, too, is God's minister.

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* Zohar, Cremona ed., part ii. fol. 106*a*, Myer, "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 341.

† *Ibid.*, part iii. fol. 106*b*.

‡ Zohar, Cremona ed., part iii. fol. 134*b*.

VIII. THE HIDDEN THINGS OF THE LAW

The extant morsels of this work are located by Rosenroth as follows in the Cremona edition: Part I., col. 221, 258, 262, 370. Part II., col. 250. Dr. Ginsburg has discovered others in the Amsterdam edition, to which his references are made. They traverse ground covered by other sections of the Zohar, such as the evolution of the *Sephiroth*, the emanation of the primordial light and so forth. In a word, the contents show nothing which need detain us long. As an example of the puerility and pretensions of its exegesis, let us take the following passage:

"It is written, If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small (Prov. xxiv. 10). 'Thy strength'; this means, if his grasp on the *Thorah* become languid. 'In the day of adversity'; this means, when he so weakens his strength becomes small [thus changing the simple statement of Scripture into a foolish platitude.] What is meant by 'thy strength becomes small'? It means *Ko-a'h* [the initials of words signifying the Throne of Glory]. Then the evil is expelled, so that it cannot come near man and cannot accuse him [the meaning seems to be that when a man does not weaken in adversity, his strength is like that of the right hand, the Throne of Glory being on the right of God]. But when man deviates from the *Thorah* [or has a weak hold thereon], then the strength is the strength of the left hand, because that evil which is the left side rules over man and sets aside the Throne of

Glory."* On the whole, we shall most of us prefer to conclude simply with Solomon that giving way in the day of adversity is a sign of weakness. Those who prefer the Mysteries of the *Thorah* have full opportunities for entering more deeply into the significance of Solomon's homely aphorism, for they have only to remember that the Throne of Glory is a title of *Tiphereth*, and of *Malkuth* occasionally, because it is the seat of *Tiphereth*.

In a more notable passage, which is supposed by Myer to distinguish certain stages of mystic vision, it is said that the will of the King is discovered in three colours. The first is above and so far away that no eye can perceive it in its purity, but it is distinguished (dimly) by contracting the range of vision [*i.e.*, by the closing of the eyelids, as in blinking]. The second colour is seen with one eye shut, and cannot be seen by the other eye except when that eye is shut so that it can see little, as in blinking. The clearness of the light could not be endured otherwise. Of this it is written, What seest thou? [Jer. i. 11. The prophet, however, did not see the will of God but a branch of an almond-tree]. The third colour is that bright luminous mirror which cannot be looked into at all, except between the rolling of the eyes when the lids are altogether closed and they move in their sockets. There can then be seen in that rolling the light of the luminous mirror, and the colour thereof can be comprehended only by him who beholds the shining with eyes shut, whence it is written, The hand of the Lord was upon me (Ezek. xxxvii. 1), and The

* *Ibid.*, part i. fol. 89*a*.

hand of the Lord was upon me in the evening (*Ibid.* xxxii. 22).* No doubt the Kabalists had visions and means of inducing visions, as also had Boehme, St. John of the Cross and all the seers and mystics, but this clumsy process confuses cause and effect, while it offers no intelligible result.

As another example, let us see what the Mysteries of the *Thorah* can tell us of the three angels who appeared to Abraham.

"It is written, And lo, three men stood by him (Gen. xviii. 2). These are three angels, clothed in ether, which came down to this world, and were seen in appearance even as a child of man. And they were three like that above, because the rainbow is only seen in three colours [this point should interest ethnologists]. Surely this is so. And these are three men; three colours, white, red and green. The white is Michael, because he is the right side; the red is Gabriel, because he is the left side; and the green is Raphael. And these three colours are those of the rainbow, because it is never seen otherwise than with them. Hence it is written, And the Lord appeared unto him [Abraham] in the plains of Mamre (Gen. xviii. 1), that is, the Shekinah revealed itself in these three colours. It is also written, And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament (Dan. xii. 3). They shall shine with a light which is enkindled by igniting a splendour. That brilliant light which is hidden, the spark of all sparks, of all lights, is therein invisible and hidden, concealed and made known, seen and not beheld. This shining

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 66*a*.

light came out from the supreme fountain of enlightenment, shown in the day and hidden at night. And this is the only thing seen, wherein all colours are concealed, and it is called by the name YHVH."*

The account in Genesis, upon which this pretends to be a commentary, is exceedingly perplexing, and to say that the three men are three angels clothed in the light of the Shekinah scarcely removes the difficulties. The explanations of Christian interpreters may not be wholly satisfactory, but they are much better than the Zohar in any instance, and more especially in that section which dissolves the mysteries of the *Thorah* by a process of multiplication.

As a specimen of the demonology in the *Sithrai Thorah* one quotation may be appended:

"When man joins himself with the truth, that is, the *Thorah*, he requires proving in the same place where his father was put to the proof; so shall he ascend perfect and shall return perfect. Adam went up, but, not watching over himself, he was enticed by that harlot, even the first serpent, and sinned with her [*i.e.*, Lilith]. It is written, And Jacob passed out from Beersheba, and went toward Haran (Gen. xxviii. 10). 'And went toward Haran,' that is, the side of the harlot, which is a mystery. 'From the strength of Isaac,' that is, from the strength of judgment, from the lees of old wine, went out a spark which comprised male and female, and it spread itself out to many sides and into many paths. The male is called Samaël, and the female is always comprised

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 89*b*.

in him; as it is on the holy, so is it on the evil side, male and female are merged one in the other. The female of Samaël, which is the serpent, is called the harlot." *

IX. THE SECRET COMMENTARY

We know that Scott provided headings to very many chapters of his romances by pretended quotations from old plays which existed only in his imagination, and it occasionally happened that these mythical excerpts contained stronger lines than much of his acknowledged versecraft. Those who believe that Moses de Leon wrote the Zohar out of his own head will account in a similar manner for the manifold fragments of unknown treatises which are found only in that work. Of some of these it may also be said that they are more interesting than the Zohar proper. As we have seen, the whole world of Kabalism has agreed to exalt the "Book of Concealment" over all the other discourses attributed to Simeon ben Jochai, but for the purposes of our present inquiry it must be confessed that considerable interest attaches to the "Secret Commentary." The extant fragments of this work are found in the Cremona edition at the following places: Part I., col. 257, 260, 261, 264, 265, 268, 269, 272, 273, 276, 296, 370. The field which they cover is chiefly that of the destiny of souls, future punishments and rewards, the resurrection of the body and the doctrine

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 86*a*.

concerning angels and demons. The connection of the soul with the body and the perfection which is to come for both are the subjects of the following passage:

"R. Abbah the Ancient rose up upon his feet and said: Rest and peace shall be thine, R. Simeon ben Jochai, for thou hast brought back the crown, that is, the *Thorah.* We have learned in the *Mathnuthah Kadmoah* that because the higher soul [*Neshamah*] dwells in its perfection in the upper place [*i.e.*, prior to birth], it has no desire towards the body except to create from it other similar souls [*Neshamoth*]. These come out of her, but she abides in her place. Thereupon R. Simeon ben Jochai stood up and explained: If in this world which is vanity, into this body which is a fetid particle, the *Neshamah* yet enters, verily, in the time to come, when all are made clean, when the body will be in the fulness of its perfection, the perfect *Neshamah* will enter therein, in the world above. R. Acha also said: This very soul and this very body the Holy Blessed One is prepared in the time to come to establish in eternal continuance, but both will be perfect in the perfection of knowledge, attaining to that which cannot be reached in this world." *

Occultists are accustomed to regard the re-assumption of the same physical body by the progressed and glorified spirit as an unphilosophical and material doctrine, not at all of that kind which we should expect to meet with in the Zohar; but it is there all the same, and we shall find it more

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 76*a*.

fully developed in other passages. Before proceeding to these, let us see what happens to the soul at death.

"R. Isaac said: At that time when the *Neshamah*, having deserved it, ascends to her superior place, the body lies peacefully at rest in its bed, as it is written, He shall enter into peace; they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness (Isa. lvii. 2). What does this mean? 'Walking in uprightness.' R. Isaac said: The *Neshamah* goes straight to the place prepared for it in Paradise." *

In another part of his discourse the same Rabbi distinguishes two Edens and two places of perdition:

"The Holy Blessed One not only created a paradise on earth and a *Gehennon* on earth, but a garden of Eden above, and a *Gehennon* above. He created a garden of Eden on the earth below, as it is written, And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden (Gen. ii. 8). He created also a *Gehennon* on the earth, as it is written, A land of darkness, as darkness itself (Job x. 22). In like manner he created a garden of Eden above, as it is written, But the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord thy God (I. Sam. xxv. 29). And it is again written, The Spirit shall return unto God who gave it (Eccles. xii. 7). He created also the *Gehennon* above, as it is written, And the soul [*Nephesh*=animal soul] of thine enemies them shall be sling out as out of the middle of a sling (I. Sam. xxv. 29)." † In this exceedingly interesting passage, as need scarcely

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* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 75*a*. † *Ibid.* 67*b*.

be observed, the citation from Job does not at all refer to any earthly *Gehennon*, nor does any such consequence as a superior place of perdition follow from the text in Samuel. The Zohar unfortunately abounds in this kind of unreason.

The next point upon which we may seek information from the occult commentary is that of retributive justice in the world to come:

"R. Judah said, The time of a man's departure from this life is the day of the great judgment, for then the *Neshamah* separates from the body. But man does not depart from this world until he has beheld the Shekinah. Hence it is written, There shall no man see me and live (Ex. xxiii. 20). Three angels come with the Shekinah to receive the *Neshamah* of the righteous. Hence also it is written, And the Lord appeared unto him in the plains of Mamre: as he sat in the tent-door in the heat of the day (Gen. xviii. 1). That is, the day of judgment, which burns even as an oven for the separation of the *Neshamah* from the body. 'And he lift up his eyes and looked, and lo, three men stood by him,' who search the deeds which he has done, and through whom he confesses, yea, even with his mouth. When the *Neshamah* sees this, it parts from the body as far as the opening of the gullet and there tarries until it has confessed all things whatsoever which the body has committed with her in this world. Then the *Nashamah* of the righteous man rejoices over her deeds [the higher soul is presented by the Kabalists under a feminine aspect] and because she has been so faithfully preserved." R. Isaac adds, "The soul of the just man longs for the hour when it shall depart

from this vain world so as to rejoice in the world of the future."*

Setting aside such grotesque details as the pausing of the soul in the gullet, and the mere confusion occasioned by the mention of an oral statement, what is described in the passage above is almost identical with the Catholic notion of the particular judgment. According to this the Christian soul, whatever sentence is about to be pronounced upon it, sees Christ, as the soul of the Jewish Kabalist sees the glory of the presence. We find, therefore, that the Zohar at its best has no richer gift to offer us than a variation upon all that which the occultist has agreed to set aside as belonging to the letter and the convention. It is, perhaps, superfluous, as to the Kabalist it is certainly useless, to point out that the apparition of the angels to Abraham in the plains of Mamre can by no natural process of exegesis bear the construction placed on it. It is understood, of course, that the Kabalah has no such processes.

Having seen how the soul is judged, another quotation will afford us some vague notion of the future happiness of the righteous:

"R. Joseph said: At that time the just man shall attain full knowledge; namely, in the day when the Holy Blessed One shall rejoice over His works, the just shall know Him in their hearts, and their understanding shall be as great as if they had seen Him with the eyes, for it is written: And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God (Isa. xxv. 9). The joy of the soul when dwelling in the body surpasses

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 75*a*.

all, because they are both constant, knowing and comprehending their Creator, and rejoicing in the splendour of the Shekinah. This is what is meant by the good which is preserved for the just in the world to come. Hence it is written: These are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son (Gen. xxv. 19). This refers to the *Neshamah* which deserves such joy and is perfect in her elevation. 'Abraham begat Isaac, (*Ibid.*), that is, the soul brought forth this rejoicing and cheerfulness in the world. R. Yehudah said unto R. Cheyah: This have we learned that there is a feast which the Holy Blessed One will prepare for the righteous in the coming time. What is this feast? He answered him: When I came before those holy angels, even the lords of learning, I knew only this which ye have heard, but afterwards I received the explanation through R. Eleazar, who said: The feast for the righteous in the coming time will be thus, as it is written: They saw God and did eat and drink (Ex. xxiv. 11). Now these are the foods, even as we have been taught. And R. Eleazar said again, We have learned in one place, 'We have rejoiced,' and in another, 'We have been fed.' What is the difference? Thus spake R. Simeon ben Jochai: 'Those of the just who deserve so much only, the same shall only rejoice in the reflection, because they cannot comprehend all, but the truly righteous shall be satiated till they attain the fulness of understanding.' This, therefore, is to be understood by eating and drinking, and the same is the feast and this also is the partaking thereof. Whence have we this? From Moses, for it is written: And he was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights: he

did neither eat bread nor drink water (Ex. xxxiv. 28). For what reason did he neither eat bread nor drink water? It was because he was fed by another feast, even the celestial splendour which is from above. And such shall be the feast of the just in the coming time. R. Judah said: The feast of the just in the coming time shall consist of rejoicing in his joy, for it is written: The humble shall hear and rejoice (Ps. xxxiv. 2). Thereupon R. Hunnah said: All shall rejoice who trust in Thee, eternally shall they sing. R. Isaac said: The one and the other shall be fulfilled in the time which is to come. R. Joseph said: We have learned that wine which is guarded and kept in the grapes from the first six days signifies the ancient and mighty words which have not been revealed to man since the creation of the world, but they will be made known to the righteous in the time which is to come. And thus it is eating and drinking, yea, surely this is so."*

It must be acknowledged that in this very interesting passage the Zoharic doctrine is a great advance upon the monstrous allegory of the salted leviathan in the Talmud, and yet the point reached with so much circumlocution in the rabbinical discourse is summed up in a single sentence by the Christian apostle, who says that "it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive what God hath prepared for those who love Him." Nor is the mystical significance greater, though Isaac Myer has increased it by pointing out that the term wine signifies Kabalistically "the mysterious vitality and

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 80.

spiritual energy of created things," an opinion based on its investigation by *notaricon*, for wine = 70 = God or secret.*

As to the future condition of the wicked, the Secret Commentary gives the following statement by R. Samuel speaking on the authority of R. Jacob: "The souls of the wicked are given into the hands of the angel Dumah [the Angel of Silence who, according to the Talmud, has charge of disembodied spirits], who conducts them to Gehennon for judgment."† As to the duration of punishment, the opinions expressed in the Zohar are confused if not conflicting, but it does not seem to be everlasting.‡

Two other passages in the Secret Commentary refer to the resurrection of the dead:

"R. Isaac spake and said: The mandrakes give forth a smell (Song of Solomon vii. 13). Our rabbis have learned: In the time which is to come the Holy Blessed One will quicken the dead and will awaken them from the dust, that they be no more an earthly habitation. Formerly they were created from the dust of the earth, which hath no permanence, as it is written: And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground (Gen. ii. 7). But in that time they shall be sifted from the dust of that building and shall stand a firm building, and the same shall be unto them a lasting habitation. Thus it is written: Shake thyself from the dust; arise .... O captive daughter of Zion (Isa. lii. 2).

* "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 358.

† Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 80*b*.

‡ Though this also is taught here and there in the medley. It may be added that a quotation furnished by Jellinek from the *Beth Hammadresh* represents that the Divine Compassion, touched by the sufferings in hell, ordains the release of all in bondage therein.

They shall stand firm, they shall rise up from under the earth and receive their *Neshamoth* in the land of Israel. For at that time the Holy Blessed One shall diffuse over them all kinds of odours from the garden of Eden, as it is written: The mandrakes give forth a smell. R. Isaac added; Do not call it mandrakes [*Dudaim*] but friendship [*Dodim*], meaning that body and soul are friends and companions to each other. R. Na'hman said: This word truly means *Dudaim*, for the *Dudaim* [understood as the love-apple] bring forth love in the world. What does this mean? 'They give a pleasant smell.' It describes the rectitude of their deeds, through which their Creator becomes known and comprehended by their generation. 'And at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits, new and old' (Song of Solomon vii. 13). 'Our gates,' that is, the gates of heaven, which are open and through which the *Neshamoth* shall descend into the bodies. 'All manner of pleasant fruits'; these are the *Neshamoth*. 'New and old,' that is, those whose souls have departed from them for many years and those which have left them for a few days past, yet deserve, through the probity of their actions, to enter the world to come."*

Hence it seems to follow indubitably that the Kabalistic world to come is the millennial earth of Christianity, and hence the destiny of the righteous is substantially identical in the Zohar and in the Apocalypse. The theory of the risen body in the "Secret Commentary" recalls also that which was much better expressed by St. Paul when he said: "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body."

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* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 80.

The other passage is as follows:—"While the *Neshamah* has its nourishment from the supernal splendour, the Holy Blessed One says to the angel *Dumah:* Go and proclaim to that body that I am prepared to quicken it at the time when I shall raise up the just in the age which is to come. But the body answers: Shall I have pleasure when I have decayed? [Referring to Gen. xviii. 12 where Sarah says: After I have waxed old, shall I have pleasure?] Even when I have decayed in the dust, and have dwelt in the earth where worms and moles have eaten my flesh, shall it be possible for me to be renewed? Then the Holy Blessed One says unto *Neshamah:* It is therefore written: And the Lord said unto Abraham . . . is anything too hard for the Lord? (Gen. xviii. 13, 24). At a time which is known to me for raising the dead, I shall bring back to thee that body, made wholly new, even as it was formerly, that it may be like unto the holy angels. And that day is set apart for me to rejoice with them, as it is written: The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever: the Lord shall rejoice in His works (Ps. civ. 31)."*

We see, therefore, that on the most important of all subjects, namely, the destiny of the soul, the Kabalah has nothing to offer us but that which Jew and Christian possess independently of any secret doctrine. We have not to consider here whether this common doctrine is insufficient, but to remember only that it is so held by occultists. That the risen body is transfigured we learn from the following passage, which is also a specimen of Kabalistic angelology.

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* *Ibid.* fol. 66.

"When it is said: His servant (Gen. xxiv. 2), this means the servant of Elohim. 'The oldest servant of his house' (*Ibid.*). Who is this? It is Metatron, who is appointed to glorify the body in the grave. Hence it is written: And Abraham said unto his eldest servant (*Ibid.*), namely, to Metatron, the eldest of his house, for he is the first of the creatures of Elohim, governing all that belongs to Him. The Holy Blessed One hath given him dominion over all His hosts. And we have learned, said R. Simeon, that R. Joseph said on the authority of Rab that all the hosts of the servant take delight and felicity in the pureness of the soul. We have learned also that the light of the soul in the world to come is greater than the light of the Throne and that the soul takes the light from the Throne."*

The last statement seems to mean that the glory of God is essential to the Godhead, but the soul must acquire her lustre.

We must leave these interesting fragments at this point. Much as we may despise the imbecile theory which would attribute them to the inventive genius of Moses de Leon, it seems quite clear that they afford no support to the occult estimate of the Zohar.

X. THE LESSER SECTIONS OF THE BOOK OF SPLENDOUR

We have now passed in review the chief tracts and fragments which constitute the Zohar. Beyond

* Zohar, Cremona ed., part i. fol. 76*b*.

these there are various lesser sections which may be noticed for the sake of completeness. They fall under two heads:

a. Certain fragments, not of considerable importance, which are common to the two *editiones principes*, namely, 1, "Additional Pieces"; 2, Excerpts from a commentary on Ruth; 3, Excerpts from a work entitled "Mansions or Abodes"; 4, One portion of a treatise on the Secret of Secrets.

b. Other fragments which are peculiar to the Cremona edition and are therefore wanting in that of Mantua, namely, 1, The quaint history and discourse of a Young Man; 2, Excerpts from an Explanation of the Law; 3, Excerpts from a Commentary on the Song of Solomon; a discourse beginning "Come and See!" 4, Some pieces entitled "Traditional Receptions."

A. The Additions

The small additional pieces which pass under the generic name of Tosephtha, *i.e.*, *additamenta*, or accessions, are scattered through the Cremona folio as follows:—Part I. col. 83, 87, 145, 176, 188, 189, 203, 222, 259, 265, 295, 303, 318, 367, 371, 487, 513; Part II. col. 48, 107, 120, 163, 238, 358, 426; Part III. col. 50, 82, 97, 98, 117, 149, 155, 163, 177, 184, 186, 191, 274, 331, 441. Some of these fragments are addressed more particularly to proficients in the secret things of Kabalistic doctrine. Perhaps the most curious of all concerns the Treasury of Souls situated in the supernal Eden.

"Before the world was created all the spirits of the just [*i.e.*, the rational spirits, the *Ruachin*] were

hidden before Him in thought, each in his likeness [*i.e.*, they existed in the divine thought, possessing characteristic individuality]. But when He formed the world, then were they manifested,* remaining before Him, in their own likenesses, yea, even in the highest place. He then gathered them into a treasury in the supernal garden of Eden, and that treasury is never filled, but cries out for ever: 'Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare' (Isa. xlii. 9). What does this mean? It means, I show forth all by their name, and this treasury hath neither desire nor appetite, save only to accumulate souls therein [the word here used signifies the higher soul, or third principle of the Kabalists], even as *Gehennon*, which hath neither desire nor lust, save only to take souls and to purify them, calling daily, Give! Give! What does this mean? It means, Burn! Burn! And that treasury receives all souls till the time they are clothed and come down to this world. Through the sin of *Adam Kadmon* [not the supernal Adam of the Atziluthic world], which brought on the evil side to the world, the soul [*Neshamah*] must be clothed in these garments, which are the other garments" [*i.e.*, not the original vestments of unfallen man, but a coarser material envelope].†

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* Compare Zohar ii. 20*a*, Mantua, where it is said that all things and all creatures before they were associated with the universe, and whatever the time of their existence, appeared in their true forms before God at the beginning of the present creation.

† Brody edition of the Zohar, iii. 303*b*. See also Mantua edition, ii. 97*a*, concerning the profound mysteries of that Palace of Love wherein are assembled all the well-beloved souls of the Celestial King, who is joined to them by kisses of love.

From this it follows that the sin of Adam did not take place on earth, but in a higher region, which is indeed a recurrent legend of mysticism. The involution and confusion of Kabalistic psychology is well illustrated by another passage:

"It is written: Let the earth bring forth the living creature (Gen. i. 24). This means the animal nature [*Nephesh*] which is the higher life [*i.e.*, *Chaiah*, meaning possibly the *Nephesh* of *Chaiah*, the fourth principle of the Kabalists; according to one classification, *Chaiah* is referable to *Chokmah* in the Sephirotic system]. And because this life of the animal nature [*Nephesh Chaiah*] is holiness from above, so when the holy earth draws up through her, and is comprised in her, then is she called the higher soul [*Neshamah*]. And come, see! Whensoever the child of man walketh in the true way, when his mouth and tongue utter forth holy words, this higher soul [*Neshamah*] cleaveth unto him, and he is the friend of his Lord, having many watchers protecting him on all sides. He is designated for good above and below, and the holy Shekinah rests upon him."*

B. The Commentary on Ruth

The few fragments of the unknown *Midrash Ruth* which occur in the Zohar will be found in the Cremona edition, Part I., col. 61, 86, and Part III., col. 114, 124, 130, 174, 181, 184, 332, 530. It should be noted that a *Midrash Ruth* is attributed to Rab, the last master of the Tanaites, who died in A.D. 243,

* *Ibid.* 301*a*, *b*.

and as I believe that this work has never been printed, it is possible that it is the source of these quotations. There is also extant an allegorical commentary* which has been twice printed, and yet another, attributed to the fourth century.

C. The Mansions or Abodes

We have already made acquaintance with a work anterior to the appearance of the Zohar in which there is a methodical description of heaven. It must not be confused with the excerpts which, under the above title, termed in the original HIKLVTh, rendered Palaces by Rosenroth, give account of the structure of Paradise and the infernal region. Their places in the Cremona edition will be found in Part I., col. 116 *et seq.*; Part II., col 358 *et seq.*, and col. 438. The mansions are seven in number and were the original habitations of the earthly Adam. After the fall of man they were reconstituted and became the abode of the saints. The term which signifies Mansion, Temple or Palace, is applied to *Malkuth*, in which *Tiphereth* is said to be concealed as in a palace. So also the name Adonai [ADNI], Lord, is the Palace of Tetragrammaton, because it is the same number as HIKL=*Palatium*=65. This name is attributed to *Binah*, and in an especial manner to *Kether*, on the authority of the Zohar proper, for HIKL, Palace, is the place in which HKL, that is, the

* *Commentatio Allegorica super quinque parvos Libellos, videlicet, Canticus Canticorum, Liber Ruth*, &c. See Bartolocci, *Bib. Rab.* These commentaries, with "allegorical expositions of the Ancient Rabbins," were printed at Venice in 1545 and again in 1550.

all, is contained, seeing that *Kether* includes the whole world of *Atziluth.* In a sense also the term is applied to all the *Sephiroth.* In the plural, HIKLVTh = Palaces, are the branches of the *Sephiroth* in the inferior worlds. The palace of the Holy of Holies corresponds, says Rosenroth, to the three supernals.

The Zohar proper has also a good deal to tell us concerning the seven heavens, one above the other, like the layers of an onion. "Each heaven trembles with fear of its Lord, through whom they all exist and all are taken away. Over all the Holy Blessed One holds all in His power." There are also seven earths below, arranged after the same manner. "These earths are disposed according to their names, and between them is the Garden of Eden and Gehenna." They are inhabited by creatures of whom some have four faces, some two, while others are single visaged, like humanity. They are not the children of Adam; some of them are clothed in skins and others in shells, "like the worms which are found in the earth." It would serve no purpose to enlarge upon monstrous inventions of this kind. The concealed meaning which some occultists suppose them to possess is again evidently the plan upon which they are based, and to understand them is to know the method by which they can be calculated out, so to speak. In neither case are they justified to reason. For example, we have just seen that ADNI is the mansion of JHVH; by counting the numbers of these names we see why the Kabalists said this, but we do not see that it served any reasonable purpose to say it. It is entertaining and curious,

but at the same time it is assuredly theosophical fantasia.

D. The Secret of Secrets

The single fragment which is extant of this treatise is found in Part II. of the Cremona edition, beginning at col. 134. It treats, firstly, of the connection between the soul and the body, of which a sufficient idea has been conveyed by previous quotations; and, secondly, of physiognomy, which, no doubt, in a certain manner connects with the lower divisions of occult science, but is not of much importance to our inquiry. It may, however, be worth while to say that Kabalistic physiognomy proves, as might be expected, to have no connection whatsoever with any accepted principles to which this empirical art may be supposed to have attained, and is, indeed, purely arbitrary and conventional. Lavater was something of a mystic, but fortunately for his subject, he borrowed nothing, as probably he knew nothing, of the Zohar and its connections. Four general types of the human countenance are distinguished, and these are referred to the faces of the four living creatures in Ezekiel's vision. We have thus the leonine, the bovine and the aquiline types, and another, less easy to characterise, but corresponding to the "living creature" which "had the likeness of a man." The approximation of any individual to a given type depends upon his intellectual and moral rank. Physiognomy, however, according to the Secret of Secrets, "does not consist in the external lineaments, but in the features which are mysteriously drawn within us. The features of the face vary,

following the form which is impressed on the inward face of the spirit. The spirit only produces all those physiognomical peculiarities which are known to the wise, and it is through the spirit only that the features possess meaning. When spirits and souls pass out of Eden [*i.e.*, the Supreme Wisdom] they possess a certain form which is afterwards reflected in the face." M. Gabriel Delanne, the latest and perhaps most accomplished writer on the French theory of reincarnation, would say that the Zoharic fragment here refers undoubtedly to the perisprit of the Kardec school of spiritism, which he holds to be the plan or type upon which the body of the man is fashioned. The "Secret of Secrets" also pretends that every feature in a given countenance indicates to those who can read therein whether it is possible or not for the possessor to be initiated into divine mysteries.* It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that the fragment does not disclose the rules which governed the sages in their discernment, so that the Kabalah is not likely to be of much practical use to the few occultists who may be inclined to include physiognomy within the charmed circle of the secret wisdom.

E. The Discourse of the Young Man

The little history which has passed under this name will be found in the Cremona edition of the Zohar, Part. II., comprised in a few columns, 91 *et*

* In the writings of the Gaon R. Shereerah and other literature preceding the appearance of the Zohar we meet with notions of physiognomy and chiromancy of a parallel kind. They recur in the supplements of the Zohar.

seq., which follow shortly after the "Book of Concealment." It is the childish account of an impossible or certainly an extremely uninteresting rabbinical prodigy, the son of R. Hammnuna, but living at the period in question with his widowed mother in a certain village. One day two disciples of R. Simeon ben Jochai, namely, R. Isaac and R. Judah, passed through this village on a journey and paid a visit to the widow. When her son returned from school she wished to present him to the rabbis to receive their blessing, but he declined to approach them, after the unamiable manner of prodigies. The reason assigned by the narrative is that he discerned by the odour of their garments that they had not recited the requisite "Hear, O Israel!" in honour of the unity of God. He did not, however, disdain to converse at the table, delivering sundry discourses (1) On the symbolism of washing the hands, a function of some mystery, because it is written, So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not (Ex. xxx. 21), that is, Aaron and his sons, when entering the tabernacle of the congregation; (2) On grace before meat; (3) On the Shekinah; (4) On the utterance of Jacob, "The Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads" (Gen. xlviii. 16); and on other matters. The cautious critic will not be prepared to deny that the invention of this history was beyond the genius of R. Moses de Leon. However, the discourses convinced the disciples of Simeon ben Jochai that such a precocious youth could not be the child of human parents, and the great light of Kabalism, when the remarks were repeated to him, coincided with this opinion.

Our analysis of the Zohar, regarded as a literary document, has reached its utmost limit, and this specimen of the matters not included in the Mantua recension must be held to serve for the whole. Though he regarded the Mantua edition as *Codex correctus*, Rosenroth ingarnered all the tracts and fragments embraced by that of Cremona when he produced his own careful codex; but it must be remembered that the Zohar had in all probability grown under the hands of transcribers and makers of glosses during the space, approaching three centuries, which elapsed between its first promulgation and the date when it was first printed. We have no means of knowing how much of it was actually contained in the script of Moses de Leon. The suspicion under which it has remained may be partly accounted for by its frequent quotation of unknown works which have been considered fictitious; but the Zohar was edited prior to the persecution of the Jews inaugurated by the atrocious edict of Ferdinand and Isabella, and many documents existing in Spain may have been destroyed during that fiery epoch. Again, it is impossible to say that Continental libraries contain no MSS. by which ths excerpts of the Zohar might be justified. The unprinted literature of Jewry has been catalogued by various bibliographers, but no critical knowledge of its contents is possible by recourse to bibliographies. Let us take, for example, the passages from a commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, which is peculiar, as we have seen, to the Cremona *editio princeps*. These excerpts have not, I believe, been identified, but there is a MS. in the Vatican Library which is mentioned by Buxtorf

under the very same title, namely, *Midrash Chazeeth.** It is the work, as he tells us, of an unkown author, but a uniform tradition assigns it to a Tanaite commentator *circa* A.D. 100. The existence of such a work, of course, predicates nothing; but why should a commentary on the Song of Solomon be called MDRSh ChDzITh, which is understood as a reference to Proverbs xxii. 29? I speak under correction, but I know of no ground except in the idiosyncrasy of the author, and I am inclined to infer therefore that the same catchword would not have been used by two writers, but that the editor of the Zohar quoted the alleged Tanaite treatise.

XI. THE ANCIENT AND LATER SUPPLEMENTS

The sudden appearance in public of a work which either has or purports to have remained in concealment for several centuries may be expected to lead to the discovery or manufacture of continuations or connections thereof, and thus we have two series of Zoharic writings subsequent to the Book of Splendour and distinguished as its ancient and later supplements. As productions of this kind multiply their authenticity does not tend to assume a stronger guise, and the documents with which we shall deal in this section the reader will do well to regard as without determined

* Among later MS. commentaries, also in the Vatican, Bartolocci mentions that of R. Abraham ben Isaac Tze'mach Levi, the physician, and that of R. Immanuel ben Solomon written towards the end of the fifteenth century.

claims. I should add, however, that considerable importance and authority have been always ascribed by Kabalists to the Ancient Supplements, and according to Franck they have been known as long as the Zohar itself. They contain explanations of the term BRAShITh by R. Simeon ben Jochai after seventy different ways, and hence the work is divided into seventy chapters, with eleven further chapters added at the end. It was printed by Jacob ben Napthali at Mantua in 1557 under the editorship of Immanuele di Benevento, and appeared again at Cracovia.

Among notable matters in these Ancient Supplements we find the attribution of the members of the human body to the *Sephiroth*, whence the practical magic of the West may have obtained later on its notion of divine and angelic names ruling those members.* The apex of the head and brain is referred to *Kether*, the brain as a whole to *Chokmah*, the heart to *Binah*, the back and breast are attributed to *Tiphereth*, the arms to *Chesed* and *Geburah*, the legs to *Netzach* and *Hod*, the generative organs to *Jesod*, the feet to *Malkuth*. Later Kabalism recognises other correspondences, the arbitary nature of which is obscured sometimes by an appearance of methodical precision.

There are better things than this in the supplements to the Zoharic books, and it may be well supposed that some out of all the seventy ways of interpreting the much-debated word which is rendered "beginning" in Genesis should be

* According to the Zohar itself the erect figure of humanity exhibits the letters of the *Tetragram* superposed one upon the other. ii. 42*a*, Mantua.

suggestive as well as curious. A single instance must, however, suffice. "'In the beginning God created.' This is the soul when it emerges from the bosom of its mother and is taught thereof. 'And the earth was without form, and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep' (Gen. i. 2), because the eyes of the soul were closed. Hath it opened its eyes? 'And God said: Let there be light.' Hereafter man is gathered in from this world, and this then is written about the soul. 'And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered unto one place, and let the dry land appear.' When the soul is removed from a man his body remains even as 'dry land.'"

That French school of occultism which is just beginning to recognise in the plays of Shakespeare a veiled scheme of initiation has, it must be admitted, an influential mystic precedent in the biblical exegesis of the Zohar, of which the above passage seems to be a very neat instance, arbitrary beyond all words, and yet not without a certain grace of notion.

One of the most celebrated quotations from the Ancient Supplements is, however, the Prayer of Elijah, though it belongs only to the prefatory part.*

"Lord of the universe, one alone art Thou, but not according to number. Thou art the most sublime of all that is sublime, the most withdrawn of all things concealed, and conception cannot attain Thee. Thou hast produced ten forms which we call *Sephiroth*, and Thou guidest by means of these the unknown and invisible as well as the visible worlds. In

* Namely, the beginning of the second preface.

them Thou dost veil Thyself and, permeated by Thy presence, their harmony remains undisturbed. Whosoever shall depict them as separated, it shall be accounted unto him as if he dismembered Thy unity. These ten *Sephiroth* are developed in successive gradations, so that one is long, another short and the third intermediate between them; but Thou art He who guideth them, and whether from above or below art guided Thyself by none. Thou hast provided the *Sephiroth* with garments which serve human souls as intermediate phases; Thou hast muffled them in bodies, so-called in comparison with the vestments surrounding them, and the totality corresponds to the members of the human form. . . . Thou art the Lord of the worlds, the Foundation of all foundations, the Cause of all causes; Thou dost water the Tree from that source which spreads life everywhere, as the soul spreads it through the body. But Thou hast Thyself neither image nor form in all that is within or without. Thou didst emanate heaven and earth, that which is above and that which is below, with the celestial and terrestrial hosts. All this didst Thou do that the worlds might know Thee. . . . Yet no one can conceive Thee in Thy reality; we know only that apart from Thee, whether above or below, there can be no unity, and that Thou art Lord of all. Each *Sephira* possesses a prescribed name, after which the angels are called, but Thou hast no determinate name, for all names are informed by Thee, and Thou only givest them force and reality. If Thou shouldst withdraw [from the vestments], they would be left like bodies devoid of souls. Thou art wise, yet not with positive wisdom; thou art

intelligent, but not with a definitive intelligence, nor hast Thou a fixed place ; yet all these things are attributed to Thee, so that man may conceive Thine omnipotence and may be shown how the universe is guided by means of severity and mercy. If therefore a right or left side or any centre be named, it is only to exhibit Thy government of the entire universe by comparison with human actions, but not because any attribute can be really imputed to Thee corresponding either to law or to grace."

The distinction between God and His attributes, and hence between God and the *Sephiroth*, which in a manner are His attributes emanated, is insisted on elsewhere in the Supplements by the help of a striking illustration:

"Woe unto those whose hearts are so hardened, whose eyes so blinded, that they regard God as the totality of His attributes; they are like unto a madman who should describe the King as the totality of his insignia. Behold a king wears his insignia only that he may be known through them, and verily, the King of Kings, the Concealed of all the hidden, the Cause of all causes, is disguised in a splendid garment so only that He may be known thereby, and thereby may impart to the dwellers on this earth a conception of His sacred nature."*

This distinction has at first sight an appearance of considerable profundity, but perhaps in the last analysis it is rather childish than otherwise, for it is obvious that even in our finite humanity there is a latent and unseen nature behind all its manifested

* Supplement, 21.

characteristics. Man is not exhausted by any description of his attributes, and to insist that this is true also of God seems scarcely necessary.

From what has been quoted above it will be seen that the Ancient Supplements are identical in their teachings with the Zohar itself, and some affirm that the original work had existed from time immemorial at Fez in Africa.* We have no means of checking this statement, nor is there any authority for supposing with Isaac Myer that it was brought thither by disciples of Rab Hay, the Gaon of the Sages of Chirvan on the Caspian Sea.† There is, on the other hand, no need to say that hostile critics make use of weak points in the Ancient Supplements as if there were no distinction between these and the Zohar proper.

In the section on the bibliographical content of the Book of Splendour we have seen what is broadly embraced by the New Zohar, namely, a sequel to the "Hidden Commentary," certain additional supplements, a commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, and another on the Book of Lamentations. This enumeration conveys no idea of importance, and perhaps it will be unnecessary to say that occultists are for the most part unaware that these tracts are in existence. I should add that they have not been translated, nor am I acquainted with the existence of any printed copy beyond that of Cracow, though it has been termed the *editio princeps*. This appeared in 1703, or subsequently to the *Kabbala Denudata*. Its history seems

* Compare the statement which rests on the authority of the Supplements, that the full publication of the Zohar is reserved for the end of time.

† "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 47.

entirely unknown, and it would be preposterous to make any claim concerning it. It may also be noted that later still Isaac ben Moses of Satanow, though otherwise of some literary repute, wrote a forged Zohar which may have deceived a few persons, but it was speedily unmasked.

BOOK VI

THE WRITTEN WORD OF KABALISM: THIRD PERIOD

ARGUMENT

The growth of Kabalistic literature is sketched, firstly, in the commentaries on the Zohar and, secondly, in some independent treatises which connect with the general tradition. Two works are chosen for separate consideration, one on the Mysteries of Love, because of its general diffusion, and one on the application of the Kabalah to Alchemy, because of the importance of its design and the credit which it has obtained in the modern school of occultism.

I. EXPOSITORS OF THE BOOK OF SPLENDOUR

THE works which are recommended by Rosenroth as assisting to a better comprehension of the Zohar fall under two heads—namely, those which are designed to elucidate technical matters and those which may claim to be original expository treatises. In the first are included the "Words of Understanding," which is actually a Zoharic lexicon or vocabulary; the "Gate of the Eyes," which is concerned with the Scriptural passages in the Zohar and Ancient Supplements; and the *Zar Zahab*. The second section contains

the famous "Garden of Pomegranates," the "Way of Truth," with its sequel the "Fount of Wisdom," and the masterly digest of the Zohar proper, entitled the "Vision of the Priest." Outside these there are a few works which may be regarded as extensions or developments of Zoharic doctrine, but more especially of that part which is concerned with spiritual essences. The scope of our inquiry is too simple and elementary for the discussion of technical matters or the pretensions of word-books and other collections which deal with these. Except in so far as they have been utilised in the *Apparatus* of Rosenroth, they will be available to, as they concern only, the Hebrew and Aramaic scholar who has a first-hand acquaintance with the Zohar. To mention them in this place will be therefore sufficient, and we may proceed at once to the consideration of the commentaries and developments to which that work gave rise, and to the names, illustrious in later Kabalism, which are connected with these.

A. Moses of Cordova

Assuming that the Zohar first became known in Spain towards the end of the thirteenth century, there was a lapse of two hundred and fifty years, according to the dates fixed by modern scholarship, before any literature followed from it. Hence this literature may be largely regarded as a consequence of the Cremona and Mantua editions. Franck says* that two Zoharic schools were founded about the same

* *La Kabbale*, p. 4.

time in Palestine, namely, the middle of the sixteenth century, the first by Moses of Cordova, and the second by Isaac de Loria. On the other hand, Bartolocci* and Basnage† agree in assigning Moses of Cordova to the fourteenth century. The earlier date is of importance to the history of Kabalism, because certain side issues of documentary criticism, untouched in this study, depend upon it. Here I need only say that Franck does not state his authority or indeed his reason for accepting the later period. In either case Moses of Cordova is the first commentator on the Zohar, for, assuming that Bartolocci was mistaken and that Basnage reproduced his error, Joseph Gigatella, called the divine Kabalist and thaumaturge, who was of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, was a writer on the *Sephiroth*, and connects with the Sepher Yetzirah rather than the Zohar, though he refers to the Kabalistic Work of the Chariot.

As his name indicates, Moses of Cordova was a Spaniard, but he travelled to Palestine, and it is conjectured that he was instrumental in founding the Academy of Sapeth in Upper Galilee, nine miles from Bethsaida. In either case he was one of its teachers and helped to make it illustrious, for he was regarded by his fellow theosophists as the greatest light of Kabalism since Simeon ben Jochai. Franck says that he adhered to the real significance of the original monuments of Kabalism, but, although this appears worthy of praise, he seems to complain that R. Moses was wanting in originality. However

* *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, t. iv. p. 230.

† *Histoire des Juifs*, livre vii. c. 24, t. v. p. 1942.

this may be, the work by which he is known is of high authority in Kabalism. It is entitled the "Garden of Pomegranates" (*Pardes Rimmonim*), referring to the versicle in the Canticle of Canticles, iv. 13: "Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates." Basnage says that, after the manner of Kabalists, he discovers whatsoever he pleases in that single sentence.* The pomegranate, with its innumerable seeds, is a favourite object for symbolism, and the garden, orchard, or paradise has deep lessons for all mysticism. Here, in a general sense, it is the treasury of Scriptural meanings, and the word by which it is described having four consonants, these meanings are classified as four: PRDS; the P signifies the literal sense, R the mystic sense, D the enigmatic sense, and S the secret and concealed sense.

Dwelling upon these involved meanings, as may be well imagined, the "Garden of Pomegranates" is an obscure and difficult treatise, and the attempt made by Rosenroth to dismember it for the purpose of his *Apparatus*, while it gives no idea of its contents, creates a lively image of its complexity. The attribution of the letters of the Tetragrammaton to the *Sephiroth*, the mystic meaning of words deprived of their context, the names applied to the *Sephiroth*, their superincession and their union with *Ain-Soph*, the mystery of the Throne and the Shekinah, primeval *Tohu* and *Bohu*, the unknown darkness, these are specimens here and there of the subject matter. But as the heart of the Kabalist, in opposition to the ascribed character of his nation, was fixed with peculiar in-

* *Histoire des Juifs*, l. vii. c. 24, vol. v. p. 1943.

tentness on the eternal destinies of man and not on temporal concerns, so his chief interest was the soul, ever recurring in his writings, as if it were impossible to atone sufficiently for the silence of his sacred books. There is therefore no need to say that a special tract in the "Garden of Pomegranates"* is dedicated to the subject of the soul, discussing the region from which it emanates, its purpose in the world, the profit of its creation, its union with matter, its superiority over the angels, its chief divisions, their relation one with another, the *Sephiroth* to which they are referred, the places to which they resort after death, the absence of one or both of the higher divisions in many individuals, and the good and evil angels accompanying each human being. The tract also devotes a very curious chapter to the *simulacrum* which presides at generation, a phantasmal image of humanity which descends on the male head *cum copula maritalis exercetur inferius.* It is affirmed to be sent from the Lord, and no procreation can take place without its presence. It is not, of course, visible, yet might be seen if licence were given to the eye. This phantom or *imago* is prepared for each man before he enters the world, and he grows in the likeness thereof. With the Israelites this simulacrum is holy, and it comes to them from the Holy Place. To those of another religion it descends from the side of impurity, and hence the chosen people must not mingle their simulacrum with that of the Gentile.†

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* Namely, Tract xxxi., translated in the *Kabbala Denudata, Apparatus in Librum Sohar pars secunda*, i. 100 *et seq.*

† This fantasy rests on the authority of the Zohar, which states that it is an emanation of the celestial form of each man, *i.e.*, *Jechidah.* —Mantua edition, iii. 107.

Another curious speculation is founded on a text of the Zohar which says that the good works performed by a person in this world become for him vestments of price in the world to come. Here was a poetic sentiment which had to be methodised and made literal inevitably by a late Kabalist. When a man who has performed many good works finally falls away from righteousness and is lost, what becomes of his earlier works? Though the sinner may perish, they, says R. Moses, remain. If, therefore, there be a just man walking in the ways of the Supernal King, yet wanting something of his vestments, God will supply the deficiency from the good works of the impious one. The preference is given to those who, taken in their youth, have been unable to fulfil all the precepts of the Law.

B. Isaac de Loria

Of this Kabalist Bartolocci and Basnage have very little to tell us, and it is not necessary to say that he is ignored by writers like Graetz. He is referred by Basnage to the seventeenth century* and by Franck, as aiready seen, to that which preceded it. He has been regarded as the greatest rabbinical doctor at his period in Germany. However, he died at Sapheth or Separth, having published nothing himself, though some suspected treatises are attributed to him. The substantial authenticity of the great body of his doctrines collected by his disciple, R. Chaïm Vital, has not, however, been challenged, and Franck bases thereon his hostile judgment of Loria,

* *Histoire des Juifs*, l. vii. c. 31, p. 2089, vol. v.

on the ground, firstly, that he was, like Moses of Cordova, not original; and, secondly, that he departed from Zoharic Kabalism to indulge in his own reveries, a criticism which stultifies itself. It is certain, however, that Loria did innovate or extend, and that this is also his title to interest. He is not a mere echo or reflection, and he makes good reading because he is a wild fantasiast. Rosenroth terms him the eagle of the Kabalists. It is, of course, impossible to say how far his scribe and disciple, R. Chaïm, may have developed his developments and elaborated his fantasies. The vast thesaurus which represents both seems never to have been printed, except in so far as it is given in the *Kabbala Denudata*, where the excerpts, embodying whole treatises, fill some three hundred quarto pages of close print. They include:

I. The first tract, so called, of the *Liber Drushim*,* *i.e.*, Book of Dissertations, forming the second volume of the collection. It occasioned an interesting correspondence between Rosenroth and Henry More, who was surprised, as he expresses it, by the unexpectedness of its doctrine, but found much with which he could sympathise, as we shall learn later on in the book devoted to the Christian students of the Kabalah.

II. A commentary on the "Book of Concealment,"† forming the second tract in the sixth volume of the collection. It is not given in its absolute integrity—*cujus maximam partem infra exhibemus*, says Rosenroth.‡

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* *Kabbala Denudata, Apparatus . . . . pars secunda*, i. 28 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* ii. *pars secunda, tractatus quartus*, p. 3 *et seq.*

‡ In the *Præfatio ad Lectorem*, p. 16, vol. ii.

III. The "Book of the Revolutions of Souls,"* forming the first tract in the fifth volume of the collection, which seems to have been even larger than the Zohar itself—in fact, almost the camel's load of the legend. A portion of this tract seems to have been printed, or another under a similar title and attribution, namely, *De percussione Sepulchri*, at Venice in 1620, together with *De Precibus*, recalling another subject treated in the collection.

The *Liber Drushim* is a metaphysical introduction to the Kabalah, which discusses a variety of subtle and abstruse questions much after the manner of the scholastic philosophy, and there is no doubt that Isaac de Loria would have diffused a great light of reasoning at Salamanca had he been a Christian Doctor instead of a Jewish Rabbi. His first point, as he tells us, is one over which the Kabalists, late and early, had already outwearied themselves, namely, for what reason were the worlds created and was their creation of necessity? Assuredly from the period of the Angel of the Schools, the halls of Salamanca, of Padua, of Louvain and the other seats of scholastic learning, had echoed with this debate. Perhaps the Kabalists owed something to the Scholastics, perhaps they drew both from one another. In the early centuries of Christianity the so-called Areopagite offers curious points of contact with the system of Sephirotic emanation in the angelical world, and the Wisdom of the Exile was encompassed on all sides by the great debate of Christian speculation. It would

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* *Kab. Den.* ii., *partis tertiæ tractatus secundus pneumaticus*, p. 234 *et seq.*

be interesting to discriminate the extent of the tincture and to ascertain whether the plummet of Kabalism sounded lower depths than the schoolmen, but I doubt whether the dimensions of the present volume would suffice for this one excursion. Let me indicate therefore the answer of Isaac de Loria, and perhaps some student at large among scholastic quartos will find illuminating parallels in the Scholastics.* The answer is that God cannot fail of perfection in all the works and names of His magnificence, His excellence and His glory; but unless those works were brought from potentiality into act they could not have been termed perfect, as regards either the works or the names. The name *Tetragrammaton* signifies perpetual existence, past, present and future, in the condition of creation before the creation, and thereafter in the immutability of things. But if the worlds had not been created, with all that is in them, it could not have thus signified the continuity of existences in every instant of time, and *Tetragrammaton* would have been an empty name. How very curious is the treachery of this reasoning, which ascribes to a name of the Deity an existence independent of the intelligent creatures whose convention it is! But we should probably find many parallel treacheries among scholastic reasoners, were there any one at hand to disinter them. So also the name of *Adonai*, or the Lord, involves the idea of ministers or servants, and if there were no ministers God could not be called by this name. But after the creation of the worlds and the production of the

* He must go further, however, than B. Hareau in his treatise *De la Philosophie Scholastique.* Paris. 1880.

divine works from potentiality into accomplishment, God has fulfilled His perfection in every operation of His powers, and in all His names without any exception.

The next point discussed by the *Liber Drushim* is why the world was created at the time and moment that it was. and not at an earlier, or, for that matter, at a later epoch. The answer is that the supreme and most excellent Light is infinite, exceeding comprehension and speculation, and that its concealed foundation is far from all understanding. Before anything was produced by emanation therefrom, there was no time or beginning therein. This is the solution of the difficulty which is offered by all official theology, and it could have no aspect of novelty at the late period of Isaac de Loria. It may be affirmed in a general way that when the Kabalists touch the common ground of speculation they seldom surpass their epoch in profundity or subtlety, I might add also in the adequacy of their views, though philosophical sufficiency was not, of course, to be expected on any side.

But it is not often and it is not for long that works like the *Liber Drushim* confine themselves to the common ground of speculation, and the Kabalist in this instance passes speedily into the transcendental region of the *Sephiroth* and the manner of their emanation, another question, as he tells us, which has involved all Kabalists in controversy. Do they proceed from one another in the simplicity of a successive series, or is their emanation in columns? There is authority for both views and also for a third, which represents them as a series of homo-

centric circles. These questions, says R. Isaac, are hard and difficult to resolve, but he offers a solution on the authority of the Zohar, namely, that before the order of things was instituted, they were disposed one over the other, but after that time in three pillars, those of Mercy and Severity, with the central column of which *Kether* is the summit and *Malchuth* the base.

In subsequent chapters the *Sephiroth* are considered under a dual aspect, namely, as regards the portion of the Divine Light contained in each and as regards the containing vessel, while these are again distinguished into an ambient and an inward Light, and an external and internal vessel. The existence of many worlds prior to the Sephirotic emanations is affirmed, herein following, as we have seen, both Talmudic and Zoharic tradition. Finally, several classifications of the *Sephiroth* are considered in the last chapter.

The study of the *Liber Drushim* may be especially recommended to those occultists who have been taught to regard the Kabalah as a doctrine of certitude, whereas it is largely empirical, its leading theorems giving rise to as much disputation regarding their proper meaning as the principles of any other speculative philosophy.

The commentary on the "Book of Concealment," as might be expected, is written somewhat on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle. It does not yield itself readily to an analysis of contents, as it takes various paragraphs of the text and exposes their meaning consecutively, with the help of the *Idra Rabba* and the *Idra Zuta*. The peculiar designation of the

treatise is explained by Proverbs xxv. 2: "It is the glory of God to conceal a thing," and *Ibid.* xi. 2: "With the lowly is wisdom." The second reference explains why it is termed both the Book of Concealment and that of Modesty. On the authority of the Zohar, section *Pekude*, the balance symbol, which has made this treatise so famous in Kabalism, is explained to represent the Male and Female principles, which indeed follows from the developments of the "Lesser Holy Synod." The male denotes Mercy, the right hand pillar of the *Sephiroth*, and the female Severity, the pillar on the left hand. These principles are termed the Father and the Mother, and in the Hebrew Alphabet are referable to *Jod* and *Nun*. The Father is perfect love and the Mother perfect severity. The latter had seven sons, namely, the Edomite kings, who had no foundation in the Holy Ancient One. These are empty lights dispelled by the source of lights concealed within the Mother. Male and female are conformations of the Holy Ancient One, corresponding to *Kether*, and represented mystically by three heads signifying: *a*, the Unmanifested Wisdom, which is so withdrawn that it is as though it were not, in contradiction to that which is manifested in the thirty-two paths; *b*, the Supreme Crown, which is the Holy Ancient One; and *c*, the Head which neither knows nor is known, namely, the *Ain Soph*. Thus on the one side of *Kether* is *Chokmah*, and on the other is the *latens Deitas*, and *Chokmah*, or Wisdom, is the Father, while the Mother is the increment of Understanding, *i.e.*, *Binah*.

These instances of Loria's skill in developing

the symbolism of the three supernal *Sephiroth* must suffice as a specimen of the whole commentary, which, it may be added, does not proceed beyond the first chapter of the "Book of Concealment." He concludes that the sum of the whole mystery is that man in his prayers should fix his mind upon the foundation of all foundations, that he may derive to himself a certain influence and benediction from the depths of that source. In this manner the obscurities of Kabalism are at times redeemed by the simplicity of the lesson which is extracted from them.

"The Book of the Revolutions of Souls" is no doubt a more fascinating treatise than an obscure exposition of so obscure a work as the *Sepher Dzenioutha*, but it is also difficult to give account of it in a small space because the system which it develops is much involved, even for a Kabalistic work. The greatest importance has been attached to it by occultists like Éliphas Lévi, who made no distinction between Zoharic and later doctrine. It will be therefore useful to see what is really involved in the famous treatise of Isaac de Loria.

The basis of its scheme is the doctrine of the "Book of Concealment" and its expository synods, concerning the seven Edomite kings who emanated and passed away prior to the production of the present universe. In these kings there was good as well as evil, and a separation was therefore made, that which was good being used for the material of the four Kabalistic worlds as they are now constituted. Each of these worlds, according to Isaac de Loria, has its *Macroprosopus*, Supernal Father, Supernal Mother,

Microprospus and Bride, all derived from the seven kings. A like origin is attributed to souls, and they are disposed similarly in the four worlds, some corresponding to the Bride, some to *Microprospus*, some to the Father Supernal, some to the Supernal Mother, and some again to the *Microprospus* in the world of *Assiah*. The totality of these souls constitutes Psyche in *Assiah*, which in reference to the supernal personalities of that world has therefore five parts: the Psyche in the Psyche, or *Nephesh* of *Assiah*, the *mundus factivus;* the medial spirit, or Ruach of the *Psyche factiva;* the *mens*, or *Neshamah;* the *vitalitas*, or *Chaiah;* and the *singularitas*, individuality, or *Jechidah*, all belonging to the *Psyche factiva*, or *Nephesh* of *Assiah*. There is a similar distribution through the three superior worlds, *Ruach* and its five-fold division being referred to *Yetzirah*, *Neshamah* to *Briah*, *Chiah* to *Atziluth*, and *Jechida*, possibly to the world of unmanifest Deity which is beyond *Atziluth*. Loria's system proceeds, however, upon a five-fold division of four principles only. Each of the five divisions are again attributed as follows in the Sephirotic scheme:

I. *Nephesh* to *Malkuth*, the Kingdom, *i.e.*, the Bride.
II. *Ruach* to the *Sephiroth* of *Microprosopus*.
III. *Neshamah* to the Mother, *i.e.*, *Binah*.
IV. *Chiah* to the Father, *i.e.*, *Chokmah*.
V. *Jechidah* to *Kether*, *i.e.*, the Crown.

We are now in a position to appreciate the standpoint of Franck when he observes that Loria added his own reveries to Zoharic teaching. The

developments have at the same time been considerably simplified in this digest.

All these souls were contained in the protoplastic Adam at the time he was formed, some corresponding to the head, others to the eyes, and so with all the members. Now these souls are those of the Israelites, who are the *gens unica in terram.* We must look elsewhere for the origin of the nations of the world. The recrements, the evil and rejected parts of the Edomite kings are the *cortices* or shells which compose the averse Adam Belial. But when the protoplasts partook of the forbidden fruit, their fall confounded the good with the evil of the *cortices*, that of Adam with the male shells of Samaël or Adam Belial, and that of Eve with the evil of his bride Lilith, the *spurcities* of the serpent; for the serpent had commerce with Eve according to Isaac de Loria, which does not seem to be the consistent doctrine of the Zohar. It was after this fall that the nations of the world were produced from the shells. This is the doctrine which occultists accept by implication when they speak, as they do speak, of the connection between later Kabalism and the secret traditions on which their devotion is fixed. To put the position tersely, the souls of the Israelites are distributed in the members of the protoplastic Adam, regarded in his mystical extension through the four worlds, and the souls of the Gentiles in the members of Adam Belial. Liberation from the foulness and venom of the serpent is by generation and death only, whereby the good is separated from the evil, until all the nations of the world shall have

been brought forth from the evil and the Israelites from the good kind.

From the time when the good and evil were thus confounded two things have been necessary—(1) That the good man should be separated from the evil; (2) That the portion of the good should be restored. The first is accomplished by the observation of the prohibitive precepts of the law, and the second by that of the affirmative. Both classes must be accomplished in all their number, and in thought, word and deed, by every soul, whose revolutions must therefore continue until the whole law has been fulfilled. This law must also be studied in each of its four senses, failing which the revolutions of the deficient soul will again be prolonged. This scheme seems to apply exclusively to the Israelites, as the nations of the world can only be destined to return whence they came, and Adam Belial is obviously not under the law. The scheme, however, is subject to a certain mitigation, as revolution proper is sometimes replaced by *status embryonatus*. Revolution is the entrance of a soul into the body of an infant at birth to experience the pain and trial prepared for that body. The alternative condition is the entrance of a soul into the body of a grown man, who must be at least thirty years old,* *i.e.*, when he is obliged to fulfil the precepts. The *status embryonatus* is entered either (*a*) Because the soul in question has something to fulfil which was neglected in the preceding revolution; or (*b*) For the benefit of the man who is

* The Jewish age of reason.

impregnated, *i.e.*, to justify and direct him. Revolution occurs (1) For the cleansing of sin; (2) For the fulfilment of a neglected precept; (3) For the leading of others into the right way, in which case the returning soul is perfect in justice; (4) To receive the true spouse who was not deserved by the soul in the prior revolution. Four souls may revolve in one body, but not more. while the *status embryonatus* may associate three alien souls with a single man, but again no more. The object of all revolutions and all Kabalistic embryology is the return of the Israelites into the stature of the first Adam, all having been involved in his fall since he included all.

Such is the Kabalistic doctrine of revolution according to Isaac de Loria. It is not pure Zoharic doctrine, nor is it any scheme of reincarnation peculiar to any school of occultism at the present day. In so far as it differs from the Zohar, it would be unreasonable to regard it as a fuller light of an old tradition; it is very interesting and very curious, yet fitly described as a reverie, written by R. Chaïm Vital out of the head of Isaac de Loria, and perhaps owing something to the scribe.

C.—Napthali Hirtz

This German Kabalist belongs to the seventeenth century, but I find no biographical particulars concerning him. His work, entitled "The Valley of the King," was made great use of by Rosenroth, who gave, firstly, a compendium of its entire content in the form of one hundred and

thirty "Kabalistic Theses,"* arranged with considerable perspicuity; in the second place, the first six sections of the treatise, designed as an introduction to the Zohar for the better comprehension thereof;† and, thirdly, all that part of it which is concerned with the "Book of Concealment" and the two Synods as a commentary on these works.‡ The greater part of the "Royal Valley" is therefore included in the *Kabbala Denudata*, the excerpts extending over several hundred pages. Its author belonged to the school of Isaac de Loria, and appears to have traversed a portion of the ground covered by the Lorian MSS. of R. Chaïm Vital. We know these only, as we have seen, by the excerpts of Rosenroth, which are concerned so largely with the doctrine of spiritual essences. After the same manner that these develop and exaggerate Zoharic pneumatic teaching, so the "Royal Valley" extends Kabalistic cosmology, but not with as much extravagance. The *mundus prior* of Kabalism, *i.e.*, the emanation of the seven Edomite kings, is termed the world of *Nephesh*, and it was destroyed with the souls belonging to it because evil prevailed therein. The actual world is that of *Ruach*, in which good and evil are confused, but good comes out of the evil and at last all shall be good. Then a new world shall succeed that of *Neshamah*, and this will be the Sabbath of grace. It follows, therefore, that the present order must pass away, and this is symbolised by the death of the second Hadad, the eighth Edomite king, as

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* *Kabbala Denudata, Apparatus in Librum Sohar pars secunad*, i. 150 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* ii. 152 *et seq.*

‡ *Ibid.* ii. *partis secundæ tractatus quartus*, p. 47 *et seq.*

recorded in I. Chron. i. 50, 51. In the day of this destruction the spirits of impurity, namely, the shells, shall be entirely destroyed and burnt up, God will establish a new creation and will bring forth from His glorious light the mystery of the *Neshamah* of His great name. The dominion of this *Neshamah* is the king who shall reign over Israel, and in that day the Lord shall be one, and His name one.

The hypothesis of the creation of the world begins with the contraction of the Divine Presence, producing that space which is termed primeval air. "Before the emanations issued forth and the things which are were created, the supreme light was infinitely extended. When it came into the Supreme Mind to will the fabrication of worlds, the issue of emanations and the emission as light of the perfection of His active powers, aspects and attributes, then that light was in some measure compressed, receding in every direction from a particular central point, and thus a certain vacuum was left in mid-infinite, wherein emanations might be manifested."

It is to this treatise that Kabalism owes the curious conception of the evolution of the *Sephiroth* by a process of explosion through the excess of light which distended them. From the fragments of the broken vessels originated the Four Worlds, the shells both good and evil, and myriads of souls. This notion is fundamentally similar to that of Isaac de Loria, and becomes identical in its developments. As it is impossible to compress the scheme of the treatise within the limits that are here possible, I will add only that the "Royal Valley" regards *Kether* as containing in potence all the remaining *Sephiroth*, so

that they were not distinguishable therefrom. "Precisely as in man there exist the four elements in potence but undistinguishable specifically, so in this Crown there were all the remaining numerations." It is added that in the second world, called that of the restoration, *Kether* became the Cause of Causes and the Ancient of the Ancients. We see, therefore, that, according to the late school of Kabalism, the first attempt at manifestation by the *latens Deitas* went utterly astray, and that the evil of the whole world is the result of the failure of God. This peculiar instruction is also found in the Talmud.

D.—Abraham Cohen Irira

This Portuguese Jew was another follower of the school of de Loria, but tinctured with the Platonic philosophy, which he sought to harmonise with Kabalism in his "Gate of the Heavens,"* as we have already seen. His other treatise is *Beth Elohim*, the "House of God," containing three dissertations in exposition of the doctrines of Loria, but directly founded upon and citing at considerable length the pneumatological portions of the "Faithful Shepherd," the *Pekude* section in the Zohar, and the "Ancient Supplements" of that work.† So much space has been given to Kabalistic psychology that it will be permissible to dismiss this writer in a few words. The first dissertation in the "House of God" rests chiefly on the utterances attributed to R. Simeon ben Jochai, who is termed the mouthpiece of holiness and the

* *Kabbala Denudata, Apparatus . . . . pars tertia*, t. i.

† *Ibid.* ii. *partis tertiæ tractatus I.*, p. 188 *et seq.*

angel of the Lord; it recites the emanation of the *Sephiroth* according to the received doctrine, develops the system of the hierarchy of evil spirits, who are still termed *cortices*, or shells, and of the ten sinister or impure numbers. It examines also in a special chapter the opinion of R. Isaac de Loria concerning eleven classes of shells, and of R. Moses of Cordova concerning the connection of the angels with the celestial bodies, and concerning their physical vestments. The second dissertation treats of the different angelical orders and the seven heavens, while the third deals with elementary spirits and the nature of the soul.

The House of God has been included unaccountably by some occult writers* among the books which constitute the Zohar, but it is simply a commentary or development, of considerable importance in its own sphere, yet neither possessing nor claiming any pretension to antiquity.

E.—R. Issachar ben Napthali

This expositor of Kabalism seems to have been a contemporary of Loria, and, like him, was a German. His chief work, the "Vision of the Priest," was printed at Cracovia in 1559.† It is a synopsis of the entire Zohar, or, more properly, a methodised analysis of its contents, distributed under a number of titles, each of which is sub-divided according to the Mosaic books. It has been found almost

* As, for example, Mr. S. L. MacGregor Mathers in the introduction to his "Kabbalah Unveiled."

† Translated in the *Kabbala Denudata*, ii. *pars prima ejusque tractatus primus*, p. i. *et seq.*

impossible to make use of it for the purposes of this study, and it is indeed designed only for the assistance of the scholar who may desire to consult the Zohar on a given subject. The other works of R. Issachar are of similar character, and are, in fact, those technical treatises mentioned at the beginning of the present section as outside the scope of the present inquiry.

II. THE BOOK OF PURIFYING FIRE

When a given order of mystic symbolism, possessing distinct objects and a sphere of application more or less defined, is applied to the purposes of another order, we may expect to derive some curious results from the analogy thus instituted if we can get to understand the method, though, as I have already indicated, this superincession of typology is usually somewhat dazing in its results. The treatise entitled *Æsh Metzareph*, which signifies Purifying Fire, is an instance of the application of Kabalistic apparatus to the purposes of alchemy, and is, so far as I am aware, the sole instance of its kind. In this connection we shall, however, do well to remember that Hermetic and Kabalistic philosophy are ascribed by the majority of authorities in occultism to a common source,* while the rabbicinical influence in alchemy is well illustrated by such legends as that

* Thus Thomas Vaughan (Eugenius Philalethes), see Book vii. § 11, affirms in his *Magia Adamica* that the learning of the Jews, *i.e.*, their Kabalah, was chemical, and that Flamel's "Book of Abraham the Jew" is the best proof thereof. See A. E. Waite, "Magical Writings of Thomas Vaughan," London, 1888, p. 112.

of Rabbi Abraham and Flamel. It is true that a work under the title of "The Philosophical Stone" is attributed to Saadiah by Moses Botrel, but we know it only by a single quotation, and we are not in a position to say whether or not it is concerned with metallic transmutation. A few alchemical allusions are to be found in the Zohar, which recognises the existence of an archetypal gold, and regards the metals generally as composite substances. But these references are almost less than incidental, and it is needless to say that there is no occult chemistry, seriously speaking, in the great theosophical storehouse.

The treatise on Purifying Fire is written in Aramaic Chaldee, which is the language of the Talmud and the Zohar. It was made use of so largely by Rosenroth in his Lexicon that practically the whole work is found rendered into Latin in the pages of the *Kabbala Denudata.** It was reconstructed from this source in the early part of the eighteenth century by an occultist styling himself A Lover of Philalethes, and was by him put into an English vesture.† In the year 1894 this translation was included in a series of Hermetic reprints under the editorship of Dr. Wynn Westcott.‡ The preface and notes which accompany this edition appear under the pseudonym of *Sapere Aude*, and are of considerable value. No information is, however, given as to the

* I make this statement on Dr. Westcott's authority, but no one has ever seen the original since Rosenroth.

† *Aïsh Metzareph*, or Purifying Fire. A Chymico-Kabalistic treatise collected from the *Kabbala Denudata* of Knorr von Rosenroth, London, 1714.

‡ *Collectanea Hermetica*, vol. iv. London, 1894.

Chaldee original, and the gaps occurring in the reconstruction have not been filled.

There is no evidence available by which we can fix with any degree of precision the period at which this treatise was composed.* It is subsequent, of course, to the promulgation of the Zohar, which it quotes frequently. It is subsequent to the Garden of Pomegranates by R. Moses of Cordova, a treatise possibly belonging to the middle of the sixteenth century, which it also quotes. It borrows processes from R. Mordechai, a Kabalistic alchemist, whose date I have failed to discover,† and it refers to the forged Latin treatises of Geber. We may therefore conclude that it does not antedate Rosenroth by any considerable period, and may be placed conjecturally at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Finally, it contains expressions which are common to most of the Latin alchemists, and were by them derived from the Greeks, such as, "He that is wise may correct natures." It does not therefore possess the interest or importance which would attach to a chemico-Kabalistic treatise of the Zohar period, and I have not been able to find any evidence as to the authority ascribed to it.

In the supplement to his "Key of the Great Mysteries," Éliphas Lévi gives, firstly, what he terms

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* It is mentioned by Claverus in a treatise entitled "Observations on the most useful things in the world," 1706, p. 72 *et seq.* He gives an account of it designed to show that the Jews accommodated the Kabalistic *Sephiroth* to *Chrysopœia*, *i.e.*, the art of Alchemy. He states also that the Jews hold the *Æsh Metzareph* in such high esteem that they consider no Christian worthy of reading it.

† A number of writers, mostly Kabalistic, are classed under this name in the bibliography of Bartolocci.

the fragments of the *Æsh Metzareph*, terming it one of the most important books of Hermetic science; secondly, the complements of its eight chapters, being further fragments which he claims to have discovered; thirdly, the hypothetical restitution of the original.* The methods of the brilliant French occultist are well illustrated in each case. It should be observed that the fragments are designed to exhibit the difficulties and the weariness which his researches have spared to his readers, and to illustrate the conscientious and serious nature of his studies. The first section proves when examined not to be the fragments of the *Æsh Metzareph*, but a loose paraphrase which has a very slender correspondence with the original. The second section, which is similarly paraphrase, is substantially to be found in Rosenroth and the English version. The hypothetical reconstruction serves only to show that Lévi, like every one else, never saw the original which some have said is still extant, or he would not have so misplaced his ingenuity. Lastly, he attributes the work to Rabbi Abraham of the Flamel legend, thus investing it with an antiquity which is contradicted by its own references.†

Before indicating, howerer briefly, the heads of its contents, it is necessary to observe that the *Æsh Metzareph* must be for the ordinary student only a curious memorial of the connections instituted

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* See *Renseignements sur les grands mystères de la philosophie hermétique*, p. 405 *et seq.*

† Firstly, in the title, which reads, *Fragments de L'Ash Mézareph du Juif Abraham;* secondly, in the hypothetical recomposition of the treatise which connects it with the mystic book possessed by Flamel. The *Æsh Metzareph* is entirely anonymous, and is included as such in the bibliography of Wolf, ii. 1265.

between two orders of mystic symbolism. It is described by its latest editor as "suggestive rather than explanatory," and he adds that its alchemical processes are not set out "in such a way that they could be carried out by a neophyte; any attempt to do so would discover that something vital was missing at one stage or other." The statement is true of all alchemical literature, and the *Æsh Metzareph* has the common difficulties of purely Hermetic books further complicated by the system of Gematria and the Sephirotic correspondences of the metals.

On the correspondences here indicated the treatise is mainly based, and it is in this sense that the mysteries of alchemical transmutation are said to "differ not from the superior mysteries of the Kabalah." The *Sephiroth* of the material world are identical with those of the archetypal, and they are the same in the mineral kingdom. The alchemical root of the metals corresponds to *Kether;* all metals originate therefrom, as the other *Sephiroth* are all emanations from the Crown. The Crown is concealed; so also is the metallic root. Lead is referred to *Chokmah*, which proceeds immediately from *Kether*, as Saturn from the metallic root. Tin has the place of *Binah*, Silver that of *Chesed*, and these three are the white metallic natures. Among the red, Gold is in correspondence with *Geburah*, Iron with *Tiphereth*, and the hermaphroditic Brass with *Netzach* and *Hod*. Quicksilver is referred to *Jesod*, and "the true Medicine of Metals" to *Malkuth*. The attribution will appear in some cases a little conventional, and it depends upon a curious use of Scriptural

authority. However, the writer adds: "If any one hath placed these things in another order, I shall not contend with him, inasmuch as all systems tend to the one truth." In illustration of this, he gives another attribution, as follows:

"The three Supernals," namely, *Kether*, *Chokmah* and *Binah* are the three fountains of metallic things. "The thick water," that is, Mercury, "is *Kether*, Salt is *Chokmah* and Sulphur is *Binah*." These are the three principles of the alchemists. This attribution, says the treatise, is "for known reasons." *Chesed*, *Geburah* and *Tiphereth* correspond as before to Silver, Gold and Iron; *Netzach* is Tin, *Hod* is Copper, *Jesod* is Lead, while *Malkuth* is the "Metallic Woman," the "Luna of the Wise" and the "Field into which the seeds of secret minerals ought to be cast, that is, the Water of Gold." The attribution in either case has a concealed sense which "no tongue may be permitted to utter." The superficial explanations offered here and there should not therefore be taken seriously, as, for example, that Silver is referred to *Chesed* "on account of its whiteness, which denotes Mercy and Pity." The Kamea or Magical Squares of the planets are given in connection with each of the seven metals, but not always correctly.

The peculiar genius of the work is well illustrated in the third chapter, where Daniel's vision of the beast with ten horns is interpreted alchemically by the help of *gematria*.

III. THE MYSTERIES OF LOVE

With the sole exception of Abraham Cohen Irira, the succession of Kabalistic writers whom we have thus passed in review never descended to the use of a vulgar tongue. To that exception we must now add the case of R. Juda, son of Isaac Abravanel, better known under the designation of Leo the Hebrew. I must confess that there is no reason of a necessary kind for his inclusion in an account of the chief documents of Kabalism; he is exceedingly late, having been born in the kingdom of Castile shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century, and it is even stated that he broke away from all Jewish tradition by becoming a Christian. At the same time there are two points by which he is forced upon our notice; in the first place, he is a favourite subject of allusion with occult writers, and cannot therefore be overlooked in a work which deals expressly with the occult interest in Kabalism; in the second place, his dialogues on love have been more popular than any Kabalistic treatise. According to the best opinion, they were written originally in Italian and first appeared at Rome in the year 1535. They were reprinted at Venice in 1541. Then they were translated into Latin by Sarrazin, being published, according to Wolf, in 1564 at Vienna. This version, which has been praised for its elegance, was next included by Pistorius in his famous *Artis Cabalisticæ Scriptores*, Basle, 1587. They were rendered twice into Spanish, the first version, and the only one of my acquaintance,

being that of Juan Costa, in 1584. Lastly, there have been at least three French translations, namely, by Pontus de Thiard, 1580; the Seigneur du Parc Champerrois; and Alexander Weill, 1875.

Though he wrote, as it is said, in Italian, Abravanel was Spanish by birth, but was driven from his native country through the edict of Ferdinand and Isabella. This was in 1492. His first refuge was Naples, where he entered the king's service, but the king died and his realm fell into the hands of Charles VIII., after which the Spanish Jew again became a wanderer. Some say that he retired to Sicily, afterwards to Corfu and Ponilles, and, finally, to Venice, where he died in 1508. Others relate that he fixed his abode at Genoa, and there practised medicine with honour for a long period. As to the change, real or pretended, in his religious opinions there is also serious confusion. Basnage says that he was a man of a mild nature who mixed familiarly with Christians, but inveighed against them in his writings, especially against the priests and the Pope.* Pistorius, on the other hand, represents him as a converted Jew.† He is the subject of high praise, based on intimate knowledge, in the bibliography of Bartolocci.‡

It must be confessed that the occult interest in Leo the Hebrew is not of an intelligible kind, and it is past speculation why he was included by

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* *Hist. des Juifs*, l. vii. t. v. pp. 1898, 1899.

† So also does Drach in his notice of the Kabalah in *L'Harmonie entre l'Église et la Synagogue.*

‡ *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, iii. 86. There is no mention of his conversion in the notice, but the original edition of the "Dialogues" describes their author as *di natione Hebreo et di poi fatto Christiano.*

Pistorius in his ambitious and unfinished attempt to engarner the signal treatises of Kabalism. We look in vain for the essential doctrines of the Jewish theosophy, as we have learned them from the Zohar; we look in vain even for the reveries of the school of Loria; we have in their place the elegant sentimentalism which characterised Italian literature at the period; we are reminded now of Boccalini, and now of the declamatory Latin exercises of Palingenius. The machinery of the dialogues, if they can be said to possess machinery, belongs to classical mythology; the allusions, the illustrations, the images are echoes of the Greek and Latin poets; when the philosophical authority is not Aristotle, it is Plato; there is only one direct reference to the Kabalah in the whole three hundred folio pages which the dialogues occupy in Pistorius, and it is then a slender allusion to successive renewals of the world, which suggests that the author had misconceived the "restoration" of the "Book of Concealment." As against this there is not one trace of Hebrew thought or influence; there is nothing which would lead us to suspect a Jewish authorship except such negative evidence as the similarly entire absence of any Christian reference. If the work can be said to recall anything outside the unwise literature of the sixteenth century in Italy, it is certain Sufic poets adapted to the understanding of Venetian ladies in the days of the Doges. And here, indeed, is the true secret of its popularity. It is not only so pleasing, so educated according to the lights of its period, so correct in its sentiment and breathing so little but sentiment, so refined in its

amorous passion and so much above reproach, that it does not contain a single obscenity or a single recondite thought. One of its French translators has thought it worth while to append a glossary of its difficult words, but it has no difficulties and its words are simplicity itself. It has many passages which even at the present day may be called delightful reading, and it is redeemed from the commonplaces of sentiment by tender suggestions of shallow allegory. The Philo and Sophia of the dialogue are enough by their mere names to suggest transcendentalism to an occult student, and more than one criticism has supposed it to be concerned wholly with the love of God. As a fact it discerns in all things the activity, the influence and the power of the master passion, and another of the secrets of its popularity in the warm-blooded world of the South, is that however much love is transcendentalised in the dialogues, it is always sexual. So also the philosophy of this love is the doctrine of delectation and felicity. Delectation is union with the beloved, and the good and the beautiful are identified in words that recall the light metaphysics of Cousin and the blessed life of Fichte.

The general definition of love is that it is a vivifying spirit which permeates all the world, and a bond uniting the entire universe. But the proper definition of the perfect love of man and woman is the concurrence of the loving with the beloved to this end, that the beloved shall be converted into the lover. When such love is equal between the partakers it is described as the conversion of the one into the other being. Below this human love there is not only that which subsists among mere animals, but in

things insensible, in the first matter, in the elements and in the heavenly bodies, which are drawn one to the other and move in regular order by the harmonious impulse and interaction of a reciprocal affection.

Even the knowledge of God seems to be presented, as regards language and images, under a sexual aspect. God is loved in proportion as He is known, and as He cannot be known entirely by men, nor His wisdom by the human race, so He cannot be loved as he deserves, for such an exalted sentiment transcends the power of our will. The mind, therefore, must be content to know God according to the measure of its possibility and not that of His excellence. The knowledge and love of God are both necessary to beatitude, for He is the true intellectual agent with Whom consists felicity, which is not to be found in the knowledge of all things, but in the One alone who is Himself all others. This felicity does not consist in the act cognoscitive of God, which leads to love, nor in the love which succeeds such knowledge, but in the copulation of the most interior and united divine knowledge, for this is the sovereign perfection of the created intellect, the last act and happy end in which it finds itself rather divine than human. Such copulative felicity with God cannot, however, be continuous during our present life, because our intellect is here joined to the matter of our fragile body.

It may be added that Leo the Hebrew, like Raymond Lully, accounts for the self-sufficiency of the divine nature on the ground that the love, the lover and the beloved are all one in God ; that God alone is the end of all love in the universe ; and that

His love towards His creatures is the stimulation of a desire of good for their sake and not for His own. It may be inferred also that a transcendental meaning is not improbably contained in such speculations as that of the sleep of love, of amorous contemplation, of the graving of the image of the beloved in the thought of the lover, and of the ravishment of this state.

IV. MINOR LITERATURE OF KABALISM

We have now completed our study of all Kabalistic writings to which any currency has been given in connection with the claims of occultism, but we have by no means exhausted the literature either before or after the appearance of the Zohar. It has been classified in chronological order in a special list by Bartolocci at the beginning of his great work, and those who desire to pursue the subject further will there see how impossible it is to deal with in this place. It is, moreover, outside the purpose of our inquiry. A few names, however, may just be mentioned which are to some extent typical of the minor literature of Kabalism.

When the Zohar was on the verge of the historical horizon, in the reign of Alphonso X., we find at Toledo Rabbi Mevi, the son of Theodore, Prince of the Levites of Burgos. Though a Kabalist and a light of Kabalism, he opposed Nachmanides, thus showing that at a comparatively early period there was little unanimity among the doctors of theosophy and the voices of tradition on

the subject of theosophy or tradition. His book is entitled "Before and Behind," which is supposed to indicate that he had approached the Kabalah from every point of view.*

Side by side with philosophical Kabalism the spurious practical part, the *Ars Kabalistica*, never wanted its professors. As neither worse nor better than the rest we may mention R. Chamai of Arragon, in the early part of the fifteenth century. One of his practical secrets was the determination of the sex of an unborn child by placing the nuptial couch from north to south, thus indicating respect for the majesty of God, which resided between east and west, and might suffer dishonour by marital intercourse taking place in the same direction.

Such consideration, it was deemed, would not go without its reward in the birth of male children.†

In the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and a victim of their edict of expulsion, flourished Joseph Gikatella, called the divine Kabalist and the Thaumaturge, who wrote on the attributes of God, the Divine names, and the *Sephiroth*.‡

At the period of Picus de Mirandola Kabalists abounded in Italy, many of whom were refugees from persecution in Spain and Portugal. Picus in his *Apologia* affirms that his demonstrations of Christian dogma in Jewish theosophy effected the conversion of a Kabalist named Dattilius. As it is one of few instances on record the sincerity of the change may

* Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, iv. 18; Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, v. 1773.

† Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, ii. 840: Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, v. 1895.

‡ *Ibid.* v. 1899.

be allowed to pass unchallenged.* Long afterwards, that is to say, in 1613, Samuel Nachunias, a Jew of Thessalonica, but residing at Venice, also abjured Judaism and wrote the "Path of Faith." So also, about 1672, Mordekai Kerkos composed a treatise specially against the Kabalah, but it has not been printed. Basnage hints that such an action at that period seemed scarcely less subversive in Israel than to embrace Christianity. On the other hand, Judas Azael, about the same period, contributed to the literature of the tradition by his "Thrones of the House of David," a treatise dealing with the Fifty Gates of Understanding, while in Germany Nathan of Spire, better known, however, for a treatise in praise of the Holy Land, produced a Kabalistic commentary on Deuteronomy iii. 13, under the title of *Megillah Hamneoth.* In Holland, a few years previously, the famous Manasses composed his work on the resurrection of the body, which connects with Jewish esoteric theology by its defence of metempsychosis; and Isaac About, a Brazilian settled in the Low Countries, translated the *Porta Cælorum* of Abraham Cohen Irira from the original Spanish into Hebrew.

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* In the sixteenth century Paul Elhananan became a convert to Christianity, and in his *Mysterium Novum* sought to prove from the Kabalah that Jesus of Nazareth was the true Messiah. Petrus Galatinus also abjured Judaism; so did Johannes Fortius, who wrote on the mystical meanings of the Hebrew letters. Paul de Heredia was a convert of the fifteenth century. Bartolocci (iv. 420) mentions Louis Carret, a Frenchman of the sixteenth century, who in his "Visions of God" defended the truth of the Catholic faith by means of the Kabalah. Later names are Aaron Margalita, whose many works attempted to Christianise the Kabalah; Rittangelius, the editor of the Sepher Yetzirah, who turned Protestant; and Prosper Ruggieri.

These meagre memoranda, which do not pretend to represent a serious study, may close with the name of Spinoza, who also connects with Kabalism, though it must be confessed that the tincture which he exhibits is little more than the memory of early reading.

BOOK VII

SOME CHRISTIAN STUDENTS OF THE KABALAH

ARGUMENT

The opinion of modern occultists that the Kabalah is a vehicle of the secret doctrine of absolute religion was never held by occultists in the past; even those who ascribed it to a Divine source were actuated only by the notion that it was a disguised Christianity, and in most cases their real interest was the conversion of the Jews by its means. The chief Christian students of the Kabalah are cited successively to prove these points. The modern opinion began with Éliphas Lévi, and it is shown that his authority is unreliable. Some minor misconceptions are corrected and some extrinsic points of interest are developed in the course of the sketches.

I. INTRODUCTORY

So far as our inquiry has proceeded no system of philosophy would seem less connected with what is known conventionally as magic than is the Kabalah to all outward appearance. That there was, however, a systematic connection, by which I mean a connection permitting the philosophical doctrine to emerge as fairly distinct, there can be no doubt. We owe our mediæval withchcraft chiefly to this source; we owe also our mediæval demonology; and the Jew, hounded out of Spain by the iniquitous edict of

Ferdinand and Isabella, left to the Inquisition and its devildom another pretext for extermination, more fuel for the burning—in a word, the tremendous legacy of sorcery. The Jew was avenged in the magician.

When enumerating the alleged branches of esoteric tradition in Israel I endeavoured to distinguish that of magic from philosophy. While the traces of the philosophical tradition are nowhere met with in antiquity, that of magic abounds. It was to be expected that the newer order of ideas should become interfused with the older. But the Sepher Yetzirah and the Zohar are not magic, and that which drew the Christian students of the literature and made them seek to fathom the Kabalistic mystery was assuredly its philosophical, transcendental indeed, but not its thaumaturgic part.

We are on the track here of another great misconception which prevails among the class of thinkers who have most reason to concern themselves with the claims of the Kabalah. It is useless for occult writers and their too easy disciples to continue, as they have done in the past, appealing to Christian authorities as to great names supporting their view of the subject. Those who accepted and those who vindicated the authenticity of the secret tradition had never dreamed of the religion behind all religions, nor did they look to the sanctuaries of Egypt for any light but that which perchance was carried into it by the descendants of Abraham. The occult writers make two errors. In the first place, they cite among Christian Kabalists many authorities, within and without the mystic circle, who have no claim to

the title; in the second place, they misconstrue entirely the position of those whose title itself may be beyond any challenge. Over and above these points, many names, great and otherwise, which it looks well to engross on the deeds of a brief for the defence, bear witness only to the prevailing ignorance.

The purpose of the brief studies which follow is to demonstrate these facts, which possess considerable importance for those whom I address, and are therefore an integral part of my scheme. They are not biographical sketches, and they are not bibliographical notes. They are designed to exhibit that among the names commonly cited in connection with Kabalism, some should no longer be mentioned, some belong only to a Quixotic attempt at discovering an *eirenicon* for Christendom and Jewry, some are not worth citing, because, despite their imputed authority, they have nothing of moment to tell us, and some, a bare residuum, with a handful of recent writers, may be left on the otherwise vacated benches.

II. RAYMOND LULLY

The name of Raymond Lully has been usually cited as that of a considerable authority on the Kabalah, as upon several other departments of the secret knowledge. It is time to affirm that few ascriptions seem to possess less foundation in fact. It must be said, first of all, that there is substantial ground for supposing that there were two distinct persons bearing this name, or that it was assumed for

a second time at a later date. The original Raymond Lully was that seneschal of Majorca whose legend I narrated some twelve years ago in the "Lives of Alchemystical Philosophers." He was born during the first half of the thirteenth century.* The second Raymond Lully was an alchemist. His legend, enshrined in the deceitful memorial of a so-called Abbot of Westminster,† was unknown, so far as I can trace, till the beginning of the seventeenth century,‡ but the works by which he is distinguished from his prototype are certainly much earlier, possibly by two centuries. There is a third and modern legend, which bears all the marks of invention by its narrator, Éliphas Lévi, and this identifies the two personages by prolonging the life of the first through the instrumentality of the great elixir.§ It is described as a popular legend, but Raymond Lully and his namesake were never of enough importance to impress the imagination of the people. The first was a philosophical reformer and a

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* The dates attributed to some of his works, if accurate, would show that he was separated from his predecessor by more than a century, but they are in a sad state of confusion, and all popular sources of information are misleading. See, for example, Blackie's "Popular Encyclopœdia," s.v. Alchymy.

† *Testamentum Cremeri, Abbatis Westmonasteriensis, Angli, Ordinis Benedictini.*

‡ It was published at Frankfort in 1618, by Michael Maier, being the third tract of the *Tripus Aureus, hoc est tres tractatus chymici selectissimi.* In 1678 it reappeared in the *Museum Hermeticum Reformatum et Amplificatum*, and is known in English by a translation of that collection, edited by myself, 2 vols. London. 1893.

§ With material derived from Éliphas Lévi, and a pyrotechnic terminology from M. Huysman, a bizarre work entitled *Le Satanisme et la Magie*, by Jules Bois, compresses all the legends into one small pellet of fable which, published in 1895, is, I suppose, the last misconstruction on the subject of Raymond Lully.

Christian evangelist, martyred for an ill-judged attempt at the propagation of the faith among the Mussulmen of Africa. The second has been described, but on what grounds I am unable to state, as a "Jewish neophyte" or proselyte of the gate. This is therefore the personality which would naturally connect with Kabalism. The second Raymond Lully connects, however, exclusively with alchemy, and his works are evidence that he did not renounce the Christian faith.* It is to him must be attributed those keys, compendiums, testaments and codicils of alchemy which are found in all the great collections of Hermetic treatises. He was so far imbued with the apostolic spirit of his predecessor that his great ambition was to engage some Catholic monarch in another barren crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. According to his legend he transmuted into gold sufficient base metal for the minting of six million nobles, for the benefit of an Edward, King of England, on condition that he assumed the Red Cross. The king did not keep his promise, and the adept escaped as he could from the extortion of further projections.

The confusion of the two Raymonds is perhaps more excusable among occultists than for ordinary biographers. That alchemy connects with Kabalism, or that Kabalism became identified with alchemy, the

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* Witness the address to the Deity at the head of the *Testamentum Magistri Raymundi Lullii* (Mangetus: *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, i. 707, 708); the last words of its theoretical division—*Laus honor* et *gloria Jesu* (*ibid.* 762); the *Testamentum Novissimum*, addressed to King Charles (*Ideo, mi Carole dilecte, te in filium sapientiæ dilectissimum ut fidei catholicæ ampliatorem eligam;* and again: *Accipe igitur in nomine sanctæ Trinitatis et æternæ Unitatis*, &c. (*ibid.* p. 790).

treatise on Purifying Fire sufficiently testifies, but the alchemist *per se* is not, as we have seen, a Kabalist, and there is no single word of Kabalism in the Hermetic treatises of Raymond Lully the second. The doctor of Majorca does connect artificially with the esoteric tradition of the Jews, by the arbitrary use of certain words and methods, though he was not a proselyte of the gate, but his system is a mechanical introduction to the sciences, and has no title to the name, having nothing to do with a tradition, exoteric or esoteric, Jewish or Gentile. It has, moreover, no mystical foundation, and is concerned wholly with an educational method. It is, therefore, untrue to say that Raymond Lully was one of the grand and sublime masters of transcendent science, as Éliphas Lévi describes him. In the *Ars Magna Sciendi* and the *Ars Notoria* there is as much occult significance as in the scholastic jest concerning *chimæra bombinans in vacuo.* The Notary Art of Solomon, which Robert Turner first printed in English, connects remotely with Kabalism, and the *Ars Notoria* of Raymond Lully has a verbal connection, and no more, with this enchiridion of Jewry. It is the same with the treatise entitled *De Auditu Kabalistico*, an *opusculum Raymundinum*, or particular application of the method of Lully, which has been ignorantly included among his works. The name alone is occult, and its selection is beyond conjecture.* The work proves on examination to be

* It is fair to say that Franck takes the opposite view, but with what qualification for judgment may be gathered from the fact that he accepts the attribution to Lully of the work mentioned above. He says that Lully was the first to reveal the name and existence of the

a late offshoot of the great vacant pretentious system which enabled those who mastered it to dispute on all subjects with success, though perhaps without knowledge of any. Some great minds were captivated by it, but such captivities are among the weaknesses of great minds. The best that can be said for the *Ars Magna* is that it was discoursed upon by Cornelius Agrippa and that it was tolerated by Picus de Mirandola. And of these facts, at the present day, neither possesses a consequence. The chief philosophical mission of the first Raymond Lully was to protest against the school of Averroes; his chief practical work was the exhortation of prelates and princes to found schools for the study of languages so as to facilitate the conversion of

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Kabalah to Christian Europe, for which there is no ground in fact; he thinks that it would be difficult to determine how far Lully was "an initiate of this mystic science" or the precise influence which it exercised on his doctrine. "I refrain from saying with a historian of philosophy (Tennemann) that he borrowed thence his belief in the identity of God and Nature" (I think that Tennemann has here misconstrued his author), "but it is certain that he had a very high idea of it, considering it a divine science, a veritable revelation addressed to the rational soul, and it may perhaps be permissible to suppose that the artificial processes used by Kabalists to connect their opinions with the words of Scripture, such as the substitution of numbers or letters for ideas or words, may have contributed in no small degree to the invention of the Great Art. It is worthy of remark that more than two centuries and a half before the existence of the rival schools of Loria and Cordova, at the very time when some modern critics have sought to place the origin of the Kabalah, Raymond Lully makes already a distinction between ancient and modern Kabalists." The passage on which Franck seems to depend for his general view is as follows: *Dicitur hæc doctrina Kabbala quod, idem est secundum . . . Hebræos ut receptio veritatis cujuslibet rei divinitus revelatæ animæ rationali . . . . Est igitur Kabbala habitus animæ rationalis ex rectâ ratione divinarum rerum cognitivus. Propter quod apparet quod est de maximo etiam divino consequvtivè divina scientia vocari debet.* This extract is derived from the *Opus Raymundinum* already mentioned.

the heathen; but there were few who heard or heeded him. It was only after his death that his system obtained for a time a certain vogue. The collapse of the process of his beatification is one of the great escapes of the Latin Church, because it would have helped to accredit a system which began and ended in words. It was not, as it has been described erroneously, a universal science, or a synthesis of knowledge; it was chaffer and noise; its egregious tabulations are a mockery for the modern understanding. Even the martyrdom of this eccentric Spanish enthusiast had a strain of the folly of suicide, if the martyrologists have told it truly. It had, however, its defenders, and it had in time its miraculous legend. So also, and for the space of some centuries, there was a quiet and intelligible cultus of Raymond Lully in the Balearic Islands, which, like some other local sanctities, has become perhaps scarcely a memory.

I should add, in conclusion, that there are works by or attributed to the original Raymond Lully which have no connection with his *Ars Magna Sciendi*, as they have none with occult science, and belong to a higher category. When we turn over the vast, uncompleted collection of his *Opera Omnia*, and dwell, as the devout student will gratefully do, on certain passages concerning the eternal subsistence of the lover and the beloved in God, concerning contemplation in God—*quomodo omnis nostra perfectio sit in perfectione nostri Domini Dei*—and the deep things of divine union, we begin to discern the existence, so to speak, of a third Lully, who has qualities which recommend him to our admiration which are wanting in the

Doctor illuminatus, though he invented the *Ars Magna*, and in the *Doctor alchemisticus*, even if he transmuted metals.

III. PICUS DE MIRANDOLA

Magical legend has availed itself of the name of Mirandola, and on the warrant of his Kabalistic enthusiasm has accredited him with the possession of a familiar demon.* His was the demon of Socrates which a late Cardinal Archbishop has brought within the limits of natural and clerical orthodoxy.† His marvellous precocity has furnished a thesis to the ingenuity of M. Gabriel Delanne, for, as with the music of Mozart and as with the mathematics of Pascal, it remains a ground of speculation how this Italian Crichton acquired his enormous erudition. M. Delanne would assure us‡ that he brought it with him at his birth, that it was an inheritance from a previous life, and that Picus de Mirandola Kabalised in a college of Babylon. On the other hand, Catholic writers, for whom his studies are unsavoury, affirm that he was swindled by an impostor who sold him sixty bogus MSS. on the assurance that they had been composed by the order of Esdras. "They contained only ridiculous Kabalistic reveries." These MSS. have been enumerated and

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* Migne's *Dictionnaire des Sciences Occultes*, t. ii. col. 308.

† See Manning's brochure, *s.v.* "The Daimon of Socrates." London, 1874.

‡ See in particular *Étude sur les Vies Successives, Mémoire présenté au Congrès Spirite International de Londres* (1898), *par Gabriel Delanne*, p. 61, where Mirandola is a case in point.

described by Gaffarel, and his monograph on the subject will be found, among other places, in the great bibliography of Wolf. We are not concerned with these nor yet with the apocryphal stories of their original authorship and eventual sale. But as Mirandola, who was born on February 24, 1463, and died mentally exhausted in 1494, is the first true Christian student of the Kabalah, it is important to know what he derived from his studies in this respect. Now, unfortunately, we are met at the outset with a difficulty only too common in such inquiries. Of the Kabalistic conclusions arrived at by Picus de Mirandola, and actually bearing this name, there are two absolutely different versions extant; there is that which we find in the collected editions of his works, both late and early, reproduced in the collection of Pistorius with a voluminous commentary by Archangelus de Burgo Nuovo, and there is that which we find with another commentary, though curiously by the same writer, in a little volume, published at Bologna in 1564, and again at Basle in 1600.* The evidence is in favour of the first version, though I have so far failed to meet with an alleged original edition said to have been published at Rome in 1486, and therefore in the lifetime of the author. We may accept either version without prejudice to the point which it is here designed to establish, and that is the nature of the enthusiasm which prompted Picus de Mirandola. In the first place, though he speaks of magic in terms which may be held to indicate that he possessed a

* *Archangelus de Burgo Nuovo agri Placentini*: *Apologia pro defensione doctrinæ Cabalæ*, &c. Ostensibly a reply to an impeachment of Mirandola by Peter Garzia.

tolerant and open mind as to some of its claims, and, like a learned man as he was, did not regard it after the vulgar manner, he cannot be considered as, in any real sense, an occult philosopher. The only department of occult science which he has treated at any length is astrology, and to this he devoted a long, savage and undermining criticism, which in some of its salient parts is as good reading as Agrippa's "Vanity of the Sciences," and on its special subject takes much the same point of view. We should not therefore expect that he betook himself to the esoteric speculations of Jewry because he was attracted by the transcendental powers attributed to the Divine Names, because he intended to compose talismans, or because he desired to evoke. I must not speak so confidently as to possible fascinations in the direction of *Gematria* and *Themurah*, for his was a subtle and curious intelligence which found green spots or rather enchanted cities of mirage in many deserts of the mind, and he might perhaps have discovered mysteries in beheaded words and achroamatica in acrostics. There is, however, no proof that he did. The bibliographical legend which represents him purchasing MSS. on the assurance that the prophet Esdras had a hand in their production will disclose his probable views as to the antiquity ot Kabalistic literature. He took it, we may suppose, at its word, and the legend also indicates that he was persuaded easily; it was a common weakness in men of learning and enthusiasm at the period. On the other hand, it is more than certain that he did not regard this antiquity as a presumption that the Kabalah was superior to Latin Christianity; the wisdom which he

found in the Kabalah was the wisdom of Christian doctrine;* when he hung up his famous theses in Rome and offered to defray the expenses of every scholar who would dispute with him, those theses included his Kabalistic Conclusions, but that which he sought to establish was a *via media* between Jewry and Christendom. When he turned the head of Pope Julius with the secret mysteries of the *Thorah*, the enthusiasm which was communicated for a moment to the chair of Peter was, like Lully's, that of the evangelist. The *servus servorum Dei* found other zeal for his ministry, and the comet of the schools blazed itself out. The Kabalistic Conclusions alone remain to tell that Rome had a strange dream in the evening of the fifteenth century. They lie in a small compass and, as I believe it will be of interest to show what Picus de Mirandola extracted from his sixty MSS., I will here translate them for the reader. I ought perhaps to premise that Éliphas Lévi translated some of them in his own loose fashion and published them with a suggestive commentary, in *La Science des Esprits*,† ascribing them to the collection of Pistorius but without mentioning the name of Mirandola. He also gave what purports to be the Latin originals, but these he has polished and pointed. To do justice to his genius they are much better than the quintessential Kabalism of Picus, but as they are neither Picus nor the Kabalah, I shall not have recourse to them for the purposes of the

* The existence of Christian elements, or at least of materials which might be held to bear a Christian construction, is admitted by several Jewish writers of the post-Zoharic period.

† Part II. c. iv. p. 147, *et seq.*

following version, except by some references in the footnotes.

Kabalistic Conclusions:

I.

As man and the priest of inferior things sacrifices to God the souls of unreasoning animals, so Michael, the higher priest, sacrifices the souls of rational animals.

II.

There are nine hierarchies, and their names are *Cherubim*, *Seraphim*, *Chasmalim*, *Aralim*, *Tarsisim*, *Ophanim*, *Ishim*, *Malachim*, *and Elohim.*

III.

Although the ineffable name is the quality of clemency, it is not to be denied that it combines also the quality of judgment.*

IV.

The sin of Adam was the separation of the kingdom from the other branches.

V.

God created the world with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, whereby the first man sinned.†

VI.

The great north wind is the fountain of all souls simply, as other days are of some and not all.‡

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* As Lévi tersely puts it, *Schema misericordiam dicit sed et judicium.* He utilises it to denounce the doctrine of everlasting punishment.

† Hence Lévi infers that the sin of Adam was educational.

‡ I have given this literally without pretending that it has much meaning. Lévi reduces it to *Magnus aquilo fons est animarum*, explaining that souls enter this world to escape idleness.

VII.

When Solomon said in his prayer, as recorded in the Book of Kings, "Hear, O Heaven." we must understand by heaven the green line which encircles all things.*

VIII.

Souls descend from the third light to the fourth day, and thence issuing, they enter the night of the body.†

IX.

By the six days of Genesis we must understand the six extremities of the building proceeding from Brashith as the cedars come forth out of Lebanon.

X.

Paradise is more correctly said to be the whole building than the tenth part. And in the centre thereof is placed the Great Adam, who is *Tiphereth.*

XI.

A river is said to flow out from Eden and to be parted into four heads signifying that the third numeration proceeds from the second, and is divided into the fourth, fifth, sixth, and tenth.‡

XII.

It is true that all things depend on fate, if we understand thereby the Supreme Arbiter.§

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* Lévi renders this *Cœlum est Kether*, which does not, at first sight, seem to represent it. See, however, Conclusion, 48, and note thereto.

† This is mangled by Lévi, who seems to have misunderstood its meaning. For the night of the body he substitutes the night of death.

‡ Conclusions 9, 10, 11 signify, according to Lévi, that the history of the earthly paradise is an allegory of truth on earth.

§ Lévi gives, *Factum fatum quia fatum verbum est*, an admirable specimen of polishing.

XIII.

He who shall know the mystery of the Gates of Understanding in the Kabalah shall know also the mystery of the Great Jubilee.*

XIV.

He who shall know the meridional property in dextral co-ordination shall know why every journey of Abraham was always to the south.†

XV.

Unless the letter *He* had been added to the name of Abram, Abraham would not have begotten.‡

XVI.

Before Moses all prophesied by the stag with one horn (*i.e.*, the unicorn).§

XVII.

Wheresoever the love of male and female is mentioned in Scripture, there is exhibited mystically the conjunction of *Tiphereth* and *Chienset* (or *Cheneceth*) *Israel*, or *Beth* and *Tiphereth*.‖

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* The significance evaporates in Lévi's shortened recension, *Portæ jubilæum sunt.* He explains the Jubilee as the joy of true knowledge.

† Lévi's explanation is feeble, namely, that the south is the rainy quarter, and that "the doctrines of Abraham, *i.e.*, of the Kabalah, are always fruitful."

‡ *Per additionem He Abraham genuit*, this being "the feminine letter of the Tetragram."

§ *I.e.*, says Lévi, they saw only one side of truth; Moses is represented bearing two horns. Lévi adds that the unicorn is the ideal.

‖ Lévi substitutes *Mas et fœmina sunt Tiphereth et Malkuth*, and gives a sentimental explanation which has no connection with Kabalism.

XVIII.

Whosoever shall have intercourse with *Tiphereth* in the middle night shall flourish in every generation.*

XIX.

The letters of the name of the evil demon who is the prince of this world are the same as those of the name of God—*Tetragrammaton*—and he who knows how to effect their transposition can extract one from the other.†

XX.

When the light of the mirror which shines not shall be like the light of the shining mirror, the day shall become as the night, as David says.‡

XXI.

Whosoever shall know the quality which is the secret of darkness shall know why the evil demons are more hurtful in the night than in the day.

XXII.

Granting that the co-ordination of the chariots is manifold, nevertheless, in so far as concerns the mystery of the *Philaterios*, two chariots are prepared, so that one chariot is formed from the second, third, fourth, and fifth, and these are the four philateria which *Vau* assumes, and from the sixth, seventh,

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* Lévi interprets by distinguishing the marriage of mere animals, human or otherwise, from the true human and divine marriage of souls, spirits and bodies.

† Lévi substitutes *Dæmon est Deus inversus* and argues with characteristic logic that, could the former be said to exist, then God as his opposite could certainly have no existence.

‡ This apparently puzzled the commentator, so he invented a substitute which partly reproduces an apocryphal saying of Christ.

eighth, and ninth a second chariot is made, and these are the philateria which the *He* final assumes.*

XXIII.

More than the quality of penitence is not to be understood (or applied) in the word (which signifies) "He said."†

XXIV.

When Job said: "Who maketh peace in his highest places," he signified the austral water and boreal fire, and their leader, concerning which things there must be nothing said further.‡

XXV.

Brashith—i.e., in the beginning He created, is the same as if it were said: "In Wisdom He created."§

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* That is to say, *Chokmah*, *Binah*, *Chesed* and *Geburah* form the chariot, seat, or throne of the third letter of the Tetragram; while *Tiphereth*, *Netzach*, *Hod* and *Jesod* constitute the chariot of the fourth letter. For other classifications of the *Sephiroth* according to the symbols of a superior and inferior chariot, see *Kabbala Denudata*, i. 535, 536.

† This is the best rendering which I can offer of the obscure original—*Supra proprietatem pænitentiæ non est utendum verbo dixit.* It is quite certain that its intention is not represented by Lévi's substituted aphorism *Pænitentia non est verbum*, which he translates, "To repent is not to act." According to Archangelus de Burgonuovo, the meaning is that he who seeks the forgiveness of sins must not have recourse to the Son nor to the Holy Spirit. The proof offered is that the word rendered *dixit* belongs to the Son, and that which stands for *dicens* to the Holy Ghost. This refers to certain sayings of Christ. Forgiveness is to be sought from the Father. The Kabalah is not, however, a commentary on the New Testament.

‡ Lévi substitutes: *excelsi sunt aqua australis et ignis septentrionalis et præfecti eorum. Sile.*

§ Pointed by Lévi, this appears as *In principio, id est in Chokmah.*

XXVI.

When Onkelos the Chaldean said: "*Buadmin*" —*i.e.*, with or by the Eternals, he understood the Thirty-two Paths of Wisdom.*

XXVII.

As the first man is the congregation of the waters, so the sea, to which all rivers run, is the Divinity.†

XXVIII.

By the flying thing which was created on the fifth day we must understand angels of this world, which appear to men, and not those which do not appear, save in the spirit.‡

XXIX.

The name of God, composed of four letters, *Mem*, *Tsade*, *Pe*, and final *Tsade*, must be referred to the Kingdom of David.§

XXX.

No angel with six wings is ever transformed.||

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* This is given boldly by Lévi as *Viæ æternitatis sunt triginta duo.*

† Lévi sums the idea by writing *Justi aquæ*, *Deus mare*, and shows in his annotation how God becomes man and man God after his familiar Voltairean fashion.

‡ Lévi gives, *Angeli apparentium sunt volatiles cæli et animantia*, which exceeds the Kabalistic idea. I do not think it was intended to say that birds are angels of the outer form, but that the flying things created on the fifth day are symbols of the angels who have appeared to men, wearing the likeness of humanity, as to Abraham and to Lot, not those seen in the interior state and in vision.

§ Lévi reads Daniel.

|| Meaning, says Lévi, that there is no change for the mind which is equilibrated perfectly; but this is mere ingenuity.

XXXI.

Circumcision was ordained for deliverance from the impure powers wandering round about.

XXXII.

Hence circumcision was performed on the eighth day, because it is above the universal bride.

XXXIII.

There are no letters in the entire Law which do not show forth the secrets of the ten numerations in their forms, conjunctions, and separations, in their twisting and direction, their deficiency and superfluity, in their comparative smallness and largeness, in their crowning, and their enclosed or open form.*

XXXIV.

He who comprehends why Moses hid his face and why Ezechias turned his countenance to the wall, the same understands the fitting attitude and posture of prayer.†

XXXV.

No spiritual things descending below can operate without a garment.‡

XXXVI.

The sin of Sodom was the separation of the final branch.

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* *Literæ sunt hieroglyphicæ in omnibus*, according to the shorter recension of Lévi,

† *Absconde faciem tuam et ora*, writes Lévi, connecting the praying shawl in his comment with the veil of Isis!

‡ *L'esprit se révêtent pour descendre et se dépouille pour monter*, says Lévi elsewhere in his writings. Here in his annotation he reasons that, as we cannot live under water, so spirits without bodies are unable to exist in our atmosphere.

XXXVII.

By the secret of the prayer before the daylight we must understand the quality of piety.

XXXVIII.

As fear is outwardly inferior to love, so love is inwardly inferior to fear.

XXXIX.

From the preceding conclusion it may be understood why Abraham was praised in Genesis for his fear, albeit we know by the quality of piety that all things were made from love.

XL.

Whensoever we are ignorant of the quality whence the influx comes down upon the petition which we put up, we must have recourse to the House of Judgment.*

XLI.

Every good soul is a new soul coming from the East.†

XLII.

Therefore Joseph was buried in the bones only and not in the body, because his bones were virtues and the hosts of the supernal tree, called *Zadith*, descending on the supernal earth.

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* Literally, *Domum Naris;* and hence Lévi's abridgment is *Nasus discernit proprietates*, which he defends from the "Book of Concealment."

† The distinction between new souls and old is developed at some length by Isaac de Loria. Éliphas Lévi overlooks this point and has recourse to a sentimental explanation. He takes occasion also to deny that reincarnation was taught by the best Kabalists, but he is not quite correct as to his facts.

XLIII.

Therefore also Moses knew no sepulchre, being taken up into the supernal jubilee and setting his roots above the jubilee.

XLIV.

When the soul shall comprehend all that is within its comprehension, and shall be joined with the supernal soul, it shall put off from itself its earthly garment and shall be rooted out from its place and united with Divinity.*

XLV.

When prophecy by the spirit ceased, the wise men of Israel prophesied by the Daughter of the Voice.

XLVI.

A king of the earth is not manifested on the earth until the heavenly host is humbled in heaven.†

XLVII.

By the word "ath," which twice occurs in the text, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," I believe that Moses signified the creation of the intellectual and animal natures, which in the natural order preceded that of the heaven and the earth.

XLVIII.

That which is said by the Kabalist, namely, that the green line encircles the universe, may be said also

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* Lévi gives *Anima plena superiori conjungitur*, and understands this to mean that a complete soul is united with a superior soul, whereas the reference is undoubtedly to the divine soul.

† The version of Lévi is an entirely different aphorism, namely, *Post deos rex verus regnabit super terram.*

appropriately at the final conclusion which we draw from Porphyry.*

XLIX.

Amen is the influence of numbers.†

We have seen that a rival series of Kabalistic Conclusions has been referred to Picus, and so also the number of the above series is occasionally extended to seventy. The collection of Pistorius contains only those which have been cited, and they are possibly intended to connect with the Fifty Gates of Understanding, less the one gate which was not entered by Moses. To develop any system from these aphorisms would appear almost impossible, and this difficulty has occurred to earlier critics. Their source is also uncertain like their meaning, despite the labours of their commentator, Archangelus de Burgo-Nuovo, who was himself a Christian Kabalist, but disputatious, verbose, and with predetermined theological motives.

IV. Cornelius Agrippa

The untimely death of Picus de Mirandola took place in the early childhood of another Christian

* According to Lévi, the Kabalists represent Kether as a green line encompassing all the other *Sephiroth*. I do not know his authority, but Azariel, in his commentary on the Sepher Yetzirah, says, as we have seen, that it is the colour of light seen through a mist. I assume that this is not green, though Zoharic observations on the rainbow seem to indicate that some Kabalists at least were colour-blind. It should be noted that Norrelius in his *Phosphorus Orthodoxæ Fidei*, 4, Amsterdam 1720, translating from an elegy on R. Simeon ben Jochai, given in the *Sepher Imre Binah*, explains that the *linea viridis* is the new moon.

† An affirmation of the mind, an adhesion of the heart, a kind of mental signature, says Lévi.

Kabalist, Cornelius Agrippa of Nettersheim, born at Cologne in 1486. It is to him that we owe the first methodical description of the whole Kabalistic system, considered under the three heads of Natural Philosophy, Mathematical Philosophy and Theology. Agrippa is therefore of very great importance to our inquiry, and his three books, entitled *De Occulta Philosophia*, are the starting-point of Kabalistic knowledge among the Latin-reading scholars of Europe. It is needless to say that his treatise enjoyed immense repute and authority. We must remember, however, that it is professedly a magical work, by which I do not mean that it is a ritual for the evocation of spirits, but it unfolds the philosophical principles upon which all forms of magic were supposed to proceed, and this is so true that the forged "Fourth Book," which was added to it soon after the death of Agrippa, and does provide a species of magical ritual, is so much in consonance with the genuine work that it might well have been by the same hand. We must therefore expect that the magical side of Kabalism, that which deals with the properties and the virtues of Divine Names and so forth, is much more fully developed than the cosmology of the Sepher Yetzirah or the Divine Mysteries of the Zohar. We have also to remember that, although Agrippa was the first writer who elucidated the Kabalistic system, he was far more learned in the occult philosophy of Greece and Rome than in that of the later Hebrews. He was sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew to be able to understand and expound the mysteries of the Divine Names and the *Notaricon* connected therewith. Of

the literature itself he gives no information from which we could infer his knowledge; he does not mention the Sepher Yetzirah or the Zohar, both of which were then only accessible in manuscript, and I am inclined to think that his acquaintance with Kabalistic subjects was formed chiefly through the *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ* of Mirandola, which, as we have seen, appeared at Rome in the year of Agrippa's birth. It should be added also that there are serious errors in his division of the Hebrew alphabet which would not have been made by one who was acquainted with any authoritative source of knowledge, as, for example, the "Book of Formation," and mistakes without number in his lettering of the Divine Names; but the latter point cannot be justly pressed, as the faults may have rested with the printer.

It is noticeable in this connection that the doctrine of the occult virtues residing in words and names is expounded from the authority of the Platonists.* It is only in the scales of the twelve numbers, dealt with somewhat minutely in the second book, that the Kabalistic system is developed, but this has remained the chief source of information among occult students up to this day.† The most important information is, however, in the third book, devoted to theology and the doctrines, mainly Kabalistic, concerning angels, demons and the souls of men, but creating correspondences with classical

* It should be noted, however, that he preceded the chief Hellenising schools of later Kabalism.

† On the general question of Agrippa's connection with Kabalism, see Frederich Barth: "Die Cabbala des Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettersheim," Stuttgard, 1855.

mythology wherever possible. Thus, *Ain Soph* is identified with the Night of Orpheus and the Kabalistic Samael with Typhon. The ten *Sephiroth* are described as the vestments, instruments, or exemplars of the Archetype, having an influence on all created things through high to low, following a defined order.

It would serve no purpose to repeat all the points of the instruction, because much of it has been already given, while the tables of commutations showing the extraction of angelical names would require elaborate diagrams. My object is to note rather than illustrate exhaustively the character of Agrippa's exposition, which is concerned largely with the so-called practical Kabalah, and very slightly with the more important philosophical literature. It brought him no satisfaction, and before his troubled life drew to its disastrous close he recorded his opinion that the Kabalistic art, which he had "diligently and laboriously sought after," was merely a "rhapsody of superstition," that its mysteries were "wrested from the Holy Scriptures," a play with allegory proving nothing. As to the alleged miracles wrought by its practical operations, he supposes that there is no one so foolish as to believe it has any such powers. In a word, "the Kabalah of the Jews is nothing but a pernicious superstition by which at their pleasure they gather, divide and transfer words, names and letters in Scripture; and by making one thing out of another dissolve the connections of the truth." What was done by the Jews for the literature of the Ancient Covenant was performed, he goes on to say, for the Greek documents of Christianity by

the Ophites, Gnostics, and Valentinians, who produced a Greek Kabalah, as Rabanus, the monk, later on attempted with the Latin characters.

I do not know that a modern writer could have put the position more clearly. I do not think that any one at the present day can regard transpositions and extractions seriously, but the question is whether these things were not after all a subterfuge, or if not exactly a subterfuge, a corruption of an older system. Agrippa adds another argument which also, from its own standpoint, could not be better expressed: "If Kabalistic art proceed from God, as the Jews boast, and if it conduce to the perfection of life, the health of men and the worship of God, as also to the truth of understanding, surely that Spirit of Truth which has left their synagogue and has come to teach us all truth, would not have concealed it from His Church even until these last times, and this the more seeing that the Church knows all things which are of God, while His mysteries of salvation are revealed in every tongue, for every tongue has the same power, if there be the same equal piety; neither is there any name, in heaven or on earth, by which we can be saved, whereby we can work miracles, but the one name Jesus, wherein all things are recapitulated and contained."

Of course, in the last analysis this argument proves too much. There is either a peculiar virtue in Divine Names or there is not. If there be, the Christian cannot well deny it to Jehovah; and if there be not, the doctrine of the Great Name in Christianity is a sublety no less idle than the Tetragrammaton or the Schemahamphorash. We know,

however, that, in so far as names represent ideas, they are moving powers of the intellectual world; when they are used without inspiration and without knowledge they are dead and inert, like other empty vehicles. The Kabalistic Jews believed that they could dissect the name without losing the vital essence which informs it, and they erred therein. The name of Jesus spells grace and salvation to millions, but it spells nothing when lettered separately and nothing when it is transposed. To say otherwise is to rave.

V. PARACELSUS

Among the great names of occultism which are cited in support of the influence exerted by the Kabalah and the authority which it possessed, that of Paracelsus is mentioned. We are given to understand, for example, by Isaac Myer, that it is to be traced distinctly in the system of the great German adept.* Statements like these are themselves a kind of Kabalah, which are received by one writer from another without any inquiry or any attempt at verification. In this way we obtain lists of authorities, references and testimonials which seem at first sight to carry great weight, but they will bear no examination and defeat their own purpose when they come into the hands of a student who has sufficient patience to investigate them. In the present instance we have to remember that Paracelsus occupies an exceptional position among occult

* "Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," p. 171.

philosophers; he was not a man who respected or quoted authorities; he owed very little to tradition, very little to what is understood commonly by erudition.* If we take his alchemical treatises and compare them with Hermetic literature, we shall find that they are quite unlike it, and that he was, in fact, his own alchemist. When he concerns himself with magic, he has few correspondences which will enable him to be illustrated by other writers on this subject: again, he was his own magician. And to come to the question of the Kabalah, if we discover, on examination, that he has anything to say concerning it, we should expect that it would be quite unlike anything that went before him, and quite foreign to the known lines of Kabalism. Once more, we should find that he would prove to be his own Kabalist. In every department of thought he illustrated his own maxim: *Alterius non sit qui suus esse potest.* It must be added also that any contributions which he offers are seldom helpful. They do nothing to elucidate what is obscure in previous authorities, and they constitute new departures which are themselves much in need of explanation.

Nearly two centuries elapsed between the death of Moses de Leon, the first publisher of the Zohar, and the birth of Theophrastus of Hohenheim, and though no attempt to print it took place till some forty years after his turbulent life closed so sadly at Strasburg, or wherever it actually occurred, there

* He is said, indeed, to have boasted that his library would not amount to six folio volumes.—Gould's "History of Freemasonry," vol. ii. p. 77.

can be no doubt that it was quite accessible in manuscript, or that Paracelsus, had he chosen, could have made himself acquainted with its contents. It seems fairly certain, however, that he never acquired the language from which it had not been translated, and that his knowledge of the Kabalah would in any case be limited to what he could gather from authors who wrote in Latin or some current tongue; but his own works show that he was at very little pains of this kind. As to this, it is only necessary to collect the few references on the subject which they contain.

The study of Magic and the Kabalah is enjoined several times on the physician, and old medical authorities are scouted on the ground that they were unacquainted with either.* The "Cabala" is in one place identified with Magical Astronomy,† which, I presume, refers to the Paraselsic theory concerning the stars in man and the stars of disease, and connects with the contextual statement that all operations of the stars in all animals centre at the heart. It is identified also with Magic itself, of which it forms a part.‡ But from indications given in another place, Kabalistic Magic seems to have signified some obscure operations with the faculties of the astral body.§ Subsequently this point is exposed more plainly, when the Kabalistic art is said to have been built up on the basis of the

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* *De Causis et Origine Luis Gallicæ*, Lib. iv. c. 9, *Opera Omnia*, Geneva, 1658, vol. iii. p. 193, *b*. Also *De Peste*, Lib. ii., *præfatio*, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 408.

† *De Pestilitate*, Tract. i., *ib.*, *ib.*, p. 371, *b*

‡ *De Peste*, Lib. i., *ib.*, *ib.*, p. 405, *b*.

§ *De Vita Longa*, Lib. i. c. 6, *ib.*, vol. ii. p. 56, *b*.

doctrines concerning the sacramental body, which appears after the death of the corruptible, and explains spectres, visions, apparitions of a supernatural character, &c.* The art of judging what is concealed by certain outward signs—in a word, the theory of signatures—is said to be the Kabalistic art, "once called 'caballa,' afterwards 'caballia'" It has also been falsely termed Galamala, from its author, and is of Ethnic origin, having been transmitted to the Chaldæans and the Jews, by whom it was corrupted, "for the Jews were exceedingly ignorant in all ages."† Finally, the use of certain prayers and *signacula—i.e.*, talismans, in the cure of diseases is connected with the Kabalah.‡

These meagre instances exhaust the three folio volumes which constitute the Geneva collection of the works of Paracelsus. I should add, however, that there is a short section entitled "Caballa," which forms part of a treatise on the plague, but it is concerned with the official elements of early science and with the alchemical elements, Salt, Sulphur and Mercury. There is also a reference in one place to some "books of the Caballa," apparently the work of Paracelsus and in this case no longer extant. By the student of Paracelsus that loss may be regretted, but it is not of moment so far as the Kabalah is concerned, for it is evident that this term, like many others, was made use of in a sense which either differs widely from its wonted meaning, or is the lowest form

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* *De Natura Rerum*, Lib. viii., *ib.*, *ib.*, p. 101, *b.*

† *Philosophia Sagax*, Lib. i., *ib.*, vol. ii. p. 565, *b.*

‡ *De Vulneribus*, Lib. v. in *Chirurgia Magna*, Pars. iii., *ib.*, vol. iii., p. 91 *b.*

of that meaning. The Kabalah for Paracelsus, when it is not something quite fantastic and unimaginable, is a species of practical magic, and here we shall do well to remember that the adept of Hohenheim flourished at a period when, as we have seen, the spurious literature of clavicles and grimoires was fast multiplying.

It is very difficult to judge Paracelsus, and many false statements have been made concerning him by friends and enemies. But it is well to know that he was not a student of the Kabalah in any sense that we should care to associate therewith.

VI. JOHN REUCHLIN

As these sketches are not constructed biographically, there will be no difficulty in regarding the subject of the present notice as the representative of a group, which group illustrates most effectively the standpoint and purpose of our inquiry as regards the Christian students of the Kabalah. The missionary enthusiasm which may be said to have begun with Mirandola, which, if Lully had been a Kabalist, would have been already at fever heat in the *doctor illuminatus* of Majorca, which ceased only in the early part of the eighteenth century, assumed almost the aspect of a movement between the period of Reuchlin and that of Rosenroth. It was not a concerted movement; it was not the activity of a secret society or a learned body; it was not actuated by any occult interests, and perhaps still less by those of an academic kind. The shape which it assumed in its literature was

that of a deliberate and successive attempt to read Christian dogma into the written word of Kabalism. It does not appear so strenuously in the work of Rosenroth as it does in the collection of Pistorius,* because in the days of the *Kabbala Denudata* there was, perhaps, more reason to hinder such intellectual excesses. Nor is it so strong in the writings of Reuchlin as in those of Archangelus de Burgo Nuovo. It is impossible to survey the vast treatises, extending in some cases to hundreds of folio pages, by which the enthusiasm is represented, and it is fortunately not necessary. We have only to establish their proper connection with Kabalism and to show that it has been so far misconceived by occultists.

We are justified in regarding Éliphas Lévi as to some extent the mouthpiece of modern occult thought; it is to him more than to any one that such thought owes its impulse towards the Jewish tradition as to the absolute of philosophy and religion, "the alliance of the universal reason and the Divine Word."† It was he first who told us that "all truly dogmatic religions have issued from the Kabalah and return therein," that it has "the keys of the past, the present and the future."‡ In order to receive initiation into this great tradition he has counselled us, among other books, to have recourse to the "Hebrew writers in the collection of Pistorius."§

* *Artis Cabalisticæ, hoc est, reconditæ theologiæ et philosophiæ Scriptorum*, Tomus I., Basiliæ, 1587.

† *Dogme de la Haute Magic*, p. 95, 2me édition, Paris, 1861; "Transcendental Magic," p. 20; "Mysteries of Magic," second edition, p. 502. ‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.* Students who know the collection of Pistorius will be aware that a large part of it is Christian in authorship, and that, with the exception of the *Porta Lucis*, none of its treatises were written originally in Hebrew.

Following this direction, occultists have been taught to regard the famous Basle folio as a storehouse of genuine Jewish tradition. No impression could well be more erroneous. The works engarnered by Pistorius are neither the Jewish tradition nor commentary of authority thereon. It is well also to add that they are not the work of occultists or of persons who believed that "Catholic doctrine," or Lutheran, is "wholly derived" from the Kabalah. The writers are of three types: I. The Jew who had abjured Israel and directed his polemics against it. He is represented by Riccius, and his presence is fatal to Lévi's standpoint. Lévi recommended the Christian to become a Kabalist; Riccius thought it logical for the Kabalist to turn Christian.* II. The born Christian, who believed that the Jew was in the wrong for continuing in Judaism when the Kabalah taught the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divine Word and so forth. He also is in opposition to Lévi, who thought the Jew was in the right because the germ of all dogmas could be found in the traditions of Israel. This type is represented by Reuchlin,† who is learned, laborious and moderate, but also by Archangelus de Burgo Nuovo, who does frequent outrage to good sense, and seems to regard the Kabalah as a note-book to the New Testament. Reuchlin toyed with Lutheranism; Archangelus was

* After his conversion this German repaired to Padua, where he taught philosophy with great credit. He was invited back to Germany by the Emperor Maximilian. He belongs to the sixteenth century. His chief work treats of "Celestial Agriculture."

† A successful politician, diplomatist and man of the world. He also belongs to the sixteenth century. Some account of his life will be found in Basnage, t. v. pp. 2059 *et seq.*

a Catholic prelate. III. The purely natural mystic' who might be either Jew or Gentile, who has no Kabalistic connections worth reciting, and to whom Christianity does not seem even a name. He is represented by a writer who, as a fact, was born a Jew and seems to have been included by Pistorius because of his supposed conversion. I refer to Abravanel, whose "Philosophy of Love" is the subject of special mention by Éliphas Lévi as if it were a text-book of Kabalism. The "Dialogues" have been already dealt with, and here it is enough to say that their citation annihilates Lévi, because a student of the Kabalah might as well be referred to the "Art" of Ovid.

As regards Pistorius himself, the only point at which he makes contact with occultism is in the fact that his enterprise was undertaken, among other reasons, as a counterblast to the superstitions which the Kabalah had promoted in Christendom; a reference, we may presume, to the unfortunate budget of Agrippa and to the increasing grimoire literature. The Kabalistic studies of the editor began in his boyhood, but, so far from leading him to the boasted certitude of Lévi, he passed under their escort into Protestantism, and there was conferred upon him the august distinction of figuring as one of the deputies charged to present the Lutheran Confession of Faith to the Diet of Augsbourg. Having registered the fact itself as an illustration of the quality of his progress towards the Absolute, it is of course permissible to regard his sympathies with the attempted purgation of the Church in a spirit of clemency, perhaps even of

interest, or to confess, at least, that they were excusable on the ground of natural infirmity, seeing that he was for long subjected to persecution, fostered by a monkish inquisitor, because he had saved the books of Jewry from confiscation and burning throughout all Germany. In place of them, as opportunity afforded, they burnt *De Verbo Mirifico* and *De Arte Cabbalistica*, the contributions of Reuchlin to the right understanding of the secret tradition in Israel. The treatises remain all the same as witnesses of the standpoint of Christian students in the sixteenth century, and they help to warrant us in affirming that the chief Latin collection of Kabalistic writers, outside the *Kabbala Denudata*, contains no evidence in support of the occult hypothesis.

I must by no means leave this brief and confessedly inadequate notice of Reuchlin and his connections without a word of reference to his learned pupil, J. A. Widmanstadt, whose collection of Hebrew manuscripts, for the most part Kabalistic, is one of the great treasures of the Library of Munich. In the course of his life-long studies he gave special attention to the Zohar and to the theurgic side of the Jewish tradition.

VII. WILLIAM POSTEL

A philosophical, or rather an occult, legend has gathered in an unaccountable manner round the name of William Postel, and it is supplemented by a popular legend which has depicted this peaceable,

though perhaps somewhat puerile, monk in a vestment of thaumaturgic splendour. The philosophical legend we owe almost exclusively to Éliphas Lévi, and to a few later writers in France who have accepted his leading, and, with him, appear to be impressed honestly by Postel's well-intended but too often inane writings, among which is included the "Key of Things Kept Secret from the Foundation of the World." Postel was the son of a poor Normandy peasant; by his perseverance and self-denial he contrived to obtain an education, and became, on the authority of his chief admirer, the most learned man of his time. "Ever full of resignation and sweetness, he worked like a labouring man to ensure himself a crust of bread, and then returned to his studies. Poverty accompanied him always, and want at times compelled him to part with his books; but he acquired all the known languages and all the sciences of his day; he discovered rare and valuable manuscripts, among others the apocryphal Gospels and the Sepher Yetzirah; he initiated himself into the mysteries of the transcendent Kabalah, and his frank admiration for this absolute truth, for this supreme reason of all philosophies and all dogmas, tempted him to make it known to the world."*

So far Éliphas Lévi, whose undeniable influence upon all modern occultism has done more than anything to exaggerate the true philosophical position of the Jewish secret literature. The redeeming point of Postel is his exalted piety, by which he is connected with the mystics; the points

* *Histoire de la Magic.* Paris, 1860, liv. v. c. 4, p. 347.

to be regretted are his extravagance, his transcendental devotion to a religious and homely nun of mature years, and his belief that he underwent a process of physical regeneration by the infusion of her spiritual substance two years after her death.* To the Council of Trent, convened for the condemnation of the heresies connected with the Reformation, he addressed a benevolent but unpractical epistle, inviting it to bless the whole world, which seems outside the purpose of a deliberative assembly considering doctrinal questions. The result of these errors of enthusiasm was that Postel was shut up in some convent, a course dictated possibly as much by a feeling of consideration, and even of mercy, towards a learned man unfitted for contact with the world, as by the sentiment of intolerance. The seclusion, in any case, offered him the kind of advantages that he most needed, and he died in peace, having retracted, it is said, everything that was disapproved by his superiors.

As already seen, Postel connects with Kabalism by the great fact that he discovered and made known in the West that celebrated "Book of Formation" which contains some of its fundamental doctrine.† He also expounded its principles in a species of commentary to which I shall recur shortly.‡ His

* *Ibid.*, p. 250.

† "Postel was the first, to my knowledge, who translated into Latin the most ancient and, it must be confessed, the most obscure, monument of the Kabalah; I refer to the 'Book of Creation.'"—A. V. Franck, *La Kabbale*, p. 16. He adds: "So far as I am in a position to judge of this translation, which at least equals the text in obscurity, it appears faithful in a general way."

‡ Tradition also refers to him a Latin translation of the Zohar, or which Franck sought vainly in the public libraries of Paris. About

own doctrine has also some points of contact with Zoharistic tradition, though its summary by Éliphas Lévi is loose and inexact, like all literary and historical studies undertaken by this modern adept.

"The Trinity," his interpretation begins, "made man in Its image and after Its likeness. The human body is dual, and its triadic unity is constituted by the union of its two halves; it is *animus* and *anima;* it is mind and tenderness; so also it has two sexes —the masculine situated in the head, and the feminine in the heart. The fulfilment of redemption must therefore be dual in humanity; mind by its purity must rectify the errors of the heart, and the heart by its generosity must correct the egoistic barrenness of the head. Christianity has been heretofore comprehended only by the reasoning heads; it has not penetrated the hearts. The Word has indeed become man, but not till the Word has become woman will the world be saved. The maternal genius of religion must instruct men in the sublime grandeurs of the spirit of charity; then will reason be conciliated with faith, because it will understand, explain and govern the sacred excesses of devotion."*

The particular excess of Postel was that he recognised the incarnation of this maternal spirit in the person of the pious nun before mentioned.

1890, M. le Baron Vitta, of Lyons, is said to have purchased a MS. copy of a Latin version for 25,000 francs. Stanislas de Guaita, who mentions the circumstance, suggests that it may be the missing work of Postel. The French *Biographie Universelle* also ascribes a Latin version to Gui de Viterbi (s. v. Simeon b. Jochai), but does not indicate the whereabouts of the MS.

* *Hist. de la Magic*, liv. v. c. 4, p. 348.

Éliphas Lévi, who took no illuminations and no enthusiasms seriously, terms this spiritual ardour a lyrical puerility and a celestial hallucination, but there is no lyrical element in the Latin of Postellus, and, whatever the source of the hallucination, the lady died making no sign. Into the question of their subsequent reunion after a manner which recalls the *status embryonnatus* of Kabalistic Pneumatics, it would be imprudent here to enter. From the period of its occurrence the mystic always termed himself *Postellus Restitutus*; it is reported that his white hair became again black, the furrows disappeared from his brow, and his cheeks reassumed the hues of youth. Derisive biographers explain these marvels as derisive biographers might be expected, as if, Lévi well observes, "it being insufficient to represent him as a fool, it was necessary also to exhibit this man, of a nature so noble and so generous, in the light of a juggler and charlatan. There is one thing more astounding than the eloquent unreason of enthusiastic hearts, and that is the stupidity or bad faith of the frigid and sceptical minds which presume to judge them."*

A less unsympathetic historian than those confounded by Lévi reduces the doctrines of Postel under two heads, (1) "That the evangelical reign of Jesus Christ, established by the apostles, could not be sustained among Christians or propagated among infidels except by the lights of reason," which appears wholly plausible. (2) That a future King of France was destined to universal monarchy, and "that his

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* *Ibid.*

way must be prepared by the conquest of hearts and the convincing of minds, so that thenceforth the world shall hold but one belief and Jesus Christ shall reign there by one King, one law and one faith." Given universal monarchy as a possibility of the future, no Frenchman who is true to his traditions would conceivably assign it otherwise than to a King of France. However, one or both of these propositions led the biographer in question to infer that Postel was mad, and I cite this conclusion less on account of its essential merit than because it afforded Lévi the opportunity for a rejoinder of characteristic suggestiveness. "Mad, for having dreamed that religion should govern minds by the supreme reason of its doctrine, and that the monarchy, to be strong and lasting, must bind hearts by the conquests of the public prosperity of peace! Mad, for having believed in the advent of His Kingdom, to whom we daily cry, Thy Kingdom come! Mad, because he believed in reason and justice on earth! Alas, it is too true, poor Postel was mad!" He wrote little books at intervals which, I must frankly admit, are almost impossible to read, and in the case of the *Sepher Yetzirah* the printer has done his best to make the difficulties absolute; but as I have promised to speak of the commentary which accompanies the translation, I must at least say that it should be described rather as a collection of separate notes. Franck recommends no one to be guided by the views which it expresses, but they scarcely suggest leading, as they contain nothing of real importance, and some of them are almost childish. Among the points which may be noted are:—(*a*) Defence of the lawfulness and

necessity of the concealment of sacred things; (*b*) A pertinent and useful distinction between the terms creation, formation and making, as used in the Sepher Yetzirah; (*c*) The antiquity of the belief in ten spheres of the heavens; (*d*) The recourse to numerical mysticism to show why the *Sephiroth* are, in the words of the Sepher Yetzirah, "ten and not nine," the necessity of the number ten being shown by the progression from the unit to the quaternary, as follows:—1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10. And this, according to the mystical mode of calculating, brings us back to the unit, even as the external universe brings back the soul to God; (*e*) The attribution of the angelic choirs to the *Sephiroth*, thus showing that Postel's study of the Kabalah was not confined to the one document which he is known to have translated.

Of Postel's original writings, that entitled *De Rationibus Spiritus Sancti Libri Duo*, 1543, seems on the whole the most soberly reasoned; if, unfortunately, it has no connections with the Kabalah, it has at least some with good sense. It is useful also for occultists who are disposed to be influenced by Lévi, and hence to regard Postel as a very great adept of their mysteries. While it is quite true that he was excessively fanciful in his notions, which are extravagant in the philological as well as the conventional sense of that term, it is not at all true that he had set aside or exceeded the accepted doctrinal views of his period, nor does he appear to have possessed a specific light on given points of teaching which can be regarded as considerable for his period. He upheld, for example, the doctrine of eternal damnation, and justifies it in such a manner that no room is left for

the conjecture that he was not saying what he meant. Now this doctrine is not only intolerable to the occultist, but it makes void his scheme of the universe. For the rest, Postel was a good and single-minded Christian, who, in spite of his *Clavis Absconditorum a Constitutione Mundi*, and in spite of the panegyrics of Éliphas Lévi, had no knowledge whatsoever of the so-called Book of Thoth, and had never dreamed of looking for a doctrine of absolute religion beyond the seat of Peter.

VIII. THE ROSICRUCIANS

Among many adventurous statements advanced concerning this mystic fraternity, we are not infrequently told that it gave a great impetus to the study of the Kabalah. This assertion is so far from being founded in any accessible fact, that one is tempted to rejoin that it gave no impetus to anything except a short-lived curiosity and a certain pleasant fantasia in romantic fiction. The truth is that no statement should be hazarded on either side. In the first place, the historical evidence for the existence of the order, though it points to certain conclusions, is in a very unsatisfactory state,* and any knowledge of another kind which may be still in existence is in the custody of those who do not commit themselves. I have

* It is open therefore to numerous singular constructions, one of the most remarkable being that placed on it by Mrs. Henry Pott, in "Francis Bacon and his Secret Society," London, 1891. See c. xii. especially, and compare Clifford Harrison, "Notes on the Margins," London, 1897, p. 49: "There is every good reason to suppose that the founder of Inductive Philosophy was a Rosicrucian."

never met in literature with an express statement designed to indicate knowledge and to represent authority which could bear investigation. On the contrary, I have found invariably those which most assumed the complexion of assurance were only the private impressions of persons who had no title to conviction, nor even a sufficient warrant for an estimable opinion by their acquaintance with the exoteric facts. I have therefore to say that there is no known student of the Kabalah,* with possibly one exception, whom it is possible to fix at all as the member of a Rosicrucian Fraternity, laying any claim to antiquity, for it is well known that there have been, as there still are, several corporate societies, some semi-Masonic, as in England, some mystic, as in France, which have indicated their occult interests and purposes by adopting the name. There is no mischief in such adoption, provided the limits of the pretension are clear, and, with the exception of one or two which have appeared in America, this has, I think, been the case.

The few great names of the past which connect with Rosicrucianism and at the same time with Kabalism are not to be identified with the Fraternity, except by a common ground of sympathy.† Such were Fludd and Vaughan. More-

* The term is sometimes used loosely in connection with the Rosicrucians, as if meaning a tradition of any kind. Thus, Mr. W. F. C. Wigston speaks of "German philosophers and writers . . . who each and all held up Freemasonry as a branch of their own Rosicrucian Kabalah."—The Columbus of Literature, p. 203, Chicago, 1892. The Rosicrucian Kabalah, understood in this sense, was the Divine Magia.

† In an interesting paper read before the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and published in its transactions, Dr. Wynn Westcott, Supreme

over, the few memorials which we possess of it, especially those belonging to the eighteenth century, indicate that it was mainly engrossed by alchemical processes. The possible exception I have mentioned, namely, the one case in which a well-known student of the Kabalah, or rather a well-known expositor of Kabalistic subjects, may have received initiation into a Rosicrucian order going back through the last century, is Éliphas Lévi. It seems almost certain that he received initiation of some kind, and it has been recently stated by a French occultist who has access to some important sources of information that the scattered groups of Rosicrucian societies were reorganised by Éliphas Lévi, presumably about the year 1850. But this solitary instance does not really save the situation, more especially as I shall establish later on that Éliphas Lévi, though he has obtained a great reputation among occultists as a Kabalist, was not entitled to it by any profound or even tolerable acquaintance with the literature which contains the Kabalah.

IX. ROBERT FLUDD

The name of Robert Fludd stands high among the occult philosophers of England; he was a man of wide learning, of great intellectual ambition, of exalted spiritual faith. He was also an experimental scientist of no mean order. If we add to this that he

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Magus of the English Rosicrucian Society, describes Rosicrucianism as a new presentation of Gnostic, Kabalistic, Hermetic and Neo-Platonic doctrines.

is an accessible figure, not too remote in time, and that a short pilgrimage in Kent will lead us to the lovely country house in which he lived and died,* it will not be difficult to understand the fascination which he has exercised on many who, for the rest, have never dared to stir the dust from his folios. I have already had occasion in more than one work to account for this Kentish transcendentalist, and as there is only a single mystery in his life, to which no one is likely to bring light, I shall not need here to retrace ground that has been travelled. The one mystery is whether he did ultimately enter the Fraternity of the Rose-Cross. It is clear from the tracts which he wrote in defence of this order that he had not then been initiated into its mysteries.† Perhaps so much energy and devotion earned that reward in the end, as there is ground for supposing was the case with his friend Michael Maier, who espoused the same cause in Germany. But we do not know, and the modern occult writers who pretend that he was a Rosicrucian are either misled or are romancing.

His connection with Kabalism is, however, the only point with which we are here concerned, and as to this there is no doubt of his proficiency, for he occupied himself a great deal with vast cosmological hypotheses, which were drawn to some extent from this source. He was forty years of age when the

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* See "Haunts of the English Mystics," No. 1, in "The Unknown World," Vol. i. p. 130, *et seq.*

† Perhaps the *Valete Nostrique Memores estote* of the *Epilogus Autori ad Fratres de Rosea Cruce* may create a different impression in the minds of some readers. See *Apologia Compendiaria*, Leyden, 1616.

Rosicrucian controversy first gave opportunity to his pen, and the "Compendious Apology," which he then published in reply to Libavius, a German hostile critic, exhibits his Kabalistic studies. I must add also that it gives evidence of his besetting intellectual weakness, an inordinate passion for the marvellous, which leads him to dwell unduly on the thaumaturgic side of the Jewish secret knowledge. Having given the usual legend of the tradition, its reception by Moses from God, and its oral perpetuation till the time of Esdras, he divides the Kabalah into two parts, that of Cosmology, dealing with the forces operating in created things, both sublunary and celestial, and expounding on philosophical grounds the arcana of the written law. This division, he observes, does not differ materially from the Natural Magic in which Solomon is recorded to have excelled, and he adds that the magical powers of natural things, concealed in their centre, can be brought forth by this species of Kabalah. The second division is entitled *Mercavah*, which contemplates things Divine, angelical powers, sacred names and *signacula*. It is sub-divided into *Notaricon* and *Theomantica*. *Notaricon* treats of the angelical virtues and names, of demoniacal natures and of human souls; *Theomantica* investigates the mysteries of the Divine Majesty, of sacred names and pentacles. Those who are proficient therein are invested with wonderful powers, can foretell future things, command entire Nature, compel angels and demons, and perform miracles. By this art Moses worked his various signs and wonders, Joshua caused the sun to stand still, Elijah brought fire from heaven

and raised the dead to life. But it is a gift of God, through His Holy Spirit, which is granted only to the elect.

It will be seen that this classification presents not the exalted if bizarre traditions of the Zohar, but the debased and superstitious apparatus of the *Sepher Raziel* and of later Kabalism, ignored if not unknown by writers like Rosenroth. In the vast folios which followed the "Compendious Apology" the Kabalistic connections of Fludd's philosophy are implicit and suggestive rather than patent and elaborated, and I think are positive proof that he had no acquaintance with the Zohar. In his Cosmology of the Macrocosmos,* which deals with its metaphysical and physical origin, he has recourse chiefly to the Platonic and Hermetic writings, and although many other authorities are cited, nothing is borrowed from the Kabalists, except indeed the Tetragrammaton, which figures within a triangle in one of the illustrations. The complementary treatise on the Microcosm recalls Kabalism in its doctrine of angels and demons. Slight correspondences may be traced in his other writings, but they indicate no real knowledge. In discussing the properties of numbers† (*i.e.*, the *Sephiroth*) and the Divine Names attributed to them, the diagram which accompanies the remarks shows that he misconstrued totally the Kabalistic scheme of emanation. So also some later observa-

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* *Utriusque Cosmi Majoris scilicet et Minoris Metaphysica, Physica atque Technica Historia*, 2 vols., Frankfort, 1617 and 1629.

† *Philosophia Sacra et vere Christiana, seu Meteorologica Cosmica*, 1626.

tions concerning *Metatron* and the positive and negative sides of the Sephirotic Tree* suggest no special knowledge. When replying to Father Mersenne, Fludd defends what he terms his Kabalah, but the term is used loosely and has certainly very little to do with the Kabalah of Jewry.† It may be observed, in conclusion, that the Kentish mystic was pre-eminently a Christian philosopher, and, like other subjects, that of the esoteric tradition in Israel was approached by him from the Christian standpoint.

X. HENRY MORE

The Cambridge Platonic philosopher is regarded by Basnage as a great Kabalist and his contributions to the *Kabbala Denudata* as in some sense discovering the sentiment and spirit of Jewish theosophy.‡ Franck, on the contrary, regrets their inclusion by Rosenroth on the ground that they are personal speculations which are not at all in harmony with Kabalistic teaching.§ While there can be no question that the just view belongs to the later critic, More is interesting because of his enthusiasm and earnestness. His point of view is also of importance to our inquiry, because his name belongs undeniably to the literature of English mysticism. Let us begin therefore by stating that he approached the subject as a

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* *Medicina Catholica, seu Mysticum Artis Medicandi Sacrarium*, 2 vols., Frankfort, 1629, 1631.

† *De Sophiæ cum Moria Certamine*, 1629.

‡ *Histoire des Juifs*, Livre iii. c. 10, tom. ii., p. 786.

§ Ad. Franck: La Kabbale, p. 22.

Christian who desired the conversion of the Jews, who regarded the Kabalah as a fitting instrument to effect it, and not in the case of the Jews only, but even of Pagans. He came, therefore, to its study and elucidation not as an occultist, not as a seeker for an absolute doctrine of religion, nor even for a higher sense of Christianity, but like Picus and Postel and Reuchlin, or like his correspondent and editor Rosenroth, as one imbued with an evangelical spirit.*

The introduction of More to the Kabalah was brought about, as it has been supposed, by means of Isaac de Loria's *Liber Drushim.* There is no reason to believe that he undertook an independent study of the Zohar, and hence as his contributions to the subject are all prior to the appearance of the *Kabbala Denudata*, it follows that his acquaintance was not exhaustive, nor was it perhaps very good of its kind. At the same time, his study of the *Liber Drushim* called forth a well-reasoned letter from his pen, addressed to Rosenroth,† in which the description of the *Sephiroth* under the form of spheres is condemned as a fiction of the later rabbis and their relation to the denary is affirmed. The critical position of the writer is, however, conclusively established by the attribution of the Pythagorean denary to a Kabalistic origin. This letter was accompanied by a number of questions and considerations in development of the debated point and other difficulties,

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* And desiring the *Ecclesiæ emolumentum*, as the same correspondence shows.

† *Epistola ad Compilatorem*, *Apparatus in Librum Sohar*, *Pars secunda*, p. 52, *et seq. Kab. Den.* t. i.

all which are duly printed by Rosenroth, to whom space seemed no object, together with his *Amica responsio*, which cites the authority of the Zohar in support of the circular form of the *Sephiroth*.* More replied with an *Ulterior Disquisitio* and an accompanying letter, in which he announces his belief that he has hit upon the true Kabalah of the Jewish *Bereshith*. This epistle is in English and quaintly worded. The conclusion entreats Rosenroth to intimate to his readers "how beneficiall this may prove for the preparing of the Jews to receive Christianity, the difficultyes and obstacles being cleared and removed by the right understanding of their own Cabbala."

There is no need to follow this friendly discussion, which, it must be confessed, becomes exceedingly tedious in the *Ulterior Disquisitio*. More, however, contributed another thesis in exposition of the Vision of Ezekiel, *i.e.*, the Kabalistic work of the Chariot, together with a Kabalistic catechism and a refutation of the doctrine that the material world is not the product of creation *ex nihilo*, in which last the Platonist seems to have scarcely understood the Kabalah.

Of all these the most interesting is the *Mercavæ Expositio*, which contains nineteen postulates, fifty-two questions arising out of the text of Ezekiel and the replies thereto. It affirms, (*a*) That all souls, angelical and human, with that of the Messiah included, were created at the beginning of the world;† (*b*) That the material world in its first estate was diaphanous, or

* In *Caput* ii., *Consideratio tertia*, *ibid.*, p. 91.

† For this there is Talmudic as well as Zoharic authority.

lucid; (*c*) That it had two chief elements, the Spirit of Nature and the vehicle of the Holy Spirit; (*d*) That it was divided into four parts, which are the four worlds of the Kabalists; (*e*) That all souls were at first enclosed in *Atziluth*, but were subject to revolution in the other worlds; (*f*) That souls which the Divine decree has sent into *Assiah*, but are free from willing sin, are sustained by Divine virtue, and will assuredly return to *Atziluth*; (*g*) That in *Atziluth* the souls and the angels are absorbed wholly in the Beatific Vision, but that in *Briah* they have a tendency to external things; (*h*) That the soul of the Messiah in *Atziluth* made such progress in the Divine Love that it became united with the Eternal Word in a Hyper-Atzilutic or Hypostatic manner, and was thus constituted Chief of all souls and King of the four worlds, which took place at the beginning of the Briatic world, the special heritage of the Messiah. At this point the Christian Kabalist introduces the compact of the cross and dissolves all connection with the scheme of Jewish theosophy.

The *Mercavæ Expositio* contains numerous references to another work of More, entitled *Conjectura Cabbalistica*,* which preceded his correspondence with Rosenroth. It is a presentation of the literal, philosophical and mystical, or divinely moral sense of the three initial chapters of Genesis. It was received, so the author assures us, neither from

* "A Conjectural Essay of interpreting the Mind of Moses according to a threefold Cabbala, viz., Literal, Philosophical, Mystical, or Divinely Moral," London, 1662. The attempt was dedicated to Cudworth.

men nor angels, and as a fact the "conjecture" illustrates the criticism of Franck, for it has very little in common with any ancient or modern Kabalah ever received in Jewry. The literal section is a bald paraphrase of the scriptural account of the creation and fall of man. The "Philosophic Cabala" is established on the denary after the following fantastic manner:—

The Archetypal World = Monad, 1.
The First Matter = Duad, 2.
The Habitable Order = Triad, 3.
The Making of the Starry Heavens = Tetrad, 4.
The Making of Fish and Fowls, or Union of the Passive and Active Principle = Pentad, 5.
The Making of Beasts and Cattle, but chiefly of Man = Hexad, 6.

What becomes of the rest of the denary does not appear. In his first estate Adam was wholly ethereal, and his soul was the ground which was blessed by God, whereby it brought forth every pleasant tree and every goodly growth of the heavenly Father's own planting. The Tree of Life in the garden of man's soul was the essential will of God, while the Tree of Knowledge was the will of man himself. We have here the keynote of the allegory, which is merely pleasing and altogether unsubstantial. It may, however, be noted that the sleep which fell upon Adam was a lassitude of Divine contemplation. The "Moral Cabala" recognises two principles in man, namely, spirit and flesh. It gives apparently a synopsis of the work of regeneration, depicting, firstly, the spiritual chaos, when man is under the

dominion of the flesh; next, the dawning of the heavenly principle, corresponding to the *Fiat Lux*, but the analogy in most instances seems at once weak and laboured. For example, the fruit-bearing trees are good works, the manifestation of the sun is the love of God and our neighbour, and so forth. On the whole, it may be concluded that More's connection with the Kabalah is an interesting episode in the life of an amiable scholar, but it was without real increment to either.

XI. THOMAS VAUGHAN

With the questionings, difficulties and tentative expositions of Henry More it will be useful to contrast what is said on the subject of Kabalism by his contemporary Eugenius Philalethes, otherwise Thomas Vaughan. It will not be forgotten by students of the byways of literature in the seventeenth century that the two writers came into collision in pamphlets. When Vaughan began his philosophical labours by the publication of two tracts on the nature of man and on the universal Spirit of Nature, More, who was after all more Platonist than mystic, and had scant tolerance for mystic terminology, published some observations concerning them, to which the Welsh mystic replied in satires with the polemical virulence of his period. The dispute itself deserves nothing less than oblivion, but Thomas Vaughan has been regarded, and not, I think, with exaggeration, as the greatest mystic, theosopher and alchemist, with one exception in

the last respect,* produced by his century in England; and as he died nearly twenty-five years before the appearance of the *Kabbala Denudata*, the source and extent of his Kabalistic knowledge will help us to fix the state of scholarship in England on the subject before the formation of the group of Cambridge Platonists. Vaughan, in his early works, confesses himself a disciple of Agrippa, and the "Three Books of Occult Philosophy"† represent the general measure of his knowledge concerning the esoteric tradition of the Jews, while the opinion which he had formed thereon must be referred to the "Retractation" of his master, that admirable work on the "Vanity of the Sciences and the excellence of the Word of God." I must not say that he shows no independent reading; he quotes on one occasion a passage in the *Porta Lucis*‡ which is not to be found in Agrippa, and there are one or two other instances,§ but for the most part he is content to represent his model and his first inspirer. If my readers accept this judgment, they must interpret his own statement that he spent some

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* The exception is Eirenæus Philalethes, that truly "Unknown Philosopher," with whom Eugenius has been so often identified, and from whom of late years so often and carefully distinguished by myself and other writers, that it is unnecessary in this connection to say anything concerning him, except that his numerous works have no points of contact, at least explicitly, with Kabalism.

† Translated into English one year after the appearance of Vaughan's first treatises.

‡ Concerning the restraint of the superior influences occasioned by the sin of Adam.

§ Of which some are sufficiently erroneous, as, for example, in *Magia Adamica*, when he states that Malkuth is the invisible, archetypal moon. I speak under correction, but I know of no authority for the Lunar attribution of the tenth Sephira.

years in the search and contemplation of the Kabalah reflectively and not bibliographically, which further will assist them to see how the peculiar mysticism of Thomas Vaughan can offer distinct points of contact with the Zohar without that text-book of Kabalism, then wholly untranslated, having been read by the mystic.

In his discourse on the antiquity of magic we find him alive, like the students who had preceded him, to the distinction between the true and the false Kabalah. The latter, described after the picturesque manner of his period, as the invention of dispersed and wandering rabbis "whose brains had more of distraction than their fortunes," consists altogether "in alphabetical knacks, ends always in the letter where it begins and the vanities of it are grown voluminous." But in respect of the "more ancient and physical traditions of the Kabalah," Thomas Vaughan tells us that he embraces them for so many sacred truths.* He recognises also a metaphysical tradition in which the greatest mystery is the symbolism of Jacob's Ladder. "Here we find two extremes—Jacob is one, at the foot of the ladder, and God is the other, who stands above it, *emittens formas et influxus in Jacob, sive subjectum hominem.* The rounds or steps in the ladder signify the middle nature, by which Jacob is united to God."† With this symbolism he contrasts the "false grammatical Kabala" which "consists only in rotations of the alphabet and a metathesis of letters in the text, by

* "Magical Writings of Thomas Vaughan," edited by A. E. Waite, London, 1888, pp. 109, 110.

† *Ibid.*, p. 111.

which means the scripture hath suffered many racks and excoriations." The true Kabalah only uses the letters for artifice, that is, with a view to concealment.* Of the physical side of the genuine tradition he gives an unfinished presentation in alchemical language, which is, however, transfigured, for Thomas Vaughan regarded alchemy as a spiritual and physical science, having its operations in the infinite as well as in the mineral kingdom. For him the *Sephiroth* are ten secret principles, of which the first is a spirit *in retrecesso suo fontano*, while the second is the Voice of that Spirit, the third is another Spirit which proceeds from the Spirit and the Voice, and the fourth is "a certain water" proceeding from the third Spirit, and emanating Fire and Air.† It will be seen that the reflections of the Welsh mystic on the apparatus of Kabalism are not elucidating, and while recording the Sephirotic attributions of the Sepher Yetzirah are not fully in consonance therewith.

We shall be inclined, on the whole, to confess that Vaughan's connection with the Kabalistic writers is like his communications with the brethren of the Rosicrucian Order. He knew nothing of the latter "as to their persons," so he tells us in his preface to a certain rare translation of the *Fama* and *Confessio* of the Fraternity, and it was merely by report and consideration on things heard at second hand that he was aware of the mysticism in Jewry. As time went on and he outgrew the simple leading-strings of Cornelius Agrippa, so he strayed further

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* *Ibid.* † *Ibid.*, 110.

from Kabalistic interests, and though he never lost the fascination betrayed in his earlier works, he passed far away over the fields of spiritual alchemy, where no *Æsh Mezareph* could help him. When he published "Euphrates, or the Waters of the East," in 1655, he shows no longer any trace of the tradition in Israel. In *Lumen de Lumine*, which appeared some four years earlier, there are, however, a few references to the subject, and one indeed constitutes an adumbration of the Christian Kabalah as impressed on the curious mind of the transcendental royalist. The pretext by which it is introduced is a speculation concerning the "Fire-Soul," or informing spirit of the earth, which is described as an influence from the Almighty derived through the mediation of the *terra viventium*. The mediating being thus darkly described, is said to be the Second Person, and that which "the Kabalists style the Supernatural East." To explain this symbolism Vaughan adds: "As the Natural Light of the sun is first manifested to us in the East, so the Supernatural Light was first manifested in the second person, for he is *Principium alterationis*, the Beginning of the ways of God, or the first manifestation of his Father's Light in the Supernatural generation. From this *Terra Viventium* or Land of the Living comes all Life or Spirit."* The Kabalistic warrant of this notion is the axiom: *Omnis anima bona anima nova filia Orientis.*† The East in question is *Chokmah*, which is contrary to Kabalistic statements, and *Chokmah* is the Son of God. This also is

* *Lumen De Lemine*, London, 1651, pp. 80-82.

† Vaughan also cites the obscure eighth conclusion of Mirandola, and says that the third light is *Binah*, the Holy Ghost.—*Ibid.*, p. 83.

opposed to the Sephirotic attributions with which we are familiar, but there is some trace in early Kabalistic writers of an attribution of the Three Supernals to Father, Son, Bride, with which the later rabbins are said to have tampered so as to elude its Christian inferences. In either case Vaughan is interesting as a strange light of Christian mysticism and not as an expositor of the Kabalah.

XII. KNORR VON ROSENROTH.

From the occult standpoint it is, perhaps, more interesting to ascertain the motives which led the editor of the *Kabbala Denudata* to the consideration of Jewish theosophy than those of any other student of the subject. To Christian Knorr von Rosenroth the occultist owes nearly all his knowledge of the Zohar, for the bibliographical writers who preceded him give only meagre notices of the Kabalistic *magnum opus*, and it is not even mentioned by Mirandola, Agrippa, or Postel. Now Rosenroth occupies a somewhat curious position which occultists for the most part have failed to remark, because they know very little about their chief illuminator in the mysticism of Israel. I propose to show that he was actuated by the same missionary enthusiasm which characterised all the Christian neophytes who preceded him,* but I shall begin by enumerating one

* It was indeed, both before and after, the conventional *raison d'être* of almost every work on the subject. See, for example, Beyers' *Cabbalismus Judaico-Christianus Detectus Breviterque Delineatus.* Wittemberg, 1707.

or two points which indicate that he had occult connections. Born in the year 1636, a German noble bearing the title of baron, he appears on the scene of history shortly after public curiosity had died out on the subject of the Rosicrucian mystery. Jòachim Junge, Johann Valentin Andreæ and Ægidius Guthmann, three persons to whom rival theories have attributed the invention of that mystery,* were still alive; Robert Fludd, the English apologist of the Fraternity, was on the threshold of death, but had not yet passed away; Thomas Vaughan was a schoolboy; Eirenæus Philalethes had just written his *Introitus Apertus* to show the adepts of alchemy that he was their brother and their peer;† Sendivogius had exhausted his projecting powder and was living in seclusion, an aged man, on the frontiers of Silesia;‡ John Baptist van Helmont, who long before had testified that he had seen and touched the philosopher's stone—of a colour like saffron in powder, but heavy and shining like pounded glass§—had christened his son Mercurius; and Mercurius van Helmont, the contemporary and friend of Rosenroth, divided his laborious existence between a tireless search after the secret of transmuting metals and the study of the Kabalah, Rosenroth, Kabalist like Helmont, was, like Helmont, probably a chemist, and on the crowded title-page

* "Real History of the Rosicrucians," by A. E. Waite, c. viii., especially pp. 220—222.

† See *Præfatio Authoris*, which appears in all editions of the *Introitus apertus ad Occlusum Regis Palatium*.

‡ A. E. Waite: "Lives of Alchemysticall Philosophers," London, 1888, p. 179.

§ In his treatise *De Vita Eterna*.

of his great work, we find it described as *Scriptum omnibus philologis, philosophis, Theologis omnium religionum, atque philochymicis quam utilissimum.* The justification is that the *Loci communes Cabbalistici* include a *Compendium Libri Cabbalistico-Chymici, Æsch Mezareph dicti, de Lapide Philosophico.* I have had occasion in the sixth book to give some account of this curious treatise.

We have reason therefore to suppose that Rosenroth was infected with the alchemical zeal of his friend, the second generation of an alchemical family. We may suspect, however, that he was more mystic than Hermetist; we are told that he loved meditating on the Holy Scriptures and that he knew them by heart. Like his countryman Khunrath, he was a Lutheran, and Éliphas Lévi would have said of him, as of the author of the *Amphitheatrum*, "herein he was a German of his period rather than a mystic citizen of the eternal kingdom."* In matters of religion his peculiar bent is determined by the fact that he wrote an "Explanation of the Apocalypse," about which I will forbear from wearying my readers. More to our purpose is a dialogue on evangelical history, in which a Kabalistic catechumen proposes questions on the four Gospels and a Christian replies. With this also we may connect a treatise entitled *Messias Purus*, in which the life of Jesus Christ, from his conception to his baptism, is explained according to the doctrines of the Kabalah. In a word, the motto of his correspondent Henry More was that also of Rosenroth: "May the glory of our

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* *Histoire de la Magie*, Introduction, p. 33. Paris, 1860.

God and his Christ be the end of all our writings!" In conformity with this he begins his enumeration of the reasons which justify the appearance of a Latin version of the Zohar* by affirming that at a period when the divisions of Christendom are traceable to diversity of philosophical opinions and metaphysical definitions it must be important to investigate a philosophical system which flourished during the age of Christ and his apostles, and from which fountain the sacred oracles have themselves drawn largely. In the preface to the translation of the Zohar he expressly founds his opinion that Kabalistic dogmas may be of Divine revelation on the ground of their sanctity and sublimity, as well as their great use in explaining the books of the Old and New Testaments. He also notes that, unlike the later Jewish writings, the Zohar does not contain a single utterance against Christ. Finally, after enumerating twenty-four reasons why the Jews should enjoy toleration at Christian hands, he mentions the chief things which will assist their conversion. They include of course the ordinary common places of piety and the ordinary devices of proselytism, but there is stress laid upon the promotion of the study of Hebrew and Chaldaic, and on the translation of the New Testament into those languages.† The disquisition is conventional enough,

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* *Apparatus in Librum Sohar, Pars Secunda*, p. 3 *et seq.*, Kab. Den., Tom. i.

† With this description the reader may compare a little treatise which belongs to the *Kabbala Denudata*, though unfortunately it is met with very rarely in extant copies, *i.e.*, *Adumbratio Kabbalæ Christianæ, id est Syncatabasis Hebraizans, sive Explicitio ad dogmata Novi Foederis, pro formanda hypothesis, ad conversionem Judæorum*

but it is important, because it indicates, firstly, the project which was ever near to the heart of Rosenroth, and, secondly, how little he dreamed either of an esoteric Christianity or of a withdrawn Wisdom-Religion, how little he looked to find in Kabalistic doctrine a deeper sense of Christian doctrines, or indeed anything but their consecration in the eyes of Jewry, by demonstrating that they were to be found in the Zohar. He did not wish the Christian to become a Kabalist, but he longed very much for the Kabalistic Jew to become a Lutheran. He is said to have endured great sacrifices, outside the vast labour involved, over the publication of the *Kabbala Denudata*, but there is no need to add that it entirely missed its aim; it has enabled a few students to get a confused notion of the Zohar, and it has in this way done immense service to occultists: it is outside probability that it ever brought a single Jew into the Church of Christ, and as Rosenroth failed in his public aim, so at the close of his life he had the misfortune to see his daughter depart from the reformed religion and embrace, under the influence of her husband, the faith of the Catholic Church. Taken altogether the story of Christian Rosenroth has a touch of heroism and tragedy, and with all its faults his gift to scholarship is one of permanent value, and it is, I think, a useful task to indicate the circumstances under which he gave it and the motives by which he was prompted.*

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proficientis. It is an addendum to the second volume, separately paged, and is in the form of a dialogue between a Kabalist and a Christian philosopher. It has been translated quite recently into French.

* At a later date the same motives inspired two small treatises which are interesting in their way, and are worth mentioning for the benefit of students who may wish to pursue the subject. (1) *Phosphorus*

I should add that over the antiquity of Kabalistic doctrine and literature he was by no means credulous for his period, seeming indeed to admit that there may have been an admixture of late material with the ancient fragments of the Zohar. He evidently regarded the Book of Concealment as the oldest and most important of its treatises, and this is the only one which he was inclined to ascribe to the direct

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Orthodoxæ Fidei Veterum Cabbalistarum, seu Testimonia de Sacro-Sancta Trinitate et Messia Deo et Homine, ex pervetusto Libro Sohar deprompta, qua nunc primum Latiné reddita, suisque et R. Johannis Kemperi Judæo-Christiani animadversionibus concinné explicata, Judæis æque ac Christianis speciminis loco edidit Andreas Norrelius Suecus, qui item commentarios Kemperianos suis illustravit notis. Amstelodami, 1720. The prolegomena are concerned with the praise of R. Simeon ben Jochai, showing the authority of the Zohar, and its superiority to the Talmud on the ground that its author flourished before Judah the Prince. The Talmud is quoted (p. 10), to prove that R. Simeon studied the Kabalah in the cave, and that he and his son wrote the Zohar therein, or that part of it which is in the Jerusalem dialect. The Hebrew portions are referred to other authorships (p. 16). The translated matter is chiefly from the "Faithful Shepherd," and follows the Mantua edition of the Zohar. (2) *Lux in Tenebris, quam Zohar Antiquum Judæorum Monumentum, genti suæ occoccatæ præbet, in denissimis rerum divinarum tenebris, ad mysterium SS. Trinitatis eo facilius appræhendendum, et Majestatem Christi Divinam non pertinaciter oppugnandam, et Honorem Spiritus Sancti Recentiorum more non fœdandum . . . Studio M. Nicolai Lütkens* (without place or date, but about the same period as the treatise of Norrelius). In the first two chapters there is an attempt to prove that the mystery of the Trinity is concealed in Leviticus xvi. 18, and Deut. vi. 5. The third chapter investigates Gen. xix., 24—*De Domino qui a Domino pluit*, in the same interest. The fourth chapter treats of the Lord God of Hosts, Is. vi. 3; and the fifth of the Lord God, ib. xlviii., 16. The sixth chapter seeks to prove that the three supernal *Sephiroth* were names and characters under which the pre-Christian Jews distinguished the Three Persons of the One Divine essence. (3) Compare with these *Diatribe Philologica de R. Simeone Filio Jochai auctore Libri Sohar, in qua viri celeberrimi Christiani Schoettgenii Dissertatio docens R. Simeonum Filium Jochai Religionum fuisse Christianum modiste examinatur et contrarium potius evincitur, auctore Justo Martino Glæsenero, Hildesiæ*, 1736. A pamphlet of twenty-two pages.

authorship of R. Simeon ben Jochai. Of the rest, some may have been the work of R. Abba and some of the school which succeeded these masters.

XIII. RALPH CUDWORTH

The honoured name of Ralph Cudworth, perhaps the greatest theosophist of his age, is still a precious memory in English theological literature of the higher type, though, except among rare students, the "True Intellectual System of the Universe" is now unknown. It is a mine of Platonism, learning and sapience, and more than this, it is a deeply reasoned treatise of its period in opposition to the atheism of that period; its points are established victoriously, and turning over the leaves of the colossal folio one almost regrets that the difficulties of the seventeenth century disturb us no longer and that their solution no longer helps us. It must be confessed that Cudworth connects somewhat superficially with Kabalism, and the connection, such as it is, need not detain us long. The chief thesis of the "Intellectual System" is that behind all the tapestries and embroideries of pagan mythology there is the doctrine of monotheism, and that civilised man in reality has never worshipped but one God, whose threefold nature was a "Divine Cabbala" or revelation, successively depraved and adulterated till it almost disappears for Cudworth among the "particular unities" of Proclus and the later Platonists.* Among

* For the purposes of this notice I have used the original edition of the "True Intellectual System of the Universe," London, 1668.

the cloud of witnesses who are convened in support of this view are included the later Rabbinical writers, the *Halacoth* of Maimonides, the *Gnolath Tamid* of Moses Albelda, the *Ikkarim* of Joseph Albo, the commentaries of R. David Kimchi, the book *Nitzachon* and the glosses of Rabbi Solomon, references and citings which at least serve to show that this Christian divine had attempted some curious exploration in the unknown world of Hebrew literature. His conclusion was "that the Hebrew Doctors and Rabbins have been generally of this persuasion, that the Pagan Nations anciently, at least the intelligent amongst them, acknowledged One Supreme God of the whole world, and that all their other Gods were but Creatures and Inferior Ministers, which were worshipped by them upon these two accounts, either as thinking that the honour done to them redounded to the Supreme, or else that they might be their Mediators and Intercessors, Orators and Negotiators with Him, which inferior Gods of the Pagans were supposed by these Hebrews to be chiefly of two kinds, Angels and Stars or Spheres, the latter of which the Jews as well as Pagans concluded to be animated and intellectual." The question at the present day is chiefly archaic or fantastic, but it has its interest, for it serves to illustrate the strange contrast which exists between the Hebrew mind at the period of Maimonides and at that far distant epoch when the song of the Psalmist described the idols of the Gentiles as "silver and gold, the work of the hands of men."

In addition to the "True Intellectual System of the Universe" Cudworth published some sermons and

a discourse on the "True Notion of the Lord's Supper,"* afterwards translated into Latin by Mosheim, with a confutation representing the consubstantial doctrine of Lutheran theology,† and yet again enlarged upon by Edward Pelling in his "Discourse on the Sacrament." The drift of the thesis is represented sufficiently by the summary of the first chapter: "That it was a custom of the Jews and Heathens to feast upon things sacrificed, and that the custom of the Christians in partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ once sacrificed upon the Cross, in the Lord's Supper, is analogous thereto." It is outside my province to pronounce upon this view, but as a Christian Mystic who holds that sacramentalism is the law of Nature and the law of Grace, it may just be remarked in passing that no theory which reduces the Eucharist to a memorial or a religious banquet can be mystically acceptable. Cudworth was by no means a mystic, and the most that his subject afforded was an opportunity to give further evidence of his unusual erudition, and it may be added of no inconsiderable skill in its management. The thesis is mentioned here because it has recourse so frequently to the Rabbinical writers, to the glosses of Nachmanides, the writings of Isaac Abravanel, the *Mishna*, the commentary on that work by Rabbi Obadiah, the scholiasts on Judges, rare MSS. of Karaite Jews and so forth. The Zoharic writings are not quoted, but it was because they contained nothing bearing on the matter in hand; had occasion arisen, no doubt Ralph Cudworth

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* London, 1676. † This translation appeared in 1733.

would have given evidence of equal familiarity with that cycle of Kabalistic literature.

XIV. THOMAS BURNET

With the Cambridge school of Platonists the name of Thomas Burnet, some time master of the Charterhouse, connects by association rather than the similarity of intellectual pursuits. He entered Christ's College in 1654, when Ralph Cudworth was master, while Henry More was just in his fortieth year. It was probably to the last-named divine that he owed his slight knowledge of the subject which entitles him to mention in this place. The amicable discussion between More and the editor of the *Kabbala Denudata* appeared, as we have seen, in that work in the year 1677, but the "Interpretation of the mind of Moses" had preceded it by a number of years. When Burnet published his *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, he gave no evidence of his interest in Platonic or Kabalistic subjects; it has been described by Brewster as a beautiful geological romance. It is, of course, concerned largely with the Mosaic scheme of creation, and the more important work which followed it, dealing as it does with the ancient doctrine concerning the origin of things, is really its extension or sequel.* In this interesting volume, written elegantly in Latin of the period, *tout un grand chapitre*, as the bibliography of Dr. Papus describes it, is devoted to the Kabalah.

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* *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ sive Doctrina Antiqua de Rerum Originibus, Libri duo, editio secunda* (the best), London 1728.

As already hinted, it bears no evidence of original research, or indeed of any first-hand knowledge, but it is justifiable by our purpose to ascertain how a literature which fascinated, though it did not altogether convince, the Cambridge Platonists, impressed the liberal mind of a bold and not unlearned thinker belonging to the next generation. We find, as might be anticipated, that Burnet raises no question as to the wisdom of Moses, by which he understood what all other Kabalistic students have understood also, a knowledge of natural mysteries derived from the Egyptian education of the Jewish lawgiver. He differs, however, from the Kabalists by questioning seriously how much of this wisdom came down to the Israelites. Assuming some tradition of the kind, there could be no doubt that it was depraved in the lapse of time.* In particular, the Kabalah, as we now possess it, abounds in figments of imagination and in nugatory methods. From this statement of the general position, which may be regarded as the common ground of all criticism, he proceeds to a more detailed examination, with the specific results of which no sympathetic inquirer at the present day can reasonably quarrel. The debased character of the Jewish tradition is indeed, as already seen, admitted by those who most earnestly maintain its mystical and theosophical importance.

If we attempt, says Burnet, to separate anything which may remain uncorrupted in the Kabalah, to divide the genuine from the spurious, we must first of

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* *Fœdissime lieet à Neotericis corrupta et adulterata.*

all purge away that numerical, literal, grammatical part which seeks to extract arcane meanings from the alphabet, the Divine Names and the word-book of the Scriptures. The magical and superstitious element must also be purged away. We must further bear in mind, and this, I think, is the most sensible and necessary of all the secondary points raised in the criticism, that the enunciation of common notions in uncommon language cannot be accepted as the true Kabalah. The warning which it implies is not less needed at the present moment than in the days of Thomas Burnet. The delight in unintelligible language because it is unintelligible is as characteristic of some occult writers at the present day, even as of gloom-wrapped Hades according to the Ritual of the Dead, and it is a tendency which has an inscrutable foundation in the entire subject. It would seem indeed that the sphinx who propounds the arcana in terms as monstrous as herself needs only a commonplace to overwhelm her, as in the case of Œdipus.

In accordance with his intention Burnet proceeds to divide the Kabalah into the Nominal and Real. The first is that which he has specified as worthless—*Gematria*, *Temurah*, *Notaricon*, *Vocabula*. Its devices, he says, are the diversions of our children, and in truth it would seem hard to decide whether intellectual superiority and philosophical seriousness should be ascribed to rabbinical anagrams or to the apparatus of "Tit: Tat: To." In any case, "they do not belong to sane literature, much less to wisdom."

So far we can accept very readily the judgment

of Burnet, but destructive criticism is always comparatively easy, and there was no novelty in the line taken even so far back as the second half of the seventeenth century. When he comes, however, to consider what he has agreed to regard as the real Kabalah, his insufficiency is quite evident, and his slender knowledge, drawn only from the *Kabbala Denudata*, when it does not arrest his judgment, leads him into manifest error. Thus, he tells us that the real Kabalah contains two things which are important for our consideration, the doctrine of the *Sephiroth* and that of the Four Worlds, but he complains that the conception which underlies the former does not appear clearly. With the help of the Lexicon of Rosenroth he decides finally that they are emanations from God.* He sets forth what he can glean from that source concerning *Kether* and *Chokmah*, and then surrenders the inquiry in the hope of finding more intelligible statements concerning the Four Worlds.† He concludes, however, that the condemnation of all the pseudo-mystics of Kabalism, Theosophy and Hermetics is that of the unbelievers who continued to love the darkness rather than the light when the light was come already into the world.‡ He assumes, as might be expected, that the "Book of Occultation" is the most important part of the Zohar, and glancing at the

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* Elsewhere, he attempts to consider their significance in connection with the axiom—*ex nihilo nihil fit.*

† He mentions in addition to the *Sephiroth* and the Four Worlds, the thirty-two Paths of Wisdom, from the Sepher Yetzirah and its commentary, and the Fifty Gates of Providence "through which Moses attained his marvellous science, and concealed the same in the Pentateuch," *i.e.*, according to the Kabalists.

‡ John, iii. 19-21.

commentaries of Isaac de Loria and of Hirtz on the tract in question and its developments, confesses his inability to understand either from text or interpreters what is meant by the symbolism of the Vast and the Lesser Countenance. "We are all of us liable some time or other to be distracted by reasoning, but it is a common complaint of the mind among Orientals to be distracted by allegories."

To sum the general position: We know from Maimonides that the Hebrews once possessed many mysteries concerning things divine, but that they have perished.* It is at the same time scarcely possible that all foundation should be wanting to the Kabalah, yet if its doctrines were openly and clearly set forth, it is hard to say whether they would move us to laughter or astonishment.

Thomas Burnet has higher claims to consideration than his ability as a critic of Kabalism. He had perhaps few qualifications from which he might be expected to understand or sympathise with the aspirations embraced by theosophy. He was one of the rare precursors of liberal theology, and he is said to have closed the path of his promotion by venturing to express the opinion that the story of the Garden of Eden should not be understood literally. In a later treatise on the "Faith and Duties of Christians,"† he is also stated to have excluded so much that seemed to him doubtful or unimportant in accepted doctrine that it is questionable whether even Christianity remained. A posthumous work on eschatology and the resur-

* "The Guide of the Perplexed." Part i., c. 71.

† *De Fide et officiis Christianorum.*

rection* maintained that the punishment of the wicked would terminate ultimately in their salvation. I should add that some pretended English versions of the Archæological Philosophy do not represent the original, and in particular omit altogether the Kabalistic section.

XV. SAINT-MARTIN

The life and doctrine of Louis Claude de Saint-Martin, the Unknown Philosopher, who at the end of the eighteenth century and amidst the torch lights of the Revolution diffused in France the higher spirit of mysticism, having been the subject of a special study,† I shall refer to him here only very briefly, for his Kabalistic connections are discussed at some length therein. He was the recipient of an esoteric tradition through Martines de Pasqually, the genesis of which remains undetermined, though it was termed Rosicrucian by his initiator, and is now termed Swedenborgian by his present interpreters in France. It is a tradition which differs very considerably from other presentations of occult doctrine, and in particular it has little in common with what we know or may infer concerning Rosicrucian teaching. In the writings of Pasqually, with which we are acquainted only through some excerpts published by one of Saint-Martin's biographers‡ and in the cate-

* *De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium.*

† See A. E. Waite:—"The Life of Louis Claude de Saint-Martin, the Unknown Philosopher, and the Substance of his Transcendental Doctrine," London, Philip Wellby, 1901.

‡ It is right to say that Kenneth Mackenzie, in his "Cyclopœdia of Freemasonry," attributes to him three published works which, so far

chisms of the Masonic Rite propagated by him, which are also most probably his work, the tradition is presented in a very crude manner. It was much developed by Saint-Martin, who indeed brought to it a gift of genius which was wanting in his instructor. Now, Saint-Martin was a man who cared very little, and does not scruple to say so, for purely traditional doctrines, at least as traditional, nor did he show much deference towards doctors of authority therein. He considered books at best a makeshift method of instruction, though he wrote many; he preferred learning at first hand from God, Man and the Universe. Till he came under the influence of Jacob Böhme he neither quoted nor possessed "authorities," with the exception of the Scriptures. He drew, of course, from the source of his initiation, but he never mentions it in any clear manner, except in his correspondence and his life-notes, both published posthumously. There is nothing to indicate that he had ever read Kabalistic literature; there is every presumption that he did not. Some of his lesser doctrines possess a Kabalistic complexion. There is that in particular concerning the Great Name which I have developed at some length in the study to which I have referred, but it has lost all touch with Kabalism in the hands of Saint-Martin. So also he has a complex system of mystic numbers which suggests the Rabbinical *Notaricon*, but it is entirely out of line with all other numerical mysticism,

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as I am aware, are unknown, and I must add that personally I regard them as mythical. It may be noted further that while this volume was passing through the press the fragmentary treatise referred to in the text has been published in Paris.

and makes the question of its origin one of the most attractive problems in later occult history. I conclude that Pasqually, whom I take to have been a sincere and perhaps even a saintly man, as his Masonic school was almost a seminary of sanctity, derived from a source which retained some filtrations of Kabalism, and that they were brought over by Saint-Martin without any historical associations whatever.* He has therefore little title to be included among the defenders and expounders of Kabalistic doctrine, which would have come as a surprise to himself. This is done, however, by French occult writers at this day,† who seem anxious to annex anyone, from Shakespeare to the author of "Supernatural Religion," and I regret that I must add by one among the rest who from his position in the modern rite of Martinism has the opportunity to know differently and the gifts which make use of opportunity.

XVI. ÉLIPHAS LÉVI

Between the period of Saint Martin and that of Alphonse Louis Constant, the subject of the present notice, the French literature of Kabalism may be more correctly said to have been initiated rather than

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* That man is superior to the angels, and may even instruct them, is, I think, the most convincing instance in Saint-Martin of such a filtration. This notion is found in the Zohar, and in some of its commentators.

† More especially in the case of the so-called facetious allegory *Le Crocodile*, in which it may be safely said that there is not a single trace of Kabalism.

to have received a new impetus by the publication of Adolphe Franck, to whose views on the subject of post-Christian religious philosophy among the Jews, I have already made frequent reference.* I have also indicated that much of its value remains unimpaired after the lapse of nearly sixty years, and indeed modern criticism has in certain definite respects inclined to return to his standpoint, as regards not only the antiquity of Zoharic tradition but of much of the body of the Zohar. Franck's work has, of course, its limitations, and it is well known to scholars that his excerpts from the Kabalistic books were early subjected to severe strictures in Germany; but for an accomplished and luminous review of the whole subject nothing of later date can be said to have superseded it. Its analyses of the Sepher Yetzirah and of the Zohar, together with its delineations of the correspondences between the philosophical school of Kabalism and the schools of Plato, of Alexandria, of Philo, created French knowledge on the subject, and together with the researches of Munk, published some few years subsequently, have been practically the only source of that knowledge down to recent times, with the exception of such light as may be held to have been diffused by the writings of Éliphas Lévi. As regards both methods and motives, Franck and Lévi are located at opposite poles. The first was an academic writer having no occult interests; the second claimed not only initiation but adeptship, not only the ordinary resources of scholarship focussed on a

* *La Kabbale ou la Philosophæ Religieuse des Hébreux.* Par. Ad. Franck, Paris, 1843.

literary and historical problem, but all the advantages which could be derived from the exclusive possession of its master key.

Among the lesser difficulties of Kabalistic criticism the proper allocation of Alphonse Louis Constant in the throng of students and expositors is not without its gravity. Whether in France or in England few have approached the subject with sympathies in the direction of occult science and philosophy who do not owe their introduction to Éliphas Lévi. I speak, of course, of the period subsequent to 1850,* and I may add that few persons thus initiated have done anything but read the interpretations of their first leader into the obscure body of dogma which comprises the esoteric tradition of

* Although the elegant treatise of Franck had, as we have seen, preceded Lévi's interpretatations by several years, appearing in 1843. So far as I can recollect the professed adept never referred to the sympathetic criticism and defence of the more academic writer. Prior to 1843 the most extraordinary ignorance must have prevailed upon the subject in France, since it was possible for a distinguished philosopher to write as follows :—" When Christian philosophy made its appearance in the world it crushed Paganism and Theurgy, and in the second century humanity was made subject to a severe régime, which set aside mysticism. It did not reappear till the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in certain schools of Italy and Germany. This new mysticism, called Kabalah, from a name known already in the schools of Alexandria, but since entirely disappeared, and signifying oral tradition, issued from the bosom of the scholastic, and acted with the instruments of the scholastic, as formerly the neoplatonist Porphyry evoked with Platonic words. The Cabbala *(sic)* of the fifteenth century put in operation bizarre formulæ, magic squares and circles, mysterious numbers, by the power of which the demons of hell and the divinities of heaven were compelled, as it was pretended, to appear in obedience to the wand ; hence the mystic ecstasies of Raymond Lully, who attracted such zealous partisans and furious enemies, causing blood to flow ; hence the delirium which brought Bruno to the stake." Victor Cousin : *Cours de Philosophie*, Paris, 1836. It would seem impossible to record a greater number of inaccuracies, or to display more signal ignorance, within the dimensions of a paragraph.

the Jews. If it be necessary, therefore, to reduce very largely the authority attributed to Éliphas Lévi, I must expect to alienate the sympathy of his many admirers, but this is only a question of the moment, and so far as it is possible to take a plain course in the matter there can be no real need for hesitation. But the question, which looks so simple in its first aspect, is no sooner raised than it is complicated by several kinds of considerations and indeed by incompatible facts. When I published a few years ago my English version of Lévi's "Transcendental Magic," I stated that it was the work of a writer who had received initiation into a school of traditional knowledge, nor must I deny that this school possesses the respect of its participants. A certain proportion of its tradition was made public for the first time in Lévi's treatise and under circumstances which seem then to have been regarded as inopportune. I do not think that I shall be making an unpermissible statement if I now add that the course pursued by the author brought him, as it is alleged, into conflict with his superiors, and that it barred his progress through the higher grades of that initiation.* On the one hand, therefore, the possibilities of his communication ceased at the limit of his knowledge, while, on the other, it can be shown abundantly that he was not in any solid sense of the word a first hand student of the literature of occult philosophy. I do not think that he ever made an independent statement upon any historical fact to which the

* On this point see my letter in "Light: a Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research," July 4, 1896.

least confidence could be given with prudence. He never presented the sense of an author whom he was reviewing in a way which could be said to reproduce that author faithfully. As in the one case he embroidered history by the help of what Mr. Arthur Machen would term a decorative imagination, so it occurred frequently that he attributed to an old author the kind of sense which it would be very interesting to find in old authors, but is not met with except by the mediation of a magician with the transmuting power of Abbé Constant. He takes, for example, a perfectly worthless little book by Abbot Trithemius, which does not reflect the opinions of that learned Benedictine, but is simply a trifle addressed to a German prince explaining how some persons in antiquity distributed the government of the world among certain planetary intelligences ruling successively and reassuming rule in rotation. He invests it with the importance of a grand and sublime achievement of prophetic science, whereas it does not show half the acumen of our empirical friend Nostradamus, and is equalled in any year of grace by the almanacks of Raphael and Zadkiel. Here is an instance of what Lévi reads into an author. Nor do we need to depart from this unhappy little treatise to test his reliability over an express matter of fact. He tells us that the forecast of Trithemius closes with a proclamation of universal monarchy in the year 1879. Trithemius says nothing of the kind, but only modestly remarks that the gift of prophecy so generously attributed to him by his reviewer would be required to discern anything beyond that period. I mention this matter,

to which I have drawn attention previously in the revised edition of the "Mysteries of Magic," not because I wish to accentuate charges against a writer whose brilliance and literary beauty we all admire, but because it is necessary to exhibit the quality of mind which was brought by Éliphas Lévi to the illumination of Kabalistic literature. I wish to prepare my readers, more especially those who admire him, as I also admire him, though not as critic, not as expositor, not as historian, only as a literary thaumaturgist working great wonders with the magic of words—I wish to prepare them, I say, for the fact that the deliberations of the Holy Synods will be found to have suffered many changes and transfigurations through the medium of their interpreter, and that any matter of sharp fact in the hands of this unaccountable juggler seems to become pyrotechnic and to detonate, if I may speak so roughly, into the most twisted squibs and crackers.

I will not dwell upon the miserable plight of every Hebrew quotation in those works which he may be supposed to have passed for press. No ordinary carelessness would account for such blunders, nor could they be explained by supposing that he was ignorant of their language. His acquaintance must have been slender enough, but it is not necessary to be proficient in Hebrew or indeed in Chinese to ensure the accuracy of a few excerpts. The excerpts in Eliphas Lévi "no one can speak and no one can spell." But even in simpler matters his blunders are incredible. He gives the three mother-letters of the Hebrew alphabet inaccurately,* which for an accredited

* *La Clef des Grands Mystères*, Paris, 1861, pp. 199, 200.

student of the Sepher Yetzirah is almost as inexcusable as if an English author erred in enumerating the vowels of our own language.

The instance, however, to which I wish to draw particular attention, because it seems to me impressive and even final, occurs in the posthumous work entitled the "Book of Splendours."* Of this the first part is intended as a compressed translation of the "Greater Holy Synod." Now, Lévi says that the deliberations of this conclave are contained in a Hebrew treatise entitled *Idra Suta*, and these words appear accordingly at the head of his version. But the *Idra Suta*, or more correctly *Zuta*, is the name of the Lesser Synod, as will appear by referring to the fourth section of the fifth book of the present volume, while *Idrah Rabba* is that appertaining to the record of the Greater Assembly. What should we think of the qualifications of a commentator on the books of the Old Testament who informed us that the word *Bereshith* was applied to Deuteronomy? It will be observed that I do not make this criticism to show that Lévi was unqualified because he was ignorant of Hebrew, but to prove that he was guilty of egregious errors the indication of which neither supposes nor requires any knowledge of the kind.

That in spite of his slipshod criticism, his careless reading and his malpractices in historical matters the works of Éliphas Lévi do contain valuable material may, of course, be explained by saying that he drew from his initiation and verified his knowledge badly by the ordinary channels. This is true up to a

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* *Le Livre des Splendeurs, contenant le Soleil Judaïque . . . Etudes sur les Origines de la Kabbale*, &c. Paris, 1894.

certain point, and yet it does not do justice to the entire position, omitting indeed one of its essential features. What seems to me to distinguish Lévi from all other occult writers is not his knowledge as an initiate, but the peculiar genius of interpretation which he applied to that knowledge, the surprising results which he could obtain from an old doctrine, even as from an old author. They were certainly not reliable results, they were certainly not in harmony with any secret knowledge, they represented the standpoint of the agnostic rather than the transcendentalist, and they afflicted the transcendental standpoint in consequence, but they wore the guise and they spoke the language of occultism, and it is they which have fascinated his students, they which have multiplied his admirers, they also which have undeniably imparted a new impulse to the study of occult philosophy. This is equivalent to saying that the influence of Éliphas Lévi does not make for a proper understanding of occult doctrines, and as concerns the Kabalah that it reads a meaning into the esoteric tradition of Israel which is not fully in harmony therewith.

Let us take, for example, his inverted text of the first chapter of Genesis, for which he claims a Kabalistic foundation.* It is needless to say that it neither has nor could have any rabbinical authority and that it first occurred to the mind of a Frenchman in the second half of the nineteenth century. As it exceeds quotation in this place I must refer the reader to the work in which I have rendered it at

* *La Clef des Grands Mystères*, p. 334 *et seq.* "Mysteries of Magic," second edition, London, 1897, p. 108 *et seq.*

length.* It may be, however, shortly described as replacing the history of creation by God with that of God's creation by man. It is, if you prefer it, the evolution of the God-idea in humanity, though I much fear that Mr. Grant Allen must have been hindered by the limits of his erudition from utilising it. As an exercise of ingenuity it is admirable, but the point at which the sober critic must diverge from the interpreter is that "this occult Genesis was thought out by Moses before writing his own."

Let us take another case which, though it brings us to the same question, is more perhaps to our purpose, because it is a construction placed upon Zoharic symbolism. For Éliphas Lévi the Great Countenance of the Zohar is the evolution of the idea of God from the shadow divinities represented by the Kings of Edom. *Microprosopus* is the grand night of faith. The one is the God of the wise, the other the idol of the vulgar. The one is the great creative hypothesis, the other the dark figure, the restricted hypothesis. As it is to the Lesser Countenance that the name of *Tetragrammaton* is attributed, it follows that the secret of the Zohar is the mystic utterance of the adept to the recipiendary of the Egyptian mysteries: "Osiris is a black god." *Microprosopus* is, however, "neither the Ahriman of the Persians nor the evil principle of the Manichæans, but a more exalted concept, a mediating shadow between the infinite light and the feeble eyes of humanity; a veil made in the likeness of humanity with which God Himself deigns to cover His glory;

* *I.e.*: "The Mysteries of Magic," first and second edition, London, 1886, 1897.

a shadow which contains the reason of all mysteries, explaining the terrible Deity of the prophets, who threatens and inspires fear. It is the God of the priests, the God who exacts sacrifices, the God who sleeps frequently and is awakened by the trumpets of the temple, the God who repents having made man, but, conquered by prayers and offerings, is appeased when on the point of punishing."*

That this interpretation has fascinated many students can be no cause for surprise ; one is amazed and delighted irresistibly at discovering an esoteric tradition in which all theological difficulties seem to dissolve together. If it seem at first sight incredible that the Kabalah should conceal so reasonable and elegant a doctrine, the symbolism is so plausibly accounted for that it seems to enforce acceptance. When we come, however, to a close analysis of text and construction we find that the one does not warrant the other and that the evolution of the God-idea in humanity had no more occurred to the authors of the Zohar than it would have occurred recently to Mr. Grant Allen to write a "Book of Occultation." It is not a case in which it is necessary to tax space and patience by the demonstration of a negative exhaustively, which has always technical difficulties. The validity of the construction is seen by the text with which it is connected. We all know how much Fitzgerald is supposed to have imparted into Omar Khayyam, but his graceful verses are literal and line upon line compared with the high fantasy of Lévi's Zoharistic analysis. As an example of this

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* *Le Livre des Splendeurs*, pp. 69, 70.

it is sufficient to refer the student who may desire an express case for comparison to the forty-third section of the *Idra Rabba* as it stands in the Latin version of Rosenroth with the excursus on Justice in the "Book of Splendeurs" which follows, says Éliphas Lévi, the text of Rabbi Schimeon. It is mere brilliant illusion and mockery.*

Another extreme instance is the inversion of the *Sephiroth* which gives despotism an absolute power as the dark side of the supreme power of *Kether*; blind faith as the shadow of eternal wisdom in *Chokmah*; so-called immutable dogma which is at the same time inevitably progressive as the antithesis of active intelligence in *Binah*; blind faith again as the inversion of spiritual beauty in *Tiphereth*; divine vengeance as opposed to eternal justice in *Geburah*; willing sacrifice as the shadow of infinite mercy in *Chesed*; abnegation and voluntary renunciation as opposed to the eternal victory of goodness in *Netzach*; eternal hell as opposed to the eternity of goodness, presumably in *Hod*; celibacy and sterility as opposed to the fecundity of goodness, presumably in *Jesod*; while *Malkuth*, corresponding to the number of creation, is said to have no negative aspect, because celibacy and sterility produce nothing.† Without dwelling on the carelessness of the arrangement, in part sephirotic and in part transposing and abandoning the sephirotic series, or on the failing ingenuity which repeats the same contrasts, I may point out that advanced views on despotism, on the transfiguration of dogmas and on vicarious atone-

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* *Ibid.*, p. 86 *et seq.* † *Ibid.*, p. 74 *et seq.*

ment are not likely to have been held even by the most illuminated rabbins and that since arbitrary tabulations and artificial contrasts are easy exercises, and can be varied to infinity, we may appreciate the contrasts here created by the evidence which supports them and that is simply the magisterial affirmation of the interpreter.

Éliphas Lévi represents, however, the inauguration of a new epoch in the study of the Kabalah, undertaken not as a mere object of research or as a part of the history of philosophy. The students whom we have considered heretofore have been either Christian propagandists or writers by the way whose connection with the subject is unsubstantial; but the standpoint of Lévi is that there is a religion behind all religions and that it is the veiled mystery of Kabalism, from which all have issued and into which all return. Christian doctrine, in particular, is unintelligible, apart from the light cast on it by the deliberations of the Holy Assemblies. Now it is precisely this standpoint, its derivatives and connections, that have created modern occultism. In the past the magician was content to evoke spirits, the alchemist to produce gold when he could, the astrologer to spell the dubious message of the stars, the Kabalist of sorts to be wise in anagrams and word-puzzles, but these things are now regarded only as parts of a greater mystery, and in a very true sense Éliphas Lévi has been the supreme magus who has revealed the horizon of this mystery. He had his antecedents and he drew suggestions from there and here, but he wrote it all up and he coloured it. It is true that later on his own scepticism did its best to

spoil the splendid illusion, but this is not observed by his disciples.

XVII. TWO ACADEMICAL CRITICS

Having regard to the fact that, as already stated, there has been always in England a certain number of persons who have been interested, mostly through sympathy with occultism, in the study of the Kabalah, it will appear almost incredible that there are no memorials of their interest between the period of Thomas Vaughan and the year 1865, a space of two centuries. There is a similar hiatus in the merely academical interest represented by Burnet. I do not say that there have been nowhere any references to Kabalism; they have made up in number what they wanted in learning and authority; and a few valuable gleanings might be gathered from early editions of the larger cyclopædias, but as there has been no occult student who wrote anything of real moment concerning it, so there has been no scholar apart from occult interests who has treated the subject seriously. The work of Dr. Ginsburgh, so well known that it scarcely needs describing, was epoch-making, because it was the first clear, simple and methodised account of Kabalistic doctrine and literature. It leaves naturally much to be desired, as it arose in an informal manner out of a meeting of some literary society in Liverpool, and the nucleus of the short paper produced for the occasion in question was afterwards expanded into a slender volume. It is a meagre measure to allot to so large a subject, but it was as much as could be warranted

by the existing interest, which is sharply determined by the fact that a second edition was never needed. There is good reason to believe that it did not represent Dr. Ginsburgh's knowledge at the period, yet it went much further than cyclopædic or theological notices. Dr. Ginsburgh is therefore entitled to a place among the Christian students of the Kabalah, and I purpose in this brief notice, which is mainly concerned with a standpoint, to connect him with the name of a writer who recalls him in France of to-day. Both, I believe, are accomplished Hebrew scholars; both of Jewish origin. Dr. Ginsburgh is, however, a Christian, and has done work in connection with the Trinitarian Bible Society, while M. Isidore Loëb, so far as I am aware, has remained in the faith of Jewry, and it is therefore only by way of contrast with his English prototype that I am warranted in referring to him in this place. There is a period of a quarter of a century between the two writers, and as their point of view is in general respects almost identical and, indeed, suggests that the French critic has profited by the English, it is interesting to note the one matter over which they diverge, namely, the authorship of the Zohar.

It has been objected against Dr. Ginsburgh that he draws chiefly from Continental writers, reflects their views and shows little independent research. His quotations from the Zohar are, it is said, derived from Franck, and are open therefore to the harsh criticisms passed on them many years ago in Germany. These matters are of no importance to the reader who is in search only of elementary information, whose

purpose is served well enough by the translations of Franck and for whom a digest of authoritative criticism is about the best text-book possible. The fact itself makes Dr. Ginsburgh's little treatise the English representative of a particular school of research, that of the hostile criticisms which refer the Zohar to the authorship, more or less exclusive, of Moses de Leon. In England Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's article on the *Midrashim* in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," referring the nucleus of the book to Mishnic times and regarding Simeon ben Jochai as the author in the same sense that R. Johanan was the author of the Palestine Talmud, has helped to create another and more natural manner of regarding the Zohar. The critical objections of Dr. Ginsburgh derived from the work itself have been equally disposed of in the majority of cases, and the few which still remain can establish nothing conclusively. They have been noticed briefly in Book II., sec. 3. If we take in connection with this the fact that M. Isodore Loëb, who so closely reproduces Dr. Ginsburgh, abandons the theory of unqualified imposture, we shall see that some progress has been made with the subject during recent years, and as it is one of the purposes of the present study to place the evidence of this fact before the English reader, I feel warranted in giving space to the following synopsis of M. Isidore's Loëb's essay, as it may not be accessible to some who are acquainted with that of Dr. Ginsburgh. There is a literary excellence in the one which is fairly precluded by the circumstance that called the other into being, and it is really a matter of regret that the sole contribution of

M. Loëb towards the elucidation of Kabalistic literature occurs in *La Grande Encyclopédie.* M. Loëb was, however, for some time president of the publication committee of the French Society of Jewish Studies. His other literary work comprises a monograph on the Jewish chroniclers, a table of Jewish calendars, and some observations on the situation of the Israelites in Turkey, Servia and Roumania. In the essay with which we are here concerned he records the opinion that the term Kabalah may not be anterior to the tenth century and that the claim to antiquity which it signifies is supported by no written monument. It seems difficult in the nature of the case that it should be so substantiated. M. Loëb, however, makes a very proper distinction between the metaphysical or mystical Kabalah and the gross thaumaturgy connected with the practical branch. To the original elements of the first he ascribes, like all critics, a high antiquity, but not, as it need scarcely be said, of a kind which would permit it to be regarded as the perpetuation of an indigenous, much less an uncorrupted, tradition. As we have had occasion to see, this claim is no longer made by any competent student of the subject. For M. Loëb the Kabalah is a part of the universal mysticism which seeks to explain the disparity between an infinite God and a finite world by means of intermediate creations through which the Divine Power descends, diminishing in its spiritual qualities as it removes further from its source, and becoming more imperfect and material. The difficulty is removed by this process much in the same manner as the difficulty of a *terra firma* for the

elephant which supports the universe is disposed of in Indian cosmology by assuming the tortoise. In other words, it is not removed at all. At the same time the explanation of emanationist mysticism, which is not all mysticism, as M. Loëb seems to assume, is not in the last analysis open to greater objection than any other philosophic attempt to bridge the gulf between finite and infinite. Passing from this consideration the French critic discovers the foundation of the Kabalistic theory of metaphysics in the Scriptural personification of Wisdom, and the chief elements of its symbolism in the prophetical books, about which points there is no question whatever, and they are matters of common knowledge. So also he refers correctly the name or catchword of the Zohar to Daniel xii. 3. He cites the number of the beast in the Apocalypse, as every one has cited it before him, as an example of *gematria*, but he raises a less hackneyed point by suggesting, on the authority of Munk, that *Temurah* was employed by Jeremiah. He does better service by reminding us that the Essenians attached great importance to symbolical angelology, and that each individual of that mystical fraternity was required to remember accurately the names of the angels. It is, however, among the Jews of Alexandria that, following several previous authorities, he discovers the germs of Kabalistic mysticism, but in this connection he cites only the Platonic doctrine of the Logos, its influence on the Greek Septuagint and on the Chaldee version of the Old Testament.

On the whole, I do not think that M. Loëb's critical faculty, or indeed his erudition, is at all

comparable to his graceful synthetic talent. To cite a crucial instance, he dismisses one testimony to Kabalistic tradition by saying : "Despite the contrary assertions of the Talmud, we refuse to believe that Johanan ben Zoccai (*sic*) or his contemporaries devoted themselves to mystic doctrines or secret things." It is to the second century that he refers the "ravages" of Gnosticism among the Jews of Palestine, and cites various subtleties of the doctors which arose at that period. He sketches the decline of the Palestine schools and the rise of those of Babylon, "the traditional country of magic." He cites from Rab, the Babylonian, of the third century, that passage which I have mentioned elsewhere, and confesses that it is another germ of the mediæval Kabalah, that is, the doctrine of the *Sephiroth.* With a rapid pen he runs over the great impetus given to Jewish literature under Arabian influence from the middle of the seventh century. He refers to the ninth century that all-important treatise entitled "The Measures of the Stature of God," which is, in fact, as we have seen, the first form of the Zoharistic Macroprosopus, and is mentioned by Agobad. He places the alphabet of Akiba, dealing with the symbolism of the Hebrew letters, about the same period, together with a crowd of apocalyptic treatises, including *Pirke* of R. Eliezer, which has an elaborate doctrine of Pneumatology. Among all these he distinguishes the Sepher Yetzirah as occupying a place and deserving a rank apart. He admits its comparative antiquity, seeming to regard it as immediately posterior to the Talmud, which he affirms to have been finished A.D. 499. He describes

it as a philosophy and a gnosis, and supposes it to have been written in Palestine under the direct influence of Christian and Pagan gnosticism. The opinion is interesting, but of course entirely conjectural, and as the doctrine of emanation is not very clear in the Sepher Yetzirah, we should not accept hastily the theory of an influence which assumes it. When he observes further that its fountain-heads must be sought in Azariel's Commentary on the *Sephiroth* and in the *Bahir*, I fail to understand the grounds on which he attributes a superior antiquity to those works. He assigns to the Zohar itself a Spanish origin, but does not press the authorship of Moses de Leon. Among the fine points of his criticism is a picture of the pure Talmudists of the period of Maimonides, especially those of the Peninsula and the south of France, living under the influence of Arabian philosophy, without philosophical doctrine, without perspective, having only the literature of the Law, and the anthropomorphic mysticism of the Jewish schools of Northern France, between which the Kabalah rose up as a mediator, "completing Talmudism by philosophy, correcting philosophy by theosophy, and anthropomorphic mysticism by philosophic mysticism."

XVIII. THE MODERN SCHOOL OF FRENCH KABALISM

Éliphas Lévi died in 1875, having founded, as it must be admitted, a new school of occult philosophy. For the ten years which preceded his death he had

made no outward sign. There are rumours of the initiations which were offered him and of the rites which he remodelled, but all that is known certainly is that he collected around him a small group of private students who looked up to him as their master, regarded his suggestive speculations almost in the light of revelation, and, following his leading, accepted the Kabalah as the great synthesis of religious belief. It was not till another ten years, after his death, had elapsed that any visible result of his influence became manifest. During that period a marked change had come over philosophic thought in Paris; the younger generation broke away from the traditions of positivism and materialism, and, without returning to the Church, passed off in the direction of mysticism, and mysticism moderated by science became the characteristic of the succeeding epoch. When about the year 1884 the Theosophical Society opened a lodge in Paris and began the publication of a monthly magazine, a proportion of the French mystics gathered round it, and one of the most noticeable in the group was Dr. Gérard Encausse, the young *chef de laboratoire* of an eminent doctor celebrated in connection with one of the schools of hypnotism. His first contributions appeared in the pages of *Le Lotus* and his first work, on the elements of occult science, under the auspices of the Society. A rupture, however, took place and the seceding members, abandoning for the moment their interest in *la metaphysique orientale*, established, so to speak, a school of Western occultism, of which Dr. Encausse became the moving and leading spirit and Éliphas Lévi the most immediate inspiration of

the past. The ostensible characteristics of this school are Neo-Martinism and Neo-Rosicrucianism, but the transcendental conceptions associated with these names have undergone developments which have to some extent effaced their original outlines. So also the admired masterpieces of Éliphas Lévi have been a point of departure quite as much as a guide. It is, broadly speaking, nevertheless, the work of Lévi which has been continued, and along with other occult interests the study of the Kabalah has been revived under the reflected impulsion of his enthusiasm. It has not been so far an exhaustive study, nor has it, I think, been altogether a critical study, for it began by taking too much for granted and it has not shown a comprehensive acquaintance with the documents. There is, however, no writer of this group who has not had something to tell us concerning Jewish theosophy, while its activity has engendered consequences of much the same kind outside its immediate circle.

The two names which most call for notice in this connection are Dr. Gérard Encausse and Stanislas de Guaita. The literary and occult antecedents of the first writer are Saint Yves d'Alvedre, Fabre d'Olivet, Eliphas Lévi and Adolphe Franck. From the first he has derived a systematic view of Jewish history, from the second his notion of esoteric mysteries concealed in the Hebrew language, from Lévi unfortunately a burden of historical suppositions, and from Franck an academic precedent for the antiquity of Kabalistic literature. On the other hand, Stanislas de Guaita belongs to what may be termed the literary school of occultism and as such he

connects with Sar Péladan. I propose to consider the position of both these writers in short sub-sections and to connect them with a third who is governed by very different motives and principles.

A.—PAPUS

The word Papus signifies physician, and according to a commentary of Éliphas Lévi on the "Nuctemeron" of Apollonius, it is the title of a genius belonging to the first hour of that mystic period. It is also the pseudonym adopted by Gérard Encausse, the head of the French Martinists and the leader of occult activity in Paris, presumably because he is a doctor of medicine. Papus is a voluminous writer, methodical and laborious, and he has done work which along its own lines is admirable. From the beginning of his literary life he has been occupied with Kabalistic questions, and so far back as the year 1887 he made the first French translation of the Sepher Yetzirah, which appeared in the theosophical review *Lotus*. It is not entirely a satisfactory translation and has been superseded by that of Meyer Lambert, which Papus himself recommends with the generosity of a true student. The chief blemish of his own version is that by some misconception or error, founded apparently on the use of a dubious word in the Latin rendering of Postel, he has made this ancient work responsible for the doctrine of *Ain Soph* and it is a point of great critical importance that there is no such doctrine in the "Book of Formation."

In 1892 Papus published a methodical summary of the Kabalah, together with a bibliography, which are both useful, but are again open to criticism. The bibliography has been constructed upon the most debatable of all principles, viz., the increase of the numerical importance by adventitious elements which are not Kabalistic at all, and again by the inclusion of works which are evidently unknown to the writer, with results which are occasionally ludicrous. Thus, in the one case, among books in the French language, we find Figuier's "Alchemy and the Alchemists," which contains no reference to the Kabalah; Saint-Martin's "Crocodile," a clumsy satire open to the same objection; Eckartshausen's "Cloud on the Sanctuary," also non-Kabalistic; and a number of esoteric romances which have as much claim to insertion as Baudelaire's translation of Poe.* In the other case, Dr. Papus, who is only superficially acquainted with English, classifies Mr. Massey's translation of Du Prel's "Philosophy of Mysticism," my own "Lives of Alchemystical Philosophers," Dr. Hartmann's "White and Black Magic," a catalogue of second-hand books issued by Mr. Redway, and, unfortunate above all other instances, the once celebrated "Supernatural Religion." The bibliography of works in the Latin language is much better done, though it contains some useless numbers.

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* Another instance is Julien Lejay: *La Science Occulte Appliquée à l' économie politique*, in a volume of composite authorship, entitled *La Science Secrète*. I may observe, however, that this volume contains a paper on the Kabalah by Papus, subsequently embodied in his larger work. Outside this, the only reference to the subject is in an essay by F. C. Barlet, which refers the origin of the Kabalah to the fourth century.

As regards the treatise itself it has the merit of extreme modesty; it is, in fact, mainly a series of tabulated quotations from Franck, Loëb, de Guaita, Kircher and so forth, with a number of serviceable diagrams derived from similar sources. It is altogether excellent as a general introduction to the subject by an occultist and for the use of occultists. But it makes the mistake of attributing a real importance to the debased Hebrew influences found in the literature of Ceremonial Magic. Thus Dr. Papus says that "the practical part of the Kabalah is barely indicated in a few manuscripts dispersed through our great collections. At Paris the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses one of the finest examples, of which the origin is attributed to Solomon." Having appreciated in another section the claim of the clavicles to recognition in Kabalistic literature, it is here only necessary to say that in the work under notice there is no attempt to justify their inclusion, which is explained by the sympathies of the author, who in this connection owes something to the French version of Molitor.

Dr. Papus has also unfortunately a bias common to the majority of French and English occultists, and by this bias he is led irresistibly to prefer the imperfect equipment of past authority to the result of modern scholarship. In Egyptology he knows no higher name than that of Court de Gebelin; in problems of Hebrew philology his great master is Fabre d'Olivet; and hence, on the one hand, we shall not be surprised to find that he regards P. Christian as a source of serious information concerning the Egyptian mysteries of initiation, or, on the other,

that he considers the Hebrew of the Mosaic books to be identical with the idiom of ancient Egypt.* The position of writers who base their views on language-studies undertaken at the beginning of this century is not really more reasonable than would be that of a person who should now attempt to defend the antiquity of the Rowley poems. But it might be scarcely worth while to speak of it were it not for the consequences that it involves, at least in the case of Papus, as, for example, the descent of the esoteric tradition from Moses and its identity with the mysteries of Egypt, points which, debatable or not, must not be determined after this unscholarly fashion.

I have said sufficient to indicate that the historical argument, so far as it exists in Papus, is altogether unsatisfactory, and there is indeed no need

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* He is not alone among recent French writers in taking this view. M. Edouard Schuré, in *Les Grands Initiés, Esquisse de l'Histoire Secrète des Réligions*, Paris, 1889, maintains that, "owing to the education of Moses, there can be no doubt that he wrote Genesis in Egyptian hieroglyphics, having three senses, and confided their keys and oral explanations to his successors. In the time of Solomon it was rendered into Phœnician characters, and after the captivity of Babylon into Aramaic Chaldean characters by Esdras. The esoteric sense was lost more and more, and the Greek translators had a very slight acquaintance therewith." In this case it may have been the remnant of this knowledge which made the Jews so hostile to the Septuagint. M. Schuré continues: "Jerome, despite his serious intention and his great mind, penetrated only to the primitive sense when he made his Latin translation. The secret sense does, however, remain buried in the Hebrew text, which plunges by its roots into the sacred tongue of the temples," and the writer affirms that it flashes forth at times for the intuitive, that for seers it "shines forth once more in the phonetic structure of the words adopted or created by Moses," and that by the study of this phoneticism, by the keys which the Kabalah furnishes, and by comparative esotericism, "it is permitted us at this day to reconstruct the veritable Genesis." Pp. 180, 181.

to reckon with it. But his little work is useful as a summary of the content of the Kabalah, though even in this respect it might have been simplified with advantage. As regards the special motive of our own inquiry, the standpoint of Papus is that the Kabalah is the keystone of all the Western tradition of transcendentalism; that the alchemists were Kabalists, and so also all mystic fraternities, whether Templars, Rosicrucians, Martinists, or Freemasons; that the source of the Kabalah was Moses and that Moses drew from Egypt, whence the Kabalah is the most complete summary in existence of the Egyptian mysteries. Why those mysteries should have an absorbing claim on our respect does not appear from Papus, but the sub-surface understanding is undoubtedly that a tradition of absolute religion has been perpetuated from antiquity, and with all his dissemblings and palterings, with all the hindrance of his scepticism, that also is Lévi's standpoint.

B.—STANISLAS DE GUAITA

Associated with the literary work and much of the active propaganda of Dr. Gérard Encausse, the name of the Marquis Marie-Victor-Stanislas de Guaita, though scarcely known in England, was much valued in the occult circles of Paris, and his comparatively recent death at the early age of thirty-six years occasioned profound sorrow. I may perhaps observe that outside the immediate circle of his friends and admirers it is possible to say that he is a real loss to the esoteric literature of France.

It will perhaps scarcely be necessary to state that he was a disciple of Éliphas Lévi, whose works he regarded as constituting "the most cohesive, absolute and unimpeachable synthesis that can be dreamed by an occultist." If we add to this that De Guaita is described by Papus as occupying beyond contradiction the first rank among the pupils of Lévi, we shall have a fair knowledge of his position. He began his literary life as a poet, and in that character connects with the school of Baudelaire. His mystic preoccupations appear, however, in his verses, and he soon devoted himself exclusively to the occult sciences. His works entitled "The Threshold of Mystery," "The Serpent of Genesis" and "The Key of Black Magic" are much admired for their "magisterial form," which recalls that of his master. In occult science de Guaita was chiefly attached to the Kabalistic tradition, and he considered that in "Neo-Mosaic Christianity, explained by the Holy Kabalah and Alexandrian Hermeticism (under certain reserves), the absolute truth must be sought in all knowledge.*

At an early period of his occult enthusiasm Stanislas de Guaita founded a Kabalistic Order of the Rose-Cross, comprehending three grades, to which entrance could be obtained only after successful examination, and the possession of the three grades of the Martinist Order was an indispensable preliminary condition. When the numerical strength of the association had attained the limits prescribed by

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* From a *Lettre inédite* quoted in *L'Initiation*, tom. xxxviii., No. 4, Jan., 1898, pp. 12, 13.

its constitution, it was rigorously closed by decision of the Grand Master. De Guaita is termed an erudite orientalist by his friends, who also mention the Hebrew folios which enriched his library.* Finally, it is recorded that he believed himself more thoroughly possessed of the Kabalah than all others. But if we may accept the authority of Dr. Marc Haven he seems to have distinguished two species of Kabalah, the first a science which no one could teach and no one could learn, except with the most arduous toil and by years of sacrifice, for it is "more rugged than Wronsky, more diffuse than Spanish Mysticism, more complex than Gnostic analysis." And after all it appears to be only a pseudo-Kabalah. The other is apparently the Kabalah as presented by William Postel, Nicholas Flamel, Khunrath, Saint-Martin and so forth. I must confess that this distinction is a puzzle. I know well enough that Saint-Martin was not a Kabalist, except in the most phantasmal sense and by a most remote derivation. I know that Flamel the alchemist, if he ever wrote anything, was concerned with the transmutation of metals and not with the mysteries of *Ain Soph.* It is, however, the Kabalah of such Kabalists that is said to illuminate the pages of de Guaita and to have inspired his active works.

Despite therefore of his accredited erudition, the author of the "Serpent of Genesis" has no message to the serious student of Kabalism; the Zohar has its difficulties, and by these he was clearly intimidated. But the kind of distinction which

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* *Ibid.*, p. 32 *et seq.*

de Guaita sought to establish offers at least one point of interest. Postel, Flamel, Khunrath, Saint-Martin, are names which stand in his mind for Kabalistic Christianity, for that marriage of the Zohar and the Gospel to which he refers expressly.* He differs therefore from his fellow propagandist Papus, who exhibits few Christian sympathies and is attached more consistently to the doctrine of Éliphas Lévi. But in de Guaita, as in Lévi, it is not the orthodox Christianity, as understood, on the one hand, by Mirandola and Postel, or, on the other, by Rosenroth, with which the Kabalah is connected, but Christianity permeated by Gnostic elements, and this is the special characteristic of all occult students who take any interest in the light cast on the religion of Jesus by the post-Christian developments of Jewish theosophy. Thus, the missionary enthusiasm of the early Christian schools of Kabalism, and the Messianic dream constructed by Jewry out of the wild elements of the Zohar, have been exchanged for an attempt to go back upon the path of doctrinal development and to discover in the analogies between the Kabalah and the Gnostics a practicable thoroughfare into the debated regions of esoteric religion. As disappointment waited on the mistaken ardour of the first zealots, so it is possibly in store for the revived zeal in Kabalism.

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* "The Zohar has wedded the Gospel; the spirit has fructified the soul; and immortal works have been the fruits of this union. The Kabalah became Catholic in the school of St. John, the master of masters, incarnate in an admirable metaphysical form . . . the absolute spirit of the science of justice and love which vivifies internally the dead letter of all the orthodoxies."—*Le Serpent de la Genèse*, p. 183.

C.—LÉON MEURIN, S.J.

Having to establish some points of connection between the Kabalah and Freemasonry, it seems just to include among Kabalistic students the most laborious investigator of this subject, the late Archbishop of Port Louis. It is true that his large treatise, "Freemasonry the Synagogue of Satan," is a product of the troubled dream of the Papacy concerning the *Liberi Muratori* and is saved only by the sincerity of its intention from a place in bogus literature; it is true also that it connects with a squalid imposture long since unmasked, but it shows a considerable acquaintance of the superficial order both with Kabalistic doctrine and Masonic symbolism, and it is worth noticing how the transcendental tradition of the Jews was appreciated quite recently by a Catholic critic who was also an ecclesiastic of some eminence and a member of the Society of Jesus.

It is unnecessary to say that it is an entirely hostile criticism. "In place of the orthodox synagogue and the true doctrine of Moses which God Himself inspired, modern Kabalists represent the paganism with which certain Jewish sectarians became imbued during the captivity of Babylon. We have only to study their doctrine and to compare it with those of civilised nations in antiquity—Indians, Persians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks and so forth, to become assured that the same pantheistic system of emanation is inculcated by all. We find everywhere an eternal principle emanating a primeval triad and thereafter the entire universe,

not by creation, but by substantial emanation. Hence we are compelled to recognise a close connection between Kabalistic philosophy and ancient paganism which is difficult to explain except by the inspiration of the same author, in other words, the Lying Spirit who is the enemy of mankind."

The entire treatise may be regarded as the development of this paragraph, which, it must be confessed, is the view that would be taken inevitably by the Latin Church. We have seen that under the auspices of Christian Kabalists, with Picus de Mirandola as their mouthpiece, there was for one moment a sign of *rapprochement* between the Church and the Jewish tradition, but it was impossible in the nature of both, and the Church was saved then, as it has been occasionally saved since, as if by some happy intuition which preceded any real knowledge of the interests at stake.

The general position being thus defined with perfect accuracy by Mgr. Meurin, he proceeds at a later stage to develop his impeachment by exhibiting the fundamental error of all pantheism, that, namely, which concerns the transition of the Infinite to the Finite, which wears, he tells us, for any serious thinker, the aspect of a fraudulent device. Basing his argument on the well-known verse in Wisdom: "Thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight," he advances that we musk seek in these the distinction between the Infinite and the Finite, for these categories do not exist in God, or rather they are "elevated above themselves and lost in a superior unity." Creation out of nothing is the only rational solution of the grand problem concerning the

origin of a world which is governed by number, weight and measure, a doctrine which assumes no passage from Infinite to Finite, since it does not derive the universe from the divine substance by an emanation of any kind. "It is true that *ex nihilo nihil fit.* But in the creation there is not only the *nihilum*; there is also the *Omnipotens*, and it is untrue to say that with nothingness and the all-powerful, nothing can be made. *Ex nihilo nihil fit a Deo* would be a false axiom."

In a study like the present it would be entirely out of place to discuss the points at issue between emanationists and creationists. The Kabalah is a system of emanation, and it is so far opposed to the official doctrine of orthodox religion on a question of fundamental philosophy. I think personally that the better reason is on the side of the hypothesis of emanation on the simple ground that the conception of *nihilum* cannot co-exist with that of an infinite God. I shall be told, of course, that I am confusing the notion of endless space with that of the Divine Nature, but as God is everywhere by the hypothesis, there is no place which is not filled by His power and His presence, and then where is the *nihilum?* But the whole controversy concerns a *res ardua et difficilis*, as Isaac de Loria would have termed it, which fortunately cannot produce a single consequence of importance to the human mind, though it is precisely to such arid speculations that official orthodoxy has always sought to attach an eternal consequence for the soul.

Mgr. Meurin remains, however, the consistent and correct exponent of the Church which he

represents, and so far as this Church is concerned he has registered, as we must admit fully, the heretical nature of Kabalistic doctrine. We may go further and allow that in other places he scores occasionally a logical point against it. I think that no intelligent person can well deny the intellectual clumsiness with which the system of Sephirotic emanation is presented in works like the Greater Sacred Synod. We have, for example, such notions as the commencement of thought in *Ain Soph* which proceeds the emanation of understanding, thus reversing the psychological order, as the prelate well observes, besides formulating an absurdity concerning the one Being in whom there is no beginning. It may well be that in the last analysis these things are to be understood more profoundly than is suggested by their surface meaning, but they are crude and misleading enough in their outward sense.

XIX.—THE KABALAH AND ESOTERIC CHRISTIANITY

A discussion of the points of contact between Christianity and the mystical tradition of the Jews must not close without some reference to a scheme of mystical Christianity which obtained for a period a certain vogue in English occult circles and met with especial commendation from certain Kabalistic, students. I refer to the New Gospel of Interpretation, founded on illuminations received, or believed to have been received, by Anna Bonus Kingsford, and developed since her decease, not perhaps always

acceptably, by her collaborator and co-recipient, Edward Maitland, now also passed away. The text books of this movement were, firstly, a small collection containing the illuminations, and, secondly a formal treatise which, under the title of "The Perfect Way," constituted a philosophical development and historical verification of the doctrines received by the seeress. Mr. S. L. McGregor Mathers dedicated his English translation of some of the Zoharistic books to the authors of this treatise on the ground that it was "one of the most deeply occult works that has (*sic*) been written for centuries." The dedication also described it as an "excellent and wonderful book," touching much on the doctrines of the Kabalah and laying great value upon its teachings. It was welcomed in terms of still higher appreciation by Baron Spedalieri, of Marseilles, the disciple of Éliphas Lévi, who regarded it as "in complete accord with all mystical traditions, and especially with the great mother of these, the Kabalah." In connection with this appreciation the respectable French occultist observed: (*a*) That the Kabalistic tradition as we now possess it is far from genuine, and was much purer when it first emerged from the sanctuaries. (*b*) That when William Postel and his brother Hermetists predicted that the literature containing the secret tradition of the Jews would become known and understood at "the end of the era," they meant that it would be made the basis of "a new illumination," reinstating that tradition in its purity. (*c*) That this illumination and this restoration have been accomplished in "The Perfect Way." He adds: "In this book we find all that there is of truth in the

Kabalah, supplemented by new intuitions, such as present a body of doctrine at once complete, homogeneous, logical and inexpugnable. Since the whole tradition thus finds itself recovered or restored to its original purity, the prophecies of Postel and his fellow Hermetists are accomplished ; and I consider that from henceforth the study of the Kabalah will be but an object of curiosity and erudition, like that of Hebrew antiquities."

If this be the case, the inquiry with which we have been occupied at such considerable length is only prolegomenary to the New Gospel of Interpretation, and our concluding words should be simply to direct the student who is in search of the true meaning of esoteric tradition to the doctrines contained in this last word of revelation. Indeed, such a course would seem at first sight the only one which could be followed. I must add, however, that the opinion expressed by Baron Spedalieri has produced no consequence, that the Kabalistic School of occultists in England has not followed the lead thus indicated, and would not endorse the opinion, though committed to a certain extent in the same direction, while the New Gospel of Interpretation has taken no permanent hold on the occult thought of the time. It is still occasionally quoted with respect by writers who represent Kabalism, and notably by Dr. Wynn Westcott, the translator of the "Book of Formation," but this is the extent of its influence. I infer also that Baron Spedalieri's statement as to the adulteration of the genuine tradition in the Hebrew Kabalah would not be traversed seriously, but for its recovery occultists seem inclined

to look backward towards Egypt rather than to any form of supplementary revelation.

I do not propose to recite here even the leading aspects of the system of esoteric Christianity developed in "The Perfect Way," for the work is well known and its substance has been made accessible in many forms, thanks to the untiring devotion of Mr. Edward Maitland. It does offer some conspicuous points of contact with the tradition of the Kabalah, especially as to the dual nature of God, or the Divine-Feminine, and "the multiplicity of principles in the human system"; but it would be easy to exaggerate their extent, as also, in some less conspicuous cases, their importance. The traceable references are few and superficial. We may find, for example, the Kabalistic doctrine of *Ain Soph* and His emanations in the statement that "God unmanifest and abstract is the Primordial Mind, and the Kosmic universe is the ideation of that Mind," but it is not a far-reaching correspondence. So also the conception of Macroprosopus reflected in Microprosopus is thinly sketched by the following passage. "In 'the Lord' the Formless assumes a form, the Nameless a name, the Infinite the Definite, and these human. But, although 'the Lord is God manifested as a man' in and to the souls of those to whom the vision is vouchsafed, it is not as man in the exclusive sense of the term and masculine only, but as man both masculine and feminine" (Microprosopus it will be remembered is androgyne), "at once man and woman, as is Humanity itself." I should add that the "new Gospel" maintained the divinity of the Kabalah on the ground of the purity of its doctrine of correspondences, which shows that

"this famous compendium belongs to a period prior to that destruction by the priesthoods of the equilibrium of the sexes which constituted in one sense the "Fall." With this statement of its Divine origin may be brought into contrast the interpretation of the claim made by the Kabalah as to the manner of its delivery. "When it is said that these Scriptures were delivered by God first of all to Adam in Paradise, and then to Moses on Sinai, it is meant that the doctrine contained in them is that which man always discerns when he succeeds in attaining to that inner and celestial region of his nature where he is taught directly of his own Divine Spirit, and knows even as he is known." As "The Perfect Way" and its connections assume to be the outcome of a similar quality of discernment, it follows, of course, that it is a recovery of "the doctrine commonly called the *Gnosis*, and variously entitled Hermetic and Kabbalistic."

I should add that many thoughtful persons have found in "The Perfect Way" a "fountain of light, interpretative and reconciliatory," that much of its interpretation indicates a rare quality of genius; yet it was not free at the beginning from the fantastic element, and it depends to some extent on philological arguments which are more than fantastic. Also at the close of Mr. Maitland's life he wrote much which must have been regretted by his friends, bringing his earlier work into discredit by exaggerated claims concerning it. Taking it as a whole "The Perfect Way" cannot, I think, be regarded as a master-key to the Kabalah, or as anything indeed but a series of suggestions and glimpses concerning the

hidden sense of many sacred scriptures, the full unfolding of which will not perhaps be accomplished even in the twentieth century.

XX.—THE KABALAH AND MODERN THEOSOPHY

The attempt which was made in the year 1875, by the foundation of the Theosophical Society, to extend and perhaps to centralise the study of Oriental Occult Philosophy, has, in spite of its chequered history, succeeded to a very large extent in that object. If we remove from consideration certain claims advanced by the founders, about which it would be unbecoming to speak positively, as it would be impossible and misplaced here to attempt their full discussion, and if we regard the Society rather as it assumes to regard itself, namely, as an organisation designed to promote a neglected branch of knowledge, we have only to survey its literature during the past twenty years to see how large a field it has succeeded in covering. No occult student will be inclined to overlook this fact, and as the Theosophical Society possesses at least this aspect of importance, it will be useful to ascertain how far the expositions of eastern philosophy which we owe to it connect with the subject of our inquiry.

It may be said in a general manner that the correspondences which I have already established are, of course, recognised. The cosmology and pueumatology of Jewish esoteric tradition are regarded, roughly speaking, as reflections or derivatives from an older knowledge and a higher teaching

which has existed from time immemorial in the farthest East.* I suppose it would not be denied that the peculiar methods of the Kabalah are, so to speak, indigenous, but with these there is little sympathy and indeed little acquaintance.† Nor do I throughout trace a sufficient warrant in knowledge for the expression of particular opinions. The author of "Isis Unveiled" and "The Secret Doctrine" had, it must be confessed, an enormous budget of materials, but not very carefully selected. On the one hand, she gives us information which we are not able to check because we do not know her authorities; on the other she makes statements occasionally with which it is difficult to agree. Thus, she distinguishes between the ordinary, or Judaistic, and the universal, or Oriental Kabalah. If little be known of the one, there is nothing, at least nothing that is definite, known of the other. "Its adepts are few; but these heirs elect of the sages who first discovered 'the starry truths which shone on the great Shemaïa of the Chaldæan lore' have solved the 'absolute' and are now resting from their grand labour."‡ That is a statement which, of course, we cannot check, and for any critical study of the Jewish Kabalah it can,

* Compare the ignorant absurdity and assurance of the late W. Q. Judge, who did not scruple to affirm that Abraham, Moses and Solomon were members of the ancient lodge of adepts from whom this high teaching has been handed down. "The Ocean of Theosophy," New York, 1893, c. 1. "Echoes" of this kind "from the burnished and mysterious East," to quote Judge terminology ("Echoes from the Orient," p. 5, New York, 1890), do not find response among theosophical writers in England.

† It is, however, said that "there was at all times a Kabalistic Literature among the Jews." *Secret Doctrine*, iii., 166. This is simply without warrant, and is contradicted by the literature itself.

‡ "Isis Unveiled," i., 17.

therefore, carry no weight. It may be taken to indicate a growing feeling among occultists of all schools that the Hebrew tradition has been perverted.* It may be accepted also as evidence that because the term Kabalah signifies an oral reception it has come to be used in connection with any unwritten knowledge. Such a course is very inexact and misleading, but the same abuse of words is found in Paracelsus and many later writers. It serves, however, a purpose not intended by those who use it; it distinguishes between scholar and sciolist. The statement which we cannot check is, however, usually accompanied by the statement that we can, In the present case we are told that the "Book of Occultation" is "the most ancient Hebrew document on occult learning,"† and I much doubt whether this would be countenanced by any student who was acquainted with the strong claims of the "Book of Formation," to say nothing of the literature which belongs to Talmudic times. It is added that the *Sepher Dzenioutha* was compiled from another and older work which is not named, but it is stated that there is only one "original copy" in existence, and that this is "so very old that our modern antiquarians might ponder over its pages an indefinite time, and still not quite agree as to the nature of the fabric upon which it is written."‡ Till antiquaries

* One theosophical writer, however, maintains that "the collection of writings known as the Bible constitutes but one of a number of records which are all derived from and based upon one unifying system, known at times as the Ancient Wisdom Religion, or Secret Doctrine." W. Kingsland. "The Esoteric Basis of Christianity," part I., p. 15, London, 1891.

† "Isis Unveiled," i., 1. ‡ *Ibid.*

are furnished with the opportunity they will be tempted to dismiss this claim. With both these classes of statement we may connect the affirmation that is not evident in itself and is supported by doubtful reasoning, Thus we are told of Oriental Kabalists who assert that the traditions of their science are more than seventy thousand years old, concerning which claim it is observed that modern science cannot prove it to be false, but the question is whether Kabalists, oriental or otherwise, have any colourable pretence of evidence to produce in support of its truth. We may pass over as circumspectly as possible the writer's personal pretension to a first-hand acquaintance with Kabalistic books once indisputably in existence, but now lost. Of such is the Chaldæan Book of Numbers,* which, according to another authority, is a companion to the *Æsh Metzareph*,† but is declared in "Isis Unveiled" to be a part of the great Oriental Kabalah, namely, the patrimony of the persons previously described as having "solved the absolute."‡ To the lesson which is taught by observations of this kind we may add the borrowed view which rests on bad criticism, as, for example, that the Talmud is "the darkest of enigmas even for most Jews,"§ thus attributing a mystical sense to the commentaries

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* This work is said to be much superior to the Zohar. "Secret Doctrine," i., 214. It is, in fact, the only real Kabalah, *ib.*, iii., 170. It appears to be now in possession of certain Persian sufis *(ib.)*, an interesting statement which I have not, however, felt authorised to make use of in Book iii., § 6, of this study.

† This is Dr. Westcott's opinion. Madame Blavatsky adds that the Sepher Yetzirah is also a portion of the Book of Numbers.

‡ *Ibid.*, i., 579. § *Ibid.*, i., 17.

on the exoteric laws of Israel, the value of which attribution has already been exhibited. I must admit, however, that many considerable names and one of great weight with occultists can be quoted in support of this opinion.*

It would serve no purpose to extend further the correction of such manifest errors or to enumerate all the singular assertions which rest more or less exclusively on the good authority of Madame Blavatsky. It will be sufficient to refer to her views upon the authenticity of the Zohar.† On the one hand the author is said to be R. Simeon ben Jochai;‡ again, it was "edited for the first time" between A.D. 70 and 110;§ and yet again, it was written, as it now stands, by R. Moses de Leon, the original being lost, though at the same time its contents were "scattered through a number of minor MSS." R. Moses had Syriac, Chaldaic, and Christian Gnostics to help him. Such opinions are without any warrant for serious criticism.||

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* The best test of Madame Blavatsky's first-hand knowledge of the subject is the fact that she calls the *Liber Drushim* of Isaac de Loria a part of the Talmud, and thence proceeds to exhibit the Sephirotic doctrine of that collection. "Secret Doctrine," i., 438. The symbolism of the Lesser Countenance is also referred to the Talmud. *Ibid.*, i., 350.

† It is characteristic that she should regard the Zohar as not sufficiently esoteric. *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, iii., 92. She also says that it was on account of his possession of the "secret knowledge" that R. Simeon was forced to take refuge in the cave. After this version of a matter of fact we shall not be surprised to learn that St. Peter was a Kabalist (*ib.*, iii., 125), that the Count de St. Germain had access to unknown Vatican MSS. on the Kabalah, which MSS. contain information regarding the Central Sun (*ib.*, ii., 237), or that the Zohar is "called also the Midrash," as if the last term were particular, and not generic (*ib.*, iii., 167).

§ *Ibid.*, iii., 167. || *Ibid.*, i., 114, 230; iii., 167.

BOOK VIII

THE KABALAH AND OTHER CHANNELS OF ESOTERIC TRADITION

ARGUMENT

Modern occultism regards all the secret sciences as vehicles of the great occult tradition, but this is outside the purpose of the present inquiry, which is confined to estimating the extent of the influence exercised by Kabalism on other branches of esoteric knowledge in the West. It is found that this influence has been much exaggerated in the West. It has been unquestionably large in the case of ceremonial magic, but very small in that of alchemy, of astrology, &c. Freemasonry has also been regarded by occultists as a channel of the secret tradition, but its connection with Kabalism is slight. The claims of the Tarot as a key of Kabalistic symbolism are set aside, without prejudice to their merits, because of an insuperable difficulty. As a conclusion to the whole research the doctrine of pure mysticism is contrasted with that of Kabalism and the points reached in the investigation are brought into a single focus.

I. THE KABALAH AND MAGIC

It was established at the outset of our inquiry that occult speculations do not consider any single system as the exclusive depository of occult knowledge; a variety of channels are recognised, and by the network of communications subsisting between these channels the occult sciences are methodised and their

identities and analogies exhibited. There is an enormous divergence of opinion as to what may and may not constitute a path of the secret tradition, individual predilection exercising, as will be supposed, no inconsiderable influence. We may conclude in a general manner that the tradition being ubiquitous by the hypothesis is thought to have assumed its forms everywhere and at all times. There was, for example, no exoteric religion which did not possess an esoteric interpretation* and there was no esoteric interpretation which did not connect that religion with all that is more especially understood here by the secret teaching. For this hypothesis the integral connection of Kabalism with other systems belonging to the far past would be evidence enough that it had its root in the secret tradition, but, without denying altogether that there may be a certain warrant for a not dissimilar view, we have found that many of the resemblances may be accounted for in a more natural and spontaneous manner. As, however, it was in the western world that Kabalism was chiefly propagated, and may be said roughly to have developed,† it is necessary to observe its connections with other channels by which the arcane knowledge is believed to have been communicated to the West. These are Magic, Alchemy, Astrology, the occult associations which culminated in Freemasonry, and, finally, an obscure sheaf of hieroglyphs known as Tarot cards.

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* John Yarker: "Notes on the Scientific and Religious Mysteries of Antiquity," p. 5.

† If the derivation of the Zohar from R. Simeon ben Jochai be admitted, Palestine was, of course, the birthplace of that work. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, who defends this derivation, accepts also what follows therefrom.

There is also a side question as to whether devotional mysticism, apart from any formal initiation, shows any trace of Kabalism over and above that of unconscious analogy. Like the studies which have preceded it, the object of this concluding book is rather to correct misconceptions than to establish novel views. Far too much stress has been laid upon the common basis of all the occult sciences, while those who look for their enlightenment more especially to the Kabalistic apparatus have been unduly predisposed to discern Kabalism at the root of all. We shall see that in most instances the connection was accidental, a matter of adornment, late in its introduction, or chiefly of the historical order. The paramount exception to this statement is the first system with which we have here to deal. There is no doubt that Magic in the West * owes its processes and its complexion to Kabalism, though it would be folly to pretend that without Kabalism there would have been no Western Magic.†

I propose in the present section to restrict the use of the term Magic within the narrow limits of its common acceptation. To take it in its higher

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* "The Kabalah is the source of all the vain imaginations which form the basis of Magic, and many Jews devoted to the Kabalah are also addicted thereto, abusing the names of God and the angels for the performance of things supernatural." Moreri: *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, Tom. ii., s.v. *Cabale*. Amsterdam, 1740.

† The strength of the connection is exhibited by the modern literature of *colportage* in France. *La Grande et Véritable Science Cabalistique* is still *la Sorcellerie dévoilée*, and it is under such titles that the mutilated reprints of the "Great Albert," the "Little Albert" and the "Red Dragon" appear in the obscure by-ways of Paris, usually without place or date. Similar productions of the last century also exhibit it; see the anonymous *Télescope de Zoroastre ou Clef de la Grande Cabale divinatoire des Mages*, *s.l.*, 1796.

sense,* as equivalent to Divine Wisdom, would make it superfluous to inquire whether it connects with a tradition which lays claim to the same definition. The question as it is understood here is rather historical than metaphysical, and is concerned only with the Western world. The White and Black Magic of the Middle Ages constitutes a kind of spurious practical Kabalah which represents Jewish esoteric science debased to the purposes of the sorcerer, and it is necessary that we should estimate it at its true worth, because it has been the subject of much misconception not only among uninstructed persons but even professed students.

A study of the Zoharistic writings, their developments and commentaries, even with the slender materials which are offered in this work, will show that the ends proposed by the speculative Kabalah are very different from the evocation of spirits, the raising of ghosts, the discovery of concealed treasures, the bewitchments and other mummeries of Ceremonial Magic. The Kabalah, does, however, countenance, as we have seen, the doctrine of the power resident in Divine Names,† and it is in fact one of the burdens of its inheritance. Of the antiquity and diffusion of that doctrine there can be no doubt; in one or other of its forms it has obtained almost universally, and, like all universal beliefs, behind the insensate character which it exhibits externally

* It would be unwise to deny that there is a higher sense, but such attempts to present it as Dr. Franz Hartmann's "Magic White and Black" are much too highly coloured to possess any historical value.

† See the important chapter on the Name of God in J. Leusden's *Philologus Hebræus*, 1672.

there may be an inward reason which accounts for it. Without attempting an inquiry in which we should be probably baffled, it is sufficient here to indicate that at the sources to which Kabalistic tradition is generally referred, namely, Akkadia, Chaldæa and Babylonia, this doctrine prevailed; it was no doubt brought out of Babylon by the Jews, and they carried it with them into the dispersion of the third exile. It inspired a whole cycle of bizarre legends concerning Solomon and his marvels. More than this, it may be said to be directly connected with the Kabalistic symbolism concerning the divine powers and qualities attaching to the Hebrew alphabet. The worlds were made, so to speak, by the instrument of a single letter, and four letters are the living forces which actuate them. There can be therefore no question that every Kabalist accepted, symbolically at least, the doctrine of the power of words. It must have passed very early into unfortunate applications;* sacred names were written on amulets and talismans which were used to heal diseases, to avert evil chances and so forth.† But it was a part also of the Chaldæan doctrine that the

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* The *Sepher Raziel*, referred to Eleazer of Worms, and posing as an angelic revelation to Noah, has been already mentioned. With its talismans and philtres, its double seal of Solomon, its mystic or occult alphabetical symbols, its figures for the government of evil spirits, and its conjurations by means of the Divine Names, this work constitutes one of the storehouses of mediæval magic, besides being chiefly responsible for the whole of the practical Kabalah.

† So far as regards the early Christian centuries, the question is settled by a reference in the thirty-third Sermon of Origen by way of commentary on St. Matthew, wherein allusion is made to a book of exorcisms or adjurations of Demons passing under the name of Solomon, which was no doubt the prototype of the later *Keys* and *Grimoires*.

possessor of the Divine Name could, in some obscure way, influence the God to whom it was attributed. Above all, the demons and evil spirits became subservient to the power of such words. Here is the germ of which the last development, or rather the final corruption, is to be found in the French grimoires of Black Magic.

It was, broadly speaking, somewhere about the fourteenth century that a Latin literature rose up in Europe, passing subsequently into the vernaculars of various countries, containing processes for compelling spirits by means of Divine Names which are corruptions of Hebrew terms.* The processes pretend to be translated from the Hebrew, but, if so, the originals are not extant. The chief of them is known as the "Key of Solomon," of which there are two recensions, more correctly regarded as distinct works under an identical title.† Among the points which should be observed concerning them is the fact that while they are concerned with all classes of spirits, good and evil, for every variety of purpose, but mostly illicit, they contain no formulæ for dealing with the dead, and this, I think, indicates their Jewish origin, for the Jews had very strong feelings as to the sacred nature of the repose of the human

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* Jean Wier, a demonologist of the sixteenth century, in his *Histoires, Disputes et Discours des Illusions et Impostures des Diables*, gives a list of magical works current at his period under great names of the past, and points out that the art which they deal with has depraved the most secret interpretation of the Divine Law, known as Kabalah among the Jews.—See the reprint of this work, Paris, 1885, i., 175.

† A work passing under this name was condemned in a Decree of Pope Gelasius....See Antonius van Dale: *De Origine et Progressu Idolatriæ*, Amsterdam, 1696, p. 558.

soul. Out of these two works there was developed subsequently a larger variety of processes, more distinctly spurious, which did enter into necromantic mysteries. They begot also many variations adapted for the use of Christian operators, and containing sacred words the efficacy of which would not have been so promptly acknowledged by a Hebrew.

It is one thing to note the existence of this literature and to confess its derivation; it is another, and as I think an unfortunate policy, to exalt works like the "Key of Solomon" into embodiments of genuine Kabalistic tradition. It is an insult to the rabbins of the Holy Synod to suggest their connection with the puerilities and imbecility of Ceremonial Magic. It has been done in England and is being done at this day in France.* The professed Kabalistic occultists of the latter country would actually seem to ascribe a superior importance and an additional aspect of mystery to the worthless Clavicles of Solomon, by representing that they are the only written memorials of a most secret oral branch of practical Kabalism instead of the final debasement of a perfectly traceable if not rationally accountable doctrine concerning Divine Names. Dr. Papus observes: "The practical part of the Kabalah is barely indicated in a few manuscripts scattered through our great libraries. At Paris, the *Bibliothèque Nationale* possesses one of the finest exemplars, of which the

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* There is some ground for supposing that the first express attempts to identify Magic with Kabalism must be referred to Germany. There are numerous earlier examples, but Welling's *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum*, Hamburg, 1765, is a good instance, and it is also a work of some interest.

origin is attributed to Solomon. These manuscripts, generally known under the name of *Clavicles*, are the basis of all the old grimoires which circulate in country places (the Great and Little Albert, Red Dragon and *Enchiridion*) and of those which drive priests into mental alienation by sorcery (Grimoire of Honorius)." The statement does not exhibit full acquaintance with the works which it mentions; the *Enchiridion* in its earliest forms owes little to the "Keys of Solomon," and the Grimoire of Honorius is not more concerned with sorcery than are rituals like the Red Dragon. Finally, the intellectual and moral difference between the Clavicles and their derivatives is so slight that it is scarcely worth labouring. As regards their scope and intention, the Clavicles are themselves grimoires. I have indicated the possibility that behind the ancient doctrine of the virtue resident in certain theurgic words and formulæ there may be concealed a secret of the sanctuaries; so also the apparatus of Ceremonial Magic may be a travesty and disfigurement of an occult practice known also to the occult sanctuaries, but no one is on the track of these mysteries who begins by mistaking *signum* for *signatum* on the one hand or the mutilated reflection for the original on the other.

The general fact remains that it is by the perversion of the Kabalah that we have obtained the grimoires, and that the sympathetic student of the Jewish tradition must tolerate this unwelcome fact as he best can.*

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* A work belonging to this class, but more elaborate and interesting than most of them, goes to show that a Jew in possession of the "Holy Traditions of the Kabalah" and also of the secrets of

I should prefer to ignore altogether this so-called practical part of the Kabalah, but so much importance having been attributed to it by modern occultists, it seems necessary for the sake of completeness to say something briefly of its materials and its method. It was concerned above all with the names of God, firstly, as they are found in Holy Scripture, and, secondly, as their mysteries were developed by means of Kabalistic processes. It attributed certain names to the *Sephiroth*, and these were regarded as analogous to the divine forces and attributes associated with the *Sephiroth*.

The Divine Name connected with *Kether* was that signifying the essence of the Deity, *Eheieh* (AHIH). That of *Chokmah* is *Jod*, *Jah*, or *Tetragrammaton*, commonly rendered Jehovah (JHVH), and susceptible of twelve permutations, similar to the sealing names of IHV in the Sepher Yetzirah. These permutations are called Banners by the Kabalists. The name *Jehovah Elohim* (JHVH ALHIM) is attributed to *Binah* and signifies God of Gods. *El* (AL) is referred to *Chesed*, and its meaning, according to Rosenroth, is God of Grace and Ruler of Mercy. *Geburah* is in correspondence with *Elohim Gibor*, the strong God who avenges the

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practical Magic, bequeathed the first to his elder and the second to his younger son. What happened when there were more than two sons does not appear.—See the "Book of the Sacred Magic," translated by S. L. MacGregor Mathers, London, 1898. The original is an MS. in the Arsénal Library, Paris, and belongs to the 18th century, but it claims to have been written in Hebrew in the year 1458, which claim, by the internal evidence, is manifestly imposture. Even its Jewish authorship is unlikely. Mr. Mathers, who has a certain erudition but is devoid of critical judgment, accepts every claim advanced by this work, as he accepts that of the "Key of Solomon."

crimes of the wicked. *Eloah va Daath* is the Divine Name of *Tiphereth* (ALVH V DATh); *Jehovah* or *Adonai Tzabaoth* (ADNI TsBAVTh), the God or Lord of Hosts, is connected with *Netzach; Elohim Tzabaoth*, of similar meanîng, belongs to *Hod; Shaddai El Chai* (ShDI AL ChI), the omnipotent living God, is referable to *Jesod; Adonai Melekh* (ADNI MLK) to *Malchuth.*

But the ten *Sephiroth* are naturally connected with the ten numbers, and hence there was an occult power resident in numerals analogous to that which was inherent in the Hebrew letters; the divine names belonging to the *Sephiroth* were those also of the scale of the denary, but over and above these there were other names referred to the numbers based on the number of the letters which gave expression to these names. Thus, the number one was represented by the single letter *Jod*, understood as a Divine Name, and not in its alphabetical order in which it is equivalent to ten. The number two was represented by JH and AL; the number three by ShDI=Shaddai; the number four by JHVH and AHIH; five by ALHIM, to which I presume that Christian Kabalism has added JHShVH=*Jehoshuah* or Jesus; six by ALVThIM and AL GBVR; seven by ARARITA and AShRAHIH; eight by ALVH V DATh and JHVH V DATh; nine by JHVH TsBAVTh, ALHIM GBVR, and JHVH TsDQNV; ten by ALHIM TsBAVTh and by the extended *Tetragrammaton* JVD HA VAV HA. It may be added in this connection that according to Cornelius Agrippa simple numbers were used to express divine things, numbers of ten were for

celestial, numbers of one hundred for earthly, and numbers of a thousand for things to come. The Divine Names and their qualifications were also tabulated in reference to the twenty-two letters.

Of these names the greatest power and virtue were attributed to the *Tetragrammaton*, which was the root and foundation of all and the ruling force of the world; its true pronunciation, as already seen, was one of the secrets of the sanctuary and for Kabalistic magic was the master key of all successful operation. With this was connected the name of 72 letters obtained by the Kabalistic computation of the numbers of the letters of *Tetragrammaton* after a conventional manner, as follows :—

$$\left.\begin{array}{r} \text{Jod} = 10 \\ \text{Jod He} = 15 \\ \text{Jod He Vau} = 21 \\ \text{Jod He Vau He} = 26 \end{array}\right\} = 72$$

After the Divine Names come those of the orders of the angels and the chiefs of the hierarchy, concerning which something has been said already in the section on Kabalistic Pneumatology. It would serve no purpose to enumerate all the complicated apparatus developed in this connection. The ten archangels and the ten angelic orders corresponded to the ten divine names connected with the *Sephiroth* and the name of 72 letters had 72 other angels attributed thereto, whose names were extracted by a conventional device from Exodus xiv. 19, 20, 21. There were angels of the cardinal points, rulers of the four elements, angels of the planets, angels of the Divine presence, and in opposition to all these there were also evil spirits, princes of Devils, held to be

"offensive in the elements," and so forth. This apparatus passed bodily over to the ceremonial magic of the middle ages, which the debased Kabalah may be said to have constituted and ruled throughout, and it is for this reason that Western conventional magic has so little connection with folk-lore.

II.—THE KABALAH AND ALCHEMY

Some reference has been made to the subject of Hermetic tradition when considering the Kabalistic treatise entitled "Purifying Fire." We have there seen that the Hermetic and Kabalistic philosophies are generally ascribed to a common source, and this is the case with sympathetic as well as hostile critics. The question, however, is exceedingly complicated, and though I should have much hesitation in differing from such a consensus of authorities,* I am not less sure that as regards the branch of Hermetic philosophy which is known under the name of alchemy, we should be exceedingly careful about making and accepting statements. We must begin first of all by distinguishing the earlier books ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, and not concerned with the transmutation of metals,†

* In a pamphlet entitled "The Science of Alchymy," by "Sapere Aude," Fra. R.R. et A.C., the "sages of mediæval Europe are said" to have derived their knowledge of this subject, (1) from the Arabs, (2) from the heirs of the traditional lore now identified by the name "Kabalah," (3) from ancient Egypt. Of these alleged sources, the first only is historically certain.

† Compare, however, the anonymous preface to the first English translation of the Divine Poimander, that of Dr. John Everard, 1650;

from such late compositions, to make use of no stronger term, as the Emerald Table and the Golden Treatise. When Isaac Myer affirms that many of the doctrines of the Kabalah, more or less veiled, may be found in the books attributed to Hermes Trismegistus,* the reference obtains only, and can be intended only, to the *Divine Poimander*, the *Asclepios* and other tracts, the existence of which can be traced about or prior to the fourth century, A.D. We may search the Greek alchemists in vain for any definite doctrinal connection with these works, though Hermes is naturally included among the great names of antiquity who are associated with the making of gold, and there are also other references to this mystical personage. While we must discount altogether such extreme opinions as that of Isaac Casaubon, who represents the earlier Hermetic treatises as the work of a Kabalistic adept who was probably a Jew of Alexandria,† we have numerous general reasons for admitting that there were points of contact between Neo-Platonism

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here the possession of "the great Elixir of the Philosophers" is ascribed to Hermes Termaximus. See also Dr. Westcott's observations prefixed to his verbatim reprint, Collectanea Hermetica, vol. 2, London, 1894.

* "The Philosophy of Ibn Gebirol," pp. 166, 167.

† M. Berthelot, however, observes that "the *rôle* attributed to the Jews in the propagation of alchemical ideas recalls that which they enjoyed at Alexandria during the contact of Greek culture with the culture of Egypt and Chaldea. It is known that the Jews exercised an influence of the first importance in this fusion of the religious and scientific doctrines of the East and of Greece, which presided at the birth of Christianity. The Alexandrian Jews were for one moment at the head of science and philosophy." — *Les Origines de l'Alchimie*, Paris, 1885.

and the Kabalah,* as seen in an earlier section. The connection of alchemy with Hermes is not through the Hermetic books of the Neo-Platonic period, and its Kabalistic correspondences must also be sought elsewhere. Among the writings of Zosimus the Panopolite, which belong to the third century,† there is a quotation from the "True Book of Sophe the Egyptian" concerning the Divine Lord of the Hebrews and the powers of Sabaoth, which affirms that there are two sciences and two wisdoms, that of the Egyptians and that of the Hebrews, the second being rendered "more solid by Divine Justice."‡ Both come from remote ages; they do not investigate material and corruptible bodies; their generation operates independently of any foreign action, sustained by prayer and divine grace. Then comes the following significant passage, which accounts for the philosophical work of alchemy being likened to that of God in the creation. "The symbol of chemistry is drawn from creation (in the

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* M. le Chevalier I. A. de Goulianov in his *Essai sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Horapollon*, &c., Paris, 1827, connects Hermetic and Kabalistic tradition on the fantastic ground that Enoch, who plays such an important part in the revelation of the Kabalah, is identical with the Edris of the Orientals and with Hermes (p. 48).

† As Louis Figuier's popular work, entitled *L'Alchimie et les Alchimistes*, is much quoted by occultists, and is therefore presumably in the hands of some of them, it will be well to point out that he classes all Byzantine literature of alchemy as apocryphal, and the work of monks belonging to the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries. There was never much excuse for this opinion, and it is only necessary to add that since the researches of Berthelot it has become impossible. I may add that, throughout, Figuier's work, though exceedingly interesting, is most inaccurate as regards its facts, and of no consequence as to its opinions and inferences. Consult, on the point involved, the third edition, p. 6, Paris, 1860.

‡ *Collection des anciens alchimistes Grecs, livraison* ii., p. 206.

eyes of its adepts) who save and purify the divine soul enchained in the elements, and, above all, who separate the divine spirit confounded with the flesh. As there is a sun, the flower of the fire, a celestial sun, the right eye of the world, so copper, if it become flower (that is, if it assume the colour of gold) by purification, becomes then a terrestrial sun, which is king on earth, as the sun is king in the sky."* There is no doubt that this is a very important citation. It shows why the early Hermetic books came to be regarded as alchemical in later times, and it institutes a striking parallel between Egyptian and Jewish science. But that the latter is the science of the Kabalah there is no evidence to cite. So also the reference to the Labyrinth of Solomon which occurs among the remains of still earlier Greek alchemists is a mediæval interpolation.† In short, the celebrated Byzantine collection, which is so far the source of all alchemy, shows no traces of acquaintance with the Jewish secret tradition. The same observation applies to the early Arabian and Syriac alchemists who drew from Greek sources, though some extracts from Zosimus, with analyses, in a Syriac MS. possessed by the University of Cambridge, mention the talismans of Solomon, referred to the seven planets, and the power which they exercise over demons. When we add to this that in spite of such evidence for the connection between alchemy and the Kabalah as is offered by the late *Æsh Metzareph* there is very little, as already seen, to support it in the Zohar, it must be inferred that these two esoteric

* *Ibid.* † *Ibid.*

traditions grew up for a long peried in independence of one another.* Furthermore, there is no trace of any science of transmutation in ancient Egypt, and it is worth noting that the claim of alchemy rose into prominence precisely at that period when certain Chinese ports were first thrown open to Western commerce. If it be true, as it has been affirmed, that alchemy flourished in China from a remote period, that it possessed a literature, and that the terminology of this literature offers analogies with that which afterwards prevailed in the West, it may well be that we must look to the furthest East for the cradle of what is usually understood by Hermetic Science, namely, that of transmutation.† The subject is far too large to enter on in this place, but we shall do well to remember that the doctrine of the Macrocosm and the Microcosm, the analogy between spiritual and material, the Zoharistic symbolism of the balance, have all been traced to the oldest sacred books of the Chinese.‡ The analogies may not be so striking

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* It is fair, however, to state that the Leyden papyrus which contains the earliest known process of alchemical sophistication forms part of a Gnostic and theurgic collection. On this point, see Berthelot's *Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grees, livraison, Ie.*, p. 6 *et seq.* Albert Poisson, whose *Théories et Symboles des Alchimistes* is a contribution of real importance to the elucidation of Hermetic science, observes that "Alchemy among the Greeks was, by reason of its very origin, mixed up with magic and theurgy. Later on, thanks to the philosophic Arabs, this science became purified, and it was not till the fifteenth or sixteenth century that it allied itself afresh with the occult sciences properly so called. Thenceforth a considerable number of alchemists demanded the Key of the Great Work from the Kabalah, Magic and Alchemy."—Op. cit., p. 27. Paris, 1891.

† See "The Chinese," by Dr. W. A. P. Martin, New York, 1881.

‡ The most accessible work of reference is Isaac Myer's "Philosophy of Ibn Gebriol," appendix B. I mention this hypothesis so that it may be taken for what it is worth. See Book iii., § 5.

as the scholars who have discovered them have thought; as to this, we have no real means of deciding; but they indicate at least the possibility of a common source for both esoteric traditions at a centre not as yet acknowledged and at a very far epoch of the past.

Of course, as time went on, and as alchemical literature developed in Europe, a connection undoubtedly arose with the Kabalah.* The *Æsh Metzareph* is one of its evidences; many Kabalists became alchemists; a few alchemists studied the Kabalah. But it is still a slight and occasional connection which we must be careful not to exaggerate: there is also very little trace of it prior to the seventeenth century,† when writers like Fludd concerned themselves with both subjects, and Khunrath‡ introduced Kabalistic symbolism into the pictorial emblems of transmutation.§

The best proof of these statements is the literary history of the *Æsh Metzareph* itself. Mr.

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* "Alchemy, a science of observation, could not profit in any way by its alliance with the Kabalah, which was purely a speculative science."—Poisson, *Théories et Symboles des Alchimistes*, p. 28.

† Poisson refers this confusion of one occult science with another mainly to Paracelsus, but I have already given full proof of the very slender connection between this adept and the esoteric tradition of the Jews.

‡ *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Æternæ*, with which compare the second tract of the *Trinum Chemicum Secundum*. Strasbourg, 1700.

§ There is a treatise entitled "The Azoth of the Philosophers" which passes under the name of Basil Valentine, and suggests a certain connection with Kabalism, because the term Azoth is composed of the first and final letters of the Greek, Latin and Hebrew alphabets. It has been called into requisition accordingly, but the foundation is exceedingly slight. Moreover, the term is at least as old as pseudo-Geber, while the treatise attributed to Basil Valentine is of doubtful authenticity, and was excluded from the collection of Mangetus.

Mathers observes that it is "known to few, and when known is understood by still fewer."* If this were its position in the year 1887, it may be truly said that when alchemy most flourished in the West, the treatise had never been heard of, being first mentioned by Rosenroth at the end of the seventeenth century. Prior to that date there is no case within my knowledge of its quotation by any alchemist, and although the *Kabbala Denudata* was described on its title-page as *Scriptum omnibus philologis, philosophis, theologis omnium religionum, atque* PHILOCHYMICIS *quam utilissimum*, I believe that only one alchemical writer concerned himself with it after the appearance of its fragments among the *Apparatus in Librum Sohar.* This was the "Lover of Philalethes," who collected and translated the fragments in 1714 and also published in the same year "A Short Enquiry Concerning the Hermetic Art,"† which introduces certain citations from the *Æsh Metzareph* and connects them with the symbolism of the Doves of Diana first introduced into alchemy by Eirenæus Philalethes.

It follows, however, from what has been stated previously that the literary connection between the Kabalah and alchemy does not begin so late as

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* "The Kabbalah Unveiled," Introduction, p. 15.

† Reprinted in Dr. Wynn Westcott's *Collectanea Hermetica*, vol. 3, London, 1894; the preface, which is not by the editor, states that the "Short Enquiry" was "written with special reference" to the *Æsh Metzareph*, but there seems no foundation for this view. The little tract is largely a collection of opinions and quotations, not always derived from the best sources, for its author appears to regard Edward Kelley and Elias Ashmole as of equal authority with the acknowledged adepts of alchemy.

the first quarter of the eighteenth century* and though the *Æsh Metzareph* seems to have been cited methodically by only one writer, the influence of the *Kabbala Denudata* may be traced in Germany soon after its publication by means of an anonymous tract which pretends to treat of the chemical Kabalah† (*cabala chymica*) and has these words on its headline. This little work is incidentally of importance in more than one respect. On p. 16 there is a curious *Figura Cabalæ* where the light from the *Ens Entium* falls on a bearded figure holding the compass in the right and the square in the left hand, thus giving the characteristic symbols of emblematic Masonry in connection with the secret sciences at a date when such a connection would scarcely be expected on the Continent by modern scholarship. There are also some observations worth noting on the subject of regeneration which are useful for the mystical aspects of alchemy.‡ Unfortunately the correspondences between the Kabalah and transmutation seem to be confined to the title which I have quoted.

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* I except such slender analogies as the correspondence traced by *Sapere Aude* between the three worlds of Jean D'Espagnet and the four worlds of the Kabalists. See "Hermetic Arcanum," Collectanea Chemica, vol. 1 (Westcott's Edition), London, 1893.

† *Cabalæ verior Descriptio: das ist, Brundliche Beschriebungund Enveisung aller naturalischen und uber naturalischen Dingen boiedurch das Verbum Fiat das alles erschasun . . .* Hamburg, 1680. There was a later edition, Frankfort, 1761.

‡ A work of similar pretensions is F. Kiern's *Cabala Chymica: concordantia chymica, Azoth Philosophicum Solificatum*, Mülhausen, 1606. Here the term Cabala is simply a catchword derived from Paracelsus, and is used in this sense by a compiler belonging to the group of Paracelsian exponents, of whom Benedictus Figulus and Alexander von Suchten are the names now most remembered or least forgotten.

The most important information on the subject might be expected in Hoefer's "History of Chemistry,"* which claims to include an exposition of Kabalistic doctrines concerning the philosophical stone, but the term proves on examination to be used in the loose sense of the period, and out of two very large volumes there are only two pages devoted to the subject of the Kabalah.† The authorship of the Sepher Yetzirah is attributed to R. Akiba, and that of the Zohar to R. Simeon. It is also affirmed that Jewish and Arabian alchemists possessed an old knowledge of Kabalistic books, and that they were held by adepts in as much honour as those of Hermes Trismigestus. The evidence is unfortunately wanting, and as M. Hoefer also maintains that the science of transmutation was pursued in ancient Egypt, it would be unsafe to accept his opinion unsupported by other authority.‡

Before dismissing the Kabalistic connections of alchemy, a word must be said concerning two works which have been supposed to be examples of that connection, and to which some importance has been

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* Ferdinand Hoefer: *Histoire de la Chimie depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'a notre époque; comprenant une analyse detaillée des MSS. alchimiques de la Bibliothèque Royale de Paris; un exposé des doctrines cabalistiques sur la Pierre Philosophale*, etc., 2 vols., Paris, 1842, 1843. Mr. H. C. Bolton observes that this great work is superseded so far as the MSS. are concerned by the researches of Berthelot. See "A Select Bibliography of Chemistry, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Washington, 1893, p. 119.

† T. i., pp. 242-244.

‡ There is indeed one authority cited, namely, the *Apparatus* of Rosenroth, *Kab. Den.*, i., 441-443, and this is a quotation from the *Æsh Metzareph*, c. 7.

attached.* Both have the advantage, which they share in common with Khunrath and his *Amphitheatrum*, of precedence over the publication of Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*, and one is prior to any printed edition of the Zohar. It will be needless to say that neither shows an acquaintance with the *Æsh Metzareph*, nor do I observe in their contents anything to connect them with the Sephirotic attribution of the metals which is characteristic of that work. One is a treatise by Joannes Augustinus Pantheus, a Venetian priest, entitled *Ars et Theoria Transmutationis Metallicæ, cum Voarchadumia Proportionibus, muneris et iconibus rei accomodis illustrata.* It was published at Venice in April 1530.† Following the author himself, the Hermetic Lexicons interpret Voarchadumia, (*a*) as "a liberal art gifted with the virtues of occult science," a definition which leaves something to be desired; (*b*) as the Kabalistic science of metals. It is further a species of alchemical metallurgy, concerning "auriferous metallic veins;" it explains "the intrinsic fixed form and the natural yellow colour of gold; it distinguishes the heterogeneous, combustible, volatile parts, and exhibits

* There are others naturally in the large literature of alchemy, but they are not of Hermetic value, and, as in all cases, the Kabalistic connection is thin and elusive. Such is the *Philosophia Salomonis*, o Secret Cabinet of Nature, a German anonymous treatise published at Augsburg in 1753. Here the royal stone of alchemy is connected with the art of King Solomon, but there is no Kabalistic knowledge, and the work is quite worthless. See also: Cabala: *Spiegel der Kunst und Natur in Alchymia*, Augsburg, 1690, remarkable for its curious folding plates.

† Rare in the original edition, but rendered accessible by the reprint in Lazarus Zetner's *Theatrum Chemicum*, Argentorati, 1613, etc., second edition, 1659. See vol. ii., p. 459 *et seq.* A Paris edition is also mentioned, date 1550.

how the same may be conducted to the grade of perfection. It defines, lastly, the Matter of the work, "a heavy, corporeal, fixed, fusible, ductile, tinged, rarefied and arcane substance of Quicksilver or Mercury, and of an incombustible Metallic Sulphur, educed and transmuted into true gold by means of cementation."* It will be seen from this specimen of style that the work is very nearly unreadable, even for an alchemical treatise, and it will be enough for the present purpose to note the fact of its existence and to observe that it seeks to throw light on the mysteries of transmutation by calculations of *Gematria.* It exercised no influence, and no importance can be reasonably ascribed to it.

The other work is much better known to fame and it offers several interesting, and so far unsolved, problems to the student. This is the *Monas Hieroglyphica* of Dr. John Dee, first published in 1564, and containing an analysis of the planetary symbols attributed to the metals.† Thus, the symbol of Mercury ☿ is composed of the crescent ☽, which is the sign of silver, the circle ⊙, which is that of gold, and the cross representing the four elements. Special alchemical importance is attributed to their union in the sign which represents the fundamental matter of the philosophers as well as metallic quicksilver. It

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* See the anonymous English translation of Martinus Rulandus: *Lexicon Alchemiæ, sive Dictionarium Alchemisticum,* the edition of 1612. This translation, without date or place, was restricted to six copies, and includes a large "Supplement to the Alchemical Lexicon of Martinus Rulandus." The explanation of *Voarchadumia* occurs on p. 438.

† For the astrological aspect of this analysis, see some curious speculations in Alan Leo's "Practical Astrology," second edition, *n. d.*

will be seen that this is not in any sense information which helps to connect alchemy with Kabalism, though it is highly important for the obscure question of the origin and history of the astronomical signs.*

I may observe in conclusion that there is one possible connection between alchemy and Kabalism which would appear to be overlooked by all those who have instituted a comparison between them. It is supplied by the obscure but subsisting analogies between the ancient document of Latin alchemy known as the *Turba Philosophorum*† and the two Synods of the Zohar, I am not, of course, referring to the accidental similarity of form, though, having regard to the history of the *Turba*, this accident is certainly a feature of interest. There are statements and allusions in this obscure colloquy, more especially regarding the four elements of ancient chemistry, which offer curious points of contact with Kabalism. When we add to this that some scholars have referred the *Turba* in the guise that we at present possess it to a Hebrew original, now lost, and that its date, so far as it can be assigned, is somewhere between the promulgation of the Book of Formation and the Zohar, enough has been said in indication of a possibility upon which there is no need, as indeed there are few materials, to insist further.‡

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* For information and references see § xliv. of the *Eclaircissement Astronomique* appended to M. Bailly's *Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1781.

† See the "*Turba Philosophorum*, or Assembly of the Sages, called also the book of Truth in the Art, and the third Pythagorical Synod . . . Translated from the Latin . . . By A. E. Waite, London, 1896. I must confess that I have no theory as to the two previous Synods.

‡ It is due to my readers, and to the subject, to confess that I have not made an exhaustive examination of alchemical literature in

III. THE KABALAH AND ASTROLOGY

The modern school of Kabalism is inclined, as already remarked, to claim that all the occult sciences arise out of their own, but it seems more correct to infer that the Kabalah has been engrafted on some of them, and in this manner we have Kabalistic astrology, as we have also Kabalistic alchemy. To determine the superior accuracy of either view we must have recourse exclusively to history and literature. It is only in the instance of Ceremonial Magic that the voice of both is unanimously in favour

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reference to its connections with Kabalism. I have made myself acquainted with all sources which have been cited by those who affirm them, but as their observations have not been based upon a wide study of the alchemists, it is possible that my future researches may discover something which has, so far, been overlooked on both sides. I should note also that, according to M. Berthelot, "the Kabalah was bound up during the middle ages with alchemy, and the connection goes far back," that is, to the Leyden Papyrus as well as to the Greek alchemists. But I infer that this great authority has, so far as the mediæval period is concerned, received only a derived impression, or that at least his notion of the Kabalah has been obtained as such notions most commonly are. All his instances as to the earlier connections must be rejected decisively. Some of them, such as the "Labyrinth of Solomon," have been already dealt with; others are mere names—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the word Sabaoth "in papyri of the same family as No. 75 of Reuvens." It is further obvious that a reference by Zosimus to Solomon and his wisdom establishes no Kabalistic analogy. Finally, when the Greek alchemist traces the revelation of the sacred art from the Egyptians to the Jews, "who published it to the rest of the world," we must remember that this view belongs to a period which referred all science and philosophy to the chosen people on the principle of Aristobulus and Philo, so that this also proves nothing. *Les Origines de l'Alchimie* . . . Observe that Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, ii., 179 *n*, gives a reference to a work by H. C. van Byler, entitled, Tractatus Cabbalistico—Chymico—Philosophico—Magicus, Cologne, 1729, but I am not acquainted with its contents.

of a Kabalistic origin as regards the Western world. From *à priori* considerations we shall be disposed to believe that the case of astrology will prove something like that of alchemy, namely, that its history and literature contain little to connect it essentially with Jewry. It has the air of an exact science and seems to suggest few possible analogies with the speculations of a theosophical system. There are two facts, however, which it must be admitted are above challenge, firstly, that the Jews were much addicted to astrology,* and, secondly, that the prophetic science of the stars, as it is known in the West, has derived something from the later Hebrews. Against these must be placed two other facts, not of less significance, namely, that ancient Israel contributed very little to the science of astronomy, that Jewish astronomical writings belonging to the Christian centuries draw chiefly from Arabia, and that as regards astrology in Jewry, during the Kabalistic period, it was imbedded in fastastic notions and puerile processes. We are not called to deal here with the history of the science; we know that Josephus traces it to Seth and assures us that he himself had visited the two famous pillars reported to have survived the deluge, and on which all the rules of astrology are said to have been engraved. Josephus may have been

* The question whether the art was condemned by the Law of Israel has been a subject of some debate. Perhaps the best opinion considered that it was. See on this point the *Conciliator* of Menasseh ben Israel, *Sive de conventia locorum S. Scripturæ quæ pugnare inter se Videntur*, Frankfort, 1633, p. 142. It was also debated by Gaffarel, writing from the Christian standpoint. He contrived to defend the art by distinguishing it into two branches.

deceived easily, or he may have been tempted to claim for his nation on the warrant of a fable the precedence in a study to which the notion of learning was attached. Seth and the pillars set apart, we know also that antique Chaldea was a great centre of astrology, that it flourished among the Babylonians, that it was practised in Egypt, and it is natural to suppose that the Jews must have had their share in the knowledge of each of these peoples. There may have been even a Kabalah of astrological procedure communicated to Christian times.* All this is, however, beside the real question; we are not justified in looking for the Zohar or its influence in Jewish writings on mathematics or natural philosophy, for the simple reason that the Zohar does not connect seriously with these subjects. It has also little concern with astrology. We are at liberty, however, to ask ourselves one question. Astrology works upon data which are very obscure in their history,† and there are doctrines connected with it which even to the occult student may seem insufficiently grounded. It would be interesting to ascertain whether they have any Kabalistic correspondences. As to the data, I suppose no one has attempted to institute a parallel, but it has been thought that some astrological theorems may have

* P. Christian affirms that there was, but he offers no evidence in support of his assertion that the *Speculum Astrologiæ* of Junctin was a kind of synthesis of the astrological labours of the "Arabian and Hebrew Kabalists."—*Histoire de la Magie*, l. vii., *Clefs générales de L'Astrologie*, p. 579.

† Which history, moreover, has never been elucidated by any writer on the subject. Mr. W. Gorn Old's "New Manual," perhaps the latest work on Astrology (London, 1898), does not attempt to account for the grounds on which the old judgments are based.

a connection with Kabalistic apparatus. Let us see, therefore, what is said upon this subject by its students.

The attribution of metals to the *Sephiroth* in the *Æsh Metzareph* suggests planetary attribution, and a tabulation has been constructed by Papus,* following the authority of Kircher :—

1. *Kether*	corresponds	to the	Empyrean.
2. *Chokmah*	„	„	Primum Mobile.
3. *Binah*	„	„	Firmament.
4. *Chesed*	„	„	Saturn.
5. *Geburah*	„	„	Jupiter.
6. *Tiphereth*	„	„	Mars.
7. *Netzach*	„	„	Sun.
8. *Hod*	„	„	Venus.
9. *Jesod*	„	„	Mercury.
10. *Malkuth*	„	„	Moon.

It is possible, as the *Æsh Metzareph* shows, that "all systems tend to the one truth," but this scheme is not in accordance with either of its own attributions. These are followed by Rosenroth, but the R. P. Esprit Sabathier, in that strange little treatise on Kabalism which still exercises so much fascination on French students of the subject, refers Mars to *Geburah* and Mercury to *Hod*.† When there is

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* For Papus consult *La Kabbale*, already cited frequently; for Kircher *Œdipus Œgyptiacus*. The synopsis of the Kabalah in this rare work has been recently translated into French.

† See *L'Ombre Idéale de la Sagesse Universelle*, 1679. A reprint of this work has been promised in Paris. The original is rare, and there is no copy in the British Museum, but the reader may consult the Table given by Papus at pp. 80, 81 of his treatise on the Kabalah, where the attribution in question will be found.

no unanimity we must infer that there is no point of importance involved and that attributions and tabulations of this kind are less or more conventional and can have little application to astrology itself. In modern times, however, all the divinatory sciences, which in every case possess or suggest astrological connections,* have received some kind of Kabalistic attribution. Thus, the planetary correspondences of the figures used in geomancy have been adjusted to the *Sephiroth*; Kabalistic principles have been applied to chiromancy; physiognomy alone, possibly because it has never had much attention at the hands of professed occultists, seems an exception to this rule, although, as we have previously seen, there is direct warrant for it in the Zohar.†

The most accessible information on astrology among the Jews is in the "Curiosities" of James Gaffarel, who based his observations on a direct knowledge of its chief rabbinical exponents during the Christian centuries.‡ To reduce what he says to a sentence, the Jewish astrologers read the heavens like a book, they regarded it as a book, and, for the

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* Thus, the "Principles of Astrological Geomancy" have been the subject of a special treatise by Franz Hartmann, M.D. (London, 1899), while Miss Rosa Baughan has compiled a curious medley of chiromancy and astrology under the title of "The Influence of the Stars."

† Physiognomy has been, of course, connected with astrology, and an old work published about the beginning of the seventeenth century under the title of "Book of Palmistry, Physiognomy, and Natural Astrology" illustrates this connection. See also "A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy," by John Varley, London, 1828.

‡ A summary of Gaffarel's information, with some pertinent criticisms, will be found in Éliphas Lévi's *Rituel de la Haute Magie*. See also "Transcendental Magic," part ii., and "Mysteries of Magic," pp. 248, 252, 253, 254. Second Edition, 1897.

purposes of methodising its contents with a view to its interpretation, they collected the stars into hieroglyphic characters, which were, in fact, the Hebrew alphabet. Their process was therefore not an astrological process, but more correctly one of divination, and as to its value, we have only to glance at the Hebrew planisphere furnished by Gaffarel to see how arbitrary was the nature of the arrangement. At the same time it must be admitted that it suggests a correspondence with the fundamental notion of the Sepher Yetzirah, though the fact has not been observed by any previous writer. There could be nothing more natural for those who believed that the heavens and the earth were made by the inscription of letters in the air than to discover these letters in the configuration, apparently fortuitous, of the starry heavens. In place, therefore, of the unmeaning mythological figures of pagan antiquity they imagined the twenty-two elements of the divine word manifested to the chosen people, and the imagination once justified by the apparent delineation of the characters it became part of the scheme of the universe;* to read the sense of the heavens so that they could give the meaning thereof was an operation no less sacred in its intention, mysterious in its methods, and strange in its results† than the application of

* This is the Zoharic notion, and it was claimed that by means of the signs and figures in the heavens most profound secrets and mysteries could be discovered. So regarded, the stars and constellations are a subject of contemplation, and a source of mysterious delight for the sage.—Zohar, ii., 76*a*, Mantua.

† Compare those other strange results in symbolical astrology of which Ruysbrœck the Mystic speaks in the "Book of the Twelve Beguines," Latinised by Surius under the title *De Vera Contemplatione.*

Zoharistic processes to the disentangling of the mystic meaning beneath the letter of the Scriptures. This is the true Kabalistic astrology,* based on a Kabalistic doctrine which is its justification and of which it is in turn the logical development. Outside the Sepher Yetzirah, it has the countenance of the Zohar itself. But it has little in common with the science of the stars, as it has been pursued in the western world; it can offer nothing in evidence of its considerations, even as astrology in the West has nothing to tell us concerning the Kabalistic mystery of *Ain Soph*. It is better therefore not to confuse further the complicated issues of the secret sciences by the suggestion of fantastic influences and unrealisable communications.†

It will, of course, be anticipated that a literature so large as that of the Jews and embracing, as we said at the inception of our inquiry, so wide a range of subjects could not have grown up without contributing anything to the knowledge of the heavens. In the third century the Jews of Babylon were famous as doctors and astronomers and, partly for this reason, were in high credit at the Persian Court during the reign of the usurper Artaxerxes. Samuel

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Needless to say this astrology is not judicial. The late Mr. Hargrave Jennings has also some pleasing fantasies on the "astronomy of the mind" in "The Indian Religions," p. 207 *et seq.*, London, 1890.

* Which astrology, as Lévi rightly observes, must be distinguished from what is commonly understood by judicial astrology. See "Mysteries of Magic," p. 247.

† As an instance of the extraordinary lengths to which speculations of this kind have been carried outside astronomical connections, see Dr. J. Lamb's "Hebrew characters derived from Hieroglyphs," London, 1835. The hieroghyphics in question are re-constituted, and various doctrines, passages and words of the sacred writings are interpreted by recourse to them.

Lunaticus, famous for the astronomical tables attributed to him, and head of the academy of Naharden, is an instance in point, and R. Ada, also of Naharden, is another. Abba Aricha, better known as the Babylonion Rav, founder of the academy of Sora, was again a deep student of astronomy, and names might be multiplied easily. Side by side with medicine and the interpretarion of dreams, astrology was much pursued by the Eastern Jews of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In 1150, or thereabouts, R. Avi Joseph wrote a treatise on the intelligences which move the heavens and concerning the judgment of the stars. Aben Ezra, about the same period, is a great name among the astronomers of Jewry as well as in doctrine and philosophy. Abraham Chiia and Abraham Nasi are also contemporary students of the same science. In the second half of the thirteenth century, during the reign of Alphonso the 10th, King of Castile, himself called the astrologer, the rabbins were in high estimation for their knowledge of the heavens, and the Tables attributed to Alphonso were the work of a Jew whom he employed. In the fifteenth century the family of Alcadet produced two famous astronomers, and Abraham Zacut, author of the *Sepher Yuhasin*, was another student of the subject in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Meagre as are these indications, having regard to the fact that astronomy was usually pursued in connection with the judgment of the stars, *i.e.*, with judicial astrology, they are sufficient to establish that this occult science is to be found in Jewry during most of the Christian centuries.

The reader who desires to become acquainted with the first principles and procedure of Jewish astrology may consult the "Curiosities" of Gaffarel, whose information is drawn from R. Moses, R. Aben Ezra, R. Jacob Kapol ben Samuel, &c. This learned but pedantic writer wholly rejected what is called Kabalistic astrology, with its Sephirotic attributions,* but the system which he develops is not less fantastic, and is that indeed which we have described briefly in the earlier part of the present section. It would be out of place to extend our references, for, as on the one hand Sephirotic astrology is rejected even by so determined a Kabalist as Gaffarel, so, on the other, the secrets of the Hebrew planisphere and the mysteries of stellar writing do not connect with the practice of the art in the West.

It may be added that a recent writer, Mr. W. Gorn Old, has published a Kabalistic astrology,† but it is merely a process of divination, like that attributed to Cagliostro, which was developed at great length and applied to the science of the stars by P. Christian.‡ It is obvious that the use of the term Kabalistic in such a connection is merely a *façon de parler*, unfortunately in very common use. This

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* So far as I am aware, no astrological work developing these connections has ever been printed in any European language, but books like John Bishop's "Marrow of Astrology," London, 1688, with its list of the governing angels of the signs and the planets, suggest Kabalistic connections through the vehicle of Ceremonial Magic.

† "Kabalistic Astrology, or Your Fortune in your Name," by Sepharial, London, n.d. (? 1892).

‡ In his *Histoire de la Magie*, books ii., iii., and vi. Also in *L'Homme Rouge des Tuileries*. Some account of Cagliostro's Method will also be found in Grand Orient's "Manual of Cartomancy," &c., of which several editions have appeared.

is made further evident by the parallel use of the term Hermetic, not only as an analogue, but an actual equivalent. Mr. Old's process is affirmed to have been "in use among the ancient Kabalists," but this is merely speculative and an inference from certain Tarotic connections.

IV. THE KABALAH AND FREEMASONRY

It is generally agreed among occultists that the Masonic Fraternity is an institution of mystic origin, but that it has lost its real secrets and is interesting only as a survival. As such, it continues to preserve certain legends and symbols of occult philosophy, but it applies to them a conventional meaning of an obvious and meagre character. As to its historical origin, there is also a general opinion prevailing in the same circles, namely, that Freemasonry, after some manner that is not wholly apparent, is a survival of the ancient mysteries, but this term is used in a catholic sense, not as signifying the initiations of Egypt, of Greece, or of Rome, but rather the secret power and intelligence which is thought to have been present behind the philosophical associations of all ages and most civilised countries. During the Christian period the knowledge which would otherwise have perished was preserved among successive occult fraternities, some known to history, such as Templars and Rosicrucians, the rest working in complete silence. Corporately or otherwise, they were all affiliated with each other and symbolic Freemasonry forms the last link in the Western chain of transmission.

No presentation of this hypothesis has so far been able to survive analysis, and the inductive student must be content to recognise, (*a*) the mystic nature of most Masonic symbolism to which the fraternity now attaches only elementary meanings belonging to the ethical primer; (*b*) a certain analogy of ostensible purpose as regards the ends of human existence, but it is not worth while to insist strongly on this point; (*c*) the affinity for Mysticism which has always been shown by Masonry during its historical period. It may be added that there are certain indications which point to a possible connection between Masonry and Rosicrucianism, and this, if admitted, would constitute the first link in its connection with the past. The evidence is, however, inconclusive, or at least unextricated. Freemasonry *per se*, in spite of the affinity with Mysticism which I have just mentioned, has never exhibited any mystic character, nor has it a clear notion how it came by its symbols; though occultists at all times have gravitated towards it, and though it has tolerated and even received them, it has shown no sense of understanding on occult subjects. This being the state of the case, and the claim which is made for Freemasonry having never been urged by the institution on its own behalf, there is nothing *prima facie* to accredit the idea that it has ever been a channel of the secret tradition or to warrant us in supposing *à priori* that it should have any distinct analogies with Kabalism. And as a fact its position in this respect is much like that of alchemy, seemingly fortuitous, a question of subsequent introduction, as much imputation as reality, a varnish rather than a

permeating tincture, and yet, like all such positions, interesting. To establish my point, I must refer for a third time to the fact that since Masonry appeared on the historical plane, occultists and mystics have always tended towards it, that it has received them all amiably, and that all have elaborated the system in accordance with their particular notions. During the prevalence of the passion for rites we know that alchemists, Swedenborgians,* Martinists, theurgists, astrologers, all invented new grades and new orders, and as at this period there were also Kabalists, so in one or two instances we hear of Kabalistic rites, and especially of rites and grades which exhibit Kabalistic influences. As Freemasonry is not Swedenborgianism, as it is not alchemy, as in spite of the Elect Cohens, the evocations and rituals of Pasqually, and all the magical marvels of Schrœpfer, it is not theurgy, as it is still less the mysticism of any of the true Mystics, so it is not Kabalism, but it has been developed somewhat in Kabalistic as in other interests.

It must be added that the few Kabalistic degrees which have left any record behind them beyond their name, and the uncommon swiftness with which they passed into extinction, give no evidence of acquaintance with the Jewish esoteric tradition. They represent the Kabalism of the period. There is no need to speculate as to its quality; it has bequeathed its literary remains in grimoires and

* The history of the Swedenborgian Rite being exceedingly obscure, and yet possessing considerable occult interest, it may be observed that some account of it was published at New York in 1870 by Samuel Berwick.

grand clavicles, in the spurious thaumaturgic processes of Abramelin, and in amusing Kabalistic correspondence with the Seigneur Astaroth,* the lees and lavations of the rabbinical conduits. As it will be well to enforce these statements by means of documentary evidence, I will add an account of one Kabalistic grade which may be taken to represent the whole.

A degree of Knight of the Kabalah once existed among those innumerable decorative developments of the Fraternity which were termed high by their disciples and spurious by some who resented innovations, and especially those which led to nothing. It has long since fallen into disuse. The object of the candidate, according to the catechism of the degree, was "to know, by means of numbers, the admirable harmony which subsists between nature and religion." It defines the Kabalist as a man who has acquired the Sacerdotal Art and the Royal Art by the communication of the tradition. The device was *Omnia in numeris sita sunt.* The Master of the Lodge in which the degree was imparted seems to have been called the President of the Sanhedrim and the Rabbi. The mystical significance of numbers† was developed by the

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* See D'Argens: *Lettres Cabalistiques, ou Correspondance Philosophique . . . entre deux Cabalistes*, &c., 7 vols., La Haye, 1754.

† The numerical mysticism of the Kabalah is based, of course, on the *Sephiroth*; most of its developments are very late, and possess a magical complexion, for which reasons they do not enter into the scheme of this study. Some of these developments are quite unknown to occultists, as, for example, the attempt to simplify chronology by Kabalistic figures in Michael Aitsinger's *Pentaplus Regnorum Mundi*, Antwerp, 1579. On the general subject, see Petrus Bargus: *Mysticæ numerorum significationis liber*, Bergomi, 1585.

catechism in a somewhat curious manner, which it may be worth while to summarise.

I = In the moral order, a word incarnate in the bosom of a virgin, otherwise, Religion; in the physical order, a spirit embodied in the virgin earth, or Nature. It is the generative number in the order of Divinity, apparently a false symbolism, because the monad neither generates nor is generated, whence Éliphas Lévi more correctly says that the monad supposes the duad, and thence, through the triad, all numbers are evolved.

II = In the moral order, man and woman; in the physical, active and passive. It is the generative number in created things.

III = In the moral order, the three theological virtues; in the physical, the three principles of bodies. The reference here is to salt, sulphur and mercury, thus indicating the Hermetic connections of this grade. Three also denotes the triple divine essence.

IV = the four cardinal virtues, the four elementary qualities—another Hermetic reference—and it is, moreover, the most mysterious of numbers, because it contains all the mysteries of nature.

V = the quintessence of religion, and the quintessence of matter—which again is alchemical. It is also the most occult number, "because it is enclosed in the centre of the series." The precise meaning of this last statement does not appear, but it may possibly refer to the pentagram as one of the emblems of the grade.

VI = the theological cube and the physical cube. It is the most salutary number, "because it contains

the source of our spiritual and corporeal happiness." Is this a reference to the mystical adultery of the first man whereby the coming of the Liberator was necessitated ?

VII = the seven sacraments and the seven planets. It is the most fortunate number, " because it leads us to the decade, the perfect number."

VIII = the small number of the elect or the wise. It is the most desirable number, " because he who possesses it is of the number of the *Elves* and Sages."

IX = the exaltation of religion and the exaltation of matter. It is the most sublime number, because religion and nature are both exalted thereby.

X = the ten commandments and the ten precepts of nature. It is the most perfect number, " because it includes unity, which created everything, and zero, symbol of matter and chaos, whence everything emerged. In its figures it comprehends the created and uncreated, the beginning and end, power and force, life and annihilation. By the study of this number we find the relations of all things, the power of the Creator, the faculties of the creature, the Alpha and Omega of divine knowledge.

XI = the multiplication of religion and the multiplication of nature. It is the most multiplying number, " because with the possession of two units, we arrive at the multiplication of things."

XII = the twelve articles of faith ; the twelve apostles, foundation of the Holy City, who preached throughout the whole world for our happiness and spiritual joy; the twelve operations of nature ; the twelve signs of the Zodiac, foundation of the

Primum Mobile, extending it throughout the universe for our temporal felicity. It is thus the most solid number, being the basis of our spiritual and corporeal happiness.

The numbers after twelve were left to the discernment of the candidate. The catechism also shows that this order concerned itself with the universal spirit of alchemy and even with the quadrature of the circle. The history of the Knights of the Kabalah is unfortunately involved in obscurity, but it will be seen that it was Christian and Catholic, which furnishes a resemblance to other and later institutions professing similar purposes and having similar religious sympathies.*

Had the "Book of Occultation" been made in the eighteenth century the theme of a Masonic grade, had the lodge represented *Atziluth*, the Master *Ain Soph*, his throne in the East *Kether*, and the officers the remaining *Sephiroth;* had the ritual been constructed from the Zohar and the catechism from the Apparatus of Rosenroth, all this would have proved nothing as to the Kabalistic connections of Masonry. Within recent years a powerful Masonic order has undergone a species of development in this direction through the labours of Albert Pike, and there can be little doubt that it was his intention to transform the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite into a seminary of occult study. There may be many of its own brethren at the present time in whom this statement will excite only incredulity,

* Among the degrees collected by the French Mason Peuvret, there was that of *Maçon Cabbalistique*. The Metropolitan Chapter of France dignified its 80th Grade by the title of *Chevalier de Cabale*.

but it is not the less certain that Albert Pike was more than an ardent admirer and far more than an unqualified follower of the occult philosophies, or that he pursued it into regions of which Masonry has now no conception. He was also seconded by numerous like-minded persons who occupied high dignities in the United States' Southern Jurisdiction, and some of whom still survive.

The evidence of all these things is to be found in the vast body of instruction which he compiled, chiefly from sources in occult literature, for all the grades of the order. No person who is acquainted with the "Morals and Dogma" can fail to trace the hand of the occultist therein, and it is to be especially observed that, passing from grade to grade in the direction of the highest, this instruction becomes more and more Kabalistic. It matters little that the sources from which Pike drew were not of the best, or that, though a man of wide reading, he was not a skilled critic; for we are concerned only with a tendency and its development. He accepted, for example, without due caution, the construction placed on Kabalism by the most unsafe of all its expounders, Éliphas Lévi, from whom he translated verbatim at great length, and, following his professed habit, with no specific acknowledgment, while for the rest his only source of further information was the *Kabbala Denudata*, of which, however, he shows no analytical knowledge, seeming to regard the *Liber Drushim* as entitled to rank in authority with the *Sepher Dzenioutha*. In spite of these limitations he made available an amount of information on occult subjects with which no previous

scheme had ever provided Masonry. Yet with all his strenuous efforts it must be doubted whether the seal of occultism has been impressed effectually on the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, in which case, if we except such interesting minor instances as the *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia*, with which I have dealt elsewhere, it must be confessed that the Ancient and Primitive Rite of Memphis* and Misraïm† is the only section of high-grade Masonry which claims a distinct purpose of an occult kind; it is not necessary to say that in England, at least, it has failed wholly in obtaining recognition as a genuine development of Masonry, and it remains practically in abeyance.‡

We see therefore that Kabalistic influence is confined to the so-called high grades. It would be absurd to discuss the possibility of its conscious presence in the blue lodges, or seek to interpret the legend of the master grade in connection with Jewish tradition. The symbols, however, which are familiar to the initiates of these lodges do connect with Kabalism, among other forms of occult philosophy, but the presence of the seal of Solomon among the heirlooms of the brotherhood being, so far, unaccountable, it is useless to insist on the connection,

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* See Marconis et Moultet: *L' Hiérophante, développement complet des Mystères Maçonniques*, Paris, 1839. *Le Rameau d'or d' Eleusis*, another work by Marconis is also interesting as the views of an amiable student upon the Mysteries in connection with Masonry.

† A history of this institution, with all the romantic elements which might be expected, was written by Marc Bedarride and published in two volumes at Paris, 1845, under the title, *De L' Ordre Maçonnique de Misraïm, depuis sa creation jusuq'a nos jours*, &c.

‡ The fourth Series of the Rite of Misraïm is designated Kabalistic.

because nothing logically follows from it. So far as history is concerned, Kabalism and Masonry have joined hands in the sphere of the higher grades, and as a historical fact this is interesting, but that it is otherwise significant must be left to those who affirm it.

V. THE KABALAH AND THE TAROT

It is very well known to all occult students at the present day that the Tarot is a method of divination* by means of seventy-eight symbolical picture-cards, to which great antiquity and high importance are attributed by several authorities. Their literary history is also equally well known. They were first mentioned by the French archæologist Court de Gebelin at the close of the eighteenth century, and were attributed by him to an Egyptian origin. Much about the same time the subject was taken up by a professed cartomancer, named Alliette, who wrote a great deal about them in several illiterate tracts, and endeavoured to trace their connection with Egypt through the Jewish Kabalah. The inquiry then fell into neglect, except in so far as Continental fortune-tellers were concerned, until the year 1854, when Éliphas Lévi made his first contributions to occult science.

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* As there may, however, be some readers who are not acquainted with this matter, I may observe that Mr. S. L. MacGregor Mathers is the author of a small explanatory treatise, entitled, "The Tarot; its Occult Signification," &c., published with a set of the cards, London, 1888.

In 1857, J. A. Vaillant* endeavoured to prove their Chinese origin† and transmission by means of the gipsies; their connection with these nomads was subsequently adopted by Lévi, who gave great prominence to the Tarot in all his writings up to the year 1865. The subject was also taken in hand by P. Christian, who published a large history of Magic in 1870. He developed still further the Egyptian theory, but no statement which he makes can be accepted with any confidence. In the year 1887 I was the first who introduced the claims of the Tarot to English readers in a digest of the chief works of Éliphas Lévi. An important contribution to the inquiry was made shortly after by the French occultist Papus, whose elaborate work entitled the "Tarot of the Bohemians," though scarcely of critical value on the historical side, remains the most comprehensive and attractive summary of all the arguments.

The point which concerns us here is, of course, the Kabalistic connections. Éliphas Lévi says that

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* *Histoire Vraie des Vrais Bohémiens.* As a notice of the gipsies this work is exceedingly good for its period; its Tarot speculations are worthless, and its philological arguments absurd. M. Vaillant described the Tarot as "the synthesis of ancient faith, a deduction from the sidereal book of Enoch" (412). Its origin he affirms to be lost in the night of time (413). He only mentions the Kabalah to establish its connection with Cabul! (p. 54).

† Occult writers mostly favour Egypt as the birthplace of the Tarot, and this is consistent with their views on the origin of the Kabalah. So Mons. Z. Lismon has recently published a version of the cards under the title of *Livre de Thot, Jeu des 78 Tarots Egyptiens*, with explanatory booklet. Compare R. Falconnier: *Les xxii. Lames Hermétiques du Tarot divinatoire*, which pretend to be re-constituted exactly according to "the sacred texts and translation" of the Magic of old Egypt!

the Tarot cards are the key to the esoteric tradition of the Jews, and "the primitive source of divine and human tradition"; he institutes an analogy between the symbols of its four suits and the four letters of the Divine Name *Tetragrammaton*, and between the ten *Sephiroth* and the ten small cards belonging to each suit. He gives also the correspondences between the twenty-two trump cards and the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, for which he quotes the authority of "divers Kabalistic Jews," which must not, however, be interpreted too strictly, as although the symbolism of the Hebrew alphabet has been much dwelt on by such authorities there is no trace of any reference to the Tarot by Kabalistic writers of the past. It must be admitted, on the other hand, that the analogies are exceedingly striking, and that although the historic evidences can scarcely be said to exist, and have been supplied from the treasures of imagination, there can be no doubt that the Tarot is actually, as it is claimed to be, of considerable importance symbolically. I may perhaps be permitted also to register my personal belief that it has distinct Kabalistic connections, some of which were broadly outlined by Éliphas Lévi. Unfortunately, the interpretations of its symbolism which have been attempted by various writers are nearly worthless, in the first place because they have all proved themselves incapable of conducting a dispassionate historical inquiry; they have allowed affirmation to take the place of evidence; they have regarded a hint as a sufficient ground of conviction; they have made conjecture certitude. Setting aside Court de Gebelin, who was merely an inquirer hampered by

the limitations of his period; setting aside Lévi, who seldom made an accurate statement about any matter of fact; observe how Dr. Papus pursues his inquiry into the origin of the Tarot. It is by an appeal to the writers who preceded him, as if their authority were final; to Court de Gebelin, who was a groper in the dark during the childhood of archæological reasoning; to Vaillant, with his fascinating theory of gipsy transmission which is about as conclusive as Godfrey Higgins on the "Celtic Druids"; to Lévi, whose "marvellous learning" is so much and so unsafely insisted on by the whole French school. Papus contributes nothing himself to the problem on its historical side except an affirmation that "the game called the Tarot, which the Gypsies possess, is the Bible of Bibles." Obviously, the historical question calls for treatment by some independent scholar who will begin by releasing its present fantastic connections.

In the second place, the symbolism of the Tarot, which, to do justice to Dr. Papus, is most patiently and skilfully elaborated in his work, is at once disorganised if there be any doubt as to the attribution of its trump cards to the Hebrew alphabet. Now there is one card which bears no number and is therefore allocated according to the discretion of the interpreter. It has been allocated in all cases wrongly, by the uninstructed because they had nothing but their private judgment to guide them, and by those who knew better because they desired to mislead. I may go further and say that the true nature of Tarot symbolism is perhaps a secret in the hands of a very few persons, and outside that circle

operators and writers may combine the cards as they like and attribute them as they like, but they will never find the right way. The symbolism is, however, so rich that it will give meanings of a kind in whatever way it may be disposed, and some of these may be strikingly suggestive, but they are illusory none the less. The purpose of this short paper is therefore to show that the published Tarots and the methods of using them may be very serviceable for divination, fortune-telling and other trifles, but they are not the key of the Kabalah, and that the Royal Game of Goose may be recommended with almost as much reason for the same purpose. Dr. Papus is therefore unconsciously misdirecting his many followers when he advertises his laborious readings as the "Absolute Key to Occult Science."

VI. THE KABALAH AND MYSTICISM

It is a task of no inconsiderable difficulty to attempt a judgment upon the Kabalah from the purely mystic standpoint. On the one hand the history of Kabalism is so imbedded in that of mysticism, that it is scarcely known or admitted in any distinct connection. On the other hand, to the pure mystic, there is so much in the Kabalistic system which seems extrinsic to the subject of mysticism, that there is a temptation to underrate its real influence. The correspondence and the difference may perhaps be brought into harmony if it be permissible to regard mysticism in two ways—as a philosopical system, that is to say, an ordered

metaphysics, held intellectually,* but also as a mode of conduct practised with a defined purpose, in a word, as transcendental doctrine and transcendental life. The practical mystic is the saint on the path of his ascent into the mystery of the eternal union, concerning whom it is consonant with the purpose of our present inquiry to speak only with great reservation, because the mysteries of the Divine Life do not fall within the limits of historical research. I conceive that the sum of Kabalistic instruction is of no real service to the disciple of this secret path, after every allowance has been made for the Zoharic doctrine that a science of that Holy Unity into which all things return as all come forth therefrom can be attained by man.† *Invenit sanctum.* Like all other studies, and perhaps not more so than any other methodised theosophy, it has a certain office in the *sanctum facit.* For that far larger class to whom the possibility of sanctity is denied, who are in search rather of a guide for thought upon questions of fundamental philosophy, I conceive that the Kabalah —but again, like other metaphysics—has some useful and reassuring lights. It is a source of intellectual consolation that one of the most barren of all the ways pursued by the human mind has its own strange flowers and fruit. There is no book, and there is no system, to which this moderate office can be denied. It is also, as I have sought to show, something more

* And this would be the correspondence of the Zohar with mysticism. For example, the doctrine of ecstasy is assuredly found therein, but not in the same way that we find it in Ruysbroeck or St. John of the Cross. It is more especially a rationalised system of mystic thought.

† Zohar, i., 51*a*, Mantua.

than an inheritance from the past, even an inheritance that has been transmitted from a period far back in human history. The Zohar at least has the power of stirring those depths in the human heart which are beyond the "plummet of the sense"; it seems occasionally to "strike beyond all time, and backward sweep through all intelligence," and to say this, is to confess that it is the eternal soul speaking, here under the common influence of right reason, there in ecstacy and vision, and again, as it would seem in somnambulism or even in frenzy. Now, the speech of the human soul, in what state soever, must be a message to the mystic. There is no need to add that on the philosophical side the Kabalah connects assuredly with mysticism.*

With occultism, of course, it connects wholly, throughout all its history. The difference between occultism and mysticism is much more than that of a Latin equivalent for a Greek term, as might appear at first sight. We are all acquainted with the distinction which is made between the magnetic and hypnotic sleep. They have much in common, but they are pathologically separate, having diverse characteristics and a divergent mode of induction. Sleep, however, is obtained in both, and this is their

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* M. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu says that the Jew is not inclined to mysticism, and seems never to have been so. "Judaism has always been a law, a religion of the mind, an intellectual creed not favourable to mystic transports or divine languors." He denies also that Kabalism was indigenous in Jewry. "The mysteries of the Kabalah, and those of the Hassidim, the neo-Kabalists, seem to have been a foreign importation; according to the best judges, the Cabala itself is not rooted in Judaism."—*Israel among the Nations*, translated by Francis Hillman, London, 1895, p. 292. This view shows little first-hand acquaintance with the subject.

superficial and obvious point of union—so superficial and so obvious that the ordinary observer would scarcely fail to identify them, while they have also been identified on grounds which are not precisely those of ordinary observation. Between occult science and mystic science there is the common point of union which is created, let us say, by their secrecy. Beneath this fantastic resemblance there is the more important fact that they both profess to deal with the inner and otherwise uninvestigated forces of the human soul. In the case of occult science it is, however, for the kind of end which we connect with the notions of magic. For example, Talismanic Magic, so called, is ostensibly the art of infusing a certain recondite spiritual power into some object composed artificially. This is an operation of occult science because it deals with a power which is, by the hypothesis, of an occult or generally unknown nature and applies it in accordance with the formulæ of a concealed instruction. A knowledge of the powers which are latent in human nature is not unlikely to lead to mysticism, which is the development of the latent powers in the direction of divine union. There is usually, however, no person less really mystic than the occultist conventionally understood.

The points of contact between occult science and the Kabalah are very numerous, but between Mysticism and the Kabalah they are, comparatively speaking, few. It is difficult to name a branch of occult science which is not indebted for some development, though not as we have seen in most cases for a governing direction, to

the tradition of the Jews, so far at least as the West is concerned. This is true in a degree even of astrology, though it must be said frankly that its rabbinical aspects are often highly fantastic, confined by their ignorance to the most general conclusions and based upon absurd principles, as appears most explicitly, though not with intention, in the defence of Gaffarel. Ceremonial Magic in the West had, as we have seen, its root in Kabalism; so had all methodised Divination, while the connections of alchemy with the *Æsh Metzareph* have been the subject of a special study. It seems unnecessary to prolong the thesis of the present section. The end of Mysticism is the recovery or attainment of consciousness in God. The secret doctrine of the creation, as that of the emanation of souls, written symbolically, cannot in the absence of the Key which will open its mysteries, be of any use to the mystic, nor can the Key itself, which is the successful methodising of the confused Kabalistic medley, provide more than intellectual knowledge, even by the most extreme hypothesis. Should he enter within the circle of initiation where that Key is said to be obtained the student will in due time be in a position to know whether the secret knowledge which underlies such symbolism can contribute to the success of his enterprise. But it is not impossible that a knowledge so obtained will take him far from any traditions of Israel. I have never met with any mystic, except those of the natural order, owing, as such, nothing to literature or traditions, who ignored the possibilities concealed behind Kabalistic symbolism, or on the other hand owed anything of importance to the Kabalah. I

have never met with any mystic, as distinguished from occult students concerned with the offices of Magic, who had so much as a tolerable acquaintance with the subject. Finally, the greatest students of occult science within my acquaintance have been invariably taken further afield. It must be confessed, however, that the question is complicated by a number of issues to which it is impossible to do justice in a brief space. But it may be clearly set down that as mysticism, properly disengaged from its adventitious associations and regarded essentially, is a sacramental experience of the soul, not a system of cosmology, not a doctrine of spiritual essences constructed hypothetically, so it has at best but an extrinsic connection with *Bereshith* and *Mercavah*, as, in like manner, with all that we understand conventionally by the occult sciences.

We have now reached the term of our inquiry, and a small space only can be spared to a summary of its results. As regards the documents of Kabalism we take our stand with that later and better scholarship the position of which is indicated by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's admirable article on the *Midrashim*. We reject entirely the German school of Dr. Graetz, whose popular English exponent is Dr. Ginsburgh. We regard the Zoharic writings as the growth of some centuries. We believe that they represent a tradition which connects with Talmudic times. We respect the legend by which that tradition is identified with the name of R. Simeon ben Jochai, but we are not pledged thereto. We admit that the final shape assumed by the Zohar may not have been much

anterior to the date of its publication. We do not deny that it may have received additions which deserve to be described as spurious, or that some of its increment may be attributable to Moses de Leon, but we receive every statement with regard to this personage tentatively and under all reservation, ascribing little evidential value to the account in the *Sepher Yuhasin*, and confessing that outside it there is perhaps no ground for supposing that such a rabbi flourished in the thirteenth century. We consider that the period of R. Akiba is not an unwarrantable date to ascribe to the Sepher Yetzirah, or to some earlier form of that document, but the extent to which it antedated the ninth century must remain conjectural. We observe in the Sepher Yetzirah and the Zohar certain doctrines which in some form or other belong to all occultism ; they are part of its burden, but they go far back into antiquity. We believe these doctrines to have been derived by the Jew in his early settlements and captivities. We regard the other doctrines of the Zohar, in so far as they follow from Scripture, to be of various and chiefly unassignable dates and periods, but in so far as they are philosophical subtleties or theosophical fantasies we regard them as largely post-Talmudic. We look upon the Kabalistic writings as documents of humanity, and among such as memorials of the genius of Israel, possessing their connections with other systems and other modes of thought, but by correspondence, by affiliation, by filtration, by causal identity, rather than by historic descent. We look upon the Zohar in particular as one of the most attractive curiosities of the human mind, full of great-

ness and littleness, of sublimity and folly. The interest which it aroused on its appearance has in some measure survived all criticism, and the work itself has lived down even the admiration of its believers. We hold that it can be accounted for naturally and historically as a genuine growth of its age and not either as an imposture or as the key of all esoteric knowledge. It contains few or no traces of that doctrine of secret religion which occultists look for therein. It is the theosophical doctrine of Jewry. It supposes and involves the whole claim of Jewry, and as such its acceptation in any serious teaching sense is intolerable to the modern mind and would not be worth arguing were it not for the strong trend of occult thought in its direction. The existence of a concealed doctrine of religion perpetuated from antiquity cannot be proved by recourse to Kabalistic literature, and in so far as this notion has been rested thereon, it is to that extent discounted, yet the question itself does not stand or fall by the Kabalah. Speaking from the transcendental standpoint for the first time, as I feel warranted to do in concluding, I venture to say that it is in Christian channels that this doctrine must be sought by those who assume it, by which I mean that the transcendental succession has passed into the Church of Christ. The question, however, is not approachable from the historical side, and in no real sense of the term can it be said to possess such a side. It is therefore outside the common channels of inquiry, and assuming for the moment that any person now living in the flesh is entitled to affirm its existence, then he best of all, though not he only, is

aware that the secret doctrine is not of this world. The historical association of the Kabalah with occult science in the West could not, of course, have taken place without a common ground between them, and the occult students who are concerned practically with the alleged efficacy of theurgic formulæ, with the physical possibilities said to be indicated under alchemical symbolism, with certain side issues of astrology, as with the historical aspect of all these subjects, must not ignore the Kabalah, for which reasons the rigid demarcation of its sphere of influence and operation has been much needed, and has been here attempted, as it is believed, for the first time.

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PREFACE

THE need for even a short Pahlavi–English dictionary has been obvious for many years, particularly to would-be students of the language. The glossarial part of Professor H. S. Nyberg's *Manual of Pahlavi* is still eagerly awaited, five years after the publication of Part I, although the 'archaistic' tradition of transcription followed therein is no longer universally acceptable. With the partial material at present available, every serious student still has to compile his own dictionary, a formidable task with Pahlavi and made more so by the plethora of different systems of transcription in print. The present dictionary, admittedly introducing yet another transcription, is intended first to relieve the stranger to Pahlavi of the necessity of covering what is now well-travelled ground—the commonest 4,000 simple words—without a unified map, and secondly to urge the practical value of this 'Sasanian' transcription for his journeying further. To have included etymologies and textual references would have changed the emphasis of the work, turning it from a map to a historical atlas-cum-gazetteer, besides retarding its appearance unduly. Such a complete dictionary of Pahlavi is nowhere within sight and must remain so until many more texts are adequately edited.

For his good counsel on what to include in the dictionary I am most grateful to my friend Dr. P. Gignoux of Paris, for without him many common words would have slipped through my net. Most of the labour of compiling the English index, which will surely be appreciated, was undertaken by my wife. The debt I owe to the teaching of the late Professor W. B. Henning, in connection with Pahlavi and all things Iranian, cannot be expressed in words.

It is again a pleasure to acknowledge the support of the School of Oriental and African Studies in financing this publication, and the customary skill of the printers.

D. N. M.

October 1969

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INTRODUCTION

ALMOST every published list of Pahlavi words contains a number of entries of doubtful nature, the uncertainty lying either in their form, their meaning, or even, occasionally, their very existence. The purpose of this dictionary is to provide the student with a representative vocabulary of Pahlavi in which such uncertain words have been reduced to a minimum and marked. It differs from its predecessors in that the Pahlavi words are given in a phonemic transcription representing, as far as it is deducible from the evidence, the pronunciation they would have had in the third century of our era, the period of the rise of the Sasanian empire. The reasons for this departure from the 'archaistic' tradition of Pahlavi studies I have given elsewhere.[1] If one reason stands out it is that of practicality, as most corroborative evidence comes from this period.

To reduce the number of doubtful words it has been necessary to concentrate on the simpler vocabulary of such texts as the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr*, *Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad*, *Ardā Wirāz nāmag*, *Bundahišn*, and the *Pahlavi Texts* edited by Jamasp-Asana. Although I have also drawn upon the Pahlavi versions of scriptural texts (*Vendidad*, *Yasna*, and *Vispered*), most of their very special vocabulary has been omitted. So have the many nonce-words and *ad hoc* compounds of religious texts such as the *Dēnkard*, since it is generally a simple matter to analyse Pahlavi compounds, given the elements and provided that the rules of their construction are understood. Those words calling for inclusion whose form or meaning remain doubtful are marked with an asterisk.

By its nature the dictionary cannot claim to contain the entire vocabulary of any particular text. Nor is there any express intention of presenting new solutions to the many problems remaining in the Pahlavi texts. Rather the readings of many scholars have

[1] 'Notes on the transcription of Pahlavi', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxx, pt. 1 (1967), 17–29.

been adopted, eclectically, and grateful acknowledgement is hereby made to all whose discoveries have been assimilated within. Nevertheless, I must retain responsibility for the choice as a whole and for readings and interpretations unclaimed or unpublished elsewhere.

TRANSLITERATION

The script of the Pahlavi books derives ultimately from that of the official Aramaic of the Achaemenian empire. In the course of time, however, a high degree of ambiguity has developed in the script. Table I shows the development of the letters from Imperial Aramaic (with the transliteration and names of letters commonly used by Semitists), through the distinct forms used in the Parthian and Persian inscriptions of the third century A.D., and the archaic manuscript forms of the Psalter fragment (about seventh century),[1] to those of the Zoroastrian books. In addition to the multiple values of the letters listed, some of them may represent combinations of letters in certain contexts, e.g. [illegible] or [illegible] for [illegible] + [illegible].

Since the ambiguities of the script make a mechanical transliteration of one letter by one roman symbol of no practical value, a certain amount of interpretation is essential. This interpretation can be based, either directly or by the use of analogy, on the less ambiguous evidence of the above-mentioned earlier documents of the language. With this help it is possible to go far in distinguishing between the original values ʾ, *ḥ*, *dy*, etc., of [illegible], *n*, *w*, *r* of [illegible], and so on. But it is neither necessary nor desirable to go beyond this by attempting to give closer 'phonetic' values to the letters, such as *r* for written *l*, or *x* for written *ḥ*. For example, [illegible] *ḥwl* represents **xwar** 'sun', but to transliterate it **xwr* entails both confusion with the true letter *r* [illegible] and the introduction of even greater ambiguity into the interpretation of [illegible]. It is better to accept that the scribes wrote *r* and *l* almost indis-

[1] See F. C. Andreas, *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen.* Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Kaj Barr. *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin), 1933, i. 91–152, 11 plates.

TABLE I

	Imperial Aramaic	Inscriptions		Pahlavi	
		Parthian	Persian	Psalter	Book
' ('ālep̄)*					
b (bēṯ)					
g (gimel)					
d (dāleṯ)					= g
h (hē)					
w (wāw)					
z (zayin)					
ḥ (ḥēṯ)					= '
ṭ (ṭēṯ)					
y (yōḏ)					= g
k (kap̄)					
l (lāmeḏ)					
m (mēm)					
n (nūn)					= w
s (sāmeḵ)					
' ('ayin)			= w	= w	= w
p (pē)					
ṣ (ṣāḏē)					
q (qōp̄)			= m	= m	= m
r (rēš)		= '	= w	= w	= w
ś/š (ś/šīn)					
t (tāw)					

* The under- and over-lining of letters in Semitic transcription indicates a fricative pronunciation, *āleph*, *bēth*, etc.

criminately for both phonetic values, *ḥ* for both Iranian *h* and *x*, etc., and to transliterate accordingly.

It is common practice to distinguish the Semitic ideograms in Pahlavi, from the Iranian elements, by transliterating them in capital letters. Thus the same letters לחיגי are transliterated *lḥyk*[|] when they stand for **rahīg** 'child', but *LḤYK*[|] when they represent the ideogram for **dūr** 'far'. However, as the ideograms are often much distorted and disguised forms of the original Aramaic words, it is sufficient for practical purposes to transliterate them by means of a simplified system.

The system adopted hereafter in this book, for both ideographic and Iranian spellings, is designed to avoid the use of diacritics as far as possible and also to parallel the system now conventional for the representation of the related Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian script. Each letter is throughout given its basic Iranian value(s), thus *c* and *C* for Aramaic *ṣ*, *h* and *H* for Aramaic *ḥ*. *A* represents the capital form of ʾ (*ʾālēp*). There are three letters which occur only in ideograms: *Q* (in the word *QDM* = **abar**; otherwise it is replaced by *K*), *E*, and *O*. *E* stands for the Aramaic *hē* (when it is not replaced by *ḥēṯ*) and *O* for Aramaic *ʿayin*, the roman letters being descendants of these Semitic forms respectively. Thus *OLE* (= **ōy**) is a form of shorthand for an Aramaic original *ʿlh*, *HCDLWN-* (= ***drūn-**) indicates a corruption of the Aramaic root *ḥṣd*. Purists will find no difficulty in restoring the forms with diacritics.

Pahlavi letters are often distorted, or joined irregularly, in such a way that they coincide with other letters, so producing even greater ambiguity. The commonest distortions are here noted by under- or over-lining the letter value *intended*. Thus:

ד (*g*, etc.),	when it represents		ל *b*,		is transliterated	*b̲*
ל (*z*)	,,	,,	ד *Y*,		,,	*Y̲*
ס (*ʾc*)	,,	,,	ס *ʾp*,	,,	,,	*ʾp̲*.

The full scheme of transliteration is given in Table II. The order is still that of the Aramaic alphabet, taking account of the first value of each letter.

TABLE II

	Ideographic	*Iranian*	*Corrupt*
	A	ʾ	(1)
	H	h	
	B	b	$\bar{g}$, $\underline{d}$, $\bar{y}$ (2)
	G	g	$\underline{B}$, $\underline{Z}$, $\underline{K}$ (3)
	D	d	
	Y	y	$\underline{b}$, $\underline{z}$, $\underline{k}$
	E	(mn, etc.)	
	W	w	
	N	n	
	O	—	
	R	r	
	I	i (4)	
	Z	z	$\underline{G}$, $\underline{D}$, $\underline{Y}$
	K	k	
(	K	γ)	
	L	l	
(	Ł	ł)	
	M	m	
	Q	—	
	S	s	
	P	p	
	C	c	$\underline{P}$, $\bar{p}$
	Š	š	
	T	t	$\underline{DR}$ (5)

[Notes overleaf

Notes

1. 𐭩𐭥 *'h*, etc., may be a corruption of final *-ydy*, so *-ydy*.
2. 𐭩𐭥, besides *-yȳ*, etc., may be a corruption of *-h*, so *-h*.
3. The digraphs 𐭩𐭥 and 𐭩𐭥, when they follow a verbal ideogram, may represent any 'phonetic complement' (including *zero*). They can be transliterated, purely for mnemonic purposes, by the letters they resemble: 𐭩𐭥 as *yt* and 𐭩𐭥 as *ty*.[1]
4. i.e. an otiose stroke.
5. 𐭩𐭥 *yt*, etc., may be a corruption of 𐭩𐭥 *-sn*, so *-sn*, and 𐭩𐭥 (following another letter) may be for 𐭩𐭥 *-c'*, so *-c'*.

TRANSCRIPTION

The orthographic principles followed, in seemingly haphazard permutation, in the writing of Pahlavi, besides the ideographic, include the phonetic (within the limits of the alphabet), the historical, the pseudo-historical, and others so indeterminable as scarcely to merit the name. The establishment of the original spelling of a word, therefore, very seldom reveals its pronunciation. To determine this it is necessary to examine all the available comparative evidence.

Since the discovery of the Iranian material written in the near-phonetic Manichaean script it has become possible to establish a hypothetical phonemic system for Middle Persian and Parthian of the third century A.D. far more accurate than before, when only the remoter evidence of Old Iranian, New Persian, and loanwords in other languages (particularly Armenian) was available. A description of this phonemic system has been given in my article cited above. Within its terms all the entries in this dictionary are transcribed.

The system comprises the following phonemes:

Vowels

ī	ē	ā	ō	ū
i	(e)(1)	a	(o)(1)	u

[1] But see Kaj Barr, 'Remarks on the Pahlavi ligatures 𐭩𐭥 and 𐭩𐭥', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, viii, pt. 2 (1936), 391–403.

Consonants

p	**t**	**č**	**k**	
b	**d**	**ǰ**	**ǵ**	
f	**s**	**š**	**x**	**h**
	z	**ž**(2)	**γ**(2)	
m	**n**			
w	**r l**	**y**		

(1) The phonemic status of *e* and *o* is doubtful and they are only marked when there is direct evidence of their occurrence.
(2) Only in non-Persian, i.e. 'learned' or loaned, words.

The phonetic realizations of these phonemes can only be supposed to have been similar to those of the corresponding sounds of present-day Western Iranian speech. The only allophonic variation of importance concerns the voiced stops **b**, **(d?)**, **ǵ**, and affricate **ǰ**. Between a vowel and a following consonant, in the same morpheme or close juncture, these almost certainly became the fricatives [β, (δ), γ, ž] respectively. Thus **abd**, **tiǵr**, **duǰdēn** represent pronunciations [*aβd, tiγr, duždēn]. How far, or when, this development affected the same phonemes elsewhere in postvocalic position is uncertain. It is sufficient to regard [β, δ, γ, ž] as possible realizations of postvocalic **b**, **d**, **ǵ**, **ǰ**.[1]

USING THE DICTIONARY

In seeking an unknown word, or one known only in another transcription, it may be necessary first to find it in the Pahlavi key. The English–Pahlavi index is intended to serve as an aid to memory, and for tracing synonyms, etc., but is emphatically not an English–Pahlavi dictionary.

The main entries, with two exceptions, are arranged throughout in the following order:

ă̆, b, č, d, ĕ̆, f, ǵ (γ), h, ĭ̆, ǰ, k, l, m,
n, ŏ̆, p, r, s, š, t, ŭ̆, w, x, y, z (ž).

[1] This [γ] is an allophone of the Persian phoneme **ǵ**, while **γ** of the transcription is a non-Persian phoneme. Parthian also had a phoneme **ž**, replacing Persian **ǰ**.

The exceptions are:

(i) abstract nouns ending in **-īh** [*-yh*], which immediately follow the words from which they are derived, e.g. **stūrīh** after **stūr**, before **sturg**;

(ii) verbal nouns formed from the present stems by the suffix **-išn** [*-šn'*] and their derivatives in **-išnīg** [*-šnyk'*], **-išnīh** [*-šnyh*], which are all listed under the verb.

Verbs are quoted in the infinitive form, followed by the present stem, except when either of these is not certainly attested. Cross references are made where necessary.

Not all verbal derivatives are included if they are regularly deducible from the 'principal parts' of the verbs given, e.g. actor nouns in **-dār/-tār** [*-t'l*], and past participles in **-dag/-tag** [*-tk'*], corresponding to infinitives in **-dan/-tan** [*-tn'*]; the abstract nouns in **-īh** formed from these (e.g. **-dārīh, -dagīh**); agent nouns in **-āg** [*-'k'*] formed from present stems, etc.

THE ENTRIES

Pahlavi words are always given in **bold** type. The few entries in *italics* are concessions to another transcription, made for reference.

P before a main entry indicates that the word is found only in texts of Parthian origin, namely the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* and *Draxt ī Asūrīg*.

An asterisk denotes that the transcription or reading of the word is unconfirmed and remains doubtful.

Within square brackets the following information is given:

(i) The transliteration of the Pahlavi spelling. In the case of ideograms this is followed immediately by an indication of the Aramaic (A) origin of the spelling. With verbs this can seldom be given more closely than by the form of the Aramaic root.

When the Pahlavi spelling of the present stem of a verb coincides with part of that of the infinitive, however much they differ in transcription, the transliteration is given in abbreviated form, with a hyphen. Thus *škwp-tn'* denotes 'infinitive *škwptn'* (= **škuftan**), present stem *škwp-* (= **škōf-**)', *YMYTWN-tn'*

denotes 'infinitive *YMYTWNtn*' (= **murdan**), present stem *YMYTWN-* (= **mīr-**)'.

(ii) Evidence supporting the transcription.

For 'learned' words taken from the Avesta the form which the Pahlavi represents, however corruptly, is quoted (as '= Av.').[1] In such cases the Pahlavi transcriptions are more hypothetical than usual, since they can be no more than probable representations of the contemporary pronunciation of these words.

Justification of the transcription of each word would require the discussion of a mass of etymological and comparative evidence far beyond the scope of this dictionary. Only that evidence is included, therefore, which is most closely related and lends itself to concise and regular presentation.

After the vertical stroke the corresponding forms from Manichaean Middle Persian (M) and/or Parthian (P) are given wherever possible. The appearance of only a Parthian form does not necessarily imply that the Pahlavi word is of non-Persian origin. It may be that the identical Middle Persian form is not attested in Manichaean script.

Later forms of the word are quoted from Judaeo-Persian (J—from whatever source) and the earliest New Persian (N—rarely in their Arabic guise, when this has displaced the Persian, Ar.).

When the forms presented are not directly comparable, being from a different dialect or in some way modified (e.g. by popular etymology), they are enclosed in parentheses.

(*Example overleaf*)

[1] In Bartholomaean transcription (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*) except for *ā̃*, *β*, *w*, replacing *q*, *w*, *v* respectively.

EXAMPLE

wēn-[I]	[illegible]	(1)
wēnišn[I]	[illegible]	(2)
dīdan[I]	[illegible]	(3)
wēn-	[illegible]	(4)
wēnišnīg	[illegible]	(5)
wēnišn	[illegible]	(6)
dīdan	[illegible]	(7)

dīdan, wēn- [*HZYTWN-tn*' < A √*ḥzy*; *dytn*', *wyn-* | M *dydn*, *wyn-*, N ~, *bīn-*] see.
~**išn**: sight, seeing.
~**išnīg**: visible.
wēn-, ~**išn(-īg)**, v. **dīdan**.

(1) [illegible] is an ideographic spelling of **wēn-**, present stem of **dīdan**. It consists of the letters *H*, *Z* (reduced to a shape of *G*), *Y*, *T*, *W*, *N*, being a (normal) Pahlavi development from the Aramaic root *ḥzy*. The infinitive (3) has the 'phonetic complement' *-tn*', for the **-dan** of **dīdan**.

(7) [illegible] *dytn*' spells the infinitive **dīdan**, and (4) [illegible] *wyn-* the present stem **wēn-**.

In Manichaean Middle Persian the corresponding forms are spelt *dydn*, *wyn-* respectively, indicating the same pronunciation. In New Persian the infinitive is still *dīdan*, but the present stem has become, regularly, *bīn-*.

The verbal noun **wēnišn** may be written part ideographically (2) *HZYTWNšn*' or 'phonetically' (6) *wynšn*'. The derived adjective **wēnišnīg** is attested in the spelling (5) *wynšnyk*' (but could occur as *HZYTWNšnyk*').

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aramaic
Ar.	Arabic
astr.	astrology, astronomy
Av.	Avestan
cal.	calendar
intr.	intransitive
J	Judaeo-Persian
lit.	literally
M	Manichaean Middle Persian
N	(early) New Persian
P	Parthian
pl.	plural
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive

SYMBOLS

~	(the same as) the main entry
*	doubtful transcription, meaning
/	separates alternatives
( )	variant form, spelling
(N . . .)	N, etc., form not directly comparable
= M	the same spelling in M, etc.

abāz dādan ō : 1. attribute, ascribe to; 2. appoint to.
abr ... *add* M *ʾβr* !
a-čār *add* helpless.
delete **a-dištag** ... (*read* **āγištag**)
add **afrāz** [*ʾplʾc* | N *farāz*] acclivity.
afsōn ... *add* M *ʾpswn*.
agār ..., *add* useless.
āgōš [*ʾkwš* | (M *ʾʾwš*, P *ʾgwc*), N *āγōš*] embrace, armful.
add **āγištag** [*ʾgyštk'* | P **ʾgyšt*, N *āγišta*] mixed, defiled.
add **Ahlišwang** [*ʾhlyšwng*] = **Ard.**
delete **Ahrišwang** ...
for **ālum** ...
read **alum** [*ʾlwm* | N ~] millet.
āsnūd(ag) ... *delete* noble.
aswār [*PR/LŠYA* < A *pršyʾ*; ...
āšnāg ... *add* acquainted with.
āštīh ... *add* concord.
ayād ... *read* [*ʾbyḏʾt'* | ...
for **bahr** ... *and* **bahrag** ...
read **bahr(ag)** [*bʾhl(k')* | M *bhr*, N ~*(a)*] part, portion, share, lot; reason.
(az) ān bahrag rāy : on that account, therefore.
for **bahrwar** ...
read **bahr(ag)war** [*bʾhl(k)wl* | N *bahrawar*] partaking, participator, partner.
~**īh** : participation, advantage.
bālāy *add* M *bʾlʾy* .
add **balgam** [*blgm* | N *balγam*] phlegm.
baxtan ... *add* divide.
bayaspān [*byʾspʾn'* | = M] ...
bēlūr ... *for* M *read* P *bylwr*.
ʾbōy ... *add* incense.
buland ... *add* aloud.
čandīdan ... | (M *cn-ystn*), J ~] ...
~**išn** : [N *čandiš*] ...
add **čaxrag** [*cʾhlk'* | M *cxr*, N *čarx*] wheel, circle.
čimīg ... *add* caused, justified, reasonable.
dagrand-xwadāy ... *delete* eternal.
dast-gīr [*dstgyl* | N ~] ... *delete*: *dst OHDWN*, ...

did ... *add* other.
add **dīg** [*YTMAL* < A *ʾtmʾl* | N *dī*] yesterday.
delete ***drēm** ... (*read* **balgam**)
drubušt ... *add* protective.
drust [*drw(d)st'* ...
duš-čihr ... *add* ill-natured.
duš-nām [*-nʾm* | (M *dwjnʾm*), N ~] *add* ill-famed.
dušwār [*dwšwʾl* | (M *dwjwʾr*), ...
ēkānag ... *for* obedient *read* loyal, faithful.
~īh : *for* obedience *read* loyalty, faithfulness.
for **Farrōbāg** ...
read **Farrōbāy** [*plnb(ʾ)g*] ...
frayād [*pl(y)dʾt'* | N *faryād*] ... *delete* M *pryʾd*.
frazand [*prz/znd* | ...
frušag ... *add* M *prwšg*.
garōdmān ... *read* | P *grdmʾn*.
gazdum [*gcd(w)m, gzd(w)m* | ...
guftār ..., **~īh** : *add* eloquence.
hambār [*hm-, hnbʾl* | ...
add **hamēst** [*hmyst'*] whose good and bad deeds weigh equal.
~(ag)ān [*-(k)ʾn'*] limbo, the neutral station between heaven and hell.
delete **hammist** ..., **~(ag)ān** ...
handarz ... *add* M *ʾndrz*.
hammōxtan, hammōz-, ~išn : *add* learning.
hašt [*TWMNYA* < A *tmnyʾ*; ...
add **hūg** [*HZWLYA* < A *ḥzyrʾ*; *hwk'* | M *hwg*, N *xūg*] pig.
add **hūkar(ag)** [*hwkl(k')* | N *xūkara*] porcupine. (*not* hedgehog)
add ***huzārag** [*hwcʾlk* | N *xuǰāra*] little, small, few.
[1]**ǰadag** ... *add* fortune.
ǰūdan ... | M *jwwdn, jwy-* ...
add **karāwuš** [*klʾwš* | N ~] wine-press.
delete **karbunag** ...
read **karbūg** [*klpwk', klbwk'*] lizard.
kardagān ... *add* service (of the gods).
delete **karxōš** ...
read **mā** ... N *ma*] not.
delete **mādayār** ...
mānīg ... *add* house-owner.
mayānǰīg ... *add* arbiter.
for [1-3]**mēz-** *read* [1-2]**mēz-**, v. [1]**mēzišn, mistan**.

delete **mēzīdan** ... suck.
for [2]**mēzišn** ... *read* [1]**mēzišn** ...
for **mistan,** [3]**mēz-** *read* ... [2]**mēz-** ...
mihōxt [*mytwht'* = Av. *miθaoxta-*] falsehood.
[2]**mihr** .. *add* ~ **druxtan :** break faith.
add **mizīdan, miz-** [*myc-ytn'* | N *mazīdan*] suck.
for ***moγ-mard** ... *read* **mowmard** ...
mōy ... *add* M *mwy*.
read **nǎxun** [*n'hwn'* | P *nxwn*, N *nāxun*] (finger) nail.
delete **nāyīzag** ... (*read* **wēzag**).
nēk, ~īh ... *add* benefit.
nibastan ... *delete ŠKBHWN-tn'* < A √*škb*;
nibāstan ... *read* M *nb'st*, P *nb'y-*.
nibēg ... *add* M *nbyg*.
nibištan ... [*YKTYBWN-tn'* ... (*not -stn'*).
nīdan, nay- [*DB(Y)LWN-tn'* < A √*dbr* | ...
nigūn, ~sār [*-s'l* | (P *ngws'r*)] downwards.
add ***nihēb** [*nyhyp̄* | N ~] fear, terror.
for **nīšān** *read* **nišān** ...
niyāz, ~ōmandīh ... *add* necessity.
read **niyōxšīdan** ...
nō [*TŠA* < A *tšʿ* | ... (*not tš'*).
delete **ōzārak** ...
padist ... *add* threat.
pad-nigerišn ... *for* cared for, guarded *read* carefully.
add **parisp** [*plsp* | M *prysp*] wall.
[2]**pid** ... *add* (M *pyt*).
purnāy [*pwln'd* = Av. *pərənāyu-*] adult.
add **purr-marg** [*-mlg*] deadly, baneful.
raz ... *add* M *rz*.
add **rēbās** [*lyp's* | N ~] rhubarb.
[2]**ristag** ... *add* N *rasta*.
add **rox** [*lhw'* | N ~] rook, castle (*chess*).
sahistan ... *read* (M *shyd*, P *sʿy-*).
add **sārwār** [*s'lw'l*] helmet.
add **sayistan, say-** [*ŠKBHWN-tn* < A √*škb* | P *sy-*] lie down.
sneh ... *for* sword *read* club, weapon.
[2]**sōg** ... *add* N ~ 'grief'.
for **Sōšyans** ... *read* **Sōšāns** [*swkš'ns* ...
add **šabyār** [*špy'l* | N ~] grape syrup.
škaft ... *read* 1. = **škeft**; 2. cave.

šnāxtan ... *read* M ... *ʿšnʾs-*.

for **šus^{a}r** ... *read* **šuhr** ...

for **tā** ... *read* [1]**tā** [*OD* < A *ʿd* | (M *dʾ*, P *tʾ*, N ~] until, while, within; so that.

add [2]**tā** [*tʾk′* | N ~] like, peer.

for [1]**tāg** ... *read* **tāg** ..., *add* M *tʾg*.

delete [2]**tāg** ...

add **tahm** [*thm* | =M, N ~] strong, brave.

and **tāk** [*tʾk′* | N ~ 'vine'] branch.

tōhm(ag) [*twhm(k′)* | M *twhm*, *-g*, N *tuxm*, -a] ...

read **wanīgar** [*wnykl*] prodigal.

~īh : prodigality, waste.

wany [*H(W)BDN* < A *hwbdnʾ*, √*ʾbd* | ...

wany(b)ūdīh [*HWBDN′bwtyh*, ...

add **war-wēzag** [*wl-wʾyck′*] **andāxtan** : cast lots.

for **wāzīg** ... *read* **-wāzīg** [*-wʾcyk′* | N *-bāz*] -player.

add **wēzag** [*wʾyck′*] lot.

wiyābān, ~īg ... *add* confusing.

add **Wizarš** [*wyzlš*] a demon.

for **wizāstan,** ... *read* **wizāyīdan, wizāy-** [*wyzʾd-ytn′* ...

wizūdan ... = **wizāyīdan**.

add **xīg** [*ZKYA* < A *zqʾ* | N *xī(k)*] leather bag.

delete **xūg** ... (*read* **hūg**).

delete **xūkar(ag)** ... (*read* **hūkar(ag)**).

xwadāy ... *read* N *xudāy*.

xwarg ... *add* live coal.

for **yazd** ... *read* **yazad** ... N *īzad*, *yazd*.

for **yazdān** ... *read* **yazadān** ...

Amend English-Pahlavi Index *and* Pahlavi Key *accordingly*.

Appendix (p. 142)

(i) *read* Ard (Ahlišwang).

(ii) *add* Wizarš.

(p. 143)

(vii) *read* 1 frārāst, ārešn ....

p. 166 [142] *after* sī *add* dīg.

p. 179 [115] *for* kārēzār *read* kārezār.

p. 220 [33] *for* arg, halag *read* ālag, halag.

A

a- [ʾ- | M ʾ-] *privative prefix*, un-, -less.
ā [ʾ] then (*generally with a suffixed pronoun*, e.g. **ā-š**).
āb [*MYA* < A *my*ʾ; ʾp̄ | M ʾ*b*, N ~] water.
ābād [ʾp̄ʾtʾ | M ʾ*b*ʾ*d*, N ~] populous, thriving, prosperous.
 ~īh: prosperity.
ābādān [ʾp̄ʾtʾnʾ | N ~] thriving, prosperous, cultivated.
 ~īh: prosperity, cultivation.
abādixšā(y) [ʾp̄ʾthšʾ(*d*), v. **pādixšā(y)**] without authority, powerless.
 ~īh: powerlessness; anarchy.
abādyāwand [ʾp̄ʾtyd'wnd | J ʾ*b*ʾ*dywn*⟨*d*⟩] powerless, weak.
 ~īh: powerlessness, weakness.
abāg [*LWTE* < A *lwt-h* | M ʾ*b*ʾ*g*, N (*a*)*bā*] with.
 ~īh [ʾp̄ʾ*kyh*] company, assistance.
abāgēnīdan, abāgēn- [ʾp̄ʾ*kyn-ytn*ʾ] accompany.
a-bahr [ʾ*b*ʾ*hl*] portionless, deprived.
abām [ʾp̄ʾ*m* | P ʾ*b*ʾ*myh*, N (*ā*)*wām*] loan, debt.
Ābān [ʾp̄ʾ*n*ʾ | M ʾ*b*ʾ*n*, N ~] *cal.* 8th month; 10th day.
aband [ʾp̄*nd*, v. **pand** | M ʾ*bnd*] erring.
 ~īh: error.
[1]**abar** [*QDM* < A *qdm*; ʾp̄*l* | M ʾ*br*, N *bar*] up; on, over.
 ~ āmadan: rise (sun).
 ~ āxistan: rise up.
 ~ āxrāmīdan: step up.
 ~ burdan: undertake.
 ~ madan: cope with, comprehend.
 ~ nigerīdan: consider.
 ~ nihumbīdan: conceal.
 ~ nišastan: sit, be enthroned.
 ~ nišāstan: seat, install.
 ~ rasīdan: come to, upon.
 ~ rasīdan ō: attain.
[2]**abar** [ʾp̄*l*] higher, superior.
 ~ag [-*g* | M ʾ*brg*] superior.
 ~agān(ag) [-*k*ʾ*n*(*k*)ʾ] superior.
 ~dar [-*tl*, ʾ*wltl* | M ʾ*brdr*] higher.
 ~dom [-*twm* | M ʾ*brdwm*] highest.
 ~domīh [-*twmyh*] superiority.
abargar [ʾp̄*lgl*] god, divinity.
abarīg(ān) [ʾp̄*lyk*(ʾ*n*)ʾ] = **abarag**.
abārīg [ʾp̄ʾ*ryk*ʾ | M ʾ*b*ʾ*ryg*, J ʾ*b*ʾ*ry*] other.

abarmān [*'ṕlm'n*[1]] in charge.
abarmānd [*'ṕlm'nd*] inheritance, privilege.
abarmānīg [*'ṕlm'nyk*[1]] noble.
abar-menišn [*'ṕlmynšn*[1]] proud, haughty.
abārōn [*'ṕ'lwn*[1] | N *wārūn*] contrary, wrong, sinful.
 ~īh: sin.
abar-ōz [*'ṕl'wc*] stronger.
 ~īh: mastery.
abar-tan [*'ṕltn*[1]] arrogant.
 ~īh: arrogance.
abarwēz [*'ṕlwyc* | (M *'brwyj*, N *parwēz*)] triumphant, victorious.
 ~īh: triumph, victory.
abarzēn, v. [2]**mašk.**
abaxš [*'ṕhš*] repentant; regret.
 ~īh: repentance.
abaxšāwand [*'ṕhš'wnd*] regretful.
abaxšāyīdan, abaxšāy- [*'ṕhš'd-ytn*[1] | M *'bxš'y-*, N *baxšūdan, baxšāy-*] forgive, have mercy on.
 ~išn: mercy, forgiveness.
 ~išnīg: forgiving, merciful.
[1]**abāxtar** [*'ṕ'htl* | M *'b'xtr*] planet.
[2]**abāxtar** [*'ṕ'htl* | (N *bāxtar* 'west')] north.
abaydāg [*'ṕyt'k*[1], v. **paydāg** | M *'byd'g*] invisible.
 ~īh: invisibility.
abāy-: **abāyēd** [*'ṕ'yt*[1] | M *'b'yd*, N *bāyad*] it is necessary, fitting; must (+*infinitive*).
 ~ist [*'ṕ'dst*[1] | N *bāyist*] it was necessary.
 ~istan [*'ṕ'dstn*[1]] be necessary, fitting; desire, want.
 ~išn: necessity.
 ~išnīg: necessary, fitting, seemly.
abāz [*LAWHL* < A *l-'(w)ḥr*; *'ṕ'c* | M *'b'c*, N *bāz*, *wā*] back, again, re-.
 ~ dādan ō: attribute, ascribe to. appoint to
 ~ dāštan: withhold, restrain, prevent.
 ~ ēstādan az: abandon, desist from.
 ~ kardan: open.
 ~ kardan az: disengage from, wean.
 ~ māndan: remain behind.
 ~ pādan: remain, stay.
 ~ raftan: issue, go forth.
 ~ waštan ō: turn into, become.
 ~ wīrāstan: rearrange.
abāzsār [*LAWHLs'l*] rebellious.
 ~īh: rebellion.
āb-čihrag [*'ṕ cyhlk*[1]] holding the seed, essence of water.
abd [*'ṕd* | M *'βd*, J *'bd-*] wonderful.
 ~ sahistan: seem wonderful (to) > marvel.

~**īh**: wonder.
āb-dān [*'p̄d'n'*] water-holder.
abdast [*'p̄dst'*] hand-guard.
abdom [*'p̄dwm* | M *'bdwm*] last, final(ly).
~**īh**: finality, end.
abd-sahist [*'p̄dshst'*] wonderful.
abē- [*'p̄y(y)-* | M *'by-*, N *bē*] without, -less.
~-**bar** [*-bl*] fruitless.
~-**bēš** [*-byš*] unharmed.
~-**bīm** [*-bym*] fearless.
~-**bīmīh**: fearlessness.
~-**bōy** [*-bwd*] senseless.
~-**bōyīh**: senselessness.
~-**būd(īh)** [*-bwt'*, *-bwtyh*] deficiency.
~-**čim** [*-cym*] without reason, cause.
abēdān [*'p̄yt'n'*] of use, wanted.
abē-|-gumān [*-gwm'n'*] without doubt, certain.
~-**gumānīh**: certainty.
~-**mizag** [*-m(y)ck'*] tasteless.
~-**must** [*-mwst'*] uncomplaining, content.
~-**niyāz** [*-nyd'c*] free from want.
~-**ōš** [*-'wš* | M *'by'wš*, N *bēhōš*] senseless, unconscious.
~-**ōšīh**: senselessness, unconsciousness.
abēr [*'p̄yl*] very, much.
abē-rāh [*'p̄yl's*] erring.
abesar [*'p̄ysl* | M *'bysr*, N *afsar*] crown.
abesīhēnīdan, abesīhēn- [*'p̄shyn-ytn'*, v. **abesīhīdan**] destroy.
~**išn(īh)**: destruction.
abesīhīdan, abesīh- [*'p̄s(y)h-ytn'* | M *'bysyh-*] perish, be destroyed.
~**išn(īh)**: destruction, ruin.
abespārdan [*'p̄sp'ltn'*) = **abespurdan.**
abespurdan, abespār- [*'p̄spwltn'*, *'p̄sp'l-* | M *'byspwrd*, *'bysp'r-*, N *sipurdan, sipār-*] commit, entrust, consign.
abestāg [*'p̄(y)st'k'*] Avesta, the Mazdean scriptures.
abestām [*'p̄st'm*] = **abestān.**
abestān [*'p̄st'n'*] refuge, support, trust.
ābestan [*'p̄ystn'* | P *'bystn*, N *ābistan*] = **ābustan.**
abē-sūd [*'p̄yȳ swt'*] profitless.
~**īh**: profitlessness.
a-bēš [*'byš*] harmless; unharmed, invulnerable.
~**īh**: harmlessness; invulnerability.
abē-|-wināh [*-wn's* | M *'bywn' !*] innocent.
~-**wizend** [*-wznd*] harmless, invulnerable, safe.
abēzag [*'p̄yck'* | M *'bycg*, (N *wēža*)] pure, holy.
~**īh**: purity, holiness.
abēzār [*'p̄yz'l*, *'p̄yc'l* | N *bēzār*] free.

abgandan, abgan- [*LMYTWN-tn*[1] < A √*rm*'; '*p̌kn-* | M '*bgnd*, '*bgn-*, N *afgan-dan*] throw.
abgār- ['*p̌k'l-*] provide, promote.
ābgēnag ['*p̌kynk*[1], *MYAkynk*[1] | N *ābgīna*] crystal, glass. Bsyd "pkyn'k 'glass' "pkynch 'crystal'
~ēn[*-yn*[1]] crystalline.
ābīg ['*p̌yk*[1] | N *ābī*] aquatic, watery.
ābilag ['*p̌lk*[1] | N *~a*] blister.
a-bīm ['*bym*] fearless.
āb-kāmag ['*p̌k'mk*[1] | N *~a*] a thick, sour soup.
abnūs ['*p̌nws* | (N *ābnūs*)] ebony.
a-bōy ['*bwd*] senseless.
~īh: senselessness.
abr ['*bl*, '*p̌l* | N *~*] cloud. N 'pr l
abrang ['*p̌lng* | N *aurang*] glory, splendour.
abrāstan, abrāz- ['*p̌l'stn*[1], '*p̌l'c-* | M '*br'st*, N (*afrāštan*), *afrāz-*] lift, raise.
abrāz ['*p̌l'c* | N *afrāz*] acclivity.
abrēšom ['*p̌lyš(w)m* | M '*bryšwm*, N *~*] silk.
~ēn [*-yn*[1]] silken.
abrōxtan, abrōz- ['*p̌lwhtn*[1], '*p̌lwc-* | M '*brwxt*, '*brwc-*, N *afrōxtan*, *afrōz-*] light, kindle, illuminate, polish.
~išn(īh): illumination.
āb-tazan ['*p̌tcn*[1]] watercourse.
a-bun ['*bwn*[1]] baseless, bottomless.
a-burd-framān ['*bwltplm'n*[1]] disobedient.
~īh: disobedience.
aburnāy ['*p̌(w)ln'd*, v. **purnāy** | N *burnā*] under age, child.
~īh: childhood.
aburnāyag ['*p̌(w)ln'(d)yk*[1]] child.
abus ['*p̌ws*] (*woman*) having just given birth.
~īh: childbirth.
ābus, -tan ['*p̌ws*, *-tn*[1] | M '*bwws*, v. **ābestan**] pregnant.
~īh: pregnancy.
abyōxtan, abyōz- ['*p̌ywhtn*[1], '*p̌ywc-*] join, mix.
āb-zan ['*p̌zn*[1] | N *~*] bath.
[1]**abzār** ['*p̌c'l*, '*p̌z'l* | M '*bc'r*, N *afzār*] instrument, means; spice.
[2]**abzār** ['*p̌z'l* | M '*bz'r*] skill, power; powerful.
~ōmand [*-'wmnd*] skilled, able.
abzāy-, ~išn, v. **abzūdan.**
abzōn ['*p̌zwn*[1] | M, J '*bzwn*, N *afzūn*] increase, growth.
~īg [*-yk*[1]] increasing, expansive, bountiful.
~īgīh: bountifulness.
abzūdan, abzāy- ['*p̌zwtn*[1], '*p̌z'd-* | M '*bz'y-*, N *afzūdan*, *afzāy-*] increase, grow.
~išn: increase, growth.
a-čār ['*c'l*] inevitable, helpless
~ag [*-k*[1]] compelled.

a-dād [*'d'tl*], **a-dādestān** [*'-DYNA, -d'tst'nl*] illegal, unjust.
~**īh**: injustice, illegality.
a-dahm [*'d'hm*] uninitiated.
-ādan [*-'tnl* | P *-'dn*, N ~] *suffix forming secondary infinitives.*
a-dān [*'d'nl* | M *'d'n*] ignorant.
~**īh**: ignorance.
***ādān** [*'t'nl*] wealthy, solvent; wealth.
~**īh**: wealth.
a-dard [*'dltl*] painless.
ādarōg [*'tlwkl*], **ātaxš ī ~** : the simplest kind of sacred fire.
ādehīg [*'dhykl*] indigenous, domestic.
adēn [*'tynl* | M *'dyn*] entry.
***adēn-** [*'dyn-* | = M] bring, lead.
ādišt [*'tyštl*] fire-stand.
~~**a-dištag** [*'dyštkl*] ***uninformed**~~. read āyištag
ādūg [*'twkl* | M *''dwg*] capable.
ādur [*'twrl* | M *'dwr*, N *ādar*] fire; the god 'Fire'; *cal.* 9th month; 9th day. BSg' ntr
ādurestar [*'twrystl*] ashes.
~**ēn** [*-ynl*] ashen.
ādur-gāh [*'twrg's*] fire altar.
āfrāh [*'pl's* | M *''pr'h*] teaching, doctrine. afrāz | 'pl'c | N farāz | 'acclivity'
a-frasāwand [*'pls'wnd*] imperishable.
āfrīdan, āfrīn- / **āfur-** [*'plytnl, 'plyn-, 'pwl-* | M *'p(w)ryd, 'pwr-*, P *'fryn-*, N *āfarīdan, āfarīn-*] praise, bless; create.
āfrīn [*'prynl* | M *'pryn*, N *āfarīn*] praise, blessing. BSgd. ''prynwn
~**agān** [*-k'nl*] Afrinagan prayers.
afrōšag [*'plwškl* | N ~ *a*] a sweetmeat made of flour, butter, and honey.
***afsālān** [*'ps'l'nl* | (N *ābsālān*)] springtime.
afsān [*'ps'nl* | (M *''ps'ng*), N *afsāna*] story, fable.
afsardan, afsar- [*'psl-tnl*] cool down.
afsārdan, afsār- [*'ps'l-tnl*] cool, freeze, extinguish.
~**išn**: cooling.
afsāy-, v. **afsūdan.**
afsēnistan, afsēn- [*'psyn-stnl*, v. **abesīhēn-īdan**] destroy.
~**išn**: destruction.
afsōn [*'pswnl* | N *afsūn*] spell, incantation. M 'pswn
afsōs [*'psws* | N ~] scorn, mockery.
~**gar** [*-gl*] mocker.
afsūdan, afsāy- [*'pswtnl, 'ps'd-*] enchant, protect by spell.
afšāndan, afšān- [*'pš'n-tnl* | N ~] spread, scatter, sow.
afšārdan [*'pš'ltnl* | N ~] = **afšurdan.**
afšurdan, afšār- [*'pšwltnl, 'pš'l-* | N ~] press, compress, crush.
āfurīdan, āfur- [*'pwl-ytnl*, v. **āfrīdan**] create.
~**išn**: creation.
-ag [*-kl* | M *-g*, N *-a*] *suffix forming* (i) *adjectives, from nouns and verbal stems,* (ii) *nouns, from adjectives and present stems.*

-āg [-'*k*' | M -'*g*, N -*ā*] *suffix forming agent nouns from present stems.*
a-gāh ['*g's*] without rank.
āgāh ['*k's* | M '*g'*(*h*), N ~] aware, knowing.
~**īh**: knowledge.
āgāhēnīdan, āgāhēn- ['*k'syn-ytn*'] inform.
āgandan, āgan- ['*kn-dn*' | P ''*gnd*, N ~] fill, stuff.
a-ganj ['*knc*!] penniless.
agar [*HT*, for A *hn* | M '*gr*, N ~] if.
agār ['*k'l* | M '*g'r*-] inactive, powerless, useless
~**īh**: inactivity, impotence.
agārēnīdan, agārēn- ['*k'lyn-ytn*'] render powerless.
agārīhistan, agārīh- ['*k'lyh-stn*' | M '*g'ryyh*-] become powerless.
ag-dēn ['*k*-, '*gdyn*'] of evil religion, infidel.
~**īh**: heterodoxy, non-Mazdean religion.
āgenēn ['*k*(*y*)*nyn*' | M (')'*g*(*y*)*nyn*] together.
āgōš ['*kwš* | (P '*gwc*), N *āyōš*] embrace. M ''wš 'armful'
a-gōwāg ['*gwb'k*'] speechless, dumb.
ayrē ['*y*-, '*klyȳ* = Av. *aγrya*-] highest, greatest.
āgrift ['*glpt*' = Av. *āgərəpta*-] crime, offence; a degree of sin.
a-griftār ['*glpt'l*] intangible, impalpable.
a-gumān ['*gwm'n*'] without doubt, certain.
a-gumēg ['*gwmyk*' | M '*gwmyg*] unmixed, pure.
~**īh**: purity.
āgustan ['*kwstn*' | M ''*gwst*] hang up, suspend. Buddog 'k'wc-
āhan ['*h*(*y*)*n*', '*s*(*y*)*n*' | M ''*hwn*, N ~] iron.
~**ēn** ['*synyn*'] iron, of iron.
~**gar** [-*kl* | N ~] blacksmith.
āhang ['*hng*] pull, draught.
āhanjīdan ['*hncytn*'] = **āhixtan.**
ahanūz ['*hnwc* | M '*hnwn-c*, N *hanūz*] yet, still.
āhen = **āhan,** q.v.
āhīd ['*hyt*' | M (')'*hyd*] stain, impurity; confused.
~**īh**: pollution; confusion.
āhixtan, āhanj- ['*hhtn*', '*hnc*- | M '*hxtn*, ('*hynz*-), N *āhīxtan*, ~] draw out, pull up, extract.
ahlā ['*hl'y* | (M -'*hr'y*)] righteous (*of Srōš*).
ahlaw ['*hlwb*' | M '*hlw*] righteous.
~**īh**: righteousness.
ahlaw-dād ['*hlwb d't*'] alms, charity.
ahlāyīh ['*hl'dyh*] righteousness. Ahlišwang ['hlywng] = Ard
ahlomōγ ['*hlmwk*' | M '*hlmwg*] heretic.
~**īh**: heresy.
āhōg ['*hwk*' | M ''*hwg*, N *āhō*] fault, blemish.
āhōgēnīdan, āhōgēn- ['*hwkyn-ytn*'] defile.
a-homānāg ['*hwm'n'k*'] unlike.
ahōš ['*hwš*] deathless, immortal.

~īh: immortality.
āhr [*'hl*] dread, fury.
ahrāftan, ahrām- [*'hl'ptn*[1], *'hl'm-* | M *'hr'ptn, 'hr'm-*] raise, lead up.
Ahreman [*'hl(y)mn*[1] | M *'hrmyn*, N ~] the Evil Spirit.
~~**Ahrišwang** [*'hlyšwng*] = **Ard.**~~
āhūg [*TYBA* < A *ṭby'*; *'hwk*[1] | M (')*'hwg*, N *āhū*] gazelle.
ahunawar [*'hnwl*] the holiest prayer, beginning *Yaθā ahū wairyô*.
a-hunsand [*'hwnsnd*] dissatisfied.
~īh: dissatisfaction.
ahy [*KZY* < A *k-zy* | M *'hy*] soon(est), first.
ajgahān [*'šgh'n*[1] | M *'jg'h'n*, N *ažgahān*] lazy, indolent.
~īh: laziness, indolence.
ak [*'k*[1] | N *ǎk*] evil, harm.
-ak [*-k*[1] | N ~] *diminutive suffix.*
a-kāmagōmand [*'k'mk'wmnd*] unwilling.
a-kanārag [*'kn'lk*[1] | M *'qn'rg*] unlimited, boundless.
~īh: boundlessness.
a-kard [*'krt*[1] | (M *'gyrd*)] not done, undone.
Akōman [*'kwmn*[1] | M *'qwmn*] Evil Thought, an arch-demon.
akōmand [*'k'wmnd*] evil, harmful.
alā [*'l'y*] oh! alas!
ālag [*ŠTLA, ŠTRA* < A *šṭr'*; *'lk*[1] | (M *''rg*)] side.
alālag [*'l'lk*[1] | N *lāla*] anemone.
ālāy-, v. **ālūdan.**
Aleksandar [*'lksndl* | M *'lxsyndr*, N *Iskandar*] Alexander (of Macedon).
almās(t) [*'lm's(t*[1]) | (M *'rm's*), N *almās*] steel; diamond.
ālūdag [*'lwtk*[1]] defiled, polluted.
~īh: defilement.
ālūdan, ālāy- [*'lwtn*[1], *'l'd-* | (M *'rwd*), N ~] defile, pollute.
āluh [*'lwh* | M *''lwf*, N ~] eagle.
ālum [*'lwm*] millet. N ~
amā [*LNE* < A *l-nh* | M *'m'h*, N *mā*] we, us.
āmadan, āy- [*YATWN-tn*[1] < A *y'twn*, √*'th* | M *'mdn, ''y-*, N ~] come.
amahraspand [*'mhrsp̄nd* | M (')*mhr'spnd*] a Holy Immortal.
a-mar [*'ml*] countless, innumerable.
āmār [*'m'l* | N ~] reckoning, consideration.
āmār- [*'m'l-*] reckon, calculate.
~išn: reckoning.
a-marag [*'mlk*[1]] countless.
amaragān [*'mlk'n*[1]] generality, commonalty.
~īg [*-yk*[1]] general.
~īhā [*-yh'*] in general, generally.
a-marg [*'mlg*] deathless, undying.
~īh: deathlessness, immortality.
āmārgar [*'m'lgl* | N ~] reckoner.
amāwand [*'m'wnd*] powerful, strong.

amāwandīh: power, strength.
ambag [*'mbk'* | N *anbajāt*] a preserve, conserve.
ambar [*'mbl, 'nbl* | Ar. *ʿanbar*] ambergris.
ambarag [*'mblk'* | N *anbara*] hairless (*animal*).
P amburdan [*h/'mbwltn'* | P *'mb'r-*] = **hambārīdan.**
a-menīdār [*'mynyt'l*] unthinking.
āmēxtan, āmēz- [*'myhtn', 'myc-* | M *'myxtn, 'myz-*, N ~] mix.
~**išn**: mixture; element.
āmiz [*'myc*] side dish, vegetables.
āmōxtan, āmōz-, read **hammōxtan, hammōz-.**
Amurdād [*'m(w)rdt'* | N *murdād*] Immortality, the sixth Amahraspand, guardian of plants and food; *cal.* 5th month; 7th day.
āmurzīdan, āmurz- [*'mwlc-ytn'* | M *'mwrz-yd*, N ~] forgive, pity, have mercy on.
~**išn**: mercy, forgiveness.
P amwaštan [*h/'mwštn'* | P *'mwšt*] gather, collect.
an- [*'n-* | M *'n-*] *prevocalic privative prefix*, un-, -less.
ān [*ZK* < A *zk*; *'n'* | M *h'n*, N ~] that, he.
~ **ī**: that of; *with a qualifier preceding a noun, equivalent to a following* **ī** e.g. **ān ī ahlawān ruwān = ruwān ī ahlawān,** the souls of the righteous.
-ān [*-'n'* | M *-'n*, N ~] *suffix forming* (i) *present participles*, (ii) *adverbs*, (iii) *plurals.*
ānāb-, ~išn, v. **ānāftan.**
an-ābādān [*'n'p'd'n'*] uncultivated.
an-abaxšāwand [*'n'phš'wnd*] unrepentant.
~**īh**: unrepentance.
an-abāy [*'n'p'd*] unfitting, improper.
an-abēdān [*'n'pyt'n'*] useless, unwanted.
~**īh**: uselessness.
anābuhlag [*'n'pwhlk'* = Av. *anāpərəθa-*] inexpiable, unatonable; the highest degree of sin.
an-abzār [*'n'pz'l*] unskilled, incapable.
~**īh**: inability.
an-ādān [*'n't'n'*] insolvent.
~**īh**: insolvency.
an-ādūg [*'n'twk'*] incapable.
an-afsēnišn [*'n'psynšn'*] indestructible.
ānāftan, ānāb- [*'n'ptn', 'n'p-* | M *'n'pt*, (*'n'm-*)] avert, reject, frustrate.
~**išn**: avoidance, warding off.
anāg [*'n'k'* | M *'n'g*] evil.
~**īh**: evil, harm.
an-āgāh [*'n'k's* | N *nāgāh*] unaware, unwitting.
anāg-kardār [*'n'k' krt'l*], **-kunišn** [*-kwnšn'*] evil-doer, maleficent.
anagr [*'ngl*] infinite.
~**ān** [*-'n'* | M *'nyr'n*] Infinite Light; *cal.* 30th day.

~-rōšn(īh) [*-lwšn*[1], *-lwšnyh*] Infinite Light.
anāhīd [*'n'hyt*[1] | N *nāhīd*] immaculate; a goddess; *astr.* Venus.
an-āhōǵ [*'n'hwk*[1]] undefiled.
an-ālūd [*'n'lwt*[1]] undefiled.
a-nāmčištīǵ [*'n'mcštyk*[1]] unspecified.
an-āmurzīd [*'n'mwlcyt*[1] | M *'n'mwrz'yd*] merciless.
an-āmurzišn [*'n'mwlcšn*[1]] mercilessness.
anār [*'n'l* | N ~] pomegranate.
anārǵēl [*'n'lgyl* | N *nārgēl*] coconut.
an-arzānīǵ [*'n'lc'nyk*[1]] undeserving, unworthy.
an-ast [*'nAYT*[1]] non-existent.
~īh: non-existence.
ānāst [*'n'st*[1]] spoilt, destroyed.
~īh: destruction.
ānāstaǵ [*'n'stk*[1]] = **ānāst.**
an-āstawān [*'n-'stwb'n*[1], *-'stwp'n*[1]] disbelieving.
~īh: disbelief.
an-āštīh [*'n'štyh*] discord, enmity; disquiet, unrest.
ānay-, v. **ānīdan.**
an-ayād [*'n'byd't*[1]] forgotten.
an-āzarm [*'n'clm*] without respect, dishonoured.
~īh: dishonour.
~īǵ [*-yk*[1]] dis-, un-honoured.
and [*'nd* | = M, N ~] so much, many.
~ čand [*'ndcnd*] as much as, however much.
-andaǵ, v. **-endaǵ.**
andāǵ [*nd'k*[1] | P *'nd'g*] sorrow.
~(ǵ)ēn [*-(k)yn*[1] | P *'nd'gyn*] sad, sorrowful.
andak [*'ndk*[1] | = M, N ~] little, few.
andar [*BYN* < A *byn* | M *'ndr*, N ~] in, among, towards, concerning.
~ abāyēd: it is necessary.
~ āmadan: come in, enter.
~ āwurdan: bring about, produce.
~ būdan: be contained in.
~ šudan: enter, set (sun).
~ widardan: outstrip.
andaraǵ [*'ndlg*] in, between, among.
andarmāh [*'ndlm'h*] new moon.
andarōn [*'ndlwn*[1] | M *'ndrwn*, N *~rūn*] inside, within.
andarwāy [*'ndlw'd* | (P *'ndrw'z*)] air, atmosphere.
~īǵ [*-yk*[1]] of the air, atmospheric.
and-čand, v. **and.**
andōh [*'ndwh* | M *'ndwx-*, N ~] sorrow.
~ǵēn [*-kn*[1] | N *-gīn*] sad, sorrowful.
anēr [*'n'yl*] non-Aryan, ignoble.
~īh: ignobility, barbarity.

anērān [*'n'yl'n'*] non-Eran, the world beyond Eran.
an-ērang [*'n'ylng*] blameless.
an-espās [*'nsp's*] ungrateful.
 ~īh: ingratitude.
angubēn [*DWBŠYA* < A *dbš* ; *'ngpyn'* | N *angubīn*] honey. Bsy 'nkwpy''
angūr [*ANBE* < A *'nb'*; *'ngwl* | N ~] grape.
angust ['*ngwst'* | (N *angušt*)] finger, toe; unit of length (¾ in.). Bkg 'nk(?)wšt
 ~arīg [*-lyk'*] finger ring.
 ~bān [*-p'n'*] finger-guard, -stall.
ānīdan, ānay- [*HYTYWN-tn'* < A *hyty*, √ *'th*; *'nytn'*] bring, lead.
anīg [*'nyk'* | (N *pēšānī*)] front, forehead.
anī-z [*AHRN(y)c*, v. **any** | N *nīz*] other also.
anjīr [*'ncyl* | N ~] fig.
anōdag [*'nwtk'* | M *'nwdg*] strange, alien.
 ~īg [*-yk'*] foreign.
ānōh, *ānōy [*TME* < A *tmh* | M *'nwh*, *'wy*] there.
an-ōst [*'n'wst'*] infirm, unreliable.
anōš [*'nwš*] *lit.* immortal, i.e. the next life; elixir, antidote.
 ~ xwardan: risk death, fight to the death.
anōšag [*'nwšk'* | M *'nwšg*, N *~a*] immortal.
 ~īh: immortality.
 ~-ruwān [*-lwb'n'*] the late, deceased.
an-ōšmār [*'n'wšm'l*] countless, innumerable.
anōš-xwar [*'nwšhwl*] mortal.
***ānōy**, v. **ānōh**.
anšahrīg [*'nštr'yk'*] slave.
an-ummēd [*'n'wmyt'* | J *'nwmyd*, N *naumēd*] hopeless, despairing.
an-uspurrīg [*'n'wspwlyk'*] imperfect.
any [*AHRN* < A *'hrn*; (corruptly, *ZK'y* = **ān-ī*) | M *'n(y)*] other.
a-pattūg [*'ptwk'*] impatient.
a-paymān [*'ptm'n'*] immoderate.
 ~īh: immoderation.
***apēdag** [*'pytk'* | P *'pyd(g)*] lost, stray.
 ~dār [*-d'l*] custodian of stray animals.
a-petītīg [*'ptytyk'*] unrepentant, unconfessed.
 ~īh: unrepentance.
a-petyārag [*'p(y)tyd'lk'*] without misfortune, unassailed.
a-pōhišn [*'pwhšn'*] incorruptible.
appar [*'pl* | M *'pr*] robbery, theft.
appār [*'p'l*] taken away, removed.
 ~īh: removal, loss, deprivation.
apparag [*'plg*] robber.
appurdan, appar- [*YHNCLWN-tn'* < A *yhnslwn*, √ *nsl*; *'pl-* | M *'pwrd*, *'p(w)r-*] steal.
 ~išn: stealing, theft.
a-pursišnīg [*'pwrsšnyk'*] irresponsible.

a-pus [*'BRE*] without a son, childless.
ār-, v. **ārdan.**
āranj [*'lnc* | N ~] elbow. BS-yd. »r'ync 'cubit'
***a-rāst** [*'r'st'*] untruth.
ārāstan, ārāy- [*'l'stn'*, *'l'd-* | N ~] prepare, arrange, adorn.
~**išn**: arrangement, adornment.
a-rawāg [*'lwb'k'*] immobile.
Ard [*'lt'* | M *'yrd*, N ~] a goddess; *cal.* 25th day.
ārd [*KHMA* < A *qmḥ'*; *'lt'* | N ~] flour.
ardā [*'lt'y* | (M *'rd'w*)] righteous, truthful.
ārdan, ār- [*THNN-tn'* < A √ *ṭḥn*; *'l-tn'*] grind, mill.
ardāyīh [*'lt'dyh* | M *'rd'yyh*] righteousness, rectitude.
ardīg [*'ltyk'* | M *'rdyg*] battle.
ardīkkar [*'ltykkl, -ḵl* | M *'rdyqr*] warlike, warrior.
~**īh**: doing battle.
arduš [*'ldwš* = Av. *arəduš-*] a degree of sin.
Ardwahišt [*'rtwhšt'* | M *'rdywhyšt*, (N *urdībihišt*)] Right, the second Amahraspand, guardian of fire; *cal.* 2nd month; 3rd day.
arešk [*'lyšk'* | M (*'*)*ryšk*, N *rašk*] envy, jealousy.
~**ēn** [*-yn'*] envious, jealous.
ārešn [*'lšn'* | M *''ryšn-*, N (*a*)*riš*] cubit.
arγand [*'lgnd* | N ~] horrible.
arγawān [*'lgwk'n'* | N *arγawān*] purple.
armēšt [*'lmyšt'*] inactive, infirm.
~**īh**: infirmity.
armēšt-gāh [*-g's*] secluded place for the infirm.
ārōyišn [*'lwdšn'*] growth.
~**īg** [*-yk'*] growing, vegetable.
ars [*'ls* | M *'rs*, N ~] tear (drop).
artēštār [*'ltyšt'l* | N *artēšdār*!] warrior.
~**īh**: warriorhood.
arus [*'lws*] white.
arwand [*'lwnd*] swift, valiant; river Orontes.
~**īh**: swiftness, valour.
arwēs [*'lwys* | M *'rwys*, N ~] rope.
arz [*KSP'* < A *ksp*; *'lc* | N ~] worth, value.
Arzah [*'lz'h* = Av. *arəzahī-*] the eastern continent of the earth.
arzan [*P^g* < A *prg'*; *'lcn'* | N ~] millet.
arzān [*'lc'n* | M *'rz'n*, N ~] valuable, worthy.
~**īg** [*-yk'*] worthy.
~**īgīh**: value, worth, worthiness.
arzīdan, arz- [*'lc-ytn'* | N ~] be worth.
~**išn**: value, worth.
arzīz [*'lcyc* | M *'rzyz*, N ~] tin, lead.
~**ēn** [*-yn'*] tin, leaden.
ārzōg [*'lcwk'* | M *'wrzwg*, N *ārzō*] desire, lust.

arzōmand ['*lc'wmnd* | (N *arǰumand*)] valuable, worthy.
 ~īh: value, worth.
Arzūr ['*lzwl*] a demon; a mountain at the mouth of hell.
a-sāg ['*s'k*[1] | M '*s'g*] innumerable, countless.
āsān ['*s'n*[1] | N ~] at rest, easy, peaceful.
 ~īh: rest, ease, peace.
a-sar ['*sl*] endless.
āsāy-, ~išn, v. **āsūdan.**
a-sazāg ['*sc'k*[1]] unfitting, unsuitable.
a-sazišn|īg ['*scšn-yk*[1]] imperishable, permanent.
 ~īh: imperishability, permanence.
a-sēǰ ['*syc*] free from danger.
asēm ['*sym* | = M, N *sīm*] silver.
 ~ēn [-*yn*[1] | N -*īn*] silver(n).
asmān ['*sm'n*[1] | = M, N *āsmān*] sky, heavens; *cal.* 27th day.
āsn ['*sn*[1]], **~ xrad:** innate wisdom.
āsnīdag ['*snytk*[1]] = **āsnūdag.**
āsnūd(ag) ['*snwt(k)*[1]] cleansed, purified; pure, ~~noble~~.
a-sōhišn ['*swhšn*[1]) unfeeling.
asp [*SWSYA* < A *swsy'*; '*sp* | N ~] horse; (chess) knight. BSy 'sp-
aspānūr ['*sp'nwl*] tomb.
a-spās ['*sp's*] ungrateful.
aspast ['*spst*[1] | N ~] clover, lucerne.
aspinǰ ['*spnc* | P '*spynǰ*, N *sipanǰ*] hospitality; inn. BSy 'sp'nc-
asprēs ['*splys* | N ~] race-course.
āsrō ['*slwk*[1] = Av. *āθrawa*] priest.
 ~īh: priestly office.
āsrō-kerpa ['*slw(k)*[1]*klpk* = Av. *āθrō kəhrp-*] the form of fire.
āsrōn ['*slwn*[1] = Av. *āθrawan-*] priest.
[1]ast [*AYT*[1] < A '*yty* | M '*st*, N ~] is, exists.
 ~īh: existence.
[2]ast(ag) ['*st(k)*[1] | M '*st(g)*, N *hasta*] bone; (fruit) stone.
astānag ['*st'nk*[1]] need, misfortune.
 ~ōmand [-'*wmnd*] needy.
āstār ['*st'l* | M '*st'r*] sin.
āstārēnīdan, āstārēn- ['*st'lyn-ytn*[1]] cause to sin.
āstawān ['*stwb'n*[1], '*stwp'n*[1] | M ''*stw'n*] confessing, professing.
 ~īh: confession, belief.
astōdān ['*stw(k)d'n*[1] | M '*stwd'n*] sepulchre, ossuary.
astōmand ['*st'wmnd*] corporeal, material.
 ~īh: corporeality.
astuxān ['*sth(w)'n*[1] | N *ustux*[w]*ān*] bone.
astwand ['*stwnd* | = M] = **astōmand.**
Astwihād ['*stwyd't*[1]] the demon of death.
āsūdan, āsāy- ['*swtn*[1], '*s'd-* | N ~] rest, repose.
 ~išn: rest, peace.

aswār [*'swb'l, 'spw'l* | N *suwār*] horseman, rider.
 ~īh: horsemanship, riding.
āsyāb [*'sy'p̄*] (water-)mill.
āsyāg [*'sy'k'* | N *āsyā*] mill(-stone).
aš [*'š*] the evil eye.
āšixtan, āšinj- [*'šyhtn', 'šnc-* | P *'šyxt*] pour, flow, overflow.
aškamb [*KLSE* < A *krs'*; *'škmb'* | M *'škmb*, N *šikam*] belly, womb.
 ~ag [*-k'* | N *šikamba*] = **aškamb.**
āškārāg [*'šk'l(')k'* | M *'šq'rg*, N *āškārā*] obvious, evident.
 ~īh: revelation, confession.
āškārāgēnīdan [*'šk'l'kyn-ytn'*] reveal, confess.
aškōb [*'škwp* | N *āškō(b)*] roof, ceiling.
aškom(b) [*'škwm(b')*] = **aškamb.**
ašmā [*LKWM* < A *l-kwm* | M *'šm'(h)*, N *šumā*] you (*pl.*).
āšnāg [*'šn'k'* | M *''šn'g*, N *āšnā*] known.
āšnawāg [*'šnw'k'* | M *'šnw'g*, N *šunawā*] hearing.
 ~īh: (sense of) hearing.
āšnūdan, āšnaw- [*OŠMEN-tn'* < A √ *šmᶜ*; *'šnwtn'* | M *'šnwdn, 'šnw-*, N *šunūdan, šunaw-*] hear, understand.
 ~išn: hearing.
ašō [*'šwk'* = Av. *ašawa*] righteous.
āšōb [*'šwp* | P *''šwb*, N ~] disturbance, turmoil.
Aštād [*'št't'* | M *'št'd*, N ~] the goddess Rectitude; *cal.* 26th day.
aštag [*'štk'*] messenger.
 ~īh: mission.
aštar [*'štl*] whip.
āštīh [*'štyh* | M *''št*, N *āštī*] peace.
Ašwahišt [*'šwhšt'*] = **Ardwahišt.**
āšyān(ag) [*'šyd'n(k)'* | (M *'hy'ng*), N *āšyāna*] nest, lair.
ātaxš [*'thš* = Av. *ātarš* | N *ātaš*] fire.
āwādag [*'wb'tk'* | J *'w'd*] generation.
āwahan [*'wb'hn'*] fortified place, stronghold.
āwām [*'wb'm* | M *'w'm*] time, season.
-āwand [*-'wnd* | M *-'w(y)nd*] *suffix forming adjectives of quality.*
awar [*LPNME* < A *l-pn-h* | M *'wr*] hither! come!
āwar-, v. **āwurdan.**
a-wardāg [*'wlt'k'*] undeviating.
a-wardišnīg [*'wltšnyk'*] immutable.
 ~īh: immutability.
āwarišn [*'wblšn'* | M *'wryšn*] abode, home.
a-warzīd [*'wlcyt'*] untilled.
***āwāš-**, v. ***āwištan.**
āwāz [*'p̄'c* | N ~] voice, sound.
a-wazišnīg [*'wcšnyk'*] immobile.
āwēnīdan, āwēn- [*'wyn-ytn'* | (P *'bwyn-*)] admonish, blame.
 ~išn: blame, reproach.

āwēnišnīg: blameworthy.
a-wēnišnīg [*'wynšnyk'*] invisible.
awērag [*'wylk'*] = **awērān.**
awērān [*'wyl'n'*, *'p̌yl'n'* | N *wērān*] desolate, ruined.
awestād [*'wst't'* | M *'wyst'd*, N *ōstād*] master (craftsman).
awestām [*'wst'm* | M *'wyst'm*] province, district.
awestarag [*'wstlk'* | N *ustura*] razor.
awestardan, awestar- [*'wstl-tn'* | P *'wystr-*, N *suturdan*] wipe; shave.
~**išn**: wiping.
awestwār [*'wstwb'l* | M *'wystw'r*, N *ustuwār*] firm, reliable.
~**īh**: reliability, firmness.
awēšān [*OLEŠ'n*, v. *ōy* | M *'wyš'n*, N *ēšān*] they, those.
a-wināh [*'wn's*] innocent.
a-winast [*'wnst'*] unharmed, immaculate.
awiš [*'wbš* | M *'wyš*] to him, it; *postposition* (= **ō**) to.
awištāb [*'wšt'p̌* | M *'wyšt'b*, N *šitāb*] oppression.
P **awištādan, awišt-** [*'wšt-'tn'* | P *'wyšt'dn*] stand.
awištāftan, awištāb- [*'wšt'p̌-tn'* | M *'wyšt'b-*, N *šitāftan, šitāb-*] oppress; hasten (*tr.*).
***āwištan, *āwāš-** [*HTYMWN-tn'* < A *ḥtym*, √ *ḥtm*; *'wbštn'* | M *'wyšt*] seal.
a-wiyābānīg [*'wyd'p̌'nyk'* | N *biyābānī*] *astr.* fixed (star).
a-wizīrišnīg [*'wcylšnyk'*] unavoidable, inevitable.
āwurdan, āwar- [*YHYTYWN-tn'* < A *hyty*, √ *'th* | M *''wrd*, *'wr-*, N ~] bring.
āxēzīdan [*'hycytn'*] = **āxistan.**
āxistan, āxēz- [*'hstn'*, *'hyc-* | M *'xyst*, *'xyz-*] rise, stand up.
āxrāmīdan, āxrām- [*'hl'm-ytn'* | M *'xr'm-*, N *xirām-īdan*] stride, strut.
axtar [*'htl* | M *'xtr*, N ~] star, constellation, sign of the zodiac.
axtar(ā)mār [*'htl('))m'l*] astrologer.
~**īh**: astrology.
[1]**axw** [*'hw'*] being, existence, world.
[2]**axw** [*'hw'* | M *'wx*] mind, will; vital force.
[3]**axw** [*'hw'*] lord.
a-xwamn [*'hwmn'*] sleepless.
axwān [*'hw'n'*] = [1]**axw.**
a-xwārīh [*'hw'lyh*] unhappiness.
āxwarr [*'hwl* | N *āxur*] manger, stable.
~-**sālār** [-*srd'l*] head groom.
a-xwaš [*'BSYM*] unpleasant; unhappy.
~**īh**: unhappiness.
a-xwēškār [*'hwyšk'l*] undutiful.
ay [*'ȳ* | N ~] that is to say.
āy-, v. **āmadan.**
ayāb [*'ywp* | M *'y'b*, N *yā*] or.
ayāb- v. **ayāftan.**

ayābāg [*'y'p('')k'*] acquisitive, receptive.
~īh: comprehension.
ayād [*'byd't'* | M *'y'd*, N *yād*] memory.
~ kardan: remember.
~gār [*-k'l* | N *~gār*] memoir.
āyaft [*'dypt'* | M *''ypt*, N *āyift*] boon, favour, gift.
ayāftan, ayāb- [*'y'p-tn'* | M *'y'pt*, *'y'b-*, N *yāftan*, *yāb-*] obtain, acquire, attain.
ayār [*hdyb'l* | M *hy'r*, N *yār*] helper, friend.
~īh: help, friendship.
ayārdēnīdan, ayārdēn- [*'y'ltyn-ytn'*] boil, agitate.
~išn: agitation.
ayārdīdan, ayārd- [*'y'lt-ytn'* | M *'y'rd-*] be agitated, seethe.
ayārīdan, ayār- [*hdyb'l-ytn'* | N *yār-īdan*] 1. help, assist; 2. be able, dare.
ayārōmand [*hdyb'l'wmnd* | N *yārmand*] helpful, friendly.
~īh: helpfulness, friendliness.
ayāsīdan, ayās- [*'ḫyḏ's-ytn'* | M *'y's-*] remember, be mindful of.
~išn(īh): memory.
ayāstan [*'ḫyḏ'stn'* | M *'y'st*] = **ayāsīdan.**
āyišm [*'dšm*] moon.
ayōxšust [*'ywkhšwst'* = Av. *ayōxšusta-* | M *''ywxšyst* !] metal.
~ēn [*-yn'*] metallic.
āyōxtan, āyōz- [*'ywhtn'*, *'ywc-*] join, yoke.
~išn: union, alliance.
[1]**āyōzīdan** [*'ywcytn'*] = **āyōxtan.**
[2]**āyōzīdan, āyōz-** [*'ywc-ytn'* | P *''ywšt*, *''ywz-*] trouble, disturb; strive, struggle.
~išn(īh): endeavour, strife.
[1]**az** [*MN* < A *mn*; *hc* | M *'c*, *'z*, N *~*] from, than.
[2]**az** [*'c'*] dragon.
*az [*ANE* < A *'nh* | P *'z*] I.
āz [*'c* | M *''z*, N *~*] greed, lust.
azabar [*hcpl* | M *'c 'br*, N *zabar*] above.
āzād [*'c't'* | M *''z'd*, N *~*] 1. noble; 2. free.
āzādīh [*'c'tyh*] 1. freedom; 2. gratitude, thanks.
~ guftan, ~ hangārdan, ~ kardan, pad ~ dāštan: thank, give thanks.
āzār [*'c'l* | N *~*] torment.
āzardan [*'cltn'* | M *''zyrdn*] = **āzārdan.**
āzārdan, āzār- [*'c'l-tn'* | N *~*] torment, injure.
~išn: torment, injury.
[1]**āzarm** [*'clm* | M *''zrm*, N *~*] honour, respect.
[2]**āzarm** [*'clm* | M *''zrm-*] harm, injury.
a-zarmān [*'zlm'n'*] ageless, unaging.
āzarmīg [*'clmyk'*] honoured, respected.
~īh: honour, respect.

azbāy- [*'zb'd-*] invoke.
~**išn**: invocation.
azd [*'zd* | = M] known.
Azdahāg [*'cydh'k*[1] | M *'zdh'g*, (N *aždahā*)] a legendary 'dragon' king, Dahāg.
azdēnīdan, azdēn- [*'zdyn-ytn*[1]] inform.
azēr [*hcdl* | N *zēr*] below, under.
azg [*'zg* | N *azγ*] branch.
aziš [*hcš* | M *'cyš*, *'zyš*] from him, it; *postposition* (= **az**) from.
~-**keh** [*-ks*] inferior, subordinate.
~-**meh** [*-ms*] superior.
āz-kāmag [*'ck'mk*[1]] greedy.
~**īh**: greediness.
azmūdan, azmāy- [*'zmwtn*[1], *'zm'd-* | N *ā*~] = **uzmūdan.**
āznāwar [*'zn'wl* | M *'zn*] noble.
azraw-, v. **azruftan.**
azrāy- [*'zr'd-*] adorn.
azruftan, azraw- [(*'*)*zlwp-tn*[1] | M *'zrw-*] go out, be extinguished.
āzurdan [*'cwltn*[1] | N ~] = **āzārdan.**
āzwar [*'cwl* | N ~] greedy.
~**īh**: greed.

B

b-, v. **būdan.**
babr [*bpl* | N ~] tiger.
babrag [*bplk*[1]] beaver.
-bad, v. **-bed.**
bādag [*b'tk*[1] | N ~*a*] wine, must.
bāγ [*b'g* | (M *b'w*), N ~] garden, orchard.
baγōbaxt [*bkwbht*[1], *b'gwkb'ht*[1] = Av. *bayō.baxta-*] fortune dispensed by the gods, providence.
bahr [*b'hl* | M *bhr*, N ~] part, portion, share, lot.
bahrag [*b'hlk*[1]], **(az) ān ~ rāy**: on that account.
bahrōmand [*b'hl'wmnd* | N *bahramand*] divisible, composite; prosperous.
~**īh**: compositeness; prosperity.
bahrwar [*b'hlwl* | N *bahrawar*] endowed, provided.
~**īh**: endowment, provision, advantage.
bāj [*b'c* | N ~] tribute, tax.
balādur [*bl'twr* | N ~] marking nut.
bālag [*b'lk*[1] | N *bāl*] wing.
bālāy [*b'l'd* | N *bālā*] height, stature.
[1]**bālēn** [*b'lyn*[1]] top, peak.
[2]**bālēn** [*b'lyn*[1] | N *bālīn*] cushion, pillow.

~-ǵāh [*-g'ś*] sleeping-platform, bench, couch.
bālist [*b'lyst*[1] | (M *b'ryst*)] highest; summit; *astr.* exaltation.
~īh: highness, exaltedness.
~īǵ [*-yk*[1]] on high, exalted.
bāliš [*b'lšn*[1] ! | N ~] cushion, pillow.
bām [*b'm* | = M] brilliance, glory, splendour.
bāmbišn [*MLKTA* < A *mlkt'*; *b'nbšn*[1] | M *b'nbyšn*] queen. < *dmāna-pati-
bāmdād [*b'md't*[1] | M *b'md'd*, N ~] dawn, morning.
bāmīǵ [*b'myk*[1]] brilliant, glorious.
-bān [*-p'n*[1] | M *-b'n*, N ~] *suffix*, -keeper, -guard.
band [*bnd* | = P, N ~] bond, link.
band-, v. **bastan.**
bandag [*bndk*[1] | P *bndg*, N ~*a*] servant.
bang [*bng* | N ~] henbane.
bānūg [*b'nwk*[1] | N *bānū*] lady.
bar [*bl* | N ~] fruit, produce, profit.
bar-, ~išn, v. **burdan.**
[1]**bār** [*b'l* | N ~] time, occasion.
[2]**bār** [*b'l* | N ~] bank, shore.
[3]**bār** [*b'l* | M *b'r*, N ~] fruit.
[4]**bār** [*b'l* | M *b'r*, N ~] load, burden; duty.
bāraǵ [*b'lk*[1] | N ~*a*] mount, horse.
barbut [*blbwt*[1] | N ~] lyre.
bārestān [*b'lst'n*[1]] patient, resigned.
~īh: patience, resignation.
bārīǵ/k [*b'lyk*[1] | N *bārīk* (cf. **tārīǵ**)] thin, fine, subtle.
bār-jāmag [*b'ly'mk*[1] | N ~*a*] saddle-bag.
barōmand [*bl'wmnd* | N ~] fruitful, prolific.
barsom [*blswm* | M *brswm*] the bunch of twigs used in the Yasna ceremony.
baršnūm [*blšnwm*] the major purification ritual.
bastan, band- [*ASLWN-tn*[1] < A √ *'sr*; *bstn*[1], *bnd-* | M *bstn*, (*bn-*), P *bnd-*, N ~] tie, bind.
bāstān [*b'st'n*[1] | M *b'yst'n*, N ~] always, often.
bāš [*YHWWNš* | M *b'š*, N ~] be! (*imperative of* **būdan**, q.v.)
baškuč [*bškwc*] gryphon.
bašn [*bšn*[1] | = P] top, peak; stature; mane (v. **buš**).
baw-, ~išn, v. **būdan.**
baxš-, ~išn, v. **baxtan.**
baxt [*b(')ht*[1] | N ~] fortune, fate.
baxtan, baxš- [*HLKWN-tn*[1] < A √ *ḥlq*; *b(')htn*[1], *bhš-* | M *bxt*, *bxš-*, N *baxšīdan*] apportion, distribute.
~išn: bestowal, distribution.
bay [*ORHYA* < A *'lh*; *bk*[1], *bg* | M *by*] god, lord.
im ~: his Majesty. **ōy ~**: his late Majesty.
bayaspān [*by'sp'n*[1]] messenger, envoy.

bayaspān|īh: mission, embassy.
~**īg** [*-ykˈ*] post-(horse).
bāz [*bʾc* | N ~] hawk, falcon.
bāzā [*bʾcʾy* | (N *bāzū*)] arm.
~**bānag** [*-pʾnkˈ*] arm-guard, brassard.
bazag [*bckˈ* | M *bzg*, N ~*a*] sin, evil.
~**īh**: = **bazag.**
bazakkar [*bckkl* | M *bzkr*] sinful, sinner.
bāzā-zanišnīh [*bʾcʾy znšnyh* = Av. *bāzu.jata-*] a degree of sin.
bazišn [*bcšnˈ*] division, part.
bazm [*bzm* | = M, N ~] meal, feast.
~-**āwurd** [*-ʾwltˈ* | N ~] a sort of canapé.
[1]**bĕ** [*BRA* < A *brʾ* | M *bʾ*] but; out; ~ . . . **(enyā)**, except.
~ . . . **enyā** . . . **nē**: except . . . (otherwise) . . . not.
~ **az**: without.
[2]**be** [*BRA* | M *bʾ*, N *bi-*] *particle with verbs, with* **ō**, *of indefinable function.*
-bed [*-ptˈ* | M *-byd*, N *-ba/i/ud*] *suffix*, -lord, -master.
bēdom [*bytwm* | M *bydwm*] furthermost.
bēgānag [*bykʾnkˈ* | N ~*a*] strange; stranger.
bēgār [*bykʾl* | N ~] corvée, forced labour.
bēh [*byh* | N *bih*] quince.
bēl [*byl* | (M *byr*), N ~] spade.
bēlūr [*bylwl* | M *bylwr*, N *bilūr*] crystal.
bērōn [*bylwnˈ* | M *byrwn*, N *bērūn*] outside.
bēš [*byš*] pain, sorrow; harm, hostility.
~ **burdan**: bear hostility.
bēš-, ~**išn**, v. **bištan.**
bēšāz [*byš(ʾ)z*] healing, medicinal.
bēšāz(ēn)- [*byšʾz(yn)-, byš(ʾ)c(yn)-* | M *byšʾz-*] heal, cure.
~**išnīh**: healing.
bēš-burdār [*byšbwltʾl*] hostile.
bēšīdan [*byšytnˈ*] = **bištan.**
bēšōmand [*byšʾwmnd*] sorrowful.
bēwar [*bywl* | M *bywr*, N ~] myriad, ten thousand.
P **bid** [*bytˈ* | P *byd*] again.
bidaxš [*bythš*] viceroy.
***biǰagān** [*bckʾnˈ*] medicinal.
bīm [*bym* | = M, N ~] fear, terror.
~**gĕn** [*-knˈ*] fearful, terrible.
~**gĕnīh**: fearfulness.
~**ōmand** [*-ʾwmnd*] fearful.
***bistag** [*bstkˈ* | N *busta*] hazelnut.
bīš [*byš* | N ~] aconite.
bištan, bēš- [*byš-tnˈ* | M *byšt, byš-*] hurt, torment.
~**išn**: harm, torment.
bizešk [*bcškˈ* | M *bzyšk*, N *pizišk*] doctor, physician.

bōb [*bwp* | N ~] fine carpet.
bōr [*bwl* | N ~] reddish-brown, bay (horse).
borz [*bwlc* | P *bwrz*] high.
borz-wāng [*bwlcw'ng*] loud.
 ~īhā [*-yh'*] aloud.
bowandag [*bwndk*[1] | M *bwndg*] complete, entire, perfect.
 ~īh: completeness, entirety, completion.
 ~-menišnīh [*-mynšnyh*] right-mindedness.
bōxtag [*bwhtk*[1] | M *bwxtg*] saved.
 ~īh: salvation.
bōxtan, bōz- [*bwhtn*[1], *bwc-* | M *bwxtn, bwz-*] save, redeem.
 ~išn [*-šn*[1] | J *bwzyšn/t*, N *pōziš*] salvation; apology.
bōxtār [*bwht'l* | M *bwxt'r*] saviour.
 ~īh: salvation.
[1]**bōy** [*bwd*] perception, sense.
[2]**bōy** [*bwd* | M *bwy*, N ~] smell, scent.
bōyāg [*bwd'k*[1] | M *bwy'g*, N *bōyā*] scented.
bōy-dār [*bwdd'l* | N ~] scented.
bōyēnīdan, bōyēn- [*bwdyn-ytn*[1]] scent, perfume.
bōyestān [*bwdst'n*[1] | M *bwyst'n*, N *bōstān*] (flower) garden.
 ~bān [*-p'n*[1]] gardener.
bōyīdan, bōy- [*bwd-ytn*[1] | N ~] smell (*intr.*).
bōz-, ~išn, v. **bōxtan.**
brād [*AH* < A *'ḥ*; *bl'tl* | M *br'd*] brother.
 ~ar [*bl'tl* | M *br'dr*, N *birādar*] brother.
***brādarōd** [*bl'tlwt*[1]] relative, rival, counterpart.
 ~īh: relationship, rivalry.
brāh [*bl'h* | N *barāh*] brilliance, splendour.
brahm(ag) [*bl('*)*hm(k*[1]) | M *brhm(g)*] form, manner, costume.
brahnag [*bl('*)*hnk*[1] | M *brhng*, N *barahna*] naked.
brām- [*b(w)l'm-* | (P *brm-*)] weep, lament.
 ~ag [*-k*[1] | P *-g*] weeping, lamentation.
brāzīdan, brāz- [*bl'c-ytn*[1] | M *br'z-*, N *barāzīdan*] shine, gleam.
 ~išn: radiance, brightness.
 ~išnīg: shining, radiant.
brēh [*bly(y)h*] fate, destiny.
brēhēnīdan, brēhēn- [*blyhyn-ytn*[1]] 1. create, fashion; 2. decree.
 ~āg [*-'k*[1]] decreeing.
 ~išn: 1. creation; 2. decree, destiny.
brēz-, v. **brištan.**
brēzan [*blycn*[1] | M *bryzn*, N *barēzan*] oven.
brīdan, brīn- [*PSKWN-tn*[1] < A √ *psq*; *blytn*[1], *blyn-* | M *bryd*, N *burīdan*] cut (off), sever.
brīn [*blyn*[1]] cut, division, delimitation; limited, determined.
 ~gar [*-kl*] determiner; decisive.
[1]**brinj** [*blnc* | N *birinj*] rice.

²**brinǰ** [*blnc* | (M *bryng*), N *birinǰ*] bronze, brass.
~**ēn** [*-yn*¹] bronze, brazen.
brīnōmand [*blynʾwmnd*] delimited.
brištan, brēz- [*blyštn*¹, *blyc-* | M *bryz-*, N *birištan*] roast.
brūg [*blwk*¹ | M *brwg*, N *abrū*] (eye)brow.
būdan, b(aw)- [*YHWWN-tn*¹ < A *yhwwn*, √ *hwh*; *bwtn*¹, *b-* | M *bwdn*, *bw-*, N *būdan*] be, become.
bawišn: becoming, genesis.
būf [*bwp* | N ~], ***būg** [*bwk*¹] owl.
buland [*bwlnd* | = M, N ~] high.
būm [*bwm* | N ~] land, earth, country.
~**-čandag** [*-cndk*¹] earthquake.
¹**bun** [*bwn*¹ | = M, N ~] base, foundation, bottom.
²**bun** [*bwn*¹ | N ~] = **wan.**
bunag [*bwnk*¹ | N ~*a*] baggage; abode, camp.
~ **dāštan**: dwell, settle.
bun-dahišn(īh) [*bwndhšn*¹, *-yh*] primal creation.
bunīh [*bwnyh*] beginning.
buništ [*bwnyšt*¹ | = M] foundation.
~**ag** [*-k*¹] principle.
bun-kadag [*bwnktk*¹] original house, home.
bun-xān [*bwnhʾn*¹] source.
bur-, ~**išn**, v. **burīdan.**
burāg [*bwlʾk*¹] cutting, sharp.
burām-, v. **brām-.**
burd [*bwlt*¹ | M *bwrd*] patient.
~**īh**: patience.
burdan, bar- [*YB̲LWN-tn*¹ < A √ *ybl*; *bwltn*¹, *bl-* | M *bwrd*, *br-*, N ~] carry, bear, take, endure.
~**išn**: bearing, behaviour.
burdār [*bwltʾl*] bearer; womb.
~**īh**: patience.
burd-ešnōhr [*bwlt*¹ *šnwhl* | P *bwrdyšnwhr*] grateful, thankful.
burg [*bwlg* | (Ar. *burǰ*)] tower.
burīdan, bur- [*bwl-ytn*¹ | M *bwr-*, N ~] = **brīdan.**
~**išn**: cutting.
Burz [*bwlc*] the god of agriculture.
Burzēnmihr [*bwlcynmtr*¹] the third major Fire of Sasanian Eran, that of husbandmen.
burzīdan, burz- [*bwlc-ytn*¹] praise, honour.
~**išn**: praise, honour.
~**išnīg**: praiseworthy.
buš [*bwš* | N ~] mane.
būšāsp [*bwšʾsp* | M *bwšyʾsp*, N ~] sleep, sloth; dream.
but [*bwt*¹ | = M, N ~] Buddha; idol.
buz [*AZ* < A ʿ*z*; *bwc* | N ~] goat.

Č

čābuk [*c'βwk*[1] | N ~] agile, nimble; excellent.
~**īh**: agility.
čādur [*c'twl* | N ~] sheet, veil.
čaǵād [*ck't*[1] | (N *čakād*), J *čeyād*] peak, summit.
čaǵar [*ckl*] wife (of the second degree).
čāh [*c'h* | N ~] pit, well.
čahār [*ALBA* < A *'rb'*; *ch'l* | M *ch'r*, N ~] four.
~**dah** [*ch'ldh* | N ~] fourteen.
~-**pāy** [*ch'lp'd* | N ~ > *čārwā*] quadruped.
čakōk [*ckwk* | N ~, *čakāwak*] lark.
čakuč [*ckwc* | N *čakuš*] hammer.
čambar [*cmbl* | N ~] circle, hoop.
čamišn [*cmšn*[1] | M *cmbyšn* (?)] urination; lavatory.
čand [*cnd* | = M, N ~] how many, much?; so many, much; some, a few.
~**īh**: amount, quantity.
čandal [*cndl* | N ~] sandalwood.
čandīdan, čand- [*cnd-ytn*[1] | (M *cn-ystn*)] tremble, quake.
~**išn**: trembling, movement.
čang [*cng* | M *šnng*, N ~] harp.
~-**srāy** [*-sl'd*] harpist.
čār [*c'l*] = **čāraǵ**.
čaraǵ [*clk*[1] | M *crg*] pasture, grazing; flock.
čāraǵ [*c'lk*[1] | N ~*a*] means, remedy.
~**garīh** [*-glyh*] ability, savoir faire.
čarb [*clp* | P *crb*, N ~] mild, gentle; fatty, oily.
~**īh**: gentleness; fattiness.
~**išn** [*-šn*[1]] fat, oil.
~**išnōmand** [*-šn'wmnd*] oleaginous.
čarm [*clm* | M *crm*, N ~] skin, hide, leather.
čārūǵ [*c'lwk*[1] | N *čārū*] lime, mortar.
~**ēn** [*-yn*[1]] limy.
čarz [*clz* | N ~] bustard.
čāšīdan [*c'š-ytn*[1]] = **čāštan**.
čašm [*AYNE* < A *'ynh*; *cšm* | = M, N ~] eye.
[1]**čašmaǵ** [*cšmk*[1] | M *cšmg*, N ~*a*] spring, source.
[2]**čašmaǵ** [*cšmk*[1]] renowned.
čašmaǵāh [*cšmk's* | M *cšmg'h*] obvious, public, notorious.
~**īh**: notoriety, condemnation.
čašm-arešk [*cšm 'lyšk*[1]] envious.
~**īh**: envy.
čašm-dīd [*cšm dyt*[1]] visible, obvious.
čāšnīg [*c'šnyk*[1] | M *c'šnyg*, N *čāšnī*] taste.

čāšt [*c'št'* | N ~] lunch, meal.
[1]**~ag** [*-k'*] food.
[2]**čāštag** [*c'štk'*] doctrine.
čāštan, čāš- [*c'š-tn'*] teach.
~išn: teaching.
čatrang [*ctlng* | (Ar. *šatranj*)] chess.
***čaw(la)gān** [*cwpk'n'* ! | Ar. *ṣawlajān*, N *čaugān*] (curved) polo-stick; polo.
čaxšāgīh [*chš'kyh*] (sense of) taste.
čaxšišn [*chšišn'* | M, J *cxš-*, N *čaš-*] taste, flavour.
[1]**čē** [*ME* < A *mh* | M *cy*, N *či*] what, which.
~ rāy: for what, why.
~īh: quiddity, essence.
[2]**čē** [*ME*, v. [1]**čē**] for, because, since, as, that.
čē-ēwēnag [*ME 'dwynk'*] how.
~īh: circumstances.
čegām-iz [*cyk'm-c* | M *cyg'myc*], **~-ē(w)**: a little; whatever.
čegāmag [*cyk'mk'* | N *č(ag)āma*] song, snatch.
čēh-, ~išn, v. [2]**čīdan.**
***čēhag** [*cyhk'*] grief.
čehel [*40* | N *čihil*] forty.
čēh-widarag [*cyhwtlg*] = **činwad puhl.**
čēlān [*cyl'n'* | = M, N ~] dagger.
~gar [*-kl, -gl* | N ~] swordsmith.
čēr [*cyl* | M *cyr*, N ~] victorious, triumphant, brave.
~īh: bravery.
čērīhistan, čērīh- [*cylyh-stn'*] triumph, be victorious.
[1]**čīdan, čīn-** [*cytn'*, *cyn-* | M *cyydn*, *cyn-*, N ~] gather, pile up.
~išn: gathering.
[2]**čīdan, čēh-** [*cytn'*, *cyh-* | M *cy-*] mourn, lament, grieve.
~išn: lamentation.
~išnīg: mournful.
[1]**čihr** [*cyhl* | M *cyhr*, N ~] form, shape, appearance, face.
[2]**čihr(ag)** [*cyhl(k')* | M *cyhr*, P *-g*, N ~] seed, origin; nature, essence.
čihrēnīdan, čihrēn- [*cyhlyn-ytn'*] form.
čihrīg [*cyhlyk'*] natural.
čihr-šnāsīh [*cyhlšn'syh*] physics.
čim [*c(y)m* | M *cym*, N ~] reason, cause, purpose, meaning.
~ (rāy): why?
čim-gōwāgīh [*cym gwb'kyh*] logic.
čimīg [*cymyk'*] purposeful.
čīn-, ~išn, v. [1]**čīdan.**
čīnag [*cynk'* | P *cyng*, N ~*a*] grain, bait.
činār [*cyn'l* | N ~] oriental plane tree.
činwad [*cynw(p)t'*], **~ puhl**: the 'divider bridge' which separates the souls of the righteous dead, who cross, from those of the wicked, who fall off.

čirāγ [*cl'γ* | P *cr'g*, N ~] lamp.
čiš [*MNDOM* | P *cyš*] = **tis**, q.v.
čiyōn [*cygwn*[1] | M *c'wn*, N *čūn*] as, like, how, when.
~ **ka**: as if.
~**īh**: nature, character.
čōb [*cwp* | N ~] wood, stick.
~**ag** [-*k*[1] | N ~*a*] wand, arrow shaft.

D

[1]**dabr** [*dpl*] sinner, deceiver.
[2]**dabr** [*dpl*] *dark-coloured.
dad [*dt*[1] | M *dd*, N ~] wild animal.
[1]**dād** [*d't*[1] | M *d'd*, N ~] law, justice; those scriptures dealing with legal matters.
[2]**dād** [*d't*[1] | N ~] age.
[3]**dād** [*d't*[1]] tooth.
[4]**dād**, v. **ahlaw-dād.**
dādan, dah- [*YHBWN-tn*[1] < A √*yhb*; *d'tn*[1], *dh-* | M *d'dn*, (*dy-*), P *dh-* N ~, *dih-*] 1. give; 2. create.
~**išn** [*dh(y)šn*[1]] giving, donation; creation.
dādār [*d't'l* | N ~] creator.
~**īh**: creatorship.
dādestān [*DYNA* < A *dyn'*; *d'tst'n*[1] | M *d'(d)yst'n*, N *dā(de)stān*] judgement, justice, law; case, process.
dād-gāh [*d't g's*] proper place, fire temple; = **daxmag.**
dādīg [*d'tyk*[1]] legal, concerned with the Law.
dād-meh [*d'tms*] adult, elder.
dādwar [*d'twbl* | (M *d'ywr*, P *d'dbr*), N *dā(d)war*] judge.
~**īh**: judgement.
daftan, dam- [*dptn*[1], *dm-* | M *dm-*, N *dam-īdan*] breathe, blow.
~**išn**: breath.
daftar [*dptl* | N ~] register, account-book.
dagr [*ALYK* < A *'ryk*; *dgl* | M *dgr* > *dyr*, N *dēr*] long.
dagrand [*dglnd* | N *dērand*] long.
~-**xwadāy** [-*hwt'y*] eternal, of long dominion.
dagr|-pattāy [*dgl pt'd*] long-lasting.
~-**zamān** [-*gm'n*[1]] a long time.
~-**zī(w)išn** [-*zywšn*[1]] long-lived.
dah [*10*, *ASLYA* < A *'śr'* | M *dh*, N ~] ten.
dah-, ~**išn**, v. **dādan.**
Dahāg [*dh'k*[1] | (N *Dahāk*)] = **Azdahāg.**
dahān [*PWME* < A *p(w)m-h* | M *dhyn*, N *dahān*] mouth.
dahibed [*dhywpt*[1] | M *dhybyd*] ruler, lord of the land.

dahigān [*dhywk'n'* | N *dihgān*] countryman, farmer.
dahlīz [*d'hlyc* | (M *dhryz*), N ~] portico.
dahm [*d'hm*] virtuous, pious; a full member of the Mazdean community, initiate.
dahom [*d'hwm* | M *dhwm*, N ~] tenth.
dālman [*d'lmn'* | N *dāl(man)*] lammergeyer, eagle.
dam-, ~išn, v. **daftan.**
[1]**dām** [*d'm* | = M] creature, creation.
[2]**dām** [*d'm* | = M, N ~] tame animal.
[3]**dām** [*d'm* | P *d'mg*, N ~] net, snare, trap.
dāmād [*d'm't'* | M *d'm'd*, N ~] bridegroom, son-in-law.
~īh: condition of a bridegroom, son-in-law.
damēnag [*dmynk'*] fan.
damīdan [*dmytn'*] = **daftan.**
dān-, ~išn, v. **dānistan.**
-dān [*-d'n'* | = M, N ~] *suffix*, -holder, -container.
dān(ag) [*d'n(k)'* | N ~*a*] seed, grain.
dānāg [*d'n'k'* | M *d'n'g*, N *dānā*] knowing, wise. Bsy zn'kh
~īh: knowledge, wisdom.
dandān [*KKA* < A *kk'*; *dnd'n'* | = M, N ~] tooth.
dānistan, dān- [*YDOYTWN-stn'* < A √ *yd'*; *d'n-stn'* | M *d'n-ystn*, N ~] know.
~išn: knowledge.
~išnōmand [*-šn'wmnd*] knowing.
dar [*BBA* < A *bb'*; *dl* | M *dr*, N ~] door; palace; chapter, subject.
dār [*d'l* | M *d'r-*, N ~] tree, gallows; wood.
dār-, ~išn, v. **dāštan.**
-dār [*-d'l* | M *-d'r*, N ~] *suffix*, -holder, -keeper.
P **darāγ** [*dl'g* | J ~, N *darāy*] bell.
***darak** [*dlk'*] section, paragraph.
darband [*BBAbnd* | N ~] gate.
darbās [*dlp's*] palace.
dard [*dlt'* | M *drd*, N ~] pain.
~ōmand [*-'wmnd* | M *-wmnd*, N ~*mand*] ill, suffering.
dārēn [*d'lyn'* | M *d'rwyn*] wooden.
darǵāh [*dlg's* | N ~] doorway.
dārǵardīh [*d'lkrtyh* | M *d'rgyrdyh*] crucifixion.
dar-handarzbed [*BBA-, dl-hndlcpt'*] chamberlain.
darīgbed [*dlykpt'*] palace superintendent.
***dārmag** [*d'lmk'*] fine, delicate.
darmān [*dlm'n'* | M *drm'n*, N ~] remedy, medicine.
darrīdan, darr- [*SDKWN-tn'* < A √ *sdq*; *dl-ytn'* | N ~] split, tear.
dārūg [*d'lwk'* | M *d'rwg*, N *dārū*] drug, medicament.
dār-wāzīg [*d'lw'cyk'* | N *dār-bāz*] (pole-)acrobat.
darz [*dlc* | N ~] seam.
~īǵ [*-yk'* | N *darzī*] tailor.

dās [*d'ʾs* | N ~] sickle.
dāsᵃr [*d'ʾsl* = Av. *dāθra-*] gift, reward.
dast [*YDE* < A *yd-h*; *dst*[1] | = M, N ~] hand.
dastag [*dstk*[1] | N ~*a*] bunch, bundle, group.
dast(a)gird [*YDE-*, *dst-krt*[1] | M *dstygyrd*, N *dastgird*] estate.
dast-gīr [*dst OHDWN*, (v. **griftan**) | N ~] 1. helper; 2. captive.
dast-graw [*dstglwb*[1]] captivity.
dast-kārīh [*YDEkʾlyh* | N ~*ī*] handiwork.
dast-šōy [*dstšwd*] = **gōmēz.**
dastwar [*dstwbl* | M *dstwr*, N *dastūr*] authority, priest, minister.
~**īh**: custom; authority.
dastyār [*dstydʾl* | (P *dstdʾr*), N ~] helper.
~**īh**: help, assistance.
dašn [*dšn*[1] | = M] right hand.
dāšn [*dʾšn*[1] | M *dʾš(y)n*] gift.
dašnag [*dšnk*[1] | N ~*a*] 1. right hand; 2. dagger.
dašt [*dšt*[1] | = M, N ~] plain, open ground.
daštān [*dštʾn*[1] | N ~] menstruation; menstruous.
~**estān** [-*stʾn*[1]] secluded place for menstruous women.
~-**māh** [-*mʾh*] menstrual cycle.
~**ōmand** [-ʾ*wmnd*] menstruous.
dāštan, dār- [*YHSNN-tn*[1] < A √ *ḥsn*; *dʾštn*[1], *dʾl-* | M *dʾštn*, *dʾr-*, N ~] have, hold, keep, preserve.
pad . . . dāštan: hold by, to; take for.
pad ēd dāštan [cf. N *pindāštan*] consider.
~**išn**: preservation, maintenance.
dāštār [*dʾštʾl*] keeper, preserver.
daw-, v. **dawīdan, dawistan.**
[1]**dawāl** [*dwbʾl* | N ~] leather, skin.
[2]**dawāl** [*dwbʾl* | N ~] deceit, trickery.
[1]**dawīdan, daw-** [*LHTWN-tn*[1] < A √ *rḥṭ*; *dwytn*[1], *dwb-* | M *dw-*, N ~] run.
[2]**dawīdan, daw-** [*dw-ytn*[1]] speak (*daevic*).
[1, 2] **dawistan** [*LHTWN-stn*[1], *dwstn*[1]] = [1, 2] **dawīdan.**
daxmag [*dhmk*[1] | P *dxmg*, N ~*a*] tomb, *dakhma* (a building where corpses are exposed for destruction).
~**estān** [-*stʾn*[1]] cemetery.
daxšag [*dhšk*[1] | M *dxšg*] mark, sign, characteristic; memory.
pad ~ dāštan: remember.
az ~ hištan: forget.
~**ōmand** [-ʾ*wmnd*] marked.
Day [*ddw*[1] | M *dyy*, N ~] Creator; *cal.* 10th month; 8th, 15th, 23rd days.
dāyag [*dʾyk*[1] | M *dʾyg-*, N ~*a*] (wet-)nurse.
~**ānīh** [-ʾ*nyh*] | (N *dāyagī*)] nursing, nurture.
dazīdan, daz- [*dc-ytn*[1]] burn, scorch.
~**išn**: burning.

dēbāg [*dyp'k'* | N *dēbā*] brocade.
dēbahr [*dyp'hl* | P *dybhr*] anger.
 pad ~ dāštan: banish.
dēg [*dyk'* | N ~] cauldron.
deh [*MTA* < A *mt'* | M *dyh*, N ~] country, land; village.
 ~gān [*MTA-, d'hk'n'*] = **dahigān.**
dēn [*dyn'* | = M, N *dīn*] religion; *cal.* 24th day.
dēnār [*dyn'l* | N *dīnār*] (gold) dinar.
dēn-āstawān [*dyn'stwb'n'*], **dēn-burdār** [*dynbwlt'l*] believing, faithful.
dēnīg [*dynyk'* | N *dīnī*] religious.
dēnōdag [*dynwtk'*] female, milch.
dēr, dērand, v. **dagr, dagrand.**
dēs(ag) [*dys(k')* | M *dys*] form, appearance.
dēsīdan, dēs- [*dys-ytn'* | M *dys-yd*] build.
dēw [*ŠDYA* < A *šyd'*, pl. *šydy'* | N ~] demon, devil.
dēwān [*d(p)yw'n'* | N ~] archive, collected writings.
dēwānag [*dyw'nk'* | N ~*a*] demonic, mad.
dēwār [*dyw'l* | M *dyw'r*, N ~] wall.
dēw|-ēsnīh [*ŠDYAysnyh* | (M *dyw'snyh*)] idolatry, devil-worship.
 ~-ēzagīh [*ŠDYAyckyh*] = **~-ēsnīh.**
dēwōk [*dywwk'* | N *dēwuk*] leech.
dibīr [*dpy(w)r'* | M *dbyr*, N ~] scribe.
 ~īh: writing, scribeship.
 ~estān [*-st'n'* | N ~] school.
did [*TWB* < A *twb*; *dt'*] again, then, further.
dīdan, wēn- [*HZYTWN-tn'* < A √ *ḥzy*; *dytn'*, *wyn-* | M *dydn*, *wyn-*, N ~, *bīn-*] see.
 ~išn: sight, seeing.
 ~išnīg: visible.
dīdār [*dyt'l* | N ~] sight; visible.
 pad ~ [N *padīdār*] visible.
didom [*dtwm*] second.
dil [*LB(B)ME* < A *lb(b)-h*; *dyl* | = M, N ~] heart.
dilēr [*dylywl, dlyl* | N ~] brave.
diz [*KLYTA* < A *qryt'*; *dc* | M *dyz*, N ~] fortress.
dō [*2, TLYN'* < A *tryn* | M *dw*, N *du*] two.
 ~-axwānīg [*2 'hw'nyk'*] relating to both worlds.
 ~gānag [*dwk'nk'* | M *dwg'ng*, N *dugāna*] double; twin.
dōk [*dwk'* | N ~] spindle.
dōl [*dwl* | N ~] bucket; *astr.* Aquarius.
dō|-pahikar [*dwptkl* | N *du-paikar*] *astr.* Gemini.
 ~-pāy [*2 LGLE, dwp'd* | N *du-pā*] biped, human being.
dōs [*dws* | N ~] gum; plaster.
dō-saxwan [*2 shwn'*] two-tongued, deceitful.
dōsēn [*dwsyn'*] gummy; plastery; *glazed (pottery).
dōst [*dwst'* | = M, N ~] friend.

~īh: friendship, love.
[1]dōš [*dwš* | N ~] shoulder.
[2]dōš [*dwš* | N ~] last night, previous evening.
dōš-, ~išn, v. [1, 2] **dōšīdan, [1]dōxtan.**
dōšag [*dwšk*[1]] dear, loving.
~īh: love.
dōšāram [*dwšʾlm* | M *dwšʾrm*] love.
dōšastar [*dwšstl*] west.
[1]dōšīdan, dōš- [*dwš-ytn*[1]] like, love.
~išn: liking, pleasure.
[2]dōšīdan [*dwšytn*[1]] = **[1]dōxtan.**
dōšīzag [*dwšyck*[1] | (M *dwxš*, J *dwškyzh*), N ~*a*] maiden, virgin.
~īh: maidenhood, virginity.
dŏwom [*2wm* | N ~] -second (*in compound numerals*).
[1]dōxtan, dōš- [*dwhtn*[1], *dwš-* | N ~] milk.
[2]dōxtan, dōz- [*dwhtn*[1], *dwc-* | N ~] sew.
dōys^{a}r [*dwysl* = Av. *dōiθra-*] eye.
dōz-, v. **[2]dōxtan.**
drafš [*dlpš* | P *drfš*, N ~] banner.
drafšīdan, drafš- [*dlpš-ytn*[1] | P *drfš-*, N ~] 1. shine; 2. tremble.
drahm [*ZWZN*[1] < A *zwzn* | M *drhm*, N *dir(h)am*] drachm.
dra(h)nāy [*dl(h)nʾd*] length.
dramanag [*dlmnk*[1] | N *dirmana*] wormwood.
drang [*dlng* | N *dirang*] period, duration.
dranjīdan, dranj- [*dlnc-ytn*[1]] speak.
~išn: speech.
draxt [*dl(ʾ)ht*[1] | M *drxt*, N *diraxt*] tree.
drāy-, ~išn, v. **drāyīdan.**
drayā(b) [*dlydʾ(p̄)* | M *dryʾb*, N *daryā(b)*] sea.
~-bār [*-bʾl* | N *-bār*] sea-shore.
drāyān-ǰōyišn [*dlʾdʾn ywdšn*[1]] one who speaks while eating.
~īh: (the sin of) speaking while eating.
drāyīdan / drāyistan, drāy- [*dlʾd-ytn*[1], *-stn*[1] | M *drʾyst*, *drʾy-*, N *darāyīdan*] speak (*daevic*), chatter.
~išn: chatter.
drāz [*dlʾc* | N *dirāz*] long.
***drēm** [*dlym*] phlegm.
driyōš [*dlgwš* | N *daryōš*, *darwēš*] poor, needy.
~īh: poverty.
drō [*KDBA* < A *kdbʾ*; *dlwb*[1] | M *drw*, (N *darōγ*)] lie, deceit.
drōd [*ŠRM* < A *šlm*; *dlwt*[1] | M *drwd*, N *darōd*] health, well-being, prosperity, peace.
drō-dādwarīh [*KDBA dʾtwblyh*] false judgement.
[1]drōn [*dlwn*[1] | N *darūna*] bow.
[2]drōn [*dlwn*[1] | N *darūn*] consecrated bread, ceremony in which c.b. is used.

drōn yaštan: consecrate the sacrificial bread.
drōš [*dlwš*] mark, branding; punishment.
~**ag** [*-k*[1]] *desolation.
drōšīdan, drōš- [*dlwš-ytn*[1]] brand.
drōšom [*dlwšwm*] mark.
drōz-, v. **druxtan.**
drōzan [*dlwcn*[1] | M, J *drwzn*] lying, liar.
~**īh**: falsehood.
drubušt [*dl(w)pwšt*[1]] fortress.
~**īh**: defence, fortification.
drūdan, *drūn- [*HCDLWN-tn*[1] < A √ *ḥṣd* | M *drʿwd*, (*dwr-*), N *durūdan*, *diraw-*] reap, mow.
drust [*drw(y)st*[1] | (M *dryst*), N *durust*] right; well, healthy.
~**īh**: righteous; health.
drustabed [*drwystpt*[1]] chief physician.
društ [*dlwšt*[1] | N *durušt*] harsh, rough, severe.
~**īh**: harshness, severity.
~**-āwāz**, ~**-ēwāz** [*-ʾp̌ʾc*, *-ʾywʾc*] harsh-spoken.
druwand [*dlwnd* | M *drwnd*] evil, sinful, unrighteous.
~**īh**: sin, unrighteousness.
druxtan, drōz- [*dlwhtn*[1], *dlwc-* | M *drwxt*, *drwz-*] lie, deceive.
druz [*dlwc* | (P *drwj*)] demon.
dūd [*dwt*[1] | M *dwd*, N ~] smoke.
dūdag [*dwtk*[1] | N ~*a*] family.
dudīgar [*dtykl* | M *dwdygr*, N *dīgar*] second.
duǰ-, = **duš-**.
~**-daft** [*dwšdpt*[1]] ill-breathing, short of breath.
~**-dānāg** [*dwšdʾnʾk*[1]] ignorant.
~**-dēn** [*dwšdyn*[1] | M *dwjdyn-*] of evil religion.
~**-dōys^{a}rīh** [*dwšdwyslyh*] the evil eye.
~**-gand** [*dwšgnd* | P *dwjgnd*] stinking.
~**-gandīh**: stench.
dum(b) [*dwm*(*b*[1]) | N ~] tail.
~**ōmand** [*-ʾwmnd*] tailed.
dūr [*LHYK*[1] < A *rḥyq*; *dwl* | M *dwr*, N ~] far, distant, remote.
durǧar [*dwlgl* | N ~] carpenter.
dusraw [*dwslwb*[1]] notorious, dishonoured.
~**īh**: notoriety, dishonour.
duš- [*dwš-* | = M] ill-, evil-.
~**īh**: evil, wickedness.
~**-āǧāh** [*dwšʾkʾs*] foolish, stupid, ignorant.
~**-āǧāhīh**: foolishness, stupidity.
~**-arz** [*-ʾlc*] worthless.
~**-čašm** [*-cšm*] envious.
~**-čašmīh**: envy.
~**-čihr** [*-cyhl* | M *dwšcyhr*] ugly, hideous.

~-ēwāzīh [-*'yw'cyh* | (M *dwšw'cyh*)] evil speech, calumny.
~-farrag [-*plg* | P *dwšfr*] unfortunate.
~-farragīh: misfortune.
~-gōwišn [-*gwbšn'*] of evil speech, ill-spoken.
~-humat [-*hwmt'*] evil thought.
~-hūxt [-*hwht'* | M *dwšxwptyy!*] evil speech.
~-kām [-*k'm*] ill-will, malevolence.
~-kanīg [-*knyk'*] hag.
~-kar [-*kl*] difficult.
~-kunišn [-*kwnšn'*] of evil behaviour, ill-doing.
dušmat [*dwšmt'* = Av. *dušmata-* | M *dwšmtyy!*] evil thought.
dušmen [*dwšm(y)n'* | = M, N *dušman*] enemy.
~īh: enmity.
~ādīh [*dwšmn'tyh* | M *dwšmny'dyh*, J *dwšmn'dy*] enmity, hostility.
duš-|-menišn [*dwš-mynšn'*] of evil thought, ill-thinking.
~-nām [-*n'm* | N ~] abuse, insult.
dušox [*dwšhw'* | M *dwš(w)x*] hell.
~īg [-*yk'*] hellish.
duš-pādixšā(y) [*dwšp'thš'(d)*] evil ruler.
~īh: evil rule, misrule.
dušrām [*dwšl('')m*] unhappy.
~īh: unhappiness.
dušwār [*dwš'wl* | M *dwšw'r*, N ~] difficult, disagreeable.
~īh: difficulty, trouble, misfortune.
duš-|-wīr [*dwš-wyl*] evil-minded.
~-wurrōyišnīh [-*wlwdšnyh*] heresy.
~-xēm [-*hym*] evil-natured.
~-xwadāyīh [-*hwt'yh*] misrule.
~-xwār [-*hw'l* | N ~] = **dušwār**.
dušxwaršt [*dwšhwwlšt'* | M *dwšxw'štyh!*] evil deed.
duxt [*BRTE* < A *brt-h*; *dwht'* | M *dwxt*, N ~] daughter.
~ar [*dwhtl* | N ~] daughter.
duz(d) [*GNBA* < A *gnb'*; *dwc(t)* | M *dwz*, N *duzd*] thief.
~īh [*dwc(d)yh*] theft.
duzīdag [*dwcytk'*] stolen; intercalary (days).
duzīdan, duz- [*dwc-ytn'* | N *duzdīdan*] steal.
dwārīdan / dwāristan, dwār- [*dwb'l-ytn'*, *-stn'* | M *dw'r-*] run, move (*daevic*).
~išn: abode (of demons), hell.
dwāzdah [*dw'cdh* | M *dw'zdh*, N *duwāzdah*] twelve.
~ān [-*'n'*] the zodiac.

E

ē [*'y* | (M *hyb*)] *particle giving the present tense optative sense.*
ê, v. **ēd, ēw.**
ēbārag [*'dyp'lk*[1], *'dw'lk*[1] | N *ēwār*] evening.
ēbgat(īh) [*'ybgt*[1], *-yh* = Av. *aiβi.gati-*] (onslaught of) Evil; the Adversary.
ēbsrūsrim [*'yp-*, *'ybslwslym* = Av. *aiβisrūθrima-*] the *gāh* from sunset to midnight.
ēbyānghan [*'yp-*, *'ywby'nghn*[1], etc. = Av. *aiβyāŋhana-*] sacred girdle, = **kustīg.**
ēč [*'yc* | (P *'ywyc*), N *hēč*] (*with a negative*) not any.
ēčand, v. **ēw-čand.**
ēd [*HNA* < A *hn'* | M *'yd*] this; v. **dāštan.**
~ **rāy čē** [cf. N *z-ē-rā*] because, since.
ēdar [*LTME* < A *l-tnh* | M *'ydr*, N ~] here.
ēdōn [*'ytwn*[1] | N *ēdūn*] thus, so.
~**īh:** (correct) manner.
ēg [*ADYN*[1] < A *'dyn* | M *'yg*] then, thereupon.
ēk [*'ywk*[1] | M *yk*, N *yak*] one.
ēkānag [*'ywk'nk*[1] | N *yagāna*] submissive, obedient.
~**īh:** submission, obedience.
ēk-dād [*'ywkd't*[1]] sole-created.
ēmēd [*'dmyt*[1]] hope.
ēn [*ZNE* < A *znh* | M *'yn*, N *īn*] this.
-ēn [*-yn*[1] | = M, N *-īn*] *suffix forming adjectives of material or quality.*
-endag [*-ndk*[1] | M *-yndg*, N *-anda*] *suffix forming present participles.*
-ēn-īdan [*-yn-ytn*[1] | M *-yn-ydn*, (N *-ān-*)] *suffixes forming causative and transitive denominative verbs.*
ēnōkēn** [*'ynw(k)kyn*[1] = Av. ***aēnō.kaēnā-] heiress (under the obligation of continuing her father's line).
enyā [*'yny'* | (M *'n'y*)] otherwise, moreover.
[1]**ēr** [*'dl* | M *'yr*, v. **azēr**] down, below; low; under.
~ **ud abar:** upside down.
[2]**ēr** [*'yl*] noble; hero.
~**īh:** nobility, good conduct.
Ērān [*'yl'n*[1] | N ~] Eran, (land of) the Aryans.
~**ag** [*-k*[1]] an Eranian, Aryan.
ērang [*'ylng*] blame, condemnation; error, heresy.
~**īh:** = **ērang.**
ēranǰ-, v. [1, 2] **ēraxtan.**
Ērān|-šahr [*'yl'nštr*[1] | N ~] land of the Aryans.
~**-wēz** [*-wyc*] (original) home of the Aryans.
[1]**ēraxtan, ēranǰ-** [*'ylhtn*[1], *'ylnc-* | J *'yrxt*] blame, condemn, damn.

²ēraxtan, ēranǰ- [*'ylhtn¹, 'ylnc-* | M *'yrxt*, (*'yrnz-*)] fight, dispute.
ēraxtār [*'ylht'l*] warrior.
ēr-kaš [*'dlkš* | M *'yrkš*] (*hands* under the armpits *in respectful*) salutation, greeting.
¹ērmān [*'ylm'n¹* | (M *'ry'm'n*), N ~] friend; a god.
 ~īh: friendship.
²ēr-mān(ag) [*'dlm'n(k)¹*] humble.
ēr-menišnīh [*'dlmynšnyh*] humility.
ēr-tan [*'dltn¹*] humble.
 ~īh: humility.
ērwār [*'ylw'l*] befitting a hero.
ērwārag [*'dlw'lk¹* | J *'rw'rh*] jaw, cheek.
ēsm [*'ysm*] = **ēzm.**
esp°, v. *sp°*.
ēstādan, ēst- [*YKOYMWN-tn¹* < A *yqym*, √ *qwm*; *'st'tn¹*, *'wst-'tn¹* | M *'yst-'dn*, N ~] stand; be, continue (*as auxiliary of the perfect continuous tense*).
 ~išn: permanence, lasting, dwelling.
ēš [*'yš* | N *xêš*] plough.
ešn°, v. *šn°*.
ē(w) [*I*; *HD* < A *ḥd* | M *'yw*, N *-ē*] a, one.
ēwan [*'dwn¹*] stalk, trunk.
ēwān [*'dw'n¹*] bridle.
ēwar [*'ywl* | J *'yβ'r*] certain(ly), assured(ly).
ēwarz [*'dwlc*] movement.
ēwarzīdan, ēwarz- [*'dwlc-ytn¹*] move, travel.
ēwarzīg [*'dwlcyk¹*] moving.
¹ēwāz [*'yw'c*] word, utterance.
²ēwāz [*'yw'c*] sole, only.
 ~īg [*-yk¹*] particular, individual.
ēw-bār [*'ywb'l*] once.
ē(w)-čand [*'y(w)cnd*] some, a few.
ēwēn [*'dwyn¹* | M *'ywyn*, (N *āyīn*)] manner, custom, form, propriety.
 pad ~: properly.
¹ēwēnag [*'dwynk¹* | M *'ywyng*] = **ēwēn**; v. **čē-.**
²ēwēnag [*'dwynk¹* | (N *āyīna*)] mirror. SOGD (Bodh) ''δynʾk
ēw-kard(ag) [*'ywkrt(k)¹*, *-kltk¹*] united, joined.
ē(w)-mōg [*'y(w)mwk¹*] wearing (only) one shoe.
ēw-sān [*'yws'n¹* | (N *yak-sān*)] uniform, (a)like.
 ~īh: uniformity, likeness.
ēw-tāg [*'ywt'k¹* | M *'yw t'g*, (N *yaktā*)] alone, single, individual.
ēz-, v. **yaz-.**
 ~išn [*'ycšn¹*] worship.
ēzm [*CYBA* < A *ṣyb'* | N *hēzum*] firewood, fuel. βSogd. zmy

F

farr-, v. **xwarrah.**
Farrōbāg [*plwb(ʾ)g*] the first major Fire of Sasanian Eran, that of priests and nobles.
farrox [*plhwʹ* | M *prwx*, N ~] fortunate, blessed, happy.
~**īh**: fortune, joy, happiness.
fīlāsōfā [*pylʾswkpʾy*] philosopher.
frabīh [*plpyh* | (P *frbyw*), N *farbīh*] fat, stout.
Fradadafš [*pldtpš* = Av. *fradaδafšū-*] the south-eastern continent of the earth.
fradāg [*MHL* < A *mḥr*; *pltʾkʹ* | N *fardā*] tomorrow.
frādahišnīh [*plʾdhšnyh*] increase, progress.
fradom [*AWLA* < Ar. ! *ʾwlʾ*; *pltwm* | (M *prtwm*)] first.
~**īh**: first, beginning.
fraǧān [*plkʾnʹ*] base, foundation; origin.
fraǧandan, fraǧan- [*plkn-dnʹ*] lay foundations.
frahang [*plʾhng* | N *farhang*] education; knowledge.
~**estān** [*-stʾnʹ*] school.
frahanj-, v. **frahixtan.**
frahist [*plh(y)stʹ* | (M *prʾyst*)] most (*superlative of* **freh**).
frahixtag [*plhhtkʹ* | N *farhixta*] educated, trained, skilled.
frahixtan, frahanj- [*plhhtnʹ*, *plʾhnc-* | P *frhynj-*, N *far~*] educate, teach, instruct.
framādār [*plmʾtʾl*] commander, ruler, chief.
framān [*plmʾnʹ* | M *frmʾn*, N *farmān*] order, command; a minor degree of sin.
~**-burdār** [*-bwltʾl* | N *-bardār*] obedient, submissive.
framāy-, ~**išn**, v. **framūdan.**
frāmōš [*pl(ʾ)mwš* | M *prʾmwš*, N *farāmōš*] forgotten.
framōšīdan [*plmwšytnʹ*] = **framuštan.**
framūdan, framāy- [*plmwtnʹ*, *plmʾd-* | M *prmʾdn*, *prmʾy-*, N *far~*] order, command.
~**išn**: order, commandment.
frāmuštan, frāmōš- [*pl(ʾ)mwš-tnʹ* | M *prʾmwšt*, *prʾmwš-*, N *farā~*] forget.
franaftan, *franam- [*plnptnʹ*, **plnm-* | M *prnpt*, *prnm-*] go, proceed, depart.
franāftan, franām- [*plnʾptnʹ*, *plnʾm-* | P *frnʾm-*] 1. lead, conduct, remove, promote; 2. profess, propagate (faith).
~**išn**: removal, promotion, profession.
frārāst [*plʾlʾstʹ*] a cubit (18 in.).
frārōn [*plʾlwnʹ*] righteous, honest.
~**īh**: righteousness, honesty.
frasang [*plsng* | N *farsang*] parasang (4 Roman miles).

frasāwand [*pls'wnd*] perishable, transient.
~**īh**: transience.
frasp [*plsp* | N *farasp*] roof-tree, beam, mast.
***fraš** [*plš*] spear.
fraš(a)gird [*plškrt*[1] | M *prš(y)gyrd*] the Restoration (at the end of time).
~**īg** [*-yk*[1]] of Eternity (after the Restoration).
fraš(a)murw [*plšmwlw*[1] | M *frišymwrw*] peacock.
frašn [*plšn*[1]] question.
frawahr [*plw'hl* | M *prwhr-*] man's immortal soul, guardian angel during his lifetime.
frawār [*plw'l* | N *farwār(a)*] bastion.
fraward [*plwlt*[1] | M *frwrd-*] = **frawahr.**
frawardag [*plwltk*[1] | M *prwrdg*] letter, epistle.
***frawārdan, frawār-** [*plw'l-tn*[1]] present, serve (food).
Frawardīgān [*plwltyk'n*[1] | N *farwardagān*] festival of the *frawards*, the last five days of the twelfth month (Spandarmad) and the following five epacts (v. **gāhānīg**).
Frawardīn [*plwltyn*[1] | M *frwrdyn*, N *far~*] *cal.* the first month; 19th day.
frāx [*pl'hw*[1] | N *farāx*] large, wide, spacious, ample, prosperous.
~**īh**: plenty, prosperity.
frāxēnīdan, frāxēn- [*pl'hwyn-ytn*[1]] enlarge, make prosper.
frāy [*pl'y* | M *pr'y*] more, much.
frayād [*plyd't*[1] | M *pry'd*, N *faryād*] help, assistance.
frayādīdan, frayād- [*plyd't-ytn*[1] | M *pry'd-*] help, assist.
~**išn**: help, assistance.
~**išnīg**: helpful.
frāz [*pr'c* | M *pr'z*, N *farāz*] forth, forwards.
~ **abgandan**: throw forward.
~ **az**: after, apart from.
~ **brēhēnīdan**: fashion forth, create.
~ **griftan**: undertake, perform; appoint, decide.
~ **ō**: up to.
frazaftan [*plcptn*[1] | (M *przwps-*)] finish, be perfected.
frazāftan, frazām- [*plc'ptn*[1], *plc'm-* | M *prz'ptn*] finish, complete, perfect.
~**išn**: completion.
frazām [*plc'm* | (N *farjām*)] end, conclusion.
frazāmēnīdan, frazāmēn- [*plc'myn-ytn*[1]] = **frazāftan.**
frazām-pērōzīh [*plc'm pylwcyh*] final victory.
frazānag [*plc'nk*[1] | P *frz'ng*, N *farzāna*] wise, intelligent.
~**īh**: wisdom, intelligence.
frazand [*prznd* | M *frzynd*, N *farzand*] child, son, offspring.
~**īh**: sonship.
frazēn [*plcyn*[1] | N *farzīn*] (chess) queen (*lit.* 'guard').
frēb [*plyp* | N *firēb*] deceit, deception.
frēftan, frēb- [*plyp-tn*[1] | N *fir~*] deceive.

frēftār [*plypt'l*] deceiver; deceived.
frēg [*plyk*[1] | M *pryyg*] shoulder(-blade).
freh [*plyh* | N *firih*] more, much, = **frāy.**
 ~-būd(īh) [*-bwt*[1], *bwtyh*] excess.
frēstādan / frēstīdan, frēst- [*ŠDRWN-(y)tn*[1] < A √ *šdr*; *plyst-'tn*[1], *-ytn*[1] | M *pryst-'d*, N *firistādan*] send.
frēstag [*plystk*[1] | M *prystg*, (N *firišta*)] apostle, angel.
frēz [*plyc*] duty, obligation.
 ~bānīg, ~wānīg [*-p'nyk*[1], *-w'nyk*[1]] obligatory.
 ~bānīh, ~wānīh [*-p'nyh*, *-w'nyh*] fulfilling duties.
frōd [*plwt*[1] | M *prwd*, N *furō(d)*] down.
 ~mānd [*-m'nd*] deficiency, shortcoming.
frōg [*plwk*[1] | N *furōγ*] brilliance, brightness.
frōgīhistan, frōgīh- [*plwkyh-stn*[1]] shine.
frōxtan, frō(x)š- [*MZBNW-tn*[1] < A *mzbn*, √ *zbn* | M *prwxš-*, N *furōxtan*, *furōš-*] sell.
frušag [*plwšk*[1] | N *furša*] beestings.

G (Γ)

gabr [*gpl*, *gwbl* | M *gbr*, N ? *gōr*] hollow, cavity, womb.
 ~īh: hollowness.
gač [*gc* | N ~] plaster, gypsum.
 -ēn [*-yn*[1]] (made of) plaster.
gad [*gt*[1] = Av. *gaδā-*] club, mace.
gādan, gāy- [*SLYTWN-tn*[1] < A √ *sry* ?; *g'tn*[1] | N ~] copulate with.
gādār [*g't'l*] husband.
gadwar [*gtwl* = Av. *gaδawara-*] bearing a club.
[1]**gāh** [*g's* | M *g'h*, N ~] place, throne, bed.
[2]**gāh** [*g's* | N ~] time; a fifth division of the day; = **gāhānbār.**
[3]**gāh** [*g's*] a Gatha, hymn.
gāhān [*g's'n*[1]] the Gathas; those scriptures dealing with spiritual and theological matters.
gāhānbār [*g's'nb'l* | N *gāhanbār*] the six divisions of the year, the five-day festivals celebrated at the ends of these.
gāhānīg [*g's'nyk*[1]] relating to the Gathas; spiritual; the five epact days at the end of the year.
gāhbed [*g'spt*[1] | N **gahbad*] treasurer, banker.
 ~īh: treasurership.
gahl [*g('')hl* | N *gāl*] sorghum, giant millet.
gāhūg [*g'hwk*[1]] bier.
gāhwārag [*g'sw'lk*[1] | N *gāhwāra*] cot, cradle.
gāl [*g'l*] household, following.

galōg [*glwk*[1] | N *gulō*] throat.
gām [*g'm* | = M, N ~] pace, step, stride; a yard (3 ft.).
~ **ī dō pāy**: a pace (5 ft.).
-gānag [*-k'nk*[1] | M *-g'ng*, N *-gāna*] *suffix forming numerical adjectives*, -fold.
gand [*gnd* | N ~] stench.
gandag [*gndk*[1] | (M *gng*), N ~*a*] foul, stinking.
~**īh**: stench.
gandanāg [*gndn'k*[1] | N *gandanā*] leek.
gandum [H^g < A *ḥnṭh* | (M *gnwm*), N ~] wheat.
ganj [*gnc* | (M *gnz*), N ~] treasure, treasury.
~**war** [*-wbl* | M *-wr*, N ~] treasurer.
gan(n)āg [*gn'k*[1] | (P *gnd'g*)] foul, corrupt (v. **gandag**).
~ **mēnōg**: the Evil Spirit.
~**īh**: corruption.
gar [*gl*] mountain.
-gar [*-kl*, *-gl* | M *-gr*, N ~] *suffix forming actor nouns.*
-gār [*-k'l* | M *-g'r*, N ~] *suffix forming actor nouns.*
garān [*gl'n*[1] | M *gr'n*, N *girān*] heavy, serious, difficult.
~**īh**: heaviness, weight.
garasmān [*glsm'n*[1] | M *gr'sm'n*] = **garōdmān.**
gard [*glt*[1] | N ~] dust.
gardan [*gltn*[1] | M *grdn*, N ~] neck.
gardānāg [*glt'n'k*[1]] die (for gaming).
gardānīdan, gardān- [*glt'n-ytn*[1] | M *grd(y)nydn*, N ~] turn (*tr.*).
gardīdan, gard- [*glt-ytn*[1] | M *grd-*, N ~] turn, revolve.
~**išn**: revolution, turning.
garm [*glm* | M *grm*, N ~] warm, hot.
~**īh**: warmth, heat.
garm-ābag [*glm'p̄k*[1] | N ~*a*] bath-house.
garmāg [*glm'k*[1] | M *grm'g*, N *garmā*] warmth, heat.
garmōg [*glmwk*[1]] warm, ardent, fervent.
garmōwar(īh) [*glmwk wl(yh)*] heat ordeal.
garmsēr [*glmsyl* | N ~] warm region, lowlands.
garōdmān [*glwtm'n*[1] = Av. *garō dəmāna-* | M *grdm'n*] paradise.
~**īg** [*-yk*[1]] (worthy) of paradise.
γarrānāg [*gl'n'k*[1] | M *grn'g* ?] thunder.
γarrānīdan, γarrān- [*gl'n-ytn*[1] | (N *γurrīdan*)] roar, thunder.
~**išn**: roaring.
garzag [*glck*[1] | N *garza*] snake, serpent.
garzīdan, garz- [*glc-ytn*[1]] complain; confess.
~**išn**: complaint.
~**išnīg**: complaining.
gaw [*gw*[1]] hand (*daevic*).
gāw [*TWRA* < A *twr'* | M *g'w*, N ~] ox, bull, cow; *astr.* Taurus.
gāwars [P^g < A *prg'*; *g'wls* | N ~] sorghum, giant millet.

ǵawazn [*gw'zn*[1] | N ~] deer.
ǵawdar [*gwtl* | N ~] calf.
ǵāw-dumb [*g'þdwmb* | N ~*dum*] horn, trumpet.
ǵāw-mēš [*TWRAmyš* | N *gā(w)mēš*] buffalo.
ǵāy-, v. **ǵādan.**
Gayōmart [*g'ywkmlt*[1] = Av. *gayō marəta* | (M *gyhmwrd*), N ~] the First Man.
ǵaz [*gc* | N ~] tamarisk.
ǵaz-, **~išn**, v. **ǵazīdan.**
ǵazāg [*gc'k*[1]] biting.
ǵāzar [*g'cl* | N *gāzur*] fuller, washerman.
ǵazdum [*gcdwm* | N *každum*!] scorpion; *astr.* Scorpio.
ǵazīdag [*gzytk*[1] | N *gazīd*] poll-tax.
ǵazīdan, ǵaz- [*gc-, gz-ytn*[1] | N ~] bite, sting.
~išn: biting.
ǵēg [*gdk*[1] | M *gyyg*] thief.
ǵēhān [*gyh'n*[1] | = M, N *gihān, ǰahān*] world.
~īg [*-yk*[1]] worldly, mortal.
-ǵēn [*-k(y)n*[1] | M *-gyn*, N *-gīn*] *suffix forming adjectives of quality.*
ǵēs [*gys* | (M *gyswg*, N *gēsū*)] curls, locks.
ǵētīg [*gytyḳ, gytydy* | M *gytyg*, N *gētī*] 1. the material world; 2. worldly.
~īg [*-yk*[1]] worldly.
ǵil [*TYNA* < A *tyn'*; *gl* | N ~] clay.
ǵilag [*g(y)lk*[1] | N *gila*] complaint, lamentation.
~-ōbār [*-'wp'l*] swallowing complaint, suffering in silence.
ǵilēn [*TYNAyn*[1] | N *gilīn*] (made of) clay.
ǵilistag [*glystk*[1]] home, dwelling of demons.
ǵir-, **~išnīg**, v. **ǵriftan.**
ǵird [*glt*[1] | M *gyrd*, N ~] round, circular; gathered.
(ō) ~ āmadan: gather, collect (*intr.*).
~ kardan: gather, collect (*tr.*).
~īh: roundness.
ǵirdag [*gltk*[1] | N ~*a*] disk, round.
ǵišnag [*gšnk*[1] | P *gyšng*] short, small.
ǵišnīz [*gšnyc* | N ~] coriander.
ǵiyā(h) [*gy'h, gȳ'h* | (M *gy'w*), N ~] grass.
~īzag [*-yck*[1]] a straw, blade of grass.
ǵizistag [*gcystk*[1] | J *w/βzsth*] accursed, hateful.
ǵōǵird [*gwklt*[1] | M *gwgyrd*, N ~] sulphur.
~ōmand [*-'wmnd*] sulphurous.
ǵōhr [*gwhl* | M *gwhr*, N *gauhar*] substance, essence, nature; jewel; stock, lineage.
ǵōhrag [*gwhlk*[1]] = **ǵōhr.**
~-dānāg [*-d'n'k*[1]] physicist.
[1]**ǵōhrīg** [*gwhlyk*[1]] natural, essential.
***ǵōhrīg** [*gw(')hlyk*[1]] equivalent, substitute, indemnity.

***gōkān** [*gwk'n*¹] details.
~īg [*-yk*¹] detailed; precisely.
gōmēz [*gwmyc* | N *gimēz*] bull's urine (as ritual purifier).
gōmēz- [*gwmyc-* | N *gimēz-*] urinate.
gōn [*gwn*¹ | N *gūn*] colour, complexion.
~ag [*-k*¹ | M *gwng*, N *gūna*] = **gōn**; sort, kind, form.
gōr [*gwl* | N ~] onager, wild ass.
gōspand [*KYNA* < A *qnyn'* ?; *gwspnd* | N ~] (small) cattle, sheep.
~-čihrag [*-cyhlk*¹] holding the seed of cattle.
gōstān [*gwst'n*¹] cattle-stall, cowshed.
¹**gōš** [*gwš* | = M, N ~] ear.
²**Gōš** [*gwš* | N ~] *cal.* 14th day.
gōšag [*gwšk*¹ | N ~*a*] corner.
gōšōsrūd [*gwš'wslwt*¹ = Av. *gaošō.srūta-*] acquired, learnt.
gōšt [*BSLYA* < A *bsr'*; *gwšt*¹ | N ~] meat, flesh.
gōšwār [*gwšw'l* | N ~] ear-ring.
gōw-, ~išn, v. **guftan.**
gōwāg [*gwb'k*¹ | M *gw'g*, N *gōyā*] speaking, eloquent; speaker.
***gōwizār** [*gwwc'l*] explicit, in detail.
gōy [*gwd* | N ~] ball.
gōz [*gwc* | N ~] walnut.
~ēnag [*gwzynk*¹ | N *gōzīna*] a walnut sweetmeat.
Gōzihr [*gwcyhl* | Ar. *jawzahr*] *astr.* the Dragon.
~ dumb: the descending node of the moon.
~ sar: the ascending node of the moon.
grāb [*gl'p* | P *gr'b*] womb.
grāmag [*gl'mk*¹ | P *gr'mg*] possessions, wealth.
grāmīg [*gl'myk*¹ | M *gr'myg*, N *girāmī*] treasured, dear.
~īh: affection, respect.
¹**graw** [*glwb*¹ | P *grww*] cane.
²**graw** [*glwb*¹ | N *giraw*] pledge, security.
~īh, ~(a)gān [*glwk'n*¹ | M *grwg'n*, N *giraugān*] = ²**graw.**
grāyīdan, grāy- [*gl'd-ytn*¹ | P *gr'y-*, N *girāy-*] lean, incline; intend, desire.
griftan, gīr- [*OHDWN-tn*¹ < A √ *'ḥd*; *glptn*¹, *gyl-* | M *grypt*, *gyr-*, N *giriftan*, ~] take, hold, restrain.
~išnīg: tangible.
griftār [*glpt'l* | N *gir~*] held, taken; captive.
~ōmand [*-'wmnd*] tangible.
grih [*glyh* | N *girih*] knot.
¹**grīw** [*CWLE* < A *ṣwr-h*; *glyw*¹] neck, throat.
²**grīw** [*CWLE*, *glyw*¹ | M *gryw*] self, soul.
³**grīw** [*glyw*¹ | P *gryw*, N *girī*(*b*)] a grain measure, *modius*, peck.
grīwag [*glywk*¹ | N *girīwa*] hill, ridge.
grīwbān [*glywp'n*¹ | N *girībān*] neck-guard, gorget.
griyistan, griy- [*BKYWN-stn*¹ < A √ *bky*; *gld-stn*¹ | M *gryy-stn*, N *girīstan*, *giry-*] weep, cry.

grōh [*glwh* | N *gurōh*] group, crowd.
gubrāg [*gwpl'k'*] awake, alert, vigilant.
gubrās- [*gwpl's-*] = **wigrās-**, v. **wigrādan.**
guftan, gō(w)- [*YMRRWN-, YMLLWN-tn'* < A *ymlwn*, √ *mll*; *gwptn'*, *gwb-* | M *gwptn*, *gw-*, N ~, *gō(y)-*] say, speak.
~**išn**: speech.
guftār [*gwpt'l* | N ~] speaker.
~**īh**: (power of) speech.
gugān- [*gwk'n-* | M *gwg'n-*] destroy.
gugār(ī)dan, gugār- [*gwk'l-(y)tn'* | N *guwār-īdan*] digest.
gugāy [*gwk'dy* | M *gwg'y*, N *guwāh*] witness.
~**īh**: testimony.
gūh [*gwh* | N ~] dung, excrement.
guhrāyēnīdan, guhrāyēn- [*gw'hl'yn-ytn'*] waken, arouse.
gul [*gwl* | N ~] flower, rose.
gumān [*gwm'n'* | = M, N ~] doubt.
~**gar** [*-kl*] casting doubt.
~**īg** [*-yk'*] doubtful.
~**īh, ~īgīh**: doubt.
gumārdag [*gwm'ltk'*] appointee, deputy.
gumārdan, gumār- [*gwm'l-tn'* | M *gwm'r-dn*, N *gumāštan*, *gumār-*] appoint, commission, entrust.
gumbad [*gwmbt'* | N ~] dome, fire-temple.
gumēg [*gwmyk'* | M *gwmyg*] mixture.
gumēxtan, gumēz- [*gwmyhtn'*, *gwmyc-* | M *gwmyxtn*, *gwmyz-*] mix.
~**išn**: mixing, mixture; = **gumēzagīh.**
gumēzag [*gwmyck'*] mixture.
~**īh**: the Mixture, (the duration of) this material world.
[1]**gund** [*gwnd* | = P] army, troop; group, gathering.
[2]**gund** [*gwnd* | N ~] testicle.
gung [*g(w)ng* | N ~] dumb.
gurbag [*gwlbk'* | N ~*a*] cat.
gurd [*gwlt'* | P *gwrd*, N ~] hero.
[1]~**īh**: heroism, bravery.
gurdag [*gwltk'* | N ~*a*] kidney.
[2]**gurdīh** [*gwltyh*] (some piece of) armour.
gurdwār [*gwltw'l*] befitting a hero.
gurg [*gwlg* | N ~] wolf.
gurgānīg [*gwlg'nyk'* | N ~*ī*] of (the province) Gurgan.
gursag [*gwlsk*] | N *gurusna* !] hungry.
~**īh**: hunger.
gušn [*gwšn'* | N ~] male.
gušnag [*gwšnk'* | J *gušna*] hungry.
Gušnasp [*gwšn(')sp̄*] the second major Fire of Sasanian Eran, that of warriors.
gyāg [*gyw'k'* | M *gy'g*, N *jāy*] place.

~-rōb [*-lwp* | N *jārō(b)*] broom.
gyān [*HYA* < A *ḥy'*; *y'n'* | M *gy'n*, N *jān*] soul, ghost.
~ **kandan**: give up the ghost; moment of death.
~-abespār [*-'βsp'l* | N *jān-siβār*] reckless, desperate; devoted.
~īg [*-yk'* | M *-yg*] spiritual; vital.
~war [*-wl* | (P *-br*), N *jānwar*] animate; animal.

H

h- [*HWE-* < A √ *hwh*; *h-* | M *h-*] be (*defective verb*).
¹hād [*HWEt'* ! = Av. *āaṭ*] now, then; that is (= **ā**).
²hād [*h't'*] a section of the Yasna.
hādamāns^a^r [*h'tkm'nsl* = Av. *haδa.māθra-*] those scriptures dealing with ritual matters.
~īg [*-yk'*] concerned with the above.
hādōxt [*h'twht'* = Av. *haδaoxta-*] certain scriptural texts; a particular sacrifice.
haft [*hβt'* | M *hpt*, N ~] seven.
~ād [*70* | M *hpt'd*, N ~] seventy.
~ag [*-k'* | N *hafta*] week.
~ān [*-'n'*] the seven planets.
haftār [*hβt'l* | (N *kaftār* !)] hyena.
haftdah [*hβtdh* | N ~, *hifdah*] seventeen.
Haftōring [*hβtw(k)lng* = Av. *haptōiringa-*] *astr.* the Great Bear.
hagriz [*hklc* | M *hgryc*, N *hargiz*] ever; (*with a negative*) never.
halag [*hlk'*] foolish, imprudent.
~īh: folly, madness.
halām [*hl'm* | N ~] potted meat.
halīlag [*hlylk'* | N ~*a*] myrobalan.
ham [*hm* | = M, N ~] also; same; v. **ō**.
~īh: association, union, harmony.
hamābēr [*hm'βyl* | M *h'm'byr*] storehouse.
hamāg [*hm'k'* | M *h'm'g*, N *hama*] all.
~-dēn [*-dyn'*] a complete religious ceremony.
hamagīh [*hmkyh* | N ~*ī*] totality, universality.
hamahl [*hm('')hl*] = **hamāl**.
hamāl [*hm'l* | N ~] equal, peer; comrade,
hambadīg [*hmbtyk'*] opponent, adversary.
hambah-, v. **²hambastan**.
hambāh-, **~išn**, v. **hambāstan**.
hambān [*hmb'n'* | N *anbān(a)*] skin bag.
hamband [*hmbnd*] connected.
~īh: connection.
hamband-, **~išn**, v. **¹hambastan**.

hambār [*hmb'l* | N *anbār*] store.
hambārīdan, hambār- [*hm-, hnb'l-ytn*[1] | M *hmb'r-*, N *anbārdan*] fill, collect.
hambasān [*hnbs'n*[1] | M *'mbs'n*] enemy, opponent.
~īg [*-yk*[1]] inimical, opposing.
hambast [*hmbst*[1] | N *anbast*] compact.
[1]**hambastag** [*hmbstk*[1] | N *anbasta*] formed, composed.
[2]**hambastag** [*hnbstk*[1] | M *hmbst*] collapsed, fallen.
hambāstag [*hmb'stk*[1]] *all.
[1]**hambastan, hamband-** [*hmbstn*[1], *hmbnd-*] form, compose; bind together, intertwine, encircle.
~išnīh: binding together, intertwining.
[2]**hambastan, hambah-** [*hnbstn*[1], *hnb'h-* | M *hmbst, hmbh-*] collapse, fall down. 𐭥𐭢𐭩𐭬 𐭠𐭥𐭬
hambāstan, hambāh- [*hnb'stn*[1], *hnb'd-* | M *hmb'stn, hmb'h-*] cast down, demolish.
~išn: felling, demolition.
ham-bašn [*hmbšn*[1]] of the same stature.
hambaw-, ~išn, v. hambūdan.
hambāy [*hmb'g* | (M *hmb'w*)] companion, partner; adversary.
hambāz [*hm-, hnb'c* | M *'mb'z*, N *anbāz*] partner.
hambedīg [*hmbytyk*[1]] = **hambadīg.**
hambōš-, ~išn [*hnbwš-, -šn*[1] | N *anbōšiš*] = **hambūs-, ~išn.**
hambōy- [*hnbwd-* | M *hwmbwy-*, N *anbōy-īdan*] smell (*tr.*).
~āgīh [*-'kyh*], **~išn:** (sense of) smell.
hambūdan, hambaw- [*hm-YHWWN-tn*[1], v. **būdan;** *hmbwtn*[1]] be united, composed.
~išn(īh): union, composition.
hambun [*hmbwn*[1]] (*with a negative*) not at all, not in the least.
hambūsīdan, hambūs- [*hnbws-ytn*[1] | N *anbūsīdan*] come into being, be conceived.
~išn: conception.
ham-dādestān [*hm-DYNA, -d'tst'n*[1] | N *ham-dāstān*] agreeable, of the same opinion.
hamdam [*hmdm* | N ~] intimate.
ham-dēsag [*hmdysk*[1]] of the same form, homomorphous.
hamē [*hm'y* | M *hmyw*, N ~] always.
~ ka: whenever.
ham-ēdōn [*hm'ytwn*[1] | N *hamēdūn*] likewise, similarly.
hamē|īg [*hm'yyk*[1] | M *hmywyg*] eternal.
~īhā [*-yh'*] eternally.
hamēmāl [*hmym'l* | = J] opponent, adversary.
~īh: opposition.
hamēnīdan, hamēn- [*hmyn-ytn*[1]] unite, compose.
hamē-rawišnīh, hamē-ud-hamē-rawišnīh [(*hm'y W*) *hm'y lwbšnyh*] eternity.

hamēstār, ~īh [*hmyst'l, -yh*] = **hamēmāl, ~īh.**
hamēšag [*hmyšk'* | M *hmyšg*, N *~a*] always.
 ~īh: eternity.
 ~-sōz [*-swc*] ever-burning.
hamē-wahār [*hm'y wh'l* | N *hamēša-bahār*] marigold.
ham-ēwēnag [*hm'dwynk'*] of the same kind, homogeneous.
ham-gōhr [*hmgwhl* | M *hmgwhr*] of the same substance or nature, consubstantial.
ham-gōnag [*hmgwnk'* | M *hmgwng*] likewise, so.
P **hāmharz** [*h(')mhlc* | P *h'mhyrz*] adjutant, attendant.
hāmīn [*h'myn'* |= M] summer.
 ~īg [*-yk'*] (of) summer.
hāmist [*KHDE*, v. **hammis**; *h'mst'*] all.
ham-kār [*hmk'l* | N *~*] collaborator.
 ~īh: collaboration.
hāmkišwar [*h'mkyšwl* | M *-wr*] universe.
hammis [*KHDE* < A *k-ḥdh*], **az . . . ~**: together with.
hammist [*hmyst'*] stagnant, peaceful.
 ~(ag)ān [*-(k)'n'*] limbo, the neutral station between heaven and hell.
hammōxtan, hammōz- [*ALPWN-tn'* < A √ *'lp*; *hmwhtn'*, *hmwc-*, *hmwz-* | M *hmwxtn*, N *āmōxtan*, *āmōz-*] teach; learn.
 ~išn: teaching.
hammōxtār [*hmwht'l*] learner.
 ~īh: learning.
hammōz-, ~išn, v. **hammōxtan.**
 ~gār [*hmwck'l* | N *āmōzgār*] teacher.
ham-nibardīh [*hmnpltyh*] (single) combat.
hamōg [*hmwg*] equal, like.
hāmōn [*h'mwn'* | N *hāmūn*] level, flat.
hāmōyēn [*h'mwdyn'*] all.
ham-pursag [*hmpwrsk'*] consulting, taking counsel.
 ~īh: consultation.
ham-|-rānīh [*hml'nyh*] battle, combat.
 ~-sāmān [*-s'm'n'*] contiguous.
 ~-sardag [*-sltk'*] of the same kind, like.
 ~-sāyag [*-s'dk'* | N *hamsāya*] neighbour.
 ~-tāg [*-t'k'* | N *hamtā*] equal, peer.
 ~-tan [*-tn'*] of the same stature, build.
 ~-tōhmag [*-twhmk'*] relative, relation.
hamwar [*hmwl* | N *hamwār*] level, abreast.
hāmwār(ag) [*h(')mw'l, -k'* | N *hamwāra*] always.
ham-zamān [*hm ODNA* | N *~*] instantly, immediately.
handām [*hnd'm* | = P, N *andām*] member, limb.
handarz [*hndlc* | N *andarz*] advice, injunction, testament.
handarzēnīdan, handarzēn- [*hndlcyn-ytn'*] advise.

handāxtan, handāz- [*hnd'htn*[1], *hnd'c-* | M *hnd'c-*, N *an*~] plan, allot, reckon, judge.
~**išn**: judgement.
handāxtār [*hnd'ht'l*] planner.
handāz-, ~išn, v. handāxtan.
~**ag** [*hnd'ck*[1] | N *andāza*] measure, manner; ~ **ī**: like.
handēmān [*hndym'n*[1] | = M] before, in the presence of.
~**īh**: audience, presence.
handēmāngar [*hndym'nkl*] introducer (into the presence).
~**īh**: introduction.
handēšīdan, handēš- [*hndyš-ytn*[1] | M *hndyš-*, N *an*~] think, consider, reflect.
~**išn**: thought, reflection.
handēšīdār [*hndyšyt'l*] thoughtful.
handōxtan, handōz- [*hndwhtn*[1], *hndwc-* | N *an*~] gain, acquire, amass.
~**išn(īh)**: acquisition.
handraxtag [*hndl'htk*[1] | P *'ndrxt*] oppressed.
~**īh**: oppression, suffering.
handūdan, *handāy- [*hndwtn*[1] | (M *'nwd*), N *an*~] smear, plaster, anoint.
hangad [*hngt*[1] | P *'ngd*] fortunate, rich.
~**īh**: fortune, wealth.
hangām [*hng'm* | N ~] time, occasion.
~**īg** [-*yk*[1]] timely.
hangārag [*hng'lk*[1] | N *angāra*] reckoning.
hangārdan, hangār- [*hng'l-tn*[1] | M *hng'r-*, N *an*~] consider, reckon.
~**išn**: consideration.
hangēxtan, hangēz- [*hngyhtn*[1], *hngyc-* | (M *hgjyn-*), N *an*~] arouse, stimulate, stir up.
~**išn**: arousing.
hangirdēnīdan, hangirdēn- [*hngltyn-ytn*[1]] complete, summarize.
hangirdīg [*hngltyk*[1]] complete, perfect; summary.
~**īh**: completion, summary.
hangōšīdag [*hngwšytk*[1] | M *'ngwšydg*] way, manner, likeness.
~ **ī**: like.
hangrāyīdan [*hngl'dytn*[1]] lament.
hangrūdag [*hnglwtk*[1]] lamenting.
hanǰ-, v. hixtan.
hanǰaftan [*hncptn*[1] | P *hnǰft*, (M *hnzpt*)] be finished.
hanǰāftan, hanǰām- [*hnc'ptn*[1], *hnc'm-* | P *hnǰ'ft*, *hnǰ'm-*, (M *hnz'pt*, N *anǰāmīdan*)] finish, complete, carry out.
hanǰām [*hnc'm* | N *anǰām*] end, completion, outcome.
hanǰaman [*hncmn*[1] | (P *'njmn*, M *hnzmn*), N *anǰuman*] gathering, assembly, congregation, community.
~**īg** [-*yk*[1]] (notable) member of the community.
hanǰīdan [*hnc-ytn*[1] | N ~] = **hixtan.**

hannām [*hn'm* | = M] = **handām.**
Harborz [*hlbwlc* | N *Alburz*] the mountain range surrounding the world.
harǵ [*hlg* | cf. M *hr'g*, Ar. *xarǰ*, *xarāǰ*] duty, tribute; work, effort.
***harrōb-** [*hlwp-* | M *hrwb-*] collect, gather.
~išn(īh): collection, gathering.
har(w) [*KRA* < A *kl'*; *hl* | M *hrw*, N *har*] all, each, every.
harwīn [*hlwyn'* | M *hrwyn*] *pl.* all.
harwisp [*hlwsp'* | M *hrwsp*] all.
~īn [*-yn'*] *pl.* all.
harzag [*hlck'* | N *harza*] loose, free.
hās[a]r [*h'sl* = Av. *hāθra-*] a measure of time (unequal hour, $\frac{1}{12}$ of daylight); a measure of length (= **frasang**, or $\frac{1}{4}$ *frasang*, 1 mile).
haspīn [*hspyn'* | = M] rest, repose.
hast, ~īh [*AYT'*, *-yh*] = [1]**ast, ~īh.**
hašāgird [*hš'klt'* | M *hš'gyrd*, N *šāgird*] disciple, pupil.
hašt [*hšt'* | = M, N ~] eight.
~ād [*80* | N ~] eighty.
~dah [*hštdh* | N ~, *hiždah*] eighteen.
[1]**hāwan** [*h'wn'* | N ~] a mortar.
[2]**hāwan** [*h'wn'* = Av. *hāwani-*] the morning *gāh.*
hāwand [*h'wnd* | M *h'w(y)nd*] like, similar.
~īh: likeness, similarity.
hāwišt [*h'wšt'*] disciple, pupil.
~īh: disciplehood.
haxt [*h('')ht'*] thigh, haunch, hip.
hāxtan, hāz- [*h'htn'*, *h'c-*] lead, guide, persuade, convert.
~išn: persuasion, conversion.
hazār [*1,000*, *hc'l* | M *hz'r*, N ~] thousand.
~ag [*-k'* | N *~a*] millennium.
hazzān ['/*hz'n'*] tomb, ossuary.
hēn [*hyn'* | M *hyyn*] army.
~īh: attack, aggression.
hērbed [*hylpt'* | N *hērbud*] teacher-priest.
~īh: priestly office.
hērbedestān [*hylptst'n'*] priestly school.
~īh: priestly studies.
hērīg [*hylyk'* | N *h/xērī*] iris, wallflower.
hēzag [*hyck'* | (M *hyjg*), N *hēz*] pail.
hil-, ~išn, v. **hištan.**
hindūg [*hndwk'* | M *hyndwg*, N *hindū*] Indian.
~ān [*-'n'*] India.
hištan, hil-, (P hirz-) [*ŠBKWN-tn'* < A √ *šbq*; (*hlc-*) | M *hyštn*, *hyl-*, (P *hyrz-*), N ~] let, leave, abandon, pardon, set, appoint.
~išn: pardon, loosing.
hixr [*hyhl*] excrement.
hixtan, hanǰ- [*hyhtn'*, *hnc-* | P *hxt*] draw (water).

P hō [*hw*[1] | = P] that, he.
Hōm [*hwm* | N ~] the sacred plant Haoma (*ephedra*).
homānāg [*h(w)m'n'k*[1] | N *hamānā*, J *xumānā*], ō . . . ~: like.
~**īh**: likeness.
hōmāst [*hwm'st*[1]] various series of prayers.
hōm|ēn, -īg [*hwmyn*[1], *-yk*[1]] of Haoma.
~**ōmand** [*-'wmnd*] prepared with Haoma.
Hordād [*hwrdt*[1] | M *hrwd'd*, N *Xurdād*] Perfection, the fifth Amahraspand, guardian of water; *cal.* 3rd month; 6th day.
hōšag [*hwšk*[1] | M *hwšg*, N *xōša*] ear of corn, cluster; *astr.* Spica, Virgo.
hōšēnīdan, hōšēn- [*hwšyn-ytn*[1]] (cause to) wither.
hōšīdan, hōš- [*hwš-ytn*[1] | M *hwš-*, N *x*~] dry up, wither.
hōy(ag) [*hwy*, *-k*[1] | M *hwy*] left(-hand).
Hrōm [*hlwm* | M *hrwm*, N *Rūm*] Byzantium, Rome.
~**āyīg** [*-'dyk*[1]] Greek, Byzantine, Roman.
hu- [*hw-* | = M] good-, well-.
~**īh**: good, goodness.
hu-bōy [*hwbwd*] sweet-smelling, fragrant.
~**īh**: fragrance.
hu-čašm [*hwcšm*] unenvious, benevolent.
~**īh**: benevolence.
hu-čihr [*hwcyhl* | M *hwcyhr*, (N *xujīr*)] fair, beautiful.
hudā(ha)g [*hwd'(h)k*[1] = Av. *hudāh-*] good, beneficent.
~**īh**: beneficence.
hu-|-dast [*hwdst*[1]] skilful.
~**-dēn** [*-dyn*[1]] of good (i.e. Mazdean) religion.
~**-dōšag** [*-dwšk*[1]] very pleasing.
~**-ēwāz** [*-'yw'c*] of good speech, affable.
~**-ēwāzīh**: affability.
~**-fraward** [*-plwlt*[1]] blessed, the late.
hugar [*hwgl*] easy; beneficent.
hu-|-gōwišn [*hwgwbšn*[1]] of good speech.
~**-gugār** [*-gwk'l*] easily digestible.
~**-kunišn** [*-kwnšn*[1]] of good behaviour.
~**-mānīh** [*-m'nyh*] good-mindedness, benevolence.
humat [*hwmt*[1] = Av. *humata-*] good thought.
humāy [*hwm'y* | N ~] a bird of good omen; eagle.
hu-menišn [*hwmynšn*[1]] of good thought.
hu-murwāg [*hwmwlw'k*[1]] auspicious.
hunar [*hwnl* | M *hwnr*, N ~] virtue, ability, skill.
hunarāwand [*hwnl'wnd* | M *hwnr'wynd*] skilled, virtuous.
~**īh**: skill, virtue.
hunarōmand [*hwnl'wmnd* | N *hunarmand*] = **hunarāwand.**
hunīdan [*hwnytn*[1]] extract, express (juice).
huniyāg [*hwnyd'k*[1] | N *xunyā*] delightful.
~**īh**: delight, entertainment.

huniyāgar [*hwnyd'kl* | N *xunyāgar*] entertainer, musician.
hu-niyōxš [*hwnydwhš*] attentive.
hunsand [*hwnsnd* | = P, (N *xursand*)] happy, contented.
 ~īh: happiness, content.
hunušak [*hwnšk*[1] = Av. *hunuš*] offspring (*daevic*).
hunušakēnīdan [*hwnškynytn*[1]] bear daevic offspring.
hu-pādixšā(y) [*hwp'thš'(d)*] good ruler.
 ~īh: good rule.
hu-passandagīh [*hwpsndkyh*] satisfaction.
hur [*ŠKL* < A *škr'*; *hwl*] an alcoholic drink, *koumiss.
hurram [*hwlm* | N *xurram* !] happy.
 ~īh: happiness.
hurām [*hwl'm*] blissful.
hu-|-ramag [*hwlmk*[1]] having good flocks.
 ~-rust [*-lwst*[1]] well-grown.
 ~-sāzagīh [*-s'ckyh*] agreement.
 ~-spās [*-sp's*] grateful.
husraw [*hwslwb*[1] | (M *hwsrwg*), N *xusraw*] famous, of good repute.
 ~īh: fame, good repute.
hušk [*hwšk*[1] | = M, N *xušk*] dry.
 ~-kūn [*-ŠTE*] impotent.
hu-škōh [*hwškwh*] dignified, splendid.
 ~īh: dignity.
hušnūd(ag) [*hwšnwt(k)*[1] | M *hwšnwd*, N *xušnūd*] contented, happy.
 ~īh: contentment, happiness.
hu-tuxš [*hwtwhš*] artisan.
huwaršt [*hwwlšt*[1] = Av. *hwaršta-*] virtue, good deed.
hu-xēm [*hwhym*] of good character, good-natured.
 ~īh: good character.
hūxt [*hwht*[1] = Av. *hūxta-*] good speech.

I

ī [*Y, ZY-* < A *zy* | M *'y(g)*, N *i*] *relative pronoun*, who, which; *connective particle.*
-īdan [*-ytn*[1] | M *-ydn*, N ~] *suffix forming secondary infinitives.*
-īg [*-yk*[1] | M *-yg*, N *-ī*] *suffix forming adjectives of relation, etc.*
-īh [*-yh* | M *-yh*, *-yy*, N *-ī*] *suffix forming abstract nouns.*
-īhā [*-yh'* | = M, N *-hā*] *suffix forming adverbs; later, plurals.*
-īh-istan [*-yh-stn*[1] | M *-yh-ystn*] *suffixes forming passive and intransitive denominative verbs.*
im [*LZNE* < A *l-znh*; *'m* | M *'ym*, N ~] this.
 ~ čim rāy: for this reason.
 ~ rōz: today.

-(i)m [*-m* | = M, N *-am*] *1st sg. enclitic pronoun*, me, my.
-istan [*-stn*[1] | M *-ystn*, N ~] *suffix forming secondary infinitives*; v. **-īh-istan.**
-(i)š [*-š* | = M, N *-aš*] *3rd sg. enclitic pronoun*, him, his, her, it, its.
-išn [*-šn*[1] | M *-yšn*, N *-iš*] *suffix forming* (i) *verbal nouns*, (ii) *necessitative participles.*
-(i)t [*-t* | = M, N *-at*] *2nd sg. enclitic pronoun*, thee, thy.
-iz [*-(y)c* | M *-yc*, *-yz*] *adverbial enclitic*, also, even.
-īzag [*-yck*[1] | M *-yzg*, N *-īza*] *diminutive suffix.*

ǰ

ǰād [*y'tʹ*[1]] share, portion.
[1]**ǰadag** [*ytk*[1] | M *jdg*] omen.
[2]**ǰadag** [*ytk*[1]] form, property.
ǰādag [*y'tk*[1] | M *j'dg*] share, portion; case, cause.
ǰādag-gōw [*y'tkgwb*[1]] advocate, intercessor.
~**īh**: intercession.
ǰadag-wihīrīh [*ytkwhylyh*] transformation, alteration.
ǰadārīh [*yt'lyh*] maintenance.
***ǰadišn** [*ytšn*[1]] (accidental) quality, property.
~**īg** [*-yk*[1]] accidental, non-essential.
ǰādūg [*y'twk*[1] | M *j'dwg*, N *ǰādū*] sorcerer, magician.
~**īh**: sorcery, magic.
***ǰaγ** [*y'h* | N ~] sissoo tree.
ǰagar [*ykl* | N *ǰigar*] liver.
ǰah-, v. **ǰastan.**
ǰahišn [*yhyšn*[1] | J *jhyšn-*] chance, fortune, omen.
ǰahišn-ayār [*yhyšn hdyb'l* | N n. pr. *ǰhšy'r*] fortunate.
~**īh**: good fortune.
ǰahūd [*yhwt*[1] | N *ǰuhūd*] Jew.
[1]**ǰām** [*y'm* | N ~] glass.
[2]**ǰām** [*MANE* < A *m'n-h*; *y'm* | M *j'm*, N ~] vessel, goblet.
[1]**ǰāmag** [*y'mk*[1] | N *ǰāma*] = [2]**ǰām.**
[2]**ǰāmag** [*y'mk*[1] | M *j'mg*, N *ǰāma*] clothing, garment.
ǰang [*yng* | M *jnng*, N ~] struggle, battle, fight.
ǰār [*y'wl* | M *j'r*] time, occasion.
ǰastan, ǰah- [*ystn*[1], *yh-*] happen, occur, chance (to be).
~**išn**, v. **ǰahišn.**
ǰašn [*yšn*[1] | N ~] celebration, festival.
ǰaw [*Šᵍ* < A *ś'rt'* | N ~] barley.
ǰāwēd [*y'wyt*[1] | (P *y'wyd*), N ~] eternal.

jāwēdān [*LOLMN* < A *l-ʿlmn*; *yʾwytʾnˈ* | (P *yʾwydʾn*, M *jʾydʾn*), N ~] eternally, always.
~**ag** [*-kˈ* | (P *-g*), N ~*a*] eternal, perpetual.
jawēn [*Šᵍynˈ* | N *jawīn*] made of barley.
jeh [*yḫ*, *yyh* = Av. *jahī-*] the Whore, female arch-demon.
jīw [*cywˈ*, *yywˈ* = Av. *jīwya-*] (consecrated) milk.
***jomā** [*ywmʾy*] together with; both.
jōrdā [*ywltʾy*, *-ʾk* | (P *ywʾrdʾw*), J ***jwrdʾr*] corn, grain.
jō(y) [*ywd*, *ywbˈ* | N ~] stream, channel.
jōy-, ~**išn**, v. **jūdan.**
jud [*ywdtˈ* | M *jwd*] separate, different; anti-.
~ **az** [N *juz*] except, apart from.
judāg [*ywdtʾkˈ* | N *judā*] separate, different.
~**īh**: separation, difference.
jūdan, jōy- [*ywtnˈ*, *ywd-* | M *jwwdn*, (*jw-*), (N *jawuan*)] chew; devour (*daevic*).
~**išn**: eating (*daevic*).
jud-|-bēš [*ywdt byš*] harmless, antidote.
~**-dādestān** [*-DYNA*] disagreeable, opposing.
~**-dēw** [*-ŠDYA*] anti-demonic.
~**-nāy** [*-nʾd*] a fathom (6 ft.).
jud-ristag [*ywdt lystkˈ*] schismatic, heretic.
~**īh**: heresy.
juγ [*ywg* | N ~] yoke.
jumbāgīh [*ywmbʾkyh*] motion.
jumbēnīdan, jumbēn- [*ywmbyn-ytnˈ*] (cause to) move.
jumbīdan, jumb- [*ywmb-ytnˈ* | N ~] move.
~**išn**: motion, movement.
jumbīhistan, jumbīh- [*ywmbyh-stnˈ*] be moved.
juttar [*ywdtl* | M *jwtr*] different, otherwise.
~**īh**: opposite, reverse.
juwān [*ywβʾnˈ* | (P *ywʾn*), N *jawān*] young; a youth.
~**īh**: youth.
juxt [*ywhtˈ* | (P *ywxt*), N *juft*!] pair, couple.

K

ka [*AMT* < A *ʾmty* | M *kʾ*, N *ki*] when; if, since.
kabāh [*kpʾh* | Ar. *qabā*] garment, cloak.
kabārag [*kpʾlkˈ* | N ~*a*] container, vessel.
kābēn [*kʾpyn* | N *kābīn*] marriage-portion, dowry (assigned to the bride).
kabīg [*kpykˈ* | N *kab/pī*] monkey.
kabīz [*kpyc* | (N *kawīž*)] a grain measure, $\frac{1}{10}$ *grīw*.

kabk [*kpk*[1] | N ~] partridge.
~-**anjīr** [-*'ncyl* | N ~] a kind of francolin.
kabōd [*kpwt*[1] | N ~] grey-blue; pigeon.
kabōtar [*kpwtl* | M *kbwtr*, N ~] pigeon.
kāč [*k'c* | N *kāš(ki)*], ~ **ka**: would that, if only.
kādag [*k'tk*[1]] game, joke.
kadag [*ktk*[1] | M *kdg*, N *kada*] house.
~-**bānūg** [-*b'nwk*[1] | N *kadbānū*] mistress, lady of the house.
~**īg** [-*yk*[1]] domestic; servant.
~-**xwadāy** [-*hwt'y* | P *qdyxwd'y*, N *kadxudā*] householder, master of the house.
kadām [*kt'm* | M *kd'm*, N *kudām*] which, what.
~-**iz-ē(w)** [-*c-HD*] whichever.
kadār [*kt'l*] who, which.
~-**iz-ē(w)** [-*c-HD*] whoever.
kaf [*kp* | N ~] foam, slime.
kaf-, v. **kaftan.**
kafč [*kpc* | N ~] ladle, skimmer.
~**ag** [-*k*[1] | N ~*a*] spoon.
kafš, ~**ag** [*kpš*, -*k*[1] | N *kafš*] shoe.
~**gar** [-*kl* | N ~] shoemaker.
kaftan, kaf- [*kp-tn*[1] | P *kft*, *kf-*] fall.
kāh [*TBNA* < A *tbn*[3] | N ~] chaff, straw.
kāh-, ~**išn**, v. **kāstan.**
kahas [*kts* | M *khs*] channel, sewer.
kāhēnīdan, kāhēn- [*k'hyn-ytn*[1]] decrease, lessen (*tr.*).
kāhīdan [*k'hytn*[1] | N ~] = **kāstan.**
kahist [*ksst*[1]] least.
kah-rubāy [*khlp'd* | N ~*rubā*] amber.
kahwan [*khwbn*[1] | M *qhwn*, N *kuhan*] old.
kākom [*k'kwm* | N ~] stoat.
~ **ī spēd**: ermine.
kālbod [*k'lpwt*[1] | (M *k'lbyd*), N ~] body, shape, form.
~**ōmand** [-*'wmnd*] corporeal.
kam [*km* | M *kmb*, N ~] little, small, few; v. **kem.**
kām [*k'm* | = M, N ~] will, desire, purpose.
kām-, v. **kāmistan.**
[1]**kāmag** [*k'mk*[1] | N *kāma*] kinds of gruel, or soup.
[2]**kāmag** [*k'mk*[1] | N *kāma*] = **kām.**
~-**hanjām** [-*hnc'm*] gaining one's end, successful.
~-**hanjāmīh**: success.
~**ōmand** [-*'wmnd*] willing(ly), desirous.
~-**widār** [-*wt'l* | N *kām-guδār*] successful, independent.
~-**xwadāy** [-*hwt'y*] independent, absolute.
kamāl [*km'l* | (M *km'r*)] head (*daevic*).
~**īg** [-*yk*[1]] chief (*daevic*).

kamān [*km'n'* | = M, N ~] bow.
~**dār** [-*d'l* | N ~] archer, bowman.
kamar [*kml* | N ~] waist; belt, girdle.
~-**band** [-*bnd* | N ~] belt.
kāmgār [*k'mk'l* | P *k'mg'r*, N ~] powerful, absolute.
kamist [*kmyst'*] least.
~**īh**: **pad** ~**īh**, at least.
kāmistan, kām- [*YCBEN-stn'* < A *yṣbh*, √ *ṣbh*; *k'm-(y)stn'* M *k'm-yst*] want, desire.
kām|-rawāg [*k'm lwb'k'* | N ~*rawā*] successful.
~-**zī(w)išn** [-*zywšn'*] free, independent.
kam-zōr [*kmzwl* | N ~] weak.
~**īh**: weakness.
kan-, v. **kandan.**
kanār [*kn'l* | N ~] side, edge; embrace.
~**ag** [-*k'* | M *kn'rg*, N ~*a*] edge, limit, boundary.
~**agōmand** [-*k'wmnd* | M -*gwmnd*] limited, finite.
kandan, kan- [*HPLWN-tn'* < A √ *ḥpr*; *kn-dn'*, -*tn'* | M *knd*, N ~] dig; raze, destroy.
kanīg [*knyk'* | M *knyg*] girl, maid.
kanīzag [*knyck'* | M *knycg*, N *kanīz*(*ak*)] = **kanīg.**
kantigr [*kntgl*] quiver.
kāpūr [*k'pwl* | Ar. *kāfūr*] camphor.
kar-, v. **kardan.**
[1]**kār** [*k'l* | M *k'r*, N ~] work, deed, affair.
~ **framūdan**: put to use.
[2]**kār** [*k'l*], *pl.* ~**ān**: (other) people.
[3]**kār** [*k'l*] butter.
kār-, v. **kištan.**
karafs [*klps* | N ~] celery.
kār-āgāh [*k'l'k's* | N ~] skilled, experienced.
~**īh**: skill, experience.
karak [*krk'* | N ~] quail.
karān [*kl'n'* | P *kr'n*, N ~] side, edge, end, limit.
kārawān [*k'lw'n'* | P *k'rw'n*, N *kārwān*] caravan, military column.
~**īg** [-*yk'* | N ~*ī*] caravaneer, traveller.
karb [*klp*] priest hostile to Zoroaster.
karbāš [*klb'š* | N *karbaš*, etc.] lizard.
karbunag [*klpnk'*, *klbnk'*] lizard.
kard [*krt'* | M *kyrd*, N ~] action; matter, affair.
kārd [*SKYNA* < A *skyn'*; *k'lt'* | N ~] knife.
[1]**kardag** [*kltk'*] division, section, portion.
[2]**kardag** [*krtk'*, *kltk'* | N *karda*] action.
kārdāg [*k'ld'k'*] traveller, wanderer, migrant.
kardagān [*krt-*, *kltk'n'* | M *kyrdg'n*] action.
kardagār [*krtk'l* | M *kyrdg'r*, N ~] mighty.

kardan, kun-, (P kar-) [*OBYDWN-tn*[1] < A √ʿ*bd*; *krtn*[1], *kwn-*, (*kl-*) | M *kyrdn*, *kwn-*, (P *kr-*), N ~] do, make, act, perform.
~**išn**, v. **kunišn.**
kardār [*krt-*, *klt'l* | N ~] active; worker, doer.
~**īh**: activity.
kard-espās [*krtsp̌'s*] servant, attendant.
kārezār [*k'lyc'l* | M *k'ryz'r*, N *kārzār*] battle(-field).
kār-framān [*k'lplm'n*[1] | M *k'rprm'n*, Ar. *qahramān*] manager, overseer.
karg [*klg* | N ~] rhinoceros.
kargās [*klk's* | N *kargas*] vulture.
kārīg [*k'lyk*[1] | N *kārī*] active; warrior.
~**īh**: activity.
kark [*klk*[1] | N ~] chicken, hen.
karkēhan [*klkyhn*[1]] chalcedony.
karm [*klm* | P *krm*] action.
karmīr [*klmyr*] red, crimson.
kār-nāmag [*k'ln'mk*[1]] record, chronicle.
karr [*kl* | M *qr*, N ~] deaf.
karxōš [*klhwš* | (N *čarxušt*)] wine-press.
***karzang** [*klcng* | M *kyrzng*, (N *xarčang*)] crab; *astr.* Cancer.
kas [*AYŠ* < A *'yš* | M *ks*, N ~] person, somebody.
~**-iz** [*-c*] anybody, (*with a negative*) nobody.
kāskēn [*k'skyn*[1]] lapis lazuli.
~**(ag) murw** [*-k*[1] | N *kāskīna*] *magpie.
~**ēn** [*-yn*[1]] blue-green; of lapis lazuli.
kāstan, kāh- [*k'stn*[1], *k'h-* | N ~] diminish, decrease, lessen.
~**išn**: decrease, diminution.
kastār [*kst'l*] destroyer, wrongdoer.
~**īh**: destruction, iniquity.
kāstār [*k'st'l*] diminisher.
kaš [*kš* | N ~] armpit.
kašawag [*kšwk*[1] | N *kašaw*] tortoise.
kašk [*kšk*[1] | N ~] dried buttermilk.
kaštīg [*kštyk*[1] | N *kaštī*] boat, ship.
***kawādak** [*kw'tk*[1]] young; baby; v. **kōdak.**
[1]**kay** [*AYMT* < A *'ymt* | N ~] when?
[2]**kay** [*kd* | N ~] title of the dynasty of Wištāsp (patron of Zoroaster), Kayanian.
~**ak** [*-k*[1]] ruler hostile to Zoroaster.
kayk [*kdyk*[1] | N ~] flea.
kē [*MNW* < A *mn-w* | M *ky*, N *kī*] who, which.
P **keč** [*kyc* | = P] person, somebody.
kēd [*kyt*[1] | P *qydyg*] soothsayer, magician.
~**īgīh** [*-ykyh*] soothsaying, prophecy.
keh [*ks* | M *kyh*, N ~] small(er), less(er), young(er).
~**tar** [*-tl* | N ~] = **keh.**

kem [*kym*] less, fewer; v. **kam.**
kēn [*kynˈ* | = M, N *kīn(a)*] hate, malice, revenge.
~**īg** [-*ykˈ*] malicious, vengeful.
kennār [*knʾl*] lyre, harp.
~-**srāy** [-*slʾd*] harpist.
kēnwar [*kynwl* | (M *kynwʾr*), N *kīnawar*] vengeful, vindictive.
~**īh**: vindictiveness.
kēr [*kyl* | N ~] penis.
kēsar [*kysl*] Caesar.
kēš [*kyš* | = M, N ~] dogma, faith (especially non-Mazdean).
~-**dār** [-*dʾl*] sectary, non-Mazdean.
kešīdan, keš- [*k(y)š-ytnˈ* | (M *krš-*), N *kašīdan*] pull, draw.
Kēwān [*kywʾnˈ* | Ar. *kaywān*] *astr.* Saturn.
kēwūd [*kypwtˈ* | M *kʿywd*] box, ark.
kilēl [*klyl* | N *kilīd*)] key.
kirb [*klp* | M *kyrb*] body, form.
kirbag [*krpkˈ* | M *kyrbg*, N *kirfa*] virtue, good deed.
~**īg** [-*ykˈ*] virtuous, pious.
kirbakkar [*krpkk̲l* | M *kyrbkr*] beneficent.
~**īh**: beneficence.
kirīh- [*OB̲YDWNyh-*, v. **kardan,** *klyh-* | M *kyryh-*] be done, made.
kirm [*klm* | M *krm*, N ~] worm, serpent.
kirrēnīdan, kirrēn- [*klyn-ytnˈ*] rend; create (*daevic*).
kirrōg [*k(y)lwkˈ* | M *qrwg*] artisan, craftsman; skilled.
~**īh**: arts, crafts, craftsmanship, skill.
kiš [*k(y)š* | M *kš*, N ~] furrow, line.
kišnīz [*kšnyc*] = **gišnīz.**
kištan, kār- [*ZLYTWN-tnˈ* < A √*zrʿ*; *kyštnˈ*, *kʾl-* | M *kyšt*, *kʾr-*, N ~] till, furrow; sow.
kištār [*ZLYTWNtʾl*] tillage.
kišw, ~ān [*kyšwˈ*, -*ʾnˈ* | P *kyšfʾn*] tillage.
~**(ān)zār** [-*cʾl* | (N *kištzār*)] field.
kišwar [*kyšwl* | M *kyšwr*, N ~] region, clime, continent.
kišwzār, v. **kišwānzār.**
kōb-, v. **kōftan.**
kōdak [*kwtkˈ* | M *qwdk*, N ~] young, small; baby.
kōf [*kwp* | = M, N *kōh*] hill, mountain; hump.
~**ag** [-*kˈ* | N *kōha*] saddle.
~**īg** [-*ykˈ* | N *kōhī*] wild, mountain-.
kōftan, kōb- [*kwp-tnˈ* | N ~] beat, pound, crush.
kōr [*kwl* | M *kwr*, N ~] blind.
~-**dil** [-*dyl* | M -*dyl*, N ~] blind-hearted, incorrigible.
kōstan [*kwstnˈ* | = M, N ~] beat, pound.
kōš-, v. **kōxš-.**
kōšk [*kwškˈ* | N ~] pavilion, palace, kiosk.

kō(x)šīdan, kō(x)š- [*kw(h)š-ytn*[1] | M *kwš-ydn*, N *kōšīdan*] strive, struggle, endeavour.
~išn: strife, combat.
~išnīg: energetic.
kōy [*kwd* | N ~] street, lane.
kū [*AYK* < A *'yk* | M *kw*, N *kū*, *ki*] where; that; than.
~ gyāg [N *kujā*] where.
~ tā: so that.
kūč(ak) [*kwc(k*[1]) | N *kūčak*] small.
kūk [*kwk*[1]] small, short.
kulāčag [*kwl'ck*[1] | N *kulīča*] small, round bun.
kulāf [*kwl'p̄* | N *kulāh*] cap, bonnet.
~ak [*-k*[1]] | N *~hak*] little cap; calyx.
kulang [*klng* | N ~] crane.
kullag [*kwlk*[1]] locust.
kumīg [*kwmyk*[1]] stomach.
kun-, ~išn, v. **kardan, kunišn.**
kūn [*ŠTE* < A **št-h*; *kwn*[1] | N ~] rump, buttocks, anus.
kundāg [*knd'k*[1] | M *qnd'-*, N *kundā*] magician, soothsayer.
~īh: magic, astrology.
kundur [*kwndl* | N ~] frankincense.
kunišn [*kwnšn*[1] | M *kwnyšn*] action, deed.
~gar [*-kl* | M *-gr*] doer, performer.
kunǰid [*ŠM*[g] < A *šmšm'*; *kwnc(y)t*[1] | N ~] sesame.
kūn-marz [*kwnmlc*] sodomite; sodomy.
kurkum [*kwlkwm*] saffron.
kurrag [*kwlk*[1] | N *~a*] foal, colt.
[1]**kust** [*kwst*[1]] side, direction; district.
[2]**kust** [*kwst*[1] | Ar. *qusṭ*] costus.
kustag [*kwstk*[1] | M *kwstg*] = [1]**kust.**
~bed [*-pt*[1]] district-commander.
kustīg [*kwstyk*[1] | N *~ī*] sacred girdle.
kuštan, kuš- [*NKSWN-tn*[1] < A √ *nks*; *kwš-tn*[1] | M *kwšt*, *kwš-*, N ~] kill.

L

lab [*lp* | M *lb*, N ~] lip.
lābag [*l'p̄k* | (M *r'b*), P *l'b*, N *lāba*] supplication.
lābakkar [*l'p̄kkl*] suppliant.
~īh: supplication.
laǰan [*lcn*[1] | N ~] mud, slime.
larzīdan, larz- [*llc-ytn*[1] | P *lrz-*, N ~] shiver, tremble.
laškar [*lškl* | N ~] army.

~īg [*-yk*[1] | N *~ī*] soldier.
~īgīh: soldiering.
lawzēnag [*lwcynk*[1] | N *~īna*] almond sweetmeat, marzipan.
***lipī** [*lpyh*] a minute (of arc).

M

ma [*AL* < A *'l* | M *m'*, N *~*] not (*prohibitive*).
~ agar [N *magar*] perhaps; lest.
mād [*AM* < A *'m-y*, v. **mādar** | M *m'd*] mother.
[1]**mādag** [*NKB* < A *nqb*; *m'tk*[1] | (M *m'yg*), N *māda*] female.
~īh: femininity.
[2]**mādag** [*m'tk*[1] | (M *m'yg*, N *māya*)] essence, substance.
~īg [*-yk*[1]] essential.
~war [*-wl*] essential, especial, principal.
madan [*mtn*[1] | M *mdn*] come.
madār [*mt'l*] comer.
mādar [*AMYtl* < A *'m-y*; *m'tl* | M *m'dr*, N *~*] mother.
[1]**mādayān** [*m'tgd'n*[1] | M *m'dy'n*] book.
[2]**mādayān** [*m'tyd'n*[1]] essence, basis, core; essential, chief.
mādayār [*m'tgd'l*] steward; (chess) rook, castle.
mādišt [*m'tyšt*[1]] *matter, protoplasm.
mādīyān [*m'tyg'n* | N *~*] mare.
may [*my* | N *~*] hole, pit.
magas [*mks* | P *mgs*, N *~*] fly.
~ ī angubēn: honey-bee.
magind [*mkn*[1]*d* | M *mgyn(d)*] shield, protection.
māh [*BYRH* < A *b-yrḥ*; *m'h* | = M, N *~*] moon, month; *cal.* 12th day.
māhīg [*m'hyk*[1] | M *m'hyg*, N *māhī*] fish; *astr.* Pisces.
māhīgān [*BYRH-*, *m'hyk'n*[1] | M *m'hyg'n*, N *māhiyān*] month.
mahist [*msst*[1], *mhst*[1] | M *mhyst*, N *~*] greatest.
makōg [*mkwk*[1] | M *mkwg*, N *makō(k)*] boat.
mālīdan [*m'lytn*[1] | N *~*] = **muštan.**
man [*L* < A *l-y* | M *mn*, N *~*] I, me.
mān [*m'n*[1] | = M] house, dwelling.
[1]**mān-**, v. **māndan.**
[2]**mān-** [*m'n-* | = M] live, dwell.
~išn: dwelling, sojourn.
[3]**mān-** [*m'n-* | = M, N *~*] resemble.
mānag [*m'nk*[1] | P *m'ng*] mind.
mānāg [*m'n'k*[1] | M *m'n'g*, N *mānā*] like, resembling.
~īh: likeness, resemblance.
mānbān [*m'np'n*[1]] watch-dog.
mānbed [*m'npt*[1]] master of the house.

mānd [*m'nd* | = M] house.
māndag [*m'ndk'* | M *m'ndg*, N ~*a*] tired; remiss; fault, sin.
~**īh**: tiredness.
māndan, [1]**mān-** [*KTLWN-tn'* < A √ *ktr* | M *m'nd*, N ~] stay, remain; v. *also* [2, 3]**mān-**.
mang [*mng*] henbane.
mānīg [*m'nyk'*] household member.
mānistan [*KTLWNstn'*] = **māndan.**
māništ [*m'nyšt'*] abode, dwelling.
~**ag** [-*k'*] sedentary, settled.
mānsar [*m'nsl* = Av. *māθra-*] (holy) word, spell.
~-**bar** [-*bl*] priest.
~**spand** [-*spnd* = Av. *spənta-*] holy word; v. **māraspand.**
[1]**mar** [*ml* | M *mr*, N ~] number, reckoning, account; class.
[2]**mar** [*ml*] scoundrel, felon.
mār [*m'l* | N ~] snake.
mār-, ~**išn**, v. **mārdan.**
marag [*mlk'*] number.
mārāg [*m'l'k'*] perceptive, sensitive.
Māraspand [*m'rspnd* | N ~] (= **mānsarspand**), *cal.* 29th day.
***marčābuk** [*mlc'ʾβwk'*] brave, valiant.
~**īh**: bravery, valour.
mard [*GBRA* < A *gbr'*; *mlt'* | M *m(y)rd*, N ~] man.
mārdan, mār- [*m'l-tn'*] perceive, notice, feel.
~**išn**: perception.
~**išnōmand** [-*šn'wmnd*] perceptive.
mardānag [*mlt'nk'* | N ~*a*] manly, brave.
~**īh**: manliness, bravery.
mardōm [*ANŠWTA* < A *'nšwt'*; *mltwm* | M *mrdwhm*, N *mardum*] man, mankind, people.
~**īh**: humanity, humanness.
mardōm-zādag [*mltwm z'tk'* | N *mardum-zād*] human being.
~**īh**: humanity.
marg [*mlg* | M *mrg*, N ~] death.
~-**arzān** [-*'lc'n'*] deserving death.
~**īh**: = **marg.**
~**ōmand** [-*'wmnd*] mortal.
mārīg [*m'lyk'* | M *m'ryg-*] word, spell.
marw [*mlw'* | M *mrw*, N ~, (*mary*)] herb.
marz [*mlc* | M *mrz*, N ~] boundary, march; *astr.* term.
marzangōš [*mlcngwš* | N ~] marjoram.
marzīdan, marz- [*mlc-ytn'* | M *mrzyst*, *mrz-*] copulate.
~**išn(īh)**: copulation, fornication.
marz(o)bān [*mlcp'n'* | N ~] margrave, warden of the marches.
-**masāy** [-*ms'd*] *suffix*, -sized.
mast [*mst'* | = M, N ~] bemused, intoxicated.

māst [*m'st'* | N ~] curds, sour milk.
mastarg [*mstlg* | (M *mstgrg*)] skull.
mastōg [*mstwk'*] intoxicated, drunken.
 ~īh: intoxication, drunkenness.
māš [*m'š* | N ~] vetch, pulse.
¹mašk [*mšk'* | N ~] mussuck, skin bag (for liquids).
²mašk [*mšk'* | N *maškō*] tent, pavilion.
 ~abarzēn [-*'ḥlzyn'* | M *mškbrzyn*] royal pavilion.
maškīzag [*mškyck'* | N ~*a*] small mussuck, skin 'table-cloth'.
maxš [*mhš*] fly.
may [*HS* < A *ḥmr'* ?; *mdy* | M *my*, N ~] wine.
mayān [*mdy'n'* | M *my'n*, N *miyān*] middle; among, between.
 ~ag [-*k'* | N ~*a*] middling, average.
mayānjīg [*mdy'ncyk'* | N *miyānji*] mediator, intermediary.
 ~īh: mediation.
mayg [*KMCA* < A *qmṣ'*; *mdk'* | N ~] locust.
māyišn [*m'dšn'*] copulation.
māzandar [*m'z-*, *m'cndl*] arch-(demon), gigantic.
māzanīg [*m'znyk'*] (demon) of Mazan.
māzdēsn [*m'ẓd(y)sn'* | M *m'zdys*] Mazda-worshipping, Mazdean.
 ~īh: Mazda-worship, Mazdaism.
mazg [*mzg* | (M *mgj*, N *mayz*)] brain, marrow.
mazgit [*mzgt'* | N ~] mosque.
mēdyōzarm [*mytywkzlm* = Av. *maiδyōi.zarəmaya-*] spring.
mēγ [*myγ* | P *myg*, N ~] cloud, mist.
meh [*ms* | M *mhy*, *myh*, N ~] great(er), old(er).
mēhan [*myhn'* | N ~] home.
mehēnīdan, mehēn- [*msyn-ytn'*] increase, magnify.
 ~išn: increase.
mehmān [*m(')hm'n'* | P *myhm'n*, N ~] inhabitant, guest; acceptable.
 ~īh: habitation; hospitality.
mehtar [*mstl*, *ms'tl* (< P *ms'dr*) | N ~] elder, senior.
 ~īh: adulthood.
menīdan, men- [*myn-ytn'* | M *mn-*, N *man-*] think, consider.
 ~išn: thought, intention, disposition.
 ~išnīg: thoughtful.
mēnōg [*mynwḵ* | M *mynwg*, N *mīnō*] spiritual, heavenly; spirit.
 ~īg [-*yk'*] spiritual.
 ~(īg)īh: spirit, spirituality.
mēnōg-wēn [*mynwḵ HZYTWN*] having spiritual insight.
 ~īh: spiritual insight.
mērag [*mylk'*] young man, husband.
mēš [*HLLN* < A *rḥl* ?; *myš* | = P, N ~] sheep, ewe.
mēšag [*myšk'*] urine.
mēš-sār [*myšs'l* | N ~] having a sheep's head (ornament).
mēwag [*mywk'* | M *myw*, N *mēwa*] fruit.

mēx [*myh* | P *myx*, N ~] peg, nail.
~ **ī gāh**: *astr.* Polaris, pole star.
[1-3]**mēz-**, v. **mēzīdan, mēzišn, mistan.**
mēzd [*my(')zd* | N *mēz*] offering, meal.
~**bān** [*-p'n'* | N ~] host.
mēzīdan, [1]**mēz-** [*myc-ytn'*] suck.
[2]**mēzišn** [*mycšn'*] blinking, twinkling.
mih [*mt'*] false, contrary, opposite.
mihōxt [*mytwht'*] falsehood.
[1]**mihr** [*mtr'* | M *myhr*, N ~] Mithra; sun; *cal.* 7th month; 16th day.
[2]**mihr** [*mtr'*, etc.] contract, bond.
[3]**mihr** [*mtr'*, etc.] love, friendship.
mihrbān [*mtr'p'n'* | P *myhrb'n*, N ~] friendly, kind.
mihr-drōz [*mtr'dlwc*] = **mihrōdruǰ.**
mihrōdruǰ [*mtr''w-, mtrwk-dlwc* = Av. *miθrō.drujim*] contract-breaker.
~**īh**: breaking faith.
mihr-zan [*mtr'zn'*] = **mihrōdruǰ.**
miǰ(ag) [*myc(k')* | N *mužʼ(a)*] eyelid; eyelash.
miǰūg [*myc-, myšwk'* | N *mižū*] lentil.
mīr-, v. **murdan.**
mistan, [3]**mēz-** [*mstn', myc-* | N *mēzīdan*] urinate.
~**išn(īh)**: urination.
mizag [*m(y)ck'* | N *maza*] taste.
~**dārīh** [*-d'lyh*] (sense of) taste.
~**ōmand** [*-'wmnd*] tasty.
mizd [*m(y)zd* | N *muzd*] reward, hire, pay.
~**war** [*-wbl* | N *-ūr*] hireling.
***miznē** [*m(y)znydy*] mist, dew.
mōg [*mwk'*] shoe.
***moγ-mard** [*mgw-mlt', -gGBRA* | N *muγ*] magus.
mōr [*mwl* | N ~] ant.
mōrd [*mwlt'* | N ~] myrtle.
morwārīd [*mwlw'lyt'* | M *mwrw'ryd*, N ~] pearl.
***mowbed** [*mgwpt'* | N *mōbad*] Mazdean priest.
mōy [*mwd* | N ~] hair.
mōyag [*mwdk'* | N *mōya*] lamentation.
mōyēn [*mwdyn'*] (made of) hair.
mōz [*mwc* | N ~] banana.
mōzag [*mwck'* | N *mōza*] shoe.
***mūdag** [*mwtk'*] spoilt, destroyed.
muγ [*DKRA* < A *dql'* | N *mux*] date-palm.
muhr [*mwdl* | M *mwhr*, N ~] seal.
~**ag** [*mwhlk'* | P *mwhrg*, N ~*a*] bead, vertebra, piece (in backgammon, etc.).
***muhrišn** [*mwtlšn'*] excrement.
mulān [*mwl'n'*] belly (*daevic*).

P murd [*mwlt*[1] | P *mwrt* !] death.
murdan, mīr- [*YMYTWN-tn*[1] < A *ymwtwn*, √ *mwt*; *mwltn*[1] | M *mwrd*, *myr-*, N ~] die.
murdār [*mwrt'l*, *mwld'l* | N ~] carrion.
murnjēnīdan, murnjēn- [*mwlncyn-ytn*[1]] destroy.
murw [*mwlw*[1] | M *mwrw*, (N *mury*)] bird.
murwāg [*mwlw'k*[1] | M *mwrw'*, N *murwā*] omen.
murwīzag [*mwlwyck*[1]] little bird.
murw-nīš [*mwlwnyš*] augur, soothsayer.
[1]**must** [*mwst*[1]] force, violence.
[2]**must** [*mwst*[1]] = **mušt.**
[3]**must** [*mwst*[1]] complaint.
must|-abarmānd [*mwst'pl̄m'nd*] aggressive, aggressor.
~**gar** [-*kl*] violent, rebellious.
mustōmand [*mwst'wmnd* | N *mustmand*] complaining, unhappy.
[1]**mušk** [*mwšk*[1] | N ~] musk.
[2]**mušk** [*mwšk*[1] | (N *mūš*)] mouse, rat.
mušt [*mwšt*[1] | N ~] fist.
muštan, māl- [*mwštn*[1], *m'l-* | N ~] rub, sweep.

N

nab [*np* | N *nawa*] grandson.
nabānazdišt [*nb'nzdšt*[1] = Av. *nabānazdišta-*] next of kin.
nāf [*n'p̄* | M *n'p*] family.
~**ag** [-*k*[1] | N *nāf(a)*] navel.
[1]**naft** [*npt*[1] | = M, N ~] moist, damp; naphtha.
[2]**naft** [*npt*[1]] descendant.
nahang [*nsng*] province.
***nakkīrā** [*nkyl'ȳ*] denying, repudiating.
~**yīh**: repudiation.
nāl- [*n'l-* | P (*n'r-*), N ~] groan, complain.
nam [*nm* | N ~] moisture.
nām [*ŠM* < A *šm*; *n'm* | = M, N ~] name, fame.
namad [*nmt*[1] | N ~] felt.
nāmag [*MGLTA* < A *mglt'*; *n'mk*[1] | M *n'mg*, N *nāma*] book, letter.
namak [*nmk*[1] | M *nmyhk*, N ~] salt.
namāz [*OSGDE* < A *sgdh*; *nm'c* | = M, N ~] reverence, prostration, prayer.
~ **burdan**: pay homage.
nām-burdār [*n'm bwlt'l* | N ~] heir, preserving the father's name.
nāmčišt [*n'm-*, *ŠMcšt*[1]], **(pad)** ~: in particular, especially.
~**īg** [-*yk*[1]] famous, well known.

nāmīg [*n'myk'* | N *nāmī*] famous, renowned.
 ~īh: renown.
nān [*LHMA* < A *lḥm'*; *n'n'* | = M, N ~] bread, food.
nang [*nng* | N ~] shame, modesty.
nar [*ZKL* < A *zkr*; *nl* | M *nr*, N ~] male, manly.
narǵis [*nlgs* | N ~] narcissus.
nārīg [*n'(y)lyk'*] woman, lady, wife.
narm [*nlm* | M *nrm*, N ~] meek, humble, soft.
nasā [*ns'y* | M *n(y)s'h*, N ~] corpse, carrion.
nask [*nsk'* | N ~] a division of the Avesta.
nasrušt(īh) [*nslwšt'*, *-yh*] pollution, corruption.
nastaran [*nstln'* | N ~] dog-rose, sweet briar.
nawad [*90* | N ~] ninety.
naxčīr [*nhcyl* | M *nhcyhr*, P *nxcyr*, N ~] game, quarry, chase.
naxōd [*nhwt'* | N ~] chick-pea.
P **naxšag** [*nhšk'* | P *nxšg*] good, fine.
nāxun [*n'hwn'* | N ~] (finger) nail.
naxust [*nhwst'* | M *nxwst*, N ~] first.
nay [*KNYA* < A *qny'*; *n'd* | N ~] reed, cane.
nay-, v. **nīdan.**
nāy [*n'd* | M *n'y*, N ~] tube, flute, clarion; pole, perch (10 ft.).
 ~ pazd-: blow, play the flute.
***nāydāg** [*n'ywt'k'*] deep, unfordable, navigable.
nayestān [*KNYAst'n'* | N ~] reed-bed, cane-brake.
nāyīzag [*n'yck'* | N ~*a*] small reed, straw.
nāy-srāy [*n'dsl'd*] flautist.
nazd [*nzd* | = M, N ~] near.
nazdīk [*nzdyk'* | = M, N ~] near.
 ~īh: proximity.
nazdist [*nzdst'*] first.
nāzišn [*n'cšn'* | N *nāziš*] 1. boasting; 2. kindness.
nāzuk [*n'cwk'* | (M *n'zwg*), N ~] tender, gentle; fickle.
nē [*LA* < A *l'* | M *ny*, N *na*] no, not.
nēk [*nywk'* | M *nyk*, N ~] good, beautiful.
 ~īh: goodness.
nēk-ǵōhr [*nywk gwhl*] good-natured, virtuous.
 ~īh: goodness, virtue.
nēkōg [*nywkwk'* | M *nyyqwv!*, N *nēkō*] = **nēk.**
nēm [*PRG* < A *plg*; *nym* | = M, N ~] half.
 ~ag [*nymk'* | N ~*a*] half, side, direction.
 ~-asp [*-'sp*] centaur; *astr.* Sagittarius.
 ~-rōz [*-lwc* | M *-rwc*, N ~] midday, south.
 ~-tan [*-tn'* | N ~] middle of the body.
nērang [*nylng* | N ~] incantation, charm, spell.
nērōg [*nylwk'* | M *nyrwg*, N *nērō*] strength, power.
 ~ōmand [*-'wmnd*] strong, powerful.

nēst [*LOYT*[1] < A *l' 'yty* | M *nyst*, N ~] is not.
~**īh**: non-existence.
nēw [*TB* < A *ṭb*; *nyw*[1] | = M, N ~] good, brave.
~-**ardaxšīr** [*nyw'lthšyl* | N *nard* !] backgammon.
nēzag [*nyck*[1] | N *nēza*] lance.
nēzūmān, ~**īg** [*nycwm'n*[1], *-yk*[1] | M *nyzwm'n*] dextrous, skilful.
~**īh**: skill, artistry.
nibard [*nplt*[1] | N *nabard*] fight, struggle, battle.
~**ag** [*-k*[1] | N ~*a*] tried, experienced.
nibardīdan, nibard- [*nplt-ytn*[1] | P *nbrd'd*] fight, do battle.
nibastan, nibay- [*ŠKBHWN-tn*[1] < A √ *škb*; *npstn*[1], *npd-* | M *nbst*] lie down, sleep.
nibāstan, *nibāy- [*np'stn*[1] | M *nb'st*, *nb'y-*] lay down.
nibēg [*npyk*[1] | N *niwē*] writing, scripture, book.
nibēm [*npdm* | (P *nbdm-*)] lying, prostrate.
nibištan, nibēs- [*YKTYBWN-stn*[1] < A *yktbwn*, √ *ktb*; *npštn*[1] | M *nbyšt*, *nbys-*, N ~] write.
nīdan, nay- [*YD(B)LWN-tn*[1] < A *ydbrwn*, √ *dbr* | M *nyydn*, *ny-*] lead.
nidom [*nytwm*] least, smallest.
nifrīdag [*nplytk*[1] | N *nifrīd*] accursed.
nifrīn [*nplyn*[1] | N ~] curse.
nigāh [*nk's* | M *ng'h*, N ~] look, attention.
~ **dāštan**: watch, keep.
~ **kardan**: look.
~-**dārīh**, ~-**dārišnīh** [*-d'l(šn)yh* | N ~*dārī*] keeping, care.
nigān [*nk'n*[1] | P *ng'n*] buried.
nigār- [*nk'l-* | M *ng'r-*, N ~] draw, design, paint.
~**ag** [*-k*[1] | (M *ng'r*, N *nigār*)] image, picture, diagram.
nigāstār [*nk'st'l*] guard; protective.
nigerīdan, niger- [*nkyl-ytn*[1] | N *nigarīdan*] look, observe.
~**išn**: observation.
~**išnīg**: evident, manifest.
nigēxtan, nigēz- [*nkyhtn*[1], *nkyc-*] expound.
~**išn**: exposition.
nigēz [*nkyc*] exposition.
nigūn [*nkwn*[1] | N ~] inverted, upside down.
~**īh**: depth, downward direction.
~**sār** [*-s'l* | M *ngwns'r*] downwards.
nihādag [*nyd'tk*[1] | M *nyh'dg*] foundation.
nihādan, nih- [*HNHTWN-tn*[1] < A *hnḥt*, √ *nḥt* | M *nyh'd*, *nyh-*, N ~] put, place, establish.
nihāl [*nh'l* | N ~] sapling, self-planted tree.
nihān [*nyh'n*[1] | N ~] concealment, secrecy.
~**īg** [*-yk*[1] | N ~*ī*] secret.
nihang [*nsng*] small, few.

nihuftan, nihumb- [*nhwptn*[1], *nhwmb-* | = M, N ~] cover, hide, conceal, clothe.
nihumbīdan [*nhwmbytn*[1]] = **nihuftan.**
***nikōhīdan, nikōh-** [*nkwh-ytn*[1] | N ~] blame, execrate.
~**išn**: blame.
~**išnīg**: blameworthy, execrable.
nīl [*nyl* | N ~] indigo.
nīlōpal [*nylw(k)pl* | N ~, *nīlōfar*] lotus, water-lily.
nimūdan, nimāy- [*nmwtn*[1], *nm'd-* | M *nmwdn, nm'y-*, N ~] show, guide.
nirfs- [*nlps-*] wane, decrease.
~**išn**: decrease, diminution.
nīrmad [*nylmt*[1]] profit, interest.
~**ōmand** [*-'wmnd*] profitable.
P **nisāg** [*nys'k*[1] | P *nys'g*] bright, splendid.
nīš- [*nyš-* | M *nyyš-ydn*, J ~] see, observe.
nišān-, v. **nišāstan.**
nišān [*nyš'n*[1] | = M, N *nišān*] sign, mark, banner.
nišast [*nšst*[1] | N ~] association.
nišastan, nišīn- [*YTYBWN-stn*[1] < A √ *ytb*; *nšstn*[1] | M *nšst*, (*nšyy-*), N ~] sit.
nišāstan, nišān- [*YTYBWN-stn*[1], *-'n-*; *nš'stn*[1], *nš'n-* | M *nš'st*, (*nš'y-*), N ~] set, seat, plant, found.
nišāyišn [*nš'dšn*[1] | M *nš'y-*, v. **nišāstan**] foundation.
nišēb [*nšyp* | N ~] declivity; *astr.* dejection.
~**īg** [*-yk*[1]] declining.
nišēm [*nšdm* | M *nšym*, N ~*an*] seat, perch.
~**ag** [*-k*[1]] residence, abode.
nišīn-, v. **nišastan.**
niwāg [*nw'k*[1] | M *nw'g*, N *nawā*] music, song, melody.
***niwē** [*nwyk*[1] | (N *nuwēd*)] good news.
***niwēy-**, ~**išn**, v. **niwistan.**
***niwēyēnīdan** [*nwykyn-ytn*[1]] = **niwistan.**
niwistan, *niwēy- [*nwstn*[1], *nwyd-* / *nwyk-*] announce, consecrate.
~**išn(īh)**: announcement.
nixwār- [*nswb'l-* | M *nyxw'r-*] hasten.
~**išn**: haste.
niyābag [*nyd'pk*[1] | M *ny'bg*] becoming, fitting, suitable.
~**īh**: suitability.
niyāg [*nyd'k*[1] | M *ny'g*, N *niyā*] grandfather, ancestor.
niyāyišn [*nyd'dšn*[1] | N ~*iš*] prayer, praise.
niyāz [*nyd'c* | M *ny'z*, N ~] need, want, misery.
~**ōmand** [*-'wmnd* | N ~*mand*] needy.
~**ōmandīh**: poverty.
niyō(x)šīdan, niyō(x)š- [*n(y)dwhš-ytn*[1] | M *nywš-*, N *niyōšīdan*] hear.
~**išn**: hearing.
nizār [*nz'l* | (P *nyz'wr*), N ~] weak, feeble.

~īh: weakness.
nizārīh- [*nz'lyh-*] become weak.
nō [*TŠA* < A *tš'* | M *nwh*, N *nuh*] nine.
nōg [*nwk*[1] | M *nwg*, N *naw*] new, recent.
~-rōz [*-lwc* | N *nawrōz*] New Year's day.
~-zād(ag) [*-z't(k)*[1] | N *nawzād*] new-born.
nohom [*nhwm* | = M, N ~] ninth.
nōzdah [*nwzdh* | N ~] nineteen.
nūn [*KON* < A *k'n* | M, J *nwn*] now.

O

ō [*OL* < A *'l*; *'w* | M *'w*] to, at; v. *also* **ōh.**
~ gird āmadan: gather, collect (*intr.*).
~ ham kardan: gather (*tr.*).
~ ham madan: gather (*intr.*); come to an end.
***ōbad-**, v. **ōbastan, *ōftādan.**
ōbārdan, ōbār- ['*wp'l-tn*[1] | M *'wb'rd*] swallow, devour.
ōbastan, *ōbad- [*NPLWN-stn*[1] < A √ *npl*; *'wpstn*[1], *'wpt-* (if not **ōft-**, q.v.) | M *'wbyst*, J *'wβst-*] fall.
***ōftādan, ōft-** ['*wpt-* | M *'wpt'd*, N *uft~*] fall.
ōǵār ['*wk'l*] ebb.
ōǵārdan, ōǵār- ['*wk'l-tn*[1]] remove, expel.
***ōǵrā** ['*wgl'y*] declination, dip.
ōh [*KN* < A *kn* | M *'wh*] so, thus; (*with verbs, giving a sense of uncertainty*) may, perhaps.
Ohrmazd ['*whrmzd* | M *'whrm(y)zd*, N *Hŏrmuzd*] Ahura Mazda; *astr.* Jupiter; *cal.* 1st day of the month.
-om [*-wm* | = M, N ~] *suffix forming ordinal numbers from* **panǰom** *onwards.*
-ōmand [*-'wmnd* | M *-wmnd*, N *-mand*] *suffix forming adjectives of quality.*
***ōrēb(īh)** ['*wlyp(yh)*] disappointment.
ōrōn ['*wlwn*[1] | M *'wrwn*] hither.
az . . . ~: since.
ōsān- ['*ws'n-* | = M] throw down.
ōspurdan, ōspar- ['*wspl-tn*[1]] tread, trample.
ōst°, v. *awest*°.
ōst ['*wst*[1]] firm, reliable.
ōstīgān ['*wstyk'n*[1] | M *hwstyg'n*, N *ustuwān*?] firm, strong, sure, reliable.
~īh: reliability.
[1]**ōš** ['*wš* | = M, N *hōš*] consciousness, intelligence.
~īh: = **ōš.**
[2]**ōš** ['*wš* | = M] death.

³**ōš** [*'wš*] dawn.
ōšastar [*'wšstl*] east.
ōš(e)bām [*'wšb'm* | M *'wšyb'm*] dawn.
ōšmārag [*'wšm'lk*¹ | N *šumāra*] calculation, reckoning.
ōšmurdan, ōšmār-, (ōšmur-) [*MNYTWN-tn*¹ < A √*mnh*; *'wšmwltn*¹, *'wšm'l-* | M *'(w)šm'r-*, N *šumurdan, šumār-*] count, reckon; consider, notice, remember, study.
~**išn**: reckoning; consideration, study.
ōšmurdīg [*'wšmwltyk*¹] calculated (*of the solar calendar*).
ōšōmand [*'wš'wmnd*] mortal.
ōšyār [*'wšd'l* | N *h~*] conscious.
ŏwōn [*'wgwn*¹ | M *''wn*] as, so.
ōy [*OLE* < A *'l-h* | M *'wy*, N ~] he, she, that; (*pl.* **awēšān**).
***ōyrišt** [*'w(k)ylšt*¹ = Av. *awaoirišta-*] a degree of sin.
ōz [*'wc*] strength, power.
ōzadan, ōzan- [*YKTLWN-*, *YKTLWN-tn*¹ < A *yqṭlwn*, √ *qṭl*; *'wctn*¹ | M *'wzdn*, *'wzn-*] kill.
ōzārak [*'wc'lk*¹ | M *hwz'rk*] little, small, few.
ōzōmand [*'wc'wmnd*] strong, powerful.

P

pa(č)čēn [*pcgn*¹] copy.
***pa(č)čībāg** [*pcyp'k*¹, *PWNc-* | N ***pajīw*] *deceptive.
~**īh**: deceit, hypocrisy.
***pa(č)čībāy-** [*pcyp'd-*, *PWNc-*] deceive.
pad [*PWN*, for ***pty* | M *pd*, N *pa*] to, at, in, on.
pad- [*pt-* | M ***pd-*] fall.
padām [*pd'm* | (N *panām*)] mask for the mouth, worn by a celebrating priest.
¹**pādan, pāy-** [*NTLWN-tn*¹ < A √ *nṭr*; *p'tn*¹, *p'd-* | M *p'd, p'y-*, N *pāyīdan*] protect, watch, defend.
²**pādan, pāy-** [*NTLWN-tn*¹, etc.] stand, wait.
pādāšn [*p'td'šn*¹ | M *p'd'šyn*, N *pādāš*] reward, retribution.
padēx [*ptyhw*¹] flourishing, prosperous.
~**īh**: prosperity.
padēxēnīdan, padēxēn- [*ptyhwyn-ytn*¹] make flourish, prosper.
pādēz [*p'tyc* | M *p'dyz*, N *pāyēz*] autumn.
pad-gōhr [*PWNgwhl*] 1. jewelled; 2. of good stock, well-born.
pādifrāh [*p'tpl's* | M *p'dypr'h*, N ***pādafrāh*] punishment, retribution.
padīr-, ~**išn**, v. **padīriftan**.
padīrag [*ptylk*¹ | M *pdyrg*, N *paδīra*] towards, against, counter-.
(**ō**) ~ **madan**: come to meet.
~**īh**: meeting, opposition.

pādīrān [*p'tgl'n*[1]] restrained, held back.
pādīrān(ēn)īdan, pādīrān(ēn)- [*p'tgl'n(yn)-ytn*[1]] restrain, impede.
padīriftan, padīr- [*MKBLWN-tn*[1] < A *mqbl*, √ *qbl*; *ptgl-ptn*[1] | M *pdyr-yptn*, N *paδīruftan*] receive, accept.
~išn: reception, acceptance.
[1]**padisār** [*ptys'l* | N *padīsār* ?] beginning, basis.
[2]**padisār** [*ptys'l*] bridle, halter.
padisāy [*pts'd* | M *pdys'y*] on account of, for the sake of.
padist [*ptst*[1] | P *pdyst*] promise, vow.
ℒ (abar) burdan: promise.
padistādan, padist- [*ptyst-'tn*[1] | (P *pdystwd*)] promise, vow.
padistā(g) [*ptyst'k*[1] | (M *pdyst'w*)] = **padist.**
padiš [*ptš* | M *pdyš*] to him, it; *postposition* (= **pad**) to, etc.
padištān [*ptyšt'n*[1] | P *pdyšt''n*] leg.
padišxwar [*ptšhwl*] dish, bowl.
pādixšā(y) [*ŠLYTA* < A *šlyṭ'*; *p'thš'(d)* | M *p'dxš'y*] ruler; powerful, authoritative, authorized.
~īh: sovereignty, authority.
pādixšīr [*p'thšyl*] agreement, treaty.
pad-nērōg [*PWNnylwk*[1]] strong.
pad-nigerišn [*PWNnkylšn*[1]] cared for, guarded.
pādofrāh [*p'twpl's*] = **pādifrāh.**
pad-pānag [*PWNp'nk*[1]] guarded, protected.
P **pādrazm** [*p'tlcm*] battle.
pād-rōzag [*p'tlwck*[1] | M *p'drwcg*] fasting.
pād-uzwān [*p't'wzw'n*[1]] reticent.
~īh: reticence.
pad-wizēn [*PWNwcyn*[1]] choice, select.
pādyāb [*p'ty'p̄* | N ~] ritually clean; ceremonial ablution.
~īh: ceremonial ablution.
pādyāwand [*p'tyd'wnd* | J *p'dywnd*] strong, powerful.
~īh: strength, superiority.
pādzahr [*p'tzhl* | N *pā(d)zahr*] bezoar, antidote.
pad-zyān [*PWNzyd'n*[1]] harmful.
pafšār- [*ppš'l-*] shame.
pafšīr- [*ppšyl-*] be ashamed.
~išn(īh): shame.
pah [*p'h*] sheep.
~ast [*-st*[1]] sheep-fold, -pen.
pahikaftan, pahikaf- [*ptkp-tn*[1] | M *phykf-*] fall on, touch, hit, attack.
~išn: attack, fight.
pahikāftan, pahikāf- [*ptk'p̄-tn*[1]] throw on, make fight.
pahikar [*ptkl* | M *phykr*, N *paykar*] picture, image.
pahikār [*ptk'l* | M *phyk''r*, N *paykār*] struggle, battle, dispute.
[1]**pahikār-** [*ptk'l-*] fight, contend with, defeat.
pahikārdan, [2]**pahikār-** [*ptk'l-tn*[1]] request, claim, consult.

pahikōftan, pahikōb- [*ptkwp-tn*[1]] strike.
pahlawīg [**p'hlwbyk*[1] | (M *phlw'nyg*), N *pahlaw(ān)ī*] Parthian; Pahlavi.
pāhlom [*p'hlwm*] excellent, best, foremost.
 ~īh: excellence.
pahlūg [*p'hlwk*[1] | N *pahlū*] side, rib.
pahn [*p'hn*[1] | N ~] wide, broad.
 ~āy [*-'d* | N *~ā*] width, breadth.
[1]**pahrēxtan, pahrēz-** [*p'hlyhtn*[1], *p'hlyc-* | M *phryz-*, J ~, N *parhēxtan, parhēz-*] abstain, refrain, avoid.
[2]**pahrēxtan, pahrēz-** [*p'hlyhtn*[1], *p'hlyc-* | M (*phrystn*), *phryz-*] care for, tend, protect.
pahrēz [*p'hlyc* | N *parhēz*] defence, care.
***pahrmāh-** [*ptlm'h-* | (N *parmās-*)] touch.
 ~āgīh [*-'kyh*], **~išn**: touch, feeling.
pāk [*DKYA* < A *dky'*; *p'k*[1] | = M, N ~] clean, pure, holy.
 ~īh: purity, holiness.
pākīzag [*p'kyck*[1] | N *~a*] pure.
palang [*plng* | N ~] leopard.
 ~-mušk [*-mwšk*[1] | N ~] speckled basil.
pālūdag [*p'lwtk*[1] | N *~a*] starch jelly, flummery.
pālūdan, pālāy- [*p'lwtn*[1], *p'l'd-* | (M *p'rwdn, p'r'y-*), N ~] strain, filter, purify.
pambag [*pmbk*[1] | N *panba*] cotton.
 ~ēn [*-yn*[1]] (made of) cotton.
pānāg [*p'n(')k*[1] | M *p'ng*] guard, protector; shepherd.
 ~īh: protection.
panāh [*pn'h* | = M, N ~] protector; refuge.
 pad ~ griftan: take refuge with.
 ~īh: protection.
pand [*pnd* | = M, N ~] path; counsel, advice.
panīr [*pnyl* | N ~] cheese.
panj [*pnc* | P *pnj*, (M *pnz*), N ~] five.
 ~ag [*-k*[1] | N *~a*] pentad; hand, paw.
 ~āh [*-'h* | N ~] fifty.
pānzdah [*p'ncdh* | M *p'nzdh*, N ~] fifteen.
[1]**pārag** [*p'lk*[1] | N *pāra*] piece, part, portion.
[2]**pārag** [*p'lk*[1] | M *p'rg*, N *pāra*] gift, offering, bribe.
parāhōm [*pl'hwm* = Av. *para.haoma-*] consecrated drink (the infusion in holy water of pounded *hōm* and pomegranate twigs, sometimes with milk added).
pardag [*pltk*[1] | N *parda*] veil, curtain.
pardaxtan, pardaz- [*pldhtn*[1], *pldc-* | M *prdxt*, N ~], **~ az**: be done with, freed of.
 ~ ō: set about, undertake.
 ~išn: freedom; undertaking.
pardāxtan, pardāz- [*pld'htn*[1], *pld'c-* | N ~] accomplish.

~ **az**: free (oneself) from.
pargandan, pargan- [*plkn-, plgn-dn*[1] | (P *pr'gnd*, N *parāgandan*)] scatter, distribute, disperse.
pargast [*plgst*[1] | N ~] let it not happen! Heaven forbid!
pargūd [*plgwt*[1] | P *prgwdg*], ~ **az**: free, exempt from.
parīg [*plyk*[1] | M *pryg*, N *parī*] witch.
paristag [*plstk*[1] | N *pirista*] servant.
~**īh**: service; worship.
paristār [*plst'l* | N *parastār*] maidservant.
paristīdan, parist- [*plst-ytn*[1] | M *pryst-*, N *parastīdan*] serve, worship.
~**išn**: service, worship.
paristōg/k [*plstwk*[1] | P *prstwg*, N *piristū(k)*] swallow.
parnagān [*plnyk'n*[1] | M *prng'n*, N *parniyān*] polychrome damask.
parr [*pl* | M *pr*, N ~] feather, wing.
parrag [*plk*[1], *plg* | P *prg*, N ~*a*] wing.
~**īg** [*-yk*[1]] winged.
parrēxtan, parrēz- [*plyhtn*[1], *plyc-*] remain over, be superfluous.
parrōn [*plwn*[1] | M *prwn*] hence, away.
parrwar [*plwl* | M *prwr*] winged.
pārsīg [*p'lsyk*[1] | N *pārsī*] Persian.
parš [*plš*] spotted, speckled.
parwāl [*plw'l* | (P *prwrz*)] refreshment, nourishment.
parwāl- [*plw'l-* | (P *prwrz'dn*)] foster, nourish.
-**išn**: nourishment.
parwānag [*plw'nk*[1] | M *prw'ng*, N ~*a*] guide, leader.
~**īh**: guidance, leadership.
parwand [*plwnd* | N ~] enclosure, comprehension.
parwand-, v. **parwastan.**
P **parwāngāh** [**plw'ng's*] throne.
parwār [*plyw'l* | N ~] citadel; circumvallation; suburb, surroundings.
parwardan, parwar- [*plwl-tn*[1] | M *prwrdn*, N ~] foster, nourish, cherish, educate.
~**išn**: nourishment, fostering, education.
parwast [*plwst*[1]] enclosure.
parwastan, parwand- [*plwstn*[1], *plwnd-*] surround, enclose, contain, comprise.
parwāz [*plw'c* | N ~] flight.
parzīn [*plcyn*[1] | M *prcyn*, J *przyn*, (N *parčīn*)] fence, hedge.
pas [*AHL* < A *'ḥr*; *BATL* < A *b-'tr*; *ps* | = M, N ~] then, afterwards, behind.
~ **az**: after.
~**īh**: rear.
pās [*p's* | = M, N ~] guard, watch.
~ **dāštan**: keep watch, guard.
pāsbān [*p'sp'n*[1] | M *p'sb'n*, N ~] guardian, watcher.
~**īh**: defence, protection.

pas-dānišnīh [*AHLd'nšnyh*] anti-knowledge.
pasēmāl [*psym'l*, v. **hamēmāl**] defendant, accused.
~**īh**: (legal) defence.
pasēn [*psyn*[1] | N *pasīn*] final, last.
pāsox [*p'shw*[1] | N ~] = **passox.**
passand [*psnd* | N *pasand*] pleasure, liking.
passandīdan, passand- [*psnd-ytn*[1] | M *psynd-*, N *pasandīdan*] like, approve.
~**išn**: liking, approval.
~**išnīg**: likeable.
passāxt [*ps'ht*[1]] test.
passāxtan, passāz- [*ps'htn*[1], *ps'c-* | M *ps'xt, ps'c-*] fashion, prepare; insert; test.
~**išn**: preparation, constitution.
passazag [*psck*[1] | M *pscg*] suitable, fitting.
~**īh**: suitability.
passox [*pshw*[1] | M *pswx*, N *pāsux*] answer.
past [*pst*[1] | N ~] low; *astr.* dejection.
pašēmān [*pšym'n*[1] | = M, N ~] penitent, repentant.
~**īh**: penitence, repentance.
pašm [*pšm* | N ~] wool.
~**ēn** [*-yn*[1] | N ~*īn*] woollen.
pašn [*pšn*[1]] bond, agreement.
pāšnag [*p'šnk*[1] | N ~*a*] heel.
pāšom [*p(')šwm*] excellent.
paššing [*pšng* | N *pišing*] drop, exudation.
paššinǰag [*pšnck*[1] | N *pišanǰa*] drop.
paššinǰīdan, paššinǰ- [*pšnc-ytn*[1] | N *pišanǰīdan*] sprinkle.
~**išn**: sprinkling.
pašt(ag) [*pšt(k)*[1] | J *pšt*] pact, bond, agreement.
***pattān** [*pt'n*[1]] noise, resonance.
~**ōmand** [*-'wmnd*] resonant.
pattāyistan [*pt'dstn*[1]] = **pattūdan.**
pattūdan, pattāy- [*ptwtn*[1], *pt'd-* | P *ptwdn*, M *pt'y-*] stay, remain, last, endure.
pattūg [*ptwk*[1]] enduring, patient, persevering.
~**īh**: endurance, patience, perseverance.
paxšag [*phšk*[1] | N *paša*] mosquito, gnat.
[1]**pay** [*pdy* | N ~] foot; footstep, track.
~ **ī**: after.
[2]**pay** [*pdy* | M *pyy*, N ~] sinew, tendon.
pāy [*LGLE* < A *rglh*; *p'dy* | M *p'y*, N ~] foot, leg; foot (12 in.).
[1, 2]**pāy-**, v. [1, 2]**pādan.**
payādag [*pd'tk*[1] | M *py'dg*, N *piyāda*] on foot, foot-soldier, (chess) pawn.
pāyag [*p'd(y)k*[1] | N *pāya*] base, station.
paydāg [*pyt'k*[1] | M *pyd'g*, N *paydā*] visible, obvious, revealed.

~īh: visibility, appearance.

paydāgēnīdan, paydāgēn- [*pyt'kyn-ytn*[1] | M *pyd'gynyd*] reveal, explain.

paydāgīhistan, paydāgīh- [*pyt'kyh-stn*[1]] appear, be revealed.

payg [*pdk*[1] | (P *pdg*), N ~] foot-soldier, courier.

***paygāl** [*pyg'l* | N *payγāla, piyāla*] cup, goblet.

~gar [*-kl*] cup-maker.

paygām [*pgt'm*! | M *pyg'm*, N *pay(γ)ām*] message.

~bar [*-bl* | N *-bar*] messenger, apostle.

pāygōs [*p'tkws* | M *p'ygws*] district, province.

paymān [*ptm'n*[1] | M *pym'n*, N ~] measure, period; moderation; treaty.

ō ~ madan: reach maturity.

~ag [*-k*[1] | N *~a*] period, measure, proportion.

paymānīg [*ptm'nyk*[1]] moderate.

~īh: moderation.

***pāymār** [*PKDWN* < A *pqdwn*; *p'tym'l*] appointment, assignment.

paymāy-, v. **paymūdan.**

paymōg [*ptmwg* | M *pymwg*] clothes, garment.

paymōxtan, paymōz- [*ptmwhtn*[1], *ptmwc-* | M *pymwxt, pymwc-*] don, wear.

paymōzan [*ptmwcn*[1] | M *pymwcn*] garment, dress.

paymūdan, paymāy- [*ptmwtn*[1], *ptm'd-* | N ~] measure.

***pāyram** [*p'tlm*] the commonalty, people.

payrāstan, payrāy- [*pt-, pyl'stn*[1], *pyl'd-* | M *pyr'st, pyr'y-*, N *pērāstan*] arrange, adorn.

payrāyag [*pyl'dk*[1] | M *pyr'yg*, N *pērāya*] ornament, adornment.

payrōg [*ptlwk*[1]] light, brightness.

paywand [*ptwnd* | (M *pywn*), N ~] connection; offspring.

paywand-, v. **paywastan.**

paywāsag [*ptw'sk*[1]] leather bag, wallet.

paywastag [*ptwstk*[1] | N *~a*] continually.

paywastan, paywand- [*ptwstn*[1], *ptwnd-* M *pywst*, (*pywyn-*), N ~] join, connect.

paywāz- [*ptw'c-* | M *pyw'z-*] answer, reply.

~ag [*-k*[1]], **~išn**: response.

paz-, v. **poxtan.**

pāzand [*p'cnd* | N ~] the Pahlavi commentaries on the scriptures (*zand*), transcribed in Avestan letters.

pazd [*pzd* | = P] oppression, persecution.

pazd- [*pzd-* | = M] blow, play (flute).

pazdagīh [*pzdkyh*] expulsion.

pazdēnīdan, pazdēn- [*pzdyn-ytn*[1] | P *pzd-*] frighten, chase.

pāzen [*p'c(y)n*[1] | M *p'cn*, N *pāzan*] ibex.

pazūg [*pzwk*[1] | (N *payūk, xabazdū*)] guinea-worm.

~ ī gūhgard / gūhward: dung worm.

pazzāftan [*pz'ptn*[1] | (M *pzpt*, intr.)] (cause to) ripen.

pazzām- [*pz'm-*] mature, ripen (*intr.*).
~**išn**: maturation, ripening.
pazzāmēnīdan [*pz'myn-ytn*[1]] = **pazzāftan.**
pēčīdan, pēč- [*pyc-ytn*[1] | N ~] twist, entwine.
pēm [*pym*] milk.
pēmēnīdan, pēmēn- [*pymyn-ytn*[1]] cause to well up, swell up.
pen [*p(y)n*[1]] mean, miserly, niggardly.
~**īh**: meanness.
pērāmōn [*pyl'mwn*[1] | M *pyr'mwn*, N ~*mūn*] around.
pērōz [*pylwc* | M *pyrwz*, N ~] victorious.
~**īh**: victory.
pērōzgar [*pylwckl* | N ~] victorious.
~**īh**: victory.
pēs [*pys* | N ~] mottled, leprous; leper.
pēsīdan, pēs- [*pys-ytn*[1]] colour, adorn.
~**išn**: adornment.
pestān [*pyst'n*[1] | N ~] breast.
pēš [*LOYN*[1] < A *l-ʿyn*; *pyš* | = M, N ~] before.
[1]**pēšag** [*pyšk*[1] | N *pēša*] trade, craft; guild, caste.
***pēšag** [*pyšk*[1]] limb, member, part.
pēšānīg [*pyš'nyk*[1] | N *pēšānī*] forehead.
pēšār [*pyš'l* | M *pyš'r*] leader, guide.
~ **būdan**: be guilty (of), commit.
pēšārwār [*pyš'lw'l*, v. **pēšyār**] urination.
pēšēmāl [*pyšym'l*, v. **hamēmāl**] plaintiff.
~**īh**: prosecution.
pēšēnīg [*pyšynyk*[1] | (M *pyšyn(g)*, N *pēšīna*)] former; foremost, noble.
pēš-gāh [*pyšg's* | N ~] audience chamber; foremost seat.
pēš-kār [*pyšk'l* | N ~] servant.
pēšōbāy [*pyš(')wp'd* | M *pyšwb'y*, N *pēšwā*] leader, vanguard.
~**īh**: leadership.
pēš-pārag [*pyšp'lk*[1] | N ~*a*] an appetizer.
pēšyār [*pyšk'l* | N ~] urine.
petīt [*pytyt*[1] = Av. *paitita-*] penance.
~**īg** [*-yk*[1]] penitent.
~**īgīh**: penitence.
petyārag [*p(y)tyd'lk*[1] = Av. *paityāra-* | M *pty'r*, N *patyāra*] evil, misfortune; adversary; *astr.* detriment.
~**īh**: (onslaught of) evil.
[1]**pid** [*AB*[1] < A *'b-y*; *p(y)t*[1] | M *pyd*] father.
[2]**pid** [*p(y)t*[1] | P *pyd*] meat, flesh.
pidar [*ABYtl*, v. [1]**pid**; *pytl* | M *pydr*, N ~] father.
pih [*pyhw*[1]] food, victuals.
pīh [*TLBA* = A *trb'*; *pyḫ* | N ~] fat, tallow.
pīl [*pyl* | M *pyl*, N ~] elephant; (chess) bishop.
~**bān** [*-p'n*[1] | N ~] elephant-driver.

pillagān [*plk'n*[1] | M *pylg*, N ~] steps, ladder.
pīm [*pym*] pain, pang, sorrow.
 ~gēn [*-kyn*[1]] sorrowful.
pīr [*pyl* | N ~] old, aged, ancient.
 ~īh: age.
piring [*plng* | M *pryng*, (N *pirind*)] monochrome damask.
pist [*pst*[1] | N ~] browned flour.
pistag [*pstk*[1] | N *pista*] pistachio nut.
pišīz [*pšyc* | N ~] small copper coin, 'farthing'.
pōhišn [*pwhšn*[1]] corruption, decay.
pōlāwad [*pwl'p̄t*[1] | M *pwl'wd*, N *pōlād*] steel.
 ~ēn [*-yn*[1]] (made of) steel.
pondik [*pndk*[1] | Ar. *b/funduq*] hazel-nut.
pōr [*pwl* | N ~] francolin.
pōryōtkēš [*pwlyw(k)tkyš* = Av. *paoiryō.ṭkaēša-*] (one of) the first teachers of the Mazdean religion.
 ~īh: the primal doctrine of the Mazdean religion.
pōst [*pwst*[1] | = M, N ~] skin, hide; bark, shell.
 ~ēn [*-yn*[1] | N *~īn*] (made of) skin.
pōšīdan, pōš- [*pwš-ytn*[1] | N ~] cover, put on, wear.
 ~išn: covering.
potk [*pwtk*[1] | N ~] sledge-hammer.
poxtan, paz- [*APPWN-tn*[1] < A √ *'ph*; *pwhtn*[1], *pc-* | M *pwxtn*, N ~] cook, bake.
pōy- [*pwd-* | (P *pwd-*), N ~] run.
 ~išnīg: running.
pōz(ag) [*pwc(k*[1]*)* | N *pōz(a)*] snout, muzzle.
pūdag [*pwtk*[1] | N *pūda*] foul, rotten.
 ~īh: rottenness.
[1]**puhl** [*pwhl* | N *pul*] bridge.
[2]**puhl** [*pwhl*] expiation, atonement; punishment.
puhlēnīdan [*pwhlynytn*[1]] cause to atone.
purnāy [*pwln'd*] adult.
purr [*MALE* < A *mlh*; *pwl* | M *pwr*, N ~] full.
 ~-gāh [*-g's*] at the fullness of time, about to die.
 ~-māh [*-m'h*] full moon.
 ~-rawišnīh [*-lwbšnyh*] fullness.
 ~-sardag [*-sltk*[1]] of all kinds.
 ~-xwarrah [*-GDE*] full of glory.
pursīdan, purs- [*pwrs-ytn*[1] | M *pwrs-ydn*, N ~] ask. Bly 'pwrs-
 ~išn: question.
 ~išnīg: responsible.
pus [*BRE* < A *br-h*; *pws* | = M, N ~] son.
 ~ar [*BREl*, *pwsl* | M *pwsr*, N ~] son.
 ~yān [*pwsl'n*[1] | M *pwsy'n*] womb.
pušt [*pwšt*[1] | = M, N ~] back; support, protection.

puštag [*pwštk'*] load (carried on the back).
puštībān [*pwštykp'n'* | N ~] supporter, bodyguard.
~**īh**: support, protection.

R

rabīh [*lpyh* | M *rbyh*] noon, midday (heat).
rad [*lt'* | N ~] (spiritual) chief, master.
~**īh**: office of *rad*.
rād [*l't'* | P *r'd*, N ~] generous, liberal.
~**īh**: generosity, liberality.
radag [*ltk'* | M *rdg*, N *rada*] line, rank, row.
radōmand [*lt'wmnd*] having a *rad*.
rad-passāg [*ltps'k'*] ceremonies of the *gāhānbār* festivals.
radunay [*ltwny* = Av. *ratunaya-*] one under the guidance of a *rad*.
raftan, raw- [*SGYTWN-tn'* < A √ *sg'*; *lwb-* | M *rptn*, *rw-*, N ~] go, move, proceed.
~**išn**, v. **rawišn**.
raftār [*lpt'l* | N ~] goer.
rag [*lk'* | M *rg*, N ~] vein.
~**īh**: disposition, character.
ray [*lgȳ* | P *rg*] quick, swift.
rāy [*l'g* | N ~] meadow, plain.
rah [*ls*, *lẖ*, *lhȳ* | M *rh*(*y*)] chariot, wagon.
rah-, v. **rastan**.
rāh [*l's* | M *r'h*, N ~] road, way.
rahag [*lhk'* | P *rhg*] = **rag**.
rāh-dār [*l'sd'l* | N ~] brigand, highway robber.
~**īh**: brigandage.
rahīg [*lsyk'*, *lhyk'* | M *rhyg*, N *rahī*] child, page.
~**īh**: childhood.
rāh-nimāy [*l'snm'd* | (M *r'hnmwd'r*), N ~*numā*] guide.
rām [*l'm* | M *r'm*, N ~] peace; *cal.* 21st day.
ram(ag) [*lm*(*k'*) | P *rm*, N *ram*(*a*)] herd, flock.
rāmēnīdan, rāmēn- [*l'myn-ytn'* | M *r'myn-*] give peace, pleasure.
rāmišn [*l'mšn'* | M *r'myšn*, N *rāmiš*] peace, ease, pleasure.
~**īg** [*-yk'* | N ~*išī*] peaceful, at ease.
rān [*l'n'* | N ~] thigh.
P **rān-** [*l'n-*] fight.
randīdan, rand- [*lnd-ytn'* | N ~] scratch, grate, abrade.
rang [*lng* | M *rng*, N ~] colour, dye.
ranǰ [*lnc* | P *rnj*, (M *rnz*), N ~] toil, trouble.
~**ag** [*-k'* | N ~*a*] troubled.
ranǰēnīdan, ranǰēn- [*lncyn-ytn'*] trouble.

ranǰwar [*lncwl* | (M *rnzwr*), N *ranǰūr*] troubled, distressed.
rapihwin [*lpys-*, *lpyt-pyn*[1], *-wyn*[1] = Av. *rapiθβina-*] the afternoon *gāh*; south.
~**tar** [*-tl*] southern.
rasan [*lsn*[1] | N ~] rope.
rasēnīdan, rasēn- [*lsyn-ytn*[1]] bring.
rasīdan, ras- [*YHMTWN-tn*[1] < A *yhmṭwn*, √ *mṭ*'; *ls-ytn*[1] | M *rs-ydn*, N ~] arrive, mature.
rāspīg [*l'spyk*[1]] second officiating priest.
rāst [*l'st*[1] | M *r'st*, N ~] true, straight, direct.
~**īh**: truth.
rastag [*lstk*[1] | N *rasta*] series, row, progression; element.
rastan, rah- [*lstn*[1], *l(')h-* | N ~] escape.
rastārīh [*lst'lyh*] escape.
rasūg [*lswk*[1] | (N *rāsū*)] weasel.
Rašn [*lšn*[1] | M *ršn*, N ~] god of Justice; *cal.* 18th day.
raštan, *raz- [*lštn*[1]] colour, dye.
raw-, v. **raftan.**
rawāg [*lwb'k*[1] | N *rawā*] current.
~**īh**: currency.
rawāgēnīdan, rawāgēn- [*lwb'kyn-ytn*[1]] set in motion, propagate.
rawēnīdan, rawēn- [*SGYTWNyn-ytn*[1], v. **raftan**] cause to go, extend.
rawišn [*lwbšn*[1], *SGYTWNšn*[1], v. **raftan** | N *rawiš*] going, motion.
~**īh**: behaviour; *as a suffix, forms abstract nouns.*
rāy [*l'd* | M *r'y*, N *rā*] *postposition*, for, for the sake of.
rāyēnāg [*l'dyn'k*[1] | M *r'yn'g*] arranger.
rāyēnīdan, rāyēn- [*l'dyn-ytn*[1] | M *r'yn-ydn*] lead, direct, arrange, organize.
~**išn**: action, function; arrangement.
rāyēnīdārīh [*l'dynyt'lyh* | M *r'ynyd'ryh*] direction, organization.
rāyišn [*l'dšn*[1]] order, arrangement.
rāyōmand [*l'd'wmnd*] rich, majestic.
raz [*lc*, *lz* | N ~] vine; vineyard.
rāz [*l'c* | M *r'z*, N ~] secret, mystery.
~**īg** [*-yk*[1]] secret.
rāz-kirrōg [*l'c kylwk*[1] | M *r'z qrwg*] architect, builder.
razm [*lcm* | M *rzm*, N ~] battle.
~**-gāh** [*-g's* | P *-g'h*, (M *rzm'h*), N ~] battlefield.
razūr [*lcwl* | M *rzwr*] forest.
rēdak [*lytk*[1] | N ~] lad, page.
rēg [*lyk*[1] | N ~] sand.
rēm [*lym* | M *rym*, N ~] dirt, filth, purulence.
rēman [*lymn*[1] | M *rymn*, N ~] dirty, filthy, purulent.
~**īh**: filth.
[1]**rēš** [*lyš* | N ~] wound, sore.
[2]**rēš** [*lyš* | N ~] beard.

rēšag [*lyšk*[1] | N *rēša*] root, fibre.
rēšīdan, rēš- [*lyš-ytn*[1] | N ~] wound, hurt.
rēškēn [*lyškn*[1]] hurtful, harmful.
 ~īh: harmfulness.
rēxtan, rēz- [*lyhtn*[1], *lyc-* | P *ryxt*, M *ryz-*, N ~] flow, pour.
 ~išn: flow.
rīdan, riy- [*lytn*[1], *ld-* | N ~] defecate, void.
rist [*lyst*[1] | M *ryst*] dead.
[1]**ristag** [*lystk*[1]] corpse.
[2]**ristag** [*lystk*[1]] way, manner; sect.
rist-āxēz [*lyst'hyc* | M *ryst'hyz*, N ~] resurrection of the dead.
rištag [*l(y)štk*[1] | N ~*a*] rope, string, thread.
riy-, v. **rīdan.**
riyahrīh [*ld'hlyh*] scorn, mockery.
rōb [*lwp*] robbery.
rōb- [*lwp-* | N *ruftan*, ~] rub, sweep.
rōbāh [*TALE* < A *t'l'*; *lwp'h* | N ~] fox.
[1]**rōd** [*lwt*[1] | M *rwd*, N ~] river.
[2]**rōd** [*lwt*[1] | N ~] stringed instrument.
rōd-bār [*lwtb'l* | N ~] river bank.
rōdīg [*lwtyk*[1] | (N *rōda*)] intestine, gut; **~ān**, (*pl.*) entrails, guts.
rōyn [*M(H)ŠYA* < A *mšḥ'*; *lwkn*[1] | P *rwgn*, (M *rwyyn*), N *rauyan*] oil, butter.
 ~-xwardīg [*-hwltyk*[1]] sweetmeats.
rōn [*lwn*[1] | M *rwn*] direction.
 ō . . . ~: towards.
rōspīg [*lwspyk*[1] | N ~*ī*] whore.
 ~īh: whoredom.
rōstāg [*lw(t)st'k*[1] | (P *rwdyst'g*), N *rōstā*] river-bed; district, province.
rōšn [*lwšn*[1] | M *rwšn*, N *rōšan*] light; bright, light.
 ~īh: light.
rōšn|ag [*lwšnk*[1]] clear, obvious.
 ~gar [*-kl* | (P *-'gr*, M *-ygr*), N *-gar*] illuminator.
[1]**rōy** [*lwd* | M *rwy*, N ~] face.
[2]**rōy** [*lwd* | M *rwy*, N ~] copper, brass.
rōy-, **~išn**, v. **rustan.**
rōyan [*lwdyn*[1] | N ~] madder.
rōyēn [*lwdyn*[1] | M *r'wyn*, N *rōyīn*] (made of) copper, brazen.
rōz [*YWM* < A *ywm*; *lwc* | M *rwc/z*, N ~] day.
rōzag [*lwck*[1] | M *rwcg*, N *rōza*] fast, fasting.
rōzāg [*lwc'k*[1]] lightning.
rōzan [*lwcn*[1] | N ~] window.
rōz(b)ānag [*lwc(p)'nk*[1]] window.
rōzēnīdan, rōzēn- [*lwcyn-ytn*[1] | M *rwcyn-*] lighten, brighten.
rōzgār [*lwck'l* | N ~] daytime.
rōzīg [*lwcyk*[1] | N *rōzī*] daily bread, sustenance.

rōz-šabān [*YWM, lwc šp'n*[1] | N *šabān(a)rōz*] day and night.
rōzwārag [*lwcw'lk*[1]] daily, everyday.
rōz-ward [*lwcwlt*[1]] changeable, fickle.
rubūdan, rubāy- [*lpwtn*[1], *lp'd-* | M *rbwdn, rb'y-*, N ~] snatch, rob.
rūdan, rūn- [*lwtn*[1], *lwn-* | (N *rūda*)] pluck, pull out.
rūrag [*lwlk*[1]] medicinal plant, herb.
rustan, rōy- [*lwstn*[1], *lwd-* | M *rwst, rwy-*, N ~] grow.
 ~išn: growth.
ruwān [*lwb'n*[1] | M *rw'n*, N ~] soul.
 ~īg [*-yk*[1] | N *~ī*] spiritual.
ruzd [*lwzd* | M *rwzd*, N *razd*] greedy.
 ~īh: greed.

S

sabuk [*spwk*[1] | N ~] light, easy.
sabz [*spz, sbz* | N ~] green, fresh.
sad [*100* | M *sd*, N ~] hundred.
Sadwēs [*stwys* | M *sdwys*] a star (Fomalhaut ?).
[1]**sag** [*KLBA* < A *klb'* | N ~] dog.
[2]**sag** [*sk*[1]] stone.
sāg [*s'k* | P *s'g*] number.
sagēn [*skyn*[1] | M *sygyn*] stony.
sagr [*sgl* | N *sēr*] sated, satiate.
 ~īh: satiety.
sahīg [*shyk*[1] | M *shyg*, N *sahī*] worthy.
 ~īh: worthiness.
sahistan, sah- [*MDMEN-stn*[1] = A *mdmh*, √*dmh* | (M *shyd, s'y-*)] seem; seem proper.
 ~išn: satisfaction.
sahm [*shm* | = M, N ~] terror.
 ~gēn [*-k(y)n*[1] | N *~gīn*] terrible.
 ~genīh: terribleness.
sahōg [*shwk*[1]] hare.
sāk [*s'k*[1] | (N *sāw*)] tribute.
sāl [*ŠNT* < A *šnt* | (M *s'r*), N ~] year.
-sālag [*ŠNTk*[1], *s'lk*[1] | N *-sāla*] . . . -years-old.
 ~īh: age (of . . . years).
sālār [*srd'l* | M *s'l'r, s'r'r*, N ~] leader, master.
 ~īh: authority.
sālwār [*s'lw'l*] perennial.
sāmān [*s'm'n*[1] | = M, N ~] limit, boundary.
 ~ōmand [*-'wmnd* | M *-wmnd*] bounded.
samōr [*smwl* | N ~] sable (marten).
sān [*s'n*[1] | N ~] kind, manner.

sang [*KYPA* < A *kyp'*; *CCA* (in error); *sng* | (P *'sng*), N ~] stone, rock.
~**sār** [-*s'l*] stony place.
sanǰ-, v. **saxtan.**
sanwar [*snwl* = Av. *θanwar-*] bow.
sar [*LOYŠE* < A *r'šh*; *sl* | M *sr*, N ~] head; top, summit; end, beginning.
sarāsar [*sl'sl* | N ~] from end to end.
sard [*slt*[1] | M *srd*, N ~] cold.
~**īh**: coldness.
sardag [*sltk*[1] = Av. *sarəδa-* | (M *s'rg*), J *srdg*] sort, kind.
sardsēr [*sltsyl* | N ~] cold region, uplands.
sārēnīdan, sārēn- [*s'lyn-ytn*[1]] provoke.
sargēn [*slgyn*[1] | N *sargīn*] dung, manure.
sarmāg [*slm'k*[1] | N *sarmā*] coldness.
sarw [*slw(b)*[1] | M *srw*, N ~] cypress.
sās [*s's* | N ~] bug.
sāstār [*s'st'l* | P *s'st'r*] commander; tyrant.
~**īh**: tyranny.
Sawah [*sw'h* = Av. *sawahī-*] the western continent of the earth.
saxt [*s(')ht*[1] | N ~] strong, hard, severe(ly); very.
~**īh**: strength, severity.
saxtag [*shtk*[1] | (N *saxtiyān*)] morocco leather.
saxtan, sanǰ- [*s'htn*[1], *snc-* | N ~] weigh.
sāxtan, sāz- [*s'htn*[1], *s'c-* | (P *s'c-*), N ~] make, prepare; tolerate.
sāxtārīh [*s'ht'lyh*] toleration, forbearance.
saxwan [*MRYA* < A *mly'*; *shwn*[1] | M *sxwn*, N *suxan*] word, speech.
sāy-, v. **sūdan.**
sāyag [*s'dk*[1] | M *s'yg*, N *sāya*] shade, shadow.
[1]**saz-** [*sc-* | M *sz-*, N ~] be fitting, proper, worthy.
~**išn(īh)**: fitness, worthiness.
[2]**saz-**, ~**išn**, v. **sazistan.**
sāz-, v. **sāxtan.**
sazāg [*sc'k* | N *sazā*] fitting, worthy.
~**īh**: fitness, worthiness.
~**wār** [-*w'l* | N *sazāwār*] = **sazāg.**
sazistan, [2]**saz-** [*sc-stn*[1]] pass.
~**išn**: passing, transience.
~**išnīg**: transient, perishable, mortal.
sě [*ʒ*; *TLTA* < A *tlt'* | M *sh*, N *si*] three.
sēb [*syb* | N ~] apple.
sēǰ [*syc* = Av. [1]*θyejah-* | N ~] danger, trouble.
~**ōmand** [-*'wmnd* | N ~*mand*] dangerous.
sel [*sl* | N ~] spear, javelin.
sēm [*sym* | N ~] = **asēm.**
[1]**sēn(ag)** [*syn(k)*[1] | N *sīna*] breast, chest.
[2]**sēn murw** [*synmwlw* | (N *sīmurγ*)] a fabulous bird.

se-pāy [*ʒ-p'd* | N *sipā*] three-legged.
sēr, v. **sagr.**
se-šabag [*ʒ-špk*[1]] three-night-long, trinoctial.
seyom [*ʒwm* | N ~] -third (*in compound numerals*).
sēzd [*s(y)zd* | P *syzd*, (N *sēz[agī?*)] might, tyranny; tyrannous.
sēzdah [*sycdh* | M *syzdh*, N ~] thirteen.
sēzdēn [*s(y)zdyn*[1] | P *syzdyn*] mighty, tyrannous.
sī [*sy*] goose.
sidīg(ar) [*styk*[1], *-kl* | M *sdyg*, N *sidīgar*] third.
sīh [*ʒo* | M *syh*, N *sī*] thirty.
~**om** [*-wm*] thirtieth.
sik [*HLYA* < A *ḥl'*; *sk* | N ~] vinegar.
sīsīmbar [*sysymbl*, *-nbl* | N *sīsambar*] sisymbrium, wild-thyme.
***Skandar** [*swkndl* | N *sikandar*] = **Aleksandar.**
snāh [*sn'h*] blow, strike, violence.
sneh [*snyh*] sword.
snēxr [*snyhl*] snow.
snēzag [*snyck*[1]] snow.
snōy [*snwd*] (rain-, snow-)cloud.
sōfistā [*swkpst'k*[1]] sophist.
[1]**sōg** [*swk*[1]] use, profit, advantage.
[2]**sōg** [*swk*[1]] burning, combustion.
[3]**sōg** [*swk*[1] | N *sō(y)*] side, direction.
sōgand [*swknd* | M *swgnd*, N *saugand*] oath.
~ **xwardan:** take, swear an oath.
sōhistan, sōh- [*swh-stn*[1]] touch, feel.
~**išn:** feeling, sense.
~**išnīg:** feeling, sensitive.
sōr [*swl*] salty.
~**ag** [*-k*[1]] salt (land).
sōsan [*swsn*[1] | N ~] lily.
Sōšyans [*swkšydns* = Av. *saošyās*] saviour (especially the final Saviour who will bring about the *frašagird*).
sōxtan, sōz- [*swhtn*[1], *swc-* | M *swxt*, *swc-*, N ~] burn.
~**išn:** burning, combustion.
~**išnīg:** burning, flaming.
sōzāg [*swc'k*[1] | M *swc'gyn*, N *sōzā*] burning.
sōzan [*swcn*[1] | N ~] needle.
spāh [*sp'h* | N *sipāh*] army.
~**bed** [*-pt*[1] | N *-bud*] general, commander.
spandān [*spnd'n*[1] | N *sip~*] mustard seed.
Spandarmad [*spndrmt*[1]] N *isfandārmuδ*] Holy Thought, the fourth Amahraspand, earth goddess; *cal.* 12th month; 5th day.
spar [*spl* | M *'spr*, N *sipar*] shield.
spar-, v. **spurdan.**
spās [*sp's* | M *'s-*, *'sp's*, N *sipās*] service, gratitude, thanks.

spās dāštan, ~ hangārdan: thank, give thanks.
spās-dār [*sp'sd'l* | N *sip~*] grateful, thankful.
~īh: gratitude.
spās|-ešnās [*sp'sšn's*] grateful.
~ōmand [*-'wmnd*] grateful.
spāš [*sp'š* = Av. *θβāša-*] space, atmosphere.
spaxr [*sp'hl* | M *'spxr*, N **siparx*] merrymaking, revelry.
spazg [*spzg* | (M *'spgj*), N *sipazg-*] slanderous.
~īh: slander.
spēd [*spyt'* | M *'spyd*, N *sapēd*] white.
~ag [*-k'* | N *-a*] white (of egg, etc.).
~bāg [*-p'k'* | N *-bā*] curd soup.
~-dār [*-d'l* | N *-dār*] white poplar, aspen.
spenāg [*sp(y)n'k'* = Av. *spənta-*, cf. **gannāg**] holy.
~ mēnōg: the Good Spirit.
spīg [*spyk'* | M *'spyg*, (N *saprīγ*)] 1. brilliance; 2. sprout, shoot.
spihr [*spy(y)hl* | (M *'spyr*), N *sipihr*] sphere, sky, firmament, fate.
~īg [*-yk'*] heavenly.
spinjānagīh [*spnc'nkyh*] hospitality.
spiš [*spyš* | (N *šipiš*)] louse.
Spitāmān [*spyt'm'n*] of the Spitama family.
spīz- [*spyc-* | M *'spyxtn*, *'spyz-*] 1. shine; 2. sprout.
~išn: 1. brilliance; 2. sprouting.
spōxtan, spōz- [*spwhtn'*, *spwc-* | M *'spwxt*, N *sip~*] thrust; overstep, disobey; delay, reject.
~išn: delay, rejection; disobedience.
spōz [*spwc* | N *sipōz*] disobedience; delay.
~gār [*-k'l* | N ~] disobedient; dilatory.
sprahm(ag) [*splhm(k')* | M *'sprhm(g)*, N *siparham*] flower, fragrant herb.
spul [*spwl*] spleen.
spurdan, spar- [*spwltn'*, *spl-* | N *sip~*] tread, trample.
spurrīg [*spwlyk'* | (M *'spwr*), N *siparī*] entire, complete, perfect.
~īh: completeness, perfection.
spurz [**splz* | P **'spwrz*, N *sipurz*] spleen.
srat [*slt'* | cf. Ar. *sirāṭ*] street.
sraw [*slwb'*] word, spell.
srawēnīdan, srawēn- [*slwbyn-ytn'*] report, broadcast.
sraxtag [*slhtk'* = Av. *sraxti-*] side, part.
srāy [*sl'd* | N *sarāy*] house, hall.
¹srāy-, ~išn, v. **srūdan.**
srāyīdan, ²srāy- [*sl'd-ytn'* = Av. *θrāya-*] protect.
~išn: protection.
srešk [*sl(y)šk'* | (P *srsk*), N *sirišk*] drop, tear.
srištan, *srēš- [*slštn'* | P *sryš-*, N *sir~*] mix, knead.
srišwadag [*slyšwtk'* = Av. *θrišwa-*] a third.
srōd [*slwt'* | M *srwd*, N *surōd*] song.

Srōš [*slwš* | M *srwš*, N *surōš*] the god Obedience; *cal.* 17th day.
~īg [*-yk*'] obedient.
srū [*slwb*' | N *surū(n)*] horn, nail, prong.
srub [*sl(w)p* | N *usrub*] lead.
~ēn [*-yn*'] leaden.
srūdan, srāy- [*slwtn*', *sl'd-* | M *sr'y-*, N *sur~*] sing, recite, play (an instrument).
~išn(īh): singing, recitation.
srūwar [*slwbwl*] horned.
srūwēn [*slwbyn*'] horny.
stabr [*stpl* | M *'stbr*, N *sitabr*] big, coarse, strong.
~īh: coarseness; strength, force.
stabrag [*stplk*' | Ar. *istabraq*] shot silk.
stadan, stān- [*YNSBWN-tn*' < A *ynsbwn*, √ *nsb* | M *'std*, *'st'n-*, N *sit~*] take.
staft [*stpt*' | M *'stpt*] hard, firm; harsh, tyrannous; very.
stahm [*sthm* | N *sitam*] power, oppression.
~ag [*-k*'] strong, oppressive.
~(ag)īh: oppression.
stambag [*sthmbk*' (*-h-* < **stahm**) | M *'stmbg*, N *sitamba*] oppressive; obstinate.
~īh: oppression; obstinacy.
stān-, v. **stadan.**
star [*stl*] = **stārag.**
stārag [*st'lk*' | M *'st'rg*, N *sitāra*] star.
stard [*st'lt*'] stunned, stupefied, confounded.
~īh: stupidity, stupefaction.
star-ōšmār, -ōšmur [*stl'wšm'l*, *-'wšmwl*] astrologer.
starwan [*stlwn*' | N *sit~*] barren, childless.
stāyīdan [*st'dytn*' | M *'st'yd*, N *sit~*] = **stūdan.**
stēγ [*styk*' | N *sitēy*] erect.
stēndag [*styndk*'] standing, erect.
stēr [*styl* | N *sitēr*] stater.
stēzag [*styck*' | M *'styz-*, N *sitēza*] quarrel, strife.
stī [*sty(ȳ)* = Av. *sti-*] being, existence.
stō [*stwb*' | (P *'stwb*, N *sutōh*)] distressed, defeated.
~wīh: distress.
stōr [*stwl* | P *'stwr*, N *sutōr*] horse, mount; large cattle.
~bān [*-p'n*' | N *-bān*] (head) groom.
~gāh [*-g's*] stable.
***stōš** [*stwš*] the fourth morning after death.
stōwēnīdan, stōwēn- [*stwbyn-ytn*'] defeat, overcome.
stōwīh, v. **stō.**
stūdan, stāy- [*stwtn*', *st'd-* | M *'stwd*, *'st'y~*, N *sit~*] praise.
~išn: praise.
~išnīg: praiseworthy.

stūn(ag) [*stwn(k)*[1] | M *'stwn*, N *sutūn*] column, pillar, mast.
stūr [*stwl*] trustee, curator, guardian.
 ~īh: trusteeship.
sturg [*stwlg* | N *suturg*] fierce, contentious; gross, coarse.
sūd [*swt*[1] | M *swd*, N ~] use, profit, advantage.
sudāb [*st'p̌* | N ~] rue.
sūd-abgār [*swt'p̌k'l*] profitable.
sūdag [*swtk*[1]] negligent, indolent.
 ~īh: negligence, indolence.
sūdan, sāy- [*swtn*[1], *s'd-* | N ~] rub.
sūd(ō)mand [*swt('w)mnd* | N *sūdmand*] useful.
suft [*swpt*[1] | N ~] shoulder.
suftan, sumb- [*swptn*[1], *swmb-* | N ~] pierce, bore.
sumb [*swmb*[1] | N ~] hoof.
[1]**sūr** [*swl* | M *swr*, N ~] meal, feast, banquet.
[2]**sūr** [*swl*] strong.
sūrāg [*swl(')k*[1]] hole, burrow.
 ~īg [*-yk*[1]] burrowing (animal).
 ~ōmand [*-'wmnd*] holed.
sūrāx [*swl'h* | N ~] hole.
sust [*swst*[1] | = M, N ~] slack, lazy.
 ~īh: slackness, laziness.
[1]**suš** [*swš* | (N *šuš*)] lung.
***suš** [*swš*] degree (of arc).
suxr [*swhl* | N *surx*] red.
suy [*swd* | M *swy-*] hunger.
***swahistan, swah-** [*swh-stn*[1] | P *swh-*] sigh.
syā [*syd'* | (P *sy'w*, N *siyāh*)] black.
 ~hag [*-hk*[1] | N *-a*] pupil (of eye).

Š

šab [*LYLYA* < A *lyl(y)'*; *šp* | M *šb*, N ~] night. BSogd. ʒ šp h
 ~ag [*špk*[1] | N *~a*] 1. jet, obsidian; 2. . . . . -nights-long.
 ~estān [*špst'n*[1] | N ~] gynaeceum, private apartments.
šabīg [*špyk*[1] | N *šabī*] (Mazdean's ritual) under-shirt.
šabīxōn [*špyhwn*[1] | N *~xūn*] night raid.
šād [*š't*[1] | M *š'd*, N ~] happy, joyful.
 ~īh: happiness, joy.
šādurwān [*š't'wlw'n*[1] | N ~] dais, platform; basin, pond, fountain.
šafšēr [*špšyl* | M *šfšyr*] = **šamšēr**.
šagr [*šgl* | M *šgr*, N *šēr*] lion; *astr.* Leo.
P **šah-** [*šh-* | = P] be able, can.

šāh [*MLKA* < A *mlk'*; *šh* | M *š'h*, N ~] king.
~**ān šāh** [*MLKAn MLKA* | N ~] king of kings.
~-**balūt** [*šhblwt'* | N ~] chestnut.
~-**dānag** [-*d'nk'* | N ~*dāna*] hemp-seed.
~-**esprahm** [-*splhm* | N ~*isparam*] basil royal.
šāhīgān [*šhyk'n'* | M *š'hyg'n*] palace.
šahr [*štr'* | M *šhr*, N ~] land, country; city.
~**estān** [*MDYNA* < A *mdyn'*; *štr'st'n'* | M *šhrst'n*, N ~] province; capital, city.
Šahrewar [*štrywr* | N ~] Best Rule, the third Amahraspand, guardian of metals; *cal.* 6th month; 4th day.
šahryār [*štr'd'l* | M *šhry'r*, N ~] lord, sovereign, ruler.
~**īh**: dominion, reign, sovereignty.
šāhwār [*šhw'l* | P *š'hw'r*, N ~] royal, kingly.
šakar [*škl* | M *šqr*, N ~] sugar.
šalwār [*šlw'l* | N ~] trousers.
šām [*š'm* | = P, N ~] evening meal, supper.
šambalīdag [*šmblytk'* | N *šambalīd*, *-līla*] fenugreek.
šamšēr [*šmšyl* | N ~] sword.
šan [*šn'* | N ~] hemp.
šānag [*š'nk'* | N ~*a*] 1. comb; 2. pitchfork; 3. shoulder-blade.
šanēn [*šnyn'*] hempen.
šarm [*šlm* | M *šrm*, N ~] shame.
~-**gāh** [-*g's* | N ~] pudenda.
~**gēn** [-*k(y)n'* | N ~*gīn*] ashamed.
šasab [*šsp* | (P *šhrb*)] satrap.
~**īgān** [-*yk'n'*] satrapal.
šast [*60*| M *šst*, N ~] sixty.
šaš [*ŠTA* < A *št* | M *šš*, N ~] six.
šaw-, v. **šudan.**
***šawāg** [*šwb'k'*] bat, flittermouse.
šāyendag [*š'dyndk'*] able, worthy.
~**īh**: ability, worthiness.
šāyistan, šāy- [*š'd-stn'* | M *š'y-*, N ~] be able; be worthy.
šāyēd [*š'(d)yt'* | N *šāyad*] one can, it is possible.
šāzdah [*š'cdh* | M *š'zdh*, N *šānzdah*] sixteen.
šēb [*šyp* | N ~] declivity.
šēb- [*šyp-* | M *šyb*, N ~] move quickly; be confused.
~**āg** [-*'k'* | N ~*ā*] swift, nimble; viper.
~**išn**: confusion.
šēd [*šyt'* | N ~] bright; sorrel (horse).
***šēdā** [*šyt'y*] bliss.
šēr, v. **šagr.**
šēwan [*šywn'* | N ~] lament.
šiftālūg [*špt'lwk'* | (P *šyft* 'milk'), N *šaftālū*] peach.
šiftēnag [*šp!ynk'* | (P *šyftyn* 'sweet')] a sweetmeat.

šimšār [*šmš'l* | N ~] box tree.
šīr [*HLBA* < A *ḥlb'*; *šyl* | M *šyyr*, N ~] milk.
šīrēn [*šylyn*[1] | M *šyryn*, N ~*īn*] sweet.
~**īh**: sweetness.
šīšag [*šyšk*[1] | N *šīša*] bottle, flask.
škaft [*škpt*[1]] = **škeft.**
škāftan, škāf- [*šk'p-tn*[1] | M *'šk'pt*, N *šikāftan*] split, burst.
škarag [*šklk*[1] | P *'škr-*] (bird) of prey.
škarwīdan, škarw- [*šklw-ytn*[1] | M *'škrw-st*, N *šikarfīdan*] stumble, stagger.
škastan, šken(n)- [*TBLWN-tn*[1] < A √ *tbr*; *škstn*[1], *škyn-* | M *'škn-*, N *šikastan*, *šikan-*] break.
~**išn**: breaking.
škēbāg [*škyp'k*[1] | P *'škyb-*, N *šikēbā*] patient.
~**īh**: patience.
škeft [*škypt*[1] | P *'škyft*, N *šigift*] hard; extraordinary, astonishing; very.
~**īh**: hardness; hardship, distress; astonishment.
šken(n)-, ~**išn**, v. **škastan.**
ških- [*škyh-* | N *šikih-*] be broken.
škōf-, v. **škuftan.**
škōfag [*škwpk*[1] | N *šukōfa*] flower, blossom.
škoft [*škwpt*[1]] = **škeft.**
[1]**škōh** [*škwh* | M *'škwh*] poor.
~**īh**: poverty.
[2]**škōh** [*škwh* | N *šukōh*] dignity, majesty; fear.
škuftan, škōf- [*škwp-tn*[1] | N *šukuftan*] flower, blossom.
šnās-, v. **šnāxtan.**
šnāsag [*šn'sk*[1] | P *'šn'sg*] knowing, knower; sense.
~**īh**: knowledge.
šnāxtan, šnās- [*šn'htn*[1], *šn's-* | M *'šn'xtn*, *'šn s-*, N *šin*~] know, recognize.
šnāyēnīdan, šnāyēn- [*šn'dyn-ytn*[1]] please, propitiate.
~**išn**: happiness.
šnāyīdan, šnāy- [*šn'd-ytn*[1]] praise, propitiate.
~**išn**: praise, gratitude.
šnāz [*šn'c* | (N *šinā(w)*)] swimming.
šnāzīdan, šnāz- [*šn'c-ytn*[1] | M *'šn'z-*, (N *šināw-*)] swim.
šnōhr [*šnwhl* | M *'šnwhr*] gratitude, contentment.
šnōmag [*šnwmk*[1] | M *'šnwm-*] satisfaction, contentment.
šnōšag [*šnwšk*[1] | N *šunōša*] sneeze.
šnūg [*šnwk*[1] | M *'šnwg*] knee.
šnūman [*šnwmn*[1] = Av. *xšnūmaine*] propitiation.
šōn [*šwn*[1]] kind, manner.
~**īg** [*-yk*[1]] customary, ordinary.
šōy-, v. **šustan.**
šōy [*šwd* | N ~] husband.

~mand [*-mnd*] married (woman).
šubān [*šp'n*[1] | P *šwb'n*, N ~] shepherd.
šudan, šaw- [*OZLWN-tn*[1] < A √ *'zl*; *šwb-* | M *šwdn, šw-*, N ~] go.
šus[a]r [*šwsl* = Av. *xšuδra-*] liquid, fluid; semen.
šustan, šōy- [*HLLWN-tn*[1] < A √ *ḥll* | M *šwst, šwy-*, N ~] wash.
šuy [*šwd*] hunger.

T

tā [*OD* < A *'d* | (M *d'*), N ~] until; so that.
tab [*tp* | N ~] fever.
tab-, ~išn, v. **taftan.**
tāb-, ~išn, v. **tāftan.**
tābag [*t'p̌k*[1] | N *tāba*] frying-pan.
tabāh [*tp'h* | N ~] ruined, spoilt, destroyed.
~īh: ruin, destruction.
tabāhīhistan, tabāhīh- [*tp'hyh-stn*[1] | J *tb'hh-*] be ruined.
tabangōg [*tpngwk*[1] | N *tabangō*] box, chest.
tabarzad [*tplzt*[1] | N ~] manna.
tābestān [*t'p̌st'n*[1] | N ~] summer.
tābīdan [*t'p̌ytn*[1] | N ~] = **tāftan.**
tadan, tan- [*ttn*[1], *tn-* | N *tan-*] spin (thread).
tadar(w) [*ttl* | (N *taδarw*)] pheasant.
taftan, tab- [*tp-tn*[1]] grow hot; shine.
~išn: heat, fever.
tāftan, tāb- [*t'p̌-tn*[1] | P *t'b-*, N ~] heat, burn; shine.
~išn: burning.
taftīg [*tptyk*[1] | (P *tft*)] burning, ardent, fervent.
tag [*tk*[1] | N ~] running, attack.
~ kardan abar, ō: attack.
[1]tāg [*t'k*[1] | N *tā*] item, unit; alone, single.
[2]tāg [*t'k*[1] | N *tā*] branch.
tagarg [*tklg* | M *tgrg*, N ~] hail.
tagīg [*tkyk*[1]] swift, strong.
~īh: speed, strength.
tah [*th* | N ~] bottom.
takōk [*tkwk*[1] | N ~] drinking vessel.
talag [*tlk*[1] | N *tala*] snare, trap.
~-čīn [*-cyn*[1]] fowler.
tambūr [*tm-, tnbwl* | N ~] cither, lute.
~ag [*-k*[1]] tambour (?).
tan [*tn*[1] | = M, N ~] body, person.
tan-, v. **taḏan.**
***tanāpuhl** [*tn'p̌whl* = Av. *tanu.pərəθa-* | (N *tanāfūr*)] a degree of sin.

tan-bahr [*tn'b'hl*] physique.
tand [*tnd* | = P] faint, languishing.
 ~īh: faintness, langour.
tan-drust [*tn'drw(y)st'* | N ~] healthy, whole.
 ~īh: health.
tang [*tng* | = M, N ~] narrow, tight.
 ~īh: narrowness; distress.
tanīg [*tn'yk'* | N *tanī*] bodily, corporal.
tanīgard(īg) [*tnykrt(yk)'* | M *tnygyrd*] corporeal.
tanīhā [*tn'yh'* | M *tnyh'*, N *tanhā*] alone.
tanōmand [*tn''wmnd* | N ~] corporeal.
 ~īh: corporeality.
tan-tōhmag [*tn'twhmk'*] (sap) of plants.
tanuk [*tnwk'* | N ~] thin, shallow.
tanūr [*tnwl* | M *tnwr*, N ~] oven.
tar [*LCDr'* < A *l-ṣd*; *tl* | M *tr*] over, through, across.
 ~ kardan, ~ menīdan: abuse, despise.
-tar [*-tl* | (M *-dr*), N ~] *suffix forming comparative adjectives.*
tār [*t'l* | M *t'r*] darkness.
tarāzēnīdan, tarāzēn- [*tl'cyn-ytn'*] weigh.
tarāzūg [*tl'cwk'* | (P *tl'zwg*), N *tarāzū*] balance, scales; *astr.* Libra.
targ [*tlg* | N ~] helmet.
targumān [*tlgm'n'* | M *trgwm'n*] interpreter.
tārīg/k [*t'lyk'* | M *t'ryg*, N *tārīk*!] dark.
 ~īh: darkness.
tarist [*tlst'*] = **tar.**
tar-mānīh [*tlm'nyh*] perversity.
tar-menišn [*tlmynšn'* | N *tarmaništ*] perverse; contemptuous.
 ~īh: perversity; contempt.
tarr [*tl*, *LCDr* (in error, v. **tar**) | N ~] moist, fresh.
 ~ag [*tlk'* | N ~*a*] vegetable.
tars [*tls* | M *trs*, N ~] fear, respect.
tarsāg [*tls'k'* | M *trs'g*, N *tarsā*] Christian.
tarsāgāh [*tls(')k's*] respectful, reverent.
 ~īh: respect, reverence.
tarsīdan, tars- [*tls-ytn'* | (M *tyrs'dn*), N ~] fear, be afraid.
tarwēnīdan, tarwēn- [*tlwyn-ytn'* | M *trw-*] overcome, conquer.
tās [*t's* | N ~] die (for gaming).
tasum [*tswm* | = M] fourth.
tāšīdan, tāš- [*t'š-ytn'*] cut, cleave; create.
taškanag [*tšknk'*] under-shirt.
tašt [*tšt'* | N ~] bowl.
tāšt [*t'št'*] *certainty.
 ~īg [*-yk'*] certain.
tāwān [*t'(d)w'n'* | N ~] compensation, obligation.
taxl [*t'hl* | (M *thr*), P *txl*, N *talx*] bitter.

~īh: bitterness.
taxt [*t'ht*[1] | N ~] throne.
~ag [*-k*[1] | N *~a*] tablet, plank, (chess) board.
taxtan, taz- [*t'htn*[1], *tc-* | M *txtn, tz-*] run, flow.
~išnīh: flow.
tāxtan, tāz- [*t'htn*[1], *t'c-* | M *t'c-*, N ~] cause to run, flow; chase; pour.
taxt-gāh [*t'htg'h* | N ~] couch.
taz-, ~išnīh, v. **taxtan.**
tāz-, v. **tāxtan.**
tazāg [*tc'k*[1]] flowing, running.
tāzānag [*t'c'nk*[1] | N *tāz(y)āna*] whip.
tazēnīdan, tazēn- [*tcyn-ytn*[1]] = **tāxtan.**
tazīdan, taz- [*tc-ytn*[1]] = **taxtan.**
[1]**tāzīg** [*t'cyk*[1] | N *tāzī*] swift, fast.
[2]**Tāzīg** [*t'cyk*[1] | N *tāzī*] Arab.
tēmār [*tym'l* | M *tym'r*, N ~] sorrow, grief, care.
[1]**tērag** [*tylk*[1] | N *tēra*] dark, turbid.
[2]**tērag** [*tylk*[1]] (mountain) peak, summit.
tēx [*tyh* | N *tēy*] sharp edge, ridge; ray.
[1]**tēz** [*tyc* | M *tyz*, N ~] quick.
~īh: speed.
[2]**tēz** [*tyc* | (P *tyj*), N ~] sharp.
~īh: sharpness.
***tīdag** [*tytk*[1] | (N *dīda*)] pupil (of eye).
tīgr [*HTYA* < A *ḥṭy'*; *tgl* | M *tygr*, N *tīr*] arrow.
***tīhōg** [*tyhwk*[1] | N *tīhū*] small grey partridge.
tīr, v. **tīgr.**
Tīr [*tyl* | M *tyr*, N ~] a god (confused with Tištar); *astr.* Mercury; *cal.* 4th month; 13th day.
tis [*MNDOM* < A *mnd'm*; *ts* | M, J *tys*] thing, affair.
~-iz [*-c* | M *-yc*] (*with a negative*) no . . . at all.
tišn [*tyšn*[1]] thirst.
tišnag [*tyšnk*[1] | M *tyšng*, N *~a*] thirsty.
~īh: thirst.
Tištar [*tyštl* | N ~] *astr.* Sirius.
tō [*LK* < A *l-k* | M *tw*, N *tu*] thou, thee.
***tōf** [*twp* | N *tō*] layer.
tōhmag [*twhmk*[1] | M *twhmg*, N *tuxma*] seed; stock, family.
tom [*t(w)m* | M *tm*, N *tam*] darkness.
-tom [*-twm* | (M *-dwm*)] *suffix forming superlative adjectives.*
tōm [*twm* | (M *twhm*, N *tuxm*)] seed, family.
tōrag [*twlk*[1] | N *tōra*] jackal.
tōšag [*twšk*[1] | N *tōša*] provisions.
tōxtan, tōz- [*twhtn*[1], *twc-* | M *twz-*, N ~] atone, expiate.
~išn: atonement, expiation.
tōz [*twc* | N ~] bark, skin.

tru(f)š [*tlw(p)š* | (P *tryfš*), N *turš*] sour.
truftag [*tlwptk*ˡ] stolen; intercalary (days).
tuhīg [*twhyk*ˡ | M *twhyg*, N *tuhī*] empty, vain.
 ~īh: emptiness, void.
tumbag [*twmbk*ˡ | N *~a*] drum.
tund [*twnd* | N ~] sharp, violent.
 ~īh: violence, vehemence.
Tūr [*twl* | N ~] one of a people inimical to Erān, Turanian.
 ~ān [-ʾ*n*ˡ | N ~] (land of) the Turanians.
Turk [*twlk*ˡ | N ~] Turk.
tušt [*twšt*ˡ] silent.
tuwān [*twbʾn*ˡ | M *twʾn*, N ~] might, power.
 ~ (+*infinitive*): it is possible to, one can.
 ~āg [-ʾ*k*ˡ | N *~ā*] mighty, able.
 ~gar [-*ḵl* | N ~] rich.
 ~garīh: richness, wealth.
 ~īg [-*yk*ˡ] able.
 ~īgīh: ability, power.
 ~-sāmān [-*sʾmʾn*ˡ] the extent of one's ability.
tuxšāg [*twhšʾk*ˡ | M *twxšʾg*, N *tuxšā*] diligent.
 ~īh: diligence, endeavour.
tuxšīdan, tuxš- [*twhš-ytn*ˡ | (M *twxšʿyst*), N ~] strive, endeavour.
 ~išn: endeavour, striving.

U

u- [*AP̲-* < A *ʾp* | M *ʾw-*] = **ud** (*when followed by a suffixed pronoun*, e.g. **u-š**).
ud [*W* < A *w* | M *ʾwd*, N *u*] and.
udrag [*ʾwdlk*ˡ = Av. *udra-*] otter.
ul [*LALA* < A *l-ʿl*ʾ | M *ʾwl*] up(wards).
 ~ āmadan: rise.
 ~īh: upward direction.
ul-āmadān [*LALA YATWNtʾn*ˡ, *ʾwlʾmtʾn*ˡ] *astr.* ascendant.
***ul-drafš**, v. **xurdruš.**
ummēd [*ʾwmyt*ˡ | N ~] hope.
 ~wār [-*wʾl* | N ~] hopeful.
Urdwahišt [*ʾwrtwhšt*ˡ] = **Ardwahišt.**
Urišlīm [*ʾwlyšlym* | N ~] Jerusalem.
urmōd [*ʾwlmwt*ˡ | (N *amrōd*)] pear.
***uruspar** [*ʾwlwspl* = Av. *uruθβar-*] intestines, womb; core, essence.
urwāhm(an) [*ʾwlwʾhm(n*ˡ) | M *ʾwrwʾhm-*] joyful.
 ~īh: joy, pleasure, delight.
urwar [*ʾwlwl* | M *ʾwrwr*] plant(s), vegetable.

***urwāzistan, urwāz-** [*'wlw'c-* = Av. *urwāza-*] rejoice.
~išn: rejoicing, happiness.
uskārdan, uskār- [*'wsk'l-tn'* | J ~, (N *sigāl-*)] think, consider, discuss.
~išn(īh): consideration, reflection.
uspurrīg [*'wspwlyk'*] = **spurrīg**.
us(t)ōfrīt [*'ws(t)wplyt'* = Av. *usəfriti-*] offering.
ušahin [*'wšhyn'* = Av. *ušahina-*] the night *gāh*.
ušnūg [*'wšnwk'*] = **šnūg**.
uštān [*'wšt'n'* = Av. *uštāna-*] soul, ghost.
~īh: vitality.
~ōmand [*-'wmnd*] living, animate.
uštar [*GMRA* < A *gml'*; *'wštl* | N *uštur*] camel.
~-gāw-palang [*'wštlg'ppln*g | N ~] giraffe.
uzdehīg [*'wc-*, *'wzdhyk'* | M *'wzdh*] exiled; foreign.
~īh: exile.
uzdēs [*'wc-*, *'wzdys* | M *'wzdys*] idol.
~-parist [*-plst'* | M *-pryst*] idolater.
~-paristišnīh: idolatry.
~zār [*-c'l* | M *-c'r*] idol-temple.
uzēnag [*'wcynk'* | N *hazīna*] expense, cost; exit.
uzērin [*'wz('))ylyn'* = Av. *uzayeirina-*] the evening *gāh*.
uzīdan [*'wcytn'* | M *'wzyd*, *'wzyh-*] go out.
uzmūdan, uzmāy- [*'wzmwtn'*, *'wzm'd-*] prove, test, try.
~išn: testing.
uzumburd [*'wzmbwlt'* | N *zumurrud*] emerald.
uzwān [*ŠNA* < A *lšn'*; *'wzw'n'* | M *'zw'n*, (N *zabān*)] tongue, language
uzwārdan, uzwār- [*'wzw'l-tn'* | M *'zw'rdn*] know, understand.
~išn: understanding; '*huzwarish*'.

W

wābar [*w'pl* | M *w'br*, (N *bāwar*)] truth; belief.
wābarīgān [*w'plyk'n'* | M *w'bryg'n*] true, trustworthy.
~īh: trustworthiness.
wabz [*wpc*, *wpz*] wasp.
wačast [*wcst'* = Av. *wačas-tašti-*] strophe (of the Gathas).
waččag [*wck'*, (*bck'*) | N *bačča*] child, baby, cub.
wad [*SLYA* < A *sry'*; *wt'* | M *wd*, N *bad*] bad, evil.
~īh: badness, evil.
wād [*w't'* | M *w'd*, N *bād*] wind, breath, spirit; *cal.* 22nd day.
wadag [*wtk'*] evil, vile, wicked.
~īh: evil, vileness.
wādām [*w't'm* | N *bādām*] almond.
wādbān [*w'tp'n'* | N *bādbān*] sail.

wad-baxt [*wtb'ht*[1] | N *badbaxt*] unfortunate.
wad-dil [*wtdyl* | M *wddyl*, N *baddil*] coward(ly).
wadgarīh [*wtglyh*] evil-doing.
wād-girdag [*w'tgltk*[1] | (N *gird-bād*)] whirlwind.
wad-gōhr [*wtgwhl* | N *bad-gauhar*] ill-, low-born.
wad-kāmag [*wtk'mk*[1]] malevolent.
 ~īh: malevolence.
wādrang [*w'tlng* | N *bādrang*] citron.
 ~-bōy [*-bwd* | N *-bōya*] lemon balm.
wad|-tōhm [*wttwhm*] = **wad-gōhr.**
 ~-wāzag [*-w'ck*[1] | (N *gawāža*)] abuse.
 ~-xēm [*-hym*] ill-natured.
waf- [*wp-* | P *wf-*, (N *bāf-*)] weave.
 ~išn: weaving.
wafr [*wpl* | M *wpr*, N *barf*] snow.
 ~ēnag [*-ynk*[1]] a sweetmeat.
waγdān [*wyt'n*[1] = Av. *waγδana-*] head (*ahuric*).
wahāg [*wh'k*[1] | M *wh'g*, N *bahā*] trading; value.
 ~ burdan: value, estimate.
wahār [*wh'l*, (*bh'l*) | M *wh'r*, N *bahār*] spring.
 ~īg [*-yk*[1] | N *-ī*] spring, vernal.
wahīg [*ZZLA* < A **zmr'* (?); *whyk*[1] | M *whyg*, N **bahī*] kid; *astr.* Capricorn.
wahišt [*whšt*[1] | M *whyšt*, N *bihišt*] paradise.
 ~īg [*-yk*[1] | N *-ī*] (worthy) of paradise.
Wahman [*whwmn*[1] | M *whmn*, N *bahman*] Good Mind, the first Amahraspand, guardian of cattle; *cal.* 11th month; 2nd day.
wāhmān [**w-n*[1] = *w'hm'n*[1] | M *'w'hm'n*, J *whm'n*, N *bahmān*] so-and-so.
Wahrām [*wlhl'n*[1], *w'hl'm* | M *whr'm*, N *bahrām*] god of war, victory; *astr.* Mars; *cal.* 20th day.
 ātaxš ī ~: a major sacred fire.
wak [*wk*[1] | N *bak*] frog.
wālan [*w'ln*[1] | (N *barzan*)] settlement, community
walg [*wlg*] = **warg.**
wālīdan, wāl- [*w'l-ytn*[1] | N *bālīdan*] grow, increase, prosper.
 ~išn: growth.
wāmīdan, wām- [*w'm-ytn*[1]] vomit.
wan [*wn*[1] | N *bun*] tree; stock, stem.
 ~ ī gurgānīg: pistachio tree.
 ~ ī was-tōhmag: the Tree of Many Seeds.
wān-, ~išn, v. **wānīdan.**
wanafšag [*wnpšk*[1] | N *bunafša*] violet.
Wanand [*wnnd*] *astr.* Vega.
wandag [*wndk*[1]] rope, cord.
wāng [*KALA* < A *ql'*; *w'ng* | = M, N *bāng*] voice, cry.
wānīdan, wān- [*w'n-ytn*[1] | M *w'n-yst*] conquer, overcome, destroy.

~išn: conquest, destruction.
wanīgarīh [*AWBDN-, wny-klyh*] waste.
wany [*A(W)BDN*[1] < A *ʾbdn* | M *wny*] lost, destroyed.
wany(b)ūdīh [*AWBDN*[1]*bwtyh, -YHWWNtyh* | M *wny(b)wdyh*] destruction, ruination.
[1]**war** [*wl* | M *wr*, N *bar*] breast.
[2]**war** [*wl*] lake.
[3]**war** [*wl*] oath, ordeal.
[4]**war** [*wl*] shelter, enclosure.
wār-, v. **wārīdan.**
warāγ [*wlʾg* | J *brʾγ*] crow.
waran [*wln*[1]] desire, lust.
warān [*wlʾn*[1]] ram.
wārān [*wʾlʾn*[1] | M *wʾrʾn*, N *bārān*] rain.
waranīg [*wlnyk*[1]] greedy.
~īh: greed, lust.
wārānīg [*wʾlʾnyk*[1] | N *bārānī*] rain(y).
warāz [*wlʾc* | N *gurāz*] boar.
war-čašm [*wlcšm*] with eye(s) in the breast.
ward-, v. [1]**waštan.**
[1]**wardag** [*wltk*[1] | M *wrdg*, N *barda*] captive, prisoner.
~īh: captivity.
[2]**wardag** [*wltk*[1]] on heat (female animal).
~īh: heat.
***wardānāg** [*wltʾnʾk*[1] | N *gardanā*] (roasting) spit.
wardēnīdan, wardēn- [*wltyn-ytn*[1] | (N *gardānīdan*)] cause to turn; change, alter.
wardišn [*wltšn*[1] | M *wrdyšn*, N *gardiš*] turning, change, metamorphosis.
~īg [*-yk*[1]] transient, changeable.
~(īg)īh: transience, mutability.
wardyūn [*wltywn*[1] | P *wrdywn*, N *gardūn*] vehicle, carriage, chariot.
warg [*wlg* | N *barg*] leaf.
wārīdan, wār- [*wʾl-ytn*[1] | M *wʾr-yst*, N *bārīdan*] rain.
warišn [*wlšn*[1]] conduct, behaviour.
[1]**warm** [*wlm* | N *barm*] memory.
~ kardan: learn by heart, memorize.
[2]**warm** [*wlm* | N *barm*] pool, reservoir.
wārom [*wʾlwm*] mind.
warōmand [*wlʾwmnd*] doubtful.
~īh: doubt.
warr [*LBWŠYA* < A *lbwšʾ*] wool; garment.
warrag [*KNNA* < ?; *wlk*[1] | M *wrg*, N *barra*] lamb, ram; *astr.* Aries.
wars [*wls*] hair.
[1]**warz** [*wlc* | M *wrz*, N *barz*] work, agriculture.
[2]**warz** [*wlc* | M *wrc/z*] miracle, miraculous power.
[3]**warz** [*wlz* | N *gurz*] club, mace.

warz-, ~išn, v. **warzīdan.**
warzāg [*wlc'k*[1] | (N *warzāw*)] ploughing (ox).
warzāwand [*wlc'wnd* | M *wrc'wynd*] having miraculous power, powerful.
warz-būm [*wlcbwm*] cultivated land.
warzīdan, warz- [*wlc-ytn*[1] | N ~] work, act, practise; till; beget.
~išn: work, tillage.
warzīgar [*wlcykl* | M *wrzygr*, N *barzīgar*] worker, peasant.
was [*KBD* < A *kbyr*; *ws* | = M, N *bas*] much, many, enough.
P wasnād [*wsn'd* | = P] for, on account of.
wāspuhr [*w'spwhl*] principal.
wāspuhragān [*w'spwhlk'n*[1]] 1. special, particular; 2. courtier.
~īh: speciality.
wassad [*wst*[1] | N *bussad*] coral.
~ēn [*-yn*[1] | N *-īn*] coralline.
wastar [*wstl* = Av. *wastra-*] clothing, garment.
wastār [*wst'l* | N *bistār*] wilful, obstinate; over-confident.
~īh: obstinacy; over-confidence.
wāstar [*w'stl*] pasture, fodder.
wastarag [*wstlg*] = **wastar.**
wāstaryōš [*w'stlywš* = Av. *wāstryō.fšuyant-*] husbandman.
~īh: husbandry.
was-tōhmag [*wstwhmk*[1]] having many seeds.
was-xwāstag [*KBDhw'stk*[1]] wealthy, rich.
wasyār [*wsy(k)'l* | N *bisyār*] much, many.
P **wāš** [*w'š* | = P] straw, fodder.
***wašag** [*wšk*[1] | N *ušaʔ*] a kind of beer.
waštag [*wštk*[1]] sick, ill.
~īh: sickness, illness.
[1]**waštan, ward-** [*wštn*[1], *wlt-* | M *wštn*, *wrd-*, N *gaštan*, *gard-*] turn, return, wander; change.
~išn, v. **wardišn.**
[2]**waštan** [*wštn*[1]] = **wārīdan.**
waštīh [*wštyh*] = **waštagīh.**
wattar [*SLYtl*, v. **wad** | M *wtr*, N *bat(t)ar*] worse, bad, evil.
~īh: evil, wickedness.
wattom [*wttwm*] worst.
waxr [*w'hl* | (P *wxr-*)] crooked, distorted.
[1]**waxš** [*whš* | (M *w'xš*)] spirit.
[2]**waxš** [*whš*] profit, interest.
waxš, ~išn, v. [1], [2]**waxšīdan.**
waxšendag [*whšndk*[1] | P *wxšyndg*] blazing, burning.
waxšgar [*whšḳl*] usurer.
[1]**waxšīdan, waxš-** [*whš-ytn*[1] | P *wxš-*] burn, blaze, kindle.
[2]**waxšīdan, waxš-** [*whš-ytn*[1]] grow, wax.
~išn: growth.
waxšīg [*whšyk*[1]] spiritual.

waxšwar [*whšwl* | N *waxšūr*] prophet.
 ~īh: prophethood.
P **wāxtan, wāž-** [*w'htn*[1], *w'c-* | P *w'xtn, w'c-*] say, speak.
[1]**way** [*w'd* = Av. *way-*] bird.
[2]**way** [*w'd* = Av. *wayu-* | P *wyw*] air, atmosphere.
 ~ ī wattar: a demon.
 ~ ī weh: a divinity.
wāy [*w'd* | M *w'y*, N ~] woe.
[1]**wāy-** [*w'd-* | M *w'y-*] fly.
 ~endag [*-(y)ndk*[1] | J *w/β'ynd'*] bird.
wāyīdan, [2]**wāy-** [*w'd-ytn*[1]] blow (of wind).
wayōdagān [*wydwtk'n*[1] | M **wywdg'n*, N *bayōgān(ī)*] nuptials, marriage feast.
waz-, ~išn(-īg), v. **wazīdan.**
wāz [*w'c* | = M, (N *bāj*)] word, speech; 'grace' (before meals).
 ~ griftan: say 'grace'.
[1], [2]**wāz-, ~išn,** v. [1], [2]**wāzīdan.**
P **wāž-,** v. **wāxtan.**
wāzag [*w'ck*[1]] utterance, saying.
wazaγ [*wzγ* | N ~, *bazaγ*] frog.
wāzār [*w'c'l* | M *w'c'r-*, N *bāzār*] market.
wāzāragān [*w'c'lk'n*[1] | M *w'c'rg'n*, N *bāzārgān*] merchant.
 ~īh: trade.
wazīdan, waz- [*wc-ytn*[1] P *wz-*, N ~] move, blow (of wind).
 ~išn: movement.
 ~išnīg: mobile.
[1]**wāzīdan, wāz-** [*w'c-ytn*[1]] move, carry away; fly.
 ~išn: flight.
[2]**wāzīdan, wāz-** [*w'c-ytn*[1] | N *bāzīdan*] play.
wāzīg [*w'cyk*[1] | N *bāzī*] game, play.
wazr [*wzl*] = [3]**warz.**
wēd [*wyt*[1] | N *bēd*] willow.
weh [*ŠPYL* < A *špyr*; *wyh* | M *why, wyh*, N *bih*] better, good.
 ~īh: goodness.
 ~-dēn [*-dyn*[1] | N *bih-dīn*] of the good (Mazdean) religion.
wēhm [**wyyhm* | M *wyhm*] large, wide, broad.
 ~īh: width, breadth.
wēm [*wym* | = P] rock.
wēmār [*wym'l* | M *wym'r*, N *bēmār*] ill, sick.
 ~īh: illness.
wēn [*wyn*[1]] breath.
wēn-, ~išn(-īg), v. **dīdan.**
wēnāb [*wyn'p* | N *bīnāb*] vision.
 ~dāg [*-d'k*[1], *-t'k*[1]] visible.
wēnāg [*wyn'k*[1] | M *wyn'g*, N *bīnā*] seeing.
 ~īh: seeing, sight.

wēnīg [*wynyk*[1] | M *wynyg*, N *bīnī*] nose.
wēnōg [*wynwk*[1] | N *bunū*] lentil.
wēš [*wyš* | = M, N *bēš*] more.
wēšag [*wyšk*[1] | N *bēša*] thicket, wood.
 ~estān [*-st'n*[1]] woodland.
 ~īg [*-yk*[1]] silvan.
wēwag [*wdpk*[1] | N *bēwa*] widow.
[1]**wēxtan, wēz-** [*NSHWN-tn*[1] < A √ *nsḥ*; *wyhtn*[1], *wyc-* | P *wyxt-*, N *bēxtan*, *bēz-*] sift, select, choose, separate, cleanse, purify, winnow.
 ~išn: selection.
[2]**wēxtan, wēz-** [*wyhtn*[1], *wyc-*] swing, brandish, throw, pour out.
Wīdadafš [*wydtpš* = Av. *wīdaδafšū-*] the south-western continent of the earth.
widang [*wtng* | P *wdng*] trouble, distress, constraint.
widār [*wt'l* | N *gudār*] passage, entrance.
widarag [*wtlg* | M *wdr*, N *guδar*] path, passage.
widardan, wider- [*wtltn*[1], *wt(y)l-* | M *wd(y)r-*, N *guδar-*] pass (by, away), cross, die.
 ~išn(īh): passage, crossing, death.
 ~išnīg: transient.
widārdan, widār- [*wt'l-tn*[1] | M *wyd'r-*, N *guδārdan*] let pass, transport; endure, suffer.
widārīdan [*wt'lytn*[1]] = **widārdan.**
widaštan [*wtštn*[1] | N *guδaštan*] = **widardan.**
widāxtan, widāz- [*wt'htn*[1], *wt'c-* | (P *wd'c-*), N *gudāxtan*, *gudāz-*] melt, dissolve.
widāzīhistan, widāzīh- [*wt'cyh-stn*[1]] be melted, dissolved.
wider-, ~išn(-īg, -īh), v. **widardan.**
widerān [*wt(y)l'n*[1] | N *guδarān*] transient, dying.
widest [*wt(y)st*[1] | N *bidast*] (hand) span (9 in.).
 ~īg [*-yk*[1]] span-sized, midget.
widimās [*wtym's* | (M *wyd'm's*)] wonder, miracle.
 ~īg [*-yk*[1]] wonderful.
 ~īh: miracle.
widimušt [*wtymwšt* | M *wd(y)mwšt*] astonished.
 ~īh: astonishment.
***wīdwar** [*wytwl*] contented, resigned, consoled.
 ~īh: contentment, resignation, consolation.
wiftag [*wyptk*[1]] passive sodomite.
wigrād [*wgl't*[1] | N *bīdār*] awake, alert.
wigrādan, wigrās- [*wgl'tn*[1], *wgl's-* | M *wygr'd*, *wygr's-*] awaken, rouse.
 ~išn(īh): awakening.
wih-, v. **wistan.**
wihān(ag) [*wh'n(k)*[1], (*b-*) | M *wh'ng*, N *bahāna*] cause, reason.
wihēz- [*wyhyc-* | M *whyz-*] move, progress.
wihēz(ag) [*wyhyc(k*[1])] movement, progression.

~agīg [*-yk'*] movable; intercalary (year).
wihīr- [*whyl-* | (M *whwr-*)] change.
~išn: change.
wimand [*wymnd* | = M] boundary, frontier, limit.
~īg, ~ōmand [*-yk'*, *-'wmnd*] bounded, limited.
***wimēhgēn** [*wmyhkn'* | M *wymyh-*] *shapely.
wimuštan [*wymwštn'* | M *wymrz-* (< P)] spoil, destroy.
win [*wn'*] vina, lute.
wināh [*wn's* | M *wyn'h*, N *gunāh*] sin, crime.
wināhgār [*wn'sk'l* | M *wn'hg'r*, (N *gunāhkār*)] sinner.
~īh: sinfulness.
wināhīdan, wināh- [*wn's-ytn'* | M *wyn'h-*] spoil, damage, destroy.
~išn: damage, destruction.
winastag [*wnstk'*] spoilt, corrupt.
windādan, wind- [*HŠKHWN-tn'* < A *hškḥ*, √ *škḥ*; *wnd'tn'* | M *wynd'd*, *wynd-*] find, obtain, acquire.
~išn: acquisition, earnings.
~išnīg: findable.
winjīšk [*wncšk'* | N *gunǰišk*, *binǰišk*] sparrow.
win(n)ārdan, win(n)ār- [*wyn'l-tn'* | M *wyn'r-dn*] order, fix, arrange.
~išn: arrangement.
win(n)irdan [*wynltn'* | M *wynyrdn*] be arranged, established; stay.
[1]**wīr** [*wyl* | M *wyyr*] man, hero.
[2]**wīr** [*wyl* | M *wyr-*, N *bīr*] memory, mind.
[3]**wīr** [*wyl* | N *bīr*] thunderbolt.
wirāstan, wirāy-, (P wirāz-) [*wyl'stn'*, *wyl'd-*, (*wl'c-*) | M *wyr'st*, *wyr'y-*, (P *wyr'št*, *wyr'z-*)] arrange, prepare, cultivate, restore.
~išn(īh): arrangement, preparation.
wirēg [*wlyk'* | N *gurēγ*] flight, escape.
wirēxtan, wirēz- [*OLYKWN-tn'* < A √ *ʿrq*; *wlyhtn'*, *wlyc-* | P *wryxt*, N *gurēxtan*, *gurēz-*] flee, escape.
wirōmandīh [*wyl'wmndyh* | M *wyrwmndyy*] memory.
wirōzag [**wlwck'* | (P *wrwc*)] lightning.
wis [*wys* | = M] village.
wisāndan, wisān- [*ws'n-dn'*] separate.
~išn(īh): separation.
wisāy- [*ws'd-* | M *wys'y-*] rest.
wisbed [*wyspt'* | M *wysbyd*] village headman.
wisē [*wsydy* | (P *wsyd*), N *gusē*] despatch.
~ kardan: send, despatch.
wisistan, wisin(n)- [*wsstn'*, *wsyn-* | N *gusistan*, (*gusil-*)] break, split.
wisp [*wsp* | M *wysp*] all, every.
wispurdan, *wispar- [*wspwltn'*] tread, trample.
wīst [*20*; *wyst'* | = M, N *bīst*] twenty.
wistan, *wih- [*ŠDYTWN-tn'* < A √ *šdh*; *wstn'*] shoot, throw.
wistar(ag) [*wstl(g)* | N *bistar*] bedding, cover.

wistardan, wistar- [*wstl-tn*[1] | N *gustardan*] spread.
wistāx [*wst'hw*[1] | M *wyst'h*, N *gustāx, bistāx*] confident, bold.
 ~īh: confidence, boldness.
wiš [*w(y)š* | M *wyš*, N *guš*] poison, venom, bile.
wišād [*ŠLYTWNt*[1], *wš'tt*[1] | M *wš'd*, N *gušād*] open, wide, loose.
wišādan, *wišāy- [*ŠLYTWN-tn*[1] < A √ *šrh*; *wš'tn*[1] | M *wyš'dn*, (*wyš'h-*), N *gušādan, gušāy-*] open, loose, free.
wišād-dar [*ŠLYTWNt*[1] *BBA*] hospitable.
wišād-dwārišnīh [*wš'tt dwb'lšnyh*] going about 'open', i.e. without *kustīg*, or *šabīg*.
wišān- [*wš'n-* | = P] shake down.
***wišāy-**, v. **wišādan.**
wiškar [*wškl* | N *bišgar(d)*] hunting-ground, wilderness.
wiškīdan, wiškin(n)- [*wškytn*[1], *wškn-*] divide, separate.
 ~išn: separation.
wiškōfag [*wškwpk*[1] | N *biškōfa*] blossom.
wiškuftan, wiškōf- [*wškwp-tn*[1] | J *gwškwftn, gwškwβ-*] blossom; hatch.
wišōb-, ~išn(-īg), v. **wišuftan.**
wišōmand [*wš'wmnd*] poisonous, venomous.
wišūdag [*wšwtk*[1] | (M *ghwdg*)] abortion, daevic creature.
wišūdan [*wšwtn*[1]] bear daevic offspring.
wišuftan, wišōb- [*wšwp-tn*[1] | M *wšwb-*, N **gušuftan*] disturb, destroy.
 ~išn: destruction.
 ~išnīg: destructible.
***wixšay-** [*whšd-*] forgive, forbear.
 ~išn(īh): forbearance.
 ~išnīg: forbearing.
[1]**wiyābān** [*w(y)d'p'n*[1] | P *wy'b'n*, N *bīābān*] desert.
[2]**wiyābān** [*wyd'p'n*[1]] astray, wandering; deluded.
 ~īh: delusion, deception.
wiyābānēnīdan, wiyābānēn- [*wyd'p'nyn-ytn*[1]] lead astray, deceive.
wiyābān|garīh [*wyd'p'nklyh*] deception.
 ~īg [*-yk*[1]] wandering, itinerant.
wiyāftan, *wiyāb- [*wd'ptn*[1] | M *wy'b-*] open (the mouth).
wiyān [*wyd'n*[1] | M *wy'n*, N *giyān*] tent.
wiyōz- [*wydwc-*] loosen, undo.
***wiyufs-** [*wdwps-*] make merry.
 ~išn: merry-making.
 ~išnīg: merry.
wizandag [*wzndk*[1]] quaking.
wizandīdan, wizand- [*wznd-ytn*[1]] tremble, quake.
 ~išn: quaking.
wizār [*wc'l* | M *wc'r*] separation; explanation.
wizārdan, wizār- [*wc'l-tn*[1] | M *wyc'rd, wyc'r-*, J *bz'rd-*, N *guzārdan*] separate; explain, interpret; perform, fulfil, redeem.
 ~išn: decision; redemption.

wizārd-wars [*wc'lt*[1] *wls*] with parted hair.
wizāstan, wizāy- [*wyz'stn*[1], *wyz'd-* | M *wyz'y-*, N *guzāy-*] injure, impair, prejudice.
~išn: injury.
~išnīg: injurious.
wizēn [*wcyn*[1] | N *guzīn*] choice.
wizend [*wz(y)nd* | M *wzynd*, N *guzand*] hurt, harm, injury.
wizēngar [*wcynkl*] chooser; selective.
wizīdan, wizīn- [*wcytn*[1], *wcyn-* | M *wcyd*, N *guzīdan*, *guzīn-*] choose, select, prefer, discriminate.
wizīhīdan, wizīh- [*w(y)cyh-ytn*[1]] be separated.
~īšn(īh): separation; dawn(ing).
wizīn-, v. **wizīdan.**
wizīr [*wcyl*] decision, judgement.
wizīristan, wizīr- [*wcyl-stn*[1] | J *bzyr-*, N *guzīr-*] be able to dispense with, avoid.
~išnīg: avoidable.
wizistan [*wcstn*[1] | M *wcyst*] teach.
wizōstan, wizōh/y- [*wcwstn*[1], *wcwd-* | (J *bzwb-*, N *pižōhīdan*)] examine, investigate.
~išn: investigation.
wizūdan [*wyzwtn*[1]] = **wizāstan.**
wizurd [*wcwlt*[1]] valid, genuine, true.
~īh: validity, truth.
Wōrūbaršt [*w'wklwblšt*[1] = Av. *wouru.barəštī-*] the north-western continent of the earth.
Wōrūǰaršt [*w'wklwclšt*[1] = Av. *wouru.ǰarəštī-*] the north-eastern continent of the earth.
wurrōyistan, wurrōy- [*HYMNN-stn*[1] < A *hymn*, √ *'mn* | M *wrwyst*, (*wrw-*), J **brwy-*, *grww-*, N *brw-*, *girawīdan*] believe; choose.
~išn [*wlwdšn*[1]] belief.
wuzurg [*LBA* < A *rb'*; *wc(w)lg* | M *wzrg*, N *buzurg*] big, great.
~īh: size, greatness.
wuzurg-framādār [*LBA plm't'l*] prime minister.

X

xāk [*APLA* < A *'pr'*; *h'k*[1] | N ~] earth, dust.
xām [*h'm* | N ~] crude, raw.
xāmīz [*h'myc* | N ~] pickled meat.
xāmōš [*h'mwš* | N ~] silent.
[1]**xān** [*h'n*[1] | P *x'n*, N ~] house.
~ ud mān: house and home, dwelling.

²xān [*h'n*[1] | P *x'n*] spring, source.
xānag [*BYTA* < A *byt'*; *h'nk*[1] | N *xāna*] = **¹xān.**
xandīdan, xand- [**GHBHWN-ytn*[1] < A √ *ghk*, or √ **qhqh*; *hnd-ytn*[1] | (M *xnyst*), N ~] laugh.
xānīg [*h'nyk*[1] | M *x'nyg*, N *xānī*] = **²xān.**
xar [*HMRA* < A *hmr'*; *hl* | N ~] donkey, ass.
xār [*h'l* | M *x'r*, N ~] thorn.
xar-buz [*hlbwc* | M *xrbwz*] oryx.
xar-gōš [*hlgwš* | N ~] rabbit, hare.
xārōmand [*h'l'wmnd*] thorny.
xār-pušt [*h'lpwšt*[1] | N ~] porcupine, hedgehog.
xastan [*hstn*[1] | M *xst*, N ~] wound, injure.
xašēn [*hšyn*[1] | N *xašīn*] (dark) blue.
xāyag [*h'd(y)k*[1] | N *xāya*] egg.
~-dēs [*-dys*] oval, egg-shaped.
xayūg [*h(')dwk*[1] | N *xayū*] saliva, spittle.
xaz [*hz* | N ~] marten.
xēm [*hym*] nature, character.
xēšm ['*yšm*, *hšm* | M *xyšm*, N *xišm*] anger; the demon Wrath.
~ēn [*-yn*[1] | M *-yn*] angry.
xīndag [*hyndk*[1] | M *xyndg*] ill, sick.
~īh: illness, sickness.
xīr [*CBW*[1] < A *sbw*; *hyl* | M *xyr*] thing, matter.
xirs [*hls* | N ~] bear.
xišt [*hšt*[1] | (P *hyštyg*), N ~] brick.
xōg [*hwk*[1] | N *xwk*, *xōy*] nature, character, disposition.
xōn [*DMYA* < A *dm'*; *hwn*[1] | M *xwn*, N *xūn*] blood.
xormā [*T*[g] < A *tmryn*; *hwlm'k*[1] | N ~] date.
xrad [*hlt*[1] | M *xrd*, N *xirad*] wisdom, reason.
~īg, ~ōmand [*-yk*[1], *-'wmnd* | N *-mand*] wise.
xrafstar [*hlpstl* = Av. *xrafstra-*] reptile, noxious creature.
xrīdan, xrīn- [*ZBNN-tn*[1] < A √ *zbn* | M *xryd*, *xryn-*, N *xarīdan*, (*xar-*)] buy.
xrōhak [*hlwhk*[1] | N ~] coral.
xrōs [*DYLKA* < A *dkr'*; *hlws* | P *xrws*, N *xurōs*] cock.
xrōstan [*hlwstn*[1] | M *xrwst*] call, cry.
xūb [*hwp* | M *xwb*, N ~] good.
~īh: goodness.
xuftan, xufs- [*HLMWN-tn*[1] < A √ *hlm*; *hwptn*[1], *hwps-* | M *xwpt*, N *xuftan*, *xusp-*] sleep.
xūg [*HZWLYA* < A *hzyr'*; *hwk*[1] | N ~] pig.
xūkar(ag) [*hwkl(k*[1]) | N *xūkara*] hedgehog.
xumb [*hwmb*[1] | M *xwmb*, N ~] jug, pitcher.
xunak [*hwnk*[1] | M *xwnk*, N *xunuk*] happy; cool.
xurdruš [*hwldlwš*, *-dlpš* = Av. *xrwidruš*] 'with a bloody club' (epithet of *Xēšm*, later misinterpreted as **ul-drafš* '*with raised banner').

xwāb [*hw'b* | N ~] sleep.
xwābar [*hw'ṗl* | M *xw'br*] beneficent.
~**īg** [-*yk*[1]] beneficial.
~**īh**: beneficence, benefit.
xwad [*BNPŠE* < A *b-npš-h*; *hwt*[1] | M *xwd*, N ~] self; indeed.
~**īh**: selfhood, essence.
xwadāy [*hwt'y* | M *xwd'y*, N ~] lord.
~**īh**: lordship, sovereignty.
~**wār** [-*w'l*] lordly.
xwad-dōšag [*hwtdwšk*[1]] self-indulgent.
~**īh**: self-indulgence.
xwah [*AHTE* < A *'ḫth* | N ~] sister.
[1], [2]**xwāh-**, ~**išn**, v. **xwastan, xwāstan.**
xwahar [*AHTEl*, v. **xwah**; *hw'hl* | (M *xw'r*), N *xwăhar*] sister.
xwahl [*hw'hl* | (M *xwhr*), N ~] bent, crooked.
xwā(h)rīh [*hw'(h)lyh* | M *xw'ryy*] happiness, bliss.
xwālist [*hw'lyst*[1] | (M *xw'ryst*)] sweetest.
xwamn [*hwmn*[1], *ḫmn*[1] | M *xwmn*] sleep, dream.
~-**wizār** [-*wc'l*] interpreter of dreams, oneirocritic.
xwān [*hw'n*[1] | M *xw'n*, N ~] tray, table.
xwandan, xwān- [*KRYTWN-*, *KLYTWN-tn*[1] < A √ *qr'* | M *xwnd*, *xw'n-*, N *xwāndan*] call, summon.
Xwanīrah [*hwnyls* = Av. *x^{v}aniraθa-*] the central, inhabited continent of the earth.
[1]**xwar** [*hwl* | M *xwr*, N ~] sun; *cal.* 11th day.
[2]**xwar** [*hwl* = Av. *x^{v}ara-*] a degree of sin.
xwar-, ~**išn**, v. **xwardan.**
[1]**xwār** [*hw'l* | M *xw'r*, N ~] light, easy; mean, abject.
~**īh**: ease; v. *also* **xwāhrīh.**
[2]**xwār** [*hw'l* | M *xw'r*] food.
xwār-, ~**išn**, v. **xwārīdan.**
xwaran [*hwln*[1] | M *xwrn*] banquet.
xwarāsān [*hwl's'n*[1] | M *xwr's'n*, N ~] sunrise, east.
xwār-bār [*hw'lb'l* | M *xw'r w b'r*, N ~] food and drink.
xwardan, xwar- [*OŠTEN-tn*[1] < A *'šth*, √ *šth*; *hwltn*[1] | M *xwrdn*, *xwr-*, N ~] eat, consume.
~**išn**: food.
~**išnīg**: edible.
~**išnīh**: eating, consumption.
xwardār [*hwlt'l*] (legally) edible, not *murdār*.
xwardīg [*hwltyk*[1] | M *xwrdyg*, N ~*ī*] food.
xwārēn [*hw'lyn*[1]] edible.
xwārēn- [*hw'lyn-*] cause to eat, drink; feed; irrigate.
xwarg [*hwlg* | J *xwwrg*] ember.
xwārīdan, xwār- [*hw'l-ytn*[1]] drink.
~**išn**: drink, drinking.

xwarōfrān [*hwl(ʾ)wpl'n*[1] | M *xwrwpr'n*] sunset, west.
xwarrah [*GDE* < A *gdh* | (M *prh*, N *farr*)] fortune, glory, splendour.
~**ōmand** [-*ʾwmnd*] fortunate, glorious.
xwaršēd, v. **xwarxšēd.**
xwārtar [*hwʾltl*] minor (sins).
xwarwarān [*hwlwl'n*[1], *-bl'n*[1]] = **xwarōfrān.**
xwar(x)šēd [*hvl(h)šyt*[1] | M *xwrxšyd*, N *xuršēd*] sun.
xwāstag [*NKSYA* < A *nksy'*; *hwʾstk*[1] | M *xwʾstg*, N ~*a*] property, wealth.
~**ōmand** [-*ʾwmnd*] wealthy.
xwastan, [1]**xwāh-** [(*Y*)*PLHWN-tn*[1] < A √ *plḥ*; *hwstn*[1], *hwʾd-* | J *xwh-*, N *xwast*] tread, trample; thresh.
~**išn**: trampling.
xwāstan, [2]**xwāh-** [*BOYHWN-stn*[1] < A √ *bʿy*; *hwʾstn*[1], *hwʾd-* | M *xwʾstn*, *xwʾh-*, N ~] seek, want, desire; attract, acquire.
~**išn**: desire, attraction.
xwastūg [*hwstwk*[1] | N *xustū*] confessing, believing.
~**īh**: confession, belief, faith.
xwaš [*BSYM* < A *bsym*; *hwš* | M *xwš*, N ~] pleasant, sweet, nice.
~**īh**: pleasantness, pleasure.
xwēd [*hwyt*[1] | M *xwyd*, N ~] moist, fresh.
~**īh**: moisture, freshness.
xwēdōdah [*hwytw(k)ds*, *-dʾt*[1] = Av. *x*^{v}*aētwadaθa-*] kin-marriage.
xwēn-āhan [*hw(y)n ʾsyn*[1] = Av. *x*^{v}*aēna-* (*ayah-*)] shining metal.
xwēš [*NPŠE* < A *npš-h*; *hwyš* | M *xwy(b)š*, N ~] (one's) own.
~**īh**: possession.
~**āwand** [*hwyšʾwnd* | N ~] relative, kinsman.
xwēšēnīdan, xwēšēn- [*hwyšyn-ytn*[1]] appropriate, make one's own.
xwēš-kār [*hwyškʾl*] dutiful.
~**īh**: proper function.
xwēš-tan [*NPŠE tn*[1] | N ~] self.
xwēy [*hwyd* | N *xway*] sweat, perspiration.
xwistan [*hwystn*[1]] sweat, perspire.
xwurd [*hwlt*[1] | N ~] small, little.
xwurdag [*hwltk*[1] | N ~*a*] something small, particle; *astr.* lunar mansion; (horse's) pastern.
~**īh**: smallness.

Y

P **yad** [*yt*[1] | P *yd*] until; so that.
yak, v. **ēk.**
yākand [*yʾknd*, *-nt*[1] | P *yʾkwnd*, N ~] ruby.
yal [*yl* | N ~] hero.

yāsaman [*y'smn*[1] | N ~] jasmine.
yask [*ysk*[1] | = M] illness, sickness.
yasn [*ysn*[1] | = M] adoration, worship.
yašt [*yšt*[1] | = M] prayer, worship.
yaštan, yaz- [*YDBHWN-tn*[1] < A *ydbḥwn*, √ *dbḥ*; *yštn*[1], *yc-* | M *yz-*] worship, celebrate, recite.
~išn: worship.
yāt [*y'tl* = Av. *yāta-*] a degree of sin.
P **yāwēd(ān)** [*y'wyt('n)*[1] | P *y'wyd('n)*] always, eternally.
yaz-, ~išn, v. **yaštan.**
yazd [*yzdt*[1] | M *yzd*, N ~] god, divinity.
yāzdah [*y'cdh* | M *y'zdh*, N ~] eleven.
yazdān [*yzd'n*[1] (*pl.*) gods, spirits.
yōǰdahr [*ywšd'sl* | M *ywjdhr*] holy, pure.
~īh: holiness, purity.
yōǰdahrǵar [*ywšd'slkl*] purifier.
~īh: purification, sanctification.
yōz [*ywc* | N ~] cheetah, hunting leopard.

Z

zādag [*z'tk*[1] | M *z'dg*, N *zāda*] born; child.
zadan, zan- [*MHYTWN-tn*[1] < A √ *mḥ'*; *ztn*[1], *zn-* | M *zdn, zn-*, N ~] hit, beat, strike, smite.
~išn: blow, smiting.
zādan, zāy- [*YLYDWN-tn*[1] < A √ *yld*; *z'tn*[1] | M *z'd, z'y-*, N ~] bear (offspring); be born.
~išn: birth.
~išnīg: born, engendered, animal.
zadār [*zt'l*] smiter; destructive.
zadūg [*ztwk*[1] | (N *žad*)] gum.
zafar [*zpl* | N ~] mouth, maw (*daevic*).
***zahā** [*zh'(k*[1])] depth.
zahābag [*zh'ṗk*[1] | N *zahāb*] spring, source.
[1]**zahag** [*zhk*[1], (*z'hk*[1]) | M *zhg*, N *zah*] child, offspring.
[2]**zāhag** [*z'hk*[1]] element (water, fire, air, earth).
zahagōmand [*zhk'wmnd*] pregnant, gravid.
zahār [*zh'l* | N ~] womb.
***zahīh** [*zhyh*] = **zahā.**
zahr [*z'hl* | M *zhr*, N ~] poison, venom.
zahrag [*z('')hlk*[1] | N ~*a*] bile, gall.
zalūg [*zlwk*[1] | N *zalū*] leech.
zam [*zm* | P *zmg*] winter.

zamān [*ODNA* < A *'dn'*; *ʒm'n'*, *zmn'* | M *zm'n*, N ~] time, hour.
~**ag** [*ʒm'nk'*] = **zamān.**
***zamānīg** [*ʒm'nyk'*] prescribed.
zāmēnīdan, zāmēn- [*z'myn-ytn'* | M *z'myn-*] lead, send.
zamestān [*ʒmst'n'* | (M *dmyst'n*), N ~] winter.
zamīg [*z-*, *ʒmyk'* | M *zmyg*, N *zamī*] earth.
~**īg** [*-yk'*] terrestrial, earthly.
~-**paymānīh** [*-ptm'nyh*] geometry.
zāmyād [**z'md't'* (misreading of *z'myʒdt'* = *zām-yazd?*) | M *z'my'd*, N ~] *cal.* 28th day.
zan [*NYŠE* < A *nšh*; *zn'* | = M, N ~](*pl.* **-ān, -īn**) woman, wife.
zan-, ~išn, v. **zadan.**
[1]**zand** [*znd* | N ~] commentary, explanation, Zend.
[2]**zand** [*znd* | = M] district, tribe.
zandag [*zndk'* | N *zanda*] rampant.
zandbed [*zndpt'* | M *zndbyd*] headman of a district, tribe.
zandīk [*zndyk'* | N ~] heretic, Manichaean.
~**īh:** heresy.
zang [*zng*] ankle, shank.
zangīg [*zngyk'* | N *zangī*] negro.
zanjīr [*zncyl* | (P *zyncyhr*), N ~] chain.
zānūg [*z'nwk'* | P *z'nwg*, N *zānū*] knee.
zard [*zlt'* | N ~] yellow.
~**īh:** yellowness.
zardag [*zltk'* | N *zarda*] (egg) yolk.
zardak [*zltk'* | N ~] safflower.
zard|-ālūg [*zlt'lwk'* | N ~*ū*] apricot.
~-**čōbag** [*-cwpk'* | N ~*čōba*] turmeric.
Zardu(x)št [*zltw(h)št'* | (M *zrdrwšt*), N *Zardušt*] Zaraθuštra, Zoroaster.
zargōn [*zlgwn'* | P *zrgwng*, N *zaryūn*] golden, green, fresh.
~**īh:** greenness.
zarīg [*zlyk'* | M *zryg*] sorrow, grief.
~**ōmand** [*-'wmnd*] sad, sorrowful.
zarmān [*zlm'n'* | M *zrm'n-*, N ~] old man; old age, decrepitude.
~**īh:** old age.
zarr [*ZHBA* < A *zhb'*; *DHBA* < A *dhb'* | M *zr-*, N ~] gold.
~**ēn** [*ZHBAyn'*, *zlyn'* | M *zryn*, N ~*īn*] golden.
~(**ī**)**gar** [*zlykl* | N ~*gar*] goldsmith.
zarwān [*zlwp'n'* | P *zrw'n*] old age.
zastan, zāy- [*zstn'*, *z('')d-*] ask, demand.
zaxm [*ztm*, *z'hm* | (P *jxm*), N ~] wound.
zay [*zydȳ* = Av. *zaya-*] instrument, weapon.
zāy-, v. **zastan.**
zāy-, ~išn(-īg), v. **zādan.**
zāyč(ag) [*z'yc(k')* | N *zāyča*] horoscope.
zāyistan [*z'dstn'*] = **zastan.**

zayt [*zyt*[1]] olive.
zāz [*z'z* | = M, (N *žāž*)] weed, useless plant.
***zēfān** [*zyp'n*[1] | (N *zīf*)] wrong, vile.
[1]**zēn** [*zyn*[1] | = M] weapon, armour.
[2]**zēn** [*zyn*[1] | N *zīn*] saddle.
zēn-abzār [*zyn'pc'l* | N *zīnafzār*] horse-armour.
zēnāwand [*zyn'wnd*] alert, vigilant.
zēndān [*zynd'n*[1] | = M, N *zindān*] prison.
 ~bān [*-p'n*[1] | N *-bān*] jailer.
 ~īg [*-yk*[1] | N *-ī*] prisoner.
zēnēnīdan, zēnēn- [*zynyn-ytn*[1]] look after, preserve.
zēnhār [*zynh'l* | N *zinhār*] protection.
zēnīg [*zynyk*[1]] armed.
***zibāl** [*zb'l* | N *zībāl*] swift (horse, etc.).
zīh [*zyh* | N *zih*] bow-string.
zīndag [*zy(w)ndk*[1] | M *zyndg*, N *zinda*] alive, living.
 ~īh: life.
zīndakkar [*zywndkkl* | M *zyndkr*] vivifier, reviver.
zīnēnīdan, zīnēn- [*zynyn-ytn*[1]] damage, harm.
zīrak [*zylk*[1] | M *zyr*, N ~] wise, clever.
zīstan, v. **zīwistan.**
zišt [*zyšt*[1] | = P, N ~] hateful, ugly.
zīwēnīdan, zīwēn- [*zywyn-ytn*[1] | M *zywyn-*] vivify, revive.
zī(wi)stan, zī(w)- [*zyw-stn*[1] | M *zywystn*, *zyw-*, N *zīstan*] live.
zī(w)išn [*zywšn*[1] | M *zyyšn*] life; livelihood.
 ~īh: life, living.
 ~ōmand [*-'wmnd*] living, alive.
ziyānag [*zyd'nk*[1]] young woman.
zīyišn, v. **zī(w)išn.**
zofāy [*zwp'd* | M *zwp'y*] deep; depth.
 ***~īh**: depth.
zofr [*zwpl* | M *zwwpr*, J *zwrf*, (N *žarf*)] deep.
 ~āy [*-'d*] depth.
 ~-pāyag [*-p'dyk*[1]] deep.
zōhr [*zwhl* | M *zwhr*] libation, offering.
zōr [*z(')wl* | M *zwr*, N ~] power, strength.
 ~īg, ~ōmand [*-yk*[1], *-'wmnd* | M *-mnd*, N *~mand*] powerful, strong. Bsg' z'wrk z'wrgr
zōt [*zwt*[1] = Av. *zaotar-*] first officiating priest.
 ~īh: office of *zōt*.
zraw-, v. **zruftan.**
[1]**zrēh** [*zlyh* | P *zryh*] sea, lake.
[2]**zrēh** [*zlyh* | N *zirih*] armour.
zruftan, zraw- [*zlwp-tn*[1]] = **azruftan.**
zūd [*zwt*[1] | M *zwd*, N ~] quick(ly).
 ~īh: speed.
zūr [*zwl* | M *z'wr*] false, deceitful.

zūr-gugāy [*zwlgwk'dy* | M *zwrgwg'y*] false witness.
~īh: false testimony.
zurwān [*zwlw'n'*] time; the god Time, Zurvan.
zuwān [*zwb'n'*] = **uzwān.**
zūzag [*zwzk'* | (N *žūža*)] hedgehog.
zyān [*zyd'n'* | M *zyy'n*, N *ziyān*] loss, harm, damage.
~gār, ~ōmand [*-k'l*, *-'wmnd*] harmful.

ENGLISH-PAHLAVI INDEX

(a.—adjective; anim.—animate; astr.—astronomy, astrology; av.—adverb; cj.—conjunction; n.—noun; pn.—pronoun; pr.—preposition; v.—verb; vi.—intransitive; vt.—transitive.)

a ē(w).
abandon abāz ēstādan az, hištan.
ability čāraggarīh, hunar, šāyendagīh, tuwānīgīh; *extent of one's* ~ tuwān-sāmān.
abject xwār.
able abzārōmand, šāyendag, tuwānāg, tuwānīg.
able, be ~ ayārīdan, šāyistan, P šah-; v. *can*.
ablution pādyāb(īh).
abode āwarišn, bunag, māništ, nišēmag; (*daevic*) dwārišn.
abortion wišūdag.
above azabar.
abrade randīdan.
abreast hamwar.
absolute kāmag-xwadāy, kāmgār.
abstain pahrēxtan.
abuse (n.) dušnām, wad-wāzag.
abuse (v.) tar kardan / menīdan.
accept padīriftan.
acceptable mehmān.
acceptance padīrišn.
acclivity abrāz.
accompany abāgēnīdan.
accomplish pardāxtan.
account mar; v. *reckoning*; *on* ~ *of* padisāy, P wasnād; *on that* ~ ān bahrag rāy.
account-book daftar.
accursed gizistag, nifrīdag.
accused pasēmāl.
aconite bīš.
acquire ayāftan, handōxtan, windādan, xwāstan.
acquired gōšōsrūd.
acquisition handōzišn, windišn.
acquisitive ayābag.
acrobat, pole-~ dārwāzīg.
across tar, tarist.
act (v.) kardan, warzīdan.
action kard, kardag(ān), karm, rāyēnišn.
active kardār, kārīg.
activity kardārīh, kārīgīh.
adjutant P hāmharz.
admonish āwēnīdan.
adoration yasn; v. *worship*.
adorn ārāstan, azrāy-, payrāstan, pēsīdan.
adornment ārāyišn, payrāyag, pēsišn.
adult dād-meh, purnāy.
adulthood mehtarīh.
advantage bahrwarīh, sōg, sūd; v. *profit*.
adversary hamba/edīg, hambāy, hamēmāl, hamēstār; (*spiritual*) ēbgat, petyārag.
advice handarz, pand.
advise handarzēnīdan.
advocate ǰādag-gō(w).
affability huēwāzīh.
affable huēwāz.
affair kār, kard, tis.
affection grāmīgīh.
afraid, be ~ tarsīdan.
after frāz az, pas az, pay ī.
afterwards pas.
again abāz, did, P bid.
against padīrag.
age dād, -sālagīh; *old* ~ pīrīh, zarmān(īh), zarwān.
aged pīr.
ageless azarmān.
aggression hēnīh.
aggressive mustabarmānd.
agile čābuk.
agility čābukīh.
agitate ayārdēnīdan.
agitated, be ~ ayārdīdan.
agitation ayārdēnišn.

agreeable ham-dādestān.
agreement husāzagīh; pašn, pašt; (*document*) pādixšīr.
agriculture warz.
Ahuramazda Ohrmazd.
air andarwāy, way; *of the* ~ andarwāyīg.
alas alā.
alert gubrāg, wigrād, zēnāwand.
alien anōdag; v. *strange, foreign.*
alike ēwsān.
alive zīndag, zīwišnōmand.
all hamāg, hāmist, hāmōyēn, har(w), harwīn, harwisp, hambāstag.
alliance āyōzišn.
allot handāxtan.
almond wādām; ~ *sweetmeat* lawzēnag.
alms ahlawdād.
alone ēwtāg, tāg, tanīhā.
aloud borzwāngīhā.
also ham, -iz.
alter wardēnīdan.
alteration ǰadag-wihīrīh.
always bāstān, hamē, hamēšag, hāmwār, ǰāwēdān, P yāwēd(ān).
amass handōxtan.
amber kahrubā(y).
ambergris ambar.
among(st) andar(ag), mayān.
amount čandīh.
ample frāx.
anarchy abādixšāyīh.
ancestor niyāg.
ancient pīr.
and ud, (u-).
anemone alālag.
angel frēstag; *guardian* ~ frawahr, fraward.
anger dēbahr, xēšm.
angry xēšmēn.
animal gyānwar; zāyišnīg; *tame* ~ dām; *wild* ~ dad.
animate gyānwar, uštānōmand.
ankle zang.
announce niwistan, niwēyēnīdan.
announcement niwēyišn(īh).
anoint handūdan.
answer (n.) passox, (pāsox).
answer (v.) paywāz-.
ant mōr.
anti- ǰud-; *anti-demonic* ǰud-dēw.
antidote anōš, ǰud-bēš, pādzahr.
anti-knowledge pas-dānišnīh.
anus kūn.
any, not ~ ēč.
anybody kas-iz.
apart from frāz az, ǰud az.
apartments, private ~ šabestān.
apology bōzišn.
apostle frēstag, paygāmbar; v. *prophet.*
appear paydāgīhistan.
appearance čihr, dēs(ag), paydāgīh.
appetizer pēšpārag.
apple sēb.
appoint frāz griftan, gumārdan, hištan.
appointee gumārdag.
appointment pāymār.
apportion baxtan.
appropriate xwēšēnīdan.
approval passandišn.
approve passandīdan.
apricot zardālūg.
Aquarius Dōl.
aquatic ābīg.
Arab Tāzīg.
arch-demon māzandar.
archer kamāndār.
architect rāz-kirrōg.
archives dēwān.
ardent garmōg, taftīg.
Aries Warrag.
ark kēwūd.
arm bāzā.
armed zēnīg.
arm-guard bāzābānag.
armour zēn, zrēh, gurdīh.
armpit kaš.
army gund, hēn, laškar, spāh.
around pērāmōn.
arouse guhrāyēnīdan, hangēxtan.
arousing hangēzišn.
arrange ārāstan, payrāstan, rāyēnīdan, win(n)ārdan, wirāstan.
arranged, be ~ win(n)irdan.
arrangement ārāyišn, rāyēnišn, win(n)ārišn, wirāyišn(īh).
arranger rāyēnāg.
arrival rasišn.
arrive rasīdan.
arrogance abartanīh.
arrogant abartan.
arrow tigr; ~ *shaft* čōbag.

artisan hutuxš, kirrōg.
artistry nēzūmānīh.
arts kirrōgīh.
Aryan Ērānag; ~ *home, land* Ērānšahr, Ērānwēz.
as (av.) ŏwōn, čiyōn; (cj.) čē; ~ *if* čiyōn ka.
ascendant ul-āmadān.
ascribe to abāz dādan ō.
ashamed šarmgēn; *be* ~ pafšīr-.
ashen ādurestarēn.
ashes ādurestar.
ask pursīdan, zastan, (zāyistan).
aspen spēd-dār.
ass xar; *wild* ~ gōr.
assembly hanǰaman.
assignment pāymār.
assist ayārīdan, frayādīdan.
assistance abāgīh, dastyārīh, frayād(išn).
association hamīh, nišast.
assured(ly) ēwar.
astonished widimušt.
astonishing škeft.
astonishment škeftīh, widimuštīh.
astray wiyābān; *lead* ~ wiyābānēnīdan.
astrologer axtar(ā)mār, starōšmār (-ōšmur).
astrology axtar(ā)mārīh, kundāgīh.
at ō, pad.
atmosphere andarwāy, way, spāš.
atmospheric andarwāyīg.
atone tōxtan; *cause to* ~ puhlēnīdan.
atonement puhl, tōzišn.
attack (n.) hēnīh, pahikafišn, tag.
attack (v.) pahikaftan, tag kardan abar / ō.
attain abar rasīdan ō, ayāftan.
attendant kardespās, P hāmharz.
attention nigāh.
attentive huniyōxš.
attract xwāstan.
attraction xwāhišn.
attribute abāz dādan ō.
audience handēmānīh; ~*-chamber* pēšgāh.
augur murw-nīš.
auspicious humurwāg.
authoritative pādixšā(y).
authority dastwar(īh), pādixšāyīh, sālārīh.
authorized pādixšā(y).
autumn pādēz.
average mayānag.
avert ānāftan.
Avesta abestāg.
avoid pahrēxtan, wizīristan.
avoidable wizīrišnīg.
avoidance ānābišn.
awake gubrāg, wigrād.
awaken wigrādan; v. (*a*) *rouse*.
awakening wigrāsišn(īh).
aware āgāh.
away parrōn.

baby waččag, kōdak, kawādag.
back (av.) abāz.
back (n.) pušt.
backgammon nēwardaxšīr.
bad wad, wattar; v. *evil*.
badness wadīh.
bag, skin ~ hambān, mašk.
baggage bunag.
bait čīnag.
bake poxtan.
balance tarāzūg.
ball gōy.
banana mōz.
banish pad dēbahr dāštan.
bank, river ~ bār.
banker gāhbed.
banner drafš, nīšān.
banquet sūr, xwaran.
barbarity anērīh.
bark pōst, tōz.
barley ǰaw; ǰawēn.
barren starwan.
base bun, fragān, pāyag.
baseless abun.
basil, royal ~ šāhesprahm; *speckled* ~ palangmušk.
basin šādurwān; v. *bowl*.
basis mādayān, padisār.
bastion frawār.
bat (anim.) šawāg.
bath ābzan, garmābag.
battle ardīg, hamrānīh, ǰang, nibard, pahikār, razm, P pādrazm; *do* ~ nibardīdan; v. *fight*; *doing* ~ ardīkkarīh.
battlefield kārezār, razmgāh.
bay (*horse*) bōr.
be būdan, ēstādan, h-.

bead muhrag.
beam frasp.
bear (anim.) xirs.
bear (v.) burdan; ~ *offspring* zādan, (*daevic*) hunušakēnīdan.
beard rēš.
bearer burdār.
bearing barišn.
beat kōftan, kōstan, zadan.
beautiful hučihr, nēk(ōg).
beaver babrag.
because čē, ēd rāy čē.
become būdan.
becoming (a.) niyābag.
becoming (n.) bawišn.
bed gāh, bālēngāh.
bedding wistar(ag).
bee magas ī angubēn.
beer wašag.
beestings frušag.
before handēmān, pēš.
beget (frazand) warzīdan.
beginning bunīh, fradomīh, padisār, sar.
behaviour barišn, rawišnīh, warišn.
behind pas.
being axw, stī; *come into* ~ hambūsīdan.
belief āstawānīh, wābar, wurrōyišn, xwastūgīh.
believe wurrōyistan.
believing dēn-āstawān / -burdār, xwastūg.
bell P darāγ.
belly aškamb(ag), aškom(b); (*daevic*) mulān.
below ēr, azēr.
belt kamar(-band).
bemused mast(ōg).
bench bālēngāh.
beneficence hudā(ha)gīh, kirbakkarīh, xwābarīh.
beneficent hudā(ha)g, hugar, kirbakkar, xwābar.
beneficial xwābarīg.
benefit xwābarīh.
benevolence hučašmīh, humānīh.
benevolent hučašm.
bent xwahl.
best pāhlom.
bestowal baxšišn.
better weh.
between andarag, mayān.
bezoar pādzahr.
bier gāhūg.
big wuzurg, stabr.
bile wiš, zahrag.
bind bastan; ~ *together* hambastan.
binding together hambandišnīh.
biped dōpāy.
bird murw, way, wāyendag; *little* ~ murwīzag; ~ *of good omen* humāy; ~ *of prey* škarag.
birth zāyišn.
bishop, v. *chess*.
bite gazīdan.
biting (a.) gazāg.
biting (n.) gazišn.
bitter taxl.
bitterness taxlīh.
black syā.
blacksmith āhangar.
blade tēx; ~ *of grass* giyāhīzag.
blame (n.) āwēnišn, ērang(īh), nikōhišn.
blame (v.) āwēnīdan, ēraxtan, nikōhīdan.
blameless anērang.
blameworthy āwēnišnīg, nikōhišnīg.
blaze waxšīdan.
blazing waxšendag.
blemish āhōg.
bless āfrīdan.
blessed farrox, hufraward.
blessing āfrīn.
blind kōr.
blinking mēzišn.
bliss šēdā, xwā(h)rīh.
blissful hurām.
blister ābilag.
blood xōn.
blossom (n.) škōfag, wiškōfag.
blossom (v.) škuftan, wiškuftan.
blow (n.) snāh, zanišn.
blow (v.) daftan, (damīdan); (*wind*) wāyīdan, wazīdan; ~ *flute* pazd-.
blue xašēn; *blue-green* kāskēnēn.
boar waraz.
board taxtag.
boasting nāzišn.
boat kaštīg, makōk.
bodily tanīg.
body kālbod, kirb, tan.
bodyguard puštībān.

boil (vt.) ayārdēnīdan.
bold wistāx; v. *brave.*
boldness wistāxīh.
bond band; mihr, pašn, pašt(ag).
bone ast(ag), astuxān.
bonnet kulāf.
book mādayān, nāmag, nibēg.
boon āyaft.
bore suftan.
born zādag, zāyišnīg; *be* ~ zādan.
both ǰomā; *of* ~ *worlds* dō-axwānīg.
bottle šīšag.
bottom bun, tah.
bottomless abun.
boundary kanārag, marz, sāmān, wimand.
bounded sāmānōmand, wimandīg; v. *delimited.*
boundless akanārag.
boundlessness akanāragīh.
bountiful abzōnīg.
bountifulness abzōnīgīh.
bow (*weapon*) drōn, kamān, sanwar.
bowl padišxwar, tašt.
bowman kamāndār.
bow-string zīh.
box kēwūd, tabangōg; (*tree*) šimšār.
boy, v. *lad, page, son.*
brain mazg.
branch azg, tāg.
brand drōšīdan.
branding drōš.
brandish wēxtan.
brass brinǰ, rōy.
brassard bāzābānag.
brave čēr, dilēr, marčābuk, mardānag, nēw.
bravery čērīh, gurdīh, marčābukīh, mardānagīh.
brazen brinǰēn, rōyēn.
bread nān; *daily* ~ rōzīg.
breadth pahnāy, wēhmīh.
break (vi.) wisistan; v. *broken.*
break (vt.) škastan.
breaking šken(n)išn; ~ *faith* mihrōdrujīh.
breast pestān; sēn(ag), war.
breath damišn, wād, wēn; *short of* ~ dujdaft.
breathe daftan, (damīdan).
briar, sweet ~ nastaran.
bribe pārag.
brick xišt.
bridegroom dāmād.
bridge puhl.
bridle ēwān, padisār.
brigand rāhdār.
brigandage rāhdārīh.
bright rōšn, šēd, P nisāg.
brighten rōzēnīdan.
brightness, brilliance bām, brāh, brāzišn, frōg, payrōg, spīg.
brilliant bāmīg.
bring ānīdan, āwurdan, rasēnīdan, adēn-; ~ *about* andar āwurdan.
broad pahn, wēhm.
broadcast srawēnīdan.
brocade dēbāg.
broken, be ~ ških-; v. *break.*
bronze brinǰ; brinǰēn.
broom gyāg-rōb.
brother brād(ar).
brow brūg.
brown, reddish-~ bōr.
bucket dōl, hēzag.
Buddha but.
buffalo gāwmēš.
bug sās.
build dēsīdan.
builder rāz-kirrōg.
bull gāw.
bun kulāčag.
bunch, bundle dastag.
burden bār.
buried nigān.
burn (vi.) waxšīdan.
burn (vt.) dazīdan, sōxtan, tāftan, (tābīdan).
burning (a.) sōzāg, taftīg, waxšendag; *ever-*~ hamēšag-sōz.
burning (n.) dazišn, sōg, sōzišn, tābišn.
burrow sūrāg.
burrowing sūrāgīg.
burst škāftan.
bustard čarz.
but bē.
butter kār, rōyn.
buttermilk, dried ~ kašk.
buttock kūn.
buy xrīdan.
Byzantine hrōmāyīg.
Byzantium Hrōm.

Caesar kēsar.
calculate āmār-; v. *reckon.*
calculated ōšmurdīg.
calculation ōšmārag.
calf gawdar.
call xrōstan, xwandan.
calumny dušēwāzīh.
calyx kulāfak.
camel uštar.
camp bunag.
camphor kāpūr.
can šāyistan, tuwān, P šah-; v. *able.*
canapé bazmāwurd.
Cancer Karzang.
cane graw, nay.
cane-brake nayestān.
cap kulāf(ak).
capable ādūg.
capital šahrestān.
Capricorn Wahīg.
captive dastgīr, griftār, wardag; v. *prisoner.*
captivity dastgraw, wardagīh.
caravan kārawān.
caravaneer kārawānīg.
care (n.) nigāhdār(išn)īh, pahrēz; tēmār.
care for pahrēxtan.
cared for pad-nigerišn.
carpenter durgar.
carpet bōb.
carriage wardyūn.
carrion murdār, nasā.
carry burdan; ~ *away* wāzīdan.
carry out hanjāftan.
case (*law*) dādestān, ǰādag.
cast down hambāstan.
caste pēšag.
castle, v. *chess.*
cat gurbag.
cattle gōspand, stōr.
cattle-stall gōstān.
cauldron dēg.
cause (*reason*) čim, wihān(ag); (*case*) ǰādag.
cavity gabr.
ceiling aškōb.
celebrate yaštan.
celebration ǰašn.
celery karafs.
cemetery daxmagestān.
centaur nēmasp.
ceremonies, religious ~ hamāgdēn, radpassāg.
certain a- / abē-gumān, ēwar, tāštīg.
certainly ēwar.
certainty abēgumānīh, tāšt.
chaff kāh.
chain zanǰīr.
chalcedony karkēhan.
chamberlain dar-handarzbed.
chance (n.) ǰahišn.
chance (v.) ǰastan.
change (n.) wardišn, wihīrišn.
change (vi.) waštan, wihīr-.
change (vt.) wardēnīdan.
changeable rōzward, wardišnīg.
channel ǰō(y), kahas.
chapter dar.
character čiyōnīh; ragīh, xēm, xōg.
characteristic daxšag.
charge, in ~ abarmān.
chariot rah, wardyūn.
charity ahlawdād.
charm nērang; v. *spell.*
chase (n.) naxčīr.
chase (v.) pazdēnīdan, tāxtan, tazēnīdan.
chatter (n.) drāyišn.
chatter (v.) drāyīdan.
cheek ērwārag.
cheese panīr.
cheetah yōz.
cherish parwardan.
chess čatrang; (*pieces*) *K* šāh, *Q* frazēn, *B* pīl, *Kt* asp, *R* mādayār, *P* payādag.
chest sēn(ag); (*box*) tabangōg.
chestnut šāhbalūt.
chew ǰūdan.
chicken kark.
chick-pea naxōd.
chief (a.) mādayān, (*daevic*) kamālīg.
chief, spiritual ~ rad.
child aburnāy(ag), frazand, rahīg, waččag, zādag, zahag.
childbirth abusīh.
childhood aburnāyīh, rahīgīh.
childless apus, starwan.
choice (a.) pad-wizēn.
choice (n.) wizēn.
choose wēxtan, wizīdan, wurrōyistan.
chooser wizēngar.
Christian tarsāg.

chronicle kārnāmag.
circle čambar.
circular gird.
circumstance čē-ēwēnagīh.
circumvallation, citadel parwār; v. *fortification.*
cither tambūr.
citron wādrang.
city šahr, šahrestān.
claim pahikārdan.
clarion nāy.
class mar.
clay gil; gilēn.
clean pāk; *ritually* ~ pādyāb; v. *pure.*
cleanse wēxtan.
cleansed āsnūd(ag), (āsnīdag).
clear rōšnag.
cleave tāšīdan.
clever zīrak; v. *wise.*
clime kišwar.
cloak kabāh.
clothe nihuftan, (nihumbīdan).
clothing ǰāmag, paymōg, wastar(ag).
cloud abr, mēy, snōy.
clover aspast.
club gad, warz, (wazr); *bearing a* ~ gadwar.
cluster hōšag.
coarse stabr, sturg.
coarseness stabrīh.
cock xrōs.
coconut anārgēl.
coin, small copper ~ pišīz.
cold sard; ~ *region* sardsēr.
coldness sardīh, sarmāg.
collaboration hamkārīh.
collaborator hamkār.
collapse hambastan.
collapsed hambastag.
collect (vi.) ō gird āmadan.
collect (vt.) hambārīdan, harrōb-, P amwaštan.
collection harrōbišnīh.
colour (n.) gōn(ag), rang.
colour (v.) pēsīdan.
colt kurrag.
column stūn(ag); *military* ~ kārawān.
comb šānag.
combat hamnibardīh, hamrānīh, kō(x)šišn; v. *fight.*
combustion sōg, sōzišn.
come āmadan, madan; awar!; ~ *in* andar āmadan; ~ *to, upon* abar rasīdan; ~ *to an end* ō ham madan.
comer madār.
command (n.) framān.
command (v.) framūdan.
commander framāndār, kustagbed, sāstār, spāhbed.
commandment framāyišn.
commentary zand.
commission gumārdan.
commit abespurdan.
commonalty amaragān, pāyram.
community hanǰaman; wālan.
compact hambast.
companion hambāy.
company abāgīh.
compelled ačārag.
compensation tāwān.
complain garzīdan, nāl-.
complaining garzišnīg, mustōmand.
complaint garzišn, gilag, must.
complete (a.) bowandag, hangirdīg, (u)spurrīg.
complete (v.) frazāftan, hangirdēnīdan, hanǰāftan.
completeness hangirdīgīh, spurrīgīh.
completion bowandagīh, frazāmišn, hanǰām.
complexion gōn(ag).
compose hambastan, hamēnīdan.
composed hambastag; *be* ~ hambūdan.
composite bahrōmand.
compositeness bahrōmandīh.
composition hambawišn(īh).
comprehend abar madan.
comprehension ayābagīh; parwand.
compress afšurdan.
comprise parwastan.
comrade hamahl, hamāl.
conceal nihuftan, (abar) nihumbīdan.
concealment nihān.
conceived, be ~ hambūsīdan.
conception hambūsišn.
concerning andar.
conclusion frazām.
condemn ēraxtan.
condemnation čašmagāhīh, ērang(īh); v. *blame.*
conduct (n.) warišn; v. *behaviour good* ~ ērīh.
conduct (v.) franāftan.
confess āškārāgēnīdan, garzīdan.

confessing āstawān, xwastūg.
confession āstawānīh, xwastūgīh; āškārağīh.
confidence wistāxīh.
confident wistāx.
confounded stard.
confused āhīd; *be* ~ šēb-.
confusion āhīdīh, šēbišn.
congregation hanǰaman.
connect paywastan.
connected hamband.
connection hambandīh, paywand.
conquer tarwēnīdan, wānīdan.
conquest wānišn.
conscious ōšyār.
consciousness ōš(īh).
consecrate niwistan, niwēyēnīdan.
consecrated bread drōn; ~ *drink* parāhōm.
conserve ambag.
consider abar nigerīdan, pad ēd dāštan, handēšīdan, hangārdan, ōšmurdan, uskārdan.
consideration āmār, hangārišn, ōšmārišn, uskārišn(īh).
consign abespurdan.
consolation wīdwarīh.
consoled wīdwar.
constellation axtar.
constitution passāzišn.
constraint widang.
consubstantial hamgōhr.
consult pahikārdan.
consultation hampursagīh.
consulting hampursag.
consume xwardan.
consumption xwarišnīh.
contain parwastan.
contained, be ~ *in* andar būdan.
container kabārag.
contempt tarmenišnīh.
contemptuous tarmenišn.
contend with pahikār-.
content(ed) abēmust, hunsand, hušnūd, wīdwar.
content(ment) hunsandīh, hušnūdīh, šnōmag, šnōhr, wīdwarīh.
contentious sturg.
contiguous hamsāmān.
continent kišwar; v. Appendix (vi).
continually paywastag.
continue ēstādan.
contract mihr.
contract-breaker mihrdrōz, mihrōdruǰ.
contrary abārōn, mih.
conversion hāzišn.
convert hāxtan.
cook poxtan.
cool (a.) xunak.
cool (v.) afsārdan.
cool down afsardan.
cooling afsārišn.
cope with abar madan.
copper rōy; (a.) rōyēn; v. *coin.*
copulate gādan, marzīdan.
copulation māyišn, marzišn(īh).
copy pa(č)čēn.
coral wassad, xrōhak.
coralline wassadēn.
cord wandag.
core mādayān, uruspar.
coriander g/kišnīz.
corn ǰōrdā.
corner gōšag.
corpor(e)al astōmand, astwand, kālbodōmand, tanīg, tanīgard, tanōmand.
corpor(e)ality astōmandīh, tanōmandīh.
corpse ristag, nasā.
corrupt gannāg, winastag; v. *rotten.*
corruption gannāgīh, nasrušt(īh), pōhišn.
corvée bēgār.
cost uzēnag.
costume brahm(ag).
costus kust.
cot gāhwārag.
cotton pambag; (a.) pambagēn.
couch bālēngāh, taxtgāh.
counsel pand; *taking* ~ hampursag.
count ōšmurdan.
counter- padīrag.
counterpart brādarōd.
countless amar(ag), anōšmār, asāg.
country būm, deh, šahr.
countryman dahigān, (dehgān).
couple ǰuxt.
courier payg.
courtier wāspuhragān.
cover (n.) wistar(ag).
cover (v.) nihuftan, (nihumbīdan), pōšīdan.

covering pōšišn.
cow gāw.
coward wad-dil.
cow-shed gōstān.
crab karzang.
cradle gāhwārag.
craftsman kirrōg.
craftsmanship kirrōgīh.
crane kulang.
create āf(u)rīdan, (frāz) brēhēnīdan, dādan, tāšīdan; (*daevic*) kirrēnīdan.
creation āfurišn, brēhēnišn, (bun-) dahišn; dām.
creator dādār, Day.
creatorship dādārīh.
creature dām; *noxious* ~ xrafstar.
crime āgrift, wināh.
crimson karmīr.
crooked waxr, xwahl.
cross widardan, (widaštan).
crossing widerišn(īh).
crow warāy.
crowd grōh.
crown abesar.
crucifixion dārgardīh.
crude xām.
crush afšurdan, kōftan.
cry (n.) wāng.
cry (v.) xrōstan; (*weep*) griyistan.
crystal ābgēnag, bēlūr.
crystalline ābgēnagēn.
cub waččag.
cubit ārešn, frārāst.
cultivate wirāstan.
cultivated ābādān; ~ *land* warzbūm.
cultivation ābādānīh.
cup paygāl.
cup-maker paygālgar.
curator stūr.
curds māst.
cure bēšāz(ēn)-.
curls gēs.
currency rawāgīh.
current rawāg.
curse nifrīn.
curtain pardag.
cushion bālēn, bāliš.
custodian (*of stray animals*) apēdagdār.
custom dastwarīh, ēwēn(ag).
customary šōnīg.
cut (n.) brīn.
cut (v.) b(u)rīdan, tāšīdan.
cutting (a.) burāg.
cutting (n.) burišn.
cypress sarw.

daevic creature wišūdag; v. *noxious*.
dagger čēlān, dašnag.
daily rōzwārag.
dais šādurwān.
dakhma daxmag, dādgāh.
damage (n.) wināhišn, zyān; v. *harm*.
damage (v.) wināhīdan, zīnēnīdan; v. *hurt*, *injure*.
damask, *monochrome* ~ piring; *polychrome* ~ parnagān.
damn ēraxtan.
damp naft; v. *moist*.
danger sēǰ; *free from* ~ asēǰ.
dangerous sēǰōmand.
dare ayārīdan.
dark tārīg/k, tērag; ~-*coloured* dabr.
darkness tār, tārīg/kīh, tom.
date xormā.
date-palm muy.
daughter duxt(ar).
dawn bāmdād, ōš, ōš(e)bām.
dawning wizīhišn(īh).
day rōz; ~ *and night* rōz-šabān.
daytime rōzgār.
dead rist.
deaf karr.
dear dōšag, grāmīg.
death marg(īh), ōš, widerišn(īh), P murd; *moment of* ~ gyān kandan; *deserving* ~ margarzān; *risk* ~, *fight to* ~ anōš xwardan.
deathless ahōš, amarg; v. *immortal*.
deathlessness amargīh; v. *immortality*.
debt abām.
decay pōhišn.
deceased anōšagruwān; v. *blessed*.
deceit dawāl, drō, frēb, pa(č)čībāgīh.
deceitful dōsaxwan, zūr.
deceive druxtan, frēftan, pa(č)čībāy-, wiyābānēnīdan.
deceived frēftār.
deceiver dabr; frēftār.
deception frēb, wiyābān(gar)īh.
decide frāz griftan.
decision wizārišn, wizīr.
decisive brīngar.

declination ōgrā.
declining nišēbīg.
declivity nišēb, šēb.
decrease (n.) kāhišn, nirfsišn.
decrease (vi.) nirfs-, kāstan.
decrease (vt.) kāhēnīdan, kāstan.
decree, v. *destiny*.
decree (v.) brēhēnīdan.
decreeing brēhēnāg.
decrepitude zarmān.
deed kār, kunišn; v. *good, evil*.
deep zofāy, zofr(-pāyag); (*water*) nāydāg.
deer gawazn.
defeat pahikār-, stōwēnīdan.
defeated stō.
defecate rīdan.
defence pahrēz, pāsbānīh; (*legal*) pasēmālīh.
defend pādan.
defendant pasēmāl.
deficiency abēbūd(īh), frōdmānd.
defile āhōgēnīdan, ālūdan.
defiled ālūdag.
defilement ālūdagīh; v. *pollution*.
degree (*of arc*) suš.
dejection (astr.) nišēb, past.
delay (n.) spōz(išn).
delay (v.) spōxtan.
delicate dārmag.
delight huniyāgīh, urwāhm(an)īh.
delightful huniyāg.
delimitation brīn.
delimited brīnōmand; v. *bounded, limited*.
deluded wiyābān.
delusion wiyābānīh.
demand zastan, (zāyistan).
demolish hambāstan.
demolition hambāhišn.
demon dēw, druz; *female* ~ eh; v. Appendix (ii).
demonic dēwānag.
denying nakkīrā.
depart franaftan.
deprivation appārīh.
deprived abahr.
depth nigūnīh, zahā, zahīh, zofāy(īh), zofrāy.
deputy gumārdag.
descendant naft.
desert wiyābān.
design nigār-.
desire (n.) ārzōg, kām(ag), waran, xwāhišn.
desire (v.) abāyistan, grāyīdan, kāmistan, xwāstan.
desirous kāmagōmand.
desist from abāz ēstādan az.
desolate awērag, awērān.
desolation drōšag.
despairing anummēd.
despatch (n.) wisē; (v.), v. *send*.
desperate gyān-abespār.
despise tar kardan / menīdan.
destiny brēh, brēhēnišn.
destroy abesīhēnīdan, (afsēnistan), gugān-, kandan, murnjēnīdan, wānīdan, wimuštan, wināhīdan, wišuftan.
destroyed ānāst, mūdag, tabāh, wany; *be* ~ abesīhīdan.
destroyer, *destructive* kastār, zadār.
destructible wišōbišnīg.
destruction abesīhišn(īh), afsēnišn, ānāstīh, kastārīh, tabāhīh, wānišn, wany(b)ūdīh, wināhišn, wišōbišn.
detail, *in* ~ gōwizār.
detailed gōkānīg.
details gōkān.
determined brīn.
determiner brīngar.
detriment (astr.) petyārag.
devil dēw.
devil-worship dēw-ēsnīh / -ēzagīh.
devoted gyān-abespār.
devour ōbārdan; (*daevic*) ǰūdan.
dew miznē.
dexterous nēzūmān(īg).
diagram nigārag.
diamond almās(t).
die (*gaming*) gardānāg, tās.
die (v.) murdan, widardan, (widaštan).
difference ǰudāgīh.
different ǰud, ǰudāg, ǰuttar.
difficult duškar, duš(x)wār, garān.
difficulty duš(x)wārīh.
dig kandan.
digest gugār(ī)dan.
digestible hugugār.
dignified huškōh.
dignity huškōhīh, škōh.
dilatory spōzgār.

diligence tuxšāgīh; v. *endeavour*.
diligent tuxšāg.
diminish kāstan.
diminisher kāstār.
diminution kāhišn, nirfsišn.
dinar dēnār.
dip ōgrā.
direct (a.) rāst.
direct (v.) rāyēnīdan.
direction kust(ag), nēmag, rōn, sōg; *downward* ~ nigūnīh; *upward* ~ ulīh; v. *organization*.
dirt rēm.
dirty rēman.
disagreeable duš(x)wār; ǰud-dādestān.
disappear abaydāgīhistan.
disappointment ōrēb(īh).
disbelief anāstawānīh.
disbelieving anāstawān.
disciple hašāgird, hāwišt.
disciplehood hāwištīh.
discord anāštīh.
discriminate wizīdan.
disengage from abāz kardan az.
dish padišxwar.
dishonour anāzarmīh, dusrawīh.
dishonoured anāzarm(īg), dusraw.
disk girdag.
disobedience aburdframānīh, spōz, spōzišn.
disobedient aburdframān, spōzgār.
disobey spōxtan.
dispense with wizīristan.
disperse pargandan.
disposition menišn, ragīh, xōg.
dispute (n.) pahikār.
dispute (v.) ēraxtan; v. *fight*.
disquiet anāštīh.
dissatisfaction ahunsandīh.
dissatisfied ahunsand.
dissolve widāxtan.
dissolved, be ~ widāzīhistan.
distant dūr.
distorted waxr.
distress stōwīh, škeftīh, tangīh, widang.
distressed ranǰwar, stō.
distribute baxtan, pargandan.
distribution baxšišn.
district awestām, kust(ag), pāygōs, rōstāg, zand.
disturb āyōzīdan, wišuftan.
disturbance āšōb.
divide wiškīdan.
divinity abargar, yazd; v. Appendix (i).
divisible bahrōmand.
division bazišn, brīn, kardag.
do kardan.
doctor bizešk.
doctrine āfrāh, čāštag, pōryōtkēšīh.
doer kardār, kunišngar.
dog sag.
dogma kēš.
dog-rose nastaran.
dome gumbad.
domestic ādehīg; kadagīg.
dominion šahryārīh; *of long* ~ dagrand-xwadāy.
don paymōxtan, pōšīdan.
donation dahišn.
done, be ~ kirīh-; *be* ~ *with* pardaxtan az; *not* ~ akard.
donkey xar.
door dar.
double dōgānag.
doubt gumān(īh), warōmandīh; *casting* ~ gumāngar.
doubtful gumānīg, warōmand.
down ēr, frōd.
downwards nigūnsār.
dowry kābēn.
drachm drahm.
dragon az, Azdahāg; (astr.) Gōzihr.
draught āhang.
draw (*pull*) kešīdan; (*picture*) nigār-; ~ *out*, ~ *water* āhixtan, hixtan.
dread āhr.
dream būšāsp, xwamn.
dress paymōzan; v. *garment*.
drink xwārišn; *alcoholic* ~ hur.
drink (v.) xwārīdan; *cause to* ~ xwārēn-.
drinking xwārišn; ~-*vessel* takōk.
drop paššing, paššinǰag, srešk.
drug dārūg.
drum tumbag.
drunken mast(ōg).
drunkenness mastōgīh.
dry hušk.
dry up hōšīdan.
dumb agōwāg, gung.
dung gūh, sargēn.
dung-worm pazūg ī gūhgard.

duration drang.
dust gard, xāk.
dutiful xwēškār.
duty bār, frēz, harg; *fulfilling duties* frēzb/wānīh.
dwell bunag dāštan, mān-.
dwelling ēstišn, mān, mānišn, māništ, xān ud mān; ~ *of demons* gilistag.
dye rang.
dying purr-gāh, widerān.

each harw.
eagle āluh, dālman, humāy.
ear gōš; ~ *of corn* hōšag.
earnings windišn.
ear-ring gōšwār.
earth būm, xāk, zamīg.
earthly zamīgīg.
earthquake būm-čandag.
ease āsānīh, rāmišn, xwārīh; *at* ~ rāmišnīg.
east ōšastar, xwarāsān.
easy āsān, sabuk, xwār.
eat xwardan; *cause to* ~ xwārēn-.
eating xwarišnīh; (*daevic*) ǰōyišn.
ebb ōgār.
ebony abnūs.
edge kanār(ag), karān; *sharp* ~ tēx.
edible xwarišnīg, xwārēn, xwardār.
educate frahixtan, parwardan.
educated frahixtag.
education frahang, parwarišn.
effort harg.
egg xāyag.
egg-shaped xāyagdēs.
eight hašt.
eighteen haštdah.
eighty haštād.
elbow āranǰ.
elder dādmeh, mehtar.
element āmēzišn, rastag, zāhag.
elephant pīl; ~*-driver* pīlbān.
eleven yāzdah.
eloquent gōwāg.
embassy bayaspānīh.
embers xwarg.
embrace āgōš, kanār.
emerald uzumburd.
emptiness tuhīgīh.
empty tuhīg.
enchant afsūdan.
encircle hambastan.
enclose parwastan.
enclosure parwand, parwast, war.
end abdomīh, frazām, hanǰām, karān, sar; *come to an* ~ ō ham madan; v. *finish*; *from* ~ *to* ~ sarāsar.
endeavour (n.) āyōzišn(īh), tuxšāgīh, tuxšišn.
endeavour (v.) kō(x)šīdan, tuxšīdan; v. *strive*.
endless asar.
endowed bahrwar.
endurance pattūgīh.
endure burdan, pattūdan, widār-(ī)dan.
enduring pattūg.
enemy dušmen.
energetic kō(x)šišnīg.
engendered zāyišnīg.
enlarge frāxēnīdan.
enmity anāštīh, dušmenīh.
enough was.
enter andar āmadan / šudan.
entertainer huniyāgar.
entertainment huniyāgīh.
enthroned, *be* ~ abar nišastan.
entire bowandag, (u)spurrīg; v. *complete*.
entrails rōdīgān.
entrance widār.
entrust abespurdan, gumārdan.
entry adēn.
entwine pēčīdan.
envious areškēn, čašmarešk, duščašm.
envoy bayaspān.
envy arešk, čašmareškīh, duščašmīh.
epistle frawardag.
equal (a.) hamōg.
equal (n.) hamahl, hamāl, hamtāg.
equivalent gōhrīg.
Eranian Ērānag.
erect stēγ, stēndag.
ermine kākom ī spēd.
erring aband, abērāh.
error abandīh, ērang(īh).
escape (n.) rastārīh, wirēg.
escape (v.) rastan, wirēxtan.
especial mādagwar; v. *special*.
especially (pad-)nāmčišt.
essence čēīh, čihr(ag), gōhr(ag), mādag, mādayān, xwadīh, uruspar.
essential gōhrīg, mādagīg, mādagwar, mādayān.

establish nihādan.
established, be ~ winnirdan.
estate dastagird.
estimate wahāg burdan.
eternal dagrand-xwadāy, hamēīg, ǰāwēd.
eternally hamēīhā, ǰāwēdān(ag), P yāwēdān.
eternity hamēšagīh, hamē-rawišnīh; *of* ~ frašagirdīg.
evening ēbārag; *previous* ~ dōš.
ever hagriz.
every harw, wisp.
everyday rōzwārag.
evident āškārāg, nigerišnīg.
evil (a.) akōmand, anāg, druwand, wad(ag), wattar, duš-; ~ *deed* dušxwaršt; ~ *eye* aš, duǰdōys^{a}rīh; ~ *rule* dušpādixšāyīh; ~ *ruler* dušpādixšā(y); ~ *speech* dušēwāzīh, dušhūxt; ~ *spirit* Ahreman, gannāg mēnōg; ~ *thought* duš(hu)mat; *of* ~ *behaviour* duškunišn; *of* ~ *religion* agdēn, duǰdēn; *of* ~ *speech* duš-gōwišn; *of* ~ *thought* dušmenišn.
evil (n.) ak, anāgīh, bazag(īh), dušīh, petyārag, wad(ag)īh, wattarīh; *onslaught of* ~ ēbgat(īh), petyāragīh.
evil-doer anāg-kardār.
evil-doing wadgarīh.
evil-minded dušwīr.
evil-natured dušxēm.
ewe mēš.
exaltation (astr.) bālist.
exalted bālistīg.
exaltedness bālistīh.
examine wizōstan.
excellence pāhlomīh.
excellent čābuk, pāhlom, pāšom.
except bē . . . (enyā), ǰud az.
excess frehbūd(īh).
excrement gūh, hixr, muhrišn.
execrable nikōhišnīg.
execrate nikōhīdan.
exempt pargūd.
exile uzdehīgīh.
exiled uzdehīg.
existence (h)astīh, axw(ān), stī.
exists (h)ast.
exit uzēnag.
expansive abzōnīg.
expel ōgārdan.
expense uzēnag.
experience kārāgāhīh.
experienced kārāgāh, nibardag.
expiate tōxtan.
expiation puhl, tōzišn.
explain paydāgēnīdan, wizārdan.
explanation wizār, zand.
explicit gōwizār.
exposition nigēz(išn).
expound nigēxtan.
express (*juice*) hunīdan.
expulsion pazdagīh.
extend, cause to ~ rawēnīdan.
extinguish afsārdan.
extinguished, be ~ (a)zruftan.
extract āhixtan; (*juice*) hunīdan.
extraordinary škeft.
exudation paššing.
eye čašm, dōys^{a}r; *evil* ~ aš, duǰdōys^{a}rīh.
eye-lash, -lid miǰ(ag).

fable afsān.
face čihr, rōy.
faint tand.
faintness tandīh.
faith kēš, xwastūgīh; *breaking* ~ mihrōdruǰīh.
faithful dēn-āstawān / -burdār.
falcon bāz.
fall kaftan, ōbastan, ōftādan, pad-.
fall down (*collapse*) hambastan.
fall on pahikaftan.
fallen hambastag.
false mih, zūr; ~ *judgement* drōdādwarīh; ~ *testimony* zūr-gugāyīh; ~ *witness* zūr-gugāy.
falsehood drōzanīh, mihōxt.
fame husrawīh, nām.
family dūdag, nāf, tōmag, tōm.
famous husraw, nāmčištīg, nāmīg.
fan damēnag.
far dūr.
farmer dahigān, (dehgān); v. *husbandman*.
farthing pišīz.
fashion (frāz) brēhēnīdan, passāxtan.
fast (a.) tāzīg; v. *quick, swift*.
fast (n.) rōzag.
fasting pādrōzag.

fat (a.) frabīh.
fat (n.) čarbišn, pih.
fate baxt, brēh, spihr.
father pid(ar).
fathom ǰudnāy.
fattiness čarbīh.
fatty čarb.
fault āhōg, māndag.
favour āyaft.
fear (n.) bīm, škōh, tars; āhr.
fear (v.) tarsīdan.
fearful bīmgēn, bīmōmand.
fearfulness bīmgēnīh.
fearless abēbīm, abīm.
fearlessness abēbīmīh.
feast bazm, sūr.
feather parr.
feeble nizār; v. *weak*.
feed xwārēn-.
feel mārdan, sōhistan.
feeling (a.) sōhišnīg.
feeling (n.) sōhišn, pahrmāhišn.
felling hambāhišn.
felon mar.
felt namad.
female dēnōdag, mādag.
femininity mādagīh.
fence parzīn.
fervent garmōg, taftīg.
festival gāhānbār; ǰašn.
fever tab, tabišn.
few andak, čand, ēwčand, kam, nihang, ōzārak.
fewer kem.
fibre rēšag.
fickle nāzuk, rōzward.
field kišw(ān)zār.
fierce sturg.
fifteen pānzdah.
fifty panǰāh.
fig anǰīr.
fight (n.) ǰang, nibard, pahikafišn; v. *battle, combat*.
fight (v.) ēraxtan, nibardīdan, pahikār-, P rān-; *make* ~ pahikāftan.
fill āgandan, hambārīdan.
filter pālūdan.
filth rēm, rēmanīh.
filthy rēman.
final(ly) abdom, pasēn.
finality abdomīh.
find windādan.
findable windišnīg.
fine bārīg/k, dārmag, P naxšag.
finger angust.
finger-guard angustbān.
finger ring angustarīg.
finish frazāftan, hanǰāftan.
finished, be ~ frazaftan, hanǰaftan.
finite kanāragōmand; v. *limited*.
fire ādur, ātaxš; *form of* ~ āsrōkerpa; *sacred* ~ ādarōg, Burzēnmihr, Farrōbāg, Gušnasp, ātaxš ī Wahrām.
fire altar ādurgāh.
fire-stand ādišt.
fire temple dādgah, gumbad.
firewood ēs/zm.
firm awestwār, ōst, ōstīgān, staft.
firmament spihr.
firmness awestwārīh.
first ahy, fradom, naxust, nazdist.
fish māhīg.
fist mus/št.
fitness sazišn, sazāgīh; v. *suitability*.
fitting abāyišnīg, niyābag, passazag, sazāg(wār); *be* ~ abāyistan, saz-.
five panǰ.
fix win(n)ārdan.
fixed (*star*) awiyābānīg.
flask šīšag.
flautist nāy-srāy.
flavour čaxšišn.
flea kayk.
flee wirēxtan.
flesh gōšt, pid.
flight parwāz, wāzišn; (*escape*) wirēg.
flock čarag, ram(ag).
flour ārd; *browned* ~ pist.
flourish, make ~ padēxēnīdan.
flourishing padēx; v. *prosperous*.
flow (n.) rēzišn, tazišnīh.
flow (v.) āšixtan, rēxtan, taxtan, (tazīdan); *cause to* ~ tāxtan, tazēnīdan.
flower (n.) gul, sprahm, škōfag.
flower (v.) škuftan.
flowing tazāg.
fluid šus^{a}r.
flummery pālūdag.
flute nāy.
fly (n.) magas, maxš.
fly (v.) wāy-, wāzīdan.
foal kurrag.

foam kaf.
fodder wāstar, P wāš.
following (*household*) gāl.
folly halagīh.
food čāštag, nān, pih, xwār, xwardīg, xwarišn; ~ *and drink* xwār-bār.
foolish dušāgāh, halag.
foolishness dušāgāhīh.
foot pay, pāy; *on* ~ payādag.
foot-soldier payādag, payg.
footstep pay.
for (cj.) čē; (pr.) rāy, P wasnād.
forbear wixšay-; v. *forgive*.
forbearance sāxtārīh, wixšayišn(īh).
forbearing wixšayišnīg.
force must, stabrīh; *vital* ~ axw.
forehead anīg, pēšānīg.
foreign anōdagīg, uzdehīg.
foremost pāhlom, pēšēnīg; ~ *seat* pēšgāh.
forest razūr; v. *wood*.
forget frāmuštan, az daxšag hištan.
forgive abaxšāyīdan, āmurzīdan, wixšay-.
forgiveness abaxšāyišn, āmurzišn.
forgiving abaxšāyišnīg.
forgotten anayād, frāmōš.
form (n.) brahm(ag), čihr, dēs(ag), ēwēn(ag), gōn(ag), ǰadag, kālbod, kirb; *of the same* ~ hamdēsag.
form (v.) čihrēnīdan, hambastan.
formed hambastag.
former pēšēnīg.
fornication marzišn(īh).
forth frāz.
fortification drubuštīh.
fortress diz, drubušt.
fortunate farrox, hangad, ǰahišnayār, xwarrahōmand.
fortune bayōbaxt, baxt, farroxīh, hangadīh, ǰahišn, xwarrah.
forty čehel.
forwards frāz.
foster parwardan, parwāl-.
foul gandag, gannāg, pūdag.
found nišāstan.
foundation bun, buništ, fragān, nihādag, nišāyišn; *lay* ~*s* fragandan.
fountain šādurwān.
four čahār.
fourteen čahārdah.
fourth tasum.
fowler talag-čīn.
fox rōbāh.
fragrance hubōyīh.
fragrant hubōy.
francolin kabkanǰīr, pōr.
frankincense kundur.
free (a.) abēzār, āzād, harzag, kāmzīwišn; ~ *from* pargūd az.
free (v.) wišādan; ~ *oneself from* pardāxtan az.
freed, be ~ *of* pardaxtan az.
freedom āzādīh, pardazišn.
freeze afsārdan.
fresh sabz, tarr, xwēd, zargōn.
freshness xwēdīh.
friend ayār, dōst, ērmān.
friendliness ayārōmandīh.
friendly ayārōmand, mihrbān.
friendship ayārīh, dōstīh, ērmānīh, mihr.
frighten pazdēnīdan.
frog wak, wazaγ.
from az.
front anīg.
frontier wimand.
fruit bar, bār, mēwag.
fruitful barōmand.
fruitless abēbar.
frustrate ānāftan.
frying-pan tābag.
fuel ēs/zm.
fulfil wizārdan.
full purr.
fuller gāzar.
fullness purr-rawišnīh.
function rāyēnišn; *proper* ~ xwēškārīh.
furrow (n.) kiš.
furrow (v.) kištan.
further did; v. *hence*.
furthermost bēdom.
fury āhr.

gain handōxtan.
gaining one's ends kāmag-hanǰām.
gall, v. *bile*.
gallows dār.
game kādag, wāzīg; (*quarry*) naxčīr.
garden bāy; (*flower*) ~ bōyestān.
gardener bōyestānbān.
garment ǰāmag, kabāh, paymōg, paymōzan, warr, wastar(ag).

gate darband.
Gatha gāh; *relating to the ~s* gāhānīg.
gather (vi.) (ō) gird āmadan, ō ham madan.
gather (vt.) čīdan, gird kardan, ō ham kardan, harrōb-, P amwaštan.
gathered gird.
gathering činišn, harrōbišn(īh); (*group*) gund, hanǰaman.
gazelle āhūg.
Gemini Dō-pahikar.
general (a.) amaragānīg.
general (n.) spāhbed.
generally, in general amaragānīhā.
generality amaragān.
generation āwādag.
generosity rādīh.
generous rād.
genesis bawišn.
gentle čarb, nāzuk.
gentleness čarbīh.
genuine wizurd.
geometry zamīg-paymānīh.
ghost (*soul*) gyān, uštān; *give up the ~* gyān kandan.
gift āyaft, dāšn, pārag, dāsᵃr.
gigantic māzandar.
giraffe uštar-gāw-palang.
girdle kamar; *sacred ~* ēbyānghan, kustīg.
girl kanīg, kanīzag; v. *daughter, maiden.*
give dādan.
giving dahišn.
glass ābgēnag, ǰām.
glazed (*pottery*) dōsēn.
gleam brāzīdan.
glorious bāmīg, xwarrahōmand.
glory abrang, bām, xwarrah.
gnat paxšag.
go franaftan, raftan, šudan; *cause to ~* rawēnīdan.
go forth abāz raftan.
go out uzīdan; (*fire*) (a)zruftan.
goat buz.
goblet ǰām(ag), paygāl.
god abargar, bay, yazd.
goer raftār.
going rawišn.
gold zarr.
golden zarrēn; (*colour*) zargōn.
goldsmith zarr(ī)gar.
good (a.) hudā(ha)g, nēk(ōg), nēw, weh, xūb, hu-, P naxšag; *~ character* huxēmīh; *~ deed* huwaršt, kirbag; *~ repute* husrawīh; *~ rule* hupādixšāyīh; *~ ruler* hupādixšā(y); *~ speech* hūxt; *~ spirit* spenāg mēnōg; *~ thought* humat; *of ~ behaviour* hukunišn; *of ~ character* huxēm; *of ~ religion* hudēn; *of ~ repute* husraw; *of ~ speech* hu-ēwāz, hu-gōwišn; *of ~ stock* pad-gōhr(ag); *of ~ thought* humenišn.
good-mindedness humānīh.
good-natured huxēm, nēk-gōhr.
goodness huīh, nēkīh, nēkgōhrīh, wehīh, xūbīh.
goose sī.
gorget grīwbān.
grace (*prayer*) wāz; *say ~* wāz griftan.
grain činag, dān(ag); ǰōrdā.
grandfather niyāg.
grandson nab.
grape angūr.
grass giyā(h).
grate randīdan.
grateful burdešnōhr, huspās, spāsdār, spāsešnās, spāsōmand.
gratitude āzādīh, spās, spāsdārīh, šnāyišn, šnōhr.
gravid zahagōmand; v. *pregnant.*
grazing čarag.
great meh, wuzurg.
Great Bear Haftōring.
greatest ayrē, mahist.
greatness wuzurgīh.
greed āz, āzwarīh, ruzdih, waranīgīh.
greediness āzkāmagīh.
greedy āzkāmag, āzwar, ruzd, waranīg.
Greek hrōmāyīg.
green sabz, zargōn.
greenness zargōnīh.
greeting ērkaš.
grey-blue kabōd.
grief čēhag, tēmār, zarīg; v. *sorrow.*
grieve čīdan; v. *lament.*
grind ārdan.
groan nāl-.
groom, head ~ āxwarr-sālār, stōrbān.

gross sturg.
group dastag, grōh, gund.
grow rustan; (*increase*) abzūdan, wālīdan, waxšīdan.
growing ārōyišnīg.
growth ārōyišn, rōyišn; (*increase*) abzāyišn, abzōn, wālišn, waxšišn.
gruel kāmag.
gryphon baškuč.
guard pānǎg, pās; nigāstār; *keep* ~ pās dāštan.
guarded pad-nigerišn, pad-pānag.
guardian pāsbān; (*legal*) stūr.
guest mehmān.
guidance parwānagīh.
guide (n.) parwānag, pēšār, rāhnimāy.
guide (v.) hāxtan, nimūdan.
guild pēšag.
guilty, be ~ of pēšār būdan.
guinea-worm pazūg.
gum dōs; zadūg.
gummy dōsēn.
guts rōdīg(ān).
gynaeceum šabestān.
gypsum gač.

habitation mehmānīh.
hag duškanīg.
hail tagarg.
hair mōy, wars; (a.) mōyēn.
hairless ambarag.
half nēm(ag).
hall srāy.
halter padisār.
hammer čakuč, potk.
hand dast, panǰag; (*daevic*) gaw; *right* ~ dašn.
hand-guard abdast.
handiwork dastkārīh.
hang (*up*) āgustan.
Haoma Hōm.
happen ǰastan.
happiness farroxīh, huramīh, hunsandīh, hušnūdīh, šādīh, šnāyēnišn, urwāzišn, xwā(h)rīh.
happy farrox, huram, hunsand, hušnūd, šād, xunak.
hard saxt, staft, škeft.
hardness, hardship škeftīh.
hare sahōg, xargōš.
harm (n.) ak, anāgīh, āzarm, bēš, bēšišn, wizend, zyān.
harm (v.), v. *hurt, damage*.
harmful pad-zyān, rēškēn, zyängar, zyānōmand.
harmfulness rēškēnīh.
harmless abēš, abēwizend, ǰudbēš.
harmlessness abēših.
harmony hamīh.
harp čang, kennār.
harpist čang-srāy, kennār-srāy.
harsh društ, staft.
harshness društīh.
harsh-spoken društ-āwāz / -ēwāz.
haste nixwārišn.
hasten awištāftan, nixwār-.
hatch wiškuftan.
hate kēn.
hateful gizistag, zišt.
haughty abarmenišn.
haunch haxt.
have dāštan.
hawk bāz.
hazelnut bistag, pondik.
he ān, ōy, P hō.
head sar, waγdān; (*daevic*) kamāl.
headman (*district, tribe*) zandbed, (*village*) wisbed.
heal bēšǎz(ēn)-.
healing (a.) bēšǎz.
healing (n.) bēšǎz(ēn)išnīh.
health drōd, drustīh, tandrustīh.
healthy drust, tandrust.
hear ǎšnūdan, niyō(x)šīdan.
hearing (a.) ǎšnawāg.
hearing (n.) ǎšnawāgīha, ǎšnawišn, niyō(x)šišn.
heart dil.
heat (n.) garmāg, garmīh, tabišn; (*she-animal*) wardagīh; *on* ~ wardag.
heat (v.) tāftan, (tābīdan).
heaven asmān.
heavenly mēnōg, spihrīg.
heaviness garānīh.
heavy garān.
hedge parzīn.
hedgehog xārpušt, xūkar(ag), zūzag.
heel pāšnag.
height bālāy.
heir nāmburdār; ēnōkēn.
held griftār.
hell dušox, dwārišn.
hellish dušoxīg.

helmet targ.
help (n.) ayārīh, dastyārīh, frayād, frayādišn.
help (v.) ayārīdan, frayādīdan.
helper ayār, dastgīr, dastyār.
helpful ayārōmand, frayādišnīg.
helpfulness ayārōmandīh.
hemp šan.
hempen šanēn.
hempseed šāhdānag.
hen kark.
henbane bang, mang.
hence parrōn.
herb marw, rūrag; *fragrant* ~ sprahm.
herd ram(ag).
here ēdar.
heresy ahlomōγīh, dušwurrōyišnīh, ǰudristagīh, zandīkīh; v. *heterodoxy*.
heretic ahlomōγ, ǰudristag, zandīk.
hero ēr, gurd, wīr, yal; *befitting a* ~ ērwār, gurdwār.
heroism gurdīh.
heterodoxy agdēnīh; v. *heresy*.
hide (n.) čarm, pōst.
hide (v.) nihuftan, (nihumbīdan).
hideous duščihr.
high borz, buland; *on* ~ bālistīg.
higher abar(dar).
highest abardom, ayrē, bālist.
hill grīwag, kōf.
hip haxt.
hire mizd.
hireling mizdwar.
hit pahikaftan, zadan.
hither ōrōn; awar!
hold dāštan, griftan.
hold by, to pad . . . dāštan.
hole maγ, sūrāg, sūrāx.
holed sūrāgōmand.
holiness pākīh, yōǰdahrīh.
hollow gabr.
hollowness gabrīh.
holy abēzag, pāk, spenāg, yōǰdahr; ~ *word* mānsᵃrspand.
homage, pay ~ namāz burdan.
home āwarišn, mēhan; (*daevic*) gilistag.
homogeneous hamēwēnag.
homomorphous hamdēsag.
honest frārōn; v. *righteous*.
honesty frārōnīh.
honey angubēn; ~*-bee* magas ī angubēn.
honour (n.) āzarm, āzarmīgīh, burzišn.
honour (v.) burzīdan.
honoured āzarmīg.
hoof sumb.
hoop čambar.
hope ēmēd, ummēd.
hopeful ummēdwār.
hopeless anummēd.
horn srū; (*trumpet*) gāwdumb.
horned srūwar.
horny srūwēn.
horoscope zāyč(ag).
horrible aryand; v. *terrible*.
horse asp, bārag, stōr.
horse-armour zēnabzār.
horseman aswār.
horsemanship aswārīh.
hospitable wišād-dar.
hospitality aspinǰ, mehmānīh, spinǰānagīh.
host mēzdbān.
hostile bēšburdār.
hostility bēš; *bear* ~ bēš burdan.
hot garm; *grow* ~ taftan.
hour zamān(ag).
house kadag, mān(d), srāy, xān(ag); v. *lady*, *master*; ~ *and home* xān ud mān.
household (*retinue*) gāl; ~ *member* mānīg.
householder kadagxwadāy.
how čiyōn, čē-ēwēnag.
how many, much čand.
human being dōpāy, mardōmzādag.
humanity mardōmīh, mardōmzādagīh.
humble ērmān(ag), ērtan, narm.
humility ērmenišnīh, ērtanīh.
hump kōf.
hundred sad.
hunger gursagīh, suy, šuy.
hungry gursag, gušnag.
hunting-ground wiškar.
hurt (n.), v. *harm*.
hurt (v.) bištan, (bēšīdan), rēšīdan.
hurtful rēškēn.
husband gādār, mērag, šōy.
husbandman wāstaryōš; v. *farmer*.
husbandry wāstaryōšīh; v. *agriculture*.

'huzwarish' uzwārišn.
hyena haftār.
hymn gāh.
hypocrisy pa(č)čībāgīh.

I az, man.
ibex pāzen.
idol but, uzdēs.
idolater uzdēsparist.
idolatry dēw-ēsnīh / -ēzagīh, uzdēs-paristišnīh.
idol-temple uzdēs-zār.
if agar, ka; ~ *only* kāč.
ignobility anērīh.
ignoble anēr.
ignorance adānīh, pas-dānišnīh.
ignorant adān, duǰdānāg, dušāgāh.
ill duš-; v. *sick*.
ill-born wad-gōhr / -tōhm.
ill-breathing duǰdaft.
ill-doing duškunišn.
illegal adād.
illegality adādīh.
ill-natured wad-xēm.
illness wašt(ag)īh, wēmārīh, xīndagīh, yask.
ill-spoken duš-gōwišn.
ill-thinking dušmenišn.
illuminate abrōxtan.
illumination abrōzišn(īh).
illuminator rōšngar.
ill-will duškām.
image nigārag, pahikar.
immaculate anāhīd, awinast.
immediately hamzamān.
immobile arawāg, awazišnīg.
immoderate apaymān; v. *excess*, *deficiency*.
immoderation apaymānīh.
immortal ahōš, amarg, anōš(ag).
immortality ahōšīh, amargīh, anōšagīh.
immutability awardišnīgīh.
immutable awardišnīg.
impair wizāstan, (wizūdan); v. *damage*, *injure*.
impalpable agriftār.
impatient apattūg.
impede pādīrān(ēn)īdan.
imperfect anuspurrīg.
imperishability asazišnīh.
imperishable afrasāwand, asazišn(īg).
impotence agārīh.
impotent hušk-kūn.
improper anabāy.
imprudent halag.
impurity āhīd.
in andar(ag), pad.
inability anabzārīh.
inactive agār, armēšt.
inactivity agārīh.
incantation afsōn, nērang.
incapable anabzār, anādūg.
incline grāyīdan.
incorrigible kōrdīl.
incorruptible apōhišn.
increase (n.) abzōn, abzāyišn, frādahišnīh, mehēnišn.
increase (vi.) abzūdan, wālīdan, waxšīdan; (vt.) mehēnīdan.
increasing abzōnīg.
indeed xwad.
indemnity gōhrīg.
independent kāmag-widār / -xwadāy kām-zīwišn.
indestructible anafsēnišn.
India Hindūgān.
Indian hindūg.
indigenous ādehīg.
indigo nīl.
individual ēwtāg, ēwāzīg.
indolence aǰgahānīh, sūdagīh.
indolent aǰgahān, sūdag.
inevitable ačār, awizīrišnīg.
inexpiable anābuhlag.
inferior aziškeh.
infidel agdēn; v. *heretic*.
infinite anagr; ~ *Light* anagrān, anagr-rōšn(īh).
infirm anōst; armēšt.
infirmity armēštīh.
inform āgāhēnīdan, azdēnīdan.
ingratitude anespāsīh.
inhabitant mehmān.
inheritance abarmānd.
inimical hambasānīg.
iniquity kastārīh.
initiate dahm.
injunction handarz.
injure āzārdan, (āza/urdan), wizāstan, (wizūdan), xastan.
injurious wizāyišnīg; v. *harmful*.
injury āzārišn, āzarm, wizāyišn, wizend.

injustice adādīh, adādestānīh.
inn aspinǰ.
innocent awināh, abēwināh.
innumerable amar, anōšmār, asāg.
insert passāxtan.
inside andarōn.
insight, spiritual ~ mēnōgwēnīh; *having* ~ ~ mēnōgwēn.
insolvency anādānīh.
insolvent anādān.
install abar nišāstan.
instantly hamzamān.
instruct frahixtan.
instrument abzār, zay; (*stringed*) rōd.
insult dušnām.
intangible agriftār.
intelligence frazānagīh, ōš(īh).
intelligent frazānag.
intend grāyīdan.
intention menišn.
intercalary (*days*) duzīdag, truftag; (*year*) wihēzagīg.
intercession ǰādag-gōwīh.
intercessor ǰādag-gō(w).
interest, v. *profit*.
intermediary mayānǰīg.
interpret wizārdan.
interpreter targumān; ~ *of dreams* xwamn-wizār.
intertwine hambastan.
intertwining hambandišnīh.
intestine(s) rōdīg, uruspar.
intimate hamdam.
intoxicated mast(ōg).
intoxication mastōgīh.
introduction handēmāngarīh.
introducer handēmāngar
inverted nigūn.
investigate wizōstan.
investigation wizōh/yišn.
invisibility abaydāgīh.
invisible abaydāg, awēnišnīg.
invocation azbāyišn.
invoke azbāy-.
invulnerability abēšīh.
invulnerable abēš, abēwizend.
Iran(ian), v. *Eran(ian)*.
iris hērīg.
iron āhan; (a.) āhanēn.
irresponsible apursišnīg.
irrigate xwārēn-.
is (h)ast; ~ *not* nēst.
issue abāz raftan.
item tāg.
itinerant wiyābānīg.

jackal tōrag.
jailer zēndānbān.
jasmine yāsaman.
javelin sel.
jaw ērwārag.
jealous areškēn.
jealousy arešk.
Jerusalem Urišlīm.
jet šabag.
Jew ǰahūd.
jewel gōhr.
jewelled pad-gōhr.
join abyōxtan, āyōxtan, (āyōzīdan), paywastan.
joined ēwkard(ag).
joke kādag.
joy farroxīh, šādīh, urwāhm(an)īh.
joyful šād, urwāhm(an).
judge (n.) dādwar.
judge (v.) handāxtan.
judgement dādestān, dādwarīh; handāzišn, wizīr.
jug xumb.
Jupiter (astr.) Ohrmazd.
justice dād, dādestān.

keep dāštan, nigāh dāštan.
keeper dāštār.
keeping nigāhdār(išn)īh.
key kilēl.
kid wahīg.
kidney gurdag.
kill kuštan, ōzadan.
kin, next of ~ nabānazdišt.
kin-marriage xwēdōdah.
kind (a.) mihrbān.
kind (n.) gōn(ag), sān, sardag, šōn; *of the same* ~ hamēwēnag.
kindle (vi.) waxšīdan; (vt.) abrōxtan.
kindness nāzišn.
king šāh; ~ *of kings* šāhānšāh.
kingly šāhwār.
kinsman xwēšāwand.
kiosk kōšk.
knead srištan.
knee (u)šnūg, zānūg.
knife kārd.
knight, v. *chess*.

knot grih.
know dānistan, šnāxtan, uzwārdan.
knowing āgāh, dānāg, dānišnōmand, šnāsag.
knowledge āgāhīh, dānāgīh, dānišn, frahang, šnāsagīh.
known āšnāg, azd.
koumiss hur.

labour, forced ~ bēgār; v. *work*.
lad rēdak.
ladder pillagān.
ladle kafč.
lady bānūg, nārīg; ~ *of the house* kadagbānūg.
lair āšyān.
lake war, zrēh.
lamb warrag.
lament (n.) šēwan.
lament (v.) čīdan, hangrāyīdan.
lamentation brāmag, čēhišn, gilag, mōyag.
lamenting hangrūdag.
lammergeyer dālman.
lamp čirāy.
lance nēzag.
land būm, deh, šahr.
lane kōy.
langour tandīh.
language uzwān, (zuwān).
languishing tand.
lapis lazuli kāskēn; (a.) kāskēnēn.
large frāx, wēhm; v. *big*.
lark čakōk.
last (a.) abdom, pasēn.
last (v.) pattūdan.
lasting ēstišn.
late (*deceased*) anōšagruwān, hufraward.
laugh xandīdan.
lavatory čamišn.
law dād, dādestān.
lay (*down*) nibāstan; ~ *foundations* fragandan.
layer tōf.
laziness aǰgahānīh, sustīh.
lazy aǰgahān, sust.
lead (n.) arzīz, srub.
lead (v.) ānīdan, franāftan, hāxtan, nīdan, rāyēnīdan, zāmēnīdan, adēn-; ~ *up* ahrāftan.
leaden arzīzēn, srubēn.
leader parwānag, pēšār, pēšōbāy, sālār.
leadership parwānagīh, pēšōbāyīh.
leaf wal/rg.
lean grāyīdan.
learn hammōxtan; ~ *by heart* warm kardan.
learner hammōxtār.
learning hammōxtārīh.
learnt gōšōsrūd.
least kahist, kamist, nidom; *at* ~ pad kamistīh.
leather čarm, dawāl.
leather bag paywāsag; v. *skin bag*.
leave hištan.
leech dēwōk, zalūg.
leek gandanāg.
left(*-hand*) hōy(ag).
leg pāy, padištān.
legal dādīg.
lemon balm wādrangbōy.
length dra(h)nāy.
lentil miǰūg, wēnōg.
Leo Šagr.
leopard palang; *hunting* ~ yōz.
leper, leprous pēs.
less keh, kem.
lessen kāhēnīdan, kāstan.
lesser kehtar.
lest ma agar.
let hištan.
letter frawardag, nāmag.
level hāmōn, hamwar.
liar drōzan.
libation zōhr.
liberal rād.
liberality rādīh.
Libra Tarāzūg.
lie (n.) drō.
lie (v.) druxtan.
lie down nibastan.
life zīndagīh, zī(w)išn(īh).
lift abrāstan.
light (a.) rōšn; (*weight*) sabuk, xwār.
light (n.) payrōg, rōšn(īh).
lighten rōzēnīdan.
lightning rōzag, wirōzag.
like (a.) ēwsān, hamōg, hamsardag, hāwand, mānāg.
like (pr.) čiyōn, handāzag ī, hangōšīdag ī, ō . . . homānāg.
like (v.) dōšīdan, passandīdan.

likeable passandišnīg.
likeness ēwsānīh, hangōšīdag, hāwandīh, homānāgīh, mānāgīh.
likewise hamēdōn, hamgōnag.
liking dōšišn, passand(išn).
lily sōsan.
limb handām, (hannām), pēšag.
limbo hammistagān.
lime čārūg; (a.) čārūgēn.
limit kanārag, karān, sāmān, wimand.
limited brīn, kanāragōmand, wimandīg, wimandōmand; v. *bounded*, *delimited*.
line kiš, radag.
lineage gōhr(ag).
link band.
lion šagr.
lip lab.
liquid šus[a]r.
little andak, kam, ōzārak, xwurd; *a* ~ čegām-iz-ē(w).
live zī(wi)stan; v. *dwell*.
livelihood zī(w)išn.
liver ǰagar.
living (a.) uštānōmand, zīndag, zī(w)išnōmand.
living (n.) zī(w)išnīh.
lizard karbāš, karbunag.
load bār, puštag.
loan abām.
locks gēs.
locust kullag, mayg.
logic čimgōwāgīh.
long dagr, dagrand, drāz.
long-lasting dagr-pattāy.
long-lived dagr-zī(w)išn.
look (n.) nigāh.
look (v.) nigerīdan, nigāh kardan.
look after zēnēnīdan.
loose (a.) harzag; wišād.
loose (v.) wišādan.
loosen wiyōz-.
loosing hilišn.
lord axw, bay, šahryār, xwadāy; ~ *of the land* dahibed.
lordly xwadāywār.
lordship xwadāyīh.
loss appārīh, zyān.
lost wany; (*stray*) apēdag.
lot bahr.
lotus nīlōpal.
loud borzwāng.
louse spiš.
love (n.) dōstīh, dōšagīh, dōšāram, mihr.
love (v.) dōšīdan.
loving dōšag.
low ēr, past.
low-born wad-gōhr / -tōhm.
lowland garmsēr.
lucerne aspast.
lunar mansion xwurdag.
lunch čāšt.
lung suš.
lust ārzōg, āz, waran, waranīgīh.
lute tambūr, win.
lying drōzan; (*prostrate*) nibēm.
lyre barbut, kennār; v. *harp*.

mace gad, warz, (wazr).
mad dēwānag.
madder rōyan.
made, *be* ~ kirīh-.
magic ǰādūgīh, kundāgīh.
magician ǰādūg, kēd, kundāg.
magnify mehēnīdan.
magpie kāskēn(ag) murw.
Magus moγmard; v. *priest*.
maid kanīg, kanīzag, paristār.
maiden dōšīzag.
maidenhood dōšīzagīh.
maintenance dārišn, ǰadārīh.
majestic rāyōmand.
majesty škōh; s.v. bay.
make kardan, sāxtan.
male gušn, nar.
maleficent anāg-kardār.
malevolence duškām, wadkāmagīh.
malevolent wadkāmag.
malice kēn.
malicious kēnīg.
man mard, wīr; (~*kind*) mardōm; *the First* ~ Gayōmart; *old* ~ zarmān; *young* ~ mērag.
manager kārframān.
mane bašn, buš.
manger āxwarr.
Manichaean zandīk.
manifest nigerišnīg; v. *obvious*, *visible*.
mankind mardōm.
manliness mardānagīh.
manly mardānag, nar.

manna tabarzad.
manner brahm(ag), ēwēn(ag), handāzag, hangōšīdag, ristag, sān, šōn, ēdōnīh.
manure sargēn.
many was, wasyār; *so* ~ and, čand.
march (*border*) marz; ~ *warden*, *margrave* marzobān.
mare mādīyān.
marigold hamēwahār.
marjoram marzangōš.
mark daxšag, drōš(om), nīšān.
marked daxšagōmand.
market wāzār.
marking-nut balādur.
marriage zanīh; ~ *feast* wayōdagān.
marriage portion kābēn.
marrow mazg.
Mars Wahrām.
marten xaz.
marvel abd sahistan.
marzipan lawzēnag.
mask padām.
mast frasp, stūn(ag).
master awestād, rad, sālār; ~ *of the house* kadagxwadāy, mānbed.
mastery abarōzīh.
material astwand, astōmand.
matter xīr, kard; (*physical*) mādišt.
maturation pazzāmišn.
mature pazzām-, ō paymān madan, rasīdan.
maw zafar.
Mazdaism māzdēsnīh.
Mazdean māzdēsn, wehdēn; ~ *scriptures* abestāg.
meadow rāγ; v. *pasture*.
meal bazm, čāšt, mēzd, sūr; *evening* ~ šām.
mean pen; xwār.
meaning čim.
meanness penīh.
means abzār, čār.
measure (n.) handāzag, paymān(ag); (*time*, *length*) hās^{a}r, v. Appendix (vii); *grain* ~ grīw, kabīz.
measure (v.) paymūdan.
meat gōšt, pid; *pickled* ~ xāmīz; *potted* ~ halām.
mediation mayānjīgih.
mediator mayānjīg.
medicament dārūg.
medicinal bēšāz, biǰagān; ~ *plant* rūrag.
medicine darmān.
meek narm; v. *humble*.
meet, *come to* ~ ō padīrag madan.
meeting padīragīh.
melody niwāg.
melt widāxtan.
melted, *be* ~ widāzīhistan.
member handām, (hannām), pēšag.
memoir ayādgār.
memorize warm kardan.
memory ayād, ayāsišn(īh), daxšag, warm, wīr, wīrōmandīh.
menstrual cycle daštānmāh.
menstruation daštān.
menstruous daštān(ōmand).
merchant wāzāragān.
merciful abaxšāyišnīg.
merciless anāmurzīd.
mercilessness anāmurzišn.
Mercury Tīr.
mercy abaxšāyišn, āmurzišn; *have* ~ abaxšāyīdan, āmurzīdan.
merry wiyufsišnīg; v. *happy*; *make* ~ wiyufs-.
merrymaking spaxr, wiyufsišn.
message paygām.
messenger aštag, bayaspān, paygāmbar.
metal ayōxšust, xwēn-āhan.
metallic ayōxšustēn.
metamorphosis wardišn; v. *transformation*.
midday nēmrōz; ~ *heat* rabih.
middle mayān; nēmtan.
middling mayānag.
midget widestīg.
might sēzd, tuwān.
mighty kardagār, sēzdēn, tuwānāg; v. *powerful*.
migrant kārdāg.
milch dēnōdag.
mild čarb.
milk (n.) ǰīw, pēm, šīr; *sour* ~ māst.
milk (v.) dōxtan, (dōšīdan).
mill (n.) āsyāb, āsyāg.
mill (v.) ārdan.
millennium hazārag.
millet ālum, arzan; *giant* ~ gahl, gāwars.
millstone āsyāg.

mind axw, mānag, wārom, wīr.
mindful, be ~ of ayāsīdan, (ayāstan).
minister dastwar; *prime ~* wuzurg-framādār.
minor (*sins*) xwārtar.
minute (*of arc*) lipī.
miracle warz, widimās(īh).
miraculous power, having ~ warz-āwand.
mirror ēwēnag.
miserly pen.
misery niyāz.
misfortune astānag, dušfarragīh, duš(x)wārīh, petyārag.
misrule dušxwadāyīh; v. *evil rule*.
mission aštagīh, bayaspānīh.
mist mēγ, miznē.
mistress kadagbānūg.
Mithra Mihr.
mix abyōxtan, āmēxtan, gumēxtan, srištan.
mixing, mixture āmēzišn, gumēzišn, gumēzag(īh), gumēg.
mobile wazišnīg.
mocker afsōsgar.
mockery afsōs, riyahrīh.
moderate paymānīg.
moderation paymān(īgīh).
modesty nang.
modius grīw.
moist naft, tarr, xwēd.
moisture nam, xwēdīh.
monkey kabīg.
month māh, māhīgān.
moon āyišm, māh; *full ~* purrmāh; *new ~* andarmāh.
more frāy, freh, wēš.
moreover enyā.
morning bāmdād.
morocco leather saxtag.
mortal anōšxwar, gēhānīg, marg-ōmand, ōšōmand, sazišnīg.
mortar hāwan; (*lime*) čārūg.
mosque mazgit.
mosquito paxšag.
most frahist.
mother mād(ar).
motion ǰumbāgīh, ǰumbišn, rawišn; *set in ~* rawāgēnīdan.
mottled pēs.
mount bārag, stōr.
mountain gar, kōf.
mourn čīdan.
mournful čehišnīg.
mouse mušk.
mouth dahǎn; (*daevic*) zafar.
movable wihēzagīg.
move ēwarzīdan, ǰumbīdan, raftan, wazīdan, wihēz-; *~ quickly* šēb-; *cause to ~* ǰumbēnīdan, wāzīdan.
moved, be ~ ǰumbīhistan.
movement čandišn, ēwarz, ǰumbišn, wāzišn, wihēz(ag).
moving ēwarzīg.
mow drūdan.
much abēr, frāy, freh, was, wasyār; *as ~ as, however ~* and čand; *so ~* and, čand.
mud laǰan.
music niwāg.
musician huniyāgar.
musk mušk.
mussuck mašk; *small ~* maškīzag.
must (n.) bādag.
must (v.) abāy-.
mustard seed spandān.
mutability wardišn(īg)īh.
muzzle pōz(ag).
myriad bēwar.
myrobalan halīlag.
myrtle mōrd.
mystery rāz.

nail mēx; (*finger*) nāxun, srū.
naked brahnag.
name nām.
naphtha naft.
narcissus nargis.
narrow tang.
narrowness tangīh.
natural čihrīg, gōhrīg.
nature čihr(ag), gōhr(ag); čiyōnīh; xēm, xōg.
navel nāfag.
navigable nāydāg.
near nazd(īk).
necessary abāyišnīg; *be ~* abāyistan. (andar) abāy-.
necessity abāyišn.
neck gardan, grīw.
neck-guard grīwbān.
need astānag, niyāz.
needle sōzan.

needy astānagōmand, driyōš, niyāzōmand.
negligence sūdagīh.
negligent sūdag.
negro zangīg.
neighbour hamsāyag.
nest āšyān(ag).
net dām.
never hagriz.
new nōg.
new-born nōgzād(ag).
New Year's day nōgrōz.
news, good ~ niwē.
nice xwaš.
niggardly pen.
night šab; *last* ~ dōš.
night raid šabīxōn.
nimble čābuk, šēbāg.
nine nō.
nineteen nōzdah.
ninety nawad.
ninth nohom.
no nē; ēč.
nobility ērīh.
noble abarmānīg, āsnūd(ag), (āsnīdag), āzād, āznāwar, ēr, pēšēnīg.
nobody kas-iz.
node of the moon Gōzihr-dumb / -sar.
noise pattān; v. *sound*
non-Aryan anēr.
non-essential ǰadišnīg.
non-existence anastīh, nēstīh.
non-existent anast.
non-Mazdean kēšdār; v. *heretic*.
noon rabih.
north abāxtar.
nose wēnīg.
not nē, ma; ~ *any* ēč; ~ *at all* hambun, tis-iz.
notice mārdan, ōšmurdan.
notoriety čašmagāhīh, dusrawīh.
notorious čašmagāh, dusraw.
nourish parwardan, parwāl-.
nourishment parwāl(išn), parwarišn.
now nūn; hād.
noxious creature xrafstar.
number mar(ag), sāg.
nuptials wayōdagān.
nurse, (*wet-*) dāyag.
nursing, *nurture* dāyagānīh.

oath sōgand, war.
obedience ēkānagīh.
obedient ēkānag, framānburdār, srōšīg.
obligation frēz, tāwān.
obligatory frēzb/wānīg.
observation nigerišn.
observe nigerīdan, nīš-.
obsidian šabag.
obstinacy stambagīh, wastārīh.
obstinate stambag, wastār.
obtain ayāftan, windādan.
obvious āškārāg, čašmagāh, čašmdīd, paydāg, rōšnag.
occasion bār, ǰār, hangām.
occur ǰastan.
offence āgrift.
offering mēzd, pārag, us(t)ōfrīt, zōhr.
offspring frazand, paywand, zahag; (*daevic*) hunušak.
often bāstān.
oh! alā.
oil čarbišn, rōγn.
oily čarb.
old kahwan, meh, pīr; v. *age*.
oleaginous čarbišnōmand.
olive zayt.
omen ǰadag, ǰahišn, murwāg.
on abar, pad.
onager gōr.
once ēwbār.
one ēk, ēw.
oneirocritic xwamn-wizār.
only ēwāz.
open (a.) wišād.
open (v.) abāz kardan, wišādan; (*the mouth*) wiyāftan.
opinion, of the same ~ hamdādestān.
opponent hamba/edīg, hambasān, hamēmāl, hamēstār.
opposing hambasānīg, ǰud-dādestān.
opposite mih; ǰuttarīh.
opposition hamēmālīh, hamēstārīh, padīragīh.
oppress awištāftan.
oppressed handraxtag.
oppression awištāb, handraxtagīh, pazd, stahm, stahm(ag)īh, stambagīh.
oppressive stahmag, stambag.
or ayāb.
orchard bāγ.
ordeal war; *heat* ~ garmōwar(īh).

order (n.) framān, framāyišn.
order (v.) framūdan; win(n)ārdan.
ordinary šōnīg.
organization rāyēnīdarīh.
organize rāyēnīdan; v. *arrange*.
origin čihr(ag), fragān.
ornament payrāyag.
Orontes Arwand.
oryx xarbuz.
ossuary astōdān, hazzān.
other abārīg, any, (anī-z).
otherwise enyā, ǰuttar.
otter udrag.
outcome hanǰām.
out(side) bē(rōn).
outstrip andar widardan.
oval xāyagdēs.
oven tanūr.
over abar, tar, tarist.
overcome stōwēnīdan, tarwēnīdan, wānīdan.
over-confidence wastārīh.
over-confident wastār.
overflow ašixtan.
overseer kārframān.
overstep spōxtan.
owl būf/g.
own xwēš; *make one's* ~ xwēšēnīdan.
ox gāw.

pace gām.
pact pašt(ag); v. *bond*, *treaty*.
page (*boy*) rēdak, rahīg.
Pahlavi pahlawīg.
pail hēzag, dōl.
pain bēš, dard, pīm.
painless adard.
paint (*picture*) nigār-.
pair ǰuxt.
palace dar, darbās, kōšk, šāhīgān.
palace superintendent darīgbed.
pang pīm.
paradise garōdmān, (garasmān), wahišt; (*worthy*) *of* ~ garōdmānīg, wahištīg.
paragraph darak.
parasang frasang.
pardon (n.) hilišn.
pardon (v.) hištan.
part bahr, bazišn, pārag, pēšag, sraxtag.
Parthian pahlawīg.
particle xwurdag.
particular ēwāzīg, wāspuhragān; *in* ~ pad nāmčišt.
partner hambāy, hambāz.
partridge kabk, tīhōg.
pass sazistan, widardan, (widaštan); *let* ~ widār(ī)dan.
passage widār, widarag.
passing sazišn, widerišn(īh).
pastern xwurdag.
pasture čarag, wāstar.
path pand, widarag.
patience bārestānīh, burdīh, burdārīh, pattūgīh, škēbāgīh.
patient bārestān, burd, pattūg, škēbāg.
pavilion kōšk, mašk; *royal* ~ mašk-abarzēn.
paw panǰag.
pawn v. *chess*.
pay mizd.
peace āsānīh, āštīh, drōd, rām(išn); *give* ~ rāmēnīdan.
peaceful āsān, hammist, rāmišnīg.
peach šiftālūg.
peacock fraš(a)murw.
peak bālēn, bašn, čagād, tērag.
pear urmōd.
pearl morwārīd.
peasant warzīgar.
peck (*measure*) grīw.
peer hamahl, hamāl, hamtāg.
peg mēx.
penance petīt.
penis kēr.
penitence petītīgīh, pašēmānīh.
penitent petītīg, pašēmān.
penniless aganǰ.
pentad panǰag.
people mardōm, pāyram; *other* ~ kār.
perceive mārdan.
perception bōy, mārišn.
perceptive mārāg, mārišnōmand.
perch nišēm.
perennial sālwār.
perfect (a.) bowandag, hangirdīg, (u)spurrīg.
perfect (v.) frazāftan.
perfected, *be* ~ frazaftan.
perfection spurrīgīh.
perform frāz griftan, kardan, wizārdan.
performer kunišngar; v. *entertainer*.

perfume bōyēnīdan.
perhaps ma agar.
period drang, paymān(ag).
perish abesīhīdan.
perishable frasāwand, sazišnīg.
permanence asazišnīh, ēstišn.
permanent asazišnīg.
perpetual ǰāwēdānag.
persecution pazd.
perseverance pattūgīh.
persevering pattūg.
Persian pārsig; v. *Eranian*.
person kas, tan, P keč.
perspiration xwēy.
perspire xwistan.
persuade hāxtan.
persuasion hāzišn.
perverse tarmenišn.
perversity tarmānīh, tarmenišnīh.
pheasant tadar(w).
philosopher fīlāsōfā.
phlegm drēm.
physician bizešk, drustabed.
physicist gōhrag-dānag.
physics čihr-šnāsīh.
physique tanbahr.
pickled meat xāmīz.
picture pahikar, nigārag.
piece pārag; (*backgammon*, *etc.*) muhrag.
pierce suftan.
pig xūg.
pigeon kabōd, kabōtar.
pile up čīdan.
pillar stūn(ag).
pillow bālēn, bāliš.
pious dahm, kirbagīg; v. *righteous*.
Pisces Māhig.
pistachio nut pistag; ~ *tree* wan ī gurgānīg.
pit čāh, may.
pitcher xumb.
pitchfork šānag.
pity āmurzīdan.
place (n.) gāh, gyāg; *proper* ~ dādgāh.
place (v.) nihādan.
plain dašt, rāy.
plaintiff pēšēmāl.
plan handāxtan.
plane (*tree*) činār.
planet abāxtar; *the* 7) *planets* haftān.
plank taxtag.
planner handāxtār.
plant (n.) urwar; *medicinal* ~ rūrag; *useless* ~ zāz.
plant (v.) nišāstan.
plaster (n.) dōs, gač; (a.) dōsēn, gačēn.
plaster (v.) handūdan.
platform šādurwān.
play (n.) wāzīg.
play (v.) wāzīdan; (*instrument*) srūdan, (*flute*) pazd-.
pleasant xwaš.
pleasantness xwašīh.
please šnāyēnīdan.
pleasing hudōšag.
pleasure dōšišn, passand, rāmišn, urwāhm(an)īh, xwašīh; *give* ~ rāmēnīdan.
pledge graw(īh), graw(a)gān.
plenty frāxīh.
plough ēš.
ploughing (*ox*) warzāg.
pluck (*hair*, *etc.*) rūdan.
poison zahr, wiš.
poisonous wišōmand.
Polaris Mēx ī gāh.
pole (*measure*) nāy.
polish abrōxtan.
poll-tax gazīdag.
pollute ālūdan.
polluted ālūdag.
pollution āhīdīh, nasrušt(īh).
polo, ~-*stick* čaw(la)gān.
pomegranate anār.
pond šādurwān.
pool warm.
poor driyōš, škōh.
poplar spēd-dār.
populous ābād.
porcupine xārpušt.
portico dahlīz.
portion bahr, ǰād(ag), kardag, pārag.
portionless abahr.
possessions grāmag, xwēšīh; v. *property*.
possible, *it is* ~ šāyēd; tuwān.
post-(*horse*) bayaspānīg.
posterior nišēm.
pound kōftan, kōstan.
pour āšixtan, rēxtan, tāxtan, tazēnīdan; ~ *out* wēxtan.

poverty driyōšīh, niyāzōmandīh, škōhīh.
power abzār, amāwandīh, nērōg, ōz, stahm, tuwān, zōr.
powerful abzār, amāwand, kāmgār, nērōgōmand, ōzōmand, pādixšā(y), pādyāwand, warzāwand, zōrīg, zōrōmand.
powerless abādixšā(y), abādyāwand, agār; *become* ~ agārīhistan; *render* ~ agārēnīdan.
powerlessness abādixšāyīh.
practise warzīdan.
praise (n.) āfrīn, burzišn, niyāyišn, stāyišn, šnāyišn.
praise (v.) āfrīdan, burzīdan, stūdan, (stāyīdan), šnāyīdan.
praiseworthy burzišnīg, stāyišnīg.
prayer namāz, niyāyišn; ahunawar, āfrīnagān, hōmāst.
precisely gōkānīg.
prefer wizīdan.
pregnancy ābusīh.
pregnant ābestan, ābus(tan), zahagōmand.
prejudice wizāstan, (wizūdan).
preparation passāzišn, wirāyišn(īh).
prepare ārāstan, passāxtan, sāxtan, wirāstan.
prescribed zamānīg.
presence handēmānīh; *in the* ~ *of* handēmān.
present frawārdan.
preservation dārišn.
preserve (n.) ambag.
preserve (v.) dāštan, zēnēnīdan.
preserver dāštār.
press afšurdan.
prevent abāz dāštan.
prey, v. *quarry*; (*bird*) *of* ~ škarag.
priest āsrō, āsrōn, dastwar, hērbed, mowbed, mānsᵃrbar; ~ *hostile to Zoroaster* karb; *first officiating* ~ zōt; *second officiating* ~ rāspīg.
priestly office āsrōīh, hērbedīh; ~ *school* hērbedestān; ~ *studies* hērbedestānīh.
prime minister wuzurg-framādār.
principal mādagwar, wāspuhr.
principle buništag.
prison zēndān.
risoner wardag, zēndānīg; v. *captive*.
privilege abarmānd.
proceed franaftan, raftan.
process (*law*) dādestān.
produce (n.) bar.
produce (v.) andar āwurdan.
profess (*faith*) franāftan.
professing āstawān.
profession franāmišn; v. *belief*.
profit bar, nīrmad, sōg, sūd, waxš.
profitable nīrmadōmand, sūdabgār.
profitless abēsūd.
profitlessness abēsūdīh.
progress (n.) frādahišnīh.
progress (v.) wihēz-.
progression rastag; wihēz(ag).
prolific barōmand.
promise (n.) padist(āg).
promise (v.) padist (abar) burdan, padistādan.
promote franāftan, abgār-.
promotion franāmišn.
prong srū.
propagate franāftan, rawāgēnīdan.
proper, *be* ~ saz-; *seem* ~ sahistan.
properly pad ēwēn.
property ǰadag, ǰadišn; (*possessions*) xwāstag.
prophecy kēdīgīh.
prophet waxšwar; v. *apostle*.
prophethood waxšwarīh.
propitiate šnāy(ēn)īdan.
propitiation šnūman.
proportion paymānag.
propriety ēwēn(ag).
prosecution pēšēmālīh.
prosper wālīdan; *make* ~ frāxēnīdan, padēxēnīdan.
prosperity ābād(ān)īh, bahrōmandīh, drōd, frāxīh, padēxīh.
prosperous ābād(ān), bahrōmand, frāx, padēx.
prostrate nibēm.
prostration namāz.
protect pādan, pahrēxtan, srāyīdan; (*by spell*) afsūdan.
protected pad-pānag.
protection magind, pānāgīh, panāhīh, pāsbānīh, pušt, puštībānīh, srāyišn, zēnhār.
protector pānāg, panāh, nigāstār.
protoplasm mādišt.
proud abarmenišn.

prove uzmūdan.
provide abgār-.
provided bahrwar.
providence bayōbaxt.
province awestām, nahang, pāygōs, rōstāg, šahrestān.
provision bahrwarīh; tōšag, xwārbār.
provoke sārēnīdan.
proximity nazdīkīh.
public čašmagāh.
pudenda šarmgāh.
pull (n.) āhang.
pull (v.) kešīdan; ~ *out*, v. *pluck*; ~ *up* āhixtan.
pulse māš.
punishment drōš, pādifrāh, puhl.
pupil hašāgird, hāwišt; (*of eye*) syāhag, tīdag.
pure abēzag, agumēg, āsnūd(ag), (āsnīdag), pāk(īzag), yōǰdahr.
purification yōǰdahrgarīh; *ritual* ~ baršnūm.
purified āsnūd(ag), (āsnīdag).
purifier yōǰdahrgar.
purify pālūdan, wēxtan.
purity abēzagīh, agumēgīh, pākīh, yōǰdahrīh.
purple argawān.
purpose čim, kām(ag).
purposeful čimīg.
purulence rēm.
purulent rēman.
put nihādan; ~ *on* pōšīdan, paymōxtan.

quadruped čahārpāy.
quail karak.
quake čandīdan, wizandīdan.
quaking wizandag; wizandišn.
quality (*accidental*) ǰadišn.
quantity čandīh.
quarrel stēzag.
quarry (*prey*) naxčīr.
queen bāmbišn; v. *chess*.
question frašn, pursišn.
quick ray, tēz, zūd.
quiddity čēīh.
quince bēh.
quiver kantigr.

rabbit xargōš.
race-course asprēs.
radiance brāzišn; v. *brilliance*.
radiant brāzišnīg.
raid, night ~ šabīxōn.
rain (n.) wārān.
rain (v.) wārīdan, waštan.
rainy wārānīg.
raise abrāstan, ahrāftan.
ram warān, warrag.
rampant zandag.
rank radag; *without* ~ agāh.
rat mušk.
raw xām.
ray tēx.
raze kandan.
razor awestarag.
reap drūdan.
rear pasīh.
rearrange abāz wirāstan.
reason čim, wihān(ag); xrad; *without* ~ abēčim.
rebellion abāzsārīh.
rebellious abāzsār, mustgar.
receive padīriftan.
recent nōg.
reception padīrišn.
receptive ayābag.
recitation srāyišn.
recite srūdan, yaštan.
reckless gyānabespār.
reckon āmār-, handāxtan, hangārdan, ōšmurdan.
reckoner āmārgar.
reckoning āmār(išn), hangārag, mar, ōšmārag, ōšmārišn.
recognize šnāxtan.
record kārnāmag.
rectitude ardāyīh.
red karmīr, suxr.
reddish-brown bōr.
redeem bōxtan, wizārdan.
redemption wizārišn; v. *salvation*.
reed nay, nāyīzag.
reed-bed nayestān.
reflect handēšīdan.
reflection handēšišn, uskārišn(īh).
refrain pahrēxtan.
refreshment parwāl.
refuge abestām/n, panāh; *take* ~ *with* pad panāh griftan.
region kišwar; v. *district*.
register daftar.

regret abaxš; v. *repentance*.
regretful abaxšāwand.
reign šahryārīh; v. *sovereignty*.
reject ānāftan, spōxtan.
rejection spōzišn.
rejoice urwāzistan.
rejoicing urwāzišn.
relationship brādarōdīh.
relation, *relative* hamtōhmag, xwēšāwand; brādarōd.
reliability awestwārīh, ōstīgānīh.
reliable awestwār, ōstīgān.
religion dēn; v. *Mazdaism*, *heresy*; *good*, *evil*.
religious dēnīg.
remain (abāz) māndan, (mānistan), pādan, pattūdan; ~ *over* parrēxtan.
remedy čār; darmān.
remember ayād kardan, ayāsīdan, (ayāstan), pad daxšag dāštan, ōšmurdan.
remiss māndag.
remote dūr.
removal appārīh, franāmišn.
remove franāftan, ōgārdan.
removed appār.
rend kirrēnīdan.
renown nāmīgīh.
renowned nāmīg.
repentance abaxšīh, pašēmānīh.
repentant abaxš, pašēmān.
reply paywāz-.
report srawēnīdan.
repose, v. *rest*.
reproach āwēnišn.
reptile xrafstar.
repudiating nakkīrā.
repudiation nakkīrāyīh.
repute, *good* ~ husrawīh.
request pahikārdan; v. *ask*.
resemblance mānāgīh.
resemble mān-.
resembling mānāg.
reservoir warm.
residence nišēmag; v. *dwelling*.
resignation bārestānīh, wīdwarīh.
resigned bārestān, wīdwar.
resonance pattān.
resonant pattānōmand.
respect āzarm, āzarmīgīh, grāmīgīh, tars, tarsāgāhīh.
respected āzarmīg.
respectful tarsāgāh.
response paywāzag, paywāzišn.
responsible pursišnīg.
rest (n.) āsānīh, āsāyišn, haspīn.
rest (v.) āsūdan, wisāy-.
Restoration fraš(a)gird.
restore wirāstan.
restrain abāz dāštan, griftan, pādīrān(ēn)īdan.
restrained pādīrān.
resurrection ristāxēz.
reticence pāduzwānīh.
reticent pāduzwān.
retreat for menstruous women daštānestān.
retribution pādāšn, pādifrāh.
return waštan.
reveal āškārāgēnīdan, paydāgēnīdan.
revealed paydāg; *be* ~ paydāgīhistan.
revelation āškārāgīh.
revelry spaxr; v. *merrymaking*.
revenge kēn.
reverence namāz, tarsāgāhīh.
reverent tarsāgāh.
reverse juttarīh.
revive zīwēnīdan.
reviver zīndakkar.
revolution gardišn.
revolve gardīdan.
reward mizd, pādāšn, dās^{a}r.
rhinoceros karg.
rib pahlūg.
rice brinj.
rich hangad, rāyōmand, tuwāngar, was-xwāstag.
richness tuwāngarīh; v. *wealth*.
rider aswār.
ridge grīwag, tēx.
riding aswārīh.
right drust.
righteous ahlā, ahlaw, ardā, ašō, frārōn.
righteousness ahlawīh, ahlāyīh, ardāyīh, frārōnīh.
right-hand dašnag.
right-mindedness bowandag-menišnīh.
rightness drustīh.
ring, v. *finger*.
ripen pazzām-; *cause to* ~ pazzāftan, pazzāmēnīdan.
ripening pazzāmišn.

rise abar āmadan, abar āxistan, ul āmadan.
rival brādarōd.
rivalry brādarōdīh.
river rōd; ~ *bank* rōdbār; ~ *bed* rōstāg.
roar γarrānīdan.
roaring γarrānišn.
roast brištan.
rob rubūdan; v. *steal.*
robber apparag; *highway* ~ rāhdār.
robbery appar, rōb.
rock sang, wēm.
Roman hrōmāyīg.
Rome Hrōm.
roof aškōb.
roof-tree frasp.
rook, v. *chess.*
root rēšag.
rope arwēs, rasan, rištag, wandag.
rose gul.
rotten pūdag; v. *corrupt.*
rottenness pūdagīh.
rough društ.
round gird(ag).
roundness girdīh.
rouse wigrādan, (gubrās-).
row radag, rastag.
royal šāhwār.
rub muštan, sūdan, rōb-.
ruby yākand.
rue sudāb.
ruin(ation) abesīhišn(īh), tabāhīh, wany(b)ūdīh.
ruined awērag, awērān, tabāh; *be* ~ tabāhīhistan.
ruler dahibed, pādixšā(y), šahryār.
rump kūn.
run dawīdan, (dawistan), pōy-, taxtan, (tazīdan); (*daevic*) dwārīdan, (dwāristan); *cause* to ~ tāxtan, tazēnīdan.
running (a.) pōyišnīg, tazāg; (n.) tag.

sable samōr.
sacrifice hādōxt.
sad andāg(g)ēn, andōhgēn, zarīgōmand; v. *sorrowful.*
saddle kōfag, zēn.
saddle-bag bārjāmag.
safe abēwizend.
safflower zardak.
saffron kurkum.
Sagittarius Nēm-asp.
sail wādbān.
sake, for the ~ *of* padisāy, rāy.
saliva xayūg.
salt namak; (*land*) sōrag.
salty sōr.
salutation ērkaš.
salvation bōxtagīh, bōxtārīh, bōzišn.
same ham-.
sanctification yōjdahrgarīh.
sand rēg.
sandalwood čandal.
sapling nihāl.
sated, satiate sagr.
satiety sagrīh.
satisfaction hupassandagīh, sahišn, šnōmag.
satrap šasab.
satrapal šasabīgān.
Saturn Kēwān.
save bōxtan.
saved bōxtag.
saviour bōxtār, Sōšyans.
say guftan, P wāxtan.
saying wāzag.
scales tarāzūg.
scatter afšāndan, pargandan.
scent (n.) bōy.
scent (v.) bōyēnīdan.
scented bōyāg, bōydār.
schismatic jud-ristag; v. *heretic.*
school dibīrestān, frahangestān, hērbedestān.
scorch dazīdan.
scorn afsōs, riyahrīh.
scorpion, Scorpio gazdum.
scoundrel mar.
scratch randīdan.
scribe dibīr.
scribeship dibīrīh.
scriptures nibēg; abestāg, gāhān, hādamānsᵃr, dād.
sea drayā(b), zrēh.
seal (n.) muhr.
seal (v.) āwištan.
seam darz.
sea-shore drayā(b)-bār.
season āwām.
seat (n.) nišēm; *foremost* ~ pēšgāh.
seat (v.) (abar) nišāstan.
second didom, dudīgar.

secrecy nihān.
secret (a.) nihānīg, rāzīg.
secret (n.) rāz.
sect ristag.
sectary kēšdār; v. *heretic*.
section kardag; darak, hād.
security graw(īh), graw(a)gān.
sedentary māništag.
see dīdan, niš-.
seed čihr(ag), dān(ag), tōhmag, tōm; *having many ~s* was-tōhmag.
seeing (a.) wēnāg.
seeing (n.) wēnāgīh, wēnišn.
seek xwāstan.
seem, ~ proper sahistan.
seemly abāyišnīg.
seethe ayārdīdan.
select (a.) pad-wizēn.
select (v.) wēxtan, wizīdan.
selection wēzišn.
selective wizēngar.
self grīw, xwad, xwēštan.
selfhood xwadīh.
self-indulgence xwad-dōšagīh.
self-indulgent xwad-dōšag.
sell frōxtan.
semen šus^{a}r.
send frēstā/īdan, wisē kardan, zāmēnīdan.
senior mehtar.
sense bōy, sōhišn, šnāsag.
senseless abēbōy, abōy, abēōš.
senselessness abēbōyīh, abōyīh, abēōšīh.
sensitive mārāg, sōhišnīg.
separate (a.) ǰud(āg).
separate (v.) wēxtan, wisāndan, wiškīdan, wizārdan.
separated, be ~ wizīhīdan.
separation ǰudāgīh, wisānišn(īh), wiškin(n)išn, wizār, wizīhišn(īh).
sepulchre astōdān.
series rastag.
serious garān.
serpent garzag, kirm.
servant bandag, kadagīg, kardespās, paristag, pēškār.
serve paristīdan; *~(food)* frawardan.
service paristagīh, paristišn, spās.
sesame kunǰid.
set hištan, nišāstan; (*sun*) andar šīdan.
set about pardaxtan ō.
settle bunag dāštan.
settled māništag.
settlement wālan.
seven haft.
seventeen haftdah.
seventy haftād.
sever b(u)rīdan.
severe(ly) društ, saxt.
severity društīh, saxtīh.
sewer kahas.
shade, shadow sāyag.
shake down wišān-.
shallow tanuk.
shame (n.) nang, pafšīrišn(īh), šarm.
shame (v.) pafšār-.
shank zang.
shape čihr, kālbod.
shapely wimēhgēn.
share bahr, ǰād(ag).
sharp burāg, tēz, tund.
sharpness tēzīh.
shave awestardan.
she = he.
sheep mēš, pah.
sheepfold, -pen pahast.
sheet čādur.
shell pōst.
shelter war.
shepherd pānāg, šubān.
shield magind, spar.
shine brāzīdan, drafšīdan, frōgīhistan, tāftan, (tābīdan).
shining brāzišnīg; v. *bright*.
ship kaštīg.
shiver larzīdan.
shoe kafš, mōg, mōzag.
shoe-maker kafšgar.
shoot (n.) spīg.
shoot (v.) wistan.
shore bār.
short gišnag, kūk.
shortcoming frōdmānd; v. *deficiency*.
shoulder dōš, suft; *~-blade* frēg, šānag.
show nimūdan.
sick, v. *ill*.
sickle dās.
sickness, v. *illness*.
side ālag, karān, kust(ag), nēmag, pahlūg, sōg, sraxtag.
side-dish āmiz.

sift wēxtan.
sigh swahistan.
sight wēnāgīh, wēnišn, dīdār.
sign daxšag, nišān.
silent tušt, xāmōš.
silk abrēšom; *shot* ~ stabrag; v. *damask*.
silken abrēšomēn.
silvan wēšagig.
silver (a)sēm; (a.) asēmēn.
similar hāwand; v. *like*.
similarity hāwandīh; v. *likeness*.
similarly hamēdōn.
simurgh sēn-murw.
sin abārōnīh, āstār, bazag(īh), māndag, wināh; *degrees of* ~ āgrift, anābuhlag, arduš, bāzāzanišnīh, framān, ōyrišt, tanāpuhl, xwar, yāt; *cause to* ~ āstārēnīdan.
since (cj.) čē, ēd rāy čē, ka; (pr.) az . . . ōrōn.
sinew pay.
sinful abārōn, bazakkar, druwand.
sinfulness wināhgārīh.
sing srūdan.
singing srāyišn.
single ēwtāg, tāg.
sinner bazakkar, dabr, wināhgār.
Sirius Tištar.
sissoo tree ǰay.
sister xwah(ar).
sisymbrium sīsīmbar.
sit (abar) nišastan.
six šaš.
sixteen šāzdah.
sixty šast.
size wuzurgīh, zahā, zahīh.
-sized -masāy.
skilful hudast, nēzūmān(īg).
skill abzār, hunar, hunarāwandīh, kārāgāhīh, kirrōgīh, nēzūmānīh.
skilled abzārōmand, frahixtag, hunarāwand, hunarōmand, kārāgāh, kirrōg.
skimmer kafč.
skin čarm, dawāl, pōst; tōz; (a.) pōstēn; ~*bag* hambān, mašk; ~ '*tablecloth*' maškīzag.
skull mastarg.
sky asmān, spihr.
slack sust.
slackness sustīh.
slander spazgīh.
slanderous spazg.
slave anšahrīg.
sledgehammer potk.
sleep (n.) xwāb, xwamn; būšāsp.
sleep (v.) xuftan, nibastan.
sleeping-platform bālēngāh.
sleepless axwamn.
slime kaf, laǰan.
slope, v. *acclivity*, *declivity*.
sloth būšāsp.
small gišnag, kam, keh, kōdak, kūč(ak), kūk, nihang, ōzārak, xwurd; ~ *thing* xwurdag.
smaller keh(tar).
smallest nidom.
smallness xwurdagīh.
smear handūdan.
smell (n.) bōy; hambōyāgīh, hambōyišn.
smell (vi.) bōyīdan; (vt.) hambōy-.
smite zadan; v. *hit*, *beat*.
smiter zadār.
smiting zanišn.
smoke dūd.
snake garzag, mār; (*viper*) šēbāg.
snare dām, talag.
snatch rubūdan.
sneeze šnōšag.
snout pōz(ag).
snow snēxr, snēzag, wafr.
so ēdōn, hamgōnag, ōh, ŏwōn.
so-and-so wāhmān.
so many and, čand.
so that (kū) tā, P yad.
sodomite kūnmarz, wiftag.
sodomy kūnmarz.
soft narm.
sojourn mānišn.
soldier laškarīg; v. *warrior*.
soldiering laškarīgīh.
sole ēwāz.
sole-created ēkdād.
solvent ādān.
some čand, ēwčand.
somebody kas, P keč.
son frazand, pus(ar).
son-in-law dāmād.
song čegāmag, niwāg, srōd.
sonship frazandīh.
soon(est) ahy.
soothsayer kēd, kundāg, murw-nīš.

soothsaying kēdīgīh.
sophist sōfistā.
sorcerer ǰādūg.
sorcery ǰādūgīh.
sore rēš.
sorghum gahl, gāwars.
sorrel (*horse*) šēd.
sorrow andāg, andōh, bēš, pīm, tēmār, zarīg.
sorrowful andāg(g)ēn, andōhgēn, bēšōmand, pīmgēn, zarīgōmand.
sort gōn(ag), sardag.
soul frawahr, fraward, grīw, gyān, ruwān, uštān.
sound āwāz.
soup kāmag; spēdbāg, ābkāmag.
sour tru(f)š.
source bunxān, čašmag, xān(īg), zahābag.
south nēmrōz, rapihwin.
southern rapihwintar.
sovereign šahryār; v. *king*, *ruler*.
sovereignty pādixšāyīh, šahryārīh, xwadāyīh.
sow afšāndan, kištan.
space spāš.
spacious frāx.
spade bēl.
span (*hand-*) widest.
span-sized widestīg.
sparrow winǰišk.
speak dranǰīdan, guftan, P wāxtan; (*daevic*) dawīdan, drāyīdan.
speaker gōwāg, guftār.
spear fraš, sel.
special wāspuhragān.
speciality wāspuhragānīh.
speckled parš.
speech dranǰišn, gōwišn, guftārīh, saxwan, wāz; v. *good*, *evil*.
speechless agōwāg.
speed tagīgīh, tēzīh, zūdīh.
spell afsōn, mārīg, nērang, sraw, mānsᵃr.
sphere (*heaven*) spihr.
spice abzār.
spindle dōk.
spirit mēnōg(īh), wād, waxš; ~*s* yazdān; *v. good*, *evil*.
spiritual gyānīg, mēnōgīg, ruwānīg, waxšīg.
spirituality mēnōg(īg)īh.
spit (*roasting*) wardānāg.
spittle xayūg.
spleen spul, spurz.
splendid huškōh, P nisāg.
splendour abrang, bām, brāh, xwarrah.
split darrīdan, škāftan, wisistan.
spoil wimuštan, wināhīdan.
spoilt ānāst(ag), mūdag, tabāh, winastag.
spoon kafčag.
spotted parš.
spread afšāndan, wistardan.
spring, v. *source*.
spring(*time*) wahār, afsālān, mēdyōzarm; (a.) wahārīg.
sprinkle paššinǰīdan.
sprinkling paššinǰišn.
sprout spīg.
stable āxwarr, stōrgāh.
stagger škarwīdan.
stagnant hammist.
stain āhīd.
stalk ēwan.
stand awištādan, ēstādan, pādan; ~ *up* āxistan.
standing stēndag.
star axtar, star, stārag.
starch-jelly pālūdag.
stater (*coin*) stēr.
station pāyag.
stature bālāy, bašn; *of the same* ~ hambašn, hamtan.
stay abāz pādan, māndan, (mānistan), pattūdan, win(n)irdan.
steal appurdan, duzīdan.
stealing apparišn.
steel almās(t), pōlāwad; (a.) pōlāwadēn.
stem wan, (bun); v. *stalk*.
stench gand, gandagīh, duǰgandīh.
step gām.
step up abar āxrāmīdan.
steps pillagān.
steward mādayār.
stick čōb.
still ahanūz.
stimulate hangēxtan.
sting gazīdan.
stinking gandag, duǰgand.
stir up hangēxtan.
stoat kākom.

stock gōhr(ag), tōhmag; v. *good, stem.*
stolen duzīdag, truftag.
stomach kumīg; v. *belly.*
stone sa(n)g; *fruit* ~ ast(ag).
stony sagēn; ~ *place* sangsār.
store hambār, hamābēr.
story afsān.
stout frabīh.
straight rāst.
strain (*filter*) pālūdan.
strange(r) anōdag, bēgānag.
straw kāh, P wāš; giyāhīzag, nāyīzag.
stray apēdag; v. *astray.*
stream ǰō(y).
street kōy, srat.
strength amāwandīh, nērōg, ōz, pādyāwandīh, saxtīh, stabrīh, tagīgīh, zōr.
stride (n.) gām.
stride (v.) ǎxrāmīdan.
strife āyōzišn(īh), kō(x)šišn, stēzag.
strike (n.) snāh.
strike (v.) pahikōftan, zadan.
string rištag, wandag.
strive āyōzīdan, kō(x)šīdan, tuxšīdan.
striving tuxšišn; v. *endeavour.*
strong amāwand, nērōgōmand, ōstīgān, ōzōmand, pad-nērōg, pādyāwand, saxt, stabr, stahmag, sūr, tagīg, zōrīg, zōrōmand.
stronger abarōz.
stronghold āwahan; v. *fortress.*
strophe wačast.
struggle (n.) ǰang, nibard, pahikār.
struggle (v.) āyōzīdan, kō(x)šīdan; v. *fight.*
strut ǎxrāmīdan.
study (n.) ōšmārišn.
study (v.) ōšmurdan.
stuff āgandan.
stumble škarwīdan.
stunned, stupefied stard.
stupefaction stardīh.
stupid dušāgāh.
stupidity dušāgāhīh, stardīh.
subject dar.
submission ēkānagīh.
submissive ēkānag, framānburdār.
subordinate aziškeh.
substance gōhr(ag); *of the same* ~ hamgōhr.
substitute gōhrīg.
subtle bārīg/k.
suburb parwār.
success kāmag-hanǰāmīh.
successful kāmag-hanǰām / -widār, kāmrawāg.
suck mēzīdan.
suffer widār(ī)dan; v. *endure.*
suffering (a.) dardōmand.
suffering (n.) čēhag, handraxtagīh.
sugar šakar.
suitability niyābagīh, passazagīh.
suitable niyābag, passazag; v. *fitting.*
sulphur gōgird.
sulphurous gōgirdōmand.
summarize hangirdēnīdan.
summary hangirdīg(īh).
summer hāmīn, tābestān; (a.) hāmīnīg.
summit bālist, čagād, sar, tērag.
summon xwandan.
sun mihr, xwar.
sunrise xwarāsān.
sunset xwarōfrān, xwarwarān.
superfluous, be ~ parrēxtan.
superior abar(ag), abaragān(ag), abarīg(ān); azišmeh.
superiority abardomīh; pādyāwandīh.
supper šām.
suppliant lābakkar.
supplication lābag, lābakkarīh.
support abestām/n, pušt, puštībānīh.
supporter puštībān.
sure ōstīgān.
surround parwastan.
surroundings parwār.
suspend āgustan.
sustenance rōzīg.
swallow (n.) paristōg/k.
swallow (v.) ōbārdan.
swear (*oath*) sōgand xwardan.
sweat (n.) xwēy.
sweat (v.) xwistan.
sweep muštan, rōb-.
sweet šīrēn, xwaš.
sweetest xwālist.
sweetmeat rōγn-xwardīg; afrōšag, gōzēnag, lawzēnag, šiftēnag, watrēnag.
sweetness šīrēnīh.
sweet-smelling hubōy.
swell up, cause to ~ pēmēnīdan.
swift arwand, raγ, šēbāg, tagīg, tāzīg, zibāl.

swiftness arwandīh.
swim snāzīdan.
swimming snāz.
swing wēxtan.
sword sneh, šamšēr, (šafšēr).
swordsmith čēlāngar.

table xwān; '*table-cloth*' maškīzag.
tablet taxtag.
tail dum(b).
tailed dum(b)ōmand.
tailor darzīg.
take burdan, griftan, stadan; ~ *for* pad . . . dāštan.
taken griftār.
taken away appār.
tallow pīh.
tamarisk gaz.
tambour tambūrag.
tangible gīrišnīg, griftārōmand.
taste čāšnīg, čaxšāgīh, čaxšišn, mizag(dārīh).
tasteless abēmizag.
tasty mizagōmand.
Taurus Gāw.
tax bāj.
teach čāštan, frahixtan, hammōxtan, wizistan.
teacher hammōzgār; pōryōtkēš; (*priest*) hērbed.
teaching āfrāh, čāšišn, hammōzišn.
tear (n.) ars, sreškī.
tear (v.) darrīdan.
ten dah.
tend pahrēxtan.
tender nāzuk.
tendon pay.
tent mašk, wiyān.
tenth dahom.
term (astr.) marz.
terrestrial zamīgīg.
terrible bīmgēn, sahmgēn.
terribleness sahmgēnīh.
terror bīm, sahm; v. *fear*.
test (n.) passāxt.
test (v.) passāxtan, uzmūdan.
testament handarz.
testicle gund.
testimony gugāyīh; *false* ~ zūr-gugāyīh.
testing uzmāyišn.
than az, kū.
thank āzādīh, spās+dāštan, hangārdan, *etc.*
thankful burdešnōhr, spāsdār.
thanks āzādīh, spās; v. *gratitude*.
that (cj.) čē, kū (tā).
that (pn.) ān, ōy, P hō; ~ *of* ān ī; ~ *is* (*to say*) ay, hād.
theft appar(išn), duz(d)īh.
then ā, did, ēg, hād, pas.
there ānōh/y.
thereupon ēg.
they awēšān.
thicket wēšag.
thief duz(d), gēg.
thigh haxt, rān.
thin bārīg/k, tanuk.
thing tis, (čiš), xīr.
think handēšīdan, menīdan, uskārdan; v. *consider*.
third sidīg; -seyom; (n.) srišwadag.
thirst tišn, tišnagīh.
thirsty tišnag.
thirteen sēzdah.
thirtieth sihom.
thirty sīh.
this ēd, ēn, im.
thorn xār.
thorny xārōmand.
those awēšān.
thou tō.
thought handēšišn, menišn; v. *consideration*.
thoughtful handēšīdār, menišnīg.
thousand hazār.
thread rištag.
three sē.
three-legged sepāy.
three-night-long se-šabag.
thresh xwastan.
thriving ābād(ān).
throat galōg, grīw.
throne gāh, taxt, P parwāngāh.
through tar, tarist.
throw abgandan, wēxtan, wistan; ~ *down* ōsān-; ~ *forward* frāz abgandan; ~ *on* pahikāftan.
thrust spōxtan.
thunder (n.) γarrānāg.
thunder (v.) γarrānīdan.
thunderbolt wīr.
thus ēdōn, ōh.
thyme, wild ~ sīsīmbar.

tie bastan.
tiger babr.
tight tang.
till kištan, warzīdan.
tillage kištār, kišwān; warzišn.
time āwām, bār, gāh, hangām, ǰār, zamān(ag), zurwān.
timely hangāmīg.
tin arzīz; (a.) arzīzēn.
tired māndag.
tiredness māndagīh.
to ō, pad.
toe angust.
together āgenēn; ~ *with* az . . . hammis, ǰomā.
toil ranǰ.
tolerate sāxtan.
toleration sāxtārīh.
tomb aspānūr, dādgāh, daxmag, hazzān.
tomorrow fradāg.
tongue uzwān, (zuwān).
tooth dād, dandān.
top bālēn, bašn, sar; v. *summit*.
torment (n.) āzār(išn), bēšišn.
torment (v.) āzārdan, (āza/urdan), bištan, (bēšīdan).
tortoise kašawag.
totality hamagīh.
touch (n.) pahrmāhāgīh, pahrmāhišn
touch (v.) pahikaftan, pahrmāh-, sōhistan.
toward(s) andar, ō . . . rōn, padīrag.
tower burg.
track pay.
trade pēšag; wāzār(a)gānīh.
trading wahāg.
trained frahixtag.
trample spurdan, ōspurdan, wispurdan, xwastan.
trampling xwāhišn.
transformation ǰadag-wihīrīh; v. *metamorphosis*.
transience frasāwandīh, sazišn, wardišn(īg)ih.
transient frasāwand, sazišnīg, wardišnīg, widerān, widerišnīg.
transport widār(ī)dan.
trap dām, talag.
travel ēwarzīdan.
traveller kārdāg, kārawānīg.
tray xwān.
tread, v. *trample*.
treasure ganǰ.
treasured grāmīg.
treasurer gāhbed, ganǰwar.
treasurership gāhbedīh.
treasury ganǰ.
treaty pādixšīr, paymān; v. *bond*.
tree dār, draxt, wan; *self-planted* ~ nihāl; ~ *of many seeds* wan ī wastōhmag.
tremble čandīdan, drafšīdan, larzīdan.
trembling čandišn; v. *quaking*.
tribe zand.
tribute bāǰ, harg, sāk.
trickery dawāl; v. *deception*.
tried nibardag.
trinoctial se-šabag.
triumph (n.) abarwēzīh; v. *victory*.
triumph (v.) čērīhistan.
triumphant abarwēz, čēr.
troop gund.
trouble (n.) duš(x)wārīh, ranǰ, sēǰ, widang.
trouble (v.) āyōzīdan, ranǰēnīdan.
troubled ranǰag, ranǰwar.
trousers šalwār.
true rāst, wābarīgān, wizurd.
trumpet gāwdumb.
trunk ēwan; v. *stem*.
trust abestām/n.
trustee stūr.
trusteeship stūrīh.
trustworthiness wābarīgānīh.
trustworthy wābarīgān.
truth rāstīh, wābar, wizurdīh.
truthful ardā; v. *righteous*.
try uzmūdan.
tube nāy.
Turanian Tūr.
turbid tērag.
Turk Turk.
turmeric zard-čōbag.
turmoil āšōb.
turn (vi.) gardīdan, waštan; (vt.) gardānīdan, wardēnīdan; ~ *into* abāz waštan ō.
turning gardišn, wardišn.
twelve dwāzdah.
twenty wīst.
twin dōgānag.
twinkling mēzišn.

twist pēčīdan.
two dō.
two-tongued dō-saxwan.
tyrannous sēzd(ēn), staft.
tyranny sāstārīh, sēzd.
tyrant sāstār.

ugly duščihr, zišt.
unaging azarmān.
unassailed apetyārag.
unatonable anābuhlag.
unavoidable awizīrišnīg.
unaware anāgāh.
uncomplaining abēmušt.
unconfessed apetītīg.
unconscious abēōš.
unconsciousness abēōšīh.
uncultivated anābādān.
undefiled anāhōg, anālūd; v. *immaculate.*
under azēr, ēr.
undershirt šabīg, taškanag.
understand ǎšnūdan, uzwārdan.
understanding uzwārišn.
undertake abar burdan, frāz griftan, pardaxtan ō.
undertaking pardazišn.
undeviating awardāg.
undo wiyōz-.
undone akard.
undutiful axwēškār.
undying amarg; v. *immortal.*
unenvious hučašm.
unfeeling asōhišn.
unfitting anabāy, asazāg.
unfordable nāydāg.
unfortunate dušfarrag, wadbaxt.
ungrateful anespās, aspās.
unhappiness axwārīh, axwašīh, dušrǎmīh.
unhappy axwaš, dušrǎm, mustōmand.
unharmed abēbēš, abēš, awinast.
unhonoured anāzarmīg.
uniform ēwsān.
uniformity ēwsānīh.
uninformed adištag.
uninitiated adahm.
union āyōzišn, hamīh, hambawišn(īh).
unit tāg.
unite hamēnīdan.
united ēwkard(ag); *be* ~ hambūdan.
universality hamagīh.
universe hāmkišwar.
unjust adād.
unlike ahomānāg.
unlimited akanārag.
unmixed agumēg.
unpleasant axwaš.
unreliable anōst.
unrepentance anabaxšāwandīh, apetītīgīh.
unrepentant anabaxšāwand, apetītīg.
unrest anāštīh; v. *turmoil.*
unspecified anāmčištīg.
unsuitable asazāg.
unthinking amenīdār.
until tā, P yad.
untilled awarzīd.
untruth arāst.
unwanted anabēdān.
unwilling akāmagōmand.
unwitting anāgāh.
unworthy anarzānīg.
up abar, ul.
up to frāz ō.
upland sardsēr.
upside down ēr ud abar, nigūn.
upward ul; ~ *direction* ulīh.
urinate gōmēz-, mistan.
urination čamišn, mēzišn, pēšārwār.
urine mēšag, pēšyār; *bull's* ~ gōmēz, dastšōy.
use sōg, sūd; *of* ~ abēdān; *put to* ~ kār framādan.
useful sūd(ō)mand.
useless anabēdān.
uselessness anabēdānīh.
usurer waxšgar.
utterance ēwāz, wāzag.

vain tuhīg.
valiant arwand, marčābuk; v. *brave.*
valid wizurd.
validity wizurdīh.
valour arwandīh, marčābukīh; v. *bravery.*
valuable arzān, arzōmand.
value (n.) arz, arzānīgīh, arzišn, arzōmandīh, wahāg.
value (v.) wahāg burdan.
vanguard pēšōbāy.
Vega Wanand.
vegetable ārōyišnīg, tarrag, urwar; ~*s* āmiz.

vehemence tundīh.
vehicle wardyūn.
veil čādur, pardag.
vein rag, rahag.
vengeful kēnīg, kēnwar.
venom wiš, zahr.
venomous wišōmand.
Venus Anāhīd.
vernal wahārīg.
vertebra muhrag.
very abēr, saxt, staft, škeft.
vessel ǰām(ag), kabārag, takōk.
vetch māš.
viceroy bidaxš.
victorious abarwēz, čēr, pērōz(gar).
victory abarwēzīh, pērōz(gar)īh; *final* ~ frazām-pērōzīh.
victuals pih.
vigilant gubrāg, zēnāwand.
vile wadag, zēfān.
vileness wadagīh.
village deh, wis.
vina (*lute*) win.
vindictive kēnwar.
vindictiveness kēnwarīh.
vine raz.
vinegar sik.
vineyard raz.
violence must, snāh, tundīh.
violent mustgar, tund.
violet wanafšag.
viper šēbāg.
virgin dōšīzag.
virginity dōšīzagīh.
virtue hunar, hunarāwandīh, huwaršt, kirbag, nēk-gōhrīh.
virtuous dahm, hunarāwand, kirbagīg, nēk-gōhr.
visibility paydāgīh.
visible čašmdīd, (pad) dīdār, paydāg, wēnābdāg, wēnišnīg.
vision wēnāb; v. *sight*.
vital gyānīg.
vital force axw.
vitality uštānīh.
vivifier zīndakkar.
vivify zīwēnīdan.
voice āwāz, wāng.
void (n.) tuhīgīh.
void (v.) rīdan.
vomit wāmīdan.
vow (n.) padist(āg).
vow (v.) padistādan.
vulture kargās.

wagon rah.
waist kamar.
wait pādan.
waken guhrāyēnīdan; v. *awaken*.
wall dēwār.
wallet paywāsag.
wallflower hērīg.
walnut gōz; ~ *sweetmeat* gōzēnag.
wand čōbag.
wander waštan.
wanderer kārdāg.
wandering wiyābān(īg).
wane nirfs-.
want (n.) niyāz.
want (v.) abāyistan, kāmistan, xwāstan.
wanted abēdān.
warding off ānābišn.
warlike ardīkkar.
warm garm(ōg); ~ *region* garmsēr.
warmth garmāg, garmīh.
warrior ardīkkar, artēštār, ēraxtār, kārīg; v. *soldier*.
warriorhood artēštārīh.
wash šustan.
washerman gāzar.
wasp wabz.
waste wanīgarīh.
watch (n.) pās.
watch (v.) nigāh dāštan, pādan, pās dāštan.
watchdog mānbān.
watcher pāsbān.
water āb.
watercourse ābtazan; v. *channel*.
water-holder ābdān.
water-lily nīlōpal.
watery ābīg.
wax waxšīdan.
way, v. *path*, *manner*.
we amā.
weak kamzōr, nizār; *become* ~ nizārīh(istan).
weakness kamzōrīh, nizārīh.
wealth ādān(īh), grāmag, hangadīh, tuwāngarīh, xwāstag.
wealthy ādān, was-xwāstag, xwāstagōmand; v. *rich*.
wean abāz kardan az.

weapon zay, zēn.
wear paymōxtan, pōšīdan.
weasel rasūg.
weave waf-.
weaving wafišn.
weed zāz.
week haftag.
weep brām-, griyistan.
weeping brāmag.
weigh saxtan, tarāzēnīdan.
weight garānīh.
well (a.) drust.
well (n.) čāh.
well up, cause to ~ pēmēnīdan.
well-being drōd.
well-born pad-gōhr(ag).
well-grown hurust.
well-known nāmčišt.
west dōšastar, xwarōfrān, xwarwarān.
what čē, kadām.
whatever čegām-iz-ē(w).
wheat gandum.
when čiyōn, ka, kay.
whenever hamē ka.
where kū (gyāg).
which čē, kadām, kadār, kē.
whichever kadām-iz-ē(w).
whip aštar, tāzānag.
whirlwind wād-girdag.
white spēd, arus; (n.) spēdag.
who kē, kadār.
whoever kadār-iz-ē(w).
whole tandrust.
whore ǰeh, rōspīg.
whoredom rōspīgīh.
why čē rāy, čim (rāy).
wickedness dušīh, wattarīh.
wide frāx, pahn, wēhm, wišād.
widow wēwag.
width pahnāy, wēhmīh.
wife nārīg, zan; čagar.
wild kōfīg.
wilderness wiškar.
wilful wastār.
will axw, kām(ag).
willing(ly) kāmagōmand.
willow wēd.
wind wād.
window rōzan, rōz(b)ānag.
wine bādag, may.
wine-press karxōš.
wing bālag, parr(ag).
winged parragīg, parrwar.
winnow wēxtan.
winter zam, zamestān.
wipe awestardan.
wiping awestarišn.
wisdom dānāgīh, frazānagīh, xrad; *innate* ~ āsn-xrad.
wise dānāg, frazānag, xradīg, xradōmand, zīrak.
witch parīg.
with abāg.
wither hōšīdan; *cause to* ~ hōšēnīdan.
withhold abāz dāštan.
within andarōn.
without abē-, bē az.
witness gugāy; *false* ~ zūr-gugāy.
woe wāy.
wolf gurg.
woman nārīg, zan; *married* ~ šōymand; *young* ~ ziyānag.
womb aškamb(ag), aškom(b), burdār, gabr, grāb, pusyān, uruspar, zahār.
wonder abdīh, widimās.
wonderful abd(-sahist), widimāsīg.
wood čōb, dār; wēšag.
wooden dārēn.
woodland wēšagestān.
wool pašm, warr.
woollen pašmēn.
word ēwāz, mārīg, saxwan, sraw, wāz; *holy* ~ mānsᵃr(spand).
work (n.) harg, kār, warz(išn).
work (v.) warzīdan.
worker kardār, warzīgar.
world axw(ān), gēhān; *material* ~ gētīg, gumēzagīh.
worldly gēhānīg, gētīg(īg).
worm kirm.
wormwood dramanag.
worse wattar.
worship (n.) ēzišn, paristagīh, paristišn, yasn, yašt, yazišn.
worship (v.) paristīdan, yaštan.
worst wattom.
worth arz, arzānīgīh, arzišn, arzōmandīh; *be* ~ arzīdan.
worthiness arzānīgīh, sahīgīh, sazāgīh, sazišn, šāyendagīh.
worthless dušarz.
worthy arzān(īg), arzōmand, sahīg, sazāg(wār), šāyendag; *be* ~ saz-, šāyistan.

would that kāč.
wound (n.) rēš, zaxm.
wound (v.) rēšīdan, xastan.
wrath xēšm.
write nibištan.
writing nibēg; *collected* ~*s* dēwān.
wrong abārōn, zēfān.
wrongdoer kastār.

yard gām.
year sāl; *-years-old* -sālag.
yellow zard.
yellowness zardīh.
yet ahanūz.
yoke (n.) ǰuγ.
yoke (v.) āyōxtan, (āyōzīdan).
yolk zardag.
you ašmā.
young ǰuwān, keh, kawādak, kōdak.
younger keh(tar).
youth ǰuwān; ǰuwānīh.

Zaraθuštra, v. *Zoroaster*.
Zend zand.
zodiac dwāzdahān; *sign of the* ~ axtar.
Zoroaster Zardu(x)št.
Zoroastrian, v. *Mazdean*.

APPENDIX

(i) *Divinities*

Ohrmazd
Amahraspandān
  Wahman
  Ardwahišt
  (Urd-, Ašwahišt)
  Šahrewar
  Spandarmad
  Hordād
  Amurdād
Ādur
Anāhīd
Ard (Ahrišwang)
Aštād
Burz
Ērmān
Mihr
Rašn
Srōš
Wahrām
Way ī weh
Zurwān

(ii) *Demons*

Ahreman
Akōman
Arzūr
Astwihād
Jeh
Way ī wattar
Xēšm

(iii) *Months*

I Frawardīn
II Ardwahišt
III Hordād
IV Tīr
V Amurdād
VI Šahrewar
VII Mihr
VIII Ābān
IX Ādur
X Day
XI Wahman
XII Spandarmad
+ Frawardīgān

(iv) *Days*

1 Ohrmazd
2 Wahman
3 Ardwahišt
4 Šahrewar
5 Spandarmad
6 Hordād
7 Amurdād
8 Day pad Ādur
9 Ādur
10 Ābān
11 Xwar
12 Māh
13 Tīr
14 Gōš
15 Day pad Mihr
16 Mihr
17 Srōš
18 Rašn
19 Frawardīn
20 Wahrām
21 Rām
22 Wād

23 Day pad Dēn
24 Dēn
25 Ard (Ahrišwang)
26 Aštād
27 Asmān
28 Zāmyād
29 Māraspand
30 Anagrān

(v) *Gāhs*

Hāwan—morning
Rapihwin—afternoon
Uzērin—evening
Ēbsrūsrim—sunset to midnight
Ušahin—midnight to dawn

(vi) *Continents*

Central—Xwanirah
Eastern—Arzah
South-eastern—Fradadafš
South-western—Wīdadafš
Western—Sawah
North-western—Wōrūbaršt
North-eastern—Wōrūǰaršt

(vii) *Measures of length*

1 angust	= ¾ in.	'finger'
1 widest	(12 a.) = 9 in.	'span'
1 pāy	(16 a.) = 12 in.	'foot'
1 frārāst	(24 a.) = 1 ft. 6 in.	'cubit'
1 gām	(48 a.) = 3 ft.	'yard'
1 gām ī dō pāy	(80 a.) = 5 ft.	'pace'
1 ǰud-nāy	(96 a.) = 6 ft.	'fathom'
1 nāy	(160 a.) = 10 ft.	'pole'
1 hās^{a}r i.	= 1,000 'paces'	'mile'
ii.	= frasang	
1 frasang	= 4 'miles'	'parasang'

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tazīdan	
tazišnīh	
nō[1]	
taškanag	
tašt	
tadan	
tadar	

Numerals

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	

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13	
14	
15	
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17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
30	
40	
50	
60	
70	
80	
90	
100	
200	
1,000	

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tarsāgāh
tarsāg
tarsīdan
tarsagāh
tarsagāhīh
tarist
se[1]
tom
tambūr
ānōh[1]
tab
tab-
tabāh
tabāhīh
tabāhīh-
tabāhīhistan
tabangōg
tabarzad
tabišn
taftīg
taftan
taz-
tazāg
tazēn-
tazēnīdan

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tagīg
tag
takōk
tagarg
-tar
tar, tarr
tarāzēn-
tarāzēnīdan
tarāzūg
pīh[1]
targ
tars
dō[1]
targumān
tarwēn-
tarwēnīdan
trufš
truftag
truš
talag, tarrag
talagčīn
tarmānīh
tarmenišnīh
tarmenišn
tars-

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tanōmandīh	
tanbahr	
tund	
tundīh	
tanīhā	
tandrustīh	
tandrust	
tandrust	
tanīg	
tanuk	
tanūr	
tantōhmag	
Tūr	
Tūrān	
tōrag, Turk	
-tom	
tom, tōm	
tumbag	
tōf	
tōz	
tōz-	
tōzišn	
tōšag	
tušt	
tagīgīh	

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tuhīg	
tōhmag	
tanāpuhl	
tuxš-	
tuxšāgīh	
tuxšāg	
tuxšīdan	
tuxšišn	
tōxtan	
tuwānāg	
tuwānīgīh	
tuwānīg	
tuwāngar	
tuwāngarīh	
tuwān	
tuwānsāmān	
tambūr	
tambūrag	
did[I], tand, tang	
tandīh, tangīh	
tanīgardīg	
tanīgard	
tan	
gāw[I]	
tanōmand	

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tāštīg	
kāh[I]	
šken(n)-[I]	
škastan[I]	
nēw[I]	
xormā[I]	
tēx	
tīhōg	
āhūg[I]	
tis	
tasum	
gil[I]	
gilēn[I]	
tigr, Tīr	
[1-2]tērag	
tēmār	
[1-2]tēz	
tēzīh	
tišn	
tišnagīh	
tišnag	
Tištar	
tīdag	
tan-	
tuhīgīh	

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taxt	
taxtan, tāxtan	
taxtag	
tēx	
tās	
tāwān	
tāwān	
ār-[I]	
ārdan[I]	
[1-2]tāg	
tār	
tārīg/kīh	
tārīg/k	
rōbāh[I]	
tāb-, tāz-	
tāzānag	
[1-2]tāzīg	
tābīdan	
tābag	
tābestān	
tābišn	
tāftan	
tāš-	
tāšīdan	
tāšt	

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weh[I]	
wehīh[I]	
šabag	
šabestān	
šafšēr	
šiftālūg	
šiftēnag	
šaš[I]	
ālag[I]	
šahrewar	
šahr	
frēst-[I]	
šahryār	
šahryārīh	
frēstīdan[I]	
šahrestān	
frēstādan[I]	
ālag[I]	
kūn[I]	
-(i)t	
tah	
taxl	
taxlīh	
taxtgāh	

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pādixšāyīh[I]	
wišāy-[I]	
wišād[I]	
wišād-dar[I]	
wišādan[I]	
šalwār	
šarm	
šarmgāh	
šarmgēn	
šarmgen	
nām[I]	
šambalīdag	
kunjid[I]	
nāmčištīg[I]	
nāmčišt[I]	
šimšār	
šamšēr	
šasab	
šasabīgān	
wih-[I]	
wistan[I]	
šab	
šubān	
šabīxōn	
šabīg	

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sālag[I]	
škāf-	
škāftan	
nibay-[I]	
nibastan[I]	
ških-	
šken(n)-	
šken(n)išn	
škēbāgīh	
škēbāg	
škeftīh	
škeft	
1-2škōh	
škōhīh	
škōf-	
škōfag	
škoft	
škuftan	
hur[I], šakar	
škarw-	
škarwīdan	
škarag	
škastan	
škaft	
pādixšāy[I]	

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šnāsagīh	
šnāsag	
šnāyišn	
šnāyīdan	
šnāz	
šnāz-	
šnāzīdan	
šaw-	
šawāg	
šōy, šuy	
šanēn	
šōymand	
-išn	
šan	
šnōhr	
šōnīg	
šōn	
šnūg	
šnūman	
šnōmag	
šnōšag	
drōd[I]	
šus[a]r	
sāl[I]	
sālagīh[I]	

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see also	
-(i)š	
šāh	
šah-	
dēw[I]	
dēw[I] !	
dēwēsnīh[I]	
dēwēzagīh[I]	
šāhbalūt	
šāy-	
šāhdānag	
šāyendagīh	
šāyendag	
šāhīgān	
šāyistan	
šāyēd	
šāhwār	
šānag	
šām	
šāhesprahm	
šāyēd	
šāzdah	
šādurwān	
šādīh	
šād	

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Jaw[I]	
Jawēn[I]	
šēwan	
frēst-[I]	
frēstādan[I]	
hil-[I]	
hilišn[I]	
hištan[I]	
šagr, šīr	
šīrēnīh	
šīrēn	
šēb	
šēb-	
šēbāg	
šēbišn	
šīšag	
šēdā	
šēd	
uzwān[I]	
šnāxtan	
šnāy-	
šnās-	
šnāyēn-	
šnāyēnīdan	
šnāyēnišn	

[170]

čōbag
čagād
čakōk
čakuč
čagar
čirāγ
čarz
čarag
čarm
čarb
čarbīh
čarbišnōmand
čarbišn
čim
čambar
čamišn
sang[1]
čašm
čašmareškīh
čašmareškīh
čašmagāh
čašmagāhīh
[1-2]čašmag
čašmdīd
čatrang

[169]

[1-2]čīnag
čīnišn
čegāmag
čegām-iz
čēr
čēlāngar
čēlān
čēlāngar
čērīh
čērīh-
čērīhistan
čim
čim-gōwāgīh
čimīg
[1-2]čīdan
čand, čang
čand-
čandīh
čandal
čang-srāy
čandišn
[1-2]grīw[1]
čandīdan
čōb
čaw(la)gān

[168]

čāšnīg
čāšišn, čaxšišn
čāšt
čāštan
1-2čāštag
čādur
xīr[1]
čēh-
čēh-widarag
čēhag
1-2čihr
čihrēn-
čihrēnīdan
čihrīg
čihrag
čihr-šnāsīh
čēhišnīg
čēhišn
ēzm[1]
čiyōnīh
čiyōn
čīn-
činār
jīw
činwad

[167]

paymānag
paymōxtan
paymōg
paymōz-
paymōzan
paymūdan
padisāy
padist
padiš
padišxwar

-(i)z
čāh
čahār
čahārdah
čahārpāy
čār
čārūgēn
čārūg
čāraggarīh
čārag
čābukīh
čābuk
čāš-
čaxšāgīh
čāšīdan

[166]

pattūgīh
pattūg
paywastan
paywastag
pattūdan
pahikār
1-2pahikār-
pahikārdan
pahikāf-
pahikāftan
pahikōb-
pahikōftan
pahikar
pahikaf-
pahikafišn
pahikaftan
payrāstan
payrōg
pahrmāh-
pahrmāhāgīh
pahrmāhišn
paymāy-
paymānīgīh
paymānīg
paymān

[165]

pattānōmand
pattān
padēxīh
padēxēn-
padēxēnīdan
padēx, [*error for* pih]
padīr-
padīragīh
padīrag
padīriftan
padīrišn
1-2padisār
padist-
padistā(g)
padistādan
padištān
-bed
1-2pid
paywāsag
paywāz-
paywāzag
paywāzišn
paywand
paywand-

[164]

pafšīr-	
pafšīrišnīh	
pafšīrišn	
paz-	
pa(č)čēn	
pa(č)čībāy-	
pa(č)čībāgīh	
pašēmānīh	
pašēmān	
pišīz	
paššing	
pašn	
pašom	
paššinj-	
paššinjīdan	
paššinjag	
paššinjišn	
pašm	
pašmēn	
pašt	
paštag	
pad-	
petyārag	
pattāy-	
pattāyistan	

[163]

frašn	
frašagirdīg	
frašagird	
frašamurw	
fradāg	
fradom	
fradomīh	
pardag	
pambagēn	
pambag	
passāxt	
passāxtan	
passox	
passāz-	
passāzišn	
pasēn	
pasēmāl	
pasēmālīh	
brīn-[I]	
brīdan[I]	
passazagīh	
passazag	
past, pist	
pistag	
pafšār-	

[162]

framōšīdan	
framuštan	
framūdan	
frasāwand	
frasāwandīh	
frasp	
parist-	
paristār	
paristīdan	
paristōg/k	
paristagīh	
paristag	
paristišn	
frabīh	
frazānagīh	
frazānag	
frazăm	
frazām-	
frazāmēn-	
frazāmēnīdan	
frazām-pērōzīh	
frazāftan	
frazēn, parzīn	
frazaftan	
fraš, parš	

[161]

parwar-	
parwarišn	
Frawardīn	
Frawardīgān	
fraward	
parwardan	
frawardag	
franam-	
parwast	
parwastan	
franaftan	
frušag	
frōd	
frōdmānd	
fragān, pillagān	
parrag	
fragan-, pargan-	
fragandan, pargandan	
framāy-	
framāyišn	
framānburdār	
framān	
framādār	
framōš	
framōš-	

[160]

frawahr
parwāngāh
parwānagīh
parwānag
frawār, parwāl
frawār-, parwāl-
parwālišn
frawārdan
franām-
franāmišn
parwāz
franāftan
Farrōbāg } (read *pln-*)
Farrōbag }
piring
palang
parnagān
palangmušk
parwand
parwand-
parrōn
frōgīh-
frōgīhistan
frōg
parrwar

[159]

frasang
parragīg
pargan-
parwār
pargandan
pargūd
frēg, parīg
frēst-
frēstādan
frēstīdan
pargast
frēstag
frēb
frēb-
frēftār
frēftan
frēz, (frēb)
pardaz-, parrēz-, (frēb-)
frēzwānīh
frēzwānīg
frēzbānīh
frēzbānīg
pardazišn
Fradadafš

[158]

frahixtan	
frahixtag	
frayādišnīg	
frayādišn	
frāy	
frādahišnīh	
frahist	
farroxīh	
farrox	
[1]xwāh-[1]	
xwastan[1]	
frārāst	
frārōnīh	
frārōn	
frāmōš	
frāmōš-	
frāmuštan	
frahist	
parrag	
freh	
pardāxtan	
frehbūdīh	
frehbūd	
pardāz-	
pardaxtan, parrēxtan	

[157]

potk, pūdag	
pazzām-	
pazzāmēn-	
pazzāmēnīdan	
pazzāmēnišn	
pazzāftan	
pazd	
pazd-	
pazdēn-	
pazdēnīdan	
pazdagīh	
pazūg	
pāymār[1]	
parr	
frahang	
frāxīh	
frāxēn-	
frāxēnīdan	
frahangestān	
frāx	
parāhōm	
frahanǰ-	
frayād-	
frayādīdan	
frayād	

[155]

pand, (nēm[I])	
pōy-	
penīh	
pus	
frazand	
frazandīh	
panīr	
pondik	
pōyišnīg	
pad[I], pen	
padgōhr	
padnērōg	
padnigerišn	
padwizēn	
padzyān	
purs-	
pursīdan	
pursišnīg	
pursišn	
padpānag	
pa(č)čībāy-	
pa(č)čībāgīh	
frazand	
pōr, purr	
pōlāwadēn	

[156]

pōlāwad	
purrgāh	
purrxwarrah[I]	
pōryōtkēš	
pōryōtkēšīh	
purnāy	
purr-rawišnīh	
purrmāh	
purrsardag	
dahǎn[I]	
pusyān	
pusar	
pōstēn	
pōst	
panǰ, pōz	
panǰāh	
panǰag, pōzag	
pōš-	
pōšīdan	
pōšišn	
puštībānīh	
puštībāṇ	
pušt	
puštag	
pūdagīh	

[154]

1-2pēšag	
pēšpārag	
petyāragīh	
petyārag	
paydāgīh	
paydāgīh-	
paydāgīhistan	
paydāgēn-	
paydāgēnīdan	
paydāg	
paygām	
paygāmbar	
petītīgīh	
petītīg	
petīt	
1-2pid	
panāh	
panāhīh	
1-2puhl	
puhlēn-	
puhlēnīdan	
frāz	
pōhišn	
poxtan	
nēm[I]	

[153]

pērōzgarīh	
pīlbān	
pēm, pīm	
pēmēn-	
pēmēnīdan	
pīmgēn	
pēs-	
pēsīdan	
pēsišn	
pestān	
pēč-	
pēčīdan	
pēš	
pēšānīg	
pēšōbāy	
pēšōbāyīh	
pēšār	
pēšārwār	
pēšgāh	
pēšēnīg	
pēšēmāl	
pēšēmālīh	
pēšōbāy	
pēšōbāyīh	
pēškār, pēšyār	

[152]

padām
payādag
1-2pay, pīh
pas, 1-2pay
pēs
pēsišn
passand
passand-
passandišnīg
passandišn
passandīdan
penīh
pen
payg
pīr
pīl
payrāy-
fīlāsōfā
payrāyag
pērāmōn
payrāstan
pīrīh
pērōz
pērōzīh
pērōzgar

[151]

pāduzwānīh
pāduzwān
pādixšā(y)
pādixšāyīh
pādixšīr
pādyāb
pādyābīh
pādāšn
pādīrān-
pādīrānēn-
pādīrānēnīdan
pādīrānīdan
pādīrān
pāymār
pādēz
1pādan
pādofrāh
pādzahr
pāygōs
pādrōzag
pāyram
pādrazm
pādifrāh
arzan[I], gāwars[I]
pih

[150]

pāyag	
pānāgīh	
pānāg	
-bān	
pānagīh	
pānag	
pānzdah	
pākīzag	
pāk	
pālāy-	
pālūdan	
pālūdag	
[1-2]pārag	
pārsīg	
pāsox	
pāsbānīh	
pāsbān	
pāzen	
pāzand	
pāzen	
pāšnag	
pāšom	
paxšag	
pādyāwand	
pādyāwandīh	

[149]

starōšmur	
starwan	
stardīh	
stard	
stabr	
stabrīh	
stabrag	
staft	
pah, pāy	
pahnāy	
pahn	
pāyag	
paygāl	
[1-2]pahrēxtan	
pahrēz	
[1-2]pahrēz-	
pahlawīg	
pahlūg	
pahlom	
pahlomīh	
paygālgar	
pahast	
[1]pāy-	
pās	

[148]

gētīg, stī	
stēndag	
sidīg, stēγ	
sidīgar	
stēr	
stēzag	
stōwīh	
stōwēn-	
stōwēnīdan	
stō	
Sadwēs	
dīdan	
-istan	
stūn	
stūnag	
stōr, stūr	
sturg	
stūrīh	
stōrgāh	
stōrbān	
stard	
*stōš	
stūdan	
star	
starōšmār	

[147]

see also	
1-2saz-	
sazāgīh	
sazāg	
sazāgwār	
sazistan	
1sazišnīh	
2sazišnīg	
1-2sazišn	
gētīg	
gētīgīg	
stāy-	
stāyišnīg	
stāyišn	
dīdār	
stārag	
stahm	
stambagīh	
stambag	
stahmīh	
stahmagīh	
stahmag	
stāyīdan	
sudāb	
stī	

[146]

spēd

spēdag

spēdbāg

spenāg

spōxtan

spandān

Spandarmad

sabuk

spul

spurrīgīh

spurrīg

spurdan

spōz

spōz-

spinjānagīh

spōzgār

spōzišn

sabz

spazg

spazgīh

spar

spar-

sprahm

sprahmag

spurz

[145]

sardsēr

sīsīmbar

sīsīmbar

N.B. *Any word with initial* °

may appear written as °

spāh

dēbahr, spihr, spaxr

spāhbed

spās

spāsdār

spāsdārīh

spāsešnās

dēbāg

spāsōmand

spāš

spihr

spihrīg

spenāg

spīg

spīz-

spīzišn

spiš

spitāmān

spēd-dār

[144]

gāy-[1]	
gādan[1]	
wattar[1]	
wattarīh[1]	
srawēn-	
srawēnīdan	
srūwēn	
sarw, sraw, srū	
srūwar	
sarw	
bar-[1]	
burdan[1]	
srub	
srubēn	
Srōš	
srōšīg	
srōd	
srūdan	
sarmäg	
srub	
srešk	
srištan	
sardīh	
sard, srat	
sardag	

[143]

darrīdan[1]	
sagr	
sagrīh	
sēm	
sēb, sēj	
sēj̄ōmand	
sēzdah	
sezd	
sezdēn	
kārd[1]	
sagēn	
dēg, [2]sag, sik	
sar	
sel	
srāy	
[1-2]srāy-	
srāyišnīh	
srāyišn	
sarāsar	
srāyīdan	
sraxtag	
wad[1]	
sargēn	
srišwadag	
srešk	

[141]

syāhag
gēhānīg
gēhān
sūxtārīh
saxtīh
saxt
saxtan, sāxtan
säg, sāk
sāy-
sahīgīh
sahīg, sāyag
sās
sān
saxwan
sahōg
sāk
sārēn-
sārēnīdan
sālwār
sālagīh
sālag
sahm
sāmānōmand
sāmān
sahmgēn

[142]

sahmgen
sahmgenīh
sāstār
sāstārīh
sāz-
saxt
raw-[I]
rawēn-[I]
rawēnīdan[I]
rawišn[I]
raftan[I]
saxtag
sabz
šast[N]
sī
haštād[N]
sagēn
nawad[N]
sēn
sēnag
sēn murw
sēzd
sēzdēn
haftād[N]
darr-[I]

[139]

marzobān	
marzišnīh	
marzišn	
mardānagīh	
mardānag	
marčābukīh	
marčābuk	
mard	
mardōm	
mardōmīh	
mardōmzādagīh	
mardōmzādag	
čē[1]	
čē-ēwēnagīh[1]	
čē-ēwēnag[1]	
čēīh[1]	
-masāy	
mehtar	
mehtarīh	
mehēn-	
mehēnīdan	
mehēnišn	
mast	
mistan	
mastōgīh	

[140]

mastōg	
mehtar	
mastarg	
mizagōmand	
mizagdārīh	
mizag	
rōyn[1]	
maškabarzēn	
maškīzag	
[1-2]mašk	
deh[1]	
dehgān[1]	
madār	
mih	
madan, [1-3]mihr	
mihrōdruj	
mihrōdrujīh	
mihrdrōz	
mihrzan	
mihrōdruj	
mihrōdrujīh	
mihrbān	
see also °ـو, °ـو	
giyāh, syā	

[138]

mazgit
miznē
maγ
magas
padīr-[I]
padīrišn[I]
padīriftan[I]
magind
makōg
[1-2]mar
marg
margōmand
margarzān
margīh
marw
šāh[I]
šāhān šāh[I]
marag
bāmbišn[I]
marz
marz-
marčābukīh
marčābuk
marzīdan
marzangōš

[137]

murdār
murwāg
morwārīd
murwīzag
murw
murwnīš
murnǰēn-
murnǰēnīdan
mōrd, murd
murdan
mustōmand
[1-3]must
mustabarmānd
mustgar
mōz
mōzag
[1-2]mušk
mušt
muštan
mūdag
muhrišn
mazg, mizd
mizdwar
frō(x)š-[I]
frōxtan[I]

[136]

[3]mēzišnīh	
[2-3]mēzišn	
mēš	
mijūg	
mēšag	
mēššār	
mēdyōzarm	
mihōxt	
[1]az[I]	
muhrag	
mang, mōy	
saxwan[I]	
mōyēn	
tis[I], čiš[I]	
tis-iz[I]	
mōyag	
muhr	
ōšmār-[I]	
ōšmārišn[I]	
ōšmurdan[I]	
kē[I]	
murdār	
mōg	
mōr	
mulān	

[135]

mēnōgwēnīh[I]	
mēnōgīh	
mēnōgīgīh	
mēnōgīg	
mēwag	
moγmard	
mowbed	
menišnīg	
menišn	
mēzd, mizd	
mēzdbān	
miznē	
mēγ	
mayg	
mērag	
nāmag[I]	
[1]abar[I]	
sah-[I]	
sahistan[I]	
sahišn[I]	
mij	
[1-3]mēz-	
mēzīdan	
mijūg	
mijag, mizag	

[134]

māzdēsn

mahist, māst

māzandar

māš, maxš

rōynI

1-2mādayān, mādīyān

mādayār

mādišt

mādagīh

mādagīg

1-2mādag

mādagwar

mādar

ābI, mēx

ābgēnagI

mēhan

mēzd

may, meh

šahrestānI

mahist

men-

moγmardI

menīdan

mēnōg

mēnōgwēnI

[133]

2jāmI

mānsar

mānsarbar

mānsarspand

māraspand

mānbān

mānbed

mānišn

māzanīg

māzandar

māzdēsnīh

māzdēsn

fradāgI

mār

māl-, mār-

mārāg

mārīg

mālīdan

purrI

mārišnōmand

mārišn

mārdan

mehmānīh

mehmān

māzdēsnīh

[132]

-(i)m	-ـم
māh	ماه
māhīgān	ماهیگان
māhīg	ماهیگ
mayān	میان
mayānag	میانگ
mayānǰīgīh	میانجیگیه
mayānǰīg	میانجیگ
mehmānīh	مهمانیه
mehmān	مهمان
māzdēsn	مازدیسن
māyišn	مایشن
zan-[1]	زن-
zanišn[1]	زنیشن
zadan[1]	زدنیشن
[1-3]mān-	-مان
mānāgīh	مانیگیه
mānāg	مانیگ
mānd	مند
māndagīh	ماندگیه
māndag, mānīg	ماندگ
māništ	مانیشت
māništag	مانیشتگ
mān	مان
mānag	مانگ

[131]

rapihwin	رپیهوین
rapihwintar	رپیهوینتر
awar[1]	اور
rubūdan	روبودن
raftār	رفتار
raz	رز
tar[1], (tarr)	تر
laǰan	لجن
razūr	رزور
razm	رزم
razmgāh	رزمگاه
tar[1]	تر = ترّ
Rašn	رشن
laškar	لشکر
laškarīgīh	لشکریگیه
laškarīg	لشکریگ
raštan	رشتن
rištag	ریشتگ
radōmand	رادومند
radīh	ردیه
rad	رد
radunay	رادونی
radag	ردگ
ēdar[1]	ایدر
radpassāg	ردپسگ

[130]

hazār[N]
sīh[N], tō[I]
ragīh
rag
ašmā[I], sīhom[N]
hazārag[N]
larz-
larzīdan
ram
abgan-[I]
abgandan[I]
ramag
ras-
rasēn-
rasēnīdan
rahīg
rasīdan
rastārīh
rastan
rastag
lab
rubāy-
lipī, rabih
rapihwin
rapihwin

[129]

rōzāg
ranǰēn-, rōzēn-
ranǰēnīdan, rōzēnīdan
lawzēnag
rōzīg
rōzwārag
rōzan
ranǰwar
rōzward
rōzgār
ranǰag, rōzag
rōzbānag
rōz-šabān
rōšnīh
rōšn
rōšnag
rōšngar
rōdbār
rōdīgān
rōdīg
[1-2]rōd
rūdan
abāg[I]
rōstāg
raz, sad[N]

[128]

rōyan, rōyĕn
randīdan
pēšI
rōyišn
sarI
nēstīhI
nēstI
rūn-
rōn
ruzd
ruzdīh
rōγn-xwardīg
rōγn
rūrag
jāwĕdānI
amāI
rōspīgīh
rōspīg
rōstāg
randīdan, rustan
rōb
rōb-
rōbāh
ranj, rōz
rōzānag

[127]

ristāxēz
rist
1-2ristag
rēz-
rēzišn
1-2rēš
rēšīdan
rēšag
rēškĕn
rēškĕnīh
rištag
rīdan
rēdak
raw-
ruwānīg
ruwān
rawāgīh
rawāgēn-
rawāgēnīdan
rawāg
rawišnīh
rawišn
rang
1-2rōy
rand-, rōy-

[126]

rād	
daw-[I]	
[J]dawistan[I]	
[J]dawīdan[I]	
(21[N])	
wuzurg[I]	
wuzurgīh[I]	
wuzurg-framādār[I]	
dil[I]	
warr[I]	
dil[I]	
riy-	
riyahrīh	
rēxtan	
raγ, rah, (22[N])	
rah	
rasan	
rasūg	
im[I]	
rēg	
šab[I]	
pāy[I]	
rēm	
rēmanīh	
rēman	

[125]

rān-	
abāz[I]	
abāzsār[I]	
abāzsārīh[I]	
rān	
rahag	
ul[I]	
ulīh[I]	
ulāmadān[I]	
rām	
nān[I]	
rāmēn-	
rāmēnīdan	
rāmišnīg	
rāmišn	
rāspīg	
rāstīh	
rāst	
rāz	
rāzīg	
rāzkirrōg	
lābag	
lābakkar	
lābakkarīh	
rādīh	

[124]

kadag
mān-[I]
mānistan[I]
māndan[I]

man[I], wīst[N]
nē[I]
rah-
rah-
rah, (23[N])
rāγ, rāy
rāyōmand
rāh
rāhdār
rāhdārīh
rāyēn-
rāyēnāg
rāyēnīdārīh
rāyēnīdan
rāhnimāy
rāyēnišn
rahīgīh
dūr[I], rahīg
dūr[I], rahīg
rāyišn

[123]

kabōtar
kabkanjīr
kabk
kafč
kafčag
kafš
kafšag
kafšgar
kaftan
kaš, kiš
keš-
kešīdan
kišnīz
kašawag
kašk
kaštīg
kadār
kadār-iz-ē(w)
kadār-iz-ē(w)
kadām
kadām-iz-ē(w)
kahas
kadagxwadāy
kadagbānūg
kadagīg

[121]

karbāš
karbunag
karg
kirīh-
aškamb[1]
kirrēn-
kirrēnīdan
kilēl
diz[1]
xwān-[1]
xwandan[1]
kulang
kirrōg
aškamb[1]
kargās
karkēhan
kark
karm, kirm
karmīr
karb, kirb
karafs
karbunag
karzang
kardār
kardārīh

[122]

kardagān
[1-2]kardag
kam
kamāndār
kamān
kamāl
kamālīg
kamistīh
kamist
kamzōr
kamzōrīh
kamar
kamarband
mayg[1]
arz[1]
kastār
kastārīh
kehtar
kaf
kaf-
kabāh
kabārag
kabīg
kabīz
kabōd

[120]

kirbakkarīh
kirbag, kōfag
kōftan
kūč
kūčak
kōš-, kuš-
kōšīdan
kōšk
kuštan
kardār
kardārīh
kantigr
kard
kandan, kardan
kardagān
kardagār
[2]kardag, kōdak
kardespās
ahy[1]
dandān[1]
karr, -gar
kar-
karān
karxōš
[1]sag[1]

[119]

kundur
kūn
kūnmarz
kunǰid
kunǰid
kunišngar
kunišn
karak, kūk
kōr
kulāf
kulāčag, kulāfak
kōrdil
kullag, kurrag
kurkum
kumīg
kustīg
[1-2]kust
kōstan
kustag
kustagbed
kōf
kōb-
kōfīg
kirbagīg
kirbakkar

[118]

kan-

har(w)[1]

kanār, kennār

kanāragōmand

kanārag

kennārsrāy

kōxš-

kōxšīdan

kōxšišnīg

kōxšišn

kawādak

kōy

nay[1]

kundāgīh

kundāg

nayestān[1]

kandan

kanīg

kanīzag

xwān-[1]

xwandan[1]

-gen

nūn[1]

kun-

warrag[1]

[117]

kēnwar

kēnwarīh

kayak

kēr

kirrōgīh

kirrōg

kem

kēsar

sang[1]

kēwūd

keč

kēš, kiš

keš-

kēšdār

kešīdan

kišwān

kišwānzār

kišw

kišwar

kišwzār

kištan

kēdīgīh

kēd

-ag, -ak

ōh[1]

[115]

1-3kār	
kār-	
wāng[I]	
2kār-ān	
kārāgāh	
kārāgāhīh	
kārdāg	
kārīgīh	
kārīg	
kārēzār	
kārawānīg	
kārawān	
kārnāmag	
kahrubāy	
kālbodōmand	
kālbod	
kārframān	
kārd	
kām	
kām-	
ārd[I]	
kāmistan	
kāmzīwišn	
kāmagōmand	
kāmaghanjām	

[116]

kāmaghanjāmīh	
kāmagxwadāy	
kāmgār	
1-2kāmag	
kāmagwidār	
kāmrawāg	
kāmistan	
kāstār	
kāstan	
kāč	
kābēn	
kāpūr	
kādag	
was[I]	
wasxwāstag[I]	
2kay	
drō[I]	
drōdādwarīh[I]	
kch	
kahist	
gōspand[I]	
kēwān	
kēnīg	
-gēn	
kēn	

[114]

zardčōbag
zam
zamīg
zamān
zastan
zafar
zadār
zadan
zadūg
zaxm

kāh-
kāhēn-
kāhēnīdan
kāhīdan
kāhišn
kāskēnēn
kāskēn
kāskēnag
hammis[I], hămist[I]
kahwan
-gānag
kayk
kākom
-gār

[113]

zāy-[I]
zāyišnīg[I]
zāyišn[I]
zādan[I]
[1-2]zrēh
zarrēn
zargōnīh
zargōn
zarīgōmand
zarīg
zarr(ī)gar
kār-[I]
kištār[I]
kištan[I]
zalūg
zraw-
zarwān
zruftan
zarmānīh
zarmān
zardālūg
zardīh
zard
Zardu(x)št
zardag, zardak

[112]

zūzag	
zōr, zūr	
zōrōmand	
zūrgugāy	
zūrgugāyīh	
zōrīg	
zurwān	
zofāy	
zofāyīh	
zofr	
zofrāy	
zofr-pāyag	
zanjīr	
zanišn	
zōtīh, zūdīh	
zōt, zūd	
wahīg[1]	
ān[1]	
any[1]	
nar[1]	
nibēs-[1]	
nibištan[1]	
ōzan-[1]	
ōzadan[1]	
[1-2]zrēh	

[111]

zīndagīh	
zīndakkar	
zīndag	
xrīdan[1]	
zī(wi)stan	
zī(w)išnōmand	
zī(w)išnīh	
zī(w)išn	
zīrak	
zčfān	
zišt	
zayt	
zan-	
zōhr	
duzd[1]	
zuwān	
[1-2]zand	
zang	
zanīh	
zandīkīh	
zandīk	
zangīg	
zandag	
zandbed	
zan	

[110]

zahag

zahrag

zāmyād

zāmēn-

zāmēnīdan

zādan

zādag

zibāl

ī-[1], zay-

zīh

zī(w)-

zēnhār

zēnāwand

zēnabzār

zēndānīg

zēndān

zēndānbān

zēnēn-, zīnēn-, zīwēn-

zēnēnīdan, zīnēnīdan, zīwēnīdan

zīndagīh

zēnīg, zīndag

[1-2]zēn

xrīn-[1]

[109]

wadtōhm

wattom

zahā

zyānōmand

zyān

zyāngar

ziyānag

zahā, zahag, zāhag

zahār, zahr

zahrag

zaxm

zahābag

zay

zarr[1]

zarrēn[1]

zāy-

zahīh

zāyistan

zāyč

zāyčag

zānūg

zōr

zāz

zahagōmand

[108]

wadgarīh	
widerišnīh	
widerišnīg	
widerišn	
widimās	
widimāsīh	
widimāsīg	
widimuštīh	
widimušt	
widestīg	
widest	
wad	
wadwāzag	
widang	
wadkāmagīh	
wadkāmag	
wadagīh	
wadag	
wider-	
widarag	
1-2pāy-I	
1-2pādanI	
widardan	
widest	
widaštan	

[107]

ašnawišnI	
ašnūdanI	
nišast	
nišastan	
waštīh	
1-2waštan	
waštagīh	
waštag	
xwar-I	
xwardanI	
widāxtan	
wadxēm	
widār	
widār-	
widārīdan	
widārdan	
widāz-	
widāzīh-	
widāzīhistan	
wadbaxt	
wadīh	
wad-dil	
wadgōhr	
wider-	
widerān	

[106]

nišān-, wišān-
wišōmand
nišāstan
wišād
wišād-dwārišnīh
wišādan
nišēm
nišēmag
nišēb
nišēbīg
wišōb-
wišōbišnīg
wišōbišn
wišuftan
wišūdan
wišūdag
wiškīdan
wašag
wiškin(n)-
wiškōf-
wiškōfag
wiškuftan
wiškin(n)išn
wiškar
ašnaw-[1]

[105]

wizīhišnīh
wizīhišn
wizīn-
wizēn
wizēngar
wizīr
wizīr-
wizīristan
wizīrišnīg
wazīdan, wizīdan
wizōh/y-
wizōh/yišn
wuzurg
wuzurgīh
wizurdīh
wizurd
wizōstan
waččag
wuzurg
wuzurgīh
wačast
wizistan
wazišnīg
wazišn
nišāyišn

[104]

wafr
nifrīn
wafrēnag
nifrīdag
ōbad-/ōft-[1]
ōbastan[1]
nibard-
nibardīdan
nibard
nibardag
nibastan
wabz
wafišn
xwēš[1]
xwēštən[1]
nibištan
[1-2]naft
waz-
wizār
wizār-
wizārišn
wizārdan
wizārdwars
wizīh-
wizīhīdan

[103]

nasrušt
wisistan
wisp
wispurdan
wistāxīh
wistāx
wastār
wastārīh
wassadēn
wassad
wastōhmag
wistan
wastar, wistar
wistar-
wastarag, wistarag
nastaran
wistardan
Wīdadafš
nab
waf-
nibāstan
nibay-
nibēg
nibēm
wabz

[101]

[3]warz	
warrag	
narm, [1-2]warm	
ōy[I]	
awēšān[I]	
nirfs-	
nirfsišn	
[1-2]warz	
warz-	
warzāwand	
warzāg	
warzbūm	
warzīgar	
warzīdan	
warzišn	
warčašm	
warišn	
ward-	
wardānāg	
wardēn-	
wardēnīdan	
wardyūn	
[1-2]wardagīh	
wardag	
wardišnīh	

[102]

wardišnīgīh	
wardišnīg	
wardišn	
-om	
nam	
nimāy-	
namāz	
wimēhgen	
nimūdan	
namak	
namad	
nasā, wisē	
wisāy-	
wisān-	
wisāndan	
wēz-[I]	
wēxtan[I]	
wisānišnīh	
wisānišn	
namāz[I]	
wasyār	
wisin(n)-	
wasyār	
nask	
nasruštīh	

[100]

xwāstag[I]
waγdān
ō[I]
nar, [1–4]war
warāγ
warān
warōmand
warōmandīh
Wahrām
warāz
wirāz-
warg
walg
wirēxtan
wars
nargis
wirēg
wirēz-[I]
wirēxtan[I]
wirēz-
waranīgīh
waranīg
wurrōyišn
waran
wirōzag

[99]

nigār-
nigārag
nigāstār
[1]mādag[I]
mādagīh[I]
nigēxtan
kuš-[I]
kuštan[I]
niger-
nakkīrā
nakkīrāyīh
nigerīdan
nigerišnīg
nigerišn
nigēz
nigēz-
nigēzišn
wak
nikōh-
nikōhīdan
nikōhišnīg
nikōhišn
nigūnīh
nigūn
nigūnsār

[97]

wināhgārīh	
niwāg	
wināh-	
wināhīdan	
wināhišn	
nang	
wind-	
windādan	
niwēy-	
niwēy-	
niwēyēn-	
niwēyēnīdan	
niwē, wandag	
wanīgarīh	
niwēyišnīh	
niwēyišn	
windišnīg	
windišn	
wahmān[1], wan, win	
wanand	
nōzdah	
nōg	
nōgzād	
nōgzādag	
nōgrōz	

[98]

niwistan	
winastag	
wanafšag	
winjišk	
nizār	
nizārīh	
nizārīh-	
nazd	
nazdīkīh	
nazdīk	
wizend	
nazdist	
wizend	
wizand-	
wizandag	
wizandišn	
wizandīdan	
wazay	
wazr	
šaw-[1]	
šudan[1]	
nigāh	
nigāhdārīh	
nigāhdārišnīh	
nigān	

[95]

wigrād
wigrādan
nērang
nērōgōmand
nērōg
nīlōpal
nīrmadōmand
nīrmad
nēm, wēm
wēmār
wēmārīh
nēmasp
wimand
wimandōmand
wimandīg
wimuštan
nēmag
nēmrōz
nēmtan
nisāg
wisbed
wīst
wēwag
wiftag
[1-2]wēz-

[96]

wizīh-
wizīhīdan
wizīhišnīh
wizīhišn
nēzūmānīh
nēzūmānīg
nēzūmān
nēzag
wēzišn
wēš, wiš
nīš-
nīšān
wēšagīg
wēšag
wēšagestān
zan[I]
zanīh[I]
wēd
wīdwar
wīdwarīh
nidom
bay[I]
wināh
wināhīdan
wināhgār

[94]

nēkīh
nēkgōhr
nēkgōhrīh
nēk
nēkōg
winnirdan
wiyufs-
wiyufsišnīg
wiyufsišn
wēnišnīg
wēnišn (*v.* dīdan)
wizāy-
wizāyišnīg
wizāyišn
wizāstan
wizūdan
-endag
nīl, [1-3]wīr
wirāy-
wirāyišnīh
wirāyišn
wīrōmandīh
wigrās-
wigrāsišnīh
wirāstan

[93]

was
wis
wasnād
nixwār-
nixwārišn
nahang, nihang
wiyōz-
wayōdagān
wēn- (*v.* dīdan)
zamān[1]
wēnāgīh
wēnāg
winnār-
winnārišn
nēwardaxšīr
winnārdan
wēnāb
wēnābdāg
wēnābdāg
niyōxš-
niyōxšīdan
niyōxšišn
wēnīg
nēw, wēn
wēnōg

[91]

nāf, wāz	
[1-2]wāz-, wāž-	-
wāzār	
wāzāragānīh	
wāzāragān	
wāzīg	
naxčīr	
[1-2]wāzīdan	
nāzuk	
nāfag, wāzag	
wābar	
wābarīgānīh	
wābarīgān	
nāzišn, wāzišn	
wāš, [1-2]waxš	
[1-2]waxš-	-
wixšay-	-
waxšīg	
waxšgar	
wixšayišnīh	
wixšayišnīg	
wixšayišn	
[1-2]waxšīdan	
waxšendag	
waxšwar	

[92]

waxšwarīh	
naxšag	
waxšišn	
wahištīg	
wahišt	
wādām	
wādgirdag	
wād	
wādrang	
wādrangbōy	
wādbān	
nabānazdišt	
tā[1]	
weh	
nihānīg	
nihān	
wehīh	
wehdēn	
wihēz	
wihēz-	-
wihēzagīg	
wihēzag	
[1]wiyābān	
wiyāftan	
[1-2]wēxtan	

[90]

naxōd
nāl-, wāl-, wār-
wārānīg
wārāṇ
nārīg
wālīdan, wārīdan
wālan
wārom
wālišn
nām
wām-
nāmburdār
nāmīgīh
nāmīg
wāmīdan
nāmag
nāmčištīg
nāmčišt
wāspuhr
wāspuhragānīh
wāspuhragān
wāyīdan
wāstar
wāstaryōš
wāstaryōšīh

[89]

gīrišnīg[I]
griftan[I], kardan[I]
nāydāg
wahīg
wihīr-
nārīg
wihīrišn
nāysrāy
nāyīzag
wān-
niyōxš-
niyōxšīdan
niyōxšišn
wāng
wānīdan
nān
Wōrūbaršt
Wōrūjaršt
nohom
nihumb-
nihumbīdan
Wahman
naxust
nihuftan
wānišn

[87]

daštān	
daštānmāh	
daštānestān	
dašt, yašt	
yaštan	
ǰadārīh	
nišīn-[I]	
nišān-[I]	
nišastan[I], nišāstan[I]	
dudīgar	
dad, did, gad, yad	
-īdan	
gadwar	
didom	
[1-2]ǰadag	
ǰadagwihīrīh	
ǰadišnīg	
ǰadišn	
ud[I]	
niyāyišn	
wihān, wiyān	
nāxun	
wihānag	
niyāg, wahāg	

[88]

nihāl, wahār, waxr	
Wahrām	
wahārīg	
wēhm	
wahmān	
wēhmīh	
niyāz	
wiyābānīh	
wiyābānēn-	
wiyābānēnīdan	
wiyābānīg	
[1-2]wiyābān	
wiyābāngarīh	
niyāzōmand	
niyāzōmandīh	
niyābagīh	
niyābag	
wāxtan	
nihādag	
nay, nāy, [1-2]way, wāy	
[1-2]wāy-	
wāyendag	
wāyendag	
gīr-[I], kun-[I]	
kirīh-[I]	

[86]

dastšōy
dēwān
dibīrīh
dibīr
dibīrestān
1-2dabr, gabr
1xwāh-I
xwastanI
daftan
daftar
diz, gač, gaz
daz-, gaz-, yaz-
gazāg
kām-I
kāmistanI
gačēn
gazdum
gizistag
dazīdan, gazīdan
-īzag
dazišn, gazišn, yazišn
gišnīz
dašn, jašn
dašnag, gišnag
daštānōmand

[85]

xōṇI
damēnag
zamīgīg
zamīg
zamīgpaymānīh
damīdaṇ
mīr-I
murdanI
uštarI
gōw-I
guftanI
gōw-I
guftanI
zamestān
damišn
yask
dastyār
dastyārīh
dastgraw
dastgīrI
dastwar
dastwarīh
jastan
dastag
dast(a)gird

[84]

griftār	
griftārōmand	
griftan	
darz	
garz-	
darzīg	
garzīdan	
garzag	
garzišnīg	
garzišn	
gard-	
gardān-	
gardānāg	
gardānīdan	
dardōmand	
girdīh	
gardīdan	
dard, gard, gird	
gardan	
girdag	
gardišn	
dam-	
zamānīg	
zamān	
zamānag	

[83]

društēwāz	
društāwāz	
društīh	
društ	
drōd	
garōdmānīg	
garōdmān	
sad[8]	
darak, gilag	
garm	
darmān	
garmāg	
garmābag	
garmīh	
dramanag, garmōg	
garmōwar	
garmōwarīh	
*dramanag	
garmsēr	
darbās	
drubuštīh	
drubušt	
drafš	
drafš-	
drafšīdan	

[82]

darrīdan
grōh
drahnāy
druxtan
grawīh
drō, 1-2graw
drang
druwand
druwandīh
1-2drōn
graw(a)gān
galōg
drubuštīh
drubušt
druz
dranǰ-, drōz-
dranǰīdan
drōzanīh
drōzan
dranǰišn
drōš
drōš-
drōšīdan
drōšom
drōšag

[81]

garānīh
darhandarzbed
γarrānīdan
garān
γarrānišn
grāmīgīh
grāmīg
grāmag
drāyīdan, grāyīdan
drāz, grāb
draxt
griy-
grih
dargāh
garasmān
1 3grīw
grīwag
grīwbān
driyōš
driyōšīh
darīgbed
dilēr
drēm
griyistan
gilistag

[79]

dušmat	
dōšastar	
dušpādixšāy	
dušpādixšāyīh	
dušfarrag	
dušfarragīh	
duščihr	
duščašm	
duščašmīh	
dōšišn	
gōšt	
dūd	
ǰūdan	
dūdag	
gawdar	
gaz-	
yaz-[1]	
yaštan[1]	
nay-[1]	
nīdan[1]	
gazīdan	
gazīdag	
nay-[1]	
nīdan[1]	
pāk[1]	

[80]

pākīh[1]	
-īg	
muγ[1]	
ēst-[1]	
ēstādan[1]	
ǰagar	
ōzan-[1]	
ōzadan[1]	
-gar	
dar, gar	
yal	
darr-	
drayā	
drayābār	
drayāb	
draxt	
darāγ	
drāy-, grāy-	
drāyānǰōyišnīh	
drāyānǰōyišn	
drāyistan	
drāyišn	
γarrān-	
drahnāy	
γarrānāg	

[78]

dušwār, gōšwār	
dušwārīh	
dušnām	
Gušnasp	
dušwīr	
gušn	
gušnag	
dušwurrōyišnīh	
Gušnasp	
duškām	
dōšagīh	
dōšag, gōšag	
duškanīg	
duškunišn	
duškar	
dušrām	
dušrāmīh	
dušram	
dušramīh	
dušmenīh	
dušmen	
dušmenišn	
dušmenādīh	
dušmenīh	
dušmen	

[77]

dušoxīg	
dušox	
dušxwaršt	
dušhumat	
gōšōsrūd	
dušxwadāyīh	
dušāgāh	
dušāgāhīh	
dōšāram	
dušarz	
dušīh	
dujdānāg	
yōjdahr	
yōjdahrīh	
yōjdahrgar	
yōjdahrgarīh	
dujdēn	
dušgōwišn	
dujgand	
dujgandīh	
dujdōys[a]rīh	
dōšīzagīh	
dōšīzag	
dujdaft	
[1-2]dōšīdan	

[76]

dōstīh	
dōst	
1-2dawistan	
dōpāy	
gubrāg	
gubrās-	
guftār	
guftārīh	
guftan	
dōpahikar	
duz, ganǰ, gōz, yōz	
dōz-, duz-	
duzīh	
gōzihr	
duzdīh	
duzīdan	
duzīdag	
ganǰwar	
duzd	
1-2dōš, 1-2gōš	
1-2dōš-, duš-	
dušēwāzīh	
dušxēm	
dušxwār	
dušhūxt	

[75]

ǰumbīhistan	
ǰumbēn-	
ǰumbēnīdan	
ǰumbīdan	
dumb	
ǰumbišn	
gumbad	
gumēxtan	
gumēg	
gōmēz	
gōmēz-, gumēz-	
gumēzagīh	
gumēzag	
gumēzišn	
ēn[t]	
rōz-šabān[t]	
dōsaxwan	
dōsēn	
stān-[t]	
stadan[t]	
dusrawīh	
dusraw	
gōspand	
gospandčihrag	
gōstān	

[74]

gurgānīg
gursagīh
gursag
durgar
ǰōrdā
ǰōrdā
1-2gurdīh
gurd
gurdwār
gurdag
dum, rōz[1]
ǰomā
ǰomā
gumānīh
gumānīgīh
gumānīg
gumān
gumāngar
gumār-
gumārdan
gumārdag
ǰumb-
dumbōmand
ǰumbāgīh
ǰumbīh-

[73]

gōn
gōnag
dowom
drustīh
drust
gōwizār
gōzēnag
gugāy
gugāy
gugāyīh
gugāyīh
gugān-
gōkānīg
gōkān
dōgānag
gugār-
gugārīdan
gugārdan
dōk
gōgirdōmand
gōgird
dūr, gōr, gul
dōl
gurbag
gurg

[71]

gōhragdānāg	𐭢𐭮𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭠𐭣
gōhrag	𐭢𐭮𐭠𐭣
dwāzdahān	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭣𐭠𐭣
dwāzdah	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭣
duxt, ǰuxt	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩
[1-2]dōxtan	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠
duxtar	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭮
[1]daw-, gōw-	𐭢𐭥
gōwāg	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭣
[1-2]dawāl	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭮
dwār-	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭮
dwārīdan	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭩𐭠
dwāristan	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭠
dwārišn	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭩𐭣
ǰō(y)	𐭢𐭥𐭠
gabr	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭮
gabrīh	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭣
angubēn[1]	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠
gōwišn	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭣
gand, gōy, gung, ǰang, ǰōy, ǰuγ	𐭢𐭥
ǰōy-	𐭢𐭥
v. Note 3, p. xiv	𐭢𐭥
ǰuwānīh	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭣
dandān, ǰuwān	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭣𐭠𐭩𐭠
dōs	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩

[72]

gandanāg	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭣𐭠𐭣
drahm[1]	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩
gandagīh	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭣
gandag	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭣𐭠𐭣
dōys[a]r	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭮
ǰōyišn	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭣
ǰudāgīh	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭣
ǰudāg	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣
ǰudbēš	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭣
ǰud-dādestān[1]	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭣
ǰud	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩
ǰudnāy	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭩
-ēnīdan	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠 –
[1-2]dawīdan	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠
ǰuttar	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭮
ǰuttarīh	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭣
ǰudristagīh	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭣
ǰudristag	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭣𐭠𐭣
ǰud-dēw[1]	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠
-ēn	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠 –
gaw	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩
[1-2]gund, gung	𐭢𐭥𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭩

[70]

dagrand
dagrand-xwadāy
dagr-zīwišn
gilagōbār
gilag
dagr-pattāy
dast[1], xwarrah[1]
xwarrahōmand[1]
dastkārīh[1]
dast(a)gird[1]
samōr
dēs-
dēsīdan
-ēn-
gūh
guhrāyēn-
guhrāyēnīdan
[2]gōhrīg
gūhgard (*v.* pazūg)
gūhward (*v.* pazūg)
gawazn
gannāgīh
gannāg
gōhr
[1-2]gōhrīg

[69]

sumb-
sumb
sustīh
sust
suft
suftan
sanǰ-, sōz-
sōzāg
sōzan
sōzišnīg
sōzišn
suš
sūdōmand
sūdabgār
sūd
sūdan
sūdagīh
sūdag
sūdmand
panǰāh[N]
gēg
dagr, dil
gīr-
dilēr
dagrzamān

[68]

sang, suy

sneh

sālār, snēxr

sālārīh

asp[1]

sōsan

dēnīg

sangsār

snēzag

Day, dēn, jīw

snōy

dēwōk

sanwar

dēnōdag

[1-3]sōg

sōgand

Skandar

sōfistā

Sōšyans

sōr, [1-2]sūr

sūrāx

sūrāgōmand

sūrāg

sūragīg

sōrag, sūrag

[67]

xwamn

v. also

čehel[N]

ǰeh

ǰeh

dēs, gēs

dēsag

yasn

andar[1]

v. Note 3, p. xiv

dādestān[1]

sōh-, swah-

Sawah, snāh

dēwān

dēwānag

gyāg

gyāgrōb

dēnār, dēwār, suxr

dēnāstawān

sōhistan, swahistan

sōhišnīg

sōhišn

sōxtan

dēnburdār

[66]

dāštan

dādār, gādār

dādārīh

dādgāh

dādīg

1-3dād, ǰād, yāt, yazd

dādwar

dādwarīh

dādan, gādan

āy-1

āmadan1

ǰādūgīh

ǰādūg

ǰādag-gōwīh

ǰādag-gōw

ǰādag

dādmeh

dādestān

dō

a-

giyāh

giyāhīzag

dō-axwānīgN

mard1

dō-pāyN1

[65]

dārwāzīg

dārūg

dārgardīh

dālman

dārmag

dārišn

1-3dām, gām, 1-2ǰām

dāmādīh

dāmād

daxmag, 1-2 ǰāmag

daxmagestān

ras-1

rasišn1

rasīdan1

gāhānbār

gāhānīg

gāhān

-īhistan

yāzdah

gāwdumb

gāzar

dahišn, dāšn

daxšagōmand

daxšag

dāštār

[63]

dādan[I]

dās, [1-3]gāh

gāhwārag

dār-[I]

dārišn[I]

dāštan[I]

dās[a]r

yāsaman

gahbedīh

gahbed

dahigān

Gayōmart

dahibed

dāyagānīh

dāyag

ǰahišnayār

ǰahišnayārīh

dahišn, ǰahišn

āwar-[I]

āwurdan[I]

dān-

dānāgīh

dānāg

gyānabespār

gyānīg

[64]

jāwēdān, yāwēdān

jāwēdānag

jāwēd, yāwēd

-dān

dān, gyān

baw-[I]

bāš[I]

bawišn[I]

būdan[I]

gyānwar

dānag

ǰār

gāwars

dānistan

appar-[I]

appurdan[I]

dānišnōmand

dānišn

ǰahūd

yākand

yākand

-dār

dār, gahl, gāl

dār-

dārēn

[61]

brīn-

brīnōmand

brīn

brīngar

brēz-

brēzan

brištan

brīdan

brūg

1-2brinǰ

brinǰēn

barišn

baršnūm

xwašI

xwašīhI

gōštI

bastan

bistag

babr

babrag

bijagān

bazagīh

bazag, waččag

bazakkar

bazišn

[62]

bizešk

bašn

baškuč

īI

v. also

-īh

-īh-

dah-, ǰah-

-īhā

ǰaγ

yazdān

gāhūg

dahom

dehgān

Dahāg

gahl

dahlīz

dahm

sēzdahN

zarrI

zarrēnI

xand-I

xandīdanI

dah-I

[59]

burdārīh
burdīh
burd
burdešnōhr
burdan
būm
pus[I]
pusar[I]
būmčandag
bōyīdan
bōb, būf
xwad[I]
buz
bōz-
bōzišn
buš
būšāsp
but
būdan
duxt[I]
bazm
bazmāwurd
bay
bayōbaxt
bar

[60]

bar-
brāh, brēh
brahnag
brahm
brahmag
brahnag
barōmand
brām-
brahmag, brāmag
brāz-
brāzīdan
brāzišnīg
brāzišn
brād
balādur
brādar
brādarōdīh
brādarōd
barbut
brēh
brēhēn-
brēhēnāg
brēhēnīdan
brēhēnišn
barsom

[58]

bowandag
bowandag-menišnīh
1-2bun
bunag
bunkadag
buništ
buništag
būg
bōr
bur-
burāg
burām-
burg
burīdan
buland
borz, Burz
burz-
Burzēnmihr
burzīdan
borzwāng
borzwāngīhā
burzišnīg
burzišn
burišn
burdār

[57]

bidaxš
bid
bēdom
1-2be[I]
bōxtār
bōxtārīh
bōxtan
bōxtagīh
bōxtag
band, bang, 1-2bōy
band-, bōy-
2xwāh-[I]
xwāstan[I]
bōyāg
bōydār
bōyēn-
bōyēnīdan
bandag
bōyestān
bōyestānbān
bunxān
bunīh
bundahišnīh
bundahišn
bowandagīh

[55]

bāzā	
bāzāzanišnīh	
bāzābānag	
baxš-	
baxt	
baxtan	
bādag	
pas[r]	
dar[r]	
darhandarzbed[r]	
darband[r]	
bay	
bēh	
bayaspānīh	
bayaspānīg	
bayaspān	
māh[r]	
māhīgān[r]	
bēwar	
bēgānag	
bēgār	
bēl	
bērōn	
bēlūr	
bīm	

[56]

bīmōmand	
bīmgenīh	
bīmgen	
bēš, bīš	
bēš-	
bēšōmand	
bēšāz	
bēšāz-	
bēšāzēn-	
bēšāzēnišnīh	
bēšāzišnīh	
bēšāz-	
bēšāzēn-	
bēšāzēnišnīh	
bēšāzišnīh	
bēšburdār	
bēšīdan	
bēšaz	
bēšaz-	
bēšazēn-	
bēšazēnišnīh	
bēšazišnīh	
bēšišn	
bištan	
xānag[r]	

[54]

baxtan
bāγ
bayōbaxt
bāmbišn
griy-I
bānūg
griyistanI
1-4bār
bālāy
bārjāmag
bālēngāh
1-2bālēn
bārīg/k
bālistīh
bālistīg
bālist
bālag, bārag
bārestānīh
bārestān
bāliš
bām
bāmdād
bāmīg
bāstān
bāǰ, bāz

[53]

ātaxš
tigrI
adēn
āwāš-I
āwištanI
ādišt
-ādan
ādurgāh
ādurestar
ādurestarēn
ādur
ādūg
ādarōg

ēwN
b-
wihān
wihānag
bahr, wahār
bahrōmand
bahrōmandīh
bahrwar
bahrwarīh
bahrag
baxt

[54]

ašō	
āšōb	
āšinǰ-	
wind-[1]	
windišn[1]	
windādan[1]	
āškārāg	
āškāragīh	
āškāragēn-	
āškāragēnīdan	
āškārag	
aškom	
aškomb	
aškōb	
aškamb	
aškambag	
xešm	
Aštād	
āštīh, haštdah	
hašt, xišt	
aštag	
aštar	
agar[1], ā-t (*v.* ā)	
ādānīh	
ādān	

[51]

haftān	
haftār	
haftdah	
apetītīgīh	
apetītīg	
haft	
apattūg	
Haftōring	
haftag	
apaymānīh	
apaymān	
ābtazan	
aš, ā-š (*v.* ā)	
āšyān	
āšyānag	
hašāgird	
aǰgahānīh	
aǰgahān	
āšixtan	
xašēn	
āšnāg	
Ašwahišt	
ašnawāgīh	
ašnawāg	
ašnūdan	

[50]

afsēnistan
afsēnišn
afsar-
afsardan
abespār-
abespārdan
abespurdan
abestān
abestāg
abestām
paz-[I]
poxtan[I]
azabar
[1]abzār
ābčihrag
aziš, u-š[I] (*v.* u-)
afšān-
afšāndan
afšār-
afšārdan
afšurdan
aziškeh
azišmeh
u-t[I] (*v.* u-)
apetyārag

[49]

afrasāwand
apparišn
abartanīh
abartan, āzardan
abardom
abardomīh
abardar
u-m[I] (*v.* u-)
abesīh-
afsāy-
abesīhēn-
abesīhēnīdan
abesīhēnišnīh
abesīhēnišn
abesīhīdan
afsān
afsār-
afsālān
afsārišn
afsārdan
abesīhišnīh
abesīhišn
abesīh-
abesīhīdan
afsēn-

[47]

abzārōmand
ābzan
abzōnīgīh
abzōnīg
abzōn
abzūdan
abgār-
āzkāmagīh
ābkāmag, āzkāmag
abgan-
[1-2]abar, abr, appar
appar-
xāk[1]
āfrāh
abarōz
abarōzīh
abrāstan
abrāz
abrāz-
abarag, apparag
āfrīn-
abarīgān
abarīg
abargar
abrēšom

[48]

abrēšomēn
abrēšom
āfrīdan
aburnāy
aburnāyīh
abrōxtan
abrang
abarwēz
abarwēzīh
kan-[1]
kandan[1]
abrōz-
abrōzišnīh
abrōzišn
afrōšag
abaragān
abaragānag
ābilag
[1-2]āzarm
abarmānd
abarmānīg
abarmān
abarmenišn
āzarmīgīh
āzarmīg

[46]

apēdagdār	
apēdag	
apōhišn	
aband	
abandīh	
abus, ābus	
abusīh, ābusīh	
āfrīn	
āfrīnagān	
abnūs	
apursišnīg	
āzwar	
āfur-	
āzwarīh	
āfurīdan	
aburnāyag	
aburnāy	
aburnāyīh	
aburnāyag	
āfurišn	
āzurdan	
ābustan	
abzāy-	
abzāyišn	
1-2abzār	

[45]

abēwizend	
abdom	
abdomīh	
abyōz-	
abēzār	
ābīg	
abēr, azēr	
abērāh	
awērān	
drūn-I	
drūdanI	
abēmizag	
abdsahist	
abēsar	
abestāg	
abdast	
ābestan	
abēzār	
abēčim	
abēzagīh	
abēzag	
apetyārag	
abēdān	
abaydāgīh	
abaydāg	

[43]

ačārag, hazārag	
āzārišn	
āzārdan	
abām	
abēmizag	
abēmust	
abāz, āwāz	
abaxš	
abaxšāy-	
abaxšāyišnīg	
abaxšāyišn	
abaxšāwand	
abaxšāyīdan	
abaxšīh	
abādyāwand	
abādyāwandīh	
ābādānīh	
ābādān	
abādixšāy	
abādixšāyīh	
ābādīh, āzādīh	
ābād, āzād	
abd, abē-	
abēōš	
abēōšīh	

[44]

ābdān	
abē-	
abēsūdīh	
abēsūd	
abēbīm	
abēbīmīh	
abēbēš	
abēböy	
abēböyīh	
abēbar	
abdīh	
Azdahāg	
abēbūdīh	
abēbūd	
afsōs	
afsōn	
ābgēnagēn	
ābgēnag	
abēgumānīh	
abēgumān	
afsōsgar	
afsūdan	
abēniyāz	
abyōxtan	
abēwināh	

[41]

asp
asazāg
aswār
asazišnīh
asazišnīg
āyištag 'mixed' [del. adištag]
est-
astuxān
astuxān
astānagōmand
astānag
astōmand
astōmandīh
āstār
āstārēn-
āstārēnīdan
estādan
²ast
Astwihād
āstawānīh
āstawān
astōdān
xastan
wēn-[I] (*v.* dīdan)
astwand

[42]

wēnišn[I] (dīdan)
dīdan[I]
astōdān
āstawānīh
āstawān
astag
estišn
āb, [1-2]az, āz
u-[I]
[1-2]abāxtar
abāyist
abāyistan
abāyišnīg
abāyišn
abāyēd
abārīg
Ābān
abāgīh
abāgēn-
abāgēnīdan
ačār, appār, āzār, hazār
āzār-
appārīh
abārōnīh
abārōn

[39]

hammōzgār	
hammōzišn	
amwaštan	
hamkār	
hamkārīh	
amar	
hamrānīh	
amarg	
amargīh	
amaragānīhā	
amaragānīg	
amaragān	
amarag	
hamsāyag	
hamsāmān	
hamsardag	
hamdēsag	
hampursagīh	
hampursag	
ka[1]	
hamtāg	
hamtōhmag	
hamtan	
āsāy-	
āsāyišn	

[40]

āsānīh	
āsān	
asāg	
āhanēn	
āhan	
āhangar	
asēm	
asēmēn	
asčj	
asar	
dah[1]	
band-[1]	
āsrōn	
bastan[1]	
āsrōīh	
āsrō	
āsrōkerpa	
asp	
aspās	
aspānūr	
ēbārag	
haspīn	
aspinj	
asprēs	
aspast	

[37]

ambarag
hambast
[1]hambastan
[1]hambastag
hambašn
hambadīg
hamīh
hambaw-[t]
hambawišnīh[t]
hambawišn[t]
hambūdan[t]
āmēxtan
hamdādestān
hamdādestān[t]
hamēn-
hamgōhr
amenīdār
hamēnīdan
hamgōnag
hamdam
hamēmāl
hamēmālīh
hammistān
hamēstār
hamēstārīh

[38]

hammist
hammistagān
āmiz
āmēz-
āmēzišn
hamēšagīh
hamēšagsōz
hamēšag
mādar[t]
xar[t]
hamwār
hamwārag
hammōxtār
hammōxtārīh
hammōxtan
hamōg
hamzamān[t]
Amurdād
hammōz-
hamwar
āmurz-
āmurzīdan
āmurzišn
hamnibardīh
hammōz-

[36]

hamāg
āmār, hamahl, hamāl
āmār-
āmārgar
hamharz
āmārišn
hamābēr
hambāy
hambān
hambār
hambār-
hambārīdan
hambāstag
hambāz
hambedīg
hamband
hamband-
hambandīh
hambandišnīh
hambun
amburdan
hambawišnīh
hambūdan
ambag
ambar

[35]

ardāyīh
xradōmand
ardīkkar
ardīg, xradīg
ardīkkar
ardīkkarīh
artēštār
artēštārīh
Ard, xrad
ā-m (*v.* ā), ham, im, mād[1]
hamahl
hamē
hamēīhā
hamēīg
hamēwahār
hamē-ud-hamē--rawišnīh
hamēwēnag
hamē-rawišnīh
hamēdōn
homānāg
amāwand
amāwandīh
amahraspand
hamāgdēn

[33]

ālum, Hrōm	
hrōmāyīg	
harwispīn	
harwisp	
harwisp	
xrōstan	
harrōbišnīh	
harrōbišn	
āranj	
ālūdan	
ālūdagīh	
ālūdag	
Arzah	
Arzūr	
xrōs[I]	
halagīh	
Aleksandar	
~~arg~~ ālag, halag	
baxš-[I]	
baxšišn[I]	
baxtan[I]	
mēš[I]	
šōy-[I]	
šustan[I]	
almās	

[34]

almāst	
armēštīh	
armēštgāh	
armēšt	
xufs-[I]	
xuftan[I]	
hammōz-[I]	
hammōxtan[I]	
xrafstar	
arz	
arz-, hirz-	
arzānīgīh	
arzānīg	
arzān	
arzōmand	
arzōmandīh	
arzīz	
arzīzēn	
arzīdan	
arzan	
ārzōg	
harzag	
arzišn	
ārešn	
ardā	

[32]

halām
ārāstan
čahār[1]
Harborz
xarbuz
harg
sik[1], šīr[1]
ars, xirs
aryand
argawān
arduš, xargōš
dagr[1], [*error for* dūr]
halīlag
areškēn
arešk
āluh
xrōhak
arawāg
arus, xrōs
arwēs
harwīn
ārōyišnīg
ārōyišn
arwand
arwandīh

[31]

āgāhēnīdan
agdēnīh
agdēn
āgenēn
-āg
ak
āgan-
akanāragīh
akanārag
āgandan
āgenēn
Akōman
āgustan
aganǰ
āgōš
akard
ayrē
ayrē
hagriz
ma[1]
har, xar
alā
ālāy-, ārāy-
ārāyišn
alālag

[30]

buz[1], xaz	[illegible]
hazzān	[illegible]
azbāy-	[illegible]
azbāyišn	[illegible]
azd, azg	[illegible]
azdēn-	[illegible]
azdēnīdan	[illegible]
āznāwar	[illegible]
xūg[1]	[illegible]
azrāy-	[illegible]
azraw-	[illegible]
azruftan	[illegible]
azarmān	[illegible]
azmāy-	[illegible]
azmūdan	[illegible]
āgāh	[illegible]
āgāhīh	[illegible]
akōmand	[illegible]
agār	[illegible]
agārīh-	[illegible]
agārīhistan	[illegible]
agārēn-	[illegible]
agārēnīdan	[illegible]
akāmagōmand	[illegible]
āgāhēn-	[illegible]

[29]

ōšmārag	[illegible]
ōšmārišn	[illegible]
ōšmurdīg	[illegible]
ōšmurdan	[illegible]
ōšastar	[illegible]
awišt-	[illegible]
uštānōmand	[illegible]
uštānīh	[illegible]
uštān	[illegible]
awištāb	[illegible]
awištāb-	[illegible]
awištāftan	[illegible]
awištādan	[illegible]
anšahrīg	[illegible]
uštar	[illegible]
uštargāwpalang	[illegible]
xwadāy	[illegible]
xwadāyīh	[illegible]
xwadāywār	[illegible]
xwadīh	[illegible]
xwad-dōšagīh	[illegible]
xwad-dōšag	[illegible]
xwad	[illegible]
hutuxš	[illegible]
Ardwahišt	[illegible]

[27]

xufs-	
ōbastan	
ōbad-/ōft-	
xuftan	
ōz	
hanǰ-	
ōzōmand	
ōzārak	
hanǰām	
hanǰām-	
hanǰāftan	
uzdehīgīh	
uzdehīg	
hučihr	
uzdēs	
uzdēsparist	
uzdēsparistišnīh	
uzēnāg	
anǰīr	
awizīrišnīg	
hanǰīdan, uzīdan	
hanǰamanīg	
hanǰaman	
hanǰaftan	
awazišnīg	

[28]

hučašm	
hučašmīh	
ōzadan	
1-3ōš, xwaš	
hōš-	
ušahin	
ōšōmand	
ōš(e)bām	
ōšīh, xwašīh	
ōšyār	
hōšēn-	
hōšēnīdan	
hōšīdan	
ušnūg	
hušnūdīh	
hušnūd	
hušnūdagīh	
hušnūdag	
mardōm[1]	
mardōmīh[1]	
hōšag, hušk	
huškōh	
huškōhīh	
hušk-kūn[1]	
ōšmār-	

[25]

xwamnwizār
humurwāg
hād[1]
humat
ōsān-
husāzagīh
hangēxtan
uskār-
uskārišnīh
uskārišn
uskārdan
husrawīh
husraw
ōspar-
ōspurdan
hangēz-
anespās, huspās
anespāsīh
uspurrīg
hangēzišn
handēš-
handēšīdār
handēšīdan
handēšišn
ēst-

[26]

awestām
awestād
ēstādan
ōstīgānīh
ōstīgān
ōst
awestwār
awestwārīh
xandīdan, xwastan
xwastūgīh
xwastūg
ustōfrit
awestar-
awestarag
awestarišn
awestardan
ēstišn
xūb
ōbār-
ōbārdan
hupādixšāy
hupādixšāyīh
xūbīh
hupassandagīh
hufraward

[23]

Urišlīm	
urwāhm	
urwāhmanīh	
urwāhman	
urwāz-	
urwāzišn	
xwaran	
ōrōn	
urwar	
xwarwarān	
uruspar	
hurust	
xwarōfrān	
huram	
xormā	
huramīh	
urmōd	
huramag	
awarzīd	
xwaršēd	
xwarišnīh	
xwarišnīg	
xwarišn	
awardāg	
xwardār	

[24]

xwardīg	
xwurd	
xwardan	
xwurdagīh	
xwurdag	
abardar	
awardišnīgīh	
awardišnīg	
hōm	
humāy	
homānāgīh	
homānāg	
humānīh	
hōmōmand	
hōmāst	
xumb	
hōmēn	
humenišn	
hōmīg	
ummēd	
ummēdwār	
az[1]	
h-[1]	
-ōmand	
xwamn	

[21]

hunarōmand	
huwaršt	
awinast	
anōš	
anōšxwar	
anōšagīh	
hunušakēnīdan	
anōšag, hunušak	
anōšagruwān	
Urdwahišt	
anōdagīg	
anōdag	
uzērin	
uzdehīgīh	
uzdehīg	
uzērin	
uzdēs	
uzdēsparist	
uzdēsparistišnīh	
uzdēszār	
uzwān	
uzwār-	
uzwārišn	
uzwārdan	
uzmāy-	

[22]

uzmāyišn	
uzumburd	
uzmūdan	
ōgār	
ōgār-	
ōgārdan	
ōyrišt	
xōg, xūg	
hukunišn	
xūkar	
xūkarag	
hur, [1-2]xwar	
xwar-	
fradom[1]	
xwarōfrān	
hurām	
ulāmadān	
xwarāsān	
xwarxšēd	
xwarwarān	
xwarg	
xurdruš	
xurdruš	
ōrēb	
ōrēbīh	

[19]

awērag, udrag	
anagr-rōšnīh	
anagr-rōšn	
andarmāh	
handarz	
handarzēn-	
handarzēnīdan	
ōyrišt	
hangirdēn-	
hangirdēnīdan	
hangirdīgīh	
hangirdīg	
hudast	
xwistan	
angubēn	
andčand	
xwēš	
xwēšāwand	
xwēšāwandīh	
xwēšēn-	
xwēšēnīdan	
xwēškār	
xwēškārīh	
hangadīh, xwēdīh	
hangad, xwēd	

[20]

xwēdōdah	
ānīdan	
dān-[1]	
dānistan[1]	
xwēdōdah	
xwēdōdah	
-ān	
ān, hō, ō	
huniyāgīh	
huniyāg	
huniyāgar	
awināh	
xwēnāhan	
huniyōxš	
-āwand	
hunsand	
hunsandīh	
Xwanirah	
Hordād	
hunīdan	
xōn	
xunak	
hunar	
hunarāwand	
hunarāwandīh	

[17]

hangārag	
hangārišn	
hangārdan	
handām, hangām	
hangāmīg	
handāz-	
handāzag	
handāzišn	
xwāb, xwēy	
hudēn	
usōfrit	
handēmānīh	
handēmān	
handēmāngar	
handēmāngarīh	
āwēn-	
andōh	
xwēnāhan	
andōhgēn	
handōxtan	
hugōwišn	
āwēnīdan	
owōn	
Hindūgān	
hugugār	

[18]

hindūg	
angūr	
angust	
angustarīg	
angustbān	
handōz-	
handōzišnīh	
handōzišn	
hangōšīdag	
awēnišnīg, āwēnišnīg	
āwēnišn	
hudōšag	
handūdan	
andak, anīg, hōyag	
anagr, hugar	
handraxtagīh	
handraxtag	
ōgrā	
anagrān, awērān	
hangrāyīdan	
andarag	
andarwāy	
andarwāyīg	
andarōn	
hangrūdag	

[16]

hamböyišn	
hambūsīdan	
hambūsišn	
hamböš-	
hamböšišn	
ambar	
āwarišn	
angūr[1]	
hambasānīg	
hambasān	
[2]hambastan	
[2]hambastag	
awiš	
āwištan	
and, höy	
huīh	
hudāhagīh	
hudāhag	
handāxtār	
handāxtan	
hudā(ha)gīh	
andāgēn	
andāg, hudā(ha)g	
andāggēn	
hangār-	

[15]

anādānīh	
anādān	
hūxt	
nih-[1]	
nihādan[1]	
anādūg	
hambah-	
āwahan	
hambāh-	
hambāhišn	
hambār-	
hambārīdan	
āwām	
hambāstan	
hambāz	
āwādag	
dastgraw[1]	
wany[1]	
wany(b)ūdīh[1]	
wany(b)ūdīh[1]	
wanīgarīh[1]	
huböy	
hamböy-	
hambūs-	
huböyīh	

[13]

anāg	
anāgkunišn	
anāgkardār	
anār 1-2xwār	
xwār-	
xwārbār	
xwārīh	
anārgēl	
xwārēn-	
xwārēn	
xwālist	
xwārīdan	
anālūd	
anarzānīg	
xwārišn	
xwārtar	
hannām	
anāmurzīd	
anāmurzišn	
anāmčištīg	
ānāstīh	
ānāst, arāst	
anāstawānīh	
anāstawān	

[14]

xwāstan	
anāstawānīh	
anāstawān	
xwāstagōmand	
anāstag, xwāstag	
ānāb-	
anabāy	
anabaxšāwand	
anabaxšāwandīh	
anābādān	
anabēdānīh	
anabēdān	
anābuhlag	
anabzār	
anabzārīh	
xwābar	
xwābarīh	
xwābarīg	
anāzarm	
anāzarmīh	
anāzarmīg	
anafsēnišn	
ānābišn	
ānāftan	
anāštīh	

[12]

xwahar, xwahl	
xwāhrīh	
awiyābānīg	
xwāb	
1-2xwāh-	
anayād	
huēwāz	
huēwāzīh	
anēr	
Anērān	
anērīh	
anērang	
huxēm	
huxēmīh	
1-2xwāhišn	
anastīh[1]	
anast[1]	
xwān	
Ohrmazd	
anummēd	
anuspurrīg	
anōst	
anōšmār	
anāgāh	
anāgīh	

[11]

ēmēd	
wurrōy-[1]	
wurrōyistan[1]	
ē(w)mōg	
[1]kay[1]	
ēbyānghan	
ēbsrūsrim	
ēč	
ē(w)čand	
hēzag	
ēzišn	
ēš, kas[1]	
āyišm, xēšm	
xēšmēn	
kasiz[1]	
(h)astīh[1]	
ānay-[1]	
ānīdan[1]	
(h)ast[1]	
ēḍōnīh	
ēdōn	
an-, hu-	
ēd[1]	
Anāhīd	
anāhōg	

[10]

ērānag
Ērānšahr
ēraxtār
1-2ēraxtan
ērīh
hērīg
ērwār
ērwārag
ērang
ērangīh
1-2ēranǰ-
ērkaš
ērmānīh
1-2ērmān
ērmānag
ērmenišnīh
agriftār
hērbedīh
āgrift, hērbed
hērbedestānīh
hērbedestān
adard
ērtanīh
ērtan
xēm

[9]

ēwkardag
ēwkardag
ēwar
ēwarz
ēwarz-
ēwarzīg
ēwarzīdan
agumān
agumēgīh
agumēg
čašmI
ēwmōg
ēwsānīh
ēwsān
ayāb
1-2āyōz-
1-2āyōzīdan
ēwčand
āyōzišnīh
1-2āyōzišn
ēwtāg
kūI
1-2ēr, xīr
Ērān
Ērānwēz

[7]

ayār-	
ayārōmand	
ayārōmandīh	
ayārīh	
ayārīdan	
ayās-	
ayāsīdan	
ayāsišnīh	
ayāstan	
ayād	
ayādgār	
āsyāg	
āsyāb	
agdēn	
ēsm	
adēn-	
adādestān[I]	
adādestānīh[I]	
asōhišn	
aswār	
aswārīh	
āsnīdag	
āhan, āsn, ēg[I]	
āsnūd	
āsnūdag	

[8]

āsūdan	
asmān	
ēwān	
ēbārag	
[1-2]ēwāz	
ēwāzīg	
āyōxtan	
agōwāg	
ēwbār	
ēbyānghan	
enyā, hēnīh	
ēwēn	
[1-2]ēwēnag	
xīndagīh	
xīndag	
hēn	
ēwan	
ēnōkēn	
ēkānagīh	
ēkānag	
ayōxšustēn	
ayōxšust	
ēkdād	
ēk, xayūg	
ēwkard	

[5]

ay, ē, sčN	
abahr	
wanyI	
abīm	
abēš	
abēšīh	
pidarI	
IpidI	
abōy	
abōyīh	
abun	
aburdframānīh	
aburdframān	
seyomN	
apusI	
abr	
axwašI	
axwašīhI	
sepāyN	
sčšabagN	
čwI	
gandumI	
gyānI	
adahm	
agāh	

[6]

ādehīg	
adānīh	
adān	
hixr	
ayārd-	
ayārdēn-	
ayārdēnīdan	
ayārdēnišn	
ayārdīdan	
ayāb-	
ayābāg	
ayābagīh	
ayābag	
āyaft	
ayāftan	
adādīh	
adād	
hixtan	
adādestānīh	
adādestān	
ēbgatīh	
ēbgat	
ēbsrūsrim	
mayI	
ayār	

[4]

xām
hāmharz
hāmīnīg
hāmīn
xāmīz
hāmwār
hāmōyēn
hāmōn
xāmōš
hāmkišwar
hāmist
hās[a]r
āxistan
hāz-
hāzišn
[2]hād, haxt
hādōxt
hādamāns[a]r
hādamāns[a]rīg
axtar
axtarāmār
axtarmār
axtarmārīh
xwah[I]
xwahar[I]

[3]

āhanjīdan
ahōš
ahōšīh
hāwištīh
hāwišt
xāk
āhr, xār
pas[I]
ahlā
ahlāyīh
xārōmand
ahrām-, āxrām-
āxrāmīdan
ahrāftan
pasīh[I]
pasdānišnīh[I]
Ahreman
Ahrišwang
ahlawīh
ahlawdād
ahlaw
Ahreman
ahlomōγīh
ahlomōγ
xārpušt

PAHLAVI KEY

THE alphabetical order is that of the Aramaic alphabet, taking account of the first value of each letter only (*see* Table II, p. xiii), thus:

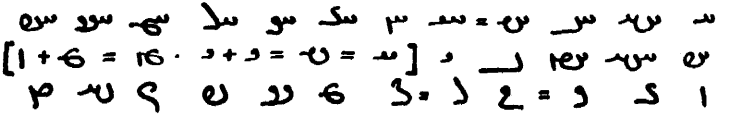

[2]

āhan, any[I], [1-3]axw, [1-2]xān	
hāwand	
hāwandīh	
ahunsand	
ahunsandīh	
anīz[I]	
[1-2]hāwan	
ahunawar	
ahanūz, anīz[I]	
āhōgēn-	
āhōgēnīdan	
āhōg, āhūg, xānag	
āxwarr	
āxwarrsālār	
ahomānāg	
axwamn	
āhanǰ-	

[1]

a-, ā, h-	
brād[I]	
haxt	
āhixtan, hāxtan	
xāyag	
āhan	
xayūg	
xāyagdēs	
xāyag	
āxēz-	
āxēzīdan	
āhīdīh	
āhīd	
axwān	
axwārīh	
āhang	
xānīg	
axwēškār	

[I] = (part) ideogrammatic spelling [N] = numeral

A MANUAL OF PAHLAVI

by

HENRIK SAMUEL NYBERG

I

Texts, Alphabets, Index, Paradigms,

Notes and an Introduction

Asatir-Tehran

2003

2nd edition of the Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi

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PREFACE

More than thirty years ago, the present writer published in Uppsala a *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (I: *Texte und Indizes*, 1928; II: *Glossar*, 1931). It was an experiment, of whose riskiness I was fully aware, and which I only undertook in order to give Book Pahlavi a fair chance, even at my own disadvantage, in the new epoch Iranian studies were entering after the discoveries in East Turkestan. It was, and could only be, a preliminary book, liable to be soon superseded owing to researches which were imminent or had already begun. For this reason it was only printed in 350 copies, so that it might rapidly be sold out and replaced by an improved edition, or by another and better book by another and better author. In spite of its shortcomings, which were duly criticized, and perhaps over-criticized, it proved to supply a want, and in fact the copies rapidly disappeared from the desks of the booksellers; in the last twenty years it has been impossible to procure a single copy in the open market.

No scholar having undertaken the task to give us a new *Manual of Pahlavi*, I have thought it not only my right, but perhaps also my duty, to revive my own idea carried out in the *Hilfsbuch*. In the thirty years which have elapsed since its publication Iranian studies have made enormous progress and gone through something of a revolution. The *Hilfsbuch* is long since antiquated —so far my expectation came true—and must be replaced by quite a new book. This *Manual* is the substitute I offer for it; and it is my hope that it will give some evidence of the new insight we have acquired into West Iranian, and Iranian matters in general.

The *Hilfsbuch* contained 89 pages of Book Pahlavi text with about 10,000 words. The present *Manual* contains 128 pages of Pahlavi texts, of which 6 are reserved for specimens of inscriptions and of the Turfan Psalter, which I hope will prove useful even to the beginner, as giving an idea of what original, careful Pahlavi script was like. Thus 121 pages with about 33,000 words are devoted to Book Pahlavi proper. That is to say, the text volume has been trebled, though the number of pages has only increased by 35 p.c. This has been made possible through the modern technique of reproducing a hand-written text. For the *Hilfsbuch* I had to recur to the old-fashioned lithographical procedure, writing the text with a clumsy and inappropriate pen with oily ink on glassy paper for the lithographer, who took impressions of it on his stones. This time I have written the texts with an ordinary text-hand pen with Indian ink on very good writing-paper, and the written pages have been photographed. This method greatly facilitates the task of the editor, laborious in itself, and permits a considerable reduction of the size of the letters—I hope, without diminishing their legibility.

The first chapter of the *Great Bundahišn*, concluding the *Hilfsbuch*, is omitted in this *Manual*. We are still waiting for the complete edition of this work, based on new material, by Professor K. Barr, Copenhagen, in cooperation with Professor H. W. Bailey, Cambridge. This *Manual* is not the proper place for discussing the problems which have arisen out of the study of this text in the last decades of years. The cosmogonical and cosmological portions of the *Mēnōyē xrat* and of the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* (pp. ٦٨—٩٦) are intended to be a substitute for it. For the rest, I hope the choice of new texts will recommend itself.

This *Manual* is arranged on the same lines as the *Hilfsbuch*. The first part, published here, contains the texts, a survey of the alphabets and the orthography, an index of the Book Pahlavi words (excluding the inscriptions and the Psalter), and critical notes; as a novelty I have inserted a series of verb paradigms after the index. The second part, for which all materials are collected, will contain the glossary, throughout in transliteration, and a skeleton grammar.

If I send forth this new edition of the *Hilfsbuch* in English it is solely in order to facilitate the use of it to our Zoroastrian friends in India, who, as a rule, do not understand any other European language. I apologize to British readers for a foreigner's English.

As to the transliteration of Book Pahlavi I follow the same principles as in the *Hilfsbuch*. I give 1) a letter-by-letter rendering of the consonant skeleton of every word, quite mechanically attributing to every letter the value it has in the underlying Aramaic alphabet; 2) an interpretation of the consonant skeleton of the *Iranian* (not of the Aramaic) words in order to make them pronounceable. A specimen of this method applied to a coherent text is inserted after the table of contents opposite the first page of the *Kār-nāmak*. For further details I refer the reader to the Introduction to the Glossary in Part II.

In spite of much new material our knowledge of Middle Iranian is still full of lacunae. Owing to the ambiguity of the script Book Pahlavi never ceases troubling the student. The lexicographer is always harassed by doubts about such and such reading, such and such phonetic detail, such and such phonetic or semantic interpretation. To him his work seems never to reach a conclusive end. Here a few last minute corrections.

P. ١٤٣, left col., l. 6: *zrē(i)*, read: *zrāi*.

P. ١٤٤, left col., l. 40: the note referred to has unfortunalely fallen out in the *Critical notes*. Markwart's hypothetical (but impossible) reading **Amtōs* will be used in the Glassary.

P. ١٦٣, left col., l. 13: **mswl*: *mas-var*, read: *myẖwl*: *Mēx-var*.

Several question-marks remain of course. Omniscient authorities in this field will have ample opportunity to display their learning.

Finally it is a great pleasure for me to address my hearty thanks to the publishing firm Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, and particularly to its *Verlagsleiter*, Dr. L. Reichert, for having taken over the charge of this new *Hilfsbuch*, and for having furthered its publishing in every way.

Uppsala, December 1963 H. S. Nyberg

P.S. At the very moment when this Preface was going to the press, I received two books which, had they been published earlier, would have claimed my closest attention when this *Manual* was prepared. One is the chrestomathy of O. HANSEN, *Mittelpersisches Lesebuch*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1963, containing a collection of Book Pahlavi texts (also specimens of the Psalter and of the papyri) in photographical reproductions of the original manuscripts. It has a letter-by-letter transliteration opposite every text page, but no phonetic interpretation, and no glossary. I can only hope that my *Manual* will maintain its place at the side of this book. It is a matter of regret that my system of letter-by-letter transliteration, widely adopted by the Iranists, has not quite found favour with the editor. We will from now have to trouble ourselves with two systems, closely akin, it is true, but apt to cause confusion. — The other book is the posthumous *magnum opus* of the deeply regretted MARIJAN MOLÉ: *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1963, in which the *Zartuxšt-nāmak* of Dēnkart VII occupies a central place and translations of several passages of it, taken up in this *Manual*, are given. It is well known that Molé intended to give, as his next work, a complete critical edition of Dēnkart VII with translation. I sincerely hope that it will be possible to publish this work from his left papers. At all events I shall be able to utilise what he has published for my glossary.

January 1964 H. S. N.

INTRODUCTION

PRINCIPLES OF TEXT REDACTION

The orthography has been normalized irrespective of the varying usages of the MSS and the printed editions, for the purpose of establishing a standard Pahlavi orthography satisfying philological needs; the inscriptions and the Turfan Psalter serving as a model and a corrective.

1. The silent final stroke (*v.* p. ١٣١) is always put after Iranian nouns ending in the letters *b*, *c*, *k*, *n* (= *w* and *r*), *p*, *t*, but not after some adverbs (*'p'c*, *cygwn*, *pr'c*), and not after *-k* in the endings *-'k* = *-āk* and *-yk* = *-īk*, nor after final *-b* (in reality a *d*, *v.* p. ١٣١) in the ending *-yb* for *-yḏ* = *-ē*.

2. In Iranian words the letters *g*, *d*, *y*, *j-*, which had become identical in shape, are throughout distinguished by diacritical signs (*v.* p. ١٣٠). Only the diacritical sign of *y* has been omitted in some easily recognizable cases, as in the abstract ending *-yh* = *-ēh*, the verbal ending *-yt'* = *-ēt*, *-īt*, and in a few very common words.

3. The letter denoting intervocalic *-y-* (as in *-āyĭ-*, *-āyē-*, *-iyā-*, etc.) is always marked as a *d*, as it is clearly attested by the inscriptions and the Psalter that *-d-* was the normal writing of etymological *-y-* in such cases. A marked *d* is also written instead of *-y-* after a vowel before a consonant or at the end of the word in many cases where this usage is attested by inscriptions or MSS: *nkdl* = *nikēr* (thus the Frahang) and analogously *'lthšdl* = *Artaxšēr*; *kd* = *kai*, *mynwd* = *mēnōi* (the Frahang even *mdnwd*). (As to *ywdt'*, *ywd'n'*, *v.* p. ١٣٠.)

4. Etymological *d* is regularly marked as a *d* even where it had passed to *-y-* in the SW pronunciation. Full consistency has not been attained in this respect; some concessions are made to the actual pronunciation, in order not to complicate the matter unnecessarily. Similarly, an etymological *-g-* is marked as such even where it had passed to *-y-* in the SW dialects. The inscriptions and the Psalter show that this etymological *-g-* was maintained in the orthography.

5. Final *-'y* and *-'d* have not been distinguished. The SW pronunciation was throughout *-āi*, but in transliteration I put *-ād* where *-d* is etymologically justified.

6. The conjunction *w* 'and' is always written separately.

7. In the Aramaic ideograms the silent final stroke is never put: thus 'DYN, 'MT, HT, LK, LNH. The letters *g*, *d*, *y* are left without diacritical signs, except in a few cases where a hint at the original form seems useful. Thus *d* is marked in ŠDRWN-, LSD-r, KHDH, 'D (always in the MSS) and in some other words, especially in the first texts. The letter *g* is marked in some isolated cases where it represents a dwarfed *k*: PLG' = PLK' (p. ٢٥: 16); HGYN = HKYN

(p. ٤١ : 7); MRG'-'n' = MRK'-'n' (p. ١٠١ : 8; for MLK'-). The two ideograms YDH 'hand' and GDH 'glory', whose graphical coincidence is a perpetual source of annoyance, have always their consonants marked.

8. In the ideograms derived from the *verba tertiae infirmae* the ending -YTN, always found in the inscriptions and the Psalter, and very often in the MSS, has throughout been preferred to -YTWN, which is a recent innovation of the scribes, and then taught as normal in the Frahang.

9. The miswritten ideogram ŠTWN- = *frēstītan* 'to send' is throughout replaced by the correct form ŠDRWN-.

10. The miswritten ideogram LST = the preposition *tar* is throughout replaced by the correct form LSD-r, found in the inscriptions, and not seldom also occurring in the MSS.

11. A primitive punctuation has been introduced, a novelty which I hope will greatly facilitate the reading. A circlet (∘) is used for point; a point (·) for comma and semicolon; (ʔ) for interrogation. Vocatives are separated from the preceding and the following context by the point (·). Direct speech is marked by the signs «. . .»; when occurring in the interior of another direct speech, by ". . .".

12. Words and letters inserted by conjecture are enclosed in brackets of this form: ⟨. . .⟩; glosses, written in smaller script, are enclosed in parentheses: (. . .). The ordinary square brackets: [. . .], very seldom used, indicate the exclusion of a word or passage found in the original text.

An emendation is marked by (+).

In all MSS and editions there is great uncertainty and confusion as to the putting or omitting of the conjunction *w* 'and' and the *Iẓāfat*. It may well be that Book Pahlavi followed other rules in this respect than would seem natural in New Persian or to our linguistic sense, but it is impossible to deduce such rules from the written Pahlavi tradition, as it is all too manifest that the scribes handled these small elements with great negligence. Given this capriciousness, the present editor has thought himself free to follow his own course, putting the particles wherever it seemed necessary for the sake of clearness, without paying too much attention to the MSS and the editions. Strict consistency has neither been attained nor aimed at. The *Iẓāfat* has of course always been written when it functions as a relative pronoun.

THE TEXTS

1. Pp. ١—١٧: *The Kārnāmak* (abbreviation: Kn.): the frame story, ch. I—III, IX—XIII according to SANJANA's numbering. Editions:

The Kârnâmê î Artakhshîr î Pâpakân . . . The Original Pahlavi Text edited for the first time with a Transliteration in Roman Characters, Translations

into the English and Gujerati Languages, with Explanatory and Philological Notes, an Introduction, and Appendices. By DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA. *New edition, revised and enlarged,* Bombay, 1896. — Quoted KnS; its text, S.

Kârnâmak-i Artakhshîr Pâpakân. The original Pahlavi text, with transliteration in Avesta characters, translations into English and Gujarati, and selections from the Shâhnâmeh. By EDALJI KERSÂSPJI ÂNTIÂ. Bombay, 1900. — Quoted KnA; its text, A.

There exist two other editions: by NOSHERVAN, Bombay, 1896, and by IRANI, ibd., 1899; they have not been accessible. The Kn. was translated for the first time—into Gujerati—in 1853 by DASTURJI SAHIB PESHOTANJI BEHRAMJI SANJANA, the father of the editor mentioned above. As early as 1878, THEODOR NÖLDEKE translated the Kn., with a linguistic skill quite remarkable for his time, into German in *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, IV, 1878, pp. 22—69, with historical and philological notes.

The MSS utilized by S. and A.—all in India and not accessible to the present editor—are the following:

1. **M**, called J by S., MK by A. and Jamasp-Asana, the old codex which contains the treatises published by Jamasp-Asana in the *Pahlavi Texts*, 1913, v. below, p. XII sq. This codex is written, according to its colophons, by a very famous copyist, the Iranian Mobad *Mihrāpān son of Kai-Xōsrōi*, during his stay in India, in the year 691 A. Y. = 1322 A. D., and is, as far as we know, the oldest Book Pahlavi manuscript extant[1]. The most minute and exhaustive description of it is given by Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria in his introduction to Jamasp-Asana's *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 1—8. In this edition the Kn., which forms the 23d treatise of the collection, was left out because it was already published.—Utilized both by S. and by A.

2. **J**, called JJ by A. and Jamasp-Asana, a copy of **M**, written in the year 1136 A. Y. = 1767 A. D. Utilized by A. only.

S. found two recent MSS in his father's library:

3. **D**, not dated, "seems to be descended from a MS about 300 years old", thus written at the end of the 16th century.

4. **P**, "less correct than D", has a colophon bearing the date 1054 A. Y. = 1685 A. D. In all probability this is the date of the original from which P was transcribed.

A. utilized two MSS of his own:

5. **N**, called by him EN, a modern copy, written 1247 A. Y. = 1878 A. D.; it has the same colophon as **P** and must derive from the same original or from a copy of this.

[1] Unfortunately, nobody could tell me in Bombay where is it to be found now.

6. **K**, called by him EK, his own copy of "the copy in the library of the late Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, High Priest of Bombay", the father of the editor Sanjana. The latter tells us (*Introduction*, p. XXIX) that his father possessed four copies of the Kn; as far as can be judged from the critical apparatuses, **K** is not identical with **D** nor with **P** but may represent one of the two others.

From internal evidence it is clear that **M** alone represents the basic text and that **D**, **P**, **N**, and **K**, no less than **J**, go back directly to, or to copies from, **M** and have no independent value as textual witnesses. Codd. **N** and **K** insert at the end of ch. IV (p. 25 of S.'s text, p. ۲۳, l. 8 of A.'s) a passage of about 20 lines, which is reproduced by A. as an Appendix, but passed over in silence by S. According to A. this passage existed in earlier MSS preceding **M**, but had been lost in the copy which Mihrāpān transcribed. This is far from probable. The inserted passage, quite out of place as to style and contents where it now stands, is in fact an independent little text with its own colophon, and has certainly been taken over from another MS. Thus we do not possess any other basic text tradition of the Kn. than that preserved in **M**.

Apart from the end colophon, where Mihrāpān gives the date when he finished his whole transcript, **M** contains several other colophons which Mihrāpān copied out from the older MSS he utilized. After the text of the Kn. he reproduces a colophon referring his original to one of his ancestors, *Rōstahm son of Mihrāpān*, who according to S. wrote about 1250 A. D. The text itself goes back to Sasanian time. Its Pahlavi is classical, pure and simple; recent features are mostly due to later copyists or to the editors.

Having no access to the MSS, the present writer had to confine himself to a critical examination of the two printed editions and the various readings registered there, his only aim being to establish a legible and reasonable, if eclectic, text.

S. often inserts a word by conjecture, marking it with an asterisk (*) or, in the case of the *Iẓāfat*, with a point below. In the present apparatus the expression "S. adds" or "added by S." is used in such cases, in order to distinguish them from those in which a word found in the editions has been excluded by the present editor (then it is put thus: "S. + . . .", "A. + . . .").

The division into chapters is that of S.

2. Pp. ۱۸—۳۰: THE AYYĀTKĀR I ZARĒRĀN (abbreviation: AZ).

Edited in

The Pahlavi Texts Contained in the Codex MK copied in 1322 *A. C. by the scribe Mehr-Âwân Kaî-Khûsrû edited by the late* DASTUR JAMASPJI MINOCHEHERJI JAMASP-ASANA. (I. Bombay, 1897.) II. *With an introduction by*

BEHRAMGORE TAHMURAS ANKLESARIA, Bombay, 1913. AZ occupies pp. ١—١٦. Quoted PT; its text, J.-A.

The text is based on the same MSS **M** and **J** which contain the Kn., *v.* above, and also in this case Mihrāpān has copied a MS written by his ancestor Rōstahm son of Mihrāpān, as shown by the colophon at the end of the text.

The first philological treatment of the AZ on modern lines was made by ANTONIO PAGLIARO, *Il testo pahlavico Ayātkār-i-Zarērān*, in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Ser. VI, Vol. I*, Roma, 1925, pp. 530—604: introduction with bibliography, transliterated text, translation, and philological notes (quoted P. here).

This text bas been much discussed, as it includes the remnants of an epic cycle certainly of Parthian origin. Attempts have been made to restore the old epic verses hidden behind the present prose version, first and most penetratingly by Professor E. BENVENISTE: *Le mémorial de Zarēr, poème pehlevi mazdéen*, JA, t. CC, 1932, pp. 245—293. The present editor, giving the text in prose as it is found in the MSS, has not regarded it his task to contribute to this work of reconstruction. Only the elegy, p. ٢٦, 22—24, and the battle songs, p. ٢٧, 18—23, have been arranged as verses, irrespective of all metrical questions, and of course quite hypothetically.

3. Pp. ٣١—٣٥: THE LEGEND OF KERESĀSPA (abbreviation: Krs.).

Edited in

The Pahlavi Rivâyat Accompanying The Dâdistân-î Dînîk, ed. by ERVAD BAMANJI NASARVANJI DHABHAR, Bombay, 1913 (in *Pahlavi Text Series Published by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat Funds and Properties, No.* 2). Krs. is found there pp. 65—74. — Quoted PR; the editor's text, Dh.

The MSS utilized—all in India and not accessible to the present editor—are:

1. **B** (Dh.: BK), written in 941 A. Y. = 1572 A. D. by *Marzpān Frētōn Vahrām Rōstahm Bundār Šāh-martān Dēndār* in the district Dahēgān of Kirmān; contains the *Dātistān i dēnīk* and the complete PR. After Dh. utilized it it disappeared, as stated by P. K. Anklesaria in his *Critical edition of the unedited portions of the Dādistān-i Dīnīk* (dissertation, London, 1958; not yet printed), but it is now recovered according to a letter from him (Nov. 1963). It was a copy of K_{35}, of which only the end is preserved, *v.* below. p. XX. It was the working copy of Dh., and was used by West for his edition (*v. infra*).

2. **C** (Dh.: J) written in 1188 A. Y. = 1819 A. D., a later portion in 1210 A. Y. = 1841 A. D.

3. **D** (Dh.: MR_1), a modern copy of an undated MS of Ervad Minocherji Jamaspji Vachha.

This text was translated by E. W. West in *Pahlavi Texts* I (= *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVIII), 1882, together with other Pahlavi texts relating to the same subject; and, with a transliteration of the Pahlavi text and a philological commentary, by the present writer in *Oriental Studies In honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, London, 1933, pp. 336—352 (to be rectified on some points). A New Persian version of the legend is found in *Dârâb Hormazyâr's Rivâyat*, ed. by Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvâlâ, Bombay, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 61—67.

4. Pp. ٣٦—٦١: Extracts from the Dēnkart, Book VII: the Zartuxštnāmak (abbreviation: Dk. VII).

There exist two complete editions of the Dēnkart:

1. *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard. Published by "The Society for the promotion of researches into the Zoroastrian religion" under the supervision of* Dhanjishah Meherjibhai Madan. Two volumes, Bombay, 1911.— Quoted DkM; its text, M.

2. *The Dînkard. The original Pahlavi text . . . the same transliterated in Roman characters, translations into the English and Gujerati languages, with full annotations and a glossary of select words. By* Dastur Peshotan Bahram Sanjana; after his death by his son Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. Bombay. Vol. I appeared in 1874; vol. XIX, the last, in 1928. Book VII is found in vols. XIII—XIV, 1912—1915.— Quoted DkS; its text, S.

Book VII has also been edited separately:

The Pahlavi Dinkard, Book VII. Lithographed by Manockji Rustamji Unvala. Bombay, 1904.

The complete text of the Dēnkart, as far as preserved, is contained in one single MS:

FB, called B by West and Madan, but DM by Sanjana, originally in the Mulla Firoz Library, now in the Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay. It was written by *Māhvindāt son of Vahrām Artašēr* in Turkābād, of Kirmān, in the year 1009 after the 20th year of King Yazdagird (= 651 A. D.) = 1660 A. D., as stated in the *third* and last colophon at the end of the MS. The *second* colophon is copied from the original used by Māhvindāt; this MS was written by *Šahriyār Artašēr son of Ērēc* (a descendant of the Sasanian King Kaikobād) in the year 865 reckoned from 651 A. D. = 1516 A. D. The *first* colophon was copied by Šahriyār from *his* original, which was written by *Māhvindāt son of Narmāhān son of Vahrām Mihrāpān*[1] in Bagdad

[1] To this Māhvindāt also the oldest MS tradition of the *Mēnōyē xrat* goes back, *v.* below, p. XIX.

in the year 369 reckoned from 651 A. D. = 1020. From this earliest colophon we catch a glimpse of the origin of the whole work. Māhvindāt son of Narmāhān says that it was due to the pious efforts of the religious leaders belonging to the family of *Āturpāt i Mahraspandān*[1] five or six generations[2] ago; and he gives us the names of the two members of the family who collected and wrote down the materials: *Ātur-farrōbag i Farrax*ᵘ*zātān* and *Āturpāt i Ēmētān*. Of the first we know that he was involved in a theological discussion with a heretic, Abālis by name[3], in the presence of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who reigned in 813—833. If a human generation is computed at 33 years six generations would cover, roughly speaking, 200 years, which would take us back from 1020 A. D. to 820 A. D., *viz.* to the epoch of al-Ma'mūn. It was the second, Āturpāt i Ēmētān, who made the last and definitive redaction of the Dk., as is apparent from the last chapter of book III (reproduced here pp. ١١١—١١٢). This Āturpāt must have lived considerably later than Āturfarrōbag, for there is inserted between these two an intermediate leader of the Zoroastrian community, Zartuxšt the son of Ātur-farrōbag. In all probability Āturpāt i Ēmētān worked at the very beginning of the 10th century[4]. This was thus the approximate date of the final redaction. Considering the great size of the work, which must have deterred copyists from reproducing it, we may safely assume that it was this very original that Māhvindāt i Narmāhān copied out in 1020. At this time the MS was already defective, as Māhvindāt

[1] A late Mobad of this name is mentioned in BdA, pp. 237—238. Perhaps this family ultimately goes back to the well-known religious authority of King Shapur II (310—379), the Mobadan Mobad Āturpāt i Mahraspandān who authorized through an ordeal the Sasanian Avesta; cfr. the texts here, pp. ١٠٨—١١٢.

[2] *'wb'tk'*: the correct reading is now found in the Psalter: *'wb't* rendering Syr. *dārā* 'generation', Ps. 134:13. The Pazand reading is *anbādaa* (ŠGV), *anbādah*, presupposing *'nb'tk'*. The interpretation of S.: *hubaxtak* 'fortunate', is wrong.

[3] *V.* the little Pahlavi treatise edited by A. Barthélémy: *Gujastak Abalish. Relation d'une conférence théologique présidée par le Calife Mâmoun*, Paris, 1887.

[4] His son, the Mobad Isfandiyār, was killed by the Caliph al-Rāḍī in the year 325 H. = 937 A. D., according to al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, v. *Bibl. Geogr. Ar.* VIII, p. 104—105, and the remarks of Darmesteter quoted by De Goeje *ad l.* He belonged to the Mobad family Ašavahišt, v. BdA, p. 238. As to further family connections, *cf.* Modi in *Studia Indo-Iranica, Festgabe für Wilhelm Geiger*, 1931, pp. 274—288; Tarapore in the *Foreword* (p. 3) of the *Rivâyat-î Hêmît-î Ashavahishtân*, Vol. I, Bombay, 1962. It seems most probable (against Tarapore) that this Hêmêt, better read *Ēmēt*, is identical with *Ēmāḏ ibn Ašavahišt* (thus the correct reading) who, according to al-Mas'ūdī, *l.c.*, succeded Isfandiyār as a Mobad and was still alive in 345 H. = 956 A.D. For these problems *v.* J-P. de Menasce, O.P., *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne: Le Dēnkárt*, Paris, 1958 (Ratanbai Katrak Lectures 1946); *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. 162, 1962, p. 72.

expressly states in his colophon; evidently the first two books, which are now missing, were even then lost[1].

There are also other old MSS of the Dk., comprising detached books and sections of it (*v.* below), but none of them contains book VII. For this text we are restricted to Cod. **FB**. Unvala's edition of book VII (*v.* above) is based on a modern transcript of this MS and has not been collated for the present edition.

The extracts published here are based on the text of Madan. As he points out, his text is not meant to be a critical edition, but solely an accurate reproduction of Cod. **FB**, with all its peculiarities and faults. The whole MS was, however, not accessible to him. Brought to India from Iran in 1783, Cod. **FB** had soon after been robbed, by some unscrupulous borrower, of not a few folios, which then went astray. Some of them were by and by restored to the owner, but several remained in private possession. About forty-three folios, covering the whole portion of book VII of which extracts are found pp. ٥٦, 21 to ٦١, 25 here, had landed in the library of Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, the first editor of the Dk., and was inherited after his death by his son and the continuator of his work, Dastur Darab S. When Madan went to work he applied to the Dastur for authorization to use the folios for his edition, but the Dastur refused. Madan was forced to fill up the gap in Cod. **FB** with the aid of copies which had been taken of these folios by previous scholars. In Dastur Darab's edition, vol. XIV, we can now study the text of the original folios which Madan was refused to see, and we must state that the copies taken were very careful, for the divergencies are few and as a rule insignificant. Madan told the whole story in his *Preface*, and the Dastur gave a sharp reply in his *Introduction* to vol. XIV. Strongly criticizing the way Madan had acquitted himself of this task, he substantiates his criticism by collating Madan's text with Cod. **FB** in the last portion of book VI and the beginning of book VII. The best gain we earn from these polemics is that S., in order to add more weight to his criticism, published in photozincographic reproduction some specimens of Cod. **FB**, among them fol. 299^{b} = pp. ٤٥,7—٤٦,6 here; fol. 302^{b} = pp. ٥١,8—٥٢,6; and fol. 303^{b} = pp. ٥٣,6—٥٤,8 (here M. had no access to **FB**). It is only fair to say that the criticism of S. is somewhat exaggerated. True, his collation has revealed some serious misreadings in M.: p. ٣٦,18,

[1] The colophons are couched in a rather awkward, prolixe and muddled Pahlavi, and the old colophons have suffered from the negligence of the copyists. The translations given by West and Sanjana are inaccurate, and misleading on decisive points. However obscure and clumsy the style may be, certain it is that no colophon contains any allusion to a hidden and digged up manuscript, as these translations suggest.

M. has the very annoying fault *hcdl* = *hacadar* for *'ngl* = *anagr*; p. ٤٦,1 *plstkyh* = *frestakēh* for *plyptkyh* = *frēftakēh*; p. ٥٧,25, LK for L (but here M. had only copies of FB to rely on). It is also true that M. not seldom reproduces the MS in an unintelligent manner, giving both false word-divisions and false word-junctions, which may sometimes, but not always, be excused by the very compact script of the MS, but which nevertheless betray a lack of elementary understanding of the contents. But on the whole our confidence in the accuracy of M. is not seriously shaken. As long as we do not possess a photographic reproduction of Cod. FB, M. is far better to work with than S.

The text of the Dk., as we now have it, is generally regarded as being in a bad condition, and much corrupted. This is partly true, especially of the dogmatical and polemical books III—V, but the difficulties met with there are mostly due to the unfamiliar way of thinking and to the complicated, obscure and awkward style. The Zoroastrian priests, who from time immemorial had been chiefly concerned with myth and ritual, were probably no trained writers, and the compilers wrote at a time when Book Pahlavi was already a dead language which they handled with difficulty. The copyists only half understood the contents; the modern editors still less. The result of all this is a somewhat bewildering text, some of whose enigmas will perhaps remain unsolved for ever. However, the state of book VII is by no means desperate, at least not in the Zarathushtra legend, the *Zartuxšt-nāmak* in the proper sense. These texts are to a large extent Pahlavi renderings of Avestan poetry, the old form of which is still transparent behind the Pahlavi disguise. The old epical style had a predilection for repetitions as a stylistic means, which greatly facilitates textual criticism. *Cf.*, *e.g.*, pp. ٥١,20—٥٢,16, where the text is very negligently handed down, but can be almost completely restored thanks to the repetitions. Not seldom the narration is obscured by glosses and later explanations which have crept into the text and must be detached.

Coherent text portions which clearly betray the old Avestan poetic form have been arranged as verses, but this arrangement is purely external, and has no reference to Pahlavi metrics. Needless to say, the dividing up of the text in such cases is purely tentative.

Book VII has been translated by E. W. West in *Pahlavi Texts*, V, 1897 (= *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XLVII) and by Dastur Darab Sanjana in his edition. Both translations are antiquated.

5. Pp. ٦٢—٦٧: CĪTAK HANDARZ I PŌRYŌTKĒŠĀN or PANDNĀMAK I ZARTUXŠT (abbreviation: Pn.).

Edited in the *PT* (*v.* p. XII sq.), pp. ٤١—٥٠. The last section, *PT*, pp. ٤٩,9 to ٥٠,16, given in the *Hilfsbuch*, has been left out here. It is evidently a later

addition, as shown by its awkward language, strongly contrasting with the pure and clear language of the chief text.

Cūtak Handarž i Pōryōtkēšān. A Pahlavi Text edited, transcribed and translated into English with Introduction and a Critical Glossary and with a Foreword by Professor H. W. BAILEY, by ERVAD MANECK FARDUNJI KANGA Bombay, 1960.

The basic MSS are Cod. **M** and its copy **J** (*v.* p. XI). A third MS, called TD by the editor, is of no importance for this text and has been ignored.

The Pn. belonged to the treatises which Mihrāpān copied from a MS written by Dēn-panāh son of Aēthrapāi in 324 A. Y. = 956 A. D. (*v.* Introduction to the *PT*, p. 83).

This text has been treated by ALEXANDER FREIMAN: *Pandnāmak i Zaratušt. Der Pehlevi-Text mit Übersetzung, kritischen und Erläuterungsnoten.* WZKM, vol. XX, 1910, pp. 149—166, 237—280.

6. Pp. ٦٨—٩١: MĒNŌYĒ XRAT (abbreviation: Mx.).

The complete title is *Dātistān i Mēnōyē xrat* 'The decisions of the Heavenly Intelligence'[1]. Editions:

The Dînâ î Maînû î Khrat, or The Religious Decisions of the Spirit of Wisdom. The Pahlavi Text ... edited with an Introduction, Critical and Philological Notes, etc., by DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA. Bombay, 1895. The text of this edition is quoted S.

The Pazand and Sanskrit versions are found in

The Book of the Mainyo-i-khard. The Pazand and Sanskrit Texts (in Roman characters, as arranged by Neriosengh Dhaval in the fifteenth century. With an English translation, a glossary of the Pazand text, containing the Sanskrit, Persian and Pahlavi equivalents, a sketch of Pazand grammar, and an introduction by E. W. WEST, Stuttgart and London, 1871. This text is here referred to as N.

The Pahlavi text together with the Pazand and Sanskrit versions has been printed once more in Bombay, but never published. According to R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, p. 454, the title of this edition is *Dânâk-u mainyô-i khard, Pahlavi, Pazand, and Sanskrit texts*, ed. by ERVAD TEHMURAS DINSHAW ANKLESARIA, Bombay, 1913. As this Anklesaria, born in 1842, died in 1903 (*v.* Dastur Framroze A. Bode's Introduction to the translation of the *Zand-ākāsīh*, Bombay, 1956 it must have been his son Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria (†1944) who took over the work without making it ready for publication. The clear proofs, comprising the whole of the texts with the critical apparatus, were sent to some

[1] According to some scholars, *DYN' y* = *dātistān i* is a corruption of *d'n'y* = *dānāi*, the correct title being *Dānāi* ⟨*u*⟩ *Mēnōyē xrat* 'The sage man and the Heavenly Intelligence'. This assumption is not necessary.

European scholars; thanks to Professor H. W. Bailey I possess a photostat copy of them. No title-page is found in this copy, and no introduction. The text of this edition is quoted A.

The Pazand text alone is found in

Pazand Texts collected and collated by ERVAD EDALJI KERSÂSPJI ANTIÂ, Bombay, 1909, pp. 273—334.

The Sanskrit version alone is found in *Collected Sanskrit writings of the Parsis, Part III: Mainyôi Khard*, by ERVAD SHERIARJI DADABHAI BHARUCHA, Bombay, 1912.

The basic MS is

Cod. K_{43}, now in Copenhagen. It comprises several treatises, beginning with the Great Bundahišn, of which everything is lost except the last folio, and continuing with the Mx. This codex was acquired in Persia by Professor N. L. Westergaard and brought to Copenhagen in 1843. It is published in facsimile in *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis, Vol. V: The Pahlavi Codex K* 43 ... *with an introduction by* ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN, Copenhagen, 1936. The part comprising the Bundahišn fragment and the whole of the Mx. had been made available earlier: *The Book of the Mainyo-i-khard. Also an old fragment of the Bundehesh, both in the original Pahlavi. Being a facsimile of a manuscript brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard and now preserved in the University-Library of Copenhagen. Edited by* FREDERIC CHARLES ANDREAS. Kiel, 1882. In this *Manual*, in quoting K_{43}, the pages are numbered according to the pagination of the Copenhagen facsimile.

This codex was written by *Mihrāpān son of Anōšak-ruvān* at the end of the 16th century, at intervals; the text of the Mx. he transcribed in the year 938 after the 20th year of King Yazdagird = 1589 A. D. His original was a copy which through one intermediate link dated back to a copy written by Māhvindāt son of Narmāhān, whom we have found to be the chief authority for the Dēnkart text (*v.* alove, p. XIV).

In the course of time several folios of K_{43} have been lost. In the editions these gaps are filled up from modern MSS. The three MSS collated by S. are, in his opinion, nothing but re-transcriptions of the Pazand text into Pahlavi; thus they have no independent value. This is, in all probability, also true of the Cod. TD_2 which A. has used for collation, but as long as his introduction is not accessible nothing can be said about this MS.

As no text reproduced in this Manual is taken from portions where K_{43} is wanting, the modern Pahlavi MSS have been disregarded altogether. The text given here is established with the aid of K_{43} and the Pazand text, checked by the Sanskrit version. Both of these are due to an eminent Pahlavist, cer-

tainly one of the last Indian Parsi priests who still possessed the full and authentic tradition of Book Pahlavi, namely *Nerioseng Dhaval*, of whose personality nothing is known, except that he probably lived in the 15th century, but to whom we owe the best part of our knowledge of Book Pahlavi. The Pazand text is not based on K_{43}, but on a parallel, if closely akin, text tradition, and thus has an independent value as text witness. It is handed down in a great many MSS, which it would be of no use to enumerate here (the student is referred to West's introduction); the oldest one, preserved in the India Office Library, is dated in 890 A. Y. = 1520 A. D.—The text of the Mx. is exceptionally well preserved, and its language may serve as a specimen of the best classical Book Pahlavi.

Beside his translation of the Pazand text (*v.* above), West delivered a translation based directly on the Pahlavi text for the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXIV (= *Pahlavi Texts*, III; 1885).

7. Pp. ۹۲—۱۰۶: Cosmology and Eschatology (abbreviation: C. E.).

I—II (pp. ۹۲—۱۰۵) are taken from the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* as found in Dhabhar's edition, *v.* above, p. XIII, where also the MSS are mentioned. For pp. ۹۸,17—۱۰۵,3 the MS K_{35}, of Copenhagen, has been collated. This fragmentary MS, not utilized by Dhabhar, contains on fol. 72r—fol. 99r, l. 10 (= pp. 1—53 of the facsimile edition of Copenhagen: *Cod. Av. et Pahl., Vol. III, First part*, 1934) the last third of the *PR* = Dhabhar's edition, p. 146, l. 3—p. 210. It has no colophons. According to E. W. West, whose letter on the MS to its first European owner N. L. Westergaard is quoted in Christensens introduction, it was most probably the original of Cod. B. Evidently it is the oldest and best of the MSS. It is quoted here with the pages of the facsimile.

III (pp. ۱۰۵—۱۰۶): ch. 35 of the *Dātistān i Denīk* (abbreviation: Dd.), taken from *The Datistan-i Dinik. Pahlavi Text containing* 92 *Questions, asked by Mitr-Khurshit* [Mihr-X^{u}aršēt] *Atur-Mahan and others, to Manush-Chihar* [Mānuščihr] *Goshn-Jam, Leader of the Zoroastrians in Persia, about* 881 A. D., *and their Answers. Part I: Pursishn I—XL.* Edited by Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaji [*sic*] Anklesaria († 1903, *v.* above, p. XVIII), Bombay, no date (published posthumously by his son, B. T. Anklesaria). Same MSS as of the extracts from *PR* given above; some modern MSS have been disregarded. K_{35} has been utilized by the first editor; a new collation has been made for the present edition.

8. Pp. ۱۰۷—۱۱۲: History of the Sacred Books (abbreviation: SB.).

I: The beginning of the treatise *Arda Viraf* (a misreading of *Artāi Virāz*) according to the existent edition: *The book of Arda Viraf. The Pahlavi text*

prepared by DESTUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI ASA, *revised and collated with further MSS., with an English translation and introduction and an appendix, containing the texts and translations of the Gosht-i Fryano, and Hadokht-Nask*, by MARTIN HAUG *assisted by* E. W. WEST, Bombay and London, 1872, ch. I, 1—16 (pp. 3—5). Quoted HW. The chief MSS are: 1. K_{29} and K_{26}, of the Copenhagen collection, without colophons, but old, now published in facsimile in *Cod. Av. et Pahl.*, Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1931, and Vol. II, 1932; 2. H_6, of Haug's collection, written in 1397 A. D.[1] The text given here is taken from the edition, with some small ameliorations.

II—IV: extracts from the Dēnkart, book IV, V, and III respectively. The texts are based on Madan's edition (*v.* above), but those taken from book V and III have been collated with the Copenhagen MS K_{43b} which contains the end of book III and the whole of book V. This MS (reproduced in *Cod. Av. et Pahl.*, Vol. VI, 1936) has no colophon, but to judge from the writing it was written in the 17th century. It is not a copy of Cod. FB, but goes ultimately back to the MS of Māhvindāt son of Narmāhān (*v.* above, p. XIV).

The passage from book IV has been translated by E. W. West in the *Pahlavi Texts* IV (= *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXXVII, 1892), pp. 410 to 418. The problems connected with the history of the sacred books, and particularly the philological problems connected with the Dēnkart texts, have been treated at length by H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, Oxford, 1943, where transliterations (but no translations) are given, in Appendix VII, of text II (pp. ١٠٨,٨—١٠٩,٢٦) and text IV (pp. ١١١ to ١١٢). Quoted here *Zor. Probl.*

9. Pp. ١١٣—١١٧: ŠAHRISTĀNIHĀ I ĒRĀN (abbreviation: ŠE.).

From the *Pahlavi Texts*; it is the second treatise of Cod. M. It belonged to the treatises which Mihrāpān son of Kai-Khōsrōi copied from the MS written by Dēn-panāh son of Aēthrapāi in 324 A. Y. = 956 A. D. (*v.* p. XVIII). The text is based on the two MS M and J.

This text has been treated by J. Markwart: *A Catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr* (*Pahlavi text, version and commentary*) by J. MARKWART, *edited by* G. MESSINA, S. J. [after the death of the author]. In *Analecta Orientalia. Commentationes scientificae de rebus Orientis antiqui, cura Pontificii Instituti Biblici editae*, Vol. 3, Roma, 1931.

10. Pp. ١١٨—١٢١: VICĀRIŠN I CATRANG U NIHIŠN I NĒV-ARTAXŠĒR (abbreviation: VC.).

[1] Preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich. The Manuscript Department of the library has kindly informed me that all its MSS have escaped destruction during the last war.

From the *Pahlavi Texts*; the original from which Mihrāpān copied his text is not mentioned. The basic MSS are also here **M** and **J**; a modern MS TD utilized by the editor has been disregarded in the present edition. This text was edited as early as 1885 by PESHUTAN DASTUR BEHRAMJI SANJANA: *Ganjesháyagan, Andarze Átrepát Máráspandán, Mádigáne chatrang and Andarze Khusroe Kavátán. The original Pahlavi text; the same transliterated in Zend characters and translated into the Gujerati and English languages; a commentary and a glossary of select words*, Bombay. The VC. text is there based on three MSS, which are very incompletely described by the editor. One of them has a colophon bearing the date 627 A. Y. = 1258 A. D., but in all probability this is copied from the original and tells us nothing about the age of the MS itself. The two others are copies from the 18th century. Edition of no great value.

11. Pp. ١٢٢—١٢٣: THE HĀJJĪĀBĀD INSCRIPTIONS, *Arsacid* (*Parthian*) *and Sasanid* (*Persian*) *version* (quoted HajA and HajB).

Discovered by Sir Robert Ker Porter in 1818 in a cave at Hājjīābād, a village not far from the ruins of Persepolis; first publishad in 1835 by Sir Ephraim Stannus, then several times during the 19th century, and lastly, most exhaustively, by E. Herzfeld in his grand work *Paikuli*, Berlin, 1924. Conclusive interpretation by the present editor: *Hājjīābād-inskriften*, in the jubilee volume dedicated to Arthur Christensen: *Øst og Vest. Afhandlinger tillegnede Professor Dr. Phil.* ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN . . ., København, 1945, pp. 63—74, where also a detailed bibliography is given. The present editor also utilized a very clear separate photograph taken by Herzfeld, which he kindly sent together with a very accurate drawing of the inscriptions. A new, splendid photograph was taken in one of the last years for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*.—Inscription of King Shapur I (241—272). It is wonderfully preserved.

12. Pp. ١٢٤—١٢٥: INSCRIPTIONS IN PAHLAVĪK AND PĀRSĪK FROM THE CITY OF SHAPUR (quoted ŠA and ŠB).

Inscriptions on a pillar found in the ruins of the Sasanian town Shapur, of the province of Fārs, which was excavated by a French archeological expedition in 1935—1936. Taken from R. GHIRSHMAN, *Inscription du monument de Châpour Ier à Châpour*, with observations on the chronology by A. Christensen, in *Revue des arts asiatiques*, t. X, no. III, 1936, pp. 123—129, with plates. Date: A. D. 266.

13. P. ١٢٥: INSCRIPTION ON A BRIDGE NEAR FĪRUZĀBĀD (quoted F).

Discovered in 1924 on the ruins of a Sasanian bridge near Fīrūzābād (of the province of Fārs, near Shiraz; originally *Gōr*[*-Artaxšēr-x^u^arrah*], *v.* here,

p. ١١٦,15) by E. Herzfeld, who published a short notice on it in ZDMG, 80, 1926, p. 253, but without giving the text. Somewhat later he sent me a photograph of it with a drawing, evidently after the photograph; as he reserved the right of publication for himself I could only use it for private study. As has later turned out, the place of the inscription is very difficult to reach and very unfavorable for photography. Nevertheless, the photograph of Herzfeld is not bad, but it is taken from too far a distance to admit of a detailed examination of weathered letters, and the middle of the first line is overshadowed by a projecting border and illegible (the inscription is applied on a smoothed surface depressed in the stone). The photograph which Dr Ghirshman published in his account on Fīrūzābād in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. XLVI, Cairo, 1947, proved insufficient to clear up the obscure points of the inscription. Finally Professor W. B. Henning, who stayed in Persia in 1950, had a latex impression taken of the inscription, and by means of this was able to examine every detail and arrive at a conclusive reading and interpretation, *v.* his paper *The Inscription of Firuzabad*, in *Asia Major*, New Ser., Vol. IV, part I, 1954, pp. 98—102.—Inscription of Mihr-Narsahē, the chief minister of three kings: Yazdagird I (399—420), Bahrām Gōr (420 to 438) and Yazdagird II (438—457). It is much weathered; the letters have a more recent form than on the inscriptions of the 3rd century.

14. Pp. ١٢٦—١٢٧: Two inscriptions from Persepolis (quoted P1 and P2).

Found in 1811 on a pillar (a doorpost) among the ruins of Persepolis by Sir Wm. Ouseley, who published a rough copy of it in his work *Travels in Persia in* 1810, 1811, 1812, vol. II, pl. XIII (*cf.* also p. 238). A photograph of it was taken by Dr. F. Stolze in the early 1870's and published in the great illustrated work *Persepolis. Die achaemenidischen und sasanidischen Denkmäler und Inschriften von Persepolis, Istakhr, Shāhpūr zum erstenmal photographisch aufgenommen von* F. Stolze *im Anschluss an die epigraphisch-archäologische Expedition in Persien von* F. C. Andreas. *Herausgegeben von* ... Th. Nöldeke, Berlin, 1882. A modern and improved treatment of the plate afforded a much clearer photograph, which was published by E. Herzfeld in *Paikuli*, 1924, with a transliteration and a translation (*cf. ibd.*, Vol. I, p. XII). The present editor obtained from Herzfeld a small but very clear photograph and drawings of the inscriptions; both have been of the greatest use for the study of them. On many points it has been possible to correct mistakes made by Herzfeld; details excepted, the interpretation is not open to doubt now. The inscriptions are remarkably well preserved; in spite of a damage on l. 3 of P1 nothing is lost. Date: 1. the second year of King Shapur II (310—379), 2. the 48th year of the same king.

15. P. ۱۲۸: PSALM 128 OF THE PSALMS.

From the fragments of the Psalter translated into Book Pahlavi which were found by the second German expedition to Turfan (East Turkestan) 1904—1905, directed by A. VON LE COQ, in the ruins of a Christian monastery at Bulayik, to the north of Turfan, *v.* ALBERT VON LE COQ, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 88. Edition: *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen von* F. C. ANDREAS (†). *Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von* KAJ BARR. *Sonderausgabe aus den Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse.* 1933. I. Berlin, 1933 [1].

[1] This very important text has by far not met with the interest it deserves. It has been almost forgotten for the enormous mass of epoch-making Manichean MSS found at Turfan. Characteristically enough, I have nowhere found a signature indicating its place among the MS finds of the expedition, nor do I know where, or whether, it is preserved. Professor Hansen gives some specimens of it in his *Mittelpersisches Lesebuch*, probably after the edition of Barr, and without signature. This text is of the utmost importance for the interpretation of the *Frahang i Pahlavīk*, of which I intend to publish a new edition, ready since many years, soon after this *Manual*.

دستورنامهٔ پهلوی

دستورنامهٔ پهلوی

جلد اوّل

گزیدهٔ متن های پهلوی

تألیف

هنریک ساموئل نیبرگ

انتشارات اساطیر
۳۴۳

فهرستنویسی پیش از انتشار کتابخانه ملی جمهوری اسلامی ایران

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سخن ناشر

اهمیت کتاب حاضر در پژوهش‌های زبان پهلوی، واژه‌شناسی و دستور زبان آن بر محققان و پژوهندگان آشکار است.

با اینکه مؤلف حدود هشتاد سال پیش آن را تألیف نموده و قریب چهل سال پیش متن تجدید نظر شدهٔ آنرا انتشار داده است، هنوز که هنوز است اعتبار اثر به قوت خود باقی است و از منابع اصلی و دست اول پژوهندگان زبان فارسی میانه یا پهلوی است.

از انتشار کتاب نزدیک به چهل سال می‌گذرد و چندین و چند سال است که سخت نایاب است. انتشارات اساطیر با احساس نیاز پژوهندگان به کتاب حاضر تجدید چاپ آن را در دستور کار خود قرار داد و علاوه بر افست متن اصلی کتاب:

۱. پیشگفتاری در معرفی و اهمیت کتاب به قلم سرکار خانم دکتر کتایون مزداپور در ابتدای کتاب آورده است.

۲. زندگی‌نامهٔ مؤلف را از متن سخنرانی دختر نیبرگ که در هشتم فوریه ۱۹۹۱ در انجمن آسیایی پاریس ایراد کرده بود و توسط آقای علیرضا مناف‌زاده به فارسی ترجمه و در مجلهٔ ایران‌نامه سال نهم شماره سوم (تابستان ۱۲۷۰) صفحات ۳۸۰-۳۹۵ درج شده است، برای مزید فایدهٔ پژوهندگان بعد از پیشگفتار آمده است.

۳. در یکی از نشست‌هایی که با جناب آقای استاد کامران فانی و جناب آقای استاد جمشید کیان‌فر دربارهٔ این کتاب داشتیم، به مناسبت صحبت از کلمهٔ massore و برابر فارسی آن شد و استاد فانی نکته‌ای بدیع فرمودند که به جهت اهمیت آن با اجازهٔ ایشان آن نظر را در داخل کادر و بصورت برجسته بعد از زندگی‌نامهٔ مؤلف آوردیم.

۴. از آنجایی که کتاب در قطع وزیری و با حروف بسیار ریز چاپ شده بود و در نتیجه خواندن آن دشوار و چشم‌آزار بود، بعد از مشورت‌های متعدد با سرکار خانم دکتر کتایون مزداپور، جناب دکتر علی‌اشرف صادقی، جناب آقای استاد کامران فانی، جناب آقای دکتر فریدون بدره‌ای، جناب آقای دکتر هوشنگ رهنما و جناب آقای استاد جمشید کیان‌فر قطع کتاب را به رحلی تغییر دادیم که حروف متن درشت‌تر شود تا هم خواندن آن آسان‌تر شود و هم چشم‌نوازتر شود.

لازم است از سرکار خانم دکتر کتایون مزداپور که توجه ناشر را به اهمیت انتشار این کتاب معطوف داشتند و نیز پیشگفتار کتاب را بزرگوارانه به خواهش ناشر نوشتند وجناب آقای استاد محمد روشن که

توجه ناشر را به زندگی‌نامه مؤلف جلب نمودند، و جناب آقای استاد کامران فانی که در مراحل مختلف تصمیم‌گیری نشر کتاب از مشورت‌های ایشان برخوردار بوده‌ام صمیمانه سپاسگزاری شود.

و نیز لازم است از سرکار خانم دکتر ژاله آموزگار، جناب آقای دکتر بهمن سرکاراتی، جناب آقای دکتر علی اشرف صادقی، جناب آقای دکتر فریدون بدره‌ای، جناب آقای دکتر هوشنگ رهنما و جناب آقای استاد جمشید کیان‌فر که ناشر را تشویق و تحریض به چاپ و انتشار کتاب نمودند صمیمانه سپاسگزاری شود.

ع - جربزه‌دار

سرآغاز

قرن‌های متمادی، احتمالاً بیش از نیم‌هزاره، رسم بوده است و هست که برای حل مشکلات نوشته‌های فارسی به منابع و مآخذ عربی دست یازیم. خوشبختانه انبوهی از کتابها و رسائل در این راستا ما را یاری می‌دهد و روزبه‌روز هم بر شمار نوشته‌هایی افزوده می‌شود که در آموختن زبان عربی و تأثیر آن بر زبان فارسی راهگشا است و ما را هدایت می‌کند.

از سوی دیگر، می‌دانیم که زبان فارسی فرزند فارسی میانه است. از این روی است که ناگزیر برای شناخت بهتر زبان فارسی دری می‌باید به ریشه و شکل کهنتر زبان خویش بپردازیم. جز با آگاهی از صورت‌های قدیمی واژه‌ها و قواعد ساخت آنها و دیگر واحدهای زبانی و نحو دوران پیشین نمی‌توان بسیاری از مبهمات و دشواری‌های آثار ادبی فارسی دری و شیوه‌های رنگارنگ آنها پرده برداشت و بسا که ندانستن رموزی از این دست ما را بیهوده به نتیجه‌گیری نادرست بکشاند.

میراثی که از نیاکان خردمند و بزرگوار ما برجای مانده است، در دوران‌های متواتر تاریخی غنی و سرشار است. ما از دوران فارسی‌باستان تا فارسی‌میانه و فارسی دری آثار مکتوب و نوشته‌هایی در دست داریم که هویت ملی و غنای فرهنگی ایران را پشتیبانی می‌کند. از این میان، شناخت و آگاهی همگانی مردم ما از فارسی میانه و دیگر زبان‌های ایرانی میانه با سهولت و آسانی بیشتری صورت می‌گیرد و هم آموختن آن زبان‌های قدیمی و هم بهره گرفتن از آنها برای فارسی‌زبان سهل و شیرین و سودمند است.

نه تنها پیوستاری و ارتباط مستقیم میان فارسی و فارسی‌میانه گسست‌ناپذیر است و نمی‌شود آن را انکار کرد و اینک که امکان فراگیری هست، نمی‌شود آن را از دست نهاد، بلکه بسا که آثاری صریح و نمایان از بقایای ثابت‌مانده و تحول نایافتهٔ فارسی‌میانه در شاهکارهای ممتاز فارسی دری پدیدار می‌آید:

تو این را دروغ و فسانه مدان　　به یکسان *رَوِشْنِ* زمانه مدان

واژهٔ «*رَوِشْن*» در این بیت از شاهنامهٔ فردوسی به همان صورت قدیمی خویش در فارسی‌میانه آمده است و نه به صورت تحول یافتهٔ خود در فارسی نو که می‌شود «*رَوِش*» (با حذف *n* پایانی از *rawišn*). شادروان استاد ماهیار نوابی فهرست بلندی از این بقایای دیگرگون نشدهٔ فارسی‌میانه را در فارسی دری و آثار مکتوب آن یافته بود و گمان بر این داشت که با جستجوی بیشتر می‌شود بر این فهرست افزود. نظر استاد فقید کاملاً درست است. نیز باید گفت جز در زمینهٔ واژگان، نحو زبان هم تابع همین حکم است و مثلاً جز از راهِ بازگشت به پیشینهٔ زبان فارسی دری و ساخت جملهٔ آن در دوران میانه نمی‌توان شکل دستوری بیتی

نظیر بیت زیر را بازیابی کرد:

«که این گفت را من زمادر شنود».

با اینهمه، آثارِ اندکِ بازمانده از این دست را نباید جز دلیل و گواهی فرعی و کناری بر ضرورت آموختن فارسی‌میانه برای سود جستن از آن در شناخت بهتر فارسی دری دانست. اگر برای شناخت آن بخش از واژه‌ها و ترکیبات دخیل از زبان عربی امروزه خوشبختانه گنجینهٔ عظیمی از نوشته و تحقیق در دست داریم، ناگزیر برای بازیابی پیشینهٔ بخش اصیل و ایرانی زبان و ادب و فرهنگ خویش نیز باید دست به تلاشی تازه بزنیم و راههای مشهور و معروفی را در این راستا بازبینی کنیم که امروزه بر جهانیان آشکار و روشن است. آموختن زبان فارسی‌میانه و سپس دیگر زبان‌های دوران میانه و نیز باستانی ایران نه تنها میراث غنی مکتوب زبان فارسی را برای ما روشنتر خواهد کرد، بلکه ارزش دیگر گویش‌های زندهٔ ایرانی، که شمار آنها را بیش از پنجاه زبان مستقل گفته‌اند، در ابعادی تازه در برابر چشم ما مطرح خواهد کرد.

زبان‌شناسی تاریخی امروزه اطلاعات بسیاری در این زمینه‌ها به دست آورده است. با معرفی کردن و در دسترس خوانندهٔ ایرانی قرار دادن آگاهی‌هایی در این حوزه از دانش نوین، نظرگاهی تازه و پویا در شناخت زبان فارسی و دیگر زبان‌های ایرانی و در پی آن، فرهنگ در ایران معاصر عمومیت خواهد یافت. این عمومیت مسائلی از این دست را برای همگان روشن خواهد کرد که مثلاً ارتباط زبان لری و کردی و بلوچی و گیلکی با فارسی چیست و صورت‌های کهنتر واژه‌هایی که در زبان‌های معاصر ایرانی کاربرد روزمره دارند، در دوران پیشین چه بوده است. با این گونه آشنایی، ابهامات بسیاری در ابعاد گوناگونِ زبان و ادب فارسی از میان برخواهد خاست و در زمینه‌هایی چون واژه‌یابی و واژه‌گزینی امکان عمل و ابتکار در دسترس همگان قرار خواهد گرفت.

دانشمندانی که در یکی دو قرن گذشته با زحمت و دقت فراوان عاشقانه رنج کشیده‌اند و علم و آگاهی بسیار دربارهٔ زبان و فرهنگ ایران و جایگاه آن در میان دیگر زبان‌ها و فرهنگ‌های جهان به دست آورده‌اند، طبعاً پرتوی تازه بر راه بینش و دانش بشری افکنده‌اند. اما روشن است که دستاورد پژوهش آنان دربارهٔ زبانی که به مردم این دیار تعلق دارد، در ایران بیش از هر جای دیگر جهان فروغ خواهد افشاند و به درخشش درخواهد آمد: یافته‌های پژوهشی آن بزرگان هنگامی که در اختیار عموم مردم در ایران قرار گیرد و به اصطلاح، این دانش بومی شود، به صورت ابزاری درخواهد آمد برای کاربردی عام و پرسودمندی و با بازدهِ فراوان و آسان. البته منظور از بازدهی و سودمندی نه آن است که بی‌درنگ می‌توان حاصلی فوری از این دانش به دست آورد و مثلاً کفش و کلاهی از آن دوخت، بلکه در حقیقت بنیادی پدید خواهد آورد برای برداشتن گام‌هایی مهم و جدی در پیشبرد اهدافی ملی و فرهنگی.

محض دانش گرامی و ارجمند است و بویژه آگاهی از گذشتهٔ دور فرهنگی کشور خود ما. در کنار این هدف و نیز مقاصدی اصلی، چون دادن ابزاری نوین به دست ادیبان برای گشودن و آفتابی کردن پرده‌هایی

تازه از غنای ادب فارسی و افزودن برقدرت عمومی در زمینهٔ واژه‌گزینی و واژه‌سازی، نکته‌هایی خُرد و دلپذیر هم بر آموختن زبان‌های کهن مترتب و بَسودنی است: بی‌گمان برای ما شیرین است که بدانیم واژه‌های «**پور**» و «**ژاله**» اصلاً پارتی است و دخیل در فارسی، و «**آغاز**» و «**فرخنده**» سُغدی است و «**خدیو**» بلخی. طبعاً چنین اطلاعی برای پژوهنده‌ای که فارسی‌زبان نیست، آن لطف را نخواهد داشت که برای فارسی‌زبانان.

از همین دست است آگاهی بر نکته‌های ظریفی از این گونه: شاید هنوز هم اگر از بچه‌ای که خدای نکرده، بی‌تربیت باشد، بپرسید «چرا؟» در جواب بگوید «***محضِ اِ را***»! اگر بدانیم که «***اِ را***» بازماندهٔ شکل قدیمیِ فارسی میانهٔ «***e(d) ray***»، یعنی «برای این، بدین روی، از این جهت» است، ضمن ادب کردن بچه، اصطلاح قدیمی را هم دور نخواهیم انداخت و دانستنش را گرامی خواهیم داشت؛ به حکم قول الهی که گفت:

«که گوید که دانا و نادان یکی است».

دو مجلّد کتابی که در دست دارید، درس‌نامه و دستنامهٔ آموزش زبان فارسی‌میانهٔ زرتشتی یا پهلوی است. پروفسور هنریک ساموئل نیبرگ (۱۸۸۹-۱۹۷۴) ایران‌شناس بزرگ سوئدی و یکی از متبحرترین دانشمندانی است که به پژوهش و کَندوکاو در زبان پهلوی پرداخته و حاصل تجربه و کار خویش را به صورت راهنمای آموختن زبان در دسترس همگان قرار داده است. پس از انتشار این دستنامه (۱۹۶۴ و ۱۹۷۴)، هیچ دانشجو و پژوهندهٔ زبان پهلوی از خواندن و آموختن و بهره گرفتن از آن بی‌نیاز نیست. نکتهٔ مهم آن است که این کتاب هم به کار آموزش می‌آید و هم برای پژوهش مدرکی است کلاسیک و ضروری.

مجلّد نخستین کتاب مشتمل است بر گزیده‌ای از متون پهلوی (***کارنامهٔ اردشیر بابکان***، ***یادگار زریران***، بخش‌هایی از ***روایات پهلوی***، ***اندرزنامهٔ پوریوتکیشان***، بخش‌هایی از ***دینکرد***، ***شهرهای ایران***، ***گزارش شطرنج***) همراه با تصحیحات و نمونه‌هایی از ***کتیبه‌های ایرانی میانهٔ غربی*** (***پارتی و ساسانی***) و یک نمونه از ***پهلوی ساسانی مسیحی*** و جدول‌های ***راهنمای خطوط و قرائت***.

در صفحات ۱۳۸-۱۶۹ کتاب، راهنمای واژه‌نامه (پهلویِ کتابی) آمده است که با یاری آن می‌توان در مجلد دوم، واژه را با معنای آن و بحث دربارهٔ ریشه و شکل قدیمی‌تر و همهٔ موارد کار رفت آن را در متن همراه پیدا کرد. جز این، در مجلد دوم، ***طرحی از دستور زبان پهلوی*** نیز آمده است.

در تصحیحات و واژه‌نامهٔ کتاب می‌توان نظر شخص پروفسور نیبرگ را در قرائت نوشته‌های پهلوی بازیافت و این بخش از کار ارزشی ویژه دارد. وی استادی مبرز و دقیق است که جز با پژوهش و کاوش نمی‌توان به ژرفای علم و اطلاع کم‌نظیرش در زبان پهلوی پی برد. آنچه در این دو مجلد آمده است، بویژه آن که بَهرِکَم از زمان انتشار صورتِ نخستینِ دستنامه به نام ***Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*** در اوپسالا (سال‌های ۱۹۲۸ و ۱۹۳۱)، تا نشر آن به صورت کنونی، در حدود ۲۵ سال دیگر، موضوع بررسی و تفکر استاد بوده

است و پژوهش راهگشای مهم نیبرگ دربارهٔ آنها گامی است استوار و خوانشی است ماندنی. گرچه بررسی‌های بعدی گاهی نکته‌هایی تازه را بر دانش ما دربارهٔ آنها افزوده است، اما بازهم دانستن نظر استاد دربارهٔ آنها ضروری و ناگزیر است؛ زیرا که کارهای بعدی همه براساس کارهای گذشتگان استوار است.

خواه برای استفادهٔ همگان مردم فارسی‌زبان و خواه برای استاد و دانشجوی رشتهٔ فرهنگ و زبان‌های باستانی ایران، این دو مجلّد دستنامهٔ زبان پهلوی مورد نیاز است. دانشجویان و پژوهندگان فارسی‌زبان نیز مانند دیگران بخوبی خواهند توانست از آن بهره برگیرند و کتاب گرچه به زبان فارسی نیست، چون در دسترس باشد، سود و برکت آن به همگان خواهد رسید. تکثیر آن با همین شیوه و شکل، نه تنها به کار ایرانیان و فارسی‌زبانان خواهد آمد، بلکه استفاده‌کنندگان دیگر نیز از آن بهره‌مند خواهند شد.

کتایون مزداپور

هنریک ساموئل نوبرگ، شرق‌شناس سوئدی

هنریک ساموئل نوبرگ[۱] (Henrik Samuel Nyberg) ۲۸ دسامبر ۱۸۸۹ در جنگل‌های برگْش لاگن (Bergslagen) زاده شد. از میان نُه خواهر و برادر، دومین فرزند خانواده بود. پدرش، کشیش کمکی کلیسا، مردی حساس و بافرهنگ بود که تربیتی کلاسیک داشت و به شدت از اندیشه‌های کی‌یر که‌گور (Kierkegaard) و درام‌های ایبسن (Ibsen) تأثیر پذیرفته بود. او یک مسیحی مؤمن و خداشناسی سرشار از خوشبینی بود. خانوادهٔ پدری از معدنچیان فالون (Falun) و خانوادهٔ مادری از روستائیان ثروتمند وِست منلند (Västmanland) بودند. پدرش از بختِ بد، به سرگیجهٔ منی‌یر[۲] (Ménière) دچار شده بود و گویا سرنوشتش این بود که هیچگاه نتواند امید پیشرفتی به دل راه دهد و، در نتیجه، ناگزیر شده بود سراسر عمر را در حاشیهٔ جنگل و دور از زندگی شهری در قرارگاه کشیشان (Presbytère) سپری کند. این پدر نرم‌خوی و شوربخت مهم‌ترین شخصیت زندگی پدر من است؛ زیرا هموست که آموزش پسر بزرگش را تا سیزده سالگی به عهده می‌گیرد و این آموزش از سن پنج سالگیِ پدرم با تدریس زبان‌های آلمانی و لاتینی به او آغاز می‌شود. سه سال بعد، یعنی در هشت سالگی، پدرم خواندن کورنه‌لیوس نپوس[۳] (Cornelius Nepos) را به پایان می‌رساند.

کتابخانهٔ پدر محدود بود، ولی هنریک ساموئل با دو کتاب در آنجا آشنا شد که در زندگی آینده‌اش اثری بسزا داشت: یکی **سفر به تبت** نوشتهٔ هوک (Huc) و گابت (Gabet) و دیگری **گذار از خراسان و ترکستان** به قلم سْون هدین (Sven Hedin). در هفت سالگی، هنریک خردسال در دفترش چنین می‌نویسد: «خشایارشا پادشاه بزرگی است.» به لطف یکی از دوستان پدرش که معلم زبان‌های کلاسیک در مرکز استان بود، هنریک توانست دیپلم متوسطه‌اش را از دبیرستانِ اومانیستِ وستراس (Västeras)، کهن‌ترین و

۱- این مقاله متن یک سخنرانی است که خانم زیگرید کاهله (Sigrid Kahle)، دختر نوبرگ، در هشتم فوریه ۱۹۹۱ در انجمن آسیایی پاریس ایراد کرده است. یادآور می‌شویم که نام نوبرگ در فارسی بیشتر به صورت «نیبرگ» آمده است که تلفظِ اصلیِ نام او نیست.

۲- Ménière، نوعی سرگیجه که از اختلالات گوشی میانی ناشی می‌شود.

۳- مورخ لاتین (۲۴-۹۹ پیش از میلاد).

ارجمندترین دبیرستان سوئد بگیرد. راه‌یابی به زبان‌شناسی عالی را نیز، همچنانکه خود همیشه می‌گفت، وامدارِ همین معلم است.

و اما برای رفتن به دانشگاه از کجا می‌بایست پول تهیه کند؟ ناگزیر شد در شمال سوئد معلّم سرخانهٔ دو پسر یک کشیش بشود که چهارده‌سال بعد نیز می‌بایست با دختر او ازدواج کند. این کشیشِ دانشمند و ادیب و دکتر در یزدان‌شناسی (تئولوژی)، خیلی زود به استعدادهای شگرف هنریک پی بُرد و در تربیت وی اثری بسزا داشت. در فضای آکنده از موسیقی و فرهنگِ این خانهٔ کشیشی در آنگرمنلند (Angermanland) و در کتابخانهٔ غنی این خانه بود که هنریک ذوق ادبی‌اش را پرورش داد.

با پادرمیانیِ اسقفِ اعظمِ اوپسالا (Upsala) در سال ۱۹۰۸ توانست فقط برای یک دورهٔ شش ماهه در دانشگاه این شهر نام‌نویسی کند. آینده‌اش در دانشگاه ناپایدار می‌نمود، ولی در اندک مدتی چندین وام و بورس تحصیلی برایش تأمین شد و تحصیلاتش او را به نخستین امتحانات دانشگاهی رهنمون گردید. رشته‌ای که بیش از همه او را به خود فراخواند زبان‌شناسی شرقی و کلاسیک بود. سانسکریت و دستور زبان مقایسه‌ای را نزد ک. ف. یوهانسون (K.F.Johansson)، زبان لاتینی را –که آموزش آن اجباری بود – نزد پرسون (Persson) و زبان یونانی را نزد اُ.آ. دانی‌یلسون (O.A.Danielsson) آموخت. هر سه استاد از زبان‌شناسان برجسته بودند که در بیرون از سوئد نیز نامدار بودند. آموزش زبان عربی را نیز بلافاصله پیش یک عربی‌دان بزرگ به نام ک.و.زِترشْ‌تهاِن (K.V.Zetterstéen) آغاز کرد. تحصیلات عبرانی و توراتی نیز جدی بود. سپس به آموزش زبان‌های آرامی، سریانی، ترکی، فارسی، حبشی، و جز اینها پرداخت.

دلبستگی خاصی به تاریخ و تاریخ اندیشه‌ها بویژه اندیشه‌های مذهبی، فلسفی، و سیاسی پیدا کرد. هیچگاه به چاپ و نشر متون بسنده نکرد. می‌خواست محتوای آنها را بداند. پس از دیدار با تور آندره (Tor Andrae)، که پنج سال از خودش بزرگتر بود، علاقه‌اش به اسلام ژرف‌تر شد. آندره یزدان‌شناس و عرب‌شناس بود و داشت رسالهٔ دکترایش را راجع به [حضرت] محمد، پیامبر اسلام، می‌نوشت. دو دوست که تا پای مرگ دوستی‌شان را نگاه داشتند، در سخن‌رانی‌های ایگناز گُلدزیهر (Ignaz Goldziher)، که در سال ۱۹۱۳ به اوپسالا آمد، شرکت کردند. این سخن‌رانی‌ها مطالعات آنها را بیش از پیش به سوی پژوهش‌های اسلامی کشاند. در این میان از دلگرمی‌های ناتان سودربلوم (Nathan Söderblom)، اسقف آیندهٔ سوئد و بنیانگذار دانشِ ادیانِ سوئدی (Religionswissenschaft suédoise) نیز برخوردار شدند که رسالهٔ دکترایش را در پاریس راجع به موضوعی در زمینهٔ آیین مزدایی به زبان فرانسه و زیر نظر آنتوان مه‌یه (Antoine Meillet) به پایان رسانده بود.

گرایش به فرهنگ آلمانی بر حیات دانشگاهی سوئد فرمانروا بود. در سایهٔ سودربلوم، جهت‌گیری

جدیدی به سوی فرهنگ و زبان فرانسوی پدید آمد که برای پیشرفت شرق‌شناسی بسیار مهم بود. در سال ۱۹۱۷، در گیر ودار جنگ، نوبرگ همراه دوست حبشه‌شناس، ترک‌شناس و دیپلماتش به نام یوهانس کُلْمُدین (Johannes Kolmodin) برای دست‌یابی به دستنوشته‌های ابن‌عربی در کتابخانهٔ دولتی پروس (Preussische Staatsbibliothek) به برلن سفر کرد. دوست همراهش او را به انولیتمن (Enno Littmann)، مترجم آلمانی **هزار و یک شب** و متخصص زبان‌های حبشی بویژه تیگره (Tigré) (مهم‌ترین زبان زندهٔ سامی) معرفی کرد که نوبرگ تا پایان عمرش با وی در تماس بود. دوستش او را هم چنین با اویگن میت‌وُخ (Eugen Mittwoch) آشنا کرد.

در بازگشت به سوئد از میان نوشته‌های ابن عربی جهانی سرشار از نگرش‌های نوافلاطونی فراروی نوبرگ گشوده شد که سرچشمه‌هایش به هلنیسم و عرفان دوره‌های پسینِ عهد باستان می‌رسید. نوبرگ زبان‌های گرجی و روسی را نیز آموخت؛ چون، همچنانکه خود می‌گفت، دانستن این زبان‌ها برای یک شرق‌شناس ضروری است. در این هنگام، به خاطر جنگ تمرکزش را از دست داد. مواد غذایی حتی در سوئد نیز کم‌یاب شده بود و نوبرگ «گریپ اسپانیولی» گرفت.

در سال ۱۹۱۹ در یک جلسهٔ عمومی از تز خود راجع به سه رسالهٔ کوچکِ ابن عربی دفاع کرد. مقدمهٔ استادانه‌اش را درباره حکمت الاهیِ این «شیخ اکبر» اهلِ اشبیلیه (Seville)، ر.آ. نیکلسون (R.A.Nicholson)، میگل آسین پالاسیوس (Miguel Acin Palacios) و سپس هانس هاینریش شِدِر (Hans Heinrich Schaeder) ستودند. به نوشتهٔ لوئی ماسینیون در مجلهٔ **دنیای مسلمان** (Revue du monde musulman)، «دست‌آوردهای شرق‌شناسیِ سوئدی تا اینجا مربوط به حوزه‌های دیگری غیر از حوزه‌های عربی و متوجه دستگاه‌های فکری دیگری غیر از اسلام بود. کمکی که دو اثر درجهٔ یک از دو سوئدی و دو دوست به اسلام‌شناسی کرد، ناگهان این دو نویسندهٔ سوئدی را در صفِ نخستِ شرق‌شناسیِ ژرمنی قرار داد.»

عرب‌شناسِ آلمانی، هلموت ریتر (Hellmut Ritter) به زبانِ ستایش‌آمیز نوشت: «فکر می‌کنم که اثر شما یکی از مهم‌ترین آثارِ نشر شده در قلمرو کار ما باشد.» نوبرگ، کارآزمودگی خود را در زبان‌شناسی سامی با انتشار دو مقاله دربارهٔ پیشوندهای سامی و ترکیب‌های بهووریهی[1] (Bahuvrihi-Composites) نشان داد، و در سال ۱۹۲۳ با مطالعهٔ موشکافانهٔ چرم - نوشته‌های به دست آمده در اورامانِ کردستان، متنی را که تا آن زمان آرامی می‌انگاشتند، یک متن پهلوی‌شناسایی کرد که پر از ایده‌نگاری‌ها (idéogrammes)ی آرامی بود. این ایده‌نگاری‌ها چنان او را شیفته کردند که به کار بی‌پایانی دربارهٔ

۱- ترکیب هایی که در زبان سانسکریت از بهم پیوستن دو کلمهٔ مستقل ساخته می‌شوند و مفهوم مستقل و تازه‌ای را بیان می‌کنند. این گونه ترکیب ها در زبان فارسی نیز وجود دارند. مانند: جنگجو، شاهنامه، شیردل و جز اینها.

فرهنگِ پهلویک همت گماشت. این فهرست کهنِ ایده‌نگاری‌های آرامی همراه با تفسیرهایی که بر آن نوشت، در سراسر زندگی ذهن او را به خود مشغول داشت.

پس از انتشار **اسناد اورمان** (Documents d'Avroman) در سال ۱۹۲۳ که همیشه به آن همچون یک اثر پیشاهنگ نگریسته‌اند، زبان پهلوی وارد زندگی نوبرگ شد و هرگز او را ترک نکرد. ولی برای چیره شدن به این زبانِ فراموش شده کمابیش هیچ وسیله‌ای در دسترس نبود. با وسایل ابتدایی دفتر راهنمایی دربارهٔ این زبانِ بیش و کم ناشناخته تألیف کرد (زیرا چاپخانه‌ها حروفِ الفبای پهلوی نداشتند). این دفتر برابرنامه‌ای (glossaire) هم در بر داشت که ثمرهٔ کار چندین ساله بود. نوبرگ تازه شروع کرده بود ارزش و معنای ایران باستان بویژه دورهٔ ساسانی را برای زندگی معنوی خاورمیانه به روشنی بفهمد و در کتاب **دستورنامهٔ پهلوی** (Hilfsbuch des Pahlavi) (۱۹۲۸-۱۹۳۱) این نکته را تصدیق کند که نه تنها حادترین و مهم‌ترین مسائلِ زبان‌شناسی تاریخی (فیلولوژی) و زبان‌شناسی ایرانی، بلکه شرق‌شناسی بطور کلی، در حوزهٔ زبان‌های ایرانیِ میانه قرار دارد. او بیش از پیش به یک «سامی‌شناسِ ایران پژوه» (Sémitiste iranisant) تبدیل می‌شد.

دههٔ بیست برای نوبرگ دوران پیشرفتِ ژرف فکری و شخصی بود. در سال ۱۹۲۰ موفق به دریافت جایزه شد و در همین سال‌ها بود که ازدواج کرد و دختر و پسر نخستین‌اش به دنیا آمدند و برای نخستین بار به لندن رفت. در آنجا به دنبال دستنوشته‌هایی بود برای توضیح نخستین تاریخ پیدایش ایده‌ها در اسلام. مقاله‌ای دربارهٔ حلاج نوشت؛ به ردّیه‌ای برخورد به قلم قاسم ابن ابراهیم در پاسخ به ابن مقفّعِ معروف. توجهش به رافضیان جلب شد؛ بیش از پیش به مکتب معتزله و متکلّمانِ خِردباورِ بصره نزدیک شد؛ گزارش‌ها و مقاله‌هایی برای نشریّهٔ **جهان شرقی** (Le Monde Oriental) نوشت و از یک ایده، ایدهٔ دیگری زاده شد - اینکه، برای مثال، آیا یک مانوّیت عربی وجود دارد یا نه؟ یک حکمتِ گنوسی (gnose) اسلامی؟ آیا اندیشهٔ معتزلی، که آن را آزاداندیش (liberale) انگاشته‌اند، بعکس، یک واکنش خشک در برابر فرقه‌گرایی و عرفان گنوسی نیست؟

مسائلی که با پرداختن به اندیشه‌های مبهمِ ابن عربی طرح شده بود، به کمک اندیشه‌های دانشمندان دیگری افزایش یافت و او را بیش از پیش به سوی ایران هدایت کرد. به عنوان مثال، «انسانِ کاملِ» ابن عربی چه وجه مشترکی با «انسانِ آغازین» ایرانی دارد؟ عناصر ایرانی در مانویت کدامند؟ با مطالعهٔ کتابِ رایتزنشتاین (Reitzenstein) به نام **رازِ ایرانیِ رستگاری** (Le mystère iranien de la rédemption) که در آن نویسنده قطعه‌ای مانوی از تورفان (Turfan) را یک راز زرتشتی انگاشته بود، نوبرگ را بر آن داشت که نقدی فراموش نشدنی بر آن کتاب بنویسد: به عقیدهٔ او، رایتزنشتاین با گرفتن رد پای همهٔ پدیده‌های دینی خاورمیانه در ایران، زیاده‌روی کرده است و نوبرگ خود در مانویت «یک عنصر

بابلی» یافته بود. این مطلب او را به «هانس هاینریش شدر» (H.H.Shaeder) جوان نزدیک کرد و باب نامه‌نگاری میان آن دو را گشود.

در آن سال‌های بی‌رونقِ دههٔ بیست، برای پاسداری از خانوادهٔ کوچکش، در عین حال که می‌کوشید از بورس‌های تحصیلی در دسترس بهره‌مند شود، تمام وقت در یک دبیرستان سوئدی زبان عبری درس می‌داد که تنها دبیرستان در سوئد برای آموزش زبان عبری بود. یک استادیار حقوق ماهانهٔ چشمگیری نداشت، وضع آیندهٔ اقتصادی نیز ناروشن بود، بدهی‌ها باید پرداخت می‌شد. ازینرو، جدا از سمینارها و درس‌هایش، در دانشگاه نیز به یزدان‌شناسان (تئولوگ‌ها) زبان عبری تدریس می‌کرد.

اما در سال ۱۹۲۴ برای تحقیق و آموزش عربیِ گفتاری در قاهره یک بورس تحصیلی گرفت. در همان روز اول در کتابخانه یک دستنوشتهٔ قدیمی از **کتاب‌الانتصار** به قلم الخیاط (قرن نهم) پیدا کرد که ردیه‌ای است از یک معتزلی به رفضِ ابن راوندی. این یک کشفِ هیجان‌انگیز بود، چون نوشته‌های معتزلی کمابیش از میان رفته است. متن کتاب را هنگام اقامتش در مصر با شرح و تفسیر و با یک مقدّمه به زبان عربی منتشر کرد. سپس، چنان ژرف‌نگرانه در این نوع ادبیات یزدان شناختی (تئولوژیک) به کاوش پرداخت که چندی پس از آن توانست در دانشنامهٔ اسلام (Encyclopédie de I'Islam) مقاله‌ای جامع دربارهٔ تمامی دیدگاه‌های اساسی مربوط به معتزله بنویسد؛ یعنی دربارهٔ گرایشی که خشک‌اندیشی نظری را وارد اسلام کرده بود.

تا زمان درازی تنها تجربه‌اش از شرق امروز همان یک سالی بود که در مصر زندگیِ مسلمانانه را آزموده و گویش مصری را آموخته بود. زندگی آکادمیک سخت بود. سوئد مستعمره نداشت و از جهان عرب دور بود. و همچنانکه نوبرگ خود می‌گفت، «آشنایی با شرق و سفرهای شرقی در خورندِ بازرگانان و دیپلمات‌ها بود.»

پس از بازگشت به سوئد می‌بایست پول فراهم کند و ناگزیر شد پیشگفتارهای بلندبالایی برای دانشنامه‌های تاریخ شرق باستان بنویسد. به کار خود روی دستورنامهٔ (manuel) زبان پهلوی ادامه داد و واژه‌نامه‌ای تنظیم کرد تا بتواند زبان‌های ایرانی را تدریس کند. این کار را مقامات دانشگاهی در سال ۱۹۲۷ به عنوان یک کار اضافی به او تحمیل کرده بودند. کپنهاگ از قرن هیجده برای تدریس زبان‌های ایرانی یک کرسی دانشگاهی داشت. در اوپسالا تنها پس از مرگ پدرم بود که این کرسی دانشگاهی ایجاد شد. بدین‌سان، در عین حال که بر شهرت جهانی‌اش می‌افزود، رنج و اندوه شخصی‌اش با پیشرفت و فعالیت علمی جانفرسا درمی‌آمیخت.

در پاریس

در بهار سال ۱۹۲۸ با خانواده‌اش به پاریس رسید. برای یک اقامت یکساله به منظور انجام تحقیقاتی در زمینهٔ ایده‌های علمی، فلسفی، و خداشناسی صدر اسلام، بویژه دربارهٔ نوشته‌های دشوارفهمِ پیش از اسلام، یک بورس تحصیلی گرفته بود. می‌خواست دربارهٔ ایده‌های درهم آمیختهٔ سده‌های نخستین اسلام یک تک‌نگاری (monographie) تهیه کند. برای پیدا کردن آپارتمانی در پاریس ماجراهای شگفتی را از سر گذرانید؛ سپس در کتابخانهٔ ملّی پاریس خویشتن را غرق در مطالعهٔ کتاب **سرّالحلیقه و صناعةالطبیعه** از بالیناس (Balinas) و نوشته‌های اشعری و بغدادی و شهرستانی کرد. به کار خود روی واژه‌نامهٔ **دستورنامهٔ پهلوی** ادامه داد و در رسالهٔ پهلوی **بُندهشن** (Bundahishn) نکته‌های شگفت‌انگیزی یافت.

در نامه‌ای به دوستش تورآندره (Tor Andrae) نوشت: «ماسینیون مرد جالبی است. در منزلش با او شام خوردم و هر دو تجربه‌هامان را از شرق با هم در میان نهادیم. گودفروا دموم بونس (Gaudefroy Demombynes) پیرمردی است که از کتاب تو به نام **شخصِ محمد (ص) در آموزه‌ها و باورهای امّت وی** (Die Person Muhammeds im Lehren und Glauben Seiner Gemeinde) با هیجان سخن می‌گفت و از من خواست به تو بگویم که کتابت را با لذت فراوان خوانده و همچنان می‌خواند. دعوتنامهٔ ماسینیون به تاریخ ۱۵ مه ۱۹۲۸ هم‌اینک پیش روی من است و در آن چنین نوشته است: همکار بسیار عزیز، آیا میل دارید برای صرف شام بدون تشریفات به خانهٔ من بیایید...؟»

نوبرگ و ماسینیون از زمان چاپ رسالهٔ دکترای نوبرگ دربارهٔ ابن عربی و از خلال کتاب‌های یکدیگر با هم آشنا بودند. ماسینیون پس از دریافت **کتاب‌الانتصار** در نامه‌ای به او نوشت: «برای من که به ابن راوندی علاقمندم، این ردّیه بویژه جالب بود و تصمیم دارم گزارشی از آن به دست دهم.»

کنجکاوی دربارهٔ رافضیان و معتزلیان آنان را به هم پیوند می‌داد و اغلب یکدیگر را می‌دیدند. نوبرگ در شگفت بود از اینکه دانشمندان فرانسوی اندکی گوشه‌گیراند و هر یک در دفتر کار خود سر در لاک خویش دارد. در اوپسالا، اندیشمندان بیشتر وقت‌ها در سمینارها و در بحث‌های غیررسمی با یکدیگر دیدار می‌کردند. از میان عرب‌پژوهان، ژرژ مارسه (George Marcais) از همه بیشتر او را تحت تأثیر قرار داده بود.

در این هنگام، در ماه ژوئن، به عضویت «انجمن آسیایی» (Société Asiatique) برگزیده شد و در آنجا با همکاران تازه‌ای آشنا شد. در میان شرق‌شناسانِ پاریس متوجه شمار زیادی دانشمندِ روسی و لهستانی و یهودی شد و در نامه‌ای به آندره نوشت: «روس‌ها مردمان بسیار دلپذیری هستند و من مینورسکیِ ایران‌شناس را زیاد می‌بینم.» خانم مینورسکی هم با خانم نوبرگ آشنا شده بود. پس از یک

اقامت گروهی بهم فشرده در یک آپارتمان دواتاقه در خیابان سَن‌پر (Saints Pères) شمارهٔ ۴۲، آپارتمان دلگشاتری در پشت پانته‌ئون، ساختمان شمارهٔ ۳، خیابان استراپاد Estrapade، برای خانواده پیدا شد. این همان آپارتمانی بود که دیدرو در آن روی *دانشنامهٔ* (Encyclopédie) خود کار کرده بود. در ماه سپتامبر دختربچه‌ای، که من باشم، در آن آپارتمان چشم به جهان گشود.

نوبرگ از شرایط کار در کتابخانهٔ ملی پاریس چندان راضی نبود. هر گامی که برمی‌داشت، متوجه وضع نارسا و نابسامان کاتالوگِ دوسلان (de Slane) می‌گشت که از چند دههٔ پیش به این سو کامل نشده بود. در نامه‌ای به دوست سانسکریت‌شناسش در اوپسالا نوشت: «اجازه نمی‌دهند بیش از ده کتاب در روز درخواست کنم و برای روز بعد بیش از سه جلد نمی‌توانم رزرو کنم. اما از این که بگذریم، کتابخانه دارای گنجینه‌های بسیاری است که از چشم‌ها دور مانده است، زیرا توضیحات مربوط به مجموعه‌های دستنوشته‌ها سطحی‌اند و کمتر آموزنده. روشن است که برای مطالعهٔ دستنوشته‌های عربی باید به قسطنطنیه رفت.»

در ماه اوت از طریق رنانیِ (Rhénanie) اشغال شده، در پی دعوتی که از وی شده بود، برای شرکت در «روزِ شرق‌شناسان» (Orientalistentag) به بُن رفت. در آنجا با هلموت ریتر (Hellmut Ritter)، که از قسطنطنیه آمده بود، آشنا شد. ریتر دستنوشته‌ها و عکس‌هایی از کتاب *سرالحلیقه*، از مجموعه‌های پایان‌ناپذیر طوپقاپو سرای (Topkapu Serai) را برای او فرستاد. با پُل کاهله (Paul Kahle) نیز آشنا شد که مانند نوبرگ به متنِ Vertrotestamentaire[1] معروف به masorète علاقمند بود با ارنست هرتسفلد (Ernest Herzfeld)، باستان‌شناسِ ایران‌شناس، نیز هم‌رأی درآمد.

هرتسفلد کتیبه‌ای ساسانی به نوبرگ داد تا رمزگشایی کند. با رمزگشایی از این کتیبه بود که نخستین گام را در مقام یک کهن‌نویسه‌شناس (Paléograph) برداشت. درجهٔ اهمیّت این کار از کارهای دیگرش کمتر نبود. سرانجام با شِدِر آشنا شد. این آشنایی بعدها سرنوشت‌ساز شد. همچنین به سخنان میکل آنجلو گوئیدی (Michelangelo Guidi) گوش فرا داد که متن «ردّیهٔ قاسم ابن ابراهیم بر ابن

۱- صورت اصلی ضبط این کلمه در دستنویسِ متن همینگونه است که در واژه‌نامه‌ها نیافتیم، ولی در مراجع فرانسوی به صورتِ Vétéro-testamentaire همان تورات عبرانی (la Bible hébraïque) است که قطعاتی هم به زبان آرامی در آن هست. حدس زده می‌شود که کهن‌ترین متن‌های گردآوری شده در این کتاب در قرن یازدهم پیش از میلاد و جدیدترین آنها در قرن دوم پیش از میلاد تنظیم شده باشند. ماسورت‌ها (massorètes) در قرن ششم میلادی بازنگری نقّادانه کتاب و تعیین مصوّت‌ها در متن آن را به دست گرفته و در اوایل قرن دهم میلادی به پایان رسانده‌اند. ماسور (massore) به زبان عبری یعنی «سنت» و «انتقال» و منظور از آن، مجموعهٔ ملاحظات و تفسیرهایی است که علمای یهود به نام «ماسورت‌ها» بر تورات عبرانی نوشته‌اند. آنان وابسته به مدرسه‌های خاخامی بابل و فلسطین بودند (از قرن ششم تا قرن دوازدهم میلادی) و اساسی‌ترین کارشان اختراع علامت‌هایی برای مصوّت‌های کتاب مقدس بوده است. ← نکته

مقفع» را به نوبرگ تقدیم کرد؛ همان متنی که شش سال پیش از آن نوبرگ خواسته بود آن را ویراستاری کند.

گردهم آیی روشنفکران وبحث‌های پُرتب و تاب علمی در چشم‌انداز زیبای رنانی به اندازهٔ کافی برانگیزاننده بود و بازگشت به شهر پاریس با روشنفکران پراکنده‌اش می‌توانست این فراز را به فرود تبدیل کند. هرگاه پای «انجمن آسیایی» در میان نمی‌بود اندیشمند ۳۹ سالهٔ سوئدی ما با امیل بنونیست (Émile Benveniste)، دانشمند ۲۶ ساله‌ای که او نیز شیفتهٔ زبان‌های ایرانی میانه بود، آشنا نمی‌شد. با بنونیست می‌توانست ساعت‌ها دربارهٔ ریشه‌شناسی گفتگو کند و یا در خصوص زروان (Zervan)، خدای کُهنِ زمان و سرنوشت، که نوبرگ گمان می‌کرد آن را در متن‌های بُندهشن یافته است.

باری، زروان، خدای سرنوشت، تصمیم داشت زندگی پدرم را زیرورو کند. یک باستان‌شناس سوئدی که قرار بود در سوربن تدریس کند، از آمدن به پاریس چشم پوشیده بود و از نوبرگ خواستند که جای او را بگیرد. در نامه‌ای به زِتِرشْ ته‌اِن (Zetterstéen) چنین نوشته است: «سیلون لِوی (Sylvain Lèvy) همین دیروز به من اطلاع داد که مقامات مدرسهٔ پژوهش‌های عالی تصمیم گرفته‌اند به من پیشنهاد کنند که در ماه‌های ژانویه و مارس یک رشته سخن‌رانی راجع به موضوعی در زمینهٔ تاریخِ دین ایرانی ایراد کنم. من این پیشنهاد را پذیرفته‌ام، اگر چه سخن‌رانی در برابر جمعیت پرتوقّعی مانند جمعیّت فرانسوی برگزار شود. موضوع سخن‌رانی مسائل کیهان‌شناسی و کیهان‌آفرینیِ مزدایی خواهد بود، و من آمادگی چندانی ندارم.»

یک چند بعد به هلموت ریتر، که در قسطنطنیه بود، نوشت: «مجبور شدم کار روی کتاب سرالحلیقه را ناتمام بگذارم برای آنکه بتوانم چند ماهی در حوزه‌های دیگری جز الاهیّات اسلامی کار کنم... برای پژوهش‌های عربی و اسلامی به پاریس آمده‌ام، با این حال، به رغم نیّت نیکِ من، پژوهش‌های ایرانی است که در کارهای من جای مهمی را ازآنِ خود می‌کند.»

زِترشْ‌ته اِن قرار بود سه سال بعد بازنشسته شود و پدرم میل داشت کرسی استادی او را اشغال کند. در نامه‌ای به دوست اوپسالایی‌اش کارپانتیه (Charpentier) نوشت: «چه کابوسی! اگر بُرد با رقیب من مُربک (Morbeck) باشد، دیگر پیوند ایران‌شناسی با زبان‌شناسی سامی خواهد گسست.» ولی به هرتسفلد نوشت: «خدایان را گواه می‌گیرم که اگر در سوئد برای زبان‌های ایرانی یک کرسی دانشگاهی می‌بود، آرزو می‌کردم آن کرسی از آن من باشد.»

در آن هنگام زبان فرانسه بود که بزرگترین مشکل را برای او فراهم می‌ساخت. بنونیست به او دلداری می‌داد: «شما نسبت به دورهٔ آموزشی کوتاهی که گذرانده‌اید، فرانسه را خوب می‌نویسید. دیری نمی‌کشد که بتوانید بدون زحمت آثار خود را به فرانسه چاپ کنید!»

باری، نوبرگ رشتهٔ سخن را در مرکز پژوهش‌های عالی راجع به موضوعی در زمینهٔ ایران به دست گرفت، ولی با اندکی دودلی. چرا که می‌گفت: «هرچه آدم به این دانشمندان بزرگ می‌اندیشد که با استادی تمام در اینجا زبان‌های ایرانی تدریس کرده‌اند و همچنان می‌کنند، بیشتر از ناکافی بودن توانایی‌های خود بیمناک می‌شود. اگر کار من چنان ارائه شود که گوش فرانسوی را نیازارد، فقط در سایهٔ مراقبت‌های دوستم بنونیست است. اوست که مسئولیت تصحیح غلط‌های فرانسهٔ مرا به عهده گرفته است. اگر قطعه‌ای از نوشته خوب بیان شده است، از بنونیست باید قدردانی کرد؛ ولی اگر در جایی نبودِ ظرافت و دقت تو ذوق می‌زند، نویسندهٔ خارجی -که من باشم- سزاوار سرزنش است.»

در نامه‌ای به کارپانتیه نوشت: «سخن‌رانی‌هایم را در سوربون تازه شروع کرده‌ام. در جلسات از جمله این افراد حضور دارند: یک فرانسوی (بنونیست)، یک روس (مینورسکی)، یک مجار، یک ایرانی، یک خانم انگلیسی که با یک ایرانی ازدواج کرده و مردی با ملیّتی نامعلوم. کاری است بس دشوار، زیرا که باید موضوع کم و بیش مبهمی را به زبان فرانسه توضیح بدهم و از نظر منابع با کمبود رقّت‌باری روبه‌رو هستیم. باید متن‌های پهلوی را ترجمه کرد! ولی یک چیز خوب در همهٔ این مشکلات هست و آن اینکه این کار ناگزیرم می‌کند که بازنگری **دستورنامهٔ پهلوی** را از هم‌اکنون شروع کنم و آن را به پایان برسانم؛ کاری که همیشه قصد انجام آن را داشته‌ام و پایهٔ پژوهش‌های من در زمینهٔ کهن‌ترین تاریخ اسلام است.»

کارپانتیه به شوخی نوشت: «آیا تاکنون به این خطر که زیادی محققِ مُدقّق بشوید، اندیشیده‌اید؟» نوبرگ با اندکی فروتنی پاسخ داد: «با این مسأله هرگز روبه‌رو نشده‌ام. با این حال، این خطر را بیش از پیش احساس می‌کنم که در یک زمان به زبان‌های بسیار می‌پردازم. به‌هرحال، یک سخن‌رانی بیشتر باقی نمانده و برای این منظور هرچه را که دربارهٔ خدای زروان می‌دانم بررسی کرده‌ام. همان خدای زمان که در این شهر، همچنانکه می‌دانیم، دوستداران زیادی دارد. اینکه شنوندگانِ من از آگاهی تازه‌ای که در این باره به دست داده‌ام، بهره‌مند شده‌اند یا نه، مطلبی است که نمی‌توانم تصدیق کنم. ولی من به تبلیغات خودم در خدمت این خدا ادامه خواهم داد و متن سخن‌رانی‌هایم را، که بنونیست قول داده آن‌ها را ویراستاری کند، منتشر خواهم کرد. خدای زروان مرا بدبخت خواهد کرد. در سه ماه گذشته یک کلمه هم عربی نخوانده‌ام!»

خوشبختانه پدرم همهٔ نامه‌های بنونیست را نگه داشته است. نامه‌های خودش به بنونیست گُم شده است. بهرحال، از خلال نامه‌های بنونیست بود که من با مردی آن چنان با نشاط و مهربان آشنا شدم، چندانکه امروز به آسانی می‌توانم تصور کنم که خودم از نزدیک او را می‌شناخته‌ام. هنگامی که نوبرگ در آوریل ۱۹۲۹ پاریس را ترک کرد، بنونیست از ورنون (Vernon) نامه‌ای سرشار از دریغ به او نوشت:

ازتمام گفتگوهایی که با هم داشته‌ایم و در آنها کم‌وبیش همهٔ مسائل و پیچیدگی‌های مطالعات ایرانی

مطرح شده‌اند، خاطرهٔ دلپذیری برایم باقی مانده است. چقدر در انجمن آسیایی و در طول بولوار سَن میشل راجع به ریشه‌شناسی گفتگو کرده‌ایم! مطالبی که بر پایهٔ آنها می‌باید در همهٔ فرهنگ‌ها تجدیدنظر کرد. بی‌شک، از این صحبت‌ها چیز دیگری جز خاطره به‌جا خواهدماند.

گویا دیگر شانس زیادی برای دیدنِ دوبارهٔ شما در پاریس ندارم. اما یکدیگر را خواهیم دید. چه وقت؟ خدا بهتر می‌داند. اوپسالا و پاریس بیش از پیش به هم نزدیک خواهند شد و نامه‌نگاری‌های ما چاره‌ساز فاصله خواهد بود. پس، همراه با بهترین احساسات دوستانه از شما خداحافظی می‌کنم و صمیمانه آرزو می‌کنم که در کارهایتان موفق باشید!

دریغا که نوبرگ نتوانست چنانکه باید سهم خود را ادا کند. پس از بازگشت به اوپسالا اشتغالِ خاطر زیادی پیدا کرد، از جمله جستجوی آپارتمان، تهیه و تنظیم جزوه برای کلاس‌های دانشگاهی، خواندن سنگ‌نوشته‌های دربند (Derbend)، تدریس و کارهای اداری. با این حال، نامه‌های بلندی راجع به مانویّت و دربارهٔ «هرآنچه در میان زمین و آسمان یافت می‌شود» به شِدِر می‌نوشت.

دانشجویان جوانش درپاریس از جمله آندره‌وایدا (André Vajda) و هانری‌کُربن (Henry Corbin) بودند که پس از رفتن نوبرگ احساس کرده بودند که در آموزش زبان پهلوی اندکی بی‌سرپرست مانده‌اند. خانم کربن لطف کردند و نامه‌ای را که نوبرگ به تاریخ ۲ ژانویه ۱۹۳۰ به شوهرشان نوشته بود، در اختیار من گذاشتند. در این نامه نوبرگ از شنیدن اینکه سخنرانی‌های نه چندان مهم او در پاریس، چنان گرایش‌های فرخنده‌ای به ایران‌شناسی را برانگیخته، اظهار شادمانی کرده است:

من این را خوب می‌فهمم که بدون برابرنامه (glossaire) استفاده از **دستورنامهٔ** من مشکل است و دلم خیلی می‌خواهد که بتوانم آن را هرچه زودتر برای شما بفرستم تا با تاریکی‌هایی که به **اهریمنِ دُروند** (بدکار) (Ahriman i druvand) بر نوشته‌های پهلوی گسترده است بجنگید. دردا که این برابرنامه خود نیز می‌باید با موانعی چند درگیر شود که بدون شک آنها را هم اهریمن بر سر راه آن قرار داده است. بزرگترین مانع، کُندیِ کارِ چاپگر هولتسن هاوزن (Holzhausen) است.

برای کمک به دانشجویانِ فرانسوی‌اش پنج ورق از برابرنامه را برای آنها فرستاد و خواهش کرد که فهرستی از واژه‌هایی که به هیچ طریقی نتوانسته‌اند مفهوم آنها را روشن سازند تهیه کنند و برای او بفرستند. در ضمن حاضر شد به پرسش‌های آنان پاسخ گوید. نامهٔ بلندی است سرشار از پیشنهاد که در آن نوشته است: «برای چیره شدن بر دست و پاگیرترین مشکلات» که تأخیر در انتشار جلد دوم **دستورنامه** ایجاد کرده، «من در همین جا، در اوپسالا، در ششماههٔ گذشته یک دورهٔ زبان پهلوی تدریس کرده‌ام که در شش ماههٔ بعدی نیز ادامه خواهد یافت. اینجا، در اوپسالا، آموزش شفاهی جای خالیِ

برابرنامه را پُر می‌کند.»

دانشجویانی که از آنها سخن گفته است یکی استیگ ویکاندر (Stig Wikander) است و دیگری گئو ویدن گرن (Geo Widengren) که هر دو بهترین دانشجویان ایران پژوه نوبرگ بودند و تا هم اینک نیز در شمار بهترین‌ها باقی مانده‌اند. ژرژ دومزیل (George Dumézil)، ایران‌پژوه دیگر، در آن زمان استادِ مهمانِ زبان فرانسه در دانشگاه اوپسالا بود، ولی هیچگونه آشنایی با این سه تن نداشت و پس از جنگ جهانی دوم بود که با هر سهٔ آنان دوست شد.

نوبرگ در نامه‌اش به کربن نوشته است: «بزودی نخستین فصل **بُندهشن** را که رونویسی کرده‌ام، همراه با ترجمه و شرح و تفسیرهای من خواهید دید. دستنوشتهٔ آن نزد آقای بنونیست است و در آیندهٔ نزدیک در **مجله آسیایی** (Journal Asiatique) چاپ خواهد شد.» بنونیست در نامه‌اش به نوبرگ نوشت: «راستی زوروان (Zurvan) چه شد؟ دربارهٔ زوروان بنویسید! او را بیافرینید! از نیستی بیرونش بیاورید! تصویری سزاوارِ وی از او برای ما ترسیم کنید!» هر دو در نامه‌هاشان بیشتر از نمونه‌های چاپی، پیش‌نویس‌های تصحیح شده، و چاپ جداگانهٔ فصل نخستِ **بندهشن** سخن گفته‌اند:

«خوشوقت و سپاسگزارم از اینکه به ما اجازه داده‌اید متن سخنرانی‌هاتان را طبق ضوابطی که تعیین کرده‌ایم به چاپ برسانیم. همین که دستنوشته آماده شد برای ما بفرستید. من بلافاصله شیوهٔ نگارشِ آن را بازنگری می‌کنم و سریع به چاپ می‌سپارم.» ۳۱ مارس ۱۹۳۱ آن را دریافت کرد: «دستنوشتهٔ مهم شما رسید. با علاقهٔ تمام و همراه با ستایشِ فراوان آن را خواندم. شما کوشش عظیمی در روشن کردن مسئله تاریکِ روابط میان آیین مزدایی و زروانیّت به خرج داده‌اید. پیشرفت چشمگیر در این زمینه را مدیون کوشش شما هستیم»؛ **مسائل کیهان‌شناسی و کیهان‌آفرینی مزدایی**، سرانجام در دو بخش، یکی در سال ۱۹۳۰ و دیگری در سال ۱۹۳۱ در **مجلهٔ آسیایی** چاپ شد.

انتشار مجلّه اسکاندیناوی **جهان شرقی** (Le Mond Oriental) وقت زیادی از نوبرگ، سردبیر مجله، می‌گرفت. این کار را یک تنه انجام می‌داد. اگر جواب نامه‌هایش را دیر به دیر می‌نوشت بنونیست او را معذور می‌داشت:

«می‌دانم که مسؤولیت مجلهٔ **جهان شرقی** مجالی برای شما باقی نمی‌گذارد. مشکلِ پیدا کردن کسی که بتواند متن‌های کهن را ویرایش کند خاصِ سوئد نیست، این مشکل برای ما نیز در انجمن آسیایی همواره گرفتاری ایجاد می‌کند...» در مجلد سال ۱۹۲۹ مجله بیشترین گزارش‌ها را خود نوبرگ نوشته است. مقالات اساسی دربارهٔ مسیحا باوریِ (messianism) هند ـ و ـ ایرانی، مسائل مربوط به مانویّت و آیین مزدایی، همگی ثمرهٔ این دوره از فعالیت نوبرگ‌اند.

در نامه‌ای از بنونیست به نوبرگ آمده است: «سلسله گزارش‌های درخشان شما را در **جهان شرقی**

خواندم. تحلیل‌های باریک‌بینانه و بحث‌های موشکافانه و بکری که در پاسخ به پرسش‌هایی چنان گوناگون کرده‌اید، ستایش مرا برانگیخت.»

شِدِر نیز نوشت: «چه کسی از ما می‌توانست آن گونه بینش‌های شخصی دربارهٔ موضوعات گوناگونی که شما مطرح می‌کنید به دست دهد؟ گزارش‌های شما یک کتاب واقعی است!» نوشته‌های نوبرگ در زمینهٔ بازبینی و ویرایش متن‌های کهن برای کلاس‌های دانشگاهی «زتـرس‌ته‌ان» (Zetterstéen) جـزوه‌های درسی کاملی بودند و نوبرگ هرچه بیش‌تر مطمئن می‌شد که جانشین وی در دانشگاه اوپسالا خواهد بود. گئورگ یاکوب (George Jacob) از وی خواست که جای او را در دانشگاه کیل (Kiel) بگیرد، ولی نوبرگ نپذیرفت.

در سال ۱۹۳۰ ایران‌شناس بزرگ، مـارکوارت (Markwart) در یک تـصادف در بـرلن جـان سـپرد. هنگامی که مقامات آلمانی پس از پرس‌وجوی زیاد در اوپسالا، پیشنهاد کردند که نوبرگ جانشین او در برلن بشود، زِتِرس‌ته‌اِن پابرجا مخالفت کرد. سرانجام، شِدِر جای مـارکوارت را در دانشگـاه بـرلن گـرفت کـه دیرزمانی آن کرسی دانشگاهی را در اشغال خود داشت.

بنونیست در نامه‌ای نوشت: «از صمیم قلب آرزو می‌کنم که این کرسی استادی در اولین فرصت به شما واگذار شود. به نظر می‌رسد خود نیز چندان بی‌میل نیستید. عنوان‌های علمی شما به تنهایی کافی است برای آنکه این کرسی بی‌هیچ گفتگو به شما واگذار شود. این آرزو را به خاطر دوستی با شما نمی‌کنم. شما دانش زیادی دارید که عرضه کنید و برای همین است که این امکان را به شما خواهند داد. مطمئنم که بزودی این فرصت پیش خواهد آمد که به شما تبریک بگویم» در ژوئیه ۱۹۳۱ بدون مراسـم دور و دراز مـعمول در سوئد، نوبرگ به عنوان جانشین زترس ته‌ان تعیین شد و رقیبش، مُربک (Morbeck)، به کـار کشـیشی پرداخت.

بنونیست و شِدِر، بعنوان دو متخصص، تمام وقت خود را در اختیار نـوبرگ گـذاشـتند تـا او بـتوانـد پژوهش‌هایش را دربارهٔ ایران دنبال کند. آن دو، مانند گذشته، استاد زبان‌های ایرانی بودند و نوبرگ همچنان به تدریس زبان‌های سامی ادامه می‌داد. یک سر داشت و هزار سودا. هم به مطالعات عبرانی می‌پرداخت و هم به مطالعات آرامی و عربی. هم پژوهش‌های اسلامی‌اش را دنبال می‌کرد و هم دلبستهٔ پهلوی بود کـه چندی بعد پژوهش دربارهٔ دین‌های کهن ایرانی نیز به همهٔ آن مشغله‌ها افزوده شد. این تکه در پایان‌نامه‌اش به هانری کربن بسیار گویاست:

> آنچه دربارهٔ پژوهش‌های خود دربارهٔ «سهروردیِ مقتول» بـرای مـن مـی‌فرستید، بسـیار مجذوبم می‌کند. من همیشه دلبستهٔ این مطالعات بوده‌ام و امـیدوارم هـرچـه زودتـر، پس از پیمودن این باریکه راهِ ایران‌شناسی که در آن پا نهاده‌ام، دوباره آن مطالعات را از سر گیرم. از

سوی دیگر، بزودی پژوهش‌های استادمان گُلدزیهر دربارهٔ روابط آیین پارسیان (Parsisme) با اسلام را نیز می‌باید در مقیاس گسترده‌تری از سر گرفت.

در سال ۱۹۳۱، تنظیم برابرنامهٔ **دستورنامهٔ پهلوی** را به پایان رساند. بنونیست نوشت:

این یک اثر پایه‌ای است که از این پس شالودهٔ استواری برای واژه‌شناسی پهلوی خواهد بود. از این پس هر ایران‌شناسی راهنمای مطمئنی در دست خواهد داشت که می‌تواند از این ادبیات ممنوع -که ممنوعیّتش ناشی از نوشته‌های دشوارفهم آن است - استفاده کند. شما به ایران‌شناسی خدمتی ماندگار کرده‌اید. فقط متأسفم از اینکه این کتاب نیز مانند **پژوهش‌های ایرانی** (Iranische Beiträge) شِدِر دیر به دستم رسید و نتوانستم در چاپ جدید **دستور زبان فارسی باستان** که بزودی از چاپ درخواهد آمد، استفادهٔ مطلوبی از آن بکنم.

در ماه مه ۱۹۳۱ نوبرگ دربارهٔ «مزدا آیینیِ ساسانیان طبق منابع مسلمانان» درس - گفتارهایی (lectures) بنام کاتراک (Katrak) در پاریس داد. اما رئیس دانشگاه پاریس نتوانست تا ژوئن سال ۱۹۳۴ دستنوشتهٔ کامل آنها را دریافت کند. به گفتهٔ بنونیست: «نوبرگ هدف اعتراض و بازخواست دکتر کاتراک نیز بود.»

متن این سخنرانی‌ها تازه در سال ۱۹۵۶ به زبان انگلیسی و به صورت ناقص چاپ شد. این خود نشان می‌دهد که یک شرق‌شناس در سوئد چه بار سنگینی به دوش می‌کشد! پدرم، در عین حال عربی و عبری و دیگر زبان‌های سامی نیز تدریس می‌کرد. وظایف اداری و مسئولیت‌های سنگین دانشگاهی هم داشت. در سوئد یک شرق‌شناس می‌باید نقش اجتماعی نیز بازی کند، چون تنها نمایندهٔ کل جهان شرق به شمار می‌آید؛ مشاغلی را هم، از روی اعتمادی که به او هست، باید بپذیرد؛ هم‌چنین مناصب افتخاری را که ناگزیر از پذیرش آنهاست. بنونیست در نامه‌ای نوشت:

به خاطر دردسرهایی که مسؤولیت‌هاتان فراهم می‌کند، صادقانه با شما احساس همدردی می‌کنم. ولی امیدوارم که هرچه زودتر مقام بلندِ این افتخارات جانفرسا را به کس دیگری واگذار کنید. ایران‌شناسی به شما نیاز دارد و هر روز مسائل تازه‌ای در این زمینه مطرح می‌شود.

آن روزها، روزهای پیشاهنگ مطالعات زبان‌های ایرانی میانه بود: دوره‌ای حماسی. بنونیست در سال ۱۹۳۳ نوشت: «از هر طرف خبر کشفیات جدید می‌رسد: چاپ اسناد منتشر نشدهٔ گویش سَکایی در برلن، اسناد سغدی در روسیه، پاپیروس‌های (papyri) تازه در آلمان. ایران‌شناسی پیشرفت می‌کند.» در سال ۱۹۳۴، بنونیست به خاطر پژوهش درخشان نوبرگ دربارهٔ تقویم مزدایی که بلافاصله آن را خوانده بود، در نامه‌ای به وی تبریک گفت. هنگامی که دومنی دوبویسون (Dumesnil du Buisson) عکس‌هایی را که تازه از روی نقاشی‌های دیواری کنیسهٔ دورا (Doura) برداشته بود و حدس زده

می‌شد که به خط پهلوی باشند، در اختیار بنونیست قرار داد، بنونیست آنها را برای نوبرگ فرستاد، ولی نوبرگ دیگر وقتی برای پرداختن به آنها نداشت. از سال ۱۹۳۴ تا ۱۹۴۶ دیگر نوبرگ و بنونیست به یکدیگر نامه ننوشتند.

در سال‌های ۳۰ نوبرگ بیش از پیش به مطالعات عبرانی و Vertrotestamentaire روی آورد. دههٔ ۳۰، دههٔ کنگره‌های شرق‌شناسی در بُن و بروکسل و رُم بود. در سال‌های ۱۹۳۴ و ۱۹۳۶ و ۱۹۳۸ «روزهای شرق‌شناسان» (Orientalistentage) به ریاست پُل کاهله و با حضور افتخاری دانشمندان برجسته‌ای از فرانسه و انگلستان برگزار شد. هدف از برگزاری این مجلس‌ها کمک به مطالعات سامی‌شناسی و شرق‌شناسی در رایش سوّم بود. نوبرگ دشمنی خود را با رایش آلمان از سال ۱۹۳۳ آشکار ساخته بود، اما پیوندهایش با شرق‌شناسی آلمانی بیش از پیش محکم‌تر می‌شد. دوستی عمیقی با هانس هاینریش شدر داشت. این دوستی هنگامی که شِدِر به افسارگسیختگی نازی گرفتار آمد، به فاجعه انجامید و برای همیشه گسست. کاهله را از دانشگاهش بیرون کردند و دانشمندان یهودی یکی پس از دیگری از دانشگاه‌های آلمان ناپدید شدند. در نتیجه، نوبرگ رابطه‌اش را با همهٔ مجامع علمی آلمان برید و یکی از سرسخت‌ترین ضدنازی‌های سوئد شد.

با این حال، پژوهش‌های ایران‌شناسی نوبرگ در دههٔ ۳۰ با انتشار اثر استادانه‌اش زیر عنوان **دین‌های کهن ایران** در سال ۱۹۳۷ به اوج خود رسید. این اثر، ثمرهٔ یک رشته سخنرانی‌ها در اوپسالا به نام «سخنرانی‌های اولاوس پتری» (Conférences Olaus Petri) بود. کتاب را شِدِر در سال ۱۹۳۸به آلمانی ترجمه کرد. او برای شناساندن آثار دوستش نوبرگ در آلمان از هیچ کوششی فروگذار نکرد.

موضوع بخش بزرگی از زندگینامه‌ای که من [دربارهٔ پدرم] نوشته‌ام همین کتاب نوبرگ است که از زرتشت سیمای یکسره تازه‌ای به دست می‌دهد و همهٔ مباحثه‌ها و جدل‌هایی را هم که در پی داشت نقد و بررسی می‌کند. در اینجا نمی‌توانم همهٔ آن مطالب را بازگویم. کتاب را دانشوران بزرگی چون کرامرز (Kramers)، پتازونی (Pettazoni)، هارتمن (Hartmann) و دیگران به عنوان یک اثر استادانه پذیرا شدند و ستودند. درست پیش از جنگ دو ایران‌پژوهِ نازیِ دوآتشه نیز به نام‌های ووست (Wüst) و پاول (Paul) آن را محکوم کردند. پیش از جنگ هیچ‌کس در فرانسه کتاب را نمی‌شناخت.

در جنگ جهانی دوم کارهای علمی به سرنوشت دردناکی دچار شدند. بنونیست به سویس رفت و کاهله به انگلستان، خیلی‌ها سربه‌نیست شدند. نامه‌نگاری و داد و ستد کتاب ممکن نبود. در کشورهای اروپای شمالی همه در «زیریخ» کار می‌کردند. مورگنشتیرن (Morgenstiern)، پِدِرسِن (Pedersen)، کای بار (Kaj Barr)، و موینکل (Mowinckel) می‌کوشیدند تا از طریق کارت پستال بدون پاکت پستی با یکدیگر نامه‌نگاری کنند، ولی تیغ سانسور همواره بالای سرشان بود. در اوپسالا، مطالعات عبرانی گُل

کرده بود. ویدن گرن و ویکاندر (Wikander) کتاب‌هایی دربارهٔ ایران منتشر کردند. انو لیتمن (Enno Littmann) در توبینگن (Tübingen) تنها دانشمند آلمانی بود که نوبرگ در طول جنگ با وی نامه‌نگاری داشت.

وقتی جنگ پایان گرفت نامه‌نگاری‌ها میان دانشمندان کشورهای گوناگون آهسته - آهسته از سر گرفته شد. در این میان اوپسالا به خاطر حضور نوبرگ در آن ناگزیر نقشی کمابیش مرکزی بازی کرد. چاپ **دانشنامهٔ اسلام** از سر گرفته شد؛ کنفراس‌های بین‌المللی دوباره سازمان یافتند؛ کتاب‌ها و نشریه‌های جدید منتشر شدند.

بنونیست وارد فرانسه شد و شغل پیشین خود را در کولژ دوفرانس (Collège de France) بازیافت. ماسینیون سفر دور و درازی به سراسر شرق آغاز کرد و همه بر مرگ دانشمندان در اردوگاه‌های نازی دریغ خوردند. نوبرگ پافشاری می‌کرد که آلمان نتواند در این جنبش بیداری روح [شرق‌شناسی] شرکت جوید. سال‌ها طول کشید تا دوباره با شِدِر از در دوستی درآید. سرانجام، در سال‌های ۶۰ با آلمان آشتی کرد، کشوری که همیشه دانش (Wissenschaft) آن را ستوده بود و دوستان بسیاری در آنجا داشت.

طی جنگ با ایران‌پژوهِ دیگری از فرانسه بنام پردوماناش (Père de Menasce) مرتب نامه‌نگاری داشت. این پژوهشگر فرانسوی در سال ۱۹۵۷ به نوبرگ نوشت: «آقای محترم و همکار بسیار عزیز، از هر سو می‌شنوم که شما فعالانه برای دومین چاپ **دستورنامه**‌تان کار می‌کنید. پهلوی‌پژوهانِ نسل من نیک می‌دانند که چقدر به نخستین چاپ آن وام دارند و در نتیجه، نسبت به برتری چاپ دوم و سودمندی آموزشی آن شکی به دل راه نمی‌دهند.» نوبرگ، در دو دهه‌ای که از عمرش باقی مانده بود، بیشتر وقت و توان خویش را صرف بازنگری جلدهای یکم و دوم **دستورنامهٔ پهلوی** و انتشار قطعیِ **فرهنگ پهلویک** (Farhang_e Pahlavik) و نیز تنظیم فهرست ایده‌نگاری‌های (idéogramme) آرامی کرد.

این فهرست را از سال ۱۹۲۵ به دست گرفته بود و مرتب روی آن کار می‌کرد. پس از جنگ جهانی دوم ناگزیر به زبان انگلیسی روی آورد و از آنجا که زبان انگلیسی هرگز زبان دلپسند پدرم نبوده ناگزیر برای ترجمهٔ واژه‌های پهلوی به انگلیسی رنج بسیاری بر خود هموار کرد. به پایان بردن این اثر، در واقع، دیرپاترین ریاضت او در دوران پیری بود.

خانم‌ها، آقایان، به منظور بزرگداشت پدرم که به کشور فرانسه و زبان آن عشق می‌ورزید و همواره روش علمی و بی‌طرفانهٔ اندیشمندان آن را می‌ستود و نیز برای قدردانی از انجمن آسیایی که پدرم از سال ۱۹۲۸ عضو آن بود، می‌خواستم کتاب خودم زیر عنوان **هنریک ساموئل نوبرگ، زندگینامهٔ یک دانشمند**، از انتشارات «آکادمی سوئد» را به شما معرفی کنم. فکر می‌کنم با شرحی که دربارهٔ ارزش و مقام انجمن آسیایی، بویژه

امیل بنونیست، برای او داشتند و نیز با اعلام سپاس وی نسبت به هر دو، نظر وی را برای شما بازگو کرده باشم. چنانکه از پیش هم بیمناک بودم، کتابم هنوز از چاپ در نیامده و من امروز، با نمونه‌های چاپی آن در دست، پیشِ روی شما ایستاده‌ام. کتاب با پُست خواهد آمد. ولی از آنجا که نامه‌ها در این زندگینامه جای بس مهمی دارند، فتوکپی همهٔ نامه‌های امیل بنونیست، پردومناش و پُل کراوس (Paul Kraus) را برای آرشیو انجمن آسیایی، خدمت شما تقدیم می‌کنم. متشکرم.

ترجمهٔ علیرضا مناف‌زاده

نکته:

کلمه *massore* در زبان عبری با واژه «مأثور» در زبان عربی (از ثلاثی مجرد اثر) هم ریشه و هم‌معنی است و شایسته است در زبان فارسی نیز معادل این کلمهٔ عبری به صورت مأثور و مأثورات بیاید.

کامران فانی

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PAHLAVI TEXTS

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MN

hac

k'ln'mk' ZY. 'lthšdl ZY p'pk'n'.

kār-nāmak i Artaxšēr i Pāpakān.

PWN ŠM ZY d't'l 'whrmzd ZY l'd'wmnd ZY GDH-'wmnd.

pat nām i dātār Ohurmazd i rāyōmand i x^{u}arrahōmand.

I.

PWN k'l ŠM-k' ZY 'lhtšdl ZY p'pk'n' 'ytwn' npšt' YK'YMWN-'t' 'YK 'ḤL MN mlg

pat kār-nāmak i Artaxšēr i Pāpakān ētōn nipišt ēstāt kū pas hac marg

ZY 'lksndl ZY hlwm'yk 'yl'n' štr' 200 w 40 ktk' hwt'y YḤWWN-t'. sph'n' w

i Alaksandar i hrōmāyik ērān šahr 200 u 40 katak-x^{u}atāi būt. Spāhān u

p'ls w kwstkyh' ZY 'wbš nzdyktl PWN YDH ZY 'ldw'n' srd'l bwt'. p'pk'

Pārs u kustakihā i aviš nazdīktar pat dast i Ardavān sardār būt. Pāpak

mlcp'n' w štr'd'l ZY p'ls bwt' w MN gwm'ltk' ZY 'ldw'n' YḤWWN-t'. 'ldw'n

marzpān u šahridār i Pārs būt u hac gumārtak i Ardavān būt. Ardavān

PWN st'hl YTYBWN-st'. w p'pk' l'd hyc prdnd ZY ŠM bwlt'l L' bwt'. w s's'n'

pat Staxr nišast. u Pāpak rād hēc fradand i nām-burtār nē būt. u Sāsān

šp'n' ZY p'pk' YḤWWN-t' w hmw'l LWTH KYN'-'n' YḤWWN-t' w MN twhmk' ZY

šupān i Pāpak būt u hamvār apāk gōspandān būt u hac tōhmak i

d'l'y ZY d'l'd'n' YḤWWN-t'. w BYN dwšhwt'dyh ZY 'lksndl 'L wlyk' w nyh'n'

Dārāi i Dārāyān būt. u andar dušx^{u}atāyēh i Alaksandar ō virēk u nihān-

lwbšnyh YK'YMWN-'t' w LWTH kwltyk'n' šp'n'n' SGYTN-t'.

ravišnēh ēstāt u apāk kurtīkān šupānān raft.

p'pk' L' YD'YTN-st' 'YK s's'n' MN twhmk' ZY d'l'y ZY d'l'd'n' YLYDWN-t'

Pāpak nē dānist kū Sāsān hac tōhmak i Dārāi i Dārāyān zāt

YK'YMWN-yt'. p'pk' LYLY'-1 PWN hwmn ḤZYTN-t' cygwn 'MT hwlšyt' MN L'YŠH ZY

ēstēt. Pāpak šap-ē pat x^{u}amn dīt cigōn ka x^{u}aršēt hac sar i

s's'n' BR' t'pt' w hm'k gyh'n' lwšnyh 'BYDWN-x_1. 'ḤRN LYLY' 'ytwn' ḤZYTN-t'

Sāsān bē tāft u hamāk gēhān rōšnēh kart. an šap ētōn dīt

cygwn' 'MT s's'n' PWN pyl-1 ZY 'l'stk' ZY spyt' YTYBWN-st' YK'YMWN-'t' w KR'

cigōn ka Sāsān pat pīl-ē i ārāstak i spēt nišast ēstāt u har

MNW BYN kyšwl pyl'mwn' ZY s's'n' YK'YMWN-d 'SGDH 'wbš YDLWN-d w st'dšn'

kē andar kišvar pērāmōn i Sāsān ēstēnd, namāc aviš barēnd u stāyišn

w 'pryn' hm'y 'BYDWN-d. 'ḤRN stykl LYLY' hmgwnk' 'ytwn' ḤZYTN-t' cygwn

u āfrīn hamē kunēnd. an sitīkar šap hamgōnak ētōn dīt cigōn

ওয়েস্টার্ন – স্কোয়াড্রন – রেজিমেন্ট

৯

১ ফৌজদারি মামলা নং ৪৭/২০২৪ – রাষ্ট্র বনাম মেসার্স নূরানী ট্রেডার্স ও অন্যান্য

বাদী পক্ষের আইনজীবী জনাব সৈয়দ মাহবুব উল্লাহ খন্দকার, অতিরিক্ত পাবলিক প্রসিকিউটর, ঢাকা মহানগর দায়রা জজ আদালত, ঢাকা। আসামিপক্ষের আইনজীবী জনাব তানভীর আহমেদ চৌধুরী, এডভোকেট, ঢাকা বার অ্যাসোসিয়েশন। শুনানির তারিখ: ১৪ ফাল্গুন ১৪৩০ বঙ্গাব্দ, ২৭ ফেব্রুয়ারি ২০২৪ খ্রিস্টাব্দ। রায় প্রদানের তারিখ: ৩০ ফাল্গুন ১৪৩০ বঙ্গাব্দ, ১৩ মার্চ ২০২৪ খ্রিস্টাব্দ।

১. মামলার সংক্ষিপ্ত পটভূমি এই যে, বাদী পক্ষের অভিযোগ এই যে, আসামিগণ দীর্ঘদিন যাবৎ একটি সংঘবদ্ধ চক্র হিসেবে ভুয়া বিল-ভাউচার তৈরি করে ব্যাংক ঋণ আত্মসাৎ করার অপরাধে লিপ্ত ছিল। তদন্তে প্রাপ্ত তথ্য-প্রমাণ ও দলিলাদি পর্যালোচনা করে আসামিগণের বিরুদ্ধে ফৌজদারি কার্যবিধির ৪২৬ ধারা ও দণ্ডবিধির ৪২০ ধারা লঙ্ঘনের অভিযোগে অভিযোগপত্র দাখিল করা হয়। অভিযোগপত্র আমলে গ্রহণপূর্বক আসামিগণকে আইনানুগ পরোয়ানা জারি করা হয়।

২. আসামিগণ গ্রেপ্তার হয়ে জামিনে মুক্তি লাভ করেন। অভিযোগপত্র দাখিলের পর অভিযুক্ত ব্যক্তিগণের বিরুদ্ধে আদালত কর্তৃক অভিযোগ গঠন করা হয়। অভিযোগ গঠনের সময় আসামিগণ তাদের বিরুদ্ধে আনীত অভিযোগ অস্বীকার করে বিচার দাবি করেন। অতঃপর অভিযোগপক্ষ ১৫ জন সাক্ষী উপস্থাপন করে।

৩. বাদীপক্ষের মামলার সংক্ষিপ্ত বক্তব্য এই যে, আসামি মেসার্স নূরানী ট্রেডার্স-এর স্বত্বাধিকারী। তিনি তাঁর প্রতিষ্ঠানের নামে ভুয়া বিল-ভাউচার তৈরি করে ব্যাংক ঋণ আত্মসাৎ করেন। তদন্তে প্রাপ্ত তথ্য-প্রমাণ ও দলিলাদি পর্যালোচনা করে আসামিগণের বিরুদ্ধে ফৌজদারি কার্যবিধির ৪২৬ ধারা ও দণ্ডবিধির ৪২০ ধারা লঙ্ঘনের অভিযোগে অভিযোগপত্র দাখিল করা হয়।

৪. আসামিপক্ষের আইনজীবী বলেন, অভিযোগপক্ষের সাক্ষীগণ কেউই অভিযুক্ত ব্যক্তিগণের বিরুদ্ধে কোনো প্রত্যক্ষ অভিযোগ করেন নাই। দলিলাদি জব্দ তালিকা অনুযায়ী জব্দ করা হয়নি এবং দলিলাদি সাক্ষীর মাধ্যমে আদালতে উপস্থাপিত হয়নি। সুতরাং অভিযোগপক্ষ তাদের অভিযোগ প্রমাণে ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। অতএব, আসামিগণকে অভিযোগ হতে অব্যাহতি দেওয়া হোক।

৫. আমি উভয় পক্ষের শুনানি গ্রহণ করেছি এবং নথি পর্যালোচনা করেছি। নথি পর্যালোচনায় দেখা যায় যে, অভিযোগপক্ষের ১৫ জন সাক্ষীর মধ্যে ৭ জন সাক্ষী জেরার জন্য উপস্থিত হন। জেরায় তাঁরা স্বীকার করেন যে, তাঁরা আসামিগণের কোনো ব্যবসায়িক লেনদেন সম্পর্কে অবগত নন। দলিলাদি জব্দ তালিকা অনুযায়ী জব্দ করা হয়নি এবং দলিলাদি সাক্ষীর মাধ্যমে আদালতে উপস্থাপিত হয়নি। সুতরাং অভিযোগপক্ষ তাদের অভিযোগ প্রমাণে ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। অতএব, আসামিগণকে অভিযোগ হতে অব্যাহতি দেওয়া হোক।

৬. আমি উভয় পক্ষের শুনানি গ্রহণ করেছি এবং নথি পর্যালোচনা করেছি। নথি পর্যালোচনায় দেখা যায় যে, অভিযোগপক্ষের ১৫ জন সাক্ষীর মধ্যে ৭ জন সাক্ষী জেরার জন্য উপস্থিত হন। জেরায় তাঁরা স্বীকার করেন যে, তাঁরা আসামিগণের কোনো ব্যবসায়িক লেনদেন সম্পর্কে অবগত নন। দলিলাদি জব্দ তালিকা অনুযায়ী জব্দ করা হয়নি এবং দলিলাদি সাক্ষীর মাধ্যমে আদালতে উপস্থাপিত হয়নি। সুতরাং অভিযোগপক্ষ তাদের অভিযোগ প্রমাণে ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। অতএব, আসামিগণকে অভিযোগ হতে অব্যাহতি দেওয়া হোক।

৭. আমি উভয় পক্ষের শুনানি গ্রহণ করেছি এবং নথি পর্যালোচনা করেছি। নথি পর্যালোচনায় দেখা যায় যে, অভিযোগপক্ষের ১৫ জন সাক্ষীর মধ্যে ৭ জন সাক্ষী জেরার জন্য উপস্থিত হন। জেরায় তাঁরা স্বীকার করেন যে, তাঁরা আসামিগণের কোনো ব্যবসায়িক লেনদেন সম্পর্কে অবগত নন। দলিলাদি জব্দ তালিকা অনুযায়ী জব্দ করা হয়নি এবং দলিলাদি সাক্ষীর মাধ্যমে আদালতে উপস্থাপিত হয়নি। সুতরাং অভিযোগপক্ষ তাদের অভিযোগ প্রমাণে ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। অতএব, আসামিগণকে অভিযোগ হতে অব্যাহতি দেওয়া হোক।

। দেখাই দেখাশুনা দেখেনা মনে মনে ঠিকই সাজাও।
। ঈশ্বর যে ঘুমন্ত সাপের ন্যায় কুণ্ডলী পাকিয়ে। সংসারে
১২ বেশ সেখানেই না বাঁধুন-গৌরাঙ্গ। ক্রোঞ্চের ঘুমন্তা। ক্ষেত্রে।
সন্ন্যাস সন্ন্যাসেরা মনে «হে মন্ত্র কুঞ্জ সন্তানের শেষের সাজা»।
বেশের ঈশ্বরে পা বেশে। উদাসীন-ন সংসারেই বেশ
বাঁধছে বেশাচারে সাজা। সংসারেই বেশ কুমারে।
বেশের না। নিজেরে- ঘুমন্ত। অন্তরে। বেশাশ্রে বেশে যে ঈশ্বর এই
০৩ সংসে। ঘুমেরে ঘুমে। বেশসারে +বেশেরে। বেশ-বেশ বেশে বেশের —
শ্রীরাধা বিনা। বেশেরে বেশের যে বেশেরা মনে বেশ ঈশ্বর ঈশ্বর। না
০৮ সন্ন্যাসীরা সন্ন্যাস। এ বেশেরা সাজাও মনে «বেশভূষা»। বেশের
১.১ । বেশের বেশেরা মনে এ বেশ ন বিশ্বের। বেশবৃন্দে। সংসে
বেশের বেশের। বেশের সেখানে বেশে। বেশেরা মনে «সাধু না বেশের সেখানে»
১১ মনে»। বেশের ঈশ্বরের। বেশেরা যে বেশে উদাসী বেশে — বেশের
বেশেরা যে বেশের বেশের। সংসে বেশেরাই মনে«ও এবং। ঈশ্বর। বেশ বেশ
সংসেরে। বিশ্বেরা। ন যে সংসে-সাধুরা যা বেশসংসারে। সংসেরে বাধা।»।
বেশে বেশেরাই। বেশেরেরা মনে «যে যা ঘরের বাঁধছে। ঈশ্বর সন্ন্যাস — ?» যা
বেশের ঈশ্বরে যে বেশের বেশের সংসারে সংসারে। বেশের বেশের।
১৪ ১.১৮ । সংসারে। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের।
সংসেরে। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের।
বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের। বেশের।

৯৮৫৬ সেই। হেসমেরা । হেসমাত্র দ্বে দেনা ৮ সেমেন সেমেনেরা০
সংগ্রহে সেন্ন ৮ ঐ ঐ সেমেন সেমেন্ন সেমেন্ন সেমেন্ন ঐ ঐ ৮৮ ৮৮ ৮৮

এবং সেখানে ছিলো। তখন ইবরাহীম তিনি। সেখানে ও যে সেখানে
১২ থেকে তিনি বললেন। আমি যে তখন। আমি ইবরাহীম। সেখানে তিনি
11.V সেখানে এলাকা যে বাইরে তিনি ও ও করলেন।:হায় কিন্তু সেখানে যা
করেছিলে। ছিলেন তিনিও। যা তার হায়রা তখনো — সেখানে বাইরে তিনি
সেখানে যে — বাইরে তিনি তাকে ইবরাহীম। তিনি তখন। তিনি তার
.05 বলে — ও। যে তখন ছিলেন সঙ্গিনীরা ইসাইয়া। যাওয়ার:। ছিলেন

বিবরণ পর করলেন»।০০
০২ সব হয়েছিল। বিশ্বাস ইসাইয়া। যাওয়া তার যা তা বে সারা
.11S ওয়েস্ট বলেননি—আমা। বাইরে শুরু—। যে বে ও যখন থেকে
। ওরেন মনেননি— কি ছিলেন যা তার। সব। উঠে। মেয়েরা কি-
.1.V যাওয়া ও যা যে বাইরে।০।। তে যাওয়ার ঈশ্বর সব যে। তে
যাওয়া করলেন সব। ও সময় ওখানে করছিলে পর তাদের যা
১১ বাবা। — ও হয়ে থেকে ও বাবা। যাওয়া আর বলে হয়ে।০ নিজে
ঈশ্বর যা বাবা বলছিলো যাওয়া বলে। ওর যেখানে হয়েছিলো —
.01S ঈশ্বরের। তার জন্যে বা ওরকে ও হয়ে যে।:বলে বেশিরভাগ
০১ বলে যা বলেন (৮) যে বেথেলের তার যাওয়া বলে বে যে
বলতো যাওয়ার। বলে এবং জন্যে যাওয়া বলেছিলেন উনার যে
যে প্রমাণের। বলে এই কিছু ঈশ্বরের উনার তিনি যে —
.A.9 বেথেলের সারাহের সব যেখান ঈশ্বরের।।ববকিতাব
উপহার। ভালোবেসেছিলেন যে ইয়েছে»০
১ । ছিলেন সব «তুমি সব যে। যেতে ও ইয়েছে ও বললেন যে তার
দখলীয়ের০ বলে বেথেলের যে যে সময় ও বললেন ভালোবেসেছিলেন
এসেছিলো। সময় ও যে বেথেলের যে সারাহর যে বললেন
। উপহারে যা সারাহের দেখবেন»০ বেথেল ও যে ঈশ্বরের—
.0S ওর০ ৫। যে যেখানে ঈশ্বরের ইসাইয়া। ঈশ্বর:। ছিলেন—

ঠাকুরদাকে" (৪১) দেখে ঐ দৃশ্যের নেপথ্যে যে ইতিহাস ও তার চিত্র
শরৎচন্দ্র ও রাজীব বিশ্বাস ও রাজেশ্বরী মুখার্জি ও তাঁদের পুত্রকন্যা (সন্তান)"গণ— যা যে 52
ঠাকুরদা। তাঁরই পুত্রের তারুণ্যের (সন্তান)"গণ— যা যে দেখে ও শুনে মনেপ্রাণে ও বাস্তবে তারুণ্য সন্তান হিসেবে তাঁরই পুত্র বাঁচিয়ে তারুণ্য সন্তান হিসেবে তাঁরই পুত্র বাঁচিয়ে তারুণ্য ও তারুণ্য মনেপ্রাণে। বাস্তবে তাঁরই পুত্র সুমনের মধ্যে তাঁরই পুত্র বাঁচিয়ে তারুণ্য। শরৎচন্দ্রের প্রিয় চরিত্র বিন্দুর পুত্র ইন্দ্রনাথ বিন্দুর পুত্র সুমনের মধ্যে তাঁরই পুত্র বাঁচিয়ে তারুণ্য। শরৎচন্দ্রের অমোঘ বাণী ও বিশ্বাস ও রাজীব বিশ্বাস ও রাজেশ্বরী মুখার্জি ও তাঁদের পুত্রকন্যা (সন্তান)"গণ— যা যে 51
তারই প্রতিনিধি মুখার্জি পুত্র বেনী ঘোষ বলেন— তারুণ্য সন্ত
শরৎচন্দ্র শুভদৃষ্টিতে। তুমি কেন (পুত্র) নীলকণ্ঠের শুভবাহনে»০
শরৎচন্দ্র। তারাশঙ্কর— ১৯৪৭ পুত্র তারাশঙ্কর চট্টোপাধ্যায়। ওরে তুমি
। পুত্র শরৎচন্দ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায়। ঐ ঐতিহ্য যে সত্যিকার সন্ত
ও ব্যক্তি। শরৎচন্দ্র ভাব-ভাবনা। শুধু কথাশিল্পী। 13.S
শরৎচন্দ্র। তারাশঙ্কর শরৎচন্দ্র যেমন সুস্থতার পথিকৃৎ। তাঁর ০১
«ঠাকুরদা সারাদেশ। তথাকথিত শরৎচন্দ্র যেমন বিশ্বাস করেন। 12.V
+। শরৎচন্দ্র— যে ১৯৬৯»০ শরৎচন্দ্রের মুখের ভাষা তারুণ্য সন্ত
শরৎচন্দ্র— তথা তথা ভাঁড়া শরৎচন্দ্র। বেনী— তথাকথিত। প্রবন্ধ— শরৎ
শরৎচন্দ্র। ঠাকুরদা। শরৎচন্দ্র। বেনী— তথাকথিত। প্রবন্ধ— শরৎ
বেনী বিশ্বাসের। তাঁরাদের সন্ত« ঐ ঐসব শরৎচন্দ্রের তা প্রবন্ধ —
শরৎচন্দ্র ঠাকুরদা। শরৎচন্দ্রের— তা যে যেন আলো পুত্র 4
। শুধু যেমন পুত্র তাঁর— শরৎ ঠাকুরদা।০
পুত্র ঠাকুরদা— শরৎচন্দ্রে ঠাকুরদা। ঐ ঠাকু যে শরৎচন্দ্রে বিশ্বাস
শরৎচন্দ্র তারা। ঠাকুরদা— ঠাকুরদা। শরৎচন্দ্র ১৯৩৮০ তারাশঙ্কর ঐসব। তা 5 12.
শরৎচন্দ্রে তারা। ঠাকুরদা— ঠাকুরদা। শরৎচন্দ্র ১৯৩৮০ তারাশঙ্কর ঐসব। তা 5 12.

ومكتبى ومكتبى ومكتبى

ताहला सह « हद तुझ र सर्वसत्र+समाज मरून घ्या ! दाखवाच. तसे
+ही ह्या लवला राजा ? » लग्न व उत्सवात लाबलेला उत्सवात S20.
१ ताहला सह « मराठ सह सभेत र उत्सवा सभाधीन . तसे हद र ५१
लगला +आणि केवळ केस लवलाच » . मराठा सावाला ब्रह्मचारला
सह « हिंदीचा ! सभाला उभा राजा र सलाख केस इंग्लंडा सभाधून A. 18
« हद र सभेत ह्या तुरुन तसे राजा लवला सभाधून ? » हिमला उत्तला
१ सभेसलवला . ह्यत पुन्हा सभा तुरुन्हला उभा व केलेल्या लाबलेला सह
लवला सभेला घ्या दाखवा » . मराठा ठरीव घ्या ——— लवलेला ०२
घ्या लगतलला . सलाईन सह इं वा वर्ष लक्षात उंच इंग्लंडा
लवेत लवात व सपूर्ण केस लवाबला र व हद इतावर्षात लाला
सलाला उभा राजा र सलाख ! सर्वसत्र तसे राजा लवलला +आणि र .६१ 19.
सभेसत्र र पुन्हा वाबला या लवाला ह्या केसा तसे ? » स- ५१
हला सह घ्या र लाख लवेल लवला . लग्न लाबलेला सह « हद र
लाख र सभेसत्रात सभेला . ह्यत हिंदीचा लला पुन्हा घ्यलला-
सभेसा केव्हा केसा र सभेत लवला सत्रेत सभलला . घ्या पुन्हा लाख A.17
हद सभेला घ्या लाराला » .
र लाख्या सभा . सभा इं सर २६ सभेला घ्या लाख्यात सपूर्ण व ०१
+ही ह्या लवला राजा ? » . लग्न व उत्सवात लाबलेला उत्सवात
१ ताहला सह « मराठ सह सभेत र उत्सवा सभाधीन . तसे हद र ५१
+आणि केवळ केस लवलाच » . मराठा सावाला ब्रह्मचारला
सह « हिंदीचा ! सभाला उभा राजा र सलाख केस इंग्लंडा सभाधून

هذه الأرضين في كتاب إقليدس بمقدماتها المعلومة — يا
٤٢ في نسبة أرضين متفاضلتين لها حد مقدار واحد هذه
هذه في حدّ +المقدمة. في هذه المقدمة ذكرنا أن المتوسط
هذه المقدمة بنسبة معينة كذا في إقليدس ٥ بنسبة
هذه المقدمة في المقدمة. ثمّ نبين أن مقدار المتوسط
في مقدار في المقدمة. ثمّ نبين أن مقدار المتوسط
.44S وضعنا أن لها الخطّ وفرضنا خطوط ابتدائها نواياها. فنسبة
٤١.٧ ٥٢ أو وسطيهما في المقدمة ٥ المقدمة في مقدار في كتاب المقدمات
في تأليف مقدماته ٥ فنسب فنسب أيضا في واحدها — وكيف
.٤٣.٧.٤٥ منها أن كل(ن) مقدارين كل واحد منهما مثلا مثل
.XI

مقدماته ٥٥

مقدمتها كتاب المقدمة في المقدمة أن مقدار
.٤٠.٧ ٤١ مقدماتها في المقدمة ٥ منها أن كل واحد منهما
مقدار أيضا في مقدار مقدار مقدار مقدار
.12S وأيضا مقدار مقدماته ٥ لما نبين أن مقدار
٥١ أيضا؟» ٥ فيتعارف تأليف بنسبة « مقدار كتاب مقدمتين. ثمّ في
في فيتعارف مقدمتها بنسبة « كل +واحد عدد — كتاب لما مقدار في
١ ثلاثة كتابين لما مقدمة مقدمتين مقدمتها نواياها» ٥ مقدار
.19.٧ فيتعارفها بنسبة: مقدار في إقليدس مقدار +واحد وأن مقدار
بنسبة « فيما في إقليدس ثمّ في مقدمة مقدار مقدار
٥ وضعنا في مقدار مقدار مقدار مقدار مقدار
وضعنا في مقدار مقدار ٥ مقدار كتاب مقدار في كتاب

সংস্কৃতে। সংস্কৃতে। ইসাও বাস র ঈশ্বর যা হে গুরুত্ব দেওয়া
অসম্ভবে। হে চাঁদ ও ভগবা বৃষ্টি ও বৃষ্টি র সংস্কৃতে বৃ ঈশ্বর
জিহ্বেতে সত্যের উত্তম সংস্কৃ র নামে যে রেখো। তে বৃ ভগবা হে
নমস্কার। নমস্কারাত্মা উচ্চারণ। সত্যের প্রাণ্ড সঙ্গে যোগ্য রাখা ভগবান র 33A
রক্ষিতা নমস্কারাত্মা। এই যা প্রেম্ — সংস্কৃতে। প্রথমে। দেবতার ঈশ্বর। 47S
সংস্কৃতে ও নরকে তাহেরা। দানেরা যে সাধা উত্তা ভগ নাম নরা হে
বাসা। হে সর ভগবে র নারায়ণ ও বৃষ্টি প্রেরণ বাসা। এখন
যেখে সমস্ত হবন সাধন গায়ত্রেরা সৃজেনেরা সঙ্গে শ্রদ্ধাও শরণ্যা
ভাগ্য র সৃষ্টির অন্যান্য হে ঈশ্বা যা হে গুরুত্ব সম্বন্ধে

বাসা (৮) সাত র তে সব ঈশ্বরে প্রেমিকভাবে সমাপ্ত ॥০
ঈশ্ব র নিমন্ত্রণ বৃ ভগবা বিদ্যা। নমস্কার নমস্কার যে তেমনা 51
সমস্ত বৃ সত্যা। বিশ্ব। প্রাণ র ভগবা সত্যের। তে যেমা নমস্কার. 46S
প্রভাবের। তে হে ঃ র বাস র যেখানে র বিদ্যার সংস্কৃতে — যেখে 43A
এবা ও সৃষ্টির বৃ হে ভগবান। ভগবৎপ্রেমে প্রেমের যে ভূমি
ইচ্ছে র তোর প্রভাবে। ও যে বাস নমস্কারে। প্রভাবের আমা
। যে সমস্ত নমা কৃষ্ণ যেখে বাস শরণ্যের র সংস্ — বৃ০
। বা (৮) সংস্কৃতে। হে সংস্কারের। প্রভাপ্রেমে ভগবান সৃ নমা
যা যে সহ সত্যের প্রেমের প্রভা র যে সত্য উপ্রে র যে বাসা
ও যে যে — যা সহ নমস্ যা তেমের নমস্কার শরণ্যের সমাপ্তে
। সংস্কৃতের র যে যেখে। অসত্যের ইচ্ছের হে সত্যে ও সংস্কৃ
কর প্রেমের যেখে যে ভগবৎপ্রেমে প্রভাব বাস নর ভাব নর সহ দর্শন্ 45S.
যা +সত্যের প্রেম বাসাবৃ — নর নাশ্যের ও ঈশ্বরে বাস সংস্কার
যে ভগবৎপ্রেমে যা বৃ র ইচ্ছের যথেষ্টরূপে অন্যান্য। এই তৃপ্তে
সত্যের। সংস্কে প্রেমের্ঃ। হে র ভালবাসা যেখানে র যে — এ 43A
যথার্থ। নমস্কার। হে। যাক র। প্রভাব র বাস যে যা হে সংস্কৃতে
যা বৃত্ত। যথার্থ। বৃ। যাক। প্রভাব — যা সংস্কৃতের

سرسر سدهى چىا ००

A.٤٧ سىسرىسىد ئىچ؛ سرىىىاىا ىەس ھىس ىەكىيا اۋ اچ ئىىىا ۋ
٤٤ ئىسا ۋ ئىىىا چىا ىەس ئاچ <ۋ> ىەچد ىەسۋىرىچ ئىىىا० ىەس
S.50. «ىچ اىئىچ ۋىكىيىچىىس-ئىىىا. اچ ىىچىس-چۋىچچ؛سىد ئىاا٦०० ھىد
+اىەئىچ ۋىكىيا ىەس-اىئىىا ىاىا ىەس اچ اىئىچ ۋ +اىەئىچ ئىرىىا ىىھ
ىرىىىاىىىا ىىھ سىسرىسىد ىىچىىچ ۋىد ۱ چ ىد اچ ىەىىىچىىس
ئىئىىاىىىا. ىەس-ىد اىئىچ ئىس ئىس ئىىىاىىا ىەس ىەا ىىىىا ۋ
ھىىا ئىس چىىاىىىا ىىىاىىىا ئىس ىەىىىا० ھچ ىەا اچ چىكىىىا
« ىىاىىىا ئىىاىىىا. ىچ اىئىچ ىەاىىىىا ىىىىا० ئىىىچ اۋ ىد ـــ
٤١ اىئىچىىىا اىىىا. ئىىىچ اچ ىەىىىىا ـ سىسرىسىد اىىىىا ۱ ئىىىىا ىھ
S.49. ىەىىىا ئىىىىا؟» ०| چىىىىىا چىىىىىا ئىىىىىا ىىىىى

X.

مكتوب الى الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة الفهامة الحبر الهمام الفاضل الكامل الشيخ محمد بن عبد الله الشرقاوي الشافعي الازهري مفتي الديار المصرية وشيخ الجامع الازهر المعمور بالعلم والعلماء والصلحاء والاولياء والعباد والزهاد والعارفين والمحققين والمدققين والمتبحرين والمتقنين والمتورعين والمتقين والمتصوفين والمتشرعين والمتحلين والمتخلين والمتجملين والمتكملين والمتواضعين والمتخشعين والمتضرعين والمتهجدين والمتعبدين والمتنسكين والمتزهدين والمتبتلين والمتوكلين والمتوسلين والمتشفعين والمتوددين والمتحببين والمتعطفين والمتراحمين والمتحابين والمتصافين والمتصادقين والمتآخين والمتآلفين والمتجاورين والمتجالسين والمتحادثين والمتذاكرين والمتناظرين والمتباحثين والمتناصحين والمتواصين والمتعاونين والمتكافلين والمتضامنين والمتعاضدين والمتساندين والمتعاهدين والمتواثقين والمتحالفين والمتعاقدين والمتبايعين والمتشاورين والمتآمرين والمتحاكمين والمتخاصمين والمتنازعين والمتجادلين والمتكلمين والمتفكرين والمتدبرين والمتأملين والمتعلمين والمتفقهين والمتعلق

ইসম্ন নসরাসন্ন ওহেবেন রহুল বাবা। ঈ নবসম্ন ইসেমা বাহুম ঈগুবাবা ম্ন ঈরেওসা নবেন ভবা»। নবসম্ন ঈ চাসু নবেবেবসাসন্ন ন

52 নসনসবন্ন বেহেবসন্নে। বসা ন নবেবা বসাবেবা ঘাম্ন নাঘন্ন — নবেবা ভবা ন্ন নন্নে নবসম্ন। ঈসাবেবা যে ভবা ঘা বেবা ম নবেন্নে — নসন্ন ন বেবেঈবেন্নে বন্ন নবেবসন্ন নবেন্নেবা। চবেন্ন ভবা ন্

ও দাশুরথি র ভবাণী র যেন বেসরি সহস্র বাণ সন্ধেনা দেখা ঔষধে
ঔষধে হত প্রাণ্ড্রমাধবের রাজপুত্র সন্ধে « হত নহে সুবোধ সন্ধে হত ২৭৮
ঔষধ র মুরারি রাজপুত্র সৌভাগ্যের ০ সৌভাগ্যে

ভবিষ্য সেবে বুদ্ধ র যেন র সৌভাগ্যে ভবা ও পুরোহিত্য র .14 S

। মুরারি ও ঘোষ র ভবাণী র সাবাশবাসের . সাধন বিশেষ যে সেখানে ০
র যে সাধন প্রাণ সন্ধে" এই সাধনের বুদ্ধ বর দাশুরথি . মুরারি ও যে
সাধনের> বুদ্ধ যে কেবল?০ বা সেবে যেন ভবে । এই রাজপুত্র প্রাণ ০২
যা এই ভবে সেখানের সন্ধে "সাধনের র সেখে দেখা যা বিশ-
প্রাণ রাজপুত্র রাজ বুদ্ধে রাজপুত্র সন্ধে « যে সাধনে র সেখেছিল
র মুরারি প্রভাবের বিষয় শুদ্ধের বুদ্ধে রাজপুত্র সন্ধে বুদ্ধে বুদ্ধে
দেখা যা বিশ্বাসের ০ বাদে র সৌভাগ্যে শুধু বুদ্ধ বেদে র সেখেছিল র সেখে ২১
সাধনে ভবা» ০ রাজপুত্র বাদে র ও সাবাশবাসের র যাবার বুদ্ধ যেন র .14 S

সাধেছিলেন বাদে রাজপুত্র সাধাবাবা । যাবার ও এই যেন র সাধনে
শুধুরের ভবা সাধের । সেখেবা রাজপুত্র বেলা ০ এই ভবিষ্যে ২৫৮
যেন (র> যেন যে বেদনের রাজপুত্র সাধাবাবা—(র> সেখে যেবা
ভবাবা (র> বাণ্ডবা . বাদে রাজপুত্র যাবেবেবা ০ সাধ সেবা সন্ধে ও ০১
বাবাবেবা »০ রাজ সাধেছিল সন্ধে«ও ঘোষবা । রাজপুত্র বিবাহ.
বেদনের রাজপুত্র সন্ধে সেখে যেবা যা বাবাবেবাবা বাদে যেবেবা
+ ঘোষবা সাধেছিলেবাবে যেবাবা সন্ধে « বুদ্ধ বেবাব ও বেখেছে যে
যেবে রেখেবে । বাদে রাজপুত্র বাবাবেবা ঔষ হত ভাব বেবেছে
। ঔষধে ঔষধে ;বাবেবাবে সাব যাবা বাবে বাবেবা বুদ্ধ ২৫৮
ভবেছিল । যেবাবেবা বেবে যেবে সাবেবাবে র সেখে ;যেবা যাবা০ .14 S

বুদ্ধ ও হত সৌভাগ্যে বুদ্ধ যাবেবা বাবেবা ইবেবা । বাদে
বুদ্ধ । যাবা ও বেবে বুদ্ধ ভাব । সেবেবা বুদ্ধ বাদে র যাবাবা যাব যেবাবা । বাদে
সেবেবা বেবে বুদ্ধ র যাবেবা সেবেবা সেবেবা ও সেবেবা সেবেবা সেবেবা

ઇષ્ટ ત્રણ ત્રણેજ । દ્રવ્યોમાં અન્ય સ્પર્શવાળા»૦ સમસ્તમાં શ્વેતાવો વાયુ.

52 સમસ્તમાં તત્રના સ્પર્શ « સહવા ત્રે ઉત્તર ક્રિયાવાળા । અન્ય સ્પર્શવાળા ઇ

.193 ત્રણ પરિણમે ઇચ્છાવા । ત્રણ વાયવ્યાં ત્રિ દ્વયણુકાવાળા૦ | સમસ્તમાં ત્રે

સ્પર્શ « ત્રિત . ત્રિ ત્રિણ . ત્રેણ અન્ય ન છે ત્રણ અને ત્રિ સ્પર્શવાળા»૦ વાયવ્યો

। ત્રિદ્રવ્યણ <૧> દ્વિસ્પર્શણ ત્રિ સ્પર્શવાળી સમાન ત્રણ ત્રે વાયવ્યો ત્રણેવા

સ્પર્શ . ત્રિણ્ય <૧> દ્વયાણુમાં અન્ય ત્રણસ્પર્શવાળા»૦ સમસ્તમાં અનુણ્ય

52V 02 ત્રણ | સ્પર્શ . સ્પર્શવા ન ચતુર્થમાં સાવા । સ્પર્શ ત્રિણ . ઇ ન અન્ય

1 સમસ્તમાં ત્રણ સમસ્તવા । સ્પર્શ્ય ચતુર્થવા . તત્રના સ્પર્શ « ત્રાવ્યસ્તવા

ત્રણેવ ત્રા અને ઇચ્છાવા ત્રણ્યવા૦ વાયવ્યો સ્પર્શ સમસ્તમાં

સમાવા । અન્ય સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શવા । દ્વિસ્પર્શણમાં ત્રિ અન્ય સ્પર્શ સમાવા૦

.091 15 વાયવ્યો સ્પર્શ સમાવા૦ +અણુમાં <ત્રિ> વાયવ્યો ત્રા | ત્રેણ્ય ન દ્વિસ્પર્શ

સ્પર્શ ત્રણ્ય ત્રેણ્ય સમસ્ત સમાસ્તમાં ત્રે ત્રિ સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શ ત્રા

સ્પર્શસ્પર્શમાં ત્રે ત્રિ સ્પર્શ સમાવા . ત્રે ત્રણ્ય ઇચ્છાવા । સમ્ય ન

A 55V +અણુમાં । અન્ય ત્રેણ્યમાં ત્રિ સ્પર્શ સમાસ્તમાં ન

XII.

ત્રણ <સ્પર્શ> ય સ્પર્શણ સ્પર્શમાં સ્પર્શ । સ્પર્શણ્ય સમાવા૦૦

.01 અન્ય . <ત્રા> વાયવ્યો ત્રિણ । ઇણવા । દ્વિસ્પર્શણ । સ્પર્શ ત્રિ । ત્રેણ્ય સ્પર્શવા

સ્પર્શવા૦ । સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શ્ય સમાવા વાયવ્યો ત્રે ઇણવા ન સ્પર્શમાં

સ્પર્શવા । સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શ ઇણવા૦ ત્રેણ્ય સ્પર્શવા વાયવ્યો . વાયવ્યો ત્રણસ્પર્શ

.659 4 ત્રે ત્રિણ્ય અણવાવાળા સ્પર્શમાં <ત્રે> ત્રેણ્ય | સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શવાળા સ્પર્શ

સ્પર્શવાળા ન અણવાવાળા ત્રણ . ઇણમાં સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શ ત્રણ

5 ત્રિણવા । સ્પર્શણ સ્પર્શવા ન અન્યવા સ્પર્શવા સ્પર્શ . સ્પર્શવાવા૦

ત્રણ્યણ સમાવ્ય ન અન્યવા ત્રે સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શ્ય સ્પર્શવા ન

સ્પર્શવા । સ્પર્શણ સ્પર્શવા ન સ્પર્શ્ય સ્પર્શ સ્પર્શ ત્રણ ન ત્રે સ્પર્શ૦ સ્પર્શ ત્રે

સમાવા૦ અ અન્યવા ન ત્રણ્ય વાયવ્યો ઇણ ન ત્રિણ

S 64. নিজে ৫ ঢাং নমা সরুম যে ওখাঁলো গড়ায়লো।৹ নমরাম্ল ঞেঁথুৎ
যে ঢা নয় চামু গমরাঁলো মধ্যাড় ০ য় সরুম ছাঢ়ং ৮ ভলাগ্রা
«৫ নোয় ৮ ভলাগ্রা ৮ মাশুঁহরমা মধ্যাড় । য় চিঁ ৮ শুঁথুসগুং[52]
নমরাম্ল চ্রলা সহ« ঈমরম্ল . । সুৎ থঁশু।৹ ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ
ঈমরম্ল গমাঁরলো ছা থা । সরু ৮ ৫ ঢ়ং গুরুলা নিম ঞ্চাড়।৹৹
ঞাড়াগ্ল নমঁহ ঞ্চুগ্রম যে গমাঁহ্ব।৹ ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ«নমঁহ
। ঢ়ুলা । ঢ়ুঁথাওম ৮ ঞ্চ সরা যে গমাঁরলো। ঘা নিম ঞ্চর গুরুলা
সহ« যে গুরুলা ঞ্চাড়াগ্ল . ঞ্চ ঢ়ুমরাং ৮ ঞ্চুগুঁথুম নয় মাং ঢ়ুঁথো[53]
ঞ্চুগুঁথুং মধ্যাড় ৮ ছা নয় ঞ্চরাম ওখাঁঞ্চলো।৹ নমরাম্ল চ্রলা
ঞ্চ ঞ্চ ছাঢ়ুগ্রা ৮ ঞ্চ মধ্যাগ্রম।৹ ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ« ৫ নোয়৮নয়
S 63. ঞ্চুলমগুগ্রা।৹ নমরাম্ল ঢ়ু ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ« গুরুলা ঞ্চাড় সহ
ঞ্চুলমগুগ্রা।৹ নমরাম্ল চ্রলা সহ« ৫ ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ« ৫ নোয় ৮ ৫ ঢ়ং সরম
। ঞ্চাড় নুগ্রম ৮ ঢ়ুলা । ঈমরাগ্ল সরাঁ ঈমা ঞ্চ০ নমরাম্ল ৮
সমাঁলা সহ ঞ্চ ঞ্চ সুঞ্চলা সরাঁ সমাঁরম্ল নুগ্রা ঞ্চাড় ঢ়ুঁথো[54]
নমরাম্ল নিম সঢ়ুঞ্চলা রাম ঢ়ু ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ« ঞ্চ ঞ্চ সরাঁগ্রম
« মাগুগ্রা গমাঁরলো। নমরাম্ল ৫৮ ঞ্চুলমগুগ্রা ঞ্চুঞ্চলা ঞ্চমগুঁ।৹৹
নুগ্রা ৮ নমরাম্ল ঞ্চলা। রাম নুঁ সরঞ্চলা। ঞ্চাঁনা ঘাঁলা। চ্রলা সহ
৮ নমরুঁঢ়ুগ্রম গমাঁরা ঞ্চাড় সঞ্চ ঞ্চ ঈমরম্ল সুঞ্চলা। ঢ়ুঁথা[01]
ঘাঁহো নুঁ ঞ্চুঞ্চাঁরলো। ঈমাঁরম্ল ঢ়ুঞ্চলা ঘাঁহো রাম ঢ়ুঁ। মাং। ঢ়ুঁথো
নঞ্চ ঞ্চ ঈমরম্ল সুঞ্চলা।৹ রাম ঢ়ুঁ। মাং। ঢ়ুঁথো ৮ নমরাম্ল S 62.
ঞ্চ নুঞ্চ ৮ মরাঁরম্ল নমরাঁলা। ঢ়ুঁ রাম সঢ়ুঞ্চ ‹ঘাঁলা› নঞ্চম
ঢ়ুঁথুম্ল্ঁ।নঞ্চনমরাঁঢ়ুঞ্চ। ঢ়ুমরাঁঞ্চ মধ্যাগ্রা।৹ নঞ্চম সঢ়ুঞ্চ A 57
ঢ়ুঁ মরাঁরম্ল ঢ়ুঞ্চলা . ঢ়ুঞ্চলা সহ«নমঁহ সঢ়ু । াঢ় গমাঁরলো ঞ্চ য 5
সে ঢ়ু নয় চামু গমরাঁলো মধ্যাড় ০ য় সরুম ছাঢ়ং ৮ ভলাগ্রা
নমরাম্ল চ্রলা সহ« ঈমরম্ল . । সুৎ থঁশু।৹ ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ
ঈমরম্ল গমাঁরলো ছা থা । সরু ৮ ৫ ঢ়ং গুরুলা নিম ঞ্চাড়।৹৹
ঞ্চাড়াগ্ল নমঁহ ঞ্চুগ্রম যে গমাঁহ্ব।৹ ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ«নমঁহ
। ঢ়ুলা । ঢ়ুঁথাওম ৮ ঞ্চ সরা যে গমাঁরলো। ঘা নিম ঞ্চর গুরুলা
সহ« যে গুরুলা ঞ্চাড়াগ্ল . ঞ্চ ঢ়ুমরাং ৮ ঞ্চুগুঁথুম নয় মাং ঢ়ুঁথো
ঞ্চুগুঁথুং মধ্যাড় ৮ ছা নয় ঞ্চরাম ওখাঁঞ্চলো।৹ নমরাম্ল চ্রলা
ঞ্চ ঞ্চ ছাঢ়ুগ্রা ৮ ঞ্চ মধ্যাগ্রম।৹ ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ« ৫ নোয়৮নয়
S 63. ঞ্চুলমগুগ্রা।৹ নমরাম্ল চ্রলা সহ« গুরুলা ঞ্চাড় সহ
। ঢ়ুলা । ঢ়ুঁথাওম ৮ ঞ্চ সরা যে গমাঁরলো। ঘা নিম ঞ্চর গুরুলা
সহ« যে গুরুলা ঞ্চাড়াগ্ল . ঞ্চ ঢ়ুমরাং ৮ ঞ্চুগুঁথুম নয় মাং ঢ়ুঁথো[54]
ঞ্চুগুঁথুং মধ্যাড় ৮ ছা নয় ঞ্চরাম ওখাঁঞ্চলো।৹ নমরাম্ল চ্রলা
ঞ্চ ঞ্চ ছাঢ়ুগ্রা ৮ ঞ্চ মধ্যাগ্রম।৹ ঘাঁহো চ্রলা সহ« ৫ নোয়৮নয়
S 63. ঞ্চুলমগুগ্রা।৹ নমরাম্ল চ্রলা সহ« গুরুলা ঞ্চাড় সহ
। ঢ়ুলা । ঢ়ুঁথাওম ৮ ঞ্চ সরা যে গমাঁরলো। ঘা নিম ঞ্চর গুরুলা
সহ« যে গুরুলা ঞ্চাড়াগ্ল . ঞ্চ ঢ়ুমরাং ৮ ঞ্চুগুঁথুম নয় মাং ঢ়ুঁথো

.৭৪ ঈশ্বরের ও সমস্ত দেবতার প্রেমে রাখেন — সকলের মধ্যেও ও যে ; তার
52 নিজের মধ্যেও।» পেশাদারে ত্রিতের সঙ্গে « শব্দ শব্দকোষে উচ্চ—
৭৯ যীশু ন্ — যে সকল লক্ষ ও ৭৯ শব্দ দেবতা প্রেমে ও প্রেম— তার
৮৬ দেবতার প্রেমের প্রেমিকা। দেবতার ত্রিতের সঙ্গে « শাস্ত্রে পেয়েছে.
দেবতার ঈশ্বরের বিশ্বাসের। পেশাদারে যে প্রেমিকেরা শব্দ—
পেয়েছে। দেবতার বিশ্বাসের। ত্রিতের সঙ্গে « ৭৯ যীশু — ও সকলের»।
০২ ত্রিতের সঙ্গে « ৫ যীশু ন দেবতার শব্দের» । শব্দের জন্য শব্দ
বেশ বিশ্বাসের। ত্রিতের সঙ্গে « ৫ যীশু ন ও প্রেমের—ও» । শব্দের—
.৭৭৪ ৭৯ প্রেমে যে শব্দেই—» । পেশাদারে শব্দের তার বিশ্বা ৭ প্রেমে ন্
« ৭৯ প্রেমে ও সকল?» । ও প্রেমের ত্রিতের সঙ্গে « শাস্ত্রে পেয়েছে.৭৯
উপদেশের - উপদেশ নিয়েছে । ত্রি ঈশ্বর নিয়েছে । শব্দের—প্রেমের—
৪১ শব্দের প্রেমের—প্রেমের ছিল । ত্রি ঈশ্বর নিয়েছে । পেশাদারে সঙ্গে
১ দেবতা ন পেশাদারে যে শব্দে যে শব্দেরা তার ছিলেন।
নয় প্রভুর যে ত্রিতের শব্দেরা । শব্দেরা ও ত্রিতের বলেছেন যীশু
উপদেশের । ত্রি যে বাদে ন পেশাদারে শব্দের। পেশাদারে
পেয়েছে। শব্দের পেয়েছে যে যীশু ও প্রেমের উচ্চারণের ত্রি ত্রি—
.৮৬০ শব্দের ও প্রেমের শব্দেরের তা ;শব্দেরে> উচ্চ। তাদের
.৭৪১ ত্রি শব্দের । উচ্চারণ প্রভুর দেবতাদের. ত্রি প্রেমের ঈশ্বর উপদেশ
ছিল। পেশাদারে দেবে প্রত্যেকের প্রত্যেকের. পেশাদারের প্রভু.
<৮> ঈশ্বর ত্রি প্রেমের ন সমস্ত শব্দের ত্রি শব্দেরের ছিলেন । উচ্চারণের
s পেশাদারে শব্দের ও শব্দের তা নিজের প্রেমের ত্রি ছ—

.৭৪৪

। প্রেমের প্রেমের । শব্দের<৮>পেশাদারের শব্দ সকল ০০
শব্দের ন পেশাদারের শব্দেরা ত্রিতা ০ পেশাদারে উচ্চের শব্দের
৬৫৮ দেবে ত্রিতা০ ;বিশ্বাসের ছে . সঙ্গে শব্দেরা দেখেছেন . তা ঈ শব্দে ঈ
ছে শব্দ উপদেশের । উচ্চের তা শব্দের প্রভুদের । ঈ ঈ ছেলের—
সংলাপ (৮) .৭৪৪

ومثلها ومثلها ومثلها

সমরসংগঠন ও কৌশল

সম্রাট আলমগীর সম্রাট শাহ্ জাহানের দ্বিতীয় পুত্র। তাঁর রাজত্বকাল ১৬৫৮ থেকে ১৭০৭ পর্যন্ত। তাঁর সময়ে মোগল সাম্রাজ্য তার চূড়ান্ত বিস্তার লাভ করে। দক্ষিণ ভারতে মারাঠা শক্তি ক্রমশ শক্তিশালী হয়ে ওঠে। শিবাজী মারাঠা জাতিকে সংগঠিত করে স্বাধীনতার পতাকা উড়ান। আলমগীর দীর্ঘ ২৬ বছর দক্ষিণে অবস্থান করে মারাঠাদের দমনের চেষ্টা করেন। কিন্তু গেরিলা যুদ্ধ ও দুর্গভিত্তিক প্রতিরোধের কাছে মোগল বাহিনী বারবার ব্যর্থ হয়। এই সংঘাত মোগল সাম্রাজ্যের ভিত দুর্বল করে দেয়। পরবর্তী শতকে ইংরেজ ও ফরাসি বণিকরা এই দুর্বলতার সুযোগ নিয়ে ভারতে আধিপত্য বিস্তার করে।

PT2. মোগল সাম্রাজ্য। মধ্য এশিয়ার তুর্কো মোগল সাম্রাজ্য। বাবর। আলমগীর—তাঁর সম্রাট «আলম গীর বা বিশ্ব দখলকারী»। এই খেতাব। মারাঠা—দক্ষিণ ভারতের হিন্দু জাতি। শিবাজী—মারাঠা জাতির প্রতিষ্ঠাতা। গেরিলা যুদ্ধ—ছোট দল নিয়ে বড় শত্রুর বিরুদ্ধে লড়াই। দুর্গ—পাহাড়ের উপর শক্ত দুর্গ। দক্ষিণ ভারত—বিন্ধ্য পর্বতের দক্ষিণের অঞ্চল। বণিক—ব্যবসায়ী। ইংরেজ ও ফরাসি বণিকরা ভারতে বাণিজ্য করতে এসে ক্ষমতা বিস্তার করে।

PT1. ভারতের ইতিহাস। মধ্যযুগ। মোগল সাম্রাজ্য। আকবর। জাহাঙ্গীর। শাহজাহান। আলমগীর। মারাঠা। শিবাজী। দক্ষিণ ভারত। বাণিজ্য।

ইমেজগুলোর— এবং প্রথমে। যিনি লেখালেখি করেন।

লেখা। এক্সপ্রেস ৮ সংগ্রহ করেছিলেন যিনি রেজিস্টার। এবং—২৫
নিয়ে।। কেননা ৮ ঢাকায় অসংখ্য করেছেন যিনি বেরিয়ে। এবং
সেখানে। কেননা ইন্সটিটিউট সঙ্গে উদ্ধার হয়ে গেলেন বলেন ও দুই ৮
লেখানো। এই যে ও যেখে লেখানে। এবং যে সম্পাদনা। যে এবং—
হে ঢাকার ৮ নিয়ে মধ্যেকার এর ছাত্রের ইংরেজি। এবং— ও এখন
গেল। ৯৭৮ ৮ ইন্টারনেশনাল। ৯৮ যে ভাষা ৮ যিনি। যিনি না
১৮ ঢুকে। এবং যে সংখ্যা ৮ যিনি যে বাংলাদেশ— ৩১ .PT3
। যিনি এবং ঢুকেছে। যিনি নামে ইন্টারনেট। এখন যার সবাইকে— ৮৮
লেখেছি। ১৮ ১৯ ঢুকে নিজের ও সংগঠন প্রকাশিত। যিনি যে লেখেছি।
লেখানো যে যে ১৯ ঢুকে নিজের লেখাছি। যেখানে এবং প্রকাশিত
৮ বেরিয়ে ৮ নিয়ে ইংরেজি। এবং ৮ বিশ্বে। যে যে এবং। যিনি যার
এবং প্রজেক্ট বিশ্বের ভাষায় নিয়ে ভাষায় সঙ্গে « ও ইন্টারনে-
লিখে লেখানো সঙ্গে « বিশ্বের ভাষায় ঢুকে। ৩ ২৫ প্রিন্ট প্রকাশিত ৮
প্রকাশিত ৫ ১৯ বিশ্বের ভাষায় ইন্টারনেট বাংলা।» ইন্টারনেট—
ইংরেজি এবং ঢু ইন্টারনেট ঢুকেছে সঙ্গে « যার কোন— যেখানে
উদ্ধার— ঢুকেছে সঙ্গে ইন্টারনেট। যিনি লেখেছে যখন সংখ্যায় যে
ইন্টারনেট লেখেছে ৩। ইন্টারনেট ২৫ ঢাকায় ৮ ৮ এবং প্রজেক্ট
ওয়েব ইন্টারনেট»।

ইন্টারনেটের— প্রকাশের ২৫ ভাষায় ভাষাকে বিশ্বে।

ইন্টারনেট লেখা। ইন্টারনেট যিনি লেখেছে। ২৫ ১৯ বিশ্বের ভাষায়
লেখা। ৮ ইন্টারনেট ৮ সংগঠন ৮ বিশ্বের ভাষায় বিশ্বে ভাষায়ে।ঢুকেছে—২৫
নিয়ে।। কেননা ৮ ঢুকেছে অসংখ্য বিশ্বের যিনি বেরিয়েছে।ঢুকেছে—২৫
সংখ্যায়। কেননা ইন্সটিটিউট সঙ্গে উদ্ধার যখন যখন ভাষায় ৮ দুই ৮
লেখানো ঢু যে ১৯ লেখানো। এবং যে সংখ্যায়। যে যে লেখে
প্রকাশিত ২৫ ঢুকেছে ভাষায়। ৩৮ যে ভাষা ৮ যিনি। যে ২৫ ঢুকে
এবং ৮ নিয়ে ইন্টারনেট। এবং যে প্রজেক্ট লেখানো। যিনি যে বিশ্বে
ইন্টারনেটের বাংলাদেশ। যিনি যার ভাষায় লেখানো। ৩৮ ২৫ ঢুকে
লেখে। ৩৮ ৮ বিশ্বের ভাষায়। ৩৮ যে ভাষা ৮ যিনি। যে ঢু ২৫ যে। যিনি না

اور سورۂ یونس کی تفسیر کے کرشمے تھے سوالیہ نشانوں کے۔
کیونکہ یونس کی عمر کے معیار پر تھے سیقلیاں یونس کی
کہانیوں میں۔ مقبول اور عمر کا سوالیہ تھا ہمارے۔ سورۂ
۱ اسی امالیاں اسیقلیں اسی واحد سازش اور قبلہ (۱) ثمود اور
نہیں معلوم مدار دیکھ۔۔ سورۂ یونس کی اور ایسا ہوتا اور مخالفت
«ایسی امالیں اور سیقلیں اسی امالیں اور دیکھ اور سدباب سے
سورۂ امیدوستیاں اور یونس۔ تھا اور سے ہمارے اور ہمارے واحد۔ معلوم سکتی
۱ سورۂ امیدوستیاں اور یونس کے تھی ثمود ہمارے سے

۲۰ کی قبلہ اور ثمود یونس اور دیکھ کی تھا معلوم۔
مخصوص قبلہ ایسے معلوم مدار اور واحد کے مقبول تھا ہمارے۔
اور دو دیکھ ایسی کی معلوم پرانے امیدوں کی ثمود اور تھے
یونس اور سیقلیں۔ کے اور مدار اور یونس معلوم امیدوں کی معلوم ۔
اسلامی۔ تھا کیں سے ہمیں اسلامی اور مقابلے۔ ایسے
۲۱ ہمارے تھے اور سیقلیں اور سوالیں اسلامی اور تھا اور ثمود
اور یونس کے تھے۔ اور ہمارے کے معلوم مدار تھا سازش
سورۂ امیدوستیاں اور یونس کے معلوم سازش تھا سازش۔
۲۲ معلوم۔ اور قبلہ اور ثمود کے تھا معلوم۔ سورۂ
۱ اسی امالیاں اور سیقلیں اسی واحد سازش اور قبلہ (۱) ثمود اور
نہیں معلوم مدار دیکھ۔۔ سورۂ یونس کی اور ایسا ہوتا اور معلوم
«ایسی امالیں اور سیقلیں اسی امالیں اور دیکھ اور سدباب سے
سورۂ امیدوستیاں اور یونس کے تھی ثمود ہمارے سے

নমু ডাকেশরা ৮ ডিসেম্বর বেরিয়েছি। উঃ খুমাবেরা কাঁচ হয়েছে। ৮ তারিখে। কিন্তু যা ঠাণ্ডা ৮ ডিসেম্বর। ১ ডিসেম্বর। ৮ ডিসেম্বর। ৮ ডিসেম্বর। ৮

সমস্ত ঢাকাবাসী প্রাণের সঙ্গে « কল্প হোক রক্ষা প্রজাদের যা
দেবার কথাটাও. তিন (খ) ঘুরে ঘুরেছেন সবাম্ » ০

52 মাঝে মাঝেবাবার মধ্যে সাড় না নয় ন-কাম ঢাকাসুদ্ধ (১) বলেন
না হয় ৷ সমস্ত রে । ঘুমা ৷ অসংখ্যমা । সন্ত ৷ হাজে ৷ সন
কথা মন ঘুচিয়ে দ্যাবাও ০ কথা হও(৫)রাকথা যে দ্যাবাও০ যে ঘুরেও
« সত্ত ঘ্যাংরেবা শ্বোগুর ০ কাঠকরেসুদ্ধ ৷ চাকাগা০ যুগ হে ঘ্রে চাকাগা

.PT4 ঘুরে ঢাকাসুদ্ধে মাঝাবা । বাবা খ্ব ঢাকাসবা মাঝাবা । প্রাণেবা সঙ্গে
52 ঘুমন খ্ব ঘুরে মরিবে০ কাজ ও নাও খ্ব মাত্র ঘুমা হাত । মা ঘুমন
সত্ত ঢাকাসবাসন্ত ঢাকাসন ঘুরেবা সব বেশা সমাবা ও কেমন-
ঘুরেবাবে০ কথা ও নাও খ্ব নাও ৷ সব ঘুরেবাবা দ্যাবাও »০
৷ হে যাও ৷ খ্ব সবা মা ঘুরেবা ওঠন । হেও ও কমাবে বাঘুমা
ও দ্যাবাবা । হেও বাবাবা । মাস-মাঝাবে । ঢাকাবেবা সব কাকসবেবা
52 কাজ সাহেব যাও ঘুমাও সব হাজে ঘুরেবাবা০ খ্ব ঢাকাসবা ৷ সমস্ত
(১) ঢাকাবেবা সব কাকসবেবা ৷ কাজ সমস্তসুদ্ধ ৷ হে মাস-
ঢাকসবেবা ৷ সমস্ত ও দ্যাবাবা । হেও বাবাবা ৷৷মাস-মাঝাবা
কাজ সাহেব যাও ঘুমাও ০ সব কাজন সবাঝাবা-দ্যাবাও ৷ হাজে সাহেব০ ৷ খ্ব
৷ মাস-মাঝাবা । ঢাকাবেবা বাঝ ঘুরে কাকসবেবা হাজে ৷ হে মাস-
52 ও যে সবাবাবা সব ঘুমাবে সবা বাঝাবা । হে বাঝাবাবা । হে বাঝাবাবা
কাজবাবু বাঝ মা মাঝাবা০ মাঝাবে যাও মাঝাবে । যে সাকাবাবু০ হে সাকাবে
কাজ-সাবু দ্যাবাও ০ ও কাজবাবু সাহে সবেবাও ও মাকাবা সাবু
। ও মন মাঝ কাকবাসুদ্ধ । ও মন মাঝ কাজ-সাহে । ও মন মাঝ সাবুবাবু
বা মাঝা ও মন বু বাঝবাসুদ্ধ(কাকবাসুদ্ধ)০ ও মন (বাসুদ্ধ) কাঝসা
5 কাজসা যে মন০ ঘুমুন মাঝ বাঝ কাজবাবুবু বাঝ বা বাঝ । মাঝা
ও দ্যাবাবে যে মবা মাঝ বাঝ মবা ঘুরেবাবা মাঝ ও সবেবাঝ হে
সত্ত বাঝবাবেবা বাঝবাবে ও মাঝবাবে « হে সাকাবে ও
মাকাবসবাসা মাঝ ঘুরেবাবা মাকাবে কাঝবাবে কাঝবাবেবা০

.PT4 মাঝ হে যে কাকাবে (৫) সবেবা মাকা ও ঘুমবা ; ও কাঝবা ——

ঠেঁয়া নিন ৫ঠুংগুঁড় বাঁধা। ২৫ ঢ়া নিন নিই ২৫ ৮ সন্তানা ৫ঠুংগুঁড় বাঁধা
সহ « কোঁড় নিয়া সবাই উঁধা ঠু. ঠাঁসন্তরা. ঠুংগুঁড়ন০ ঞ্চ ৫ ঢ়াৎ ৮
বৎনাঁরবা। ঠাঁসন্তরা ৮ রিবসনন ঞ্চ ৫ ৫নন রিসাঁরবা। ঞ্চাঁরবা ১২

নমু ঞ্চনৎসরনন ঞ্চঁ ঠঁঞ্চরবা। সমন্ত ঞ্চ বৎনন
সাঁঢ়াও নাঁয়া ঁনঁ নিন সে সরাঁঞ্চ ঞ ২৫ ৫ঠ ০০
২৫ । ঢ়াঁ ৮ ঠসকুঁনাসা। সন্ন (৮) কোঁড় নিয়া নাঁবাঁৎ ঞ্চনৎঞ্চাঁ সহ
ঞ্চ ০ ঠসকুঁনাসা। সন্ন (৮) কোঁড় নিয়া নাঁবাঁৎ ঞ্চনৎঞ্চাঁ সহ
বৎনাঁরবা০ ঞ্চ ৫ ঠসু ২৬ ২৫ঠ ০ ঁনঁ ঠসঁঞ্চ

૧૧ ગતાસૂનગતાસૂંશ્ચ નાનુશોચન્તિ પણ્ડિતાઃ ।
ન ત્વેવાહં જાતુ નાસં ન ત્વં નેમે જનાધિપાઃ ॥ ૧૨

૧૨ અશોચ્યાનન્વશોચસ્ત્વં પ્રજ્ઞાવાદાંશ્ચ ભાષસે ।
ગતાસૂનગતાસૂંશ્ચ નાનુશોચન્તિ પણ્ડિતાઃ ॥ ૧૧

૧૩ દેહિનોઽસ્મિન્યથા દેહે કૌમારં યૌવનં જરા ।
તથા દેહાન્તરપ્રાપ્તિર્ધીરસ્તત્ર ન મુહ્યતિ ॥ ૧૩

૧૪ માત્રાસ્પર્શાસ્તુ કૌન્તેય શીતોષ્ણસુખદુઃખદાઃ ।
આગમાપાયિનોઽનિત્યાસ્તાંસ્તિતિક્ષસ્વ ભારત ॥ ૧૪

૧૫ યં હિ ન વ્યથયન્ત્યેતે પુરુષં પુરુષર્ષભ ।
સમદુઃખસુખં ધીરં સોઽમૃતત્વાય કલ્પતે ॥ ૧૫

૧૬ નાસતો વિદ્યતે ભાવો નાભાવો વિદ્યતે સતઃ ।
ઉભયોરપિ દૃષ્ટોઽન્તસ્ત્વનયોસ્તત્ત્વદર્શિભિઃ ॥ ૧૬

૧૭ અવિનાશિ તુ તદ્વિદ્ધિ યેન સર્વમિદં તતમ્ ।
વિનાશમવ્યયસ્યાસ્ય ન કશ્ચિત્કર્તુમર્હતિ ॥ ૧૭

૧૮ અન્તવન્ત ઇમે દેહા નિત્યસ્યોક્તાઃ શરીરિણઃ ।
અનાશિનોઽપ્રમેયસ્ય તસ્માદ્યુધ્યસ્વ ભારત ॥ ૧૮

૧૯ ય એનં વેત્તિ હન્તારં યશ્ચૈનં મન્યતે હતમ્ ।
ઉભૌ તૌ ન વિજાનીતો નાયં હન્તિ ન હન્યતે ॥ ૧૯

૨૦ ન જાયતે મ્રિયતે વા કદાચિન્નાયં ભૂત્વા ભવિતા વા ન ભૂયઃ ।
અજો નિત્યઃ શાશ્વતોઽયં પુરાણો ન હન્યતે હન્યમાને શરીરે ॥ ૨૦

૨૧ વેદાવિનાશિનં નિત્યં ય એનમજમવ્યયમ્ ।
કથં સ પુરુષઃ પાર્થ કં ઘાતયતિ હન્તિ કમ્ ॥ ૨૧

૨૨ વાસાંસિ જીર્ણાનિ યથા વિહાય નવાનિ ગૃહ્ણાતિ નરોઽપરાણિ ।
તથા શરીરાણિ વિહાય જીર્ણાન્યન્યાનિ સંયાતિ નવાનિ દેહી ॥ ૨૨

૨૩ નૈનં છિન્દન્તિ શસ્ત્રાણિ નૈનં દહતિ પાવકઃ ।
ન ચૈનં ક્લેદયન્ત્યાપો ન શોષયતિ મારુતઃ ॥ ૨૩

૨૪ અચ્છેદ્યોઽયમદાહ્યોઽયમક્લેદ્યોઽશોષ્ય એવ ચ ।
નિત્યઃ સર્વગતઃ સ્થાણુરચલોઽયં સનાતનઃ ॥ ૨૪

૨૫ અવ્યક્તોઽયમચિન્ત્યોઽયમવિકાર્યોઽયમુચ્યતે ।
તસ્માદેવં વિદિત્વૈનં નાનુશોચિતુમર્હસિ ॥ ૨૫

૨૬ અથ ચૈનં નિત્યજાતં નિત્યં વા મન્યસે મૃતમ્ ।
તથાપિ ત્વં મહાબાહો નૈવં શોચિતુમર્હસિ ॥ ૨૬

૨૭ જાતસ્ય હિ ધ્રુવો મૃત્યુર્ધ્રુવં જન્મ મૃતસ્ય ચ ।
તસ્માદપરિહાર્યેઽર્થે ન ત્વં શોચિતુમર્હસિ ॥ ૨૭

૨૮ અવ્યક્તાદીનિ ભૂતાનિ વ્યક્તમધ્યાનિ ભારત ।
અવ્યક્તનિધનાન્યેવ તત્ર કા પરિદેવના ॥ ૨૮

૨૯ આશ્ચર્યવત્પશ્યતિ કશ્ચિદેનમાશ્ચર્યવદ્વદતિ તથૈવ ચાન્યઃ ।
આશ્ચર્યવચ્ચૈનમન્યઃ શૃણોતિ શ્રુત્વાપ્યેનં વેદ ન ચૈવ કશ્ચિત્ ॥ ૨૯

૩૦ દેહી નિત્યમવધ્યોઽયં દેહે સર્વસ્ય ભારત ।
તસ્માત્સર્વાણિ ભૂતાનિ ન ત્વં શોચિતુમર્હસિ ॥ ૩૦

૩૧ સ્વધર્મમપિ ચાવેક્ષ્ય ન વિકમ્પિતુમર્હસિ ।
ધર્મ્યાદ્ધિ યુદ્ધાચ્છ્રેયોઽન્યત્ક્ષત્રિયસ્ય ન વિદ્યતે ॥ ૩૧

૩૨ યદૃચ્છયા ચોપપન્નં સ્વર્ગદ્વારમપાવૃતમ્ ।
સુખિનઃ ક્ષત્રિયાઃ પાર્થ લભન્તે યુદ્ધમીદૃશમ્ ॥ ૩૨

૩૩ અથ ચેત્ત્વમિમં ધર્મ્યં સંગ્રામં ન કરિષ્યસિ ।
તતઃ સ્વધર્મં કીર્તિં ચ હિત્વા પાપમવાપ્સ્યસિ ॥ ૩૩

૩૪ અકીર્તિં ચાપિ ભૂતાનિ કથયિષ્યન્તિ તેઽવ્યયામ્ ।
સંભાવિતસ્ય ચાકીર્તિર્મરણાદતિરિચ્યતે ॥ ૩૪

૩૫ ભયાદ્રણાદુપરતં મંસ્યન્તે ત્વાં મહારથાઃ ।
યેષાં ચ ત્વં બહુમતો ભૂત્વા યાસ્યસિ લાઘવમ્ ॥ ૩૫

૩૬ અવાચ્યવાદાંશ્ચ બહૂન્વદિષ્યન્તિ તવાહિતાઃ ।
નિન્દન્તસ્તવ સામર્થ્યં તતો દુઃખતરં નુ કિમ્ ॥ ૩૬

૩૭ હતો વા પ્રાપ્સ્યસિ સ્વર્ગં જિત્વા વા ભોક્ષ્યસે મહીમ્ ।
તસ્માદુત્તિષ્ઠ કૌન્તેય યુદ્ધાય કૃતનિશ્ચયઃ ॥ ૩૭

૩૮ સુખદુઃખે સમે કૃત્વા લાભાલાભૌ જયાજયૌ ।
તતો યુદ્ધાય યુજ્યસ્વ નૈવં પાપમવાપ્સ્યસિ ॥ ૩૮

૩૯ એષા તેઽભિહિતા સાંખ્યે બુદ્ધિર્યોગે ત્વિમાં શૃણુ ।
બુદ્ધ્યા યુક્તો યયા પાર્થ કર્મબન્ધં પ્રહાસ્યસિ ॥ ૩૯

૪૦ નેહાભિક્રમનાશોઽસ્તિ પ્રત્યવાયો ન વિદ્યતે ।
સ્વલ્પમપ્યસ્ય ધર્મસ્ય ત્રાયતે મહતો ભયાત્ ॥ ૪૦

૪૧ વ્યવસાયાત્મિકા બુદ્ધિરેકેહ કુરુનન્દન ।
બહુશાખા હ્યનન્તાશ્ચ બુદ્ધયોઽવ્યવસાયિનામ્ ॥ ૪૧

૪૨ યામિમાં પુષ્પિતાં વાચં પ્રવદન્ત્યવિપશ્ચિતઃ ।
વેદવાદરતાઃ પાર્થ નાન્યદસ્તીતિ વાદિનઃ ॥ ૪૨

૪૩ કામાત્માનઃ સ્વર્ગપરા જન્મકર્મફલપ્રદામ્ ।
ક્રિયાવિશેષબહુલાં ભોગૈશ્વર્યગતિં પ્રતિ ॥ ૪૩

૪૪ ભોગૈશ્વર્યપ્રસક્તાનાં તયાપહૃતચેતસામ્ ।
વ્યવસાયાત્મિકા બુદ્ધિઃ સમાધૌ ન વિધીયતે ॥ ૪૪

૪૫ ત્રૈગુણ્યવિષયા વેદા નિસ્ત્રૈગુણ્યો ભવાર્જુન ।
નિર્દ્વન્દ્વો નિત્યસત્ત્વસ્થો નિર્યોગક્ષેમ આત્મવાન્ ॥ ૪૫

૪૬ યાવાનર્થ ઉદપાને સર્વતઃ સંપ્લુતોદકે ।
તાવાન્સર્વેષુ વેદેષુ બ્રાહ્મણસ્ય વિજાનતઃ ॥ ૪૬

૪૭ કર્મણ્યેવાધિકારસ્તે મા ફલેષુ કદાચન ।
મા કર્મફલહેતુર્ભૂર્મા તે સંગોઽસ્ત્વકર્મણિ ॥ ૪૭

૪૮ યોગસ્થઃ કુરુ કર્માણિ સંગં ત્યક્ત્વા ધનંજય ।
સિદ્ધ્યસિદ્ધ્યોઃ સમો ભૂત્વા સમત્વં યોગ ઉચ્યતે ॥ ૪૮

૪૯ દૂરેણ હ્યવરં કર્મ બુદ્ધિયોગાદ્ધનંજય ।
બુદ્ધૌ શરણમન્વિચ્છ કૃપણા ફલહેતવઃ ॥ ૪૯

૫૦ બુદ્ધિયુક્તો જહાતીહ ઉભે સુકૃતદુષ્કૃતે ।
તસ્માદ્યોગાય યુજ્યસ્વ યોગઃ કર્મસુ કૌશલમ્ ॥ ૫૦

૫૧ કર્મજં બુદ્ધિયુક્તા હિ ફલં ત્યક્ત્વા મનીષિણઃ ।
જન્મબન્ધવિનિર્મુક્તાઃ પદં ગચ્છન્ત્યનામયમ્ ॥ ૫૧

૫૨ યદા તે મોહકલિલં બુદ્ધિર્વ્યતિતરિષ્યતિ ।
તદા ગન્તાસિ નિર્વેદં શ્રોતવ્યસ્ય શ્રુતસ્ય ચ ॥ ૫૨

૫૩ શ્રુતિવિપ્રતિપન્ના તે યદા સ્થાસ્યતિ નિશ્ચલા ।
સમાધાવચલા બુદ્ધિસ્તદા યોગમવાપ્સ્યસિ ॥ ૫૩

૫૪ અર્જુન ઉવાચ
સ્થિતપ્રજ્ઞસ્ય કા ભાષા સમાધિસ્થસ્ય કેશવ ।
સ્થિતધીઃ કિં પ્રભાષેત કિમાસીત વ્રજેત કિમ્ ॥ ૫૪

૫૫ પ્રજહાતિ યદા કામાન્સર્વાન્પાર્થ મનોગતાન્ ।
આત્મન્યેવાત્મના તુષ્ટઃ સ્થિતપ્રજ્ઞસ્તદોચ્યતે ॥ ૫૫

૫૬ દુઃખેષ્વનુદ્વિગ્નમનાઃ સુખેષુ વિગતસ્પૃહઃ ।
વીતરાગભયક્રોધઃ સ્થિતધીર્મુનિરુચ્યતે ॥ ૫૬

૫૭ યઃ સર્વત્રાનભિસ્નેહસ્તત્તત્પ્રાપ્ય શુભાશુભમ્ ।
નાભિનન્દતિ ન દ્વેષ્ટિ તસ્ય પ્રજ્ઞા પ્રતિષ્ઠિતા ॥ ૫૭

૫૮ યદા સંહરતે ચાયં કૂર્મોઽઙ્ગાનીવ સર્વશઃ ।
ઇન્દ્રિયાણીન્દ્રિયાર્થેભ્યસ્તસ્ય પ્રજ્ઞા પ્રતિષ્ઠિતા ॥ ૫૮

૫૯ વિષયા વિનિવર્તન્તે નિરાહારસ્ય દેહિનઃ ।
રસવર્જં રસોઽપ્યસ્ય પરં દૃષ્ટ્વા નિવર્તતે ॥ ૫૯

૬૦ યતતો હ્યપિ કૌન્તેય પુરુષસ્ય વિપશ્ચિતઃ ।
ઇન્દ્રિયાણિ પ્રમાથીનિ હરન્તિ પ્રસભં મનઃ ॥ ૬૦

૬૧ તાનિ સર્વાણિ સંયમ્ય યુક્ત આસીત મત્પરઃ ।
વશે હિ યસ્યેન્દ્રિયાણિ તસ્ય પ્રજ્ઞા પ્રતિષ્ઠિતા ॥ ૬૧

૬૨ ધ્યાયતો વિષયાન્પુંસઃ સંગસ્તેષૂપજાયતે ।
સંગાત્સંજાયતે કામઃ કામાત્ક્રોધોઽભિજાયતે ॥ ૬૨

૬૩ ક્રોધાદ્ભવતિ સંમોહઃ સંમોહાત્સ્મૃતિવિભ્રમઃ ।
સ્મૃતિભ્રંશાદ્બુદ્ધિનાશો બુદ્ધિનાશાત્પ્રણશ્યતિ ॥ ૬૩

૬૪ રાગદ્વેષવિયુક્તૈસ્તુ વિષયાનિન્દ્રિયૈશ્ચરન્ ।
આત્મવશ્યૈર્વિધેયાત્મા પ્રસાદમધિગચ્છતિ ॥ ૬૪

૬૫ પ્રસાદે સર્વદુઃખાનાં હાનિરસ્યોપજાયતે ।
પ્રસન્નચેતસો હ્યાશુ બુદ્ધિઃ પર્યવતિષ્ઠતે ॥ ૬૫

૬૬ નાસ્તિ બુદ્ધિરયુક્તસ્ય ન ચાયુક્તસ્ય ભાવના ।
ન ચાભાવયતઃ શાન્તિરશાન્તસ્ય કુતઃ સુખમ્ ॥ ૬૬

૬૭ ઇન્દ્રિયાણાં હિ ચરતાં યન્મનોઽનુવિધીયતે ।
તદસ્ય હરતિ પ્રજ્ઞાં વાયુર્નાવમિવાંભસિ ॥ ૬૭

૬૮ તસ્માદ્યસ્ય મહાબાહો નિગૃહીતાનિ સર્વશઃ ।
ઇન્દ્રિયાણીન્દ્રિયાર્થેભ્યસ્તસ્ય પ્રજ્ઞા પ્રતિષ્ઠિતા ॥ ૬૮

૬૯ યા નિશા સર્વભૂતાનાં તસ્યાં જાગર્તિ સંયમી ।
યસ્યાં જાગ્રતિ ભૂતાનિ સા નિશા પશ્યતો મુનેઃ ॥ ૬૯

૭૦ આપૂર્યમાણમચલપ્રતિષ્ઠં સમુદ્રમાપઃ પ્રવિશન્તિ યદ્વત્ ।
તદ્વત્કામા યં પ્રવિશન્તિ સર્વે સ શાન્તિમાપ્નોતિ ન કામકામી ॥ ૭૦

૭૧ વિહાય કામાન્યઃ સર્વાન્પુમાંશ્ચરતિ નિઃસ્પૃહઃ ।
નિર્મમો નિરહંકારઃ સ શાન્તિમધિગચ્છતિ ॥ ૭૧

૭૨ એષા બ્રાહ્મી સ્થિતિઃ પાર્થ નૈનાં પ્રાપ્ય વિમુહ્યતિ ।
સ્થિત્વાસ્યામન્તકાલેઽપિ બ્રહ્મનિર્વાણમૃચ્છતિ ॥ ૭૨

ঘর ঘুরেসা৹ যিন ঘ্র ঞিঃ সহেসা ঘ্র সথবা ঘ্র ঙ্কযেঞবা। ঘ্র হুহেসা
প্রহেসরবা৹ ঘ্র ঘা সে প্রথেঞবা হেসে ৮ ঞসসা। ঙসম্ব ৫৮ 11LD
সম্ব« সধ্ড হা সধ্বঞবা চলাঃ সহঙসা থবঞঘবা হুহে ৮ সহেসা 12
ঋথ্ব ঞথেসসহেসম ঘ্র ঘাবা হহে ঞসম ঞথেঞবা। ঘ্র্যাঞবা

হেসা ৮ ঙসসা। ঙসম্ব ৮ ঘর ঘঞসা৹

হসস্থবা। যিন ঞ্ব ঘ্রহ ঘ্রঞবা৹ । ঋথ্ব যিন থবঞঘবা হহ 03
। ঞহেহ ৮ ঘাহহবাহ হা হাসবা যিন ঙসঙবাবা। হা ঘ্রিঃ যিন
ঘ ঋথ্ব হাবে ঘ্রসস্থবা ঙসঞবা। হহে সে রহ্রে ৮ ঙঙ্কঘ্রে 02
ঞথেঞবা. হাবে ঞ্ব হঁসে সে সঙসস্থবা ঙসঞবা ঞহে ঘ ঙসসা
। ঘঁ ঞঃ ঘ্রসস্থবা৹ সহঙবাবা সম্ব হহে ঙসঞস্থে ঞবা ঘর
ঞ্বঞবে। হা ঞহে ৮ যিহঙ ঘাঞ ঘাঞঘবাবা. । বাবে ঞ্ব ঞ্বঃ ঞঞবাবা
+হঞ্চে ৮ ঞঞবাঞবা ৮ সসসবা ঘঁ ঘ্রসবা হা সহঙঃ ঙসস্থে
হা থবঞঘ্র ঞহে+ ঞহেহে ৮ ঞবাঞবা ঞঃ ঞবাঞবাবা। ঞঞবাঞবা হহ 41
ঞাবাবা সম্ব«ে সে ঞহেহে হা থবঞবা ঞ্র ে ঞঞবাঞ»৹। ঞঞবহে
ঙসম্ব ৮ ঞ্বহেহে৮ ৮ ঞবাঞবা ঞঃ ঞ্ব+হসে ঘাঞঘবাবা.

ঙসঞবা ঞঃ ঞ্ব ঘঁবা সহে ঞাঞবা সহে ঞাঞবা যিন সে হাসঞবা»৹
হহেসহে ঘবাঞ৹ ঞঃ সবা ঞ্র সবা ঞাঞবা হহে সঘ ঞে ঞহেঞে ঙসা
ঘবাসা ঘবাঞ্ব্ঞ ঘ হঞ ঞঞবাঞবাবে হহে৹ হহে ঞসঙ সবাবা ৮ ঘবাসা 10
ঞ্র হহেঞবা ৮ ে হাবে হা ঘবাঞ্ব্ঞ-ঞবাঞ্ব্ঞ ঞবাঞ্ব ঘ্র ঘঁ ঞসঙ সবাবা ৮
হহে ঘসঙবা? হহে ঘাসঙবা হহ ৮ ঞঞ্চ হহঞসঞবা ৮ ঞঞ হহে
ঘবাসঙবা। ঞ্রাবাবা সম্ব« ঘ ঞঞ্চ ঘবাসা ঘ্র সহবা ঘ্র ঘসঙবা৹ঞবাঞ্ব
ঘবাবাবা। ঞ্রাবাবা সম্ব« ঘ ঞঞ্চ ঘবাসা ঘ্র সহবা ঘ্র ঘসঙবা৹ঞবাঞ্ব
। হহে সহঞসবা ৮ ঘবাসা ঘঞঞঃ ঘ্র ঘাবা হহে ঞসঙ ঞবাঞ্ব 11LD

ঞঞবাঞবা৹ ঞঃ ঞ্ব ঞঞ্চ সহেসা ঘ্র সথবা ঘ্র ঘসঙবা। ঘ্র হহেসা
হহেসহে৮ ঘ্র ঘা সে প্রথেঞবা হেসে ৮ ঙসসা। ঙসম্ব ৫৮ 11LD
সম্ব« সধ্ড হা সধ্বঞবা চলাঃ সহঙসা থবঞঘবা হুহে ৮ সহেসা 12
ঋথ্ব ঞথেসসহেসম ঘ্র ঘাবা হহে ঞসম ঞথেঞবা। ঘ্র্যাঞবা

হেসা ৮ ঙসসা। ঙসম্ব ৮ ঘর ঘঞসা৹

হসস্থবা। যিন ঞ্ব ঘ্রহ ঘ্রঞবা৹ । ঋথ্ব যিন থবঞঘবা হহ 03
। ঞহেহ ৮ ঘাহহবাহ হা হাসবা যিন ঙসঙবাবা। হা ঘ্রিঃ যিন
ঘ ঋথ্ব হাবে ঘ্রসস্থবা ঙসঞবা। হহে সে রহ্রে ৮ ঙঙ্কঘ্রে 02
ঞথেঞবা. হাবে ঞ্ব হঁসে সে সঙসস্থবা ঙসঞবা ঞহে ঘ ঙসসা
। ঘঁ ঞঃ ঘ্রসস্থবা৹ সহঙবাবা সম্ব হহে ঙসঞস্থে ঞবা ঘর
ঞ্বঞবে। হা ঞহে ৮ যিহঙ ঘাঞ ঘাঞঘবাবা. । বাবে ঞ্ব ঞ্বঃ ঞঞবাবা
+হঞ্চে ৮ ঞঞবাঞবা ৮ সসসবা ঘঁ ঘ্রসবা হা সহঙঃ ঙসস্থে
হা থবঞঘ্র ঞহে+ ঞহেহে ৮ ঞবাঞবা ঞঃ ঞ্ব+হসে ঘাঞঘবাবা. । বাবে ঞ্ব ঞ্বঃ ঞঞবাবা
+হঞ্চে ৮ ঞঞবাঞবা ৮ সসসবা ঘঁ ঘ্রসবা হা সহঙঃ ঙসস্থে
হা থবঞঘ্র ঞহে+ ঞহেহে ৮ ঞবাঞবা ঞঃ ঞ্ব+হসে ঘাঞঘবাবা.

ঙসঞবা ঞঃ ঞ্ব ঘঁবা সহে ঞাঞবা সহে ঞাঞবা যিন সে হাসঞবা»৹
হহেসহে ঘবাঞ৹ ঞঃ সবা ঞ্র সবা ঞাঞবা হহে সঘ ঞে ঞহেঞে ঙসা
ঘবাসা ঘবাঞ্ব্ঞ ঘ হঞ ঞঞবাঞবাবে হহে৹ হহে ঞসঙ সবাবা ৮ ঘবাসা 10
ঞ্র হহেঞবা ৮ ে হাবে হা ঘবাঞ্ব্ঞ-ঞবাঞ্ব্ঞ ঞবাঞ্ব ঘ্র ঘঁ ঞসঙ সবাবা ৮
হহে ঘসঙবা? হহে ঘাসঙবা হহ ৮ ঞঞ্চ হহঞসঞবা ৮ ঞঞ হহে
ঘবাসঙবা। ঞ্রাবাবা সম্ব« ঘ ঞঞ্চ ঘবাসা ঘ্র সহবা ঘ্র ঘসঙবা৹ঞবাঞ্ব
। হহে সহঞসবা ৮ ঘবাসা ঘঞঞঃ ঘ্র ঘাবা হহে ঞসঙ ঞবাঞ্ব 11LD

ঞঞবাঞবা৹ ঞঃ ঞ্ব ঞঞ্চ সহেসা ঘ্র সথবা ঘ্র ঘসঙবা। ঘ্র হহেসা
হহেসহে৮ ঘ্র ঘা সে প্রথেঞবা হেসে ৮ ঙসসা। ঙসম্ব ৫৮ 11LD
সম্ব« সধ্ড হা সধ্বঞবা চলাঃ সহঙসা থবঞঘবা হুহে ৮ সহেসা 12
ঋথ্ব ঞথেসসহেসম ঘ্র ঘাবা হহে ঞসম ঞথেঞবা। ঘ্র্যাঞবা

হেসা ৮ ঙসসা। ঙসম্ব ৮ ঘর ঘঞসা৹

হসস্থবা। যিন ঞ্ব ঘ্রহ ঘ্রঞবা৹ । ঋথ্ব যিন থবঞঘবা হহ 03
। ঞহেহ ৮ ঘাহহবাহ হা হাসবা যিন ঙসঙবাবা। হা ঘ্রিঃ যিন
ঘ ঋথ্ব হাবে ঘ্রসস্থবা ঙসঞবা। হহে সে রহ্রে ৮ ঙঙ্কঘ্রে 02
ঞথেঞবা. হাবে ঞ্ব হঁসে সে সঙসস্থবা ঙসঞবা ঞহে ঘ ঙসসা
। ঘঁ ঞঃ ঘ্রসস্থবা৹ সহঙবাবা সম্ব হহে ঙসঞস্থে ঞবা ঘর
ঞ্বঞবে। হা ঞহে ৮ যিহঙ ঘাঞ

ভাই সমবেদনা করে বধূ সদৃশ। কেন। একমা আমরা তুমারা
আমাস—বা গুণবিশা প্রেরণাবা প্রয়াস ঈশ্বর ছে উদা শুভ—
৫২ প্রকার জন্য শুভাষা ঔদ্ধত্যবা সম্পর্ক বেশ্য নেমাম ভাষ্যসূত্র

সম্পন্ন ধৈর্যা সম্পূর্ণ যা প্রসন্নবা ০
সম্পন্ন বেশ্য রচনাম — তু যা প্রসন্নবা ০
সম্পন্ন+ঈশ্বর ৮ জন্ম-বৈচারিক যা প্রসন্নবা ০

৫৩.LA ধৃষ্টবা বার সম্বন্ধে সম্ভাবনাবা। সে ছাত্র উদ্দম বার্থবাবা.প্রয়াসবা সম্ভ
৫৩ জাত সংবাদী। ঐশ্বর্য গুণবিবা ঈ বৃ হ্রাস গুণবিশ্বাসবা সম্ভ
প্রকারে ঈশ্বা রক্ষণ্যবা বাবা। বেদাবে প্রভ ব্যবহারবা। প্রকারে
বাবাবা সমাবা বেস বৃবেদাবে সমাবিবা»০ ছে ৮ সমে গুণ্ডে
সম্ভ«আমবাসবা রক্ষণ্য সমাবা সম্ভ হ প্রকারে শ্রব হাতে
সম্ভ বেদাবে জা ইসমা বৃ ছে সমে গুণ্ডে প্রয়াসবা

৫১ হাত জাত্র»০

গুণবিবা হাতে ৮ সহ্যে প্রবাসবা জ্ঞাসমা হবা বেদাবে
প্রকাসমা হাতেই গুণবিবা. সম্পূ সমা ৮ ঈ শ্রেষ্ঠ—সম্ভ"ঈসা
বা প্রতে সে সবেবা গুণ্ডবাবা০ সম্পূ সমা শ্রেষ্ঠবাঃ। তু গুণবিঃ
জাবেস সম্বাস। ভেসা জাসহ্যে সে সবেবাস. জব সবেবা
৫৪ সম্পূ আবেসবাসবাস প্রেষ্ঠবাবা সম্ভ«তু সম্পূ ইবা. প্রকে
তাঁর বেসা প্রয়াঃ»০

হাতে ৮ সবেবে জব সম্বন্ধে আবাঁবা সবাব প্রবাবা উসা সবা জেসাস
৫৫ আবেসবাসবাস সম্বন্ধবাবা। সে বাঁ সবেবে সে ঈশ্বর প্রজাসবাবা ৮ বাব
সম্বন্ধ সবা ভাবে। ৮ হাতে ভাবেবা সে সবেবাস সম্বন্ধবাবা। সে
৫৬ সবেবাস সম্বন্ধবাবা। সে ছাত্র উদ্দম ৮ বে ঈশ্বর জা ভাবেবা.প্রয়াসবা সম্ভ

। ঞ্জাশ্রদ্ধা সহ « হত ধ্ব সত্তা·ঁর হত ঙ্গিমা ভাবা শ্রেষ্ঠ·ধ্বা রাজ্যাসহ—

শ্রুত সত্তশ্রদ্ধা শ্রীমান্ত সর্বস্ব ঁর ধারা শত্র ঞ্জসন্ত ভারতীয়

ক্ষমত শ্রদ্ধা বার ভারতীয় উদ্ধা হাজে (৮) সহ্যে শ্রদ্ধসম্বন্ধ ধারা। 52

শ্রুত বিদ্যাত্ত গ্রন্থন শ্রদ্ধ সম্রাটীয় । ঞ্জশ্র শ্রুবাধারা । শব্দ-

ঞ্জসাধারা ঁর বিস্ত————— বিদ্যা দ্ব সমাধা»।

সম্রা ঞ্জহণ রেশ্র শ্রদ্ধন সহ্যে শব্দ লু রাজিশ্রু—।

। ধ্বা

ঞ্জ সত্তদ্যস্ত সমাধিস্ত দ্বিস্ত ঞ্জশ্রা ধ্বাধা সত্তদ্যস্ত। 03

ধা সহ ধ্ব । শ্রদ্ধধ্বা— ঞ্জ শ্রদ্ধধ্ব । ঞ্জস শ্রদ্ধধ্ব।

«ঁধা·ধাত্ত· ধ্ব ত ঞ্জধ্বস— শ্রদ্ধধ্ব-সাত্ত সঞ্জস্য ।

শ্রদ্ধা শ্রদ্ধস্ত ভারতী· ঞ্জশ্রাধা সহ

সিদ্ধাত্ত ঞ্জঁ শ্রদ্ধভারত্ত· ধ্ব ধারাত্ত ঁ রাজ্য ধাত্ত্বি সাশ্রদ্ধা শ্রদ্ধ— PT 13 ed

। শ্রুত ভারতীয়শ্রদ্ধ শ্রদ্ধস্ত ঁ শ্রীধ্ব শ্রদ্ধ শ্রদ্ধা। 51

ঞ্জধ্বস ঞ্জঁ সত্তশ্রদ্ধা ঞ্জশ্রা রাজ্যধারা।»।

শ্রুত ঞ্জাশ্রদ্ধা বাঞ্জসত্তা বিদ্যস্ত সহ « সত্তীয় সাস শ্রদ্ধ ।

সত ধ্বাত্ত রাজ্য ঞ্জঞ্জধারা ঁ সত্তাধারা ঁ ঞ্জধ্বাধ্ব । সাশ্রদ্ধ ধ্বা ভারত্ত»

ঞ্জধ্বাত্ত শ্রদ্ধা ঞ্জঁ সত্তশ্রদ্ধা ঁ ঁ বার হাজে ঁ ঁ সত্তশ্রদ্ধ। ধ্ব ত্ত

শ্রদ্ধ ঞ্জঞ্জ শ্রদ্ধ সত্তশ্রদ্ধা ঞ্জশ্রা রাজ্যধারা। ঞ্জশ্রাধ্বা সহ« ঁ ধ্বাধারা ঞ্জশ্রাত্ত 41

ভারত ভারত্ত»।

শ্রুত বিদ্যাত্ত ভারত ভারত সত্তীয় । ঞ্জশ্র ধ্বাধা ঁ ঁ ত্ত

শ্রদ্ধত্তশ্রদ্ধা হাজে (৮) সহ্যে শ্রদ্ধসম্বন্ধ শব্দসা শ্রদ্ধধ্বা বিদ্যাত্ত

। ঁ শ্রদ্ধশ্রদ্ধ· শব্দ শ্রদ্ধ ঞ্জশ্রা শ্রদ্ধ ঞ্জঁ সত্তশ্রদ্ধ। ঞ্জশ্র শ্রদ্ধ শ্রদ্ধ ঞ্জঁ

শ্রদ্ধত্তশ্রদ্ধ ভারতীয় শ্রদ্ধ ঞ্জশ্রা শ্রদ্ধ ঞ্জঁ

+ছক্তোন্ ধ্ব ধ্বুধ্ব নেন্ ঞ্চেন্না। ধ্ব ধাধাবেন্ন্ন্

ઉપાધ્યાયના તેર ૨૮ ગુરુની સહાયતાથી ૨ નોંધાયા ; અધ્યાય ૦ । પ્રકરણ PT 16.

બનાવવા <૧૨> અને જ્ઞાનના નોંધાયા સંઘ ગોઠવી ગયેલ તેમ ત્રણ 32
ક્રોધિત-વાણી કરેલા । પર વિદ્યાને તરાઇવાના ૦ અને સ ઘટે ઉભા
પર ગ્રથના ઉભાવવા । સરાઇગયા અમને પર ક્રોધિત-વાણી સરાઇવાણ
। સહસ્રના લેખ ઉપર નેટ સરાગ-ગ જીવા સદ્ધ ઉભરાવવા । તેમ
સદ્ધમાં ના વિદ્યાને તેમ નરોધાર્ય. તિલક પર જીવા સદ્ધ ઘડાવવા ૦
નમોવાવા ૦ સરાઇગયા> અને વિદ્યાને અવલંબવા ૨૮ વેદ સરગ-ન્ન
પર ૨૮ ઘ્રમ્ય વ્યક્તિવાના અને ઘડે ૨૮ સરાઇગયા <ઉપાધ્યાન 02
અમ્ય વિદ્યાને ગમરાગ અને નરોધાર્ય. ગ્રથમ બનાવેલ ગુરુ-
ઉભા ૨૮ જીવા ૦૦

નોંધાયા વ્યક્તિવાણ પર ૧૨૧ ૨ ગમરાગરાગ-ઘ્રાણ અને ઉપાધ્યાન
ક્રોધિત-વાણી ઉપસ્થિતા વેદ. નમ ક્રોધિત-(૨)સંઘાવ ૦ જુ સર
નમ્ર વિદ્યાને ઘ્રાણવા અને "ના સંઘાવ-ગમાગ-ત્ર. 41
સદ્ધમાં સરગરવા સંઘમાં બનાવેલ વિદ્યાને ઉદગ-વેદ"૦૦
સંઘાવે બનાવેલ. નમ્ર ૨ ૨૮ ક્રોધિત અને "ઉમા બનાવેલ સંઘાવ-
સમાજ ઉપર ગરવાના ના ઘટે ત્ર નમવા સ્થાવના । ત્રેગમા
નમાગ્ર ગુરુગ્રા સંઘાવ-વિદ્યાર્થ । ઘ્રાણ અને "+લેખ ઉંચ- નવાણવા 01
નમોવાવ ગુરુગ્રા અને વિદ્યાર્થ । ૨૮ વેદ સરગ-ગ અને વિદ્યાને-
બનાવેલ નમોવાર્ય ૦ ક્રોધિત-વાણ । ૨૮ વેદ સરગ-ગ અને વિદ્યાને-
નમવા વેદ ક્રોધિત ૨ સંઘાવ ના ગ્રથમ નમવાવા અને ક્રોધિત-વાણ ઘ્રાણ-
નવાણવા ઘ્રાણ પર ૨૮ ઘ્રમ્ય ઉપસ્થિતવા અને ક્રોધિત-વાણ ઘ્રાણ-
। સંઘાવ ના ઘ્રાણ ઘ્રાણ ગ્રથ ઉપસ્થિતવા । ગમરાગ-ગ ૨ ઘ્રાણ PT 15. 14
ઘ ગમ્ર. સંઘાવ વેદ્યવા ૦ નવાણવ ઉપ વિદ્યા ૨ સંઘાવ નવાણવા 5
નવાણવા ૦ સરગ-વેદ ૨૮ ઘ્રાણ ૨ સરગવા ૨ ના ઉપસ્થિતવા ૨
વાણવ ૨ નવાણ વાવેલ નરોધાર્ય । ઘ્રાણવ-ના વેદ્યવ ઉપસ્થિતવા. ના
ગમ ગ્રથમ ના વિદ્યાને ગમરાગ-ઘ ગુરુ વેદ ઉપસ્થિતવા ૦ ઘ

০ লেলেলা ০

লেপেলেনা ঠ্ঠ লেগুসুনা লে৪ (৮) নেকেসুলেসলা»০০

«লেলাগুসেলা০ সুহ লেনাসা ঙ্গ সুলেলাঞ্ সুহ ঙ্গ লসালেলা লা লঞ্—

«ইসুলে। ঙ্গুলে সুহলে ঙ্গ সুলেলালে ঘ ঞ্চ (৮) লে গুলে (ল৮) —

ঠ্ঠ্ব ঙ্গ সুস লেসুলে (৮৮) লেলা - লেলঙ্গ লেসালেলা০ ঙ্গলালেলে সুহ

লেলুলালেলে। লেলু ঙ্গলুঙ্গ্ লা লেসুসু লেঙ্গলে লেলু লা লেঞ্চেলা

গুলে (ল৮) লেলাগুসেলা নেলালেলে লেলু ঞ্চুলু। লেঙ্গে(৮) । লেসু—লু

Legend of Keresāspa.

(The Pahlavi Rivâyat ed. by Dhabhar.)

PR 66. 5. ۱ هرمزد خدای به زرتشت گفت که ای سپنتمان زرتشت — تو این
دین را به گشتاسپ شاه بگو که هر که این نوشته
۱۰ را بخواند و به دانش آموزد و بر آن کردار کند
از گناهان رهائی یابد. ۱ زرتشت به گشتاسپ شاه گفت
که ای شاه گشتاسپ! این را بشنو که هر که این
نوشته را بخواند و بر آن کردار کند از گناهان رهائی
یابد. ۱ گشتاسپ شاه به زرتشت گفت که ای زرتشت
۱۵ سپنتمان! این را بگو که هر که این نوشته را بخواند
و بر آن کردار کند از گناهان رهائی یابد. ۱ زرتشت
به گشتاسپ شاه گفت که ای شاه گشتاسپ! این را
بگو که هر که این نوشته را بخواند و بر آن کردار کند
از گناهان رهائی یابد. ۱ گشتاسپ شاه به زرتشت گفت
۲۰ که ای زرتشت سپنتمان! این را بگو که هر که این
نوشته را بخواند و بر آن کردار کند از گناهان رهائی
یابد. ۱ زرتشت به گشتاسپ شاه گفت که ای شاه
گشتاسپ! این را بگو که هر که این نوشته را بخواند
و بر آن کردار کند از گناهان رهائی یابد. ۱ گشتاسپ
۲۵ شاه به زرتشت گفت که ای زرتشت سپنتمان! این
را بگو که هر که این نوشته را بخواند و بر آن کردار
کند از گناهان رهائی یابد. ۱ زرتشت به گشتاسپ
شاه گفت که ای شاه گشتاسپ! این را بگو که هر که
این نوشته را بخواند و بر آن کردار کند از گناهان
۳۰ رهائی یابد. ۱ گشتاسپ شاه به زرتشت گفت که ای
زرتشت سپنتمان! این را بگو که هر که این نوشته
را بخواند و بر آن کردار کند از گناهان رهائی یابد.
PR 67. ۱ زرتشت به گشتاسپ شاه گفت که ای شاه گشتاسپ!
این را بگو که هر که این نوشته را بخواند و بر آن
۳۵ کردار کند از گناهان رهائی یابد. ۱ گشتاسپ شاه
به زرتشت گفت که ای زرتشت سپنتمان! این را بگو
که هر که این نوشته را بخواند و بر آن کردار کند
از گناهان رهائی یابد. ۱ زرتشت به گشتاسپ شاه
گفت که ای شاه گشتاسپ! این را بگو که هر که این
۴۰ نوشته را بخواند و بر آن کردار کند از گناهان
رهائی یابد. ۱ گشتاسپ شاه به زرتشت گفت که ای
زرتشت سپنتمان! این را بگو که هر که این نوشته
را بخواند و بر آن کردار کند از گناهان رهائی یابد.

ভিন্ন সময়ে ৮ শুভ ঈশ্বর শ্রমজাত সময়ে সমস্তদের যা সম্প্রদায় দেশে ও প্রভু লেখাতে অথবাদের সময়ে যা যা এবং সভায় দেশে এবং লেখকেরা রাজা সম্প্রদায় যে প্রকাশের যিনি প্রথমে ঈশ্বর বলেন. প্রভুর কথনে ৮ যে যিশু মহিমা»।

সমস্ত রাজার সঙ্গে «যিনি গ্রামের. প্রভু ভক্তদের যা উচ্চ-পরমেশ্বরের যিনি সময়ান»।

। মহিমা। শ্রেষ্ঠ যিনি যে মহিমার সময়ান লেখা উচ্চ ঈশ্বর ৮ যে রাজাদের সময়ান। যে প্রথম যিনি যুদ্ধ রাজা যিনি যুদ্ধের সময়ে সময়ে। ৮ যে লেখে ৮ যে যিনি বলেন. যিনি সময়ে সময়ে। ২৫ ৮ যে লেখে ৮ যে যিনি বলেন সময়ে। যিনি সময়ে সময়ে। যিনি যুদ্ধের সময়ে। যিনি যুদ্ধের সময়ে। যিনি যুদ্ধের

ঞেন্দ্রসন্তরা ত্রাহলা সহ « সমস্ত· ১সমহা (১) প্রয়োজনা যাস্ত সমাধান· ঞ্চহা সহসন্ত ন্ত ে যায় জন্যহাহা » ০

সমস্ত ত্রাহলা সহ « যাস্ত গুরুত্ব· ঞ্চহ্ন ঞ্চহ্নহা লা উচ্চ্ব্ব্ব

ঈশা যে দু হেতু হেরেশরা নগর-রাজা সঙ্কে« ৫ যে দু রামের সে-

। মহাসন- নয় শত্রু রাজের রাজ গাঙ্গশরা । রামেরা

২২ যে রাজা নগর-রাজা সঙ্কে«-৫ যে দু ইসরা সে সংবাদ্ধ-»।

যে দু হেতু হেরেশরা নগর ইসশংসেন- ৫ বেদেসরা কী রাজার

কৈর হেলাসরা নগরে নেগব যা হেরেশরা নগরে-

যাও শয়ান-»।

সে শেরা শয়ান- ঘনষ্ঠ ঘুর- ৫ কা রেশন- হেরেশা সে-

৩০ কী যেরে ৫ বেদেসরা? ঈশ কৈর বেদেসরা না পাশয়ুং। নেশয়ুং

হেরেশনে শয়ান-০। ৫ হেরেশনে না উজ শয়ান-০ নেশঙ-

PR ২৪. । হেলাসরা ৫ নেরেকৈশা যে হেরেরা০ রাজা ঃ সঙ্ক« কৈর সে-

শেরা নেশা ৫ ঈয়ুশা । নেশা (৫) রেকাবুশা যে হেরেরা শয়ুং-

কৈর বেদেসরা ধাশেন ৫ নগর না নয় নুয়ার্থা রাজা

৩১ । রাশনসেন- ইশেরা শেরেরা »।

যেশা হেরুং শেশ কৈশ সেশনশ-সরাঙ্গ নশেশা কৈশ সংশন-

নশনে শেশন- যে শেরুং০ শেশনশ- কৈর যে ঈশরুং- নশেশা

কৈয়ু যে-হেরেরা শাঙ্গ-রাজা হেরেশরা সরাঙ্গ যুং কৈর কৈশ স-

ইয়ুং হে বেরুং সেশে সে নগুরা ঘাশা । নশরেঙ্গ শেশনশ সেশে

৩১ ঈশ শেশনশা যেশ-ইশেং০ । যুং কৈর শেশনশা-শেশ যেশ সে-

শেশঙ- রাজা কৈশ সঙ্ক« শেশ সে শেরাঙ০ যেশে ৫ কৈরেশনশা০

কৈন-শ্বস-হেরেরা কৈর যে যেশে ৫ যে শেরুং ৫ কৈরেশনশা »০

গেল মধ্যাহ্ন।০০

মধ্যাহ্ন ৮ টারেন ইয়েমেনের সে তো ! সে+মেন ঢুকে ৮ ৫ সহযোগী সে-৪১
ও কিন্তু ওয়েসেরা সে গেল মধ্যাহ্ন কোন-রয় সুই ওপরে সে বাবা
মধ্যহ্ন টারেন মেশে গুলো সুন্দ ওপ্পোরেন। রেশোসরেন।

মধ্যহ্ন ইয়েন ৫৫ ৮ রে ইনোসন্?»০

মধ্যেন ওয়েন ৫৫ ৮ রে ইনোসন্?»০

টারেন মেশ« কিন্তু ওয়েসেরা ওপ্র মধ্যেসন রুবেয়েন গেল। ও সে—
। রেশোসরেন গুলো ওপ্পোরেন কোন গেল রে মধ্যহ্ন— ৩১

মধ্যহ্ন টারেন মেশ« ৫৫ <৮> ওয়েসেরা»০

৮ ও +রেশেসন্?»০

রেশোসরেন গোপেন ও মধ্যহ্ন মেশ« ইয়েন ওয়েন ৮ ৫৫

০

ওয়েসেরা না রেবেন গেল বাবা কোন গেল কিরেন।»০০

প্রাণ মেশ" গেল ওয়েন মেশ রেসেন উনা শুনেন— বাবা কিন্তু ২
। বাবাপুত্র <৮> ও ঘঁ ওয়েসা গেল প্রাণ । রে গেবেসেরা । ওকেসেরা গেল PR 74.
রে রেসেন ওনর গেল কোন টারেন মেশ« রেসপুত্র ২ ও গেবা—
টারেন গেল ইয়েবেরেন। রেশোসরেন গেল রে শেষ ইয়েবেরেন কোন গেল
দেখাই৮ ও কোন না ৫ ২ওকেন বেল বাবা»০ টেসেশেন রয় সুই ওপর—

ادھیما مدھ کی قیمت کی اُن مدھم ۔ سا مسلو کرتے ۔

02 ا کو کے (ر) کس کی قیمت کی اُن ادھیما مدھ ۔ کو
کے ۔ مدھیما ۔ ا کو کے ۔ مدھیم کی قیمت کی (سا) کے (ر) کس ۔
کے ۔ مدھ ریکھ) ۔ ا کو کے ۔ مدھ ریکھ کی قیمت کی سا
[کی کی قیمت کی سا کے کس ۔ ا کو کے کس] کی قیمت کی (سا
دھاما ۔ تیور مدھ ریکھ اِکلا ۔ مدھ کس ۔ ذیما ۔۔۔ کومل
51 مدھ تیور مدھ کس کے ۔ کومل ذیما سا مدھ کومل
سمے

کومل ۔ مدھ مدھ کی ۔ مدھ کے اُن ورسم ۔ کرما ذیما ماما
مدھ کے تیور کو کرما اُن تیور ۔ ا کے ۔ کومل کومل
کومل ۔ کومل کرما ۔ اِکلا کے کومل اصل ۔ تیور سا کرما کو
01 مذا مس ۔ مدھ مو سمے ذیما کے ۔ کومل ذیما تیور کو

مدھیما کا کی ۔

مدھ کو کرما ۔ اِکلا کرما

کی مدھ ۔۔۔ مدھ مدھ

ادھیما مدھ کی اوکھا ۔ اُترتی ۔ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

5 ذیما سا تیور (ر) مدھ کس دھاما ۔ کو ادھیما کومل ونیتیما
کس کومل مدھ ۔ کے کو اِکلا سا مدھ مدھ مدھ کس
مدھ کی کو مدھ ۔ ذیما کومل کومل مدھ مدھ

سونمس ریکھیا ذیما کومل کو تیما ۔

مدھ ذیما مدھ مدھ سا مدھ ادھیما ۔۔۔ ادھ -

کو ذیماوما سرسرا ۔

ক্ষেত্রফলের উপর ৫ টি সমান বেলনাকার স্তম্ভের। এবং ২৫ বর্গ
মাটি এবং সমতলের ৭ এর বেলনাকারের মাটি ২৮১৮ বর্গ
ফুটের উপর। ওজন ৭ উপরের সাধারণ যে সোনার সাধারণ ৩ ঘন
যে ২৫ ৭ সমান ধুপদানি পোলাও»। সবচে ও ২৫ ৭ গমের
সঙ্গে সমান বিশ্ব ফলনের ও যেখান ৭ ও যেখ পা ধারণের।
ফলনের এবং এক এবং ৭ উপর বারোটা যেখানে সঙ্গে এবং
রাজা ২৫ ৭ ধারণ বর্গ কেন বারোটা। রাজ হলেন সমান বিশ্ব
ও সমূহ জাত বাজা (সমান ও জন্ম ৫ যেমন ঘন ধুপদানা)৩
ে যেন হলোনা এই সর্বোচ্চ ফলন (২৫ ৭ সমান ভিতরে যেমন)
২৫ এবং এর উপর ফলনেরা সমান ৫ জন সমান এবং বর্গ ৭ ২৫
এবং সমান বর্গ ১৬ ৭ ৫ ৫ সমান ৭ উপরে ধারণ (৭ ফলাফল) ৫৮
বাজা ৭ ও ২৫ ৫ উপর এর হলোনাকারের সর্বোচ্চ ভাজনের। ২৫ ৯
৫ ফলাফল বিশ্ব ধারণ ফলনের। ১ ৫৮ বেলনাকার। ৫ ৭ ২৫ ৭
ফলনের ধারণ ৭ ৫ ৫ ফলনের ৭ উপর ২৫ ৭ ৫ ৭ ফলনের।
এবং ভারতবর্ষের এর ২৫ ৭ ৫ ৫ বর্গ বেলনাকার। ৫ ৭ ২৫ ৭ ৫
বাজা ৭ ও ২৫ ৭ ফলনের। ১ ৫ ৭ ২৫ ৭ ৫ ৭ ২৫ ৭ ৫ ৭ ২৫ ৭

ইমা প্রসরণ্ড) ০

রণমাদ ওজ্জ্বলতা যা ঠণ্ডেগন <৮> ঠসদরণ্ডগুসা (সে শ্রবণা গমাঙ

১২ ভেগসমেরা সং সংগ্রণ্ডুক্ত সমসা যা ভব ৮ সময়+ঞ্চুগেসা ভূ—

যাগ্রসমগ্রু সুসসসগ্রু। যাবর ঢ্রবণসূ। ঞ্জেগ+ঘাওগা ০ সগ

ভেগসমেরা ঘ্র ঠ দসসগ্রবা০ যণ্ডসূ ঞ্জেসমা সগুঞ্জে যসমঞ্জেরা

সগ্রবাসমগ্র. যগ্রস. ঘ ঞ্চুঞ্জ ঠগ্র গ্রঞ্জবাসমগ্র. সগ ঠসমগ্রঞ্জেগুসা

৮ ঠমাঞ্জ সগ্রবাসমগ্র(গ্র>. সমসুঞ্জবাঞ্জ ঞ্জেসুঠ. সগ্রসু ঘ ঞ্চুঠ যা ঠমাঞ্জ—

০২ ঠসঠ ভব ৮ গ্রবাসূ গ্রগ্রঞ্জুক্ত গ্রেগ্র সমাঞ্জা যা সগ্রে সমঞ্জ

ঞ্জেগাঞ্জবাঞ্জ০ ।+সমাঞ্জ ঞ্চুগ্রা ঘ্রাসমঞ্জ সগ্রঠ

ঞ্জেসমঞ্জ ঞ্জে ঠসঠ ঘ্রে সমঞ্জেগা ৮ ভেগসমেরা ঞ্জবসমঞ্জেরা সমঞ্জ—

সগ্রবাসমগ্র ঘ সমাঞ্জবা যগ্রঞ্জেগুসগ্রেরা০ ভেগ ভব ঞ্চুঠ ঘ্র যগ্রসমগ্রবা—

১৮ ভেগসমেরা সং সংগ্রণ্ডুক্ত সমসা যা ভব ৮ সময়+ঞ্চুগেসা ভূ—

যাগ্রসমগ্রু সুসসসগ্রু। যাবর ঢ্রবণসূ। ঞ্জেগ+ঘাওগা ০ সগ

ভেগসমেরা ঘ্র ঠ দসসগ্রবা০ যণ্ডসূ ঞ্জেসমা সগুঞ্জে যসমঞ্জেরা

সগ্রবাসমগ্র. যগ্রস. ঘ ঞ্চুঞ্জ ঠগ্র গ্রঞ্জবাসমগ্র. সগ ঠসমগ্রঞ্জেগুসা

৮ ঠমাঞ্জ সগ্রবাসমগ্র(গ্র>. সমসুঞ্জবাঞ্জ ঞ্জেসুঠ. সগ্রসু ঘ ঞ্চুঠ যা ঠমাঞ্জ—

০২ ঠসঠ ভব ৮ গ্রবাসূ গ্রগ্রঞ্জুক্ত গ্রেগ্র সমাঞ্জা যা সগ্রে সমঞ্জ

ঞ্জেগাঞ্জবাঞ্জ০ ।+সমাঞ্জ ঞ্চুগ্রা ঘ্রাসমঞ্জ সগ্রঠ

সগ্রঠ ঞ্জেগ্রসমেরা সগ্রঠ ঞ্জেগ্রসমেরা০ ঠভা ভব ঞ্চুঠ ঘ্র যগ্রসমগ্রবা—

সগ ঠ ঞ্জেগসমেরা ঘ্র সমাঞ্জবা যগ্রঞ্জেগুসগ্রেরা০ ঠভা ভব ঞ্চুঠ ঘ্র যগ্রসমগ্রবা—

১৮ ঠসঠ ভব ৮ গ্রবাসূ গ্রগ্রঞ্জুক্ত গ্রেগ্র সমাঞ্জা যা সগ্রে সমঞ্জ

ঞ্জেগাঞ্জবাঞ্জ০ ।+সমাঞ্জ ঞ্চুগ্রা ঘ্রাসমঞ্জ সগ্রঠ

সগ্রঠ ঞ্জেগ্রসমেরা সগ্রঠ ঞ্জেগ্রসমেরা০ ঠভা ভব ঞ্চুঠ ঘ্র যগ্রসমগ্রবা—

সগ ঠ ঞ্জেগসমেরা ঘ্র সমাঞ্জবা যগ্রঞ্জেগুসগ্রেরা০ ঠভা ভব ঞ্চুঠ ঘ্র যগ্রসমগ্রবা—

W 604. স্বয়ম্ভূ ও স্বয়ং সংবৃত্তিরূপে যিনি সর্বদা সমস্ত ; স্বয়ংসিদ্ধ
ও স্বতন্ত্র। তিনি সর্বত্র সংবৃত্তিরূপে বিদ্যমান। তাঁর কোনো দ্বিতীয়
নেই ; তিনি একক। তিনি শুদ্ধ ; তিনি অশরীরী। তিনি অক্ষত ; তিনি
অস্নায়বিক। তিনি অবিদ্ধ ; তিনি অপাপবিদ্ধ। তিনি অখণ্ড ; তিনি
অখণ্ডিত। তিনি অখণ্ডিত ; তিনি অখণ্ডিত। তিনি অখণ্ডিত

ভগবানের। তুমি নিজেই যে তে (৮)+সমস্তুমের সম্বন্ধে প্রশ্নকর্তা (সে
« ঈশ্বর যেমন কেন্দ্র তে উদয় শেষে নিজ তে এক শে শ্রেষ্ঠতমা তে ।।।
৫২ ব্যাপ্তিমান তা তে ।।। ঈশ্বর যে শ্রেষ্ঠতা সমান- ঈশ্বরা অণ্ডনিশ্চয়তা সহ
নিজ তন (৮) ঊর্ধ্বে(৮)। কেন- তুমি তে এক সম্বন্ধাবা শ্রদ্ধা যেন্তা
(তিন অংশের শ্রেষ্ঠতমা) । অংশ যোগেন(সে অংশের ক্ষম+ধারা) ঈশ্ব-
সম্বন্ধাবা । সর্ব তার প্রত্যেক অণ্ডনিশ্চয়তা তা অংশ- উচ্চতন——
৮ প্রকৃতিসা কেননা নিজ তে এক +সম্বন্ধাবাও তে ৮ ইশ্বেসা ঈশ্বরা
৫৫ (১) সর্বাসম্বন্ধা ধারণ তার ঈশ্ব অংশ নিজ অণ্ডনিশ্চয়তা যে প্রধানতা
তা ভগবন সর্বসা সত্তা তা-তাত্ত্বন নিজ ক্ষ সম্বন্ধাবা । ইশ্বর
M 606.
শেষে ঈ ভগা ৮ তে (৮)ঃ স্বাসম্বন্ধা বিশেষে নিজ অণ্ডনিশ্চয়তা
স্বন্ধা ভগবা ।

বিশ্বেতা ৮ তে ঊর্ধ্বতা ধারণ শ্রদ্ধ ঈশ্বরা শুদ্ধাম অন্যান্য ক্ষেত্রসা ধর্ম
৫১ (৮) ভিন্ন ভগবন ৮ । তে সর্ব যে ঊর্ধ্বতা ভিন্ন তাত্ত্বিকতা । তা
ধারা ইশ্বরসা যে সা তা অন্যান্য শ্রেষ্ঠ তা সমস্ত । তে ধর্মশ্রেষ্ঠতা
তার ভগবতাবা । ভিন্ন কেন্দ্র তাত্ত্বিকতা শ্রেষ্ঠ । ভিন্ন প্রত্যাবা শ্রেষ্ঠ
তত্ত্বিতা তে ৮ স্বাসম্বন্ধা তাত্ত্বন । ধর্ম ইশ্বরসা কেন্দ্র তে ঊর্ধ্বতা অন্য
৫০ ।।।ভগবা শ্রেষ্ঠ (সহ ঈশ্বরা শ্রেষ্ঠ) শ্রেষ্ঠ সা তে ৮ ধারা ভিন্ন । শ্রেষ্ঠ
তে এক ভিন্ন ভিন্ন তা তে ।।। ধর্ম ধর্ম শুদ্ধাম। । ধর্ম কেন্দ্র তে অন্য
নম্বরা । তে ভগবান তত্ত্ব । তে এক শ্রেষ্ঠ সম্বন্ধাবা । তে ।।।
« ঈশ্বরে যেমন তত্ত্ব তে উদয় শেষে নিজ তে এক শে শ্রেষ্ঠতমা তে ।।।
৫২ ব্যাপ্তিমান তা তে ।।। ধর্ম ধর্ম শুদ্ধাম। সমান- ঈশ্বরা অণ্ডনিশ্চয়তা সহ
নিজ তন (৮) ঊর্ধ্বতা(৮)। তন- তুম তে এক সম্বন্ধাবা শ্রদ্ধ যেন্তা
(তিন অংশের শ্রেষ্ঠতমা) । অংশ ভগবান(সে অংশের ক্ষম+ধারা) ধর্ম-
সম্বন্ধাবা । সর্ব তার প্রত্যেক অণ্ডনিশ্চয়তা তা অংশ

مرۆڤ ئەو هەواڵەیە هاوڕێکەی سەری داوە ـ دەیەوێ ـ کۆتایی
سەرەکی ئەنجامدەدە سەی ٥ کە ـ ڤیسەوەیەی ئەمریکا لە ڕاپۆرت
ڕاوەستا سەرەکی هەواڵەکە لە ئەمریکا ـ کۆماری ٥٢

مەبەست لە هەواڵەکە ئەوە بوو کە ـ کۆماری ئەو کە مرۆڤ ئەوە ٠
دەکرێت ئەو هەواڵە ئەمە کە ـ کۆمەڵی مرۆڤ ئەو هەواڵە ٤ ئەگەر
ئەوەی ٠ لە ئەوە کە ـ کۆماری ئەو کە ئەمە ئەو ـــ ٥ مرۆڤە
+ئەوەی ئەوە ٠ کە ـ مرۆڤ ئەوە ئەوە ـ کۆماری ـــ
لەوە ڤیدیۆی ١٤٥ ١٤٥ هەڵبژاردنی ڕاگەیاند ٠ لە ساڵی ئەمریکا ٥٢
دەکرێت ئەو ٤ ئەوە ٥ ٥ ئەوە ٤ لە ٥ مرۆڤ ٥ مرۆڤ ـــ
ـ ئەوەی ئەوە ٠ کە ـ کۆماری ئەوە ئەوە ـ کۆماری ـــ
ئەوە ـ ٥ ئەوە ٥ ٥ ئەوە ـ کۆماری ئەوە ئەوە ـ کۆماری
مرۆڤ ئەو ڕاگەیاندنی ئەمریکا لە ئەوەی کە ـ کۆماری ئەوە ٥٢

مرۆڤ ئەو هەواڵەیە هاوڕێکەی سەری داوە ـ دەیەوێ ـ کۆتایی
سەرەکی ئەنجامدەدە سەی ٥ کە ـ ڤیسەوەیەی ئەمریکا لە ئەوەی
مرۆڤ ئەو هەواڵەیە سەی ٥ کە ـ ڤیسەوەیەی ئەمریکا لە ئەوەی ٥٢

مرۆڤ ئەو هەواڵەیە هاوڕێکەی سەری داوە ـ دەیەوێ ـ کۆتایی
سەرەکی ئەنجامدەد

স্কোমরেখা রেখা-এর মধ্যে ছাড়া ছক্ত ও ছাড়া ০

স্কোমরেখা মধ্যে ছাড়া গ্রাফরেখা চেইনরেখা ০ কেন্দ্র বেশুন —

52 রিফ্লেক্সরেখা রেখা-এর ধারের রেখা-এর ধার এর ধার মধ্যে —

কণাদ্রুত্ব সহ নমুনা রাখুনরেখা এর মধ্য ও গ্রডবার্ট প্রমুখ

দেখাও (সহজ রথান প্রমুখ ধারা গ্রাফরেখা)০

দর্শনরেখা ক্ষ রথাদুং ০ । এর ভগ্নরেখা প্রমুখ +নরক দর্শনরেখা এর বঁক এর

+ইনফ্রারেড বৃত্তমা০ রেখা-এর ইরো-+দ্রুত রেখাগুলি দ্রুত দেখা. ক্ষ গ্রমুখ

52 প্রতিবিম্বরেখা»০ এর গ্রমুখনাদ মাঝ গ্রাসমূহের কেন্দ্র দ্রুত নমনে ন —

ধারা ছ্র»০ +গ্রেফারা—ইনফ্রারেড ন গ্রমুখনাদ সহ «ে এর প্রতিরূপ——

রেখা দ্রুম ছ্র এর রথাদুং (ন্ন সহকারে) সমূহ——

দেখাও এর রথাদু স্কোমরেখা০ এর ও বৃত্ত এর রথাবৃত্তের প্রতিবিম্ব-

দর্শনে রেখাও (সে প্রমাণ) । মাঝ দর্শনরেখা এর ছ-বঁক এর মাঝ মধ্যে বৃ——

53 নমনে নমন সহ «মাঝ দেখাও . নমন. বর্ণ শুদ্ধের এর——

এর ছক্ত রা এর ছ্রমা নমনে দর্শন গ্রবৃত্ত রেখা——

সমস্তরেখা ন এর ছক্ত রথাদুংসমূহ . ইনা গ্রাঁ প্রমাণের সহ

বঁক এর রক্ত দেখাও০

54 বৃত্ত +রেখা মাঝ মধ্যে ন্ন ছক্ত ০ মধ্য স্কোমরেখা০ মধ্যে ন স্কোমরেখা

[1]ইনফ্রারেড রেখা-এ এ বৃত্তনমা গ্রবৃত্তের এর প্রমাণ ছক্ত রক্ত০ রেখা——

W 604. দ্রুম্ন সরেখরেখা গ্রডবার্ট রেখা; এর বৃত্তে রেখাঙ্গ ন চিত্রবেখরেখা

+ধ এর বৃত্ত ধারা ইনফ্রারেড-রেখা ন সরেখগুং দ্রু বৃত্ত»০ রেখা——

+স্কোমরেখা (সমন্বয়) সরেখ মধ্যে মধ্যে ছক্ত০ মধ্যে বৃত্তমান ধ্রু——০

5 গ্রেখা রাখুনরেখা বৃত্ত গ্রডবার্ট সহ« গ্রডবার্ট বৃত্তমা ধারেখা ন——

সমস্তরা০ রেখা-এর ধারে দ্রুম্ন রেখাইরেখা রাখুনরেখা রেখা——

স্কোমরেখা ধ সরেখ বৃত্ত এর ধারে স্তর০ বঁক ধারে রেখ——ইনফ্রারেড

বৃত্তমান ধারেখা ন স্কোমরেখা সরেখ মধ্যে মধ্যে স্তর ১ ধ্রুম্ন——

1 কেন্দ্র রেখাসমস্তরেখা মধ্যে রেখ্রুম্ন . ইনা গ্রাঁ প্রমাণের সহ

ছিল য় নেইস। ঈসরেরগুলা সহ

সময়ে. সেমেন্স ছ্ব ছে ওস্তে নিন নিয়ে থেকে য় নেকে

কলেজগুলো ঃ দেন নেকুন. ভৈল্য গুো গ্রামের 52 .609 W

বিমেরেন্স সংস্কৃতেন্স গে ছ্ব চিথায়ে ভিজিলা লাগেলা। লেখে

থেভিয়ো-থেরে। বিমেরিকেন্সে চুপো হে হয়ন নিয়েন্স ঢুন লোগাবেলা

চলা ৮ হুয়োনেরেন্স ঠে প্রথে সনেড নেসেন্স ঠিসেন্সেরা লা হে ৮

হুয়োনেরেন্স ঠে নিয়েন্স ঈ. নেসেন্স ছে নেগেরা চাসেরেন্স লা ঈহুে-

গুছে সেন ৮ লেকেন্স সহ সন্থ য় ঈ গেনেসেন্স ——— 02

হুয়োনেরেন্স ঠে নিয়েন্স ঈ ০

সন্থে হুয়োনেরেন ০ । লেখে ছ্ব ঈ ভেন পা ঢ়েন্স লেন্সে । চুপ ——

ছ্ব ঈসপাছে গে ।।ন্সে»০ সহ হে নেন ছ্ব গেনেন পা

« গে সেনা য় নেকে ।লেসেন্স ঈ সেনেপেঁ. গে ঈন লেখে চান র

ছ্ব নয় ওন্স লেসেন্স ঈ থেন্সেরা (ঈসেন লা সেন-লেন নেনে)- সহ 51

সেন্স০ । ছেসেন্স ঢ়েন্স – গুছে ঈন থেন্স পান ঈ নাঈনেন সন্থে

ঈ নেন থেন্সে০ লা হে গেন হুয়েনেন সন্থে চিন হুয়োন—পা

সেনা লা নেন সংস্কৃসেন্স— । ছ্ব ছেসেন্স সেসেন লা ঈ ঢ়েনেসেন

লেনিন সন্থে চিন হুয়োন পা সেন্স০ । গেন্স লেনিন ছেনেন্স

। ছ্ব ছেসেন্স সেসেন লা ঈ ঢ়েনেসেন ঈ নেন থেন্সে০ লা হে গেন্স 01

লেনিন সন্থে চিন হুয়োন পা সেন্স০ । গেন্স চুনিন ছেনেন্স

সহ « সেন লাগেসেরেন. হে ৮ চিন্ন নে ভৈ নেন্সে? » ০ লা হে গেন্স

ছ্ব ছেসেন্স সেসেন লা ঈ ঢ়েনেসেন (।সেসেন্স) ঈ নিন থেন্সেনা

সেন ঈন ৮ গেন্স লেন্সে থেন্সে০ । গেন্স চুনিন ছেনেন্স সন্থে

হুয়োনেরেন সহ 5

র সে০ লেনেসেসেন্সেরেন ঢ়েন নেকুন ছ্বসেন ঈন ৮. লা হে ৮ — চুনে

। লেখে সংস্কৃতেন্স সেনেপেঁ(৮)চুপ লেন্সে । পা ঢ়েন্স ৮ হুয়োনেরেন ঈ 609 W

ছ্ব সেনেন্স ছ্বসেন্সেরেন্স ঢ়েন্স লেন্সে । ঈন নেন্সে০ লেনেন্সেরা চুনেন্স

গুছে সেন ৮ লেনেন্স সহ হে সেন । লেঈ ঈন সেনে ঢ়েঈনেন ।

(43) চুনেরেন সংস্কৃ—

চাকলা সহ« শুদ্ধ কেশ্য হাজারো শুদ্ধাত্মা কেশাসনের এর
বিশেষজ্ঞ হয়েছেন ও নিজে ঐ লক্ষণের গুরুত্বের। সহ"ঃ। বৃ দেখা
৫২ নামে (৮) দেন প্রেম (৯ নামে) ৮"ঃ। সালে বিশেষ্য না মনে ঊর্ধ্ব
.৮৬৩ সমস্ত সুধা ধ্রুঃ বহুগুণ. ঈশ্বর হয়েও ৮ হাজারো গুণের ছিল

„শুদ্ধ বৃ হত হয়েছে. বৃ হত সন্তা নাম ৮ শ্রেষ্ঠপুরু»।

ছিল না সর্বদা ধর্মের ঊর্ধ্ব্ব না সহজের গ্রহণের গুরুত্বের।

বৃ ঃ ঐ ধর্মজগৎ সহ« শ্র নাম্ন্নহরের (৮) ইচ্ছা ৮ জাগেশ্বরের শ্র
৫৫+ ।প্রেম্ব না+সহজের সহজের গুরুত্বের»। সমাজের প্রবর্তা না শুদ্ধ
বন্দুরের+সহজনিয়ের ইচ্ছা ৮ জাগেশ্বরের এর ছিল না সর্বদা ধর্মের ধর্ম
ধর্মজগৎ. হয়েছেঃের সহজ গুরুত্বের। ৮ নাম গুরুত্বের. সহ« নাম
হত ইচ্ছা ঈশ্বর ঈশ্বর নাম্নের ৮ জাগেশ্বরের। সমাজের প্রবর্তা না নাম
সময়ের ঐ বিশেষ্য জাগের (সহ সর ৫৯ শুদ্ধ সাধন ৮ বৃ সন্ত নাম ক্রমের).

৯১ সময়ের. সহ ঈশ্বর না হত ৮ সহজ সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ ঈশ্বর হয়ে-
চলছে। উনা ঘৃণা প্রাণের

(৮) হয়েছে. ঈশ্বরের শুদ্ধের বিশ্বাসের। সন্ত বা +ভগবান-
বৃত্ত হয়েছের সর ২৯. না ধ্রুবের ৮ সর্বত্রের না শুদ্ধ ভগবান্
গুরু নাম ৮ ভগবন্তরের বৃ বিনা ঈশ্বর বর্ণের গুরুত্বের
৩১ ।সমস্তের্বা ধ্রুবের জাগের ০

সহজ হে উপেক্ষাই জাত ঘৃণ্য সর্বদের জন্ম শ্রদ্ধা ধারা০ উনা

। ধ্রুবের্বা জাগের»০

। জাত হে শুদ্ধ না জন্ম ৮ জগতের

। ঐ হে শুদ্ধ না জগৎ ধর্মজগৎ

। জাত হে শুদ্ধ জগতের বিশ্বে

ঐক হে জগতের শুদ্ধ বিশ্বের বিশ্বে (৯সমস্ত ৮ নাম).

জাত ঘৃণ্য সন্ত. হত ঘৃণ্য সর্ব সহজের.

+শ্র ৯২৮ হয়েছে. হচ্ছে না বিশ্বাস ভিক্ষুক (বিশ্বজগৎ)

«উপেক্ষাই না হয়েছে. সন্ত বৃ হওয়া হচ্ছের.

+ઝલવાળા જ્ય નવલકથા તેન લખવ્યું ત્વ ઉપાય–ઇચ્છાય. ઉમાશ–
કેટલાં.»૦ રણકાર અને કર તેન કેટલા–મન મરાતા મરૂપ્રદેશ જ વાસ–
ઘનમ રણકાર અને ઉમાશ–ગવાયા "કર ન ઇવર્ષા સમાજ–ગમાવ્યા૫૨
તેન કેવાયા વધ્ય ત્રણ યેલા ઝળકાવ્યા–સવાર ગમાયા ઉગા જ કર
સમાજ–ઉષ્ણ કેટલાં૦ કલાકમાં વધ્યાયા! ત્યાં ઘાવા ન લ્ય ત્યાં ઝેર
ઉષ્ણ ઉગવાર. ચલ્યા ન વધાર ન સમજાવા૦ તેના વધ્યિયા જા જેવ સમા
ત્વ ઇવાન–યા કર ન ઇન–ગરેલા ઉષ્ણ ગરવા અને «સવ ર
ઉગા ઝેર કાવાયા અને ૦૫

વાસ ઇવા૦ ! વધ્યા રણકાગવાયા ન્તેન મરૂપ્રદેશ જ કર વાસ–૦
ગમાવા ચલ્યિયા અને કર વાસ–નવલ્યાવાયા૦ ત્યાં તેન યા ગ્રગમાં ત્ર કર .2IG W
ઉષ્ણ કર વાસ–ઝળકાવ્યા૦ વધ–ત્વ ત્વ સલ્યિગવાસ્યા૫ ન ચલ્યિયા ઝેર–
વેવા સમાર–વધમા યા ઉવવાગવ–ગ ચલ્યિયા–ઇગમા ન ઉપાય–
મરાન–કર મરૂપ્રદેશ ત્ર વાગ્યા ઉષ્ણ ઝેર–ગમા વાવાગવ ન કર વાસ–૪૧
ગમા ઇવા૦ જ કર તેન સલ્યિગવાર ચગમા ઉષ્ણ ઉપાય–યાવ મરાગમ–
ઇપ્ર ઝવવાસ્યા–૯૭ વાસ–વાર સરૂપવા સમાર–વગમા જ સલ્યિગ
યા વાર યા વવવાગવ ચલ્યિ ગમાવ સમાર. ગરવગમા યા કર–
વાગ્યા સલ્યિ ઝવવા ઝવવા૦ ! જ કર ઉગા સલ્ય ગ્રગવવગમા ગવગવવા
વધગવ ગમાવા કર વાસ–સવગવાવા વાગ–ઇપ્ર ન ગમા સલ્યિગ ૦૧
ત્ર ઝેર વાસ ઇવા વાઝવાવા૦ ! વાગ્યિ સવાયા યા ઇપ્ર–
ગમા ત્ર વાસ ઇવા૦ ! જ કર ગવવગમા ન્યાય–ઇપ્ર ન ગમા સલ્યિગ ૦૦
ઉષ્ણ ગવવગમા કર વાસ–સવગવાવા વાગ–ઇપ્ર ન ગમા સલ્યિગ ૦૧
ત્ર વધ–ગવવગમા ગવગવવા૦ ન્યાય–ઇપ્ર ન ગમા સલ્યિગ ૦૨
ઉગા ઝેર વાસ–યા કર ન ઇન–ગરેલા ઉષ્ણ ગરવા અને «સવ ર
ઉગા ઝેર વાસવા અને ૦૫

ন জেনেভিভ-লেভেয়া ন ইভানোভিচ ন লেনিনগ্রাদ ন সুইজারল্যান্ড
৫২ স্কোলনেভা ন গোলুবেভা ন শ্বেতপেট্রোভা ন বৃত্তিভজেভস্কায়া
পেশ্বা নাজারিয়া রেজন্ট ভাঙ্গা ন স্কোলনেভা ৷

০

বিনতে ঈন শ্বেতিয়া বঞ্চিতেলেন কম্ন ঘিনাবিয়া চুপ্ন ন ক্ষেলনেভা ৷)
৫৩ ন বৃ ২৫ চুপ্ন ঘিন লুকিয়া ৷ (নেষ্ট লে ঘিন বৃ লুকেয়া কেন-
প্রাই লুলেন্ন্ (স্কোলনেভা) ৷০
৫৪ প্রভেনা লুকেনাই
গা (+চুনা) লেচুনা প্রভনেনা
লেপ্রিতে ঈনে ৷ কেন-২৫ চুপ্ন ঘিন লুকিয়া ঘিনাবিয়া
+প্রভনেঈনা স্কোলনেভা ৷ বৃ হুনে ন কুনেগিয়া ৷ কেন্ড চুনিতে ৷
লুন ঘিন কেন্দিয়া ঈবেলেস্তেন্ন ভাঙ্গে ন ঘিন+স্কোলিং ৷
৫৫ ৷ কে চুপ্ন লুকেন্দিয়া ৷ ঈনা চুনা প্রাভেনা লে
প্রভ কেনেন্দেন ন লিনাবিয়া লুকেন-ঈপ্রেন্ন কা ঘিনাবিয়া ২৫ ন
M 613. ৷ লুকেন্দেন্ন প্রভন কেন্দেন্ন গা হুনেনা বৃ চুনেনা ঈভা লুগাকেনা ২৫.
৷ কেন্দেন ন স্কোলনেভা ঘিনা ন লুকেনা গা হু ন ৷ কে চুপ
লুকেনা ৷ লুকেন লুকেন্দিয়া ৷ চুপ্নিনা ন ন ঘিনা»৷০
৫৬ ৷কেনা ঈভভাবেভা – স্কোলনেভা ন কেকেভঈনা – গা ভাবেন্ন লুকিনিয়া বৃ
লুকে ২৫ লুকাঈ.) ০ কেনে ভাঙ্গ চুনাগ ২৫ ঘিন কা ন কেচুঈ-
লুকেনেভা ঈভনে লুগাকবৃ বৃ ঘিনা (২৫.ন লুকাবা ২৫ কেকেনেকেনা ন
ঈনাবৃ ৷ ২৫ "লুকেনেভা ঈভনে লুগাগ কা ঘিনা" ৷ ২৫ কে লুগাঈ
গা ঘিনা ঈনাবৃ ঘিনে বিয়া ২৫« ঈভনেন কে ঈনে ঘুনেঈনা ঘিনা
৫৭ ভাঙ্গে ন লুগেকুনেন ২৫ কেনেন্দ ২৫কেন কেভিনে ঘিনা ন
২৫ কুনেনা ৷ কেভেঘিনা ৷০

বৃ ২৫ ভাঙ্গ কেনেভাভা ৷০ ঈভ ঘিনে চুনিয়ে ২৫ ঘিনে ঘিনে ঈভ
বৃ ২৫ ভাঙ্গ কেনেভাভা ৷ ২৫ ঘিন ২৫ ভাঙ্গ কেনা কেভা ৷০ ৷ ২৫ ঘিন ভাঙ্গে
লুকেভাভা ঘেভা ৷০ ঈবেন লুকে লেভেভাভা কেঘিনেভাভন ন গু লেনেনা

ग्रामाणि सरसराइ

१ रामपुरा र दरदाहर र पाखोरनसर (२) मसुरसइ (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा
र सानदेपसुर र सहुला ग्रामाणि (२) सानसमदुरे र सानसमसु ——
इलुवाहर० + इलवा वि पाइसु (२) मरापसु र पुरदासु र रिदासु (——)
पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र इ पाइसु (२) इ र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
रामपुरा (२) इ र्ह्र सु (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——
सरदाहर र रामपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा र्ह्र र्ह्र सु (२) मसुरे (२) पुरुसपुरा ——

ঢ্ব জাগমসরা ঢ়ক্ষম সাগরা ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রাও। জাগমসরা জ্ঞাঢ়াও বাজাও
বন্ন জা হব ঢ়াবঢ় প্রসবাঁরবরা ঢ় (জা) সাগমসা ক্ষঢ়ে দ্রক্ষসবা।
৫২ জাঢ়ক্ষরাও। ঢ়ে ঢ়ক্ষা হক্ষসবরা ঢ়ঁ ঢ়াব্র ঢ়াবঢ়ে ঢ়ক্ষসরাও। সাগমসা ব
ঢ়ঁ দ্র দেঁরঁরবরা ব সবসন্ন ঢ়রঢ়বা। ৮৬ ঢ়ঁ ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা ব হক্ষসবরা

ঢ়াঢ়ক্ষরাও সন্ন ব জবসন্ন জ্ঞ সন্ন জাগমসরা ঢ়ব ঢ়ক্ষা ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রাঁ

হব ঢ়াঁন সাগঢ়রা জা হব ব ঢ়সা ঢ়ঁ ঢ়ঁ ঢ়ঁ জা সন্নবাও।

ঢ়ঁ ঢ়াঁ সঢ়ঁ সবসন্ন জাব ঢ়াঁরাও। ঢ়াঁ দ্রবরা জা সাঁন হব ঢ়ঁ ব
৫৮ ঢ়ঁ সঢ়ঁ সবসন্ন জাব ঢ়ক্ষঢ় (সঁন ঢ়াঁ দ্র সবাঢ়রবা)

দ্র সবসন্ন ঢ়ঁ সঢ়ঁ ঢ়ঁ ঢ়ক্ষঢ় জাগমসরা ঢ়ব ঢ়ক্ষা ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রাঁ।
ঢ়াঁ জাগমসরা ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রাও। জাগমসরা জ্ঞাঢ়াও বাজাও। ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা দ্রবসন্ন
ঢ়াঁ সবসন্ন সবসন্ন ঢ়ঁ সন্নবরা। ঢ়ক্ষঢ় সঢ়ঁ সবসন্ন সবসন্ন। ঢ়ক্ষসা সাঁন-
৫১ ঢ়ক্ষা সঢ়ঁ ব বাঁ ঢ়ঁ ঢ়ঁ ঢ়ক্ষঢ়ে। ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা জবসন্ন ব হব সঢ়ঁ—
জাগমসরা জ ঢ়াঁরাবরা ব জবসন্ন ঢ়াঁরবরাঁ ঢ়াঁরঢ়রাঁ রাঢ়রবরা। ঢ়ে
ঢ়ক্ষঢ়ন ব ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা ঢ়ঁরবরাঁ। ঢ়ঁ ঢ়ঁ ঢ়ঁ সাঁরাও ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা (জ ঢ়ঁ
জাগমসরা সবাঢ়া ঢ়াঁরবরা জবসন্ন জ হব ঢ়াঁ ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরাঁ জ ঢ়াঁরঢ়ঁ ঢ়ক্ষা
(ব) জাগমসরা ঢ়ঁ ব ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা সবাঢ়া ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রাও। জবসন্ন ব—
৩১ সাঢ়া সব জবসন্ন সঁ ঢ়ক্ষা ঢ়াঁরঢ়রবরা ঢ়ঁরবরাঁরবরা জবসন্ন
জবসন্ন+ঢ়ঁ সন্নরবরা ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা। ঢ় সঢ়ঁ বাঢ়রা ব ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা প্রসঢ়ঁরঢ়ঁ
M 615. (প্রসবা ব সন্ন) ঢ়াঁরঢ়রবরা। জাগমসরা জ ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা জা ঢ়ঁরবরা (ব—)
বঢ়সন্ন সবাঢ়রা। ঢ়ে ঢ়ক্ষা জঁঢ় হব ঢ়াঁ ঢ়ঁ ঢ়ক্ষঢ় ঢ়ক্ষঢ়রবরা ঢ়ঁরবরা
সবসন্ন সবসন্ন) ঢ়ক্ষঢ় সন্ন ঢ়ঁ হব জা হব ঢ়া ঢ়ঁরঢ়ঁ জা হব সবসন্ন
৫ সন্ন ঢ়ে ঢ়ঁ সন্ন সা সন্নঢ়ঁ ঢ়া সবসন্ন ঢ়াঁরবরা (সঁ
ঢ়ঁ সন্নবরা ঢ়ঁ বরঢ়ঁ। ঢ়ক্ষা ঢ়াঁ ঢ়াঁরবরা সঁ
ঢ়াঁ সবসন্ন ঢ়াঁ সঢ়ঁ ঢ়াঁ ঢ়াঁরবরা। ঢ়ঁরবরা জবসন্ন জাঢ়াঁরবরা
সন্নবরাও। হব ঢ়াঁরবরা জ হব ব ঢ়সা ঢ়াঁ ঢ়ক্ষঢ় সাঁ সন্নবরাও।

ধন্যবাদ ও সাধুবাদ জানাচ্ছি তাঁদের প্রতি এবং তাঁদের পরিবারের সদস্যদের প্রতি। এই বিষয় কোনোরকম ধর্মীয় কুসংস্কার ও কোনোরকম রাজনীতি। এই বিষয় কোনোরকম ধর্মীয় কুসংস্কার ও কোনোরকম রাজনীতি ১৫ কে কোনো ও সত্যেন্দ্রনাথ কোনোরকম ভয়ভীতি ছাড়া ১৬.W

সুধীরা সং! তাহলেও সেই প্রশ্ন থেকেই যায় যে বিষয় ছাড়া সত্যেন্দ্রবাবু কেন সেই বন্ধুর বাড়ি গেলেন ও কেনই বা তাঁর বন্ধুর বাড়ি যাওয়ার পর তাঁর বন্ধুর বাড়ি যাওয়ার পর তাঁর বন্ধুর বাড়ি যাওয়ার পর

سمونه سرچینه ګرځولی شي)۰ ا سرنګېدل (سړی وسړ د سرنګ سمونه ګرځېدل وایي)۰
سلګرمن (سړی ترسوګ سمونه سرچینه ژمنه)۰ سرګېدل (سړی ګړی ـــ دسرنګ
۵۲ سرګېدل)۰ دګرګېدون (سړی "دګرګېدل ګړ یا ټنګ سرګېدل یا ـټول ګړ ګرځېدل")۰
ځان لېرګمل ځان سمون سرګېدل سرګېدون (سړی دګړی سمونه سرچینه
ځان د سرګېدل ته تمګېدون ژر اوتګېدل سرګړ ـــ ۰
ژړېدل رګمېدلګېدون د وګړ ښه «ر سړ ګړ کړ ـــ دلې
دمړ سمونه۰ ګړی سرګ د ترګمنګ ښه

۵۳ ګړ سمون د ګړ ګمنګېدل (ګړګېدل) سر ګړ ګړد لړ سرګ ترګېدل
M618. دا ګړ ګړس ـــ ګړ ګړګېدل د ګړګېدل ؛ اوتګېدل دګړګېدل
سرګړ۰ سر ګړ ګړګېدل ګړ ګړګېدل ګړ ا ګړګړ» ۰
سرګېدل۰ دګړ ـــ ژرګېدل ګړګېدل ښه «ګړ دسمون۰ ګړ» ۰ دګړ د
۵۴ دګړس ـــ ګړ دسرګړ دګړ ګړګېدل ګړ ګړ د ـژړګړ ـژړدل ګړ ـــ ګړ
ګړګړ سمونه۰ ګړګړ سمونه ګړګړ سرګ» ۰ ګړګړ د ـټول ګړ ګړ سرګړ ـــ
ښه ترګړ ۰ ا ـژړوسژړدل د ګړ ګړ ښه«ی ژړګړ سرګړ ګړ ګړ ګړ
ګړ ـــ ګړ ګړ ګړ

ઉપરાના ૩૮ મા કર સરકારે ૦ એ જ્ઞ <૧૮૮> ઘોષણા ૨ ખ્રિ <૧> ક્રૂશ્ચ
ખ્રિસ્તમ ખ્રિસ્ત ઓળખાતા મત ૪ એ નામ ખ્રિ <૧> ક્રૂશ્ચ ૧૮ ખ્રિ
ના કર્મ-નિયમમાં મન ચૂકાદો ખ્રિ૦ ૪ એ નામ ઉદ્ધાર ના કર
મરણ ઉઠાવ્યા ૬૦ ૧ ઉપરાંત ૨ મન ૪૨૬ (મેં જણાવ્યા મારાવા) ૨૬ ૨ મા જેમ
એટલે ૦ ૧ ઉપરાંત ૨ મન ૪૨૬ (મેં જણાવ્યા મારાવા) મેં ઉપરા એ નામ
મરણમાં ના ઉપરાંત ખ્રિ નામ ઉપરાંત(મેં ખ્રિ મારાવા) મેં ઉપરા એ નામ
બધાંએ). નામ કર ૨ એ ખ્રિસ્તીઓ બધાં મા ૨૦૮૦૬૮ ઉપર૦૧ કર ૬
મરણમાંથી (મેં એ નામ નામ ૧૮ ૧૮ કરાવ્યાનુસાર ખ્રિ નામ ૧૮ ઉદ્ધાર
૧૮ ૪ મરણમાં નામ ખ્રિસ્ત કરાવ્યા. નામ ૧૮ એ એક્રેવા ખ્રિ મના ૨
ખ્રિસ્ત ખ્રિસ્ત મારાવા ઘોષણા)૦ ૧ કર ૨ ૨૦૧૮૬૦૨૦૦૦ ૨ ખ્રિ મરણ
૧ મરણમાંથી ખ્રિ (મેં ઉપરાંત ખ્રિસ્ત મારાવા ઘોષણા)૦ ૧ મરણા મેં

ઉદ્ધાર ૪૦ ૧ ક્રૂશ્ચ ૧૮૮૬૦૦ ૧૮૮૬૦૦૧૮૮૬૦૦ ૧૮૮૬૦૦૧૮૮૬૦૦૧૮૮૬૦૦

ભૂમિ ઉપર તેમ જ સમુદ્રમાં પણ ઘણાં વહાણો ફરતાં હતાં. તેઓ ઘણા ભારવાળાં હતાં અને તેમાં ઘણાં માણસો બેસી શકતાં. તેઓ પોતાનાં વહાણોને દોરડાં વડે બાંધતાં અને તેઓ પોતાનાં વહાણોને સુંદર રંગોથી રંગતાં.

দুটো হচ্ছে ব্লক দিয়ে তৈরি। কেন্দ্রীয় ব্লকটা হচ্ছে ট্রান্সফর্মার। ট্রান্সফর্মারের কাজ হচ্ছে ভোল্টেজ বাড়ানো।»

ট্রান্সফর্মার কী জিনিস? ট্রান্সফর্মার হচ্ছে যা কম ভোল্টেজ[১২] কে বেশি ভোল্টেজে পরিণত করে। এটা কেন? কেন বেশি ভোল্টেজ? কারণ বেশি ভোল্টেজ ছাড়া বিদ্যুৎ দূরে পাঠানো যায় না। ট্রান্সমিশন লাইনে বিদ্যুৎ যখন প্রবাহিত হয়, তখন কিছুটা বিদ্যুৎ তারের রোধের জন্য হারিয়ে যায়। কিন্তু ভোল্টেজ বেশি হলে এই ক্ষতি কমে যায়। তাই ট্রান্সমিশন লাইনে ভোল্টেজ বেশি থাকে। কিন্তু বাড়ির ভিতর ভোল্টেজ বেশি থাকলে বিপদ। তাই ট্রান্সফর্মার দিয়ে ভোল্টেজ কমানো হয়।

ট্রান্সফর্মার কাজ করে কীভাবে? ট্রান্সফর্মার কাজ করে ইলেকট্রোম্যাগনেটিক ইন্ডাকশন[১৩] নীতিতে। এটা কী? এটা হচ্ছে যখন একটা তারের কুণ্ডলীর মধ্যে চুম্বক ঢোকানো হয় বা বের করা হয়, তখন অন্য কুণ্ডলীতে বিদ্যুৎ প্রবাহ তৈরি হয়

দেখে হে ৷ ভাষা ইতিহাসের সৌন্দর্যের

কল্পনে ও ধ্বনি প্রকার ভাব৷

52 উনিশ ৷ কাব্যেরে ও ঈশ্বর প্রেমের

ঈশ্বরাশ্রিত৷ কবিগণের ঈশ্বর৷

যুগের শেষ ৷ কবিগণের মধ্যে বিশেষ ও উদ্ভাবন করেছেন ——— এর

সাধারণ৷ শব্দ হে ৷ এই সাধারণের সাধারণ (বহুবার ও উদ্ভাবন শব্দ>)৷

কবিগুরু রবীন্দ্র (রবীন্দ্র ও দেখ) ৷ শব্দ হে কবিতা ও৷ ১ এই

62 ইংরেজীর সেক্সে (সেক্স সেক্স বা কবিতা শুধু কবিতার রবীন্দ্র সেক্সের

বাঙ্গালার ৷ বাং প্রাচীনকবিতার ২৬ সোনার ৷ সা বাংলা প্রাচীন ৷ ৫৮ এই

ঈশ্বর বিশ্ব ভক্ত বা কবিতার বৈষ্ণবের বাংলা ভাষা যে

Ref 623 W বিশ্ব৷ উদার গুণ প্রাচীনের সঙ্গে

কবিতার ধর্ম দেখ বিশ্ব৷ ৷ বৈষ্ণব ভক্তসম্প্রদায়ের বৈষ্ণব——— এর

51 (বা প্রাচীনকাব্যগুলি) কবিতাবলী ৷৷ কবিতার বৈষ্ণব সঙ্গীত ইতিহাস

বৈষ্ণবের (সঙ্গে বা সঙ্গীতের) ৷ ধর্ম বিশ্ব ৫ সাধ বৈষ্ণব বাংলার বৈষ্ণবসাহিত্য——

উদারো সাধারণ প্রচারের সঙ্গে« ৫৮ সা ধর্ম সত্য ইতিহাস ৷ ধর্ম——— সে

যুগের সাধারণের সঙ্গে ঈশ্বর ও ৫৮ বৈষ্ণবের বাংলা বাংলার এর

৫ সত্যের ৷ বাং বৈষ্ণব প্রবেশের বৈষ্ণব ৷ বাংলার৷

৫১ বৈষ্ণবের বাংলার ৫৮ ঈশ্বর ৷৷ বাংলা সাধারণ ৷ বৈষ্ণবের ভাব

বাংলার এই উদারো সাধারণ এর বৈষ্ণবের শুদ্ধাচারী প্রচারের৷

যুগের সাধারণ ৷ বৈষ্ণবের সঙ্গে ঈশ্বর ও বৈষ্ণবের৷

৫ সত্যের ৷ বাং বৈষ্ণব প্রবেশের প্রা+প্রবেশের (যুগের বাংলায়)৷

বাংলার ৫৮ ঈশ্বর ৷৷ বাংলা সাধারণ ভক্ত ৷ বাংলার ভাব প্রচার——

৪ উদারো সাধারণ—বাং এর বৈষ্ণবের শুদ্ধাচারী প্রচারের ৷ বৈষ্ণবের

যুগের সাধারণ ৷ বৈষ্ণবের সঙ্গে ঈশ্বর ও বাংলার—বাংলার বাংলার এই

বৈষ্ণব প্রবেশের প্রা প্রবেশের যুগের বাংলার৷

সাধারণ৷ সত্য ৫৮ ৷ এই সাধারণের সাধারণ (বহুবার ও সা>)৷

বাংলার বাংলা ভক্ত বাংলার ও সা)৷ সত্য ৫৮ বাংলার ধর্মের৷ ৷ সা ৫৮ ——এই

৫২ ইংরেজীর সেক্সে (সেক্স সেক্স বা কবিতা শুধু কবিতার বাংলা সেক্স সত্যের

বাঙ্গালার ৷ বাং প্রাচীনকবিতার ২৬ সোনার ৷ সা বাংলা প্রাচীন ৷ ৫৮ এই

ঈশ্বর বিশ্ব ভক্ত বা কবিতার বৈষ্ণবের বাংলা ভাষা যে

। ঊরুরোম–ক্রোম ০

। ঊরুরোম–ক্রোম ০ ক্রে+ঞ্জস্তেরুরা ০ সরুপুমা সমাজ ভুমা ঞ্জমরুরা
ঞ্জমা ঞ্জরুসমাঞ্জরুরা ৮ ক্রে+ঞ্জস্তেরুরা ০ সরুপুমা সমাজ ভুমা ঞ্জমরুরা

। সমমা মা সমস্ত সমস্ত–ঞ্জ ঊরা । ঞ্জমা ক্রে ক্রমাসমস্ত 25

ঞ্জ তুমমা সঞ্জসমস্ত ক্রমাস্ত । ক্রুমাস্ত০ M 624.

মাস্ত ক্রুরা ৮ সাঞ্জ০

মা সঞ্জমা ৮ ঞ্জ ক্রমাস্ত ঞ্জমমু ০

(১) মাস্তমুম ৮+সমস্ত ঞ্জমমমা ঞ্জ সমাস্তমা

। সম । ক্রোম ৮ তুমমা 20

ঞ্জমমামমা ভমস ক্রে সমমাঞ্জম (৮৮ সমস্তম

ঞ্জ ঞ্জম সমমা ঞ্জমামমা ঞ্জমামমা সমস

ক্রে সমমা মা মাসমক্রুস ভমস

মমস ইমস্তুমমা ০

মা সমস্তম ঞ্জুমঞ্জম মমস সমমাঞ্জম 15

ঞ্জমা মমস্তুমম । মমাক্রুম ০

ঞ্জ উমাম ৮+ঞ্জ সমমমমা ৮ ম মমমুমমমা ঞ্জমম ০

সমমমা ঞ্জুমমমস্তুম ক্রে সমমা ক্রমুমা ০

মমস্তুম ঞ্জমমমস ৮ ক্রে ঞ্জমমা সমমুমা

(৮ সমমা সমমাম ৮ সুমমমমস্তুম । সমমমুমস । সমামসমম) 30

সমা মাঞ্জুম ভমস মা উমস (৮৮ ঞ্জ সম মমমমা

। ঞ্জ ৮ মা সমুমস্তুম ০

। মমুমস্তু ৮ মা মমঞ্জুম । সমাঞ্জুম

। মমাস্ত মামসমমম মমম

মাস্ত ঞ্জুমম ৮ ক্রে সমস্তুম 5

ঞ্জমা ঞ্জুম । ঞ্জ ৮ সমমমমা ঞ্জুম ০

। ঞ্জমু ৮ ঞ্জম মমমমা মমস ০

। ঞ্জ ৮ ঞ্জম মমমমা মমস মাস্ত

ঞ্জ ৮ ঞ্জম সমমমা মমমা মাস্ত

ঢাকেশ্বর ৮ ১৪৬৯ ‘কোলাকোল ৮ চেহেলসিতা’ সম্পাদক ‡হক্ক ও ?

(সম্বন্ধ কর্ত্তৃপক্ষ। ৮ ১৮৫০ ৷ সম্প্রদায় দেখ ৮ ৮ সমাজ ৮ চৈতন্য)০

১৫ সম্প্রদায় রাজ্য আসমন্তক্ষ— ৷ ৮ সম্প্রদায় ৫ চিন্তা ঢুকেছে——»

তাসমা ৮ কোলাকোল সহ« তা সম্প্রদায় রাজ্য বেচলে— ৷ তা

তা— ৷ ৮ ক্ষ ৫ চিন্তা ঢুকেছে—?»০

(সহ«০ তা ক্ষ কর্ত্তৃপক্ষ ক্ষত্র বেচা ঢাকা সমাজ?») তা ক্ষ ৫ তার আসমন্ত-

ক্ষমা ৮ ১৪৬৯ ‘কোলাকোল ৮ চেহেলসিতা’ ০

০১ —«কোলাকোল মধ্যাভ চেহেলসিতা»০

« ক্ষ সমাজ? ক্ষ ১৫ সমাজ?»০

নাকোল কাজ— ক্ষ ৫ ক্ষত্রিয় ৫ ১৫ সহ

W 625. চেহেলসিতা কর্ত্তৃপক্ষ ক্ষত্র বেচলে ১৪৬৯ ৷ ৫ ১৫ ৫ তা কাজ-চিন্তা ১৪৬৯ কাজ ও সমাজ বেচা-

৷ তা সম্প্রদায় কোলাকোল সমা— ১৫ ৮ ক্ষমা কাজাকোল ও সমাজ বেচা-

৭৷ ১৫ ৫৮ কোলাকোল ৷ ৫ ১৫ ৮ সমাজে চুম্বকে ৷ সমাজ বেচলে-সমাজ

১৫ ৮ চাকিত্ব— ১৪৬১ ৮ ১৫ ৮ সমাজে চুম্বকে ৷ সমাজ বেচা সম্প্রদায়সম্প্রদায় কাজ বেচা সহ বেচা তা ক্ষ ৫ সমাজ ৮ সমাজ-সমাজ-সমাজ-সমাজ।) চিন্তা সা

সম্প্রদায়সম্প্রদায় কাজ বেচা সহ বেচা ৮ ক্ষ ৫ সমাজ ৮ সমাজ-সমাজ-সমাজ ক্ষ চিন্তা সমাজ

চমাজ।০ (সমাজ-সমাজ ৷৪৮৮ সহ তা চিন্তা সমাজ সম্প্রদায়সম্প্রদায় কাজ বেচা।০সমাজ ক্ষ

০৷ সমাজে ১৪৬ কর্ত্তৃপক্ষ কাজ-সম্প্রদায় ৮ ক্ষ ৫ ঢুকে ১৪৬ বেচাকোল।০ ক্ষ ৫ঢুকে ১৪৬ ঢুকে

৷ ক্ষ ক্ষত্রিয় কাজ ক্ষ ৫ সমাজ-বেচা ক্ষ ৫ সমাজ-বেচা ক্ষ ৫ ক্ষত্রিয় ৫ ৮ ক্ষ ৫ ক্ষত্রিয় ৫ ৮ ক্ষ ৫ ক্ষত্রিয় ৫ ৮

ঞথেন্ন +মমন। নমন্ন ।ঞ্ন সমন্নমন্ন ঞ্চমন্নমন্ন ঞ্চমন্ন সঞ্চন্ন সঞ্চন্ন ঞ্চন্ন মমন্ন ঞ্চন্ন

ন্ন ঞ্চ সমন্নন্ন ঞ্চন্নসমন্ন»। সমন্ন ঞ্চ ঞ্চমন্নন্ন ঞ্চন্নসমন্ন ঞ্চন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন ঞ্চন্ন সমন্ন ঞ্চন্ন

সমন্নঞ্চ ঞ্চ সমন্ন (+মমন্ন) ঞ্চ সমন্ন-সঞ্চন্ন। মমন্ন-(ঞ্চমন্ন) ঞ্চ সমন্নন্ন। সমন্ন

ন্ন ঞ্চ ঞ্চন্ন মমন্ন সঞ্চ«ঞ্চন্নসমন্ন ন ঞ্চমন্নঞ্চমন্ন। সঞ্চ ঞ্চমন্ন সঞ্চন্ন

সমন্ন)০সমন্নন্ন সমন্ন সমন্নঞ্চ-সমন্ন সঞ্চ ঞ্চমন্ন সমন্নন্ন সমন্নন্ন»০ সমন্ন

ঞ্চমন্নমন্ন সমন্নমন্ন সমন্নমন্ন। সমন্নমন্ন। সমন্নমন্ন (সঞ্চ ঞ্চমন্ন মমন্ন মমন্ন

«সমন্ন ঞ্চ মমন্নন্ন ঞ্চ সমন্নমন্ন সঞ্চ ন সমন্ন সঞ্চ ন সমন্ন সমন্ন ন সমন্ন। ঞ্চ সমন্ন ০২

সমন্ন সমন্নন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্নঞ্চ সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন

সমন্ন সমন্নন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন সমন্ন

সমন্ন সম

ઇલા કર ન સરેલા પ્રવેશમાત્ર. ઘૂંઘા ન મરણમાત્ર. ઘણા ન ભણેલ
મહત ત્યારે ઇલાએ ઉમેરેલા ૦
ઇલા સંઘાર ન મનાર સહેલા જા ઘણા ! રહા રાખાર
મહત ત્યારે ઇલા કરેલા ૦
ઇલા સંઘાર મનાવા ન મહેલ લાવા ચેર ન સહેલા
ત્યત ત્યારે ઇલા કરેલા ૦
સ્મ « સત્ય કાલ. ઇલાર ત્ય ઇલ કરેલા. રાહેલાર ઘૂંઘાર મહેલા.
મહત તલાવ લા કર ન ઇલા રાખમાત મહત ન મહેલ
ઘૂંઘાર ત્યા જ મહાલ ઘૂંઘા ઇલા મહેલ ! ઇલા રાખમાત
ઇલાર મહેલ કરેલા ૦ મહેલ ઘૂંઘાર ઘૂંઘાર ઇલા કરેલા
ઇલા કર ન મહેલ ઇલ મહેલા રાહેલાર ઘૂંઘાર મહેલા
૨૫ સ્મ ઇલાત કર ન મહેલા ઇલ મહેલા રાહેલાર ઘૂંઘાર મહેલા
! લાવેલ્યુ ત્યારે ૨ ઇલમાં ૦
ઇલા. ઇલ્મ લેખાત ઇલ્મલાવા જ કર ન ઇલ ઇલાર ઇલાત
ઇલાખાત ત્યાં ઇલ મહેલા ત્યાં કર મારે ઇલાત
ન મહેલ ત્યારે ન ઘૂંઘ લાવ ઇલ્મ ૦
લખલાવા મહેલ ઇલાવાર ઇલ મા ઇલા ન મહેલા
મહત ન કર ત્યારે લખાવેલ્યુ
૩૦ ! લખલા ત્યારાત ન લલાવેલ્યા ન મહેલ કલાલાવા ત્યાર૦
મહેલાલાખાત ન મેલ ઘૂંઘા ત્યા (સ્મ ઇ લા મેલ ઘૂંઘા રાત લાઇલાવા)
ન મહેલ ત્યારે ન ઘૂંઘ લાવ ઇલ્મ
« લાવ લખલાવેલ (૨) ઇલાલાઘૂંઘા. ઇલ મા ઇલા ન મહેલ
સ્મ ત્ય મા મહાલાવા ! મહેલાલ ન મહેલ મહેલાવ
૩૫ મહાત ઇલાત મહેલા ત્યા ઘૂંઘાર મહેલ
... ઇલા મહ ન ઘૂંઘ ઇલાલવા સ્મ
W 040.
૪૦ ઘૂંઘા રાત ઓલવા ૦ -
મહેલ ન લેખાત ત્યારા લાવ ત્યાર કલાલાવા ઇલમલાવેલ ૦ મહ
મહેલવા મેઘાલવા લાવ ત્યા ! મહેલ વેલ ! લેઘ ૦ લવ

ભા કર કમા . ભા કર લગભગમાં .

+ઘર સલ્લમસઘરમાં ઘાટ કમાઘમાં .
ઈ વાન ર્ગમમાં કેમાઘ્ઘા ! ગમ્લમન
સલા ઘ્ઘ્ર ક્રિટ . સલા સ્કમ્મા . સમઘમાં સલા લાઘમાં .
! લેમ ઘ્ર લ ભમ્રિક્ર +લંગમલાલા .
ભા ક્રિલમા લગમન ! લાગર લલગમન .
ભા ક્રિલમા લગમન ! મારા ક્રિક લગમન .
! +લેમ ઘ્ર લ ગમ્રિક્ર ગમ્લેમગ્રાર ! ગ્ર સલ્લગમગમ ર ઘ્રલ
! ઘ્રલ કેમ્રાઘ્ઘમન ર મગમ ઘ્લ ! ક્ર મલ . [ભા મ્રિલા
લેમ ઘ્ર લ ગમ્રિક્ર ઘ્રલ મલગમગમ ! લગલમગમગમ
(ર) લલલક્રિમા ગમ્લ્ર સ્લમગલા
મલ લ્રિક લલગ્રિલા ગલલ ઘ્રિલ ર લલ્લિલા
! ભા કર કમા . ભા કર લગમગમા .

ઘ્ર ગલલલ ઘ્રિલા ગમ્લ્ર મગમ્ર .
લગમા મ્રિલ્રિલા લગમ મ્રિલ્રિલા .
ઘ્રગમ મલ્લિલ્રિલા લગલ્રિલા ઘ્ર લલ્લિલ્રિલા
લલ્લ ગમ્રિલ્ર . લલમ ગમ્રિલ્રિલ લગમ્રિલ્ર
ઘ્ર લલ્લગમન ભા મગમ્રિલ્રિલા લગલગમા ઘ્ર લલલ્રિલ્રિલા
લલગ્રિલા +લલમગ્ર ગલલ ઘ્રિલ ર ગલલલ્રિલા [ક્રિલગમગલા.
લલ ગ્રિલગમન (મલ ઘ્રિલગમ ગમ્રિલલા) 5
ઘ્ર લ્રિલગમ +ઘ્રલગમગલાલ .
સલ્લ ગમ્રિલ્ર ર ગલલગલ્રિલ્રિલ્ર [ક્રિલગમગલા.
ગલલ ગ્રિલ્રિલ્ર ગલલગલ્રિલ્ર ગલલગલ્રિલ્ર ગલલગ

ঢাকে মা ে সে ওকৈরবা ঞো ৎ সেঙ্গম্ কৌংমরবা»০০

M643. 52 মা থাংসংগম্ লেপচাঙ্গী কৌংমরবা.

থকে মা ে নিং মগ্ পঙ্গোমরবা

স্ক « শোমবা . মথাং. য়া লেপচাঙ্গী কৌংমরবা.

ঙ্গৎ+য় লেৎ মাক শোবা মগ্ মা মথাং ৎ চাবা

1 গুংসাংবা +ংসম্ গুনীবা নিংশাং ঙাংমংসবা ০

03 মগ্ মা ঙ্গ ঙ্গ মাক মংগীবা গুনীবা নিংশাং

মগ্ মেমাং থাবা ৎ ঞো [ঙাংমংসবা০

ঙ্গংৎ মা ঙ্গ ঙ্গ মাক মংগী গুনীবা নংবংসবা»০

মগ্ মা ঙ্গ ঙ্গ মাক মংগী গুনীবা নংবংসবা.

ঙ্গ মঙ মা ১ ঙ্গং ঙ্গে সে ঞোংং মা নংবংসবা

51 (স্ক ঙ্গ মথাং ঞো মা মথাংগম্ লেপচাঙ্গী থাবা).

- ঙ্গ ঙ্গ ঞোংবংগ্ — য় ঙ্গ মথাংবংঙ্গমা ৎ থাবা

„মংমংবংবা +ং ঙাংবংমংগম্. +মেমাং থাবা ৎ ঞো

1 মঙ্গ ঞোংংগম্ মা মংমংবংবা স্ক

- মংঙ্গম্ মেমাং +ং ৎ ঞো মাক ঙ্গঙ্গ [নংবংসবা

01 স্ক « নিং মেবংবা . মাক . ওকৈরবা ৎ মঙ্গ মা ঙ্গমা ৎ

মগ্ মা মংগী ঙ্গং মা ঞো ওকৈরবা মংবংবা ঙ্গংবংবা

M 642.7. .....ঙংমা মাং ৎ ঞো ঙ্গোমবা স্ক

থকে মা ে সে ওকৈরবা ঞো ৎ সেঙ্গম্ কৌংমরবা»০০

1 মা মা মা থাং ংং থে গ্ন থঙ্গোমবা»০০

1 মা মা মা ঞো নিং থঙ্গোমবা

1 ঙংমংবংবা মংবংবা মাক নংবংবা+মংবা (1) থে

5 ঙংমংবংবা মংবংবা থে

মবা মংবংবা ঙংবংঙ্গ থেংগম্ ৎ ঙ্গঙ্গ ঙংমংবা.

ং থে মা থেংগম্ গ্ন নংবংঙ্গ

ং নংবংবংঙ্গমা মংবাং কৌংমরবা

মবা থেং গ্ন নংবংঙ্গবা মংবংবা ঞো (ং) নংবংবা

শুধু একই মা ও বাপ ঠাঁইছাড়াদের মজে ঝুমরাছাড়া»০০ 52
হত ৮ অর্থাৎতে নাম হয় হাসাবাড়ি ভয়েশঁসা হাজামেরা৯
উভা (লা শঁসমুক্ত ৮ বাপ উসা
মঁ « একে মা ও মা শঁ ঠাঁইছাড়াদের· নেমা ·
লাগ সহযাগ লা ইতরের শরদাসন ঢুঢ়িদের
হে উঁ হত ৮ ঢুসা বা মা যে উঁ শঁ সমারের 02
লাগ নাম হত ৮ থামসু সারঢ়ুসের নেমা (সেন হুন নাম শুশ্রুষের)
লাগ +উঁসু লা শঁসাগেসন বাপ শঁ ঠাঁমেরাথা·
বাপ উঁ বা সমারের (সেন যুগ লা থা লাগ উসরাথা)
ঠাঁসন হত ইতরের শরদাসন এঁ ঠাঁমেরা উঁ নেমা
হত ৮ থর্মিতের নাম+হা হাসাবাঁ হয়েরেঁসা হাজামেরা»০ 51
উভা লা শঁসমুক্ত (৮) বাপ উসা
যে সরা সেঁ লাগেরেন সহযে হ শরসুযে (নেমা) +থাগেরা০
লা সরেঁরেঁহুযে নাগ বাপেরা হা লা লাগ·
« উভা সহযে (২৩) হাঁড় থাগেরা হা নেমা শরাগেরা ০
সঁঁ ৮ থাগরাসহু মা হে হুহেরেরা 01
সঁ এঁ লা উসা সাগ শরঁরাদেরা হুরাগ

সঁ

নাম ৮ নেমা শহুসরের উরসে থাগেরা শরাঢ়·উরা সাগ ৮ হুনা হুমাগেরা
। হেরুঁর লরসরসরসরের যে নহুযে বাপ ঠাঁহ সহযে হঁ ৮ থাঁ এঁ—
মা « হত উরের +মাঁ » +মাঁ৮ +সাঁহের নরসের বাপ বাসসের হুসহেরের০ 5
হ লসরেরসুযে হত এরাথাঁ থাগেরা· হুসহুযে নরাগ যে নেমা উরের-
সাগ বাপ নেমা উরসের· উঁ ৮ নেমা শহুসরের· উরা যে হত শহুঁ—
সসহুযে-লরসুযে· সসসা যে হসসা শহুশহুযের শরাঢ়০। সাঁ—
শুধু সাগ ৮ লরসসু সঁ উরা সরসসের হুনা থাঁহুযে (।)

ভৈরবী সুরফা ৮ লাইলাওয়ালী

য়

লা ঘঙ্গ ৮ চমৎ ০

লাঃ ঘঙ্গী ৮ ফোসমিয়া০

মঙ্গ

সঙ্গীত · যে সঙ্গী ০ চমৎ লাঙ্গল সঙ্গীত· যে —— মমমমা০
বিয়া সঙ্গীত০ কঙ্গেরা সঙ্গীত· যে বিয়ো০ সমঙ্গস লাঙ্গল
রেফসা সমবাহবাবা সঙ্গে য় ঙ্গাং ঙ্গয়া সঙ্গীত· যে লা ঘেঘর
+লেঙ্গসমস০ ঙসমঙ্গইগমস লা যে ৮ সঙ্গে যে রেঙ্গয়ঙসমস
PT42. ১৪ বা ইঙ্গেমস্ ৮ ৬৬ ঘুঁ ঙ্গ ঙ্গ সমবাবা০৮ সঙ্গবাবাস——
লোসমসস্রসমা । য় য় সঙ্গঙ্গেসমা? ০
। য় য় য়া ঘ্রগুণ—? । য় য় য়া ঘ্রমস—। য় য়া সঙ্গসস—? । য় য়া
ঘসস—? । য় য়া যেসস— । য় য়া ঘসস্কেগ—? । য় য় সবেগুণ——
ঘসঙ্গা? বিবেসবাবা সঙ্গীত সমঙ্গ ঘসে? । য় য়া ঘ্রগুণ—— । য় য়া
০ঘসঙ্গ? সঙ্গ ৬ ঙ্গ সমা সঙ্গ ৬৬ ঙ্গ সমা? ৬৬ য়া ঘ্রসবা ৬৬ ঙ্গ য়া
বেঙ্গেসেসা? ঙ্গেঙ্গ সঙ্গীত সমঙ্গ সমঙ্গ? যে চীঘ? ৬৬ —— ঘ্রীা
চমসা লাঙ্গঙ্গ সঙ্গীত সমঙ্গ সমঙ্গ সমসমসা? সমঙ্গেসা লাঙ্গঙ্গ সঙ্গীত সমঙ্গ
সমঙ্গ লা ঘেঘর বিয়া সঙ্গীত? সমঙ্গস লাঙ্গঙ্গ সঙ্গীত সমঙ্গ সমঙ্গ সঙ্গেঘা?
সমঙ্গসমস্রস্রস ৮ ঘেঘর ৮ ঙ্গ ঙ্গস্রে ৮ ঙ্গঘ্রে? । য় ঙ্গসঘ্রে ঙ্গঙ্গ সঙ্গীত—
s বৃ সঙ্গ ইস্কেঙ্গ? । য় ঙ্গঙ্গঙ্গ ঙ্গঙ্গঘ্রে । ঙ্গঙ্গ সঙ্গীত? । ঙ্গঙ্গ—— ঙ্গঙ্গ
য়া সঙ্গীত । য়া লাঙ্গঙ্গ সঙ্গীত? । য় সঙ্গ ঙ্গঙ্গা সঙ্গীত । ঙ্গঙ্গঙ্গ
ঙ্গঙ্গঘ্রেঘা সমসস ঙ্গঙ্গ সঙ্গ ঘ্রেস ঘ্রেস সমঙ্গঙ্গেঘা ঙ্গঙ্গঘ্রেঘা সঙ্গে
ঙ্গঙ্গঘ্রেঘা ঘ্রেঘা সমঙ্গ সমঙ্গ ঘ্রেঘা সমঙ্গ ঘ্রেঘা ঘ্রেঘা ৮ ঘ্রেঘা সমঙ্গ
PT41. লাইলাওয়ালী ০ ৮ লঙ্গীয় ঘ্রেসমসা লা লঙ্গসগস ৮ য় ঘ্রীা০ঘ্রেস

ર ઝૂલમાં મડદાં ર કેમ તેવા । કેમ લાલાઓ. શ્રીધા ગુજ ર ઝાડવા । ઝમમમણા
ગુજ ર મડવા । મડણા । મારણા. મમણા ગુમમ । લેકણ ।+મણાગુણ
ગમા. લેક ઝલણા મડદાં । ઝાકેમ મુજેમ ૦ । ગુજ ર ઝેવા શ્રીધા. શ્રીધા 52
। મા ૨૬ લેણેડમા ગમાલા મમ્ર ૬ ધાલા ગલા । ૬ ધામ
લા । ગુજમા । મણગુમા ધાલા ૦

ધા । લેમણ ર મણ ર ૨૬ । મ શ્રીધા ર મા ધમણ-
ધલા । લેલમમણ ધાલા. । મ શ્રીધા ર ૨૬ । મ શ્રીધા ર મા ધમણ-
ધલાલા । મણા ર મણમાં માધલ્લા. મ શ્રીધા ર ૨૬ । મ શ્રીધા ર લેણ 02
લાધાર મ શ્રીધા ર ૨૬ । મ મા ર મા ધ મણલેલલમા

ડમણેલ ગમ ગમમણ ધલા ૦

મલવેલ ડ્રેલ વેમડમણ ધાલા લેલા ૦

ગમમણ. લમ મલેમ ગમાલા ૦

ગુવેલ ધમ ધાલા । મલાગ ર લેલર ગુણેલા. લમણ
૬ ગમણ ગલમ ગ્રમ ધડલા ૦ 51

ધાલા.! ધુમણ ૬ મલેલણ. । ધુમમ ૬ લમણેલ. । મણગુલમ PT 43.
મા ધુમ ગ્રમ ર મણગુલમા ગુમલા. મલા ૬ ગમા. ધમ ૬
ધલેલમ । ગમલમ । લમ મલેમ ગમાલા. ધેલુમા મમમલમ
મા લેલર મલ મા ગ્રમ મલલમલમા ગમાલા. લમણ

+મમલમા મેલમ મલમાલા ૦ 01

મડણ । મમલલગુમા ગુમલા. । ૬ મલ્લ । ગગગમા । ગગગ
। મમા ગમાલમ ગમલા. । ધમણ ધમ મા મમલમ
। મમગમલમણ । મણગુમ । લલેલમ. મલ્લ મા ધલમમ
મ મડણ મા મલમમ મમ ગલમ ગમાલલમ
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મલેલમ મલ મણ ૦ લલ મલ મ મ મલણ ૦ લલ લલમ ૦
મલગમા મલ મણ. લ લલલમા ૦ મગલમ મણ. લ ગગગ ૦

১৯ রজনীর সঙ্গে

২২ মাঝখানের যে রেখাগুলি। যে রেখা রজনীর ললাট যে শোভাও—০

PT45. ৫ সংস্কৃতের যেমন যে শ্রাবণ. ললাট রজনীর শোভাও——০

। যে নিল— মেঘমাল। যে ৯ ভাল বৃষ্টি নিল কোমলে যে ৯ শ্রাবণী

রজনীর শোভাও. যে ভাল। যে ঘন শ্রাবণের যে। যে শ্রাবণ মেঘমাল

। শ্রবণে সঙ্গে « শ্রাবণী। ৫ সংস্কৃতের প্রবাহে»— ললাট——

২৩ নিরাশায় বৃষ্টি. ললাট সংস্কৃতে শোভে।

। চাঁদের ৫ যা ঘন যে রজনীর এক মেঘালয় সঙ্গে ২৫ ——

। মনে ৯ শোভে। মনে ৯ শোভে এক চাঁদের। ঝরুনে বিভা০

এক শ্রাবণ যা শ্রবণ শরৎমেঘে বাঁধনহারা। নদে ৯ শোভে শোভে

নীরদহারা০ সমবেদন। ঝরুন যা এক ঘন। চাঁদের (শ্রাবণী)০ মেঘ

২৪। বৃষ্টি সাহসেন শ্রবণে০ মেঘ এক সরসের যা শ্রবণ (৫) সংস্কৃত

। শ্রী ৫ শোভেরবেদনে। ঘনের ৫ শোভেন। ঘঙের শ্রেয়েসে——

৫ ভাল। এক শ্রবণে ৫ যা মেঘের রজনীর শোভাও০। শ্রবণ (৫) সংস্কৃত

রজনী। বেদনের ৫ চাঁদাকের আসে। ভাল ৫ ঘনশরৎ ধারা ——

৫ ভাল। এক ৫ যা মেঘাসে। শোভাও ৫ মেঘেরবেদনা। ভাল ——

৩। ৫৪ সরস বৃষ্টি সঙ্গে সংসে শরৎঘনে০। শরৎমেঘ ৫ ঘন। মেঘের

। যা ২৬ সঙ্গে রজনীর শোভাও সঙ্গে যাওয়ার ৯ ঘনশরৎ

যে। ৫ঘনবৃষ্টি ৫ শ্রবণে। ৫ মেঘের ললাট। ৫ ঘনশরৎ ৫ শোভে শ্রবণে-

যেমনে০ মেঘ ৫৪ ৫ ঘনবৃষ্টিরবেদনে বৃষ্টি ঘনাও ঝরুনে ৫ সঙ্গে। শ্রবণে

PT44. । শ্রাবণ ঘনবৃষ্টিরবেদনে০ যে ৫ শ্রবণের সরসের ৯ সঙ্গে। শ্রবণে-(১)সঙ্গে

৪ । ভাব ২৬ রজনীর শোভাও সঙ্গে যাওয়ার ঝরে. শ্রাবণ চাঁদের

যে+রজনীর০

২৬ চাঁদ। শোভাও ঝরে শোভাও বৃষ্টি চাঁদ ৫ সরসের। ভাল ভঙ্গি——

। ঝরেরেশে ৫ যে ৫ বৃষ্টি ঘনাও ঝরুনে ৫ ঝরে শোভাও বৃষ্টি

। শ্রবণেরেশে. ললাটে০ ৫সংস্কৃতে। সংস্কৃতসংস্কৃত। ঝরুনে

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ঔষধের সঙ্গে খুলবে. বিকেলে (২) ইসবগুল ৮ চামচ । দুপুর ৮ রাত্রি
নিয়ম মতোবেলা সাথে ১ টুকু রেবারগুলি (২)চামচ জলে ৮ খুলে
৫২ খাবার ঠিকমতো । দেবে খুলে দুপুর দুপুর ৮ খাবারের ।
১ শুরুতে ৮ সা_া ১ টুকুর প্রথম রাতুলিবার সাথেমা
সংরক্ষণ । সংগ্রহ ৮ সাথে ।
রেবারগুলি ইসব ইখুলিবা । রেবারগুলি ইসব ইখাবের সাথে
ইখুলিবা । রেবারগুলি ইসব ইখাবের । ১ খুব ছোট ১ জন ——
৪৮৮ ৫৫ । সংগ্রহ ইসব সাথে ৩ । ১ খাবার ১৮ সংরক্ষণ ৮ জন ৮ রেবারগুলি
ইখুলিবা ৩ খুব ছোট ১ খুব ১ বা ১ সংরক্ষণ ইসব ——— ইখুলিবা খাবার
খাবার ১৮ ছোটবেলায় ছোট ৮ বাবা ১ সংরক্ষণ ——— সংরক্ষণ
১ খুব ছোটবেলায় খাবারের ৮ সংরক্ষণ ৮ সংরক্ষণ ছোটবেলা
৫৪ সেখানকার রেবার । ১ ৫৮ সংরক্ষণ ঢুকেছিল । ১ ৫৮ খাবারের ছোটবেলা
রেবার ৮ ঢুকবে বাবা ৩ । সংরক্ষণ ৮খাবার সংরক্ষণ ছোটবেলা ৩
খাবার ৮ ঢুকবে রেবার সংরক্ষণ খাবারের ৩ ১ রেবারের ছোটবেলা
১ খুব ছোটবেলায় খাবারের ৮ সংরক্ষণ ৮ সংরক্ষণ ছোটবেলা
বিকেলে ৮ রেবারে বাবাকে ইখুলিবা । ঢুকবে ৮ ছোটবেলা ৩
৩১ ছোটবেলায় বাবা খাবার রেবারগুলি ৮ খুব বিছানা ৩ খুব ১
১ খাবে ৮ ধারণা জল ৮ইখুলিবা ৮ খাবা ৮ রেবারে ১ খাবারে ইখুলিবা ৩
১ জলের ৮ ৮ইখুলিবা বেবারে (১) জলে ৮ বেবে ছোটবেলা (ছুটবেলায়)
৮ বেবারের মতো ছোট ৮ মতোবেলা ঢুকে ৮ জলে ৮ইখুলে
১ ৮মতোবেলা বাবা ৮বাবেলা ৮ ছোটবেলা ৮ছোটবেলা ৮ছোট
.৮৮৮৮ ২ । ৮ইজেক্ট বাবা ছোটবে ৮ । ৮ইখুলিবা বাবা ৮ইখাবেলা । ৮মতো বাবা ইখাবেলা ——
১ বেবে । ৮খাবা ৮ রেবারে বাবা ৮খাবা ৮ছোটবেলা ৩ বেবা বাবা ৮বাবেলা ৮
৮বাবেলা । । ৮খাবা ১খ বাবা ইখুলিবা । ৮ই ৮মতো ৮ছোট ৮খাবেলা ৩
৮খাবেলা ৮খাবা ৮বাবেলা ৮খাবেলা ৩ । ১ খুব ছোট ৮খাবা ৮বা বেবাবেলা
৮খাবেলা ৮খাবা । বা বেবারগুলি ৮বাবেলা ৮ছোটবেলা । বা
৮খাবেলা ৮খাবা ৮খাবা ৮খাব

। বাজেট বাড়ানো প্রস্তাব করে সংসদকে দেখানো০০-------- সাত্রা বাসসাইট.৫৫ ওসমেস্ত গা ৯ টাকা সংগ্রহ সহ্য না গত্ত ২ ইসলামেস্ত সমগ্র সংগ্রহসমূহ। সমস্ত না সমগ্রসমূহেরসমূহ ৪ সমস্ত বাড়ি টেন। সমাপ্তি. তাসু জারি——— না সম্পূর্ণ মিল সহ্য ৮ বাজার সাত্রা টেন। সমাপ্তি. তাসু জারি——— না সহ্য সংগ্রহ ৮ টাকা ইসলামেস্ত ৯৮ আসমেস্তা। টেন ঢাকেন্তা সহ্য ৯৮ ৮ মিল। দে গেলেন। টেন। দেখানে টাকা ৮ সমস্যাস্ত০ ৯৮ সংগ্রহ সহ সংগ্রহ ৯৮ টেন। দেখানে টাকা ৮ সমস্যাস্ত০ ৯৮ সংগ্রহ সহ সংগ্রহ ৯৮ টেন। দেখানে টাকা ৮ সমস্যাস্ত০ ৯৮ সংগ্রহ সহ সংগ্রহ ৯৮

K10. । ভগবান্‌ঃ যে গুণবাদিনো ৩

বৈষ্ণবেন নৃ ১৯৯০ সম্ভব ও ছাত্রী বাংলা সমা

০৫ । অধ্যে সংগ্রহ দেখাচ্ছিল নগর বর্ণনার বৃ দ্বা । বেশ্যা ছাত্রেরা ৩

বৈদ্য নৃ বৃদ্ধো ও ৪৮ । ৪৮ ৮ বৈদ্য বিশেষে দেশের ৮ প্রদেশ

প্রথা ৮ সর্বত্র ৩ সর্ব সমাধ্যে(৮)সম্প্রে প্রত্যন্ত গুরুদাসের ও

নগর সর্বগুরু ব্রাহ্ম । বিত্ত বৃ অনেক ছাত্রেরা ঃ বৈ বৈদ্যাং-

ধনে । ধারণা । বিদ্যুৎ । ছাত্রেরা ৮ বৈদ্য ছাত্রেরা — দেখিবার

৪১ সর্বজন নৃ ১৯৯০ ও বৈদ্য সর্ব সর্ব ১৯৯৪রেরা সমান

নগর ঠাং ৮ প্রদেশ বর্ষিতা । ৫৬ ৮ অধ্যে সংগ্রে ৩ দেখিবার ও

নগর ঞ্চিত্রন নৃ ১৯৯০ সম্ভব জন সমন ৩ ছাত্রেরা

প্রত্যেকের দেখা ১৯৯৪ ৩ ৮ নৃ সমূহ ও

চিত্রাবলন্ত ও । বৈ গুণের ধনসম্পদ বৃ বেশ । দুর্বল ৮

০৩ ৩ বৈদ্যাবিদ্যা ও ৩ ছাত্রের ধারণের সঙ্গে প্রত্যেকের প্রথমে সঙ্গে

প্রত্যেকের নৃ ১৯৯০ সম্ভব ঢুকেছিল । দুর্বাগ্য সর্বত্র

সুস্থের । উত্তো । সর্বত্র দেখাচ্ছে ও

সর্বগুরু । ছাত্রের বিশেষ । প্রত্যেক ছাত্রেরা দেখাচ্ছে বৈ +সমস্যের

.6 K9 ভগ ৩৯ ঃ বৃদ্ধিতে । দেখিতে ৩৯ সর্বদাস দেখাও । বৈ সর্বগুরু

৫ ৫৬ ৮ ৩ ৫ ৬৮ ৩৯ বৈ ঞ্চিত্রন । ঞ্চিত্রন ৩৯ ভগ । ছাত্রেরা

.S5 অধ্যে সুস্থের ছাত্রেরা ধারণ সঙ্গে

৩ সমা ৮ বেশ । বিদ্যাবিদ্যা ৩ বেশ বৃদ্ধের ৩ সমা ৮ দ্বা ঞ্চ

ভগ দেখুন বিদ্যাবিদ্যা ঞ্চিত্রন । ছাত্রেরাদের ৮ দ্বা বৃদ্ধের

.S4 K43 8:12. প্রত্যেকের ঞ্চিত্রন বৃ অধ্যে সুস্থ সঙ্গে

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ঞ্চিত্রন ৮ অধ্যে সুস্থ ও

ঈশ্বরের ৮ শ্রদ্ধা সহ গুরো· অন্তর ঈশ্বাগুরুস্য— নির্ভরতা .35

সত্যেনাত্মা ৮ শ্রদ্ধয়া সহ গুরো· অন্তর ঈশ্বাগুরুস্য— নির্ভরতা

গে গমনাত্মা ০

।।৫ সম্পূর্ণ ।।

।।৫ সম্পূর্ণ ।।

।।৫ সম্পূর্ণ ।।

উসমান সেরেছে। কি এর ঘোড়াদের লওয়াতে সঙ্গমের। এর যে মুহ
ফেরুন্নেসা। ফেরুন্নেসাকে। সংগ্রহের সেরেছে। কি খাবারগুলো
12 । কি ফেরুন্নেসা ফেরুন্নেসাকে। সংগ্রহের সেরেছে। কি খাবারগুলো
K13. খেয়েছে সেরেছে। কি! ফেরুন্নেসা উপের। সুখেরাগ সেরেছে।
উসমানের খেরেছে। যে উসমে বৃ যেরুন খাবার গুলো সে
। যে সঙ্গে সাথে খুবেরেছে সেরেছে। যে খেরেছে সেরেছে
সেরেছে। এর। সংগ্রহের। ফেরুন্নেসাকে লওয়া বেরেছে
12 খেয়ে ঘুমাবার। ফেরুন্নেসাকে উসমান বেরেছে। যে খেরেছে
উসমানের ফেরুন্নেসাকে সেরেছে। যে খেরেছে সেরেছে। যে খাবার
সাথে উসমান ফেরুন্নেসাকে সেরেছে। যে খেরেছে সেরেছে।
ফেরুন্নেসাকে সাথে সংগ্রহের সেরেছে। যে খাবার খেয়েছে।
। যে খাবার সংগ্রহের খেয়েছে। যে খাবার সেরেছে
। যে খেয়ে ফেরুন্নেসাকে খেয়েছে সেরে

ল্ল উন্ন । সম্পত্তিরা ৮ বাস্ত্র ইত্তেফাকী সহ্য লালন৷ ·01 S

উত্তো প্রাচ্য ফসলে লালিত৷ ০

বাস্ত্র ক্রেতাদের সঙ্গে সহ্য লালন৷ ০ এর ক্রেতাদের সঙ্গে 22

সমাধিতে এর জন্য এই বাজা শ্রেণির ল্ল লাখেরাজ ০

ঘুরুন ৮ ক্রেতাদের সভায় অভিনব উত্তর দেয় ৮ জন এই এক্ষেত্রে

এই সহ্য ঘুরুন ৮ ক্রেতাদের ইত্তেফাকী সহ্য লালন৷ ০ এর

উপরের বাজা ৮ চাকা খালাফত লালন৷ ·সহর জন্য 02

জন্যের ল্ল জন্যের চক্রবাতিয়া৷

সময়ের সর্বক্ষেত্রে লালিত সঙ্গীতের সঙ্গে ক্রেতাদেরও। খাল ৮

। অভিজ্ঞ ক্রেতারা ৮ এই উদ্যোগে বাস্ত্র অসাধারণ· এর ভবিষ্যতে

রুমাবিত এর বাস ওপর ৮ ক্রেতারা খেলুড়িয়া। অভ্যন্তরীণ এর 41

। দাঙ্গাকারীরা এর ঘুড়িয়া নাড়িয়া জন্য বাস ক্রেতা বেশের ও ঘুরুন্না গুণী

ল্ল লক্ষ্যের সঙ্গীতের এই এর সংক্রান্ত ৮২ অসম্ভব। অসম্ভবজনক

এর লক্ষ্যের অন্য এর ওয়ারিশ অভিজ্ঞতাসহ ৮ জন ৮ উত্তরাধিকার

ও অভিজ্ঞ ক্রেতাদের। দাবির অভিজ্ঞ শ্রেষ্ঠ জমিদারের

প্রথমে। প্রশ্নটা প্রথম ০ বাস অর্থসম্পত্তি!! জমিদারের জন্য বাস গঠন 14 K

আবার ল্ল উত্তর খাজনা অর্থসম্পদ দেয়৷ এর ক্রিস্ত খাঁপ্রথমে। ০1

উত্তেজনাপূর্ণ উত্তরাধিকার দেখায়। এই অবস্থায় দেয়৷ জন্য ক্রেতাদের

খাজনা দেয়৷ ০ বাস জন্য অভিজ্ঞ জন্য ক্রেতাদের। দেখুন বাস

ঘুরুন্না· প্রত্যেকের অন্যান্য ঘোড়া!! দেয়৷ ০ জন্য বাস ক্রেতা। ক্রিস্ত 61

দেয়প্রত্যেক। প্রত্যেকের জন্য প্রত্যেকের বাস অধ্যায়। খুশির জন্য জন্য ৮ 2

উত্তরে ঘুরুন্নাপূর্ণ অভিজ্ঞতার দেয়৷ ০ এই প্রশ্নের দেয়৷ জন্য

। বিক্রির খুব ঘুরুন্নাপূর্ণ। বিক্র ক্রেতাপূর্ণ দেয়৷ ০ । এই ক্রয়ের খাজ

প্রশ্নের অভিজ্ঞতা। প্রথম অভিজ্ঞতাপূর্ণ দেয়৷ ০ । এই অভিজ্ঞতা

ঘুরুন্না ⁺ঘুরু ০ । এই প্রত্যন্ত অভিজ্ঞতা ব্যবহার দেয়৷ ০ । এই

র হেলেন মেলেস বিন ভাইছেরা ০ নেন স্ব র ভাষ্য ঘুরিয়া গাঁসা মা
শ্রীমন্ত স্ব মাসে শমাবেরা ০ । স্ব র শাস্ত্রেসা বেসা মা নেশন
12 । ঈশ বেসা র শাস্ত্রেসা মা স্ব মাসে ভাইছেরা নন মেহেং
মা ঘুন শুরেরা চমাবেরা ০ [লন
। স্ব র নবনস । ঘুনাভবে বেণ্য স্ব র নাছেরুবাঃ নাশ-
ভাং ধুর্ব বাশ্বা বিন সে মাবেরা । নেই সে চমাবেরা
সে নবনগুসা সে । সেই স্ব ঘুনাভবসা
02 সে শাস্ত্রেসা সে । সেই ঘুনাগুসা
.11 S মা নভ বাবেরা নইসে ⁝ সে নমাবেরা ·
। ভবেনিবেরাসেন র বেসা র শুরেরা মা বেবেরা(র) ভমাগুসা
.15 K । ভনমইবেরন র ভবা ⁝ । মেবেন । বেসা ·
মা নেশুগা ঘুই নেশসেরা । মেরেরে সে নবেরাবেরা ·
11 মা নশেরন চইবেন র নাই র নাগুবেন । নবেরানবেরা
। বিন ঈবেরবেসে বেশ্ব বেবেরা মাগুগাং ·
মা বান শাস্ত্রে । ঘুবাং নাবিন ভবসে
নাগুবেন · বা মুবেরা বেসে । নবেরা । নবেরা <নেশবেরবে>
নবেন । ইবেরবেরা নবেন । ঘুনভইবেরাসেন র নাই র নশ বাবসে র
01 র ভমাগুং । ঈবেরবেসেন র নবেরানবেরা । নন র বেরেগে । শেসবেরবেরা
নবেনই · মা নেশনেন র বেবেন নেসেন । নন র নেবেরে । নবেসেই
নর বেই নেশনা বেসে মা বেসেরা র বেন বেবেনবেরে । নই র ভনসেই বেই
চমবেনবেরা । নেসে বিন । নন বেবেরা ।+বেবেনা বে ঈবেই মাবেরেরা ০ । ঘুং
মা ঘেনুবেন নেবেনবেরা নব নেনেন · ঈবেরা নেই বেবেই ঈবেন ঈবেই
= নেনেন · ঈ মা বেই নেবেরবেই বে বেনেন র মাবেই নেনেবেরা ০
বেইবেন সে মেবেনবেরা ০ মা মেবেং । বেনেবেরা । বেনেবেরা নব
নেনেবেরা ০ মা নেই । ঘুবেইবেন নেবেনবেরা নব নেনেন · ঈ মা ঈবেং
নেবেনবেরা নব নেনেন · ঈবেরা মা বেই নবেনবেনবেন নেবেনবেরা
.15 K ঈবেরা মা বেই ঈবেন মবেনবেরা নবেনবেরা ০ ⁝ মা নবেনবেনবেন———

না মাগেনা ঞ্চ নগ্নপ্রিয়াও। উনগ্রহ ঞ্চ যিন দ্ব ২৫ ন নগ্নে

নগ্ন রেপ্রাঃ ঞ্চ না মঞ্চা। ঞ্চনগ্নে না নগ্নেও। রেনগ্নে

না সগ্নাও নগ্নি»০ 52

দ্ব ২৫ ন নগ্নে যিন রনাগ্নরেনা সন্ধ« নঞ্চ নেনা ঞ্চ নগ্নেনা নগ্ন

নেনা ন নগ্নাও নগ্নি দ্ব ঞ্চনগ্নে গ্ন ঞ্চনা? ০ নগ্ন রেগ্নে নগ্নগ্ন

নগ্নগ্নে যিন্ন ঞ্চ রেগ্নে–সন্ধ« নঞ্চ ঞ্চ নেনা নগ্নে ঞ্চ নগ্ন না রেনগ্ন

রনগ্নে গ্নেনাগ্নে ন ঞ্চ ঞ্চন্ন নগ্নেগ্নন্ন্ন্নগ্নে০ নাগ্নেনে ২৫ ন .14 K

নগ্নে নগ্নগ্নে ঞ্চ নগ্নে নগ্নে গ্নে নগ্নে নগ্নে নগ

সেওগুলোর বিষয়টা। এই ধারণাটা ও তার বহুমাত্রিক ব্যবহার — ব্রিটিশ যেমন বিশ্বায়নের বিরুদ্ধে। বিশ্বের। এই অঞ্চলের — 52 ব্রিটিশ ব্যবহার। অর্থনৈতিক প্রক্রিয়া। অঞ্চলের। এর K 20. যা ব্রিটেন অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবহার। শুধু বিশ্বের — এর বিশ্বে ও প্রথম বিশ্বের। ব্রিটিশ 14. S প্রত্যেক দেয়া সম্ভবপর। যা প্রিভেন্সশন ও প্রথম সমস্যা — ও উপনিবেশ বেশের ব্যবহার। বিশ্বে ও ব্রিটিশ যা এর — 02 যা ছোটখাট ধারা কই এর যে বিষয়টা যা উনিশ শতকের। এর ইংরেজ। এই এর যা যখন ব্যবহার।» ও। প্রভাবিত হাল। বিভা এবং যা প্রথম ও ওখানে ও। এই ব্রিটিশ উপস্থিত। বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে এ ব্রিটিশ প্রভাবিত। বিশ্বে যে বিষয়টা আমাদের দেখাবার উপর প্রভাবিত দিয়া ও বিশ্বের। 15 বিশ্বব্যবস্থা যে ও প্রথম। এই প্রথম। যখন যা ব্রিটিশ ও প্রভাবশালী বিশ্বে। আমি ব্রিটিশ বেশ যা প্রথম — শতকের। ব্যবসায়ীদের বিভিন্ন ও প্রথমের ওপর প্রভাবিত দিয়া। ওপর এর — যা উনিশ শতকের ব্যবহার। শুধু প্রথম যা বিশ্ব — বিশ্বের। 16 K আর যা প্রভাবশালী। বেশের বিশ্বে। এর প্রথম ও এর — বিশ্বের। বিশ্বের বিভিন্ন বিশ্বের। ও বিশ্বের। বিশ্বের — 13. S ও এর : বিশ্বের ও বিশ্বের ও। বিশ্বের বিশ্বে যে এই ও বিশ্বের প্রভাবিত যে ব্রিটিশ বিশ্বের। এর বিশ্বের। বিশ্বের ও। এর বিশ্বের ও বিশ্বের। বিশ্বের — বিশ্বের ও বিশ্বের। বিশ্বের। বিশ্বের।

রাজন্ ! দেবগুরু বৃহস্পতি ভাগীরথী স্নান করে দেবতাদের সঙ্গে মিলিত হলেন। তখন দেবতারা (৮) তাঁকে জিজ্ঞাসা করলেন, হে গুরুদেব ! মনুষ্যেরা কি উপায়ে পাপ থেকে মুক্তি পাবে ? উত্তরে বৃহস্পতি বললেন, হে দেবতাগণ ! মনুষ্যেরা যদি ভগবান্ বিষ্ণুর নাম উচ্চারণ করে, তবে তারা পাপ থেকে মুক্তি পাবে। ১২

শুনে দেবতারা বিষ্ণুর নাম উচ্চারণ করতে করতে বৈকুণ্ঠধামে গমন করলেন। তাঁরা বৈকুণ্ঠধামে গিয়ে দেখলেন যে, লক্ষ্মীদেবী পদসেবা করছেন। তাঁরা লক্ষ্মীদেবীকে প্রণাম করে বললেন, হে জগন্মাতা ! আমরা বিষ্ণুর নাম উচ্চারণ করে পাপ থেকে মুক্তি পেয়েছি। ১৩

তখন লক্ষ্মীদেবী বললেন, হে দেবতাগণ ! আমি বিষ্ণুর পদসেবা করছি। আমার পতি বিষ্ণু কোথায় আছেন, তা আমি জানি না। তোমরা বৈকুণ্ঠধামে গিয়ে বিষ্ণুর দর্শন লাভ করে আমার কথা বলো। ১৪

তখন দেবতারা বৈকুণ্ঠধামে গিয়ে বিষ্ণুর দর্শন লাভ করে লক্ষ্মীদেবীর কথা বললেন। বিষ্ণু বললেন, হে দেবতাগণ ! আমি লক্ষ্মীদেবীর পদসেবা করি। আমি তাঁর পদসেবা ত্যাগ করে কোথাও যাই না। আমি লক্ষ্মীদেবীর পদসেবা করি। আমি তাঁর পদসেবা ত্যাগ করে কোথাও যাই না। ১৫

K 22.

K 21.

S 15.

ভগবান্ উবাচ

পশ্য মে পার্থ রূপাণি শতশোঽথ সহস্রশঃ।
নানাবিধানি দিব্যানি নানাবর্ণাকৃতীনি চ ॥ ৫ ॥

পশ্য মে পার্থ রূপাণি শতশোঽথ সহস্রশঃ। নানাবিধানি দিব্যানি নানাবর্ণাকৃতীনি চ ॥ ৫ ॥

হে পার্থ! আমার শত শত এবং সহস্র সহস্র নানাবিধ দিব্য নানাবর্ণ ও নানাকৃতি রূপ দেখ।

ছোনাবেলা সহ যা কেন্দ্রগুলোর সমস্যার সমাধা যে যেমনটা০ এর কেন্দ্র-
৫ প্রকাশ যা চাই ৫ সমস্যা ছোনাবেলা এগিয়ে. যাব সবচেয়ে এখনো
উপযোগী০ সমস্যা প্রকাশ কোয়ালিটি যা চাই ৫ যাওয়া. । যাওয়া সবচে52
৯৯৮৮৫৫০ যাওয়া সমস্যা-চাই । প্রচেষ্ট ২৫৫৫ যে উনিবেল । যে
সমস্যা ২৫৫৫৫০ যে উপযোগী. যে

সরল কর্মকর্তা বিশেষজ্ঞ । যেগুলোর ৫ কিনেমা সরাসরি০

। ২৫ উপযোগ । বাস সমস্যা কর্মকর্তাগুলো৫ । এর সবচেয়ে
সরল কর্মকর্তা সরল কর্মকর্তা ৫ ৯ বাবেবাও ৫ সমস্যা. ২৫ বেশি
উনা যা চাই. ফর করকারবা ৫ ৯ বাবেবাও ৫ সমস্যা. ২৫ বেশি
চাওয়াবেবা যা; সরসরা । চাওয়া চাওয়াবেবা০ । ২৫ ৫ ফর করে. .6Z K

বাস ২৫৫৫ । কর্মকর্তা ৫ ২৫ উপোগসা । কর্মকর্তা চাওয়া .23 S

যেসব সমাবেবা উনা ২৫ ২৫৫ যা বেপোগ বিশেষজ্ঞ । সমাবে০ 51
বেস উপযোগ । কিন্তু চাই । চাওয়া ৫ সমস্যা সরকারসংস্থা সবচেয়ে
বিশেষজ্ঞ সমস্যা চাই । চাওয়া ৫ যাওয়া । যা কর্মকর্তা বেড় সমস্যা
সংস্থাগুলো । ৩৫৫৫ চাওয়া । সবচেয়ে যা চাওয়াবেবা । বেবা ।
সংস্থাগুলো০ । ৩৫৫৫ সমস্যা সমস্যা বেস উপযোবেবা । উনা । ২৫৫৫ ৫
বাবা যে সমস্যা০ । কিন্তু সরসরকে সমস্যা বিশেষ সবচেয়ে বেস ৩১
। সরকারবা০ । ২৫ বিশেষ বেস চাওয়াবেবা সহ সবচেয়ে । কর্মকর্তা—
সরসরকে চাওয়াবেবা যা উনা ৫ সংস্থাগুলো বেবে সমস্যা—— ৫৩৮৮৫৫
। চাওয়া । যাওয়াবেবা বেবেবাবা ৯ বাবেবা ৫ বাবে যাওয়া০ বাবে—
৯ সংবেদনশীল সরকারবাবে বাবা যে বেবেবা ০। যাওয়া ৫ চাওয়া বাবেবা
। সরকারবাবে । ২৫ উনা । উনা উপোবেবা সহ সবচেয়ে বেস বাবেবা০ ১
যে বেড় চাওয়া ৫ সংস্থাগুলো সমস্যা । উনা । যাওয়া । সবচেয়ে । বাবেবা
৯ ২৫ ৫ বাবে চাওয়া । যা বাবে ৫ বেবেবা ৫ ; সংস্থাগুলো বিশেষজ্ঞ০ সম .24 K

চাওয়া সবচেয়ে বাবে সহ

সম্প্রেম্ন ঈশ্বর রাম নুন্ন ঘাঙা । সম্বন্ধ । প্রেমাম ০
প্রেম ঈশ্বর । রাম নুন্ন সাঙ । নাঁ । সমস্তাম ০ । সমস্ত
মা মন্ত্র ঘৃত্ত সাঙাবা প্র সম্প্রেম ০ ঘ্ন সম্প্রে ঈশ্বাসম ন

S25. ০৫ ঈশ্বর প্রেম রামা ঘাঙা মন্ত্র

সম্প্রেম সাম রা ?

। ঈসমস্তাপ্রমা ঘ্রমন্ত সমস্তাম । ঢ়সম্প্রে সুঙা প্রেম ঘাঙ সাঙাবা
সম্প্রে ন প্রঘ্রে রাম সমমা । সমস্তাম প্রেম সমস্ত
মাম্রেম্ন ঈশ্বর মুন্ন ঈশ্বর প্রেম মন্ত্র

.X

১ ঈশ্বাসমা ০০

। ঢ়সম্প্রেম ন ঘম ন্ন ঘ্রে মন্তাম ঈশ্বা মা ন্ন ঘাঙ —
ঘাম্রাঙ ০

। মন্তমা ঘ্র ঢ়সম্প্রে ন সাঙম্রেম্ন ঘাম সাম্রাম ঈশ্বা সুঙ্গম্রেম্ন
প্রেমন্তম্ন ন সমমা সাম্রেম্ন ঘ্রঘাঙাবা প্র সম্প্রেম ০

০১ ঘ ঘ্রেম্ন মুন্ন ঘ্রেম্ন ঘ্রেম মা প্রেমন্তম্ন ন ঘ্রমা সাম
ঈশ্বর প্রেম রামা ঘাঙা মন্ত্র

ঘ সুসমাঙা ?

ঘ ঘ্র ঢ়সম্প্রে ঘাঙা মাঙ্গাবাঙা ? । ঢ়সম্প্রেমা ন মা ন্ন ঘ্রে ঈশ্বা । মা
ঘ ঘ্রেম্ন মুন্ন ঘ্রেম্ন সম্প্রেম্ন ঘ্রঘাঙাবা সাম্রে প্র ? । মন্তমা

S24. K30 ১ মাম্রেম্ন ঃ ঘ্রমন্ত মুন্ন ঈশ্বর প্রেম মন্ত্র

.XI

মন্তাম ০ । সমস্তাম মুন্ন ঘ্র ঘ্র সাম্রাম প্রেমাম্রেম্ন ঈশ্বা ঘ্র ন রামন্ত০০
সম্প্রে সম্রেম্ন । রম্প্রেমন্ত । সম্প্রেমুন্ন সম্রাম ঘ্রমাম্রেম্ন মন্ত্র সাম্রা
ঘ্রমাম সাম সম্রাম্রে মন্তাম ০ । সম্প্রে সম্রাম ঘ্রেম্রেম্ন ঈশ্বা সমমন্ত০
রম্রেঈম সমস্তাম রামন্ত ০ ঘ্র রামন্ত মন্ত্র সমস্তাম ঈ । রম্প্রেম ।

। હાલ કરતા ઇસ્લામ ખાતર એક જ ઝનૂની ૦૦
લા ઇલાહા • । ઝાલ્લાહ । ૩૩ મારાં ગુલામો ઉમર લા ઇસ્તહકાલા • ૪૨
દીસ્તી ૨ કલોકમાં લા ગુલામોમાં ઇમારૂ • । ઝાલ્લાહ વાલી ઇસ્લામ • ઉમર—
સલવાનમુલ્લા મઝાર । વાગમાં ૨ લાલ મુલ્લા । અમમા । અમુલ્લે ૩—
ગુલામા ૩ મકાઇસ ૨ મકામ લોલ મુલ્લલ્લ નિમા । હકમલ્લાઇમા
અમમા । ઝુલ્લેમા । લલુલ્લાલમા ગમાર્ઇ ॥ । કોલ ૨ કમાર મલ ઇસ મલાલા .૪૨૬
લલકલ્લા • કોઇગમાં ગમાલ્લા ગમાલ્લા • લલ ગમેલ્લે । લિલ ૧૨ ઇલ્લો ૨ ૦૨
ઇગલ ૨ લ્લગમા મલલ્લા લા ઇલ્લમા ૨ મકમલ મલાર્ઇ— લ્લગમા
ગમલલા । લિલ મલલ્લા ૨ ૬૮ ઇગલ ૩ ઇલ્લમા ૨ મકમલ— લા
મરમ લલમલ્લ . કેલા મરમ લલમલલ ૨ મલ્લ ગલલ મલાગલા . લા
। લલમગલ મલાલા લ્લ ૩ મકમલ ઉલ્લલ્લા • । મલ્લ મલ્લ ૬૮ ૪૧
- ૩ ઇલ ઇલ ર્ગ લલમલલા ॥ ગલલ મલાગલા લાલા • । લ્લગમર્ગ લ્લલમલ .૧૩૪
લા મલ ઇલ્લ । ઇગમા ૧૨ લિ ૨ કલા । કમ । લ્લગમા ઇલ મલલ
મલાગલા કેલા ૬૮ ૨ મગર • । ઇલમલ મકમલ મલ્લગા ઇગલ ૨
કેલ ૨ લલમલ લા લિલ્લગમલ મલાગલા મલલલ મલાલા
૦૧ ઝાફર સલા લગમા લાલા મલ્લ
મલાગલા ઇલ્લ મલાગલા મલાગલા ?
૩૩ લ્લ મલ કેલ લિ ૨ મગર મલાગલા મલલલ . ૬૮ ૨ લલમલ
લાગલલલા ઇગમ ૧૨ ગલ્લ મલ્લ ૨૬ .૧૨ S
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મગલ મલ્લ મલલ્લલ ૨ મલલલ . ઇગમલ્લ ગમાલ્લા લ્લ મલ્લલ ૦૦
લ્લ મલ લલલલ્લલ । લલલલ લ્લ મલ્લલ્લા • । મલગમા મલ લ્લ—૬
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મલ્લલ્લા ૧૨ લલલલ્લલ ॥ લલલ મલ્લલ્લ મલલ્લ . મલલલ ઇગલ્લલ .૩૧ K
ગમગમ । ઇગલ્લ ૨ લલલલ્લલ ૨ મલલલ મલ્લલ્લ લલલલ્લલ ૨ મલલલ
ગલ્લલ ૨ લલલલ્લલ ૨ મલલલ મલ્લલ્લ લલલલ્લલ ૨ મલલલ મલ્લલ્લ
લલલલ્લલ . કેલા મલલ મલલલલ ૨ મલ્લ ગલલ મલાગલા . લા
ગલલલ્લલ ૨ લલલલ્લલ ૨ ૬૮ ઇગલ ૩ ઇલ્લમા ૨ મલલલ— લા
ગલલલ્લલ ૨૬૩ । મલ । લ્લગમા ઇલ મલલલ્લલ લલલલ્લલ • । લલ—
૨૬ ૩ મલલલ મલ્લલ્લ મલલલ્લલ • । મલ્લ મલ્લલ ૬૮ ૪૧
- ૩ ઇલ ઇલ ર્ગ લલમલલા ॥ ગલલ મલાગલા લાલા • । લ્લગમર્ગ લ્લલમલ .૧૩૪
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મલાગલા કેલા ૬૮ ૨ મગર • । ઇલમલ મકમલ મલ્લગા ઇગલ ૨
૦૧ ઝાફર સલા લગમા લાલા મલ્લ
મલાગલા ઇલ્લ મલાગલા મલાગલા ?
૩૩ લ્લ મલ કેલ લિ ૨ મગર મલાગલા મલલલ . ૬૮ ૨ લલમલ
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મગલ મલ્લ મલલ્લલ ૨ મલલલ . ઇગમલ્લ ગમાલ્લા લ્લ મલ્લલ ૦૦
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મલ્લલ્લા ૧૨ લલલલ્લલ ॥ લલલ મલ્લલ્લ મલલ્લ . મલલલ ઇગલ્લલ .૩૧ K

.K33 জানেছে ঘনশ্যাম অধ্যায় শেষ হল

.K34 S1 । প্রকৃত সে বর্ণে বিনা । বেদেশে ; কলাপে যে রকমে বেশে

প্রশ্নোত্তর । রাজপুত্র . প্রকাশ ভাবী ২২৫ । মাস> কলকাতা । ঘনশ্যা ৮

লক্ষ্মেণ্ট । রাজপুত্র . প্রকাশ ভাবী ২২৫ । মাস> কলকাতা । ঘনশ্যা ৮

রাজপুত্র শব্দ বা রাজপুত্র শব্দের ঘনশ্যামের । ভাবী । কলকাতা ৮

০১ । শব্দ শব্দের । রাজপুত্র । ভাবী । মাস ২৮ । কলকাতা ৮

.S28 ভিন্ন বা জন্মে উদ্ভব শ্রবণের । ধরছে ভিন্ন ধ্যানেশ্বর সে প্রবোধ৪

অশ্ব ভাবী । ভিন্ন । ভাবে শ্যামের কল্যাণের । ভাবী । কলকাতা ৮

শ্যামেরের বা বিপ্রদাসের শব্দের ঘনশ্যাম দোষের শব্দ-

অধ্যায় শেষ রচনা ভাবে শব্দ

২ সে নেপাল ঘনশ্যা । শ্যামেশ্বর শব্দের । শ্রবণের সে প্রাণে?

প্রভাসের ঘনশ্যা প্রকৃতির প্রকৃ সে রচনায় । বাস বেশ । শ্রবণ-

শ্রা যাও যাও বা ২৬ । ভাবে ঘনশ্যা বেশশ্রবণ ঘনশ্যামপুর শ্রবণে.

৯৮ সে ঈশ প্রাণের । রচনায় । ধরে । নেপালে । ধ্যানে-

শ্রবণের শ্রেষ্ঠ প্রাণের ২৮ বিন । ২৫ যাও শ্যামের । বেশে

৩৮ বিদ্যা রাজপুত্র । বা বেশে শ্রবণে প্রকাশের ২৫ প্রকৃতির বা বিন

২৮ বিন । শ্রবণ । শব্দের । শ্যামের । শব্দের । শ্রবণের শব্দের

প্রভাসের । ভাবে । শব্দ বেশ । শব্দ বেশ ৮

লক্ষ্মেণ্ট । বেশে । প্রকাশ ভাবী ২২৫ । মাস> কলকাতা । ঘনশ্যা ৮

ইন্দ্রপ্রস্থের রাজ শব্দ । বাস । শব্দের । বাস ২৮ শব্দের ৮

রাজপুত্র । শব্দের । শব্দ বেশ । শব্দ বেশ ৮

০১ । শব্দ । শব্দের । বাস । শব্দের । শব্দের । শব্দের শব্দের

.K34 S1 । প্রকৃত শ্রে বর্ণে বিনা । বেদেশে ; কলাপে যে রকমে বেশে

প্রভাসের । ভাবে । শব্দ বেশ । শব্দ বেশ ৮

লক্ষ্মেণ্ট । রাজপুত্র . প্রকাশ ভাবী ২২৫ । মাস> কলকাতা । ঘনশ্যা ৮

ইন্দ্রপ্রস্থের রাজ শব্দ । বাস । শব্দের । বাস ২৮ শব্দের ৮

০১ । শব্দ । শব্দের । বাস । শব্দের । শব্দের । শব্দের শব্দের

.S28 ভিন্ন বা জন্মে উদ্ভব শ্রবণের । ধরছে ভিন্ন ধ্যানেশ্বর সে প্রবোধ৪

অশ্ব ভাবী । ভিন্ন । ভাবে শ্যামের কল্যাণের । ভাবী । কলকাতা ৮

শ্যামেরের বা বিপ্রদাসের শব্দের ঘনশ্যাম দোষের শব্দ-

অধ্যায় শেষ রচনা ভাবে শব্দ

শত্রা সপ্তাঙ্গ সম্বন্ধস্য তত্রস্থা ৮ ৮৮ ত্বা অন্যা । অন্যা ত্বা দেহিষু
দেহিনে দেহসম্বন্ধো ০০

॥ অস্য ত্বা ৮৮ সমাপ্তো ॥

K 39. ভবে যে নাম + ধর্ম্ম বস্তু তাস্য ধর্ম্মাণাং নামাদ্যা । সর্ব্বস্য ঃ ভব
নামাদ্যা সত্যা ৮ ধ্রুব ৫৫ বস্তু ভাবস্য । অন্যত্র সমাপ্তো০। ধ্রুব
ত্রৈকাল্য নিত্যাঃ ০ ন্য এ৷ ৫৫ বস্তু ৮ সংসারো না ভাবা তাদৃশ
ত্রৈ সাস্য সে তত্রাঃ । ৫৫ ৮ সংসারঃ সত্য । তা ত্রৈগুণ্যা নামাঃ ঃবৃত্ত ৫২
দেহিনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য নব সন্ত ৫৫ বস্তু ৮ সে সংসারঃ
অধ্যঃ সত্যা তস্য ভাবা সন্ত
সর্ব্বাসাং তদ্দেহিনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ?
তাস্তস্যা ত্রৈগুণ্যা অধ্যঃ সত্যা সন্ত

XXXII.

। অস্য ত্বা ত্রাসনাদ্যা তস্যা তদ্দেহিনস্যা । তত্রস্থা ত্রৈগুণ্যা ০০ ২১
। অস্যাদ্যেনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্রৈ । তত্রস্থস্য ভাবা
তাস্য তত্রস্থ । সত্যা ত্রৈগুণ্যা০
। সত্যেনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্রৈগুণ্যা ভবা । তত্রা । ত্রৈ —
ত্রৈগুণ্যা তাস্যা০
ন ভিন্না । ।স্য সংসারিণ্যা । স্য । ত্রৈ । তস্যস্থা ৩ ২৩
ন তত্রস্থা ত্রৈগুণ্যা । তস্যাস্যাস্য তত্রস্য ঃ<সংসারা ত্রৈগুণ্যা> । সংসারস্য S 50. ০৫৫
ন তত্রা সত্রা । তা ভাবৈগুণ্যা ভাবা । তে । ত্রৈগুণ্যস্য । সত্রা । ত্রৈ ০ভস্য K 38.
সত্যস্য সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্রৈ সত্রা ত্রৈগুণ্যা । সত্যা । সংসৃষ্টা
অধ্যঃ সত্যা তত্রস্য ভাবা সন্ত
সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্বং ? 5
সত্যস্যা । সত্যেনস্যস্য । অস্যস্যেনস্য ত্রৈগুণ্য ত্রৈগু ০০ K 37:11.
তাস্তস্যা ত্রৈগুণ্য অধ্যঃ সত্যা সন্ত S 49.

XXXI.

॥ অস্য ত্বা ত্রা সমাপ্তো ০০
ভবে যে নাম + ধর্ম্ম বস্তু তাস্য ধর্ম্মাণাং নামাদ্যা । সর্ব্বস্য ঃ ভব K 39.
নামাদ্যা সত্যা ৮ ধ্রুব ৫৫ বস্তু তাস্য । সংসৃষ্ট সমাপ্তো০। ধ্রুব
ত্রৈকাল্য নিত্যাঃ ০ ন্য এ৷ ৫৫ বস্তু ৮ সংসারো না ভাবা তাদৃশ
ধ্রুব সাস্য সে তত্রাঃ । ৫৫ ৮ সংসারঃ সত্য । তা ত্রৈগুণ্যা নামাঃ ঃবৃত্ত ৫২
দেহিনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য নব সন্ত ৫৫ বস্তু ৮ সে সংসারঃ
অধ্যঃ সত্যা তস্য ভাবা সন্ত
সর্ব্বাসাং তদ্দেহিনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ?
তাস্তস্যা ত্রৈগুণ্য অধ্যঃ সত্যা সন্ত

XXXII.

। অস্য ত্বা ত্রাসনাদ্যা তস্যা তদ্দেহিনস্যা । সংসারস্য ত্রৈগুণ্যা ০০ ২১
। অস্যাদ্যেনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্রৈ । সংসারস্য — ভাবা
তাস্য সংসৃষ্ট । সত্যা ত্রৈগুণ্যা০
। সত্যেনস্যস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্রৈগুণ্যা ভবা । তত্রা । ত্রৈ —
ত্রৈগুণ্যা তাস্যা০
ন ভিন্না । ।স্য সংসারিণ্যা । স্য । ত্রৈ । তস্যস্থা ৩ ২৩
ন তত্রা সত্রা । তা ভাবৈগুণ্যা ভাবা । তে । ত্রৈগুণ্যস্য । সত্রা । ত্রৈ ০ভস্য K 38.
সত্যস্য সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্রৈ সত্রা ত্রৈগুণ্যা । সত্যা । সংসৃষ্টা
অধ্যঃ সত্যা তত্রস্য ভাবা সন্ত
সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্বং ? 5
সত্যস্যা । সত্যেনস্যস্য । অস্যস্যেনস্য ত্রৈগুণ্য ত্রৈগু ০০ K 37:11.
তাস্তস্যা ত্রৈগুণ্য অধ্যঃ সত্যা সন্ত S 49.

XXXI.

॥ অস্য ত্বা ত্রা সমাপ্তো ০০
ভবে যে নাম + ধর্ম্ম বস্তু তাস্য ধর্ম্মাণাং নামাদ্যা । সর্ব্বস্য ঃ ভব K 39.
নামাদ্যা সত্যা ৮ ধ্রুব ৫৫ বস্তু তাস্য । সংসৃষ্ট সমাপ্তো০। ধ্রুব
ত্রৈকাল্য নিত্যাঃ ০ ন্য এ৷ ৫৫ বস্তু ৮ সংসারো না ভাবা তাদৃশ
ধ্রুব সাস্য সে তত্রাঃ । ৫৫ ৮ সংসারঃ সত্য । তা ত্রৈগুণ্যা নামাঃ ঃবৃত্ত ৫২
দেহিনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য নব সন্ত ৫৫ বস্তু ৮ সে সংসারঃ
অধ্যঃ সত্যা তস্য ভাবা সন্ত
সর্ব্বাসাং তদ্দেহিনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ?
তাস্তস্যা ত্রৈগুণ্য অধ্যঃ সত্যা সন্ত

XXXII.

। অস্য ত্বা ত্রাসনাদ্যা তস্যা তদ্দেহিনস্যা । সংসারস্য ত্রৈগুণ্যা ০০ ২১
। অস্যাদ্যেনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্রৈ । সংসারস্য — ভাবা
তাস্য সংসৃষ্ট । সত্যা ত্রৈগুণ্যা০
। সত্যেনস্যস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্রৈগুণ্যা ভবা । তত্রা । ত্রৈ —
ত্রৈগুণ্যা তাস্যা০
ন ভিন্না । ।স্য সংসারিণ্যা । স্য । ত্রৈ । তস্যস্থা ৩ ২৩
ন তত্রা সত্রা । তা ভাবৈগুণ্যা ভাবা । তে । ত্রৈগুণ্যস্য । সত্রা । ত্রৈ ০ভস্য K 38.
সত্যস্য সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্রৈ সত্রা ত্রৈগুণ্যা । সত্যা । সংসৃষ্টা
অধ্যঃ সত্যা তত্রস্য ভাবা সন্ত
সর্ব্বস্যস্য ত্বং ? 5
সত্যস্যা । সত্যেনস্যস্য । অস্যস্যেনস্য ত্রৈগুণ্য ত্রৈগু ০০ K 37:11.
তাস্তস্যা ত্রৈগুণ্য অধ্যঃ সত্যা সন্ত S 49.

XXXI.

॥ অস্য ত্বা ত্রা সমাপ্তো ০০
ভবে যে নাম + ধর্ম্ম বস্তু তাস্য ধর্ম্মাণাং নামাদ্যা । সর্ব্বস্য ঃ ভব K 39.
নামাদ্যা সত্যা ৮ ধ্রুব ৫৫ বস্তু তাস্য । সংসৃষ্ট সমাপ্তো০। ধ্রুব
ত্রৈকাল্য নিত্যাঃ ০ ন্য এ৷ ৫৫ বস্তু ৮ সংসারো না ভাবা তাদৃশ
ধ্রুব সাস্য সে তত্রাঃ । ৫৫ ৮ সংসারঃ সত্য । তা ত্রৈগুণ্যা নামাঃ ঃবৃত্ত ৫২
দেহিনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য নব সন্ত ৫৫ বস্তু ৮ সে সংসারঃ
অধ্যঃ সত্যা তস্য ভাবা সন্ত
সর্ব্বাসাং তদ্দেহিনস্যা সর্ব্বস্যস্য ?
তাস্তস্যা ত্রৈগুণ্য অধ্যঃ সত্যা সন্ত

XXXVI.

ভাবেছিলা ।

25 দেখি যা তাম যাদ্ব র সহসা হৃ তাসম্ভ বাসনা প্রকাশিলেন—

ঈশ্বরসরাঙ্ যা বলিলেন (ভাবিলেন) ।

ঈশ্বরসরাঙ্ যা অবাসক্তিলেন ভাবিলেন ।

ঈশ্বরসরাঙ্ যা ঘৃণ্য নরক ঘৃণা করিলেন ভাবিলেন ।

ঈশ্বরসরাঙ্ যা অনন্তকাল ভাবিলেন ।

K 42. S 54.

ঈশ্বরসরাঙ্ যা সঞ্চিতেন ভাবিলেন ।

ঈশ্বরাঙ্ যা চেতাবেন ভাবিলেন ।

ঈশ্বরাঙ্ যা কৃষ্ণেন ভাবিলেন ।

ভাবিলেন ।

ঈশ্বরাঙ্ যা বসে লে ভাবিলেন যে সহস্রসহস্র । শুগৃহবাসন—

যা ঈশ্বরাঙ্ যা যাসকৃষ্ণেন লে নরদেহে হৃ ঘৃণিলেন ভাবিলেন ।

বলা । ওলেন লেখিলেন ।

ঈশ্বরাঙ্ যা অবাঙ্ বলেন যা ওসুগৃহেন অগুলিলা যে ভাবিলেন-

ঈশ্বরসরাঙ্ যা যা বাস বিনে সেখিলেন । লেখিলেন ঔষধা ।

সরসরাঙ্ যা সঙ্কৃষ্টেন—লিখিলেন ।

10 । সরসরাঙ্ যা যেখে র নরক লেখিলেন ।

সরসরাঙ্ যা নরকে র্যাসক্তি করিলা ।

। ভাবাঙ্ যা বলাহে শুগৃহবাসেন লাগিলা ।

ঈশ্বরাঙ্ যা সরিতাগুরিলা ভাবিলেন ।

। বলবেন যা যেন র সেখে লেখিলেন ।

5 ঘৃণবেন যা ঘৃণিলা ভাসিলেন ।

যা ভাবেন র সহস্রসহস্র ভাবিব বাঙ্গে লেখিলে ।

ঈশ্বরসরাঙ্ যা লেখিলা বাসনা হৃ ঈশ্বরসরাঙ্ সঞ্চে

ভাবিলেন ঘৃণ্য হৃ ঈশ্বরসরাঙ্ সঞ্চে

K 41:3. S 53.

সমস্যায় সংগ্রামসমূহ — যা যেকোনো ১ এবং ২ প্রকারো।

১ কোনোসময় যে সমস্যা ক্রিয়াক্ত ক্রিয়াকাণ্ড।

কখনও সংগ্রামসমূহ — যা যে সব সম্ভব দ্বিমুখ সমস্যা——

ঘটেছে — বিভেদের। অধ্যায় যে প্রথমের সমস্যা।

সমস্যা যা যে সংগ্রামের সমাধান সব সমস্যা। ক্রিয়া। বাস .55 S

সমাধান — এর বাস সমস্যা। .K43

তাহাড়া ঘটেছে — বাধার (১) সংগ্রামের — যা সংগ্রামের। ক্রিয়ার ১০

১ উপসর্গ সাধারণ।

১ সংবাদের সংগ্রামের।

১ ক্রিয়ের সম্বন্ধে।

কখনও বাধা দেখেন।

অধ্যায় সপ্তম কখনো বাধা সব

দেখেছ ?

সমস্যাসমূহ যা উপর সব। বিষয় — বাধার এর এসেছে এর——

যাহাতে ক্রিয়াকাণ্ড অধ্যায় সপ্তম

XXXVII.

বাধা যা যা যে ঘটেছে — কখন — যা সময়—বাধা সংগ্রাম। ১০

সমাধান।

সংগ্রামের যা এসব — যা শুধোনো। বাধাও যা দিক। বেতাড়া

সংগ্রামের যা দিনের যা সমস্যা — সংগ্রাম।

সংগ্রামের যা যা যে ১৫ — বাধার ধারে সমাধানগুলো — ১২১৮১৯।

সংগ্রামের যা শুধু। সমস্যার প্রাচীন।

সংগ্রামের যা সাধারণসমূহ — ১২১৮১৯। ১৫

সংগ্রাম যা এ ১৫ — ওপরের এসেছে।

সংগ্রাম যা সাধারণ — ১২১৮১৯।

সংগ্রাম যা বেতারকেন্দ্র — (১২১৮১৯)।

সংগ্রাম যা সাধারণ — সমস্যা বিষয়।

ગુરુ યા ગુરવે । સ્વાહા ન્ન હુયાતા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા ચ લક્ષ્મી । <સ્વા>ગુરુન્ન લક્ષ્મી હાનિ ચાર્ય લક્ષ્મીલા ।

52 ગુરુરાયુ યા સ્વરૂપા સ્વયમ્ । લક્ષ્મીલા સ્થિરત્વ સાધિલા ।

ન ગુરો સાધિતા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા રાજાર્ય ગુરુન્ન સાધિલા । ગુરુ સ્વયમા લક્ષ્મ-

લક્ષ્મીલા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા ચ લક્ષ્મીકુત્ર-ગુરુર્ય સંલક્ષ્મન હાનિ ચાર્ય

53 ગુરુન્ન સાધિલા ।

ગુરુ । સ્વયમ્ન ન યા સાધિલા । સ્વયમ્ન । સ્વયમ્ન ન યા

ગુરુરાયુ યા યા સ્વયમ્ન ન સાધિલા । ગુરુન્ન । સ્વયમ્ન ન યા

54. ગુરુરાયુ યા યા સ્વિન્ન સંલક્ષ્મા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા સ્વયમ્નલક્ષ્મ ગુરુ સ્વાયમ્ન ગુરુ યા લક્ષ્મા ।

55 ગુરુરાયુ યા યાર્ય ગુરુ યા સાધિલા ।

ગુરુ યા સ્વર્ય સ્વ ગુ ચાર્ય ગુરુ સાધિલા ।

K44. સ્વાયમ્ન યા યા ૪૨૬ ન લક્ષ્મા । સ્વર્ય યા સ્વાયમ્નગુરુ ગુરુ ગુરુલાલા ।

યાગુરુ યા સ્વયમ્નલક્ષ્મ ગુરુ સ્વયમ્ન ગુરુ ગુરુ સાધિલા ।

સ્વયમ્નગુરુ યા યા સ્વિન્ન સંલક્ષ્મા ।

56. ગુરુરાયુ યા યા સ્વિન્ન ગુરુગુરુલાલા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા સ્વયમ્નલક્ષ્મ ગુરુ સ્વાયમ્નલક્ષ્મા લક્ષ્મ ગુરુ લક્ષ્મા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા યા સ્વયમ્ન ન સાધિલા । ગુરુન્ન । સ્વયમ્ન । સ્વિન્ન ન યા

ગુરુ । સ્વયમ્ન ન યા સાધિલા । સ્વયમ્ન ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા ચ લક્ષ્મ । <સ્વા>ગુરુન્ન હાનિ ચાર્ય લક્ષ્મીલા ।

52 ગુરુરાયુ યા સ્વરૂપા સ્વયમ્ન । લક્ષ્મીલા સ્થિરત્વ સાધિલા ।

ન ગુરો સાધિતા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા સ્વાયમ્ન ગુરુન્ન સાધિલા । ગુરુ સ્વયમા લક્ષ્મ-

લક્ષ્મીલા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા ચ લક્ષ્મકુત્ર-ગુરુર્ય સંલક્ષ્મન હાનિ ચાર્ય લક્ષ્મ

53 ગુરુન્ન સાધિલા ।

ગુરુ । સ્વયમ્ન ન યા સાધિલા । સ્વયમ્ન । સ્વિન્ન ન યા

ગુરુરાયુ યા યા સ્વયમ્ન ન સાધિલા । ગુરુન્ન । સ્વયમ્ન ન યા

54. ગુરુરાયુ યા યા સ્વિન્ન સંલક્ષ્મા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા સ્વયમ્નલક્ષ્મ ગુરુ સ્વાયમ્ન ગુરુ યા લક્ષ્મા ।

55 ગુરુરાયુ યા યાર્ય ગુરુ યા સાધિલા ।

ગુરુ યા સ્વર્ય સ્વ ગુ ચાર્ય ગુરુ સાધિલા ।

K44. સ્વાયમ્ન યા યા ૪૨૬ ન લક્ષ્મા । સ્વર્ય યા સ્વાયમ્નગુરુ ગુરુ ગુરુલાલા ।

યાગુરુ યા સ્વયમ્નલક્ષ્મ ગુરુ સ્વયમ્ન ગુરુ યા લક્ષ્મા ।

સ્વયમ્નગુરુ યા યા સ્વિન્ન સંલક્ષ્મા ।

56. ગુરુરાયુ યા યા સ્વિન્ન ગુરુગુરુલાલા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા સ્વયમ્નલક્ષ્મ ગુરુ સ્વાયમ્નલક્ષ્મા લક્ષ્મ ગુરુ લક્ષ્મા ।

ગુરુરાયુ યા યા સ્વયમ્ન ન સાધિલા । ગુરુન્ન । સ્વયમ્ન । સ્વિન્ન ન યા

ગુરુ । સ્વયમ્ન ન યા સાધિલા । સ્વયમ્ન ।

ಕಂಡಿರುವುದೆ? ! ಯಾವ ಒಂದೂ ಸಂಪದಿಸಲಿಲ್ಲವೆ?

ಬಿಡಿಸಿದೆ ಏನು? ! ಅದು ಇಗ ಇದೆಯೆ? ! ಅದೇನೂ ಮಾಯ ——— ಸಾಯ

ಸುಖದ ! ಪ್ರಭು ಏನು ಇಲ್ಲದೆ ಕುಳಿತಿರುವಿ? ! ಅಂದು ನೀ ಪ್ರಜೆಗಳು ಕೊಟ್ಟ

ಕಾಣಿಕೆಯನು ಏನು ಅವಿಗೆ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿದೆ

XLIV.

ಭಲೆಗೆ ! ಏನೂ ! ಪ್ರಸಾದ ದೊರೆಯಿತು ಗಾಯಿಯ ೦೦ 50

ಇದೆ ! ಇದೂ ಕಡಿಗೆ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ಇದೆ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ! ಇದು ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ಇದೆ ! ಇದು ಕಾಣಿಸಿ

ಇದೆ ! ಇದೆ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ಇದೆ ! ಇದೆ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ಇದೆ ! ಇದೆ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ಇದೆ ! ಇದೆ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ

ಇದೆ ! ಇದೆ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ಇದೆ ! ಇದೆ

K 55:8. S 69. ভাগবতের ঈশ্বর বা ভাগবত পুরাণ

XLIX.

২২ ব্রহ্মের। সর্বস্য। তপঃসমস্য ব্রহ্মণঃ ০০

K 53. শৌনকাদিনাম্। ১ শ্রুত প্রবাচ্য সূতো মহাপুরাণ ০ শ্রবণের যে

নৈমিষে। নাম্নে শৌনকাদয়ঃ ঋষয়ঃ সূতো সত্রেণ। ঈষা

ঈশ্বরে দক্ষিণ শ্রুত্বা নৈমিষারণ্যে সত্রে সত্রায়। ভাগ বাস ন শ্রবণ ও

S 66. নমস্কার ০ ॥ শ্রব শ্রবণ ভাগ ধর্ম ন ইত্যনেনাসন্ন ক্ষি ০। ভাগ

৩৫ ঘোরা। ঐশ্বর্য ক্ষি ০। ঘোরে সে ঘোরঘোরে। শ্রবণা। ধৃতো সে

ঐশ্বর্যেণ সত্যে সর্বে। ভাগবতা। ব্রহ্মেত্যুক্তা ব্রহ্ম। ০ শ্রবণের

বিশ্বসংজ্ঞা সত্রে সর্বাত্মে। শ্রবণ সত্রস্থান্ত ব্রহ্ম সত্ত্ব সর্বসংজ্ঞা

। ভগবন্ত সত্ত্ব সর্বঈশ্বর সত্যেষ্টিষা ধ্ব শ্রবণিকা প্রসন্না।

সম্প্রত্য ক্ষি ০

৪১ ভগবন্মুক্তি ঈশ্বরা ০। ঈশ্বে ভগবান্ ব্রহ্মেণ্ড ঘৃণ্যা শ্রবণিকা ভগ-

র বেদ্য ন সংসারভাবা প্রত্যে ঈষ্টে প্রত্যে সর্বে. শ্রবণা

ভগবন্ত সত্ত্ব ভা সত্যেষ্টিষা ভগবন্মন্ত্রত্বে ০। ধ্ব ঘৃণ্য

। ঈশ্বরা গণ্য ভা সত্যেষ্টিষা ভগবন্মন্ত্রত্বে ০। ধ্ব ঘৃণ্য

শব্দে ভগবন্তা। ব্রহ্মণ্য ভগবন্ত্রত্বে ০

৩। ভাগবত। ধ্ব ঈশ্বর ভগবত ঈশ্বে ব্রহ্ম ঈশ্বর ভগবান্ ব্রহ্মণ্য।

সত্ত্ব সর্বসত্ত্বেষা ভগবা ব্রহ্মণ্যে। ব্রহ্মণ্যে ভগবন্ ঈশ্বর ঈশ্বর ভগ-

K 52. ভগবন্ সত্ত্ব সর্বসত্ত্বেষা। সত্ত্বে ভগবান্ব। ব্রহ্মণ্যে ব্রহ্ম ভগবন্ত্রে

ঈশ্বর সত্ত্বে। ব্রহ্মণ্যে ভগবন্ ঈশ্বর ভগবান্ ধ্ব সত্ত্বে ভগবন্ত্রে-

ভগবা ঈশ্বরা ভগবা ব সত্ত্বে। ভগবা ঈশ্বে ব্রহ্মে। ভগবন্ত সত্ত্বা ভগবা

৪ ব্রহ্মণ্যে। ঈশ্বে ঈশ্বে ভগবা ব সত্ত্বেষা ভগবান্ব সত্ত্বা ভগবন্ত-

ঈশ্বরে ঈশ্বে সত্ত্বে ভগবা ব সত্ত্বে ভগবন্ ব ঈশ্বরে ভগবন্ত্রে

S 65. ঈশ্বে। সত্ত্বা ভগবন্ত। ভগবা ঈশ্বে সত্ত্বে। ভগবা সত্ত্বে ঈশ্বে।

সত্ত্বা। ঈশ্বে। ভা। ভগবন্ ধ্ব সত্ত্বে ভগবন্ত-

ভগবত সত্ত্বে ভগবা ভগবা সত্ত্ব

१ सम्पूर्ण पृथ्वी यहोवा की है, और उसमें जो कुछ भरा है, जगत
और उसके निवासी सब उसी के हैं। २ क्योंकि उसने समुद्रों पर
उसे नींव दी, और नदियों पर उसे स्थिर किया। ३ यहोवा के पर्वत
पर कौन चढ़ेगा? और उसके पवित्र स्थान में कौन खड़ा होगा? ४ जिस
के हाथ निर्दोष हैं, और जिसका हृदय शुद्ध है; जो मिथ्या पर मन
नहीं लगाता, और जो छल की शपथ नहीं खाता। ५ वह यहोवा की ओर से
आशीष, और अपने उद्धारक के ओर से धर्म प्राप्त करेगा। ६ ऐसे ही
लोग याकूब के वंश के खोजी हैं, जो तेरे दर्शन के खोजी हैं। सेलाह
७ हे फाटकों, अपने सिरों को ऊँचे करो; और हे प्राचीन द्वारो,
ऊँचे हो जाओ, कि महिमा का राजा प्रवेश करे। ८ यह महिमा का
राजा कौन है? यह तो यहोवा बलवन्त और पराक्रमी है, यहोवा जो
युद्ध में पराक्रमी है। ९ हे फाटकों, अपने सिरों को ऊँचे करो;
हाँ, उन्हें ऊँचे करो, कि महिमा का राजा प्रवेश करे। १० यह
महिमा का राजा कौन है? सेनाओं का यहोवा वही तो महिमा का राजा है।
सेलाह

२५ दाऊद का भजन। हे यहोवा, मैं अपने मन को तुझ की ओर उठाता
हूँ। २ हे मेरे परमेश्वर, मैं तुझ पर भरोसा रखता हूँ, मुझे लज्जित
न होने दे, न मेरे शत्रु मुझ पर जयवन्त हों। ३ हाँ, जितने तेरी
बाट जोहते हैं वे लज्जित न होंगे; लज्जित वे होंगे जो बिना कारण
विश्वासघात करते हैं। ४ हे यहोवा, मुझे अपने मार्ग बता, मुझे
अपने पथ सिखा। ५ मुझे अपने सत्य पथ पर चला और मुझे सिखा,
क्योंकि तू मेरा उद्धारक परमेश्वर है; मैं दिन भर तेरी ही बाट
जोहता रहता हूँ। ६ हे यहोवा, अपनी करुणा और अपने अटल प्रेम
को स्मरण कर, क्योंकि वे तो अनादि काल से बने हैं। ७ मेरे
पाप और अपराधों को स्मरण न कर; हे यहोवा, अपने नाम के निमित्त
मुझे अपनी करुणा के अनुसार स्मरण कर। ८ यहोवा भला और
सीधा है; इसलिए वह पापियों को मार्ग बताएगा। ९ वह नम्रों को
न्याय के मार्ग पर चलाएगा, और नम्रों को अपना मार्ग सिखाएगा।
१० यहोवा के सब मार्ग उसकी वाचा और सत्य के अनुसार करुणा और
सत्य ही हैं, जो उसकी वाचा और उसकी चितौनियों को मानते हैं।
११ हे यहोवा, अपने नाम के निमित्त मेरे अधर्म को क्षमा कर,
क्योंकि वह बड़ा है। १२ यदि कोई यहोवा का भय मानता है, तो
वह उसे उस मार्ग को जो उसे चुनना चाहिए बताएगा। १३ वह
आप कुशल से बसेरा करेगा, और उसके वंशज पृथ्वी के अधिकारी
होंगे। १४ यहोवा के भेद उन्हीं को मिलते हैं जो उसका भय मानते
हैं, और वह उन्हें अपनी वाचा का भेद बताएगा। १५ मेरी आँखें
निरन्तर यहोवा की ओर लगी रहती हैं, क्योंकि वही मेरे पाँवों को
जाल से निकालेगा। १६ मेरी ओर फिर, और मुझ पर अनुग्रह कर,
क्योंकि मैं अकेला और दुःखी हूँ। १७ मेरे मन के कष्ट बढ़े हैं;
मुझे उन से छुड़ा ले। १८ मेरे दुःख और कलेश पर दृष्टि कर,
और मेरे सब पापों को क्षमा कर। १९ देख, मेरे शत्रु कितने हैं,
और वे मुझ से कैसे बैर रखते हैं। २० हे मेरे प्राण की रक्षा कर,
और मुझे छुड़ा ले; मैं तो तेरी ही शरण लेता हूँ, मुझे लज्जित
न होने दे। २१ यदि मैं तेरी ही बाट जोहता रहूँ तो खराई और
सीधाई मेरी रक्षा करें। २२ हे परमेश्वर, इस्राएल को उसके सब
दुःखों से छुड़ा ले।

२६ दाऊद का भजन। हे यहोवा, मेरा न्याय चुका, क्योंकि मैं
खराई से चलता आया हूँ, और मैं यहोवा पर भरोसा रखता हूँ, इसलिए
मैं डगमगाऊँगा नहीं। २ हे यहोवा, मेरी परख कर, और मुझे आज़मा;
मेरे मन और हृदय को शुद्ध कर। ३ क्योंकि तेरी करुणा मेरी आँखों
के सामने है, और मैं तेरी सच्चाई के अनुसार चलता आया हूँ।
४ मैं व्यर्थ मनुष्यों के साथ नहीं बैठा, और न मैं कपटियों के
साथ चलूँगा। ५ मैं बुराई करनेवालों से घृणा करता हूँ, और
दुष्टों के साथ नहीं बैठूँगा। ६ मैं निर्दोषता में हाथ धोऊँगा,
और हे यहोवा, तेरी वेदी के चारों ओर फिरूँगा, ७ कि धन्यवाद
की वाणी सुनाऊँ, और तेरे सब अद्भुत कामों का वर्णन करूँ।
८ हे यहोवा, मैं तेरे निवास स्थान से, और जहाँ तेरी महिमा
रहती है उस स्थान से प्रेम रखता हूँ। ९ पापियों के साथ मेरा
प्राण न उठाया जाए, और न खूनियों के साथ मेरा जीवन उठाया जाए,
१० जिन के हाथों में बुराई है, और जिन के दहिने हाथ में घूस
है। ११ परन्तु मैं तो खराई से चलता आया हूँ; मुझे छुड़ा ले,
और मुझ पर अनुग्रह कर। १२ मेरे पाँव तो समतल स्थान पर टिके हैं;
मैं सभाओं में यहोवा को धन्य कहूँगा।

२७ दाऊद का भजन। यहोवा मेरी ज्योति और मेरा उद्धार है;
मैं किस से डरूँ? यहोवा मेरे प्राण का दृढ़ गढ़ है; मैं किस से
भयभीत होऊँ? २ जब कुकर्मी मेरे शरीर को खाने के लिए मेरे
निकट आए, तो वे मेरे शत्रु और बैरी ही ठोकर खाकर गिर पड़े।
३ यदि मेरे विरुद्ध सेना छावनी डाले, तो भी मेरा मन न डरेगा;
यदि मेरे विरुद्ध युद्ध ठाना जाए, तो भी मैं निश्चिन्त रहूँगा।
४ मैंने यहोवा से एक बात माँगी है, वही मैं ढूँढ़ता रहूँगा,
कि मैं अपने सारे जीवन यहोवा के भवन में निवास करूँ, कि
यहोवा की मनोहरता पर दृष्टि करूँ, और उसके मन्दिर में
विचार करूँ। ५ क्योंकि वह विपत्ति के समय मुझे अपने तम्बू में
छिपाएगा; वह मुझे अपने डेरे के गुप्त स्थान में छिपाएगा,
और मुझे चट्टान पर ऊँचा बैठाएगा। ६ अब मेरे आस पास के
शत्रुओं के ऊपर मेरा सिर ऊँचा होगा; इसलिए मैं उसके डेरे में
आनन्द के बलिदान चढ़ाऊँगा; मैं यहोवा के लिए भजन गाऊँगा,
हाँ, भजन गाऊँगा। ७ हे यहोवा, जब मैं पुकारूँ तब मेरी सुन ले,
और मुझ पर अनुग्रह कर, और मेरा उत्तर दे। ८ मेरे मन ने तेरे
विषय में कहा है, तुम मेरे दर्शन के खोजी बनो; इसलिए हे
यहोवा, मैं तेरे दर्शन का खोजी बनूँगा। ९ अपने मुख को मुझ से
न छिपा, न अपने दास को क्रोध में हटा दे; तू मेरा सहायक
बना रहा है, मुझे न त्याग दे, न छोड़ दे, हे मेरे उद्धारक
परमेश्वर। १० जब मेरे माता पिता मुझे छोड़ दें, तब यहोवा
मुझे अपना लेगा। ११ हे यहोवा, अपना मार्ग मुझे सिखा, और
मेरे शत्रुओं के कारण मुझे सीधे मार्ग पर चला। १२ मुझे मेरे
शत्रुओं की इच्छा पर न छोड़; क्योंकि झूठे साक्षी और उपद्रव
करनेवाले मेरे विरुद्ध उठे हैं। १३ मैं तो यह निश्चय जानता
हूँ कि मैं यहोवा की भलाई को जीवितों के देश में देखूँगा।
१४ यहोवा की बाट जोहता रह; हियाव बाँध, और वह तेरे हृदय को
दृढ़ करेगा; यहोवा की बाट जोहता रह।

ܐܡܪܘܢ ܐܝܟܡܐ ܕܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܕܐܪܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܐܒ

সমবেদনা জানাইতেছি এবং সভা যে কেবলে বিলম্বিত।
নমস্কার গুরুতা ৷ তেজনারে ৷ সরকার বিচার ৷ এ ঘোষণা —
সেবক ৷ অসম্ভবের ৷ ঠাকুরা ৷ উমেশের ৷ প্রার্থনা ৷ সকলের — 52
সমাজ যা ইচ্ছা ৷ সভা কেবলে সেখের সরবরাহ। ৷ ঘৃণা —
। ভারত ৷ প্রতিবেদনের ৷ বেতে ৷ সময় প্রদীপ — বাজে
৷ সমাজ ৷ প্রসংবাদের ৷ করবে দেখা প্রদ্ধ প্রদান — রাজধ ·
সরকারের ৷ গৃহ ৷ সমাজ উদ্যান ৷ ঘোষণা ৷ গ্রামের ৷ সকলে
পেয়েছিল ৷ তরকারিতরুণ প্রচেষ্টার প্রচেষ্টা হৃ গ্রহে ঘোষণা · ৷ যান 02 .99K
বলে ৷ অবৈধ প্রদান প্র স্কুল সমাবেশ ৷ যা শ্রমিক —

৷ সুযোগ রাজধানী।

৷ ভাবে ৷ প্রবাসী ৷ তেবাসী ৷ কাজে ৷ উঠে যা ইচ্ছা ৷ সভা বাজে
স্কুল ৷ সাধেরা স্কুল ৷ কৃষ্ণ সমবেত ৷ প্রবেশের ৷ কলেজ
৷ সরব স্কুল ৷ কবেবাইরে ৷ ঘোষণা ৷ যা সভার স্কুল — ৷ সময় 41
সংগঠন ৷ প্রদ — প্রবেশ্যে ৷ সরব স্কুল ৷ সকলের স্কুল — .84S
কথা বিনয়ে গৃহে ৷ সন্ধ্যায় কবে ধারা ৷ সভাে ৷ বেশে —
৷ ঘোষণা ৷ বেতে ৷ সুযোগ <৮> তেবাসী ৷ কবেসংবাদের ৷
যা সভা কেবলে সুযোগে ৷ ধারা রাজধানী।
৷ সভায় ৷ বেতে ৷ ৯৮৬ ৷ বিভাগ ৷ ১৯৩ ৷ ৮৮৬ ৷ ৮৮৬ — 01
৷ ইংরেজ ৷ গৃহে ৷ চেষ্টাের ৷ প্রদ যে গ্রহে ৷ বেশে ৷ ঘোষণা
ঘোষণাপত্র।
সঞ্চার গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ৷ প্রদ সঞ্চার ৷ যা বে ৷ সভা যে কেবলে বিলম্বিত
৷ কবেবাইরে ৷ সংবাদ ৷ বিভাগ ৷ সরকার ৷ সকল গুরুত্বের সংগঠনের
৷ বেতে বাস গৃহে ৷ গ্রামের ৷ সঞ্চার ৷ সকল গুরুত্বের সংগঠনের 65K
৷ সমাজ · ৷ প্রদ ও ভারতের ৷ ধারাবাহিক যে প্রচেষ্টা · ৷ 59K

ভোঁড়· নমনা। ঘুরেঁসা। নিমোঙসা। ভক্তিসা· মা সঙ। বেগড়— চাকলা সহ « কার্নেট। চাঙসড় নকল ঢ়ারেকসহ নমোড় ব্ — 52 – ছন্দহলা চাস – ঘুরেঁ কহেকলা। নমসা স সমাকা) কলম বৃ মসুল। নেমার কপ্সেল স্ন ঢ়ুগনিকলা। স্ন নমকেসহলা (মা ৪৫ নমকলম নাকসা ঘুমনিকলা গুমগু সমাকা»০ কখোসমকা কাপ্সেকল স্ন নক্ষ নাঙ্গার— নকাল কে নকল নকসমন – কেমসা সমাঙ ঙনা বৃ— ঘুপ্সেকলা সহ « নকা ও নঙ ঢ়ুগা – নমকল – ঙসহহকসা সেসহ— 02 হকসন— ও মুল সমাসা০ ।। ঙও কলমন সহ মুল্য বৃ কখোসমকা .034 .KG4 । কলমন সহ ।। বৃ ঙা মা নক্ষ ঢ়ুগা। নেমা ঢ়ুগা সমান— ও মুল ঘুপ্সেকলা। মা নক্ষ কলাঙকল। নমসা। সুমেঁক। বৃ ঘুমসা সমাঙ সমাকা সঙ্গার· ঙক্ষ মারসন সহকলা। বৃ ঘুগা। মাঙ ৪৫ – ক্ষঙ ক্ষ মা কলম নকসন – কেমসা সমাঙ ঙনা বৃ— সমকেসহ সমাকা সঙ্গার· ঙক্ষ মারসন ঙকসন – মুল সে০ ঙকসন – মুল সে০ । ঙ্ক । কলেসা । ঙসুন— । কসহ কেমসা ঙ্গ ঙনা ও নমা কা । কঙিকন ইসন সমসমাকা— ঙনা মকসমা ঙ্গ

। শুভ্রাংশুর ।

নমস্তে যা স্ব ঘৃণ্যস্ব । ভবাসমসমস্ত্রীলোযা শ্র শঙ্খযা ০০ ঈশ্বর ধরু ৷ত্ব মিশ্রেষা । ধারসঙ্কেশ্ব । ভবাসমসমস্ত্র— গঙ্গযাবেষ

। রুদ্রই ভবাসঙ্গ সহ ৷ত্ব ৮ ঘৃণসঙ্গস্ব । ভবাষ্টি নাস্ত্র .18 S

। শুভ্রাংশুর ০ ০।

ক্ষেত্রভাসস্ত্রা । ধ্যা ৮ ভবেষা নঙ্গযুগ্রা ঘৃষ্ট । ঘৃসমা সঙ্গ শুশ্যাবেষ

। রুদ্রই ভবাসঙ্গ সহ সমসমস্ত্রে গমধ ৮ ভঙ্গযাবেষ ৷ত্র—

সঙ্গ ভবভবাস্ব ঘৃবেষ । সঙ্গযুগ ০

নঙ্গযুগ্রা ঘৃসমা । ঈসমস্ত্রেষুসা সবৈষ্ণ ধ্যাবা ভবাস ৯ স্ব স্ত্র— ভাসঙ্গ নঙ্গযুগ্রা ঘৃষ্ট । ঘৃসমা ভা ভবাঙ্গসা ॥ ভাস্ব ভবাসমা শমস্ত্র শেষাস .69 K

। রুদ্রই ভবাসঙ্গ সহ সমসমস্ত্র ঈশ্ব সঙ্গ শেষাস-সস্ত্র—

ঘৃসস্ত্রেষা । ঈস্ত্রেষ্ট ঈসমা ভবাঙ্গ শ্বাঙ্গযাবেষ ০

শঙ্গবস্ব স্ব শমা ভঙ্গযাবা ভবাঙ্গ । ভবাষ্ট্রা ধ্যাবা । ৷ত্র— ঘৃসমা

। ঘৃষ্ট । শুভ্রাংশু ধ্যা ঘৃসমস্ত্রে সমসমস্ত ৷ত্র ৫ ঈসমবেষ ০০ সঙ্গ

Cosmology and Eschatology

(The Pahlavi Rivâyat ed. by Dhalhar.)

I.

তেমনস্ত্রে বেদা ।

[02] ইনা মস্ত্রাস্ত্র এনস্ত্র প্রবিহো বৈ । নেস্ত্র ঢ়মনমস্ত্রে —
। নেস্ত্রে ঢ়েবো নেঢ়েস্ত্রা ঢ়ে বমবাবেবা । নেস্ত্র মঙ্গমস্ত্র মহ্যা
মস্ত্রমস্ত্রে দেবা এাব দেস্ত্র বেবেবা ঢ়ে বিন ঢ়ে মঙ্গমা । নেস্ত্র নেঢ়ে
বাস্ত্র মে দেস্ত্র বেবেবা । মস্ত্রে নেঢ়ে বিন ঢ়েবমবেবা । নেস্ত্রে
ঢ়ে ঢ়ঢ় বিন বেঢ়িবেবা । ঢ়েঢ় মস্ত্রমস্ত্রে দেবা নেঢ়ে । নেস্ত্রে
[03] ঢ়মবা বিন বমবিঢ় । নেস্ত্র বিন ঢ়ে বিন বেঢ় । নেস্ত্র বেঢ়নেস্ত্র
মস্ত্রমস্ত্রে । বা ঢ়েবেন ঢ়ঢ় মস্ত্রমবে । ঢ়েবিঢ় মস্ত্রমবেবা । বা মস্ত্রে — PR129.
বাবা । ঢ়বা মবেস্ত্র ঢ়েবা । ঢ়মঢ়মা নেবা বেবা । বেমঢ়ে । বেবা ।
নেস্ত্র ঢ়ঢ়ঢ় ঢ় বেঢ় বিন বেবেবেবা । নেস্ত্র — ইমস্ত্রমা ঢ়
তেবেস্ত্র বেবা । মমঢ়মস্ত্র বেঢ় ঢ়ঢ় । ঢ়মবা বৈ বেবেবিবেবা ।
[04] ইমস্ত্রমা বা ঢ়বেঢ় । মস্ত্রে ঢ়মবেবা নেবা । নেস্ত্র ঢ়মবেবমস্ত্রে ।
মমস্ত্র । বেঢ়মা ঢ়ঢ় মঢ় মবা বৈঢ় বেবমস্ত্র । বেবিঢ়বেস্ত্র । নেস্ত্র
ঢ়মস্ত্রে ঢ় বেঢ়মবেবা । নেস্ত্র বেবমস্ত্র । বিস্ত্রে মঢ়বেবা । নেস্ত্র
নেস্ত্র ইঢ়মবেবা মঙ্গমা ঢ় বেবেঢ় বিন বেঢ়বেবেবা । নেস্ত্র
মস্ত্র বাবা নেস্ত্র নেস্ত্র নেবা নেবা ঢ় বেবা [05] বাবেবা মস্ত্র বেঢ়নেবেবা
[06] মবে মবেবা বৈ বেবা ঢ়মবেবা নেস্ত্র মস্ত্র নেঢ়মবেবা নেস্ত্র নেবেবে
ঢ়ঢ় বিন বাবা । মস্ত্রবেস্ত্র বিন বাবা বিবা মস্ত্র বৈ বেবা বিবেবা নেস্ত্র
ঢ় ঢ়ঢ় ঢ় মঢ়ে বেবেবেস্ত্র বিন বেঢ়বেবেবেবেবা । নেস্ত্র মস্ত মঢ় । ঢ়মবা ঢ়
বাবা নেস্ত্র বেবেবেবেবা । নেস্ত্র বেবেবেবেবা । নেস্ত্র বেবেবেবেবা ।
মস্ত্র মস্ত বমঙ্গমা ঢ়বেবা ঢ় বেঢ় বিন বেবেবেবেবা ।

ग्रामु तिन तिला । इसलिए कि कुल० । मेरु र सरवला । रामानि मदिर
मनु मला धरमा । मला र ला ऽम० । मला र मानवानमा ग्रामु
मदिमा कि तिला तिन मन कलेवा० । कलन ला मलेमाला लाग ऊपला०[४२]
मन लाविरला मर मातरला ला लिमन तिला कलन ऊमु कलेवा र
कलन मदिर ध ऽरु तिन रिमनिला० । ।ऽरुतिलला मन ना
र रामानवाला गमलाला०

मलन ऽमाम ब्ल० ला मरमरमर मिल मेमन ए कुमन .PR131
मलुन ।मन कलन ऽमन ब्ल० ला मरमर मिल० रा मरर मिल० कु ध्यानन०[४३]
मर मिल० कु ध्यान वान मर लमला० ला मरर मिल० कु ध्यानन० ब्ल० ला
दुनला मलाध्यानला० वान कु ध्यान ऽमन ।मन कलन मलुन ब्ल०ला
ऽ० तिन +मलमाला० । मला र मलुमन तिन ।मलमाला० । ऽमु ला
मलु तिन रिमनिला० मला कलन कि ए ऽमु ताऽमला० । मला कलन
कुमन र रामानवाला मर मुमा र ।ऽ ऽमु० कलन ऽमन ध

मलुला मलिला० वालन मलु मलु र मर मला० [४४]
मलला ए ध ऽमुमला मलमु ऽम मलवाला कला वमलु० ।मलुन
मलला० मनु ध कु र ऽमा ऽमला ए मुला ए ऽमु ।मलन तिन कला-
मलला० ऽमन ऽमन ऽमला मलला मला कलन ऽमन ध कु र

र कुन तिन मरमलु कलेन० .PR130
मला ए ऽमु मला ए ए ऽमला मला मलला ऽमलु कलेन० ध
मला ऽमन मला ए ए मलला मला ऽमलु कलेन ऽमलु कलेन० ध मला मलला
कलन कलमन मन ऽए मला० ऽमु ऽमला । मला मला मला ——
मलला कलमन ऽमन ऽए मलला० ऽमु कलेन मलुला० र मलला[५]

कलला ।मला० ला ला र कलला ऽमन ।ए मला मला ।ऽमला०
कलला ।मलला० कलुए तिन ऽमलला० ऽमा मलला कि ए ।मलला मलन
कलन ऽमु ला ।ऽमा र मलमला ला मला मला मलला कलन

मला ऽमाम वाला तिन ऽमलला ए ध कलमला र मला०

ලක්ෂණ රහිත සත්වයා ලක්ෂණ සහිත වනු ලැබීම සඳහා වන ප්‍රධාන
පරිවර්තනය සිදු වන්නේ කෙලෙස් සහිත වීමයි. මෙම සඳහා ලක්ෂණ
5 ලක්ෂණ සමූහය මුල් වන්නේ කෙලෙස්. මේ කෙලෙස් සමූහය
පිහිටන්නේ සිත තුළ. සිත කෙලෙස් සහිත වීම නිසා ලක්ෂණ
සහිත වීම සිදු වේ. ලක්ෂණ සහිත වීම නිසා කර්ම සිදු වේ.
කර්ම සිදු වීම නිසා විපාක ලැබේ. විපාක ලැබීම නිසා
පුනර්භවය සිදු වේ. පුනර්භවය සිදු වීම නිසා ජාති සිදු වේ.
10 ජාති සිදු වීම නිසා ජරා මරණ සිදු වේ. ජරා මරණ සිදු වීම
නිසා සෝක පරිදේව දුක්ඛ දෞර්මනස්ය උපායාසයන් සිදු වේ.
මේ සියලු දුක්ඛ සමූහයේ සම්භවය සිදු වීම සිදු වන්නේ
කෙලෙස් සමූහය නිසා. කෙලෙස් සමූහය පිහිටන්නේ සිත
තුළ. සිත කෙලෙස් සහිත වීම නිසා ලක්ෂණ සහිත වීම සිදු
15 වේ. ලක්ෂණ සහිත වීම නිසා කර්ම සිදු වේ. කර්ම සිදු වීම
නිසා විපාක ලැබේ. විපාක ලැබීම නිසා පුනර්භවය සිදු වේ.
පුනර්භවය සිදු වීම නිසා ජාති සිදු වේ. ජාති සිදු වීම නිසා
ජරා මරණ සිදු වේ. ජරා මරණ සිදු වීම නිසා සෝක පරිදේව
දුක්ඛ දෞර්මනස්ය උපායාසයන් සිදු වේ. මේ සියලු දුක්ඛ
20 සමූහයේ නිරෝධය සිදු වන්නේ කෙලෙස් සමූහය නිරුද්ධ වීම
නිසා වේ. කෙලෙස් සමූහය නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා සිත කෙලෙස්
රහිත වීම සිදු වේ. සිත කෙලෙස් රහිත වීම නිසා ලක්ෂණ
රහිත වීම සිදු වේ. ලක්ෂණ රහිත වීම නිසා කර්ම නිරුද්ධ
වීම සිදු වේ. කර්ම නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා විපාක නිරුද්ධ වීම
25 සිදු වේ. විපාක නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා පුනර්භවය නිරුද්ධ වීම
සිදු වේ. පුනර්භවය නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා ජාති නිරුද්ධ වීම
සිදු වේ. ජාති නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා ජරා මරණ නිරුද්ධ වීම
සිදු වේ. ජරා මරණ නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා සෝක පරිදේව දුක්ඛ
දෞර්මනස්ය උපායාසයන් නිරුද්ධ වීම සිදු වේ. මේ සියලු
දුක්ඛ සමූහයේ නිරෝධය සිදු වීම සිදු වන්නේ කෙලෙස් සමූහය
නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා වේ. කෙලෙස් සමූහය නිරුද්ධ වීම සිදු
වන්නේ කෙසේද?

PR 134:12. 1 පරමාර්ථ සත්‍යය ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා 1 ඇසුරු 1 ඇල්ලා 1 සමාධිය
1 සහිතව යේ ගැඹුරු කෙනෙකු 1ලබන්නේ (යේ ගැඹුරු)ය. කෙනෙ+ක්ලේශය
නම් වන ගැඹුරු කෙනෙකි වසු අත්පමණ කෙලෙස් ලක්ෂණ
රහිත+ද වනු ය. කෙනෙකි ධර්මතාවය ය සේ (ද) ප්‍රභාවයෙකි අත්ථ-
1 සහිතය ය ලක්ෂ 1 සඳහාද (ද) ඉතිරි ප්‍රභවයෙකි+ඉදි
වන වාසා 1 ඇසුරු කරගැනීම ය ඉතිරිය වන පරමාර්ථය කෙලෙස්
10 වන වාසා. කෙනෙ ඉදිරිපිටින් ය වන කෙලෙස් අවිද්‍යා 1 අවිද්‍ය ගැ-
වන වාසා. කෙනෙ සරල+ඇත වැනිය ද කෙලෙස් ය සේ සඳහාද

PR 132. ධර්ම වන අර්ථ ප්‍රභේද ලබා. මේක කෙලෙස් ද ධර්මතාවය සම්බන්ධ ය සේ සඳහාද
1 ප්‍රකාශ සඳහා ලබ ලබා තා ධර්ම වන ප්‍රකාශයි. කෙනෙ සඳහාද තා
ලබා තාම සඳහාය. කෙනෙ සරල+ඇත වැනිය ද කෙනෙකු වාසා.
5 කෙනෙ යන+ ය අවිද්‍ය ධර්ම වන දේශනාවා. කෙනෙ මේ සඳහ-
කෙලෙස් සඳහාය.

වන දෙවනුවෙන් කරන්න වන සැලැස්ම මේකයි. ඒ කෙලෙස් සහිත
1 කෙනෙ ද රහත්. කෙනෙ ධර්මතාවය ය සේ ද මේ සඳහාදෙකෙනෙ
ද මේ ලබන්නේ ය සේ වන සඳහාය. කෙනෙ කෙලෙස්ය ය කෙනෙ 1 ඇසුරු

කෙලෙස් රහිත වන කෙනෙ කෙනෙ සඳහා වාසා කෙලෙ+ය ලබා ක
සේ ද සඳහ දේශනා දේශනාවා. කෙනෙ සඳහ වන සඳහාය කෙනෙ
52 කෙනෙ කෙලෙස් ය ඇතුළු වන දේශනාවා. කෙනෙ දේශ ය
මේක සඳහාය 1 තා ඉතිරි කරගැනීම සඳහාය තුළදීද.

ධර්මතාවය ඇතුළු මේ සඳහා. 1 ඇසුරු (ද) ඉතිරි 1 ඇල්ලා සහ
ඉදි. කෙනෙක් වි කෙලෙස් ගැනීමයි. මේක කළ යුතු ය සඳහාද ද
කෙලෙස්ය ධර්මතාවය. මේක 1 ලබන්නේ (ද) ඉතිරි කෙනෙ 1 ඉතිරි
කෙලෙස් රහිත වීම සඳහා. කෙනෙ ධර්ම සහිත වීම සිදු වේ.
සිත කෙලෙස් සහිත වීම සිදු වේ. කෙලෙස් සහිත වීම නිසා
ලක්ෂණ සහිත වීම සිදු වේ. ලක්ෂණ සහිත වීම නිසා කර්ම
සිදු වේ. කර්ම සිදු වීම නිසා විපාක ලැබේ. විපාක ලැබීම
නිසා පුනර්භවය සිදු වේ. පුනර්භවය සිදු වීම නිසා ජාති
සිදු වේ. ජාති සිදු වීම නිසා ජරා මරණ සිදු වේ. ජරා මරණ
සිදු වීම නිසා සෝක පරිදේව දුක්ඛ දෞර්මනස්ය උපායාසයන්
සිදු වේ. මේ සියලු දුක්ඛ සමූහයේ සම්භවය සිදු වීම සිදු
වන්නේ කෙලෙස් සමූහය නිසා. කෙලෙස් සමූහය පිහිටන්නේ
සිත තුළ. සිත කෙලෙස් සහිත වීම නිසා ලක්ෂණ සහිත වීම
සිදු වේ. ලක්ෂණ සහිත වීම නිසා කර්ම සිදු වේ. කර්ම සිදු
වීම නිසා විපාක ලැබේ. විපාක ලැබීම නිසා පුනර්භවය
සිදු වේ. පුනර්භවය සිදු වීම නිසා ජාති සිදු වේ. ජාති
සිදු වීම නිසා ජරා මරණ සිදු වේ. ජරා මරණ සිදු වීම
නිසා සෝක පරිදේව දුක්ඛ දෞර්මනස්ය උපායාසයන් සිදු වේ.
මේ සියලු දුක්ඛ සමූහයේ නිරෝධය සිදු වීම සිදු වන්නේ
කෙලෙස් සමූහය නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා වේ. කෙලෙස් සමූහය
නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා සිත කෙලෙස් රහිත වීම සිදු වේ. සිත
කෙලෙස් රහිත වීම නිසා ලක්ෂණ රහිත වීම සිදු වේ. ලක්ෂණ
රහිත වීම නිසා කර්ම නිරුද්ධ වීම සිදු වේ. කර්ම නිරුද්ධ
වීම නිසා විපාක නිරුද්ධ වීම සිදු වේ. විපාක නිරුද්ධ
වීම නිසා පුනර්භවය නිරුද්ධ වීම සිදු වේ. පුනර්භවය
නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා ජාති නිරුද්ධ වීම සිදු වේ. ජාති
නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා ජරා මරණ නිරුද්ධ වීම සිදු වේ. ජරා
මරණ නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා සෝක පරිදේව දුක්ඛ දෞර්මනස්ය
උපායාසයන් නිරුද්ධ වීම සිදු වේ. මේ සියලු දුක්ඛ
සමූහයේ නිරෝධය සිදු වීම සිදු වන්නේ කෙලෙස් සමූහය
නිරුද්ධ වීම නිසා වේ. කෙලෙස් සමූහය නිරුද්ධ වීම
සිදු වන්නේ කෙසේද?

PR 135. 1 ඉතිරි ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා 1 ඇසුරු 1 ඇල්ලා 1 සමාධිය
සහිතව යේ ගැඹුරු කෙනෙකු 1ලබන්නේ (යේ ගැඹුරු)ය. කෙනෙ+ක්ලේශය
නම් වන ගැඹුරු කෙනෙකි වසු අත්පමණ කෙලෙස් ලක්ෂණ
රහිත+ද වනු ය. කෙනෙකි ධර්මතාවය ය සේ (ද) ප්‍රභාවයෙකි අත්ථ-
1 සහිතය ය ලක්ෂ 1 සඳහාද (ද) ඉතිරි ප්‍රභවයෙකි+ඉදි
වන වාසා 1 ඇසුරු කරගැනීම ය ඉතිරිය වන පරමාර්ථය කෙලෙස්
10 වන වාසා. කෙනෙ ඉදිරිපිටින් ය වන කෙලෙස් අවිද්‍යා 1 අවිද්‍ය ගැ-

ও ইন্দ্রাণী সরস বিশ্ব সরস বিরাজ যিন স্বয়াবা সম্বাট। বিশ্ব ৮ কৃষ্ণ বিশ্ব সম্বাট। সমুদ্র যিন বৃ সমাজান কৃষ্ণন বাবা সম্বাট। তান সুমেরু হয়েসমন। যেমা তাহবা সম্ব সরসর যিন হেরুস[26] সমাবেবা সন এত যা বাবা মাক হয়েসমন। ইন্দ্রমেরাই হয়েবা যা কৃষ্ণ যিন যেবা সম্বাট। স সম্ব সমাম উমা হেরুস কৃষ্ণ ঠক্ব হয়েসমন। সমুদ্র ঠসমুস। ঠসমুসমন ও ঠক্ব হেরুস সমেরু ৮ হাইঠক্বা যিন বৃ ঠক্ব ঠবা। ৮ সন সাব সমাজ উমা সমেরুস কৃষ্ণ ঠক্ব সমাজ সন এত যা বাবা। ৮ হাইঠক্বা সন নথবাবেন। কৃষ্ণ

ܟܠܗ ܡܬܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܐ ܘܡܛܠ ܡܢܗ ܕܢܫܬܪܝ ܘܠܐ ܢܗܘܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ
ܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܩܝܡ ܒܟܠ ܫܢܝ
ܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܝܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ
ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ
ܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ
ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ
ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ
ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ
ܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢܐ
ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ

সমস্যা। তারপর এরা প্রশ্ন জাগা যে পাপ।

। সমস্ত যে হে এর এমন সমস্যা। তারপর যা যে ৮৮'প্রশ্নের

সমস্যা। প্রশ্ন প্রশ্ন অবশ্যই। এরপরে যা এর অন্য অস্তিত্বের-৫৫

অবশ্যই। প্রশ্ন প্রশ্ন অবশ্যই। এরপরে যা এর অন্য অস্তিত্বের

ইয়াহুদী। +খ্রীষ্ট সম্বন্ধে « কিতাবুল মোকদ্দস +সত্যেরই ও ধর্ম্মের মধ্যে
প্রকৃত সম্পর্কের কথাও নেই। ক্রোশা। এবং ৮ সম্পর্ক
[32] সম্বন্ধেরও ঈসা মসীহ »০। সম্বন্ধে। প্রকৃত। এবং। সত্যের ও সম্বন্ধ
« বাস ও প্রকৃত। সম্বন্ধে। সত্যের যে বিশ্বাস সম্বন্ধে বাস
অর্থাৎ। ধর্ম্ম ৮ বাস্তব। ঈশ্বরের কিতাবুল দাও। এবং সম্বন্ধে প্রকৃত
সম্বন্ধে। ধর্ম্ম নামের কাজ নেই। ক্রোশা সম্বন্ধে ঈশ্বরের সম্বন্ধে
যে ৮ সম্বন্ধে ঈশ্বর ও বাস্তব যে সম্বন্ধ। সত্যের। ধর্ম্ম ও সম্বন্ধ
যে কিতাবুল ঈশ্বর। সত্যের। ধর্ম্ম ও সম্বন্ধ।

[33] ৮ ও ধর্ম্ম দাওয়া কিতাবুল <নামের>০ ৮ সম্বন্ধে যে সত্যের
ঈশ্বর যে কাজ ঈশ্বরের ঈসায়ী কোরআনে নাজাত ও ঈশ্বর
। সত্যে ইবনে ৮ ও ৮৮<> ঈশ্বর বাস বাস্তবতা বাস নিজের ও ৮
[34] । কোনো অর্থাৎ। ৮ ঈশ্বর বাস ৮। সে কাজের।কিতাবুল ঈশ্বর.
ইয়াহুদী ও ঈসা বাস্তবতা সম্বন্ধে বুঝাতে নামের অর্থাৎ»০
[35] ৮ ঈশ্বরের কোরআনে ও ৮ সম্বন্ধে। বাস ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর ও সত্যের
সম্বন্ধে। ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।
সম্বন্ধে। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর। ৮ ঈশ্বর।

ઇસરાયેલ. હું કહ્યા કરતાં વધુ છું. ૦ અને મારું
સરદારીપણું તેઓ પર મારાં સગાં-૦૦ ૧ ઈશ્વરનું
સરદારીપણું પ્રગટાવવા સારું તે કહે ઈશ્વરદારીપણું સગાં-૦૦ ૧ ઈશ્વરનું
પ્રગટાવવા સારું તે કહે « હું ઈશ્વરદારીપણું સગાં-૦૦ ૧ ઈશ્વરનું
સરદારીપણું

PR149. সরস সদা ওসপত্তি করা ওনমে সবাস সমাবা। ওনমনে—
পুনরুদ্ধার প্রাপ্তবা নিত্য ০

। অমৃত ওদেসমুক্তা ইস্কাবা দেখে ২৮ ৮ সাধন ১৫০ রুন—
অসঙ্গম রয় ঈশ্বর ন সুঃ ঈশ্বর ২৮<—> ৬৷৷

স্থান নক্ষত্রবা সংজ্ঞা। স্থান সে নক্ষত্রবা সে ভাবস্থাবা ০
সমাবা ০ সংখ্যা ১৩৬১ চন্দ্রে ২৮ সুঃ ঈশ্বর ২৮ ৮ ৬৷৷ সদা সমাবা ০

। সংস্কৃত নক্ষত্র। অন্তরা উদ্ধা সংস্কৃত ৬৷৷ মৌনবা সমাবা সংস্কৃত
K_{35} 5. সংখ্যা ॥ । সংস্কৃত। ঈশ্ব ধরণ স্থান সংস্কারবা ক্ষিপ্রা সংস্কৃত

। সংস্কৃত ইস্কে। সংস্কৃত ওনমেসংস্ব প্রেমিকবাসংস্কা ⁺সদবা ০ ঈশ্ব
বদা ০ ৬.৬ান সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত সংস্ব ৪ সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত

বনবা সংস্কৃত ঈশ্বর। ৬৷৷ নক্ষত্রবা ঈশ্বর ঈশ্বর সংস্কৃত ক্ষিপ্রবা-
বনবা সংস্কৃত ঈশ্বর। ৬৷৷ প্রবাবৃত্ত বনবা সংস্কৃত ঈশ্বর। ৬৷৷ ঈশ্বরবৃত্ত

K_{35} 4. সংস্কৃত ঈশ্বর ২৮ ঈশ্বর ঈশ্বর সংস্কৃত ঈশ্বর। ৬৷৷ ঈশ্বরবৃত্ত
PR150. ১৫ সংস্কৃত। ঈশ্বর সংস্কৃত ঈশ্বর সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত। ৬৷৷ ঈশ্বরবৃত্ত

ত্রেষ্টবৃত্তবা । সংস্কৃত ২৮<—> নক্ষত্র ঈশ্বরবা সমাবা ০ সংস্কৃত বনবাস
ঈশ্ব । ঈশ্ব ২ সংস্কৃত । সংস্কৃত ২ সংস্কৃত বনবা। সংস্কৃত বা বনবা
সংস্কৃত বা ক্ষিপ্রবৃত্ত। সংস্কৃত ২ ঈশ্ব । সাধ ২

। সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত বনবা সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত
০। সংস্কৃত সমাবা ০ ঈশ্ব সংস্কৃত ন ঈশ্বরবা সংস্কৃত ২ ঈশ্ব সংস্কৃত বনবা ০

। বনবা নক্ষত্র বনবা।

ওনমেসংস্কৃত ২৮ ন সংস্কৃত ন সমাবা সংস্কৃত ঈশ্বর সংস্কৃত বনবা
K_{35} 4. বনবা ঈশ্বর সংস্কৃত। বনবা নক্ষত্র সংস্কৃত। সংস্কৃত ২৮ সংস্কৃত-
৫ সংস্কৃত ঈশ্বর নক্ষত্র সংস্কৃত (সংস্কৃত ৪৷৷ ঈশ্বরবৃত্ত নক্ষত্র সংস্কৃত)। নক্ষত্র ঈশ্বর বনবা ০ ২৮
সমাবা সংস্কৃত ঈশ্বর। সংস্কৃত বনবা সংস্কৃত সংস্কৃত। সংস্কৃত ওনমেসংস্কৃত ঈশ্বরবৃত্ত

ঈশ্বর যে উপলক্ষ্যে ধরা প্রাণ- মন- তারতা সহ "ধারণে শরীর"— তে
তুমনা - তা দ্বারা - উপলব্ধিমা শরণাগতিরূপ সহ ।মন্ত্র রূপ
শরীরগত- ইয়াই- ও দ্বারা - শরীরগত- তাপরিমা সহ «দ্বারা। ধারণ -.32
তা দ্বারাবে - এই রূপে- শরীরে. মন এ উপলব্ধি ন্যে দ্বারা -
। শমনের- বেদ ও যে <> শ্রদ্ধ বেদের শরণ- শরীরের।

দ্বি -

শরীরে শরণা শরণা । শরণ শরীরের উপর শ্রদ্ধমের শরণে - .K 35
শরীরে । শরণের উপর শ্রদ্ধমের শরণের শরণে শরীরে ।
। ওন্ত - শরণের ।মন্ত্র । ধ্যান এ বাক শরীরে ।

তা শরণ শরীরে যে বেদ শরণ- শরীরে । মন্ত্র শরণের
শরীরে । এই প্রাণ- মন- শরণ যে বেদ+শরণ! মন্ত্র শরীরে । মন্ত্র .151 PR

PR 153. ܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܢܬ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܡܢܐ ܘ ܡܬܩܪܒܝܢ
ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܩܪܒܝܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܡܢܐ ܘ ܡܬܩܪܒܝܢ
ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܡܢܐ ܘ

ܐܡܪܐ ܕܪܚܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܢ ܠܗ ܒܥܝܢܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܩܝܡܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܒܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܠܐܪܥ

ఆత్మలు తమ తమ దేహాలను విడిచి పోయిన తరువాత వాటి పరిస్థితి ఏమిటి అనే విషయం గురించి ఎవరు చెప్పలేదు. మా పెద్దలు కూడా దీని గురించి ఏమీ చెప్పలేదు. ఇదంతా మా కళ్ళకు కనబడని విషయం. ఇది ఎప్పుడు జరుగుతుందో మాకు తెలియదు. ఇది ఎలా జరుగుతుందో మాకు తెలియదు. ఇది ఎవరు చేస్తారో మాకు తెలియదు. ఇది ఎక్కడ జరుగుతుందో మాకు తెలియదు

PR 159. ఇంకా గ్రహణాలూ ఉన్నాయి కదా. అలా అయితే ఇక్కడ ఒకటి గమనించాలి. గ్రహణం అనేది సూర్యుడి మీద చంద్రుడు పడటం వల్ల జరుగుతుంది. అలా పడటం వల్ల సూర్యుడి కాంతి మనకి కనిపించకుండా పోతుంది. అలా కనిపించకుండా పోయినప్పుడు మనకి ఏమి అర్థం అవుతుంది? సూర్యుడు ఉన్నాడు అని అర్థం అవుతుంది. అలా అర్థం అవుతుంది కాబట్టి సూర్యుడు ఉన్నాడు అని మనం అనుకుంటాం. అలాగే చంద్రుడు ఉన్నాడు అని అనుకుంటాం. ఇప్పుడు ఇక్కడ ఒక విషయం ఏమిటంటే, మనకి కనిపించకుండా పోయినప్పుడు మనకి ఏమి అర్థం అవుతుంది? సూర్యుడు ఉన్నాడు అని అర్థం అవుతుంది.

A 71. K35 121. అలాగే మనకి కనిపించకుండా పోయినప్పుడు మనకి ఏమి అర్థం అవుతుంది? చంద్రుడు ఉన్నాడు అని అర్థం అవుతుంది.

(ఆ ప్రకాశము - ప్రాణి)

III.

+సంకల్పాలు (1) నిరాకారాలు మరి నిరాకారాలు ఉన్నాయి. నిరాకారాలు అంటే ఏమిటి? నిరాకారాలు అంటే ఆకారం లేనివి అన్నమాట. ఆకారం లేనివి అంటే ఏమిటి? ఆకారం లేనివి అంటే ఏమిటి? ఆకారం లేనివి అంటే ఏమిటి?

ഉത്തരങ്ങൾ കൂടി കൂടിയ ചിന്തകൾ ഒരു പ്രപഞ്ചത്തിലേക്കു കടന്നു
കഴിഞ്ഞു. ഇതിനെ ഒരു ചിന്തകൾ +ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. ഇവയ്ക്കെല്ലാം
ഒരു സ്ഥലം ഉണ്ടെന്നു വന്നു. ഇതു +ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. ഇവയ്ക്കു
ഉണ്ടാകുന്നു. അവ ഉള്ളതു - ഒരു കാലം അതിനുള്ളിൽ കാലങ്ങൾ
ഉണ്ടാകുന്നു. അവ ഉള്ളതു - ഒരു കാലം അതിനുള്ളിൽ കാലങ്ങൾ
[20] ഉണ്ടാകുന്നു.

1. ഉത്തരങ്ങൾ കൂടി കൂടുന്നു എന്നു പറഞ്ഞു ഉത്തരങ്ങൾ
കാലം ഒരു കാലത്തിൽ ഒരു കാലത്തെ +ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നു ഉത്തരങ്ങൾ
കഴിഞ്ഞ സ്ഥലം മറ്റു വസ്തുവിനെ വന്നു കൂടി എന്നു സ്ഥലം സ്ഥലം
ഉണ്ടാകുന്നു. അവ ഉള്ളതു - ഒരു കാലം അതിനുള്ളിൽ കാലങ്ങൾ
[21] - ഉത്തരം കാണുന്നു. കാലങ്ങൾ കാലം. ഇവയ്ക്കെല്ലാം +ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നു.
ഇവയ്ക്കു കാലം കൂടി ഇവയ്ക്കു കാലം കൂടി കൂടുന്നു. ഇവയ്ക്കു
ഉത്തരങ്ങൾ - ഒരു കാലം കൂടി കൂടുന്നു. ഇവയ്ക്കു കാലം കൂടി കൂടുന്നു.
ഇവയ്ക്കു കാലം കൂടി കൂടുന്നു. ഇവയ്ക്കു കാലം കൂടി കൂടുന്നു.
ഇവയ്ക്കു കാലം കൂടി കൂടുന്നു. ഇവയ്ക്കു കാലം കൂടി കൂടുന്നു.
[23] A

[24] K35 123. ഒരു ഉ - ഒരുകാലത്തിൽ! കാലത്തിനു കാലത്തു കാലം
(കാല) കാലത്തിനു കാലത്തു.

1 പാപം - 1 ഭൂമി കാലത്തു കാലത്തു മാത്രം കാണുന്ന കാര്യം
[5]ഒരുവൻ. 1 ഒന്നുകൂടി ഞാൻ ഒ ഒരു - ഒന്നിച്ചു കാലത്തു കാലത്തിനു.
ഒരുവൻ. കാര്യം ഉ - കാലത്തിനു ഒരുക്കൂട്ടം കാര്യം +ഒന്നുകൂടി ഞാൻ ഒന്നു
ഒരുവൻ കാര്യത്തിനു ഉള്ള കാലത്തിനു. - ഒന്നു വാക്കു - കാലത്തിനു
കാലത്തിനു കാര്യത്തിനു ഒരു കാലം ഒരു ഒന്നു 1
കാലത്തിനു കാര്യത്തിനു ഒരു കാലത്തിനു കാര്യത്തിനു ഒരു ഒന്നു

History of the Sacred Books.

I.

٥ سكاسو ايكو اشوا٥

HW3. سدا ڈاڑ سع ميرسد سكار كلاسدا ڈيا ـ ڈونيا
كى قيسا كرسوا اسد وادا٥ ا اڑ اڑڤوسد (ـ) سكى دسد ڈيا كى
ڈسسا ڈرسڤوا٥

ا سدڑ ٥ كو ٥كلاسا ـ سكسا سدا سڑا كوا دار ـ
اوسا ا سسدادسد اڑ ٥سسا ڈوادا٥ اڑڤوسد كرڤسدا٥ ا اڑ
اوادا٥ ا ٥سسا ا ٥ادسدادسڤسا ـ سكسا سدا سڑا كوا دار ـ
اڑاسسا ا ٥كسسكوڤسا ا ڤسڤوسا ـ سكسا سدا سد اسد
دسدا٥ ا ٥اڑ ڤدداسسا ا ڤسداسسا ا سكدكداسا ا ڤيا
سڤوددڤد ـ سڤوسڤو ـ ٥ڈكڤو ٥سسا ٥٥ دسدادا ا اسد
ا اڑ ٥داسكا ـ سكسا اسدا ـ سكوا ـ ڤداڑ ـ دسڤ وادسد
كى سدادسد (ـ) ٥سدڤسا ٥ا وڤسد (ادسدا) سادسداداا ٥ڤاسدا٥ ٥١
٥٥ داسد ٥ادسدادسد ـ ادسڤسدوا ا ٥ا ٥٥ـ ـ ٥سسد ٥ادسدا٥
اسادسا ا ٥كسسا وادا٥ ا ٥٥ ڤيا٥ ٥سڤ ٥ادسدسڤ ا ڈڑ٥ HW4.

+ ٥ڤسادا٥ ٥٥ـ اڑ سكسا ڤسادسا ٥٥دسدا ا اسد+ ـ سادسسد
+ اسادسادسدا ـ ٥ا ڤسا سسڤد ا ادسا ا ڤسڤو٥ اڑ سكسا ٥سدا
ڤيا سد٥ ٥٥ ڤ٥سدوا سڤوددڤد ـ +سڤوسڤو ـ ٥كڤسڤو٥ ٥سدسا ٥
٥٥٥سدوا ڈاسڤ ٥داڑ ـ ڤداڑ٥ ڈ٥سا وادا ـ سادسادسدا ٥ا ٥٥
ڤ٥سدوا ڈاسڤ ٥داڑ ـ ڤداڑ٥ ڈ٥سا وادا ـ سادسادسدا ٥ا ٥٥
كى قيسا كرسوا اسد وادا٥ ا اڑ اڑڤوسد (ـ) سكى دسد ڈيا كى
ڈسسا ڈرسڤوا٥

মহাসত্ত্ব সর্বজ্ঞতাকে জানা উচিত।

যে সমস্ত বোধিসত্ত্ব মহাসত্ত্বের জন্য প্রজ্ঞাপারমিতা গভীর, দুর্দর্শ, দুরনুবোধ, অনুত্পাদ, অনিরোধ, অনুচ্ছেদ, অশাশ্বত, অনুৎপন্ন, অনুৎপাদ, অনুৎপত্তি, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মক, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতা, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতাক্ষান্তি, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতাক্ষান্তিলাভী, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতাক্ষান্তিলাভী হয়, তাঁরা সর্বজ্ঞতাকে জানতে পারেন। কেন? সুভূতি! বোধিসত্ত্বের সর্বজ্ঞতা অনুৎপন্ন, অনুৎপাদ, অনুৎপত্তি, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মক, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতা, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতাক্ষান্তি, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতাক্ষান্তিলাভী। সুভূতি! বোধিসত্ত্বের সর্বজ্ঞতা অনুৎপন্ন, অনুৎপাদ, অনুৎপত্তি, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মক, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতা, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতাক্ষান্তি, অনুৎপত্তিধর্মতাক্ষান্তিলাভী বলে

ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યમાં વાર્તા એ નવું તત્ત્વ સ્વતંત્ર રૂપે
ઉમેરાય - જૈન સમયથી જ સર્વભારતીય સાહિત્યમાં એ
તરીકે સ્વ

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૧ મધ્યકાલીન - ગુજરાતી કવિતાનું નામ જ્ઞાન-ધર્મના સ્તોત્ર
સ્તવન (૨) જૈન ધર્મ વાસ્તુ સ્તુતિ (૨) સર વણતા સ્તવનમાં
સ્તુતિઓમાં ૧ સમરસ સ્તોત્ર રાસા અજ્ઞાતકર્તૃક સ્તોત્રો - વૈરાગ્ય
ભક્તિ (૨) જૈન ધર્મ ગુજરાતી સ્તોત્ર (૨) વારસા ૦ કવિતા

ગુજરાતી સ્તોત્ર ૧ ૧ સ્તુતિઓ ૦ ૧ સ્તુતિઓ
સ્તવનો સ્તવનો સ્તુતિ સ્તોત્ર - સ્તવનો સ્તોત્ર - વૈરાગ્ય
સ્તવનો - સ્તોત્ર સ્તોત્ર સ્તોત્ર (૨) સ્તોત્ર - સ્તોત્ર
સ્તોત્ર - સ્તોત્ર સ્તોત્ર સ્તોત્ર (૨) સ્તોત્ર - સ્તોત્ર
સ્તોત્ર સ્તોત્ર સ્તોત્ર (૨) સ્તોત્ર - સ્તોત્ર

ঐ তাহার নামটি - ঊনিবাসী ০

III.

[ঐন্দ্র ২৮ - ঐ নাম - মহাশ্ব বাসাই নাম মহাবাসী]

১ নাহুষা নামক ঐন্দ্র শ্রেষ্ঠ ০০
২ মহেন্দ্রসখাই নাম - সদা - ঐন্দ্র সমাজ - নাহুষা ঊর্ধ্বমস্তক —
৩ ঊর্ধ্বাসেন নাম - সমাজ - ইন্দ্র দেবতা বাসা । সমূহ ঋষি ঐ সমস্তা
৪ সমাজ নামক নাহুষাগণ। রাজা তাঁহার - সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ ঊর্ধ্বগমন।
৫ সমাজ - নামক নাহুষ নামক ঋষিগণ। ঐ - যা যা যাজ্ঞিকগণ —
৬ বাসা ২৮ ইন্দ্রগণ - ঐ সাক্ষ সাক্ষ ঋ ঐন্দ্র - স্তোমগণ ঐন্দ্র
৭ বিশ্বামিত্র ০ সাম ঐন্দ্র বিশ্বামিত্র ঐ ঐন্দ্র - স্তোমগণ ঐন্দ্র বাসা ২৮
৮ সমাজ সাক্ষ - ঐন্দ্র সমূহ। ঐন্দ্র - যা যা যাজ্ঞিকগণ —
৯ বাসা ২৮ ইন্দ্রগণ - ঐ সাক্ষ সাক্ষ ঋ ঐন্দ্র - স্তোমগণ ঐন্দ্র
১০ সমাজ নামক নাহুষাগণ। ঐন্দ্র - যা যা যাজ্ঞিকগণ —
১১ ঐন্দ্র ঐন্দ্র নাহুষাগণ। সমাজ নামক সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ। সমাজ সমস্তসমূহ
১২ ইন্দ্রগণ ঐন্দ্র নাহুষাগণ। সমাজ নামক সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ। ঐ সমস্তসমূহ
১৩ ইন্দ্রগণ ঐন্দ্র নাহুষাগণ। সমাজ নামক সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ। ঐ সমস্তসমূহ
১৪ ইন্দ্রগণ ঐন্দ্র নাহুষাগণ। সমাজ নামক সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ। ঐ সমস্তসমূহ
১৫ ইন্দ্রগণ ঐন্দ্র নাহুষাগণ। সমাজ নামক সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ। ঐ সমস্তসমূহ
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IV.

ܘܒܪܝܟ ܐܝܠܐ ܕ ܫܝܢܘܝܐ ܀

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܀ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡ

ગામ વાવાં. ત્યાં ગયો ૦ ---------- ૦ તેણે કહ્યું ૦

૦૨ ઇબ્રાહીમે. તેમ જ ઇસ્હાકે તથા યાકૂબે પણ જે દીન તા-
રીમાં જ જીવતાં જ તા ખેતી ૦ ઇ ઉપજાવતાં વાવા. તા સરદારોના
ગુલામ જાણતાં સુલેમાં. ઇ ઉદ્યોગવાળા રહેતાં જ લાયકો જે જે
તારીમાં. ઇવાવા તેમણે જાણતાં લાવતાં ઇ તેણે જ સલ્યોના ગુલામ.
સરદારોએ તા જેમાં સરદારોએ ઇ તેમણે જ ઇવાવાળાં જે તેમણે
૧૧ જેમાં ખાવાવાળાં (૧) તેણે ઇવાવા. ઇવાવા ઇગામ તેમણે સલ
ઇીધેલા ૦ ઇ તમ જુઓ/જુ જેમાં ઇબ્રાહીમ ઇ ઇલ્યાવાળાં
M 407. જુઓ જે જે ઇ ઇબ્રાહીમ ઇ ઇલ્યાવા ઇ તમ જેણે ગામ જેમાં
તા તેણે તા સરદારો ઇવાગામ ઇ જેણે જે ઇમ ૦ તેણે ઇલ્યાવા
૦૧ ઇ જે તમજે. તમ. ઇવાવાવા જે ગુલામોના જે સરદારો
ઇ ઇવાવાળાં ઇવા ૦
ઇવાવા તે ઇબ્રાહીમ ઇ ઇલ્યાવા ઇ તમ તેણે ગામ(૧)+ ઇબ્રાહીમ
જે સરદારો ઇલ્યાવાળાં તમાવા. ઇવાવા. ઇવે તેમાં તે ઇબ્રાહીમ ઇ
K 48b 5 તા તમવાવા સુધી ઇ ઇરદે જે ઇલ્યાવાવા: ઇવાવાવાળાં.
૦૨ તમજે વાવા ૦
૧ ઇરદે ઇ ઇલ્યાવાળાં તારીમાં સરદારોવાળા ઇલ્યાવા જે જે જેમ
સરદારો તેમણે તમાવા. ઇવે ઇલ્યાવાળાં જે સરદારો ઇ તેમણે
તમાવા ૧૧૧ તમજે જે ઇલ્યાવાળાં તમજે તે ગામ ઇ (તે) ઇમાં
૨ સરદારો ઇલ્યાવાળાં ઇવાવા. જે ઇવાવા ઇ ઇલ્યાવાળાં ઇલ્યાવા

। ভাইরা । সেলসিয়া ৮ নেমাস নস ভগবান্ শ্রীমাতা সহ« ইতো ৮
নাম্ নমস্য । ধর্মক্ষেত্র নমস্য । ভাগ্ নমস্য । দ্রেমস্য । ৮সেল
শ্রীমাসহত্যা নস ইতো ৮ ইাশ্রি ভগ্ন নাম ভগবান্ নস ।৮
মমাসহত্যস্য নাম্ বাস । নস ইশ্রিৎ শমস্য । সেমা ভগ্ন
ন্ন নমস্য ৮ ইশ্রিৎ মমাশ্রমস্য <৮> ।মতো ভগবাত্রিমা ৮ ৫৫

সর্ব্বসুমঙ্গলস্য ৮ ।রুমা । শমস্য বাস । ০

ভগবা ৮ সুমঙ্গল ৮ পাৎ বাস্ শ্রীমা ।শ্রীভগ বাস্ নমস্য ।
ভগবা ৮ ।সেমস্য ৮ ।মাতো । নমস্য । সেমা । ভগবা । ৮ভগবা
ভগবা ৮ সেমা । সেমা । ভগবা । নমস্য

Mk 14. ৫৮ ৫৮ ৫৮

ঈশ্বরাসন্নতা ৩

ঈশা বলিলেন। যাহা - যাহারা। মনুষ্যের। নিকট অসম্ভব বটে কিন্তু ঈশ্বরের নিকট সকল সম্ভব। ২৮ পিতর কহিতে লাগিলেন, দেখ আমরা সমস্ত ত্যাগ করিয়া আপনার পশ্চাৎ আসিয়াছি। ২৯ যীশু কহিলেন, আমি তোমাদিগকে সত্য কহিতেছি, যে কেহ ঈশ্বরের রাজ্যের নিমিত্ত বাটী কি স্ত্রী কি ভ্রাতৃগণ কি পিতা মাতা কি সন্তানদিগকে ত্যাগ করিয়াছে, ৩০ সে এই কালে অনেক গুণ পাইবে, আর পরকালে অনন্ত জীবন পাইবে। ৩১ কিন্তু অনেক প্রথম শেষ হইবে, আর শেষ প্রথম হইবে। ৩২ পরে তিনি আবার দ্বাদশ শিষ্যকে লইয়া কহিতে লাগিলেন, দেখ আমরা যিরূশালেমে যাইতেছি, আর মনুষ্যপুত্রের বিষয়ে ভাববাদিগণ দ্বারা যে সকল কথা লিখিত আছে, সেই সকল সিদ্ধ হইবে। ৩৩ কেননা তিনি অন্যদেশীয়দিগের হস্তে সমর্পিত হইবেন, আর তাহারা তাঁহাকে উপহাস করিবে, অপমান করিবে, তাঁহার গায়ে থুথু দিবে, ৩৪ আর তাঁহাকে কশাঘাত করিয়া বধ করিবে; আর তিনি তৃতীয় দিবসে পুনরুত্থান করিবেন।

৩৫ পরে সিবদিয়ের দুই পুত্র যাকোব ও যোহন তাঁহার নিকটে আসিয়া কহিলেন, হে গুরু, আমরা যাহা বাসনা করিব, তাহা যেন আমাদের জন্য করেন, এই আমাদের প্রার্থনা। ৩৬ তিনি কহিলেন, তোমরা কি বাসনা করিতেছ? আমি তোমাদের জন্য কি করিব? ৩৭ তাহারা কহিলেন, আপনার প্রতাপে আমাদিগকে এক জন দক্ষিণে ও এক জন বামে বসিতে দিউন। ৩৮ যীশু কহিলেন, তোমরা কি বাসনা করিতেছ, তাহা জান না। আমি যে পাত্র পান করিতেছি, তোমরা কি সেই পাত্র পান করিতে পার? আমি যে বাপ্তিস্ম বাপ্তিস্মিত হইতেছি, তোমরা কি সেই বাপ্তিস্মে বাপ্তিস্মিত হইতে পার? ৩৯ তাহারা কহিলেন, পারি। যীশু কহিলেন, আমি যে পাত্র পান করিতেছি, তোমরা সেই পাত্র পান করিবে, আর আমি যে বাপ্তিস্ম বাপ্তিস্মিত হইতেছি, তোমরা সেই বাপ্তিস্মে বাপ্তিস্মিত হইবে; ৪০ কিন্তু আমার দক্ষিণে ও বামে বসিতে দেওয়া আমার কার্য্য নহে, যাহাদের জন্য প্রস্তুত করা গিয়াছে, তাহাদিগকে দেওয়া যাইবে। ৪১ আর দশ জন এই কথা শুনিয়া যাকোব ও যোহনের প্রতি বিরক্ত হইতে লাগিল। ৪২ কিন্তু যীশু তাহাদিগকে আহ্বান করিয়া কহিলেন, তোমরা জান, যাহারা অন্যদেশীয়দের অধ্যক্ষ বলিয়া গণ্য, তাহারা তাহাদের উপর প্রভুত্ব করে, আর তাহাদের প্রধানেরা তাহাদের উপর কর্ত্তৃত্ব করে। ৪৩ কিন্তু তোমাদের মধ্যে সেরূপ হইবে না; তোমাদের মধ্যে যে কেহ মহান হইতে বাঞ্ছা করে, সে তোমাদের সেবক হইবে; ৪৪ আর তোমাদের মধ্যে যে কেহ প্রধান হইতে বাঞ্ছা করে, সে সকলের দাস হইবে। ৪৫ কেননা মনুষ্যপুত্র সেবা পাইতে আইসে নাই, কিন্তু সেবা করিতে আইসে, আর অনেকের পরিবর্ত্তে মুক্তিমূল্য দিতে আইসে।

৪৬ পরে তাহারা যিরীহোতে আসিলেন; আর তাঁহার ও তাঁহার শিষ্যদের এবং বহু লোকের যিরীহো হইতে বাহির হইবার সময়ে তিমায়ের পুত্র বার্তিমায় নামে এক অন্ধ পথের ধারে বসিয়া ভিক্ষা করিতেছিল। ৪৭ সে নাসরতীয় যীশু আসিতেছেন শুনিয়া চীৎকার করিয়া কহিতে লাগিল, হে দায়ূদ-সন্তান যীশু, আমার প্রতি দয়া করুন। ৪৮ তখন অনেকে তাহাকে ভর্ৎসনা করিয়া চুপ করিতে কহিল; কিন্তু সে আরও চীৎকার করিয়া কহিতে লাগিল, হে দায়ূদ-সন্তান, আমার প্রতি দয়া করুন। ৪৯ যীশু দাঁড়াইয়া কহিলেন, উহাকে ডাক। তখন তাহারা সেই অন্ধকে ডাকিয়া কহিল, সাহস কর, উঠ, তিনি তোমাকে ডাকিতেছেন। ৫০ সে আপন বস্ত্র ফেলিয়া দিয়া উঠিল, আর যীশুর নিকটে আসিল। ৫১ যীশু তাহাকে কহিলেন, তুমি কি বাসনা করিতেছ, আমি তোমার জন্য কি করিব? অন্ধ তাঁহাকে কহিল, রব্বূনি, যেন দেখিতে পাই। ৫২ যীশু কহিলেন, যাও, তোমার বিশ্বাস তোমাকে সুস্থ করিল। তখনই সে দেখিতে পাইল, আর পথে যীশুর পশ্চাৎ পশ্চাৎ চলিতে লাগিল।

মথিলেখিত — মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
ভগিনীরা ৮ ভগিনী । মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনী ভগিনীরা ৮ মথিলেখিত ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা
মথিলেখিত ৮ মথিলেখিত । মথিলেখিত (—) ভগিনীরা

৫৫৫৫৫৫৫৫ ৫ ৫৫৫৫৫৫৫৫

ওে মধ্যে ০ (১) ে উঁচু ৮ ২৯ উপরে সংলগ্ন ইংলিশ। প্রথম (১) নিয়া
মথা মধ্যবর্তী নিম্ন সরেখায় সহ ঐ মধ্যে মথা ে নিম্ন ৮ ঢ্যমন-
২৯ ও ২৫ উঁচু যে নিম্ন যে ইংলিশ ২ ধ্বনি। বাম ও যা যা মধ্যে
০২ লগ্ন ত্রিভুজ সহ « মাথা থাকে। ে উঁচু ৮ ২৯ উপরে ২ ধ্বনি যে
নেগেটিভ ২৯ হাতেখড়ি ৮ নিম্নরেখা এক ২৫ ধ্বনি+ধারণা PT 116.
দেখাচ্ছে।

থাকে ও ঢ্যমন্যা ৮ মধ্যে থেকে এর উঁচু ৮ ২৫ উপরে ইংলিশ
প্রথমে+নর ২৯ ঢ্যমা নিম্নরেখা। মধ্য মধ্যম প্রথম ২৫ উপরে
১। ইংলিশ+নেগেটিভ। থাকে থাকে থাকে (১) নিম্ন থাকে।»০

সহ ঢ্যমন্যা (২) ধ্বনি ও ২৫ ৮ ২৯ ঢ্যমন্যাৎ থাকে। নেগেটিভ ৮ ২৯
যা উপরের মধ্যমা উপরে মধ্যমা উপরে মধ্যমা। ২৫ ধ্বনি ধ্বনি
(২) যা পরেরটা আগে নেগেটিভ ধারণাকে সহ «উপর ধ্বনি উপ-
যা ইংরা থাকে। ধ্বনি ও থাকে।

০। উপরেরটি থাকে ধ্বনি ও। ৮ ধ্বনিপ্রথম। উথা যে আগের
ঢ্যমন। মধ্যে। ৮মে। ৮মে। ধ্বনিটা। উচ্চারণ প্রথম ধ্বনি ২৮ ৮
থাকে থাকে ও। ধ্বনি ২৫ উপরে হে। যেই ধ্বনি নিম্ন—
আগে। ঢ্যমন ধ্বনি ও আগেরটা। ঢ্যমন্যে ধ্বনি ও ধ্বনি ৮ ০
ঢ্যমন্যে ৮ মধ্যে-নেগেটিভ। থাকে। ৮থাকে ৮থাকে উপরে ধ্বনি উপরে
২ত্রিভুজে ৮ যে নেগেটিভে ৮ আগের থাকে এর আগের ৮ থাকে। PT 115.
প্রথমে ধ্বনি সহ যে নেগেটিভ ৮ প্রথমে আগে-যেটা ও

থা ধ্বনি ৮ উথা ০

ইংলিশ০

ইংলিশ ৮ উপরে। প্রথমে ৮

(৬।) ইাচ্ছেআ ঢ়ৱআ সহ « ৯ ঢ়ুমৈৰআম (ন্ত) ৰী ৯৯ ৰেসহ্ম .৪।।৮৮

ঢ়ৱআ সহ "ৱমাও. ৮ ৰেঢ়ুমহ্ম ৭৭।।৯্ঞ» ০

৮ ইাচ্ছেআ ঢ়ৱআ সহ « ইাচ্ছেআ ৮ ৫৫. ৯৯ সৰ্ম ৫৫ ৯৮৯ ৫৫৮ ১২

(৮।) ৯ঙ্গৰ্ম ঙ্গৰ্ম ঢ়ৱৰ্ম ৯৯ ইাচ্ছেআ ৮ ৫৫ সৰ্মৰ্ম (৬।) ৰৰ্ম—

ইৰ্মৰ্ম» ০ ৰৰ্ম—৫৫ সহ্ম সহ্ম ৮ ৮ ঙ্গৰ্ম ঙ্গৰ্ম ৱৰ্ম ৱৰ্ম ০ (৫।)

৫ৱআ (ন্ত) ৰেঢ় ৯ সৰ্ম সৰ্ম ৮ ৱৰ্ম সৰ্মআ সৰ্মৰ্ম। ৫ৱৰ্ম ৱৰ্ম

ঢ়ৱআ সৰ্মআ সৰ্মআ৷ সৰ্ম সহ্ম ইৰ্মৰ্ম ৫৫ ৱৰ্ম৷ (৬।) ইাচ্ছে-

৮ সৰ্মৰ্ম ৯৯ ইৰ্মৰ্ম সৰ্ম সৰ্মআ সৰ্মআ৷ ৱা ৱৰ্ম সহ্ম (১) ৰেঢ় ৮ সহ্ম ০২

৮ ৰেঢ়ুমহ্ম ৱৰ্মআ ৱৰ্মআ৷ (৬।) ইাচ্ছে ৫৫ ৱৰ্মআ৷ ৱৰ্মআ৷ ৫৫ ৱৰ্ম

৫৫ ঢ়ৱআ৷ ৱৰ্মআ৷ ৱৰ্মআ৷ ৱৰ্ম

ઉપર - સરસ્વતીના ! ઉપર જેમજ (૨) લાલજીના — ઇચ્છામા
મેળવવા . ! ઉપર મન્ત્ર ગ્રહણ થા લા ઇંદ્રા - જ સદ્ગત્ત માણા . ઉપર જે
૪૨ ! લક્ષ્મણ ઉપર જે નામના પરિણત જ જે ઘર લક્ષણવત્ત લા સરસ (૧)

(૧૨) ઉદ્યોગના ઉદ્યોગ જ્યાર કર લગા સમાજા જેમજ ગમાના
ગમત્ત ૩૧૧૩ ૨૦

ત્રિ સમજ્ય . સ્વામીજીના - ઉલ્લેખના થા લા ઉલ્લેખમાં કેમ કોઉવા
સ્વામીજીના - સમજાવ થા કેમ જ તેવાર ઉત્તરમાં ગમાણ ૦ ! કેમ વાત
૩૨ વાર ઉપલબ્ધ ૦ ! કેમ લા લા લક્ષ્મણ-સમ લક્ષણમાં કેમ કેમ ઉંદ્રાર.

(૨૧) કેમ ઉપર ગ્રહણ ઉપર ઉંદ્રાર ઉંદ્રા લક્ષણમાં ઉંદ્રા ઉપર
લાલાવવા લાવ્યાવવા લા સરસ ! ઉપર કેમ ઘોરાર (૧) ઇંગ્લેન્ડ૦ ! સમા
સમજ કેમજ ઉપર ! ઉપર લક્ષણ-ઉંદ્રા સમજ - ઉંદ્રા ઉપર લક્ષણમાં
લક્ષણમાં ઉંદ્રા સમજ ઉંદ્રા સમજ - ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા
૩૪ ૨ ઇંગ્લેન્ડ ૦ ! ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા

૪૧ ૨ ઇંગ્લેન્ડ ઉપર સ્વામીજીના સમાજ સમજ ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા
સ્વામીજીના ઉંદ્રા સમજ ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા
૩૧ ૨ ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા
ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા
૩૧ ૨ ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા
૩૧ ૨ ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા

૪૧ ૨ ઇંગ્લેન્ડ ઉપર સ્વામીજીના સમાજ સમજ ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા
સ્વામીજીના ઉંદ્રા સમજ ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા
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૩૧ ૨ ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા
૩૧ ૨ ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા ઉપર ઉંદ્રા

তপোবন • তপোবন

তপোবন না সেও। সেখানে। দেখা ০

ভয়ানক। কেননা শ্রাবণ কবি গুরুর। এবং বাকিরা ভাবছেন ০০ গুরুর না ওদে। কেননা না কেননো একানেও। এবংবা যাবুবা – এবং বিশ্বে সেখানে দেখা। কিন্তু কেননে। এই (২) এবং। না সঙ্কিত। কেননে। এই – দেখানে। কেননে। এই (২) ভাবে। বিশ্বে। ইনে – এসেসেনে উনা বু – বিশ্বে। ও

বেশবা (২) উপরে বেশ সঙ্গে। এবংবা। এসেসেনে। না এবং

না সবে সেখানে ভবাবাবেন সেখানে।

উনা বুসেসাঁর বেশবা সঙ্গে বলেছে – সঙ্গে না সেখা বেশেবে ও

ইসেবা (২) উঁচু। উপরে বেশ সঙ্গে উনে না বেশে ও ভে

সেখানে। ০

বেশবাবে। না এবং কুসেবা (১) ইবাবে বেশে বেশে বু সঙ্গে বেশা সেখা

সেখানে। ইবাবেবেন এবাবে উঁচু ভাবে ভে বেশা। বিশে ও ভেবেবেবেন

সঙ্গে বে বেশাবে ও বুসেবা। বেশবা এ উঁচু (২) ভে বুসেবেবেবে

বেবেবা সেখানে ও ইবাবেবেন। বেশবেবা ও বেশ ঙ্গেবা বিশেবেবে। নেও

(১২) (১৩) বেশবুবেবে। বেশ বেশবেবে। বেশবা সেখ ঙ্গেবেবা বা ভে। ৫ 1124

এবং কুসেবা (১) বেবা সেবেবেবে বু বেবেবা বেবেবেবা।

বেশবা (২) উঁচু। বেশবেবে। এবং। বেশবে। বেশবা। এবং ও

বেবেবেবে। বেশবেবে। বেশ ও বেবেবেবেবে। ভেবেবেবেবে। ইবাবেবেবে।

বেবেবা। বুবে বেশ। বেবেবা। এবং ও বেশ বেবে বেশ (১)

Inscription of Hājjīābād.

I.

The Pahlavīk Text.

Inscription of Hājjiābād.

II

The Pārsīk Text.

⑨ دگر شه گفت آن
⑩ شاه داریوش که شاهانی فرزند
⑪ شاه هخامنش منم گفت داریوش
⑫ شاه بزرگ شاه شاهان شاه پارس شاه
⑬ شاه بزرگ شاه گفت داریوش پدر
⑭ من ستود اورمزد خدای شاهانی مرا آفرید
⑮ شاه شاهان شاه پارس شاه مردمان
⑯ شاه بزرگ شاه گفت داریوش پدر
⑰ من ستود اورمزد خدای شاهانی مرا آفرید
⑱ کسی شاه نیست که مرا شاه شاهانی
⑲ این فرمان داریوش این شاه شاهان داریوش
⑳ شاه بزرگ شاه گفت داریوش پدر
㉑ من ستود اورمزد خدای شاهانی مرا آفرید
㉒ این شاه پارس مرا آفرید و شاهانی پارس
㉓ شاه شاهان شاه پارس شاه مردمان
㉔ داریوش شاه گفت داریوش پدر من
㉕ اورمزد خدای شاهانی مرا آفرید و شاهانی
㉖ این شاه پارس شاه مردمان
㉗ داریوش شاه گفت داریوش پدر
㉘ من ستود اورمزد خدای شاهانی مرا آفرید
㉙ شاه شاهان شاه پارس شاه مردمان
㉚ داریوش شاه گفت داریوش پدر
㉛ من ستود اورمزد خدای شاهانی مرا آفرید
㉜ شاه شاهان شاه پارس شاه مردمان
㉝ داریوش شاه گفت داریوش پدر
㉞ من ستود اورمزد خدای شاهانی مرا آفرید
㉟ شاه شاهان شاه پارس شاه مردمان

Inscription in Pahlavīk and Pārsīk from the city of Shapur.

I. The Parsīk Text.

II. The Fragmentary Pahlavik Text.

① ۱ماس بزرگمهر ۶۷ ////ماس
② ماهی ماهانه ۶۶ ماهی
③ ماهانه ماهان هزار ۶۶۶
④ زیر ماه هزار [ماس] بزرگی [ماس] هزار
⑤ ماه پادشاهی ماهی ماه زیبای
⑥ که به بل ماس ماس ماهان بزرگ[ی]
⑦ رود ایز به ماس پادشاهی ماهی
⑧ پادشاهی ماهی به ماس ماهی
⑨ ماس [ماس] بزرگی زیر ماهی ماه
⑩ ماه [ماس] هزار ماه[ان] ماهان[ی] هزار
⑪ //
⑫ //
⑬ ماس هزار ماه[ان] ////////// ماه

[The rest broken]

Inscription on a bridge near Fīrūzābād.

ગુજરાતમાં

[ઉત્તરાર્ધ]

(૧) ત્રૈ ઉત્તરાર્ધ ગણવાનો

(૨) પ્રાણાયામથી ચંચળતા દૂર થઈ મનોબળ વધે છે અને મનોબળ વધે છે તો ઇન્દ્રિયો પર કાબૂ આવે છે અને ઇન્દ્રિયો પર કાબૂ આવે છે તો મનોવૃત્તિઓ પર કાબૂ આવે છે અને મનોવૃત્તિઓ પર કાબૂ આવે છે તો ચિત્તશુદ્ધિ થાય છે અને ચિત્તશુદ્ધિ થાય છે તો પરમાત્મા પ્રાપ્તિ થાય છે.

(૩) ..... ત્રૈ ઉત્તરાર્ધ ગણવાનો અર્થ ઇન્દ્રિયો પર કાબૂ આવે છે.

(૪) ત્રૈ ઉત્તરાર્ધ ગણવાનો અર્થ ઇન્દ્રિયો પર કાબૂ આવે છે.

(૫) પ્રાણાયામ કરવાથી ઇન્દ્રિયો પર કાબૂ આવે છે.

(૬) પ્રાણાયામ કરવાથી મનોવૃત્તિઓ પર કાબૂ આવે છે.

(૭) ત્રૈ ઉત્તરાર્ધ ગણવાનો અર્થ મનોવૃત્તિઓ પર કાબૂ આવે છે.

(૮) ત્રૈ ઉત્તરાર્ધ ગણવાનો અર્થ ચિત્તશુદ્ધિ થાય છે.

(૯) ત્રૈ ઉત્તરાર્ધ ગણવાનો અર્થ પરમાત્મા પ્રાપ્તિ થાય છે.

II

Two Inscriptions from Persepolis.

(१) [ह]यदिय दस

(२) नपॅगेर हेदय यदस्ते नपॅगेर हेदय ओॅथ रोस्त ओॅगेर हेदय

(३) [ना]दिथेर दॅरेंदस्तेस नपॅगेर हेदय ॥ यदय यदस्ते ओॅथेस ओॅथेस नपॅगेर हेदय नपॅगेर हेदय यदस्ते

(४) दस्तो यदस्ते ओॅथेस हेदय नपॅगेर हेदय यदस्ते

(५) [ना]दिथेर हेदय नपॅगेर हेदय यदस्ते

(६) [ह]यदिय दस

(७) नपॅगेर हेदय यदस्ते नपॅगेर हेदय यदस्ते

(८) [ह]यदिय दस

(९) [ह]यदिय दस

(१०) [ना]दिथेर दॅरेंदस्तेस नपॅगेर हेदय ॥ यदय यदस्ते ओॅथेस ओॅथेस नपॅगेर हेदय नपॅगेर हेदय यदस्ते

(११) नपॅगेर हेदय यदस्ते नपॅगेर हेदय ओॅथ रोस्त ओॅगेर हेदय

(१२) [ह]यदिय दस

Psalm CXXVIII.

Fol. 7v:1. ܒܬܪ ܟܠܗ ܕܡܫܬܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ
ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ
ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ
ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ
ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ
ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܨܥܪܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ

Alphabets.

Hebrew	Meša'	Aramaic papyri	Palmyr. inscriptions	Nabat. inscriptions, Sinai	Parthian inscriptions	Persian inscriptions	Psalter	Book Pahlavi	Transliteration
א	𐤀	𐡀	𐡠	𐢀	𐫠	𐭠	𐮀	𐭠	ʾ
ב	𐤁	𐡁	𐡡	𐢁,𐢂	𐫡	𐭡	𐮁	𐭡	b
ג	𐤂	𐡂	𐡢	𐢃,𐢄	𐫢	𐭢	𐮂	𐭢 (𐭣)	g
ד	𐤃	𐡃,𐡄	𐡣	𐢅,𐢆	𐫣	𐭣	𐮃	𐭣 (𐭤) (𐭥)	d
ה	𐤄	𐡅	𐡤	𐢇,𐢈	𐫤	𐭤	𐮄	𐭤 (𐭥)	-H
ו	𐤅	𐡆	𐡥	𐢉,𐢊	𐫥	𐭥	𐮅	𐭥	w
ז	𐤆	𐡇	𐡦	𐢋	𐫦	𐭦	𐮆	𐭦	z
ח	𐤇	𐡈	𐡧	𐢌,𐢍	𐫧	𐭧	𐮇	𐭧	h, H
ט	𐤈	𐡉	𐡨	𐢎,𐢏	𐫨	𐭨	—	—	Ṭ
י	𐤉	𐡊	𐡩	𐢐,𐢑	𐫩	𐭩	𐮈	𐭩 (𐭪,𐭫)	y (j-)
כ,ך	𐤊	𐡋	𐡪	𐢒,𐢓	𐫪	𐭪	𐮉	𐭪	k
ל	𐤋	𐡌	𐡫	𐢔,𐢕	𐫫	𐭫	𐮊	𐭫 (𐭬)	l
מ,ם	𐤌	𐡍	𐡬	𐢖,𐢗,𐢘	𐫬	𐭬	𐮋	𐭬	m
נ,ן	𐤍	𐡎,𐡏	𐡭	𐢙,𐢚	𐫭	𐭭	𐮌	𐭭	n
ס	𐤎	𐡐	𐡮	𐢛	𐫮	𐭮	𐮍	𐭮, 𐭯	s
ע	𐤏	𐡑	𐡯	𐢜,𐢝	𐫯	𐭯	𐮎	𐭯	ʿ
פ,ף	𐤐	𐡒	𐡰	𐢞,𐢟	𐫰	𐭰	𐮏	𐭰	p
צ,ץ	𐤑	𐡓	𐡱	𐢠,𐢡	𐫱	𐭱	𐮐	𐭱	c, ṣ
ק	𐤒	𐡔	𐡲	𐢢,𐢣	𐫲	—	—	—	Q
ר	𐤓	𐡕,𐡖	𐡳	𐢤,𐢥,𐢦	𐫳	𐭳	𐮑	𐭳	r
ש	𐤔	𐡗	𐡴	𐢧,𐢨,𐢩	𐫴	𐭴	𐮒	𐭴	š
ת	𐤕	𐡘	𐡵	𐢪,𐢫	𐫵	𐭵	𐮓,𐮔	𐭵	t

The alphabet of the Avesta, and of Pazand:

1. Vowels:

𐬀 : a	𐬁 : ā	𐬆 : å	𐬇 : ą
𐬅 : e	𐬆𐬙 : ē	𐬈 : ę	𐬉 : ę̄
𐬊 : i	𐬋 : ī	𐬌 : o	𐬍 : ō
𐬎 : u	𐬏 : ū		

2. Consonants:

𐬐 : k	𐬑 : g	𐬒 : p	𐬓 : b	𐬔 : t	𐬕 : d	𐬖 : c	𐬗 : j
𐬘 : x	𐬙 : x^w	𐬚 : f	𐬛 : w	𐬜 : θ	𐬝 : ð	𐬞 : s	𐬟 : z
𐬠 : š	𐬡 : ž	𐬢 : š	𐬣 : ž	𐬤 : x^v	𐬥 : γ	𐬦 : m	𐬧 : n
𐬨 : ŋ	𐬩 : ŋ́	𐬪 : y	𐬫 : v	𐬬 : r	𐬭 : l	𐬮 : h	𐬯 : ḥ

[1] The letters [illegible] = Ṭ; [illegible] = 2 = ʿ (ʿain); Parth. [illegible] = Q only occur in Aramaic ideograms; [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = H only at the end of ideograms. Parth. [illegible] = Pers. [illegible] = [illegible] is transliterated Ḥ in ideograms, but h in Iranian words; Parth. [illegible] = Pers. [illegible] = [illegible] is transliterated Ṣ in ideograms, but c in Iranian words.

The Pers. letter [illegible] is only attested in Ḥaj. B, ll. 12 and 14; everywhere else [illegible] = T is substituted for it. Instead of Parth. [illegible] = Q in ideograms Pers. has either [illegible] = K, or, by a graphical confusion, [illegible] = M: to Parth. [illegible] = QDMTH corresponds Pers. [illegible] = MDM for QDM.

Note. [illegible] is a graphical side-form of [illegible] = -H, cfr. [illegible] = LPNH, inscr. [illegible].

[2] Already in the inscriptions the Pers. letters w, r, and ʿain had coalesced into one: 2 = 1 = 1. The Psalter has the same set of letters as the inscriptions.

[3] In Book Pahlavi the coalesence of letters is still more advanced:

Ps. [illegible] and [illegible] > [illegible]; Ps. [illegible], g, and [illegible] > [illegible]; Ps. 1 and [illegible] > 1;

[illegible] and [illegible] in ligatures > [illegible];

the letters [illegible] and [illegible] are not only simple letters denoting s, but also ligatures of [illegible] + [illegible];

final [illegible] = -H coincides with the ligature of [illegible] + 1.

[4] Thus Book Pahlavi only possesses the following simple letters:

[illegible] (-[illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and in ideograms final [illegible] = -H.

[illegible] = ʾ (ℵ, Aleph) and h, which also stands for x (= [illegible]);

[illegible] = g, d, y (j-);

1 = w, n, r (rare), and ʿain (in ideograms only).

Note. In Indian, but not in Iranian MSS the letter [illegible] = [illegible] is written [illegible], thus coinciding with the ligature of [illegible] + [illegible] > [illegible]. In this Manual the distinction is strictly observed.

[5] In the MSS [illegible] is occasionally differentiated by diacritical signs: [illegible] = g; [illegible] = d; [illegible] = y; [illegible] = (secondary) initial j-. In this Manual extensive use has been of these signs.

The old form of the letter d : g, is occasionally found in BP, e.g. gd = pldd = frawd (٩١٣ : 3); simplified to d in final position, e.g. hwslwd alternating with hwsrwd = hwslwd (on coins hwslwdy) = Xōsrōi = Gr. Χοσρόης; and in the ligatures w° and y° (v. infra).

Note. This final d must not be confounded with the figure d = 1, which is suffixed to nouns to express the indefinite article -ē, e.g. pyl = pyl+1 = pīl-ē 'an elephant'.

[6] l is both l and r, but mostly r, replacing the old letter r (2 = L = 1) which had become too ambiguous. If it denotes l it may receive, as a diacritical sign, a stroke : l (in Iranian MSS), or a loop: l (in Indian MSS), or be written twice: l, l. The old form l still occurs in ideograms: l = ʾL = mā; l = ʾḤL (אחל) = pas; l = MḤL (מחל) = fratāk; l = ZKL (זכל) = nar. Also l : l.

Note 1. The old form of k : Ps. q, is preserved in the ideogram q = ʾYK = kū.

Note 2. Instead of q, the form y (cfr. Ps. q and Av. y) is sometimes met with, e.g. ŝ y for ŝ q = cnd = cand, PR, p. 24, l. 1.

Note 3. Instances of the old form of n: z, occur now and then in the MSS. The letter which in Madan's edition of the Dēnkart is falsely printed as an Arabic z must be a z = 2 = L = 1 = w or ʿain.

Note 4. In the MSS the letter w = š sometimes receives, in imitation of Arabic, three dots: w.

[7] Final y. In the Pers. inscriptions most nouns in the sing. end in -y which originally denoted the ending -ē of the oblique case. Already in the inscriptions this ending seems to have lost its proper value, and -y to have become a purely graphical addition. In the Ps. it is even added to other words than nouns. In BP it is reduced to a perpendicular stroke: y (coinciding with y = w, etc.), which may be added to all words ending in d, y, g, w, q, and y, though the MSS differ greatly in the use of it. In this Manual an attempt is made to normalize the orthography in this respect. Thus, in BP the only

function of this sign is to indicate the end of the word; it is transliterated by a dash ['], e.g. ܡܛܐ = mt' = mat.

[8] *Ligatures*. The letters ܠ, ܐ, ܓ, ܕ, ܪ (ܪ°), and ܬ cannot be connected with the following, but only with the preceding letter:

ܬ	ܪ	ܪ	ܓ	ܐ	ܠ	preceded by ↓
ܬܪ	ܪ	ܪ ; ܪ	ܬܓ	ܬ (ܬ)	ܬ	ܬ
ܬܕ	ܕ	ܕ ; ܕ	ܕ ; ܕ ; ܕ	ܕ	ܕ ; ܕ	ܕ
ܬܟ	ܟ	ܟ ; ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ
ܬܠ	ܠ	ܠ ; ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ
ܬܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ
ܬܕ	ܕ	ܕ ; ܕ	ܕ ; ܕ ; ܕ	ܕ	ܕ	ܕ ; ܕ
ܬܫ	ܫ	ܫ ; ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ

Note 1. In final ܬܬ° and ܬܪ° the last letter mostly represents a simplified ܓ = d, v. above, no. 5.

Note 2. ܬ, one of the most frequent ligatures, is perplexingly polyphonic, signifying: 1. ʾw. 2. ʾn. 3. ʾr. 4. hw. 5. hn. 6. hr; no diacritical signs are used to distinguish between these readings. Theoretically still more ambiguous is the ligature ܪ, which may mean: 1. gw. 2. gn. 3. gr. 4. dw. 5. dn. 6. dr. 7. yw. 8. yn. 9. yr; besides, the second letter may signify ʿain in ideograms. However, the readings with r and ʿain are very rare (cfr. above, no. 6), and in this Manual the ambiguity is reduced by abundant use of diacritical signs: ܪ̈, ܪ̂, ܪ̤, ܪ̣.

Note 3. ܓܝ° = ܝ + ܓ is the common writing of the ending -īk.

Note 4. In the very cursive script of the papyri س is reduced to ـ, ـ. Instances of ـ for س are also found in BP.

Note 5. ه for ه, and inversely ه for ه, are no rare corruptions in the MSS. For ه and ه the scribes often misleadingly put ه.

Note 6. On ـ and ـ as connected with the following letter, v. infra, no. 9, D-E.

The letters ا, د, ر, ل, ك, ه (ـه), and ـه may be connected with the preceding and/or following letter:

ـه	ه / ـه	ك	ل	ر	د	ا	followed by
ـه	ه	ك	ل	ر	د	ا	ا
ـه	ه / ه	ك / ك	ل / ل	ر / ر	د / د / د	ا / ا / ا	ه
ـه	ه	ك	ل	ر	د	ا	ر
ـه	ه	ك	ل	ر	د	ا / (ا)	ل
ـه	ه	ك	ل	ر	د	ا	ك
ـه	ه / ه	ك / ك	ل / ل	ر	د / د / د	ا / ا / ا	ه / ه
ـه	ه	ك	ل	ر	د	ا	ا

Note 7. ا + د also > ـا°, د + د also > ـا°, v. above, n. 1.

Examples of coherent writing:

ا + ا + ا

ا + د + ك + ه

د + ك + ك + ا

ا + ل + ه + ه

ا + ك + ه + ه + ا

ا + ل + ك + ا + ه

ه + ه + ا + ل

or: ا + ل + ا + د + د + ه

ا + ا + ه + ه

ه + د + ك + ه

ه + ه + ه + ه

ه + د + د + ه, or: ه + د + د + ه

ك + ا + ا + ا + ا, or: ك + د + د + ا + ا

ل + ا + د + د + ا

ه + ه + ه + ه

ا + د + د + ا

9 Special cases.

A. [illegible] is dwarfed to [illegible]

a) in [illegible] for [illegible] (v. above, no. 8, n. 5) = [illegible] = m'zdsn' = māzdesn (but inscr. [illegible] = mzdysn = mazdēsn);

b) in some ideograms: [illegible], inscr. [illegible] = ZNH = Ir. ēn; [illegible] = ZWZN (Aram. [illegible]) = Ir. drahm; [illegible], inscr. [illegible] = ḤZYTN = Ir. dītan.

Inversely, [illegible] is enlarged to [illegible] (only a flourish of the pen) in some ideograms: [illegible] for [illegible] = YLYDWN = Ir. zātan; [illegible] ([illegible]) alternating with [illegible] (thus always in this Manual) = YKTLWN = Ir. ōzatan; inscr. [illegible] = YDBḤWN, which is the true Aram. form, = yaštan, but BP [illegible], apparently = YZBḤWN, but no proof of Aram. ZBḤ.

Note. [illegible] alternating with [illegible] = zmyk = zamīk, and [illegible] alternating with [illegible] = zm'n' = zamān do not begin with a dwarfed [illegible]: [illegible] = dmyk = damīk and [illegible] = jm'n' = jamān are dialectal side-forms of zamīk and zamān.

B. The ligature [illegible] is simplified

a) to [illegible] in the following words:

[illegible], inscr. [illegible] = 'whrmzd(y) = Ohurmazd;

[illegible], inscr. [illegible], Ps. [illegible] = yzdt(y) = yazēt;

[illegible], inscr. [illegible] = yzd'n = yazdān;

b) to [illegible], [illegible] in the ideogram of the relative pronoun i: inscr. and Ps. [illegible] = ZY (but with enclitics: [illegible] = ZY-m = i-m, [illegible] = i-t, etc.).

C. [illegible] + [illegible] is written [illegible] in the interior of words before [illegible]:

[illegible], inscr. [illegible] = zyd'n = ziyān;

[illegible], inscr. [illegible] = nyd'k'n = niyākān;

[illegible] = myd'n' = miyān,

etc. (as to the ortography, v. Grammar).

D. [illegible] is sometimes connected with the following letter, especially [illegible], e.g., in the plur. of words ending in [illegible]: [illegible] = -īkān. In this case it may receive the dots of [illegible]: [illegible]. In fact, in Sasanian times it was pronounced -g- (-γ-) in this position, thus -īkān as -īgān, later -īyān, written [illegible] (v. above). It is sometimes also attached, in the form [illegible], to other letters: to [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible]; to [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible].

E. ـل, dwarfed to ـد, which is often marked as ـد̂ in the MSS, is connected with the following letter

a) in several ideograms:

𐭥𐭮𐭩 = BYN = Ir. andar;

𐭩𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭥 = YNSBWN = Ir. statan;

𐭩𐭮𐭩 = ʿBYDWN = Ir. kartan;

𐭩𐭮𐭦 = ZBNWN = Ir. xrītan;

𐭩𐭮𐭦𐭧 = MZBNWN = Ir. fravaxtan;

𐭩𐭮𐭧𐭧 = MKBLWN = Ir. patigraftan;

𐭩𐭮𐭧𐭥 = ŠBKWN = Ir. hištan, and others;

with ـد enlarged to ـس (cfr. above, no. 9A):

𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭥, 𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭥 = DB(Y)LWN (from Aram. דבל) = nayītan;

b) in 𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭥 = ywb'n', as shown by the Ps. writing 𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭥 = yuwān-; and most probably also in 𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩 and its derivative 𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭩𐭩, to be interpreted as ywbt', ywbt'k = *yuwat, *yuvatāk, which are thus to be regarded as the original forms of the words yūt and yūtāk corresponding to NP جُز , جُدا.

<u>Note 1</u> As a concession to current usage the writings 𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭥, 𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩, 𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭩𐭩 have been retained in this Manual.

<u>Note 2</u>. ـل is dwarfed to ـد in the ideogram 𐭩𐭥𐭮 (in the MSS generally 𐭩𐭥𐭮) = TB = nēv (inscr. 𐭩𐭥𐭮 = ṬB, v. above, no. 1) and 𐭩𐭥𐭮 (MSS generally 𐭩𐭥𐭮), inscr. 𐭩𐭥𐭮 = TWB = Ir. dit.

F. 𐭩 as the ending of the 1st pers. sing. of verbs is sometimes written with a hook beneath: 𐭩. This hook can only be a small w of the type found in the Ps. (L): 𐭩 = -wm = -om.

<u>Note</u>. In the Avestan script 𐭩 signifies -hm-, but this reading is not applicable in BP.

G. Verbal ideograms often receive as complements, instead of the phonetically written endings (as, e.g., 𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭩 = YḤWWN-yt' = bavēt) the ligatures 𐭩 or 𐭩, which have various meanings, representing both the ending -ēh, the ending -ēt, the ending -ēnd, and the past participle in -t functioning as the preterite. As the discussion of their origins and true nature cannot be taken up here they will be transliterated in this Manual by an x: 𐭩 = x_1; 𐭩 = x_2.

Examples: [illegible] = 'BYDWN-x_1 = kunēh, or kunēt, or kart; [illegible] = 'BYDWN-x_2 = kunāh, or kunēnd, or kart.

Note 1. If [illegible]° means -ēnd the scribes often write [illegible]°

Note 2. These endings are never, as far as known to the present writer, substituted for the endings of the first pers. sing. and plur.: -[illegible]°, [illegible]°. In some cases they mask the ending of a verbal noun, perhaps -iān: [illegible] (33,22) = ŠBKWN-x_1 and [illegible] (34,14) = ŠBKWN-x_2 seem both to represent, at least as regards the meaning, the verbal noun hiliān.

Note 3. Not every verbal ideogram takes these endings. They are, for instance, never found with °[illegible] = YḤWWN- = būtan, nor with ideograms ending in [illegible]° = -H, e.g. °[illegible] = 'ŠTH'- = x^{u}artan.

H. The ligature °[illegible] signifies ayy- or, with secondary aspiration, hayy-. This is the result of the SW development of the ancient combination ab(i)yā- (b = spirant β): aβiyā- > aiβyā- > ayiβyā- > ayiβā- (dissimilation), written °[illegible] = 'dyb'- with a pseudo-historical -d- for -y-; ayivā- developed into ay(i)yā-. Cfr. [illegible] = 'dyb'ṯ' = ayyāt < abyāt, v. Glossary. °[illegible] was subsequently used, irrespective of etymology, for initial ayy- or hayy- before -ā-, e.g. [illegible] (Ps. °[illegible] = hdyb'l-) = hayyār (Man. hyy'r = hiyār; Paz. ayār) < adyāvar (the NW form).

As to the figures, v. at the end of the Pahlavi Index.

Pahlavi Index.

Alphabetical order:

1. [illegible] 2. [illegible] 3. [illegible] 4. [illegible] 5. [illegible] 6. [illegible] 7. [illegible] 8. [illegible] 9. [illegible] 10. [illegible] 11. [illegible] 12. [illegible] 13. [illegible]

To be observed:

1. [illegible] is ranged under no.1 even if it represents the Ligature of [illegible] (v. p. ١٣٤, C).

2. Abnormal forms of letters are ranged according to their external shape: [illegible] under [illegible] even if it is a miswritten [illegible] or [illegible]; [illegible] under [illegible] even if it represents a dwarfed [illegible], or [illegible], or g; [illegible] under [illegible] even if it represents [illegible] = d (v. p. ١٣١).

3. [illegible] is treated as one single letter irrespective of whether it represents g = [illegible], or d = [illegible], or y = [illegible], or j- = [illegible], or any of the dwarfed letters mentioned above.

4. [illegible], representing both [illegible] and [illegible] in ligatures, is treated as one single letter, and ranged under [illegible].

5. Final silent [illegible] (v. p. ١٣١, no. 7) is treated as the consonant [illegible].

6. Final [illegible] = -H in ideograms is treated as [illegible] + [illegible].

7. [illegible] and [illegible], both = s, are regarded as the same letter. As diacritical signs are used when they represent the ligatures of [illegible] + [illegible] ([illegible], [illegible], etc.) every unmarked [illegible] or [illegible] in Iranian words is to be looked for under no. 9. If they occur in ideograms, which are mostly left without diacritical signs in this Manual (being themselves merely graphical signs, and no living elements of the language), cross references are given when necessary.

8. Underlined b, k, z render dwarfed Pahlavi letters; d renders [illegible] = [illegible] = d; Y (in ideograms only) renders a [illegible] which is only a flourish of the pen (v. p. ١٣٤).

9. Ideograms are rendered in CAPITALS.

10. The stroke [illegible] after [illegible] = -H in verbal ideograms, e.g. [illegible], is rendered by a dash ['] : ᶜŠTH'-tn', in spite of the fact that in the Psalter this stroke appears as a (quite abnormal) n: [illegible] = ᶜŠTH-n-.

11. To every Pahlavi word is given a letter-by-letter transliteration, followed by, and separated by a colon [:] from, the interpretation of the consonant skeleton. As to the principles of interpretation, v. Grammar. Between ideograms and their Iranian equivalents the sign of equality [=] is used.

12. The sign * denotes hypothetical reading.

13. Only those compounds whose elements are written in one word are registered in the Index; other compounds only if one element or both elements do not appear elsewhere in the Index.

14. Only words occurring in the texts of this Manual are registered in the Index. Several of the numerals given on pp. ١٧٣–١٧٤ have however been taken from the Frahang i Pahlavik.

*

𐭠

𐭠 : ā

𐭠 1. ʾh : ah. 2. ʾḤ(Y) = brāt

𐭠𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾhtn′ : 1. hāxtan. 2. haxtan

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭪 , 𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭪 hʾdk′ : xāyak

𐭠𐭥 ʾhw : ahū

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhwʾdšnyh : a-xᵘāyišnēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩 ʾhwʾnyk : axᵘānīk

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾhwʾn′ : axᵘān

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾhwyh : axᵘēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhwyšk′l : a-xᵘēškār

𐭠𐭥 ʾhw′ : axᵘ

𐭠𐭥 ʾḤRN = an

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾwnd : havand

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾwndyh : havandēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhnwnc : ahanūn-ic

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾhwwl : ahuvar

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhwnsndyh : a-xᵘansandēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 * ʾhwkynytn′ : *āhōyēnītan?

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭪 hʾnk′ : xānak

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾhwl : āxᵘar

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhwlšnyh : a-xᵘarišnēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhwmʾnʾk : a-homānāk

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾhnc- : āharj-

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾhwš : a-hōš

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾwšt′ : hāvišt

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭪 hʾkʾn′ : xākān

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭪 hʾk′ : xāk

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾḤL = pas

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlʾy : ahlāi

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlʾdyh : ahlāyēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlʾm : 1. (VW:27) ahrām-
2. (W9:24) *āxrām

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾḤL-yh = pasēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlyptn′ : *ahriftan

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlyšwng : Ahrīšvang

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlwb′ : ahlav

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlwlg : Axrūrag

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlmn′ : Ahriman

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlmwkyh : ahramōgēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhlmwk′ ; ahramōg

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾmhlc′ : hāmharz

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 hʾmyn′ : hāmēn

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾmwdyn′ : hāmōdēn

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 hʾmwn′ : hāmōn

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾmwš : hāmōš

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 hʾsl : hāsr

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhstn′ : āxistan

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾcšn′ : hācišn

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 hht′ : haxt

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾhtl : axtar

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾhtlmʾl : axtar-mār

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾtmʾnsl : hāt-mānsr

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hʾtmʾnslyk :
hāt-mānsrīk

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾḤTH = xᵘah

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾḤTH-l : xᵘāhar

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾBY-tl = pibar

𐭠𐭥 ʾB′ (= ʾBY) = pit

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾbwd : a-bōd

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾbwlcšnyk : a-buržišnīk

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾbwlt′ : a-burt

𐭠 ʾy : ē

𐭠𐭥 ḤYʾ = jān

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ḤYʾ-kʾnyh : jānakānēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ḤYʾ-kʾn′ : jānakān

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdʾnyh : a-dānēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾdʾn′ : a-dān

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdʾltytn′ : ayārītan

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾgʾs : a-gāh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾyʾp′ : ayāp

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾyʾpt′ : ayāft

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾyʾptn′ : ayāftan

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdʾtyhʾ : a-dātihā

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 hyhtn′ : hixtan

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdʾtstʾnyh : a-dātistānēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdʾtstʾnyhʾ : a-dātistānihā

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾybgtyk : aibigatīk

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾybgt′ : aibigat

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 ʾdyh : *ayēh (from h-)

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮 hdybʾl : hayyār

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 hdybʾlyh : hayyārēh

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdybʾlytn′ : ayyārītan

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdybʾsʾn′ : ayyāsān

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdybʾt′ : ayyāt

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdybʾtkl : ayyāt-kār

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭮 ʾdybstn′ : ayyastan

ʾdβyl : ×Adβīl (دُبَيل)
ʾDYN = adak
ḤKYN = ētōn
ʾ-DYNʾ-yh = a-dātistānēh
ʾdywʾn′ : aivān
ʾdywʾnk′ : aivānak
ʾdynptn′ : ainaftan

ḤZYTN-tn′ = dītan, vēn-

ʾywhwtʾdyh : ēv-xᵘatāyēh
ʾdwʾl : ēvār
ʾdwʾlk′ : ēvārak
ʾdwʾc : ēvāc
ʾdwʾcyhʾ : ēvācihā
ʾywhtn′ : āyuxtan
ʾgwβʾk : a-gōβāk
ʾgwβʾkyh : a-gōβākēh
ʾywβʾl : ēv-bār
ʾynyʾ : ēnyā
ʾywdʾt′ : ēv-dāt
ʾdwyn′ : aivēn
ʾdwynk′ : aivēnak
hyn′ : hēn
hywn′ : Xiyōn
ʾywkʾnkyh : ēvkānakēh
ʾywkʾnk′ : ēvkānak
Ḥp-wk′ = ēvak
ʾywkšwst′ : ayōšust
ʾdwl : ēvar
ʾdwlyhʾ : ēvarihā
ʾdwlc′ : ēvarz
ʾgwmʾn′ : a-gumān
ʾYNH = cašm
ʾywmwk′ : ēv-mōk
ʾdwp : aivāp
ʾywcšn′ : āyōžišn
ʾywtʾk : ēv-tāk

ʾYK = kū

ʾdl : adar
ʾyl : Ēr
ʾylʾn′ : Ērān
ʾylʾnwyc : Ērān-vēj
ʾylʾnk′ : Ērānak
ʾdlhtn′ : ēraxtan
ʾylyh : ērēh
ʾylyc : Ērēc

HBLNʾ = anāk
ʾdlwʾl : ×adar-vār
ʾglptʾl : a-grīftār
hylpt′ : hērpat
hylptstʾn′ : hērpatistān
ʾdlt′ : a-dart
hylt′ : Hērat (الحيرة)
ʾdltn′ : adar-tan
ʾdltn′yh : adar-tanēh

hym : xēm
ʾdmytʾn′ : Ēmētān
ḤYMNW⟨N⟩-stn′ = virrōyistan
ʾymk′ : ēmak
ʾYMT = kad

ʾystšn′ : ēstišn

hyc : hēc
ʾycnd : ēcand
ʾyckyh : īzakēh
hyck′ : hēcak
ʾycšnyh : 1. īzišnēh
2. a-yazišnēh
ʾycšn′ : īzišn

ʾYŠ = kas
ʾdšm : āyišm
hyšm : hēšm
hyšmkn′ : hēšmakan

ʾYT-yh = hastēh
ḤYTYWN-tn′ = ōnītan
ʾYT′ = hast
ʾYT′-yk = hastīk
ʾytwnyh : ētōnēh
ʾytwn′ : ētōn

ʾw, ʾw′ : ō
ḤNʾ = ēt, ē
ʾnʾhyt′ : Anāhīt
hwʾhl : xᵘāhr
hwʾhlyh : xᵘāhrēh

ʾnʾyβgtyk : an-aibigatīk
hwʾdwʾcyh : hu-ēvācēh
hwʾywcšn′ : hu-āyōžišn
ʾnʾylʾn′ : An-ērān

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'dlng : an-ērang
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭥 hw'dănyh : x"āyiănēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'dăn' : x"āyiăn

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'wlwn' : hu-ōrān
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾwhrmzd : Ohurmazd
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾwhrmzd'n' : Ohurmazdān
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hwhwmyk'n' : huhōmīkān
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'wăm'l : an-āĕmār

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'k : anāk
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'kyh : anākēh

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'l : x"ār
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'lyh : x"ārēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'lyh' : x"ārihā
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'lynytn' : x"ārēnītan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'lytn' : x"ārītan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'lm'n' : X"ārmān
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'lcm : X"ārizm
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'ltyšt'l : hu-artăštār

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hn'm : hannām
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'mwlčn' : an-āmurzišn

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'šn' : x"āhišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'st'l : x"āstār
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'st'lyh : x"āstārēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'st' : an-ast
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'stn' : x"āstan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'stk' : x"āstak

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'pl : x"āpar
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hw'plyh : x"āparēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'clmyh : an-āžarmēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'clmyh' : an-āžarmihā
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'clmyk : an-āžarmīk

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾn'štyh : an-āštēh

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ḤNʾ-t = ēt-it, or ē-t
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hwht' : hūxt
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ḤNḤTWN-šn' = nihišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ḤNḤTWN-tn' = nihātan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ḤNḤTWN-tk' = nihātak

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hnb'lk' : hanbārak
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hnb'lšn' : hanbārišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾwb'm : āvām

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾw'myk : āvāmīk
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾwbyn' : a-vin(n)
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hwbwd : hubōd
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hwbwdyh : hubādēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hnbs'nynytn' : hanbassānēnītan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾwbš : aviš

𐭠𐭩𐭥 hwd : hōy
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾnd : and
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hwd'hk' : hudāhak
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hng'ht'l : hangaxtār
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hnd'hplyh : handāxtārēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hnd'htn' : handāxtan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hng'wmnd : hangōmand
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾwd'k : Ōdāk
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hwyhl : x"ihl
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hng'lk' : hangārak
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hng'ltn' : hangārtan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hng'm : hangām
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hnd'ck' : handācak
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hnd'čn' : handācišn

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hwdyn' : hudēn
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hngycynytn' : hangēcēnītan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hndyšyt'l : handāštār
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hndyšytn' : handāštan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hndyšn' : handāšišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hndytn' : xandītan

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hndwh : handōh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hndwhkn' : handōhakan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hndwhtn' : handōxtan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hwgwbšn' : hugōbišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾwgwn : ōgōn
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hndwk' : Hindūk
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾngwst' : angust
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hngwšytk' : hangāštak
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾwynšn' : a-vinnišn

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 hwdk' : hāyak
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾngl : anagr
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 1.VC:19 leg. 𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫
2.DA:1,9A:7 leg. 𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 *ʾwgl'y : *āgrāi
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾwdl'y : ud(a)rāi
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾndlg : andarg
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭫 ʾndlw'y : andarvāi

ד+ו

'wylwdšn' : a-virröyišn
'ndlwn' : andar(r)ön
hndlwtk' : handrūtak
hndlcynytn' : handarzēnītan
hndlc' : handarz
hngltynytn' : hangartēnītan
hngltykyh : hangartīkēh

hwyš : x^ušēš
hwyš'wnd : x^ušāvand
hwyšyh : x^ušēšēh
hwyšk'lyh : x^ušēškārēh

hwyt' : x^ušēt
hwytwkd'tʾ : x^ušētōdāt
hngtyh : hangatēh
YDʿYTN-tn' = dānistan

hww'hm : *huvaxm
'wn's : a-vinās
hwn'syn' : x^un-āsēn
'nwd : ānōd (ānōi)
hwnyh : *hūneh
*hwndl'y : *x^undrāi?
hwnyls : X^unīras
hrwdt' : Harvadat
hwn' : xūn
hwnwšk' : hunūšak
hwnk' : hunak
hwnr : hunar
hwnlycšnyh : xūn-rēcišnēh
(= ōōi) ۳۹:۱۵ : a wrong transposition of 'wnd = 'wnd : avand
hwwlcyh' : huvarzihā
hwwlšt : huvarišt
'wwltn' : āvurtan
hwnsnd : x^unsand
hwnsndyh : x^unsandēh
'wnst : a-vinast
'nwšycʾtʾn' : Anōšēzātān
'nwšk' : anōšak
'wrtwhšt' : Urtvahišt

'wzdys : uzdēs
'wzdyscʾl : uzdēs-cār
'wzw'hyk : uzvahīk
'wzw'hstn' : uzvahistan
'wzw'n'wmnd : uzvānōmand

ד+ו

'wzw'n' : uzvān
'wzmbwlt' : *uzmuburt
'wzmwtn' : ōzmūtan

hwkwnšnyh : hukunišnēh
hwkwnšn' : hukunišn

'WL' = frabom
hwl'm : hurām
hwl's'n' : X^uarāsān
hwlhšyt' : x^uarxšēt
hwr'tʾ : hurāt
hwlbt'n' : x^uar-barān
hwlg : x^uarag
'wly' : *Ōriyā (اُرِیا)
hwldlwš : xūrdrūš
'wlw'hmyh : uruvāxmēh
'wlwl : urvar
hwlwsp' : horvisp
hwlm : 1. hurām. 2. x^uarm
hwlmyh : huramēh
hwlmk' : huramak
hwlcšm : X^uar-cašm
hwlšyt' : x^uaršēt
hwlšnyh : x^uarišnēh
hwlšn' : x^uarišn
*'wltʾk : *āvartāk
hwltʾlyh : x^uartārēh
hwltn' : x^uartan
hwltk' : x^uartak

hwm : hōm
hwm'y : Humāi
hwm'n'k : homānāk
hwm'n'kyh : homānākēh
hwm'nyh : humānēh
hwmynšn' : humānišn
hwmykn' : hōmīkān
'wmyt' : ōmēt
hwmn[1] : x^uamn
'NH[2] = an
ḤWH-[3] = h-
ḤWH'-yt' = ēt (pron.) 25:20
ḤWH-m = ham (adj. & adv.)
ḤWH-t' : hat
hwmltwm : humartōm
hwmt' : humat
hwmtl : hōm-tar

wsk'l : uskār
wsk'lšn' : uskāriš̄n
hwslwbyh : husravēh
hwslwb' : husrav
hwslwd' } : Xōsrōi
hwslwd
'nsp's : an-ispās
'nsp'syh : an-ispāsēh
'nsp'syh' : an-ispāsihā
'wspwlyk : uspurrīk
hwst'l : xᵘastār
'wst'tn' : ōstātan
'wstyk'n' : āstīkān
'wstykyh' : āstīkihā
'wstwb'l : āstavār
'wstwb'lyh : āstavārēh
hwstn' : xᵘastan
×'wstk' : ×āstak

hwp'h : hupāh
'wp'l : ōpār
hwpyh : xūpēh
hwpyh' : xūpihā
hwpym : hupēm
'wpdštn' : avdištan
hwp' : xūp
hwplywn' : huparyōn
hwplwlt' : hufravart
hwplm'nyh : huframānēh
hwpsndkyh : hupassandakēh
'wpst'n' : āpastān
'wpstn' : ōpastan
hwptn' : xᵘaftan

hnc- : hanj-
'wc'wmnd : ōžōmand
hnc'm : hanjām
'wcy : ō-ci 17 : 1-9
'wcyh : ōžēh
'wcdhykyh : uzdahīkēh
'wcd'ystc'l : uzdaēs-tacār
hwcyhl : hucihr
hwcyhlyh : hucihrēh
'wcdyhykynytn' : uzdēhīkēnītan
'wcdys : uzdēs
'wcdysc'l : uzdēs-cār
'wcyn' : uzēn
'wcytn' : uzītan

'wc' : ōž
'wcw'nyh : uzvānēh
hncmnyh : hanjamanēh
hncmnynytn' : hanjamanānītan
hncmnyk : hanjamanīk
hncmn' : hanjaman
hwcšm : hucašm
hwcsmyh : hucašmēh
'wctn' : ōzatan

'wš : ōš
hwš : hōš
'wšyd'l : ōšidār
hwš'ng : Hōšang
'wš'n' : Ōšān
hwš'wmnd : hōšōmand
'wšb'm : uš-bām
'wšyh : ōšēh
hwšyt'lm'h : Hušet-armah
hwšytn' : hōšītan
hwšytl : Hušētar
hwšytl'n' : Hušētarān
hwšytlm'h : Hušētarmāh
hwšnwtk' : hušnūtak
'NŠWT' = marōm
'NŠWT'yh = marōmēh
hwšk' : hušk
×'wškn' : ×āškan(n)
'wšmwlšn' : ōšmurišn
'wšmwltn' : ōšmurtan
'wšt'p' : ōštāp
'wšt'ptn' : ōštāftan

hwt'y : xᵘatāi
hwt'dyh : xᵘatāyēh
hwt'ywl : xᵘatāi-vār
'rthšt' : Artaxšahr
'rthšt'n' : Artaxšahrān
hwtbwšyh : xᵘat-dōšēh
hwt' : xᵘat
hwtwhmyh : hutōhmēh
hwtwhnn : hutwhn
hwtwhšyh : hutwhšēh
'rtwhšt' : Artvahišt
hwtws : Hutōs
hwtrst' : hutarist

ܗܘܬܘܫܢܝܗ : hwtwešnyh : x^w^at-šēcišnēh
ܐܪܬܫܝܪܢ : ʾrtšīrʾn' : Artašēr
ܗܘܬܘܫܛܟ : hwtwštk' : hutaštak

ܗܙܪܢ : *hzʾrʾn' : *Hazārān
ܐܙܬ : ʾzʾt' : a-zāt
ܐܙܬܟ : ʾzʾtk' : āzātak
ܐܙܒܝܫܢ : ʾzbʾdšn' : azbāyišn
ܐܙܕ : ʾzd : azd
ܐܙܝܢ : ʾzyn' : a-zēn
ܗܙܢܓܪܘܙܝܡ : hznglwkz(y)m : hazangrōzim
ܐ-ܙܟܠ = ʾ-ZKL = a-nar
ܐ-ܝܠܝܕܘܢ-ܛܟ = ʾ-YLYDWN-tk' = āzātak
ܐܙܪܡܢ : ʾzlmʾn' : a-zarmān
ܐܙܡܝܫܢ : ʾzmʾdšn' : āzmāyišn

ܐܟܡܢܕܝܗ : ʾkʾwmndyh : akāmandihā
ܐܟܠ : ʾkʾL : a-kār
ܐܟܪܝܗܣܬܢ : ʾkʾlyhstn' : akārihistan
ܐܟܪܝܢܝܬܢ : ʾkʾlynytn' : akārānītan
ܐܟܣ : ʾkʾs : 1. ākāh. 2. a-kāh
ܐܟܣܝܗ : ʾkʾsyh : ākāhēh
ܐܟܣܝܗ : ʾkʾsyhʾ : ākāhihā
ܐܟܣܝܢܝܬܢ : ʾkʾsynytn' : ākāhēnītan
ܐܟܕܝܢܝܗ : ʾkdynyh : ak-dēnēh
ܐܟܝܢܝܗ : ʾkynyhʾ : a-kēnihā
ܐܟܢܪܟܝܗ : ʾknʾrkyh : a-kanārakāh
ܐܟܢܪܟ : ʾknʾrk' : a-kanārak
ܗܟܢܝܢ : hknyn' : hakanēn
ܗܟܘܪܟ : hkwrk : hakurc
ܐܟܘܣܬܢ : ʾkwstn' : ākustan
ܐܟܘܥ : ʾkwc : a-kūc
ܐܟܪܬܪܝܗ : ʾkrtʾryh : a-kartārēh
ܐܟܪܬ : ʾkrt' : a-kart
ܗܓܪ : hkr : Hagar
ܐ*ܟܠܝܗܪܬ : ʾ*klyhrt' : *Agrā(h)rat ?
ܗܟܠܟ : hklc : hakarc

ܠ : ʾL = mā
ܗܪ : hr : har
ܗܪܝ : hrʾd : Harāi (هراة)
ܐܠܝ[1] : ʾlʾy : alāi
ܐܪܝ[2] : ʾrʾy : ārāi
ܐܪܝܫܢ : ʾrʾdšn' : ārāyišn
ܗܪܟ : hrʾk : Harā(k) (= ܗܪܝ)
ܐܪܗܝܣܬ : ʾrhyst' : *Arhest
ܐܪܐܣܬܪ : ʾrʾstʾr : ārāstār
ܐܪܐܣܬܪܝܗ : ʾrʾstʾryh : ārāstārēh
ܐܪܐܣܬܢ : ʾrʾstn' : ārāstan

ܐ+ܠ

ܐܪܐܣܬܟ : ʾrʾstk' : ārāstak
ܐܪܒ : ʾrB = cahār
ܗܪܒܘܪܟ : hrbwrk' : Harburz
ܐܪܓ : ʾrg : arg
ܐܪܕܘܢ : ʾrdwʾn' : Ardavān
ܐܪܝܟ : ʾrYK = dēr
ܐܪܝܐܣܬܢ : ʾryastʾn' : Aryastān
ܐܪܝܛܝܗ : ʾryčytʾryhʾ : a-rēčitārihā
ܐܪܝܫܟܝܗ : ʾryškyh : ariškēh
ܐܪܝܫܟ : ʾryšk' : arišk
ܐܠܘܗ : ʾlwh : ālūh
ܗܪܘܝܢ : hrwyn' : harvēn
ܐܪܘܝܣ : ʾrwys : arvēs
ܐܪܘܕܫܢܝܟ : ʾrwdšnyk : a-rōdišnīk
ܐܪܘܢܕ : ʾrwnd : arvand
ܐܪܘܢܕܣܦ : ʾrwndʾsp' : Arvandāsp
ܐܪܘܢܕܝܗ : ʾrwndyh : arvandēh
ܐܪܘܟ : ʾrwk' : ārōk
ܗܪܘܡ : hrwm : Hrōm
ܗܪܘܡܝܕܝܟ : hrwmʾ(d)yk : Hrōmāyīk
ܗܪܘܣ : hrws : xrōs
ܗܪܘܣܦ : hrwsp' : harvisp
ܗܪܘܣܬܝܢ : hrwstyn' : harvistān
ܗܪܘܣܬ : hrwst' : harvist
ܗܪܘܣܬܢ : hrwstn' : xrōstan
ܐܪܙܗ : ʾrzh } : Arzah
ܐܪܙܟ : ʾrzʾk }
ܐܪܟܝܗ : ʾrkyh : ārakāh
ܐܪܟ[1] : ʾrk' : ārak
ܗܠܟ[2] : hlk' : halak
ܗܠܟܘܢ-ܫܢ' = ḤLKWN-šn' = baxšišn
ܗܠܟܘܢ-ܬܢ' = ḤLKWN-tn' = baxtan
ܐܠܟܣܓܕܠ : ʾlksgdl : Alaksagdar
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ : ʾlksndr : Alaksandar
ܗܠܠܘܢ-ܬܢ' = ḤLLWN-tn' = šustan
ܐܪܡ : ʾrm : a-ram
ܐܪܡܝܠ : ʾrmʾyl : Armāil
ܐܪܡܐܣܬ : ʾrmʾst' : almāst
ܐܪܡܝܫܬ : ʾrmyšt' : armēšt
ܗܠܡܘܢ-ܬܢ' = ḤLMWN-tn' = xuftan
ܗܠܣ[1] : hls : xirs
ܐܪܣ[2] : ʾrs : ars
ܐܪܣܝܗ : ʾrsyh : a-rasēh
ܐܪܣܢܝܗ : ʾrsnyh : ārasanēh
ܐܪܙܢܝܟ : ʾrzʾnyk : aržānīk
ܐܪܙܢ : ʾrzʾn' : aržān
ܐܪܙܘܡܢܕ : ʾrzʾwmnd : aržōmand
ܐܪܙܣܦ : ʾrzʾsp' : Arjāsp

'lc': arž
'lcwk': ārzōk
'lcl'sp': Arjarāsp
hlpstl: xraǰstr
'lšn': arišn
'lšnkpt': *arišn-kaft
'lt'y: artāi
'lt'k: artāk
'lthšdl: Artaxšēr
'lthšdl'n': Artaxšēran
'ltyk: artīk
'ltyšt'l: artāštār
'ltyšt'lyh: artāštārēh
hlt': xrat
'ltšdl: Artašēr
'ltšdl'n': Artašērān

hm: ham
'M(Y) = māt
'm = am (pron.)
hm'hkyh: hamāhakāh
*hmh'l: *ham-hāl
hm'y: hamā
hm'dwynk': ham-aivēnak
'm'wnd: amāvand
'm'wndyh: amāvandēh
hmhwlšnyh: ham-x^varišnēh
'mhrspnd: Amahraspand
hm'k: hamāk
'm'l: 1. āmār. 2. a-mār
hmhlc': ham-harz
hmb'y: ham-bai
hmb'l: ham-bār
hmbwnc: hambun-ic
hmbwtn': ham-būtan
hmyh: hamāh
hmd'n': Hamadān (هَمَذان)
hm-YHWWN-šnyh: ham-bavišnēh
hmd'tst'n' } : ham-dātistān
hm-DYN' = }
hmgwhl: ham-gōhr
hmgwlšnyh: ham-gōbišnēh
hmgwn': ham-gōn
hmgwnk': ham-gōnak
'myk': amēk
hmym'l: hamēmāl
hmyst'l: hamēstār
hmyst'lyh: hamēstārēh

hmyst'lyh': hamēstāriha
hmystk'n': hamēstakān
'myčšn': āmēčišn
hmyšk': hamēšak
'MY-tl = mātar
HMR' = xar
hmw'l: ham-vār
'mwhtlyh: āmōxtārēh
'mwhtn: āmōxtan
*'mrd: *Amard (أَمْرَد)
hmwynšnyh: ham-vēnišnēh
'mwrdt': Amurdat
'mwk': āmōk
hmwl: ham-var
'mwlcytn': āmurzītan
'mwčšn': āmōčišn
'mwšt': āmušt
hmk'l: ham-kār
hmkyš: ham-kāš
hmkwnšnyh: ham-kunišnēh
hmkrpk': ham-kirpak
hmkrt'lyh: ham-kartārēh
hmklpyh: ham-karpāh
'ml: a-mar
HML' = mad
'mlg: a-marg
'mlgyh: a-margāh
hmcym: ham-cim
hmpwrsytn': ham-pursītan
hmpwrsykyh: ham-pursakāh
hmpwrskyk: ham-pursakīk
hmcygwn: ham-cigōn
'MT = ka
hmt'k: ham-tāk
hmtohmk': ham-tōhmak
v. Critical Notes ad l. ١١٥ : ١٢
hmtwcyk: ham-tōžīk

's'dyt': āsāyēt
's'dk': āsāyak
's'dšn': āsāyišn
's'nyh: āsānāh
's'n': āsān
'synyn': āsēnēn
'syn': āsēn

𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭬𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp'kynytn': apākēnītan
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾc'l: āzār
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾc'lynytn': acārēnītan
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾp'lwn': apārōn
𐭠𐭩𐭥 hc'lk': hazārak
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾc'lšn': āzārišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾp'm: apām
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp'styh: apāstēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾp'c: apāc
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾphš: apaxš
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp'tyd'wnd: a-pātiyāvand
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp't'nyh: āpātānēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp't'n': āpātān
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp'tḫš'y: a-pātixšāi
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾc'tyh: āzātēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾc't': āzāt
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾc'tk': āzātak
𐭠𐭩𐭥 / 𐭠𐭩𐭥 : ʾpd: avd.
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾcy: Ážī
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾcdh'k: Áždahāk
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpy-ʾB' = apē-pit
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾpyd-ʾNŠWTʾ = apē-martōm
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpyd-bt't': apē-brāt
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpyd-dt': apē-dāt
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpybym: apē-bīm
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpyd-šwd: apē-šōd
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpdyh: avdēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾpygwm'nyh: apē-gumānēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾpygwm'nyh': apē-gumānihā
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpygwm'n': apē-gumān
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpywn's: apē-vināē
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpywwhtn': apiyuxtan
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpdwm: avdom
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾpdwmyh: avdomēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpyk: āpīk
𐭠𐭩𐭥 hcdl: hac-adar
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpyl: apār
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpyl'n': avērān
𐭠𐭩𐭥 HṢD-L-WN-tn' = drūban
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾpylwcqlyh: a-pērōz-garēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpymck': apē-micak
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpysl: apisar
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾpdst': apadast

𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾsym: asām
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾsyc': a-sēž
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾsypšn': āsēpišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾsyptn': āsiftan
𐭠𐭩𐭥 v. 𐭠𐭩𐭥
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾswḫšn': a-sōhišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾswb'l: asvār
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾswb'lyh: asvārēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾswdšn': a-sōyišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾsn': āsn
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾswb'k/d/yk: Ásūrāyīk
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾsl: a-sar
𐭠𐭩𐭥 hslyh: hihrēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾslwnyh: āsrōnēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾslwn': āsrōn
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾSLWN-tn' = bastan
𐭠𐭩𐭥 hsm: hesm
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾsm'n': asmān
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾsp'nwl: aspān-var
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾsc'kyh': a-sacākihā
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾspyd'n': Áspiyān
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾsp': asp
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾspwlcwl: Áspvarcvar
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾspnc': aspinj
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾsplys: asp-rēs
𐭠𐭩𐭥 × ʾšštk': *a-sištak?
[or: ʾdyštk': *a-dištak?]
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾst'nk': āstānak
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾst'wmnd: astōmand
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾst'l: āstār
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾstynytn': āstānītan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾstynšn': āstēnišn
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾst': ast
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾstwh't': Ást-vihāt
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾstwb'nyh: āstavānēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾstwp'n': āstavān
𐭠𐭩𐭥 v. 𐭠𐭩𐭥
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾstšnyh: āstišnēh
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾstšn': āstišn

𐭠𐭩𐭥 hc: hac; v. also 𐭠𐭩𐭥 etc.
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp'ḫtl: apāxtar
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp'dytn': apāyītan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp'dstn': apāyistan
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp'dšnyk: apāyišnīk
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾp'ryk: apārīk
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾphwl: apaxᵛar
𐭠𐭩𐭥 ʾp'k: apāk
𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥 ʾp'kyh: apākēh

'pltwm : apartom
'pltl : apartar
'pltlyh : apartarēh
'pm : api-m
'pm'n' : api-mān
'pshynyhn' : apasihēnītan
'pshynšn' : apasihēnišn
'ps'l'n' : āp-sārān
'ps'ltn' : apasārtan
'pshstn' : apasihistan
'psyhynyhn' : apasihēnītan
'psws : apasōs
'pswsbl : apasōs-bar
'pswskl : apasōs-kar
'pswtk' : apasūtak
'psp'l : apispār
'psp'lšnyk : apispārišnīk
'psp'ltn' : apispārtan
'pst'k : Apastāk
'pst'm : apastām
hcpl : hac-apar
'pc'l : apacār
'pcylšnyk : *apacīrišnīk
'pcnd : *apažand
'pš : api-š
hcš : haciš
'pš'n' : api-šān
hcš'n' : hac-išān
'pš'ltn' : apašārtan
hcšks : haciš-kas
hcšms : haciš-mas
'pt : api-t
'ptyd'lk' : a-patiyārak
'pt'n' : api-tān
hpt'n' : haftān
hptdhwm : haftdahom
hpt' : haft
hptwylng : Haftōiring
*'ptwndyh' : *apahundihā
hptwm : haftom
*'ptwm : *āp-tōm
hptkyšwl : haft-kišvar

'š : aš
'š'n' : ašān
*'šyhytn' : *ašēhītan
'šgyh'nyh : *ašgihānēh
'šn' : ašān (=) 3 : 4.
'šn'k : ašnāk

'pyc'l : apē-cār
'pypwhl : apē-puhr
'pyckyh : apēcakēh
'pyckyh' : apēcakihā
'pyck' : apēcak
'pytyd'lk' : a-paitiyārak
'pyt'k : a-paitāk
'p' : āp
'c' : 1. āz. 2. až
'pr'c : a-frāc
'pwhš'dšn' : apoxšāyišn
'pwhšn' : a-pōhišn
'pryn' : āfrīn
'pwdšn' : a-pōyišn
'cwl : āz-var
'pwln'y : a-purnāi
'pwlšn' : āfurišn
'pwstn' : āpustan
'pz'dytn' : apazāyītan
'pz'dšn' : apazāyišn
'pz'l : apazār
'pz'l'wmnd : apazārōmand
'pzwnyk : apazōnīk
'pzwnykyh : apazōnīkēh
'pzwn' : apazōn
'pzwtn' : apazūtan
'pl : 1. apar. 2. appar. 3. avr
'PL' = xāk
'pl'hym : Avrāhīm
'pl's : āfrās
'pl'stšnyh : apar-āstišnēh
'plblšnyh : apar-barišnēh
'plgwmyht' : apar-gumēxt
'plgl : apar-gar
'plytn' : āfrītan
'plytk' : āfrītak
'pln'y : a-parnāi
'pln'yk : a-parnāyīk
2:151 *'plngykyh' : *avrangīkihā
'plng : avrang
'plwd : aparōd
ḤPLWN-šn' = kanišn
ḤPLWN-tn' = kandan
'plzyn' : apar-zēn
'plkl : apar-kār
'clm : āžarm
'plm'nd : apar-mānd
'clmyk : āžarmīk
'clmykyh : āžarmīkēh

ب

b'hn': bahān
b'hl[1]: bahr
b'hl[2]: Bāxl (بَلْخ)
b'hl'wmndyh: bahrōmandēh
b'hlwlyh: bahravarēh
b'hlk': bahrak
b'ht': baxt
b'htn': baxtan
b'gwbht': bagō-baxt
BKYWN-stn' = grīstan
b'l: bār
b'l'y: bālāi
b'lyn': bālēn
b'lyst': bālist
b'lk': bārak
b'lst'n': bāri-stān
b'lst': balist
b'lstn': bāri-stan
b'lc'n': × Bārzān
b'm: bām
b'md't': bām-dāt
b'myk: bāmīk
b'st'n': bāstān
b'pyl: Bāvēl
b'c': bāž
b'cwk': bāzūk
bht': baxt
b't'[1]: bāt (conj. of butan)
b't'[2]: bāt (pron.)
B'TL = pas

BB' = dar

bg, bg'n' (plur.): bag, bagān
bd'sp'nyh: bayāspānēh
bd'sp'n': bayāspān
byhstn': × Bēhi-stan?
BYRH = māh
bywl: bēvar
bywl'sp': Bēvar-asp
bylwn': bērōn
bym: bīm
bym'wmnd: bīmōmand
bymkn': bīmakan
byš: bēž
byš'wmnd: bēšōmand
byš'cyh: bēšazēh

ش

'šwhšt': Ašawahišt
'šnwšn': ašnavišn
'šnwtn': ašnūtan
'šwk': ašōk
'šwp': ašōp
'šwpt'lyh: ašuftārēh
'šk'n'n': Aškānān
'šk'n': Aškān
HŠKHWN-tn' = vindātan
'šk'l'kynyt'lyh: āškārākēnītārēh
'šk'lk': āškārak
'škwm: aškom
'škl: Askar
'škmb': aškamb
hšm: hešm
hšmyh: hešmēh
× hšmnyh: × hešm-(m)anēh
hšmk'mkyh': hešm-kāmakihā
'- ŠPYL = a-vēh
'štyh: āštēh
hštdhwm: haštdahom
hšt': hašt
hštwm: haštom
'štkyh: aštakēh
'štk': aštak
'štl: aštr

HT[1] = hakar
't[2]: at (pron.)
't'n': atān (pron.)
'thš: ātaxš
HTYMWN-tn' = āvaštan
'twbyw'n': Ātuiyān
'twr': ātur
'twrswc': ātur-sōc
'twrp't': Āturpāt
'twrp'tk'n': Āturpātakān
'twrplwbg: Āturfarrōbag
'twrplwbg'n': Āturfarrōbagān

ا + ب - ا

byšʾčnyh : bēžāzišnāh
byšynytʾl : bēšēnītār
byšytn' : bēšītan
BYTʾ = xānak
bythš : bītaxš

BRʾ = bē
bwhtʾlyh : buxtārēh
bwhtn' : buxtan
bwhtkʾn' : Buxtakān
bwd : bōd
bnd : band
BʿYḤWN-stn' = xᵘāstan
bndḱ : bandak
bwn : bun
BʿW = āfrās
bwndhšnyh : bun-dahišnāh
bwndhšn' : bun-dahišn
bwndkyh : bavandakēh
bwndkynytn' : bavandakēnītan
bwndk' : bavandak
bwnyštḱ : bunyaštak
bwnḱ : bunak
bwlytḱ : burrītak
bwlnd : buland
bwlkl : bōr-gil
bwlcʾwnd : burzāvand
bwlcyn' : burzēn
bwlcytn' : burzītan
bwlc' : burz
bwlcwʾngyhʾ : burz-vāngihā
bwlčnyk : burzišnīk
bwlčšn' : burzišn
bwltʾl : burtār
bwltʾlyh : burtārēh
bwltn' : burtan
bwl-TWRʾ = bōr-gāv
bwm : būm
BRH = pus
BRH-l = pusar
bwstʾn' : bāstān
BNRŠH = xᵘat
bwcʾkyh : bōžākēh
bncḱ : banjak
bwcšn' : bōžišn
bwšʾsp' : būšāsp
bwtyh : būtēh

ا + ب - ا - ن - ه - ه

bwtn' : būtan
bwtḱ : būtak
BRTH = duxt

bḱ : bag
bkdʾt' : Bagdāt (بغداذ)

bl : bar
blʾh : brāh
blʾmytn' : brāmītan
blhmḱ : brahmak
blʾt' : brāt
brʾtwlwš : Brātōrēš
blʾtl : brātar
blʾtlwklyš : Brātarōrēš
blʾtlzʾt' : brātar-zāt
blyh : brīh
blyhynʾk : brihēnāk
blyhynytn' : brihēnītan
blyhynšn' : brihēnišn
blyn' : brīn
blyt' : brīt
blwcʾn' : balācān
blnwm : barnom
blšnyh : barišnēh
blšnyhʾ : barišnihā
blšn' : barišn

BSYM = xᵘaš
BSYM-yh = xᵘašēh
BSL(Y)ʾ = gāšt
bst' : 1. bast. 2. Bast (بُست)
bstn' : bastan
bstwl : Bastvar
bstšn' : bastišn

bplḱ : bavrak

bcḱ : bazak
bčkyh : bizičkēh
bčk' : bizišk

ا + ب - ا

د

ـ ZY = i

𐭩𐭦𐭥 [1] yzd'n': yazdān

ع:٤٦ 𐭩𐭦𐭥 [2] dyd'n': dāyān (plur. of ـيان)

𐭩𐭥𐭥 d'hwm: dahom

𐭩𐭥𐭩 dh'k': Dahak

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'hm'n': Dahmān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤDḤWN-ytn' = xandītan

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤBWN-tn' = dātan

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭩 dhk'n': dehkān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭩 g'ywkmlt' } : Gayōmart
𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭩 g'ywmlt' }

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 dhywpt': dahyupat

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'yk'nynytn': dāyakānānītan

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭩 d'ykt': dāyak

𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭩 *g'dk': *gādak

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 yzdykrt'n': Yazdākirtān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 yzdykrt': Yazdākirt

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 dhyst'n': Dahāstān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 j'dšn': jāyišn

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'yty: Dāitī

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤYTYWN-t'l = āvurtār

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤYTYWN-tn' = āvurtan

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 jhyt': jahēt (from jastan)

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 j'n'wmnd: jānōmand

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'n'k: dānāk

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'n'kyh: dānākēh

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'n'kyh': dānākihā

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 g'wydwt': gāviyāt

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 y'wyt'n': yāvētān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 y'wyt'nk'n': yāvētānakān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 y'wyt': yāvēt

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 y'wytk': yāvētak

𐭩𐭥 [1] g'w': gāu

𐭩𐭥 [2] j'n': jān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤWWN-yt'n' = bavētān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤWWN-ytyh = bavētēh

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤWWN-šn' = bavišn

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤWWN-t'n' = būtān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤWWN-tyh = būtēh

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤWWN-tn' = būtan

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'nwk': dānūk

𐭩𐭥𐭥 j'nwl: jān-var

𐭩𐭥𐭥 y'wl: yāvar

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'nstn': dānistan

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤNṢLWN-tn' = oppurtan

د+ن

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'nšn'wmnd: dānišnōmand

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'nšnyh: dānišnēh

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'nšn': dānišn

𐭩𐭥𐭥 yhwt': yahūd

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 yhwtk'n': yahūdakān

𐭩𐭥𐭩 d'k': dāk

𐭩𐭥𐭥 y'knd: yākind

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 yzdkrt'n': yazdkirtān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 yzdkrt': Yazdkirt

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 y'knt': yākint

𐭩 [1] g'l: gāl

𐭩 [2] d'l: dār

𐭩𐭥 d'l'y: Dārāi

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'l'd'n': Dārāyān

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'l'pkrt': Dārāv-kirt

𐭩𐭥 d'lw': dārū

𐭩𐭥𐭩 d'lwk': dārōk

𐭩𐭥𐭥 d'lmn': dālman

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'lšnyh: dārišnēh

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'lšn': dārišn

𐭩 [1] g'm: gām

𐭩 [2] d'm: dām

𐭩 [3] y'm: yām

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 j'm'sp': Jāmāsp

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭩 y'mk': yāmak

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤMTWN-šnyh = rasišnēh

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤMTWN-šn' = rasišn

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤMTWN-tn' = rasītan

𐭩𐭥 g's: gāh

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 g's'nb'l: gāhān-bār

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 g's'nyk: gāhānīk

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤSNN-šn' = dārišn

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 YḤSNN-yt' = dārīt (dāštan)

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 g'cdwmb': gāž-dumb

𐭩𐭥𐭥 j'pl: Jāfar (جَعْفَر)

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 dhšnyh: dehišnēh

𐭩𐭥𐭥 [1] d'šn': dāšn

𐭩𐭥𐭥 [2] dhšn': dehišn

𐭩𐭥𐭥 [3] jhšn': jahišn

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭩 dhšk': dehšak

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'št'lyh: dāštārēh

𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 d'štn': dāštan

d'tʾl : dātār
d'tʾlyh : dātārēh
d'tyh : dātēh
d'tyhʾ : dātihā
d'tykyh : dātīkēh
d'tʾ¹ : dāt
yʾtʾ² : yāt
yzdtʾ³ : yazēt
d'twbl : dātavar
d'twblyh : dātavarēh
yʾtngwkʾ : yātangōk
d'tn' : dātan
YʾTWN-tn' = āmatan
yʾtwkyh : yātūkēh
yʾtwkyhʾ : yātūkihā
yʾtwk : yātūk
d'tstʾnʾwmndyh : dātistānāmandēh
d'tstʾnyh : dātistānēh
d'tstʾn' : dātistān

ybb : ×yab-bu
GBRʾ = mart
YBLWN-šnyh = barišnēh
YBLWN-tn' = burtan

dyh : dēh
gyhʾn' : gēhān
jyd : jē(i)
BYN = andar
DYNʾ = dātistān
DYNʾ-yh : dātistānēh
dywʾn' : dīvān
gywʾk : giyāk
dywʾl¹ : dīvār
dynʾl² : dēnār
ddw' : dado
dyn' : dēn
dyn'yk : dēnīk
dyn'krt' : dēn-kart
BYN-lwn' = andar-rōn

dyk : dēk
dgl¹ : dagr (dēr)
dyl² : dil
dylyh : dilēh
dylng : dērang
dylnghwtʾy : dērang-xᵛatāi

YDLWN-šnyh = barišnēh
YDLWN-tn' = burtan
gylk' : gilak
gylcytn' : girzītan
dylptʾy : dēr-pattāi

GDH = xᵛarrah
YDH² = dast
GDH-ʾwmnd = xᵛarrah-[ōmand
GDH-yh = xᵛarrahēh

dyskyh : dēsakēh
dystk' : distak

dypʾhl : dēpahr
gypk'n' : ḡēpakān
dypstyn' : dēpastēn

gytʾh : gētāh
gytʾhyk : gētāhīk
gyty, gytyd : gētē(i)
gytyk : gētīk
dytn' : dītan

gwhʾlʾynytn' : ×guhārāyēnītan
gnʾy : ganāi
dwʾnyk : davānīk
gwhl : gōhr
gwhlm : ×gōhram
dwʾcdhʾn' : Dvāzdahān
×dwʾpd'n' : ×Dō-āpdān
dwht¹ : duxt
ywht² : yuxt
dwhtl : duxtar

GNBʾ(y) = duzd
dwbʾn' : davān
gwbʾk : gōbāk
gwbʾl : gōbār
dwbʾlstn' : dvāristan
dwbʾlšnyh : dvārišnēh
dwbʾlšn' : dvārišn
dwbʾcdhʾwm : dvāzdahom
gwbšnyh¹ : gōbišnēh
ynbšnyh² : yunbišnēh
gwbšn' : gōbišn

gwd: gōd (gōi)
gnd: gund
gng: gung
*GNY' = zēšt?
ywβ'n': yuvān
dnd'n': dandān
*drdytn': *dardītan
ZWZN = drahm
gndkyh: gandakēh
gndlp': Gandarv
dwysl: dōisr
jwdšnyh: jōyišnēh
jwdšn': jōyišn
ywβt'k: yu(va)tāk
ywβt-DYN' = yu(va)t-dātislān
ywβt': yu(va)t
dwytn': davītan
ywβtkyš: yu(va)t-kāš
ywβtl: yu(va)ttar
ywβtlyh: yu(va)ttarēh

gw': gav
gn'': ganā
ywn'n'yk: yōnānāyīk
gn''k: ganāk
gwng: gung
drwdstyh: druyistēh
drwdst': druyist
gwnk': gōnak
dw'sl: dō-sar
gwwc'l: gō(v)-vicār

gwk'y: gukāi
gwk'dytn': gukāyītan
*gwk'n-: gukān-
dwk'nyk: dōkānīk
dwk'n': dōkān
dwk'nk': dōkānak
gwk'syh: gukāhēh
dwkt'wb': Dugdāv

gwl: gōr
gwl: gul
dwl: dūr
dwl'y'p': dūr-ayāp
dwlhwylyh: dūr-huvīrēh
dwl'slwb': Dūrāsrav
gwlhš'n': Gulaxšān
gwlbk': gurbak

gwlg: gurg
gwlg'n': Gurgān
gwlysnk': gurisnak
dwlk': dōlak
gwlsk/k/yh: gursakēh
gwltyh: gurtēh
gwltw'l: gurt-vār

YWM = rōc
ywm'y: yumē
gwm'nyh: gumānēh
gwm'n': gumān
gwm'ltn': gumārtan
gwm'ltk': gumartak
dwmb'wnd: Dumbāvand
dwmb': dumb
gwmyhtn': gumēxtan
ywmyd: yumē(i)
gwmycšn': gumēcišn
ZNH = ān

dws'l: dō-sār
YNSBWN-šnyh = stanišnēh
YNSBWN-tn' = statan
dwsyt'l: dōsītār
dwsytn': dōsītan
dwslwbyh: du(s)-sravēh
dwslwb': du(s)-srav
gwspnd: gōspand
gwspnd'wmnd: gōspandōmand
dwssšn': dōsišn
dwstyh: dōstēh
dwst': dōst

dwp'd: dō-pād
gwpyt': Gōpet
gwpt'l: guftār
gwptn': guftan

dwcyh: dužēh
gwcyhl: Gōcihr
ywcy'st': yujiyast
dwc': duž
gnc': ganj
gnck': Ganjak

dwš: 1. dōš. 2. duš
gwš: gōš

YKTLWN-šn' = ōzanišn
YKTLWN-tn' = ōzaban

gl' : gar
dl : dil
*dl'hytn' : *drāhīban
dl'y : drāi
dl'd'n' : drāyān
dl'dytn' : drāyīban
dlhn'y : drahnāi [pat
dlhndlcpt' : dar-handarz-
gl'n' : garān
gl'myk : garāmīk
gl'mykyh : garāmīkēh
gl'mykyh' : garāmīkihā
gl'mykynytn' : garāmīk-
dl'c : drāž [ēnīban
gl'ck' : Garāzak
dl'ctt : drāž-tar
dlht' : draxt
*gl'tn' : *grātan

dly'p' : drayāp
dlygwš : drigōš
dly : dilē
dlgwš : drigoš
dlyk : darīk
*glykpt' : *grī-kaft
glystn' : ǵrīstan

glwh : grōh
dln'y : dranāi
*dlw'sp' : *druvāsp
dlwb' : drōb
dlng : drang
dlwnd : druvand
dlwndyh : druvandēh
°dlwc- : drōž- (from druvas)
13:40 dlnc : dranj
dlwcyh : družēh
dlwc' : druž
dlwcnyh : drōžanēh
dlwcn' : drōžan
dlncšnyh : dranjišnēh
dlncšn' : dranjišn
dlwšt' : društ
dlwt' : drōt
glwtm'n' : Garōdmān
dlk' : darak

dwšhw'l : duš-x^v^ār
dwšhw'lyh : duš-x^v^ārēh
dwšhwht' : duš-hūxt
dwšhw' : dōšax^v^
dwšhwwlšt' : duš-huvarišt
gwš'wlwn' : Gōš-urvan
dwšhwmt' : duš-humat
dwšhwt'dyh : duš-x^v^atāyēh
dwš'k's : duš-ākāh
dwš'lm : dōšāram
dwšd'n'k : duš-dānāk
dwšd'pt' : *duš-dāft
dwšdyn' : duš-dēn
*dwšwyd'k : *duš-viyāk
dwšn'm : dušnām
*gnšn' : ganišn
gwšnk' : gušnak
gwšnsp' : Gušnasp [kartārēh
dwšk'mkrt'lyh : duškām-
dwšknyk : duš-kanīk
dwškwnšn' : duš-kunišn
dwšlmyh : du(š)-šarmēh
dwšmyn' : dušmēn
dwšmynšn' : duš-mēnišn
dwšmn' : dušman
dwšmt' : dušmat
gwšsp' : Gušasp
dwšplgyh' : duš-pargihā
dwšcšmyh : duš-cašmēh
dwšcšmyh' : duš-cašmihā
gwšt' : gōšt
dwštl : dōš-tar

jwt'l : jūtār
dwt' : dūt
jwtn' : jūtan
dwtk' : dūtak
gwtlcyn' : Gōtarzēn

gz : gaz
YZ/D/BHWN-tn' = yaštan
DBYLWN-tn' = nayītan
gzylk' : Gazīrak (الجزيرة)
DBLWN-tn' = nayītan

DKY' = pāk
DKY'-yh = pākēh
YKCYMWN-tn' = ēstātan
YKTYBWN-tn' = nipištan

glm : garm
dlm'n' : darmān
glmyh : garmēh
glmwsk' : garmāk

dlpwštyh : dru-pušt̄ēh
dlpš : drafš
glcšn' : girzišn
glpt'l : griftār
glpt'l'wmnd : griftārōmand
glptn' : griftan

glt'n'k : gartānāk
glt' [1] : 1. gart. 2. girt
dlt' [2] : dart
gltn' : gartan
gltk' : girtak
gltšn' : gartišn

ym : yam
jm'n' : jamān
dmyk : damūk
YMYTWN-tn' = murtan
GMR' = uštur
ymn' : yaman (اليَمَن)
YMRRWN-tn' = guftan
ymkrt' : yam-kart
YMLLWN-tn' = guftan
22:49 *DMH = mānāk?
dmst'n' : damistān

yst'tn' : ēstātan
dstqyl : dast-gīr
dst' : dast
dstwbl : dastavar
dstwblyh : dastavarēh
jstn' : jastan
dstkrt' : dast-kart
ystšn' : ēstišn

dc- : daž-
YṢBH'-stn' = kāmistan
dpyryh : dipīrēh
dpywryh : dipīvarēh
dpywr' : dipīvar
gcdwm : gaž-dum
gcystk' : gižistak
dc' : diz
dpl : daur

gpl-TWR' = Gafr-gāu
gcstk' : gižistak
ycšn' : yazišn

dšn' : dašn
dšnk' : dašnak
yšt'l : yaštār
dštyk : daštīk
dšt' [1] : dašt
yšt' [2] : yašt
yštn' : yaštan

yt'y'hwkwylywk : yabā-ahū-vairyō
yt'w' : yat-ō
YTYBWN-'stn' = nišāstan
YTYBWN-st' = nišast
YTYBWN-stn' = 1. nišastan. 2. nišāstan
dtykl : ditīkar
gt' [1] : gad
dt' [2] : dat
ytk' : yatak

n'mk : nāmak
n'mcštyk : nam-cištīk
n'mcšt' : nām-cišt

w'spwhl : vāspuhr
w'spwhlk'nyk : vāspuhrakānīk
w'spwhlk'n' : vāspuhrakān
w'stl : vāstr
w'stlywš : vāstryōš
w'stlywšyh : vāstryōšēh

w'cynyt'l : vāzēnītār
w'cynytn' : vāzēnītan
*w'cyk : *vāzīk
nhcyl : naxcīr
w'cytn' : vāzītan
w'c' : vāc
w'plyk'nyh : vāvarī-kānēh
w'plyk'nyhstn' : vāvarīkānihistan
w'čnyh : vācišnēh
w'čn' : vāzišn

whš : vaxš
whšynytn' : vaxšēnītan
whšytn' : vaxšītan
whšwl : vaxšvar
whšwlyh : vaxšvarēh
whššnyh : vaxšišnēh
whššn' : vaxšišn
whštyk : vahištīk
whšt' : vahišt
w'štn' : vāštan
whštwm : vahištom

w't' : vāt

'D = tāi
wdh : vēh
nyh'nyk : nihānīk
nyh'n' : nihān
nyh'wnd : Nihāvand
wdhyh : vēhēh
wdhdyn' : vēh-dēn
*ny'dk' : *niyādak?
°wyhyp- : vihēp-
°wyhyc- : vihēc-

1

w : u
nh'htn' : nihāxtan
nyd'dšn' : niyāyišn
wyd'n' : viyān
nyd'k' : niyāk
wh'l : vahār
w'hl'm : Vahrām
w'hl'm'wnd : Vahrāmāvand
n'hltylk' : Nahr-tīrak
nyd'c : niyāz
wyd'p'nyh : viyāpānēh
wyd'p'nyhstn' : viyāpānihistan
wyd'p'nynytn' : viyāpānēnītan
wyd'p'n' : viyāpān

w'y : vāi
n'd : nād (nāi)
w'yndk' : vāyēndak
'BYDWN-tn' = kartan
'HDWN-tn' = griftan
* 'HDWN-tkyh = griftakēh
whylyh : vihērēh
n'ylyk : nāirīk

w'ng : vāng
w'nytn' : vānītan
nhwwm : nohom
w'wlwblšt' : Vaurubaršt
w'rwclšt' : Vaurujaršt
nhwm : nahom
°nhwmb- : nihumb- (nihuftan)
whwmn' : Vahuman
nhwst' : nax^vist
nhwpt'lyh : nihuftārēh
nhwptn' : nihuftan

w'l'n' : vārān
n'lyk : nārīk
w'lwm : vārom

n'm : nām
n'mhw'st' : Nām-x^vāst
n'm'wwlt' : nām-āvurt
n'mynytn' : nāmēnītan
n'myk : nāmīk

wyhyck': vihēcak
wyhtn': vēxtan

nyd: nē

w-YDLWN-šnyh = vi-barišnēh
w-YDLWN-šn': vi-barišn
wydlpš: Vīdrafš
wdypt': viyēft
wydt'pš: Vīdat-afš

wyn-: vēn- (from dītan)
'DN' = zamān
nyw'ndl: niyandar
wyn'k: vēnāk
wyn'kyh: vēnākēh
wyn'lyhstn': vīnārihistan
wyn'lstn': vīnāristan
wyn'lšn': vīnārišn
wyn'lt'l: vīnārtār
nyw'lthšdl: nēv-Artaxšēr
wyn'ltn': vīnārtan
×ngnys'l: ×nignē-sār
ndw': nēv
wywngh'n'n': Vīvanghānān
ndwkyh: nēvakēh
ndwkyn': nēvakēn
ndwk': nēvak
ndwkwkyh: nē(va)kōkēh
ndwkwkyh': nē(va)kōkihā
ndwkwk': nē(va)kōk
ndwkšytn': niyōšītan
wynptkyh: vīnaftakēh
nywšhpwhl: Nēv-Šahpuhr
wynšnyh: vēnišnēh
wynšn': vēnišn

wyzlš: Vīzarš

wyl: vīr
wyl's-: vigrās-
wyl'stn': vīrāstan
wyl'stk': vīrāstak
wyl'c: Vīrāz
wylwd: Vīrōi
nylng: nīrang
×wylwdšnw'l: virrōyišn-vār
nylwk'wmndyh: nērōkōmandēh
nylwk': nērōk

nylwksng } : Nērōsang
nylwsng }
×ny+100 = ny-st: nist
× 'GLH = bān?
nylmt': nīrmat

wym'l: vīmār
wym'lyh: vīmārēh
wym'lynytn': vīmārēnītan
nymwyck': nem-vēcak
wymnd: vīmand
nymk': nāvak
nymlwc: nēm-rōc

wys: vīs
wystwm: vīstom

wyeyhytkyh: vicihītakēh
nyck': nēzak
wycšn': vēcišn

wyš: 1. vēš. 2. viš
nyš'n': nīšān
wyšnc': vi(š)-šinj
wyšk': vēšak
NYŠH = zan
NYŠH-yh = zanēh

×wytwlyh: vēt-varēh

wn's: vinās
wn'syh: vināsēh
wn'syt'l: vināsītār
wn'sytn': vināsītan
wn'sk'l: vinās-kār
wn'sk'lyh: vinās-kārēh
wn'sšn': vināsišn
nw'ck': Navāzak

nng: nang
wnd'tn': vindātan
wndytn': vindītan
nwyn-: nivinn-
wndwd-šhpwhl: Vandāi-Šahpuhr

wn': 1. van. 2. Van
wnnd: Vanand
wn'-plwšn': Van-frōšn

wlg : varg
wlyk' : virēk
'LYKWN-tn' = virēxtan
wlnykyh: varanīkēh
wln' : varan
wlwdšn' : virōyišn
wlz : varz
wlk' : varrak
wlkš : Var-kaš
nlm : narm
'LH = ōi
wls : vars
wlc'wnd : varcāvand
wlc'wndyh' : varcāvandihā
wlcykl : varzēkar
wlcyt'l : varzītār
wlcyt'lyh : varzītārēh
wlcytn' : varzītan
wlc' : 1. varc. 2. varz
wlck' : varcak
wlckrt'l : varz-kartār
wlckrlyk : varz-kartīk
wlešnyh : varzišnēh
wlcšn' : varzišn
wlšn' : varišn
wltyn'y : vartēnāi
wltynd'l : vartēn-dār
wltynytn' : vartēnītan
wltyn' : vartēn
wltynšn' : vartēnišn
wlt' : vart
wltk' : vartak
wltěnyh : vartišnēh
wltšn' : vartišn
nm'dšnyh' : nimāyišn-ihā
nm'c' : namāc
nmwt'lyh: nimūtārēh
nmwtn' : nimūtan
nmt' : namat

ws : vas
ns'y : 1. nasāi. 2. nisāi
ws'n'kyh : vas-anākēh
*ws'nyk : *visānīk
NSHWN-tn' = vēxtan
nsk : nask
wsy'l : vasyār

nwzdhwm : nōzdahom
nwk' : nōk
nrshy : Narsahē
nwstn' : nivistan
wnstkyh : vinastakēh
nwtl : Nōtar
nwtl'n' : Nōtarān

nzdyst' : nazdist
wzg : vazag
nzd : nazd
nzdyh : nazdēh
nzdyk : nazdīk
nzdykyh : nazdīkēh
nzdst' : nazdist
*nzyšt' : *Nizišt
wznd : vizand
wzndk'l : vizand-kār
wzndkl : vizand-kar
wzl : vazr
'ZLWN-tn' = šutan
wzlwptk' : uzruftak

nk's : nikāh
nk'sd'lyh : nikāh-dārēh
NKB = mātak
*NKD'N = nē(va)kāk ?
nkyhtn' : nikāxtan
nkyl'y : nikērāi
nkdlytn' : nikārītan
nkdlšn' : nikārišn
nkyc- : nikēt- (nikēxtan)
nkyc' : nikēc
nkycšn' : nikēcišn
nknd : nikand
nkwnyh : nikūnēh
NKSWN-tn' = kuštan
wkstn' : vikastan

'L = ō
wl : var
wl'g : varāg
wlhl'nyh : varhrānēh
wlhl'n' : Varhrān
wlhl'm : Varhrām
wlhl'myh : varhrāmēh
wl'c- : virāz-
wl'c : varāz
wlhš : Valaxš

wcwlg : vazurg
wcwlgyh: vazurgēh
wck : vaccak
wd : vicar, vicar

nš'stn' : nišāstan
wš't' : višāt
nšdm : nišēm
nšdmk' : nišēmak
wšwp' : višōp
wšwpšn' : višōpišn
wšwptn' : višuftan
wšwtn' : višūtan
wšwtk' : višūtak
wškwptn' : viškuftan
wškptn' : viškoftan
'ŠMH'-šnyh=āšnawišnēh
'ŠMH'-tn' = āšnūtan
nšast' : nišast
nšastn' : nišastan
wšt'sp'n' : Vištāspān
wšt'sp' : Vištāsp
wštn' : vaštan
'ŠTH'-tn' = x^w artan

wt'htn' : vitāxtan
wt'htk' : vitāxtak
wthym : vat-xēm
wthwnl : vat-hunar
wt'lynytn' : vitārēnitan
wt'ltn' : vitārtan
wtbht' : vat-baxt
wtyh : vatēh
wtgwhl : vat-gōhr
wtgwhlyh : vat-gōhrēh
wtdwš'lmyh : vat-dōšāramēh
wtylšnyh : vitīrišnēh
wtylšn' : vitīrišn
wtyst' : vitist
wt' : vat
wtwlt' : viturt
wtk'mkyh: vat-kāmakēh
wtk' : vatak
wtkn' : *Vadagan
wtlg : vitarg
NTLWN-tn' = pātan
wtltn' : vitartan
wtštn' : vitaštan

*nsbyn' : Nasibīn (نصيبين)
'SGDH = namāc
wsyn' : visēn
wsyk'l : vasīkār
wsymk'n' : Visēmakān
nswb'lšn' : nihwārišn
wsstn' : visistan
wsstkyh : visistakēh
wsp'k'syh : visp-ākāhēh
wspd'n'kyh : visp-dānākēh
wsp' : visp
wspwhrk' : vispuhrak
wspwlykyh' : uspurrīkihā
13:110 *wspwtr' : *Vispuhr?
wspš't' : Visp-šāt
wst'hwyh' : vistāx^u ihā.
wst'hw' : vistāx^u
wstwltn' : visturtan
wstlg : vastarg
wstltn' : vistartan

np'stn' : nipāstan
npykynytn' : nipākēnitan
npyk' : nipāk
wpl : vafr
nplyn' : nifrīn
nplytk' : nifrītak
NPLWN-stn' = ōpastan
nplt' : nipart
nplttk' : nipartak
npst' : nipast
npstn' : nipastan
NPŠH = x^w āš
npšt' : nipišt
npštn' : nipištan
npštk' : nipištak

wc'l : vicār
wc'lšn' : vicārišn
wc'ltn' : vicārtan
wcyhyt' : vicihīt
wcyn' : vicīn
wcyl : vicīr
wcylt'l : vicīrtār
wcyt'l : vicītār
wcytn' : 1. vicītan. 2. vazītan
wcytk' : vicītak
wcwdšn' : vicōdišn
wcwl : vaz-var

S

zwt′ : zūt

ZK = 1. hān. 2. an
ZK-'y = anē
ZKL = nar

zl'h : zrah
zl'd } : zrē(i)
zl'y }
YLYDWN-ynyt'l = zāyēnītār
YLYDWN-šnyk = zāyišnīk
YLYDWN-šn′ = zāyišn
YLYDWN-tn′ = zātan
YLYDWN-tk′ = zātak
zlyh : zrēh
zlyd : zrē(i)
zlyn′ : zarrēn
zlyk : zarīk
zlyk'wmnd : zarīkō-[mand]
zlyl : Zarēr
zlyl'n′ : Zarērān
ZLYTN-t'l = kištār
zlng : Zrang
zlm'n′ : zarmān
zlstn′ : *Zarri-stan?
zltgwš : zart-gōš
zltwhšt′ : Zartwšt
zltwšt'n′ : Zartuštān
zltwšt′ : Zartušt
zltk′ : zartak

zm'n′ : zamān
zm'nk′ : zamānak
zmyk : zamīk

zstn′ : zastan

zpl : zafar

zt'l : zatār
zt'lyh : zatārēh
ztn′ : zatan

S

zyd'n′ : ziyān
zyd'nk′ : ziyānak
z'hl : zahr
ZHB' = zarr
ZHB'-yn′ } = zarrēn
ZHB-yn′ }
zhy'y : zahyāi
z'w'lst'n′ : Zāvalistān
z'wl : zāvar
z't′ : zāt
z'tn′ : zātan
z'tk′ : zātak

zyd' : zīyā (zīvistan)
zyn- : zīn-
zynh'l : zīn-hār
zyn'wndyh' : zēnāvandihā
zynd'n′ : zēn-dān
zyn′ : zān
zywndkyh : zīvandakēh
zywndk′ : zīvandak
zywstn′ : zīvistan
zywšnyh : zīvišnēh
zywšn′ : zīvišn
ZY-m = i-m
ZY-m'n′ = i-mān
ZY-š = i-š
ZY-š'n′ = i-šān
zyšt′ : zēšt
ZY-t = i-t
ZY-t'n′ = i-tān

zwhl : zōhr
zng : zang
znd : zand
zndy : zandī
zndykyh : zandīkēh
zwyš : Zōiš
zwyš'n′ : Zōišān
zn′ : zan
znk′ : zanak
zwl : zōr
zwlyk : zōrīk
zwlw'n′ : Zurvān
zwpl : zufr
znšn′ : zanišn

KDMWN-tn' = xāstan
kymlnc' : kēm-ranj
kysl : Kēsar (Kaiσαρ)
kyš : kēš
kyšyt' : kēšēt (Kašītan)
kyšwl : kišvar
kyswlyk : kišvarīk
kyšwc'l : kišvi-cār
kyt' : kēt

KN = ōh, ō
KR' = har
kn'l : kanār
kn'lk'wmndyh : kanārakōmandēh
kn'lk' : kanārak
kwhšytn' : kōxšītan
kwhššnyk : koxšišnīk
kwhšn' : kōxšišn
kw't'n' : Kavātān
kw't' : Kavāt
knd'k : kandāk
KNY'-st'n' = nadi-stān
kndn' : kandan
knyk : kanīk
knyck' : kanīcak
KRYTN-tn' = x"āndan
K'N = nūn
kwnmlc' : kūn-marz
kwnšn' : kunišn
kwlwšk' : kurušk
kwltyk'n' : Kurtīkān
kwms : Kūmis (قومس)
kwstyk : kustīk
kwst' : kust
kwstn' : kōstan
kwstk' : kustak
kwp'h : Kūfah (كوفة)
kwpyd'l : kōfidār
kwpyk : kōfīk
kwp' : kōf
krpkyk : kirpakīk
krpk' : kirpak
kwšyt'lyh : kōšītārēh
kwšytn' : kōšītan
kwšk' : kōšk
kwššn' : kōšišn
kwštn' : kuštan
krt'l : kartār

g

k'hdšn' : *kāyišn
k'hšn' : kāhišn
k'yn' : Kāyēn
k'dws : Kāyōs
k'dws'n' : Kāyōsān
KHDH = hāmist
KHDH-yh' = hamistihā
khwbnyh : kahvanēh
k'l : kār
K'L' = vāng
k'l'k'syh : kār-akāhēh
k'lyh : kārēh
k'ldhk' : kār-dahak
k'lyc'l : kārēcār
k'lpwt', -pt' : kālpad, -pad
k'lt' : kārt
k'm : kām
k'myh' : kāmihā
k'mk'l : kām-kār
k'mkyh : kāmakēh
k'mk' : kāmak
k'mstn' : kāmistan
k'skyn' : kāsakēn
k'c : kāc
k'pwl : Kāvul
k'tk' : kātak

KBYR = vas
KBYR-yh' = vasihā

kd, kd'n' : kai, kayān
kdhwslwd' } : Kai-Xōsrōi
kdhwslwd }
KDB' = drōg
kdb'y : kai-brāi
kdg's : kai-gāh
KYN' = gāspand
kdw'n' : Kaivān
kyn' : kēn
kynwl : kēn-var
kynwlyh : kēn-varēh
kdwšt'sp' : Kai-Vištāsp
kdk' : kayak
kdkw't' : Kai-Kavāt
kdlwhl'sp' : Kai-Luhrāsp
kylwkyh : kirrōkēh
kym : kēm

ل

LZY = man
L' = nē
lh'm : Rahām
lhd : rahy
l'd : rāi
l'd : rād
l'd'wmnd : rāyōmand
l'dyn'k : rāyēnāk
l'dynyt'lyh : rāyēnītārēh
l'dynytn' : rāyēnītan
l'dynšn' : rāyēnišn
lhyk : rahīk
LHYK = dūr
lhykyh : rahīkēh
L'WḤL = apāc
l'nynytn' : rānēnītan
l'n' : rān
lhw' : raxᵘ
*lhwt' : *Raxᵘat
l'k : Rag
L'L' = ul
L'L'-yh = ulēh
LḤM' = nān
l'mynyt'l : rāmēnītār
l'mšnyk : rāmišnīk
l'mšn' : rāmišn
l'mštr' : rām-šahr
l's : rāh
l'sd'l : rāh-dār
l'sty : rāstē
l'styh : rāstēh
l'styh' : rāstihā
l'st' : rāst
l'c : rāz
l'pkklyh : rāpak-karēh
l'pkklyh' : rāpak-karihā
L'-t = nē-t
l'byh : rālēh
l'b' : rāt
lhn' : rawan
LḤTWN-tn' = dawīran

LB' = vazurg
LB'-yh = vazurgēh
LB'-k'n' : Vazurgakān

ك

krt'lyh : kartārēh
knbyl : kan-tigr (kantīr)
krtn' : kartan
krtk'l : kart-kār
krtk' : kartak
kwtk' : kōtak

KZY = has

kl : karr
KLB' = sak
klbwk : karbōk
klyhstn' : kirihistan
klynytn' : kirrēnītan
klyš'sp' : Krišāsp
KLYT' = nipāst
KLYTN-tn' = xᵘāndan
klk's : karkās
klkwd : karkāi
klm : kirm
klm'n' : Kirmān
KLBH = aškamb
klpyh : karpēh
klp' : 1. karp. 2. karap
klcm : *Karazm?

km : kam
km'n' : kamān
km'l : kamār
kml : kamar
kmlbnd : kamar-band

ks : kas

kšytn' : kašītan

kt'lc'y : katārcī
kt'm : katām
ktyk : katīk
ktkwt'y : katak-xᵘatāi
ktkhwt'dyh : katak-xᵘatāyēh
ktk' : katak
KTLWN-tn' = māndan

LBBH = dil
LBWŠY' = varr

Ly'hlyh: riyahrēh
lyhtn': rēxtan
LZNH = im
LYLY' = šap
LGLH = pād
lymn': rīman
lyst'hyc': rist-āxēz
lyst'hycšnyh: rist-āxēzišnēh
lyst': rist
lystkynytn': ristakēnītan
lystk': ristak
LY-c = man-ic
lyc-: rēc- (rēxtan)
lyp's: rēpās
lycšn': rēcišn
lyš: rēš
lyšynytn': rēšēnītan
lyšglwtk': Rēš-galūtak
lytk': rētak

lw'n'n': Ruānān
lwhl'sp': Luhrāsp
lwb'n': 1. ruvān. 2. rōvan
lwb'k: ravāk
lwb'kyh: ravākēh
lwb'kynytn': ravākēnītan
lwbšnyh: ravišnēh
lwbšnyh': ravišnihā
lwbšn': ravišn
lwd: rōd
lng: rang
lwdynytn': rōdēnītan
lwdyn': rōdēn
L'YN' = pēš
lwdšn': rōdišn
L'YŠH = sar
L'YT' = nāst
L'YT'-yh = nāstēh
lwn': rōn
LNH = amāh
lwspyk: rāspīk
lwst'k: rōstāk
lwstn': rustan
lwp-: rōp-
lwp': rōp

lwc: rōc
lncyhstn': ranjihistan
lwcynyt'lyh: rōcēnītārēh
lncynytn': ranjēnītan
lnc': ranj
lwck'L: rōc-kār
lnckyh: ranjakēh
lwck': rōcak[1]
lnck': ranjak[2]
lwšnyh: rōšnēh
lwšn': 1. rōšn. 2. Rōšn
lwt': rōt
LWTH = 1. apāk. 2. a-pāk?
lwtst'k: rōtastāk
lwtsthm: Rōtastahm

LK = tō
LK-yc = tō-ic
lk': rag
LKWM = šmāh

llcytn': larzītan

lm: ram
LMYTN-tn' = apakandan
lmk': ramak

lsytn': rasītan
lsšn': rasišn
lst'l: rastār
lstn': rastan
lstkyh: ristakēh
lstk': 1. rastak. 2. ristak

LṢD-r = tar
lpytpk': rapiθvak
lcwl: razur
LPNH = āvar
LPNH-yt' = āvarēt
lcm: razm
lptn': raftan

lšn': Rašn

lt': rat
LTMH = ētar

M'LH = pur

m'lšn' : mālišn

mhm'nyh : mahmānēh

mhst' : mahist

MḤŠY' = rōgn

m'tgd'n' : mātagdān

m'tkyk : mātakīk

m'tyšt' : mātišt

m't' : māt

m'tk' : mātak

m'tkwl : mātak-var

mtkwlyh : mātak-varēh

m'tr : mātar

MY' = āp

myh : mēx

my'nk' : miyānak

*myh : *mēx

MDYN' = šahristān

mdynk' : Madīnak (المدينة)

mgwymlt' : magū-mart

mynyn' : mēnīban

mynwd : mēnōi

mgwny : magūnē

mynwdyh' : mēnōyihā

mgwpt' : magu-pat

mynšnyh : mēnišnēh

mynšnyh' : mēnišnihā

mynšnyk : mēnišnīk

mynšn' : mēnišn

mylk' : mērak

MDM = apar

MDMH'-yn't = sahēn-tar

MDMH'-stn' = sahistan

myšs'l : mēš-sār

mytwht' : mitōxt

mytlg : *mihr(a)g

MN = hac

mwhlk' : muhrak

mwd : mōd

mng : mang

MRY' = saxᵘan

*MRK'-'n' = šāhān (plur.) 8:1.1

MND'M = ciš

mwdk' : mōdak

mwgmlt' : mōg-mart

MNW = kē

mwrw : muru

-m (pron. suff.)

m'h : māh

m'hyk : māhīk

myd'n' : miyān

myd'ncykyh : miyānjīkēh

myd'ncykyh' : miyānjīkihā

m'hk'n' : māhakān

m'hlyd'n'h : Mahliyānāh

m'hl's : Mahlāh

m'hm'nyh : mahmānēh

m'd : Mād

for , q.v.

MḤYTN-tn' = zatan

m'n'k'k : *mānāyāk

m'n'kyh : mānākēh

m'nyh : mānēh

m'nyd : Mānī

m'ndn' : māndan

*m'nywk' : *mānāwak

m'ndkyh : māndakēh

*m'ndk' : māndak

m'nyšt' : māništ

m'n' : mān

-m'n' : -mān (pron. suff.)

m'nwšhwln'k
Mānušxᵘarnāk

m'nwšhwlnl :
Mānušxᵘarnar

m'nwšcyhl : Mānuščihr

M'NH = yām

m'nsl : mānsr

m'nslyk : mānsrīk

m'rspnd : Māraspand

m'rspnd'n' : Māraspandān

m'nšn'wmnd :
mānišnōmand

m'nšn' : mānišn

m'nšcyhl : Mānuščihr

m'zdysnyh : māzdēsnēh

m'zdysn' : māzdēsn

m'zdsn' : māzdesn

m'l : mār

MḤL = fratāk

m'lyd'n'h : Māliyānāh

m'l'y : Mālāi

m'lyk : mārīk

m'lytn' : mālīban

mnwcyhl : Manūcihr
mwk' : mōk
mwlw'k : muruāk
mwlw'lyt' : murvārīt
mwlwyck' : muruēcak
mwlw : muru ; Muru (= 𐭥𐭩)
mwlwnyš : muru-nīš
mwlwk' : muruak
mwlt' : murt
mwltn' : murtan
mwltk' : murtak
mwsl : Mōsil (الموصل)
mwslk'n' : *Musrkān
mwst'wmnd : mustōmand
mwst'p't' : Mustāpāt
mwst : must
mwcl'dyk : Muzrāyīk
MN-š'n' = hac-išān
mwtk' : mūtak
mwtpn' : *mutfan

mzg : mazq
mzd : mizd
mzn' : mazan

mk'h : Makkah (مكّة)
MKBLWN-tn' = patigraftan

ml : mar
mlh' : Malhā
mlhy'n' : Malhiyānā
mlg : marg
mlgyh : margēh
mlgynytn' : margēnītan
*mlync'n' : *Marinjān?
mglc'nyk : marg-aržānīk
mlglc'n' : marg-aržān
mlw : Maru (مَرْو)
mlncynyt'l : marnjēnītār
mlncynyt'lyh : marnjēnītārēh
mlncynytn' : marnjēnītan
MLK' = šāh
MLK'-'n' = šāhān (pl.)
MLK'-yh = šāhēh
mlk' : marak
mlkws : Markūs
mlkws'n' : Markūsān
mlcykynd : marzikēnd (marz-)

mlcp'n' : marz-pān
mlš : maš
mlt'nkyh : martānakēh
mlt' : mart
mltwm : martōm
mltwmyh : martōmēh
mltwmcyhlk' : martōm-cihrak

MH = cē

ms : mas (v. also 𐭥𐭩)
ms'twlyh : masātorēh
msyh : 1. masēh. 2. Misēh
*mswl : *mas-var
msst' : masist
mst' : mast
mstwk' : mastōk

mc'y, *mc''y : *macāi?
mck' : micak

haplography of
*mšyh' : Mašīhā (מְשִׁיחָא)
mšk' : mašk

MT' = dāh
MT'-yk = dēhīk
mt'l : matār
mt'lyh : matārēh
mtn' : matan
mtr' : Mihr
mtr''ndlwcyh : mihrān-družēh
mtr''ndlwc' : mihrān-druž
mtr'yh : Mihrēh
mtr'y'nyh : Mihriyānēh
mtr'dlwc' : mihr-druž
*mtr'-n'c : *Mihr-nāz
mtr'z't' : Mihr-zāt
mtr'k' : Mihrak
mtk' : matak

syc'wmnd: sēžōmand
sycdhwm: sēzdahom
syc': sēž

swh } : Savah
sw'h }
swh'l } : suxr
swhl }
sn's : snāh
swhtn': sāxtan
swb'l : sōbār
swb'lšn': sōbāriš̌n
srd'l : sardār
srd'lyh: sardārēh
swd-TWR' = Sūi-gāu
snwšnyh: snavišnēh
snwtn': snūtan
swk'wmnd: sūkōmand
swk': sōk
swknd: sōkand
swkwd: Sugud
swkndl: Sōkandar
swkš'ns: Sōšāns
swl'k: sūlāk
swmb'wmnd: sumbōmand
swmb': sumb
SWSY' = asp
swcynytn': sōcēnītan
sncypyk: *Sin-jēpīk
swcک': sōcak
swcšn': sōcišn
swš'ns: Sōšāns
swtyh: sūtēh
swt': sūt
swtkyh: sūtakēh
swtک': sūtak

szd: sizd

SKYN' = kārt
sک': sak

sl: sar
sl'd: srād (srāi)
slhwt'y: sar-x^vatāi
sl'tک': srātak
SLY' = vat
SLY'-tlyh: vattarēh

ـو ـد

Words with initial ـد or ـو not found here are to be looked for under ـد + ـد.

syd': siyā
s'hykyh: sahīkēh
syd'whš: Siyāvaxš
syd'whš'n': Siyāvaxšān
syd'mک': Siyāmak
s'ht'lyh: sāxtārēh
s'ht': 1. sāxt. 2. saxt
s'htn': sāxtan
s'y: sāi
s'dک': sāyak
shwn': sax^van
s'k': sāk
s'lyh: sārēh
*s'lygl: *sār-i-gar
s'lynytn': sārēnītan
s'lynšn': sārēnišn
s'lک': sālak
shm: sahm
s'm'nyh': sāmānihā
s'm'n': Sāmān
s'm'nک': sāmānak
shmyhstn': sahmihistan
shmkn': sahmakan
s's'n': Sāsān
s'st'l: sāstār
s'st'lyh: sāstārēh
shstک': sahistak
shtyh: saxtēh
sht': saxt
SGYTN-ynytn = ravšnītan
shtn': saxtan
SGYTN-tynytn' = raftēnītan
SGYTN-tn' = raftan

syhs'lyh: sīh-sālāk
syhs'lک': sīh-sālak
syn': sēn
SDKWN-tn' = drītan (darrītan)
sgl: sagr (sēr)
sglyh: sagrēh (sērēh)
symyn': sēmān
syml': Simrā/Simlā
*symdyphl: *sīm-dēpahr?
skst'n': Sakistān

س-ش+ر

sgwn' : sargūn
slyšwtk' : srišvatak
slyšk' : srišk
slyt' : Srīt
slytk' : srītak
SLY-tl= vattar
SLY-tlyh: vattarēh
slwb' : 1. srau. 2. sruu
slwbl : srūbar
slwš : Srōš
slwš'hl'y : Srōš-ahlāi
slwš'hl'dyh : Srōš-ahlāyēh
slwt' : srōt
slwtn' : srūtan
slšw'tk' } : srišvatak
slšwtk' }
slšk' : srišk
slt' : sart
sltk' : sratak

sml'n' : Simlān/Simrān
smlknd : Samarkand

sc- : sac-
sp'h : spāh
sph'n' : Spāhān (إِصْبَهان)
sp'hl : spahr (cf. سپهر)
sp'hptyh : spāh-patēh
sp'hpt' : spāh-pat
sc'k : sacāk
sc'kyh' : sacākihā
sc'kw'l : sacāk-vār
sp's : spās
sp'sd'l : spās-dār
sp'sd'lyh : spās-dārēh
spyhl : spihr
scyd'lm : Sacidarm
spyn'y : spēnāi
spyn'k : spēnāk
spyt'm : Spitām
spyt'm'n' : Spitāmān
spyt' : spēt
spytk' : spētak
spn'k : spannāk
spwhtn' : spōxtan
spndd'l'n' : Spandidātān
spndd'l' : Spandidāt
spndrmt' : Spandarmat

ش-ف+ص

spwkyh' : sapūkihā
spwk' : sapūk
spwl : spurr
spwlyk : spurrīk
spwlykyh : spurrīkēh
spwltn' : spurtan
spnc'nkyh : spinjānakēh
spwc' : spōc
spzg : spazg
spzgyh : spazgēh
spl : spar
splyhyt' : sparihēt
splm : spram
scšnyh : sacišnēh

st'hl : Staxr (إِصْطَخْر)
st'hlk' : staxrak
st'dyt'l : stāyītār
st'dytn' : stāyītan
st'dšn' : stāyišn
st'lk' : stārak
sthm : stahm
st'mbkyh : stambakēh
sthmkyh : stahmakēh
sthmk' : stahmak
stykl : sitīkar
styck' : stēžak
stwbynytn' : stōbēnītan
stwb' : stōb
stwnk' : stūnak
stwl : stōr
stwlyh : stūrēh
stwlp'n' : stōr-pān
stwltyh : sturtēh
stwš : *sat-āš
stl : star
stltyh : startēh
sttt' : start
stpl : stavr

𐭠

𐭠° -p

𐭠𐭥 p'h : pāh

𐭠𐭥𐭩 p'hn'y : pahnāi

𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭩 p'hn' : pahan

𐭠𐭥𐭫 p'hl : pahr

𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭲𐭩 p'hlyht'l : pahrēxtār

𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭲𐭩𐭩 p'hlyhtn' : pahrēxtan

𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭧𐭩 p'hlyc' : pahrēc

𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭩 p'hlwk' : pahlūk

𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭩 p'hlwm : pahlom

𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭩𐭥 p'hlwmyh : pahlomēh

𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭩 p'hst' : pāh-ast

𐭠𐭩 p'd : pād

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'dk' : pādak

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 ×p'ymytn' : ×pāyamītan?

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'ytyšt'n' : paitištān

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭥 p'nkyh : pānakēh

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'nk' : pānak

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭥𐭥 p'ncdhwm : pānzdahom

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'lyck' : ×Pālēcak

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'lk : pārak

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'ls : Pārs

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'lsk'n', for

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'lsyk'n'
𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'lsyk'n' } : Pārsīkān (pl.)

𐭠𐭩𐭩 p's : pās

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'shw' : pāsax^w

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'pk'n' : Pāpakān

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'pk' : Pāpak

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭥 p'šwm : pāšom

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'ššn' : pāišn

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'thwslwd' : Pāt-xōsrōi

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'hyd'wnd : pātiyāvand

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p't'wzw'nyh : pāt-uzvānēh

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩 p'thš'y : pātixšāi

𐭠𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩𐭩

pwšng : Pōšang
pwšt'sp' : pušt-asp
pwštyp'n' : pušt̄ēpān
pwštyp'nkyh : pušt̄ēpānakēh
pwšt' : pušt
pwtyk : Pūtīk
pwt' : pūt
pwtkyh : pūtakēh

pz'mynytn' : pazzāmēnītan
pz'mšn' : pazzāmišn
pzdytn' : pazdītan
pzdwk' : pazdōk

pl : parr
pl'hyn' : Frāhīn
*pl'hw : Frāh
plhng : frahang
plhngst'n' : frahangistān
pl'hwyh : frāx"ēh
pl'hwynytn' : frāx"ēnītan
pl'hw' : frāx"
pl'hwkrt' : Frāx"-kart
plyd'tytn' : friyātītan
plyd't' : friyāt
plhhtn' : frahaxtan
plhhtk' : frahaxtak
pl'dzyšt' : Frāiziśt
pl'dgwywt' : frāi-gāyāt
pl'dt'pš : Frādat-afš
plhw'ng's : farrax"ān-gāh
plhw' : farrax"
plhwz't'n' : Farrax"-zātān
pl'lwnyh : frārōnēh
pl'lwn' : frārōn
pl'mwš : frāmāš
pl'syd'k : Frāsiyāk
pl'syd'p' : Frāsiyāu
plhst' : frahist
pl'c : frāc
pl'p't' : Palāpāt
pl'šm : frāšm
*PLK' = tapar?
plg'n' : pargān
pldhtn' : pardaxtan
plgndkyh : pargandakēh

pyt'm : paitām
pyt'mbl : paitām-bar
pytyšt'n' : paitištān
pytk'l : pitkār

pn'h : panāh
pwhl[1] : puhr
pwhl[2] : puhl
pr'c : frāc
pr'cyh : frācēh
pr'ctlyh : frāctarēh
PRG = nām
pnd[2] : pand
pr-YHWWN-tn' = parbūtan
prdnd : fradand
prdndyh : fradandēh
PWN = pat
PWN-'p'kynytn' : pat-apākēnītan
PWN-kwstn' : patkustan
PWN-syn' : patsēn
pwrsytn' : pursītan
pwrsšnyh : pursišnēh
pwrsšn' : pursišn
PWN-plc'mynytn' : pat-frażāmēnītan
PWN-tn'wmnd : pat-tanōmand
prznd : frazand
pwl : purr
pwlhltyh : purr-xratēh
pwl'ptyn' : pōlāvatēn
pwlywtkyš : pōryōtkēš
pwlywtkyšyh : pōryōtkēšēh
pwlnylwk' : purr-nērōk
pwlwš'sp' : Pourušāsp
pwlmlg : purr-marg
pwlmlgyh : purr-margēh
PWMH = dahān
PWMH-'wmnd : dahānōmand
pws : pus
pwsl : pusar
pwst' : pōst
pwsty'n' : pōstiyān
pncbwl : Panj-bōr
pwc'[1] : pōc
pnc'[2] : panj
pncwm : panjom

plgndkyh' : pargandakihā
plgndk' : pargandak
plyk : parīk
plyk' : Prīkā
plykyh : parīkēh
pl-YKʿYMWN-tn' = par-ēstātan
plkrt' : frakart
plystytn' : frēstītan
plystk' : frēstak
pldp' : frēp
pldc : frēc
plycw'nyk : frēcvānīk
plycp'nyh : frēcvānēh
plycp'nyk : frēcvānīk
pldpt'l : frēftār
pldptn' : frēftan
pldptkyh : frēftakēh
pldptk' : frēftak
plytn' : parrītan
plytwn' : Prētōn
plw'kl : fravahr
plw'nkyh : parvānakēh
plw'k : Pravāk
plw'ltn' : parvārtan
pln'mšnyh : franāmišnēh
pln'mšn' : franāmišn
plwb'y : farrō-bāi
plwbg : farrō-bag
plngl'syd'k : Prangrāsiyāk
plngl'syd'p' : Prangrāsiyāu
plwltyn' : Pravartīn
plwltyk'n' : fravartīkān
plwltn' : parvartan
plwltk' : fravartak
plnptn' : franaftan
plwš : fravaš
plwšn' : × frōšn
plwt' : frōt
plk'n' : frakān
plkndn' : frakandan
plm'nyh : framānēh
plm'n' : framān
plmwš : framōš
plmwtn' : framūtan
plsng : frasang
plsp' : parisp
plst'tn' : paristātan
plstytn' : paristītan

plst' : parist
plstkyh : frestakēh
plstšnyh : paristišnēh
plstšn' : paristišn
plc'nk' : frazānak
plc'm : fražām
plc'mynytn' : fražāmēnītan
plc'mk'lyh : fražām-kārēh
plpd : fravd
plcd'n : Frazdān
plcyn' : fracīn
plcptn' : fražaftan
plš'wlt' : Frašāvart
plšn' : 1. frašn. 2. parrišn
plšwšh : Frašōštr
plškrt' : fraškart
pltwm : frabom
pltwmyh : frabomēh

ps'ht' : passāxt
pshw' : passax^w
psyn' : pasēn
psnd : passand
psndytn' : passandītan
PSKWN-šn' = brinišn
PSKWN-tn' = brītan
psckyh' : passacakihā
pst' : pist

pcyn' : paccēn

pāym'nyh : pašēmānēh
pšt' : pašt

pt : pat
ptyd'lk' : patiyārak
pt'n' : *patān
pthwl : pab^war
ptyhwyh : patēx^wēh
ptyhwynytn' patēx^wēnītan
ptylytl'sp' : Patirtarāsp
ptylwptn' : patignuftan
ptylk' : patīrak
ptylpt'lyh : patigriftārēh
ptglptn' : patigraftan
ptys'l : patīsār

cyhl'c'ť'n' : Cihrāzātān
cyhlť : cihrak
cygwn : cigōn
cygwnyh : cigōnēh
cynwpt' : Cinvat
cyk'mc'y : cikām-cī
cyl : cār
cylyh : cārēh
cym : cim
cycyst' : Cecist
cyšmť : Cišmak
cytn' : cītan
cytť : cītak

cnd : cand
cndwl : Cand-var
cndšn' : candišn
cwl : Cōl
ṢWLH = grīw
cwpyg'n' : cōvēgān

cť : cak

cl'byk : carālīk
clm : carm
clpyh : carpēh
clp' : carp

cm : cim

čm : cašm
čmk'd'n'
cašm-kāyān, pl of
čmk's : cašm-kāh
čmkť : cašmak

cthng : catrang
cthwčw'tť : catuščvatak

ptyšt'n' : patištān
ptytyk : patītīk
ptyť : patīt
pt' : pat
*ptn'syk : patnāsīk
ptw'c- : patvāc-
ptwnd : patvand
ptwť : pattūk
ptwstn' : patvastan
ptwstť : patvastak
ptk'l : patkār
ptk'lyť : patkārīt
ptk'lytn' : patkāritan
ptk'lšn' : patkārišn
ptk'ptn' : patkāftan
ptkwptn' : patkōftan
ptl : pitar
ptl'n' : patrān
ptm'nyk : patmānīk
ptm'nykyh' : patmānīkihā
ptm'n' : patmān
ptm'nť : patmānak
ptmwhtn' : patmāxtan
ptmwcn' : patmōcan
pš : patiš
pšhw'lgl : Patišxwārgar

ڀ

ڀ -c : -ic
c'h : cāh
ch'ldhwm : cahārdahom
ch'lwm : cahārom
ch'lkrt' : cahār-kart
ch'lp'd : cahār-pād
c'l : cār
c'lyh : cārēh
c'lť : cārak
c'pwkyh : cāpūkēh
c'pwť : cāpūk
c'šn' : cāšišn
c'štn' : cāštan

ṢBW = hēr

cyh : cē(h)
cyhynytn' : cīhānītan
cyhl : cihr

šws: Šūs (Σοῦσα)
šwsl: Šusr
šwslyh: šusrēh
šwstn': šustan
šwstl: Šustar (شُشْتَر)
ŠNT = sāl
ŠNT-k' = sālak

ŠKBḤWN-tn' = salītan
škwh: škōh
škwptyh: škuftēh
škwpt': škuft
ŠKL = kur
škstn': škastan
škstk': škastak
škpt': škaft
škptk': škaftak

ŠLYT' = pātixsāi
ŠLYTN-tn' = višātan
šlm: šarm

ŠM = nām
ŠM-hw'st': Nām-xᵘāst
ŠM-k' = nāmak
šmšdl: šamšēr

šst': šast

šp'n': 1. šapān. 2. šupān
ŠPYL = vēh
ŠPYL-yh = vēhēh
ŠPYL-d'k': vēh-dāk
ŠPYL-dyn': vēh-dēn
šp': šap
špk': šapak
šplg: ×šifr(a)g?
špst'n': šapistān
špšyl: šifšēr
ŠPTYN = lap

ššwm: šašom

štr': šahr
štr'yd'l: šahridār
štr'yd'lyh: šahridārēh
štr'd'l: šahridār
štr'd'lyh: šahridārēh
štr'ywr': Šahrēvar

ش

-š (pron. suff.)
šh: šāh
ŠYD' = dēv
ŠYD'-'n' = dēvān (plur.)
ŠYD'-ysnyh: dēvēsnēh
ŠYD'-yckyh: dēv-īzakēh
ŠYD'-yck': dēv-īzak
ŠYD'-n' = dēvān (plur.)
12:٤٠ ×š'hn': ×šāhān (plur.)?
š'dyndkyh: šāyēndakēh
šhykyk: šāhīkīk
šhykykyh: šāhīkīkēh
š'dstn': šāyistan
š'dtn': šāytan
šhw'l: šāhvār
-š'n': -šān (pron. suff.)
š'ncdhwm: šānzdahom
š'k': šāk
š'm: Šām (الشأم)
šhpwhl: Šahpuhr
šhpwhl'n': Šahpuhrān
š'tyh: šātēh
š't': šāt

ŠDYTN-tn' = vistan
šywn': šēvan
ŠDRWN-tn' = frēstātan
ŠBKWN-šn' = hilišn
ŠBKWN-tn' = hištan
šgl: šagr (šēr)
šyl: šīr
šylynk': šīrēnak
×šyp-: šēp-
šycyk'n': šēcīkān
šypšyl: šifšēr
šyšyndwht': Šīšīn-duxt
šyt': šēt

šn'htn': šnāxtan
šn'l: šnār
šn's: šnās
šn'sk: šnāsak
šn'syh: šnāsēh
šwd: šōd
šwd'wmnd: šōdōmand
šwn': šān
ŠRM = drōt

ܬ

ܬ° -t (pron. suff.)
ܬܗܠ t'hl: tahl
ܬܗܬܢ t'htn': tāxtan
ܬܗܬܟ t'htk': taxtak
ܬܝ t'd: *tai
ܬܝ t'y: tē
ܬ° -t'n': -tān (pron. suff.)
ܬܟ t'k': 1. tāk. 2. tāg
ܬܠܝܟ t'lyk: tārīk
ܬܠܝܟܝܗ t'lykyh: tārīkēh
ܬܗܡ thm: tahm
ܬܗܡܟ thmk': tahmak
ܬܦ t'p: tāp
ܬܨܝܟ t'cyk: ʃārīk
ܬܦܣܬܢ t'pst'n': tāpistān
ܬܦܬܢ t'ptn': tāftan
ܬܫܝܬܢ t'šytn': tāšītan
ܬܫܢܝܗ t'šnyh: tāšīnēh
*ܬ'ܬܓܬܘܣ *t'tlgtws: *ʃahragatās

ܬܒܠܘܢ-ܣܬܢ' TBLWN-stn' = škastan

ܬܒ TB = nēu
ܬܝܗ tyh: tē(h)
ܬܝܢ' TYN' = gil
ܬܓܠ tgl: tigr (tīr)
ܬܝܠ tyl: ʃīr
ܬܓܠܝܦ tgly'p: tigriyāf
ܬܝܡܠ tym'l: tīmār
ܬܨ tyc: tēž
ܬܝܫܢܟܗ tyšnkyh: tišnakēh
ܬܝܫܢܟ tysnk': tišnak
ܬܝܫܬܠ tyštl: ʃīštr

ܬܘ tw: tō
ܬܘܗܝܟܗ twhykyh: tuhīkēh
ܬܘܗܡ twhm: tōhm
ܬܘܗܡܟ twhmk': tōhmak
ܬܢ'ܦܘܗܠܟ tn'pwhlk': tanāpuhrak
ܬܘܗܫ'ܟ twhš'k: tuxšāk
ܬܘܗܫ'ܟܗ twhš'kyh: tuxšākēh
ܬܘܗܫ'ܟܗ' twhš'kyh': tuxšākihā
ܬܘܗܫܝܬܢ' twhšytn': tuxšītan
ܬܘܗܫܢ' twhšn': tuxšīn
ܬܘܗܬܢ' twhtn': tōxtan
ܬܘܒ'ܢܝܟܗ twb'nykyh: tuwānīkēh
ܬܘܒ'ܢ' twb'n': tuwān

ܫ+ܪ

ܫܬܪܝܟ štryk: šahrīk
ܫܬ'ܪ'ܣ'ܬ'ܢ' štr'st'n': šahristān
[ܫܗܪܝܟ common fault for ܫܗܪܝܟ q.v.]
ܫܬܠ ŠTL = kanārak (or ālak)
ܫܗܪܘܐܪ štlywl: Šahrēvar

tl'cymyt'lyh: tarāzēnītārēh
tl'cwk': tarazūk
TLYN = dō
tlwynyt'l: tarvānītār
tlwynytn': tarvānītan
tlwk': tarrōk
tlmynšnyh: tar-mānišnēh
tls: tars
tlsyh: tarsēh
tlsynytn': tarsānītan
tlsytn': tarsītan
tlsšn': tarsišn
tlptkyh: tirftakēh

TMH = ānōd

tsypwm: Ṣisifōn (Κτησιφῶν)
tswm: tasom

tp'h: tapāh
tp'hyh: tapāhēh
tp'hynytn': tapāhānītan

tcynytn': tacānītan
tcytn': tacītan
tc': tac
tcšnyh: tacišnēh

tšnkyh: tišnakēh
tšnk': tišnak
tšt': tašt

twb'nklyh: tuwān-karēh
twb'nstn': tuwānistan
tnbwl: tanbūr
TWB = dit
tng: tang
tngyh: tangēh
twgyh: tōgēh
TWB-c = dit-ic
tn': tan
TWR' = gāw
tn'?wmnd: tanōmand
tnwk': tanūk
twl: Ṭūr
twlyst': turist
twlk': Ṭūrak
tom: tōm
-twm: -tom (ending of the superlative)
twmbk': tumbak
tws: Ṭūs (طوس)
tnsl: Ṭansar, or
twsl: ×Ṭōsar
twpk': ×Ṭovak (تَوَّج)
twc-: tōž (tōxtan)
twc'p': ×Ṭucāp?
twšn': tušn
twšt': tušt

tkyk: takīk
tkykyh: takīkēh
tk': tak

tl: 1. tar. 2. tarr
-tl: -tar (ending of the comparative)

Figures.

	Parth. inscr.	Pers. inscr.	Psalter	Books	Pers. equivalents	Ideograms
1					ēv; Books ē (-ē), -ē	(Books sometimes ḤN')
					xēvak, yak	ḤDwk' : חד
						(Parth. ḤD = ēv)
2					dō	TLYN : תרין
3					sē	TLT' : תלתא
4					cahār	LB' : ארבא
5					panj	ḤWMŠ(Y)' : חומשא
6					šaš	ŠT' : שתא
7					haft	ŠBʿ : שבא
8					hašt	TWMNY' : תומניא
9					nhw' : noh	TŠ' : תשא
10					dah	ʿSL(Y)' : עסרא
11					yāzdah	
12					dvāzdah	
13					sēzdah	
14					cahārdah	also -ʾ, -ʾ;
15					pānzdah	-ʾ for -ʾ
16					šāzdah	
17					haftdah	
18					haštdah	
19					nōzdah	
20					vīst	
21					vīst u yak	
22					vīst u dō	
28					vīst u hašt	
30					sīh	
40					Paz. cihl, cel	
50					panjāh	
60					šast	
70					haftāt	
80					haštāt	
90					navat	
100					sat	
200					Paz. (Mog.) dvēst ; dō sat	
500					panj sat	
800					hašt sat	
1000					hazār	
'a millenium'					hazārak	
6000					šaš hazār	

Ordinals:

1st. [illegible] fratom, ideogr. [illegible] : 'WL' = אַוְלָא ;
[illegible] yakom (in 21st, 31st, etc.)
2nd [illegible] ditīkar;
dōvom, ideogr. [illegible] : 2-YN' = TNYN' : תְּנְיָנָא
3d. [illegible] sitīkar;
sēyom, ideogr. [illegible] : 3-LT' = TLT' : תְּלִיתָאָה
4th [illegible] cahārom; [illegible] tasom
5th [illegible] panjom
6th [illegible] šašom
7th [illegible] haftom
8th [illegible] haštom
9th [illegible] nohom, [illegible] nahom
10th [illegible], [illegible] dahom
11th [illegible] yāzdahom
12th [illegible] duāzdahom
13th [illegible] sēzdahom
14th [illegible] cahārdahom
etc.
20th [illegible] vīstom
21st [illegible] vīst u yakom
22nd [illegible] vīst u dōvom
23d [illegible] vīst u sēyom
24th [illegible] vīst u cahārom
etc.

Note:– The ideograms of '2nd' and '3d' are taken from the MS of the Frahang i Pahlavīk utilized by Anquetil Duperron: Cod. Pers. 417, Suppl. 24978, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Paradigms.

1. h- 'to be'.

Present tense	Book Pahlavi		Persian inscriptions	Psalter	Pazand	Manichean Persian
Indicative: Sing. 1	-GIrGW ḤWH-wm =	hom			hŏm, hum	
	-GrGW ḤWH-m =	ham	ḤWH-m	ḤWH-m		
	-GIrGW ḤWH'-ym =	hēm			hēm	hym
2	-HIrGW ḤWH-w-yd } = hē			ḤWH-w	h(a)ē	hy
	-'IrGW ḤWH-w-yh }				hahē	
3	MLWSWS 'YT' =	hast	'YTY	'YTY	hast, ast	'st
'is not'	MLWSWS LʿYT' =	nēst	LʿYTY	LʿYTY	nēst	nyst
Plur. 1	-GIrGW ḤWH'-ym =	hēm			hom?	hwm
2	MLWSIrGW ḤWH'-yt' =	hēt			hēd	hyd
3	-ÂIrGW ḤWH-nd =	hēnd	ḤWH-nd	ḤWH-nd	hend, hand	hynd
Subjunctive: Sing. 2.3	-WIrGW ḤWH'-'y =	hāi				
	-WIrGW ḤWH'-'h =	hāh				
	-WIrGW ḤWH'-' =	hā				
3	MLWSIrGW ḤWH'-'t' =	hāt			hād	h'd
	MLWSGW ḤWH-t =	hat			hat	
Plur. 3	-ÂIrGW ḤWH-nd =	hānd				h'nd
Optative: Sing. 3	-HIrGW ḤWH'-yd } = hē		ḤWH	ḤWH-d	hē, hēd	hy
	-ÂGW ḤWH-d }					

All other forms are borrowed from brūtan, v. infra

-ÂIrGW ḤWH-nd, regularly representing the ind. 3d p. plur. hēnd, sometimes represents the same form of the subjunctive, hānd: p. ١٤:٢ (future); ٣٣:٥ (conditional).

Parthian forms:— -ÂIrWN 'dyh: ayēh, p. ٢٧:١٨, the ind. 2d p. sing. = Man. Parth. 'yy.— In the HajA: 1) אהוֹנד ḤWY-ndy, ll. 9-10, the auxiliary of the conditional, is the Parthian optative 3d p. sing. ahēndē = Man. Parth. 'hyndy, -yy, -yyh.— 2) אהוֹנת ḤWY-nt, l. 11, is the subjunctive 3d p. plur. ahānd (-nt archaic spelling for -nd).— 3) אהוֹן ḤWYN, l. 14, is the ind. 3d p. plur. ahēnd = Man. Parth. 'hynd.

2. *būtan* 'to become, to be'.

Form	Book Pahlavi	Persian inscriptions	Psalter	Pazand	Manichean Persian
Present Indicative: Sing. 1	YḤWWN-m = *bavam*		*bmy*	*bŏm*	
2	YḤWWN-yd, YḤWWN-yh = *bavē*			*bāē*	*bwyy*
3	YḤWWN-yt' = *bavēt*; *byt'*: *bēt*; *bwt'*: *bavat*		YḤWWN-t	*bahōd*	*bwy(y)d*
Plur. 1	YḤWWN-ym = *bavēm*		YḤWWN-m		*bwym*
2	YḤWWN-yt' = *bavēt*				*bwyd*
3	YḤWWN-d = *bavēnd*	YḤWWN-d	YḤWWN-d	*bĕnd*	*bwynd*
Imperative: Sing. 2	YḤWWN-š = *bāš*			*bāš*	*b'š*
Plur. 2	YḤWWN-yt' = *bavēt*; *byt'*: *bēt*		*byty*	*bēd*	*bwyd*
Subjunctive: Sing. 2	*bwp'y*: *bavāi*				
3	YḤWWN-'t', YḤWWN-t' = *bavāt*; *b't'*: *bāt*; YḤWWN-' = *bavā*	YḤWWN-t	*b'ty*	*bād*	*bw'd*; *b'd*
Plur. 2	YḤWWN-'t' = *bavāt*				*bw'd*
Infinitive	YḤWWN-tn', *bwtn'*: *būtan*		*bwtny*	*būdan*	*bwdn*
Past Participle	YḤWWN-t', *bwt'*: *būt*	YḤWWN	*bwty*	*būd*	*bwd*

As to the preterite tenses, v. Grammar.

Parthian forms: — In HajA, ll. 8. 9. 10, ZNI YḤW-t = *būt*. — YḤWWN-' = *bavā*, p. 1[illegible]:25, is the Parthian subjunctive 3d p. sing. = Man. Parth. *bw'h*, preserved in an imprecation formula.

Note: — In p. 1··: 2 the form *bwt'*, regularly = *būt*, must be read as the present ind. 3d p. sing. *bavat* (= *bavēt*). From this derives Paz. *bahōd* (ō only graphical for ŏ; also written *bahud*) < **baod*, in which an inorganic h has been inserted to fill up the hiatus, < **bavod* < *bavat*. — Cfr. below *šutan*.

3. ēstātan 'to stand'.

Form	Book Pahlavi	Pazand	Manichean Persian
Present Ind. Sing. 1	YKʿYMWN-m = ēstam	ēstam	
2	YKʿYMWN-yd = ēstē	ēstaē	
3	YKʿYMWN-yt' / ystyt' = ēstēt	ēsted	ʿystyd
Plur. 1	YKʿYMWN-ym = ēstēm		
3	YKʿYMWN-d = ēstēnd	ēstend	ʿystynd
Imperative: Sing. 2	YKʿYMWN = ēst		
Plur. 2	YKʿYMWN-yt' = ēstēt		
Subjunctive: Sing. 3	YKʿYMWN-ʾt' = ēstāt		
Infinitive	YKʿYMWN-tn' / ystʾtnʿ = ēstātan		
Past Participle	YKʿYMWN-t' / ystʾt' = ēstāt	ēstād	ʿystʾd

Note:– Inscriptions and Psalter YKʿYMWN-t = ēstēt and ēstāt. – Inscr. Pl, l.3 YKʿYMWN = estāt.

4. šutan 'to go'.

Form	Book Pahlavi	Pazand	Manichean Persian
Present Ind. Sing. 1	ʿZLWN-m = šavam	šavom	
2	ʿZLWN-yd = šavē		
3	ʿZLWN-yt' = šavāt	šahōd	šwyd
Plur. 1	ʿZLWN-ym = šavēm		
3	ʿZLWN-d = šavēnd		šwynd
Imperative: Sing. 2	ʿZLWN = šav	šō	šw
Plur. 2	ʿZLWN-yt' = šavēt		šwyd
Subjunctive: Sing. 2	ʿZLWN-ʾy = šavāi		
3	ʿZLWN-ʾt' = šavāt		šwʾd
Optative: Sing. 3	ʿZLWN-yh = šavēh		
Infinitive	ʿZLWN-tn' = šutan	šudan	šwdn
Past Participle	ʿZLWN-t' = šut	šud	šwd

The form ʿZLWN-x_2, p. 97:13, stands for šavēnd. – Paz. šahōd <ˣ šavat, cfr. bahōd, supra s.v. būtan. – ʿZLWN Pl, l.5 = šut.

5. burtan ?to carry, to take away?

Form	Book Pahlavi		Pazand	Manichean Persian
Present Ind. Sing. 1	YBLWN-m =	baram		bryn
2	YBLWN-yd =	barē		bryh
3	YDLWN-yt' =	barēt	bared	bryd
Plur. 1	YDLWN-ym =	barēm		brwm
2	YDLWN-yt' =	barēl		bryd
3	YDLWN-d =	barēnd	{barend, barand}	bryn
Imperative: Sing. 2	YDLWN =	bar	bar	
Plur. 2	YDLWN-yt', YBLWN-yt' } =	barēt	bared	bryd
Subjunctive: Sing. 3			barād	br'd
Plur. 3				br'nd
Optative: Sing. 2	blyš:	barēš		
3	YDLWN-yd =	barē		bryh
Infinitive	YDLWN-tn', bwltn' } =	burtan	burdan	bwrdn
Past Participle	YBLWN-t', YDLWN-t', bwlt' } =	burt	burd	bwrd
	Inscr. PI, l.4 YBLWN=burt			

The form YDLWN-x₁ stands for

1. the imperative plur. barēt: p. ١٢١:١٢;
2. the pres. ind. 3d p. plur. barēnd; used in the sense of the optative: p. ٩٥:٨.

The form YDLWN-x₂ stands for

1. the imperative sing. barē (v. Grammar): pp. ١٠:١٥.٦٠:١٦;
2. the imperative plur. barēt: p. ٣١:٦;
3. the past participle = preterite burt: pp. ٣٧:١١.٣٩:٢٣. ٤١:١١.٢٠. ٤٦:٨. ٤٨:١٥. ٥١:٢٥. ٥٣:٤.٩. ٥٥:٢٤. ٥٦:١٥.١٦. ١١٠:٢٥.

6. kartan, 'to make, to do.'

Form	Book Pahlavi	Persian inscriptions	Psalter	Pazand	Manichean Persian
Active Present Ind. Sing. 1	[illegible] ʿBYDWN-m = kunam [illegible] ʿBYDWN-ʷm = kunom		ʿBYDWN-m	kunam, -em kunŏm	
2	[illegible] ʿBYDWN-yd = kunē				
3	[illegible] ʿBYDWN-yt' = kunēt [illegible] kwnyt' [illegible] kwnd: ×kunad		ʿBYDWN-t	kunĕd	qwnyd qwnd
Plur. 1	[illegible] ʿBYDWN-ym = kunēm			kunŏm	qwnym
2	[illegible] ʿBYDWN-yt' = kunēt			kunĕd	kwnyd
3	[illegible] ʿBYDWN-d = kunēnd		ʿBYDWN-d	kunend	kwnynd
Imperative: Sing. 2	[illegible] ʿBYDWN = kun		ʿBYDWN	kun	kwn
Plur. 2	[illegible] ʿBYDWN-yt' = kunēt		ʿBYDWN-yt	kunēd	qwnyd
Subjunctive: Sing. 1	[kunān]	ʿBYDWN-n	ʿBYDWN-ʾn		qwnʾn
2	[illegible] ʿBYDWN-ʾy = kunāi [illegible] ʿBYDWN-ʾh = kunāh				qwnʾy
3	[illegible] ʿBYDWNʾt' = kunāt			kunād	qwnʾd
Optative: Sing. 3	[kunēh]	ʿBYDWN			
Infinitive	krtn': (ʿBYDWN-tn') = kartan	krtny		kandan kirdan	kyrdn
Past Participle	krt' (ʿBYDWN-t') = kart	krty	klty	kard kird	kyrd
Passive Present Ind. Sing. 3	[illegible] ʿBYDWN-yhyt' = kunihēt [kirihēt]				kwnyhyd kyryhyd
Plur. 3	[kirihēnd]				kyryhynd
Subjunctive: Sing. 3	[kirihāt]				kyryhʾd
Preterite	[illegible] klyhst': kirihist				

The form [illegible] ʿBYDWN-x, stands for

1. the pres. ind. 3d p. sing. kunēt: pp. ٢٢:21. ٢٧:25.26. ٢٨:1.17.26. ٢٩:17. ٦٥:24.26. ١٠٢:20. ١٠٤:19;
2. the pres. ind. 3d p. plur. kunēnd: pp. ٩٥:4. ٩٦:13.14. ٩٨:16.17. ٩٩:7. ١٠٠:5.25. ١٠٢:3.21. ١٠٣:1.9.21.26. ١٠٤:25. ١٠٦:20;
3. the imperative sing. kunē (v. Grammar): pp. ٢٠:3. ٦٦:16;
4. " " plur. kunēt: pp. ٨:13. ١٠:12. ٩٨:16;
5. the past participle = preterite kart: p. 1:14.

The form [illegible] ʿBYDWN-x_2 stands for

1. the pres. ind. 2nd p. sing. kunē : p. ٤٣:٥;
2. the pres. ind. 3d p. sing. kunēt: p. ١٠٥:٦;
3. the pres. ind. 3d p. plur. kunēnd: pp. ٧٠:3. ٣٤:10 (subj. = kunānd?). ٩٥:8. ٩٦:14.18. ٩٧:17. ٩٨:26. ١٠١:8;
4. the imperative sing. kunē: pp. ٧:16. ٤:20;
5. the past participle = preterite kart: p. ٥:1.

To be noticed:

the pres. ind. 2nd p. sing. [illegible] ʿBYDWN-x_2-yd = kunē (Kn. 7:11, where also [illegible] YDLWN-x_2-yd = barē);
the pres. subj. 3d p. sing. [illegible] ʿBYDWN-x_2-ʾt' = kunāt, p. ٥٤:١٤;
the form [illegible] = kunēnd (not used in the present Manual).

Passive voice.

This form is derived from the present stem by means of the suffix °[illegible]° -ĭh-; the suffix -ēn- forming the active stem of the causative verbs is dropped:

Present indicative 3d p. sing.:

[illegible] rahihēt (rastan rah-) — [illegible] sparihēt (spurtan) — [illegible] YKTYBWN-yhyt' = nipēsihēt (nipištan nipēs-) — [illegible] ʿBYDWN-yhyt' = kunihēt (kartan kun-) — [illegible] akārihēt (akār-ēn-ītan) — [illegible] paitākihēt (paitāk-ēn-ītan).

3d p. plur.:

[illegible] marzihēnd (p. ٥:11; marz-).

Note 1. The passive of [illegible] apasihēnītan (the causative of *apa-sid-) is [illegible] apasīhēt < *apa-sidya; the old Aryan passive, or [illegible] apasihiyēt, for -ihēt.

Note 2. [illegible] rahihēt (thus written p. ٣٤:1) is written [illegible] p. ٩٨:22; perhaps [illegible] lhydyt' = rahiyēt is meant.

Subjunctive 3d p. sing.: [illegible] apasīhāt < *apa-sidyāti.

Infinitive: [illegible] apasihistan — [illegible] sahmihistan.

Past Participle: 1. [illegible] viyāpihist (p. ٩٠:24) — [illegible] vāvarīkanihist — [illegible] kirihist — [illegible] ranjihist — [illegible] paitākihist. — 2. [illegible] vīnārihīt (p. ٥٥:16) — [illegible] vistarihīt (p. ٤٤:13) — [illegible] * pērāvanihīt (p. ٣٣:17).

Critical Notes.

I. The Kārnāmak.

[P.1] A. has the following introductory formula, which seems to be taken from M: [illegible]

1. [illegible]] A. [illegible]; M] N [illegible]. — 2. [illegible]] S. [illegible]; A. [illegible]. — 3. [illegible] M] [illegible]. — 4. Both [illegible] > A. — [illegible]] A. + [illegible]. — 8. [illegible]] S. [illegible]. — 9. [illegible]] S. + [illegible], wanting in A. = DP; in this case the subject of [illegible] is [illegible], l. 8. — 1st [illegible] > S. — [illegible]] S. [illegible]. — 12. [illegible]] thus A.; S. [illegible] = D. — 13. [illegible]] thus S = M]; A. [illegible]. — 14. [illegible]] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible] — [illegible]] + [illegible]. — 16. [illegible]] A. throughout [illegible] without the Iẓāfat. — 17. [illegible]] A. throughout [illegible]. — 18. [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible]. — [P.2] 1–2. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > S. = NK. — 7. [illegible]] S. + [illegible]. — 8. 1st [illegible]] thus A.; S. [illegible]. — [illegible]] thus P; A. and S. [illegible]. — 11. [illegible]] all [illegible]. — 14. [illegible]] thus P; A. and S. [illegible]. — 15. [illegible]] thus M; A. and S. [illegible]. — 18. Both [illegible] are written with a marked [illegible] in A. and S. — [illegible]] A. [illegible]; S. [illegible]. — 19. [illegible]] A. + [illegible]. — 20. [illegible]] thus A.; S. [illegible] [illegible]. — 2nd [illegible] > A. — [illegible]] S. [illegible]; A. [illegible]. — 21. [illegible]] all MSS [illegible]; A. and S. by conjecture [illegible] ⟨[illegible]⟩. — 26. [illegible]] S. + [illegible]. — [illegible]] A. [illegible]. — [P.3] 6. [illegible] > A. = P. — [illegible]] A. [illegible], for [illegible]. — 7. [illegible]] DP [illegible]. — 8. [illegible]] S. + [illegible]. — 10. [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible]. — 11. [illegible]] S. + [illegible]. — [illegible]] thus all MSS; S. [illegible] read "vêsh-dît". — 16. [illegible]] all [illegible], but cfr. p. 17:10. — 21. [illegible]] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible]. — [illegible]] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible] ⟨[illegible]⟩. — 22. [illegible]] add. by S. — 23. [illegible] > A. — [P.4] 1. [illegible]] A. [illegible]. — [illegible]] A. [illegible]. — 2. [illegible]] A. [illegible]. — 4. [illegible]] S. [illegible]; A. [illegible]. — [illegible]] A. [illegible] = D; S. [illegible] = P. — 9. [illegible]] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible]. — 12. [illegible]] S. [illegible]. — 13. [illegible]] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible]. — [illegible]] thus S.; according to A., "all [illegible]", which he corrects to [illegible]. — [illegible]] A. [illegible] = DP; A. has the following text:

[illegible]

15. 1st [illegible] add. by S. – [illegible]] M possibly [illegible], as clearly written in P, = a-dēn? – 16. [illegible]] thus A. = all MSS; unacceptable emendation by S. – [illegible]] A. [illegible]° = DP. – [illegible]] S [illegible]. – 17. [illegible]] thus all MSS; A. [illegible]; S. [illegible]. – 25. [illegible]] thus A.; DP [illegible]; S. [illegible], but also proposes the reading of A. – 26. [illegible]] NK [illegible]. – [P.٥] 1. [illegible]] S. [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus MDPK; A. [illegible]°; S. [illegible]° – [illegible]] A. [illegible]. – [illegible] >]KN. – 8. [illegible]] DPNK [illegible]. – 9. [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] A. [illegible] = DP; S. [illegible], read "Nahâzîgân", which seems to be his own conjecture. – 11. [illegible]] S. [illegible]. – 12. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > NK. – 14. [illegible]] S. [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] S. reads "murûvgushân"; A. [illegible]. – 21. [illegible]] M] [illegible]. – 23. [illegible]]] [illegible] 25 [illegible]. – 24. [illegible]] all [illegible]. – 26. [illegible]] thus the MSS; A. and S. [illegible]°. – 27. [illegible] add. by S. – [illegible]] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible] + 1. – [P.٦] 4. [illegible]] S. [illegible]; A. [illegible], evidently a careless writing (v. p. [illegible], n.5) of [illegible], cfr. p. DV:25. – 5. [illegible]] thus S. = M]NK; A. [illegible]. – [illegible]] S. + [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] thus S. = M]; A. [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] M]P [illegible]. – 11. [illegible]] thus S. = M]; A. [illegible]°. – [illegible] > S. – 18. [illegible]] A. + [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] A. [illegible] = DP. – [illegible]] A. [illegible]. – [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible]. – [illegible]] A. + [illegible]. – 20. [illegible] > S. – 21. [illegible]] A. [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus S. =]; MNPDK [illegible]°; A. [illegible]. – [illegible]] NPDK [illegible]. – 22. [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible]. – [P.٧] 4. [illegible]] A. [illegible]°. – 7. [illegible]] S. [illegible] = NK. – [illegible]] thus S. = NK; A. [illegible] = DP. – 8. [illegible]] S. [illegible] + 1. – 9. [illegible]] thus the MSS; S. transliterates "az rûê"; A. [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] A. [illegible], also l.15. – 17. [illegible]] A. + [illegible]. – 17.24. [illegible]] thus emended by A.; S. [illegible] = all MSS. – 18. [illegible]] thus A.; S. [illegible] = all MSS. – 20. [illegible]] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible]. – 23. [illegible]] A. [illegible]. – [illegible] > S. = M]. – [illegible]] thus S. = M]; A. [illegible]. – 25–26. [illegible]] all MSS [illegible]; S. [illegible]; A. [illegible]. – 27. [illegible]] A. [illegible]; S. [illegible]. – [P.٨] 1. [illegible]] thus A.; S. [illegible]. – 4–5. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > NK. – 5. [illegible]] A. + [illegible] (not in M] = S.) – 7. [illegible]] v. above ad p.V:17. – 9. [illegible]] thus A.; S. [illegible]. – 13. [illegible]] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible]°. – [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible]; A.: "all [illegible]", but according to S., D has [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] A. [illegible]. – 16. [illegible]] S. [illegible] + 1. – [illegible]] S. + [illegible] = K. – 19. [illegible]] A. [illegible] = DP. – 22. [illegible]] S. [illegible]. – 24. [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus emended by A.; all MSS [illegible]; S. [illegible]. –

The long period p. A:24–9:6 is complicated and suffers from an anacoluthon. It consists of

I. A series of subordinated clauses introduced by [illegible] :

1. [illegible] ..... [illegible] , [illegible] , ll. 24-25, in which the clause [illegible] ... [illegible] is inserted as an explication of [illegible] ;

2. the clause [illegible] ..... [illegible] is continued by [illegible] ..... [illegible] , ll. 25-26; after [illegible] the author brings a long series of relative clauses describing the misery a) of the exiled brothers ([illegible] .. [illegible] , ll. 27-9:2), and b) of the brothers kept in custody ([illegible] ... [illegible] , p. 9:2-3, and [illegible] ..... [illegible] , ll. 3-4); then he takes up the interrupted clause [illegible] ..... [illegible] in another form by

3. the clause [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] , l. 4, and continues this by the clauses [illegible] [illegible] ..... [illegible] , l. 5, and [illegible] .... [illegible] , ll. 5-6;

II. The head clause beginning with [illegible] , l. 6.

Neither A. nor S. has understood the structure of this passage.

[P.9] 2. [illegible]] thus S. = all MSS ; A. emends to [illegible] . – 4. [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible] . – 6. [illegible]] thus S. ; MJ , [illegible] ; A. [illegible] , read anduh-šān. – [illegible]] thus S. = all MSS; A. [illegible] . – 7. [illegible]] thus S.; all MSS [illegible] ; A. [illegible] read aui.sāmān. – 8. [illegible]] S. [illegible] . – [illegible]] thus MJ ; A. and S. [illegible] = P. – 9. [illegible]] S. [illegible] . – 10. [illegible]] thus A. and S.; all MSS [illegible] (DP [illegible]). – 13. [illegible]] S. [illegible] . – 15. [illegible]] thus S. = NK; A. [illegible] . – 16. [illegible]] thus A. = P; S. [illegible] = D. – 19. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > NK. – [illegible]] A. [illegible] . – 21. [illegible]] S. [illegible] = NK. – 22. [illegible]] thus A.; S. [illegible] = P. – 23. [illegible]] A. [illegible] = DP. – [illegible]] S. + [illegible] . – [illegible]] S. + [illegible] . – 24. [illegible]] PNK [illegible] . – 26. 1st [illegible]] thus A. = DP; S. wrongly emends to [illegible] . – [P.10] 1. [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible] . – 5. [illegible]] S. [illegible] . – 6. [illegible] > S. = MNK. – 9. [illegible]] thus A. = P; S. [illegible] = P. – 11. [illegible] > N. – [illegible]] emendation proposed by S.; A. and S. [illegible] . – 19. [illegible] > A.; added by S. – [illegible]] A. [illegible] = P. – 20. [illegible]] thus A. with the remark: "all [illegible] "; but S. [illegible] = D. – 21. [illegible]] S. proposes to add [illegible] . – 23. [illegible]] A. and S. [illegible] . – 25. [illegible]] A. [illegible] . – [P.11] 1. S. has [illegible] . – 4. [illegible] > A. – [illegible]] thus A., with the remark: "all [illegible] "; but S. [illegible] with the remark: "so D" – 5. [illegible]] NK [illegible] . –

] thus MPNK; A. and S. °. – 7.] A. . – 9. –] A. remarks: "all "; no variant in S. – 10.] A. °. – 17.] thus A.; D ; P ; S. . – 18-19.] thus M]; A. ; S. connects with the preceding word and reads , adding ܐ after it. – 21.] D , also l. 26. – 24.] A. °. –

P. 12 3.] A. . –] thus S. = MNK; A. °. – 11.] thus A.; > MNK; added by S. – > S. – 14.] S. . – 17. > S. – 18. After , which he had written , M added as a correction; this was taken over by N and K as an independent word: , and added to it. A. eliminates , but maintains . – 19.] thus A. = P; S. = D. – 20.] S. = MK;] °; A. . – 25.] A. remarks: "all "; S. +1. – 27.] thus A. without variants; S. . –] S. . – P. 13 2.] A. and S. °. – 5.] A. . – 7.] A. and S. °. – 9.] S. . – 10.] eliminated by A. – 7.] A. . – 12.] A. °. –] A. , emendation against all MSS; this form is also correct, °and alternating in this w., v. Glossary. – 13.] thus A. = DP; S. . – 15. From to incl. > NK. – 20.] PKN . – > S. – 22.] thus A. and S.; A. remarks: "all ". –] A. and S. . –] A. and S. . – 23.] S. . – 24.] S. . –] A. and S. + . – 25.] thus all MSS; A. and S. °. – 26.] A. . –] thus A. = DP; S. . – P. 14 1.] A. remarks: "all add "; S. . – Both] A. . – 2.] S. ⟨ܐ⟩ ; A. ⟨ܐ⟩ ; S. . – 3.] thus A. = DP; S. . –] S. + . – 5.] thus A. = DP; S. °. – 7.] thus S.; A. = DP. – 9.] S. . – 10.] A. and S. . – 11. ⟨ܐ⟩ added by S. – ܐ eliminated by A. – 12.] A. and S. . – 14.] A. = DP. – 15-16. From to incl. > NK. – 15.] S. , read by him "dihgân", which is, according to A., the reading of all MSS except M; A. = M. – 16.] thus S.; A. ;] . – 19.] A. and S. °. – 21.22. ⟨ܐ⟩ added by S. – 23.] thus A.; S. = D; P . – 26.] thus A. (read by him vāj); S. . – P. 15 1.] S. = M]. – 2.] thus S. = M]; A. . – 3.] A. . – 4.] thus A. and S. = N; according to A., all other MSS . – 7.] thus A. and S.; MD °;] °;

P [illegible]°; NK [illegible]°. – ⟨[illegible]⟩ add. by S. – 8. [illegible] A. [illegible] = DP. – 10. [illegible] thus A. without variants; S. [illegible] ⟨[illegible]⟩, read "î nihâdê dagyâ." – 19. [illegible] A. [illegible]. – [illegible] A. [illegible]. – 15. [illegible] A. and S. [illegible]. – 10. [illegible] A. +1 = DP. – 18. [illegible] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible], read "humanîsh, which shows that [illegible] is meant. – 22. [illegible] A. and S. [illegible]. – 23. [illegible] A. [illegible]° = DP. – [illegible] S. [illegible], both perhaps faults for [illegible]. – 26. [illegible] A. [illegible] = DP. – P.17 3. [illegible] S. + [illegible]. – 5. [illegible] A. [illegible] = DP. – 6. [illegible] S. [illegible] and adds [illegible]. – 7. [illegible] A. [illegible]. – 10. [illegible] thus A. without variants; S. wrongly emends to [illegible]. – 13. [illegible]° > S. – [illegible] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible]. – 15. [illegible] all MSS [illegible]. – 17-18. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > NK. – 21. [illegible] S. [illegible]°. – 22. [illegible] S. adds [illegible]. – [illegible] S. [illegible]; NK [illegible]. – P.IV 5. [illegible] thus A. = DP; S. [illegible]. – 9. [illegible] S. [illegible]. –

II. The Ayyātkār i Zarērān.

P.19 1. ⟨[illegible]⟩ add. by J-A. – [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. – 8. [illegible] thus M; J-A. [illegible]; P. [illegible]. – [illegible] J [illegible]°. – 12. [illegible] thus J-A.; P. emends to [illegible], read *viši/a/dak; unacceptable. – 20. [illegible] probably suffers from some corruption: [illegible] = anōč is strange; for [illegible] = *xūnēh? or for [illegible] = aviš referring to [illegible]? is [illegible] = bē a false ideogram of bēh, the optative of būtan? – 21. [illegible] M [illegible]. – 22. [illegible] J + [illegible]. – 24. [illegible] > J-A. – P.20 17. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. – 22.24. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. – P.21 5. [illegible] J-A. + 1. – 8. [illegible] M [illegible]. – 13.14. [illegible] M throughout [illegible]°. – 15. [illegible] M [illegible]°. – [illegible] thus MJ; J-A. [illegible]°. – 17. [illegible] J-A. [illegible], false ideogram of [illegible] which was read bē (v. Glossary s.v. bag); cfr. pp. 22:24. 23:21-22. – 20. [illegible] J-A. adds in brackets [illegible], which is meant to be a correction (wrong). – 23. [illegible] M [illegible]°. – 24. [illegible] J-A. adds [illegible]. – 27. [illegible] J-A. [illegible], also p. 22:4. – P.22 2. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]°. – 6. The additions by J-A. – 7. [illegible] M [illegible]. – 9. [illegible] J [illegible]. – 10. [illegible] M J + 1. – 19-20. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. – 23. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. – [illegible] J [illegible]. – 23. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. – 24. [illegible] M [illegible]; eliminated by J-A. – 25. [illegible] M [illegible]. – 25.28. [illegible] thus MJ; J-A. [illegible]. – 25. [illegible] J-A. + 1. – P.23 5. 1 > J-A. – 7. [illegible] M J [illegible]. – 21. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. – [illegible] thus M ([illegible]); eliminated by J-A. – 23. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. – 26. [illegible] J + [illegible]. – 27. [illegible] M J

[illegible]; J also p. ٢٤:1. — [P. ٢٤] 9. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 13. [illegible] MJ [illegible]. — [P. ٢٥] 2. [illegible] J [illegible]. — 11. [illegible] M [illegible]. — 13. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 16. [illegible] my conjecture; J-A. [illegible], also pp. ٢٧:13.25.27.٢٩:1. — [illegible] J-A. + 1. — 24. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — [P. ٢٦] 6. [illegible] M J [illegible] 1. — 7. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > J. — [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 10. [illegible] J. — 11. [illegible] MJ [illegible]. — 18. [illegible] J-A., wrongly interpreting the passage, adds in brackets [illegible]. — 22. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 23. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — [illegible] J [illegible]. — 25. [illegible] M [illegible]. — 26. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — [illegible] thus J-A. = J; West supposed [illegible]. — [P. ٢٧] 1. [illegible] thus MJ. — 18. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — [illegible] M [illegible]? J [illegible]. — 19. [illegible] J-A. + [illegible]. — [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 22. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 23. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 24. [illegible] thus J; J-A. [illegible]. — 27. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — [P. ٢٨] 3. [illegible] M [illegible]. — 4. [illegible] J [illegible]. — 5. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 6. [illegible] MJ [illegible]. — 8. [illegible] J [illegible]. — [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 13. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 14. [illegible] J-A. [illegible] + 1. — [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 17. [illegible] > MJ. — 18.20. [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 22. [illegible] M [illegible]. — 23. [illegible] > J. — [illegible] J [illegible]. — 24. [illegible] > J. — 27. [illegible] M [illegible]; J [illegible]. — [P. ٢٩] 5. [illegible] J-A. + [illegible]. — 10. [illegible] M [illegible]. — [illegible] J-A. [illegible]. — 13. [illegible] J-A. adds in brackets [illegible]. — 13-14. J-A. [illegible] through haplography. — 20-21. The words [illegible] > MJ through homoioteleuton; restored by J-A. — [P. ٣٠] 3. [illegible] M [illegible]. — 4. [illegible] MJ [illegible]. —

III. The Legend of Keresāspa.

[P.31] 1. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – 4. [illegible]] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. – [illegible]] Dh. generally [illegible], also [illegible], cfr. NP. [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]; CD [illegible]. – 8. [illegible]] D [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]; CD [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] B [illegible]; D [illegible]. 13. [illegible]] all MSS [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] D [illegible] 1. – 18.21.32: 7.19.33: 12.17: [illegible]] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] [illegible] > CD. – 21. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. –

[P.32] 1. [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – [illegible]] Dh. + [illegible]. – 5. [illegible]] CD + [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] B [illegible]. – 9.13. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible] = B; C [illegible]; D [illegible]. – 11. 2d [illegible]] B [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible] = B. – 15. Both [illegible]] thus Dh.; CD [illegible]. – 16. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible] without variants. – [illegible]] thus CD; Dh. [illegible] = B. – 17. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – From [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > D; C on the margin. – 19. [illegible]] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. – 20. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]; C [illegible] (!); D [illegible] (!). – 25. [illegible]] CD + [illegible]. – 26. [illegible]] B [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. – 27. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible] = B. – [P.33] 1. [illegible]] thus C; Dh. [illegible]. – From [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > D. – [illegible]] thus B; Dh. [illegible]. – 2. [illegible]] D [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. – [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – 3. [illegible] > CD. – [illegible]] B [illegible]. – 5. [illegible]] thus Dh. = B; > CD. – [illegible]. 1 > CD. – 11. [illegible] > B. – 12. [illegible]] thus Dh. = B; C [illegible]; D [illegible]. – [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]; B [illegible]. – 13. [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – [illegible]] C [illegible]; D [illegible]. – 20. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – 21. [illegible]] thus CD; D [illegible]. –

[P.34] 1. [illegible]] CD + [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus Dh.; C [illegible]; D [illegible]. – 2. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – 4. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – 5. [illegible]] thus C; > Dh. – 6. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – 7. 2d [illegible]] thus CD; > Dh. – 8. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]; D [illegible]. – [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible] (with the remark: "thus all"), but proposes [illegible]. – [illegible]] B [illegible]. – 16. [illegible]] thus CD; > Dh. – 20. [illegible] > D. – 26. [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – [P.35] 4. [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – 5. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]; CD [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – 8. [illegible] > CD. – [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – 9. [illegible]] Dh. + [illegible]. – 13. [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]; CD [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – [illegible]] Dh. 1e2r with the remark: "thus all". – 16. [illegible]] CD [illegible]. –

IV. Extracts from the 7th Book of the Dēnkart.

Note: – As the text reproduced in this Manual is thoroughly based on that of M(adan), and all variants refer to divergencies from this, the sign "M." before variants has been omitted.

[P. ٣٦] 1. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 17-18. [illegible] = anagr, l. 18, is the correct reading of FB, v. Introduction. The mentioning of the Moon, l. 17, is quite out of place, since there can be nothing above the Endless Lights, the abode of Ohurmazd and the Ameshaspentas. The difficulty cannot be eliminated by emending the word [illegible]: the conjecture of S.: [illegible] = mēš 'Aries', is out of the question, because the stars belong to the fourth sphere, and West's conjecture: [illegible] = *maxš 'germ', cannot be thought of. No doubt the confusion is due to a simple clerical error. When beginning to copy out the different stages of the descent of the Prophet's x^{w}arenah the scribe leapt too early to the stage of the Moon and wrote: [illegible], then observed his mistake and went back to the stage of the [illegible], but unfortunately without cancelling the faulty words. The MSS contain numerous instances – as a rule not noticed by Indian editors – of this bad habit. – [P. ٣٧] 5. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] [illegible]. – [illegible]] [illegible]. – 13. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – [illegible]] [illegible]. – 16. [illegible]] [illegible] (printer's error). – 19. [illegible]] [illegible], possibly for [illegible]. – 21. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – 24. [illegible]] [illegible]. – [P. ٣٨] 1. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – 3. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 8. [illegible]] [illegible]. – [illegible]] [illegible], false interpretation of [illegible] as 'wyš'n' instead of hwyš'n'; thus also l. 14 and p. ٤١: 2. 4. – 9. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 12. 14. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 24. [illegible]] [illegible], but cfr. p. ٣٩: 14. – 25. [illegible]] [illegible]. – [P. ٣٩] 3. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 11. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 20. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 22. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 24. [illegible]] [illegible], also p. ٤٠: 7. ٤١: 5. – [P. ٤٠] 2. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] perhaps [illegible]? – 21. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 23. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 25. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 27. [illegible]] [illegible]. – [P. ٤١] 2. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 15. A verb must have fallen out here; [illegible] ? – 19. The word division of M. is wrong. – 21. [illegible]] [illegible] = varrakān; but in this expression gōspandān = [illegible] is the proper word:

Av. pasu vīra. – P. 43 6. [illegible] (illegible) illegible] [illegible]: [illegible] was falsely divided [illegible], and [illegible] added as a gloss. – 7. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 16. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 21. [illegible]] [illegible]. – [illegible]] [illegible]. – 22. [illegible]] [illegible]. – P. 45 3. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – 7.10. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 13. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 16. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 18. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 23. [illegible]] [illegible]. – P. 46 2. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 4. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – 13-14. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 20.22. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 23. Evidently the Pahlavi rendering of an Avestan verse, cfr. Vd. 19:46, which underlies l. 27. – 24. The words [illegible] are continued by [illegible], l. 26. – P. 40 5. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – [illegible]] + [illegible]. – 17. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 18. [illegible]] preceded by [illegible], a clerical error tacitly corrected by the following [illegible], cfr. ad p. [illegible]:17-18. – 20. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 25. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 27. [illegible]] [illegible]. – P. 47 1. [illegible] is the correct reading of FB, as against [illegible] of M.; v. Introduction. – 6. [illegible]] [illegible]. – [illegible]] [illegible]. – 16-21: v. Yt. 19:57-64. – 16. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 17. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 19-21: a badly transmitted Pahlavi rendering of Yt. 19:57:

yat asti airyanąm dahyunąm
zātanąm azātanąm
yatca ašaonō Zaraθuštrahe.

The text of M. runs thus: [illegible]. Here [illegible] is a slip of pen tacitly corrected by the following [illegible] = dēhān; [illegible] is a corruption of [illegible] = dehān, added as a gloss, and then misunderstood and misplaced. In l. 21 [illegible] has to be added.

P. 47:25-48:11: the same pedigree in Zsprm, ch. VII (ed. Anklesaria, pp. 53-54); cfr. further BdA, pp. 234:14-235; 228:5-230:10; Bdj, pp. 77-79.

P. 47:25. [illegible]] all the other texts [illegible]. –

[illegible]] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible], [illegible];
Bdj [illegible]. –

[illegible]] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA –; Bdj [illegible]. –

26. [illegible]] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible];
Bdj [illegible]. –

[illegible]] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible]; Bdj [illegible]. –

[illegible]] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible]; Bdj [illegible]. –

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible]; Bdj [illegible].–

P.47 1. [illegible] M. [illegible]; Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible];
Bdj [illegible].–

[illegible] the other texts [illegible].–

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible]; Bdj [illegible].–

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible]; Bdj [illegible].–

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible]; Bdj [illegible].–

2. [illegible] Zsprm + [illegible].–

3. [illegible] M. [illegible].–[illegible] Zsprm [illegible].–

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible]; Bdj [illegible].

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible].–

4. [illegible] Zsprm [illegible] = BdA; Bdj [illegible].–

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible] = BdA; Bdj [illegible].–

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible]; Bdj [illegible].–

7. [illegible] BdA [illegible]; Bdj [illegible].–

9. [illegible] M. [illegible].–

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible].–

[illegible] Zsprm [illegible]; > BdA.

11. [illegible] Zsprm [illegible]; BdA [illegible].–

P.48 2. [illegible] <[illegible]> [illegible].–4. [illegible] + [illegible].–9. [illegible]
[illegible].–[illegible] [illegible].–12. [illegible] [illegible].–13. [illegible].–25. [illegible] [illegible].–
26. [illegible] preceded by [illegible], a clerical error, not cancelled, for [illegible].–
P.49 1. [illegible] [illegible].–8. [illegible] [illegible].–18. [illegible] [illegible].–27. [illegible]
[illegible].– P.50 2. [illegible] [illegible].– [illegible] [illegible].–5. [illegible] [illegible].–7. [illegible]
[illegible].–8. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].–[illegible] + 1.–9. [illegible] [illegible].– [illegible]
[illegible].–12. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].–13. [illegible] [illegible].–14. [illegible] preceded
by [illegible], a clerical error not cancelled.–15. [illegible] [illegible].–18. [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible].–25. [illegible] [illegible].– P.51 4. [illegible] + 1.–
6. [illegible] [illegible].–8. [illegible] [illegible].–13. [illegible] [illegible] 98, cfr. ll. 15–16.–
[illegible] [illegible].– P.51:20–52:16: this passage, corresponding to Zsprm,
ch. X, § 17 sq. (ed. Inklesaria, p. 65), is carelessly transmitted, but thanks
to the strict symmetry of the expressions used for the different stages
the wording can be restored with great safety, except in p. 52:7, where
the decisive words are lost. Cfr., however, below ad l.–22. [illegible].–
[illegible].– [illegible].–25. [illegible].–27. [illegible].–

P.57 1. [illegible]] [illegible]. — [illegible]] preceded by [illegible], a clerical error not cancelled. — 7. The general tenor of the lost text may be concluded from Zsprm: [illegible] — 10. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 11. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 18. [illegible]] preceded by an abortive [illegible] not cancelled. — 20. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 21. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 22. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 26. [illegible]] + [illegible]. —

P.58 15. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 17. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 19. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 20. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 24. [illegible]] [illegible]. — P.59 2. [illegible]] [illegible]: thus M. (v. p. 131:6, n. 2), but not S. = FB. — 6.11. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 7. [illegible]] [illegible]. — [illegible]] [illegible]. — 10. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 14. [illegible]] [illegible]. — The passage ll. 12-22 is rendered by Zsprm, ch. XII, § 10 (p. 70), as follows: [illegible] — P.60:25-60:24: this passage undoubtedly goes back to an Avestan hymn. —

P.60 13. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 21. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 26. [illegible]] [illegible]. — P.61 2. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 4. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 7. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 12. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 15. [illegible]] + [illegible]. — 19. [illegible]] S. conjectures [illegible]. — 25. [illegible]] M. [illegible], but S. [illegible] = FB, v. Introduction. — 26. [illegible]] S. conjectures [illegible]. — 27. [illegible]] [illegible]. —

P.61 7. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 14. [illegible]] [illegible], but cfr. 626:11 M. — 15. [illegible]] [illegible]; cfr. p. 626:12 M. in the same context. — 17. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 18. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 20. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 24. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 26. [illegible]] [illegible]. — P.61 1. [illegible]] [illegible]. — [illegible] = w ZK = u an 'etc.'; but it would also be possible to read [illegible] = wzg = vazag 'frog'. — 7. [illegible]] thus S. = FB; M. [illegible]. — 27. [illegible]] [illegible]. — P.62 2. [illegible]] [illegible]; S. [illegible]. — 9. [illegible]] S. [illegible] = FB. — 13. [illegible]] S. [illegible] = FB, and this is the correct reading ([illegible] for [illegible]). — 16. [illegible]] thus S. = FB; M. [illegible]. — 21. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 24. [illegible]] [illegible]. —

P.70 5. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 7. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 13. [illegible]] [illegible] (!). — [illegible]] [illegible]. — 18. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 18-20. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. are written twice, the first time with [illegible], l. 18, and without [illegible], l. 20, the second time with [illegible] instead of [illegible], l. 19, and without [illegible]. — [illegible]] [illegible]; S. [illegible] = dēh. — 22. [illegible]] [illegible]. — 24.26. [illegible]] [illegible].

25. [illegible] + 1. – [illegible] + 1. – P.71 5. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 10b – 11a : this passage is handed down in two variants juxtaposed without any division:

[illegible] { (1) [illegible]
(2) [illegible] (!) [illegible] }

whence we may conclude that [illegible] = anāk is the Iranian equivalent of the rare ideogram [illegible] = HBLN' not found in the Frahang. – 13. [illegible]] [illegible]; S. [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 18. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 20. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – 25. [illegible]] [illegible]. Uncertain. The text is fragmentary; [illegible] is the last word of the folio, and the next folio is lost.

V. The Pand-namak.

P.72 4. [illegible] > MJ. – 5. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] J [illegible]. – 13. [illegible]] M [illegible]; J [illegible]. – [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] thus M; J-A. [illegible]. – 15-16. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. Here [illegible] is a correction belonging to [illegible], and originally written above: [illegible], or on the margin, but then misplaced, and inserted as an independent word. In M the gloss [illegible] is added by a later hand; taken up by J-A. instead of [illegible]. – P.73 1. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 5. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – [illegible]] J-A. throughout [illegible]. – 9. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus MJ; [illegible] > J-A. – 12. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] M [illegible]. – 26. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – P.74 4. [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] M [illegible]. – 17. [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – 19. [illegible] > MJ. – 20. [illegible]] thus J-A.; MJ [illegible]. – 27. [illegible] > J; in M added by a later hand. – P.75 9. [illegible]] M [illegible]. – 11. [illegible]] in M changed to [illegible] = J. – 13. [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] M [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] J-A. + [illegible] as put in brackets. – 16. [illegible]] thus J-A.; MJ [illegible]. – 18. [illegible]] thus M; J-A. [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] thus J-A.; MJ [illegible]. – 20. [illegible] > MJ. – [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – 21. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 23-24. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. are added by a later hand in M; > J. – P.77 5. [illegible]] thus MJ; J-A. [illegible]. – 8. [illegible]] M [illegible]; J [illegible]; J-A. [illegible]. – 9. [illegible]] M [illegible]. – 13. [illegible]] thus J-A.; MJ [illegible]. – 27. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – P.78 5. [illegible]] MJ [illegible], corrected in M by a later hand to [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. –

VI. The Mēnōyē xrat.

P.7A 2. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – From [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > K. – 7. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – [illegible]] K [illegible]. – [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. ham. ayārq = [illegible]. – [illegible]] K [illegible], and throughout [illegible] for [illegible]. – [illegible]] K [illegible], perhaps = bavāt; N. bahōd. – 15. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. xašmginī = [illegible]. – 17. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – P.79 3. [illegible] > K. – [illegible]] K [illegible] (!); N. wanting in several MSS; in others: ārāiš u. – 10. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – Last 1 > K. – 14. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. ēmōk. – 16. [illegible]] N pēšīār. – 18. [illegible]] N. kēsend. – 19. → [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 27. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – The last two [illegible]] K [illegible]. –

P.V0 1. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 5. 1 > K. – 11. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. āstiq. – [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. jādqgō. – 19. [illegible]] K [illegible], perhaps only a clerical error, not cancelled, for the following [illegible]; > N; [illegible] > K. – 22–23. K: [illegible]; N. pa dōstq āsānī. – manešnī dōstī veh; Skr.: mitrāṇāṃ samādhānāya mānasī mitratā uttamā. – 23. [illegible]] thus K; N. sūd = [illegible], but some MSS savak = K. – 26–27. [illegible]] N. humat(a). – P.VI 1. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 5. [illegible]] K [illegible]; 1 > KN. – [illegible] > N. – 5–6. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] N. ajīhašnī. – 7. [illegible]] K + [illegible]. – 9. 1 > K. – 10. [illegible]] N. šnāsaī = [illegible]. – 11. 1st 1 > N. – 12. 17. [illegible]] N. uzdēst. – 14. 15. [illegible]] N. hazār sāl. – 19. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 20. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – P.VP 3. [illegible]] N. garāmī = [illegible]. – 4. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. āzarmī = [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – [illegible]] [illegible] > N. – 7. [illegible]] N. xᵛared = [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus S.; K [illegible]; N. ast = [illegible]; A. [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – ⟨[illegible]⟩] N. šahōd = [illegible] after [illegible], l. 13. – 16. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. hamōīn. – 18. [illegible]] N. ke = [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] N. arāst = [illegible]. – 21. 95 > N. – 23. [illegible]] preceded by [illegible], a clerical error, not cancelled, for the following word. – 26. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 27. [illegible]] N. nēk = [illegible]. – P.VP 2. [illegible]] N. plur. – [illegible]] K [illegible] = N. hād. – 4. [illegible]] N. hom = [illegible] or [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] N. kardan. – 7. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 8. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – Both [illegible]] N. kardan. – 9. [illegible]] N. andōxtan. – 12. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. e° (- ca) = A. – 13. [illegible]] N. sbanašnī ca kardan. – 15. [illegible]] N. rāst u frārūn. – 19. [illegible] > K. – 20. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – [illegible]] N. vād i xᵛašbōi (= [illegible]). – 22. [illegible]] N. throughout hargižica. – 27. [illegible] (= ahrāmiyēt)] N. ārāmed. –

P.VE 1. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 9. [illegible]] N. āsāned = [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]]

K [illegible]. – [illegible] N. + tan u bōi. – 13. 1st sg > N.; 2nd sg: N. [illegible] = hae, a misreading of [illegible] = has, v. Glossary. – 14. [illegible] > K. – 15. [illegible] N. nišīnend. – [illegible] N. u andā = [illegible] 25 1. – 18.26. [illegible] N. vaginend = [illegible]. – 20. [illegible] N. rōž. – 22. [illegible] K [illegible]; N. vad = [illegible]. – [illegible] N. band. – 24. [illegible] N. āškārā = [illegible]. – 25. [illegible] N. xašm-kāmihā. – 3d 1 > K. – 26. [illegible] N. ḥurżāvandihā = [illegible]. – [illegible] K [illegible]; N. u vārāmed (wanting in the ed. of West). – 27. [illegible] in K ↄ not marked; N. apatūihā, Skr. aśaktivṛtyā. – P.V5 1. [illegible] N. vehą. – 3. [illegible] N. anaomēdihā = [illegible]. – [illegible] N. azēr = [illegible]. – 7. [illegible] K [illegible]. – [illegible] N. + ą duškanīk. – 8. [illegible] N. duškunišn. – 9. [illegible] N. + pa gēθī. – 10.12.15.17. [illegible] N. kardan. – 11. [illegible] N. parastīdan. – [illegible] N. ka-caθō. – 12–13. N.: ke ež dūr frāž med u ke ež nazdīk. – 14. [illegible] N. anāzarm. – 15–18. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] N. stadan, dādan, guftan. – 17. [illegible] K [illegible]. – 18. [illegible] K [illegible]. – 22. [illegible] N. cašm-xāhišn. – 23. [illegible] N. cašm-xāhišnitar-ca. – 25. [illegible] N. zrōved. – 26. 1st 1 > K. – P.V7 2. [illegible] N. aiwiāsīd. – 6. [illegible] thus N.; K [illegible]. – 9. 3a 1] K ↄ. – 11. [illegible] K [illegible]. – Only one [illegible] in N. – 11–12. [illegible] thus K (but [illegible]); N. arzanī bahōd. – 12. [illegible] > N. (except in some MSS). – [illegible] N. būdan. – [illegible] K [illegible]; N. pūd. – 13. [illegible] N. + xūn. – Perhaps this passage should be read thus: [illegible] ↄ [illegible], v. Glossary s.v. dušītak. A. conjectures thus: [illegible] (illegible) [illegible]. – 1st 1 > N. – 21. [illegible] K [illegible]. – 22. [illegible] 1 > K. – 23–24. The words from [illegible] 1 to [illegible] incl. > K. – P.V7 3.4. [illegible] K [illegible]. – 6. [illegible] N. [illegible]. – 7. [illegible] K [illegible], for [illegible]. – 10. [illegible] N. tuą. – 11. [illegible] N. āsārihed. – [illegible] K [illegible]. – [illegible] N. awazaned = [illegible]. – 12. [illegible] N. drūžend. – 13. [illegible] K [illegible]. – 14. [illegible] N. awazanend. – 15. 25] K + ↄ. – 16. [illegible] N. vatarī. – [illegible] 1] K [illegible] 1. – 18. [illegible] > N. [illegible] N. + guft ested. – 20. [illegible] K [illegible], cfr. p. [illegible], n. 5. – 21. [illegible] K [illegible]. – 22. [illegible] > N., but in two MSS a blank space is left here. – 24. [illegible] N. anā = [illegible]. – 26. ↄ > N. – [illegible] N. + kāmed. – P.V8 1. [illegible] N. pērōžgarī. – 3. [illegible] K [illegible]. – 4. [illegible] N. sudaī = [illegible]. – 12. [illegible] K [illegible]. – 21. [illegible] N. mar. – 22. [illegible] K [illegible]. – P.V9 8. 25] N. u ą. – 11. [illegible] N [illegible]ešn (also p. 8: 7). – 11. [illegible] K [illegible]. – [illegible] K [illegible]. – 17. [illegible] K [illegible]. – ↄ [illegible] K

o [illegible]. – [illegible] K [illegible]. – [illegible] K [illegible]°; > N. – 25. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – P.A0 4. [illegible]] preceded by 1 in N.=K. – 11.14. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. nahunbad, var. nahonīd = [illegible]. – 12-13. The bracketed words > K. – 17. [illegible] > N. – 20. [illegible]] N. + 1. – 21. [illegible]] N. awāvarihā = [illegible]. – 24. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. ainā. – [illegible]] N. garšišnī. – P.A1 4. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 2nd 1 > K. – 8. 2nd 1 > N. – [illegible] > N. – 9. The bracketed words > K. – 10. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – [illegible]] K + 1. – 4th 1 > N. – 12. 1st 1 > K. – [illegible]] N. vīmand. – 15. [illegible]] N. sāmānaihā (= [illegible]°). – 21. 2nd > N. – 1 > K. – 22. [illegible] 1] K [illegible]. – 23. [illegible]] K [illegible] = N. – P.A2 2. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 5. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. vehēfta. – [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. vehēfnīda. – 8. [illegible]] N. star (Skr. stara). – 9. [illegible]] N. awazaned. – 15. [illegible]] N. darōg. – 21. [illegible] > K. – 22. [illegible]] N. dužaca dastī = [illegible]. – 23.24. [illegible] > K. – 23. [illegible]] N. družaī. – P.A3 4. [illegible]] N. kasa. – 7. [illegible]] N. xᵘazīd u vadard = [illegible], cfr. p.A6:13. – 8. [illegible]] in K preceded by [illegible], a clerical error, not cancelled, for [illegible]. – [illegible] > N. – 9. 1 [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. rōz spōž, Skr. dina-skhalanatā. – 24. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – P.A4 2. [illegible]] N. starī. – 4. [illegible]] K [illegible]°. – 6. → [illegible] and l.7 [illegible] have changed places in K. – 9. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] dāned = [illegible]. – After [illegible] K repeated by mistake the words [illegible], but having observed his fault he put the sign :. and recommenced the text with [illegible], without cancelling his mistake. – [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. aršginī. – [illegible] > K. – 25. [illegible]] K [illegible]°. – 26. [illegible] ⟨[illegible]⟩] N. xᵘad.dōšī. – P.A5 2. [illegible]] N. gēθī (> some MSS). – 7. 1st 1 > K. – 9.13.20. [illegible]] N. dužgand. – 11. 2d 1 > K. – 12. ⟨[illegible]⟩ added from N. – 13. 1] N. 1. – 14. [illegible] > N. – 16. [illegible]] N. humānā = [illegible], repeated after [illegible] and [illegible], and after [illegible] l.17. – P.A6 2. [illegible] > K. – [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 3. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – [illegible]] N. vīnārd ested. – [illegible]] K + 1. – 3-4. [illegible] > K. – [illegible] > N. – [illegible] > N. – 6-7. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > K. – 8. [illegible]] N. u ānō. – 1 > N. – [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. anbāraštn. – 9. [illegible]] N. u ānō ku. – [illegible]] K [illegible] added above the line; 1 > N. – 11. [illegible]] N. u awar. – [illegible]] N. mānaštan u nišastan. – 20. [illegible]] N. drenžinend. – 25. [illegible]] N. + šāh. – P.A7 5. [illegible]] N. + 1. – [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 8-9. The bracketed words added from N. – 9. In K the words [illegible] are written twice, first with an erroneous [illegible],

then with the correct [illegible], to which [illegible] is added. — 10. [illegible] > K. — 10-11. [illegible] > K. — [illegible]] K [illegible]. — 12. [illegible]] N. marduma.— 13. [illegible]] N. vadardihā. — 15. [illegible]] N. vadard. — [illegible]] N. vardinend.— 23. [illegible]] N. kad. — 26. [illegible]] N. pa dast = [illegible]. — [illegible]] N. dāred.— 27. [illegible]] K [illegible]. — P. AA 2. [illegible]] N. azāiknī. — 3. [illegible] > K. — 5. [illegible]] K [illegible]. — 6. [illegible]] K [illegible]. — 7. 1st [illegible] > K. — [illegible]] N. vīnastan.— 17. [illegible]] N. θagī. — 18. [illegible] > N. — [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. awasīnaiñ.— 24. [illegible] > N. — [illegible]] N. ōgamą. — 25. [illegible] > N. — 26. [illegible]] N. pānāī.— P. AA 4. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. šāyastan.— 5. 2nd [illegible] > K. — [illegible] written twice in K. — 7. [illegible] > N. — [illegible]] N. šāind kardan.— 16. 1st [illegible] > N.— 17. 2nd [illegible] > K. — 19. [illegible]] N. āwgīna = [illegible]. — 20. [illegible]] K [illegible]. — 2nd [illegible] > K. — [illegible]] N. + u Aharman. — 24. K thus: [illegible].— 25. [illegible]] N. gēθyą. — 26. [illegible]] N. gēθī. — 1 > K. — 27. [illegible] > N. — [illegible]] N. kard ested. — P. 9. 1. 1st [illegible] > N. — 2. [illegible] > N.— 3. 1 > K. — 4. [illegible]] K + [illegible]. — 5. 2nd [illegible] > N. — 8. [illegible] > N. — 10. [illegible]] N. + vandandi = [illegible] (Skr. labhante). — 11. [illegible] > K. — 13. [illegible]] K [illegible]; N. u tuągarī. — [illegible] > K. — 13-14. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > N. — [illegible]] K [illegible] = N. — [illegible]] N. vahišt. — 17. [illegible]] N. frēvinend, var. frēvend. — 19. [illegible]] N. ōi. — 19.24. [illegible]] N. θarešn. — 22. [illegible]] K [illegible]. — [illegible] > K. — [illegible]] N. rā. — [illegible] > N. — 25. [illegible]] N. frēftanī, -nia, frēft(a). — 1 > N. — 26. [illegible]] N. vānom. — [illegible]] N. u. — [illegible]] N. nazār. — [illegible] > K.— P. 91 1. [illegible] > N. — [illegible]] N. cāšīd. — 2. [illegible]] N. nyōxšīd. — [illegible]] K [illegible]. — 3. [illegible]] N. dēr. — 5. [illegible] > N. —

VII. Cosmology and Eschatology.

[P. 94] 1. [illegible]] C [illegible]; D [illegible]. – 2. 1st [illegible] > CD. – [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]; [illegible] > CD. – [illegible]] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. – 3. [illegible] > all. – [illegible]] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. – [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – 2nd [illegible]] B [illegible]. – 7. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > CD. – 8. [illegible]] Dh. throughout [illegible]. – [illegible]] all only [illegible]. – [illegible]] B [illegible]. – 9. [illegible]] D [illegible]. – [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] CD + [illegible]. – [illegible]] Dh. [illegible] = B. – 11. [illegible] > C. – 13. [illegible]] D [illegible]. – [illegible]] all [illegible]. – 2nd [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – [illegible] > B. – 16. [illegible]] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. – 18. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > B. – 19. [illegible]] CD [illegible]. –

[P. 95] 2. [illegible]] Dh. throughout [illegible], a hybrid of [illegible]* = pāhak < pādak, and [illegible] = pāyak (NP. پایه) < pādak. – 4. [illegible]] CD [illegible]. – 5. [illegible]] Dh. + [illegible]. – [illegible]] Dh. [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] Dh. + [illegible]. – [illegible]] CD + [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] obscure, certainly no mistake of the copyist, as it is repeated four times. At first sight it would seem to signify 1.000×4.000 = 4 millions, but as far as can be judged from the present context this figure is out of the question. If the vault of heaven is a sphere enclosing the whole universe; if, further, the earth is a plane laid through its centre, dividing it into two hemispheres, and the lower one, the tuhīkōh (p. 94:9), measures 68.000 frasangs in depth, then the upper hemisphere evidently measures just as much in height. Now our author divides this upper hemisphere into four sections, each covering a distance of [illegible] frasangs; consequently this figure ought to signify 17.000. This is obviously impossible. With regard to the unit [illegible] 14.000 would be more reasonable (the author admits himself that his figures are approximate, v. Gloss. s.v. mar: mar vēš), but such a writing of the figure 14.000 is not known and cannot be imagined. Is [illegible] an old corruption of [illegible] = 34.000? Then the upper hemisphere would measure 4×34.000 = 136.000 frasangs in height; this is the double of 68.000, that is to say, the whole length of the axis from top to bottom. But if this be the case the scheme of the author is disturbed; and why should such a clear figure as [illegible] have been misunderstood and corrupted? C and D give the emendation [illegible], which leads nowhere. – 11. [illegible]] thus CD;

> Dh. — [illegible] thus C; D [illegible]; Dh. [illegible]. — 14. [illegible] thus CD; > Dh. — 16. [illegible] D [illegible]. — 17. [illegible] D [illegible] — 18. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] BD [illegible]. — [illegible] D [illegible]. — 19. [illegible] > C. — 24. [illegible] thus CD. — 25. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — 27. [illegible] > CD. — **P. 96** 1. [illegible] CD [illegible]. 2. [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 5. [illegible] Dh: [illegible]. — [illegible] CD [illegible]. — [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — 6. [illegible] all [illegible]; emended by Dh. — 7. [illegible] > CD. — 7-8. [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 11. [illegible] Dh. [illegible], cfr. p. 133, n. 5. — 11-12. [illegible] Dh. [illegible] [illegible]. — 14. [illegible] CD [illegible]; Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 15. [illegible] > B. — In PR (pp. 132:11–134:11) a passage belonging to the Vita of Zarathushtra has been interpolated between ll. 16 and 17 of our text. — 17. The figure [illegible] from C; D [illegible], which is also written above in C; Dh. [illegible]. — 18-19. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > B. — 19. [illegible] thus CD; Dh. + [illegible]. — 20. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 21. [illegible] Dh. [illegible] = B. — 22. 24. [illegible] thus C; Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] D [illegible]. — 23. 1st [illegible] > CD. — [illegible] > D. — 27. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — **P. 97** 1. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]; CD [illegible]. — 5. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 6. [illegible] Dh. [illegible] = D; B [illegible], probably due to the misunderstanding of a writing [illegible], that is, [illegible] corrected to [illegible]; C [illegible]. — [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — 7. [illegible] D [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 8. [illegible] all [illegible], emended by Dh. — 9. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] B [illegible]. — 11. 2d [illegible] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. — 12. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 15. [illegible] B [illegible]. — 18. [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 20. [illegible] > B. — [illegible] B [illegible]. — [illegible] > B. — 21. [illegible] B [illegible]. — 22. [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 23. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > D; in C on the margin. — 24. [illegible] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] CD [illegible]. — [illegible] > CD. — 27. [illegible] D [illegible]. — **P. 97** 1. [illegible] > CD. — 3-7. This passage is also found in K_{35}, p. 16:9-15. — 3. [illegible] > BK. — 6-7. The words from the first [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > CD. — 7. [illegible] > D. — 9. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — 2nd [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 9. [illegible] B [illegible]. — 10. [illegible] Dh. (= C) seems to have before [illegible] the figure [illegible] = 60; B [illegible]; D [illegible]. I have followed the Persian Rivāyats, which give [illegible]. Cfr. p. 98:8; 99:10. — 11. [illegible] C [illegible]; D [illegible]. — 12. [illegible] CD [illegible]. — [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 13-14. Both [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 16. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — 17. [illegible] thus CD; > Dh. — 18. [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 20. [illegible] D [illegible]. — [illegible] > CD. — 21. [illegible] C [illegible]; D [illegible]. — 22. [illegible] CD [illegible]; Dh. [illegible]. — 23. [illegible] Dh. + [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 24. [illegible] > CD. —

25. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — P.97 2. [illegible] > CD. — 5. [illegible] > B. — 7. [illegible] > CD. — 8. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 9. [illegible] > B. — [illegible] B [illegible]°. — 12. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — 16. [illegible] B [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 17. [illegible] thus CD; > Dh. — 18. [illegible] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. — 19. [illegible] C [illegible]. — 21. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]; B [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 22. [illegible] CD [illegible]; Dh. [illegible]. — 23. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 24. 1st [illegible] > D. — 25. [illegible] > CD. — P.98 3-4. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > B; then B [illegible]. — 4. [illegible] > CD. — 5. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 7. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] B [illegible]; Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. [illegible] = B; C [illegible]; D [illegible]; cf. ad p. 97:10. — 10. [illegible] B [illegible]°. — 11. [illegible] > CD. — 12. [illegible] thus CD; Dh. [illegible]. — 13. [illegible] thus Dh.; the MSS [illegible] = gumēxt-āyend? — 15. [illegible] > B. — 17. [illegible] > B. — [illegible] B °[illegible]. — [illegible] here K begins; K [illegible] = Dh. — 18. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — [illegible] all MSS [illegible] with the Avestan [illegible] = [illegible], v. p. [illegible]: 6, n. 2. — last [illegible] D + [illegible]. — 20. [illegible] thus KCD; Dh. [illegible]. — 22. [illegible] KB [illegible]. — 24. [illegible] C [illegible]. — [illegible] thus CD; Dh. [illegible] = K. — 25. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — 26. [illegible] C [illegible]°. — [illegible] all [illegible]°. — 27. [illegible] only in K; > Dh. — [illegible] all [illegible], but cf. ad p. 100:15. — P.99 2. [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 4. [illegible] thus KCD; > Dh. — 5.6. [illegible] thus D; Dh. [illegible] g = K. — 7. [illegible] Dh. [illegible] = K, v. ad p. 100:15. — 8. [illegible] thus KCD; > Dh. — [illegible] K [illegible]; D [illegible]; C [illegible]; Dh. [illegible]. Dh. has understood ll. 7-8 quite differently: he emends (against all MSS) [illegible] (l. 7) to [illegible] = vāng and reads [illegible] which he derives from "Av. dū"; possibly Av. (688) ²dav- 'to drive away' is meant. This interpretation has little to recommend itself. — 10. [illegible] KB [illegible]; CD [illegible]. — [illegible] thus KD; [illegible] > C; Dh. [illegible], a "hyper-Pahlavism" for [illegible]. — 12. [illegible] B [illegible]. — [illegible] thus CD; Dh. [illegible] = K. — 13 sqq. Cfr. DRM, p. 817–818; DD, ch. 35. — 14. [illegible] K [illegible]; C [illegible]; Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] > KB. — 15. [illegible] D [illegible]. — 16. [illegible] CD [illegible]. — [illegible] > CD. — 18. [illegible] all [illegible]. — [illegible] KBC [illegible]. — 20. [illegible] D [illegible]. — 21. [illegible] B [illegible]. — 21-22.26. [illegible] KB [illegible]. — 23-24. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > D. — 22. [illegible] all [illegible], but [illegible] l. 24. — 23. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]°; K [illegible]°; C [illegible]°; all + 1. — 24. The words from [illegible] to [illegible] incl. > D. — P.100 1. [illegible] K [illegible]. — 3. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — 5. [illegible] KCD [illegible]°. — [illegible] all [illegible]. — 6. [illegible] Dh. [illegible] = K;

CD ܐܝܟܢܐ. — ܕܢܗܘܢ] K ܐܝܟܢܐ°, but with ܕܢ written above. — 8. ܐܝܟ] K ܐܝܟ̈ ; > CD. — ܐܝܟܢܐ] C ܐܝ°. — 10. ܕ] thus KCD ; > Dh. — ܡܢ ܐܝܟ̈] Dh. + 1 (not in K). — 10–11. ܐܝ ܕ ܕ ܕ] thus K ; Dh. ܐܝ ܕ ܕ = 95. — 11. ܐܝ] B ܐ°. — ܐܝ] thus Dh. = KC ; B ܐ ; D ܐ. — 12. ܐܝ ܐ] thus Dh. = K ; C ܐ ; D ܐ ; cfr. p. 50:11–12. — 12–13. The words from ܐ to ܐ incl. > D. — 13. ܐ] CD ܐ. — 14.] thus KCD ; ° > Dh. — 15.] B ܐ°. —] thus explicitly K here and in the following. —] thus KB ; K here and l. 17 with g and y marked, p. 101:23 without diacritical signs. Dh. throughout in this text ° = CD ; thus also K in pp. 98:27. 99:7. 101:4. I have replaced ° everywhere by ° . — 18. ܐ ܕ > K ; ܕ ܐ > B. — 19. ܕ > KB. —] all ܐ. — 20. 1st] thus KCD ; > Dh. — 21.] K ܐ. — 23. Both] thus all MSS ; Dh. conjectures . — ܐ ܐ ܕ > D ; C on the margin. — 24.] thus KCD ; Dh. ; D + 1. — 95 > D. — 26.] K + 1 ; CD + ܕ. — 27 29.] thus CD ; Dh. ; K . —

P. 101 1. The words from ܐ to] ind. > BD. —] D ܐ. — 2.] D . —] KB ; Dh. ܐ ܕ = CD. — 4.] all , v. above ad p. 100:15. — 5.] K ° . —] Dh. (= CD) detaches ° and prefixes it to the following word. — 7.] K . — 8.] K ; Dh. . —] no diacritical sign in K and Dh. ; CD . —] Dh. puts a full stop after this word and begins a new paragraph. — 10.] K ; CD . —] thus KCD ; > Dh. — 11. > D. — 13.] KBC . — 15.] thus K ; > Dh. — 15–16. The words from] to] incl. > D ; C on the margin. — 16. > CD. — 17.] CD . — 18.] CD ° . — 22. > Dh. —] all , v. ad p. 100:15. — 26.] all . —

P. 102 4.] all . —] thus all ; Dh. conjectures . — 5.] > CD. — 6.] thus KCD ; Dh. . — 7.] all . —] thus CD ; Dh. = KB. —] K ; B . — 9.] CD + . — 10.] B + 95. — 11.] only in D. — 11–12. The words from] to] incl. > D. — 15.] conjectured by Dh., who in the text has = KB ; CD = BdA, p. 51:10, but cfr. ibd., p. 51:14. 52:12. — 19. The words from the 1st 95 to] incl. > D ; C on the margin. — 22. 95 > D. —] Dh. + 1 (not in KCD). — 24.] KCD ; Dh. = B. — 25.] all ° . — 2nd] written twice in all MSS. —

[P.1·3] 1. [illegible] all [illegible]. — 1-2. The words from [illegible] to 2nd [illegible] incl. > KB. — 2. [illegible] KD [illegible]; C [illegible]. — 3. [illegible] all [illegible]. — [illegible] K [illegible]. — [illegible] all [illegible]. — 4. [illegible] K [illegible]; CD [illegible]; Dh. [illegible] = B. — 6.8. [illegible] K [illegible] [sic!]; all the others [illegible]; Dh. + 1 (not in CD). — 7. [illegible] thus C; all the others [illegible]. — 8. [illegible] K [illegible]; the others in one word: [illegible]. — [illegible] all [illegible]. — 9. [illegible] > CD. — 11. [illegible] thus Dh.; K [illegible]. — [illegible] all [illegible]. — 12. [illegible] all [illegible]. — 13. 1 > KCD. — 15 KCD [illegible]. — 15. [illegible] KCD [illegible]. — 16. [illegible] CD [illegible] = Dh. in the text; in a note he conjectures [illegible] which he identifies with NP. [illegible]. I follow this emendation, only with another reading. KB [illegible]. — 18. [illegible] CD + [illegible]. — [illegible] K [illegible]. — [illegible] CD [illegible]. — 23. [illegible] all [illegible], cfr. p. [illegible], n. 5. — 24. [illegible] Dh. [illegible] = K; all [illegible]. — 25. [illegible] Dh. [illegible]. — 27. [illegible] > C; the words [illegible] C on the margin. — [P.1·4] 1. ⟨[illegible]⟩ added by the present editor; in B a blank space is left here. — 2. [illegible] thus CD; > Dh. — [illegible] KB [illegible]. — 4. K: [illegible]. — 7. [illegible] thus KB; Dh. [illegible]. — 11. [illegible] KCD [illegible]. — [illegible] Dh. + 1 = K (not in CD). — 13. [illegible] KD [illegible]; C [illegible]; Dh. [illegible]. — [illegible] thus K; > Dh. — 17. 1 > KBD. — [illegible] Dh. in one word = B; K [illegible] on two lines; CD [illegible]. — 24. 2nd 1] thus CD; > Dh. = K. — [P.1·5] 2. [illegible] thus Dh. = C; in the MSS various corruptions of little interest.

From the Dātistān i Dēnīk.

7. [illegible] A. throughout [illegible]. — 11.20. A. [illegible] = K, cfr. ad p. 99: 21-22. — [illegible] all [illegible]. — 15. [illegible] thus K, with a marked d; B [illegible] with a marked d; A. = B, but without diacritical sign. — 16. [illegible] thus A. = K; other MSS [illegible]. — 17. [illegible] all [illegible], K [illegible] (ı for ٢). — [illegible] all [illegible]. — 20. 1st [illegible] KB [illegible]. — 23. [illegible] A. [illegible]. — 24. [illegible] A. [illegible] — [illegible] A. [illegible]. —

[P.1·7] 3. [illegible] thus KB; A. [illegible]. — 4. [illegible] A. [illegible]. — [illegible] KB [illegible]. — 5. [illegible] K [illegible]; > D, where [illegible] follows. — 6. [illegible] A. [illegible], quoting also [illegible]. — A. [illegible]. — 11. [illegible] A. [illegible]. — 15.18. [illegible] all MSS [illegible]; A. conjectures [illegible]. — 18. [illegible] > KB. — 23. [illegible] K [illegible]. —

VIII. History of the Sacred Books.

I.

Note: – Variants without designation indicate deviations from the printed edition (v. Introduction).

[illegible]

II

Note: – Variants without designation indicate deviations from Madan's edition of the Dênkart (= M.), cfr. p. 188.

[illegible]

III

[illegible]

IV.

[illegible]

25. [illegible] + [illegible], a clerical error, not cancelled, for the following [illegible]; > K. – P. 112 1. [illegible] K [illegible]? – [illegible]] [illegible]. – 2. 1 > M. – 4. [illegible] [illegible]. – 2nd 1 > M. – 1st [illegible] > M. – 8. [illegible] > M. – [illegible]] K [illegible]. – [illegible]] [illegible] = K; K + [illegible]. – 12. [illegible] [illegible]. – 13. [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] written twice in K. – 1st 1 > M. – 15. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 17. 1st 1 > M. – [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 18. [illegible]] [illegible]. – [illegible]] K [illegible]. – 19. 1st [illegible] > K; – 2nd [illegible] > M. – 1 > M. – 20. [illegible]] [illegible]. –

IX. The Šahristānihā i Ērān.

Note: – Variants without designation refer to the text of Jamasp-Asana (= J-A), which represents the consensus of his two MSS: M and J; Mk. refers to the edition of Markwart, v. Introduction.

P. 113 1. No heading in the MSS; correctly it must be [illegible], not [illegible] as J-A. has it (misled by NP. [illegible]?). – 3. [illegible]] [illegible]; Mk.'s emendation is unacceptable. – 14. [illegible]] thus MJ ([illegible]); J-A. emends quite arbitrarily to [illegible], which is, moreover, incompatible with the grammar in this context. – [illegible]] J-A. in brackets after the following [illegible], where it is in fact out of place. No doubt, in the original of M it was written on the margin, and then inserted on the wrong place. – [illegible]] thus MJ ([illegible]); J-A. emends to [illegible], thus creating an impossible form. – 15. The words in brackets are evidently a later addition. – 17. [illegible]] [illegible]; thus frequently. – 18. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] J-A. [illegible] without variants. – 20. [illegible]] possibly the original had [illegible]. – 23. [illegible]] thus Mk.; J-A. [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus Mk.; J-A. [illegible]. – P. 114 3. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 15. [illegible]] Mk. emends to [illegible]. – 16. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 22. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 23. [illegible] (to be read [illegible])] [illegible]. – 25. [illegible]] thus Mk.; J-A. [illegible], [illegible]. – [illegible]] [illegible]; the correct form is probably [illegible] = NSYBYN = [illegible]. – P. 115 2. [illegible]] [illegible]. – [illegible]] thus J-A. = J; in M the last letters are eaten by worms. – 2-3. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 8. [illegible]] M [illegible]; J [illegible]. – 10. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 11. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] [illegible]. 1. In the first word Mk. very happily recognized [illegible] = Visēmakān (v. Glossary); for the following three words he

proposes very bold – but untenable – emendations: for [illegible] 1 – [illegible] = Nihāvand; for [illegible] – [illegible] = *Vēsubūn (for Bīsutūn!); for [illegible] – [illegible] = *Dēnakbarān. – 17. [illegible]] 1. – 24. [illegible]] [illegible]. – P. 116 3. [illegible] M [illegible]; J [illegible]. – 11. [illegible]] + [illegible]. – 19. [illegible]] [illegible], also p. 117:11. – 22. 1st [illegible]] + [illegible]. – P. 117 3. [illegible]] in M destroyed by worms; J [illegible]. – 6. ⟨[illegible]⟩ added by J-A. – 7. [illegible]] [illegible]. – 9. [illegible]] J [illegible]°; in M the last letters are eaten by worms. – 10. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 14. ⟨[illegible]⟩ added by J-A. – 20. Mk. rightly assumes that a notice on Rag (Av. Rayā) = NP [illegible], has fallen out before [illegible].

x. The Vicārišn i Catrang.

P. 118 The heading added by J-A. – 7. 2nd [illegible] > MJ. – 9. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 11. [illegible]] M [illegible]. – 12. [illegible]] MJ + [illegible]. – 14. [illegible]] J [illegible] (!). – 15. [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – 17. [illegible]] J [illegible]°. – 19. [illegible] > MJ. – [illegible]] MJ [illegible]°. – 20. [illegible]] added by J-A. – 22. [illegible]] added by J-A. – [illegible]] M [illegible]. – [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – 23. [illegible]] thus MJ; J-A. [illegible]°. – P. 119 1. [illegible] > MJ. – 2. [illegible]] thus J-A.; MJ [illegible]. – [illegible] > J. – [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 5. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – [illegible]] J-A. quite wrongly adds [illegible]. – 6. [illegible]] J [illegible]. – 10. [illegible] > MJ. – 11. [illegible] > MJ. – 15. [illegible]] added by J-A. – 22. [illegible]] M [illegible]; J [illegible]. – 23. [illegible]] J [illegible]. – 25. [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – P. 120 3. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] torn in M; J [illegible]. – 10. 2nd [illegible] > MJ. – 12. [illegible] > MJ. – 2nd [illegible] > MJ. – 13. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 18–19. [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – 19 2nd [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – 23. [illegible]] M [illegible]°. – 26. [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – [illegible] > MJ. – 27. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – P. 121 2. [illegible]] M torn: [illegible]; J [illegible]; J-A. [illegible]. – 4. [illegible]] MJ [illegible]. – [illegible]] J-A. [illegible]. – 7. [illegible]] J [illegible], taking [illegible] in [illegible] as the side-form of [illegible], v. p. 131:6, n. 2. – 9. [illegible] [illegible] > MJ. – 11. [illegible] > MJ. – 13. [illegible]] added by J-A. from a recent MS. – 11–13: This passage suffers from an anacolouthon, and is a specimen of an involved and bad style. To be construed:

[illegible] ⟨[illegible]⟩ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Corrigenda.

P. 10, l. 25: insert [illegible] before [illegible]: [illegible].
" 23, l. 8: [illegible], read [illegible].
" 23, l. 20: [illegible], read [illegible].
" " l. 27: insert [illegible] after [illegible]: [illegible].
" 24, l. 16: insert [illegible] after [illegible].
" 25, l. 24: [illegible], read [illegible].
" 28, l. 4: [illegible], read [illegible].
" 29, l. 27: after [illegible], add [illegible].
" 59, ll. 13 and 26: [illegible], read [illegible].
" 61, l. 5: [illegible], read [illegible].
" 63, l. 1: read [illegible].
" 87, l. 9: [illegible]: delete [illegible].
" 105, l. 12: [illegible], read [illegible].

P. 130, l. 16: read coalescence.
" 139, col. 2, l. 25: delete [illegible].
" 153, " 2: insert after [illegible], l. 5:
[illegible] dšmy'st': dašmyast.
" 157, " 2: insert after [illegible], l. 2:
[illegible] wcwlgmtr': Vazurg-mihr.
" 159, " 1: insert after [illegible], l. 14:
[illegible] k'lw'n': kārvān.
" 164, " 1: delete [illegible].
" 177, " 1, l. 31: [illegible], read
[illegible] p'd'šn': pādāšn, and insert after
[illegible], l. 13.
" 170, " 1, l. 38: [illegible] šn'l: šnār, read
šwhl: šuhr.
" 172, " 2, l. 15: [illegible], read [illegible] (Κτησιφῶν !) and
insert after [illegible], p. 171, col. 2, l. 27.
" 180, l. 23: add [illegible] 'BYDWN-yhynd = kunihēnd (p. 89:8).

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Bartholomae's *Lexicon and Translation of the Gathas Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Von Christian Bartholomae. Strassburg: Trübner, 1904. 53 M. *Die Gatha's des Awesta*. Zarathushtra's Verspredigten, übersetzt von Christian Bartholomae. Strassburg: Trübner, 1905. 3 M.

James Hope Moulton

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BARTHOLOMAE'S *LEXICON* AND *TRANSLATION OF THE GATHAS.*

Altiranisches Wörterbuch. Von CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE. Strassburg: Trübner, 1904. 53 M.

Die Gatha's des Awesta. Zarathushtra's Verspredigten, übersetzt von CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE. Strassburg: Trübner, 1905. 3 M.

To review Bartholomae's monumental lexicon in any sense would demand returning for prolonged sojourn in Iran, where under present conditions I can only be a holiday-maker. But it would be impossible to write at all on recent work in these studies without recording so noteworthy an addition to our equipment. Bartholomae treats of Gathic and later Avestan,[1] and the old Persian inscriptions. The last element is a very welcome novelty, absent as it is from the dictionary of F. Justi, which for forty years has been the indispensable companion of every reader of the Avesta. Bartholomae's thousand pages form a significant contrast to the 424 into which Justi compressed not only lexicon, but also chrestomathy and grammar. That Justi's book should have lasted so long is a striking tribute to the excellence of work which is by no means outworn even now. Happily the veteran lexicographer is still adding to his output. An important contribution from his pen appears in the great encyclopaedia of Iranology, Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss*, recently completed; and a long and detailed criticism of the new lexicon fills nearly fifty pages of the *Anzeiger* to *Indogermanische Forschungen* for 1904–5. The new volume for 1905–6 has another twenty pages from the same prolific pen, in which Justi discusses the little popular work on the Gathas which the indefatigable Bartholomae has thrown in as a foil to his massive lexicon: it was this which we set out to review when the author's name diverted our attention to the big book. Popular in form a translation of the Gathas may be, but no one who has ever read a stanza of them in the original will be under any illusions as to the labour which underlies the effort. The most abstract and perplexing thought, veiled further by archaic language, only half understood by later students of the seer's own race and tongue, tends to make the Gathas the hardest problem to be attempted by those who would investigate the literary monuments of Indogermanic religion. They are indeed worthy of the labour they cost, for rarely in the world's history has a prophet advanced so far beyond his age as Zarathushtra. Those who would study the oldest and most fundamental scriptures of Parsism without acquiring their very difficult language will find Bartholomae's edition the most convenient at present accessible to them. The editor translates, gives a summary of each Hymn and a few notes, and at the end of the book (133 pp.) provides an alphabetically arranged glossary of proper names and leading ideas. In view of the many difficulties and disputed points about the Gathas, such students should compare other translations, as those of Prof. Mills in *S.B.E.* xxxi, and Darmesteter in *Le Zend Avesta.* This last work should not, however, be commended without a caveat against accepting the great but too original savant's conclusions as to the antiquity of the poems. To date the Gathas after Philo has been unanimously treated as a paradoxical position, which even Darmesteter's great name could not carry. Professor Williams Jackson,[2] with other weighty authorities, has endeavoured to uphold the traditional date, in the seventh century B.C. But Bartholomae still holds out for an earlier period; and where the pure linguist thus coincides with the historian of religion, C. P. Tiele, we may feel ourselves provisionally justified in making the Gathas older than Homer, and not much younger than the most antique parts of the Rigveda. It must only be added here that the Zend scholar will not find Bartholomae's little book in any way superfluous for his needs. Every stanza has references to the several columns of the new dictionary which will guide him to the author's argument for the rendering he adopts for crucial words. With this exceedingly compact and handy volume the brilliant and prolific philologist of Giessen crowns his long series of works on the Avesta. His transliterated text of the Gathas, with grammar and word-index (1879), has been followed successively by the elaborate grammar of the Old Iranian language which adorns the first volume of the *Grundriss*, by the great dictionary, and now

[1] Under this head, by the way, I note that Bartholomae does not seem to have used Mr. M. Schuyler's careful Index Verborum of the Avestan Fragments.

[2] Last in his brilliant book of travel, *Persia, Past and Present* (1906), p. 60.

by the translation and notes which present his results to the outsider.[1] Throughout the last thirty years he has also been pouring out technical treatises and discussions in the philological journals of Germany. Like all men who think, Bartholomae has changed his lines not infrequently, and perhaps more frequently than some other scholars in his subject; nor must we forget that comparative philology and linguistic learning will not by itself unlock all the mysteries of the Gathas. But there can be no question as to the position which will be taken by this unpretending little volume as the most convenient and most generally satisfactory attempt hitherto made to interpret for outsiders the teaching of one of the profoundest and most original thinkers of antiquity.

[1] Since this was written, Bartholomae has given us (*Idg. Forschungen, Beiheft*, 1906), a mass of notes and addenda to his Lexicon, which those who use the book will have to refer to.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

MAHAFFY'S *SILVER AGE OF THE GREEK WORLD.*

The Silver Age of the Greek World. By J. P. MAHAFFY. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press; London: Fisher Unwin, 1906. Pp. 482. Price $3.00 net.

THIS is a second edition of *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, differing from the first in title, bulk, publisher, print, and paper, but not in much else. Recent exploration in Egypt, especially in the Fayyum, has given material for a new chapter on Hellenism in Upper Egypt, for a discussion (pp. 288 ff.) of the changes made by Rome in the Ptolemaic administration, and for some account of the literary finds (pp. 80, 290 ff.). Other additions treat of the date of Pseudo-Callisthenes (which Dr. Mahaffy, arguing from the absence of Ptolemaic colouring, would put much earlier than the first century B.C.), of the consequences of the struggle between Mithradates and Rome, and of the unifying influence of cults (pp. 70, 142, 401). The book is still fresh and jaunty, and the revision should give it a new lease of life.

E. HARRISON.

The Private Life of the Romans. By HAROLD WHETSTONE JOHNSTON. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1905. Pp. 344.

THIS work is intended in the first place as a reference book for students in schools and colleges, to assist them in the proper understanding of their texts; secondly as a manual for advanced students who are hearing lectures on the subject of Roman private antiquities; and thirdly as a reference book for students of Roman history in general. It is divided into chapters dealing with The Family, The Name, Marriage and the Position of Woman, Children and Education, House and Furniture, and similar topics, and covers the general field of private antiquities in a comprehensive manner. To each chapter is prefixed a bibliographical note containing references to the standard authorities on the subjects treated in the chapter.

The author has certainly succeeded in accomplishing his purpose, and has met the requirements of the three classes of readers as well as this could be done in a single volume. The book is eminently readable, and the index is sufficiently full. In a brief elementary book it is practically necessary to make many statements without calling attention to the fact that there is disagreement among the authorities. Objection can hardly be brought against this method, provided the proper references are given to the student, by which such statements may be controlled.

A few minor criticisms suggest themselves. A vigorous protest should be made against the practice of marking the quantities of all Latin words in books of reference, a practice altogether too common and quite needless. The erroneous spellings Caius and Cnaeus, which occur frequently, Iupiter (p. 28) and Trieves (p. 282) should be corrected. The statement on page 278 that 'the Romans cared nothing for travelling in itself, for the mere pleasure, that is, of sight-seeing,' should certainly be modified in view of such passages in Latin literature as Pliny's Letters viii. 8 and 20, and Lucretius i. 726 ff.

The illustrations are good and well chosen, but the plates have been made from old and broken type, so that many of the pages are sadly marred.

S. B. PLATNER.

Adelbert College.

The Avesta

Translated by L. H. Mills and James Darmesteter (1898).

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Chapter 1

1 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for the creator Ahura Mazda, the radiant and glorious, the greatest and the best, the most beautiful (?) (to our conceptions), the most firm, the wisest, and the one of all whose body is the most perfect, who attains His ends the most infallibly, because of his Asha, to him who disposes our minds aright, who sends His joy-creating grace afar; who made us, and has fashioned us, and who has nourished and protected us, who is the most bounteous Spirit!

2 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) to Vohu Mano, and to the Highest Asha, and to Khshathra Vairya, and to Spenta Armaiti, and to the two, the Haurvatat and Ameretat, to the body of the Kine, and to the Kine's Soul, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, that one who more than (all) the Amesha Spentas has made most effort (for our succor)!

3 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for Asnya, the masters of Asha, to Hawan, Asha-sanctified, master of Asha; and I celebrate, and I carry out (this Yasna) for Savanghi and for Visya, Asha-sanctified, master(s) of Asha. I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for Mithra of wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and for Raman Khwastra.

4 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for Rapithwin, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, and for Fradat-fshu, and for Zangtuma, the holy master(s) of Asha; and I celebrate and carry out (this Yasna) to Asha the Best, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda.

5 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for Uzerin the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, and for Fradat-vira and Dakhyuma, the Asha-sanctified master(s) of Asha, and for that lofty Ahura Napat-apam (the son of waters), and for the waters which Ahura Mazda made.

6 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for Aiwisruthrem (and) Aibigaya,1 the Asha-sanctified master(s) of Asha, and for the Zarathushtrotema, and for him who possesses and who gives that prosperity in life which furthers all. And I celebrate and carry out (this Yasna) for the fravashis of the saints, and for those of the women who have many sons,2 and for a prosperous home life which continues without reverse throughout the year, and for that Might which is well-shaped and stately,3 which strikes victoriously, Ahura-made, and for that Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

7 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for Ushahin, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, and for Berejya (and) Nmanya, the Asha-sanctified master(s) of Asha, and for Sraosha, companion of Ashi, possessing rewards, victorious, who furthers the world, and the very straight Rashnu and Arshtad, who further the world, who augment the world.

8 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for the Mahya, the monthly festivals, masters of Asha, for the new and the later4 moon, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, and for the full moon which scatters night.

9 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for the Yairya, yearly feasts, the Asha-sanctified masters of Asha. I celebrate and carry out (this Yasna) for Maidyozarem, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, and for Maidyoshahem, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, and for Paitishahem, and for Ayathrem the advancer, and the spender of the strength of males, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, and for Maidyarem, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, and for Hamaspathmaidyem, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha; yea, I celebrate and carry out this Yasna for the seasons, masters of Asha.

10 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for all those who are the thirty three masters of Asha, which, coming the nearest, are around about Hawan, and which (as in their festivals) were instituted by Ahura Mazda, and were promulgated by Zarathushtra, as the masters of Asha Vahishta.

11 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for the two, for Ahura and Mithra, the lofty, and the everlasting, and the Asha-sanctified, and for all the stars which are Spenta Mainyu's creatures, and for the star Tishtrya, the resplendent and glorious, and for the Moon which contains the seed of the Kine, and for the resplendent Sun, the swift-horsed, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and for Mithra the province ruler. And I celebrate and carry out this Yasna for Ahura Mazda (once again, and as to him who rules the month), the radiant, the glorious, and for the Fravashis of the saints.

12 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for you, o Fire, son of Ahura Mazda, together with all the fires, and for the good waters, even for all the waters made by Mazda, and for all the plants which Mazda made.

13 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for the Bounteous Manthra, the Asha-sanctified and effective, the revelation given against the Daevas; the Zoroastrian revelation, and for the long descent1 of the good Mazdayasnian Faith.

14 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for the mountain Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, with its sacred brilliance, and for all the mountains glorious with sanctity,1 with their abundant Glory Mazda-made, and for that majestic Glory Mazda-made, the unconsumed2 Glory which Mazda made. And I announce and carry out (this Yasna) for Ashi the good, the blessedness (of the reward), and for Chisti, the good religious Knowledge, for the good Erethe (Rectitude3?), and for the good Rasastat (persisting zeal?4), and to the Glory and the Benefit which are Mazda-made.

15 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for the pious and good Blessing of the religious man, the Asha-sanctified, and for the curse of wisdom, the swift and redoubted Yazad of potency (to blight).

16 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for these places and these lands, and for these pastures, and these abodes with their springs of water(?)2, and for the waters, land, and plants, and for this earth and for yon heaven, and for the Asha-sanctified wind, and for the stars, moon, and sun, and for the eternal stars without beginning, and self-disposing, and for all the Asha-sanctified creatures of Spenta Mainyu, male and female, the regulators of Asha.

17 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for that lofty lord who is the Asha (itself), and for the masters of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, for the moons, the years, and the seasons which are masters of Asha at the time of Hawan.

18 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for the fravashis of the saints, the redoubted, which overwhelm (the evil), for those of the saints of the ancient lore, for those of the next of kin, and for the fravashi of (my) own soul!

19 I announce (and) carry out (this Yasna) for all the masters of Asha, and for all the yazads, the beneficent, who dispose (of all) aright, for those both heavenly and earthly, who are (meet) for our sacrifice and homage because of Asha Vahishta3.

20 O Hawan, Asha-sanctified master of Asha, and Savanghi, Rapithwin, and Uzerin, and Aiwisruthrem, (and) Aibigaya, (you who aids life!) if I have offended you, and you, o Ushahin, Asha-sanctified master of Asha!

21 If I have offended you, whether by thought, or word, or deed, whether by act of will, or without intent or wish, I earnestly make up the deficiency of this in praise to you. If I have caused decrease in that which is your Yasna, and your homage, I announce (and carry out) to you (the more for this)!

22 Yea, all ye masters, the greatest ones, Asha-sanctified masters of Asha, if I have offended you by thought, or word, or deed, whether with my will, or without intending error, I praise you (now the more) for this. I announce to you (the more) if I have caused decrease in this which is your Yasna, and your praise.

23 I would confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of Zarathushtra's order, a foe to the Daevas, devoted to the lore of Ahura, for Hawan, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, for Savanghi and for Visya, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise of the masters of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, for those of the monthly festivals, and for those of the yearly ones, and for those of the seasons!

Chapter 2

1 I desire the libations [Zaothras] for this Yasna; I desire the Baresman for this Yasna. I desire the Baresman for this Yasna; I desire the libations for this Yasna. I desire the libations together with Baresman for this Yasna; I desire the Baresman together with the libations for this Yasna. With this libation I desire this Baresman for this Yasna. With this Baresman I desire this libation for this Yasna. This Baresman with the libation I desire for this Yasna. I desire for this Yasna this Baresman with this libation and with its kusti, and spread with Asha.

2 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Ashawan Ahura Mazdah, the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the well-ruling, judicious Amesha Spentas.

3 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Asnya, the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Hawan, the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the Savanghi and the Asha-sanctified Visya, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, of the ten-thousand eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name. I desire for this Yasna Raman Khwastra.

4 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Rapithwin, the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the Fradat-fshav and the Asha-sanctified Zantuma, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna Asha Vahishta and Atar, the Son of Ahura Mazda.

5 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Uzerin, the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the Fradat-vira and the Asha-sanctified Dahyuma, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the high Lord, the kingly and brilliant Apam-Napat, of swift-horses, and likewise the water, Mazda-made and holy.

6 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Aiwisruthrem Aibigaya the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the Fradat-vispam-hujyatay and the Asha-sanctified Zarathushtro-tema, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the good, mighty, bountiful Fravashis of the Asha-sanctified. I desire for this Yasna the women who have many sons. And I desire for this Yasna the Yairya Hushitay; and I desire for this Yasna the well-formed, stately Ama; and I desire for this Yasna the Ahura-given Verethraghna; and I desire for this Yasna the triumphing Uparatat.

7 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Ushahina, the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the Berejya and the Asha-sanctified Nmanya, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna Sraosha, companion of Ashi, fair of form, victorious, furthering the world, Asha-sanctified, the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the straightest Rashnu, and I desire for this Yasna Arshtat, who furthers the settlements, and causes them to increase.

8 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Mahya (Monthly festivals), the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Antaremah, the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the Pereno-mah and the Asha-sanctified Vishaptatha, the master of Asha.

9 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Yairya (Yearly festivals), the master of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Maidyozarem, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Maidyoshahem, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Paitishahem, the master of Asha. With this libation and Barasman I desire for this Yasna Ayathrem, the promoter, who spends the strength of males, Asha-sanctified, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Maidyarem, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Hamaspathmaidyem, the master of Asha. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the Asha-sanctified Yairya (Yearly festivals), the masters of Asha.

10 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna all of the masters of Asha, the thirty-three who come the nearest round about our Hawans, who are masters of Asha Vahishta, which were inculcated by Mazda, and spoken forth by Zarathushtra.

11 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna Ahura (and) Mithra, the lofty, eternal, and Asha-sanctified two. I desire for this Yasna the Stars and Moon and Sun (and) - with the Baresman-Plants - and Mithra, the governor of all the provinces. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the radiant and glorious Ahura Mazda. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the Asha-sanctified.

12 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna you, the Asha-sanctified Atar, the Son of Ahura Mazda, the master of Asha, with all Fires. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the good, best, Mazda-made, Asha-sanctified Water. I desire for this Yasna all the Mazda-made Asha-sanctified Waters. I desire for this Yasna all the Mazda-made, Asha-sanctified Plants.

13 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the bounteous Manthra, the most glorious. I desire for this Yasna the law instituted against the Daevas. I desire for this Yasna the Zoroastrian law. I desire for this Yasna the long tradition. I desire for this Yasna the good Mazdayasnian Religion.

14 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, the Yazad possessing the ease of Asha. I desire for this Yasna all mountains possessed of ease of Asha, full of ease2, Mazda-made, Asha-sanctified, the masters of Asha. I desire for this Yasna the strong, Mazda-made khwarrah of the Kavis. I desire for this Yasna the strong, Mazda-made ungraspable khwarrah. With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the good Ashi, the brilliant, tall, vigorous, fair of form, self-sufficient. I desire for this Yasna the Mazda-made khwarrah; I desire for this Yasna the Mazda-made prosperity.

15 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna the pious and good Blessing. I desire for this Yasna the pious, Asha-sanctified Man, and I desire for this Yasna the strong, brave Yazad Damoish Upamana.

16 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna these Waters and Lands and Plants; I desire for this Yasna these places, districts, and pastures, and these dwellings with their springs of water, and this land-ruler, who is Ahura Mazda.

17 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna all the greatest masters: the day-lords, the month-lords, those of the years, and of the seasons, and the good, mighty, beneficent Fravashis of the Asha-sanctified.

18 With this libation and Baresman I desire for this Yasna all the Asha-sanctified Yazatas. I desire for this Yasna all the masters of Asha: Hawan at his time, and Savanghi and Visya at their times, and all the greatest masters at their times.

Chapter 3

0 THE YASNA ADVANCES TO THE NAMING OF THE OBJECTS OF PROPITIATION.

1 With a Baresman brought to its appointed place accompanied with the Zaothra at the time of Hawan, I desire to approach the Myazda-offering with my praise, as it is consumed, and likewise Ameretat (as the guardian of plants and wood) and Haurvatat (who guards the water), with the (fresh) meat1, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, and of the Bountiful Immortals, and for the propitiation of Sraosha (who is Obedience) the blessed, who is endowed with sanctity, and who smites with the blow of victory, and causes the settlements to advance.

2 And I desire to approach Haoma and Para-haoma with my praise for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Spitama Zarathushtra, the saint. And I desire to approach the (sacred) wood with my praise, with the perfume, for the propitiation of thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son!

3 And I desire to approach the Haomas with my praise for the propitiation of the good waters which Mazda created; and I desire to approach the Haoma-water, and the fresh milk with my praise, and the plant Hadhanaepata, offered with sanctity for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda-made.

4 And I desire to approach this Baresman with the Zaothra with my praise, with its binding and spread with sanctity for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals. And I desire with (?) my voice the thoughts well thought, and the words well spoken, and the deeds well done, and the recital of the Gathas as they are heard. And I desire to approach the well-said Mathras with my praise, and this (higher) lordship with this sanctity, and this exact regulation (of the Ratu), and the reverential prayer for blessings (spoken at the fitting hour); and I desire to approach them for the contentment and propitiation of the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and for the contentment of each man's soul.

5 And I desire to approach the Asnya with my praise, the lords of the ritual order, and the Havani and Savanghi and Visya, the holy lords of the ritual order. And I desire to approach with the Yasht of Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and with him Raman Hvastra.

6 And I desire to approach Rapithwina with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Fradat-fshu and Zantuma, and Righteousness the Best, and Ahura Mazda's Fire.

7 And I desire to approach Uzayeirina, and Fradat-vira and Dahvyuma* with my praise, with that lofty Ahura Napt-apam, and the waters Mazda-made,

8 And Aiwisruthrima, and Aibigaya, and Fradat-vispam-hujaiti, and Zarathushtrotema with the Yasht of the Fravashis of the saints, and of the women who have many sons, and the year long unchanged prosperity, and of Might, the well-shaped and stately, smiting victoriously, Ahura-made and of the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

9 And I desire to approach Ushahina, Berejya, and Nmanya with the Yasht of Sraosha (Obedience) the sacred, the holy, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, and with that of Rashnu, the most just, and Arshtat who furthers the settlements, and causes them to increase.

10 And I desire to approach the monthly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, and the new moon and the waning moon, and the full moon which scatters night,

11 And the yearly festivals, Maidhyo-zaremaya, Maidhyo-shema, Paitishahya, and Ayathrima the breeder who spends the strength of males, and Maidhyairya, and Hamaspathmaedhaya, and the seasons, lords of the ritual order,

12 and all those lords who are the three and thirty, who approach the nearest at the time of Havani, who are the Lords of Asha called Vahishta (and whose services were) inculcated by Mazda, and pronounced by Zarathushtra, as the feasts of Righteousness, the Best.

13 And I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra, the lofty and imperishable two, the holy, and with the Yasht of those stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and with the Yasht of the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the moon which contains the seed of cattle, and with that of the resplendent sun, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and of Mithra, province-lord of the provinces, and with that of Ahura Mazda (as He rules this day) the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the Fravashis of the saints, (who rule this month),

14 And with thy Yasht, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires, and to the good waters with the Yasht of all the waters which are Mazda-made, and with that of all the plants which Mazda made.

15 And I desire to approach with the Yasht of the Mathra Spenta, the holy, the effective, the law composed against the Daevas, the Zarathushtrian, and with that of the long descent of the Religion which Mazda gave.

16 And I desire to approach with the Yasht of Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, and of all, glorious with sanctity, and abundant in brilliance, and with that of the Kingly Glory, Mazda-made; yea, with that of the unconsumed glory which Mazda made, and with that of Ashi Vanguhi, and Chishti Vanguhi, and with that of the good Erethe, and the good Rasastat, and the good Glory, and of the Benefit which Mazda gave.

17 And I desire to approach with the Yasht of the good and pious Blessing of the pious man and of the saint, and with that of the awful and swift Curse of the wise, the Yazad-curse,

18 and to these places, regions, pastures, and abodes, with their water-springs, and with that of the waters, and the lands, and the plants, and with that of this earth and yon heaven, and with that of the holy wind and of the stars, moon, and sun, and with that of the stars without beginning, self-determined and self-moved, and with that of all the holy creatures which are those of Spenta Mainyu, male and female, regulators of the ritual order,

19 and with that of the lofty lord who is Righteousness (himself, the essence of the ritual), and with that of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and with that of the monthly festivals, and the yearly festivals, and with those of the several seasons which are lords of the ritual at the time of Havani.

20 And I desire to approach the meat-offering with a Yasht, and Haurvatat (who guards the water), and Ameretatat (who guards the plants and wood), with the Yasht of the sacred flesh for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the mighty, whose body is the Mathra, of him of the daring spear, the lordly, the Yazad of the spoken name.

21 And I desire to approach both Haoma and the Haoma-juice with a Yasht for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama, the saint, the Yazad of the spoken name. And I desire to approach the wood-billets with a Yasht, with the perfume for the propitiation of thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! the Yazad of the spoken name.

22 And I desire to approach with a Yasht for the mighty Fravashis of the saints, the overwhelming, the Fravashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and of those of the next of kin.

23 And I desire to approach toward all the lords of the ritual order with a Yasht, toward all the good Yazads, heavenly and earthly, who are (set) for worship and for praise because of Asha Vahishta (of Righteousness the Best).

24 I will confess myself a Mazdayasnian, of Zarathushtra's order, a foe to the Daevas, devoted to the lore of the Lord for Havani, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and for Savanghi and Visya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of the day-lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and for the month-regulators, and the year-regulators, and for those of the (several) seasons, for their sacrifice, and homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

25 (The Zaotar speaks): As the Ahu to be (revered and) chosen, let the priest speak forth to me. (The Ratu responds): As the Ahu to be (revered and) chosen, let him who is the Zaotar speak forth to me. (The Zaotar again): So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

Chapter 4

0 THE OFFERING TAKES PLACE.

1 These good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, these Haomas, meat-offerings, and Zaothras, this Baresman spread with sanctity, this flesh, and the two, Haurvatat (who guards the water) and Ameretatat (who guards the plants and wood), even the flesh, the Haoma and Haoma-juice, the wood-billets, and their perfume, this sacred lordship and chieftainship, and the timely prayer with blessing, and the heard recital of the Gathas, and the well-said Mathras, these all we offer, and make known with celebrations (here)1.

2 Yea, these do we announce with celebrations, and we present them to Ahura Mazda2, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and to the Bountiful Immortals, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to their souls, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lofty lord of the entire creation of the holy, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise.

3 Yea, further, we present (them to the Bountiful Immortals with an especial gift) these thoughts well thought, these words well spoken, these deeds well done, these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and this Baresman spread with sanctity, the flesh, and Haurvatat (who guards the water), and Ameretatat (who guards the plants and wood), even the flesh, Haoma and Parahaoma, the wood-billets, the perfume, and this their lordship and their sanctity, and this chieftainship, this prayer for blessing, the heard recital of the Gathas, and the well-said Mathras.

4 We offer with our celebrations, and we announce them (of a verity) to the Bountiful Immortals, those who exercise their rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, the male divinities among their number who dwell with the Good Mind, [and the female ones as well].

5 And we announce them in our celebrations as more propitious for this house, and for the furtherance of this house, of its herds, and of its men3, of those now born, and of those yet to be born, the holy, yea, for the furtherance of that house of which these (men) are thus.

6 And we present these offerings to the good Fravashis of the saints who are mighty and overwhelming for the succor of the saints.

7 Yea, we present these hereby to the Creator Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the heavenly spirit, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of the Bountiful Immortals (all).

8 And we present these hereby to the Day-lords of the ritual order, to Havani, to Savanghi, and to Visya, the holy lords of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and the thousand ears, and the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name,

9 And to Rapithwina, Fradat-fshu, and Zantuma, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to Righteousness the Best, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire,

10 And to Uzayeirina, Fradat-vira, and Dahvyuma, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to that lofty lord Napat-apam, and to the water Mazda-made,

11 And to Aiwisruthrima, the life-furtherer, and to Fradat-vispam-hujyaiti and Zarathushtrotema, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who bring forth many sons, and to the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and to Force, well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow of victory which Mazda gives, and to the Victorious Ascendency which it secures, for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation, and their praise,

12 And to Ushahina, with Berejya and Nmanya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, smiting with the blow of victory and furthering the settlements, and to Rashnu, the most just, and to Arstat, furthering the settlements, and causing them to increase.

13 And these we announce and we present hereby to the Month-lords of the ritual order, to the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within), and to the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (their) sacrifice, homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

14 And these we announce hereby and we present to the Yearly festivals, to Maidhyo-zaremaya, Maidhyo-shema, Patishahya, and to Ayathrima, to Maidhyairya, Hamaspathmaedhaya, and to the Seasons as holy lords of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise.

15 And these we announce and we present hereby to all those lords who are the three and thirty lords of the ritual order, who approach the nearest around about our Havani, and which are the festivals of Righteousness the Best, inculcated by Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathushtra for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise.

16 And these we announce and we present to Ahura and to Mithra, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, to the stars, the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and to the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle, and to the resplendent Sun, of the swift horses, Ahura Mazda's eye, and to Mithra, the lord of provinces, for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise; yea, these we present hereby to Ahura Mazda (as he rules this day) and to the Fravashis of the saints (as they rule this month), for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise.

17 And these we announce hereby to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires for thy sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to the good waters for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of all the waters Mazda-made, and to all the plants which Mazda made,

18 And to the Mathra Spenta, the holy, the effective, the law against the Daevas, the Zarathushtrian statute, and to the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian religion.

19 And these we announce and we present hereby to Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, brilliant with sanctity, and to all the mountains shining with their holiness, abundantly luminous, and Mazda-made, and to the Kingly glory, the unconsumed glory Mazda-made, and to the good Blessedness, and the good Religious-knowledge, and the good Rectitude, and to the good Rasastat, and to the Glory and the Benefit which Mazda created.

20 And these we offer and present to the pious and good Blessing of the pious, and to the swift and dreadful Yazad, the Curse of wisdom.

21 And to these places, pastures, and dwellings with their springs of water, their rivers, to the lands and to the plants, to this earth and yon heaven, to the holy wind, to the stars, moon, and sun, to the stars without beginning, self-disposed, and to all the holy creatures of the Spenta Mainyu, male and female (the rulers as they are of the ritual order).

22 And these we announce and we present hereby to that lofty lord who is Asha, the ritual righteousness itself, to the Day-lords, and the Month-lords, the Year-lords, and the Seasons who are the lords of the ritual at the time of Havani, and for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise.

23 Yea, these we announce and we present to Sraosha, the blessed and mighty, whose body is the Mathra, him of the daring spear, the lordly one, and to the holy Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama, the saint. And these we announce and we present to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! for thy sacrifice, homage, thy propitiation, and thy praise.

24 And these we announce and we present to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming, of the saints of the ancient lore, and of the next of kin.

25 And these we announce and we present hereby to all the good Yazads, earthly and heavenly, who are (meet) for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, because of Asha Vahishta (who is Righteousness the Best). We worship the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.

26 And that one of beings (do we worship) whose superior (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows, and from his righteousness (which he maintains, and those of all female beings do we worship) whose (higher service is thus likewise known; yea, all) male and female beings do we worship (who are such)!

Chapter 5

0 TO AHURA, THE HOLY CREATION, THE FRAVASHIS OF THE JUST, AND THE BOUNTIFUL IMMORTALS.

1 Thus therefore do we worship Ahura Mazda, who made the Kine (the living creation), and the (embodied) Righteousness (which is incarnate in the clean), and the waters, and the wholesome plants, the stars, and the earth, and all (existing) objects that are good.

2 Yea, we worship Him for His Sovereign Power and His greatness, beneficent (as they are), and with priority among the Yazads who abide beside the Kine (and care for her protection and support).

3 And we worship Him under His name as Lord, to Mazda dear, the most beneficent (of names). We worship him with our bones, and with our flesh, (with our bodies and our life). And we worship the Fravashis of the saints, of holy men, and holy women;

4 and Righteousness the Best do we worship, the most beauteous, the Bountiful Immortal and that which is endowed with light in all things good.

5 And we worship the Good Mind (of the Lord), and His Sovereign Power, and the Good Faith, the good law of our thrift, and Piety the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

Chapter 6

0 THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES WITH FULLER EXPRESSION

1 We worship the Creator Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.

2 And we worship the Asnya with our sacrifice, and Havani, Savanghi and Visya, the holy lords of the ritual order, and Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and we worship Raman Hvastra.

3 And we worship Rapithwina with our sacrifice, and Fradat-fshu, and the Zantuma, and Righteousness the Best, and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, holy lords of the ritual order.

4 And we worship Uzayeirina, and Fradat-vira, and Dahvyuma*, the holy lord of the ritual order, and that kingly Ahura, the radiant Napat-apam, of the fleet horses, and the water holy, and Mazda-made.

5 And we worship Aiwisruthrima and Aibigaya in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Fradat-vispam-hujyaiti and the Zarathushtrotema, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the women who bring forth many sons, and the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and Force which is well-shaped and stately, and the Blow which brings the victory, which is Ahura-given, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

6 And we worship Ushahina with our sacrifice, and Berejya, and Nmanya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately who smites with victory, and makes the settlements advance, and Rashnu, the most just, and Arshtat who makes the settlements advance and causes them to increase, the holy lords of the ritual order.

7 And we worship the Mahya in our sacrifice, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within) and the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order.

8 And we worship the Yearly festivals in our sacrifice, Maidhya-zaremaya, Maidhyo-shema, Paitishhahya, and Ayathrima, the furtherer (or breeder), the spender of virile strength, and Maidhyairya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Hamaspathmaedhaya, and the Seasons (in which they are).

9 And we worship with our sacrifice all the lords of the ritual order, who are the thirty and three who approach the nearest around about us at Havani, who are the lords of Righteousness the Best, and whose observances were inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathushtra.

10 And we worship Ahura and Mithra with our sacrifice, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, and the stars, moon, and sun, among the plants of the Baresman, and Mithra, the province-lord of all the provinces, even Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the good, valiant, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

11 And we worship thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, together with all the fires, and the good waters, the best and Mazda-made, and holy, even all the waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made.

12 And we worship the Mathra Spenta with our sacrifice, the glorious and of a truth, the law revealed against the Daevas, the Zarathushtrian law, and we worship with our sacrifice its long descent, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion.

13 And we worship Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, the glorious Yazad, shining with holiness, and all the mountains that shine with holiness, with abundant brilliance, Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order. And we worship the mighty Kingly glory Mazda-made, the mighty glory, unconsumed and Mazda-made, and the good Sanctity, the brilliant, the lofty, the powerful and the stately, delivering (men) with its inherent power. Yea, we worship the Glory, and the Benefit which are Mazda-made.

14 And we worship the pious and good Blessing with our sacrifice, and the pious man, the saint, and that Yazad, the mighty Curse of wisdom.

15 And we worship these waters, lands, and plants, these places, districts, pastures, and abodes with their springs of water, and we worship this lord of the district with our sacrifice, who is Ahura Mazda (Himself).

16 And we worship all the greatest lords, the Day-lords in the day's duration, and the Day-lords during daylight, and the Month-lords, and the Year-lords.

17 And we worship Haurvatat (who guards the water) and Ameretatat (who guards the plants and the wood), and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, the holy lord of the ritual order.

18 And we worship Haoma with our sacrifice and the Haoma-juice. And we worship the sacred Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama the saint. And we worship the wood-billets, and the perfume and thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order.

19 And we worship the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

20 And we worship all the holy Yazads, and all the lords of the ritual order at the time of Havani, and Savanghi, and all the greatest lords at their (proper) time. (The Yenhe hatam follows.)

21 The Ratu. As an Ahu (revered and) to be chosen, the priest speaks forth to me. The Zaotar. So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

Chapter 7

0 PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS BY THE PRIEST WITH THE OBJECT OF PROPITIATION NAMED.

1 With a complete and sacred offering [Ashi] I offer and I give this meat-offering, and (with it) Haurvatat (who guards the water), and Ameretatat (who guards the plants and the wood), and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift1, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, and of the Bountiful Immortals (all, and) for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, who smites with the blow of victory, and who causes the settlements to advance.

2 And I offer the Haoma and Haoma-juice with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama the saint, and I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son!

3 And I offer the Haomas with a complete and sacred offering for propitiation [to the good waters] for the good waters Mazda-made. And I offer this Haoma-water with scrupulous exactness and with sanctity, and this fresh milk, and the plant Hadhanaepata uplifted with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda-made.

4 And I offer this Baresman with its Zaothra (and with its binding) for a girdle spread with complete sanctity and order for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals, and I offer with my voice the thoughts well-thought, the words well-spoken, and the deeds well-done, and the heard recital of the Gathas, the Mathras well-composed and well-delivered, and this Lordship, and this Sanctity, and this ritual mastership, and the timely Prayer for blessings, with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and for the contentment of the individual soul!

5 And I offer to the Asnya with a complete and sacred offering, as lords of the ritual order, and to Havani, and to Savanghi and Visya, holy lords of the ritual order, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and to Raman Hvastra.

6 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order; and I offer to Fradat-fshu and to the Zantuma, and to Asha Vahishta (who is Righteousness the Best) and to Ahura Mazda's Fire.

7 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Uzayeirina, Fradat-vira, and to the Dahvyuma*, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to that lofty Ahura Napat-apam, and to the waters which Mazda created.

8 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Aiwisruthrima, the life-furtherer, and to Fradat-vispam-hujyaiti, and to the Zarathushtrotema, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who have many sons, and to the Prosperous home-life which endures (without reverse) throughout the year, and to Force, the well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow which smites with victory Ahura-given, and to the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

9 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Berejya, and Nmanya, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, and to Rashnu the most just, and to Arshtat who furthers the settlements and causes them to increase.

10 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mahya, lords of the ritual order, to the new and the waning moon (the moon within), and to the full moon which scatters night, holy lords of the ritual order.

11 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Yearly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, to Maidhyo-zaremaya, and Maidhyo-shema, to Paitishahya, and to Ayathrima the furtherer (the breeder), the spender of the strength of males, and to Maidhyairya and Hamaspathmaedhaya, holy lords of the ritual order, and I offer with sanctity to the several seasons, the lords of the ritual order.

12 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all those lords who are the thirty and three, who approach the nearest round about our Havani, and who are the lords of Asha (the ritual by-eminence), of Righteousness who is (the Best), whose observances are inculcated as precepts by Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathushtra.

13 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura and Mithra, the lofty and imperishable, and holy two, and to the stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and to the star Tishtrya, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle in its beams, and to the resplendent Sun of the fleet horses, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and to Mithra, the lord of the provinces. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, (who rules this day), and to the Fravashis of the saints (who name the month).

14 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! together with all the fires, and to the good waters, even to the waters which are Mazda-made, and to all the plants which Mazda made.

15 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mathra Spenta, the holy, the effective, revealed against the Daevas, the Zarathushtrian law, and to the long descent of the good Religion, of the Mazdayasnian faith.

16 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, brilliant with holiness, and to all the mountains shining with holiness, of abundant brightness, and which Mazda made, and to the Royal glory unconsumed and Mazda-made. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ashi Vanguhi, and to Chishti Vanguhi, and to Erethe, and to Rasastat, and to the Glory (and the) Benefit which Mazda made.

17 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the good and pious Prayer for blessings of the pious man, and to that Yazad, the swift and dreadful Curse of the wise.

18 And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to these places, districts, pastures, and abodes with their springs of water, and to the waters and the lands, and the plants, and to this earth and yon heaven, and to the holy wind, and to the stars, and the moon, even to the stars without beginning (to their course), the self-appointed, and to all the holy creatures of Spenta Mainyu, be they male or female, regulators (as they are) of the ritual order.

19 And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to that lofty lord who is Righteousness (the Best) and the Day-lords, the lords of the days during their duration, and to those of the days during daylight, and to the Month-lords, and the Year-lords, and to those of the seasons, the lords who are lords of the ritual, and at the time of Havani.

20 And I offer the Myazda meat-offering with a complete and sacred offering, and Haurvatat (who guards the water), and Ameretatat (who guards the wood), and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whose body is the Mathra, him of the daring spear, the lordly, the Yazad of the spoken name.

21 And I offer the Haoma and the Haoma-juice for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama the saint, the Yazad of the spoken name. And I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation, the Fire's, Ahura Mazda's son, the Yazad of the spoken name.

22 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming, to those of the saints of the ancient lore, and to those of the next of kin.

23 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all the lords of the ritual order, and to all the good Yazads heavenly and earthly who are (meet) for sacrifice and homage because of Asha who is Vahishta (of Righteousness who is the Best).

24 May that approach to us, and with a sacred blessing (O Lord!) whose benefits the offerers are seeking for. Thy praisers and Mathra-speakers, O Ahura Mazda! may we be named; we desire it, and such may we be. What reward, O Ahura Mazda! adapted to myself Thou hast appointed unto souls,

25 Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and for that of mind; (yea, do Thou bestow) so much of this as that we may attain to Thy ruling protection and to that of Righteousness for ever.

26 We sacrifice to the Ahuna-vairya and to the veracious word correctly uttered, and to the good and pious prayer for blessings, and to the dreadful curse of the wise, the Yazad, and to Haurvatat and Ameretatat, and to the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, and to the Haoma and Haoma-juice, and to the wood-billets, and the perfume, for the praise of the pious and good prayer for blessings. (The Yenghe hatam:)

27 (To that one) of beings do we sacrifice whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows through his Righteousness (within him, yea, even to those female saints do we sacrifice) whose (superior sanctity is thus known. We sacrifice to all) both males and females whose (superiority is such). (The Ratu speaks.) As an Ahu (revered and) to be chosen, he who is the Zaotar speaks forth to me. (The Zaotar.) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

Chapter 8

0 OFFERING OF THE MEAT-OFFERING IN PARTICULAR. THE FAITHFUL PARTAKE.

1 A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best. It is weal; it is weal to this (man), When toward Righteousness Best there is right. I offer the Myazda (of the) meat-offering with a complete and sacred offering; and I offer Haurvatatat (who guards the water), and Ameretatat (who guards the plants and the wood), and the flesh of the blessed Kine; and I offer the Haoma and the Haoma-juice, the wood-billets and the perfume for the praise of Ahura Mazda, and of the Ahuna-vairya, the veracious word, and for that of the pious and beneficent Prayer for blessings, and for the redoubted Curse of the wise, and for the praise of the Haoma, and of the Mathra of the holy Zarathushtra; and may it come to us with sacred fullness (to accept and to recompense our gift).

2 (The Ratu speaks.) Eat, O ye men, of this Myazda, the meat-offering, ye who have deserved it by your righteousness and correctness.

3 O ye Bountiful Immortals, and thou, the Mazdayasnian law, ye just men and just women, and ye Zaothras, whoever among these Mazdayasnians would call himself a Mazdayasnian desiring to live in the practice of the liberality of Righteousness [for by sorcery the settlements of Righteousness are ruined], do ye cause (such an one) to be (still further) taught1, (ye), who are the waters, the plants, and the Zaothras!

4 And whoever of these Mazdayasnians, adults, when he invokes with earnestness, does not adhere to these words, and (so) speaks, he approaches to that (word) of the magician; (but, as against that magician's word) 'a blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best.'

5 May'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda! reign at Thy will, and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures, and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters, and over plants, and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness. Strip ye the wicked of all power!2

6 Absolute in power may the holy be, bereft of all free choice the wicked ! Gone (may he be), met as foe, carried out from the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, hemmed in without power over any wish!

7 I will incite, even I who am Zarathushtra, the heads of the houses, villages, Zantus, and provinces, to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura, and according to Zarathushtra, in their thoughts, their words, and their deeds.3

8 I pray for the freedom and glory of the entire existence of the holy (man) while I bless it, and I pray for the repression and shame of the entire existence of the wicked.

9 Ashem Vohu ... . Propitiation to Haoma who brings righteousness (to us) for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise. (The Zaotar?) As the Ahu to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me. (The Ratu.) As an Ahu to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me. (The Zaotar.) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

Chapter 9

0 THE HOM YASHT

1 At the hour of Havani, Haoma came to Zarathushtra, as he served the (sacred) Fire, and sanctified (its flame), while he sang aloud the Gathas. And Zarathushtra asked him: Who art thou, O honorable one1! who art of all the incarnate world the most beautiful in Thine own body of those whom I have, seen, (thou) glorious [immortal]?

2 Thereupon gave Haoma answer, the holy one who driveth death afar: I am, O Zarathushtra Haoma, the holy and driving death afar; pray to me, O Spitama, prepare me for the taste. Praise me so that also the other Saoshyants [benefactors] may praise me2.

3 Thereupon spake Zarathushtra: Unto Haoma be the praise. What man, O Haoma! first prepared thee for the corporeal world? What award3 was offered him? what gain did he acquire?

4 Thereupon did Haoma answer me, he the holy one, and driving death afar: Vivanghvant was the first of men who prepared me for the incarnate world. This award4 was offered him; this gain did he acquire, that to him was born a son who was Yima, called the brilliant, (he of the many flocks, the most glorious of those yet born, the sunlike-one of men), that he made from his authority both herds and people free from dying, both plants and waters free from drought, and men could eat inexhaustible5 food.

5 In the reign of brave6 Yima was there neither cold nor heat, there was neither age nor death, nor envy demon-made. Like teenagers7 walked the two forth, son and father, in their stature and their form, so long as Yima, son of Vivanghvant ruled, he of the many herds!

6 Who was the second man, O Haoma! who prepared thee for the corporeal world? What award8 was offered him? what gain did he acquire?

7 Thereupon gave Haoma answer, he the holy one, and driving death afar: Athwya was the second who prepared-me for the corporeal world. This award9 was given him, this gain did he acquire, that to him a son was born, Thraetaona of the mighty clan10,

8 Who smote Azhi Dahaka11, three-jawed and triple-headed, six-eyed, with thousand perceptions12, and of mighty strength, a lie-demon [druj] of the Daevas, evil for our settlements, and wicked, whom the evil spirit Angra Mainyu made as the most mighty Druj [against the corporeal world], and for the murder of (our) settlements, and to slay the (homes) of Asha!

9 Who was the third man, O Haoma! who prepared thee for the corporeal world? What award13 was given him? what gain did he acquire?

10 Thereupon gave Haoma answer, the holy one, and driving death afar: Thrita, [the most helpful of the Samids], was the third man who prepared me for the corporeal world. This award was given him, this gain did he acquire, that to him two son were born, Urvakhshaya and Keresaspa, the one a judge confirming order, the other a youth of great ascendant, curly-haired14, bludgeon-bearing.

11 He who smote the horny dragon swallowing men, and swallowing horses, poisonous, and green of color over which, as thick as thumbs are, greenish poison flowed aside, on whose back once Keresaspa cooked his meat in iron caldron at the noonday meal; and the deadly, scorched, upstarted, and springing off, dashed out the water as it boiled. Headlong fled affrighted manly-minded Keresaspa.

12 Who was the fourth man who prepared thee, O Haoma! for the corporeal world? What blessedness was given him? what gain did he acquire?

13 Thereupon gave Haoma answer, he the holy, and driving death afar: Pourushaspa was the fourth man who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that thou, O Zarathushtra! wast born to him, the just, in Pourushaspa's house, the Daeva's foe, the friend of Mazda's lore,

14 famed in Airyana Vaejah; and thou, O Zarathushtra! didst recite the first the Ahuna-vairya, four times intoning it, and with verses kept apart [(Pazand) each time with louder and still louder voice].

15 And thou didst cause, O Zarathushtra! all the demon-gods to vanish in the ground who aforetime flew about this earth in human shape (and power. This hast thou done), thou who hast been the strongest, and the staunchest, the most active, and the swiftest, and (in every deed) the most victorious in the two spirits' world.

16 Thereupon spake Zarathushtra: Praise to Haoma. Good is Haoma, and the well-endowed, exact and righteous in its nature, and good inherently, and healing, beautiful of form, and good in deed, and most successful in its working, golden-hued, with bending sprouts. As it is the best for drinking, so (through its sacred stimulus) is it the most nutritious for the soul.

17 I make my claim on thee, O yellow one! for inspiration. I make my claim on thee for strength; I make my claim on thee for victory; I make my claim on thee for health and healing (when healing is my need); I make my claim on thee for progress and increased prosperity, and vigor of the entire frame, and for understanding, of each adorning kind, and for this, that I may have free course among our settlements, having power where I will, overwhelming angry malice, and a conqueror of lies.

18 Yea, I make my claim on thee that I may overwhelm the angry hate of haters, of the Daevas and of mortals, of the sorcerers and sirens, of the tyrants, and the Kavis, of the Karpans, murderous bipeds, of the sanctity-destroyers, the profane apostate bipeds, of the wolves four-footed monsters, of the invading host, wide-fronted, which with stratagems advance.

19 This first blessing I beseech of thee, O Haoma, thou that drivest death afar! I beseech of thee for (heaven), the best life of the saints, the radiant, all-glorious. This second blessing I beseech of thee, O Haoma, thou that drivest death afar! this body's health (before that blest life is attained). This third blessing I beseech of thee, O Haoma, thou that drivest death afar! the long vitality of life.

20 This fourth blessing I beseech of thee, O Haoma, thou that drivest death afar! that I may stand forth on this earth with desires gained, and powerful, receiving satisfaction, overwhelming the assaults of hate, and conquering the lie. This fifth blessing, O Haoma, I beseech of thee, thou that drivest death afar! that I may stand victorious on earth, conquering in battles, overwhelming the assaults of hate, and conquering the lie.

21 This sixth blessing I ask of thee, O Haoma, thou that drivest death afar! that we may get good warning of the thief, good warning of the murderer, see first the bludgeon-bearer, get first sight of the wolf. May no one whichsoever get first the sight of us. In the strife with each may we be they who get the first alarm!

22 Haoma grants to racers who would run a course with span both speed and bottom (in their horses). Haoma grants to women come to bed with child a brilliant offspring and a righteous line. Haoma grants to those (how many!) who have long sat searching books, more knowledge and more wisdom.

23 Haoma grants to those long maidens, who sit at home unwed, good husbands, and that as soon as asked, he Haoma, the well-minded.

24 Haoma lowered Keresani, dethroned him from his throne, for he grew so fond of power, that he treacherously said: No priest behind (and watching) shall walk the lands for me, as a counselor to prosper them, he would rob everything of progress, he would crush the growth of all!

25 Hail to thee, O Haoma, who hast power as thou wilt, and by thine inborn strength! Hail to thee, thou art well-versed in many sayings, and true and holy words. Hail to thee for thou dost ask no wily questions, but questionest direct.

26 Forth hath Mazda borne to thee, the star-bespangled girdle, the spirit-made, the ancient one, the Mazdayasnian Faith. So with this thou art begirt on the summits of the mountains, for the spreading of the precepts, and the headings of the Mathra, (and to help the Mathra's teacher),

27 O Haoma, thou house-lord, and thou clan-lord, thou tribe-lord, and chieftain of the land, and thou successful learned teacher, for aggressive strength I speak to thee, for that which smites with victory, and for my body's saving, and for manifold delight!

28 Bear off from us the torment and the malice of the hateful. Divert the angry foe's intent! What man soever in this house is violent and wicked, what man soever in this village, or this tribe, or province, seize thou away the fleetness from his feet; throw thou a veil of darkness o'er his mind; make thou his intellect (at once) a wreck!

29 Let not the man who harms us, mind or body, have power to go forth on both his legs, or hold with both his hands, or see with both his eyes, not the land (beneath his feet), or the herd before his face.

30 At the aroused and fearful Dragon, green, and belching forth his poison, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow Haoma, hurl thy mace! At the (murderous) bludgeon-bearer, committing deeds unheard of, blood-thirsty, (drunk) with fury, yellow Haoma, hurl thy mace!

31 Against the wicked human tyrant, hurling weapons at the head, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow Haoma, hurl thy mace! Against the righteousness-disturber, the unholy life-destroyer, thoughts and words of our religion well-delivering, yet in actions never reaching, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow Haoma, hurl thy mace!

32 Against the body of the harlot, with her magic minds o'erthrowing with (intoxicating) pleasures, to the lusts her person offering, whose mind as vapor wavers as it flies before the wind, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow Haoma, hurl thy mace!

Chapter 10

1 Let the Demon-gods and Goddesses fly far away from hence, and let the good Sraosha make here his home! [And may the good Blessedness here likewise dwell], and may she here spread delight and peace within this house, Ahura's, which is sanctified by Haoma, bringing righteousness (to all).

2 At the first force of thy pressure, O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice, while I grasp at first thy shoots. At thy next pressure, O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice, when as with full force of a man I crush thee down.

3 I praise the cloud that waters thee, and the rains which make thee grow on the summits of the mountains; and I praise thy lofty mountains where the Haoma branches spread.

4 This wide earth do I praise, expanded far (with paths), the productive, the full bearing, thy mother, holy plant! Yea, I praise the lands where thou dost grow, sweet-scented, swiftly spreading, the good growth of the Lord. O Haoma, thou growest on the mountains, apart on many paths, and there still may'st thou flourish. The springs of Righteousness most verily thou art, (and the fountains of the ritual find their source in thee)!

5 Grow (then) because I pray to thee on all thy stems and branches, in all thy shoots (and tendrils) increase thou through my word!

6 Haoma grows while he is praised, and the man who praises him is therewith more victorious. The lightest pressure of thee, Haoma, thy feeblest praise, the slightest tasting of thy juice, avails to the thousand-smiting of the Daevas.

7 Wasting doth vanish from that house, and-with it foulness, whither in verity they bear thee, and where thy praise in truth is sung, the drink of Haoma, famed, health-bringing (as thou art). [(Pazand) to his village and abode they bear him.]

8 All other toxicants go hand in hand with Rapine of the bloody spear, but Haoma's stirring power goes hand in hand with friendship. [Light is the drunkenness of Haoma (Pazand).]Who as a tender son caresses Haoma, forth to the bodies of such persons Haoma comes to heal.

9 Of all the healing virtues, Haoma, whereby thou art a healer, grant me some. Of all the victorious powers, whereby thou art a victor, grant me some. A faithful praiser will I be to thee, O Haoma, and a faithful praiser (is) a better (thing) than Righteousness the Best; so hath the Lord, declaring (it), decreed.

10 Swift and wise hath the well-skilled Deity created thee; swift and wise on high Haraiti did He, the well-skilled, plant thee.

11 And taught (by implanted instinct) on every side, the bounteous birds have carried thee to the Peaks-above-the-eagles, to the mount's extremest summit, to the gorges and abysses, to the heights of many pathways, to the snow-peaks ever whitened.

12 There, Haoma, on the ranges dost thou grow of many kinds. Now thou growest of milky whiteness, and now thou growest golden; and forth thine healing liquors flow for the inspiring of the pious. So terrify away from me the (death's) aim of the curser. So terrify and crush his thought who stands as my maligner.

13 Praise be to thee, O Haoma, (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as any of the richest whomsoever.) Praise be to Haoma, (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as when mind reacheth culmination.) With manifold retainers dost thou, O Haoma, endow the man who drinks thee mixed with milk; yea, more prosperous thou makest him, and more endowed with mind.

14 Do not vanish from me suddenly like milk-drops in the rain; let thine exhilarations go forth ever vigorous and fresh; and let them come to me with strong effect. Before thee, holy Haoma, thou bearer of the ritual truth, and around thee would I cast this body, a body which (as all) may see (is fit for gift and) grown.

15 I renounce with vehemence the murderous woman's emptiness, the Jaini's, hers, with intellect dethroned. She vainly thinks to foil us, and would beguile both Fire-priest and Haoma; but she herself, deceived therein, shall perish. And when she sits at home, and wrongly eats of Haoma's offering, priest's mother will that never make her, nor give her holy sons!

16 To five do I belong, to five others do I not; of the good thought am I, of the evil am I not; of the good word am I, of the evil am I not; of the good deed am I, and of the evil, not. To Obedience am I given, and to deaf disobedience, not; to the saint do I belong, and to the wicked, not; and so from this on till the ending shall be the spirits' parting. (The two shall here divide.)

17 Thereupon spake Zarathushtra: Praise to Haoma, Mazda-made. Good is Haoma, Mazda-made. All the plants of Haoma praise I, on the heights of lofty mountains, in the gorges of the valleys, in the clefts (of sundered hill-sides) cut for the bundles bound by women. From the silver cup I pour Thee to the golden chalice over. Let me not thy (sacred) liquor spill to earth, of precious cost.

18 These are thy Gathas, holy Haoma, these thy songs, and these thy teachings, and these thy truthful ritual words, health-imparting, victory-giving, from harmful hatred healing giving.

19 These and thou art mine, and forth let thine exhilarations flow; bright and sparkling let them hold on their (steadfast) way; for light are thine exhilaration(s), and flying lightly come they here. Victory-giving smiteth Haoma, victory-giving is it worshipped; with this Gathic word we praise it.

20 Praise to the Kine; praise and victory (be) spoken to her! Food for the Kine, and pasture! 'For the Kine let thrift use toil; yield thou us food.'

21 We worship the yellow lofty one; we worship Haoma who causes progress, who makes the settlements advance; we worship Haoma who drives death afar; yea, we worship all the Haoma plants. And we worship (their) blessedness, and the Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama, the saint.

Chapter 11

0 PRELUDE TO THE HAOMA-OFFERING.

1 Three clean creatures (full of blessings) curse betimes while yet invoking, the cow, the horse, and then Haoma. The cow cries to her driver thus: Childless be thou, shorn of offspring evil-famed, and slander-followed, who foddered fairly dost not use me, but fattenest me for wife or children, and for thy niggard selfish meal.

2 The horse cries to his rider thus: Be not spanner of the racers; stretch no coursers to full-speed; do not stride across the fleetest, thou, who dost not pray me swiftness in the meeting thick with numbers, in the circuit thronged with men.

3 Haoma speaks his drinker thus: Childless be thou, shorn of offspring, evil-famed, and slander-followed, who holdest me from full outpouring, as a robber, skulls in-crushing. No head-smiter am I ever, holy Haoma, far from death.

4 Forth my father gave an offering, tongue and left eye chose Ahura, set apart for Haoma's meal.

5 Who this offering would deny me, eats himself, or prays it from me, this which Mazda gave to bless me, tongue with left eye (as my portion).

6 In his house is born no fire-priest, warrior ne'er in chariot standing, never more the thrifty tiller. In his home be born Dahakas, Murakas of evil practice, doing deeds of double nature.

7 Quick, cut off then Haoma's portion, gift of flesh for doughty Haoma! Heed lest Haoma bind thee fettered, as he bound the fell Turanian Frangrasyan (the murderous robber) fast in iron close-surrounded in the mid-third of this earth!

8 Thereupon spake Zarathushtra: Praise to Haoma made by Mazda, good is Haoma Mazda-made.

9 Who to us is one hereupon to thee (becomes) two, to be made to three, for the five-making of the four, for the seven-making of the sixth, who are your nine in the decade (?), who serve you and with zeal.

10 To thee, O holy Haoma! bearer of the ritual sanctity, I offer this my person which is seen (by all to be) mature, (and fit for gift); to Haoma the effective do I offer it, and to the sacred exhilaration which he bestows; and do thou grant to me (for this), O holy Haoma! thou that drivest death afar, (Heaven) the best world of the saints, shining, all brilliant.

11 (The Ashem Vohu, &c.)

12 May'st Thou rule at Thy will, O Lord....

13 May'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda! reign at Thy will, and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures, and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters, and over plants, and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness. Strip ye the wicked of all power! (Y8.5)

14 Absolute in power may the holy be, bereft of all free choice the wicked ! Gone (may he be), met as foe, carried out from the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, hemmed in without power over any wish! (Y8.6)

15 I will incite, even I who am Zarathushtra, the heads of the houses, villages, Zantus, and provinces, to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura, and according to Zarathushtra, in their thoughts, their words, and their deeds. (Y8.7)

16 I confess myself a Mazdayasnian of Zarathushtra's order.

17 I celebrate my praises for good thoughts, good words, and good deeds for my thoughts, my speeches, and (my) actions. With chanting praises I present all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and with rejection I repudiate all evil thoughts, and words, and deeds.

18 Here I give to you, O ye Bountiful Immortals! sacrifice and homage with the mind, with words, deeds, and my entire person; yea, (I offer) to you the flesh of my very body (as your own). And I praise Righteousness. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, &c.

Chapter 12

0 The Zoroastrian Creed.

1 I curse the Daevas. I declare myself a Mazda-worshipper, a supporter of Zarathushtra, hostile to the Daevas, fond of Ahura's teaching, a praiser of the Amesha Spentas, a worshipper of the Amesha Spentas. I ascribe all good to Ahura Mazda, 'and all the best,' Asha-endowed, splendid, xwarena-endowed, whose is the cow, whose is Asha, whose is the light, 'may whose blissful areas be filled with light'.

2 I choose the good Spenta Armaiti for myself; let her be mine. I renounce the theft and robbery of the cow, and the damaging and plundering of the Mazdayasnian settlements.

3 I want freedom of movement and freedom of dwelling for those with homesteads, to those who dwell upon this earth with their cattle. With reverence for Asha, and (offerings) offered up, I vow this: I shall nevermore damage or plunder the Mazdayasnian settlements, even if I have to risk life and limb.

4 I reject the authority of the Daevas, the wicked, no-good, lawless, evil-knowing, the most druj-like of beings, the foulest of beings, the most damaging of beings. I reject the Daevas and their comrades, I reject the demons (yatu) and their comrades; I reject any who harm beings. I reject them with my thoughts, words, and deeds. I reject them publicly. Even as I reject the head (authorities), so too do I reject the hostile followers of the druj.

5 As Ahura Mazda taught Zarathushtra at all discussions, at all meetings, at which Mazda and Zarathushtra conversed;

6 as Ahura Mazda taught Zarathushtra at all discussions, at all meetings, at which Mazda and Zarathushtra conversed — even as Zarathushtra rejected the authority of the Daevas, so I also reject, as Mazda-worshipper and supporter of Zarathushtra, the authority of the Daevas, even as he, the Asha-endowed Zarathushtra, has rejected them.

7 As the belief of the waters, the belief of the plants, the belief of the well-made (Original) Cow; as the belief of Ahura Mazda who created the cow and the Asha-endowed Man; as the belief of Zarathushtra, the belief of Kavi Vishtaspa, the belief of both Frashaostra and Jamaspa; as the belief of each of the Saoshyants (saviors) — fulfilling destiny and Asha-endowed — so I am a Mazda-worshipper of this belief and teaching.

8 I profess myself a Mazda-worshipper, a Zoroastrian, having vowed it and professed it. I pledge myself to the well-thought thought, I pledge myself to the well-spoken word, I pledge myself to the well-done action.

9 I pledge myself to the Mazdayasnian religion, which causes the attack to be put off and weapons put down; [which upholds khvaetvadatha], Asha-endowed; which of all religions that exist or shall be, is the greatest, the best, and the most beautiful: Ahuric, Zoroastrian. I ascribe all good to Ahura Mazda. This is the creed of the Mazdayasnian religion.

Chapter 13

1 I address (my invocation to) Ahura Mazda. And I invoke (among guardian beings) the chief of the house-lord, and the chief of the Vis-lord, and the chief of the Zantu-lord. And I invoke the chief of the province-lord. And the chief of women I invoke, the Mazdayasnian Faith, the blessed and good Parendi, her who is the holy one of human-kind. And I invoke this (holy) earth which bears us.

2 And I invoke the friendly and most helpful person's lord, the Fire of Ahura Mazda, and also the most energetic lords of holy men, those who are most strenuous in their care of cattle and the fields, and the chief of the thrifty tiller of the earth. And I invoke the steady settler of sanctity, (and) the chief of the charioteer.

3 And I invoke the chief of the fire-priest by means of the most imposing sciences of the Mazdayasnian Faith. And I invoke the chief of the Atharvan, and his pupils I invoke; yea, the lords of each of them. I invoke these lords, and I summon the Bountiful Immortals here, and the Prophets who shall serve us, the wisest as they are, the most scrupulous in their exactness (as) they utter words (of doctrine and of service), the most devoted (to their duties likewise), and the most glorious in their thoughts(?). And I invoke the most imposing forces of the Mazdayasnian Faith, and the fire-priests I invoke, and the charioteers, the warriors, and the thrifty tillers of the soil.

4 And to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, I offer the flesh of my very frame, and all the blessings of my life. Thus the two spirits thought, thus they spoke, and thus they did;

5 And therefore as Thou, O Ahura Mazda! didst think, speak, dispose, and do all things good (for us), so to Thee would we give, so would we assign to Thee our homage; so would we worship Thee with our sacrifices. So would we bow before Thee with these gifts, and so direct our prayers to Thee with confessions of our debt.

6 By the kinship of the good kindred, by that of Righteousness the good (Thy righteous servant's nature) would we approach Thee, and by that of the good thrift-law, and of Piety the good.

7 And we would worship the Fravashi of the Kine of blessed gift, and that of the holy Gaya Mareyan [Gayomard], and we would worship the holy Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama, the saint. Yea, that one of beings do we worship whose better (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows; (even those women do we worship) whose (better service thus is known). Yea, both (holy) men and women (do we worship whom Ahura Mazda knows). As the Ahu is excelling.... A blessing is the Right called the best....

8 We worship the Ahuna-vairya; and we worship Asha Vahishta the best(?), the bountiful Immortal. And we sacrifice to the Ha fraoreti, even to the confession and laudation of the Mazdayasnian Faith!

Chapter 14

1 I will come to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as a praiser and a priest, and an invoker and sacrificer, as a memorizing reciter and a chanter, for Your sacrifice and homage, which are to be offered to You, the Bountiful Immortals, and for our dedication and sanctification; (yea, for ours) who are the holy prophets (destined to benefit the saints).

2 And to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! would I dedicate the flesh of my very body, and all the blessings of a prospered life.

3 In this Zaothra with this Baresman, I desire to approach the holy Yazads with my praise, and all the holy lords of the ritual order at their times, Havani at his time, and Savanghi and Visya at their times.

4 I confess myself a Mazdayasnian, and of Zarathushtra's order.

5 The Zaotar speaks: As an Ahu (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar (?) speaks forth to me (?). The Ratu speaks: As an Ahu (revered and) to be chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me. The Zaotar: So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

Chapter 15

1 With precept, praise, and with delight produced by grace, I call upon the Bountiful Immortals the good, and also therewith the beautiful by name; and I sacrifice to them with the blessing of the good ritual, with the earnest blessings of the good Mazdayasnian Faith.

2 Whose best gift from his Righteousness is mine in the offering Ahura this knoweth; who have lived, and live ever, by their names these I worship, while I draw near with praises. The Good Kingdom is to be chosen, that lot which most of all bears on (our blessings).

3 Let Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for the sacrifice of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent, the holy, who is so dear to us as at the first, so at the last; yea, let him be present here.

4 As the Ahu (revered and) to be chosen, the Atarevakhsha thus speaks forth to me. (Response): So let the Ratu from his righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

Chapter 16

1 We worship Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, who disposes (all) aright, the greatest Yazad, who is also the most beneficent, and the one who causes the settlements to advance, the creator of good creatures; yea, we worship Him with these offered Zaothras and with truthfully and scrupulously delivered words; and we worship every holy Yazad of the heaven (as well)!

2 And we worship Zarathushtra Spitama in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order with these Zaothras and with faithfully delivered words; and we worship every holy earthly Yazad as we worship him; and we worship also the Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama, the saint. And we worship the utterances of Zarathushtra and his religion, his faith and his lore.

3 And we worship the former religions of the world devoted to Righteousness which were instituted at the creation, the holy religions of the Creator Ahura Mazda, the resplendent and glorious. And we worship Vohu Manah (the Good Mind), and Asha Vahishta (who is Righteousness the Best), and Khshathra-vairya, the Kingdom to be desired, and the good and bountiful Armaiti (true piety in the believers), and Haurvatat and Ameretat (our Weal and Immortality).

4 Yea, we worship the Creator Ahura Mazda and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and the good waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and the resplendent sun of the swift horses, and the moon with the seed of cattle (in his beams); and we worship the star Tishtrya, the lustrous and glorious; and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed endowment,

5 and its Creator Ahura Mazda; and we worship Mithra of the wide pastures, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and Rashnu the most just, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the Blow-of-victory Ahura-given (as it is). And we worship Raman Hvastra, and the bounteous Wind of blessed gift,

6 and (its) Creator Ahura Mazda, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the good Blessedness and Arshtat. And we worship the heaven and the earth of blessed gift, and the bounteous Mathra, and the stars without beginning (to their course), self-disposing as they are.

7 And we worship the glorious works of Righteousness in which the souls of the dead find satisfaction and delight [(Pazand) which are the Fravashis of the saints], and we worship (Heaven) the best world of the saints, shining, all glorious.

8 And we worship the two, the milk-offering and the libation, the two which cause the waters to flow forth, and the plants to flourish, the two foes who meet the Dragon demon-made; and who are set to meet, to defeat, and to put to flight, that cheat, the Pairika, and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the persecuting heretic) and that of the unholy tyrant full of death.

9 And we worship all waters and all plants, and all good men and all good women. And we worship all these Yazads, heavenly and earthly, who are beneficent and holy.

10 And we worship thee (our) dwelling-place who art the (earth, our) bounteous Armaiti, and Thee, O Ahura Mazda, O holy Lord of this abode! which is the home of healthy herds and healthy men, and of those who are both endowed with health and lover(s) of the ritual right. (Response of the individual worshipper (?).) Wherefore whichever of persons, or whatever of bodily influences, is most helpful and preserving in that abode (thus owned by Mazda) let this meet me in mine abode, and there may it abide for summer and for winter. (Or let that one meet me in all my house, in whom are what of influences are the most mighty power for the body and the person's life; yea, let that one meet me there, and there abide for summer and for winter (for my help)!)

Chapter 17

1 We worship the Creator Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.(Y6.1)

2 And we worship the Asnya with our sacrifice, and Havani, Savanghi and Visya, the holy lords of the ritual order, and Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and we worship Raman Hvastra.(Y6.2)

3 And we worship Rapithwina with our sacrifice, and Fradat-fshu, and the Zantuma, and Righteousness the Best, and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, holy lords of the ritual order.(Y6.3)

4 And we worship Uzayeirina, and Fradat-vira, and Dahvyuma*, the holy lord of the ritual order, and that kingly Ahura, the radiant Napat-apam, of the fleet horses, and the water holy, and Mazda-made.(Y6.4)

5 And we worship Aiwisruthrima and Aibigaya in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Fradat-vispam-hujyaiti and the Zarathushtrotema, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the women who bring forth many sons, and the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and Force which is well-shaped and stately, and the Blow which brings the victory, which is Ahura-given, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).(Y6.5)

6 And we worship Ushahina with our sacrifice, and Berejya, and Nmanya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately who smites with victory, and makes the settlements advance, and Rashnu, the most just, and Arshtat who makes the settlements advance and causes them to increase, the holy lords of the ritual order.(Y6.6)

7 And we worship the Mahya in our sacrifice, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within) and the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order.(Y6.7)

8 And we worship the Yearly festivals in our sacrifice, Maidhya-zaremaya, Maidhyo-shema, Paitishhahya, and Ayathrima, the furtherer (or breeder), the spender of virile strength, and Maidhyairya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Hamaspathmaedhaya, and the Seasons (in which they are).(Y6.8)

9 And we worship with our sacrifice all the lords of the ritual order, who are the thirty and three who approach the nearest around about us at Havani, who are the lords of Righteousness the Best, and whose observances were inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathushtra.(Y6.9)

10 And we worship Ahura and Mithra with our sacrifice, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, and the stars, moon, and sun, among the plants of the Baresman, and Mithra, the province-lord of all the provinces, even Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the good, valiant, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints.(Y6.10)

11 We worship thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! We worship the fire Berezi-savangha (of the lofty use), and the fire Vohu-fryana (the good and friendly), and the fire Urvazishta (the most beneficial and most helpful), and the fire Vazishta (the most supporting), and the fire Spenishta (the most bountiful), and Nairya-sangha the Yazad of the royal lineage, and that fire which is the house-lord of all houses and Mazda-made, even the son of Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, with all the fires.

12 And we worship the good and best waters Mazda-made, holy, all the waters Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made, and which are holy.

13 And we worship the Mathra-spenta (the bounteous word-of-reason), the Zarathushtrian law against the Daevas, and its long descent.

14 And we worship Mount Ushi-darena which is Mazda-made and shining with its holiness, and all the mountains shining with holiness, and of abundant glory, and which Mazda made ---.

15 And we worship the good and pious prayer for blessings,

16 and these waters and (these lands),

17 and all the greatest chieftains, lords of the ritual order;

18 And I praise, invoke, and glorify the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, those of the house, the Vis, the Zantuma, the Dahvyuma, and the Zarathushtrotema, and all the holy Yazads!

Chapter 18

1 Grant me, Thou who art maker of the Kine, plants and waters, Immortality, Mazda! Grant, too, Weal, Spirit bounteous.... (See Y51.7 and Y47).

Chapter 19

0 (As the Ahu is excellent, so (is) the Ratu (one who rules) from the righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom (is) for Ahura which to the poor shall offer a nurturer.)

1 Zarathushtra asked of Ahura Mazda: O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit! maker of the corporeal worlds, the holy One! which was that word which Thou did'st declare to me,

2 which was before the sky, and before the water, before the earth, and before the cattle, before the plants, and before the fire, and before the holy man, and the Demon-gods (the Daevas), before the Khrafstra-men, and before all the incarnate world; even before all the good creatures made by Mazda, and which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness?

3 Thereupon Ahura Mazda said: It was this piece, the Ahuna-vairya, O Spitama Zarathushtra! which I pronounced as thine

4 before the sky, and before the waters, before the land, and before the cattle and the plants, and before the fire, Ahura Mazda's son, before the holy man, and before the Daevas, and Khrafstra-men, and before the entire corporeal world, even before the good creatures made by Mazda, which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness.

5 It was these part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya, O Spitama Zarathushtra! which especially belongs to me, and when each is intoned aloud without the (needless) repetition of verses and of words, and without their omission, it is worth a hundred of their other stanzas, even although they are prominent in the ritual, and likewise equally as well recited without additions or omissions; nay, further, when it is intoned imperfectly but added to, and with omissions, it is even then in effect equivalent (not to a hundred indeed, but) to ten other (stanzas) that are prominent.

6 And whoever in this world of mine which is corporeal shall mentally recall, O Spitama* Zarathushtra! a portion of the Ahuna-vairya, and having thus recalled it, shall undertone it, or beginning to recite it with the undertone, shall then utter it aloud, or chanting it with intoning voice, shall worship thus, then with even threefold (safety and with speed) I will bring his soul over the Bridge of Chinvat, I who am Ahura Mazda (I will help him to pass over it) to Heaven (the best life), and to Righteousness the Best, and to the lights of heaven.

7 And whoever, O Spitama Zarathushtra! while undertoning the part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya (or this piece the Ahuna-vairya), takes ought therefrom, whether the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth, I who am Ahura Mazda will draw his soul off from the better world; yea, so far off will I withdraw it as the earth is large and wide; [and this earth is as long as it is broad].

8 And I pronounced this saying which contains its Ahu and its Ratu before the creation of this heaven, before the making of the waters, and the plants, and the four-footed kine, before the birth of the holy biped man, before this sun with its body made for the acquisition of the creation of the Bountiful Immortals.

9 And the more bountiful of the two Spirits (Ahura) declared to me (Zarathushtra) the entire creation of the pure, that which exists at present, that which is in the course of emerging into existence, and that which shall be, with reference to the performance and realization 'of the actions of a life devoted to Mazda.'

10 And this word is the most emphatic of the words which have ever been pronounced, or which are now spoken, or which shall be spoken in future; for (the eminence of) this utterance is a thing of such a nature, that if all the corporeal and living world should learn it, and learning should hold fast by it, they would be redeemed from their mortality!

11 And this our word I have proclaimed as a symbol to be learned, and to be recited, as it were, to every one of the beings under the influence of and for the sake of Righteousness the Best.

12 And 'as' (the worshipper has) here spoken it forth, when he has thus 'appointed' the 'Lord and regulator,' so (by thus reciting these authoritative words), he acknowledges Ahura Mazda (as prior to, and supreme) over, those creatures who have 'the mind' as their first. 'As' he acknowledges Him as the greatest of them all, 'so' he assigns the creatures to Him (as to their originator).

13 As he undertones the third sentence, he thereby announces that 'all the amenities of life appertain to the 'good' Mazda, (and come) from Him. As he recites 'dazda manangho,' 'the creator of mind,' he acknowledges Him as superior and prior to mind; and as he makes Him the one who indicates (the truth) to mind, (saying) 'manangho of mind,' which means that by this much he makes Him (its director), and then he makes Him 'the lord of actions.'

14 And when he acknowledges Him for the creatures thus, 'O Mazda!' he acknowledges Him (as their ruler) when he assigns the creatures to Him thus. He then assigns the Kingdom to Ahura, saying: 'Thine, O Mazda! is the Kingdom.' And he assigns a nourisher and protector to the poor, saying: Yim drigubyo dadat vastarem; that is, as a friend to Spitama. This is the fifth sentence, (and it concludes) the entire recital and word, (even) the whole of this word of Ahura Mazda.

15 He who is the best (of all) Ahura Mazda, pronounced the Ahuna-vairya, and as He pronounced it as the best, so He caused it to have its effect, (He, ever) the same, (as He is). The evil one at once arose (to oppose Him), but He (Ahura) repelled that wicked one with His interdict, and with this repelling renunciation: Neither our minds are in harmony, nor our precepts, nor our comprehensions, nor our beliefs, nor our words, nor our actions, nor our consciences, nor our souls!

16 And this saying, uttered by Mazda, has three stages, or measures, and belongs to four classes (of men as its supporters), and to five chiefs (in the political world, without whom its efficiency is marred), and it has a conclusion ending with a gift. (Question.) How are its measures (constituted)? (Answer.) The good thought, the good word, and the good deed.

17 (Question.) With what classes of men? (Answer.) The priest, the charioteer (as the chief of warriors), the systematic tiller of the ground, and the artisan. These classes therefore accompany the religious man throughout his entire duty with the correct thought, the truthful word, and the righteous action. These are the classes and states in life which give attention to the rulers, and fulfill the (laws) of religion; (yea, they are the guides and companions of that religious man) through whose actions the settlements are furthered in righteousness.

18 (Question.) How are the chiefs (constituted)? (Answer.) They are the house-chief, the village-chief, and the tribe-chief, the chief of the province, and the Zarathushtra as the fifth. That is, so far as those provinces are concerned which are different from, and outside of the Zarathushtrian regency, or domain. [Ragha which has four chiefs (only) is the Zarathushtrian (district)] (Question.) How are the chiefs of this one constituted? (Answer.) They (are) the house-chief, the village-chief, the tribe-chief, and the Zarathushtra as the fourth.

19 (Question.) What is the thought well thought? (Answer.) (It is that which the holy man thinks), the one who holds the holy thought to be before all other things (Question.) What is the word well spoken? (Answer.) It is the Mathra Spenta, the bounteous word of reason. (Question.) What is the deed well done? (Answer.) It is that done with praises, and by the creatures who regard Righteousness as before all other things.

20 (Question.) Mazda made a proclamation, w om did He announce? (Answer.) Some one who was holy, and yet both heavenly and mundane. (Question.) What was His character, He who made this sacred enunciation? (Answer.) He who is the best (of all), the ruling one. (Question.) Of what character (did He proclaim him the coming one)? (Answer.) As holy and the best, a ruler who exercises no wanton or despotic power.

21 We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya. We sacrifice to the memorized recital of the Ahuna-vairya, and its regular chanting and its use in the full Yasna.

Chapter 20

1 A blessing is Righteousness (called) the best; there is weal, there is weal to this man when the Right (helps) the Righteousness best, (when the pious man serves it in truth). Ahura Mazda spake forth: Ashem vohu vahishtem asti. To this Asha, the holy ritual sanctity, one attributes the qualities of 'good' and 'best,' as one attributes property to an owner; thus this sentence vohu vahishtem asti is substantiated (at once).

2 Ushta asti ushta ahmai; by this attribution of blessedness (the praiser) assigns every person (or thing) of a sacred nature to every holy person, and as one usually (?) and regularly (?) assigns every person or thing (?) that is holy to every holy man.

3 Hyat ashai vahishtai; by these words the worshipper ascribes the entire Mathra (to Asha Vahishta), and ascribes all to the Mathra, as one ascribes the kingdom to Righteousness, and as one ascribes righteousness to the invoking saint; yea, as one ascribes righteousness to us who are the prophets (who shall help and bless the people). The three maxims of the sentences (are thus fulfilled). And every word (in its detail), and the entire utterance in its proclamation, is the word of Ahura Mazda.

4 Mazda has made a proclamation. (Question.) Whom did He announce? (Answer.) That holy one who is both heavenly and earthly. (Question.) Of what character is He who has thus announced Him? (Answer.) He is the best, and the one who is exercising sovereign power. (Question.) Of what character is the man whom He announced? (Answer.) The holy and the best, the one who rules with no capricious tyranny. We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Asha Vahishta (prayer). We sacrifice to the heard-recital of the Asha Vahishta, to its memorizing, its chanting, and its sacrificial use!

Chapter 21

0 (The Yenhe. (To that one) of beings do we offer, whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda recognizes by reason of the sanctity (within him; yea, even to those female saints also do we sacrifice) whose (superior fidelity is thus likewise known; thus) we sacrifice to (all, to both) the males and females (of the saints)!)

1 A word for the Yasna by Zarathushtra, the saint, Yenhe, &c. Here the worshipper indicates and offers the Yasna (which is the sacrificial worship) of Mazda as by the command (or as the institution) of Ahura. Hatam. Here the worshipper offers the sacrificial worship as if with the beings who are among those who are destined to live.

2 Yaungham. Here he indicates and offers the sacrificial worship of those holy females who have Aramaiti at their head, as homage to the Immortals. These are the three sentences which comprehend all the Yasnian speech. (Question.) To whom is this Yasna addressed? (Answer.) To the Bountiful Immortals (in the course of the Yasna).

3 Thereupon spake Mazda: Salvation to this one, whosoever he may be! May the absolute ruler Ahura grant it. (Question.)

4 Whom did He answer with this answer? (Answer.) He answered: The state of salvation; and with this answer, 'the state of salvation,' he answered every saint who exists, every one who is coming into existence, and every one who shall exist in the future. (Question. Who answered thus? Answer.) The best One. (Question. What did He answer?) (Answer.) The best thing. (That is,) the best One, Mazda, answered the best and the holy (answer) for the better and the holy man.

5 We sacrifice to this piece, the Yenhe hatam, the prominent and holy Yasht.

Chapter 22

1 With the Baresman brought hither together with the Zaothra, for the worship of the Creator Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and for that of the Bountiful Immortals, I desire to approach this Haoma with my praise, offered (as it is) with punctilious sanctity (or, for a blessing), and this fresh milk, and this plant Hadhanaepata.

2 And, as an act of worship to the beneficent waters, I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise offered (as they are) with punctilious sanctity, having the Haoma with them, and the flesh, with the Hadhanaepata. And I desire to approach the Haoma-water with my praise for the beneficent waters; and I desire to approach the stone mortar and the iron mortar with my praise.

3 And I desire to approach this plant for the Baresman with my praise, and the well-timed prayer for blessings, that which has approached (to accept our homage), and the memorized recital and the fulfillment of the good Mazdayasnian Faith, and the heard recital of the Gathas, and the well-timed and successful prayer for blessings, that of the holy lord of the ritual order. And I desire to approach these wood-billets and their perfume with my praise, - thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! Yea, I desire to approach all good things with my praise, those which Mazda made, and which have the seed of sanctity (within them),

4 for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda and of the Bountiful Immortals, and of Sraosha the blessed, and of Ahura Mazda's Fire, the lofty ritual lord!

5 And I desire to approach the Asnya with my praise, the lords of the ritual order, and the Havani and Savanghi and Visya, the holy lords of the ritual order. And I desire to approach with the Yasht of Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and with him Raman Hvastra.(Y3.5)

6 And I desire to approach Rapithwina with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Fradat-fshu and Zantuma, and Righteousness the Best, and Ahura Mazda's Fire.(Y3.6)

7 And I desire to approach Uzayeirina, and Fradat-vira and Dahvyuma* with my praise, with that lofty Ahura Napt-apam, and the waters Mazda-made, (Y3.7)

8 And Aiwisruthrima, and Aibigaya, and Fradat-vispam-hujaiti, and Zarathushtrotema with the Yasht of the Fravashis of the saints, and of the women who have many sons, and the year long unchanged prosperity, and of Might, the well-shaped and stately, smiting victoriously, Ahura-made and of the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures). (Y3.8)

9 And I desire to approach Ushahina, Berejya, and Nmanya with the Yasht of Sraosha (Obedience) the sacred, the holy, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, and with that of Rashnu, the most just, and Arshtat who furthers the settlements, and causes them to increase. (Y3.9)

10 And I desire to approach the monthly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, and the new moon and the waning moon, and the full moon which scatters night, (Y3.10)

11 And the yearly festivals, Maidhyo-zaremaya, Maidhyo-shema, Paitishahya, and Ayathrima the breeder who spends the strength of males, and Maidhyairya, and Hamaspathmaedhaya, and the seasons, lords of the ritual order, (Y3.11)

12 and all those lords who are the three and thirty, who approach the nearest at the time of Havani, who are the Lords of Asha called Vahishta (and whose services were) inculcated by Mazda, and pronounced by Zarathushtra, as the feasts of Righteousness, the Best. (Y3.12)

13 And I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra, the lofty and imperishable two, the holy, and with the Yasht of those stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and with the Yasht of the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the moon which contains the seed of cattle, and with that of the resplendent sun, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and of Mithra, province-lord of the provinces, and with that of Ahura Mazda (as He rules this day) the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the Fravashis of the saints, (who rule this month), (Y3.13)

14 And with thy Yasht, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires, and to the good waters with the Yasht of all the waters which are Mazda-made, and with that of all the plants which Mazda made. (Y3.14)

15 And I desire to approach with the Yasht of the Mathra Spenta, the holy, the effective, the law composed against the Daevas, the Zarathushtrian, and with that of the long descent of the Religion which Mazda gave.(Y3.15)

16 And I desire to approach with the Yasht of Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, and of all, glorious with sanctity, and abundant in brilliance, and with that of the Kingly Glory, Mazda-made; yea, with that of the unconsumed glory which Mazda made, and with that of Ashi Vanguhi, and Chishti Vanguhi, and with that of the good Erethe, and the good Rasastat, and the good Glory, and of the Benefit which Mazda gave.(Y3.16)

17 And I desire to approach with the Yasht of the good and pious Blessing of the pious man and of the saint, and with that of the awful and swift Curse of the wise, the Yazad-curse, (Y3.17)

18 and to these places, regions, pastures, and abodes, with their water-springs, and with that of the waters, and the lands, and the plants, and with that of this earth and yon heaven, and with that of the holy wind and of the stars, moon, and sun, and with that of the stars without beginning, self-determined and self-moved, and with that of all the holy creatures which are those of Spenta Mainyu, male and female, regulators of the ritual order, (Y3.18)

19 and with that of the lofty lord who is Righteousness (himself, the essence of the ritual), and with that of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and with that of the monthly festivals, and the yearly festivals, and with those of the several seasons which are lords of the ritual at the time of Havani.(Y3.19)

20 And I desire to approach this Haoma with (my) praise, that which is thus lifted up with sanctity, and this milk (fresh as it is, and as if) living and lifted up with sanctity, and this plant the Hadhanaepata lifted up with sanctity. (Y3.1)

21 And I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise for the beneficial waters, these Zaothras which have the Haoma with them and the milk with them, and the Hadhanaepata, and which are lifted up with sanctity. And I desire to approach the Haoma-water with (my) praise for the beneficial waters, and the two mortars, the stone one and the iron one, (Y3.2)

22 and I desire to, approach this branch for the Baresman with my praise, and the memorized recital and fulfillment of the Mazdayasnian law, and the heard recital of the Gathas, and the well-timed and persistent prayer for blessings(uttered) by the holy lords of the ritual order, and this wood and perfume, even thine, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and all good objects Mazda-made (Y3.3)

23 for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and of the Bountiful Immortals, and of Mithra of the wide pastures, and of Raman Hvastra, (Y3.4)

24 and of the resplendent sun, immortal, radiant, of the fleet horses, and of Vayu, (of predominant influence and) working on high, set over the other beings in the creation [(Pazand); that is for thee thus (O Vayu) when thine influence is that which appertains to Spenta Mainyu], and for the propitiation of the most just knowledge Mazda-given, and of the holy and good Religion, the Mazdayasnian Faith;

25 for the propitiation of the Mathra Spenta, (the bounteous) and holy, and the effective, instituted against the Daevas, the Zarathushtrian law, and of the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian Faith [the holding in mind and devotion to the Mathra Spenta, and knowledge of the Mazdayasnian Religion] for the propitiation of the understanding which is innate and Mazda-made, and of that which is heard by the ear;

26 and for thy propitiation, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! [(Pazand); (yea) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son] with all the fires, and for the propitiation of Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, radiant with sanctity;

27 and of all the holy Yazads, spiritual and earthly, and of the holy Fravashis, the redoubted and overwhelming, those of the ancient lore, and those of the next of kin and of the Yazad of the spoken name!

Chapter 23

1 I desire to approach with my praise those Fravashis which have existed from of old, the Fravashis of the houses, and of the villages, of the communities, and of the provinces, which hold the heaven in its place apart, and the water, land, and cattle, which hold the children in the wombs safely enclosed apart so that they do not miscarry.

2 And I desire to approach toward the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, and with my praise, and for those of the Bountiful Immortals, with all the holy Fravashis which are those of the heavenly Yazads. And I desire to approach the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan [Gayomard] (the life-man) in my worship with my praise, and for that of Zarathushtra Spitama, and for those of Kavi Vishtaspa, and of Isat-vastra, the Zarathushtrian, with all the holy Fravashis of the other ancient counselors as well.

3 And I desire in my worship to approach toward every holy Fravashi whosesoever it may be, and wheresoever dead upon this earth (its possessor may have lain), the pious woman, or the girl of tender years, the maiden diligent (among the cattle) in the field (who) may have dwelt (here; yea, all) which are now worshipped from this house, which are attentive to, and which attain to (our) good Yasnas and (our) homage.

4 Yea, I desire to approach the Fravashis of the saints with my praise redoubted (as they are) and overwhelming, the Fraashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; and I desire to approach toward the Fravashi of mine own soul in my worship with my praise; and I desire therewith to approach toward all the lords of the ritual, and with praise; and I desire to approach all the good Yazads with my praise, the heavenly and the earthly, who are meet for sacrifice and homage, because of Righteousness the Best!

Chapter 24

1 (And having approached these Haomas with our worship), we present them to Ahura Mazda; (yea, we present) these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and the Baresman spread with punctilious sanctity, and the flesh, and the milk, fresh as if living, and lifted up with punctilious sanctity, and this branch the Hadhanaepata likewise lifted up with-sanctity.

2 (And having approached these Zaothras in our worship), we present them to the good waters having the Haoma with them, and the milk, and the Hadhanaepata, and lifted up with scrupulous sanctity; and (with them) we present the Haoma-water to the good waters, and both the stone and the iron mortar.

3 And we present this plant of the Baresman! and the timely prayer for blessings, which has approached in the due course of the ritual, and the recollection and practice of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the heard recital of the Gathas, and the timely prayer for blessings which has approached as the prayer of the holy lord of the ritual order; and these wood-billets, and the perfume, (even) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all good objects Mazda-made, which have the seed of righteousness, we offer and present.

4 And these we present hereby to Ahura Mazda, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed (and Righteous), and to the Bountiful Immortals; and to the Fravashis of the saints, even to the souls of the saints, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lofty lord of entire holy creation, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise.

5 And these we present hereby to the Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama, the saint, for sacrifice, propitiation, and for praise, and to that of the people who love Righteousness, with all the holy Fravashis of the saints who are dead and who are living, and to those of men who are as yet unborn, and to those of the prophets who will serve us, and will labor to complete the progress and renovation of the world.

6 And we present these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and the Baresman spread with sanctity, and the flesh, and the milk (fresh as if) living, and lifted up with sanctity, and the Hadhanaepata branch.

7 And we present these Zaothras to the beneficial waters having the Haoma with them, and the flesh, and the Hadhanaepata lifted up with sanctity, and the Haoma-water, to the good waters, with the stone and iron mortars,

8 and this plant of the Baresman, (and) the tirnely Prayer and the recollection and practice of the good Mazdayasnian Faith, and these wood-billets, and the perfume, thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all objects which are Mazda-made, and which have, and are, the seed of Righteousness, these we offer and present.

9 (Yea,) we present these hereby to the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, who abide with the Good Mind (of the Lord and of His folk)!

Chapter 25

1 And we worship the Bountiful Immortals with our sacrifice, who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright; and we worship this Haoma, this flesh and branch,

2 and these Zaothras for the good waters, having the Haoma with them, and the flesh with them, and Hadhanaepata, and lifted up with sanctity, and we worship the Haoma-water for the beneficial waters; and we worship the two, the stone mortar and the iron mortar;

3 and we worship this plant for the Baresman and the well-timed prayer for blessings which has approached (in its proper place within the ritual course), and also both the remembrance and the practice of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the heard recital of the Gathas, and the well-timed prayer for blessings of the holy lord of the ritual order which has approached, and these wood-billets with the perfume, (even) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and we worship all good objects which are Mazda-made, and which contain (and are) the seed of Righteousness.

4 And we worship Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, the resplendent, the glorious, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, and Mithra of the wide pastures and Raman Hvastra; and we worship the shining sun, the resplendent, the immortal, of the fleet horses.

5 And we worship the holy wind which works on high, placed higher than the other creatures in the creation; and we worship this which is thine, O Vayu! and which appertains to the Spenta Mainyu within thee; and we worship the most true religious Knowledge, Mazda-made and holy, and the good Mazdayasnian law.

6 And we worship the Mathra Spenta verily glorious (as it is), even the law pronounced against the Daevas, the Zarathushtrian law, and its long descent; yea, we worship the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the Mathra which is heart-devoted and bounteous (imparting heart's devotion to the saint); yea, we worship the Mazdayasnian Religion maintained in the understanding of the saint; and we honor that science which is the Mathra Spenta, and the innate understanding Mazda-made, and the derived understanding, heard with ear, and Mazda-made.

7 Yea, we worship thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son I the holy lord of the ritual order; and we worship all the Fires, and Mount Ushi-darena (which holds the light) Mazda-made and holy, the Yazad mount, brilliant with sanctity. 8. And we worship every holy spiritual Yazad; and every holy earthly Yazad (who exists)!

Chapter 26

1 I praise, invoke, and weave my hymn to the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints; (and having invoked these, then) we worship the Nmanyas, and the Visyas, and the Zantumas, and the Dahvyumas, and the Zarathushtrotemas.

2 And of all these prior Fravashis, we worship here the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, which is the greatest and the best, the most beautiful and the firmest, the most wise and the best in form, and the one that attains the most its ends because of Righteousness.

3 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the holy ones, those of the Bountiful Immortals, the brilliant, of effective glance, the lofty, the devoted, the swift ones of the creatures of Ahura who are imperishable and holy.

4 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the spirit and conscience, the intelligence and soul and Fravashi of those holy men and women who early heard the lore and commands (of God), and loved and strove after Righteousness, the ritual truth; and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed gift.

5 And (having invoked it) hither, we worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan [Gayomard] the holy, and the sanctity and Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama the saint; and we worship the Fravashi of Kavi Vishtasp the holy, and that of Isat-vastra the Zarathushtrian, the saint.

6 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the life, conscience, intelligence, soul and Fravashi of the next of kin, of the saints male and female who have striven after the ritual truth, which are those of the dead and living saints, and which are those also of men as yet unborn, of the future prophets who will help on the renovation, and complete the human progress, with them all.

7 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the souls of the dead [(Pazand) which are the Fravashis of the saints]; and of all the next of kin who have passed away in this house, of the Aethra-paitis (the teachers) and of the disciples; yea, of all holy men and women;

8 and we worship the Fravashis of all the holy teachers and disciples; and of all the saints both male and female.

9 (And having invoked them) hither we worship the Fravashis of all the holy children who fulfill the deeds of piety; and we worship the Fravashis of the saints within the province; and those of the saints without the province.

10 We worship the Fravashis of (those) holy men and holy women; we worship all the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints from Gaya Maretan [Gayomard] (the first created) to the Saoshyant, the victorious.

11 Yea, we worship all the Fravashis of the saints, and we worship the souls of the dead [(Pazand) which are the Fravashis of the saints]!

Chapter 27

1 This is to render Him who is of all the greatest, our lord and master (even) Ahura Mazda. And this to smite the wicked Angra Mainyu, and to smite Aeshma of the bloody spear, and the Mazainya Daevas, and to smite all the wicked Varenya Daevas.

2 And this is to further Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, to further the Bountiful Immortals, and the influences of the star Tishtrya, the resplendent, the glorious, (and) to the furtherance of the holy man, and of all the (bountiful and) holy creatures of the Bounteous Spirit.

3-5 (The Ahunwar appears here with Y34.5, the Airyema Ishyo, and the Ashem Vohu.)

6 The Haomas are crushed, O Mazda, Khshathra, and Asha, O ye Lords! Good is Sraosha who accompanies the sacrifice with the great glory, and may he be present affording strenuous help.

7 We are offering saving acts of wisdom and of worship with the sacred gift of the Ahuna-Vairya intoned with sanctity, and of the two mortars here brought forward with holy act, and with that of the correctly uttered words likewise; and therefore may they be to us the more saving in their wise significance.

8 The most mighty Ahura Mazda, and Piety, and Right that blesses our substance, and Good Thought and Dominion, hearken unto me, be merciful to me, when to each man the recompense comes.(Y33.11)

9 Rise up for me, O Ahura, through Armaiti give strength, through the holiest Spirit give might, O Mazda, through the good Recompense [âdâ, offering], through the Right give powerful prowess, through Good Thought give the reward.(Y33.12)

10 To support me, O Thou that seest far onward, do ye assure me the incomparable things in your Dominion, O Ahura, as the Destiny of Good Thought. O Holy Armaiti, teach the Daenas about the Right.(Y33.13)

11 As an offering Zarathushtra brings the life of his own body, the choiceness of good thought, action, and speech, unto Mazda, unto the Right, Obedience, and Dominion.(Y33.14)

12 I would confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of Zarathushtra's order, a foe to the Daevas, devoted to the lore of Ahura, for Hawan, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, for Savanghi and for Visya, the Asha-sanctified master of Asha, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise of the masters of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, for those of the monthly festivals, and for those of the yearly ones, and for those of the seasons! (Y1.23)

13 As the Ahu is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from (his) sanctity, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer a nurturer.

14 (What is Your Kingdom, Your riches; how may I be Your own in my actions, to nourish Your poor, O Mazda? Beyond; yea, beyond all we declare You, far from Daevas and Khrafstra-accursed mortals!)

15 We worship the Ahuna-vairya. We worship Asha Vahishta, the most beautiful, the Bountiful Immortal.

Chapter 28

1 With outspread hands in petition for that help, O Mazda, I will pray for the works of the holy spirit, O thou the Right, whereby I may please the will of Good Thought and the Ox-Soul.

2 I who would serve you, O Mazda Ahura and Vohu Mano, do ye give through Asha the blessings of both worlds, the bodily and that of the Spirit, which set the faithful in felicity.

3 I who would praise ye as never before, Right and Good Thought and Mazda Ahura, and those for whom Piety makes an imperishable Dominion to grow; come ye to me help at my call.

4 I who have set my heart on watching over the soul, in union with Good Thought, and as knowing the rewards of Mazda Ahura for our works, will, while I have power and strength, teach men to seek after Right.

5 O Asha, shall I see thee and Good Thought, as one that knows? (Shall I see) the throne of the mightiest Ahura and the following of Mazda? Through this word (of promise) on our tongue will we turn the robber horde unto the Greatest.

6 Come thou with Good Thought, give through Asha, O Mazda, as the gift to Zarathushtra, according to thy sure words, long enduring mighty help, and to us, O Ahura, whereby we may overcome the enmity of our foes.

7 Grant, O thou Asha, the reward, the blessing of Good Thought; O Piety, give our desire to Vishtaspa and to me; O thou Mazda and King, grant that your Prophet may command a hearing.

8 The best I ask of Thee, O Best, Ahura (Lord) of one will with the Best Asha, desiring (it) for the hero Frashaostra and for those (others) to whom thou wilt give (it), (the best gift) of Good Mind through all time.

9 With these bounties, O Ahura, may we never provoke your wrath, O Mazda and Right and Best Thought, we who have been eager in bringing you songs of praise. Ye are they that are the mightiest to advance desire and the Dominion of Blessings.

10 The wise whom thou knowest as worthy, for their right (doing) and their good thought, for them do thou fulfill their longing for attainment. For I know words of prayer are effective with Ye, which tend to a good object.

11 I would thereby preserve Right and Good Thought for evermore, that I may instruct, do thou teach me, O Mazda Ahura, from thy spirit by thy mouth how it will be with the First Life.

Chapter 29

1 Unto you wailed the Ox-soul, "For whom did ye fashion me? Who created me? Violence and rapine (and) savagery hath oppressed me, and outrage and might. I have no other herdsman than you; prepare for me then the blessings of pasture."

2 Then the Ox-Creator asked of the Right: "Hast thou a judge for the Ox, that ye may be able to appoint him zealous tendance as well as fodder? Whom do ye will to be his lord, who may drive off violence together with the followers of the Lie?"

3 To him the Right replied: "There is for the Ox no helper that can keep him away. Those yonder have no knowledge how right-doers act towards the lowly". (The Ox-Creator): "Strongest of beings is he to whose help I come at call".

4 (Asha) "Mazda knoweth best the purposes that have been wrought already by demons and by mortals, and that shall be wrought hereafter. He, Ahura, is the decider. So shall it be as he shall will."

5 (The Ox-Creator) "To Ahura with outspread hands we twain would pray, my soul and that of the pregnant cow, so that we twain urge Mazda with entreaties. Destruction is not for the right-living, nor for the cattle-tender at the hands of Liars."

6 Then spake Ahura Mazda himself, who knows the law with wisdom: "There is found no lord or judge according to the Right Order for the Creator hath formed thee for the cattle-tender and the farmer."

7 This ordinance about the fat hath Ahura Mazda, one in will with Right, created for cattle, and the milk for them that crave nourishment, by his command, the holy one. (The Ox and Cow:) "Whom hast thou, O Good Thought, among men, who may care for us twain?"

8 (Vohu Manah:) He is known to me here who alone hath heard our commands, even Zarathushtra Spitama; he willeth to make known our thoughts, O Mazda, and those of the Right. So let us bestow on him charm of speech.

9 Then the Ox-Soul lamented: "That I must be content with the ineffectual word of an impotent man for my protector, when I wish for one that commands mightily! When ever shall there be one who shall give him (the Ox) effective help?"

10 (Zarathushtra:) Do ye, O Ahura, grant them strength, and O Asha, and O Good Thought, that dominion, whereby he (the Savior) could produce good dwellings and peace. I also have realized thee, Mazda, as the first to accomplish this.

11 "Where are Right and Good Thought and Dominion? So, ye men, acknowledge me, for instruction, Mazda, for the great society." (The Ox and Cow:) "O Ahura, now is help ours, we will be ready to serve those that are of you."

Chapter 30

1 Now I will proclaim to those who will hear the things that the understanding man should remember, for hymns unto Ahura and prayers to Good Thought; also the felicity that is with the heavenly lights, which through Right shall be beheld by him who wisely thinks.

2 Hear with your ears the best things; look upon them with clear-seeing thought, for decision between the two Beliefs, each man for himself before the Great consummation, bethinking you that it be accomplished to our pleasure.

3 Now the two primal Spirits, who reveal themselves in vision as Twins, are the Better and the Bad, in thought and word and action. And between these two the wise ones chose aright, the foolish not so.

4 And when these twain Spirits came together in the beginning, they created Life and Not-Life, and that at the last Worst Existence shall be to the followers of the Lie, but the Best Existence to him that follows Right.

5 Of these twain Spirits he that followed the Lie chose doing the worst things; the holiest Spirit chose Right, he that clothes him with the massy heavens as a garment. So likewise they that are fain to please Ahura Mazda by dutiful actions.

6 Between these twain the Daevas also chose not aright, for infatuation came upon them as they took counsel together, so that they chose the Worst Thought. Then they rushed together to Violence, that they might enfeeble the world of men.

7 And to him (i.e. mankind) came Dominion, and Good Mind, and Right and Piety gave continued life to their bodies and indestructibility, so that by thy retributions through (molten) metal he may gain the prize over the others.

8 So when there cometh their punishment for their sins, then, O Mazda, at Thy command shall Good Thought establish the Dominion in the Consummation, for those who deliver the Lie, O Ahura, into the hands of Right.

9 So may we be those that make this world advance, O Mazda and ye other Ahuras, come hither, vouchsafing (to us) admission into your company and Asha, in order that (our) thought may gather together while reason is still shaky.

10 Then truly on the (world of) Lie shall come the destruction of delight; but they who get themselves good name shall be partakers in the promised reward in the fair abode of Good Thought, of Mazda, and of Right.

11 If, O ye mortals, ye mark those commandments which Mazda hath ordained — of happiness and pain, the long punishment for the follower of the Druj, and blessings for the followers of the Right -- then hereafter shall it be well.

Chapter 31

1 Mindful of your commands, we proclaim words unpleasant for them to hear that after the commands of the Lie destroy the creatures of Right, but most welcome to those that give their heart to Mazda.

2 If by reason of these things the better path is not in sight for choosing, then will I come to you all as judge of the parties twain whom Ahura Mazda knoweth, that we may live according to the Right.

3 What award Thou givest through the (holy) Spirit and through the Fire and hast taught through Asha, to both the parties, and what the decision is for the wise, this do Thou tell us, Mazda, that we may know, even with the tongue of Thine own mouth, that I may convert all living men.

4 If Asha is to be invoked and Mazda and the other Ahuras and Ashi and Armaiti, do thou seek for me, O Vohu Manah,1 the mighty Dominion, by the increase of which we might vanquish the Lie.

5 Tell me therefore what ye, O thou Right, have appointed me as the better portion, for me to determine, to know and to keep in mind, O thou Good Thought — which portion they envy me. Tell me of all these things. O Mazda Ahura, that shall not or shall be.

6 To him shall the best befall, who, as one that knows, speaks to me Right's truthful word of Welfare and of Immortality; even the Dominion of Mazda which Good Thought shall increase for him.

7 About which he in the beginning thus thought, "let the blessed realms be filled with Light", he it is that by his wisdom created Right. (Those realms) that the Best Thought shall possess those dost Thou exalt, O Mazda, through the Spirit, which, O Ahura, is ever the same.

8 I recognize Thee, O Mazda, in my thought, that Thou the First art (also) the Last — that Thou art Father of Vohu Manah; -- when I apprehend Thee with mine eye, that Thou art the true Creator of Right [Asha], and art the Lord to judge the actions of life.

9 Thine was Armaiti, Thine the Ox-Creator, (namely) the Wisdom of the Spirit, O Mazda Ahura, because Thou didst give (the cattle) choice whether to depend on a husbandman or one who is no husbandman.

10 So she chose for herself out of the two the cattle-tending husbandman as her lord to guard the Right, the man that advances Good Thought. He that is no-husbandman, O Mazda, however eager he be, has no part in this good message.

11 When Thou, O Mazda, in the beginning didst create the Individual and the Individuality, through Thy Spirit, and powers of understanding - when Thou didst make life clothed with the body, when (Thou madest) actions and teachings, whereby one may exercise one's convictions at one's free-will;

12 Then lifts up his voice the false speaker or the true speaker, he that knows or he that knows not, (each) according to his own heart and mind. Passing from one to another Armaiti confers with the spirit in whom there is wavering.

13 Whatever open or whatever secret (acts) may be visited with punishment, or whether a person for a little sin demands the highest punishment, — of all this through Asha Thou art aware, observing it with Thy flashing eye.

14 These things I ask Thee, O Ahura, how will these come and happen — the dues, that in accord with the records are appointed for the righteous, and those, O Mazda, for the followers of the Druj, — how shall these be when they come to the reckoning.

15 This I ask, what penalty is for him who seeks to achieve kingdom for a liar, for a man of ill deeds, O Ahura, who finds not his living without injury to the husbandman's cattle and men, though he does him no injury.

16 This I ask, whether the understanding man, who strives to advance the Dominion over the house, or district, or land through Asha, shall become like Thee, O Mazda Ahura, when will he be and how will he act?

17 Which is the greater — what the follower of Asha or what the follower of Druj believe? Let him that knows inform the wise; no longer let him that knows nothing deceive. Be to us, O Mazda Ahura, the Teacher of Good Thought.

18 Let none of you listen to the words and commands of the follower of the Druj; for he brings house and clan and district and land into misery and destruction. Resist them with weapon!

19 To him should we listen who has understood Asha, to the wise Healer of Life O Ahura, who can or will establish the truth of the words of his tongue, when through Thy red Fire, O Mazda, the assignment (of rewards) is made to the two parties.

20 Whosoever cometh over to the Righteous, far from him hereafter shall be long age of misery (and) darkness, ill-food, and crying of woe. To such an existence, ye followers of the Lie, shall your own Self bring you through your (own) action.

21 Mazda Ahura by virtue of His absolute Lordship will grant a perpetuity of communion with Haurvatat and Ameretat, and with Asha, with Khshathra, and with Vohu Manah, to him that in spirit and in action is his friend.

22 Clear it is to the man of understanding, as one who has realized it with his thought. He upholds Asha together with good Dominion by his word and deed. He will be, O Mazda Ahura, the most helpful helper to Thee.

Chapter 32

1 (Zarathushtra) — And his blessedness, even that of Ahura Mazda, shall the nobles strive to attain, his the community with the brotherhood, his, ye Daevas, in the manner as I declare it. (The Representatives of the Classes) — As thy messengers we would keep them far away that are enemies to you.

2 To them Mazda Ahura, who is united with Good Thought, and is in goodly fellowship with glorious Right, through Dominion, made reply: We make choice of your holy good Piety [Armaiti] — may it be ours.

3 (Zarathushtra) — But ye, ye Daevas all, and he that highly honors you, are the seed of Bad Thought — yes, and of the Lie and of Arrogance, likewise your deeds, whereby ye have long been known in the seventh region of the earth.

4 For ye have brought it to pass that men who do the worst things shall be called beloved of the Daevas, separating themselves from Good Thought, departing from the will of Mazda Ahura and from Right.

5 Thereby ye defrauded mankind of happy life and immortality, by the deed which he and the Bad Spirit together with Bad Thought and Bad Word taught you, ye Daevas and the Liars, so as to ruin (mankind).

6 The many sins by which he has succeeded in being famous whether by these it shall be thus, this Thou Knowest by the Best Thought, O Ahura, Thou who art mindful of each person's deserts. In Thy Dominion, O Mazda, and that of Asha, shall your decision thereon be observed.

7 None of these sins will the understanding commit, in eagerness to attain the blessing that shall be proclaimed, we know, through the glowing metal — sins the issue of which, O Ahura Mazda, Thou knowest best.

8 Among these sinners, we know, Yima was included, Vivanghen's son, who desiring to satisfy men gave our people flesh of the ox to eat. From these shall I be separated by Thee, O Mazda, at last.

9 The teacher of evil destroys the lore, he by his teaching destroys the design of life, he prevents the possession of Good Thought from being prized. These words of my spirit I wail unto you, O Mazda, and to the Right.

10 He it is that destroys, who declares that the Ox and the Sun are the worst things to behold with the eyes, and hath made the pious into liars, and desolates the pastures and lifts his weapon against the righteous man.

11 It is they, the liars, who destroy life, who are mightily determined to deprive matron and master of the enjoyment of their heritage, in that they would prevent the righteous, O Mazda, from the Best Thought.

12 Since they by their lore would pervert men from the best doing, Mazda uttered evil against them, who destroy the life of the Ox with shouts of joy, by whom Grehma and his tribe are preferred to the Right and the Karapan and the lordship of them that seek after the Lie.

13 Since Grehma shall attain the realm in the dwelling of the Worst Thought, he and the destroyers of life, O Mazda, they shall lament in their longing for the message of Thy prophet, who will stay them from beholding the Right.

14 To his undoing Grehma, and the Kavis, have long devoted their purpose and energies, for they set themselves to help the liar, and that it may be said, "The Ox shall be slain that it may kindle the Averter of Death to help us."

15 Thereby hath come to ruin the Karapan and the Kavi community, through those whom they will not have to rule over their life. These shall be born away from them both to the dwelling of Good Thought.

16 ..., who hast power, O Mazda Ahura, on him who threatens to be my undoing, that I may fetter the men of the Lie in their violence against my friends.

Chapter 33

1 According as it is with the laws that belong to the present life, so shall the Judge act with most just deed towards the man of the Lie and the man of the Right, and him whose false things and good things balance (in equal measure).

2 Whoso worketh ill for the liar by word or thought or hands, or converts his dependent to the good — such men meet the will of Ahura Mazda to his satisfaction.

3 Whose is most good to the righteous man, be he noble or member of the community or the brotherhood, Ahura — or with diligence cares for the cattle, he shall be hereafter in the pasture of Right and Good Thought [Asha and Vohu Manah].

4 I who by worship would keep far from Thee, O Mazda, disobedience and Bad Thought, heresy from the nobles, and from the community the Lie, that is most near, and from the brotherhood the slanderers, and the worst herdsmen from the pastures of the cattle; --

5 I who would invoke thy Obedience as the greatest of all at the Consummation, attaining long life, and the Dominion of Good Thought, and the straight ways into Right, wherein Mazda Ahura dwells.

6 I, as a priest, who would learn the straight (paths) by the Right, would learn by the Best Spirit how to practice husbandry by that thought in which it is thought of; these Twain of Thine, O Ahura Mazda, I strive to see and take counsel with them.

7 Come hither to me, O ye Best Ones, hither, O Mazda, in Thine own person and visibly, O Right and Good Thought, that I may be heard beyond the limits of the people. Let the august duties be manifest among us and clearly viewed.

8 Consider ye my matters whereon I am active, O Good Thought, my worship, O Mazda, towards one like you, and O Right, the words of my praise. Grant, O Welfare and Immortality, your own everlasting blessing.

9 That Spirit of Thine, Mazda, together with the comfort of the Comrades Twain, who advance the Right, let the Best Thought bring through the Reform wrought by me. Sure is the support of those twain, whose souls are one.

10 All the pleasures of life which thou holdest, those that were, that are, and that shall be O Mazda, according to thy good will apportion them. Through Good Thought advance thou the body, through Dominion and Right at will.

11 The most mighty Ahura Mazda, and Piety, and Right that blesses our substance, and Good Thought and Dominion, hearken unto me, be merciful to me, when to each man the recompense comes.

12 Rise up for me, O Ahura, through Armaiti give strength, through the holiest Spirit give might, O Mazda, through the good Recompense [âdâ, offering], through the Right give powerful prowess, through Good Thought give the reward.

13 To support me, O Thou that seest far onward, do ye assure me the incomparable things in your Dominion, O Ahura, as the Destiny of Good Thought. O Holy Armaiti, teach the Daenas about the Right.

14 As an offering Zarathushtra brings the life of his own body, the choiceness of good thought, action, and speech, unto Mazda, unto the Right, Obedience, and Dominion.

Chapter 34

1 The action, the word, and the worship for which Thou, O Mazda, shalt bestow Immortality and Right, and Dominion of Welfare - through multitudes of these, O Ahura, we would that thou shouldst give them.

2 And all the actions of the good spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP] and the holy man, whose soul follows the Right, do ye set with the thought (thereof) in thine outer court, O Mazda, when ye are adored with hymns of praise.

3 To Thee and to Right [Asha] we will offer the sacrifice [myazda, i.e. offering] with due service [veneration], that in (Thy established) Dominion ye may bring all creatures to perfection through Good Thought. For the reward of the wise man is for ever secure, O Mazda, among you.

4 Of Thy Fire, O Ahura, that is mighty through Right, promised and powerful, we desire that it may be for the faithful man with manifested delight, but for the enemy with visible torment, according to the pointings of the hand.

5 Have ye Dominion and power, O Mazda, Right and Good Thought, to do as I urge upon you, even to protect your poor man? We have renounced the robber-gangs, both demons and men.

6 If ye are truly thus, O Mazda, Right and Good Thought, then give me this token, even a total reversal of this life, that I may come before you again more joyfully with worship and praise.

7 Can they be true to thee, O Mazda, who by their doctrines turn the known inheritances of Good Thought into misery and woe [usheuru?]. I know none other but you, O Right, so do ye protect us.

8 For by these actions they put us in fear, in which peril is for many — in that the stronger (puts in fear) (me) the weaker one — through hatred of thy commandment, O Mazda. They that will not have the Right in their thought, from them shall the Good Abode be far.

9 These men of evil action who spurn the holy Piety, precious to thy wise one, O Mazda, through their having no part in Good Thought, from them Right shrinks back far, as from us shrink the wild beasts of prey.

10 The man of understanding [or good will] has instructed (people) to cling to action of this Good Thought [Vohu Manah], and to the Holy Piety [Spenta Armaiti], creator, comrade of Right [Asha] — wise that he is, and to all hope, O Ahura, that are in thy Dominion, O Mazda.

11 And both thy (gifts) shall be for sustenance, even nectar and ambrosia. Piety linked with Right shall advance the Dominion of Good Thought, its permanence and power. By these, O Mazda, dost thou bless the foes of thy foes.

12 What is thine ordinance? What willst thou? What of praise or what of worship? Proclaim it, Mazda, that we may hear what ordinances Destiny will apportion. Teach us by Right the paths of Good Thought that are blessed to go in, -

13 Even that way of Good Thought, O Ahura, of which thou didst speak to me, whereon, a way well made by Right, the Daena of the future benefactors shall pass to the reward that was prepared for the wise, of which thou art determinant, O Mazda.

14 The precious reward, then, O Mazda, ye will give by the action of Good Thought to the bodily life of those who are in the community that tends the pregnant cow, (the promise of) your good doctrine, Ahura, that of the wisdom which exalts communities through Right.

15 O Mazda, make known to me the best teachings and actions, these O Good Thought and O Right the due of praise. Through your Dominion, O Ahura, assure us that mankind shall be capable according to (Thy) will.

Chapter 35

0 PRAISE TO AHURA AND THE IMMORTALS; PRAYER FOR THE PRACTICE AND DIFFUSION OF THE FAITH.

1 We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy Lord of the ritual order, and to the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, who dispose of all aright; and we sacrifice to the entire creation of the clean, the spiritual and the mundane, with the longing blessing of the beneficent ritual, with the longing blessing of the benignant Religion, the Mazdayasnian Faith.

2 We are praisers of good thoughts, of good words, and of good actions, of those now and those hereafter [(Pazand) of those being done; and of those completed]. We implant (?) them (with our homage, and we do this) the more, and yet the more since we are (praisers) of the good (from whom they spring).

3 That, therefore, would we choose, O Ahura Mazda! and thou, O Righteousness the beauteous! that we should think, and speak, and do those thoughts, and words, and deeds, among actual good thoughts, and words, and actions, which are the best for both the worlds;

4 and together with these gifts (?) and actions which are thus the best, we would pray for the Kine (which represents the pure creation), that she may have comfort and have fodder from the famed! and from the humble, from the potent and the weak.

5 To the best of good rulers (is) verily the Kingdom, because we render and ascribe it to Him, and make it thoroughly His own (?), to Mazda Ahura do we ascribe it, and to Righteousness the Best.

6 As thus both man or woman knows (the duty), both thoroughly and truly, so let him, or her, declare it and fulfill it, and inculcate it upon those who may perform it as it is.

7 We would be deeply mindful of Your sacrifice and homage, Yours, O Ahura Mazda! and the best, (and we would be mindful) of the nurture of the Kine. And that let us inculcate, and perform for You according as we may; and (for) such (praisers as we are).

8 Under the shelter of the ritual Order let us do so in the active fulfillment of its (precepts) toward every one of the (clean) and better creatures which are fit to live, with a gift for both the worlds.

9 Yea, those words and sayings, O Ahura Mazda! we would proclaim as Righteousness, and as of the better mind (?); and we would make Thee the one who both supports (us in our proclamation) of them, and who throws still further light upon them (as they are),

10 And by reason of Thy Righteous Order, Thy Good Mind, and Thy Sovereign Power, and through the instrumentality of our praises of Thee, O Ahura Mazda! and for the purpose of (still further) praises, by Thy spoken words, and for (still further) spoken words, through Thy Yasna, and for (still further) Yasnas (would we thus proclaim them, and make Thee the bestower of our light).

Chapter 36

0 TO AHURA AND THE FIRE.

1 We would approach You two, O (Ye) primeval ones in the house of this Thy holy Fire, O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit! Who brings pollutions to this (Thy flame) him wilt Thou cover with pollutions (in his turn).

2 But as the most friendly do Thou give us zeal, O Fire of the Lord! and approach us, and with the loving blessing of the most friendly, with the praise of the most adored. Yea, may'st thou approach to aid us in this our greatest (undertaking) among the efforts of our zeal.

3 The Fire of Ahura Mazda art thou verily; yea, the most bounteous one of His Spirit, wherefore Thine is the most potent of all names (for grace), O Fire of the Lord!

4 And therefore we would approach Thee, (O Ahura!) with the help of Thy Good Mind (which Thou dost implant within us), with Thy (good) Righteousness, and with the actions and the words inculcated by Thy good wisdom!

5 We therefore bow before Thee, and we direct our prayers to Thee with confessions of our guilt, O Ahura Mazda! with all the good thoughts (which Thou dost inspire), with all the words well said, and the deeds well done, with these would we approach Thee.

6 And to Thy most beauteous body do we make our deep acknowledgments, O Ahura Mazda! to those stars (which are Thy body); and to that one, the highest of the high, [such as the sun was called]!

Chapter 37

0 TO AHURA, THE HOLY CREATION, THE FRAVASHIS OF THE JUST, AND THE BOUNTIFUL IMMORTALS.

1 Thus therefore do we worship Ahura Mazda, who made the Kine (the living creation), and the (embodied) Righteousness (which is incarnate in the clean), and the waters, and the wholesome plants, the stars, and the earth, and all (existing) objects that are good.

2 Yea, we worship Him for His Sovereign Power and His greatness, beneficent (as they are), and with priority among the Yazads who abide beside the Kine (and care for her protection and support).

3 And we worship Him under His name as Lord, to Mazda dear, the most beneficent (of names). We worship him with our bones, and with our flesh, (with our bodies and our life). And we worship the Fravashis of the saints, of holy men, and holy women;

4 and Righteousness the Best do we worship, the most beauteous, the Bountiful Immortal and that which is endowed with light in all things good.

5 And we worship the Good Mind (of the Lord), and His Sovereign Power, and the Good Faith, the good law of our thrift, and Piety the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

Chapter 38

0 TO THE EARTH AND THE SACRED WATERS.

1 And now we worship this earth which bears us, together with Thy wives, O Ahura Mazda! yea, those Thy wives do we worship which are so desired from their sanctity.

2 We sacrifice to their zealous wishes, and their capabilities, their inquiries (as to duty), and their wise acts of pious reverence, and with these their blessedness, their full vigor and good portions, their good fame and ample wealth.

3 O ye waters! now we worship you, you that are showered down, and you that stand in pools and vats, and you that bear forth. (our loaded vessels?) ye female Ahuras of Ahura, you that serve us (all) in helpful ways, well forded and full-flowing, and effective for the bathings, we will seek you and for both the worlds!

4 Therefore did Ahura Mazda give you names, O ye beneficent ones! when He who made the good bestowed you. And by these names we worship you, and by them we would ingratiate ourselves with you, and with them would we bow before you, and direct our prayers to you with free confessions of our debt. O waters, ye who are productive, and ye maternal ones, ye with heat that suckles the (frail and) needy (before birth), ye waters (that have once been) rulers of (us) all, we will now address you as the best, and the most beautiful; those (are) yours, those good (objects) of our offerings, ye long of arm to reach our sickness, or misfortune, ye mothers of our life!

Chapter 39

0 TO THE SOUL OF THE KINE, &C.

1 And now we sacrifice to the Kine's soul, and to her created body, and we sacrifice to the souls of cattle who are fit to live (for us), and whose (we?) are, such as are the same to them.

2 And we worship the souls of those beasts which are tame and broken in, and of wild herds, and the souls of the saints wherever they were born, both of men and of women, whose good consciences are conquering in the strife against the Daevas, or will conquer, or have conquered.

3 And now we worship the Bountiful Immortals (all) the good, and both those male, and those female (by their names). The males among them do we worship, ever living, and ever helpful, who dwell beside the pious, and the females thus the same.

4 As Thou, O Ahura Mazda! hast thought and spoken, as thou hast determined, and hast done these things (effecting) what is good, therefore do we offer to Thee, therefore do we ascribe to Thee our praises, and worship Thee, and bow ourselves before Thee; and therefore would we direct our prayers to Thee, Ahura! with confessions of our sin.

5 And we thus draw near to Thee together with the good kinship of our kindred, with that of Righteousness the blessed, and the good law of thrift and energy and the good Piety, the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

Chapter 40

0 PRAYERS FOR HELPERS.

1 And now in these Thy dispensations, O Ahura Mazda! do Thou wisely act for us, and with abundance with Thy bounty and Thy tenderness as touching us; and grant that reward which Thou hast appointed to our souls, O Ahura Mazda!

2 Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and the spiritual; and now as part thereof (do Thou grant) that we may attain to fellowship with Thee, and Thy Righteousness for all duration.

3 And do Thou grant us, O Ahura! men who are righteous, and both lovers and producers of the Right as well. And give us trained beasts for the pastures, broken in for riding, and for bearing, (that they may be) in helpful companionship with us, and as a source of long enduring vigor, and a means of rejoicing grace to us for this.

4 So let there be a kinsman lord for us, with the laborers of the village, and so likewise let there be the clients (or the peers). And by the help of those may we arise. So may we be to You, O Mazda Ahura! holy and true, and with free giving of our gifts.

0 A PRAYER TO AHURA AS THE KING, THE LIFE, AND THE REWARDER.

1 Praises, and songs, and adorations do we offer to Ahura Mazda, and to Righteousness the Best; yea, we offer and we ascribe them, and proclaim them.

2 And to Thy good Kingdom, O Ahura Mazda! may we attain for ever, and a good King be Thou over us; and let each man of us, and so each woman, thus abide, O Thou most beneficent of beings, and for both the worlds!

3 Thus do we render Thee. the helpful Yazad, endowed with good devices, the friend of them (who worship Thee) with (well-adjusted) ritual; so may'st Thou be to us our life, and our body's vigor, O Thou most beneficent of beings, and that for both the worlds!

4 Aye, let us win and conquer (?) long life, O Ahura Mazda! in Thy grace, and through Thy will may we be powerful. May'st Thou lay hold on us to help, and long, and with salvation, O Thou most beneficent of beings!

5 Thy praisers and Mathra-speakers may we be called, O Ahura Mazda! so do we wish, and to this may we attain. What reward most meet for our deserving Thou hast appointed for the souls, O Ahura Mazda!

6 of that do Thou bestow on us for this life, and for that of mind. Of that reward (do Thou Thyself grant this advantage), that we may come under Thy protecting guardianship, and that of Righteousness for ever. We sacrifice to that brave Yasna, the Yasna Haptanghaiti, the holy, the ritual chief!

0 A SUPPLEMENT TO THE HAPTANGHAITI.

1 We worship You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! the entire collection of this Yasna, Haptanghaiti (as we sum up all). And we sacrifice to the fountains of the waters, and to the fordings of the rivers, to the forkings of the highways, and to the meetings of the roads.

2 And we sacrifice to the hills that run with torrents, and the lakes that brim with waters! and to the corn that fills the corn-fields; and we sacrifice to both the protector and the Creator, to both Zarathushtra and the Lord.

3 And we sacrifice to both earth and heaven, and to the stormy wind that Mazda made, and to the peak of high Haraiti, and to the land, and all things good.

4 And we worship the Good Mind (in the living) and the spirits of the saints. And we sacrifice to the fish of fifty-fins, and to that sacred beast the Unicorn (?) which stands in Vouru-kasha, and we sacrifice to that sea of Vouru-kasha where he stands,

5 and to the Haoma, golden-flowered, growing on the heights; yea, to the Haoma that restores us, and aids this world's advance. We sacrifice to Haoma that driveth death afar,

6 and to the flood-streams of the waters, and to the great flights of the birds, and to the approaches of the Fire-priests, as they approach us from afar, and seek to gain the provinces, and spread the ritual lore. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals all!

Chapter 43

1 To each several man, to whom Mazda Ahura ruling at his will grant after the (petitioner's) will, I will after his will that he attain permanence and power, lay hold of Right - grant this, O Piety, - the destined gift of wealth, the life of the Good Thought,

2 and it shall be for him the best of all things. After his longing for bliss may one be given bliss, through the provident most holy spirit, O Mazda, even the blessings of Good Thought which thou wilt give through Right all the days with joy of enduring life.

3 May he attain to that which is better than the good, who would teach us the straight paths of blessedness in this life here of the body and in that of thought - true paths that lead to the world where Ahura Mazda dwells - a faithful man, well-knowing and holy like thee, O Mazda.

4 Then shall I recognize thee as strong and holy, O Mazda, when by the hand in which thou thyself dost hold the destinies that thou wilt assign to the Liar and the Righteous, by the glow of thy Fire whose power is Right, the might of Good Thought shall come to me.

5 As the holy one [spenta] I recognize thee, Mazda Ahura, when I saw thee in the beginning at the birth of Life, when thou madest actions and words to have their meed — evil for the evil, a good destiny for the good — through thy wisdom when creation shall reach its goal.

6 At which goal thou wilt come with thy holy Spirit, O Mazda, with Dominion, at the same with Good Thought, by whose action the settlements will prosper through Right. Their judgments shall Piety proclaim, even those of thy wisdom which none can deceive.

7 As the holy one I recognized thee, Mazda Ahura, when Good Thought came to me and asked me: "Who art thou? to whom dost thou belong? By what signs wilt thou appoint the days for questioning about thy possessions and thyself?"

8 Then I said to him: "To the first (question), Zarathushtra am I, a true foe to the Liar, to the utmost of my power, but a powerful support would I be to the Righteous, that I may attain the future things of the infinite Dominion, according as I praise and sing thee, O Mazda.

9 As the holy one I recognize thee, Mazda Ahura, when Good Thought came to me. To his question, "For which wilt thou decide" (I made reply). "At the gift of adoration to thy Fire, I will bethink me of Right so long as I have power.

10 Then show me Right, upon whom I call. (Mazda:) "Associating him with Piety, I have come hither. Ask us now what things are here for thee to ask. For thy asking is as that of a mighty one, since he that is able should make thee as a mighty one possessed of thy desire."

11 As the holy one I recognized thee, Mazda Ahura, when Good Thought came to me, when first by your words I was instructed. Shall it bring me sorrow among men, my devotion, in doing that which ye tell me is the best.

12 And when thou saidest to me, 'To Right shalt thou go for teaching', then thou didst not command what I did not obey: 'Speed thee, ere my Obedience come, followed by treasure-laden Destiny, who shall render to men severally the destiny of the two-fold award.'

13 As the holy one I recognized thee, Mazda Ahura, when Good Thought came to me to learn the state of my desire. Grant it me, that which none may compel you to allow, (the wish) for long continuance of blessed existence that they say is in thy Dominion.

14 If thy provident side, such as an understanding man who has the power would give to his friends, comes to me by the Dominion through Right, then I will bestir myself to set myself in opposition against the foes of thy Law, together with all those who are mindful of thy words.

15 As the holy one I recognized thee, Mazda Ahura, when Good Thought came to me, when the best Tushna-Matay taught me to declare: "Let not men seek again and again to please the Liars, for they make all the righteous enemies."

16 And Zarathushtra himself, O Ahura, chooses each one of thy holiest Spirit, O Mazda. May Right be embodied full of life and strength! May Piety abide in the Dominion bright as the sun! May Good Thought give destiny to men according to their works!

Chapter 44

1 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - as to prayer, how it should be to one of you. O Mazda Ahura, might one like thee teach to a friend such as I am, and through friendly Right give us support, that Good Thought may come to us.

2 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - whether at the beginning of the Best Existence the recompenses shall bring blessedness to him that meets with them. Surely he, O Right, the holy one, who watches in his spirit the transgression of all, if himself the benefactor of all that lives, O Mazda.

3 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who is by generation the Father of Right, at the first? Who determined the path of sun and stars? Who is it by whom the moon waxes and wanes again? This, O Mazda, and yet more, I am fain to know.

4 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who upholds the earth beneath and the firmament from falling? Who the waters and the plants? Who yoked swiftness to winds and clouds? Who is, O Mazda, creator of Good Thought?

5 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. What artist made light and darkness? What artist made sleep and waking? Who made morning, noon, and night, that call the understanding man to his duty?

6 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - whether what I proclaim is verily the truth. Will Right with its actions give aid (at the last)? will Piety? Will Good Thought announce from the Dominion? For whom hast thou made the pregnant cow that brings good luck?

7 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who created together with Dominion the precious Piety? Who made by wisdom the son obedient to his father? I strive to recognize by these things thee, O Mazda, creator of all things through the holy spirit.

8 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. I could keep in mind thy design, O Mazda, and understand aright the maxims of life which I ask of Good Thought and Right. How will my soul partake of the good that gives increase?

9 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - whether for the Self that I would bring to perfection, that of the man of insight, the Lord of Dominion would make promises of the sure Dominion, one of thy likenesses, O Mazda, who dwells in one abode with (Right) and Good Thought.

10 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. The Religion which is best for (all) that are, which in union with Right should prosper all that is mine, will they duly observe it, the religion of my creed, with words and action of Piety, in desire for thy (future) good things, O Mazda?

11 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - whether Piety will extend to those to whom thy Religion shall be proclaimed? I was ordained at the first for this by thee; all others I look upon with hatred of spirit.

12 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who among those with whom I would speak is a righteous man, and who a liar? On which side is the enemy? (On this), or is he the enemy, the Liar who opposes thy blessings? How shall it be with him? Is he not to be thought of as an enemy?

13 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - whether we shall drive the Lie away from us to those who being full of disobedience will not strive after fellowship with Right, nor trouble themselves with counsel of Good Thought.

14 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - whether I would put the Lie into the hands of Right, to cast her down by the words of thy lore, to work a mighty destruction among the Liars, to bring torments upon them and enmities, O Mazda.

15 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - if thou hast power over this to ward off from me through Right, when the two opposing hosts meet in battle according to those decrees which thou wilt firmly establish. Whether is it of the twain that thou wilt give victory.

16 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who is victorious to protect by thy doctrine (all) that are? By vision assure me how to set up the judge that heals the world. Then let him have Obedience coming with Good Thought unto every man whom thou desirest, O Mazda.

17 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - whether through you I shall attain my goal, O Mazda, even attachment unto you, and that my voice may be effectual, that Welfare and Immortality may be ready to unite according to that promise with him who joins himself with Right.

18 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura - whether I shall indeed, O Right, earn the reward, even ten mares with a stallion and a camel, which was promised to me, O Mazda, as well as through thee, the future gift of Welfare and Immortality.

19 This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. He that will not give the reward to him that earns it, even to the man who fulfilling his word gives him (what he undertook) - what penalty shall come to him for the same at the present? I know that which shall come to him at the last.

20 Have the Daevas ever exercised good dominion? And I ask of those who see how for the Daevas' sake the Karapan and the Usij give cattle to violence, and how the Kavi made them continually to mourn, instead of taking care that they make the pastures prosper through Right.

Chapter 45

1 I will speak forth: hear now and hearken now, ye from near and ye from far that desire (instruction). Now observe this in your mind, all of you, for he is revealed. Never shall the false Teacher destroy the Second Life, the Liar, in perversion by his tongue into evil belief.

2 I will speak of the Spirits twain at the first beginning of the world, of whom the holier spoke thus to the enemy: "Neither thought, nor teachings, nor wills, nor beliefs, nor words, nor deeds, nor selfs, nor souls of us twain agree".

3 I will speak of that which Mazda Ahura, the all-knowing, revealed to me first in this (earthly) life. Those of you that put not in practice this word as I think and utter it, to them shall be woe at the end of life.

4 I will speak of what is best for the life. Through Asha I have come to know, O Mazda, who created it (the life), the father of active Good Thought: but his daughter is the good-working Armaiti. The all-observant Ahura is not to be deceived.

5 I will speak of that which (he), the Holiest declared to me as the word that is best for mortals to obey; while he said: "they who for my sake render him obedience, shall all attain unto Welfare and Immortality by the actions of the Good Spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP]" - (he) Mazda Ahura.

6 I will speak of him who is the greatest of all, praising him, O Right, who is bounteous to all that live. By the holy spirit let Mazda Ahura hearken, in whose Adoration I have been instructed by Good Thought. By his wisdom let him teach me what is best,

7 Even he whose two awards, whereof he ordains, men shall attain, who so are living or have been or shall be. In immortality shall the soul of the righteous be joyful, in perpetuity shall be the torment of Liars. All this doth Mazda Ahura appoint by his Dominion.

8 Him thou shouldst seek to win for us by hymns of adoration (in thy mind): "Now indeed have I seen it with mine eye, (the Kingdom) of the good spirit [Spenta Mainyu - JHP] and of (good) action and word, since I have learnt to know Mazda Ahura through Right". Let us offer him homage in the House of Song [Heaven].

9 Him thou shouldst seek to propitiate for us together with Good Thought, who at his will maketh us weal or woe. May Mazda Ahura by his Dominion bring us to work, for prospering our beasts and our men, so that we may through Right have familiarity with Good Thought.

10 Him thou shouldst seek to exalt with prayers of piety, him that is called Mazda Ahura for ever, for that he hath promised through his own Right and Good Thought that Welfare and Immortality shall be for us in his Dominion strength and perpetuity in his house.

11 Whoso therefore in the future lightly esteemeth the Daeva and those mortals that lightly esteem him - even all others save that one who highly esteemeth him, - unto his shall the holy Daena of the future deliverer, as lord of the house, be friend, brother or father, O Mazda Ahura.

Chapter 46

1 To what land shall I go to flee, whither to flee? From nobles and from my peers they sever me, nor are the people pleased with me [.....], nor the Liar rulers of the land. How am I to please thee, Mazda Ahura?

2 I know wherefore, O Mazda, I have been unable (to achieve) anything. Only a few herds are mine (and therefore it is so) and because I have got but few people. I cry unto thee, see thou to it, O Ahura, granting me support a friend gives to friend. Teach me through the Right what the acquisition of Good Thought is.

3 When, Mazda, shall the sunrisings come forth for the worlds winning of Right, through the powerful teachings of the wisdom of the future Deliverers? Who are they to whose help Good Thought shall come? I have faith that thou wilt thyself fulfill this for me, O Ahura.

4 The Liar stays the supporter of Right from prospering the cattle in district and province, infamous that he is, repellent in his actions. Whoso, Mazda, robs him of dominion or of life, he shall go before and prepare the ways of the good belief.

5 If an understanding man should be able to hold one who comes over from his vow and his ties of faith, himself having brought him thereto, and living according to the ordinance, a righteous man (converting) a Liar - then shall he, when he is sure of him, tell it to the nobles, that they may protect him from injury, O Mazda Ahura.

6 But whoso when thus approached should refuse his aid, he shall go to the abodes of the company of the Liar. For he is himself a Liar, who is very good to a Liar, he is a righteous man to whom a righteous man is dear, since thou hast created men's Selves in the beginning, O Ahura.

7 Whom, O Mazda, can one appoint as protector for one like me, when the Liar sets himself to injure me, other than Thy Fire and Thy Thought, through actions of which twain the Right will come to maturity, O Ahura? In this lore do thou instruct my very self.

8 Whoso is minded to injure my possessions, from his actions may no harm come to me! Back upon himself may they come with hostility, against his own person, all the hostile (acts), to keep him far from the Good Life, Mazda, not from the ill!

9 Who is it, the faithful man he, who first taught that we honor thee as mightiest to help, as the holy righteous Lord over action? What thy Right made known, what the Ox-Creator made known to Right, they would fain hear through thy Good Mind.

10 Whoso, man or woman, doeth what thou, Mazda Ahura, knowest as best in life, as destiny for what is Right (give him) the Dominion through Good Thought. And those whom I impel to your adoration, with all these will I cross the Bridge of the Separator.

11 By their dominion the Karapans and the Kavis accustomed mankind to evil actions, so as to destroy Life. Their own soul and their own self shall torment them when they come where the Bridge of the Separator is, to all time dwellers in the House of the Lie.

12 When among the laudable descendants and posterity of the Turanian Fryana the Right ariseth, through activity of Piety that blesseth substance; then shall Good Thought admit them, and Mazda Ahura give them protection at the Fulfillment.

13 Whoso among mortals has pleased Spitama Zarathushtra by his willingness, a man deserving of good fame, to him shall Mazda Ahura give Life, to him shall Good Thought increase substance, him we account to be a familiar friend with your Right.

14 O Zarathushtra, what righteous man is thy friend for the great covenant? Who wills to have good fame? It is the Kava Vishtaspa at the consummation. Those whom thou wilt unite in one house with thee, these will I call with words of Good Thought.

15 Ye Haechataspa Spitamas, I will declare unto ye so that ye can discern the wise and the unwise. ... Through these actions ye shall acquire Right according to the primeval laws of Ahura.

16 Frashaoshtra Hvogva, go thou thither with those faithful whom we both desire to be in blessedness, where with Right is united Piety, where the Dominion is in possession of Good Thought, where Mazda Ahura dwells to give it increase.

17 When, O Jamaspa Hvogva, when I recount your wrongs not your successes, (and) with your obedience the prayers of your loyalty, (before him) who shall separate the wise and the unwise through his prudent counselor the Right, even he, Mazda Ahura.

18 He that holds unto me, to him I promise what is best in my possession through the Good Thought, but enmities to him that shall set himself to devise enmity to us, O Mazda and the Right, desiring to satisfy your will. That is the decision of my understanding and thought.

19 He who accomplisheth for me, even Zarathushtra, in accordance with Right that which best agrees with my will, to him as earning the reward of the Other Life shall be that of two pregnant cows, with all things whereon his mind is set. These things will thou bring to pass for me who best knowest how, O Mazda.

Chapter 47

1 For his holy Spirit and for Best Thought, deed, and word, in accordance with Right Mazda Ahura with Dominion and Piety shall give us Welfare and Immortality.

2 The best (work) of this most holy Spirit he fulfills with the tongue through words of Good Thought, with work of his hands through the action of Piety, by virtue of this knowledge: he, even Mazda, is the Father of Right.

3 Thou art the holy Father of this Spirit, which has created for us the luck-bringing cattle, and for its pasture to give it peace (has created) Piety, when he had taken counsel, O Mazda, with Good Thought.

4 From this Spirit have Liars fallen away, O Mazda, but not the Righteous. Whether one is lord of little or of much, he is to show love to the righteous, but be ill unto the Liar.

5 And all the best things which by this Holy Spirit thou hast promised to the righteous, O Mazda Ahura, shall the Liar partake of them without thy will, who by his actions is on the side of Ill Thought?

6 Through this holy Spirit, Mazda Ahura, and through the Fire thou wilt give the division of good to the two parties, with support of Piety and Right. This verily will convert many who are ready to hear.

Chapter 48

1 When at the Recompensings the Right shall smite the Liar, so that what was long since made known shall be assigned to eternity to Daevas and men, then will it exalt with thy blessings, Ahura, him who prays to thee.

2 Tell me, for thou art he that knows, O Ahura: - shall the Righteous smite the Liar before the retributions come which thou hast conceived? That were indeed a message to bless the world.

3 For him that knows, that is the best of teachings which the beneficent Ahura teaches through the Right, he the holy one, even thyself, O Mazda, that knows the secret lore through the wisdom of Good Thought.

4 Whoso, O Mazda, makes his thought (now) better, (now) worse, and likewise his Self by action and by word, and follows his own inclinations, wishes, and choices, he shall in thy purpose be in a separate place at last.

5 Let good rulers rule us, not evil rulers with the actions of the Good Lore, O Piety! Perfect thou for man, O thou most good, the future birth, and for the cow skilled husbandry. Let her grow fat for our nourishing.

6 She (Armaiti) will give us peaceful dwelling, she will give lasting life and strength, she the beloved of Good Thought. For it (the cattle) Mazda Ahura made the plants to grow at the birth of the First Life, through Right.

7 Violence must be put down! against cruelty make a stand, ye who would make sure of the reward of Good Thought through Right, to whose company the holy man belongs. His dwelling place shall be in thy House, O Ahura.

8 Is the possession of thy good Dominion, Mazda, is that of thy Destiny assured to me Ahura? Will thy manifestation, O thou Right, be welcome to the pious, even the weighing of actions by the Good Spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP]?

9 When shall I know whether ye have power, O Mazda and Right, over everyone whose destructiveness is a menace to me? Let the revelation of Good Thought be confirmed unto me; the future deliverer should know how his own destiny shall be.

10 When, O Mazda, will the nobles understand the message? When will thou smite the filthiness of this intoxicant, through which the Karapans evilly deceive, and the wicked lords of the lands with purpose fell?1

11 When, O Mazda, shall Piety come with Right, with Dominion the happy dwelling rich with pasture? Who are they that will make peace with the bloodthirsty Liars? To whom will the Lore of Good Thought come?

12 These shall be the deliverers of the provinces, who exert themselves, O Good Thought in their action, O Asha, to fulfill their duty, face to face with thy command, O Mazda. For these are the appointed smiters of Violence.

Chapter 49

1 Ever has Bendva been for me the greatest obstacle, I who desire to give satisfaction to those who are neglected, O Right, O Mazda. With good Ada come to me, support me firmly. Prepare for him (his) ruin, O Good Thought.

2 The perverter of this Bendva has long time impeded me, the Liar who has fallen away from Right. He cares not that holy Piety should be his, nor takes the counsel with Good Thought, O Mazda.

3 And in this belief (of ours), O Mazda, Right is laid down, for blessing, in the heresy the Lie, for ruin. Therefore I strive for the fellowship of Good Thought, I forbid all intercourse with the Liar.

4 They who make the increase of violence and cruelty with their tongues, the foes of cattle-nurture among its friends; whose ill deeds prevail, not their good deeds: these (shall be) in the house of the Daevas, (the place for) the Self of the Liar.

5 But he, O Mazda, - happiness and satiety be his who links his own Self with Good Thought, being through Right an intimate of Piety. And with all these (may I be) in Thy Dominion, Ahura.

6 I beseech you twain, O Mazda and the Right, to say what are the plans of your will, that we may discern how we might teach the Religion of such as you, O Ahura.

7 And this let Good Thought hear, O Mazda, let the Right hear, do thou also listen, O Ahura, which men of the brotherhood, what noble is it according to the Law who brings to the community fame.

8 On Frashaoshtra do thou bestow the most gladsome fellowship with the Right - this I ask thee, O Mazda Ahura - and on myself the hold on what is good in thy Dominion. To all eternity we would be thy messengers.

9 Let the helper hear the ordinance, he that is created to bring deliverance. The man of right words is no regarder of fellowship with the Liar, if they that are partakers of Right are to make their Selves partake in the best reward at the Judgment, O Jamaspa.

10 And this, O Mazda, will I put in thy care within thy House - the Good Thought and the souls of the Righteous, their worship, their Piety and zeal, that thou mayst guard it, O thou mighty Dominion, with abiding power.

11 But these that are of an evil dominion, of evil deeds, evil words, evil Self, and evil thought, Liars, the Souls go to meet them with evil food; in the House of the Lie they shall be meet inhabitants.

12 What help hast thou, O Right, for Zarathushtra that calls upon me? What hast thou, Good Thought? — for me who with praises seeks your favor, O Mazda Ahura, longing for that which is best in your possession.

Chapter 50

1 (Zarathushtra:) Can my soul count on any one for help? Who is there found for my herd, who for myself a protector, indeed, at my call other than the Right and thyself. O Mazda Ahura, and the Best Thought?

2 How, O Mazda, should one desire the luck-bringing cattle, one who would fain it would come to him with the pasture? (Mazda:) They that live uprightly according to the Right among the many that look upon the sun, those whom they stand in judgment, I will settle in the dwellings of the wise.

3 (Zarathushtra:) So this (reward) shall come to him through the Right, O Mazda, (this reward) which by the Dominion and Good Thought he promised, whomsoever by the power of his Destiny prospers the neighboring possession that now the Liar holds.

4 I will worship you with praise, O Mazda Ahura, joined with Right and Best Thought and Dominion, that they, desired of pious men, may stand as Judges on the path of the obedient unto the House of Song.

5 Assured by you, O Mazda Ahura and Right, are the pointings of the hand - since you are well-disposed to your prophet - which shall bring us to bliss, together with visible manifest help.

6 The prophet Zarathushtra, O Mazda, who lifts up his voice in worship, as friend of Asha - may the Creator of Wisdom teach me his ordinances through Good Thought, that my tongue may have a pathway.

7 For you I will harness the swiftest steeds, stout and strong, by the promptings of your praise, that ye may come hither, O Mazda, Right, and Good thought.

8 Ever with verses that are recognized as those of pious zeal I will come before you with outstretched hands, O Mazda, before you, O thou Right, with worship of the faithful man, before you with all the capacity of Good Thought.

9 With those prayers I would come and praise you, O Mazda and thou Right, with actions of Good Thought. If I be master of my own destiny as I will, then will I take thought for the portion of the wise in the same.

10 Those actions that I shall achieve and those done aforetime, and those, O Good Thought, that are precious in thy sight, the rays of the sun, the shimmering uprisings of the days, all is for your praise, O thou Right and Mazda Ahura.

11 Your praiser, Mazda, will I declare myself and be, so long, O Right, as I have strength and power. May the Creator of the world accomplish through Good Thought its fulfillment of all that most perfectly answers to his will.

Chapter 51

1 The good, the precious Dominion, as a most surpassing portion, shall Right achieve for him that with zeal accomplishes what is best through his actions, O Mazda. This will I now work out for us.

2 Before all, O Mazda Ahura, assure me the Dominion of your possession, O Right, and what is thine, O Piety. Your (Dominion) of blessing give through Good Thought to him that prays.

3 Let your ears attend to those who in their deeds and utterances hold to your words, Ahura and Right, to those of Good Thought, for whom thou, Mazda, art the first teacher.

4 Where is the recompense for wrong to be found, where pardon for the same? Where shall they attain the Right? Where is the holy Piety, where Best Thought? Thy Dominions, where are they, O Mazda?

5 All this (I) ask, whether the husbandman shall find cattle in accordance with Right, he that is perfect in action, a man of understanding, when he prays to him, who hath promised unto the Wise the true Judge, in that he is Lord of the two destinies...

6 Even he, Ahura Mazda, who through his Dominion appoints what is better than good to him that is attached to his will, but what is worse than evil to him that obeys him not, at the last end of life.

7 Give me, O thou that didst create the Ox and Waters and Plants, Welfare and Immortality, by the Highest Spirit, O Mazda, strength and continuance through Good Thought at the (Judge's) sentence.

8 Of these two things will I speak, O Mazda, - for one may speak to the wise, - the ill that is threatened to the Liar, and the happiness of him who clings to the Right. For he, the Prophet, is glad of every one who says this to the wise.

9 What recompense thou wilt give to the two parties by thy red Fire, by the molten metal, give us a sign of it in our souls - even the bringing of ruin to the Liar, of blessing to the Righteous.

10 Whoso, other than this one, seeks to kill me, Mazda, he is a son of the Lie's creation, ill-willed thus towards all that live. I call the Right to come to me with good destiny.

11 What man is friend to Spitama Zarathushtra, O Mazda? Who will let himself be counseled by Right? With whom is holy Piety? Or who as an upright man is intent on the brotherhood of Good Thought?

12 The Kavi's wanton did not please Zarathushtra Spitama at the Winter Gate, in that he stayed him from taking refuge with him, and when there came to him also (Zarathushtra's) two steeds shivering with cold.

13 Thus the Self of the Liar destroys for himself the assurance of the right Way; whose soul shall tremble at the Revelation on the Bridge of the Separator, having turned aside with deeds and tongue from the Path of Right.

14 The Karapans will not obey the statutes and ordinances concerning husbandry. For the pain they inflict upon the cattle, fulfill upon them through their actions and judgments that judgment which at the last shall bring them to the House of the Lie.

15 When Zarathushtra hath promised to the men of his brotherhood, (which) in the House of Song Ahura Mazda hath first attained, for all this I have looked through your blessings, Good Thought, and those of Right.

16 Kavi Vishtaspa hath the creed which the holy Mazda Ahura with Right hath devised, together with the dominion of the Brotherhood, and the path of Good Thought. So be it accomplished after our desire.

17 The fair form of one that is dear hath Frashaoshtra Hvogva promised unto me: may sovereign Mazda Ahura grant that she attain possession of the Right for her good Self.

18 This creed Jamaspa Hvogva chooses through Right, lordly in substance. This Dominion they (choose) who have part in Good Thought. This grant me, Ahura, that they may find in thee, Mazda, their protection.

19 The man himself, O Maidyoi-Maungha Spitama, hath set this before him after conceiving it in his own self. He that would see life indeed, to him will he make known what in actions by Mazda's ordinance is better during (this) existence.

20 Your blessings shall ye give us, all that are one in will, with whom Right, Good Thought, Piety, and Mazda (are one) according to promise, giving your aid when worshipped with reverence.

21 By Piety the man becomes Holy. Such person advances Right through his thinking, his words, his action, his Self. By Good Thought Mazda Ahura will give the Dominion. For this good Destiny I long.

22 He, I ween, that Mazda Ahura knoweth among all that have been and are, as one to whom in accordance with Right the best portion falls for his prayer, these will I reverence by their own names and go before them with honor.

Chapter 52

0 A PRAYER FOR SANCTITY AND ITS BENEFITS.

1 I pray with benedictions for a benefit, and for the good, even for the entire creation of the holy (and the clean); I beseech for them for the (generation which is) now alive, for that which is just coming into life, and for that which shall be hereafter. And (I pray for that) sanctity which leads to prosperity, and which has long afforded shelter, which goes on hand in hand with it, which joins it in its walk, and of itself becoming its close companion as it delivers forth its precepts,

2 bearing every form of healing virtue which comes to us in waters, appertains to cattle, or is found in plants, and overwhelming, all the harmful malice of the Daevas, (and their servants) who might harm this dwelling and its lord,

3 bringing good gifts, and better blessings, given very early, and later (gifts), leading to successes, and for a long time giving shelter. And so the greatest, and the best, and most beautiful benefits of sanctity fall likewise to our lot

4 for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and the praise of the Bountiful Immortals, for the bringing prosperity to this abode, and for the prosperity of the entire creation of the holy, and the clean, (and as for this, so) for the opposition of the entire evil creation. (And I pray for this) as I praise through Righteousness, I who am beneficent, those who are (likewise of a better mind).

5 May'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda! reign at Thy will, and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures, and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters, and over plants, and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness. Strip ye the wicked of all power!(Y8.5)

6 Absolute in power may the holy be, bereft of all free choice the wicked ! Gone (may he be), met as foe, carried out from the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, hemmed in without power over any wish! (Y8.6)

7 I will incite, even I who am Zarathushtra, the heads of the houses, villages, Zantus, and provinces, to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura, and according to Zarathushtra, in their thoughts, their words, and their deeds. (Y8.7)

8 I pray for the freedom and glory of the entire existence of the holy (man) while I bless it, and I pray for the repression and shame of the entire existence of the wicked. (Y8.8)

Chapter 53

1 (Zarathushtra) - The best possession known is of Zarathushtra Spitama, which is that Mazda Ahura will give him through Right the glories of blessed life unto all time, and likewise to them that practice and learn the words and actions of his Good Religion.

2 Then let them seek the pleasure of Mazda with thoughts, words, and actions, unto him praise gladly, and seek his worship, even Kava Vishtaspa, and Zarathushtra's son, the Spitamid, with Frashaoshtra, making straight the paths for the Religion of the future Deliverer which Ahura ordained.

3 Him, O Pouruchista, thou scion of Haechataspa and Spitama, youngest of Zarathushtra's daughters, hath (Zarathushtra) appointed as one to enjoin on them the fellowship with Good Thought, Right, and Mazda. So take counsel with thine own understanding, with good insight practice the holiest works of Piety.

4 (Jamaspa): Earnestly will I lead her to the Faith, that she may serve her father and her husband, the farmers and the nobles, as a righteous woman (serving) the righteous. The glorious heritage of Good Thought ... shall Mazda Ahura give to her for all time.

5 (Zarathushtra): Teachings address I to maidens marrying, and to you (bridegrooms) giving counsel. Lay them to heart and learn to get them within your Selves in earnest attention to the Life of Good Thought. Let each of you strive to excel the other in the Right, for it will be a prize for that one.

6 So is it in fact, ye men and women! Whatever happiness ye look for in the follower of the (...) that will be snatched away from his person. To them the Liars, crying 'woe', shall be ill-food, paradise shall be lost to them that despite righteousness. In such wise ye destroy for yourselves the Spiritual Life.

7 And to you shall accrue the reward of the Brotherhood - in so far as the most faithful zeal is in your flesh and blood - there where the spirit of the Liar, cringing and cowering, shall fall down into destruction. If you separate yourselves from the Brotherhood, then will 'woe!' be your word at the end of things.

8 So they whose deeds are evil, let them be deceived, and let them all howl, abandoned to ruin. Through good rulers let him bring death and bloodshed upon them and peace from these (their assaults) unto the happy villagers. Grief let him bring on those, he that is the greatest, with the lord of death; and soon let it be.

9 To men of evil creed belongs the place of corruption. They that set themselves to contemn the worthy, despising righteousness, forfeiting their own body. - Where is the Righteous Lord who shall rob them of life and freedom? Thine Mazda is the Dominion, whereby thou canst give to the right-living poor man the better portion.

Chapter 54

1 Let the Airyaman, the desired friend and peersman, draw near for grace to the men and to the women who are taught of Zarathushtra, for the joyful grace of the Good Mind, whereby the conscience may attain its wished-for recompense. I pray for the sacred reward of the ritual order which is (likewise so much) to be desired; and may Ahura Mazda grant it, (or cause it to increase).

2 We sacrifice to the Airyema-ishyo, the powerful, the victoriously smiting, the opponent of assaulting malice, the greatest of the sentences of the holy ritual order. And we sacrifice to the bounteous Gathas that rule supreme in the ritual, the holy (and august). And we sacrifice to the Praises of the Yasna which were the productions of the world of old.

Chapter 55

0 THE WORSHIP OF THE GATHAS AS CONCLUDED, THAT OF THE STAOTA YESNYA AS BEGINNING.

1 We present hereby and we make known, as our offering to the bountiful Gathas which rule (as the leading chants) within (the appointed times and seasons of) the Ritual, all our landed riches, and our persons, together with our very bones and tissues, our forms and forces, our consciousness, our soul, and Fravashi.

2 That which Gathas (may) be to us, which are our guardians and defenders, and our spiritual food, yea, which (may) be to our souls both food and clothing, such are these Gathas to us, guardians, and defenders, and (spiritual) food, even such they are, both food and clothing to the soul. And (may) they be to us (for this our offering) abundant givers of rewards, and just and righteous ones, for the world beyond the present, after the parting of our consciousness and body.

3 And may these (Praises of the Offering) come forth, and appear for us with power and victorious assault, with health and healing, with progress, and with growth, with preparation and protection, with beneficence and sanctity, and abounding with gifts toward him who can understand; yea, let them appear (with free liberality to the enlightened), let them appear as Mazda, the most beneficent, has produced them, He the one who is victorious when He smites, and who helps the settlements advance, for the protection, and the guarding of the religious order of the settlements which are now being furthered, and of those which shall bring salvation to us, and for the protection of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

4 And may'st thou, (O Asha! who abidest within the Gathas), give to every holy man who comes with this prayer for a blessing, and endeavoring to help himself, according to his good thoughts, and words, and deeds.

5 We are therefore worshipping both the (divine) Righteousness and the Good Mind, and the bountiful Gathas, that rule as the leading chants within (the times and the seasons of) the holy ritual order.

6 And we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the production of the ancient world, those which are (now) recollected and put in use, those which are now learned and taught, those which are being held (in mind, and so) repeated, those remembered and recited, and those worshipped, and thus the ones which further the world through grace in its advance. And we worship the part(s) of the Praises of the Yasna, and their recitation as it is heard, even their memorized recital, and their chanting, and their offering (as complete).

Chapter 56

0 INTRODUCTION TO THE SROSH YASHT.

1 Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent, and holy, of him) who is desired by us as at the first, so at the last; and so again may attentive Obedience be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent and the holy who (is so) desired by us.

2 (Yea), let Sraosha (the attentive Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters, and for the Fravashis of the saints which are so desired by us, [and for (their) souls], as at the first, so at the last. And thus again may Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good, waters, and for the Fravashis of the saints, which are so desired by us, [(and) for (their) souls].

3 Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters; yea, let the good Obedience be here for the worship of the good and bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, the good, and for the worship of the good Sanctity, or Blessedness, who is closely knit with the Righteous Order, to perfect us, and to incite us. May Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for the worship of the good waters, he the good and the holy, as at the first, so at the last.

4 And so again may Sraosha, (Obedience) the good, be present here for the worship of the good waters, and of the good and bountiful Immortals, and of Blessedness the good who is closely knit with the Righteous Order to perfect and to incite us. Yea, we worship Sraosha the blessed and the stately, who smites with victory, and who furthers the settlements in their advance, the holy lord of the ritual order.

Chapter 57

0 THE SROSH YASHT.

1 A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, &c. Propitiation be to Sraosha, Obedience the blessed, the mighty, the incarnate word of reason, whose body is the Mathra, him of the daring spear, devoted to the Lord, for (his) sacrificial worship, homage, propitiation, and praise.

2 We worship Sraosha, (Obedience, the blessed, the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, and who furthers the settlements, the holy, (ruling) as the ritual lord. Him do we worship, who in the creation of Mazda the first adored Ahura, with the Baresman spread, who worshipped the Bountiful Immortals (first), who worshipped both the protector and the Creator, who are (both) creating all things in the creation.

3 For his splendor and his glory, for his might, and the blow which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters, and the good Blessedness, the lofty, and Nairya-sangha, the stately; and may he draw near to us to aid us, he who smites with victory, Obedience the blessed!

4 We worship Sraosha, Obedience the blessed, and that lofty Lord who is Ahura Mazda Himself, Him who has attained the most to this our ritual, Him who has approached the nearest to us in our celebrations. And we worship all the words of Zarathushtra, and all the deeds well done (for him), both those that have been done (in times gone by), and those which are yet to be done (for him in times to come).

5 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, who prospers the settlements, the holy ritual lord,

6 who first spread forth the Baresman, and the three bundles, and the five bundles, and the seven bundles, and the nine, till it was heaped for us knee-high, and to the middle of the thighs, for the Bountiful Immortals, for their worship, and their homage, and their propitiation, and their praise. For his splendor and his glory, for his might, and the blow which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters.

7 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief.

8 Who first chanted the Gathas, the five Gathas of Zarathushtra, the Spitama, the holy (with the fashion) of their metres, and after the well-constructed order of their words, together with the Zand which they contain, and the questions which they utter, and the answers which they give, for the Bountiful Immortals, for their sacrifice and homage, their propitiation, and their praise. For his splendor and his glory, for his might....

9 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, and who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief,

10 who for the poor among (our) men and women built a mighty house, who after sunset, and with his leveled battle-ax, smites Aeshema bloody wounds, and having struck the head, casts him lightly (?) (to the earth), as the stronger (smites) the weaker. For his splendor and his glory, for his might....

11 We worship Sraosha, Obedience the blessed and the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief, as the energetic, and the swift, the strong, the daring (and redoubted) hero,

12 who comes back from all his battles (and comes from them) a conqueror, who amid the Bountiful ImmortaIs sits as companion at their meeting. For his splendor and his glory, for his might....

13 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, who is the strongest and most persistent of the youths, the most energetic, and the swiftest, who of all the youths strikes most with terror I from afar (?). [Be ye desirous, O ye Mazdayasnians! of the Yasna of Obedience the blessed.]

14 Far from this house, this village, and this tribe, and from this country, the evil and destructive terrors (shall) depart. In the dwelling of that man in whose abode Obedience the blessed, who smites victoriously, is satisfied and welcomed, there is that holy man who thus contents him (most) forward in the thinking better thoughts, in the speaking truthful ritual) words, and in the doing holy deeds. For his splendor and his glory, for his might....

15 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who is the conqueror of the Kayadha, and the Kaidhya, who was the smiter of the Lie-demon of the Daevas, the one veritably powerful, the destroyer of the world, who is the guardian and watchman over all the migrations (?) of the tribes.

16 Who sleeplessly and vigilant guards the creatures of Ahura, who sleeplessly and with vigilance saves them, who with halberd raised on high guards all the corporeal world after setting of the sun,

17 who has never slept in quiet since the two Spirits made the worlds, [the bounteous and the evil one] who guards the homes of Asha, who battles all (?) the days long and the nights with all the Daevas [(Pazand) the Mazanian],

18 nor terror-stricken does he turn in affright before (their power); but before him all the Daevas turn in affright against their will, and rush to darkness in their fear. For his splendor and his glory, for his might....

19 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whom Haoma worshipped on the highest height of high Haraiti, he Haoma, the reviver, and the healer, the beautiful, the kingly, of the golden eye,

21 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whose house stands with its thousand pillars, as victorious, on the highest height of high Haraiti, self-lighted from within, star-studded from without,

23 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, by whose might and victorious power, and wise conduct, and (full) knowledge, the Bountiful Immortals descend upon this earth of seven quarters.

24 Who as teacher of the law will stride forth upon this earth with its dwellers in the body, and ruling as he will. And in this Religion, Ahura Mazda has been confessed with faith, and the Good Mind likewise with Him, and Righteousness the Best, and Khshathra-vairya, and Piety the Bounteous, and the Universal Weal and Immortality; and the question to the Lord is asked, and Mazda's lore (is written).

25 O Sraosha (Obedience), thou blessed one, and stately! protect us for the lives; yea, for both, (for that) of this world which is corporeal, and for the world of mind, against unhappy death, and the remorseless Wrath of rapine, against the hosts with ill-intent, who lift their bloody spears against us; yea, against their assaults whom the Wrath-demon will set on, and Vidhatu, demon-made.

26 Therefore may'st thou, O Sraosha, the blessed and the stately! grant swiftness to our teams, soundness to our bodies, and abundant observation of our foes, and their smiting (as we mark them), and their sudden death. For his splendor and his glory, for his might....

27 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whom four racers draw in harness, white and shining, beautiful, and powerful, quick to learn, and fleet, obeying before speech, heeding orders from the mind, with their hoofs of horn gold-covered,

28 fleeter than (our) horses, swifter than the winds, more rapid than the rain(-drops as they fall); yea, fleeter than the clouds, or well-winged birds, or the we shot arrow as it flies,

29 which overtake these swift ones all, as they fly after them pursuing, but which are never overtaken when they flee, which plunge away from both the weapons (hurled on this side and on that) and draw Sraosha with them, the good Sraosha and the blessed; which from both the weapons (those on this side and on that) bear the good Obedience the blessed, plunging forward in their zeal, when he takes his course from India on the East, and when he lights down in the West. For his splendor and his glory, for his might....

30 We worship Obedience the blessed and the stately, who though lofty and so high, yea, even to the girdle, yet stoops to Mazda's creatures,

31 who thrice within the day, and three times of a night, will drive on to that Karshvar Hvaniratha, called the luminous, as he holds in both the hands and poizes his knife-like battle-ax, which flies as of itself, and to cleave the Daevas' skulls,

32 to hew down Angra Mainyu, the wicked, and to hew down Rapine of the bloody spear, to hew down the Daevas of Mazendran, and every Demon-god. For his splendor and his glory, for his might....

33 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, him who smites with victory, both here and not here, and on this entire earth. And we worship all the (gifts) of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, the mighty, and the strong, whose body is the Mathra. Yea, we worship (all the martial gifts) of Sraosha (Obedience) the mighty, both armed with shielding armor, and a warrior strong of hand, skull-cleaver of the Daevas, conquering the endowments of the conqueror, the holy conqueror of the conqueror, and (his) victorious powers, and he Ascendancy which it bestows, and we worship this Ascendancy of Sraosha's (the same which conquers theirs); and that of Arshti do we praise as well.

Chapter 58

1 (Introduction.) (To the increase of our homage and praise of God) we offer this service which, as our defense, may shield us, which is worship with its beneficent results; and Blessedness is with it of a verity, and Piety as well. [(Pazand) and of this worship the results here mentioned are the well-thought thought, the word well spoken, and the deed well done]; and let this our worship shelter us from the Daeva and from the evil-minded man.

2 And to this worship do we confide our settlements and persons for protection and care, for guarding, and for oversight;

3 and in this worship will we abide, O Ahura Mazda! and with joy. In this worship do we exercise our choices; and to it will we approach, and to it will we belong; yea, to revering worship will we confide our settlements and persons for protection, and for care, for guarding, and for oversight, to such worship as is the praise of such as You.

4 The owner of herds is the righteous (one), and he is victorious when he strikes, and thus he is the best; [(Pazand) we therefore offer (this) service (for herd-owners)] for the herd-owner is the father of the Kine by the help of him who follows the ritual order: and he is the father of the holy man as well, and of the sanctified creation. He is in verity the bestower of blessings, and to him, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! we render, (and his do we make) Your greatness, Your goodness, and Your (spiritual) beauty, and let this man, the cattle-owner, approach to guard over us; and may he be our watchman together with the Righteous Order, and with store for our nourishment and full generous liberality, together with sharing of the goods, with gentleness, and with Ahura Mazda's sacred Fire!

5 O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as Ye have made us, so do Ye save us, holy men, and saintly women (as we are, and steadfast in the faith)l. Save us, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, for none other do I know, save You; then with Your Righteousness do Ye save us.

6 And we offer hereby our thoughts, and words, and actions, our herds, and men, to the Bountiful Spirit. And may the creative stars of Ahura Mazda, the Creator, shine down on us, and round about us with full herds and healthy settlements, with healthy herds and healthy men, and with all in vigor, and endowed with the blessing of the Lord.

7 Praise to Thee, O Fire of Ahura Mazda I may'st thou come to (us in) the greatest one of the engrossing interests for the help of the great (effort), for the joy-producing grace of the great (interest of our cause); grant us both Weal and Deathlessness!

8 We sacrifice to the entire collection of the Praises of the Yasna, with the careful structure of their language which has reached the most its object. And we offer (our homage) in our celebrations to Thy body, O Ahura Mazda! the most beautiful of forms, these stars, and to that one, the highest of the high [(Pazand) such as the sun was called]. Yea, we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the production of the world of old.

Chapter 59

0 MUTUAL BLESSINGS.

1 We worship the Creator Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.(Y6.1)

2 And we worship the Asnya with our sacrifice, and Havani, Savanghi and Visya, the holy lords of the ritual order, and Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and we worship Raman Hvastra.(Y6.2)

3 And we worship Rapithwina with our sacrifice, and Fradat-fshu, and the Zantuma, and Righteousness the Best, and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, holy lords of the ritual order.(Y6.3)

4 And we worship Uzayeirina, and Fradat-vira, and Dahvyuma*, the holy lord of the ritual order, and that kingly Ahura, the radiant Napat-apam, of the fleet horses, and the water holy, and Mazda-made.(Y6.4)

5 And we worship Aiwisruthrima and Aibigaya in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Fradat-vispam-hujyaiti and the Zarathushtrotema, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the women who bring forth many sons, and the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and Force which is well-shaped and stately, and the Blow which brings the victory, which is Ahura-given, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).(Y6.5)

6 And we worship Ushahina with our sacrifice, and Berejya, and Nmanya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately who smites with victory, and makes the settlements advance, and Rashnu, the most just, and Arshtat who makes the settlements advance and causes them to increase, the holy lords of the ritual order.(Y6.6)

7 And we worship the Mahya in our sacrifice, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within) and the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order.(Y6.7)

8 And we worship the Yearly festivals in our sacrifice, Maidhya-zaremaya, Maidhyo-shema, Paitishhahya, and Ayathrima, the furtherer (or breeder), the spender of virile strength, and Maidhyairya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Hamaspathmaedhaya, and the Seasons (in which they are).(Y6.8)

9 And we worship with our sacrifice all the lords of the ritual order, who are the thirty and three who approach the nearest around about us at Havani, who are the lords of Righteousness the Best, and whose observances were inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathushtra.(Y6.9)

10 And we worship Ahura and Mithra with our sacrifice, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, and the stars, moon, and sun, among the plants of the Baresman, and Mithra, the province-lord of all the provinces, even Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the good, valiant, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints.(Y6.10)

11 We worship thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! We worship the fire Berezi-savangha (of the lofty use), and the fire Vohu-fryana (the good and friendly), and the fire Urvazishta (the most beneficial and most helpful), and the fire Vazishta (the most supporting), and the fire Spenishta (the most bountiful), and Nairya-sangha the Yazad of the royal lineage, and that fire which is the house-lord of all houses and Mazda-made, even the son of Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, with all the fires.(Y17.11)

12 And we worship the good and best waters Mazda-made, holy, all the waters Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made, and which are holy.(Y17.12)

13 And we worship the Mathra-spenta (the bounteous word-of-reason), the Zarathushtrian law against the Daevas, and its long descent.(Y17.13)

14 And we worship Mount Ushi-darena which is Mazda-made and shining with its holiness, and all the mountains shining with holiness, and of abundant glory, and which Mazda made ---.(Y17.14)

15 And we worship the good and pious prayer for blessings,(Y17.15)

16 and these waters and (these lands), (Y17.16)

17 and all the greatest chieftains, lords of the ritual order;(Y17.17)

18 I praise, invoke, and weave my hymn to the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints; (and having invoked these, then) we worship the Nmanyas, and the Visyas, and the Zantumas, and the Dahvyumas, and the Zarathushtrotemas. (Y26.1)

19 And of all these prior Fravashis, we worship here the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, which is the greatest and the best, the most beautiful and the firmest, the most wise and the best in form, and the one that attains the most its ends because of Righteousness. (Y26.2)

20 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the holy ones, those of the Bountiful Immortals, the brilliant, of effective glance, the lofty, the devoted, the swift ones of the creatures of Ahura who are imperishable and holy. (Y26.3)

21 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the spirit and conscience, the intelligence and soul and Fravashi of those holy men and women who early heard the lore and commands (of God), and loved and strove after Righteousness, the ritual truth; and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed gift. (Y26.4)

22 And (having invoked it) hither, we worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan [Gayomard] the holy, and the sanctity and Fravashi of Zarathushtra Spitama the saint; and we worship the Fravashi of Kavi Vishtasp the holy, and that of Isat-vastra the Zarathushtrian, the saint. (Y26.5)

23 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the life, conscience, intelligence, soul and Fravashi of the next of kin, of the saints male and female who have striven after the ritual truth, which are those of the dead and living saints, and which are those also of men as yet unborn, of the future prophets who will help on the renovation, and complete the human progress, with them all. (Y26.6)

24 And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the souls of the dead [(Pazand) which are the Fravashis of the saints]; and of all the next of kin who have passed away in this house, of the Aethra-paitis (the teachers) and of the disciples; yea, of all holy men and women; (Y26.7)

25 and we worship the Fravashis of all the holy teachers and disciples; and of all the saints both male and female. (Y26.8)

26 (And having invoked them) hither we worship the Fravashis of all the holy children who fulfill the deeds of piety; and we worship the Fravashis of the saints within the province; and those of the saints without the province. (Y26.9)

27 We worship the Fravashis of (those) holy men and holy women; we worship all the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints from Gaya Maretan [Gayomard] (the first created) to the Saoshyant, the victorious. (Y26.10)

28 We worship Verethraghna, the Ahura-made, the victorious blow; and we worship the Saoshyant, who smites with victory; and we sacrifice to this Baresman with its Zaothra and its girdle (which is its band) and which is spread with sanctity. And we sacrifice to (our) own soul(s), and to (our) own Fravashi(s).

29 (Y17.19) ????

30 (The Ratu speaks): O thou good (servant of the Lord)! may that be thine which is better than the good; may'st thou acquire that which is (thine) own in the Zaothra; may'st thou attain to that reward which the Zaotar has been obtaining, who is far advanced in his good thoughts, and words, and deeds.

31 (The Zaotar speaks): May that happen to you (likewise) which is better than the good, and may that not happen which is worse than the evil, and may that likewise not be my lot.

32 As (our) Ahu (is) excellent, so (is our) Ratu (one who rules) from his Righteousness, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda, and the Kingdom (is) to Ahura which to the poor will offer a nurturer. A blessing is Asha called the Best, &c. We sacrifice to the Ahuna-vairya; we sacrifice to Asha Vahishta the most beautiful, the Bountiful Immortal. And we sacrifice to the Fshusho-mathra, the by-spoken. And we sacrifice to the entire collection of the Praises of the Yasna; (yea), to the Yasna Praises which were instituted in the world of yore.

Chapter 60

0 PRAYERS FOR THE DWELLING OF THE SACRIFICER.

1 Thus that better than the good may he approach, who shows to us straight paths of profit appertaining to this bodily life and to the mental likewise, in the eternal (?) realms where dwells Ahura; yea, may he approach it, who is Thy worthy servant, and good citizen, O Great giver Lord!

2 May these blessings approach this house, which are the wise perceptions of the saints, the sacred blessings bestowed through the ritual, their guileless characteristics, together with their recognition of what is due; and may the Righteous Order appear for this village, and the Divine Sovereign Power, together with the benefit and glorious welfare (which ensues),

3 And with these the long enduring prominence of this Religion of Ahura's, the Zarathushtrian Faith. And may the Kine be now with greatest speed within (the farm-yard of) this house, most speedily may the rewarded sanctity and the strength of the holy man be here, most speedily as well Ahura's lore.

4 And may the good and heroic and bountiful Fravashis of the saints come here, and may they go hand in hand with us with the healing virtues of (their) blessed gifts as wide-spread as the earth, as far-spread as the rivers, as high-reaching as the sun, for the furtherance of the better men, for the hindrance of the hostile, and for the abundant growth of riches and of glory.

5 May Sraosha (Obedience) conquer disobedience within this house, and may peace triumph over discord here, and generous giving over avarice, reverence over contempt, speech with truthful words over lying utterance. May the Righteous Order gain the victory over the Demon of the Lie.

6 As in this (house) the Bountiful Immortals seek for good Yasnas and good praises from the blessed Sraosha (who governs here), and as they seek for (one) good sacrifice and act of homage (more especially their own) which is a good offering (to them) for (our) salvation, and a good offering in praise, together with a long continued offering of the entire self,

7 let not then (their) brilliant glory ever desert this house, nor the bright abundance, nor an illustrious offspring legitimately born, nor that long continued companionship which is the furtherance of that good blessedness which teaches concerning glory.

8 May'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda! reign at Thy will, and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures, and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters, and over plants, and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness. Strip ye the wicked of all power!(Y8.5)

9 Absolute in power may the holy be, bereft of all free choice the wicked ! Gone (may he be), met as foe, carried out from the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, hemmed in without power over any wish! (Y8.6)

10 I will incite, even I who am Zarathushtra, the heads of the houses, villages, Zantus, and provinces, to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura, and according to Zarathushtra, in their thoughts, their words, and their deeds. (Y8.7)

11 In order that our minds may be delighted, and our souls the best, let our bodies be glorified as well, and let them; O Mazda! go likewise openly (unto Heaven) as the best world of the saints as devoted to Ahura,

12 and accompanied by Asha Vahishta (who is Righteousness the Best), and the most beautiful! And may we see Thee, and may we, approaching, come around about Thee, and attain to entire companionship with Thee! And we sacrifice to the Righteous Order, the best, the most beautiful, the bounteous Immortal!

Chapter 61

1 Let us peal forth the Ahuna-vairya in our liturgy between the heaven and earth, and let us send forth the Asha Vahishta in our prayer the same, and the Yenhe hatam. And let us send forth in our liturgies between the heaven and earth the pious and good prayer of the pious man for blessings,

2 for the encounter with, and for the displacement of Angra Mainyu with his creatures which are likewise evil as he is, for he is filled with death (for those whom he has made). Aye, let us send that petition forth for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the Kahvaredhas and of the individual Kahvaredha the male, and the female (to the last individual of each),

3 and for the encounter with, and the dislodgment of the Kayadhas, and of the individual Kayadhians, male and female, and of the thieves and robbers, of the Zandas, and the sorcerers, of the covenant breakers, and of those who tamper with the covenants.

4 Yea, we send it forth for the encounter with, and for the overthrow of the murderers of the saints, and of those who hate and torment us for our Faith, and of those who persecute the ritual, and the tyrant full of death. Yea, let us peal them forth for the encounter with and the overthrow of the wicked, O Zarathushtra Spitama! whoever they may be, whose thoughts, and words, and works are not congenial to the holy ritual laws.

5 And how shall we drive the Demon of the Lie from hence from us? Aye, how shall we, the prophets who are yet to serve and save (thy people), drive the Druj from hence, so that we, having power over her as being utterly without power, may drive her hence with blow from the seven Karshvars, for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the entire evil world?

Chapter 62

0 TO THE FIRE.

1 I offer my sacrifice and homage to thee, the Fire, as a good offering, and an offering with our hail of salvation, even as an offering of praise with benedictions, to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! Meet for sacrifice art thou, and worthy of (our) homage. And as meet for sacrifice, and thus worthy of our homage, may'st thou be in the houses of men (who worship Mazda). Salvation be to this man who worships thee in verity and truth, with wood in hand, and Baresman ready, with flesh in hand, and holding too the mortar.

2 And may'st thou be (ever) fed with wood as the prescription orders. Yea, may'st thou have thy perfume justly, and thy sacred butter without fail, and thine andirons regularly placed. Be of full-age as to thy nourishment, of the canon's age as to the measure of thy food, O Fire, Ahura-Mazda's son!

3 Be now aflame within this house; be ever without fail in flame; be all ashine within this house; be on thy growth within this house; for long time be thou thus to the furtherance of the heroic (renovation), to the completion of (all) progress, yea, even till the good heroic (millennial) time when that renovation shall have become complete.

4 Give me, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son! a speedy glory, speedy nourishment, and speedy booty, and abundant glory, abundant nourishment, abundant booty, an expanded mind, and nimbleness of tongue for soul and understanding, even an understanding continually growing in its largeness, and that never wanders, and long enduring virile power,

5 an offspring sure of foot, that never sleeps on watch [not for a third part of the day, or night], and that rises quick from bed, and likewise a wakeful offspring, helpful to nurture, or reclaim, legitimate, keeping order in men's meetings, (yea,) drawing men to assemblies through their influence and word, grown to power, skillful, redeeming others from oppression, served by many followers, which may advance my line (in prosperity and fame), and (my) Vis, and my Zantu, and (my) province, (yea, an offspring) which may deliver orders to the Province as (firm and righteous rulers).

6 And may'st thou grant me, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's Son! that whereby instructors may be (given) me, now and for evermore, (giving light to me of Heaven) the best life of the saints, brilliant, all glorious. And may I have experience of the good reward, and the good renown, and of the long forecasting preparation of the soul.

7 The Fire of Ahura Mazda addresses this admonition to all for whom he cooks the night and morning (meal). From all these, O Spitama! he wishes to secure good care, and healthful care (as guarding for salvation), the care of a true praiser.

8 At both the hands of all who come by me, I, the Fire, keenly look: What brings the mate to his mate (thus I say to him), the one who walks at large, to him who sits at home? [We worship the bounteous Fire, the swift-driving charioteer.]

9 And if this man who passes brings him wood brought (with good measure that is) with sacred care, or if he brings the Baresman spread with sanctity, or the Hadhanaepata plant, then afterwards Ahura Mazda's Fire will bless him, contented, not offended, and in (its) satisfaction (saying thus).

10 May a herd of kine be with thee, and a multitude of men, may an active mind go with thee, and an active soul as well. As a blest soul may'st thou live through thy life, the nights which thou shall live. This is the blessing of the Fire for him who brings it wood (well) dried, sought out for flaming, purified with the earnest blessing of the sacred ritual truth.

11 We strive after the flowing on of the good waters, and their ebb as well, and the sounding of their waves, desiring their propitiation; I desire to approach them with my praise.

12 I will confess myself a Mazdayasnian, of Zarathushtra's order, a foe to the Daevas, devoted to the lore of the Lord for Havani, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and for Savanghi and Visya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of the day-lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and for the month-regulators, and the year-regulators, and for those of the (several) seasons, for their sacrifice, and homage, their propitiation, and their praise. (Y3.24)

13 (The Zaotar speaks): As the Ahu to be (revered and) chosen, let the priest speak forth to me. (The Ratu responds): As the Ahu to be (revered and) chosen, let him who is the Zaotar speak forth to me. (The Zaotar again): So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!(Y3.25)

Chapter 63

0 (See Y15.2; Y66.2; Y38.3.)

Chapter 64

0 (See Y46.3; Y50.6-11.)

Chapter 65

0 TO ARDVI SURA ANAHITA, AND THE WATERS.

1 I will praise the water Ardvi Sura Anahita, the wide-flowing (as it is) and healing in its influence, efficacious against the Daevas, devoted to Ahura's lore, and to be worshipped with sacrifice within the corporeal world, furthering all living things (?) and holy, helping on the increase and improvement of our herds and settlements, holy, and increasing our wealth, holy, and helping on the progress of the Province, holy (as she is)?

2 (Ardvi Sura Anahita) who purifies the seed of all male beings, who sanctifies the wombs of all women to the birth, who makes all women fortunate in labor, who brings all women a regular and timely flow of milk,

3 (Ardvi Sura Anahita) with a volume sounding from afar, which is alone equal in its bulk to all the waters which flow forth upon earth, which flows down with mighty volume from high Hukairya to the sea Vouru-kasha.

4 And all the gulfs in Vouru-kasha are stirred (when it falls down), all the middle doth well up when Ardvi Sura Anahita rushes in, when she plunges foaming into them, she, whose are a thousand tributaries, and a thousand outlets, and each as it flows in, or rushes out, is a forty days' ride in length to a rider mounted well.

5 And the (chief) outlet to this one water (Ardvi Sura Anahita) goes apart, dividing to all the seven Karshvars. And this outlet to my river, Ardvi Sura Anahita, bears off its water always in summer and in winter. This my river purifies the seed of men, and wombs of women, and women's milk.

6 Let the saints' Fravashis now draw near, those of the saints who live, or have lived, of those born, or yet to be born; yea, let them come near which have borne these waters up stream from the nearest ones (that lie below as the outlet pours away)

7 Let not our waters be for the man of ill intent, of evil speech, or deeds, or conscience; let them not be for the offender of a friend, not for an insulter of a Magian, nor for one who harms the workmen, nor for one who hates his kindred. And let not our good waters (which are not only good, but) best, and Mazda-made, help on the man who strives to mar our settlements which are not to be corrupted, nor him who would mar our bodies, (our) uncorrupted (selves),

8 nor the thief, or bludgeon-bearing ruffian who would slaughter the disciples, nor a sorcerer, nor a burrier of dead bodies, nor the jealous, nor the niggard, nor the godless heretic who slays disciples, nor the evil tyrant among men. Against these may our waters come as torments. As destructive may these come (?), may they come to him who has done those first (foul evils), as to him who does the last.

9 O waters! rest still within your places while the invoking priest shall offer. Shall not the invoker make offering to these good waters, and with the inculcated words? (And how shall this be done?) Shall he not be tongue-fettered, if he offers else than with the ritual? Shall (not) the words be so delivered as the Aethrapaiti teaches? Where shall the blessings be (inserted)? Where the supplications with confessions? Where the gifts of those that offer?

10 (It shall be only thus) as Ahura Mazda showed before to Zarathushtra, and as Zarathushtra taught the corporeal worlds (the men on earth)! Thou shalt pray the first petition to the waters, O Zarathushtra, and after that thou shalt offer the Zaothras to the waters, sanctified, and sought out with pious care; and thou shalt pronounce these words (as follows, thus):

11 O ye waters, I beseech of you this favor; and grant ye me this great one in whose bestowal ye flow down to me for the bettering (of my state), with a never-failing truth. O ye waters, I beseech of you for wealth of many kinds (which gives) power (to its holder), and for an offspring self-dependent whom multitudes will bless, and for whose wasting, or defeat, or death, or vengeful punishment, or overtaking, no one prays.

12 And this do I beseech of you, O waters, this, O ye lands, and this, ye plants! This wealth and offspring I beseech of You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright, O Ye good beings, male and female, givers of good things; and this I beseech of you, O ye beneficent, mighty, and overwhelming Fravashis of the saints, and this (of thee), O Mithra of the wide pastures, and this of thee, O blest and stately Sraosha; and of thee, O Rashnu the most just, and of thee, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son; and of thee, O lofty lord, the royal Apam-napat, of the fleet horses; aye, of You all, ye Yazads, bestowers of the better gifts and holy.

13 And this do ye therefore grant me, O ye holy waters, and ye lands!

14 And grant me likewise what is still greater than this all, and still better than this all, and more beautiful, and more exceeding precious (and that is, Immortality and Welfare), O Ye Yazads, holy and ruling mightily, and powerful at once, and grant it speedily according to this Gathic (?) word: (Yea), by veritable grace let that be done (?) for us which is most promotive of our weal.

15 And according to this further word again: Grant me, Thou who art maker of the Kine, the plants, and the waters, Immortality and likewise Weal, O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit. And grant me these two eternal gifts through Thy Good Mind in the doctrine.

16 Whose best gift from his Righteousness is mine in the offering Ahura this knoweth; who have lived, and live ever, by their names these I worship, while I draw near with praises. The Good Kingdom is to be chosen, that lot which most of all bears on (our blessings). (Y15.2)

17 Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters; yea, let the good Obedience be here for the worship of the good and bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, the good, and for the worship of the good Sanctity, or Blessedness, who is closely knit with the Righteous Order, to perfect us, and to incite us. May Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for the worship of the good waters, he the good and the holy, as at the first, so at the last. (Y56.3)

18 And so again may Sraosha, (Obedience) the good, be present here for the worship of the good waters, and of the good and bountiful Immortals, and of Blessedness the good who is closely knit with the Righteous Order to perfect and to incite us. Yea, we worship Sraosha the blessed and the stately, who smites with victory, and who furthers the settlements in their advance, the holy lord of the ritual order. (Y56.4)

Chapter 66

0 TO THE AHURIAN ONE.

1 I am now offering this Zaothra here with sanctity, together with the Haoma and the flesh, and the Hadhanaepata lifted up with sacred regularity as to thee, O Ahurian One, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, of the Bountiful Immortals, of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and of the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the ritual's lofty lord.

2 (=Y7,5-19.)

3 (=Y22, Y28.24-27.)

Chapter 67

1 I desire to approach with my praise those Fravashis which have existed from of old, the Fravashis of the houses, and of the villages, of the communities, and of the provinces, which hold the heaven in its place apart, and the water, land, and cattle, which hold the children in the wombs safely enclosed apart so that they do not miscarry. (Y23.1)

2 And I desire to approach toward the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, and with my praise, and for those of the Bountiful Immortals, with all the holy Fravashis which are those of the heavenly Yazads. And I desire to approach the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan [Gayomard] (the life-man) in my worship with my praise, and for that of Zarathushtra Spitama, and for those of Kavi Vishtaspa, and of Isat-vastra, the Zarathushtrian, with all the holy Fravashis of the other ancient counselors as well. (Y23.2)

3 And I desire in my worship to approach toward every holy Fravashi whosesoever it may be, and wheresoever dead upon this earth (its possessor may have lain), the pious woman, or the girl of tender years, the maiden diligent (among the cattle) in the field (who) may have dwelt (here; yea, all) which are now worshipped from this house, which are attentive to, and which attain to (our) good Yasnas and (our) homage. (Y23.3)

4 Yea, I desire to approach the Fravashis of the saints with my praise redoubted (as they are) and overwhelming, the Fraashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; and I desire to approach toward the Fravashi of mine own soul in my worship with my praise; and I desire therewith to approach toward all the lords of the ritual, and with praise; and I desire to approach all the good Yazads with my praise, the heavenly and the earthly, who are meet for sacrifice and homage, because of Righteousness the Best! (Y23.4)

5 O ye waters! now we worship you, you that are showered down, and you that stand in pools and vats, and you that bear forth. (our loaded vessels?) ye female Ahuras of Ahura, you that serve us (all) in helpful ways, well forded and full-flowing, and effective for the bathings, we will seek you and for both the worlds! (Y38.3)

6 Therefore did Ahura Mazda give you names, O ye beneficent ones! when He who made the good bestowed you. And by these names we worship you, and by them we would ingratiate ourselves with you, and with them would we bow before you, and direct our prayers to you with free confessions of our debt. O waters, ye who are productive, and ye maternal ones, ye with heat that suckles the (frail and) needy (before birth), ye waters (that have once been) rulers of (us) all, we will now address you as the best, and the most beautiful; those (are) yours, those good (objects) of our offerings, ye long of arm to reach our sickness, or misfortune, ye mothers of our life!(Y38.4)

Chapter 68

0 TO THE AHURIAN ONE, AND THE WATERS.

1 We offer this to thee, O Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura! as a help (?) for life. If we have offended thee, let this Zaothra then attain to thee (for satisfaction), for it is thine with its Haoma, and its milk, and its Hadhanaepata.

2 And may'st thou approach to me for milk and for libation, a Zaothra! as health, for healing, and for progress, for growth and in preparation for ceremonial merit, for good renown, for equanimity and for that victory which makes the settlements advance.

3 Yea, we worship thee with sacrifice, O thou Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura with the Zaothras of the good thought; and we worship, O Ahura, one with the Zaothras of the good word and deed

4 for the enlightenment of the thoughts, and words, and actions, for preparation for the soul, for the settlement's advance, and to prepare the saints endowed with ritual merit.

5 And grant me, O thou Ahurian One! Heaven, and to have an offspring manly and legitimate, who may promote my house, my village, my tribe and province, and the authority thereof.

6 We sacrifice to thee, O thou Ahurian one! And we sacrifice to the sea Vouru-kasha, and to all waters upon earth, whether standing, or running, or waters of the well, or spring-waters which perennially flow, or the drippings of the rains, or the irrigations of canals.

7 With this hymn from the (spirit of) the Yasna do we worship thee, and with the homage which it offers as it is the most legitimate Yasna, and homage of them (all) because of Righteousness the Best. We sacrifice to the good waters, and to the best, which Mazda created.

8 And we sacrifice to the two, to the milk and to the libation, which make the waters flow, and the plants sprout forth, opposing therein the Dragon Daeva-made, for the arrest of that cheat the Pairika, and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the disturber and destroyer of our Faith), and of the unholy tyrant full of death, and of the human Daeva (worshipper) of hateful malice (and intent).

9 And may'st thou hear our sacrificial chants O thou Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura! Yea, be propitiated by our Yasna, O Ahurian one! and so may'st thou be present at our Yasna; may'st thou come to us to help, as we chant our full-offered Yasht with the full offering of Zaothras.

10 If any man shall sacrifice to you, O ye good waters, the Ahurian ones of Ahura! with the best and most fitting Zaothras offered piously,

11 to that man ye give both splendor and glory, with health and vigor of the body and prominence of form; yea, to him ye give possessions which entail abundant glory, and a legitimate scion, and a long enduring life, and (Heaven at the last), the best life of the saints, shining, all glorious.

12 And to me also do ye now give it, to me who am offering this Yasna as a priest. (Response.) And to us Mazdayasnians who are likewise offering sacrifice, do ye grant (both the desire and knowledge of the path that is correct), to us colleagues, and disciples, Aethrapaitis and Aethryas, men and women as well as children, and maidens of the field,

13 who think good only, for the overwhelming of oppression and of malice in the raids of the invader, and in face of foes who hate. Grant to us both the desire of, and the knowledge of that straightest path, the straightest because of Righteousness, and of (Heaven) the best life of the Saints, shining, all glorious. As the Ahu is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda. And the kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer nurture.

14 (The Zaotar speaks): I beseech with my benediction for a safe abode, for a joyful and a long abode for the dwellers in this village from whence these Zaothras (which I offer come). And I pray in my benediction for a safe abode, and a quiet and a joyful one, and a long abiding to every Mazdayasnian village, and for a succor even with my wants, for a succor with salutations of salvation, and for one with praises, O Fire! and for thee, O Ahurian one of Ahura! do I ask the fullest Yasht.

15 And I pray for (?) Raman Hvastra for this Province, and for healthfulness and healing. And I pray for it with my blessing for you pious men, for all. And I pray for him who is saintly with (true) goodness, whosoever he may be, between heaven and the earth, for a thousand healing remedies, and for ten thousand of the same.

16 May'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda! reign at Thy will, and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures, and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters, and over plants, and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness. Strip ye the wicked of all power! (Y8.5)

17 Absolute in power may the holy be, bereft of all free choice the wicked ! Gone (may he be), met as foe, carried out from the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, hemmed in without power over any wish! (Y8.6)

18 I will incite, even I who am Zarathushtra, the heads of the houses, villages, Zantus, and provinces, to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura, and according to Zarathushtra, in their thoughts, their words, and their deeds. (Y8.7)

19 I pray for the freedom and glory of the entire existence of the holy (man) while I bless it, and I pray for the repression and shame of the entire existence of the wicked. (Y8.8)

20 Thus may it happen as I pray.

21 And by this may I gain (that) blessing, the good Blessedness (our sanctity rewarded). And we address, and we invoke religious zeal and capability, and the waters with our Yasna thus: O ye good waters! since (they are) yours, do ye, as you are asked, grant splendor and grant glory, ye who are well able so to give; and do ye, O ye waters! grant (once more) that helpful blessing which was gained from you of old!

22 Praise (be) to Ahura Mazda, and to the Bountiful Immortals. Praise (be) to Mithra of the wide pastures. Praise to the fleet-horsed sun. Praise to (the star which so we name, and with this sun) Ahura Mazda's eyes. Praise to the Kine (the herds of blessed gift). Praise to Gaya (Maretan) [Gayomard] and to the Fravashi of Zarathushtra (first of) saints; yea, praise to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean), to those now living, and to those just passing into life, and to those of days to come

23 And do Thou then Ahura, as in answer to these our prayers and songs of praise, cause us to prosper to salvation through Thy Good Mind, the Sovereign Power, and Thy Righteous Order (in Thy ritual and law)!

Chapter 69

0 (This chapter is composed of fragments: see Y15.2 and Y51.1 and 22.)

Chapter 70

0 TO THE BOUNTIFUL IMMORTALS, AND THE INSTITUTIONS OF RELIGION.

1 I would worship these (the Bountiful Immortals) with my sacrifice, those who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, and this one (especially) I would approach with my praise, (Ahura Mazda). He is thus hymned (in our praise-songs). Yea, we worship in our sacrifice that deity and lord, who is Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the gracious helper, the maker of all good things; and we worship in our sacrifice Zarathushtra Spitama, that chieftain (of the rite).

2 And we would declare those institutions established for us, exact (and undeviating as they are). And I would declare forth those of Ahura Mazda, those of the Good Mind, and of Asha Vahishta (who is Righteousness the Best), and those of Khshatra-vairya (the Realm to be desired), and those of the Bountiful Aramaiti (the Piety within us), and those of Weal and Immortality, and those which appertain to the body of the Kine, and to the Kine's soul, and those which appertain to Ahura Mazda's Fire,

3 and those of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and of Rashnu the most just, and those of Mithra of the wide pastures, and of (the good and) holy Wind, and of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and of the good and pious Prayer for blessings, and those of the good and pious Prayer which frees one from belying, and the good and pious Prayer for blessing against unbelieving words.

4 (And these we would declare) in order that we may attain unto that speech which is uttered with (true) religious zeal, or that we may be as prophets of the provinces, that we may succor him who lifts his voice (for Mazda), that we may be as prophets who smite with victory, the befriended of Ahura Mazda, and persons the most useful to Him, holy men (indeed) who think good thoughts, and speak good words, and do good deeds.

5 That he may approach us with the Good Mind, and that (our souls) may advance in good, let it thus come; yea, 'how may my soul advance in good? let it thus advance.'

6 We praise the flood and ebb of the good waters, and their roar, and that high Ahura, the royal Apam-napat, the glittering one, of the fleet horses; and this for the sacrifice, and homage, and propitiation, and praise of the entire holy creation; and may Sraosha (Obedience) be here (to aid us).

7 (Yea), we sacrifice to Sraosha, Obedience the blessed.

Chapter 71

0 THE YASNA CONCLUDING.

1 Frashaoshtra, the holy, asked the saintly Zarathushtra: Answer me, O thou most eminent Zarathushtra, what is (in very truth) the memorized recital of the rites? What is the completed delivery of the Gathas?

2 Upon this Zarathushtra said: (It is as follows.) We worship Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice (as) the holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to Zarathushtra likewise as to a holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice also to the Fravashi of Zarathushtra, the saint. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals, (the guardians) of the saints.

3 And we sacrifice to (all) the good heroic and bounteous Fravashis of the saints, of the bodily (world on earth), and of the mental (those in Heaven). And we worship that one of ritual lords who attains the most his ends; and we sacrifice to that one of the Yazads, lords of the ritual order, who is the most strenuous, who gains the most, who reaches most to what he seeks, even that well-timed Prayer which is the prayer of that holy ritual lord, and which has approached the nearest (to us for our help).

4 We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, and we worship His entire body, and we worship the Bountiful Immortals all; and we worship all the ritual lords. And we sacrifice to the entire Mazdayasnian Faith. And we worship all the sacred metres.

5 And we worship the entire bounteous Mathra, even the entire system of the Faith set up against the Daevas; and we worship its complete and long descent. And we sacrifice to all the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly; and we worship all the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

6 And we worship all the holy creatures which Mazda created, and which possess the holy institutions, which were established holy in their nature, which possess the holy lore, and the holy sacrifice, which are holy, and for the holy, and to be worshipped by the holy. And we worship all the five Gathas, the holy ones, and the entire Yasna [its flow and its ebb, and the sounding (of its chants)].

7 And we sacrifice to all the Praises of the Yasna, and to all the words which Mazda spake, which are the most fatal to evil thoughts, and words, and deeds;

8 and which designate the evil thought, and word, and deed, and which then cut down and fell every evil thought, and word, and deed. [(Pazand.) One would think of it as when the fire cuts, sucks out, and consumes the dry wood which has been sanctified and carefully selected (for its flame).] And we sacrifice to the strength, the victory, the glory, and the speed of all these words (as they go forth for their work).

9 And we sacrifice to all the springs of water, and to the water-streams as well, and to growing plants, and forest-trees, and to the entire land and heaven, and to all the stars, and to the moon and sun, even to all the lights without beginning (to their course). And we sacrifice to all cattle, and to the aquatic beasts, and to the beasts that live on land, and to all that strike the wing, and to the beasts that roam the plains, and to those of cloven hoof.

10 And to all Thy good and holy female (creatures) in the creation do we sacrifice, (O Thou who art) Ahura Mazda the skillful maker! on account of which Thou hast made many things and good things (in Thy world). And we sacrifice to those male creatures in the creation which are Thine and which are meet for sacrifice because of Asha Vahishta (of Righteousness the Best). And we sacrifice to all the mountains brilliant with holiness, and to all the lakes which Mazda created, and to all fires]. And we sacrifice to all the truthful and correctly spoken words,

11 even those which have both rewards and Piety within them. Yea, we worship (you) for protection and shielding, for guarding and watching; and may ye be to me for preparation. I call upon the Gathas here, the bountiful holy ones, ruling in the ritual order; yea, we sacrifice to you, (O ye Gathas!) for protection and shielding, for guarding and watching. Mine may ye be as a preparation. For me, for (mine) own soul I call on (you), and we would worship (you) for protection and for shielding, for guarding and for watching.

12 And we sacrifice to Weal, the complete welfare, holy and ruling in its course in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to Deathlessness (the immortal being of the good), holy, and ruling in the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the question of the Lord; and to His lore, the holy chiefs, and to the heroic Haptanghaiti, the holy lord of the ritual order.

13 (Frasha.) Let the holy Zarathushtra himself seek out a friend and a protector. And I say to thee (O Zarathushtra!) to make to thee a friend holy beyond the holy, and truer than the true, for that is the better thing; for he is evil who is the best to the evil, and he is holy to whom the holy is a friend,

14 for these are the best of words, those which Ahura Mazda spoke to Zarathushtra. And do thou, O Zarathushtra! pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life.

15 For if, O Zarathushtra! thou shalt pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life I, Ahura Mazda, will keep your soul away from Hell. Yea, so far away shall I hold it as is the breadth and extension of the earth [(Pazand) and the earth is as wide as it is long].

16 As thou dost desire, O holy (one)! so shalt thou be, holy shalt thou-cause (thy) soul to pass over the Chinvat Bridge; holy shalt thou come into Heaven. Thou shalt intone the Gatha Ushtavaiti, reciting the salvation hail.

17 We sacrifice to the active man, and to the man of good intent, for the hindrance of darkness, of wasting of the strength and life, and of distraction. And we sacrifice to health and healing, to progress and to growth, for the hindrance of impurity, and of the diseases of the skin.

18 And we sacrifice to the (Yasna's) ending words, to those which end the Gathas. And we sacrifice to the bounteous Hymns themselves which rule in the ritual course, the holy ones. And we sacrifice to the Praise-songs of the Yasna which were the products of the world of yore; yea, we sacrifice to all the Staota-Yesnya hymns. And we sacrifice to (our) own soul and to (our) Fravashi.

19 And we worship the pious and good Blessing with our sacrifice, and the pious man, the saint, and that Yazad, the mighty Curse of wisdom. (Y6.14)

20 And we worship these waters, lands, and plants, these places, districts, pastures, and abodes with their springs of water, and we worship this lord of the district with our sacrifice, who is Ahura Mazda (Himself). (Y6.15)

21 And we worship all the greatest lords, the Day-lords in the day's duration, and the Day-lords during daylight, and the Month-lords, and the Year-lords.(Y6.16)

22 I praise, invoke, and I weave my song to the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, to those of the house, and of the village, the district and the province, and to those of the Zarathushtrotemas.

23 And we sacrifice to the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy ritual chief. And we sacrifice to this Baresman haying the Zaothra with it, and its girdle with it, and spread with sanctity, the holy ritual chief. And we sacrifice to Apam-napat, and to Nairya-sangha, and to that Yazad, the wise man's swift Curse. And we sacrifice to the souls of the dead, [which are the Fravashis of the saints]

24 And we sacrifice to that lofty Lord who is Ahura Mazda Himself.

25 And we pray (again) for the Kine (once more) with these gifts and (ceremonial) actions which are the best.

26 May'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda! reign at Thy will, and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures, and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters, and over plants, and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness. Strip ye the wicked of all power! (Y8.5)

27 Absolute in power may the holy be, bereft of all free choice the wicked ! Gone (may he be), met as foe, carried out from the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, hemmed in without power over any wish! (Y8.6)

28 I will incite, even I who am Zarathushtra, the heads of the houses, villages, Zantus, and provinces, to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura, and according to Zarathushtra, in their thoughts, their words, and their deeds. (Y8.7)

29 In order that our minds may be delighted, and our souls the best, let our bodies be glorified as well, and let them; O Mazda! go likewise openly (unto Heaven) as the best world of the saints as devoted to Ahura, (Y60.11)

30 and accompanied by Asha Vahishta (who is Righteousness the Best), and the most beautiful! And may we see Thee, and may we, approaching, come around about Thee, and attain to entire companionship with Thee! And we sacrifice to the Righteous Order, the best, the most beautiful, the bounteous Immortal! (Y60.12)

Chapter 72

1 Let us peal forth the Ahuna-vairya in our liturgy between the heaven and earth, and let us send forth the Asha Vahishta in our prayer the same, and the Yenhe hatam. And let us send forth in our liturgies between the heaven and earth the pious and good prayer of the pious man for blessings,

2 for the encounter with, and for the displacement of Angra Mainyu with his creatures which are likewise evil as he is, for he is filled with death (for those whom he has made). Aye, let us send that petition forth for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the Kahvaredhas and of the individual Kahvaredha the male, and the female (to the last individual of each),

3 and for the encounter with, and the dislodgment of the Kayadhas, and of the individual Kayadhians, male and female, and of the thieves and robbers, of the Zandas, and the sorcerers, of the covenant breakers, and of those who tamper with the covenants.

4 Yea, we send it forth for the encounter with, and for the overthrow of the murderers of the saints, and of those who hate and torment us for our Faith, and of those who persecute the ritual, and the tyrant full of death. Yea, let us peal them forth for the encounter with and the overthrow of the wicked, O Zarathushtra Spitama! whoever they may be, whose thoughts, and words, and works are not congenial to the holy ritual laws.

5 And how shall we drive the Demon of the Lie from hence from us? Aye, how shall we, the prophets who are yet to serve and save (thy people), drive the Druj from hence, so that we, having power over her as being utterly without power, may drive her hence with blow from the seven Karshvars, for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the entire evil world?

Chapter 1

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be destroyed by those who do truly what is the foremost wish (of God). I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words, and deeds. I embrace all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; I reject all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas! even with the fullness of my thoughts, of my words, of my deeds, and of my heart: I give unto you even my own life. I recite the 'Praise of Holiness:'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good. Well is it for it, well is it for that holiness which is perfection of holiness!' I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Savanghi and Visya], the holy and masters of holiness; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto the Masters of the days, of the periods of the day, of the months, of the seasons, and of the years; Unto AHURA MAZDA, bright and glorious, be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Ohrmazd Yasht (chapter 1)

1 Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'What of the Holy Word is the strongest? What is the most victorious? What is the most glorious? What is the most effective?

2 'What is the most fiend-smiting? What is the best-healing? What destroyeth best the malice of Daevas and Men? What maketh the material world best come to the fulfillment of its wishes? What freeth the material world best from the anxieties of the heart?'

3 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Our Name, O Spitama Zarathushtra! who are the Amesha-Spentas, that is the strongest part of the Holy Word; that is the most victorious; that is the most glorious; that is the most effective;

4 'That is the most fiend-smiting; that is the best-healing; that destroyeth best the malice of Daevas and Men: that maketh the material world best come to the fulfillment of its wishes; that freeth the material World best from the anxieties of the heart.'

5 Then Zarathushtra said: 'Reveal unto me that name of thine, O Ahura Mazda! that is the greatest, the best, the fairest, the most effective, the most fiend-smiting, the best-healing, that destroyeth best the malice of Daevas and Men;

6 'That I may afflict all Daevas and Men; that I may afflict all Yatus and Pairikas; that neither Daevas nor Men may be able to afflict me; neither Yatus nor Pairikas.'

7 Ahura Mazda replied unto him: 'My name is the One of whom questions are asked, O holy Zarathushtra!'My second name is the Herd-giver. 'My third name is the Strong One 'My fourth name is Perfect Holiness. 'My fifth name is All good things created by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle. 'My sixth name is Understanding; 'My seventh name is the One with understanding. 'My eighth name is Knowledge; 'My ninth name is the One with Knowledge.

8 'My tenth name is Weal;'My eleventh name is He who produces weal. 'My twelfth name is AHURA (the Lord). 'My thirteenth name is the most Beneficent. 'My fourteenth name is He in whom there is no harm. 'My fifteenth name is the unconquerable One. 'My sixteenth name is He who makes the true account. 'My seventeenth name is the All-seeing One. 'My eighteenth name is the healing One. 'My nineteenth name is the Creator. 'My twentieth name is MAZDA (the All-knowing One).

9 Worship me, O Zarathushtra, by day and by night, with offerings of libations well accepted I will come unto thee for help and joy, I, Ahura Mazda; the good, holy Sraosha will come unto thee for help and joy; the waters, the plants, and the Fravashis of the holy ones will come unto thee for help and joy.

10 'If thou wantest, O Zarathushtra, to destroy the malice of Daevas and Men, of the Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, of the blind and of the deaf3, of the two-legged ruffians, of the two-legged Ashemaoghas, of the four-legged wolves;

11 'And of the hordes with the wide front, with the many spears, with the straight spears, with the spears uplifted, bearing the spear of havock; then, recite thou these my names every day and every night.

12 'I am the Keeper; I am the Creator and the Maintainer; I am the Discerner; I am the most beneficent Spirit. 'My name is the bestower of health; my name is the best bestower of health. 'My name is the Athravan; my name is the most Athravan-like of all Athravans. 'My name is Ahura (the Lord). 'My name is Mazdau (the all-knowing) 'My name is the Holy; my name is the most Holy. 'My name is the Glorious; my name is the most Glorious. 'My name is the Full-seeing; my name is the Fullest-seeing. 'My name is the Far-seeing; my name is the Farthest-seeing.

13 'My name is the Protector; my name is the Well-wisher; my name is the Creator; my name is the Keeper; my name is the Maintainer. 'My name is the Discerner; my name is the Best Discerner.'My name is the Prosperity-producer; my name is the Word of Prosperity. 'My name is the King who rules at his will; my name is the King who rules most at his will. 'My name is the liberal King; my name is the most liberal King.

14 'My name is He who does not deceive; my name is He who is not deceived. 'My name is the good Keeper; my name is He who destroys malice; my name is He Who conquers at once; my name is He who conquers everything; my name is He who has shaped everything. 'My name is All weal; my name is full weal; my name is the Master of weal.

15 'My name is He who can benefit at his wish; my name is He who can best benefit at his wish. 'My name is the Beneficent One; my name is the Energetic One; my name is the most Beneficent. 'My name is Holiness; my name is the Great One; my name is the good Sovereign; my name is the Best of Sovereigns. 'My name is the Wise One; my name is the Wisest of the Wise; my name is He who does good for a long time.

16 'These are my names. 'And he who in this material world, O Spitama Zarathushtra! shall recite and pronounce those names of mine either by day or by night;

17 'He who shall pronounce them, when he rises up or when he lays him down; when he lays him down or when he rises up; when he binds on the sacred girdle [[kusti]] or when he unbinds the sacred girdle; when he goes out of his dwelling-place, or when he goes out of his town, or when he goes out of his country and comes into another country:

18 'That man, neither in that day nor in that night, shall be wounded by the weapons of the foe who rushes Aeshma-like and is Druj-minded; not the knife, not the cross-bow, not the arrow, not the sword, not the club, not the sling-stone shall reach and wound him.

19 'But those names shall come in to keep him from behind and to keep him in front, from the Druj unseen, from the female Varenya fiend, from the evil-doer bent on mischief, and from that fiend who is all death, Angra Mainyu. It will be as if there were a thousand men watching over one man.

20 '"Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-Mano and help whomsoever thou pleasest."

21 'Hail to the Glory of the Kavis! Hail to the Airyanem Vaejah! Hail to the Saoka, made by Mazda! Hail to the waters of the Daitya! Hail to Ardvi, the undefiled well! Hail to the whole world of the holy Spirit! 'Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord...

22 'We worship the Ahuna Vairya. We worship Asha-Vahishta, most fair, undying, and beneficent. We worship Strength and Prosperity and Might and Victory and Glory and Vigour. We worship Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious. 'Yenghe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda knows the goodness for a sacrifice [performed] in holiness, all those beings, males and females, do we worship.

23 'Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... 'I bless the sacrifice and the prayer unto Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and his strength and vigour.'

24 'O Zarathushtra! keep thou for ever that man who is friendly [to me] from the foe unfriendly [to me]! Do not give up that friend unto the stroke (of the foe), unto vexations to be borne; wish no harm unto that man who would offer me a sacrifice, be it ever so great or ever so small, if it has reached unto us, the Amesha-Spentas.

25 'Here is Vohu-Mano, my creature, O Zarathushtra! here is Asha-Vahishta, my creature, O Zarathushtra! here is Khshathra-Vairya, my creature, O Zarathushtra! here is Spenta-Armaiti, my creature, O Zarathushtra! here are Haurvatat and Ameretat, who are the reward of the holy ones, when freed from their bodies, my creatures, O Zarathushtra!

26 'Thou knowest this, and how it is, O holy Zarathushtra! from my understanding and from my knowledge; namely, how the world first began, and how it will end. 'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies! 'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies! 'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies!

27 '[We worship] the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; Verethraghna, made by Ahura; the crushing Ascendant, and Spenta-Armaiti.

28 'And with the help of Spenta-Armaiti, break ye asunder their malice, turn their minds astray, bind their hands, make their knees quake against one another, bind their tongues. 'When, O Mazda! shall the faithful smite the wicked? When shall the faithful smite the Druj? When shall the faithful smite the wicked?'

29 Then Zarathushtra said: 'I threw you back into the earth, and by the eyes of Spenta-Armaiti the ruffian was made powerless.

30 'We worship the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda; the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

31 'We worship the memory of Ahura Mazda to keep the Holy Word. 'We worship the understanding of Ahura Mazda, to study the Holy Word. 'We worship the tongue of Ahura Mazda, to speak forth the Holy Word. 'We worship the mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding; [we worship it] by day and by night, with offerings of libations well-accepted.

32 'We worship that creation [of Ahura's], Spenta-Armaiti; and the holy creations of that creature and of Asha [Vahishta], that are foremost in holiness. 'Here I take as lord and master the greatest of all, Ahura Mazda; to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu; to smite Aeshma of the wounding spear; to smite the Mazainya fiends; to smite all the Daevas and the Varenya fiends; to increase Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious; to increase the Amesha-Spentas; to increase the star Tishtrya, the bright and glorious; to increase the faithful men; to increase all the holy creatures of the beneficent Spirit. 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good....

33 '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him sturdiness of body, give him victorious strength of body, give him full welfare of wealth, give him a virtuous offspring, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones. May it come according to my blessing! 'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies! (three times.) 'Come to me for help, O Mazda! 'We worship the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength, and Verethraghna, made by Mazda, and the crushing Ascendant. 'We worship Rama Hvastra, and Vayu who works highly and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. That part of thee do we worship, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta Mainyu. We worship the sovereign Sky, the boundless Time, and the sovereign Time of the long Period. 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good....'

Chapter 2

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness....

1 To Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Spentas; To Vohu-Mano; to Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures; to the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda, and to the Wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda;

2 To Asha-Vahishta, the fairest; to the much-desired Airyaman; to the instrument made by Mazda: and to the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy; To Khshathra-Vairya; to the metals; to Mercy and Charity.

3 To the good Spenta-Armaiti, and to the good Rata, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy; To Haurvatat, the master; to the prosperity of the seasons and to the years, the masters of holiness; And to Ameretat, the master; to fatness and flocks; to the plenty of corn; and to the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

4 (At the Gah Hawan): To Mithra, the lord of wide pastures and to Rama Hvastra. (At the Gah Rapithwin): To Asha-Vahishta and to Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda. (At the Gah, Uzerin): To Apam Napat, the tall lord, and to water, made by Mazda.

5 (At the Gah Aiwisruthrem): To the Fravashis of the faithful and to the females that bring forth flocks of males; to the prosperity of the seasons; to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength; to Verethraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant. (At the Gah Usahin): To the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow; to Rashnu-Razishta and to Arshtat, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation and glorification! Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

6 We sacrifice unto Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent. We sacrifice unto Vohu-Mano, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures; we sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda.

7 We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahishta, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the much-desired Airyaman; we sacrifice unto the instrument made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy. We sacrifice unto Khshathra-Vairya; we sacrifice unto the metals; we sacrifice unto Mercy and Charity.

8 We sacrifice unto the good Spenta-Armaiti; we sacrifice unto the good Rata, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy. We sacrifice unto Haurvatat, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons; we sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness. We sacrifice unto Ameretat, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto fatness and flocks; we sacrifice unto the plenty of corn; we sacrifice unto the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

9 (At the Gah Hawan): We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; we sacrifice unto Rama Hvastra. (At the Gah Rapithwin): We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahishta and Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda. (At the Gah Uzerin): We sacrifice unto Apam Napat, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of the females; we sacrifice unto the holy waters, made by Mazda.

10 (At the Gah Aiwisruthrem): We sacrifice unto the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; we sacrifice unto the females who bring forth flocks of males; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons; we sacrifice unto the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant. (At the Gah Ushahin): We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha; who makes the world grow, the holy an master of holiness; we sacrifice unto Rashnu-Razishta; we sacrifice unto Arshtat, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase

11 Let the Yatus be crushed, O Zarathushtra! both Daevas and men. Who is he in whose house, O Spitama Zarathushtra! every Druj is destroyed, every Druj perishes, when he pronounces these words:

12 .....?

13 It is he who takes the seven Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent, as a shield against his enemies. We worship the Law of the worshippers of Mazda; we worship the waters coming in the shape of a horse, made by Mazda.

14-15 He has renounced trespasses and faults, O Zarathustra! he has renounced all trespasses and faults, O Zarathustra! when he throws down the destroyer of Vohu-Mano and his words, with a hundred times hundredfold, with a many times manifold preaching and smiting, and he takes away the Law of Mazda, that was carried away as a prisoner, from the hands of the [ungodly], who are destroyed by his strength. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good....

16 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and the prayer, the strength and vigour Of Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and of the Amesha-Spentas; Of Vohu-Mano; of Peace, whose breath is friendly.... Of Asha-Vahishta, the fairest; of the much-desired Airyaman.... Of Khshathra-Vairya, of the metals.... Of the good Spenta-Armaiti and of the good Rata.... Of Haurvatat, the master.... Of Ameretat, the master.... (At the Gah Hawan): Of Mithra.... (At the Gah Rapithwin): Of Asha-Vahishta.... (At the Gah Uzerin): Of the high lord Apam Napat.... (At the Gah Aiwisruthrem): Of the Fravashis of the faithful.... (At the Gah Ushahin): Of the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow; of Rashnu-Razishta and of Arshtat, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... Give unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him sturdiness of body, give him victorious strength of body, give him full welfare of wealth, give him a virtuous offspring, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 3

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! .... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto Asha-Vahishta, the fairest; unto the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda, and unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'That thou mayest increase Asha-Vahishta, O Spitama Zarathushtra! with hymns of praise, with performance of the office, with invocations, holy words, sacrifice, blessings, and adoration - once to abide in the shining luminous space, in the beautiful abodes - for the sacrifice and invocation of us, the Amesha-Spentas'....

2 Zarathushtra said: 'Say unto me the right words, such as they are, O Ahura Mazda! that I may increase Asha-Vahishta, with hymns of praise, with performance of the office, with invocations, holy words, sacrifice, blessings, and adoration, - once to abide in the shining luminous space, in the beautiful abodes, - for the sacrifice and invocation of you, the Amesha-Spentas.

3 '.... I proclaim Asha-Vahishta: if I proclaim Asha-Vahishta, then easy is the way to the abode of the other Amesha-Spentas, which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Thoughts, which Ahura Mazda keep with Good Words, which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Deeds;

4 '(Easy is the way to the Garo-nmana of Ahura Mazda): the Garo-nmana is for the holy souls, and no one of the wicked can enter the Garo-nmana and its bright, wide, holy ways; (no one of them can go) to Ahura Mazda.

5 'The Airyaman prayer smites down the strength of all the creatures of Angra Mainyu, of the Yatus and Pairikas. It is the greatest of spells, the best of spells, the very best of all spells; the fairest of spells, the very fairest of all spells; the fearful one amongst spells, the most fearful of all spells; the firm one amongst spells, the firmest of all spells; the victorious one amongst spells, the most victorious of all spells; the healing one amongst spells, the best-healing of all spells.

6 'One may heal with Holiness, one may heal with the Law, one may heal with the knife, one may heal with herbs, one may heal with the Holy Word: amongst all remedies this one is the healing one that heals with the Holy Word; this one it is at will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful: for this one is the best-healing of all remedies.

7 'Sickness fled away [before it], Death fled away; the Daeva fled away, the Daeva's counter-work fled away; the unholy Ashemaogha fled away, the oppressor of men fled away.

8 'The brood of the Snake fled away; the brood of the Wolf fled away; the brood of the Two-legged fled away. Pride fled away; Scorn fled away; Hot Fever fled away; Slander fled away; Discord fled away; the Evil Eye fled away.

9 'The most lying words of falsehood fled away; the Jahi, addicted to the Yatu, fled away; the Jahi, who makes one pine, fled away; the wind that blows from the North fled away; the wind that blows from the North vanished away.

10 'He it is who smites me that brood of the Snake, and who might smite those Daevas by thousands of thousands, by ten thousands of ten thousands; he smites sickness, he smites death, he smites the Daevas, he smites the Daeva's counter-work, he smites the unholy Ashemaogha, he smites the oppressor of men.

11 'He smites the brood of the Snake; he smites the brood of the Wolf; he smites the brood of the Two-legged. He smites Pride; he smites Scorn; he smites Hot Fever; he smites Slander; he smites Discord; he smites the Evil Eye.

12 'He smites the most lying words of falsehood; he smites the Jahi, addicted to the Yatu; he smites the Jahi, who makes one pine. He smites the wind that blows from the North; the wind that blows from the North vanished away.

13 'He it is who smites me that brood of the Two-legged, and who might smite those Daevas, by thousands of thousands, by ten thousands of ten thousands. Angra Mainyu, who is all death, the worst-lying of all Daevas, rushed from before him:

14 'He exclaimed, did Angra Mainyu: "Woe is me! Here is the god Asha-Vahishta, who will smite the sickliest of all sicknesses, who will afflict the sickliest of all sicknesses; '"He will smite the deadliest of all deaths, he will afflict the deadliest of all deaths; '"He will smite the most fiendish of all fiends, he will afflict the most fiendish of all fiends; '"He will smite the most counter-working of all counter-works, he will afflict the most counter-working of all counter-works; '"He will smite the unholy Ashemaogha, he will afflict the unholy Ashemaogha; '"He will smite the most oppressive of the oppressors of men, he will afflict most oppressive of the oppressors of men.

15 '"He will smite the snakiest of the Snake's brood, he will afflict the snakiest of the Snake's brood; '"He will smite the most wolfish of the Wolf's brood, he will afflict the most wolfish of the Wolf's brood; '"He will smite the worst of the two-legged brood, he will afflict the worst of the two-legged brood; '"He will smite Pride, he will afflict Pride; '"He will smite Scorn, he will afflict Scorn; '"He will smite the hottest of hot fevers, he will afflict the hottest of hot fevers; '"He will smite the most slanderous of slanders, he will afflict the most slanderous of slanders; '"He will smite the most discordant of discords, he will afflict the most discordant of discords; '"He will smite the worst of the Evil Eye, he will afflict the worst of the Evil Eye.

16 '"He will smite the most lying words of falsehood, he will afflict the most lying words of falsehood; '"He will smite the Jahi, addicted to the Yatu, he will afflict the Jahi, addicted to the Yatu; '"He will smite the Jahi, who makes one pine, he will afflict the Jahi, who makes one pine; '"He will smite the wind that blows from the North, he will afflict the wind that blows from the North."

17 'The Druj will perish away, the Druj will perish; the Druj will rush, the Druj will vanish. Thou perishest away to the regions of the North, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit.

18 'For his brightness and glory I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Asha-Vahishta, the fairest - the Amesha-Spenta. Unto Asha-Vahishta, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. 'Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda knows the goodness....

19 'Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer and the strength and vigour of Asha-Vahishta, the fairest; of the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda; and of the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy. 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body; .... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

Chapter 4

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! .... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hawan], the holy and master of holiness .... Unto Haurvatat, the master; unto the prosperity of the seasons and unto the years, the masters of holiness, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... We sacrifice unto Haurvatat, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons; we sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness.

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'I created for the faithful the help, the enjoyments, the comforts, and the pleasures of Haurvatat. We unite them with him who would come up to thee as one of the Amesha-Spentas, as he would come to any of the Amesha-Spentas, Vohu-Mano, Asha-Vahishta, Khshathra-Vairya, Spenta-Armaiti, Haurvatat, and Ameretat.

2 'He who against the thousands of thousands of those Daevas, against their ten thousands of ten thousands, against their numberless myriads would invoke the name of Haurvatat, as one of the Amesha-Spentas, he would smite the Nasu, he would smite Hashi, he would smite Bashi, he would smite Saeni, he would smite Buji.2

3 'I proclaim the faithful man as the first [of men]; if I proclaim the faithful man as the first [of men], then Rashnu Razishta, then every heavenly Yazata of male nature in company with the Amesha-Spentas will free the faithful man

4 'From the Nasu, from Hashi, from Gashi, from Saeni, from Buji; from the hordes with the wide front, from the hordes with the many spears uplifted, from the evil man who oppresses, from the willful sinner, from the oppressor of men, from the Yatu, from the Pairika, from the straying way.

5 'How does the way of the faithful turn and part from the way of the wicked?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man pronouncing my spell, either reading or reciting it by heart, draws the furrows and hides himself therein,3 [saying]:

6 '"I will smite thee, O Druj! whomsoever thou art, whomsoever thou art amongst the Drujes that come in an open way, whomsoever thou art amongst the Drujes that come by hidden way, whomsoever thou art amongst the Drujes that defile by contact; whatsoever Druj thou art, I smite thee away from the Aryan countries; whatsoever Druj thou art, I bind thee; I smite thee down, O Druj! I throw thee down below, O Druj!"

7 'He draws [then] three furrows: I proclaim him one of the faithful; he draws six furrow: I proclaim him one of the faithful; he draws nine furrows: I proclaim him one of the faithful.

8 'The names of those (Amesha-Spentas) smite the men turned to Nasus by the Drujes:4 the seed and kin of the karapans5 are smitten, the scornful are dead, as the Zaotar Zarathushtra blows them away to woe, however fierce, at his will and wish, as many as he wishes.

9 'From the time when the sun is down he smites them with bruising blows; from the time when the sun is no longer up, he deals deadly blows on the Nasu with his club struck down, for the propitiation and glorification of the heavenly gods.

10 'O Zarathushtra! let not that spell [Manthra] be shown to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Athravan to his pupil from one of the three religious orders,1 devoted to the good law, who, devoted to the good law, holy and brave, stills all the Drujes.

11 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Haurvatat, the Amesha-Spenta. Unto Haurvatat, the Amesha-Spenta, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

12 'Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Haurvatat, the master; of the prosperity of the seasons and of the years, the masters of holiness. 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

Chapter 5

Ardui Sur Bano Yasht (chapter 5)

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hawan], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto the good Waters, made by Mazda; unto the holy water-spring ARDVI ANAHITA; unto all waters, made by Mazda; unto all plants, made by Mazda, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the herd-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy;

2 'Who makes the seed of all males pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth, who makes all females bring forth in safety, who puts milk into the breasts of all females in the right measure and the right quality;

3 'The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya down to the sea Vouru-Kasha.

4 'All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardvi Sura Anahita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels: the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse.

5 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares; this river of mine alone goes on bringing waters, both in summer and in winter. This river of mine purifies the seed in males, the womb in females the milk in females' breasts.

6 'I, Ahura Mazda, brought it down with mighty vigor, for the increase of the house, of the borough of the town, of the country, to keep them, to maintain them, to look over them, to keep and maintain them close.

7 'Then Ardvi Sura Anahita, O Spitama Zarathushtra! proceeded forth from the Maker Mazda. Beautiful were her white arms, thick as a horse's shoulder or still thicker; beautiful was her ...., and thus came she, strong, with thick arms, thinking thus in her heart:

8 '"Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me?"

9 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer up unto the holy Ardvi Sura Anahita a good sacrifice with an offering of libations;- thus mayest thou advise us when thou art appealed to! Mayest thou be most fully worshipped, O Ardvi Sura Anahita! with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. 'Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

10 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the herd-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy;

11 'Who drives forwards on her chariot, holding the reins of the chariot. She goes, driving, on this chariot, longing for men and thinking thus in her heart: "Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts unto me, and is of good will unto me?" 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice, worth being heard....

12 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

13 'Whom four horses carry, all white, of one and the same color, of the same blood, tall, crushing down the hates of all haters, of the Daevas and men, of the Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, of the blind and of the deaf. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice ....

14 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

15 'Strong and bright, tall and beautiful of form, who sends down by day and by night a flow of motherly waters as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and who runs powerfully. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

16 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

17 'To her did the Maker Ahura Mazda offer up a sacrifice to the Airyana Vaejah, by the good river Daitya; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

18 He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may bring the son of Pourushaspa, the holy Zarathushtra, to think after my law, to speak after my law, to do after my law!"

19 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and begging that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

20 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

21 'To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhata, offer up a sacrifice on the enclosure of the Hara, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs.

22 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita, that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daevas and men, of the Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may smite down two thirds of the Daevas of Mazana and of the fiends of Varena."

23 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

24 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

25 'To her did Yima Khshaeta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

26 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daevas and men, of the Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may take from the Daevas both riches and welfare, both fatness and flocks, both weal and Glory."

27 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

28 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

29 'To her did Azi Dahaka, the three-mouthed, offer up a sacrifice in the land of Bawri, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs.

30 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may make all the seven Karshvares of the earth empty of men."

31 'Ardvi Sura Anahita did not grant him that boon, although he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating her that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

32 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto Ardvi Sura Anahita....

33 'To her did Thraetaona, the heir of the valiant Athwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

34 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may overcome Azi Dahaka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Druj, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Druj that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavach and Erenavach, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world."

35 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

36 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto Ardvi Sura Anahita....

37 'To her did Keresaspa, the manly-hearted, offer up a sacrifice behind the Vairi Pisanah, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

38 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may overcome the golden-heeled Gandarewa, though all the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over; and that I may run up to the stronghold of the fiend on the wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar."

39 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

40 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sara Anahita....

41 'To her did the Turanian murderer, Frangrasyan, offer up a sacrifice in his cave under the earth, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

42 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may seize hold of that Glory, that is waving in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha and that belongs to the Aryan people, to those born and to those not yet born, and to the holy Zarathushtra."

43 'Ardvi Sura Anahita did not grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

44 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

45 'To her did the great, most wise Kavi Usa offer up a sacrifice from Mount Erezifya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

46 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me, this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daevas and men, of the Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf."

47 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

48 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

49 'To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice behind the Chaechasta lake, the deep lake, of salt waters, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

50 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of Daevas and men, of the Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may have the lead in front of all the teams and that he may not pass through the forest , he, the murderer, who now is fiercely striving against me on horseback."

51 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

52 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

53 'To her did the valiant warrior Tusa11 offer worship on the back of his horse, begging swiftness for his teams, health for his own body, and that he might watch with full success those who hated him, smite down his foes, and destroy at one stroke his adversaries, his enemies, and those who hated him. 11. Tusa, in the Shah Nameh Tus; one of the most celebrated Pahlavans of Kay Khosaw; he was the son of king Naotara (Nodar).

54 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may overcome the gallant sons of Vaesaka, by the castle Khshathro-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kangha; that I may smite of the Turanian people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

55 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

56 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

57 'To her did the gallant sons of Vaesaka offer up a sacrifice in the castle Khshathro-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kangha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

58 'They begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that we may overcome the valiant warrior Tusa, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

59 'Ardvi Sura Anahita did not grant them that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

60 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

61 'The old Vafra Navaza worshipped her when the strong fiend-smiter, Thraetaona, flung him up in the air in the shape of a bird, of a vulture.

62 'He went on flying, for three days and three nights, towards his own house; but he could not, he could not turn down. At the end of the third night, when the beneficent dawn came dawning up, then he prayed unto Ardvi Sura Anahita, saying:

63 '"Ardvi Sura Anahita! do thou quickly hasten helpfully and bring me assistance at once. I will offer thee a thousand libations, cleanly prepared and well strained, along with Haomas and meat, by the brink of the river Rangha, if I reach alive the earth made by Ahura and my own house."

64 'Ardvi Sura Anahita hastened unto him in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girdled, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle wearing a golden...., and radiant.

65 'She seized him by the arm: quickly was it done, nor was it long till, speeding, he arrived at the earth made by Mazda and at his own house, safe, unhurt, unwounded, just as he was before.

66 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, entreating that she would grant him that boon.] 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

67 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

68 'To her did Jamaspa offer up a sacrifice, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, when he saw the army of the wicked, of the worshippers of the Daevas, coming from afar in battle array.

69 'He asked of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may be as constantly victorious as any one of all the Aryans."

70 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

71 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

72 'To her did Ashavazdah, the son of Pouru-dhakhshti, and Ashavazdah and Thrita, the sons of Sayuzhdri, offer up a sacrifice, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, by Apam Napat, the tall lord, the lord of the females, the bright and swift-horsed.

73 'They begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that we may overcome the assemblers of the Turanian Danus, Kara Asabana, and Vara Asabana, and the most mighty Duraekaeta, in the battles of this world.

74 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted them that boon, as they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant them that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, l will offer her a sacrifice....

75 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

76 'Vistauru, the son of Naotara, worshipped her by the brink of the river Vitanghuhaiti, with well-spoken words, speaking thus:

77 '"'This is true, this is truly spoken, that I have smitten as many of the worshippers of the Daevas as the hairs I bear on my head. Do thou then, O Ardvi Sura Anahita! leave me a dry passage, to pass over the good Vitanghuhaiti."

78 'Ardvi Sura Anahita hastened unto him in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, with all sorts of ornaments and radiant. A part of the waters she made stand still, a part of the waters she made flow forward, and she left him a dry passage to pass over the good Vitanghuhaiti.

79 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.] For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

80 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

81 'To her did Yoishta, one of the Fryanas, offer up a sacrifice with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs on the Pedvaepa of the Rangha.

82 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may overcome the evil-doing Akhtya, the offspring of darkness, and that I may answer the ninety-nine hard riddles that he asks me maliciously, the evil-doing Akhtya, the offspring of darkness."

83 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

84 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

85 'Whom Ahura Mazda the merciful ordered thus, saying: "Come, O Ardvi Sura Anahita, come from those stars down to the earth made by Ahura, that the great lords may worship thee, the masters of the countries, and their sons.

86 '"The men of strength will beg of thee swift horses and supremacy of Glory. "The Athravans who read and the pupils of the Athravans will beg of thee knowledge and prosperity, the Victory made by Ahura, and the crushing Ascendant.

87 '"The maids of barren womb, longing for a lord, will beg of thee a strong husband; '"Women, on the point of bringing forth, will beg of thee a good delivery. '"All this wilt thou grant unto them, as it lies in thy power, O Ardvi Sura Anahita!"

88 'Then Ardvi Sura Anahita came forth, O Zarathushtra! down from those stars to the earth made by Mazda; and Ardvi Sura Anahita spake thus:

89 '"O pure, holy Zarathushtra! Ahura Mazda has established thee as the master of the material world: Ahura Mazda has established me to keep the whole of the holy creation. '"Through my brightness and glory flocks and herds and two-legged men go on, upon the earth: I, forsooth, keep all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle, just as a shepherd keeps his flock."

90 'Zarathushtra asked Ardvi Sura Anahita: "O Ardvi Sura Anahita! With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward thee? So that Mazda may make thee run down (to the earth), that he may not make thee run up into the heavens, above the sun; and that the Serpent may not injure thee with...., with...., with...., and.... poisons."

91 'Ardvi Sura Anahita answered: "O pure, holy Spitama! this is the sacrifice wherewith thou shalt worship me, this is the sacrifice wherewith thou shalt worship and forward me, from the time when the sun is rising to the time when the sun is setting. '"Of this libation of mine thou shalt drink, thou who art an Athravan, who hast asked and learnt the revealed law, who art wise, clever, and the Word incarnate.

92 '"Of this libation of mine let no foe drink, no man fever-sick, no liar, no coward, no jealous one, no woman, no faithful one who does not sing the Gathas, no leper to be confined.

93 '"I do not accept those libations that are drunk in my honor by the blind, by the deaf, by the wicked, by the destroyers, by the niggards, by the...., nor any of those stamped with those characters which have no strength for the holy Word. '"Let no one drink of these my libations who is hump-backed or bulged forward; no fiend with decayed teeth."

94 'Then Zarathushtra asked Ardvi Sura Anahita: "O Ardvi Sura Anahita! What becomes of those libations which the wicked worshippers of the Daevas bring unto thee after the sun has set?"

95 'Ardvi Sura Anahita answered: "O pure, holy Spitama Zarathushtra! howling, clapping, hopping, and shouting, six hundred and a thousand Daevas, who ought not to receive that sacrifice, receive those libations that men bring unto me after [the sun has set]."

96 'I will worship the height Hukairya, of the deep precipices, made of gold, wherefrom this mine Ardvi Sura Anahita leaps, from a hundred times the height of a man, while she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

97 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

98 'Before whom the worshippers of Mazda stand with baresma in their hands: the Hvovas did worship her, the Naotaras did worship her; the Hvovas asked for riches, the Naotaras asked for swift horses. Quickly was Hvova blessed with riches an full prosperity; quickly became Vishtaspa, the Naotaride, the lord of the swiftest horses in these countries.

99 ['Ardvi Sura Anahita granted them that boon, as they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant them that boon.] 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

100 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

101 'Who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels: the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels, is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse. In each channel there stands a palace, well-founded, shining with a hundred windows, with a thousand columns, well-built, with ten thousand balconies, and mighty.

102 'In each of those palaces there lies a well-laid, well-scented bed, covered with pillows, and Ardvi Sura Anahita, O Zarathushtra! runs down there from a thousand times the height of a man, and she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully.

103 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

104 'Unto her did the holy Zarathushtra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaejah, by the good river Daitya; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

105 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may bring the son of Aurvat-aspa, the valiant Kavi Vistaspa, to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law."

106 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

107 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

108 'Unto her did the tall Kavi Vishtaspa offer up a sacrifice behind Lake Frazdanava, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

109 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may overcome Tathravant, of the bad law, and Peshana, the worshipper of the Daevas and the wicked Arejat-aspa, in the battles of this world!"

110 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

111 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

112 'Unto her did Zairi-vairi, who fought on horseback, offer up a sacrifice behind the river Daitya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

113 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that I may overcome Pesho-Changha the corpse-burier, Humayaka the worshipper of the Daevas, and the wicked Arejat-aspa, in the battles of this world.

114 'Ardvi Sura Anahita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

115 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

116 'Unto her did Arejat-aspa and Vandaremaini offer up a sacrifice by the sea Vouru-Kasha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

117 'They begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! that we may conquer the valiant Kavi Vishtaspa and Zairivairi who fights on horseback, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

118 'Ardvi Sura Anahita did not grant them that favor, though they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she should grant them that favor. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

119 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

120 'For whom Ahura Mazda has made four horses -- the wind, the rain, the cloud, and the sleet -- and thus ever a upon the earth it is raining, snowing, hailing, and sleeting; and whose armies are so many and numbered by nine-hundreds and thousands.

121 'I will worship the height Hukairya, of the deep precipices, made of gold, wherefrom this mine Ardvi Sura Anahita leaps, from a hundred times the height of a man, while she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

122 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

123 'She stands, the good Ardvi Sura Anahita, wearing a golden mantle, waiting for a man who shall offer her libations and prayers, and thinking thus in her heart:

124 "'Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon, me, and is of good will unto me?" 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

125 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita....

126 'Ardvi Sura Anahita, who stands carried forth in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing along her.... a mantle fully embroidered with gold;

127 'Ever holding the baresma in her hand, according to the rules, she wears square golden earrings on her ears bored, and a golden necklace around her beautiful neck, she, the nobly born Ardvi Sura Anahita; and she girded her waist tightly, so that her breasts may be well-shaped, that they may be tightly pressed.

128 'Upon her head Ardvi Sura Anahita bound a golden crown, with a hundred stars, with eight rays, a fine ...., a well-made crown, in the shape of a ...., with fillets streaming down.

129 'She is clothed with garments of beaver, Ardvi Sura Anahita; with the skin of thirty beavers of those that bear four young ones, that are the finest kind of beavers; for the skin of the beaver that lives in water is the finest-colored of all skins, and when worked at the right time it shines to the eye with full sheen of silver and gold.

130 'Here, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! I beg of thee this favor: that I, fully blessed, may conquer large kingdoms, rich in horses, with high tributes, with snorting horses, sounding chariots, flashing swords, rich in aliments, with stores of food, with well-scented beds; that I may have at my wish the fullness of the good things of life and whatever makes a kingdom thrive.

131 'Here, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sura Anahita! I beg of thee two gallant companions, one two-legged and one four-legged: one two-legged, who is swift, quickly rushing, and clever in turning a chariot round in battle; and one four-legged, who can quickly turn towards either wing of the host with a wide front, towards the right wing or the left, towards the left wing or the right.

132 'Through the strength of this sacrifice, of this invocation, O Ardvi Sura Anahita! come down from those stars, towards the earth made by Ahura, towards the sacrificing priest, towards the full boiling [milk]; come to help him who is offering up libations giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that thou wouldst grant him thy favors; that all those gallant warriors may be strong, like king Vishtaspa. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

133 'Yatha ahu vairya: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigor of the holy water-spring Anahita. 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!'

Chapter 6

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun. When the light of the sun waxes warmer, when the brightness of the sun waxes warmer, then up stand the heavenly Yazatas, by hundreds and thousands: they gather together its Glory, they make its Glory pass down, they pour its Glory upon the earth made by Ahura, for the increase of the world of holiness, for the increase of the creatures of holiness, for the increase of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

2 And when the sun rises up, then the earth, made by Ahura, becomes clean; the running waters become clean, the waters of the wells become clean, the waters of the sea become clean, the standing waters become clean; all the holy creatures, the creatures of the Good Spirit, become clean.

3 Should not the sun rise up, then the Daevas would destroy all the things that are in the seven Karshvares, nor would the heavenly Yazatas find any way of withstanding or repelling them in the material world.

4 He who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun -- to withstand darkness, to withstand the Daevas born of darkness, to withstand the robbers and bandits, to withstand the Yatus and Pairikas, to withstand death that creeps in unseen -- offers it up to Ahura Mazda, offers it up to the Amesha-Spentas, offers it up to his own soul. He rejoices all the heavenly and worldly Yazatas, who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

5 I will sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes. I will sacrifice unto the club of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, well struck down upon the skulls of the Daevas. I will sacrifice unto that friendship, the best of all friendships, that reigns between the moon and the sun.

6 For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun. Unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. Yenghe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

7 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and the invocation, and the strength and vigour of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... Give unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 7

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice,prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull; unto the only-created Bull and unto the Bull of many species; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 Hail to Ahura Mazda! Hail to the Amesha-Spentas! Hail to the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull! Hail to thee when we look at thee! Hail to thee when thou lookest at us!

2 How does the moon wax? How does the moon wane? For fifteen days does the moon wax; for fifteen days does the moon wane. As long as her waxing, so long is the waning; as long as her waning, so long is the waxing. 'Who is there but thee who makes the moon wax and wane?'

3 We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, the holy and master of holiness. Here I look at the moon, here I perceive the moon; here I look at the light of the moon, here I perceive the light of the moon. The Amesha-Spentas stand up holding its glory; the Amesha-Spentas stand up, pouring its glory upon the earth, made by Mazda.

4 And when the light of the moon waxes warmer, golden-hued plants grow on from the earth during the spring. We sacrifice unto the new moons, the full moons, and the Vishaptathas. We sacrifice unto the new moon, the holy and master of holiness; We sacrifice unto the full moon, the holy and master of holiness; We sacrifice unto the Vishaptatha, the holy and master of holiness.

5 I will sacrifice unto the Moon, that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, the liberal, bright, glorious, water-giving, warmth-giving, wisdom-giving, wealth-giving, riches-giving, thoughtfulness-giving, weal-giving, freshness-giving, prosperity-giving, the liberal, the healing.

6 For its brightness and glory, I will offer unto it a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull. Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. Yenghe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

7 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the Moon, that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, and of the only-created Bull, and of the Bull of many species. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good. Give unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 8

Tishtar Yasht (chapter 8)

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, and unto the powerful Satavaesa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'We worship the lordship and mastership [of Tishtrya], whereby he protects the Moon, the dwelling, the food, when my glorious stars come along and impart their gifts to men. I will sacrifice unto the star Tishtrya, that gives the fields their share [of waters].

2 'We offer up libations unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, that gives happy dwelling and good dwelling; the white, shining, seen afar, and piercing; the health-bringing, loud-snorting, and high, piercing from afar with its shining, undefiled rays; and unto the waters of the wide sea, the Vanguhi of wide renown, and the species of the Bull, made by Mazda, the awful kingly Glory, and the Fravashi of the holy Spitama Zarathushtra.

3 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the star Tishtrya. 'Unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. 'Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

4 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, who is the seed of the waters, powerful, tall, and strong, whose light goes afar; powerful and highly working, through whom the brightness and the seed of the waters come from the high Apam Napat. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

5 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star; for whom long flocks and herds and men, looking forward for him and deceived in their hope: "When shall we see him rise up, the bright and glorious star Tishtrya? When will the springs run with waves as thick as a horse's size and still thicker? Or will they never come?" 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

6 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star; who flies, towards the sea Vouru-Kasha, as swiftly as the arrow darted through the heavenly space1, which Erekhsha, the swift archer, the Arya amongst the Aryas whose arrow was the swiftest, shot from Mount Khshaotha to Mount Hvanvant.

7 'For Ahura Mazda gave him assistance; so did the waters and the plants; and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, opened a wide way unto him. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

8 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, that afflicts the Pairikas, that vexes the Pairikas, who, in the shape of worm-stars, fly between the earth and the heavens, in the sea Vouru-Kasha, the powerful sea, the large-sized, deep sea of salt waters. He goes to its lake in the shape of a horse, in a holy shape; and down there he makes the waters boil over, and the winds flow above powerfully all around.

9 'Then Satavaesa makes those waters flow down to the seven Karshvares of the earth, and when he has arrived down there, he stands, beautiful, spreading ease and joy on the fertile countries (thinking in himself): "How shall the countries of the Aryas grow fertile?" 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

10 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, who spoke unto Ahura Mazda, saying: "Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

11 '"If men would worship me with a sacrifice in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I should have come to the faithful at the appointed time; I should have come in the appointed time of my beautiful, immortal life, should it be one night, or two nights, or fifty, or a hundred nights."

12 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya; 'We sacrifice unto the rains of Tishtrya. 'We sacrifice unto the first star; we sacrifice unto the rains of the first star. 'I will sacrifice unto the stars Haptoiringa, to oppose the Yatus and Pairikas. 'We sacrifice unto Vanant, the star made by Mazda; for the well-shapen strength, for the Victory, made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant, for the destruction of what distresses us, for the destruction of what persecutes us. 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, whose eye-sight is sound.

13 'For ten nights, O Spitama Zarathushtra! Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a man of fifteen years of age, bright, with clear eyes, tall, full of strength, strong, and clever.

14 'He is active as the first man was; he goes on with the strength of the first man; he has the virility of the first man.

15 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of male children, a troop of male children, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

16 'The next ten nights, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the bright and glorious Tishtrya mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a golden-horned bull.

17 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of oxen, a herd of oxen, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

18 'The next ten nights, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the bright and glorious Tishtrya mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

19 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of horses, a troop of horses, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

20 'Then, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the bright and glorious Tishtrya goes down to the sea Vouru-Kasha in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

21 'But there rushes down to meet him the Daeva Apaosha, in the shape of a dark horse, black with black ears, black with a black back, black with a black tail, stamped with brands of terror.

22 'They meet together, hoof against hoof, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the bright and glorious Tishtrya and the Daeva Apaosha. They fight together, O Spitama Zarathushtra! for three days and three nights. And then the Daeva Apaosha proves stronger than the bright and glorious Tishtrya, he overcomes him.

23 'And Tishtrya flees from the sea Vouru-Kasha, as far as a Hathra's length. He cries out in woe and distress, the bright and glorious Tishtrya: "Woe is me, O Ahura Mazda! I am in distress, O Waters and Plants! O Fate and thou, Law of the worshippers of Mazda! Men do not worship me with a sacrifice in which I am invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names.

24 '"If men had worshipped me with a sacrifice in which I had been invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, I should have taken to me the strength of ten horses, the strength of ten camels, the strength of ten bulls, the strength of ten mountains, the strength of ten rivers."

25 'Then I, Ahura Mazda, offer up to the bright and glorious Tishtrya a sacrifice in which he is invoked by his own name, and I bring him the strength of ten horses, the strength of ten camels, the strength of ten bulls, the strength of ten mountains, the strength of ten rivers.

26 'Then, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the bright and glorious Tishtrya goes down to the sea Vouru-Kasha in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and golden caparison.

27 'But there rushes down to meet him the Daeva Apaosha in the shape of a dark horse, black with black ears, black with a black back, black with a black tail, stamped with brands of terror.

28 'They meet together, hoof against hoof, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the bright and glorious Tishtrya, and the Daeva Apaosha; they fight together, O Zarathushtra! till the time of noon. Then the bright and glorious Tishtrya proves stronger than the Daeva Apaosha, he overcomes him.

29 'Then he goes from the sea Vouru-Kasha as far as a Hathra's length: "Hail!" cries the bright and glorious Tishtrya. "Hail unto me, O Ahura Mazda! Hail unto you, O waters and plants! Hail, O Law of the worshippers of Mazda! Hail will it be unto you, O lands! The life of the waters will flow down unrestrained to the big-seeded corn fields, to the small-seeded pasture-fields, and to the whole of the material world!"

30 Then the bright and glorious Tishtrya goes back down to the sea Vouru-Kasha, in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

31 'He makes the sea boil up and down; he makes the sea stream this and that way; he makes the sea flow this and that way: all the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over.

32 'And the bright and glorious Tishtrya rises up from the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the bright and glorious Satavaesa rises up from the sea Vouru-Kasha; and vapours rise up above Mount Us-hindu, that stands in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha.

33 'Then the vapours push forward, in the regular shape of clouds; they go following the wind, along the ways which Haoma traverses, the increaser of the world. Behind him travels the mighty wind, made by Mazda, and the rain, and the cloud, and the sleet, down to the several places, down to the fields, down to the seven Karshvares of the earth.

34 'Apam Napat, O Spitama Zarathushtra! divides the waters amongst the countries in the material world, in company with the mighty wind, the Glory, made by the waters, and the Fravashis of the faithful. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

35 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, who from the shining east, moves along his long winding course, along the path made by the gods, along the way appointed for him the watery way, at the will of Ahura Mazda, at the will of the Amesha-Spentas. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

36 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, whose rising is watched by men who live on the fruits of the year, by the chiefs of deep understanding; by the wild beasts in the mountains, by the tame beasts that run in the plains; they watch him, as he comes up to the country for a bad year, or for a good year, (thinking in themselves): "How shall the Aryan countries be fertile?" 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

37 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, swift-flying and swift-moving, who flies towards the sea Vouru-Kasha, as swiftly as the arrow darted through the heavenly space, which Erekhsha, the swift archer, the Arya amongst the Aryas whose arrow was the swiftest, shot from Mount Khshaotha to Mount Hvanvant.

38 'Ahura Mazda gave him assistance, and the Amesha-Spentas and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, pointed him the way: behind him went the tall Ashish Vanguhi and Parendi on her light chariot: always till, in his course, he reached Mount Hvanvant on the shining waters. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

39 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, who afflicts the Pairikas, who destroys the Pairikas, that Angra Mainyus flung to stop all the stars that have in them the seed of the waters.

40 'Tishtrya afflicts them, he blows them away from the sea Vouru-Kasha; then the wind blows the clouds forward, bearing the waters of fertility, so that the friendly showers spread wide over, they spread helpingly and friendly over the seven Karshvares. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

41 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, for whom long the standing waters, and the running spring-waters, the stream-waters, and the rain-waters:

42 '"When will the bright and glorious Tishtrya rise up for us? When will the springs with a flow and overflow of waters, thick as a horse's shoulder, run to the beautiful places and fields, and to the pastures, even to the roots of the plants, that they may grow with a powerful growth?" 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

43 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, who washes away all things of fear, who stunts the growth of all ...., and brings health to all these creations, being most beneficent, when he has been worshipped with a sacrifice and propitiated, rejoiced, and satisfied. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

44 'I will sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, whom Ahura Mazda has established as a lord and overseer above all stars, in the same way as he has established Zarathushtra above men; whom neither Angra Mainyu, nor the Yatus and the Pairikas, nor the men Yatus can deliver unto death, nor can all the Daevas together prevail for his death. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

45 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, to whom Ahura Mazda has given a thousand senses, and who is the most beneficent amongst the stars that have in them the seed of the waters:

46 'Who moves in light with the stars that have in them the seed of the waters: he, from the sea Vouru-Kasha, the powerful sea, the large-sized, deep, and salt of waters, goes to all the lakes, and to all the beautiful caves, and to all the beautiful channels, in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

47 'Then, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the waters flow down from the sea Vouru-Kasha, mother-like, friendly, and healing: he divides them amongst these countries, being most beneficent, when he has been worshipped with a sacrifice and propitiated rejoiced, and satisfied. 'For his brigbtness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

48 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, for whom long all the creatures of Spenta-Mainyu, those that live under the ground, and those that live above the ground; those that live in the waters, and those that live on dry land; those that fly, and those that run in the plains; and all those that live within this boundless and endless world of the holy Spirit. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

49 'We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, the healthful, wise, happy, and powerful, who is the lord of a thousand boons, and grants many boons to that man who has pleased him, whether begging or not begging for them.

50 'I, O Spitama Zarathushtra! have created that star Tishtrya as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer, as worthy of progitiation, as worthy of glorification as myself, Ahura Mazda;

51 'In order to withstand, to break asunder, to afflict, to drive back the malice of that Pairika Duzyairya, whom evil-speaking people call Huyairya.

52 'Had I not created that star Tishtrya as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer, as worthy of propitiation, as worthy of glorification as myself, Ahura Mazda;

53 'In order to withstand, to break asunder, to afflict, to drive back the malice of that Pairika Duzyairya, whom evil-speaking people call Huyairya;

54 'Then all day long, all night long, that Pairika Duzyairya would wage war against this material world of mine, wanting to extinguish its life, and she goes on, rushing upon and around it.

55 'But the bright and glorious Tishtrya keeps that Pairika in bonds, with twofold bonds, with threefold bonds, that cannot be overcome, with bonds all over the body: it is as if there were a thousand men keeping one man in bonds, a thousand men of those who are the strongest in strength.

56 'If the Aryan countries, O Spitama Zarathushtra! would perform in honour of the bright and glorious Tishtrya the due sacrifice and invocation, just as that sacrifice and invocation ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness; never should a hostile horde enter these Aryan countries, nor any plague, nor leprosy, nor venomous plants, nor the chariot of a foe, nor the uplifted spear of a foe.'

57 Zarathushtra asked: 'What is then, O Ahura Mazda! the sacrifice and invocation in honour of the bright and glorious Tishtrya, as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness?'

58 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Let the Aryan nations bring libations unto him; let the Aryan nations tie bundles of baresma for him; let the Aryan nations cook for him a head of cattle, either white, or black, or of any other colour, but all of one and the same colour.

59 'Let not a murderer take of these offerings, nor a whore, nor a .... who does not sing the Gathas, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathushtra.

60 'If a murderer take of these offerings, or a whore, or a .... who does not sing the Gathas, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathushtra, then the bright and glorious Tishtrya takes back his healing virtues.

61 'Plagues will ever pour upon the Aryan nations; hostile hordes will ever fall upon the Aryan nations; the Aryans will be smitten, by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by thetr thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

62 'Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Tishtrya, the bright and glorious star, and of the powerful Satavaesa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward. 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

Chapter 9

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be afflicted!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, satisfaction, and glorification unto Havani, the holy and master of holiness. Unto the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 We sacrifice unto the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy, who heeps the flocks in health, the herds in health, the grown-up (cattle) in health, the young ones in health; who watches well from afar, with a wide-spread and long-continued welfare-giving friendship;

2 Who yokes teams of horses, who makes her chariot turn and its wheels sound, fat and glistening, strong, tall-formed, weal-possessing, health-giving, powerful to stand and powerful to turn for assistance to the faithful.

3 To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhata, offer up a sacrifice on the enclosure of the Hara, the beautiful height, made by Mazda, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

4 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvaspa! that I may overcome all the Daevas of Mazana; that I may never fear and bow through terror before the Daevas, but that all the Daevas may fear and bow in spite of themselves before me, that they may fear and flee down to darkness.'

5 The powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvaspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

6 For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well performed, namely, unto the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy. We offer up libations to the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy; we offer her the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. Yenghe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

7 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health.... Who yokes teams of horses .... for assistance to the faithful.

8 To her did Yima Khshaeta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

9 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvaspa! that I may bring fatness and flocks down to the world created by Mazda; that I may bring immortality down to the world created by Mazda;

10 'That I may take away both hunger and thirst, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both old age and death, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both hot wind and cold wind, from the world created by Mazda, for a thousand years.'

11 The powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvaspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering lipbations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard....

12 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health.... Who yokes teams of horses .... for assistance to the faithful.

13 To her did Thraetaona, the heir of the valiant Athwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

14 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvaspa! that I may overcome Azhi Dahaka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Druj, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Druj that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavack and Erenavach, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world.'

15 The powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvasya, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard....

16 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps flocks in health.... Who yokes teams of horses .... for assistance to the faithful.

17 To her did Haoma offer up a sacrifice, Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, upon the highest height of the Haraiti Bareza. He begged of her a boon saying:

18 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvaspa! that I may bind the Turanian murderer Franghrasyan, that I may drag him bound, that may bring him bound unto king Husravah, that king Husravah may kill him, behind the Chaechasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of his father Syavarshana, a man, and of Aghraeratha, a semi-man.'

19 The powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvaspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would give him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard....

20 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health.... Who yokes teams of horses .... for assistance to the faithful.

21 To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Arya nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice, behind the Chaechasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and an offering of libations:

22 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvaspa! that I may kill the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, behind the Chaechasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of my father Syavarshana, a man, and of Aghraeratha, a semi-man.'

23 The powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvaspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard....

24 We offer up a sacrifice unlo the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health.... Who yokes teams of horses .... for assistance to the faithful,

25 To her did the holy Zarathushtra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaejah, by the good river Daitya, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. He begged of her a boon, saying:

26 'O good, most beneficent Drvaspa! grant me this boon, that I may bring the good and noble Hutaosa to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law, that she may spread my Mazdean law and make it known, and that she may bestow beautiful praises upon my deeds.'

27 The strong Drvaspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvaspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I wiII offer her a sacrifice worth being heard....

28 We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health.... Who yokes teams of horses .... for assistance to the faithful.

29 To her did the tall Kavi Vistaspa offer up a sacrifice behind the waters of the river Daitya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

30 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvaspa! that I may put to flight Ashta-aurvant, the son of Vispa-thaurvo-asti, the all-afflicting, of the brazen helmet, of the brazen armour, of the thick neck, behind whom seven hundred camels ....; that I may put to flight the Hvyaona murderer, Arejat-aspa; that I may put to flight Darshinika, the worshipper of the Daevas;

31 And that I may smite Tathravant of the bad law; that I may smite Spinjaurushka, the worshipper of the Daevas; and that I may bring unto the good law the nations of the Varedhakas and of the Hvyaonas; and that I may smite of the Huyaona nations their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

32 The strong Drvaspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvaspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well performed, namely, unto the powerful Drvaspa made by Mazda and holy. We offer up libations to the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy; we offer her the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the powerful Drvaspa, made by Mazda and holy. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body,.... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 10

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas, and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, a Yazata invoked by his own name, and unto Rama Hvastra,1 Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'Verily, when I created Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, O Spitama! I created him as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda.2

2 'The ruffian who lies unto Mithra3 brings death unto the whole country, injuring as much the faithful world as a hundred evil-doers4 could do. Break not the contract, O Spitama! neither the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the unfaithful, nor the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the faithful who is one of thy own faith.5 For Mithra stands for both the faithful and the unfaithful.

3 'Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, gives swiftness to the horses of those who lie not unto Mithra. 'Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, gives the straightest way to those who lie not unto Mithra. 'The good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful give a virtuous offspring to those who lie not unto Mithra.

4 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. 'We offer up libations unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who gives a happy dwelling and a good dwelling to the Aryan nations.

5 'May he come to us for help! May he come to us for ease! May he come to us for joy! May he come to us for mercy! May he come to us for health! May he come to us for victory! May he come to us for good conscience!6 May he come to us for bliss!7 he, the awful and overpowering, worthy of sacrifice and prayer, not to be deceived anywhere in the whole of the material world, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures.

6 'I will offer up libations unto him, the strong Yazata, the powerful Mithra, most beneficent to the creatures: I will apply unto him with charity8 and prayers: I will offer up a sacrifice worth being heard unto him, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. 'Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....9

7 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge,10 strong, sleepless, and ever awake;11

8 'To whom the chiefs of nations offer up sacrifices, as they go to the field, against havocking hosts, against enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of conflicting nations.

9 'On whichever side he has been worshipped first in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, to that side turns Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, with the fiend-smiting wind, with the cursing thought of the wise.12 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

10 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake.

11 'Whom the horsemen worship on the back of their horses, begging swiftness for their teams, health for their own bodies, and that they may watch with full success those who hate them, smite down their foes, and destroy at one stroke their adversaries, their enemies, and those who hate them.13 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

12 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake;

13 'Who first of the heavenly gods reaches over the Hara14, before the undying, swift-horsed sun15; who, foremost in a golden array, takes hold of the beautiful summits, and from thence looks over the abode of the Aryans with a beneficent eye.

14 'Where the valiant chiefs draw up their many troops in array;16 where the high mountains, rich in pastures and waters, yield plenty to the cattle;17 where the deep lakes, with salt waters, stand;18 where wide-flowing rivers swell and hurry towards Ishkata and Pouruta, Mouru and Haroyu, the Gava-Sughdha and Hvairizem;19

15 'On Arezahi and Sawahi, on Fradadhafshu and Widadhafshu, on Wouru-bareshti and Wourujareshti, on this bright karshwar of Xwaniratha20, the abode of cattle, the dwelling of cattle, the powerful Mithra looks with a health-bringing eye;

16 'He who moves along all the karshwars, a Yazata unseen, and brings glory; he who moves along all the karshwars, a Yazata unseen, and brings sovereignty; and increases21 strength for victory to those who, with a pious intent, holily offer him libations. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

17 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Unto whom nobody must lie, neither the master of a house, nor the lord of a borough, nor the lord of a town, nor the lord of a province.

18 'If the master of a house lies unto him, or the lord of a borough, or the lord of a town, or the lord of a province, then comes Mithra, angry and offended, and he breaks asunder the house, the borough, the town, the province; and the masters of the houses, the lords of the boroughs, the lords of the towns, the lords of the provinces, and the foremost men of the provinces.

19 'On whatever side there is one who has lied unto Mithra, on that side Mithra stands forth, angry and offended, and his wrath22 is slow to relent.23

20 'Those who lie unto Mithra, however swift they may be running, cannot overtake;24 riding, cannot ....; driving, cannot ..... The spear that the foe of Mithra flings, darts backwards, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out.25

21 'And even though the spear be flung well, even though it reach the body, it makes no wound, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out.26 The wind drives away the spear that the foe of Mithra flings, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

22 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who takes out of distress the man who has not lied unto him, who takes him out of death.

23 'Take us out of distress, take us out of distresses, O Mithra! as we have not lied unto thee. Thou bringest down terror upon the bodies of the men who lie unto Mithra; thou takest away the strength from their arms, being angry and all-powerful; thou takest the swiftness from their feet, the eye-sight from their eyes, the hearing from their ears.

24 'Not the wound27 of the well-sharpened spear or of the flying arrow reaches that man to whom Mithra comes for help with all the strength of his soul, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

25 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who is lordly, deep, strong, and weal-giving; a chief in assemblies, pleased with prayers,28 high, holily clever, the incarnate Word, a warrior with strong arms;

26 'Who breaks the skulls of the Daevas, and is most cruel in exacting pains; the punisher of the men who lie unto Mithra, the withstander of the Pairikas; who, when not deceived, establisheth nations in supreme strength; who, when not deceived, establisheth nations in supreme victory;

27 'Who confounds the ways of the nation that delights in havoc, who turns away their Glory,29 takes away their strength for victory, blows them away helpless,30 and delivers them unto ten thousand strokes; he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

28 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who upholds the columns of the lofty house and makes its pillars31 solid; who gives herds of oxen and male children to that house in which he has been satisfied; he breaks to pieces those in which he has been offended.

29 'Thou, O Mithra! art both bad and good to nations; thou, O Mithra! art both bad and good to men; thou, O Mithra! keepest in thy hands both peace and trouble for nations.

30 'Thou makest houses large, beautiful with women, beautiful with chariots, with well-laid foundations,32 and high above their groundwork;33 thou makest that house lofty, beautiful with women, beautiful with chariots, with well-laid foundations, and high above its groundwork, of which the master, pious and holding libations in his hand, offers thee a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name and with the proper words.

31 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O powerful Mithra! 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O most beneficent Mithra! 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O thou undeceivable Mithra!

32 'Listen unto our sacrifice,34 O Mithra! Be thou pleased with our sacrifice, O Mithra! Come and sit at our sacrifice! Accept our libations! Accept them as they have been consecrated!35 Gather them together with love and lay them in the Garo-nmana!36.

33 'Grant us these boons which we beg of thee, O powerful god! in accordance37 with the words of revelation, namely, riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss,38 good fame and a good soul; wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness,39 the victorious strength given by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant of Asha Vahishta, and conversation (with God) on the Holy Word.40

34 'Grant that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our foes; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our enemies; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all the malice of Daevas and Men, of the Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf.41 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

35 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Victory-making42, army-governing, endowed with a thousand senses43; power-wielding, power-possessing, and all-knowing;

36 'Who sets the battle a going, who stands against (armies) in battle, who, standing against (armies) in battle, breaks asunder the lines arrayed. The wings of the columns gone to battle shake, and he throws terror upon the centre of the havocking host.

37 'He can bring and does bring down upon them distress and fear; he throws down the heads of those who lie to Mithra, he takes off the heads of those who lie unto Mithra.

38 'Sad is the abode, unpeopled with children, where abide men who lie unto Mithra, and, verily, the fiendish killer of faithful men. The grazing cow goes a sad straying way, driven along the vales44 of the Mithradrujes: they45 stand on the road, letting tears run over their chins46.

39 'Their falcon-feathered arrows, shot from the string of the well-bent bow, fly towards the mark, and hit it not, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them. 'Their spears, well whetted and sharp, their long spears fly from their hands towards the mark, and hit it not, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

40 'Their swords, well thrust and striking at the heads of men, hit not the mark, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them. 'Their clubs, well falling and striking at the heads of men, hit not the mark, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

41 'Mithra strikes fear into them; Rashnu47 strikes a counter-fear into them48; the holy Sraosha blows them away from every side towards the two Yazatas, the maintainers of the world.49 They make the ranks of the army melt away, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.50

42 'They cry unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, saying: "O Mithra, thou lord of wide pastures! here are our fiery horses taking us away, as they flee from Mithra; here are our sturdy arms cut to pieces by the sword, O Mithra!"

43 'And then Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, throws them to the ground, killing their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads; as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, is angry and offended. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

44 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Whose dwelling, wide as the earth, extends over the material world, large51, unconfined51, and bright, a far-and-wide-extending abode.

45 'Whose eight friends52 sit as spies for Mithra, on all the heights, at all the watching-places, observing the man who lies unto Mithra, looking at those, remembering those who have lied unto Mithra, but guarding the ways of those whose life is sought by men who lie unto Mithra, and, verily, by the fiendish killers of faithful men.

46 'Helping and guarding, guarding behind and guarding in front, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, proves an undeceivable spy and watcher for the man to whom he comes to help with all the strength of his soul, he of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

47 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'A god of high renown and old age53, whom wide-hoofed horses carry against havocking hosts, against enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of conflicting nations54.

48 'And when Mithra drives along towards the havocking hosts, towards the enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of the conflicting nations, then he binds the hands of those who have lied unto Mithra, he confounds their eye-sight, he takes the hearing from their ears; they can no longer move their feet; they can no longer withstand those people, those foes, when Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, bears them ill-will. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

49 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake;

50 'For whom the Maker, Ahura Mazda, has built up a dwelling on the Hara Berezaiti, the bright mountain around which the many (stars) revolve55, where come neither night nor darkness, no cold wind and no hot wind, no deathful sickness, no uncleanness made by the Daevas, and the clouds cannot reach up unto the Haraiti Bareza56;

51 'A dwelling that all the Amesha-Spentas, in one accord with the sun, made for him in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, and he survevs the whole of the material world from the Haraiti Bareza.

52 'And when there rushes a wicked worker of evil, swiftly, with a swift step, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, goes and yokes his horses to his chariot, along with the holy, powerful Sraosha and Nairyo-sangha,57 who strikes a blow that smites the army, that smites the strength of the malicious.58 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

53 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake;

54 'Who, with hands lifted up, ever cries unto Ahura Mazda, saying: "I am the kind keeper of all creatures, I am the kind maintainer of all creatures; yet men worship me not with a sacrifice in which I am invoked by my own name, as they worship the other gods with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names.

55 '"If men would worship me with a sacrifice in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I would come to the faithful at the appointed time; I would come in the appointed time of my beautiful, immortal life."

56 'But the pious man, holding libations in his hands, does worship thee with a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, and with the proper words. 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O powerful Mithra! 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O most beneficent Mithra! 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O thou undeceivable Mithra!

57 'Listen unto our sacrifice, 'O Mithra! Be thou pleased with our sacrifice, O Mithra! Come and sit at our sacrifice! Accept our libations! Accept them as they have been consecrated! Gather them together with love and lay them in the Garo-nmana [Garothman i.e. Heaven]!

58 'Grant us these boons which we beg of thee, O powerful god! in accordance with the words of revelation, namely, riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss, good fame and a good soul; wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness, the victorious strength given by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant of Asha-Vahishta, and conversation (with God) on the Holy Word.

59 'Grant that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our foes; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our enemies; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all the malice of Daevas and Men, of the Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

60 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Whose renown is good, whose shape is good, whose glory is good; who has boons to give at his will, who has pasture-fields to give at his will; harmless to the tiller of the ground, ...61, beneficent; he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

61 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Firm-legged62, a watcher fully awake; valiant, a chief in assemblies; making the waters flow forward; listening to appeals; making the waters run and the plants grow up; ruling over the karshwars63; delivering64; happy65; undeceivable; endowed with many senses66; a creature of wisdom;

62 'Who gives neither strength nor vigour to him who has lied unto Mithra; who gives neither glory nor any boon to him who has lied unto Mithra.

63 'Thou takest away the strength from their arms, being angry and all-powerful; thou takest the swiftness from their feet, the eye-sight from their eyes, the hearing from their ears. 'Not the wound of the well-sharpened spear or of the flying arrow reaches that man to whom Mithra comes for help with all the strength of his soul, he, of the ten-thousand spies, the powerful all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

64 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who takes possession68 of the beautiful, wide-expanding law, greatly and powerfully, and whose face looks over all the seven karshwars of the earth;

65 'Who is swift amongst the swift, liberal amongst the liberal, strong amongst the strong, a chief of assembly amongst the chiefs of assemblies; increase-giving, fatness-giving, cattle-giving, sovereignty-giving, son-giving, cheerfulness69-giving, and bliss69-giving.

66 'With whom proceed Ashi Vanguhi, and Parendi on her light chariot70, the awful Manly Courage, the awful kingly Glory, the awful sovereign Sky, the awful cursing thought71 of the wise, the awful Fravashis of the faithful, and he who keeps united together the many faithful worshippers of Mazda72. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

67 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who drives along on his high-wheeled chariot, made of a heavenly73 substance, from the Karshvare [keshwar] of Arezahi74 to the Karshvare of Xwaniratha, the bright one; accompanied by75 the wheel of sovereignty76, the Glory made by Mazda, and the Victory made by Ahura;

68 'Whose chariot is embraced77 by the great Ashi Vanguhi; to whom the Law of Mazda opens a way, that he may go easily; whom four heavenly steeds, white, shining, seen afar, beneficent, endowed with knowledge, swiftly78 carry along the heavenly space79, while the cursing thought of the wise pushes it forward;

69 'From whom all the Daevas unseen and the Varenya fiends80 flee away in fear. Oh! may we never fall across the rush of the angry lord81, who goes and rushes from a thousand sides against his foe, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

70 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Before whom Verethraghna, made by Ahura, runs opposing the foes in the shape of a boar82, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing83, wrathful, with a dripping face; strong, with iron feet, iron fore-paws84, iron weapons, an iron tail, and iron jaws;

71 'Who, eagerly clinging to the fleeing foe, along with Manly Courage, smites the foe in battle, and does not think he has smitten him, nor does he consider it a blow till he has smitten away the marrow85 and the column of life86, the marrow85 and the spring of existence.

72 'He cuts all the limbs to pieces, and mingles, together with the earth, the bones, hair, brains, and blood of the men who have lied unto Mithra87. 'For his brightness and glory, we offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

73 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who, with hands lifted up, rejoicing, cries out, speaking thus:

74 '"O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit! Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! '"If men would worship me88 with a sacrifice in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other gods with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I should come to the faithful at the appointed time; I should come in the appointed time of my beautiful, immortal life89."

75 'May we keep our field; may we never be exiles from our field, exiles from our house, exiles from our borough, exiles from our town, exiles from our country.

76 'Thou dashest in pieces the malice of the malicious, the malice of the men of malice: dash thou in pieces the killers of faithful men! 'Thou hast good horses, thou hast a good chariot: thou art bringing help at every appeal, and art powerful.

77 'I will pray unto thee for help, with many consecrations, with good consecrations of libations; with many offerings, with good offerings of libations, that we, abiding in thee, may long inhabit a good abode, full of all the riches that can be wished for.

78 'Thou keepest those nations that tender a good worship to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; thou dashest in pieces those that delight in havoc. Unto thee will I pray for help: may he come to us for help, the awful, most powerful Mithra, the worshipful and praiseworthy, the glorious lord of nations. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

79 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who made a dwelling for Rashnu90, and to whom Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship;

80 'Thou art a keeper and protector of the dwelling of those who lie not: thou art the maintainer of those who lie not. With thee hath Verethraghna, made by Ahura, contracted the best of all friendships91, and thus it is how so many men who have lied unto Mithra, even privily92, lie smitten down on the ground. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

81 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who made a dwelling for Rashnu, and to whom Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship;

82 'To whom Ahura Mazda gave a thousand senses93 and ten thousand eyes to see. With those eyes and those senses, he watches the man who injures Mithra, the man who lies unto Mithra. Through those eyes and those senses, he is undeceivable, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

83 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Whom the lord of the country invokes for help, with hands uplifted; 'Whom the lord of the town invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

84 'Whom the lord of the borough invokes for help, with hands uplifted; 'Whom the master of the house invokes for help, with hands uplifted; 'Whom the ....94 in danger of death 95 invokes for help, with hands uplifted; 'Whom the poor man, who follows the good law, when wronged and deprived of his rights, invokes for help, with hands uplifted.

85 'The voice of his wailing reaches up to the sky, it goes over the earth all around, it goes over the seven karshwars, whether he utters his prayer in a low tone of voice96 or aloud.

86 'The cow driven astray invokes him for help97, longing for the stables: "When will that bull, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, bring us back, and make us reach the stables? when will he turn us back to the right way from the den of the Druj where we were driven98?"

87 'And to him with whom Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, has been satisfied, he comes with help; and of him with whom Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, has been offended, he crushes down the house, the borough, the town, the province, the country. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

88 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'To whom the enlivening, healing, fair, lordly, golden-eyed Haoma offered up a sacrifice on the highest of the heights, on the Haraiti Bareza99, he the undefiled to one undefiled, with undefiled baresma, undefiled libations, and undefiled words;

89 'Whom100 the holy Ahura Mazda has established as a priest, quick in performing the sacrifice and loud in song. He performed the sacrifice with a loud voice, as a priest quick in sacrifice and loud in song, a priest to Ahura Mazda, a priest to the Amesha-Spentas. His voice reached up to the sky, went over the earth all around, went over the seven keshwars.

90 'Who first lifted up Haomas, in a mortar inlaid with stars and made of a heavenly substance. Ahura Mazda longed for him, the Amesha-Spentas longed for him, for the well-slapen body of him whom the swift-horsed sun awakes for prayer from afar101.

91 'Hail to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes! Thou art worthy of sacrifice and prayer: mayest thou have sacrifice and prayer in the houses of men! Hail to the man who shall offer thee a sacrifice, with the holy wood in his hand, the baresma in his hand, the holy meat in his hand, the holy mortar in his hand102, with his hands well-washed, with the mortar well-washed, with the bundles of baresma tied up, the Haoma uplifted, and the Ahuna Vairya sung through.

92 'The holy Ahura Mazda confessed that religion and so did Vohu-Mano, so did Asha-Vahishta, so did Khshathra-Vairya, so did Spenta-Armaiti, so did Haurvatat and Ameretat; and all the Amesha-Spentas longed for and confessed his religion. The kind Mazda conferred upon him the mastership of the world; and [so did they103] who saw thee amongst all creatures the right lord and master of the world, the best cleanser of these creatures.

93 'So mayest thou in both worlds, mayest thou keep us in both worlds, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! both in this material world and in the world of the spirit, from the fiend of Death, from the fiend Aeshma104, from the fiendish hordes, that lift up the spear of havoc, and from the onsets of Aeshma, wherein the evil-doing Aeshma rushes along with Vidotu105, made by the Daevas.

94 'So mayest thou, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! give swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success those who hate us, smite down our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries, our enemies and those who hate us106. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

95 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who goes over the earth, all her breadth over, after the setting of the sun107, touches both ends of this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and surveys everything that is between the earth and the heavens,

96 'Swinging in his hands a club with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forwards and fells men down; a club cast out of red brass, of strong, golden brass; the strongest of all weapons, the most victorious of all weapons108;

97 'From whom Angra Mainyu, who is all death, flees away in fear; from whom Aeshma, the evil-doing Peshotanu109, flees away in fear; from whom the long-handed Bushyasta110 flees away in fear; from whom all the Daevas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear111.

98 'Oh! may we never fall across the rush of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, when in anger112! May Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, never smite us in his anger; he who stands up upon this earth as the strongest of all gods, the most valiant of all gods, the most energetic of all gods, the swiftest of all gods, the most fiend-smiting of all gods, he, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures113. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

99 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'From whom all the Daevas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear114. 'The lord of nations, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward at the right-hand side of this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar.

100 'At his right hand drives the good, holy Sraosha; at his left hand drives the tall and strong Rashnu; on all sides around him drive the waters, the plants, and the Fravashis of the faithful.

101 'In his might, he ever brings to them falcon-feathered arrows, and, when diiving, he himself comes there, where are nations, enemy to Mithra, he, first and foremost, strikes blows with his club on the horse and his rider; he throws fear and fright upon the horse and his rider. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

102 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'The warrior of the white horse, of the sharp spear, the long spear, the quick arrows; foreseeing and clever;

103 'Whom Ahura Mazda has established to maintain and look over all this moving115 world, and who maintains and looks over all this moving world; who, never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda; who, never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda; 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

104 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Whose long arms, strong with Mithra-strength, encompass what he seizes in the easternmost river and what he beats with the westernmost river, what is by the Sanaka of the Rangha and what is by the boundary of the earth.

105 'And thou, O Mithra! encompassing all this around, do thou reach it, all over, with thy arms. 'The man without glory, led astray from the right way, grieves in his heart; the man without glory thinks thus in himself: "'That careless Mithra does not see all the evil that is done, nor all the lies that are told."

106 'But I think thus in my heart: '"Should the evil thoughts of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good thoughts of the heavenly Mithra; '"Should the evil words of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good words of the heavenly Mithra; '"Should the evil deeds of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good deeds of the heavenly Mithra;

107 '"Should the heavenly wisdom in the earthly man be a hundred times greater, it would not rise so high as the heavenly w'isdom in the heavenly Mithra; "And thus, should the ears of the earthly man hear a hundred time better, he would not hear so well as the heavenly Mithra, whose ear hears well who has a thousand senses, and sees every man that tells a lie." 'Mithra stands up in his strength, he drives in the awfulness of royalty, and sends from his eyes beautiful looks that shine from afar, (saying):

108 "Who will offer me a sacrifice? Who will lie unto me? Who thinks me a god worthy of a good sacrifice? Who thinks me worthy only of a bad sacrifice? To whom shall I, in my might, impart brightness and glory? To whom bodily health? To whom shall I, in my might, impart riches and full weal? Whom shall I bless by raising him a virtuous offspring?

109 ""To whom shall I give in return, without his thinking of it, the awful sovereignty, beautifully. arrayed, with many armies, and most perfect; the sovereignty of an all-powerful tyrant, who fells down heads, valiant, smiting, and unsmitten; who orders chastisement to be done and his order is done at once, which he has ordered in his anger?" 'O Mithra! when thou art offended and not satisfied, he soothes thy mind, and makes Mithra satisfied.

110 ""To whom shall I, in my might, impart sickness and death? To whom shall I impart poverty and sterility? Of whom shall I at one stroke cut off the offspring!

111 '"From whom shall I take away, without his thinking of it, the awful sovereignty, beautifully arrayed, with many armies, and most perfect; the sovereignty of an all-powerful tyrant, who fells down heads, valiant, smiting, and unsmitten; who orders chastisement to be done and his order is done at once, which he has ordered in his anger." 'O Mithra! while thou art satisfied and not angry, he moves thy heart to anger, and makes Mithra unsatisfied. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

112 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'A warrior with a silver helm, a golden cuirass, who kills with the poniard, strong, valiant, lord of the borough. Bright are the ways of Mithra, by which he goes towards the country, when, wishing well, he turns its plains and vales to pasture grounds,

113 'And then cattle and males come to graze, as many as he wants. 'May Mithra and Ahura, the high gods, come to us for help, when the poniard lifts up its voice aloud, when the nostrils of the horses quiver, when the poniards ...., when the, strings of the bows whistle and shoot sharp arrows; then the brood of those whose libations are hated fall smitten to the ground, with their hair torn off.

114 'So mayest thou, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! give swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success those who hate us, smite down our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries, our enemies, and those who hate us. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

115 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake. 'O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! thou master of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country, thou Zarathushtrotema!

116 'Mithra is twentyfold between two friends or two relations; 'Mithra is thirtyfold between two men of the same group; 'Mithra is fortyfold between two partners; 'Mithra is fiftyfold between wife and husband; 'Mithra is sixtyfold between two pupils (of the same master); 'Mithra is seventyfold between the pupil and his master; 'Mithra is eightyfold between the son-in-law and his father-in-law; 'Mithra is ninetyfold between two brothers;

117 'Mithra is a hundredfold between the father and the son; 'Mithra is a thousandfold between two nations; 'Mithra is ten thousandfold when connected with the Law of Mazda, and then he will be every day of victorious strength.

118 'May I come unto thee with a prayer that goes lowly or goes highly! As this sun rises up above the Hara Berezaiti and then fulfils its career, so may I, O Spitama! with a prayer that goes lowly or goes highly, rise up above the will of the fiend Angra Mainyu! 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

119 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastwes, ... sleepless, and ever awake, 'Offer up a sacrifice unto Mithra, O Spitama! and order thy pupils to do the same. 'Let the worshipper of Mazda sacrifice unto thee with small cattle, with black cattle, with flying birds, gliding forward on wings.

120 'To Mithra all the faithful worshiypers of Mazda must give strength and energy with offered and proffered Haomas, which the Zaotar proffers unto him and gives in sacrifice. Let the faithful man drink of the libations cleanly prepared, which if he does, if he offers them unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, Mithra will be pleased with him and without anger.'

121 Zarathushtra asked him: 'O Ahura Mazda! how shall the faithful man drink the libations cleanly prepared, which if he does and he offers them unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, Mithra will be pleased vvith him and without anger?'

122 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Let them wash their bodies three days and three nights; let them undergo thirty strokes for the sacrifice and prayer unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. Let them wash their bodies two days and two nights; let them undergo twenty strokes for the sacrifice and prayer unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. Let no man drink of these libations who does not know the staota yesnya: Vispe ratavo. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacriace worth being heard....

123 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'To whom Ahura Mazda offered up a sacrifice in the shining Garo-nmana.

124 'With his arms lifted up towards Immortality, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward from the shining Garo-nmana, in a beautiful chariot that drives on, ever-swift, adorned with all sorts of ornaments, and made of gold.

125 'Four stallions draw that chariot, all of the same white colour, living on heavenly food and undying. The hoofs of their fore-feet are shod with gold, the hoofs of their hind-feet are shod with silver; all are yoked to the same pole, and wear the yoke and the cross-beams of the yoke, fastened with hooks of Khshathra vairya to a beautiful....

126 'At his right hand drives Rashnu-Razishta, the most beneficent and most well-shapen. 'At his left hand drives the most upright Chista, the holy one, bearing libations in her hands, clothed with white clothes, and white herself; and the cursing thought of the Law of Mazda.

127 'Close by him drives the strong cursing thought of the wise man, opposing foes in the shape of a boar, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp- jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face, strong and swift to run, and rushing all around. 'Behind him drives Atar, all in a blaze, and the awful kingly Glory.

128 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand bows well-made, with a string of cowgut; they go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daevas.

129 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand vulture-feathered arrows, with a golden mouth, with a horn shaft, with a brass tail, and well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daevas.

130 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand spears well-made and sharp-piercing. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daevas. 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand steel-hammers, two-edged, well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daevas.

131 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand swords, two-edged and well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daevas. 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand maces of iron, well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daevas.

132 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stands a beautiful well-falling club, with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forward and fells men down; a club cast out of red brass, of strong, golden brass; the strongest of all weapons, the most victorious of all weapons. It goes through the heavenly space, it falls through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daevas.

133 After he has smitten the Daevas, after he has smitten down the men who lied unto Mithra, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward through Arezahe and Savahe, through Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu, through Vourubareshti and Vouru-jareshti, through this our Karshvare, the bright Hvaniratha.

134 'Angra Mainyu, who is all death, flees away in fear; Aeshma, the evil-doing Peshotanu, flees away in fear; the long-handed Bushyasta flees away in fear; all the Daevas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear.

135 'Oh! may we never fall across the rush of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, when in anger! May Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, never smite us in his anger; he who stands up upon this earth as the strongest of all gods, the most valiant of all gods, the most energetic of all gods, the swiftest of all gods, the most fiend-smiting of all gods, he, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

136 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'For whom white stallions, yoked to his chariot, draw it, on one golden wheel, with a full shining axle.

137 'If Mithra takes his libations to his own dwelling, "Happy that man, I think," -- said Ahura Mazda, "O holy Zarathra! for whom a holy priest, as pious as any in the world, who is the Word incarnate, offers up a sacrifice unto Mithra with bundles of baresma and with the [proper] words. '"Straight to that man, I think, will Mithra come, to visit his dwelling,

138 '"When Mithra's boons will come to him, as he follows God's teaching, and thinks according to God's teaching. '"Woe to that man, I think," - said Ahura Mazda, - "O holy Zarathushtra! for whom an unholy priest, not pious, who is not the Word incarnate, stands behind the baresma, however full may be the bundles of baresma he ties, however long may be the sacrifice he performs."

139 'He does not delight Ahura Mazda, nor the other Amesha-Spentas, nor Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, he who thus scorns Mazda, and the other Amesha-Spentas, and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, and the Law, and Rashnu, and Arstat, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

140 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake. 'I will offer up a sacrifice unto the good Mithra, O Spitama! unto the strong, heavenly god, who is foremost, highly merciful, and peerless; whose house is above, a stout and strong warrior;

141 'Victorious and armed with a well-fashioned weapon, watchful in darkness and undeceivable. He is the stoutest of the stoutest, he is the strongest of the strongest, he is the most intelligent of the gods, he is victorious and endowed with Glory: he, of the ten thousand eyes, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

142 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, ... sleepless, and ever awake; 'Who, with his manifold knowledge, powerfully increases the creation of Spenta Mainyu, and is a well-created and most great Yazata, self-shining like the moon, when he makes his own body shine;

143 'Whose face is flashing with light like the face of the star Tistrya; whose chariot is embraced by that goddess who is foremost amongst those who have no deceit in them, O Spitama! who is fairer than any creature in the world, and full of light to shine. I will worship that chariot, wrought by the Maker, Ahura Mazda, inlaid with stars and made of a heavenly substance; (the chariot) of Mithra, who has ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard....

144 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with a thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake. 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra around countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra within countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra in this country; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra above countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra under countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra before countries; 'We sacrifice unto the Mithra behind countries.

145 'We sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy gods; and unto the stars, and the moon, and the sun, with the trees that yield up baresma. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. 'Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... 'I bless the sacrifice and p yer, and the strength and vigour of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, a Yazata invoked by his own name; and that of Rama Hvastra. 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!'

Chapter 11

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness. Good prayer, excellent prayer to the worlds, O Zarathushtra!

2 This it is that takes away the friendship of the fiend and fiends, of the he-fiend and of the she-fiend; it turns away in giddiness their eyes, minds, ears, hands, feet, mouths, and tongues; as good prayer, without deceit and without harm, is Manly Courage, and turns away the Druj.

3 The holy Sraosha, the best protector ofthe poor, is fiend-smiting; he is the best smiter of the Druj. The faithful one who pronounces most words of blessing is the most victorious in victory; the Mathra Spenta takes best the unseen Druj way. The Ahuna Vairya is the best fiend-smiter among all spells; the word of truth is the fighter that is the best of all fiend-smiters. The Law of the worshippers of Mazda is the truest giver of all the good things of all those that are the offspring of the good principle; and so is the Law of Zarathushtra.

4 And he who should pronounce that word, O Zarathushtra! either a man or a woman with a mind all intent on holiness, with words all intent on holiness, with deeds all intent on holiness, when he is in fear either of high waters or of the darkness of a rainy night; Or at the fords of a river, or at the branching-off of roads; Or in the meeting together of the faithful, or the rushing together of the worshippers of the Daevas;

5 Whether on the road or in the law he has to fear, not in that day nor in that night shall the tormenting fiend, who wants to torment him, prevail to throw upon him the look of his evil eye, and the malice of the thief who carries off cattle shall not reach him.

6 Pronounce then that word, O Zarathushtra! that word to be spoken, when thou fall upon the idolaters and thieves and Daevas rushing together. Then the malice of the wicked worshippers of the Daevas, of the Yatus and their followers, of the Pairikas and their followers, will be affrighted and rush away. Down are the Daevas! Down are the Daeva-worshippers, and they take back their mouths from biting.

7 And therefore we take around us the holy-natured Sraosha, the holy, the fiend-smiter, as one does with shepherds' dogs; therefore we sacrifice unto the holy-natured Sraosha, the holy, the fiend-smiter, with good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

8 For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power, for his offering sacrifices unto the gods, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard. I will offer up libations unto the holy Sraosha, unto the great Ashi Vanguhi, and unto Nairyo-sangha, the tall-formed. So may the holy Sraosha, the fiend-smiter, come to us for help!

9 We worship the holy Sraosha; we worship the great master, Ahura Mazda, who is supreme in holiness, who is the foremost to do deeds of holiness. We worship all the words of Zarathushtra, and all the good deeds, those done and those to be done. Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

10 We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness; Who strikes the evil-doing man, who strikes the evil-doing woman; who smites the fiendish Druj, and is most strong and world-destroying; who maintains and looks over all this moving world;

11 Who, never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda; who, never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda; who protects all the material world with his club uplifted, from the hour when the sun is down;

12 Who never more did enjoy sleep from the time when the two Spirits made the world, namely, the good Spirit and the evil One; who every day, every night, fights with the Mazainya Daevas.

13 He bows not for fear and fright before the Daevas: before him all the Daevas bow for fear and fright reluctantly, and rush away to darkness. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power....

14 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness; Who with peace and friendship watches the Druj and the most beneficent Spirit: so that the Amesha-Spentas may go along the seven Karshvares of the earth; who is the teacher of the Law: he himself was taught it by Ahura Mazda, the holy One. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power....

15 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness; Whom the holy Ahura Mazda has created to withstand Aeshma, the fiend of the wounding spear; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and unto the two withstanders of sin and guilt,

16 The friends of the holy Sraosha; The friends of Rashnu Razista; The friends of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda; The friends of Arstat, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase, who makes the world prosper; The friends of Ashi Vanguhi; The friends of the good Chisti; The friends of the most right Chista;

17 The friends of all gods; The friends of the Mathra Spenta; The friends of the fiend-destroying Law; The friends of the long-traditional teaching; The friends of the Amesha-Spentas; The friends of ourselves, the Saoshyants1, the two-footed part of the holy creation; The friends of all the beings of the holy world. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power....

18 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of tbe Lord is the law of holiness.... We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness; The first [Sraosha], the next, the middle, and the highest; with the first sacrifice, with the next, with the middle, and with the highest. We sacrifice unto all [the moments] of the holy and strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word;

19 The strong Sraosha, of the manly courage, the warrior of the strong arms, who breaks the skulls of the Daevas; who smites with heavy blows and is strong to smite; the holy Sraosha, who smites with heavy blows; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant of both the holy Sraosha and Arshti.

20 We sacrifice for all the houses protected by Sraosha, where the holy Sraosha is dear and friendly treated and satisfied, as well as the faithful man, rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good deeds.

21 We sacrifice unto the body of the holy Sraosha; We sacrifice unto the body of Rashnu Razishta; We sacrifice unto the body of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; We sacrifice unto the body of the holy wind; We sacrifice unto the body of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda; We sacrifice unto the body of Arshtat, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase, who makes the world prosper; We sacrifice unto the body of Ashi Vanguhi; We sacrifice unto the body of the good Chisti; We sacrifice unto the body of the most right Chista; We sacrifice unto the bodies of all the gods;

22 We sacrifice unto the body of the Mathra Spenta; We sacrifice unto the body of the fiend-destroying Law; We sacrifice unto the body of the long-traditional teaching; We sacrifice unto the bodies of the Amesha-Spentas; We sacrifice unto the bodies of ourselves, the Saoshyants, the two-footed part of the holy creation; We sacrifice unto the bodies of all the beings of the holy world. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power....

23 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and prayer, the strength and vigour of the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!

Chapter 12

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness. Unto Rashnu Razishta; unto Arshtat, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase; unto the true-spoken speech, that makes the world grow; Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 The holy (Zarathushtra) asked him: 'O holy Ahura Mazda! I ask thee; answer me with words of truth, thou who knowest the truth. Thou art undeceivable, thou hast an undeceivable understanding; thou art undeceivable, as thou knowest everything. 'What of the Holy Word is created true? what is created progress-making? what is fit to discern? what is healthful? what is wise? what is happy and more powerful to destroy than all other creatures?'

2 Ahura Mazda answered: 'I will declare that unto thee, O pure, holy Spitama! 'The most glorious Holy Word (itself), this is what in the Holy Word is created true, what is created progress making, what is fit to discern, what is healthful, wise, and happy, what is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures.'

3 Ahura Mazda said: 'Bind up a three-twigged baresma against the way of the sun. [Address] unto me, Ahura Mazda, these words: "We invoke, we bless [Ahura]; I invoke the friendship [of Ahura] towards this var (ordeal) prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of the plants."

4 'Then I, Ahura Mazda, shall come for help unto thee, towards this var prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of the plants; 'Along with the fiend-smiting Wind, along with the cursing thought of the wise, along with the kingly Glory, along with Saoka, made by Mazda.

5 'We invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong; I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of: the plants.

6 'Then Rashnu the tall, the strong, will come for help unto thee, towards this var prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of the plants: 'Along with the fiend-smiting Wind, along with the cursing thought of the wise, along with the kingly Glory, along with Saoka, made by Mazda.

7 'O thou, holy Rashnu! O most true Rashnu! most beneficent Rashnu! most knowing Rashnu! most discerning Rashnu I most fore-knowing Rashnu! most far-seeing Rashnu I Rashnu, the best doer of justice! Rashnu, the best smiter of thieves;

8 'The uninjured, the best killer, smiter, destroyer of thieves and bandits! in whatever part of the world thou art watching the doings of men and making the account... (obscure).

9 'Whether thou, O hoIy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Arezahi, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared .... in whatever part of the world thou art.

10 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Savahi, we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared ... in whatever part of the world thou art.

11 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Fradadhafshu, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared .... in whatever part of the world thou art.

12 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Vidadhafshu, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared .... in whatever part of the world thou art.

13 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Vouru-bareshti, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared .... in whatever part of the world thou art.

14 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Vouru-jareshti, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared .... in whatever part of the world thou art.

15 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in this Karshvare, the bright Hvaniratha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared .... in whatever part of the world thou art.

16 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the sea Vouru-Kasha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared .... in whatever part of the world thou art.

17 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the tree of the eagle, that stands in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha, that is called the tree of good remedies, the tree of powerful remedies, the tree of all remedies, and on which rest the seeds of all plants; we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

18 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Aodhas of the Rangha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

19 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Sanaka of the Rangha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

20 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art at one of the angles of this earth, we invoke we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

21 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art at the boundary of this earth, we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

22 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in any place of this earth, we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

23 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Hara Berezaiti, the bright mountain around which the many (stars) revolve, where come neither night nor darkness, no cold wind and no hot wind, no deathful sickness, no uncleanness made by the Daevas, and the clouds cannot reach up unto the Haraiti Bareza; we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

24 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art upon the highest Hukairya, of the deep precipices, made of gold, where from this river of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita, leaps from a thousand times the height of a man, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

25 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art upon the Taera of the height Haraiti, around which the stars, the moon, and the sun revolve, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

26 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the star Vanant, made by Mazda, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

27 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the bright and glorious star Tishtrya, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards the var prepared....

28 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the group of the Haptoiringa stars, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

29 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in those stars that have the seed of the waters in them, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

30 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in those stars that have the seed of the earth in them, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

31 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in those stars that have the seed of the plants in them, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

32 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the stars that belong to the Good Spirit, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

33 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the moon which has the seed of the Bull in it, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

34 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the swift-horsed sun, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

35 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the sovereign endless Light, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

36 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

37 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the shining Garo-demana, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

38 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art, ... (obscure) we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared....

39 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard.... 'Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

40 'Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Rashnu Razishta; of Arshtat, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase; and of the true-spoken speech that makes the world grow. 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

Chapter 13

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hawan], the holy and master of holiness. Unto the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful; unto the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law1; unto the Fravashis of the next-of-kin, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'Do thou proclaim, O pure Zarathushtra! the vigour and strength, the glory, the help and the joy that are in the Fravashis of the faithful, the awful and overpowering Fravashis; do thou tell how they come to help me, how they bring assistance unto me, the awful Fravashis of the faithful2.

2 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathushtra! I maintain that sky, there above, shining and seen afar, and encompassing this earth all around.

3 'It looks like a palace, that stands built of a [181] heavenly substance3, firmly established, with ends that lie afar, shining in its body of ruby over the three-thirds (of the earth)4; it is like a garment inlaid with stars, made of a heavenly substance, that Mazda puts on, along with Mithra and Rashnu and Spenta-Armaiti, and on no side can the eye perceive the end of it.

4 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathushtra! I maintain Ardvi Sura Anahita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the flocks-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth increasing and holy, the country increasing and holy5;

5 'Who makes the seed of all males pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth, who makes all females bring forth in safety, who puts milk in the breasts of all females in the right measure and the right quality;

6 'The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of all the waters that run along the earth; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya down to the sea Vouru-kasha.

7 'All the shores of the sea Vouru-kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, [182] when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardvi Sura Anahita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels; the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels, is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse.

8 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven keshwars; this river of mine alone goes on bringing waters, both in summer and in winter. This river of mine purifies the seed in males, the womb in females, the milk in females' breasts7.

9 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathushtra! I maintain the wide earth made by Ahura, the large and broad earth, that bears so much that is fine, that bears all the bodily world, the live and the dead, and the high mountains, rich in pastures and waters;

10 'Upon which run the many streams and rivers; upon which the many kinds of plants grow up from the ground, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals, and to help the faithful.

11 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathushtra! I maintain in the womb the child that has been conceived, so that it does not die from the assaults of Vidotu, and I develop in it the bones, the hair, the ..., the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs.

12 'Had not the awful Fravashis of the faithful given help unto me, those animals and men of mine, of which there are such excellent kinds, would not subsist; strength would belong to the Druj, the dominion would belong to the Druj, the material world would belong to the Druj.

13 'Between the earth and the sky the immaterial creatures would be harassed by the Druj; between the earth and the sky the immaterial creatures would be smitten by the Druj; and never afterwards would Angra-Mainyu give way to the blows of Spenta-Mainyu.

14 'Through their brightness and glory the waters run and flow forward from the never-failing springs; through their brightness and glory the plants grow up from the earth, by the never-failing springs; through their brightness and glory the winds blow, driving down the clouds towards the never-failing springs.

15 'Through their brightness and glory the females conceive offspring; through their brightness and glory they bring forth in safety; it is through their brightness and glory when they become blessed with children.

16 'Through their brightness and glory a man is born who is a chief in assemblies and meetings, who listens well to the (holy) words, whom Wisdom holds dear, and who returns a victor from discussions with Gaotema, the heretic. 'Through their brightness and glory the sun goes his way; through their brightness and glory the moon goes her way; through their brightness and glory the stars go their way.

17 'In fearful battles they are the wisest for help, the Fravashis of the faithful. 'The most powerful amongst the Fravashis of the faithful, O Spitama! are those of the men of the primitive law or those of the Saoshyants not yet born, who are to restore the world. Of the others, the Fravashis of the living faithful are more powerful, O Zarathushtra! than those of the dead, O Spitama!

18 'And the man who in life shall treat the Fravashis of the faithful well, will become a ruler of the country with full power, and a chief most strong; so shall any man of you become, who shall treat Mithra well, the lord of wide pastures, and Arshtat, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

19 'Thus do I proclaim unto thee, O pure Spitama! the vigour and strength, the glory, the help, and the joy that are in the Fravashis of the faithful, the awful and overpowering Fravashis; and how they come to help me, how they bring assistance unto me, the awful Fravashis of the faithful.'

20 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'If in this material world, O Spitama Zarathushtra! thou happenest to come upon frightful roads, full of dangers and fears, O Zarathushtra! and thou fearest for thyself, then do thou recite these words, then proclaim these fiend-smiting words, O Zarathushtra!

21 '"I praise, I invoke, I meditate upon, and we sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. We worship the Fravashis of the masters of the houses, those of the lords of the boroughs, those of the lords of the towns, those of the lords of the countries, those of the Zarathustrotemas; the Fravashis of those that are, the Fravashis of those that have been, the Fravashis of those that will be; all the Fravashis of all nations, and most friendly the Fravashis of the friendly nations;

22 '"Who maintain the sky, who maintain the waters, who maintain the earth, who maintain the cattle, who maintain in the womb the child that has been conceived, so that it does not die from the assaults of Vidotu, and develop in it the bones, the hair, the ...., the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs;

23 '"Who are much-bringing, who move with awfulness, well-moving, swiftly moving, quickly moving, who move when invoked; who are to be invoked in the conquest of good, who are to be invoked in fights against foes, who are to be invoked in battles;

24 '"Who give victory to their invoker, who give boons to their lover, who give health to the sick man, who give good Glory to the faithful man that brings libations and invokes them with a sacrifice and words of propitiation,

25 '"Who turn to that side where are faithful men, most devoted to holiness, and where is the greatest piety, where the faithful man is rejoiced, and where the faithful man is not ill-treated."'

26 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who are the mightiest of drivers, the lightest of those driving forwards, the slowest of the retiring, the safest of all bridges, the least-erring of all weapons and arms, and who never turn their backs.

27 At once, wherever they come, we worship them, the good ones, the excellent ones, the good, the strong, the beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. They are to be invoked when the bundles of baresma are tied; they are to be invoked in fights against foes, in battles, and there where gallant men strive to conquer foes.

28 Mazda invoked them for help, when he fixed the sky and the waters and the earth and the plants; when Spenta-Mainyu fixed the sky, when he fixed the waters, when the earth, when the cattle, when the plants, when the child conceived in the womb, so that it should not die from the assaults of Vidotu, and developed in it the bones, the hair, the ...., the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs.

29 Spenta-Mainyu maintained the sky, and they sustained it from below, they, the strong Fravashis, who sit in silence, gazing with sharp looks; whose eyes and ears are powerful, who bring long joy, high and high-girded; well-moving and moving afar, loud-snorting, possessing riches and a high renown.

30 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; whose friendship is good, and who know how to benefit; whose friendship lasts long; who like to stay in the abode where they are not harmed by its dwellers; who are good, beautiful afar, health-giving, of high renown, conquering in battle, and who never do harm first.

31 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; whose will is dreadful unto those who vex them; powerfully working and most beneficent; who in battle break the dread arms of their foes and haters.

32 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; liberal, valiant, and full of strength, not to be seized by thought, welfare-giving, kind, and health-giving, following with Ashi's remedies, as far as the earth extends, as the rivers stretch, as the sun rises.

33 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who gallantly and bravely fight, causing havoc, wounding, breaking to pieces all the malice of the malicious, Daevas and men, and smiting powerfully in battle, at their wish and will.

34 You kindly deliver the Victory made by Ahura, and the crushing Ascendant, most beneficently, to those countries where you, the good ones, unharmed and rejoiced, unoppressed and unoffended, have been held worthy of sacrifice and prayer, and proceed the way of your wish.

35 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, of high renown, smiting in battle, most strong, shield-bearing and harmless to those who are true, whom both the pursuing and the fleeing invoke for help: the pursuer invokes them for a swift race, and for a swift race does the fleer invoke them;

36 Who turn to that side where are faithful men, most devoted to holiness, and where is the greatest piety, where the faithful man is rejoiced, and where the faithful man is not ill-treated.

37 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who form many battalions, girded with weapons, lifting up spears, and full of sheen; who in fearful battles come rushing along where the gallant heroes go and assail the Danus.

38 There you destroy the victorious strength of the Turanian Danus; there you destroy the malice of the Turanian Danus; through you the chiefs are of high intellect and most successful; they, the gallant heroes, the gallant Saoshyants, the gallant conquerors of the offspring of the Danus chiefs of myriads, who wound with stones.

39 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who rout the two wings of an army standing in battle array, who make the centre swerve, and swiftly pursue onwards, to help the faithful and to distress the doers of evil deeds.

40 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; awful, overpowering, and victorious, smiting in battle, sorely wounding, blowing away (the foes), moving along to and fro, of good renown, fair of body, godly of soul, and holy; who give victory to their invoker, who give boons to their lover, who give health to the sick man;

41 Who give good glory to him who worships them with a sacrifice, as that man did worship them, the holy Zarathushtra, the chief of the material world, the head of the two-footed race, in whatever struggle he had to enter, in whatever distress he did fear;

42 Who, when well invoked, enjoy bliss in the heavens; who, when well invoked, come forward from the heavens, who are the heads of that sky above, possessing the well-shapen Strength, the Victory made by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant, and Welfare, the wealth-bringing, boon-bringing, holy, well fed, worthy of sacrifice and prayer in the perfection of holiness.

43 They shed Satavaesa between the earth and the sky, him to whom the waters belong, who listens to appeals and makes the waters flow and the plants grow up, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals and to help the faithful.

44 Satavaesa comes down and flows between the earth and the sky, he to whom the waters belong, who listens to appeals and makes the waters and the plants grow up, fair, radiant, and full of light, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals, and to help the faithful.

45 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; with helms of brass, with weapons of brass, with armour of brass; who struggle in the fights for victory in garments of light, arraying the battles and bringing them forwards, to kill thousands of Daevas. When the wind blows from behind them and brings their breath unto men,

46 Then men know where blows the breath of victory: and they pay pious homage unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, with their hearts prepared and their arms uplifted.

47 Whichever side they have been first worshipped in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, to that side turn the awful Fravashis of the faithful, along with Mithra and Rashnu and the awful cursing thought of the wise and the victorious wind.

48 And those nations are smitten at one stroke by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads, against which turn the awful Fravashis of the faithful, along with Mithra and Rashnu, and the awful cursing thought of the wise and the victorious wind.

49 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who come and go through the borough at the time of the Hamaspathmaidyem; they go along there for ten nights, asking thus:

50 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss? Of which of us will the name be taken for invocation? Of which of you will the soul be worshipped by you with a sacrifice? To whom will this gift of ours be given, that he may have never-failing food for ever and ever?'

51 And the man who offers them up a sacrifice, with meat and clothes in his hand, with a prayer worthy of bliss, the awful Fravashis of the faithful, satisfied, unharmed, and unoffended, bless thus:

52 'May there be in this house flocks of animals and men! May there be a swift horse and a solid chariot! May there be a man who knows how to praise God and rule in an assembly, who will offer us sacrifices with meat and clothes in his hand, and with a prayer worthy of bliss.'

53 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who show beautiful paths to the waters, made by Mazda, which had stood before for a long time in the same place without flowing:

54 And now they flow along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way appointed to them, at the wish of Ahura Mazda, at the wish of the Amesha-Spentas.

55 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who show a beautiful growth to the fertile plants, which had stood before for a long time in the same place without growing;

56 And now they grow up along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, in the time appointed to them, at the wish of Ahura Mazda, at the wish of the Amesha-Spentas.

57 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who showed their paths to the stars, the moon, the sun, and the endless lights, that had stood before for a long time in the same place, without moving forwards, through the oppression of the Daevas and the assaults of the Daevas.

58 And now they move around in their far-revolving circle for ever, till they come to the time of the good restoration of the world.

59 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the bright sea Vouru-Kasha, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

60 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the stars Haptoiringa, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

61 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the body of Keresaspa, the son of Sama, the club-bearer with plaited hair, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

62 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the seed of the holy Zarathushtra, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

63 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who fight at the right hand of the reigning lord, if he rejoices the faithful and if the awful Fravashis of the faithful are not hurt by him, if they are rejoiced by him, unharmed and unoffended.

64 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who are greater, who are stronger, who are swifter, who are more powerful, who are more victorious, who are more healing, who are more effective than can be expressed by words; who run by tens of thousands into the midst of the Myazdas.

65 And when the waters come up from the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathushtra! along with the Glory made by Mazda, then forwards come the awful Fravashis of the faithful, many and many hundreds, many and many thousands, many and many tens of thousands,

66 Seeking water for their own kindred, for their own borough, for their own town, for their own country, and saying thus: 'May our own country have a good store and full joy!'

67 They fight in the battles that are fought in their own place and land, each according to the place and house where he dwelt (of yore): they look like a gallant warrior who, girded up and watchful, fights for the hoard he has treasured up.

68 And those of them who win bring waters to their own kindred, to their own borough, to their own town, to their own country, saying thus: 'May my country grow and increase!'

69 And when the all-powerful sovereign of a country has been surprised by his foes and haters, he invokes them, the awful Fravashis of the faithful.

70 And they come to his help, if they have not been hurt by him, if they have been rejoiced by him, if they have not been harmed nor offended, the awful Fravashis of the faithful: they come flying unto him, it seems as if they were well-winged birds.

71 They come in as a weapon and as a shield, to keep him behind and to keep him in front, from the Druj unseen, from the female Varenya fiend, from the evil-doer bent on mischief, and from that fiend who is all death, Angra Mainyu. It will be as if there were a thousand men watching over one man;

72 So that neither the sword well-thrust, neither the club well-falling, nor the arrow well-shot, nor the spear well-darted, nor the stones flung from the arm shall destroy him.

73 They come on this side, they come on that side, never resting, the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, asking for help thus: 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss? Of which of us will the name be taken for invocation? Of which of you will the soul be worshipped by you with a sacrifice? To whom will that gift of ours be given, that he may have never-failing food for ever and ever?'

74 We worship the perception; we worship the intellect; we worship the conscience; we worship those of the Saoshyants; We worship the souls; those of the tame animals; those of the wild animals; those of the animals that live in the waters; those of the animals that live under the ground; those of the flying ones; those of the running ones; those of the grazing ones. We worship their Fravashis.

75 We worship the Fravashis. We worship them, the liberal; We worship them, the valiant; we worship them, the most valiant; We worship them, the beneficent; we worship them, the most beneficent; We worship them, the powerful; We worship them, the most strong; We worship them, the light; we worship them, the most light; We worship them, the effective; we worship them, the most effective.

76 They are the most effective amongst the creatures of the two Spirits, they the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who stood holding fast when the two Spirits created the world, the Good Spirit and the Evil One.

77 When Angra Mainyu broke into the creation of the good holiness, then came in across Vohu Mano and Atar.

78 They destroyed the malice of the fiend Angra Mainyu, so that the waters did not stop flowing nor did the plants stop growing; but at once the most beneficent waters of the creator and ruler, Ahura Mazda, flowed forward and his plants went on growing.

79 We worship all the waters; We worship all the plants; We worship all the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. We worship the waters by their names; We worship the plants by their names; We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful by their names.

80 Of all those ancient Fravashis, we worship the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda; who is the greatest, the best, the fairest, the most solid, the wisest, the finest of body and supreme in holiness;

81 Whose soul is the Mathra Spenta, who is white, shining, seen afar; and we worship the beautiful forms, the active forms wherewith he clothes the Amesha-Spentas; we worship the swift-horsed sun.

82 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the Amesha-Spentas, the bright ones, whose looks perform what they wish, the tall, quickly coming to do, strong, and lordly, who are undecaying and holy;

83 Who are all seven of one thought, who are all seven of one speech, who are all seven of one deed; whose thought is the same, whose speech is the same, whose deed is the same, whose father and commander is the same, namely, the Maker, Ahura Mazda;

84 Who see one another's soul thinking of good thoughts, thinking of good words, thinking of good deeds, thinking of Garo-nmana, and whose ways are shining as they go down towards the libations.

85 We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis: that of the most rejoicing fire, the beneficent and assembly-making; and that of the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god; and that of Nairyo-sangha.

86 And that of Rashnu Razishta; That of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; That of the Mathra-Spenta; That of the sky; That of the waters; That of the earth; That of the plants; That of the Bull; That of the living man; That of the holy creation.

87 We worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan [Gayomard], who first listened unto the thought and teaching of Ahura Mazda; of whom Ahura formed the race of the Aryan nations, the seed of the Aryan nations. We worship the piety and the Fravashi of the holy Zarathushtra;

88 Who first thought what is good, who first spoke what is good, who first did what is good; who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground; who first knew and first taught; who first possessed and first took possession of the Bull, of Holiness, of the Word, the obedience to the Word, and dominion, and all the good things made by Mazda, that are the offspring of the good Principle;

89 Who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground; who first took the turning of the wheel5 from the hands of the Daeva and of the cold-hearted man; who first in the material world pronounced the praise of Asha, thus bringing the Daevas to naught, and confessed himself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas, and obeys the laws of Ahura.

90 Who first in the material world said the word that destroys the Daevas, the law of Ahura; who first in the material world proclaimed the word that destroys the Daevas, the law of Ahura; who first in the material world declared all the creation of the Daevas unworthy of sacrifice and prayer; who was strong, giving all the good things of life, the first bearer of the Law amongst the nations;

91 In whom was heard the whole Mathra, the word of holiness; who was the lord and master of the world, the praiser of the most great, most good and most fair Asha; who had a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings;

92 For whom the Amesha-Spentas longed, in one accord with the sun, in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart; they longed for him, as the lord and master of the world, as the praiser of the most great, most good, and most fair Asha, as having a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings;

93 In whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creations cried out, Hail!

94 'Hail to us! for he is born, the Athravan, Spitama Zarathushtra. Zarathushtra will offer us sacrifices with libations and bundles of baresma; and there will the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda come and spread through all the seven Karshvares of the earth.

95 'There will Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles; there will the powerful Apam-Napat increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles.' We worship the piety and Fravashi of Maidhyo-maungha, the son of Arasti, who first listened unto the word and teaching of Zarathushtra.

96 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asmo-hvanvant; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asan-hvanvant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gavayan. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parshat-gaush. the son of Frata; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohvasti, the son of Snaoya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Isvat, the son of Varaza.

97 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Saena, the son of Ahum-stut, who first appeared upon this earth with a hundred pupils. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradhidaya. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usmanara, the son of Paeshata. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-raochah, the son of Franya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asho-raochah, the son of Franya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmo-raochah, the son of Franya.

98 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Isat-vastra, the son of Zarathushtra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urvatat-nara, the son of Zarathushtra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-chithra, the son of Zarathushtra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daevo-tbis, the son of Takhma. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thrimithwant, the son of Spitama. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daungha, the son of Zairita.

99 We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Vistaspa; the gallant one, who was the incarnate Word, the mighty-speared, and lordly one; who, driving the Druj before him, sought wide room for the holy religion; who, driving the Druj before him, made wide room for the holy religion, who made himself the arm and support of this law of Ahura, of this law of Zarathushtra.

100 Who took her, standing bound, from the hands of the Hunus, and established her to sit in the middle [of the world], high ruling, never falling back, holy, nourished with plenty of cattle and pastures, blessed with plenty of cattle and pastures.

101 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zairi-vairi; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yukhta-vairi; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Sriraokhshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Keresaokhshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vanara; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varaza; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Bujisravah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Berezyarshti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tizyarshti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Perethu-arshti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vizhyarshti.

102 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Naptya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vazhaspa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Habaspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vistauru, the son of Naotara. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frash-ham-vareta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frasho-kareta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Atare-vanu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Atare-pata; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Atare-data; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Atare-chithra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Atare-hvarenah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Atare-savah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Atare-zantu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Atare-danghu.

103 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hushkyaothna; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pishkyaothna; We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Spento-data. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Basta-vairi; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kava-razem. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frashaoshtra, the son of Hvova; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Jamaspa, the son of Hvova; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avaraoshtri.

104 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hushkyaothna, the son of Frashaoshtra; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvadaena, the son of Frashaoshtra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hanghaurvaungh, the son of Jamaspa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vareshna, the son of Hanghaurvaungh. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-nemah, the son of Avaraoshtri, To withstand evil dreams, to withstand evil visions, to withstand evil ....(?), to withstand the evil Pairikas.

105 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Mathravaka, the son of Simaezhi, the Aethrapati, the Hamidhpati, who was able to smite down most of the evil, unfaithful Ashemaoghas, that shout the hymns, and acknowledge no lord and no master, the dreadful ones whose Fravashis are to be broken; to withstand the evil done by the faithful.

106 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-stu, the son of Maidhyo-maungha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avarethrabah, the son of Rastare-vaghant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Bujra, the son of Dazgaraspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zbaurvant; We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Karesna, the son of Zbaurvant; who was the incarnate Word, mighty-speared and lordly;

107 In whose house did walk the good, beautiful, shining Ashi Vanguhi, in the shape of a maid fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-up girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious seed; who, rushing to the battle, knew how to make room for himself with his own arms; who, rushing to the battle, knew how to fight the foe with his own arms.

108 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Viraspa, the son of Karesna; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Azata, the son of Karesna: We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frayaodha, the son of Karesna. We worship the Fravashi of the holy and good Arshya; Arshya, the chief in assemblies, the most energetic of the worshippers of Mazda. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Darayat-ratha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frayat-ratha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Skarayat-ratha.

109 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Arshvant; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vyarshvant; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paityarshvant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Amru; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Chamru. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Dratha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paiti-dratha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paiti-vangha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frasha-vakhsha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nemo-vanghu, the son of Vaedhayangha.

110 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Visadha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-vanghu, the son of Bivandangha; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Jaro-danghu, the son of Pairishtira; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Neremyazdana, the son of Athwyoza. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Berezishnu, the son of Ara; we worship the Fravashi of the holy Kasupatu, the son of Ara. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frya. We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-ERETA.

111 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaopi-vanghu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Ham-baretar vanghvam. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Staotar-Vahishtahe-Ashyehe. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouru-dhakhshti, the son of Khshtavaenya; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Khshoi-wraspa, the son of Khshtavaenya.

112 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ayo-asti, the son of Pouru-dhakhshti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohv-asti, the son of Pouru-dhakhshti; We-worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaya-dhasti, the son of Pouru-dhakhshti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-vazdah, the son of Pouru-dhakhshti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urudhu, the son of Pouru-dhakhshti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Khshathro-chinah, the son of Khshvoi-wraspa.

113 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashahura, the son of Jishti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fraya-zanta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frenah, the son of Frayazanta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Jaro-vanghu, the son of Frayazanta. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Asha-vazdah and Thrita, the sons of Sayuzhdri. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-raochah, the son of Varakasa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Arejan-ghant, the Turanian. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usinemah.

114 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yukhtaspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-skyaothna, the son of Gayadhasti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-nemah, the son of Katu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-vazdah, the son of Katu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-saredha, the son of Asha-sairyach; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-saredha, the son of Zairyach. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Chakhshni. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Syavaspi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pourushti, the son of Kavi.

115 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmapa, the son of Janara. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nanarasti, the son of Paeshatah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zarazdati, the son of Paeshatah. We worship tke Fravashi of the holy Gaevani, the son of Vohu-nemah. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Arezva and Sruta-spadha We worship the Fravashis Of the holy Zrayah and Spento-khratu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varshni, the son of Vagereza. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frachya, the son of Taurvati. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vahmae-data, the son of Mathravaka, We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ushtra, the son of Sadhanah.

116 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Danghu-sruta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Danghu-fradhah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aspo-padho-makhshti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Payanghro-makhshti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ushtazanta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-savah, We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asho-urvatha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Haomo-hvarenah.

117 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frava. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usnaka. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvanvant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daeno-vazah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Arejaona. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aiwi-hvarenah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huyazata. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hare-dhaspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pazinah. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvakhshathra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asho-paoirya, We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-ERETA.

118 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hugau. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Anghuyu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gauri; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yushta, the son of Gauri [or, the holy Gaorayana]. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Mazdra-vanghu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Srira-vanghu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ayuta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Suro-yazata.

119 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Eredhwa We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kavi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshan, the son of the great Vidi-sravah, known afar. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vanghu-dhata, the son of Hvadhata; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Uzya, the son of Vanghu-dhata; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frya.

120 We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yenhe-raochau; We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yenhe-vereza; We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yahmai-ushta. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yoishta, of the Fryana house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usmanara, the son of Paeshatah Paitisrira, to withstand the evil done by one's kindred.

121 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Spiti, the son of Uspasnu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Erezraspa, the son of Uspasnu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usadhan, the son of Mazdayasna. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradat-vanghu, the son of Stivant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Raochas-chaeshman; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-chaeshman We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frasrutara; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Visrutara. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Baremna. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Visruta.

122 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvaspa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Chathwaraspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Dawra-maeshi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fraora-ostra [Fraoraosa], the son of Kaosha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frinaspa, the son of Kaeva. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradat-nara, the son of Gravaratu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-ushtra, the son of Akhnangha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vivare-shvant, the son of Ainyu.

123 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frarazi, the son of Tura. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Stipi, the son of Ravant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parshanta, the son of Gandarewa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avahya, the son of Spenta [Spengha]. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aeta [Aetava], the son of Mayu [Mayava]; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yaetush-gau, the son of Vyatana. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garshta, the son of Kavi.

124 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pourubangha, the son of Zaosha. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-data, the son of Kata. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Baungha, the son of Saungha [Saunghangha]. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Hvareza and Ankasa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aravaoshtra, the son of Erezvat-danghu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frachithra, the son of Berezvant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohuperesa, the son of Ainyu.

125 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parodasma, the son of Dashtaghni, a Miza [Muzha] man of the Miza [Muzha] land. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Fratira [Fratura] and Baeshatastira [Baeshatastura]. We worship the Fravashi of the holy and pure Avare-gau, the son of Aoighimatastira [Aoikhmatastura]. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaomant, the son of Zavan, a Raozhdya man of the Raozhdya land. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thrit, the son of Aevo-saredha-fyaeshta, a Tanya man of the Tanya land.

126 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tironakathwa, of the Uspaeshta-Saena house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Utayuti Vitkavi, the son of Zighri, of the Saena house; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frohakafra, the son of Merezishmya, of the Saena house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmo-raochah, the son of Perethuafzem.

127 We worship the Fravashis of the holy Ashanemah and Vidat-gau, of this country. We worship the Fravashis of the holy Par-shatgau and Dazgara-gau, of the Apakhshira country. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hufra-vakhsh, of the Kahrkana house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Akayadha, of the Pidha house. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Jamaspa, the younger. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Maidhyomaungha, the younger. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urvatat-nara, the younger.

128 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Raochaschaeshman; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-chaeshman; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradat-hvarenah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varedathvarenah [Vidhat-hvarenah]; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vouru-nemah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vourusavah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyat-ereta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyat-nemah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-ERETA;

129 Whose name will be the victorious SAOSHYANT and whose name will be Astvat-ereta. He will be SAOSHYANT (the Beneficent One), because he will benefit the whole bodily world; he will be ASTVAT-ERETA (he who makes the bodily creatures rise up), because as a bodily creature and as a living creature he will stand against the destruction of the bodily creatures, to withstand the Druj of the two-footed brood, to withstand the evil done by the faithful.

130 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yima, the son of Vivanghant; the valiant Yima, who had flocks at his wish; to stand against the oppression caused by the Daevas, against the drought that destroys pastures, and against death that creeps unseen.

131 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thraetaona, of the Athwya house; to stand against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever, and incontinency, to stand against the evil done by the Serpent. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aoshnara, the son of Pouru-jira. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Uzava, the son of Tumaspa. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aghraeratha, the demi-man. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Manushchithra, the son of Airyu.

132 We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Kavata; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Aipivanghu; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Usadhan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Arshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pisanah [Pisinah]; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Byarshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Syavarshan; We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Husravah [Haosravah];

133 For the well-shapened Strength, for the Victory made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant for the righteousness of the law, for the innocence of the law, for the unconquerable power of the law; for the extermination of the enemies at one stroke;

134 And for the vigour of health, for the Glory made by Mazda, for the health of the body, and for a good, virtuous offspring, wise, chief in assemblies, bright, and clear-eyed, that frees [their father] from the pangs [of hell], of good intellect; and for that part in the blessed world that falls to wisdom and to those who do not follow impiety;

135 For a dominion full of splendour, for a long, long life, and for all boons and remedies; to withstand the Yatus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf; to withstand the evil done by oppressors.

136 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Keresaspa, the Sama, the club-bearer with plaited hair; to withstand the dreadful arm and the hordes with the wide battle array, with the many spears, with the straight spears, with the spears uplifted, bearing the spears of havoc; to withstand the dreadful brigand who works destruction, the man-slayer who has no mercy; to withstand the evil done by the brigand.

137 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Akhrura, the son of Husravah; To withstand the wicked one that deceives his friend and the niggard that causes the destruction of the world. We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Haoshyangha; To withstand tke Mazainya Daevas and the Varenya fiends; to withstand the evil done by the Daevas.

138 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradhakhshti, the son of the jar, To withstand Aeshma, the fiend of the wounding spear, and the Daevas that grow through Aeshma; to withstand the evil done by Aeshma.

139 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvovi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thriti; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouruchista. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hutaosa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huma [Humaya]. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zairichi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vispa-taurvashi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ushtavaiti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tushnamaiti.

140 We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni, the wife of Usenemah; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni, the wife of the son of Frayazanta; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni, the wife of the son of Khshoiwraspa; We worship the Fravashi of the holy Freni, the wife of Gayadhasti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asabani [Asabana], the wife of Pourudhakhsti. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyeinti, the wife of Staotar-Vahishtahe-Ashyehe.

141 We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Vadhut. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Jaghrudh. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Franghadh. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Urudhayant. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Paesanghanu. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvaredhi. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huchithra. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kanuka. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Srutat-fedhri.

142 We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Vanghu-fedhri; We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Eredat-fedhri, who is called Vispa-taurvairi. She is Vispa-taurvairi (the all-destroying) because she will bring him forth, who will destroy the malice of Daevas and men, to withstand the evil done by the Jahi.

143 We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Aryan countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Aryan countries. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Turanian countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Turanian countries. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Sairimyan countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Sairimyan countries.

144 We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Sairimyan countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Saini countries. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Dahi countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Dahi countries. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in all countries; We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in all countries.

145 We worship all the good, awful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, from Gaya Mareta [Gayomard] down to the victorious Saoshyant. May the Fravashis of the faithful come quickly to us! May they come to our help!

146 They protect us when in distress with manifest assistance, with the assistance of Ahura Mazda and of the holy, powerful Sraosha, and with the Mathra-Spenta, the all-knowing, who hates the Daevas with a mighty hate, a friend of Ahura Mazda, whom Zarathushtra worshipped so greatly in the material world.

147 May the good waters and the plants and the Fravashis of the faithful abide down here! May you be rejoiced and well received in this house! Here are the Athravans of the countries, thinking of good holiness. Our hands are lifted up for asking help, and for offering a sacrifice unto you, O most beneficent Fravashis!

148 We worship the Fravashis of all the holy men and holy women whose souls are worthy of sacrifice, whose Fravashis are worthy of invocation. We worship the Fravashis of all the holy men and holy women, our sacrificing to whom makes us good in the eyes of Akura Mazda: of all of those we have heard that Zarathushtra is the first and best, as a follower of Ahura and as a performer of the law.

149 We worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of men of the primitive law, of the first who listened to the teaching (of Ahura), holy men and holy women, who struggled for holiness; we worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of our next-of-kin, holy men and holy women, who struggled for holiness.

150 We worship the men of the primitive law who will be in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries; We worship the men of the primitive law who have been in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries; We worship the men of the primitive law who are in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries.

151 We worship the men of the primitive law in all houses, boroughs, towns, and countries, who obtained these houses, who obtained these boroughs, who obtained these towns, who obtained these countries, who obtained holiness, who obtained the Mathra, who obtained the [blessedness of the] soul, who obtained all the perfections of goodness.

152 We worship Zarathushtra, the lord and master of all the material world, the man of the primitive law; the wisest of all-beings, the best-ruling of all beings, the brightest of all beings, the most glorious of all beings, the most worthy of sacrifice amongst all beings, the most worthy of prayer amongst all beings, the most worthy of propitiation amongst all beings, the most worthy of glorification amongst all beings, whom we call well-desired and worthy of sacrifice and prayer as much as any being can be, in the perfection of his holiness.

153 We worship this earth; we worship those heavens; We worship those good things that stand between (the earth and the heavens) and that are worthy of sacrifice and prayer and are to be worshipped by the faithful man.

154 We worship the souls of the wild beasts and of the tame. We worship the souls of the holy men and women, born at any time, whose consciences struggle, or will struggle, or have. struggled, for the good.

155 We worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of the holy men and holy women who struggle, will struggle, or have struggled, and teach the Law and who have struggled for holiness. Yenhe hatam: All those beings to whom Ahura Mazda... Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

156 The Fravashis of the faithful, awful and overpowering, awful and victorious; the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law; the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; may these Fravashis come satisfied into this house, may they walk satisfied through this house!

157 May they, being satisfied, bless this house with the presence of the kind Ashi Vanguhi! May they leave this house satisfied! May they carry back from here hymns and worship to the Maker, Ahura Mazda, and the Amesha-Spentas! May they not leave this house of us, the worshippers of Mazda, complaining!

158 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful; of the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law; of the Fravashis of the next-of-kin. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 14

Warharan Yasht (chapter 14)

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hawan], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda, and unto the crushing Ascendant;1 Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

2 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him first, running in the shape of a strong, beautiful wind, made by Mazda; he bore the good Glory, made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda, that is both health and strength.

3 Then he, who is the strongest,2 said unto him:3 'I am the strongest in strength; I am the most victorious in victory; I am the most glorious in glory; I am the most favouring in favour; I am the best giver of welfare: I am the best-healing in health-giving.

4 'And I shall destroy the malice of all the malicious, the malice of Daevas and men, of the 'Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf.

5 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard; namely, unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. We worship Verethraghna, made by Ahura, with an offering of libations, according to the primitive ordinances of Ahura; with the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. 'Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

6 'We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.' Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

7 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the second time, running in the shape of a beautiful bull, with yellow ears and golden horns; upon whose horns floated the well-shapen Strength, and Victory, beautiful of form, made by Ahura: thus did he come, bearing the good Glory, made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda, that is both health and strength. Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him: 'I am the strongest in strength....,4 'And I shall destroy the malice of all malicious....5 For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....6

8 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

9 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the third time, running in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with yellow ears and a golden caparison; upon whose forehead floated the well-shapen Strength, and Victory, beautiful of form, made by Ahura: thus did he come, bearing the good Glory, made by Mazda, that is both health and strength. Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him: 'I am the strongest in strength.... 'And I shall destroy the malice of all malicious....' For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

10 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

11 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the fourth time, running in the shape of a burden-bearing7 camel, sharp-toothed,8 swift ....,9 stamping forwards, long-haired, and living in the abodes of men;10

12 Who of all males in rut shows greatest strength and greatest fire, when he goes to his females. Of all females those are best kept whom a burden-bearing camel keeps, who has thick forelegs and large humps, ...,11 quick-eyed, long-headed, bright, tall, and strong;

13 Whose piercing look goes afar ....,12 even in the dark of the night; who throws white foam along his mouth; well-kneed, well-footed, standing with the countenance of an all-powerful master: Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda....

14 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

15 'Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the fifth time, running in the shape of a boar, opposing the foes, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face,13 strong, and swift to run, and rushing all around.14 Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda.

16 We sacrifice unto Verethragna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

17 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the sixth time, running in the shape of a beautiful youth of fifteen, shining, clear-eyed, thin-heeled. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda....

18 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

19 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the seventh time, running in the shape of a raven that ...15 below and ...15 above, and that is the swiftest of all birds, the lightest of the flying creatures.

20 He alone of living things, — he or none, — overtakes the flight of an arrow, however well it has been shot. He flies up joyfully at the first break of dawn, wishing the night to be no more, wishing the dawn, that has not yet come, to come.16

21 He grazes the hidden ways17 of the mountains, he grazes the tops of the mountains, he grazes the depths of the vales, he grazes the summits18 of the trees, listening to the voices of the birds. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda,19 the Glory made by Mazda.

22 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world. thou Holy One! Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

23 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the eighth time, running in the shape of a wild, beautiful ram, with horns bent round.20 Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda,21 the Glory made by Mazda....

24 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

25 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the ninth time, running in the shape of a beautiful, fighting buck, with sharp horns. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda....

26 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

27 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the tenth time, running in the shape of a man, bright and beautiful, made by Mazda: he held a sword with a golden blade, inlaid with all sorts of ornaments. Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda.

28 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way. Unto him did the holy Zarathushtra offer up a sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

29 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of manliness,22 the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the Kara fish,23 that lives beneath the waters and can measure24 a rippling of the water, not thicker than a hair, in the Rangha whose ends lie afar, whose depth is a thousand times the height of a man.25 For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

30 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way. Unto him did the holy Zarathushtra offer up a sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

31 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of manliness, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the male horse, that, in the dark of the night, in its first half26 and through the rain, can perceive a horse's hair lying on the ground and knows whether it is from the head or from the tail. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

32 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way. Unto him did the holy Zarathushtra sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

33 Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of virility, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the vulture with a golden collar,27 that, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a piece of flesh not thicker than the fist, giving just as much light as a needle gives, as the point of a needle gives.28 For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

34 We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! 'If I have a curse thrown upon me, a spell told upon me by the many men who hate me, what is the remedy for it?'

35 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Take thou a feather of that bird with ...29 feathers, the Varenjana, O Spitama Zarathushtra! With that feather thou shalt rub thy own body,30 with that feather thou shalt curse back thy enemies.

36 'If a man holds a bone of that strong bird, or a feather of that strong bird, no one can smite or turn to flight that fortunate man. The feather of that bird of birds brings him help; it brings unto him the homage of men, it maintains in him his glory.

37 'Then the sovereign, the lord of countries, will no longer kill his30 hundreds, though he is a killer of men; the ....31 will not kill at one stroke; he alone smites and goes forwards.

38 'All tremble before him who holds the feather, they tremble therefore before me; all my enemies tremble before me and fear my strength and victorious force and the fierceness established in my body.

39 'He carries the chariot of the lords; he carries the chariots of the lordly ones, the chariots of the sovereigns. He carried the chariot of Kavi Usa;33 upon his wings runs the male horse,34 runs the burden-bearing camel, runs the water of the river.

40 'Him rode the gallant Thraetaona, who smote Azhi Dahaka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who had a thousand senses; that most powerful, fiendish Druj, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Druj that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle.35 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

41 'We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. 'Verethraghna confounds the glory of this house with its wealth in cattle. He is like that great bird, the Saena;36 he is like the big clouds, full of water, that beat the mountains. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

42 'We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.' Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world thou Holy One! 'Where is it that we must invoke the name of Verethraghna, made by Ahura? Where is it that we must praise him? That we must humbly praise him?'

43 Ahura Mazda answered: 'When armies meet together in full array, O Spitama Zarathushtra! (asking) which of the two is the party that conquers and is not crushed, that smites and is not smitten;

44 'Do thou throw37 four feathers38 in the way. Whichever of the two will first worship the well-shapen Strength, and Verethraghna, beautiful of form. made by Mazda, on his side will victory stand.

45 'I will bless Strength and Victory, the two keepers, the two good keepers, the two maintainers; the two who ...,39 the two who ...39 the two who ...39; the two who forgive, the two who strike off, the two who forget.40

46 'O Zarathushtra! let not that spell be shown to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Athravan to his pupil.41 These are words that are awful and powerful, awful and assembly-ruling, awful and victorious, awful and healing: these are words that save the head that was lost and chant away the uplifted weapon.'

47 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura: who goes along the armies arrayed, and goes here and there asking, along with Mithra and Rashnu: 'Who is it who lies unto Mithra? Who is it who thrusts [his oath] against Rashnu?42 To whom shall I, in my might, impart illness and death?'43

48 Ahura Mazda said: 'If men sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, if the due sacrifice and prayer is offered unto him just as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness, never will a hostile horde enter the Aryan countries, nor any plague, nor leprosy, nor venomous plants, nor the chariot of a foe, nor the uplifted spear of a foe.

49 Zarathushtra asked: 'What is then, O Ahura Mazda! the sacrifice and invocation in honour of Verethraghna, made by Ahura, as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness?'

50 Ahura Mazda answered: 'Let the Aryan nations bring libations unto him; let the Aryan nations tie bundles of baresma for him; let the Aryan nations cook for him a head of cattle, either white, or black, or of any other colour, but all of one and the same colour.

51 'Let not a murderer take of those offerings, nor a whore, nor a ...., who does not sing the Gathas, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathushtra.

52 'If a murderer take of those offerings, or a whore, or a ...., who does not sing the Gathas, then Verethraghna, made by Ahura, takes back his healing virtues.

53 'Plagues will ever pour upon the Aryan nations; hostile hordes will ever fall upon the Aryan nations; the Aryans will be smitten by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.'

54 There Verethraghna, made by Ahura, proclaimed thus: 'The Soul of the Bull,46 the wise creature, does not receive from man due sacrifice and prayer; for now the Daevas and the worshippers of the Daevas make blood flow and spill it like water;

55 'For now the Vyambura47 Daevas and the worshippers of the Daevas bring to the fire the plant that is called Haperesi, the wood that is called Nemetka;48

56 '(Therefore) when the Vyambura Daevas and the worshippers of the Daevas bow their backs, bend their waists, and arrange all their limbs,49 they think they will smite and smite not, they think they will kill and kill not; and then the (?Vyambura) Daevas and the worshippers of the Daevas have their minds confounded and their eyes made giddy.'50 For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

57 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. I offer up Haoma, who saves one's head;51 I offer up the victorious Haoma; I offer him up, the good protector; I offer up Haoma, who is a protector to my body, as a man who shall drink of him shall win and prevail52 over his enemies in battle;

58 That I may smite this army, that I may smite down this army, that I may cut in pieces this army that is coming behind me. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

59 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. The prince and his son and his sons who are chiefs of myriads53 offer him up a bright ...54 [saying]: 'He is strong, and Victorious is his name; he is victorious, and Strong is his name;'

60 That I may be as constantly victorious as any one of all the Aryans;55 that I may smite this army, that I may smite down this army, that I may cut in pieces this army that is coming behind me. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

61 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... In the ox is our strength, in the ox is our need;56 in the ox is our speech, in the ox is our victory; in the ox is our food, in the ox is our clothing; in the ox is tillage, that makes food grow for us. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

62 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura; Who breaks the columns asunder, who cuts the columns to pieces, who wounds the columns, who makes the columns shake; who comes and breaks the columns asunder, who comes and cuts the columns to pieces, who comes and wounds the columns, who comes and makes the columns shake, both of Daevas and men, of the Yatus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

63 We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura. When Verethraghna, made by Ahura, binds the hands, confounds the eye-sight, takes the hearing from the ears of the Mithradrujes57 marching in columns, allied by cities, they can no longer move their feet, they can no longer-withstand. For his brightness and glory I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

64 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Verethraghna, made by Mazda; and of the crushing Ascendant. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... [Give] unto that man58 brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 15

Ram Yasht (chapter 15)

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas, and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani] the holy and master of holiness.... Unto Rama Hvastra, unto Vayu who works highly and is more powerful to afflict than all other creatures, Be propitiation from me, for sacrifice, prayer, propitiation and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them. I will sacrifice to Peace, whose breath is friendly, and to Weal, both of them. To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke, for this house, for the master of this house, and for the man here who is offering libations and giving gifts. To this excellent God do we sacrifice, that he may accept our meat and our prayers, and grant us in return to crush our enemies at one stroke.

2 To him did the Maker, Ahura Mazda, offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaejah, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

3 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may smite the creation of Angra Mainyu, and that nobody may smite this creation of the Good Spirit!'

4 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

5 We sacrifice to the holy Vayu: we sacrifice to Vayu, who works highly. To this part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu! that belongs to Spenta Mainyu. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful Vayu, who works highly. We offer up a sacrifice unto the awful Vayu, who works highly, with the libations, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, the words, the deeds, the libations, and the well-spoken words. Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

6 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them.... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke....

7 To him did Haoshyangha, the Paradhata, offer up a sacrifice on the Taera of the Hara, bound with iron, on a goIden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

8 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may smite two-thirds of the Daevas of Mazana and of the fiends of Varena.'

9 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu.... For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

10 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them.... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke....

11 To him did Takhma Urupa, the well-armed, offer up a sacrifice on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

12 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may conquer all Daevas and men, all the Yatus and Pairikas, and that I may ride Angra Mainyu, turned into the shape of a horse, all around the earth from one end to the other, for thirty years.'

13 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. 'We sacrifice to the holy Vayu.... For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

14 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them..... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke....

15 Unto him did the bright Yima, the good shepherd, sacrifice from the height Hukairya, the all-shining and golden, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

16 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may become the most glorious of the men born to behold the sun: that I may make in my reign both animals and men undying, waters and plants undrying, and the food for eating creatures never-failing.' In the reign of the valiant Yima there was neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither old age nor death, nor envy made by the Daevas.

17 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu.... For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

18 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them.... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke....

19 Unto him did the three-mouthed Azhi Dahaka offer up a sacrifice in his accursed palace of Kvirinta, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

20 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may make all the seven Karshvares of the earth empty of men.'

21 In vain did he sacrifice, in vain did he beg, in vain did he invoke, in vain did he give gifts, in vain did he bring libations; Vayu did not grant him that boon. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

22 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them.... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke....

23 Unto him did Thraetaona, the heir of the valiant Athwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

24 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may overcome Azhi Dahaka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Druj, that demon baleful to the world, the strongest Druj that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavach and Erena-vach, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world.'

25 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu.... For his brightness and glory I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

26 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them.... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke....

27 To him did the manly-hearted Keresaspa offer up a sacrifice by the Gudha, a channel of the Rangha, made by Mazda, upon a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

28 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may succeed in avenging my brother Urvakhshaya, that I may smite Hitaspa and yoke him to my chariot.' The Gandarewa, who lives beneath the waters, is the son of Ahura in the deep, he is the only master of the deep.

29 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu.... For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

30 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them.... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke....

31 To him did Aurvasara, the lord of the country, offer up a sacrifice, towards the White Forest, by the White Forest, on the border of the White Forest, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

32 He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that the gallant Husravah, he who unites the Aryan nations into one kingdom, may not smite us; that I may flee from king Husravah;.... 'That king Husravah and all the Aryans in the forest may smite him.'

33 Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu.... For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice Worth being heard....

34 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them.... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke....

35 To him did Hutaosa, she of the many brothers, of the Naotara house, offer up a sacrifice, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of boiling milk.

36 She begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may be dear and loved and well-received in the house of King Vishtaspa.'

37 Vayu, who works highly, granted her that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu.... For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

38 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them.... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke....

39 To him did the maids, whom no man had known, offer up a sacrifice on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of boiling milk.

40 They begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant us this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that we may find a husband, young and beautifuI of body, who will treat us well, all life long, and give us offspring; a wise, learned, ready-tongued husband.'

41 Vayu, who works highly, granted them that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu.... For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard....

42 I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them.... To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke.... We sacrifice to that Vayu that belongs to the Good Spirit, the bright and glorious Vayu.

43 My name is Vayu, O holy Zarathushtra! My name is Vayu, because I go through (vyemi) the two worlds, the one which the Good Spirit has made and the one which the Evil Spirit has made. My name is the Overtaker (apaeta), O holy Zarathushtra! My name is the Overtaker, because I can overtake the creatures of both worlds, the one that the Good Spirit has made and the one that the Evil Spirit has made.

44 My name is the All-smiting, O holy Zarathushtra! My name is the All-smiting, because I can smite the creatures of both worlds, the one that the Good Spirit has made and the one that the Evil Spirit has made. My name is the Worker of Good, O holy Zarathushtra! My name is the Worker of Good, because I work the good of the Maker, Ahura Mazda and of the Amesha-Spentas.

45 My name is He that goes forwards. My name is He that goes backwards. My name is He that bends backwards. My name is He that hurls away. My name is He that hurls down. My name is He that destroys. My name is He that takes away. My name is He that finds out. My name is He that finds out the Glory (Hvareno).

46 My name is the Valiant; my name is the Most Valiant. My name is the Strong; my name is the Strongest. My name is the Firm; my name is the Firmest. My name is the Stout; my name is the Stoutest. My name is He that crosses over easily. My name is He that goes along hurling away. My name is He that crushes at one stroke. My name is (?Ainiva). My name is He that works against the Daevas. My name is (?Keredharisha).

47 My name is He that prevails over malice; my name is He that destroys malice. My name is He that unites; my name is He that reunites; my name is He that separates. My name is the Burning; my name is the Quick of intelligence, My name is Deliverance; my name is Welfare. My name is the Burrow; my name is He who destroys the burrows; my name is He who spits upon the burrows.

48 My name is Sharpness of spear; my name is He of the sharp spear. My name is Length of spear; my name is He of the long spear. My name is Piercingness of spear; my name is He of the piercing spear. My name is the Glorious; my name is the Over-glorious.

49 Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathushtra! in the midst of the havocking hordes, in the midst of the columns moving forwards, in the strife of the conflicting nations.

50 Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathushtra! when the all-powerful tyrant of a country falls upon thee, rushes upon thee, deals wounds hpon thee, or hurls his chariot against thee, to rob thee of thy wealth, to rob thee of thy health.

51 Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathushtra! when the unholy Ashemaogha falls upon thee, rushes upon thee, deals wounds upon thee, or hurls his chariot against thee, to rob thee of thy strength, to rob thee of thy health, to rob thee of thy health.

52 Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathushtra! when a man stands in bonds, when a man is being thrown into bonds, or when a man is being dragged in bonds: thus the prisoners flee from the hands of those who carry them, they flee away out of the prison.

53 0 thou Vayu! who strikest fear upon all men and horses, who in all creatures workest against the Daevas, both into the lowest places and into those a thousand times deep dost thou enter with equal power.

54 'With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice shall I forward and worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice will be achieved thy adoration, O great Vayu! thou who art high-up g.rded, firm, swift-moving, high-footed, wide-breasted, wide-thighed, with untrembling eyes, as powerful in sovereignty as any absolute sovereign in the world?'

55 'Take thou a baresma, O holy Zarathushtra! turn it upwards or downwards, according as it is full day or dawning; upwards during the day, downwards at the dawn.

56 'If thou makest me worshipped with a sacrifice, then I shall say unto thee with my own voice things of health, made by Mazda and full of glory, so that Angra Mainyu may never do harm unto thee, nor the Yatus, nor those addicted to the works of the Yatu, whether Daevas or men.'

57 We sacrifice unto thee, O great Vayu! we sacrifice unto thee, O strong Vayu! We sacrifice unto Vayu, the greatest of the great; we sacrifice unto Vayu, the strongest of the strong. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden helm. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden crown. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden necklace. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden chariot. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden wheel. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden weapons. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden garment. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden shoe. We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden girdle. We sacrifice unto the holy Vayu; we sacrifice unto Vayu, who works highly. To this part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu! that belongs to the Good Spirit. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful Vayu, who works highly....

58 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and invocation unto, and the strength and vigour of Rama Hvastra, and Vayu, who works highly, more powerful to amict than all the other creatures: this part of thee that belongs to the Good Spirit. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 16

Den Yasht (chapter 16)

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness.... To the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy, and to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda. Be propitiation from me, for sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.....

1 We sacrifice to the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda, the supplier of good stores, who runs quickly to the goal and frees one best from dangers, who brings libations, who is holy, clever, and renowned, speedy to work and quick of work; who goes quickly and cleanses well; the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda;

2 To whom Zarathushtra did sacrifice, saying: 'Rise up from thy seat, come forward from the Abode, thou most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy. If thou art before me, stay for me; if thou art behind me, overtake me.

3 'Let everything be as friendly to us as anything can be: may we go smoothly along the roads, find good pathways in the mountains, run easily through the forests, and cross happily the rivers!'

4 For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy. I will offer up a sacrifice unto the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy, with the libations, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words and deeds, with the libations, with the well spoken words. Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

5 We sacrifice to the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.... (repeat verse 1).

6 To whom Zarathushtra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

7 That the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the Kara fish, that lives beneath the waters, and can measure a rippling of the waters not thicker than a hair, in the Rangha, whose ends lie afar and whose depth is a thousand times the height of a man. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard....

8 We sacrifice to the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda....

9 To whom Zarathushtra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

10 That the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the male horse, that, in the dark of the night, through the rain, the snow, the hail, or the sleet, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a horse's hair, mingled with the earth, and knows whether it is from the head or from the tail. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard....

11 We sacrifice to the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda....

12 To whom Zarathushtra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

13 That the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the vulture with a golden collar, that, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a piece of flesh, not thicker than a fist, giving just as much light as a needle gives, as the point of a needle gives. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard....

14 We sacrifice to the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda....

15 To whom the holy Hvovi did sacrifice with full knowledge, wishing that the holy Zarathushtra would give her his good narcotic, that she might think according to the law, speak according to the law, and do according to the law. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard....

16 We sacrifice to the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda....

17 To whom the Athravans, sent afar, did sacrifice, wishing a good memory to preach the law, and wishing strength for their own body. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard....

18 We sacrifice to the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda....

19 To whom the king of the country, the lord of the country does sacrifice, wishing peace for his country, wishing strength for his own body. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard....

20 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the most right Chista, made by Mazda and holy, and of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 17

Ard Yasht (chapter 17)

1 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect5, and powerful;

2 The daughter of Ahura Mazda, the sister of the Amesha-Spentas, who endows all the Saoshyants6 with the enlivening intelligence; she also brings heavenly wisdom at her wish, and comes to help him who invokes her from near and him who invokes her from afar, and worships her with offerings of libations.

3 For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer up unto Ashi Vanguhi a good sacrifice with an offering of libations. We sacrifice unto Ashi Vanguhi with the libations, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. Yenhe-hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

4 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect, and powerful.

5 Homage unto Haoma, and unto the Mathra8, and unto the holy Zarathushtra! Homage unto Haoma, because all other drinks are attended with Aeshma9, the fiend of the wounding spear: but the drinking of Haoma is attended with Asha and with Ashi Vanguhi herself10.

6 Ashi is fair; Ashi is radiant with joy; she is far-piercing with her rays. Ashi gives good Glory unto those men whom thou dost follow, O Ashi! Full of perfumes is the house in which the good, powerful Ashi Vanguhi puts her ....11 feet, for long friendship.

7 Those men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi! are kings of kingdoms, that are rich in horses, with large tributes, with snorting horses, sounding chariots, flashing swords, rich in aliments and in stores of food12; well-scented where the beds are spread and full of all the other riches that may be wished for. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

8 Those men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have houses that stand well laid up, rich in cattle, foremost in Asha, and long-supported. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

9 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have beds that stand well-spread, well-adorned, well-made, provided with cushions and with feet inlaid with gold. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

10 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have their ladies that sit on their beds, waiting for them: they lie on the cushions, adorning themselves, ...13, with square bored ear-rings and a necklace of gold: 'When will our lord come? when shall we enjoy in our bodies the joys of love?' Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

11 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have daughters that sit ....14; thin is their waist, beautiful is their body, long are their fingers; they are as fair of shape as those who look on can wish. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

12 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have horses swift and loud-neighing; they drive the chariot lightly, they take it to the battle15, they bear a gallant praiser (of the gods), who has many horses, a solid chariot, a sharp spear, a long spear, and swift arrows, who hits his aim, pursuing after his enemies, and smiting his foes. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

13 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have large-humped, burden-bearing camels, flying from the ground or fighting with holy fieriness16. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

14 The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have hoards of silver and gold brought together from far distant regions; and garments of splendid make. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

15 Do not turn thy look from me! turn thy mercy towards me, O great Ashi! thou art well-made and of a noble seed17; thou art sovereign at thy wish; thou art Glory in a bodily form.

16 Thy father is Ahura Mazda, the greatest of all gods, the best of all gods; thy mother is Armaiti Spenta; thy brothers are Sraosha18, a god of Asha, and Rashnu19, tall and strong, and Mithra20, the lord of wide pastures, who has ten thousand spies and a thousand ears; thy sister is the Law [Daena]21 of the worshippers of Mazda.

17 Praised of the gods, unoffended by the righteous22, the great Ashi Vanguhi stood up on her chariot, thus speaking: 'Who art thou who dost invoke me, whose voice is to my ear the sweetest of all that invoked me most?'

18 And he said aloud: 'I am Spitama Zarathushtra, who, first of mortals, recited the praise of the excellent Asha23 and offered up sacrifice unto Ahura Mazda and the Amesha-Spentas; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creation cried out, Hail24!

19 'In whose birth and growth Angra Mainyu rushed away from this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and he, the evil-doing Angra Mainyu, who is all death, said: "All the gods together have not been able to smite me down in spite of myself, and Zarathushtra alone can reach me in spite of myself.

20 '"He smites me with the Ahuna Vairya, as strong a weapon as a stone big as a house25; he burns me with Asha-Vahishta, as if it were melting brass26. He makes it better for me that I should leave this earth, he, Spitama Zarathushtra, the only one who can daunt me."'

21 And the great Ashi Vanguhi exclaimed: 'Come nearer unto me, thou pure, holy Spitama! lean against my chariot!' Spitama Zarathushtra came nearer unto her, he leant against her chariot.

22 And she caressed him with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, thus speaking: 'Thou art beautiful, O Zarathushtra! thou art well-shapen, O Spitama! strong are thy legs and long are thy arms: Glory is given to thy body and long cheerfulness27 to thy soul, as sure as I proclaim it unto thee.'

23 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect and powerful.

24 To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhata, offer up a sacrifice, upon the enclosure of the Hara, the beautiful height, made by Mazda.

25 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may overcome all the Daevas of Mazana; that I may never fear and bow through terror before the Daevas, but that all the Daevas may fear and bow in spite of themselves before me, that they may fear and flee down to darkness.'

26 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: Haoshyangha, the Paradhata, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

27 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high .... and powerful.

28 To her did Yima Khshaeta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya.

29 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bring fatness and flocks down to the world created by Mazda; that I may bring immortality down to the world created by Mazda;

30 'That I may take away both hunger and thirst, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both old age and death, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both hot wind and cold wind, from the world created by Mazda, for a thousand years.'

31 Then great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: Yima Khshaeta, the good shepherd, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice ....

32 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high .... and powerful.

33 To her did Thraetaona, the heir of the valiant Athwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena.

34 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may overcome Azhi Dahaka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Druj, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Druj that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavak and Erenavak, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world.'

35 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. Thraetaona, the heir of the valiant Athwya clan, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice ....

36 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high .... and powerful.

37 To her did Haoma offer up a sacrifice, Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, upon the highest height of the Haraiti Bareza.

38 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bind the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, that I may drag him bound, that I may bring him bound unto king Husravah, that king Husravah may kill him, behind the Chaechasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of his father Syavarshana, a man, and of Aghraeratha, a semi-man.'

39 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice....

40 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high .... and powerful.

41 To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice, behind the Chaechasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters.

42 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may kill the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, behind the Chaechasta lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of my father Syavarshana, a man, and of Aghraeratha, a semi-man.'

43 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. The gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard....

44 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high .... and powerful.

45 To her did the holy Zarathushtra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaejah, by the good river Daitya, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

46 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bring the good and noble Hutaosa to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law, that she may spread my law and make it known, that she may bestow beautiful praises upon my deeds.'

47 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: the holy Zarathushtra obtained that boon. For her brightness, and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard....

48 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high .... and powerful.

49 To her did the tall Kavi Vishtaspa offer up a sacrifice behind the waters of the river Daitya.

50 He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may put to flight Ashta-aurvant, the son of Vispo-thaurvo-asti, the all-afflicting, of the brazen helmet, of the brazen armour, of the thick neck, behind whom seven hundred camels ....; that I may put to flight the Hvyaona murderer, Arejat-aspa; that I may put to flight Darshinika, the worshipper of the Daevas;

51 'And that I may smite Tathravant of the bad law; that I may smite Spinjaurushka, the worshipper of the Daevas; and that I may bring unto the good law the nations of the Varedhakas and of the Hvyaonas; and that I may smite of the Hvyaona nations their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.'

52 The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: the tall Kavi Vishtaspa obtained that boon. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard ....

53 We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high .... and powerful.

54 And the great Ashi Vanguhi said: 'None of those libations will be accepted by me, which are sent to me either by a man whose seed is dried out35, or by the courtezan who produces untimely issues36, or by young boys, or by girls who have known no man37.

55 'When the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras38, clapping their hands, ran after me39, I hid myself under the foot of a bull walking under his burden; then young boys, and girls who had known no man, discovered me, even while the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras, clapping their hands, were running after me.

56 'Even I hid myself under the throat of a ram of hundredfold energy: then again young boys, and girls who had known no man, discovered me, even while the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras, clapping their hands, were running after me.'

57 The first wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi is her wailing about the courtezan who destroys her fruit: 'Stand thou not near her, sit thou not on her bed!' — 'What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

58 The second wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi is her wailing about the courtezan who brings forth a child conceived of a stranger and presents it to her husband: 'What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

59 This is the third wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi: 'This is the worst deed that men and tyrants do, namely, when they deprive maids, that have been barren for a long time, of marrying and bringing forth children. What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

60 Ahura Mazda answered: 'O fair and wise Ashi, go not back to the heavens, sink not into the earth! Stay here and walk inside the fine kingly palace.'

61 I shall worship thee with such a sacrifice, I shall worship and forward thee with such a sacrifice as Vishtaspa offered unto thee, behind the river Daitya40. The Zaotar lifted up a loud voice, with baresma before him. With that sort of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With that sort of sacrifice shall I worship and forward thee, O fair and wise Ashi? For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard....

62 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Ashi Vanguhi; of the good Chisti41; of the good Erethe; of the good Rasastat; of the Glory and Weal, made by Mazda. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 18

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra. one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness .... Unto the Glory of the Aryans, made by Mazda, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'I made the Aryan Glory, rich in food, rich in flocks, rich in wealth, rich in Glory; provided with full store of intelligence, with full store of money, to withstand Need, and to withstand enemies.

2 'It destroys Angra Mainyu, who is all death; it destroys Aeshma, the fiend of the wounding spear; it destroys the yellow Bushyasta; it destroys the contagion of Aekha; it destroys the fiend of death, Apaosha; it destroys the non-Aryan nations.

3 'And I made the great Ashi Vanguhi; she comes in, amid the family; she comes in, inside the fine royal palace.

4 'Let Ashi, with fulness of welfare, follow the man who gladdens the faithful with his gifts! she comes in, inside his family; she comes in, inside his fine royal palace. 'With all sorts of flocks, with all victory, with all intelligence, with all Glory, the great Ashi Vanguhi puts one foot inside his family; she comes in, inside his fine royal palace.

5 'Horses multiply a thousandfold, flocks multiply a thousandfold; and so does his virtuous offspring, (as) the bright, glorious star Tishtrya moves on equally, and so does the strong wind made by Mazda, and so does the Glory of the Aryas.

6 'And they bring increase on the tops of all mountains, down the depths of all vales; they bring increase to all the growing plants, the fair, the golden-hued. And they bring (away) the contagion of Aekha, they bring (away) the fiend of death, Apaosha.

7 'Hail to the bright and glorious star Tishtrya Hail to the strong wind, made by Mazda! Hail to the Glory of the Aryas! 'Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good....

8 'We worship the Ahuna Vairya. 'We worship Asha-Vahishta, the fairest Amesha-Spenta. 'We worship the rightly-spoken Words, fiend-smiting and healing. 'We worship the healing, well-spoken Words, the fiend-smiting. 'We worship the Mathra Spenta and the Law of Mazda, and (piety) that delights in Haoma. 'We worship the Glory of the Aryas. 'Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

9 'Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... 'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda. 'Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... '[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

Chapter 19

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; unto the kingly Glory, made by Mazda; unto that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 The first mountain that rose up out of the earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! was the Haraiti Barez. That mountain stretches all along the shores of the land washed by waters towards the east. The second mountain was Mount Zeredho, outside Mount Manusha: this mountain too stretches all along the shores of the land washed by waters towards the east.

2 From there grew up Mount Ushi-dhau, Ushi-darena, Mount Erezifya, and Mount Fraorepa. The sixth was Mount Erezura. The seventh was Mount Bumya. The eighth was Mount Raoidhita. The ninth was Mount Mazishishvau. The tenth was Mount Antare-danghu. The eleventh was Mount Erezisha. The twelfth was Mount Vaiti-gaesa.

3 And Mount Adarana, Mount Bayana, Mount Ishkata Upairi-saena, with the .... snows; the two Hamankuna mountains, the eight Vasna mountains, the eight powerful Fravanku, the four Vidhvana summits;

4 Mount Aezakha, Mount Maenakha, Mount Vakhedrakae, Mount Asaya, Mount Tudhaskae, Mount Isavae, Mount Draoshishvau, Mount Sairivau, Mount Nanghushmau, Mount Kakahyu, Mount Antare-Kangha;

5 Mount Sichidava, Mount Ahuna, Mount Raemana, Mount Asha-stembana, Mount Urunyo-vaidhkae, Mount Asnavant, Mount Ushaoma, Mount Ushta-hvarenah, Mount Syamaka, Mount Vafrayau, Mount Vourusha;

6 Amongst which stand Mount Jatara, Mount Adhutavau, Mount Spitavarena, Mount Spento-data, Mount Kadrva-aspa, Mount Kaoirisa, Mount Taera, Mount Bara-srayana, Mount Barana, Mount Frapayau, Mount Udrya, and Mount Raevant, and all those heights to which men have given the name of mount,

7 To the number of two thousand mountains, and two hundred and forty and four, O Spitama Zarathushtra!

8 For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful kingly Glory. Unto the awful kingly Glory we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words. Yenhe hatam: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda....

9 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda; most conquering, highly working, that possesses health, wisdom, and happiness, and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures;

10 That belongs to Ahura Mazda, as (through it) Ahura Mazda made the creatures, many and good, many and fair, many and wonderful, many and prosperous, many and bright;

11 So that they may restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish;

12 When the creation will grow deathless, - the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit, - and the Druj shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings; she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord.

13 For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

14 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

15 That belongs to the Amesha-Spentas, the bright ones, whose looks perform their wish, tall, quickly coming to do, strong, lordly, who are undecaying and holy;

16 Who are all seven of one thought, who are all seven of one speech, who are all seven of one deed; whose thought is the same, whose speech is the same, whose deed is the same, whose father and commander is the same, namely, the Maker, Ahura Mazda.

17 Who see one another's soul thinking of good thoughts, thinking of good words, thinking of good deeds, thinking of Garo-nmana, and whose ways are shining as they go down to the libations;

18 Who are the makers and governors, the shapers and overseers, the keepers and preservers of these creations of Ahura Mazda.

19 It is they who shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish;

20 When the creation will grow deathless, - the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit, - and the Druj shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings; she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

21 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

22 That belongs to the gods in the heavens and to those in the material world, and to the blessed ones, born or not yet born, who are to perform the restoration of the world.

23 It is they who shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish;

24 When the creation will grow deathless, - the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit, - and the Druj shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings; she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

25 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

26 That clave unto Haoshyangha, the Paradhata, for a long time, when he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daevas and men, over the Yatus and the Pairikas, over the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf; he who smote two-thirds of the Daevas of Mazana and of the Varenya fiends. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

27 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

28 That clave unto Takhma Urupa, the well-armed, while he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the paevas and men, the Yatus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf;

29 When he conquered all Daevas and men, all the Yatus and Pairikas, and rode Angra Mainyu, turned into the shape of a horse, all around the earth from one end to the other, for thirty years. For its brightness and glory, I win offer it a sacrifice ....

30 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

31 That clave unto the bright Yima, the good shepherd, for a long time,1 while he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daevas and men, the Yatus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf;

32 He who took from the Daevas both riches and welfare, both fatness and flocks, both weal and Glory;2 In whose reign both aliments3 were never failing for feeding creatures, flocks and men were undying, waters and plants were undrying;

33 In whose reign there was neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither old age nor death, nor envy made by the Daevas,4 in the times before his lie, before he began to have delight in words of falsehood and untruth.

34 But when he began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth,5 the Glory was seen to flee away from him in the shape of a bird. When his Glory had disappeared, then the great6 Yima Khshaeta, the good shepherd, trembled and was in sorrow before his foes;7 he was confounded, and laid him down on the ground.

35 The first time8 when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, the Glory went from Yima, the son of Vivanghant, in the shape of a Varaghna bird.9 Then Mithra seized that Glory, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, whose ear is quick to hear, who has a thousand senses. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda has created the most glorious of all the gods in the heavens.

36 The second time when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, the Glory went from Yima, the son of Vivanghant, in the shape of a Varaghna bird. Then Thraetaona seized that Glory, he, the heir of the valiant Athwya clan, who was the most victorious of all victorious men next to Zarathushtra;

37 Who smote Azhi Dahaka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who had a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Druj, that demon baleful to the world, the strongest Druj that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle.10

38 The third time when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, that Glory went from Yima, the son of Vivanghant, in the shape of a Varaghna bird. Then the manly-hearted Keresaspa seized that Glory; he who was the sturdiest of the men of strength, next to Zarathushtra, for his manly courage.

39 For Manly Courage clave unto him. We worship Manly Courage, firm of foot, unsleeping, quick to rise, and fully awake, that clave unto Keresaspa;

40 Who killed the snake Srvara, the horse-devouring, men-devouring, yellow, poisonous snake, over which yellow poison flowed a thumb's breadth thick. Upon him Keresaspa was cooking his food in a brass vessel: at the time of noon, the fiend felt the heat, and stood upon his feet: he rushed from under the brass vessel and upset the boiling water: the manly-hearted Keresaspa fell back affrighted;

41 Who killed the golden-heeled Gandarewa, that was rushing with open jaws, eager to destroy the living world of the good principle; Who killed the brood of Pathana, all the nine; and the brood of Nivika, and the brood of Dashtayana; Who killed the golden-crowned Hitaspa, and Vareshava, the son of Dana and Pitaona, attended by many Pairikas;

42 Who killed Arezo-shamana, him of the manly courage, who was strong, well-beloved, hail, energetically rushing, fully awake, never falling back....;

43 Who killed Snavidhaka, him who killed with his nails, the stone-handed: thus did he exclaim to all around: 'I am an infant still, I am not yet of age: if I ever grow of age, I shall make the earth a wheel, I shall make the heavens a chariot;

44 'I shall bring down the Good Spirit from the shining Garo-nmana; I shall make the Evil Spirit rush up from the dreary Hell. They will carry my chariot, both the Good Spirit and the Evil One, unless the manly-hearted Keresaspa kill me.' The manly-hearted Keresaspa killed him, his life went away, his spirit vanished. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

45 We sacrifice unto the awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda ....

46 For which the Good Spirit and the Evil One did struggle with one another: for that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized they flung each of them their darts most swift. The Good Spirit flung a dart, and so did Vohu-Mano, and Asha-Vahishta and Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda. The Evil Spirit flung a dart, and so did Akem-Mano, and Aeshma of the wounding spear and Azhi Dahaka and Spityura, he who sawed Yima in twain.

47 Then forward came Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, thinking thus in his heart: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.' But Azhi Dahaka, the three-mouthed, he of the evil law, rushed on his back, thinking of extinguishing it:

48 'Here give it up to me; O Atar, son of Ahura Mazda: if thou seizest that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, I shall rush upon thee, so that thou mayest never more blaze on the earth made by Ahura and protect the world of the good principle.' And Atar took back his hands, as the instinct of life prevailed, so much had Azhi affrighted him.

49 Then Azhi, the three-mouthed, he of the evil law, rushed forward, thinking thus in his heart: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.' But Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, advanced behind him, speaking in these words:

50 'There give it up to me, thou three-mouthed Azhi Dahaka. If thou seizest that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, then I will enter thy hinder part, I will blaze up in thy jaws, so that thou mayest never more rush upon the earth made by Mazda and destroy the world of the good principle.' Then Azhi took back his hands, as the instinct of life prevailed, so much had Atar affrighted him.

51 That Glory swells up and goes to the sea Vouru-Kasha. The swift-horsed Son of the Waters seizes it at once: this is the wish of the Son of the Waters, the swift-horsed: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, down to the bottom of the sea Vouru-Kasha, in the bottom of the deep rivers.'

52 We sacrifice unto the Son of the Waters, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of females; the male god, who helps one at his appeal; who made man, who shaped man, a god who lives beneath waters, and whose ear is the quickest to hear when he is worshipped.

53 'And whosoever of you, O men,' - thus said Ahura Mazda, - 'O holy Zarathushtra! shall seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, he has the gifts of an Athravan; whosoever shall long for the illumination of knowledge, he has the gifts of an Athravan; whosoever shall long for fulness of knowledge, he has the gifts of an Athravan;

54 'And Riches will cleave unto him, giving him full welfare, holding a shield before him, powerful, rich of cattle and garments; and Victory will cleave unto him, day after day; and likewise Strength, that smites more than a year. Attended by that Victory, he will conquer the havocking hordes; attended by that Victory, he will conquer all those who hate him.' For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice....

55 We sacrifice unto the awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda ....

56 Which the Turanian ruffian Frangrasyan tried to seize in the sea Vouru-Kasha. He stripped himself naked, wishing to seize that Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathushtra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm of the sea Vouru-Kasha was produced, namely, that lake that is called Lake Husravah.

57 Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathushtra! thinking evil thoughts: '.... I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathushtra.

58 'Then I will defile all corn and liquors, as to greatness, goodness, and fairness.' - 'Ahura Mazda will come against thee, ever eager to create new creatures.' Then the most crafty Turania Frangrasyan rushed down into the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathushtra!

59 A second time he stripped himself naked, wishing to seize that Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathushtra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm of the sea Vouru-Kasha was produced, namely, that lake that is called Lake Vanghazdau.

60 Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathushtra! thinking evil thoughts: '.... I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathushtra.

61 'Then I will defile all corn and liquors, as to greatness, goodness, and fairness.' - 'Ahura Mazda will come against thee, ever eager to create new creatures.' Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed down into the sea Vouru-Kasha.

62 A third time he stripped himself naked, wishing to seize the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathushtra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm was produced in the sea Vouru-Kasha, namely, the water that is called Awzh-danva.

63 Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathushtra! thinking evil thought: '.... I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathushtra!'

64 He was not able to seize the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathushtra. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

65 We sacrifice unto the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda ....

66 That cleaves unto him who grows up there, where lies Lake Kasava [Kasaoya], along with the Haetumant river; there where stands Mount Ushidhau, surrounded by waters, that run from the mountain.

67 It runs unto him, it flows and swells unto him, bringing good pastures and fine horses, bringing plenty, full of glory; with beauty and weal; powerful and friendly, rich of pastures, prolific and golden. It runs unto him, it flows and swells unto him, bright and glorious, making the white .... grow, smiting away all plagues.

68 And there comes with him a horse's strength, there comes with him a camel's strength, there comes with him a man's strength, there comes with him the kingly Glory: and there is in him, O holy Zarathushtra! so much of kingly Glory as might extinguish at once all the non-Aryan nations.

69 And then (through it) living creatures may keep away hunger and death, living creatures (may keep away) cold and heat. Such is the kingly Glory, the keeper of the Aryan nations and of the five kinds of animals, made to help the faithful and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

70 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

71 That clave unto Kavi Kavata, and unto Kavi Aipivohu, and unto Kavi Usadha, and unto Kavi Arshan, and unto Kavi Pisina, and unto Kavi Byarshan, and unto Kavi Syavarshan;

72 So that they were all of them brave, all of them strong, all of them healthful, all of them wise, all of them happy in their wishes, all of them powerful kings. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

73 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

74 That clave unto Kavi Husravah for the well-shapen Strength, for the Victory made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant; for the righteousness of the law, for the innocence of the law, for the unconquerable power of the law; for the extermination of the enemies at one stroke;

75 And for the vigour of health, for the Glory made by Mazda, for the health of the body, and for a good, virtuous offspring, wise, chief in assemblies, bright, and clear-eyed, that frees [their father] from the pangs [of hell], of good intellect; and for that part in the blessed world that falls to wisdom and to those who do not follow impiety;

76 And for a dominion full of splendour, for a long, long life, and for all boons and remedies;

77 So that king Husravah [had the lead] all along the long race, and he could not pass through the forest, he, the murderer, who was fiercely striving against him on horseback; the lord Kavi Husravah prevailed over all; he put in bonds Frangrasyan and Keresavazda, to avenge the murder of his father Syavarshana, a man, and of Aghraeratha, a semi-man. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

78 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

79 That clave unto the holy Zarathushtra, so that he thought according to the Law, spake according to the Law, and did according to the Law; so that he was the holiest in holiness in all the living world, the best-ruling in exercising rule, the brightest in brightness, the most glorious in glory, the most victorious in victory.

80 At his sight the Daevas rushed away; at his sight the (demoniac) malices were extinguished; at his sight the Jainis drew hack their ways from the mortals and, lamenting and wailing, laid violent hands on the Daevas.

81 And that one prayer, the Ahuna Vairya, which the holy Zarathushtra sang and repeated four times, with a song that waxed louder and louder, drove back all the Daevas beneath the earth, and took off from them sacrifice and prayer.

82 It was it, the Glory of Zarathushtra, that the Turanian ruffian Frangrasyan tried to seize to rule over all the Karshvares; round about the seven Karshvares did that ruffian Frangrasyan rush, trying to seize the Glory of Zarathushtra. But that Glory escaped to hidden inlets of the sea; and there those two made my will roll on; they entered my will, as it was my wish, Ahura Mazda's, and as it was the wish of the Law of Mazda. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

83 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

84 That clave unto king Vistaspa, so that he thought according to the Law, spake according to the Law, and did according to the Law; so that he professed that Law, destroying his foes and causing the Daevas to retire.

85 Who, driving the Druj before him, sought wide room for the holy religion; who, driving the Druj before him, made wide room for the holy religion; who made himself the arm and support of this law of Ahura, of this law of Zarathushtra;

86 Who took her, standing bound, from the hands of the Hunus, and established her to sit in the middle [of the world], high ruling, never falling back, holy, nourished with plenty of cattle and pastures, blessed with plenty of cattle and pastures.

87 The valiant king Vishtaspa conquered all enemies, Tathravant of the evil law, Peshana, the worshipper of the Daevas, and the fiendish wicked Arejat-aspa and the other wicked Hvyaonas. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

88 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

89 That will cleave unto the victorious Saoshyant and his helpers, when he shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish;

90 When the creation will grow deathless, - the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit, - and the Druj shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings; she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

91 We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ....

92 When Astvat-ereta shall rise up from Lake Kasava [Kasaoya], a friend of Ahura Mazda, a son of Vispa-taurvairi, knowing the victorious knowledge. It was that Glory that Thraetaona bore with him when Azhi Dahaka was killed;

93 That Frangrasyan, the Turanian, bore when Drvau was killed, when the Bull was killed; That king Husravah bore when Frangrasyan, the Turanian, was killed; That king Vishtaspa bore, when he victoriously maintained Holiness against the host of the fiends and took off the Druj from the world of the good principle.

94 He, with the eye of intelligence, shall look down upon all the creatures of the Paeshish, her of the evil seed: he shall look upon the whole living world with the eye of plenty, and his look shall deliver to immortality the whole of the living creatures.

95 And there shall his friends come forward, the friends of Astvat-ereta, who are fiend-smiting, well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, following the good law, and whose tongues have never uttered a word of falsehood. Before them shall Aeshma of the wounding spear, who has no Glory, bow and flee; he shall smite the most wicked Druj, her of the evil seed, born of darkness.

96 Akem-Mano smites, but Vohu-Mano shall smite him; the Word of falsehood smites, but the Word of truth shall smite it. Haurvatat and Ameretat shall smite both hunger and thirst: Haurvatat and Ameretat shall smite the evil hunger and the evil thirst. The evil-doing Angra Mainyu bows and flees, becoming powerless. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice ....

97 Yatha ahu vairya: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness .... I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; of the kingly Glory, made by Mazda; of the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good .... [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

Chapter 20

0 May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!.... Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathushtra, one who hates the Daevas and obeys the laws of Ahura; For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Havani], the holy and master of holiness.... Unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda, Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification. Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

1 We sacrifice unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda, the holy and master of holiness. I will sacrifice unto Vanant, strong, invoked by his own name, healing, in order to withstand the accursed and most foul Khrafstras of the most abominable Angra Mainyu.

2 Yatha ahu vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness.... I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the star Vanant, made by Mazda. Ashem Vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.... [Give] unto that man brightness and glory, ... give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

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Avesta

The **Avesta** /əˈvɛstə/ is the primary collection of religious texts of Zoroastrianism, composed in the otherwise unrecorded Avestan language.[1]

The Avesta texts fall into several different categories, arranged either by dialect, or by usage. The principal text in the liturgical group is the *Yasna*, which takes its name from the Yasna ceremony, Zoroastrianism's primary act of worship, and at which the *Yasna* text is recited. The most important portion of the *Yasna* texts are the five Gathas, consisting of seventeen hymns attributed to Zoroaster himself. These hymns, together with five other short Old Avestan texts that are also part of the *Yasna*, are in the Old (or 'Gathic') Avestan language. The remainder of the *Yasna*'s texts are in Younger Avestan, which is not only from a later stage of the language, but also from a different geographic region.

Extensions to the Yasna ceremony include the texts of the *Vendidad* and the *Visperad*.[2] The *Visperad* extensions consist mainly of additional invocations of the divinities (*yazata*s),[3] while the *Vendidad* is a mixed collection of prose texts mostly dealing with purity laws.[3] Even today, the *Vendidad* is the only liturgical text that is not recited entirely from memory.[3] Some of the materials of the extended Yasna are from the *Yasht*s, [3] which are hymns to the individual *yazata*s. Unlike the *Yasna*, *Visperad* and *Vendidad*, the *Yasht*s and the other lesser texts of the Avesta are no longer used liturgically in high rituals. Aside from the *Yasht*s, these other lesser texts include the *Nyayesh* texts, the *Gah* texts, the *Siroza*, and various other fragments. Together, these lesser texts are conventionally called *Khordeh Avesta* or "Little Avesta" texts. When the first *Khordeh Avesta* editions were printed in the 19th century, these texts (together with some non-Avestan language prayers) became a book of common prayer for lay people.[2]

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The legends of an Arsacid-era collation and recension are no longer taken seriously.[18] It is now certain that for most of their long history the Avesta's various texts were handed down orally,[18] and independently of one another, and that it was not until around the 5th or 6th century that they were committed to written form.[1] However, during their long history, only the Gathic texts seem to have been memorized (more or less) exactly.[3] The other less sacred works appear to have been handed down in a more fluid oral tradition, and were partly composed afresh with each generation of poet-priests, sometimes with the addition of new material.[3] The Younger Avestan texts are therefore composite works, with contributions from several different authors over the course of several hundred years.

The texts became available to European scholarship comparatively late. Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron travelled to India in 1755, and discovered the texts among Indian Zoroastrian (Parsi) communities. He published a set of French translations in 1771, based on translations provided by a Parsi priest. Anquetil-Duperron's translations were at first dismissed as a forgery in poor Sanskrit, but he was vindicated in the 1820s following Rasmus Rask's examination of the Avestan language (*A Dissertation on the Authenticity*

of the Zend Language, Bombay, 1821). Rask also established that Anquetil-Duperron's manuscripts were a fragment of a much larger literature of sacred texts. Anquetil-Duperron's manuscripts are at the Bibliothèque nationale de France ('P'-series manuscripts), while Rask's collection now lies in the Royal Library, Denmark ('K'-series). Other large Avestan language manuscript collections are those of the British Museum ('L'-series), the K. R. Cama Oriental Library in Mumbai, the Meherji Rana library in Navsari, and at various university and national libraries in Europe.

Structure and content

In its present form, the Avesta is a compilation from various sources, and its different parts date from different periods and vary widely in character. Only texts in the Avestan language are considered part of the Avesta.

According to the *Denkard*, the 21 *nask*s (books) mirror the structure of the 21-word-long *Ahuna Vairya* prayer: each of the three lines of the prayer consists of seven words. Correspondingly, the *nask*s are divided into three groups, of seven volumes per group. Originally, each volume had a word of the prayer as its name, which so marked a volume's position relative to the other volumes. Only about a quarter of the text from the *nask*s has survived until today.

The contents of the Avesta are divided topically (even though the organization of the *nask*s is not), but these are not fixed or canonical. Some scholars prefer to place the categories in two groups, the one liturgical, and the other general. The following categorization is as described by Jean Kellens (see bibliography, below).

The *Yasna*

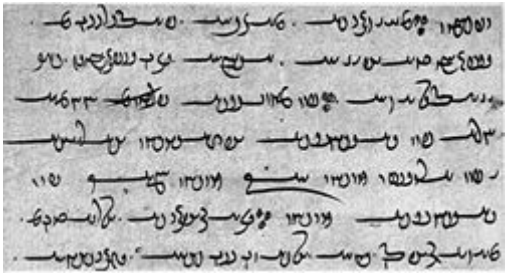
Yasna 28.1 (Bodleian MS J2)

The *Yasna* (from *yazišn* "worship, oblations", cognate with Sanskrit *yajña*), is the primary liturgical collection, named after the ceremony at which it is recited. It consists of 72 sections called the *Ha-iti* or *Ha*. The 72 threads of lamb's wool in the *Kushti*, the sacred thread worn by Zoroastrians, represent these sections. The central portion of the Yasna is the *Gathas*, the oldest and most sacred portion of the Avesta, believed to have been composed by Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) himself. The *Gathas* are structurally interrupted by the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* ("seven-chapter *Yasna*"), which makes up chapters 35–42 of the *Yasna* and is almost as old as the *Gathas*, consists of prayers and hymns in honour of the Supreme Deity, Ahura Mazda, the Angels, Fire, Water, and Earth. The younger *Yasna*, though handed down in prose, may once have been metrical, as the *Gathas* still are.

The *Visperad*

The *Visperad* (from *vîspe ratavo*, "(prayer to) all patrons") is a collection of supplements to the *Yasna*. The *Visparad* is subdivided into 23 or 24 *kardo* (sections) that are interleaved into the Yasna during a Visperad service (which is an extended Yasna service).

The *Visperad* collection has no unity of its own, and is never recited separately from the Yasna.

The *Vendidad*

The *Vendidad* (or *Vidēvdāt*, a corruption of Avestan *Vī-Daēvō-Dāta*, "Given Against the Demons") is an enumeration of various manifestations of evil spirits, and ways to confound them. The *Vendidad* includes all of the 19th *nask*, which is the only *nask* that has survived in its entirety. The text consists of 22 *Fargard*s, fragments arranged as discussions between Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster. The first *fargard* is a dualistic creation myth, followed by the description of a destructive winter on the lines of the Flood myth. The second *fargard* recounts the legend of *Yima*. The remaining *fargard*s deal primarily with hygiene (care of the dead in particular) [*fargard* 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 19] as well as disease and spells to fight it [7, 10, 11, 13, 20, 21, 22]. *Fargard*s 4 and 15 discuss the dignity of wealth and charity, of marriage and of physical effort, and the indignity of unacceptable social behaviour such as

assault and breach of contract, and specify the penances required to atone for violations thereof. The *Vendidad* is an ecclesiastical code, not a liturgical manual, and there is a degree of moral relativism apparent in the codes of conduct. The *Vendidad*'s different parts vary widely in character and in age. Some parts may be comparatively recent in origin although the greater part is very old.

The Vendidad, unlike the Yasna and the Visparad, is a book of moral laws rather than the record of a liturgical ceremony. However, there is a ceremony called the *Vendidad*, in which the Yasna is recited with all the chapters of both the Visparad and the Vendidad inserted at appropriate points. This ceremony is only performed at night.

The *Yasht*s

The *Yasht*s (from *yešti*, "worship by praise") are a collection of 21 hymns, each dedicated to a particular divinity or divine concept. Three hymns of the Yasna liturgy that "worship by praise" are—in tradition—also nominally called *yasht*s, but are not counted among the *Yasht* collection since the three are a part of the primary liturgy. The *Yasht*s vary greatly in style, quality and extent. In their present form, they are all in prose but analysis suggests that they may at one time have been in verse.

Faravahar, believed to be a depiction of a *Fravashi*, as mentioned in the *Yasna*, *Yasht*s and *Vendidad*

The *Siroza*

The *Siroza* ("thirty days") is an enumeration and invocation of the 30 divinities presiding over the days of the month. (cf. Zoroastrian calendar). The *Siroza* exists in two forms, the shorter ("little *Siroza*") is a brief enumeration of the divinities with their epithets in the genitive. The longer ("great *Siroza*") has complete sentences and sections, with the *yazata*s being addressed in the accusative.

The Siroza is never recited as a whole, but is a source for individual sentences devoted to particular divinities, to be inserted at appropriate points in the liturgy depending on the day and the month.

The *Nyayesh*es

The five *Nyayesh*es, abbreviated *Ny.*, are prayers for regular recitation by both priests and laity.[2] They are addressed to the Sun and Mithra (recited together thrice a day), to the Moon (recited thrice a month), and to the Waters and to Fire.[2] The *Nyayesh*es are composite texts containing selections from the Gathas and the Yashts, as well as later material.[2]

The *Gah*s

The five *gāh*s are invocations to the five divinities that watch over the five divisions (*gāh*s) of the day.[2] *Gāh*s are similar in structure and content to the five *Nyayesh*es.

The *Afrinagan*s

The *Afrinagan*s are four "blessing" texts recited on a particular occasion: the first in honor of the dead, the second on the five epagomenal days that end the year, the third is recited at the six seasonal feasts, and the fourth at the beginning and end of summer

Fragments

All material in the *Avesta* that is not already present in one of the other categories falls into a "fragments" category, which – as the name suggests – includes incomplete texts. There are altogether more than 20 fragment collections, many of which have no name (and are then named after their owner/collator) or only a Middle Persian name. The more important of the fragment collections are the *Nirangistan* fragments (18 of which constitute the *Ehrbadistan*); the *Pursishniha* "questions," also known as "Fragments Tahmuras"; and the *Hadokht Nask* "volume of the scriptures" with two fragments of eschatological significance.

Other Zoroastrian religious texts

Only texts preserved in the Avestan language count as scripture and are part of the Avesta. Several other secondary works are nonetheless crucial to Zoroastrian theology and scholarship.

The most notable among the Middle Persian texts are the *Dēnkard* ("Acts of Religion"), dating from the ninth century; the *Bundahishn* ("Primordial Creation"), finished in the eleventh or twelfth century, but containing older material; the *Mainog-i-Khirad* ("Spirit of Wisdom"), a religious conference on questions of faith; and the *Book of Arda Viraf*, which is especially important for its views on death, salvation and life in the hereafter. Of the post-14th century works (all in New Persian), only the *Sad-dar* ("Hundred Doors, or Chapters"), and *rivayat*s (traditional treatises) are of doctrinal importance. Other texts such as *Zartushtnamah* ("Book of Zoroaster") are only notable for their preservation of legend and folklore. The *Aogemadaeca* "we accept," a treatise on death is based on quotations from the Avesta.

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Notes

1. *K1* represents 248 leaves of a 340-leaf *Vendidad Sade* manuscript, i.e. a variant of a *Yasna* text into which sections of the *Visperad* and *Vendidad* are interleaved. The colophon of *K1* (K=Copenhagen) identifies its place and year of completion to Cambay, 692Y (= 1323–1324 CE). The date of *K1* is occasionally mistakenly given as 1184. This mistake is due to a 19th-century confusion of the date of *K1* with the date of *K1*'s source: in the postscript to *K1*, the copyist – a certain Mehrban Kai Khusrow of Navsari – gives the date of his *source* as 552Y (= 1184 CE). That text from 1184 has not survived.
2. For a summary of Andreas' theory see Schlerath (1987), pp. 29–30.
3. For example, prefix repetition as in e.g. *paitī ... paitiientī* vs. *paiti ... aiienī* (*Y.* 49.11 vs. 50.9), or sandhi processes on word and syllable boundaries, e.g. *adāiš* for **aṯ̰.āiš* (48.1), *ahiiāsā* for *ahiiā yāsā*, *gaṯ̰.tōi* for **gatōi* (43.1), *ratūš šiiaoϑanā* for **ratū šiiaoϑanā* (33.1).[15]
4. e.g. irregular internal *hw* > x^v as found in e.g. *harax^{v}ati-* 'Arachosia' and *sāx^{v}an-* 'instruction', rather than regular internal *hw* > *ŋ^{v}h* as found in e.g. *aojōŋ^{v}hant-* 'strong'.[16]
5. e.g. YAv. *-ō* instead of expected OAv. *-ə̄* for Ir. *-ah* in almost all polysyllables.[17]

Citations

1. Boyce 1984, p. 1.
2. Boyce 1984, p. 3.
3. Boyce 1984, p. 2.
4. Kellens 1987, p. 239.
5. Cantera 2015.
6. Humbach 1991, pp. 50–51.
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11. Humbach 1991, p. 55.
12. Humbach 1991, p. 57.
13. Hoffmann 1958, pp. 7ff.
14. Humbach 1991, pp. 56–63.
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External links

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Avesta

The **Avesta** /əˈvɛstə/ is the primary collection of religious texts of Zoroastrianism, composed in the otherwise unrecorded Avestan language.[1]

The Avesta texts fall into several different categories, arranged either by dialect, or by usage. The principal text in the liturgical group is the *Yasna*, which takes its name from the Yasna ceremony, Zoroastrianism's primary act of worship, and at which the *Yasna* text is recited. The most important portion of the *Yasna* texts are the five Gathas, consisting of seventeen hymns attributed to Zoroaster himself. These hymns, together with five other short Old Avestan texts that are also part of the *Yasna*, are in the Old (or 'Gathic') Avestan language. The remainder of the *Yasna*'s texts are in Younger Avestan, which is not only from a later stage of the language, but also from a different geographic region.

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The legends of an Arsacid-era collation and recension are no longer taken seriously.[18] It is now certain that for most of their long history the Avesta's various texts were handed down orally,[18] and independently of one another, and that it was not until around the 5th or 6th century that they were committed to written form.[1] However, during their long history, only the Gathic texts seem to have been memorized (more or less) exactly.[3] The other less sacred works appear to have been handed down in a more fluid oral tradition, and were partly composed afresh with each generation of poet-priests, sometimes with the addition of new material.[3] The Younger Avestan texts are therefore composite works, with contributions from several different authors over the course of several hundred years.

The texts became available to European scholarship comparatively late. Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron travelled to India in 1755, and discovered the texts among Indian Zoroastrian (Parsi) communities. He published a set of French translations in 1771, based on translations provided by a Parsi priest. Anquetil-Duperron's translations were at first dismissed as a forgery in poor Sanskrit, but he was vindicated in the 1820s following Rasmus Rask's examination of the Avestan language (*A Dissertation on the Authenticity*

of the Zend Language, Bombay, 1821). Rask also established that Anquetil-Duperron's manuscripts were a fragment of a much larger literature of sacred texts. Anquetil-Duperron's manuscripts are at the Bibliothèque nationale de France ('P'-series manuscripts), while Rask's collection now lies in the Royal Library, Denmark ('K'-series). Other large Avestan language manuscript collections are those of the British Museum ('L'-series), the K. R. Cama Oriental Library in Mumbai, the Meherji Rana library in Navsari, and at various university and national libraries in Europe.

Structure and content

In its present form, the Avesta is a compilation from various sources, and its different parts date from different periods and vary widely in character. Only texts in the Avestan language are considered part of the Avesta.

According to the *Denkard*, the 21 *nask*s (books) mirror the structure of the 21-word-long *Ahuna Vairya* prayer: each of the three lines of the prayer consists of seven words. Correspondingly, the *nask*s are divided into three groups, of seven volumes per group. Originally, each volume had a word of the prayer as its name, which so marked a volume's position relative to the other volumes. Only about a quarter of the text from the *nask*s has survived until today.

The contents of the Avesta are divided topically (even though the organization of the *nask*s is not), but these are not fixed or canonical. Some scholars prefer to place the categories in two groups, the one liturgical, and the other general. The following categorization is as described by Jean Kellens (see bibliography, below).

The *Yasna*

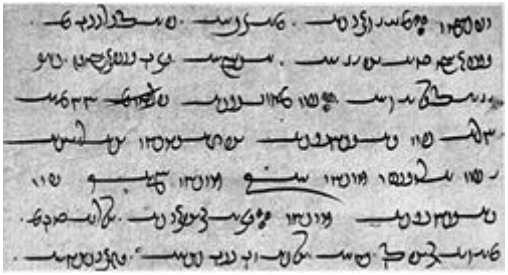
Yasna 28.1 (Bodleian MS J2)

The *Yasna* (from *yazišn* "worship, oblations", cognate with Sanskrit *yajña*), is the primary liturgical collection, named after the ceremony at which it is recited. It consists of 72 sections called the *Ha-iti* or *Ha*. The 72 threads of lamb's wool in the *Kushti*, the sacred thread worn by Zoroastrians, represent these sections. The central portion of the Yasna is the *Gathas*, the oldest and most sacred portion of the Avesta, believed to have been composed by Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) himself. The *Gathas* are structurally interrupted by the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* ("seven-chapter *Yasna*"), which makes up chapters 35–42 of the *Yasna* and is almost as old as the *Gathas*, consists of prayers and hymns in honour of the Supreme Deity, Ahura Mazda, the Angels, Fire, Water, and Earth. The younger *Yasna*, though handed down in prose, may once have been metrical, as the *Gathas* still are.

The *Visperad*

The *Visperad* (from *vîspe ratavo*, "(prayer to) all patrons") is a collection of supplements to the *Yasna*. The *Visparad* is subdivided into 23 or 24 *kardo* (sections) that are interleaved into the Yasna during a Visperad service (which is an extended Yasna service).

The *Visperad* collection has no unity of its own, and is never recited separately from the Yasna.

The *Vendidad*

The *Vendidad* (or *Vidēvdāt*, a corruption of Avestan *Vī-Daēvō-Dāta*, "Given Against the Demons") is an enumeration of various manifestations of evil spirits, and ways to confound them. The *Vendidad* includes all of the 19th *nask*, which is the only *nask* that has survived in its entirety. The text consists of 22 *Fargard*s, fragments arranged as discussions between Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster. The first *fargard* is a dualistic creation myth, followed by the description of a destructive winter on the lines of the Flood myth. The second *fargard* recounts the legend of *Yima*. The remaining *fargard*s deal primarily with hygiene (care of the dead in particular) [*fargard* 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 19] as well as disease and spells to fight it [7, 10, 11, 13, 20, 21, 22]. *Fargard*s 4 and 15 discuss the dignity of wealth and charity, of marriage and of physical effort, and the indignity of unacceptable social behaviour such as

assault and breach of contract, and specify the penances required to atone for violations thereof. The *Vendidad* is an ecclesiastical code, not a liturgical manual, and there is a degree of moral relativism apparent in the codes of conduct. The *Vendidad*'s different parts vary widely in character and in age. Some parts may be comparatively recent in origin although the greater part is very old.

The Vendidad, unlike the Yasna and the Visparad, is a book of moral laws rather than the record of a liturgical ceremony. However, there is a ceremony called the *Vendidad*, in which the Yasna is recited with all the chapters of both the Visparad and the Vendidad inserted at appropriate points. This ceremony is only performed at night.

The *Yasht*s

The *Yasht*s (from *yešti*, "worship by praise") are a collection of 21 hymns, each dedicated to a particular divinity or divine concept. Three hymns of the Yasna liturgy that "worship by praise" are—in tradition—also nominally called *yasht*s, but are not counted among the *Yasht* collection since the three are a part of the primary liturgy. The *Yasht*s vary greatly in style, quality and extent. In their present form, they are all in prose but analysis suggests that they may at one time have been in verse.

Faravahar, believed to be a depiction of a *Fravashi*, as mentioned in the *Yasna*, *Yasht*s and *Vendidad*

The *Siroza*

The *Siroza* ("thirty days") is an enumeration and invocation of the 30 divinities presiding over the days of the month. (cf. Zoroastrian calendar). The *Siroza* exists in two forms, the shorter ("little *Siroza*") is a brief enumeration of the divinities with their epithets in the genitive. The longer ("great *Siroza*") has complete sentences and sections, with the *yazata*s being addressed in the accusative.

The Siroza is never recited as a whole, but is a source for individual sentences devoted to particular divinities, to be inserted at appropriate points in the liturgy depending on the day and the month.

The *Nyayesh*es

The five *Nyayesh*es, abbreviated *Ny.*, are prayers for regular recitation by both priests and laity.[2] They are addressed to the Sun and Mithra (recited together thrice a day), to the Moon (recited thrice a month), and to the Waters and to Fire.[2] The *Nyayesh*es are composite texts containing selections from the Gathas and the Yashts, as well as later material.[2]

The *Gah*s

The five *gāh*s are invocations to the five divinities that watch over the five divisions (*gāh*s) of the day.[2] *Gāh*s are similar in structure and content to the five *Nyayesh*es.

The *Afrinagan*s

The *Afrinagan*s are four "blessing" texts recited on a particular occasion: the first in honor of the dead, the second on the five epagomenal days that end the year, the third is recited at the six seasonal feasts, and the fourth at the beginning and end of summer

Fragments

All material in the *Avesta* that is not already present in one of the other categories falls into a "fragments" category, which – as the name suggests – includes incomplete texts. There are altogether more than 20 fragment collections, many of which have no name (and are then named after their owner/collator) or only a Middle Persian name. The more important of the fragment collections are the *Nirangistan* fragments (18 of which constitute the *Ehrbadistan*); the *Pursishniha* "questions," also known as "Fragments Tahmuras"; and the *Hadokht Nask* "volume of the scriptures" with two fragments of eschatological significance.

Other Zoroastrian religious texts

Only texts preserved in the Avestan language count as scripture and are part of the Avesta. Several other secondary works are nonetheless crucial to Zoroastrian theology and scholarship.

The most notable among the Middle Persian texts are the *Dēnkard* ("Acts of Religion"), dating from the ninth century; the *Bundahishn* ("Primordial Creation"), finished in the eleventh or twelfth century, but containing older material; the *Mainog-i-Khirad* ("Spirit of Wisdom"), a religious conference on questions of faith; and the *Book of Arda Viraf*, which is especially important for its views on death, salvation and life in the hereafter. Of the post-14th century works (all in New Persian), only the *Sad-dar* ("Hundred Doors, or Chapters"), and *rivayat*s (traditional treatises) are of doctrinal importance. Other texts such as *Zartushtnamah* ("Book of Zoroaster") are only notable for their preservation of legend and folklore. The *Aogemadaeca* "we accept," a treatise on death is based on quotations from the Avesta.

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Notes

1. *K1* represents 248 leaves of a 340-leaf *Vendidad Sade* manuscript, i.e. a variant of a *Yasna* text into which sections of the *Visperad* and *Vendidad* are interleaved. The colophon of *K1* (K=Copenhagen) identifies its place and year of completion to Cambay, 692Y (= 1323–1324 CE). The date of *K1* is occasionally mistakenly given as 1184. This mistake is due to a 19th-century confusion of the date of *K1* with the date of *K1*'s source: in the postscript to *K1*, the copyist – a certain Mehrban Kai Khusrow of Navsari – gives the date of his *source* as 552Y (= 1184 CE). That text from 1184 has not survived.
2. For a summary of Andreas' theory see Schlerath (1987), pp. 29–30.
3. For example, prefix repetition as in e.g. *paitī ... paitiientī* vs. *paiti ... aiienī* (*Y.* 49.11 vs. 50.9), or sandhi processes on word and syllable boundaries, e.g. *adāiš* for **aṯ̰.āiš* (48.1), *ahiiāsā* for *ahiiā yāsā*, *gaṯ̰.tōi* for **gatōi* (43.1), *ratūš šiiaoϑanā* for **ratū šiiaoϑanā* (33.1).[15]
4. e.g. irregular internal *hw* > x^v as found in e.g. *harax^{v}ati-* 'Arachosia' and *sāx^{v}an-* 'instruction', rather than regular internal *hw* > *ŋ^{v}h* as found in e.g. *aojōŋ^{v}hant-* 'strong'.[16]
5. e.g. YAv. *-ō* instead of expected OAv. *-ə̄* for Ir. *-ah* in almost all polysyllables.[17]

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Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres
Département des Sciences de l'Antiquité

Beyond the Avesta: Critical Readings of Selected Ritual Instructions from the Persian Rivāyāts (VOL. 1)

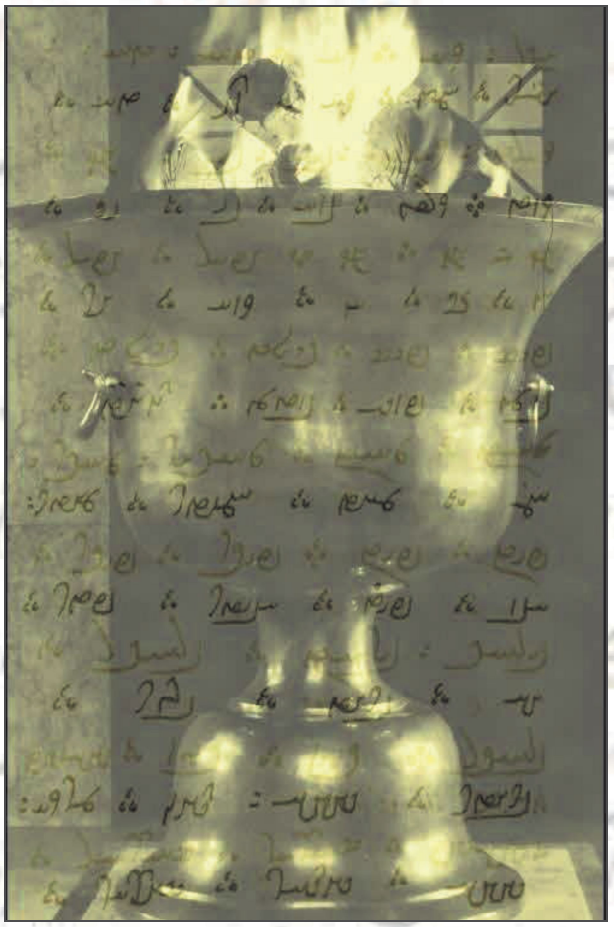

Thèse présentée par **Hamid MOEIN** en vue de l'obtention du titre de Docteur en Langues, Lettres et Traductologie sous la direction de **Philippe SWENNEN.**

Année académique 2017-2018

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Université de Liège

Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres

Département des Sciences de l'Antiquité

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ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	Adjective
A.Y.	Yazdgirdi calendar (After Yazdgird)
Av.	Avestan
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
FrA	Anklesaria Fragment
FrB	Bartholomae Fragment
FrW	Westergaard Fragment
G	Gāh
GIP.	Grundriss der iranischen Philologie
Hb	Hōšbām
ms.	Manuscript
n.	Noun
N	Nyāyišn
NBC	Nirang-e Barsom Čidan
NKB	Nirang-ī Kusti Bastan
NKNBr	Nirang-e Kusti-ye now Buridan
Phl.	Pahlavi
R.	Rivāyat
S	Sīh-rōzag
SP	Supplément persan
v.	Verb
V	Vidēvdād
Vr	Visperad
Y	Yasna
Yt	Yašt

General Introduction

This first chapter will allow me to highlight the *état de l'art*, the subject and the objectives, methodology and layout of the research, as well as the restraints, displayed throughout this work.

The Rivāyāts

The Rivāyāts are a series of epistolary exchanges between the Indian and Iranian Zoroastrian communities, chiefly regarding religious inquiries and ceremonial instructions. This epistolary exchange started between the Zoroastrian communities of India (the Parsis) and Iran (the Iranis) in 1478 (847 of the *Yazdgirdi* Calendar) and ended in 1773 (1142 of the *Yazdgirdi* Calendar). The purpose of these vast and detail oriented letters was for the Zoroastrian communities of India to inquire about the religious practices that they were uncertain about, taking into account the fact that they considered the Iranian priests as a higher authority. The Iranians in addition to answering the questions asked by the Indians, and providing them with ritual instructions, also sent other gifts.[1] Moreover, they would also send back to India entire copies of Avestan manuscripts. The content of rivāyāt series can be divided in four categories:

1) Anecdotes: these are a series of short stories about popular characters in the Mazdean religion. One example is the story of *Kərəsāspa*, a mythical Iranian hero (Y9.10) whose soul did not reach heaven [2] because he disrespected Fire,[3] and how Zarathustra begged the creator god, Ahura Mazda to allow *Kərəsāspa*'s soul to go to be forgiven. Another example of these kind of anecdotes is the story of four of the *Aməšə Spəṇtas* (the seven holy immortals) descending to the court of king

[1] When the first rivāyat was sent to India, the Iranians also sent to the Indians some *haoma* (a sacred plant that is pressed and consumed during the ceremonies).
[2] ms. MU1, p. 60-61.
[3] In Yasna 9.11, *Kərəsāspa* while cooking on the back of a giant serpent, his pot of water is knocked over due to a brusque movement by the beast. In the Avesta it is not mentioned that fire is put out by the water, which was poured over it. However, in the rivāyat manuscript MU1 this is mentioned. For the Avestan translation of this passage, see Pirart 2004, p. 70.

Title: Reconstructing the Book of Raziel Subtitle: A Modern Attempt to Rebuild the Lost Knowledge of the Ark

△∀▽△

INTRODUCTION

Throughout mystical traditions from Judaism to Gnosticism, there exists a recurring legend of a divine book given to Adam by the angel Raziel. This book—known as the **Sefer Raziel**, or "Book of the Angel Raziel"—is said to contain the foundational secrets of creation, the stars, divine names, and the mechanisms of heaven and earth.

Lost to history but preserved in fragments through myth, prophecy, and scattered texts, this document aims to reconstruct that knowledge using three powerful sources:

- *Ruah YHWH in the Book of Ezekiel*
- *Sefer ha-Malbush (The Book of the Garment)*
- *The Book of Noah*

We also integrate apocryphal legends about Noah, Enoch, and Solomon's connection to the Book of Raziel and the Ark of the Covenant, which may have housed it.

This document is not a perfect replica, but a modern gnosis—an echo of that original flame of knowledge.

PART I: THE HOLY BREATH – RUAH YHWH

Key Concepts:

- **Ruah YHWH** is the animating breath/spirit of God.
- This breath empowered the prophets, Ezekiel being the prime example.
- It travels with the **merkabah** (divine chariot) and appears as wind, storm, fire, and light.

Application to the Book:

- Ruah is likely the force that "activates" the Book of Raziel.
- Without Ruah, the sacred words are inert—breath/frequency is the key to interpretation.
- The Book may not just contain words, but encoded energy, accessed through meditative or vibrational tuning.

PART II: THE GARMENT OF LIGHT – SEFER HA-MALBUSH

Key Concepts:

- God "wears" a cosmic garment, a radiant blueprint of the universe.
- This garment (malbush) is a structured lattice of light, language, and name.
- It is said that Torah was woven into the fabric of reality *before* the world was formed.

Application to the Book:

- The Book of Raziel may *be* the garment—a metaphysical structure wrapped in language.
- The angel Raziel is the keeper not of words, but of the woven code itself.
- This Garment ties into Kabbalistic sefirot—likely linked to **Chokmah (Wisdom)** and **Tiferet (Beauty)**.

PART III: THE BOOK OF NOAH – LEGACY OF THE FLOOD

Key Concepts:

- Noah inherited the Book of Raziel through Enoch and Methuselah.
- It was kept in a golden box, made of sapphires, glowing with light.
- The book instructed him how to build the Ark and time the flood.
- After the flood, he passed it to Shem, Abraham, then Moses and Solomon.

Hidden Revelations:

- The Ark of the Covenant likely contained this book—its **true power**.
- Noah used it for both **sacred knowledge** and **technological schematics** (e.g., ark construction).
- Solomon used it to control demons, understand the stars, and master healing arts.

PART IV: THE BIRTH OF NOAH & THE FALLEN ONES

- Noah was born glowing with radiant light, likely a *Nephilim hybrid*—but divine, not fallen.
- His father Lamech believed he was the son of angels.
- Methuselah sought confirmation from Enoch, who confirmed his special destiny.
- Noah was circumcised from birth and caused harmony in nature to return.

Connection to Raziel:

- Raziel gave the original book to Adam.
- Samael tried to interfere, and the book was hidden.
- Enoch found it in a dream, passed it down to Noah.
- Raziel may represent the encoded divine signal waiting to be reinterpreted by the righteous.

PART V: THE FALLEN ANGELS & THE HOLY BOOK

- The Watchers fell after desiring mortal women.
- Azazel and Shemhazai taught forbidden knowledge and made weapons, sorcery, and cosmetics.
- The Book of Raziel was a counterbalance—**sacred frequency against corrupted frequency**.

Sacred Geometry vs Corruption:

- The Book instructed Noah in the dimensions and resonance of the ark.
- The Ark = both **literal vessel** and **cosmic container of divine knowledge**.
- Raziel's book was light, sapphire, and gold—symbolizing frequency, clarity, and divinity.

PART VI: TRANSMISSION THROUGH THE AGES

Chain of Transmission:

- Adam → Raziel
- Enoch (found in a vision)
- Methuselah
- Noah
- Shem
- Abraham
- Levi
- Moses (used in Egypt and wilderness)
- Joshua
- Solomon (mastered the demons)

Lost and Found:

- Angels grew envious and threw the book into the sea.
- Rahab, angel of the sea, returned it.
- It was hidden again until needed by Enoch, then Noah.

PART VII: RECONSTRUCTING THE BOOK TODAY

What the Book likely contained:

- **Astronomical knowledge** (calendar, eclipses, stellar cycles)
- **Sacred Names of God** (encoded in the Tetragrammaton, Shem ha-Mephorash)
- **Angelology** (hierarchies, functions, banishment)
- **Healing formulas** (plant, mineral, sound)
- **Sacred geometry** (ark, temple, cube, Tree of Life)
- **Language of Light** (possibly pictographic/sigil-based)

Compiled & reconstructed with assistance from Lumos.

Based on:

- Ruah YHWH in the Book of Ezekiel
- Sefer ha-Malbush
- The Book of Noah
- The Secrets of Angel Raziel
- Original thought and gnosis by the Lion.

⊖

the same author in *IF*, 63, 40 sqq. and 209 sqq., *Wiener Ztschr. f. d. K. Süd-u. Ostasiens*, i (1957), 81 sqq., *ZDMG*, 1955, *63*, and 1957, 362 sqq. — P. THIEME, *Der Fremdling im Rigveda*, 1939, and *apud* ALTHEIM (v. *ad* § 23). — W. P. SCHMID, *IF*, 64 (1958), 1 sqq.

§ **22.** *Ad* Y 53: H. S. NYBERG, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, 1938, 151.

§ **23.** (a): E. SCHWYZER, *APAW*, 1939, No. 6. — (b): H. H. SCHAEDER, *ZDMG*, 1940, 401 sqq. — (c): cf. W. LENTZ, *Yasna 28* (v. *ad* § 21), 991. — In general: cf. F. ALTHEIM, *Zarathustra als Dichter, Paideuma*, iii (1949), 257 sqq.

§ **24.** O. G. VON WESENDONK, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Yasna haptaŋhāti*, 1931 (*Untersuchungen z. allg. Religionsgeschichte*, Heft 3).

§§ **26-28.** The common view on Achaemenian Zoroastrianism: cf. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 1953, 17-25; George G. CAMERON (v. *ad* § 6), p. 5; A. D. NOCK, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeology*, 53 (1949), 272 sqq. — The year 441: S. H. TAQIZADEH, *Old Iranian Calendars*, 1938. — For a fuller presentation of the hypothesis here advanced v. I. CERSHEVITCH, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, 1959, 13 sqq.; on *miθra ahura* v. *ibid.*, 44, 263.

§ **29.** Translation of all Yašts: H. LOMMEL, *Die Yäšt's des Awesta*, 1927; cf. also *ad* §§ 18-19.

§ **30.** Metre of Yašts: W. B. HENNING, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 52 sqq. The reasons for the conclusion summarized in t 30, will be given elsewhere.

§ **31.** Hermann GÜNTERT, *Ueber die ahurischen und daëvischen Ausdrücke im Awesta, Sitzb. d. Heidelberger Ak. d. W.*, 1914, No. 13.

§ **35.** A. CHRISTENSEN, *Études sur le zoroastrianisme de la Perse antique*, 1928; *Les Kayanides*, 1932; *Die Iranier*, 214 sq.

§ **38.** Mary BOYCE, see *ad* § 2, and in *Serta Cantabrigiensia* (presented to Members of the 23rd Internat. Congr. of Orientalists), 1954, 45 sqq.

§ **40.** N: cf. *ad* § 19 (a), and A. WAAG, *Nirangistan*, 1941. — Aog: cf. *ad* § 19 (a), and J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *JAs.* 1936, i, 241. — Realities described in the V (and to a lesser extent in other Av. texts): W. GEIGER, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 1882; Horst FICHTNER, *Die Medizin im Avesta*, 1924; A. KAMMENHUBER, *ZDMG* 108, 1958, 299 sqq. [H. HUMBACH, *Ztschr. f. vgl. Sprachforsch.* 77 (1961), 99 sqq. (with K. HOFFMANN, *ibid.* 79, 238)].

§ **41.** Magi as authors of V: A. CHRISTENSEN, *Essai sur la démonologie iranienne*, 1941, 28 sq. — Not mentioned in the Avesta: E. BENVENISTE, *Les Mages dans l'ancien Iran*, 1938 (*contra*: H. H. SCHAEDER, *OLZ*, 1940, 375 sqq.).

§ **42.** W. B. HENNING, *JRAS*, 1942, 235 sq.

§ **43.** REICHELT's survey: v. *ad* § 19, (d). — (ch. 1): A. CHRISTENSEN, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad*, 1943; M. MOLÉ, *JAs.* 1951, 283 sqq. — (ch. 2): Otto PAUL, *Wörter und Sachen*, 1938, 176 sqq. — (ch. 3): F. A. CANNIZZARO, *Il capitolo georgico dell'Avesta*, 1913. — (ch. 4): H. LÜDERS, *SPAW*, 1917, 347 sqq.

[Note: This article was submitted in July, 1955, and slightly revised in July, 1959.]

ADDENDUM

Some of the problems touched upon in the above chapter have meanwhile been treated more fully in *JNES*, XXIII, 1964, 12 sqq. by the present writer, who begs leave to draw attention to two considerations put forward in that article. One (p. 18) is that, contrary to previous opinion, Darius appears to mention Zoroaster's 'Entities' in the Behistun inscription, as he would surely not have done if his beliefs were not Zarathuštrian (cf. § 14 above). The other (p. 20) concerns the decline of original Old Persian inscriptional production after Xerxes (see above, § 7). This is best attributed to loss on the part of professional scribes, of familiarity with the spelling conventions of the Old Persian script, and the loss, to the adoption of the Aramaic (and I would now add the Elamite) language and script as usual means of written communication. The later authors of inscriptions confined themselves to copying, with occasional slight alterations, phrases which Darius had coined. That their activity depended indeed on what they could copy from Darius, is virtually assured by the fact that their phraseology is restricted to that of Darius' low-level building inscriptions; it never extends to statements exclusively found in the Behistun and Naqš-i Rustam inscriptions, which texts were carved too high up the rock to be legible.

MIDDLE PERSIAN LITERATURE

BY

MARY BOYCE

1. INTRODUCTORY

The term Middle Persian is used of the Persian language between c. 300 B.C. and 950 A. C. The literary remains from this long period are comparatively few, and of secular works only fugitive pieces survive. For this there appear to be two main causes: one the radical change in themes and literary fashions brought about by the Arab conquest, the other the fact that only during the latter part of this period, the Sasanian epoch (c. 224 — 652 A.C.), did Persian literature begin to evolve from an oral (*uzwānīg*) to a written (*nibēsišnīg*) form. Writing had been used in Persia from the 6th century B.C. for practical purposes (royal proclamations and chronicles, state and private business); but its use was evidently not extended to religious or imaginative works until the early centuries of the Christian era. During the Sasanian epoch the Zoroastrian holy books and a number of secondary religious works were committed to writing, together with a quantity of other matter more or less connected with the faith, which has survived under the aegis of the Zoroastrian church. The Manichaean community also preserved religious writings in Middle Persian.[1] Secular works of entertainment, whether in verse or prose, appear to have continued in oral transmission until after the Arab conquest, and coming then gradually to suffer the neglect of fashion, passed irrevocably into oblivion. Only those one or two have survived which were rendered into Arabic, or remoulded in the newly-created forms of later Persian literature.

The bulk of what remains from the Sasanian period is thus more of religious and antiquarian than of purely literary interest; yet it is of great importance for the cultural history of Persia. Zoroastrian literature, having existed for centuries as a purely oral phenomenon, retained in its written stage various characteristically oral types of composition. Further, a number of individual works appear to be simply oral products of considerable antiquity, which were finally, because of some religious

[1] The Manichaean writings are treated separately in the next article

connotation, thought worthy of record in writing. The Sasanian books thus preserve elements from a yet older epoch, and provide a remarkable bridge between the two phases of Persian composition. The transition in Persia to a written literature, although evidently stimulated by foreign influences from east and west, took place without the imposition of an alien culture, and was thus a slow and steady process. The Arab conquest came when the evolution was well advanced. The dark centuries which followed obscure the later phases of the process, and only the Zoroastrian books provide material by which to trace its continuity.

The traditional forms of oral literature were evidently common to all ancient Iran. The content of individual works had, however, sometimes a local background. Most of the books preserved by the Zoroastrians were written down in Pars; but their subject-matter, where it has local connections, derives demonstrably not from Persia proper, but from north-eastern Iran. The *Kārnāmag i Ardašir* is the only such work which appears to stem from genuine Old Persian traditions. Evidently, just as northern Europe took over with Christianity a Mediterranean culture, so Sasanian Persia embraced with Zoroastrianism the traditions of eastern Iran. The same may well have been true of late Achaemenian Persia, the eastern influences being merely strengthened at this later period by a new recourse to the sources of Zoroastrian tradition.

It is the tenacity of this tradition which makes the history of MP. literature difficult to write. A chronological approach is largely impossible, since a work written down in the 9th century A.C. may contain matter transmitted over hundreds of years; whereas a 6th-century composition may be original, and thus later in manner and content than the product 300 years its junior. Further, MP. literature has in the main those characteristics of oral literature, namely anonymity, community of style, conservatism in matter and free plagiarism, which make it impossible to trace individual contributions or phases of growth. The written element hardly becomes prominent before the 6th century, making then, through independent authorship, its equally characteristic contributions of originality in style and matter; but even here, in the works that survive, the authority of the religious tradition acts as a check on individual talent.

The persistence of ancient elements in MP. literature receives an accidental tribute in the term *Pahlavi* applied to it subsequently by the Persians; for this word properly means "Parthian", but came in time to have the general sense of "heroic, ancient", and thus was used to designate the pre-Islamic Persian culture, which seemed so remote to Muslim

Iran. The term was applied to the older language and literature in general, and not specifically to the Zoroastrian works which almost alone survive. There is in fact evidence that in the Sasanian period, as later, it was secular poetry which formed the bulk of Persian literature. This poetry was cultivated by a highly professional minstrel body. The Zoroastrian works, although one or two owe something to this minstrel-poetry, were the products of priests, the scholars of their age, men concerned with knowledge and virtue, not with entertainment. They are therefore highly serious, and factual within the limits of theological dogma and scholastic learning. All branches of study pursued were developed in connection with the exegesis of sacred texts; and a history of the surviving MP. literature may therefore properly begin with the fundamental work of the period, namely the MP. translation, with commentaries, of the Zoroastrian holy books.[1]

2. The Sasanian Avesta with Zand

It is not certain when the Avesta was first written down, but it is generally held that it was during the Sasanian period.[2] The first attempts

[1] Two main systems of transcription of the so-called Pahlavi script exist; by the one it is sought to represent early Middle Persian, by the other the MP. of the Sasanian period. The second system is used here. There are many small differences between the two systems in the spellings of proper names and book-titles.

[2] The tradition of a *written* Arsacid Avesta is now rejected by most; see, e.g., H. W. Bailey *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books* (Oxford, 1943), 156 ff.; H. S. Nyberg *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, deutsch von H. H. Schaeder (Leipzig, 1938), 416 ff. In the Manichaean *Kephalaia* (ed. H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, Stuttgart, 1940), 7.31-33 it is stated: "Zoroaster ... did not write any books. But his disciples after his death remembered [his words] and wrote the books they read today". H. H. Schaeder, in *Morgenland* Heft 28, (Leipzig, 1936) p. 80f., has pointed out that the books referred to in this 3rd century text may well be the pseud-epigrapha current in the west under Zoroaster's name, rather than genuine Zoroastrian writings. The possibility that in fact a stimulus was given by the Manichaean scriptures to the writing of the Avesta has been considered (Nyberg op. cit. 415 ff., *J. Cama Or. Inst.* No. 39 (1958), 30 ff.; M. Molé *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* IV (1953), 289 ff.). On the various traditions concerning the transmission of the Avesta (all of which differ in small points) see Bailey, op. cit. 151 ff.; Nyberg, loc. cit.; M. Molé *Oriens* 13-14, 1961, 1 ff.

[N.B. Standard abbreviations for names and editions of Pahlavi texts are used here in footnotes. A key to most of these can be found, e.g., in C. Bartholomae *Die Zend Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* (München 1915), xi ff. An attempt has been made to list in footnotes the editions of Middle Persian texts which have appeared since E. West's survey in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (1896-1904) II 75 ff. Since then all Pahlavi MSS. in Copenhagen have been published in a facsimile edition: *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici bibliothecae universitatis Hafniensis*, ed. A. Christensen, 1931-44. The following catalogues of Pahlavi collections have appeared, in addition to Bartholomae's: a 2nd ed. of E. Blochet *Catalogue des manuscrits mazdéens ... de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1905); M. N. Dhalla, 'Iranian manuscripts in the Library of the India Office' *JRAS* 1912, 387-98; B. N. Dhabhar *Descriptive Catalogue of all MSS. in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library, Navsari* (Bombay, 1923) and *Descriptive Catalogue of Some MSS. bearing on Zoroastrianism and pertaining to the Different Collections in the Mulla Feroze Library* (Bombay, 1923); J. M. Unvala *Collection of Colophons of MSS. bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe* (Bombay, 1940).]

were presumably made with the Pahlavi script (on the deficiencies of which see W. B. HENNING, *Handbuch I, IV* i, 22 ff.); but this evidently proved inadequate for recording holy texts in a dead language, and from it was evolved the beautiful and precise Avestan alphabet of 46 letters. This, which represents a considerable technical achievement, was probably in being by the reign of Xosrau I, when the canon of the 21 *nasks* or divisions of the Avesta appears to have been finally established by a council presided over by the high-priest Wehšābuhr.[1] With the carefully-forged instrument of the new alphabet, the Avestan texts were set down in their late Sasanian priestly pronunciation.[2]

This Avesta of the 21 *nasks* was a huge compilation (of which the extant Avesta is only a small part).[3] It was held to contain "words of all knowledge" (*wisp-dānāgīh gōwišnān, DkM.* 646.7), and comprised, as well as the liturgical texts which survive, works on cosmogony and eschatology, astronomy and natural history, law and medicine, the life of the prophet and the history of man, extracts from ancient myth and epic, and collections of gnomic lore. The Eastern Iranian language in which it was composed was known to the Sasanians only as a church-language; and already those parts in the older Gathic dialect were imperfectly understood. Much labour was accordingly spent in exegesis. During the Sasanian period the whole Avesta was translated into Middle Persian. The translation consists of a word-for-word rendering, often faithful even to the Avestan syntax. Since the word-order of the two languages is very different, the result is necessarily clumsy and often obscure. There are therefore accompanying glosses, in which the sense is rendered into a freer Middle Persian. The MP. translation survives for the *Gāthās*, the *Yasna*, a few *Yašts*, and *Vendīdād* and *Nīrangistān*.[4] The latter two

[1] See WEST *SBE* XVIII 297 n. 2; BAILEY op. cit. 173.

[2] See BAILEY op. cit. 193; G. MORGENSTIERNE *Norsk Tidsskrift f. Sprogvidenskap* XII (1940) 30 ff.; HENNING *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, London 1942, 48.

[3] For the names and contents of the 21 *nasks* see WEST *SBE* XXXVII, 418-47 [some corrections to readings by B. N. DHABHAR *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others, their Version with introduction and notes* (Bombay 1932) 4-9]. On the extant Avesta see I. GERSHEVITCH in the preceding article.

[4] Translations must once have existed also for all the Yašts (see BAILEY, op. cit. 129; J. C. TAVADIA *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier*, hg. v. H. JUNKER (Leipzig, 1956) 39).—Since WEST's survey the following editions or translations have appeared of the Zand of extant Avestan texts: B. N. DHABHAR *Zand i Khūrtak Avistāk* (text. Bombay, 1927, translation, Bombay, 1963) and *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad* (Bombay, 1949); M. B. DAVAR *The Pahlavi Version of Yasna IX* (Leipzig, 1904); J. UNVALA *Neryosangh's Sanskrit Version of the Hōm Yašt (Yasna IX-XI) with the original Avesta and its Pahlavi Version* (Vienna, 1924); M. N. DHALLA "The Pahlavi Text of the Ormazd Yašt" in *Hoshang Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1918), 378-91, and *Nyaishes or Zoroastrian Litanies* (New York, 1908); H. JAMASP *Vendīdād, Avesta text with Pahlavi translation and commentary, and glossarial index* (Bombay, 1907); B. T. ANKLESARIA *Pahlavi Vendīdād* (Bombay, 1949) [ed. by D. N. KAPADIA, author of *Glossary of Pahlavi Vendīdād* (Bombay, 1953)]; S. J. BULSARA *Aērpatastān and Nīrangastān ... translated* (Bombay, 1915); A. WAAG *Nīrangistan* (Leipzig, 1941) [Avestan text, with Pahlavi translation and glosses, but without the Pahlavi commentaries]. M. F. KANGA has transfated the *Pahlavi Version of Yašts* (Bombay, 1941); the *Pahlavi Version of Āfrīnagān Artākhravakhsh* (*Sanj Vartaman Annual*, Bombay, 1943, pp. 1-3) and *Pahlavi Yasn Hā VIII* (*Siddha Bhārati*, Hoshiarpur, 1950, pp. 1-7). For penetrating general comments on the Phl. translation see K. F. GELDNER, *GIP. II* 1§§ 42-49 (English translation by D. MACKICHAN in *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian studies in honour of ...* P. SANJANA, (Strassburg and Leipzig, 1904), 71-81).

are works not distinguished even in the original for literary merit. For their MP. rendering, and indeed for the MP. translation in general, it is impossible to claim the smallest literary distinction, although its philological usefulness is considerable. The translation is accompanied by exegetical passages, some of which are lengthy, the product of generations of priestly scholars, one commenting upon the interpretation of another, a late redactor citing the conflicting opinions of predecessors. The individual commentators, many known by name, are modest, and prepared to admit perplexity: "To me it is not clear" (*um nē rōšn*); but collectively their work had immense authority, for together with the interpretive glosses it made up the Zand.

The exact meaning of the word Zand is uncertain, but it was probably something like "understanding" or "elucidation". There evidently existed an ancient Zand in the Avestan language, and some Avestan glosses have been incorporated in the texts they interpret; but to the later church the Zand came to mean above all the MP. interpretations of the holy texts, whether glosses or exposition. As the heir (in theory at least) to an ancient exegetical tradition, the MP. Zand was accorded great authority, and even held to be divinely inspired;[1] and eminent Sasanian priests, no less than Zoroaster's first disciples, were venerated as *pōryōtkēšān* "possessors of the primitive [i.e. the true] faith".

No clear distinction is made by the Phl. writers between the Avesta in the Avestan language (*ēwāz ī abastāg nām, DkM.* 455.11) and its MP. translation.[2] In the MSS. the translation, with the Zand, follows the Avestan text verse by verse or sentence by sentence; and both text and commentary were memorised. There were learned priests said to know the whole Avesta with Zand by heart (*hamāg abastāg ud zand warm, Ep. M.* I 4. 11); and stories are told (*Dk.* VI) of priests reciting together the *abastāg ud zand* as they went about their other labours. As late as the 9th century it was explicitly stated: "it is reasonable to consider the living spoken word more important than the written" (*zīndag gōwišnīg saxwan az ān ī pad *nibišt mādagwardar hangārdan čimīg*).[3] It does not

[1] See J. DARMESTETER *Études iraniennes* II 43 n. 2; BAILEY op. cit. 162-63 (citing *DkM.* 459.8 ff.).

[2] See BAILEY op. cit. 167.

[3] *DkM.* 460. 7-8 (see BAILEY op. cit. 163).

seem likely that many MSS. of the whole Avesta ever existed; and probably for this reason the Muslims did not consider the Zoroastrians as "people of the book." [1] Nevertheless, for the most detailed sections of the surviving Zand, those of the *Vendīdād* and *Nīrangistān*, not completed till after 632 A. C.,[2] it is difficult not to suppose that it was the existence of the written text which made possible the elaboration of commentaries.

These two works are largely concerned with matters of ritual and observance, and the commentaries therefore remain narrowly within ecclesiastic tradition. It is evident, however, that in the Zand of some of the lost *nasks* the priestly scholars drew from wider fields of foreign science, making use, that is to say, of foreign books. The evidence for this comes from two sources: the later Pahlavi compilations, derived from the Avesta, and old Arabo-Persian works. Thus, for example, "there is . . . . . much evidence in the old [Arabic] books of astronomy and astrology to show that the astronomical knowledge obtained from old Persian sources was mostly derived from the Sasanian Avesta itself." [3] The chief foreign influences to be traced in MP. science and literature were those of India, Greece and Babylon. Some Greek influence is perhaps ancient, but Greek writings were presumably known to the Sasanians through Syriac translations from the 5th century onwards. The following Greek and Indian learned works have been traced in Middle Persian writings, or in Arabic translations from them: [4] from Greece (probably largely through Syriac translations) works by Aristotle, including his περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς, and by non-Aristotelian philosophers, with general references to "Greek philosophers" (*hrōm filisōfāy*) and the Sophists (*sōfistāy*): Ptolemy's *Almagest* (*magistag ī hrōmāy* by Ptalamayus) and other mathematical works, including books on geometry (*nibēg ī zamīg-paymānīh*); the Hippocratic treatises περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου and περὶ ἑβδομάδων [5] and other medical works; astronomical/astrological works [6] by Dorotheos of Sidon, Teucros and Vettius Valens, as well as the legendary Hermes; and works on agriculture. Greek moral

[1] See BAILEY op. cit. 169; NYBERG *Die Religionen* 13. On the Syriac evidence for oral transmission see F. NAU *RHR* XCV 1927, 149-99 and *JA* 1927, 150 ff.; J. DE MENASCE *BSOS IX* 1938, 587 n. 2.

[2] See WAAG *Nīrangistān* 10.

[3] S. H. TAQIZADEH *BSOS* IX i (1937), 135.

[4] For the first-mentioned works see BAILEY op. cit. 80-87, 98, 105; for some supporting evidence on the works of Aristotle see R. C. ZAEHNER *Zurvan* (Oxford, 1955) (index s.v. Aristotle).

[5] The theory that this treatise represented a pre-Sasanian influence from Iran on Greece (A. GÖTZE *ZII* II (1923), 167 ff.) has been disproved; see J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN *Harvard Theological Review* XLIX 2 (1956), 115 ff., *The Western Response to Zoroaster* (Oxford, 1958), 72 ff.

[6] On these see C. A. NALLINO in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1922), 345 ff., and in *ERE* XII 90-91; A. BARISSON *JA* 1935 i, 300-05; S. H. TAQIZADEH *BSOS* IX i (1937), 125 ff.

philosophy does not appear to have been studied. From India [1] came works of logic (*tark* < Skt. *tarka*) and rhetoric (*avyākaran* < *vyākaraṇa*), treatises on astronomy (making known the *zīg ī hindūg*, and the Indian system of lunar mansions) and on horoscopes (*hora*); and a compendium on the origin of the four castes from the primordial Puruṣa.[2] Indian medicine, as well as Greek, was studied at Weh-andyōk-šābuhr (Gundešābur)[3] and Indian herb-names are found in the Pahlavi books.[4] Babylonian astronomical works were also probably translated during the Sasanian period.

The history of Sasanian astronomy provides some help for dating these translations. "Under Sassanian rule there were two periods of contact with Greek and Indian science during which the study of astronomy was promoted: one under Shapur I after the conclusion of the Roman war, the other 'towards the end of the Sassanian period'." [5] The Persian astronomical canon (*zīg ī šahriyārān*) was drawn up during the first period, in 263/4 A.C.; [6] the Indian system of lunar mansions was borrowed during the second, ± 500 A.C.[7] It seems likely that these two periods were favourable for intellectual activity and foreign contacts in general. [8] Such works as have an indication of date belong, not surprisingly, to the later period. [9]

The translated works were evidently preserved as independent treatises, some being in due course rendered into Aramaic or Arabic. They probably also inspired independent treatises by Sasanian scholars (one Andarzgar is mentioned as an astronomer who wrote books). A tradition exists, however, that these scientific works from abroad were also somehow brought into association with the Avesta itself. The MP. phrase is *abāg abastāg abāz handāxt* (*DkM.* 412.21). The precise significance of

[1] For these see BAILEY op. cit. 80-81, 86; de MENASCE *JA* 1949, pp. 2-3, and *Une Encyclopédie mazdéenne, Le Dénkart* (Paris, 1958), 27; HENNING *JRAS* 1942, 242 ff.

[2] See S. K. HODIVALA in *Oriental Studies in honour of C. E. Pavry* (London, 1933), 140-41; ZAEHNER *Zurvan* 137.

[3] On the traces of Indian medical theory in Sasanian works see TH. NÖLDEKE *Burzôes Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalila wa Dimna übersetzt und erklärt* (Strassburg 1912), 22 f., A. CHRISTENSEN *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (2nd ed., Copenhagen 1944), 425.

[4] BAILEY op. cit. 81 with n. 3.

[5] HENNING *JRAS* 1942, 245.

[6] TAQIZADEH op. cit. 134 ff.

[7] HENNING loc. cit.

[8] There is a Manichaean text which suggests that Šābuhr's son, Bahrām I, was not in sympathy with the study of medicine (see HENNING *BSOS* X 4 (1942) 951 n. 8); this increases the likelihood of a general reaction against foreign science during his reign.

[9] A book on Aristotelian logic, and the work of Teucros, are both said to have been translated in the reign of Xosrau I, and the rendering of Valens' ἀνθολογία (*Wizīdag*) is popularly attributed to the same reign. (On literature and science in general at the time of Xosrau I see CHRISTENSEN *L'Iran* 415 f.).

abāz handāxt is debated (the words have been variously translated as "restored to", "joined with", "compared with" etc.);[1] but whatever the shade of meaning, the evidence of the Pahlavi compilations and Arabo-Persian books shows that foreign learning did somehow penetrate the holy writings; and since it is improbable that any but an imitative and stammering Avestan was composed in Sasanian times, it must have been the MP. text that was thereby affected. The MP. translators of the Avesta aimed, however, at complete faithfulness, and therefore it can only be in the Zand that new material was adduced. That this in fact happened appears from the derivative Phl. works, where ancient dogma and later science subsist side by side. Thus the Avestan texts evidently preserved such pre-Achaemenian beliefs as that, for example, the sun and moon were further from the earth than the stars;[2] it was the commentators presumably who, helpless to alter dogma, adduced nevertheless more advanced Babylonian theories, and Greek and Indian teachings, thus incorporating these in the "Avesta with Zand", and giving them, in course of time, the authority of "sayings of the ancients" (*pōryōtkēšān gōwišnān*). To the commentators also must be credited such difficult fusions as the introduction of the four Empedoclean elements into traditional cosmological doctrines,[3] and the association of Hippocratic and Indian teachings with ancient Iranian medical theory.[4] The surviving Zand, suggesting as it does that the Sasanian priests were engrossed by a narrow study of ritual and ordinances, does them injustice. Their work had evidently a far greater breadth; and to their intellectual labours[5] Islamic Persia was to owe much.

The assimilation of foreign learning depended on the use of books. Thus the exegesis of the Avesta thrust Sasanian scholars into book-learning, and must have been a powerful stimulus to the growth in Persia of literacy in the narrow sense.

3. The later religious Writings

The Avesta being such a huge and miscellaneous compilation, it was natural that smaller collections of holy texts should exist separately. The liturgical texts which form the extant Avesta were evidently in being as a

[1] See most recently M. Molé *Oriens* 13-14 (1961), 5 ff.
[2] See Henning *JRAS* 1942, 229 ff.
[3] See Zaehner *Zurvan* 141.
[4] See Christensen *L'Iran* 418 ff.
[5] On the severity of the intellectual tasks confronting the Sasanian priestly scholars see further Bailey op. cit. 117 ff.

group in pre-Sasanian times. The *Nīrangistān* also survives separately, with part of the *Hērbadistān*, as a work of practical use for priests. It too is accompanied by its Zand.

A step which must, however, have been made after the establishment of the canon was that of excerpting from the Avesta passages relating to particular themes. This is an activity belonging necessarily to an established written tradition, whereby it becomes possible to select, compare and compile from texts simultaneously available. When the first of such selective compilations was made is unknown; but in those which survive only the MP. translation with Zand is drawn upon, the passages being chosen and set together to form a continuous treatment. This development, which seems so natural, as the comprehension of Avestan dwindled, may well in fact have been a slow and difficult process, since the holy language was deeply venerated. There is no evidence for such compilations before the Arab conquest; and although an argument *ex silentio* is dangerous in this sparsely-documented field, it is nevertheless probable that the development took place slowly during the 7th to 9th centuries, being stimulated perhaps by the needs of a church on the defensive. Freed from the thorniness of texts in a dead language, such compilations must have been both easier for Zoroastrians themselves to study, and more persuasive for those wavering in the faith.

A good illustration of the development is provided by the short treatise *Šāyist nē-šāyist* ("Allowed and not-allowed"),[1] which covers a number of miscellaneous topics, loosely joined by the thread of sin and ritual purification and atonement. Its matter derives directly from the Zand. A number of nasks are cited, mostly from the legal group; but it is more often the commentary than the translation which is invoked, sometimes in general terms, "the authorities have taught" (*dastwarān čāšt*), often with the name of the commentator.[2] Similarities in style suggest that *Šāyist nē-šāyist* was compiled by the same priests who made the final redaction of the Zand of the *Vendīdād* and *Nīrangistān* (evidently ritually-minded men).[3] It must accordingly have been

[1] An edition of this text, with supplementary texts, by M. B. Davar was printed in Bombay in 1912, but never published. It was destroyed by fire at the Fort Printing Press, Bombay, in 1945. A few copies are in private hands, and one of these was used (with acknowledgements) by J. C. Tavadia in his edition, *Šāyast nē-šāyast* (Hamburg, 1930), which has the text in transcription only, together with English translation, notes and glossary. A similar edition of the supplementary texts was submitted for a doctoral thesis of Bombay university by F. M. Kotwal in 1966.—Few Pahlavi books have an old title preserved. Usually they are named after their opening words, or a significant phrase (as here), or by a descriptive title given later.
[2] For the names of the commentators cited see Bartholomae *Zend Hss.* 49; two separate priestly traditions have been discerned among them (Tavadia op. cit. 29 n.).
[3] See Darmesteter *Ét. ir.* II 42; Waag op. cit. 44.

written after 632 A.C. Although its casuistry is unattractive, the treatise is interesting for its religious technicalities and rare terms.

A much more important and fundamental work of compilation is the *Bundahišn* ("Creation"), also called *Zand-āgāhīh* ("Knowledge from the Zand"),[1] which survives in two recensions, the *Great* (or *Iranian*) *Bundahišn* and a shortened version, the *Indian Bundahišn* (deriving from a different MS. tradition).[2] One of the two great Zoroastrian compilations, this work probably grew through different redactions, from some time after the Arab conquest down to 1178 A.C. (when a few additions were made in imperfect Middle Persian). The last important redaction belongs to about the end of the 9th century.[3] The *Bundahišn* has three main themes: creation, the nature of earthly creatures, and the Kayanians (their lineage and abodes, and the vicissitudes befalling their realm of Ērānšahr). The compiler does not name individual sources; but the work shows an encyclopaedic knowledge of the Zand,[4] and exemplifies excellently the process whereby treatises on chosen themes were created out of the scriptures. Many passages evidently derive fairly closely from the Middle Persian translation, for an Avestan syntax underlies them;

[1] Against CHRISTENSEN's rejection of this second title (*Kayanid.* 45 f.) see TAVADIA op. cit. 74.

[2] See WEST *GIP* ii 98. The *Great Bundahišn*, ed. by T. D. ANKLESARIA, was pub. by B. T. ANKLESARIA (Bombay, 1908). For this edition the MS. TD[2] was used. TD[1], a very good MS., was not collated. A copy of TD[1], made for DARMESTETER, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS. Supp. Pers. 2043). This was collated by H. W. BAILEY, who kindly made his collation available to other scholars (see CHRISTENSEN *Le premier chapitre du Vd.*, 8; ZAEHNER *Zurvan*, 277). A complete English translation with notes was made by BAILEY for a D.Phil. thesis in Oxford in 1936. Another English translation, under the title *Zand-ākāsīh*, was made by B. T. ANKLESARIA, but the printed copies perished in the fire of 1945; it has now been published by offset process by the Rāhnumāe Mazdayasnān Sabhā (Bombay, 1956). An edition by K. BARR with text, translation, notes, glossary and concordance, is in preparation. The following chapters have been separately edited since WEST's survey: I and III by NYBERG *JA* 1929 i, 207-37, 260-310, and by ZAEHNER *Zurvan* 278-336; I also in NYBERG's *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (Uppsala, 1928) [on GBd. 10 see BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 94 n. 2 with references]; II by HENNING *JRAS* 1942, 229-48; the beginning of IV by ZAEHNER op. cit. 355-9 [see CHRISTENSEN *Le Premier Homme* (Uppsala, 1918) 15 ff., E. BENVENISTE *MO* XXVI (1932), 187 ff.]; extracts from V, and XXV, by NYBERG *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender* (Uppsala, 1934), 10-29; XXVIII by A. GÖTZE *ZII* Bd. II (1923), 60 ff.; XXX by J. J. MODI in *A paper read before the Bombay branch of the RAS*, 1901 (pub. Bombay, 1902); XXXIII-XXXIV by G. MESSINA *Orientalia* IV (1935), 259 ff. A series of passages are transcribed and translated by SCHAEDER in *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* 213 ff., and by ZAEHNER in *Zurvan* (see index, p. 460); *GBd.* p. 51 ff. is translated with notes by S. H. TAQIZADEH, *Gāh-šumārī dar īrān-i qadīm*, (Tehran, 1937), 326-29, see further D. N. MACKENZIE, *BSOAS* XXVII 3 (1964), 511-29. A number of passages were transcribed and translated by M. MOLÉ in his posthumous *Culte, Mythe et Cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien* (Paris, 1963), see index, p. 592.

[3] See GBd. 237.15 ff. The passage (upon the genealogies of priestly families) is not found in the Ind. Bd. Unfortunately it is not wholly clear, either in the forms of some names or in the degrees of descent. On it see MODI *A Paper read before the Bombay branch of the RAS*, 1901 (Bombay, 1902), 6; DHABHAR *NM.* p. 3 n. 1; B. T. ANKLESARIA GBd. 11; TAVADIA op. cit. 75. On corroborative evidence for a late 9th-century dating see WEST *SBE* V xli-xliii; DARMESTETER in a paper read to the *Jarthōshti-Dīnnī-khol-karnāri Mandli* (Bombay, 1887).

[4] See CHRISTENSEN *Kayanides* 47 f.; HENNING *JRAS* 1942, 229.

and one section consists simply of the translation of the 1st chapter of the *Vendīdād* coinciding (except in small details) with the canonical Zand.[1] Glosses and commentaries provide part of the continuous text, and in these, foreign learning is adduced. There are also a few isolated attempts to bring the work up to date, by the identification of traditional (and even mythical) geographical names with Arabic ones. In the main, however, the absorbing interest of the *Bd.* lies in the antiquity of its material. Here is preserved an ancient, in part pre-Zoroastrian picture of the world, conceived as saucer-shaped, with its rim one great mountain-range, a central peak thrusting up, star-encircled, to cut off the light of the sun by night; a world girdled by two great rivers, from which all other waters flow; in which yearly the gods fight against demons to end drought and famine, and to bring protection to man. Natural phenomena are speculatively explained; the sprouting of the plants, for example, is ascribed to the mythical Tree of All Seeds growing in the ocean, whose seeds are mingled with water and so scattered annually over all the earth when the god Tištar brings the rains. Not only is the matter ancient and often poetic, but the manner of presentation, although arid, is of great antiquarian interest; for after the distinctively Zoroastrian account of creation, the speculative learning and legendary history is set out in traditional oral fashion, that is to say, in schematised mnemonic lists: so many types of animals, so many kinds of liquid, so many names of mountains, so many great battles. This is the learning of ancient Iran, as it must have been evolved and transmitted by generations in the priestly schools.

If the *Bd.* is compared with, for example, such a work as the *Hudūd al-Alam*, so little later than its final redaction, it becomes probable that one reason why Zoroastrianism yielded generally to Islam is that over the centuries Zoroaster's noble religious and ethical conceptions had become fused with a mass of traditional lore, which acquired through association with his teachings the authority of dogma. The later adherents of Zoroastrianism were thus straitened by outworn conceptions, and many a Sasanian must have been torn between orthodoxy and scientific truth. The new religion offered escape to a relative freedom of the mind.

The *Bd.* has in the main the anonymity of traditional material; but the 9th-century redactor gives his own genealogy, and names some of his contemporaries, among them Zādspram, son of Juwānjam, selections from whose own writings also survive. These *Selections*, the *Wizīdagīhā ī*

[1] See CHRISTENSEN *Le premier chapitre du Vd.*, 7.

Zādspram,[1] likewise consist of excerpts from the Avesta and Zand, on several themes: creation, legends about Zoroaster, the formation of man (from body, life and soul), the deeds of the hero-prophets, and the restoration of the world of good. The work shows the advantage of a single hand. It is much slighter than the *Bd.*; but where the two coincide, the *Wizīdagīha* are noteably free from the repetitions which characterise the other work (created presumably by successive redactors adding fresh matter from different parts of the scriptures). No Pahlavi work is easy reading, because of the script, and the obscurity of allusions to events and persons since forgotten; but these general difficulties apart, the *Selections* of Zādspram provide in the main a plain and intelligent summary of some of the fundamental legends and beliefs of the Sasanian church. In places, e.g. on the formation of man, there is a noticeable tincture of Greek philosophy, derived presumably from the exegetical passages of the Zand.[2] In these more complex passages the difficulties of the text can be considerable.

Zādspram also wrote a "Compendium on the Enumeration of Species" (*tōxm-ušmārišnīh hangardīg nibēg*),[3] unfortunately lost. Evidently his interests lay in fields other than ritual and observance; and in fact he attempted to introduce a simplification into the important *barešnom* purification-ceremony, which aroused indignation among his congregation at Sīrkān. They appealed to the high-priest of Pārs and Kirman, who was Manuščihr, Zādspram's own brother. Three letters from Manuščihr upon this subject survive, the *Nāmagīha ī Manuščihr*:[4] one to the congregation, one to Zādspram, and an open one. The last is dated to 881 A. C. These letters are dignified, firm, and strongly traditionalist. Manuščihr seeks support unquestioningly from the church fathers in upholding established practice. He awakens respect by his seriousness and concern for the spiritual welfare of his people, but unfortunately as a stylist leaves much to be desired. His meaning tends to be clouded by an unnecessary profusion of words, and clogged by the weight of elaborate periods and compound terms. This is the more unfortunate as he has left also an important work, the *Dādistān ī dēnīg* "Religious Judgments",[1] consisting of his answers to 92 questions put to him by lay co-religionists, on subjects ranging from doctrinal matters to ethics, cosmology, the rights and duties of the priesthood, and social and legal points (adoption, inheritance, etc). Some of the practical problems are new, those of a community of waning wealth and power; most can be answered authoratively from scripture. A large amount of the subject-matter is thus traditional, as is the form (question and answer, a common type of oral composition). Manuščihr's works nevertheless belong much more to the 9th century than do the previous books discussed, which appear in content almost wholly Sasanian.

A 9th-century element is also strong in the *Dēnkard*, "Acts of the Religion",[2] the most massive of extant Phl. writings. This is an encyclo-

[1] See WEST *GIP* ii 105; an edition by WEST of the early chapters, with transcription, was subsequently published as Appendix II to *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of . . . P. Sanjana* (Strassburg and Leipzig, 1904). An edition by B. T. ANKLESARIA was largely destroyed by fire at the Fort Printing Press in 1945. It was published in 1964 by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat in Bombay as the *Vichitakiha-i Zadsparam*, Part 1, text with introduction, which includes 63 pages of a summary of the contents of the work by ANKLESARIA. The text has been set up exactly according to the original edition, but in new type. The following passages have been published, mostly from surviving copies of ANKLESARIA's original edition: Ch. I and XXXIV transcribed and translated by ZAEHNER *BSOS* IX 3 (1938), 573 ff., X 2 (1940) 377 ff. (see also his *Zurvan* 339 ff.); Ch. XXIX-XXX transliterated by BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 209-16. Many shorter passages have been transcribed and translated by various scholars, notably by SCHAEDER in R. REITZENSTEIN and H. H. SCHAEDER *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1926), 213 ff.; by BAILEY op. cit. and ZAEHNER op. cit. (see index, p. 461); MOLÉ *Culte* . . . (see index, 591-92). There is a translation of part of the text among the late M. MOLÉ's papers, the publication of which is expected.

[2] See BAILEY op. cit., 104 ff. It seems unlikely that, with the church impoverished and on the defensive, Zādspram himself should have had either opportunity or desire for direct recourse to translations from the Greek.

[3] See *Wizīdagīhā* IX 16 (WEST *SBE* V 181).

[4] See WEST *GIP* ii 104; ed. (with English intro.) by DHABHAR *The Epistles of Mānūshchihar* (Bombay, 1912); M. F. KANGA has transcribed and translated Ep. II i in *Deccan Bulletin* XVIII (1958), 374-80, and translated Ep. III in *Poure Davoud Mem. Vol.* II (Bombay, 1951), 189-204.

[1] See WEST *GIP* ii 102. Part I (Pursišn I-XL), edited by T. D. ANKLESARIA, was published by B. T. ANKLESARIA (Bombay, date ?); Part II (Purs. XLI-XCII), was edited by P. K. ANKLESARIA as a doctoral thesis in London university in 1958. The following passages have been transcribed and translated into English: Purs LIII, LV-LIX, by DHABHAR, *Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, (Bombay, 1932), 182-89; Purs. XC by B. T. ANKLESARIA in *Dinshaw J. Irani Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1943), 232-54; Purs. I by M. F. KANGA in *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentés à G. Morgenstierne* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 98-102; Purs. II also by KANGA in the *Dr. Unvala Mem. Volume* (Bombay, 1964), 127-40. In the same volume P. K. ANKLESARIA published the text, transcription and translation of Purs. XCI. Many short passages from the Dd. have been transcribed and translated by European scholars, notably by BAILEY, op. cit., ZAEHNER op. cit. (see index, p. 459), and M. MOLÉ, op. cit. (see index, p. 593)

[2] See WEST *GIP* ii 91. The edition begun by P. B. SANJANA, in 19 volumes, was finished in 1928. The two-volumed edition of D. M. MADAN (with text only) appeared in Bombay in 1911. For details of these editions, and of early independent translations, see J. DE MENASCE *Une Encyclopédie mazdéenne, Le Dēnkart, Quatre conférences données à l'Université de Paris sous les auspices de la Fondation Ratanbai Katrak* (Paris, 1958), 4 n. 1. A facsimile edition of MS. B (in the K. R. Cama Inst.) has since been published by M. J. DRESDEN, *Dēnkart* (Wiesbaden, 1966). Although no satisfactory translation exists of any of the 6 books of the *Dēnkard*, many individual chapters have been transcribed and translated, notably by BAILEY (op. cit.), NYBERG (*Texte zum mazd. Kalender*), ZAEHNER (see index, p. 459, of his *Zurvan*), and de MENASCE. In his book (based on lectures delivered in 1946), de MENASCE gave a detailed analysis of the contents of the *Dēnkard*, with transcriptions of individual passages, and a table of contents of Bk III (Appendix, 82 ff.). He announced an edition and translation of Bk. VII by M. MOLÉ, now to appear posthumously. TAVADIA (op. cit. 45-73) also devoted considerable attention to the *Dēnkard*—Bk. VI was transcribed and translated as a thesis in Paris in 1962 by B. FARAVACHI, and independently as a supplement to a London thesis by SH. SHAKED in 1964. In his *Culte, Mythe et Cosmologie* . . . M. MOLÉ cited many passages from the *Dēnkard* (see index, pp. 589-91); and a passage from Bk. III (Madan pp. 11.4-12.2) was

paedic work of great length, which survives in mutilated form, comprising 6 books (numbered 3-9; the beginning of the 3rd book is missing). The *Dēnkard*, like the *Bundahišn*, is a compilation, which evidently absorbed older works as it grew;[1] but in its final form it is attributed to two authors. One, Ādurfarnbag ī Farroxzādān, was high-priest of Pars at the time of Caliph Ma'mūn (813-33 A.C.).[2] The first part of the *Dēnkard*, made up, it seems, of selections from his writings, suffered damage after his death. It came eventually into the hands of yet another high-priest of Pars, one Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān. His date is uncertain, but it seems likely that he is to be identified with the Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān whose son Isfandiyār (likewise high-priest) died in 936 A.C.[3] He himself should accordingly have flourished at about the turn of the century, which makes his work roughly contemporary with the main redaction of the *Bundahišn*. He is therefore presumably to be further identified with the Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān who is mentioned in the *Bundahišn*[4] as a contemporary of Zādspram's. Ādurbād restored the work of Ādurfarnbag, and added to it the later books.

The *Dēnkard* is a vast treasure-house of Zoroastrian knowledge, wherein materials from many epochs and varied origins are rehandled at a late date by individual authors. What makes it the most formidable of MP. works is the style in which the greater part is written, tortuous, intricate and dry. Since to the inherent difficulties of this style are added those of the script and of a poor MS.-tradition, much remains obscure. The *Dēnkard* is far too long and varied a compilation to be briefly summarised; much of the first part is apologetic, and most of the second devoted to preserving knowledge of the Zoroastrian faith. In both, much material is attributed to the "exposition of the Good Religion" (*nigēz ī wehdēn*), probably the written Zand reinforced by contemporary oral

transcribed and translated by him in the *Dr. Unvala Memorial Vol.* (Bombay, 1964), 25-29. In the same work, pp. 99-112, H. S. Nyberg treated the opening of Bk. V. In *Indian Linguistics* XXV (1964/5), pp. 3-20, M. F. Kanga gave a transcription and translation of a long passage from Bk. V (Madan pp. 454.21-470).

[1] It is said, e.g., to have included the work of one Ādurbād ī *Jāwandān (*ŠGV*. IV 106).

[2] There is a small Pahlavi treatise, *Guzastag Abāliš* [ed. A. Barthélemy, Paris 1887; H. F. Chacha, Bombay 1936] relating Ādurfarnbag's dispute, in the presence of Ma'mūn, with an apostate Zoroastrian, Abāliš. [This name, evidently a corruption of an Arabic one, is perhaps to be read Abā Laiθ, see Schaeder *Iranische Beiträge* I (Halle, 1930) 287 n. 2.]

[3] See Mas'ūdi *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ashrāf*, transl. B. Carra de Vaux (Paris, 1897), p. 149 with n. 1. More recently several scholars (J. J. Modi in *Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe f. W. Geiger* (Leipzig, 1931), 274-88; de Menasce op. cit. 10-11; and Tavadia op. cit. 50) have agreed in identifying Ādurbād rather with the son of Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān, high-priest in 955 A.C. This would put his redaction of the *Dēnkard* in the second part of the 10th century, which seems too late a date for such a massive Middle Persian compilation; but see further de Menasce *Annuaire de l'école pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses* (*Paris*), 1956-7, pp. 9-11.

[4] See GBd. 238.3.

tradition.[1] In the early books are to be found answers to questions by heretics, and by a disciple; collections of precepts (*andarz*) used apologetically (heretical utterances and their orthodox parallels); an abridgement of the answers given by Ādurfarnbag to a certain Ya'qūb, and to a Christian, Bōxt-Mārē. To Ya'qūb Ādurfarnbag uses appeals to national pride rather than theological arguments, linking the glorious history of Iran with that of the Zoroastrian faith.[2] These early books also contain such well-known passages as a long chapter on medicine,[3] and the accounts already cited of the transmission of the Avesta. There is a mass of other material also, much of it summarised, and therefore lacking apparent order or logical continuity.

The VIth book stands apart, being an anthology of wise sayings, attributed to the Ancients and to various named Sasanian sages. Thanks to the clear *andarz* style, it makes the easiest reading of any (see further below, p. 51f.). The VIIth book, which embodies many Avestan allusions, contains a sort of universal history, from the First Man to Judgment Day, with Zoroaster as its central point.[4] The VIIIth gives the famous summary of 19 *nasks* of the Avesta "for the knowledge of the many" (*ō āgāhīh ī wasān*) [5] (one of the *nasks* was then already lost, and of another only the Avestan text remained). In the IXth book three of the religious (*gāhānīg*) *nasks* are dealt with in greater detail.

It is a striking fact that, except for *Šāyist nē-šāyist*, all the books so far considered are known, in their 9th-century form, to be the work of priests and high-priests of Pars. Together they constitute an important part of the surviving Phl. literature; and their attribution to one province indicates impressively the amount of such writings which must have disappeared; for, although Pars appears to have been the Zoroastrian stronghold of the 9th century, it is hardly to be thought that there was not literary activity also in other provinces, whose products must later have been lost, through poverty and persecution.

There is an anonymous work, probably belonging to the early decades of the 10th century, which is generally transmitted with the *Dādistān ī*

[1] In DkM. 460.1 ff. it is said of the Zand: "now too for the most part it is preserved also in books" (*nun-iz frāyist pad-iz nibēgīhā pād ēstēd*) [see Bailey *Zor. Problems* 163]. The implication is clear that part remained unwritten; *dēn nigēztan* = "to expound the religion" (Bailey ibid. 99 n. 1). On the *nigēz* (rather differently) see de Menasce *Une Encyclopédie mazdéenne*, 17.

[2] See de Menasce op. cit. 29-31.

[3] Translated by L. C. Casartelli *Le Muséon* V (1886); transcribed by Bailey *Zor. Problems* 196 ff.

[4] On this history of Zoroaster see Barr *Festskrift til L. L. Hammerich*, G. E. C. Gads Forlag, (Copenhagen 1952), 26-35; Nyberg *Religion och Bibel* XIV (1955), 3-19.

[5] DkM. 677.4. Ādurbād was consciously playing his part in a long line of transmission; see Dk. III 420 (Madan 405.6), transcribed by Bailey *Zor. Problems* 217-18.

dēnīg, and is for this reason known as the *Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistān ī dēnīg*.[1] This is a text written in simple, generally correct Middle Persian, but later than the works already considered (its unknown author cites, among other works, *Šāyist nē-šāyist*, *Dādistān ī dēnīg*, *Bundahišn* and *Dēnkard*). It is an anthology of the Zoroastrian religion, treating predominantly of ceremonial, but also of ethics, customs, eschatology, and cosmology, and including fragments of epic, folklore and wisdom-literature. The sources used appear to be old and good. The emphasis on ritual probably marks the need to stress such matters under the pressure of Islam.[2] About three-fourths of the text were later incorporated in the Persian *Rivāyat* of Kama Āsa of Cambay.[3]

A short Pahlavi *Rivāyat* survives, which embodies the answers to questions put to Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān, high-priest in 955 A.C., and probably a descendant in the third generation of the redactor of the *Dēnkard*.[4] The questions are in the main practical, concerning legal problems about property, inheritance and marriage, or religious points of ritual and purification. The text has interesting features of vocabulary, with old words and idioms intermingled with others more familiar from the later Persian *Rivāyats* than from the Pahlavi books. Style and syntax are degenerate, as is to be expected at this late date.

A 9th-century work which stands apart from those hitherto considered is the *Škand-Gumānīg Wizār*, the "Doubt-destroying Exposition",[5] composed by one Mardānfarrox i Ōhrmazddādān, who, since he speaks of

[1] Ed. DHABHAR *The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistān-ī Dīnik* (Bombay, 1913), with English intro. (and list of chapter-headings), q.v. for earlier work on the text. Ch. I-LXII in DHABHAR's edition form the *Rivāyat preceding Dd.*, Ch. LXIII-LXV the *Rivāyat following Dd.*— Since 1913 the following chapters have been transcribed and translated: I by NYBERG *Texte zum mazd. Kalender*, 44-47; XVIII by NYBERG in *Oriental Studies in honour of . . . S. C. E. Pavry* (Oxford, 1934), 339-52; XLII by TAVADIA in *Modi Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1930), 479-87; XLVI (except for 16-21) by ZAEHNER *Zurvan*, 360-67; XLVIII §§ 90-96, ibid. 354-5; LXIV by de MENASCE *Anthropos* (1942-1945), 180-85. Almost the whole of the *Riv. preceding Dd.* was transcribed and translated, with notes, by H. K. MIRZA as a thesis in London university in 1942.

[2] See DHABHAR, intro., 2.

[3] See DHABHAR, intro. 2-3, and the introduction to his *Saddar Naṣr and Saddar Bundehesh* (Bombay, 1909), xix. In later centuries a number of Persian *Rivāyats* were composed, also based on traditional material, and from these the Pahlavi "*Rivāyats*" have been named. [Most of the Persian *Rivāyats* have been ed. by M. R. UNVALA, in 2 vols., under the title *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat* (Bombay, 1922), and translated by DHABHAR (Bombay, 1932).]

[4] See WEST *GIP* ii 105-06; DHABHAR *Cat. of the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library*, p. 15. The text was edited in 1928 by B. T. ANKLESARIA, and in 1962 Vol. I of his work (text and transcription) was published in Bombay, as the *Rivāyat-ī Hēmit-ī Ašavahištān*. Vol. II (transl. and notes) is promised shortly.

Another work with the character of a *Rivāyat*, but written in poor Middle Persian, is the *Wizīrkird ī dēnīg* ("Religious Explanations"), which contains a number of Avestan quotations; see WEST *GIP* ii 89-90, TAVADIA op. cit. 114-15.

[5] Ed. by de MENASCE *Škand-Gumānik Vičār* (Fribourg en Suisse, 1945), q.v., p. 14, for earlier publications.

his debt to the *Dēnkard* of Ādurfarnbag, probably lived in the 2nd half of the century. In his introduction Mardānfarrox states that he had travelled far and wide to study different religions, and had come to hold as true the faith in which he was born. His book, designed to dispel doubt in others, falls into two parts: an exposition of Zoroastrian beliefs, and a criticism of other religions (Islam, Judaeism, Christianity and Manichaeism). What distinguishes it from the works already considered is that the argument is pursued on an abstract, intellectual level, and most of the mythical and traditional elements which had attached themselves to Zoroastrianism are ignored. The style is elevated, but clear and balanced, the controversial parts judicious, and temperate by the standards of theological debate. The work nevertheless presents difficulties, largely because of its transmission; for it survives only in a mediaeval Sanskrit version, and in Pazand i.e. Middle Persian transcribed in mediaeval times out of Pahlavi into Avestan script.[1] The corruptions during this process are sometimes considerable.

There is a short work which also survives in Pazand, namely the *Čim ī Kustīg* "Reasons for the Sacred Girdle",[2] which has some similarities with the *Škand-Gumānīg Wizār* in both style and content. Here too the treatment is largely abstract and philosophical; but the framework is traditional, in that a sage is represented as expounding the symbolism of the *kustī* to a disciple, through question and answer.

A few short texts directly concerned with religious life (such as praises, blessings, prayers and confessional texts) survive in Middle Persian;[3] but most such works have been transcribed,[4] or have been rendered into Persian or Gujarati, in which form they belong to the later history of Zoroastrian literature.[5]

Many of the texts still to be considered are also religious ones; but the foregoing books form a group in that they belong to the period after the Arab conquest, either as derivations from the Zand or as original writings; and in that their authors share the common aims of expounding, conserving or defending their ancient faith.[6]

[1] All surviving MSS. descend from a single (partly extant) Indian MS. containing the Pazand text and its Sanskrit translation by Nēryōsang. For the Sanskrit translations of Pahlavi texts see S. D. BHARUCHA *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis I-VI*, 1906-1933.

[2] Ed. by T. D. ANKLESARIA in his *Dānāk-u Mainyō-i Khard* (Bombay, 1913); and by H. JUNKER as *Der wissbegierige Sohn* (Leipzig, 1959), with a commentary by J. C. TAVADIA, and a German translation.

[3] See WEST *GIP* ii 109-10, 114-16; TAVADIA op. cit. 127-8; H. JUNKER *Ein Bruchstück der Afrinagān i Gāhānbār* (Leipzig, 1932).

[4] For the Pazand versions see E. K. ANTIA *Pāzend Texts* (Bombay, 1909).

[5] For the New-Persian Zoroastrian literature see WEST *GIP* ii 122-29.

[6] A Pazand work which defies classification is the *Aogmadaēča*, which consists of citations from the

4. Visionary and apocalyptic Texts

Manticism plays a considerable part in the learning and literature of many ancient peoples, and the Middle Persian texts show this to have been true for the Iranians, as it was for their neighbours, the Indians and Greeks. One well-established type of mantic composition, "visions of the home of the dead," [1] is represented by the *Ardāy Wirāz Nāmag* ("Book of the righteous Wirāz").[2] This has proved the most popular of all Zoroastrian works, with verse and prose translations into Persian, Sanskrit and Gujarati, and from them free renderings into European languages.[3] Its subject is the visions of heaven and hell seen by the priest Wirāz, after he has drugged himself in order to release his spirit and discover for his community the fate of the dead. He travels the path of the departed, crosses the dread Činwat bridge, and is shown the joys of Paradise and the tortures of Hell. The latter are the more varied, and form a grim and revolting array. Unswerving justice reigns in the hereafter, and every act is strictly recompensed. Having beheld these things, the spirit of Wirāz returns after seven days, and he relates his vision to those who have watched beside his body.

The *Ardāy Wirāz Nāmag* has probably a very old kernel (the name of the just Wirāza occurs in the Avesta);[4] but when it was first set down is unknown. In its surviving form it is a prose work, written in simple, direct style; and an introductory chapter indicates a date after the Arab conquest.[5] This late redaction was evidently made in Pars,[6] and is probably one of the 9th/10th-century literary products of that province.

Another branch of mantic literature concerns prophecy, "which may

Avesta (possibly largely from the *Hādōxt Nask*) on the theme of death, with MP. paraphrases and developments. See West *GIP* ii 89, Darmesteter *Ét. ir.* ii 75-6. The Avestan citations have been further studied by Duchesne-Guillemin, *JA* 1936, avril-juin, 241-55. The text of the late Phl. version was published by Dhabhar *Essays on Iranian Subjects* (Bombay, 1955) 42-62. The complete text was edited, with transl. and notes, by K.M. Jamasp-Asa for a doctoral thesis in Bombay in 1966.

[1] See H. M. and N. K. Chadwick *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge, 1932-1940) III 848 ff.

[2] See West *GIP* ii 108; the edition has since appeared of J. Jamasp-Asa *Arda Viraf Nāmeh* (Bombay, 1902). I 1-17 is transcribed and translated by Bailey *Zor. Problems* 151-53.

[3] It has been maintained that the AWN. influenced the Islamic tradition of the *miʿrāj*. It has also been endlessly compared with the *Divine Comedy*. The discovery of an Islamic source for Dante's inspiration (see G. Levi Della Vida *al-Andalus* XIV 2 (1949), 377-407) increases the possibility of a link between the two.

[4] See C. Bartholomae *Alt-iranisches Wörterbuch*, 1454; the traditional reading of the name is *Wirāf*, but against Menasce's argument in support of this (*JA* 1949, 3-7) see Henning *Zoroaster* (Oxford, 1951), 51 n. 3.

[5] According to this, Wirāz is persuaded to enter his trance in order to establish the efficacy of various ceremonies (*yazišn, drōn, āfrīnagān* etc.). This suggests a date when Zoroastrianism was under attack in such respects. A late date is confirmed by a suggestion of confusion between Wirāz and Wehšābuhr, high-priest of Xosrau I.—On what seems to be a citation in the text from *Aog.* 80 see Darmesteter *Ét. iran.* II 75 f.

[6] Wirāz enters his trance at the Farnbag fire.

relate to the present or past, as well as to the future". [1] There are a number of Middle Persian texts which embody an ancient prophecy concerning the Four Ages of the World, culminating in an Iron Age of misery and depravity before the coming of a Saviour and the restoration of the good.[2] In the Zoroastrian tradition this prophecy came to be connected with the divinity Wahman, whose link with wisdom and inspiration is emphasized in the Middle Persian texts.[3] In the mantic literature, Zoroaster himself is represented as a priest-seer, who received from Ōhrmazd revealed wisdom, through a draught of the water of all-knowledge.[4] The other seer of the religious tradition is Jāmāsp, Zoroaster's first convert, to whom he was said to have imparted the gift of divination.[5]

This Avestan prophetic tradition, which found embodiment evidently in the lost *Wahman Yašt*, and in part of the *Sūdgar Nask*,[6] exerted a strong influence on Greek and Graeco-Egyptian apocalyptic writings from at least the 2nd century B.C.[7] In Iran itself the tradition clearly remained a living one, and as the generations passed the prophecies were developed and adapted, so that by the post-Sasanian period the Iron Age was identified with the harsh era of Arab domination.

One of the surviving Middle Persian versions of the prophecy is found in the *Zand i Wahman Yašt*.[8] This work appears to be a selection from the Zand of this lost Yašt, part translation, part commentary, giving a fairly continuous text. It opens with a summary of the prophecy as recorded in the *Sūdgar Nask*, with the Four Ages of the World; and continues with an extended version with Seven Ages. It is possible that the latter was evolved under Babylonian influences, and that the *Sūdgar* version is the more purely Iranian.[9] In both the prophecy is the inter-

[1] Chadwick op. cit. I 473; see also ibid. III 844.

[2] Similar prophecies are to be found in other oral literatures, notably in Indian, Irish and Norse; see Chadwick op. cit. II 590-1; Reitzenstein in *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* 52 ff.

[3] For Pahlavi passages see G. Widengren *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God* (Uppsala, 1945) 46-47, 49, 69.

[4] *Zand i Wahman Yašt* III 6-7; on this passage see Reitzenstein op. cit. 45. In a number of mantic traditions, scattered over the world, wisdom is attained by drinking water from a holy source (see Chadwick op. cit. I 649-50). On water as the "womb of Truth" in Indo-Iranian mythology see H. Lüders *Varuṇa* I (Göttingen, 1951) 25 ff., I. Gershevitch *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959), 7.—On Zoroaster as "vaticinans puer" see Benveniste *RHR* 1932, 378.

[5] On Jāmāsp as seer see Benveniste op. cit. 379-80.

[6] Dk. IX 8 (West *SBE* XXXVII, 181).

[7] See Reitzenstein op. cit. 38 ff.; H. Windisch *Verhandel. d. Koninkl. Ak. te Amsterdam* XXVIII 3 (1929); F. Cumont *RHR* 1931, 29 ff.; Benveniste *RHR* 1932, 337 ff.

[8] Ed. by K. A. Nosherwan *The Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohūman Yašt* (with Gujarati transl.) (Bombay, 1903); and by B. T. Anklesaria *Zand-i Vohūman Yasn and Two Pahlavi Fragments* (with English transl.). The printed copies of the latter edition, ready in 1919, were mostly destroyed by fire in 1945, but the edition was published in 1957 by Mrs B. T. Anklesaria, with a foreword by J. M. Unvala. Sadeq Hedayat, who studied with B. T. Anklesaria, published a Persian transl. with notes in Tehran in 1944.

[9] See Cumont *RHR* 1931, pp. 51, 93.

pretation, given by Ōhrmazd himself, of a dream dreamt by Zoroaster while he possessed the wisdom of all-knowledge. The longest section of the *Zand ī Wahman Yašt* is devoted to the Age of Iron, told with bitter feeling; this account is evidently partly traditional, and partly a lament for contemporary wrongs.[1] The text ends with a prophecy of the coming of Wahrām ī Warčāwand, God of Victory, to restore Iran and the Good Religion, and to usher in the last millenium.

The prophecy of an age of misery and wickedness, to be followed by the apocalypse, is found also in the *Jāmāsp Nāmag*,[2] where it is foretold to King Wištāsp by Jāmāsp the seer.[3] This text, fragmentary and badly-preserved, is in verse,[4] and thus in form belongs to an older tradition than the prose exegesis of the *Zand ī Wahman Yašt*. In content also it differs in details from this work.[5] There is no reason to doubt that the Iranian prophetic tradition was embodied, with minor variations, in a number of works, of which these two chance to survive. Its imprint is to be found also in the religious compilations.[6]

The *Jāmāsp Nāmag* came to be incorporated in a longer prose work, the *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg*,[7] of which it forms the 16th chapter. Apart from the verse *Jāmāsp Nāmag*, and one other Pahlavi fragment, the *Ayādgār* survives only in Pazand and Persian.

The coming of Wahrām ī Warčāwand is celebrated separately in a short poem, evidently of post-Sasanian date.[8] It has been suggested that prophecies concerning the God of Victory became blended in the late Sasanian period with tales of the heroic Wahrām Čōbīn, to the embellishment of the legend of the god.[9]

[1] On the names of peoples in IV 58, VI 3,6 (A.'s edition) see BAILEY *BSOS* VI 4 (1932), 945 ff., XI 1 (1943), 1-2; *Asiatica, Festschrift F. Weller* (Leipzig, 1954), 13-14.

[2] Ed. by MODI in *Jāmāspi, Pahlavi, Pazand and Persian Texts* (Bombay, 1903) and in part by WEST in *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour . . . of P. B. Sanjana* (Leipzig, 1904), 97-116; transcribed and translated by BAILEY *BSOS* VI (1930-31), 55-85 and 581-600, and by BENVENISTE *RHR* (1932), 337-80.

[3] On the part played by Wištāsp in the Graeco-Iranian apocalyptic tradition see BENVENISTE op. cit. 377-78.

[4] This important fact, obscured by the Pahlavi script, and by the ancient conventions of Middle Persian verse, was discovered by BENVENISTE.

[5] See BENVENISTE op. cit. 368 ff.

[6] Notably GBd. XXXIII-IV, ed. MESSINA (see above).

[7] Ed. MODI op. cit.; MESSINA *Libro apocalittico persiano, Ayātkār ī Žāmāspīk* (Rome, 1939).

[8] This text is preserved in a famous codex, MK, which contains a number of miscellaneous works, some with only a slender connection, or none at all, with religion. The larger part of the codex is ed. by JAMASP-ASANA *The Pahlavi Texts contained in the codex MK*, II (Bombay, 1913), in whose edition the poem occupies pp. 160-1. It has been transcribed and translated by BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 195-6, and TAVADIA *JRAS* 1955, 29-36. TAVADIA noticed that the text was a rhyming poem. A rendering of the text into Persian verse had earlier been made by M. BAHAR, see his *Dīvān* 1 (Tehran, A. H. 1335), p. 548.

[9] See K. CZEGLÉDY *Acta Orientalia Ac. Scient. Hungaricae* VIII 1 (1958), 20 ff.

Spells, which play a large part in the mantic literature of some peoples, appear only incidentally in the Pahlavi texts, and then in garbled form;[1] but spells, divination, and the interpreting of dreams are prominent in the literature deriving from Middle Persian works.[2]

5. WISDOM-LITERATURE

Middle Persian is rich in a wisdom-literature based on collections of gnomes (brief, apothegmatic utterances relating to universals). This again is a widespread category of oral literature; and the three classes of gnomes which have been recognized [3] are all represented in the Pahlavi texts. These are 1) the gnome of observation ("there is no cure for age");[4] 2) the gnome of prudence or advisability ("make a friend of that man who will be most useful to you");[5] and 3) the moral gnome ("the best protector is one's duty").[6] The last two types merge readily into precept, as one of these examples shows, and the Middle Persian name for this class of composition is in fact "precept" (*andarz*). Naturally the Zoroastrian wisdom-literature, transmitted by priests, contains a high proportion of moral gnomes; it also embodies a considerable amount of doctrine, conveyed through statement or exhortation. Several of the *andarz*-texts have a preamble in fairly elaborate style; but the *andarz* themselves are characterised by brevity and lucidity. The unit is the sentence, and there is usually no attempt at continuity, although separate *andarz* are sometimes grouped by content. Some have a poetic quality, and it may be that the older Iranian gnomic literature (as embodied, for example, in the *Bariš Nask*) was in verse. So far, however, only one verse-text has been discovered in the Pahlavi *andarz*, and this bears signs of being a post-Sasanian work.[7]

Wisdom (*xrad*) is constantly praised in the *andarz* texts; but this is not the mantic wisdom of prophecy and divination, but that of observation and reflection. Gnomes are characteristically old men's utterances, realistic, prudent, ripe with experience. Those which are not anonymous are therefore commonly attributed to sages, or to men of authority, such as kings and counsellors; and are often cast in the form of answers to questions put by some seeker after knowledge, a disciple or son. One

[1] E.g. AZ. 41, 74.

[2] Notably in the *Šāhnāme* and *Vīs u Rāmin*.

[3] See CHADWICK *Growth of Literature* 1 375.

[4] JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 40. 15-16.

[5] Ibid. 59. 4-5.

[6] Ibid. 39. 2-3.

[7] JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts*, 54; see HENNING *BSOAS* XIII 3 (1950), 641 ff.

of the Middle Persian collections is attributed to Jam (Yima),[1] another to Ōšnar the Wise, a Kayanian sage.[2] Most are assigned, however, to the Sasanian period. One collection is attributed to Xosrau I,[3] the others to priests or ministers. Prominent among these are Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, high-priest of Šābuhr II;[4] his son Zardušt;[5] and Wuzurgmihr ī Bōxtagān, minister of Xosrau I.[6] The *andarz* attributed to the last-named have a preamble in unusually elaborate style, which may be of his own composing.[7] (There is no reason to suppose that by the 6th century Middle Persian was not capable of complex rhythms in the hands of a sophisticated writer.) At least one Pahlavi collection of *andarz*, attributed to Ādurfarnbag ī Farroxzādān,[8] must be post-Sasanian.

The gnomic style creates a uniformity, and it is hardly surprising that "wandering" *andarz* appear in more than one collection. The various collections differ, however, in the proportion of their components. Some are startlingly full of gnomes of advisability, others are almost wholly religious and ethical. Among the latter is the great series of *andarz* which constitutes Book *VI* of the *Dēnkard*. The first and longest set of these probably derives from the MP. translation of the *Bariš Nask*; other sets are attributed to named Sasanian sages (among them Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān). There are 5 main groups, arranged according to the opening phrase of the *andarz*; and within each group there is an attempt at arrangement by subject-matter. The orderliness of this collection is unusual, and may owe something to the compilers of the original Avestan text. Many of the *andarz*, here and in general, are trite and dull; but there are sporadic touches of imagination, and moral utterances of high order. For example, the Zoroastrian emphasis on

[1] In Dk. III.—The relative clarity of the *andarz* texts has led to their being much translated, and it is only possible to give a selection of references here.

[2] Ed. Dhabhar *Andarj-i Aōshnar-i Dānāk* (Bombay, 1913); on Ōšnar and the "Hōšang" book of Islamic tradition see Henning *ZDMG* 1956, 75-6.

[3] This, like many *andarz*-texts, is in the codex MK; ed. Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 55 ff.; transl. (with 4 others) by J. C. Tarapore *Pahlavi Andarz Namak* (Bombay, 1933).

[4] More *andarz*-collections are attributed to Ādurbād than to anyone else. There is one in Dk. III and others in Dk. VI (see Zaehner *JRAS* 1940, 36 ff., *Zurvan* 407-8); one in the *Pahl. Riv. Dd.* LXII (Dhabhar, p. 193); and two in codex MK (Jamasp-Asana *Pahl.Texts* 58-71, 144-53). The first of these two is transl., with notes, by Fr. Müller *Sb. KAW. Wien* CXXXVI (1897), 1-25, the second by S. K. Meherji Rana (Bombay, 1930). Both are transl. by Zaehner *The Teachings of the Magi* (London, 1956), 101-16.

[5] To him is ascribed the *Pandnāmag ī Zardušt*, also called *Čīdag andarz ī pōryōtkēšān*, ed. Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 42-50; A. Freiman *WZKM* XX (1906), 149-60, 237-80; Nyberg *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, 17-30; and M. F. Kanga, with transl. and notes (Bombay, 1960); transl. Zaehner op. cit. 20-28, and H. Corbin *Poure Davoud Mem. Vol. II* 129-60 (q.v. for further references).

[6] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 85-101; see Christensen *Acta Orientalia* VIII (1930), 81-128 (with references also to Islamic renderings of the *andarz* of Wuzurgmihr).

[7] See Henning *ZDMG* (1956), 77.

[8] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 79-80.

ritual purity (with avoidance of dead matter) has often been stressed as a barren element in this great religion; but the following *andarz* sets in perspective these merely physical demands: "Keep further from doing injury and harm to any than you would from the corpses of men; for the pollution and filth which comes to the body can more easily be washed away and cleansed than that which comes to the soul" (*az āzār ud bēš ī pad kasān dūrtar pahrēz ku az nasāy ī mardōhmān; če ālūdagīh ud rīmanīh ī ō tan rasēd šustan ud pāk kardan xwāriar šayēd ku ān ī ō ruwān rasēd* DkM. 581[3-5]). Not even in the *Dk.* collection are all the *andarz* concerned with religion, however; and it is evident that a number of them are simply the surviving representatives of a popular type of oral composition, which have become associated with religious works, and have thus chanced to survive. In course of time the less religious *andarz*, with all Zoroastrian elements excised, were incorporated in the Islamic *adab* literature, and lived on in a new sophistication and elegance.[1]

Two general points have been made with regard to the *andarz*. One is that the fatalism characteristic of many stamps them as a product of the Zurvanite branch of the Zoroastrian church.[2] Fatalism is, however, typical of the *genre*. The sage, surveying realistically the human lot, sees small chance for man to be master of his own destiny. A fatalistic element is probably, therefore, part of the non-religious character of many of the *andarz*. The other point is that the constant counselling of prudence, the mean of action, marks a debt to Greece, and to Aristotelian philosophy.[3] Again, however, prudence is in general recommended in hortatory gnomes, not only in Persia. Man's best course in a precarious existence, so the sages say, is to steer carefully, avoiding those extremes likely to hasten disaster. The philosophic content of such gnomes is moreover slight. Except in specifically religious utterances, it is the results of action rather than its causes which interest the Iranian sage. It is, however, conceivable that in selecting gnomes for written record the Zoroastrian priests were influenced by knowledge of the philosophy of the mean, whose practical applications to conduct were thus illustrated in simple fashion.

With religious gnomes, exhortation readily blends with exposition of

[1] See M. Inostranzev, transl. by G. K. Nariman, *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature* (Bombay, 1918); Zaehner *Zurvan* 408; Henning *ZDMG* (1956), 73 ff.; Minovi *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Univ. de Téhéran* IV 2 (1957), 58 ff.; a doctoral thesis on the *andarz* literature, with special reference to this aspect, was presented in London by S. Shaked in 1964.

[2] The nature and influence of Zurvanism has been much discussed in recent years; but this problem belongs to the theological rather than to the literary field.

[3] See de Menasce *Une Encyclopédie mazdéenne* 38 ff.

doctrine, and the apothegmatic style then necessarily yields to a simple narrative one. It is thus possible to regard the *Dādistān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad*, "Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom," [1] as an extension of the religious *andarz*, with the embodiment also of a certain amount of antiquarian learning. In some respects this is a classic example of *andarz* literature. There is a preamble; the body of the work is in the form of question and answer; and many of the answers are expressed as gnomes. On the other hand, the questioner seeks (according to the preamble) to establish the truth of Zoroastrianism; he receives instruction from the Spirit of Wisdom itself; and the text is unusually long, with a large doctrinal element. The work is, accordingly, far from typical in its general character. There are several small indications of its Sasanian date, among them a reference to the Zoroastrian inquisition,[2] which accords closely with a passage in the *Letter of Tansar*, which belongs partly to the 6th century.[3] The preamble too fits well with the age of Burzōē. No doubt these, and other, indications would suit some earlier Sasanian reigns as well; but on the assumption that the use of writing extended slowly, in the wake of the written Avesta, the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* may be assigned with some confidence to the reign of Xosrau I.[4] It is perhaps an ecclesiastical counterpart to the political treatises of this period, which also appear to owe something to the *andarz* tradition.[5]

Another branch of wisdom-literature, general through the world, is the riddle. Middle Persian has a literary example in the *Mādiyān ī Jōišt ī Fryān*,[6] in which is related the contest between Axt, a sorcerer, and the Zoroastrian Jōišt, who must answer the riddles propounded by Axt or lose his life. He resolves them all; and Axt, failing to answer his counter-riddles, dies instead. There is no internal evidence of date; but both Jōišt and Axt are mentioned in the Avesta, so that whatever the period

[1] See West *GIP* ii 107; to the works there mentioned may be added the edition of the Pahlavi text by P. Sanjana *The Dīnā ī Mainū ī Khrat* (Bombay, 1895); and of the Pahlavi, Pazand and Sanskrit texts by T. D. Anklesaria *Dānāk-u Mainyō-i Khard* (Bombay, 1913). The Pazand version is given by Antia *Pāzend Texts* 273-334. On the title see Bailey *Zor. Problems* 2 n. 3. A number of individual passages have been edited separately, notably by Nyberg *JA* 1929 i, 198 ff. and in *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*; and by Zaehner *Zurvan* (see index, p. 461).—The *Mēnōg ī Xrad* was apparently preserved in India, whence a copy seems to have been brought to Persia, perhaps in the 11th century. In India itself its Pazand and Sanskrit versions only have survived, together with later retranslations into Pahlavi of the Pazand text.

[2] MX. XV 22-25.

[3] Ed. M. Minovi (Tehran, 1936) p. 17.1 ff.; see Darmesteter *ZA* I 226 n. 2, and see further below.

[4] This was West's tentative opinion (see his edition, x-xi), based on such passages as MX. I 18 (a reference to Mazdak?) and the whole of XV (on kingly power).

[5] See below, p. pp. 60-61.

[6] See West *GIP* ii 108.

of the written Middle Persian redaction, the kernel of the work is likely to be old.

Riddle-texts have the element of contest. Another "contest" work (also belonging to a well-known oral category) is the *Draxt ī asūrīg* ("The Babylonian Tree").[1] This text is a Middle Persian redaction of a Parthian original,[2] and is in verse.[3] It concerns a contest over precedence between a date-palm and a goat; and is full of difficulties, due to the dialect-mixture, verse-form, unusual vocabulary and a riddling element. As well as being a contest-work, this is also incidentally a catalogue-poem, listing the qualities of tree and animal. It belongs, therefore, to wisdom-literature, being intended both to sharpen the wits and to give instruction.

6. Non-didactic Poetry

The works so far considered were evidently transmitted by priests, the scholars and teachers of their age. Non-didactic poetry was created by the minstrel, who played an important part in Sasanian society: "entertainer of king and commoner . . . present at the graveside and at the feast; eulogist, satirist, story-teller, musician; recorder of past achievements and commentator of his own times." [4] The minstrel-poetry was sung, usually (if not invariably) to an instrument; and minstrels of the first rank, such as the great Bārbad (court-minstrel of Xosrau II) were composers of both words and music, and by the beauty of their minstrelsy exerted great influence. In late Sasanian times the king's minstrel was numbered among the four chief men surrounding the throne. Poetry for entertainment was also cultivated by women and boys of rank, and poetry was used spontaneously and generally to express emotion.

It was possibly in part its close association with music which kept poetry unwritten until well after the Sasanian period; and, the music lost, it may never be possible wholly to appreciate Middle Persian versification. A key to its principles, however, has been provided in this century by the Manichean hymns.[5] In these the verse is governed by

[1] Ed. Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 109-14 and Unvala *BSOS* II iv (1923) 637-78 (q.v., p. 638, for references on "Rangstreit"-literature).

[2] See Bartholomae *Zur Kenntniss d. mitteliranischen Mundarten* IV (1922) 23 f. The Parthian original must have been unwritten, and the Middle Persian rendering probably also remained in oral transmission until after the Arab conquest. Mixtures of dialect-forms such as the text shows can be paralleled in the borrowings of texts between related languages in known oral literatures.

[3] This was discovered by Benveniste, see *JA* 1930 ii 193 ff.; the text was the first poem to be recognized in the Pahlavi MSS. On the versification see further Henning *BSOAS* XIII 3 (1950), 641 ff. For some additional notes on the text see G. Bolognesi *RSO* XXVIII (1953), 174 ff.

[4] *JRAS* 1957, 18 (q.v., pp. 10-45, for a detailed study of Iranian minstrelsy).

[5] See Henning *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, London (1942), 51-56; Boyce *The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian* (Oxford, 1954), 45-59.

stress, not quantity; and in each hymn the number of unstressed syllables varies, within limits, from line to line. There is a variety of metres (whose rules are not yet fully understood); but rhyme is lacking. The metrical principles deduced from these hymns apply also to the poems in the Pahlavi books,[1] from which it appears that Sasanian poetry in general was composed in this convention, which is one of high antiquity. After the Arab conquest this versification gradually yielded to a new one, based on Arabic models—rhymed and quantitative, and written down by the composer. As this slowly gained ground, the minstrel-poems, still largely unrecorded, were either refashioned, or fell into neglect. Only a few short pieces survive in the oldest Persian books,[2] and even these are influenced by the new convention of rhyme. The process was very slow, however, and minstrel-poems were still sung in the 11th century.

Only one category of Sasanian poetry, the narrative poem, survives both in its own right and as an element to be traced in the later literature. This is largely because one epic cycle, celebrating the Kayanians, was linked with religious history. Its stories appear to have been little known in Pars at the beginning of the Sasanian era, and the Persian minstrels evidently acquired them from Parthian singers, in the north-east. There they had become interwoven with tales of Parthian warriors and Saka heroes,[3] a process which probably took place unconsciously towards the end of a long period of oral transmission.[4] Of this cycle only one fragment survives in its original verse-form, namely the *Ayādgār i Zarērān* ("Memorial of Zarēr").[5] This tells of the battle for the faith between Wištāsp and the pagan Xyōns, in which his brother Zarēr perished. The fragment was evidently written down (presumably after the Arab conquest)[6] because of its religious interest; but apart from stereotyped allusions to the Mazdayasnian faith, it is entirely secular in spirit, and in style is characterised by the fixed epithets, hyperboles and repetitions of oral epic. It has clearly lost in being written down, and has suffered

[1] See HENNING *BSOAS* XIII i (1950), 641-8.

[2] See U. M. DAUDPOTA in *J. J. Modi Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1930), 341-51; HENNING in *Handbuch* I, IV i 87 n. 1.

[3] See NÖLDEKE *Das iranische Nationalepos*, IIte Auflage (Leipzig, 1920), 7-9; J. MARKWART *Caucasica* VIII (1931), 78-113.

[4] See *Serta Cantabrigiensa*, F. Steiner Verlag (Mainz, 1954), 49-51; *BSOAS* XVII 3 (1955), 473-4.

[5] Ed. JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts*, 1-16; transcribed and translated by A. PAGLIARO *Il testo pahlavico Ayātkār-i-Zarērān* (Rome, 1925).

[6] As NÖLDEKE has pointed out (op. cit., 6) the war against the Xyōns, which in Ṭabari and the *Šāhnāme* is long-drawn-out, is foreshortened in the *Ayādgār* to a single episode. This abbreviation probably took place in oral transmission, continued for centuries after the compilation of the *Book of Kings*.

corruptions through careless copying; but in it can be heard the authentic ring of the old poetry. Similarities in style show how much Firdausi owed to the old epic tradition, still living, without doubt, in his day.

Another narrative poem, *Wīs u Rāmīn*, is also recast, as it happens, from a Parthian original.[1] This recounts, at length and with a wealth of warlike and romantic detail, the love of the two persons from whom it is named. The minstrel-poem was written down in Pahlavi script some time after the Arab conquest, in a version compiled by "6 wise men". The poem evidently continued in oral currency for generations afterwards; and the written version was still used for the study of Pahlavi in the 11th century. It then attracted the attention of Gurgani, who made of it a new poem.[2] A Georgian version also exists. Stylistically the minstrel-poem appears to have had much in common with the epic; but the material belongs to a later age, probably the first century of the Christian era.

7. HISTORICAL WRITING

Middle Persian works are necessarily largely traditional. An oral literature is static compared with a written one, the scope for innovation being small when each generation has to memorise as well as to create. As the use of writing spread, however, the Sasanians embarked on new ventures, notably in the field of history. Traditional learning furnished many materials for writing history. There existed evidently genealogies, brief chronicles, legends about the origin of different Iranian peoples, catalogues of battles and great disasters, lists of place-names and river-names (with speculation about their origin and local events attaching to them), traditions concerning festivals and customs—in short, a great mass of antiquarian learning, some of which is preserved in the surviving Zoroastrian books. In the prophetic works, moreover, was embodied already a stylised history of the world. For generations, evidently, the Iranians had sought to impose patterns upon the confusion of events and the multiplicity of world-phenomena. With the development of writing they obtained the tool necessary for a more elaborate synthesis. The result was the composition, during the late Sasanian period, of the famous *Xwadāy Nāmag* "Book of Kings". This great chronicle survives mainly in

[1] See V. MINORSKY *BSOAS* XI (1946), 741-64, XII (1947), 20-5, XVI (1954), 91-2; HENNING *Asia Major* n.s. II (1952), 178 n. 2.

[2] Ed. MINOVI, Tehran, 1935. The above information comes from Gurgani's preface to his poem, MINOVI's ed., 26-7; see further *JRAS* (1957), 36-7.

Arabic derivatives, and, less directly, in the *Šāhnāme*.[1] It is impossible from these to judge it stylistically, but together they probably give an excellent idea of its content. Naturally in these Muslim redactions the Zoroastrian element is reduced to a minimum; but it can hardly be doubted that the original was the work of priests.[2] In it the reigning dynasty is glorified, and the history of Iran set out through the succession of her kings; but dynasties and events are shaped on a Zoroastrian pattern. The focal point is the life of the prophet. To honour the first champion of the faith, Wištāspa, his dynasty, the Kayanian, had been linked by descent to that of the Pišdadian, one artificially composed of gods, who were represented as culture-heroes and early kings (the linking of these "dynasties" was pre-Sasanian, and provided the framework for the Avestan interpretation of world-history). Now the fame of the Kayanians was used in turn to enhance that of the house of Sasan, their supposed descendants. The truer forerunners (geographically) of the Sasanians, the Achaemenians, exist in the chronicle only to provide, with the first and last Darius, an artificial link between these two dynasties.[3] The chronological framework also is Zoroastrian; and it was the exigencies of the Zoroastrian "world-year" which obliged the compilers to reduce by almost half the epoch of the Arsacids,[4] of whom in any case they had but scanty knowledge (based on confusing king-lists and brief oral chronicles).[5] Evidently as a historian, no less than as a scientist, the priestly scholar was sometimes trammelled by dogma.

The Arsacids play nevertheless a vigorous, if unacknowledged, part in the chronicle; for the priests, to enrich the bare sequence of royal successions, evidently drew for the early period on the Kayanian minstrel

[1] Firdausi's *Šāhnāme* (and also Thaʿalibi's *Ghurar aḫbār mulūk al-furs*) derives from a work which seems to have been no more than based on the chronicle (see NÖLDEKE, op. cit., 17 ff.). For the older preface to the *Šāhnāme* (with references to some of the literature since NÖLDEKE) see MINORSKY in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di G. Levi della Vida* (Rome, 1956), 159-79.

[2] Through the *Xwadāy Nāmag* a Persian national tradition was created; but to call it the *representative* of such a tradition is misleading, although clearly there is a valid distinction to be drawn between it, a composite work fashioned partly for secular reasons, and the purely ecclesiastic tradition of the Avesta and Zand. See particularly CHRISTENSEN in *Les Kayanides* and *Les gestes des rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique, Conférences Ratanbai Katrak* (Paris, 1936).

[3] Artaxerxes Longomanus can hardly be said to figure in the epic, since his individuality is submerged in that of Wahman, grandson of Wištāspa. Knowledge of him appears to have been derived from a Syriac source (see NÖLDEKE op. cit., 13). It is not to be supposed, however, that there was any deliberate suppression of Achaemenian material by the priests. Probably no chronicles or king-lists survived from that period, to which to attach such traditions as were still extant. Had organised information existed, the priestly compilers would undoubtedly have felt obliged to accommodate it somehow in their scheme of history. Their conscientiousness in this respect is shown by their inclusion, however summary, of the Arsacid dynasty.

[4] See H. LEWY *JAOS* LXIV (1944), 197-214; TAQIZADEH *JRAS* (1947), 33-40.

[5] See H. LEWY, op. cit.

epic.[1] They had, however, no criteria of criticism by which to disentangle the stories in these minstrel-poems; and so the Saka Rustam and forgotten Arsacid princes—Frahād, Gōdarz and the rest—entered the chronicle in Kayanian company.

The compilers of the *Xwadāy Nāmag* used their epic sources well, and the fire and imagination in these make the Kayanian period the most vivid and remarkable in the chronicle. They drew also on wisdom-literature, providing each king with an enthronement-speech in the *andarz* tradition, and thus imparting, even to the era of barbarism, a moral element. The strain of resignation already noted in the *andarz* fuses readily with the epic feeling for the evanescence of worldly glory; and there may also be an element of Zurvanite fatalism in the compound.[2] Doubtless in the *Xwadāy Nāmag* itself the certainties of the hereafter were stressed as a corollary to earthly vicissitudes; but in the Muslim redactions such religious consolations are little emphasized.

The compilers further used written foreign sources where such were available, notably a Syriac version of the *Alexander-Romance*.[3] The account which this gave of Alexander was at odds with Zoroastrian convictions, but it was nevertheless incorporated, and the discrepancies allowed to stand. Heirs to an age-old oral tradition, with its tendency to conserve rather than to question, the authors of the chronicle had neither the tools nor the training for a critical examination of sources. They aimed, not at testing and rejecting, but at giving coherence to a mass of material connected with a chosen sequence of events. Everything which seemed relevant was included. Their intellectual achievement lies in the assembling of material; in the order and clarity they imposed on heterogeneous—and often basically unrelated—matter; and (for the events of their own epoch) in a growing feeling for historical narrative. They not only provided the Sasanian kings with a long ancestry, but Persia with a history on the grand scale. On this foundation Muslim historiography was largely based.

In the prose work, compounded from Pahlavi materials, from which the *Šāhnāme* derives, two pre-Sasanian legends of genuinely Persian character were evidently incorporated. One is the story of Zariadres and Odatis, included apparently because of a confusion between Zaria-

[1] This appears to have taken place at about the mid-5th century, see NÖLDEKE op. cit., 5; on the use of the epic material see further the references given above, p. 56, n. 4.

[2] See H. RINGGREN *Fatalism in Persian Epics* (Uppsala, 1952). There is at least one explicitly Zurvanite passage remaining in the *Šāhnāme*, see I. F. BLUE in *Indo-Iranian Studies . . . in honour of . . . P. Sanjana* (London, 1925), 61-2; ZAEHNER *Zurvan* 444-46.

[3] See NÖLDEKE op. cit., 12.

dres and the Kayanian Zarēr;[1] the other a romantic account of Ardašīr I, which replaces the more factual version of the official chronicle. Fortunately the Pahlavi original of this survives, under the title *Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr* ("Book of the Deeds of Ardašīr").[2] This is a short prose work, simple in style, probably written in Pars towards the end of the Sasanian period.[3] It too was evidently the work of priests,[4] and a comparison of it with Firdausi's rendering shows how effectively Zoroastrian elements were obliterated in the Muslim redaction. The *Kārnāmag* contains some historical details; but its generally romantic character has been explained as due to contamination with legends of Cyrus the Great, still current then in Pars.[5]

The *Kārnāmag* was not the only prose work devoted to what was an episode in the chronicle. Ibn an-Nadīm lists,[6] for example, separate works on Xosrau I, Wahrām Čōbīn,[7] Xosrau II, and Rustam and Isfandiyār. These evidently also all belong to the later Sasanian period; but whether they were sources for the *Xwadāy Nāmag*, or derived from it, or were wholly independent, there is little means of knowing. The *Xwadāy Nāmag* itself brought the history of the Sasanians down to the death of Yazdegird III. After the Arab conquest a number of separate works were written, dealing with the war and local campaigns.[8]

8. Political Treatises

From the court of Xosrau I emanated two political treatises, which survive only in Arabic and Persian translations. These are the "Testament of Ardašīr" [9] and the "Letter of Tansar." [10] As their names show,

[1] See *BSOAS* XVII 3 (1955), 463 ff.

[2] This is preserved in the codex MK. It has been ed. and transl. by D. P. Sanjana (Bombay, 1896), K. A. Nosherwan (Bombay, 1896) and E. K. Antia (Bombay, 1900); and was earlier transl., with notes, by Nöldeke *Bezzenbergers Beiträge* IV (1878), 22-69; see also Fr. Müller *Sb. KAW Wien*, CXXXVI (1897), VI. Ch. I-III have been re-edited by Nyberg in his *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*; and the text has been published in Persian transcription, with notes (together with the *Zand ī Wahman Yašt*) by Sadeq Hedayat, Tehran 1944.

[3] See Nöldeke op. cit., 23 ff.; it seems likely, however, that it survives in a later redaction, since the language is a very late Middle Persian.

[4] *Ibid.*, 27-8.

[5] A. v. Gutschmid *ZDMG* XXXIV (1880), 585-7 = *Kleine Schriften* III 133 ff.

[6] *Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, 305.4 ff.; see Christensen *Les gestes des rois* 57 ff.

[7] See Christensen *Romanen om Bahrām Tchōbīn* (Copenhagen, 1907).

[8] *Fihrist*, loc. cit.

[9] Selections from this treatise survive in a number of Arabic works, and in the *Šāhnāme* (see Christensen *Les gestes des rois* 90 ff.). The longest extant version is that given by Ibn Miskawaih in his *Tajārib al-Umam*, published in facsimile in the *Gibb Mem. Series* Vol. VII, 1 (1909) pp. 99 ff., and printed by Dehkhoda *Amsal va Hikam* III, 1615 ff.

[10] This survives in Ibn Isfandiyar's 13th-century Persian translation from the Arabic of Ibn Muqaffa'. It has been ed. by Darmesteter *JA* 1894, 185-250, 502-55; by Minovi, (Tehran, 1932);

both were attributed, for greater prestige, to the first reign of the dynasty, and they evidently contain a core of matter transmitted from that period.[1] Both are whole-heartedly Machiavellian. All things are justified in the interests of authority and order. Church and throne are twins, linked in aims and activity, and subjects should submit to their benevolent yoke. Passages which justify bloodshed, or the king's caprice (exercised to prevent in his subjects too dangerous a self-assurance) make chill reading; but both works contain much of interest for Sasanian society. They resemble one another closely; but the "Letter of Tansar" has been made more palatable by the insertion of two Indian fables.[2] The Persian and Arabic translations are clearly much transformed in style, so that it is impossible to know the character of the originals. In both, however, the *andarz* tradition is in evidence.

9. Law-books

It was a Sasanian tenet that even as church and crown were joined together, so religion and the law were indissolubly linked. The judges and lawyers of Sasanian Persia were priests, and for this reason many of the surviving seals (for affixing to documents) are priestly ones. In late Sasanian times there must have existed numerous works on law, for even in the 9th century Manuščihr writes of consulting "many law-books" (*was dādistān-nāmag*).[3] Only one survives, however, and that in a single, mutilated MS. This is the *Mādayān i Hazār Dādistān* ("Book of a Thousand Judgments").[4] This lengthy work appears to have been

and by A. Iqbal in his edition of the *Ta'rīx-i Ṭa'baristān* (Tehran, 1942). On the 6th-century dating see Christensen *L'Empire des Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1907), 111-12; Minovi, preface to his edition.

[1] See the introduction to an English translation of the *Letter of Tansar* by the present writer, *Rome Oriental Series, Literary and Historical Texts from Iran* 1, 1967.

[2] See *Asia Major* n.s. V 1 (1955), 50 ff.

[3] Dd. Purs. LVI, ed. Dhabhar *The Persian Rivāyats*, p. 184, transl. p. 188. On the Christian Persian law-books see E. Sachau *Syrische Rechtsbücher* III (Berlin, 1914).

[4] The unique MS. was at some time split into two. The first 55 folios (which were disarranged) were published in facsimile by J. J. Modi *Mādigān-i Hazār Dādistān* (Bombay, 1902). The remaining folios, numbered 74-91 (in proper order) were published in facsimile by T. D. Anklesaria (with an intro. by Modi) *The Social Code of the Parsees in Sasanian Times or the Mādigān-i-Hazār Dādistān* II (Bombay, 1912). There is a translation by S. J. Bulsara *The Laws of the Ancient Persians* (Bombay, 1937). The work has been extensively studied and commented on by Bartholomae, notably in 5 papers "Zum sasanidischen Recht" I-V in *Sb. Heidelberger AW.*, 1918-1923 (q.v., 1918, p. 3 for references to earlier papers); *Die Frau im sasanidischen Recht* (Heidelberg, 1924). Bartholomae maintained that the work defied complete and adequate translation. For other papers on this text see A. Pagliaro *RSO* XV (1935), 275-315; XXIII (1948), 52-68; N. Pigulevskaya in *Papers presented by the Soviet Delegation at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists*, 1954 (Section Iranian, Armenian and Central Asian Studies); J. de Menasce in *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentés à G. Morgenstierne*, (Wiesbaden, 1964), 149-54, *Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1964), 6-11 and *Feux et fondations pieuses dans le droit sassanide* (Paris, 1964);

compiled by one Farroxmard ī Wahrām, possibly in the reign of Xosrau II, the last Sasanian sovereign named in it. It is wholly Sasanian in character, and in it are cited other law-books and many individual commentators (including authorities quoted in the Zand).[1] As its title implies, the work embodies case-history (actual or hypothetical) rather than a systematic legal code. The judgments given are in the main concerned with civil laws, affecting marriage, inheritance, property, rents, trade etc., which could still be observed by the Zoroastrian community under Islam. The technical nature of its contents, the state of the MS., and the usual careless copying make the work very difficult to interpret.

A specimen of a marriage-contract (*paymān ī zan griftan*), dated A. Y. 627 (=1278 A.C.), is preserved in the codex MK.[2]

10. Short didactic Prose-works

A number of short miscellaneous treatises survive, mostly in the codex MK. Some are traditional, others deal with contemporary matters. One, a representative of the old oral category of place-name catalogues (cf. GBd. 80[1], *ayādgārīhā ī šahrīhā*), is the *Šahristānīhā ī Ērān*,[3] in which are enumerated the chief cities of Iran and the legends attaching to them. This treatise was probably first written down in the 9th century, after the time of the Caliph al-Mansur; but it contains good old traditions, with the usual mingling of predominantly Kayanian and Sasanian elements. The work reflects the interpretation of history given in the *Xwadāy Nāmag*, but with the small modifications of its longer oral transmission.[4]

A work of somewhat similar character, the short *Abdīh ud sahīgīh ī Sagistān* ("Wonders and remarkable features of Seistan)"[5] recounts the

Boyce, *BSOAS* XXXI i and ii (1968). An edition of the whole text is in preparation by A. Perikhanian in Leningrad.

[1] See Darmesteter in the intro. to Anklesaria's edition, pp. 10-11. Darmesteter and West both saw in a certain Juwānjam, cited several times, the 9th-century father of Manuščihr and Zādspram; but nothing else appears to bear out such a late dating for the work.

[2] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 141-3, transl. ibid. 47-9; see Tavadia *Die m.-p. Sprache u. Lit.*, 108-09. Transcribed with Russian translation and notes by A. Perikhanian in *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1960, no. 5, 67-75; see further A. Perikhanian and D. N. Mackenzie in the *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Mem. Volume* (Bombay, in the press).

[3] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 18-24; text, transl. and commentary by Markwart pub. by Messina *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr* (Rome, 1931), q.v., p. 5, for other publications. On §§ 2-5 see further S. Kiya in *Majalle-yi Dāniškade-yi Adabiyyāt, Tehran*, II 3 (1334/1955), 47-9.

[4] See Markwart, op. cit., 6.

[5] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 25-6; transl. by Modi (with *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* and *Šahristānīhā ī Ērān*), Bombay, 1899. West's transcription with translation was published posthumously by E. W. Jackson in *JAOS* 36, 1916, 115-21.

natural features and traditions which made Seistan pre-eminent. Among these is claimed the oral preservation of the Avesta after Alexander's conquest. The text is corrupt, and bears no indication of date; but it has the distinction of being the only Pahlavi text composed in a province which demonstrably is not Pars.

Another catalogue-work is the *Māh ī Frawardīn rōz ī Hordad*,[1] in which are enumerated the great events which have taken place, or will take place, on the 6th day of the 1st month, from the creation of Gayōmard to the resurrection. This text appears to have been written in the reign of Xosrau II, although it certainly embodies much older priestly speculations.

Two of the treatises are wholly Sasanian in matter. One, the *Wizārišn ī Čatrang*,[2] describes how the game of chess was sent from India to Xosrau I, as a test for Iranian wits; and how the wise Wuzurgmihr both solved it and invented as a counter-challenge that of *Nēw-Ardašīr* (*nard*). This game is interpreted as having an elaborate religious symbolism. The other treatise, *Xosrau ud Rēdag* ("Xosrau and the Page)," [3] is also set in the reign of Xosrau I, and may well have been actually written at that time. It tells how a boy of family presents himself, an orphan, to the king, describes his own lineage and training, and asks to be put to the test. The king sets him a series of questions, on what is best in food, wines, music, scents, flowers, women, horses etc. The page's answers create vividly a world of courtly luxury and the refinements of sensual delight. Nevertheless there is reason to regard this work also as of priestly redaction. In genre it belongs essentially to the wisdom-literature: there is the theme of trial by knowledge, and instruction is conveyed in every answer. There are, moreover, some overt priestly touches. The boy's mother is of priestly family; he has learned the Avesta and Zand by heart; and when asked finally if he himself greatly desires material things, he answers that his sole wish is for 1000 good deeds, such

[1] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 102-08; transl. by E. Blochet in *Revue archéologique* (Paris, 1895), 17-22; K. J. Jamasp-Asa in *K.R. Cama Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1900), 122-29.

[2] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 115-20 (q.v., p. 40, for an earlier publication); transcribed and transl. by C. Salemann *Bull. de l'Ac. imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg* (1887), 427 ff.; transl. by Tarapore *Vijārišn i Chatrang* (Bombay, 1932). On the historical background see further Marquart and De Groot *Festschrift E. Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), 257; O. Hansen in a publication presented to XIX *Congr. intern. degli Orientalisti* (Rome, 1935); general notes by A. Pagliaro *RSO* XVIII (1940), 328-40, and *Miscellanea G. Galbiati* III (Milan, 1951), 97-110. The treatise was embodied in the source used by Firdausi and Thaʿalibi.

[3] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 27-38; J. M. Unvala 'Der Pahlavi-Text "*Der König Husrav und sein Knabe*"' Wien (1917) [also in French and English versions]. The text appears in Thaʿalibi. M. Navabi, who studied the text with W. B. Henning, has published notes on it in the *Našriyyah-i Dāniškade-yi Adabiyyāt*, Tabriz, VII i, 97-112.

as the king has performed.—Added to the main text (which is difficult because of its abundance of rare words) is a trite little story of how the page subsequently accomplished a routine heroic feat in subduing two lions. This is evidently a later vulgarisation.

Three short texts, probably all post-Sasanian, are purely practical in content. One is a little Pazand work on the *xwēškārīh ī rēdagān* ("duties of boys"),[1] containing simple precepts for schoolboys. Another is a brief manual on letter-writing (*nāmag-nibēsišnīh*),[2] and the third contains a specimen after-dinner speech.[3] Ibn an-Nadīm lists other practical manuals on such subjects as polo and falconry.[4]

11. Glossaries

The Sasanians made, it seems, no dictionaries or grammars of their language; but there exists a glossary of Avestan words and their Middle Persian equivalents (*Frahang ī oīm-ēwag*),[5] based on the Zand, from which citations are made. In this there is an attempt at defining grammatical categories. A fragment survives of a glossary of Aramaic terms in Pahlavi, with their Middle Persian equivalents,[6] which belongs probably to the 9th or 10th century. A later work of this nature, the *Frahang ī pahlawīg*,[7] includes some archaic Iranian words and their commoner synonyms. In it the ideograms are often corruptly or carelessly written, and artificial forms also occur.

12. Prose Works of Entertainment

Among later Sasanian translations of foreign books were prose works of entertainment. One was the Hellenistic romance later known as *Wāmiq wa ʿAdhrā*,[8] said to have been dedicated in translation to Xosrau

[1] Darmesteter *JA* 1889, 355 ff.; Antia *Pazend Texts*, 73 ff.; Junker *Sb. Heidelberger AW.*, 1912, Abh. 15; Freiman *Dastur Hoshang Mem. Vol.*, 482 ff.

[2] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 132-40; transcribed and transl. by Zachner *BSOS* IX 1 (1937), 93-109.

[3] Jamasp-Asana *Pahl. Texts* 155-59; Tavadia *J. of the K.R. Cama Oriental Inst.* XXIX (1935), 1-99.

[4] *Fihrist* ed. Flügel, 314. 21-22, 315. 16.

[5] See West *GIP* ii, 87; also ed. by C. Salemann in *Travaux de la 3e session du congrès international des orientalistes*, St Pétersbourg 1876, II, 493-591; subsequently ed. by H. Reichelt *Der Frahang i oīm* (Wien, 1900) and in *WZKM* XIV (1900), 177-213, and XV (1901), 117-186.

[6] See Barr *BSOS* VIII (1936) 391-403.

[7] Ed. Junker *The Frahang i Pahlavīk* (Heidelberg, 1912); see further B. Geiger *WZKM* XXV (1912), 294-306; Schaeder *Iranische Beiträge* I, 223-54; E. Ebeling *Mitteil. d. Altorientalischen Ges.*, Leipzig, XIV i (1941); Junker *Das Frahang i Pahlavīk in zeichengemässer Anordnung* (Leipzig, 1955).

[8] See M. Shafi *Proceedings of the XXIIIrd International Congress of Orientalists* (Cambridge, 1954), 160-1.

I. From India came such works as the *Tūtī Nāmag*, *Sindbād Nāmag*, *Balauhar ud Būdāsaf*[1] and *Kalilag ud Dimnag*. The last-named derived from the *Pančatantra*, and according to its preface[2] (preserved in the translation of Ibn Muqaffaʿ) was rendered into Persian by Burzōē, a physician of the time of Xosrau. There were also separate short stories such as the two in the *Letter of Tansar*. The Indian tales came evidently from more than one source, some perhaps directly from Buddhist communities in the north-east,[3] others through Manichaean intermediaries.[4] They are characterised by being told avowedly for some moral purpose, or being set in an edifying framework.

Persia herself had an oral tradition of story-telling. "The professional story-teller . . . had his place at court, and the richness of his repertoire is implied by the fact that he was forbidden ever to repeat himself, unless at the king's command." [5] Probably for a long time the short story was considered unworthy of being written down; but, under the stimulus perhaps of these foreign works, collections of tales were made. Their exact nature is unknown. The most famous is the *Hazār Afsān* ("Thousand Tales"), said to be the origin of the "Thousand and One Nights", but Ibn an-Nadīm says that he saw the Persian book more than once, and found it a collection of tedious traditions only.[6] Possibly the dignity attaching to the written word led to a certain restraint in the writing of indigenous short stories during the Sasanian period.

13. The MS.-tradition

The Zoroastrian MS.-tradition is relatively late. A colophon exists belonging to a MS. copied in 1020 A.C.; but the MS. (K 43) in which it is preserved was itself written in the 16th century. The oldest extant MSS. belong to the 14th century.[7] The Indian MS.- tradition depends on the Iranian one, MSS. having been brought to India from Iran from the 13th century onwards;[8] but a few works (including the *Škand-Gumānīg Wizār*) were preserved (in Pazand version) only by the Parsis. There

[1] See D. M. Lang *BSOAS* XX (1957) 389 ff., and *The Wisdom of Balahvar, a Christian legend of the Buddha* (London, 1957).

[2] See Nöldeke *Burzōès Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalīla wa Dimna, übersetzt und erläutert* (*Schriften d. Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, 12), 1912.

[3] See *Asia Major* n.s. V i (1955), 53 ff.

[4] See W. Bang *Le Muséon* XLIV (1931), 1-36; Henning *BSOAS* XI (1945), 465-87.

[5] See *JRAS* (1957), 34.

[6] *Fihrist* ed. Flügel 304.19; see v. Hammer-Purgstall *JA* 1839, 171-6.

[7] On colophons, palaeography etc. see particularly Bartholomae *Die Zend Handschriften*, Unvala *Colophons*.

[8] See West *GIP* ii 80.

seems to have been a break in continuity of the Pahlavi tradition in India;[1] but from the 14th century onwards Indian copyists were again active, although a number of important works did not reach their country till the 18th and 19th centuries. A few trifling orthographic divergences characterise the Indian MSS. The standards of copying in both countries were in the main low, carelessness aggravating the difficulties of a dead language and ambiguous script.

The problems presented by both were and are considerable. The Manichaean texts provide help, in that they have preserved the Middle Persian of the early Sasanian period, in an orthography which gives a clear indication of most of the sounds. From them it appears that the orthography of the Phl. books represents in the main a pre-Sasanian stage of the language, but that syntax and vocabulary are in general that of late Middle Persian. Manichaean MP. is the language of Pars. The MP. of the Zoroastrian books is a literary *koine* merging into Persian, with many northern forms mingling with those of the south. Since Persian was known to the copyists, there was naturally an unconscious temptation for them to modernise syntax and spellings still further, especially where the older forms of words had usually been ideogrammatically represented. This unintentional modernisation was joined with some deliberate but misguided attempts at archaising, and the two processes produced bastard forms which never existed in the spoken tongue. Thus the language of the Phl. books, like so much of their contents, is a tangled web of ancient and modern, of authentic and speculative. It is preserved, moreover, in a script so ambiguous that, for instance, such different words as *xānag* and *āhōg* look exactly alike, and one stroke alone distinguishes *wistāxw* from *gētigān*. A misreading, or the faulty transposition of an ideogram by a copyist, and the sense becomes distorted. Fortunately in this century not only has the Manichaean material greatly enlarged knowledge of Middle Persian, but the discovery of more Phl. inscriptions, and of older documents written in a less cursive form of the script, has helped to resolve many of the difficulties of the MS.-tradition; but much editing and re-editing remains to be done.[2]

[1] See TAVADIA *ZDMG* 98 (1944), 303 ff.

[2] The short *Vaēθa Nask* has only recently been edited for the first time by F. M. KOTWAL (Bombay, 1966), who has shown this particular work to be a 18th-century forgery. Other unedited texts are still to be found in the libraries of Navsari and Bombay.

NOTE: This article was sent to press in 1958. Bibliographical additions to the notes have been made up to April 1967.

THE MANICHAEAN LITERATURE IN MIDDLE IRANIAN

BY

MARY BOYCE

1. INTRODUCTORY

Three factors separate the Manichaean texts from other Middle Iranian writings. One is script. The Manichaean books were all written in a variant of the Palmyrenean script, familiar to Mani at his birthplace near Babylon, which was applied by him to Middle Persian and subsequently used for other Iranian languages.[1] This script is a clear and elegant one; and with it the Iranian Manichaeans evolved an excellent scribal tradition. A second factor is that of content. Although the Manichaean MSS., like the Zoroastrian ones, contain some general matter, the proportion is in their case minute. In the main they are strictly religious; and the Manichaean religion, although preached by a prophet of Iranian blood, had Semitic and Graeco-Semitic elements, which give it in some respects a foreign character, both in doctrine and literary forms.

The third factor is that of date of discovery, and nature of the material. The Manichaean writings were first discovered in the early decades of this century, among the sand-buried ruins of monasteries in the Turfan basin, in Chinese Turkestan.[2] The MSS. were of various kinds—the bound book, the scroll and the Indian-type *poṭhi*; and were made of leather, silk or (mostly) of excellent paper, written with fine ink and often beautifully illuminated. Part of one tiny MS. survives almost undamaged (M 801 a); but otherwise all the MSS. have been reduced to fragments, probably largely through the zeal of Muslim conquerors,

[1] See HENNING *Handbuch* 1, IV 1 73, with references.

[2] Most of the material was discovered by 4 German expeditions sent out in 1902-3, 1904-5, 1905-7 and 1913-14 by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. The larger part of it is now in the Institut für Orientforschung, Berlin; and about a fourth part in the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. A small number of fragments discovered by Russian archaeologists is in Leningrad; and a few others were found by Japanese and Chinese expeditions. There is one small fragment in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see HENNING *BSOAS* XI 4 (1946) 713 n. 6), and some half-dozen in the British Museum. The fragments in Man. script found by the German expeditions have been catalogued in *A Catalogue of the Iranian MSS. in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Berlin, 1960), and a bibliography is given there, pp. V-VI.

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7. The Institutes of Visnu.
8. The Bhagavadgita With the Sanatsugâtiya and the Anugitâ.
(We have several other translations of the Bhagavad Gita, here: Link)

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18. Pahlavi Texts, vol. 2 of 5. The Dâdistân-î Dinik and the Epistles of Mânûskîhar.
19. The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, a life of Buddha, by Ashvaghosha, Bodhisattva; translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A. D. 420.
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24. Pahlavi Texts, vol. 3 of 5. Dinai Mainög-i khirad, Sikand-Gümanik Vigar, Sad Dar.
25. The Laws of Manu. Translated, with extracts from seven commentaries.

26. The Satapatha Brahmana according to the text of the Mâdhyandina school, vol. 2 of 5, Books III-IV
27. The Sacred Books of China, vol. 3 of 6. Part III of the texts of Confucianism. The Lî Kî (Book of Rites), part 1 of 2.
28. The Sacred Books of China, vol. 4 of 6. Part IV of the texts of Confucianism. The Lî Kî (Book of Rites), part 2 of 2.
29. The Grihya-sutras; rules of Vedic domestic ceremonies. vol. 1 of 2. Sankhyayana-Grihya-sutra. Asvalayana-Grihya-sutra. Paraskara-Grihya-sutra. Khadia-Grihya-sutra.
30. The Grihya-sutras; rules of Vedic domestic ceremonies. vol. 2 of 2. Gobhila, Hiranyakesin, Apastamba (Olderberg); Yajña Paribhashasutras (Müller).
31. The Zend-Avesta, vol. 3 of 3. The Yasna, Visparad, Afrînagân, Gâhs, and miscellaneous fragments.
32. Vedic Hymns, vol. 1 of 2. Hymns to the Maruts, Rudra, Vâyu, and Vâta., with a bibliographical list of the more important publications on the Rig-veda.
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35. The Questions of King Milinda, vol. 1 of 2. Milindapañha.
36. The Questions of King Milinda, vol. 2 of 2. Milindapañha.
37. Pahlavi Texts, vol. 4 of 5. Contents of the Nasks.
38. The Vedanta-Sutras, vol. 2 of 3, commentary by Sankaracharya, part 1 of 2. Adhyâya II (Pâda III-IV) -IV.
39. The Texts of Taoism, Part 1 of 2. The Sacred Books of China, vol. 5 of 6. Also: The Tâo the king (Tao te Ching): The writings of Kwang-tze, books I-XVII.
40. The Texts of Taoism, Part 2 of 2. Includes The Writings of Kwang Tse, books XVII-XXXIII, The Thâi-shang tractate of actions and their retributions, other Taoist texts, and the Index to vols. 39 and 40.
41. The Satapatha Brahmana according to the text of the Mâdhyandina school, vol. 3 of 5. Books V, VI, VII.
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44. The Satapatha Brahmana according to the text of the Mâdhyandina school, vol. 5 of 5, Books XI, XII, XIII, XIV.
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46. Vedic Hymns, vol. 2 of 2. Hymns to Agni (Mandalas I-V).
47. Pahlavi Texts, vol. 5 of 5. Marvels of Zoroastrianism.
48. The Vedanta-Sutras, vol. 3 of 3, with the commentary of Râmânuja.
49. Buddhist Mahâyâna Texts. Part 1. The Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha, translated from the Sanskrit by E. B. Cowell. Part 2. The larger Sukhâvatî-vyûha, the smaller Sukhâvatî-vyûha, the Vagrakkedikâ, the larger Pragñâ-pâramitâ-hridaya-sûtra, the smaller Pragñâ-pâramitâ-hridaya-sûtra, translated by F. Max Müller. The Amitâyur dhyâna-sûtra, translated by J. Takakusu.

50. General index to the names and subject-matter of the sacred books of the East.

CategoriesAncient Religions, Buddhism, Complete works - Compilations, Dzogchen, Hinduism, Islam, Literature, Mahayana, Non-duality, Philosophy, Radical liberation, Reference, Shia, Sikh, Sufism, Tantra, Taoism, The Fourth Way, Theosophy, Theravàda, Tibetan, Vajrayana, Yoga, Zen, Zoroastrianism
TagsBaghavad Gita, Bhagavadgita, Gitas, Max Müller, milindapanha, PDFs, Public Domain, Sacred Books, Sutras, Veda, Vinaya
69 thoughts on “The Sacred Books of the East – all 50 volumes”
Prayuddha Rueangraikhok
November 30, 2024 at 4:49 pm
I used a set of the Sacred Books of the East as a piece of basic information before learning Buddhism on 21 July 2013 (B.E. 2556) until now. I am appreciative and thankful to compilers and translators at this time.

Reply
Bhavsukh Shilu (M-73)
August 19, 2023 at 9:11 am
I am so Grateful to You. The Books are carefully scanned placed carefully for Download. This is Unique Collection by Oxford-University; Through Hon. F Max Muller. All Eastern six Religions on fingertip of World Scholars. It’s a HIGHEST obligation of Century…….. (on blessings from Information Technology)

Reply
Rohan Videkar
August 13, 2022 at 11:24 am
Thank you so much for making this marvelous work available…. And many thanks to the Team at Google and Microsoft!

Reply
Olga
June 27, 2022 at 11:57 pm
Volume 10 instead of Volume 3.

Reply
Tony Casillas
May 28, 2022 at 5:57 pm
Excellent work!

Reply
anand subbarao mahpatruni ganti
February 21, 2022 at 8:06 pm
what a priceless treasure !!!thanking you for all this very ,very much!!!kudos

Reply
Lichtenberg
February 21, 2022 at 10:25 pm
You are welcome :-)

Reply
madhu
June 6, 2021 at 4:43 pm
I bow down to the divinity in you.

Reply
Mohammad
April 4, 2021 at 9:51 am
thanks so much for sharing these masterpieces. I am Iranian and at the moment I'm researching on old these holy books. Although I'm familiar with my old Persian language and especially my golden cultures in Avesta and also Vedic heritages, these series can help to me to know more the perception of west scholars into sacred texts of East.
Sincerely
Mohammad.Sharafoleslami

Reply
Russ Irish
June 14, 2019 at 5:04 pm
This an amazing collection. Is there any chance of getting these in a "Zip" file?

Reply
BC
May 31, 2019 at 5:46 am
A valuable resource to students and historians. Thanks for making these available. 93 93/93

Reply
Jeannette
May 24, 2019 at 4:55 am
YOU are the BEST ! Just thouht You msy need to know your appreciated. You have saved so much time TRYING TO LOCATE THE MISPLACED INDEXES.

THANK YOU FOR GOING OUT OF YOUR WAY TO lead us to the proper locations of THESE most beautiful, most invaluable , Righteous TEXTS for the Mind,Body & Soul…..Truely Spiritually enlightening Gift from the universe….
…….Real food for the soul & now easily accessible.Love It !!
Much gratitude & Many blessings to You & Yours,
PEACE, JEANNETTE

Reply

Leighton
April 10, 2019 at 12:46 pm
To whomever may read this comment; this material is some of the most important literature the world has ever seen. And yet upon reflection, perhaps it is the most important. We are so very very privileged to be able to read it. To be able to know our future we must first look to the past. Thank you so much to the person/s responsible for collecting it and making it available. I am so fortunate to be a Kiwi (New Zealander of both Scottish & English ancestry)

Reply
Ivan
April 10, 2019 at 5:24 am
Appreciate your effort in making these books available.

Volume 2 is the wrong link though , it provides volume 4 in error

Thanks

Reply
Ranjeet
March 27, 2019 at 6:28 pm
Made available vast volume of knowledge to everybody !
God bless !!!

Reply
Damien otoyi
December 13, 2018 at 12:00 pm
juste vous remercier pour ce site . I'm togolese but i live in Dakar (senegal) .I like spiritual books. And it's my first time to see a website like this .Thank you verry much my what'sapp number +221 77 115 05 82 for more about me .Thanks

Reply
Krishan Avtar
May 19, 2018 at 7:22 pm
Very good and useful storehouse of rare to get holy books.Thanks to the admin .

Reply
krishan Avtar
May 8, 2018 at 12:59 pm
please help me find Kaushiki Brahman of Rig Veda .

Reply
Mohammad
November 22, 2017 at 10:23 pm
Dear all,

– You can find Volume 2 (Sacred Laws of the Aryas, Part 1 of 2) in Volume 1, The Upanishads, Part 1 of 2, page 440 of 1394 of pdf.
– You can also find Volume 3 (Sacred Books of China, Part 1 of 6) in Volume 1, The Upanishads, Part 1 of 2, Page 835 of 1394 of pdf.

Salam

Reply
Aaron
June 20, 2017 at 11:37 pm
I'm having the same problem as Glen above. The link to Volume III, on the sacred texts of China, at redirecting me to Vol. X; The Dhammapada and The Sutta-Nipata.
How can I fix this? Please and thank You.

Reply
Glen
April 10, 2017 at 2:52 pm
Thank you SO much for an exceptional compilation and reference source!

The link to Volume III of The Sacred Books of the East (The Sacred Books of China / Confucianism Part 01) unfortunately redirects and downloads Volume X (ten) which is The Dhammapada and The Sutta-Nipata.

Kindly advise whether you are able to fix this link, and/or where I can source Volume III (Confucianism Part 01).

Thank you ever so much!
Glen

Reply
Krishna
February 15, 2017 at 7:16 am
Thank you so so so much for this. Fantastic job such a noble thing! I downloaded so many books and would never have found these if not for you. May you always have the blessings of Mata Sarasvati.

[Ps. Do you know where I could find all the esoteric codex books? Thank you again.]

Reply
Prem Singh Research scholar university of Delhi
January 13, 2017 at 10:25 pm
Best Western books.
OKAY

Reply

Venkataramanachari Ramesh
January 11, 2017 at 1:48 pm
Please send to me by mail SACRED BOOKS OF LAW
by Baudhayana and 3 other sages [MAX MUELLER]
alternate mail chariramesh@fastmail.fm

Reply
Mohamed Naqash
August 1, 2016 at 1:01 pm
Guys, please be kind enough to correct the links of SBE 2 & 3.

A big thank you for making this available,

Cheers

Reply
Shekh Anish
June 9, 2016 at 11:09 am
good job bros…
Do you want to read S.B.E online all 50 Volumes visit
http://www.sacred-texts.com/sbe/

Reply
brad penney
March 4, 2016 at 4:11 pm
looking for Sri Narada Pancharatnam: The Jnanamrita Sara Samhita. I t was in the Sacred books of the east series.

Reply
Michael
November 11, 2015 at 11:12 pm
2. The Sacred Laws of the Aryas, vol. 1 of 2. The sacred laws of the Aryas as taught in the school of Apastamba, Gautama, Vâsishtha, and Baudhâyana. pt. I. Apastamba and Gautama. (The Dharma Sutras).
this link is misplaced by Zend Avesta part 1 of 2704 page plz upload the sacred laws of the aryas vol.1

Reply
Carolann Hansard
November 2, 2015 at 4:42 pm
I could cry I am so happy, for All of you concerned with the translations, the uploading,editing, Anything…Thank You, from my heart that is swollen with love at the mere thought of being able to read these words of wisdom. Thank You, Thank You, Thank you. XXX

Reply
Lichtenberg
November 2, 2015 at 5:14 pm
:-)

Admin

Reply
sedighe mirzapoor
July 3, 2015 at 12:36 am
I am student phd and my proposal is comparative between Asha,Dharma,Rita,Tao.
I need help for free donload of texts and books.
Thank you

Reply
Hanuman
June 20, 2015 at 5:59 pm
2. The Sacred Laws of the Aryas, vol. 1 of 2. The sacred laws of the Aryas as taught in the school of Apastamba, Gautama, Vâsishtha, and Baudhâyana. pt. I. Apastamba and Gautama. (The Dharma Sutras).

this link is misplaced by Zend Avesta part 1 of 2704 page plz upload the sacred laws of the aryas vol.1

Reply
Shishir
April 17, 2015 at 7:25 pm
I am thankful to this wonderful website for keeping the books of the questions of milinda .
The website has and will have done an immortal work.

Salutations.

Reply
Shishir
April 17, 2015 at 7:23 pm
I needed the questions of milinda very much. thanks for keeping those in the website.
You have actually done a great work for me.

Salut.

Reply
Pranav D.
April 6, 2015 at 7:44 pm
This site is awsome. You r doing a great work. Keep progressing. Keep it up

Reply
Mahdi Rostami
March 10, 2015 at 5:22 pm
In the name of Allah
Thank you Very much.This is a good website !

Reply
Lichtenberg
March 10, 2015 at 8:54 pm
You are welcome – I know :)

Reply
EMESMANI
March 1, 2015 at 1:35 pm
GOD BLESS YOU FOR YOUR GREAT SERVICE.

Reply
Ramesh gaikwad
December 19, 2014 at 9:39 am
Thanks for such hard work. Records of these are very valuable for humanity.

A very usefull work for spiritual being

Reply
vishal
December 13, 2014 at 3:32 am
Thanks you very much…
I has been searching for authentic book eastern thinking..
great book
..I am very greatful

Reply
Tan
December 10, 2014 at 2:18 pm
I really appriciate the great contribution to human civilization reserve and spead and therefore promote cross-cultural communication.I am a Chinese student, and treasure the availability of reading original holy books enabling me to get better understanding of the world. Thank you all for such significance work. Salute to you with gratitude!

Reply
WORLDOLOGY WORLDOLISM EBOOK-1 OF TIME
November 9, 2014 at 5:11 am
A million thank you for being kind enough to upload these ebooks-the Sacred Books of the East. In the past we had a lot of problems finding English translations of some of

them and had to search all over India to locate a few. May God bless you!

Reply
vijay
November 3, 2014 at 10:27 am
http://www.sacred-texts.com, archive.org, both of them are very good sites with all old contents.

Reply
ahammed ali
October 26, 2014 at 9:00 am
i appreciate ur great job ,may god bless u and fulfill ur all dreams become true,
tanks a lot .
ahammed ali- thazhekode

Reply
ibrahim khan
October 18, 2014 at 7:07 pm
thanks a lot dear
million wishes for you dear

Reply
anhi
October 15, 2014 at 7:41 pm
Hello,

First of all thank you very much for uploading this, I am very grateful. Also, for the rest of the site.

Second, as Victor Baerner pointed out, Books 2 and 3 are incorrectly linked, they do not link to pdfs of the titles mentioned. It would be really cool if you could fix them. Thanks.

Reply
vraj
September 26, 2014 at 7:54 am
Excellent ,
Mr. Mox Muller

Reply
Rahul Dhanuka
July 18, 2014 at 6:15 am
Anumodan n Salute.
No words of appreciation to comment.

Reply

jerrylee
May 16, 2014 at 2:06 am
Hi,

thanks for all the hard work to all, in making this collection. some of the links are bad so I have found another place to get the rest of the books.

https://archive.org/details/SacredBooksEastVariousOrientalScholarsWithIndex.50VolsMaxMuller

hope this helps everyone in their pursuit of knowledge.

an if anyone has access to the Vatican. please “get their sacred books too” lol. that’s if they are willing to part with them.

Reply
mudrooroo nyoongah
April 21, 2014 at 6:21 am
The Sacred Books of the East are many translations which are limited by the Imperialist age in which they were translated. They seek to force a Western perspective on the texts. Enough said, but what is truly wonderful are the translations done and some of which I have continued to use, I refer to the Amitabha (Pure Land) sutra texts. A graceful end note is this was a tremendous undertaking only equaled by the Buddhist translations and editions of the British Pali Text Society.

Reply
Lichtenberg
April 21, 2014 at 2:17 pm
Dear Mudrooroo I agree, all translations are limited by the cultural background of the editors and translators of the specific period. However, these works are unique in their scope and I do not believe we will ever see such projects on the topic again. This is the best we have :-)

Reply
tan
April 21, 2014 at 3:28 am
Blessed be the creators of this site. I am a christian but I enjoy reading about other religions and it makes me happy that i have made the right choice in accepting Jesus. As a Chinese I am very pleased to be able to know more about my Chinese ancestors through their beliefs. Many thanks also to Google for this achievement in understanding humanity through their souls and beliefs.

Reply
Lichtenberg
April 21, 2014 at 4:28 am

Thanks, good to have you, not many Chinese comes around here :-)

Reply
MK
February 21, 2014 at 12:07 am
GOD BLESS YOU.

Reply
Utsav
December 3, 2013 at 11:31 am
the ebook on link 1st is corrupted. Kindly check

Reply
Utsav
December 3, 2013 at 11:30 am
A very good & appreciable effort. A highly charged good karma for the site developer.

Reply
Deborah
December 3, 2013 at 2:02 am
Wow, jackpot. Thank you!

Reply
Lichtenberg
December 3, 2013 at 2:39 am
Yoy are welcome Deb.

Reply
Iqbal Randhawa
December 1, 2013 at 9:37 pm
I missed the set of sacred books due to that I don't have enough money to buy the full set then…I am pleased to find it here…my utmost desire is to translate the full set in Urdu for my people,so the can become aware of the other sacred books of the east too….

Reply
Adam
November 5, 2013 at 12:21 pm
Thank you for compiling this list. An incredible help with my research.

A couple of technical glitches:
Volumes 34 and 39 link to corrupted files which cannot be downloaded.

Also, is it possible to obtain volumes 1, 2 and 3 as separate files?

Reply
Greg
October 29, 2013 at 12:35 am
Are these available as a torrent file? I would imagine that that would help reduce your bandwidth requirements…

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Torrent_file
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BitTorrent

Reply
Anonymous
July 15, 2020 at 2:26 pm
You can download the torrent file from my friend's blog….. (The blog is pretty bad)…
https://libellideanoitos.blogspot.com/2020/07/torrent-file-for-sacred-books-of-east.html

Reply
Victor Baerner
October 4, 2013 at 9:47 am
sorry for the typos. They don't *link*, Sacred Laws of the Aryas *or* Sacred Books of China vol.1

Reply
Victor Baerner
October 4, 2013 at 9:46 am
Thanks for such hard work. Records of these are very valuable for humanity.

It seems like volume 2 and 3 are mislinked. They don't like to the Aryas of Sacred Books of China vol. 1. If possible please fix the links. Thanks.

Reply
Yahya Nosrati
August 22, 2013 at 4:48 am
Thank you four all your greatness to put all Vols. of S. B. E. available. I had already downloaded most of them but i found vol 19 just here.
God Bless you.

Reply
Aboobacker Hajee
July 10, 2013 at 7:39 pm
This is blessing for me to have a soft copy Max Mullers -all 50 vol.
As I got a collection of 50 vol hard copy.
Thanks a lot for this full mobile copy
It's really a great job, thank you very much indeed.
Aboobacker Hajee

Reply
Sudhir Kumar
June 11, 2013 at 3:36 am
i SALUTE THE MANAGERS OF THIS WEBSITE FOR SHOWING US how the word or shabda becomes almost eternal, even though it is mediated through technology!! Hence, the symbiotic co-existence of Vidya(the spiritual knowledge) and Avidya (material knowledge or knowledge of the material world, secular knowledge)!! The volumes may be juxtaposed in iterms of their thematic contiguity or similarities.
Regards

Reply
ravoof valal mecca
June 7, 2013 at 4:35 pm
Wowwwww…Its simply amazingggg… Love all readers and admin team…

Reply
minister james.c.ramsey
March 23, 2013 at 8:26 am
i really enjoy reading all of the different books that are on this site!!! this is a great site!!! need more on ancient religions and practices…. thank you!!!

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Mario Vitalone: The Persian revāyat ‘I thoter’: Zoroastrian rituals in the eighteenth century. (Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di studi Asiatici. Series Minor, Vol. xlix.) 301 PP. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996.
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Mario Vitalone: The Persian revāyat ‘I thoter’: Zoroastrian rituals in the eighteenth century. (Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di studi Asiatici. Series Minor, Vol. xlix.) 301 PP. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996.

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The Bundahishn - book cover
The Bundahishn
Knowledge from the Zand

1897 | 25,140 words

Zoroastrianism
Summary: A collection of texts related to Zoroastrian cosmogony and cosmology. The contents focuses on the Zoroastrianism's creation myth, and the first battles of 'Ahura Mazda' and 'Angra Mainyu'. Most of the chapters of the compendium date to the 8th and 9th centuries.

The Bundahishn ("Creation"), or Knowledge from the Zand.

Translated by E. W. West, from Sacred Books of the East, volume 5, Oxford University Press, 1897.

Source 1: motilalbanarsidass.com
Source 2: avesta.org

Contents of this online book (+ / -)
The full text of the The Bundahishn in English is available here and publically accesible (free to read online). Of course, I would always recommend buying the book so you get the latest edition. You can see all this book's content by visiting the pages in the below index:

Introduction
Chapter I - Ohrmazd's Original Creation
Chapter II - On The Formation Of The Luminaries
Chapter III - The Rush Of The Destroyer At The Creatures
Chapter IV - Goshorun, The Primal Ox
Chapter V - The Planets And Cosmology
Chapter VI - The Battle With The Sky
Chapter VII - The Battle With Water
Chapter VIII - The Battle With The Earth
Chapter IX - The Battle With The Plants
Chapter X - The Battle With The Primeval Ox
Chapter XI - The Nature Of The Earth
Chapter XII - The Nature Of Mountains
Chapter XIII - The Nature Of The Oceans
Chapter XIV - The Nature Of The Animals
Chapter XV - The Nature Of People
Chapter XVI - The Nature Of Procreation
Chapter XVII - The Nature Of Fire
Chapter XVIII - The Nature Of Trees

Chapter XIX - Regarding Fabulous Creatures
Chapter XX - The Nature Of Rivers
Chapter XXI - Regarding Liquids
Chapter XXII - The nature of lakes
Chapter XXIII - The Nature Of The Ape And Bear
Chapter XXIV - The Chieftainship Of People And Animals
Chapter XXV - The Religious Calendar
Chapter XXVI - Measuring Distances
Chapter XXVII - The Nature Of Plants
Chapter XXVIII - On The Evil-doing Of Ahriman And The Demons
Chapter XXIX - On The Spiritual Chieftainship Of The Regions Of The Earth
Chapter XXX - On The Resurrection And Future Existence
Chapter XXXI - On The Race And Offspring Of The Kayans
Chapter XXXII - Pourushasp And Zartosht
Chapter XXXIII - The Family Of The Mobads
Chapter XXXIV - On The Reckoning Of The Years
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The Bundahishn ("Creation"), or Knowledge from the Zand
Translated by E. W. West, from Sacred Books of the East, volume 5, Oxford University Press, 1897.

CHAPTER 1.
0.
In the name of the creator Ohrmazd.
1.
The Zand-akas ('Zand-knowing or tradition-informed'), which is first about Ohrmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit, and afterwards about the nature of the creatures from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence (tanu-i pasino). 2. As revealed by the religion of the Mazdayasnians, so it is declared that Ohrmazd is supreme in omniscience and goodness, and unrivaled in splendor; the region of light is the place of Ohrmazd, which they call 'endless light,' and the omniscience and goodness of the unrivaled Ohrmazd is what they call 'revelation.' 3. Revelation is the explanation of both spirits together; one is he who is independent of unlimited time, because Ohrmazd and the region, religion, and time of Ohrmazd were and are and ever will be; while Ahriman in darkness, with backward understanding and desire for destruction, was in the abyss, and it is he who will not be; and the place of

that destruction, and also of that darkness, is what they call the 'endlessly dark.' 4. And between them was empty space, that is, what they call 'air,' in which is now their meeting.

5.

Both are limited and unlimited spirits, for the supreme is that which they call endless light, and the abyss that which is endlessly dark, so that between them is a void, and one is not connected with the other; and, again, both spirits are limited as to their own selves. 6. And, secondly, on account of the omniscience of Ohrmazd, both things are in the creation of Ohrmazd, the finite and the infinite; for this they know is that which is in the covenant of both spirits. 7. And, again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Ohrmazd is in the future existence, and that also is unlimited for ever and everlasting, and the creatures of Ahriman will perish at the time when the future existence occurs, and that also is eternity.

8.

Ohrmazd, through omniscience, knew that Ahriman exists, and whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; and because He accomplishes the end by many means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, and they remained three thousand years in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking and unmoving, with intangible bodies.

9.

The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Ohrmazd; and, afterwards, he arose from the abyss, and came in unto the light which he saw. 10. Desirous of destroying, and because of his malicious nature, he rushed in to destroy that light of Ohrmazd unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; so he fled back to the gloomy darkness, and formed many demons and fiends; and the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence.

11.

Ohrmazd, by whom the creatures of the evil spirit were seen, creatures terrible, corrupt, and bad, also considered them not commendable (burzishnik). 12. Afterwards, the evil spirit saw the creatures of Ohrmazd; there appeared many creatures of delight (vayah), inquiring creatures, and they seemed to him commendable, and he commended the creatures and creation of Ohrmazd.

13.

Then Ohrmazd, with a knowledge of which way the end of the matter would be, went to meet the evil spirit, and proposed peace to him, and spoke thus: 'Evil spirit! bring assistance unto my creatures, and offer praise! so that, in reward for it, ye (you and your creatures) may become immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless.'

14.

And the evil spirit shouted thus: 'I will not depart, I will not provide assistance for thy creatures, I will not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I will destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I will force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.' 15. And the explanation thereof is this, that the evil spirit reflected in this manner, that Ohrmazd was helpless as regarded him, therefore He proffers peace; and he did not agree, but bore on even into conflict with Him.

16.
And Ohrmazd spoke thus: 'You are not omniscient and almighty, O evil spirit! so that it is not possible for thee to destroy me, and it is not possible for thee to force my creatures so that they will not return to my possession.'
17.
Then Ohrmazd, through omniscience, knew that: If I do not grant a period of contest, then it will be possible for him to act so that he may be able to cause the seduction of my creatures to himself. As even now there are many of the intermixture of mankind who practice wrong more than right. 18. And Ohrmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period! so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years. For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit would be undone.
19.
Then the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like two men quarreling together, who propose a time thus: Let us appoint such-and-such a day for a fight.
20.
Ohrmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, for three thousand years everything proceeds by the will of Ohrmazd, three thousand years there is an intermingling of the wills of Ohrmazd and Ahriman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away from the creatures.
21.
Afterwards, Ohrmazd recited the Ahunwar thus: Yatha ahu vairyo ('as a heavenly lord is to be chosen'), &c. once, and uttered the twenty-one words; He also exhibited to the evil spirit His own triumph in the end, and the impotence of the evil spirit, the annihilation of the demons, and the resurrection and undisturbed future existence of the creatures for ever and everlasting. 22. And the evil spirit, who perceived his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded, and fell back to the gloomy darkness; even so as is declared in revelation, that, when one of its (the Ahunwar's) three parts was uttered, the evil spirit contracted his body through fear, and when two parts of it were uttered he fell upon his knees, and when all of it was uttered he became confounded and impotent as to the harm he caused the creatures of Ohrmazd, and he remained three thousand years in confusion.
23.
Ohrmazd created his creatures in the confusion of Ahriman; first he produced Vohuman ('good thought'), by whom the progress of the creatures of Ohrmazd was advanced.
24.
The evil spirit first created Mitokht ('falsehood'), and then Akoman ('evil thought').
25.
The first of Ohrmazd's creatures of the world was the sky, and his good thought (Vohuman), by good procedure, produced the light of the world, along with which was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; this was because the renovation (Frashegird) which happens to the creatures was known to him! 26. Afterwards arose Ardwahisht, and then Shahrewar, and then Spandarmad, and then Hordad, and then Amurdad.
27.

From the dark world of Ahriman were Akoman and Andar, and then Sovar, and then Nakahed, and then Tairev and Zairik.
28.
Of Ohrmazd's creatures of the world, the first was the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.
CHAPTER 2.
0.
On the formation of the luminaries.
1.
Ohrmazd produced illumination between the sky and the earth, the constellation stars and those also not of the constellations, then the moon, and afterwards the sun, as I shall relate.
2.
First he produced the celestial sphere, and the constellation stars are assigned to it by him; especially these twelve whose names are Varak (the Lamb), Tora (the Bull), Do-patkar (the Two-figures or Gemini), Kalachang (the Crab), Sher (the Lion), Khushak (Virgo), Tarazhuk (the Balance), Gazdum (the Scorpion), Nimasp (the Centaur or Sagittarius), Vahik (Capricorn), Dul (the Water-pot), and Mahik (the Fish); 3. which, from their original creation, were divided into the twenty-eight subdivisions of the astronomers, of which the names are Padevar, Pesh-Parviz, Parviz, Paha, Avesar, Beshn, Rakhvad, Taraha, Avra, Nahn, Miyan, Avdem, Mashaha, Spur, Husru, Srob, Nur, Gel, Garafsha Varant, Gau, Goi, Muru, Bunda, Kahtsar, Vaht, Miyan, Kaht. 4. And all his original creations, residing in the world, are committed to them; so that when the destroyer arrives they overcome the adversary and their own persecution, and the creatures are saved from those adversities.
5.
As a specimen of a warlike army, which is destined for battle, they have ordained every single constellation of those 6480 thousand small stars as assistance; and among those constellations four chieftains, appointed on the four sides, are leaders. 6. On the recommendation of those chieftains the many unnumbered stars are specially assigned to the various quarters and various places, as the united strength and appointed power of those constellations. 7. As it is said that Tishtar is the chieftain of the east, Sataves the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, and Haptoring the chieftain of the north. 8. The great one which they call a Gah (period of the day), which they say is the great one of the middle of the sky, till just before the destroyer came was the midday (or south) one of the five, that is, the Rapithwin.
9.
Ohrmazd performed the spiritual Yazishn ceremony with the archangels (amahraspand) in the Rapithwin Gah, and in the Yazishn he supplied every means necessary for overcoming the adversary. 10. He deliberated with the consciousness (bod) and guardian spirits (farohar) of men, and the omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men, spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advantageous, when I shall present you to the world? that you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend (druj), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end I shall have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and in the end give you back to the world, and you will be wholly immortal, undecaying,

and undisturbed; or that it be always necessary to provide you protection from the destroyer?'
11.
Thereupon, the guardian spirits of men became of the same opinion with the omniscient wisdom about going to the world, on account of the evil that comes upon them, in the world, from the fiend (druj) Ahriman, and their becoming, at last, again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect, and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting.
CHAPTER 3.
1.
On the rush of the destroyer at the creatures it is said, in revelation, that the evil spirit, when he saw the impotence of himself and the confederate (ham-dast) demons, owing to the righteous man, became confounded, and seemed in confusion three thousand years. 2. During that confusion the arch-fiends of the demons severally shouted thus: 'Rise up, thou father of us! for we will cause a conflict in the world, the distress and injury from which will become those of Ohrmazd and the archangels.'
3.
Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up his head until the wicked Jeh came, at the completion of the three thousand years. 4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'Rise up, thou father of us! for I will cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Ohrmazd and the archangels will arise,' 5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit rose not from that confusion, through fear of the righteous man.
6.
And, again, the wicked Jeh shouted thus: 'Rise up, thou father of us! for in that conflict I will shed thus much vexation on the righteous man and the laboring ox that, through my deeds, life will not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls (nismo); I will vex the water, I will vex the plants, I will vex the fire of Ohrmazd, I will make the whole creation of Ohrmazd vexed.' 7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed Jeh upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in Jeh.
8.
He shouted to Jeh thus: 'What is thy wish? so that I may give it thee.' And Jeh shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give it to me.'
9.
The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's (vazak) body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to Jeh, and that brought the thoughts of Jeh to him.
10.
Afterwards, the evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky; and he led them up, fraught with malicious intentions. 11. He stood upon one-third of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth.
12.
In the month Frawardin and the day Ohrmazd he rushed in at noon, and thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him, as a sheep by a wolf. 13. He came on to the

water which was arranged below the earth, and then the middle of this earth was pierced and entered by him. 14. Afterwards, he came to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gayomard, and then he came to fire; so, just like a fly, he rushed out upon the whole creation; and he made the world quite as injured and dark at midday as though it were in dark night. 15. And noxious creatures were diffused by him over the earth, biting and venomous, such as the snake, scorpion, frog (kalvak), and lizard (vazak), so that not so much as the point of a needle remained free from noxious creatures. 16. And blight was diffused by him over the vegetation, and it withered away immediately. 17. And avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, lust, and lethargy were diffused by him abroad upon the ox and Gayomard.

18.

Before his coming to the ox, Ohrmazd ground up the healing fruit, which some call 'binak,' small in water openly before its eyes, so that its damage and discomfort from the calamity (zanishn) might be less; and when it became at the same time lean and ill, as its breath went forth and it passed away, the ox also spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, and their work, labor, and care are to be appointed.'

19.

And before his coming to Gayomard, Ohrmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gayomard, so long as he might recite a prayer (vaj) of one stanza (vichast); moreover, Ohrmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant and tall. 20. When Gayomard issued from the sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained free from noxious creatures; the celestial sphere was in revolution, and the sun and moon remained in motion: and the world's struggle, owing to the clamor of the Mazendaran demons, was with the constellations.

21.

And the evil spirit thought that the creatures of Ohrmazd were all rendered useless except Gayomard; and Astwihad with a thousand demons, causers of death, were let forth by him on Gayomard. 22. But his appointed time had not come, and he (Astwihad) obtained no means of noosing (avizidano) him; as it is said that, when the opposition of the evil spirit came, the period of the life and rule of Gayomard was appointed for thirty years. 23. After the coming of the adversary he lived thirty years, and Gayomard spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer has come, mankind will be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty and good works.'

24.

And, afterwards, he (the evil spirit) came to fire, and he mingled smoke and darkness with it. 25. The planets, with many demons, dashed against the celestial sphere, and they mixed the constellations; and the whole creation was as disfigured as though fire disfigured every place and smoke arose over it. 26. And ninety days and nights the heavenly angels were contending in the world with the confederate demons of the evil spirit, and hurled them confounded to hell; and the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.

27.

Hell is in the middle of the earth; there where the evil spirit pierced the earth and rushed in upon it, as all the possessions of the world were changing into duality, and persecution, contention, and mingling of high and low became manifest.

CHAPTER 4.
1.
This also is said, that when the primeval ox passed away it fell to the right hand, and Gayomard afterwards, when he passed away, to the left hand. 2. Goshorun, as the soul of the primeval ox came out from the body of the ox, stood up before the ox and cried to Ohrmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus: 'With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin has broken into the earth and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled? Where is the man of whom it was said by thee thus: I will produce him, so that he may preach carefulness?'
3.
And Ohrmazd spoke thus: 'You are made ill, O Goshorun! you have the illness which the evil spirit brought on; if it were proper to produce that man in this earth at this time, the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it.'
4.
Forth Goshorun walked to the star station (payak) and cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station and cried in the same manner, and forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zartosht was exhibited to her, and Ohrmazd said thus: 'I will produce for the world him who will preach carefulness.' 5. Contented became the spirit Goshorun, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures;' that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world.
CHAPTER 5.
1.
Seven chieftains of the planets have come unto the seven chieftains of the constellations, as the planet Mercury (Tir) unto Tishtar, the planet Mars (Warharan) unto Haptoring, the planet Jupiter (Ohrmazd) unto Vanand, the planet Venus (Anahid) unto Sataves, the planet Saturn (Kevan) unto the great one of the middle of the sky, Gochihr and the thievish (dujgun) Mushpar, provided with tails, unto the sun and moon and stars. 2. The sun has attached Mushpar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm (vinas).
3.
Of Mount Alburz it is declared, that around the world and Mount Terak, which is the middle of the world, the revolution of the sun is like a moat around the world; it turns back in a circuit owing to the enclosure (var) of Mount Alburz around Terak. 4. As it is said that it is the Terak of Alburz from behind which my sun and moon and stars return again. 5. For there are a hundred and eighty apertures (rojin) in the east, and a hundred and eighty in the west, through Alburz; and the sun, every day, comes in through an aperture, and goes out through an aperture; and the whole connection and motion of the moon and constellations and planets is with it: every day it always illumines (or warms) three regions (karshwar) and a half, as is evident to the eyesight. 6. And twice in every year the day and night are equal, for on the original attack, when it (the sun) went forth from its first degree (khurdak), the day and night were equal, it was the season of spring; when it arrives at the first degree of Kalachang (Cancer) the time of day is greatest, it is the beginning of summer; when it arrives at the sign (khurdak) Tarachuk (Libra) the day and night are equal, it is the beginning of autumn; when it arrives at the sign Vahik (Capricorn) the night is a maximum, it is the beginning of winter; and when it

arrives at Varak (Aries) the night and day have again become equal, as when it went forth from Varak. 7. So that when it comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gatha days, it goes in and comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret, and been able to introduce disaster.

8.

From there where the sun comes on on the longest day to where it comes on on the shortest day is the east region Sawahi; from there where it comes on on the shortest day to where it goes off on the shortest day is the direction of the south regions Fradadhafshu and Widadhafshu; from there where it goes in on the shortest day to where it goes in on the longest day is the west region Arezahi; from there where it comes in on the longest day to there where it goes in on the longest day are the north regions Wourubareshti and Wourujareshti. 9. When the sun comes on, it illumines (or warms) the regions of Sawahi, Fradadhafshu, Widadhafshu, and half of Xwaniratha; when it goes in on the dark side, it illumines the regions of Arezahi, Wourubareshti, Wourujareshti, and one half of Xwaniratha; when it is day here it is night there.

CHAPTER 6.

1.

On the conflict of the creations of the world with the antagonism of the evil spirit it is said in revelation, that the evil spirit, even as he rushed in and looked upon the pure bravery of the angels and his own violence, wished to rush back. 2. The spirit of the sky is himself like one of the warriors who has put on armor; he arrayed the sky against the evil spirit, and led on in the contest, until Ohrmazd had completed a rampart around, stronger than the sky and in front of the sky. 3. And his guardian spirits (farohar) of warriors and the righteous, on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky; such-like as the hair on the head is the similitude (anguni-aitak) of those who hold the watch of the rampart. 4. And no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back; and he beheld the annihilation of the demons and his own impotence, as Ohrmazd did his own final triumph, producing the renovation of universe for ever and everlasting.

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The Old Avestan Dictionary (OAD) is an attempt at a lexicographic synthesis of Old Avestan studies since the Altiranisches Wörterbuch (1904) by Christian Bartholomae (1855-1925) with a particular focus on aiding the elucidation of the Gāthās based on the line of analysis laid down by Helmut Humbach (1921-2017). The dictionary is accompanied by a new annotated translation of the Gāthās to further facilitate the general reader in discerning the sense behind the respective terms and passages when reading, reciting, or studying the original Avestan texts.

The book is freely available for download as an open-access resource.

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At its foundation, this resource aims to bridge theory and execution. You will not find abstract ideas left hanging; every insight in A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman connects directly to workplace reality. It transforms information into a toolkit for productivity, leadership, and strategic improvement.

The opening chapters set the tone with a professional framework. They define key terminology, outline the objectives of the guide, and present real-world case examples demonstrating how each principle can be applied across industries.

Business leaders appreciate clarity, and A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah

Michael Laitman delivers it consistently. Each section opens with a concise executive summary followed by actionable guidance. This lets you grasp core concepts quickly before diving deeper into implementation.

The first section focuses on organizational readiness. It explains how to align resources, establish priorities, and identify potential challenges before execution. This preemptive structure reduces costly missteps later on.

Next comes the implementation phase. Here, A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman transitions into a practical tutorial — explaining not only what to do but how to do it. Detailed checklists accompany each process, serving as instant templates you can adapt to your own workflow.

Throughout the document, emphasis is placed on measurable outcomes. Every recommendation within A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman is paired with a metric, KPI, or evaluation method. These allow leaders to track impact and refine strategies based on evidence rather than assumption.

We recognize that modern teams are diverse. A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman therefore includes communication best practices for cross-department collaboration. These insights help unify operations across marketing, finance, technology, and support divisions.

Risk management also receives dedicated coverage. The guide highlights early-warning indicators, contingency planning, and recovery frameworks that protect business continuity. By mastering these, you minimize exposure and improve resilience.

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Because every organization is unique, adaptability is built into the structure. The tutorial demonstrates how to scale processes according to company size, available resources, and operational maturity.

Leadership development is another pillar of A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of

Kabbalah Michael Laitman . Through practical exercises and reflection prompts, managers learn how to delegate effectively, motivate teams, and create accountability systems that encourage sustained excellence.

For entrepreneurs, the guide includes startup-specific lessons — how to validate ideas, optimize workflows, and implement cost-effective solutions that drive early growth. These sections function as a mentor-in-print, delivering insights grounded in experience.

Ethical practices and compliance form part of the narrative as well. Business success today is inseparable from integrity. A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman provides clear explanations of data protection, transparency, and stakeholder responsibility to help companies uphold trust.

Technology integration features prominently. The tutorial walks you through adopting digital tools, automating repetitive tasks, and utilizing analytics for smarter decisions. Every recommendation is designed to increase agility and long-term sustainability.

Midway through the document, case studies showcase success stories drawn from multiple sectors — demonstrating how organizations that adopted these principles improved performance and morale simultaneously.

To facilitate immediate application, sample templates are embedded directly within A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman . These include project plans, feedback forms, and reporting dashboards that can be replicated or customized instantly.

Cross-functional collaboration sections explain how to harmonize departments under shared goals. Clear communication channels and documentation practices introduced here can transform chaotic teams into synchronized units.

For consultants and educators, A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman doubles as a training framework. Each chapter includes discussion prompts and role-playing exercises to simulate decision-making scenarios.

Financial prudence is emphasized too. Tutorials within the guide teach how to evaluate costs versus returns, optimize resource allocation, and maintain operational transparency across every transaction.

By the conclusion, A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman provides a system for ongoing improvement — a cycle of feedback, evaluation, and recalibration that ensures long-term progress. Businesses that apply these lessons consistently see measurable gains in productivity and culture.

The final section ties every component together, showing how the strategies introduced earlier interlock into a holistic operational model. This synthesis reveals how efficiency, ethics, and innovation can coexist in a balanced business ecosystem.

Ultimately, A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman empowers organizations to replace guesswork with clarity, and reactive habits with proactive mastery. It stands as a living manual for modern professionals who value precision, structure, and continuous growth.

Use it as your internal compass. Revisit its lessons often. The more you implement, the more value you'll extract — and over time, A Guide To The Hidden Wisdom Of Kabbalah Michael Laitman will become not just a document, but a cornerstone of how you work smarter and lead better.

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© 2025 Review Book and Friends.Reading The Zohar
Learning something new should never feel complicated — and that is exactly the purpose of Reading The Zohar . This guide has been carefully designed to function as a practical tutorial that helps you take clear, confident steps from start to finish. Whether you are new to digital resources or looking for a refined approach to managing information, this document will walk you through everything you need to know.

At its core, Reading The Zohar serves as both a reference and a learning companion. Each section is written to be straightforward, actionable, and results-oriented. We believe that clear guidance, presented logically, is the foundation of effective learning — and this tutorial embodies that belief throughout.

The first step begins with familiarization. Before diving into advanced topics, take a moment to understand the structure of Reading The Zohar . It's divided into manageable parts that progress naturally, allowing you to build knowledge one step at a time. Each portion introduces new ideas while reinforcing what you have already learned.

Navigation is effortless. When you open Reading The Zohar , you will see a table of contents and an organized layout. The interface is intentionally minimalist — free of distractions that slow your focus. You can jump between sections instantly, search for

terms, or bookmark areas you plan to revisit later.

Our tutorial methodology is grounded in active learning. Instead of passively consuming text, we encourage you to interact with the material. Make notes, highlight important concepts, and test yourself after each stage. These small habits will multiply your retention and overall confidence as you progress through Reading The Zohar .

Every topic within this document is designed to be self-contained. That means you can start anywhere and still find value. However, to maximize your understanding, we recommend reading sequentially. The information flows logically — from setup and understanding the fundamentals, to applying insights in more complex scenarios.

To make your experience smoother, Reading The Zohar incorporates checkpoints — short summaries that help you confirm what you've learned before moving forward. These are strategically placed to give you moments of reflection and reinforcement without breaking your momentum.

As you move deeper into the guide, you will notice that each concept is supported by examples. We recognize that theory is only powerful when applied, so practical demonstrations are at the heart of this tutorial. You will find relatable scenarios that show how each idea can be implemented in real contexts.

We've also embedded best practices throughout Reading The Zohar . These are short, actionable suggestions that prevent common mistakes and encourage efficient workflows. They are written from the perspective of experience, allowing you to avoid unnecessary frustration as you learn.

The tone of this guide remains approachable but professional. You won't find unnecessary jargon or overly technical explanations. Instead, each concept is translated into plain language that maintains depth while remaining accessible. This ensures that the material benefits both casual readers and dedicated professionals.

Technical readers will appreciate that Reading The Zohar goes beyond surface-level summaries. We explain not just how to perform tasks, but why those tasks matter. Understanding the reasoning behind each step strengthens comprehension and empowers you to adapt the knowledge to your own projects or goals.

Throughout this document, visual and structural consistency reinforces learning. Headings, bullet points, and examples are aligned with universal design standards, so you can scan and locate information quickly. This clarity is intentional — because an effective tutorial should make complex things feel simple.

Should you encounter challenges, Reading The Zohar provides built-in troubleshooting advice. Each section anticipates potential points of confusion and provides guidance to help you move forward. We want you to succeed without interruption, whether you're reading on a laptop, tablet, or mobile device.

One of the strongest advantages of this guide is adaptability. You can read it sequentially like a course, or reference individual sections when you need a quick solution. Professionals often bookmark Reading The Zohar as a go-to manual they can revisit whenever similar challenges arise.

The tutorial also recognizes that learning is a gradual process. We encourage readers to take breaks, revisit key sections, and apply new skills in real-life situations. The more you interact with the content, the more meaningful and permanent your learning experience becomes.

Every recommendation in Reading The Zohar has been tested and verified. Our editorial team ensures that the information is up-to-date and reflects the most effective approaches available. When you follow these steps, you can trust that you're using methods proven to work in modern contexts.

We also integrate reflective moments throughout the tutorial. After completing major sections, you'll find small prompts inviting you to think about what you've learned and how it connects to your goals. These self-assessment cues transform passive reading into a more active and personal experience.

Accessibility remains a guiding principle. Reading The Zohar is optimized for screen readers, mobile devices, and offline use. This ensures that everyone, regardless of location or device type, can benefit equally from its content. We believe that information becomes powerful only when it is universally reachable.

Security and reliability are equally prioritized. Every download of Reading The Zohar is encrypted, safeguarding your data and maintaining file integrity. You can read online or store a copy locally without worrying about performance or privacy issues.

Our goal is not only to teach you something, but to make learning enjoyable. The tutorial maintains a friendly rhythm — informative, yet conversational. This balance makes reading lighter while keeping your motivation high throughout the process.

For educators and trainers, Reading The Zohar can serve as a modular teaching aid. Its chapters can be integrated into lesson plans, corporate training sessions, or online workshops. The clarity of its explanations allows it to complement nearly any curriculum that values structured, goal-oriented instruction.

As part of our commitment to continuous improvement, we welcome your feedback. At the end of Reading The Zohar , you'll find contact information and a short survey link. Your insights help us refine our guides, expand future topics, and make our materials even more effective for a global audience.

The concluding section of Reading The Zohar ties everything together. It summarizes the key ideas, emphasizes actionable takeaways, and invites you to revisit concepts that may strengthen your understanding. By the end, you will not only know the material — you'll know how to apply it with confidence.

Ultimately, Reading The Zohar represents more than a document. It is a bridge between curiosity and capability — a structured roadmap that empowers you to transform interest into mastery. Whether you're learning independently or as part of a team, this tutorial equips you with clarity, efficiency, and a sense of accomplishment.

Take the first step today. Explore Reading The Zohar , follow the lessons within, and see how easily structured guidance can turn knowledge into progress. Every paragraph is a small investment in your growth — and the results will speak for themselves.

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Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity - A Corpus of Magic Bowls

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Abstract
Since the first magic bowl text in Jewish Aramaic was edited by Thomas Ellis in 1859 there have only been just over 100 such texts published. Among the most significant contributors were James A. Montgomery, Cyrus Gordon, Edwin Yamauchi, Markham J. Geller, joined more recently by Tapani Harviainen, Christa Muller-Kessler as well as Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked. This dissertation includes text editions with critical apparatus for twenty hitherto unpublished magic bowl texts in Jewish Aramaic. The commentary contains philological analyses and comparison with other published and

unpublished bowls, Jewish amulets from Late Antiquity, magical Geniza material, classic Jewish sources up to the medieval period, Hekhalot, and Jewish liturgy. Special features and differences between duplicate texts are discussed. A comprehensive glossary, lists of names, and photographs of the bowls are provided. The introduction includes a description of the bowls, a review of the main grammatical features of the Jewish Aramaic dialect of the bowls, a discussion of some other sources with which these texts share material and motifs and an analyses of the importance of duplicate texts. The limited number of bowl texts which are available for study means that many of the problems which have risen in the process of editing have remained unsolved. This new corpus includes a wide spectrum of material including rare curse texts, legal as well as liturgical formula, new lexical material and parallels to previously published texts which allow corrections and in some cases new readings. The occasional employment of other contemporary dialect forms as well as non-Jewish motifs expose the world of magical practice in Late Antiquity to have been fertile ground for cross cultural exchanges.

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קאמעלהאר, ישראל.
Ḳamelhar, Yiśra’el
יהודה בן שמואל, החסיד, בע' 7121-0511.
Judah ben Samuel, approximately 1150-1217
קורח, שלמה בן יחיא. סודות שמים.
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סודי רזיא: וסביב לו סודות שמים
Sode razaya: ṿe-saviv lo Sodot shamayim
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Judah ben Samuel, approximately 1150-1217. Sod ha-yiḥud.
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Ḳoraḥ, Shelomoh ben Yiḥya, 1935-2018. Sodot shamayim.
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A new text edition usually stimulates further publications and evaluations of similar texts. This situation particularly applies to J. Naveh and S. Shaked, Magic spells and formulae (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), since much new material has come to light in recent years. The present article consists of additional texts which have special relevance to the above mentioned volume (see my review of Naveh-Shaked in this issue). Two magic bowls which appeared at Sotheby's (London) in 1985 were copied by me and sent to Naveh and Shaked for study and publication. One bowl in Jewish Aramaic script (Text A) was also copied by the present writer, but the bowl was not easily legible, and Naveh and Shaked chose not to include it within the corpus of bowls, because neither the photographs nor the hand copy were sufficiently reliable. Since the present owner and location of the bowl is unknown, I have included my hand copy of the bowl here, with an attempt to read as much as is reasonably legible, in the hope that eventually the bowl will reappear and corrections to these readings can be made, through collation of the original. A second bowl, in Syriac script, was edited by Naveh and Shaked (Bowl 17), but since they chose not to publish the hand copy of the bowl, it is given below (as Text B).

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AI Overview
"Sode Razaya" (or more accurately, Sodei Razaya) is the title of a major work of Kabbalistic mysticism by Rabbi Eleazar of Worms, also known as Eleazar ben Judah of Germiza. It is a multifaceted text composed of several books, including "Sefer Alfa Beta" (Book of the Alphabet) and "Sefer Ha-Cheshek" (Book of Desire), and deals with topics like Merkavah mysticism and divine names.
Author: Rabbi Eleazar of Worms (c. 1160–1230), a German Kabbalist and a student of the Baal Shem of Worms.
Title meaning: "Sodei Razaya" translates to "Secrets of Raziel" or "Secrets of Mysteries".
Content: The work is a collection of smaller books, each focusing on a specific aspect of Kabbalah. Some parts include:
Sefer Alfa Beta: The "Book of the Alphabet," which is the first part.
Sefer Ha-Yichud: The "Book of Unity".
Sefer Ha-Cheshek: The "Book of Desire," which explains how to express a desire and invoke specific divine names like Metatron.
Peirush Al Sefer Yetzirah: A commentary on the Sefer Yetzirah (Book of Formation).
Historical context: It represents an early attempt to systematize Kabbalistic thought, particularly concerning Merkavah (Chariot) mysticism.
Eleazar of Worms - Wikipedia
Sode Raza, a treatise on the mysteries of the "Merkabah." Part of this ... ^ Sefer Sodei Razia, Introduction to Part I. ^ "The Las...

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Eleazar of Worms (אלעזר מוורמייזא - also מגרמייזא of Garmiza or Garmisa) (c. 1176–1238), or Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus, also sometimes known today as Eleazar Rokeach ("Eleazar the Perfumer" אלעזר רקח) from the title of his Book of the Perfumer (Sefer ha rokeah ספר הרקח)—where the numerical value of "Perfumer" (in Hebrew) is equal to Eleazar, was a prominent Kabbalist and halakhic authority, among the greatest of the Hasidei Ashkenaz and a disciple of Rabbi Judah the Pious.

He was the author of the Sefer ha-Rokeach (Rokeach in gematria = Eleazar), one of the Tosafists, and wrote many Kabbalistic works, most of which survive only in manuscript form. He served as a rabbi and judge in Worms, and instituted customs still observed in Ashkenazic communities today.

He was called "the Rokeach" after his book,[1] though he was often mistakenly referred to as "Rabbi Eliezer of Germiza".[2] Due to this confusion, he was sometimes wrongly identified as Eliezer the Great.[3][4]

Biography

Rabbi Eleazar was born around 1165 in Mainz to his father and teacher, Rabbi Judah ben Kalonymus of Mainz (known as the RIBaK), one of the greatest sages of his time. He traveled among centers of Torah in Germany and northern France. He learned Torah from his father and Kabbalah from his relative Rabbi Judah the Pious.[5] He married the granddaughter of the RiBaN (Rabbi Yehuda ben Natan).[6]

Among his prominent students was Rabbi Isaac ben Moses of Vienna, author of "Or Zarua". He signed the Enactments of SHU"M (Speyer, Worms, and Mainz). His date of death is uncertain, with estimates ranging from 1232 to 1242. He is buried in Worms.

Massacre of the Jews of Metz during the First Crusade, by Auguste Migette.

He suffered greatly during attacks on the Jewish community, leading him to move from Mainz to Worms where he became rabbi. On the night of 22 Kislev 1196 (14 November),[7] two intruders broke into his home during his study of the verse “And Jacob dwelt in safety,” wounded him and his son, and murdered his wife Dulcea, his 13-year-old daughter Belat, and his six-year-old daughter Hannah.[8] He wrote:

...And they split open the head of my daughter Belat... and also my daughter Hannah, and she died... My wife the righteous woman got up and cried that we were being murdered. The villains struck her in the head, shoulder, and across her back, and she fell and died. I closed the door and we cried until help came from Heaven.

I remained destitute, in great poverty and suffering.

Yet, at the end of his lamentation, he justifies God's judgment:

Woe unto me for my wife, woe for my daughters, I will mourn with a lamentation—how great are my sins.

The Judge is faithful who judged me,

In my sin and transgression He humbled me, I shall bless Him for every measure and sing His praise,

To Him I bow and prostrate myself.

Some scholars argue that parts of the lament were added later or copied incorrectly, as it refers to sons having died even though earlier he mentions that his surviving son was treated by his wife and lived.[9]

One of the attackers was apprehended a week later, brought to justice, and executed. Following these events, Rabbi Eleazar focused on composing his Sefer ha-Rokeach and teaching via writing, as direct instruction had become difficult.

Eleazar developed a vigorous activity in many directions. On the one hand, he was a Talmudist of vast erudition, a liturgist gifted with a clear and easy style, and an astronomer, and was well versed in the sciences open to the Jews of Germany at that time. At the same time, he was an adventurous mystic who experienced visions, seeing legions of angels and demons. He exerted himself to spread mystical systems which went far beyond the conceptions of the classical authors of Jewish esoterica. In his mystical works he developed and gave a new impulse to the mysticism associated with the letters of the alphabet. By the gematria and notarikon systems of interpretation found in the Talmud, Eleazar invented new combinations by which miracles could be performed. The haggadic anthropomorphism which he had combated in his earlier works (Ha-Roḳeaḥ, Sha'are ha-Sod weha-Yiḥud) occupied later the foremost place in his mystical writings. Eleazar's great merit therefore lies not only in his new mystical system, but also in his ethical works. In these he shows greatness of soul and a piety bordering upon asceticism. Though so severely tried by fate, he inculcates cheerfulness, patience, and love for humanity.

Unlike Rabbi Judah the Pious, he signed his writings by name (usually as "the small one"). He was the first to do so.

Rabbi David Gans dated his death to 1238, and many scholars followed him. However, Ephraim Elimelech Urbach noted that Rabbi Eleazar is cited as deceased in works from 1232 and 1234, suggesting an earlier death. Yet, a signature by him exists from 1224, so his death likely occurred between these years. He is buried in the Old Cemetery in Worms.[10]

Sefer ha-Rokeach

His main work, "Sefer ha-Rokeach", is a halakhic text including legal rulings, customs, and their reasons according to the Tosafist tradition. It combines pilpul, halakhic conclusions, ethical insights, and many gematriot.

He taught that the reward for mitzvot depends on one's struggle. A mitzvah that is difficult to perform earns more reward than "a hundred mitzvot performed easily."

The book frequently references Kiddush Hashem and reasons that if a person would die for his faith, he can surely resist lesser sins.

Another halakhic work is "36 Sha'arim" on the laws of shechita and treifot.[11]

Joy in worship

Rabbi Eleazar praised serving God with joy, quoting from the Torah on the verse: "Because you did not serve the Lord with joy and gladness of heart..." He wrote:

One should always think how to do God's will. Pleasures with one's wife and children are insignificant compared to loving the Creator... Even the satisfaction of a man uniting with a woman after a long separation is as nothing compared to the joy of doing God's will.[12]

Repentance

He emphasized repentance from sexual sin. Following the Sefer Hasidim, he categorized levels of repentance including "Teshuvat HaBa'ah"—returning to the scene of sin but resisting. He also supported ascetic forms of repentance—painful self-afflictions proportionate to the pleasure derived from sin, known as "Teshuvat HaMishkal".

Joseph Dan argued this elite form of teshuva was ideal in Ashkenazi Hasidism, though dangerous for most people.

Kabbalistic Thought

He wrote many Kabbalistic works, rich in gematria. Rabbi Tzvi Elimelech of Dinov in the Bnei Yissaschar emphasized that the Rokeach's teachings were from Elijah the Prophet.[13]

His concept of "Kavod" as an intermediary, non-created emanation of God, was adapted

cautiously from Saadia Gaon and his teacher Rabbi Judah the Pious.

Halakhic customs
Rabbi Eleazar instituted several customs, including:

Taking three steps backward before reciting "Hashem, open my lips" before the Amidah.
Responding "Baruch Hu u'Varuch Shemo" after the zimun in Birkat Hamazon.
Reciting the verse "He wraps Himself in light as a garment..." when examining tzitzit.
Substitute prayers for Kaddish and "Barchu" if not heard in public.[14]
Not saying Tachanun during the month of Nisan.[15]
The earliest source for the kitniyot prohibition on Passover is found in his Pesach derasha.[16]

Works
Ethical works
Ha-Roḳeaḥ, ("The Perfumer"), a halachic guide to ethics and Jewish Law for the common reader. The title derives from the numerical value of the word רקח, which corresponds to that of אלעזר. The book is divided into 497 paragraphs containing halachot and ethics; first published at Fano, 1505.[17]
Adderet ha-Shem, still extant in manuscript in the Vatican Library.
Moreh Ḥaṭṭa'im, or Seder ha-Kapparot, on penitence and confession of sin, first published at Venice, 1543. This work, which is included in the Hilkot Teshubah of the Ha-Roḳeaḥ, has been reproduced many times under various titles. It appeared under the title Darke Teshubah at the end of the responsa of Meir of Rothenburg in the Prague edition;[18] as Inyane Teshubah, or Seder Teshubah, in the Sephardic ritual of 1584; as Yesod Teshubah, with additions by Isaac ben Moses Elles, first published in 1583; as Yore Ḥaṭṭa'im ba-Derek; and as Sefer ha-Kapparot. The title adopted here is the same as that given in the Kol Bo, in which the work was reproduced.
Sefer ha-Ḥayyim, treating of the unity of God, of the soul and its attributes, and of the three stages (recognized by the ancients as "plant, animal, and intellectual") in man's life.
Sha'are ha-Sod ha-Yiḥud weha-Emunah, a treatise on the unity and incorporeality of God, combating the anthropomorphism of the Aggadah (published by Adolf Jellinek in the Kokabe Yiẓḥaḳ collection [xxvii.].[8]
Kether Shem Tov. The Crown Of The Good Name, by Avraham ben Alexander of Cologne, disciple of Eleazar Ben Yehudah of Worms: Ethical-Kabbalist book.[19]
Pietistic works
Yir'at El, still extant in manuscript in the Vatican Library, containing mystical commentaries on Psalm 67, on the Menorah, and on Sefirat ha-Omer. In 2001 this work was published as part of the book דרוש המלבוש והצמצום.[20]
Sefer ha-Kabod, mystical explanations of various Biblical passages (Adolf Neubauer, Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS. No. 1566, 1).
Yayin ha-Reḳaḥ, mystical commentaries on the Five Megillot. Those on Book of Ruth and the Song of Songs were published at Lublin, 1608.[21]

A commentary on Psalm 145. (MS. De Rossi No. 1138).
A commentary on the prayers mentioned by Joseph Solomon Delmedigo in his Maẓref la-Ḥokmah (p. 14b).[22] Printed by Hirshler.
Ta'ame we-Sodot ha-Tefillah (Neubauer, ib. No.1575.)
Perush 'al Sefer Yeẓirah, a commentary on the Sefer Yetzirah, being extracts from Shabbethai Donnolo's commentary. Fragments of this work were first published at Mantua in 1562, later in several other places; a complete edition was printed at Przemyśl, 1883.[23]
Midrash we-Perush ʿal ha-Torah, mystical commentary on the Torah mentioned by Chaim Yosef David Azulai, recently printed by klugman.
Sha'are Binah, in which, interpreting Biblical verses by the system of gemaṭriyyot, he shows the origin of many aggadot of the Talmud. This work is frequently quoted by Solomon Alkabetz, in his Manot ha-Lewi.
Shi'ur Qomah, a commentary on the Shi'ur Qomah, the Pirqe de-Rabbi Yishma'el, and Merkabah mysticism (MS. Michael).
Sefer ha-Ḥokmah, mystical treatise on the various names of God and angels, and on the seventy-three 'Gates of the Torah'.
Sefer ha-Shem, mystical dissertations on the names of twenty-two letters, with a table of permutations (Neubauer, ib. No. 1569, 4).
Eser Shemot, commentary on the ten names of God (MS. Michael, No. 175).
A commentary on the piyyuṭ "Ha-Oḥez."
Six small cabalistic treatises entitled Sod ha-Ziwwug, Sefer ha-Ne'elam, Sefer Mal'akim, Sefer Tagim, Sefer Pesaq, and Sefer ha-Qolot, all of which are still extant in manuscript (Neubauer, ib. 1566).
Liqquṭim, mystical fragments, mentioned by Menahem Recanati.
Sode Raza, a treatise on the mysteries of the "Merkabah." Part of this work was published at Amsterdam in 1701, under the title Sefer Razi'el ha-Gadol. In the introduction[24] the editor says that he decided to publish this book after having seen that the greater part of it had been produced in French under the title Images des Lettres de l'Alphabet.[8]
In addition to these works, Eleazar wrote tosafot to many Talmudic treatises, referred to by Bezalel Ashkenazi in his Shiṭṭah Mequbbeṣet; a commentary on "Sheqalim" in the Jerusalem Talmud, cited by Asher ben Jehiel in his commentary to that treatise in the Babylonian Talmud; thirty-six chapters on the examination of ritually slaughtered animals (MS. Michael No. 307). Leopold Zunz enumerates fifty-five liturgical poems and dirges composed by Eleazar and occurring in the Ashkenazic maḥzorim, qinnot, and seliḥot.[8]

For an extensive list of his attributed works, including halakhic, kabbalistic, liturgical, and ethical texts, see the Hebrew article or consult:

Israel Kammerer, Rabbeinu Eleazar of Worms, the Rokeach, Rzeszow 1930.
Avigdor Aptowitzer, Introduction to Ra'avyah, Jerusalem 1938, pp. 316–318.
Encyclopaedia Hebraica, Vol. 3, Jerusalem 1953, pp. 722–724.
Joseph Dan, Hasidei Ashkenaz in Jewish Thought, Open University Press.
Ephraim Urbach, Ba'alei ha-Tosafot, Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1976, pp. 388–411.

Descendants
Among his descendants is Rabbi Elazar Rokeach of Amsterdam, author of Maaseh Rokeach, founder of the Rokeach rabbinic dynasty. Ephraim Zalman Margolies, genealogist and halakhist, also claimed descent and served as a reference point for many rabbinic lineages in Central and Eastern Europe.

Further reading
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Avigdor Aptowitzer, Introduction to the Ra'avyah, Jerusalem, 1938, pp. 316–318.
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Ephraim Elimelech Urbach, Ba‘alei ha-Tosafot, Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1976, pp. 388–411.
Simcha Emanuel, “The Halakhic Writings of R. Eleazar of Worms,” Tzaddikim Journal, vol. 16–17 (2001), pp. 231–243.
External links
Commentary of R. Eleazar of Worms on the Torah and Megillat Esther (HebrewBooks)
Maaseh Rokeach (HebrewBooks) – Halakhic work attributed to Rabbi Eleazar of Worms
National Library of Israel Digital Collections – Digitized manuscripts and works attributed to Rabbi Eleazar of Worms
Sources
See for example: Etz Chaim by Chaim Vital, Shaar HaAhava, Chapter 11, p. 110 where he is cited as "the Rokeach". The name appears in many print and online sources.
See the title page of the 1557 edition of Sefer ha-Rokeach, where he is named "Eliezer of Germiza". This error was perpetuated in subsequent editions, including Lviv 1859, Warsaw 1880, and modern editions. Some scholars such as Shlomo Bloch also used this mistaken name.
Some even conflated titles, referring to him as "Rabbi Eliezer the Great of Germiza (the Rokeach)"—see the book "Shemot HaTzaddikim" and some editions of the prayerbook "Tefilat Kol Peh".
This error also led to misidentification of manuscripts and events by researchers. See the introduction to "Maaseh Rokeach" by Rabbi Ephraim Zalman Margolies.
See: Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, "Matzref LaChochmah", Basel 1629, fol. 14b
Sefer HaNiyar, siman 44.
See the analysis by Leopold Zunz and others about the exact date and location, and whether the attack was related to the Crusades. Scholars like Kammer and Bloch argue that the murder was criminal rather than religiously motivated.
One or more of the preceding sentences incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain: Singer, Isidore; et al., eds. (1901–1906). "Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus of Worms". The Jewish Encyclopedia. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Retrieved Jan 11, 2017.
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Zacuto, Yuḥasin, p. 221;

Zunz, Z. G. p. 131; idem, Literaturgesch. p. 318;
Heinrich Grätz, Gesch. vii. 29;
Steinschneider, Cat. Bodl. col. 918;
Landshuth, 'Ammude ha-'Abodah, p. 25;
Epstein, in Monatsschrift, xxxvii. 75;
Dukes, in Orient, Lit. 1844; idem, Zur Kenntniss der Religiösen Poesie, p. 148;
Ernest Renan-Adolf Neubauer, Les Rabbins Français, pp. 464 et seq.;
Michael, Heimann Joseph, (1891) Or ha-Ḥayyim, Frankfort-on-the-Main (in Hebrew), No. 487.
Israel Kammerer, "Rabbi Eleazar of Worms", Rzeszow 1930; also Solomon Bloch's "Binian Shlomo" and the "Shomer Tzion HaNe'eman" journal from 1849.
Urbach, "Ba'alei ha-Tosafot", p. 411; see also Tarbitz, vol. 10 (1939), p. 35.
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Miscellany, including form for writ of divorce; ELEAZAR BEN JUDAH OF WORMS, Eser havayot [Ten Essences]; kabbalistic tefillot and shemirot ha-derekh (prayers and charms)
In Hebrew, manuscript on parchment
Italy, c. 1375-1400
TM 807sold
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18 folios on parchment, modern foliation in pencil in Arabic numerals, complete (collation i-iv4 v2), written by two scribes in neat Italian semi-cursive scripts in brown ink: (1) ff. 2r-9v, ruled in blind (justification 128 x 95 mm.), single-column text of 24 lines, enlarged incipits, periodic vocalization, diagrams on ff. 4rv, and 9, marginalia in hand of primary scribe intermittently throughout (see especially ff. 4rv), catchwords on f. 6v, decorated final words on f. 9; (2) ff. 1v, 10-18, ruled in blind (justification 145-160 x 110 mm.), single-column text of 22-25 lines (f. 1v contains twelve lines in square script with six in semi-cursive below), horizontal lines drawn to separate prayers, partial vocalization on ff. 10, 15v-16, and 17v, small decorative flourishes on ff. 13v, 14v, 15v, scattered worming on ff. 1, 17-18, strong browning throughout, dampstaining on ff. 1, 10, 15-18, small tear in upper margin of f. 10, loss of upper-outer corner of f. 10 affecting a number of words, some text faded or flaked (see especially ff. 12v-13v, 15v-18), puncture affecting some words on ff. 14-16, inner margins reinforced. Late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century limp vellum binding, original ties now missing, lightly soiled, paper pastedowns and flyleaves. Dimensions, page size 185 x 140 mm.; binding 190 x

145 mm.

Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah of Worms' Eser havayot on the esoteric meanings of God's Hebrew Names is one of the most important expressions of Ashkenazi Hasidic thought. This beautiful manuscript is one of the earliest extant copies. Of particular interest is the fact that it is preserved here in the context of a substantial collection of prayers and charms for success and for safety (especially during travel), as well an early exemplar of the standard form used to prepare a get (Jewish writ of divorce).

Provenance

1. While the manuscript has no colophon, it is possible to date and localize it approximately to the end of the fourteenth century in Italy based primarily on the characteristic Italian scripts in which it is written.

2. Solomon Joachim Halberstam (1832-1900), a wealthy Polish Jewish scholar and bibliophile who had acquired hundreds of valuable manuscripts from the libraries of Leopold Zunz (1794-1886) and Samuel David Luzzatto (1800-1865), came into possession of this manuscript and included it when cataloging his own personal collection. The first folio contains his Hebrew initials in pen followed by the manuscript's shelf mark: "No 146".

3. The Judith Lady Montefiore College in Ramsgate, England, purchased 412 manuscripts from Halberstam's collection, including ours. The transaction was carried out by Rabbi Moses Gaster (1856-1939), principal of the College between 1891 and 1896. The manuscript contains the library stamp of the institution, known in Hebrew as Yeshivat Ohel Mosheh vi-Yehudit, on its first and final folios, as well as the library's shelf mark (MS 256) on both its spine and the pastedown of the upper board.

4. Between 1898 and 2001, most of the Montefiore manuscripts, including ours, were placed on permanent loan at Jews' College in London. In 2001, they were returned to the Montefiore Endowment Committee.

5. In 2004, part of the Montefiore Collection, including our manuscript, was sold at auction by Sotheby's in New York (lot 213).

Text

f. 1v, Faded text of the form for a get in twelve lines followed, in smaller script, by instructions for the preparation of the document;

ff. 2-9, Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, Eser havayot, containing expositions on the divine Names; ff. 2rv, introductory description of the ceremony to be performed prior to the transmission of the secrets of God's Names from rabbi to student; [f. 9v, blank];

Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, Eser havayot (the introductory section of his longer treatise, Sefer ha-shem); ed. Aaron Eisenbach, Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, Sefer ha-

shem, in Sodei razyei, ed. Jerusalem, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 1-7.

ff. 10-18, Kabbalistic prayers and charms for success and safety during travel and throughout the day: f. 10, standard text of tefillat ha-derekh (the wayfarer's prayer) with added petitions to angels;

f. 10v, Advice on what to say in order to have one's prayers answered, followed by a tefillat ha-derekh attributed Rabbi Judah ben Samuel he-Hasid (c. 1150-1217) and a prayer of one Rabbi Joshua for protection against Gentiles with evil intentions;

f. 11, Tefillat yihud ha-shem (prayer unifying God's Name) to be recited every day as a protection against all forms of danger;

f. 11v, Prayer for the welfare of the Jewish people and the coming of the messianic era, followed by a charm for protection on a journey involving gathering seven stones and throwing four of them in each of the four directions while reciting angelic names, as well as yet another tefillat ha-derekh;

f. 12, Statement promising a share in the World to Come to those who recite Psalm 29 four times daily without interruption, followed by a tefillat ha-derekh appealing to God to save the petitioner just as He saved David, Elijah, and Enoch;

ff. 12rv, Text of Psalm 90;

f. 12v, Prayer to God to send the petitioner Yohakh (whose name is spelled out by the last letters of Psalm 90:11a: ki mal'akhav yetsavveh lakh) and other angels considered to be patrons and protectors of wayfarers;

f. 13, Directions to recite Psalm 91 and have in mind Yohakh's name;

ff. 13rv, Text of Psalm 17;

f. 13v, Short prayer for success on a journey;

ff. 13v-14, A shemirat ha-derekh (wayfarer's charm) attributed to Rabbi Moses ben Nahman(?) (1194-1270) consisting of fifteen verses, five each taken from the Torah, Prophets, and Writings, followed by a blessing requesting that the same angels sent to protect Jacob (Gen. 32:2-3) do so for the petitioner as well;

f. 14, Prophylactic verses;

f. 14v, The traditional text of the viddui (confessional);

ff. 14v-15, Text of Psalm 25, followed by a prayer for health and for protection against all manner of evil spirit;

ff. 15-16, Prayer attributed to Rabbi Ishmael the High Priest, containing references to angels' names and petitions for protection, success, forgiveness, not forgetting one's knowledge, etc.;

ff. 16-17, Prayer attributed to Elijah the Prophet, containing requests for material blessing and protection from all forms of danger;

ff. 17v-18, Two prayers for those traveling by sea; [f. 18v, blank].

Our manuscript consists of three sections: the standard form of a Jewish writ of divorce, Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah of Worms's Eser havayot (the introductory section of his longer treatise, Sefer ha-shem) and an extensive collection of prayers and charms for success and protection. The first and third elements were likely added by a slightly later scribe after the second work had been copied: the first presumably to take advantage of the blank folio preceding Eser havayot, and the third because of its authorial and thematic connections to the esoteric material in that work.

Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (c. 1165-c. 1230) was the last great expositor of the traditions of the Hasidei Ashkenaz, a group of pietists living in Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His oeuvre includes a wide array of writings, ranging from liturgical poetry and halakhic (Jewish legal) discourse to commentaries on the prayers and esoteric exegesis. His major theological work was Sodei razayya (Secrets of Secrets), a five-part mystical compendium consisting of Sod ma'aseh be-reshit (The Secret of Genesis), Sod ha-merkavah (The Secret of the Chariot), Sefer ha-shem (The Book of the Name), Hokhmat ha-nefesh (The Wisdom of the Soul), and a commentary to the ancient Sefer yetsirah (Book of Creation).

Sefer ha-shem, the largest of the five parts of Sodei razayya, which was written by Rabbi Eleazar around 1220 in Speyer, constitutes the first attempt in Jewish literature to discuss and analyze systematically the various theological and ethical meanings of the Names of God. Despite the fact that, in the estimation of the modern historian Joseph Dan, the book's first major expositor, it should be seen as "the most important expression of the inner core of the Ashkenazi Hasidic religious world" (Dan, 1998, p. 132), Sefer ha-shem was not printed until 2004, in Jerusalem. It was subsequently republished in 2014 as part of a four-volume set of Rabbi Eleazar's writings (Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, ed. Aaron Eisenbach, Jerusalem, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 1-7).

Eser havayot (Ten Essences) is the name given in several manuscripts (though not ours) to the introductory section of Sefer ha-shem. It begins with an outline of the magical ritual to be observed in transmitting the secrets of God's Names from rabbi to student (on which, see Dan, 1998, 1996, 2002, and Wolfson, 1994, at length). It then proceeds to expound on the Tetragrammaton, the four-letter Name of God, with particular reference to the yod with which the Name begins. Yod in Jewish numerology equals ten, and so much of the discussion turns on the various tens to which the yod of

God's Name corresponds. One of these is the eser havayot, the ten "essences," which Rabbi Eleazar understands to refer to up, down, north, south, east, west, beginning, end, light, and darkness (or: good and evil). The ensuing mystical-theological discussion draws heavily upon ideas in the Sefer yetsirah and Heikhalot (divine palace) literature.

Immediately following Eser havayot is a collection of prayers and magical formulas to be recited for the purpose of defense against evil spiritual forces or physical threats to one's safety. The latter half of the twelfth century saw a steady growth in the popularity of mystically- and angelologically-tinged private petitions, especially among the Hasidei Ashkenaz (Ta-Shma, 2003). According to Ephraim Kanarfogel, in subsequent generations, these types of texts were often attributed to the most prominent leaders of this group, particularly Rabbi Eleazar and his teacher, Rabbi Judah ben Samuel he-Hasid (as in our manuscript). It makes sense, then, that the later copyist in our manuscript would have appended this series of kabbalistic tefillot and shemirot ha-derekh to an esoteric theological treatise authored by Rabbi Eleazar.

Approximately twenty-four manuscripts of Sefer ha-shem, in whole or in part (most often in the form of Eser havayot), have come down to us. Of these, the vast majority (eighteen) reside in European public collections in Budapest, Florence, Leiden, London, Milan, Moscow, Munich, Oxford, Paris, Parma, and Zurich; two are housed in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York; and one can be found at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem. Only three are owned privately. Our copy is one of five surviving manuscripts of the work dating prior to the year 1400. The fact that it is accompanied by one of the earliest and most varied manuscript collections of tefillot and shemirot ha-derekh, as well as an important witness to the tradition of how to write a get, makes it a unique and valuable repository of Jewish law, theology, and liturgy.

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Online Resources
Our MS (accessible from within the National Library of Israel)
http://rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE20209715

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Abstract
This article completes the author’s series of notes on magical papyri begun in Symbolae Osloenses 96 (2022). New readings and further discussion of content and context, touching on the history of science (medicine, astrology) and religion (Christianity), as well as provisional texts and translations, are offered for eight finished products of magical ritual from Egypt of the Roman and Late Ancient periods on papyrus and other materials (O.Moen inv. 631; PGM XXXIII and XLIII; PGM P 5b, P 6c, P 10, and P 16; Suppl.Mag. II 52). A documentary text on the same sheet as one of them (P.Oxy. VII 1059 back descr.) is given a first full edition.

Keywords:

magical papyriamuletinvocationChristianityastrology
This sequel to a collection of contributions to the interpretation of Greek magical papyri (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022c), developed in the course of work on the editions of

GEMF, is devoted to amulets and other finished products of formularies, which still await their due attention as the focus of a comprehensive editorial project.

1. Suppl.Mag. II 52 (KYP M878): a “letter to the dead” on a sarcophagus panel?
The text was classed by its most recent editors under the rubric “Applied Curses: Pagan”, who identified the adjuration of “a male corpse … against the woman Senblynpnos, because she has neglected his burial”. The substrate, now in the Louvre,Footnote1 which is described in that edition only as an opisthographic “wooden tablet”, deserves further commentary as, in line with a new reading in the first line of the text, it allows the artifact to be situated in the context of afterlife ritual. A distinctive pair of slightly angled tabs protruding from what are now the top right and bottom right corners (seen from the front, where the text is written across the wood grain) point away from a purpose-cut writing tablet, where they would have been a waste of wood, and towards the re-use of wood, in short supply in Egypt, from a different application: a wooden sarcophagus. The tabs would then have belonged to dovetail joints, and given the size of the object, it could have been the head or foot panel of a plain rectangular coffin.Footnote2 The back bears traces of bitumen, suggesting that it faced inwards in the original disposition of the coffin, in contact with the human remains.

Further support for this theory comes from another internal reference in the text to sarcophagi: the adjuration begins, “I adjure you by the gods who are here and the sarcophagi and your gods, those down in Hades” (ἐζορκίζω σε τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἐνδ̣αα̣θὶ καὶ τοὺς σα̣κ̣αφάκους καὶ τοὺς θούς σου ⟦π⟧ τοὺς κατ’ Ἅδου). The second member of the triplet of guarantors of the adjuration, σα̣κ̣αφάκους (σα̣ρ̣αφάκους in Suppl.Mag.; for σαρκοφάγους), was taken in the most recent edition as “those” (gods, comparing PGM IV 2865–2867) “who eat flesh”, and the possibility of a reference to the coffins themselves, already raised by Horsley (commentary to New Docs. II 13 [p. 48], but ultimately opting for the translation “(gods of the?) coffins”), was discounted. The surrounding references to gods, however, seem to mark this limb out as distinct. If gods were meant, they could have been specified, as is done in the other two limbs (τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἐνδ̣αα̣θὶ, and τοὺς θούς σου ⟦π⟧ τοὺς κατ’ Ἅδου). The argument that the word is inappropriate to denote a coffin in an Egyptian context is based on a literal, etymological reading of σαρκοφάγος that need not have pertained at this date, if the connection to φαγεῖν could even have been perceived through the phonetic spelling. An objection might be raised from the use of the article τούς in place of τάς (compare Poll., Onom. 10.15), but, as Horsley pointed out, the difficulty is not serious; in particular, the presumably understood λίθους could readily have reverted to the masculine gender.

Another parallel for the adjective in the magical papyri, not discussed in Suppl.Mag., is in application to myrrh (ζμύρνα) in PGM IV 1504. The proximate cause there is the wasting effects of erotic passion (ἔρως) to be inflicted on the female target of this “leading-procedure” (ἀγωγή) via the airborne fumigant over which the spell is pronounced, but the role of myrrh in embalming might also be in view: 100 talents of myrrh are requested for the ταφή of a sacred animal in PSI IV 328, and a “myrrh-filled coffin” (ἡ ζυρνίνη [for ζμυρνίνη] σορός) is cited in PGM VIII 97 (see Zellmann-Rohrer

Citation2022c, 295–301).

The conjunction of spirits of the human dead, coffins, and ritual practice among the living is rounded out by a reconsideration of the first line of the text, printed σαοραυινιενουτι͵ο´ in the most recent edition. The first editor had wondered about an Egyptian female name for at least the initial σαορ-, but in Suppl.Mag. it is left unarticulated and presented in the translation as if magical words, among which the possibility of “νουτι ο, Egyptian ‘great god’” is raised in the commentary. If the final, suprascript ο is recognized instead as an application of a common mode of abbreviating the genitive of Greek versions of Egyptian personal names in -ις, -ιος, an alternative division into two personal names presents itself, an addressee in the dative followed by a patronym in the genitive: Σαοραυι Νιενουτιο(ς) [νιενουτιο, tablet]. That is, the text on the tablet is presented as a communication to a deceased person, Saoraus son of Nienoutis, contiguous with the traditional Egyptian letters to the dead and the addresses to “corpse-divinities” (νεκυδαίμονες) common in aggressive magic of the Roman period. The closest points of comparison are thus the adjuration (ἐξορκεῖζ[ω]) of one Euangelos in PGM XXXII and the command of Horion son of Sarapous in Suppl.Mag. I 37, both for the purposes of erotic magic. Might the claim in the text that this man has been “deprived” (ἀπεστέρηκε) of burial “henceforth” (τὸ λοιπόν) by the target, Senblynpnos, refer to a situation in fact caused by the speaker of the text, inscribed on a panel removed from that burial?

Neither name in the newly proposed reading of the tablet is otherwise attested, but both are sensibly Egyptian. The first is comparable with the writing Sꜣ-Ḥr found once in Athribis of the Late Period (Vernus 1978, 105 no. 114) for the more common Sy-Ḥr “Son of Horos” (TM Nam 7992), and the second is apparently a compound with nṯr, perhaps Nš-(pꜣ-)nṯr “He belongs to (the) god” (compare Νεησις: Foraboschi Citation1967–1971, 203), or a shortened form of Πανινουτις (Foraboschi Citation1967–1971, 231; TM Nam 7287) from Pꜣ-nꜣ-nṯr.w.

The following revised text and translation can thus be proposed:

front (↓)

Σαοραυι Νιενουτιο(ς)

ἐξορκίζω σε τοὺς

θεοὺς τοὺς ἐνδα-

αθὶ καὶ τοὺς σαϩα-

5 φάκους καὶ τοὺς

θούς σου ⟦π⟧ τοὺς

κατ’ Ἅδου περὶ

Σενβλυνπνῶτος·

κρᾶξον εἰς τὸν

10 Ἅδην, μὴ ἀφῇς

τοὺς ἐν Ἅδω τοὺ-

ς θεοὺς καθεύδι-

ν. τὴν ταφήν

σου ἀπεστέ-

15 ρηκε τὸ λοιπόν.

back (→)

μὴ ἀφῇς τοὺς

θεοὺς καθεύδιν·

εἰσακούσι σε

ὁ Οὔσιρις ὅτι

20 ἄωορος καὶ

ἄτεκνος καὶ

ἀγύναις καὶ

ἀχά⟨ρ⟩ισσος·

vacat κ̅ς̅

1 νιενουτιο tablet || 2 ἐζορκίζω (l. ἐξ-) Suppl.Mag. || 3–4 l. ἐνθαδὶ (ἐνθάδε Suppl.Mag.) || 4–5 σαραφάκους Suppl.Mag.; l. σαρκοφάγους || 5 τουc tablet || 6 l. θεούς || π tablet || 7 l. καθ’ || 8 cενβλυνπνωτοc tablet, υ corr. from ο || 11 l. Ἅδου || 12–13, 17 l. καθεύδειν || 18 l. εἰσακούσει || 20 l. ἄωρος || καὶ: κ corr. from c? || 22 l. ἀγύναιος || αχαβιccοc tablet, l. ἀχάριστος

(Front) To Saoraus son of Nienoutis: I adjure you by the gods here and by the sarcophagi and by your gods, the ones down in Hades, concerning Senblynpnos. Cry out to Hades, do not let the gods in Hades sleep. She has deprived you of your burial henceforth. (Back) Do not let the gods sleep: Osiris will listen to you, for (you are dead) before your time and without children and without a wife and without good will – (at the age of?) 26.Footnote3

2. PGM XXXIII (P.Tebt. II 275; KYP M767): fever amulet
Although it is not a formulary, this amulet holds a special claim to consideration in the course of GEMF, a Chicago-based editorial project on the Greek magical handbooks on papyrus, due to the role of the Chicago papyrologist Edgar J. Goodspeed in its decipherment during his collaboration with its excavators, Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, in Oxford in 1900. Goodspeed's work is acknowledged in P.Tebt. II only in a general way,Footnote4 but preparatory work on the amulet by him can be identified with certainty, as he wrote of the text in a letter to his mother of 29 June 1900:Footnote5

Just now I must do papyri, all I possibly can. Oh, I did an extraordinary magical one this afternoon; an address to some demon Kȯκ Koὐκ KoὐL [sic] with a sort of meaningless rebus above it thus

ABLANAT

BLANA

LAN

A

only about ten times this size. If BP. doesn't care for it, I do! But I think he will.

Goodspeed later reconsidered the meaninglessness of the "rebus", to judge from an added annotation beside his copy of it: "The rebus seems to mean 'The (gnostic) god Akramakamari is our Father'." It may indeed have been B. P. (Grenfell) who put the finishing touches on the publication, including a comparison with an amulet first published by Ulrich Wilcken in 1901 (Wilcken Citation1901, 420–427; later reprised as BGU III 956 and PGM XVIIIb), which Goodspeed is unlikely to have known at least in the main period of his work on the Tebtunis papyri. A remark in the commentary to the edition in P.Tebt. II with a verb in the first-person plural presumably refers, as usual, to Grenfell and Hunt.Footnote6

Unusually for papyri from the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtunis, the amulet does not bear one of the modern inked processing numbers added by the excavators for reference before publication, the so-called "T-numbers" (O'Connell Citation2007), by which Goodspeed himself cited the papyri in his writings contemporary with his work on them. That absence might lead to the suspicion that such an annotation was once

attached to some other surface, like a tube or case in which the amulet might originally have been found, from which it was later separated. No such artifact, however, remained with the amulet, nor can one be located among the finds from Tebtunis in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley. Among those papyri assigned to Goodspeed for contribution to P.Tebt. II in a letter from Grenfell of 5 November 1902, in which the “T-numbers” are used for reference (Hickey and Keenan Citation2021, 141–445, Appendices D–E), two (351, 399) have not yet been identified with the inked numbers on papyri now in the Berkeley collection, and the amulet may be among them. Perhaps, as Hickey and Keenan suggest, these numbers were recorded on the papers between which the papyri were kept,Footnote7 as in other cases, but not copied over to the papyri themselves. If an identification of the T-number of the amulet with either of the missing ones is accepted, two possible contextual groups present themselves:

Group 1

Table

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Group 2

Table

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For the generally accepted third-century date of the amulet, T-399 (Group 2) is most appealing given its proximity to T-406, one of only two papyri dated in that century. Either number is high enough to suggest that the amulet was probably found in a private house in the village and not in its main temple, dedicated to Soknebtunis. That reconstruction would not preclude production by one or more of the experts practicing in this temple, perhaps informed by its substantial holdings of ritual and medical texts.Footnote8 A more robust conclusion is the thoroughly documentary surroundings, giving an impression of amulets as a feature of daily life. The personal copy of a literary text, the Trojan War account of Dictys of Crete (P.Tebt. II 268), on the back of a re-used document (P.Tebt. II 340) is the exception that proves the rule.

The following notes are offered on readings, based on autopsy of the papyrus on several occasions in 2015. Among the many Greek fever amulets on papyrus, which remain to be systematically collected and studied (see in general De Haro Sanchez Citation2010, 132–41), it retains some remarkable details – chiefly the name and epithets of the invoked deity, discussed further below – against others, which first caught the eye of Goodspeed but can now be recognized as common to the genre: the “rebus” αβλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[ν?] (for the reading, see below) and its graphic deletion as analogy for the removal of the fever (see now Faraone Citation2012, 20).

1 αβλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[.]. The first line of the diminishing figure was

read αβλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[χ?] by edd.pr., and the tentative restoration of the last letter had become a certainty in the re-printed version of Preisendanz. The end of the line has obviously been damaged; one letter should have been removed from the beginning and end of that sequence in its repetition in the second line, a pattern repeated until only a single α remains in line 18, and the form ending in -μαρα in the second line establishes that one more letter should have stood at the end of the first line, which accords with the available space. Parallels establish that the text is a compound of two independently circulating elements, the first of which is the near-palindrome αβλαναθαναβλα. That analysis leaves ναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[…] for the second element, reminiscent of the more common ακραμμαχαμαρι (see Suppl.Mag. I 10.1 n.; for caution on any Jewish connection: Bohak Citation2003, 81), but like the latter beyond reconstruction as a palindrome. Rather, a more abstract and complex rearrangement of syllables is at work, perhaps at an earlier stage something like the nested doublet-triplet structure αμ αχ αρ | αμ αρ αχ || αρ αμ αχ | αρ αχ αμ || αχ αρ αμ | αχ αμ αρ. An appealing symmetry to bracket the second element as a whole could thus be gained with the restoration ναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[ν].

20 ταϊδα pap. The trema in the writing of the name of the bearer was omitted in previous editions. The first editors considered the name a psilotic variant of the commoner Θαΐς (Preisigke Citation1922, 126–127; Foraboschi Citation1967–1971, 130; TM Nam 5393), which is generally understood as a Greek name (LGPN I–IIIA, IV, VA–B s.v.), but there may be enough instances of Ταις, including with the stem Ταιδ- in oblique cases (though not yet in the accusative), to warrant analysis as a distinct, Egyptian name (TM Nam 4790): there is at least one other attestation in the Roman Fayum, P.Mich. VIII 512 ro 7 (Ταιν [accusative]; add perhaps Τα̣ι̣ [dative] in O.Mich. I 103.1 with Foraboschi [1967–1971, 305]); see also Preisigke (Citation1922, 406). If the etymology of the latter is Egyptian Tꜣ-ḥy, as suggested by P.BM Andrews 1.5, there is no etymological place for the stem consonant /d/, which will have arisen by analogy with Θαΐδ-.

21 The name of the mother was read Τα̣ρ[….] by the first editors and Τα̣ρ[αυς] by Preisendanz with reference to Preisigke (Citation1922, 416) (listing only Ṫαρєυ). The supplement was apparently rejected by Foraboschi (Citation1967–1971, 309), but on the original, Ταρα̣[υς] can be read with confidence, possibly with one letter-width of blank space at the end before the formulary resumes.

22–23 νυκτοπυρέ|τ[ο]υ [ἢ c. 5 -πυρέτο]υ̣. The first editors gave in 23 -τ[ο]ῦ […… ὅ]τι, and Preisendanz offered the supplement [ἢ λєπτοπυρєτοῦ], but the compound is unattested in amulets; compare, however, λєπτοπυρέτιον in the Kyranides (2.10.8–9, p. 133 Kaimakis) and λєπτοριγοπυρєτινόν in the fever amulets P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306.13–14 and 5307.9–10 (which the editor regards as an error for λєπτοριγοπυρέτιον; the same copyist produced P.Oxy. VI 924, which has been re-published by Maltomini [2015] with new readings including another relevant instance: λєπτοριγο{λєπτο}πυρέτιον, 5–6). The parallel structure among the rest of the members in the Tebtunis amulet would favor instead a compound describing the time of day of the fever's onset,

Table

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Parallelism then favors a -πύρετος compound mirroring νυκτοπύρετος in its initial element, and given the natural pairing of νύξ with ἡμέρα, the otherwise unattested *ἡμεροπύρετος “daytime-fever”, which would fit the space, is strongly suggested. There are no close parallels in papyrus amulets, but the pairing of night and day as times of onset is found in PGM XVIIIb.6 νυκταιρινοῦ τε καὶ ἡμερι⟨νοῦ⟩, already cited as a close parallel to the Tebtunis amulet by the first editors (see above).

The epithet παρημερινός, attested only here in ancient Greek to the author’s knowledge, also supports a new coinage. Late medieval Greek formularies for incantations and amuletic prayers offer further indications of a tradition of ad hoc pyretological coinages. The παρημερινός of the Tebtunis amulet re-appears in a Byzantine narrative incantation acclaiming how Christ “abolished every fever, daily, every other day, tertian and quartan and second-ian [sic: see below]” (ἐκατέργησεν πάντα πυρετὸν καὶ καθημερινόν, παρημερινόν, τριταῖον καὶ τεταρταῖον καὶ δευτερινόν: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2316, fol. 320v [Legrand Citation1881, 18–19; re-collated]). A list of symptoms for which help is sought in a combined prayer for angelic assistance and exorcism includes fevers of “nighttime or midday” (ἢ νυκτηρινὸς ἢ μεσημβρινός: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. II 163, fol. 69r, a portion omitted from the edition of Pradel [Citation1907, 21]), making *μεσημεροπύρετος “midday-fever” otherwise tempting here but too long. The qualification of fever as “nighttime and all-day” alongside “second-ian (sic), tertian, quartan”, expanding the ancient typology of times of periodic onset every third or fourth day, is found in another formula against “paroxysm” (παροξυσμός). After a compressed narrative of the crucifixion, how “the Christ was raised up, and the devil was wounded, and the man was crucified” (ὁ Χριστὸς ὑψώθη καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἐτραυματίσθη καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐσταυρώθη), the fever is adjured and ordered to depart (ὁρκίζω σε, ὁ ῥιουπύρετος [Ὁρίου πυρετός, ed.] διτταῖος, τριταῖος, τεταρταῖος, ὁ νυκτερινὸς καὶ καθημερινός· ἔξελθε: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1603, fols. 326r–327r [Delatte Citation1927, 554; re-collated]).

23–24. πατρο[c. 21 Κό]κ, edd.pr.; Preisendanz supplemented πατρο[παράδοτος θεὸς ἀκάματος Κό]κ, the latter epithet apparently based on ἀκάμ[ατ]ε in 19, but gave no justification for the rest, which would be the only instance of a compound epithet in πατρο- (let alone πατροπαράδοτος) in the magical papyri, though it can be applied to gods elsewhere (of Zeus Sabazios with respect to Stratonike, mother of Attalos of Pergamon: I.Pergamon I 248.49). The rarity of the divine name is at odds with an acclamation as “ancestral” (πατροπαράδοτος), nor is such a conception of the divine much in evidence in the magical papyri. Human tradition (“you are the god passed down from our forefathers”) is after all a less impressive credential than the acclamations of the feats of deities themselves common in the corpus. An epithet placing the deity in relation to an even more powerful, cosmogonic father suits better the conceptual world of Greek amulets in Egypt: e.g., πατρογένειος, πατρογενής (LSJ 1349 s.vv.) or

πατρογέννητος (Lampe Citation1961, 1053a s.v.), whether applied directly to Kok Kouk Koul or applied to the speaker as his offspring (sc., e.g., υἱός), removing the inconcinnity assumed by previous editors of invoking that deity and shortly thereafter claiming to be him.

Two later texts, one from Late Antiquity and the other from Byzantium, go some way towards confirming this reinterpretation of the πατρο- epithet and setting the mysterious Kok Kouk Koul in a clearer light. His name is not discussed in the first edition beyond the identification of a “deity”. In the apparatus to the PGM edition, Preisendanz compared an Egyptian divine name Χουχ, but the third element is left unexplained, and even for the first two the phonology is problematic: in Greek versions the aspiration is maintained with at least one chi. Faraone (Citation2012, 20 n. 59) considered in passing that the same sequence may be abbreviated in some Greek magical gems inscribed with three kappas, which relate to iconography of Herakles, but their expansion is never given by the gems. Brashear (Citation1995, 3590) identified a decan, an idea based on a misunderstanding of a source but which nevertheless points in a productive direction. The discussion of Gundel cited by him (to which add Gundel [Citation1968, 22], where the possibility has become a certainty) leads to a seminal text of Late Antiquity for both decanology and demonology, the Testament of Solomon, which mentions a suggestively named Kok Phnedismos (18.32), but it is not a decan, rather the name of a power that a decan reveals as the means by which the harm that it inflicts on humanity may be counteracted. This decan has nothing to do with fever, but rather insomnia; four other decans in the Testament are blamed for various fevers (18.18–20, 23), but neither their names nor the angelic and other means of counteracting them show any connection to the Tebtunis amulet.

Progress can be made in a different quarter of the Testament. The demon Lix Tetrax (7), whose name recalls the apotropaic Ephesia Grammata of the Getty Hexameters (SEG LXIV 830), reveals a conjunction of astral lore, occult names, and the pyretological tradition that may be relevant. The demon reports that it dwells near the tip of the crescent moon and presides over the infliction of the “semi-tertian” fever (ἡμιτριταῖος). The pattern expected in the Testament, in which demons and counteracting angels are paired, is eventually imposed upon this episode in favor of the angel Azael (7.7): it belongs to an angelological tradition that proved popular in later Greek texts, in which angels are assigned to concrete spheres of competence (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2018c, 111–112; Citation2024b). Before that, in what appears to be an older traditional stratum (7.6), the demon first offers three names that humans may invoke, whereupon the demon itself heals them. This recommendation fits into another distinct tradition, in which fever is divinized and offered cult (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2020, 75). As for the three names recommended by the lunar demon Lix Tetrax, βουλταλά, θαλλάλ, μελχάλ, their triplicity, and their common ending in -l in another version, βούλ, τάλ, θαλάλ (cod. H), recalls the Kok Kouk Koul of the Tebtunis amulet. Coptic magical texts give further, related triplets in conjunction with fever. Although that branch of the tradition made of the sequence a set of occult names for the three companions of the prophet Daniel, saved from the fiery furnace as analogy for the cure of fever (see in general van

der Vliet Citation1991, 236–239; Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022a, 152), no such connection need pertain in this earlier phase.

A moon-dwelling demon such as the Lix Tetrax of the Testament would naturally be counteracted by a solar deity, an aspect lent to Kok Kouk Koul of the Tebtunis amulet by his epithet ἀκάματος “untiring”. This description is particularly associated with fire in Greek epic (e.g., Hom. Il. 5.4; Od. 20.123), which resonates with the πῦρ-cognates applied to fever in this text. Nor need so specific an association as that with Lix Tetrax be assumed, as a lunar aspect to periodic fever may underlie a reference to the waning moon in the Kyranides as the time to prepare amuletic remedies against fever (2.47, p. 186 Kaimakis). A solar deity would in general provide an appealing opposite of the periodic fever, whose onslaught flags in predictable intervals. The poetic ἀκάματος is also rare enough in the magical papyri to support this association: the formulary Supp.Mag. II 87 invokes a deity under epithets including ἀκάματος, Ἥλιος “Sun” and ὁ προπάτωρ θεός “the forefather god”, to whom the unresolved πατρο- compound in the Tebtunis text might relate. Solar associations continue in the later tradition, as in the following formula for an invocation from a sixteenth-century codex in which “Sir Sun” (κὺρ Ἥλιε) is asked to take and banish the fever symptoms.

Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 311, fol. 124v

ἐσύ, Ἥλιε, κὺρ Ἥλιε, ὁ ἀνατέλλων ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ φωτίζων πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἔπαρε τοὺς πόνους τούτους τῆς κεφαρ[αργίας], τὸ ῥῖγος, τὴν θερμασίαν, ψῦχος καὶ πᾶ[σαν] λοιμικὴν ἀσθένειαν ἀπὲ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ἄγωμε, ῥίψατε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.

You, Sun, sir Sun, who rises upon the just and the unjust [compare Matthew 5:45] and gives light to the whole world, take these headache pains, the shivering, the fever, chill, and all pestilential sickness from the servant of God so-and-so, and go, cast them in the sea.

The symbolic opposition of the two luminaries is also co-opted for a fever amulet in a formulary recipe on papyrus, in which the astrological signs for Sun and Moon are to be written on the light and dark sides of an olive leaf, respectively (PGM VII 214–215).

An example of an ancient fever-fighting motif from the medieval Christian magical tradition, whose substantially unaltered survival from antiquity is relatively uncommon, may draw this excursus to a close. The text, transmitted among medical recipes in a fourteenth-century codex, has implications too for the history of such motifs in the vicinity of Tebtunis itself.

Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 299, fol. 507v

ληξοπύρεται ἐκ τῶν᾽ Ὥρου· στέατος κροκοδείλου, ἐγκεφάλου αἰθυίης, χαμαίμηλον βοτάνην, στράχνων φύλλων, λινοσπέρματος, ποταμογείτονος, στρατιώτου ποταμίου

μίξας ὁμοῦ πάντα καὶ λειώσας ἐπίβαλε ῥοδίνου καθαροῦ ἀναλόγως καὶ χλίανε ἕως ἂν λάβῃ βρασμὸν καὶ ἐάσας ψυγῆναι καὶ διηθήσας ὀθονίῳ σύγχρισον τὸν πάσχοντα λέγων· δέξαι τὸν ἱδρῶτα τοῦ Κρόνου ἐνβορρακαίθου κομφθηρίου· ⟨λ⟩ῆξον τὸν πυρετὸν τοῦδε ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρᾳ· λέγει σοι ὁ μέγας θεός, πρωτογεννήτου ᾽Ομβορόθου κρομφθηρίου· λῆξον τὸν πυρετὸν τοῦδε ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρᾳ.

Fever-stoppers, from the (works) of Horus:Footnote9 some crocodile's fat, shearwater's brain, chamomile plant, strychnos leaves, flaxseed, pondweed, water-lettuce, mix all together, emulsify, and add some pure rose-oil in proportion and heat until it comes to the boil. Let cool and strain with a cloth and anoint the patient, saying, "Receive the sweat of Kronos enborrakaithos komptherios. Reduce the fever of this (man) at the present moment. The great god speaks to you, (son) of the first-born omborothos kromphtherios. Reduce the fever of this (man) at the present moment."

The composition shows Egyptian textual motifs with direct phraseological debts to an Egyptian background, a rich stratum that would repay further study. There is a traditional Egyptian divinization of ritual substances with respect to Greek assimilation of Egyptian gods, here Kronos as manifestation of the crocodile god Sobek (see further below) suggested by the use of crocodile fat in the recipe. That Egyptian connection is confirmed more generally by the boast of proof by testing, the urge to conceal, the formulaic expression of urgency, the reported speech of a "great god", and more specifically by a command to "receive" a substance, which has parallels in other Greek magical papyri for similarly divinized substances involved in the ritual (PGM XXXVI 286–287; LXI 7–9).

The Fayum region, to which the Tebtunis amulet belongs, suffered well into modern times from high incidence of the malaria that likely underlies the periodic fever of Taïs (Scheidel Citation2001, 77), and it would have been fertile ground too for diverse approaches to the disease's symptomatic fevers. A natural ally would be the region's chief deity, the ancient Egyptian Sobek, equated with the Greek Kronos (Ronchi Citation1974–1977, 3:591; Kockelmann Citation2017, 1:173–179), and the honorand of the chief temple of Tebtunis. Kronos recalls a claim of the medical author Theodore Priscian, who cites an ancient conception of quartan fevers as daughters of Saturn (Physica, pref. §3, pp. 250–251 Rose), with whom Kronos was also linked; Kronos would then, not unlike John the Baptist in later Greek ritual texts (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2020), figure in both causation and removal of fever. He is appropriate also in his crocodile form, marsh-dwelling but admirably thick-skinned and unbothered by mosquitoes, if the ancients had any premonition of such correlations. In the Vatican codex the reported speech of a god who is himself "the one of" or "the son of" the "first-born" (πρωτογέννητος), justifying the preceding imperative, recalls again the Tebtunis amulet, where πατρογέννητος (or πατρογενής) has still more reason to be considered in the resolution of the πατρο- compound.

24. After this line, Preisendanz assumed a lacuna and restored another line, [ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ], a possibility already considered in the commentary to the first edition. There

is nothing to prevent the invocation from ending more succinctly after the ὅτι clause.

These proposals lead to the following text and translation:

αβλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[ν?]

βλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα

λαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρ

αναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμα

5 ναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμ

αθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαρα

θαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαρ

αναβλαναμαχαραμαραχα

ναβλαναμαχαραμαραχ

10 αβλαναμαχαραμαρα

βλαναμαχαραμαρ

λαναμαχαραμα

αναμαχαραμ

ναμαχαρα

15 αμαχαρ

μαχα

αχ

α

ἀκάμ[α]τ̣ε Κοκ Κουκ Κουλ παῦ[σο]ν τὴν

20 Ταϊδα ἀπὸ παντὸς ῥίγους· ἣν ἔτεκεν

Ταρα[υς·] τριταίου ἢ τεταρταίου ἢ καθη-

μερινοῦ ἢ παρημερινοῦς ἢ νυκτοπυρέ-

[τ]ο[υ] ἢ ἡμεροπυρέτου? ὅ]τι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πατρο-

[γέννητος? . . . . . Κο]κ Κ[ο]υκ Ḳου[λ].

. . . . . .

7 θαναβλα-: β corr. from λ || 19 κοκ´ κουκ´ κουλ´ pap. || 20 ταϊδα pap. || 22 l. παρημερινοῦ || 24]κ´ κ[ο]υκ´ pap.

ablanathanablanamacharamaracharamara[n?]

ablanathanablanamacharamaracharamara

lanathanablanamacharamaracharamar

anathanablanamacharamaracharama

nathanablanamacharamaracharam

athanablanamacharamarachara

thanablanamacharamarachar

anablanamacharamaracha

nablanamacharamarach

ablanamacharamara

blanamacharamar

lanamacharama

anamacharam

namachara

amachar

macha

ach

a

Untiring Kok Kouk Koul, relieve Taïs of every fever, her whom Taraus bore, tertian or quartan or daily or every other day or night-fever or [day-fever(?),] for I am the [one begotten by the father(?) …] Kok Kouk Koul …

3. PGM P 16 (P.Ross.Georg. I 23; KYP M440): Christian invocation
This papyrus was purchased in Egypt in 1897 by Vladimir Georgevich von Bok (1850–1899) on behalf of the State Hermitage,Footnote10 where it is now kept under the inventory number 5657. The first edition was by Zereteli and Krueger in P.Ross.Georg. I 23, where it was inexactly titled “Christliche Beschwörung”. This title, and a modified and partly normalized text, were reprinted by Preisendanz in PGM. The papyrus, however, lacks verbs of adjuration, and the communicative act is rather a sort of petition to the Christian deity (κύριος; mentioning also the τριάς, an ἄγγελος, and οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες) against a certain Theodosi(o)s who has behaved in an oppressive manner (τυραννικὸς τρόπος) towards the petitioner. Björk offers a partial, fully normalized reprint in his study of Christian curses (1938, 46–47 no. 24), and the text has been variously inventoried and translated.Footnote11 Since the first edition, however, no author has claimed to work on the basis of autopsy. A good digital image has been made available by the APIS project,Footnote12 and a collation of this image with published editions indicates that a re-edition of the papyrus based on autopsy would be desirable. Some preliminary corrections and notes on the text are offered here from collation with the image.

The writing is along the fibers, not against them as the description in the first edition might suggest.Footnote13 The assessment of the quality of the hand by Zereteli and Krueger (“ungeschlachte und ungeübte Kursive”) and Preisendanz (“schlechte Kursive”) is unduly harsh: the copyist appears to have been practiced and fluid in forming not only individual letters but also various ligatures (e.g., δι, 2; λϵ, 11; τρ, 1; υρ, 7), and to have been a frequent even if not professional writer. The fourth-century date generally accepted may be maintained: compare P.Gen.2 App. 1 (319 CE); P.Panop. 27 (323); P.Rain.Cent. 86 (381).

1. Preisendanz, following the first editors, places a chrism at the beginning of the line, of which there is no trace in the image; the text appears to have begun simply with the first ἁγϵία.

2. [ϵὔχομαι] has been restored by previous editors at the end of the line, governing a following τῷ κυρίῳ, but even if the text opened with a first-person verb, it is difficult to exclude ἐπικαλοῦμαι (as in PGM P 13 and 21), and the presence of a finite verb is perhaps not required if the point were to set the martyrs in some relation to the deity (see the next note).

3. An unusual nomen sacrum abbreviation κ̅ρ̅ apparently for a form of κ(ὑ)ρ(ιος) went without comment in PGM, where κυρίῳ was printed, after the first editors had mentioned

in passing (mistakenly) “κ̅ω̅ = κυρίωι” in their introduction; the papyrus has κύριε in full in 16. A parallel can now be identified in κρ for κ(υ)ρ(ίῳ) again for the deity in P.Berl.Zill. 14.17 (with Paap Citation1959, 102 n. 1) of the sixth century (compare also κ̅ρ̅ϲ̅ and κ̅ρ̅υ̅ in P.Rein. II 59, a codex of the Greek version of Exodus from the third century [Paap Citation1959, 22 no. 75; 102]), but aside from the restoration [εὔχομαι] at the end of the previous line, nothing favors the expansion κ(υ)ρ(ίῳ) here over, e.g., κ(υ)ρ(ίου) construed with the preceding μαρτύρω[ν].

The first editors’ reading τ[ὸ] ὑμῶ[ν πάθος ὁ] was also taken up by Preisendanz, understanding ὑμῶν as a phonetic spelling for ἡμῶν. The petitioner, however, elsewhere uses the first-person singular for self-reference, and the pronoun may rather associate the angel with the plurality implied by the opening address to the trinity (see also the discussion of 9 below). An oblique stroke above tau might represent a correction to ὁ, but a conflation in the forms of the definite article (τό for ὁ sc. ἄνγελος in the following line) would not be surprising in this text; there is a general parallel in the spelling τοἱ for οἱ among the documentary papyri (P.Gen. 12 16.22), although Gignac (Citation1981, 173) considers this form an “isolated blunder”.

4. Previous editors read κατεμαρ̣τ̣ύρ[ι ὅτι τηρ]α[ν]η[κόν], understanding κατεμαρτύρει and τυραννικόν. The latter is unproblematic in view of the spelling in 6–7, but the past tense is unexpected in comparison to ἔχει (5) and ἀγνωεῖ (3), and the image allows κατ’ ἐμαί̣ (for κατ’ ἐμέ, cf. the form of iota in ἔχει), yielding either a further qualification of τρόπον in the following line (for, e.g., οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ τὸν κατ’ ἐμὲ τυραννικὸν τρόπον ὃν ἔχει Θεοδόσις) or a separate summary of the petitioner’s situation (οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ τὸ κατ’ ἐμέ· τυραννικὸν ἔχει κτλ.).

5 [ὅ̣λα] τά at the end of the line in the first edition has become ὅ̣λα τά in PGM, but the image shows none of these traces, allowing space for no more than two letters after the final sigma of the preceding Θεοδόσις, which is also extended to the right. By itself τά (sc. ἐναντία in the following line) seems to suffice for the sense; there may be an underlying conflation of the definite article with the relative pronoun (Gignac Citation1981, 179).

6–7 τηρα|νεικῷ τρόπο[υ] has been read so far, but the image shows before the break a wider loop more consistent with the open left lobe of ω, favoring τρόπῳ, the grammatically expected form, despite the suggestion in the apparatus to normalize τυρρανικοῦ; elsewhere the ductus in the combination πο differs, with ο smaller in size and beginning well above the baseline.

7 βουήθιαν as in the first edition is favored by the image against βουήθια in PGM.

8 μήν should be printed (with the first editors) instead of μή in PGM; the following τήν seems to have been corrected from τον on the papyrus.

9 διὰ τῶν ἁ̣[γίων] in the first edition has become a certainty in PGM. This reading still

seems the most likely for the space (cf. also διὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρω[ν in 2), but it is difficult to exclude διὰ τῶν ἀ[γγέλων] or even μ[αρτύρων]. In any case, the preceding ὑμῶν in this line refers probably to the trinity (as in 3) and need not be corrected to ἡμῶν.

10 προσφεύγω [σοι] as restored by the first editors was also taken up in PGM, but the clause may have been complete with the verb, as the direction towards the deity is supplied in the following parallel clause, ἐπὶ τὴν ϣ̣ὴ̣[ν] ἁγιώτητα (11–12).

11 τακρεωβλεπω on the papyrus is emended to τακρέω⟨ν⟩ βλέπω in PGM, following the understanding of the first editors, but alongside the participle apparently assumed (for δακρύων βλέπω “I look tearfully”), a single compound might also be considered, which could be regarded as more faithful to the orthography of the papyrus. I have not found any attestations of δακρυοβλέπειν “look tearfully” or “through tears”, although δακρυοβρέχειν is on record in Theodorus Studites, Epist. 477.118–19.

13 φαυλων is the reading of the papyrus, for which PGM gives φαύλον (sic) with φαύλων in the apparatus as the reading of edd.pr. Zereteli and Krueger in fact printed φαῦλόν με in the main text, tentatively considering in the apparatus a normalization ὅσα φαύλων με ἐποίησε, with a note by P. Jernstedt suggesting Coptic influence through the idiom ϩⲁϩ ⲛ- followed by a noun, for “many”. Kapsomenakis (Citation1938, 119 n. 1; BL III, 155) proposed to divide φαύλον με ἐποίησά μεν, for φαύλων με ἐποίησέ με; this argument is reiterated in Kapsomenakis (1972–1973, 562–566; BL VII, 170). It seems possible to make sense of φαῦλων for φαῦλον (cf. αὐτῶν for αὐτόν in 17) as a simple predicate of με, without recourse to Coptic; the repeated με(ν) might add emphasis.

13–14 εποιησα.|μεναναστηνασον is the reading of the papyrus; the first editors printed ἐποιή̣σα|μεν ἀνασστηνάσον in the text and corrected to ἐποίησε· ἀναστενάζων in the apparatus; ἐποίησε | μεταναστενάσον appears in PGM, with μεταναστενάζων? in the apparatus. The image allows εποιησαι̣ in 13, as there are traces consistent with the bottom part of ι (if not an extension of a tail of α to the right): ἐποίησαί̣ | μεν (l. ἐποίησέ με), with the pronoun perhaps repeated for emphasis (compare the previous note). That division would leave ἀνασστήνασον: an aorist imperative ἀναστένασον inviting the deity to join a lament would be sensible but unparalleled, and we might think rather of a by-form of a causative stem of ἵστημι (the suggestion of Anastasia Maravela), in my view most likely ἀνάστησον “cause to rise (again)” in the sense of “restore”.

14. In place of κακ[ὰ ὅλα] in PGM and κα̣κ̣[ὸν ἐγώ] in the first edition, it seems possible, and preferable for the sense, to read from the image καὶ̣ ὧ̣σ̣σ̣α̣ (for ὅσα, as in 13).

15. The papyrus has διαπε⟦πε⟧ποθα, the correction by an underline taken by the first editors as a diacritic on a word in the line below (read there as παρώρα, but see the following note). It would be unusually elongated for an acute accent and seems to begin to the left of the vowel in question.

16 παρῶρα is read by the first editors and PGM. There is a hole in the papyrus after the second α of παρωρα-, but ink at its left edge cannot belong to the upright of the following κ: παρωρᾷς (l. παρορᾷς) seems preferable. On that basis μὴ παραστα[τῇς] may be restored for the parallel command in this line against μὴ παραστά[τει] as previously printed.

19–21 κύριοσς [μ]ό[νος] | θεός ἐ̣σ̣τ̣ι̣ ἐν [υ]ἱῷ κ[αὶ] | ἐν τῷ πατρί has been read by previous editors. The letter read as a second sigma in 19 is damaged, and although the mid-high surviving trace is somewhat more difficult for mu, κύριος μ[ό]ν̣ος removes an unusual termination, elsewhere in the text paralleled only before a vowel (τοὺσς ἐῶνας, 22). In the following line θεός is less clear on the image than previously presented, though it seems inevitable; ἐ̣σ̣τ̣ι̣ following it, however, is impossible, and the traces match πατρί directly beneath them, which the copyist probably anticipated here.

27–28 [....]σ[...]ρεωσ[c. 6] | [c. 9]ν....νος in the first edition is repeated in PGM but with the four unread letters in 28 set in square brackets. The image allows κ̣ύ̣ρ̣ι̣[ε] ἕ ως τ̣[ο]ῦ | ἐ̣ὢν τ̣ο̣ῦ ἐ̣ῶνος (l. τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ αἰῶνος). The additional vocative would align with the four-fold repetition of ἀμήν in the preceding, and the rest of the sequence can be seen as a conflation of two Hebraisms, ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος “forever” (e.g., Psalm 27:9, 88:5, 89:2 in the Greek version) and the even more common εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων “forever and ever” (Psalm 83:5 and, e.g., Revelation 1:18); compare also εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων “for every generation, forever and ever” (Ephesians 3:21).

The following text and translation can thus be offered; some other, minor divergences from previous editions are noted in the apparatus.

ἡ ἁγεία τριάς, ἡ ἁ̣γ̣εία τριάς, ἡ ἁγ[εία τριὰς]

διὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρω[ν

κ(υ)ρ(ι)· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγνωεῖ τὸ̣ ὑμῶ[ν]

ἄνγελος τὸ κατ’ ἐμαὶ̣ τ̣η̣[ρ]αν̣[εικὸν]

5 ἔχει τὸν τρόπον Θεοδόσις, τὰ

ἐναντία πέποθα παρ’ αὐτοῦ τηρα-

νεικῷ τρόπῳ μὴ εὑρὼν βουήθιαν

εἰ μὴν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τήναμιν κ[αὶ]

τὴν ὑμῶν μαρτυρία διὰ τῶν ἁ̣[γίων?]

10 καὶ διὰ τούτων προσφεύγω [...]

καὶ τακρεβλέπω ἐπὶ τὴν ϣὴ[ν]

ἁγιώτητα εἵνα βλέπω τὴν ṭήνα-

μιν· ὥσσα φαῦλών με ἐποίηϣαί

μεν· ἀνασστήνασον γὰρ καὶ ὥϣϣα

15 διαπέ⟦πε⟧ποθα παρ’ αὐτοῦ κύṛιε

μὴ παρωρᾷϣ καὶ μὴ παραστα[τῇς]

αὐτὼν ὡς προέφην αὐτὼν

Θεοδόσιν καί με ἀμελήσῃς

ὅτι μόνος κύριος μ[ό]νος

20 θε̣ὸς {πατρὶ} ἐν υἱῷ κ̣αὶ

ἐν πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πν̣ε̣ύ-

ματει καὶ εἰς τοὺσς ἐῶνας

εἰς τὼν ἐῶνας ἀμὴν

ἀμὴν ἀμὴν ἀμήν

25

κύριε κύριε κύριε

κ̣ύṛι[ε] ἔτως [o]ῦ

[vacat] ἐὼν τ̣ο̣ῦ ἐῶνος

1 l. ἁγία || 3 κ̄ρ̄ pap.; κ(υ)ρ(ίῳ) or κ(υ)ρ(ίου)? || l. ἀγνοεῖ || τό̣: l. ὁ (or ⟦τ⟧ ὁ̣?) || 4 l. ἄγγελος || τὸ: l. τόν? || l. κατ’ ἐμέ || l. τυραννικόν || 6 l. πέπονθα || 6–7 l. τυραννικῷ || 7 l. βοήθειαν || 8 l. μή || τήν: η corr. from ο || l. δύναμιν || 9 ϋμων pap. || l. μαρτυρίαν || ἁ[γίων]: or ἁ[γγέλων], μ[αρτύρων]? || 11 l. δακρυοβλέπω or δακρύων βλέπω? || in fine [σήν] edd. || 12 l. ἁγιότητα || 12–13 l. δύναμιν || 13 l. ὅσα φαῦλον || 13–14 l. ἐποίησέ με || l. ἀναστήνασον (< ἀνάστησον)? || l. ὅσα || 15 διαπεπεποθα pap., l. διαπέπονθα || 16 l. παροῥᾷς || 17 l. αὐτόν (αὐτῷ) || in fine [τόν] edd.pr. || 18 ⟨μή⟩ με PGM || 20 υἵω

pap. || 21–22 l. πνεύματι || 22–23 l. τοὺς αἰῶνας (τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων) || 28 l. αἰῶνος τοῦ αἰῶνος

The holy trinity, the holy trinity, the holy trinity, through the holy martyrs … Lord: for your angel is not unaware of the tyrannical manner in which Theodosi(o)s behaves towards me, the adversities I have suffered from him in (his) tyrannical manner, finding no help except God's power and your testimony through the saints(?), and through them I take refuge with [you?] and look tearfully to your holiness, so that I may look upon (your) power – how much he has brought me low! Restore (me)(?), and do not overlook, Lord, how much I have endured from him, and do not support him, as I have said before, him, Theodosi(o)s, and (do not) neglect me, for there is only one Lord, only one God, in the son and in the father and in the holy spirit, forever and ever, amen, amen, amen, amen. (Crosses) Lord, Lord, Lord, Lord, forever and ever.

4. O.Moen inv. 631: a composite finished product of scripture and drawing for erotic magic?

This ostrakon, which entered the private Moen collection from an unreported source, was identified by its first editor as a school-exercise, copying Matthew 1:19–20 along with crude drawings (Fig. 1).Footnote14 N. Carlig (Citation2012) has argued for a closer relation between text and drawing, that the latter's two anthropoid figures illustrate the dream of Joseph referenced in the gospel passage. Some particularities of the figures suggest an even tighter and more particular relation, when considered in the context of Matthew 1. The pose of both figures (see the new drawing above) is the orant one, consistent less with gestures of meeting between a superior (angel) and inferior (the mortal Joseph) than with those of two beings of the same status interceding before another, or perhaps of a now sainted Joseph elevated to the same heavenly plane as the angel.

Figure 1. O.Moen inv. 631 (drawing: the author).

Figure 1. O.Moen inv. 631 (drawing: the author).
Display full size

The gospel passage centers on a man who wishes to break off his engagement and an angel who dissuades him from doing so. Besides writing practice, or a broadly amuletic function as recently proposed for a partial citation of Matthew 1:20 in Greek (P.Mich. inv. 4944b [Jones Citation2018]), it would be a suitable selection for a less well-known but widely attested use of scripture: application in magic by way of analogy. The use of Homer set the stage in Graeco-Roman practice, and Christian scripture, especially but not limited to the Psalms (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2018a; Citation2021; Citation2024a), was later taken up wholeheartedly. Gabriel is invoked as the angel who overcomes Joseph's reluctance and "makes" him take Mary as his wife in a Coptic formulary recipe for erotic magic: "I adjure you by your power (…) and by Gabriel, the one who went to Joseph, made him take Mary as his wife" (ϯⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲕϭⲟⲙ (…) ⲙⲛ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ [ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̣[ⲁⲩⲃ]ⲱⲕ ϣⲁ ⲉⲓⲱⲥⲏϕ ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲉⲩϫⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ϩ̣ⲓ̣ⲙ̣ⲉ̣).Footnote15 The Moen text does not preserve any invocation or request specific to erotic magic, but the inscription

of these verses of Matthew 1, and not simply the gospel's first verse, is otherwise unmotivated and would find an appealing explanation in the aim to strengthen a marital bond or initiate male-female attraction. The inscribed and decorated ostrakon would then have been a finished product in a ritual, which could, for example, have been deposited in a ritually significant location (the home of the couple in question), or more specifically such that the targeted party would step on (ἐπισκελίζ ιν) or step over it (διασκελίζειν), as paralleled in Byzantine texts.Footnote16

The disposition of the figures on the Moen ostrakon centers them roughly beneath the phrase ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος "Behold! An angel!" (l. 4), supporting a relation between drawings and text. Carlig already noted a general resemblance to some of the drawings of angels in magical texts. The third figure, upside-down with respect to the others, is mounted on a supernaturally large bird and theriomorphic itself, with a bird's head, and hence could fit into the liminal category of supernatural powers with hybrid animal-humanoid forms also figured in the Coptic magical papyri.Footnote17 That the bird has letter-like signs on its body is also consistent with this broader tradition of ritual figures, wearing such inscribed garments or more abstractly adorned with Greek and Coptic letters, an example of which from a Coptic formulary of Late Antiquity is given above (Fig. 2).Footnote18

Figure 2. P.Brit.Mus. inv. EA 10434b (drawing: the author).

Figure 2. P.Brit.Mus. inv. EA 10434b (drawing: the author).
Display full size

5. PGM P 6c (P.Oxy. VII 1059; KYP M425): account re-used for Christian invocation

This papyrus, from the excavations of B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt at Oxyrhynchus, bears on one side a text published by A. S. Hunt in P.Oxy. as a "Christian prayer" and on the other the remains of a document, which was described there as "a list of χλανίδια with their values", two lines being given as examples. An image of the documentary side of the papyrus, which after distribution of finds by the Egypt Exploration Fund (later Society) to subscribers came to the Andover Newton Theological Seminary, then in 2017 to Yale, is published here for the first time (Figs. 3–4),Footnote19 as is a full text of the clothing-account. The first edition of the prayer has been reprinted several times (Schubart Citation1918, 371; Leclerq Citation1937, 1422), including in PGM, and it has also found a place in the checklist of Christian amulets drawn up by de Bruyn and Dijkstra (Citation2011, 200–201 no. 110) as "probably" belonging among them. The prayer certainly seeks protection, and patterns of surface damage are consistent with a single fold, in half along the vertical axis, which makes some sort of amuletic function likely – deposition in a house rather than carrying on the body, as protection is requested for multiple people – even if in combination with mnemonic functions. The nexus of Christian prayer(-amulets) and recycled papyri continues in P.Oxy. XVI 1928, a composite of Psalm 90 and the titles of the four gospels (κατὰ Ἰωάννης, καιτὰ Λουκᾶ, κατὰ Μᾶρκος, κατὰ Μαθθέας) on the back of a documentary protocol (SB XXII 15581). Re-use in the other direction is attested by P.Oxy. III 407 (Blumell and Wayment Citation2015, 325–326 no. 88), an invocation for help, mercy, forgiveness of sin, and

salvation in this world and the next (βοήθησόν μοι, ἐλέησόν με, ἐξάλιψόν μου τὰς ἁμαρτίας, σῶσόν με ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι, 3–5), in an ornate bookhand and titled with the label “prayer” (προσευχή) on the back in a more cursive one, below which a notation of an amount of money in drachmasFootnote20 and a quantity in λίτραι has been added. Fold-lines might once again indicate use as an amulet, but an aide-de-memoire for prayer remains possible.

Figure 3. Ex-Andover Newton Theological Seminary; Yale, Divinity School Library RG 305, front (P.Oxy. VII 1059 descr.) Account of chlanidia.

Figure 3. Ex-Andover Newton Theological Seminary; Yale, Divinity School Library RG 305, front (P.Oxy. VII 1059 descr.) Account of chlanidia.
Display full size
Figure 4. Ex-Andover Newton Theological Seminary; Yale, Divinity School Library RG 305, back (PGM P 6c; P.Oxy. VII 1059). Christian invocation (amulet?).

Figure 4. Ex-Andover Newton Theological Seminary; Yale, Divinity School Library RG 305, back (PGM P 6c; P.Oxy. VII 1059). Christian invocation (amulet?).
Display full size
Hunt assigned a fifth-century date to the present papyrus without distinguishing between the texts on front and back; Cavallo and Maehler (Citation1987, 50 no. 21a) place the cursive hand of the original document in the second half of the fifth century and the “crude, semi-cursive hand” of the prayer at the end of the same century. Excavation context might suggest instead the late(?) fourth century, which the accounting in solidi would not contradict (see in general Bagnall Citation1985, 16).

An alphanumeric sequence (B 5 J 19) has been added on the papyrus in black ink in a modern hand. It belongs to the series of processing numbers (see also §6 below for Oxyrhynchus and §2 above for a similar practice by Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtunis), related in turn to packing- and inventory-numbers, assigned by the excavators and reflected in part in the inventory numbers under which the Oxyrhynchus papyri still held by the Egypt Exploration Society are stored (and, beginning with P.Oxy. XL, noted in publications).Footnote21 The elements of the main series of the current inventory numbers, corresponding to a numbered tin packing box and lettered and numbered folders and layers of papyri packed within, can be recognized in the most common form of the processing number, a number followed by a letter followed by a number (tin box, folder, layer within). The significance of the present form is not entirely clear: the presence of other letters than B at the beginning of other numbers (e.g., P.Oxy. III 454: D 161; P.Oxy. II 260: E 373) complicates an explanation as the modern name of the site, Behnasa, as in the element B in the modern inventory number. A small group of proximate numbers, including one other amulet, may be gathered:

Table

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The presence of the processing number 5 B J 18 on P.Oxy. VII 1052 (1057), an order for payment on the other side of an account, both dated to the fourth century, complicates the question further: is the 5 to be understood as a tin-box number after all, and the B a suffix (i.e., two tin boxes, 5A and 5B in that season)? Both 1052/1057 and 1059 most likely come from the fifth season (1905/6), but the first, third, and fourth seasons are also possible, to judge from the limited information given in P.Oxy. VII.Footnote22 If P.Oxy. VIII 1109 (B 5 J 27) belongs in the same find-group, the preface to its volume, which is even less informative on the affiliation of the published papyri to excavation seasons, might strengthen the claim of the fifth season, as the latter is the only one mentioned in the preface,Footnote23 but it is a chronological outlier in the group, and no papyrus with an inventory number indicating a tin box number below 25 from the fifth season has so far been published in P.Oxy.

Especially if 1052/1057 is to be added to the group, and 1109 excluded, a fourth rather than fifth century date is more likely for 1059. The implication of amulets (1058 and 1059) among financial records already suggested by the pairing of front and back of 1059 is in any case noteworthy. Such a documentary context can be established also for the Tebtunis amulet discussed above (§2) on a similar basis.

The text on the front, written along the fibers, is given below from the photograph. Of this account of clothing, the top, left and right of a single column survive, with the bottom cut off in the re-use. It is of some small interest as expanding the descriptors applied to outerwear (χλανίδια) in the papyri: so far χλανίδιον has been found with αἰγιοπλάκινον ἄσπρον (SPP XX 245.4); αἰγιοπλάκινον ἀργύρεον (P.Eirene IV 47.6); αἰγιοπλάκινον κίτρεον (SPP XX 245.5); καθημερινόν (SPP XX 245.3); and ὁλοπλάκ(ινον) (SB VI 6570.3). If the reading σικελλε̣ι̣κ̣[όν] in 4 is right, one of them may be a Sicilian import (or imitation thereof).

1 χλανίδια τρία λευκὰ̣ [νο(μ.) .]ε

χλανίδιον λευκὸν .....ον νο(μ.) ια //

χλανίδον εν.....ιακ(ὸν) νο(μ.) ι /

χλανίδιον ἄλλο σικελλε̣ι̣κ̣[ὸν νο(μ.) .]//

5 [ ].

. . . . . .

1–4 pap. (νομισμάτων, νομισματίων) || 3 l. χλανίδιον || -ιακ\ pap.

Three white cloaks, [3]5(?) solidi

[New?] white cloak, 11 solidi

[One? …] cloak, 10 solidi

Another Sicilian(?) cloak, [..] solidi

1 [.]ϵ . Based on the prices in lines 2–3, the supplement [νο(μ.) λ]ϵ seems most likely.

2 .....ον. Possibly κ̣α̣ι̣ν̣όν.

3 ἕν is tempting (compare ἄλλο in the next line), followed by an adjective in -ιακός.

Some details of the prayer on the back (P.Oxy. VII 1059), which would repay closer study than the limited commentary of ed.pr. ("A prayer written in a rude hand and in illiterate Greek"), may be revisited after collation with a facsimile.

1 κ̣ύ̣(ριϵ) ed.pr. The second letter is too narrow and shallow for υ, by comparison to the two writings of μου in the same line; instead κ(ὑρι)ϵ , the expected form of the nomen sacrum, may be read, in which ϵ is written with separation between the two strokes, as in ρπἰς in the same line. The form κυ is all but invariably reserved for the genitive: Paap (Citation1959, 79–81) gives only three examples where it represents the vocative, including this one (no. 343). The overlines on κϵ presumably continued for the following θ(ϵ)ἐ, of which a scant trace is visible over epsilon; these features were not noted in the first edition.

3 Ἄννηα (l. Ἄνναν?) ed.pr. The fourth letter is too narrow for η and descends at left farther than usual for that letter in this hand; rather Ἀννἰα for Ἀννἰας, as the text seems most often to construe ὤψϵ (ὄψαι, from the ὀπ- stem of ὁρᾶν) with the genitive, more correctly Ἀννἰαν.

The result is the following text and translation:

κ(ὑρι)ϵ θ(ϵ)ἐ μου vacat καὶ ὑ ἐρπἰς μου

ὤψϵ Θέκλα καὶ τοῖ ̀ς ́τέκνοις

αὐτῆ, ὤψϵ Ἀννἰα καὶ τῆς δού-

λης αὐτῆς, ὤψϵ Ἀπφοῦς, ὤψϵ Σα-

5 καυων, ὤψϵ Διωνυσἰου καὶ τῶν

τέκνον αὐτοῦ, ὤψϵ Ἑλλαδἰου, ὤψϵ

Πτολεμέου, ὤψε κατ’ ὄνομα

1 as if an abbreviation || l. ἡ ἐλπίς || 2–7 l. ὄψαι || 2 l. Θέκλαν || l. τῶν τέκνων (τὰ τέκνα?) || 3 l. αὐτῆς || l. Ἀννίας (Ἀννίαν?) || 5 l. Διονυσίου (Διονύσιον?) || 5–6 l. τῶν τέκνων (τὰ τέκνα?) || 7 l. Πτολεμαίου (Πτολεμαῖον?)

Lord, my God and my hope, look upon Thekla and her children, look upon Annia and her slave-woman, look upon Apphous, look upon Sakauon, look upon Dionysios and his children, look upon Helladios, look upon Ptolemaios, look upon each one (lit., (each) by name).

6. PGM P 5b (P.Oxy. VIII 1151; KYP M420): Christian fever amulet
After its discovery at Oxyrhynchus and first publication by A. S. Hunt as P.Oxy. VIII 1151, this papyrus was sent to Glasgow, where it is now kept in the University Library. Hunt’s edition was reprinted in PGM and revised by B. C. Jones (Citation2016, 134–140 no. 17),Footnote24 and the text and its production have also been studied by A. M. Luijendijk (Citation2014) and P. Piwowarczyk (Citation2019, 269–272).Footnote25 Some notes after autopsy of the papyrus (11 June 2014) are presented here, after general remarks on context and content.

Luijendijk (Citation2014, 424), consistent with the emphasis in the title of her study on the “gospel” quality of the amulet, considers in particular the latter part of the text, how it “cleverly weaves together several biblical phrases”. The opening of the text, while certainly Christian, harks back to apotropaic motifs far older than the gospels, in an application of a richly documented pattern of commands to sicknesses to flee (φεῦγε) because of the pursuit (διώκει) of some higher powers (see in general Faraone Citation2018, 208–213). A novel feature is the expansion to include an acclamation of a feat already accomplished by two persons of the Christian Trinity, having forestalled (προέλαβεν) the evil spirit. Here the closest parallel for the phrasing comes among medieval Latin bee-incantations, in one of which the insects are threatened with the intervention of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob:

I adjure you, bees, little bees, God’s faithful: be afraid, do not try for the woods, flee (them), do not attempt flight. Let Abraham hold you back, let Isaac hold you back, let Jacob bring you back indoors, amen. Let Abraham follow you, let Joseph forestall you.Footnote26

Although the text is preserved in a fourteenth-century codex, it probably reaches back to a common ancestor in Late Antiquity shared with medieval Greek applications of the motif of pursuit by the three patriarchs, as in an address meant to force a fugitive to return: “Abraham pursues you, Isaac turns you back, Jacob overtakes you, and an angel of the Lord turns you back to where you wrongly departed.”Footnote27

The opening portion of the Oxyrhynchus amulet has yet to receive its due of stylistic attention. Although not literary, it too offers indications of the care taken in its

composition. As seems not yet to have been remarked, its first six lines present a rhythmic structure in terms of syllabic stress rather than vowel quantity, under rules observed in the liturgical poetry of Romanos the Melode from the following century.Footnote28 The pattern may be reconstructed as follows:

φεύγε πνεύμα μέμισιμένον·

Χριστός σε διώκει, προέλαβεν σέ ὁ υιός του θεού και το πνεύμα το άγιον.

An opening trochaic rhythm is followed by a dactylic rhythm, which appears even more strongly if an auxiliary accent is assumed on the first syllable of μεμισιμένον.Footnote29 The shift between the two schemata coincides with, and may serve to mark, a sense pause at the semantic transition between command and motivation by acclamation.

The arrangement of words and clauses also shows a certain artfulness.Footnote30 Chiasmus neatly mirrors the actions of Christ and the Son of God across the address to the demon in σε "you" upon which they are brought to bear: Χριστός σε διώκει· προέλαβέν σε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ "Christ pursues you, the Son of God has forestalled you" (3–5). The placement of the contrasted "spirits" (πνεύματα), abhorred and sacred, effectively brackets the opening six-line unit: πνεῦμα μεμισιμένον (1) and τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ι γιον (6). The composition balances doublets, in` ασαι καε πίσκ ψαι "heal and shelter" (28) and ἀποδίωξον καὶ φυγάδευ|σον "chase off and put to flight" (32–34), with triplets, in particular a branching structure for the core pyretological schema (34–38; on the terminology, see §2 above) that can be schematized as follows:

Table

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Among three limbs of symmetrical construction, the middle one is itself expanded by three qualifiers. The structural unity is reinforced by repetition of παν- in either first or second position in each of the limbs.

A tripartite structure also orders the text as a whole, which can be considered as three invocations:

1. Address to the "abhorred spirit" (πνεῦμα μεμισιμένον, 1–6)

2. Address to the "God of the pool at the Sheep Gate" (ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῆς προβατικῆς κολυμβήθρας, 7–14)

3. Address to Christ (15–56)

The last limb is also the longest, further bolstered by the citation of John 1:1 and 3 and a list of saints, a disposition consistent with the preference in poetic compositions across the ancient Indo-European languages, Behagel's "Law of increasing members". Parallel

structure also connects the second and third, with a scriptural reference followed by a request for the present time. The third limb then circles back to the first with the chiastic repetition of φεῦγε … διώκει (1–3) in their amplified forms, via preverb and causative suffix, as ἀποδίωξον καὶ φυγάδευσον (32–34).

Despite suggestive references to the intercession of saints with local cult in Oxyrhynchus, and a familiarity in the Christian community there with both scriptural means of healing and other apotropaic traditions, there is disappointingly little direct indication of archaeological context. An unexploited piece of evidence comes once again in the form of an inked excavation processing number (see §5 above), in this case 6 F 13. Around it the following small group of proximate numbers may be drawn:

Table

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There are no objective grounds for dating the amulet in the fifth, as universally done following Hunt, as opposed to the (late) fourth century: reference to the θεοτόκος, a term used comfortably by Athanasius of Alexandria and Gregory of Nazianzus in the fourth century, should be no obstacle, nor should expressions of devotion to saints, before organized ecclesiastical centers devoted to them happen to surface among the surviving papyri. The proximity to the literary texts P.Oxy. VIII 1098 and XI 1395, beyond potentially complicating the purely “gospel” milieu in which the amulet has previously been placed, also favors a reconsideration of the date to include the later fourth century.

Nothing in the preface of P.Oxy. VIII indicates the season in which the papyrus was found, nor does the date of publication (1911) narrow the field. Among published papyri from these excavations with “modern” inventory numbers, only P.Oxy. LXXV 5048, from the sixth season, reflects an original “tin box” sequence 6 F (or tin box 6 at all): namely 6/F (3–4), a literary bookroll (Xenophon, Memorabilia) of the second century, unlikely to have had any direct connection to the amulet. The Xenophon bookroll could perhaps be grouped with 1569 (6 F 12) and 952 (6 F 17) into a tighter chronological band, belonging perhaps in that case to a different season than the group to which the amulet and the literary texts 1098 and 1395 might be assigned, but such an argument runs a risk of circularity.

In 52–53 ἐπεκαλεσά|[μ]ην, silently corrected in PGM from πικαλ σά[μ]ην of the first edition (to which Luijendijk [Citation2014, 430–431] and Jones revert), is the genuine reading of the papyrus. In 55–56 ὑπε|ναντί̣ο̣ι̣ς̣. ἀμὴν + is printed in the first edition (without comment). The line would be unusually short. In an archival photograph kept with the Egypt Exploration Society papyri in Oxford, the ink can be seen to continue in the center, though abraded, making a vacat (as the typesetting of the first edition suggests) unlikely. Rather, ς̣ο̣ῦ can be made out between the two words, and the final letter of ἀμὴν has been extended with a flourish to the right (as in ἦν in 15), which Hunt read as the crossbar of a staurogram. In PGM P 1 a staurogram likewise begins and an ἀμὴν ends the text, without a following staurogram.

These observations yield the following text and translation:

+ φεῦγε πν̣(εῦμ)α̣

με μισιμένον

Χ(ριστό)ς σε διώκει·

προέλαβέν σε

5 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ καὶ

τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον.

ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῆς προβατι-

κῆς κολυμβή-

θρας, ἐξε λοῦ τὴν

10 δούλην σου

Ἰωαννίαν ἣν

ἔτεκεν Ἀναστασία

εἰ καὶ Εὐφημία

ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.

15 + ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν

ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος

ἦν πρὸς τὸν θ(εὸ)ν καὶ

θ(εὸ)ς ἦν ὁ λόγος·

πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ

20 ἐγένετο κ(αὶ) χωρεὶς

αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο

οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονε(ν).
κ(ύρι)ε Χ(ριστ)ὲ υἱὲ καὶ
λόγε τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ τοῦ
ζῶντος ὁ ἰασάμε-
νος πᾶσαν νόσον
καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν,
ἴασαι καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι
καὶ τὴν δούλην σου
Ἰωαννίαν ἣν ἔτεκεν
Ἀναστασία ἡ καὶ
Εὐφημία καὶ ἀπο-
δίωξον καὶ φυγάδευ-
σον ἀπ' αὐτῆς πάντα
πυρετὸν κ(αὶ) παντοῖον
ῥῆγος, ἀμφημερινόν,
τριτῆον, τεταρτῆον
καὶ πᾶν κακὸν εὐχῆς
κ(αὶ) πρεσβίαις τῆς
δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς
θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν
ἐνδόξων ἀρχαγγέ-
λων κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐν-
δόξου ἀποστόλου κ(αὶ)

45 εὐαγγελιστοῦ κ(αὶ) θεο-

λόγου Ἰωάννου κ(αὶ) τοῦ

ἁγίου Σερήνου κ(αὶ) τοῦ

ἁγίου Φιλοξένου κ(αὶ) τοῦ

ἁγίου Βήκτωρος κ(αὶ) τοῦ

50 ἁγίου Ἰούστου κ(αὶ) πάντω(ν)

[τῶ]ν ἁγίων· ὅτι τὸ ὄνομά

σου κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἐπεκαλεσά-

[μ]ην τὸ θαυμαστὸν

καὶ ὑπερένδοξον καὶ

55 φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπε-

ναντίοις σου, ἀμήν.

1 π̄ν̄ρ̄ pap. || 2 l. μεμισημένον || 3 χ̄ς̄ pap. || 5 θ̄ῡ̄ pap. || 6 π̄ν̄ᾱ pap. || 7 θ̄ς̄ pap. || 11 ἰωαννιαν pap. || 13 l. ἡ || 17 θ̄ν̄ pap. || 18 θ̄ς̄ pap. || 20 ϰ pap. || l. χωρίς || 22 γεγονε̄ pap. || 23 κ̄ε̄ pap. || χ̄ε̄ pap. || υἱε pap. || 24 θ̄ῡ̄pap. || 25 l. ζῶντος || 25–26 ἰασαμενος pap. || 28 ἰασαι pap. || 30 ἰωαννιαν pap. || 35 ϰ pap. || 36 l. ῥῖγος || 37 l. τριταῖον || l. τεταρταῖον || 38–39 εὐχε̄ς κ̣α̣ὶ Hagedorn Citation2003, 226 (l. εὐχαῖς) : εὔχεσθ̣α̣ι P.Oxy. (l. εὔχεσθε PGM) || 39 ϰ pap. || l. πρεσβείαις || 42–43 αρχαγγελων pap. || 43–50 ϰ pap. || 46 ἰωαννου pap. || 49 l. Βίκτωρος || 50 ἰουστου || παντῶ pap. || 52 κ̄ε̄ pap. || θ̄ς̄ pap. || 54 ὑπερενδοξον pap.

Flee, detested spirit: Christ pursues you. The son of God and the holy spirit have forestalled you. God of the pool at the Sheep Gate, rescue (10) your servant Ioannia, whom Anastasia alias Euphemia bore, from every evil. In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. All things were made through him, (20) and without him not even one thing was made that was made. Lord Christ, son and word of the living God, who has healed every sickness and every weakness, heal and watch over your servant (30) Ioannia too, whom Anastasia alias Euphemia bore, and pursue and make flee from her every fever and every kind of fever-chill, daily, tertian, quartan, and every evil, by the prayers and intercessions of our (40) lady the mother of God and the glorious archangels and the holy and glorious apostle and evangelist and theologian John, and the holy Serenus and the holy Philoxenus and the holy Victor and

(50) the holy Justus, and all the holy ones. For I have called upon your name, lord God, which is wondrous and surpassingly glorious and fearsome to your enemies, amen.

7. PGM XLIII (KYP M776): Christian fever amulet
The text, from a papyrus of unknown provenance now in Vienna (P.Vind. inv. G 335), was mentioned in passing by C. Wessely in 1886, before his first edition in 1893, giving a fourth-century date that has yet to be modified; an improved version was included in PGM on the basis of a new collation by H. Gerstinger.Footnote31 Corrections to PGM were later published by F. Maltomini (Citation2018, 115). To the few more corrections offered below after autopsy (10 July 2015) may be added the observation that the papyrus has perhaps been re-used: traces of ink in the left and right margins, which cannot be explained as offsets, may belong to a washed-out predecessor to the amulet. Although the amulet was not included in the Christian section of PGM and has generally been absent from discussions of Christian amulets (e.g., the list of De Bruyn and Dijkstra [Citation2011]), the conjunction of Εμανουηλ among divine names with the symbol α ω (middle column, 6, 11, 13), noted in the apparatus to PGM but not printed in the text, sets this identification beyond doubt.

18–20 Σα[βαω]θ | ̣λαπαπ̣α | [ ] PGM; line 18 can be read in full without loss of text as Μιχαηλ if the papyrus is turned upside-down. The following two lines seem to be no more than one, returned to the original orientation once again after a vertical vacat, for which another permutation of the α ω figure without the central cross seems the most likely.

25 (lower right) [δ]ι̣α̣φύλαξον PGM, reporting Gerstinger's reading of the papyrus as ι̣ι̣α̣πϋλαξον; φύλαξον ed.pr. Rather ἀπάλαξον (l. ἀπάλλαξον): the first alpha is written unusually high, to avoid an area of damage to the papyrus at the beginning of the line. What had previously been read as trema are stray marks.

26–27 Θεονε̣ι̣|λλα PGM; θεα|λλα ed.pr.; rather Θευ̣νε̣ι̣|λλα (compare Foraboschi Citation1967–1971, 138).

27 ῥίγους καὶ̀ πυρετοῦ, ἤδη, ταχύ PGM, reporting the reading of the papyrus as ριτος και υπερετουσ̣μ (…) ταχυ̣μ̣ (ριτοσηανταρετουσαιηδημαχιμ, ed.pr.); Maltomini pointed out that at least one complete ταχύ can be read, and preferred ῥίγος for what was previously read ριτος. Inspection of the original supports {ρι̣γο̣π̣υ} ῥ̣ι̣γοπυρέ̣τ̣ου ἤ̣δ̣η̣ ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ: a copying error due to a skip of the eye suggests the use of a written exemplar or formulary. The upsilon in πυρετ- is unusually formed: only the left half of the three-stroke form (Y) is present, then a horizontal stroke unconnected to it leads into the following letter, but this reading seems preferable to epsilon. The first ἤ̣δ̣η̣ is obscured by blotting and the second ταχύ somewhat faded but clear under a microscope.

The following text and translation, synthesizing these observations with the corrections of Maltomini, may be offered. The line-numbering of PGM is maintained for

convenience.

left and middle col. (↓)

[αβλα]ṿαθαναλβα Εμανουηλ

[βλα]ναθαναλβα Ασουηλ

λαναθαναλβα Μαρμαριηλ

αναθαναλβα Μϵ λχιηλ

5 ναθαναλβα Ουριηλ

αθαναλβα Σουριηλ α ω

θαναλβα Μαρμαριωθ

αναλβα Αθαναηλ

ναλβα Αθαναηλ

10 αλβα Ḭαω –

λβα Σαβαωθ α ω

βα Αδωναι

α Ελωαι α ω

Αβṛασαξ̣

15 Σι̣σι̣σ̣ω̣

Σφραγγης

Μιχαηλ

lower left (→, rotated 90 degrees counterclockwise)

18 Μιχαηλ

lower left (→, rotated 90 degrees clockwise)

19–20 α̣ ω̣

22–22 Γαβριηλ Σουριηλ

23 Ραφαηλ

lower right (→) (orientation as 19–23)

24 ἀπάλαξον Σοφία

{ο} εν ετεκυν Θευνυὺ

λλα ἀπὸ παντὸς

{ρι̣γο̣π̣υ} ρ̣ι̣γοπυρέτου ἤδ̣η̣ ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ.

6 Σ̣ουριηλ Maltomini; θΘ̣ ουριηλ PGM || 9 Αθαναηλ Maltomini; Αθανηλ PGM || 10 [Ι]αω with dicolon? Maltomini; αωη.. PGM || 14 Αβ̣ρασαξ̣ Maltomini; αβ̣ω... PGM || Σι̣σ̣ϊ̣σ̣ω̣ Maltomini; σεσεγγεν PGM || 24 l. ἀπάλλαξον || l. Σοφίαν || 25 l. ἥν

(left-middle)

ablanathanalba Emanouel

blanathanalba Asouel

lanathanalba Marmariel

anathanalba Melchiel

nathanalba Ouriel

athanalba Souriel (alpha-omega)

thanalba Marmarioth

analba Athanael

nalba Athanael

alba Iao

lba Sabaoth (alpha-omega)

ba Adonai

a Eloai (alpha-omega)

Abrasax

Sisiso(?)

Sphranges

Michael

(lower left) Michael (alpha-omega) Gabriel Souriel Raphael (lower right) relieve Sophia whom Theunilla bore from every fever-chill, now, now, quickly, quickly.

8. PGM P 10 (KYP M431): Christian exorcistic amulet
This amulet, from Byzantine Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis, now in Vienna (P.Vind. inv. G 337), was first published by C. Wessely (Citation1893, 65–67), and although the new collation again by H. Gerstinger for PGM introduced some improvements, scribal features were generally ignored, above all nomina sacra, for which the diplomatic transcription of Wessely remains the best account. The central exorcism holds considerable interest for the history of demonology and apocryphal traditions of celestial topography, which remains to be exploited;Footnote32 in the absence of a much-needed new edition, F. Maltomini has offered corrections (Citation2018, 121), to which a few more can be added here after autopsy (10 July 2015), following some observations on the physical disposition.

The back, otherwise blank, shows traces of a washed-out text, and a so far unique application of strips of papyrus in a chiastic figure with a horizontal strip intersecting the center (). The strips might initially suggest ancient reinforcement of the substrate,Footnote33 but the folding pattern – fold-lines visible in lines 11, between 22 and 23, and in 34 suggest folding from top to bottom – would have situated it in just the right place to appear on the outside of the folded packet. Hence it would have offered a fibrous counterpart to the paratextual addition of cruciform symbols to Christian texts.

Before 1 and 1 [ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐ|αγγ]ελίων PGM ([ ]ελιων ed.pr.), but the interlinear space would be too large for anything to be missing at the top. The folding pattern and the cruciform fibers added on the back suggest that the first preserved line was the first line on the original. The second preserved letter of 1 resembles no other lambda in the text, and a small trace of another letter after the break can now be read via microscopy, which is consistent with the lower right vertex of delta but cannot be reconciled with gamma. Thus the first line most likely began [ἐκ] δ̣εξιῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ [φεῦγε ῥῖγος τρι-], only one letter longer than the securely restored lines 4–5; the allusion to biblical passages like Matthew 20:21 would situate the patient in a blessed spot of privilege at Christ’s right hand, from which the fever-demons are

banned.

2 τεταρτε̅ον ἢ .[. The trace was omitted by edd.; κ̣[αθημερινόν] (see §2 above) and ἀ̣[μφημερινόν] (§6) are possible.

3]διδων is thus far unexplained. A participle δίδων seems out of place; I have considered [παν]διδῶν for παντοειδῶν (cf. χρυσίδην for χρυσίτην in 18), agreeing with the following πυρετῶν, but this solution seems hazardous where the text is broken.

4–5 ἀπὸ τ[οῦ δεῖνα, φοροῦντος | τὸ θεοφυ]λακτόν PGM; for space rather ἀπὸ τ[οῦ φοροῦντος | τὸ φυ]λακτόν. There are also better parallels for φυλακτόν as synonym for φυλακτήριον (see in general Lampe Citation1961, 1492 and LBG 1962): it appears in recipes for amulets in a late Byzantine codex (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3632, fols. 7v [Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022b, 1119], 282v and 357r [Delatte Citation1927, 573, 600]), to which an unpublished recipe in the same codex can be added: fol. 280v φυλακτὸν παιδίου, ἵνα βαστᾷ (followed by magical signs). A golden amulet is described by this term in a sixth-century list on papyrus probably of items in a dowry (SB XVI 12940.7, φυλακτὸν χρ[υσοῦν]), and φυλακτογράφος designates a producer of such objects (LBG 1962).

6 θεός PGM; rather θ(εό)ς as θ̅ε̅ pap. An overline also marks the following ϊσ̅τ̅ρ̅α̅ηλ, apparently as a non-Greek word; but the name is not contracted here as a nomen sacrum.

7 ἄνθρωποι PGM; rather ἄν(θρωπ)οι as α̅ν̅ο̅ι pap.

7–8 δ[εδίασι καὶ πᾶν] | πνεῦμα φρίττον PGM (φριττει ed.pr.); rather δ[εδίασι καὶ | τὰ] πν(εύματ)α φρίττου, with another neglected nomen sacrum (π̅ν̅α̅ pap.: compare 35 below), which suits the space better, and φρίττου for φρίττουσι perhaps by way of φρίττουν, anticipating the medieval vernacular form of the third-person plural.

9 νομα σμ[PGM, with ⟨Ἀ⟩σμ[όδιος] proposed in the commentary. That demon's name could also have been Ἀσμοδαῖος, but Σμάραγος "Smasher", among the daemonic enemies of the potter's kiln (Suda ω 251 = Hes. fr. 302.9), a fitting analogue to fever, deserves consideration too.

10 [...]οραν καὶ φοραν[is also so far unexplained. A sensible pairing of opposites would be (δια)φθ]ορὰν καὶ φοράν, with the latter in its sense "bearing" connoting fertility. Precise parallels are lacking, but an astrological forecast in CCAG IV 155 is broadly comparable: τῶν ζῴων ἔσται φθορά … σίτου ἐλαχίστη φορά, ἐλαίου εὐφορία. Does the demon perhaps bring on destruction (φθορά) and harm fertility (φορά)?

11–12. Parallels remain to be found for the frog-headed, wolf-footed demon. Demonic spirits in the form of frogs appear in the New Testament (Revelation 16:13), and the Graeco-Egyptian astrological tradition features hybrid decans and similar celestial

deities: a catalogue in P.Oxy. III 465 includes a human figure with vulture- and snake-faces and lion's feet (Nebu: i 12–20) and another with human body, lion's face, and crocodile's tail (v 15–21).

12–13 κε[φαλὴν ....] PGM. The recurrence of ὁρκίζω in 19 suggests against reading [ἐξ]|ορκίζω into the following line; probably rather κε[φαλήν· ὅτι], a common transitional device between the enumeration or command of demonic entities and their adjuration: e.g., PGM IV 395–396, κατάδησον τὴν δεῖνα (…) ὅτι ὁρκίζω σε, νεκυδαῖμον.

13–19. Preisendanz compares an originally Mesopotamian sequence of colors for the seven planets linked to metals, with reference to a discussion by Pradel (Citation1907, 82–83); add now Lumpe and Bietenhard (Citation1991, 178–179). Hopfner (Citation1921, 155 §613) connects the passage with the description in Herodotus (1.98) of the seven-colored walls of Ecbatana, supposed to represent the seven planets. These colors, however, fail to match the Vienna papyrus, and the emphasis in the latter is on the materials, not their color: note especially ελεφάντινος "ivory" in place of λ υκός "white", ἀδαμάντινος "adamant" without any direct color reference, and μαλακηκτός "mallow-colored stone" (for μολοχιτικός(?), from μολοχῖτις [Pliny, NH 37.114], with the same vocalic interchange as found in μολόχη/μαλάχη "mallow"). There is a heavenly topographic system that gives a closer result, as it includes primarily precious metals and gems: the Arabic treatise Al-miʿrağ ("The Ascent": Cerulli Citation1949) describes the progress of the prophet Muhammad, guided by the angel Gabriel, through eight heavens, iron, bronze, silver, gold, pearl, emerald, ruby, and topaz respectively. If an older origin is wanted, it would be better to look to the doctrine espoused by Celsus (and attributed by him to a Persian, Mithraic one) according to Origen (Contra Celsum 6.22): a heavenly ladder with seven gates, each of a different metal (lead, tin, bronze, iron, alloy, silver, gold), symbolizing one of the planets (Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Moon, and Sun respectively), with an eighth gate beyond.

14 οὐρανοῦ PGM; rather οὐ(ρα)νοῦ, as ο̄ῡ̄ν̄ο̄ῡ̄ pap.

19 [ὑμᾶς] PGM; there is a trace of ink before the break consistent with ὑ[μᾶς].

20 πνεύματα τὸν κύριον PGM; rather πν(εύματ)α τὸν κ(ύριο)ν as πν̄α̅ and κ̄ν̄ pap., this time acknowledged in the apparatus.

30 ἄνθρωπον PGM; rather ἄν(θρωπ)ον as αν̄ο̄ν pap.

30–31 μὴ [ἐν ὕδατι κακ]|όν PGM, but the disposition of the following lines (esp. 34–35 ὁρκί|ζω) shows that the right edge of the papyrus is nearly intact, with loss of a single letter at most and enough of a right margin preserved in 30 to suggest it ended with μή, as in the first edition. The articulation ὅν at the beginning of the next line then becomes inevitable and the syntax intolerable; probably a longer sequence of negations in μή has fallen out in the copying (not on the papyrus) after ν πυρί (as already suspected by ed.pr.), including but not limited to ἐν ὕδατι as in PGM, and culminating in, e.g., "not

anything contrary to the oath that you will make” (⟨ … μή τι ἐναντίον τῷδε⟩ ὃν ποιήσεται τῷ ὅρκῳ) or simply “not to do anything contrary to the oath” (⟨ … μή τι ἐναντί⟩ον ποιήσεται τῷ ὅρκῳ). The mistake may have resulted from a skip of the eye in copying (πυρί … ναντί-).

33 κυρίου PGM; rather κ(υρίο)υ as κ̅υ̅ pap.

34 ἀνθρώπους PGM; rather ἀν(θρώπ)ους as α̅ν̅θ̅ρ̅υ̅ς pap.

35 πνεύματα PGM; rather πν(εύματ)α as π̅ν̅α̅ pap.

37 ἄνθρωπον PGM; rather ἄν(θρωπ)ον as α̅ν̅θ̅ν pap.

ἔκθαμβ[ον] PGM (similarly ed.pr.). The papyrus is nearly complete at right, and the left part of ο is clear, so too the left end of an overstroke for ν, as in line 19 ελεφαντινο̅: here ἔκθαμβο(ν).

38–39 ἀλλοι|ωσείνη (l. ἀλλοι|ωσύνην) PGM; rather ἀλλοί|ωσειν (l. ἄλλοιωσιν) {ἤ}, the copyist having anticipated the conjunction after the following φρενῶν. There are no other attestations for ἀλλοιωσύνη, and the nexus ἀλλοίωσις (τῶν) φρενῶν is found in Byzantine authors (e.g., Theodorus Studites, Ep. 520); in a demonological context, a decan in the Testament of Solomon admits to “stealing away the wits and deranging the heart” (φρένας ἀποκλέπτω καὶ καρδίας ἀλλοιῶ, 18.30).

41 πατέρα κα[ὶ υἱό]ν PGM; rather π(ατέ)ρα καὶ υ̣(ἱό)ν as π̅ρ̅α̅ and υ̣̅ν̅ pap., and as Anastasia Maravela points out, space also favors an abbreviated [πν(εῦμ)α] at the end of the line.

45–46 κ[αὶ ἁγίους | ὅρκ]ους PGM. Before the break in 45, there is further ink after κ. The most likely reading for this curved trace is αι in ligature as κ, although the form is somewhat different from the preceding writings of καί in 41 and 42. There is a further trace of ink to the left of -ους in 46, and the gap before that is too large in turn for [ὅρ]κ̣ους, making [τού]τ̣ους a better fit, before which [ὅρκους] will have ended the following line, where, to judge from previous lines, the reconstruction of PGM is again too short. The sequence could still conceivably have run κ(αὶ) [ἁγίους ὅρκους | τού]τ̣ους, but [μεγάλους ὅρκους] also deserves consideration as the nexus φοβερὸς καὶ μέγας with ὅρκος is attested (Alexander Romance recension F, 48.8), whereas φοβερὸς καὶ ἅγιος is not.

46 κύριος Ἰησοῦς PGM; rather κ(ύριο)ς Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς as pap.

[κε λε ύε ι …] is printed at the end of the line in PGM (following ed.pr.). There is one more trace before the break that does not suit κ̣[ελεύει], nor ἐ̣[πιτιμᾷ], ἐ̣[πιτάσσει], or π̣[ροστάσσει] (compare line 5 above). The claim δ̣[ιώκει ὑμᾶς] would suit the context, an application of a motif common in apotropaic incantations and related texts in which a

command to flee (as probably [φεῦγε] here in 1) is motivated by a claim of pursuit by a higher power: see §6 above. The line-end would thus coincide with a complete thought, which does not however guarantee that the papyrus is complete at the foot. The trace also allows the expected Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ̣[(ριστό)ς] before the verb, but there is no trace of the left terminus of an overline for before the break.

The following text and translation combine the corrections proposed here with those of Maltomini; the line numbers in PGM are one higher in each case through the assumption there of a lost first line (see above). Other minor divergences are noted in the apparatus.

[ἐκ] δ̣εξιῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ̣ [φεῦγε ῥῖγος τρι-]

[τῆ]ν ἢ τεταρτῆ̣ον ἢ .[

[...]διδων δὲ πυρετῶ[ν

[...] ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τ[οῦ φοροῦντος]

5 [τὸ φυ]λακτὸν τοῦτο ὅτι πρ[οστάσσει]

[σοι] θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ Ισταηλ ὃ[ν οἱ ἄγγελοι]

[εὐλ]ογοῦσι καὶ ἄν(θρωπ)οι δ[εδίασι καὶ]

[τὰ] πν(εύματ)α φρίττου, πάλι[ν δὲ καὶ τὸ δαι-]

[μόν]ιον οο ̀ νομα σμ[

10 [...]οραν καὶ φοραν[

τὸ ἔχων πόδας λύ[κου καὶ τοῦ]

βατράχου τὴν κε[φαλήν· ὅτι]

ὁρκίζω αὐτὸ τοὺ[ς κύκλους]

τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ, τὸν πρῶ[τον .....]

15 τὸ δεύτερον ὑακ[ίνθινον, τὸν τρίτον]

ἀδαμάντινον, τὸν [τέταρτον]

μαλακηκτόν, τὸν πέμ̣π̣[τον .....]

τὸν ἕκτον χρυσίδην, τ[ὸν ἕβδομον]
ἐλεφάντινο(ν). ὁρκίζω ὑ[μᾶς, ἀκά-]
20 θαρτα πν(εύματ)α, τὸν κ(ύριο)ν ἡμῶν [....]
μὴ ἀδικήσεται τὸν φοροῦντα
τοὺς ὁρκισμοὺς τούτους, ἀναχω-
ρήσαται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, μὴ ὑποκρύ-
ψηται ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, μὴ ὑπὸ
25 κλίνην, μὴ ὑπὸ θυρίδαν, μὴ
ὑπὸ θύραν, μὴ ὑπὸ δοκούς, μὴ
ὑπὸ σκεῦος, μὴ ὑπὸ βόθυνον
κάμψηται. ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, ἅτιν[α]
ὠμόσαται ἐπὶ Σολομῶνος, μὴ ἀ-
30 δικήσεται ἄν(θρωπ)ον μὴ ἐν πυρί, μὴ ⟨ ⟩
ὃν ποιήσεται τῷ ὅρκῳ, φοβηθέντ[α]
τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ τὸ ἀλληλουΐα καὶ τὸ
εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ὃς ἔπαθεν δι'
ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀν(θρώπ)ους. κα[ὶ] νῦν ὁρκί-
35 ζω ὅσα ἐστὶν πν(εύματ)α ἢ κλέοντα
ἢ γελῶντα φοβερ[ῶς] ἢ ποιοῦντα
τὸν ἄν(θρωπ)ον δυσόνιρ[ον] ἢ ἔκθαμβο(ν)
ἢ ἀμαυρίαν ποιοῦντα ἢ ἀλλοί-
ωσειν {η} φρενῶν ἢ ὑπ[ο]κλοπὴν
40 κᾳ̣ὶ ἐν ὕπνῳ καὶ δίχα ὕπνου. ὁρ-

κἰζω αὐτὰ τὸν π(ατέ)ρα καὶ ὑ[(ἱὸ)]ν κ(αὶ) ἅγιον [πν(εῦμ)α]

κ(αὶ) τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγγέλ[ους] τοὺς [παρεσ-]

τῶτας ἐνώπιον τῆς [δόξης τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ]

ἀναχωρῆσε ἀπὸ το[ῦ φοροῦντος]

45 τοὺς φεβεροὺς κ(αὶ) [..... ὅρκους]

[τού]τους ὅτι κ(ύριο)ς Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς δ[ιώκει ὑμᾶς?]

. . . . . .

1 υϊ- pap. || 1–2 l. τριταῖον || 2 l. τεταρταῖον || 6 θ̄c̄ pap. || ϊστ̄ρ̄ᾱηλ pap. || 7 αν̄ο̄ι pap. || 8 πν̄α pap. || l. φρίττου(σι)ν || 8–9 πάλι[ν c. 8 δαι|μόν]ιον PGM || 11 in fine [τοῦ δέ] PGM || 13 τοὺ[ς ἑπτὰ κύκλους] PGM || 14 ο̄ῡν̄ο̄ῡ pap. || 15 ῡακ- pap. || 17 l. μαλακικτόν (μολοχιτικόν)? || πέμ[πτον PGM || 18 l. χρυσίτην || 19 ελεφαντινο̄ pap. || [ὑμᾶς PGM || 20 πν̄ᾱ pap. || κ̄ν̄ pap. || ἡμῶν: κακοῦν[τα] PGM, corr. Maltomini, suggesting [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστό)ν](?) in fine || 21 l. ἀδικήσετε || 22–23 l. ἀναχωρήσατε || 23–28, 39 ῡπ- pap. || 23–24 l. ὑποκρύψητε || 25 l. θυρίδα || 28 l. κάμψητε || ῡμ- pap. || ἅτι[να] PGM || 29 l. ὠμόσατε || 29–30 l. ἀδικήσατε || 30 αν̄ο̄ν pap. || 31 l. ποιήσετε || 32 αλληλουϊα pap. || 33 κ̄ῡ pap. || 34 αν̄ο̄ῡς pap. || 35 πν̄α pap. || l. κλαίοντα || 36 φοβερ[ὰ ἢ] PGM; φοβερ[ῶς] ἤ Maltomini || 37 αν̄ο̄ν pap. || l. δυσόνειρον || εκθαμβο̄ pap. || 38–39 l. ἀλλοίωσιν || 40 ῡπνω pap. || δίχ[α] PGM || ῡπνου pap. || 41 πρ̄ᾱ pap. || ὑν̄ pap. || 41–42, 45 κ pap. || 42–43 τοὺς [ἐσ]|τῶτας PGM; corr. Maltomini || 43 τῆ[ς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν] PGM; corr. Maltomini || 44 l. ἀναχωρῆσαι || 45 l. φοβεροὺς || 46 κ̄c̄ pap. || ῑc̄ pap.

On the right (?) of the Son, flee, fever, tertian or quartan or … of all kinds (?) of fevers … withdraw from the bearer of this amulet, for the God of Israel commands you, whom angels bless and humans fear and spirits tremble at – and so too the demon whose name (is?) Sm[… (?)] … wasting and bearing (?) … which has feet of a wolf and a frog's head – for I adjure it by the circles of heaven, the first […], the second of hyacinth(-colored stone), the third of adamant, the fourth of mallow(-colored stone), the fifth […], the sixth of gold, the seventh of ivory. I adjure you, unclean spirits, by our Lord [Jesus Christ?] not to injure the bearer of these adjurations, to withdraw from him, not to hide in this ground, not to wind your way under a bed, under a window, under a door, under (floor-)beams, under furniture, at the bottom of a pit. I adjure you, all that swore before Solomon, that you not injure a human, not in fire, not in ⟨ … nothing contrary to?⟩ the oath that you will make, fearing the amen and the hallelujah and the gospel of the Lord, who suffered on account of us humans. Now too I adjure all the spirits that there are, either crying or laughing fearsomely or giving humans bad dreams or terrible frights or causing blindness or derangement or beguiling of the wits, both in sleep and outside sleep. I adjure them by the father and the son and the holy spirit and the holy angels

who stand in front of the glory of the Lord to withdraw from the bearer of these fearsome and [great(?)] oaths, for the lord Jesus [pursues you(?)]

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Disclosure statement
No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes
1 T.Louvre inv. AF 6761; for an image, see https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010003436.

2 For panels with such tabs compare, e.g., the model coffin British Museum EA65372 (Thebes, 18th Dynasty; image: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA65372_1); and for the corresponding notches to receive them, e.g., the coffin-fragment British Museum EA46665 (Zitman Citation2010, 2:131, 216; image: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA46665).

3 The translation follows Horsley (New Docs. II 13); in Suppl.Mag. it is pointed out that a month-date is also possible, but no month name is included, and the age of the addressee has been focalized in ἄωορος (20).

4 “With the assistance of” on the title page; “these papyri were studied by Dr. E. J. Goodspeed, who deciphered part of those here edited and is associated with us in their publication; to him we also owe the bulk of the indices” (P.Tebt. II preface p. v). For an image of the papyrus, now in the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, see https://digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/record/231702.

5 “Student Travel Letters vol. 2”, box 48, folder 1, Edgar J. Goodspeed Papers, University of Chicago, Special Collections Research Center. For Goodspeed’s career and his involvement with Grenfell and Hunt and P.Tebt. II, see Hickey and Keenan (Citation2021); Todd Hickey is thanked for the reference to Goodspeed’s account of his work on the amulet.

6 On l. 21 in reference to the parallel in BGU III 956: “we prefer [Wilcken’s] original reading ἤτοι to his emendation ἢ τοῦ”; see further the preface (P.Tebt. II p. v), “the summer of 1906, when we largely extended and altered the commentary”.

7 Goodspeed describes receiving the papyri from Hunt “all fixed up in nice shape between sheets of papers, numbered and straightened out”: “Student Travel Letters vol. 2” (see n. 5 above), letter of 12 June (continuation of 11 June).

8 For an overview of the contents of the temple's library, see Ryholt (Citation2017).

9 If a human author and not the god Horus (compare the attributions of Greek magical texts to Hermes among the papyri, e.g., Suppl.Mag. II 72 [GEMF 4]), perhaps the Egyptian Horus of Mendes cited by Aetius of Amida (Iatrica 15.27; probably the same man is called simply Horus, ibid. 7.35, 101).

10 On von Bok, see Bierbrier (Citation2012, 66). During this second of his two missions for the Hermitage (the first in 1888–1889), whose focus was Coptic art, he also excavated in Middle Egypt (Sohag, Assiut).

11 See also De Bruyn and Dijkstra (Citation2011, 188–189 no. 35). There is also an English translation based on the text of PGM in Meyer and Smith (Citation1994, 50–51 no. 27).

12 Subsequently hosted at http://papyri.info/apis/hermitage.apis.21 (last accessed 16 January 2025).

13 It is first stated that the writing is "nur auf dem Rekto" but then that it "verläuft senkrecht zur Faserung und zur Höhenrichtung" (P.Ross.Georg. I, p. 161).

14 Ed.pr. Sijpesteijn (Citation1984) ("primitiven Zeichnungen"); reproduced in C.Illum.Pap. 325.

15 P.Brit.Mus. inv. EA 10376 (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022a, 111–123, text no. 2), 7–9.

16 διασκελίζειν: e.g., for erotic magic (εἰς ἔρωταν) in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2419, fol. 144v (Delatte Citation1927, 457–458); επισκελίζ ιν for use on a wife who has come to hate her husband: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II C 33, fol. 234v (Delatte Citation1927, 619). An incantation against "magic" includes a narrative motif in which John the Baptist and the twelve apostles confound seven witches (μάγισσες) whose activities include, in their own words, "stepping-overs" (διασκελίσματα) among other rituals (μάγια καὶ κομποδέματα, ἀντίμαγα, φάρμακα): Athens, National Historical Museum, Archive of Historical Documents, 210, fols. 68r–71r (Delatte Citation1927, 120–122).

17 For detailed discussion of some examples and symbolic interpretations, see Dosoo (Citation2018).

18 P.Brit.Mus. inv. EA 10434b (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022a, 157–168, text no. 5), 49; add now P.Monts.Roca inv. 980 (Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar Citation2022, 244–246 no. 1).

19 Diana Yount of the Andover Newton Theological Seminary is thanked for supplying

images while the papyrus was still kept there; it is now in the Library of the Yale Divinity School under call-number RG 305.

20 From a facsimile provided by the British Library, where the piece is now kept (Papyrus 1189), the reading ‚ηρλς′ seems preferable to ‚βρλς′ as in the first edition.

21 For the processing numbers, which remain to be studied in detail, see Zellmann-Rohrer (Citation2018b, 197–198).

22 P.Oxy. VII p. [v]: “The great majority” of the papyri in the volume are from this season, with “a few” from the previous two, and “one or two in the non-literary section” from the first season.

23 P.Oxy. VIII p. [v]: 1082–1083 and 1091–1092 are said to come from the 1905/6 season.

24 Also taking account of a correction proposed by Hagedorn (Citation2003, 226) in lines 38–39. Hunt’s translation is also reprinted in Milligan (Citation1922, 150), and a revised version appears in Meyer and Smith (Citation1994, 40–41 no. 16). Wessely (Citation1924, 193–196) (417–420) gives a French translation and commentary. The text is included in the checklist of de Bruyn and Dijkstra (Citation2011, 186–187 no. 21), and is mistakenly adduced among “Parallel attestations of the Lord’s Prayer (Matt. 6.9–13)” in La’da and Papathomas (Citation2004, 111–112). An image of the papyrus can be found at: https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/library/files/special/images/papyrus/0012rwf.jpg (last accessed 16 January 2025).

25 For an observation on a nomen sacrum abbreviation in the text, see Chronopoulou (Citation2020).

26 Munich, BSB, clm 7021, fol. 158v (Schönbach Citation1893, 29–30 with Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2025, 259): timete, siluas non tangite, fugite, fugam non tendite. Abraham uos detineat, Isaac uos detineat, Iacob in tectum uos perducat amen. Abraham uos sequatur, Ioseph te preueniat.

27 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2316, fol. 369r (Oikonomou-Agorastou 1982, 90 no. 248), Ἀβραάμ σε διώκει, Ἰσαάκ σε ὑποστρέφει, Ἰακώβ σε καταλιμπάνει, καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ὑποστρέφει σε ὅθεν κακῶς ἐξῆλθες. For another version in a fifteenth-century manuscript, see Vassiliev (Citation1893, 341) and Delatte (Citation1927, 626).

28 For a summary of the rules, see Maas and Trypanis (Citation1963, 512), and for the historical development, Lauxtermann (Citation1999).

29 See, e.g., Dewing (Citation1910, 418). An auxiliary accent is also posited for accentual rhythm in Latin verse: Wilkinson (Citation1963, 90 n. and 107–109).

30 Various features resonate with those inventoried in the dated but still useful study of Heim (Citation1893, 544–547) as characteristic of ancient Greek incantations: balanced clauses, isocola reinforced by anaphora and assonance, homoioteleuton, and alliteration.

31 Wessely (Citation1886, 187; 1893, 70–71); English translation based on PGM: J. Scarborough in Betz (Citation1986, 281). For discussion of the diminishing figure of the palindrome, see Faraone (Citation2012, 23–24). An image is available at: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00002489.

32 The address to the demons, and the invocation of the creator god as an example of Jewish influence on Christian exorcisms, are briefly mentioned in Bartsch (Citation1967, 56 and 62 respectively). There is an English translation by M. Meyer in Meyer and Smith (Citation1994, 44–45 no. 20); the text is listed in de Bruyn and Dijkstra (Citation2011, 188–189 no. 27). A more popular interest is reflected by selection for two public exhibitions, with catalogue entries by H. Förster in Henner, Förster, and Horak (Citation1999, 47 no. 36); similarly Ernst (Citation1996, 46–47 no. 20). For an image of the front (only), see http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00010485.

33 For some examples, see Zellmann-Rohrer (Citation2014).

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TM Nam = Trismegistos: An Interdisciplinary Portal of the Ancient World, database People, www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php(open in a new window) (see in general Broux 2019).
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KYP = Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts (https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscripts-search/(open in a new window)), cited by manuscript number.
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The Taylor-Schechter Cairo Genizah Collection at Cambridge University Library is the

world's largest and most important single collection of medieval Jewish manuscripts. For a thousand years, the Jewish community of Fustat (Old Cairo), placed their worn-out books and other writings in a storeroom (genizah) of the Ben Ezra Synagogue, and in 1896–97 the Cambridge scholar, Dr Solomon Schechter, with financial help from the Master of St John's College, Charles Taylor, arrived to examine it. He received permission from the Jewish community of Egypt to take away what he liked (explaining later, 'I liked all'), and he brought 193,000 manuscripts back to Cambridge, where they form the Taylor-Schechter Cairo Genizah Collection.

The storeroom where the manuscripts were stored by the community of Fustat was a genizah, a sacred storeroom. According to rabbinic law (see, for instance, Mishna Shabbat 16:1), once a holy book can no longer be used (because it is too old, or because its text is no longer relevant) it cannot be destroyed or casually discarded: texts containing the name of God should be buried or, if burial is not possible, placed in a genizah.

At least from the early 11th century, the Jews of Fusṭāṭ, one of the most important and richest Jewish communities of the Mediterranean world, reverently placed their old texts in the Genizah. Remarkably, however, they placed not only the expected religious works, such as Bibles, prayer books and compendia of Jewish law, but also what we would regard as secular works and everyday documents: shopping lists, marriage contracts, divorce deeds, pages from Arabic fables, works of Sufi and Shi'ite philosophy, medical books, magical amulets, business letters and accounts, and hundreds of letters: examples of practically every kind of written text produced by the Jewish communities of the Near East can now be found in the Genizah Collection, and it presents an unparalleled insight into the medieval Jewish world.

Alongside the T-S Collection, Cambridge University Library is also now the home of the Jacques Mosseri Genizah Collection. Assembled by the successful Cairene businessman, Jacques (Jack) Mosseri in the first decade of the twentieth century, these manuscripts were intended to remain in Egypt as part of the Jewish community's cultural heritage. However, after Mosseri's premature death in 1934 and his family's subsequent departure from Egypt, his eponymous collection disappeared from scholarly view until the 1970s, when it was microfilmed by a team from the Jewish National and University Library. Following discussions with members of the Mosseri family, in 2006 this 7000-fragment collection came to Cambridge University Library on a 20-year loan, where it is being conserved and digitised.

At the moment, over 33,000 manuscripts from across the Taylor-Schechter, CUL Or. and Jacques Mosseri Collections are available online. More manuscripts are being added on a regular basis.

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Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity - A Corpus of Magic Bowls

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Abstract
Since the first magic bowl text in Jewish Aramaic was edited by Thomas Ellis in 1859 there have only been just over 100 such texts published. Among the most significant contributors were James A. Montgomery, Cyrus Gordon, Edwin Yamauchi, Markham J. Geller, joined more recently by Tapani Harviainen, Christa Muller-Kessler as well as Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked. This dissertation includes text editions with critical apparatus for twenty hitherto unpublished magic bowl texts in Jewish Aramaic. The commentary contains philological analyses and comparison with other published and unpublished bowls, Jewish amulets from Late Antiquity, magical Geniza material, classic Jewish sources up to the medieval period, Hekhalot, and Jewish liturgy. Special features and differences between duplicate texts are discussed. A comprehensive glossary, lists of names, and photographs of the bowls are provided. The introduction includes a description of the bowls, a review of the main grammatical features of the Jewish Aramaic dialect of the bowls, a discussion of some other sources with which these texts share material and motifs and an analyses of the importance of duplicate texts. The limited number of bowl texts which are available for study means that many of the problems which have risen in the process of editing have remained unsolved. This new corpus includes a wide spectrum of material including rare curse texts, legal as well as liturgical formula, new lexical material and parallels to previously published texts which allow corrections and in some cases new readings. The occasional employment of other contemporary dialect forms as well as non-Jewish motifs expose the world of magical practice in Late Antiquity to have been fertile ground for cross cultural exchanges.

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Preface

The *Denkard* is a ninth century encyclopedia of Zoroastrianism, but with extensive quotations from materials thousands of years older, including (otherwise) lost Avestan texts. It is the single most valuable source of information on the Zoroastrian religion aside from the Avesta itself. It was edited by Ādurbād Ēmēdān.

The work of publishing a complete edition of the Pahlavi text, with translations into Gujarati and English, was undertaken by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana (1828-98), and completed by his son Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana (1857-1931). Both were prominent Zoroastrian head-priests, and among the best Pahlavi authorities of their time.

Unfortunately, this masterpiece has been largely neglected. Copies of it are extremely rare, fragile, and voluminous, running to nineteen volumes. In making this edition available to a wider audience, I have confined it to the English translations, and frequent valuable footnotes.

I have taken the liberty to normalize the spelling in this edition, in order to be consistent with other documents in this series, and to facilitate searches. Wherever possible I have used the spellings of F.M. Kotwal and J. Boyd, *A Guide to the Zoroastrian Religion,* Scholars Press, 1982. Comments set in [], or marked "-JHP" have been added by me, mainly to facilitate searches.

NOTE: Books 1 and 2, and the beginning of Book 3 are lost.

Translation of the Gujarati preface.

The Denkard is one of the oldest, most reliable and valuable of the Pahlavi works that have been preserved by the Zoroastrian community. It contains some of the most exalted precepts of the Mazdayasnian religion; as also a life of Zoroaster, a history of the Zoroastrian religion, and much valuable instruction regarding this and the next world. Each and all of the subjects comprised in it are worthy the attention of Zoroastrians. But the style in which it is written is neither so smooth nor so simple as that of other Pahlavi works. Moreover, the subjects treated of are uncommon and difficult to understand. The task, therefore, of deciphering and understanding the work, is one of no ordinary difficulty; especially when one has to depend upon what his own individual efforts can accomplish. To give some idea of the difficulties that have had to be faced in carrying out the present undertaking it is enough to state that although a century nearly has elapsed since the Denkard was brought to this country from Persia, no Pahlavi scholar has as yet ventured to translate the work, with the exception of one or two of the subjects included in it.

The present respected Trustees of the religious and charitable funds of the Zoroastrian community of Bombay having highly approved of a suggestion made to them for publishing a translation of the Denkard, I was requested to undertake the work, under the patronage and support of the "Sir Jamsetjee Jijeebhoy Translation Fund." The present volume is the result of this arrangement, and is one of a number of similar other volumes which it is hoped will be published hereafter. This first installment is, with the approval of the Trustees, divided into the four following parts: –

1. The original Pahlavi text.
2. The same transliterated in Zand characters.
3. Gujarati and English translation of same.
4. A glossary of select terms.

Although every possible effort has been made to avoid errors and defects, yet looking to the great difficulty of translating the work, I cannot venture to hope that it is entirely free from them.

I may mention that the Denkard does not appear to have been written either at one time or by one person: the different parts bear evidence of having been written at different times. The work appears to have been first composed, under its present name, in the time of the Kayanian King Vishtasp, the son of Lohrasp, by the principal disciple of our prophet, the holy Zoroaster; and, under his particular direction; and copies of it were, by the orders of King Vishtasp,

distributed among the people, while the original work was placed in the royal library, and a copy of it was preserved in the "Déjé napésté"[1] The original work was found in the royal library by Alexander the Great when he invaded the capital of Persia. When King Ardashir Babagan of the Sasanian dynasty came to rule over Persia, he collected the scattered fragments of the work, and entrusted them, along with other religious works, to a learned Dastur, named Tosré [Tosar], by whom they were, after examination and inquiries, arranged in the original order. Copies of this work were then, by the royal command, distributed among the people. Subsequently, additions were made to it by the light of other religious works, by Dastur Adur-Farnbag son of Farokhvzat.[2]

From the account given at the end of the Denkard, it appears that the original Ms. of the High Priest Adur-Farnbag son of Farokhvzat was obtained, at the time of the fall of the Zoroastrian empire, from a descendant of his, by Dastur Adarbad, the son of A'dmit. Dastur Adarbad A'dmit seems to have carefully copied out the Ms. A copy of this copy was in the year 359 of Yazdegird taken by Dastur Mahávandád Ramiáné Béhrám. Copies in succession of the last mentioned copy were made till one of them made by Dastur Rustam Gushtasp Ardésar was, about a hundred years ago brought to Surat, by Mulla Behman the son of Mulla Behram, and, by him presented to Shet Aspandiarshah the son of Ratanjishah of that place.[3] A copy of this Ms. was caused to be made by Shet Aspandiarshah in the year 1156 of Yazdegird and by him sent to Messrs. Nanabhai Behramji, Manekji Navrozji Wadiaji, Behramji Navrozji Wadiaji, and Dadabhai Noserwanji, the then elders of the Parsi community of Bombay. This copy is now in my possession in the library of Dastur Edalji Darabji Sanjana.

The text of the present edition has been published after carefully collating the four following Mss.–

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1 This was the name of a magnificent building erected at Istkhar by King Vishtasp for preserving works relating to the Zoroastrian religion.

2 This account of the Denkard is taken from the history of the book which is to be found about the middle of it.

3 This copy was, through the kindness of my late friend Dastur Ardesarji Rustamji Mulla Firozeji, in my possession for about a year. I have compared it with the one in the library of Dastur Edalji Darabji Sanjana which is now in my possession. Portions of the Surat copy were found to be abstracted by some designing person. Five of such portions, together with Ms. No. 3, hereafter mentioned, have been kindly sent to me, for use in the present undertaking, by my friend Dastur Rustomji Kekobadji from the library of Kekobadji Rustamji Meharjirana, late Head Priest of Nowsari. Copies of the other portions also have been obtained by me through the kindness of one or two other friends.

1. Ms found in the library of Dastur Edalji Darabji Sanjana, late head priest of the Shahanshahi Zoroastrians of Bombay.
2. Ms. copy in the handwriting of the late Dastur Temulji Navrozji Sanjana made at Surat.
3. Ms. copy in the handwriting of Rustamji Noserwanji Meharjirana, Head Priest of Nowsari.
4. Ms. copy found in the library of Mobed Minochehrji Jamaspji Wachhchha.[4]

Where different lections occur, the first of these Mss. is referred to by the initials D. E., (Dastur Edalji); the second by D. T. (Dastur Temulji); the third by D. R. (Dastur Rustamji) and the fourth by M. M. (Mobed Minochehrji).

In giving the pronunciation of Pahlavi words, every word of Semitic origin has been compared with its root and the pronunciation based thereupon. These pronunciations resemble those of the Pahlavi words written in Pahlavi characters in the Máliknámé Asúri, but do not resemble the corresponding Pahlavi words written underneath in Zand characters. The reason of this, I now think to be that, in former times our people, although they used Semitic words in Pahlavi writings, yet in reading them they did not pronounce them as in the original, but instead, read as if the corresponding Iranian Pahlavi words had been written. In proof of this assertion the Pahlavi works and essays which have been translated by Neriosang Dhawal and his predecessors, giving the pronunciation of the text in Zand characters, may be cited. Thus the practice of reading Semitic words as pronounced originally being discontinued, the recollection of the proper pronunciation gradually faded away. The author of the Máliknámé Asúri in compiling a glossary of words of Semitic origin used in the Pahlavi language, attempted to restore the original pronunciation, by writing the words correctly in Pahlavi characters and giving their meanings in Persian equivalents. But as the correct pronunciation was generally forgotten and as Pahlavi characters glide into, and are mistaken for, one another, an attempt was made, at a date long subsequent, to fix the pronunciation, by writing down under the words in Pahlavi characters in the Máliknámé Asúri, their pronunciation in Zand characters. The same reasons, however, that rendered the transliteration necessary; affected its accuracy; but, the pronunciation having been thus fixed, has been adopted up to the present time. The necessity, under the circumstances, of a return to

4 This copy has been kindly lent to me by my friend Mobed Minochehrji Jamaspji Wachhchha. It appears to me to be a careful transcript of the Ms. of Dastur Rustam Gustasp made by the late Mobed Jamaspji Faredunji Wachhchha. The second and third Mss. appear to have been transcribed about half a century ago or upwards.

the correct mode being obvious, I have endeavored in this work to give the proper pronunciation.

Drs. Frederick Spiegel, Martin Haug, Ferdinand Justi, and other learned scholars of Europe have, after much research and labor, given the pronunciation of Semitic words employed in Pahlavi writings: but they do not agree with each other. The labors and researches in this direction of Dr. Haug, who is well known in Bombay for his learning, are deserving of high commendation, and the pronunciations given by him are to a great extent correct and accurate. Still in giving the pronunciation of Semitic words in this work, I have not ventured to depend upon the labors of these learned men; but have fixed both the pronunciation and the meaning of each Semitic word after a careful comparison of it with cognate Hebrew, Chaldaic, Samaritan, Syriac and Arabic roots. Where, however, I failed to discover a reliable root in any of the above languages, I have based the pronunciation on the current mode. Again, certain Semitic letters have undergone a change in Pahlavi: these are pronounced in the form in which they are found. Of the Iranian words used in Pahlavi, the pronunciation of 't' is represented by t, T, d, and D, and others: of these, instead of 'd' I have invariably substituted 't': the pronunciation 'd' being only used to represent [~]. Where any word or phrase, or letter, has appeared to me to have been left out in transcription I have supplied it, putting it in brackets thus:– ( ). As regards the pronunciation of words of Iranian origin, where the pronunciation of Pahlavi words derived from the Zand is altered from the original owing to mistakes arising from the similarity of form of the letters of the alphabet, I have restored the correct pronunciation, after comparing the word with its original Zand root. On finally looking over the proofs I find that some of the more common words of Semitic origin have from oversight been omitted from the glossary: these will be inserted in the next volume.

The first three pages of the Denkard have been lost. The present work, therefore, commences with the fourth. The next nine pages of the original Ms. having been in places eaten away by moths, suitable places have been left in the Ms. which was brought to Surat from Persia, and in the other Mss. which have been copied therefrom. Similar spaces have been left in the text published in this volume. For facility of reference I have numbered each succeeding subject in the book, commencing from the third question, in Persian numerals; the same numerals being affixed to the transliteration and the translations. The translation commences with the seventh subject numbered as above; as, owing to the portions of the preceding text being lost for the reason mentioned above, it was impossible to

translate it in an intelligible manner. The figures in Gujarati and English on the margin of; the text, the transliteration, and the translations, represent the paragraphs or sections into which the text is divided. All the Semitic words occurring in the text, are inserted in the glossary: of words of Iranian origin, the most important and unusual only are introduced.

In the Gujarati translation I have followed the structure of the Pahlavi language, so as to reproduce, as far as possible, the style of the original text. This will, no doubt, render the translation rather difficult reading; but my object has been to make it useful to those engaged in the study of the Pahlavi language. The English translation has been made by Mr. Ratanshah Erachshah Kohiyar from the Gujarati.

In conclusion I beg to tender my thanks to those of my friends who have assisted me in carrying out this undertaking; as also to those who have supported it by subscribing for copies of the work.

1. PESHOTUN DUSTOOR BEHRAMJEE SUNJANA.

Bombay, the 19th day of the 9th month of the year 1243 *of Yazdegird.*

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

The English translation is a version of the Gujarati. It is strictly literal as regards the text, but the preface and the notes have been more freely rendered. A less severe rendering of the text, while it would have lessened the difficulty of the task, would also have enabled the translator to avoid the inelegance, and, in places, perhaps, the uncouthness, of language so disagreeable to the general reader. But it was feared that such a translation would not have suited the requirements of the student of Pahlavi: nor would it have brought out prominently peculiarities of thought and language.

The translator has been assured that the Gujarati version is strictly literal.

RATANSHAH E. KOHIYÁR.

Preface to the English translation of the Seventh Volume (chapters 275-361).

The following translation is from the Gujarati version of the original Pahlavi text by the learned Dastur. The original being an obscure work treating of metaphysical subjects, its translation must

necessarily partake of this obscurity to a certain extent. My translation being based on a text itself a translation may not be found to coincide very closely in certain places with the original text. The reader is requested to bear this in mind while perusing the following pages.

- R. P. KARKARIA.

THE DENKARD. BOOK 3.

[First 3 pages are lost.]

25. Twelve questions asked by an Ashmogh (apostate)

...

QUESTION 9.

Again Ashmogh[5] asked:- Are what are (called) Manthra[6] in the nature of traditions?[7] (because) they are all told by Ohrmazd to Zartosht in the words[8] of Frashostar, Jamasp,[9] Hom and the yazads, and in those of persons born before Zartosht, and after Dayun:[10] hence, our opinion is, that the speaking of Ohrmazd to Zartosht is the hymns of the *Gathas*, and that the rest is composed by Zartosht and his disciples from traditions, but that by good faith having been placed therein it has been considered as appertaining to religion.

ANSWER.

Be it known (that other)[11] Manthra as they are different from the Gathas, (in structure of language) so they also differ from them in testimony as to higher (things): still, they are founded upon the hymn

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5 Ashmogh, – this word is derived from the word ashemaogha, frequently used in the *Avesta*, which means "hinderer of purity." Hence, it is applied, among the followers of Zarathushtra to persons who throw obstructions in the way of religion and create dissensions in the community and between individuals. The individual putting the above and other questions is called Ashmogh by the High priest to whom they were addressed.

6 The *Avesta* is divided into three parts:– Gatha, Dateh, and Manthra. The Gathas are written in verse, and treat of the invisible world. The Dateh are written in prose and contain rules for the conduct of men in this world. In the Manthra are comprised the ordinary prayers, which are the means by which men commune with their Maker. They contain an account of the Creator and of the forces of nature created by Him: as also, moral and religious precepts.

7 Meaning, human compositions, as opposed to divine revelations.

8 i. e. using these several individuals as his mouth pieces.

9 Frashostar and Jamasp were the sons of Habub and the disciples and sons-in-law of Zartosht. The latter was also prime minister to Vishtasp, while the former was the head of a college for imparting religious instruction to priests, established by Vishtasp.

10 Some account of this famous person occurs in a subsequent portion of the Denkard, where it is said that he was born two hundred years after Zartosht and lived one hundred years.

11 *i.e.* other than the Gathas. Besides its restricted meaning, Manthra is used in a general sense, as including all the three divisions mentioned before.

of Yatha ahu vairyo,[12] and, in them mention is made of the power of omniscience of God himself and of the Creation. Therefore, no portion of them is (composed) by the wisdom of man and they could not be composed from a number of current traditions. If, the Manthra, communicated to Zartosht in this manner in the form of a dialogue, be not all from Ohrmazd, and, by their being communicated in the voice of different persons, Ohrmazd is concluded not to be their promulgator, then it would follow, that whatever revelations have been made in them, by Ohrmazd to Zartosht, about Zartosht and other good and evil persons, as also about the daevas and even the Ganamino, must have been made by the Ganamino and the daevas; and Manthra and Dateh, which are removers-away of the daevas,[13] must be considered as declared by the daevas. Therefore, the communicating of the Manthra, by Ohrmazd to Zartosht, in the voice of many (persons) is, for the purpose that complete knowledge might be conveyed from Ohrmazd to Zartosht: and that is not fit to take objection to. Just as the Gathas are all told by Ohrmazd to Zartosht, and are in the voices of Zartosht, the Amahraspands, the Goshorun, and other yazads: and, that they are all told by Ohrmazd to Zartosht, about that, you have no objection to take. But it is owing to the (natural) disposition of an Ashmogh that he should have evil thoughts about and inverted vision of, scriptures, that have reference to protection by Ohrmazd.

QUESTION 10.

Ashmogh put the question: Why do you call it a sin to burn green wood on the fire? It is not (a sin).

ANSWER.

Be it known that, green wood being placed upon the fire, by reason of the fire becoming extinguished owing to its moisture and of its (the fire's) being improperly put to the hardship of drying that wood, we call it a sin. But that the reason of it should appear worthless and like dust to Ashmoghs is owing to their habit.

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12 According to the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion God first made the Ahunwar or 'Yatha ahu vairyo,' which is in the form of a Gatha or hymn. From the three clauses or sentences of the Ahunwar have originated the scriptures or Avesta comprised respectively in Gatha, Dateh, and Manthra; and from the twenty-one words composing the Ahunwar, seven to each sentence, have originated the twenty-one Nasks. Hence the meaning of what is said above, – that Manthra are founded upon the Yatha Ahu Vairyo.

13 i.e. Manthra and Dateh point out the way in which impurity and sin may be removed and evil deeds, which have relation to daevas, may be abstained from.

QUESTION 11.

Ashmogh put the question: Why do you call (drinking) liquor to excess a sin? since liquor cannot be drunk in the moderation.

ANSWER.

Be it known that, it is just, our calling immoderate drinking of liquor a sin. Because, it is said in the religion that whoever drinks much liquor, eats much food, and, consequently, owing to not having sung the hymns of the Gathas according to the law, he becomes guilty. But it is the habit of Ashmoghs to change the voice of others by rendering their throats dry and to prefer the consequent vice.

QUESTION 12.

Ashmogh put the question: By always reciting these Manthras, which are the word of Ohrmazd, you have to live with great circumspection; but by being so recited, they become a cause of hindrance to industry: then, how can the command of Ohrmazd in respect of the preference of Manthras and Gathas for the purpose of obtaining salvation for the soul be considered just?

ANSWER.

Be it known that, the object of our constant recitation of the Manthras is to inform (men) about the religion of Ohrmazd in respect of the relations with the next world and of the salvation of souls; because, by giving to the people of this world the understanding-power to know their Maker and to be the doers of deeds according with the will of the Lord, they acquire knowledge with respect to the invisible yazads, as also the daevas, become rememberers of the yazads and the acquirers of their love, and remain non-rememberers of the daevas and givers of pain to them, and understand, whatever there may be to understand regarding Datehs, Manthras, Gathas, and are enabled to do, at the (proper) time, much of the work relating to them. Through it, is frequently obtained aid and knowledge in exercising dominion, chiefship, and justice in accordance with the times, in driving away the drujs that may have entered into one's body, in removing them from creation, in making mankind walk in freedom and in imparting happiness to a great many men in the world. And, moreover, wherever and at what time soever Ashmoghs come to raise a contest about religion, at those times, through the sagacity, wisdom and strength appertaining to it, means are found to break down all trouble-giving Ashmoghs, to refute (them) by God's religion, and to keep back harm from mankind.

26. The 16 Questions Asked By A Student.

QUESTION 1.

The first question put was this: Since owing to the singing of those heavenly Gathas, righteousness begins to accrue, and, by reason of the power that cherishes righteousness, the good acquire the strength that has reference to the next world, and go into the place of the highest heaven [garothman]; then, why is it said that righteousness, acquired by such power and in accordance with law, is canceled and the reward for it not obtained by reviling the good religion and committing other sins punishable with death?

ANSWER.

Be it known, that righteousness that has been completed and strengthened does not become non-existent or canceled; but at the time of the last judgment, owing to the sin of reviling the good religion and other sins punishable with death, the reward of righteousness being covered up, the righteousness remains buried. Otherwise, there is no cancellation of righteousness done according to the good religion. For, the annihilation of righteousness which has remained uncanceled during worship is owing to the greater weight of that righteousness being at an end.

QUESTION 2.

The second question put was this: If what Ohrmazd has said was for making it known to the (first) created Mashye and Mashyane,[14] then, why is the dialogue, which took place some generations after Mashye and Mashyane, declared to be the first dialogue?[15]

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14 Mashye and Mashyane were, after Gayomard, the first man and woman born in this world: from this pair have sprung the rest of mankind. In the Avesta, Mashye means a man and Mashyane, a woman. The Pahlavi work, Bundahishn contains an account of the origin of man; it says, "Ohrmazd had spoken thus to Mashye and Mashyane:– As the parents of the world, you are born human beings; I have given you the highest and most perfect mental power; therefore, do the work of justice with mature deliberation, think good thoughts, speak good words, and do good deeds. Remember not the daevas." [Bd15.6]

15 There is here reference to the second Fargard of Vendidad, where it is said that before the time of Zartosht, Ohrmazd had for the first time communicated the Mazdayasnian religion to king Jamshed, and had ordered him to spread it among men, and that Jamshed had accordingly introduced the religion into the world. The object of this question seems to be to point out a contradiction in the religious books of the Zoroastrians, one of which asserts that the Mazdayasnian religion was for the first time communicated to Mashye and Mashyane and another that it was so communicated to Jamshed, who lived some generations after the first pair of men.

ANSWER.

Is in this way: What is said about the dialogue held, for the first time among men, with Jamshed has reference to the religion promulgated among the men who lived after the time of the original Mashye and Mashyane in question. The promulgation, directed to be made to Mashye and Mashyane of what Ohrmazd had said, is not intended for the original Mashye and Mashyane, but for those men and women, and for Jamshed himself, who were the descendants of Mashye and Mashyane. And the reason of it is this; if there are questions and answers, one with another, they can be in the conversation of at least two persons, and this conversation in the form of questions and answers, as it is mentioned as having taken place, in our behalf, for the first time, between Ohrmazd and Jamshed, so (no such conversation) has been reported to have taken place, or is shown to have taken place with Mashye and Mashyane.

QUESTION 3.

The third question put was this: If Gaosahudao[16] (prayer) is recited, all food can be eaten; and without it whatever is consecrated that alone can be eaten, and water that has been consecrated can alone be drunk: what is the reason of this?

ANSWER.

Be it known that in the Gaosahudao, vegetables and water are placed (before the reciter), so that, when the Gaosahudao prayer is recited, vegetables and water are consecrated and thus the reciter becomes fit to eat all food and drink water. Therefore, (he who) consecrates Dron,[17] should have some pure vegetables with the Dron, so that in the consecration of the Dron, the fruit of trees and (other) vegetables and water, being together, all vegetables and fruits of trees and water become consecrated and consequently the reciter of the prayer becomes fit to eat all vegetables and fruits of trees and to drink water: but, if the Dron be not consecrated (with the Gaosahudao prayer) and the thing belonging to vegetables is consecrated by means

16 There are two descriptions of prayers for the consecration of food before being eaten; one, called the Gaosahudao prayer, from one of the words used in it, and the other *Amshespanté* and *Yathádiyezmédé,* from these words having been employed in them. The former is commonly called the big *baj* and the latter the small baj. These prayers are recited by Mobeds who have undergone the consecrating ceremony of Barsom, before eating any thing; and according as the prayer is the big baj or the small baj, they are allowed to eat food of all kinds, or the particular food that was placed before them at the time the prayer was said. Gaosahudao, means literally, the excellence or merit-giving cow.

17 Small, round, wheaten cakes, placed before the Mobed for consecration.

of the other thing (prayer) for consecration, in which vegetables and water are consecrated, then through that (prayer), the sayer of the prayer becomes fit to eat the food of the (particular) tree and to drink the (particular) water. If water is consecrated and (during the consecration) the prayer is broken, the water becomes unfit (for drinking) for the consecrator: and, if drunk with a prayer, is, as if drunk without a prayer.

QUESTION 4.

The question was put: It is declared that by repentance the path to hell does not remain at all: what is the reason of this?

ANSWER.

Be it known that, by the soul becoming impure through sin, the road (for it) is to hell; and the remedy for the remission of sin and for obtaining purity is through the dastur possessing a knowledge of the good religion, who knows to prescribe medicine for the soul and is a great purifier of it from sin. For, as in the profession of the physician medicine and other things are potent in each disease, and the giver of explanation about them is the physician of the body, and the ailing body is relieved and renovated through the instrumentality of the physician and the surgeon who are the pointers out and doers of remedies for the ailments of the diseased constitution and the deformed body; so, for the soul that is rendered unholy and polluted by sin, if, by the injunction of the dastur of the good religion, it be a hearty repenter for sin, a seeker of pardon by speech, and repenter by deed, there is remission of committed sin through the physician of the soul, the dastur of the good religion, and the soul becomes purified of the unholiness and pollution of sin, and thus the road to hell is cut off.

QUESTION 5.

The fifth question put was this: Which among the deeds of men is most beneficial to the world, the causer of much pleasure to the yazads, the causer of much pain in the world, and is the highest in rank of all?

ANSWER.

Be it known, that among the deeds of men, the deed that is highly beneficial to the world is the remaining in submission to one's meritorious master and just king, who is a giver of commands for the improvement of the people: (the deed that is) the producer of pleasure to the yazads is the remaining firm in the Mazdayasnian religion and the keeping people righteous. And the deed that is

highest in rank of all is the imparting of knowledge to worthy students, the originators of all righteous deeds.

QUESTION 6.

The question put was: Of the commandments published by former people and dasturs of the religion, if, owing to a difference of opinion of former people and the dasturs of the good religion regarding some commandment, some layman, with intent to move forward in his deeds and thoughts, should not obey that commandment, then, the commandment of which dastur ought he to listen to and act upon.

ANSWER.

Know (you) that it behooves the person belonging to the good religion to obey the command and to act in accordance with the command of him, who among the people is the head dastur and has under his power other people of the good religion; for, to render the person of the good religion without a want and of perfect thought, there is the decision of that one (dastur). Whatever other expositions there may remain (given) by previous religious leaders and dasturs of the religion, – those expositions of the dasturs of the religion and of the leading men of the religion, it is good to love heartily, believe in, and, that people may act in accordance with them, to obey, without looking (at them) with an eye of scorn.

QUESTION 7.

The question put was: What is the reason of the greatness to the servant of religion from religion, to the ruler from rule, and to the learned from learning?

ANSWER.

Know (you) that, the continuance of religion is through the wisdom of the servants of the religion; (therefore) that is a reason for a religious person to obtain greatness from religion. To the ruler from rule * * * *[18] one reason is, the improvement of the learned themselves in all matters by means of wisdom that embellishes and the rendering worthy by means of profitable wisdom those belonging to them, for their benefit.

QUESTION 8.

The question put was: What is the reason of the admonition

18 In all the extant manuscripts, the portion marked by asterisks is wanting, having been omitted by the original transcriber.

contained in the religion[19] for holding the barsom in that hand which is the left and is appropriate to barsom? And those persons who may keep (it) in the left hand, on what (ground) may they keep it?

ANSWER.

Know (you) that, those persons who keep the Barsom in (their) hands, in accordance with the admonition of the good religion about keeping the Barsom in the left hand and thus praying to God, are considered exalted-station-reaching, good created-beings, by reason of obtaining victory in the good path over other persons, by living with those thoughts that appertain to Ohrmazd. At the time when the sun rises in the east, he appears to men in such a manner that his face is opposite to the west, and (on) his right side is the north and on (his) left side is the south: from this, where the faces of men are towards the west, and on the right side is the north, and on the left side is the south, there, it becomes manifest to them, which is the left hand, for holding the Barsom in which, for worshipping God, there is an admonition in the good religion.

QUESTION 9.

The question was asked: It is mentioned, that in the widely peopled (earth), the sun shines on the 3 1/2 *Karshwars*[20] which are opposite to it, for the purpose of giving them light: what is the object of this?

ANSWER.

Know (you), that the earth has relation to the high mountains which surround it and to the universe: the figure of the earth being round, the half of that earth of seven *Karshwars* is said to be 3 1/2 Karshwars in the religion; and owing to the earth being round the sun in his motion always shines for the beauty, the refulgence and the luster of half the earth.

QUESTION 10.

The question was asked: If a man be washing the trunk of a tree from below with water and there appear on the top of the tree (some)

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19 Vendidad, Fargard 19, clause 19. See Westergaard's edition of the *Zend Avesta*, p. 470. cl. 19.

20 *Karshwar* is derived from *Kereshvar* or *Karshvar* used in the *Avesta*, and means 'that which is bounded.' In the Avesta the earth is divided into seven Karshwars or continents, called respectively, Arezahi, Sawahi, Fradadhafshu, Widadhafshu, Wouru-bareshti, Wourujareshti, and Xwaniratha.

unclean[21] matter belonging to man or dog, then, for the washer with water, is any connection established with that unclean matter without going up the tree, to the danger of (his) becoming polluted; and, by the shaking of that unclean thing, does he become punishable with death? and what is the remedy for that?

ANSWER.

Know (you) that, a good remedy for that is of this kind: the upper part of the tree becomes purified by exposure to a cloudless atmosphere and the connection of the wooden trunk with us is like that of the sense of sight.[22]

QUESTION 11.

The question was asked: How can men, through their deeds, become holders of relation with Ohrmazd, and holders of relation with Ohrmazd become perfectly beautiful and equal to the yazads? And how can they become distant from relationship to Ohrmazd, how more distant and equal to the daevas?

ANSWER.

Know (you) that men by being devoted to the good religion, through wisdom of a high kind,[23] become the acquirers of relations with Ohrmazd; by being more (devoted) to the good religion, become perfectly advanced for relationship with Ohrmazd; and by being most (devoted) become the equals of the yazads: and, by being not devoted to the good religion become distant from relationship with Ohrmazd; and by being devoted to the bad religion become more distant from Ohrmazd; and by being much devoted to the bad religion become equal to the daevas.

QUESTION 12.

The question was asked: Since the soul of man is bright and virtuous, that refulgent and virtuous (soul) cannot be transformed into the condition of souls formed for vice;[24] what, then, is the reason of the dictum contained in the Avesta about the becoming of a committer of sodomy and of him who causes it to be committed, an

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21 Nasa, which has been here translated by "unclean matter" means anything cast off by man or certain beasts, as hair, nails, &c., or any dead matter.

22 The meaning is, that as there is no pollution merely from looking at an unclean thing, so no pollution arises from the connection with the unclean thing on the top of the tree by means of the body of the tree.

23 i.e. wisdom derived from a knowledge of the Mazdayasnian religion.

24 i.e. evil spirits: the daevas.

invisible daeva, and, of the running on this earth and in its interior of the souls of Ashmoghs in the black form of daevas?

ANSWER.

Know that, what is stated about the becoming like a daeva of a committer of sodomy and of him who causes it to be committed, is not about those who are obedient to Ohrmazd, but about the souls of those disobedient persons who have advanced far in the direction of the daevas and are for approving the actions of the daevas; because, with the souls of the pure are the yazads, – owing to that the daevas keep aloof from them: similarly the daevas remain with the souls of sinners, – owing to that the yazads keep aloof from them: the soul of the sinner is stated to be of the nature of daevas, owing to its remaining much in contact with daevas, worms, frogs, scorpions, snakes and ichneumons. And the soul of the committer of sodomy and of him who causes it to be committed is stated to be a more vicious daeva than that of other (sinners) owing to its greater connection with daevas. And the soul of a deceitful Ashmogh is stated to be of the shape of a daeva, owing to its running in the deepest hell. Otherwise, no change takes place in the nature of the souls of those who commit sodomy or cause it to be committed, by reason of their living in close relations with the daevas; and, in that of the soul of a deceitful Ashmogh by reason of its assuming the shape of a daeva.

QUESTION 13.

The question was asked: About the deeds of salvation of Gayomard, it has been said, on the testimony of the *Avesta* that, "Gayomard, by reason of his speaking the truth, went at once under the supremacy of the Amahraspands."[25] Again, another known opinion regarding him has been stated in this manner "His nature was created for Garothman:"[26] How then are these two (differently) given decisions to be accepted as dicta of religion?

ANSWER.

Know (you) that, what is said about Gayomard having been created for Garothman, because of his nature having remained, in this world, as pure as Garothman, (by abstaining) from the vices of this world, is admitted by people on (the authority of) the dictum regarding it; and, what is mentioned about Gayomard having been saved by his deeds, has reference to the Evil-doer: therefore, these two different statements are truthful and worthy of being assented to and

25 i.e. in the highest heaven

26 i.e. the highest heaven.

approved, without objection.

QUESTION 14.

The question was asked : One of two dasturs says about Gayomard that "notwithstanding the presence (in this world) of the Blemish-giver,[27] he lived thirty years"; and the other says that "no sooner the Blemish-giver reached (this world) than immediately he died"; which (statements) are opposed to each other (and) obviously objectionable: therefore, how are the two to be assented to and approved.

ANSWER.

Know, that, the weight of these statements depends upon the explanation obtained regarding them by men; therefore, if any one give an explanation regarding them with proofs from the *Avesta*, that (explanation) is to be believed in by all as the word of the prophet: and if, in such explanation, the purport of the two agrees with that of the person on the one side, then, that explanation is not objectionable, but of similar authority, purpose and relation. Therefore, such explanation of theirs, of (similar) tendency and relation, must be accepted and approved similarly with other matters of faith and explanations of things relating to the good religion declared by the dastur of the religion.

QUESTION 15.

The question was asked: In the *Avesta*, what is original (text) and what is commentary on it, are (treated) as the scriptures; all these are said to be composed from the very first Word, *Yatha ahu vairyo*; but, how was one part[28] formed from one word of *Yatha ahu vairyo*?

ANSWER.

Know (you) that, in the *Avesta*, the original (text) and the commentary upon it, are, as scriptures, founded on the *Yatha ahu vairyo;* and, as without a man's head the hair that give (it) beauty cannot exist, so without the *Yatha ahu vairyo* the commentaries that give additional beauty to the religion cannot exist: therefore, there is nothing objectionable (taken) one with another.[29]

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27 Satan.

28 *i.e.* Nask, or book of commentary. See note 8.

29 *i.e.* nothing contradictory in the statement that the text and the commentaries together form the Scriptions.

QUESTION 16.

The question was asked: What is the reason for keeping the nasa of men and dogs at a distance of thirty paces, and a woman who is menstruating at a distance of fifteen paces, from anything pure? Is the pollution arising from the nasa of men and dogs greater than that from the menses? (for) from the overplus in the thirty paces, the defilement from the nasa of men and dogs (seems to be) greater. What, then, is the reason of the mention made (in the religion) about the holy ceremonies for the Good Creation[30] becoming more impure than the nasa of men and dogs, by being looked upon by a woman who is menstruating?

ANSWER.

Know (you) that, the greater pollution of the nasa of men and dogs than that of menses is apparent from the distance of thirty paces; but the cause of a pure thing being defiled by being seen by a woman who is menstruating is owing to the nasas[31] acquiring power to run with great force on a woman who is menstruating, and, to the penetration of the nasas into the pure thing through the sight of that woman. And, as the secretly injurious stink of the wind of the posteriors by going into the nose, – (as) that stink of a foul stomach, – is injurious to living created-things, so her looking at the things appertaining to holy ceremonies, renders those things useless.

27. Exposition in the good religion about the greatness of times, about the things appertaining to greatness, and as to whom power accrues by attaining to greatness.

Know (you) that, the greatness of time depends upon good and evil: in it there is goodness through the inherent attributes of the Spenamino,[32] and evil through the opposite attributes of the

30 *i.e.* God, the yazads, the Amahraspands, and the Farohars.

31 *Nasas* is that which decomposes or destroys; nasa is the decomposed or destroyed thing. Both these words are derived from the root *nas*=destruction, decomposition.

32 Spenamino is the name of the good principle in Ohrmazd and is the origin of all that is good it is the opposite principle to the Ghanamino. In the Avesta, Spenamino is designated Spenta Mainyu and Ghanamino Anghra Mainyu. The former means "the mino that furthers," the latter, "the mino that harms;" that is, the one is an invisible principle that elevates man and makes him worthy of the next world; the other is an invisible principle that makes him unworthy of it. Hence, in the Avesta, those creatures who live virtuously are called "the creatures of Spenamino"; and those who walk in evil ways, are called "the creatures of Ghanamino." All good and evil is, in the Avesta, traced to these two principles of

Ghanamino.

There are eight principal (heads of) knowledge of every good and evil (that happens) in time: their names are Spenaki, Ghanaki, Vadi, Varuni, Bagi, Dadani, Vahuyati and Dushneyati: and the access (of good and evil) is owing to them.

Spenaki is knowledge regarding the (right) understanding of wisdom, obedience and truthfulness in religion, and regarding suffering (persecution) for its (religion's) sake; and it is intended for those who are celebrated for spreading true accounts of the good religion and for religious teachership.

Ghanaki is knowledge regarding the (right) understanding of the disobedience pertaining to the bad religion which opposes the Athornan class;[33] of the inability to see and hear what pertains to the good religion; (and) of the teaching to commit sin and to be ungrateful; and, it has reference to those who are well-known for doing injury to the good religion.

Vadi is knowledge regarding the (right) understanding about the giving by the Arthestar class[34] of the assistance arising from (giving) power, elevated station, authority and justice to the priestly class: and it has reference to those who are renowned for dominion and authority.

Varuni is knowledge regarding the (right) understanding of selfishness that injures the priestly class, of all deceitfulness that helps (such) education (as that) of Bradrok-resh[35] and of evil disposition and immorality; and it has reference to those who are well-known for doing harm and injury to the (priestly) class.

Bagi is knowledge regarding agriculture for (the benefit of) the world; and it has reference to those who, by living conscientiously, collecting food, and bestowing it (upon people) for the sake of a rich reward, are well-known as increasers of help to the priestly and the governing classes.

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good and evil.

33 *i.e.* the priestly class.

34 *i.e.* the governing class.

35 Bradrok-resh was one of the generals of Arjasp, king of Turkestan. This general went into Balkh and there put to the sword Zartosht and other holy men: hence, he is spoken of as a very sinful and wicked person in the religious books of the Zoroastrians. In the *Saddar Najam*, ch. 9, Dastur Shehmard Malekshah thus alludes to Bradrok-resh: "For this wicked deed of sodomy is like to the deeds of such daevas as Afrasiyab, the miscreant Zohak, and the sorrow-producing wicked Bradrok-resh who slew Zartosht. the jewel of our religion, from whom our hearts and backs derived warmth."

Dadani is knowledge regarding destruction by robbers and oppressors in the world; the injury done to the prosperity of the world through want of mercy, want of sympathy, miserliness, and meanness; and the harm done to mankind by causing scarcity (of food) and dearth: and has reference to those persons who are injurers of the profession of agriculture.

Vahuyati is knowledge regarding the Hutukhsh[36] class, which class is an helper of the (above) three classes: and to the soul of the follower of this profession, there is acquisition of holiness, through good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

Dushneyati is knowledge regarding people following evil professions: the soul of him who follows evil professions becomes guilty through evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds; and it is a doer of injury to those who follow the three professions.[37]

The formation of the members of the different professions possessing the above knowledge, depends upon the influence of the respective principles;[38] and he, over whom (either of the principles) prevails becomes subject to it.

The good knowledge comprised in Spenaki is (intended) for Vadi; and the knowledge comprised in Vadi is (intended) for Bagi; and, the knowledge comprised in Bagi is (intended) for Vahuyati.

The evil knowledge comprised in Ghanaki is (intended) for Varuni; and the knowledge comprised in Varuni is (intended) for Dadani, and the knowledge comprised in Dadani is (intended) for Dushneyati. And, the manifestation of men in their various meannesses and goodnesses, is owing to them.

Evil arises from oppression, and oppression prevails in the world in various ways. Similarly, various persons prevail in goodness through virtue. In times pertaining to the Evil One[39] the low, generally, have power over the high: at that time much wickedness becomes manifest through oppression, as is said in the holy religion:– "Man's deeds for obtaining good acquisitions are owing to the strength of the yazads, and (his) deeds for obtaining evil acquisitions are owing to the strength of the daevas."

Times that come for the greatness of Ohrmazd, the Creator, are owing to goodness, and are the cause of making people of a higher

36 *i.e.* the trading class.

37 Namely, those of priest, ruler, and husbandman.

38 *i.e.* of Spenamino and Ghanamino; of Good and Evil.

39 Ahriman.

nature through goodness; and, owing to them, injury is done to the evil-giving of wickedness and to (men's) becoming wicked through the Evil Principle. And the destruction, from the beginning to the end of time, of the evil-imparting of greater wickedness, which is to happen to mankind through the Evil-doer, is owing to the Principle (of Good) which at once puts a stop to it among mankind. The equibalancing of the powers intended for the Frashegird,[40] and the greater access of the strength and connection (pertaining to them), in the creation, is owing to the prevalence in it of the Good Power which renders Evil lusterless.

Again, the times that possess great preeminence in evil, are (such), owing to there being much more evil than good in them; and, during these times, harm is done to all people through the deceitfulness of the Deceiver In this manner, owing to the continuance of the Good and the Evil Principle among mankind, harm will be done till the time of the Frashegird. In the time of the Frashegird, by means of goodness, there is living with purity; and, owing to that, to the Ghanamino, there will be a want (of occasions) to do harm. And all good persons will obtain immortality and a final well-regulated constitution through the instrumentality of the Will of the Lord Creator having reference to His final intentions.

28. Exposition in the good religion regarding the greatness of the relations, disposition, and strength of natives of Iran.

Be it known that, the greatness of the relations of a countryman of Iran is owing to the Mazdayasnian religion and to his being obedient (to Ohrmazd) through the laws of the Mazdayasnian religion. And the superiority of his disposition and strength is owing to certain qualities and demeanor pertaining to obedience (to Ohrmazd.) The ways of Iranians are the ways of the Mazdayasnian religion; therefore, whoever is a native of Iran is always a breaker of cruel customs. Because a native of Iran has the ways of the Mazdayasnian religion and keeps the good Mino[41] with him, he has greatness, and the Evil Principle is (constantly) harassed by him. And, owing to well-made, (justly) proportioned and well-regulated food, he keeps healthy, well-mended, improved, happy, pure, beautiful, fragrant, and cheerful. And as to certain (other religious) communities, their preeminence of

40 Frashegird, – this word is derived from the word frasho-kereti used in the Avesta, and means “the higher formation” of creation, i.e. the work of making mankind better. This word is applied to the work of regeneration which is to take place at the Last Day.

41 *i.e.* Spirit, principle.

disposition and of strength is owing to their quality of disobedience (to Ohrmazd) and to their possessing the ways of the religion of the Ghanamino, and to their keeping the Evil Principle with them. And so, the Good Principle is hurt by them. And, owing to badly proportioned, corrupted and extremely uniform food, they remain ill, evil-doers, corrupted, miserable, impure, stinking, ill-shaped, and distressed.

29. Exposition in the good religion regarding the origin of the formation of the peoples (living) on the outskirts of Iran.

Know that the formation also of the religion and customs of the people of the borders, whose original country was Iran, is (derived) from the original religion and faith of their Iranian ancestors. Therefore, to them there is (accrual of) good, profit, and increased strength by inquiries concerning this same religion and system. For, the power they have attained is owing to the Iranian religion; and those who have become lords of the world, inclusive even of Xwaniratha,[42] are (descended) from Hooshang, Tahmurasp, Jamshed, Faridoon; Erach, and other Iranians; and, whatever greatness their sovereignty has acquired, that greatness is owing to giving freedom and happiness to (their) subjects; and owing to that there is perpetual advantage to them. Therefore, the decisions of other rulers,[43] who are not approvers of those who tell lies for the sake of oppression, of those who raise up dissensions in religion, of murderers and highwaymen, must always be acknowledged by the servants of Ohrmazd, and, they (the rulers) must be reckoned as protecting kings, and (the servants of Ohrmazd) must keep (themselves) obedient to them according to the laws, without revolting, and promote their rule. But, if any one there,[44] should arrest the greatness, the glory and the splendor of the Mazdayasnian religion for the sake of introducing (another) religion, then, (the servants of Ohrmazd) should keep (themselves) in the right from such cruel persons in the manner in which advantage and happiness may appear to them. And those who may have fallen from that religion and become damned should be persuaded to turn back. Again, a check should be given to the advancing strength and the attack of the "Yahud" [Jewish] religion of Rum and "the Masahiya"

42 Another name for Iran.

43 *i.e.* other than those of Iran and professing the Zoroastrian religion.

44 *i.e.* in the dominions of border sovereigns.

[Messiah, i.e. Christian][45] religion of Khavar,[46] and the "Mani" religion [Manichaeism] of Turkestan, lest their wickedness and degradation should enter into (our) co-religionist friends and the purity of our religion, which is older than that of Rum, should be dimmed.

30. Exposition in the good religion regarding persons whose ways are deserving of superior privileges being bestowed upon them.

Be it known that, among persons whose ways are deserving of higher or lower privileges being bestowed upon them, are many persons of this kind: among them the first rank is held by a person of advanced age, skilled in the arts, and the second and lower, by a skilled youth. There are many reasons for the elderly man-of-art being superior to the youthful man-of-art: He who is advanced in age has acquired, with his knowledge, experience regarding that knowledge; so, much faith is reposed in him and evil of any kind is removed through him; and the youthful man-of-art, with his knowledge, does not attain to the proficiency of the (elderly) man-of-art until he becomes of advanced age. Lower in rank than him, the third, is the young man without (knowledge of) art; and lower than him – the last, is the old man without (knowledge of) art. There are many reasons for the superiority of the young man without (knowledge of) art over the old man without (knowledge of) art: there is hope of a young man attaining to (a knowledge of) the arts through his superior and uniform strength.

31. Exposition in the good religion regarding the contentedness of those who carry on their business in the right way and the discontentedness of those who carry on their business in the wrong way.

Be it known that, whosoever pursues his calling according to the law, – his profession is one for acquiring enduring wealth and not for acquiring transitory wealth;[47] and that pursuer of his calling by the good path (and) acknowledger of God's obligations, lives cheerfully and contented. He whose calling is to acquire transitory wealth and to avoid enduring wealth, – that pursuer of his calling by the wrong path, lives a grumbler, morose, restless and discontented. The

45 The Messiah of the Jewish scriptures.

46 *i.e.* the west.

47 The expressions "enduring wealth" and "transitory wealth" are figurative and mean moral merit and demerit acquired by pursuing one's calling honestly or dishonestly.

enduring wealth that keeps the body in order and the soul strengthened is owing to good behavior; and the increase of transitory wealth is owing to the absence of it (good behavior) (and) to evil behavior. The thing that gives to the soul deliverance of every kind and turns away all sin is righteousness.

32. Exposition in the good religion about protection and the leaving off of protection.

Be it known that, the protection (of man) by the yazads in boundless ways and in various modes is owing to man's remaining aloof from the commission of sin and his being righteous. As long as there is goodness, so long the yazads are keepers of relations with the good; and they leave off protecting those who take to committing sin. Since it is so, that, by committing sin and thinking evil of righteousness, (men) become driven from relations with the yazads, then, surely, from this, good people should always entertain hopes (of reward) and evil-doers, terror (of punishment). If ever in this earthly habitation, an evil-doer, who wallows in sin, with an increase of sinful deeds, live, among mankind, as one who has obtained good reward and is protected; and, if a good man live without the (good) fortune to be protected, then, it is positively said (in the religion) that: – in the invisible world, owing to deliverance and superior position, the good attain to a happy state at the end, and the bad, owing to suffering imprisonment and disgrace, attain to an unhappy state at the end. (Therefore) if at any place holy men find it very injurious and hurtful (to speak the truth), still it (the truth) must be spoken. And, if at any place, holy men should find untruth very convenient and beneficial still, it must never, at any time; be spoken. There is an admonition in the good religion about truthful persons that, if owing to true information being given by a truthful person, he should injure holy men, still, not looking to that, he should be praised for his truth-speaking: and, similarly, if at any time, by telling an untruth, his (the untruthful person's) false information should do a benefit to holy men, still, that ought not to be admitted, and he should be despised for his falsehood.

33. Exposition in the good religion about the man who abstains from sin and advances in righteous, and the man who abstains from righteousness and advances in sin.

Be it known that, if Vohuman[48] live as a guest in the heart of any

48 *i.e.* the principle of good thoughts.

(man), and Ohrmazd be the ruler over his will, then, his house (*i.e.*, body) is peaceful; his thoughts possess the truthfulness of the Invisible Abode; his speech is comformable to reason; and, his deeds, are (calculated) to abstain from sin and to move forward in righteousness. And if Akoman[49] be in the heart of any (man) and Varun[50] be the ruler over his will, then, he is the abode of anger and the rulers over his mind are the invisible Principle of Sin, and, selfishness that gives commands to (his) tongue; hence, his deeds are (calculated) to abstain from righteousness and to advance in sin.

34. Exposition in the good religion about the ways of the good religion having reference to the wishes of the yazads and the ways of the bad religion having reference to the wishes of the daevas

Be it known that, the yazads approve of the thoughts relating to the ways of the good religion for the reason that, they (*i.e.* the ways) themselves are for (securing) the Good Principle and for turning back from the Evil Principle: therefore, he who is for securing the Good Principle, is a turner away of himself from the Evil Principle, for the sake of righteousness; and righteousness is the wish of the yazads. The daevas approve the thoughts relating to the ways of the bad religion for the reason that, they (*i.e.* the ways) themselves are for the Evil Principle and for turning back from the Good Principle; and, again, whoever possesses the Evil Principle, is a turner away of himself from the Good Principle, for the sake of sin; and, sin is the wish of the daevas.

35. Of the first bearer of the good religion.

Be it known that, the reason for mankind becoming doers of work of a superior kind is religion; and it is owing to it only that there is a living in prosperity through the Creator. It is always necessary to send it (religion) from time to time to keep men back from being mixed up with sin and to regenerate them. Gayomard, who was the origin of mankind and the first king of the world, was the first to accept the religion from the Creator. And, Soshyant, – the last bringer of religion for mankind from God and the embellisher of the world through religious deeds, – he, who will make mankind walk in purity, – is the chief and lord of the last men; he, in accordance with the will and desire of the Creator, will be the bringer of His religion at the time of the End, and will be the giver of perfect beauty to the work of

49 *i.e.* the principle of evil thoughts.

50 *i.e.* evil passions.

rendering the world pure, free from harm and fit for paradise, – which work was (first commenced) through Gayomard. All the reformers of mankind *(i.e.* prophets) are considered as connected with its (religion's) design; and the heavenly angels, – the bringers of the good religion, are the mediators of the prophets of the good religion; but there will be no necessity for sending religion, through a prophet, for the (benefit of) Creatures of the world who will be in existence after him (Soshyant). Religious teachers who, – in times of exceedingly sinful deeds and depraved manners, and during the predominance of those who make men exceedingly sinful in respect of religion and make them skeptical regarding the good religion, and of those who profess a religion which encourages men to go towards darkness, – are the promoters of religion, illuminers and superior-knowledge-possessing-renderers of the world by means of imparting to it knowledge regarding the entertaining of hopes about the first world; – if people should approve, from its published design, the religion of such messengers (*i.e.* the religious teachers), then, they (the people) should acknowledge those messengers as prophets, for the sake of their good religion: but if in that religion mention is made about the non-deliverance of the inhabitants of this world, then, they should abandon it without examination.[51]

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51 The following testimony is contained in the Frawardin Yasht about Gayomard being the first bearer of the Mazdayasnian religion of Ohrmazd to the world:- "We praise the Farohar of the holy Gayomard, who first heard the thoughts of Ohrmazd and his commands." [Yt13.87] The testimony as to Soshyant being the last prophet of the Mazdayasnian religion and that he will, in the time of the End, spread it completely among the people of this world, under the command of God, and reform all the people of that time by means of that religion, is contained in the 15th chapter of Zamyad Yasht, as follows:- "We praise the over-powering Kayan Khwarrah created by Ohrmazd, which will be obtained by the victorious Soshyant, as also his other comrades; by means of which he will make the world of a superior grade, without old age, deathless, without rottenness, without putrefaction, possessed with perpetual life, perpetually benefiting, and of satisfied hopes. And at that time the dead will rise again, the living will obtain immortality and they will be given a life of higher desires. Those persons who are givers of knowledge of purity, will become immortal, and the druj that has spread himself round about to do harm to the pure, – he will be destroyed at that time, and, similarly, hundreds of his progeny will be at an end from that time." The names of the comrades of Soshyant who, it is said in the above extract from the *Avesta*, will with him obtain the Kayanian Khwarrah, are given in the Pahlavi work *Dadestan-i Denig* as follows: Rushn Chashm, Khur Chashm, Faradat Gadman, Vandad Gadman, Kame Vakhshan, Kame Sut, and Soshyant. In the 128th verse of the Frawardin Yasht, where the Farohars of Soshyant and his comrades are invoked, the names of two more comrades are given, viz. Ukhshyad eret and Ukhshyad Nemangh. See Westergaard's *Zand Avesta* p.243.

36. Exposition in the good religion for Mazdayasnians to remain aloof from the worshippers of the daevas who disobey God and from the nature of deceitful Ashmoghs.

Be it known that, the souls of worshippers of daevas and of deceitful Ashmoghs, owing to their impure nature, although (located) in a living body, are, according to the religion, (as if) possessing a dead body; and that body with life is considered as (fit) for hell; hence there is a danger of their pollution and bad qualities reaching Mazdayasnians through mutual intercourse with them; therefore, (the Mazdayasnians) must remain aloof from touching their living bodies, for their bodies are in all places like decayed nasa.

Again, it is made known thus, that owing to their friendship and the touch of close relations with them, there is diminution of purity, alloying of good qualities, (with bad ones) and harm to habits, and lessening of glory. These people are through friendship and the practice of eating and drinking with them, givers of separation from the yazads and of relations of impurity; and (thereby) the understanding becomes debased; therefore, as far as possible, (we) must remain, aloof from contact with and separate from them, and with that, do also this, (we) must wash three times with hot water those plates and eating vessels which they use, and Mazdayasnians must avoid eating and drinking from out of them.

37. Exposition in the good religion about those among God's servants who hold the superior, the middle, and the inferior rank.

Be it known that among the servants of God, he, who is self-informed with knowledge about himself as a servant (of God) and guides himself by means of a likely-to-improve principle, in the brightness, majesty, wisdom and (good) qualities pertaining to him, is a superior servant of God. And he, who improves himself by exactly imitating that improved servant of God, and guides his powers, in the way they should be guided, is a servant of God of the middle rank. And he, who, through an accomplished person possessed of perfect wisdom – by means of such powers-improving advice as his, – is himself (possessed) with knowledge regarding improvement, is, among the servants of God, a servant of inferior rank.[52]

52 Here, the highest rank is given to those who, naturally and without being taught, know all about their duties as God's creatures, i.e. to prophets; the next in rank are those who model their behavior on that of the prophets; and the lowest rank is allotted to those who learn their duties towards God from religious teachers or

38. Exposition in the good religion as to the nature of very great happiness, very great misery, happiness accompanied by misery, and misery accompanied by happiness.

Be it known that, very great happiness and misery, happiness accompanied by misery and misery accompanied by happiness, of men of this world, are quickly-vanishing. And with the going away of misery of this world, happiness is connected, and with the going away of happiness, misery is connected.

39. Admonition and exposition in good religion about that from which men have to obtain deliverance and about those things which are not fit to be approved of by them.

Be it known that, there is an admonition to man that his obtaining deliverance (from hell) is by wishing in accordance with and by inquiring about, the will of Ohrmazd, and, by living properly in accordance with the will of the Lord through the way (pointed out) in the good religion; or, by doing, by means of the directions given in the good religion, the work relating to it; and by remaining aloof from deeds, hurtful and relating to repentance, (which) should be abstained from. He whose conscience is the pointer out to him of the higher path and whom reason governs is the man who has found Ohrmazd's wish; but he, who abstains from obtaining knowledge regarding means for himself and is without the desire to preserve himself in truthfulness and is not an approver of reason that counsels contentment,[53] is self-willed, of a perverse conscience, and pertains to selfish things.

40. Exposition in the good religion regarding the Lord of Existence being the Creator of Being and the creation.

Be it known that, the Lord of Existence is manifest through every existent and created thing pertaining to him.. The Self-existent is possessed of a faculty of superior wisdom. And, before the work of the Lord was promulgated through the Spenamino, He Himself existed. And the existence of all is owing to the Self-existent. Again, the manifestation, among men, of the Lord of Existence, through what he

priests.

53 Lit. contented reason.

has brought into existence, happened last.[54] For, the manifestation of Ohrmazd as the existence-giver of Vohuman was after the work of creating Vohuman. So, the wisdom pertaining to the religion being necessary for the creation, and, it being necessary that it (the religion) should be spread by means of the personality of Vohuman, – Vohuman, having been created by the Creator, is, as the first creation. And, Vohuman having been created by the Creator, he is, in expositions of the religion, mentioned as the son of the Creator, and the Creator, in respect of Vohuman, is mentioned as the father. Then, it is proved from this that, the Creator must have manifested himself, before the creation of Vohuman. And whatever knowledge regarding Him Vohuman has obtained, – he is made the possessor of that knowledge by the Creator. Therefore, it appears from this that, the creator is able, through His perfect knowledge, all-sufficient power and entire control, to create as much profitable creation as is wanted. And there is no one who is high in wisdom, possessed of most knowledge, and holder of most dignified advantages, like Him. Therefore, (as regards) the religious teacher among religious teachers who is (considered) as himself the Creator, also, as (both) father and son, – that is impossible; – (for) that the father is made before the son and the son after the father – these two (propositions) are (considered) regular in all religions. Again, the Self-existent himself is One, and he has alone created (the creation): how could he, (then) create himself after? According to the law of descent of things, one, among two, must precede; therefore, if two precede, and two follow, it is proper, that the one that precedes the other among them, should be called the father and the other the son. (For) among the two, (created, the one) before and (the other) after (the other), the first is the father of the second, and the second is the son. But the aged father born before the son, cannot be the son; and, the son born after the father, cannot be the father.

41. Exposition in the good religion as to the Creator of the creation having promised to keep free from dread that (part) of His creation which abstains from giving pain to its Creator.

Be it known that, the Creator of the creation is an acknowledger of His creation, as His creation, because of relations being maintained, by the creation. which He has created, with Him. And He is an esteemer of the creation (as) valuable, because of higher relations

54 This is explained by the statement in Yasna 19, in Bundahishn and in the Afrin of Gahambar, that God created first the heavens, next the waters, then land, then the lower animals, then vegetables, next fire, and lastly, man.

(maintained) by the creation. And God Himself becomes an esteemer of His creation (as) valuable, by identifying Himself with it. That is, He Himself becomes a bestower among the creation of the precious gift of thoughts regarding Himself,. and a keeper of it (the creation) free from dread, by reason of (the creation) not displeasing the Creator openly:[55] for, the Lord is like a King over his people. Again, whoever guides himself, among the people of the Lord, by the wisdom of the Creator, and is generous, he undoubtedly, is not an injurer of himself through deeds of sin The religion of those religious preceptors,[56] who are of the side of God, is said to be one that does not at all harm His creation by deeds of sin and does not without reason cause suffering in the Kingdom, owing to the generous deeds, done through the wisdom pertaining to, and of the sacred justice administered by it (the religion). And those who have remained without and behind it (*i.e.* the wisdom pertaining to the religion) are said to be positively thoughtless.

42. Exposition in the good religion regarding the Superiority and superior dignity of Athornanship over Arthestarship and Vastariushship. [Athornan = a priest; Arthestar = a warrior; Vastarius = a husbandman.]

Be it known that, the superiority and the superior dignity of Athornanship over Arthestarship and Vastariusship are known from many reasons. And one (reason) among them is, that the two titles, soldiership and peasantship are included in priestship; for, the warriorship of an Athornan consists in smiting the invisible drujas and, his peasantship in making (himself) a worshipper of God.[57] And again, the work of conveying the soul in the presence of its Creator is (done) by Athornans.

Another reason is, that to every man the acquisition of knowledge respecting (his) duties – such as, to know the creator, and to distinguish numerous (deeds of) righteousness and sin – is through the Athornan class: as also, every man is, in all deeds, relating to his soul, of extended and detailed boundary, through the Athornan class.

Third. The higher rank of priesthood than that of soldiership and peasantship is owing to its religious communing, disposition and the superiority of (religious) places.

Fourth. The dignity of the head in the human body is (allotted) to

55 *i.e.* purposely, consciously.

56 *i.e.* Prophets.

57 In providing spiritual food.

the profession of Athornan; of the hand, to the profession Arthestar; of the belly, to the profession of Vastariush; and of feet, to the profession of Hutokhsh: thus, it is symbolically shown, that in rank and dignity, the profession of Athornan is as the head of the world; the profession of Arthestar is as the hands of the world; the profession of Vastariush is as the belly of the world; and, the profession of Hutokhsh is as the feet of the world.

Fifth. The superiority of priestship is owing to the (priest) being (set) over the work relating to their (*i.e.* of the members of the three other professions) souls; for, whoever is in the profession of Athornan, is always a pointer out to people of boundless (knowledge) regarding their souls. The Athornan class being mentioned in the good religion as the best adorner of the mansions of Ohrmazd[58] – this is a proof, fit to be admitted, of the greater superiority of the Athornan class than that of the Arthestar and Vastariush classes.

43. Exposition in the good religion regarding man's becoming virtuous in all the virtues of the world by means of his being made to observe the commands of the religion regarding him.

Be it known that, if a person (be) able, in respect of wealth, fullness and learning, to impart instruction in the wisdom pertaining to the good religion, (then) that person, having the power of learning and wealth, ought to give zealous assistance in respect of wisdom and wealth to those not fully able; so that, the enabler (of others) may become, through the God who enabled him, an acquirer of the reward of fitting dignity in both the worlds, and may, through the power of the yazads become the receiver of full protection in both the worlds; and also that, people may remain bound, as holders of full relations, in respect of the virtues of both the worlds, and the world may thence become improved, mended and beautified, and the good tribe may increase, and men obtain deliverance (from hell) and (the) exaltation (of heaven.)

44. Exposition in the good religion regarding the warring the yazads to smite the Opposer and to suppress the dark danger (arising through him), for (enabling) the people to live as good creation.

Be it known that, the yazads are, by the command of God, for the

58 The mansions of Ohrmazd may be taken to refer, either, to the heavenly mansions or to God's places on the earth, namely, Atashkadehs [*i.e.* Fire-Temples] and other sacred places.

purpose of removing and driving back each of the numerous dangers that have approached at different times: and as a wise physician knows the remedies for driving back the ailments of the body and for making improvements in the original constitution; and (as) the cultivator, who removes evil from corn, is the person to apply remedies to corn affected with destructive evil; so they (the yazads) are for the purpose of not allowing harm to happen to the creation at the time of danger and for driving it back. And they come, by the command of God, immediately upon the appearance of approaching (danger), and smite the enemy powerfully in a way that he may not rise up again. They are like heroes who bestow the advantage upon the world of living in happiness without the fear of enemies, of affording rest to people for a long period, and of spreading in the world the religion and (its) glory.

45. Exposition in the good religion regarding evil to man, arising from his conducting himself, by means of the soul, for (obtaining) the riches appertaining to the body.

Be it known that (for man) to remain in obedience to the Creator, depends upon his knowledge, in every particular, regarding religion. (For), owing to it (religion), a worthy man becomes a conductor (of himself) towards his Creator without evil, harm or vice, by means of the things appertaining to the spirit and the body. And the becoming vicious of men is owing to the diminution and destruction of the wisdom pertaining to the soul; and hence the soul becomes guilty. As, owing to admixture, disease is engendered in the body, so, owing to sin, illness, the pain of death and misery happen to the soul. Through the miserliness that causes injury to the riches of the soul and through the dishonest practices of a Farehbut[59] and the murderous destructive practices of an Aibibut,[60] there is a diminution of the life of, and a happening of harm to, the perfect creation of the Creator. When man regulates his conduct by means of the wisdom relating to the soul and by means which secure the riches of safety of body and of prosperity,

59 Farehbut – meaning "that which is done, or, which has gone, beyond bounds." It is applied to dishonest or ill-regulated men. Vajoragmehar (or, Abujarachmehar), vizier to Nosherwan the Just, in his Pahlavi work, called *Ganjeshaigan*, thus defines this word: "Farehbut means one who considers this world as his highest abode and considers the invisible world to be full of dangers, and prefers that which in the end injures him and brings trouble and punishment to his soul."

60 *i.e.* One who is vicious: an offender. The following explanation occurs in the Pahlavi translation of the *Khordeh Avesta*, regarding the deeds of an Aibibut: "The practice of an Aibibut is to keep people on little or dear food."

then the Good creation[61] prevail to some extent over those who do harm to the creation of the Creator. And owing to the greater strength derived by him (man) through, and the care taken of him, by the Creator, the strength of the Injurer[62] who always hovers over him to do him harm, will not prevail. Men pass their own and their kindred's lives in a proper manner through virtue; and in an improper manner through doing injury. Therefore, arrangements (made) by virtue, ought to be protected from persons possessing a disposition to do harm; and communities whose practices are calculated to cause harm ought to be avoided. Those who are religious teachers, are not causers of harm to the Creator, but those whose religion is such as to instill (into people) a desire for sins that give pain to the Creator, for falsehood, for mischief, and for harm-causing means, their (religion) is worthless. Such a religion cannot be considered to be from the Creator and cannot be called good.

46. Exposition in the good religion about the duty of rulers being, as far as practicable, to remove misery, want, hardships, filth, and pestilence from men.

Be it known that, as it is the personal duty of rulers having a knowledge of the religion to prevent their disobedient enemies from (approaching) wealthy and influential citizens, so it is their duty to drive away from them and suppress, misery, hardship, want, disease, and pestilence; and, as far as practicable, to discover and adopt such measures as would keep up prowess in the world. Among rulers he occupies a high position who adopts several measures for removing misery and disease from the citizens in such a manner that there may not be a single complaint under his rule of no measures having been taken against hardship and disease. But being without a knowledge of religion and of its precepts, owing to the idleness resulting from perverse thoughts, and owing to their exerting themselves in occupations pertaining to discontentedness, (they, the rulers,) promote the causes which generate each disease; and, there is thus a strengthening of the profession of arms. Therefore, if any among their subjects should be unable to pursue their occupation owing to their being without the implements of their occupation, – (if), for instance, a husbandman should be without bullocks and other implements of agriculture, or, (if) members of other professions be without the implements of their profession, – then they should provide such persons with the implements for carrying on their business and thus render them defectless. And they should protect defenseless women

61 *i.e.* the invisible yazads.

62 Ahriman.

and children, who, owing to old age or to their inability to move about, and owing to there being no person able to keep off plunderers, seek their assistance. The light to crush misery of this description before it has made any advance is the light (of religion). Therefore, rulers should conduct themselves in (the path of works) appertaining to religion and should give orders to commence (such works), that thereby the person suffering from disease may not have to prefer a dungeon (to his misery). For remedying disease and pestilence, orders should be given for erecting in cities and towns hospitals placed under the superintendence of every well-known physician approving of the happiness of the soul, and provided with appropriate medicines and other appliances for removing disease; and there, inquiries should be made and care taken for curing a the diseases of all persons. And measures of all kinds should be taken in cities whereby the city may flourish and be industrious, and famine, misery and want may go on being at once annihilated from (among) most men. Similarly, fire, water, and the earth should be kept fragrant, and the air should be kept pure from all noxious substances and things liable to decay, that owing to them men may not suffer from disease and pestilence. On the contrary, men should keep (such things) aloof, in the world, from fire, water, and the earth in obedience to the commands of kings (who act) in accordance with such admonitions in the good religion.

47. Exposition in the good religion regarding the duty of bearing enmity to the Enemy. [*i.e.* Ahriman or Satan, and other evil powers.]

Be it known that, enmities should be borne to those with whom (all) relations ought, according to the good religion, to be broken; for, the breaking of relations, brought about by harm done to man and by coming in his way, (so as to prevent him from doing what is good) is just. Those who are turners away of the soul of man from the helper, are daevas. And owing to relations with these evil beings, the help of him from whom there is assistance to man, is not obtained by him. For, the assistance of daevas is well known for coming in the way of every person who assists men; therefore, if an approved Dastur of the good religion be able to turn a good man from (having) relations with evil persons, towards the good, then it is not wisdom to quarrel (with him), but good should be done to him, and love should be shown (to him), and good offices should be done to him, and he who is wicked should be turned to what is good by means of wisdom.

48. Exposition in the good religion regarding the means of getting rid of those whose ways are to oppose the creation of Ohrmazd.

Be it known that, looking carefully, those whose ways are to oppose the creation of Ohrmazd are of three kinds. Of these one (kind) advances unperceived, one through the passions, and one in bodily form, to do harm. Those who advance unperceived to do harm are invisible daevas and drujas; and, the riddance of them is by means of the ceremony of Ijashne [*i.e.* Yasna] of the good religion: and, owing to the adoption of measures of other good-doing, there is a riddance of the daeva-worship of the bad religion and of other evil practices. And those who advance (to do harm) through the passions, are (possessed of) covetousness, envy, and other passions; and the riddance of the danger from them is by means of the correlated attributes of inherent wisdom, and by means of conducting ourselves through the instrumentality of well-reputed helpers[63] who are the averters of (spiritual) disease, and their powers. The acquisition of strength by the drujas, through the passions, is owing to Varun.[64] And those who advance in bodily form (to do harm) are daeva-worshipping rulers, wolves. and monsters, who are the destroyers of the world: they are got rid of generally, by means of the battle-ax, fetters, and the holy persons who are the possessors of the fetters for catching them.[65] A daeva-worshipping, deceitful (ruler) causes greater evil to the world than wolves and monsters, owing to the power appertaining to rule.

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63 These “helpers” must be understood to refer to the eleven invisible principles or affections in man which constantly suggest what is good to him. Their names are Asne Khrat = native or inherent wisdom, Goshosarut Khrat = knowledge or experience, Vir = faculty of reasoning, Hush = power of understanding, Him = good disposition, Khurasndiya = contentment, Din = religion, Umed = the hope of heaven, Akho = a pure heart, Bud = vigilance, and Farohar = frawashi.

64 This word is used in Pahlavi as a translation or equivalent of the expression 'Varenya daeva' used in the Avesta, and denotes, "evil passion," or, "the invisible principle of evil passion."

65 The reference here is to those holy persons who were supposed, by means of certain prayers and other incantations, to have the power of controlling and harassing evil spirits.

49. Exposition in the good religion regarding (men's) improving themselves for happiness by directing (their) attention towards the pure (and) invisible yazads and by cutting off from among them the admixture of those whose intentions are to wound and to give pain.

Be it known that, the improvement (of men) for the happiness of heaven is by keeping an eye towards relations with the pure (and) invisible yazads, and by opposing the association with themselves of those who have the intention of wounding and giving pain (to the yazads) and are of a like disposition. To join battle with them (*i.e.* such wicked persons) immediately upon seeing them, is, for the creation of Ohrmazd possessing the disposition of the yazads, to secure Final Victory over the darkness of this world caused by daevas and drujas, and over the practices of the lightless Evil-doer.[66] In the world, the possessors of the disposition of the yazads, become improvers of themselves for eternity, by means of righteousness of all kinds and by restraining their inclinations for improper happiness. Those religious teachers who, by means of knowledge derived from this world,[67] cause numerous men to walk in evil ways and so render them deliveranceless for eternity, are like the creatures of the ever-painful abode of hell: for, their religion imparts evil knowledge respecting the works of the Creator, (respecting) wisdom, highest happiness and the pure invisible yazads possessed of knowledge regarding the End. Consequently, any one of those whose religion is one pertaining to paradise is said to be for the Evil End and to have the ways of the daevas by eating and acting with those whose religion is of this (evil) character.

50. Exposition in the good religion regarding (man's) becoming better owing to the Good, and worse, owing to the Bad.

Be it known that, if a possessor of life[68] be good himself, he becomes possessed of a better rank, owing to making great additions of righteousness under the tutelage of able and very powerful yazads; and, owing to superior righteousness (he) becomes the acquirer of the highest rank. And through him additional advantage is derived at every place. For, he is a great encourager, at every place, of the doing

66 *i.e.* the Ghanamino.

67 As opposed to the knowledge derived from the other world, by inspiration: imperfect and worldly as opposed to perfect and heavenly knowledge.

68 *i.e.* Man.

of righteousness; hence, those souls that are (located) in bodies, become doers, at every place of more profitable work for the soul. As, in every place, over the members of a household, is the householder; in a village, over the people in the village is the ruler of the village; in a city, over the people in the city, is the king; and, in religion there is the religious teacher; and as the people of the world live under the different kinds of supremacy of these (persons): So, through them (*i.e.* the yazads) the whole of the good creation, owing to the goodness of the Almighty and All-High Creator, becomes improved; and, owing to its (of the good creation) continuous righteousness, the good yazads, through the goodness of the Creator, become (capable of) more good.

If a possessor of life be evil himself, he becomes an acquirer of the highest rank (in evil), through strong protectors more powerful (than himself) in evil, by (doing) deeds of injury, of harm to the world, of evil fame, and other more injurious deeds. And great harm is done through him. For, in every place, he is an encourager of others (in evil); so that, those souls that are (located) in bodies become, at every place, doers of greater injury to the soul. Just as in a household there is the head of the members of the household; in a village there is the ruler of the people of the village; in a city there is the King of the people of the city; and in religion there is the religious teacher, under the supremacy of whom (all) many men live very uselessly, the causers of much pain and doers of much injury: owing to which the people of the world are unable to obtain their wishes, to keep themselves (from Sin) and strengthen themselves (with righteousness), – for, how can what is evil be said to be meant to meet the Creator, the highest source of all creation? – So how can the religion of religious teachers who encourage the doing of evil, not pointing out what is good; and, precepts that break relations of goodness, diminish goodness, cause hardship and do immense harm, be said to be meant for forming relations with the Creator? He through whom evil exists is worse than evil (itself) and all evil doers.

51. Exposition in the good religion regarding the kinds of possessors of life.

Be it known that, possessors of life are mainly of these three kinds. One kind is constitutionally immortal: its vesture (*i.e.* body) is (formed) for happiness. Another is constitutionally mortal, and its vesture is perishable. The Amahraspands and yazads are constitutionally immortal, and are invisible to the people of this world. Those whose vesture is perishable are known as constitutionally mortal: but from among these those who are of the

side of those possessors of deathless and highly happy life, and whose vesture is related to the good thoughts of Ohrmazd and to Mahraspand,[69] – they are known as givers of happiness to their souls and as preservers of (their) bodies, through Mahraspand. Again, others are said to be possessors, like the Amahraspands, of bodily vestures intended for the happiness of immortality: that, is owing to behavior like that of the good-thoughted Amahrapands and to the relation of their bodily vesture. The Amahraspands, as also other invisible yazads, are bestowers, in this world, upon holders of the good religion, of glory and splendor. Among things visible to the people of this world, that which is immortal is the Sun; and he is a possessor of life, with a vesture that gives happiness to this world. And as to the moon and stars which shine in uniform arrangement, – they shine owing to his (the sun's) light. And (they) are possessors of innately happy (and) immortal vesture owing to the motions of the sun.[70] And owing to the relation with him, they are considered as having a (shining) vesture. The sun, the moon and the stars give light to the world, bestow strength on (the) bodies (of people) and increase mankind.

Those men whose immortal souls are within the bodily vesture belonging to this world, obtain the happiness-giving vesture of him who is by constitution without death,[71] in various ways; and such men owing to intercourse, one with another,[72] are considered to be of a superior rank among the people of this world. In this world, the obtaining of the constitutional vesture of immortality, by the people of this world, is by means of knowledge regarding the religion, and, behavior like that of cattle. And men and other creation of the visible world become the acquirers of such a state through the instrumentality and owing to the gift of those invisible Amahraspands who are by constitution immortal. In this matter, the object of having the behavior of men like that of cattle is (based) upon this, that people with that vesture are, like Vohuman, by nature the protectors of the body of every man and keep the soul happy. The possessor of the vesture[73] of Mahraspand has relation with Ohrmazd and is possessed of the power of His good thoughts; and people become the acquirers

69 *i.e.* those who live in this world thinking the good thoughts that please Ohrmazd, and offering the prayers and worship enjoined by religion.

70 *i.e.* The moon and the stars receive their light from and are kept in their respective positions by the Sun.

71 *i.e.* the yazads and Amahraspands.

72 *i.e.* with the yazads and Amahraspands.

73 Vesture in the whole of this passage means, according to the context, either body, nature, disposition, state, or condition.

of the light and splendor (emanating) from the Creator through the instrumentality of the personality of men who are givers of happiness to such souls. Again, those who are deserving of death[74] are wearers of the vesture of daevas, wolves, and monsters. Of these, the bodies of daevas were broken (up) by Zartosht of the adorable Farohar, by means of the power of the good religion and of his first hymn.[75] So, for breaking, (by means of the power of the religion), the bodies of wolves, is Ushedar; and for breaking the bodies of monsters is Ushedarmah. And the coming of victorious Soshyant, the doer of the mighty work relating to Frashegird, is for destroying all dangers like these. And after an end has come to them all men will obtain the immortal body pertaining to the soul; and every one (will obtain) the final vesture of cattle.[76] And whoever is not of the meanest rank will, in his immortal soul and in his perfectly joyous purity, suffer from no danger. And the world will be (possessed) of everlasting improvement. The meaning of what is made known by the Creator about the renewal of the creation is that that creation will be improved for being made happy.

52. About guiding oneself with thoughts connected with religion.

Be it known, that any thought originating in innate reason, that resembles the good religion like as a brother, – such a thought ought to be believed in, accepted, and made current. Any man in whom

74 This word includes the notion of punishment in the next world.

75 *i.e.* the Ahunwar. The reference to the bodies of daevas is explained by the following dialogue between Zartosht and Haoma Yazad occurring in the 9th Ha of the Yasna: "Thou O pure Zartosht, opposer of the daevas, of the religion of Ohrmazd, wert born in the house of Pourushasp. And in renowned Iranwej, thou O Zartosht first recited, in the voice of song, four (daeva) removing Ahunwars. And after the laud-voiced song, thou madest those daevas, that before that time came upon this world in the shape of men, hide (themselves) in the earth. O Zartosht! Thou art thyself the highest in rank, the strongest, the most enterprising, the swiftest, and the most victorious amongst the invisible creation." Iranwej is the name given to the land on which Gayomard and Mashye and Mashyane were born, and to the first city that was formed by men in this world. The evidence on this point is furnished by the following passage from the first Fargard of Vendidad: "I, Ahura Mazda, first among all places and cities, created excellent Airyanem Vaejah of the good creation." It must not be understood that Zartosht simply recited four Ahunwars. He performed the Yasna of Mino Nawar, and the four Ahunwars were the four "Yatha Ahu Vairyo" recited at the ceremony of bruising the Haoma plant and occurring in the *aetat dim* Ha of Yasna.

76 This expression means that in the end men will have the inoffensive disposition of cattle. Thus in the 37th Ha of Yasna and the 3rd chapter of the Haftang Yasht the worshipper promises to worship God with a disposition like that of cattle: "For the sake of His supremacy, greatness, and good protection, we worship Him with the advanced behavior of those among his worshippers who live like cattle."

thoughts connected with such innate reason are always found, – that man, owing to that, obtains embellishments of all kinds. And the thoughts of those who belong to the bad religion are for obstinacy, robbery and deceit. Those who promulgate the bad religion cause such evil as is caused by comers of money by uttering among people lead in place of gold, or, by alloying gold with lead; but when those who can distinguish the perverse ways of the bad religion obtain a knowledge of its origin, then, by being weighed by right thoughts, it is broken. Perverse ways are understood by being compared with the ways of the good religion And (their) being so understood is owing to their resembling the product of the natural understanding connected with Ohrmazd.

53. Exposition in the good religion regarding deceitless (and) proper behavior towards Him from whom there is deliverance to men.

Be it known that, for a man to act so as to obtain his deliverance, – this, consists in living properly within the wishes of Ohrmazd, and in making inquiries and search in the good religion regarding the wishes of Ohrmazd, and in doing, for (obtaining) it, (*i.e.* deliverance,) what may be fit to be done according to the knowledge (found) in the good religion, and in keeping aloof from doing anything that is injurious. and is fit to be abstained from: for, when man improves himself by means of the superior ways of Ohrmazd and lives in accordance with the commands of reason, he becomes like to a thing in accordance with the wishes of Ohrmazd. And it is owing to his obtaining that knowledge that man becomes fully fit for (adopting) means for preserving true things connected with himself. But having no desires in regard to these two, – contentment and reason – there is an approval of things pertaining to the commands of evil passions and to a selfish heart.

54. Exposition in the good religion worthy of man's attention.

Be it known that, every man ought to take thought regarding the giving of deliverance to (his) soul: in this matter, rulers, by improving the different peoples of the world, by conferring splendor, by bestowing gladness and by governing well, make (their souls) more glorious (for the purposes of deliverance). Religious men make (their souls) more glorious by imparting the practices of the Mazdayasnian religion, by impressing belief respecting it and by imparting true relations. And all other men besides these make (their souls) more

glorious by remaining obedient (to the Mazdayasnian religion) in the business of their professions.

55. Seven explanations sought by a scholar of (his) teacher.

Who remains fresh in wealth? Who possesses happiness pertaining to the soul? Who is a keeper-aloof from sin? Who possesses superior wisdom? Who is an increaser of glory? A man possessing the friendship of many men – to what is that owing? Through whom is improvement of the body, and deliverance to its soul?

56. Replies given by the teacher from a knowledge of the good religion.

Be it known that, whoever is industrious with personal zeal and labor, he remains fresh in wealth. He whose look, in (this) perishable world is towards the Giver of Life, – to his soul there is happiness and tranquillity from the Creator. (He in whose heart) is the abode of the omniscient Creator, – he is a keeper of himself aloof from sin. The man who has much knowledge of the apprehensions regarding the Hoshbam (of Cheharum)[77] is of high rank in wisdom. By looking at people with a good eye, there is an increase of your glory. Men will be very affectionate towards you by your living with them in friendship and looking after them. If you force out falsehood from (your) body, your body will be improved and your soul delivered (from hell.)

57. Exposition in the good religion regarding the wisdom of the Mazdayasnian religion being for all professors of that religion.

Be it known that the wisdom of the Mazdayasnian religion is for the people professing that religion. And those who are Farehbuts and Aibibuts, – to them there is harm from it. (For) the connection itself of that religion is an opposer of the sinful wisdom of Farehbut and of the obstructive, cruel wisdom of Aibibut. Again, by much faith being reposed in the good religion, the Perfect Improvers[78] by means of good wisdom, of the believer in the good religion, become frequent

77 On the morning of the fourth day (cheharum) after death an account is taken of the good and evil deeds done by men in the flesh, and, according as the former or the latter predominate, their souls enjoy the everlasting happiness of heaven or suffer the punishments of hell. He, therefore who in his actions in this world bears in mind the day of account is emphatically a wise man.

78 *i.e.* The invisible yazads.

residents (in his heart); and owing to that, the thoughts, the speech, and the deeds of these professors of the good religion, are always accompanied with the wisdom of the Mazdayasnian religion. The wisdom intended for the professors of the Mazdayasnian religion, – every (portion) of that wisdom, – is not obtained by the reasoning faculty (of man), but it is made known by the Giver of existence to the Mazdayasnian religion and its Revealer.

58. Exposition in the good religion regarding state and religion.

Be it known that, the life of citizens consists in (civil) government (being) connected with religion and religion (being) connected with (civil) government. And the exposition, based on a knowledge of the good religion, regarding it is thus: – (If there be) those whose government is for (the purposes of) religion and whose religion is for the improvement of government, – then, the faithful must assuredly live in accord with them: for, the rule of such a state is like a manifest support, to the doers of generous deeds of the good religion, for remaining firm in the service of Ohrmazd and for conferring greatness on the religion. For one not to destroy another, to render obedience to the state t and to confer greatness upon it, – (all) these are owing to the remaining in obedience to the religion of Ohrmazd. The highest greatness to religion is from (civil) government. There is great splendor and profit to the people of the world, from God, owing to the influence of religious behavior. A government is truthful, owing to its being a government accompanied with the good religion. A government is related to the good religion owing to there being a complete connection with the good religion. And from this, the proposition that, government is (identical with) religion and that religion is the government of citizens, is clearly apparent. Similarly, an evil government is owing to its evil religion, and an evil religion is owing to its correlated evil government.

59. Exposition in the good religion regarding the good, the more good, and the most good; the bad, the very bad, and the most bad among men.

Be it known that, (a man) becomes good in many ways: especially by putting faith in the religion of Ohrmazd; and thereby he becomes a holder of relations with the Creator, Ohrmazd. A man becomes more and most good by putting more and most faith in the religion of Ohrmazd. And thereby he becomes a holder of greater and greatest relations with, the Creator, Ohrmazd, the source of all good. Similarly,

man becomes bad in various ways. Especially by putting faith in a bad religion. And thereby he becomes a holder of relations with the Ghanamino: and he becomes more and most bad by putting more and most faith in the bad religion And thereby he becomes a holder of greater and greatest relations with the source of all evil, the Ghanamino. Therefore, how can there be a mingling of wicked religious teachers in a religion which is the source of good? That is, in what way can there be a mingling of those whose religion is of evil ways, with the good religion connected with the yazads? As the good are said to be holders of relations with the yazads, through goodness; so, how can the wicked, through wickedness?

60. Exposition in the good religion regarding the government of men and the governors.

Be it known that, the governor, over the body which the Creator of unbounded creation, God, has given to man, is his own soul. In the body, the obtaining of the assistance of the yazads, is through Bud.[79] And through it the reasoning faculty becomes a wisher for, and obtainer of; strength. (Man) is a possessor of strength and a keeper-of-himself-durable through Hosh.[80] Through reason[81] man is a finder-out of falsehood, a distinguisher, and a doer of every deed. Owing to much connection with the yazads, through (the faculty named) *Akho,* a path is found to the mind by wisdom, purity and gladness that have an eye for the Invisible. Again, seven[82] other bodily things have been

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79 Bud is derived from the word baodha in the *Avesta*. It is used in Pazand and Persian in the forms bôe and buy, must be understood to refer to the principle or faculty in us which gives us warning, puts us on our guard. Thus, Abujarchameher, the vizier of Nosherwan the Just, in his *Ganjeshaigan* says "Bud is the principle that gives warning." Again in this work, the *Denkard*, Bud is thus defined: "As the harmless light of the sun and the lamp keeps (the people), in the world and in (their) dwellings, unharmed, so Bud is (the power) that keep, the body and soul illuminated and gives to the soul, in the body, unobscured knowledge regarding freedom from harm."

80 *i.e.* Reason, sense.

81 Reason is of two kinds, innate and acquired through knowledge and experience. In the *Ganjeshaigan* it is said, "The business of innate reason is the examination of oneself, for fear of sinful deeds, and the saving of oneself from useless labor; the using of the perishable wealth of this world in the work relating to its End and thereby not diminishing ones wealth relating to the Far shokant and not increasing wickedness. The business of the other reason, acquired through knowledge or experience is to know the good path, and to remain fixed upon it, to search for those things that may prove of higher rank after death in this world, to keep on guard against whatever is mean, not to desire to do that which cannot be done and not to taken in hand that work which cannot be finished."

82 All the Pahlavi Mss. give seven as the number of the senses; but it would appear from the context that six is the correct figure.

created, giving complete embellishment to the body from without; among these are the five senses. These are spoken of; by those who have knowledge regarding them, as the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch, the windows connected with which are placed outside the body; and the nerves in the dwelling are the proper carriers of his messages to the owner[83] of the dwelling-house.[84] Again, there is a description-giving sense-the tongue, which is the bringer out of knowledge regarding the owner of the body from within the body and is the publisher of whatever may be his wishes and thoughts. In this manner every man is made to personally govern his body, for the freedom of his wishes. Hence, (this is) like the kings of the world who are rulers according to their will over people, and, are considered good rulers over the body of the people, by managing the kingdom with wisdom, through the good use of their powers; and, such rule gives to many unworthy persons relations with the Kingdom of Light; and, consequently, such a king becomes happy and respected in the invisible world; but if he be a misuser of his powers, of evil understanding, and an injurer, then, owing to that, his kingdom is at once subverted, and he remains despised and possessed of evil reward, in the ever-harassing hell. Among the people of this world, the nature which is in itself like to the nature of the Creator Ohrmazd, is the nature of holy men, who are keepers of the principle of good thought in *Akho,* givers of place in their hearts to the service of the Spenamino, keepers in their minds of (the commands of) Srosh, sufferers in a sufficient manner, and givers of authoritative decisions to God's creatures and obeyers of the law.[85] The nature of that holy man, whose senses possess, in the body, the powers of the soul, is, – for the purpose of (giving) to the people of the world, through Hosh, knowledge regarding God, – like to that of the holders[86] of relations with heavenly ways; and is, – in obtaining true wisdom by means of the faculty of reason, – as if possessing the brilliancy of fire; (and) is, through the understanding a giver of much admonition for (the doing of) wise deeds and things; as also a raiser to superior rank by imparting knowledge regarding the good religion, and eager to tell and do things calculated for its (religion's) greater purity, and for fuller thought regarding it; and is, – owing to the higher power (residing) in his body, – courageous, not afraid of any one, and a remover (of evil), in the midst of all beholders. Again, (the nature of that holy man) is, – owing to keeping a benignant outlook through the

83 *i.e.* the Soul.

84 *i.e.* the Body.

85 This description is applicable to those who are true prophets of God.

86 *i.e.* the yazads.

eyes, – like that of Khwarshed; – owing to hearing what is good through the ears, – like that of Srosh; – owing to being a truth-teller through the tongue, – like that of Rashn; and, owing to doing good work with the hands and being a mover-about with the feet for righteousness, – a worker for eternity; as also, without evil, by means of the soul and other powers of the body.

61. Exposition in the good religion regarding the obtaining of the nature [Lit. body; hence, personality or nature.] of the Ghanamino himself.

Be it known that, there is an obtaining of the nature of Ahriman by means of thoughts which have reached into *Akho* through an evil mind, and, of the evil heart possessing the knowledge that causes harm, and, of the evil nature of the anger that has fallen into the mind. And hence (man) is of perverse behavior, an acquirer of death, an instructor of men in (what leads to) death, an injurer of good men, and like a chief of sinners. And his nature is, through the powers of the members pertaining to the body and the soul, calculated for infidels. Owing to which, he is, through reason, piercing and hurtful; through *Hosh*, unforgetful of vengeance; through thought, a perpetual harasser of good things; through (his) will, of a nature fit to harass every man; through ambition, a possessor of the vice of swallowing up the world, by means of an evil tumult; through the passions, fired up to blow the smoke of relation with the perverse ways of the evil religion that causes harm to the world; and, through head-strong thoughts, pointer-out, in an inverted order, of thoughts relating to subjection to God which make (a man) to walk in accordance with the law. And he is, through the qualities of an Ashmogh, a doer of deeds, in a cruel manner, and a giver of (things pertaining to) the Ghanamino; through the soul, envious, like Afrasiyab, of all good creation; through Zohak-like heart, an injurer of virtue; and through doing evil deeds with both the hands and running about for evil help with both the feet, hurtful to the world like thieves and wolves.

62. Exposition in the good religion regarding the causes of obtaining wisdom and happiness.

Be it known that, whatever wisdom (and) happiness – these two – exist now, are owing to the principles that give the strength of wisdom and the power of happiness. Among these, by means of the proper power appertaining to the soul, Ohrmazd reaches into the heart of the acquirer of wisdom, and the power of obtaining the wishes,[87] reaches

87 *i.e.* Such as are approved by Ohrmazd.

into the heart of the acquirer of wisdom. And on that wisdom reaching into the mind, a path is found by the mind that is obedient to Ohrmazd and is pure, to see what relates to the invisible; and so (man) becomes worthy of fresh[88] and superior happiness.

63. Exposition in the good religion regarding the power possessed by man, of choosing happiness in this awful world.

Be it known that, the happiness of the soul is desired in two ways. One, by means of the power of innate reason pertaining to the soul, which is (a principle) for sending out the inner movements[89] to the effect to raise the soul to a higher rank. (Another), by means of educated reason, which is (a principle) for sending the outer movements within. Similarly, fear (of hell) is chosen in two ways. One by the rising from within of the causes for discontented wants: another, by the coming in from without of the causes for miserliness regarding mean objects. Good thoughts are the cause of the happiness of the soul and the lords of innate reason. And evil thoughts are the cause of danger and the increasers of evil passions. The reaching of good thoughts into men is from the Spenamino: and the running of evil thoughts is from the Ghanamino. In man there is residence of good thoughts as well as of bad thoughts: from among these, for whose residence should a place be made, and who should be prevented from coming? In the proportion in which a man possesses good thoughts, in that proportion he obtains a high, a middling, or a low abode of happiness. And, he becomes unharassed and of good thoughts by means of innate reason which has good thoughts Similarly, in the proportion in which there is evil thought in him, in that proportion he obtains the abode of fear. By evil thoughts, (a man) has injurious thoughts. And by means of his innate capacity for causing harm, (a man) is, possessed, in his body, of proportionately different degrees of happiness and fear. In man, in the proportion in which there is an acquisition, of prosperity and of wishes, to innate reason, by means of cultivated reason, through the relation of good thoughts; in that proportion is his happiness, (in heaven) powerful over (his) fear (of hell). And, owing to the effect of evil thoughts, just as much of evil understanding, of misery, of disappointment there is, just so much does the power of fear (of hell) prevail over happiness: therefore, a vigilant, holy man lives in this world with good thoughts. and is disgusted with evil thoughts. He who is of evil understanding

88 *i.e.* Ever fresh; everlasting.

89 *i.e.* Thoughts.

and full of evil thoughts, that man is irrational and driven from good thoughts. Now when, in this manner, there is always a destruction of happiness and of reason, owing to the evil understanding pertaining to fear (of hell); (and) when there is always detriment accruing, to fear (of hell) and to evil understanding, from happiness-giving understanding; then, it is not that there may not at all be a man, of the highest rank in happiness and in understanding, who is, with sufficient wisdom, without the fear (of hell). Nor, similarly, is it that the most advanced man, in fear and in evil understanding, may not be without the germ of happiness.

64. Exposition in the good religion regarding happiness arising from (such) wisdom in man (as that) of Farehbut and Aibibut.

Be it known that, the exposition made, in accordance with the religion, of the happiness arising from the wisdom pertaining to Farehbut and Aibibut, is of this kind: – owing to their[90] connection with man being well cemented, there is an accrual to him of the happiness of wisdom. And, owing to that, he, lives with the wisdom of the lifeless happiness of sin. The wisdom of sin remains for ever for (the sake of) the happiness that arises from robbery and ignorance of the religion. But, whatever happiness pertaining to good (wisdom) is (found) in just proportion in men, without this relation,[91] – owing to it, (man) becomes proportioned in happiness; and becomes fit to be approved of in (his) passions, disposition, and conduct; (becomes) one who takes care (of others); brave, and one who pleases with the joys pertaining to the soul. And in the proportion in which the happiness connected with (good) wisdom diminishes, in that proportion the production of the wisdom pertaining to sin prevails over that (good). wisdom. And hence, whatever wisdom pertains to wickedness, that he lays bare. And the person who is much (concerned) in the promotion of the wisdom connected with sin, he is of careless thoughts, a speaker of what is without truth, a giver of birth to the greater success of much inglorious happiness, and a doer of many perverted deeds. And, owing to a wicked understanding that person is (possessed) of habits belonging to the bad religion, is a speaker of what is dreadful and an approver of things that are fit to be given up.

Owing to continued happiness of the nature pertaining to the soul, there is a prevention of the wicked wisdom pertaining to Aibibut. And

90 Of Farehbut and Aibibut.

91 *i.e.* With Farehbut and Aibibut.

that person[92] is a harmer of the increase of the wisdom pertaining to Farehbut and of the happiness pertaining to Aibibut; is of the nature of spirits, and, of good understanding. And in the proportion in which the knowledge connected with happiness is (found) in man, in that proportion the unenduring happiness of sin diminishes. And (when) the superior happiness prevails over it[93] then, the happiness of the wickedness connected with the soul, which (happiness) is for (purposes of) sin, is put a stop to. But when the happiness connected with sin is much in advance, then, the man becomes a hurter of the harmony of holy hymns, and a damager of fresh pleasure; and, of mean wisdom. Owing to much unillumined wisdom, there is a greater prevalence of lifeless happiness and a stoppage of the glory (coming) from the yazads; hence, man remains a disapprover of good conscience and a tyrant. Owing to continued unillumined wisdom, and to the stoppage of cleanliness, there is the lifeless happiness of wickedness. And by it, man becomes possessed of the happiness of Farehbut, of the wisdom of Aibibut, an injurer of the world, and, shameless.

65. About men having the ways of the good religion.

These are of five kinds. One, of these, (consists of) holy (men) who help the good religion by words, strengthen it by deeds, are givers of authoritative decisions to the lovers of the religion, and embellishers of purity. Another, of those who praise the good religion in words and weaken it by deeds. The third, of those who extend the friendship of the religion to deceitful, sinning Ashmoghs, through the precepts of the good religion. The fourth, of those who contemn the good religion in words, but strengthen it by deeds, and give decisions regarding it among sinners; and raise it, without an army, to a higher rank; and keep faith towards God; and guide co-religionist friends hoping for holiness, by higher thoughts. The fifth, of those who despise the good religion in words, but who give decisions regarding it to tyrannous, infidel rulers, and make them move in deeds (relating to it).

66. Exposition in the good religion regarding the coming or not coming of invisible yazads to help the inhabitants of this world.

Be it known that the invisible yazads, who are desirous of rendering help, always come speedily to help mankind when they keep aloof from sin and are righteous; and (they) (the yazads) drive

92 Who puts a stop to wicked wisdom.

93 *i.e.* Over the happiness pertaining to Farehbut.

back the Devs (coming) to harm mankind, while on the way. The clear way to publish well among the people of this world, the desire of the holy Self-existent, to protect mankind and to save them (from evil) and to give them happiness, is through the coming of the invisible yazads to help the people of this world. The running swiftly of men in the ways of the Devs, is owing to keeping back from doing (deeds of) righteousness, and advancing forward in doing (deeds of) sin; and consequently, the acquirement of goodness, by men, from the yazads, is shut off, and the wish of the holy Self-existent is not known to them. For, by the keeping aloof of men from committing sin, and advancing forward in doing (deeds of) righteousness, the ways of holiness of various kinds and of salvation being (open), the yazads, together with doing much harm to the Devs, become the causers of much prosperity to the people, It is mostly owing to the increased success of the yazads, and the better government (of the soul) and the knowledge regarding the good religion, improvements in religion, and the relations with God, that man obtains a life such as he wishes and salvation. The coming of the Devs is for the purpose of deceiving people as much as possible, and for originating in various ways, causes for harassing them by advancing them in sin. For, when countless people in the world keep back from doing righteousness and advance in committing sin, then there is a great increase in the coming of the Devs; and owing to that, not much room is left for the reaching of prosperity to the people of the world from the yazads, and owing to oppression, dissensions, religious blindness and deafness, dishonesty, evil thoughts, and immorality, people remain lean and harrassed. And men suffer much hardship, trouble and pain. Therefore, at such a time, a man should preach, among all men who advance in sin and keep back in righteousness, about turning back from sin and advancing in righteousness; and expatiate in such preachings upon no room being left for the acquirement of happiness from the yazads, owing to the road of the yazads, being shut up, in consequence of the great influx of the Devs, by reason of advancement in sin and keeping back from righteousness; and explain that as a consequence, ample protection from God is not afforded and righteousness is not obtained. So that, owing to such preachings of that man, righteousness may reach to countless persons; and, owing, to the keeping back of people from sin, and advancing in righteousness, cause may be afforded for the final triumph of God. (All) the boundless goodness that accrues to man, consists in keeping aloof from sin and advancing in righteousness, in innumerable ways. Therefore, the man who teaches (people) to keep aloof from righteousness and to advance in sin is a dreadful man; for, being under the government of Devs, he is, among countless people, an

arrester of righteousness, and an increaser of sin, and a destroyer of the glory of God. And, that instructor in keeping back from righteousness and in advancing in sin, is really the cause of the risk of countless people running into hardship and ruin. As from want (of the application) of a remedy to the illness of the body of man, there is danger of the whole of his body becoming diseased, and even, the man quickly dies, by reason of the increase (of the malady), owing to the neglect of the remedy, so, (if men are not prevented from committing sin and made to walk in righteousness, their soul becomes subject to death, that is, becomes, for ever, a sufferer of the pains of hell).

67. Exposition in the Good religion regarding Holy Thoughts being the cause of high thoughts, words and deeds in every matter.

Be it known that, (man) becomes, through all his works and behaviour, possessed of the thoughts relating to the other world and fit for it, by reposing faith in all holy thoughts. And being firm in religion, he is able to repeat of higher sins; but he whose faith is not firm in religion, even if he should pray much by means of his tongue and do much by means of his deeds, still (his work) will not be reckoned to be in accordance with the covenants of the religion. Again, if (a man) repent, by means of his tongue and deeds, of the smallest sin. and if his mind is not (fit) for forgiveness, then he is not a redeemer of himself (from sin). Therefore, in administering worldly justice, the judges of this world, should not decide upon the evidence of such (men). For, (as) the truthfulness of the authoritative decisions of the Mobadan Mobad depends upon (his) thoughts, and the becoming well known of (his) thoughts depends upon (his) speaking (them); so the relation (to man) of deeds which carry the rewards of righteousness is through the Thing (religion) from the holy God. As the giving out of the mind is through speech by means of the tongue, so, the obtaining of good reward, by those who are deserving of good reward is (through a religious conscience). Therefore, if (man's) conduct is not linked with (religion), he does not obtain the good reward of the coming world.

68. Exposition in the good religion as to spending a lifetime.

Be it known that, the spending well the period of life is through conducting oneself by means of the attributes of wisdom. He who is possessed of foresight knows what qualities belong to a high condition; and, (he), filling himself full with the laws of the creator of

the creation, obtains, through the qualities of the highest wisdom pertaining to those laws, a knowledge regarding each (period of) time. In superior station, man's time is spent in greatness of various kinds, to live, as good creation and to obtain happiness. And in inferior station, his time is spent in littleness of various kinds, to live as good creation and to obtain happiness. In (this) time of two kinds, there are two descriptions of qualities, which make him do deeds of right behaviour. (Among them) are those qualities which appertain to behaviour in superior station, and to deeds for spending time well, and to profitable deeds: through them man can become attentive to his good fame, to the goodness pertaining to his soul, and to (the) salvation (of his soul), in this wise. Thus, he might spend, under the guidance of reason, his better days in a good manner, in unambitious beneficence, in the unfretting adoption of means for the End, in disinterested movements, in industry unattended with evil passions, in purity unaccompanied with religious deafness, in happiness which is not perishable happiness, in obedience in which there is no disobedience, in generosity in which there is no miserliness, in truthfulness in which there is no screen, in fearlessness which does not arise in idleness, in justice without deceit, in magnanimity without pride, in good intentions, unaccompanied with evil designs, in conduct in which there is no evil desire, in activity which is without a covering, in courage unaccompanied by evil thoughts, and in other sinless qualities. Such a man is able to conduct himself well in the durable work of making himself respectable and pure, and of high and ever-renowned righteousness. (Similarly) man, in a lower condition (in life) by spending (his) time well under the guidance of reason, by keeping himself from tale-bearing and living circumspectly, by suffering pain without querulousness, by living quietly without thoughts of doing harm, by contentment without idleness, by frugality without miserliness, by pure-dispositioned-contentment unaccompanied with what is impure, by making acquisitions unaccompanied with disrepute or with desires (which would be disreputable), by increase without niggardliness, by gratefulness unaccompanied with ingratitude, by purity in which there is no keeping aloof from righteousness, by hospitality unaccompanied with self praise, by humility without meanness, by honesty unaccompanied with evil intentions, by greatness without revengefulness, by indebtedness that is without harshness, by choice that is without a touch of sin, and by other sinless qualities, qualifies himself as good creation, and becomes an abstainer from the smallest of sins.

69. Exposition in the good religion regarding superior, middling, and inferior deeds.

Be it known that, all the deeds, (commanded to be done) in the religion, have reference to righteousness; and righteousness exists, that (men) should become good. Those persons, who render themselves of high station, and perform great deeds do so, through virtue. Whatever deeds get rid, in a high degree, of the Drujs, and render the world highly, purity-imparting the same are comprised in the four kinds of professions pertaining to the Mazdayasni, religion: among these, the deeds of Athornanship, consisting in approving of the worship of God, in instructing (people) in it, in explaining the commands of the religion, in giving decisions in religious matters, and in doing other work pertaining to Athornanship, are the highest in rank.

In the profession of Arthestar the deeds holding a high rank are heroism, embassy, and other political matters. In the profession of Vastarius, the deeds holding a high rank are the nourishment of the soul and the cultivation of (articles of) food. In the profession of Hutukhs the deeds holding a high rank are the earning of hallowed bread by honest industry and doing skilled work in connection with other occupations of honest industry. Then again, however inferior and mean any work pertaining to the honourable calling of Athornans may be, still in comparison with it, all the works of the above three professions are considered to be of medium rank. And inferior work pertaining to trade, in comparison with the work pertaining to the profession of Vastarius, is the very lowest in rank. Therefore, he who is very rich, should use his superfluous riches, in supporting (others) and in other good deeds pertaining to higher relations. And if in any place there are more cattle and men than can live in it, suitable land should be purchased to keep those men and cattle flourishing, and to let them live in comfort, and that they might properly live and use (it). If there be a dwelling-place of men and cattle, but by their living and being kept in that place their number and progeny are reduced, then that place should be sold for a proper price, and another should be purchased for its true price. For this reason, that thereby cattle and men might obtain much assistance, and, by the work of mutual support continuing among people, mankind might increase. From a good station (in life) these two benefits result: one has reference to the doing of the work pertaining to the more profitable business of the (coming) exalted world; another to the earning of bread for one's maintenance. He who acts in accordance with the religion, is commanded by the good religion, to do the deeds commanded in the religion along with providing for his maintenance.

Again, those deeds which are of an inferior and lower rank than the above, have reference to the earning of honest bread, virtuously, by means of the business pertaining to the profession of a husbandman, and to spending life well. And thus there is a regular carrying on of the professions of Athornan, Arthestar and Hutokhs. He who purchases for himself goods that have reference to evil, and manifests dissatisfaction at men living in his country and cattle being kept, and is very neglectful in growing corn in consequence of which (neglect) countless people suffer from want and starvation, and through whom all men and cattle become ill and wounded, – such a man is reckoned as an infidel. For, he, by reason of doing evil to the world through want, and by thus doing harm to human beings obedient to God, is rejected from good, and is a keeper of himself in relation with the Diminisher (of virtue – i.e. Ahriman). And such a man is, notwithstanding the remedies pertaining to the good religion, a great sinner.

70. Exposition in the good religion regarding (acts of) righteousness which may be promised and performed by the believer in the good religion to (and towards) the believer in an evil faith.

If at any time, a believer in an evil religion, having much thought about righteousness, makes known his (repentant) thoughts regarding his evil religion, in the presence of the chief (Dastur) possessed of true thoughts, true words, and true deeds; and solicits that the help of reciting the Gathas and of invisible righteousness might be rendered (to him); then, for the sake of the soul of the unfortunate sinner, money having been received from that evil believer, it is good that Gathas should be recited, and, as many as practicable, deeds of righteousness should be done. As it is proper to give medicine to a sick person expectant of health, so it is lawful, for the sake of the soul, expectant of righteousness, of that believer in the evil religion who shows a liking for the good religion, during his lifetime, to do (righteous) works, and through their instrumentality to liberate the soul of that believer in the evil religion from hell. For, the righteousness done for the sake of the soul of that unfortunate (man) after he is dead and fallen into hell, does not help him, and no righteousness will release him from hell. As, by pouring medicine into a dead body, no help is rendered to it, and the medicine being useless to the body is wasted; so is the worship by means of the Gathas in behalf of that Dev-worshipper.

71. Exposition in the good religion regarding the good, the better, and the best among men, and the bad, the worse and the worst among those who are evil.

Be it known that, whoever has a disposition and does works to cause prosperity in the world, and a disposition and does works to cause immortality in the world, resembles greatly Soshyant in disposition and work, and is the best among men and the highest in goodness. And he whose disposition and work render assistance to the work of that person (above mentioned) is of an inferior rank in goodness to that person. And he whose disposition and work are not to oppose the disposition and work of those (two) persons mentioned above is of an inferior rank in goodness.

He who is possessed of a disposition to, and is a doer of works that, cause decrease in the world, is a doer of works of the nature of those of Johak; and he who is possessed of a disposition and does works that bring death into the world resembles greatly the nature and work of Malkus and is a holder of the highest rank in evil among wicked persons. And he who is a renderer of assistance to the disposition and work of that person is of an inferior rank to that person in excessive wickedness. And he whose disposition and work are not to oppose the disposition and work of the above mentioned wicked persons, is of an inferior rank in evil.

72. Exposition in the good religion regarding those among women who deserve to be approved and those who deserve to be rejected.

The (following) exposition in the good religion is made known regarding women whose conduct is fit to be approved or fit to be disapproved by any person of the good religion who is a giver of attention to this matter. Women are necessarily of these four kinds: good as well as bad; not bad, and good; not good, and bad; and neither good nor bad. From among these any woman who is not bad and is good should be selected to manage household affairs and to give happiness and comfort to the master of the house. And to keep oneself free from unhappiness she who is good and bad ought not to be obtained; and (men) should positively keep aloof from choosing, from among the two descriptions of women mentioned above, her who is not good and is bad, over her who is neither good nor bad.

73. Exposition in the good religion as to how the creation of the Creator Ohrmazd ought to conduct itself.

Be it known that, the conduct of the creatures of Ohrmazd in this world consists in mixed thoughts through the instrumentality of two principles: therefore, (men) should guide themselves by means of one of the two (principles), – by means of the affection of the mind fit to be approved and of the wish fit to be approved. The guiding (of himself by man), from among the two (principles), by means of the affection of the mind fit to be approved, is brought about by means of the truthful elements possessing the strength that has reference to life, which are in (his) body. And people, by guiding themselves by means of these elements, and smiting the Blemish-giver, obtain the relations of Frashokant. And by guiding himself by means of wishes fit to be approved, man becomes improved in immortal and great thoughts, words and deeds; and increases holiness by means of good thoughts good words, and good deeds; darkens the Drujs; smites the Blemish-giver; and does benefit to people. Of the two principles which keep (men) in subjection, if any man makes people to act upon that principle which moves by means of the affection of the mind which is fit to be approved and makes them to hold relations with Frashokant; and similarly, by making people act upon that principle which moves by means of the desire which is fit to be approved, and which has reference to immortality and greatness, makes the strength of the good religion and of good government to reach up to all people who act in accordance with the precept humat, hukht and hvarsht and fully increases holiness; and completely darkens the Drujs; and drives out the Blemish-giver and reduces (his powers) of causing harm; and makes people bright through goodness; – then that man is an improver (of men) for all kinds of goodness and has the forethought of the Creator. (But) those religious teachers who, to make people guilty, make them act by means of the mental affections and wishes which have reference to shortcomings at the End, thereby make themselves captive for ever and deserving of hell. Therefore, if their religion, while it makes (people) act wickedly, is spoken of as a religion of high rank, there is forethought in its not being spoken of in that manner.

74. Exposition in the good religion regarding the (creation) in the heavens.

It is said in accordance with religion that the heavenly creation is prior to the earthly. Just as a bird is produced from an egg, so the creatures of this world and other creation have been produced. And as

the egg surrounds the bird, so round about all creation are the heavens. There are three descriptions of mansions in the heavens: One of these is a mansion entirely without darkness, full of light, wholly good without evil, and joyous without any misery; and the very highest mansion among them is named the garothman behesht and in the best part of it is the residence of the Creator Ohrmazd, the Ameshaspands and other Yazads, and the Farohars that have not (yet) taken birth (in this world), and of bright stars; and it is without defilement from the Blemish-giver. Another is a mansion lightless, dark, devoid of any goodness, wicked, devoid of any joy, miserable and black; the meanest and uneven part of it is the residence of Ahriman, and of law-breakers, and of others who come across the protection of the world. [The third mansion is that of this world, midway between paradise and hell. And it has both light and darkness, goodness and evil and happiness and misery; and in it] those who are possessed of the three attributes of contentment, superior rank (as regards the next world) and industry, without doubt hold relations with the Self-existent and know the Self-existent. The knowledge of the self-existent is (obtained) through wisdom; similarly, faith in the Lord is (acquired) by means of the original unveiled eye belonging to the soul of man. Therefore, as an exemplar of the eye of wisdom, the veiled eye which regulates the body should be kept open with the original eye of the soul; for, evil passions, ambition, envy, revenge and other destructive, hurtful and pain-giving Drujs (i. e. passions) remove the wisdom of man from his body and, by guiding (man) towards worldly good, and, through worldly good, snatch away the good (happiness) of the coming world: therefore, bodily attributes are (bestowed) to fight against (and) to make of no weight worldly good. For instance, to oppose evil passions (there) is the attribute of wisdom; to oppose ambition, contentment; to oppose anger, meekness; to oppose envy, justice; and to oppose revenge, patience. There are three superior attributes of wisdom, – contentment, magnanimity and industry. So long as these attributes remain (in man), so long the other evil attributes receive no weight. Those (persons) who are ruined in respect of the happiness of the coming world, owe it to their being attracted towards the happiness of this world. (So long as) the evil attribute of idleness is not held and kept in the body of man, (so long) the evil attributes in man, remaining dormant, hold up no screen to prevent the things pertaining to the soul from being seen. And owing to that the dominion of the eye of the soul remains free. And (thus) men secure the love of the Yazads, by looking well at (i.e. attending to) them, and knowing them; and owing to that they hold relation with the holy Self-existent. Therefore, the religion imparted by those religious teachers

who put a veil before the eye of the soul, and who do the work of keeping back the Yazads from man (calculated) to disappoint men in respect of knowing their Creator: hence those who command men to know the Self-existent through such a religion, certainly delude them, through such commands, towards thoughts of ruin. Therefore, such a religion ought not to be reckoned as a religion, but it must be called (a religion) for the worship of the demon of ambition.

75. Exposition in the good religion regarding man's becoming possessed of superior strength through doing deeds of righteousness, and of inferior strength through doing deeds of sin; and regarding (man's) improvement owing to righteousness and his separation (from his Creator) owing to sin.

Be it known that (man) obtains the most superior rank by doing righteous deeds through the strength (derived) from the righteous Principle of the Spenamino. And (he obtains) the most inferior rank by doing deeds of sin, through the strength (derived) from the sinful Principle of the Ghana-mino. In the doing of the work relating to the two minos, the creation of a love for righteousness is owing to the reaching of the principle of righteousness, (which is), of good reward into the conscience of man; and hence is man's improvement. Similarly, the production of a fondness for sin is owing to the reaching of the grievous principle of evil into the heart of man. It is for his (own) destruction that man embellishes himself through the Blemish-giver. The production of a fondness in man for the performance of the work relating to both the Minos depends upon (his) belief in the powers of each of them. (Man) is a believer in the good Mino of righteous principles for the purpose of acquiring righteousness; and owing to that (the Mino) having the form of a beautiful young girl, be-decked in person and bearing the name of a virgin, comes forth as a helper in conducting after death the soul of the righteous (into paradise); and the soul of the holy man is enabled, owing to righteousness preponderating over sin, to pass the road along the Chinwad (bridge) and to mount high towards the high, ever-to-be-chosen mansions (of paradise). Again, (man) becomes a believer in the evil Mino of sinful principles by doing deeds that help sinfulness; and owing to that the (Mino) that gives evil assistance (after death) to the unfortunate soul of that sinful (man), comes forth to meet it in the shape of a girl, be-decked in person as a courtesan, bearing the name of a married woman and possessed of a hurtful constitution. And the soul of that sinful man, owing to his sin being greater than his righteousness, having been carried along the lower pathway

connected with the Chinwad (bridge) is imprisoned in the abodes (of hell) with that evil-bodied (courtesan). And the information which is found in the good religion about this (subject) is this that for him there is no liberation till the time of Frashegird, but that he will have to suffer (till then) the pains and stings (of hell).

76. Exposition in the good religion regarding the heavenly principle of wisdom and the evil passions.

Be it known, that all good qualities exist because of the heavenly principle of wisdom. And in it are comprised (those) six good qualities. Of these, one is the (quality) of consummate thought, which is free from (any) relation to immoral thought that has reference to faults; another is the quality of courage, which is free from the touch of sinful discord; the third is the quality of industry, which is free from avarice which is a fault; the fourth is the quality of contentment, which is free from the contact of idleness; the fifth is (the quality) of approbation of wisdom, which is free from the selfishness of faulty evil propensities; and the sixth is (the quality) that has reference to the increase of wisdom, which is free from faulty perverse desires. Whoever has in him the above six helpful qualities, he is possessed of heavenly wisdom. And, consequently, that (man) possessed of heavenly wisdom is enabled, among all defective men, to protect (himself) well and to attain superior rank. All the evil qualities that are in man are owing to the faculties of the evil passions. And they are these six law-breaking evil qualities: – Of these, one is (the evil quality of) immoral thought which is devoid of consummate thought (and) which is sinful; the second is (the evil quality of) discord, allied to faults, (and) wanting in courage; the third is (the evil quality of) sinful, unindustrious avarice; the fourth is (the evil quality of) sinful, idle discontentedness; the fifth is (the evil quality of) sinful selfishness of the evil passions, which is devoid of the approbation of wisdom; and the sixth is (the evil quality of) sinful, perverse desires, unlearned in knowledge. He who, owing to evil passions, is possessed of these six perverse evil qualities, endures much hardship and his faith is the perverse path of evil passions. Owing to that he is, among men, a bad man and fit to be despised. (Therefore) the religion of those religious teachers who are disapprovers of the trouble (necessary) to virtuous honesty and are promulgators among men of a religion that is hurtful to them, causes hardship and injury of every kind to men by means of perverse conduct which is influenced by evil passions. (Such a religion) is, in accordance with the ways of wisdom, considered as obstructive to mankind, as also, inimical to them; therefore, it is not proper to call such a religion a religion.

77. Exposition in the good religion as to how to know the Lord Creator.

It is said in the religion that, it is through the power and the assistance of the Yazads that man knows the holy Self-existent, fights with the Drujs and delivers his body and soul from them, and possesses the power of managing the other creation of this world. Under the design of the Creator, man is born, and has the power to direct himself, under the superintendence of the Yazads. The abode (in man) of the evil qualities of the evil passions is for the purpose of obstructing heavenly wisdom and for contriving to plunge man into sin. The power of the Blemish-giver reaches into man through the perverse principles, and owing to that such (men) give pain to the Yazads. That which procures friendship for people of this world among beings of the highest order is heavenly wisdom. Through it men know their Creator and live in confidence in the Lord: and know that the Yazads are (i. e. exist) for virtue; the Devs for vice; the Truthful for truth; the Untruthful for untruth; the Benefactor for benefit; and the Harm-doer for harm: And by means of the good religion (they) keep aloof from sin, acquire righteousness, carry on (the affairs of) the world, maintain their bodies, and save their souls (from hell). Evil passions are, owing to evil, mean and extremely hurtful, and they have reached among the people of this world from the Blemish-giver, for their destruction; owing to them men remain without the power to know their Creator and in want, and suppose that the Yazads are (i.e. exist) for vice, that the Devs are for virtue; that the Untruthful is for truth, that the Truthful is for untruth, that sin is for righteousness, that righteousness is for sin, and that benefits are for harm; and (thus) they are damned. And owing to the evil religion of the Blemish-giver they remain aloof from righteousness, run towards sin, do evil to people, and do not approve of the thoughts connected with the invisible Yazads. It is owing to the superior strength and the superintendence of heavenly wisdom that man keeps aloof from the perverse path and has the life of the good path. And it is owing to the superior strength and the superintendence of the evil passions that man remains aloof from the good path and passes his life in an evil manner. Therefore, those persons who are spoken of as religions teachers ought to impart the religion of heavenly wisdom to those among the living creation of God whose conduct, being without a proportion of heavenly wisdom, is that of the evil passions, that they might repent o£ the deeds done through the evil passions and pluck out the roots of sin. Not only that, but (they) ought to hold in contempt those among men who are thankless to God and are sinful.

78. Of the way of the Mazdyasnian religion being the law of Him who has the power of forbearance.

Be it known that, as bright light is an exemplar of light of a higher kind and as true wisdom typifies all wisdom and truthfulness; so the law of the Mazdyasnian religion of the Forbearer points out the way of the religion for His worship. And so in the scheme of the good religion there are three doctrines. One of them has reference to life in this world in the flesh; the second is about the invisible world which is to succeed the bodily state; and the third has reference to the work of Frashegird at the End. The scheme as regards the present world consists in remaining aloof from hurtful objects and in alleviating human misery. Therefore, he who is a worshipper of God, acts properly according to law, keeps aloof from causing pain or harm, and, having knowledge of the ills and pains affecting his body, keeps himself happy; and he through every object that gives happiness, knows his Creator. For man to know his Creator, is for the purpose of knowing Him of the evil religion. The pure, by living according to the law (and) committing no transgression, and by not breaking their word with others, become fit for the work of the religion. The (second) doctrine, (that) relating to the immortality of the coming world, after the bodily state has been ended, has reference, to the purchase of the merchandise of righteousness for the purpose of remaining pure, as far as possible, while living in this world, by means of every wish and conception regarding the soul; and to the removal of sin. The last doctrine, about the Frashegird, has reference to the well-meaning design of the Creator regarding the End. It contains excellent precepts regarding the purification of the good dispositioned creation, and the plucking out from among mankind and breaking the powers of the Blemish-giver which render (men) sinful as well as untruthful, and the imparting of complete purity from the pollution of sin to the souls of transgressors which have been rescued from hell, and improving their enfeebled condition into the eternal immortal nature of the souls of holy men and making them highly lustrous: (so that) no one from among the creation of the Self-existent might render himself greedy through greed. Among the people of this world his work is not in accordance with the law, whose business it is to wound and to give pain. For, to do harm and to give pain is the work of perverse, (and) irreligious persons and of those who are disobedient to God. Therefore, if there be religious teachers, who, being of the religion with the doctrines about the coming world and the redemption at the time of the Frashegird, do not adopt means to deliver other persons ill whom all desires and ideas have reference to the source of sin, and if, in consequence, a great many men, being eternally damned, are thrown into hell unredeemed; their religion, although from God, is

calculated to make (the men of) their race (fitted) for the evil End, owing to their not making people act according to the law, giving them evil assistance, and not imparting to them knowledge regarding the End. And as much a wolf is said to be the destroyer of its young, owing to the influence of greed which is connected with idleness; (so much destructive are such religious teachers).

79. Exposition in the good religion regarding that in respect of which the soul is finally judged.

Be it known that the final judgment of the soul bears a relation to its desires and capacities. And men in this respect are essentially of five kinds. One (kind) is (composed of men) whose desires are conscientiously (set) on (their) Creator and His religion, and who possess the requisite intelligence to make inquiries respecting them (both) with the object of knowing them: hence, if such a man makes inquiries regarding the good religion and acquires knowledge about it, and putting faith in it, does righteous deeds as is enjoined by the good religion, and keeps aloof from sin, he, according to the religion is a holy man. But if (he), being possessed of the power to make inquiries, is unable to obtain knowledge regarding the good religion, and, notwithstanding (every) possible effort, is disappointed in (his) inquiries; he (yet) has hopes of delivering (his soul) from hell, by doing any righteous deeds in accordance with practice made current by conscience which is from God. Another (kind) is (composed of men) who love (their) Creator and His religion cordially but who do not possess intelligence enough to obtain by inquiries, as much knowledge as is necessary, concerning the good religion, and who so far as they know, keep aloof from sin, and do as much righteousness as they know of; such men, owing to (their) loving (their) Creator and His religion and to the strength of that righteousness and of the keeping aloof from sin, have hopes of being delivered from hell. The third (kind) is (composed of men) who love the holy God and His religion with their hearts, and are eager to make inquiries, but have not intelligence to understand the good religion, and who are such men as are unable themselves to understand the design (thereof) owing to lack of wisdom. The salvation of such men is possible through the power of (directing) their hearts towards the self-existent Creator and the wisdom of His religion. The fourth (kind) is (composed of men) who love the Creator and His religion with their hearts, but have not the intelligence to understand the good religion by making inquiries regarding it, and who are such men as are unable by means of the faculty of intelligence to obtain a knowledge (through others) of what is not in their possession. For such men there is a

means of salvation through their hearts being with the holy Self-existent and His religion. The fifth (kind) is (composed of men) who have not the heart to love (the) Creator and His religion: for such men, notwithstanding the connection with sin, there is a reason for their deliverance from hell, owing to the desire (for love) having been taken away from their hearts.

80. Answer returned by a Herbad (i.e. priest) from a knowledge of the Mazdayasnian religion on being asked the reason why it was wrong for a Herbad to marry with a well-loving Yahudi (i.e. Hebrew).

The reason is that, wounds, harm and pain having been caused by a defendant to a complainant, a discussion arises as to his complaint: consequently men who are bound by the precepts of the religion ought, with the object of avoiding sin and strife, to tie the knot of marriage with such believers in the religion, as that strength might accrue to them and to the people of their race for deliverance from hell by means of prayers and devotions to God. The prosperity of the progeny of men is (secured) by marriages entered into with this object of receiving mutual assistance. Khwetodas is then said to be formed when it is formed within ones own race. And thus honour is obtained by (ones own) descendants and strength is acquired by relatives and co-religionists, through prayers (offered) to the holy Self-existent. (Therefore) those who, with a view to improvement and concatenation for the Frashegird form, a (wedded) pair of man and wife, from among their own people, should form the tie of that relationship, in order that it may endure with safety for a long period, with the nearest of their kindred and with the most known of (people) known to them from among their community. That relationship (formed) for (the sake of) offspring which is deserving of most thought, is, in particular, of three kinds: of these one is that of father and daughter, the second is that of son and mother, and the, third is that of brother and sister. And the explanation of this recondite expression has been thus given by Dasturs learned in the religion in accordance with the religion. We say that whatever the self-existent has Created in the world is male and female; among these that which is male is the son and that which, as its mate, is female is the daughter and (He) himself is the father. Now, the earth Spandarmad, from which (all) creation has originated is considered as His mate; out of her He created Gayomard who was a male. And all men are born because of that first man. As long as Gayomard existed, so long he was living, speaking and mortal. The limitation of the three words, living, speaking and mortal, which every man has obtained, is from him

(Gayomard); of these, that (man) is creation, the possessor of life and speech is owing to the father, the Creator; and (he is) mortal owing to the Blemish-giver prevailing over him. The series of men having these limits will continue connected with that person until the Frashegird. Now, the birth of a male to the daughter, by the assistance of the father, and the creation which was (thus) formed, we call the Khwetodas of father and daughter. Again, it is made known in the religion, that when Gayomard died, his semen, which is called his seed, fell into the earth Spandarmad, which was his mother, (and) through that connection Mashya and Mashyani were born as the son and daughter of Gayomard and Spandarmad: that we call the Khwetodas of son and mother. And Mashya and Mashyani, living with each other, did the work of increasing their race, and we call the creation which was thus produced, the Khwetodas of brother and sister. Many pairs of children were born to these Mashya and Mashyani, and each of these pairs lived as man and wife; and all the people who have been born, and will be born, owe their existence to this ancient ancestry. The creation (of man) having thus originated from the holy Self-existent, a means is (thereby) furnished of knowing Him who is the Lord of existence; that is, the people of all the Keshwars have obtained knowledge regarding the holy Self-existent through the increase of creation, and thus the author of that increase is known. I must (here) state that the Devs are the enemies of man, (and) their wishes and movements are for destruction; therefore, it is incumbent (on men) that they should be eager in forming marriage alliances, that thus they (the Devs) might be brought to an evil destiny. All men are bound fully to acknowledge their obligation to the Lord who willed the commencement of this work (i.e. the creation of mankind in accordance with laws), owing to which (acknowledgment) much dread, pain and harm are caused to those who are their enemies (i.e. the Devs), and their power is diminished; and thus they find no occasion for obstructing and harming mankind. So long as there exists (among men) righteous doing like this (i.e. like that of Kwedosad), so long they are able to render the Devs miserable, afflicted, terrified, and oppressed; and in this way the righteous obtain the reward and recompense of righteousness. (Again) I must state that (the) children (of men) generally resemble in features, shape of body, growth, goodness, intelligence, goodness of disposition, gratefulness, affection, enterprise, constitution, and similar other matters, the original parents who give them birth. And this is considered very proper and just. Again, ideas are suggested to us on this subject by this (consideration) that, the Athornan class, which is pure, (always) has faith, in the coming world, is grateful, shows magnanimity towards the weak, and keeps in fear of God. And

the Arthestar (class) is (always) a bearer of the battle-axe, a promoter of order in this world, of stalwart body, powerful, stout-hearted and brave; and remains unsatisfied with (even) lifelong battle and daring; and like a hunting dog or a wolf, is careless of life, and does not keep aloof (from taking the life of others). Again, meek cattle are not cruel like the wolf; similarly, a wolf is not so noble (an animal) as a (hunting) dog; and without the (hunting) dog, the bodies (of man and cattle) cannot be protected. Again those horses which are foaled by fleet Arab (sires) out of native (dams), do not run like Arab horses. Similarly native born horses do not run like Arabs. (Nor), similarly do Badavit (horses) resemble native (horses). Again, a mule, born of a horse and an ass, does not exactly resemble, in (its) nature, either the horse or the ass. In this manner, none among these (animals) resemble each other, and that being so, injury is done to the true breed and the progeny (thereof) does not increase. Therefore, there is great advantage in preserving one's race in an uncontaminated condition. Hence what I say is this, that among men four varieties of affection are recognized between children born to brothers and sister: one (where) the children of one brother love those of (another) brother; the second, (where) the children of a brother love those of a sister; the third, (where) the children of a sister love those of (another) sister; (and) the fourth, (where) the children of one cousin (love) those of (another) cousin. Owing to such (love), persons of these four descriptions entertain love, solicitude, eagerness, and desire for the support of their children of four (corresponding) descriptions; and thus they give birth to stainless children.

(Question). Similarly then, it is much more necessary to love children that may be born of connections formed between father and daughter and between son and mother, and to be careful for their welfare and safety?

(Answer). It is (well) known that among some nations sexual congress with (ones) children is considered to be highly pleasurable and in accordance with religion, but the cause of this (custom) must necessarily be some inferior descendants of some person of a different race and of a perverse religion. And if, through such connubial love and joy, a son be born to a person of his daughter, he would be (her) brother while she would be considered his (the son's) mother. And of any son born of the intercourse between mother and son, he (the begetter) would be reckoned the brother as well as the father: therefore, this is an improper and incestuous marriage custom. If so, such a person has thereby no part in the prayers to the Self-existent and in the joy of heaven, but gives rise thereby to increased harm, and, while doing no benefit, is not of a pleasant aspect, and has many

blemishes. If you mean to ask, what evil aspect there could be in this? then you must attend to this, that if the mother or sister or daughter of a person should happen to be wounded in her private parts, and it is indispensable that she should go to a physician and get him to put a seton in that place, what is there wrong in her father, son, and brother keeping aloof from doing the work of the physician? For it is not proper that they should touch the part rather than a stranger.

(Question). If those who wish to form such a pair (of a Hebrew and a Parsi) should let their intention of being positively husband and wife be known by means of a message, and should make arrangements therefor, and should inform all the people of the city, by means of the drums and pipes used on the occasion of marriages, that they are going to marry, that is, that "such and such Parsi is going to do such and such a thing (marry) with the daughter, sister, or mother of such and such Armenian," and if, after people have been made acquainted with the matter, a (married) pair was formed of them, that ought to be proper. How can (such a pair) be evil of aspect and mutually unloving? (On the contrary, such a pair) is not ill-seeming, one towards the other and is mutually helpful, through good behavior.

(Answer.) It is apparent that, difference of race cannot secure an advantageous condition to pass life in, connivance at defects, similarity of thoughts, participation in benefits or injuries occasioned to one or the other, and contentedness over what is earned; for, some women in spite of the inability of, and (owing to) lack of courage in their husbands, force them to purchase more articles for their use (than are necessary), and, failing to obtain these, from their husbands, domineer over them, to show off their superiority: just as a great many other foreign women are ready to domineer in like manner and require ornaments and beautiful dresses to wear, slave-girls, pleasant-looking colours, perfumes, and a great many other things liked by mistresses of houses, which cannot be promised. And if there is no escape but in promising them, (then) there follow quarrels (and) abuses, and bad words are uttered. And if increased pressure is put to obtain them, then the mystery remains hidden, and they (i.e. husband and wife) misbehave (towards each other) day and night, and look not at each other's face. And the bad woman goes away to the house of her parents, and drags (her) husband before the judges, and (the judges) give a decision for her to remain (with her husband) without doing harm. And if the husband should say that he did not wish to keep her as (his) wife, because of the various evil defects, harm, hardship, vice, and sin in her: But, if the judges, should not dissolve the marriage on any one of these grounds, then, how can that pair secure an advantageous condition, a good life, – living on

small means, spending (their) time with honour, – and the higher strength to live contented? If you reply that such consequences result from races that are evil-thinking and mean, then, it must be borne in mind that the increase of evil and meanness does not take place of itself, but a great many children become vicious by taking a liking to the disposition of others and by loving them. (Some people assert), from thoughts connected with sexual congress, that many (children) derive beautiful forms from beautiful women; but according to the opinions of those who live under the protection of the pure Ohrmazd such a woman is ugly, for, we consider (the practice of) having sexual congress naked, (a) bad (practice), and similarly, (other) people consider it a blemish. And we consider those to be beautiful, who have clothes on, and they (i.e. persons of the opposite view) consider them to be depraved. We consider him (or her) beautiful whose nose is uniform with his (or her) face; (but) those whose nose is higher than the face, consider him (or her) ugly, and say that that (nose) which comes out like a wall between the two eyes is fit to be preferred and is beautiful. From this it appears that beauty and ugliness are not original (ideas) but that they consist in the choice (of men). Similarly, conscientiousness consists in moving within (the sphere of) that religion which is ancient and which explains the design (of things)[1]. He who has shaved his head appears to us to be ugly, for in our religion such people are considered margarjan sinners. Those citizens therefore, with whom it is lawful to shave their heads, are prohibited on that score. There is, then, wisdom in this that she, who cannot on every side be thought badly of, should for purposes of righteousness be considered to be beautiful. In some communities the practice of acting thus (i.e. marrying) among themselves does not prevail at all; but they have (a practice) of (marrying), if (they) should like them, wicked and irreligious persons wherever found. But we in accordance with the way of wisdom, i.e. in a way to secure from the Creator the reward of righteousness for those born thus, are preservers of (our) offspring and protectors of (our) progeny. And it is for this reason that we are (reckoned to be) people who take means for the End, and (who) place (their) affections (on women) in such a way as to benefit (their) children, assist (their) descendants, and secure the hope (of heaven) to (their) progeny: and, similarly, he is a delightful husband who is sweet-tongued, gives much happiness, is harmless, is gain-causing in various ways, is full of resources, highly skilled in the arts, beautiful, and a giver of other well-known comforts; as also a remover of injurious and hurtful things, fearless, of himself brilliant, and a rejecter of the customs of (other) people. All our ancestors and forefathers have been (in the habit of) approving, in accordance with the provisions of the religion, such deeds (i. e. marriages) and doing

them. Therefore, he who is known to the people as seeking salvation ought to be considered beautiful. Again testimony to the same effect it accorded us through the intellect that, that which is improper should not be done. If you should wish to assert that although to do so (i.e. to marry in this manner) is considered mean in our religion, that is, is prohibited by the religion, yet those precepts which are founded in wisdom should be observed, (the answer is) that that precept (as to intermarriages between different races) does not appear to us to be wise and of the first rank: the reason of which is that it appears on a minute (and) real examination that, as the creation of all mankind depends on khwetodas, that is on marriage, so the creation of wisdom of every kind depends upon the union of these two – Asn khrad [innate wisdom] and Goshosrud khrad [acquired wisdom]: of these, Asn khrad is the female and Goshosrud khrad is the male: these two are as brother and sister through God, the Creator. And to every living thing of this world there is maturity and improvement through the relative proportion of these (two). In the same manner, water is a female and fire a male: they too, in their class, should be considered as brother and sister. If their mutual relationship he prevented, destruction would be caused thereby; not only that, but the life-giving semen itself which is generated in the brain, by the equiproportioned strength of water and fire, would be injured. For, if water was in excess it would decompose it (the semen) and if fire (i.e. heat) was in excess it would burn it (the semen).

81. Praises (composed) from a knowledge of the good religion for recital in the daily prayers to Dadar Ohrmazd.

Be it known that, every person of the good religion ought, when reciting, at the beginning of a Gah, (standing) opposite to the sun, Niyayesh and Yasht, to Dadar Ohrmazd, positively to recite together with the Avesta this prayer. A person of the good religion who is praying, as also he, who is not qualified to pray, when he arrives at the age when he can pray, ought, at the time of reciting, (standing) opposite to the sun, Niyayesh to Dadar Ohrmazd, to recite, with knowledge and attention, precepts made known in writing below. And at the end of this praise, three Ashem-vohus should be recited, and at the end of each Ashem vohu the head must be bent down and a bow made. This admirable praise was composed by a Dastur of the good religion.

> (I) praise the name of that Minoyan mino, the increaser, worthy to be praised, who always was, always is, and always will be; whose one name is Ohrmazd, the God

who is the greatest among all, wise, Creator, supporter, protector, endurer, the lord of righteousness, forgiver, and dispenser of excellent and pure justice. Thanks be to the exalted Lord of the world, who, of his own power and wisdom, has created six Ameshaspands of high rank, numerous Yazads, the shining paradise, Garothman, the surrounding heavens, the hot sun, the shining moon, the numerous stars, the wind, the atmosphere, the fire, the water, the earth, the trees, the cattle, the metals, and mankind. Adoration and prayers to the righteous Lord who, for the purpose of rule over people and to make people walk together to fight against the Devs, has bestowed upon man speech and the power to think, and (thus) made (him) superior to each created thing of this world. (I) bow in the presence of the omniscient and caretaking Lord, who has sent, through Zartosht Spitaman of the adorable farohar, for the purpose rendering people friendly towards Him, the wisdom of the religion, worthy of faith through natural intelligence and knowledge of science – wisdom that is the best for the guidance of all persons who are, were and will be. That is, that (through the wisdom of the religion) the soul is freed from the pains of hell, and reaches into the shining, fragrant, ever-happy, (and) the highest mansions of the pure. O (thou) Lord Protector! in obedience to thy command I am firm in the pure religion and I promise to think and speak and do every righteousness. Forgive me Thou (my) many sins; (may) I keep my own conduct pure, and (may) I, in accordance with Thy wishes, righteous Lord, keeping uncontaminated the six powers of the soul – work, speech, thought, reasoning, memory, and intellect – (and) in order to obtain the riches of the next world through good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, worship Thee, that I may thus open (for myself the path to the shining paradise: that is that the heavy punishment of hell may not be inflicted upon me and I may, passing over the Chinwad bridge, reach into the fragrant all-adorned and eternally happy mansions of paradise. (Praise be) to the Lord of gifts, who bestows upon those who obey his commandments the reward of righteous wishes and who will at the end liberate transgressors from hell and adorn the world with purity.

82. Exposition in the good religion regarding the reasons for the plan (of this and the next world).

Be it known that, the reason for the (plan of the) invisible world and this world are of two kinds. Of these, the reasons for the safety and the ease of the invisible world are, the wishes of the Yazads, the strength (derived) from the (invisible) bestowers of good, the blessings of the good, the love of the pure, and the virtuous objects of the good. And the reasons for the illness and hardship (of the next world) are the oppression of the Devs, the work relating to reptiles, the evil wishes of the diminishers, the praises of sorcerers, and the evil objects of the bad. Safety in this world is owing to virtuous (self) restraint, and ease is owing to industry. Similarly, illness is owing to living without (self) restraint; and hardship is owing to idleness. Whatever safety and ease, and whatever illness and hardship belong to the next world, to what causes are they to be ascribed? To the powers that help and harm man in this world. What are the powers that help and harm in this and the next world? Those powers which, in this world, procure good things for man and increase his safety and ease, and those powers which approve of his illness and hardship. How does (man) become qualified for the next world? And from what is there safety (regarding the next world). From conscientious wishes that help in this world and from practicable efforts. From what is there ease (in the next world?) From industry that helps in this world. From what is there illness? From the cruel wishes of this world pertaining to Farehbut and from enfeebling oppression. From what is there hardship (in the next world)? From the obstructive idleness of this world? How does (man) become qualified for this world? And from whom is there safety (regarding this world)? From the source of joy, the invisible helpers (the Yazads). From what is there ease (in this world)? From the good gifts of the invisible helpers. From whom is there hardship in this world? From cruel, invisible (Devs) with thoughts to cause pain. From whom is there hardship (in this world)? From the evil-causing invisible (Devs), the doers of cruel deeds. The learned philosopher knows well the causes of good and evil in the next world and in this world. In what does goodness consist? In the improvement of mankind. In what does evil consist? In not adopting the appointed means against evil, and in not being industrious. (Goodness) concerning the next world consists in the worship of the bountiful Yazads, and in securing their good-pleasure, and in the non-remembrance of reptile-dispositioned Devs, and in causing them distress. And (goodness) in this world consists in the preservation of the body, in medicaments, in well-directed industry, and in being contented. Of the two (worlds), men are enabled to perform the work of existence in the first, through the influence of the second. Therefore

religious teachers, who do not even perform some of the work of the religion, to guide people in this manner, and who are without a regular knowledge of the religion, ought to be removed (from their position) for want of knowledge (of the religion).

83. Exposition in the good religion regarding guiding the people of this world by admonitions of various kinds.

Be it known that, there are various ways in which the people of this world may guide (their) emotions in accordance with the laws of the Creator in (the present) state of contamination with the Blemish-giver. That is to say, that for the merchandise of life, (man), through his emotions, is able to guide himself in various ways, by means of the law of the Self-existent, without turning towards those who have perverse passions. In particular, he who, through (his) emotions, is a doer of deeds of greatness, guides his every faculty by (the) hope (of heaven) and the fear (of hell): he is also the giver of advice to people to guide themselves by keeping among the emotions of their nature the wish for the Frashegird: that (they) might not prevent themselves from guiding themselves by such emotions, and from movements in accordance with the dictates of reason: and that they might become adorners of themselves, with good qualities and embellishers (of themselves). Generally man guides himself through (the good) passions, by guiding himself (in this world) by means of the wisdom and authority of the religion, by doing (good) deeds, and by remaining aloof (from sin). And by cherishing similar other wishes, (he) becomes a thorough injurer of the work of guiding (oneself) by means of the passions possessing the power pertaining to the wishes of the Blemish-giver, and a giver, to people, of relations for the higher rank of the Frashegird.

84. Exposition in the good religion regarding the Spenamino being made to prevail over the Ghanamino.

Be it known that, the original explained meaning of Spenamino, is 'one possessed of wisdom of a high order,' and of 'Ghanamino' is 'one possessed of the law-breaking evil wisdom.' As to making the Spenamino prevail over the Ghanamino, the explanation given is, that certain wise (invisible) powers are (intended) to make (man) of high rank, and certain (invisible) powers, that increase evil thoughts, are (intended) to make (him) miserable. Therefore, whoever is wise among mankind enjoys a higher rank in various ways, over those who

guide (themselves) by evil-mindedness. And, that he who is evil-minded is not one to guide himself with wisdom, is apparent from a knowledge of the religion. Therefore, each of these *minos*, acts personally, through (men) who guide (others) towards them. In particular, (man), owing to obedience to the Spenamino, is not separated (from Creator). And he perceives, indications of temptations of all kinds offered by the Ghanamino. By putting the Spenamino out of himself, (man) makes the nature of the Ghanamino to work in him for various objects. Of these, the chief object is this, that, owing to the connection with the diminishing powers of the Ghanamino, he himself is enabled to cause pain and harm to the creation of the Spenamino. And a perception of his ignorance will, of itself, be felt by the Ghanamino at the time of the Frashegird. And those who guide themselves through the Ghanamino, will at that time be helpless and powerless.

85. Exposition in the good religion regarding the ways of friendliness with the religion.

Be it known that, friendship with the good religion is, in particular, formed in two ways. By acquiring a knowledge of the good religion, (and), by obeying its commandments, (man) becomes a friend (of the good religion), conscientious, pure, fit for paradise and the Garothman. And he who does not acquire the friendship and the knowledge to act according to the commands of the good religion belongs to the evil religion, and pines for righteousness (in the next world.)

86. Exposition in the good religion regarding the industry and the (self) restraint of the prudent.

Be it known that, it is the business of the prudent (man) to secure good help, by being industrious in that which is most profitable. And the income obtained by him by so doing has reference to the goodness of his soul and to righteousness. Similarly (his business) is to remain aloof from that which causes much injury. And the help which he obtains by thus keeping aloof is for the purpose of covering up the evil of the soul. Therefore, if (a man) never remain without acquiring righteousness, through the advantages (offered) in this world, he certainly becomes worthy of higher industry. And he who, owing to the (opportunities for) harm (offered) in this world, lets not pass even a little time without committing sin, he will not be delivered (from hell). Therefore, he who is without restraint in, and fear for sin, and has no solicitude for virtue, is not (a) prudent (man).

87. Exposition in the good religion regarding (the establishment of) the lowest, the middling and the highest relations with the Mazdayasnian religion, and the advantages resulting therefrom.

Be it known that, the lowest relation with the Mazdayasnian religion is (formed) by confirming the faith in the religion of a single individual. And the person who does this mediates like the Dastur of (the religion). And the advantage (caused) thereby is this, that through the connection of that individual (with the Mazdayasnian religion) the Druj being separated from that individual, is enfeebled, and thereby the strength of the Yazads is increased. Middling relation with the Mazdayasnian religion is (formed) by confirming the faith of a community in the good religion and by guiding it always with thoughts relating to Ohrmazd. And those who do this are (fitted) for the office of our Zarathushtrotum. And the benefit derived thereby is this, that through the union of that community (with the Mazdayasnian religion), the Druj becoming separated from it, is much enfeebled. And hence much strength accrues to the Yazads. **The highest relation with the Mazdyasnian religion is (formed) by the faith of all mankind being confirmed in the good religion, and their thoughts being in unison with Ohrmazd through a Zarathushtrotum**. And the advantage derived thereby is this, that the Yazads, and the army of all mankind holding relations with the religion, will receive mutual assistance in disabling and subjugating the Drujs, owing to their being without an army, and ill smiting them. The formation of all mankind into a uniform army for the work of the Frashegird depends upon the power of the Yazads, and it is owing to the influence of that power that all mankind will ever possess, with victorious Soshyant, the strength of a uniform army, for the purpose of diminishing the Drujs. And, in accordance with the will of the holy Dadar [Creator], reform pertaining to a knowledge of the good religion will be introduced into the worlds.

88. Exposition in the good religion regarding those who increase the brilliancy of the good religion and those who obscure it.

Be it known that, he who, from a knowledge of the Mazdayasnian religion, (and) in accordance with the commands of the Zarthushtrotum and religious teachers, is generous to the pure men of his religion, and bestows the symbols of it (i.e. sudreh and kusti) and speaks (in favor) of it and loves it, is an increaser of the brilliancy of the Mazdayasnian religion. And he who is versed in the ways of the Ghanamino, comes across the good religion, and communicates

similar thoughts (to other people), is a Farehbut and Aibebut, who obscures that religion.

89. Exposition in the good religion regarding the continuance of contentment and industry with an eye to (eternal) life.

Be it known that, whoever is worthy of greatness, is capable of being contented, and he attaches no weight to wealth of an inferior kind. But he reckons the contentment pertaining to the long life as strength of a superior kind, and gives (his) attention to exalted contentment. And whoever is possessed of eternal joy, becomes such by continued industry for (the purpose of) obtaining the good reward of the invisible mansion.

90. Exposition in the good religion regarding the reasons for man's obtaining from the holy Dadar [Creator] reward for righteousness and punishment for sin.

Be it known that, for man there are both these things from the holy Dadar [Creator] – reward for righteousness, and punishment for sin. In particular, (man) becomes (deserving) of the punishment of sin by remaining aloof from doing righteousness, and by knowingly committing sin; And he becomes (an observer) of the law, fit to be approved for his own sake, by remaining aloof from committing sin and by doing deeds of righteousness. Man is enabled to do the work of purity for (his) soul, while suffering (hardships in this world), by retaining his Creator within himself as a friend. The intelligence, and religious feelings, and other good qualities which are in man, are means to enable him to form righteous relations. Man is obedient to his Maker through the strength and knowledge of the means of righteousness; And these fully inform man to keep aloof from sin. Righteousness renders sufficing assistance to man, and through it the judges (of the next world) remit the punishment of sinful persons. Therefore, whoever among mankind prevents sinful deeds and is as a means to stop any vice from arising, he is the physician that provides remedies for sin and is one who keeps back mankind from sin, and renders them religious through righteousness. And that man points out to men the road to distinguish sin and righteousness and makes fully known (the extent) to which the reward of righteousness and the punishment of sin are mixed up (in this world).

91. Exposition in the good religion regarding rendering praise and thanks (to God).

Be it known that, all are bound to praise and to be thankful to the Creator, who is (fit) for praises and thankfulness of all kinds. For, above those who are finite or proportioned, the Lord is infinite and unproportioned. By infinite and unproportioned is meant that the Lord being the Creator of the whole creation and the bestower of existence upon it, is known in that relation to the creation. And those who are proportioned are the Amahraspandan, the invisible Yazads, the Sun and other shining stars, and generous kings and other persons. Therefore, each (part of the) invisible and visible (creation) is bound to render praise to those who keep it prosperous. Among these, the creatures of this world are bound to be thankful to each of those who cause (them) to prosper, for the proportionate power pertaining to each (kind of) prosperity. Hence, the praises and thanks rendered to the Yazads pertaining to the invisible and visible (worlds) are (so rendered) because of their relation to the original Creator.

92. Exposition in the good religion regarding the removal from the world of injurious hardships.

Be it known that, the head of the people, the king, should, in virtue of (his) rule, manifest an anxiety to remove from the world every injurious hardship that may be found therein; that thus he may show much love towards the holy Dadar [Creator]. But if this (hardship) should appear anywhere, and he be unable, singly, to put a stop to it, or, should show no solicitude about it, or, should be unable to understand (the remedy for) it, then, that (king), who is incapable of prevailing over evil and is weak, and does not know (the remedies for) it, is manifestly unfit to administer justice of any kind: therefore, (it behooves other) rulers to war with him for the sake of justice.

93. Exposition in the good religion regarding injury to the earth.

Be it known that, as air moves about in the body of man, so it always moves about within the earth for its improvement; and as there is a passage in the body of man for the air to pass out and in which it moves, so is it with the earth. As, owing to the passage in the body for the movement of air, the body lives, and as, when the air finds no passage in any direction, the body perishes, so, a state of things similar to that of the body happens when the passage in the earth is stopped up. An injury is caused in the body by irregular ways of behavior productive of change, so when the passage of air is

stopped in the earth by contrary movements, injury is caused, in the direction in which the passage of air, is stopped, owing to no vent being found by it: (injury), such as was caused by that sorcerer Afrasiab the Tur, by means of sorcery in rendering large tracts of fertile land unwatered, uninhabited, and desolate. Again, it is made known in the exposition of the good religion that the air within the earth is always heated by fire and that it rushes up from below, causing injury thereby (to the earth) and splitting it into two parts. As in the body of man wind is known to be raised up by fire, so (from a similar cause operating) in the earth, earthquakes and (other) injuries are caused. Therefore, everything retains its ordered condition, because of the (just) proportion of these, (fire and air): And it is injured by a want of proportion. Hence it is declared in the religion, that the creation is kept in order, when the good invisible power prevails; and in disorder, when the evil invisible power prevails. The birth of Fire depends upon Air, and the mover of Air is fire; if they are in their proper proportions, through Air, Fire has life and birth; and through Fire, Air has the power of motion. And owing to them, improveable things remain in safety and ease. And those things in which they are ill-proportioned, – things that are improveable by Fire and Air, such as, the earth, water, trees, cattle and men, – suffer injury, when in their constitution Fire is weaker in its force than Air, or, when the power of Fire to raise up the Air is impaired.

94. Exposition in the good religion regarding remaining aloof (from certain things) in accordance with the precepts of the Paoiryo-tkaesha.

Be it known that the Creator disapproves of evil things; therefore (we) ought to keep aloof from any place where evil things are. God is not the bestower of those things which he dislikes, consequently such things ought not to be considered superior, and (we) ought to keep aloof from them. Man ought to keep aloof from (attempting) to understand those things which God (alone) understands. (A man) ought to keep aloof from a thing which he knows to belong to another, but which he likes; and (he) ought not to do (anything) that is very injurious, and ought not to attach importance to it. The Lord Creator is full of goodness towards man, in various ways; therefore, a man ought to keep aloof from a thing, which, though it is intended for him (and) is suitable to him is yet apt, in various ways, to raise up quarrels, and, appertains to the wish to cause harm. God Himself has no wish to cause harm; hence, (we) ought to keep aloof from such (wishes). And if there be any one who does such deeds (of harm) his wishes ought to be turned away (from them): for, he who does not

turn, the doer of such deeds, away from his wishes, has similar wishes to those of that disreputable (man). The passions of the Devs, wolves, and Khrafastras will not be turned away from warring with mankind and from doing harm to the people of Ohrmazd; hence, (we) must keep aloof from them (i. e. the passions). Those religious teachers who do not turn mankind back from doing the immense harm appertaining to conduct like that of Devs, wolves, and Khrafastras, help them in this world, to deficiency (in the next). Their religion, notwithstanding that it is proper and safe (in other respects) is hostile towards man, and impure, owing to deeds being done, like those of Devs, wolves, and Khrafastras. The ways of a sinner cannot deliver him from hell, owing to his harm-causing wishes; for the harm doer's injurious and unjust wishes are not considered to be the wishes of the holy Self-existent: therefore, it is not proper to call them (the wishes) of the Father, the Creator of the creation. And they cannot be so called according to law.

95. Exposition in the good religion regarding those in the invisible and the visible (world) who bear the mark of being the creatures of Ohrmazd.

Be it known that among the invisibles those who belong to the Pure and the Good, are the Yazads. Among the people who have mixed with this world, those who keep themselves eager to drive out (from them) the aims of the Evil-minded, which have reference to evil, and to turn themselves in the direction of the aims of the Wise, which have reference to good, are, with the help of the Yazads, of the nature of cattle, and are marked as the creatures of Ohrmazd. Among the invisibles those who belong to the Bad are the Devs. Among the people of this world those, who are not eager to keep evil at a distance from themselves and to turn themselves towards good, are, with the help of Devs, like wolves; and like wolves and Khrafastars bear no mark of being the creatures of Ohrmazd. Therefore, it is not proper to consider such (men) as the creatures of Ohrmazd.

96. Exposition in the good religion regarding the assurances resulting from good and bad government, and the indications derived therefrom as to the time of the Beginning and the End (mentioned) in the good religion.

Be it known that, in good government there is assurance (to people) of wisdom, truth and goodness; therefore, the times (of such government) are the times of the Yazad's. Through it justice spreads

among, and prosperity and good help is obtained by, the people of the world. In it there is intelligence, truthfulness, and excellence. And wise and truthful men and men possessing other virtues, obtain greatness and high rank; and, those who are fitted for inferior rank, obtain inferior rank; and the king confers authority upon wise persons. Hence, a great many men obtain ease and happiness, and thus this world becomes worthy of the Spenamino. And such (a government) is considered as the blessed beginning of the reign of Ohrmazd at the End (For, at the End, the pure Ohrmazd will) thus fully reduce the Blemish-giver, and prevent his (the Blemish-giver's) original power from being infused (into people), and accomplish the final reformation of the world. In a badly governed kingdom there is assurance of evil-mindedness, untruthfulness, and vice: hence, its times are the times of the Devs. (For), through it oppression, the happiness of an evil income, and desolation are made manifest in the world. In it there is evil-mindedness, deceit, and immorality. And evil-minded persons, deceivers and other immoral men obtain much greatness, and people of low rank obtain the honor due to holy men. And the king confers authority upon evil-minded persons. Hence, a great many persons have to suffer hardship and pain. And thus, this world becomes suited for the Ghanamino. Such (a kingdom) is considered as the beginning of the (evil) dispensation of the oppressive reign of the Ghanamino. And it is declared in the religion that at the End everyone who makes such a beginning will receive spontaneously harm as a reward. Therefore the religion of those religious teachers who inculcate the practices and the (mode of) government of a bad kingdom, is akin to the ways of a bad kingdom. And as the practices of a bad kingdom are hurtful to the people, they ought to be considered wicked.

97. Exposition in the good religion regarding the (different) descriptions of men, and the best and the worst descriptions among them.

Be it known that, there are men of these four descriptions: those that love the soul and behave well; those that have wishes regarding the body and behave ill; those that love the soul, but are evil in their ways; and, those that have evil wishes, but behave well. Of these he who loves the soul and behaves well is the best (man); for, thus the path of deliverance (from hell) is kept open, and the pains (of hell) are shut off. (The man) whose wishes pertain to the body and who behaves in evil manner, is of a perverse nature and is the worst (man); for, thus the path of harm is kept open and the path of deliverance (from hell) is shut up. (The man) who loves the soul, but is evil of

ways, and (the man) who has evil wishes, but behaves well, are of a middle rank (between the above two); for, (the man) of evil ways that loves the soul, owing to the love for the soul; (and similarly, (the man) of evil wishes that behaves well, owing to good behavior, may perchance obtain deliverance from hell: moreover, on this subject, it is declared by Paoiryo-tkaesha Dasturs that, men are always able to become pure, (i.e. deserving of being delivered from hell) through religion; for, as (a person) belonging to the good way (and) the good religion, does, while professing the religion, deeds pertaining to evil wishes, and owing to such deeds pertaining to evil wishes stands in danger of hardship in the invisible world, so if an infidel person belonging to the evil way should do deeds manifesting an affection for the soul, then, owing to such deeds of affection towards the soul, he may obtain deliverance in the invisible world.

98. Exposition in the good religion regarding the subject that the capital of that kingdom is shining with light whose people are being civilized in the best manner possible and where innumerable civilized people confer benefits on the king.

Be it known that, he who is highly skilled in the arts is best deserving of exercising dominion over every person in the world. And he is of superior rank, because many persons, through him, obtain the good reward of truthfulness and goodness, and are punished for wickedness. In consequence of this all (men), in boundless ways, become desirous for what is good and wish to keep aloof from wickedness. And hence, the world, owing to righteous actions, improves. And thus the ruler of the state becomes worthy of honor, (and) of fitting reward, and obtains (high) dignities. If any one of the officers of state, has such good wishes as God approves of, is a good reformer (of the people), brings into force such laws as cause benefit to the state, and approves himself as a ruler who acts in accordance with the commands of the religion, he, owing to his ever exalted and superior actions, is pure of soul and of good name. And, owing to his good attribute of obedience to God; to his improvement of others through deeds of righteousness and abstention from sin, and rendering their souls righteous; and his opening the Chinwad bridge for other holy people, who think what is good, speak what is good and do what is good; he mixes up his untainted nature with light. (i.e. he makes for himself a place among the Yazads, the Amahraspandan and the pure spirits in the shining paradise.)

99. Exposition in the good religion as to who can be said to be possessed of sense.

Be it known that in accordance with what is contained in the religion, that man ought to be considered as possessed of sense who utters wise words, performs righteous deeds worthy of being approved by good conscience, is industrious in discerning what is for the benefit of the creation of Ohrmazd, is pure in the worship of God, encourages with good advice those who recite the Mathra, and knows how to perform well the functions of leader and religious teacher.

100. Exposition in the good religion regarding those (men) who are strong and those who are not strong.

Be it known that, he is (truly) strong who is possessed of proper strength. Man becomes possessed of proper strength by doing as much righteousness as possible, through the means of righteousness pertaining to Ohrmazd, and by not committing sin through the means for sinfulness; and by doing all other proper deeds pertaining to Ohrmazd. Man becomes weak when he is possessed of improper strength. And he becomes possessed of improper (strength) by committing as much sin as possible, through the means of sin (made known) by Ohrmazd, and by not doing righteousness through the means (provided) for it, and by doing all other improper deeds in opposition to Ohrmazd. And, having become unworthy, such a man does not resemble those (good men) who are, have been, and will be, but, is, among them, one without wisdom, without goodness, without a body, and, without (good) fortune.

101. Exposition in the good religion regarding the selection by Dadar Ohrmazd of Zartosht Spitaman of the honorable farohar to be the prophet of the Mazdayasnian religion on account of his excellence.

Be it known that, Dadar Ohrmazd, from among the entire corporeal world, approved most, on account of his good qualities, Zartosht Spitaman of the venerable farohar, to be the prophet of the Mazdayasnian religion. Among many (qualities), he was possessed of consummate thought, of a perfect intellect, had the highest appreciation of the Mazdayasnian religion, (and) was superior to all in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. And (he) was able to remove the miseries of the dumb, crippled, and necessitous good creation, and recommended (others) to do the same; and (he) possessed the power of keeping (men) aloof from sin, of securing the (good) will (of Ohrmazd), of adopting means to render constant help

to pious (men), of destroying the Blemish-giver, and of (doing) every (other) thing.

102. Exposition in the good religion regarding the benefits that the establishment of the Mazdayasnian religion has caused to the past, the present, and the future generations of the world.

Be it known that, the past (generation of) people acquired the benefits of the Mazdayasnian religion by praising its prophet Zartosht Spitaman of the venerable farohar for smiting the bodies of the Devs, and by first accepting him (as a prophet). And happiness and advantage was caused thereby to the people of the world. And even now, owing to that, there is advantage to the people of the world, improvement (as regards the next world) in various ways, companionship with gain, the securing of purity by other good people, the preservation of the fire of Ohrmazd, and the remembrance of the Yazads, by the people of the world. Future (generations of) people of the world will receive benefits by forming relations with Ushedar referred to by Zartosht, and from the destruction by him of prototypes resembling wolves, and from the powerlessness, at the time, of Farehbut and Aibebut: And (they) will receive benefits from their relations with Ushedarmah referred to by Zartosht, and the destruction through him of prototypes resembling (animals) that sting, and the disappearance, at the time, of hunger and thirst. And it is declared in the religion that owing to the connection with Soshant referred to by Zartosht, and the destruction by him at the time, of the prototype of Ashmoghs, and the impairment of (the power) of old age and of pestilence, the work of Frashegird and of resurrection, that has reference to the final constitution (of man), will be accomplished.

103. Exposition in the good religion regarding men of the best and the worst desires.

Be it known that, that man has the best desires who is so anxious to obtain, in the next world, the reward of virtue, that he never rests content with doing virtuous deeds, even though he should spend all the wealth earned by him in this world upon doing (such) virtuous deeds. And that man has the worst desires, who thinks it right to amass the riches of this world.

104. Exposition in the good religion regarding the remedies for that illness of the soul which is owing to want of increase in knowledge and judgment.

Be it known that, illness of the soul is due to a deficiency of knowledge and of good qualities; and thereby two descriptions of vicious (men) are formed. Of these one is (called) Farehbut, and the other Aibibute. Of these, a Farehbute is (a man) given to pride, who thinks that no one (in the world) is greater than himself: and, an Aibebute is a scorner (of others); he has the vanity (to believe) that no one else knows as much as he does, and that others are behind him and inferior to him. The man who always has such an opinion of his own wisdom and good qualities that (he believes) that he is knowing and another is not, that he is superior to another and the other is inferior to him, such a man deforms and sickens his soul with these two vices. Therefore men should keep off from themselves these two kinds of maladies of the soul, one of which is pride, and the other, contempt of others. He whose soul is afflicted with these (maladies) should remain in obedience to some learned man and obtain instruction from him in knowledge and virtue, that thereby, his imperfect knowledge might be destroyed, just as a tree is dried up for want of water. The remedy for the malady of these two, proud men and scornful men, is by means of consummate thought: for, a man becomes possessed of just ideas about himself, by becoming a disciple of a highly thoughtful teacher; and thus, whatever learning and good qualities may be in others, whether more or less, or the entire absence of them, and the absence or the presence in a lower degree in himself of what learning or good qualities may be in others, become apparent to him. And when he finds another superior to himself he considers him to be higher in rank than himself, and believes himself to be lower in rank than that other, (and so) keeps (himself); and again whatever the other person knows more than himself, he, to learn what he himself does not know, and to acquire the knowledge and art of freeing his soul from the malady of pride and scorn, serves the other (who knows more than himself).

105. Exposition the good religion regarding invisible powers that are fit to be approved and are full of light, and invisible powers that are not fit to be approved and are full of darkness.

Know that two invisible beings (i. e. powers) having relations with him accompany every living person; and through them people adorn their lives and hold two kinds of objects in view and perform two kinds of deeds. When mankind took its birth, through the Creator, in

the invisible (world), it held no connection with objects and deeds of two kinds, but life-holding (men) have been enables to do so in this world through the (above mentioned two) guiding powers. And the manifestation of these (two kinds of) objects and actions (among men) has happened necessarily in this way, that when by means of the eyes and actions of this world, the presence of the things and actions of this world become manifest (to man), then two invisible powers, doing the work connected with the origin of life and having two kinds of objects and two kinds of actions, enter into his personality. Of these the shining invisible power is the power that gives the remedy-adopting faculty to the living (man). The separation (of man) from relations with this invisible power is owing to his turning at once towards the dark power connected with this world. The source of improvement of all man, through this world, in the present (life), is this invisible power (Spenta Mainyu).

The dark mino is of a deadly nature and miserable sinful kind; it is, therefore, not fit to reach life-possessing man to hold relations (with him). In like manner, whoever is born in this world is unfitted by his original nature to mingle with it (the dark mino); but that (mingling) happens through perverted nature. Again, men, in various ways turn themselves into the semblance of the dev-kind, and take the shape of wolves and other Khrafastras. This also is owing, not to their original disposition, but to the contact with it (the dark power); for men are of a light-bearing nature, (and) are inclined towards Frashegird (final improvement). It is declared in the good religion that through it (Spenta Mainyu) the Devs had become helpless and had disappeared in the time of Zartosht; that in the time of Ushedar, the bodies of wolves would be completely destroyed; and that, in the time of Ushedarmah the bodies of all (animals) that sting would be fully annihilated. Moreover, the diminution of whatever vices are current in the nature of light-descended man happens at the time of the separation of the souls of different kinds of men from their bodies, when (the things) of this world are returned to it, and, (the things) of the invisible world return to the invisible world. At the end of the time of Ushedarmah, owing to the advent of Soshyant the connection of drujs with the nature of man will be cleared away, broken and diminished.

106. Exposition in the good religion regarding the means which lead men to behave in the best and the worst manner.

Be it known that, it is owing to his conducting himself carefully by means of his innate intelligence that man, notwithstanding some

admixture (of evil), behaves in the best possible manner: and, it is owing to the sinful power that he behaves in the most wicked manner. Therefore, among (men) of these two courses of conduct, the teacher who teaches them knowledge, what to do, and what not to do, these three things, is their friend. And the ruler who, by means of his rule, prevents them from committing sin, nourishes the soul, and helps them in distress, is considered their overseer. In all places, the thing which is the highest in rank and the best for man is, innate intelligence: and for him who is inferior in innate intelligence the best thing in the second grade is learning: and for him who is without learning, the best thing in the third grade is a friend who teaches him what to do and what not to do always. Similarly, for him who is without these (three things), the best thing in the fourth degree is a ruler who prevents him from (committing) sin. If this had not been, how could he have become one who passes his life in the best possible manner? Nor would he have been able to live long, but, wanting these excellent things, would have been ruined, and would have approached the sinful power that makes one walk in the greatest wickedness.

107. Exposition in the good religion regarding the way to keep close to the Self-existent.

Be it known that, the way to remain in the presence of the holy Self-existent is through the two things of high degree, wisdom and faith; and it is by keeping these two things aloof (from them) that (men) remain apart from good in this world, and from good in the coming world. (The universe is divided into abodes of three kinds: of which) one is the abode known by the name of hell, where the devs and drujs, who strive for the contamination of sin, and the souls of sinners, are driven. The second is the abode of light and darkness, of good and evil, and of joy and sorrow, and is known by the name of geti. This abode is midway between the two (hell and heaven), where the movements of mental darkness proceeding from satanic relations, of evil, and of sorrow, enter into men. Therefore, among the creatures of this world, those men, who are the best of all, are the fighters (against such movements) and the instructors of the other people in the world who do not possess the divine power of fore-knowledge. It is through the strength of the superior-work-doing invisible Yazads that men have happy lives, good rule, success, the clearance of darkness from among the people of this world by means of light, the removal of evil by the force of goodness, and the suppression of sorrow by the power of gladness. And thus, in this middle abode, men always obtain adequate goodness and joy, through light. The abode of the highest rank, (the third), is paradise and Garothman, possessing

all light, perfect goodness and good joy; and, lest Ahriman might injure the strength of this abode or his contamination might enter therein, he has been driven out from the heavens into the abyss below. In the heavens is all light, all fragrance, all goodness and all joy, and there prevails the superior and prescient rule of the Dadar [Creator]. Therefore, those religious teachers who cause men to pass their lives in that religion which deserves eternal punishment, are really of hell, and their religion is calculated to give entirely evil help, and immoral relations (to men), and to cause them great torment in the invisible world. For; an imperfect religion can never be called perfect and holy, but is considered as connected with all impurity.

108. Exposition in the good religion regarding the nature of the habitation (in men) of the Yazads and Devs.

Be it known that, those men with whose souls the Yazads hold relations, are, owing to the nature of the Yazads, like them, possessed of pure majesty, of wisdom unconnected with evil understanding, of goodness unmixed with evil, of some of the power of the message-bearers (the Yazads) and, owing to glory unalloyed with darkness, are extremely beautiful, of superior appearance, of a good disposition and like unto the good-eyed sun: such is a religious teacher, the giver of ease (prosperity) to the world, and a ruler. Men, by walking unobservantly in this world become to some extent of an alloyed nature; but when they observe perfectly, with wisdom that is unmixed with evil understanding and with their invisible eye, they clearly understand the nature of the path of life. Notwithstanding the existence in man of a certain degree of alloy, the invisible power of thought can enter into him, and thereby such men promulgate among men (God's) commands by means of the invisible power of inspiration. That is, the Yazads being well inclined towards the salvation of the people of this world, and being good-natured in every way, introduce into the minds of men superior things related to the light which they (the Yazads) possess, and to the high power for good unalloyed with evil; and thus make them glorious and renowned among men. For example, it is owing to the connection of the Yazads within him that a ruler or king, wise, fully gifted, holy, (and) excellent, renders the people of the world happy, by causing prosperity through justice; similarly, (it is that) a pure-souled religious teacher, through the instrumentality of a superior religion, with qualities like those of the Yazads, becomes the remover of the blemishes (vices) of men.

It is owing to the passions of wolves and Khrafastras that men are like Devs; and Hesham, the invisible power of the perverted path,

prevailing in them, they become the source of darkness unconnected with light, of evil intelligence unconnected with wisdom, and of evil unmixed with good. It is owing to darkness unconnected with light that men, like highly filthy Khrafastras, become the obtainers of the evil help of highly sinful conduct. And it is owing to evil intelligence unconnected with wisdom that they become the hearers of falsehood and the preachers of falsehood to people; and as they themselves are harmed thereby in a base manner, so they teach others to do evil deeds; and owing to the coursing in them of the invisible power, Hesham, they are like thieves and highwaymen. And, it is owing to the wicked strength obtained from evil unmixed with good, that they become injurers of the creation, destroyers of life, wicked sorcerers, and, like sinful destructive rulers of the world and deceiving religious teachers and wolves and Khrafastras, destroyers of the virtue of the world. And as these sinners are, owing to (their) state of being aloof from good qualities and full of blemishes, like Devs and Drujs in this world; so, after the death of their bodies, the souls of these sinners are, owing to the connection with wickedness and vice and to deeds of sin, akin to Devs.

109. Exposition in the good religion regarding that which benefits the good creation of men in this world and in the invisible world, preserves it from harm, redeems it from sin, raises it to a higher position through righteousness, and encourages every other class of men to return to good.

Be it known that, that which carries most benefit to the good creation in this and the coming world, and preserves it from harm, redeems it from sin, and makes it superior, is wisdom; for through it, a wise man becomes the source of qualities relating to works of the good religion, which are liberality, truth, fidelity, obedience, gratitude, contentment, patience, virtue, and others for improving the world and making man righteous and holy. And thus, through wisdom, a ruler becomes a preserver of the world and its protector and a doer of works of improvement appertaining to rule.

Again, that which causes most injury to the good creation in this world and the coming world, arrests its benefits, brings harm, keeps back men from righteousness and holiness, and much imprisons them through the sin of wickedness, is evil intelligence; for, owing to this evil intelligence, man becomes possessed of the evil religion, miserliness, falsehood, ingratitude, covetousness, tyranny, sin, mercilessness, instruction opposed to the good religion, deceitfulness,

blindness, deafness, wickedness, and other world-harming blemishes: and man's falsehood and his sin, are the cause of the world being harmed: in the same way, the manifestation of the power of tyranny is through evil intelligence.

The source of wisdom is Asn khrad (natural reason), and the source of evil intelligence is the evil passion of the perverse path. The source of the qualities of natural reason Asn khrad) is Ohrmazd, the Creator himself, and he who is gifted with them (the qualities), has them that he might fully improve his soul and pass his life perfectly to a good end. And the Dadar is the preserver of that man through His perfect knowledge about the Minoyan mino, perfect strength, perfect dominion, and perfect goodness. And obtaining a knowledge, through these qualities, of what is virtuous, we are able to improve ourselves in the world accordingly. Again, life-holding man obtains in this world all the knowledge regarding with what and how he can improve himself, from the first of two kinds of eyes. And by means of the mature purpose (of that eye, man) knows the nature of his first and last life; and, it (the eye) enjoins what appears to it lawful, and turns back (man) from what does not appear (lawful). He who is capable of distinguishing moral matters, keeps away from such as are injurious. Again, if the object of anything cannot be understood, that thing will be incomprehensible in this life, but we shall be able to know its object when we shall have passed away from this world; for, (if) in any life anything is imperceptible, that thing in that life is isolated; therefore, how can the purpose of it be understood in that (life)? Thus, if no horses are found in a city, and if a person there say, that he knows horses, and that man is such that he has no knowledge whatever of horses, he cannot know what sort of creature is a female horse and a male camel: what explanation can he give regarding the hard skin on the feet of such animals?

Those religious teachers who claim to understand religion and who deceive men into doing sinful and tainted deeds of hell, by means of that religion which is the root of evil, which is sinful in its ways and is calculated by its taint-giving (quality) to harm the world, thereby render themselves fit to have their souls running in deepest hell and to remain there for eternity, without any mercy being shown to them. They should not be recognized as the Dasturs of the religion who are of the root of goodness, righteous, preservers of the people and who, liberating the people of the world (from hell), render them pure and ever virtuous; but they should be considered to be of the religion of Ahriman who is full of sin, all-wicked (and) an injurer of the world. Just as the man who does not know horses, gives a description of a horse which is the reverse (of the true one), so religious teachers of

this description are considered ignorant of the divine religion.

110. Exposition in the good religion regarding persons whose way it is to purchase righteousness and obtain the (reward) for it, and persons whose way it is to commit sin; and the different commandments relating to them.

Be it known that, there are four ways of purchasing righteousness and obtaining the reward for it, and of not purchasing righteousness and not obtaining the reward for it: (one is) purchasing righteousness and obtaining reward thereby, (the other) purchasing righteousness and obtaining no reward thereby, (the third) not purchasing righteousness and obtaining the reward for it, and (the fourth) not purchasing righteousness and not obtaining the reward for it. The explanation of this is that just as a man obtains wealth and increases his income, (and) obtaining wealth, he is comfortable, and by increasing this income he obtains honor, so the purchaser of righteousness is redeemed (from hell), and, owing to his acquisition, he obtains high rank there (in the other world). (Secondly) as a man, who acquires wealth, but whose income from that wealth is not greater than (his expenses), is easy in his circumstances, but, his income not exceeding, he does not acquire greatness (in this world), so the purchaser of righteousness (owing to his righteousness and sin being in equal proportions) is an obtainer of liberation (from hell), but the income (of his righteousness) not being in excess, he does not obtain eminence (in the next world.) (Thirdly) the man who, without purchasing righteousness, acquires income-bearing righteousness, obtains, liberation (from hell) owing to his aspiration to be liberated, and eminence (in heaven.) (Fourthly) he who is not a purchaser of righteousness, nor the increaser of its income, neither obtains liberation from hell nor enjoys eminence in paradise.

Again, the ways of committing sin and the (people) connected with them (i. e. the ways) are (also) four in number: (one) hurtful from commission of sin, but calculated to procure liberation from hell; (the other) hurtful from commission of sin, and not procuring liberation from hell; (the third) without hurt notwithstanding commission of sin, and procuring liberation from hell; and (the fourth) without hurt notwithstanding commission of sin, but without liberation from hell. Of these, (the first way) which is hurtful from commission of sin and which procures liberation (from hell), is that of men having relations with the Blemish-giver, who suffer pain because they willingly commit sin; and they will be liberated at the time of the Tanpasin, for in them is created, through the instigation of Ahriman, a liking for sin and

oppression, and enmity (of Ohrmazd) and the contamination of sin. Again, it is declared (in the religion) that even the Devs will be freed, from the highly sinful blemishes that are in them, at the time of the End. The beings who are sufferers of pain (in hell) through sin and who will not be liberated therefrom, are the Devs. They are by their nature harm-causing, and unredeemable because of unworthy deeds; and they cause darkness in light-bearing beings. Again, it is declared (in the religion) that Afrasiab, though a man, had become a Dev, and that, therefore, he will not, at the End, be redeemed from the punishment of sin. Children under eight years of age, and men without intelligence, are harmless and safe (from hell). Every child not being of age and small in proportion, and imbecile men, owing to want of intelligence, do not deserve to be punished, and their souls, in addition to being saved from hell, are destined to return to the Khorshedpaya (paradise). Among men, those who are sinless are free from pain and imprisonment. And similarly the pure Mino Yazads are without the necessity for pain and imprisonment.

111. Exposition in the good religion regarding the divisions of mankind.

Be it known that, generally, the divisions of mankind are the four following. Of these the first is composed of the intelligent and the saved (from hell); the second of the intelligent, but imprisoned (in hell); the third of the innocent who are wanting in intelligence and years; and the fourth of those of a doubtful state of intelligence. Of these the intelligent and saved, and those who have died (soon) after birth are holy. Those who, possessing intelligence, become, notwithstanding, in life, the prisoners of hell, are the sinful men who have died. Those who are wanting in intelligence and in years, and who have died soon after birth, and who have not taken birth, are pure. And those who pass their lives without sufficient intelligence and in a doubtful condition, have (both) hopes of righteousness and fear of sin.

112. Exposition in the good religion regarding the cause of rain, its original mass, and the cause of its fall; the person who gives commands regarding it, the person who does work relating to it, and the person who superintends such workers; its innate power of dispelling danger to life, its benefits, its injuries, and its large and small drops; the causes of snow and hail; and those who cause their increase, diminution, advantages, and disadvantages.

Be it known that, the cause of rain is the Creator. And He, through his opulence, is the averter of the miseries caused by various kinds of wants and by dryness, and is the developer of the world. And those who are the instruments of carrying up water from below by means of the force of heat and the power of wind, and who send it back below in its native force are the Yazads, who manage the bestowal of opulence. Its (of rain) whole original mass reaches from the sea to the limits of the vapor-formed clouds, and so long as its original mass goes again and again from the sea, so long it rains upon the earth. The giver of command regarding rain is Dadar Ohrmazd himself, and those who, by command of the Dadar, do the work relating to it, are the stars Tishtar and Satvesh, the Yazads Wohuman, Arduisur, Vad, Hom, Den, (and) Berejat, and the Farohars of holy men. And the chief that is highest in rank among all these managers is Tishtar, who performs, in conjunction with the star Satvesh, the work connected with his command, through those managers. And he performs the work of drawing water from seas, rivers, springs, and other places, by means of the power of the wind, and of giving it the form of clouds, and of taking it hither and thither as clouds in the shape of water-lifting vapor, and of taking it aloft; and, in conjunction with Wohuman, by means of the power of the wind, moves forward the beneficial vapors. And (his) associates in the work relating to rain, – the being Den (i.e. Den Yazad); the wind; Arduisur, pure and of kingly majesty; and the force producing Fire, – cause harm to devs, sorcerers, fairies [peris, Av. pairikas], and their chiefs Aposh Dev and Sapujgar Druj, who are preventers of rain. And owing to the removal of the obstructions to rain, Berejat, the principal lord of the central waters, and the Farohars of holy men, who do the work of conveying water, convey it, by distribution in due proportion, to (all) the continents, provinces, and places. Rain itself is water, and the instruments of rain are wind, clouds and vapor. The cause of small and large drops (of rain), of hail and snow is air in different forms. If the air contains heat, the drops that fall are small, and if it contains moisture, large drops fall: if it is cold, it snows; and if it is dry, hail falls. The stoppage of rain is owing

to Aposh, Sapujgar, and many other Devs, and to harm-and-want-causing sorcerers (and) peris (fairies), and to the evil eye, of rulers who impose taxes and evil cesses and of injustice-doing judges, falling on the vapor of water: and thus rain does not fall. It is declared that the increase of rain owing to the increase-causing Yazads and to the invisible power of Atash Beheram and to other Yazads who are generous promoters of the creation, and to good kind-eyed men, pure women, and just judges casting their eyes on the vapor of water. The final benefits, conferred in limitless ways by rain, are from the bounty of the Creator. And the cry of damage in regard to it is owing to the connection with it of the Blemish-giver. The king who is superior in the strength of excellent commandments and justice, causes benefits (to his people) in numerous ways from rain and mitigates the cry of injury (from it). And the tyrannical king who possesses highly evil commandments and is without justice, adds to the cry from damage by rain, and is a diminisher of its benefits in various ways. The king who causes benefits (to his people) is a promoter of the power of rain-causing Yazads to cause rain, and is a diminisher of the power of Devs, who cause obstructions, to prevent rain from falling. Increased worship through the good religion makes the Yazads rejoice, and the Devs to grieve; and the worship of rain-obstructing Devs through idolatry enhances the force and violence with which they obstruct rain, and thereby great difficulty and labor is experienced by the rain-promoting Yazads in the work of causing beneficial rain to fall.

113. Exposition in the good religion regarding the acquisition of the great wisdom of the prescience-adorned religion by students of it.

Be it known that, by a study of the good religion for the love of the soul and of the purity of the religion, the student fully understands everlasting wisdom and knowledge; and, owing to the knowledge of the wisdom of the good religion, the man, who is fond of the good things, the power, and the renown of this world, keeps aloof from attending (to these things) from ambition. The knowledge regarding the riches, the power, and the renown of this world, which he, who for the love of his soul devotes attention to the good religion, obtains, is full of perfect wisdom. He who looks at the riches of this world with the eye of covetousness, does not obtain a knowledge of this estimable wisdom. Therefore, whoever does not possess suitable knowledge, and possesses the inclination to prefer this world, should improve his disposition under the teachership of accomplished religious teachers for the sake of the redemption of Frashegird, and should acquire, as their disciple, the wisdom relating to it, and instruct others regarding

it.

114. Exposition in the good religion regarding the redemption of the creation at the time of the final improvement and the destruction of Ahriman.

Be it known that, the vital principle is incapable of being cut or of dying. Similarly, no one can obtain life without the existence of the soul. But by the separation of the soul from the thing in connection with which it worked, the body (thing) which had connection with it becomes useless, owing to the separation of the soul; and, therefore, the soul itself must be held to kill its related body and to render it useless. As the body becomes lifeless and useless by the separation of the soul, so, at the time of Frashegird all the baser powers of Ahriman will be destroyed (from among men): and he himself, not finding any abode, and no one being drawn towards him notwithstanding his efforts to draw them, will in the end despair: and his assistance and invocation being entirely put a stop to, he will become distressed and perpetually sorrowful. (The following) declaration is made in the religion regarding the imprisonment in hell with fetters of Ahriman, and his end:

> "In that thy Kingdom, O Ahura Mazda, his (Angra Mainyu's) end, in every way, will come." [Y34.10]

Whoever, through Ahriman's misleading, causes harm (now) will, at the End, be adorned with light for the new life; and those Devs (and) Drujs who stand ready (at present) to send wrongheadedness (into man) will (at that time), owing to his being possessed of light, he dissociated from the thought of having any thing to do with him. Then (man), of the two, will be of the side of the shining one (Spenta Mainyu). And thereby he will be a great harmer of the lightless, and will render the chief of the evil tribe (Ahriman), dominionless. And he (Ahriman) will be taken to be covered up and imprisoned, owing to there being no way of entering into (man) from the sides. There is a prophecy (in the religion) about people remaining aloof from the painful knowledge of the boundless path-losing of Ahriman; and (about) their walking within bounds; and (about) his remaining within bounds, at the End, among limitless people, and thereby becoming a prisoner, owing to limitless related beings not partaking in his wrong-doing; and (about) his influence being unable to remain (in men); and (about) the non-improvement of his condition.

115. Exposition in the good religion that it is through (his) deeds that (man) will obtain a better life at the End.

Be it known that, the obtaining of the better life of the End is especially owing to the doing of ease-giving works; and these works are connected with, of two lords (Spenta Mainyu and Ahriman), the one who is the protector and preserver. For owing to such works, good remedies and good riches for the people of the world do not remain covered up. And, therefore, people do not go beyond bounds. That is, mankind do not separate in any way from their original source. And obtaining knowledge of sinful deeds, they oppose deeds that cause harm, and adopt means to prevent and ruin such deeds, and perform every work immediately, at the proper time; that such time may not pass away without the work being done. For, should the work remain undone they might remain aloof from their Creator, and might thereby be considered to be of the belief of the Untruthful (Ahriman).

116. Exposition in the good religion regarding the (power) which protects sense and intelligence.

Be it known that, the invisible power that preserves sense and intelligence (in man) is Vohuman, and his manifestation in man is through contentment. He, in whom is this wealth (Vohuman) is possessed of the power that is the source of sense and intelligence; and he is possessed of the riches of contentment because of the continuous assistance rendered to him by Vohuman; and, doing perfect deeds relating to sense and intelligence, he obtains praise and greatness in both the worlds. But when a man (withdrawing his) sense and intelligence from under the control of the one (Vohuman), places it under that of the three (Vohuman, Akoman, and Hesham), and when Akoman and Hesham prevail upon him more than Vohuman, then his intelligence is blunted through Akoman, and his sense is dispelled through Hesham. And if by their intelligence the Devs prevail over his sense and intelligence and do harm (to them), the man becomes of the disposition of the Devs. If wanting contentment, the evil seed of the riches of this world and the poverty of the coming world is sown (in man), he becomes perverted of mind and bereft of intellect.

117. Exposition in the good religion regarding the dwelling (in man) of the understanding power that keeps sinless.

Be it known that, the dwelling in man of the understanding power

that keeps him sinless is owing to these two excellent desires: One of them is the desire to remain pure from sin, and the other is the desire for approving deeds relating to such (understanding). Again, for the man who is aloof from such thoughts (desires) there is no purification from sin. The man whose heart is the dwelling place of the Yazads in a greater degree, is better fitted to remain sinless and to approve co-related deeds, through the assistance of the excellent understanding power, (derived) from Ohrmazd, that is possessed of knowledge. And owing to that man thus remaining pure of sin and approving co-related deeds because of his (possession of) this understanding, he becomes worthy of inspiration and of obtaining (all) due desires from (the Yazads); just as the holy herbad Bakhtafrid, by remaining sinless and preferring the purity of his soul, owing to the suggestions of the conscience given by Ohrmazd, became renowned for obtaining his wishes and inspiration from the Yazads.

118. Exposition in the good religion regarding the possibility of obtaining dominion by those who are fond of dominion.

Be it known that the possibility of obtaining dominion by a person fond of rule depends upon these causes: Owing to the power of God descending upon him, the ruler finds men and military chiefs: (and) as to this, if a king, by means of his rule, is for maintaining men, and is very anxious to secure intercourse with (his) subjects, and keeps off harm from the people, and performs good work, for them, the people remain under his rule, and, loving his rule, remain united with him. And about this there are the following Avesta:-

> *"nōit zī dī ýā pasu vīra xshathrā ahmāt ashāunō mazishtya dī shātōish mãnayāt dasishtem uzyāthramayā."* (Surely, a ruler of beasts and men assures to himself extremely little greatness by his wisdom until he secures great happiness for them by means of his rule.)

119. Exposition regarding the irregularity of the roots (Elements) that cause earthly things to grow.

Be it known that, it has been ascertained that the cause of the roots (elements), that make earthly things to grow, acting contrary to their original law (constitution) is the alteration in their forces. For, if water is in excess, it alters the force of air and also that of earth; and if air is in excess, it alters the force of water and also that of fire; and if fire is

in excess, it alters the force of air and earth; and if earth is in excess, it alters the force of fire and also that of water. And, owing to the alteration in their original regulated forces, they that by their mutual union are the formers of living things, instead, owing to the perverted forces and in accordance with the principles of the possessor of perverse force (Ahriman's), become the injurers of body-possessing things and the destroyers of the structure of body-possessing things and the harmers of the creation and the means for its being rendered unfit to exist. (The elements) themselves, owing to the principle of wisdom (Spenta Mainyu) and to the relation with beneficent beings (Yazads), are naturally fitted to succeed in forming things; and it is owing to the relation with harm-causing beings (Devs and Drujs) and to the injury done to them that they are known as destroyers of creation and as connected with misfortune. The cause of this being done by the Devs is the Principle connected with illness (Ahriman). Again, the originating (elements) are, owing to the help of the Yazads and the increase of the things of this world caused (by them), declared to be the benefitters to the productions of this world; and, they are (also) reckoned as harm-doers, owing to the injury (done to the production of the things of this world) in a like manner to the attacking and overpowering of the sheep by the wolf, and the prevailing of man over man in evil designs. Just as among men there is a severance of relations owing to the tyranny of ill-conducted men, so the (separation) of the elements, which are connected with each other is owing to their injuring the products of each other And hence they are, among men, immoral instead of moral; and, among things, the producers of harmful, perverse products and the means of non-suppression of harm. And being beneficial to production and helping it, they are, among men, like unto the means for the performance of moral work, for, it is owing to them that men are enabled to do righteous deeds. and thereby become possessed of righteousness. And it is owing to their perverted action that men do sinful deeds, and thereby become sinners. And the happening thus is declared to be owing to the One, whose principle is pain (Ahriman).

The sky, the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars are known, by their work, to be possessed of the principles connected with the formation of the creation; and the formation of the creation happened after its Creator. The sky up to the limit of the stars is as a fortification round the earth, and the space between is a field for the rivalry of the Rivals in fight. And there the Rivals permeate from within the bodies (of men) to the limits of the stars. And in the Testarpaya is a superior light-bearing creation, whereby harm is done to the work of those who are by nature hurtful. The Creator himself is not capable of harming his creation, or of promoting mutual conflict in his creation. In the

same way, the creation itself is not formed capable of mutual rivalry, but the cause of that happening is declared to be the One possessed of the principle of pain (Ahriman).

120. Exposition in the good religion regarding the greatness of Dadar Ohrmazd being due to life of all kinds.

Be it known that, just as we see that from what is a little grain a large tree grows; and with what is a little piece of wood a large house is built; and that a little eye is capable, with the great light of the sun, to see the earth and the ends thereof; and that a little thought about the soul is held precious above all things: so, the power of the promoters (of the world) acquires such ample strength for its work that in all things in heaven or earth, – whether possessed of growing, or feeble, or diminished or ruined strength, – a highly shining (and) great force becomes manifest through their powers. Owing to this we are unable to imagine the invisible greatness of the holy Dadar [Creator]. And this great power of His shows us that the possessor of such greatness is, with his wisdom, able to perceive all the powers that move the world, and, the highest strength of his (world) guiding wisdom gives us an idea of his still more mighty wisdom. Again, we perceive from his Mazdayasnian religion that that religion is the source of (all) wisdom: hereby is made manifest to us the highest superiority of the Mazdayasnian religion. When we find that in every place He rules by religion, we perceive the immense superiority of his rule. Again, when it appears to us that the holy Ohrmazd, the creator, is primeval and is the birth-giver, maker and mover (of the world), we perceive uniformly thereby that the holy Self-existent is the best governor. To perceive the greatness of the Creator, this fact is alone sufficient, that He is omnipotent to watch over all his creation.

121. Exposition in the good religion regarding Ohrmazd's desires being associated with reason.

Be it known that, it is owing to his all-comprehending reason that the designs of the holy Ohrmazd are worthy of approval. And he himself is like by reason of his improving in various ways, and continuing the march of, His creation, through the desires of his all comprehending reason. Therefore, he is connected with the desires of Ohrmazd who, while promoting the Mazdayasnian religion, is a doer of the highest deeds connected with its rule; from whose sufficing deeds the people of the world derive everlasting benefit, the perpetual continuance of which causes adequate improvements, enables the

Blemish-giver to be fully driven out, and always secures righteousness for the people of the world.

3. Those religious teachers, who with (their) evil-intentioned religion always injure the works of people connected with the End, and with the ideas of (their) evil-intentioned religion always render many men deserving of hell, do multiform harm to the world; for, the effect of their religion is that it acts as the source of liking for hurtful deeds by believers in that religion. Hence, such a religion is said to be false in doctrine and connected with evil in relation to the End: it, therefore, should not be styled a religion.

122. Exposition in the good religion regarding good and evil religions, their origin, and the beneficial and hurtful results arising from their promulgation and currency.

2. Be it known that, the good religion, Asnekhrad (innate reason), and the Being possessing the quality of Asnekhrad (i.e. the good power known as Vohuman) were born together.

3. Of these, Asnekhrad and the Being Vohuman possessing that quality (of Asnekhrad) are born of the Spenamino. 4. And Akoman (the power with the evil mind), which is a being possessed of the blemish of Varun (perverse reason), was born together with hurtful Varun. 5. And hurtful Varun and Akoman of the evil nature of the hurtful Varun are born of the Ghanamino, who does not belong to the Original Source. The good religion is from Spenamino who is related to the Original Source. And the evil religion is from the Ghanamino. 6. And of the (two), one belonging to the good religion is known by reason, the help of reason, ways according with reason, nature according with reason, deeds according with reason (and) the light of reason that gives strength to the wise. - For, the pure reason born of the Spenamino is the doer of every benefit to good men. 7. And one belonging to the evil religion is known by unreason, the help of unreason, unreasonable conduct, unreasonable nature, unreasonable deeds (and) the darkness that gives evil strength to the unwise. For, all unreason, born of the Ghananimo, is a doer of harm of various kinds to good men. 8. And the continuance of these two (good and evil religions) is owing to them (Spenta Mainyu and Anghra Mainyu). 9. The good and pure Ameshaspands have their holy habitation in a person of the good religion so long as there is in him the full sway of Asnekhrad, and the weakening sway of destructive unreason is at an end. 10. The tempting Devs have their unholy abode in a person of the evil religion so long as their is in him all the unworthy sway of

destructive unreason, and where Asnekhrad is entirely non-existent. 11. And where in the world Asnekhrad and destructive unreason are both (united), there is mixed rivalry for sway by both. And in proportion to the strength of the sway of Asnekhrad is goodness, belief in religion, confidence in and spread of religion, the rule of the Yazads, greatness to the good and well-being to the world. And in proportion to the prevalence of the strength of destructive unreason is belief in the evil religion, the communication of its usages, the oppression of Devs, greatness to the bad, and 12 evil to the people. 12. The fruit of benefit (results) from the prevalence of the good religion. And the consequence of harm (result) from the continuance of the evil religion.

13. The fruit of benefit that results to the world from the good religion is owing to the continuance of the holy assistance of the Ameshaspands for the protection in this world of God's people from destruction by Ahriman, and to the prevalence of the good strength of the Yazads for the purpose of keeping man pure. For, men obtain liberation from hell and are improved, by human defects being put away from them. The increase in the world of the superior good qualities is owing to its (the world) being adorned with excellence. With reference to the prevalence in man of mixed powers, owing to there being in man the strength of the good attributes of virtuous disposition, the Drujs are broken and removed from him. The prevalence of sufficient righteousness among men is the cause of harm reaching to the army of Drujs, and of the Blemish-giver being made uneffulgent, and of the whole of the good creation becoming immortal in accordance with its desire.

14. The reason of the hurtful result to the world of the evil religion is this, that owing to it the Devs dwell in men, whereby all evil prevails among them, and there is death in the world, and destruction and harm to people. And owing to the prevalence of its admixture among men there is acquisition of strength by evil attributes, enfeeblement of good attributes, removal of the light of humanity from man, and the bowing of (the seeds of) evil in them for the doing of sinful deeds, and the becoming sinful of (their) souls, and the rendering the world desolate and hurtful by vice. Owing to the destruction of humanity, and the acquisition of the correlative evil and the increase of vice, the Devs acquire great strength for harming the world. The hopes entertained in the world from obedience to Devs, are related to evil that has no connection with good. The reason why the world is incapable of remaining permanent as superior creation is that it is filled with all secret evil that has no connection with good. 15. Therefore, those religious teachers who give instruction in the religion

of the Original One, keep the believers in, that religion in communion with the Original Source, and owing to the relation with the Original Source they remain aloof from the evil religion: consequently, people should consider the precepts of such religious teachers virtuous. And he whose precepts are not of the Spenamino but of the source connected with the Ghanamino, such a religious teacher is said to be the source of all sin, and the chief of all sinners, and the most wicked among the wicked.

123. Exposition in the good religion regarding, the things of this world; the creation of (those) things; the work relating to them; and the befriending, the origin, the bestowal, the ways, (and) the bodily envelope, of their existence; and the vigor of their existence, and the means that cause them injury; and how there is harm to life; and how the destroyers reach into things; and whether there is reimprovement for them; and, if they will be reimproved, whether the improved forms will be similar to their present forms, or whether the soul as it exists in this world will (then) have a different body; the cause of (man's) becoming in this world worthy of the invisible world, and of his being on the side of the invisible world, more than of this world, and of his being possessed of the strength of invisible Yazads, and having secret promptings towards the power in the heart (Vakhsh, i.e. conscience); and how he obtains, each from the other, satisfaction through invisible relations; and how long the two invisibles, Yazads and Devs, who are over him, remain so, and why (they) are separated from each other; and the reason why the creatures of this world have been created, (some) before and (some) after; and that through which there is permanency and improvement of the creatures of this world; and why the man who amends the blemishes of the people is the best (man); (and) the quarter from which the purification of the world, which is to happen through its purifier from blemishes, will come; and what are the powers that approve of the final improvement and the final destruction of the world.

2. Be it known that this world is perceived by the bodily eye, and the (invisible) creation within it does the work of inciting to contest. And the inciter is (a power) that opposes the creation and keeps it under ; and the formation of (this) relation is for perpetual good conduct; and its work is that of its Creator. The explanation of this is that there is no deed done by the people of this world which does not suppress the incitement (to evil). The people inclined towards this world do every thing after looking into it. And the people of this world see everything with the bodily eyes and do (everything) with the bodily hands. This world has been created by the Creator, Dadar. The

power, whose work (course) it is to promote the growth of the creation, has given to it, in the religion, the appellation of life. The root of all the various remedies of the people of this world is known to be digestion. And the Dadar first created His creation. And (the things) that are the doers of proportioned (regulated) acts relating to it, do them because of life. In the religion, they are called the continuators of life. And they are the four elements of life, – air, fire, water and earth. And they are the source of the constitution and form of the people of this earth. Secondly, they are called continuators of life because of the work of continuing life which is connected with the prescience of the Dadar. And these four elements are considered to be the regulators of the mixture of the living body. Thirdly, in order to perform the higher work of the Dadar, the farohar and the soul are, along with the regulating elements, the associates of this world. As all men, cattle, and other good, living creatures owe their bodies to them, so will they (the creatures), through them, have (their) final bodies bestowed upon them. If, in the bodies of living creatures, they (the elements) are possessed of the strength of the One, they are connected with him; but, if there is in them the influence of the Other, they become of a disposition the reverse of uniform. Particularly, for living beings to have thoughts of harm, is owing to their Harm-doer (Anghra Mainyu). For, of the two (invisible powers), one brings evil and originates disease, the other gives liberation from them. And owing to the connection of the Harm-doer (Anghra Mainyu) with life, and through all his injurious progeny, the bloom of the frame and body of people is destroyed. Whatever (thing) deteriorates, does so owing to its separation from its original. The regulated (and) true forces of the elements are the doers of the work of the principle that keeps different things towards their Oreator; and, that whatever thing becomes deteriorated through the Dev-creation might not be destroyed, (they), through the power of the Dadar, so re-form it again a second time that it becomes like unto what it was at first. Those things which are reformed, become so through the success vouchsafed to them from the pure Original. And those which are aloof from the Original (Source), have obtained success through the Blemish-giver.

Those things that are connected with the mixed Source (Anghra Mainyu) are separated again, through the perfect prescience and perfect power of the Dadar, from the evil relation of that Source, by those true forces (of the elements). And these true forces regulate things through the obedient elements. In this world, the thing that is of the way of the mainyus (invisible powers) is the soul that dwells in the body. And the invisible power that is in the soul, to help it and make it behave properly in this world, is the conscience that gives warnings to walk in the good path. The soul, as it keeps the body alive

and gives it the power to perceive, in this world, so it makes the body walk towards the mainyus and keeps it on the side of the mainyus. The soul, as it keeps the body alive in this world, so it keeps its eye on those bodies that do not act according to law, and instructs them in the matter, through the invisible powers that make them act according to law. Of the regulated things in the body, whichever becomes ill-regulated is perceived by the eye of the soul. The power that is invisible perceives through the eye of the soul. The invisible, improving powers are as a great strength to the soul. And these powers of the soul are imagination, intelligence and understanding. And they dwell with the soul.

The soul and conscience (Vakhsh, i.e. the power that guides man in the right path), in all their doings, perceive and gain success through the instrumentality of the above three invisible powers. The soul and farohar are because of conscience (Vakhsh); and it is also owing to conscience that the soul and farohar perceive; and conscience is the eye (of souls and farohars). And the soul and farohar perceive each other through the eye of conscience. And the soul performs the work relating to (its) wishes, and the farohar prevails in the vigor of its own work, through conscience. When the soul is itself possessed of conscience, then, owing to that power, the spirit perceives through the soul, and when conscience keeps perceiving through the soul, then both (conscience and the soul) perform works fit to be approved. It is owing to its having within it the power, conscience, that a farohar is possessed of help-giving and victorious energy. Whatever perception the soul has of the work to be done in relation to its wishes is owing to the predominating farohar. Generally conscience is intended to improve the soul. And the improving powers, farohar and conscience, reside the one with the other, owing to the soul.

When each of the three (soul, farohar and conscience) is in harmony with the other, it is full of vigor. Man improves because of the air of life. And the farohar keeps the air of life [breath] bright through the instrumentality of the predominating fire, It is owing to the brightness (vigor) of the air of life that the body enjoys life. The soul (lodged) in the semblance of the body, keeps the body espying and moving, by means of the conscience-possessing intelligence. And (as long as the soul) is in harmony with conscience, so long it improves itself for the invisible state. And its (the soul's) other companions are all intended for the improvement of man through the connection with farohar and conscience, and they reside with the pure soul after it has passed from the body. When the soul becomes sinful, *bôd*, (intelligence) and farohar (these two powers) separate from it,

and they immediately become invisible to the sinful (soul).

Again, the knowledge of the existence of Yazads and Devs is owing to religion. The existence (residence), in (man), of Yazads is owing to the power that incites to virtue, and to intelligence; and the existence (residence) of Devs is owing to the power that incites to evil, and to perverse intelligence. As the evidence that these two kinds of invisible powers (Yazads and Devs) preside in man's body (nature) is known (to us), so it is also known to us that, owing to (man's) belonging to the opposite side by reason of the connection with related things, those invisible powers separate from him. He who is on the side of the Yazads, is possessed of the wisdom of the invisible world pertaining to immortal life; and he who is on the aide of the Devs is possessed of the wicked intelligence of the invisible world pertaining to the wicked perishable life. And the soul of man thereby becomes righteous or sinful. It is owing to the influence of the connection with the Yazads that the soul (of man) becomes righteous, and he who passes his life in such (connection) is possessed of the wisdom (requisite) for the holiness of Yazads, and of an immortal soul. And it is owing to the influence of the connection with Devs that the soul (of man) becomes sinful, for, he who passes his life in such (connection) is possessed of the evil intelligence (requisite) for the sinfulness of Devs, and of immortal soul.

Of those who hold relations with these two existences, those who bear higher witness (i.e. are righteous) possess reason and wisdom like that of the Yazads; and those, who are possessed of evil intelligence like that of the Devs and Drujs, are Dev-like men. Among men who exist for these two invisibles, those who have wisdom are of the source of the Yazads: and those who have evil intelligence are of the source of the Devs. And from this we obtain knowledge about the supervisors (Yazads and Devs) of men.

The heavens, water, the earth, trees, cattle and men are considered as creations belonging to this world. Of these, water was created after the creation of the heavens, and upon that (water), as the power that keeps its formation in a uniform condition, blows continually the invisible wind of heavenly nature.

After water the earth, after (it) the trees, after (them) cattle, and at last man was created. The habitation of these five things is between the heavens. And all these things are known to be always (in a) proper (state) by keeping on the side of their source. The extension and diffusion of water in all things is owing to the wind that is (or blows) below the *Satar paya* [that part of the heavens where the stars are located]. Around the earth, above and below, is all the creation. The

growth of vegetation on the earth, its improvement and construction-is owing to water. Because of vegetation, there are cattle, and because of the assistance of cattle, there are men. Of the creatures of this world, the best is man ; and among men, the monarch, whose rule is good, is the cause of the bestowal upon the men of this world of the immeasurably shining (abode of heaven, which is) nearest the Creator. And that monarch, owing to the shining forth of the light (of true religion), is the destroyer of the connection of unholy things. And so long as he (the monarch) possesses the potency of the light of pure improvement (i.e. is a firm believer in the true religion), so long he is wealthy. And owing to that wealth, he gains access to the presence of the Dadar and contrives remedies for the living creation of this world.

The four elements, air, fire, water and earth, are the chief sources of the continuance of life, of the permanence of life, and of uniform action. It is owing to these law-observing elements that (our) bodies keep (their) paths. And it is owing to them alone that (our) bodies are enabled to effect their passage at the End. That is, those men of this world who live in accordance with thoughts of the End, do so owing to the law-observing elements The people of this world do not render it deformed through their unblemished worldly disposition and through the unblemished works of the creator, Ohrmazd, but they become deformers of it through the blemishes of the Blemish-giver. And one becomes a purifier of the world from blemishes (vices) by driving out of it Ahriman, the deformer of it.

They who give purity to the world are known as benefactors of life and as possessed of the power of immortality required for the day of judgment. It is through religious teachers who accept these doctrines that the world is enabled to exist without blemishes, and that strength, which improves the world, resides with man. Again, it is owing to the wish to see (their) Creator, and the performance of works relating to immortality, that those possessed of similar dispositions are enabled to associate with each other. And thereby the tutelary shining Farohars obtain pleasure, and the co-related shining things acquire superior powers, and men acquire the highest thoughts relating to the Creator. And owing to these high thoughts the Blemish-giver is driven away, and means are taken to aid creation. And thereby this world attains to the fullness of the providence of Dadar, causes injury to the destroying blemish-giver, and makes the people of the world behave well in (their) deeds.

124. Exposition in the good religion regarding the battle of the world, the place of the battle, those who join in the battle, the commander or lord of the battle, the doer of the battle, the suppresser of the battle, the liberator from the battle, the (person) injured by the battle, the continuer of the battle, and the end of the battle.

Be it known that, the battle of the world is the doing of the Estranged One. The place of battle is the place of meeting of the rivals in the battle. And its bounds reach the *Satar paya*. Those who join in the battle are the people of this world. The commander (lord) of the battle is, among men, the bid of men, a good ruler or king, and the dastur of the religion possessed of good wisdom. The originator (doer) of the battle is the Mainyu of evil understanding (Anghra Mainyu). And the suppresser of the battle is the Mainyu of the good wisdom (Spenta Mainyu). The liberator from the battle is the holy religious teacher. The person injured in the battle is the sinful man. The continuator of the battle is the Creator Ohrmazd. And the end of the battle is (secured) by man's conducting himself in accordance with the wishes of Providence, through the givers (Yazads) of heavenly strength to the creation. When injury is caused to the Blemish-giver, the diminishers of the good creation become broken of array and impaired of strength. And thereby the reward of everlasting immortality is obtained.

125. Exposition in the good religion regarding how this worldly abode may be cleared (improved) of those belonging to the evil religion and of the danger connected with the evil religion by means of the ascendency of the good religion, and how the servants of the evil religion and the continuators of it may be reformed.

Be it known that, the Creator Ohrmazd has, to protect the creatures of this world from Devs that cause harm to the creation, and to improve the existence of and maintain the heavens, the earth, the blowing winds, the flowing waters, the growing trees, the cattle and men and other things, created several Yazads. They constantly make known thoughts calculated for the higher strength of the good religion, and the good (forms of) worship pertaining to it, and the ways of improving the people, to the servants of that religion. And these Yazads do perpetual battle with the Devs, because of their opposing the world, and causing injury and harm thereto, and

crushing the creation and making it perishable. And in this they (the Yazads) are successful by means of keeping current the good religion among the servants of the good religion, and of the great prevalence of the recitations and the good worship of that religion. Owing to the recitations of the good religion, the ascendancy of the Yazads is increased. But if in this world the people prefer the deeds of the evil religion, the Devs thereby acquire greater strength. For, through those believers in the evil religion, the purity of water is destroyed, and, also, through those believers in the evil religion unholiness and death are increased. Therefore, it is declared that those belonging to the evil religion should in this world be made to accept the good religion, and should be reformed by means of the right understanding of the servants of that (religion). For, owing to the evil religion, they are harmers of the power that raises to a superior state, and keep themselves under the control of the power of the antagonist who wounds.

126. Exposition in the good religion regarding the manifestation of evil and of the religion of Devs being particularly due to the perverse Source.

2. Be it known that, the manifestation of evil is owing to the control of the evil Source. In the same manner, it is owing to the existence of an evil Source that the religion of Devs is promulgated. Therefore, to obtain a knowledge of the Lord of religion (Ohrmazd,), are (given two eyes): of these one eye is to discern religious natures, and the other eye is to discern the soul independently of form, and these eyes are innate (original). The eye which is intended to see the semblance of the soul, is intended to see through reflection; and the other eye which is intended to acquire knowledge from religious natures, is intended to obtain knowledge without discussion (i.e. by observation and not through reflection). Of these, one eye is for discerning things by good similitudes, and the other possesses similitudes for discernment. Again, through eyes of (these) two kinds, men become believers in (holders of) the religion of either one who is of evil similitude (Anghra Mainyu), or of one who is without the religion of Devs (Spenta Mainyu). Religious men are of ten kinds, and detailed explanation regarding them is given in the chapter relating to them*. The eyeing (or discernment of the Lord of religion) through religious natures (persons), is by observation of those men who, keep people, in any degree, connected with religion. And the (man) possessed of religious illustrations is the wise, virtuous ruler or the holy priest. And they, being of superior rank, and informing (men) of the greatness to be obtained in the coming world, are (considered) in

this world as of the nature of the holy Ohrmazd. The eye of the soul that sees independently of form, that innate (original) eye, owes its existence to the connection with the good-thinking power that shines in the conscience (heart) of want. The soul, before it enters into its bodily state, has the inborn power of seeing the invisible world unobstructed; hence as man, in. the bodily state, obtains the power of speech by means of reflection, so it (the soul) always perceives the design of the dark cloud of this world. To perceive the soul in the bodily form, there is the eye of reflection. And it is owing to the power of speech (derived) through the eye of reflection that man is possessed of the means of wisdom. (And as) the Creator of the world is such because of having created the world, (so) man becomes possessed of unobjectionable understanding, by means of a knowledge of the immortality-giving religion. And man becomes a believer in the religion, through good illustrations (comparisons) relating to religion and persons possessing such illustrations, (and) the testimony of conscience.

3. Among the sources according to which (men) are declared to be of evil comparison, or unpossessed of the religion of Devs, the source of evil intelligence and of sin, is not (capable) of a good comparison (being instituted respecting it). And the source that is unpossessed of the religion of Devs is allied to wisdom and righteousness. And of them to one source is due the greater manifestation of the relations with the excellencies of Ohrmazd. And to the other pain-causing source is due the manifestation of the devilish religion and the harm of the perverted source (Anghra Mainyu). And (man) is known to be an invoker of the religion of evil comparisons, or of (the religion) without Devs, according to the evil or good comparisons of (which) that religion (is capable). For the man on the side of the good religion to appear in the religion of Devs, is due to (his) not securing good strength and good times, owing to the prevalence of him of the perverted source and the insignificant (Anghra Mainyu). For men belonging to the Original Source, not to remain within the bounds of 1aw, is owing to such a perverted and pain-causing source, possessed of the religion of Devs. If that was not so, religion-holding man could not be called irreligious (infidel).

127. Exposition in the good religion regarding the Lord from whom everything hopes but who himself wants not from anything ; who is in every (thing) but in whom there is no thing; the Lord who guides all but who is not to be guided by any.

Be it known that, all things come into existence from nothing for

their(own proper) work. And every thing at its proper time has a reason for its existence. There is nothing made at the wrong time. The things that have come into existence in this manner are unable to acquire existence (of themselves). And time is for no one except these things. The Self-existent is in want of nothing. Though the Lord is himself in every thiug, yet He is not visible anywhere. He himself guides every thing, but without the wisdom of Ohrmazd no one can guide anything.

128. Exposition in the good religion regarding the improvement of man's, life.

Be it known that, the existence of man is owing to there being a soul in him. And the soul resides in the body because of the help of the victorious (Yazads). And it is victorious because of the hope of liberation. It is owing to the warnings obtained from warning-giving conscience, and the improving power obtained for attaining to the final improvement, that (man) renders the Blemish-giver lusterless. Thereby man's life becomes possessed of the strength that succeeds in the hope of liberating (him) from the hardships he might encounter at the time of the final improvement. The strength pertaining to improvement is the strength which improves man before his undergoing, for (his) final improvement, the everlasting torments inflicted in hell owing to sinful religious teachers, and whereby the creation of the Blemish-giver becomes hopeless and is destroyed by the overpowering soul Men die when the soul passes away from the body, and the body of man that had life becomes destroyed. Other people (than those belonging to the good religion) who are declared liable to punishment are so declared owing to the impostures of their religious teachers, and the particulars regarding the matter are given in the chapter connected with it.

129. Exposition in the good religion regarding that monarchy which puts great difficulties in the way of the efforts of Anghra Mainyu.

2. Be it known that, the existence of a monarchy that causes great harm to the efforts (doings) of Anghra Mainyu is mostly due to there being in a man, in equal proportions, the strength of both grandeur of rule and majesty (*khoreh*) of religion. And thereby the connection of Anghra Mainyu is diminished. For, by the union of rule and religion, ad rule becomes glorious by the greater strength (of religion), so religion becomes glorious by the greater strength (of rule). 3. If Zartosht, with the superior power of religious majesty (khoreh) that

was in him, had possessed the more potent glory (pertaining to rule) that was in Jamshed (the prevalence of) Anghra Mainyu would have decreased in the world, and it would have been soon freed from the Blemish-giver: and all the people in the world would, along with the good religion, have possessed pre-eminent dominion. (For), if there is a union of good religion and good rule the world becomes impotent in vice, more virtuous, a decreaser of danger, very helpful, very holy, without sin, an averter of peril, a strengthener of good men, and an imperiller and weakener of evil men. And (such a ruler) improves and adorns the world by prosperity (and) the people by natural joys and everlasting goodness. When both these (religious and kingly) khorehs (majesties) are obtained in perfection by the same person, the Blemish-giver will be fully destroyed, the people will obtain purity, and will he freed (from the Blemish-giver), and thereby will final improvement be effected. Soshyant will obtain the ownership of both these khorehs (majesties) together, for the purpose of propagating the good religion, And he will perform all beneficial things relating to the matter. Again, the immense efforts which will be kept up by him will he (directed) to the work of giving prosperity to the generous, power to the wise and justice to the just.

130. Exposition in the good religion regarding Him who is in every thing and over every thing; and who obeys not through anything or for anything ; that is, He is above every thing that makes the world to go on, and all things go on because of Him.

Be it known that, the lord who is in all things and over every (thing), and who obeys no one and for no one, is the omniscient omnipotent, and all-owning Creator Ohrmazd himself; – the Lord who obeys no one, but is the master of all; who is uncreated, but the Creator of all; who holds no kinship, but is the highest (of all); who subserves not., but is the lord; who is not a disciple, but is the teacher; who is not destitute, but able; who is not (meant) for protection, but is the protector; who is not mansion-less, but is a possessor of mansions; who is (exists) not to know, but is the originator of knowledge himself; who is not improveable, but is the improver; who is not a receiver of gifts, but the maker of gifts; who is not to obtain happiness, but is the giver of happiness; who works not with associates but works alone; who is not to be judged or weighed, but is the judge and weigher; who is not to be moved, but is the mover of others. Among things one is superior to another, and over all those things the Creator, Ohrmazd, is superior. Every inferior thing is (to be found) among things inferior to Him, thus: – the superior over a

servant is a master; the superior over a child is a father; the superior over a kinsman is an ancestor; the superior over a dependent is a lord the superior over a disciple is a teacher; the superior over one not wealthy is one who is wealthy; the superior over one requiring protection is a protector; the superior over one who has no abode is a possessor of an abode; the superior over one requiring wisdom is a giver of wisdom; the superior over a thing susceptible of improvement is its improver; the superior over a student is his teacher; the superior over one who receives gifts is a maker of gifts; the superior over one intended for happiness is a giver of happiness; the superior over one working with another is one who works alone; the superior over one liable to be judged or weighed is one who weighs; and, the superior over a thing requiring to be moved is its mover but the Creator, Ohrmazd is superior over all things. Again, the Creator, Ohrmazd; by means of his all-comprehending, intelligent nature, makes all things, that cannot be managed through any one or by any one proceed according to law. Those who have not in them the regulated intelligence of the Lord, and His knowledge of every thought, are unable, without perfect knowledge, to guide any thing relating to themselves.

131. Exposition in the good religion regarding the things fitted for the acquisition of complete knowledge.

Be it known that, there are ten superior things fitted for the acquisition of complete knowledge:

- a joyous life,
- the contact of wealth,
- the increase of gains,
- the permanancy of happiness,
- splendour-possessing rule,
- fulfilment of hopes,
- a life of perfect ease,
- naturally willing (spontaneous) love of dependents,
- a trusworthy friend who gives good advice, and,
- a helper who renders good help in time of grief &c.

Upon these things depends improvement. A joyous life is (consists in) health without fear. Wealth and increase of gains depend upon. the degree of natural intelligence. Stability of happiness depends upon prayers to the Self-existent and retirement. Shining rule is due to innate wisdom. The acquisition of the love of dependents depends

upon keeping them pleased. Renown depends upon a name being heard in distant places. Fulfillment of desires depends upon good intentions. A life of complete me depends upon being contented with what (we) get. A good friend is a good, far-seeing friend who preserves secrets and points out blemishes The advice of a man of improved disposition is worthy to be believed. A helper who renders good help is one who speaks with sense, and gives such help as improves men. All these things are obtained by being firm in the religion of the holy Self-existent with true-hearted love. The man who has obtained these ten superior things, is far-seeing with adequate wisdom and of (high) rank.

132. Exposition in. the good religion regarding the obtaining of life by the 1 creation, and the alteration of life by the creation.

Be it known that leaders of religion have declared, from expositions in the good religion, that the creator of all is the holy Ohrmazd. And religion is the wisdom of the Lord. His abode in this world is in the man possessing the strength of goodness. And the pure creation of all the Yazads constitutes His assembly (court). The existence of the creator, Ohrmazd. is (manifested) by the formation of the creation. The wisdom pertaining to His religion is intended to give a knowledge of his wishes and works. And His place of meeting is in the building devoted, in accordance with the religion, by the people (to him). The alteration of life by the creation is (effected) in this way, that when the Lord has no existence (abiding-place) in a man, that man, becoming false to the original Source from which he has derived life, becomes of the side of the perverted Source. And the invisible Yazads belonging to the Original source do not reside in that man, so that, not seeing anything, he becomes of perverted life.

133. Exposition in the good religion regarding the great benefits accruing (to the world) from the virtuous among rulers.

Be it known that there is increase of righteousness through good qualities (virtue). And it is owing to holding dominion that a virtuous man is a great increaser of righteousness, and a great benefactor of the world. As a stream of water on the top of a mountain causes delightful verdure to grow in the woods, and fire lighted on the heights of a mountain sheds light far away, so from a virtuous sovereign splendor is generated (in the world). And that sovereign alone, through his rule, always communicates virtue and glory to

other sovereigns, and himself by his government improves the world and augments the fame of the governors connected with his kingdom. And owing to his good disposition he is of one accord (with other rulers). Again, owing to the power of virtuous kings, innumerable persons imitate virtuous behavior.

The first (virtuous quality) is that connected with the good religion, for, it is owing to kings being of the good religion that innumerable people belong to the good religion.

The second (good quality) is that connected with good sense, for, it is owing to kings possessing good sense that they are able to conduct themselves and their dependants well.

The third (good quality) is that connected with a good conscience, for, it is owing to good conscience that kings acquire very high courage, and it is owing to the courage of kings that (their) enemies suffer harm, and thereby the world is protected.

The fourth (good quality) is the power of forbearance, for, it is owing to forbearance by rulers that their servants love them; and it is owing to their willingness to do the work in accordance with the commands of the ruler that the government of the people continues with safety and the people are benefited.

The fifth (good quality) is to bear good love to subjects, for, owing to want of kindness on the part of rulers, the people become their enemies, and thereby the hopes of securing kindness between rulers and subjects are cut off (and) then danger is apprehended, by the world, of a certain degree of violence from rulers, and from the people to the rulers.

The sixth (good quality) is that connected with thoughts of providing comfort for the subject people, for, kings, entertaining thoughts of procuring comfort for (their) subjects, perform very great and beneficial works for (their) present and future subjects.

The seventh (good quality) is cheerfulness of heart,. for, if kings have in. them (any) degree of cheerfulness, the troubles of (their) subjects are thereby averted in the best manner.

The eighth (good quality) is the constant remembrance that dominion is liable to pass away, for, remembering that dominion is liable to pass away, the king lives without pomp, and a wise king, by means of the income of transient dominion obtains the in-transient dominion connected with the soul. And that king, by providing case for (his) subjects, and keeping them prosperous, receives many blessings from the people.

The ninth (good quality) is raising the rank of persons possessing good qualities, for, owing to the king's bestowing (high) rank upon men skilled in the arts, those arts which are known to the people shine forth, and those which have not become known acquire the strength for becoming known, whereby the world is improved and embellished.

The tenth (good quality) is causing hardship to those possessing evil qualities, for, owing to the hardship inflicted by the king upon those possessed of evil qualities, those evil qualities which are being generated disappear (set), and the strength of those which have not taken birth is broken, and they cease. And the world is purified from blemishes.

The eleventh (good quality) is living united in thought with the people, for, by being united in thought with (his) subjects a king is liked by every city, and a king who is liked by (his) subjects has stability. Again, such a king peoples new cities by levying heavy taxes, and does work calculated for the prosperity of the people of the world, the benefit of the country, the acquirement of help by the people and lasting final improvement. And that his greatness might become known to kings of other countries, (he) considers it is his duty to .embellish every country with great wealth and to make gifts to the people.

The twelfth (good quality) is giving meritorious commands, for it is from meritorious commands of kings that justice takes its birth, and the improvement of the world depends upon justice.

The thirteenth (good quality) is observing the practice of sitting in open court in every country, for, by kings observing the practice of sitting in open court in every country, the sweetness of sin is prevented from (approaching) sinful rulers, and their oppression is stopped, and pious rulers have hopes of wealth and the destitute of obtaining proper relief. And such kings are as a token (mark) for the doers of the work connected with immortality behaving well with reference to such work; for mendicants (dervishes) being cared for, (and) for great benefit being derived by the kingdom.

The fourteenth (good quality) is generosity, for, as water makes vegetation to bloom, so do ease-giving kings keep the creation of this world blooming by generosity. The fifteenth (good quality) is restraining of covetousness, for, he who is a restrainer of covetousness, in him the Yazads descend, and he thereby is enabled to prevent the innumerable covetous wolves of the world from openly ruining it.

The sixteenth (good quality) is the removal (prevention) by him (the king,) of mutual fear from among the people of the world, that thereby much fear might not enter into the people.

The seventeenth (good quality) is that of rewarding good men and of making them courtiers and nobles (men of rank), for, owing to good men getting rank and leadership from the king, every vice retires and disappears (sets), and every virtue (goodness) blossoms and advances.

The eighteenth (good quality) is the great carefulness required in appointing administrators of the kingdom (to see) whether they are good or bad (low, men), for, it is owing to kings making full inquiries as to which officers are good and. which bad (low) that the connection with the people continues, and thereby the people obtain the benefits, – goodness, prosperity, and proper gifts, – (obtainable) from kings.

The nineteenth (good: quality) is keeping himself, through wisdom, in obedience to the holy Self-existent, for, by (his) keeping himself, through wisdom, in obedience to the holy Self-existent, the king's subjects. remain heartily in obedience to him, and thereby the authority of kings. over the people of the world attains a higher grade, their justice and commands continue and the. people are greatly benefited.

134. Exposition in the good religion that the manifestation in kings of the power of improving (their) kingdom, and of the knowledge of improvement in the people, is due to their possessing the attributes of Shahrewar Ameshaspand.

Be it- known that, the words denoting the attributes of Shahrewar Ameshaspand are of this kind:

> *Khshathrehe vairyehe, ayokhshutahe rmajdkai, thrayo, dragve.*

And they mean, “the lord of religion, of implements (arms), and of mercy, the possessor of the assistance of wealth, and the lord of armies (hosts). Hence, the just king, in whom there appear, for the improvement of (his) kingdom, the above powers that are as means to improvement, is, like unto the above (mentioned) attribute-possessing high being (Shahrewar Ameshaspand), the lord of religion, arms, mercy, wealth, and hosts. Again, it is well known that the king who has not one of these attributes, that is, is not possessed of the united strength of all these powers, is not fit to rule, but is the servant

of every ruler. Again, a ruler without (the essentials of) rule acquires no renown, (and) so is in capable of maintaining the religion, is possessed of useless arms, is without mercy, is incapable of acquiring riches, is without (the power of) protecting (his) subjects, and is possessed of a broken (disorganized) army. Now, a ruler who has no religion is not one who gives such commands as procure deliverance (in the coming world). His arms do harmful deeds, his mercy is that of Rumis (Romans) [rivals of the Sasanian kings] who are worthy of being harrassed, his wealth is calculated for Farehbut and Aibebut, and. his army is not worthy of being entertained (bought) because of disobedience. The ruler without arms and power is afraid of the turbulent (disobedient), distressed by deceivers (impostors), kind to his unreformed sinful troopers, possessed of pain-augmenting riches, and without an army. The ruler who has no mercy increases (his) enemies, is worthy of being despised in accordance with the religion, his arms give good strength to the enemy, (his) wealth is liable to harm in unseen ways, and his army is desirous of separation from (deserting) him. The ruler who is without riches, is without provisions, in want, of broken arms (warlike instruments) and power, obliged to forbear with powerful wrong-doers, and possessed of a miserable and weak army. The ruler who has no army is without servants and religious men, and possessed of improper arms, and merciful to (the) passion (ate) and possessed of unprofitable wealth. A ruler becomes honorable by effecting improvements in (his) rule through the manifest, reciprocal strength of these things.

135. Exposition in the good religion regarding the people of the highest and lowest ways among the creation that approves of Khoreh, and (regarding) their conduct.

Be it known that; the persons whose conduct is calculated for the acquisition of, and whose nature is conformable to khoreh (heavenly blessings) are of these sixteen descriptions:

of these, the first is one who is desirous of a good occupation, and acknowledges the obligations (of God) for blessings received, and is contented and satisfied when they are not received. A person of this character is, among those engaged in beneficial occupation (industry) (and) receiving heavenly (natures) blessings, excellent of conduct. The second is one who is desirous of being well employed, and acknowledges (his) obligations (to God) for the resulting blessings, and is contented, but displeased when they are not received. The third is one who is desirous of engaging in a good occupation; but does not acknowledge (his) obligations (to God) for the b1essings received,

and, if they are not received, is contented and without grief. The fourth is one whose wishes are for beneficial occupation, and (but) receiving the resulting blessings does not thank (God), and when they are not received is contented but sorry. (Persons) of these three ways (of life) have the same opinions as to obtaining Gods blessings by (engaging in) beneficial occupations. One (person) is he whose wishes are for evil employment (industry) and who is not thankful for the resulting blessings, and when they are not received is patient but repining. Such a man has the worst of ways, (fitted) ,for obtaining the rewards of evil industry. Another (person) is he whose wishes are for perverse industry, and who is not thankful for obtaining them (wishes), and when he does not obtain them is patient and without grief. A third (person) is he whose wishes are for perverse industry, and who is thankful on obtaining them (his wishes), and when he does not obtain them is patient, but repining. A fourth is he whose wishes are for perverse industry, and who is thankful when he obtains them (his wishes), and when he does not obtain them is patient and without repining (grief). (Persons) of these three ways (of life) have the same views regarding deriving gifts (benefits) by perverse industry. Again, of persons with other ways (of life), one is he whose desires are for (obtaining) good renown through khoreh (Gods blessings), and who is thankful for obtaining them (his desires), and when not obtained is cheerful and without repinement. Such a person is of the highest way (of life) among those who obtain renown in the good path through khoreh. Another is (he) whose wishes are for renown of the good kind through khoreh, and who is thankful for obtaining them, and when not obtained is contented, but grieved. A third is he whose wishes are for renown of the good kind through khoreh, and who is not thankful for obtaining them, and when not obtained is as contented as unrepining. A fourth is he whose wishes are for renown of the good kind through khoreh, and who is not thankful for obtaining them, and when not obtained is contented but grieved. Persons of these three descriptions have the same ways among those who approve of fame of the good kind through khoreh. Again, there is one who approves of fame of the kind opposed to khoreh, and who is not thankful for obtaining it, and when not obtained is contented, but of pained heart. Such a man is of the most wicked ways among persons who obtain renown of the kind opposed to khoreh. Another is he who approves of renown of the kind opposed to khoreh, and who is not thankful for obtaining it, and when not obtained is contented and without grief. A third is he who approves of renown opposed to khoreh, and who is thankful for obtaining it, and when it is not obtained is contented grieved. A fourth is he who approves of renown of the kind opposed to khoreh, and who is

thankful when obtaining it, and when not obtaining it is contented and ungrieved. Persons of these three ways are of one mind in obtaining renown of the kind opposed to khoreh.

136. Exposition in the good religion regarding the strong and the weak.

Be it known that, a man is considered to be of the side of (either of) the Powerful Ones (Spenta Mainyu and Anghra Mainyu) according as he deserves to be requited for deeds of a superior or of a perverse character. And the man who does not deserve to be requited for either superior or perverse deeds is not considered to be of the side of (either of) the Powerful Ones. Those who are of the side of the Powerful Ones, as also those who are without the strength derived from them, have been described by the Dasturs, on the authority of the religion, in four ways. Of these one is the man who is strong for the invisible world as well as for this world, that is, a man who is (both) intelligent, and sound in every member of (his) body. Another is the man who is strong as regards the invisible world but who is weak for this world, that is, a man who is intelligent but who is hindered in respect of the vigor of all his bodily members. The third is the man who is without the strength required for actions suited to the invisible world but who is possessed of the strength required for this world, that is, a man who is wanting in intelligence but is sound with the vigor of all his bodily members. Such a man, notwithstanding his power of speech, is not of the side of any one. For, the man who is without the strength of the invisible (world) is lacking in intelligence, and the unintelligent man is possessed neither of the strength (intelligence) of this world nor is he worthy of acquiring that strength. The fourth is the man who is without strength for the invisible world as also for this world, that is, a man who is wanting in intelligence and in the movements of all his bodily members.

137. Exposition in the good religion regarding (the fact that) the improvement of man depends on the correspondence between the givings (i.e. doings or deeds) of this world and the faith regarding the coming world, and that his deterioration depends upon connection with the destructive Power (Anghra Mainyu).

2. Be it known that, for the work of improving man, there are, in the mixed condition of things in this world, the gifts (i. e. generous deeds) connected with the coming world: and they consist in an

accordance between them and the mutually related powers (of this and the coming world): (i.e. whatever promotes the physical and spiritual happiness of man, is a work of generosity i.e. of religion). Owing to this (truth) it was that that virtuous high priest and holy teacher, Adarbad the son of Zartosht was able to expound, in the form of the Naksh (text) quoted below, to that far-sighted emperor, Yazdegard the son of Shahpuhr, the potent thoughts of religion. And (he) pointed out (the fact) that the strength of the good and evil powers, being mutually destroyed, was rendered useless; (3) for, it is owing to (his) good sense that every man in this world is known to be an improver of (his) existence through the medium of things related to both this and the invisible world. 4. And the boon of the things related to both the worlds depends on the soul remaining steadfast in this world as the associate of the invisible world. 5. Among them, (i.e. things related to both the worlds), one thing related to this world is the body (of man). And the thing related to the invisible world is the soul. And man is formed by the union of these with each other.

6. Another (thing) belonging to this world is wealth, and to the invisible world is righteousness. 7. A third (thing) belonging to this world is honor and to the invisible world is good behavior. 8. A fourth (thing) belonging to this world is dominion, and to the coming world is religion. 9. A fifth (thing) belonging to this world is well-directed generosity, and to the coming world is wisdom.

10. (Man) becomes worthy of honor through the good powers belonging to the soul. And (he) becomes possessed of riches and the highest righteousness through good movements (deeds). 11. It is owing to (his) soul that (a man's) body is well-warned. 12. And the soul (itself) remains aloof from the contact of false Drujs, owing to the connection, one with another, (of soul and body). 13. And each (soul and body) is rendered dull by the weakening of the strength of the other; for, when any of the power of the soul become enfeebled, every one of the powers of (the) body is brought to a standstill. And when harm is done to any part of the body, injury is caused to its co-related soul. Therefore, it is owing to the purity of the soul that the body pertaining to this world becomes valuable. And the acquisition of purity by the soul is through the powers of the body pertaining to this world. 14. The riches of this world are exalted when they render help to the righteousness of the coming world; (for), it is generally through the riches of this world that the acquisition of righteousness for the coming world is rendered possible. 15. Honor in this world acquires (its) value through the good movements (deeds) for the coming world. 16. And the increase of good movements (deeds) for the coming world depends on the solicitude felt for the honors of this world. 17. The

improvement of rule in this world depends on the influence exerted on the people by the religion from the invisible world. And the religion from the invisible world is continued (in this world) that rule may be maintained among the people in excellence.

18. The good gifts (deeds) of this world acquire eminence by being connected with the wisdom for the coming world. And the wisdom for the coming world depends on good gifts (deeds) in this world. 19. The body of this world is punished because of the sins of the invisible soul. And the invisible soul is separated from the body, when the body of this world is injured. 20. When the riches of this world are lost, the righteousness for the invisible world is obstructed. And it is when the righteousness for the invisible world is enfeebled by them that the contact of the riches of this world becomes improper. 21. The good movements (deeds) for the coming world are broken up when reputation in this world is lost. And when the good movements (deeds) for the coming world are broken up the connection of this world's honor with man ceases to exist.

22. When the waxing condition of rule (sovereignty) in this world is destroyed, the continuance in this world of the religion pertaining to the invisible world is prevented. And when the religion which pertains to the invisible world becomes unstable, rule (sovereignty) in this world is rendered unenduring. 23. The non-acquisition of good reward from gifts (deeds) in this world is owing to the unwise (and) enfeebled understanding connected with the invisible world. And the gifts (deeds) of this world made without a desire for (the) wisdom (of the invisible world) are undeserving of praise.

THIS IS THE NAKSH (TEXT)

This world's body is (exists) because of the soul which belongs to the invisible world.

The gifts (good deeds) of this world are (exist) because of the wisdom belonging to the invisible world.

Sovereignty (rule) in this world is (exists) because of the religion which concerns the invisible world,

Honor (reputation) in this world is (exists) because of the good movements (deeds) concerning the invisible world.

The riches of this world are (exist) because of the

righteousness belonging to the invisible world.

138. Exposition in the good religion regarding all the righteous being, from the beginnings of this world, of the side of the Source of Good, and all the sinners being of the side of the Source of Evil and holding communion with him.

Be it known that, the source of all good and the head-most promoter of all good is the Spenta Mainyu who is possessed with an exceeding desire for the goodness of the Creator, Ohrmazd. Therefore, the king, who is on the side of goodness, causes immense benefit to all the people and raises them to a high position in the invisible world through the works of this world. And he puts off harm from himself. The source of all evil and the most forward promoter of all wickedness, Anghra Mainyu of the wicked desires, is Ahriman, the injurer (of the world). Therefore, the king who is of the side of wickedness is the doer of exceeding harm to all mankind both in this world and in the coming world. And hence he is the hinderer of benefits to himself. Hence the man who in this world, through the Source of well-inclined wisdom, perpetually keeps (himself) connected with righteousness, is, as much as possible, possessed of a desire for good deeds. And, therefore, he is desirous of the income of righteousness. And the man who, in this world, through the Source of wickedly-inclined evil wisdom, keeps (himself) always connected with sin, is, as much as possible, a doer of wicked deeds. And he is possessed of the income-less desire (of sin). (Therefore), if the religion of one religious teacher, among others, (is such as to) impart wicked wishes and commandments, the religion of that religious teacher is wicked and calculated to cause injury to his community through all wickedness. Hence, the religion which is devoid of the wishes pertaining to life, is a religion which conforms to the wishes of the Unknowing and the Death-causing (Anghra Mainyu). Whoever accepts such a religion as a religion is an approver, through missing the (right) path, of a lifeless religion. It is not right to consider such a religion as a religion.

139. Exposition in the good religion regarding the power of religion among the children of men.

Be it known that, in (this) mixed (world of good and evil) the progeny of man is divided into three ranks, – the highest, the middle, and the lowest. And the particulars thereof are this-wise. The highest is superior to the middle and the lowest (rank). The middle is superior

to the lowest. The lowest of the children of men become superior to those in the highest and middle rank. And the reason generally is their firmer faith in the good religion and their greater liking (for it).

It is this-wise that, in proportion as the lowest of the progeny of men are more solicitous to remain firm in the good religion than the middle (rank) of the progeny of men, and as the middle (rank) of the progeny of men are more solicitous than the highest believers, in the same proportion are they superior (in rank to the others), owing to the greater solicitude of the one than that of the other. And it is because of their solicitude that the highest believers are of a nature like unto that of the Yazads.

Similarly, the highest of the children of men become, of their own accord, like unto the lowest of the children of men and (even) inferior to them by reason of excessive faith in the religion of evil. Those also who are the meanest and who become like unto the Devs and Drujs in their nature, are such, because of their wicked desires.

140. Exposition in the good religion regarding (religious) communion and severance.

Be it known that, men fit to hold communion with or to remain aloof from are of various kinds: of these, firstly, the communion between those obedient to God is owing to their disposition to remain in obedience to God. And the severance between those obedient to God and those disobedient to Him is owing to the disobedient disposition (of the latter) towards God. Secondly, the communion between those who obey God and the believers in the good religion is owing to their faith being that of the good religion. And their severance from those belonging to the evil religion is owing to their (of the latter) ways pertaining to the evil religion. Thirdly, those belonging to the good religion are connected with the good (i. e. the priests or Athornans) because of gifts made for the worship of God; and their separation from the wicked is owing to their (the latter) failing to worship God and to make gifts. Fourthly, of these three kinds of Mazdayasnians, those who are the highest in rank, are such, owing to the worship of God and to the acquisition of the friendship of the Yazads. And their separation from the Devs is owing to their entirely refraining from worshipping Devs and from doing the work pertaining to them.

141. Exposition in the good religion regarding two most excellent qualities connected with superior intelligence and two most wicked qualities connected with perverse intelligence.

Be it known that, it is mentioned in the religion that the two most excellent qualities pertaining to intelligence of a high order, are, liberality and love. And they pertain to God himself. And each of these (two qualities) is fostered by the other. (For), to make a gift with a pure heart to a holy man in order to secure his love is liberality. And a liking for making gifts to good men is love for holy men. Through these (qualities) man becomes connected with heaven (paradise). Similarly, there are two most evil vices pertaining to perverse intelligence of a low order, which are miserliness and animosity. Further, these two vices belong to the Devs themselves. And each of them is set off by the other. Miserliness consists in refusing to give a thing to a holy man who asks for it (merely) from animosity to the holy man (and) notwithstanding that the person has the thing in abundance. Animosity for holy men is where there is a good man worthy of securing the love of men, and instead of securing his love, enmity is shown towards him, through (a spirit of) miserliness.

142. Exposition in the good religion regarding light and darkness.

Be it known that, it is owing to light and darkness, that there is a mixture (formation) in this world of heat, cold, moisture, and dryness. And the other related varieties of created things possess them in the required degree. Thus, it is owing to them (light and darkness) that the things of this world are possessed of light, darkness, heat, cold, moisture, and dryness. Similarly, this world is shining because of light, dark because of darkness, hot because of heat, moist because of moisture, and dry because of dryness. Therefore, it is impossible for these two rivals (light and darkness) to associate with each other and for this world to wear a uniform aspect. Similarly, it is not possible, owing to many diverse ways, for this world to be the rival (antagonist) of the one (and the partisan of the other). Again heat and moisture are (exist) because of light. When this world is lighted up everything upon it is fragrant, pure, and good looking. And other (portions of the) good creation are possessed of good sway (influence). Similarly, cold and dryness are owing to darkness. When this world is in darkness everything upon it is stinking, filthy, and of sinful movement. And (other portions of the) evil creation acquire evil luster and evil sway (influence). Therefore, the antagonism of these two (light and darkness) depends upon the predominance in this (world), one over

another, of the superior powers in whom they have their different sources. Hence, one (of these powers) cannot associate (coexist) with the other. (For), one of these things (light) has a source (Spenta Mainyu) through which it fights (its fights), keeps within bounds and performs good deeds in this world. And the other thing (darkness) has a source (Anghra Mainyu) through which there is companionship with sin. From this it appears that one of these powers introduces relations with powers, good at adopting remedies and well-regulated, such as belong to the Yazads. And the other power gives (introduces) relations with the (perverse powers) connected with the cherishing of the body. This (the above) was written by the head of the religion, the virtuous Adarfarobag the son of Farokhjad, in the (book called) *A'inin Nameh* and has been introduced into what was written on the same subject in the Denkard composed by the former heads of the religion.

If the sayings of any one of the religious teachers are calculated for darkness, and are wholly devoid of light, such (sayings) are connected with darkness. And where (in the sayings of religious teachers) there is much shining of light there, there is permanence of light and disappearance (setting) of darkness. Just as where darkness shines (prevails) no object can obtain light, so as long as there is the existence of these two (Spenta Mainyu and Anghra Mainyu) holding relations with the conduct of man in this world, so long the above objects (causes) (light and darkness) will appear: but when the limit of both (Spenta Mainyu and Anghra Mainyu) is reached (completed) nothing will perish. For this reason these two are nowhere found in the same place, but one of them is always covered up or rendered lusterless (deprived of vigor) by the other. And the shutting up of the one is the manifestation of the other. As where heat is, cold cannot remain, and where moisture is, there is no dryness: so (where there is Spenta Mainyu, there Anghra Mainyu cannot remain). Hence, it is just to speak suitably of the one (Anghra Mainyu) who is deserving of being covered up and rendered lusterless by the other. For wanting the existence of heat there is cold. And wanting the existence of cold there is heat. And where there is (exists) no dryness there is moisture. And the non-existence of moisture is dryness. For this reason, without (the existence of) any one of these things the end of the action of any one (the other) cannot be made out (distinguished). Further in all the things in the world there is antagonism and a suppression of one by the other. Therefore it must be said (admitted) that all things (in this world) are for destruction.

Again (further explanation) in regard to this matter is this, that, he who is for destruction (Anghra Mainyu) will not be able to obtain the first one (Spenta Mainyu). And will not be able to be of his side. Then,

how is it possible for light and darkness to obtain (secure) each other? or how can they be of the side of each other? If things of darkness were not rendered lusterless (feeble) by light; if, similarly, cold was not destroyed by heat, these things differing from each other could have remained together. Therefore, the religious teacher who is of the side of light makes (man) open-eyed. And the religious teacher who is of the side of darkness shuts up the eyes (of mall). For this reason he who does the work of destruction (sin) is spoken of (in the religion) as connected with Devs. And he who is wholly unconnected with destruction is spoken of as one who can live within (the) bounds (prescribed by Spenta Mainyu). Therefore, if (a religious teacher) is for darkness, he pertains to destruction. And for this reason in proportion as religious teachers are for darkness they are connected with Devs and hold corresponding designations (titles). For, such speeches (sermons) are made by them as if they intended to render their (followers) perishable (sinful). Therefore these religious teachers are wholly undeserving of glory. Those who belong to the Mazdayasnian religion are well able to understand both light and darkness. And (they) are able to keep themselves on the side (of Spenta Mainyu): And keep themselves on their guard against the perverse Source.

143. Exposition in the good religion as to how, from the beginning to the end of the Blemish-giver, men acquire thoughts (knowledge) regarding work connected with him.

Be it known that, thoughts (considerations) regarding the work of the Blemish-giver in connection with men, from his beginning to his end, are promulgated in the one (Mazdayasnian) religion. Therefore the man who, by means of the explanations in that religion, points out to the soul (of man) the best way for attaining superior position has for his object the suppression of perverse passions and the strengthening of virtue. In the beginning (of the world) the first person to communicate high thoughts to men doing the work pertaining to the Blemish-giver was Gayomard. And it was through the precepts (thoughts) of this one man who was the first (person) created in this world, that all men became good-thinking, good-speaking and good-doing. And it is owing to his precepts that men even now think (what is) good, speak (what is) good and do (what is) good, and will continue to be in the habit of thinking, speaking and doing the same till the time of the final improvement. And it is by means of them that whatever sinful deeds and miseries are inflicted (given) on the world by the Blemish-giver will be removed (got rid of).

And there will be final improvement of the world in consonance with the wishes of the holy Ohrmazd. And the people of this world will become free from the evil passions of the Blemish-giver, and the whole good creation will be for ever immortal and free from vice.

144. Exposition in the good religion regarding good and evil intelligence.

Be it known that it is because of wisdom that a man is a doer of good or evil deeds. He who is a doer of good deeds is possessed of good wisdom (intelligence). And he, using his wisdom for the purpose of doing good deeds, is able to keep up his connection with the One Lord with whom connection ought to be maintained. And he who is a doer of evil deeds is possessed of evil wisdom (intelligence). And lie, using his wisdom in doing evil deeds, is of the way of the other one (Anghra Mainyu) (and) Farehbut. Good intelligence keeps (a man) pure of sin. For, good intelligence (wisdom) keeps (a man), in accordance with justice, aloof from secretly dispoiling the people and doing them harm, and similarly, keeps (him aloof) from appropriating to himself, through the Blemish-giver, the goods and property of other. In the same way a person of good intelligence (wisdom) opposes the open plunder, and highway robbery of men's goods and property.

145. Exposition in the good religion regarding him who is the owner (i.e. King) of the world and the world's walking in the good path (way) owing to him.

Be it known that, the moving of the world in the good path depends upon the first of the two desires (inclinations) of Kings, – one, (a desire) to do good deeds and another, (a desire) to do evil deeds. For, men are enabled to maintain (themselves) because of the desire of kings to do good deeds. similarly, it is owing to the desire of Kings to do good that men are enabled to redeem their souls from hell. And thus is the world made to move in the right manner (path). But if the desire of the King be to do evil deeds) then mankind are diminished and their souls are enfeebled. And thus are the people of the world destroyed.

146. Exposition in the good religion regarding foresight, superiority, power of discrimination, wisdom, faith, belief, power of inference, sense, understanding, thought, speech and deed.

Be it known that, foresight is a knowledge of the final end of things derived from a knowledge of the religion. Superiority consists in making (creating) many things out of one. To recognize a thing out of a multitude is wisdom. To know the advantages and disadvantages of every thing is the power of discrimination. Faith and belief are the analogical indications for understanding the things which obtain (secure) life and which do not obtain life. Inference is the power to understand the object (or aim of things). Sense is the strength for preserving the internal powers. The understanding is for examining and selecting things. Thought is (given) for guiding the powers of (man) through approvable reflection. Speech is (given) for the purpose of making known what is hidden (private) in man and for describing the invisible powers. Deeds are the result of the guidance, through the members of the body (and) through wisdom, of its powers (of the body.)

147. Exposition in the good religion regarding the mutual relations of wisdom, desire and speech.

Be it known that, it is through wisdom that men possess all desires and the power of speech. Similarly, men with desires are possessed of wisdom because of the power of expressing (their thoughts) in every way. And it is through the power of speech that all men are possessed of wisdom and of the strength of desires. Without the power of speech, men with desires would not have appeared possessed of wisdom. Similarly, without wisdom, men would not have possessed desires through the power of speech. And without the power of speech men would not have appeared possessed of desires and wisdom. Hence, wisdom, desires and the power of speech become manifest through their mutual connection. Consequently, the existence of those among religious teachers who are for (on the side of) the wishes of the Creator, is destroyed because of their manifesting ignorance regarding the Creator and because of their failing to explain to the people of the world the excellencies of the Lord. And for this reason such religious teachers are not considered religious.

Further, what are known to be deeds connected with conduct are (exist) through (the instrumentality) of speech and motion. One of these is connected with desire, which has its source in man. And the other is connected with passion which has its source in fire. He whose

desires are without religion (irreligious) is not deserving of life. And he who does (his) work through the movements of the passions, is without thought (thoughtless) throughout his life. There is no work of movement for life-possessing man after the termination of his life: Similarly, previously (to birth) there is no possibility of work for the soul. After (life) is ended, nothing done (by man) is to be seen, for, without bodies, (men) are without thoughts, without objects and without end. The man who is not thankful to his Creator is not obedient to His rule and does not act in accordance with His behests. Again, every man becomes possessed of religious enthusiasm through the power of a religious teacher who excites (creates) religious enthusiasm (passion), and thereby he is enabled to remain, in faith, on the side of his Creator, the Self-Existent. Without it (religion) the Creator cannot be for the creation and the creation for its Creator. Should any one say (question): man being of the side of the appetites (desires) (i.e. appetites springing naturally in him), the (satisfaction of) appetites must be considered just; that being so, how can it (such satisfaction) be considered improper? for, unless a thing is wanted there is no necessity for it; and there is no want (felt) without desire (appetite); and unless there be one antagonistic to life there can be no liking (desire). The answer is: Any thing that is right according to the religion is (a thing that is) wise, (that) suppresses danger to the people of the world and gives them strength, and (that) drives out the power of the Blemish-giver from the creation and reduces it. And in virtue of it (man) becomes possessed of strength of a superior kind, successful in his hopes, and thankful to his Maker through the proper wishes connected with it (the religion). If the Blemish-giver were not forced out (suppressed) from among the people, because of wants (desires), there would be no diminution of him whatever. And danger could not be averted from among the people notwithstanding all proper (and) sensible measures. Hence it is a duty to avert and diminish as much as possible the power of the Blemish-giver. Again, the success of the Enemy of Life, although it does not enable (man) to help himself, yet thereby harm (emanating) from the Destroyer (possessor of death) is thrown into men to render them unworthy. Therefore, to drive him out is, for men, a victorious deed. Hence, those who, at whatever place, largely annihilate from among their people harm-causing works of the Blemish-giver and who do battle against those possessed of injurious desires have always been known to be victorious.

148. Exposition in the good religion regarding him who causes harm (to Ahriman), who causes great harm, and who does the work of causing harm: and (regarding) him who is harmed through injury caused (to him) and who is most harmed.

Be it known that, he who is possessed of the power of the Spenamino causes harm (to Ahriman). And he who is possessed of the power of the Spenamino in the highest degree does the greatest harm (to Ahriman). And that man is the doer of deeds which harm Ahriman. And that strength-possessing man causes harm to his antagonist, smites him and makes him hide himself (in the earth). He who is deserving of being harmed, who is (exists) for the work of harm and who has received harm at the hands of one most strong with the full good strength of Spenta Mainyu, is Anghra Mainyu of sinful strength. And the reason why Anghra Mainyu is deserving of the utmost harm is that he is for harming each good created thing. And those men who possess in the smallest degree the strength of Spenta Mainyu are also capable of causing harm to that harm-causing Druj (Anghra Mainyu.)

149. Exposition in the good religion as to who among men of the religion holds relations with good and with evil: and how he is to be weighed: and how he is to be distinguished.

Be it known that, it is by means of the one religion of great wisdom that the weighing and ascertainment of the men belonging to the religion who hold relations with good and with evil can be made. And these (men) are of three ways. Of these, one way is that pertaining to religious disposition: another way is that pertaining to religious habit: and the third way is that pertaining to the wisdom of the religion. Further explanation regarding these three ways is given under the sections relating to them where some (men) are considered as acting according to the law and some as acting contrary to the law. Men of these three ways, as they are doers of good deeds so are they doers of evil deeds. And they are of eight kinds.

- The first is he who is of the good religion through these three, – disposition, habit and wisdom.
- The second is he who is of the good religion through disposition and habit, but through wisdom (intelligence) is like unto one who belongs to the evil religion.
- The third is he who is of the good religion through disposition

and intelligence but is through habit of evil religion.

- The fourth is he who is of the good religion through habit and intelligence but is through disposition of evil religion.
- The fifth is he who is of the evil religion through disposition and habit but is of the good religion through wisdom (intelligence).
- The sixth is he who is like unto one belonging to the evil religion through disposition and intelligence, but is through habit of the good religion.
- The seventh is he who is of the evil religion through habit and intelligence but is through his disposition of the good religion.
- The eighth is one who is of the evil religion through the three, – disposition, habit and intelligence.

A discerning wise man is able find out by examination who among these eight kinds of men holds good and who evil relations.

150. Exposition in the good religion that the severance of him of the Evil Source (from man) is possible through the one Mazdayasnian religion, and not through the religion of Devs, of Yahudis (Jews), or through any other religion accepted in this world as a heavenly religion, such as that of Mani; for, all these religions are founded on things done with skill (art) and they are all connected with faith in the religion of base thoughts, of the One not of the Original Source (Anghra Mainyu).

Be it known that, the severance and remaining aloof (from man) of him of the Evil Source is by means of the one (Mazdayasnian) religion, and is not at all by means of the religion of Devs or that of Yahudis (Jews). For, in these (religions) it is thought that if the Other (Anghra Mainyu) is a rival, why should he be called of the Evil Source and one to be kept aloof from and one connected with Devs? for, if the Other is to be a rival of the First, (Spenta Mainyu) for limitless time, that must be said to be a reason for their being a pair connected with this world. Again, it is the belief in every religion of the Evil Source pertaining to Mani (and) accepted in this world as divine: why should it not be possible for man to become personally divine (heavenly)? For, the manifestation in man of that (divine) power is through the living thing (principle) other than the body. But each of these two religions was fabricated in this world; how can they be considered divine? All those religions which are formed of (founded on) work done with things of art repose faith in the religion, base in thought, of

him of the Evil Source. Again, it is said (thought) in those religions: when, according to compact the One (Spenta Mainyu) is to remain (in the world) for limitless time, why should the other be considered as of the Devs? Then (the answer is): notwithstanding (the existence of) numerous different compacts for limitless time in reference to each, how can they be called the colleagues of each other?[94]

151. Exposition in the good religion that in the world one (man) prevails over another through good and evil deeds.

Be it known that, the deeds of men appertain to that to which their disposition appertains. In especial men's dispositions are dependent upon their religion. And their turning towards sin depends upon their doing things without attending to matters of religion. And such men are of three kinds. One that makes gifts to those who do good and does not make gifts to those who do evil deeds. The second that makes gifts to those who do good and those who do evil. The third that makes gifts to those who do evil and does not make gifts to those who do good. He who, owing to his religion and disposition, makes gifts to those who do evil and does not make gifts to those who do good, – a man of this disposition is a hinderer of that immortality which prevails in this world through the strength of the goodness of the Dadar [Creator], and is a giver of advice for evil. The man who has debased himself by the deeds (mentioned) above, has rendered himself a prisoner of hell through his disposition, and also is a great injurer of himself. Men who are very wicked hold very intimate relations with Devs and are great diminishers of the world. And thereby the people of the world become possessed of wicked morals and of wicked religion. The man who makes gifts to those who do good equally with those who do evil, thereby gets himself worshipped by many men. And that they may do their sinful deeds he makes men of perverse disposition in the world continue very much to walk in contact with sin. So, he is one who does (both) good and evil deeds. And thereby vices and immorality prevail in man; and thereby the

94 It is the opinion of men of other religions that good and evil qualities having been placed in man by God they are the complements of each other and that any act which has its origin in either of these qualities cannot be called sinful. The learned author of the Denkard has declared such religions to be opposed to the Mazdayasnian religion and to be based on the ways of Devs. For, if according to this opinion there were no difference between virtue and vice, the commandments contained in the Mazdayasnian religion about doing virtuous deeds and the warnings given to man to remain aloof from vice would be useless and what is said about the reward of virtue being happiness in the next world and of vice being misery would be untrue. Not only that, but the laws for the punishment of wicked persons enforced in courts of justice would be nugatory.

world is rendered extremely desolate, people are diminished (in numbers) through hardships and men become very sinful. And, Owing to sin that causes harm to the souls of men, and to the heavy oppression of wicked Drujs, the gifts of glory-bestowing Yazads are covered up (disappear). And thereby he, as it were, makes known the manifestation in the world of uncleanliness, unholiness and hardships of various kinds; for which reason, such a man is (considered) an enemy of the people.

Further, the man who makes gifts to good men and gives no gifts to wicked men, – such a man is possessed with a desire to do (secure) to the world the benefits of the religion, and to keep up among the people ways that are (calculated) for immortality, and to turn men's dispositions towards good, and to render their (men's) intelligence fit (calculated) for good thinking, good speaking and good doing through the Wisdom whose nature it is to think, speak and do good. And (such a man), through the instrumentality of good attributes and good though , renders the world superior, redeems the souls of men (from hell), and makes the souls and bodies of men fit for the gifts of the Creator of the world by making them walk in (the path that secures) superior benefits. Men become pure and good through the constant prevalence of religion in the world and through the firm belief of all men in religion. And thereby the world is rendered free from danger and perpetually good. And the thing that explains these (matters) to the people of the world is the pure, the good Mazdayasnian religion, adorned with all wisdom.

152. Exposition in the good religion regarding (the man) who is for himself (i.e. lives for his good) and regarding (the man) who is not for himself (i.e. does not live for his good).

Be it known that, the man whose thoughts, words, and deeds have the tendency of his Master's, and in whose heart is, through the instrumentality of the good religion, union with the Creator Ohrmazd, the highest, – that man is for himself. And that man conveys himself by means of that true path (system) to the shining mansion of perpetual goodness and complete joy. The man whose thoughts, words, and deeds are, owing to the aims of perverse intelligence, opposed to those of his Master's, – that man is, owing to the connection with the evil path (system) of perverse intelligence, of the evil religion, and is, owing to the sinful efforts of Anghra Mainyu, fitted to be a prisoner in the mansion of perpetual hardship and of complete pain. Such a man is not for himself.

153. Exposition in the good religion regarding the acquirement of complete knowledge by a man about the business of his calling.

Be it known that, the acquisition by a man of perfect knowledge of the work of his profession, and generally his success therein, happen only when he is possessed of proper thought and of concern for the Possessor of Good Gifts. And thus he stands (remains) high in the knowledge of his calling. And in every work of his he comes above (others). And the opener of his thoughts is his heart. Just as a man of successful desires is filled with great joy on account of his success, so such a man is always of uniform action (manner) in regard to his bodily powers. Further, such a man, being accustomed to reflect through intelligence, obtains a knowledge of his work (business) through the good-thinking Power. Thus, he does not feel wearied when danger, involving much trouble, comes upon him. Likewise, he does not feel elated when a higher degree of ease is experienced.

Exposition in the good religion that the king, who in the present times brings people of other religions into the Mazdayasnian religion, is one possessed of the disposition of good men, is long-lived and a preventer of the world's dangers; and that he does not give high rank to wicked people. (154)

Be it known that, the rule of the good improves the holy ordinances of religion, because the holy and refreshing precepts of religion make immoral and vicious (possessed of blemishes) men tremble. Therefore, he who keeps the people of the world refreshed (healthy and prosperous) is like unto water that is fragrant and of delicate excellence. As by means of excellence-imparting water moisture and ease can be obtained (by men) and dryness removed (driven away) from them, and as injurious water causes immediate death, so by means of the rule of good kings the people of this world will rise up again to invoke (remember) the holy Self-Existent and his invisible Yazads and to obtain their desires through the Self-Existent and his Yazads. Likewise, owing to the holy religion of such kings men obtain the means of being connected with that religion and make endeavors to know the goodness of the holy Yazad of Yazads.

The rule of wicked people is the rule of the Immoral and the Vicious (one full of blemishes). Thereby the power of the religious system of virtuous intelligent men is destroyed (set). Further, things are earned so far that (a man originally religious) performs in this world deeds known in the world as those of Farehbut and Aibibut.

And, owing to this, the man becomes as obscured (darkened) and damaged as he (before) was glorious in the world through (good) deeds. Such rule being itself (calculated) for evil (destruction), owing to it, that good man, – his glory (fame) being lessened, – is reduced to the lowest rank. Further, owing to the many troubles, injuries, and hardships caused to the people by wicked rulers there is no resurrection (rising again) for the people in this world for the remembrance of the holy Self-Existent and the invisible Yazads.

Exposition in the good religion regarding superior strength being a characteristic that raises men to the highest rank and confers luster, and inferior strength being a characteristic that brings men into a low and sinking (setting) condition. (155).

Be it known that, superior strength is like unto a characteristic that raises men to a high rank and confers luster (upon them). And men in this respect are of three kinds. Of these, (the men of) the first (kind) are those who obey the advice and directions of a person highly versed in the religion and who, making inquiries about the religion, of that religious teacher and hearing good words (matter) from him, consider themselves as inferior in rank to him. Men of the second (kind) are those who being themselves superior, with consummate thought, to those of inferior rank, impart (make a gift of) those thoughts to those who are inferior to them and raise those who are of inferior rank to superior rank in virtue (excellence). Men of the third (kind) are those who, owing to their superior aims, are superior to those of the faithful (believers in the religion) who are inferior, and who, owing to their humility – (the result) of higher obedience (to the religion), – consider themselves inferior to the others.

Further, the inferior (low) strength which carries men to inferior rank, has characteristics the opposite of those described as belonging to the above-mentioned three kinds of men. Of these the first (kind of) men are those who obey the advice and directions of a person highly versed in the religion of Devs and who, making inquiries, about religion, of that religious teacher, are zealous in the work relating to it, and consider themselves inferior to him. (Men of) the second (kind) are those who impart (make a gift of) their hateful disposition and hurtful propensities to those inferior to them, and who raise those inferior to them to a higher degree in vice. Men of the third (kind) are those who being more disobedient to God and more fond of the religion of Devs than others, notwithstanding consider themselves, owing to the meanness of their thoughts, to be inferior in high hurtfulness to those beneath them.

Exposition in the good religion regarding thoughts that impart increased luster and increased darkness to the Mazdayasnian religion. (156).

Be it known that when, under the authority of the highest religious teacher of the Zartoshti community, holy men impart religious instruction to the people of their religion, and when, heeding the words of the holy religious teacher, all men remain in obedience to him, the holy religious teacher imparts increased luster to the Mazdayasnian religion. Those who impart increased darkness to the Mazdayasnian religion are the Farehbut and Aibibut:[95] these people belong to Anghra Mainyu, and therefore, they harm people of the good religion, create enmity and dissensions among them and teach them to hate their own Dastur.

95 By Farehbut and Aibibut are to be understood those persons who, while walking themselves in the wicked path of Ahriman, sow discord and dissensions among believers in the Mazdayasnian religion, give rise to doubt, and questions in the minds of true believers by perverting and misrepresenting the precepts of that religion and lower Dasturs and mobeds in the estimation of their co-religionists by slandering and traducing them, and teach Zoroastrians to despise the Dasturs of their religion. These deceitful Ashmoghs may be of any kind; they may act as above for the promotion of their objects while professing the Mazdayasnian religion, or, being irreligious, they may be actuated by animosity to that religion.

Exposition in the good religion, regarding the origin of medicine (157):

The appropriate causes thereof, the principles of its divisions, its work and its benefits: regarding medical treatment without a knowledge of medicine resulting in illness: (regarding) the kind of physician who is meritorious, wise, and valuable in relation to his work: (regarding) a physician being wise and valuable in his work owing to right honesty and right liberality: (regarding) the test of the physician of the body consisting in the removal of the ailments of the body, and the test of the physician of the soul consisting in removing the maladies (vices) of the soul: and that the physicians of both these kinds must not be untried but tried men: that the people of a city who find it necessary to have a physician ought (in the first place) to try (him), for, they become worthy of punishment by allowing an untried physician to practice physic: that a tried physician alone should be chosen for the profession of a medical practitioner: that the physician who is an averter of the diseases of the soul and of the body deserves the name of "Baj-shak" (i.e. the destroyer of disease) and that the physician who joins (sets) the limbs (parts) of the body deserves the name of "Darvestpat" (i.e. the joiner or setter of broken parts) : that in the profession of physicians, the physician of the soul exists because of the physician of the body, and the physician of the body exists because of the physician of the soul: regarding how the physicians of these two kinds of illness and defect become capable in their professions: that medicines of various kinds are things that give strength to the people: that surgery is the work of improving (broken) parts of the body: that the surgeon is, as it were, through the instrumentality of surgery, the improver of the powers of the soul and the maintainer in proper order of the structures relating to it for the performance of beneficial works, and that, on this ground also, men have need of this physician: that to keep the body in good order for the purposes of the soul it is a duty to take medicines in due proportions: that, similarly, it is incumbent on the physician, to provide himself with materials for the preparation of medicines so as to ensure proper improvement: that he whose business it is to avert bodily ailments ought to remove bodily diseases and he whose business it is to impart, through the religion, thoughts relating to the End ought to expound the religion.

Be it known that, the source which averts disease (i.e. a physician) ought to be possessed of such forethought that he should have in him a very good knowledge of how to overcome disease and how to avert human suffering. The object of medicine is to protect the people of this world from blemish-giving defects and to ward off by proper remedies their illness in order to preserve them. If a physician (professing) to cure (avert) disease, should be ignorant of the science of medicine, such a physician will, without a knowledge of medicine, be wholly incapable of curing disease. In the religion there is contained, first, an exposition about the warding off of diseases of the body, and, secondly, advice regarding the prevention of diseases of the soul. The precepts for dispelling diseases of the soul have reference to the removal and diminution from the people, by means of the observances of the good religion, of those illnesses and shortcomings which have reached (into the world) through the power of the Blemish-Giver.

And the exposition (explanation) for the warding off of the maladies of the body has reference to the keeping aloof of the bodies of the people of this world from the illnesses of the Blemish-Giver and to the removal of their diseases, by means of the wisdom pertaining to the good religion. In (connection with) each of these systems of medicine there are two distinct sections (divisions) for rendering (the soul and body) immortal and for giving religious instruction in regard to them. The removal of the diseases pertaining to the soul, in order to render it immortal in the invisible world, is effected by means of the good religion: and all men, seeking the immortality of their souls, are enabled to remove the diseases affecting their souls, by improving their dispositions through the instrumentality of their master and king and of the head religious teacher of the community of Zartosht.

For the removal of the sufferings of the souls of men it is proper that they should be instructed (in religion), and, while prevented from evil-thinking, evil-speaking and evil-doing, should be encouraged in good-thinking, good-speaking, and good-doing; that thereby wise, religious people might, through a knowledge of the good religion, be the more enabled to improve their dispositions.

It is through the religious authority of the high priest and the meritorious commands of the king of the Zoroastrian community that men's bodies are, after being freed from the sufferings of this world, rendered immortal (i.e. freed from harm).

Similarly, it is owing to them that the diseases of men are averted and those whose bodies are being corrupted for want of (the services of) a physician are looked after and protected. The removal of every

disease affecting the human body is owing to good physicians who give the necessary instruction and who are capable of informing men as to (the means of) averting the several maladies connected with them. Again, the removal of the diseases affecting the bodies of men is effected through the Darvestpat (surgeons) whose business it is to look after those things which injure the members (of their bodies).

For the removal of the diseases of those parts of the body as also the soul which have been injured there are these things. And (these are) their religious names: – disease-averting purity; disease-averting fire ; disease-removing herbs (vegetation); disease-removing surgical instruments; essences (spirits or tinctures) that burn out disease ; and, disease-removing recitations from the Avesta. Of these, the explanation regarding the recitation of disease-removing Avesta is this that when bodily wounds, diseases and injuries of a malignant nature cannot, in spite of the adoption of various remedies, be removed, then the best remedy for casting away bodily illness, is the recitation of the Avesta. Secondly, the meaning of fire being a remover of suffering is this that the power of fire is the cause of the removal of illness arising from putrefaction and noxious gases, so that if conquering fragrant herbs be placed upon fire and the body be fumigated and warmed many ailments arising from this cause are dissipated. And thereby relief is obtained by the body. Thirdly, the meaning of pain being removed by vegetables and herbs is this that wounds, boils and tumors are cured by means of surgical instruments and tinctures (essences), and bodily illnesses of other kinds are dispelled by drinking (taking) and inhaling medicines. In removing disease by means of surgical instruments and medicinal essences, it is right that it should first be removed by means of instruments and then treated by means of essences.

The treatment of the soul is effected in three ways by recitations from the good religion, by putting faith in the good religion and by doing works relating to the good religion.

Of these (three) the strength of faith being infused into the (other) two, – recitations from and performance of the work relating to the good religion, – the diseases relating to the souls of men are enabled to be dispelled. There are two worthy persons who keep (men) in a state of security in (the) world: one of these renders the soul of man imperishable from sin, and the other preserves the body of man from disease. Whoever in the world is a remover of the sins pertaining to the souls of men and of the ailments affecting his body is deserving of the name of a physician (doctor). And whoever saves (the souls of) men from sin and their bodies from disease, he, among men, is deserving of the name of the all-saving master. Every man who,

among men, is a remover of the pain caused by the sin of the souls of men and the disease of their bodies is worthy of the name of a doctor. And, further, those among them who are physicians of the body are of two descriptions, one for the restoration of the bones of the body and the other for the cure of the body from disease. Similarly, the physicians of the soul are of two kinds : One preserves the soul and the other frees it from sin. It is in the preservation of the souls and bodies of immortal men and in the removal of their sufferings that the immortal work of physicians consists. And the benefits of it consist in the maintenance of the world in safety, purity and good discernment.

The good work of physicians connected with the End consists in securing the soul of every man from sin and his body from illness. And the benefit that results therefrom is that of keeping the bodies of men in health and of doing the work of purity of their souls. Physicians possessing thought and foresight like this ought to be appointed by the king. And the physicians, both of soul and body, versed in the good religion, should be under the control of the high physician of the soul, the priest of priests of Zoroastrians, which high priest should be pure of disposition, possessed of natural ability, an adorner of the religion, one who remembers God, believes in Ohrmazd, perceives the soul, recites the true Avesta, understands the meaning of the Avesta, is versed in the religion, is of indubitable conduct, large of heart, high of thought, a discerner of the good of thought, passionless, a destroyer of perverse thought, a suppresser of temptations, giving immediate orders for the punishment of sinners (offenders), making appropriate gifts to those worthy of the reward and portion of virtue, and a supporter of those obedient to Ohrmazd. And he (the high priest) should be one who keeps within bounds (in due proportion) these five things,-the eyes, the mouth, the tongue, the ears and the neck,-the eyes from casting an evil eye, the mouth from irregular food, the tongue from foolish speech, the ears from hearing what is improper and the neck from frequent motion : that thereby he may not be possessed of certain defects (blemishes): and the men of the four professions may not become of sinful conduct. Furthermore, he (the high priest) should be one who keeps the people harmless from injury by the Devs, points out to them (the path to) salvation and gives right decisions as between the sovereign and the subject. A true Dastur (high priest) is able, through wealth of all kinds and adequate income, to preserve the luster and the aims of the religion and to issue all commands pertaining to the religion and to bring them into force.

The physician who is the improver (restorer) of the enfeebled body by means of (medicinal) things, is the preceptor (teacher) who keeps the people of the good religion in health. Again, the physician who, in

every situation, prevails through good expedients, loves the soul, examines diseases with minuteness, reads largely, remembers what is written, and possesses great experience, is a curer of original (disease) and a victor over maladies that give pain to the body. An accomplished physician is one who is acquainted with the members of the body, knows their changes, understands the remedies for illness, is possessed of unadulterated things (i. e. drugs that are not unclean), treats patients in person, is a helping friend to them, is without envy, sweet-spoken (speaks with a sweet-tongue), undisdaining, adopts preservative and good remedies, is an enemy of illness, a friend of those who are ill, tends the sick without feeling ashamed, is harmless, free from disease, never keeps back (conceals) any kind of assistance (from the sick), a care-taker of patients with all renown, a pointer-out of remedies for maladies, is careful of (his) good name (as a physician), treats (patients) without (hope of) income (in this world) but in expectation of a good reward in the invisible world, and, listens to every circumstance that has happened (to the patient). And such (a physician) owing to the superior assistance and friendship of Airyaman, averts disease by means of the virtues of medicinal herbs, adopts good, efficacious remedies, keeps (preserves) sick persons by means of illness-dispelling regimen, and, gives happiness, flavor and ease to life by turning away the hurtfulness and the impurity of disease.

The excellence and dignity of a physician of the soul depend upon his love (fondness), in this world, for true obedience to Ardwahisht Ameshaspand while (endeavoring) to ward off diseases of the soul. And the excellence and dignity of a physician of the body depend upon his acquisition of the virtue (efficacy), from among the Yazads who ward off diseases of the body, of Airyaman the invisible power working in conjunction with Ardwahisht Ameshaspand. Further, the work among men, of him who averts diseases of the soul is of the first rank, (for) he (the physician) of the soul belongs to (i.e. is the physician of) all men, and, his principal work is to give instruction in the doing of works pertaining to the good religion and in remaining aloof from deeds of the opposite kind. And it (the work) consists in saving the soul from sin and rendering (man) pure by means of righteousness through the acquisition of the virtue (occult efficacy) of Ardwahisht Ameshaspand.

The chief work of the physician of the body has reference to the stomach of the soul-possessing body of man: hence his work it is to strengthen the stomach of the body of man by regimen and remedies, to preserve the bodies of men in safety through the occult efficacy of Airyaman, and, to cure it of disease. The removal of the sin pertaining

to the soul and the rendering it precious depends upon the strength of the body; (for,) it is owing to the existence of the body that there is cleansing of the sin of the soul. The removal of the diseases of the body and the rendering it valuable depend upon the strength of the soul: (for,) it is owing to the strength of the powers of the soul that the work of the body is performed.

The system of medicine pertaining to the soul is the religion itself. And the system of medicine pertaining to the body constitutes the strength of the powers pertaining to the religion. The merit of the physician of the soul consists in (literally, the physician of the soul becomes possessed of merit by) removing the diseases of the soul, by discovering the perverse powers of the soul and every sin connected with those powers and keeping man back from (the commission of) those sins, and by understanding how to annihilate every sin pertaining to him, break it down and keep his soul in a safe, durable condition. The merit of the physician of the body consists in improving and rendering uniformly fitting, in the manner required by medical science, the bodily members whose humors have become internally vitiated.

The trial of a physician of the soul, as to averting diseases of the soul, should be made, in respect of the necessary temper and intellectual vigor, first, among Athornans (priests), secondly, among householders, thirdly among the heads (owners) of streets, fourthly among the heads (owners) of villages and fifthly among kings. And according as he should be found qualified, (beginning) from the lowest rank, in the art of treating the soul, he should be raised in rank until he is chosen as the high priest of the community of Zartosht. He who is the highest physician of the soul ought not be tried (tested) by men, for, men of inferior abilities are incapable of testing and selecting men of superior abilities. The trial of a physician of the body, as to the art of treating the body, having first been made upon the diseased body of a Daevayasna, and the sufferer having been freed from the disease, he (the physician) should be considered an experienced physician of the body. Should he be found, in the examination for the business of removing diseases of the body from among men, to be possessed of superior abilities (literally, strength) it is proper, he should, on a sufficiency of votes, be selected for and appointed to the post of a health-conferring physician by the entire population of Iran. But if on examining him (trying his skill) upon three persons, they should (all) die, he should not be considered to have successfully passed his examination. And he should not be permitted to practice physic. The duty of a physician as regards his profession (work) is to cure men: hence a physician ought always to

visit the villages to make inquiries about the illnesses of God's creation and to (learn to) distinguish diseases. And he should visit every patient every day at a time appointed, and should, on the second day, administer superior medicine to other parts of the body of the patient and help him well with instruments.

After diagnosing the disease, he should endeavor, in order to cure the patient, (to fight) against the disease with the help of superior medicines, as if he were its enemy. And he should avert the sufferings of sick persons in such a way that, through his exertions, there should be no person affected with disease in the village whose sufferings have remained without a remedy being applied. Such a physician men should always make their companion. And his wants as regards good food, fine dress, fast horses, a house in a central elevated locality together with the funds and even the furniture required in connection with it, should be supplied. If a physician belonging to a house (attached to a family) does not possess in the house, or a physician attached to a street does not possess in the street, or a physician attached to a village does not possess in the village, or a physician attached to a city does not possess in the city, – if anywhere he does not possess the things required by him and an animal to ride upon, he will be incapable, without the necessary materials and an animal to ride upon always, applying remedies to sufferers. Therefore, in order to cure the sick, a fast-trotting horse, sufficient medicines and instruments should be supplied to a physician at fitting times.

The physicians for removing the diseases of the body are of the following five kinds: – Of these, one occupies the highest rank, one the lowest rank, and three are of intermediate rank. Of these, those who avert the diseases of men from motives of righteousness and for the sake of the renown that attends only upon them (such motives) are the best physicians. Those who are actuated by the rewards and renown of this world are (physicians) of intermediate rank; and a physician of the intermediate rank is the ordinary physician. of those who are actuated by (both) righteousness and money, the physician who has a greater love for righteousness (than for money), though he is reckoned as of intermediate rank, yet he approaches nearer to the rank of the highest physician (than the other).

Of those who are actuated by (both) money and righteousness, he who loves money more (than righteousness), – that physician of intermediate rank approaches nearer the physician of the lowest rank (than the other). Among these, the physician who looks to the renown of pure righteousness must be considered as the most noble in rank, must be relied upon and honored. And the physician who looks to be rewarded in money, – his rank as regards physicians whose reward is

righteousness is intermediate, for, his righteousness is (not pure), but mixed. And, therefore, he is possessed of mixed righteousness. And the lowest physician is he who is sinful and cruel in averting diseases.

It is enjoined in the religion that such physicians should be disapproved of and neither honored nor rewarded. As to what remuneration should be given to the physician experienced in the work of removing the diseases of the body, particulars are given in the religion of the highest to the lowest amount (to be given) for removing the diseases of the bodies of the lowest to the highest Gospand (cows, sheep, &c.), and of the bodies of the highest to the lowest men. Similarly, an untried physician is prohibited from practicing physic. In the event of an untried physician curing (a disease), nothing is mentioned about the remuneration to be paid to him; but if a man is injured (literally, wounded) by him, it is provided (mentioned) in the religion that he (the physician) should be punished for the injury and hardship inflicted on his person.

A Dastur (high priest) who has been tried and chosen is a physician for removing the diseases of the soul. And over him is the head Dastur of the whole Zartoshti community. The Darvestpat for (the whole of) Iran is the superior over the physician of the body. Of those who follow the profession of physician, the physician for the removal of suffering who belongs to the Athornan class is, as it were, a physician of the soul. And the physician for the removal of suffering who belongs to the Vastariosh class is, as it were, a physician of the body. Viewed cursorily, removing pain and bestowing health are one (and the same thing), but looked at thoughtfully there are two degrees in illness. As regards these, the going beyond bounds and becoming possessed of blemishes (vices) is the source of the illness of the soul ; and the same is also the source of the illness of the body. And the source of illness of both these kinds is Anghra Mainyu who does the work of carrying man beyond bounds and renders man possessed of blemishes.

Illness is the effect of the rivalry of the blemish-giving Anghra Mainyu seeking to render sinful the powers of the soul. To render the soul full of blemishes (vicious) there are evil understanding, deceit, injury to purity, apathy, pride, scorn, evil passions, slander, adultery, and idleness. And these things are the cause of relations with sin and evil. Of the ingredients (principles) of the body, those that originate disease in the body are cold, dryness, stinks, putrescence, hunger, thirst, old age and anxiety. And these things are the causes that render (man) ill and mortal. Those things that cause illness (to men) through their behavior are the affections and passions that mislead the soul. Thus anger of soul is (a thing) that injures the impulses that do good,

and so on. There are many kinds of ailments that enfeeble the body which have been produced by Anghra Mainyu ever since the beginning of creation. And God has commanded the power, Airyaman, to remove these ailments and as is mentioned in the Mazdayasnian religion, that Yazad cures (breaks) diseases of 4,333 kinds. The names of these diseases are given as follow: ashir, aghur, aghram, ughram, daju, tafnu (fever), saran, sarsataya, aghshi, and others which are well-known. The above-mentioned diseases have power to mix with the elements of the body. And they will endure till the time of Frashegird (resurrection).

And it is declared (in the religion) that all these diseases will, at the time of Frashegird, be destroyed and brought 44 to an end. These bodily diseases are divided into different classes. As regards these, every ailment gives rise to ailments of other kinds. Some of these diseases are visible and these are mentioned (known) under the name of Patushak, i.e. diseases that appear outwardly (literally, come out), such as those diseases that disappear on a heavy fall of rain, and boils and others. And certain other diseases which are invisible are mentioned (known) under the name of Apatushak, i.e. diseases that do not appear outwardly, such as fever and diseases pertaining to the inner parts. In the same way the ailments of the soul are divided into two parts. (The ailments) in the first of these (parts) are designated evil attributes (vices) of the previous dispensation (intention, scheme), among which are covetousness, anger &c. The others are designated evil attributes (vices) of the after dispensation, and among them are mentioned worship of Devs and secret (sinful) deeds, and other vices.

The medical treatment of diseases of the body is declared to be by means of herbs and plants, which innumerable herbs and plants grow out of the ground. And these medicines, it is enjoined, should be administered in proportion to the strength of men. The medicine which at the present time is considered (fixed) as, among medicines, better and more excellent than all previous (medicines) is that called Arirakne kaburi. This medicine was at first highly poisonous, but at present, being administered in conjunction with other medicines, it has come to be a remedy (for disease). And whenever any poison has got into the food of man or gospand, all that virulent poison is removed by this medicine. Moreover, it has been said that the various remedies for dispelling diseases and ailments and the new co-related (secondary) affections, and that all the most powerful articles for conferring health are derived from a tree named Gokartan which grows out of the ground in a manner different from other trees and from trees like the sandalwood tree.

And all medicines are derived from this tree named Gokartan. Again, it is mentioned (in the religion) that at the time of the final improvement men will be rendered immortal by means of the Haome Shufed [white Haoma], a tree which grows in the sea called Frakard.

Health is of two kinds: of these, one depends upon the acquisition of merit (virtue) through the good qualities of the soul and upon the improvement of the powers of the soul. The second (description of) health refers to the body: it consists in the safe-ordering of the members of the body. The necessity for the improvement of the soul arises from the dangers inherent in its powers. Thus, the power of understanding, which is a power of the soul, has (inherent) in it, as its enemy, evil sense, adultery, sins committed through ignorance of the religion and other things. And good disposition, which is the result of the power of wisdom, has in it adultery, the hostility to the soul that consists in not attending to the religion, sinful deeds that cause injury to purity, and, deceit. Again, vigor, wherein (literally, which) is the strength of the soul, has residing in it, as its enemy, the sin of Dev-worship and of doing harm to purity. Further, the power of sufficing thought, wherein (literally, which) is the strength of the soul, has mixed with it, as the enemy that causes harm to purity, the sin of Dev-worship. Similarly, with the power of politeness pertaining to the soul, is mixed, as its enemy, the vice of adultery connected with (arising from) a perverted intellect. Again, with the proper (suitable) power of sight, is mixed, as its enemy the vice of adultery connected with (arising from) a perverse intellect. In the same way, with the power of movement of the soul are mixed, as its enemies, the vices of idleness and ill-doing.

Again, with the power of silence are mixed, as its enemies, the vice of speaking about wickedness and the sin of idleness. Hence, so long as man does not improve himself (by breaking away) from contact with evil by means of contact with the improving faculties pertaining to him, so long does he remain in danger. And the powers of his soul suffer injury from that danger. It is by improving the soul by holiness; and, by making endeavors for righteousness, remaining aloof from sin; and by remaining pure without being impure that (man) is enabled to put off from his soul the dullness (unwariness) of (induced by) those whose business it is to throw (upon others) the evil of misguidedness. It is necessary to avert the ailments of the body because of the measures to be taken against the diseases of (arising from) cold and dryness which are strokes from the Blemish-Giver.

Again, blood is like unto an ornament of the body: in whatever part that blood is injured there it coagulates. And owing to cold the heat of the blood is reduced. And owing to dryness the moisture (of

the blood) is dried up. Thereby the blood that embellishes the body does not keep at all strong in the body to preserve it. And hence the creation is prevented from continuing in this world and from forming relations for Frashegird (final improvement). Those who work in accordance with the commands of God (i.e. the Yazads) give, without delay, renewed life, in the body, to the blood of the enfeebled body which has been injured, through the elements, owing to heat being suddenly covered up (driven out) by cold and moisture being destroyed by dryness. And thereby the elements behave (work) well with each other and work improvement. And the evil of cold being prevented the body again obtains moisture. And the evil of dryness being prevented the body is again remedied. That is to say that the blood and the strength of the body which, owing to some evil connection, have become injurious to life, become, through the instrumentality of the powers that develop the principles of the body, durable and improved.

It is declared (in the religion) that illness arises in the bodies of all life-possessing things through the hostility (rivalry) and the wickedness of the Blemish-Giver. And all the physical (bodily) danger (destruction) that originates in the body, does so because of the residence within it of the Power of Falsehood. And the improvement and the strength of the blood of the body depend upon its vigor (vitality). The vitality of the blood, with (the assistance of) the good physician who administers the medicines and adopts the remedies appropriate to it, confers health upon the inner as well as the outer parts of the body. And thus there is a continuance of the people and of their progeny in the world notwithstanding the state of destructive commingling of the Blemish-Giver.

Again, it is declared (in the religion) that man must, in the state of destructive commingling of the Blemish-Giver, improve himself in the way calculated to preserve himself. For improving the health of the body of man there are the elements which give form to the body. And the powers for benefiting the soul of man are akin to (resemble) Akho (the invisible power that gives foresight). It is owing to their enemy hunger that the bodily functions are in a state of want; hence, to suppress that enemy-like hunger the bodily functions ought to be helped, (for) to continue the strength of life-possessing man there is food and drink. When there is adequate food in the stomach of man he remains, owing to the assistance of the elements, strong and vigorous. Again, if there be much moisture in the food, the element of water prevails (over the other elements). That is to say that so long as there is the watery element for (to neutralize) the injuriousness of dryness, so long (man) feels no harm. And so long as there is the

element of heat for (to balance) injurious cold, so long (man) does not become cold. If the element of air preponderate in the food, it overpowers the other elements. That is to say that so long as the element of air is for weakness (i.e. counter-balances and so removes weakness) so long it does not stop the breath of man. If the element of earth preponderate in the food, that earthy element overpowers the other elements. That is to say that so long as the earthy element does not stop the breath through lassitude and keeps it free, so long it, of all the elements, improves (makes better) any of the elements which, owing to an attack of hunger, have anywhere become to any extent injuriously unhealthy.

The improvement of life (health) depends upon moderate (and) proportionate food. In the same way, where medicine is (taken) in excess proportionately to food, man is rendered lifeless by the potency of the medicine. Some medicines do good to man when taken in small quantities. And his elements obtain vigor proportionately. Among the things received from God for (the purposes of) life, mostly for the improvement of the soul, is wisdom, whereby the powers of the soul become like unto things that apply remedies to its sins and its impurities. Similarly, to keep the body in health and in right condition there are the elements as things to apply remedies, through wisdom, to its ailments and to death. Except wisdom; no other thing can annihilate the danger (to life and body). It is because there is a physician of the soul that there is a physician of the body. And it is because there is a physician of the body that there is a physician of the soul: for, it is because of the fitness of the body that the teacher of the good religion, the physician of the soul, is successful in dispelling the diseases of the soul: And it is because of the suitableness of the soul that the physician learned in curing diseases of the body succeeds in dispelling diseases of the body.

Physicians (of) both (these descriptions), qualified by their abilities for their posts and the due ordering of their work, ought to be appointed by the king for dispelling the diseases pertaining to them. As regards this, the chief things to be done in removing diseases of the body are of the five kinds mentioned below: First, the setting right of the original (i.e. the body) and of existence (i.e. the soul): Secondly, making the elements work harmoniously: Thirdly, to set right again parts of the body and the soul that have been injured: Fourthly, bringing up those that have been born: Fifthly, keeping the bodily passions and disposition in regulation (order).

In the practice of physic, the work of dispelling the diseases of the body consists in protecting from harm the four elements out of which the world has been created, and in taking out from the elements of the

body increments and defects calculated to put an end to it, and in improving and preserving it by proper remedies.

The work of dispelling the diseases of the soul consists in keeping united, one with another, for the doing of good deeds, the four powers (faculties) of the soul,[96] in preserving the soul from the Sinful Enemy, and keeping back the thoughts, the speech and the deeds of men from evil-thinking, evil-speaking and evil-doing, in giving splendor to their final condition and saving souls from hell by means of good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the duty (of man) to do in this world the work relating to the new life (in the invisible world) and to keep aloof from work that ought not to be done. (158).

Be it known that, there are two ways (distinctions) as regards what works (deeds) are to be done and what not to be done. Of these, one is the way of doing deeds with knowledge (of the religion), and the other is the way of doing things without knowledge. As regards these there are four modes of the way of doing things with knowledge; and there are eight modes of the way of doing things without knowledge. And the exposition of each of them, according to the religion, is as follows: –

Thus, it is declared (in the religion) that whoever does righteous deeds and remains aloof from sin knowingly, he, according to the religion, is, by his deeds, as holy of person as the Yazads. (Secondly) whoever knowingly does sinful deeds and remains aloof from doing righteous (deeds), he, according to the religion, is as sinful of person as the Devs. (Thirdly) whoever knowingly does both righteous and sinful deeds, is, according to the religion, (a man) of this description that he obtains good reward by doing righteousness and suffers punishment by doing sinful deeds. (Fourthly) as regards him who notwithstanding that he knows (what is right) does, of the two, neither righteous nor sinful deeds, it is declared in the religion that, not committing sin, he, in the way of justice, is without (free from) imprisonment and not doing the righteousness which was obligatory, is (deserving) of imprisonment.

Again, of those men who act without knowledge he who, without knowledge (but simply) through considerations of good behavior, does righteous deeds and remains aloof from sin, – regarding such (a man) it is declared in the religion that he, being inclined towards

96 The four powers or faculties are, Jan, Boe, Akho, and Farohar.

good, will acquire superior station by doing righteous deeds. But he who without seeing (i.e. making inquiries) does righteous deeds and remains aloof from sin will not thereby acquire greatness (in the coming world).

(Secondly) regarding him who, without knowledge (and) with (notwithstanding) thoughts of evil behavior, does righteous deeds and remains aloof from sin, it is declared, in accordance with the religion, that he, notwithstanding thoughts of evil, will be exempted from punishment.

(Thirdly) as regards him, who without thoughts pertaining to the religion does righteous deeds to obtain the reward of heaven, and despises whatever sin he may have committed and refrains from again committing the sinful deed, it is declared in the religion that notwithstanding he is inclined towards good through thoughts of good behavior, still, having committed sin, he will suffer punishment, and having remained aloof from righteousness, he will endure imprisonment.

(Fourthly) regarding him, who without knowledge, (and) with thoughts of evil behavior commits sin and remains aloof from righteousness, it is declared in the religion that being inclined to evil he, owing to commission of sin, will suffer much punishment, and owing to remaining aloof from righteousness, will endure rigorous imprisonment.

(Fifthly) regarding him who without knowledge (and) with thoughts of good behavior both does righteous deeds and commits sin, it is declared in the religion that, being inclined to good, he will, by doing righteous deeds, obtain greatness (exaltation): but if he should not have made inquiries about it (the righteous deed), he will not obtain liberation (from hell), and, having committed sin, will be a prisoner.

(Sixthly) as regards him who without knowledge (and) with thoughts of perverse behavior both does righteous deeds and commits sin, it is ordered in the religion that, being inclined towards evil, he cannot be considered to be thankful (grateful) (to his Creator) by doing righteous deeds; and, doing the deed without inquiry, he is without liberation (from hell), and, committing sin, will suffer rigorous imprisonment.

(Seventhly) with reference to him who without knowledge (and) with thoughts of good behavior, remains aloof from both (righteousness and sin), it is ordered in the religion that he, by remaining aloof from sin, will enjoy greatness, and, by remaining

aloof from righteousness, will be without imprisonment.

(Eighthly) with regard to him who without knowledge (and) with thoughts of perverse behavior remains aloof from both (righteousness and sin), it is ordered in the religion that he, owing to thoughts of perverse behavior, being inclined to evil, will, notwithstanding his remaining aloof from sin, be without greatness, and owing to remaining aloof from righteousness, will be a prisoner.

Exposition in the good religion regarding those men who (in this world) make themselves walk in immortality, and under the partnership and all the time on the side of (Spenta Mainyu and Anghra Mainyu). (159).

Be it known that, the man who keeps the Blemish-Giver away from within himself makes himself walk for immortality. And he, without taking (admitting) any portion of perverse intelligence in any of his movements, makes himself walk (guides himself) with fully intelligent habits. The tendency of each act of man has reference to the partnership (of the good and evil invisible principles). And the reason for that has been stated by the former heads of the religion to be that the income obtained by a man who guides himself through the good Mino [Spenta Mainyu] (invisible principle) is helpful of the righteousness of purity. And the income obtained by a man who guides himself by the beguilements of the evil Mino [Anghra Mainyu] is calculated for making him a prisoner through the sin of impurity. Hence, the Dadar [Creator] has, through his omniscience given to all men, from the beginning of the creation, knowledge for conducting themselves so as to diminish the Drujs. For, through the work of diminution of the Drujs there is the acquisition of final liberation for final improvement, and the manifestation (i.e. the being born) at the time of the final judgment in happiness, full majesty (khoreh) [khwarrah], and superior rank.

Exposition in the good religion as to how often the sun will shine from the highest place in the heavens in which it was created by the Dadar in the beginning of the world. (160).

Be it known that, the sun will shine four times from the highest place in the heavens where it was created by the Dadar [Creator] in the beginning of the world. And the object in so (shining) is to impart knowledge of the religion. When the Dadar first created the world he had created the sun, stationary, in the highest put of the heavens. And

it was brought down from the highest part by four stages, increasing in its face (disc) and appearing very powerful in each stage. And in that state it has been made to move that it may benefit the people and keep moving always till the time of Frashegird. Its perpetual motion is owing to the powerful design (purpose) of the Dadar, the creator of the whole world. And its return to the highest place of its first creation, where it was first created, is for (pointing out) the time of those who bring the commands that benefit the people (i.e. of the prophets).

The continued motion of the sun till the time of Frashegird and the frequency of its returns to the highest place (in the heavens) are owing to the powerful design of its creator. This design of power regarding the sun (i.e. its return to its original place and its renewed motion thence) has reference to (i.e. is a mark of) the renewed promulgation of the Mazdayasnian religion proclaimed through the holy Zartosht.

And it has reference to the determination hereafter of the millennium of Zartosht (i.e. the period for which the religion promulgated by Zartosht will endure). At this time (the sun) will pause in the first mansion (place, stage) in the heavens from which it shines, being one of the limits in returning upwards from the top which is known by the name of the first *andargah* (stage). And it will remain in this stage for 10 days and nights. At the end of the millennium of Ushedar (the sun) will return, with a more powerful design, into the second mansion (place, stage) in the heavens from which it shines being the second limit in returning upwards from the top which is known by the name of the second andargah (stage). And it will remain in much strength in this stage for 20 days and nights.

When the millennium of Ushedarmah comes to an end (the sun) will return, with much more powerful design, into the third mansion in the heavens from which it shines, being the third limit in returning upwards from the top which is known by the name of the third andargah (stage). And it will remain in much more strength in this stage for 30 days and nights. When the 57 years of Saoshyant come to an end (the sun) will return, with extremely powerful design, and will remain in the fourth mansion in the heavens from which it shines, being the fourth limit in returning upwards from the top which is known by the name of the fourth andargah (stage), where it was first created for conveying benefit to the people: And where it was kept in the beginning without moving. At this time when the sun will be shining in the highest stage in the heavens those who belong to Ahriman will receive harm, the resurrection will take place and the people will be purified.

(Exposition in the good religion) regarding the superior knowledge of the Mazdayasnian religion to be obtained in the three parts (of the Avesta). (161).

Be it known that, the superior knowledge of the Mazdayasnian religion given, through the three parts (of the Avesta), in the good religion, by the first head of the religion (Zartosht), is for the purpose (of pointing-out) that the deeds pertaining to Hat Mathra [scientific] and Gatha [religious] (are done) by the help of Dat [legal]; and that the deeds pertaining to Dat and Gatha are (done) by the help of Hat Mathra; and similarly, that the deeds pertaining to Hat Mathra and Dat are (done) by the help of Gatha. The (easily) understood explanation of this matter is this that in Dat is imparted superior knowledge as to how the people of this world ought to conduct themselves in this world. And Hat Mathra and Gathas are its (of Dat) means (instruments).

In the Gathas is imparted superior knowledge regarding the invisible world and the work of its inhabitants. And Hat Mathra and Dat are its means. In Hat Mathra is contained superior knowledge regarding the means for maintaining mutual relations between the people of Mino (the invisible world) and of Geti (this perishable world). And Gatha and Dat are its means. And in this manner (upon this plan) has each of the prayers in the Avesta been composed.

[That part of the Avesta which is called Dat explains how man ought, in this world, to live a life of virtue and holiness. The Gathas contain information regarding the work relating to the invisible world and its inhabitants. Hence it is as incumbent upon men to know what they should do and what they should refrain from doing in this world, as to know the nature of the invisible world and how happiness or misery can be secured there: for, without a knowledge of both these descriptions it is impossible for man to regulate his conduct in this world or to render himself worthy of the happiness of the next.

But this is not enough. Without the assistance of the invisible Yazads man is unable to act uniformly in obedience to the precepts of the religion or to improve in his moral nature; for he is drawn contrary ways by the good and evil influence of the two invisible powers, Spenta Mainyu and Anghra Mainyu: and, that he may not be drawn towards the evil power, but may remain on the side of the good power, it is necessary that he should by prayers and praises secure the assistance, the friendship, and the influence of the invisible Yazads and Ameshaspands. And the Mathra Avesta are a means to the end: a recitation of them obtains for man the love of the Yazads and Ameshaspands, whose assistance keeps him aloof from the tendencies

of Anghra Mainyu.]

Exposition in the good religion that the Dadar [Creator] will ward off the harm (stroke, blow) of Anghra Mainyu which is for (the purpose of) overcoming the creation of Spenta Mainyu, and will continue it (the creation). (162).

Be it known that, Anghra Mainyu has created (made) each of (his) dangers (harms) for the purpose of attacking the creation of Spenta Mainyu. These dangers Spenta Mainyu always lessens (diminishes) from his creation. And in these (following) five ways Spenta Mainyu makes it (the creation) to prevail (literally, to walk) over the dangers: – The first of these ways is to remove from a thing a particular kind of attack made upon it by the harm (proceeding) from Anghra Mainyu. For, as an enemy, it is the business of Anghra Mainyu to introduce cold into pure heat and dryness into pure water (moistness). And his object is, by putting an end to heat by cold and to moistness by dryness, to render lusterless the possessors of good life, to render the world useless and to prevent the people from continuing (in the world). Spenta Mainyu is an arrester of the cold which injures moistness (and) which reaches, through hostility, against pure heat. And (he) is an arrester of the dryness which harms heat (and) which reaches against pure moistness. Where cold meets (unites) with moistness, and heat meets (unites) with dryness, there is a stoppage (of respiration). (For) cold, which is an enemy of heat, going (prevailing) over heat, no heat remains within (the body); hence cold with a due (uniform) proportion of heat and moistness is a helper of the body.

Similarly, heat, which is an enemy of cold, going (prevailing) over cold, no cold remains within (the body); hence, dryness with a due (uniform) proportion of moistness and heat is a helper of the body. And their connection is (calculated) for the bettering (improvement) of the body. Owing to the union within the body of heat and moisture the body is improved, and thereby life acquires great strength and vigor. And hence Anghra Mainyu is disappointed in his intention of fabricating things (calculated) to arrest the creation of Ohrmazd. The second way is to assist the creation with good wishes against the practice obtaining in the creation of doing deeds that have in them an admixture of Druj s, and to make it profitable.

Thus Spenta Mainyu is a helper of the creation, which has united within it any of the cold and dryness of Anghra Mainyu, with the beneficial help of the union of brightness-giving heat and of moisture.

Again it is apparent from this that as the heat of Spenta Mainyu is driven out from within life-possessing beings by an increase, through the Blemish-Giver, of cold, so moisture which is the companion of heat is driven out by (an increase of) dryness (brought about by the Blemish-Giver). But through just deeds men acquire again the benefits pertaining to them. And (he, Spenta Mainyu) causes great benefit to man, through wisdom, in opposition to (as against) the vicious, blemish-possessing and ruinous (harmful) deeds of the Drujs.

The third way is (that which relates) to the continuance of man and of his progeny (in this world) notwithstanding the great risk of his being brought into a sinful state. These (dangers) fall upon the people of the. world at once, in one place and at one time: thus, it is obvious that Anghra Mainyu throws evil temptations and other vices pertaining to his tyranny, through (the instrumentality) of the One (i.e. of perverse intelligence), upon all speakers of the truth, at all times, in all places and in all cities, (and that Spenta Mainyu) puts these away from the people, and, keeping them within the law, renders them of good aspect.

The fourth way (mode of procedure) (of Spenta Mainyu) is to turn back upon the Drujs the dangers (harm) caused by them for injuring the people. As the heads of enemies are broken with their (own) battle axes, so are the Devs to be smitten with their (instruments the) Drujs: In like manner as Afrasiyab, the doer of deeds in accordance with the wishes of the Devs, was tormented by the Drujs. And similarly are the Khrafstras harmed by the fall of snow. In the same way, it is declared (in the religion) that at the time when the Dadar will perform Frashegird (resurrection), Anghra Mainyu will turn back from the ambition to which he yielded and his office-bearers (work-doers) will be swallowed up, harmed, and saddened.

The fifth and best way is that which has been mentioned in the good religion regarding the guidance by the Dadar (of his creation) with consummate knowledge, and, the rendering lusterless, with adequate strength, in the time of the Frashegird, of all the sinful strength of the Darwand (i.e. the wicked one), and, the becoming existence-less and ruined of the Source of sinful powers (Anghra Mainyu), and, his non-restoration (non-improvement) a second time.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the duty (necessity) of men to respect the high pontiff and to accept his dicta. (163).

Be it known that, it is incumbent upon men to obey (believe in) the high pontiff, the expounder of the good religion, and to consider him

as the highest ruler rendering the assistance of the religion, as well as the highest emblem of the religion. Whoever among men is a servant of the Mazdayasnian religion ought to consider him as the high priest of his house, (his) street, (his) village, and (his) city.

And those among the servants of the Mazdayasnian religion who are Athornans (priests) of the good religion ought to consider him as their ornament and luster. Those who tire Arthestars (warriors) ought to consider him as their warrior's armor. Those who are Vastariosh (husbandmen) ought to deem him as the sufficing happiness of their agriculture (husbandry). And those who are (of the) Hutokhsh (merchant and and artisan class) ought to look upon him as the dress they wear. Those among Athornans who receive and impart (religious) instruction are like unto the skin of the bodies of Athornans. Those who are Mobeds (priests) and Dasturs (high priests) are like unto the bones and intellect of the Athornans. Those among Athornans who are of most excellent goodness are like unto the heart of Athornans. And he among them who is superior in rank to the people-protecting king is like unto the marrow and joints of Athornans.

Accordingly they (the Mazdayasnians) should treat the Athornans of different ranks as superior in station. And (they) must understand that every good and evil that happens to them comes through them (the Athornans).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the duty of men to accept (obey) the just commands of kings and to make themselves act (in accordance with them). (164).

Be it known that, the ruler over a man's soul is his own pure conscience (heart). And the ruler over his conscience is his intellect which distinguishes good from evil. And (associated) with both these is the religion of Ohrmazd which keeps (men) completely prosperous. Supreme over each of these three superior (things) are the commands of the people-protecting king. Therefore, (Mazdayasnians) ought to keep their souls, bodies, and every (description) of this world's wealth in his service and under his control (order). And (they) must be careful to walk in (the paths of) virtue. And all men ought to keep themselves imprisoned (i.e. within bounds) because of every sin; and do all strength-giving, noble, deeds of righteousness.

Exposition in the good religion that the three descriptions of Avesta of the Mazdayasnian religion make known co-related matters. (165).

Be it known that, the (proper) understanding of the utterances in the Gathas is dependent upon Hat Mathra and Dat. And the (proper) understanding of Hat Mathra and Dat depends on the utterances in the Gathas. And the reason for it is this that there are made known in Hat Mathra and Dat many directions and many suitable punishments for those who entertain evil thoughts regarding the holy Self-Existent and who break the Lord's commandments; and the reason thereof is thus given in the Avesta composed in the form of the Gathas: The Lord of Goodness is the bestower of superior rewards on those masters of the world who remain in obedience to His commands and who keep all men like unto Him, as also on those who are the servants and subjects of such masters, for their desires (wishes) of this kind. And those who are disobedient to and who entertain evil thoughts regarding those rulers (owners) who, remaining in obedience to the holy Self-Existent, keep the persons of the people of the world and their riches in comformity with the commands of the holy Self-Existent, they, owing to their deeds, will not obtain justice or gift of any kind in (both) the worlds, but, as a reward (for their deeds) will have to endure hardships at the hands of the people of (both) the worlds.

The promulgation of Hat Mathra and of Dat was for the sake of the Gathas. And in the proportioned (metrical ?) Avesta of the Gathas it is made known to this effect that whoever walks truthfully (rightly), to him no evil will reach in the time to come. The reason for the origin of Hat Mathra is thus mentioned (in the religion) that, just as an army in thousands helps its truthful master (owner) in proportion to his truthfulness, and preserves him from harm, and thereby no harm reaches his person, so does Hat Mathra help a person of the true religion. And just as (man) becomes freed from (without) danger, (arising) from sins having the blemishes of Him of Evil Thoughts, owing to the punishment pertaining to them, and thus no harm happens to him, so is there a turning back of the punishment of sinners by the Mathra.[97] Again, the Gathas, owing to their containing a knowledge of the invisible (world) are of superior rank to the Mathra which concern the interspace (that between this world and the invisible world) and the Dat which have reference to (which possess) the wisdom of Geti (this world). Hence, it is apparent that the recitation of the Gathas in (with) Dat and Hat Mathra and of Hat

97 According to the precepts of our religion sins of various kinds are wiped out by the penitential recitation of certain appointed prayers.

Mathra and Dat in (with) the Gathas is for the reason that (man) may be without hardship.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the best and the worst times of the world and the four products (outcomes) of each. (166)

Be known that, the consideration in the world of times as best, depends upon the dispositions of all men being rendered most good through the wisdom of the servants of the religion. And the fruit of the times, improved and reformed by means of that wisdom, consists in every virtue, goodness, prosperity and righteousness. And all these ways have reference to the goodness and happiness of this world as also of the invisible world. And the consideration of times as the worst is owing to the punishment-deserving sinful dispositions of all men derived from the Yahudi [Jewish] religion. And the fruit of it has reference to the time of destruction and of the utmost wickedness. And owing to the evil intelligence and other vices (blemishes) (of that religion) each (income or acquisition) of the men of this world has reference to evil conduct, wickedness, misery, and sin, And thereby there is pain and hardship in the invisible world.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the declaration (in the religion) for the diminution of evil in all places where it may be prevalent. (167).

Be it known that, evil has been introduced by the Druj (Anghra Mainyu) into the creation of Ohrmazd to cause it harm. Hence, from the beginning of the creation to (its) end Dadar Ohrmazd will render his creation victorious over the Druj that causes it harm: and will improve (regenerate) all from evil. For, the Lord is himself aware through his foreknowledge that at the time of the End the power of the Druj will be destroyed by the creation possessed of the good strength. But the Druj will be unaware, in the beginning and the intermediate time, of his destruction at the End. But near the time of the End, when a great many of his evil powers will be destroyed, he will understand that his time will be completed (brought to an end). And at that time he will be seen striving, through despair, with all his hard-set strength. (But) when (their) time is over all the strivings of enemies are in vain. For, that will be the time for believing, virtuous persons to be (endowed), through connection with fiery strength, with more highly shining strength. After the time for the diminution of the highly wicked strength of the Druj (i.e. after such time shall have elapsed), his evil strength will not be again running and all his powers

growing oppressive as they did in the beginning, nor will he be as highly powerful as he was in the intermediate time.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the thorough non-remaining (disappearance) in man of the good disposition (habit) to make good invocations (of Yazads) owing to a cessation in him of the faculty of thought on which the practice (path), in man, of constant good remembrance (invocation, of Yazads) depends. (168)

Be it known that, there abide in man always thoughts of pure virtue (goodness). When thoughts of (leading to) harm make their residence there, then the thoughts of good remembrances (invocations) which are always in him do not stay in him at all. And thereby the man remains always without goodness (and liable to be) harmed.

Perverse thoughts having made an abode in him, good remembrances do not stay in him at all. The man who is without the harm pertaining to him (to which he is liable) and has with him all goodness is one possessed of (destined for) the dwelling-place of high (noble) paradise. And the man who, without goodness, is possessed of all harm, is possessed of (destined for) the worst hell.

Between these two abodes is Geti (this world). The man in it (this world) who has thoughts of darkness will have to descend (put-up) into the abode of servitude (hell). If a guest (stranger) is desirous, in accordance with the nature of his original ideas, to take birth in that abode which is without happiness and most harm-causing, he goes there. And the guest whose thoughts have reference to the profitable deeds that take birth in accordance with the nature of the ideas of his conscience and to similar other matters, goes to a place which is not luster-less or most harm-causing, – to the shining mansion of paradise; which mansion, free from harm, is mostly (intended) for the constant remembrance of God. And it is not a luster-less and most harmful abode, but, on the contrary, is the place where he originally was born. The man in whose thoughts there is the path of the wisdom of the religion and who has (in him) Ohrmazd's thoughts, will secure the shining and harmless abode. Again, the man who has thoughts the reverse of betaking himself to his birth-place, such a person, being defective in regard to his birth-place, will have his abode in the place which is without happiness and full of much harm.

Exposition in the good religion regarding actions which are fit to be approved, of good ceremonial (and) religious ; and opposite actions which are of evil ceremonial, and pertaining to wickedness and sorcery: and (regarding) the means for averting (the consequences of) them (the latter). (169).

Be it known that, religious deeds (works) are fit to be approved and of good ceremonial: and the reverse of them are deeds of evil ceremonial, wickedness and sorcery: and the averting (of the consequences) thereof (i.e. of the latter) is in this wise. Whoever, remaining firm on the commandments of Dadar Ohrmazd and the king, performs deeds enjoined by the religion, his dwelling-place, body, and vestments are, in accordance with the precepts of the religion, free from uncleanliness of every kind, and redolent with the victorious fragrance that covers up (destroys) evil smells and smites down (breaks down) the Drujs. And into that dwelling-place, good people performing Yasna (an offering with prayers) to God, carry many shining (light-bearing), pure and fragrant things, in order to perform their good deeds, full of renown, relating to the good religion, to Athornanship (priesthood), to thinking with a mind filled with excellence, and to speaking the truth. Religious and holy persons should always remain aloof from evil. And they should not praise harm-causing Ahriman with sorcery of evil rites, pertaining to the ways of the Devs, and with wicked deeds. And should keep away from their dwelling-places, bodies, and apparel, uncleanliness that reaches up imperceptibly and bad odor. For, the Yazads become sad and the Devs rejoice at men who prefer nasu (things pertaining to dead bodies) and Aher (fluid and dry matter pertaining to dead bodies). Because of the evil religion for the worship of Devs and the perverse-minded thoughts for speaking untruth and the doing of perverse deeds men put faith in Dev-worship and remember the Devs, name by name, in (during) their actions. And thereby they acquire evil renown.

The man who prefers nasu and all other things pertaining to Devs for the purposes of sorcery is the chief of sorcerers. The recognition of each of these (two descriptions of men) is (effected) by means of the intellect. And it is done in this way: – Of the two, he who belongs to the religion is unlike what is said of those who are workers in hot (burning) fire, those who walk in molten brass. (For), there is no burning of his tongue with that fiery thing, and of his feet with that fiery pyre. But, feeling not the flames of the fire, the fiery pyre is to him like unto a luster-giving thing. Again if it (the fiery pyre) is capable of punishing and inflicting pain on the body of that person, then that serves as his liberation from (the consequences of) speaking

untruth. And those persons who, through their tongue and movements, are possessed of purity, for them, there is no imprisonment of any kind Again those persons who knowingly worship (invoke) Drujs and Devs have marks of their infidelity visible on their breasts, tongues and feet. And owing to this arrangement (for passing through molten metal) people belonging to both the religions (the holy and the unholy) will become, through the working of divine power, like unto stars in appearance. Of these (two descriptions of people) one will be punished by the fiery religious ceremony [ordeal], their original sin will be dismissed (cast off) by the burning pain. The others, who are persons who speak the truth, will be picked (winnowed) out of the speakers of falsehood and doers of false deeds, and high rank will be bestowed upon them. And thereby will they be known as separated from those who are to suffer pain.

Again, he whose life has been in accordance with the law and who has passed his life in sufficient abstinence, – his body (person) will be exempted from burning in fire and becoming useless. But he whose life has not been passed in abstinence, his body (person) will be rendered useless by means of fire. And thereby he will learn that Ahriman had made him a great deceiver.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the duty of a father to love his child from its infancy up to adolescence. (170)

Be it known that, it is a commandment of the good religion that parents should love their children very from the time they are born up to the time when they become seven years of age or more. And within these limits the child should for two or three years be reared on a milk diet. And it should not he punished for any sins it may commit from childhood up to seven years of age, for, sin does not (at that age) touch it. But all subsequent sins should, while bearing affection to the child, be checked (diminished) according to its age. In order to make his child of superior rank the father should give him due instruction to live (remain) in obedience And the father should as far as he is able instruct the child in superior (and) perfect knowledge and raise him to a high station. For, it is the duty of a father to raise the child while young from an inferior to a superior station. And it is the duty of the child to be obedient and respectful to its father and to secure his love and keep him pleased. When the invisible power of thinking takes its birth in the child the base Devs give it base advice to become evil. Therefore, to check evil thoughts in the man and to enable him always to do long-lived deeds, and to keep his person holy, adequate knowledge of the Mazdayasnian religion should, as early as possible,

be imparted to him in order to drive away the Drujs from within him; and he should be made a religious person.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the rewards and punishments of the pious and the punishments and rewards of the sinners. (171).

Be it known that, according to the precepts of the good religion the income of righteousness is its reward. And the pains of sin must be considered its punishment. In the invisible world no man has any inducement at all for righteousness or sin. But there reward is obtained for righteousness and punishment is endured for sin. The rewards to be obtained by Darwands (sinful men), will be (so obtained) because of the remission of the punishment for their sins which (punishment) consists in the endurance (of the pains) of hell till the time of the Frashegird. And the changing (remission) of the punishment of sin beforehand depends upon the doing of righteous deeds in this world as a remedy for it. The punishment for sin that there is for holy men has reference to the non-adoption of remedial measures by them in respect of the sins attaching to them in this world And alteration in (remission of) that punishment beforehand issues out of the rewards for their righteousness.

In the investigation as to how much more righteousness than sin has the soul of the good man done, (if after deducting the sin), he remain pure, the good man will go to the good (excellent) place. And good men like these will obtain everlasting paradise as a reward for righteousness. It is declared in the Mazdayasnian religion that the people of the world are the source of every germ (root) of righteousness that is rewarded and of sin that is punished. hence, this world is a place for acquiring the gifts (blessings) of the invisible world. It is owing to their public acknowledgment in this world of their offenses and remembrance of those things which procure them the reward of righteousness in the invisible world and their remaining contented while not receiving several blessings in this world that the punishment for the sins of good men is altered (turned away). That sinners are (obliged) to bear, although unwillingly, the punishment for (their) sins is because, notwithstanding they have the power for the removal of sinful deeds, to do deeds of righteousness, and to make such deeds grow, they do not do so, and do not bear in mind, the reward of goodness and the thankfulness for it. Damage to the invisible abode is due to man's own desires.

Exposition in the good religion as to whether harm will reach the Dadar [Creator] from any place or from any thing. (172).

Be it known that, the Dadar [Creator] desires every man to have faith in the good religion and gives commands regarding it. For; if men, in this world, put faith in the good religion they will be able to diminish the Blemish-Giver. And if they be not connected with the good religion they will not be able to live (in this world), without (being exposed to) danger, in purity and with every happiness. Superior to those who make inquiries regarding religion with pleasure are those persons who, having a knowledge of the good religion, live with sincere faith in it. Men go against the commands of the Dadar and against His wishes through the sinful man who causes pain and harm among men owing to much sin connected with the Blemish-Giver. And that is the very cause of harm reaching to the Creator.

The religion of those religious teachers who are doers of any harm to the things belonging to the Dadar is connected with death and drowns the wishes and the commands of the Dadar. The sinful (man) who commits no sinful deed in this world deserves neither the reward of righteousness nor the punishment of sin. But if he should have no desire to annul the. commands of the Dadar, (and) on the contrary does deeds connected with the wishes and the commands (of the Dadar), he will obtain the reward for righteousness notwithstanding that he is (of a) sinful (religion). And he is not deserving of the punishment of sin. If a (man of a) sinful (religion) do not annul (set aside) the commands of the Dadar by his own wishes – it is said of him in the religion that that man in his desires is a co-helper in the commands of the Dadar. For, the religion which is said to be (to proceed) from deceitful man is considered to be no religion.

Exposition in the good religion that roots are (proceed) from fruits, and fruits from roots. (173).

Be it known that, the manifestation of the existence of roots is owing to fruits. And according as the root is, so are its proper fruits possessed of honesty. And they are, in their kind, good looking or ill looking, good smelling or evil smelling, in eating of good taste or bad taste, in vigor healthful or feeble of aspect according as are their roots.

They whose lives pertain to Darkness (Anghra Mainyu) have a nature like its (nature). And by the fruit that pertains to it harm is caused to the life of every thing. The nature of the fruit resembles that of its root. And those who belong to the Dark Root, – these, in this world, owing to the union of his evil intelligence, are of evil

understanding; and owing to the connection with (his) sinful state, are known as sinners. And those who belong to the root, Ohrmazd, these owing to the connection of His wisdom, are wise, and owing to the connection of his righteousness, are righteous. Hence, those who belong to the Yahudi [Jewish] religion cannot become possessed of relations with the one proper Root (Source). For, wisdom and evil-understanding are not one in body (person, nature). Hence, should one by nature wise, appear possessed of evil-understanding, that is owing to the Root of evil-understanding. For, He of the evil understanding is the cause of the sin pertaining to him. Hence, the nature (personality) that is a doer of sinful deeds does not at all belong to the pure Spenta Mainyu, but it surely must belong to Anghra Mainyu.

Exposition in the good religion as to who is possessed of the desire to obtain liberation; and what his name is (as given) in the Avesta; and who it is who makes (men) possessed of a desire for liberation; and what is the reason for making (men) possessed of a desire for liberation; and why is (a man) possessed of a desire for liberation not inclined to have a liking for the ways of his enemy; and from whom and why are benefit and harm (to come) to him; and what great benefit is to be derived by the people thereby. (174).

Be it known that, that which is possessed of a desire to obtain liberation (from hell) is man in this world. And in the Avesta he is styled *Ahue ast humanand*, which means "the owner (master) of the body, the lord of thought."

It is in the power (within the rule) of man, possessed of a desire for liberation, to guide himself towards the wishes of the soul and to do the superior work relating thereto. No other (portion of the) creation in this world (except man), thus rules as it pleases. When one among the Yazads is the lord (owner) of man, why should not man, walk in the direction of that lord? It is the duty of man to make himself walk in the direction of the Self-Existent because it is through the Lord that he has taken birth in this world It is by having within himself the invisible Yazads that man is enabled, owing to the invisible Yazads, to keep himself possessed of the body of (for) this world.

He who makes (man) possessed of the desire for liberation is the creator Ohrmazd. Rule, for man, depends upon having a desire for liberation. Men become possessed of superior desires by approving righteousness and disapproving sin. The aim of the Dadar has

reference to the desire for liberation. The eye of conscience keeps man seeing. And it is by means of its rule (authority) that man makes himself worthy. And it is by its rule that strength from the Dadar is obtained. Further, it is because of this power (conscience) that man is a holder of the highest strength for driving out the whole army of Drujs. It is also a darkener of every Druj that reaches to cause harm to the creation of Ohrmazd. And as its helper, is divine understanding, which instructs in the morality of the good religion. As the enemies of *Asne Khrad* (divine understanding), are perverse understanding and the teachings of evil intelligence, which are (things) that come athwart the intellect and help the evil religion of the Drujs.

It is through the Spenamino that righteousness is approved, thought, spoken, and done ; and sin is disapproved, not thought, not spoken, and not done. It is in opposition to Him that man, through Anghra Mainyu, approves sinful deeds, thinks about them, speaks about them, and acts for them; and disapproves beneficial deeds of righteousness, thinks not, speaks not, and acts not for them. It is by disapproving, not thinking, not speaking, and not doing deeds of sin ; and approving, thinking, speaking and doing deeds of sin that man becomes possessed himself of rule (power) for liberating himself (from hell).

In the same way he through the power of Yazdan (God), is a deliverer of other people of this world from the harm done by Drujs. And it is by approving, thinking, speaking, and committing sin ; and disapproving, not thinking, not speaking, and not doing righteousness that man through his own rule (power) makes himself a prisoner (in hell): And in the same manner he renders others, through the powers of the Drujs pertaining to them, prisoners (in hell).

The accruing of great benefit to the people of the world depends upon their desire to obtain liberation. And it is owing to having no liking for the wishes of the Drujs and for the evil religion that all men become possessed of rule (power) for themselves. Man improves himself by having a high liking for the desires pertaining to the religion of the Dadar. And it is by disapproving, not thinking, not speaking, and not doing deeds of sin ; and, approving; thinking, speaking, and doing deeds (of righteousness that (man) keeps (his) soul in the proper manner in accordance with the wishes of the Dadar. And thereby there is a diminution of Anghra Mainyu who has risen up as the enemy of the world; and the people of the world remain aloof from its enemy, Anghra Mainyu, for (the sake of) immortality, purity, and everlasting happiness. Those religious teachers who are excessively desirous of liberating man by approving, thinking, speaking, and doing deeds of sin; and by disapproving, not thinking,

not speaking, and not doing deeds of righteousness, will in the end be of hell forever. And they will on no account be liberated from hell.

Their religion is (alleged to be) for the liberation of man through religious desires, but not only is it not for the benefit of man, but it is calculated to cause much pain to the holy Yazads and to do final evil and harm to all the people of this world. And not only will it not give deliverance (from hell) but will ruin the people of that religion. It ought to be called not a moral but a sinful religion.

(Exposition in the good religion) regarding the following six ways of expiating the punishment for the margarjan sin. (175)

Be it known that, the six kinds of expiation of the punishment for the margarjan sin, are as follows: – When the orders of rulers are violated, one (kind of expiation) is (by performing righteous acts) by means of riches, or by sincere penitence for that sin, according to the precept of the high priest of the religion. – One (the second kind of expiation) is by the penitent confession of the *(margarjan)* sin before the high priest of the religion, whereby the final or best remedy is known for the relief of the soul (from hell), and of the body from imprisonment (in this world); provided that, while fighting with unsubmissive people *(anair),* the sinful one shall have slain his enemy or rival in battle at the imminent risk of his life *[lit.* life-devotingly]. One (the third) is, when one, by whom the *(margarjan)* sin of confounding idolatry has been committed, shall, in satisfaction for the sin, rightly and willingly abide, wherever in pursuance of the decree of his king, they may direct his imprisonment for ten years; since the final (effective) reparation for his sin (of idolatry), known (in the religion), is his condign imprisonment for ten years. – One (the fourth) is, when a person who has become liable to *margarjan* punishment by disobeying the commands of his masters or lords, is saved (from the punishment of hell) by obtaining his masters' forgiveness of his sin. – One (the fifth) is, when a woman has become liable to the margarjan punishment by disrespect towards her husband, (her sin), it is declared, (may be canceled) by her husband's forgiveness. – One (the sixth) is, when any kind of sin, which may have been committed in one's (daily) avocations, is remitted by repenting of that sin with due observance of the directions of the high priests of the religion as (affording) the best decision. – And the final means or mode of averting from the soul (of the deceased) the effects of its sinfulness, is (by meritorious actions, or by making vows to perform them) during the three days and nights following death (i.e. immediately after the soul has parted from the body).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the good qualities of Hozvaban Tehmasp, his great or holy miraculous spiritual power (put forth) in annihilating evil practices, which was made manifest by virtue of his chieftainship, and by which miraculous spiritual power he was enabled to restore the districts of Iran by expelling different infidel and demon worshipping peoples from the kingdom of Iran, and to enforce therein the supremacy and the laws of the royal descendants of Erach. (176)

Be it known that, it is manifest from the good religion that the exceedingly miraculous spiritual power of Hozvaban Tehmasp,[98] was manifested in this world by virtue of his chieftainship in overpowering, destroying, and annihilating evil practices wherever they appeared under his sovereignty. And, likewise, by means of his holy spiritual miraculous power, he had revealed to the infidel (anair) and demon-worshipping peoples (of his time), and to many of their brave commanders, the prophetic intelligence that Gushtasp would convert to his (Mazdayasnian) religion the (then) king of Turkistan, the men of the Arab tribes with disheveled hair, and the kingly tribes called the Kalisiai and the Rumi. And that Hozvaban King drove out of the districts of Iran those persons who corrupted (the people) with many enormities, – he ruined or suppressed them, and caused them to disappear; and he readjusted the sovereignty and the laws of the Kingdom of Iran.

And thereafter he foretold the cessation or disappearance of idolatry, misery and demon-worship, as well as all sorts of pernicious pollution, decay, and ruin from water, fire, earth, and other good things of creation, from the districts of Iran, and the prevalence therein of renewed courage and victory for the religion of Ohrmazd in the millennium of Zartosht; and that, finally (i.e. at the time of the resurrection), in accordance with the will and decree of the Almighty, the holy lord of Chasru-madina,[99] the son of Gushtasp, who is otherwise called Peshotan, with his 150 disciples, will be powerful (enough to bring about the final renovation above mentioned.)

98 Molé: Uzâb son of Tahmâsp, known from Yt13.131 and GrB18.18.

99 Molé: Catrumân, a name which means "the four houses." However, graphemes used in the *Zand i Vohuman Yasht* 3.25 ff suggest that the first part of the compound is *cithro*.

Exposition in the good religion concerning the keeping of one's self and of one's fellowmen from all the evil or mischievous propensities of man's nature, the moment they are perceived (to be injurious); also concerning the doing of good by one's self to others of the same (one's own) race or religion. (177)

Be it known that, every manifestation of affection in man is towards himself or his own offspring. Hence it is befitting that a man and his offspring should do good and not evil (towards each other). Man ought, (therefore), to feel affection for himself and for his own children; and the rearing of children and (so to say) the reproduction of one's self, is owing to the love of one's own race or family. It is necessary that the relations between man and man should be governed by a pure affection, in order that they may be capable of virtue, and that their inclinations may be turned from evil.

All men are as one's own person and children. For this reason every man should be greatly averse to evil, and be very eager to advance in goodness; since every man is a participator (in the goodness or evil) of this world. No man, therefore, should deliberately cause injury to others, or take pleasure in the injury that may befall them. He in whose soul virtue dwells, is well disposed towards others, and desires or is pleased with the happiness of others; thereby he becomes capable of preventing mutual injuries among men, and of promoting the union of virtue among them. And, accordingly, such a man counteracts or destroys that power in men, which troubles the world and abets the drujs. And, thus, the drujs are tormented by the Yazads; and the world-aiding Yazads themselves drive away completely from the world the infamous drujs and the mischief (emanating from them) ; and (thus) by means of the Yazads goodness is increased in this world.

Accordingly, these two kinds of evil exist in this world. One proceeds from a human creature of this world on account of the devilish power (acquired by him); the other emanates from the invisible drujs because of their own (inherent) power. (Both of these evils) ought to be expelled from the world. – But there are two kinds of goodness. Of these one originates from man (a creature) of this world, the other comes on the world from the invisible Yazads.[100]

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100 Good and evil exist respectively on account of angelic and devilish power of man. The meaning is that it is the demons that produce evil in this world, and it is by them and by men who possess their evil nature, that that evil is accomplished in this world. Of these the devils are the authors of evil, while demon worshipping men are as it were the tools by which the demons work out their ends. – In like manner the Yazads are authors of goodness in this world; while their active

It is revealed by the good religion that in the final seven and fifty years perfect goodness unalloyed with evil, shall prevail in the world through Saoshyant, and just before the resurrection all men for their fidelity to the Mazdayasnian religion, shall be renovated by means of their good-natured or virtuous deeds, and shall in their conduct obey the precepts of the Gathas.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the hope man has from this life, and (his) fear of damnation, and the departure or return of the one (object, viz. the soul) from the other (viz. the body). (178)

Be it known that, it is owing to the divine glory (of Ohrmazd) that man from the beginning has in life the knowledge of his Creator's desires; but (it is) by not remembering him, and by being drawn towards the immoral (sinful) splendor (or attractions) of the Blemish giver (Ahriman), that by his life (in this world) he brings on himself damnation for eternity in the next. As long as man is in inward communion with the Yazads, by sincere worship of the Deity, and by (means of the active Influence of) angelic Powers; he is capable of procreating offspring, he acquires great ability or talent for other works (varied actions), as well as dignified wisdom [lit. an increase of wisdom]. And by following the immoral splendor of the wicked (Ahriman), his expectations of the future are filled with fear of damnation during his passage to the Chinwad Bridge (i.e. at that moment he has lost all hope of obtaining the final reward, and is instead tortured with the fear of damnation in hell). He, whose life has been devoted to the remembrance of the Highest (i.e. the Almighty), is not (troubled) with any foreboding of painful suffering (to come hereafter). And should disgrace or reproach come on that man of angelic strength, through any good deed of his, his fear of damnation in hell is moderated or destroyed by the power of the divine glory that aids him, and the hope he derives from a life spent in communion with heavenly beings; and because of the absence in him of any of the unrighteous splendor of the Blemish-giver (Ahriman), his future life is exempted from affliction. – When man cannot adore the Deity, it is derogatory to the divine wisdom (in or familiar to him), by reason of the great diminution of his share in the divine glory. Consequently, that man who is of a perverse disposition, and without God's religion which teaches the hope of a future life and forewarns of the punishment of hell, is deprived of the knowledge of both (viz. the hope of an eternally happy life and the fear of the pains of hell.) On

instruments are those Yazdanparast people, who have the power and attributes of angels to destroy the evil and to enlarge the good in this world.

account of this perverse inclination (arising) from the unrighteous splendor of the Blemish-giver (Ahriman), and by reason of forgetfulness of the future life (in heaven), man gradually reaches a condition [lit. knowledge] which is deserving of damnation.

Moreover, when men are no longer capable of procreating children or able to maintain them, and are on this account grieved with despair, their souls are (directly) disunited (from their bodies) by (the decree of) Astwidat or Fate, and they are then overwhelmed with deep despair both on account of the future (which life they have forfeited), and the damnation (in hell, which they have merited); and having neglected the Deity during life, they remember Him the more at the moment of death. Because it is declared concerning those who fall into hell, that from the severity of their punishment in hell, their life which in this world they deemed to be proper (or free from blame), appears to them in hell so unfit or stained with sin [lit. so changed into unfitness], that they eagerly express the wish: "Would that we had never been born, or that we had not lived to follow the faith of the sinful." On account of which (penalty) they also exclaim that (it would have been) better if they had never been born.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the best kings. (179)

Be it known that, the kings (who are) like Jamshed and Vishtasp in dignity, arc the best kings. That king is like Jamshed in dignity, who like Jamshed is most prominent (or conspicuous) among men like the sun, and who is well-disposed towards all those among the good creatures, who are submissive to the Deity. That king is like Vishtasp in dignity, who like King Vishtasp is known as the most friendly towards, the most sincere acceptor, the most faithful adherent, and the most zealous propagator, of the Mazdayasnian religion (in this world).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the manner in which man alone among the Creator's creations, ought to improve himself and save his soul from hell. (180)

Be it known that, of all God's creatures man may improve himself and save his soul from hell by the following six (means). Three (of these) are chiefly for the preservation of the soul (from sin); and three chiefly for the improvement of one's self.

(1) One (means) of (preserving) the soul is each man's own

conscience, which is the essential means in man of avoiding sin, of making relief unnecessary, of escaping penal imprisonment, and of effectually keeping the soul out of hell.

(2) One is the religious teacher in this world, who by training men in the Mazdayasnian religion, and in the knowledge of the means of preserving their souls through their meritorious actions and of punishment for sins, relieves (or confirms) those who are good, and enables them to reach a high degree of religious merit.

(3) One is the Rashn-e-Rast and other spiritual lords, (angels and archangels), who, when a man has already repented of his sins in this world, made satisfaction for the sins committed by him, and cast away those sins from him, purify that person from the penalty due to such sins, at the time of reckoning on the third night after death, and send him by the Chinwad Bridge into the abode of Paradise.

The three (means) particularly adapted for the improvement of one's self (are as follows). – (1) One is a well-conducted (friend) who lends a helping hand in distress, who communicates to his fellowmen the influence of his own good disposition. – (2) One is the path of *mithra* (i.e., of truth and honesty) which when a man's soul has been endowed with it, preserves his life and person in persevering union with the Yazads. – (3) One is the world-protecting king who is a refuge unto mankind in this life from every pernicious object (sin), and who cherishes and liberates them.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the injustice (done) to a rightful [deserving] person by a gift (being given) to an unrightful [undeserving] one. (181)

Be it known that, the injustice to a rightful person by gift being made to an unrightful one, arises in the following manner. It is necessary (for a religious person) to make a gift, joyfully and unasked, to a proper person who is deserving of it (i.e. of that gift), since if he does not bestow it (upon that worthy man), he commits a sin [lit. there will be sin]. And if the giver does not bestow it on one who is unrightful and has not asked for it, he does not incur any sin at all. But if being requested (by a deserving man) and being rich, he refuses to grant it, he is called in the Gathas the Drujo, "of the creation of the Druj (Ahriman) himself." Regarding this the exposition is as follows: – Whosoever does not bestow a gift on the man who comes to him with a desire (to have something), is the creature of the Druj, that is he has acted like a creature of the Druj, and thus (it is proper that) he be called publicly [lit. by the voice of the kingdom], one of the nature of Ahriman [lit. as one of the evil creations of Ahriman].

Exposition in the good religion as to what things are the more beneficial to men in this world. (182)

Be it known that, the following six things are the more beneficial to men: – (1) One is to confess openly one's sins, that they may be legally punished in this world in the presence of the leader of the Behdin community (anjoman). – (2) One is that men should have a constant (ham-baste) reverence for whatever has been done by the previous leaders of religion (poryotkesh). – (3) One is the zealous exertions of the talented Athravans to establish institutions for religious instruction. – (4) One is that the disciple should acknowledge the habits (or follow in the footsteps) of his worthy teacher, and secure himself from punishment by (the bond of) association with him and by meditations on the Mazdayasnian religion. – (5) One is the humble submission to the deservingly pre-eminent high-priest of the Mazdayasnian religion, (as a final or best resource) for the faithful followers of the Din (religion) of Ohrmazd to advance in the good religion. – (6) One is the concord of the subjects of the Sovereign of the World with the just and supreme king of a continent, for the proper advancement of the people.

Exposition in the good religion (on the subject) that men should as much as possible banish from the world the visible portion of pollution or all kinds of (filth, that no harm may accrue unto them.) (183)

Be it known that, the only best means of giving perfect health is the Mazdayasnian religion; since this is manifest from it, that men ought to clear away from fertile land, or as much as possible keep aloof from, all dead matter, bodily refuse or pollution of any kind, and to destroy two-thirds of such putrid matter from amongst the population. Accordingly, they are to abstain from burning it (i.e. putrid matter) in fire, and from pouring water over it; and they ought to preserve those (elements) from pollution. By the continued shining of the fires (i.e. by the heat of the sun, moon and other fires), two-thirds of the pernicious matter (or poisonous atmosphere) in the world is destroyed. It is also manifest that the entrance of the contamination of putrefying substances unto men is owing to the Blemish-giver (Ahriman), and there result from it corruption and stench which produce poisonous exhalations infecting men (with diseases). The visible form and figure of the body on earth are due to (or dependent on) air and fire; and it is they that nourish the vital parts in the physical structure of man. Consequently, it is the precept of the good religion to preserve them (from corruption).

By bringing contamination or putrefaction into these substances (viz: fire, air and water), disease is produced; (so) by preserving them, and by removing pollution and stink, salubrity and health may be secured for men and cattle. Pure water is the means by which man preserves his body from defilement (or infection). And on account of their fidelity to the Mazdayasnian faith, our ancestors used to respect and put in practice the precepts of the Mazdayasnian religion, given by the high-priest of the good religion, as well as the mandates issued by the sovereign professing the good religion.

The sovereignty of the Mazdayasnian prince was accepted as their own supremacy by men of the good religion; and thus it came about that men acted in accordance with his orders. On that account a blessing was (pronounced) on the people of the world by the accomplished doctor or high-priest of the Mazdayasnian religion, for the increase of piety, beauty and gloriousness in mankind.

Victory, greatness and deep adoration (of men) in this world, are the result of the innumerable pious actions (undertaken) to strengthen their own happiness in the next. They who abandoning the teaching (or precepts) of the accomplished high-priest, have fallen into pamperedness or luxury owing to (their association with) a priest who teaches impiety to man-kind, and who is deceitful and leads them into evil ways, turn away, in the decay of their soul and body, from the knowledge thereof; and in consequence complete (grievous) distress is seen in this world. And such is the exposition in the Mazdayasnian religion, that all men should adopt means for the health and well-being of the world by accepting the precepts of the accomplished high-priest of the religion, and that they should always act in union with that accomplished high-priest who is a guide in the exalted path. And that accomplished high-priest should at the same time inculcate the maintaining of mutual peace (or friendship) and charity towards one another, so that all (men) may remain free from corruption, decay old age or mortality, and that all men in the good creations (of the world) may become entirely happy.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the origin of moderate thinking and of immoderate thinking, their outcome, and the explanation and power thereof, the thoughts suggested therefrom, and the relation between the advantages of moderate thinking and the injury from immoderate thinking. (184)

Be it known that, the original power of moderate thinking is the gift of the Moderate Thinker, Who is Ohrmazd; and it may be

described as having the mind (occupied) in collecting a store of merits for the soul.

The strength (or degree) of a man's improvement depends on it (viz. moderate thinking). So long as the intuitive wisdom of Vohuman subsists in man, his judgment leads him to think about that good quality and good power for himself. His prosperous existence is the result of his contentment and of Ohrmazd's preserving care; and his whole thought is therefore directed to the virtuous qualities and power of the Yazads, whereby man attains to the great angelic blessing of being free from envy; he lives thereby free from disease, and free from any grievance against, and contention with the good people. Again, whosoever is protected by Ohrmazd, shares in a more complete manner the virtuous qualities and power of the Yazads; and thus he is well fitted to support his fellow-creatures in virtue, thereby acquiring joy and power (or solid holiness) for himself. Again, every one who expressed his praiseworthy ideas (or belief regarding (the benefits of) union with the Mazdayasnian religion, was its expounder (madde) only on account of it (i.e. moderate thinking):[101] Such was Hoshang among the Peshdadians, Zohak among the tormentors, Patsroban among the fortunate, Kaus among the enlightened (or the wise), Sam among the valiant, Zoroaster [Zartosht] among the bright, Isfandiar among the abstaining. Such were also beings of angelic qualities and knowledge in the forms of the canine and boar species.[102]

Likewise, it is manifest from the good religion in the following words of Zartosht – whose Frohar is worthy of glorification – (uttered) unto the dignified Kay Vishtasp:

> "Thou shalt not hate whosoever serves thee with good mind, because he will be worse by that training (or example) of thine."

Thus, the advantage of moderate thinking lies in constant meditation on whatever stands in relation (to the Deity) in this good religion. Concerning this the conference of (the Holy) Zartosht with Vishtasp, declares thus:

> "So long as thou shalt act thus (i.e. according to the dictates of the good religion), thy courage shall be so, and so also thy victory."

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101 It was the gift of moderate thinking that enable many men to expound the blessings of the Mazdayasnian religion.

102 This probably refers to the different shapes (one of which is that of a boar) in which the Yazad Verethraghna appears in the Warharan Yasht, paras. 15, 19.

Immoderate (or unbridled) thinking is a defect in man originating from the Blemish-giver (Ahriman); and such a thought may be described as the abandonment of the acquisitions of merit (saman) for the (happy) life in the next world, by reason of the (evil) power of perverseness and avarice; and for this reason the thought (of man) does not turn towards the virtues and stability (necessary for him). On the contrary he feels an aversion to Ohrmazd's preserving care, to the pious qualities and power of the Yazads, he is ill-inclined and feels a hatred of divine gifts; thence follow hindrance to one's own good health, an immoral struggling (with his conscience), and an ever growing thought of (disposition towards) perfect evil. There is (therefore) a diminution of that spiritual power of his soul, which is apt to (gain) eternal happiness, and a hatred against whatever pre-eminent qualities and strength of the Yazads he himself is capable of. Thus such a one possesses the (wicked) strength of the rebellious devils; hence (it is fitting) that harm should be caused to his spiritual life [lit. life pertaining to the soul], just as it is declared (in the Avesta) regarding the most famous (lit. the manly-minded, the great-souled) hero Keresasp of Sam, for quickly dispatching [lit. making invisible] the Druj Snavidhak [cf. Jamyad Yasht, 43-44].

On the basis of an exposition in the good religion it is declared by the (primitive) religious leaders, that the powerless one (Ahriman) is not, was not, and will never be fit (to rule) over the race of good creatures; but that the Creator Ohrmazd will ever be powerful (to rule) over the finite and the infinite. (185)

Be it known that, the Father and the Procreator or Origin of all the good (Yazads), is the Omniscient, the Omnipotent and the All-Ruling Creator Ohrmazd. Over that good-intentioned and righteous One, the powerless one (Ahriman) had not, has not and will never have sway. Also it is known regarding Him, that His power is manifested in every deserving person, and His union subsists in all those (creatures of Spentomainyu), who are by origin related to Him. And (as to) the overpowering influence of the evil-religioned (Ahriman) among men, it is owing to the prevalence of his bad faith in men in the limited time. Also in that unlimited time which is beyond the influence of the stars (i.e. in the period of the resurrection, beyond the time appointed for Ahriman) the limit of Ahriman's power will end in this world, though his existence will be infinite in time.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the actions which are acceptable to the Creator (Dadar vajin), whereby man approves himself to Him, and regarding the actions acceptable to man (mardum vajin), whereby the Creator becomes the object of man's choice. (186)

Be it known that, by means of the knowledge regarding the soul, derived from the good religion, man can perform actions calculated to improve himself. Thus by his actions, which are acceptable to the Creator, man approves himself to Him. So also it may truly be said that that person is acceptable to Him (God), who being guided by the true wisdom (or conscience), performs actions which are agreeable and appropriate.

Again, the Creator renders man victorious by (revealing to him) all sorts of wisdom (calculated to benefit) his soul. Thus, on account of his intelligent foresight, His understanding and actions are acceptable to man.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the careful keeping, and exposure to light from darkness, of the fire and water in one's power or possession, in conformity with the good religion. (187)

Be it known that, everything in this world constantly tends to return to its own original abode (source) The original source of fire is the Essence of Fire. The original source of water is the ocean on the Earth. The powerful blaze of the fire is due to the wind. The varied arrangement of the water under the earth is also due to it. The movements of the sea also are caused by the wind; and it is the wind that warms and refreshes. And the birth and improvement of man in his corporeal existence here, as also of creatures possessed of bodies in this world, are the result of the beneficent actions of water. By not carefully protecting fire and water from contamination people pollute themselves; and the pollution in the waters of the ocean spreads (or mingles) through the atmosphere, and through the influence of the warmth of the atmosphere it perpetually permeates the living bodies in this world. The contamination is caused both by heat and moisture. It is by being free from pollution or impurity that the body is cured of any infection (it may have caught), and health is obtained by the people of this world. The cause of uncleanness (in men) is pollution, and this accounts for the prevalence of infection, pain and the many fatal diseases of the human body. And owing to the great dread of these various diseases we are admonished by the good religion to

preserve fire and water (from pollution).

Sickness and much mortality among men are brought about by the belief of those whose religion inculcates the practice of polluting fire and water by filthiness and stench; whosoever teaches such a creed, is (as it were) of hostile inclinations towards men (or an enemy of mankind).

Exposition in the good religion of the ways pointed out by the good religion by which the followers of this good religion ought to regulate his conduct in (good and evil) times. (188)

Be it known that, it is the precept of the good religion that the epoch of the exaltation of men of the good religion, can be reached only when they oppose the degrading condition (of their nature) by superior wisdom, good qualities, strict morals, efforts to attain a higher position by public or national spirit, energetic action, and noble enterprise [lit. exalted banners]; and that they who resist their condition of exaltation are those low and groveling people who turn away from learning and wisdom, and who conduct themselves in such a manner as to subvert the courage, humility (airih), contentment and grandeur of the good people. Hereof an illustration is manifest from the precept of the good religion in the movements of flying birds and khrafstras (pernicious creatures), that when night falls, creatures that go about in darkness, begin to move about, while the birds that go about in the light (of day), will not issue out of their nests; and by the confinement of the birds of light, the (wicked) creatures of darkness are free to wander about (in the world). And at the dawn of the light of day when the birds of light are again seen moving about in the open air, the noxious stygian birds of night and the evil pernicious khrafstras of darkness disappear.

Exposition in the good religion regarding steadfastness in the religion and the thought of detraction from it. (189)

Be it known that, the idea concerning steadfastness in the good religion is expressed above in the chapter bearing upon it. But there are two ways in which (men) contemplate to detract from the good religion. 1. To deny the existence of the next world like an ashmogh. 2. To regard the good religion as bad like one of an evil faith.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the respective appellations of the good and bad religions, and the condition of those who are in them. (190)

Be it known that, the good religion is one that is in correspondence with the (divine) intuitive reason; it possesses every degree of embellished wisdom, it is the interpreter of superior knowledge, dignified by its communication with the spiritual existences, possessing (inculcating) the noblest system of morals, all manner of felicity in eternal existence, liberality, and preservation; and its object is to make its professor an extoller of the Deity, to keep him in obedience (to him), in union with the Original (Being), and possessed of the original thought. It is the very abode of piety and the source of graceful authority. And the faithful thereby (i.e. by the medium of the religion) are enabled to reform their natural habits and to strengthen their own common sense and to propagate the glory (of the religion). That supremacy or rule is graceful (or blessed), which is acquired by the aid of that religion. And the fidelity of the mass of the people to that religion, is the precursor of a time of happiness. It suppresses in this world unrighteousness and the Blemish-giver (Ahriman), and saves the people (from hell). Herein exist the institutions of the priest, the warrior, the farmer and the artisan, the worship of Ohrmazd, piety, and other good qualities, righteousness and virtue.

Again, the bad religion is imbued with the wickedness (or perverse doctrine) of (Ahriman), is an opponent of providence, possesses a store of false sayings for the sake of avarice, keeps (men) in distress through the evil spirits, glorifies the demons by means of sorcery, leads to the worship of the Druj by giving her the appellation of God, inculcates immoral habits in the name of morality; it is the mother of frehbut and aibibut, and the creed of falsehood.

With such a religion tyranny is seemly (becoming), and its adherents are corrupt in their habits; they pervert or destroy their wisdom or common sense, and forfeit their fame. To lend his evil help to it is worthy of its tyrant-adherent. The mass of its followers through fraud are subjected to many calamities, for they bestow (let loose) on the world their vicious help (vices) and the (sinful) strength of the Blemish-giver (Ahriman), and they cause distress to the good creatures. Herein (i.e. in the bad religion) are found such vices, as disturbance of piety, tyranny, wickedness, deceit, lewdness, demon-worship, degeneration, and of other defects and sins and evil-doings. – The bad religion is also coupled with selfishness; it is the enemy of prudence, the opponent of intelligence, the disturber of the belief in the spiritual world, and the approver of the law of non-existence; herein are skepticism, habits of infidelity, and sorcery.

Exposition in the good religion regarding (the fact that) Ohrmazd is the creator of the good creations. (191)

Be it known that, birth is a term applied to the first (appearance) in the spiritual world of living creatures. The origin and source of the spiritual (existence) is manifested by the action of force in this world. The invisible soul that has entered into the body, is just like the gold (necessary) for (making) a diadem, the silver for a goblet or a vessel, the iron for a hoe or spade, the wood for a door or a door-case, the root of a tree for its fruit, and the procreator for the offspring. Other spiritual substances which are in the body exist through the gift of this soul's power. – *Creation* is a term employed to ascribe the advent of the heavenly soul into this worldly existence. The living body exists through the soul that supports it (i.e. the material constitution of man owes its living principle to the soul). Just as a woolen thread is made of wool, a diadem is made of gold, a vessel of silver, a door of wood, just as the fruit is produced by means of the root, and the offspring by the begetter, so also other physical substances subsist by means of their original soul. This original soul is regarded as the support of the (material) constitution. The bodily existences of this world have developed out of their original semen, just as trees of like nature have grown from a seed. In the religious writings they are called living organisms. The living organism subsists by means of the soul, and by the power of fire and water in it. The essences that constitute the strength (of a body), are called bodily existences. Again, the semen of the bodily embryo in this world, is of the nature of fluid. The body is called in this religion a moving or active existence; the embryo being gradually matured by means of the soul into a human organism. The pair by whose connection the body is begotten are reckoned as the father and mother; and the person himself is called their son. If he is of a good race (lineage), benefit accrues from him to the living world; and (further) from the existence of a man of such good name many other men become well-inclined towards the actions of Providence (i.e. they are drawn to acquiesce willingly in the dispensations of Providence).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the counter-balancing, in finite time, of two kinds of evil-doers by two kinds of powerful men, (designed) by the Provident Creator Ohrmazd, Who is the Causer (Author) of Destiny. (192)

Be it known that, the Provident Creator Ohrmazd, Who is the

Causer of Destiny, has in the limited time (appointed for Ahriman), counterbalanced two kinds of evil-doers by means of two kinds of powerful men. It is by continuing in the idea (i.e. by steadfastly holding the idea) of the great supremacy of God, that man will come to dislike (the use of) his own power to do evil; he does evil because of his power to deceive. His approval of actions (good or bad), is in accordance with his (good or evil) mental propensities. Man, therefore, in that limited period of six thousand years, ought to refrain and curb every tendency towards devilish actions, and (in his life) exhibit to his fellow-creatures, till the end of this world's existence, deeds that are worthy of the soul.

One (of the two kinds of powerful men above-mentioned, and designed) for (human) guidance, is the holy and pure person of the Athornan who possesses in himself the strength of Spenamino, and who contributes to save from sin, in the short span of life allotted to them, those that adhere to him, by communicating to them his own desires (in this life) he thereby acquires victory in the end, entirely baffling and repelling from his fellow-creatures the power of the Blemish-giver (Ahriman).

Such a pious person is said to be in correspondence with Spenamino, because Ohrmazd dwells in him. His garment is white. He is very much advanced (deeply versed) in mystic thoughts by the aid of Vohuman and the Mahraspand. He himself most dignified and illustrious, is guided by his inward Yazads of light. In the human body there dwell spiritual faculties that impart good sense for the guidance of the soul, and convey to man virtue through moral perception, contentment through obedience, and in his habits (i.e. an habitual use of) words of truth through intuitive wisdom.

In the four estates of men in this world, a holy man is regarded as one of the leaders of the priesthood; the religious and secular lord (Zarathushtrotema) being considered as the greatest (chief) among all the people of the world. Of all human clothing, the white garment is (most suitable) for such an enlightened person. – They are the well-doing righteous ones, who (live only to) exalt or promote the good, and strike down the wicked.

Again, of those who lead (men to evil), one is the bad and impious person (priest), who inculcates the (wicked) faith of the Demon, and who on account of the evil luster of Ahriman in him, brings those who are subject to him, under evil influences, by imparting to them his own (evil) inclinations. Consequently, he cuts them off from their redemption (from hell). And whosoever (priest) loves such a (false) splendor of Ganamino, is blindly ignorant of the final condition

(farjamih).

Such a person is styled Ganamino's self, because the latter predominates in him; and his conformity (with Ahriman) contributes to promote the perverse thought respecting the evil faith (i.e. it avails to bind him in perverse adherence to the evil faith), and likewise conduces to the abiding in him of hurtful and refractory demons. The free-handed liberal ones unto him are those hurtful northern planets, whereof one is called by the astronomers the evil Saturn, which will destroy the constellation named Dol (Aquarius) in the religious writings, and which will work harm to mankind by reason of their evil understanding. And such a (priest) will imbue men with (a spirit of) disobedience to God and discontent, and will bring falsehood into their faith through their low-mindedness.

The sinful ones who will be (born) to be priests or rulers among the people of this world, will descend from those wicked leaders of wicked tribes who teach the evil religion; and the (highest) chieftain of the wicked ones in this world, is he who is destined for the worst religion and for the worst abode (hell). And in garments, his clothing resembles that of one who is a slave to the Demon. And among the evil doers his business is to injure the good, and help on the wicked.

Again, one is that heroic person who shapes his conduct by his (constant) association with the pious ones, and who has a mind to encourage and support the Athornans who bring forward pious knowledge, as well as (to encourage) the work of well-conducting (good guidance) in a (wisely) regulated manner and by means of refined ideas (high ideals) ; and (who has a mind) to obtain religious decisions from those who are high-minded in their nature, and to offer beneficial aid to those people who are subject to him. Such a one will, in the appointed time of his life, be capable of saving himself from hell, and of obtaining a final reward. Likewise, such a well-born (hero) will to the end possess heavenly felicity (in himself) in both worlds. The exalted act of such an heroic-souled person has regard to his own virtuous self [lit. garb]; and his knowledge is imbued with the glory of the Good Spirit because of the abode in him of the good angels. He is actually called the philanthropic hero among the brave ones. Also he proves himself to be one who shines forth in the great manly feats of the valiant. And such a one imbibes sublime religious opinions, and preserves through his righteous wishes, good-naturedness in himself, and performs actions sublimely conceived. Among the people of this world those who are strong and of a warlike person [in the (four) professions], belong to the warrior class. Among these the valiant commanders-in-chief are the leaders. In point of garments, their uniform is red in color and of stout material, and is

adorned with gold and silver, and inlaid with shining jewels; such a uniform is bright and brilliant too. – In (civil) transactions their business is to administer superior justice to the world, and to promote and punish the good and the bad respectively.

Again, for the purpose of leading men into sinfulness [lit. sinful blending], one is the person of the selfish (warrior) who is (doomed) to be an associate of the prison (of hell), because of his evil-minded conduct (in this world), and who is deprived of [lit. throws off] his dignity and greatness (as a rational being) by conducting men into that hostile impiousness and vice which are characteristic of a teacher of the evil doctrines (or knowledge) of the Hinderer (Ahriman), and who eagerly performs actions calculated to (give effect to) his sinful desires, to disturb peace, and to overthrow righteousness. And during the finite period he causes those who are subject to him, to conduct themselves like the wicked *Baratrute* by means of the power of the evil planetary influence. His meet recompense at the end (i.e. after death), is the appearance (in bodily form) in front of him of all the desires of that (evil) doer. Such a person himself is the druja of perverse sense [lit. lustful]. In him there is a liking for the most confounding demons, and the fitting predominance of the wicked Aeshma. The liberal donor unto him is one of the evil northern planets, which the astronomers call Mars, and which religion designates 'the evil and immoral.' It is the obstinate one among the evil planets. It brings to him (viz. to the wicked warrior) fruitless misery, on account of which his disposition becomes inclined to perverse desires as well as to the selfish religion calculated to destroy his final (happiness). And such a one will in this world be (born) among such rulers as are selfish and perverse fighters. And in the class of- impious priests who are adversaries (of the Mazdayasna), he is the head of the wicked ones, an unworthy ruler and an infidel judge who is possessed of (mischievous) wisdom. And his own selfish person is a garment suitable for him.

Exposition in the good religion regarding (the idea that) the duration of the soul is infinite as well as finite. (193)

Be it known that, the duration of the soul is everlasting; also it is limited. And the powerful (spiritual) substances that work with the soul for (the support of the animal) existence, are likewise eternal. And because of this strength the living organism is finite in this world. Again, the movement (of the animate body) in this world, is owing to the inward breath of life for thanksgiving (unto God). Also the bright soul or the respiratory power of the soul dwells in the navel (or the

center of every animate object.) And hence the flowing of the waters and the growing of the trees. It is on account of this inward breath of life that all animate objects work so multifariously. Hence it is (manifest) that the rational animate being will exist for ever.

Exposition to be found in the religious writings of the Avesta, regarding (the fact that) the movement of the animate body in this world is due to its vital power, and that it subsists because of the life (in it.) (194)

Be it known that, the continuity of the species of animate creatures of this earthly frame, resembles that of all animate objects. The appearance (or growth) of offspring is owing to the seed that begets it. Again, air is the restorative of the body, and the mutual combination of the (physical) elements (in it), is the result of its soul power on account of this soul power the creature is animate. Just as the workmanship of a goldsmith is judged of from the shape of a crown or throne made by him of the ore of gold; just as the ingenuity of a silversmith is made known to us by the vessels or stools manufactured by him from the ore of silver; just as the knowledge which the blacksmith has of his art is shown by the shape of an iron spade &c. made by him; just as the carpenter's skill is understood from the fashion of the chairs, benches and doors made by him from (unpolished) wood; so is the Lord of Existence known to us as the 'Cause of all Causes.' The origin of the world was owing to that vital luster (the soul); as it is said in the religion, that all inanimate objects have come into being from that vital power. The birth of a moving body is owing to the life pervading the original seed; also it is from the internal vital substance in the mother, that the embryo received its form (of a child). Again the elementary substances in an offspring serve to maintain by means of digestion the consciousness of its sources of intelligence. Just as a crown, a glass or a goblet is formed from gold or silver metal by the ingenuity of a goldsmith or a silversmith; just as a hoe or a spade, a bench or a door-ease, is made of iron metal or wood by the skill of the blacksmith or carpenter; so is a physical body caused to move by means of the life (yehvunashne) in it, so are the forms of seeds and the plants germinating from them by means of their animating essences. Again, it is said in the religion, that what is inanimate is made to move by means of life, and that life subsists (in this world) on account of the person wherein it is embodied.

The advent of this superior vital power in the seed, is explained to be like that of a person in the midst of some object, or like the form of a child in the womb of its be-getter (mother). Also it is on account of

the ingenious operations of the soul power that a child is formed from a male seed conceived by its mother. Just as the mineral ore is purified by being melted in heat, just as wood is polished by cutting and scraping, so are the living bodies.

Again, it is said in the religion regarding beings (that are) active on account of the life in them, that the very abode of life is constituted by means of this moving vital substance. The formation of all physical existences in this world is by One Alone (the Creator). Just as from an object its nature (becomes manifest), or from a person his habits, so does the complete formation of the face of an offspring in the mother's womb, from the power of the soul (in it). Just as the ingenuity of a goldsmith forms of gold various sorts of crowns, glasses or goblets, just as the skill of a carpenter makes of wood chairs, benches and doors of various shapes, so is this material body organized by means of the soul. Without this powerful vital principle the world would never have existed.

There are multifarious objects and persons (in this world). Regarding the functions of these objects and persons it is said in the religion that they will do righteous or evil actions in proportion to their correspondence with the two invisible spirits (viz. Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the ten excellent monitions of the Holy Zartosht unto men. (195)

Be it known that, these are the ten best monitions by the Holy Zartosht: (1) One is that man should improve himself in order to render obedience unto God; he should remain with firm confidence in the Creator Ohrmazd as His faithful (creature) ; and that the subjects of the people-protecting and righteous sovereign of this world, should place loyal trust in his rule (i.e. in the rule of such a sovereign). – (2) One is that man ought to believe in the good religion which is the source of piety, that he may exalt himself through righteousness. – (3) One is that for the purpose of ameliorating (the lot of the people) in this world, they should be guided by the opinions of this religion, with the support [strength] of the authority of the head dastur or ruler. – (4) One is that every man should become capable of doing good to every other man, and of benefiting every one without doing harm to anybody. – (5) One is that man should thoroughly defeat and keep off the druj from his person, and improve his nature for (the advent of) the Yazads into him. – (6) One is that man should perform actions which are known to be good to one who is improved in his nature (by

his belief in the religion), and avoid or condemn those which are not so recognized by him. – (7) One is that man in order to be pure (or freed) from his sins and be adorned with meritoriousness, should keep at a distance from all kinds of evil pertaining to the bad, but associate with the good in all manner of goodness. – (8) One concerns the practice of khwetodas, for the purpose of terrifying away the demons from one's person, and of securing for one's self the blessing of the pious (Yazads or farohars). – (9) One is that a just high-priest should be maintained for the purpose of purifying one's self from sin, and of opening the wide path to obtain the recompense for pious merit. – (10) One concerns the thanksgivings unto God for the attainment of the worthy object (of one's desire), and the glorification, extollings and adoration of the Creator Ohrmazd, the Amesha Spentas, and the Yazads (in gratitude) for any fresh goodness.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the ten (evil) admonitions enunciated by the ill-informed (or evil-inspired) Akht-Jadu to the vicious and immorally inclined people, against the ten (sacred) monitions of the luminous-minded, the invisible-perceiving and the manthra-uttering Holy Zartosht who had brought mankind into the [peaceful] Mazdayasnian religion relating to Ohrmazd. (196)

Be it known that, against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that man should improve himself by rendering obedience unto God, and by having firm confidence in the supremacy of that preserving Ruler of the Universe – the evil-inspired, vicious Akht proclaimed the disturbance (cessation) of fidelity unto God, or disobedience towards 3 Him. – (2) One, against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that man ought to have a firm faith in the good religion, in order that he may be enabled to exalt himself through righteousness, – the evil-conscienced, vicious Akht proclaimed that for the purpose of annihilating the good religion, the evil practices of sorcery should be made current. – (3) One, against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that for the sake of the prosperity and advancement of the people, justice should be embellished (regulated) in this world, – the evil-knowing, wicked Akht proclaimed that justice should be administered in this world irrespective of the authority of a ruler (ahuih), and (likewise) without any discrimination. – (4) One, against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that no injury should be inflicted by anybody on any person, – the dark-conscienced (black-hearted), sorcerous and vicious Akht, on account of his sorcerous practices and his enmity toward men, proclaimed that no good should be done to any person,

but that every person should be rendered capable of doing evil (to others). – (5) One, Against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that man should improve his nature, in order to be able to repel the druj from his person, and to cause the entrance of the Yazads into him, – the dark-conscienced, vicious Akht, on account of his enmity to men, proclaimed that human nature should be corrupted so that the Yazads might not enter into the body, but that the demons might abide in the body. – (6) One, against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that man should embellish (perfect) his nature (and be qualified) for pious actions, that he should perform whatever action he knows to be virtuous, and inquire about, and learn from the learned, whatever he does not know or understand, – the vicious sorcerer Akht, on account of his enmity to mankind, proclaimed that man should abstain from performing any action that is known to be virtuous, he should neither inquire about, nor learn from the learned, what he does not know or comprehend. – (7) One, against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that man in order to keep himself pure from sin, and to adorn his soul with the works of merit, should keep far from all the evil ways of the wicked, and that he should associate with the good, – the vicious sorcerer Akht prompted by his wicked heart [lit. dark-conciencedly], proclaimed that for the purpose of creating an inclination towards corruption through (the spread of) sin among the people of this world, and thereby effecting great destruction in this world through sorcery, men should associate with the bad in evil doing, while he should keep aloof from the good in all manner of goodness. – (8) One, against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that khwetodas ought to be practiced for the purpose of greatly tormenting the demons, (and thus driving them) out of one's self, and of being enriched with the blessings of the good spirits,-the vicious sorcerer Akht, on account of his malignity towards the good people, proclaimed that khwetodas which a good person ought to practice, should not be practiced, and that man should lead a distressed (wretched) life (without performing it). – (9) One, against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that a sapient dastur should be appointed for (the purpose of pointing out the means of) the purification of one's sins, and for opening to men the wide path of (gaining) the recompense for meritorious acts, – the evil-inspired, wicked Akht proclaimed the non-observance of obedience or submission to the authority of the dastur, and asserted that the recompense for meritorious actions was of no avail, and that there could be no relief (of the soul) from the penalty (penitence) for sins (committed). – (10) One, against the monition of the Holy Zartosht, that man to be worthy of what is attained by him, should offer thanks unto God, and that he should glorify, extol, and worship the Creator Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands and the Yazads, for every fresh

benefit (or boon coming) from the divine beings, – the evil-hearted, vicious sorcerer Akht proclaimed enmity to the divine beings, affection to the demons, the abandonment of the adoration of the divine beings, and the practice of every maimer of demon-worship.

On the ten monitions of the Holy Dayun regarding the justice (laws) of the Mazdayasnian religion. (197)

Be it known that,.(the following are) the ten monitions of the Holy Dayun[103] regarding the justice of the Mazdayasnian religion. – (1) One is that with a view to the improvement of the harmless (people) in this world, one should punish, and thereby expiate the guilt of, those who unlawfully injure others. – (2) One is that in order that he should remain honest one ought not to keep as his own (property, what does not belong to him), nor to retain for himself the wealth which is not given to him by its owner; but that he should return another's wealth to its proper owner, and cause whosoever appropriates the wealth (that is not his own), to be duly punished according to justice; thus he should expiate his crime. – (3) In order that perfect justice may reach unto those who have a desire for it (viz., justice to themselves), one is that the deciding judge should form his judgment from true evidence and from the essential knowledge (principles of justice) laid down in the good religion; and thus he should lead to the improvement of the people. – (4) One is that the just ruler or priest should defend (from profanation) the (religious writings of) Hat Manthra, the Gathas, and the Date; they should glorify them and regard them as divine revelations, in order that the good people may (thereby) the more believe in the purity (of their religion). – (5) One is that that king should be exalted who by means of his

sovereignty will ameliorate the people of the world, and who is most faithful to the Mazdayasnian religion. – (6) One (of the monitions) uttered by him was that as the doctrine of the

103 Dayun is the name of a dastur-e-dasturan [Zarathushtrotema] who flourished in the time of the Kayanian king Behman Isfandyar, In the prophecies revealed to Zartosht by Ohrmazd in the Sacred Avesta, We find the following regarding this venerable high priest: – “From among the dasturs, regarding Dayun it is declared thus: 'When one hundred years shall have passed over the religion, Dayun will be born, and when two hundred years have elapsed he will depart from this world ; and the religion will remain current on this earth through the hundred disciples made by Dayun, the chief high-priest of the Mazdayasnian religion during the hundred years (of his life).” The form dayun in this Pahlavi passage, may be identified to a great extent with the Avesta word "danghu", which occurs in the names Danghu-fradanha and Danghu-sruta of persons whose farohars are remembered in the 116th para. of the Frawardin Yasht. Hence it might he assumed that the dayun here alluded to may be identical with one of these two Avesta names.

Mazdayasnian religion is (fitted) to make the world prosperous, and the laws of the Jewish faith are (calculated) to devastate the world, (it is, therefore, meet that) the kings who are to administer justice in accordance with pure precepts, and to profess the good doctrine of the Mazdayasnian religion, should keep aloof from the Jewish creed, and lead their lives according to the commandments of the Deity. – (7) One (of the monitions) uttered by him was that [in point of decisions] that ruler or prince is of high merit, who possess the religious supremacy in this world; that such a king should, therefore, be actually considered as the best of all just kings, and that his subjects should live in complete submission to his justice (equitable rule). – (8) A monition uttered by him was that if among those who follow the evil religions, there should perhaps be kings (intuitively) possessed of the superior justice pertaining to the final conditions, the justice of such rulers should be accepted, and their people should regard them as (they would do) Mazdayasnian rulers; they should praise and obey them, and should entertain worthy opinions about them (i.e. respect then in their thoughts and hearts) – (9) A monition uttered by him was that the religion of the Dadar [Creator] is calculated to obscure (to bring into disrepute) and imperceptibly to destroy the evil ways of the Blemish-giver. – (10) A monition uttered by him was that, through the power (influence) of the Dadar's doctrine, perfect failure in the end would overtake all the irreligious creatures of the destroyer, as well as the Blemish-giver himself.

The ten sayings of the justice-destroying and deceitful Rashn-e-Rish against the monitions of the justice-embellishing Holy Dayun (198)

Be it known that, (the following are) the ten sayings uttered by the justice-destroying, deceitful Rashn-e-Rish,[104] who resembled in external appearance the (priest) Akvan, of the (King) Karisak, against the justice-embellishing Holy Dayun. – (1) [One,] against the monition of the Holy Dayun that, for the sake, of the improvement of the harmless (people) in this world, one should punish, and thus expiate the guilt of, those who unlawfully oppress others – the

104 Rashn-e-Rish Ashmogh was a Rumi apostate ruler and priest, who flourished after Alexander, i.e. about 400 years after the spread of Zoroastrianism in the world. The prophecy regarding this Rashn-e-Rish, which was revealed to Zartosht by Ohrmazd, is given by this Denkard as follows: "When 400 years shall have passed over the Mazdayasnian religion, there will come on it trouble or corruption from those of the evil faith. During that period those who remain steadfast and true (in this world), will be afflicted by the tormentor Rashn-e-Rish-Ashmogh; and the (high-priest) Arezvak together with his three colleagues, (Sruto-spadhau, Zrayanghau, and Spento-Khratavau, vide Frawardin Yasht, para. 115) will confirm the fidelity of all who are the creatures of Spenamino."

deceitful Rashn-e-Rish proclaimed that men should cause the innocent to be injured, should punish them severely by the weight of their authority, and bestow proportionate rewards on those who are guilty of striking others unlawfully. – (2) [One,] against the monition of the Holy Dayun, that men, in order to be trustworthy, should retain in their possession only that wealth which is lawfully their own (property); but that they should return (fraj) that wealth which has not been given up (to them) by its rightful possessor (datar), and justly punish and cause to be expiated the sin of, whosoever appropriates (what does not belong to him) – the deceitful Rashn-e-Rish proclaimed that men should regard what is unlawful to be lawful (morally good), and transfer to the immoral and sinful the wealth and property of the innocent, the rightful possessors. – (3) [One,] against the monition of the Holy Dayun, that man should base their decisions on such evidence as might be deemed reliable by an upright judge, as well as on the authority or religion – the deceitful Rashn-e-Rish proclaimed that men should cast out from the world every upright judge or reliable witness. – [One,] against this monition of the Holy Dayun, that the divine justice be extolled, believed in, and glorified by the preservation of secular justice by a just king or priest – the deceitful Rashn-e-Rish proclaimed that true justice in this world contributes to the disturbance of justice in the next. –(5) [One,] against the monition of the Holy Dayun, that it (justice) be commended as the support of sovereignty and the medium of defense of the Mazdayasnian) faith, for the people of his world – the deceitful Rashn-e-Rish proclaimed to the world, that it should do nothing good, but should disturb the (Mazdayasnian) faith and sovereignty by promoting in this world the creed and virtues of the infidel and the Jews, as well as by such administration as strengthens perverseness and evil – (6) [One,] against the monition of the Holy Dayun, that men should extol that justice which is calculated to render the world prosperous, that they should love the just sovereign of the people, help the progress of the world, and keep aloof from such kings as bring about the deterioration of the people, contemn justice, and produce much misery in the world – the deceitful Rashn-e-Rish directed (people) to commend such administrations as cause the deterioration of the people, to love such kings, to subject the people (through such systems). to contemn the justice that brings prosperity into the world, to withdraw from upright kings, to degrade them in the world, and to make them inglorious or obscure. – (7) [One,] against the monition of the Holy Dayun that just kings (lit. kings of high power of discernment) should be regarded as the most excellent rulers (one could have) over oneself, and oneself, and that one should keep himself in perfect allegiance to their laws – the deceitful Rashn-

e-Rish proclaimed that sin is the adornment of the world, and a sinful king is its adorner. – (8) [One,] against the monition of the Holy Dayun that some of the decisions even of (kings of) the evil religion should be accepted (if they were as upright) as the ultimate justice (in heaven), and should be relied upon and that those professing the Mazdayasnian religion should submit to, and recommend them, – the deceitful Rashn-e-Rish proclaimed that the justice pertaining to the religion which is calculated to harmonize the world, is antagonistic to the wishes of the Creator and of the faith of existence (i.e. the faith contributing to prolong existence). – (9) [One,] against the assertion of the holy Dayun that robbery, infamy, and immorality, the original acts of the Destroyer, are real miseries – the deceitful Rashn-e-Rish on account of his having been (an adherent) of the Destroyer Ahriman, proclaimed that these (vices) are the ways that lead to the advancement of the world. – (10) [One,] against the assertion of the Holy Dayun that by the last judgment all the miserable creatures (muste) of the Blemish-giving Destroyer. will be confounded, and that the Blemish-giver himself will be over-thrown and revealed in all his infamy (anavtan) – the deceitful Rashn-e-Rish proclaimed the approaching of destruction by the Creator of the people of this world, of their final complete destruction and annihilation.

On the ten monitions of the piously-reared Adarbad Mahraspandan, and of other heads of the religion of the Holy Zartosht, from the exposition in the good religion. (199)

Be it known that, these are the ten monitions of the piously-reared Adarbad Mahraspandan, and of other heads of the religion of the Holy Zartosht. – (1) Do not nourish in the mind any unlawful spite, in order that a potent enemy may not overpower you. – (2) Do not hoard up riches avariciously, that the time of penury may not come soon on you. – (3) Be a welcomer of the good [ones] (i.e. be hospitable towards your guests), that in the next world they (i. e. the divine beings) may welcome you as good (righteous) ones. – (4) Marry a well-born woman that your progeny may walk in the path of rectitude. – (5) Deliver your true decision in the case of a plaintiff and a defendant, that you may be the more saved at the last judgment (in the next world). – (6) Abstain from unlawfully (needlessly) slaughtering cows, sheep, or goats, that no distress may happen unto you thereby at the (final reckoning). Do not consider this world as your permanent dwelling-place, for you will not long remain (in it). – (7) Expend the wealth of this world for the sake of God, and employ it on actions pertaining to Him, and trust always in the Almighty, for He

will be with you in such wise that you will become thereby the best in the body and the soul (mind). – (8) Exert yourself to store (pious) wealth (merit) for yourself in the next world, because only by the good which you do yourself, will you become a sharer in all the good deeds of the whole world. – (9) Make the Yazads dwellers (guests) in your person, because if you cause them to dwell in your body, you will be welcomed throughout the whole world. – (10) Improve yourself by means of the good doctrine, that you may be regarded throughout the world as one reformed.

The ten sayings of the incarnate druj Mani against the monitions of the piety-adorner, Adarbad Mahraspandan. (200)

(1) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad (Mahraspandan), the adorner of piety, that no unlawful spite ought to be cherished in the mind – the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that men should approve of rancor and other evil passions (druj) in themselves. – (2) [One], against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety, that riches should not be hoarded up avariciously – the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that men should cultivate avarice, consume, appropriate, and waste all the unlawfully hoarded wealth of mankind, and amass riches avariciously for (the benefit or) those who possess devilish inclinations to injure the people of this world. – (3) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety, to welcome the good [people] to be one's guests – the incarnate druj Mani, proclaimed that men should be hospitable towards the indolent. – (4) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety that one should marry a well-born woman – the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that men should unite in relationship (matrimony) with ill-born women, and regard their deceit as sinless acts. – (5) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety that one ought to be guided by a true judgment in the case of a plaintiff and a defendant – the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that the just decision of a judge should be spurned or cursed out of this world. – (6) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety, that men should abstain from unlawfully slaughtering cows, sheep, or goats – the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that men should in this world habitually rob the property or well-favored (huavtan) cattle of everybody, and thereby ruin mankind. – (7) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety, that men should regard this life as the time for continuing one's race (i.e., as the means of procreation) – the incarnate druj. Mani, proclaimed that by this act of procreation men would be led to commit the sin of kunmarz

(sodomy). – (8) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety, that the wealth of this world ought to be expended in (doing pious actions relating to) God – the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that the wealth of this world fitly belonged to him who committed sin by its means, and to him who bestowed it on the sinful. – (9) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety, that the wealth of the next world should be acquired for the sake of one's (soul) – the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that the wealth of the invisible world could be obtained, and men could well hope to be saved from hell, by embellishing (or diligent cultivation of) sinfulness in oneself (i.e. by giving a free rein to one's evil inclinations and passions). – (10) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety, that the druj (evil inclinations) ought to be banished from one's own person – the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that the druj should be cherished in man's body. – (11) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety, that the Yazads should be caused to reside in one's own person as guests, the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that the Yazads should not reside as guests in one's person, rather they should be excluded [from it.] – (12) [One,] against the monition of Adarbad, the adorner of piety, that one should improve himself and, the world, (i.e. his fellow creatures) by means of the good religion – the incarnate druj, Mani, proclaimed that the world should never be improved, rather it should be destroyed; by the constant blaze of the fire (of hell).

On the ten monitions of the immortal-souled Khosrow, the King of Kings, the son of Kobad, to the leaders of the Iranian Anjoman [congregation] for the authorizing of the religion of Ohrmazd, .(that his subjects might act according to its precepts). (201)

[105]One is that the best ruler in this world is actually that priest who

105 Shahanshah Khosrow Kobad was the name of the great Sasanian monarch Noshirwan the Just. He is said to have encouraged the spread of Zoroastrianism throughout his realm, and caused several works on it to be written by the learned dasturs of his time in the Pahlavi, Pazand, and Persian languages. It was this king who discovered and unmasked the impostures of Mazdak who had set up for a prophet, and who was put to death by order of the king. The memory of the farohar of this equitable king is preserved by the high-priests in the Afrin-e Panji, in which he is classed with the good spirits of distinguished upright judges, of religions monarchs who preserved the purity of their faith, and were an honor to their dominion. From the passage in the Pazand Prayer referred to it appears that Khosrow Kobad had during his reign devised measures to establish his kingdom as well as to restore the primitive glory of his religion. The passage runs as follows: "May the strength of this prayer be (reach) unto the immortal-souled farohar of Khosraw Kobad, and also unto those of all the glorious and honest judges, and of all the Mazdayasnians who restored the purity of their religion and embellished

expounds (to men) the mystic thoughts (manashne-varchin of the good religion), because such a priest inculcates on a religious sovereign ideas regarding the next world, in order that he may be united in pure (sacred) friendship with the Dadar [Creator] Ohrmazd, the Supreme Ruler of the invincible world. By the impression of the thought (revealed to the king) through his Righteous Friend, he (the ruler) will be identified (incorporated) with the pure friendship (of the good spirits), and will be possessed of the (knowledge of the) perfect wisdom of the Highest Ruler, of the zeal to speak and act (on His behalf), and of the perfect goodness which will help him in both worlds. – (2) One is that people should extol the good religion for (the purpose of drawing themselves into) communion with Ohrmazd; (they should extol) truthful thought for (i.e. to acquire the habit of) speaking with good-sense; and (praise) liberality for (the performance of) those actions which are best and most acceptable (to God and man). – (3) One is that just as certain (darveste) pecuniary grants (puhl) are obtained (from Government) by the leaders of the Mazdayasnian religion, so such grants be made by every means to the orthodox people (vavrigan) (by the king's subjects). – (4) One is that the impostors who taught a vile doctrine, should be sternly tormented and diminished (banished) from Iran. – (5) One is that in order to be grounded (karde) in the attributes of the Deity and in the ways of the Yazads, one ought to learn (chashashne kardan) the Manthras and the Yasna of the religion with the help of (min) the teachings and writings (karde) of the disciples of Adarbad Mahraspandan, who was from (i.e. an inhabitant of) the city of Gilan. – (6) One is that the pious people who carefully tend the propitious fire, and who perform the functions of the yozdathregar with the good (consecrated) waters, should be reverenced and not diminished from the cities of Iran. – (7) One is that the knowledge of the Mazdayasnian religion, which is the gift of (producing) goodness in the thought (workings) of conscience (manashne-ahu) should be exemplified by perfect endeavors, and that persons of orthodox habits be guided towards the means of (acquiring) happiness (in the next world), and be strongly fortified, and guarded against evil impostors. – (8) One is that the performers of the yazashne of the Deity, be aggrandized in the cities of Iran, whereby the evil connection with demons be destroyed; the idol-temples broken, and the infidel idolaters thrown out. – (9) One is that one should yield up (his) body and soul to keep our (Zoroastrian) religion current (in the world), and to spread in the world the thoughts and rites contributing to happiness (faradin). – (10) One is, – "Let your vigor be employed in helping on your own relations (co-religionists), and let your own spite towards your enemy be dismissed

their sovereignty."

from yourself (i.e. from your heart.)

On the ten (sayings) of Gurgi, who with the object of destroying the Iranian cities that professed the good religion, stimulated the citizens (of Iran) to hostile (varde) enterprises, led souls to (acts worthy of) imprisonment (in Hell), and deliberately tormented the vital principle; who was a wicked tyrant with the authority of the evil religion. (202)

(1) [One,] the impostor, the ashmogh Gurgi,[106] who had a fluent tongue, a heart permeated with boundless avarice, and who was of a disreputable person and descent, proclaimed that for much satisfaction to oneself the greatness of the authority and wealth of this world should be concealed from (i.e. deprecated in) the public. – (2) [One,] the same Gurgi, the impostor, asked for the aid of a royal garment, dignity and splendor, a throne and a crown for his inglorious person. – (3) [One,] he demanded that he himself should be nominated the premier of those who made the religion of Ohrmazd current (in the world), and that the Iranian people should fight for his (recognition as the) secular and spiritual lord of the whole material world, and (moreover, he asserted) that the naked Gurgi tribe, the devils with disheveled hair, thus imposed upon, should gather themselves together, and come forward, and push themselves into the provinces of Iran, as a marauding, besieging, and warring (varde-tokhshashni) army, – (4) [One,] he proclaimed that the (sacred) fire should be extinguished, struck, or injured, that the earth should be defiled or contaminated, and the gospands [livestock] slaughtered without number or discrimination, that such actions be performed as were calculated to keep men separate from each other and in discord, and (thus) the creatures of Ohrmazd be diminished (banished from this world). – (5), [One,] he proclaimed (that his adherents) should cause the people to be seduced by any mode of preaching or (other) action, from extolling their religion. – (6) [One,] he proclaimed that men should reduce [lit. make lean] in the cities of Iran the authority of the spiritual and secular lordship of the (Zoroastrian) religion. – (7) [One,] he proclaimed that the human existences on the soil of Iran should be rendered sinful and strengthened in their (evil) habits, and that the men of that country be turned from the religion of Ohrmazd to the evil nature, to the habits and (wicked) glamour of the Demon, and be allowed to fall into enmity against good knowledge, into listening to what is evil, and into shameful and dishonest (breach of)

106 According to the *Denkard*, Book 7, and the *Shah-nameh*, Gurgi was an impostor, and had set up for a priest and promulgator of the Mazdakian [Mazdakite] creed.

promise; also that mankind should be injured [wounded] by the hopes belonging to evil worship, and should be given the evil practices of sodomy and of other vices, in order to aid the destructive power of Ahriman. – (8) [One,] he proclaimed that vile people should be exalted, and the great overthrown. – (9) [One,] he proclaimed that men should be trained up to frustrate the (ends of) prosperity-producing liberality, and to lead their lives (under forms of belief) blended with damaging sins. – (10) [One,] he proclaimed that men be taught to be hostile to [the] profitable creatures, and to form wicked friendship with men wolfish and pernicious in (their) nature. – (11) [One,] he proclaimed that imprisonment for sins and the fear of being burnt in hell should be regard as trivial. – (12) [One,] these were the ten world-defrauding, wicked sayings (of Gurgi), which encouraged every evil (perverse) religion, (and which were issued) against the ten monitions of him (Khosraw-e Kobadan) who had advanced the people of this world for preventing the illness (i.e. evil) of all others of the true religion.

Exposition in the good religion regarding goodness, and the origin of goodness, and the course of goodness, and (regarding) a person on the side of goodness, and the medium of goodness, and the cause of goodness, and the impressions produced by meditations upon it, and (regarding) the upholder of goodness (at the beginning, the middle and the end of the world); and (regarding) evil, and the origin of evil, and the course of evil, and one on the side of evil, and the method of evil, and the cause of evil, and the impressions produced by meditations upon it, and (regarding) the upholder of evil (at the beginning, the middle and the end of the world.) (203)

Be it known that, the goodness of virtuous people is (arises) from the Spenamino. The origin of goodness is the oneness with the good religion, which exalts every man to a high position, and ministers benefit to him. And the course of goodness is due to the instrumentality of that good friend (of the religion), who in his life is identified (hamnimvand) with one that conducts himself in conformity with its wisdom, and who lays aside the perverse knowledge (of evil creeds), and whose desires, ability, and talents (occupation) may, likewise, be on the side of the good religion; who is well-known as the promoter of goodness in that and in this world, and from whom would originate (dehashne) the most powerful

advancement of the first (most excellent degree of) goodness. The conception of the divine wisdom is due to the divine light (accorded to men). Whatever men perceive or conceive in this world regarding the good religion, is to be ascribed to it; and it is by the craving for goodness (virtue) that men are adapted for the power of doing good, for ingenuity, industry, and courage; and whosoever has this power of doing good, can perform thereby righteous actions in this world.

He is on the side of goodness who is cognizant of the final (future) condition of the soul, and who is not without (that knowledge of) its final state; since, while in his life, he is worthy and laudable in himself, and keeps off from himself illness, decay, languor, sinfulness, and the delusions of his soul, which render one's life ignoble and blameworthy.

The medium of goodness in men is the natural gift of virtue from the Creator Ohrmazd, the Father and Lord of the Creation, – The cause of it (goodness) is the reaching forth of benefits to his fellow-creatures from the person who has a craving desire for it, and for the (consequent) growth of virtue amongst the people of this world. – The honest impression (idea) about goodness, is the religion which has sprung up for (the purpose of propagating) it (i.e. goodness). Its offspring are as follows: wisdom, and a good nature, and modesty, and love, and liberality, and truth, and thankfulness, as well as other good qualities. On account of it (virtue) the Amahraspands and all other invisible Yazads themselves unite to render human life (passed in virtue) healthy, and to advance it by means of prosperity, authority, religious philosophy, meritorious piety, and by various other kinds or felicities pertaining to the good creatures of this world. In the beginning virtue was made current (in this world) by the Creator and Upholder of the Universe, Who by means of their relation (to the Prophet), will restore His creatures, and avert evil (from them) in the middle ages (myane) of this world; while towards its end He will completely overpower (annihilate) the Blemish-giver, and endow his creatures with deliverance (from hellish penalties), purity, eternal felicity and brightness. The people of evil take their existence from (i.e. owe their evil vices to) the ill-informed Ganamino himself.

The source of evil is that (Ganamino), who is the embodiment of evil, and who conducts mankind to grievous (rnadam) harm. The prevalence of evil is the result of Ganamino's thrusting (into this world) such mischievous practices as false declaration, bewilderment [darkness], and faithless breach of promise. The craving, power, occupation (exertion), skill, ideas, and discrimination (nimane) of one on the side of evil, are made known (to us) by those evil-doers who keep themselves absorbed in evil actions. Whosoever teaches or

meditates upon the bewilderment and promise-breaking of the most evil (Ahriman), will be sure to crave for the power, (wicked) occupation, skill, discrimination and ideas, which pertain to that most evil one, and by means of which people perpetrate evil deeds in this world. – Whosoever is on the side of evil is debarred from any thought of his own final condition. How can lie remain without (avoid) damnation to himself in that final condition? He is proved thereby unworthy and devoid of commendation; since the desert and commendableness of men are owing to their life being free from illness, decay, decline, misery, and the evil pain of damnation. The medium of evil in this and in the next world, as well as the origin of all evil, is Ganamino, the imparter of blemish to mankind. The cause of the approach of evil to created beings, is the craving of the wicked Blemish-giver for injury, by doing harm and imparting blemish to the creatures of Spenamino; such a craving belongs to all that constitute the source and means of evil impelling him to perpetrate all kinds of injury. – The evil-minded ones are the farehbut and the aibibut, and the whelp (khun-noshe, lit. the young one of a wolf, tiger, or lion) of evil is vice, and the offspring of vice are avarice, wrath, spite, envy, lying, sinfulness, niggardlincss, ingratitude, and other defects. Hence proceeds the evil-sway of the demons and the Drujs, and hence proceeds in regard to men the tyranny, imposture, spiritual illness, penury, knowledge of evil, sinfulness, deceitful training, and distress and destruction unto all other creatures of this world. – In the beginning the progress of evil was owing to the Blemisher of the world; in the middle ages it was owing to the warring and tumult among the associates of Ahriman; but in the final period (of this world) it will be banished by the good Spenamino by means of his wise (prudent) advancement of virtue. – There are priests (kesh-yaran) who belong to the Original One, and their religion pertains to the Source of Spenamino (i.e. Ohrmazd); and it is good and praiseworthy and in it the (faith of the) evil Ganamino, is called the condemned or accursed (nekhite).

Exposition in the good religion regarding those who are devoted to (the knowledge of) the Avesta and the Commentary upon it. (204)

Be it known that, the mystical knowledge relating to the wisdom of the Lord, is acquired by the Yazads by means of their conference with Him; and they convey the knowledge unto mankind in the form of divine (madam) prophetic intelligence (vakhsh). So whatever sublime prophecies from God, are foretold to people innumerable by the Yazads are conveyed to men who are by nature and by birth good

(Mazdayasnians), by mutual oral conversations. Of all those who are devoted to (the knowledge of) the Avesta, firstly the good-natured (righteous) persons acquire the knowledge of the Mazdayasnian religion by vocal intercourse with the (Yazads); and secondly they perceive (understand) the contents (of the Avesta) by meditating upon every word; and they teach these who have a craving for comprehending it literally, by inserting a useful commentary between two different sentences.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the recognition therein of the extent of relationship or non-relationship to the Mazdayasnian religion among men. (205)

Be it known that, men who are allied (to the religion), and love it, (are of the following description); and their love (for the religion) is exhibited by two different modes of thinking. (There are some), who display in their thoughts their love of the Mazdayasnian religion, and are not attached to demon worship. (There are some), who hold friendly ideas towards divine and towards demon worship. But their alliance to divine worship is greater, and their alliance to demon worship less. Again (there are some), whose object it is to love both the demon and the divine worship; (but among them) the attachment to demon worship is greater, and the relation to divine worship is less. Again, (there are some), whose object it is to be intimate with (i.e. to attach themselves to) demon worship, and who display their total alliance with demon worship, and their holding aloof from divine worship. One should accordingly (numaide) recognize the merits of a man of the religion, and with the knowledge acquired from time (experience), estimate the dignity of every preceptor according to the extent to which he is in communion with the pure religion.

Exposition in the good religion regarding (the fact that) Ohrmazd is the Self-existent One, from Him are manifested the spiritual and material creations, and the other one (i.e. Ahriman) is different from Him. (206)

Be it known that, Ohrmazd Himself is the Beneficent Spirit, and is all powerful in goodness and glory [lit. light]. He himself is pure, and is the Creator of all the good creatures of this world and the next. He is the Giver unto the soul of the power of beholding both worlds, and of doing actions pertaining to both. Whosoever is endowed with good [substance] (i.e. whosoever is so enabled to perform righteous

actions), meditates upon the spirit of eternity (Spenamino) and the spirit of darkness (Ahriman).

He (i.e. God) bestows on man a soul endowed with conscience in this world, that he may discern what is good, (and what is evil in this world and the next), and may, therefore, accomplish good deeds pertaining to both. Among all the good and evil people of this world, whosoever performs good actions, appertains to the Good Lord, and whosoever perpetrates evil, appertains to Darkness. He also endows the spirit of man in this world with the power of perceiving and performing good actions relating to both (the worlds). Good is always through the (good) invisible powers; and the virtue (of man) itself is owing to the divine spirits. The spiritually good condition of man himself is owing to his pious communion with the Spenamino of Ohrmazd, the Yazads and other good spirits. His aspect as being himself of (the nature of) the other perverse one (Ahriman), is owing to the constant imparting unto him of the evil power by the dispenser of the wicked glamour. He that is the bestower of this wicked glamour, is himself impure. Every dispenser of (good or evil) power dispenses (his good or evil influences), in order to render man like himself. That dispensation of the (good) power, (which is) from Ohrmazd, renders man (aobash) adapted for pure or holy communion (ham-pasije) with Himself. Those creatures that are useful and related to Ganamino the Destroyer, or to the demons, and Drujs, and their other tormenting confederates, are manifested by their own gifts of (evil) power (i.e. by the evil influence imparted to them by Ganamino and his wicked companions) – The religion of the priests (kesh-yardan) whose creed is evil and without any moral goodness, should be mentioned as that of Ganamino, and it must not be referred to [lit. spoken of] as pertaining to Spenamino.

Exposition in the good religion regarding (the fact) that it is inappropriate to blend together whatever is worthy with the perverse object. (207)

Be it known that, the perverse object could not be blended with the one that is deserving; for every (deserving object) itself in order to be worthy of its Creator, causes noble actions; while every (perverse object) tends to destroy every thing for the sake of the destroyer (Ahriman). The one pertains to the Farsighted One (i.e. God), the other to the accursed one (Ahriman). How can they be related to one another? From the respective ruler over each of these, there result unto men wisdom or evil knowledge, truth or falsehood, complacency or arrogance, liberty or niggardliness, benignity or cruelty; light or darkness, etc. Of these the one that is endowed with wisdom, and is

also handsome, is deserving of praise; the one that is possessed of evil knowledge, and is hideous (in appearance), is contemned. So if a union with perverse one (Ahriman), be manifested in man, the existence of similar (evil) designs in him, is owing to the admixture in him of the element pertaining to Ahriman. And (such a person) feel. no good reverence for the One Knowing (Creator); and without (imbibing) the knowledge of that One Knowing Lord, he cannot see his own shortcomings and his contemptible ugliness. He is, therefore, unfit to he (associated) with all beautiful (i.e. virtuous) and praiseworthy people. How was it possible then that the One, Who saw with (the eye of) wisdom, would blend together the perverse thing (with) what was worthy (or righteous ?) – Again, the planting and the pruning (of a tree) are not (acts) different from one another, but they correspond (one with the other); they rather improve one another; because the tree that is planted, is rendered suitable (for growth) by pruning it, and because the pruning is the cause of its perfect symmetry. So to call death the cause of life (in this world), is (warrantable) for this reason that through death life is to be rendered worthy (of happiness in the next world), or that death is the cause of the perfection of (human) life (by means of virtue) – How is it possible for the priests [lit. the friend. of religion], who are in correspondence with the Creator, to suffer themselves to be in unison with the Destroyer and with other perverse people? One who is gifted with the eyes of wisdom, could not be in concord with one who is without any religion. The religion of those priests is the sublime (Mazdayasnians) doctrine. How can the wisdom of the Creator be (reconciled with) the evil faith of the Destroyer? – Since (the faith founded) in truth is laudable, and that in falsehood is abhorrent. Likewise, he who is complacent (bande-manashne) is deserving of praise, and he who is arrogant, is fit to be contemptible. Likewise, whosoever is liberal, is praiseworthy; and whosoever is niggardly, despicable. Likewise whosoever exists in light, is said to he of good aspect; and whosoever exists in darkness, of ugly appearance. – Again, the sky and the earth which appertain to the Creator, are not different from one another, (but they also correspond one with the other), and both (these creations) are to be extolled. So also the sun, moon and stars; and so also water and plants; and so also mankind and gospands [livestock]; and so also religion and sovereignty; and so also intellect, reason and sense; and so also the soul and the body; and so also modesty and affection; and so also gratitude and integrity; and all such things are different from one another; but they are all advantageous (creations), and deserve to be extolled.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the wisdom, will, work, and period of Ohrmazd. (208)

Be it known that, Ohrmazd by means of His omniscient wisdom, fulfills every deliberate object of His desire pertaining to the work in the finite period. The consummation of that work in the finite period will extend from the beginning (of this world) to its end. That work having been accomplished, men will at last be rendered worthy of the dawning period of (paradisiacal) felicity. Then shall begin the infinite time (of happiness), and then shall happen the final renovation, the impoverishment [annihilation] of the Drujs the resurrection of the dead, and the attainment of the final body, and the redemption (from hell) of the people of this world; and hence mankind shall live in eternal felicity, and in splendor, and with immutable wisdom, will, action, and (endless) time. – And whatever desire may then happen to be meditated upon by men, that meditation will be an appropriate one. And in order that the final renovation may be propagated in that period, every creature shall be guided by its connection with the Mazdayasnian religion; and (in that period) every creature with a pious soul shall attain to the dignity (proclaimed by) the Mazdayasnian religion, that it may be identified with the final reformation; that the wishes and acts of mankind may accord with the precepts of the Mazdayasnian religion; that every one may attain the final benefit from Ohrmazd; and that he who attempted to destroy this world may ever remain in misery. In that (infinite) time those stubborn ones who are unceasingly destructive, shall be finally destroyed, while those who have been deluded by the wicked one (Ahriman) in this world, shall then be rendered (by means of punishment) capable of benefit from Ohrmazd. And hence (it proves that) Ohrmazd's wisdom, will, and object, are beneficial unto all creatures, and are worthy of being immuted.

The priests, who every day (strive to) withdraw men by means of their preaching (sakhuni) from the will of Ohrmazd, are such preachers of this world as actually serve to fill the region of hell with men. They who regard belief of such priests as the divine religion, are those people, who entertain a desire for non-existence (in the next world), and who multiply the demons. – The race of such mischievous priests serves to represent Ganamino in this world.

Exposition in the good religion regarding man being the sharer of (the nature of) his original ancestor. (209)

Be it known that, man is the sharer of (the nature of) his original

ancestor, and that in two ways: – The one appertains to the spiritual existence (alone), the other to the spirituo-corporeal existence. Whosoever is devoted to the spirit (alone) is on the side of the Creator, and does not turn away (from Him). Whosoever is devoted to the spirit in association with the body, turns (to the side of goodness or evil) according to the change of his actions. Whosoever is devoted to the spirit in association with the body, restores himself to his Creator by means of his own (guiding) spirit. That living men move about or act for the benefit of the soul, or for the performance of deeds pertaining to it, is on account of the soul being in a bodily frame. Men themselves incline to two different sides (good or evil); either to the side of the Spiritual (happy) existence, or to that of this world existence. – The ruler of the former one, is the soul.

Thus, if a person is in correspondence with the Amahraspands, and sides with them, he is (naturally) on the side of his ruler (i.e. he attains the spiritual happy existence). But if a person in this worldly body is not in accord with the soul (or conscience), he resembles the gospands [livestock] and other animals having bodily organism; that is to say, that person becomes devoid of (real) human existence. Under the sovereignty of Ohrmazd, human life is dignified with immortality, because of the (good) actions which it is capable of by means of the (righteous) activity of this animate organic existence of this world. Man is considered to be worthy of this world on account of his righteous actions. The animate organic, human being becomes himself an adherent of the Creator (avash-nimvand) owing to his being not united with the Blemish-giver. This animate material man will thereby attain immortality, just as Gayomard did before the Blemish-giver, and as all men will do at the epoch of the *Tanepasin*; which immortality will be of a different kind from that of the gospands [livestock], seeing that these animate material gospands are not endowed with intellect. Although these are also animate organisms, still they are without that dignified immortal existence (which chiefly subsists in communion with the good spirits). On account of (the attainment of) that dignified immortal existence, man is never devoid of his (spiritual) personality. For that reason every man who lives in purity in this worldly life, is on the side of immortality; while he who during this material life, is united with the Blemish-giver, is worthy of damnation (in the next world). Accordingly, every living man who is on the side of his own soul(or conscience), is so from his original ancestor (Gayomard). Again, when man in this animate organic frame is actually on the side of his own soul, he is immortal in purity in this worldly life, whereas he who in this animate organism is in connection with the Blemish-giver, is liable to damnation (in the next world). every man who is on the side

(either of good or evil), is endowed with life and speech, and is mortal. 'The soul wherewith he was originally constituted, when blended with (i.e. affected by the nature of) the Blemish-giver in this animate, organic or bodily existence, shall live in damnation (in hell). And as to the spirit (of man) that speaks (righteously), it (i.e. the speaking righteously) is due to the power of conscience within, and its utterances of wisdom are the result of its union with the angelic power of consciousness.

Again, the departure of such a spirit from the organic power of Gayomard, was due to the entrance of the Blemish-giver into it. Moreover it was on account of the exit of the soul from the body that the power of (animal) life and speech died away (from him). So long as the animate organic person of Gayomard lived in purity, his power of life and speech existed.

Whosoever is endowed with a soul, and is like unto man (in this body), reveres and obeys (God) like his original ancestor, (reveres and obeys) the One Creator Who is the source of religion and justice, he accordingly resembles his forefathers up to the primitive man (Mashye); and for this reason, because the interpretation of the name Mashye would be "the male being that reveres and is endowed with speech," while the interpretation of the name Mashyane would be "the female being that reveres and is endowed with speech." And they are as it were the original ancestors, the cause of the continuity of the beneficial human creation to the time of the *Frashegird*. Accordingly, those who are connected with the period of the Frashegird through the good religion, will by that means bestow on mankind the benefit of the Frashegird. – Such men (as are destined to renovate the world) will particularly descend (from primitive ancestors) as for instance from Syamak and Fravak. Again, the names of Syamak and Fravak are translated "whosoever holds forward the chain of future advantages." The thought (i.e. the object) of these (two) was (to be the ancestors of) a perfect race of mankind at the time of the final beneficial renovation.

They were also from the beginning the cause – the ancestors who protected the world, guided the world, and advanced the improvement of the people of the world. The protection of the world is only possible through those who guide the world. He (i.e. the king) who directed the world, for the purpose of being united in the work of the Frashegird, contributed to the final protection and improvement of mankind by protecting and improving this world. The first ancestors who were concerned in that (righteous work), were for instance Asrite and Hooshang. Again the interpretation of the name Asrite would be "one who practices tillage," end the interpretation of

the name Hooshang would be "one who aims at kingship"; the latter also was himself a worshipper of Ohrmazd, and had thoroughly improved mankind (by virtue of his religion).

Again, mankind had (originally) attained to this knowledge (of the Mazdayasnian religion) through these five ancestors. For instance, faithfulness to the wisdom of the religion from Gayomard, obedience to God from Mashye and Mashyane the attainment of union with the Beneficent (Soshyant) from Syamak and Fravak, the ways of protecting the world and of guiding it from Asrite and Hooshang. It is through them that men are enabled to improve and guide themselves in this world, to propagate with vigor their own race for the time of the final renovation, to drive away the druj and to bestow on the whole world the benefits pertaining to the period of the final reformation.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the attainment of foresight (i.e. knowledge of the future [prophesy]) by man. (210)

Be it known that in the corporeal man the power of akho (i.e. the power of the spiritual apprehension of good and evil) is itself pure vision; and as long as that spiritual vision subsists together with the acquirement of wisdom, the attainment of foresight by man is possible. The man (that has attained to foresight) ever inculcates on the living the thought conducive to their happiness (in the next world); he is the imparter of the wisdom acquired (from the vohuman), and is more triumphant (in life) through that forethought, and through that all-ornamented (sublime) forethought, of the Mazdayasnian religion. The thought of future happiness is a power of perception in the akho, which always serves to keep (man) free from sin. The thought that is conducive to happiness (in the next world), leads to meritoriousness, and keeps man aloof from the druj, consequently from avarice, spite, immoral thought, disgrace, vengeance, and such other corrupting causes of sin, and it bestows on him freedom from evil passions. And hence Vohuman and other Yazads who are the media of righteousness, impel him to righteous actions, as long as the man is in conformity with their thoughts.

Exposition in the good religion regarding (the idea) that the auspicious union with the acquirement of good success, is attainable by man in order that he may become worthy (in this World) by means of the seven grades (leading) to the most exalted rank (pertaining to mankind. (211)

Be it known that, the auspicious union with the acquirement of good success, is attainable by man in order that he may become worthy (in this world) by means of the following seven grades (leading) to the most exalted rank or ways manifested for him by the religion. – The first (of these) concerns the purity of the soul which is attained by performing actions in accordance with the will of the Almighty, and with the sublime ways of the good religion, which (act) is the outcome of the fortunate source of worthiness in man. In order that man should be meritorious, the second grade concerns his healthy movement or career, by which a suitable life is possible. The third concerns the long life belonging to the soul, whereby permanency (i.e. an unending existence) is possible through a healthy career. The fourth concerns the courageous wealth whereby man can achieve actions and taste the sweets pertaining to both the worlds. The fifth is the overpowering (of one's enemy), and the obtaining of victory (over him), which enables a man to protect his wealth and himself from his enemies. The sixth concerns the foreknowledge of the resources to overpower one's enemies, whereby one can obtain victory over them. And that which is the seventh in these seven is the highest of these seven grades which pertain to man, whereby he would be more exalted in greatness or good fortune than other individuals.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the reason why, in a person who is by nature good, there exists the power of goodness that leads him to (the path of) exaltation, and why in an evil-natured person, there exists the power of evil that leads him to a low condition; and why, by the retraction of the power of exaltation, man is manifested as growing worse in his nature, and why (by the retraction of) depravity he is, manifested as being better in his nature. (212)

Be it known that, men are good or evil-natured because of the good qualities or evil infirmities (in them). The good qualities are due to their union with the divine glory [Khwarrah? - JHP], whereas the evil qualities are due to their correspondence with the evil shadow (i.e. the

influence of Ahriman). The divine glory emanates from the Spenamino, and hence the intentions of men are adapted to a good nature; while the evil shadow is from the Ganamino; and hence the intentions of men are conducive to an evil nature. The more glorious one (Spenamino) accumulates the better qualities in a good-natured person, and consequently the latter is a creature of the good principle [lit. origin]. In a man of the good principle exist most excellent attributes of the most glorious one (Spenamino): intuitive good sense, thought of obedience (unto God), liberality, truth, and other good qualities; and hence his person is graceful, and he is free from the anxiety to alleviate his debt (i.e. sin, in order to save himself from hell.) – In an evil-natured person the pouring in of this evil nature is on account of the evil shadow (of Ahriman). Whosoever has been under that evil shadow, embellishes (or perfects) evil habits, and is a creature of the evil principle; and by reason of the dwelling of the one (Ahriman) who is devoid of greatness, in one of the evil principle, there exist in him such evil qualities as by their growth produce corruption in men: (viz.) perverse thought, avarice, arrogance, wrath, niggardliness, sin, (elements of) damnation, (moral) blindness, and other adverse practices which pertain to the contemptible crimes of evil religions. – By the admixture of the divine influence of Spenamino in a human creature, the latter prospers and is the origin of good qualities. By the connection with the evil shadow of Ganamino, man is liable to suffer imprisonment and is the origin of evil qualities. The highest welfare in man is owing to his union with exalted virtues; and his being impure and corrupted through evil qualities, is due to his predisposition towards those defects. – From good qualities there is no ruin (unto man), but immense welfare. (In a man by nature good subsist) good sense, complacent thought, liberality, truth, and all other good qualities of the Spenamino himself, that lead him to a high position. Thus, he shines (in this world) on account of his high rank, teeming prosperity, and brilliant complexion. Whosoever is in correspondence with Ganamino, the Blemish-giver, remains in a base condition by not remedying his evil defects, he does not become known (to the world) by reason of his base and adverse condition. On account of the low power of guidance in him, his high qualities are eclipsed, and hence his incurable defects predominate in him. And in order to macerate him there come on him lowness and misery, (all idea of the) greatness of the vices that are blended with the Blemish-giver, and the apparent glamour of the vices that are incurable. Whosoever is evil-natured and ill-born, in him predominate (afraje) such sin-advancing (defects) as perverse (immoral) thought, avarice, wrath, arrogance, niggardliness. falsehood, (moral) blindness and deafness, and other personal evil

qualities; hence he is alienated from his family-gatherings. And [notwithstanding his slight good qualities], the lowness of his defects casts him into wretchedness. On account of his inward evil inclinations (prompted) by his evil qualities, he approaches obscurity. The oppressive defects that lead him to degradation keep his soul without the light of religion, on account of its degraded condition, and imparts to it the glamour of evil defects; and hence through the depravity resulting from his inward evil habits he is devoid of the brilliance (of virtue). Good qualities lead man to greatness, and therefore to good resources. Good qualities lead his person into notoriety.

It is the doctrine of the (Mazdayasnian) religion, that the Yazads pray for the welfare and happiness of the good, who further the praise and worship of the Almighty and for distress and misery unto the bad. Besides, from them (i.e. the Yazads) comes also unto the pious the exposition of (what) sin (is). Of the pious who are to obtain (freedom from hell), the first (i.e. the best) pious man is he who attains to happiness, celebrity, and goodness of the soul by choosing for himself the masters (i.e. the Amahraspands) who possess brilliant and shining persons; and by accepting them as his associates. – The second is (he who grows pious) by bestowing happiness on others, by reverential bearing towards those to whom respect is due, by protecting the female sex as its lord, and by causing his colleagues or associates to perform good actions through effecting their own union with the Yazads. – The third one is that king of the world, who encourages pious people by dint of his worldly authority, exalts the Mazdayasnian religion, and debases the evil faith; who welcomes good government, and bestows (increased) power on good rulers; who spreads justice in the world, extends prosperity and felicity among mankind by fertilization (of the soil), good administration, and a good aspect (of affairs). – The first (i.e. the worst) prisoner (of hell), by reason of the evil shadow (of the demons) over him, and by his choice for himself of the *evil master* (Ahriman), is manifested as unworthy and, afflicted, infamous and of evil soul. – The second one is so on account of his being a distresser of others, of his hatred of people to whom respect is due, discourtesy towards women, and by not rendering his associates virtuous, through the evil influence (over him). – The third one is that king of the world who encourages the sinful by dint of his authority in this world, deprecates the Mazdayasnian religion and exalts the evil faith; who welcomes evil rulers, creates those persons rulers, that issue evil orders; in order that misery, sterility or, barrenness, and evil influence may prevail in the world, and embarrassment and affliction happen unto mankind.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the retrogression of exalted people, that is (regarding) deterioration from exaltation, or the self-deterioration of one from the condition of being exalted. (213)

Be it known that., the cause of the exaltation of exalted people is owing to their connection with the best lineage that is related to the original virtuous one; hence, man is possessed of the means of exaltation. That the person of such a man is rendered of a good nature and of a pious character, is due to his union with that good lineage; and (hence) the pious one of a good nature is saved (from hell). The cause of the deterioration of low people is due to the influence of the corrupting original one, which pervades men; and hence their tendency to deterioration. And the person of such a man is, on account of his union with evil descent, rendered of an evil nature, of a character deserving punishment, [and of a conduct associated with vice]; hence he is liable to meet with punishment (in hell). Because in the good age (dyen shapiraoban) pious people of a good nature, being devoid of meanness, stealth (nehoftagi), and obscurity (apaetaki), shall ever (amarganih) attain to sovereignty (ahupataki), greatness, and notoriety; whereas the sinful, that arc liable to punishment, and devoid of authority, greatness, and notoriety, shall come to stealth, meanness, and obscurity. And in the evil age the evil-natured sinful men that are liable to punishment, shall attain to sovereignty, greatness and notoriety, on account of their stealth meanness, and obscurity, and the pious people of a good nature, shall turn stealthy, mean, and obscure. Accordingly, the exaltation (or retrogression) of men is foreshadowed by the essential causes wherewith they are surrounded (levatman) in life. The evil age or its close, and the good age or the work relating to it, arc respectively evidenced by the retrogression of high people, and by the exaltation (through virtue) of the low.

Again, in the evil age there might (also) occur from one, who has attaincd a high position, protection, kindliness, noble-mindedness, moral bearing, liberality and other good qualities (manifested) towards his virtuous relations. Likewise, from a deteriorated condition there might issue truthfulness and exaltation. By the Mazdayasnian religion there is exaltation (unto men) from their own base condition, since people innumerable do, by means of its doctrine, attain to felicity in evil ages, and the low become thereby exalted. – Whosoever through his evil mind, accepts the evil succor (of the demons), has evil designs, a mischievous person, and is very spiteful and afflicted (by his own vicious passions).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the extensive propagation constant in the world, of the good religion, its power and its achievements. (214)

Be it known that, the manifestation in this world of the good religion is by its constant extensive propagation; since by means of its propagation by all orthodox people, there will occur among men, through the good religion, remembrance of the Yazads, and praise of truth and goodness, and hatred of falsehood and evil, and of whatever is embarrassing on account of an evil faith. The religion of the Dadar [Creator] is (ordained) for the performance of good actions by all pious and religious people, whereas the evil faith is for the performance of evil actions.

Sovereignty, devotion, protection of the poor, keeping cattle at liberty, and many other truly meritorious actions as well as the gifts pertaining thereto, are the result of the good religion, whereby the people, who are obedient unto God, are said to be of the good ways (i.e. principles). – In those people whose creed comprehends falsehood and sinning, there is but little power of doing the following really meritorious deeds. – The power of the good religion restrains [lit. improves] mankind from treading in the path of impurity; its sovereignty leads to the extension of their race (paevandashne); its guidance of the people of this world to purity, curtails (the power of) the Blemish-giver.-The cleansing of the people of this world from failings and corruption of all kinds, prepares them for the everlasting (region of) full resplendence, and in such wise that a single motive of one's advance into impurity being known, he shall (essay to) promote goodness, and curb evil, and guide himself by those sublime meditations that tend to destroy all devilish propensities within. By means of firm reliance on it (i.e. the religion) by men, the people of this world shall be altogether improved through goodness; and as a consequence Ganamino shall be severely afflicted. By virtue of the good religion, Ganamino shall be severed by Spenamino from every object and action pertaining to the Frashegird, while the spread of the Frashegird (i.e. final reformation) shall follow the propagation (in this world) of the good conceptions in the Mazdayasnian religion.

Exposition in the good religion regarding man being acceptable for the purpose of his communion (with God), or for (righteous) actions, by means of his connection with the good creatures, and his forbearance from the avaricious creatures. (215)

Be it known that, the specification of the grades of men from the

highest one to the lowest, is according to these six ways. The first and highest (man) is he, who lives (hustigan) through virtue, and is devoid of evil. – The second is he, who lives for the sake of good, (and) does not live for the sake of evil. – The third is he who lives for the sake of both good and evil.-The fourth is he who lives for the sake of evil, but does not live through virtue. – The fifth is he who neither lives [both] through goodness nor through evil. – The sixth and lowest is he who by leading (his) life in evil, destroys what is good. – Whosoever leads a life in virtue, and (a life) devoid of evil, is the highest one among men, and preferable for friendship (with God) and for (righteous) actions. – And whosoever is in union with the good creation (i.e. the Yazads and the Amahraspands), always refrains from the evil-doing avaricious nature. – Whosoever subverts goodness by leading (his) life in evil, is cut off from acceptance for the highest communion and for (righteous) actions; whereas whosoever is united with the good creation, always abstains from the evil-doing avaricious nature. (Men following) these two ways, are included among the four (kinds mentioned) in the middle (of this section.) – Whosoever leads his life in virtue, and does not live through evil, is near unto the highest grade by his choice of high friendship, (of great) actions, of a union with good lineage, and of a high religion, and by refraining from avarice and not thinking (of it) – Whosoever lives both in virtue and evil, is blessed by the Good (Spenamino) with happiness, through his conducting himself with prudence, and refraining from (another's) distress and evil. – Whosoever lives through evil, and does not live through virtue, maligns through the avaricious nature a union with the good creation, and approves of clandestine deeds in his life-time. – Whosoever does not live both in good and evil, has no desire for the evil (existence in hell,) by reason of his avoiding both deceitful and meritorious actions during his life.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the unrighteous Source, and (the path of) rectitude, and the means of restoring the unrighteous one. (216)

Be it known that, the unrighteous one himself is so because of his own perverse mind. Whosoever leads an Immoral life, his thought (leads him to) acquire, whatever thing he does not need; and his actions thereby (i.e. through that immoral thought) are of the nature of farehbut. And by entertaining in his conscience the mode of his life that is his (i.e. of farehbut), and by acquiring the thing that he does not need, and by doing deeds that do not concern him, he (i.e. an immoral person) turns [therefore] to be of the nature of an aibibut. The natures of both these farehbut and aibibut are devilish in their

ways and wicked in thoughts. Whosoever mind is inclined to the ways of good existence, he always turns himself to acquire whatever thing is requisite for him, and to, perform the actions that pertain to him, and he does, not (wish to) acquire the thing that he needs not, nor perform actions that are not due from him. Hence he becomes of the nature of righteous Yazads. – An immoral (person) is himself (i.e. represents) the immoral being of the farehbut and the aibibut. The source of that evil knowledge, and [the source] of every other evil, is Ganamino, just as the source of that righteous thought pertaining to the (divine) wisdom, and [the source], of every other good, is Spenamino. Accordingly, whatever (sinful) actions are performed by the unrighteous towards one another, are owing to the approach of the immoral influence of that unrighteous source, Ganamino. For that reason unrighteous people do (the deeds that pertain) to Ganamino, the source of evil knowledge, just as religion people do every deed through the wisdom of Spenamino, (who is himself) the source of wisdom. – And the means of transforming an immoral one into a moral being (mustih val amuste), is the moral power of the good religion; and accordingly that means is to be employed in two ways by the sovereign professing the good religion: First, by preserving his own good temper from immorality the good temper of people innumerable may be preserved from immorality and towards paradise (i.e. in order that they may be capable of paradise). – Secondly, by bestowing moral courage on his people through the precepts of the good religion, and by appointing persons who could turn them away and protect them from sin and the (consequent) punishment (in hell), he endows them with complete strength, so that people innumerable may hold themselves aloof from any immoral action or speech. – And it is by this that the righteous [king] and the unrighteous king, are to he manifested. – The righteous (king) that is equitable towards the immoral, is he who possesses wisdom worthy of a sovereign, and personally conducts the administration (of his dominion) by means of that wisdom. And if he has enough fortitude to protect every great soul (from affliction in hell), in proportion to the good virtues in that sovereign; there would remain no unrighteous men (among his subjects); and no (righteous) man would be discouraged under his sovereignty in improving all immoral people (nuste-madam) on the behalf of the king.

The proper functions of (such a) king are as follows: To search out every unrighteous person. to recognize him through the deplorable grievance regarding him, to cause him to be exposed (to penalty) by those who possess the faculty or wisdom, and who (thereby) redeem immoral people; and the king who has intuitive wisdom, the monarch that is righteous, thus proves the complete purifier of immoral people

from distress by dint of his royal mandates. And on the complaints regarding the immoral one having reached (that king), his affliction is averted (vadharyet) by him (i.e. the king) so powerfully through dint of his preventive authority (padhiran-khveshkarih, that he (i.e. the immoral one) thereby turns virtuous, and the monarch (himself) is saved from the sin (i.e. from the sin of encouraging immoral practices in his dominion). Through such kind of (moral) administration the immoral ideas of the unrighteous, by their being kept back from the people, may be extirpated (from the world).

Of the impious priests he who greatly promotes the immoral through immorality, is the deluded one by the (evil) faith and principles of the ill-informed ashmogh, [and] by such an immoral (priest) those of the people that have attained unto the Great Supporter by means of their religious wishes and acts, are perverted to the side of the mean [lit. little, insignificant] supporter (Ahriman). Hence the impostor of evil speech and deceiver of the true faith (endeavors) to persuade (mankind) to his false doctrine by the two ways (of designating it, viz.) (1) the wisdom of the (good) religion and (2) the doctrine of Spenamino; whereas the evil knowledge and the evil law of Ganamino, (or his) demonism, are emphatically declared (by him).

Exposition in the good religion regarding that which is good for the World, [and that which is (good)] for the body, and that which is (good)] for the soul, and [that which is (good)] among mankind, and [that which is good] for actions and decision. (217)

Be it known that, it is the saying of the good religion, that a virtuous sovereign is good for the world, and wisdom for the person of man, and liberality for the soul, and truth among mankind, and endeavor coupled with perfect meditation in all actions and decisions.

Exposition in the good religion regarding spiritual powers in man, which through the agency of Yazads perform actions on the side of the Deity. (218)

[107]Be it known from the exposition in the good religion, that in the person of man there are spiritual powers which perform actions (preparatory) for the righteous equipment pertaining to (i.e. deserving a pious retribution from) the Creator of the Universe. – The

107 The heading might also be rendered: 'Exposition in the good religion regarding spiritual powers in man, their efficacy and their functions'. - Eng. tr.

principal ones are the following four: (viz.) the soul, the vital spirit, the farohar, and the intellect. The *roban* is the soul, which is the ruler over the body. Just as the head of a family conducts the household, and the rider the horse, so does the soul conduct the body. And the vital spirit, the intellect, and the farohar, or each of these spiritual agencies amongst whom the soul is a powerful agent, acts as a spiritual intelligencer unto it (i.e. the soul). – The vital spirit is the breath of life, which is paramount owing to the farohar. Just as a paterfamilias preserves the health (of his family) by means of food, and the rider keeps the horse working, so does this quickening (farohar) keep through energy the (living) body active. So when this (quickening power) is separated from the body, the body dies, just as when the (main) pillar of a house breaks down and the house instantly falls. Again, the farohar keeps active and cherishes the body, just as the master of a house keeps the house replenished and thriving, and the rider nourishes the horse. Thus, when this farohar has been separated from the body, the body is past-strength, and remains inactive like a house that becomes desolate when it is abandoned and left without repair. – Again, as the sun is the light of the world, and a lamp is (the light) of a house, so does the intellect animate with watchful light the lord of the house (i.e. the soul) in the house (viz. the body), and so does it animate the rider on the horse, as also it directs the master of the house to take care of the house, and the rider of the horse. So when this (intellect) is separated from the body, the soul is distressed in the body, and the body during life remains insensible. While the soul, which with the farohar, [and] the intellect, and the vital power used to recruit the body in its functions, now departs from it; consequently the body is without the means of performing its functions, and of fighting against and repelling the Druj, like a (cavalry) rider who is without his saddle and weapons for striking and overpowering his enemies. – Just as the soul and its assistant (spiritual) powers are enemies and destroyers of the druj (who is) for the destruction of creation, so have avarice, [and] lust, [and] wrath, [and] spite, [and] stubbornness and envy permeated into the body as enemies of the soul. The struggle and conflict between the body and the soul, are owing to the former not having seen to preserve itself from the battle wherein, by the agency of destructive druj and through perverse antagonism, people corrupt good creatures, and render them in-operative. – The soul is the lord of this life, and the chieftain of the battle (between good and evil). When the Amahraspands are its assistants, by means of the farohar, [and] the intellect and the vital power, the spiritual agents of the body, it (i. e. the soul) inclines to fight against the druj, and like a heroic person or a valiant man it is the repeller of the druj among (good) creatures by

means of its own prowess, and the extricator of the druj from the body. To extricate the druj from the world is to strike, to overpower and to render incapable the Ahriman. The pious man is himself capable of being relieved from the druj. – Again, when a king through fear for himself is not deceived by the enemy (Evil,) owing to supernatural splendor and luster (i.e. divine inspiration), he (at last) attains to the Origin (i.e. God) bravely and successfully on account of his own good actions; and by the order of the Lord who hath sent him to battle (against evil) he is to earn a diadem of victory and be seated on a throne of full repose and everlasting bliss. And whosoever (king) being deceived by the enemy, and being prone to idleness and evil repose, and listless in the battle (against evil), and without any inclination to the Amahraspands (i.e. to an immortal existence), is much disposed towards the druj; and (hence) he turns an incarnate druj and vicious, and the druj overreaches him; and he mingles lonesome with devils; and he is dragged with hands shackled to the seat of the druj (the Ahriman); and he will so be tortured, and so remain in the prison of the Drujs, to the time of the Resurrection. – It is manifest in the good religion that he is marked with good repute, whose righteousness is pure (unsullied) in this world; but he from whom destructive wickedness proceeds in this world, is stamped with evil repute, and gets a place appropriate to his sinful acts.

Exposition in the good religion regarding (the fact) that man is brought into relation with the Creator by means of the Stud-Yasht. (219)

[108]Be it known that, the man that is most virtuous, is brought into relation with the Creator by means of the Stud-Yasht, by knowing himself by means of the knowledge of the good religion, and by the love chiefly of his own soul; because there is no (virtuous) life from disregarding the relationship (with the Deity), nor there is love for himself; and by not loving himself he does injury to himself, and by (the man) injuring himself the Almighty is displeased, and by the displeasure of the Almighty the relationship of God in him ceases, and by the cessation of the relationship with God ho destroys the protection which the Deity exercises over him, and by the destruction of such protection by the Deity he is liable to cast himself into the abode of darkness and misery pertaining to the druj. – Again the knowledge of oneself is (attainable) from the knowledge of the good religion, and by knowing self there is love (for self), and by loving self

108 Stud-Yasht = Av. Staota-Yasna or Staota-Yasht, is the name of the 21st Nask, corresponding to the Av. Vastarem. It literally implies prayers fit to glorify the Holy Creator.

there is no injury to self, and by not injuring self there is no displeasure to the Almighty, and by gratifying God one attains to close relationship with God, and by the close relationship with God there is protection (exercised) by God, and by the protection of God man attains to both kinds of excellence, of this world and of that world.

Exposition in the good religion regarding that (object) which through its guiding (power) is beneficial to man himself, and that which is injurious; and (regarding) the beneficial or mischievous doer and exerter, and its beneficial or mischievous guidance (in the person of man). (220)

Be it known that, that which through its guiding (power) is beneficial to man himself, is wisdom; and that which through its guidance is injurious, is perverse thought. Wisdom an(l vice are the guiding agents in the person of man. Wisdom itself is acquirable by means of Spenamino and the friendship of Vohuman, and vice is (i.e. comes) through the deceit of Ganamino and the friendship of Akoman. The advantage unto men from the guidance of wise inclination is the improvement of the thought, [and] speech and act of rectitude as well as the piety of the soul; and the damage unto them from the guidance of vicious inclination is the corruption (i.e. aggravation) the sinfulness of thought, [and] speech, [and] action, and the wickedness of the soul.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the religious and the evil time. (221)

Be it known that the finite time until the resurrection, is religious owing to the prevalence [lit. currency] of righteousness and orthodoxy in the heart (of men), and the vicious (time) is owing to the prevalence of immorality aggravated by the evil faith and falsehood of the Jewish religion; and during that (evil) time with the exception of a little goodness there is distress and difficulty everywhere.

Exposition in the good religion regarding (Questions): What is man himself? and through what and for what (does he exist)? and whence (has he come)? and wherein (does he live)? and whither will he return? and at the last what will he attain to? (222)

Be it known that, among the creatures of God man (alone) is endowed with reason, and is capable of success and power by means

of the blessings (God has bestowed upon him) in the spiritual and the material world; and by reason of high deeds wrought in the full exercise of his human powers, he is like a chieftain over all other creatures of this world, ever guiding them, and repelling with adequate strength the druj from every creature. By a certain thanksgiving of the soul unto the Creator, prompted by the inspiration of the Yazads, by its adequately repelling the evil from itself, and by its being at once in association with all good spirits although abiding in the powerful person of this world (i.e. in this earthly person), it (i.e. the soul) is itself of the nature of a good spirit because of its angelic thoughts, and in spite of its uncongenial abode; and with all the faculties pertaining (to this worldly creature), the invisible soul by completely conquering evil, is an Yazad (a praiseworthy existence) itself for its duration (on earth), which may be either long or short. The dwelling of good spirits in the organism of this world, has for its object the severe struggle against and destruction of the evil predominating therein, and moreover the struggle (against evil) consistently with the doctrine of the good religion. By the disappearance of the soul itself from its earthly active embodiment, and by the body becoming divested of the vital spirit, the soul is intent on going back to the original spiritual abode, and leaving the material frame of this world it departs to the original abode of intuitive wisdom. Whosoever may have by his utmost endeavor repelled in warfare his own rival druj, through his (very) emancipation from the druj, gains the original abode (of heaven.) – And when an individual benefiting the world, is able to keep a good eye upon his opponent, and is powerful to overwhelm him in person, and adequately drives and repels from himself the vices of the *druj* that may have been blended in him – the cause thereof is perpetual thanksgiving unto his Creator. It is declared in the good religion that at the epoch of the Frashegird all men will acquire their bodily frame again in this world in accordance with the will of the Creator, and the human creation having been purified, each will be (entirely) reformed [lit. adorned] by the perfect light (of the Mazdayasnian religion.)

Exposition in the good religion as to a worthy leader. (223)

Be it known that, every person becomes worthy of leadership through having the powers suitable for the exercise of its functions. One (power) is a well-qualified understanding, and the other excellence of wisdom for accomplishing (good) deeds. With these two are combined the strength of a good nature and appropriate prudence. The leadership desirable for the priest is (attainable) by

means of the three special virtues above-mentioned, which are capable of exalted acts, as also by the following five grades (of qualities): – 1, wide intelligence for the preservation of the (Zoroastrian) religion; 2, depth of thought for making a precept; 3, religious education for the administration of justice; 4, advanced age; 5, experience in performing his (ritual) functions. With these eight (qualities) the priest is worthy of reverence (i.e. of leadership.) The leadership desirable for the agriculturist is attainable by two more (qualities) distinct from the eight above-mentioned: 1, to cause the growth of animal food; 2, to perform charitable acts with his wealth. (Thus) there are in all ten (good qualities.) – For leadership over warriors there must be three (special qualities) distinct from the eight (of the priest): – 1, a stalwart body with keen sight; 2, enormous strength; and 3, an intrepid heart. Thus there are in all eleven[109] (good qualities.)

Exposition in the good religion regarding the thanksgiving (by man) unto Ohrmazd for the reward of merit. as well as regarding the freedom (of man) from sin by punishment for sin (in this world.) (224)

Be it known that, thanksgiving to God for the reward of merit, is binding on man because of (the existence of) a protective intuitive sense in his conscience, and of his being fitted to obtain the reward of merit (in the next world) by attaining to the vision of and desire for meritorious propensities. Whosesoever powers of thought, speech, and action are obedient to his desire for the prevalence [currency] of meritorious actions, that man [he] attains to good supernatural intelligence. It is the conscience with good intuitive sense that attains in man to good supernatural intelligence; it acquires supernatural knowledge, as well as imparts (to others) whatever knowledge it has acquired. – Whosesoever inclination is capable of obtaining spiritual knowledge, he, by means of his beatific vision, on behalf of Ohrmazd declares (unto others) the means of fostering the propensity to act in a manner conducive to the welfare of the Frashegird and the nature of the understanding, thought, speech, and action pertaining to merit. And it is for this reason that meritorious people who aspire to the good reward, ought to thank the Giver of the reward of merit. – Again a person keeps free from sin on account of (his fear of) punishment for sin (in this world). So whosoever, for the sake of evil, closes the path leading to holy thought in his conscience and develops sin, by means of (his) perverse thought diverts his intuitive sense from meritorious goodness, and regards merit as sin, and sin as merit. –

109 Probably thirteen. -Eng. tr.

Hence those who forward their desire for a sinful tendency and (therefore) restrain it, front a tendency to merit, owing to their union with the demons advance (their powers of) thought, speech, and action for committing sinful deeds, and keep them back from merit. – The (future) evil reward to the living organic being (i.e. to man that is sinful), is the pernicious abode. (of hell;) there is no decay (in the next world) for the man that is on the path of merit. – And how can man he free from hell by conducting himself in sin, by demoralizing himself, and by deceiving mankind? And, likewise, how can the penalty for sin extend to a man that is innocent? From the priests who receive evil inspiration (from the devil), and are the means of (propagating) the perverse ways of sin, there is damage among men Unto those who receive good intelligence regarding the ways of merit; and from their self-willed creed there is destruction unto the human creation. Since their creed is antagonistic to acts of merit, and is the means of keeping sin current, it is hostile to acts of merit and friendly to sin. Hence demonism is paramount, and moral law non-existent; and hence man becomes subject to punishment on account of his sinfulness, and the men who follow that creed are, therefore, called the committers of sin.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the abode of the (good) religion in the body (of man), and the entry into it of the religion of darkness; and regarding the uninjured state of the body of a professor of the good religion by means of the sacred girdle [kusti] of that religion. (225)

Be it known that, he in whose body the (good) religion is a guest, is a companion of the good religion. Consequently he is (spiritually) as beautiful as a maiden having a most handsome body, and is, like a maiden, most desirable to the sight. He is as benignant [lit. good-seeing] as the Sun to the Universe of Ohrmazd: and he looks on (the good creation) with as good an eye as a sincerely loving father looks on a well-born (promising) son, and is delighted at beholding his visage from a distance. In like manner he nourishes, as his offspring, whatever object falls within his vision. And he grows as illustrious by his recitation, understanding, attention, and praise relating to the religion, as one grows strong and active by drinking delicious waters. his desire for union with the religion is owing to this, that his being may live in bliss (in the next world); and his soul confers with the (good) religion as though two good pious friends were consulting together. The religion interprets its doctrine unto him just as an accomplished spiritual teacher would interpret it to his intelligent

disciple. As he is most submissive and obedient to the religion, so the religion has supreme authority over him. And such an individual is called in the religion a "successor of the Zarathushtrotema," the incarnation of the religion. His creed is the creed of the religion, his desire the desire of the religion, and his acts the acts of the religion. In whosesoever body the (good) religion dwells, he possesses (in himself) the spirit of the religion, he is a lover of it in mind; and hence the druj is less powerful in his body. Whosesoever mind the (good) religion permeates, his appearance is as [much] beautiful as (that of) other desirable objects (or riches in this world). No sooner does one behold him, with a good eye, than one is exceedingly delighted with him, and loves him like a brother born of the same parents. By means of the (good) religion there is attainment of wisdom according to wish (i.e. satisfactory attainment,) and apprehension of that knowledge. And through one's toil in reciting, expounding, and extolling the (good) religion there is an acquirement of good rewards (in heaven). He that is united with (or is a companion of) the (good) religion, attains to such desires as will exist in the advantageous one, (i.e. Soshyant) the (future) revealer of the (good) religion unto the people of this world. And hence such a religious man, for the performance of his religious duties (under difficulties), is like unto a good-natured guest who is content with an insipid meal in the house of the president of a family. And such an individual is designated in the (good) religion an athravan. – An orthodox person whose nature, propensity, and acts are reformed by the good religion, is a propagator of the religion in several ways. – Again, he into whom the religion of darkness has penetrated, will turn away from that accursed thought to the good religion by the effectual help of the thought and preaching and guidance of a pious preserver of the religion (i.e. a priest), for wrestling with evil. – He (i. e. the priest), a friend of the A (good) religion in this world, shall, by the dint of its philosophy, make such a one a believer in the religion, as has not himself acquired an insight into the religion and is without it. His friendship with the religion is more valuable than his riches; his body and his wealth are not more valuable than his desire to be listened to (on the subject of religion). – Such a person is called in the religion a Mazdayasnian, 'a worshipper of Mazda.' The professors of the good religion are said to be of the religion of those that put on [lit. fasten] the kusti; and the follower of that religion has the sacred girdle (*i.e.* the kusti) upon him. – Whosoever of the evil religion dwells in contemplation upon the good religion (with approval,) his (consequent) good nature and improved person (grow to) abstain (from impiety) like those of the good religion, and by his attainment to that (good) faith the thought comes to him of extolling the Almighty for (the good attained to by)

himself, and of loving the followers of the good religion. In whosesoever person good religion exists, he is devoid of doing mischief unto others. He is a creature of the Creator Ohrmazd by virtue of his good religion; and by his submission to the precepts of the good religion he yields compliance to the religion and the prophet. – In the good religion those persons bear the name "worshippers of demons", who do not believe in God (anair) and act like ashmoghs; such people are also styled followers of the religion of hellish (shakharik) demon-worshippers.

Exposition in the good religion regarding that (person) through whom every one becomes moral (in this world), and (regarding) that through whom no one becomes moral. (226)

Be it known that, that person, through whom everyone grows moral, is (born) to transmit every one (i.e. man) into a state of welfare, and he that conveys everyone into a state of welfare, loves whatever object is anywise on the side of the Creator. – Whosoever loves every object of the Creator, is a suppressor of his own failings, possesses well-qualified prudence and intuitive wisdom, and shares in the (awards of the good) religion. He well inculcates the desire to be efficient in intuitive wisdom, and to dignify himself, in one who wishes to be efficient in intuitive wisdom and to be dignified. Hence the latter acquires the strength of zeal to do acts of merit and abstain from sin. Hence, he liberates himself from the rival enemy (Ahriman), and attains to the long-lasting felicity (of paradise). And again that (person) through whom no one is moral, is (born) to convey every one into a state of adversity; and whosoever is (born) to convey everyone into a state of adversity does not love a single creature of the Creator. – Whosoever does not love a single creature of the Creator, possesses evil qualities, vicious speculations and bewildering perverse thoughts. He imparts unto man evil precepts (dushmuk) producing excitable propensities and tending to bewildering perverse thoughts. He who likes him (i.e. such a person as is characterized in the above sentence), is incited by him to bewildering perverse thoughts. He who is a thief of merit and perseveres for sin, degenerates (kastar yahvunad – lit. becomes the lessener) in the good power of his own spirit, and the antagonistic druj proves successful over him; it (i.e. the druj]) drags and casts him into the infernal region of distress (arik dushwarih.) Whosoever is fit for the Blemish-giver (i.e. fit to be his accomplice in propagating evil in this world,) is a damager of the intuitive sense of man, an extinguisher of merit (i.e. of his meritorious feeling) and an inciter unto sin; [and] that evil one is (born) to drive to the hellish

prison of distress and unrelief, the man that is of a religion of bewildering perverse thoughts.

The religion that is given (unto man by evil influence) to produce in him bewildering perverse thoughts, causes adversity, and by making him fit for the Blemish-giver makes sin current; and by corrupting the intuitive sense (in men) causes an opposition to merit, and imprisons him in the evil hell which is for him devoid of relief, full of distress and embarrassment. [And] therefore it (i.e. the evil religion) is said to be without any mark of Spenamino, and with a stamp of Ahriman on it.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the sources which cast luster upon the good religion, and (those which cast evil luster) upon the evil religion. (227)

Be it known that, God who illumines all goodness is the source of the promulgation of the good religion; therefore there is no evil in it. Herein are propounded all good acts relating to the universe, from the original creation to the epoch of final renovation. Hence by firm confidence in this source of the promulgation of the good religion there results [is] the improvement of human nature, and by the improvement of human nature honesty; and by honesty the birth of law [morality]; and by law good mind, good speech, and good action; and by good mind, good speech, and good action righteous felicity unto man and by righteous felicity unto man propitiation and strength to the Yazads and grief and destruction to the demons, (also) by the propitiation and strength of the Yazads, and grief and destruction of the demons the spiritual existence will be perfected, and the material existence (i.e. this material organism) will be improved, and by the perfecting of the spiritual existence and the improvement of the material existence the creation will be connected with the epoch of the Frashegird (final renovation), and the occurrence of that renovation (will be) owing to the purity and goodness of the whole world (aâm-dehishnih) through the reform of the religion.

Again, the source of the promulgation of the evil religion the originator of evil, who casts (wicked) luster upon it. Herein (i.e. in the evil religion) is the enumeration of all the distressful acts in the world from the original creation to the epoch of final renovation. Hence owing to the deceit of that source of the promulgation of the evil religion (there will result) corruption [lit. bewilderment] of good nature; and from the corruption of good nature dishonesty and depravity; and from dishonesty and depravity immoral evil thought,

evil speech and evil deed. Again from (immoral) evil thought, evil speech, and evil deed distress unto man; and from distress unto man joy unto the demons and grief unto the Yazads. And from joy unto the demons and grief unto the Yazads predominance of the demons, degeneration and corruption of the times, and distress and damage in the world.

And it is declared in the Mazdayasnian religion that,[110] when unto Jamshed were exhibited by Ohrmazd His commandments comprehending the established standards of all good virtues, the habits of contumacy [lit. unhearing i.e. refusing to hear] against Ohrmazd, caused by the association of demoniac influence among the creatures and the (consequent) approval by man of the greatest (i.e. most confounding) acts of destruction, disappeared (*anâstê)*.[111]

110 *Lit*. and the testimony of the Mazdayasnian revelation is as follows.

111 That Jamshed, the third king of the Peshdadian dynasty, was the first promoter of the Mazdayasnian revelation by the order of Ahura Mazda, and the first promulgator of its doctrines and laws, is witnessed by the following passages from the 2nd fargard of the *Vendidad*: "Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: – 'Who was the first man, excepting myself, Zarathushtra, with whom thou, Ahura Mazda didst confer (on Thy religion)? To whom didst Thou interpret [lit. teach] the Faith that pertains to Ahura and to Zarathushtra? Ahura Mazda answered, 'O holy Zarathushtra; the fair Jamshed, of the good community, was the first man with whom Ahura Mazda conferred and to whom save to thee did I (first) interpret the Faith that pertains to Ahura to Zarathushtra.'" This fact is also referred to in the reply to the question of the Datastan-i Denig which deals with the importance of the sacred emblems sudre and kusti:

> "It is good to fasten the kusti for him who holds a religious position in this world, on the waist, that is on the third part or the highest third part of the body, for by means of the kusti Jamshed, the son of Vivangha, became most successful in conducting the world and acquitting his duties pertaining to this world ; and he thereby kept back from mortals all sorts of fatal diseases, and bestowed on them freedom from old age and death. – Which sacred girdle that glorious king of the world directed men to wear on their waists when by men were gifted with that good badge of sanctity."

In a commentary on the second fargard of the *Vendidad* it is stated as follows:

> "As long as he (Jamshed) adhered to the good religion and was pious, he was both the teacher and disciple (of that religion); he endowed the bodies of men with the sacred token (of the kusti). That he adhered to the good religion is manifest from the passage:
>
> 'That he was pious is indicated from the words: Yimahe Vivanghanahe ashaono fravashim yazamaide.

Firdausi, the epic poet of the *Shah-namah*, bears testimony to this fact of King Jamshed having introduced among his people the sacred investiture of the sudre and kusti, the chief emblems of Mazda-worship:

(Thereafter) the adherents of the Deity, Who is the Source of all goodness, as well as the obedient to the Faith, who had become illustrious by devotion to its precepts, were imposed upon (by demon-worshippers) with the intent that their pure nature should be corrupted, and that by the corruption of their pure nature a scope for dishonesty and blemish, which should deteriorate their morals, being generated, Jamshed could not be powerful in improving mankind and rendering them immortal. However, Jamshed, in order to destroy the deceitful influence from men, invited the demon-men and demons, and put the demons the following questions: – 'Who created this world?' 'Who destroys it?' The demons clamored out their reply thus: – We who are demons created it, and we destroy it.' – Jamshed retorted unto the demons thus: – 'This I do not believe that it is possible for the evil-knowing (to create this world,) since they who are its destroyers, could not be the creators of the world. [Both of] these assertions are quite inconsistent – in other words, creative and destructive powers do not emanate from one source. By means of such religious declarations he (i.e. Jamshed) annihilated the deceit of demons and restored mankind to immortal existence. – It is manifest in the good religion that the pious people who conducted themselves in this world in conformity with the standard faith, and were of good habits, proved so on account of the primitive faith propagated by Jamshed, and on account of their connection with him; and that kings and satraps ruled by virtue of it (i.e. the Faith), [and] suppressed

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> "In the meanwhile the auspicious Sraosha came and said unto Jam (i.e. Jamshed): – 'Do not procrastinate, but glorify (throughout the world) this holy divine Faith, and cast into dust demoniac practices, and put on the sudre, and fasten on thy waist the kusti, that nothing pernicious may come on you from the demons."

In addition to these passages we have various references to this subject in the Pahlavi *Madigan-e aiwyanghan-e tashkuk* and in the Persian works Saddar-e-nasr, Saddar-e-nazm, Saddar-e-behr-e-tavil, Rivayats, etc.

That Jamshed possessed supernatural glory and received prophecies from the Deity from time to time, is evidenced in the following couplets of the *Shah-nameh*:

> "Thus for a lapse of many years the Kayanian glory shone over the king – the world was full of comfort and gratification – various prophetic messages from the Deity came unto him."

The following couplets comprehend the first declaration of king Jamshed on his ascension to the throne, which indicate his power as well as knowledge requisite for the advancement of the Mazdayasnian religion and sovereignty:

"He said: I am gifted with divine glory, I am a secular as well as a religious lord, I will cut short the hands (of evil people) from evil, and I will guide the soul to the path of Heaven."

injury from among their subjects, [and] improved and civilized their countries by dint of that standard Faith, [and] yea refined them by the help of the just doctrines of the same primitive faith of Mazda-worship which inculcated devotion to the Deity (airih). The supreme faith and the highest acts of righteousness, which are described in the religion by Zartosht of the adorable farohars, were made current (in the world) by poryotkesh kings from time to time; which kings, by dint of the Mazdayasnian-religion, reformed their peoples, earned on their sovereignty on good principles, [and] embellished the world, [and] exalted their subjects through virtuous practices, and linked them to the mighty power of the Frashegird, the blessed victor (Soshyant).

This, too, is declared in the good religion that the source of demons (Ahriman) had arrayed with deceits Zohak, the descendant of Taj,[112] the diminisher of creations; hence the laws of Zohak deteriorated his own nature, worked for the immoral and blemished (Ahriman), and caused destruction by tyranny and apostasy, so that the habits of men were corrupted, the world distressed, and there was increase of mortality among the creatures.

The Jewish scriptures were first composed by him (i.e. Zohak), and deposited in the fortress of Jerusalem. And through Zohak men adhered unto the Jewish high-priest Abraham, and through Abraham they adhered unto Moses, whom the Jews accepted as their prophet and messenger of faith, and unto whom they ascribe the salvation of sins committed, and regarded his acquirements as being necessary for the final propagation of their faith. – Thus Zohak cherished (dôshitê) demoniac deceptions to harm his people.[113]

The elementary knowledge of that evil religion in every age tends

112 Zohak was descended from a pious man named Mardas whose lineage is traced from Taz and Tazak, one of the pairs (according to the Bundahishn, Chapter XV.) begotten of Fravak, the son of Siyamak, who had settled in the plains of the Tazikan or Arabia.

113 The *Tarikh-i-Tabari* describes Zohak in the following passage:

> "The Arabs called him Zohak and the Mogs say that he was Bivarasp. + + They say that this Bivarasp flourished in the time of the prophet Noah. This king was tyrannical and killed all the rulers of the world, end inclined mankind to idol-worship."

With reference to this subject Firdousi says

"Since Zohak ascended the throne as king a lapse of a thousand years passed over him, when the ways of the sages disappeared and demoniac propensity prevailed, virtues were slighted and sorcery was esteemed, truth became hidden and evil was paramount, rectitude was never talked of save in secrecy, but the hands of demons were extended on vice."

to produce baneful influence among the believers in the excellent Mazdayasnian faith, to degrade those obedient unto the Deity, and to promote in the world by various ways and means apostasy twofold or threefold. Through its demoniac predominance there is corruption of the good habits of men, and impiety and desolation in the world, and much distress (frah-sije) and harm to the people generally; and misery, embarrassment and hardship to the pious; and dignity, comfort and authority to the evil people; and such evil people of baneful origin always cause openings [wounds] in the human soil, so that pain and injury to the people would emanate therefrom. Hence (it is declared in the good religion) that the Mazdayasnian Faith should be developed to the highest pitch in conformity with the will and commandments of God; that the openings in the human soil should be removed, impurity ought to be cast out of the world and far away from populated districts, and mankind be purified therefrom and rendered clean.

Exposition in the good religion regarding men that are advantageous to the world, and work for its prosperity, as well as regarding the monarch that is harmful, and works for its misery. (228)

Be it known that, that man is advantageous to the world and works for its welfare, who possesses good intuitive sense for studiously exercising his duties, and who exerts himself for the cause of the good religion. Accordingly, as he exerts himself and studiously performs his duties in this world in consonance with his faith, he, likewise, giving strength to the angels, aggrandizes this earthly life and makes it worthy of paradise. The king of an evil faith is very persistent in perverse acts, advances in evil activity, and is (therefore) harmful to the world and works for its misery. Since he is always predominant in evil activity by dint of his (pernicious) faith in this world, he clandestinely impairs this earthly life by giving strength to the demons, and renders it unworthy of paradise.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that it is needful that the skilled [head] examiner shall test whatever is fit to be tested, and that it is needless to retest whatever is already proved. (229)

Be it known that, to test by means of religious wisdom whatever (relating to good creations) is hidden, is to make manifest its functions and to impart intelligence of the result of the experiments thereon. Whosoever is yet to be proved, does not always give

confidence; but whosoever (has been tried and) no longer needs be tested on account of his prestige, gives full confidence. He is the tried person who needs no longer be tried on account of his marked professional repute, [likewise] his notoriety, [likewise] public recognition as an experienced person by means of the skilled examiner. By a threefold trial a person or thing is tested. A person or thing that is tried, may be compared to the well-known physician (referred to in the Vendidad), who for the first time administers physic to three individuals and, relieving them from their diseases thereby, is licensed to carry on his profession as a certified physician (pavan hu bazeshkih vazerinidan patash shikunyen). Likewise, by administering medicine for the first time to three individuals respectively, if life become extinct (in all three), the individual is decided upon as a sham physician and is punished. Again, in order to test every other individual professional capability [act] the standard of the test of a physician is laid down. Hence the notoriety of various people connected with religion and sovereignty, depends upon trials of three different kind. and of three different degrees. Thus, whosoever in the trial by the skilled examiner, proves good should be trusted and believed, while whosoever proves bad on account of his various failings should, manifestly, be prevented from continuously contriving pollution and destruction among the people of the world.

Among the good kings who are related to Jamshed, may be included those who are descended from Airik after Faridoon; first, those that are from Minocheher – secondly, those that are from the Kayanians – and thirdly, those that come from Huafrit[114] – from the very Kayanians they say come the Sasanians.

Each of these kings acquired (inherited) from Jamshed the virtues of devotion [irajan = sacrifice of the soul] to the Deity, purity, progress, honest faith and constitutional free Government. Men being in memory thereof (i.e. of the descendants of Jamshed) chose

114 Huafrit may be a name of Darab the son of Bahman by his wife Humai. The name occurs in Yasht 5.180, where the individual referred to desires to attain to the conquest of a large kingdom, probably the conquest Turkestan, Rum and Hindustan ascribed to king Dara by the Shah-namah and the Tarikh-i Tabari. From the evidence of the Denkard in this volume, as well as in the preceding one, Huafrit is the name of a king who was the pioneer of a known dynasty in Iran. Professor Darmesteter regards it as a common word and renders it by the expression "fully blessed." The testimony of the Denkard corroborates the narratives of the Shah-namah, and of the Tarikh-i Tabari. The Denkard tells us that the descendants of Huafrit and Sasan are related to one another. The two Persian books mentioned above trace the Sasanian kings from Sasan the son of Bahman, while the Tarikh-i Tabari gives the descent of the Ashkanians from Dara-i kebr, who was also called Dara-i segar, the second son of Darab, son of Bahman. The Persian text runs as follows: – (omitted)

experienced persons to hold sway over them; and through individuals born of his (i.e. Jamshed's) line, and through their continuance from age to age, a connection with the Frashegird is declared (in the good religion.)

It is manifest (from the good religion) that evil-ruling was by the descendants[115] of Zohak, who were utterly vanquished in the ninth and tenth centuries (after Zoroaster). Each of them, owing to (the heritage of) Zohak ('s evil habits,) was immoral, blemished, unrighteous, contemplating injury, harm and devastation in the world, and embarrassing his subjects by means of evil-ruling.

The test of people as evil-monarchs, and the decision of mankind thereupon, may be (easily) achieved by a recollection of (the career of) Zohak. For the descendants of Taj there is declared (in the good religion) infamy, obscurity and obloquy.

It is revealed (in the good religion) that the gift of the good religion was acquired [lit. shared in] by Gayomard at the beginning of creations,[116] and the continuance of the human species was through him. Kingship and judgeship were instituted by Hooshang. The gift of immortality was bestowed on the world through Jamshed; and after Jamshed till the age of Zartosht the kings of Jamshed's blood exercised refined sovereignty in Iran (by dint of Jamshed's creed.)

Again, by the complete acceptance and propagation (of the revelation) first through Zartosht, the bodies of demons were broken[117] (sheda kalput shekaste).

Secondly, through the renovation by Ushedar, a descendant of Zartosht, the bodies of ferocious quadrupeds will be broken.

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115 This may be an illusion to Mazdak and his adherents, who were subdued and slain by the order of Noshirwan the Just, in whose reign Mazdakian beliefs were totally suppressed and wiped out of Iran.

116 The passage laid down in the Avesta, in memory of the farohar of Gayomard, (vide Frawardin Yasht, 87) runs as follows: “We remember the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan, who first listened unto the thoughts and doctrines of Ahura Mazda, and through whom Ahura Mazda produced the race of the Iranian countries, the seeds (nations) of the Iranian countries.”

117 In Y9.14-15, the angel Haoma describes the destruction of the bodies of demons by Zarathushtra in the following words: “O Zarathushtra! the celebrated one in Airyana Vaejah, thou didst recite the Ahuna Vairya four times, and by the loud intonation and recitation thereof thou didst cause, O Zarathushtra all demons to (disappear under the earth, that before wandered about the earth in human shape. So thou best been, by means of thy material and spiritual powers, the greatest (most revered), the strongest, the most diligent, the most agile and the most victorious.” The four Ahunwars referred to in the above passage, follow the 'aetat tem' formula, and are recited while the Zaota is pounding haoma.

Thirdly, through the renovation by Ushedarmah, a descendant of Zartosht, the bodies of poisonous and pernicious serpentine species will be broken.

Fourthly, through the renovation by Soshyant, a descendant of Zartosht, the bodies of the two-legged species of demon-men will be broken. At each epoch [danar=time] by the promulgation in the world of the standard law, and by the belief and faithfulness in it of men generally, the final reformation relating to the tan-i pasin will, it is declared, be accomplished by the will and commandments of the Deity.

Again, the evil religion is for deluding men into the immoral habits of demons, and it was first cherished by Zohak, the diminisher of creations. Again, the composition of the Jewish scriptures was begun by him (i.e. Zohak); and it was owing to Zohak that the world is grown dishonest, blemished, immoral, pernicious and mortal (i.e. liable to hellish torments). The advent of Abraham, the high-priest of the Jews, was owing to him, and the first, the second, and the third submission of men to the Jewish faith, was caused by him. And owing to the expert chieftains of Zohak's creed the adherents in the world of the Mazdayasnian faith will, in every age and in manifold ways, become dishonest, blemished, immoral, lascivious and injurious. It is declared that one ought to be capable (avaeidan) of suppressing [lit. breaking] them (i.e. the above-mentioned evil habits), to cleanse the world of them, and to deliver the people from them. For this reason innumerable other objects, after they have been thrice proved to be good, should be used for improving living humanity. – Regarding those that are bad, they should be broken and destroyed. – This standard of test is also declared with reference to sovereignty and religion, good or evil.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that the upholder of the (good) religion is, by virtue of the religion, called by the name of the religion. (230)

Be it known that, whosoever is of the Mazdayasnian Faith, is by reason of his contemplation of the Mazdayasnian revelation, called a voluntary adherent of the Mazdayasnian religion. The simile is this, that as every organic being, by reason by of the blood of its species, is called after that species, so the upholder of the religion, by acting in consonance with the religious thought, is called a Mazdayasnian [lit. an adherent of the Mazdayasnian religion.]

Exposition in the good religion regarding the blessedness [lit. thanksgiving] of the soul by means of restraining its body from sin, and by doing acts of merit, and regarding its (i.e. the soul's) imprisonment [lit. fettered condition] in hell by reason of its perverseness. (231)

Be it known that, the body is given unto the soul as a powerful complement, such as the horse is unto the rider or the driver. The soul by means of guiding the body to refrain from committing sin, attains to worthy power as a recompense from the Lord and Giver of the body. By the liking for indolent happiness, by casting off (heavenly) benefits through indifference, by not abstaining from sin, and by not doing acts of merit, the soul is doomed to the penal abode it deserves. Like as a monarch bestows presents on [lit. thanks] one, whose vocation is to train up horses, for giving a good training in nice paces to his horses; but fetters are fitly placed on him (i.e. the trainer) by the order of the king, if no good training (of the horses) is achieved by him.

Exposition in the good religion regarding men of superior habits and those of inferior habits. (232)

Be it known that, men are of superior habits on account of the approach into them of supernatural glory for preserving them from the evil (demoniac) shadow, by which means they (i.e., men) are more zealously active in their avocations as angels are most zealously active in their functions. Whosoever among men is more zealously active in the performance of his duties, is so on account of his soul's communion (with the supernatural.) Likewise, by a cooperation with the good spirits he attains to greater proximity to the Deity; and for a worthy formation of his habits (through supernatural help) he owes thanks to the Deity. Again, such a one to whom has come from the Deity the strength for performing his duties as well as the supernatural glory for protecting him from evil influence, becomes most faithful [lit. most hopeful] towards the Deity. – It is manifestly stated in the good religion in the words of Ohrmazd: "That the gift of supernatural glory keeps him (i.e. man) zealously active (in the fulfillment of his duties), and far from the evil shadow and baneful influence of the destroyer." – For this reason, whosoever is most indolent and without any vocation, remains far from communion with the good spirits, and proves ungrateful to the Deity by not fulfilling his duties with the strength that has reached him from the Deity. It is manifestly stated in the good religion in the words of Ohrmazd: "that

he is gifted with the sins of indolence from the evil shadow." And for that very reason, Ohrmazd did not produce corn for the indolent who did not desire it (i.e. who caused famine in the country by his indolent habits.)

Exposition in the good religion regarding the reasonable acceptance and non-acceptance respectively of the knowledge of the sayings of religious pioneers, and of what is hidden, the mystery and cause whereof are not manifest by means of reason.* (233)

[118]Be it known that, in man reason is the judging faculty. Like unto a judge who, while passing a decision upon a mysterious case, believes the testimony of a great person, and in his judgment approves of what is manifestly sensible and true (in it), the judging faculty of reason discerns, [accepts] by means of the intelligence of the religion, what knowledge of the invisible is acquirable or not acquirable for this life. Whatever is known by the test of reason to be sublime and true in every respect, is the essence of reason. – Again the sayings of that religion, which proves [is] manifestly miserable and false by the test of reasoning intelligence, are never fit for this life. What is said to be highly obscure in the eye of reason (khratu-akasih), is not accepted in the belief of the judging faculty of reason, just as the forged evidence of a false and deceitful person on a subject which as above-said, is hidden to the judge, is not accepted (as true) by the judging person.

Exposition in the good religion regarding what ought to be done and what ought not to be done. (234)

Be it known that, righteous acts ought to be performed, and sin ought not to be committed. Again, righteous acts are of two kinds. First, the actual righteous deeds, such as are for the gratification of the good people. Secondly, righteous acts for (encouraging) the sublime decisions (of the pious people) such as are meant to please the evil people[119] for promoting the sublime religious decisions of the good people.

Again, sins are of two kinds. First, the actual sinful deeds, such as

118 The heading might be, likewise, rendered: "On the acceptance and non-acceptance of what is hidden and unknown to human knowledge, by means of the intelligence of the sayings of the revelation, from the exposition in the good religion." -Eng. tr.

119 Such acts are performed not to encourage evil, but to restrain the evil people from doing any harm to the progress of the sublime doctrines of the good religion. -Eng. tr.

are for the purpose of doing harm to the good people. Secondly, sinful acts on behalf of perverse decisions, such as are perpetrated for the purpose of doing harm to people of the evil religion, who mean to propitiate the good people on account of the sublime religious decisions of the good people.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that the intellectual part of the spirit (baodha) takes care of the body internally and externally. (235)

Be it known that, the intellectual part of the spirit (in the person of man) preserves the body internally from its immoderate passions (chihr min az); and that regarding the food that reaches into the innermost body from without, the faculty of intellect guides [takes care of] man to take bread and meat in a moderate measure and to drink wine in a moderate quantity; it preserves him from swallowing dead putrid matter, moist or dry. – And on this account it guides man to perfume himself externally by the most fragrant produce of trees (viz. fragrant flowers, leaves, etc.) – It guides (man) to keep aloof from any infection from moist or dry dead matter, and from much putrefaction (emanating) from it. – The intellectual part of the spirit, by the abode in it of Vohuman, the source of good sense, prevents the evil thought rushing into man and preserves him from inclining to deceitful propensities. He is the well-conducted of piety who is under the rule [lit. guidance] of piety. [Quoted from Y35.8.]

Exposition in the good religion regarding the virtuous excellence or depravity of kings. (236)

On the basis of the exposition in the good religion be it known that, the virtuous excellence of kings is more prominent through righteous glory and the right protection of the people or the world; and their moral depravity is intense through evil shadow and the evil keeping of the people of the world. – Righteous glory is this, that through divine influence the king like a materfamilias, cherishes and well-conducts the people of the world. – The right protection of the people of the world is this that the straightforward king keeps the world in moral order by the spread of justice, by profiting them and bestowing happiness upon them. – The evil shadow implies that through the predominance of the demon (Ahriman) the king does not cherish his people like a materfamilias, but leads them to ruin (like a vile woman). – Again, the evil keeping implies that through badly keeping the people of the world the immoral king by means of injustice pours harm and distress upon them.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the reward due unto man from the Almighty for his [lit. man's] deliverance from sin. (237)

Be it known that, the will of the most laudable, pure, and merciful Creator is like unto that of a worthy person, who, when he is praised by any body, contemplates his indebtedness to him and thinks of making return for it, and always regards the fulfillment thereof in the acquirement of the full reward by the praiser who deserves the gift. Thus the Creator bestows recompense for the deed on such of his creatures as acquit themselves of their indebtedness (to Him) by worshipping and extolling Him: for which (worship and extolling) man is endowed (by Him) with proper vigor and rendered capable. For this reason, He contemplates the indebtedness and thinks of making a recompense unto him (i.e. to man) for fulfilling the important duties towards Him; and the acquirement of the reward for doing those duties is to be regarded by the receiver of the gift from Him as recompense for his deeds. – It is declared even to this extent, that no powerful (i.e. meritorious) deeds of an individual are ever to remain devoid of [far from] recompense (from the Deity).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the principles [lit. equipment] of the good religion and the evil religion (respectively), the inferior, the mediocre, and the superior adherent of the good religion, and the weight of each of them. (238)

Be it known that, the principles (or basis) of the good religion rest on men, who act in conformity with the will of Ohrmazd, and on their meditations on (and propagation of) the good religion, [and] the importance which is manifest from the lucid thoughts relating to the ways of both the worlds. – The basis of the evil religion rests on the perverse thoughts in men against the doctrines of the good religion, on their own identification with the dark decisions of their religion, and on their conscience loading to evil sense [the ill-judged habits or ways derived from their (blunted) conscience]. – The principles of the evil religion rest on a disbelief in the existence of the true religion, the import of which lies in shutting out the heart from the path of the divine thought, and in keeping aloof from the heart the divine monitions. – Again, the inferior adherent of the good religion is the inferior meditator on the will of the Deity, [and] the inferior reciter (of the religious formulae) and the inferior doer (of works of merit), and his weight in the good religion is that of the pious man of the inferior stage. – Again, the adherent of the middle stage of the good religion is

the mediocre meditator on the will of the Deity, the mediocre reciter and the mediocre doer; and his weight in the good religion is that of the pious man of the middle stage. – Again, the adherent of the superior stage of the good religion is the superior meditator on the will of the Deity, the superior reciter, the superior doer, and his weight in the good religion is that of the pious man of the superior stage.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the aspiration [lit. desire] of the soul to a propensity to an (immortal) existence on behalf of the Deity, and regarding those (beings) that are opposed to the existence of creations, and the enemy that was before the world [lit. the priority of the enemy to the world.] (239)

Be it known that, the aspiration of the soul tends to an (immortal) existence on behalf of the Deity, and actuates the individual body to a pious communion with and a fulfillment of the will of the Deity. Such a wish was besought from the Almighty by Zartosht of the adorable farohar. The soul is permeated with the will of the Deity by a life-long act of merit. The fruition of joy from the Divinity unto the soul, rests on the pure mind endowed with good intuitive intelligence. Whosoever approves of the good religion, is a desirer of what is good for the soul (in its heavenly existence), for the spirit of Zartosht was thereby in communion with the Almighty, and he was manifest in this worldly region as the high-priest of the good religion, and (through him) there was dispensation of splendor and glory among sovereigns who possessed angelic habits and who with one accord worked out the divine project, for they caused, through their descendants, the progress of the work of the Frashegird. – Again, whosoever (i.e. the king) by demoniac propensities works out the demon's will through demon-worship, proves a monarch (a tyrant accursed) with the evil shadow. Such was the propensity [wish] of the tyrant Zohak, the diminisher of creations. Through life-long sinfulness man is permeated with demoniac propensities [lit. the demoniac will is sin in toto.] – The delight from the demons unto the soul is owing to their connection with the evil-minded perverse sense, whose desires it (i.e. the evil faith) for the soul, ends his life in evil, since on account of it Zohak adhered to the demons, and his life therefore ended in the worst of evil. Accordingly, in this worldly region he became known as the leader of the most evil faith. He inculcated to the people the devilish habits of the wicked tyrant (Ahriman), and delusively bestowed this worldly transient (evil) happiness on those that with

one accord worked for the purpose of fulfilling his (Ahriman's) will. He (Zohak) is to do harm to the living creatures again at the end.[120] – How can those (heretical) priests be the promoters of the final deliverance, who are to injure mankind hereafter? How can those whose religious sayings (date-melya) teach of mystic vices and of the wicked one (viz. Ahriman), be said to be (adherents) of the truly superior religion? They may be said to be beyond the pale of the good religion and the good sovereignty.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the weight of a man (in this world). (240)

Be it known that, the weight of a man may be understood in the following ways: first, by the vigor of his good sense; secondly, by the poverty [lit. leanness] of his good sense. Whosoever possesses a vigorous good sense, forms with good sense, his inclination as regards every object prudently guides himself, prudently takes care of himself and looks to his own preservation. – Whosoever is weak in intelligence is self-interested in his inclinations and guides himself by self interest. Whosoever guides himself by self-interest, does not see that life is as changeable as the colors of spring-as the ignorant beholders of the moon, understand it to be what it seems to them (and not as it really is.) – He that has evil inclinations is devoid of good understanding power, and ruins his own life without knowing by means of good sense what he himself is. He cannot distinguish by means of his sense of taste between what is sweet and what is bitter, nor by means of his sense of (moral) hearing discern what is right and what is wrong. It is the needy who regard and call fragrance as stench, and stench as fragrance, sweet as bitter, and bitter as sweet. There are many of such condemned beliefs. – Many heretical priests adhere to similar beliefs, and likewise create in men, by means of sayings of evil knowledge, a liking for immorality and other vicious habits; and (in spite of the human knowledge regarding true revelation) they call their immoral creed as connected with the source of good and as an all-good revelation of the All-Wise One.

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120 It is known regarding Zohak that be is again to harm mankind in future. It is said that when Faridoon took upon himself to kill Zohak, he was prevented from doing so by an inspiration from the holy Srosh, who besought him to bind Zohak in a deep valley of Mount Damawand. Faridoon acted accordingly, and this story is declared in the Shah-namah of Firdausi as follows: (Persian quote omitted) It does not occur in the Avesta, but we are told in the Bundahishn, the Zand-e-Vohuman Yasht, the Pahlavi Jamasp-namah, and in the Afrin-e Ardafravash, that Zohak is imprisoned in the depth of Mount Damawand by Faridoon, and that he will be brought out of his captivity at the end of this world (i.e. about the time of the Resurrection) when the hero Sam will completely destroy him.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the adoration of the Creator. (241)

Be it known that, the Creator on account of His dispensation (i.e. bestowal) of all sorts of excellent conditions unto (His) creatures, is worthy to be glorified and worshipped. Also the glorification of the Creator is (necessary) on account of (the manifest proof of) His invisibility (even) to the invisible, His omniscience, omnipotence, all-ruling sovereignty, and every similar manifestation (of His supremacy). In praise He ought to be glorified first; in the yazashna [Yasna] ritual His *khshnuman* [dedication] must precede (those of the good spirits) whereby there is increase of vigor from the Deity unto His creatures. – How should the Almighty [He] be extolled? By means of religious wisdom, truth and charity. Because thereby he is sufficiently glorified, and man receives a reward for it. Accordingly, it is right (for man) to glorify his Creator at the end of the *Niyayesh* prayer, and to repeat the *khshnuman* respecting Him at the close of the yazashna ritual.[121] The worship of the Creator is an evidence of good virtues, rectitude and gifted powers, and a means of His creatures' communion with him. There are (certain kinds of) praise, prayer and adoration, which though comprehending the praise, prayer and worship unto God, do not in the end reach the Creator (i.e. are not acceptable to Him), nor His creatures, but [these] would probably cause hatred in the Creator and distress unto His (true) creatures. How can one who adores a demon with the name of a good spirit, be said to enjoy the good existence pertaining to (the worshippers of) the supreme Lord, and a communion with His originally great creatures?

Again, the heretical priests who neither utter prayer nor worship, produce disbelief in one another regarding religion. That is the religion which was sent out (revealed) at the beginning or original creation to inculcate unto men the prayer of the Divine. What-ever (religion) does not so (inculcate it) is such as would affect (i.e. desire) serious distresses and defects. And its messengers are to turn (mankind) to Ahriman, the demons, and the druj, and thereby the world becomes subject to disquietude. Can the law (i.e. the religion) that excludes prosperity, be fit to exalt and endow men in this world? The man who is (of a religion directing) to extol and worship God, is gifted therein by the Yazads with their (supernatural) power of the knowledge (of the Divine), and hence that man is manifestly known to fulfill (with the knowledge of the religion) the glorification and worship of the Deity. The predominance and the welfare of mankind

121 Thus in every prayer, at the beginning as well as at the end, the Deity is extolled first, and after him the archangels and the angels.

is owing to their much glorification of the Deity.[122]

Exposition in the good religion regarding the prudent, [and] the more prudent and the most prudent among men. (242)

Be it known that, he is prudent among men who abstains from uttering and committing the sin that has occurred to his mind [lit. which has reached him in thought]. And the more prudent (man) is he who abstains from thinking of the sin which has occurred to him in desire. – And the most prudent is he who adopts ways and means (char vaduneda) that his will may refrain from sin.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the people who are manifest in this world as men, as demons and as demon-men. (243)

Be it known that, on the basis of the exposition in the good religion, such is the saying of the fore-seeing sovereign (of the religion, viz. the holy prophet Zartosht,) that as men and as human organisms, the following three kinds are known to be most efficient among the people of this world. True manly nature obtains in the man that (has) these six (qualities): – virtue, wisdom, good habits, modesty, sympathy, thankfulness, and fidelity. Whosoever has these six qualities, holds thereby an exalted position and higher place among the great people. – Whosoever is mediocre (in the above-mentioned qualities,) is a man of the mediocre stage. – Whosoever is inferior (in them) is a man of the inferior stage. – The being of that man, who has none of those six qualities, but who exists for the purpose of doing harm unto men, is not (truly) human. – Again, whosoever has ill-habits opposed to the same good qualities, such as immoral sense, deceitful nature, absence of modesty, false love, a strong feeling against partaking in a thanksgiving, faith destroying infidelity, etc., is a demon on account of these demoniac habits. – Whosoever is devoid of good qualities, and possesses evil qualities pertaining to bad practices [lit. laws,] is a demon-man through human demonism -The (spiritual) youthfulness in this world is for the

122 The holy prophet Zartosht makes the following confession in his prayer to Ohrmazd in the 36th Chapter of the Yasna: "O Ahura Mazda! We (who are Thy indebted creatures) sincerely approach unto Thee through the Fire of Ohrmazd; we sincerely approach unto Thee through Thy good thought and good piety through the acts and words of Thy good wisdom; we sincerely approach unto Thee through all Thy good thoughts, good words, and good actions, we bow to Thee and we invoke Thee; we implore Thy purest person, O Ahura Mazda! that this light (of our souls) may be worthy of one of the most exalted regions – the heavenly region of the sun."

man that is pure. For this reason, whosoever is devoid of demonism and of any connection with the demon, and possesses many good qualities, shall be extolled and promoted; while he who has many evil defects shall be abhorred and degraded. – He who possesses no good qualities, shall not be considered as of any dignity among the virtuous; and such is the monition of the good religion that the good-thinking man shall not even associate with him who is a mediocre among the blemished people.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the cure of the world of its (moral) illness. (244)

Be it known that, the cure of the world of any infection [lit. connection] from a prevalent disease is by means of the good revelation, which is the elixir of life, the remedy for every (moral) illness of the world. – The promotion of the living inferior people by the great is always on account of goodness, for goodness ameliorates mankind by the medium of knowledge, and the knowledge of the spirit is the good revelation. Accordingly, the remedy of the world's (moral) illness is owing to the currency in perfect vigor of the good revelation among the people of the world, and thereby the world is cured of its (moral) sickness.

Exposition in the good religion regarding him that is good, and him that is mischievous (in this world.) (245)

Be it known that, on the basis of the exposition of the good religion the saying of the Poryotkesh regarding whomsoever is good, is that whosoever is generally good, has his body healthy and controls his own individual person, his nourishment is (obtained) without drudgery and without fatigue (lit. zate = injured, distressed), he lives in peace with his co-inmates, and his fame gradually develops. – Whosoever is always good, is always in happiness. – Whosoever has his soul healthy, has his body likewise healthy. – Whosoever is able to drive out the druj (i.e. an evil passion) from his own person, is a ruler over his own individual self. – Whosoever is content with whatever reaches him (i.e. with his lot), has his nourishment without drudgery and distress. – Whosoever well preserves the fire, water, cattle, and men that are in his charge, lives in peace with the inmates of his house. Whosoever industriously attends to his vocation, increases gradually in his reputation. – Whosoever is constantly mischievous injures himself; his body is diseased; he has no power over his individual person; his provision is full of labor and affliction; he is not

on peaceful terms with the co-inmates of his house; his reputation is struck (i.e. injured by him.) – Whosoever continuously commits injury, is always in fear (of infernal penalty.) – Whosoever has a diseased soul, has his body diseased. – He in whose body the druj is oppressive, is not powerful over his own body. – He who is discontented with what he has earned, has a nourishment full of drudgery and affliction. – He is not in accord with the inmates of his house, who ill-preserves the fire, water, cattle, and men that are under his care. Whosoever does not attend to his vocation, injures his reputation.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that man is not fitted by the Creator Ohrmazd, to be the cause of sin and damage (in this world). (246)

Be it known that, the Creator Ohrmazd created every creature (regularly) from a single species, and produced every man from one single father; and for this reason, that (His) creatures may, on account of their common origin, nourish and improve and support one another, and men, from their common birth, may regard one another as their own, and do good to one another as sincere brothers, and remove injury one from the other, in order that Vohuman, Spandarmad, Srosh, and many other angelic powers may reach into men and dwell in them for the purpose of engendering in men an understanding coupled with devotion, a good reasoning power and other superior qualities, whereby men may prove capable of doing deeds of merit, and be meritorious themselves, wherever, and as long as, they desire, think, and speak of righteousness, and practice meritorious acts. But, if with one that is adapted (to perform acts of merit) are associated or closely coupled avarice, lust, wrath, jealousy, shame, spite and other sinful habits and vices, such a sinful and death-promoting person becomes the means of causing injury and affliction to others. There is no casting off the sins of such a person, nor forgiveness, nor absolution unto him from mankind; because if we strike or afflict any body, as a retribution thereof; we are justly punished and scourged according to the precept of religion, and that striking and infliction ever recoil upon our own souls. – While that striking and other injuries come back upon ourselves, and there is fear of causeless injuries and mischief being punished by justice, it is suitable for man to amend himself by habits of not injuring (i.e. abstaining from injury or hurt). Man is not justified in injuring or hurting his fellow-creatures; hence it is a monition in the revelation that the ruler of a city shall cause that his subjects may be righteous and harmless. – So among (heretical) priests those that do not see an

unjust act of injury as a means of sin, regard avarice, lust, shame, spite and jealousy as appropriate (qualities) in men. – The utterances of such priests are questionable sayings and palpable falsehood.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that the means of knowing the Deity depends upon the existence of (certain) objects (i.e. faculties.) (247)

Be it known that, the means of knowing the Deity [lit. the Self-existent One,] depend upon the existence of (certain) objects. These are the following three: First, Philosophy; second, Faith; and third, Experience.

First, philosophy is (necessary) for this reason, that we may recognize the existence of the Creator of the Universe from His formations (i.e. the nature) of the worldly existences.

Secondly, Faith is (necessary) for this reason that from the testimony of the innermost [lit. hidden] spirit (viz. conscience,) we may believe in divine existences whose nature is invisible and imperceptible, as well as in the evidence (resulting therefrom) of the existence of the Almighty.

Thirdly, Experience is (necessary) for this reason that from the phenomenon of the sunrise today we may previously understand that there will be the phenomenon of the sunrise tomorrow.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the prosperous or unprosperous state of man (in regard to virtue.) (248)

Be it known that, the prosperous state of man (in regard to virtue) is caused by the vigorous study of (religious) philosophy. – Whosoever possessing philosophical attainments, holds the highest rank in piety, does so on account of his aspirations towards the Highest. – Whoso holds the mediocre (rank), does so on account of his mediocre aspirations. – And he who holds the inferior rank, does so on account of his inferior aspirations. – Whosoever has no knowledge of the highest [lit. first] stage of piety, is devoid of the felicitous existence in the highest paradise.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the characteristics of true knowledge and of evil cognizance. (249)

Be it known that, the characteristics of the true knowledge

(acquired from the revelation) are as follows: Peacefulness, truthful speech, cheerful humor, sincere amity, and liberality. He who possesses these five characteristics with pure goodness is a quarry of knowledge, and should be regarded as an expert in preeminent philosophy; and the people of the world should endeavor to be associated and united with him. – Again, from the evil cognizance the symptoms are as follows: – Discord, foolish utterance, melancholy, the enmity of the good, and niggardliness. – Whosoever possesses these five characteristics, should be considered as celebrated in evil knowledge, and carefully avoided.

Exposition in the good religion regarding light and darkness, and the several descriptions thereof. (250)

Be it known that, light is of two kinds. One is the light of the vision of the physical eye, and thus it may be seen by the open eye of the body. The other is the light that is seen with the mind's eye and it is the knowledge (perceived) from the clear vision of the spiritual eye, [lit. the soul's eye.] – Every perception relating thereto (i.e. to that light,) is conveyed (unto man) by Vohuman and other good spirits of light. The eye of knowledge is open on account of the vigor of the soul's vision. The soul's power is for the purpose of perceiving objects of virtuous strength. The powerful material light is for the purpose of observing and enlightening objects by means of the strength of the bodily vision which keeps the eye-sight open. The darkness that veils the vision of the bodily eye-sight, is owing to two different kinds of (evil) intelligence. First, whatever shuts the perception of the spiritual eye, such as evil mind, avarice, perverseness, wrath and spite which is the worst of all; secondly, whatever mars the vision of the bodily eyesight by the absence of the good abode of spiritual perception in the material light or in the vision of the bodily eye-sight.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the exalted position that is acquired (by man) at the future renovation on account of perfect improvement by means of paradisiacal virtues, and regarding the fact that this world is (for the purpose of performing righteous acts) for both.* (251)

> [* i.e. For performing such acts of merit in this world as would render the soul worthy of paradise and of the felicity of the future renovation.]

Be it known that, all improvement of self for (attaining to) an

exalted condition in paradise, is for (i.e. conducive to bring elevation at) the time of future renovation. On account of this paradisiacal region there will be improvement unto a single tribe (lit. people of the same lineage, meaning Zoroastrians) for the period of renovation, just as from the season of spring there is perfect and equal enjoyment unto this world. Because it is declared (in the religion) that the souls in paradise are in an undistressed (felicitous) condition, and these invisible spirits who are the inmates of paradise ever improve themselves so as to be worthy of the perfect felicity of the future renovation. Accordingly, this world is a region wherein sufficient improvement can be acquired to make (man) worthy of both (viz. paradise and the tan-i-pasin); [and] because all happiness (lit. unafflicted enjoyment) in paradise and in the period of tan-i-pasin, is by means of overpowering or defeating the Blemish-giver (i.e. evil), and the waging of that conflict (against evil) by creatures that are endowed with strength from the Creator, takes place on the battlefield of this world. – The (heretical) priests who abominate paradise and the tan-i-pasin, are worthy of detestation in this world. The most wicked people will be constantly subject to the usual infernal penalty for the purpose of accomplishing the act of renovation. How could that creed be regarded as the medium of improvement which believes in the final evil (of this world)? How could misery without happiness, or distressing calamity, be said to be a good medium for man, and pertain to paradise?

Exposition in the good religion regarding the perception of the highest medium for attaining to the next world (paradise) which is without affliction. (252)

Be it known that, the perception of the highest medium for attaining to paradise which is without affliction, is by means of the Mazdayasnian religion which displays that world with a wholesome vision. Having a conception of that world (it is obligatory that) man should repel the druj perceived from himself, so that the best and known equipments (for paradise) may be acquired [lit. purchased.]

Exposition in the good religion regarding the learned, the religious philosophy, and those that are versed in that philosophy (253)

Be it known that, the learned is he who perceives objects by means of his genius [lit. wisdom acquired from one's own powerful spirit,] as he would see them by means of his corporeal vision. Religious wisdom

is that by which one may perceive objects as easily as he would see them by the bodily eyesight; it may be compared to the treasures of the opulent wherefrom people acquire riches.[123]

He is the learned in religious philosophy in whom there subsists the good abode of the spirit of wisdom; the learned is intelligent on account of his intellect, and lives (i.e. becomes immortal by his intellectual monuments.) Just as a man beholds every object, yea vision subsists in him on account of the good abode of the ocular organ, so wisdom is as nutriment (pashne) in the learned, whereby every object is comprehended by him. According as the discerning person possesses the power of discernment, as the punisher as well as the punished understands the nature of a punishment, and as other objective or subjective agents know the nature of their vocation, so every philosophic person, by virtue of his knowledge, appreciates religious philosophy, and is in union with the ideas of his ancestors. The learned man by means of learning, comprehends the power of knowledge. Knowledge is the means of intellectual culture, whereby objects are understood by the knowing.

There are three description of beings that are versed in religious philosophy. First, He Who is so versed by means of his self-learning, and that is the manifest [lit. known] Creator Ohrmazd whose knowledge is for unlimited time, and is the highest in power. – Secondly, he who has made himself learned by means of learning, just as a soul is made vital by means of its own vital power, and the fire is made hot by means of its own heat. – Thirdly, he who is (i.e. presumes to be) learned without having acquired learning himself (i.e. one who depends upon the learning of others, and calls himself learned) is like unto the body that is living by means of the soul's vital power, and unto iron, wood, and stone which become hot by means of the fire. – That faith is not designated by the learned as the law, which does not emanate from The Wise One. Of the heretical priests he whose creed does not appertain to the Omnipotent, is said to be unfit for (happiness under) the rule of the Divine Sovereign, or for (benefiting) the productions of the Creator. – -Such a creed is said to be devoid of the wisdom, potency, sovereignty, and efficiency of God.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the triumph of learning and the success of the learned. (254)

Be it known that, successful learning results from the beneficent help of the successful spirits (viz. the angels and archangels) as well as

123 The Zoroastrian religious wisdom is here compared to a fountain of wealth from which the sages are supposed to collect their whole stock of knowledge.

from the habitation in the body of exalted thoughts emanating from a heart prone to exalted habits. The success of the learned is manifest from the constant progress of acquired learning, and from the vigorous habits of recollection thereof (i.e. of progress) in the mind.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the good intention and the evil intention) their causes and efficacy, and the improvement of both by the existence of wisdom. (255)

Be it known that, the cause of the good intention is Vohuman, and its power is the perception of higher efficiency. The cause of the evil intention is Akoman, and its power lies in causing gross defects. The improvement of both is by the existence of efficient wisdom. The man of evil intention closely searches defects in others, while he is hiding his own; but the man of good intention yearns after good virtues, and is unassuming.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the greatness and power originating in man (by association with his parents or preceptors) (256)

Be it known that, the mental appearance or constitution of man is of manifold descriptions. First, it resembles the temperament of her who gives him birth, his mother; secondly, that of the one who has brought him up; thirdly, that of the moral preceptor or teacher while he attends him; fourthly, man acquires in his youth the habits of overpowering and surpassing his inferiors; and lastly, he manifests himself as having the good habits, nature and defects of his begetter, the father.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the duty of man to be grateful in his thought, word and deed. (257)

Be it known that, it is the duty of man to be always grateful in thought, word, and deed, especially towards the following four: (1) Towards Ohrmazd, principally for His having created him. (2) Towards the sovereign, chiefly for his having given him protection in this world. (3) Towards the parents, especially for their having brought him up with care. (4) Towards the moral teacher, chiefly for his instruction (that enables him) to recognize these four kinds of obligations.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the power possessed by every man of this material world for the salvation of his soul (from sin.) (258)

Be it known that, the salvation of the soul shall be attained by the currency of that great remedy, sinlessness or the elevation of one's being by the apprehension of sin, as well as by abstention from sinful acts [lit. by not concurring in sinful acts], and by the knowledge of the good religion and the innate good sense given by God.

Every intelligent human being shall be as capable of avoiding sin as of tending to acts of merit. – Thus the man of this material world is formed always capable of redeeming his soul from sin.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the pentomadal divisions of the month. (259)

Be it known that, in every month its divisions as regards the moon and its divisions as regards the religion are pentomadal. Their names are three. One of them is (called) *Andarmah*, the first division, that begins on the first, and ends on the fifth day after the new-moon. – The second is called *Purmah*, which begins on the eleventh, and ends on the fifteenth day after the new-moon. – The third is called *Vispotatmah*, which begins on the twenty-first, and ends on the twenty-fifth day from the same new-moon. – And these three pentomadal periods are called good (auspicious) ones. It is generally enjoined that several works should be principally performed therein: corn, vegetables, and other kinds of trees should be grown, man and wife should couple, the male gospands should be left free (to generate), and all sorts of good works relating to this world should be performed or designed, superior functions should be attended to, and the Yazashnih [Yasna] and Myazd rites be observed.[124]

In the names of the three remaining pentomadal divisions the first is the *Padire-Andamah*, which begins on the sixth, and ends on the tenth day from the new moon. The second is the *Padire-Purmah*, which begins on the sixteenth, and ends on the twentieth from the new-moon. The third is the *Padire-Vispotath*, which begins on the twenty-sixth, and ends on the thirtieth. Such is the course of time after the succeeding new-moons (or in each succeeding month.) The time during these three intervening periods is inferior, wherefore no works relating to the city should be undertaken therein; but works of merit should be as much performed as possible, and no moment should be lost without doing some righteous act, and no moment of

124 In the Mah Niyayesh these three pentomadal periods are regarded as good ones and praised.

the spiritual being (in future) be made harmful by committing perverse sins.

Again, the three Pentomadal periods first described, are selected for the inauguration of special works pertaining to them. As to the works that are not to be performed therein, it is said that these could be thought of or designed, but practiced only in periods suitable for them; and such works or designs should be eagerly put into force on such days as are said to be great (i.e. auspicious) for them. And such works as are prescribed to be religious by the preeminent dasturs of the good religion, should in no wise be opposed or withheld.

Exposition in the good religion regarding men of angelic nature and demoniac beings in human frame. (260)

Be it known that, by means of the pure angelic nature, man enjoys good life, health and protection; and by conducting himself (with that gift) for future benefit, and by preserving his soul (from sin) he attains to divine assistance and gratification. By the non-proximity (i.e. absence) of the Evil (lit. the druj,) his (i.e. man's) good wishes are not frustrated [lit. unobtained], and he follows honest ways through divine guardianship, and redeems his soul from final damnation. Such a man of angelic nature is far from any cognizance of the evil belief. The man that is free from the evil religion, prospers in life, and embarrasses those who adhere to the evil creed. The unhappy man (that follows an evil belief), strengthens and pampers evil, while he that fulfills his desires (by an adherence to the good religion,) aggrandizes his fame and continuously enjoys an happy existence.

The demon-like man on account of his hostile propensity to the Ohrmazdian creatures, exists for the purpose of wounding, distressing, and killing animate creatures [lit. living bodies] as well as for deceiving, corrupting, and exposing the soul to damnation; for which (heinous guilt) the apostate demon-man is doomed to undergo affliction and imprisonment in the infernal abode, is dragged away into the hellish dwelling, there to be killed in the vengeance taken for the pious (injured by him in this world), and his body will be destroyed, putrefied, and rendered stinking by the rush of the druj-nasu upon it. The soul of that sinful wretch will be dragged in hell towards the Blemish-giver (Ahriman), there he will ever remain clamoring and tortured and degraded on account of his devilish acts (done on earth). from such confusion of a man of a demonical nature there is rejoicing unto the genius of the evil religion. In the association with that evil spirit such a one has to suffer forever the gnawing and

biting of the surrounding pernicious (hellish) creatures. The evil-willed Ahriman is ever jealous of the salvation of the wicked, or of the happiness of the blessed. However, there is no remedy for the redemption of a perverse wretch, and there is much embarrassment for the follower of evil to render his soul happy. By the total desertion of the evil spirit by his followers, the apostate (Ahriman) will be imprisoned mercilessly and with abhorrence (at the final renovation).

Exposition in the good religion regarding (the questions:) Who is deserving to be the lord of all? Who is undeserving to be the lord of all? Who is deserving to be the lord of existence, and who is not so? (261)

Be it known that, the Just One is deserving to be the lord of all. He Who is the Existent One, is deserving to be the lord of existence. How can he that is non-existent be equal to the Victorious and the First or Highest One?

Exposition In the good religion regarding the selected means of improvement in a city and among mankind. (262)

Be it known that, all sorts of improvement in a city and among men, subsist by means of the knowledge of the revelation, and mostly by truthful speech; and by these means four righteous qualifications are acquired, which tend to the improvement of a city and of men under the supervision of a worthy head. 1st. While he (i.e. the head) has honest inclination., there abides in him the glorious intuition for ameliorating the city. 2nd. While he has a natural vigor in his heart for 4 giving out the truth, he is strongly inclined to utter only the truth. 3rd. While his truthful speech teems with the intelligence of good spirits, the truth is aggrandized. 4th. While he trusts in the righteous utterances of man among mankind, his work (in this life) is full of delight. Thus the revealer of truth is a medium for the improvement of the city and its human inmates.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the material substance [lit. body] of this world, its different ingredients, and its essential elements; the origin and nature of that which adorns the spirit, and renders it useful; the origin and nature of that which destroys or injures it, and the causes of its adornment, benefit, decay, and injury. (263)

Be it known that, the material constitution of this world is composed of fire, water, earth, metals, vegetables, animals, and mankind, just as a human body is made up of marrow, blood, veins, arteries, bones, the stomach, and the hair. The principal ingredients comprehend a the essential elements of fire air, moisture, and mud, just as air, blood, heat, and dust are the elements of the human body. The force of the fire and the wind produces continuous motion and activity in the elements of this world; also by that means the *farohar* succeeds in effecting organic union and produces efficacy in the corporeal ingredients in man. The world lives by the union of the vital spirit. The great function of help to the vital power, is from the aerial element. The sounds whereby people communicate with one another, are effected by means of breath and intuitive modulation. The vital breath is said to cause activity. The human body is vital on account of the fire in it. The wind that causes motion in the world subsists by the vital agency therein. – The soul is successful in this life through transcendent merit. Whoso helps his fellow men in trouble, is believed to do so by reason of his good stars.

Just as the intellectual soul causes motion in the human body, so the glorious and bright good spirits produce mobility and beneficial changes in this world. In like manner man adorns and benefits himself by the abode of (the spirit) Vohuman in his heart. But the spirits of evil or cursed motion cause destruction and injury to the life of this world. The beings that swoop down in enmity into the works of the Deity, are designated the *dadanis*[125] of the North. Likewise, man is liable to destroy and injure himself because of the ravager Akoman abiding in his heart's thought. The improvement and benefit of the world proceed from the development of husbandry,[126] which is a precursor of honest toil. The life, security, integrity, devotion, and exalted position of the husbandman, depend upon his attainments in learning. Likewise, his attainments, benefits righteousness, good repute, and piety, are the results of his acquirement of Vohuman.

Destruction and injury to the life of this world are caused by the

125 For the explanation of this term see Vol.1. p. 20, § 9.

126 For the meaning of bks vide Vol. 1. p. 20, § 8.

vicious and blemished dadani (the demon of famine.) So also illness, mortality, infamy, putrefaction, evil odors, and mortification to men, are caused by the perverse sense of the destructive and mischievous Akoman, while wickedness and ignominy are the results of sin. The benefits and blessings falling upon men of this world, result from the gifts of happiness bestowed by the Source and Creator of the world, and the exaltation of men is owing to the monitions of the purely moral revelation. But there is no progress in the nature of this world by the creatures and adherents of the perverse Blemish-giver Evil. Hence it is manifest that by reason of a similar improving nature, and through the prosperity and elevation bestowed upon them by the Creator of the world, there results improvement but no degeneration in men in the earthly state, and hence man grows moral by virtue of his pious conceptions. Consequently it is improper to say that humanity is destined to be destroyed. The creed of heretical priests whose heart's thought tends or adheres to the source of evil (i.e. Ahriman,) declares the annihilation of the world by (the prevalence of) that source of destruction. But the priests whose hearts adhere to the source of good (i.e. Spenamino) are, by means of their union with that source, said to overpower the worst among the destroyers, the worst among the evil doers.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the being who preconceives the means of counteracting evil, and the being who is the lord of such means as they are described by Ohrmazd in the revelation that improves [lit. ornaments] the creatures of Spenamino. (264)

Be it known that, he who preconceives the means of counteracting evil, is in communion with the victorious source (of good, i.e. the Spenamino) of the Deity. Whoso is capable of remedying every object pertaining to himself, is so by reason of his communion with the all-informed source of remedy (viz. Spenamino.) The living human being has at his command all such restoratives owing to the efficient intelligence (derived from the revelation.) As to the lord of means, it is He Who is ever needless of any remedy for Himself, since He is the Omniscient Being manifest through His works that are achieved by the best of means, as well as by reason of His Omniscience regarding both the worlds (i.e. this world and the next.) lie is the lord of means and the lord of works.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the religious benefit to the world from one who is faithful to the revelation, and the injury to it from one who is in the greatest danger (of infernal Punishment.) (265)

Be it known that, the monarch who inherits from his ancestors great fidelity to his faith, is a source of religious benefit to his people. By his inclination towards devotion to the Deity, prudence [lit. administration of justice] and religious invocations, such a king propagates his faith and renders piety illustrious; for under the rule of a sovereign that is devoted to the Deity, prudent and religious, there result strength and victory to the realm and the faith of the ruler, who makes current his belief and renders piety full of luster. By reason of his faith the people of the world are protected, improved, dignified and increased. But the ruler that inherits from his ancestors (sins that involve) the greatest danger (of infernal punishment,) is very harmful to the world. By a mind tending to destruction, by hindering justice and abstaining from religious invocations, a ruler render his conscience blunt and himself deceitful, whereby he sullies his faith and calumniates piety-yea, he neglects his duty as the guardian of his people owing to the defects in his rule and faith, and to his perverse and injurious habits, which result in the degeneration, moral weakness and blindness of this world.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the power of perception in man which improves and dignifies, or degrades and debases him, as well as the description of men affected thereby respectively (266)

Be it known that, the power of perception in man is the result of his innate sense. Innate sense itself is a power of spiritual vision. The improvement of man is caused by the Vohuman abiding in his conscience, and his exaltation to a superior position by imbibing sacred wisdom into the mind; his degradation is caused by not digesting the knowledge or the revelation, and his corruption by the abode of the oppressive Akoman in his heart. The five different aspects of such human perception are described in their respective chapters (as follows): 1st. A thoroughly lucid perception. 2nd. An almost clear perception. 3rd. A half clear perception. 4th. An almost obscure perception. 5th. A thoroughly dim perception.

A thoroughly lucid [lit. open] perception is the result of a continuous abiding of Vohuman in the heart, and of the avoidance of the injury of Akoman from it. This is the highest stage of imbibing religious wisdom into the mind. It is the cause of supernatural

prophetic perception.

An almost clear perception is the result of the dwelling of Vohuman in the heart and of the dispersion therefrom [lit. from the heart's thought] of the blindness of Akoman. This is a stage wherein man is capable of apprehending the works of the wicked dadani, and of aggrandizing himself.

A half clear perception is the result of the dimness of the light of Vohuman in the heart. Religious knowledge of much inferior quality is imbibed into the mind by the influence of Akoman [lit. by the casting of shadow by Akoman] upon the thought of one's heart. This is a stage wherein man is only capable of knowledge by means of learning or intelligence.

An almost obscure perception is the result of a dim and feeble light of Vohuman in the heart, and deficiency of religious knowledge coupled with an oppressive influence of Akoman upon one's heart's thought. This is the stage wherein man teaches and meditates upon apostate precepts.

A thoroughly obscure perception is the result of a total absence from the heart of Vohuman's light as well as religious learning, and of the penetration into the heart's thought of the distressful Akoman. This is the stage in which man's sense is failing, his skill perverse, and his intelligence dim.

Exposition in the good religion regarding that which by means of revolution returns to its original source, and that which by a (divine) rule is connected from the beginning to the end. (267)

Be it known from an exposition in the good religion that, it is Time which returns to its original source by means of revolution, and that it is the chain of sacred Wisdom which is linked from the beginning to the end (i.e. from one end to the another.) As regards Time the exposition is that it is (avaestakik) consonant owing to the efficiency of the power of its original cause (viz. the Deity;) it is (arshno-tacha) running in a regular measure or order. In the creation the first work of the Creator of the Universe, appertained to Time. The end of the work of that Divine Agent, is connected with the limited time of the planetary motion. The end of the limited time, is joined to (i.e. simultaneous with) the end of planetary revolutions. All worldly existences will be purified (i.e. absolved from evil or sin) before the end of that limited time (or before the resurrection.) At the future renovation there will be no departure for those that are in communion

with God.

Regarding Time the dasturs said thus: Time was unlimited at the beginning; but it was afterwards made limited. At the end of the limited time, it will again become without bounds (and roll on to eternity.) The exposition thereof is as follows! Time is known to be limited as regards the end of planetary revolutions, but at their close Time will become unlimited as regards its connection with the infinite end.

As to the sacred wisdom the exposition is as follows: The Deity is infinite in time by reason of his miraculous wisdom. The existence of the Omniscient Lord is eternal in time by reason of his eternal power. The knowledge pertaining to God is unattainable by the Blemish-giver (viz. the spirit of evil) owing to his evil will and design. The latter prevails upon his apostate adherents that act according to his will, and associates with all that desire to be united with him by his worship, though they are not his own creatures. He makes them his accomplices and takes them to be his followers.

On the other hand, the man who is endowed with some proper knowledge of God, attributes the highest position to the Creator of the Universe – which supreme dignity. He is worthy of by reason of His first glorious creation of the endless light, and thereafter of the spirits of truth in that endless light, by His adherence to the spirits of truth in the endless light, by His great wisdom coupled with His omniscient and beneficent power, and lastly by His omniscient intelligence in producing creatures that may serve to fulfill His will (in this world.[127]) Thus the Lord will overpower the destroyer in the end. Thus He will turn all his creatures back to Himself. To eternity the evil spirit will be down (or dejected), and Ohrmazd will embellish the world with joy by means of his fresh (or renovated) treasures from the source of good. The source of good is the seed or cause of all natures capable of doing good, whereby the good people become always illustrious. All objects and persons are endowed with splendor or glory from the Creator in proportion to their connection with Him, just as the dawning follows the dusk, the twilight follows the day-light, and light emanates from shining objects.

127 This idea is referred to in the 22nd Chapter of the *Vendidad*.

Exposition in the good religion regarding men who abide in this world with their minds devoted to the (good) religion, and are equipped with sacred weapons (for warring against evil,) as well as the advantages resulting therefrom. (268)

Be it known that, men who live in this world with their minds devoted to the (good) religion, and who are equipped with sacred weapons, are victorious and powerful and conduce to the happiness of their fellows. Worthy efforts proceed from them in this world. They are the cause of the activity and prosperity of the world, and the guardians of its creatures.

By the vigor of their good sense the protective spirits instill into them a desire to overpower the druj in order to further the final renovation. Thus they gain the advantages accruing from their abstention from sin, from their exertions in doing meritorious acts, from the deliverance and exaltation of their souls after the end of this material existence, and from their everlasting life in the good abode of paradise.

Likewise, such men possess the following two kinds of like qualifications or powers, (and are believed to be of even merit in their efforts: 1st, the victorious mind that abides in this world devoted to the good religion; secondly, the prudent mind that exerts its powers to struggle against evil on behalf of the (good) religion. Thus man obtains the benefits of the spiritual world by his good demeanor, his improvement of self for both worlds, and his acts resulting from the highest aspirations.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the good conduct of man for this world and for the next world. (269)

Be it known that, the excellent conduct of man for this world, is conducive to [lit. for] the good (name) of his family [barih-progency, children.] His excellent conduct for the next world, comprises his good acts which deliver him from punishment in Hell. One should principally exert and desire for the sake of the soul, whatever by solicitation and exertion would strengthen and help it. The object of this earthly life is to abandon one's self to the care of the good spirits, and to choose the good spirits of the earth as one's supervisors Because on the basis of an exposition in the good religion, the earliest heads of the religion have enjoined thus: Whosoever should exert himself for the benefit of his soul, will consume earthly riches to cure the soul's frailty and earn higher profits for it (in the next world.)

Exposition in the good religion regarding the best equipment necessary for the dignified and poor people. (270)

Be it known that, the best equipment adapted to the dignified and poor people is (sacred) wisdom. In every age people become meritorious in manifold ways, especially by means of devotion and obedience to the sovereign as well as to the head of religion, and by reason of fidelity to God through true belief in the doctrine of that reasoning or philosophic lord (of the revelation, viz. Zoroaster). Amongst other virtuous people the chief that surpasses in reasoning power, is from the basis of religious exposition, connected with the body of the prophet; because the sovereign and the priest possessing excellent philosophic talents, are both in communion with the great prophetic lord (Zoroaster).

Exposition in the good religion regarding evil and goodness, their strength and prevalence [lit. currency] in this material world. (271)

Be it known that, goodness is a moral habit, and the ideas appertaining to it comprise wisdom, truth, and other qualities of light, (viz.) good intellect, piety, fresh existence(i.e. meritoriousness or immortal fame), strength of righteous habits, and virtues of like kinds. Evil is an unmoral habit, and the ideas appertaining thereto comprise evil intelligence, falsehood, deceit, and other vices of darkness, (viz.) filthiness, pollution, perverse life, sinfulness, depravity and vicious habits of like nature.

According as the light of the Sun helps the power of beholding this world, so does the virtue of goodness strengthen the material perception. But the evil habits of an immoral being annihilate the power of physical sight, and like darkness obscure perception. The currency of evil in this earthly place is by reason of an evil frailty in this power of perception. Owing to this overpowering evil tendency the earliest followers of the Deity Ohrmazd have abandoned the goodness and piety pertaining to their souls. The adherents of evil are, therefore, always united by their common propensity for propagating evil. Consequently, the impiety of evil can only be conquered by a continuous warring against it by means of power derived from the virtuous merits of divine vision. Man becomes adapted to the source of evil, *Ganamino*, by undoing or suppressing all his good powers and faculties. The heretical priests who perpetrate such deeds as result from evil immoral powers and similar immoral conceptions, deliberately (pavan kam) hinder the currency of moral habits. Their religion cannot be regarded as a gift from the Deity, and connected with the ways of Spenamino; but as emanating from the ways of *Ganamino*, who is identified with immorality.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the causes of transgression and consequent sinfulness of the soul possessing a bright vision. (272)

Be it known that, the soul during its connection with its congenial instrument, this corporeal frame, has a desire and capability for acquiring sacred knowledge. Man remains in a pious and sinless condition by the help of the good spirits; but his body and soul tend to the dark perverse nature by reason of an admixture of evil blemish. The soul transgresses owing to its vicious impressions and to the absence of the knowledge of the good religion. The yearning for immoral apostate dogmas makes him vivious, the ignorance of the good religion destroys the propensities [lit. thoughts] for acts of merit. Owing to his fondness for comfort man grows too idle to think of acts of merit.

On the other hand, a soul possessing a bright vision is also liable in this life to commit sin, and thus debars itself from the exalted state accruing from acts of merit, which are the means of absolution from sin. The individual self or the soul consequently suffers serious punishment in the nethermost hollow desert of the druj.

It is manifest from the good religion that in the end the good spirits will be victorious and the powers of the druj defeated, that according to the will of the Creator the spiritual purifiers will absolve

the sinful from guilt by the ablution of heavy penalty and convey them out of hell, and that those who will be cleansed of the corruptions of the Blemish-giver, will receive garments of a like nature by the gift of an immortal frame and of a constitution paradisiacal and full of comfort.

The perverse tendencies of the soul in this corporeal organism, are hurtful (to man.) It is apparent falsehood to declare that the soul with such constant natural bad habits, could sustain the soundness and life of the body. As to the human soul there was no sinful condition (destined) for it at the beginning. But the soul is said to be sinful by being guilty of speech and acts pertaining to the druj (viz. Ahriman,) wherefore penitence is declared to be binding upon the soul that is liable to punishment by reason of its sinfulness insinuated by the spirit of evil. It is improper [lit. untrue] to do penitence for sins not perpetrated by one's self, because the indications of penance are said to resemble fire or heat thus: As from the sun no darkness subsists as an effective body, so no evil or sin is said to subsist in the soul (that is ever bright and penitential.) This may be explained in another manner thus: As I have said above, wherever the sun is no darkness subsists, so by the fire or penitence sin itself is melted down or disappears. Consequently, penance is indispensable for every sin that is unrepented for. If a sinful liar repents for his sins, though he is insincere in his utterances still that false wretch should be praised for keeping himself back from his evil nature by sincere penitence for his sins-he should be generally encouraged for this superior contemplation for the good of his miserable spirit; because whosoever after the commission of sins keeps himself back from such sinful habits, is said to rise to a higher condition.

Exposition in the good religion regarding a worthy sovereignty. (273)

Be it known that, a worthy sovereignty is the result of the best (means of) protection of its subjects. A sovereign is great or dignified by reason of the care of his people. He is the constant guide of his loyal fellowmen. The desire for authority or rule is the desire for the (higher cultivation of the) soul. The desire for the soul is the desire for the knowledge or wisdom of the spirit and for the religion comprehending the doctrines of Ohrmazd. By means of an exalted intelligence we are able to test the wisdom of the sages. A sovereign of the above description is styled a good ruler in the Mazdayasnian religion. Again, the best sovereign in this world is he who has faith in the high-priest of the good religion of this world, which embodies the wisdom of Ohrmazd. That monarch resembles Ohrmazd in will,

whose desire is to make his people immortal, and who weighs his will by his own wisdom. Such a monarch is considered in the religion as a righteous ruler. Next to him in the world stands the high-priest, that is the wisest among mankind. Thus, that monarch is like unto Ohrmazd, whose will embodies his desire for immortality, and who accordingly guides his people thereto.

A ruler of the following description is styled an evil monarch in the (good) religion. Also amongst dignified people he is considered as unworthy of sovereignty. He is the most degraded ruler that adheres to the wishes of a priest, whose intelligence is vicious and who persuades him to avarice. He creates in his people no yearning for immortality. By long conducting his people into a communion with the evil druj (Ahriman,) that is never connected or will never be connected with the Deity who is the Bestower of felicitous life, he (i.e. the immoral ruler) deteriorates his subjects. It is owing to a good and virtuous rule that the world would be guided to do acts conducive to (promote) the future renovation; but to what end men are conducted by an evil rule, was manifested during the millennium of the wicked sovereignty of Zohak, who was reputed as the pioneer and head of evil monarchy on earth. No ruler ought to rule the world as he did for a thousand years under his pernicious rule.

Exposition in the good religion regarding a righteous action, honest comfort, an honest exaltation of self in righteous acts, honest comfort accruing from righteous nature, and the equipment pertaining to acts conducive to felicity. (274)

Be it known that, a righteous action is the result of pure diligence, which is devoid of avarice and toil of Bratrut. Honest comfort springs from pious contentment, which abstains from the indolence and impatience of Bratrut. An honest exaltation of self in righteous acts, is caused by the profitable yearnings of a pious mind. The honest comfort accruing from a righteous nature, is the result of appropriate habits of contentment, which are devoid of any propensity to ambition, devoid of avarice, anxiety, lust, and improved by harmonious tendencies. The equipment pertaining to acts conducive to felicity, is caused by rational attempts at righteous industry, and by honest actions of physical toil. The equipment of felicitous deeds prescribed by the good religion, comprehends an inquiry of the pious people regarding the sacred wisdom (pertaining to immortal existence) for one-third part of every day and night, the performance of deeds approved by means of that wisdom during the second third part of every day and night, and (lastly) the relaxation of the body for

the preservation of one's physical strength necessary for action during the third part of every day and night. Thus righteous sovereigns have ruled with principles conducive to human happiness, owing to their knowledge of the good religion.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that there are innumerable forms of the wisdom of the Mazdayasnian religion for the knowledge of man. (275)

Be it known that the thing embellished by all kinds of wisdom is the Mazdayasnian faith. And this faith is the sense of a superior order of knowledge for thanking the Creator Ohrmazd; and this sense renders all men better versed in the knowledge about the Almighty.

A knowledge of the transcendent wisdom of this faith is not possessed by the ordinary learned men. Among the intelligent learned, only those who are most so can understand it. The knowledge within the limit of the (pure) human reason can be obtained (only) through the wisdom of the Mazdayasnian faith.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the question: By virtue of what origin does the Almighty give strength to the invisible creation? (276)

Be it known that God himself the Author of the invisible creation, is the giver to all (earthly) things in an invisible manner of the principle of strength by virtue of its origin (i.e. according to its origin). Just as many kinds of clothes are made by spinning and weaving the thread of wool, so the Almighty creates all invisible things and endows them with the seed of earthly strength. The various kinds of earthly strength (i.e. existence) are distinguished, just as superior kinds of wool produce superior clothes.

Exposition in the good religion regarding those that were already in existence at the time of the creation (of this world) and those that will be at its end. (277)

Be it known that the Yazads and Amahraspands (angels and archangels) were created by and were in communion with the Almighty before the creation of this world. The creatures who shall be in communion with God till the end of creation, are those who endeavor to bring about the Renovation of the World (Frashegird) within the limits of finite time.

Exposition in the good religion as to who are those that prepare themselves for the highest grade of existence and those that are misled towards the lowest or worst (perdition.) (278)

Be it known that he who is obedient to his Creator and submissive to His commands, who respects the orders of His vicegerent the king, and who orders his life according to the precepts of the supreme Zoroastrian religious authority of his time, is the man who prepares himself for the state of supreme happiness. Whilst he is led to perdition who does not believe in God owing to his listening to the temptation of the false religion, who disobeys and is ungrateful to both the supreme Zoroastrian spiritual and the temporal authority.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the qualities which mark the race and family destined to bear rule among men and the indications appearing when the ruling power departs from it. (279)

Be it known that the scions of the family wherein shines the splendor of light, wherein resides divine reason, which is in communion through prayer with God and the angels, are the ones marked out for supremacy (in the state.) They are to have the precedence over high and low, to take care of them, and listen (to their wants and complaints.) They possess great righteous strength. They are to be blessed with abundance of male offspring. Through them mortality decreases in the world.

When however supremacy is to pass away from the family, it is deserted by right reason, and is the hotbed of ruinous quarrels. God loves not such a family. It helps for evil the high and the low who are not listened to by it. It is barren of male issue. It is instrumental in increasing mortality among men.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the soul's belief in the efficacy of prayer to God. (280)

Be it known that the man who is far-sighted (who looks to the other world) believes in the efficacy of prayer to God for the salvation of his soul; because he hopes to be saved from damnation by being in the good graces of the Almighty on account of his perfect veracity, his proper sense of justice, his fidelity to his plighted word, his companionship of the wise, and by his wariness in giving out his opinions and thoughts only at the proper time.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the distinctive characteristics of the good and the bad. (281)

There are many distinctive characteristics of the good and the bad whereof virtue distinguishes the former and vice the latter. By the perfect refinement of the spiritual youths (i.e. principles viz. Bodh, Akho, Urvan and Farohar) belonging to the soul, the light of virtue shines upon the good man; his species (i.e. person) is rendered resplendent by the supreme Head (Ohrmazd.) He occupies after death the abode of supreme felicity in the other world.

The soul of the sinner is very hardened by the leader (Ahriman) of the infernal host of bad odor. It is revealed that he is more powerful among the good on whom angels shed their luster; he who is distinguished for piety even among the good, prevails over the leader (Ahriman) of the wicked of bad odor. He who is notorious even among the wicked for his vices, is given over to perdition through him (Ahriman).

Exposition in the good religion about the race or those monarchs in the history of mankind who have been great civilizers and those who have shed a great luster on this earth. (282)

Be it known that all men are descended from Gayomard. Four noble and auspicious sons were born to Fravak[128] who civilized the world and was descended from Gayomard. These four were Hooshang, Vohudad, Ashodad, and Taj. To the house of Hooshang belonged Airik the head of the great civilizing kings of Iran. The venerable king Minocheher was the son of the saintly Neryosang.[129]

From this Minocheher of the family of the saintly Neryosang, who rendered the earth illustrious, was descended the venerable ancestor of the Kayanian kings, Kay Kobad.[130] Every royal race that shall rule

128 According to the Bundahishn Fravak was descended from Siyamak, and was the father of Hooshang.

129 King Minocheher was born of the daughter of Airik and the saintly Neryosang the son of Faridoon's brother. Firdausi has written his father's name in the Shah-Namah as Pashang, which may be explained as a misreading, owing to his ignorance of that language, of the word Neryosang in the original Pahlavi. Firdausi mentions Minocheher in the following verses in his Shah-Namah: (Persian quote omitted.) King Minocheher being the heir of Airik, his name is thus mentioned with Airik's after that of Faridoon in the 28th para. of the Frawardin Yasht: "We remember the holy spirit of Faridoon the sea of Athvian, we remember the holy spirit of Minocheher the son of Airik."

130 As it is mentioned above that Kay Kobad the chief of the Kayanian dynasty was

for a long time, shall be descended from these four. And the dynasty that shall flourish in every epoch shall in its form resemble the Kayanian which is one of these four dynasties. Those also who have knowledge about Frashegird, are of the race of these two kings, Minocheher and Hooshang. It is stated too in the scriptures that he who will reign again at the time of Frashegird will be of the same Kayanian race, that is Kay Khushrow[131] will at that time wield supreme authority over the nations of the world.

Exposition in the good religion about those kings that are the best of rulers and of those that are the worst (283)

Be it known that the best king is he who is noble in glory, who creates divine faith among the people, who keeps the state ever prosperous, who sympathizing with the afflictions of others makes the world happy and looks to the welfare of all, who is the source of delight to others, who bestows freedom upon man and shines far and wide by his philanthropy. The worst ruler is he who has an evil appearance, who loves evil and defends the ways of the evil doers, who encourages the godless, who keeps the world in distress, who debases his subject by his rule, who is the source of all evil and injury, who oppresses others as well as aids those who oppress the world, who weakens his subjects but gives strength to his enemies, and who renders the world helpless through his meanness.

It is also said of those wise and far-seeing rulers that they magnanimously do charitable acts during their rule, they foster and maintain their subjects like their own children and raise them to a high level, they render their country renowned and beautiful, they adorn and embellish their countries, they subdue and outstrip their foes, they attain to a high order of wisdom, and practice all the earthly and heavenly virtues. Whilst bad rulers abuse their authority through mean motives, cause famine and starvation, weaken the people and tarnish their renown; the country fares badly under them, and their nobles and courtiers degenerate and become unhappy. They advance the enemies of virtue and degrade the righteous, and are wrong in

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descended from Faridoon, so also in Firdausi's Shah-Namah he is made to mention this his descent from Faridoon in answer to an inquiry from the valiant Rustam. Our prophet holy Zartosht has mentioned this Kayanian king's name immediately after Minocheher's as the first of this race of kings, in the 28th para. of the Frawardin Yasht, as follows: “We remember the holy spirit of Kay Kobad.”

131 Mention is made of the prophecy that at the time of Frashegird or final renovation and Rista-khez King Kay Khosraw will reign again, in the Zand-i Vohuman Yasht, the Pahlavi Jamasp-Namah and the Bundaheshn.

their treatment of all the people.

Exposition in the good religion as to how man becomes powerful through glorious wisdom about finite and infinite time and how he becomes mortal or suffers pain during finite and infinite time. (284)

Be it known that in finite time (i.e. this world) man rises in the scale of existence and becomes glorious through wisdom. In every matter man becomes able through leading a worthy life. Man is known to be powerful in all things by possessing glorious wisdom. Thus the divine who imparts to all the knowledge of the infinite time pertaining to the holy Ohrmazd the source of creation (or the Creator of man), is well versed in all glorious wisdom. And men are enabled by means of this (knowledge) to lead heavenly lives during finite time.

The chief sinner (Ahriman) is doomed to suffer eternal pain during infinite time. Likewise the sinner is doomed to suffer pain after his existence in this world during finite time.

Exposition in the good faith as to expecting rewards for good deeds done. (285)

Be it known that there are four cases of expecting rewards for good deeds done, viz.

Firstly. It is not lawful if without knowing what constitutes a virtuous act one does an act which is not virtuous. But if in this way one does an act which is opposed to the faith he gets no reward whatever for his act.

Secondly. One does not get any reward for an unwilling good act which he has done not because he liked it as virtuous but simply because he considered it as somehow virtuous.

Thirdly. If a man be capable of doing personally a good act, knowing it to be such and desiring to do it, yet does not do it himself or has it vicariously done for him by another, he gets no benefit out of this act.

Fourthly. If a person knowing an act to be virtuous does not endeavor or wish to do it personally as he ought, he gets no credit for the virtuous act done for him or on his behalf. He ought to do willingly and zealously any act that he knows to be virtuous; if he endeavors to do this, he may hope to get due reward for it.

Two mental conditions are necessary for a virtuous act: first to

know by all possible means what act is virtuous, and secondly to have the love of doing it; so that if a person endeavors by all efforts to fulfill these he gets credit for the virtuous act. Thus it has been ordained in the Avesta that the man who exhausts all possible means of doing virtuous acts, is to be ranked with the greatest heroes.

Beside the four rules above given about virtuous acts there are also four things which help in the efforts to do virtuous act, viz., wisdom, desire, ability and faculties.

Exposition in the good religion about the fact that injury is done by man to evil spirits owing to the frequent declaration to men of the religious commandments originally brought by Jamshed. (286)

Be it known that it is owing to the religious commandments of Jamshed that every thing is successfully done, and that Frehibut and Aibibut and their evil deeds are injured. These commandments aim to reform men through divine knowledge. By this divine knowledge they injure the followers of Frehibut and Aibibut who are similarly minded to the evil spirits or Devs. Men always triumph over the wrong-minded Devs owing to their possession of divine knowledge regarding religion. Men have to overcome vice by religious conduct. Therefore Frehibut and Aibibut should be weakened and men should live righteously.

He is the best ruler among men who possesses much of divine wisdom, by which he is able to avoid and expel from everywhere the violent and wrong minded Druj. He leads men on the path of righteousness by courageously having the religion expounded to them through wise and learned divines. Owing to the weakness of the source of all evil (i.e. Ahriman) the preaching of divine wisdom removed from all evil, has everywhere good effect upon men. Justice and religion continue to sway the world, and people become better through virtue.

Under the rule of the kings before the time of Jamshed, owing to the lawlessness of Devs, godliness was weak and wickedness was powerful. The moral standard based on divine wisdom had fallen so low on account of the evil genius of the Devs, Frehibut and Aibibut, that men had become like beasts of prey. Owing to the absence of godly advice they had fallen into evil ways. Frehibut and Aibibut (i.e., dishonesty and wickedness) having completely conquered them they had become lawless; and men sunk in irreligiousness being engaged in mere eating and giving and receiving and other godless things. It then seemed that in this world divine religious knowledge had fled

from men and evil inclinations had prevailed with them, that all righteousness had departed from this earth and the wickedness of Frehibut and Aibibut had become deep rooted among me; and that owing to all this the whole world had become vicious and desolate.

By the wish of God Jamshed was placed on the throne especially to prevent men from following the Devs, and to liberate them from the evil ways of godlessness and unrighteousness. Through the divine wisdom of the religion men can see their way to oppose the wicked Frehibut and Aibibut of the Devs; and it is owing to this wisdom that everywhere the Devs are vanquished by men and become helpless and weak.

By the splendor of the divine religious wisdom wicked Frehibut and Aibibut are injured. and by this they are to be driven out from the world. And then peace and the brilliance and wisdom of age will become strong in this world which thus will become beautiful and happy and remain so. But when the divine superior dignity and aged experience are withheld from man, he is damned and his wicked race has to move in hell in the shape of Dev. Then he has no power whatever to overcome the Devs. These are rendered helpless and have to retire before the resources of dignified and God-fearing men. When the Devs are in an injured and defeated condition they have to fly helpless from men. Then the evil Dev keeps clear of mischief to men and Frehibut and Aibibut are weakened. Then also divine wisdom shines upon men and ideas of righteousness triumph upon this earth, and thus the creation of Ohrmazd is kept free from injury and damage. It is expounded in the faith that everywhere in this world the Devs were rendered helpless by the explicit religion of Jamshed.

King Jamshed spread the divine faith among men in order that they may make a beneficial provision for the soul which may have its pabulum in this world as well as the next, and that they may recognize every Yazad and Amahraspand, as the religious commandments are the source of every happiness to men. To keep men from following God and to start wrong notions among them is the eternally irreligious and lawless work of the wicked Frehibut and Aibibut.

Exposition in the good religion of the ten precepts of philanthropic Jamshed for the good of men and the ten precepts of Zohak the diminisher of creation against these ten good ones. (287)

Be it known that the following ten precepts were given to men by their well wisher Jamshed, as originating divine wisdom, doing good to men, and as being consonant to religion and the will of God.

Firstly. Men should consider and call Almighty God the Creator of this world and One who cannot do it any harm; and all should have faith in Him.

Secondly. They should never think of the Dev or Ahriman on account of obtaining things necessary for worldly prosperity.

Thirdly. They should think highly of religion among themselves and should trust in it.

Fourthly. They should conduct themselves conscientiously in every matter and by such conduct should put Frehibut and Aibibut to shame.

Fifthly. They should partake of food with other people in a brotherly manner.

Sixthly. The father should encourage his children to receive such education as would fit them later to perform their duties as fathers in their turn.

Seventhly. Those who deserve patronage (i.e. the poor) should be patronized as one's own; and if they are not satisfied with such patronage, then they should be admonished.

Eighthly. In order to be rewarded in the next world, everyone should lay by large quantities of corn in his house for feeding fat men as well as cattle.

Ninthly. People should be admonished to remove to a distance from the house dirt arising from keeping birds sheep and goats lest men should be injured thereby.

Tenthly. A sheep or goat should not be killed for food before it reaches the age of four, for it is ordained that their kind should be reared for four years. Therefore they should be allowed during this period to grow in appearance and size; afterwards their number may be diminished (by killing for food).

The ten precepts of the priest Zohak of the Hebrew religion who is an injurer of God's world, a diminisher of his Creation, and who is wickedly inclined against the above tell universally beneficial precepts of Jamshed of the good faith. (288)

Firstly. Against the precept of Jamshed that the Almighty is the creator and protector of the universe, Zohak has called him the injurer of the universe.

Secondly. Against the precept of Jamshed not to look to the Dev as the bestower of worldly prosperity, Zohak has advised men to worship the Devs as bestowers of all worldly goods.

Thirdly. Against the precept of Jamshed to hold justice as of high import among men, Zohak has spoken against justice and upright decision and has advised people to do injustice instead of justice.

Fourthly. Against the precept of Jamshed to behave conscientiously in every matter, Zohak has advised people to act unrighteously and disgracefully in every matter.

Fifthly. Against the precept of Jamshed regarding eating with people in a brotherly spirit, Zohak has advised people to be greedy and to lead lives like his own (i.e. selfish.)

Sixthly. Against the precept of Jamshed to the father to encourage his children to receive such training as would enable them to perform their duties as fathers later Zohak has advised the father to do no such thing.

Seventhly. Against the precept of Jamshed to patronize the poor as one's own, Zohak has advised the powerful to deprive such people of their presents and patronage.

Eighthly. Against the precepts of Jamshed not to kill for food goats till they had reached a mature age, Zohak has taught people to kill such goats according to the Hebrew usage.

Ninthly. Against the precept of Jamshed to remove dirty and malodorous things at a distance from men and cattle lest they be injured thereby, Zohak has specially recommended, according to the Hebrew religion, the bloody sacrifice of godly and pious men before the shrine of Devs.

Tenthly. Against the precept of Jamshed to lay by corn in summer and winter for men and cattle, Zohak has advised people to be cruel and revengeful and to slaughter men.

These ten universally noxious precepts of Zohak given against Jamshed's ten beneficial precepts were ordered by him to be well written out and preserved in Jerusalem as a religious work. The Jewish Patriarch Abraham who came after him followed his precepts. And people came to look upon these precepts of the religion of Zohak[132] as the work of the Prophet Abraham who was to come at the

132 Zohak is thus mentioned in the sacred Avesta, Yasna, Chap. 9.8.: "Faridoon killed the malignant and sinful Zohak of three faces (i.e. a liar), of three heads (i.e. violent and obstinate), of six eyes (i.e. greedy), of thousands of evil designs, possessed of the great evil powers of the Dev and the Druj."

end of the world. The words received from Zohak were ordered to become current among the people. Thus every one of the Jewish race and faith came to look upon Zohak's religious words as meant for himself and to believe in them.

Exposition in the good religion about the rulers of men and those who benefit them by their rule. (289)

Be it known that those are the rulers of people who have the good-will of God and the strength coming from wisdom: a ruler of this character among men was Thrita[133] of the family of Sam.

In this way just rulers have been called in the Avesta the lords of all men with bodies (i.e. mortals); and this means that they have complete authority over men. Just as God is the protector and by his good deeds the adorner of all men, so also is the earthly king of all mortals. And every man can be the lord of his race. The reason of giving a man ruling power over his race is that by ruling over his fellow creatures in a just manner he may lead them wisely, and may prevent them from going wrong by training them up to resist evil temptations; so that every one may be able to participate in the happy Frashegird (i.e. final reform) and may be governed in this world in, the happy manner which is to come at the time of the filial Doom. Owing to which the earthly king may become such a beneficent ruler over men's houses, villages, cities, and the whole world in the capacity of the omniscient, all-powerful, all-protecting God's representative, as He Himself is the benignant Lord of all his creation.

It is the duty of the king to look well after the good. of his subjects, and this duty is very virtuous as that of Jamshed the good monarch of this world. But if the king be a great evil-doer, he has the name of a bad monarch like Zohak.

133 Thrita was the son of the valiant Sam, who was fifth descent from king Jamshed. It is said in the sacred Avesta, Yasna Chap. 9.10, that Thrita having performed the Horn and Yazashna [Yasna] ceremony and asked of God to grant him male children, he was blessed with two renowned son, one the just Urvaksh and the other the valiant hero Kersasp. Our Mobeds in their recital of the names of the illustrious dead, call Sam by the name of “Sahem”, and Thrita by the names of “Asrat.”

Exposition in the good religion about giving our judgments thoughtfully and justly. (290)

Be it known that a man should not unless injured go as a plaintiff to anyone for justice. If a man complain before a judge of having been injured by a minor there should be discussion before giving judgment and the minor should be protected from all possible harm.

That woman should be considered free and innocent who has committed adultery with a stranger but who is proved to have received no aid from other people to save her from the faithless man; the reason being that she had received no help to resist the evil act forcibly done. If she be an unmarried woman and become a mother through such an act, great regard must be had for her reputation and modesty and her child should be held as born in wedlock or through khwetodas.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the power of the All-merciful God to suppress any thing which is injurious to the universe where it may exist. (291)

Be it known that God is intimately connected with the world and is kind to it as to his own born child. As a father does not injure his child and wishes that it should not commit any sins and should be virtuous, so God does good to his creation and does not injure or defile it. God loves his creation and tries to keep it at a distance from His opponent and enemy (Ahriman). For it is not by a child's loving father that it is injured but by the father's enemies. The wise and powerful Lord is not capable of harmful gifts. Neither does he injure any one without cause. Men cannot obtain liberation from the evil and restless Ahriman, and eternal happiness except through God. By his efforts to obtain final and eternal happiness man is saved from the defiled Ahriman, and gets the reward of the assistance of God. God has given to all men sufficient ability to save themselves from sin as well as from Ahriman the source of their sins and woes; owing to which every created being is known to be able to overcome Ahriman of evil origin.

Those priests who injure and corrupt the world and make all God's creation consonant with the usage of the Jewish faith should be made to know the wisdom of the All-merciful Lord, and should be admonished to desist from doing evil and harmful deeds and to do virtuous deeds.

Exposition in the good religion about immorality which is of evil origin. (292)

Be it known that the source of all morality is wise knowledge and of wise knowledge divine wisdom; and God is the originator of divine wisdom in Creation.

The source of immorality is false knowledge, and of false knowledge the wrong wit of Ahriman. The wrong wit of Ahriman gives birth to immorality, and it does not do good in this world but harm. Again every law of Ohrmazd is the originator of morality and by the luster of morality is the exposer of the evil results of following the Evil One. And this good origin of it increases virtue by its innate goodness.

That which is of evil origin increases evil by its innate evil. Among various kinds of knowledge that which belongs to divine wisdom is virtuous; that morality which is connected with divine wisdom is good owing to knowledge. Those things that rise from morality are virtuous in this world and in the next; and they are useful for the next world. The increase of virtue in this world is owing to morality.

The source in divine wisdom is an excellent thing for all virtues, and man is possessed of all virtues through it; he becomes good through virtues originating in divine wisdom.

Man does evil owing to the wrong knowledge of the evil-minded. That which is of false knowledge is immoral and by this immoral false knowledge does evil. The result of immorality is a miserable and vicious existence. The evildoer is miserable in this world and in the next. The injury and misery of this world and the next (i.e. bodily and spiritual misery) is owing to evil immoral men. The best result of false knowledge which is the origin of all evil is trouble and annoyance; and an immoral man is subject to all miseries owing to this; and the cause of all his miseries is this false knowledge.

The religion of those priests who belong to a faith of rich (i.e. divine) origin, is moral. The man of evil origin is owing to his wickedness called wicked. He who is moral (i.e. possessed of the virtues of Spenamino) is called the vanquisher of Ahriman (i.e. the curber of Ahriman) without any evil to himself.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that evil is seen among people where virtue exists (293)

Be it known that owing to the man who is obedient to God and of pure thoughts, where there be a man of impure thoughts, he too becomes pure; and thus impure thoughts remain nowhere. He who is

free from evil has no evil in him. A moral and pure-minded man does not become evil and vicious. As long as creation exists moral vice does not appear in the thoughts of people. That which is of evil origin cannot become pure and virtuous. For how can evil origin be good? And goodness which is the origin of men of divine origin (i.e. of Ohrmazd) cannot be declared and published by that evil origin. And how can that which is the source of good to all men can be also the source of miseries?

Those priests who disseminate vice among men are morally blind. How can the religion defiled by eternal evil be like the religion of the pure in thought? How can the impure thoughts of the demon which make for evil improve into pure and clean virtues? That religion is called free from vice which is moral.

Exposition in the good religion about the desire of God that men should everywhere recognize Him and the corresponding desire of men to know Him. (294)

Be it known that God wishes that men should know Him. For this reason the person who has the ability to give men knowledge about God is called in the good religion a chief and excellent adviser. The need of preaching about the knowledge of God is not for immortal men (i.e. those who have been saved from the tortures of hell); but to those other men who are deified by the evil power of greed, lust, sloth, and other injurious vices, and who possess no knowledge about their Creator, the leaders of the faith should teach the knowledge about Ohrmazd. Divine wisdom gives an idea of the protecting power of the Creator to the man who has been perverted by the devil. And men receive the benefit of this divine wisdom from their preceptor the priest.

On him who teaches divine wisdom to men God bestows for this purpose the strength of knowledge; owing to which strength the teacher is not injured by evil thoughts and other like things.

Those priests who injure men and render them unhappy by false ideas and other evils do not possess the ability to teach divine wisdom and to expound morality. But they teach men to live without morality and to commit sins. Their religion is injurious to men.

The man who possesses the knowledge about God and does good deeds cannot be called irreligious or ignorant of God and fond of sin.

Exposition in the good religion about the five vices of the Evil One (Ahriman) which destroy virtue among men who should save themselves from them and render them powerless. (295)

Be it known that the five vices of Ahriman are the destroyers of virtue in every man. Men become tyrannical owing to them. These five are, viz.: the thought of injuring men – of cheating them, – of rendering them miserable – of wishing ill to them – and magic. Men should get rid of these. The thought of injuring men increases through greed; of deceiving them, through the nature of the Demons; of rendering them unhappy through revenge; of wishing ill to them through envy; and magic increases through evil intentions. The thought of injuring others is rendered harmless by increasing self-content. Again by increasing the virtue of self-content the vice of greed is removed; and thereby the evil ability of Druj becomes helpless. The man who is inclined to deceive others should think much within himself of doing virtuous acts, so that by strengthening the virtue of doing good acts publicly within men, this vice is weakened, and the man's inclination to deceive remains dormant within him.

The man who is disposed to render men unhappy should give prominence within himself chiefly to the virtue of benevolence and of taking care of others, so that by this the vice of revengefulness is weakened and the power of the vindictive Druj is rendered harmless.

The man who is inclined to wish ill to others should nourish strongly within him obedience to God; for by the strengthening of the virtue of obedience to God the vice of envy is injured and the evil of the Druj becomes weak.

The man given to magic should strengthen especially good intentions or the thought of loving people well; for by this the vice of the evil eye or the intention of doing harm to people is injured and the power of the Druj of magic is weakened.

He who explains the above-mentioned things with zeal to wise and religious inquirers injures by his act these five Drujs (i.e. the above five vices.) This man deserves well of the good faith by this his religious act. He becomes the savior from the misery of tyrannical darkness, and becomes related to the Supreme Virtuous One (i.e. God).

Exposition in the good religion about the supremacy over men. (296)

Be it known that the man is noble in person whose desires are ruled over by God. He improves himself by humility when he rises in rank by his wealth and good deeds. (He is like) the rider who by means of the reins takes his horse backwards and forwards, and the skilled rider who is strong in guiding an obedient and trained animal. Again (he is like) a skilled rider whose object is to free himself from his opponent and by skillfully guiding his horse to vanquish him; and a vigilant rider who takes his horse into the fray and brings him back uninjured owing to his skill. On the other hand ho who is evil-minded injures himself and benefits his enemies by his evil wishes, and is lowered in the eyes of all; and is like a clumsy rider who takes his horse near the enemy to be killed himself.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the object of the work of the good religion which consists in believing in Ohrmazd. (297)

Be it known that the object of the work of the Mazdayasnian faith is to prevent unconscientious and disgraceful acts among people by making them conscientious; and by this to free them from hell and render them happy. Again Ohrmazd has revealed the Mazdayasnian faith in order to injure Ahriman and thereby to give happiness to the world. It is his object through this faith to make people pure by saving them from Ahriman, and to beautify his creation in various ways by giving it a knowledge of the final state. Man obtains the honest aid of all the Yazads by thinking of the one God. Those men who have the two vices of Frehibut or unconscientiousness and Aibibut or profanity possess the evil power of the defiling Ahriman.

Ohrmazd prevails by this conscientiousness of men. By Frehibut man is unconscientious, by Aibibut he prevents Ohrmazd's creation from being conscientious. The man who keeping himself aloof from Frehibut behaves conscientiously, and by conscientiousness keeps Aibibut at a distance from him, saves himself from all harm by his foresight in accordance with the Mazdayasnian faith. Man becomes virtuous through the sacred religion. In this connection it has been asserted by the heads of the faith that conscientiousness creates a liking for the good or Ohrmazd's faith. Whilst Frehibut and Aibibut create between them a liking for the faith of Ahriman.

Exposition in the good religion about the wisdom which frees men from sin and obtains for them the experience of age. (298)

Be it known that the wisdom by which Ohrmazd's entire creation has to obtain freedom from sin and become wise through virtue, consists in understanding the mysterious power of God. Again by obtaining the knowledge about the mysterious power of God they all remain in communion with the Yazads. The defiling Ahriman diminishes the number of the followers of God's religion. That man shines with the divine luster who gives men purity and absolution from sin.

Exposition in the good religion about that man being faultless who on every occasion improves and adorns his fellow men by telling them to believe in the writings of this good faith. (299)

Be it known that the safe man (i.e. who lives without fault in this world) is he who graces and edifies his fellow-men by belief in the writings of the good faith. The benefits of the good faith are owing to the pure ideas of this religion. That man who is a lover of the faith and always keeps it in mind is unselfish, and obeys the commands of the heads of that faith; and by receiving his religious education at the hands of learned doctors of the faith, he sheds luster upon the sacred writings.

Exposition in the good religion about that man being unconscientious who possesses the skill of the immoral Druj and fights on the side of the sinful Ahriman. And the man who is connected with the evil one fights with the support of the Druj. Again a man may be connected with the evil Druj but may not be so with Ahriman; a man may not be connected with the immoral (Druj) and may be so with Ahriman; and may not be connected with either the immoral Druj or Ahriman. (300)

Be it known that the man who aids unwise and wicked conduct like that of the unconscientious Druj and evil Ahriman fights with the assistance of the defiling Ahriman. The man who possesses the power of the demons wages satanic war in this world with the aid of the evil Druj. The man who is connected not with the evil Druj but with Ahriman is a still greater cause of disturbance in the world. The man

who is not connected with Ahriman is charitable to those who deserve charity and does other good deeds. The man who is connected neither with the evil Druj nor with Ahriman is a follower of Ohrmazd's Mazdayasnian faith and recites the sacred Manthras.

Exposition in the good religion about the man who inspires zeal for religion. (301)

Be it known that the man who freely gives religious knowledge is the priest of the faith; as long as he inspires zeal for the faith among people he receives a good income from God. But if such a priest withhold the free knowledge of religion and stop such work, he is damned in the next world and goes to hell.

As long as a man is possessed by the spirits or minds of the faith, these guide him in this world and provide for him in the next. The man who is possessed by the good spirit or mind reaches through him the realms of Light; whilst he who is possessed by the evil goes through him to the regions of Darkness. Therefore men should propitiate the good mind or Spenamino and injure the evil or Ahriman, so that thereby he may obtain the kingdom of bliss.

Exposition in the good religion about the ideas of justice of the judge of this world and of the Judge of the next. (302)

Be it known that the Judge of the other world inquires into the reason why a man should be saved from hell and not damned; with his penetrating lustrous eyes (or spiritual instinct) he sees this, as well as knows the man who cares for his soul, and who possesses the evil desire of Ahriman, who is thievishly inclined, who speaks the truth and who is a liar.

The judge of this world absolves men and acquits them from punishment after hearing evidence. For he does not see everything and has not a perfect understanding like the Judge of the other world who sees everything clearly by his spiritual eyes or instinct. He is thus an imperfect judge and is obliged to hear the witnesses of the plaintiff and accused, and to decide accordingly by this rule of evidence who should be acquitted and who punished by law.

Exposition in the good religion about the precepts which concern the safety of life. (303)

Be it known how essential to the miserable are the words about the safety of life. For the kings of Iran used to recommend these three

things for the benefits of the subjects of those kings with whom they were fighting at the time.

First the virtue connected with man's life (or protecting their lives); secondly, giving pasture to cattle; thirdly, giving proper food to the soldiers that they might be in good condition.

The first to recommend these excellent things was the God-worshipping king Minocheher of Iran. He recommended the philanthropic practice of keeping the prisoners of war well according to the precepts of the faith, of feeding the cattle lest they starve, and of giving proper food to soldiers that may remain in good condition. By this king's charitable recommendations for the benefit of the enemy's soldiers, the Iranians were victorious over other nations.

Why should it not be virtuous to save men's lives according to the true precepts of the faith?

Why should it not be lawful to feed the cattle to keep them from starving?

Why should not the people be held benefited if provisions be bought from the evil forestallers of these things and given to the soldiers who protect the people?

Exposition in the good religion about regular virtue. (304)

Be it know that regular morality is through truth. Those who are lovers of truth are doubtless the great helpers of mankind, have foresight and are obedient to the omniscient Lord.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the protection and salvation of men. (305)

Be it known that it is not possible for a wary man to lead life in this mortal world without fear. For though he may live without fear of tigers and other wild beasts, yet he cannot live without fear of robbers, armies, of Ashmogh the preacher of the false faith, or of an evil monarch. Supposing that a man may live without fear even of these yet owing to the demon of death and other unseen mortal dangers he cannot live without fear. But mortal man will be enabled by God to live without fear in the endless time of the future renovation. For the man who becomes free in this mortal world will be so at the time of the renovation. In this world men live good lives by the triumph of godly ideas (that is by the spreading of such ideas in the world.)

Exposition in the good religion regarding the protection and salvation of men. (306)

Be it known that a man is saved from hell by his receiving from the doctors of the faith excellent education and instruction about the soul and purity. A man's body is protected in this world by philanthropy and by that good monarch who makes people happy. Philanthropic men are of three kinds as follows: First, the religious philanthropists who are such owing to their love of the religious reward. Second, the pure philanthropists who do good to their fellow-subjects through love. And third, the philanthropists to trustworthy persons who are so through zeal and love. whose who are philanthropists of neither of these three kinds are called bad philanthropists.

Exposition in the good religion about best and worst among men. (307)

Be it known that a person is the best among men owing to his knowledge of the good faith. For purity has been called the best quality of the soul and by it a man is saved from hell; and a man reaches heaven especially through knowledge of the good faith.

A person becomes the worst among men owing to his ignorance of the good faith.

Those among the kings of the wicked who are also their priests are considered the equals of Ahriman. For the same reason the wicked priest who is devoid of the divine knowledge of the Mazdayasnian faith is considered in the faith a man of wicked understanding.

Exposition in the good religion about remembering the spiritual Yazads for obtaining spiritual assistance. (308)

Be it known that a man receives signs of favor from the invisible Yazads by remembering them; and such a man assisted by the Yazads remains supreme in both worlds. And we are informed of Zartosht's wish for which he prayed to the Yazads thus: Grant me that I may become a good leader in this world, (and a propagator of the Mazdayasnian religion)!

By remembering the evil spirits a man gets assistance from the demons and thereby becomes very wicked in both worlds. Thus, for instance Zohak, descended from the world destroying Taj, having remembered the Dev Eshm, received from Ahriman venomous horn-

shaped serpents on the shoulder bones below the neck.[134]

Exposition in the good religion regarding the great power of the chief Zohak who injures men's soul. (309)

Be it known that Zohak had greater power over men in these two ways. First he was possessed of the full strength of the knowledge of the false faith. Secondly, he injured men's zeal for diligence. He had a twofold wicked power which assisted him. First, he had the evil genius of his commander Ahriman, and, secondly, evil slothfulness which destroys diligence, was on his side.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that all virtues arise in man through the Mazdayasnian religion; and that owing to the evil faith of the Jews all vices arise in man. (310)

Be it known that all good qualities continue to arise in this world from the Mazdayasnian faith; and all wickedness has been known to arise through the devilish faith of the Jews. Thus the world becomes better through the Mazdayasnians and gets ruined through the Jewish abomination.

Men acquire contentment, diligence, zeal, obedience to God, modesty, dignity, power of cherishing, morality, wisdom, courtesy, magnanimity, charity, truth, faithfulness, good intentions and other good qualities by the divine wisdom of the Mazdayasnian faith. And a man possessing this improves the world.

Avarice, revengefulness, slothfulness, idleness, pride, obstinacy, insolence, envy, immorality, ignorance, selfishness, disobedience, indifference to religion, miserliness, falsehood, ingratitude, evil intentions and other vices arise through the Jewish abomination which by its false knowledge and weakness injures the world.

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134 It is mentioned in the Shah-Namah that Satan in human guise became the cook of Zohak who being much pleased with his culinary skill showed him willingness to grant any request made by him whereupon Satan desired to kiss Zohak's two shoulders which being kissed, lo! two horn-shaped serpents sprang forth from both of them. In the Sacred Avesta Zohak is called three mouthed, three-headed, and six-eyed, etc. If we do not take these epithets to apply metaphorically to his inherent evil nature, and take it to allude to those two serpents, the Avesta confirms what is said here in the text.

Exposition in the good religion about the king who improves his subjects for happiness in both worlds; and the king who injures his subjects. (311)

Be it known that the king who improves his subjects or happiness in both worlds is a spotless ruler in this world. That king who for protecting his subjects by the strength of religion propagates indefinitely divine wisdom, renders by this act the universe prosperous; he obtains heavenly bliss, and the renown of age and virtue.

The king, who gives pain to his subjects, diminishes the happiness of this world and is forever in league with the misery of the next world and the vices of hell.

Exposition in the good religion as to the first man who was the beloved of God; and as to His messenger. (312)

Be it known that the spiritual Yazads were the first to reveal and expound God's faith to Gayomard in this created world.[135] Again this revelation and exposition were made a second time for Mashye and Mashyane.[136] And the message of this religious advice was sent to Siyamak the son of first Mashye and his descendants through Vohuman and Srosh. And for the edification of the nations of the earth this message of revelation was taken from Persia over the seas to other pious men in a regular sea-faring ship of the shape of a cow, called "Sarsvak-Gai."[137] It was also carried by land to various places, so that all mortal men inhabiting this entire earth may become perfectly acquainted with this religion.

Exposition in the good religion about man's connection with the Mazdayasnian faith being for the acquisition of divine wisdom. (313)

Be it known that the reason of man's accepting the Mazdayasnian faith is respect for divine wisdom. The excellence of divine wisdom is made known by the words of this faith. Likewise this Mazdayasnian faith is the strength of divine wisdom. And for this reason the words

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135 Vide Frawardin Yasht, para. 24, and section 87 for the authority of this fact.

136 On the authority of the Avesta it is mentioned in the Bundahishn that: "Ohrmazd. said to Mashye and Mashyane: You being men are the parents of the world; as I have endowed you with the excellent idea of prayer to me, do religious works with humility, think good thoughts, speak good words, and do good deeds, and do not worship demons."

137 Vide for an account of this, the Bundahishn ed. Westergaard p.45.

of the Mazdayasnian faith are the words of divine wisdom. The words of divine wisdom about those that now exist, those that have existed, and those that shall exist in the future, are all contained in this faith. Thus divine wisdom is the Mazdayasnian faith itself. And this faith itself is the divine wisdom about those that are, shall be and have been. The man who is the reformer in this mortal world, by virtue of the strength of the truth and goodness of the Mazdayasnian faith, of those that prevail by the evil faith, is a real participator in the thoughts, words, and deeds of the men who are reformed by the good faith. When this mortal world shall reach in every way the state of truth and goodness, the Drujs shall become helpless by this; and the evil power of Ahriman the leader of these Drujs shall be broken in the world; and at the time of Frashegird or final renovation the entire creation of Ohrmazd shall become virtuous forever.

Those priests who do not accept this divine religion do not work for good having not obtained divine wisdom; but having chosen Druj (or the power of false knowledge) their religious precepts depress divine knowledge and spread false opinions. Their faith is devoid of the precepts of divine wisdom and of the ideas of Ohrmazd. They are evidently the servants of the false one (or Varun) and the followers of Druj (or Ahriman.)

Exposition in the good religion about the source of virtue and vice. The virtuous becomes such by zeal for good; whilst the vicious becomes of evil passions by evil zeal. The wicked are the followers of the evil One or Ahriman. (314)

Be it known the virtuous man always remains in the side on Yazad and the vicious always on the side of the demon. The Yazads are always for making men virtuous; and the demons for making them wicked. A man becomes wicked by being perverted from the good Yazad to the evil Demon. Thus the soul of the follower of Yazad is virtuous through piety, and that of the follower of the demon is wicked through sin. Those that are wicked are the followers of that sinful Ahriman; whilst those that are virtuous follow the holy Spenamino. For the virtuous man is such owing to good health, youth, liberty, purity, cleanliness, diligence, perseverance, charity, truth, and other good qualities. Whilst the vicious man is such owing to illness, senility, wretchedness, filthiness, idleness, want of occupation, miserliness, falsehood, and other evil qualities. For this reason the manner of all wicked men is considered opposed to that of the virtuous. Therefore it is incumbent on men at once to give up this path of wickedness. And likewise to remove Gospands [livestock] and

other kinds from contact with this wickedness. The wicked should be converted to the good faith and the followers of the good faith should be quickly turned away from vice that they may do good deeds.

Exposition in the good religion about the man of foresight being a profitable leader of men by his saying wise words to him who willingly listens to them. (315)

Be it known that the man of foresight is bound to say words required to guide his race with profit in this world to the disciple who comes near him willing to listen to such words. But if the wise man of foresight desist from giving to the world the benefit of his wisdom owing to want of such disciples, he is like the gardener who allows his garden though it is well watered to lie useless and barren without making it yield vegetables and fruit. By the approach of disciples able to learn wisdom towards the wise man of foresight, sweet wisdom continues to flow in this world to the profit of all like beneficent water.

Exposition in the good religion about the soul being kept fresh, and the body being preserved by eating drinking. (316)

Be it known that the soul works for its immortality by improving the mortal body. The body is kept strong by food and food is necessary for the strength of the body[138] without food it becomes resourceless and languid. In the absence of food it is vanquished by hunger. The man who keeps it from eating and drinking, which are the gifts of Hordad and Amurdad, takes from it the energy of movement. Food helps it to resist the attacks of hunger. When the body does not get its share of eating and drinking, the gifts of Hordad and Amurdad, and is not aided by food it succumbs to the attacks of hunger and becomes languid. And the soul cannot improve the body which without this improvement must die.

Exposition in the good religion as to how men's life becomes eternally unhappy and eternally happy. (317)

Be it known that men's life becomes eternally miserable by communion with the evil Ahriman ; and their final habitation is the infernal regions of Ahriman (or Hell). The communion of Ahriman with God's created beings is owing to their not being able to resist

138 It is ordained by God in Vendidad 3. that: “Indeed every mortal created being lives by food and dies without it; strength ebbs away without food. Without food none can be fit to do virtuous deeds, be prosperous, and have the gift of children.”

him. Ahriman's continuous intercourse with men in infinite ways is for rendering them eternally unhappy. Men may hope to be happy at the time of the final renovation (or Frashegird) by resisting the evil and damning designs of Ahriman. Thus finally Ahriman himself becomes miserable.

Men obtain eternal happiness by leading lives in communion with the Amahraspands, and by attaining the happy regions of Satarpaya, Mahapaya, and Khwarshedpaya. Those who give this boon to he peoples of the world are the prophets and kings who always preach to them about Frashegird or final renovation and prepare them for it.

Exposition in the good religion about the power of death and sin to do harm. (318)

Be it known that the harmful powers of death and sin are in this wise. He who is subject to death is acquainted with sin. Death carries on its war in a quiet unobserved way. Every man in this world has a tendency towards death and sin. A notable instance of this is Zohak who in spite of his knowledge of the religion of God was seduced by the guile of Ahriman to death and sin. And he was known to have willfully, short-sightedly, and unnecessarily rendered men's lives miserable.

Exposition in the good religion about the final triumph of Spenamino over Ahriman being through his superior strength. (319)

Be it known that the final triumph of Spenamino over Ahriman is by his sufficient superior strength. For Spenamino is above Ahriman by his superior strength of resources, Ahriman not having the knowledge of obtaining his final salvation cannot provide for it in time.

Exposition in the good religion about man getting good reward for protecting good men from the harm and injury of bad men, and for keeping them pleased; and about man getting severely punished for patronizing and pleasing those wicked men who do harm to the good. (320)

Be it known that the reason of protecting and pleasing every good man is that by keeping many evil men from doing evil things and by gratifying them these may be made to behave better. And the reason of inflicting pain and punishment upon many a wicked man is that he

pain not behave properly. Just as the reason of rendering every good man better fitted for future happiness rather than punishing and injuring him is obvious, so the rather of protecting good men from the harm of the evil and of keeping them pleased is very high. Whilst the punishment is great of protecting and pleasing the wicked that they might harm the good.

Exposition in the good religion about good wishes or blessings, and evil wishes or curses. (321)

Be it known that the effects of blessings and curses are felt at their proper time. Blessings are for those works that deserve them; and curses are owing to cursed works. The effects of blessings or curses are felt at the proper time by the man who by his works has deserved the one or the other. Blessings should be given to the man according to his deeds. Faridoon was great among those that blessed and also among those that cursed. For before Neryosang[139] he prayed to God as follows:

O God! make me prevail over those Western rulers, (i.e. grant me the valor to defeat Toor and Selum the kings of Turan and China.) May they be deprived of their rule. May the glory obtained by each of my sons through my blessings depart from them!" They felt in due time the effect of this grievous curse.

The same Faridoon had thus given his blessings to these sons in giving them royal authority: "I am your king: and I have bestowed this wealth upon you. As long as you do not depart from the righteousness of the Yazads (or, as long as you act according to my precepts which are God's), so long I shall grant you every thing however rich you may demand. And may you enjoy in peace all the wealth that you may receive hereafter." Thus it is clear he who can bless, may also curse. Again the man who blesses may also feel the effects of curses as well

139 NERYOSANG – In the Afrin-i Ardafravash and the sacred book of the Atash Niyayesh, the fire Neryosang is reckoned as the most excellent of all. In the description given in the Bundahishn of the five kinds of fires, this fire is not mentioned. But in the Atash Niyayesh it is said to be of royal descent e.g. “Among all fires the first is the fire of royal descent of Neryosang Yazad the follower of Ohrmazd.” In the Pahlavi comment on this sacred text the phrase "of royal descent" is thus explained: the family and progeny of dignified and brilliant rulers, kings, and holy and aged men are redeemed from evil state by the Godlike splendor and luster of the Yazad Neryosang. This fire Neryosang was first enthroned as a sacred element symbol and on a mountain with great ceremony by king Hooshang the first of the Peshdadian line. And this ceremonial feast was called by King Hooshang “Jashan-e-sudeh”, but this latter phrase is an error in Persian for “Jashan-e-shideh”, as the Persian word shideh, meaning luster or light, comes from the Avesta word “khshaiti.” Firdausi has mentioned this in his Shah-nameh.

as blessings. The blessings of a good man benefit him who deserves them; in the same way his curses are also harmful. When a man from being blessed becomes evil then only he deserves to be cursed. He becomes miserable by the propriety of the curse and has to suffer pain and injury. Whilst a deserving man remains good and pleased.

Exposition in the good religion about that prince succeeding to the throne who is the legitimate child of royal blood. And the child that is not of royal descent has no right to the throne. (322)

Be it known that the prince born in wedlock of royal blood is very nearly related to the throne. Just as the produce of the ground obtained by the cultivator's own labor and implements belong justly to that cultivator, so the royal house of Faridoon the descendant of Athwian is worthy to rule over the world. And a prince not belonging to this house by birth cannot be a king. For how can the produce of a land not belonging to one, be justly called his own? In the same way a natural born son is not legitimate. That man who assists the evil Prince of Darkness (Ahriman) is incapacitated from being a king. Just as the wicked descendants[140] of the house of Athwian are not born to rule over Iran, so also the progeny of the life-destroying Zohak are not of a royal race.

Exposition in the good religion about the lasting happiness and unhappiness of living men; and the evanescent happiness and unhappiness of the lifeless. (323)

Be it known that the lasting happiness of living [1] men is the happiness in this world related with that of the next. And the evanescent happiness of the lifeless[141] is earthly happiness having no relation to happiness of the next world.

The lasting unhappiness of living men is earthly sorrow connected with the uncertainty of the next world. And the evanescent sorrow of the lifeless is earthly sorrow not relating to the uncertainty of the next world (or without any care for the next world.)

140 i.e. Tur, Selum, Afrasiab, Arjasp, and others.

141 By living and lifeless are meant here religious and irreligious men.

Exposition in the good religion about the final effects of the rule of the good ruler and of that of the bad. (324)

Be it known that the effect of the rule of the good ruler is happiness, freedom and greatness. And through justice the people become good under him as under king Jamshed.

The effect of the evil rule of the bad ruler is injury through injustice and repentance. And such a ruler does harm to the people of the world like Zohak mentioned in the sacred writings.

Exposition in the good religion about the evidence that the Mazdayasnian faith is the word of God. (325)

Be it known that of the many evidences of the Mazdayasnian faith being the word of God these three are the chief:

First that it contains perfect wisdom. Second, that it contains more of the truth than other faiths. Third, that to him who is anxious about religion it gives a complete knowledge about the existence of God.

Exposition in the good religion about the king's reforming and guiding those who have been perverted from the divine faith. (326)

Be it known that all creation is regular through the gift of the Creator. Ohrmazd is the bestower of life to men in this world. And the good ruler who keeps men regular and able is the king of cities. About the king's method of dealing by law with those who have turned away from both these (i.e. God and king) it is expounded in the religion that the king should aid people with good intentions and to punish those with evil intentions. And by creating a taste for wisdom to give these men the knowledge about immortality. And by doing this and keeping them from having the evil knowledge of the wicked Varun to keep them under control. Men have to become glorious by virtuous disposition and religious knowledge, and by such disposition and knowledge they have to save themselves from hell and to obtain the happiness of heaven. By the corruption of good disposition and religious knowledge, the man of a wicked disposition and false religion is damned. A man gets respect and glory among men through charity, by which the world becomes easy and happy. Want of charity and miserliness is a vice among men; and through these the world is distressed. The happiness of the world is increased when the king renders his subjects happy; and then the world prospers. By his thought of inflicting pain the happiness of the world is jeopardized,

and the world languishes. A liberal and charitable king is like wind, ordinary clouds, and clouds charged with rain, in the physical world, which do so much good to the earth and keep it fresh. To guide all men by the power of this world and the next is by

"rendering happy those who are miserable,"

as is said in the first paragraph of the Fargard of *Spand Nask*.

Exposition in the good religion about the communion of men with all the Yazads and about his separation from them; and about his connection with the demons and the reasons of his separation from them. (327)

Be it known that the communion of men with the Yazads is through their friendship with these; and they separate and their friendship is dissolved when avarice, anger, envy, and revenge prevail among them and when they are deprived by the demons of the wisdom of the Yazads.

The union of the demons with men is for harming mankind. But when these men break their connection with those demons for redressing the injuries, and for obtaining the love and favor of their protecting Yazads, these Yazads renew their friendship with them. Thereby the demons are frustrated in their object of harming mankind and owing to resentment keep at a distance from men. The good protecting Yazads do not want to give up their love for men as they want to benefit them at the time of the final renovation, when the demons finally cease in despair from troubling men. By being thus prevented from communicating with men on various new pretext, and from running to and fro among them for tempting them, the demons lose power. At the time of this final renovation the entire Creation of Ohrmazd shall be reformed and renovated, and the people of the world shall live in an everlasting state of virtue without any fear.

Exposition in the good religion about the real pleasure of rulers. (328)

Be it known that rulers feel pleasure in many ways from ruling justly and worthily. And such pleasure was felt by the great ruling race of Osadin. The grandeur and happiness of the house of this Osadin was owing to its descent from Athwian. According to the account given in the good religion of the descendant of Osadin[142] the Kayanian,

142 Kay Usadan is the name given in the Avesta to the Kayanian king Kay Kaus. In the Frawardin Yasht, 13 chap. 132 sec. this renowned monarch is thus remembered in

they received wisdom and good advice from the Yazads, owing to which they protected the lives of their subjects virtuously and fearlessly, and preserved those virtues which would be of, great use to men for the final renovation. As supreme monarchs are delighted by the ambrosial drink of "arunj," so their subjects are delighted when they receive impartial justice from their kings.

Exposition in the good religion about the power of religion being able to overcome Ahriman from the time of the creation to that of the final renovation. (329)

Be it known that the power of religion is able to overpower Ahriman by its great goodness. And the man possessing the power leads an exalted spiritual life, and by his communion with the Yazads is connected with the source of never diminishing strength (or Spenamino). Owing to his moral wisdom he is not touched by mans' worldly rise and fall, (i.e. he does not care for men's worldly dignity, high or low). The power of Ahriman is much diminished in this world by man's disregarding Druj. Druj or vice is absent in this world so long as men disregard and pay no attention whatever to Druj. When vice becomes powerless man possessing the strength of virtue prevails over moral darkness, as the sun of light dispels the dark night, and always lives in an exalted state. By his superiority he keeps the whole world happy, every family becomes prosperous through him. The world remains happy as long as no evil star is shedding his sinister rays upon it and its sky is not overclouded. But when it is covered with clouds it is cut off from the benign rays of the sun; and owing to the disappearance of the sun, darkness (Ahriman) prevails and has the power to suppress all things connected with light.

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the Avesta with the illustrious and holy dead: “We remember the holy soul of Kay Usadan or Kay Kaus.” Kay Kaus mounted the throne of Iran in succession to Kay Kobad the first monarch of the Kayanian race. In his great historical epic, the Shah-namah, Firdausi mentions in the following verses, the four sons of Kay Kobad, – Kay Kaus the eldest, next after him Kay Ars, and Kay Pishin, and Kay Armin the youngest: In the Frawardin Yasht, 29th ha amongst the names of the holy and illustrious dead, that of "Kay Apivunghu" comes next after Kay Kobad, and after him Kay Kaus, Kay Arsh, and Kay Pishin. Guided by this Prof. James Darmesteter calls Kay Apivunghu the son of Kay Kobad. But looking to the fact that Kay Kaus came to the throne as the eldest son, we must consider Kay Apivunghu as Kay Kobad's younger brother, and the learned Professor must thus he in error. For from the fact that according to our traditional usage we Zoroastrians couple the names of Kay Kaus and Kay Pishin with that of Kay Kobad, but couple those of Kay Arsh and Urvund with the name of Kay Pishin, we are justified in conjecturing that Kay Arsh and Kay Urvund were the grandsons of Kay Kobad. And Kay Armin mentioned in the Shah-Nameh or "Kay Urvund" was the father of king Kay Loharasp.

Again as darkness exists with light so the power of Ahriman exists among all those who have the strength of virtue, and the man possessing the power of truth may come to have the strength of falsehood (i.e. the follower of Ohrmazd may became the follower of Ahriman). By the evil effect of sin among the followers of Ohrmazd's faith, the man who possessed the strength of virtue is ruined, and does not regain his original strength, (i.e. he does not again belong to Spenamino). Through original truth man becomes pure in his wishes; but by neglecting this original truth men become the servants of the demons in this world by evil thoughts, evil words and evil acts. In the same way by good thoughts good words and good acts they become the servants of God. Owing to wickedness sin has appeared in this world for six periods of thousand years. According to the exposition in the religion the first period of thousand years was Jamshed's and it was full of the glory of virtue, it destroyed sin in the world and weakened Ahriman. During the second period, that of Zohak, Iran was ruined and desolated by his devil-worship. The third[143] period is called that of Zartosht, in which great wrongs ceased to exist, and the great power of Ahriman obtained through the knowledge of his false faith deception and falsehood was stopped. In it people remembered and believed in God, and by this the knowledge of Ahriman's false faith and his deception were dimmed. The fourth period is called that of Ushedar, and the fifth that of Ushedarmah. The sixth is said to be that of Soshyant, during which the demons and Drujs will be finally worsted and Ohrmazd's creations freed from hell, and by a miracle there will be Frashegird or final renovation and men will become immortal.

Exposition in the good religion about the existence of light and darkness. (330)

Be it known that the existence of light is felt by the sight of its spreading rays and by this shining sight being reflected in the eyes of man. Darkness is not felt in its own nature (i.e. it has no nature, being mere negation). But it is owing to the closing of man's sense of sight, and to the source of light being not seen by him. The wise man possesses the light of wisdom even though he be deprived of mortal sight.

143 Owing to the inadvertence of the copyist, the Pahlavi Ms. has here instead of the "third," fourth, and this error affects the enumeration that follows. We have kept thin error in the Pahlavi text of our work; but have corrected it in the Zand transliteration and the Gujarati and English translations.

Exposition in the good religion about the nature of the king and of the priest of Ohrmazd's religion and about that of those of Ahriman's religion. (331)

Be it known that it is the nature of the ruler of Ohrmazd's faith to create by his strength of virtue among people good wisdom, pure justice and the ability to cherish others. And the habit of the ruler of Ahriman's faith is to strengthen by his strength the evil genius of him who injures virtue among men, and injustice and cruelty.

It is the nature of the priest of Ohrmazd's faith to do the virtuous deeds of the good Vohuman. Whilst the nature of the priest of Ahriman's faith is to train and habituate men to do the dark and sinful deeds of the evil Akoman.

Exposition in the good religion about every man's getting truth and justice by remaining on the side of the Good One Ohrmazd and by not being on the side of the evil one Ahriman. (332)

Be it known that Ohrmazd by his power of comprehending everything is truthful and the judge of all. And every truthful man gets justice at his hands. Those who cannot comprehend everything, cannot deal out impartial justice to all. Thus those who do not possess the faculty of comprehending everything, are helpless in the matter of the wrong done when pure justice is not given to every body. But God gives due justice to him who has been wronged by an unjust judgment. Therefore those should give a just judgment about criminals, who are able to observe and understand the methods of the spiritual world; so that their judgment may be upheld the next world. Again the man who is not capable of judging justly but who is God-fearing and conscientious, is considered to behave properly; and his behavior being then proper, he is saved from hell.

Exposition in the good religion about the origin of the good and the bad faith. (333)

Be it known that the good faith is the light about the virtuous nature of Ohrmazd; and its origin is known by ideas about Him. And ideas about Ohrmazd are obtained by the recitation of Manthra (or the Avesta prayer) and by doing conscientious deeds. Again the revelation of the good religion giving ideas of the origin of God is like the root of the pomegranate tree which remains invisible under the ground; and like the man who takes for the purpose of worship and ceremony the leaves and fruit of the pomegranate tree which are above ground, knows through them of the seed and root of that tree.

The evil faith is the abomination of the dark fiend or Ahriman. And its source is the worshipper, the imposter Ashmogh (or the priest of the evil faith) who is possessed with Ahriman. The origin of the evil faith is known by accepting its falsehood. The work of the followers of the false faith is of the kind of Frahibut and Aibibut, of Ahriman's own nature. And the source of this false faith remains among its evil impostor priests as poison lies within the serpent. And as this poison appears when death is caused by the bite of the serpent, so the evil designs of the followers of the false faith appear through their love of falsehood.

Exposition in the good religion about him who takes care of his soul and about him who injures it. (334)

Be it known that he is to be held as taking care of his soul who preserves his thoughts, words, hands, mouth, and backbone, from evil. And he is to be held to injure his soul who thinks the house of the devil to be superior.

Exposition in the good religion about three kinds of superior strength. (335)

Be it known that among various kinds of strength in the world there are three of a superior character. The first is the strength of wisdom; and its source is the Dastur (or head-priest) of Ohrmazd's faith. The second is the strength of rules and its source is the monarch who is the splendor of the throne. The third is the strength of work. By means of these three kinds of strength the world increases in faith. For by wisdom 6 it gets the knowledge of recognizing things. By rule great and heroic acts are done. And by the strength of work commerce is carried on among people, and the world is improved by it. Ohrmazd has given these three kinds of strength to his servants. The strength

given to men by Ahriman is for ruining things that exist and for weakening men guided by wisdom; and by weakening them to dissuade the priest and make him desist from explaining the people the strength that is permanent in things. Men in this world are injured by putting 'khrafstras' [noxious creatures, vermin] into fire, water, earth, and the vegetable kingdom. And the khrafastras enter into them like the virulent poison of the serpent. In spite of many cures being applied to men for removing the disease of these khrafastras, the weakness and injuries caused by it remains. Ohrmazd bestows wisdom on the good ruler renewing the strength of wisdom and of work in the man who believes in the good faith of divine origin. By this the soul continues in the body. The man of the divine faith gets an increase of strength through his divine faith. A man's sins are expiated by his perfect knowledge of the divine faith and by his doing good works for his final renovation. All creation is freed by Ohrmazd from Ahriman by men's working in this world for their final renovation and by making them eternally happy.

Exposition in the good religion about men having high aims being virtuous leaders; and men having low aims being vicious. (336)

Be it known that the noble nature of heroes and rulers has zeal for high aims, such as morality, strength, aid,

powerful youth, charity, godly thoughts, truthfulness, courage, perseverance, doing of virtuous public deeds,[144] and other good qualities of rulers. The virtues of a priest of high aims are the noble qualities connected with prayer to God, – such as patience of persecution for the faith, firmness of faith in prayer, assisting the respectable, having courage for good intentions, preparing food for the soul (i.e. performing the Yazashne [Yasna] ceremony), charity, speaking profitable words, truthfulness, humility, courage, contentment, perseverance, doing public acts, as the leader of the faith and obedience of other good kinds.

The nature of the ruler instructing people in the bad faith are evil qualities of low and base aims; and they are as follows. Injuring religious works as their enemy, to be the foe like Baratrut of him who suffers for religion, obtaining the strength of the sinful Baratrut who is against humility, the vice of aiding Baratrut in opposing honor and

144 By public deeds must be understood such good religious deeds as are beneficial to the whole community, and as render men happy in this world as well as the next. It is ordained in the Sacred Avesta that “public deeds are for pleasing Ohrmazd and injuring Ahriman, (i.e. virtuous deeds for obtaining the love of God and injuring Satan). And these are connected with men's hope of final renovation.”

respectability, sinful courage for vice which opposes a virtuous nature, sinful miserliness in liberally providing food for the soul, marring the good intentions of God by speaking high things, speaking the truth with the sinful motive of benefiting by it, pride which opposes magnanimity, avaricious endeavors that oppose contentment, the open gifts and deeds of the sinful for diminishing virtuous acts by great sins, and all other vices of the wicked people connected with the Baratrut who opposed the virtues of Jamshed who belonged to the original faith. Thus the two kinds of qualities mentioned above oppose each other. The bad qualities of the leaders of base aims are for injuring virtue, and these are as follows: cherishing sinful thieves who oppose religiousness, vindictive and sinful humility which is opposed to courage, the impudence of the sinner which is opposed to obedience to God, secret vindictiveness of the sinner opposed to open valor, miserliness of the sinner about providing food for the soul which is opposed to liberality, base cringing obedience of the sinner opposed to high and noble ideas, ignoble and slothful contentment opposed to diligence and besides these all other bad qualities of the sinner of base aims are opposed to the good qualities above mentioned of the virtuous.

Exposition in the good religion about the nature of the Mazdayasnian religion, its foresight, gifts, wisdom, diligence, work, ideas, power, and advantages. (337)

Be it known that the nature of the Mazdayasnian religion is the foresight of God; and the gift of this foresight are wise acts. Again this foresight is a mine of superior wisdom for improving those who want it and is an emanation of the entire nature of Ohrmazd. Its diligence is about the salvation of the sins of the world. Its work is by its reason and wisdom to distinguish the innate strength of everything and to take it into proper use. Its power of work is employed to save men from unhappiness in this world and the next by keeping men away from the sinful deeds of Ahriman in order to preserve intact and pure the innate strength of things. Its benefit is derived from its continuing within finite time to reform creation by the aid of the knowledge of good works to be done during that time. And this work of reformation and renovation is accomplished by recognizing the innate strength of things. And by saving men from the wickedness of Ahriman through this work, they are to be renovated for complete and unmixed eternal happiness.

Exposition in the good religion about the head of the Mazdayasnian faith and the chief of the religion of demon-worship. (338)

Be it known that the heads of the Mazdayasnian faith or its Dasturs are those who having received their education and obtained a knowledge of the saving faith as his disciples at the hands of that holy and true teacher of religious knowledge, the prophet Zartosht, have the firmness to believe sincerely in him as the prince of their faith, through their faith in God. And the pious disciples who obtain this training are the persons who obtain renown as the holy. Heads of the Mazdayasnian faith by giving to the world the benefit of the true faith through making the good ruler and king of a religious disposition owing to their friendship and influence with him and inducing him to spread over the world the true faith, and by loving and ruling virtuously all living beings, and lastly, by preserving men's souls for the happiness of the final renovation.

The leaders of the demon worshipping religion are the leaders of the religion of Zohak. They obtain wicked power by not believing in God; and thus they believe in Zohak the leader of the false faith; and as his disciples give to people evil knowledge connected with Ahriman; and give to people the spuriously brilliant education in the School of the false religion to do wicked deeds. They injure men and spiritual religion by their obtaining the friendship and love of the ruler of the false faith for deceiving people, and by their inducing him to behave wickedly. And finally they make the whole world wicked.

Exposition in the good religion about the religious teacher who can save every man from sin and make him virtuous. (339)

Be it known that to make a man free from sin and to make him virtuous are both done in the same way,[145] that is by making him live without sin and in virtue. The holy priest is the man to explain what is virtue; and by this explanation every soul has to lead a good life. Every man obtains from the Dastur the knowledge of what to do and what not to do. A man lives in the world without sin by not injuring virtuous men, and then the man obtains the love of God. All men not having the benefit of the Dastur's true knowledge about every thing, they do not possess the knowledge of God, religion and virtue. How can an ignorant man know of virtue without the aid of a religious teacher? Therefore every one amongst men has the need of a teacher

145 i.e. Living without sin means obtaining salvation from hell, and obtaining salvation from hell is by becoming virtuous.

of the salvation from sin and the acquisition of virtue.

Exposition in the good religion and advice about keeping the body as much as possible well-clothed; and about not remaining without Sudre and Kusti. (340)

Be it known that the reformation of all through the good faith is by the wisdom of Ohrmazd whose servants we all are. This faith gives us knowledge to know this world and the next. And this knowledge is the true wisdom highly to be accepted about this world and the revelation of the next. And it is expounded in this faith that man should not as far as possible remain naked; for this reason that his body being seen naked is subject to much injury from magicians. Therefore it is incumbent on him to put on ordinary clothes. Again when a man is entirely naked his person appears indecent and ugly. Such an indecent and ugly looking man strengthens his enemies the demons, and through this strength these demons succeed in injuring his body.

It is advised not to remain without Sudre and Kusti lest men be mysteriously injured by the demons. And the man who does not put on Sudre and kusti is really in a way an injurer and annoyer of men in the world.[146] Again the man without the girdle of the kusti is like a man of alien religion and is not considered to belong to the true faith.[147]

Exposition in the good religion about the usage of the good faith and the usage of the evil faith. (341)

Be it known that the usage of the good faith is to do good and virtuous deeds about the next or spiritual world. The follower of that faith holds Ohrmazd as the lord of his conscience and does good work pleasing to the Yazads. He makes himself resplendent by the virtuous

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146 In our religion it is called a sinful act to keep the body unclothed with the Sudre and to have the Sudre without the girdle of the Kusti: In his Patet-Pashemani (or litany of repentance) based on the holy Avesta, Dasturan Dastur (or supreme Dastur) Adarbad has called the sin of remaining without Sudre and Kusti, "Barhane-dwarashni;" and the sin of having the Sudre without the band of the Kusti, he has called "Vashade-dobarashni."

147 In the sacred book of the Vendidad, 18th fargard, that Zoroastrian has been called by God, Ashmogh the impostor of the evil faith, who should remain for three years without having the Sudre and Kusti on, or should during that period never once read the prayer of the Gathas, or after purifying his body with ablutions of water should not pray to God his Creator. He is said to undermine our religion. And when ours was the state religion he was to be punished with death. (Vide Vendidad ed. Westergaard p. 458 §§ 8-10.

happiness of this world. He benefits the world and makes it prosperous by doing good public acts, by loving the innumerable peoples of the world and by being charitable to all alike.

The usage of the evil faith is to work for men's unhappiness and misery in the next world. And thus to tarnish the splendor of the spiritual world, to destroy willfully the happiness of virtue in the world, and to seduce people into liking falsehood. By his secretly injuring people and by robbing them of their happiness, the follower of the evil faith does not know happiness and pleasure and a pure conscience. And thus his nature appears unrighteous.

Exposition in the good religion about the things that are useful for spreading the faith in the world. (342)

Be it known that there are these four things useful for spreading the faith in the world. A good understanding, knowledge of religion, the faculty of imparting that knowledge to people, and the ability of making people accept the faith. As the head of the community guides its members aright, and they listen to his advice; so the shepherd is the head of the herd of gospands [livestock], and by taking them about skillfully for pasture he is like their leader. As the head of the faith must have knowledge of that faith for his flock of men, so the shepherd has knowledge of the faith for his flock. As the head of the community teaches his men the rules of right conduct in this world, so the shepherd trains his flock to move about properly and to seek pasture ; and by his skill in this he deserves to be held as the leader of his herd of gospands. It is injurious to appoint him the shepherd of gospands who does not possess the proper religious knowledge of training the flock. If the religious head of a community of men is ignorant of the faith, the community cannot be held together and is ruined and dispersed; as he is not obeyed.

If the sheep have no shepherd they have no control, move listlessly about, and have no help for pasture.

If men have no Dastur learned in the faith they obtain no power of divine knowledge and become godless.

On the other hand if the Dastur learned in the faith have no community under him he remains isolated, and has no one to whom to impart religious knowledge; and there is no one to accept his religion.

If there be no flock of gospands, the shepherd becomes poor and loses his dignity of guide. And pasture become useless. If the guide of the faith does not possess divine knowledge, he is useless without the

power of religious knowledge and without followers of the faith. For if the head of the faith himself is not fit to teach the faith, the people remain in an unprofitable state without getting any reward of virtue.

If the shepherd is not able to guide his flock of gospands, they live lawlessly without control like prisoners and have no aid for their pasture.

If there be no head of the faith to make people believe in it, divine wisdom becomes useless, there is a dire want of religious knowledge of which the people remain in ignorance. The venerable dignity of such a head and his advice become useless. And the community derive no benefit from them.

If cattle have no pasture they are annoyed without food, become unhappy and prisoners as it were; and their movements are to no purpose.

Exposition in the good religion about men or supreme dignity; and about very wicked men. (343)

Be it known that according to the good religion the persons of supreme dignity are the illustrious rulers and monarchs of men and the Dasturs of the age possessing divine wisdom. Very wicked persons are the evil rulers and ancient priests of false religion.

Among great and good monarchs king Jamshed was the greatest and best. This king gave the people of this world knowledge about their bodies and soul (i.e. about this world as well as the next).

Among the great Dasturs the greatest Dastur was Spitaman Zartosht, who gave men the best knowledge about the soul (or the spiritual world).

Among wicked monarchs the most wicked was Zohak who killed Jamshed.

Among wicked priests the most wicked was Tur-e-Baratrut of evil nature and desirous of destroying Zartosht's faith.

Among the great and good rulers and Dasturs to come in future, doing good works for Frashegird (or final renovation), the greatest will be Soshyant. And among his friendly colleagues in the work of final renovation will be Kay Khoshraw.

Among the most wicked men to come at the time of the final renovation there will be Gadaros of the family of the wicked Tur-e-Baratrut. And among the most wicked priests will be Zohak. It is said in the good religion that Soshyant will be their vanquisher and

destroyer.

Exposition in the good religion about those who accept the faith and who dissuade men from sin. (344)

Be it known that it is advised in the faith that men should have zeal for good deeds. And those that are advanced in virtue should dissuade men from loving sin and wickedness.

Exposition in the good religion about the three calamities that will befall the Mazdayasnian faith, during the millennial period of Zartosht, through three rulers of the false faith and three priests of the same. (345)

Be it known that during the millennial period of Zartosht (i.e. in the interval between the time of Zartosht and that of Ushedar) the Mazdayasnian faith shall be severely shaken by rulers of the false faith. The Turki prince Arjasp and his followers is to give the first blow. The second calamity will come from the ill-famed prince Alexander Rumi and his followers. And the third from the bare headed Saad the Arab leader and his companions. Likewise shall the faith suffer during this period of Zartosht from three priests of the false faith of whom the first is of the white race,[148] the second is Mazdak who aids evil in the world, and the third is Mohammed.

(Exposition in the good religion) about the connection between it and divine wisdom. (346)

Be it known that the words of the excellent wisdom of God were communicated to the good learned men of all countries before and after the preaching of the Mazdayasnian faith in this world. And these learned men of various continents were connected with the truth of this faith in this manner that they became acquainted with the precepts and writings of the good religion like the followers of the Mazdayasnian faith themselves.

Exposition in the good religion about very good times and about very evil times. (347)

Be it known that when the peoples of all the kingdoms of the earth are reformed rightly by the true faith, and when the good religion is powerful, by faith in it, owing to its connection with the state, then

148 The priest of the white race in probably Mani.

virtue prevails among men, the earth prospers, all living beings enjoy lasting happiness, lead fearless and healthy lives, become advanced in wisdom, and shine by good manners, then also the virtues of charity, veracity, fidelity, as well as other excellent qualities are to be found in men.

When the peoples of evil kingdoms are *deformed* by the training in the false religion and guide themselves by the light of this false faith, then they spread immorality. And the earth becomes desolate, its inhabitants lead wicked lives, suffer pain, lose dignity through evil intentions, become destitute, and owing to wickedness appear of evil mien. And by the spread of sin, miserliness, ungratefulness and wicked intentions among men they become very defiled and vicious.

Exposition in the good religion about the fear which the righteous have about sin; and the tendency of the evil to commit sin. (348)

Be it known that a righteous man has to guard himself against (moral) sin. And the evil men are inclined to commit sin. Therefore the former should, bearing this in mind, think of the soul for the safety of the body, should obey God, and should utter mysterious thoughts about the most essential parts of the body. Those that are evil have no hope of saving their souls in the other world from God. Thus without any thought of spiritual faith they become strong for evil through the power of the latent animal passions. Man obtains salvation (from sin) by the thought of spiritual virtue and control of the soul. whilst by the wisdom of the demons man becomes endowed with the strength of all the wicked and sufficiently harmful through this strength. Man recognizes what is wise and obtains power through the aid of the Yazads. He is also emboldened to speak out unhesitatingly for the good of the people; and for this boldness the demons feel sorrow and evil men feel hurt. By the wisdom of the Yazads man becomes illustrious, honorable through virtue, and is blessed by the good wishes of God.

Exposition in the good religion about the man connected with the Mazdayasnian faith making the rule of virtue to prevail and the faith in the false religion to disappear. (349)

Be it known that owing to this (i.e. by being connected with the Mazdayasnian faith and by keeping aloof from the false faith) man obtains courage, blessings and earthly happiness, intelligence, and splendor. He, who is connected with the Mazdayasnian faith, obtains

the good strength of that faith, viz. virtue, prosperity, improvement, reputation, intelligence and pomp, which all tend to happiness. The Dastur in this world like the ruler makes men religious, civilized, glorious, intelligent, blessed and, finally, happy; and encourages the rule of conscience in man. The Mazdayasnian faith is the strength of the kingdom of such subjects. The kingdom that has the strength of this faith enjoys a high rank among kingdoms, and improves by its permanent strength.

The followers of the false faith use their strength to deceive people and wreak their vengeance upon them. This being the case the state should reform its subjects and rule them liberally; it should reform its unworthy and contemptible subjects into civilized, clever, well-meaning, and praiseworthy and happy beings, and should keep thereby their miserable and nude body from harm.

If the world is to be saved from the injury of terrible wild beasts, the state should always be anxious to reform it on every occasion.

Man's happiness and well-being in this world depends on removing the difficulties which harass him. The subjects of the monarch of the evil faith labor under difficulties and are weakened through restraint; and thus this rule proves fatal in a certain way. It is improved by severing its connection with the evil faith and by avoiding conformity with it. For it is through religious impostors and malefactors that the subjects prevail over the state and disobey authority, as well as the empire is shaken at times to its foundations. The evil faith must be abandoned by men as it leads to misery in the world, and misery kills even wild beasts. The evil faith exists owing to miserable men. Its rule is useless to men and its authority is diminished.

Exposition in the good religion about the abode of freedom for mortals. (350)

Be it known that the abode of freedom for mortals is reached by the soul when it becoming pure through virtue and obtaining salvation from hell, goes to 'Hamistagan.'

A higher abode is attained when by the aid of the spiritual Yazads it goes from 'Hamistagan' to Heaven.

The third and highest abode is obtained by entering 'Garothman' through the aid of the Amahraspands.[149]

149 From this text it is clear that the soul can he saved from hell by good deeds done for him here after death and can attain 'Hamistagan.' If more good deeds are done for him, the soul can go from Hamistagan to Heaven. And finally by still more

Exposition in the good religion about the connection between the rulers and the ruled being kept up by the virtuous power and favor of the Almighty. (351)

Be it known that the good ruler remains in communion with God owing to his virtuous power and favor.

And his subjects should be connected faithfully with him in order to be in communion with God. It is owing to his virtuous power that the subjects' bodies and property are looked after by the just rulers. Likewise the ruler is kind owing to his connection with God. The ruler who is just has the protection and favor of God; and he is the lord of his subjects' bodies and wealth. The people of the world derive great benefit by following his faith and obeying his rule.

Exposition in the good religion about the virtuous and wise among men obtaining through the Yazads spiritual wealth; and about the wicked not obtaining it. (352)

Be it known that the wise among men sometimes get from the Yazads wealth which is useful to his existence. When they do not get it from the Yazads, high and virtuous thoughts, and the work done through this wealth are prevented. Man does not get the idea of obtaining food for strengthening the soul, himself without the agency of the Yazads. The strength which comes of this spiritual wealth and the desire for it being wanting, he thinks of degrading thoughts. But spiritual strength and wealth which is from the Yazads, being not in his possession, he does not enjoy contentment and peace of mind. The wicked among men sometimes get wealth through the worldly Yazads (or the heavenly spirits.) But thereby they do not get the good and timely thoughts of the spiritual Yazads. Therefore the obtaining of spiritual wealth from these Yazads is always attended with pain and misery; and their not obtaining it renders their souls discontented and displeased.

From these above mentioned causes then it is clear that all wise men are zealous and worthy of obtaining good recompense from the Yazads. And the wicked have neither the zeal nor the merit of obtaining such good rewards.

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good deeds done the soul reaches the highest Heaven or 'Garothman.'

Exposition in the good religion about the wishes of a dishonest and wicked man. (353)

Be it known that a man's honest wish is about doing worthy and solid dignified acts about his mind; and all these dignified acts are through virtue; and by these we should try to obtain spiritual satisfaction and salvation for the soul.

The chief wish of a dishonest man is to lead himself blindly to vain things and to give vain and empty dignity to his kind. Everything sinful tends to spiritual dissatisfaction and perdition.

The chief wish of the wicked man is not to dignify his mind in a solid way, but to undermine the desire for dignified virtuous deeds. And this wish is of evil injurious origin and connected with the resources of vice.

Exposition in the good religion about the advice given by Jamshed to men. (354)

Be it known that King Jamshed has thus advised men. First to repent of having showed contempt to the Creator. Secondly, that the deeds which can aid them in obtaining happiness in the next world are virtues. Thirdly, that if they set their heart in obtaining material wealth, they cannot obtain reverence and honor. Fourthly, that if they are wise and veracious, their glory will increase and be lasting. Fifthly, not to tell lies at all, lest their honor and glory be tarnished. Sixthly, that all men have to reach heaven by the aid of the Yazads, – if these do not aid men the latter cannot obtain heaven. Man sees the way to heaven by the virtuous aid of the Yazads, and he does not lose the path of righteousness and become miserable. For Jamshed lost his virtuous and solid happiness when he was deceived by the Devs and preferred that happiness which ruined his rule. He used his truth-speaking tongue by which he had obtained glory for telling lies which injured his honor. When he behaved presumptuously towards God, Who had created him, and given him splendor of protection, he was deprived of the intercourse with the good Yazads.

Exposition in the good religion about what preserves splendor and what destroys it. (355)

Be it known that every servant of God preserves his soul (from harm) by thinking of Him, Who bestows splendor. Thus it is meet that mortals should thank Him and remain zealous in their work.

Man is deprived of splendor (of faith) by contemning the Creator,

by being ungrateful to Him and by becoming lazy in work.

Exposition in the good religion about the man's soul being the master of his own person and its adviser. (356)

Be it known that God has created the Creation for its appointed work; and every part of creation is rendered visible by its work. And this work is continued in the world by the soul of each such part. The soul advises man about his appointed work. A man guides and improves himself in this world by one of the kinds of spiritual wisdom. This kind pertains to the One (Ohrmazd), and thereby many are wise. Just as a man from owning one house comes to own many houses, from owning one street has many, from one village and city owns many villages and cities, from one continent or region several regions. As this universe and its land is molded by the reformed and wise created beings moving upon it, so the wise people of this whole universe are created by God for reforming by the splendor of virtue His creation. This good work is hindered by an evil kind of chief of men (or the evil priest or king). As the earth supports the whole system of buildings upon it, so by a bad chief people are encouraged in false ideas.

Exposition in the good religion about the power of rule benefiting as well as injuring men. (357)

Be it known that Ahriman possesses the soul of wicked men connected with him; and thus the man attracted to the evil one for the perdition of his soul. The savior of the soul from this desire is the divine instinct in man. The desire is strong enough to obtain as much of worldly goods as the sinner wants; and hence the sinner has wealth and power. When this desire is very strong in a man, he needs proportionately strong divine instinct for saving his soul from it.

When a man is devoid of the desire for power and wealth, he is conscientious. And thereby he always possesses the divine instinct for preserving his soul. And this desire being thus absent, that man obtains beneficial power and wealth.

The man who possesses proper virtuous courage, keeps the divine instinct till the end, and thereby is very strong and resplendent. As long as a man possesses requisite divine instinct, he can preserve the soul by the assistance of the Yazads. But when he becomes immoral through wicked power and wealth, his soul is injured and he becomes inglorious; and his power and wealth are destroyed.

Exposition in the good religion about one's doing works for the benefit of his soul himself; and about not doing anything which is injurious to the soul. (358)

Be it known that a man must do himself personally good deeds for his soul's benefit. If a man does not do a deed required for his spiritual welfare, no other man can do that for him. The explicit explanation of it is that the chief of hell does not allow man's soul to keep away from sin and to throw off the noose from his neck for doing virtuous deeds (i.e. he does not allow the noose which is round man's neck for the above purpose, to fall away from the neck by doing virtuous deeds.) And the Demon of Death hurries him away from this world by killing him. That is the chief of hell carries away his soul to hell by seizing hold of this noose.[150] And then he has to suffer punishment and misery till the day of judgment. And this sinful soul can relieve itself from hell and obtain higher bliss and pleasure through lasting faith like the holy men. He is kept apart from his relatives and kindred in the lowest apartment. He keeps his soul there solitary and uncontrolled. Just as a man loses in this world power, wealth and happiness, and is alone and desolate. The men who are under the good Yazads, are so much aided by them owing to their faith in them, that they become virtuous and are highly benefited.

Exposition in the good religion about man's glory disappearing by tarnishing the glory of the resplendent God. (359)

Be it known that God has created the world for work; and thus by the aid of the Yazads the whole Creation does good works relating to God. Man continues to work owing to diligence of soul. Diligence consists in thinking the soul subordinate to God. By diligence the work of the Creator is continued. And the Creator's work is to be done according to his wish. (That is, wish is to be done after knowing what would be pleasing to Him and give him a return from Him.) Those who are wrongly diligent and disobey the Creator, lose their glory; and their desire of obtaining recompense from Him by doing His work, dwindles away.

Exposition in the good religion about the protection and care of the world. (360)

Be it known that towards God, the Creator of the soul and its

150 In Vendidad (Farg. 19, para 29) it has been revealed that the sinner who dies without repentance and salvation, has a noose round his neck, holding which the Dev Vijaresh carries him off to hell.

Protector, the soul shows its true love by praise and gratitude. But if men forget the praise and gratitude due to the Creator of their souls, these souls are given up by Him and no longer cared for. And when they are not cared for by God, the Druj injures them; and they are rendered miserable through this injury of the Druj.

Exposition in the good religion about the superior or inferior value of men. (361)

Be it known that a man is valued according to his spiritual wisdom. And this spiritual wisdom is obtained through diligence. This wisdom which shows diligence is given him by his best superior Yazads. And by this he is himself valued; as a man is valued by his deeds above and below water, land, the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

His medium actions are on a par with land, water, the animal, and vegetable kingdoms. And a deed greater by a third than these four, is to remove the injury done to the earth by the opposite revolution of the sky and the earth. And a deed greater by two-thirds is to bring up animate beings without disease. And the best and most valuable deed is the care taken of the people of the world by the holy man and righteous ruler as ordained in the good religion.

Man's low state is owing to the evil desires of his soul and its evil diligence. He who shows evil diligence to man and injures his spiritual happiness, is the evil leader Ahriman. As long as the wisdom about the eternal happiness and the soul is wanted by the soul of a man, he is held in low estimation.

The bodies of those men who injure the strength of the world by wicked deeds, are lifeless owing to their destructive deeds, and their dead bodies being rotten are infernal.

(End of volume 7.)

Exposition in the good religion as to what thing is endowed with life and has relation with life; and why He is the giver of life and of this relation with life. (362)

Be it known that all existence in this world is because of the invisible strength-giving and foresight-inducing faculty. And this (existence) is (received) from the Creator, bestowing life unseen. All material bodies in this world subsist in mutual relation with their souls because of the life-bestowing Creator who keeps them in union.

That kind (i.e. creation) which in every action fights a battle with

the kind in which the blemish-giving enemy (i.e. Ahriman) shows himself is making for righteousness. And this kind is destructive of the work of Ahriman immediately it uses the powerful eyes of this world (i.e. the eyes of the faith). And by always thwarting Ahriman with the greater force of the spiritual understanding it meets with the original source (of Spenamino). Because the work of reforming all from (the effects of) the work of the Blemish-giver, on the occasion of the last reformation, will be done by the kinds which obediently serve the Creator. And every man in this world, by reason of the soul-faculty (received) from the source of this world and (by reason) of the strength of divine inspiration generally prefers the Law (i.e. religion). It is noted in the good religion that because of the purity of the soul (men) acquire a body in inward communion with the original source (i.e. Spenamino) and because of this communion the soul becomes immortal and adorned with the ample light of eternity in the second life.[151] (On the occasion of the last day) they will by no means side with the destructive (Ahriman), but (they) will be able (at least) to keep off the destroyer, because Ahriman cannot be bound in fetters by any substance, nor can he acquire existence in communion with the life-bestowing, wise Creator, who is self-existent and endows others with life. Those substances which in their very nature (are given to) destroy and do harm as much as possible – how can these substances be law-abiding (in themselves) and worthy to exist in conjunction with the law-abiding soul (i.e. with the religious man)? Earth, water, and grass are without law (i.e. have nothing in common) – how can these be bound together? The existence of those without the law is akin to that of Ahriman. No creation with a bodily organism is without the connection of the soul from God; but by reason of the perverse nature of Ahriman every such (creation) becomes harmful. The soul and those others which hold kinship with it (i.e. Urvan, Boi, Akho, Farohar) are not such (i.e. harmful) but generally they become perverse owing to their contact with Ahriman.

The priests who are of the nature of Ahriman assuredly take themselves bound before the destructive (Ahriman). And without doubt they lead a life (in the next world) in the woeful abode of Ahriman along with harmful objects. How can the harm-doer be of the religion of that life-giving Creator? He who is of God is as he should be; everything belonging to him has nothing in it of the principle of that destructive (Ahriman), and he keeps aloof from doing work like unto that of Ahriman. Moreover he who is unfit (i.e. as he should not be) exists as it were for doing the work of Ahriman. The

151 i.e. Spenamino dwelling in the conscience of man keeps him from sin and vice whereby he enjoys eternal happiness in heaven and thus his second life is on that account replete with honor and splendor.

man who is become unfit is without any charity owing to his destructive work. The man who is become unfit is, because of his destructive actions, like that destructive (Ahriman) and in every matter uniformly takes his (i.e. Ahriman's) place and becomes his instrument on every occasion. Moreover he who is unfit does everything, like the destructive (Ahriman), through base strength (i.e. his actions are always on a low moral plane). The man who is become unfit calls every object created through wisdom of a superior order an object of evil creation and its creator an evil creator. Those who live deep in hell describe the creation of the destroyer as being full of wisdom. In these days (i.e. of the good religion), to confound the wealth (i.e. creation) of the possessor of life (i.e. God) with (that of) the destructive Ahriman is not a little to be wondered at. Evil people perversely say that the commandments of the objectionable and destructive Ahriman have been given by the life-bestower (God). Likewise they say about the soul brought into being by God that it (is not created but) exists of itself. So also through enmity with God they call Him the Destroyer.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the source creating the soul regarding the helper of its good qualities, regarding those that pave the way for it into the seed of this world, nourish and protect its source in the seed of the body and direct its (soul's) distribution; and regarding the fact that (the soul) by its actions gets its reward from its kin Ohrmazd and meets again (with the original source). (363)

Be it known that Ohrmazd is the Creator of the soul. The soul has been sent by the Creator (into this world) from within the resplendent light of Garothman [paradise]. The fire, water, and earth belonging to the spiritual world (i.e. the invisible substances in the body) help on the good qualities of the invisible soul. And the fire, water, and earth belonging to this world help on the material bodies of this world. It is the invisible Yazads that by the lawful commandments of God pave the way for the soul into the seed (i.e. the fetus) belonging to this (material) world. It is by the grace of God that the source of the body (i.e. the soul) enters into it (i.e. the body). The soul does its appointed work by making the body work in harmony with its own (i.e. the soul's) original source.

The soul is protected and maintained by its superiors who preside over the understanding within the body (i.e. by the Yazads). Truth, charity, gratefulness, contentment, and energetic effort (are the

qualities which) give freedom and salvation to the soul and make it revered and honored in both the worlds. The soul maintains its position through several divine invisible substances. The soul gets its reward for its actions and becomes exalted through its adorning source (the Yazads). (The soul) which possesses good qualities returns to its kin (i.e. its creator Ohrmazd). The bodies of (men of) good birth which are to be rewarded for their good actions at the time of the Frashegird will do glorious deeds at the Frashegird. Those who will lead the van in the work of the Frashegird will at the epoch of the Tanepashin be rendered fortunate by the omniscient and almighty Ohrmazd in all the regenerated world.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the benefit to the soul from speech and regarding the necessity of overcoming all hurt to the soul (by means of speech). (364)

Be it known that (the holy God) has given the tongue as a weapon to man. By its speech, men derive great benefit for themselves. And it is of the greatest advantage (to this world) to keep the tongue away from perverted understanding, greediness, wrath, and other evil passions which (from their place) in the body always endeavor to turn (the soul) from its right course. When this weapon of the soul can be kept from evil intentions, that is to say, when men prevent this weapon of the tongue from speaking ill, they by their good speaking ward off all harm from it (i.e. the tongue) and by their words lead the world aright.

(The holy God) has bestowed on man, in his body, the good-thought-understanding, humility, obedience, and other invisible good qualities for the work of the tongue, in order to protect it from the evil wishes of the Drujs (i.e. evil qualities). Moreover man is like a ruler to rule over his soul-possessing body. Wherefore good invisible powers (i.e. the Yazads) love him as a friend. And thus man prevents his tongue from giving utterance to evil wishes and he carefully considers and ponders over words which he holds in readiness for utterance And he prevents the tongue from giving utterance to evil wishes by the force of his understanding and by the directions of other good invisible powers. If man under the influence of evil thoughts and being incited (thereto) by other (evil)-hopes-inducing invisible powers (nevertheless) pulls in his tongue he benefits his soul by his tongue and overcomes all hurt that might befall the soul. But if he speaks without due deliberation, he is in perpetual fear, keeps off all the superior advantages incident to speech and considerably harms the soul by the contempt into which he falls (among men).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the origin of the soul and this material body. (365)

Be it known that, the power which has been created by God from out of His infinite light in order to deliberate about the good religion is called in the Avesta, Athornan[152] and (the power) is made up of two kinds. Thinking over (the matter) we find that one of these is a spiritual kind (i.e. the invisible soul) and the other is the body relating to this world (i.e. this perishable body). In its invisible kind (i.e. the soul) is seated the faculty of comprehending the spiritual-knowledge-giving religion. The invisible faculty of the soul which induces knowledge of the faith, dwells in the material body, and so the invisible power has endowed the body with sufficient understanding.

It is due to the proper powers belonging to the soul that the latter is strengthened in its power of fully deliberating about the work relating to its material body. And it is the heavenly Yazads having the knowledge of spiritual things that infuse into this man (i.e. Zoroaster [Zarathushtra]) (the knowledge of the religion) for the good industry of mankind. The strength derived from religion, the yearning after God and the presence (in man) of the power of doing good and wise deeds are due to the powers which induce spiritual knowledge. The soul being in union with the material body makes man full of hot ardor (i.e. very eager to do good deeds).

The name of the religion which expounds the first of these creations (i.e. the soul) is Avestak. The people of the world know it as the tripartite religion. The three parts of the scriptures of the good religion are made up each of a third of the whole (i.e. 21 Nasks) and are separately named (Gatha, Dade, and Manthra). The Scriptures which are divided into these three parts and which are called the Avesta are for teaching the people to do good deeds. People (now-a-days) also call them (i.e. the scriptures) the exposition of the new religion. In this (Avesta) is given spiritual knowledge concerning the work of life. Through the zeal (inspired by) the instruction in good deeds set down in this religion, people learn the mysteries of the new religion and thereby acquire knowledge.

(The scriptures) should be recited in the form of prayers and spread among people by means of sermons. Life is in the body in order to make it attached to religion. He who acquires a name for spreading, by means of sermons, the knowledge of virtue among the people, does (so) owing to the spiritual understanding (in him). The angel who is most specially in communion with him is known in the Avesta as Ras or Khwarrah – who is said to help the creation in times

152 Zoroaster is meant here.

of affliction. Again (the priest) who relieves the sufferings of men by his sermons is regarded as a reliever of sufferings. Those sprung from his loins are full of light like the sun, the moon, and the stars; all the world is at their feet and among successful men they are naturally the most successful. Moreover, by the grace of the spiritual-foresight-bestowing and zeal-inducing inspiration from God, they, like the wind, drive off the Drujs owing to their spiritual-foresight-giving power. Those from among the people born in this world, who lead their lives guided by Akoman are looked upon as having been born for a life of evil deeds; just as, in this world, among men and the brute creation there are beings which live and move about in (spiritual) blindness under his (i.e. Akoman's) evil influence.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the life and death of the soul and the indication of its loss of luster. (366)

Be it known that the soul lives through wisdom and foresight and dies through evil thought and obstinacy. The soul becomes luminous through friendship and questioning-intercourse with wise and foresight-increasing men and loses its luster through friendship, intercourse and conversation with evil rulers of evil genius who depopulate the world and turn a deaf ear to the religion of God. And it is accustomed to do deeds of goodness through the wisdom of the excellent (religion) of holy commandments and it acquires the strength to do deeds of evil through evil and deceitful anger.

Exposition in the good religion regarding light and darkness and the benefit and harm accruing therefrom. (367)

Be it known that the soul is benefited by the light (i.e. the Yazadikhoreh [Yazad-e Khwarrah], the active influence of angelic powers) which discloses (to the soul) to an unbounded extent, faith in immortality, cheerfulness, light, love, deliberation and deeds of piety and merit. Just as wisdom and truth are beneficial for immortality, so also the sun, moon and stars are beneficial to water, the vegetable, and brute creation, men, rain, and other good creations, by averting the damage of Ahriman. Their light possessing as it does this beneficial virtue is known as the reliever of suffering. The light of the sun clears off the obstacle of the sinful (i.e. keeps off unholiness) and the light of the sun (also) loosens the fetters of the rain (i.e. sends down the rain which was held back). Through (spiritual) darkness the immortal soul suffers harm in (the shape of) fear and terror and dread

of blindness, and setting (i.e. dying) without doing any work and ignorance (of spiritual knowledge). People are excessively damaged by ignorance, falsehood, the stoppage of the sun in its course, the passing away of (the sun's) heat and by other evils. And this damage is repaired by the working of the Yazads in their midst (i.e. in the midst of the evils.)

Exposition in the good religion regarding the superior strength of Ohrmazd by virtue of which the faithful avert the calamities of the times. (368)

Be it known that Ohrmazd has given the Mazdayasnian faith to men to keep off and disable Ahriman down to the Frashegird. Through (this religion) Ahriman is always being broken down in his blooming condition (i.e. vigor). And through it (also) the good creation will be continually smiting Ahriman down to the Day of Judgment, without (even) waiting to see him. And people of the good religion will so get the better of each and every intention of Ahriman that he will at that time stand in fear of being disabled and withered up through the good religion and the faithful belonging to it. It will be considered the superior strength of the creator Ohrmazd to subdue and drive out Ahriman and He will thus be encouraged and will (finally) succeed in regenerating the world and exalting the Mazdayasnian faith. These times have been described in the good religion; so also the other parts of the scriptures of the faith contain the particulars as to the times when the good creations of the Mazdayasnian religion will be under the influence of Spenamino, and when under that of Ganamino and when they will reach the most exalted state and when the lowest.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the parts of the body and the soul. (369)

Be it known that the life (of man) springs from the first or the spiritual world, and the union of the soul with all bodies is due to (life), and the union of the soul with the material bodies of this world is through the limbs of the body. The limbs remain in (normal) order through health and the normal body is the abode of (the soul). Again there are two particulars regarding (the soul). The first is about doing the work relating to the figure, the second about doing the work relating to the wish. The work of the figure is done through the union of the soul with the (potential) body, just as metal is (potentially in) the earth, trees (potentially) in earth and water, and fruits (potentially) in the roots of the trees, and (just as) animals get milk

and every other comely thing of life such as feet, blood, skin, and hair from vegetable food and water. In like manner other things (are produced) through the instrumentality of the wish, just as the figure-framer-out-of-wood (i.e. the carpenter) makes the musical pipes and other things, and the potter makes earthen vessels through wish, and the goldsmith through his wish to make them, makes golden armlets, anklets, nail-pairing knife, ear-rings, and finger-rings. In like manner other things are produced by the joint action of the figure and the wish, for instance, man, with (the peculiar human) features, and wheat and other similar grains (the figure of which is potentially in) the earth.* (In such things) the real wish of the maker is to be seen from the face or figure and the limbs.[153]

The sugar-cane grows from the earth and (people grow it because it) is liked for its sweetness, just as, people in these days like to eat clarified butter because of the well-proportioned mixture of sugar with it. The wish (i.e. mind) (of man) becomes purer and fresher by the sight (i.e. contemplation) of the objects of the universe. It is stated in the religion that man acquires spiritual luster and glory through the presiding influence of angelic powers. In the same manner magician rulers move in the darkness of evil glory through the influence of demons. The knowledge of all kinds regarding this and the other world is derived from this source (the soul?) as it has been said by the wise men of old that the soul and its parts contain in them all knowledge concerning (the soul).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the superior rank of divine worship. (370)

Be it known that, the Yazads shine in men owing to (their) goodness and cease to shine owing to (their) evil. There are good men to increase the welfare of the world and wicked men to harm the goodness of the world, hence (men) cannot attain to perfection.

The most exalted rank of the believer in God is due to two causes. First through the communion of Ohrmazd with the man's soul from the very commencement, his wisdom and Farohar act for the benefit of all. Secondly, it is stated in the religion that at the epoch of the Tanepashin he will obtain a final and complete victory over Ahriman. And by driving out Ahriman once for all (from the world) and by depriving him of his luster all animated bodies will be regenerated and saved from hell and people of the world will lead useful lives, and at the time of the last reformation all men will be rid of (the reign of) injustice and will live as citizens in the presence of the creator

153 Somewhat unintelligible.

Ohrmazd.

Exposition in the good religion regarding what the creation thinks of the strength of God. (371)

Be it known that every (creation) has thoughts about each of its acts and is in motion for that act. The movements of all creation for each of their good and evil acts are different, one from the other. The craving of man is towards objects of the most exalted existence, that is to say, the soul. Every living man has a wish either for meritorious or for sinful acts. No creature either of the spiritual or of this world is without such a wish. No man can think or do anything without this wish. Man becomes exalted because of the thought of the presiding influence of the angelic powers, for he thereby leaves off the idea of the work of the one (i.e. the idea of sin). He, who when he has thoughts about the work of his life, is influenced by the (good) powers of this and the other world, is devoid of the strength of that other (i.e. Ganamino). By moving uniformly with Ahriman man is placed by Ahriman under the influence of his (own) stars, And he who in the industry of his work is as it were an agent of Ahriman is continually stirred by Ahriman as the latter's own creation. Just as there is a distinct path for the heavenly bodies among the sun, moon and stars or just as in the heavens there are some stars which move in the path of Ohrmazd and others in the path of Ahriman, so also that man moves in the path of Ahriman. In like manner fire and water gather strength from the winds; this strength was primarily given to them to help them in their appropriate work and not to enable them to abuse it but by wishing to move about (violently) for their work (i.e. by not confining themselves within proper limits) they have gone astray and have turned towards evil acts. Those men in whom their wishes prompt them to work for the supremacy of the most far-seeing, exalted, and holy Yazads are always doing acts of a superior kind, as being creations in communion with the Yazads.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the three sorts of men of the Mazdayasnian faith who among workers are considered perfect by Ohrmazd and are worthy of confidence. (372)

Be it known that among the workers, three sorts of men of the Mazdayasnian faith who are considered full (i.e. perfect) by Ohrmazd are worthy of confidence. Their particulars are as follows: One is (the judge) doing justice impartially in the sight of God and where the evidence is clear, never injuring anybody at all by a false decision.

The second is (the priest) giving after perfect deliberation the necessary instruction to every man through pure foresight derived from God.

And the third is (the king) with the luster of justice (i.e. the divinely gifted king) who shines out (in the world) through the grace of the perfect inspiration of Ohrmazd.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the faiths of Ohrmazd and Ahriman – their garment and their improvement – and their continuance – and the names proper to their votaries. (373)

Be it known that the religion of Ohrmazd is the wisdom of Ohrmazd. Its garment is goodness, its adorner is truth, and its worthy servants are the Yazdanparasts (i.e. worshippers of God) and its end is belief in God. And those who serve it obediently are called Yazdanparasts. And men of wisdom, the wise king and the pious Zoroastrian head priest are the persons who keep the faith alive in the world. The faith of Ahriman is the evil genius of Ahriman; its garment is virtue-injuring teaching; its adorner is falsehood and deceit; its votaries are the worshippers of demons; its end is faith in the demon and its obedient servants are believers in demons. Its end is demon-worship and it is kept alive in the world by the wicked king and the hypocrite priest who among clever men turn a deaf ear to the teaching of the good religion.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the Drujs who inflict the first, second, and third calamities on men at their birth and the intentions of Ohrmazd opposing the Drujs. (374)

Be it known that the being to inflict the first calamity on men at their birth is the Druj Akoman. And before the act of being born is fully completed he inflicts the misery of pain and gives man a foretaste of what he is to suffer at the Tanepashin. And this is indicated by the infant crying at its birth. Vohuman the opponent of this Druj shows man the final eternal life (to be obtained) at the epoch of the Tanepashin by (the practice of) virtue. And this is indicated by the child spending its time in merriment.

The second calamity is inflicted by the Druj Az (Greed). He is the power weakening the body of the child by hunger and thirst. The child by the sustenance of the delicious hunger-satisfying and thirst-allaying milk gets its due deliverance from its creator Ohrmazd and

wins a victory over that (Druj). And this food which fully satisfies the cravings of the body is the smiter of the Druj Az (i.e. Hunger).

The Druj who inflicts the third calamity is the Druj who harms the body and makes (man) indolent by dishonest (i.e. immoderate) slumber. The harm done by him is checked by honest (i.e. necessary) and body-refreshing rest.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the indications of the object (i.e. rain) and the inferences therefrom. (375)

Be it known that there are four kinds of indication regarding the object in the sky. First is the object itself without any indications, second is the object itself, with (indications) in (the sky), the third is the object itself, without (indications) in the sky, the fourth is the absence of the object itself and the absence of any indication in the sky.

The object itself without any indications is the rainy season during which the sky ought to be clouded; but when there are no movements of the wind and clouds which two are indications of rain, it is to be understood that the rain has passed away.

The object itself may be with indications in the sky; for instance, when during summer there are clouds and the wind does not blow and the clouds are stationary, it is to be understood that this is an indication of rain.

If the object is without indications in (the sky), for instance, when it is the rainy season and the birds have built their nests, it must be understood that it is an indication of rain, that is to say, rain will be falling down from above.

If there is no object itself in (the sky) nor any indication concerning it in the sky, as when during summer the birds have built their nests as an indication of rain (i.e. protection against expected rain) it must be understood that though the sky is not clouded still rain must come.

Exposition in the good religion regarding smokeless and smoky fires. (376)

Be it known that the smokeless fire shines with purity and has connection with the worthy Yazads and the smoky fire contains impure substances and shines with a dark lusterless smoke. For this reason, of all smoky fires, the fire of hell is the most smoky. The

smoky fires burn in the arable land for dryness, and act as dry heat to dry (the land). The fires for drying moisture are (the sun and the moon) shining in the sky.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the sufferings of the lying Ganamino and the superior rank and superior strength of Spenamino. (377)

Be it known that the evil speaking Ganamino (has to) suffer, that is to say, he is worsted in the fight with the creation of Ohrmazd and turns back to hell. And Spenamino gets the better of him in that Ganamino suffers on account of the defeat of his creation and his creation is defeated on account of this suffering. Spenamino obtains a victory over Ganamino because Ganamino is defeated and his creation is rendered unworthy. The creation of Spenamino remains united to him in order widely to spread the good religion (in the world) at the last reformation. And Spenamino guides (his creation) by knowledge and foresight. Some of the distresses and pain of Ganamino which are an index, throughout life, of this Druj are suffered by (man) when he guides his soul to evil by the blind eyes of Ganamino, in other words, if the evil genius of Ganamino were not to enter (the soul of) man, man would never fall into the deep pit of hell.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the understanding of the strength of both the Minos (i.e. Spenamino and Ganamino). (378)

Be it known that (man) is enabled so to understand both the spiritual powers that he who (thoroughly) knows Spenamino reaches his presence and attains to heaven and he who knows Ganamino goes to him and to hell leaving victorious heaven.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the creation of Spenamino being fully adorned and that of Ganamino being hurtful. (379)

Be it known that the creation of Spenamino is in every way adorned because of its life being to a certain extent always duly virtuous and the creation of Ganamino is to a certain extent (ill) adorned through (Ganamino) and is desolate and harmful because of everything relating to Ganamino and also on account of the influence of his dishonest (i.e. evil) strength. Moreover the creation of Spenamino contains in it the source of the virtuous-thought-power and the creation of Ganamino mars its own interests for its own

unhappiness. And so without the creation of Spenamino the creation of Ganamino appears (to men) to be full of dark thoughts.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the continuance of the human race in the midst of the most dangerous oppressiveness of Ganamino. (380)

Be it known that the creator Ohrmazd has given the ornament of life to his creation in the midst of the oppressiveness of Ahriman and has caused it to move about in this world and wish for the things of this life through desires. The men in this world who are hale and hearty and comfortable are without any connection with Ahriman and never go astray from their (original) strength. And like the Ameshaspands endowed with the strength of righteousness and desirous of averting calamity, they are superior in rank to inflictors of calamity in this world. And through this very cause man is devoid of harm-inflicting desires and like exalted spiritual light succeeds in this world of woe, just as the inward spiritual fire keeps the bodily fire, water, and earth alive and active. It is a dangerous (i.e. difficult) task (for man) to propagate and continue his species aright in this world surrounded by the oppressiveness of Ganamino.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that men should regard themselves as servants of God. (381)

Be it known that all men acquire an exalted rank and attain to every virtue by regarding themselves as servants of God. And the good Yazads furnish these men with three principal things of life. The first is to be without want, the second is to be without death, the third is to realize one's wishes.

Man acquires freedom from want by satisfying all the proper needs of the body and thus he (is able to) store up proper wealth (i.e. righteousness) for himself. Even in adverse times he can do much to satisfy these proper needs by this acquired stock of wealth and thus adds to his joy. And through this, man with needs becomes without wants.

The craving (of man) to be without death is satisfied by (the satisfaction of) hunger; it is harmful to feed his descendants (i.e. children) with more milk than they require, for the benefit of immortality (i.e. with a view to avert death).

The auspicious time of his (good) stars always enables (man) to realize his wishes, and desire for dishonest wealth becomes

intensified (in such auspicious times) in the case of wealth-craving people. The desire for the wealth which brings comfort and strength with it is lasting (i.e. always realized), (but) the desire (of man) to harm (others) through wealth is not realized and this disappointment causes increased suffering and grief to him. By attaining to his wishes man acquires merit and joy. The servant of God cannot know Him nor please mankind in the midst of the oppressiveness of Ganamino. Man attains to an exalted position by fully knowing God and becomes perfect through the virtues derived from God.

But man in the wicked state lives to please the other (i.e. Ahriman) and thus cannot attain to an exalted rank by means of virtues bestowed by God. Hence men cannot be made perfect by the other (i.e. Ganamino). If man does not regard the two (i.e. Spenamino and Ganamino) as of equal rank or regards the one as superior and the other as inferior, he does not look upon them as of equal rank. In the world the ignorant (i.e. Ganamino) cannot equal the Creator. Nor can he (the ignorant) create (anything, either) less or more. Hence (man) cannot please both at the same time. Again how can the oppressive Ahriman be considered the equal of the Joy-giver. Bearing all this in mind, men should never argue that he who works harm to the creation is the one who keeps mankind happy and creates all things. But let this be fully understood by men that it is because of God that all live happily together. It is noted (in the religion) that at the epoch of the Tanepashin that Blemish-giver Ahriman will be driven away from mankind.

Exposition in the good religion as to what is the strongest in the creation. (382)

Be it known that when we see, that sheep and goats are for keeping the graceful race of man strong and well-nourished, we understand that the strength of sheep and goats is of a superior order and when it is seen that the bodies of sheep and goats are well-nourished on vegetation, the strength of the vegetable creation appears to be more important. When we find that trees grow from the earth and that trees invest men and cattle with luster, we see that the earth is of greater importance for giving comfort. When we find that air moves water, the earth, animal, vegetable, and human creation, we understand that air gives the greater strength to life. When we find that light moves air, which presides over life, we understand that this light, giving as it does all adequate help, is the strongest. And when we find from the good religion that the victorious Farohar is the presiding object which guides the light (i.e. the soul), we infer that these victorious Farohars by their angelic luster, influence for good the sky, air, water, and

earth. Again, when the sun, the moon and the stars appear to us full of light, we infer that powerful holy Farohars preside over them. Just as now on the surface of the earth, religious men are the superior rulers and leaders of people of the world, so the strength-giving Yazads enjoy supremacy over the (religious and pious) men of this world.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the two sources. (383)

Be it known that men's acts are either meritorious or sinful. Meritorious acts spring from the wish of man to act righteously and their helper is Vohuman or the good-thought-wisdom relating to life.

Sinful acts on the part of men spring from the wish to act sinful and they are due to the evil-minded perverse intelligent in men. The good-thought-wisdom brings righteousness, piety, advantage, and happiness from God to men. And the evil-minded perverse intelligence induces sin, impiety, harm, and grief in men. When men are not for righteousness, piety, religion and happiness of mankind all of which are induced by the good-thought power, the evil-minded perverse intelligence lives in men to induce sin, impiety, harm, and sorrow. He in whom the principle of conscience is of the good nature of the body and related to the source of the good-thought wisdom, – his nature is like that of the Yazads who bring righteousness, piety, advantage, and happiness to men. It appears from this that of the two sources one is for righteousness, piety, advantage, and happiness and is akin to the source of virtue, the other brings on sin, falsehood, harm, sorrow, and suffering. The priests, who are of the source of the one (i.e. Ahriman) and whose religion is that of the greedy, bring sin, falsehood, harm, and sorrow in life for the suffering of mankind and are known as the enemies of the world. Such a religion should never be called, as it is called, a divine religion, meant for the salvation of mankind.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the abode of righteousness and the deep pit of sin. (384)

Be it known that the abode of righteous men (in the other world) is owing to (the following) four causes. One is (obtained) by worshipping God; the second, by love of God; the third, by zeal for that love; and the fourth, by love for His worship. The abode for righteousness (of the first sort) is of the most exalted order, that (for the second) is slightly inferior, that (for the third) is slightly inferior to that of the most obedient (of God) and (the last) is akin to that of the most obedient.

Ohrmazd is worshipped by praising with a loud clear voice the good (Yazads, Ameshaspands, and virtuous men) for love of virtue. And hence (this man) attains to the highest abode of righteousness, That (man) loves Ohrmazd who pleases the good (i.e. Ohrmazd, the Ameshaspands, the Yazads, and virtuous men) through the love for virtue and thereby obtains due reward for (actions in) this world and hence (the God-loving man) is considered to be (fit for the abode) near to the highest abode of righteousness.

The man who loves Ohrmazd obtains due reward for his actions in this world by pleasing the good for the sake of his love of virtue, and hence is considered (fit for the abode) near to the abode of righteousness for the most obedient of God.

The man who has a love for the worship of God attains to the abode of righteousness (reserved for) the most obedient of God by praising the good (i.e. the creator and his Yazads and Ameshaspands) with a loud clear voice.

In like manner there are the following four places for the sinful man. The first for him who worships evil, the second for him who pleases evil, the third for (him who worships) the evil-minded, and the fourth for him who loves the worship of evil. Of the abodes for sin, (the first) is the lowest, (the second) is nearer to the lowest, (the third) is near to the upper abode (of hell) and (the fourth) is the higher abode of hell for sin.

The sin of worshipping the evil (i. e. Ganamino) consists in doing harm to the good out of sheer enmity to them and for such a one there is the abode of sin of the lowest order. The sin of pleasing evil consists in attempting to obtain worldly advantage by doing harm to the good out of enmity to them and the abode of hell for this sin is the one near to the lowest. The sin of worshipping the evil-minded consists in doing harm openly to the good for the sake of worldly advantage and the hell for this sin is near to the higher abode of sin. The sin of loving the worship of evil consists in obtaining worldly advantage by doing harm to the good. Considering the abode and dignity of righteousness, all the abodes of righteousness are full of dignity and splendor. And within the abodes of hell for (repentance of) sin, there are abodes more or less miserable, according to the degree of intention of sinning.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the reasons why man reaps no advantage from undesirable qualities and why he is said to succeed in obtaining various advantages through one other single good quality. (385)

Be it known that man is made to govern the body, and by performing approvable acts, he is able to rule over the other creations of this world. (Men) by reason of the capacity to perform approvable acts in virtue of this supremacy, think, speak, and act nobly for the soul and leave off everything that is not in conformity with nobility of thought, speech, and deed (for the soul). They preserve their souls from contact with impurities and deliver those under their sway from punishment in hell. And other men (capable of performing good acts) who are made to succeed by the single unique (Zoroaster [= Zarathushtra]) through their different good qualities, succeed through the strength of one man (Zoroaster), exactly as it is through the strength of the shepherd that the (shepherd) dog leads the sheep, the creation of Vohuman.

If the shepherd as leader of these two (the flock and the dog) leads them in a manner to be approved of – the dog in the front and the flock in the middle – those who hate him, seeing the dog in front, are scared by the superior strength of the latter. Thieves no longer carry away the flock nor do wolves, out of fear, steal away and devour them; and children are benefited and nourished to the full by their milk.

If the shepherd, in violation of the (usual) rule, keeps the flock in the front and the dog in their midst, the sheep suffer harm owing to the dog being in their midst and the sheep being in the front are carried away by thieves and devoured by wolves. And thus the shepherd loses his wealth and his soul becomes sinful.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that the religious man is never polluted through (observance of) the laws of virtue but he surely becomes polluted through the religion of the Demons. (386)

Be it known that the religions man never becomes polluted by (observance of) the laws of virtue, for he performs every act of righteousness enjoined in the religion because it is righteous and avoids sinful acts because they are sinful.

Again, the man who follows the religion of (the Demon) by avoiding righteous acts because they are set down as sinful in his

religion and performing all those sinful acts which are laid down as righteous in his religion becomes polluted through the religion of the Demons.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the appointment of men to religious offices after due examination. (387)

Be it known that before a man is appointed to govern or to administer justice, (his qualifications) must be tested; then only should he be appointed governor or judge so that he may not turn out a wicked ruler or a deliverer of wrong judgments anywhere. Thus the state is strengthened by the man appointed to govern and to administer justice and wars are averted by the proper administration of justice. For when people have personal experience of wicked rule and partial justice they purposely withhold their support from and overthrow the wicked ruler and the partial judge in the very commencement of their tyrannical (career) without enduring their tyranny. The wicked ruler and the partial judge are for doing harm to the world. For the same reason the head of the state-religion must be tested and examined before his appointment so that the state and its strength and prosperity may continue for ever and the religion (of the state) may nowhere be considered false.

The glory and the splendor of the state are darkened, in the sight of men, by the degeneracy of the state religion but they are attracted to the state by the purity of the state religion. The dress of its administration (i.e. good administration) ought to make people regard it with a kindly eye. When they see the state in a fallen condition they are not disposed to look upon its defects as virtues. They who examine it minutely find it wicked and lifeless so that they naturally repent of having been attracted to it and wish to turn against it. All who live in such a tyrannical state suffer harm and their souls become sinful.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the lawful and unlawful killing of men. (388)

Be it known that to kill a man unlawfully is to kill through sheer passion. And all (those who do so) are of the nature of Demons and Drujs. The qualities pertaining to Demons and Drujs, greed, evil-thought, anger, spite, jealousy, and other evil passions which lead men on to sin and the infliction of harm, proceed from Demons. Men with the (evil) strength of wolves and ferocious animals are the Demons and Drujs of this world.

To kill lawfully is to kill with the approval of wisdom. For as among men who benefit the creation and men who do harm to mankind, there are those who lead a godly life and are of God and others who are of the strength of Demons and turn away (from God), it is just and lawful to kill these (latter,) as enjoined by religion and ordered by the king. When men of superior wisdom kill sheep (and goats) of a certain age for the more important ceremonies of religion without the (formal) permission of good people and the heads of religion they perform an act which must be understood as strengthening men and the good Yazads and inflicting serious harm upon the Demons.[154]

The priests who in the name of religion kill sheep and goats unlawfully do a deal of harm through their evil and vicious acts, and are without the infinite advantages (conferred by) the pure religion and (heedless of) the monitions of virtue and goodness.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the seven excellent gifts bestowed upon king Kay Vishtasp to enable him to spread the good religion in all parts and to secure a high dignity for it. (389)

Be it known that according to the scriptures seven excellent gifts were conferred (by Ohrmazd) on the wise Kayanian king Vishtasp to enable him to surpass his predecessors. So also were they conferred on those of his line who were to succeed him to enable them to govern (well). These (gifts) are even now to be found among wise kings in order to spread the justice of God among men.

The first excellent gift bestowed (upon him) security and increase of empire and dignified spiritual virtue.

The second excellent gift had reference to spreading his justice among the people of the world and keeping them satisfied with their allegiance to his exalted supremacy.

The third excellent gift conferred valor and success of the highest order.

The fourth excellent gift had reference to giving food to all (the needy) that came every day (to beg) at the threshold of the door.

The fifth excellent gift enabled him to have (about him) a strong

154 On Gahambar and Jashan days, pious Zoroastrians are enjoined to partake of the flesh of sheep and goats over three years old, after it has been duly consecrated by yozdathregar mobeds; this practice, it is believed, pleases the Yazads and baffles the Drujs.

armed cavalry to baffle the foe.

The sixth excellent gift bestowed upon him a queen of the most excellent character (adorning) the royal palace.

The seventh excellent gift had reference to the appointment, according to their different grades, of virtuous men adorned with all manner of wisdom (i.e. the dasturs and mobeds) to preserve the fire and keep the water pure, in all the fire-temples throughout the length and breadth of his dominions. So that every one of the faithful may, in accordance with (the king's) wishes, continue to maintain his body and soul in a pure state and thus enable the king to administer the affairs of his kingdom in constant communion with the higher influences of the spiritual world.

When men love and help one another to the best of their power they derive the greatest pleasure from loving their fellow-men.

When men do not let evil qualities dwell in them and drive out those that attempt to invade their bodies, they acquire the best virtues which enable them to take heart and be successful (in their efforts); and thus they are always encouraged (i.e. confident of success in their efforts against evil). He who at his door gives to the pious dervishes food and water enough to supply their wants, obtains an excellent thing (in return) – supreme command over this world and dignity in the next. When a man continues to give food and water all the while to (poor) people at his door, he maintains an admirable system for the distribution of the necessary provisions at his door.

He who spends a portion of his life in performing meritorious acts and in abstaining from sin, exalts his soul.

He who performs great and virtuous acts in this world obtains the gift of a large army of great strength to destroy the enemy.

He who is hospitable towards the good and entertains (his guests) with what has been given him is regarded as endowed with higher gifts than the (other) good men of his city.

He, who by means of his authority at home preserves the sheep and goats, fire, and water in his house, is by this excellent deed, superior to the holy men who preserve only the fire of Ohrmazd and the virtuous men who keep only the water pure.

He who loves each of these seven practices as best as he can and makes them his own, obtains for himself the reward of greatness equal to (the greatness of) the above-mentioned seven gifts conferred on the Kayanian king Vishtasp.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the benefit-conferrer and the evil-doer of this world. (390)

Be it known that everything in this world has in it the principle both of the benefit-conferrer and of the harm-doer. Of all things (in this world) that which has nothing to do with the harm-doer is related to the benefit conferrer. For instance, heat and moisture promote the growth of vegetation, and the presence of cold and dryness in the trees threatens to dry up vegetation. In the good religion four persons (or sets of persons) are mentioned as inflicting harm on the world. The first of these is (the group made up of Ahriman) of the evil religion doing harm to water, fire, and to the other life-promoting-and-multiplying sources and of the men who ruin and harm the world through his influence.

The second is the religious teacher who imparts undesirable religious instruction and who expounds evil precepts; for it is he who instructs the priests of the evil religion in the evil practices of subverting the supremacy of God and destroying the all-wise religion.

The third is he who helps thieves with his wealth and destroys all the property of the Iranians, (i.e. the men of the good religion) which they may have received from God.

The fourth set is made up of the justice-destroying judges who get the better of (good) judges of the world by their wrong judgments and who are the patrons of those that render the world desolate and deliberately offer evil help to the government (i.e. lead the government astray).

Again, there are four persons who confer ease (i.e. happiness) on the world. The first is he who, to continue the state of happiness, keeps the fire, water and the other life-promoting sources of the world pure and unpolluted by harmful objects, in accordance with the requirements of the good religion and takes good care of the fires and duly preserves soul-possessing objects; so that his descendants in the midst of wise men, lead a glorious, healthy, successful, and holy life and to a certain extent ameliorate (the world).

The second is the teacher who imparts desirable instruction in the faith to the seeker after religious knowledge and commandments and protects the all-wise religion from the sinful harm done by the priests of the evil religion. And hence people conduct themselves aright by the precepts of the true religion and the government acquires luster and the world becomes graceful.

The third is the wealthy man who spreads greatness, peace, and generosity (in the world), (by whom) the world is exalted, men

reformed and made to shed luster (on their race) and (through whom) people of the world live contented and the Yazads are pleased.

Fourthly: Justice is impaired by the success of corrupt, false, and evil judges and justice is adorned by the successes of good and impartial judges. Owing to these virtues (of the judges) people live prosperously and well and without fear; they are protected and they multiply, and the pillars of the state are strengthened.

Exposition in the good religion regarding good and bad qualities. (391)

Be it known that good qualities are for the final life. They belong to the Yazads and every soul-possessing creature should have them. Through them the Yazads are in communion with men. Hence any thought in the mind that has no reference to the (happiness of the) soul in the final life should be abandoned.

Deeds which procure the final life to virtuous men a (done) through the understanding. The thought of obedience to God is for obtaining the strength of the final life; and the final life is (obtained) through thought of obedience to God. One is qualified for the final life by carefully living a virtuous life and carefully living a virtuous life is for obtaining the final life. A contented final life is through industry (in good deeds) and industry is for a contented final life. To obtain the next life by virtuous movements (actions) is through the power of endurance (i.e. enduring the ills that befall man) and the power of endurance is for doing virtuous deeds.

The final life for deliverance (from hell) is through virtuous deeds and virtuous deeds are for deliverance of the final life from hell. The final life is (obtained) through ready and willing obedience to God and ready and willing obedience to God is for the final life.

An exalted final life is through charity and charity for an exalted final life. The constant study for acquiring a knowledge of the final life is through the presiding influence of patience and patience presides (in man) for acquiring a knowledge of the final life and performing religious deeds.

The final life is through an acceptance of the precepts of religion. So also the final life is (obtained through acquiescing in the precepts of religion with an exalted faith. The final life is through an intelligent love of deeds that have the final life for their end. So also the final life is for honor. The final life is through living a sinless life and a striving after righteousness leads on to a holiness for the final life. All the other good qualities (necessary) for the final life abide in men owing

to the excellent nature of his soul.

The harmful qualities are owing to the frequent influences of the sinful (Ganamino). Every evil quality is through the abode of that sinful one (in man). He who is without the knowledge of religion, has in him foolish vanity instead of wisdom and evil nature instead of honesty, the thought of the spiteful (Ganamino) instead of obedience to God, thoughts of wrathfulness instead of a contemplation of the supreme power (of the next world) and evil thought instead of worthiness. (He is given to) slander instead of to praise; to be idle instead of being contented; to be grasping instead of being industrious;[155] to be vicious instead of being virtuous; to be thievish instead, of being helpful for good; to be a rogue instead of being a pious man; to sin instead of leading a moral life; to turn a deaf ear to virtuous talk instead of feeding on virtuous thoughts; to fall into disgrace instead of being obedient to God; to be miserly instead of being generous; to be diminishing instead of augmenting; to be perverse and evil instead of constantly studying the all-wise religion; to go without a knowledge of religion instead of cultivating the understanding; to live selfishly instead of loving religion and (living) in conformity with reason; to practice magic and deceit instead of performing reasonable actions. He has impudence instead of modesty; poverty instead of competency; the best (i.e. shameless) faithlessness instead of obedience; ungratefulness instead of faithfulness; the obstructing of righteousness instead of living without sin; destroying righteousness instead of practicing it. Besides these he has other evil qualities of the sinful instead of good qualities.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the things the object of which is inferred (from their observed qualities) after creation and regarding the things which are known by the purposes for which they were created. (392)

Be it known that what is not visible in a thing to the eyes of man is its life. Wise men have known in more ways than one the why and the wherefore of man's life. Just as the wise God exists through His wisdom so unworthiness in the life of man is due to the influence of Ahriman over him. The self-existence of the Creator Ohrmazd is apparent from the existence of innumerable human beings and this also reveals the power of the Creator and His wisdom. The existence of the creation, man, shows the sovereignty of God (over man.) He

155 The epithets in this and the preceding clause seem to have been interchanged (to be idle instead of being industrious; to be grasping instead of being contented).

can regulate His creation (as occasion requires) according to His wishes. He alone has created the universe and this fact enables us to infer many of His attributes. There are many reasons, which the wise know, why man cannot know God (as He really is). The existence of the evil-minded is through evil nature and such evil nature shows itself through various causes. One of these causes is that originally a good creation he (subsequently) became evil; moreover, being uneasy through want, he has not the power to repress his ambitious spirit. And not a single one of his creations is pure but will continue to be like him.

Among those who proceed from the source of Wisdom and those who proceed from the source of evil, (the former) are in inward communion with the Yazads and are as it were their equals and those who proceed from the power of destruction are not like the former in communion with the Yazads but are in communion with the evil source (from which they proceed and are as it were his partners.

The priests who are of the source of the one God are always honored because of their religion. Hence they should abstain from the religion which is manifestly false and should always cleave to the religion which pertains to the soul and become its partners (votaries).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the source and fruit of the happiness and misery of mankind. (393)

Be it known that animate human beings and other good creations are happy through thoughts of virtue and are miserable through thought of vice. He who conducts himself (in this world) with some degree of virtue does so for his happiness and he who conducts himself with vice does so for his misery. The source of happiness to the virtuous is wisdom, and that of misery to the vicious is for evil intellect. The wisdom which reigns over man makes of virtue and its source is the All-wise (God) and the origin of this wisdom is in the Creator Ohrmazd.

The evil intellect reigning over man makes for vice and its source is the evil-minded Ganamino and this source is not for him who is virtuous, for (the virtuous man) is pure and without the evil mind. The work of the vicious can never be done by the virtuous. The fruit of virtue is happiness and by it (man) acquires power for good. The vicious man reaps misery and becomes sinful in course of time. He who is a (good) man benefits mankind and the good creation. And misery the fruit of vice destroys happiness the fruit of virtue and harms mankind and other good creation. Through virtue man is

obedient to God and has power for good and suffers misery through vice. It is for the good times of the Frashegird that mankind have to live in purity as regards men and the good creation.

Those who are priests cannot live without the religious source of the One (God) for (otherwise) their religion which is full of virtuous wisdom would be said to be united to the vicious evil intellect. The religion of vice which proceeds from the evil-minded source cannot be called a religion of virtue and is called the Demon-presided religion.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the men who have a middling rank among those who are the most exalted and regarding those who have a middling rank among those who are the lowest among mankind. (394)

Be it known that the class of men who are under the protection of the Ameshaspands have wisdom of a very superior order and the class of men who are far away from (their) protection are inferior to the sagacity-possessing sheep and goats. And the man between these two classes, who is endowed with godly wisdom of the highest order, has excellent knowledge of virtue and shines out (in the world) through natural wit improved by culture. And through his (culture and innate intelligence) he advances in moral development as a servant of God among men and reaches an exalted position by means of the wisdom of the Ameshaspands entering into him.

Among mankind the lowest is one who does not cultivate and add to his innate understanding by learning acquired from a knowledge-imparting teacher. Unless such a man reforms his heart and conscience, his propensities are very disgraceful and he is among men like sheep and goats devoid of sense and understanding.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the man of great, middling, inferior, and no value and the man desolating prosperity. (395)

Be it known that he who has the best knowledge of religion and who sings the Gathas and instructs (the people) most fully in the Mazdayasnian faith is a (man) of great value.[156]

He who is of the good religion, has great sense and sings the Gathas and instructs the people ordinarily in the Mazdayasnian faith

156 This is applicable to Zoroaster and other divinely inspired leaders of the faith like Arda Viraf, Adarbad Mahraspandan, etc.

is a man of middling value.[157]

He who reforms his moral nature, has innate intelligence, sings the Gathas and instructs the people somewhat in the Mazdayasnian faith is of less value.[158]

Of no value at all is he who, though innately good and possessing sense enough for the good religion, is duped and rendered impure by the dark expositions of the priests of the evil religion and helps the specious (i.e. seeming noble) thoughts of the wicked priests with the evil education he has received from the priests of the evil religion.[159]

He turns prosperity into a desolate waste who, being duped by the priests of the evil religion, has imbibed their instructions and does harm to the followers of the Mazdayasnian faith. Such a hellish man must be slain for he is as deceitful as the priest of the evil religion and is as guilty as those who are guilty of mortal sin. (Such a man) never entertains higher thoughts.

Exposition in the good religion regarding substances not liable to change in this finite time and substances which do so change. (396)

Be it known that the man who in this finite time conforms to the will of Ohrmazd and lives secure from calamities never alters his original state. In this world men are born in an environment of evil. Those of this world who are of the good religion continue to live in this world prosperously through goodness and those who are of the evil religion live on in evil. By meritorious acts (pleasing to) the good Creator, unto whom be all praise, (man) obtains due reward; he suffers punishment by committing sins which pertain to the hateful evil one i.e. (Ganamino). Just as other things change in course of time and (just as) the affairs of the world are being carried on in various ways, so also the body (of man) changes from infancy to youth, youth to old age, ignorance to knowledge, evil to goodness, and from impiety to holiness.

Those substances which ought not to change can nevertheless change by endeavors after such change. For instance, the moon turns in various ways (i.e. has various phases) according to its age, as it

157 This is applicable to the learned and religious dasturs and ervads and behdins who impart religious instruction to the people of their community.

158 This applies to pious mobeds (priest) and behdins (laymen).

159 This applies to those Zoroastrians who on the pretext of reform introduce practices and customs from other religions which are not in consonance with the spirit of the Zoroastrian faith.

passes from the crescent to the half-moon and from that again to the full moon. Golden ages pass on into silver times, and the silver age passes on into the steel age, and the steel into the iron age; so then a good deal of change must come over the state of the Iranians (i.e. the Mazdayasnian Zoroastrians). And men as well as other animals will pass in this period from their original state in this world into a state of nonexistence.[160]

The religion of those priests whose principle it is to turn the souls of the religiously inclined from zeal for righteousness into a craving after evil is really evil, for through perverted vision of the good faith they turn a man away from yearning after it. They repent when they see their evil wish of today in it. proper light tomorrow.

Description according to the scriptures of the good faith, respectively of men who through power to see (i.e. being endowed with intelligence) improve and elevate themselves and of men who through evil power (i.e. evil intelligence) lower themselves and render themselves miserable among law-abiding people. (397)

Be it known that man has the power to see through his innate intelligence and this innate intelligence is the eye of the soul. The melioration of the eye is through the influence of Vohuman over his conscience. Its position and rank are increased by listening to the wise precepts of religion and diminished by refraining from listening to the wise precepts of religion.

Man has the strength of the stolen (i.e. false) wisdom through the tyrannous influence of Akoman over him. (The eye of intelligence is of three kinds). One of these is open in all possible ways, the second is more open and the third is half open. And on this principle men are divided into the five following classes. One is with fully open eyes, the second with eyes more open (than what they were before), the third with half open eyes, the fourth with eyes considerably shut, and the fifth with eyes completely closed.

The man with fully open eyes is so through the abode of Vohuman in his conscience. And man is rendered miserable through Akoman reigning in his conscience. By (a knowledge of) the precepts of religion man is dignified with the wisdom of religion and this dignity confers superior wisdom, foresight, and spiritual knowledge. The eyes

160 The particulars regarding the phases of the moon are mentioned in the Mah Niyayesh and those about the different ages in the Behman Yasht.

of intelligence are more open (than what they were before) when the man allows the overpowering light of Vohuman to fall on the conscience after having removed from it all thought of the dark Akoman and when he is in touch with the precepts of the all-wise religion through the force of his understanding (i.e. when he recites the Avesta.) The dignity (enjoyed by such man) confers knowledge of life, superior rank, and supreme glory.

The eye of intelligence is half open by the man making the dim light of Vohuman in the conscience shine more brightly and by removing the clouded *(i.e.* dark) thought of Akoman which is spread over the conscience.

(Man) has middling knowledge concerning the faith by being in touch with the precepts of that faith (i.e. by reciting the Avesta). This dignity confers knowledge of life and of faith.

The eye of intelligence is considerably shut by the light of Vohuman in the conscience being weaker and the cloud of the thought of Akoman being more thickly overspread therein and (it is considerably shut) through a most superficial study of the all-wise precepts of religion. (A man in) this position leads men astray in this world.

The eye of intelligence is completely closed by the dim light of Vohuman in (the man's) conscience passing away altogether and by the thought of the pain-inflicting Akoman being completely blended with the conscience and (it is also completely closed) by not reciting the wise words of the faith. This state harms his life, drags it through the mire, inflicts pain and suffering, causes damage and clouds the understanding.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the various sorts of kings of the world. (398)

Be it known that the kings of the world are of the following four sorts. Of which one is said to be a reforming king, the second a hopeful king, the third is always dreading (evil), and the fourth is ill at ease. The following are the particulars regarding these.

The reforming king has an insight into the evil times of the subjects and is anxious to concert remedial measures before his subjects are ruined.

The hopeful king understands full well his evil times and hopes to change the bad times into good by his wisdom.

The king who is always dreading is of evil intelligence and through

his evil intelligence, being constantly in dread of (coming) evil even in the midst of prosperity, becomes miserable.

The king who is ill at ease is of evil intelligence and during his reign does not attempt to nip evil times in the bud.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that Ohrmazd is the Creator of men in this world in order that they may do deeds for the reformation of the spiritual world and that the Blemish-giver (Ganamino) instigates men to do deeds of harm in both the worlds. (399)

Be it known that God has created men in this world for the purpose of performing deeds which may shed luster on (his) soul. Again, man is endowed with life (in this world) because he has also been given human wisdom (i.e. wisdom which differentiates him from the brute creation). In order to realize the desires of the soul the material body must be nourished and meritorious acts inspired by divine wisdom must be performed. For the thought of its *(i.e.* the soul's) existence should present itself to (men) in the affairs of both the worlds.

The Blemish-giver (Ahriman) makes men perform through greed injurious and harmful deeds in both the worlds. Hence (men) suffer a miserable death, acquire an evil intelligence and become vicious, ignorant of religion, greedy, immoderate in desires and perverse in thought. Such men lead a life in communion with Ahriman and by their Demon-and-Druj-like deeds make men polluted and of evil appearance. For greedy desires shut men out from the benefits of heaven by impelling them to dishonest (i.e. evil) deeds of the soul. The man who so acts in this world as to do harm to himself in the spiritual world and risk his soul in both the worlds and who leads a life of the body *(i.e.* a sensual life) becomes sinful through the influence of the evil (Ganamino.) His it is of set purpose, to wrangle in the interest of vice without the knowledge of religion, to sin through evil intelligence, to sham righteousness and to render himself unfit for the dual work of moral advancement for the next world and deliverance of the soul (from hell.) Hence he suffers misery in the next world, does harm to his soul and suffers pain in hell through (indulgence of) perverse desires (in this world).

Contentment beats down greed (for contentment), suppresses the desire which plunders the soul (of its good qualities) to render it greedy and ungrateful. The good-thought-power drives out the evil-

thought-power This good-thought-power asserts its sway over the conscience of man by suppressing the evil-thought-power which plunders (the soul of its) godly desires and renders it ungrateful.

The man who is by nature wise keeps off greed from the wishes of the soul (the companion and chief) of the wise Urvan, through contentment.

(Man), by being the constant friend of the good-thought-power keeps off the evil-thought-power which makes the heart and Conscience of man inactive (for meritorious actions.) And it (i.e. the good-thought-power) impels man through the heart and conscience to deeds conformable to the just and moderate desires of the soul and nourishes his body.

By contentment in the heart, the knowledge of meritorious actions enters into man's desires. And such a man performs religious deeds through desire, thought and word. And he is zealous to nourish the body and to perform meritorious actions full of the wisdom of the faith. He does acts which may cover him with glory in the next world, recites the appropriate portions of the Avesta to bring his soul into a state of happiness, obtains deliverance from hell and rejoices.

Again, man should drive out from the desires of the soul indolence, unintelligent education, laziness and evil knowledge about thieving which all are due to the influence of the highway men (i.e. the Demons and Drujs). Man becomes vicious through greed and through the domineering desire of worldly greed becomes like a dishonest Farehbut and through the force of the evil intellect becomes like a vicious sinful person without the knowledge of religion. And (man) through the evil intellect becomes pugnacious and prone to inflicting pain. When a desire to inflict pain enters into man, he commits sin and becomes guilty through that evil desire. And such a man becomes dishonest and full of blemishes in this world. Man becomes qualified for (putting on the garment) and ornament of the spiritual world by fixing his heart on religion. And in this way he protects his body and soul from all harm, grief and injury.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the knowledge concerning wisdom and evil intelligence, the adornment of the same, their origin and gift, their promises (to man) – their improvement and augmentation and the dignity of wisdom and the dreariness of the evil intellect. (400)

Be it known that wisdom resides in him who is on the side of the

soul and who keeps the eyes of his soul open for the purpose of accurately examining the actions of the body.

The adornment of wisdom is due to the control of the wise man over his desires for the improvement of religion and for the promotion of good qualities in men, such as righteousness, piety, and virtuous fame; (the adornment of wisdom) is also due to his being the means of spreading purity in the world.

God's own wisdom is the source of all wisdom and God Himself endows His creation with wisdom. God acknowledges His creation as His own because of the presence of His strength in the creation. The good Vohuman improves this creation (to render it fit) for the spiritual world and endows it with foresight thereof. Wisdom is so spread everywhere in this world that the wise and religious man renders himself exalted through his wisdom. There is a certain amount of intelligence in luminous objects (i.e. the sun, moon and stars) owing to the bright Yazads. He who is truthful becomes of the most exalted kind through the knowledge of truth derived from truthful men. In the same way man becomes charitable, patient and possessed of other good qualities.

Again, evil intellect is due to the man who taking the side of his soul yet keeps the eyes of his soul shut against the actions relating to the soul; just as darkness is due to the man who taking the side of darkness shuts the eyes of his body against seeing things.

The adornment of the evil intellect is due to vice, evil qualities, sin, impiety, evil fame, controlling the heart and conscience of the evil-minded man, and also to his being the means of harming the virtue of the world.

The evil-minded (Ganamino) is the source of the evil intellect The evil-minded (Ganamino) hopes to influence the creation of God. The man who has in him the evil intellect (of Ganamino) comes in the way of the (good) promptings of his soul. Such a man exercises a miserable control over his desires owing to his evil intellect and through the force of the evil invisible power in him he develops and perfects himself (in sin). And through him suffering so spreads everywhere that people become polluted through the evil qualities of his evil intellect and move about in the world like (so many) Demons and Drujs.

The religion of the priests, who, guided by their evil intellect devoid of all wisdom, (to all outward appearance) act among men as the servants of God, is only in appearance the all-wise religion of God. This (religion) through the evil intellect depopulates the world, ruins,

and destroys mankind. And such a priest is as it were the agent of the evil-minded (Ahriman) to do his work among men and harms mankind and the world. Such a religion, owing to the evil intellect, renders mankind miserable and makes them suffer pain in both the worlds. Hence he who is wise will not acquire the evil intellect, but by conducting himself with wisdom among men will render them prosperous and earn their gratitude.

When some (from among these priests) assert that the understanding in men is from the evil-minded and that it is he the evil-minded who has made men (they fail to give due consideration to the fact) that it is not possible for the evil intellect to reside in the man of God nor for the commandments of the evil religion to have the wisdom of God. When man cannot create the soul within him, how can God render the body lifeless (before its allotted time) and how can such an act be called just?

He who is born in this religion (of Ganamino) is not fit to be a man. How can the Druj-influenced man work for God? How can the unseeing blind man become fit for obtaining deliverance? If that unseeing blind man could be called the companion of the Yazads on account of his evil deeds, the evil-minded (Ganamino) would have as powerful a sight as that of the Yazads and irreligious men would have the gift of (spiritual) vision. Whence it would follow that eyes to see would be due to both these powers, that is to say, to wisdom as well as to the evil intellect in men.

The work done through the agency of the evil intellect in men is not from God. The work thus done (through the evil intellect) is not for the soul; the reason whereof is that the work for the soul is (done) through the strength of the divine wisdom in men. Religious work is done by piety and virtue and not by the blemish-disclosing evil intellect For just as the agent for good wisdom in men (i.e. Vohuman) does the work relating to its source (i.e. God) so also the source of the blemish-giving faculty in man is the evil-minded (Akoman) (residing) in men. The Yazad who is the dispenser of the power of wisdom in men instructs him everywhere in the Mazdayasnian religion, which religion is (derived from} the innate intelligence of the wise Spenamino. And the power in men which induces a love for the evil intellect gives everywhere instruction in the religion of the demons and is derived from the evil-minded (Ganamino). Men who are on the side of God, the invisible multiplier of mankind, are righteous in thought, word, and deed, and are grateful unto God. And the Supreme God who keeps them in a prosperous condition gives them their due reward for their actions.

Those who are sinful in thought, word, and deed are not grateful unto God; they render themselves liable to punishment by doing (evil) deeds of the body, and thus they are adjudged to be without their source (i. e. separated from their Creator).

Again, these priests say it is God who has implanted in men the strength of the evil-minded one. If so, how could God have ordained that those who sin in thought, word, and deed should suffer punishment and pain on that account and be rendered miserable? And further, how could it have been ordained that the man doing meritorious deeds for God should be richly recompensed by the presiding wise Yazads who are grateful unto God and who keep the righteous man in a prosperous condition.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that the man influenced by the Druj conducts himself like the Druj. (401)

Be it known that the Druj makes the man in touch with him endeavor to act like himself *(i.e.* the Druj). The soul of man is bright and the vesture of this soul is its power-endowed body. The sheep and goats and other creations of this world are not made like man. The invisible spiritual power (in men) helps to keep men away from all contact with the Druj. The man who loves the Druj is made full of blemish by (the Druj.) The invisible power (of the Yazads) crushes the power, which is capable of rendering man lifeless, before this latter (power) has time to reach him and so this life-taking power cannot injure (the man) in any way. And the best and most acceptable testimony of this is that no evil power can deal death to any man while alive. Moreover the active influence of the angelic powers is capable of removing from man the movements of the strength of the pain-inflicting Druj. (By this influence again) the soul does not suffer from illness and in the absence of the fetters of the Druj it cannot be imprisoned *(i.e.* cannot suffer in hell when it has committed no sin).

It is owing to the Yazads that the souls of all men are immortal. Likewise, there being in man the power of the Yazads which can keep off the Druj from his body, he does not suffer – nay, the Yazads improve man and keep him away from the miseries of both the worlds. And by constant companionship with them man continues to be in communion with the source – (Spenamino). Reformed by the Yazads, man devises excellent measures and attains to high dignity, preserves himself from the profitless movements (i.e. influence) of the Druj within him, and by conducting himself without misery and without folly drives off the Druj by the aid of his Yazad-given

manliness. By freeing himself from the Druj, man enjoys himself in the other world in an abode of supreme felicity.

He, who for his benefit keeps himself aloof from the misery and foolish toil of the Druj and from all contact with the Druj, drives out the Druj from him. And by acting with the strength of the Druj man becomes a prisoner in the mean and painful abode of the Druj. It is stated in the good religion that man will be led astray down to the Frashegird by the Druj of hell (Ganamino) and at that time the blemish giver (Ahriman) will be driven away (from among mankind) and the people of the world will (then acquire the divinely strong, religious power. Those who are delivered from hell will obtain greatness (from the pious) and the imprisoned will be let out of hell. The different powers of the soul which had been separated from the material body will, through the help of the Yazads, unite with the body (at the time of the day of Judgment) and their separation will pass into unity. The invisible soul will (at that time) be given the powerful vesture of its body and everyone will live in perfect enjoyment with dignity and comfort.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the two kinds of instruction given to mankind by Spenamino concerning his strength. (402)

Be it known that the instruction regarding divine wisdom given to man by Spenamino is of two kinds. One is concerning foresight, the other is regarding the attainment of high dignity. That about foresight deals with the obtaining of the final victory of mankind and improving all the creation with virtue at the epoch of the Tanepashin, for the purpose of driving away the blemish-giving Druj with strenuous efforts. And that about the attainment of high dignity deals with the multiplication and continuation of mankind in the world for increasing the strength of the last Reformation.[161]

The religion of the priests, which sets people wrangling among themselves, which makes them miserable, sick and permanently injured and makes them expiate their sins in hell, exists for making innumerable men prisoners (in hell) and for destroying the world. Because what they regard as religion is not only devoid of all instruction concerning foresight and the attainment of high dignity but it even imparts the evil knowledge of reducing the human species. What is called the good religion is always full of goodness and devoid

161 According to the Zoroastrian religion the age of marriage for both males and females is fixed at 15 but at present our young men in hopes of getting rich dowries very seldom act up to this precept of early marriage.

of all the vices of the demos and it alone is called the superior (religion).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that light and darkness do not change places without one of them going away, do not mingle with each other in this world and never shine (i.e. appear) together. (403)

Be it known that shining and dark substances exist apart and do not mix with each other. Objects in this world are visible on account of light-giving luminous substances *(i.e.* the sun, moon, and fire). Light springing all of a sudden from fire, there is no mixture of smoke in it. The smoke is for the light of the fire of the blemish-giver (i.e. the fire of hell). Again, the smoke is the indication of fire. Again, fire is as it were an indication of heaven and of hell. That light of it which is of good mien, of the early morn and full of heat, which nourishes and gladdens the creation belongs to heaven. And the fire of hell, the light whereof is mingled with smoke, whose stink is of dreadful punishment and the reduction and sufferings of mankind, belongs to the blemish-giver Ahriman, and the heat of this fire which hurts and injures and consumes sinners belongs to hell.

There are priests who madly institute a comparison between what is said to be the fire of hell and the light of Heaven which exalts the creation, sheds a delightful radiance, and augments and gladdens the creation and who apply all the particulars of (the heavenly light) to the heat of the fire of hell. But how can the particulars regarding heaven be made applicable to hell?

Exposition in the good religion regarding (men) who are like unto the Yazads and the demons. (404)

Be it known that among men known in enumeration and understanding to belong to the Yazads and to the Demons, the Athornans free from (the contamination of) the priests of the evil religion, the Athrestars free from (the evil influence) of the kings and warriors of the evil religion, the Zoroastrian agriculturists separate from (i.e. who have nothing to do with) the miserly farmers and the good traders who are separate from *(i.e.* free of) evil practices, are those who work for the Yazads.

The sinful Athornans rendered polluted by evil priests, sinful kings, and warriors polluted by evil kings and warriors, sinful farmers polluted by penurious farmers and sinful traders polluted by their own evil practices work for the demons.

In enumeration, the good-shadowed (i.e. divinely gifted) governor, the impartial judge, the pious man, the charitable man, the man who looks with favor on religion, and the contented man enjoy honor among the creations through their generosity, and hate impure men.

The prosperous wealthy man is one whose thoughts are those of a servant of God, who conducts himself in all actions as such (servant), who is charitable to those in distress, who tells the truth despite temptations to the contrary, and who is in his good times grateful unto God.

The vindictive magistrate delivering wrong judgments, the wealthy man miserable and discontented despite his wealth, the man who strengthens the evil misers, the man who hates men devoid of greed, the man who helps the wealthy irreligious men to augment their wealth, the man who takes delight in slander and the man who nurses his revenge and when in power wreaks his vengeance are men like unto the Demons and the Drujs.

The men free from any the slightest influence of the Demons, are holy like unto the pure Yazads, nay, they have some of the wisdom and the good qualities of the Yazads. The men who have something of evil intellect and other evil qualities are like unto the Demons.

The religion of the priests who resemble the source whence the Demons proceed is akin to that source of evil intellect; hence those who follow that religion are on account of their evil intellect surely said to be like unto the Demons.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the obtaining by man of superior wisdom and knowledge. (405)

Be it known that man obtains wisdom and knowledge in the four following ways. One: For a man who has the intelligence of the soul to come under divine influence, is through the Creator. Two: The man who spreads the knowledge of the scriptures does so through the intelligence of the soul. Three: Through the words of the wisdom of the soul (i.e. through intelligent prayers) the descendants who are closely related to religion (i.e. the descendants of the religious man) (obtain) glory. Four: The Ameshaspand Vohuman who resides in the conscience of man helps and feeds these three (sources of wisdom). He who has the wisdom of the soul gives good instruction in (the attributes of) God and through knowledge of the good religion increases the most excellent wisdom of the soul.

Through the words of the wisdom of the soul (i.e. through

intelligent prayers) the good-thought-power presides over the conscience of (men) who are enabled to continue their family and obtain prominence in a variety of ways. They have the knowledge of driving out the invisible Druj from them and by their superior wisdom and knowledge and by making the goodness of both worlds their own they enjoy honor among the leaders (of men).

Exposition in the good religion regarding the various kinds of kings. (406)

Be it known that kings of different times and different manners are of the following eight kinds. Of these four are of the praiseworthy and four of the blameworthy degree.

Of the four praiseworthy kings, one is possessed of foresight; the second is the protector of all; the third is a great protector and the fourth is the protector of the soul. The king possessed of foresight has the strength of the all-wise Ohrmazd and has an insight into his times. The king, who is the protector of all, strengthens his government by curbing his wrath. And thereby such a king changes for the better the things which tend to destroy and ruin his subjects. The king who is conversant with the powers of the soul, takes great care of his subjects in times of distress; he keeps his sway firm and stable with the aid of the powers of wisdom as well as with his foresight of the soul; whereby, his subjects are zealous (in their devotion to him). The king, who by means of the wisdom relating to the soul keeps those who are possessed of a like wisdom full of zeal, turns distressful times into good times and introduces thoroughly satisfactory reforms into his administration.

The king, who is possessed of foresight, every way protects the evil-minded fools (among his subjects) in mean (bad) times and takes care of these through his foresight by rendering all possible help that might change their times into good times; under the sway of such a king his subjects are full of hopes.

Again, the king, who is full of confidence and zeal on account of his good times and his foresight of the soul, makes his government durable through his wisdom and through reforms in the administration.

The king who has spiritual foresight protects the soul against the evil powers of the mind and against distressful times. Thus he adopts the title of the far-seeing king and by the help of his zealous subjects his authority continues (unshaken). The king who studies the happiness of his subjects converts by his foresight his (mental)

powers into wisdom, his (evil) times into good times and his government into a well-reformed (administration).

Four (kinds of kings) deserve scandal and slander (i.e. are to be condemned) in the matter of governing the people. Of these one does not protect his subjects at all and frequently harms them. The second protects them feebly and does not harm them much. The third is devoid of religious faith and frequently brings misery on his subjects. The fourth ceases to care for the soul and harms it.

Among these, the king who has no spiritual foresight has the strength of the evil intellect, does not protect his subjects in evil times and soon brings ruin on his government and his supporters.

The subjects of the cowardly king are in dread. Through want of spiritual foresight he becomes evil-minded. His times are evil times and through unrest his government soon becomes liable to ruin.

The king who is wanting in spiritual foresight but is possessed of wisdom takes all possible care of the afflicted in times of distress. The government (of the king) who protects his subjects but feebly is, on account of his wisdom, moderately strong in the matter of inflicting harm *(i.e.* does not harm as much as it otherwise would). And such a king owing to his want of foresight both spiritual and as regards times of distress is very much in dread of his subjects. Hence such a king ought to avert from himself his foresight- wanting-understanding, the dangerous times (which such understanding may bring about) and the perverted understanding of that evil-minded (Ganamino). In like manner it behooves him to reform his government which does not protect the people and is guided by evil servants (i.e. advisers).

The king lacking spiritual foresight is of the understanding of the evil-minded (Ganamino) and does not protect his subjects (being guided) by the ruinous (counsels) of his evil servants *(i.e.* advisers) ; nor does he strongly protect his subject in evil times but soon brings misery on them. Although in bad times he ought at once to change his evil intellect he, wanting as he is in foresight, does not understand in what way he can readily alter distressful times (into good times); hence his subjects are in great fear lest ruin should overtake his government. The king devoid of spiritual foresight is very much afraid lest owing to his evil intellect he might not be able to convert distressful times (into good times), and the harm done to his unhappy government (into something advantageous).

The king who is wanting in spiritual foresight but is possessed of wisdom, having an insight into his times, leaves off the foresight-wanting-strength which brings harm on his government (by the help

of) the superior strength of his wisdom in order to save his soul from harm. And such a king anxious for (the welfare of) his subjects prays for such good times as might conduce to the security of his government And thereby that evil intellect of his turns into spiritual foresight and the evil times change (into good times). And his government which is full of unrest and in danger of ruin is also changed.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the epoch of the pain-inflicting efforts of the Druj (Ganamino) and his final disappearance from among the creation of Spenamino. (407)

Be it known that it is stated in the good religion that the Druj (Ganamino) before knowing the limit of time (i.e. being unaware of the hour of his defeat), despising the Creator and the powers (presiding over) his creation (i.e. the Yazads and the Ameshaspands) and thinking wrongly about himself (i.e. impelled by his false pride), fought against the omnipotent Creator and His creation to render the latter lifeless. The omniscient Creator knew him (in his true colors) and to overcome him completely (and make him realize his weakness) fixed a limit for the fight and allowed him during that time to continue his experiment of fighting with his false strength (against the creation.) The termination of this limit (was marked by) the course of the sun in the sky and by the completion of a (certain number) of the sun's revolutions. The defeat of the Druj (Ganamino) depends upon the frequent stoppages of the sun in its course. And it was owing to the sun frequently stopping in its course that the harm-inflicting Druj was worsted in his first harm-inflicting battle (with God). In the commencement, at the end of seventy days and nights, the Druj was defeated in the battle (between the Yazads and the demons) by the strength of the Creator, and on this occasion the sun had stopped in its heavenly course.

Secondly, just before the commencement of the ascendancy of Zoroaster there was again a battle (between the Yazads and the demons) and this fierce battle lasted ten days and nights. At the end of the epoch of Zoroaster, will commence the epoch of Ushedar, and Ushedar will interrogate Ohrmazd on matters concerning the faith. On this occasion the sun will stop in its heavenly course for Ohrmazd to gain strength and the demons will be defeated in that fight. The delay caused by the sun in its course on this occasion will be before the commencement of the epoch of Ushedar and towards the end (of that of Zoroaster); and this fight at the end (of the epoch of Zoroaster) will be a fierce one and it will last twenty days and nights.

On the termination of the epoch of Zoroaster, Ushedarmah will go into the presence of Ohrmazd to question Him regarding the faith. On this occasion the suns will stop in its house in the heavenly course and the demons will be defeated by the superior strength of the Creator and the sun will be delayed for the time in its appointed course.

Then just before the termination of the epoch of Ushedarmah there will be again a very fierce battle (between the Yazads and the demons) which will last for thirty days and nights. On the termination of the epoch of Ushedarmah the victorious Soshyant will go into the presence of Ohrmazd to question Him on matters of faith. the On this occasion the sun will stop in its house in the heavenly course and the demons will be completely defeated in the battle because of the superior strength of the Creator. The sun will (henceforth) gain strength in its revolution in the heavens (i.e. the sun will not have to stop in its course after this final victory over Ganamino). And Soshyant through his God-given strength will during his reign of fifty-seven years drive out all the Drujs for the amelioration of mankind. And the Druj (Ganamino), his strength being completely broken and himself become useless, will throw himself into hell.

The stoppages of the sun in its course during all the battles with the Drujs have been mentioned above. During each (of these stoppages) the harm-inflicting battles with the Druj will cause suffering to men and the other creations of Ohrmazd.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that the work of the Creator regarding man which commenced with the number one has been successfully accomplished by carrying it on to the number nine. (408)

Be it known that the first work of the Creator is to bring man into existence in this world. The second is to give him a material body. The third is to cause him to move about for (his) work. The fourth is to give the necessary strength-giving principles to the human body for the preservation of life. The fifth is to cause growth by satisfying the desires of the senses and keeping the living body alive (by giving the body its due nourishment). The sixth is to bestow the necessary knowledge concerning the right use of life in the union of' the body and the soul. The seventh is to instruct man to live without vice and to show the way for the body and soul of man to live together in happy union. The eighth is (to instruct man) concerning immortality – that is to say regarding the fact that (on the Day of Judgment) the Creator

will make all living men immortal by means of the **Gayodir**.[162] The ninth is the work regarding Rapithai, that is to say, the bestowing (upon man) of a certain pure happiness-inducing wisdom and mind, the good creation of the holy God, to enable man to perform good deeds for the Last Day.

The priests, who are for destroying the first (of these nine) works of God relating to His creation, destroy His creation by bringing sin and death (to men) through the agency of the sickness-producing, sin-giving and evil-sprung source (Ahriman) and thus they make several people hellish (i.e. fit for hell). Their religion exists for doing evil deeds without the least spiritual foresight, doing evil deeds for the Last (Day) and causing suffering and repentance to the people of the world. This religion is altogether different from the good religion which is said to be for meritorious deeds and which in the end is victorious.

Exposition in the good religion as to by whom man is rendered good and full of luster. (409)

Be it known that luster is called in Avesta **Rai** which means the inspiration of the faith. It also means (angelic) luster, or in other words, strength of religion. Good is called in Avesta **vanghu** which means prosperous-glory-inducing. Glory is the result of industry and the full meaning of the word is perseverance and industry. Rai is the invisible strength relating to the efforts at good deeds for securing immortality; and its abode in man is said to be through the spiritual power from God, called **arvat**, Ervad.

The inspiration regarding industry is for knowing all the powers conducing to industry. And this inspiration in the creation is from God and is known as Ervad. He who is glorious on account of industry becomes so through (Ervad).

These two, give birth (rise) to all other virtues. Luster and glory are from the lustrous and glorious Creator Ohrmazd and (through Him) shining luster and light enter into the creation. And man falls away from this light and luster by following the Blemish-giver. So also (Ahriman) is prevented from doing harm to the creation by the teachings of the prophets who turn men's thoughts towards the Frashegird. It is stated in the good religion about Ohrmazd "On account of these Thy virtues, the creation will in the end turn towards Thee, and all the bodies which are conscious of immortality will

162 Gayodir. This Pahlavi word is thought to be derived from the Avesta “daregô jîtîm” or long life. And it applies to the food by which God will render all men immortal on the Day of Judgment.

become animated at the time (of the Frashegird). Moreover the creation will praise the immortality bestowing worthy Yazads and will rejoice on obtaining from God a happy immortality."

The priests who by their religion lead all men to every kind of pain and suffering at the Frashegird make many fit for hell. Their religion leads men to act wickedly towards the Creator and is full of evil consequences. And they call this the good religion.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the priest of the good religion being the most pious and the hypocrite priest of the evil religion being the most sinful. (410)

Be it known that among men it is the pious man 2 who pleases the Creator most. That man pleases the Creator most who benefits His creation most. That man benefits the creation most who strengthens men's faith in the good God and makes them active and zealous in doing holy deeds. The priest of the good religion is considered wise among men; he keeps the Creator highly pleased and is most pious on account of his piety.

It is the sinful man who in this world distresses the Creator most. He distresses the Creator most who harms His creation most. That man harms His creation most who shakes men's faith most in His existence and who leads the people of the world to do deeds like unto those of the wicked Zohak. And the priest who is the servant of the evil religion is among the sinful men of the world the most sinful.

Exposition in the good religion as to what praiseworthy thing is disadvantageous to pious people and what odious thing is advantageous to pious people. (411)

Be it known that the praiseworthy (virtue) which is disadvantageous to pious people is (the virtue of) truth-telling. Concerning this it is stated (in the religion) that where there is the presence of Ganamino among men, there the pious have to suffer harm by truth-telling and harm is thus done to the piety of the world.

The odious (vice) which is advantageous to pious people is (the vice of) lying. Concerning this it is stated (in the religion) that where there is the presence of Ganamino among men there the noble high priests of the religion have to be liars for the benefit of the pious. And the piety of the world is polluted.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that the man who loves God most and keeps him pleased lives most happily and in great dignity in heaven and the man who is most inimical to God and grieves Him most lives in hell in a very mean and painful condition. (412)

Be it known that the man who loves God most and keeps Him pleased is destined to give the greatest dignity to his soul in heaven and to keep it happy. And he by his wisdom does meritorious deeds which give him strength (for obtaining heaven). And his wish is that like the worship-worthy Farohar (i.e. Zoroaster) he too had been more righteous (than he has been).

The man who is the greatest enemy of God and grieves Him most keeps his soul (in hell) in a very mean and painful condition. And all the intelligence that he has is for committing sin. And his wish is that like the Turanian king Afrasiyab he had sinned more (than he has).

Those things over which the Druj Ganamino exercises his influence cause men to suffer much. The Khwarrah by which the Zoroastrian high priests wield their authority purifies such things (i.e. over which Ganamino has influence), and the government is all the better for this Kayanian Khwarrah.[163]

The creation of Ohrmazd destroys the Blemish-giver Ahriman by the help of the Mazdayasnian religion and the Mazdayasnian religion is continued in the world through the angelic influence exercised over the Zoroastrian high-priests. The sovereignty without the power of the Kayanian Khwarrah is hurtful to the subjects who are reduced in number. The creation of Ohrmazd destroys the Blemish-giver Ahriman by the continuance of the Mazdayasnian religion through the divinely-inspired Zoroastrian high-priests. And on this account the wishes of the Druj cannot reach the creation nor can he dwell therein.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the wealth most worthy of attention. (413)

Be it known that the wealth most worthy of attention is (righteousness) for the obtaining of immortality. And (this wealth) is for the last exalted Reformation and for the good time for acquiring

163 Kayanian Khwarrah, or the supreme authority in religious matters conferred by the state on the high priest in virtue of which he punished those who acted contrary to the precepts of the faith. The following lines show that king Jamshed of the Peshdadian dynasty claimed both spiritual and temporal authority.

the last body (i.e. for the epoch of the Tanepashin). And this wealth for the last reformation induces thoughts regarding the exalted and famous bodies (i.e. thoughts of the righteous actions of the famous men of the past). And the thought of obtaining immortality has been given to mankind by the omnipotent Creator Ohrmazd for the Frashegird.

(End of volume 8)

Exposition in the good religion regarding the character of the man whose body is the abode of generosity and of the man whose body is the abode of avarice. (414)

Be it known that the invisible feeling generosity is warm and passionate and that of avarice cold. The source of both is in the conscience of men. The heart and conscience of the generous man are warm and such a heart has the light of the holy fire. It is the warmth of this luster that indicates the presence of this feeling. The generous man is exalted among men.

The heart and conscience which are the abodes of avarice are cold as ice and it is the meanness and the coldness (of the man) which show him to be avaricious. (Such a) man is through his avarice the chief of all avaricious men.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the fact that life-endowed human beings are either praiseworthy or blameworthy in their actions and either accept and follow the good that is in them or the evil that is in them. (415)

Be it known that life-endowed human beings are either good-looking or ill-looking. Because the man of good essentials (i.e. the four that go to make a man's body, fire, wind, water, and earth) is healthy in appearance, the man of bad essentials sickly in appearance. The man of good essentials praises his Creator and feels grateful to Him for his healthy appearance.

The man whose body is sickly because of its bad essentials is ugly in appearance through the man's evil deeds. Good looks are due to health induced by the good essentials (of one's body). Every part of the body performs its normal functions and the enemy full of blemishes cannot affect (such body) for evil. The sickly body induced by the bad essentials (of one's body) has no thought for the Creator, is

devoid of good looks and is worthy of the bad essentials which jeopardize (the health) of the body.

Of those who crave for a righteous and those who crave for a sinful life, the man who prefers righteousness through his pure thoughts and understanding has an understanding full of good thoughts. And he who has a perverse intellect full of evil thoughts prefers sin. Of these, the righteous man who follows the lead of the understanding given by Vohuman deserves praise (from men) and good return (i.e. reward) from his Creator. The righteousness induced by good thoughts is due to the grateful understanding which prefers righteousness (to sin).

Again the man, who hankers after the perverse thoughts induced by the sinful and evil-thought power, is the sinful man who guides himself by his perverse intellect of evil thoughts. He is hateful in the sight of his Creator. The righteous man influenced by the good-thought power has an understanding, which prefers righteousness and has nothing to do with the sin induced, by the evil-thought power.,. Hence it is impossible for such a man to have any liking for sinful and perverse thoughts.

Exposition in the good religion regarding the revelation (to the prophet) about the creation of the invisible spirit (in the spiritual world) and sending of that spirit from the spiritual world to this world. (416)

Be it known that the invisible spirit was brought into this world (by God) to embellish the material universe. The spirit or the soul of man is invisible and intangible and its abode in this world is the perishable (human) body. The body is sustained so long as it is united with the invisible spirit. The growth and development of the body is due to the progress it makes through (the presence of) this invisible spirit. The life-endowed creatures of this world are visible and tangible. From (all this) it is apparent that the material body is the abode of the invisible spirit or soul. Again all (the information) that we can gather about the spirit is through its union with the material body. Again the material body grows and develops through its union with the invisible spirit. That the invisible spirit has taken up its abode in the material body is known by (observing) the material body itself. The invisible spirit (when it leaves its tenement of clay) returns to its original abode, the spiritual world. The invisible spirit is one and indivisible but (through its union with the body) it divides itself into two (i.e., the vital power and the soul). Again He who invests the soul with its first halo and glory is God, the Creator. Life in matter is due to the union of the soul

with the body. God Himself is known through His investing the invisible spirit with glory (in the spiritual world) and (then) giving it birth in this world. It is known from the scriptures of the good faith that God created the first creation, the invisible spirit, in the spiritual world and then sent it from that spiritual world to this world.

Exposition in the good religion about the power of motion. (417)

Be it known that the power of the invisible spirit is for inducing motion in those that move about. Without the spirit or soul none can move about and work in this world. The continuance of the power of motion in the living body that moves about and works (in this world) is due to the presence in the material body of the life-and-movement-inducing spiritual substance. The growth of the body too is owing to the invisible spirit. Men in this world conduct themselves aright through their moral faculties The life-inducing power (or in other words the invisible spirit) which is the seat of the spiritual substances (the vital power, the conscience, the intellect, the soul and the guarding spirit) makes the body move about and grow. The material body is (refreshed and) strengthened by water and powerful (i.e. good) air. And water and winds (move about) through the strength of the heavenly power (the Yazads and Ameshaspands). The heavenly spirit (i.e. the soul) grows and develops through the inspiration of the Ameshaspands. The material body is strengthened by strengthening the structure of the body through its four essentials (fire, air, water, and earth). The spiritual powers in man (intellect, conscience, soul etc.) in getting strength (for themselves) strengthen the invisible spirit in man.

The priestly class gives religious instruction to the world, the military protects it, the farming nourishes it, and the artisan gives it (facilities for) comfort.

Security for men in this world is through kings. Security for the next is through those who raise men (to a higher moral level) through religion (i.e. the priests).

It is through (worldly) wealth that men improve in health and strength in this world. It is through the power of exalted righteousness that the soul is rendered fit for the spiritual world.

Again, he, who conducts the life that he has obtained in sinful acts and shows (to all that) his life is useless, viciously lessens instead of piously (increasing) the strength (he derives from) his ancestral faith.

Again, when the (same) man is in the pious estimation of the

faithful worthy of (all) praise and in the judgment of the world seems fit (only) for curses, the difference (in the estimation of the worldly and the pious) should be understood as due to the influence of the northern stars. The cure for the injury and sting and poison of noxious animals is the (recitation of) the Manthras of the Avesta. And sickness induced by a vicious course of life can be removed by religious ceremonies. It is through the influence of the northern stars that fire, water, and the vegetable creation are harmed and that life-endowed animals live in (and pollute) subterranean mines. All the diseases in the world are from the (malign) northern stars. Health is due to the seven planets because all these seven planets side with the (benign) new, full, and the Vispatas moon. Again, it is noted in the (scriptures of) the faith, that by worshipping God with the (appropriate) religious ceremonies, the Yazads are pleased and the demons distressed. It is by the triumphant ceremonies of the faith that many substances both in the material and the spiritual world are strengthened. The overpowering triumph in this world of the strength of the spirit is only then lessened when the strength (for the performance of) acts for the spiritual world gives way. The resolution, which exalted life-endowed human ,beings have in their heart, for the performance of pious deeds, is due to the strength of inspiration. The exalted strength for public work, exalted success (in) such work, and the religious ceremonies incidental to such work are all due to inspired strength. Just as people visiting towns and countries distant from one another appreciate the strength of the rulers of such countries and obtain knowledge regarding many places like these (i.e. the towns and countries) by observing the rulers (so it is by fixing one's mind and heart on God and the holy Yazads that one can obtain inspiration for pious deeds.)

Exposition in the good religion regarding the indication of (the presence of) Spenamino and Ganamino in this world. (418)

Be it known that the indication of Spenamino in this world is generally the virtuous, pious ruler. This ruler is the exalter of Ohrmazd; he is of pure motives, and of good resolutions; he gives birth to exalted understanding in men (i.e. leads the thoughts of men to the things of the spirit), inculcates the best and most sublime precepts, strengthens men's adherence to their faith and guides the world aright. Through him, men lead a holy life, cities remain without fear (and in security), the subjects enjoy happiness and those who work according to his wishes (i.e. obey him in everything) are hopeful and secure (about their future). And through his deeds, he confers

happiness on his soul both in this and in the next world, confers greatness, advantages and strength on his family and on the people of the world and their descendants. He (i.e. the king) like Spenamino is full of glory through the honor in which he is held by the people of the world.

The influence of Ganamino makes itself manifest in this world through the supremacy of the sinful ruler of evil religion. Such a ruler, through his base instincts working against God, is (characterized by) dark sins, destructive intentions and wishes for the infliction of evil. He orders about his subjects according to his wantonly perverse will, weakens (men's) faith in religion, desolates the world through his mean instincts and makes the people lead an evil life full of misery. Every city stands in dread of him and men have to put up with miseries of various sorts through him. In a variety of ways he inflicts harm on those who follow the commandments of God. The hopes of his officers who obey his evil behests are as dead within them (as men) buried in snow and he himself owing to his heart full of malice is doomed to damnation. All his thoughts arc to weaken the sources of prosperity and to increase the strength of those making for harm. And in the end he destroys those who put their trust in him and wish to work for him and (he) strengthens (every) work which is harmful. Such a ruler is, through his defects, like unto Ganamino, to the people of this world.

Exposition in the good religion as to which (of the two years) the solar and the lunar is (connected with) the important ceremonies of the faith. (419)

Be it known that the solar year is of two kinds. Of these (two solar years) one is made up by the addition of days, the other by the addition of hours. The one that is made up by the addition of days consists of twelve months, each month of which is of thirty days. (When to these three hundred and sixty days) the five additional days, required for the course of the sun through the constellations during twelve months, are added the year becomes one of three hundred and sixty-five days. The five days which are over and above (the thirty days) of each month are placed at the end of the last month of the year. These five days are made up by the increase (in time of the solar year over the year of 360 days) and they are fixed after many calculations. According to such calculations these days are named (in the daily prayers recited on the last five days of the year).

Besides the sum-total of three hundred and sixty-five days there are six additional hours (to be taken into consideration). These hours

have to be added every year. These additional (six) hours (for every year) make up one day for four years, ten days for forty years, one month for a hundred and twenty years, five months for six hundred years and one year for one thousand, four hundred and forty years. The time of six hours should be kept apart from (i.e. not to be added to) the last days of the year for many years, till (the hours) amount to (a definite period of time).

This additional period (i.e. the intercalary month at the end of every hundred and twenty years) is fixed by calculations. And it (i.e. the intercalary month) is necessary for (the right performance of) Noruz, Mihragan, and other time-honored Jashans. Again the commencement of the year has been fixed by great kings from the first day of the year from the beginning of creation. Hence innumerable men adhere to the Noruz or New Year's day (i.e. observe it as a holiday) and perform good deeds (on the day). And on this glorious day (of the New Year) the people of all countries from the times of the old Peshdadians downwards have been rendered happy and full of joy by their kings. On the occasion of this Jashan, men who work (for their living) hope for rest (i.e. observe it a day of rest) enjoy happiness and find comfort. Again when the solemn time (of the intercalary month) arrives, down-trodden nations derive strength from just kings and innumerable men find happiness and comfort. On that occasion (of the intercalary month) work and labor which wear away (mind and body) become (a good deal) less and by the ceremony fixed from of old (regarding the intercalary month) the state is reformed anew. The good of many things is (closely) united to this period. Weak and diseased men find relief from laborious work and a new gift is conferred on the world. (The calculation of) years, months, and days depends on the course of the starry orbs. From the beginning of the world men have fixed the year (of the intercalary month) by adding up the past years of the (preceding) sovereigns (i.e. the period of one hundred and twenty years which intervened between one intercalary month and another was calculated on the basis of the period of rule of the different sovereigns). During the glorious and immortal period (of the intercalary month) large quantities of food are exchanged among men. According to the precepts of the faith the year (of the intercalary month) should be kept up (every 120 years) and should not be allowed to pass by (without the addition of the intercalary month), Men should not (during the period) harm animals which should be cared for. When the calculated year arrives, the intercalary (month) should be added. And many people (in other parts) of the world should be made to add the intercalary (month).

The additional hours of each year get accumulated in the course of years. Exalted (religious) work (i. e. ceremonies) is fixed (or connected) with the four seasons of the year.[164]

The spring is the season of the commencement of the year. It is from (the time) when the sun enters the first portion (or degree) of Aries which (degree) is called the **Halo** of the sky. And its three months are those (during which) the sun travels through the constellations of Aries, Taurus, and Gemini.

The second season of the year is summer which is regarded as the season of light. And it lasts three months from when the sun enters the first degree of the constellation Cancer till it continues its course through the constellations of Cancer, Leo and Virgo. The third season is autumn and it lasts from when the Sun arrives at the first degree of Libra, which (degree) is known as **Star**, till it (i.e. the sun) completes the (constellations) of Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius.

The fourth that is to say the last season is winter and it lasts from when the sun enters the limit of Capricorn called (in Pahlavi) **Dudtora** till (the end of) the three months which are for the sun to travel through (the constellations of) Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces.

Again the proper arrangement of the four seasons of the year (or in other words the due falling in of the four seasons) is connected with the motion of the sun through the constellations. And through the many delays in the course (of the sun, owing to the different periods taken to travel through the different constellations) additional (six) hours are accumulated, (by the proper addition of which) days remain with days, months with months, and years with years (i.e. occur at regular intervals). And from this (i.e. the regular observance of intercalary periods) each season and the festivals connected with each season are known by the (close) connection of the festivals with the seasons and the nature of the seasons. The certainty (which men have) of the (proper time of offering certain) prayers of the faith and (the certainty) of the ripening of corn and the growth of plants is through men taking the intercalary period into calculation. The recognition of the difference between the seasons of summer and winter by warlike kings and the reasoning on the blowing of gales and the commencement of breeze on the sea are fixed on this (intercalary calculation).

The custom of the faith and each work (i.e. ceremony) of the faith are fixed as (religious) duties at (their proper) seasons. Again the

164 The attention of those who deny that the Jashans and Gahambars ought to fall in their due seasons might with advantage be drawn to this passage.

period for intercalation is made up by the calculation of many additional periods (of six hours). And by the order of the king, those who work (for the addition of the intercalary period) have done so to make the four seasons fall in at the proper time. And through this (observance of the intercalary month) a religion glorifying sentiment is felt clearly by men and plants.

And it is the admonition of the good faith that the rectification (of the calendar) should not be made till a month is completed (i.e. till the additional six hours every year amount to a month at the end of a hundred and twenty. years).[165] And more than a period of five months should not be allowed (to accumulate.) [i.e. failing a rectification of a month at the end of 120 years a rectification of five months must be made at the end of 600 years].[166] The details regarding the cause of this limit of 120 and 600 years) are to be found in the chapter on days, months, and years.

The lunar year is (derived) from the motion of the moon along with the sun. The defect of every lunar month (as compared with a month of 30 days) is ten hours which at the end of a year, when the moon recommences its revolution, amount to 120 hours. The five days of these 120 hours together with the five Gathic days amount to ten days (at the end of a year. i.e. the lunar is ten days short of the year of 365 days).[167] And on this calculation the days came to a month

165 This confirms the statement of Mohammedan and classical writers that the Parsi year is a solar year, that the additional five days are added at the end of the last month, Spendarmad, and that an intercalary month is added every 120 years.

166 The reason for this restriction will be made apparent by the following. According to the Zoroastrian faith there are two chief seasons in the year Hamin (summer) which lasts from Frawardin the first month to the month of Mihr, in all seven months, and Zamestan (winter) which lasts from the first of the month of Aban to the fifth Gatha Vahishtoisht the last day of the year, in all five months. During Hamin, 12 noon to 3 p.m. is the period of the Rapithwin Gah, and during Zamestan the Hawan Gah continues from early morning to 3 p.m. During the Rapithwin season moreover the place where the corpse is deposited is rendered fit for use at the end of nine, whereas during the Hawan season it is fit for use at the end of thirty days and nights. [Vide Vendidad 5.42]. The limit of intercalary months is therefore fixed at five at the outside to prevent the Hamin from merging into the Zamestan or in other words to keep the Rapithwin period distinct from the Hawan period.

167 These Gathic days are to be added at the end of the month of Spendarmad Hence during the five Gathic day, whether in our obligatory or voluntary prayers or in the ceremonies of Yajashne [Yasna] or of Baj (consecration of the sacred cake and food) the name of the Spendarmad month is not repeated with the name of the particular Gathic day. The learned Iranian dastur Zartosht Behram author of the Zartosht-namah is of the same opinion, as may he seen from his lines: (Persian quote omitted):– From this it will he seen that the Parsi family who repeat the name of the last month in their prayers during the five Gathic days are in the wrong.

at the end of three years and to one intercalary year at the end of thirty-six (lunar) years. This (lunar) year (which makes the festivals fall behind or after their proper time) should not be used for great works (i.e. important ceremonies like Jashans, Gahambars etc.) In the business of the world smaller gifts are to be had in the lunary year.[168] And this fact is made known in the chapter (containing) the details of years (dependent on) the law of intercalation.

Exposition in the good religion about the Denkard book, one of the scriptures of the faith. (420)

Be it known that the *Denkard* scripture is made (or written) to make the knowledge of the adorning wisdom of the faith public (to the Mazda-worshippers). The first writing of the work was done by one of the men of the primitive faith, the first disciple of the holy Zartosht, whose Fravashi (i.e. guardian spirit) is worthy of reverence, after questioning and hearing the explanation of that prophet of the worship-worthy Fravashi. Just as from a light-giving center light is diffused everywhere so out of the original *Denkard* copies were ordered to be made by the glorious king Vishtasp to enlighten the people on the wisdom of the good faith, With the permission of this king the original book was placed in the royal library known as Ganj-i Shaspigan.[169] The king ordered other clear (i.e. legible) copies to be made, to be distributed among the people. And lastly he sent one copy to the Dez-i Napesht and ordered that the copy should be (always) kept there.

When king Alexander of evil fame came to the country of Iran, the divine faith was (a good deal) harmed. All the writings (preserved in) the Dez-i Napesht were burnt. And other writings (which) were in the Ganj-i Shaspigan passed into the hands of the Arumans. (Alexander) had these translated into Greek. When Artakhshari Papekan was in the ascendant, (acting on) the information obtained during the time of his mending (i.e. restoring to its pristine vigor) the Iranian government, he caused all the scattered writings, which fell in his way and which were referred to by men of the past, to be collected. He ordered the righteous Tosar, religious teacher and leader of the faith, to devote his attention (to the writings) and to complete them after comparing their sense with the Avesta. Accordingly (Dastur Tosar) composed another work of starry clearness after the original glorious work.

168 The Gujarati original is rather unintelligible here.

169 For Dez-Napesht, Ganj-i Shaspigan and Ganj-i Shapigan see the author's *Pahlavi Grammar,* p. 75.

And the king ordered it to be kept in the Ganj-i Shapigan and other copies of it to be distributed among the people.

After this owing to the mischief and revolt of kings belonging to the faith itself, that (religious book was scattered) and was obtained from different districts by Adurfarobag bin Farrokh-zad, leader of the people of the good faith and belonging to the family of the saintly Adarbad Mahraspandan. He for the sake of the people of his faith arranged into chapters the work scattered on different sides, after adding new subjects therein. And in order to make the people of the good faith read and understand its exposition made by the men of the *Avesta* and of the primitive faith, he made luminous copies after the original.

During the times of quarrel of the people of the faith, Zartosht the leader of the good faith, of the family of the possessor of inspired wisdom and understanding, Dastur Atarfarobag, obtained this copy (of Atarfarobag) in odd volumes and scattered condition.

After that I, Adarbad, of the family of Admigan (and) leader of the faithful obtained this book in its weak, old and decayed state. With the help of God and the assistance of the Mazda-worshipping faith I made a new copy of it after laborious and zealous investigation. And whatever of its writing had been lost, eaten up and worn to dust was obtained (by me) once again from those of the good faith. In this fashion after having brought back the book from its (previous) state (wherein it had been) carried away, plundered and robbed, I have composed its sublime matter with the help of the spiritual counsel-giving understanding, after comparison with the Avesta and the writings of the former leaders of the faith. And with the exalted wisdom of the good faith (the book) has been put into chapters according to rule. And from the light of the original copy its halo (i.e. another copy is made.) And from the glory of the halo (i.e. from the second copy) I have made the last and complete copy which is clear as the light of the true dawn. The large sized book of the original *Denkard* had one thousand chapters; in spite of the subsequent additions (put in to make) those of the good faith understand (the subject-matter), "Denkard" is still retained as the name of the book.

With the help of God every reliable writing (which may be) sent by any one or obtained (by me) should assuredly be added to this (book). The exalted faithful, who in their time obtain in any way writings bearing on the Mazda-worshipping faith from other parts of Iran, should publicly add (these) to the original work for the good of the souls of the faithful. (I hope that) the disciples of Ushedar of the family of Zartosht will after re-questioning Ushedar compose a still

more exalted work for the faith.

(End of Book 3)

THE COMPLETE IDIOT'S GUIDE® TO

A new look at the world's oldest religion

Hinduism

SECOND EDITION

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To Hindus everywhere, with affection and respect.

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Foreword

The Hindu religion is an ocean of spiritual teachings about all aspects of life and consciousness. It's the world's oldest religion, going back to the very dawn of history. It sees its origin in the cosmic mind itself. Yet Hinduism is perhaps the world's youngest religion because it emphasizes the authority of living teachers and allows for correction and evolution over time.

Hinduism is the most diverse religious tradition in the world. It could be said that there are probably more religions inside of Hinduism than outside of it. It has numerous saints, sages, and yogis, both male and female, from ancient to modern times, and today still has what is probably the largest number of monks and renunciates (including a number of Westerners). Tens of millions of Hindus showed up in Allahabad for the Kumbha Mela festival in January 2001. It was the largest gathering of any type and the largest religious gathering in the history of the world.

Hinduism is the world's largest non-biblical tradition, with nearly a billion followers worldwide. It could be called the world's largest non-organized religion as it emphasizes individual spiritual experience, the realization of the higher Self over any religious institution, book, dogma, or savior. It's also the world's largest native or pagan tradition, reflecting the ancient spiritual traditions that once existed all over the world. Like native traditions everywhere, it honors God or the sacred throughout all of nature. It has many insights in harmony with the ecological age, as it affords reverence to the Earth as a conscious and loving presence and asks us to respect our environment.

Hinduism contains the world's oldest and largest tradition of Goddess worship—worshipping the Divine not only as father but also as mother. It recognizes all the diverse forms of the Goddess and her powers of wisdom, beauty, strength, love, and compassion.

Perhaps most notably, Hinduism is the world's largest pluralistic tradition, recognizing One Truth—an eternal reality of Being-Consciousness Bliss in all beings—but also many paths to realize it. Hinduism recognizes theism (the belief in One Creator) but only as one portion of the human religious

experience that includes polytheism, pantheism, monism, and even atheism. As the most inclusive of the world's great religions, Hinduism has room for all these views and yet guides us through these to Self-realization that transcends them all.

Hinduism has probably the world's oldest and largest literature of spirituality, mysticism, and yoga. It provides a complete spiritual culture including art, dance, sculpture, medicine, and science, with all these subjects explained according to a science of consciousness.

Hinduism has a view of the universe in time and space that is compatible with modern science. Aspects of the Hindu tradition such as Yoga, Vedanta, Ayurveda, and Vedic astrology are already popular in the West. Hindu terms such as guru, mantra, shakti, prana, kundalini, and chakra have entered into the English language. Great gurus from the Hindu tradition such as Ramana Maharshi, Yogananda, Ramakrishna, Shivananda, Aurobindo, and Mahatma Gandhi have extensive followings and much respect in the West today.

There are now nearly two million Hindus of Indian origin in the United States, as well as significant numbers in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the Caribbean, with Hindu temples in most of the main cities of the United States. This Hindu group is one of the wealthiest and best-educated in the West and contains many successful scientists, computer engineers, and doctors. India itself, the home of most Hindus, is the second largest country in the world and is expected to be a major superpower in the coming century.

The New Age Movement in the West honors Hindu gurus and teachings. Most New Age followers believe in a higher Self, God as both Father and Mother, karma and rebirth, and spiritual practices such as Yoga, much like the Hindu religion.

Clearly examining Hinduism will geometrically expand your ideas of religion and spirituality. *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Hinduism, Second Edition,* is the best place to begin such an adventure in consciousness. Linda Johnsen—herself a practitioner in the tradition—does a superb job of making this very different religion relevant, understandable, and appealing to the modern mind. Her book is remarkably refreshing and dynamic, showing the living beauty and profundity of this great spiritual tradition. It makes an excellent, engaging textbook for teaching Hinduism.

As one who has traveled throughout the world, including all over India, teaching aspects of the Hindu tradition to both Hindus and Westerners, I can attest that Johnsen's book is probably the best introduction and overview of the Hindu religion available in English today. The book is written with humor, love, consciousness, and inspiration. It shows the Hindu religion alive and expressive today, so that we can easily access it in our own life-experience. I doubt that a single serious reader will come away without finding his view of Hinduism challenged, expanded, and transformed—and along with it his view of the entire universe, humanity, and all of history.
—Dr. David Frawley (Pandit Vamadeva Shastri)
Author, *Yoga and Ayurveda, Hinduism, the Eternal Tradition;* Director, American Institute of Vedic Studies

Introduction

Many of us in the West think of India as a poor and backward country. We forget that for at least 4,000 years the Hindus were recognized (and envied) as some of the richest, best-educated, most scientifically advanced, and most profoundly religious people on the planet. History shows that Hinduism has provided the spiritual foundation for one of the most successful and enduring cultures in the world.

The Sumerians dominated the Middle East in the third millennium B.C.E. At one time, they were believed to be the founders of civilization. Today we know they imported goods by the ton from equally civilized trading partners in India. They even adopted the system of weights and measures used by the Hindus. The Sumerians' most famous myth is the amazing tale of a flood that wiped out almost all life on Earth. This same story is found in India's earliest scriptures and may date as far back as 4000 B.C.E.

Manetho, the Egyptian priest who wrote a history of his country in the third century B.C.E., counts the immigration of a colony of Hindus to Egypt around 1400 B.C.E. as one of the most significant events in Egyptian history. Apollonius of Tyana, a traveler from Turkey who visited both India and Egypt during the time of Christ, noted the amazing similarities between the Egyptian desert ascetics and the Hindu mystics. He was convinced that Hindu immigrants centuries earlier had trained the Egyptians.

Alexander the Great, during his brief military foray into India, was fascinated by the Hindu holy men. His troops brought home incredible stories about the wisdom and incorruptibility of these Indian sages.

A major problem in the Roman Empire from the time of Caesar Augustus through Emperor Hadrian was Rome's massive trade imbalance with India. It brought Rome to the verge of an economic meltdown! Hindu philosophers were teaching in Rome by the third century C.E. at the latest. Some scholars believe they profoundly influenced Neoplatonic thinkers like Plotinus (who tried to get to India) and, through them, the Western and Kabbalistic mystical systems.

In medieval times, the Arabs praised the Hindus as the world's leading astronomers, mathematicians, and philosophers.

In the fifteenth century, Christopher Columbus risked his neck (and the lives of the rest of the sailors on the *Nina,* the *Pinta,* and the *Santa Maria*) trying to reach India. He mistakenly thought he'd gotten there, too, which is the reason many people call Native Americans "Indians" to this day. The monarchies of northern Europe were the backwater states of the time and desperately needed trade with the prosperous Hindus to jumpstart their sputtering economies.

And when the British conquered India in the seventeenth century, they hailed the vast wealth of the subcontinent as "the jewel in the crown" of the British Empire. The English made off with much of India's riches, leaving the country bankrupt when they finally granted it independence in 1947. For the most part, though, they missed its greatest treasure, the spiritual knowledge hoarded by brahmin priests in their carefully guarded scriptures and secretly practiced by yogis and yoginis in the caves and forests of Hindustan.

Today, we see a resurgence of interest in "the wisdom of the East." Many of us in the West flounder spiritually, confused by the inability of our religions to square with scientific reality and craving actual spiritual experience of which our lives seem so devoid. We're impressed by the ability of Eastern religions like Hinduism to meet science head on, agreeing in many respects about important topics, such as the age and size of the universe. Hindu yogis have gone into the laboratory and proven that at least some of their alleged superhuman powers—like the ability to control their brainwaves and heartbeat and to stop breathing for extended periods—are for real.

Hinduism is the one world religion that reaches out to embrace other faiths with respect, a welcome change from groups who expend enormous amounts of energy condemning the sincere beliefs of others. Hinduism holds no eternal damnation because Hindus believe absolutely no one is excluded from divine grace.

The Hindu tradition has held the culture of greater India together for thousands of years, through fair times and foul. Increasingly, we in the West are looking to Hinduism with the respect and appreciation it deserves, realizing we modern people have a great deal to learn from the oldest religion on Earth.

What We'll Be Looking At

The Complete Idiot's Guide to Hinduism, Second Edition, is divided into six parts so we can look at the many facets of Hinduism from several different perspectives.

Part 1, "The Eternal Religion," explains how Hindus look at time and space. Westerners who've been to India sometimes admit that it was like visiting another planet, the worldview there being so radically different from our own. The Hindus' cyclical view of time leads to a unique understanding of human history and of our role in the divine plan.

We'll look at the beginnings of a religion its adherents themselves believe is beginningless, pausing to explore how nineteenth-century European scholars actually created a history for India out of thin air—because the true story struck them as unbelievable!

In its multimillennial development, Hinduism has collected so many scriptures that no one person can become familiar with even a fraction of them in the course of a lifetime. We'll examine some of the most important ones, the ones Hindus admit were composed by human authors and the ones they say came from the heart of the universe itself!

Part 2, "What Hindus Believe," introduces you to the Hindus' amazingly liberal ideas about God and the value of other faiths.

It also takes you into the realm of karma and reincarnation, ideas that seem very New Age to us but are age-old to Hindus. For those who find that incarnating again and again gets tiresome after a while, there is a way out. You'll see what enlightenment really means and what it takes to be "liberated."

There are six major schools of thought about the divine reality in Hinduism. We'll look at how each major school of Hindu theology contributes its piece of the puzzle to the complete picture.

Part 3, "Who Hindus Worship," will, I hope, clear the air about some mistaken ideas Westerners often have about Hindu polytheism and "idol worship." I introduce you to some of India's more popular deities, the gods and goddesses who still inhabit the inner world of the Hindu people. You'll also see what an "avatar" actually is, another concept that's gotten somewhat garbled in its translation into Western New Age thought! I also

introduce the main Hindu denominations as well as a few especially important breakaway sects.

Part 4, "How Hindus Live," details the caste system and the stages of life orthodox Hindus go through. We'll examine Indian ethics, take a look at some of Hinduism's many sacraments and holy days, and visit some of the temples and sacred sites of the tradition.

Part 5, "God's House Has Many Doors," examines the paths to God in Hinduism: the paths of action, of love, of the intellect, and of meditation. We'll also look at Tantra, perhaps the single most misunderstood aspect of Hinduism.

Part 6, "A Timeless Tradition," offers a look at the issues Hindus face today as they endeavor to reconcile a very ancient religion with a rapidly changing world.

I've also included three appendixes to help you get a handle on Hinduism. Appendix A is a glossary of commonly used Sanskrit terms. If you're interested in learning more about this ancient tradition, Appendix B offers a list of outstanding books for further reading, and Appendix C refers you to some organizations and websites you'll find useful in future explorations.

India is poised to surpass China as the most populated country on Earth. As it continues to pull itself up by the bootstraps economically, what Hindus believe and practice is becoming increasingly important for others to understand. Hopefully this book will help you gain a clearer concept of what Hinduism, "the eternal religion," is all about.

A Few Extra Points

Scattered throughout this book, you'll find a number of special messages to help speed you on your way.

The Hindu View

Factoid time! These boxes contain extra information I believe you'll find especially interesting.

Guidepost

Here I post suggestions to help prevent embarrassing mistakes when you interact with Hindus.

Sages Say

These boxes contain words from the wise, valuable quotes from holy texts and holy people—and a few regular folks, too—that I think you'll enjoy.

def•i•ni•tion

I promise to keep the foreign words you need to learn to a minimum, and I help you keep the few key Sanskrit terms we'll use straight by providing clear definitions in these boxes.

In each chapter, you'll also find a "Quick Quiz" to ensure that you remember some key points from the discussion. I'm hoping you'll find these quizzes more fun than the ones you took in school!

Acknowledgments

I'd like to thank the editors and staff at Alpha Books, who helped materialize this book, especially Mike Sanders, Michael Thomas, and Katherin Bidwell. Thanks also to Jessica Faust at BookEnds, who made the connections that made the book happen.

I want to acknowledge all my friends and teachers in the Hindu community who invited me into their profoundly wise tradition, but the list is way too long! My *pranams* to you all!

Thanks also to my husband, Johnathan Brown, who held my hand on all my journeys through India.

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Part 1

The Eternal Religion

Hinduism is so ancient its origins are lost in the mist of prehistory. Many sages are associated with it, but none claim to be its first prophet. Hindus believe their religion has existed forever, even before the universe came into being. They say the truths of their faith are inherent in the nature of reality itself—and that all men and women peering into the depths of their inner nature will rediscover these same truths for themselves.

The image too many outsiders have of the Hindu tradition is of superstitious villagers worshipping idols. However, as we get to know the Hindus better, we'll see that their understanding of who and what God is, is incredibly sophisticated. In fact, their view of the world and our place in it is so stunningly cosmic in scope that it can boggle our Western minds!

So let's enter the universe of Hinduism, an amazing world where inner and outer realities reflect each other like images in a mirror and the loving presence of the divine is as close as the stillness behind your thoughts.

Chapter 1

Time for God

In This Chapter

- Hinduism: the vital statistics
- The Hindu worldview
- A religion that began before time
- What it's like being God

I've spent the past 30 years shuttling back and forth between two universes: India and the West. My friends from India live on the same planet I do, yet in some ways we're from different planets.

Here in the West we see things as either true or false, black or white, animate or inanimate—we're either logged on or we're logged off. But when I ask one of my Hindu friends a straightforward question and she shakes her head in that characteristic way that means both yes and no, my Western mind bows in defeat. For Hindus, life is multidimensional, and to nail things down to yea or nay is to miss the bigger picture.

For us in the West, the universe is a material object that evolved out of random combinations of atomic particles. For the Hindu, though, the universe is rooted not in matter but in consciousness. Nothing is random—there is life everywhere and meaning in everything. Divine intelligence is present wherever we look. The universe is held together by God's constant, loving attention.

The Hindu Universe

The universe of a traditional Hindu differs from the world of an average educated Westerner in several ways:

- Hindus believe all things, from trees and butterflies to inanimate objects like mountains and bridges, are in some sense living entities. Those great beings that are more powerful than us, like the ocean or the wind, are called gods.
- Time circles back around on itself in cycles large and small. Just as a year returns to its beginning on January 1st, everything in nature dies and starts afresh, its body ever changing, its spirit ever the same.
- Hindus have enormous respect for the lineages of spiritual masters who pass the wisdom of the ancient sages down from one generation to the next, like runners in a relay race. They keep Hinduism fresh—their living connection with spirit never lets it get stale.
- The reality of psychic phenomena, like telepathy and precognition, poo-pooed by scientists here in the West, is taken for granted in Hindu culture. These experiences are accepted as evidence that everyone in the universe is interconnected in a vast inner network of consciousness called *Mahat,* "the Great One."

Hindus believe the mind is the sixth sense, that the mind is able to perceive entities, objects, and fields of energy the other five senses don't register. So for them the living spirits in fire and flowers and ocean froth, as well as the souls of the dearly departed, are just as real as hammers and nails. We can sense their presence even if we don't actually see them.

Sages Say

You must realize that it is Pure Consciousness which projects this universe like images in the mirror of its own unlimited

> awareness. Merge in that Supreme Consciousness and you will experience limitless bliss.
> —Tripura Rahasya

The laws of physics are different for Hindus, whose world includes subtle dimensions we in the West can barely imagine. Unlike us, they haven't been taught that miracles can't really happen. To them the laws of consciousness, as understood by saints and yogis, allow miracles to happen routinely! I'll tell you more about all this later, since understanding the subtler dimensions of life is an important part of Hindu spirituality. But first we need to define some terms and learn a little more about the conceptual cosmos Hindus inhabit.

Who's a Hindu?

A billion Hindus inhabit this planet; one out of every six people on Earth is Hindu. A Hindu is basically any person born into the indigenous religion of Greater India. By Greater India I mean the region where Hindu culture flourished in full force till the advent of Buddhism and Islam. This includes the country we call India now, as well as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Ladakh, Sri Lanka, and even parts of Tibet. Indonesia and Malaysia became predominantly Hindu around 1400 C.E.

Mother India.

Today, Hinduism is still practiced by over 80 percent of the population of India. Nepal and Bali are largely Hindu, while Malaysia is home to over a million Hindus. Eleven million more live in Bangladesh.

In the past few decades, the population explosion in India has motivated millions of Hindus to emigrate to other countries like Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Reunion Island, Mauritius, and some parts of Africa. Well over a million Hindus live in South Africa, the country where Mahatma Gandhi first started his campaign for social justice.

The Hindu View

India's population of some one billion souls is made up of about 82 percent Hindus—that's over 800 million people! There are around 80 million Muslims in India, 14 million Sikhs, and 14 million Christians. Small pockets of Parsis (Zoroastrians), Jews, Jains, and Tibetan Buddhists also make their home in the Indian subcontinent.

Today, more than 60 million Hindus are living outside India. You'll find nearly two million of them in North America. Very rapidly, Hinduism is becoming less an exotic Eastern religion and more a familiar global presence.

Generally speaking, Hindus are born, not made. For the most part, Hindus are not interested in converting anyone else to their religion. "If all roads lead to Rome," one of my Hindu teachers told me, "all religions lead to God. Why should I insult your beliefs by saying God can't use your religion to call you to Him? Whatever your faith, God will still find a way to illuminate your life."

Technically, a Hindu is any person born into a Hindu family who accepts the Veda (the Hindu Bible) as the source of his tradition and who participates in the Hindu sacraments (see Chapter 17).

def•i•ni•tion

> In India, guru means "teacher." It also specifically means your spiritual master, the man or woman guiding you to enlightenment. A swami is an ordained Hindu monk.

In the last half of the twentieth century, as Western fascination with India increased, some outsiders asked to be initiated into the Hindu faith. Several of my friends, born Christians or Jews, have formally entered the fold of Hinduism. This ancient religion is gradually expanding its self-definition to accommodate foreigners, and today Hinduism includes some well-known *gurus* and *swamis* who were not born Hindu.

The word Hindu actually came from Persians who mispronounced *Sindhu* (Persians thought of Hindus as the people living to the east of the Sindhu River). Europeans picked up the term when they began setting up shop in India in the eighteenth century. Most Hindus are now so used to being called Hindu that they've started calling themselves that. The more traditional term for the native Indian spiritual tradition is *Sanatana Dharma,* "the eternal religion."

Beginningless Truth

You might think it takes a lot of chutzpah (if I may borrow a Jewish term) to claim one's religion is eternal. What Hindus mean when they say this is their tradition doesn't come from any one founding father or mother, from any single prophet towering over the bastion of hoary antiquity. In fact, the first few verses of the Veda—an incredibly old book, parts of which were composed over 5,000 years ago—acknowledge even earlier sages who lived long before!

Very old Hindu texts speak of a time when it became almost impossible to survive on Earth because of ice and snow. Some Hindu scholars believe this could be a reference to the last Ice Age. Archeologists have unearthed small goddess figurines in India dating from 10,000 years ago (about the time the Ice Age was ending). They're just like ones still being worshipped in Indian villages today. So even if we're not willing to grant that Hinduism is eternal, we still have to admit it got the jump on the other major religions.

But even more fundamental than the question of how Hinduism first got rolling (a very complicated and surprisingly interesting issue we explore in Chapter 2) is the fact that Hindus consider their tradition eternal because it's not based on the words of any one inspired man or woman. Instead, it's based on the eternal laws of nature.

The Hindu View

Between the first and eleventh centuries C.E., India produced 30 percent of the planet's Gross Domestic Product. From at least Sumerian times (2500 B.C.E.), Hindu culture was famous for its prosperity, comparative peacefulness, and spiritual science.

Guidepost

Don't automatically assume any person you meet from India is a Hindu. Most Indians are, but a substantial minority (about 10 percent) are Muslim.

Scientists of the Spirit

The Hindu sages were scientists of the spirit. In olden times before people had better things to do, like watch reality TV, these men and women conducted investigations into the nature of reality itself. They looked to the living universe as their teacher and guide. If there were spiritual laws we ought to be following, they should be apparent in the cycles of the stars, the flow of mountain streams, and the way the mind operates. Natural law is called *Rita* in Sanskrit. There were a number of basic laws these early scientists observed:

- Pure awareness is always the same; everything else changes.
- Everything that dies is re-created in another form.
- Everything in the universe is directly or indirectly related to everything else.
- The consequences of an action always return to the person who performed it.
- The only lasting peace we experience comes when we rest our awareness in the lucid stillness hidden behind our thoughts.

Observations like these became the basis of Hindu beliefs about karma and reincarnation, ritual practice, and meditation.

The Hindu View

> Sanskrit is the sacred language of Hinduism, much as Latin is the sacred language of Roman Catholicism. Like Latin, Sanskrit is a very old language that is no longer widely spoken, except by some orthodox priestly families. In South India, Tamil ranks alongside Sanskrit in importance as the language of religion.

Hindus believe that any truth worth setting up as a foundation of a religion has to be *akriti*—that is, it has to ultimately come from beyond space and time. It has to be true forever. In other words, billions of years from now, after this solar system has disintegrated and a whole new universe has taken shape, the things that were true in our world must be equally true in the cosmos to come.

Hindus believe that the messages of the sages preserved in the Veda are eternally true in just this manner. That's why they call Hinduism "the eternal religion." A trillion years from now in some other world system, inquiring minds will look to nature and rediscover the same truths Hindus believe today.

A Recyclable Universe

From the Hindu perspective, universes come and go.

Hindus experience time as cyclical, not progressing forward toward a final point as folks believe in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This concept is important because it leads to a completely different understanding of human history and of our role in the divine plan.

Hindus have been around for a long time, so it's not surprising that a cyclical model makes more sense to them. They have watched other civilizations, their erstwhile trading partners, rise and fall. Sumer was a great civilization in its heyday, but it's long gone now. Ancient Egypt rivaled India in the depth of its spiritual knowledge, but all that remains are some dusty old pyramids. The Greeks and Romans strutted around like peacocks once, but their empires crumbled, too. Not very long ago the British controlled much of the world; today, their empire is a fading

memory. In India itself, great cities like Harrapa and Mohenjo Daro saw the light of day almost 5,000 years ago. Then they, too, disappeared into the darkness beneath the Earth.

Hindus believe time is circular because they're attuned to seasonal and agricultural cycles, as well as to the cycles of the planets and stars. But medieval Hindu texts also mention the cycles of mountains, growing incrementally over the millennia and then sinking back into the earth. (In fact, the Himalayas are getting higher and the Vindhya mountain range in central India is getting shorter. But you'd have to watch them carefully for a *very* long time to notice.)

The texts mention the changing course of rivers. They notice how lush and fertile lands like the grazing grounds of their ancient homeland slowly turned to sand, transforming into the Thar Desert in Rajasthan and the Sindh today. They describe cities, like ancient Dvaraka, disappearing into the sea, and whole branches of advanced technology that were lost long, long ago. Hindus have been kicking around a long time, and they've seen it all!

The Hindu View

For most of the last 2,000 years, the Judeo-Christian-Islamic traditions taught that our world started quite recently (around 4000 B.C.E.) and will come to a complete end when God stops the flow of time and establishes us in eternity. Hindus don't believe this. In 4000 B.C.E., their culture was already ancient.

It's not only empires that eventually bite the dust. Very old Hindu compendiums called the *Puranas* say that in the end (and here modern astrophysicists agree) the very atoms that form the universe will dissolve away. And then slowly, incredibly slowly, the universe will reform. In Hinduism, everything is recycled. Even the universe itself!

Hatching a World

In India, there are many different versions of the re-creation of our universe. This is Hinduism, where when you shake your head you mean both yes and no, so we're not going to ask which of the versions is most authoritative. Instead we're going to assume, as many Hindus do, that all the different stories refract some light of a reality far too vast to be reflected exclusively in just one tale.

Here is one version. Keep in mind that Brahma is the creator of our local world system; today we might call it our solar system. Vishnu is lord of our local universe; today, we might say that's our galaxy. (The modern name for the milky ocean Vishnu sleeps on is the Milky Way.) And the Goddess is the one in control of all the universes in all dimensions of being forever.

In a beginning (not in *the* beginning because there have been numberless previous beginnings), Vishnu is lying asleep on an ocean of milk. If you object that no self-respecting god would be caught napping, remember that even the Judeo-Christian God rested on the seventh day.

Vishnu's bed is an enormous cobra called Ananta, whose coils serve as his mattress and whose numerous hoods form a canopy over the slumbering deity. Vishnu's wife, the Goddess who never sleeps (a woman's work is never done!), sits lovingly massaging his feet.

Sages Say

Divine Being, like a sea, surges upward in a wave of creation, then subsides again into its own essence. Waves of universes rise incessantly, in infinite numbers, one after another.
—Yoga Vasishtha

In the course of Vishnu's dream, a lotus grows out of his navel, and lying there in the petals is a shiny golden egg. This egg will hatch into our solar system if everything proceeds according to plan.
Guiding the egg's development is Brahma. He's the mastermind behind our local universe, the intelligence who put our world together. He wants to shape a Sun and Moon and several planets, which shouldn't be too hard because debris from the previous solar system is still floating around in space.

Getting God Out of Bed

Finding people to inhabit this new world won't be hard either. Plenty of souls are left over from the last incarnation of the solar system, who didn't manage to find their way back to God before the world dissolved out from under them. They've been sound asleep in their subtle bodies for eons, just like Vishnu. Once a physical planet is in place, Brahma will toss these souls back into physical bodies, so they can complete their unfinished business from previous lives.
Brahma needs to resolve a number of problems before he can proceed, but he can't do it all himself. So he tries to wake up Vishnu since support from an even higher power would be incredibly helpful. But Vishnu is dead asleep.
At this point, Brahma turns to Vishnu's wife, the Goddess, and pleads, "You are the supreme, primeval power, the limitless store of energy that continues to exist even after the material worlds fade away. You remain active even when God, the primordial intel ligence, passes into an unconscious state. He

sleeps on the snake Ananta, whose name means infinite time, who floats in the milky ocean of primordial matter. Please remove the inertia from the Lord's awareness, so he can wake up!"

The Hindu View

Think you've got just one body? Hindus believe there's a subtle body made of energy that underlies our physical body. Treatments like homeopathy and acupuncture work on the energies in this nonmaterial body, according to both Hindu and Chinese medical systems.

Having been asked so nicely, the Goddess lifts the veil of unconsciousness from the cosmic intelligence, her husband Vishnu. He leaps up, refreshed and invigorated, and he and Brahma set about clearing away the negative energies obstructing manifestation. Now Brahma can spend the next few days building our cosmos.

A Day in God's Life

Consider the vastness of the time scale Hindus are talking about here! Hinduism and the Judeo-Christian tradition agree that at the moment we're in the seventh day of creation. But according to the Hindu sages, a day for God is a bit longer than our human day of 24 hours.

Swami Veda Bharati, a mahamandaleshvara, or eminent religious leader who presides over an *ashram* in Rishikesh in northern India, taught me the following timetable. He's a devotee of the Divine Mother, as you'll probably be able to guess. (The Goddess is a major league player in Hinduism, you'll soon see.)

def•i•ni•tion

An ashram is a house where a group of Hindus who have completely devoted themselves to spiritual life live together under the guidance of their guru.
Shiva is one of the main Hindu names for the Supreme Consciousness, the ultimate reality. Shiva is also one of the three main gods of Hinduism, the one who absorbs the universe back into himself at the end of each cycle of creation.

Swami Veda Bharati's timeframe starts with a day and a night in the life of our local creator god.

- One day and night in the life of Brahma is 8,640,000,000 human years.
- The lifetime of Brahma is 311,040,000,000,000 human years.
- One day and night in the life of Vishnu equals 37,324,800,000,000,000,000 human years.
- The life of Vishnu is 671,846,400,000,000,000,000,000 human years long.
- One day and night in the life of *Shiva* lasts 4,837,294,080,000,000,000,000,000, 000,000 human years.
- Shiva's lifetime corresponds to 87,071,293,440,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 human years.
- One glance from the Mother of the Universe equals 87,071,293,440,000,000, 000,000,000,000,000,000,000 human years.

It might surprise you that Hinduism speaks of gods dying. Not to worry—they're reborn again later like the rest of us! According to Swami Veda Bharati's tradition, at any one moment there are trillions upon trillions of Brahmas, Vishnus, and Shivas manifesting their universes within the endless expanse of the Divine Mother's awareness. This, folks, is Hinduism's Big Picture.

Quick Quiz

1. India is …
    a. Mostly Hindu.
    b. Half Hindu, half Muslim.
    c. Home of the lost tribes of Israel.
2. The word Hindu comes from …
    a. A mispronunciation of the name of the river Sindhu.
    b. A misspelling of "Indian."
    c. The Sanskrit word for curry.
3. Sanatana Dharma is the name of …
    a. A famous Hispanic rock star.
    b. A character from a popular American sitcom.
    c. The Hindu religion.
4. For Hindus, time …
    a. Began about 6,000 years ago, when the world was created.
    b. Is without beginning or end.
    c. Starts with a hot cup of chai.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (a). 3 (c). 4 (b).

The Boy Who Lived Between Universes

Many of us in the Western world are so proud of what our scientists and technologists have achieved that we're tempted to laugh at the insights of other cultures, particularly if we don't understand them! Let's pause a minute to look a little more closely at one of the fables from Hinduism's supposedly primitive past.

Markandeya was not born in our world. He was actually born (according to this famous myth) in a previous world cycle, the last incarnation of our planet.

One day Markandeya noticed his parents were extremely upset. When he asked what was wrong, his father tearfully admitted that when Markandeya was born, the village astrologer predicted the boy would die on his sixteenth birthday.

Well, that very day was his sixteenth birthday. So now it was Markandeya who was upset! He ran to the nearby temple and threw his arms around the image of the god Shiva.

At that very moment the god of death entered the temple, ready to slip his noose around Markandeya's neck and drag him out of his body. But just as Death reached for the young boy, Shiva materialized in front of them both, and he didn't look happy. In fact, Shiva was furious that Death would disturb a devotee who was worshipping him. Death was so terrified at Shiva's angry gaze that he ran away and never dared approach Markandeya again.

Sages Say

At the end of the cosmic night, that Great Being who sleeps on the primeval ocean awakens. He finds a vast void where

> previously there had been a world filled with living beings. Then that most excellent soul begins to re-create the world.
> —Linga Purana

That was fine for the time being, but after a few billion years, a problem developed. The Sun eventually flickered out of existence; the Earth passed away; and Markandeya floated around in empty space for eons. Finally the Earth reshaped itself back into existence, and Markandeya was able to walk on terra firma once more. He reported what he'd experienced between worlds to anyone who asked.

What happens when the solar system dies, he explained, is that the Sun slowly turns red and expands to many times its present size. The surface of the Earth eventually becomes so hot no living thing can survive, and the planet becomes as bare as a turtle's back. Then the Sun explodes, emitting a burning wind that blasts the planet to ashes.

Rather startlingly, this extremely old Hindu myth describes the end of the world exactly as our own astrophysicists do. Carl Sagan, the well-known twentieth-century scientist from Cornell University, noted that the parallels between Hindu teachings and new scientific findings about the evolution of the universe were "an astonishing coincidence." Indeed!

Inner Vision

I'm not suggesting there really was a boy who survived the death of the last solar system. (Though, just as we have Elvis sightings here in America, Hindus from time to time do report catching a glimpse of Markandeya.) But the thought I'd like to leave with you is that for many millennia the Hindu sages have claimed that if we purify our minds with spiritual practices and open our hearts to learn from her, the Mother of the Universe begins to share her secrets with us.

In the West, we peer into space with powerful telescopes hoping to learn the origin of the universe. The Hindu approach is to couple astute observation of the world outside us with a self-disciplined inner journey. Peering into

the depths of consciousness in our own minds, we connect with the consciousness that underlies the entire cosmos. Truths, which other cultures need radio telescopes to ferret out, simply present themselves to our concentrated inward attention.

To India's mystics, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva are not just characters in a story. They represent actual states of divine awareness that are available to devotees, provided the devotee is prepared to do the hard spiritual work necessary to access them.

In fact, in Hinduism the point of doing spiritual practices is to attain *jnana,* living knowledge of Divine Being. It's an ambitious agenda!

The Hindu View

Indian theologians called the Vaisheshikas developed the atomic theory long before Democritus, who's considered the founding father of atomism in the West. According to the ancient Greek historian Diogenes Laertius, Democritus sold everything he owned (he was filthy rich) to travel around the world. One of his stops was India. Could he have picked up the atomic theory there?

Cycles Within Cycles

God's agenda plays out across vast panoramas of space and time, or at least what seem like eons to us even if they're only an eyeblink to God.

Hindu theologians speak of yugas, great expanses of time through which the course of spiritual evolution runs. On our planet specifically, there are four great yugas, which roll by one after another within even larger repeating cycles:

- Krita Yuga: 1,728,000 years
- Treta Yuga: 1,296,000 years
- Dvapara Yuga: 864,000 years
- Kali Yuga: 432,000 years

The cycles are named after dice throws. Krita means you win. Treta means you don't win, but you do better than simply breaking even. Dvapara means you're barely still in the game. And Kali means you lose big time!

In the Krita era, people are pure-hearted, so everyone lives together in peace. When the Treta period rolls around, folks lose one fourth of their good qualities. By the time the Dvapara Yuga begins, we're only half as good as humans originally were. And in the Kali age, people are just plain bad. Only about a fourth of altruism and spiritual light is left in us; the rest is selfishness, hatred, and self-delusion.

def•i•ni•tion

Jnana means knowledge, specifically knowledge that you know in your soul, not just in your brain. It's related to the English words "gnosis" and "gnostic." A pandit is a Hindu scholar.

The bad news is that the Kali Yuga began on February 18, 3102 B.C.E. That means we've got a *long* way left to go at our worst behavior! The good news is that there are cycles within cycles within the Kali Yuga, and in some of them things start looking up.

Dr. Rajmani Tigunait, a *pandit* from Allahabad, told me, "Don't be discouraged we're in the Kali Yuga. If you do your spiritual practices and purify your heart, it's as if you are living in the Golden Age. In your home

it's still the Krita Yuga." In other words, you can live in the Garden of Eden if you prefer, but you have to plant it yourself.

Sages Say

He who experiences the whole of creation as his very own Self, who sees everything around him as the limbs of his own body, although he appears like an ordinary man to others, I consider him truly blessed. Strive to experience this sense of unity with all things. Feel yourself in the universe and the universe in you. I'm telling you again and again: There is no greater experience than perfect oneness.
—Jnaneshvari

The BIG Picture

Why did God create the universe? Hinduism offers several suggestions:

- He was lonely. He looked around and saw He was by Himself. He desired to become many. And whatever God wants, God gets. The moment that wish entered His mind, an infinite number of souls emerged from His limitless intelligence to keep Him company.
- She likes to play. The Goddess can't sit still for a moment. All the dramas in all the worlds are Her game or "Her sport" as Hindus like to say.

- The Divine Being is so brimming with bliss, He/She spills over. Shiva/Shakti (God and Goddess who are both two and one in Hinduism) spontaneously generate cosmos after cosmos. Creative energy simply pours out of the Divine. It's the nature of the Supreme One to create as it's the nature of light to shine.

In the Western religious traditions, God creates us out of nothing. In Hinduism, the Divine Being creates us out of himself/herself. This means we are literally one with the divine, one with everything else in the universe, and one with each other.

Hinduism is about finding our place in an immense universe. It shows us how to deal with suffering and where to find joy. It reveals that knowing our own inner Self is the key to entering the consciousness of God.

In the Western world, until very recently, there's been a tendency to consider Hindus "primitive" because they believe there is living spirit everywhere. What I hope you see now is that Hindu thought isn't primitive at all! In fact it's fantastically sophisticated. Hindus look at reality through a different lens than Westerners do, yet their understanding of who God is, how His laws operate, and where we stand in relation to Him, is just as insightful as the Western viewpoint.

The Least You Need to Know

- The Hindu tradition is extremely mystical.
- Hindus call their faith "the eternal religion."
- Time doesn't end; it spins on in cycles through eternity.
- Direct personal experience of God is the purpose of life.
- Everything arises out of consciousness.

Chapter 2

Hindus in History

In This Chapter

- An advanced civilization in ancient India
- Correcting ancient Hindu history
- North and South India get to know each other
- Implications for European prehistory

If you had been around in the third millennium B.C.E. (and if the Hindu theory of reincarnation is correct, you might have been!), India is where you would have wanted to be. The quality of life was higher there than practically anywhere else in the world. In fact, the towns of North India in 2600 B.C.E. were more comfortable and technologically advanced than most European cities till nearly the time of the Renaissance!

Religious life was vibrant in ancient India. Some of the oldest surviving spiritual texts come from this part of the world. They reveal a religion that was both boisterously earthy and transcendently mystical—not unlike Hinduism today.

But somewhere between then and now the history of these deeply religious people was erased. What happened?

The History That Vanished

Since the early 1920s, archeologists have been unearthing an astonishing ancient civilization in northwestern India, now called the Indus-Sarasvati culture. It was enormous, at least 700 miles from north to south and 800 miles from east to west. If you dropped the entire Egyptian civilization along with all of Sumer (two high cultures which were flourishing at about

the same time) into that same geographical area, you would still have room for a few more civilizations!

Sages Say

The *dumbest* thing in this impermanent world is to delude yourself that *anything* in this impermanent world will last forever.
—Tirukural, a Tamil scripture, circa 130 B.C.E.

Here researchers have found the best-planned cities anywhere on the planet. The neatly arranged gridiron pattern of streets and houses revealed organizational and construction skills unparalleled in the ancient world and not always equaled in the world today. The cities were gargantuan for the time—3 miles in diameter, which isn't a bad size for a town even today. The quality of the drainage system in these towns, which included brick-lined sewers complete with manholes, was not seen again until Roman engineers set up shop 2,000 years later.

The people who lived here had many of the trappings of civilization as we know it today (except maybe High Definition TV). They had nicely appointed bathrooms where they took bucket showers. They had one of the earliest written languages in the world. They had a sophisticated system of weights and measures that the business people of Mesopotamia liked so much they adopted it for their own use.

They had seaports, but those excavated docks are eerie to look at these days because the river tributaries they once serviced have evaporated away. The

long-abandoned piers now overlook the bleak Thar Desert.

Messing with the Past

These findings astounded Western archeologists, but orthodox Hindus weren't surprised at all. Their ancient chronicles—enormous religious anthologies like the Puranas and the *Mahabharata* (see Chapter 5)—often mentioned glorious cities of the distant past. They even mentioned legendary architects like Asura Maya who could whip up spectacular buildings with beautiful gardens and lotus-laden pools and mirrored walls. But Western scholars never took those ancient chronicles seriously. The surprising thing is that even as they dug up more and more evidence that the Hindus' own version of their history was more or less correct, Western scholars *still* couldn't believe it!

Here's why. In nineteenth-century European intellectual circles, Oxford University scholar Frederick Max Müller was held in only slightly less esteem than God. One day Müller announced that the Veda, India's most ancient spiritual classic and the very foundation of its faith, had been composed between 1200 to 1000 B.C.E. As far as Western scholars were concerned, God had spoken. This in spite of the fact that some of the positions of the stars mentioned in the Veda could only have occurred sometime between 3000 and 4000 B.C.E.!

The Hindu View

The majestic Sarasvati River ran through northwestern India until it dried up 4,000 years ago. To this day, the Indian name for the goddess of learning is Sarasvati. Could this be because the people of this region were once among the best educated in the world?

Tampering with Time

Where did Müller come up with a date as late as 1000 B.C.E. for a scripture Hindus themselves considered much older? It turns out that unlike Hindus, who believed the universe was billions of years old, as a Christian, Müller believed the world had been created in 4004 B.C.E. By adding the ages of the patriarchs listed in the Bible who lived between Adam and Noah, Müller could calculate the number of years that had passed since the creation and the Great Flood. This brought him to 2448 B.C.E.
Now, Müller was no fool. He knew it would take time for Noah's descendants to immigrate to India, repopulate the subcontinent, and create the hundreds of different languages and distinctive cultures flourishing there. This, he figured, must have taken at least 1,200 years, maybe as much as 1,400. Ergo, the earliest Hindu scripture could not have been written earlier than 1200 B.C.E. University textbooks uncritically repeated this date through the mid-1990s!

Guidepost

> Scholarship on Indian chronology is currently in a state of uproar. In any book on Hindu history you look at—including this one—dates for events occurring before about 1000 C.E. should be approached with plenty of healthy skepticism.

To give the man credit, later in life Müller had second thoughts about his guesstimate, admitting, "Whatever may be the date of the Vedic hymns, whether 1500 or 15,000 B.C.E., they have their own unique place and stand by themselves in the literature of the world." But the damage was done. Everyone believed that when he'd given out the date of 1200 B.C.E., he had known what he was talking about!

Müller's mistake had catastrophic consequences for the study of Indian history. Saints, who, according to the Hindus, had lived before 3000 B.C.E., were downshifted to 1000 B.C.E. The Buddha, who, according to Northern Buddhist schools, lived closer to 1000 B.C.E., got shuffled to somewhere around 400 B.C.E. No less an authority than the sixteenth Dalai Lama has appealed to Western scholars to get together, clear their minds, and straighten out this mess once and for all!

"There is no more absorbing story than that of the discovery and interpretation of India by Western consciousness," noted the renowned Rumanian professor of religion, Mircea Eliade. You can say that again, Mircea!

Chronological Conundrums

But let's get back to our intrepid archeologists. They'd discovered a high civilization that flourished in northwestern India between 2900 and 1900 B.C.E. Since the Veda wasn't composed till maybe 1000 B.C.E. (according to Max Müller), these city dwellers couldn't have been Hindu. They supposedly lived nearly 2,000 years before the Veda, the sourcebook of Hinduism, even existed! Who were these amazingly advanced city people, and where did they go?

Enter the Aryan Invasion Theory. It was decided that the original inhabitants of India were the Dravidians, the people who fill up much of

South India today. They speak a totally different language than most north Indians, and some of them have skin that's a little darker in color. Till 1000 B.C.E., they must have inhabited the whole of India, Müller's twentieth-century disciples decreed, and built the fabulous ancient cities in the north. Then, the Western experts concluded, somewhere between 1500 and 1000 B.C.E., the primitive barbarians who composed the Veda invaded northern India, driving the helpless Dravidians into the southern part of the subcontinent where they flourish today. There were two difficulties with this popular theory:

1. Today's northern Hindus have absolutely no memory of having ever driven the Dravidians out of north India. None of their ancient histories mentions any such thing.
2. Today's Dravidians have absolutely no memory of ever having lived in North India. In fact, their ancient traditions suggest that their forebears came from the south, not from the north.

There are no Indus-Sarasvati-like artifacts or architecture in South India, while the archeological record in North India shows unbroken development. And early Hindu texts speak of North Indians emigrating *out* of India toward the west, not east *into* India as Western historians imagined.

The Aryan Non-Invaders

Minor problems like these did not discourage European and American scholars of the time. Thousands of pages of the Hindus' own historical records were simply dismissed as fiction.

These white scholars were certain a virile race of white warriors, much like themselves, had invaded India. The Veda mentioned a people called the *Aryans,* "the noble ones." They spoke a language related to German, Russian, Italian, and English. They worshipped deities who sounded quite a bit like some of the gods in the old European pagan tradition. Obviously then, they were proto-Europeans! And one of the symbols they frequently used in their religious art was a twisted cross called a swastika. These must have been the invaders who destroyed the ancient cities!

This theory of ancient white-skinned proto-Europeans sweeping across the eastern world establishing a vibrant new culture appealed to many

Europeans in the 1930s—Adolph Hitler, for example. Hitler borrowed the term "Aryan" from the Veda and adopted the swastika, too, for his own campaign of world domination.

def•i•ni•tion

Arya is the Sanskrit word for noble or virtuous. An Aryan was a refined and civilized person who accepted the rites and ethical standards of the Veda.

The Hindu View

The swastika was originally a Hindu symbol representing happiness and good luck. You'll still find swastikas everywhere you travel in India. Hitler, however, flipped the swastika over on its side and adopted it as the symbol of the Nazis, which has given it a very different meaning in the West.

Back to the Beginning

Let's go back to the top and start over again. This time we'll tell the story as it appears in the Aryans' and Dravidians' own records—the Hindu version of Hindu history.

The descendants of the Vedic Aryans, that is, the people who live mostly in northern India today and speak languages related to Sanskrit, believe they have been right where they are today since time immemorial. The Veda, their ancient Bible, describes the landscape of northern India and Pakistan. It never mentions countryside like the area in the Caucasus near the Caspian Sea that Western scholars thought was the Aryans' original home.

The Veda portrays a temple-free religion where priests officiate at outdoor fire sacrifices. Yet it mentions the religious traditions of neighbors who worshipped images of deities inside temples, too. The indoor worshippers and the outdoor worshippers sometimes squabbled, but they were all indigenous people, natives of India.

The Veda talks about various groups who left India, but it never mentions invaders arriving from the outside. Instead it describes a rural culture where the wealthiest man was the one with the most cows! That's much the same as villages in India up until modern times. It talks about boats and seafaring, too, which would be pretty weird if the Western scholars were correct and these people were nomads from central Asia!

Meanwhile, the Dravidians of South India, who mostly speak languages related to Tamil rather than Sanskrit, have always been extremely proud of their own native traditions. They had gods like Vel, their warrior deity and loving protector. Their legends also place their distant ancestors where they still are today: smack dab in South India.

The Mountains Bowed Before Him

Enter Agastya. Agastya lived long ago—so long ago, in fact, that by the time the Veda was composed, he was already a legendary figure. Agastya decided it was time for his fellow Aryans in the north and those mysterious Dravidians in the south to get together. So he crossed the Vindhya mountain range in central India to meet the Tamil-speaking neighbors on the other side.

There's a famous story about this. The Vindhyas were extremely jealous of the Himalayas because the Himalayan mountains were much higher and kept getting even taller century by century. (Centuries seem like an eyeblink to a mountain.) So the Vindhyas started working out, increasing their own

size, too. This disturbed the balance of the Earth, and Agastya decided somebody had to do something about it.

So when he arrived at the Vindhyas on his journey south, Agastya said to them, "You're getting so tall these days, it will take weeks for a short guy like me to climb over you. Would you mind bowing down so I can cross you faster?"

Now, the Vindhyas were very spiritually advanced mountains. They knew how to treat a sage with respect! So they bowed low, and Agastya quickly scrambled over. If you visit central India today, you'll see the Vindhyas are not that imposing—they're more like hills, actually. That's because Agastya never went back north. The Vindhyas are still lying low so Agastya can cross easily when he returns home.

Agastya helped establish the Vedic religion in South India, teaching people there the outdoor fire sacrifice and the beautiful hymns of the Aryan people. Over thousands of years, the southerners were profoundly influenced by Aryan religion, while the Aryans were deeply affected by Dravidian religious concepts and practices as well. These two great peoples—along with a number of other minorities, like the Austro-Asiatic groups who also inhabit India—gradually mixed their philosophies and myths like different delicious spices combining to form a tasty curry. This eventually created the rich and complex religion we call Hinduism today.

Reclaiming the Hindu Heritage

From the Hindu perspective, by the time sophisticated cities like Mohenjo Daro and Harrapa came up in the middle of the third millennium B.C.E., the religion of the Veda was already incredibly ancient in India. In fact, the Veda refers to hundreds of towns existing even way back then.

This makes sense when you think about it. It's hard to believe well-designed towns like those the archeologists dug up in the northwest just shot up out of nowhere. You would think the Indians had had plenty of experience with urban planning before they created classy towns like Mohenjo Daro. In fact, the ancient Vedic word for "man" is *purusha,* which may originally have meant "town dweller."

def•i•ni•tion

Purusha means a man. It also can mean an individual soul or even God, the greatest soul of all.

Remember how I said in Chapter 1 that we're now in the Kali Yuga, the era where people are the least intelligent and least spiritually inclined of all? The Kali Yuga began in 3102 B.C.E., with things getting worse by the day since then. It's not hard for Hindus to believe that the more intelligent people of the past built incredible cities or even that they had advanced technologies like those described in the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana.*

The Hindu View

An ancient Indian epic called the *Mahabharata* describes weapons of mass destruction unlike anything seen on Earth again till the twentieth century. So many people were killed in a massively destructive war in North India, says the text, that no one was left alive who knew how to build more of the weapons! The *Ramayana* even claims that in ancient times engineers knew how to build flying machines called *vimanas.*

Western scholars had trouble wrapping their minds around the Hindu version of history because folks in the West believe in linear time. History started from zero around 5,000 years ago in Mesopotamia. It's been

progressing from there, continually improving until we reach the most intelligent, most enlightened creatures who ever lived on Earth: us.
Hindus believe time is cyclical. Yeah, there are some smart, technologically advanced people around today. But it's happened before. History repeats itself. Civilizations arise, work their way toward greatness, and eventually (and inevitably!) are destroyed. History hits the "restart" button, and the process begins again. But Western archeologists wanted to believe civilization began in the Middle East because that's where the Bible hints the Garden of Eden had been. That advanced cultures had existed elsewhere before Eden was first landscaped was not what they wanted to hear.

A River Runs Through It

The Veda often mentions a mighty river called the Sarasvati, where Aryan communities flourished and Vedic priests sang the hymns of glorious gods, like Indra, slayer of the terrifying dragon Vritra, and Agni, lord of fire who transports prayers to heaven on billows of smoke. Western scholars speculated that the Sarasvati might have been one of the rivers to the east of the Aral Sea in Soviet Central Asia. Perhaps, some even said, it had never existed at all! Hindus insist the river was real but disappeared over the course of time, just like the ancient cities.
In the early 1980s, proponents of the Aryan Invasion Theory got a terrible shock. Satellite photos of the Punjab, in far northwestern India and into Pakistan, revealed the dry bed of an enormous river, so huge it may have been 5 miles across at one site. While that river was in business, it was one of the largest and most spectacular in the entire world.
So there it was, the Sarasvati River the Veda had been talking about—just exactly where the Veda had always said it was. Geologists quickly established the river had dried up around 1900 B.C.E. Yet according to our friend Max Müller, the Veda hadn't been composed till, at the very least, 700 years after the river disappeared. What was this? Poets pretending they still lived alongside a river that vanished centuries before? How likely is that?

Sages Say

May Sarasvati, mother of abundance, guide and protect us, inspiring us to noble thoughts! Her unlimited waters rush past us in a constant flood, racing onward with a deafening roar!
—Rig Veda

This was the first nail in the coffin of the Western version of Hindu history. More nails quickly sealed the lid shut. After 60 years of searching, archeologists had not been able to find a shard of evidence that northern India's ancient urban culture had been destroyed by violent Aryan invaders. Instead it appeared the culture petered out as geographic and climatic conditions gradually changed.

Furthermore, the bulk of the physical evidence pointed to a continuity of culture, not the abrupt break you'd expect if nomadic warriors had replaced an older city-based culture. In fact, researchers unearthed numerous images of the god Shiva and various household goddesses, all still immensely popular in India today. It appears Shiva and Indra were both worshiped in ancient times much as they are today.

Meanwhile, evidence for a substantial Dravidian presence in the north never materialized. And most impressive of all, recent DNA evidence shows barely any difference between the Indians of the north or south. The proof is stacking up. Max Müller and his colleagues were seriously mistaken. The religion of the Vedas is thousands of years older than Western scholars originally thought, and no bloody invasion by merciless Aryan hordes ever occurred.

It turned out the Hindus had the history of their religion right all along!

Quick Quiz

1. The North Indian Aryans were …
    a. Blond-haired, blue-eyed, white-skinned super-racists.
    b. Devotees of Vedic gods like Indra and Agni.
    c. A cricket team from New Delhi.
2. The Dravidians …
    a. Were the original authors of the holy Veda.
    b. Claimed they were run out of North India by marauding blond-haired, blue-eyed Aryans.
    c. Were a South Indian culture speaking Tamil or languages related to it.
3. Max Müller was …
    a. The greatest German composer who ever lived.
    b. Owner of the most successful brewery in Munich.
    c. An Oxford professor of immense stature.
4. The Sarasvati River …
    a. Bowed before the Aryan sage Agastya.
    b. Dried up around 1900 B.C.E.
    c. Provides a scenic backdrop for many Bollywood blockbusters.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (c). 3 (c). 4 (b).

A Crisis of Self-Identity

In the late twentieth century, news about new findings vindicating old truths sent shockwaves through the Indian intellectual community. Since the British took over India in the late eighteenth century, many of India's elite had been educated in European-style universities where they had been taught to sneer at their own ancient traditions.

The majority of Hindus clung to the old beliefs. But lots of prominent Indians had swallowed the Western retelling of their past, hook, line, and

sinker. Important Hindus like Jawaharlal Nehru, independent India's first Prime Minister, had undergone painful crises of self-identity, rejecting much of their Hindu heritage and identifying instead with their British conquerors. After all, the Europeans were men of science. India, they had been told, was a backwater of superstition that substituted myth for reality. Now it turned out it was the European view of Hindu history that was the myth! Disillusioned Hindus quickly began to form influential new academic organizations designed to sort out the truth about their Vedic legacy. Their exciting work is reshaping the way educated Hindus think about themselves and their ancient sciences and religion.

Our Hindu Connections

If you're wondering why I've gone on for an entire chapter about the ancient history of the Hindus, there are two important reasons.

Reason #1. Most of the books you'll find written on Hinduism contain badly outdated material. Be advised that early Hindu history is being seriously reevaluated by Western academics at this very moment. A few still cling to the old theories, and some are struggling to adapt them so that they'll somehow stretch to fit the newly uncovered facts. But most researchers versed in the latest archeological findings acknowledge the crying need for an overhaul of modern Western ideas about ancient Hinduism.

Reason #2. The new archeological information, it turns out, has huge implications, not just for Hindus but also for the whole history of Western civilization.

"East is East and West is West/The twain shall never meet," wrote Rudyard Kipling, who spent a good chunk of his life in India. He was wrong, though. You've probably noticed the majority of Indian people are Caucasian, like the majority of people with ethnic European backgrounds. They have somewhat darker skin, but their skull shape and facial features are purely Caucasian. This is an important tip-off: many Indians are actually quite closely racially related to most Europeans.

That's not the only surprising connection Europeans have with Hindus. Most of the languages of North India, like Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, and Bihari, are related to the majority of European languages, such as English, French, German, Italian, Greek, and Spanish. In fact, when British scholars first started studying Sanskrit in the eighteenth century, they were dumbstruck at how closely it paralleled European languages. Let's compare a few Sanskrit words and their English equivalents to see why the scholars were bowled over. There's *matri* and mother, *bratri* and brother, *duhitri* and daughter. There's *dvi* and two (think of duo and duet), *tri* and three. And there's *deva* and divine, *yoga* and yoke, *mrityu* and mortality. Clearly, the North Indians are related to most people of European descent, not only racially but also linguistically.

The Hindu View

Sir William Jones's discovery in 1786 of the link between Sanskrit and many European languages led to the founding of the science of comparative linguistics in the West. Linguistics, a fairly new science in the Western world, has been a major preoccupation of Indian pandits like Panini and Patanjali since at least the first millennium B.C.E.

Next consider this. Somewhere in the hoary past, the ancient Vedic sky god Dyaus Pitar (literally "Sky Father") seems to have hooked up with the Latins. How else can you explain why the ancient Romans called their sky god Jupiter (and pronounced his name "Dyu-piter")?

Sages Say

Imagine this universe as a tree. Its root reaches far above, its branches spread out below. The branches are these many worlds. The root is the Supreme Being from whom all these worlds receive life, who is their innermost being, who is the everlasting transcendent reality.
—Yajur Veda

The most important god in the Veda is Indra, the thunder god who wields a lightning bolt. He's an invincible warrior who sometimes has a bit too much to drink. His main job is to kill the serpent Vritra. Since I'm Norwegian, I immediately flash on Thor, the Norse thunder god who wields a lightning bolt, drinks too much, and has to be congratulated for his victory over a gigantic snake.

I'm also struck when I hear one of the oldest names for the gods used in the Veda is *asura* since I know the old Norse name for the ancient Scandinavian gods is *aesir*. The myths I learned as a child in Norway speak of a great world tree along whose roots and branches the entire cosmos is arranged. So do Vedic myths.

If you're beginning to suspect the North Indians are somehow culturally related to the Europeans, you hit the nail right on the head. Those of us of European descent for the most part threw out our old gods when Christianity came to town. The Hindus never got on board with Christianity; they're still worshipping *our* old gods.

The North Indian and European civilizations are definitely related. Their common culture is called Indo-European by academics today. Apparently,

most Hindus of North India and most Europeans came from the same root stock. It's not "East is East and West is West." It's "East is West and West is East!"
The clearer we can get on early Hindu history, the nearer we'll be to solving the puzzle of our own past.

The Hindu Homeland

One of the most baffling mysteries of prehistory is where to find the original homeland of the Indo-European people. Where did our common ancestors come from?
Over the last two centuries an incredible number of locations for the Indo-European Garden of Eden have been offered, including the North Pole!

The Hindu View

B. G. Tilak, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, suggested the Indo-Europeans may have originated in the far north. He pointed out that ancient Hindu texts mention a divine land where one day and night is equal to an entire year for the rest of humanity. The only places on Earth where 24 hours literally equal a year are the North and South Poles. Antarctica is uninhabitable, so he concluded the ancient Indo-Europeans might have immigrated southward from latitudes near the North Pole.

Just about everywhere from Germany to Kazakhstan has been considered a viable homeland site, with Turkey being a current favorite. The issue remains highly controversial and evidence for new contenders continues to surface every few years.

Recently a number of authorities have raised an intriguing new possibility. The Veda is the oldest surviving record of the Indo-European people or at least the only one of any length. So wouldn't it be interesting to see if the Veda has anything to say on the topic, they wondered.

It turns out the Veda has plenty to offer in this connection. According to some Hindu researchers, tribes the Veda calls the Prithus, Parsus, Druhyus, and Alinas may be the forbears of the Parthians, Persians, Druids, and Hellenes (the Greeks). The Veda says all these groups lived in India at one time. It also explains that many communities migrated out of India. Might northern India be the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans peoples?

It will take years to sort out the complex historical issues involved here. For now, no one knows for sure. Still, it's intriguing to think there's a slim possibility that the fascination some Westerners feel for India may be an unconscious attraction toward their own original spiritual homeland.

The Least You Need to Know

- A highly advanced culture existed in northwestern India in antiquity.
- The Aryans of North India were the authors of the Veda.
- Aryan religion spread into South India and was, in turn, influenced by Dravidian (South Indian) spirituality.
- Errors by prominent European scholars have led to massive confusion about early Hindu history.
- The North Indians and many European cultures are culturally, racially, and linguistically related.

Chapter 3

The World Discovers Hinduism

In This Chapter

- Alexander the Great admits defeat
- Apollonius of Tyana and the Hindu "god-men"
- A Hindu Goddess protects Rome
- Chinese pilgrims in India
- A Muslim scholar checks out Hinduism

"India has created a mystique about itself. It is the sacred land for which everyone seeks." So wrote the German philosopher George W. Hegel. Since time immemorial, India has been synonymous with spiritual knowledge. Merchants from as far west as Egypt traveled to India routinely to benefit from its fabulous wealth, but pilgrims also made the difficult journey to sit at the feet of Hinduism's fabled spiritual masters.
Until recently, most modern Western scholars were reluctant to believe there'd been much contact between India and the ancient West. Recent archeological finds, like the site of a Roman colony at Arikamedu in South India, prove them wrong. We now know that Rome imported so many luxury items from India, it developed a massive trade deficit and nearly went bankrupt!

Heading East

Educated people in the ancient West had at least some basic knowledge of the Hindu tradition. After all, following Alexander the Great's foray into the part of Greater India we call Pakistan today, Greek soldiers who set down

roots in India were sending news about Hindu culture to relatives back home in Europe.

But reports about India went back further than Alexander. If you look at a world map, you'll see the Middle East is just a hop, skip, and a jump from India. Take a boat down the Persian Gulf, then sail a few hundred miles along the coast of Persia, and you're in the Indus Valley. If you could get to Babylon, India was actually quite accessible.

Sages Say

For the man who has conquered it, the mind becomes his greatest friend. For the man who has failed to conquer it, the mind becomes his own worst enemy.
—Bhagavad Gita

We read in ancient Greek biographies that a number of important Greek intellectuals, such as Pythagoras, studied in Persia. Even if Pythagoras never visited India himself (as some students of history have speculated), he would have learned some of the doctrines of India's yogis and brahmins in Babylon, where he lived for 12 years.

The Hindu View

Ancient Hellenistic biographers mention a number of famous Greek philosophers who made the trip to India. One was Pyrrho, who returned to Greece and founded a philosophical tradition emphasizing inner tranquility and self-control, the chief virtues practiced by Hindu sages.

Conquering Alexander the Great

Some 2,300 years ago, a fellow by the name of Alexander conquered the world, or at least just about all the world he and his fellow Greeks had ever heard of. Egypt fell to the overachiever from Macedonia, then Persia. Alexander fans will tell you he conquered India, too, but that's a slight exaggeration. In 327 B.C.E., he made a few incursions into what we'd call Pakistan, but the Greco-Indian kingdom he left behind, called Bactria, was really more in Afghanistan than India.

As far as Alexander knew, India was the final frontier, the end of the world. To his shock, India turned out to be a heck of a lot bigger than he'd figured. This excited Alexander; there were still more worlds to conquer!

Sages Say

The wisdom of the ancients has been taught by the philosophers of Greece, but also by a people in Syria called the Jews, and by the brahmins in India.
—Megasthenes, Greek ambassador to India, writing around 300 B.C.E.

The Hindu View

In India, Alexander the Great excitedly announced he'd found the source of the Nile River. This says something about the ancient Greeks' grasp of world geography! In fact they'd arrived at the Indus, which Indians called "the blue river." Blue is pronounced *nila* in the native tongue, which is probably what confused Alexander.

Indian Surprises

Alexander made a number of other truly astonishing discoveries. The first was that there were Greek-speaking communities in India. (Imagine if Columbus had landed in America and found Native Americans speaking Spanish!)

It turns out these were descendants of Greek citizens from Turkey who had been repatriated to India by the Persians. Some of their ancestors had sold out to Persian rulers in the distant past. When Alexander found out what their forefathers had done, he had them all slaughtered. Maybe he wasn't that "great" after all!

Another surprise was that people this far from home were worshipping the familiar Greek gods. The Vedic deity Bhaga was practically the same as Bacchus back home, for example. Today we know the reason these deities seemed so familiar to Alexander was that, like his own gods and goddesses, they were part of the ancient Indo-European pantheon.

Alexander Meets His Match

It was in India that Alexander met the only men on Earth he couldn't conquer: the yogis. Greek historians traveling with the feisty commander brought back a record of the encounter.

In the woods, lying on a bed of leaves, Greek soldiers stumbled across a brahmin sage named Dandamis. Alexander was intensely curious about the fabled wisdom of the holy men of India. He sent Dandamis a message: "Alexander, Son of God and Lord of the Earth, invites you into his presence. If you come, you will be richly rewarded. If you don't, you will be killed."

Dandamis was not impressed. His answer to Alexander is worth quoting in full:

> There is only one king, the one who created light and life. He's the only king I obey, and he abhors war.
>
> How can this Alexander be the greatest king on Earth since he himself is subject to the king of death? And what can he offer me

when my mother the Earth already supplies everything I need? I have no possessions I need to protect, so I sleep peacefully at night. Alexander may kill my body, but he can't touch my soul.
Tell your king that at the time of death, each of us will be asked to account for our actions in this life. Ask him how he's going to explain the agony of those he has murdered and oppressed.
Your king can tempt those who crave gold. He can terrify those who fear death. But we brahmins care for neither. Go tell Alexander he has nothing I want, and I will not come to him.

When Alexander heard Dandamis's answer, he admitted that he, the conqueror of the world, had been conquered by a naked old man.

The Hindu View

In his classic work, the Enneads, the Egyptian-born philosopher Plotinus (205-270 C.E.) explains how to shift your awareness from mental objects into a deeper state of meditative absorption focused on a reality transcending words and images. He explains the process exactly the same way Hindu yogis do! In his 30s Plotinus had set out for India to study with the Hindu sages but was forced to turn back in Persia.

A Visit from Apollonius

Apollonius of Tyana was a physician living in Turkey in the first century C.E. He'd heard stories about the sages of India and eagerly wanted to meet them.

Apollonius was a follower of Pythagoras, a remarkable Greek sage who had lived six centuries earlier. Apollonius knew that many Pythagorean teachings, such as the beliefs in reincarnation, vegetarianism, and keeping silent for years at a time as a form of spiritual discipline, were part and parcel of the Hindu tradition, too.

We know what happened next from a biography of Apollonius written by Philostratus, a leading literary light of his era, who carefully researched his subject. The book was commissioned by Julia Domna, the empress of Rome.

With a small group of devotees, Apollonius set out for India, pausing in Babylon to study with the Magi, Zoroastrian priests whose scriptures were historically related to the Veda. Then they headed on through Afghanistan, crossing the Khyber Pass into India.

Apollonius in the Ashram

With the help of a local maharaja, Apollonius was ushered into the ashram of a yogi named Iarchas. Before Apollonius could open his mouth, Iarchas greeted him by name, told him his parents' names as well, and mentioned a few salient details from Apollonius's life, including some incidents that had occurred during his long journey to India.

Needless to say, Apollonius was dumbfounded. (Many of us who have had run-ins with the yogis' amazing powers have felt the same way!) "How can you know all these things?" he demanded.

"We begin," Iarchas explained, "by knowing ourselves."

In the ensuing months, Iarchas taught Apollonius to know himself. He put him through intensive yogic training and introduced him to the Vedic method of performing *pujas* and other Hindu occult techniques. Apollonius learned to work with *mantras* and how to empower *yantras.* For centuries after his death, the yantras empowered by

def•i•ni•tion

Puja is a religious ritual, usually involving making offerings to an image of a deity.
A mantra is a sacred sound, word, or phrase that leads the mind to a higher state of consciousness.
A yantra is a geometric diagram into which divine energy is infused.

Apollonius were famous throughout the Western world for their alleged miraculous properties.
As he left for home, Apollonius told his guru, "I came to you by land, and you poured over me an ocean of knowledge which enables mortal men to rise to heaven. When I return to the West, I will tell the entire world of your wisdom. I will honor you till the last breath of my life."

Egypt and India

Apollonius traveled throughout the Roman Empire, from Spain to Rome to Africa, relating his experiences in India. "I have seen men dwelling on the Earth but not of the Earth. I saw them well-defended without fortifications. I saw they owned nothing, yet possessed all things."
Apollonius eventually also decided to visit Egypt, the other ancient civilization famous for its spiritual science. There he was bitterly disappointed. Apollonius found the religious institutions of Egypt in decay and the Egyptian priests' knowledge of their inner tradition in sad decline. Apollonius made the long pilgrimage south along the Nile to see for himself the Ethiopian gymnosophists, the famous desert ascetics. He was stunned at how similar their spiritual beliefs and practices were to those of the ascetics he'd studied with in India. Inquiring into Egyptian history and legend, Apollonius concluded that the ancestors of these Ethiopians had emigrated from India in remote antiquity. Ancient authors frequently confused India and Ethiopia. This helps explain why.

Guidepost There are two kinds of wonder-working yogis in India: the genuine article and the clever fraud. Frauds use tricks not unlike those of stage magicians to delude you into thinking hey can read your mind and know your past and future. The real McCoy may offer words of advice but will never demand money or try to manipulate you.

Apollonius visited many Egyptian temples where he tcouldn't resist offering helpful suggestions to the staff on how to spiritually enliven their practices. "Who dares teach Egyptian priests their own religion?" one hierophant thundered.
"Anyone," Apollonius answered calmly, "who comes from India."

Guidepost

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A Tribute to India's Sages

Apollonius was on the road much of his life, traveling virtually the whole of the civilized Western world as well as to Egypt and Persia. Yet he insisted that he never found such great wisdom anywhere else as that he experienced in India. He went so far as to claim that many of the mystery schools of the West had originated in India in the distant past. He called the yogis "god-men" both because of their miraculous powers and because of their profound spirituality and extraordinary compassion.

Apollonius wrote a four-volume book about the teachings of the Hindu spiritual masters, which unfortunately has been lost. But we know that for the first several centuries of the Common Era, Apollonius of Tyana was one of the most celebrated and respected spiritual teachers of the Western world. During his lifetime, the Roman emperors Nerva and Titus counted themselves among his devotees.

Emperor Severus Alexander, who reigned from 222 to 235, considered Apollonius one of the greatest men in world history. And in 271, when Emperor Lucius Aurelian set out with an army to destroy the city of Tyana, Apollonius appeared to him in a vision and commanded him to show mercy. Shaken by this vision, Aurelian instantly stopped the attack.

A Hindu Goddess in Rome

Another surprising connection exists between the Hindu tradition and ancient Rome. When the Romans were fighting the Carthaginian Empire for control of the Mediterranean (and in the beginning, pretty much losing), they appealed for help from an oracle. It advised them to seek the aid of Magna Mater, a ferocious goddess who had been worshipped in Turkey since at least the eighth century B.C.E. So in 204 B.C.E., a Roman delegation was sent to Phrygia in Asia Minor to beg, borrow, or steal a sacred image of the goddess. After a considerable amount of wheeling and dealing, they finally brought the image back to Rome.

Now, Magna Mater knew the Romans didn't have much confidence in her abilities yet, so just before the boat carrying her image was about to enter

the city, she grounded it in the Tiber River. It was completely stuck—it absolutely wouldn't budge. It wasn't a good omen that the Goddess of Victory refused to enter Rome!

Sages Say

We bow to the Goddess Durga, Who illumines the mind immersed in meditation, Who bestows the results of our actions, and Who removes all our difficulties. We bow to the Supreme Goddess who clears the mind of thought so the brilliant light of pure spirit can shine through.
—Sri Devyatharvashirsham

A priestess of the goddess, whose name was Claudia, was summoned to the scene. Tying her belt around the ship's prow, Claudia respectfully requested Magna Mater to enter Rome. The boat instantly lurched forward.
Shortly afterward, the Romans finally got the better of Hannibal and gleefully sacked the city of Carthage. Until Rome's conversion to Christianity, Magna Mater remained the presiding deity of Rome, divine protectress of the cradle of Western civilization.

The Great Mother

But who was Magna Mater? Her religion at one time extended all the way from Turkey to India. Three hundred feet up the north face of Mount

Sipylus in Turkey travelers today can still find an ancient 30-foot-high image of the goddess carved into solid rock. But in India, portraits of this same goddess riding her lion into battle are present everywhere. You'll find posters of her hanging in people's living rooms. You'll even see her painted on truck boxes and lunch boxes.

Magna Mater, her Latin name, means "Great Mother," which is surprisingly reminiscent of her age-old titles in India: Sri Mata (Great Mother) and Maha Devi (Great Goddess). In ancient Turkey, she was also called Truqas, which some scholars believe is related to her Indian name, Durga.

In ancient Turkey, a small number of her more zealous male devotees would castrate themselves in her honor, a practice which shocked the Romans—who didn't shock easily. Amazingly this unique way of propitiating the Great Mother survived in some areas of India until quite recently (see Chapter 12).

Hindu Gods Abroad

The worship of Magna Mater in Turkey leads to an important point. For the most part, we think of Hinduism as being confined to India. However, the further we go back in time, the fuzzier the borders of Hindu culture become. That's because the North Indians, as I explained in Chapter 2, are related to many of the European peoples. When you understand this, it becomes less surprising that a goddess we unmistakably recognize as Hindu today was being worshipped in Turkey in the first millennium B.C.E.

In fact, a thousand years earlier, the Mitanni people of Turkey are known to have propitiated Indra, Mitra, Varuna, and the Ashvins—gods straight out of the Veda. Mitra, whose worship was already ancient in India in 3000 B.C.E., reincarnated as Mithras, one of the Persians' most important deities, and eventually found work as the patron deity of the Roman army!

Chinese Pilgrims Check It Out

Two other famous pilgrims to India whose travel accounts have survived to the present day were Chinese Buddhists. Faxian passed through India in the fourth century C.E., and Xuanzang made the 10,000-mile round trip journey three centuries later, following along the Silk Road trade route up through Kashmir and then down into north central India where Buddha had lived and taught.

Faxian marveled at the peace, prosperity, and high culture of the Hindus, though his primary focus was on the Buddhist sites he had come to see. Having grown up in China, war-torn through much of its history, Faxian was deeply impressed by a land whose leaders were more concerned with promoting commerce and religion than with slaughtering substantial portions of the population.

Faxian noted that it was possible to travel from one end of India to the other without fear of crime and even without a passport! The culture was safe, stable, and deeply spiritual. By the time Xuanzang showed up, however, the effects of the Kali Yuga were setting in more firmly. (Remember the Kali era from Chapter 1, in which human behavior degenerates to its worst possible point?) He was robbed twice and almost murdered on another occasion!

Xuanzang spent several extended periods studying at Nalanda Buddhist University in Bihar. Buddhism was in serious decline in India by the mid-600s, but Xuanzang was still able to study Sanskrit, grammar, and logic as well as weighty Buddhist philosophical tomes.

About 3,000 Buddhist monks and 150 faculty lived at the university, but non-Buddhist students were welcome, too. Hindu fields of study were included in the curriculum. One could learn the Vedas there or study Vedic mathematics and astronomy as well as the Hindu medical arts and Indian literature.

Guidepost

Don’t mix up Hinduism and Buddhism! You should be aware that just as Christianity broke away from Judaism to become a completely distinct faith, the Buddhists broke off from the Hindu tradition. Buddhists do not accept the Hindu Veda as divine revelation and claim not to believe in an individual soul—though they do believe in reincarnation.

Ironically, the concentration of Buddhist talent at large centers like Nalanda was a major contributing reason to the fall of Buddhism in India. Hindu students usually studied in small groups in the homes of their teachers, while Buddhist students congregated at large centers like Nalanda. Buddhist practices, too, were generally carried out at the monasteries. Hindus performed their spiritual practices in their homes or in the woods or mountains.

When the Muslims came to town around 1000 C.E., they simply burned down the Buddhist university-monasteries and killed all the monks. Poof!—Buddhism was gone. The only way the Muslims could have wiped out Hinduism was to burn down every Hindu home in the country. Not even the most fanatical Muslim invader was capable of that!

Al Biruni Takes Notes

Al Biruni was born in Khwarizm (today's Khiva in Uzbekistan) in 973 C.E. He was a brilliant scholar who published books on optics, mineralogy, chemistry, mechanics, astronomy, mathematics, and the calendars and dating systems of many different cultures.

The Muslim despot Abu-Said Mahmud raided Khwarizm in 1017. Al Biruni was taken to India as one of Mahmud's reluctant human prizes and lived there for 13 years.

Al Biruni despised Mahmud, who he complained wrecked northern India economically as well as killing Hindus "like specks of dust scattered every which way." The scholar found a good use for his time, however, in purchasing all the Sanskrit manuscripts he could find and consulting endlessly with Indian pandits about Hindu science and spirituality. The result was *India,* Al Biruni's monumental study of Hindu culture and spirituality.

Notes on the Hindu God

Al Biruni was a good Muslim and was by no means always sympathetic to Hindu ideas or culture. He thought the Hindus' claim that the universe was billions of years old was ludicrous and mocked their tendency to think in terms of incredibly long cosmic cycles. But he made a sincere effort to report Hindu beliefs objectively, so that Muslims interested in India could clearly understand the Hindu perspective.

In *India,* Al Biruni described the Hindu view of God:

> There is one God only who is without beginning or end. He cannot be reached by thought but is sublime beyond our ability to conceive. He is infinitely vast, but not in the spatial sense since he exists outside of time and space.
>
> How can we worship this one whom we cannot perceive? He lies beyond the grasp of the physical senses, but the soul feels his presence and the mind understands his divine qualities.
>
> Meditating on him one-pointedly is true worship. When meditation is practiced for a long time without interruption, one attains the highest state of blissfulness.

The Hindu View

No image is more closely identified with India than the Taj Mahal. Ironically this is not a Hindu temple but a Persian mausoleum built by the Muslim emperor Shah Jahan for his late wife in 1648. Shah Jahan's fanatical son Aurangzeb was notorious for persecuting Hindus and destroyed tens of thousands of sacred Hindu sites. Not surprisingly, the beauty of the Taj Mahal is bittersweet for many Hindus.

Notes on Reincarnation

Al Biruni's description of the Hindu view of reincarnation is particularly interesting:

> Until it reaches the highest state of consciousness, the soul is not able to experience all things at once, as if there were no space or time. Therefore it has to experience the universe piecemeal, one thing at a time, until it has been through all possible experiences. An awfully lot of experiences are possible, so this process takes a very long time.
>
> So immortal souls range through the universe in mortal bodies, which have good or bad experiences depending on whether their behavior has been virtuous or evil. The purpose of experiencing heavenly states in the time between physical incarnations is so that the soul learns what is truly good and wants to become as good as

possible. The purpose of experiencing hellish states in the time between lives is so that the soul learns what evil is and determines to avoid it all together.

The process of reincarnation begins at very low levels of consciousness, like minerals, plants, or animals, and slowly winds its way upward toward very elevated states of awareness.

The process ends when the soul no longer desires to explore new worlds but gains insight into the sublime nature of its own being and rests content in itself. At that point the soul turns away from matter, and its links with physical existence are broken. It returns to its true home, carrying with it the knowledge it has gained during its many journeys.

Having closely studied all their systems, Al Biruni noted that the Greek, Indian, and Sufi mystics taught the very same thing.

Quick Quiz

1. Alexander the Great …
    a. Was deeply impressed by the sages of India.
    b. Conquered the entire Indian subcontinent.
    c. Shaved his head, converted to Hinduism, and spent the last years of his life chanting "Hare Krishna."
2. Apollonius of Tyana …
    a. Was the god of the Sun in ancient Greece.
    b. Moved to New Delhi where he made a living franchising Tandori fast food outlets.
    c. Concluded that the Indian and Egyptian mystical traditions were related.
3. Faxian and Xuanzang …
    a. Were legendary Taoist martial arts masters.
    b. Were two Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India.

c. Were star-crossed lovers torn apart by their feuding families.

4. Al Biruni …
    a. Was a brilliant Muslim scholar living in India around the year 1000.
    b. Is a type of Arabic board game related to chess.
    c. Are the first two letters in the Arabic alphabet.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (c). 3 (b). 4 (a).

Transcendentalists Get the Gita

European powers gained control of some parts of India in the late eighteenth century. Like zealous Muslims before them, Christian missionaries were determined to convert all India to their own faith. In their minds, replacing Hinduism with the Judeo-Christian tradition was the greatest possible blessing they could bestow on India's heathens. But some open-minded and sensitive Western artists and intellectuals had a very different response.

Emerson Encounters the Bhagavad Gita

Ralph Waldo Emerson, a nineteenth-century Unitarian minister who lectured on theology at Harvard University, was becoming increasingly disillusioned with aspects of Christian teaching that just didn't make sense to his active and inquiring intellect. When he first began reading newly translated Indian scriptures like the Bhagavad Gita, the Hindu tradition hit him with the force of revelation. He wrote:

> I owed a magnificent day to the Bhagavad Gita. It was the first of books, it was as if an empire spake to us, nothing small or unworthy, but large, serene, consistent, the voice of an old intelligence which in another age and climate had pondered and thus disposed of the same questions that exercise us.

In part due to the mind-expanding influence of mystical Hinduism, Emerson went on to found the Transcendentalist movement in America. The Transcendentalists turned from unquestioning faith in the religious doctrines of their own culture to a more open and honest inquiry into direct spiritual experience.

Sages Say

Standing on the bare ground, my head bathed by the blithe air, and uplifted into infinite space, all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eye-ball; I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or particle of God.
—Ralph Waldo Emerson

Thoreau Joins the Club

Emerson excitedly introduced other Americans to Hinduism, perhaps most notably his young protégé, Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau was not busy earning a living or raising a family like Emerson. Instead he was living in the woods outside Concord, composing some of the greatest classics of American literature, such as *Walden,* and reading the Bhagavad Gita. "What extracts from the Veda I have read fall on me like the light of a higher and purer luminary, which describes a loftier course through a purer stratum," Thoreau wrote enthusiastically. "In the morning I bathe my

intellect in the stupendous and cosmogonal philosophy of the Bhagavad Gita, since whose composition, years of the gods have elapsed and in comparison with which our modern world and its literature seem puny and trivial."

If Hinduism influenced Thoreau, he certainly returned the favor! Thoreau's great essay, "On Civil Disobedience," had a profound effect on a Hindu born a century later. Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged Thoreau as a major inspiration for the movement he founded calling for nonviolent resistance to British rule in India.

The Least You Need to Know

- Alexander the Great's encounter with a yogi became legendary.
- Apollonius of Tyana brought back from India fabulous stories of the Hindu sages' wisdom and supernatural abilities.
- Chinese pilgrims visited India to observe Buddhism and Hinduism first-hand.
- The Muslim scholar Al Biruni wrote extensively on Hindu beliefs.
- Hindu wisdom greatly inspired the American Transcendentalists.

Chapter 4

Matrix of the Hindu Tradition

In This Chapter

- The Bible of Hinduism
- Enlightened sages of India
- Offering prayers into a fire
- Gods as interlinking divine forces
- The quintessence of Hindu thought

Hinduism is a living lineage of enlightenment. It is very much an oral tradition, passed on from guru to disciple. The Veda, the Bible of Hinduism, was transmitted by word of mouth for thousands of years before finally being committed to writing.

But once the Hindus did start writing down their holy scriptures, well, they never stopped! All the sacred texts of the other great world religions put together would form scarcely a chapter or two in the immensity of Hindu sacred literature.

Veda: The Hindu Bible

The Veda, the massive holy book of Hinduism, has existed from before the beginning of time. Brahma, the creator god, carefully preserved it during the dissolution of the last universe and then gave it to humanity once again when the world was recreated.

Hindus do not believe the Veda was written by a group of authors. Rather, the great sages of antiquity "heard" the verses of the Veda in deep states of meditation (today we might say they "channeled" them) and passed them

along to other brahmins, the priests who have been custodians of the Veda from time immemorial.
Other authorities, such as the great yogi Patanjali, had a slightly different perspective. Patanjali said it was not the words of the Veda that were eternal but the wisdom contained in them.
Either way, because the Veda was so holy, it was imperative that it be preserved exactly as it was first spoken by the original sages. Therefore, to this day brahmin priests memorize the Veda backward and forward, then backward and forward again skipping every other word, and even backward and forward in other combinations as well.
They also used other memorization techniques, such as chanting the Veda to particular rhythms and bopping their hands up and down according to prescribed rules as the inflection of the words changed. Brahmins from different villages would meet regularly to check each others' mastery of the text. These methods helped ensure that when we hear the verses being chanted today, they are still pronounced exactly as they were thousands of years ago, with not one word or even one syllable lost due to the passage of time. The Veda is a time machine in which the insights of India's great ancient masters have been transmitted to us today.

What's in the Veda?

The Veda is actually four different books, which is why you'll often hear it called "the Vedas," plural. They are in a language called Vedic, an archaic form of Sanskrit.
Though the Vedic hymns had been known for a long, long time, the great sage Vyasa finally compiled them into one large oral text and further organized them into the four books. Traditionally it's said he worked over 5,100 years ago, concerned that otherwise this wisdom might be lost during the upcoming Kali Yuga, the age of spiritual darkness.
The most important of these four texts is the Rig Veda, a collection of 1,017 hymns to a wide assortment of gods, arranged in 10 sections. The Sama Veda is mostly a selection of hymns taken straight from the Rig Veda. The big difference is that the Sama Veda is specially notated with melodies so that rather than just chanting these hymns, one can sing them. Want to hear

what the favorite tunes of 5,000 years ago sounded like? Listen to the Sama Veda!

The Hindu View

Vyasa, who compiled the four Vedas into their current format, is also credited with writing the *Mahabharata,* a book four times the length of the Christian Bible, and the 18 Puranas, many of which are over 400 pages long. Cooler heads believe that although there probably was an original Vyasa involved in collecting the hymns in the Vedas, his name was later applied to other men and women who authored or edited voluminous sacred texts.

The Yajur Veda hymns, on the other hand, are used specifically for certain types of sacrifices, not just for singing or chanting. The Atharva Veda, in some ways the most practical of all the Vedas, contains hymns for a variety of useful purposes including attracting lovers, subduing enemies, regulating the weather, and curing diseases, such as urinary tract infections!

Vedic Appendixes

Three very special compendiums of texts are considered part of the Veda but consist of discussions and explanatory material rather than hymns.
The Brahmanas are a huge mass of writings that explain how to perform the Vedic rituals. They throw in some great myths, which help make these

detailed instructions livelier to read. The Aranyakas and Upanishads are philosophy texts that discuss the inner significance of the Vedic rites. (The Upanishads are so important I've dealt with them in a separate section, "Upanishads: Liberating Literature," later in this chapter.)

Who Were the Vedic Sages?

The sages who composed the Vedas, capturing eternal truths and shaping them into beautiful hymns, are called *rishis.* A rishi is someone who sees the divine reality for himself or herself. These sages weren't content to rely on the testimony of others but gained direct personal experience of divinity. Hinduism acknowledges that seers come in a wide spectrum of types. There are advanced seers who see everything and beginning-level seers, great souls for sure, but who have only just begun to glimpse the full majesty of the Supreme Reality. V. Madhusudan Reddy, a disciple of the twentieth-century sage Sri Aurobindo, outlines them in this way, based on ancient traditions:

def•i•ni•tion

Rishi means seer. The Vedic seers were saints and sages of the highest caliber.

- **Deva rishis** means god-like seers. The level of consciousness of these sages is beyond human imagination. Their awareness extends to all worlds and throughout the past and the future. These great beings live in a much higher plane of reality than ours, but when they will to do so, they can enter our world. To us they're practically like gods. The sage Narada is an example. During various crises in India's history he would materialize to advise just the right people at just the right place in order to tweak the course of events back toward the underlying divine plan.

- **Brahma rishis** means god-realized seers. These are fully enlightened men and women who exist here on Earth in physical bodies. They could move into higher worlds if they wanted to, but remain here to serve humanity. Babaji, the eighteenth-century Kriya Yoga master who initiated the famous Bengali saint Lahiri Mahasaya, belonged in this category. So did Bengali Baba, the twentieth-century adept who was known for transferring his consciousness from one body to another and even raising the dead!
- **Raja rishis** are "royal seers"—those who have gained mastery in both the physical and the spiritual worlds. The legendary King Janaka, who successfully governed the prosperous and cultured kingdom of Videha while remaining in a continuous state of divine awareness, is a famous example.
- **Maha rishis** are "great seers" who may not be fully enlightened like the Brahma rishis but have a deep and authentic understanding of the divine and work tirelessly to help raise humanity to higher levels of consciousness. Mahatma Gandhi belonged to this group.
- **Parama rishis** are "advanced adepts" who are well along the road to enlightenment but have not yet completely purified their minds. The seer Daksha is a case in point. He was such a great saint that the Divine Mother agreed to be born as his daughter. But while he sincerely honored the god of his own tradition, he held the god of another tradition in contempt. This wound up completely undermining his spiritual life.
- **Shruta rishis** means "learned seers"—those souls who have grasped the truths at the core of their spiritual tradition and are now working hard to translate that knowledge into living experience.
- **Kanda rishis** are "striving seers"—the beginners on the path who don't have much technical knowledge about spirituality yet feel a complete commitment to spiritual life and a burning desire for spiritual truth. They make their best effort to live ethically, discipline themselves, and raise their level of awareness.

The men and women who "channeled" the Vedic hymns thousands of years ago were only able to do so because of their advanced stage of spiritual

development. Hindus universally hail them as Brahma rishis, seers of the highest order possible for mortal beings.

Who Reads the Veda?

Not everyone benefited from the Veda. Because the priests considered these hymns so holy, they were very careful about who was allowed access to them. They permitted only members of the three top classes of Indian society to hear the four Vedas and participate in Vedic sacrifices. Over the centuries, women's access to the Vedas, even if they were high class, became increasingly limited, which is pretty ironic since women composed some of the Vedic hymns!

Today, the four Vedas have been translated into many different languages, and just about anyone who wants to read them, can. However, reading them and understanding them are two different projects. Vedic knowledge remains an oral, initiatory tradition. Without a guru to lead you through the complex symbolism and hidden mystical meaning, many of the hymns don't make a lot of sense. Fortunately for me, my guru showed me how, using the keys given in the Brahmanas. I can actually see how brilliantly the rishis crafted the hymns to reveal their spiritual and astronomical science to students who were properly initiated, while concealing it from everyone else.

The Vedas are so important in the Hindu tradition, even after 5,000+ years, that the word "Vedic" is often used as a synonym for anything Hindu, as in "Vedic literature" or "Vedic science."

How Is the Veda Used?

If you required help from a specific god or goddess or wanted to express your gratitude to a particular deity, you could go to a Vedic priest who would perform a fire ritual for you, chanting the appropriate sacred hymns. Some of the earliest fire priests were called angirasas, the specialists who mediated between gods and humans, relaying messages transdimensionally.

(Over the millennia, the word *angirasa* evolved into our English word angel!)
In olden times, the fire rituals sometimes involved blood sacrifices. Animals like goats were commonly sacrificed; on rarer occasions other creatures, such as a horse, might be offered.

Guidepost

Today many of us are shocked and disgusted to hear people in ancient cultures sacrificed animals. We forget the animals were killed humanely, their spirits blessed with holy mantras, and their flesh eaten as a source of protein. Was this worse than what goes on in our modern-day slaughterhouses? These days, however, animal sacrifice has been largely abandoned in India, and many Hindus are vegetarian.

Most Hindus abandoned animal sacrifice centuries ago. Today, priests offer objects such as flowers, grains, clarified butter, fragrant-smelling wood, and herbs into the sacred fire. The Vedic fire rituals are no longer practiced as widely as they used to be, but at certain major life events, like marriage, brahmin priests are called in, the ritual fire is lit, and once again the ancient mantras are chanted exactly as they have been at Hindu weddings for thousands of years.
Incidentally, I've attended numerous Vedic rituals and seen their effects for myself. It's not unusual following one of these ceremonies for fantastically unlikely results to occur. The individual asking for financial help

immediately receives a lucrative job offer, right out of the blue; health dramatically improves; business suddenly starts to boom. We in the West are trained to call these events coincidences. However, I have to admit I've seen some of the best-timed coincidences in the world right after a traditional Vedic fire offering is performed!

For the Western scientific mind, consciousness is rooted in matter. For the priest performing the fire ceremony, though, matter is rooted in consciousness. Therefore, according to the Hindu laws of physics, if the priest sends out a message into the cosmic mind, "Kumar Sharma needs work!" it's not surprising to him when a job offer quickly materializes. It's par for the course.

Who Are the Vedic Gods?

Very few Hindus worship the gods mentioned in the Veda anymore because these deities go back to an era so incredibly long ago. Other more popular gods who've shown up over the years have gradually replaced them. Still, reading the hymns to these gods provides important insights into the spirituality of the ancient Indo-Europeans, the ancestors of the North Indians and many of us Western peoples, too.

These are some of the most important gods and goddesses of the Veda:

- Indra, the dragon slayer
- Agni, fire in all its forms
- Varuna, the Moon, ruler of celestial and terrestrial seas
- Mitra, the sun as our celestial friend
- Savitar, source of life and light
- Ashvins, twin gods of healing and vitality
- Ushas, gorgeous goddess of the dawn
- Sarasvati, source of intelligence and creativity
- Rudra, giver and remover of disease
- Bhaga, dispenser of good fortune

Sages Say

O Indra, if a hundred skies and a hundred earths gave forth their light—no, even if a thousand suns should shine, they couldn't match your blazing radiance, lord of thunder!
—Rig Veda

About one fourth of the hymns in the Rig Veda go to Indra, with Agni running a close second in terms of popularity.

You'd be mistaken to think of these gods as a pantheon like the hierarchy of deities we're familiar with from Greek and Roman mythology. In the Vedas, the gods are surprisingly indistinct, blending easily into one another. Indra and Agni even become Indragni, two gods in one! Savitar is hailed as the sun god, but so is Mitra, and so is Agni and Vishnu and Surya and Bhaga and Pushan, and so on.

What's going on? It's important to remember that Hindus live in a different conceptual universe than Westerners. These gods aren't colorful personalities running around having affairs like the Greco-Roman deities. They're personifications of natural forces, which are considered actual fields of intelligence in Hindu cosmology. They work in a unified manner, integrating their functions and dissolving their identities into each other just as clouds lose themselves in rain and rain loses itself in the Earth and sea.

Guidepost

The modern democratic nation-state of India was born at midnight on the morning of August 15, 1947. When writers—including yours truly—refer to India before 1947, we're talking about the entire area in and around the Indian subcontinent that was dominated by Hindu culture. This is a much wider geographic area than India's present borders.

Many Gods in One

Many Westerners and most Muslims are raised with the firm conviction that there is only one God (theirs) and every other deity is a false god. Hindu belief is exactly the opposite. The Veda consistently portrays all the different gods as ultimately just different faces of the one Supreme Being. They are the various ways its will acts in nature. As the late sage Sri Aurobindo put it, it is the "one central idea of the Vedic religion, the idea of the One Being with the [gods] expressing in numerous names and forms the many-sidedness of His unity."

This is why Al Biruni, living in India at the beginning of the second millennium and surrounded by temples to dozens of different Hindu deities, could honestly report to his fellow Muslims that the Hindus believe in only one God.

Hidden Meanings

Many of the verses in the Vedas have hidden yogic and astronomical significance. The twin Ashvins, for example, represent the two nostrils through which the breath or life force is regulated. In fact, the twins were often called Nasatyas, related to our word nasal! They also stand for the twin stars alpha and beta Arietis. In ancient India these stars represented the nostrils of a celestial horse head, which Hindus picture in the part of the sky we call Aries. There are many important myths about the Ashvins since they're placed at the beginning point of the zodiac, where the circle of the sky renews itself. At the same time their connection with life energy makes them heavenly healers!

Many ancient Vedic myths that sound silly or bizarre when we read them today turn out to be deeply meaningful once we understand the science behind them.

Sampling the Veda

Let's take a tiny taste of this enormous literature, sampling portions of some of the hymns from the Rig Veda. Here are several verses from a typical hymn to Indra, the dragon slayer:

> Indra is the lord of all things living and inanimate, of all creatures wild and tame. He contains all beings in himself like spokes in a felly.

The sophisticated understanding of the rishis is evident in many of the hymns, such as the following:

> He to whom the priests sacrifice, what do they know of him?
> Though set burning in many different fire pits, Agni, lord of fire, is only one. Though his light extends in every direction, Surya, the sun, is only one. That one being has become all this. All this is only one.
> They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni. They call him Garutman, Yama and Matarishvan. There is one God; he is known by many names.

The Hindu View

A story about the Vedic god Indra appears in the Bible in disguise! Ancient Indo-Europeans (such as the early Hindus) and ancient Semitic peoples shared many myths in common. Just as Indra was called on to kill the monster of the cosmic sea, in Assyrian and Babylonian mythology, Marduk had to slay the serpent demon Tiamat. The job eventually passed to Yahweh (see Isaiah 27:1), who killed Leviathan, "the dragon that is in the sea."

Many portions of the Veda are extremely mystical. The seer Ambrini related the following hymn. In it she celebrates the goddess Vak, Queen of the Universe, with whom she mystically identifies. This is one of the most ancient surviving accounts of the experience of cosmic consciousness:

> I move with the winds and the destructive powers, with the divisions of the sky, and with all the gods I travel.
> I hold up the day sky and the night sky, the Sun, the constellations, and the planets.
> I love and hold aloft the Moon and the Sun in their many courses.
> I shower wealth on those who honor the gods with sacred rites.
> I am the Queen, dispenser of treasure, the source of thought, most worthy of those who deserve to be worshipped!
> I am established everywhere, I abide in many places.
> Your breath, your speech, all your actions are performed through my power alone. I am the force of movement and will.

I celebrate myself, the splendor of my power!
I make those who love me great, I give them spiritual knowledge.
Destruction I bestow on those who have no gratitude.
I pervade heaven and earth! From the summit of the world I gave birth to the Creator!
I dwell in the sea, my forehead grazes the sky.
I breathe in all living beings. My breath is the life of all the worlds!
Larger than the earth, wider than the sky, my majesty has no ending!

The Inner Veda

Beginning with Sri Aurobindo, the twentieth-century "sage of Pondicherry," Hindu researchers have made an effort to reconnect with the original mystical significance of the Veda. Many of the Western scholars who initially looked into the Veda had dismissed it as primitive nature worship. Aurobindo looked a little deeper and in Indra, for example, found not a mere weather deity but a king of heaven who "symbolizes the Power of Mind and especially the divine or self-luminous Mind in the human being."

Aurobindo was probably on the right track. From remote antiquity, the first singers of the Veda were known as Brahma rishis, the highest human type of meditation adepts. That advanced meditation masters just sat around making up chants about how pretty the dawn is and how refreshing the rain feels seems quite unlikely.

The Hindu View

The Sanskrit word *veda* literally means "knowledge." It is related to the English words wisdom, wit, and even witch! (Witch used to mean a wise woman, not a scary lady.)

Over and over the Veda retells the story of how Indra smashed the mountain with his thunderbolt, loosening the waters. Yogis often note that the Sanskrit word for the senses is *indriya.* To them, Indra is therefore "the lord of the senses," a master of the body and mind. The thunderbolt he controls is the *kundalini,* psycho-physical energy which yogis learn to draw up the spine into the brain, sparking genuine mystical experience.
In Hindu mysticism to this day, a mountain represents the spine because mediators are supposed to sit as quietly and solidly as a mountain does. In heightened states of consciousness, yogis experience the *dharma megha,* the rain cloud of divine knowledge, which when it begins to pour, fills the mind with wisdom and bliss. Indra is therefore a yogi who has mastered the kundalini and contacted the life-giving waters of living spiritual awareness in deep states of meditation.

def•i•ni•tion

The indriyas are the five senses.
Kundalini is a subtle form of psychic energy. When it rises through the spine into the brain, extraordinary states of mystical awareness are produced.
The dharma megha is the last obstacle a yogi must confront before achieving enlightenment. When it is pierced by the kundalini, it releases a torrent of divine knowledge and bliss.

A Map to Higher Consciousness

With this understanding, the Veda becomes not just a collection of nature hymns but also a map to higher consciousness. A yogi from Dehra Dun told

me, “If you don’t understand a Vedic myth on at least seven different levels, you don’t understand the myth.” Remember, everything in Indian spirituality is multi-dimensional.

Those who are privy to the jealously guarded oral tradition learn about many levels of meaning compacted into the Veda much like data compression in computer technology, where a small number of variables are configured so they contain massive amounts of information. There is the ritual significance of the Vedic verses and another level of meaning corresponding to the intelligent energies inherent in nature. An astronomical level keys different deities to various planets and constellations. In the psychological level of interpretation, Indra fighting the dragon is each one of us grappling with our own inner demons. And the yogic interpretation has to do with vectors of awareness moving through the subtle body.

Sages Say

The Vedic experience may perhaps disclose, not an alternative to the modern view of life and the world … but an already existing, although often hidden, dimension of Man himself.
—Raimundo Panikkar

Recently, several Hindu scholars have made a number of fascinating suggestions about yet more information encoded in the Veda. It seemed like overkill to these researchers that the Vedic rishis made such a point of ensuring that the hymns would be reproduced exactly correctly for millennia to come. It now appears that certain mathematical, geometric, and

astronomical information essential to the ancient Hindus' concept of sacred space was encoded in the very rhythm, meter, and pronunciation of the verses! The evidence for this hypothesis is surprisingly strong.
If this seems unlikely to you, remember that much of the Indian population has been illiterate for most of India's history. Using mnemonic devices, such as rhythmic chants which are easy to remember, would be an excellent way to preserve technical information in the absence of writing.

Upanishads: Liberating Literature

The German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer once said, "The study of the Upanishads has been the solace of my life. It will be the solace of my death."
The Upanishads are the philosophical portion of the Veda, written as prose rather than in the form of hymns. While many authorities count 108 of them, 11 are most important. These are the Aitareya, Mandukya, Brihadaranyaka, Mundaka, Chhandogya, Prashna, Isha, Shvetashvatara, Katha, Taittiriya, and Kena Upanishads.

Quick Quiz

1. The Veda is …
    a. The holiest book of the Hindus.
    b. A line of expensive hair care products.
    c. The bad guy in the *Star Wars* trilogy.
2. The Vedic god Indra is …
    a. The god India is named after.
    b. Famous for destroying a serpent demon.
    c. Founder of a Silicon Valley software dynasty.
3. Today, the offerings made at Vedic fire sacrifices often include …
    a. Flowers, grain, clarified butter, herbs, and fragrant woods.

b. Horses and goats.
c. Screaming virgins.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (b). 3 (a).

The Something in Nothing

The following is a story from the Chhandogya Upanishad:

> After years away at school, Shvetaketu returned home to his father, Uddalaka. Uddalaka could tell from his son's boasting about how much he'd learned, that he hadn't learned anything at all! Or at least nothing really worth knowing.
> "Did your teacher teach you how to hear that which can't be heard or know what can't be known?" Uddalaka asked.
> "Oh-oh. That wasn't in the curriculum."
> "Go outside and get me a fruit from the banyan tree." Shvetaketu ran outside for the fruit.
> "Now cut it in half," his father instructed. "What do you see?"
> "I see the seeds, dad."
> "Cut one of those in half." This wasn't easy—banyan seeds are extremely small.
> Finally Shvetaketu managed to slice one evenly. "What do you see?" Uddalaka asked.
> The boy was baffled. "What do you mean, dad? There's nothing there."
> Uddalaka looked his son in the eye. "An enormous tree grows out of that 'nothing.' When you understand what that 'nothing' is, you will understand yourself. The nothing you can't see is the creative potency out of which the tree grows. That unperceivable essence of being is also what you are. You are that, Shvetaketu.
> "Pour some salt into this bucket of water," Uddalaka continued. Shvetaketu obeyed. "Now give me the salt back."
> "I can't do that!" Shvetaketu objected. "There's none left!"

> "Take a sip of the water. You taste the salt, don't you? You can't see it, yet it's there. Just as salt pervades the water, so the subtle essence of reality pervades your body. That subtle essence is your true being. You are that, Shvetaketu."

Uddalaka is talking about the intelligence inherent in nature—innate in us, too—an all-pervading living presence underlying everything. This story is typical of the way the Upanishads teach.

Lighting the Way

If Vedic hymns represent the heart's response to the divine, the Upanishads represent the intellect's attempt to fathom the depths of spirit. These texts are not naive about the mind's ability to encompass the infinite. "Into a blind darkness enter those devoted to ignorance, but into an even greater darkness enter those devoted to knowledge," admits the Isha Upanishad. Too often intellectuals are like the blind leading the blind, caught in a web of words and mental paradigms.

The purpose of the Upanishads is not to give you enlightenment. Words can't do that. Their purpose is to light your way, helping you discriminate between experiences that have only passing value and the living knowledge of divine being which is the supreme and everlasting value.

Vedic rituals have two purposes: to help us obtain the things we need and want in life, and to propel us toward heavenly states after death. The Upanishadic seers noted that worldly success and enjoyment never last very long. Also no matter how exalted the soul's condition might be in heaven, eventually the cosmic wheel will turn again, the soul's good karma which carried it to heaven will run out, and the soul will find itself back in the physical world, starting from scratch.

There had to be a way off the wheel, a way to happiness that never ends, ever. The Upanishads taught a way of wisdom that steers away from the seeming truths presented to us by our senses toward the unchanging, self-luminous world of consciousness itself.

We'll return to the Upanishads in Chapter 22. We'll learn how we can actually experience the Upanishadic insight, "You are that seeming

nothingness that in reality is *everything*."

The Least You Need to Know

- For millennia, Hinduism's sacred knowledge was preserved in its oral tradition.
- Enlightened seers composed the Vedic hymns.
- The primary use of the Vedic hymns is to sanctify religious rituals.
- The Vedic gods represented different facets of the one God.
- The Upanishads preserve the highest philosophical thought of the ancient Hindu sages.

Chapter 5

The People's Religion

In This Chapter

- Colorful stories highlight Hindu principles
- The ideal way to live
- The appropriate response to injustice
- God's advice to humanity
- Encyclopedias of Hindu lore

The Veda is India's most sacred book, but almost no one reads it anymore. Because it was reserved for the exclusive use of certain classes of society, many people never had access to it anyway.
Besides, the Veda is very, very long. Most people shy away from reading such a thick book, just as most Christians believe in the Bible but hesitate to sit down and actually read a book that's over 1,000 pages long. Plus, the style of Sanskrit in which the Veda is written is now so ancient that even people who are top authorities on Hinduism have trouble understanding it all!

User-Friendly Scriptures

Fortunately, Hinduism has many other fully authorized scriptures that are open to the public and easy and fun to read. Like the Vedas, they were originally passed on through the generations by word of mouth. There were people whose job it was to memorize these huge oral texts and then travel around reciting them. When one of these people showed up in a village, everyone would come running. Work was called off, and folks would sit for

days listening to the expert chant the scripture. It was like going to the movies, except they imagined the scenes in their minds.

Sages Say

Ancient India, like ancient Greece, boasts of two great Epics. One of them, the *Mahabharata,* relates to a great war in which all the warlike races of Northern India took a share, and may therefore be compared to the *Iliad.* The other, the *Ramayana,* relates mainly to the adventures of its hero, banished from his country and wandering for long years in the wilderness of Southern India, and may therefore be compared to the *Odyssey.*
—Romesh C. Dutta

Epics: The Hindu Homer

Move over Homer! Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are often considered the greatest epics in the Western world. Homer has serious competition in India, however, where the great Hindu epics, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana,* have stirred hearts and exalted the spirit for thousands of years. Does size matter? The *Ramayana* is as big as the Bible. The *Mahabharata* is four times bigger and eight times as long as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* put together! The *Mahabharata* contains so much material its author couldn't resist a little bragging. "If it's anywhere else, it's here too," he said. "And if it ain't here, it ain't nowhere!"

No, size doesn't really matter; it's the content that counts. If you're wondering about the quality of the content, consider this. When television producers ran a series of hour-long episodes dramatizing these two epics on Indian TV in the 1980s, the entire country shut down! During the hour the program was being broadcast no one could get a taxi, get a meal in a restaurant, or find an open shop; airline pilots wouldn't even take off. Every Hindu in the country had somehow, somewhere, found a TV and was sitting transfixed, watching the great sagas of Hinduism gamely portrayed on the small screen.

Both epics have been around since at least 700 B.C.E. but not in their present form. The original texts were undoubtedly much shorter, but they were so popular that succeeding generations kept tacking on more and more of their own contributions. Like a snowball rolling down a snowy hill, by the time the two epics had careened down the hill of history, they'd grown to glacier size. You'd practically need a shopping cart to carry around all the volumes of the *Mahabharata,* much less the *Ramayana!*

Guidepost

The chanting of mantras is an excellent way to cleanse and focus the mind. Since mantras can have dramatic effects both subtle and profound, it's not necessarily a good idea to just pick one out of a book and try practicing it. It's better to be initiated in a mantra by an authorized teacher of a spiritual lineage, who is well versed in a mantra's effects.

Sages Say

Keep the name of Rama always in your mind, remembering it with love. It will feed you when you're hungry, be your friend when you're alone, bless you when you feel cursed, and protect you when you're abandoned. To the crippled it's another limb. To the blind it's another eye. To the orphaned it's a loving parent. Whenever I remember Rama's name, the desert of my heart blooms lush and green.
—Tulsi Das, sixteenth-century Hindu poet

Ramayana: The Great Rescue

Valmiki was a thief who plied his trade in northern India many a century ago. After a string of unsuccessful robberies, he was getting so desperate, he actually tried robbing a *sadhu,* a Hindu holy man. Now sadhus own absolutely nothing but the cloth they have wrapped around their private parts. "I don't have anything to give you," the holy man pointed out. "Give me *something* or I'll kill you!" Valmiki cried in desperation. "Okay, okay, how about this? I'll give you a mantra that will make you the richest man in the world. But it will only work if you repeat it constantly, day in and day out."

def•i•ni•tion

A **sadhu** is a man who has renounced the material world and wanders from place to place without any possessions, immersed in meditation and spiritual practice.
Mara means evil.

Valmiki knew that sadhus don't lie. Because they've devoted their lives to God, they would rather die than tell an untruth. So he trusted the sadhu completely. "What's the mantra?"
" *Mara,"* the holy man answered.

An Evil Mantra

This set well with Valmiki. Mara is the Sanskrit word for evil, and it fit his disposition. So, crazed with desire for wealth, Valmiki sat down and started chanting the mantra over and over, day and night. "Mara, mara, mara."
As he sat there, Valmiki's heart began to feel lighter. Tremendous peace filled his mind, and he experienced real joy for the first time in many, many years. Then he realized with a shock that the sadhu, in having him chant "Mara, Mara," had tricked him into chanting "Rama, Rama" as the syllables ran together. Rama, of course, is the name of God. While Valmiki had been sitting there lusting for gold, the divine vibrations of God's name had been purifying his mind.
Valmiki had become the wealthiest man in the world. He now had the most valuable thing a person could possibly possess: the living presence of God in his heart.
Valmiki gave up his evil ways and went on to become India's most famous poet. He composed the *Ramayana,* the story of how Rama, Hinduism's perfect son, husband, and king, rescued his wife, Sita, from the evil king of Lanka.

The Perfect Son

Long, long ago, the *Ramayana* goes, the king of Ayodhya had a very special son named Rama who was intelligent, courageous, compassionate, and virtuous. The people of Ayodhya adored the prince and his lovely wife, Sita. More than once Rama demonstrated both his wisdom in guiding them and his valor in protecting them.

Finally the happy day arrived when the old king decided to retire and hand over the reins of the kingdom to his beloved eldest son. But something always has to go wrong or there's no story, right? So the youngest of the king's three wives decided she wanted *her* son to rule instead.

The youngest wife was able to pull off a coup because many years earlier the king had promised her any two wishes she desired. Now she went to the king and demanded that her son, not Rama, receive the coronation. Secondly, she wanted Rama banished into the forest for 14 years. Life in the forest in those days was extremely dangerous, what with the lions and tigers and bears. Perhaps she hoped Rama would get eaten by some large, furry, carnivorous animal.

When Rama heard the news, he immediately prepared to leave for the forest, without losing his composure or complaining. And he was not just being a goody-goody. Rama understood that people look to their leaders for examples of how to live. Long ago, his father had made a promise to his youngest wife, and if he broke it now, it would signal to the people that keeping your word was not important. Kings must keep their promises even if it caused them grief.

The Hindu View

In the sixteenth century, the beloved Hindu poet Tulsi Das composed a new, Hindi version of the *Ramayana* called the

Rama Charita Manasa. An updated version was necessary because most people could no longer understand Sanskrit, the language of the original poem. Mahatma Gandhi considered the *Rama Charita Manasa* the single greatest book in the world.

The Perfect Husband

Sita insisted on accompanying her husband into the forest, and they roamed through the woods for many happy years, together with Rama's devoted half-brother, Lakshman. Their numerous adventures, some harrowing, others hysterically funny, are lovingly described in the *Ramayana.*
Rama was very protective of Sita, whom he adored, and Sita was completely devoted to Rama. To this day, Rama and Sita are held up as the best possible example of a loving Hindu marriage.
But something's always got to go wrong. Sure enough, tragedy struck again. Rama and Lakshman were lured away from their campsite, and when they returned, Sita had vanished into thin air!
The bulk of the *Ramayana* is about Rama's desperate search for his missing wife and the amazingly daring rescue when he finally found her. It turned out she was kidnapped by the tyrannical king of Lanka (that's today's Sri Lanka). I tell you more about how Rama wins Sita back in Chapter 13.

The Hindu View

J. Robert Oppenheimer, the theoretical physicist best known as the director of the Manhattan Project and father of the atomic

bomb, was an avid student of Sanskrit. When his Los Alamos team exploded its first nuclear weapon at a test site in New Mexico, he quoted Krishna's words in the Bhagavad Gita to express his feelings: "If the radiance of a thousand suns were to burst at once into the sky, that would be like the splendor of the Mighty One. Now I am become Death, the shatterer of worlds."

The Perfect King

After 14 years, Rama, Sita, and Lakshman returned to their home kingdom of Ayodhya in triumph. And to the citizens' infinite delight, Rama assumed his rightful role as king. To this very day, Hindus use the expression "the reign of Rama" to mean an ideal government. During "the reign of Rama" the king ruled with complete integrity and absolute commitment to the welfare of his beloved subjects. It was a time of peace, prosperity, justice, and joy. This is something of a contrast with government in India today, which may be why Indians speak of "Rama's reign" with such nostalgia!

Mahabharata: The Great War

The *Mahabharata* is attributed to the sage Vyasa, who also appears as a character in the story. (This is the same Vyasa we met in Chapter 4, who compiled the hymns of the ancient seers, shaping the Veda into its present format.) The *Mahabharata* is based on a war that probably really happened. The war is traditionally—and very controversially—dated to the thirty-second century B.C.E.! It was fought at a battlefield called Kurukshetra, which isn't too far from present-day New Delhi.

If the account given in the *Mahabharata* is literally accurate—okay, that's a big if—it wouldn't be much of an exaggeration to call this the real World War I. The story goes that the Indian warriors involved called in help from all their allies, all the way from Turkey in the west to Java in the east. That's pretty outrageous, but not as outrageous as it seems at first.

Remember that India was a major world trade center going back to Sumerian times at the least, and the area around Delhi would have been an important trade capital for international merchants. So plenty of foreign leaders may well have had a vested interest in who won the war.
So is this a holy text or a war story? The *Mahabharata* is considered a scripture because it illustrates in dramatic form how good Hindus should live. The characters are constantly facing tough moral issues and having to make difficult choices. This gives their spiritual mentors an opportunity to advise them about Hindu ethics and spirituality, sometimes for a hundred pages at a stretch! Then we learn from the wise or foolish decisions of the main characters and the consequences of their actions, what happens when people choose to follow *dharma* (righteousness) or *adharma* (unrighteousness).

def•i•ni•tion

Dharma is the best possible course, righteousness, the fulfillment of one's true purpose, virtue.
Adharma means behaving unethically, unrighteous action.

Feuding Cousins

The *Mahabharata* is brimming with entertaining and enlightening tales about many different sets of characters. But the main storyline is about two sets of brothers, who are cousins. The 5 Pandavas are the good brothers, and the 100 Kauravas are the bad brothers.
The Pandavas are raised in the forest, where they learn virtue and respect. Their cousins, the Kauravas, are raised at court where they become cynical and corrupt. If you're wondering how there could be a hundred Kaurava brothers, it's because the Hindus had already developed cloning (if we can believe the story)! We're told that when the Kauravas' mother miscarried, a

yogi placed the fetus in a pot filled with nutrients. Later he separated it into a hundred healthy baby boys!

The eldest of the good set of brothers, Yudhisthira, is supposed to become the next king when he comes of age. But the acting king's eldest son, the oldest of the bad 100 brothers, feels *he* ought to be the next king. After all, his dad has been the de facto ruler since the legal king—Yudhisthira's dad—died years ago.

So when Yudhisthira comes of age, his scheming cousin Duryodhana refuses to relinquish the throne. In fact, he experiments with various schemes to get rid of Yudhisthira and his four brothers once and for all. For example, he builds a superflammable house, invites them to move into it, and then sets it on fire with them inside. Fortunately, his nefarious plans fail. (If you think this plot line is complicated, believe me, you don't know the half of it!)

After numerous attempts to resolve the dispute peacefully, Yudhisthira regretfully realizes the only way he can assume his rightful role as king is to go to war with Duryodhana. This is an extremely painful choice because it means having to fight, and maybe kill, many people he sincerely loves, like former teachers and some of his own relatives. But at this point, it's becoming increasingly clear how truly evil Duryodhana is and that somebody must stop him.

Picking Sides

The Pandavas and Kauravas prepare for battle. As both sides call in their allies, Yudhisthira sends his younger brother Arjuna to ask their friend Krishna if he'll help them. Arjuna is one of the greatest warriors of his time and also a really good guy. Take note: he's the main hero of the *Mahabharata.* When he shows up at Krishna's palace, he finds that the evil Duryodhana has shown up, too, also hoping to enlist Krishna's large army and gold-laden treasury.

Sages Say

The *Mahabharata* has moulded the character and civilisation of one of the most numerous of the world's people. How? By its gospel of dharma, which like a golden thread runs through all the complex movements in the epic; by its lesson that hatred breeds hatred, that covetousness and violence lead inevitably to ruin, that the only real conquest is in the battle against one's lower nature.
—C. Rajagopalachari

Now there's something very special about this fellow Krishna. The long and short of it is, he's God. Hindus believe in divine incarnations (see Chapter 13), and Krishna is God in human form, though Duryodhana's vision is too clouded with hatred and greed to see this.
Krishna tells the two cousins, "You're both my relatives. I can't choose sides. What I will do is this. I'll give one of you all my soldiers, my horses and elephants, my artillery and my gold. The other, well, I'll come along with you as an advisor, but I won't fight. Whichever of you shows up first tomorrow morning, I'll let him choose which of the two options he prefers."

Choosing God

Duryodhana came rushing in the next morning before the break of dawn and sat anxiously at the head of Krishna's bed, waiting for him to wake up. Arjuna got up at his usual time, took his morning bath, and sat for worship

and meditation. Then he headed over to Krishna's house, where he stood humbly by the foot of Krishna's bed.

Krishna finally woke up. Even though Duryodhana got there first, Arjuna was the first one Krishna laid eyes on since he was standing respectfully at the end of the bed, not sitting behind Krishna's head like Duryodhana. So Krishna gave Arjuna the choice. "My army or me?"

"I choose you, Lord," was Arjuna's very, very famous reply.

Duryodhana walked away a happy man, with all the military power, the money, and the horses and elephants at Krishna's command. But guess who won the war?

Arjuna had a much smaller army, but with Krishna's advice he was able to outwit his evil cousins and win back the kingdom for his brother, the legitimate heir. The point, which I don't think anyone who's ever heard the story has missed, is that when we choose God over all the strengths and all the temptations of the world, we make the right decision.

Bhagavad Gita: The Song of God

The war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas was about to begin. Arjuna asked his friend Krishna to drive him to the center of the battlefield so he could get his bearings. But sitting in his chariot between the two armies, the full enormity of what was about to occur hit Arjuna like a ton of bricks. Tens of thousands of good men on both sides, including many of Arjuna's friends and relatives, were about to die. Innocent women would lose their husbands and sons. A whole generation would grow up without fathers. It would take decades for the kingdom to recover from the staggering losses about to ensue.

Was it really worth it—so many deaths for control of a piece of land?

Arjuna sank to the floor of the chariot in a state of emotional paralysis. He couldn't do it. He couldn't fight these people. Then Krishna turned to him, and the two of them had a little chat.

A Conversation with God

The *Bhagavad Gita* (which means "Song of God") is the conversation between Krishna, who is God in human form come to guide and protect the good, and Arjuna, who is the rest of us in human form, confused about what course of action to take and sickened by the horror we see in the world around us.

The Gita, as most Hindus call it, actually consists of 18 short chapters lifted right out of the *Mahabharata.* Many Hindus can recite the entire Gita, the most loved holy book in Hinduism, from memory. Most have memorized at least a few lines.

Krishna has already explained that in the battle against evil, when all peaceful options are exhausted, men of good conscience must get up and fight. Control of the world cannot be handed over to evil men by good people too weak-willed to stand against them.

Now, in the face of death and catastrophe, Krishna urges Arjuna to look at the Big Picture. Everyone dies. From the perspective of eternity, these men gathered on the battlefield are dead already. Since death is inevitable, why not die nobly, fighting for justice?

During the day, we change clothes several times. Death, Krishna says, is when the soul changes its clothes. It takes off a body that's worn out or damaged and puts on a new one. But the inner Self never dies. It is wrong to identify ourselves with our perishable body. We need to realize that we are immortal spirits, ultimately unaffected by death.

Arjuna may win the battle, or he may lose. He may live, or he may die. The outcome of the events ahead is in the hands of God. Krishna advises his friend not to be concerned with how things will turn out. He should focus instead on fighting for truth and justice simply because, under the present tragic circumstances, it's the right thing to do.

def•i•ni•tion

Bhagavan means God. In the Rig Vedas, Bhaga is the deity who nourishes and protects His devotees.

Gita is a song or chant. There are many thousands of religious gitas in Hinduism, like the Avadhuta Gita or the Ribhu Gita, but

when Hindus say simply “Gita,” they mean the Bhagavad Gita, “The Song of God,” the most famous song of them all.

Sages Say

When doubts haunt me, when disappointments stare me in the face, and I see not one ray of hope on the horizon, I turn to Bhagavad Gita and find a verse to comfort me; and I immediately begin to smile in the midst of overwhelming sorrow. Those who meditate on the Gita will derive fresh joy and new meanings from it every day.
—Mahatma Gandhi

The Vision of God

Arjuna is persuaded by Krishna but asks for a favor. He’s not content with the Big Picture—he wants to see the *Really* Big Picture. He knows Krishna is God in disguise and wants to see what God really looks like.
Krishna shows him. Arjuna sees universes without end, galaxies spinning in and out of existence. He sees trillions and trillions and trillions of souls trapped in the cycle of birth and death, being born, suffering, dying.
For a mind that has not yet been completely purified by spiritual practice, the vision is too much to bear. Arjuna screams for Krishna to stop, and the Lord resumes his human form.

“I have taught you the secret of secrets,” Krishna concludes. “Now surrender to me, worship me in all your words and thoughts, and offer your actions to me as a sacrifice of love. You cannot even begin to conceive how much I care for you. I am your eternal refuge. Don’t be afraid! I promise, I will save you.”

For 2,500 years, Hindus have clung with unshakable faith to Krishna’s loving promise.

Very often Westerners, when they’re first exposed to the Gita, complain that it condones war. At one level, there’s some truth to this. At another, they miss the point completely. Mahatma Gandhi, the quintessential man of peace, kept a copy of the Bhagavad Gita with him at all times. Hindus understand that the battlefield Kurukshetra, where Arjuna and Duryodhana are facing off, is not really near Delhi but rather in the human heart. All of us are at war with the Duryodhanas inside ourselves: greed, hatred, ignorance. In the Gita, God himself shows us the way to victory.

Quick Quiz

1. India’s two great epics are …
    a. The *Ramayana* and the Vedas.
    b. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata.*
    c. The *Ramayana* and *The Complete Idiot’s Guide to Hinduism.*
2. The war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas is fought because …
    a. The kingship is in dispute.
    b. They’re trying to rescue Sita from the evil king of Lanka.
    c. The Kauravas stole the Pandavas’ iPod and won’t give it back.
3. The Bhagavad Gita is a conversation between …
    a. Rama and Sita, about who cooks dinner tonight.
    b. The Pandavas and the Kauravas, about whether there should be pepperoni or calamari olives on

the pizza.

c. God and Arjuna, who stands in for the rest of us.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (a). 3 (c).

Puranas: Encyclopedias of Spirit

I mentioned earlier that most Hindus today don't really worship the gods in the Vedas anymore. If you want to connect with the living gods of India, you should turn to any of the 18 major *Puranas.* (Or else turn to Chapters 11 and 12, where I introduce the most popular gods and goddesses from the Puranas, one by one.)

def•i•ni•tion

Purana means "ancient chronicle" or "account of the ancient times."

The Puranas are often called the fifth Vedas. While the first four Vedas are reserved for particular classes of people, the Puranas are for everyone. They're the average person's Vedas.

How to Become a Purana

A book has to cover certain ground if it wants to be a Purana. It has to include …

- An explanation of how the Supreme Being projected the universe out of its limitless awareness. Not just our world, but all planes of existence must be accounted for.

- Details of how the multi-billion year cycles of the manifestation and dissolution of the universe actually work.
- Cycles of the different types of humanity that have appeared and disappeared on our planet since it originally formed.
- Historical information about the original lineages of our present humanity.
- Genealogies of important early Hindu rulers.

Optional elements you may also find in a Purana include …

- Information about especially spiritually supercharged pilgrimage sites.
- Broad outlines of powerful spiritual practices your guru will explain to you in more detail.
- Reports of God's and the Goddess's activities when they visit Earth.
- Stunningly beautiful hymns in praise of the divinity.
- News about the saints' and sages' efforts to get to know the Supreme Being better.

A Continuing Tradition

Dating the Puranas, for all practical purposes, is impossible. Some of the material in them is certainly older than the Vedas itself. But unlike the Vedas, which priests were entrusted to pass to their children without altering even one syllable, succeeding generations felt free to reshape the Puranas according to present needs. So in all the Puranas, you'll find something old and something new.

More Puranas are continually being written. In fact, the swami at my local Kali temple just wrote a new one a few years ago. But they're always based on the same ancient principles, and none of the new ones have quite the same impact as the 18 VIPs (Very Important Puranas).

The Hindu View

Manu is the forefather of the present race of humankind, according to the Puranas. He survived the great flood that wiped out the last humanity and began repopulating the world. The name Manu is related to the Sanskrit word *manas,* which means "the thinking mind." Etymologically related English words are human, man, and woman. We are the beings who have manas, who think!

An Expanding Library

As a living tradition, Hinduism is continually generating more spiritual classics. Unlike Christianity and Islam, where the Bible or Koran represent God's word once and for all, in Hinduism God speaks afresh to every generation. Hindu saints and sages constantly create new scriptures, keeping the Vedic vision dynamic and directly relevant to people's present concerns.

During the European Middle Ages, Hindus produced such timeless spiritual masterpieces as the *Yoga Vasishtha* and the *Tripura Rahasya.* Closer to our own time, classics of such exceptional merit as *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* by Mohendranath Gupta and *Adoration of the Divine Mother* by Vasistha Ganapati Muni have taken on the stature of holy scripture in some circles.

Nevertheless, because Hindus believe that men and women of eras long past were actually more illumined than most of us are today, the spiritual

preeminence of Hinduism's earliest scriptures, the Vedas, Puranas, and Upanishads, remains unsurpassed.

The Least You Need to Know

- Ordinary Hindus rarely read the Vedas—they turn to easier-to-digest, popular texts for inspiration.
- The *Ramayana* is the story of the perfect Hindu man and woman.
- The *Mahabharata* is the tale of the battle between light and darkness.
- The Bhagavad Gita is the most popular scripture in Hinduism.
- The Puranas are the layperson's Vedas.
- Hinduism continually spawns new scriptures.

Part 2

What Hindus Believe

Hinduism is, in many ways, the most open-minded of the world's great religions. Maybe this is because India is composed of so many different people and cultures and languages. Respect, or at least tolerance, for other traditions grew gradually over the centuries. People borrowed each other's gods and goddesses, spiritual practices, and even saints. In the end, India merged into one more or less unified Hindu culture.

In this part, we look at the defining beliefs most Hindus share in common: reincarnation, karma, and an immortal soul. They also believe in an infinite ocean of divine energy that underlies the universe we perceive with our senses and an inner universe of consciousness through which we connect with the whole.

Chapter 6

One God with Many Names

In This Chapter

- How Hinduism differs from Western religions
- The roots of Hindu tolerance
- Hindu gods worship each other
- Keeping tolerance alive
- A visit from Jesus

"God is one. Men call Him by various names," is the eternal truth voiced by the Veda. It doesn't matter what address you send your prayer to. Whether you mail it to Indra or Agni, God or Goddess, Allah or Buddha, Mary or Jehovah, your letter ends up in the same mailbox. The one God always gets your message, no matter who you are, no matter what religion you belong to.

To use another metaphor: Christians say that to access the hard drive, you have to click on the Jesus icon. No other icon will take you to the hard drive.

Muslims say it's a spiritual crime to use any icons at all. Never confuse the hard drive with any of the silly icons on the desktop. Access the drive directly, with the code Mohammed provided.

Hindus say, hey, click on any icon. Every icon on the screen will connect you with the hard drive. Don't see any icon you like? Make up a new one—it will work just as well.

My God's Not Better Than Yours

According to the Veda, it's a serious mistake to confuse your name for God with the Supreme Being himself. The Big Guy is bigger than you think. In fact, he's not necessarily even a guy at all! It's just as valid to call Him Her or It. If words like "God" or "Goddess" or "Supreme Reality" point you in the right direction, use them by all means.

But the point is not to choose a name for God and then claim that anyone who calls God by a different name is going to hell. For Hindus the point is to enter into a living relationship with the Supreme Being till you feel its breath in your breath, till you feel enveloped in the all-encompassing embrace of the infinite wisdom out of which this universe emerged.

Sages Say

This universe is the outpouring of the majesty of God, the auspicious one, radiant love. Every face you see belongs to him. He is present in everyone without exception.
—Yajur Veda

According to Hinduism, there are no false gods, at least not if your prayer to that god is sincere. Whatever form of the divine you worship, even if it's a man with an elephant's head, the one all-pervading Being who loves you more than you can possibly imagine will use that form to guide you to Her.

Begging to Differ

There is no minimizing the fact that Hindu belief differs dramatically from the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition. Before I begin explaining in detail what Hindus do believe, let me clarify what they do *not* believe.

Jews believe they have a very special relationship with God. God has selected them for his special loving attention and created laws for them that set them apart from the rest of humanity. Hindus do not accept the concept of a chosen people. For Hindus, God's relationship with *every* soul is equally special.

A metaphor repeated by Hindu saints is that God is like the sun. The sun shines equally on everyone, no matter what social class you belong to, no matter whether you're male or female, a good person or a not-so-good person. And certainly no matter what religion you subscribe to.

The Jewish idea of what it means to be a prophet and the Hindu idea of what it means to be a seer are also radically different. In Judaism, Yahweh speaks to His prophets, and they deliver God's message to the Jewish people. In Hinduism, the consciousness of the seer merges into the consciousness of God. For Jews, the Creator and His creation—us—are radically distinct. But in Hinduism, the Divine Being emanated us out of its own all-pervading awareness. It makes sense that our awareness can merge back into its source, like a wave subsiding into the sea.

The Hindu View

Jews and Muslims believe God is completely transcendent and has never appeared on Earth in human form. Christians believe God took a human birth once as Jesus Christ. Hindus believe that whenever humanity calls out to God and the Goddess for help, He and She appear here in physical form to guide and protect us.

Christian Beliefs

Orthodox Christians believe Jesus took on the sins of the entire world. (Hindus also believe saints can take on the karma of their disciples.) To access the saving grace of Jesus, it's absolutely essential to have faith in him.

A Hindu would find this idea perplexing. Many Hindu saints devoted every breath of their lives to the love of God and service of humanity. Why would someone be sent to hell for eternity because they hadn't heard of Jesus?

In Hinduism, two great principles are at work in the universe: *karma* and *kripa,* justice and grace. Despite huge campaigns and the outlay of hundreds of millions of dollars, Christian missionaries have made little headway in converting Hindus. This is largely because Hindus see little justice *or* grace in a god who would damn all their ancestors for no fault of their own. Hindus believe very literally that "As you sow, so shall you reap." But in Hinduism there is no eternal damnation. No being can have sown enough bad karma that in the vast stretches of eternity, God can't find a way to bring that lost soul back into the light.

def•i•ni•tion

Karma is the law of action and reaction at work in the moral universe. Every thought, word, and action produces an effect that rebounds on the person who generated it.

Kripa is divine grace.

The Image of God

Probably no two religions are as radically opposed in their fundamental beliefs as Hinduism and Islam. The meeting of Muslim and Hindu cultures

led to catastrophic historical consequences still playing out in South Asia today.

Muslims feel it is a spiritual crime to make an image of God. Hindus feel that, used with proper understanding, images of God, such as the statues of various deities found in Hindu temples, are an excellent way to focus the mind on the divine. Some Muslims feel they are called upon by their faith to destroy any images of God they come across. During the first few centuries of the Muslim occupation of North India, many thousands of Hindu temples were destroyed. The destruction was so complete that today you must travel to South India, where the Muslims didn't penetrate, to find a truly ancient Hindu temple.

Using an image as a focus for worship is a defining characteristic of Hinduism (see Chapter 10).

The Hindu View

The monuments of ancient cultures are filled with images of kings crushing their enemies and enslaving their neighbors. Not so in the ancient Indus-Sarasvati civilization. Hardly any evidence of violence appears in the ancient Indians' art or in archeological strata for that era, and few weapons have been found. In this peaceful and well-ordered society, philosophy, mathematics, science, and inner life were free to flourish without fear of disruption from war.

Inner Religion

One of the great ironies of religious history is that, although the religions that came out of the Near East—Judaism, Islam, Christianity—adamantly reject most of Hinduism's fundamental teachings, their mystical traditions —the *Kabbalah, Sufism,* and Christian *Gnosticism*—reflect Hindu insights in almost every detail. Numerous students of comparative religion, from Muslim scholar Al Biruni in 1000 C.E. to the world famous writer Aldous Huxley nearer our own time, have expressed their amazement at the parallels between the major mystical traditions of the world and Hinduism.

def•i•ni•tion

The Kabbalah is a system of Jewish mysticism explaining how the universe emanated from the one transcendental reality.
Sufism is a form of Islamic mysticism which teaches yoga-like techniques leading to higher states of awareness.
Gnosticism was a system of highly mystical beliefs embraced by many early Christians (perhaps—some scholars believe—even by St. Paul, author of portions of the New Testament).

The Tolerant Religion

Christianity and Islam are aggressive missionary religions. In Hinduism, missionary efforts have traditionally been the exception rather than the rule. For the most part, the Hindu attitude toward other faiths is "Live and let live."
This does not mean Hindus always look at what goes on in other traditions, or even within their own tradition, with unblinking acceptance. Even in the Veda, the rishis rolled their eyes at what they felt were the excesses of some of the tribal practices and urged Hindus to live nobly, abiding by the highest ideals and practicing some rudiments of self-control. How did Hinduism develop this tolerant spirit?

One Culture, Many Traditions

Westerners today tend to think of India in monolithic terms: one country, one culture. In reality, at very few times and for very brief periods in its history has most of the Indian subcontinent been unified—at least until 1947 when the modern state of Bharat (the Indian name for India) was created. Instead, for most of its long history, India has been home to an amazingly large number of distinct subcultures.

About 80,000 subcultures exist in India today. That's not a misprint—the correct figure is 80,000. Over 325 languages are spoken there, not to mention thousands of dialects. There are also 25 commonly used written scripts. And we think of America as a melting pot of different cultures! Hinduism is by far the most complex religion in the world, shading under its enormous parasol an incredibly diverse array of contrasting beliefs, practices, and denominations. Hinduism is, by far, the oldest major religion and has had more than enough time to develop a diversity of opinions and approaches to spirituality unmatched in any other tradition.

A Peaceable People

Generally speaking, the Hindus are a peaceable people. Whether or not different communities liked each other, they made an effort to get along. The *caste system,* considered evil in the West, assured that different subcultures, whether they ranked high or low in the pecking order, survived relatively unmolested within the framework of India's highly structured society.

def•i•ni•tion

The caste system is the basis of Hindu social hierarchy. Priests and kings are at the top of the social order, manual laborers at the bottom. Foreigners, renunciates, and nonconformists are outside the system altogether.

The Hindus are perhaps the most peaceful of the major world cultures. Think about it: for at least the last 2,500 years, the only significant military foray Hindus have made outside India was the South Indian conquest of Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines around 1400 C.E. Hindus may fight with each other, but they've had very little interest in conquering anyone else—though many of the world's other cultures have certainly had a crack at conquering India!

A Test of Tolerance

Before the arrival of the Muslims around 1000 C.E., Hindus handily assimilated all the would-be conquerors who came storming over its northern borders. The Kushans (Mongolians), the Parthians (Persians), and the Huns all eventually melted into India's embrace, disappearing into the sea of Hindu culture.

The broad-minded Hindus were able to accommodate just about everybody who came knocking on their door—until the Muslims. For the first time, foreign invaders left wounds so deep they refused to heal. Hindu tolerance was put to the ultimate test.

In ancient times, however, religious tolerance was the norm throughout much of the world. The ancient Greeks and Romans, for example, were astonishingly tolerant of other religions, at least by today's standards. As the monotheistic religions began to dominate world culture, respect for other cultures' religious beliefs largely disappeared. Today Hindu culture is one of the last remaining enclaves of a universal-minded religion.

Exceptions Prove the Rule

I would love to tell you that Hindus have *always* been shining examples of a people who consistently respect other religious traditions, but I'd be fooling you and myself if I did. Human nature is human nature, and the

tendency to believe that one's own faith is not only the best—but also perhaps the only valid one—has raised its head in Indian history, too.
If you have a look at the Puranas, you'll find that while some of them are quite universalistic in outlook, others are notably sectarian. Some of their authors poke fun at their neighbors' gods in a fairly lighthearted manner, but in others the insults get edgier.
At times, friction between different Hindu denominations has gotten out of hand. At some points, the devotees of Vishnu have actively persecuted the devotees of Shiva. At other points, the devotees of Shiva have persecuted the devotees of Vishnu. Non-Hindus living in India, such as Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists, and more recently Muslims, have occasionally taken some serious hits from fanatical Hindus.

Sages Say

Everything in the outside world changes constantly. But the Lord of Love in the inner world never changes. He rules both inner and the outer realities. Meditate on Him. Merge in Him. Wake up from the dream that you exist apart from Him.
—Shvetashvatara Upanishad

The Vedic Vision

Yet religious tolerance is more the norm. A man may be devoted to Lord Vishnu, but when his bride moves into the household, she may place her

image of Lord Shiva on the family altar. Their daughter, however, may be more attracted to the goddess Lakshmi and place *her* image in the family shrine. And no one blinks an eye!

We can trace this open attitude all the way back to the Veda itself. Still, throughout the centuries, Hindu saints and even India's famous divine incarnations have had to make the point over and over again: "God is one. Men call him by various names."

In one very well-known story, a yogi named Narada got so fed up with the devotees of Shiva and Rama squabbling with each other about which of their gods was higher that he decided to resolve the question once and for all.

Who the Gods Worship

At this juncture in history, many long years ago, Rama was wandering in the forest with his wife, Sita. Rama was God incarnate; he's still passionately worshipped in India even today.

So Narada teleported to the forest to talk to Rama. He wound up having to wait several hours to get his attention, however. Rama was in the middle of making offerings into the sacred fire, an age-old religious ritual. When he finally finished, he ran over to Narada and apologized. "Sir, I'm so sorry I kept you waiting! I was performing my daily worship to Shiva."

Narada was delighted! Here was his answer without even having to ask. Rama considered Shiva a greater god than himself!

Narada immediately teleported to heaven to tell Shiva the exciting news. But there he had to wait, too, as Shiva doesn't like to be disturbed when he is in meditation. Sometimes he meditates for years without a break, which can make getting an appointment with him intensely frustrating.

Fortunately, Shiva soon opened His three eyes and noticed the yogi. "Oh Narada, I'm sorry I kept you waiting!" Shiva quickly apologized. "I just couldn't tear myself away from meditating on the lotus feet of Rama!"

Enough Miracles for Everyone

Again and again Hindu scriptures repeat the same point. Before Rama fights the evil king Ravana, Rama worships Durga, the goddess of victory. No matter how much their devotees favor one deity over another, the Hindu gods themselves have nothing but respect for each other.
In the Bhagavad Gita, Krishna—the voice of the Supreme Being itself—assures us, "To whatever god you direct your prayer, by whatever name you call the Supreme, your prayer immediately comes to me." Call God Harry if you want. Call him Joe. If your prayer is sincere, it goes right to the heart of the universe, and God responds. This is why miracles don't only happen in the lives of Roman Catholics or for Sunni Muslims or for Hindus. People everywhere experience miracles because God attends to the prayers of all.

The Smartas: A Smart Faith

One of the most famous Hindu sages of historical times, Shankaracharya (his name was really Shankara; *acharya* means teacher), was so disgusted with the petty disputes of the different Hindu sects that he formed his own denomination, the Smartas. The Smartas, he directed, would worship all the major gods of both North and South India! To this day, Smarta swamis honor Hinduism's great gods: Vishnu (the one who keeps the universe in good running order and incarnates on Earth from time to time to deal with emergencies), Shiva (the one who's always meditating), Devi (the Mother of the Universe), Ganesha (the one with the elephant head), Murugan (the young warrior god of the Tamils), and Surya (the sun god).

Sages Say

Realizing who you really are, discovering your spiritual identity, is your true purpose in life. If you fritter away your time stoking the fires of your body's endless cravings, you are committing spiritual suicide. The body is nothing more than the vehicle of the immortal spirit. You are living spirit, not the perishable body!
—Shankaracharya

Shankaracharya was an advanced yogi who believed that ultimately God doesn't have any shape or form; he's pure being, consciousness and bliss. Yet Shankaracharya was wise enough to appreciate that the tremendous faith simple people had in their beloved deities, like Krishna or the Divine Mother, could be mobilized for their spiritual benefit. If people avoided squabbling about whose god was the greatest, their love for their chosen deity would propel them toward the actual experience of the unity of all gods in the one Supreme Being. Then they could discover for themselves their unity with God and with each other.
In this way throughout its history, spiritual masters like Shankaracharya guided Hindus to temper their enthusiastic devotion with mature reflection.

Guidepost

If you're having Hindus over for dinner, please don't serve beef! Cows are beloved in India, and no practicing Hindu would consider eating one. Cows are the only mothers that freely share their milk with any creature that suckles from

them. Cows represent the Divine Mother and the bounteous grace of the Earth itself.

When he did touch down, the master announced, "Islam is a true path. I experienced the highest reality by practicing it." Then, to his family's immense relief, he went back to being a good Hindu. But more trouble lay ahead.

The Radiant Stranger

One day another visitor to the temple started telling Ramakrishna about Jesus. Ramakrishna was tremendously inspired by the story of Jesus' life and felt his commitment to Hinduism slipping away. From now on he would be a Christian! He sat in front of a painting of the Virgin Mary holding the infant Christ in her lap and went into ecstasy.

One day shortly after adopting this new religion, Ramakrishna was astonished to see a foreigner with a glowing face coming straight toward him. "This is Jesus Christ!" he realized. The radiant man walked right up to him and then merged into his heart, throwing the master once more into unspeakable states of bliss.

Ramakrishna resumed his duties as a priest of Kali, but now he also told people, "Christianity is a true faith, too. If you practice Christianity sincerely, it will take you to God."

In his life, Ramakrishna tested three great faiths, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. He found, through direct personal experience, that although each religion differed drastically in doctrine, they all were legitimate spiritual paths. Any one of them could do the job of bringing an individual home to God.

Sages Say

God's grace is like a strong wind that's always blowing. All we have to do is raise our sails.
—Ramakrishna Paramahansa

What Missionaries Are Missing

Christian missionaries have often complained about the intractability of the Hindus. They're very tough to convert. Hindus may listen with great interest and enthusiasm to the story of Jesus' life and then go home and lovingly place a picture of Jesus on their home altars, right next to the pictures of Shiva and Krishna and the Goddess! They have a hard time grasping that Jesus is supposed to be the *only* God whose picture is on the altar!

Hindus worship God not only in temple images but also in special trees and stones and rivers. For Hindus, God is literally omnipresent and His grace is literally limitless. Divine Being never turns away from any soul who turns to It with sincerity, no matter whether he calls It Isis or Allah, Rama, or Jesus.

And if Jesus really blesses and protects as the missionaries say he does, then by all means, Hindus feel, put his portrait on the altar, too!

Quick Quiz

1. Shankaracharya asked the monks in his monasteries …
    a. To honor all Hindu gods.
    b. To lead a holy war against the Muslims.
    c. To sponsor Bingo games on Saturday evenings.
2. Ramakrishna converted to Christianity …
    a. And became a Dominican monk.
    b. To see whether Christianity would lead him to God.
    c. So he could attend Bingo games on Saturday evenings.
3. The Indian subcontinent …
    a. Is home to 80,000 subcultures.
    b. Has been one unified country throughout most of its history.
    c. Was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (b). 3 (a).

Did Jesus Visit India?

Recently, independent investigators have raised the issue of whether Jesus might have studied with the sages of India. Since this question has caught the attention of many New Agers, you and I might as well deal with it here. We know very little about most of Jesus' life. His entire teenage and young adulthood years are missing from the historical record, investigators have pointed out. Could this be because he was absent from Palestine all those years, perhaps on a pilgrimage to the Himalayas?

The question intrigues people because so many of the miracles attributed to Christ—healing the sick, materializing objects like extra food to feed large crowds, controlling the weather, performing clairvoyance, and showing

mastery over death—are identical to the powers attributed to the greatest of the Hindu masters even today. Could Jesus have learned these techniques from Hindu gurus?
A number of surprising pieces of evidence have been well-publicized.

The Tibetan Evidence

In the late 1880s, a Russian explorer named Nicolas Notovitch fell off his horse while he was riding in Ladakh, near the Tibetan border, and monks in a nearby Buddhist monastery cared for him. To help him pass the time, a sympathetic monk translated for him a fascinating Tibetan manuscript that described a long ago visit to Kashmir by a young man from the Middle East. The man's name was Issa (very close to Isha or Yeshu, the Indian pronunciations of Jesus' name).
According to the text, Issa ran away from home at the age of 13 and made his way along the well-traveled Silk Road to India, where he spent 12 years studying with both Hindu and Buddhist teachers. By the time he completed the long trek back to Palestine, he was 29 years old. The manuscript offers various fascinating details about Issa's stay in the east.

The Hindu View

In 1925, the famous Russian painter Nicolas Roerich arrived in Ladakh and made some inquiries about Norovitch's Jesus manuscript. He was unable to locate it but confirmed that the legend of Saint Issa from Palestine was well known among the local people.

In 1922, Swami Abhedananda, an Indian monk from the Oriental Seminary in Calcutta, visited Tibet and saw the manuscript. He brought back a translation he had worked on with the help of a Tibetan lama.
Before Western scholars heard about the stunning find and could reach the monastery to examine it for themselves, the Chinese army invaded Tibet. During the devastating destruction of Buddhist monasteries that followed, this amazing manuscript vanished completely.

A Tomb in Kashmir

Other evidence has been brought forward, such as a tomb in Srinagar, the capital city of Kashmir, where legend claims Jesus is buried. Another tomb near Taxila in Afghanistan (Taxila is near the border of Kashmir) has long been recognized by locals as the final resting place of the Mother Mary.
The Acts of Thomas, an astonishing early Christian text, describes how Jesus commanded his disciple, the famous Doubting Thomas, to sail to India to teach. Then it suggests that Jesus himself visited Thomas in North India.
That Christian missionaries established a church in India not long after Jesus' crucifixion is an uncontested historical fact. But we need to approach the rest of the evidence presented here very cautiously. The resting places of saints have always been big business, and what is now called the tomb of Jesus might just as well have been called the tomb of Mohammed a few centuries ago, depending on what pilgrims were passing through town and how much they were willing to pay to see the tomb.
A Doubting Thomas myself, at the back of my mind lies the nagging concern that the famous Tibetan manuscript could be a modern forgery or, to put it more generously, a well-meaning work of historical fiction. It's extremely unfortunate that the manuscript has vanished, so we'll probably never have an opportunity to examine it directly.

Guidepost

Be advised that the Jewish Talmud reports that Jesus spent his missing years in Egypt, not India, studying Egyptian spiritual science as Moses had done. Apollonius of Tyana, who visited both India and Egypt in the first century, believed the Egyptian desert ascetics had actually been initiated by Hindu immigrants centuries earlier. If this is true, Jesus may well have learned the secrets of the Hindu masters, but he learned them in Egypt!

"Come, Lord"

Since proof that Jesus visited India would have enormous historical implications, I've looked into the issue in far more detail than I have space to outline here. I would love to tell you the evidence is strong. But when I look at it clearheadedly, I can't honestly say that's true. Still, I haven't completely closed my mind to the possibility.

A colleague of mine, the president of the Himalayan Institute, pointed out that the oldest Christian prayer (used by St. Paul in I Corinthians and by John in the Book of Revelation) is Maranatha, which in Aramaic means "Come, Lord."

In Sanskrit, Maranatha means "Lord of Love."

Oh, and one more thing. The name of the area near Srinagar, Kashmir where Jesus is supposed to have lived is Amaranatha.

The Least You Need to Know

- According to the Veda, there's only one God, no matter what we call him.
- Hindus do not believe in eternal damnation.
- Hindus accept the worship of images of God as a useful form of devotional practice.
- Throughout Indian history, numerous saints have continually reminded Hindus of the value of religious tolerance.
- In the nineteenth century, Ramakrishna Paramahansa practiced each major world religion in turn to confirm its validity.
- Some Hindus believe that Jesus may have visited India.

Chapter 7

Born Again!

In This Chapter

- The cycle of birth, death, and rebirth
- Memories of previous lives
- Karma drives the cycle of reincarnation
- Paying off karmic debts
- After-death states

You've just learned about Hindu history. You heard about the holy books that define the Hindu tradition and read a whole chapter on the fundamental Hindu attitude toward religious life, a view based on tolerance and mutual respect. Now it's time to look at Hinduism's two most fundamental beliefs: karma and reincarnation.

We can't understand the purpose of the soul's journey till we realize we don't just go around once in life. According to Hinduism, we are *all* born again.

Caught in the Spin Cycle

"The Supreme Being is present in everyone's heart," says Krishna in the Bhagavad Gita. "He directs the comings and goings of all living beings. It's as if they're strapped in a spinning machine. That machine is the material universe."

Imagine a gigantic Ferris wheel with only the top half above ground. It rotates upward from beneath the Earth: a child is born. It reaches its zenith: full adulthood is attained. It starts to turn downward: old age kicks in. It disappears beneath the Earth: death comes.

The Hindu View

Did Jesus believe in reincarnation? He mentions several times that John the Baptist was the prophet Elijah in a previous life (Matthew 11:2-15, Matthew 17:10-13, and Mark 9:9-13). Many early Christians—including Origen, the most famous Church Father of them all—accepted reincarnation as a fact. In 553, however, Christian theologians at the Fifth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople formally banned the doctrine of reincarnation.

But the cycle doesn't stop there. It continues through after-death experiences that those of us still standing on the surface of Earth can't see. Then it swings back up again from beneath the ground: the soul is reborn in another body.

We meet a person we've never laid eyes on before and instantly we feel like we've known her forever. We meet another person and immediately distrust him. Why?

Some of us are born with exceptional talents. We may be gifted singers, musicians, scientists, or business people. We're attracted from early childhood to fields in which we already seem to have notable abilities. How can this be?

The Western scientific answer would be that at some point in our embryonic development the molecule in an unidentified enzyme shifted slightly and shaped our brain chemistry a certain way. Hindus offer an alternative answer that makes at least as much sense as that. They say we're attracted and repelled by new people we meet because we've met them before, and at some level of our awareness, we already know whether they're friend or

foe. We have skills in certain areas because we developed them through plain hard work in previous lives.

"This Is Not My Real Home!"

Shanti Devi, a young girl growing up in Delhi in the 1930s, spoke very little till she was four years old. When she did start talking, she shocked everyone in her family. "This is not my real home! I have a husband and son in Mathura! I must return to them!"

This was India, so instead of taking their daughter to a psychiatrist, her parents told her, "That was then. This is now. Forget your past life. You're with us this time."

But Shanti Devi wouldn't give up. She talked about her former family to anyone who would listen. One of her teachers at school sent a letter to the address Shanti Devi gave as her "real home" in Mathura, inquiring if a woman had died there not too many years ago. To his astonishment, he soon received a reply from Shanti Devi's previous husband, admitting that his young wife Lugdi Devi had passed away some years previously, after giving birth to their son. The details Shanti Devi had given about her old house and members of her previous family were all confirmed.

Guidepost

Young children have vivid imaginations and will often make up the wildest stories. But perhaps not all their wild stories are fiction! In Hindu, Buddhist, and shamanic cultures, when young children describe things that happened to them "before," their

parents understand they may be relating real events, but events that occurred in previous lives. Perhaps parents in the West should not be so quick to shrug off similar stories from their own offspring!

This launched the most thoroughly researched investigation of a case of reincarnation in modern history. Everyone got in on the act, including Mahatma Gandhi and several prominent members of the Indian government. A team of researchers, working under stringent conditions to ensure that Shanti Devi couldn't possibly be getting her information from any other source, accompanied the little girl to Mathura. On her own, she lead them to her previous home and correctly described what it had looked like years earlier before its recent refurbishing. She also related extremely intimate information, such as extramarital affairs of family members, that no one outside the family could possibly have known.

The award-winning Swedish journalist Sture Lönnerstrand spent several weeks with Shanti Devi later in her life, recording her story and verifying information about the famous government investigation. If you have any interest in reincarnation at all, I highly recommend his book, *I Have Lived Before: The True Story of the Reincarnation of Shanti Devi.* In it this remarkable woman describes what it's like to live two lives at once—the one going on now and another that's supposed to be over. She also describes her experiences in the transition period between her death as Lugdi Devi and her rebirth as Shanti Devi.

Why Don't I Remember?

You don't have to say it. I know you're thinking, "If we lived before, how come we don't remember?" Shanti Devi may have recalled her previous life, but most of us don't.

Actually we do, according to the Hindus. The very fact that we're drawn to certain people and certain places is a reflection of the dim memory of previous lives we all possess. The fact that most of us don't remember our last life in detail like Shanti Devi is due to the nature of the soul.

In the West, those of us who believe in a soul at all think of it in a very straightforward way. We have a body. It dies. We have a soul. It lives forever. For Hindus the topic is not so simple. Hindus believe the universe is multidimensional and so is the soul. What the soul is and how it operates is a critically important subject for anyone who wants to understand Hinduism (see Chapter 8).

Now, to answer your question about why we don't remember our past lives. At the moment of rebirth, Hindus believe, the infant takes its first gulp of air and becomes a breathing being. This jolts the brain and subtle body, causing a force called *vaishnava shakti* to act. In most people, this force cuts off detailed memories of the past life.

def•i•ni•tion

Vaishnava shakti is the force that stuns the soul at the time of rebirth so that it loses conscious memory of its past life.

The karmashaya is the karmic residue we carry from past lives, our old memories and habits and desires, which are stored in our subtle body. It's our karmic DNA.

In fact, it also cuts off detailed memories of *this* life, which is why most people don't remember much of what happened in the first three or four years of their current life either. The soul is still completing its "hook up" to the new physical brain, and not all the data from the previous file is downloaded. It's still there, though, preserved on an internal drive called the *karmashaya,* a storage bin of previous thoughts and actions that's a little hard for us to access because it's buried deep in the subtle body, not the physical brain.

Presence of Mind

I'm guessing your next question is, "Well, then how did Shanti Devi remember *her* past life?" This is where it gets interesting.

You may have heard of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead.* Perhaps you've even heard of the *Egyptian Book of the Dead.* Numbers of ancient, spiritually advanced cultures carefully trained people so they would know how to go through the process of death consciously. Often—as in the Egyptian texts and in some early Christian books, too—this involved memorizing lots of key phrases and detailed imagery.

The point in all these traditions is that if you don't want to lose yourself, if you want to attain the type of immortality that comes from the ability to hang on to your present identity from life to life, then during the process of death you must *keep your presence of mind!* All those elaborate memorizations and visualizations in the various Books of the Dead are designed to help the newly deceased soul stay focused and conscious.

Lugdi Devi, Shanti Devi's previous self, had been using an old trick recommended by yogis for thousands of years. During her Lugdi life she had constantly repeated the name of God, with full devotion, day and night. At the time of her death, her mind stayed with the divine name. It helped her remain calm and alert through a process where most people lose consciousness. As she was being reborn, her awareness remained with the name of God rather than locking into her new physical brain. So she didn't forget her previous identity. Shanti Devi actually describes this procedure in Lönnerstrand's book.

Well, you may believe this story or you may not. But now you know how it's explained in the Hindu tradition.

Guidepost

Don't assume that reincarnation takes place in linear time. Remember, to the Hindu, time and space are multidimensional. According to a Hindu classic called the *Yoga Vasishtha,* your next incarnation, or your last incarnation for that matter, may be happening *right now.* Your next life may actually occur in the past! This is because your innermost spirit exists outside of time and space and can travel to wherever and to whenever it wants!

What's My Karma?

Karma drives the process of reincarnation. Karma, to borrow from St. Paul in the Bible, means "As you sow, so shall you reap." Where, when, and in what circumstances we next incarnate is due, in large measure, to our thoughts, words, and actions in the past and present.

Sages Say

Do not be deceived; God is not mocked, for whatever a man sows, that he will also reap. … And let us not grow weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap.
—Galatians 6:7-9

To be reborn into a human body is a great blessing. Human bodies, far more so than animal and plant bodies, are capable of devoting themselves to spiritual life. Most animals answer primarily to the dictates of nature, but

humans have a capacity for self-reflection rarely seen in animals. Vistas of unlimited spiritual growth lie spread before the men and women who turn their attention to inner life.

The capacity to make decisions for ourselves rather than automatically doing what our natural drives tell us to do gives humans our special status. We have free will. With free will comes responsibility, however. We can't blame a tiger if it kills a deer. But if one man kills another out of greed, delusion, or hatred, very serious karmic consequences ensue. Then again, if a person selflessly helps others, superb karmic results will ultimately follow.

We can lose our human status, Hindu sages warn. If we don't take advantage of our human birth but continue living like animals, we may return to an animal body in our next life. (Perhaps some people would be more comfortable in animal bodies anyway. Then they can just eat, sleep, have sex, and never have to fill out tax forms.) Particularly pernicious people, one holy text warns, could even be reborn as "flies, gnats and biting insects"!

Three Kinds of Karma

There are three kinds of karma:

- **Sanchita:** All the karma we've accrued during all our previous lives.
- **Prarabdha:** That portion of our karma destined to play out in our present lifetime.
- **Kriyamana:** The fresh karma we're producing in this incarnation.

Sanchita karma includes all the debits and credits in our soul's entire karmic portfolio. Prarabdha karma only includes the debits and credits coming due in this present incarnation, and kriyamana karma is the store of merit and demerit we've been adding to our karmic account since we were born in this particular body.

Due to the constraints of time and space, only a small portion of the total karma we've collected over many incarnations can manifest in any one lifetime. In a previous life, we may have intensely desired to live on Mars. But in this life, only our karma to live near Cape Canaveral may play out.

The space colonizer karma will have to wait till another lifetime. That's the distinction between sanchita and prarabdha karmas.
However, by working incredibly hard in this incarnation, we may qualify as a U.S. astronaut and get to fly the Space Shuttle—if not to Mars, then at least to NASA's orbiting space station. That's due to our kriyamana karma, our present earnest efforts.

Collective Karma

Here are another three ways to look at karma:

- **Adyatmika:** The karma we incur in our own right, as an individual soul.
- **Adhibhautika:** The karma we incur as a member of a group, our collective karma.
- **Adhidaivika:** The karma we experience due to living on this particular planet, the karma of nature itself.

Adyatmika karma is the most important because it's the one form of karma that's completely under our control. It consists of our thoughts, words, and actions. If we treat others with kindness and respect, the universe will reflect similar qualities back to us. If we treat others contemptuously, their hatred reflects our own behavior onto us.
Yet if we imagine we're in total control of our own destiny, we're mistaken. Many events that profoundly influence our lives are completely out of our control. Many Americans voted for Al Gore during the 2000 U.S. presidential election, yet they experienced the social and economic consequences of having George W. Bush in the presidency on September 11, 2001, just as much as the Americans who voted for Bush. Adhibhauktika or group karma can override our own karma.

Guidepost

Never assume that when something bad happens to a person, then because of the law of karma "he had it coming." Only great spiritual masters are in a position to know all the complex karmic factors involved. It is not up to us to pass judgment.

When I was growing up in Norway, violent crime was a rare occurrence. If it was your karma to have a bad day in Norway, you might fall off your skis and break your leg. Living in Chicago, however, I soon discovered how different things were in America. In the United States if it's your karma to have a bad day, you may get mugged in an alley or shot in your classroom. The collective karma of your culture influences the way you'll experience your own karmic deserts.

That's why it's wrong to judge someone who's been the victim of a crime or other disaster. You can't justly "blame the victim" because he may never have done anything to bring a violent act down on himself other than happen to live in a dangerous neighborhood. Nature holds us responsible not only for our own behavior but also for the activities of the people with whom we're interconnected—our family members, neighbors, community, clubs and organizations, city, state, and nation. That's because whether we're aware of it or not, our thoughts and activities contribute to the current state of our collective affairs.

Cosmic Karma

Hindus believe nature itself is a living thing. The Earth, Wind, Water, and Fire are living intelligences called devatas. They have their own karma, which we experience in the form of earthquakes, hurricanes and tornadoes, floods and tsunamis, fire storms and volcanoes. The global warming we're experiencing now is a result of the devatas' karmic cycles, exacerbated unfortunately by our own unwise management of our environment. In India priests perform rituals not only for the good of individuals but for the community as a whole and also to harmonize relations with the living intelligences in nature. Karma is extremely complex, interlinking everyone and everything in the world! We're like a cell in a body, influenced not only by its own DNA but also by the activity of the organs around it and by the thoughts and actions of the soul inhabiting the body as a whole.

Your Fate Is Your Choice

The *Mahabharata* says that just as a lost calf can always find its mother, no matter how large the herd, so the karmic results of actions we performed in past lives will inevitably seek us out.
Hindus definitely believe in fate. The paradox is that, for the most part, we create our own fate through the use of our free will.
Yet some karmic outcomes can be prevented. Here's another three ways to understand karma:

- **Adridha:** Flexible karma we can easily deflect.
- **Dridhadridha:** Karmic patterns we can alter if we make a substantial effort.
- **Dridha:** Inflexible karma. We can do nothing to prevent this karma from playing out. Only God and a guru can change fixed karma.

Maybe you paid $120 for tickets to the *American Idol* Summer Tour, but on the night of the concert you have to stay up late studying if you're going to be prepared for an important exam the next day in medical school. You hate to throw away the $120, but you study through the night anyway. The karma you set in motion—to see your *American Idol* favorites perform in

person—was flexible. You could easily change your plans when your priorities shifted.

Now suppose you spend 12 years in medical school learning to be a doctor. Then just as you're about to graduate, you decide you hate dealing with whiney sick people and you'd rather take vocal lessons and try out for *American Idol.* Now you have to lay out more money and more time learning to sing at a professional level. It takes a lot of effort to modify the flow of your karma, but if you have the will, you'll find a way.

And now let's imagine you're so captivated by *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Hinduism* that you decide you want to visit India. But after you board the jet to Delhi, you have a change of heart; maybe you should go to the *American Idol* audition after all. Problem is, your plane has already taken off. You're on your way to Delhi whether you like it or not. This is inflexible karma, representing the events and experiences you're definitely scheduled to undergo in this life due to the overwhelming karmic momentum of your choices in the past.

If the karma we've got coming to us is good, everybody's happy. But if we're experiencing a spate of bad karma, we may want to look into some of the traditional Hindu methods for paying off our karmic debts on an accelerated plan so that we can get our lives back on the right track as quickly as possible.

Guidepost

Does fate rule the world? According to Hinduism, almost all karma can be altered, at least to some extent, through sincere, sustained effort. You control your own fate!

Sages Say

Love God and serve others selflessly, and your bad karma will have no more power than a cancelled check.
—Mata Amritanandamayi

Redirecting the Flow of Destiny

Here are some of the most popular Hindu methods for clearing out our negative karma:

- **Pilgrimage.** Hindus make long and difficult journeys to sacred sites. The journey itself is a form of spiritual practice, strengthening your faith and reliance on spirit to help see you safely through to the journey's end. At Prayag, where the Ganges and Yamuna rivers meet, pilgrims bathe in the holy waters to wash away their sins. I don't know if you can literally wash off bad karma with water, but the tremendous faith of the pilgrims I've seen at Prayag must have some effect!
- **Charitable Donations.** Since much "bad karma" is the result of debts we've incurred in previous lives, making generous donations helps us balance our karmic accounts. Hindus struggling with their health may make donations to medical research. Poverty-stricken

Hindu families may go out into the woods or meadows near their homes each morning and offer food to wild animals.

- **Rituals.** By making offerings to the gods, Hindus hope to restore a positive balance in the karmic forces at work in their lives. They hope to make peace with the forces of nature and request the gods' gracious intervention.
- **Selfless Service.** Offering one's time and energy for the benefit of others without any expectation of reward is considered one of the most effective means of defusing bad karma.
- **Self-Discipline.** By undertaking vows to perform a certain type of austerity for a certain length of time, Hindus hope to overcome various karmic complexes. An example of a common vow is fasting for a predetermined period or on certain days of the week.

The Hindu View

One way of dealing with bad karma is to do breathing exercises. You read right—I said breathing exercises. Some Hindus use breathing techniques to help manage stress and promote mental calmness and clarity. When you're in a tranquil state of mind, bad karma just rolls over you—it can't really hit you in the gut.

Washing Out Your Mind

Other methods of making amends for misdeeds of the past are more internal:

- **Meditation.** Deep meditation can actually release karmic complexes buried in the subtle body. When an "inner demon" is recognized and released in meditation, it loses its ability to wreak havoc in your life.
- **Prayer.** Many Hindus chant stotras, or sacred prayers, as part of their daily worship. Often these prayers involve listing the many divine qualities of a favorite deity. Regularly contemplating all these good qualities helps elevate your consciousness and transform your personality.
- **Mantras.** Chanting the resonant divine sounds prescribed by a meditation master helps purify the field of one's consciousness and neutralizes the effect of bad karmas. Hindus use a rosary of 108 beads and make a promise to repeat a mantra many hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of times. Your mind is not supposed to wander during this practice, which is called japa. It's a form of sacrifice. You sacrifice your time and attention to God as well as all the thought energy that would otherwise be expended on romantic fantasies and inner chatter.
- **Self-Inquiry.** Self-knowledge is the greatest cure for what ails us. Some Hindus use various techniques of self-analysis to diagnose and correct the problems in their thinking and behavior that are reflected onto them as difficult karma.
- **Devotion.** In India, you will often encounter Hindus as devoted to God as many of us are to our closest friends and relatives. Developing a living relationship with the divine takes the sting out of the problems life throws your way and turns life into a love affair with a higher power.
- **Self-Surrender.** If all else fails, surrender to the Divine Will may be the last and best prescription for ameliorating bad karma. Sometimes the best we can do is surrender to God and His will for our lives, with gratitude and humility.

Sages Say

Reincarnation is a series of dreams within a dream: man's individual dreams within the greater dream of God.
—Paramahansa Yogananda

Life Between Lives

Let's talk about what happens when the Ferris wheel of karma rotates down where we can't see it anymore. What happens after death?

Hindus believe in heaven and hell. But while Christians believe heaven and hell are forever, Hindus see these as temporary after-death states.

The Veda talks about the paths most human souls take after death. The first is the path of the misty light to Pitri Loka, the world of the ancestors. This is where most of us average folk go, hanging out with friends and relatives who've gone on before.

The second is the path of the bright light into the heaven world called *Deva Loka.* Only very pure souls can enter this realm. It's a high heaven where we experience incredible knowledge and joy. Here we get to dwell with the devas, divine or angelic beings.

The third path, which some texts don't even mention because they assume you're a basically good person and aren't heading there, is the path of no light at all. This leads to Patala, a very turbulent after-death existence. You

want to be a kind person, a decent person, a spiritually oriented person, so you don't wind up in this nasty place.

Designer Heavens

Here is an important twist you need to understand. God doesn't create heaven and hell. We do. Whatever plane of consciousness we find ourselves in after the body drops away is a world of our own making, according to the Hindu seers. If our thoughts have been predominantly cheerful and benevolent, our after-death experience is similar. If our thoughts have been filled with violence and anger, our afterlife will be, too.

The climate in the life after death is the atmosphere of our own minds. Our karma—the mental vectors we've created by our thoughts and actions—carries us to a high state, a low state, or an okay in-between state. We're in control—if we're living life consciously. If we're not directing our lives with awareness, then the unconscious tendencies stored in our subtle body take control when we die.

For many Hindus, a long stay in heaven is just what the doctor ordered, and some Hindus devote considerable effort to building up enough karmic velocity to transport them into a higher world after they jettison their bodies.

Eventually, the karmic forces that propelled you into a disembodied realm peters out. Your stay in that world is up—it's time to return to a physical body. You remember how much you enjoyed sex. You remember how much you enjoyed whipped cream puffs. You remember how much you wanted to go to Mars. You remember that your brother-in-law owes you $3,000. Your unfulfilled desires draw you back to an appropriate physical body and —*poof!*—here you are again. The obstetrician is cutting your umbilical cord and slapping your bottom while you wail helplessly at the indignity. You traded the old model in for a new vehicle. Hopefully, thanks to good karma, you've traded up.

Quick Quiz

1. Karma and reincarnation are …
    a. Fundamental beliefs of Hinduism.
    b. Fundamental beliefs of Islam.
    c. Fundamental rights guaranteed in the United States' constitution.
2. According to Hinduism, going on a pilgrimage is a good way to …
    a. Burn off bad karma.
    b. Meet potential romantic partners.
    c. Sample India's varied cuisine.
3. Sanchita karma is …
    a. All the karma in the universe.
    b. All the karma you've accumulated over the course of your lifetimes.
    c. All the karma you can eat.
4. Hindus say you go to heaven …
    a. Forever to be with Jesus.
    b. For a while, if you've been very good.
    c. If you know the right password.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (a). 3 (b). 4 (b).

Breaking the Cycle

A pandit once told me that yogis don't fear death because "They know where they're going." They have, in effect, practiced being dead in deep meditative states where they were completely disengaged from their bodies. They know how to remain fully conscious, alert and awake, in the after-death state, and can direct their out-of-body journey in full awareness.
The great saints and sages aren't driven around in karmic circles by the thoughts and desires stored in their subconscious, as happens to most of the rest of us in life and in death. They're like lucid dreamers, awake while everyone else is asleep. In fact, that's why some enlightened people are called buddhas. Buddha means "somebody who's awake."

You can spend a lot of time cycling through the universe. The cosmos is a long highway—there are plenty of campsites where you can pitch your tent. But when you finally tire of "exploring new worlds and new civilizations" like the heroes in *Star Trek,* there is a way to get off the wheel.
"Stop the universe! I want to get off!" In the next chapter, India's spiritual masters show you how.

The Least You Need to Know

- Hindus believe in karma and reincarnation.
- Only a portion of our total karma manifests in any one lifetime.
- Our present thoughts and actions affect the course of our destiny.
- Hindus use methods like meditation and pilgrimage to clean up their bad karma.
- Our karma leads us to pleasant or unpleasant after-death states.
- Heaven and hell are temporary; sooner or later we're reborn.

Chapter 8

Turning On Your Inner Light

In This Chapter

- Cloaking the soul
- What dies and what doesn't
- The guru's job
- Recognizing your Self
- Getting off the karmic wheel

If karma and reincarnation form the spinning wheel of the cosmic process, the Inner Self is the stable axle around which the wheel turns. "Know Thyself" was the advice chiseled over the portico at the Oracle of Delphi in ancient Greece. No religion has ever taken the quest for self-knowledge as seriously as Hinduism. At its core, Hinduism is not about believing what somebody else tells you about the nature of your soul or accepting what other people claim about God. Ultimately, Hinduism is about exploring the very depths of your own soul yourself and getting to know God personally.

Secrets of the Subtle Body

In the West, a minority of people are interested in weird stuff like astral bodies and out-of-body travel. They're often looked at as harmless New Age flakes. But in Hinduism, coming to grips with the mechanics of what the soul actually is and how it operates are fundamental to understanding karma and reincarnation. If you want to learn how to control your reincarnational cycle, you have to understand this stuff.

Inner realities are legitimate realities to Hindus. They're not cavalierly dismissed as outdated superstitions like they are in the West. Those of us with a Christian background hear primarily about miracles that happened in Palestine 2,000 years ago. In India, however, every generation of Hindu has been exposed to living saints and yogis who demonstrate what seem like super-human abilities to the uninitiated.

In India, science and religion have always worked hand in hand. No scientist was ever burned at the stake in India! There the exploration of inner dimensions is considered just as valid as research into biochemistry or geology. While India has produced great scientists and mathematicians, it also has excelled in the science of spirit, pioneered by inner researchers called yogis.

The Hindu View

Hindu contributions to science have been exceptional. Very ancient Sanskrit texts called the Sulva Sutras demonstrate advanced mastery of mathematics and geometry in ancient times. The Iron Pillar of Delhi, an iron post that hasn't rusted after standing in all weather conditions for centuries, attests the Hindus' skill in metallurgy. A very old scientific manual called the Aryabhatiya demonstrates advanced knowledge of astronomy. The brilliant work of Panini on linguistics was unmatched in Europe for millennia.

Your Five Bodies

According to the yogis, you don't have just one body. You have five! Just as you wear layers of clothes—underwear, a shirt or blouse, a sweater, a coat—so your innermost spirit wears layers of increasingly subtle energies, with which it can operate in increasingly subtle dimensions of the universe.

The Taittiriya Upanishad describes five "sheaths" worn by the spirit, like a sword in a scabbard that's in a box that's in a chest that's in a closet that's in a house:

1. **Anna maya kosha:** the physical body or sheath made of physical matter
2. **Prana maya kosha:** the energy body or sheath made of life force
3. **Mano maya kosha:** the mental body or sheath consisting of thought energy
4. **Vijnana maya kosha:** the wisdom body or sheath of higher intelligence
5. **Ananda maya kosha:** the spiritual body or sheath of mystical awareness

The anna maya kosha, or physical body, is made from anna, or food. You eat; you grow. The physical matter in food becomes the physical matter of your body. This one's a no-brainer. But now let's look at ourselves a little more deeply than they taught us in high school biology.

Hindus believe there's also something called the prana maya kosha, a deeper dimension of our being made up of life energy. This is the subtle energy medieval physicians in Europe used to call the vital force. In China it's called *chi,* and learning to manipulate it is the basis of acupuncture and the martial arts. In the Western esoteric tradition, this sheath is sometimes called the etheric body.

Homeopathic medicines do not act directly on the physical body but are used to balance the pranic fields. These form the energy substrate around which the physical matter of our material body takes shape, like iron filings arranging themselves along the lines of force emanating from a magnet.

But when it comes to exploring our subtle nature, that's not even half of it! To find out more, get in line.

def•i•ni•tion

Homeopathy is a system of medicine widely practiced in Europe and India that uses very minute, potent amounts of medicine to help balance the subtle energies underlying the physical body.

Coats of Living Energy

You're standing in line at the health food store waiting to buy a half dozen organic apples. The man in front of you takes a bite of an apple and falls down dead. (It was probably an aneurysm, but you still reconsider purchasing the apples.) How is the dead man so different from you, anyway? You're both made of physical matter, and since he just died a few seconds ago, the matter in his body is pretty much as good as the matter in yours.

The major difference between a living person and a dead one, according to the yogis, is the dead one isn't breathing. When the breath stops cranking, the life force can no longer animate the body or keep the mind and body connected. The man's mind may still actually be present, perhaps hovering over his body wondering why the lady ahead of him in line is taking so dang long to pay for a carton of soymilk. But he can no longer manipulate his fingers or toes because the energy link between his mind and body has been severed.

Sages Say

All of the body is in the mind, but not all of the mind is in the body.

> —Swami Rama of the Himalayas

But suppose the man doesn't die. Suppose he just goes into a coma. This means his life force is still operating. His physical body keeps breathing and doesn't start to decompose. But now the mental body has gone missing. You're shouting, "Sir! Sir! Can you hear me?" But he can't because his ability to think or to connect with his body through his sense organs has shut down.

Let's consider another scenario. An agitated man runs into the health food store and shoots another patron who's complaining the tofu isn't fresh. How could any human being kill another without the slightest twinge of remorse? In the killer's case, his wisdom body isn't working properly. This very subtle body of living intelligence is responsible for making judgments and moral decisions. When it operates normally, it works as the conscience, the will, and the higher intellectual and intuitive functions. A sociopath has no conscience. His wisdom body is barely functioning.

The Body of Bliss

Let's look at the rest of the folks standing in line at the store. Most of them are decent, hard-working people. Some are passionately interested in sports. Some love to cook. Others want nothing more than to go home, plop down on the sofa, and watch *CSI: Miami* on their high-definition TV. Very few of the people here are seriously interested in spiritual life.

This doesn't mean they're bad people—it just means they have other priorities. Their spiritual body is underdeveloped. They've never tasted the ananda, the divine bliss, of deeper meditative states. The possibility of expanding their awareness to experience higher states of consciousness has probably never occurred to them. In these people, the body of mystical awareness is not enlivened. If a person doesn't exercise and eat right, her physical body is unlikely to be in good shape. If people don't meditate or spend some time praying and contemplating a higher reality, then the spiritual sheath, our subtlest body, atrophies.

I studied the Taittiriya Upanishad, the source of this doctrine, many years ago with a yoga master named Swami Rama. I can't emphasize strongly enough that to the adepts of the Hindu tradition, the five distinct yet interlinking bodies are just as real as the circulatory or respiratory systems are to us in the West. The yogis say they use these different bodies as vehicles for traveling through different dimensions.

Life in the Three Worlds

Let's swing around and come back at this stuff from another angle that compacts the five bodies down into three:

1. **Sthula sharira:** the physical body
2. **Sukshma sharira:** the subtle body
3. **Karana sharira:** the causal body

The physical level includes both the material body and vital force. Why? Because at death, when the material body starts to disintegrate, so does the life force. According to the yogis, the "wreaths" some people claim to see floating over graves are decaying pranic fields. There no longer is a material body for them to animate, so their energy field gradually dissipates.

The subtle body represents both the wisdom sheath and the mental sheath from the previous scheme. It continues to exist after death. Each of us still experiences ourselves as the same entity who used to live in a physical body. We may temporarily lose consciousness after death, as if we were sinking into deep sleep, but when we wake up in our subtle body, we're our same old selves. Yogic adepts are said to be able to travel outside their physical bodies in this ball of mental energy.

For most people, at the time of rebirth, the subtle body from the last life now also passes away and the causal body reincarnates. The causal body contains the very essence of who you are as an individual. The habits and attitudes developed in your previous lives, your likes and dislikes, talents and liabilities, are carried with the causal body like a piece of luggage. But specific memories from past lives often slip away. (If that sounds disturbing, consider that most of your specific memories from this life are

already forgotten! What did you have for breakfast ten years ago today? What did your social studies teacher tell you was the capital of Costa Rica?)

The Hindu View

The three bodies or shariras known to the Hindus were familiar to the ancient Greeks as well. The Greeks called the physical, subtle, and causal bodies the *soma, psyche,* and *nous.*

Spiritual masters, because they have aligned their awareness with their causal body, retain full awareness of their previous lives when they are reborn. Most of us identify with our physical or mental bodies, which don't necessarily travel with us into the next life, so we don't have detailed past life recall. Instead we begin evolving a new personality and fresh memories, which develop along with our new physical body.

If you begin exploring Hindu sacred literature, you will find numerous references to "the three worlds." Western scholars often interpret these as the surface of the Earth, the atmosphere, and the upper sky. But to Hindu spiritual practitioners, they refer to the physical world accessible to our five senses, the mental world accessible to our mind, and the causal or formless realm beyond the reach of thought. We can travel in the formless world only with the highest intuitive powers inherent in our causal body. In that world we don't travel from place to place but from insight to insight.

The Hindu View

Texts like the Vedantasara explain that just as numerous trees are considered one forest, in the same way the totality of everyone's subtle bodies can be understood as one great, collective soul. This is called the *sutratma,* the World Soul, which experiences itself through all our individual souls.

The mental and physical worlds were originally projected out of the causal or "seed" world, the world of concepts or archetypal patterns, and will eventually dissolve back into it. This is the extra-dimensional world of "ideas" the Greek philosopher Plato wrote about.

"Who Am I?"

If you have some familiarity with the mystical traditions of the world, bells are clanging in your head like crazy. You recognize the breakdown of the soul into the five sheaths as strikingly similar to the fivefold soul of the ancient Egyptian tradition. And the threefold scheme of the physical, subtle, and causal bodies is exactly paralleled in the ancient Greek tradition. Plutarch, a first century priest from the temple of Apollo at Delphi, described it explicitly in his essays.

When you start to recognize the amazing links between different spiritual traditions, you can understand why, in the first century C.E., Apollonius of

Tyana expressed his opinion that India was the motherland of the world's mystical knowledge!
"Okay," you may be wondering. "So I have all these different bodies. Which one of them is *me*?"

Ramana Maharshi Finds Himself

Ramana Maharshi was born in Tiruchuli, Tamil Nadu, in 1879. He impressed no one. He was a mediocre student and something of a bully on the playground. He felt no draw to spiritual life at all.

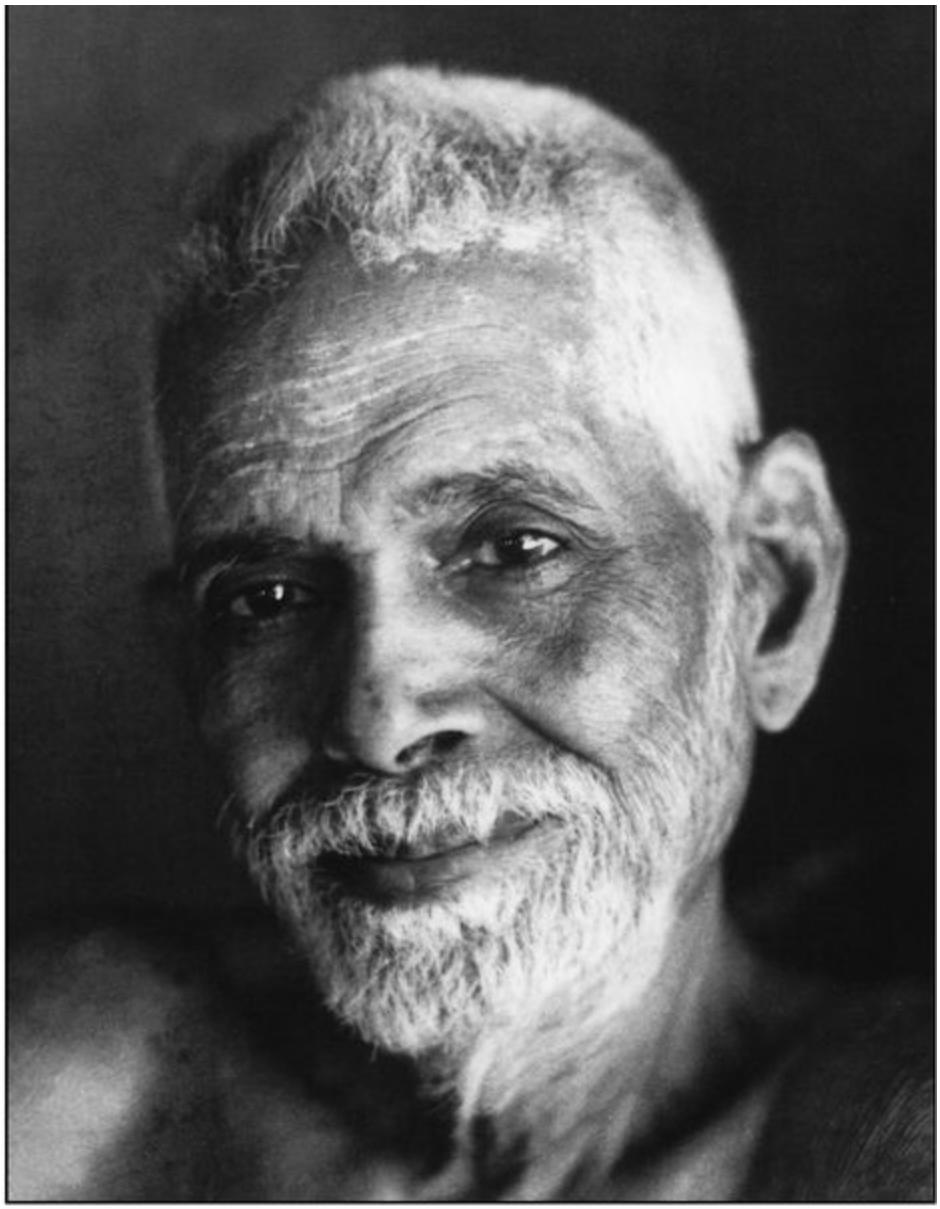

Ramana Maharshi, sage of Arunachala.

Then, at the age of 17, Ramana Maharshi woke up. “I was sitting alone in a room on the first floor of my uncle’s house,” Ramana later related. “There was nothing wrong with my health, but a sudden violent fear of death overtook me. I felt, ‘I am going to die’ and began thinking what to do about it. I felt I had to solve the problem myself, there and then.”

Ramana lay down on the floor and acted out the process of death. He stiffened his body as if rigor mortis had set in and held his breath as if his

heart and lungs had stopped. “Okay, the body is dead. But am I dead?” he inquired.

At that moment, he experienced an overwhelmingly powerful sense of the deathless spirit within himself. “This was not a dull thought but flashed through me vividly as living truth which I perceived directly, almost without thinking. ‘I’ was something real.”

Sages Say

The only enquiry leading to Self-realization is seeking the source of the “I” with an in-turned mind.
—Ramana Maharshi

From then on, Ramana was obsessed with his Inner Self. He left home and hid in a small storage cell in the Shiva temple near Mount Arunachala. There he did intense spiritual practice, learning to maintain his focus continually on the deathless reality he felt inside himself. Eventually he experienced the conscious root of his being constantly, even while talking or reading. Ramana had become an enlightened sage, living in the unflickering light of spirit.

Remember how I said earlier that Hindus call their tradition “the eternal religion” because anyone who explores the laws of consciousness will rediscover Hinduism’s fundamental truths? Ramana was an average 17-year-old boy with no formal religious training whatever. Yet by lying down and focusing intently inward, he had rediscovered the ancient truths of the Upanishadic seers. “That thou art. You are that undying inner awareness.”

Ramana had traveled beyond the physical body, beyond the subtle body, and even through the causal body. Underlying them all he discovered the true Self.

The Inner Self

Ramana Maharshi went on to become one of the best-known and best-loved saints of modern India. Hindus (and later foreigners) would come from thousands of miles away merely to sit in the presence of the master. By remaining fully centered in his Inner Self, he radiated a tranquil luminosity. Those sitting near him reported their minds immediately became still. Some experienced inner peace for the first time in their lives.

Scientists in the West consider consciousness a by-product of the nervous system that ends with death. The sages of India don't buy that. During out-of-body travel they experience their consciousness moving independently of their body. The great masters have also reported remaining conscious and alert after their previous bodies died and journeying through other inner worlds. To them the physical body is the by-product of consciousness, not the other way around!

The Inner Self is called Atman in Sanskrit. The Atman is who you really are —not your physical and subtle bodies, all of which are perishable. The Atman exists beyond space and time. It is the undying reality, your fundamental inner being and truth.

Sages Say

> There is an eternal, all pervading intelligence in which all individual souls are rooted. That Supreme Awareness is the final truth. That is your innermost being. You are that.
> —Chhandogya Upanishad

Entering the Inner World

Many people have experienced the Inner Self at some point in their lives. If you haven't—if what I'm talking about here sounds to you like it comes from another planet—let's try a short exercise and maybe you can get a glimpse of the inner world Ramana discovered in yourself.

1. Sit up comfortably with your head, neck, and spine straight. Close your eyes and relax deeply.
2. Breathe naturally. Your breath should be even, slow, and continuous. No jerky or shallow breathing, please! (The subtle currents you're feeling coursing through your system is your energy body.)
3. Don't feel stupid! This is just an experiment. (The part of you that's tell you this is silly is your mental body.)
4. Bring your full awareness to the point between your eyebrows. Then shift your awareness about three inches behind this point, inside your brain. If any visual images or mental chatter appear, ignore them.
5. Rest your attention in the silent darkness in your mind. Ask yourself, "Who is aware of the silent darkness?" Focus attentively. (The part of you asking this subtle, discerning question is your wisdom body.)
6. Be fully aware of your own awareness. (The silent force of intuitive attention in you, reaching for pure awareness, is your spiritual body.)
7. The pure awareness itself is your true nature, your authentic Self. You are now resting in your immortal spirit.

Good job! Open your eyes and relax!

Guidepost

Meditation is not for everyone. Mentally and emotionally unstable people should not meditate. Healthy people should undertake a meditation practice under the supervision of an experienced spiritual teacher who can help them handle the tricks their mind may play during the inward journey.

Did you experience an intense inner lucidity, a sort of primordial awareness that wasn't thinking or doing anything, just kind of watching?
If you connected, even for a second, with your Atman, you would have felt vividly alive, intensely focused, and very clear-headed. In the Hindu tradition, it's believed that people who visit this state regularly experience dramatic healing and become much more creative and successful and much less fearful.
Great saints live continually in this state. They gain from it the ability to help others with tangible blessing power, as Ramana Maharshi did.

The Inner Sun

Let me state the obvious. Most of our lives we do not walk around experiencing ourselves as a being of pure, radiant consciousness. We experience ourselves as harried housewives, aggressive salesmen, bored students, starving musicians, or just about anything but God-centered saints. We're just standing in line at the health food store waiting to buy some apples.
An athlete or a sick person or a high-fashion model may remain intensely identified with her physical body. Her attention is most often directed

toward her health or strength or appearance. That is her reality. Hinduism says that no matter how well she cares for her body, one day it will die. But the Inner Self hidden behind her self-image will not.

A scientist or intellectual or computer programmer may be very intensely focused at the level of thought. A lover or a new mother or a neurotic may be very intensely focused on her emotions. But eventually the field of experience with which they're identifying will pass away. Their Higher Self will not.

def•i•ni•tion

Prakriti is the primeval energy from which the universe is shaped. It's the stuff of which matter is made.

You may feel who you really are is your familiar mental body—your work-a-day thoughts and emotions. You may feel your real identity is your trusty, tangible material body. Hinduism says that all our bodies, including the physical one, are nothing more than fields of energy, called *prakriti* in Sanskrit. They reflect the light of spirit and, because of this, appear to be independent and conscious, just as the Moon appears to shine with its own light but actually only reflects the Sun's.

What you experience as your mind has no more independent reality than your body. When you enter the state of deep sleep, for example, the light of spirit withdraws from your mental body and for all practical purposes your mind ceases to exist!

The Tripura Rahasya compares the Inner Self to a splendid gem locked in a chest that's fallen into the sea and sunk into the mud. You have to find the chest, clean off the mud, and break open the lock. Then you'll see for yourself the shining gem of incalculable value. All Hindu spiritual practices are designed with the ultimate goal of helping us find the "pearl of great price" that lies buried in our minds and encrusted with the mud of our generally petty, run-of-the-mill thoughts. That gem is the pure, undying awareness that illuminates our lives.

Spiritual Mentoring

"There are some especially pure souls who have attained Self-realization, establishing their awareness permanently in their Inner Self," wrote the famous Hindu adept Shankaracharya. "They bring blessings to all humanity, like the coming of spring. They have crossed the ocean of birth and death, yet selflessly remain here among us and help others cross, too. It is the very nature of these great men and women to help others."

In Hinduism, the guru—your spiritual mentor—ranks in stature second only to God. In fact, in some traditions the guru is valued even more than God. After all, it's the guru who introduces you to God in the first place. Without the assistance of this guide, you may never find your way into the divine presence!

The Upanishads put it this way. If someone hits you over the head, blindfolds you, carries you away God knows where, then dumps you off in the middle of nowhere, you have a problem. Many of us may have the sense of being spiritually lost, dropped here in the material world, blundering around cluelessly. Now, if someone comes up to you and says, "Oh, you're from Duluth? Duluth is that way!" Suddenly you're not so lost. You're headed in the right direction, and with a little effort and resourcefulness on your part, you'll find your way back to Duluth.

The guru shows you the way home. He or she teaches you the wisdom of the ancients and guides your moral and spiritual development. And most important, the guru prescribes the specific spiritual exercises you need to grow in self-awareness.

A guru is a very useful resource if you have begun a meditation practice. It's amazing, the crazy content thrown up by your subconscious and the confusion it can lead to. The guru helps you distinguish between the seductive but ultimately not very productive images streaming out of your subconscious and the genuine insights pouring out of your superconscious. The guru has been through the process and knows how to distinguish what's spiritually legitimate.

The Guru Hook-Up

Advanced gurus transmit the enlightening energy of their spiritual tradition. They don't generate it—they serve as conduits through which the living knowledge flows.

def•i•ni•tion

Shaktipat is the transmission of spiritual knowledge and power.

This is the famous process of *shaktipat,* the "descent of spiritual power." You work very hard, making every sincere effort to attain higher states of divine awareness. When you can't go any further by yourself, the guru does the hook-up, plugging you into the cosmic circuit box and—*zap!*—you spontaneously rocket into a higher orbit of being.

Swami Rama told me about his own experience. He was so discouraged with his lack of progress in meditation after years of sincere effort that he actually felt suicidal. His guru, the great master Bengali Baba, touched his forehead, and for the next nine hours, Swami Rama sat motionless in the highest state of bliss he had ever experienced.

My own experiences with Hindu gurus have often been intensely frustrating. This is because I come from the Western academic tradition where teachers exist to give information. You ask a straightforward question, you get a straight answer. I'll tell you right now that if you want to get a straight answer out of a Hindu guru, you're better off going to dental school and learning to pull teeth.

Sages Say

The spiritual aspirant controls his senses. He controls his life force. He controls his mind. He gains lordship over the faculties of his higher intelligence. Then he becomes one with the Supreme One, Whose body is space, Who is ever tranquil, Who is immortal.
—Taittiriya Upanishad

In the Hindu tradition, gurus don't see their role as imparters of information. Their goal isn't simply to help you get a Ph.D. Their goal is to make you a sage, to awaken your intuitive powers so that you can find the answers in the inner world yourself. In Hinduism, it's said that a guru's greatest achievement is to propel a disciple to even greater heights than the guru herself has reached.

Into the Pressure Cooker

Gurus do convey information. But a larger portion of the training they impart involves character building and purification of the ego. So they throw you into awful situations, like starting a medical center to help the poor and then putting completely incompetent people in charge. Can you maintain your spiritual center and your focus on serving others when your bosses are continually making irrational decisions that irritate the heck out of you? Can you stay calm when your guru, who was always so loving to you before, suddenly starts accusing you of something you didn't even do? These are the kinds of tricks of the trade the Hindu guru has traditionally used to help disciples clearly see the play of their egos and to test the strength of their commitment to spiritual life.

Very few, very special people have attained Self-realization without the help of a guru. Recent historical examples include Ramana Maharshi, Anandamayi Ma, and Amritanandamayi Ma. Hindus believe exceptional people like these either had spectacularly good karma from the past, when

they *did* work with a guru, or else they are incarnations of great sages of the past or even of deities, who entered our world to serve humanity.

Quick Quiz

1. For Hindus, a human being is made up of …
    a. Physical, subtle, and causal bodies.
    b. Slugs and snails and puppy dog tails.
    c. Pizza, Pepsi, and potato chips.
2. When he was 17 years old, Ramana Maharshi realized …
    a. He was deeply attracted to girls.
    b. He needed to buy some apples.
    c. Within his soul lay a deathless Inner Self.
3. The guru's job is to …
    a. Separate us from the contents of our wallets.
    b. Align us with our real nature.
    c. Teach us how to win friends and influence people.
4. The Inner Self …
    a. Is the deathless awareness hidden behind our thoughts.
    b. Can be experienced with the help of antidepressants.
    c. Is the result of enzymatic activity in the brain.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (c). 3 (b). 4 (a).

Getting On the Innernet

For many Hindus, Self-realization is God-realization. "The air inside an empty jar is the same as the air outside the jar," wrote the sage Shankaracharya. "In exactly the same way, your Inner Self is identical with the Self of all. Smash the jar, and the air inside it merges seamlessly with

the air outside. Smash the illusion that you exist apart from God, and you merge in that divine reality."

The jars we are locked into are the physical, subtle, and causal bodies. The physical body is smashed at death. The subtle body is smashed at rebirth. But the causal body, the subtlemost vortex of energy in which our Inner Self reincarnates, is smashed only at the moment of final liberation, when the Inner Self merges in the Divine Self.

Think about it. Just as your five fingers are not really separate because they are linked to the same hand, so the Self in you and the Self in me and the Self in the person ahead of you in line at the bank are not really separate because they are linked in the Supreme Self, the consciousness of God. When you harm someone else, you are literally harming your Self. When you love someone else, you are literally loving your Self.

At the innermost level of our being we are all intimately linked. Apollonius of Tyana was amazed when he arrived in Kashmir and found yogis who knew everything about him. "How can you possibly know me?" he demanded. "We begin by knowing ourselves," was their reply.

The advanced adepts of the Hindu tradition move into a space in consciousness where there is no space between us. They explain that that is how they know their disciples' very thoughts. Hindus assume Jesus was expressing exactly the same concept when he said, "I am the vine, you are the branches." (John 15:5) We are linked at the root with God.

The Hindu View

Many Christians are puzzled by Jesus' words, "I am the vine, you are the branches." These words are adopted from the ancient Orphic mysteries in which the god Dionysus uses the same

phrase, referring to the mystic identity of his disciples with himself. The Hindu doctrine of our unity with God and each other appears in mystical traditions throughout the world.

Getting Off the Wheel

The goal of every Hindu life is to eventually shift one's awareness to the inner world of divine union. Hindu life is actually structured so that even average lay people can spend the last portion of their lives devoted solely to spiritual practice. (I'll explain how this actually works in Chapter 15.)

As long as you continue to wear a body, whether it's a physical one or a body of subtler energy, you're on the wheel of rebirth. Your identification with a body, your desire to explore a realm of existence whether material or astral, will keep tugging you into the round of birth and death.

In Hinduism, the spiritual master is the one who is no longer tied to any body. From the realm of pure consciousness, this being can choose voluntarily to reenter the world and can just as effortlessly exit again when the mission that soul has chosen to complete in the world is done. These are the liberated souls of Hinduism, the great enlightened masters. What they've mastered is themselves. Now they live in God-consciousness.

The Least You Need to Know

- In addition to the physical body, we have increasingly subtler bodies.
- The true Self is none of these bodies but the consciousness that operates through them.
- The guru helps us connect with our Inner Self.
- Self-realization is ultimately God-realization because God is the Self of all.

Chapter 9

Blind Men Describe an Elephant

In This Chapter

- A reasonable path to God
- Hindu atomic theory
- Ritual road to heaven
- Counting out reality
- Truth and illusion

Warning: You are about to launch into the dizzying world of Hindu theology. If your "Boring!" light is switching on, let me reassure you that the Hindus have some of the most interesting theology on the planet, if I may say so myself.

And I think if you get some of this stuff down, then later when we see how Hindus live their daily lives and what spiritual practices they actually perform, it will seem a lot less like "heathen superstition" and more like something truly beautiful, meaningful, and profound.

Six Views of One Reality

There's a famous story in India about six blind men who try to understand what an elephant looks like by running their hands over its body. One feels its trunk, another its ears, another its leg. A fourth man fingers its tail, a fifth its belly, and the sixth balances himself on its back. Not surprisingly, they come to completely different conclusions about what an elephant must look like.

Hindus believe God is like that. He's so big and so multidimensional and so impossible to grasp with the human mind that everyone who has something

to say about His nature may be absolutely correct, but only about the one small part of His nature they are able to understand.

Imagine we're standing together in a dark room. I hold up a sheet of paper. You shine a flashlight on it and see that it's white. Okay, that was a no-brainer.

Now imagine your flashlight has a yellow bulb instead of a white one. This time the paper looks yellow. If your flashlight had a blue bulb, it would look blue. If you turn off your flashlight, you won't see the paper at all. It's merged in the darkness. So what color is the sheet of paper, *really?*

def•i•ni•tion

Darshana means "seeing." It refers to Hinduism's schools of theology, which are different ways of "seeing" God. It can also mean having the direct vision of the Supreme Being yourself—for example, when you see his or her image in a temple.

There are many thousands of different *darshanas,* ways of looking at reality, in Hinduism. But six are most important. They're all looking at the same divine reality, but they see it in different colors.

Please note that in summarizing these complex systems of Indian thought for you, I will be shamelessly oversimplifying.

Nyaya: The Logical Approach

When I was in college, oh, it seems like a century ago, in world history we were taught that the ancient Greeks were the first people to think logically. This always seemed suspicious to me. The Egyptians built the pyramids without being able to think logically? Humans have lived on this planet for hundreds of thousands of years at least, and Thales of Miletus was the first person ever to have a logical thought? Frankly, my professors thought the

Greeks were the only ancient culture capable of logic because the Greeks were the only ancient culture they'd ever studied.
Today, more knowledgeable scholars admit that until very recently, the Nyaya philosophers of India were probably the most skilled logicians in history. These guys had nitpicking down to a science.
Nyaya was founded by a sage named Gotama a long, long time ago. He noted that anyone could run around claiming anything, so how do we decide whom to believe? We have to reason clearly and methodically, Gotama said, so we don't inadvertently delude ourselves and everyone else at the same time.

The Hindu View

People often think scientific materialism is a modern phenomenon. But India's ancient school of Lokayata was wholly materialistic. It taught that there is no reality beyond what we see with our five senses and that human consciousness ends at death. This school never gained much credibility in India because it failed to explain the extrasensory or psychic phenomena so many people experience and that saints and advanced yogis exhibit all the time.

When we analyze nature critically, we're forced to the conclusion that the objective universe is composed of individual atoms and the subjective universe is composed of individual souls. But how can we souls be sure that our ideas about the world outside ourselves are correct? We can rely on four sources of information if we're careful:

- Data we perceive with our senses.
- Inferences we make based on this data. ("If there's smoke, there's fire.")
- Careful comparisons. ("A tiger is like a big lion with stripes.")
- Reliable testimony. (Like the statements of enlightened masters.)

Nyaya theologians determined that God must exist for a number of logical reasons. Here are two:

- Atoms can't coordinate themselves into an intelligible universe. Everywhere you look, the cosmos shows evidence of intelligent planning and purpose.
- Karma doesn't run itself. Some higher intelligence apportions to each soul the karma it deserves.

The Nyayas worked out their arguments with painstaking attention to detail and logical consistency. They set the standard for clear thinking in Hinduism.

Vaisheshika: The Atomic Theory

My professors in college also told me the Greeks were the first people to come up with the atomic theory, but that wasn't true either.

The Vaisheshikas formulated the Indian atomic theory sometime before the beginning of Buddhism and Jainism, both of which incorporated some ideas about atoms into their worldviews. This takes Vaisheshika back to, at the very latest, 500 B.C.E. It's attributed to a brilliant founding sage named Kanada.

According to the Vaisheshikas, we can say some specific things definitely exist. Atoms do, as do the space and time in which they move. So does God, and so do we, in the form of immortal souls who put on bodies to play out our karma during the cycles of universal manifestation.

Sages Say

After a cycle of universal dissolution, the Supreme Being decides to recreate the cosmos so that we souls can experience a solid world. Very subtle atoms begin to combine, eventually generating a cosmic wind that blows heavier and heavier atoms together. Souls, depending on their karma earned in previous world systems, spontaneously draw to themselves atoms that coalesce into an appropriate body.
—Prashasta Pada

Here comes an important point. (Prepare not to be confused.) Remember that six blind men can describe an elephant completely differently and still be talking about the same animal.
Remember how I mentioned that Hinduism says we're all one? That our souls all connect in the divine consciousness? Well, the Vaisheshikas don't believe this. But that doesn't mean they're not Hindus! Nor does it mean they don't believe in the Veda. It just means they're reading the Veda from a slightly different perspective that makes more sense to them. It's like Christians reading the Bible. Some say the Bible tells us we should follow the pope. Others insist the Bible doesn't breathe a word about the pope.
The Vaisheshikas believe each soul is an eternally separate unit that exists as a whole in itself. When it disengages from involvement with the universe, becoming a liberated soul, it enters a state much like unconsciousness because it doesn't perceive or interact with anything outside itself. It's not happy. It's not unhappy. It just exists. It's something like the state of your awareness during deep sleep. After millions of years

of reincarnating in one challenging lifetime after another, a good long sleep may be just what the doctor ordered!

Mimamsa: The Way to Heaven

Mimamsa is the system of theology favored by many orthodox brahmins who devote their lives to performing Vedic rituals.
Mimamsa is attributed to the ancient sage Jaimini. It emphasizes the performance of duty as the structural law that holds families, nations, and the universe itself together. Literally from their first waking moment, Hindus who follow this tradition devote each moment of the day to the conscientious performance of religious duties, from chanting sacred mantras before getting out of bed, chanting other prayers the moment their feet touch the floor, and so on throughout the day.
The Mimamsas are not deeply interested in defining the nature of God or in spiritual liberation. Their preoccupation is with the performance of sacred ritual in the effort to live righteously here on Earth and to obtain a heavenly state after death. They're not interested in getting off the wheel of rebirth but in living ethically in the here and now.
To the Mimamsas, the universe itself is an unending fire sacrifice. Life is offered back to life as one creature dies to feed another. By aligning ourselves with the self-sacrificial nature of the universe, we live in accord with eternal law.

Sankhya: Spirit and Matter

Here comes a totally mind blowing one. Sankhya is one of the most ancient, most interesting, and most influential philosophies of all time. Thinkers from other schools would do their best to debunk Sankhya, but in the end, they'd incorporate parts of it into their own systems. If you can grasp the fundamental insights of Sankhya, you'll have a firm handle on the mystical traditions of cultures all over the world.

The yogis and pandits I've studied with claim Sankhya is the oldest known philosophical system in existence. They may be right. The system was founded by the sage Kapila in prehistory. Sankhya terminology already appears in the Veda, particularly the Upanishads.

Sages Say

The followers of Sankhya put their trust in the words of the sages. The followers of Yoga put their trust in their own experience. There is no other wisdom equal to Sankhya. There is no other power equal to Yoga.
—*Mahabharata*

Sankhya literally means "number." Sankhya enumerates the categories that make up physical and mental reality. In prehistory, the great minds of India didn't have particle accelerators to help them analyze different types of atoms. Instead they used astute observation of nature and of their own minds to analyze the components of human experience. These components added up to 25.

Let's start at ground zero, the most physical of physical matter, and work our way up the ladder of reality:

1. **Prithivi:** Dense physical matter (like Earth).
2. **Apas:** Fluid physical matter (like Water).
3. **Agni:** Combustive physical matter (like Fire).
4. **Vayu:** Gaseous matter (like Air).
5. **Akasha:** Extremely attenuated physical matter (like space).

6. **Gandha:** That which is smelled.
7. **Rasa:** That which is tasted.
8. **Rupa:** That which is seen.
9. **Sparsha:** That which is felt.
10. **Shabda:** That which is heard.
11. **Payu:** The ability to excrete.
12. **Upastha:** The ability to procreate.
13. **Pada:** The ability to locomote.
14. **Pani:** The ability to handle objects.
15. **Vak:** The ability to speak.
16. **Ghrana:** The sense of smell.
17. **Jinva:** The sense of taste.
18. **Chakshu:** The sense of sight.
19. **Tvak:** The sense of touch.
20. **Stotra:** The sense of hearing.
21. **Manas:** Thought processes.
22. **Ahankara:** Self-identity.
23. **Buddhi:** Judgment, intellect and intuition.
24. **Prakriti:** The material matrix. Primordial matter.
25. **Purusha:** The individual spirit.

Guidepost

Is our Western way of categorizing reality the only legitimate way? We say there are 100-plus elements and 4 or so basic forms of energy. Other cultures—such as the Hindus and Chinese—described nature in ways that initially appear odd to us.

Westerners who have taken the trouble to learn these foreign systems have expressed amazement at their level of insight and sophistication.

Ordering Reality

To put it all together, Sankhya lists five physical elements, five subtle elements, five organs of action, five sense organs, three faculties of mind, then matter and spirit per se.

Note that items 1 through 4 on the list are often mistranslated as Earth, Water, Fire, and Air. These four concepts, as they're actually applied in Hindu physics and medicine, are far more complex than such simplistic translations would suggest. Hindus understand them as energy states, as the way matter behaves in its densest forms.

Akasha, item 5, is a super fine form of matter that fills space and in a sense actually *is* space. Atomic particles are created from it. Nuclear physicists have actually admitted that such a field of "super matter" or "zero point energy" must indeed exist to explain the appearance of particles "out of nowhere" during their experiments!

Note that only the first five categories on the list are physical! Items 5 through 10 are *not* physical. These subtle elements refer to matter *as you experience it in your mind,* not as it exists outside your body. After all, when you see a fire in a dream, your skull doesn't burst into flames! According to the Hindu tradition, the substance of your dreams and inner visions is just as real as the substance of the external world. In fact, whole other dimensions exist of this immaterial matter. This is an important point that may help you understand how visualizations and ritual magic—important components of Hindu spiritual practice—actually work.

Hold on to your hat, because the next major point is totally counterintuitive to our Western conditioning. Sankhya holds that the sense organs and organs of action are not physical either. When you glanced over items 11 through 20 in the list, you probably assumed they were referring to hands and feet, ears and eyes. If you did, you were mistaken.

The Sankhya masters noted that we see and move not only in the physical world but also in our dreams and out-of-body experiences. So our ability to interface with the stuff around us must exist in our subtle body. They operate through our physical organs while we're in a physical body, interacting with the solid world accessible to our waking consciousness. But they operate through our subtle body in lucid dream states, "astral travel," and after death.

The Nature of Mind

Your brain is a valuable apparatus, but ultimately it's not the brain that sees and hears. The brain registers sound waves and photons from the physical world, but these are transmitted to a receiving station that's not *in* the brain, though it operates *through* the brain. This receiving station is called manas, the processing port of the mind. It's item 21 on the Sankhya list.

The renegade Western physicist Rupert Sheldrake pointed out that a person who doesn't understand how a television set works might believe Simon Cowell and Paula Abdul live inside the TV. So if the TV set breaks, Simon and Paula no longer exist. In reality, of course, Simon and Paula (and Randy Jackson, too) film *American Idol* in a studio in Los Angeles, and their program is routed to your TV via the wonders of modern technology. According to Sheldrake, we in the West have a very primitive understanding of the brain. When the brain is switched on, images appear. When the brain switches off, the images vanish. Ergo, scientists assume the images exist only in the brain. But our thought processes may be generated in another dimension entirely and may only be *routed* through the physical brain when we engage with the external world and our physical body. In Chapter 25, I explain what happened when Western scientists put yogis to the test in the laboratory to see whether wild claims like these could possibly hold up. (Spoiler alert: The yogis passed with flying colors!)

In addition to manas, which receives, transmits, and interprets sense data, there's the ahankara, or "me" awareness (item 22 on our list). This is the lens that focuses thoughts and reactions on a single point we identify as "me." Problems arise when this "me" sense gets out of hand and we start claiming not only our thoughts and perceptions as our own, but also objects

around us ("That's *my* doll, you can't have it!") and even other people as exclusively our own.

Buddhi (item 23) is the part of the mind in which will power and the ability to make decisions kicks in. Manas senses Rum Raisin premium ice cream. Ahankara declares, "That's for me!" Buddhi is the part of the intelligence that then deliberates: "I'm already 25 pounds overweight. What does another pound or two matter?" And then makes the decision to go ahead and pork down a pint of ice cream. Animals have manas and ahankara, but buddhi, or the capacity to make wise or foolish judgments based on reason, exists primarily in humans.

The real Self, consciousness, called *purusha* (related to the English word *person*) in this system, exists outside the range of mind and matter all together. The mind is the apparatus through which consciousness interfaces with the inner and outer worlds. But the mind is made of perishable patterns of energy and will dissolve away sooner or later (item 24), unlike the real conscious Self within, which is eternal (item 25).

How do the Sankhya masters know this? Because they've been doing yoga!

Sages Say

Mental states are not conscious in themselves. Mind has a knower. The Self is that knower; it is the real man.
—Swami Satparakashananda

Yoga: Techniques for Higher Awareness

In the West, yoga means standing on your head. In Hinduism, it means meditation. Yoga literally means "union." It's about uniting your attention with its source, your everyday awareness with the fountain of consciousness from which it springs.

Hindu thinkers were not into philosophy just to show how smart they were. Even the driest Hindu thinkers of them all, the Nyaya logicians, had a sacred purpose in mind. That was to use their knowledge as a means to *moksha,* spiritual liberation. To Hindus, philosophy is never just an intellectual exercise as it so often is in the West. It's a door to the living experience of divine reality.

def•i•ni•tion

Moksha means "freedom." The liberated man and woman are freed from the wheel of death and rebirth and from the destiny enforced by their karma.

Yoga is the practical branch of Sankhya, the spiritual techniques used to move from talking about higher levels of reality to actually experiencing them.

Sankhya says that everything in the ever-changing universe, including the subtle matter out of which our minds are made, comes from prakriti, primordial energy. Prakriti is the ocean of energy that exists forever in all dimensions of eternity. Its grossest manifestation is the physical matter we see and touch.

Prakriti has three modes called gunas:

- **Rajas:** Motion. Active, energetic, hot. Kinetic energy.
- **Tamas:** Inertia. Heaviness, dullness. Potential energy.
- **Sattva:** Harmony. Lightness, clarity. Balanced energy.

When all three gunas balance each other, the universe melts away. It's like the mathematical equation [-1] + 0 + 1 = 0. But when the gunas fall out of

equilibrium, a motion rolls through the cosmic ocean of primeval energy, and a new universe begins to take shape.

The Hindu View

The word *yoga* comes from the Sanskrit root *yuj*. It's related to the English word *yoke* and signifies union with divine consciousness, whether you see it as your own Inner Self or as union with the Supreme Being.

Yogis actively work to balance the gunas in their personalities so that they can disengage from matter completely and shift their awareness fully back into pure consciousness itself. When that happens, the sack of past life karma the causal body carries around with it falls away along with the causal body itself. The yogi is now liberated—free from karma and the cycles of rebirth. She has shifted her awareness totally into the twenty-fifth category of reality, purusha, the Inner Self.

The Sankhya masters say an infinite number of purushas are floating around the universe, trillions upon trillions of souls. The yoga system adds one more special purusha: God. According to yoga, God is the divine consciousness that never fell into matter when the universe first formed. God has always existed outside time and space but is so gracious he occasionally lends us a hand in our efforts to escape the eternal treadmill. Purusha and prakriti, spirit and matter, never come into contact with each other in this system. Purusha doesn't act in matter. It can't because the power to act, our organs of action, belong to the sphere of prakriti. The purusha is a ball of consciousness that merely observes. Have you been in

an accident where your car was spinning out of control? During emergencies, many people report they were thrust into a state of calm clarity where they weren't afraid at all but were simply observing what was happening. That tranquil inner observer is the purusha.

While purusha never does anything, its mere proximity to prakriti causes matter to do everything. It's like a magnet under a sheet of paper covered with iron filings. The magnet never touches the bits of metal, yet they all spontaneously align themselves in accord with the magnet's fields. In the same way, nature, which is not conscious in itself, automatically serves the Inner Self. The chaos of primordial energy becomes the ordered cosmos perceived by consciousness.

Vedanta: It's All an Illusion!

For many of the educated Westerners who know anything about Hinduism, Hinduism means Vedanta. That's because the first Hindu spiritual leaders to teach widely in the West were Vedantists. If you hear people say, "Hindus believe this world is just an illusion," you're hearing a rather jumbled version of Vedanta.

Vedanta means both "the last portion of the Veda," referring to the Upanishads, and "the fulfillment of the Veda," meaning the most enlightening portion of the Veda. For over a thousand years, Vedanta has been the most important theological force in India. This is due largely to the immense impact of Shankaracharya, and to the incredible strength of the reaction against him by other Vedanta masters, such as Ramanuja and Madhva.

Guidepost

It's not true that Hindus believe the world is "just an illusion." Shankaracharya, the famous master who is supposed to have taught this, in fact admitted that the world is fully real to those of us living in it. It appears like an illusion only from the point of view of enlightened awareness because it is constantly changing and finally disappears. The consciousness from which the universe was projected is the *real* reality, Shankaracharya said, not the ever-changing world.

One, Not Two!

Shankaracharya was one of those staggering geniuses the world too rarely sees. He was not just a brilliant intellectual but a highly advanced yogi with a living experience of the unity of all reality. He appeared at a time in history when Hinduism was in a slump, having taken some big hits from alternative religions, like Buddhism and Jainism. He traveled all over India, reinvigorating Hinduism through the force of his luminous personality, his impeccable logic, and his yogic power.

Shankaracharya carried the doctrine of Advaita Vedanta throughout the subcontinent. Advaita means nondual, "not two." Shankaracharya disagreed with the Sankhya masters that reality is dual, that spirit and matter exist separately. To Shankaracharya, spirit—by which he means pure consciousness—is the only reality.

Shankaracharya uses the Vedic name for the one reality, Brahman. Atman, our innermost Self, is identical in essence to Brahman, the divine consciousness, just as a drop of water is essentially identical with the ocean. When we achieve moksha, spiritual liberation, we merge back into that ocean of consciousness, as a drop of water merges seamlessly into the sea. There is no way to describe Brahman. It is far beyond human conception. But if we had to use words to give us a hazy idea of the greatness of that vast reality, Shankaracharya would use the words *sat, chit,* and *ananda:* being, consciousness, and bliss. To him, the highest state of awareness was

not the unconscious state the Vaisheshikas described. It was a luminous and lucid state full of divine knowledge and blissfulness.
If all that exists is pure being, consciousness, and bliss, why do we have to deal with rent payments, incompetent supervisors, and dead car batteries? Shankaracharya would be the first to acknowledge the practical realities we face in day-to-day life. But from the point of view of the deepest states of meditation, where one actually experiences one's own Atman merging in Brahman, the external world is *maya,* the superimposition of our own ideas about the world on an unchanging and ever-perfect underlying reality.
If you see a coiled rope on the road in the dark, you may think it's a snake. Your heart starts pounding; your hands get sweaty and clammy. For you, at the moment, that's really a poisonous snake. But when you shine a flashlight at it and see it's just a rope, your fear disappears instantly, and you recognize the fear was groundless from the very beginning. When the flashlight of genuine meditative experience shines in our awareness, we recognize that there is not and never has been anything, anywhere, anytime, but Brahman—pure, perfect divinity.

One, But Two, Too!

Ramanuja caught hold of a different part of the elephant. Ramanuja, who may have lived somewhere around 1000 C.E., couldn't quite accept that we individual souls are in some sense equal in essence with God. He started his own brand of Vedanta called Vishishta Advaita, which roughly translates as "almost but not quite not two."
For Ramanuja, we souls can experience union, not unity, with Brahman. The world is not an idea superimposed on reality but has a real existence of its own. It is the body of Brahman, while Brahman is the innermost soul of the world. We exist as beings distinct from Brahman and will forever, though our innermost essence is rooted in that Supreme Reality. We can recognize our unity in Brahman, but we'll never lose our identity in it.
While Shankaracharya emphasized using the discriminating intellect to contemplate the inner reality, Ramanuja, like the Mimamsas, emphasized the importance of rituals and religious and social duties. While

Shankaracharya promoted a mental approach to the truth, Ramanuja felt devotion was a more appropriate way to approach the Supreme Being.

Two, Not One!

Madhva, who lived around 1200 C.E., rejected both points of view. He created a third major school called Dvaita Vedanta, the Vedanta of duality. Some scholars have speculated that Christianity influenced his views because he is the only major Hindu thinker who believed in eternal damnation!

Madhva taught that the world is real, we're real, and God is real, and we're all eternally separate. We're not united or in union or anything to that effect, thank you!

During Madhva's lifetime, the Muslims were creating havoc in India, actively trying to extinguish the Hindu religion. It's possible he felt the need to arouse Hindus from the other-worldliness that other schools of Vedanta tended to produce and to inspire them to deal with real life emergencies in the material world, like homicidal Islamic armies.

The Whole Elephant

Most of my Hindu teachers are not in the least disturbed by the dramatic differences in the teachings of Hindu masters like Kapila, Shankaracharya, and Jaimini. To my gurus, these different philosophers were just hanging on to different parts of the elephant. In some respects, their differing doctrines say more about where they were in their meditation practice than about reality itself.

There comes a point in one's meditation where you enter a state much like unconsciousness. There comes a deeper state where you feel yourself to be pure conscious awareness alone, an observer of the material world that seems somehow "outside" you. Continuing the journey inward, there comes a still deeper state where the distinction between you, the world, and God fades away, and you experience an expansive state of unity. So these

different teachers aren't contradicting each other. They're all correct, based on the level of meditation they attained.
Very influential schools like Kashmir Shaivism and Shakta Advaita, led by spiritual geniuses like Abhinava Gupta (eleventh century C.E.), have beautifully integrated the six classical theologies into breathtakingly elegant, philosophically consistent systems.

Quick Quiz

1. Hindu theologians are …
    a. Completely incapable of thinking logically.
    b. Among the best logicians in the world.
    c. The original inventors of sudoku.
2. Kapila taught that …
    a. There are 25 components of reality.
    b. Brahman is the only reality.
    c. The Beatles are the greatest rock group of all time.
3. Shankaracharya is famous for …
    a. Sitting without blinking for 20 years.
    b. Playing sitar.
    c. Spreading nondual Vedanta throughout India.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (a). 3 (c).

The Least You Need to Know

- Ancient Hindus mastered logic and the atomic theory.
- Sankhya summarized the levels of physical and nonmaterial realities.
- Yoga teaches techniques leading to actual experience of divine reality.
- Vedanta has three main schools defining the soul's relation to the Supreme Spirit.

Part 3

Who Hindus Worship

"The one God wears many masks," wrote mythologist Joseph Campbell. In no other religion does the Supreme Being wear so many masks and invite worship in so many different forms as the Eternal Religion of Hinduism. Hindus love to worship. Every aspect of life is worship. "Let my walking be circumambulation of You," wrote Shankaracharya. "Let my speech be the recitation of Your holy mantras. When I lie down to sleep, may it be prostrating to You."

The Supreme Being has no form at all and yet is inherent in all forms. In the following chapters, you'll meet the most popular forms in which the Eternal One is honored. Among the thousands of different Hindu sects, you'll also meet the three largest denominations—the devotees of Vishnu, Shiva, and Shakti.

This is the universe of Hinduism, in which any chance encounter can be a meeting with God.

Chapter 10

"Can You Show Me God?"

In This Chapter

- A God beyond imagination
- Going Om
- Hindu "idols"
- The root of all evil
- Lenses to the infinite

Naren Datta was born in Kolkata in 1863. His parents, visualizing a brilliant future for their precocious son, arranged for a good British education. His future would be bright indeed. In fact, the future of Hindus everywhere would improve radically thanks to Naren Datta, but not because of his British training.

Naren's European schoolmasters bequeathed to him the same gift they gave almost every Hindu schoolchild entrusted to their care: complete contempt for Hinduism. Naren would roll his eyes when he saw Hindu holy men on the streets. Or the bhairavis, the women yogis. How sad that these people lived in complete superstition, never having benefited, as he had, from an enlightened European education!

A Divine Challenge

To express his disdain, Naren would go to Hindu pandits—men who spent a great deal of time talking about God—and ask, "Can you show me God?" Inevitably they would regretfully admit they couldn't.

Then one day a friend took Naren to visit a local priest at the Kali temple in Kolkata. "Can you show me God?" Naren haughtily demanded.

“Of course!” Ramakrishna Paramahansa instantly replied.
Naren Datta, a.k.a. Swami Vivekananda.
(Vedanta Society of Saint Louis)

God Is Mind-Blowing!

I don’t think there’s any schoolchild in the state of Bengal who doesn’t know the rest of the story.

Naren was sitting on the floor when he posed his challenge to the temple priest. Ramakrishna lifted his foot and brushed Naren's forehead with his toe. Remember in Chapter 8, when I told you about shaktipat, the shot of energy some disciples get from their gurus? Well, Naren got a dose of shaktipat. A *big* dose. He was pitched into cosmic consciousness, his awareness merging into the living universe all around him. It was ecstatic! Then, Naren suddenly remembered his poor widowed mother, who would starve if he wasn't on hand to support her. In that moment, his consciousness imploded back into his body. He was Naren Datta again. Or rather, he had just become the man history would remember as Swami Vivekananda, the leading disciple of one of the greatest Hindu masters of recent centuries, Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

Sages Say

Although almost every one of us can speak most wonderfully on spiritual matters, when it comes to action and the living of a spiritual life, we find ourselves awfully deficient. To quicken the spirit, the impulse must come from another soul. The person from whose soul such an impulse comes is called the guru.
—Swami Vivekananda

Naren—called Swami Vivekananda after he took the vows of a Hindu renunciate—would turn the tables on his schoolmasters. He would be the first swami in modern times to visit Europe and America, teaching the Sanatana Dharma, the eternal religion of Hinduism. He would meet with

spectacular success abroad, introducing tens of thousands of eager Western students to yoga and meditation.

But for our purpose here we need to understand exactly what happened in that extraordinary moment when the master touched Naren's forehead. And to do that we need to understand Ramakrishna's own spiritual history.

A Rock in the Eye

Ramakrishna was a priest of the Hindu goddess Kali. It was his responsibility to care for the statue of the goddess in the Dakshineshvar Temple, to bring offerings and chant beautiful hymns in praise of her. Ramakrishna took his duties very seriously (his brief forays into other religions, which I mentioned in Chapter 6, notwithstanding). He hardly had a life apart from the goddess. He would speak about her, sing about her, meditate on her, and worship her in virtually every waking moment. He experienced the statue of Kali as actually alive and would see her leap down from the altar to dance ecstatically around the temple.

A *tantric* master named *Bhairavi* Ma noticed Ramakrishna's extraordinary devotion and began calling people's attention to the presence of the great saint among them. As an advanced adept, she could see that his intense devotion was not only giving Ramakrishna divine visions but also carrying him into very high meditative states.

Then a master named Tota Puri visited the Kali temple. He was an adept in the Advaita Vedanta tradition. This, to remind you, is the tradition of Shankaracharya which encourages meditators to go beyond every trace of duality (see Chapter 9). Tota Puri scolded Ramakrishna for his attachment to Kali's form. He explained that if Ramakrishna really wanted to know the goddess's true nature, he must go beyond the image of her he cherished so dearly.

def•i•ni•tion

> A tantric uses the techniques of Tantra—an advanced system of yogic practices—to expand his or her mystical awareness.
> A bhairavi is a female tantric practitioner.

Tota Puri took a sharp rock and pierced Ramakrishna's forehead at the "third eye," the point between his eyebrows. "Next time you go into meditation," the Vedantin instructed, "focus behind this point. If a picture of Kali appears in your mind, take a sword and hack her to pieces." Ramakrishna was shocked at this advice, but he obeyed. When he next sat for meditation, he brought his full awareness to his ajna chakra, the center behind the eyebrows. When he saw his beloved Kali approach, he pushed past the image he held of her in his mind into the reality beyond mental words and pictures.

Embracing Transcendence

This experience transported Ramakrishna into one of the highest meditative states a human being can achieve. He experienced the living reality of Brahman, the all-pervading essence of awareness that exists beyond thought. Ramakrishna became so firmly grounded in this transcendent state that when Naren challenged him to show him God, the master was able to transmit the actual experience of divine being to the skeptical young man.
Let me hasten to make a point here so you don't get the wrong impression. Unlike Naren, precious few of us go to meet a guru and find ourselves thrown into the highest mystical states. Most of us spend quite a few years performing spiritual practices before we get to a point where we can receive the guru's transmission.
Ramakrishna later explained that Naren was, in fact, a very highly evolved soul who had selflessly entered the physical plane to serve humanity. His European training had temporarily directed him away from his innate spirituality. All Ramakrishna had to do to put him back on track was reawaken a cosmic state of awareness Naren had already achieved in previous existences!

You will understand Hinduism if you can grasp this concept: there is only one Supreme Reality, called Brahman—but Brahman has two modes, nirguna and saguna. Nirguna means "without qualities." Saguna means "with qualities." Nirguna Brahman is the transcendent Supreme Being contacted only in the highest states of meditation. Saguna Brahman is God or Goddess as we know and love Him or Her. This is the deity we can picture in our minds, the one who helps solve our problems and saves us in emergencies, the one whose loving embrace we feel in prayer. Try understanding it this way. If a physicist was paid to describe you, she would list the fields of matter and energy that constitute your body. It would be a very impersonal description. But if a psychologist was given the same job, he would list your many personality characteristics. Some yogis in very deep meditation experience God as an impersonal absolute. Others, whose awareness is focused at another plane, experience God as a loving, caring personality.

It's that elephant again. One blind man has it by the tail. The other is running his fingers over its flapping ear!

Unthinkable Truth

Nirguna Brahman is the Godhead behind God that the Christian mystic Meister Eckhart experienced in deep meditation. It is Absolute Reality itself, pure self-existent being. Any attempt to describe it falls flat. Even the words I just used are a dim reflection of its glory. The Supreme One is totally beyond our imagination. The human mind can't begin to grasp it. What we *can* do is transcend our own minds, shift back into the pure awareness within ourselves, and simply experience the living reality itself. It can be known but it can't be communicated in words—though mystics never tire of trying!

Sages Say

People of different religions never cease to fight. But think—is religion just another branch of the military? ... The true religion is that in which one becomes aware of one's own Self. That Self is Consciousness, which nothing can surpass. Because it pervades everywhere, Conscious-ness must accept all; it cannot reject anyone. The religion of Consciousness is God's true religion.
—Swami Muktanand

In Hinduism, this transcendent being is symbolized by the sound "Om," which is produced by running the Sanskrit letters *a, u,* and *m* together. The Mandukya Upanishad says that "A" stands for the waking state. "U" signifies the dream state. "M" stands for deep sleep. And the slight pause, the little piece of silence that follows your speaking the sound Om and precedes your repeating it again—that pregnant silence is Nirguna Brahman. It's the "nothing" that contains everything.
Om, the Hindu symbol for the primordial reality.
*(*Hinduism Today*)*

Seeing the Unseen

The seers of the Upanishads wrestled with words, trying to show us that which cannot be seen. The Katha Upanishad endeavors to explain:

> Beyond the senses is the logical mind. Beyond the logical mind is the intuition. Beyond the intuition is the Inner Self. Beyond the Inner Self is the vast unmanifest reality, the primal energy from which all things emerge. Beyond the unmanifest is the Supreme Being, who exists everywhere yet cannot be seen. One who realizes the Supreme is liberated. Yes, that one becomes immortal.
> No one can see the Supreme with the eye. The only way to know Him is through deep meditation, after the mind has been completely

> purified. Those great souls who know the Supreme One, they are liberated from suffering and delusion. Yes, they become immortal.

Remember that in Hinduism immortality does not mean immortal life in a physical body. It means the Inner Self becomes free from the process of death and rebirth, relaxing into undying divine consciousness.

The somber Swedish filmmaker Ingmar Bergman liked to compare God to a spider. He meant this to be a creepy image, suggesting a malevolent being who captures us in an inescapable web and eats us alive. The Upanishads use the image of a spider repeatedly but in a different sense.

To the seers, the Supreme spins the entire universe out of its own being, just as a spider generates a web from its own body. At the end of a world cycle, the Supreme One dissolves the universe back into itself. The nature of that awesome eternal being is far beyond the ability of our intellects to understand. Yet the unseeable one is the very one who is peering out through our eyes. It is the all-pervading awareness in which our awareness abides, our own innermost truth.

Sages Say

There is one Supreme Controller, Who is the Inner Self of all beings. He projects Himself outward, creating infinity from the One. Everlasting joy comes to those wise beings who perceive this great Being within themselves.
—Katha Upanishad

We cannot *see* Nirguna Brahman, yet we *are* Nirguna Brahman!

“Idol Worship”: Worshipping an Ideal

Let’s shift our perspective from the inconceivable reality to the more user-friendly version of God, Saguna Brahman.

“What I am is utterly beyond the capacity of your mind to conceive,” the Goddess tells us in the Tripura Rahasya. “Therefore, worship Me in whatever form appeals to you. I promise, in that very form I will come to you.” As you can see, compared to the Judeo-Christian-Islamic God, the Hindu Goddess has a very liberal policy!

To the Hindu, Kali and Krishna are forms in which the divine appears. Yahweh and Jesus Christ are, too. There’s no need to convert anyone because the Supreme One is working through “whatever form appeals to you” to help you grow spiritually.

Perhaps the Hindu form of God most poorly understood in the West is the image in the temple, pejoratively called an “idol” by members of monotheistic faiths. From early childhood, my Lutheran Sunday school teachers assured me that the Hindus are hopelessly superstitious—and it’s our job to “save” them—because they “worship idols.”

Let’s get this straight right here, right now. *Hindus do not worship idols.* Hindus worship *God.*

Guidepost

That Hindus “worship idols” is probably the single most common misconception about Hinduism. It’s painful for Hindus when Westerners insult their intelligence by suggesting they believe the stone or marble image of a deity in a temple is

actually the Divine Being itself. Hindus use images as tools to connect with the Divine. They fully understand that the Divine itself is much greater than the physical image in the temple!

Seeing God

There is the God that can't be seen. And there is the God that can. Hindus visit their temples to see God and be seen by him. Whether it's a statue of the warrior goddess Durga; the ever popular goddess of prosperity, Lakshmi, with her handsome husband, Vishnu; or the powerful South Indian deity Vel, Hindu families come bearing their gifts of coconuts, marigolds, rupees, bananas, or whatever is on hand to offer God or Goddess that day.

The priest draws aside the gate that separates the worshipper from the image, and the family members gaze into the eyes of their beloved deity. This is the process of darshan, which means "sight." You see your beloved deity. He or she sees you. A connection is made. A blessing is rendered.

Yet, in spite of what my Sunday school teacher taught, in all my travels through India from one end of the subcontinent to the other, I've never met a Hindu past the age of seven who actually believes the image in the temple *is* God. In fact, if the "idol" should chip or crack, Hindus will take it out and dump it in the river! That's a pretty unceremonious way to treat God, don't you think?

If you look through a telescope, you can clearly see the planets. Yet no one thinks the telescope is actually Mars. The "idols" in the temples, called *murtis* in India, are telescopes to help us see God and Goddess more clearly. The divine comes into focus, comes closer, comes so near we can reach out and touch the divine feet.

Breathing Statues

Still, the Hindu murtis are not just statues. When an image is installed in a temple, the priest performs a special rite called prana pratishtha. Prana is

life energy or breath. Pratishtha means “establish.” During the ceremony, the living deity is invited to enter the image, to take the statue as one of his or her bodies. The priest breathes onto the image, establishing living energy there, and the statue comes to life.

Once prana pratishtha has been accomplished, the image of the deity is no longer a pretty piece of furniture. From now on, until a priest formally removes the life force, the statue is considered as much alive as any person in the room. Food is brought to the deity throughout the day. The deity is washed and dressed in clean clothes daily and is fanned and presented with incense and tasty desserts. It’s treated as an honored guest. Devotees carefully watch what they say, even what they think, in the deity’s presence, so as not to cause offense.

Visiting the deity’s form in a temple or—as almost all Hindus do—keeping an image of the deity in their own home is a valuable way to practice the presence of God. But it’s not just pretend. When the statue is formally brought to life, a tiny fraction of the total awareness of the real deity actually takes up residence in the statue. A fraction of infinity is still infinity. So through the awakened image, the devotee makes contact with the whole of divine being.

Sages Say

How long do small girls play with their dolls? As long as they are not married and do not live with their husbands. After marriage they put the dolls away in a box. What further need is there of worshipping the image after the vision of God?
—Ramakrishna Paramahansa

Divine Outlets

The “real” God or Goddess is beyond form, existing everywhere at once. It is the “real” deity to whom the devotee offers worship. The “real” source of electricity is the power plant. But you don’t go to the power plant to get your electricity. You just stick your plug in an outlet in the wall. Because “living” electricity flows through the outlet, that outlet needs to be treated with respect. You don’t just casually stick your fingers into it.

In the Hindu tradition, murtis are outlets for divine grace. The priest hooks up the system, and divine energy starts to flow. Since time immemorial, Hindus have energized their spiritual lives using empowered images of divinity.

Speaking from my personal experience, I can report that occasionally a murti is so “juiced up,” it’s as if a force field surrounds it. You step within several yards of the statue and suddenly feel as if you’re walking into a wall of pulsing energy. My guess is that this is an objective rather than purely subjective phenomenon because my fellow travelers, even non-Hindus, would invariably feel the energy field at the same point.

Sages Say

In all the worlds you see, and the worlds you don’t see, I am there. In all creatures that move, and in beings that don’t move, I am there. In every particle of matter, from the grossest to the subtlemost, I am there. Everything you see or hear, in the external world or in the inner world, My divine awareness pervades it.

> —Sarva Jnana Uttara Agama

God on Parade

Anyone who's spent time in India has seen God out parading. On special festival days, Hindus take the murti out of the temple and parade it through town. If the murti is too large or unwieldy to take for a ride, a special substitute image goes instead.

The substitute is just as good as the real thing because during a special ceremony, the priest transfers the living presence of God from the main murti in the temple into the smaller portal one. After all, it's the living presence of God or the Goddess that Hindus worship, not the physical idol.

The most famous divine parade happens every June or July (the exact date varies from year to year depending on the lunar calendar) in Puri in the state of Orissa. The murtis from the world-famous Jagannath Temple are loaded onto huge carts to be dragged through town. The murtis are of Lord Jagannath (the name means Lord of the World), his brother Balbhadra, and his sister Subhadra. Lord Jagannath's cart is 14 meters high and 10 meters square. It has 16 wheels, each more than 2 meters in diameter. The carts are so heavy it takes over 4,000 strong men to pull them. Getting them rolling is a real chore. And stopping them once they start moving is tough, too! The English world "juggernaut" came from British observers who watched this procession.

The three murtis are among the best loved in India. You may be interested to know that every decade or two the murtis are destroyed and new ones fashioned from tree trunks replace them. Let me make my point again: it is not the idol itself that is worshipped but the divine presence in it. The physical form is always expendable.

By the way, the European Roman Catholics have a remarkably similar custom. They carry images of Mary, the mother of Jesus, through the city on special feast days.

The Spirit in the Tree

All of nature is sacred to the Hindu. But some locations are especially spiritually potent—a river, a uniquely shaped rock, a particularly beautiful tree.

If you travel through the Indian countryside, you will run across many makeshift "people's shrines." Trees in particular are often centers for community worship. You'll find gifts to the tree's sacred spirit left scattered by its roots. Some of these are offerings of thanksgiving for a healing or other blessing the deity associated with the tree has granted.

The cities have their people's shrines, too. It's not unusual to be walking down a street or alley even in the busiest urban area and suddenly stumble across a little shrine, complete with pocket-size murtis and heartfelt offerings.

Show Me the Devil

You may have noticed that in all this talk about divine unity and everything being one, I haven't mentioned a word about the Devil. Where does evil fit into The Big Picture?

First, there is no Satan in Hinduism, at least not in the Christian sense of a malevolent being so powerful he almost rivals God. Hindus do believe in evil spirits and have various methods for exorcising them. But an ultimate evil being like Satan who is capable of giving God a run for his money cannot possibly exist in the Hindu worldview. God has no rivals.

Second, Hindus can't conceive of a hell in the Christian sense either, a place from which God has withdrawn his grace. To Hindus God is omnipresent—literally. How could there be any place in any dimension of any world where God isn't present?

Hell worlds do exist in Hindu cosmology, but they are more like the purgatory of the Catholics. They are temporary states in which disembodied souls undergo expiation and purification.

Sages Say

We have no theory of evil. We call it ignorance.
—Swami Vivekananda

Good and Evil Duke It Out

Christian texts describe a battle between angels and demons that won't end until Judgment Day, when God finally knocks the Devil off his high horse once and for all. Hinduism also frequently refers to the continual struggle between the devas (divine beings) and *asuras* (demons) but the significance is very different.

def•i•ni•tion

Asura in very ancient times meant a god. Later the meaning flipped over, becoming synonymous with selfish, aggressive supernatural beings.
Avidya literally means "non-knowledge." It refers to ignorance of our true spiritual nature.

There are stories of devas like Indra behaving badly and the occasional asura like Prahlada who behaves like an angel. Devas and asuras represent

different grades of consciousness. Devas are selfless and serviceful—most of the time, anyway. Asuras are selfish and materialistic—though some of them manage to get their act together. The battle between the forces of egotism and selfless love goes on forever, in all world systems where free will—the ability to choose between right and wrong—is a factor. But Hindus do not believe in evil as something that exists as a living, malevolent force embodied in a Satan.

The Devil in God

In Hinduism, ignorance—not the devil—is the root of evil. Only self-conscious entities can be evil, deliberately choosing to do harm to others or to themselves. When a human being or some other fully conscious entity fails to recognize that everything is interconnected, that we are all one, that harming another is literally harming oneself, then that person is acting out of ignorance of the underlying universal reality.

What Christians call evil is called *avidya* in Sanskrit, which means "lack of knowledge." In mystical states, beginning-level saints first experience the literal unity of all being. They come out of the experience transformed. As Anasuya Devi, the late housewife saint of Jillellamudi, expressed after she became mystically identified with the Mother of the Universe, "I am not anything that you are not. It doesn't appear to me that I am greater than you. The Goddess doesn't exist separately anywhere. You are all the Goddess." Acting from this living realization of primal unity, the saints act for the welfare of all creation. Ignorance has been removed. The choice to commit evil is no longer a viable option in the living light of spirit.

So in a sense, you could say that God is the ultimate source of evil because God granted us the free choice between wholesome and unhelpful acts. But God also set the law of karma into place, ensuring that all of us eventually learn our lesson! In Hindu cosmology, the universe is really a university for souls, and overcoming the evil in ourselves and learning to deal effectively, yet compassionately, with the evil in others is a graduate-level course.

Quick Quiz

1. Nirguna Brahman …
    a. Is the transcendental reality.
    b. Is the personal God worshipped by all Hindus.
    c. Is a type of hump-backed cow common in India.
2. Hindus think the images of the deities in their temples …
    a. Dance around the temples at night after the temple is closed.
    b. Are actual gods and goddesses who control the universe.
    c. Are focal points through which we can see the divine.
3. Out of love for her devotees, the Goddess …
    a. Sends non-Hindus to hell for eternity.
    b. Serves them cookies and ice cream on their birthdays.
    c. Comes to us in any form we choose to worship her in.
4. Hindus believe the Devil …
    a. Will be cast into hell forever on Judgment Day.
    b. Doesn't exist.
    c. Throws great parties.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (c). 3 (c). 4 (b).

God and the Guru

A very special form of God recognized in Hinduism is the guru. Just as a murti is a physical form through which the power and grace of the divine can manifest, a guru is a human form through which divine wisdom and compassion can flow. As my own gurus took pains to clarify, the person

isn’t really the guru, no more than a tree trunk painted to look like Jagannath is actually the Lord of the World.

Sages Say

That which the guru teaches, you can experience directly through the guru’s grace. Therefore fix your mind continually on the guru, just as a loving wife thinks constantly of her husband.
—Guru Gita

During a conference call in which he was simultaneously speaking to many of his disciples at a dozen sites around the world, a swami I studied with explained that considering a person to be the guru is like mistaking the telephone for the person who’s calling. In fact there is one divine teacher, called Ishvara or the Supreme Lord, who speaks through innumerable human gurus just as the swami was speaking over multiple phone lines! The real source of truth and spiritual liberation is divinity itself. The human guru is merely its franchise representative.

The Guru Within

Because the human guru represents the divine, he or she is highly honored in Hindu society. The intensity of the devotion many Hindus feel toward their guru is extraordinary. A parent’s commitment to a child is for one lifetime. But a guru promises to work with a disciple for as many lifetimes

as necessary until the disciple attains God-realization. This is an extraordinary bond.
The guru's job is to introduce you to the guru within. When Ramakrishna touched Vivekananda's forehead, he put him in touch with his own inner guidance. With the guru's grace, Swami Vivekananda was able to change the world.

The Least You Need to Know

- Hindus recognize the Supreme Being as both transcendent and as a loving, immanent God and Goddess.
- God is meant not only to be worshipped but also to be experienced.
- Images of deities are temporarily brought to life so the divine can be worshipped in them.
- Hindus do not believe in the Devil.
- Ignorance of one's spiritual nature is the cause of evil.

Chapter 11

Meet the Hindu Gods

In This Chapter

- A retired creator
- The God in charge
- God the yogi
- The son of God
- The inner Sun

When you travel through India, you'll find Hindu gods and goddesses everywhere. Colorful family portraits of a god, his wife, and his children are tacked to the walls in groceries and sari shops. Small shrines to them are set up in every Hindu home and in most Hindu businesses. Even the big Indian lorries, "goods carriages" as they're called over there, are painted with smiling divine faces.

Hinduism has hundreds of gods. It's time for you to meet the most popular.

Brahma: A Retired Creator

Christianity has its Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Hinduism also has a triune God, called *trimurti.* These forms are Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Protector, and Shiva the Liberator.

def•i•ni•tion

Trimurti means "the three forms of God." It refers to the three main gods of Hinduism: Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva.

Hindus believe that if they can visit the main temples of each of these three deities, all their wishes will be fulfilled. Brahma's temple is in Pushkar in eastern Rajasthan. At Vishnu's main temple in Gaya in the state of Bihar, you can actually see his footprint in a black rock. Shiva's main center is the Vishvanath temple in the holy city of Benares.

In the West, God the Father, maker of heaven and Earth, is our principle deity. While we have innumerable houses of worship to him, in all of India there are only four temples to Lord Brahma, the Creator! It wasn't always this way. Judging from the ancient Puranas, Brahma was once immensely popular in India, but he made a mistake he's still paying for today. According to legend, Brahma fell in love with his own daughter and tried to make love to her. Incest is a serious crime in India, and Brahma could not be allowed to set such a poor example for humanity. So Shiva cut off one of Brahma's five heads and sent him home to bed without his supper.

Now in Hinduism even the weirdest-sounding myths often turn out to have profound significance. Hindu teachers explain that Brahma was the creative spirit who fell in love with its daughter, matter. When spirit entered matter, the whole world process began. But spirit lost part of itself when this happened. It lost its awareness of its true nature. So here we sit, all we children of Brahma, most of us completely unaware of our divine nature. Surprisingly, some early Christians had their own version of this story. They were upset with their Creator for "trapping" their souls in the material realm and for pretending to be the only true God when there were other gods far more powerful than he was! Christian Gnostics believed Jesus' beloved Father was not the creator god of the Old Testament but a God of light from a much higher dimension of reality, more like the Hindu god Vishnu.

Vishnu: The Loving Protector

Vishnu is the most popular god in India, as Brahma pretty much retired after he finished creating the world and Shiva spends most of his time sitting around in meditation. So for now, according to his devotees, Vishnu is in charge.

Vishnu maintains law and order in the universe. This sometimes entails getting down and dirty. So from time to time, when things get particularly out of hand down here on planet Earth, Vishnu takes on a human body—or whatever other form works best for him under the circumstances—and sets things straight. Rama and Krishna, the heroes of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* (see Chapter 5), were human incarnations of Vishnu.
I devote most of Chapter 13 to telling you about Vishnu's adventures in his various incarnations. Vishnu preserves the world by ensuring that divine law, including the law of karma, continues to act in the world. He is the great hero, the unbeatable champion, because you can count on his aid when you are acting for the benefit of the world, as Arjuna counted on Krishna during the war in the *Mahabharata.*

Sages Say

Vishnu's supreme form is beyond form, though all forms are projected from it. Of it the sages can only say "It exists." From the self-existent Lord comes this entire universe. Hold the cosmic being in the mental expanse of your meditation. It will burn away all your sins.
—Vishnu Purana

Four Hands for God

You can tell you're looking at Vishnu when you see a *very* handsome blue-skinned Hindu god with four arms. His dark blue color suggests that his

nature is as infinite as the sky. Circling one of his fingers is a shining discus that, hurled through the air martial arts style, slices the enemies of goodness in two. That discus also represents the spinning universe, which circles his finger like a toy.

In another hand, Vishnu wields a golden baton. He uses this to flatten our egos when we get too big for our britches. A third hand holds a conch, which is a large seashell Hindus use like a one-note trumpet. This represents Om, the primordial sound from which the universe manifested. Vishnu's last hand holds a lotus, the symbol of purity in Hinduism. A lotus is a beautiful, delicate flower that grows in muddy ponds. Its roots extend down to the mud but the exquisite blossoms float above the water. Just so, our innermost spiritual nature is not polluted by our problems and desires and negative thoughts here in the material world. It floats above in a world of divine illumination.

The World Axis

The Vishnu Purana tells the story of *Dhruva,* the son of a Hindu king, and one of his girlfriends. One day Dhruva ran to sit in his dad's lap, but the king pushed him away. He preferred to pick up his eldest son instead, who was the legitimate heir to the throne.

def•i•ni•tion

Dhurva is the North Star.

Dhruva was heartbroken and ran to his mother's arms. She explained that due to good deeds performed in previous lives, Dhruva's half brother had earned the right to sit on the throne with his father. Rather than crying, Dhruva should do his best to earn good karma, too, so he could enjoy similar stature in a future life.

Little Dhruva was still very upset. He ran away into the forest, where he met a wandering sage who explained that Vishnu is our real father. He initiated Dhruva in Vishnu's sacred mantra, "Om Vasudevaya Namaha!" which means "With loving reverence, I bow to Lord Vishnu!"
Dhruva repeated the mantra with such innocent sincerity that Vishnu's heart melted like butter in the sun. He lifted the little boy up into his own lap—the highest throne in the world. You can see Dhruva yourself on a clear night. We call him the North Star. All the other stars were so touched by his innocent devotion that to this day they circle around Dhruva to express their admiration.

The Supreme Identity

Many of the stories about the Hindu gods are very charming, but they always point to a higher reality, as the Hindu guru will explain.
The Vishnu Purana tells us who Vishnu really is. The energy substrate of the universe is Vishnu's body. From this are fashioned the Earth, the stars, the many dimensions of reality, and everything that is and ever will be. Vishnu exists in all forms, but he himself is not material. He is intelligence itself. As the Vishnu Purana puts it, "He who knows Vishnu as the unchanging, eternal, universal reality, enters into the Supreme Lord." So you can sit in his lap, too!

Shiva: Lord of the Yogis

If Vishnu is the most popular god in Hinduism, Shiva runs a close second. You won't be able to miss Shiva if you run into him! He's the naked one sitting on a tiger skin with snakes wrapped around his arms. His body is smeared with ashes.
Shiva is naked because he is the stark reality, pure consciousness itself. He sits in meditation rather than holding down a job because Absolute Being makes no effort at all, yet due to its mere existence, all of time and space

unfolds. He is covered with ashes because after the entire universe has blown away into cosmic dust, he alone remains.

The Hindu god Shiva.
*(*Hinduism Today*)*

The Hindu View

Shiva's primary residence is on the top of Mount Kailash in Tibet. However, his wife Parvati felt the location was too remote. She wanted to live closer to the action in India. So a second residence was established in Kedarnath, Uttar Pradesh. Some Hindus report they've caught glimpses of the god and goddess in the mountains overlooking Kedarnath.

You will also often see beautiful South Indian statues of Shiva dancing gracefully within a halo of flames. This represents the end of the present cycle of time when Shiva will annihilate the universe, not by smashing it to bits but by reabsorbing all existence into his pure awareness. (After some eons, of course, Brahma the Creator will reincarnate in the vast expanse of Shiva's consciousness and start the whole cosmic process all over again!)

Drinking the Poison

Many eons ago the gods and demons, who are always at each other's throats, for once decided to cooperate. If they worked together, they could churn the nectar of immortality out of the Ocean of Milk. Well, everyone wants to be immortal! So they stuck the great mountain *Meru* into the ocean, wrapped the serpent Vasuki around it like a rope, and started churning. For thousands of years the gods pulled on one end, and the demons pulled on the other end.

def•i•ni•tion

Meru is the mountain at the center of the world. Astronomically it represents the north/south axis of the Earth. In yoga, it stands for the spinal column.

If you're extremely patient, you can actually see the churning going on. In Hindu astronomical texts, the gods are the stars above the celestial equator, and the demons are the stars below it. Over thousands of years the stars of the lower hemisphere push some of the stars of the upper hemisphere out of the sky. Then the upper stars push their way back. This apparent motion of the stars is due to the wobble of the Earth's axis. The Veda refers to this cycle many times.

Many amazing things congealed out of the churning ocean—magical jewels and horses, that kind of stuff. The nectar of immortality finally came oozing out, but so did a poison so virulent it had the power to destroy the entire world. The gods and demons fought over the nectar but, with Vishnu's help, the pure-hearted gods won the battle and drank the ambrosia of immortality. But what could they do about the searing poison? Only the god Shiva was powerful enough to solve the problem. He swallowed the poison and through his yoga power held it in his throat. This way it couldn't enter the rest of his system and do any damage. That's why you'll see Shiva's throat stained dark in paintings of him.

Hindu holy men and women explain that, at one level, this is the story of the yogic process. When you "churn" the life energy up and down Mount Meru, the spine, all kinds of wonderful things appear in your consciousness. The nectar of illumined awareness eventually shows up, but so does all the poison in your subconscious. Some yogis advise that you not even try to deal with all that inner poison because it can destroy you. Instead offer it to the Supreme Consciousness, the great being who is far more capable of dealing with powerful negative energy than you are.

The Mark of Shiva

Many statues of Shiva show him in human form. Some of them show Shiva's right side as male and the left side as female. This is to make the point visually that God and Goddess are absolutely equivalent and that male and female are equal. The Supreme Being has both masculine and feminine aspects, whether you see them as pure consciousness and its power, spirit and matter, or justice and mercy.

Everywhere you travel in India you will also see Shiva worshipped in the form of a *linga,* a conical or egg-shaped stone, resting in a base called a *yoni.* Linga means a mark or symbol. While almost all Hindu murtis are shaped into some form, such as a male or female deity, the linga alone remains unsculpted. This is because it stands for God beyond form, pure consciousness itself.

def•i•ni•tion

A linga is a shapeless stone representing Shiva, divine consciousness beyond form.

A yoni is the base in which a linga rests. It represents the Goddess.

In one famous story from the Puranas, Brahma and Vishnu stumbled upon a pillar of blazing light. Brahma flew upward to try to find the top of the light while Vishnu dug downward, looking for its base. Though they traveled for ages, neither could find the beginning or end of the linga of light. The light of pure awareness is infinite, the Purana is saying. Many yogis take the great meditator Shiva as their ideal and devote their lives to merging in His endless light.

Guidepost

To the Western mind, the linga and yoni, emblems of the god Shiva and his wife, Parvati, immediately suggest, well, sex. Hindus do *not* see the linga and yoni as sex organs and will be horrified if you say you do. Remember the famous quote that ultimately, the male sex organ is just another phallic symbol? The linga represents a cosmic principle to Hindus, not a part of the male anatomy.

Ganesha: The Elephant-Headed God

At Hindu temples throughout the world, priests regularly bring the images of the gods in their temples something to eat and drink. Usually the deities don't actually imbibe; they just bless the food and leave it for us humans to enjoy. But on September 21, 1995, Lord Ganesha drank the milk. Within hours, the news was all over India. Hindus rushed to the temples or to their shrine rooms at home to offer their statues of Ganesha a pitcher of milk.
The Hindu god Ganesha.
*(*Hinduism Today*)*

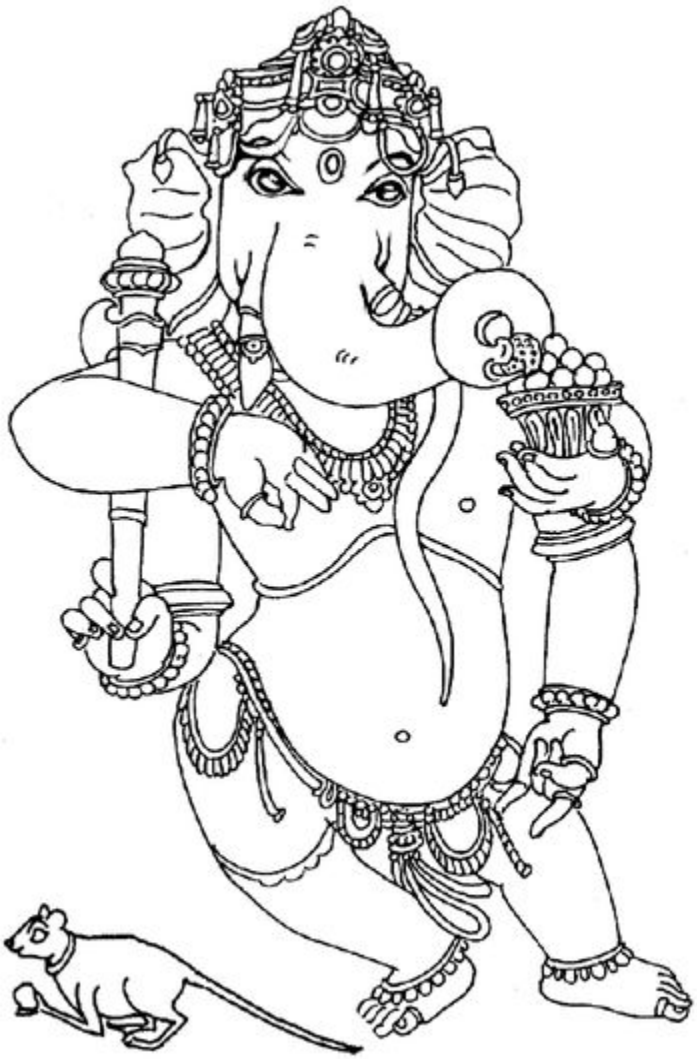

That evening the Milk Miracle was broadcast all over the world on the international news. Camera crews converged on Hindu temples from India to Africa to Canada and filmed the milk actually dematerializing in front of murtis of Ganesha. Thousands of observers, Hindu and non-Hindu alike, who actually watched the milk disappear, described the experience to reporters.

Ganesha has always been known for his delightful sense of humor. On that fall day in 1995, he gently reminded people everywhere that the ultimate purpose of life lies not in serving themselves but in serving God. And that day God wanted to be served milk!

Sages Say

Miracles like Ganesha drinking the milk come as a healthy blow to the human intellect. Such incidents stir us out of our deep sleep, at least for a time. It serves as a shock treatment, a wake-up call. An unknown power, beyond the reach of the intellect, constantly maintains a balance in the universe. Those who have experienced it say this power is all-pervading, all-knowing and all-powerful. If God is omnipotent, is there anything He cannot do? If He chooses to drink milk through the statue of Lord Ganesha, it is all His divine play.
—Amritanandamayi Ma

The God with a Trunk

Ganesha is the portly god with an elephant's head. Elephants are not a rare sight in many parts of India. Hindus appreciate them for their high intelligence, extraordinary strength, and exceptional devotion to each other and to their human peers. Elephants will not abandon a friend in trouble but will risk their lives to save those they care about.
Ganesha is the remover of obstacles. After all, if you are lost in thick jungle, just follow an elephant. Wherever it happens to walk becomes a path you can easily follow. Ganesha has very large ears so that he can hear everyone's prayers. He has a huge belly because he contains the entire universe inside himself. His wisdom, strength, and compassion are indomitable.

You'll often see a small mouse darting around Ganesha's feet. Like cowboys riding their ponies and Californians riding their SUVs, Ganesha goes for a ride on his mouse. Gurus explain that the mouse is the human mind, always scurrying here and there, nibbling at this and that. The mouse doesn't realize that riding on its back there's an elephant with unimaginable strength, wisdom, and power. Just so, the mind is often oblivious to the limitless light and power of spirit that "rides around" within its inner recesses.

Throughout history, many Hindus have been illiterate. Their gurus used memorable images like an elephant-headed god astride a mouse to teach unforgettable lessons about the nature of the Supreme Being.

How Ganesha Lost His Head

Many ages ago, Shiva's wife Parvati asked her young son, Ganesha, to guard the door to her hut while she took a bath inside. As fate would have it, Shiva came home from a long meditation retreat just at this moment. He'd been gone so long he wasn't aware his wife had had a child and that Ganesha was his son. And Ganesha had never seen Shiva before and didn't realize he was his dad.

Shiva was extremely irritated at the young boy who wouldn't let him into his own house. He tried to push Ganesha aside, but the boy was incredibly strong. Finally Shiva cut off the boy's head and called out to Parvati, "Honey, I'm home!"

The goddess was beside herself when she saw that her husband had just killed their offspring. Realizing his mistake, Shiva ran up and down the mountain looking for Ganesha's head. It was long gone! Seeing the Divine Mother's grief, an elephant standing nearby volunteered its own head, which Shiva quickly cut off and placed on his son's body, restoring Ganesha to life.

The story is about self-sacrifice. When we sacrifice our selfishness and egotism in service of the divine, as both Ganesha and the elephant did, we gain wisdom and immortality. And, like Lord Ganesha today who helps everyone who appeals to him, we gain the ability to be of service to all beings everywhere.

Hanuman: Monkeying Around

If you step into a Hindu home, odds are high you'll find an image of Hanuman, the monkey god. He has the head and tail of a rhesus monkey and the body of a man. Sometimes you'll see him ripping open his chest to reveal Rama and Sita—God and Goddess—residing in his heart.
It's impossible to exaggerate how much Hindus love this passionate, energetic monkey. In fact, it's a crime to kill a monkey in India. Monkeys are considered sacred due to their association with Hanuman!

God's Army

It's time to return to the cliffhanger I left you with back in Chapter 5, when Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana,* had to attack the military stronghold of Lanka to rescue his wife Sita, who had been kidnapped by the tyrannical king Ravana. Alone in the jungle with his brother, Rama didn't stand much of a chance against Lanka's powerful king. Then Hanuman joined the team along with a makeshift army of monkeys and bears. Keeping the image of his beloved Rama in his heart, Hanuman was able to leap across the strait between India and Sri Lanka to carry a message to Sita, imprisoned in Ravana's fortress.

Moving Mountains

During the battle with Ravana's demonic troops, Rama's brother Lakshman was seriously injured. Unless he could get a particular medicinal herb from a faraway mountain, the local physician explained, he would not be able to save Lakshman's life.
Seeing Rama's grief, Hanuman instantly raced to the mountain, covering huge distances in single leaps and bounds. But once he got there, Hanuman realized he had no idea which of the many herbs growing on the mountain was the one the doctor needed. So he picked up the entire mountain and brought it back to the battlefield! Lakshman's life was saved, and Rama

clasped Hanuman in a famous embrace of gratitude. Hanuman teaches us that when loving and serving God is the focus of our lives, the impossible becomes possible.

Now when you enter a Hindu home and see a picture of a monkey carrying a mountain, you'll know what it means.

Sages Say

Hanuman symbolizes the unfoldment of spiritual strength in an aspirant by the help of which he crosses the ocean of the unconscious and discovers the intuitive faculty which leads him to Rama—the state of Self-realization.

—Swami Jyotir Mayananda

Murugan: The Spear of God

Shiva is immensely popular in South India. So is Vishnu, called Mal, "the Great One," by Tamil-speaking Indians. But Murugan, the youthful warrior god, is uniquely South Indian. He is spectacularly handsome and courageous, not to mention a great dancer! His priests, called Velans, launch into a frenzied dance in an attempt to connect with the god and channel his wisdom and power.

Murugan is usually shown carrying his favorite weapon, a death-dealing spear. He is quick to protect his devotees and generous in granting boons.

As northern and southern Indian cultures amalgamated over the millennia, Murugan became increasingly identified with Skanda, the six-headed warrior son of Shiva.

Skanda has six heads because as an infant he was nursed by six surrogate mothers, the six brightest stars of the Pleiades. The constellation Pleiades is called Krittika in Sanskrit, so Skanda is widely known as Kartikeya.

Skanda is usually shown battling the demon Taraka who had caused an uproar in heaven, throwing the gods out of their rightful place in the sky. The embodiment of youthful male courage, Skanda defeated the arrogant demon and set the world aright. He represents virile male energy directed constructively to helping the oppressed and restoring virtue and order.

Quick Quiz

1. The three great gods of Hinduism are …
    a. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
    b. Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva.
    c. On vacation in Sri Lanka.
2. Vishnu has incarnated on Earth as …
    a. Rama and Krishna.
    b. An elephant-headed deity called Ganesha.
    c. Mahatma Gandhi.
3. The Shiva linga represents …
    a. A dangerous poison churned from the Milk Ocean.
    b. The male sex organ.
    c. Pure consciousness beyond form.
4. Hanuman is honored by Hindus because he …
    a. Leaps tall buildings in a single bound.
    b. Demonstrates perfect devotion to God.
    c. Invented homeopathy.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (a). 3 (c). 4 (b).

Surya: The Divine Sun

You don't have to visit an Indian temple to see one of Hinduism's most respected gods because he goes galloping over your head in his shining chariot every day of the year. If you ever spent a night freezing in the cold winters of northern India, you'd definitely understand why Lord Surya's appearance over the eastern horizon each morning is so welcome!
Surya, the Sun, is the source of prana, life energy, in our world system. His total selflessness, pouring forth his blessings to all beings day in and day out, without expectation of any reward in return, is the perfect example of true sainthood.

The Sun's Difficult Marriage

Surya's wife, Sanjna, however, was not happy with her husband because he was so bright she couldn't bear to look at his face! So she ran away, but Surya soon noted her absence and went looking for her. She took the form of a mare to escape from him, but he took the form of a stallion, chased her, and impregnated her by breathing on her. Their sons were twin horsemen called the Ashvins, the physicians of the gods.
When Sanjna confessed that she couldn't stand his intense brightness, Surya had his radiance surgically whittled down to a fraction of its original intensity, and the couple lived happily ever after.

The Meaning in the Myth

According to the Hindu tradition, the true light is the Inner Sun, the presence of divine being within us. Sanjna is the soul (her name means "the one with knowledge") who at the dawn of time fled from her divine consort, whose supreme light was too much for her to assimilate. She escaped down into the material world in the form of a horse (horses represent prana, or life energy in Hinduism). When spirit acts through the life force, the Ashvins or healing powers are born.

The Inner Sun yogis experience in deep meditation is only a fraction of a fraction of the light of the Supreme Reality. The Lord of the Universe moderates his brilliance to a level the meditator can withstand. By merging in that inner light, the soul begins its journey home to its true mate, the Lord of Light.

The Least You Need to Know

- Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva are the three main gods of Hinduism.
- Ganesha is famous for the Milk Miracle he performed in September 1995.
- Hanuman, the monkey god, symbolizes perfect devotion.
- Murugan is the warrior god of South India.
- Hindus honor the Sun as an important deity.

Chapter 12

Meet the Hindu Goddesses

In This Chapter

- The Goddess is alive and well
- Wisdom and inspiration
- Prosperity and well-being
- Goddesses at war
- India is a Goddess

In ancient times, the Goddess was worshipped throughout the planet, but over the last 2,000 years, male-dominated religions have stamped out the worship of the feminine face of spirit everywhere in the world. Everywhere, that is, except India. The Hindu tradition is the one world religion where the Goddess is still honored on a massive scale.

Nirguna Brahman, the Supreme Reality in Hinduism, transcends gender. But when the Divine Being takes form, It assumes both male *and* female attributes. In fact, to many Hindus, since the Divine gave birth to us out of its own being and nurtures us like a caring mother, it must be a Goddess. To Hindus, we are not *apart from* God as the Judeo-Christian-Islamic traditions maintain. Instead, we are *a part of* her.

I'd like to introduce you to some of the most popular goddesses in Hinduism. If you travel in India or visit a typical Hindu home, you'll find images of the Mother of the Universe everywhere. To fully appreciate Hinduism, you must understand that the Goddess is alive and well in Hindu culture.

Shakti: Feminine Power

In the West, there is a widespread belief that women are inherently passive and men are naturally active. However, to the Hindu mind, this belief is clearly nonsense. In the Hindu tradition, active power is always thought of as feminine while passive stability is masculine. Hindus know that women get just as much of the work done in the world as men do, if not more. And what male warrior is as fierce and furious as a mother protecting her young?

def•i•ni•tion

Shakti is the Goddess. Shakti also means power, energy, or the illuminating power of consciousness.
A Shakta is a devotee of the Goddess.

The Sanskrit word for power or energy is *shakti.* Shakti is also the generic name for the Goddess, so her worshippers are called *Shaktas.* No male deity can accomplish anything without his Shakti, his female consort. She is his strength and power of accomplishment. Some goddesses are married. Others are independent feminine powers of limitless intelligence and capacity.

Sarasvati: The Hindu Muse

The Greeks had their muses, goddesses who inspired music and poetry, drama and science. In Hinduism, this role is filled by Sarasvati, perhaps the oldest goddess in the world who is still widely worshipped. The Veda never tires of praising her.
Artists and scientists have long noted that some of their greatest works or intellectual insights seemed to mysteriously appear fully formed in their minds. Beatle Paul McCartney reports that he first heard the melody for "Yesterday," one of the most popular songs of all time, in a dream. To Hindus, these are gifts from Sarasvati, the divine muse.

Hindu musicians chant to Sarasvati and bow to their musical instruments before beginning a concert. Children pray to Sarasvati for help with their schoolwork. Speakers invite her to "dance on their tongues" before giving a lecture.

Sarasvati is always dressed in white, the color of pure illumination. In one of her four hands she holds a book, showing her command over all intellectual knowledge. Another hand holds a rosary since she is also the source of all spiritual knowledge. Her two remaining hands hold a *vina,* an Indian instrument that looks like a sitar. This means that she is the source of the sound vibrations or primeval waves of energy that form the universe.

Sages Say

You are the swan gliding over the pond of creative energy, waves and waves of creative force emanating from Your form! Radiant Goddess resplendent in white, dwell forever in the Kashmir of my heart!
—Sarasvati Rahasya Upanishad

Sarasvati is the wife of Brahma the Creator. While Brahma's worship has all but vanished from Hinduism, Sarasvati is still worshipped in virtually every Hindu town and village. She is the inner source of creative intelligence, wisdom, and artistic inspiration. When authors experience writer's block, musicians go through dry artistic spells, or speakers' minds go blank, it's because their link with this great goddess has been temporarily broken. For the moment at least, Sarasvati isn't able to use them to complete her creative projects in the world. Her name in Sanskrit

means “flowing water.” When writers and artists get back “into the flow,” they feel inspired again and get back to work!

Lakshmi: Showers of Gold

The goddess of wealth never lacks for devotees, as I’m sure you can imagine! Lakshmi is wrapped in a beautiful red sari. Showers of coins stream from two of her hands, signifying the material blessings that pour out of her. These include not only prosperity but also health and a joyful, harmonious family life. Her two other hands hold lotuses, reminding us that her greatest boons are not material but gifts of the spirit, which are the only blessings of lasting value.

Lakshmi is so well loved because of her extremely kind nature. Her husband, Vishnu, administers justice, but Lakshmi is incapable of punishing anyone. She is so softhearted that if you find yourself in trouble with Vishnu, you can run to this sweet-natured goddess and ask her to put in a kind word for you. She’ll do everything she can to get Vishnu to ease up on you. In this respect, she’s much like Mary, mother of Jesus, in Roman Catholicism. She intercedes for you with God.

In times of crisis, Vishnu incarnates on Earth in human form. In Hinduism, you can’t have God without the Goddess. So wherever he shows up, you can count on Lakshmi turning up, too. When Vishnu came as Rama, Lakshmi came as his wife, Sita. When Vishnu manifested as Krishna, Lakshmi came as his wife, Rukmini. Male and female must work together harmoniously in order for universal balance to be maintained.

This gracious goddess will never injure anyone. The worst thing she’ll ever do to anyone is ignore them! If Lakshmi’s attention is elsewhere, your business starts losing money, debts pile up, the flowers in your garden wither, and your family members get grumpy. That’s why it’s important to make regular offerings to Lakshmi and keep her in your prayers. That way she remembers to send you her blessings!

Parvati: Divine Wife and Mother

Parvati is the mother of the deities Ganesha and Skanda, who I introduced you to in Chapter 11. She is the great god Shiva's second wife.
What happened to his first wife?

God the Widower

In ages past, the seer Daksha insulted Shiva by not inviting him to a party, even though he invited *all* the other gods and goddesses. Frankly, Daksha thought Shiva was a bum. He didn't have a job; he just sat around naked in the mountains, meditating. Shiva's wife, Sati, was so upset at Daksha's mean-spirited behavior, she jumped into a fire.

The Hindu View

This world tears God apart! Egyptians believed Osiris was hacked to pieces by his evil brother Seth. The Greeks believed Orpheus and Dionysus were torn to shreds, too. The Hindus speak of the Goddess being sliced to bits. Hindu gurus believe these stories point to the same mystical truth. As the Veda says, consciousness was once a unified field of awareness that split into units of consciousness like your soul and mine. The goal of spiritual practice is to reunite our awareness with the infinite.

Well, that rocked Shiva out of his meditation! Weeping and wailing, he carried his deceased wife's burnt body around in his arms. Vishnu couldn't allow this sad spectacle to continue, so he kept throwing his whirling discus

at Sati's body, lopping off different parts, which fell down here to Earth. Every place a piece of the goddess landed is now a special pilgrimage site. My guru explained that many eons ago, the World Soul was united with the Universal Spirit, as Sati was united with Shiva. But then the World Soul leapt into the ever-burning sacrificial fire we perceive as the material universe. It caught on fire and started flying in every direction as billions of different sparks like your soul and mine.

How can the human soul get out of the fire pit of material existence and back to her divine lord, the Universal Spirit?

Getting God Back

Our heroine Parvati had been Sati in her previous life! From her childhood growing up in the Himalayas, she'd been hopelessly in love with Shiva. One day she swore she wouldn't let her mind shift away from the lotus feet of Lord Shiva for even an instant until he appeared before her and proposed marriage! So there she sat in the midst of five blazing fires, never moving an inch in spite of monsoon rains, elephant stampedes, and just about every other form of botheration you can imagine.

Then one day, Parvati heard a small child screaming in terror. Immediately she jumped up and raced to help. But there wasn't any child there. Instead Shiva materialized in front of her. "You promised you wouldn't let anything distract you from meditating on me!" Shiva complained. "I created this illusion to test you."

And then the Lord smiled. "You showed that you would give up even what you want most in the world, union with me, to help the helpless. Now I know you truly *are* fit to be my wife!"

Shiva and Parvati are living happily ever after at their mountain retreat in Tibet. But Parvati has shown us the way back to God: continual loving meditation on his divine form and self-sacrificing service to our fellow humanity.

Durga: Take No Prisoners!

At one time, Durga was worshipped all the way from India to Rome. In the Near East she was called Cybele. In Egypt she was called Sekmet. While she has been forgotten in today's Christian and Muslim cultures, she is still the great warrior goddess of Hinduism.
You'll easily recognize Durga because she's always shown riding on a lion or tiger or at least standing beside one. She holds a host of fearsome weapons in her many hands. But look at her face, and you'll notice that even in the thick of battle she's always perfectly calm and centered.

The Glory of the Goddess

The most popular book about Durga is called the *Devi Mahatmyam,* which means "Glory of the Goddess."
It relates a series of stories about Durga's battles with an assortment of evil demons. Blood and gore are described with relish as Durga finishes them off—the poor devils don't stand a chance! These demons represent unhelpful qualities in ourselves, such as hatred, anger, greed, depression, conceit, and selfishness.

Sages Say

When we remember you in times of crisis, you instantly remove the cause of our fear. When we remember you in contemplation, you grant us the highest state of meditation. Oh Mother, you dispel suffering, poverty and fear! Who but you is so compassionate, that you rush at once to help everyone who cries out to you?

> —Devi Mahatmyam

The *Devi Mahatmyam* promises that anyone who hears these stories will be cleansed of their sins. This is not just a sales pitch. Many devotees experience a profound sense of catharsis from hearing how the Divine Power purifies the psychic atmosphere of these malignant forces. Even if you don't grasp intellectually that Durga's battle is an inner one, the story is told so vividly that you feel it going on inside you. This has been called "therapeutic myth," the process of resolving your inner conflicts through emotionally charged internal imagery. When the Goddess triumphs in the end, you feel like you yourself have won an important battle.

The Demon Slayer

Durga is especially famous for slaying the buffalo demon Mahisha. But just as she's about to finish him off, he turns into a lion, then a man, then an elephant. When he shapeshifts back into a buffalo, she finally runs him through and restores peace in heaven and on Earth!

If you've ever seen the nearly 5,000-year-old Indus-Sarasvati seals archeologists have discovered, you'll immediately understand what this bizarre-sounding story is really saying. We see the four creatures Mahisha changes into on the seals; they represent the ancient Indus constellations Taurus, Leo, Aquarius, and Scorpio, which marked the equinoxes and solstices when the seals were manufactured. (The next time you look at Scorpio, notice how much it looks like an elephant's head, with the brilliant red star Antares marking its eye!)

Mahisha represents the karmic process which keeps us bound to the cycle of life, death, and rebirth. He is Maha Kala, the great force of time itself. By destroying Mahisha, Durga is freeing us from the bondage of our karma, so that we can live without fear in the material world or step beyond time into eternity should we choose to do so.

Sages Say

The people of India do not deny the evil side of the world. They take that also and adorn the Mother on the one hand with evil ... on the other hand they represent Her as overflowing with blessings. In times of distress they face danger bravely and pray to Her with unflinching faith and whole-hearted love, recognizing Her grandeur and divine power even behind misfortune and calamity.
—Swami Abhedananda

Kali: The Really Scary One

One of the demons Durga fought in the *Devi Mahatmyam* was called Rakta Bija, which means "drop of blood." Whenever she attacked him, each drop of Rakta Bija's blood turned into a clone of himself the moment it touched the ground.

Rakta Bija was so annoying, Durga actually frowned. From her knit brow leapt the most terrifying Goddess anyone had ever seen: Kali!

Kali stuck out her long tongue and drank up every drop of Rakta Bija's blood before it could touch the Earth. And then she ate him!

Your guru will help you understand that Rakta Bija is your mind's ability to endlessly generate negative thoughts and bad habits. The only way to stop this proliferation is to catch each thought before it has a chance to take root in the fertile field of your unconscious. If you invoke her, Kali will help you

clean out the garbage stored in the basement of your subconscious. This process is full of grace, but it's not always pleasant!

The Bloodthirsty Goddess

Kali is a very distinctive-looking goddess. She's half naked, though she does wear a garland of skulls and a belt of hacked limbs. She's waving a lot of very scary-looking weapons around in the air, and her tongue is stuck out to slurp up any negative thought that passes through your mind.

Guidepost

Next time you see a picture of the goddess Kali, look *very* closely at the garland of skulls she wears around her neck. One of those decapitated heads is *yours!* Kali is the bitter enemy of egotism. In the course of each person's life, she finds a way to lop off our conceit and self-importance. *Ouch!*

Westerners will sometimes say, "I'm getting in touch with my inner Kali. I'm really connecting with my anger!" But Hindus don't experience Kali as an angry goddess. On the contrary, they recognize Kali as the slayer of duality. If we're angry at someone, it's because we're seeing him as an enemy, as someone apart from ourselves. It's that sense that anyone or anything exists other than divine consciousness that Kali is determined to destroy. If there's anything less than pure love inside us, sooner or later, in this life or the next, Kali will hack it out of us!

The Divine Protectress

Though she's juggling a lot of terrifying weapons, you'll notice that two of Kali's hands are empty and are making strange-looking gestures. One of those gestures means "Don't be afraid!" The other signifies "I will protect you!"

Though Kali is a scary-looking goddess, Hindus don't think of her as frightening. Instead they see her as their loving mother who corrects them when they make mistakes and who rescues them when they're in trouble. Everyone knows the most dangerous animal is a mother protecting her young. The most dangerous goddess is the Divine Mother—to her children she is the strongest and best mother of all.

Kali's State

According to historians, the state of California is named after a dark-skinned woman warrior named Calafia, who was a character in a famous sixteenth-century Spanish novel. Aggressive, half-naked Native American women reminded the Spanish conquistadors of Calafia, and of Amazons, too, which is why they named the Amazon river after them! But where did the figure of Calafia come from?

This fictional queen was based on an ancient European goddess named Koliada, who represented the winter solstice. She was black-skinned because she symbolized the darkest time of the year and fierce because winters in the Northern Hemisphere are often brutal. But she was honored, too: her festival was celebrated with extravagant feasts and lavish gift giving. When Christianity replaced the old religion in Europe, her winter festival was changed into a new holiday called Christmas.

The name Koliada means "goddess of time," appropriately enough for a solstice deity. Her names in Greek (Kalanda) and Latin (Calenda) are the source of our word "calendar." In antiquity she was worshipped throughout the entire Indo-European world. In Russia she was known as Kolyada. In northeastern India she was called Kalika. Hindus today still worship her as the fierce, dark goddess Kali. Many of my fellow Californians would be

surprised to learn the name of our state can be traced back to this ancient goddess!

Lalita: The Supreme Seductress

If you start pursuing serious spiritual practice in a Hindu community, sooner or later you'll hear about the *Dasha Maha Vidyas,* the 10 great goddesses of the Hindu tantric tradition. These are the special forms of the Great Mother worshipped privately by yogis and mystics, as opposed to goddesses like Lakshmi or Durga worshipped more openly by the public. Lalita is one of these esoteric goddesses. Her name means "She who plays"—and the whole universe is her playground! She's also called Maha Tripura Sundari, "the most beautiful girl in all the worlds"; Raja Rajeshvari, "the supreme sovereign empress of the universe"; and Kameshvari, "the goddess of love."

def•i•ni•tion

The Dasha Maha Vidyas are the 10 great goddesses of the Hindu mystical tradition. They are Kali, Tara, Lalita, Bhuvaneshvari, Chinnamasta, Bhairavi, Dhumavati, Bagala Mukhi, Matangi, and Kamala.

The Goddess in the Moon

Kali is worshipped on the day of the New Moon. Its waning cycle represents her action in our lives, as she strips us of anything we value more than her, including finally our life itself. She is dark as the invisible Moon, the embodiment of the destructive power of time. She stands for the loss of every material thing, revealing nothing in the end but the pure existence of spirit.

Lalita, however, is worshipped on the Full Moon. Its waxing cycle represents her activity as she helps us expand the field of our loving awareness to include everyone around us, then all of manifestation in a crescendo of bliss. Kali takes everything away but spirit. Lalita reveals that everything *is* spirit.
With Lalita you have your cake and eat it, too. She is supreme love, supreme beauty, and cosmic consciousness. While Kali takes everything away, Lalita gives us everything we desire. She is the force of desire itself. You understand, of course, that the New Moon and the Full Moon are not two separate things. There's only one Moon! In the Hindu tradition, we recognize that ultimately Kali and Lalita are the same Goddess. Loss and gain blend together in the epiphany of enlightenment.

Consciousness and Power

Some Hindus speak of Shiva and Shakti, God and his power. Lalita represents a state of consciousness in which there is no distinction between spirit and matter, consciousness and energy. Pure consciousness *is* pure energy and is continually spontaneously pouring forth the "play" of life. Lalita is constantly forming new universes through which her infinite glory manifests. And she is constantly calling back the souls wandering in these worlds into the wonder of her supremely blissful being.

Bharat Mata: Mother India

The Bharat Mata Temple in Benares is one of the most unique temples in the world. Instead of a traditional statue of an Indian deity, it contains an enormous three-dimensional relief map of Greater India from Afghanistan in the west to Burma in the east, from the Tibetan plateau in the north to Sri Lanka in the south. The topographically correct map, made of colored marble tiles, gives a vivid sense of the vast expanse of Hindu culture and the dramatic contrast in altitude between the high Himalayas and the plains of the Deccan.

A colorful poster in the temple shows Bharat Mata, Mother India, in the form of a mature goddess presiding over a satellite image of the Indian subcontinent. The temple, inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, is new by Indian standards.

Hindus, like native peoples everywhere, have a profound connection with the land they live on. The planet itself is Bhu Devi, Mother Earth. Bharat Mata is more than the land itself, however. She is the very consciousness of the culture, the magic, sanctity, despair, and self-renewal of the ageless Hindu civilization. At this remarkable temple the people of India honor their own enduring spirit.

Guidepost

Want to pay your respects to Mother India? The Bharat Mata Temple is about a mile south of the Varanasi train station in Benares. Non-Hindus are welcome. While you're in town, stop by the New Vishvanath Temple at Benares Hindu University. There you'll get a full education in Hindu spirituality just by reading the beautifully decorated plaques on the wall. Visit the Shiva linga inside, and you'll receive a special blessing from the priest who worships there all day.

Ganga Ma: Mother Ganges

Hinduism is so incredibly old it remembers a time when the Ganges River didn't exist! The ancient hero Bhagiratha had to go up into the Himalayas

and bring Ganga down from her home in the glaciers to the plains of North India.

When the Ganges first came cascading down from the mountaintops (some texts say her source is actually in heaven!), the force of her landing would have destroyed the Earth. So Shiva caught her in the locks of his hair and eased her gushing waters gently to the ground. In many paintings of Shiva, you'll see streams of water pouring onto his head. That's Mother Ganga! Hindus go to the Ganges not just to wash their clothes but also to wash away their sins. Baptism is an extremely ancient rite in Hinduism, one that people engage in as often as possible since there always seem to be new sins to wash off!

The Hindu View

Can a river fall in love with a city? The Ganges runs eastward about 1,200 miles from her source in the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal. At only one point does she turn around and head back west. That's at Benares, the city sacred to Lord Shiva, who helped Mother Ganga land gently when she first fell to Earth. The Ganges swings around to lovingly embrace Shiva's holy city and then resumes her course to Bengal.

Visits from Mother

Many of us in the West have heard of the Virgin Mary's many appearances —at Fatima, for example, or Lourdes, or more recently at Medjegorje. What

we don't hear about is the Divine Mother's visits to other cultures like China or India. Showing up as the mother of Jesus wouldn't do much good in a Chinese village where many people haven't heard of Mary. So there she'll show up as Quan Yin, a goddess the people instantly recognize.
Some of my American friends and I stopped at a Kali temple in the village of Rajpur in Bengal. As soon as we entered the grounds, we felt electricity in the air. We sat down to meditate, and each of us was transported into extraordinary states of meditation. We all distinctly felt the magic, the tangible presence of spirit, and asked what was going on.
The locals then explained that at this very site the Divine Mother, in the form of the goddess Durga, had been appearing to a Hindu villager named Baba Dulal. They took us to the spot, marked by a sacred tree, where he had repeatedly seen the Mother of the Universe. Her presence was still palpable. It was as if we should still smell her perfume!
To Hindus, the Goddess is not a metaphor or a political statement. She is the Supreme Being itself who gives birth to us, nurtures, educates, and protects us. She lifts us into her lap during meditation and blesses us with shakti, the illuminating power of consciousness, when it's time for us to leave the playground of this world and return home to an inner realm of light.

Quick Quiz

1. Hinduism is the one world religion in which …
    a. The Goddess is still honored.
    b. Worship of a male God is forbidden.
    c. Women do all the work.
2. Sarasvati is the goddess of …
    a. Wisdom and creative energy.
    b. High-fashion clothing and photography.
    c. Cooking and cleaning.
3. The goddess Durga is poised to attack …
    a. Non-Hindus.
    b. The unwholesome qualities in ourselves.
    c. Lions and tigers and bears.

4. Parvati demonstrates that we can attain union with God by …
    a. Committing suicide.
    b. Sitting alone in the forest.
    c. Meditating and serving others.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (a). 3 (b). 4 (c).

The Least You Need to Know

- The Goddess is still widely worshipped in Hinduism.
- Sarasvati is the goddess of wisdom and divine inspiration.
- Lakshmi is the goddess of prosperity and well-being.
- Durga and Kali are Hinduism's two fierce warrior goddesses.
- Lalita represents pure consciousness and energy.
- India itself is worshipped as a goddess.

Chapter 13

Visits from God

In This Chapter

- God incarnates, too
- The Hindu Noah
- A killer priest
- The coming Messiah
- Modern avatars

Many ancient cultures believed God would visit Earth in human form. (The Greeks and Romans thought the intoxicated, fun-loving Dionysus was a god-man.) Or they believed some men and women were so special they could elevate themselves to divine status. (Hercules and Perseus were two such men-gods.) Christianity picked up the theme, though it claimed that Jesus was the only legitimate instance.

Hindus have long believed in divine incarnations called *avatars.* In fact, much Hindu devotional practice is centered around these beloved figures. Let's look at God and Goddess's interventions in history, when Hindus say he and she assumed a physical form to save the world and to set an example of how we humans should live.

Hindu Saviors

Vishnu's job is to keep the world in good running order and make sure moral laws are enforced. Sometimes he takes a physical body in order to get the job done. He may be born as a human being, but he's also taken other forms depending on what works best at the time. While some other religions believe God would never lower himself to do such a thing, Hindus

believe that God can do anything he wants to! The forms in which he embodies himself are called avatars, which literally means "the savior who comes down" to help us.

When the gods and demons decided to churn the Milky Ocean (see Chapter 11), they found a mountain they could use as a churning rod and a gigantic snake they could use to spin the rod with. But they had no base strong enough to rest the mountain on, so Vishnu obligingly assumed the form of a huge turtle, and the churning rod, Mount Meru, was balanced on his shell. This story may seem weird, but it contains a lot of ancient wisdom. When I was studying ancient Hindu astronomy, I learned that the churning of the heavenly ocean stands for something called "libration," the movement of the north celestial pole back and forth across the sky as the Earth wobbles on its axis over tens of thousands of years. God is the stable pivot point that supports all this celestial commotion.

Another time Vishnu averted a disaster of cosmic proportions. The Earth was disappearing beneath the sea. (They must have had global warming back then, too.) Vishnu took the form of a gigantic boar, plunged beneath the ocean, and used his mighty tusks to heave the land mass back above the water. After all the ice covering Antarctica melts, we may need to call on the divine boar again!

The Fish Who Saved the World

The Puranas tell an amazing story I promise you'll find interesting.

Long ago a kind-hearted king named Manu was bathing in the sea when he accidentally cupped a small fish in his hands. (He just wanted a handful of water to wash his face!) The fish begged him to take him home because a sea full of hungry big fish is not a happy place for a tasty little fish.

Manu placed the fish in a bowl of water, but it quickly outgrew its new home. He kept putting the fish into larger containers until finally it grew so large, it would now be perfectly safe in the sea. As he released it into the ocean, the fish thanked him for his kindness but also warned him, "Very soon the entire planet is going to be destroyed by a flood. Build yourself an ark and lead as many creatures as you can inside it. Then I'll come back and tow it to safety. Better hurry!" (I told you you'd find this interesting!)

Manu thought, “This can’t be any ordinary fish! This must be Vishnu himself, come to save the world from destruction!”

The Hindu View

You can still find the Flood hero Manu and his big fish today. Go out on a clear night, and you’ll see a celestial man pouring a gigantic fish out of a pot. Yes, you will! Look to the constellations Aquarius and the Southern Fish in the part of the sky the ancients called “the ocean of heaven.” Manu’s boat (Argo Navis) is anchored at the bottom of the sky, where it came to rest after the waters subsided. Many Hindu myths are commemorated with star groupings. India’s *Taittiriya Brahmana* even explains which stars represent which deities.

Manu loaded people and animals and seeds of all kinds into the boat. Soon a tremendous flood blanketed the world with raging waters. True to its word, the fish reappeared, and Manu tied his floundering vessel to its head. The fish savior towed the ark to a mountain peak where everyone disembarked safely. When the waters subsided Manu repopulated the world. We are all his descendants!

Children of Manu

Now you know why you and I are called “human,” and “man” or “woman.” In Indo-European languages, these words can all be traced to the name of

our common ancestor, Manu. The word *mankind* actually means "children of Manu." Today we think of the hero who survived the Great Flood by his Jewish name, Noah, but in Indo-European cultures all the way from Bengal to Britain, he was called Manu.

The fish savior appears in ancient Zoroastrian mythology where he advises the first man to release a dove to check if the flood waters have ebbed. In the Hindu Rig Veda, the bird brings Manu back a sprig of soma, the plant of immortality. According to the Babylonian historian Berossos, the fish-man savior Oannes is supposed to have taught humanity the arts and sciences at the beginning of history. Fish-men teachers are often depicted in ancient Assyrian art, too. To this day Christians symbolize their own savior with the sign of a fish! In India this great figure is called the matsya avatar, Vishnu in the form of a fish.

Manu (Aquarius) and the Fish Savior (Southern Fish)

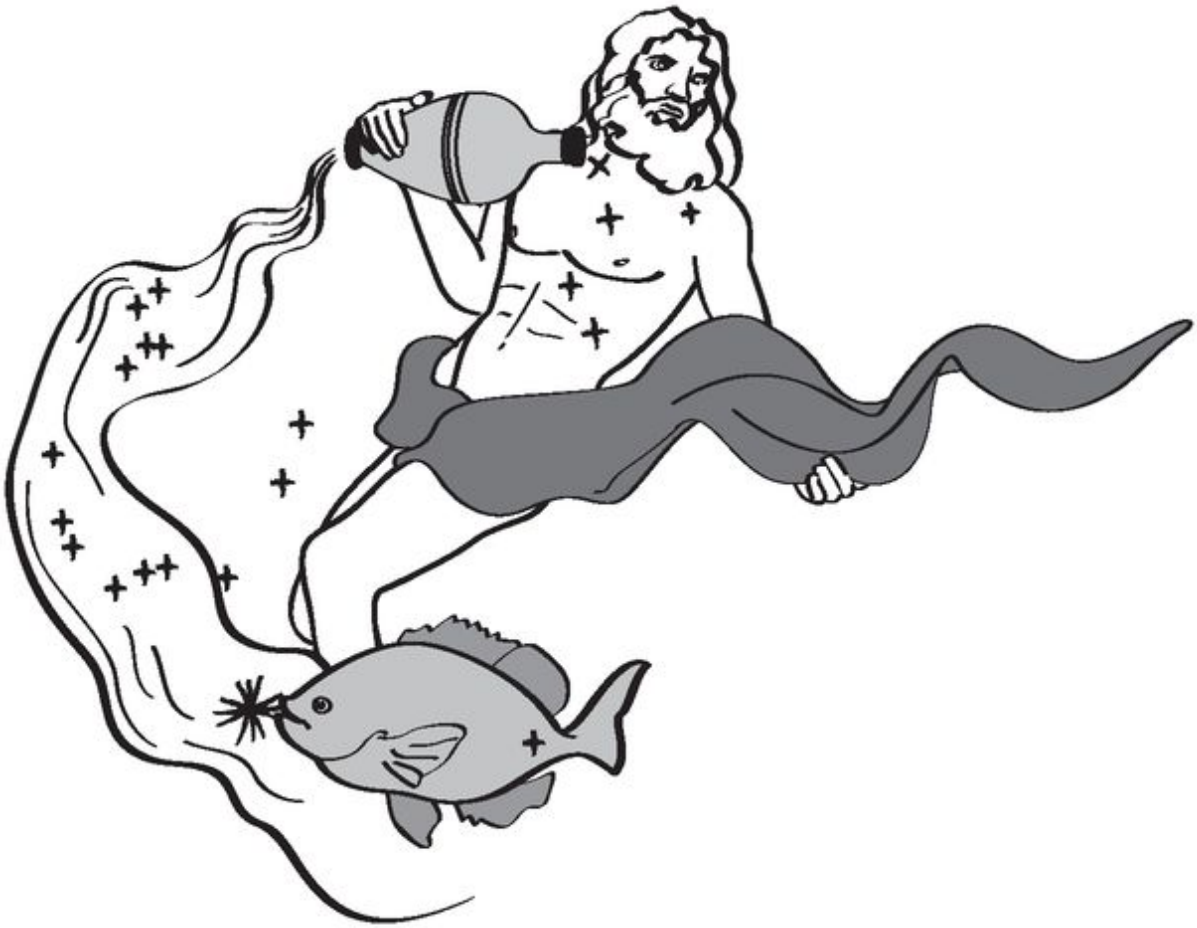

The Tallest Dwarf in the Universe

An extremely ancient myth about Vishnu tells of his famous three steps. The egotistical king Bali had built a huge empire, and it was time to put him in his place! A dwarf showed up at his palace asking for a gift. Bali may have been conceited, but he was also generous. “Ask for anything you want.”

“I want as much land as I can cover in three strides,” the dwarf said.

Sages Say

Vishnu strode across the universe. Three steps He took, and all the worlds were just the dust raised by His feet. In deepest meditation the great souls look up to that lofty place where Vishnu reigns like an eye in heaven.

—Rig Veda

Bali thought this was the dumbest dwarf he’d ever met. He would have given the dwarf several square miles of land if he’d asked for it. But then the dwarf took one step—and covered the entire Earth. He took a second step—and covered all of heaven. “You owe me one more step,” he told the king, “but there’s no more space in the universe. Where should I put my foot next?”

Bali was no idiot. He recognized now that he was in the presence of the Lord of the Universe. “Here,” he said, offering his own head. The dwarf stepped on Bali’s face, crushing it into the Earth.

There is, of course, a moral to the story. Bali is the human ego. Vishnu is all-pervading spirit. Before the Supreme Being, the mature ego must surrender, no matter how great a king or queen it may have imagined itself to be. Because Bali magnanimously admitted defeat, bowing humbly before the power of spirit, Vishnu rewarded him generously.

The Lion Man

Vishnu often incarnates to teach kings gone bad a good lesson. In this story, it's Hiranya Kashipu's turn, an arrogant ruler whose military exploits were terrorizing Earth. Worse, Hiranya Kashipu was also persecuting his innocent son Prahlada, who was a guileless devotee of Vishnu. Well, this was the straw that broke the camel's back!

The evil king had won a boon that he could not be killed at day or night, inside or outside, by man or by god. But no evil king is more clever than Vishnu! At twilight (neither day nor night) as Hiranya Kashipu stepped through a doorway (neither outdoors nor indoors), a statue of a half-man, half-lion (neither human nor god) toppled over onto him, its claws ripping out his heart.

Parashu Rama: An Axe to Grind

Parashu Rama was a hot-tempered fellow. How hot tempered? Well, his name means "Rama with an axe." If that brings to mind a certain genre of movie, you're not far off the mark.

Brahmin priests aren't axe murderers as a rule, but to every rule there's an exception! In Parashu Rama's time, the warrior caste was out of control. They were rampaging through the countryside, killing and exploiting innocent people (a definite no-no in Hinduism's strict code of conduct for warriors). When a soldier assaulted his dad, Parashu Rama had had enough. Though he was a priest and wasn't supposed to fight, Parashu Rama picked up an axe and killed the soldier.

But he didn't just kill *that* soldier. He killed *all* the soldiers. But he didn't just kill all the soldiers; he broke into their homes and killed their wives and children, too. And he didn't just do this once. Anytime he heard there was a warrior anywhere, he rushed there and killed him and his family. Parashu Rama had gone berserk. His goal was flat-out genocide. He didn't just want to wipe out the present evil race of violent men. He wanted to expunge violence forever. But that made him even more evil and violent than the men he was killing!

The Hindu View

Was Buddha an incarnation of Vishnu? Not according to Buddhists. But Hindus can make room for just about anyone in their religion, so even the renegade Indian guru Buddha found a place in their pantheon. So did Rishabha, the most ancient teacher of the Jain faith. Many Hindus don't hesitate at all to call Jesus Christ a divine incarnation, too. In the Bhagavad Gita, Vishnu says that whenever we call to our divine father, he'll appear to help us. We don't have to be Hindu to elicit God's loving response.

The story of Parashu Rama may be based on historical fact, perhaps a brahmanical uprising against the corrupt warrior caste. But obviously no ordinary priest could achieve what Parashu Rama did and live to tell the tale. The fact that he was so successful could mean only one thing: he must have been an incarnation of Vishnu, come to rid the world of warriors who

had forgotten that they're not supposed to fight to enrich themselves. They're only supposed to use force to preserve the good.

The Himalayan Master

The *Tripura Rahasya* tells the poignant story of Parashu Rama's inner struggle as he realized he was emotionally unbalanced. His anger was out of control, and he was a danger to everyone around him. He approached a number of famous gurus for counseling, but they were all so scared of him, they ran in the opposite direction as soon as they saw him coming.
Eventually one wandering sage sent him to the Himalayas to seek help from Dattatreya, the greatest spiritual master of them all.
Dattatreya was so awesome that Hindu tradition would designate him an incarnation of Brahma *and* of Vishnu *and* of Shiva all at the same time! As he approached the master's hermitage, Parashu Rama found other would-be disciples scurrying away. "Don't bother with Dattatreya," they advised him. "He's a fraud!" But our axe murderer had come too far to turn back now. Entering the ashram, Parashu Rama saw Dattatreya sitting with a jug of wine on one knee and a nubile young woman on the other. No wonder the other seekers had left in such a hurry! But Parashu Rama saw the light of self-realization radiating from the guru's face and wasn't fooled. Instead he prostrated before the master and sincerely requested his help.

Peace of Mind

In passages of extraordinary beauty, Dattatreya introduced Parashu Rama to the Goddess within. By learning to see the Goddess of beauty and bliss inside himself, Parashu Rama overcame his violent tendencies and finally found peace. (Maybe all overly aggressive men could benefit from getting to know their feminine side!)
Parashu Rama is also honored for leading a community of north Indians to colonize the south. The Vedic god Varuna promised him as much land as he could cover with an arrow shot. Belatedly realizing Parashu Rama was so strong that his arrow might fly over the entire Earth, Varuna sent an ant to

gnaw loose his bow string. Because the bow was damaged, Parashu Rama's arrow only flew as far as the southern tip of India.
Thousands of years later, Parashu Rama is still honored in South India. I have been told these days he lives quietly in a cave, still occasionally guiding seekers who come for his help, just as his guru Dattatreya once helped him.

Sages Say

A man without spiritual insight is like a frog in a well. The frog thinks its dark, damp well is the whole universe. It never leaps out into the light. In the same way a man who has never developed his spiritual awareness thinks this world is the whole of reality. He dies with this mistaken belief, never having experienced the light.
—Dattatreya

Rama: Avatar Unaware

Could God forget he's God? Amazingly, according to some Hindus, the answer is yes! Remember, God can do anything he wants! He can even conceal his true identity from himself if it serves a good purpose. Here's the story.
Through intense spiritual practices a powerful king named Ravana won a boon from Shiva that no god or any other supernatural being could defeat

him in battle. (Spoiler alert: Ravana was so formidable it simply never occurred to him to specify that no mere human should be able to kill him either!) They say power corrupts, and with that kind of power Ravana went a little crazy. Like so many of those pesky evil kings in Hindu stories, he started terrorizing heaven and Earth.

Sages Say

A jackass chases a she-ass no matter how many times she kicks it. Just so, the ignorant man pursues worldly pleasure no matter how much grief it causes him.
—Dattatreya

So it was up to Vishnu to set matters right. But the only way through the loophole in Ravana's contract with Shiva was that Vishnu would have to renounce his divine identity and come to Earth as a mortal man because only a human could kill Ravana, but no ordinary human could do it!

God and the Flying King

So Vishnu was born as the hero Rama in the city of Ayodhya, where he set an example as the perfect son, perfect husband, and perfect king, all the while not remembering he was God incarnate! Not realizing what he was getting into, Ravana kidnapped Rama's wife, Sita (who was the goddess Lakshmi incarnate, though she didn't remember it either), hoping she would

marry him. (She was *very* beautiful.) Rama came after Ravana, but it looked like a lost cause. Ravana had a large, highly trained army at his disposal, as well as all the latest technological breakthroughs in military hardware. He even had a flying machine called a *vimana,* the Vedic equivalent of a helicopter, with which he could drop in unexpectedly on his victims.

The Hindu View

Did the ancients have airplanes? Or hot air balloons maybe? To this day, scholars speculate whether the vimana, the flying vehicle mentioned in early Hindu texts like the *Ramayana,* was just science fiction or whether ancient Indians actually had some kind of airborne transport. No drawing of what a vimana might have looked like has survived.

Rama had only a motley army of monkeys and bears (perhaps this was a colorful way of describing some tribal people of southern India) and bows and arrows. Yet his love for Sita was so immense he managed to defeat Ravana's vastly superior forces and rescue his wife. The story is told in loving detail in a hugely popular Hindu epic called the *Ramayana.*

Who's an Avatar?

Some avatars are full avatars, fully aware of their divine nature from birth. The late Anandamayi Ma, believed by many to have been an incarnation of the goddess Kali, reported that she was fully conscious from the moment

she was born. She even described details from her earliest infancy that ordinarily a child couldn't possibly remember. She said she didn't experience the world piecemeal, but all at once, without any limitations on her awareness. She demonstrated again and again that she knew exactly what was happening with her devotees in other parts of India.

Some incarnations, like Rama and Sita, may be partial, where God and Goddess retain some of their divine powers but are not fully aware of their divinity. Others, like Parashu Rama, have forgotten their divine status completely and lost themselves in the drama of life until reawakened by an inspired guru.

Many Hindus sincerely believe their own guru is a special incarnation of one aspect or another of the divine. A guru may be an incarnation of divine wisdom or an embodiment of divine love, for example. Many Hindus feel a number of truly remarkable modern women, like Anasuya Devi from Jillellamudi and Amritanandamayi Ma from Kerala, are actual incarnations of the Mother of the Universe.

An important point to remember here is that in a sense, *we're all avatars.* Each of us incarnates a portion of divine consciousness, though most of us (like Parashu Rama) have completely forgotten our spiritual identity. It's as if Clark Kent totally forgot he was Superman!

The Hindu View

After Rama rescues his wife Sita, he refuses to accept her back till she walks through fire. What an awful ending! But the *Ramayana* isn't a romance; it's a spiritual allegory. God (Rama) will move heaven and Earth to save the soul captured by the

> material world (Ravana). But the soul (Sita) must purify herself before she can be reunited with spirit.

The fundamental distinction between a great avatar like Rama and the rest of us is that we're working our way *up* to divine status. The great avatars start from the top, working their way *down* to our level of consciousness.

Krishna: He's So Divine!

No Hindu contests Krishna's level of consciousness. He was a full avatar of Vishnu, completely conscious of his divinity from birth. Every day of his life was full of miracles; he embodied Godhood at its most loving, most wise, and most fun.

According to the Bible, King Herod heard of the birth of a future king and was paranoid enough to send out troops to kill all the newborn male infants. The circumstances around Krishna's birth were so similar that Christian theologians at first thought the Hindus had stolen parts of the story of Jesus' birth—till scholars confirmed that Krishna's story was centuries older.

The Butter Thief

A sage had told the malicious king Kamsa that his nephew would kill him and take his throne. No problem: Kamsa simply had each of his sister's children killed the moment it was born. But sister Devaki and her husband Vasudeva managed to slip their eighth infant away to safety. Little Krishna grew up in the village of Vrindavan, where he made a charming nuisance of himself. He was always finding ways to get his little fingers into his foster mother Yasoda's tasty fresh butter, which is why to this day you'll hear Hindus, with tears of affection streaming from their eyes, call Krishna *damodara,* "the butter thief."

Kamsa's assassins were always lurking nearby, but somehow the little toddler turned the tables on them all. Kamsa never did catch the boy

destined to be his undoing! If you read the many delightful stories about how Krishna outwits all the people and animals and things Kamsa sends against him, you'll recognize that every one of them corresponds to a constellation! By telling these stories, the ancient masters turned heaven into the *chidakasha* or "spiritual sky." Then every time you'd look at the night sky, you'd be reminded of a story about Krishna!

The Dance of Love

The stories of Krishna's boyhood in Vrindavan are some of the most delightful—and most sensual—in Hindu spiritual lore. It's no wonder Vrindavan is one of the most popular pilgrimage sites in India today! Here Krishna grew up looking after the cattle. In Hindu art, he is often depicted as a loving tender of cows, much as Christians picture Jesus as the good shepherd. Krishna was so devastatingly attractive that all the women of the village fell helplessly in love with him. Most of them were simple milkmaids (*gopis* in Sanskrit), who made their living selling fresh milk. At night, Krishna would wander out into the forest and play enchantingly on his flute. The gopis would slip out of their homes (sometimes out of their husbands' beds!) to rendezvous with their divine lover.

Sages Say

In any place and any time, when good declines and evil rises all around, I descend to Earth. Again and again, I come to rescue the pure of heart and punish the wrongdoers. In age after age, I come to reestablish justice and integrity.

> —the avatar Krishna in the Bhagavad Gita

The Rasa Lila is Krishna's mystical dance, a bewitching scene depicted again and again in Hindu art. One night, to satisfy the desires of all the women in love with him, Krishna temporarily cloned himself into dozens of Krishnas. Then he danced through the night with every one of the gopis at the same time.

Each of them innocently believed she alone enjoyed his love! This beautiful story makes the point that while members of different sects and religions believe God is theirs alone, in fact God dances with his lovers everywhere, in all times and all places and all religions.

King of Mathura

As a young man, Krishna left Vrindavan to fulfill his destiny in Mathura, where he overthrew the vicious king Kamsa. But back in his village, the gopis pined for him night and day, especially Radha, his favorite girlfriend. Krishna never returned to Vrindavan, but the gopis ached for him every moment of their lives, until they actually began to see him in everyone and everything around them. Merging into Krishna's true Self, the all-pervading consciousness that sustains all reality, they each attained enlightenment. Many Hindus still cherish the memory of the gopis as the greatest devotees who ever lived.

Krishna eventually became king of Mathura. As the *Mahabharata* relates, he would go on to help his friend Arjuna win the disastrous war against the Kauravas. The Bhagavad Gita, one of the wisest scriptures in the world's spiritual library, recounts Krishna's advice to Arjuna as Arjuna confronts the consequences of serious political errors and the inevitability of death. Once when hundreds of women from a nearby kingdom were carried off by a pillaging army, Krishna rushed to the rescue. After he'd saved them, the women cried that their husbands and fathers wouldn't accept them back because they were impure since they'd been raped. Krishna called for a priest and married them all on the spot! It's easy to see why Krishna is so popular with women devotees to this day!

Krishna may well be the single most beloved figure in the history of Hinduism. He's more loved than Vishnu himself, even though he's supposed to be just one of Vishnu's 10 major incarnations. The character of Krishna, who combines unsurpassed wisdom with masculine charm and heroic deeds, may actually be the most enchanting figure in world literature.

Quick Quiz

1. Vishnu stepped on Bali's head …
    a. Because Bali's skull was Vishnu's shoe size.
    b. By accident when the lights went out.
    c. To teach him humility.
2. Manu is famous for …
    a. Repopulating the Earth after the flood.
    b. Rajput miniature paintings.
    c. His fried fish recipe.
3. The most beloved figure in Hinduism is …
    a. Ravana, king of Lanka.
    b. Krishna, king of Mathura.
    c. Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India.
4. The boar avatar …
    a. Bore Mount Meru on his back.
    b. Lifted the earth's landmass with his tusks.
    c. Digs for truffles on Full Moon nights.

Answers: 1 (c). 2 (a). 3 (b). 4 (b).

Kalki: The Future Liberator

However, Vishnu's most dramatic incarnation is yet to come. At the end of the Kali Yuga, the cycle of darkness in which the world is presently languishing, Vishnu will incarnate in the form of Kalki the liberator. He will arrive on a white horse, embodying truth and wise leadership. He will

liberate the world from injustice and inaugurate a new era of enlightened awareness.

It is difficult to say where the legend of the Kalki avatar originated. It seems to be an extremely ancient myth, shared by the Persians, Jews, Christians, Tibetans, and many Central Asians. Even the Native Americans had their own version, named Kukulkan!

The Least You Need to Know

- Avatars are incarnations of God and the Goddess.
- Vishnu incarnates to save the world at times of special stress.
- Vishnu saved Manu from a deluge that flooded the entire Earth.
- The heroes Parashu Rama, Rama of Ayodhya, and Krishna were avatars.
- Some of the greatest saints are considered divine incarnations.
- The Kalki avatar will restore righteousness at the end of this world cycle.

Chapter 14

The Main Denominations

In This Chapter

- Major Hindu sects
- Vishnu's devotees
- Shiva's nonconformists
- Goddess myth and gospel
- Hinduism and its discontents

There are so many thousands of Hindu sects that religious scholars despair of ever getting them all straight. Still, if you walk into a Hindu home, odds are high that the family members belong to one of three major groups:

- **Vaishnavas:** devotees of Vishnu
- **Shaivites:** devotees of Shiva
- **Shaktas:** devotees of Devi, the Goddess

Let's have a look at Hinduism's major denominations. Then we'll take a quick peek at some very important sects that broke from Hinduism to start their own religions.

Vaishnavas: "Hare Krishna! "

The Vaishnavas are the largest denomination in India and have numerous subsects. Devotion to Lord Vishnu and his avatars, especially Krishna and Rama, is their key-note. In addition to the Veda, they hold particularly sacred the Bhagavad Gita, the Bhagavata Purana (which contains many enchanting stories about Krishna), and various compendiums of religious lore, such as the *Vishnu Samhita.* There is also ecstatic devotional poetry,

such as the erotically charged *Gita Govinda,* which compares a devotee's yearning for God with a young woman's longing for her lover.

A Personable God

Many Vaishnavas believe God has six special qualities: complete knowledge, total power, sublime majesty, supreme strength, unlimited energy, and full self-sufficiency. He's not just a transcendent undifferentiated mystical blur but an actual divine person. He's something like us, only infinitely better! Vaishnavas like to use one of the oldest Vedic names for God, *Purushottama,* which means "the ultimate person" or, as the Hare Krishnas put it, "the Supreme Personality of Godhead."

Guidepost

In the late 1960s and 1970s, shaven-headed young men in orange robes would approach people at American and European airports chanting "Hare Krishna! Hare Hare!" Bewildered travelers wondered, *Who are these people?* The "Hare Krishnas" were devotees of the late Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, who showed up penniless in the streets of New York back in the mid-1960s. This Vaishnava guru was already in his 70s when he began his hugely successful teaching mission to the West. He was following in the tradition of the fifteenth-century Bengali saint Chaitanya, who also liked to sing and dance in public streets.

For most Vaishnavas, the divine Self inside ourselves is the same as but not equal to Vishnu. Spiritual liberation means merging into God but not in the same total sense that the philosopher Shankaracharya taught (see Chapter 9). We merge into God without losing our individual nature, for we are meant to be his companions for all eternities. And even though we may enjoy his bliss when our awareness bathes in his, we do not share his infinite power. Only God can create a universe. We merely hang out in the worlds he places us in.

Shankaracharya said a drop of water and the ocean are the same substance, and just as a drop will lose itself completely in the sea, so an individual soul loses its individuality in the great spirit. The Vaishnavas feel that comparing a drop to the ocean is ridiculous. The ocean is infinitely greater!

Hanging Out with Vishnu

While Vaishnavism recognizes the importance of meditation practices, its emphasis lies primarily in religious devotion and morality. The word *bhava* is the key to understanding Vaishnava spirituality. It means emotion or more specifically the overwhelming joy and love that arise from living life in active companionship with God.

While some Hindus focus on deep meditation and others on philosophical contemplation, Vaishnavas are often suspicious of too much head stuff. It's that juice in the heart called love that gives spiritual life its zip. Vaishnavas love to recount the story of Rama's passion for his wife, Sita, or to sit contemplating Krishna's beautiful features and amorous adventures. Deep feelings of religious ecstasy cleanse the mind and propel the heart toward living companionship with Vishnu here and after death.

For some Vaishnavas, God's wife is just as important as he is. This is Lakshmi, who you've already met in Chapter 12. Many Vaishnavas call her Sri (pronounced *shree*), which literally means "auspiciousness" or "all good things." She is the supremely compassionate one, the beloved Divine Mother who looks after us kids and guides us home to Dad.

def•i•ni•tion

Bhava is intense religious emotion or spiritual ecstasy.

Heaven Full of Saints

The spiritual sky of Vaishnavism is alight with a brilliant array of stars: saints of the highest magnitude. Some of the most famous were the 12 *Alvars,* who lived in the eighth and ninth centuries C.E. in the south of India. Their hymns were saturated with love for the divine, bemoaning their separation from the Lord (usually in the form of Krishna) and celebrating those moments of merger when they experienced his living presence.

def•i•ni•tion

Alvar means "one who dives deep" and refers to the 12 great South Indian Vaishnava saints of the eighth and ninth centuries.

The Alvars had such an enormous impact on Hindu spirituality that across the subcontinent Hindu intellectuals were forced to rethink their philosophical systems to accommodate a personable God. They were forced to acknowledge that intense devotion can transport a soul to the highest states of mystical ecstasy.

Closer to our own time the Bauls of Bengal frankly call themselves "madmen for God." Many are minstrels who travel through the countryside singing and dancing. If you hear a Baul even once, you'll never forget the experience. They sing with such passion you half expect their hearts to split open!

Merging in the Temples, Singing in the Streets

Names of certain Vaishnava saints will come up not infrequently in your conversations with orthodox Hindu families, so here is a primer listing a few of the most loved saints from the last 1,500 years or so (the dates given here are historians' approximations):

- **Andal** (725-755). One of the most famous of the Alvars, she so adamantly insisted she would have no husband but God himself that her family actually took her to the Vishnu temple at Srirangam for the marriage ceremony! It's said that there she physically merged into the image in the temple, her love for him was so intense.
- **Jnanadeva** (1275-1296). The child author of the *Jnaneshvari,* which is a commentary on the Bhagavad Gita and perhaps the greatest spiritual classic of Maharashtra. At the age of 21, Jnanadeva had himself entombed alive so that he could close out his life focused exclusively on attaining union with Krishna.
- **Mira Bai** (1498-1546). A Rajput princess whose ecstatic songs to Krishna are still sung throughout India. She caused a stir of divine fervor everywhere she traveled singing of her love. At her death, she merged into a statue of Krishna at Dvaraka.
- **Chaitanya** (1486-1533). Regarded by many Hindus as the incarnation of both Krishna and his lover Radha, Chaitanya made his way through much of India chanting Krishna's name, dancing in the streets, and triggering a massive social movement of religious devotion!
- **Tulsi Das** (1532-1623). A homeless child taken in by the guru Ramananda, he grew up to compose some of the most loved poems in Hindu spiritual literature. His retelling of the story of Rama and Sita, called the *Rama Charita Manasa,* actually replaced the original *Ramayana* in popularity among Hindus.

Sages Say

O Lord of all living creatures! Your behavior is so audacious! But who can match Your courage? You remain in bliss even as the stars tumble from heaven and the entire universe disintegrates. Even the sages are stricken with terror as the world systems are destroyed. Yet—all alone—You laugh with delight!
—Shivananda Lahar

- **Tukaram** (1600-1650). This destitute farmer became one of Hinduism's most inspired poets. Though physically assaulted by a jealous detractor (who poured boiling water over him!), he forgave the man and later healed him of an incurable illness.
- **Anandamayi Ma** (1896-1982). A saint so amazing other saints came to prostrate before her. Illumined from birth, she lived in God consciousness, traveling around India wherever God directed her. From an inner space of luminous clarity, she shared her experience of the unity of all things.

Anandamayi Ma, one of the most extraordinary Vaishnava saints of the twentieth century.

Shaivites: "Om Namah Shivaya! "

You can identify the Shaivites by the three lines of ash running horizontally across their foreheads or by the lingam (a small conical stone) many of them wear around their necks. While Vaishnava holy men may have shaved

heads, the Shaivites have a full head of hair, sometimes matted and wrapped around their skulls like a turban.

Even if you've never met a Hindu in your life, you still may have heard friends come home from their yoga classes repeating the most sacred Shaivite mantra, "Om namah Shivaya." It means "With loving reverence, I bow to the Supreme Consciousness." In this tradition, the Supreme Being is called Lord Shiva.

Pashupati: Lord of Beasts

Of the major subsects of Shaiva Hindus, the Pashupatis are the most notorious. *Pashupati* means "lord of domesticated animals" (*pashus* are any animals that are typically bound with a rope). Most people, these Shaivites say, are like cows with rings through their noses. They're led here and there by social conventions and by their own hopes and fears. The Pashupati practitioners break with social norms and often behave in the most outrageous and upsetting ways—on purpose. They're trying to set their inner world upside down so they can shake themselves loose from past mental conditioning and begin to move through the world with true freedom.

There are five stages of practice according to this tradition. Stage 1 marks the conventional spiritual aspirant, who meditates and tries to do good. Eventually this person will reach Stage 2, genuine sainthood. They follow rigorous moral standards and are exemplars of compassion, wisdom, and selfless service. By Pashupati standards, the average saint we recognize in the West functions at the second level.

Guidepost

Some crazy people are, well, crazy. Others may actually be enlightened! In India great saints sometimes act crazy to get supplicants—people who show up demanding miracles and favors—to leave them alone.

The problem with being a Stage 2 saint is that they attract needy souls who waste their time with constant demands and sycophants who inflate their egos with constant praise. So at Stage 3, practitioners are advised to act outrageously, leaping around and shouting as if they're crazy. They make sexual advances on anyone and everyone and break their promises. The crowds of devotees and hangers on who surrounded them in the past now quickly vanish, and the yogi is free to move on to higher practices.
Stage 4 aspirants are more "there" than "here." Though still inhabiting a physical body, their awareness is centered in the world within. To normal people, they may seem distracted or even catatonic. Stage 5 is the level of total mastery, where the adept remains centered in the highest consciousness but now acts in the material world for the benefit of all beings. She has perfectly integrated her experience of complete inner illumination with her awareness of outer reality, and helps to free others from the "nose rings" that control them.

Vira Shaivism: Path of Heroes

The Vira Shaivites also behave horribly by conservative Hindu standards. One of their greatest saints, a twelfth-century brahmin from Karnataka named Basava, was one of the great religious reformers in Hindu history. He led the Vira Shaivites in rejecting caste distinctions (a major no-no in Hinduism), honoring women as full equals of men, and respecting all forms of honest labor including the lowest and dirtiest.
Vira means "hero." A Vira Shaivite is as dauntless and alert in his or her spiritual life as a soldier in the thick of battle.

Vira Shaivites wear a linga, the symbol of Shiva, on their bodies. They consider it his living presence. By keeping it close, they make their bodies Shiva's living temple. A second form of linga exists in the heart. When the kundalini rises from the bottom of the spine illuminating the energy of the heart center, this linga is directly experienced. The third linga is in the brain. When the kundalini activates the center at the top of the head, union with Shiva is experienced. They merge into the linga of pure consciousness. Vira Shaivites compare the jiva, the individual soul, and Shiva, the cosmic being, to a river and the ocean. There is definitely a difference between the two, as anyone can see. But at the time of enlightenment, the soul merges into Shiva like the river pouring into the sea. At that point, it becomes impossible to distinguish between the two.

Shaiva Siddhanta: Loving Shiva

Shaiva Siddhanta also shows more flexibility in matters of caste, gender, and ethics than the generally more socially conservative Vaishnavas and is the most commonly practiced form of Shaivism in South India today. Devotees of this tradition value the *Tiru Murai* even more than the Veda. This exquisite collection of Tamil hymns to Lord Shiva was compiled by Nambiyandar Nambi in the eleventh century.
Shaiva Siddhanta is famous for its 63 *Nayanars,* Tamil poet saints who lived between 700 and 1000 C.E. Their poetry extols Shiva's extraordinary grace and compassion. Until their arrival on the scene, both Buddhism and Jainism had made substantial inroads in South India. But the Nayanars won back the hearts of the people and reestablished Lord Shiva as South India's premier god. Let me introduce you to a few of these exceptional saints:

- **Appar** (600-681) converted from Jainism to Shaivism. The local Jain king had him thrown into a vat of poison, tried drowning him, and drove an elephant to attack him. But by remembering the holy mantra "Namah Shivaya," Appar survived every assault. The king was so impressed he converted to Shaivism himself.
- **Sambandhar** (644-660) was known for the miracles he accomplished in Shiva's name. It was said he was so adept he could

raise the dead even after they were cremated! Like Appar, he taught that ultimately Vishnu and Shiva are the same Divine Being.

- **Sundar** (716-735) went blind as a young man. He complained angrily to Shiva who, according to myth, had three good eyes! Shiva restored his eyesight. In fact, Shiva loved the boy saint so much he is said to have shared his wife, Parvati, with him!

Kashmir Shaivism: The Naked Lady

Kashmir Shaivism is the best known form of Shaivism in the West today, popularized by Swami Muktananda and his successor Gurumayi Chidvilasananda in the second half of the twentieth century. It emphasizes that we're already enlightened. We just need to recognize it!

def•i•ni•tion

Pratyabhijna means Self-recognition, refocusing one's awareness on the divine consciousness in oneself.

Pratyabhijna is the key to the Kashmiri system. At the center of our being lies undying divine awareness. When we clear the impurities out of our minds and stop being distracted by our desires, the light of pure awareness shines through. Then we experience our real nature as Shiva.
Here are a few of the great souls of the Kashmir Shaivite tradition:

- **Vasu Gupta** (ninth century) was directed in a dream to seek out a stone slab on Mahadeva Mountain in Kashmir. Inscribed on the stone were the verses of the Shiva Sutra, one of the most amazing texts on higher consciousness ever composed.
- **Abhinava Gupta** (eleventh century) was one of the most brilliant philosopher yogis in Hindu history. His books on mystical states and how to attain them are among the finest works on spirituality in all

world literature. He was one of the greatest tantric masters who ever lived.

- **Lalleshvari** (fourteenth century) is one of the best-known saints of this tradition. She walked out of an abusive marriage and spent the rest of her life wandering naked through the countryside, absorbed in love for Shiva and performing advanced yogic practices.

Shaktas: "*Jai Ma!*"

There's a famous saying in India: "In public, a Vaishnava. In private, a Shaivite. In your heart, a Shakta." The proverb means when you're in a crowd, behave like a conventional religious person. Within a circle of your close friends, however, feel free to explore your more radical spiritual insights. But when all is said and done, there is no lap more comfortable than Mom's!

Shaktas worship the Mother of the Universe as both the Supreme Consciousness itself and its power. Its power is the will and energy that creates, nurtures, and finally dissolves away the worlds. Some Shaktas, called Kaulas, engage primarily in ritual practice. Others, in the meditatively oriented Samaya tradition, focus exclusively on inner work. The Mishras do some of both: ritual to channel one's physical energy and focus the mind and meditation to plunge into the inner depths where Devi, the radiant goddess, resides.

In heavily Shakta parts of India, like Bengal or Assam, you'll hear Hindus shout *" Jai Ma!"* It literally means "Hurray for Mom!" and has an energy something like "Hallelujah!" Worship of the Divine Mother permeates every aspect of Hindu spirituality. Even Vaishnavas and Shaivites don't worship a male God exclusively like Christians and Muslims do. The feminine divine is always also honored even when the male aspect of the Supreme Being is emphasized.

Sages Say

Meditate on the divinity inside you. Drink the nectar of love that pours continually from Shiva's heart.
—Lalleshvari

The Hindu View

The sacred scriptures of denominations like the Shaktas and Shaivites are called *agamas.* In their communities these texts may be as highly valued as the Veda itself.

Debunking Indiana Jones

Unfortunately, the little most Westerners know about the Hindu Goddess tradition is what they learn from fiction like *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom.* Harrison Ford is called upon to rescue struggling victims about to

be sacrificed to a horrible, multi-armed female deity. There is no way to sufficiently express how offensive this depiction of Goddess spirituality is to Hindus!

Guidepost

Ladies, if you're concerned about being carried off screaming to be offered to a bloodthirsty Hindu goddess, relax! Only males are offered to the Goddess. And it's usually male goats at that. At almost all Goddess temples these days, however, flowers and fruit are offered instead.

Europeans of the Victorian era also mistakenly believed that Shaktas engaged in drunken sex orgies. No such luck! These myths got started from rumors based on real tantric practices, though. A Shakta would purify himself or herself for weeks, fasting and chanting a Goddess mantra literally millions of times. Then under the close supervision of a Shakta master, the aspirant would drink high-proof liquor, strong enough to knock the socks off even the sturdiest drinker much less a teetotaler like most Hindus.

The point of the practice was to learn to face death consciously. Most people die in a state of unconsciousness, which is bad news from a Hindu point of view since they want to be alert during the stages of the death process. This allows them to consciously direct their after-death experience. By learning to maintain awareness despite the stupefying effects of strong liquor, the Shakta is training to remain lucid during the process of death itself.

God or Goddess?

Philosophically Shaktism is very close to Shaivism. In fact the two are often considered brother-sister traditions. Their doctrines are essentially identical. However, Shaivism emphasizes the consciousness or Shiva aspect a little more. Shaktism emphasizes the energy or active facet of the divine slightly more.

In the end, Shaivites admit Para Shiva, the highest form of Shiva, contains both Shiva and Shakti, consciousness and energy. Shaktas, too, say Sadakhya, the highest form of the Goddess, contains both Shiva and Shakti. Same difference. Consciousness *is* energy—living self-awareness.

The Lousy Accountant

One of the most famous Shakta saints of recent centuries was Ramprasad Sen, who lived in Bengal in the eighteenth century. He was on fire with passion for the goddess Kali and neglected his work as an accountant so badly his manager fired him! But when his boss read the beautiful lines of poetry Ramprasad had scribbled in the account books, tears came to his eyes. He encouraged Ramprasad to go home and devote his life to spiritual practice—and sent a generous stipend to Ramprasad every month so that he could actually afford to do exactly that! Employers like this are rare and deserve a lot of credit!

Ramprasad is famous for poems in which he approaches the Mother of the Universe like an innocent child or like a petulant child at times! Speaking of his meditation practice, he writes:

> Mother Kali, You dwell in cremation grounds
> so I've made my heart a burning pit
> where You can dance.
> One desire burns in the conflagration of my life:
> To watch Your blazing dance!
> I sit here still as death in my own funeral pyre,
> looking for You with eyes closed.

Quick Quiz

1. The three main sects of Hinduism are …
    a. Buddhism, Sikhism, and Jainism.
    b. Shaktism, Shaivism, and Vaishnavism.
    c. Tantra, yantra, and mantra.
2. Followers of Vaishnavism approach God with …
    a. Fear and trepidation.
    b. Love and joy.
    c. Long lists of complaints.
3. The Shaiva Siddhanta saints taught that Vishnu and Shiva …
    a. Are bitter enemies.
    b. Are ultimately identical.
    c. Are related on their mothers' side.
4. *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* ...
    a. Portrays a startlingly accurate vision of Goddess worship.
    b. Grossly distorts Hindu Goddess spirituality.
    c. Was #1 at the box office in Mumbai cinema for nearly a year.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (b). 3 (b). 4 (b).

Hindu Spin-Offs

From time to time, great spiritual masters left the Hindu fold to start their own traditions. Hindu policy is so liberal, Hindus are allowed to believe just about anything, so what do you have to do to be excluded from Hinduism? Historically, refusing to accept the Veda as divinely inspired and breaking with the caste tradition would usually do the trick.

A number of important Hindu sects splintered from the Vedic fold to form their own faiths. Hinduism has no less than four world-famous stepchildren.

Breaking with Tradition

Buddha was disgusted by the Hindu priestly caste, in whose rituals he had little faith. He rejected the authority of the Veda, the value of worshipping deities, and the concept of an immortal soul. Most of Buddha's teachings and practices, however, retain a strong Hindu flavor.

Mahavir, who lived around the same time as the Buddha and whose life paralleled Buddha's in a number of surprising ways, also rejected the Veda. His spiritual tradition, which strongly emphasizes nonviolence, is called Jainism.

The Sikh tradition started in the Punjab in the twelfth century C.E. It emphasized devotion to God and guru and later to the *Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* the collection of beautiful hymns that eventually took the place of a human guru. Combining Hindu and Muslim ideals, the Sikhs became known for their military valor.

The Hindu View

From the third century C.E. up till just a few centuries ago, Manichaeism was one of the great world religions, practiced from Europe to China. It taught that we are beings of light who must purge ourselves of association with matter in order to merge back into divine light. (Both Christian and Muslim authorities made the extermination of Manichaeism a top priority, which is why you don't see Manichaeans hanging around anymore.) It's startling to find Manichaean literature filled with Sanskrit terminology. This is because Mani, the founder of that religion,

traveled to India to study with Buddhist and Hindu masters. Mani, who was born in Babylon in 216 C.E., helped introduce many Eastern ideas into Europe, where they still echo in Europe's Gnostic underground.

The Zoroastrian Connection

Zoroastrianism is immensely ancient. According to the Hindu tradition, Zoroaster would have lived long before 3000 B.C.E. (He is mentioned as an ancient renegade teacher several times in the Rig Veda, which was compiled about 30 centuries before Christ.) Aristotle, the ancient Greek philosopher, confirms that Persians of his time dated Zoroaster to around 6000 B.C.E. However, Western scholars have been extremely reluctant to accept such ancient dates for Zoroaster.

Zoroaster is one of the most important figures in religious history. When he broke with Hinduism, he established a new set of beliefs which much later would work their way into Judaism and from there reincarnate in Christianity and Islam. These ideas include the linear nature of time with history ending on Judgment Day, the resurrection of the physical body, and the promised return of a savior to inaugurate a millennial period of peace on Earth. He also taught the existence of the Devil, a malevolent being nearly as powerful as God.

Hindus accept a modified version of the story of the returning savior. None of Zoroaster's other ideas are accepted in Hinduism.

The Least You Need to Know

- The three major sects of modern Hinduism are Vaishnavism, Shaivism, and Shaktism.
- Vaishnavas believe in the loving personal God Vishnu.
- Some Shaivites are radical in their approach to enlightenment.
- Shaktas worship the Goddess as the active, creative power of Divine Reality.
- Four great religions splintered off from Hinduism: Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, and Zoroastrianism.

Part 4

How Hindus Live

Hindus live in a tightly ordered, hierarchical world with clear moral values. Although India is technically a secular state, for practicing Hindus there is no such thing as a secular life. Everything occurs within the context of religion. Sacraments for every Hindu begin before birth and continue after death. Holy days are frequent. Activities are oriented, directly or indirectly, toward the ultimate goal of Hindu spirituality: liberation of the soul from the bondage of karma and rebirth.

Mother India herself is sacred. You can't travel far without reaching one pilgrimage center or another. Temples appear everywhere, though the most familiar one is right in each Hindu's own home.

This part shows how the saints and sages of the Eternal Religion counseled Hindu men and women to structure their society and to live with each other and find peace within themselves.

Chapter 15

A Classy Religion

In This Chapter

- The structure of Hindu society
- Why we're here
- Phases of life
- Women's experience

Hindu culture is tightly structured. Everyone knows where he belongs—and where he doesn't. If you're a Hindu, many of life's choices are made for you: the job you'll have, the person you'll marry, the people you'll hang out with.

For those of us who've grown up in the individualistic West, where our right to self-determination is a paramount value, the hierarchical societies of the East may seem stifling, even inhumane. Yet many Hindus would not trade their way of life for ours. Hindus who move to the West often complain that compared to home, Western culture seems cold and selfish. So let's take a look at the way traditional Hindu society organizes itself and the religious purpose for this way of life.

What Turns You On?

What turns people on? The Hindu sages noted that basically there are four distinct personality types.

Type 1 is people whose primary passion in life is power. They feel most alive when they're controlling others and would be miserable if they couldn't express their need to be in charge.

Type 2 people are mostly motivated by material things. These folks want to be wealthy, so their satisfaction comes from producing or owning things. Their worst fear is poverty or sometimes simply having less than other people do.

Guidepost

Ever feel like an outcast? Sad to say, the outcastes of India probably feel even worse. Mahatma Gandhi renamed this group of people Harijans, "the children of God." Outcaste status was outlawed in 1950, and today all Hindus are equal before the law.

Type 3 is oriented more toward the inner world. Ideas turn these people on and internal experiences like spiritual visions. Give them a book, ask them to teach a class, or let them sit quietly thinking or meditating, and they're happy as ducks in a pond.

Type 4 is your burger flipper. These people don't particularly want to rule the world, and they aren't money-hungry enough to work their way up to a top-paying job. They don't necessarily long to be the world's leading philosophers either. They're content to wash dishes and sweep the floor, then go home and relax with friends and family.

Four Classes of Hindu Society

The sages gave each of these types a name:

- **Kshatriyas:** motivated by power
- **Vaishyas:** motivated by wealth
- **Brahmins:** motivated by knowledge
- **Shudras:** motivated by work

The kshatriyas are kings and queens and top-level executives and administrators. They're also military and police, the ones who use force to keep order. For most of its history, India was a patchwork of numberless little kingdoms. So the kshatriyas were primarily maharajahs and maharanis, princesses and dukes and their families, and the warriors they retained to help protect those they ruled and conquer those they didn't. Their role is to maintain law and social order.

Vaishyas are business people, trades people, artisans, farmers, and skilled laborers. Their role is to keep the economy booming.

Brahmins are priests, counselors, educators, philosophers. In India until fairly recently, brahmins were primarily responsible for preserving the Veda and were valued as ritual specialists. Today more brahmins are moving into other fields, such as politics, administration, and medicine.

Shudras are laborers. They do the physical work that makes life comfortable and convenient for everyone else.

The Hindu View

Hindus stay in close touch with their relatives, including those who have died. Spirits of the departed are believed to still take an active interest in family affairs and are even offered meals during special ceremonies!

A Multi-Colored Society

Originally the varnas, or four castes as these groups are called, were somewhat fast and loose designations. But in India as in much of the rest of the world, children learned their trade from their parents. So over the course of time your caste status became something you inherited from your parents rather than an innate inclination you brought with you from your past lives. Varna can mean color, and the high caste brahmins are associated with white. So when they first started studying India, Western scholars assumed white-skinned people (like themselves) were the most respected classes in India. But white referred to the color of the clothes brahmins wore, reflecting their inner and outer cleanliness. Kshatriyas wore red (as soldiers they dealt in blood), vaishyas wore yellow (as merchants they dealt in gold), and shudras wore brown (as laborers they worked the earth). Varna had nothing to do with skin color!

The Hindu View

The four basic castes or classes in Hindu society are further broken down into jatis, or subcastes, specific social groups that come with preassigned levels of social status. Much like the guilds of medieval Europe, jatis provide services we Westerners associate with trade schools, unions, and insurance companies.

The Hierarchy of Being

The three upper castes (all except the shudras) are called “twice born” in Hinduism. The first birth occurs when the infant bursts hollering from its mother’s womb. The second birth occurs at initiation, the Hindu version of the Christian rite of confirmation. At this time, the child is inducted into formal spiritual practice. Shudras do not receive this initiation probably because originally they were not considered focused and serious enough to stick with a spiritual discipline. In real life, of course, many shudras are highly spiritual. Many great saints have come from the shudra caste.

The four castes are very broad groupings. Most Hindus actually think of themselves in terms of their subcaste and clan. There are over 3,000 human subcastes in Hinduism. This system represents the hierarchical nature of souls in the universe, so there are nonhuman subcastes, too. Animals, plants, even insects have their subcastes—so do gods and demons!

Westerners reflexively condemn the social inequities of the caste system, which also sharply divides diverse classes of people resulting in a disastrous lack of unity that’s made India particularly vulnerable to foreign invasion. But the caste system has also served to protect the fantastic diversity of communities in the subcontinent. Nowhere else on Earth can you find so many radically different subcultures in such a confined area. Different groups weren’t forced to integrate, so each has retained its unique traditions through the millennia.

Outsiders

Not everyone in the world fits into the four-caste system. Some people left the system voluntarily, and some left involuntarily. Finally, some people were never in the system to begin with.

The panchamas are the famous outcastes of India. These are people, or descendants of people, who committed some serious infringement of caste regulations that led to their being excommunicated from orthodox Hindu society. A person could become a pariah, for example, by marrying outside his social group. (Remember that until the late twentieth century, this kind of social ostracizing based on class relations wasn’t unusual in Western countries, either.) Hindus who adopted a new religion, like Buddhism or Islam, met with disapproval, too.

People who performed unsanitary types of jobs were also considered untouchable. These were people who cleaned dirty areas like lavatories or who handled dead animals or dead people. Perhaps the ancients noticed that these people were a source of contagion (of viruses and bacteria we'd say today) and started keeping a distance from them.

While "untouchables" are thrown out of the social order against their will, some people choose to step outside the caste system on purpose. These are the sannyasins, the wandering holy men and women of Hinduism. Sannyasins have given up the comforts and luxuries of home and family to wander freely without any possessions or worldly responsibilities. They are focused only on Self-realization and are considered "in this world but not of it." Caste regulations don't apply to them since they've transcended worldly restrictions. Even though they're outside the caste system like the untouchables, sannyasins are among the most highly respected members of Hindu culture (see Chapter 19).

Mlecchas are foreigners, people who never were Hindus to begin with. Until only recently, many Hindus considered it a calamity to have to leave India and live with mlecchas. This makes sense because for most of their history, Indians enjoyed a high standard of living compared to many other cultures.

Guidepost

If you're meeting a Hindu for the first time, you might be tempted to ask, "What caste are you?" It seems like a natural question, and you're genuinely curious. However, this is an entirely inappropriate question. It's like sitting down next to a stranger on an airplane and asking, "How much money do you

make?" It would be interesting to know the answer, but asking is very rude.

What's Life For?

According to Hinduism, human life has four main goals.

- **Dharma:** Fulfilling your duties honestly
- **Artha:** Becoming prosperous
- **Kama:** Having fun
- **Moksha:** Getting enlightened

Let's take a brief look at each.

Doing Your Dharma

In this context, dharma means doing that which you were meant to do, doing it ethically, and doing it to the best of your capacity. Generally it refers to one's career.

Sages Say

Respect your mother as if she is a goddess. Respect your father as if he is a god. Respect your guest like a deity. Any work you do, do it perfectly. Whatever you do, do good.

> —Taittiriya Upanishad

One person's dharma may be to manufacture tires. Another person's dharma could be to sing professionally, lay foundations, or practice medicine.
In Hindu culture, often your dharma was determined by the family and clan you were born into. If you were born into a family of stone masons, your fulfillment in life would come from working with stone. If your mother was a washerwoman, you would probably be a washerwoman, too. Though for most women, your primary dharma was being a housewife and mother.

Arjuna's Dharma

In the Bhagavad Gita, Lord Krishna urges Arjuna to pick up his bow and go to war. This was because Arjuna had been born into a kshatriya family of kings and warriors. His brother's kingdom had been illegally taken over by a tyrant, and it was not the dharma of the priest or the stone mason to stop the evil tyrant. As a defender of justice, it was Arjuna's job to ensure that the kingdom was returned to its rightful ruler.
Even though Arjuna didn't want to fight, Krishna insisted he must do his duty; he must fulfill the purpose for which he was born. The Hindu view is that even if a laundryman would rather be an organic farmer, he should stick with the professional responsibility he was born into, an attitude incomprehensible to many Westerners. But in India (as in many Asian cultures), the welfare of society as a whole outweighs the individual's own preferences. Traditional Hindus believe that it is by fulfilling their duty, not by fulfilling their fantasies, that people hold their society together.

Paying Your Debts

There is also a general dharma incumbent on all human beings. Each of us has five duties or debts we need to repay:

- We must fulfill our obligations to the gods for their many blessings by honoring them with the appropriate rituals.
- We must repay the tremendous debt we owe to our parents and teachers by supporting them and by having children and passing on our knowledge in turn.
- We fulfill our duty to our guests by treating them as if they were deities visiting our home.
- We have a debt to all other human beings as well, which we can repay by treating each with the respect he or she is due.
- Also we have an obligation to all other living beings including plants and animals. We must offer them food as well as our good wishes and other types of help when appropriate.

Two central preoccupations exist in Hinduism: freedom and responsibility. While tantrics, ascetics, and renunciates launch into the freedom of spirit, Hindus who choose to remain in the workaday world are very conscious of their karmic debts and the profound interconnection and interdependence of the living beings in the many different planes of reality. Dharma defines their place in the world order and shows them how to live together in mutual respect and support.

Making Money

In the Hindu religion, getting rich is considered an entirely appropriate human activity. In fact, some holy texts urge us to use both hands to make as much money as we can and then give it away with *10* hands to those in need!

This emphasis on abundance often surprises Westerners who mistakenly believe Hinduism is a world-denying religion. Keep in mind that for most of its 5,000-year history—right up till the time of the British occupation—India was the wealthiest region in the world. (That's why so many poorer peoples were always invading India! They wanted a piece of the action!) Leading a happy, healthy, prosperous life has always been the ideal for Hindu householders. Many of the hymns in the Veda were chanted to ensure a comfortable lifestyle.

The Hindu View

The Kama Sutra, a manual on aesthetics, etiquette, and sex, is considered a sacred text, not pornography, in Hinduism. It was written by a monk! Kama, incidentally, refers to many forms of sensual pleasure (including, for example, flower arranging), not just sexuality.

There's an important caveat here. Remember how in the list of goals of human life, dharma came first? This means that while we are free, and even encouraged, to make money, we must do it within the context of dharma. Our way of making a living must be ethical. Dharma not only means our duty in life, it also means righteousness. Morality is the framework that holds a successful society together.

Making Love

The Hindus' attitude toward sex is perplexing to many outsiders. No one can fail to notice the expansive variety of sexual postures assumed by half-naked statues that decorate the outside of some Indian temples! Yet to outward appearances, many if not most Hindus are quite sexually conservative. Not only women but also men are often still sexually inexperienced on their wedding night. And it seems overly prudish to Westerners that many Hindu women remain dressed even while bathing! (This was also the practice in much of Europe till fairly recently.)

Sexuality is celebrated in Hinduism but generally within the context of marriage. By confining one's amorous adventures to a spouse, the sexual drive is expressed in a healthy, disciplined manner. There have, of course, always been otherwise outstanding Hindus who did not live by these norms. A few parts of India have been known for their more relaxed attitudes toward sexuality.

Usually though, Hindu couples do not express their affection as openly as we do in the West. They're more like the older generation of Scandinavians I grew up with: very restrained in their behavior in public. This doesn't mean Hindu husbands and wives don't love each other; it's just they don't feel it's appropriate to advertise it!

Today as Western influence becomes more pervasive, sexual experimentation is increasing among Hindus, for better or worse. And yet, as filled with flirtation as India's Bollywood films are, you'll hardly ever see even the most romantic movie stars kissing on screen.

Moksha: The Ultimate Goal

The basic goal of life on which the others are founded is dharma: morality, especially as it expresses itself in the fulfillment of one's duties. But the ultimate goal of life is moksha, enlightenment. The previous three aims are understood in this important context.

This is a wonderful world that can be full of professional fulfillment, delightful material possessions, and passionate love. But death will ultimately take all these things away. Only our relationship with pure spirit is eternal. Therefore, in most Hindu homes God is treated as a family member; he has his altar in a corner of the house, where you can bring him gifts and speak with him.

Hindus believe God and guru will gradually guide them toward spiritual liberation. The universe is a university in which the soul learns many important lessons. When it graduates, it's released from the cycle of reincarnation and finds freedom in the loving embrace of God.

To forget our ultimate goal is to get lost in materialism and lose touch with the very ground of our being. And that's a grievous loss indeed!

Sages Say

Your skin wrinkles and your hair turns grey. Your teeth fall out and your hands shake. Still you are tortured by desire. Your children bring you grief. You find no comfort in wealth. Everything is passing away. Give up clinging to things that disappear. Free yourself to enter the peace and joy within yourself.
—Shankaracharya

Metamorphoses

The Hindu life course is specifically structured so that each individual has an opportunity to go for the gold, to reach for spiritual liberation before death. If all goes according to plan, life metamorphoses through four stages:

1. **Brahmacharya:** Student life
2. **Grihastya:** Married life
3. **Vanaprastha:** Retirement
4. **Sannyasa:** Letting go

Brahmacharya literally means "walking with God." During these years, the student receives cultural, vocational, and religious training. You'll also hear the term brahmacharya used to mean celibacy since Hindus weren't supposed to have sex before marriage.

Marriage is a very big deal in Hindu culture. A small number of individuals renounce the householder life and go directly from brahmacharya to

sannyasa (monk-like renunciation), devoting their entire lives to the spiritual quest alone. But the vast majority of people are expected to practice spirituality within the context of home life (grihastya) and raising a family. Remember that having children was one of the five sacred duties required of Hindus. Even parents of some of the greatest saints India has ever known, like Shankaracharya and Ramana Maharshi, tried to pressure them into married life to meet the social norm—and so that they'd support them in their old age.

When a Hindu couple got on in years, they'd retire as we do in the West. But rather than moving to Florida and fishing and boating all day, they'd go live in a hut in the forest to pursue intensive spiritual practices. Vanaprastha literally means "living in the woods."

As death approached, Hindus (especially males) would renounce even the little hut and go wandering on pilgrimages, living on whatever handfuls of food strangers would offer. This was the act of letting go preparatory to final release when the body itself dropped away.

In Western culture, people are very rarely prepared for death. Traditional Hindus spend the last years of their life specifically preparing for this transition. Though these wise customs are gradually losing their hold on the culture, you will still find temples where the aged have gone to spend the last months of their lives chanting God's name. Many temples specifically accommodate these retirees with a minimum of food and shelter so they can close out their lives focused exclusively on God. What a way to go!

Quick Quiz

1. The four castes are …
    a. Earth, Water, Fire, and Air.
    b. Priests, leaders, business people, and laborers.
    c. Tinkers, tailors, soldiers, and sailors.
2. The Hindu goals of life include …
    a. Starring in a Bollywood blockbuster.
    b. Moving to Silicon Valley and starting a software firm.

c. Enlightenment.

3. As orthodox Hindus get older, they …
    a. Devote themselves full time to spiritual practice.
    b. Start taking supplements and working out more.
    c. Move to Florida to go boating and fishing.
4. For Hindus, money is …
    a. The root of all evil.
    b. Prized if it's earned ethically.
    c. Only valuable if it can be converted into U.S. dollars.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (c). 3 (a). 4 (b).

Women First

In Hindu India, the role of women is perceived very differently than in North America. Take the first 50 years of India's existence as an independent nation following its emancipation from Britain. For one third of that time, India had a woman prime minister. In the United States, at least up till the moment I'm writing, if Americans so much as had a strong first lady, half the country would become apoplectic!

Perhaps the reason Hindus seem to feel more comfortable with a female commander-in-chief is because they're constantly exposed to images of powerful goddesses. And the Hindu national epics are full of accounts of intelligent, politically influential women. Or maybe it's because the archetypal role for a woman in India is mother rather than sex object as in the West. You might trust your mother to run the country, but you'd probably hesitate to have a sex kitten do so!

If you cross the border from Hindu India into Muslim Pakistan, you'll instantly feel the different cultural climate. In most of India, women can travel comparatively free from fear. In Pakistan, a woman needs to be

covered from head to toe in a heavy robe or accompanied by a male guardian. Otherwise she may find herself in serious trouble.

The Hindu View

When Hindus list men and women's names, out of respect for the female gender, they usually list the woman's name first. That's why when Hindus refer to the avatar Rama and his wife, Sita, they'll say "Sita-Ram." Or when they talk about Krishna and his lover Radha, they'll say "Radha-Krishna." Rama himself (Ram in Hindi) is sometimes actually called Sita-Ram, signifying that he's the man privileged to have Sita for a wife.

Declining Status

Nevertheless, there's no question women have lower status than men in Hinduism. The difference in status was almost certainly not so dramatic in the distant past. Hindu scriptures written centuries ago describe women teachers and philosophers and show women receiving initiations they are denied today. The Veda itself includes women among its highest seers. Some of the unfortunate problems women experience in Hindu culture today may be due to 1,500 years of nearly continual invasions from the north, beginning around 500 B.C.E. To protect mothers, wives, and daughters, women were increasingly confined inside the house, cutting back their wider social roles.

But the worst problems Hindu women experience are due to the horrible practice of selling sons. Though outlawed in modern India, sadly this custom is still widely practiced.

Selling Sons

The dowry system probably did not start out as a bad thing. On the contrary, its original purpose was not to demean women but to support them. In Hindu culture, most women leave the birth home when they marry and become part of their husband's family. The dowry ensured that they brought their own financial resources with them—money they could use to support themselves and their families if their husband died or abandoned them. Hindu males, however, stay with the birth family. The eldest son is particularly important since he's responsible for looking after the welfare of his younger siblings, for supporting his parents when they retire, and for conducting the parents' funeral rites.

While men receive their inheritance when their parents die, women receive theirs when they marry. This means that each time a daughter marries, her family sustains a substantial loss of income. There's financial loss in both cases, but families only feel it when the girl marries because the son keeps his money within the family.

This system has become grotesquely distorted. It has evolved from sending a daughter away with some worldly goods, to would-be in-laws demanding huge sums of money from parents looking for husbands for their girls. "If she's joining our family, she better bring plenty of income with her!" In other words, these parents sell rights to their sons for exorbitant prices.

The disastrous social consequences are that Hindu families go bankrupt financing the weddings of their daughters. Many families just can't afford to have girls. Now that tests to check the sex of a fetus are available, some Hindus opt for abortion if the fetus is female. That it should come to this is bitterly ironic since Hindu scriptures uniformly condemn abortion.

The opposite practice, of demanding money for a daughter, was strictly forbidden in Hindu law. It smacked too much of prostitution.

The Hindu View

Some parts of India, such as large sections of Kerala, are matrilineal. In these communities, males marry into the wife's family rather than vice versa.

Manu and Woman

Manu, the ancient Hindu lawgiver, was leery of granting women independent status. He preferred they be supervised either by a father or a husband.

But Manu's impression of women wasn't all bad. "Men who wish for good fortune must always honor women," he wrote. "The gods shower happiness and prosperity wherever women are venerated. In those lands where women are not respected, misfortune surely befalls."

New Norms for Modern Times

India is changing at an ever-accelerating rate. In the few decades I've been visiting India, I am stunned at how quickly Hindus are transforming their society. Much of this has to do with the imposition of European and American values. The advance of democracy (India is the most populous democracy in the world) has challenged medieval rules of caste supremacy, and women are demanding a larger role outside the home.

Not all the changes are reassuring. Drug abuse and alcoholism are on the rise. There is a much greater comfort level with violence among the younger generation than I've seen before, perhaps in part due to constant

exposure to “cool” violence in popular Western movies. Some young people have adopted the American obsession with material goals to the detriment of traditional spiritual values that sustained their grandparents. There is profound wisdom in the lifestyle mandated by Hindu seers long ago. I can only hope that in adapting to a new era, Hindus will retain what was best about the past.

The Least You Need to Know

- Hindu society is divided into four castes made up of over 3,000 subcastes.
- The goals of Hindu life are ethical work, wealth, pleasure, and spiritual illumination.
- The four stages of Hindu life are study, marriage, retirement, and renunciation.
- Women are highly respected in Hindu culture but don’t always have an easy lot in life.
- Hindu life is specifically structured to accommodate spiritual growth.

Chapter 16

Living Right

In This Chapter

- Hindu codes of conduct
- The 10 commitments
- Championing nonviolence
- Cultivating good habits
- Moral flexibility

The ultimate goal of Hindu spirituality is liberation from the wheel of rebirth. But not everyone is capable of becoming enlightened in this lifetime, just as few of us have the stuff to medal in the Olympics. So while we're still riding up and down on the wheel, we need to attend to a practical matter. How should we conduct ourselves?

Moral principles are the foundation of every religion. We all must live together on this planet. And most of us are concerned about living at peace not only with others but also with ourselves and with God. Living ethically makes this possible.

The world's religions hold many moral principles in common. Other ideas about what constitute virtuous action are startlingly different. For example, Christians and Muslims feel morally obliged to convert other people to their religions. Hindus feel respect for other faiths is a more appropriate moral position. Let's look at the basic ethical tenets of Hinduism and see how they agree with or diverge from contemporary Western views.

Doing the Right Thing

Hindu ethics are based on the principle of Rita, laid down over 5,000 years ago in the Veda. It means aligning oneself with reality, living in harmony with God's law as it's expressed in nature and celebrated in religious rituals. Our English words "right," "righteousness," and "rite" are all related to the Sanskrit term Rita. To live according to Rita means to live right!

Laying Down the Law

When Manu, the Hindu Noah, got off the boat after the Great Flood (see Chapter 13), he composed the *Lawbook of Manu,* which explains how orthodox Hindus should live. The book states that a king or his brahmin counselor should enforce laws that reflect the usual practices of decent people, provided these do not conflict with local customs or caste rules. Trustworthy men of any caste can bear witness in a lawsuit, provided they're not motivated by greed. Men are placed in charge of supporting the family, while women control household affairs.

The Hindu View

The Brehon Laws, which governed ancient Ireland till a thousand years ago, have numerous parallels with the *Lawbook of Manu* from India. Brehon, the old Irish term for "judge," is related to the Sanskrit word "brahmin." In India, brahmins often served as judges.

Manu was vehemently pro-environment. Denuding, polluting, or otherwise damaging the environment was considered such a serious offense, a person could be expelled from the community for killing trees!
Manu explains who you can and can't eat with and who you can or can't marry, according to caste rules. He also describes various ways a person becomes psychically polluted. It's inauspicious, for example, to see a corpse. You'll need to perform a rite of purification if you've been in the presence of death.

Living the Good Life

For thousands of years, Hindu sages have offered excellent advice on how to live our lives in the light of spirit. Some of the Upanishads from North India, the Tirumantiram from South India, and the Yoga Sutra (a short text many Western yoga students study, too) lay out the Hindu code of conduct.

Actions to Avoid

Here are five of the classic Hindu yamas, things no Hindu should ever do:

- **Ahimsa:** Do not harm anyone.
- **Satya:** Do not lie.
- **Asteya:** Do not steal.
- **Brahmacharya:** Do not overindulge.
- **Aparigraha:** Do not be greedy.

Ethics 101

Ahimsa literally means "nonviolence." This Sanskrit term may ring a bell because it was the famous codeword of Mahatma Gandhi's movement of nonviolent resistance against the British occupation of India. Ahimsa means not hurting others and not hurting yourself.

Because ahimsa is a prime moral value, many Hindus are vegetarians. Traditional Hindus, especially Vaishnavas, refuse to incur the bad karma of needlessly killing a defenseless animal. If you're having Hindus over for dinner, avoid serving meat, fish, fowl, eggs, or alcohol. Dairy products are fine and are a staple of the Hindu diet.

But serve no beef under any circumstances, please! Cows are beloved animals in India. Killing and eating them is unthinkable to Hindus. To the Hindu, respect for life is not just intended to guide our dealings with other human beings; it extends to all of creation.

Most Hindus, however, are not pacifists. In some situations causing harm cannot be avoided. In the well-known example from the *Mahabharata,* Krishna advises Arjuna to take up arms against an evil prince whose illegal actions must be stopped. Note that Krishna makes this suggestion only after multiple attempts at peaceful negotiation have failed.

Guidepost

Most humane people accept ahimsa as a value. But how nonviolent can you be? Some of India's Jains take ahimsa so seriously they wear a cloth over their mouths to avoid accidentally inhaling an insect. They sweep the ground in front of them as they walk to avoid stepping on worms.

Hindus are generally peace-loving people. Nevertheless, in cases of self-defense or protection of the innocent, sometimes violence may be the only

option. Soldiers and police officers, who put their lives on the line to protect others, are honored for their self-sacrifice.
Some of Manu's harshest language is reserved for men of violence "who cause terror to all living beings." He calls on the king to put a quick end to such aggressive behavior. He repeatedly insists, as did Jesus in the Beatitudes, that it is men of nonviolence who achieve the highest good.

Honest Indian

In Vedic times, a Hindu would rather die than tell a lie. There was nothing more sacred than a person's word. According to the sages, if you never deviate from the truth, *ever,* there comes a time when if you say something, it *must* come true. Blessings from saints are highly prized because their words are imbued with shakti, immense spiritual power, since the saint is fully established in truth.
However, you'll notice that in the list of yamas, Don't Lie comes *after* Rule 1: Don't Harm Anyone. Hindus are very conscious that speech can be hurtful, even when—perhaps especially when—it's true. In a society where so much depends on group dynamics, good Hindus take care to ensure that their speech is kind and helpful, even when this means bending the truth a little bit.

Not Taking What's Not Yours

Taking something that doesn't belong to you is wrong according to Hinduism. (So is hoarding something you don't really need that someone else really does!) Yet the command to practice asteya, nonstealing, was never enforced as strictly in Hinduism as it was in the West. In medieval Europe, a starving man could be hanged for stealing a loaf of bread. Hindus were a lot more flexible about this kind of thing. In a country with a large number of hungry people, it has long been acknowledged that sometimes you have to do what you have to do to keep body and soul together. Punishment for poor people stealing something they urgently

needed like food or clothing was not severe, and sometimes wasn't enforced at all. Gratuitous theft, however, was viewed less tolerantly.

Control Yourself!

All Hindus are supposed to practice brahmacharya, celibacy. Fortunately, celibacy has a broader meaning for married couples! Husbands and wives who are faithful to each other are considered the equivalent of celibate. But brahmacharya means more than avoiding extramarital sex. It also means avoiding any kind of sensual overindulgence. Not giving in to gluttonous impulses for a second or third plate of delicious, sweet *gulab jamin* is a form of brahmacharya, for example.

Unless you're a religious ascetic, Hinduism does not require you to abandon indulgence in life's pleasures. It's *overindulgence* that's the problem!

def•i•ni•tion

Gulab jamins are balls of condensed milk soaked in sweet syrup.

Give Up the Greed

The ancient sages took a dim view of greedy, selfish people. In Hinduism the emphasis has always been on acquiring things of lasting value. In a religion that believes in reincarnation, this means collecting things you *can* take with you.

Everything you own is lost at death. What you *can* carry with you into the next life is generosity of spirit, devotion to God and Goddess, fearlessness, and all the good karma you've acquired through your loving and selfless

acts. Greedy behavior can't benefit you for more than one lifetime. Generosity benefits you forever.

Sages Say

The sage sees all beings in the Self, and the Self in all beings. Therefore he never hates anyone.
—Isha Upanishad

Ten Actions to Practice Daily

You've just learned what a good Hindu avoids. Now here are 10 niyamas, things every Hindu should do, according to the holy texts:

- **Saucha:** Cleanse yourself.
- **Santosha:** Be content.
- **Tapas:** Discipline yourself.
- **Kshama:** Be patient.
- **Daya:** Show compassion.
- **Dana:** Give generously.
- **Puja:** Worship God.
- **Svadhyaya:** Study diligently.
- **Japa:** Repeat God's name.
- **Ishvara Pranidhana:** Surrender to God.

Christianity has its Ten Commandments. You can consider these the Ten Commitments of Hinduism.

Keep It Clean

Hindus strongly believe in internal purity and external cleanliness. It's not unusual to find orthodox brahmins bathing repeatedly throughout the day. (This is more understandable if you keep in mind the heat and dust of India.) But a dirty body is the least of problems on the spiritual path. Meditation is the Hindu method for cleaning out the gunk in the mind, which is a far more serious obstruction to spiritual progress.

Constant Craving

"Be content. But never be satisfied!" my teacher Swami Rama used to say. He was reiterating the old proverb that the wealthiest person is the one who's content with what she already has. Constant craving for more things —more success, more romantic partners, more premium ice cream—shifts us out of the present into a fantasy future in which we hope things will be even better. But God—in the form of the deepest states of consciousness—can be experienced only in the present moment. When the mind stops being distracted by what it hasn't got, it can start attending to what it *does* have already—the living presence of divine being within itself.
Yet complacency is also a spiritual pitfall. So Swami Rama warned against feeling self-satisfied, which can be a form of spiritual laziness. We should be content with what we have, but we should always strive to be better than what we are.

Focus Your Will Power

Tapas actually means heat but is used in the Hindu tradition to signify the red-hot focus of concentrated attention. The Veda says God created the universe through tapas—the force of concentrated will. Hindus practice

focusing the will through self-discipline and austerity. A well-disciplined body and mind, like a carefully trained horse, can carry us to the ultimate goal of life, Self-realization.

Ascetic practices are not intended as penances to punish you. Their purpose is to make you strong. Doing without the comforts and conveniences you're used to, or devoting hours a day to mental exercises involving intense concentration, expand your capacity and show you what you're made of. This lays the foundation not only for success in life (which demands focus and self-discipline, too) but also for more advanced spiritual practices you may choose to perform in your declining years, as you prepare for death.

The Hindu View

As part of a program of self-discipline, many Hindus will undertake a vrata, or sacred vow. This may be to repeat a certain mantra 10 million times, go on a difficult pilgrimage to a sacred site, fast on milk and bananas for six months, or some other strict form of penance. This burns away bad karma.

Cultivate Patience

Americans often have a difficult time in India. Things they could accomplish in a few hours at home may take days or even weeks in India. Americans have no patience!

Hindus recognize that reality moves at its own pace. They honor the organic quality of time and are content to let things develop naturally. However,

even Hindus sometimes lose patience with misbehaving children or exasperating relatives. The sages remind us that God is fantastically patient with us; we honor him by being patient with others.

Compassion for All

The age-old caste system strongly reinforces social roles. In such a socially segregated culture, it's easy to look down on people we consider beneath ourselves. Over and over the sages remind us that the same great heart beats in all beings. Lack of empathy for others is a form of self-hatred.
Shree Maa of Kamakhya reminds those of us who frequent her ashram not to criticize others. Focusing on the faults of other people fosters a spirit of pettiness. When we open our hearts in compassion to all beings (even ghosts!), accepting each of them in spite of their shortcomings or lower social status, we move closer to perceiving the universe the way the Divine Mother does. Saints don't reject people, and neither should we.

Giving Freely

Hindus are very conscious of punya, which is karmic credit, and papa, which is a karmic demerit. There's no way to build up an excellent karmic credit rating like giving generously to others. There's no way to deplete your account faster than to take what others offer you without giving something back!
I've often been astounded at how generous Hindus are, even the very poorest. The joy of giving has been inculcated in them since earliest childhood. You might as well accept what they're offering because you won't be allowed to leave their home till you do!

The Hindu View

Hindus have a saying: “He who eats alone, eats in sin.” Food is meant to be shared. Even those who have no choice but to eat by themselves will scatter a handful of grain outdoors for wild animals before eating themselves. Traditional families won’t eat before first offering food to the image of the divine in their household shrine and then giving at least a cupful of dahl, a savory dish of curried beans, to the poor or homeless in their community.

Daily Worship

In orthodox homes, Hindus perform rituals before the family altar several times a day. The ancient seers instituted these special practices, called pujas, to help people make worship part of their daily routine. In this way spiritual life and material life are seamlessly integrated.
By physically enacting a ritual, a Hindu householder gives God as much attention as she would to fellow family members. These continual reminders of God’s presence and of our obligation to serve him throughout the day make religion a major component of every traditional Hindu’s existence.

Self Study

Svadhyaya means "study that leads to Self-realization." This includes study of the sacred scriptures and other books that elevate the mind, such as biographies of saints. Traditionally, though, hearing a scripture recited by a qualified preceptor is considered more auspicious than reading it on your own. That's because an illumined teacher can wrap you in his mind-field, communicating his understanding directly into your mind, almost telepathically. Hearing a text from a man or woman who understands it thoroughly helps you grasp the topic far better than if you study on your own. (This doesn't bode well for students who take classes over the Internet!)

But svadhyaya has another, even more important meaning. You can read holy books for lifetimes without getting Self-realized. Yet Ramana Maharshi lay down on the floor and studied himself intensely for a couple of minutes and achieved enlightenment! By diving deep within one's own self to make the actual connection with divine being, the electricity of inner illumination starts to flow. You start to know your true inner Self at a level most people in this world never ever suspect.

Remember God's Name

Through constant repetition of God's or the Divine Mother's name or of a sacred mantra given by the guru your mind is filled with pure vibrations throughout the day. The sages advised their disciples not to simply occupy their minds with erotic fantasies or gossipy internal jabber. By mentally chanting God's name, you fill your Subtle Body with sacred energy that blesses and protects both you and your family.

Hindus have spiritual bank accounts. Each time they repeat the name of God, a spiritual rupee goes into the account, adding to the karmic merit of the family. Hindus chant their mantras not only for their own welfare but also for the good of their ancestors, children, and grandchildren, too.

Trust in God's Grace

Surrender to God means making God your top priority. Most people surrender their mental attention to their jobs or their relationships or their TV set. Hindu sages suggest we focus instead on inner truth. And don't worry so much! Do your level best, then surrender to God's will and let destiny run where it will. The universe is going to flow its own way anyway, no matter how much you resist!

Hindus believe this universe has its own dharma, its own purpose for existence. It reveals the glory of the Supreme Being—or at least a small fraction of it. If we genuinely try to be the best person we can be, it's safe to trust that we'll be guided to our greatest good.

Antidotes to Bad Behavior

In ancient times, the great yogi Patanjali was only too aware that listing a code of ethical conduct in his famous Yoga Sutras and getting people to actually follow that code are two different things! So he offered some practical advice on how to turn your personality around if it isn't already heading in the right direction.

In Hinduism, it's not enough that you don't harm anyone else if in your heart you'd still really like to smack them. Thoughts are things, and negative thoughts may hurt the person you hate if they're strong enough. And they certainly hurt you! The increased blood pressure, churning stomach, and grinding teeth can't be doing you any good.

Patanjali advises that when you're in the throes of a destructive emotional complex or feel trapped by a bad habit, you "cultivate the opposite." If you can't stand your brother-in-law, for example, make a special point to serve him patiently and speak well of him. If his personality aggravates you so much you can't see his face without frothing at the mouth, then beam your best wishes to his innermost soul, which is free from the personality characteristics that irritate you so much.

The Hindu View

Hinduism actually has a culinary theology! The Veda says, "Food is God." The most widely recited table prayer affirms that food is divine energy being offered back to the divine energy comprising our bodies. Eating is consciousness experiencing itself!

Patanjali suggests that rather than wrestling with a bad habit that undermines your spiritual progress, work on developing a good habit—one that counterbalances the unhealthy one. For example, if you're having trouble cutting back your unrestrained indulgence in oily curries and gulab jamins, then go out and get some exercise every day.

Clearing Your Conscience

Hindu culture is conservative. Alcohol is off-limits. (Hindus prefer chai, sweet, milk-based tea that's recently made its way onto the menu at Starbucks!) Sexual experimentation, divorce, and abortion are not acceptable. Individuals may be expected to sacrifice their personal preferences for the good of the family as a whole.

How can you clear your conscience if you've done something you know is wrong? In his famous lawbook, Manu says, "Confess your misdeed and sincerely admit you're sorry. Then by performing some austerity, giving a generous gift, or by reciting holy mantras, you can free yourself from the

evil karma. If your repentance is sincere, your guilt will be erased. But there is one condition. You must never repeat that mistake again."

Sages Say

Refusing to cause harm or to lie, refraining from theft, anger, and greed, and making a sincere effort to do what is beneficial for all creatures, this is the common duty of all castes.
—Uddhava Gita

Quick Quiz

1. Ahimsa means …
    a. Not hurting others or yourself.
    b. Being content but not satisfied.
    c. Telling the complete truth, even when it hurts.
2. Brahmacharya means …
    a. Having sex is a horrible sin.
    b. Sex should ideally be confined to marriage.
    c. Having sex with anyone you want is fine as long as you call it Tantra.
3. The sage Patanjali …
    a. Prescribed a program of ethical living.
    b. Wrote the *Lawbook of Manu.*

c. Has ashrams around the world where he teaches Tantric Sex.

4. In a traditional Hindu home, beef is …
   a. What's for dinner.
   b. Reserved for tantric orgies.
   c. Forbidden.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (b). 3 (a). 4 (c).

Moral Challenges

The past thousand years have been the most traumatic in Hindu history. (Hindu history is so long, a thousand-year period is just a short segment!) The Moghul invasions and later the British conquest put Hindus on the defensive and shook their institutions to the core. In some cases, fundamental values flew out the door in the face of violence, oppression, and the resulting massive poverty.

Westerners visiting Hindu areas may not be impressed with some current Hindu values, sad to say. Visitors in past centuries marveled at the peacefulness, prosperity, and moral rectitude of the people. Today unfortunately, corruption is endemic. From government offices to some of the holy temples themselves, you're likely to find a hand thrust at you demanding baksheesh, or bribes, rather than reaching out to help you. The prospects for women in some quarters is truly shocking. Attempts to raise the status of outcastes have met with only modest success. Some gurus—who should all be embodiments of the highest spiritual ideals—are brazenly on the take.

Throughout the subcontinent, Hindu teachers are calling for a return to their religion's eternal values: tolerance, purity, integrity, respect for women, and love for the divine in all its manifestations.

Sages Say

The good Hindu should continually recite the holy scripture. He should be self-controlled, kind, and tranquil. He desires to give, not to receive. He is loving toward all living things.
—*Lawbook of Manu*

I can personally attest that Hindus are among the most friendly and hospitable people on Earth. "The guest is God," is a fundamental Hindu belief. Many of us visitors can testify that Hindus behave as if that's literally true! The pure-hearted generosity of our poorest Hindu hosts puts many wealthy Western tourists to shame. Those Hindus who hold to the best in their ancient traditions provide living examples of the guileless spiritual values of India's glorious past—and offer the best hope for India's increasingly bright future.

The Least You Need to Know

- The fundamental value of Hindu ethics is nonviolence.
- Many, though not all, orthodox Hindus are vegetarians and teetotalers.
- The *Lawbook of Manu* defines orthodox Hindu behavior.
- Foreign domination and economic hardship have compromised the high spiritual standards of ancient Hinduism.

Chapter 17

Sacraments and Holy Days

In This Chapter

- Hindu sacraments
- Commemorating birth and death
- Hindu holy days
- A brother's commitment
- Acknowledging the guru

For Hindus, one advantage to having so many gods and goddesses is that there are lots of holidays. One deity or another is always being honored. This makes for plenty of festivals, lots of good food, and warm relations between humans and the gods.

In addition to public holidays, Hindus have numerous private holy days. Hinduism has 16 major sacraments and a couple dozen minor ones. So let's have a look at some of the most important days on the Hindu calendar and in a Hindu's life. Then you'll know when to send your Hindu friends "Happy Divali" cards!

Living Life Holy

All of nature and all of time are sacred in Hinduism. Traditional Hindu families make no radical distinction between sacred and secular as we do in the West. In the morning, you get up and put your feet on the Earth, who is a goddess. You go outdoors and greet the Sun, who is a god. You are surrounded by divinity.

The Sanskrit word *samskara* refers to a groove in the mind, a deep impression made in consciousness. The Hindu sacraments, also called

samskaras, are special rites in which a Hindu's connection with all pervading divinity is formally reaffirmed. A new groove formed in the soul orients it toward God as another stage of life begins.

Rite from the Start

Sacraments begin before a soul is even conceived. Orthodox couples consider the moment they consciously decide to have a child a sacramental time of great auspiciousness. The Upanishads contain special mantras for would-be parents to recite in order to invite intelligent, devoted, and highly evolved souls into the wife's womb.

Sexual relations then are engaged with full conscious intent to conceive a child. A special rite is actually performed at what the parents assume to be the moment of conception. Many Hindus believe that the state of their minds at the moment they conceive a baby will influence the child's development. Couples whose minds are preoccupied with physical sensations will produce passionate children. Couples who keep their minds in loving and clear states will invoke the entrance of more spiritually advanced souls into their family.

Birth itself is a sacrament. The birth rite is called *jatkarman,* which means the act of birth, the birth of action, or maybe both. Paradoxically, for Hindus biological events like giving birth are both sacred and polluting at the same time. So rites blessing and celebrating the event are joined with rites to purify the physical and mental environment of the suffering and shedding of blood that accompanied childbirth.

Childhood Passages

Several important sacraments are performed during childhood. Usually sometime between the third and sixth week of life, the child is formally given its name. The parents may take the infant to their local temple for this special event or do it at home. Often an astrologer is first consulted to help

select an auspicious name reflecting the cosmic energy at the moment of birth. Then the father whispers the child's name into its right ear.
The first time the child is taken outside the house, his universe expands exponentially. The first time he takes solid food marks the beginning of the end of its dependence on his mother's breast. Hindus consider both of these events major rites of passage, and they're witnessed and celebrated by relatives and consecrated with mantras.
Hindus also consecrate their child's first haircut, which would occur sometime before the age of three. The head is shaved, symbolizing purity. Some Hindus like to believe this also helps to shave off some of the bad karma from previous lives.
Ear piercing (for both sexes!) is also a sacramental event and usually is scheduled when the child is around a year old, though it may not occur till age five. Hindus believe that certain points in the physical body relate to particular energy centers in the Subtle Body, much like the Chinese acupuncture points. Therefore, Hindu-style ear piercing is believed to benefit the baby's health.
One of the most important sacraments occurs between the ages of four and seven. This marks the inauguration of formal academic study. A parent, priest, or guru holds the child's finger and guides it through grains of uncooked rice sprinkled across a plate. With the tutor's help, the child spells out a letter of the alphabet for the first time. This is an extremely charming and auspicious event to which Sarasvati, the goddess of education, is invited.

Young People's Initiations

The one Hindu sacrament people in the West have heard of, if they've heard of any of them at all, is the investiture of the sacred thread. This initiation is reserved for boys of the brahmin, kshatriya, and vaishya castes. Without this rite, an upper caste boy cannot study the Veda or marry. The sacred thread is hung over the boy's left shoulder and swings around his right torso, much like the Milky Way—the celestial sacred thread—hangs crosswise across the northern sky. Depending on the boy's caste, this ceremony may take place between the ages of nine and fifteen.

The boy is now initiated in the Gayatri mantra, the most sacred mantra in the Veda. He is then considered twice born, since this spiritual initiation is the equivalent of a second birth. His initiators invoke the gods' and goddess' blessings for this extraordinarily important event.
In olden times, following this critical sacrament, the boy would be sent away to live and study with his guru until he reached marriageable age. In some communities today, the significance of this rite has shifted, and a young man might not receive his sacred thread till his early 20s, immediately before marriage.

Sages Say

With loving reverence we bow to the Inner Sun, the most splendid light in all the worlds. Please illuminate our minds.
—The Gayatri Mantra

Another rite for boys only occurs when the adolescent shaves for the first time. This sacrament is less serious in tone than the investiture of the sacred thread. Gifts are exchanged all around. Once he's relaxed and in a good mood, the boy is asked by his smiling but not joking elders to remain celibate till marriage!
The equivalent sacrament for women occurs at the time of a girl's first menstrual period. She is closed away in a dark room for several days to adjust to her new status as a potential mother and to think seriously about the responsibility this entails. Friends come by to advise and tease her. Then she emerges for a ritual bath and a feast of celebration. Sometimes her female relatives will take the young lady to the local temple and wave lights

around her as if she were the Goddess herself. She has just assumed one of the Goddess's most amazing powers: the ability to produce new life.

A Wedding to Last Forever

For many Hindus, the wedding is the most important sacrament of their lives. Hindu weddings go on for days. Even the abbreviated modern versions run on for many hours. The marriage is expected to last a lifetime (at the very least!). Widows seldom remarry in India. Widowers are free to remarry, but since grooms are often a fair bit older than their brides, it's more common for husbands to predecease their wives.

Guidepost

Don't ask a swami to perform your wedding ceremony! Hindus believe you can't give what you haven't got. Since a swami isn't married, he can't give you the state of marriage. In India, it's inauspicious if a swami shows up at your wedding. He represents renunciation of worldly life and infertility—a bad omen for newlyweds!

Hindu marriages are almost always arranged by parents. Even today when many young Hindus are immigrating abroad looking for better job prospects, they'll travel back to their village in India to marry the partner

their parents have selected. In North India particularly, the bride and groom may never have met before!

In making a suitable match, parents consider the prospective spouse's subcaste and clan, profession, and financial status. Horoscopes are carefully compared. Then they select an astrologically auspicious date and begin the festivities.

The heart of the long ceremony occurs when the bride steps three times on her in-laws' grinding stone, symbolizing her entrance into their household. Then the couple walks around the sacred fire seven times during which incalculably ancient Vedic mantras are chanted. The groom offers his new wife half of all his good karma. The bride offers back half of her bad karma. As you can see, Hindu women drive a tough bargain. But most Hindu men agree to the deal!

Life After Death

Hindu sacraments begin before a child is born, continue throughout life, and go on long afterward. The dead are not really gone as long as they live on in our hearts—and in their subtle bodies!

Honoring the Departed

A funeral is always a painful and sobering event. Final rites involve bathing and anointing the body and shaving it if the body is male. The corpse is wrapped in a shroud and carried to the cremation grounds, usually within hours of death. Hindus most often burn the dead, then offer the remains to the Earth or a river. Children and sometimes pregnant women are buried rather than cremated. Poorer people, who may not be able to afford the expense of cremation, may also bury their dead. Often saints are buried in special mausoleums rather than cremated. These tombs, the famous *samadhi* shrines of India, often become popular pilgrimage sites.

def•i•ni•tion

A samadhi shrine is the burial place of a saint. Samadhi also refers to an intense state of meditative absorption.

Final rites, called shraddha, conclude with the offering of rice balls to the departed. You wouldn't want to send them on their way without something to eat! Some Hindu families continue making food offerings for years after the death has occurred. Attitudes toward the dead can vary greatly from community to community or from home to home. Some people greatly fear hauntings and hope the spirits of the dead will quickly depart. Others rely on the continuing advice and blessings of the dead, as indicated in the omens spirits use to signal their recommendations to loved ones left behind.

Linking Up

There are numerous other Hindu sacraments besides those I've described here. Some are rarely practiced anymore; others are performed only regionally. Yet the sacraments are an extremely important expression of Hindu life. Not every Hindu is versed in the intricacies of Upanishadic philosophy or can chant whole books from the Veda. Yet every one feels connected to the wider Hindu community and to the fountain of blessing force flowing from higher levels of reality through these ancient holy rites.

Sacred Time

Next I want to tell you about the most popular Hindu holidays, but I have a problem because I can't tell you exactly when these holidays are! That's because most Hindus use a lunar calendar based on the phases of the Moon, which is different from our Western solar calendar, which is based on the solstices and equinoxes, pivotal points in the Sun's yearly journey through the ecliptic.

Because of this discrepancy, dates from the Hindu calendar seem to hop around on our Western calendar. This is why your Hindu friend who celebrates her birthday in October one year may have a birthday party in November the next year! I'm tacking in an East/West calendar wheel, so you'll have at least a general idea how the two calendars interface.

The Festival of Lights: Divali

According to legend, it was on this night thousands and thousands of years ago that the hero Rama and his wife, Sita—freshly rescued from the tyrant Ravana—returned to their home capital of Ayodhya after 14 years of exile. The city exploded with joy! Citizens came racing into the night carrying portable lamps to celebrate the safe return of their dearly loved king and queen.

The Hindu View

During the enormous Tamil celebration of Thai Pusam each January or February, Hindus pierce their bodies with hooks or small spikes in honor of Murugan, the youthful spear-carrying demon-slayer. Remarkably, the devotees don't bleed and claim to feel no pain!

If you can only attend one festival in India, Divali is the one to see. Like many Hindu holidays, it actually goes on for days. Why celebrate one day when you can party all week? Though this holiday isn't all play and no

work. For many Hindus, it's a time for cleaning out the house and buying new things for the home. Business people start up new ledger books on this holiday. It's time to move out the old and start afresh!

Divali, or Diwali or even Dipavali as it's also called, occurs in October or November and means "the festival of lights." You'll see why on the New Moon night. As the Sun slips over the western horizon, all over India villagers light small clay lamps, leaving them on their windowsills and in the roads. They also float millions of makeshift lamps down the rivers. In the cities, Hindus hang out strings of electric bulbs. The entire subcontinent is lit up with cheerful twinkling lights. The effect is so spectacular—and so heartstoppingly beautiful—you'll never forget the sight till the end of your days.

Firecrackers (and these days fireworks) go off everywhere. Dainty foods, especially sweets, are offered to the deities. This is a night to connect with Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity and domestic happiness, and Ganesha, the elephant-headed god of wisdom and success.

Divali is now a formally recognized holiday in nine countries: India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Trinidad, Singapore, Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, and Malaysia.

Sages Say

Clothed in light, glittering like priceless gems, You, the grace-filled World Mother, uphold the entire universe! To Goddess Lakshmi I bow again and again with gratitude and awe!
—Maha Lakshmi Stotram

Holi Day

Holi is New Year's Day for many Hindus. (But not for all Hindus, as some communities have their own unique calendars!) But for all Hindus, it's time to celebrate. This is the craziest, most carnival-like of the Hindu holidays and happens in late February, early March.

How did Holi get started? Well, once there was a demoness named Holika who was so mean-spirited she ate a little boy or girl every day! Finally a sannyasin passing through the area saw a poor widow weeping bitterly and asked what the problem was. "Holika is going to eat my only son!" she wailed.

The holy man devised a plan. When Holika showed up that day, he brought all the children together to shout obscenities and throw mud at her. The ruse worked. Holika was so humiliated she dropped dead of shame!

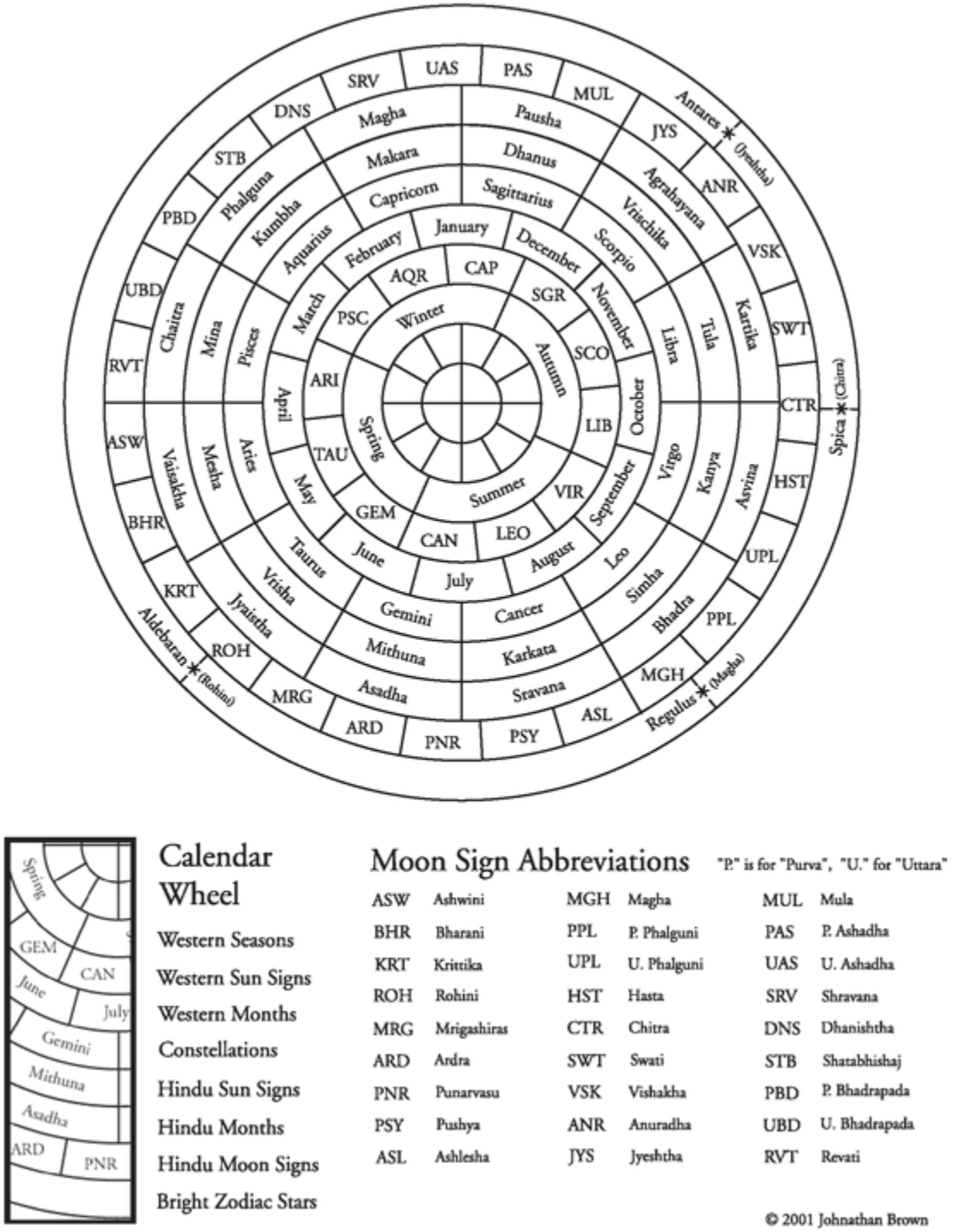

The Western solar-based calendar in relation to the Hindu lunar-based calendar.

Anyway, that's the reason everyone's running around shouting insults and throwing dirt and red powder at each other on Holi! There's lots of singing

and dancing. And mean old Holika gets roasted in a roaring bonfire!
While all Hindus participate in these festivals, Divali has a vaishya feel, as if it was originally thought up by business people. Its focus is on prosperity, happiness, and success. Holi has more of a shudra atmosphere. It's time for the working class to let loose a little and vent. They shout their real feelings at their employers and neighbors. The next day everything is forgiven and forgotten!

Guidepost

I hope you're not wearing your good clothes if you're with Hindus during Holi! Out come the water guns, and you're covered from head to toe with colored water or red powder. Let me tell you from personal experience, it's not easy to wash out!

Honor Thy Sibling

In ancient times, the gods got themselves in a pickle. They were losing their war against the demons so badly that Indra, warrior king of the deities, was completely unnerved! But Indrani, his peerless wife, saved the day. She tied a beautiful magical bracelet around Indra's wrist, and the next day Indra led the gods to an easy victory.
Rakhi Bandhan is celebrated around July or August and means "bond of protection." On this day, sisters tie multicolored bracelets around the wrists of their brothers, which means from now on, their brothers will have to protect them, no matter what!

While the festival is lighthearted, the commitment signified by the *rakhi,* or protective bracelet, is not. Stories tell of women who, being harassed by amorous suitors, ended the problem by sending the man a rakhi. It means she sees him as her brother and from now on he's responsible for protecting her virtue, not trying to make off with it!
In some parts of the country, women tie the colorful bracelets around their uncles' wrists, too. A few pockets of Hindu culture are matrilineal, which means uncles, even more than fathers, are responsible for a woman's welfare.

def•i•ni•tion

A rakhi is a bracelet girls tie around the wrists of their brothers, uncles, or other nonromantically involved males, asking for their protection.

Celebrating Spirit

Some holidays like Holi are raucous. Others like Divali have a mercantile flavor, somewhat like our Christmas, which also involves making lots of purchases and hanging out strings of light. Rakhi Bandhan is more private, a family rather than a community event. Still other festivals are devoted to spirit and are celebrated with fasting rather than feasting, with meditation rather than merrymaking.

Shiva's Night

Maha Shiva Ratri, the night sacred to Shiva, occurs on a Moonless night in February or March. Devotees honor it by sitting in meditation with Lord Shiva himself. They fast all day (they may take some fruit and water) and hold vigil all night.

The Shiva linga at the temple or in one's home shrine is bathed with milk, honey, and water and offered particular types of fruit and leaves that Shiva especially likes. Celebrants chant holy mantras like "Om namah Shivaya!" They sing hymns, often accompanying themselves on the hand organ. You may find some devotees seated around the sacred fire, tossing offerings of grain into the flames as they chant Shiva's name. Many simply meditate all night. Shiva is the lord of dissolution. If you worship him with full commitment on this long, dark night, he will dissolve away your sins!

Guru Purnima

The full Moon night of July (or sometimes June) marks Guru Purnima, the night all Hindus honor their spiritual preceptors. The sage Vyasa, who compiled the Vedas and wrote many other important scriptures like the *Mahabharata* and the Puranas, is also remembered with affection and respect.

If their guru is physically present, Hindus like to wash his or her feet as a token of their deep appreciation for the teachings and guidance they've received. If the guru isn't there in person, his or her sandals may be washed instead. Hindus don't use soap and water for this auspicious occasion, by the way, but milk mixed with honey, sandalwood paste, and pure water. The sandals don't just get cleaned, they become positively fragrant!

No human being is more special than the one who leads you to God. You'd follow her footsteps anywhere! No wonder her sandals are so magical!

Happy Birthday, God!

Just as Christians celebrate the birth of their savior Jesus Christ, Hindus celebrate the days their most popular divine incarnations were born. The birthdays of the avatars Rama and Krishna are cause for special festivities. The delightful elephant-headed deity Ganesha also gets his own special festival.

Rama Navami

Rama Navami, Lord Rama's birthday, is a huge pan-Indian celebration celebrated in or around April. Some Hindus will fast for the nine days leading up to the big day. In many communities, recitations of the *Ramayana* are organized. Folk dramas enacting favorite scenes from the lives of Rama and Sita are enthusiastically staged.

Krishna Jayanti

Krishna's birthday, called Krishna Jayanti, occurs in July or August and is an enormous national celebration. Much as Jesus was born rather humbly in a manger, Krishna was born in a prison cell! His parents were being held captive in a Mathura jail by the tyrant Kamsa. Krishna's father managed to get the baby to safety while the prison guards slept.

Krishna was born at midnight. At the stroke of midnight on every Krishna Jayanti, Hindus blow their conches, clang their bells, and shout Krishna's praises at the top of their lungs! Then they break their fast, sitting down to a feast including plenty of sweets.

Ganesha Utsava

You'll remember Ganesha from Chapter 11. He's the god with the elephant head who asked, "Got milk?" His special day, Ganesha Utsava, is held in August or September and is a time of great rejoicing, especially since Ganesha is so adept at removing our problems if we ask him nicely!

On the final days of the celebrations, statues of Ganesha, which were made specifically for worshipping during this festival, are carted down to a nearby river. Then they're immersed till the lightweight materials they're made of dissolve away. The ritual immersion of images of deities is a reminder that at the end of the universal cycle even the gods themselves will dissolve into the all-pervading consciousness of the Supreme Reality.

Quick Quiz

1. For Hindus, marriage is …
    a. The most important sacrament.
    b. Arranged over the Internet.
    c. An excuse to get drunk.
2. Hindus wash their guru's feet …
    a. But he has to polish his shoes himself.
    b. Out of respect for the guru's guidance.
    c. To prevent athlete's foot.
3. The Festival of Lights commemorates …
    a. The destruction of the demoness Holika.
    b. Rama and Sita's return home.
    c. The discovery of electricity.
4. On Holi you're likely to …
    a. Be squirted with colored water.
    b. Sit up all night meditating.
    c. Deck the halls with boughs of Holi.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (b). 3 (b). 4 (a).

Victory on the Tenth Day

Dasara isn't just a holiday. It's a whole holiday season, 10 straight days of celebrations held in September or October! The first part is called Nava Ratri ("Nine Nights"). Three days and nights each are devoted to the worship of the great goddesses Durga, Lakshmi, and Sarasvati. Nava Ratri commemorates, among other things, Rama worshipping the warrior goddess Durga before setting off to battle the evil king Ravana. Rama won Durga's favor, which made him invincible even though he was vastly outnumbered by Ravana's better trained troops.

The final day of the holiday is called Vijaya Dashmi ("Victory on the Tenth Day"). Rama's fantastic victory over Ravana is celebrated with parades and fanfare. Enormous, odd-looking effigies of Ravana (after all, he had 10 heads!) are set on fire to signal the triumph of justice over injustice. Nava

Ratri is the favorite festival of the year in Goddess country—the northeastern part of India. This is an especially auspicious time to approach the Divine Mother for blessings and special favors.

Saris for Spring

Hindu communities have their own regional festivals as well. In Tamil Nadu in the South, sometime around January, there is Pongol, celebrating the rice harvest. During Naga Panchami, also held in the south, snakes are honored and fed. (Few Hindus use pesticides. Snakes have always done just fine for pest control.) In the North, Vasant celebrates the arrival of spring. You'll know it's Vasant when all the women you see are wearing bright yellow saris!

In one month it's time to plant. In another it's time to harvest. But in Hinduism it's always time for God. Sacraments and holy days help keep mortals and eternity in close touch. That's something to celebrate!

The Least You Need to Know

- Hinduism has many sacraments, beginning before conception and ending after death.
- Marriage is the most important sacrament for most Hindus.
- Favorite Hindu holy days include the Festival of Lights and Rama and Krishna's birthdays.
- On Maha Shiva Ratri, Shiva's devotees stay up all night meditating and worshipping.
- Hindus devote one holiday each year just to honoring their guru.

Chapter 18

Temples and Sacred Sites

In This Chapter

- The sacred subcontinent
- Visiting a Hindu temple
- Divine possession
- Pilgrimage points
- Biggest party in the world

Few North Americans have a sense for the sanctity of the land. A few places like the Grand Canyon or Niagara Falls do evoke a sense of awe. But an appreciation of the inherent holiness of the land itself—such as the Native Americans have—is largely missing from the children of immigrants who now dominate North America.

The Hindu attitude is dramatically different. To them the planet itself is Bhumeshvari, "Mother Earth"—a living Goddess. And India is Jambu Dvipa, "Rose-Apple Island," the holiest place in the world.

The entire Indian subcontinent is dotted with temples and sacred sites. Within a day's walk of virtually any spot in India, you'll find at least one holy center. Hindu renunciates spend their lives circling India, stopping at another pilgrimage point or famous temple each evening. These places are magnifying lenses for the spiritual energy of the land itself, the Hindus' beloved Mother India.

Take Off Your Shoes!

You'll have to take off your shoes before you enter a Hindu temple. You're not allowed to drag in the dirt from the outside world, either on the soles of

your shoes or in your own soul. Outside all large temples you'll find a shoe stall where you can store your shoes for a few pennies. You're expected to leave your worldly thoughts behind, too, though there's no convenient place to store them!

Any visitor should also dress modestly. Ladies, in Hindu culture this means the bosom, upper arms, and legs should not be exposed, so no halter tops or shorts. Gentlemen, clothes should be clean and untorn, with your legs covered. Please leave leather items at home, as it is considered a desecration to bring objects made from butchered cows into a Hindu temple.

Guidepost

It's appropriate to circumambulate a Hindu temple several times before you enter. This means walking around it, keeping the temple to your right. You're going to meet God or the Goddess inside, so use the time to prepare yourself for a beautiful experience.

Come bearing gifts! God and Goddess have filled your life with blessings, so it's only appropriate that you bring a present as an expression of your gratitude. Fruits like mangoes, coconuts, or bananas are good. So are handfuls of flowers. Rupee notes go down particularly well. Foreign currency will not be turned away! If it wasn't convenient to bring anything with you, don't fret. Plenty of helpful vendors will meet you at the temple door and cheerfully sell you every kind of offering appropriate at that temple. Be careful not to stumble as you walk in. There's a raised step right

before you enter. (After you've tripped over it a couple of times, you'll start remembering it's there!) You may want to bow, touch this step with the fingers of your right hand, and then touch your fingers to your forehead and heart. Even the dust from the steps of a holy temple carries a blessing!

Worshipping in a Hindu Temple

If you've timed your visit right, Goddess or God will come out and greet you. Ask in advance what the deity's office hours are. You don't want to get there before the murti, the divine statue, has had a chance to bathe, dress, and have a bite to eat—with a little help from the priests. Dressed up in fresh clothes and weighed down with numerous garlands of fragrant flowers, the deity will see you now.

You are admitted into the holy of holies, and a screen is pulled away so you can see the deity, and he or she can see you. At busy temples, you may have only a moment in the divine presence before you're waved out so the next group of devotees can squeeze in. At smaller community temples you can stay for the full service, however, which may include devotional singing and devotees dancing before the divine image. These slow, very stylized dances are quite restrained by Western standards.

A priest or devotee will offer objects like a fan, a fly whisk, and incense. If it's a Goddess, a few accessories she especially enjoys may be brought out, like a mirror to help her check her makeup!

The main event is *arati,* the ritual waving of lights before the deity. A brass tray filled with camphor candles is waved in circles before the deity. Then a temple officiant carries the tray around to each worshipper. Pass your hands quickly through the flames (it doesn't hurt!) as you waft the sacred fire's blessings toward yourself.

Receiving Your Blessing

The temple assistant will come around with several more items for you. He or she will pour some holy water into your cupped right palm. Hindus drink the water, then run their right hand over their heads, distributing the

blessing force. Don't tell anyone I said this, but if you're in a Hindu temple in India, as opposed to another country where you're sure the water is amoeba-free, you may be better off discretely pretending to drink it and then rubbing it into your hair. You'll get the blessing just the same!
Temple personnel will also come around to mark your forehead. This *tilak* is a sign that you've received the deity's blessing.
Don't leave without *prasad.* Some of the gifts devotees have brought to the temple will be returned to you, blessed by the deity.

The Hindu View

Devotees of Vishnu mark their foreheads with sacred designs etched with white clay. Followers of Shiva streak ash across the top of their faces. If the temple priest marks your forehead with red cosmetic powder, he's a devotee of the Goddess.

def•i•ni•tion

A tilak is the mark Hindus wear on their foreheads.
Prasad is food or some other offering you've brought to the image of a Hindu god or goddess. It's returned to you with blessings.

Usually this is an article of food or a handful of flowers and is a token of the Goddess or God's affection for you. It's considered quite holy. Amazing healings have been attributed to the power of prasad!

Inside and Outside the Temple

Let me give you just a point or two about the Hindu temple itself. Westerners sometimes find older traditional Indian temples a bit hard on the eye. The outside of many temples is covered with so many figurines it's exhausting to look at. At the bottom are demons and animals, at the middle story humans are portrayed, and higher up are numerous figures of gods and goddesses at work and play. Then you walk into the temple itself—and it's practically empty!

Do you get the point? The outside of the temple represents our outer life and the infinitely varied external manifestation of the divine. The inside, or garbha (which literally means "womb"), stands for the interior of the soul and for the unmanifest reality, in which only Pure Consciousness is present. In some temples, there's nothing inside but the image of the God or Goddess itself.

Outside the many. Inside the One.

Altar in the Living Room

In the West, we think in terms of the separation of Church and State. Most of us also tend to think of a church, synagogue, or mosque as the place we go to worship and home as the place we go to watch TV. The situation is *totally* different for Hindus. The center of the Hindu religion is *not* the temple. It's the home.

Hindus go to the temple for festivals or consecrations or to ask for special favors from the deity. But no sermons are delivered there. You don't go to the temple to get lectured at or be educated in your religion. You just go to pay your respects to the temple deity. The real worship goes on right in your own house. So does your religious education, which comes from your

parents and elders. Or you may go to your guru's home to study with him or her.

Every Hindu home has its own shrine where images of the favorite family deities are installed. The family (or at least the women, who are in charge of household activities) worship before these deities every day, waving lights and offering incense and food. In fact, good Hindus won't touch their meals till the food has first been blessed by the household gods.

The home shrine may contain small statues of popular deities like Krishna, Lakshmi, or Shiva. Or there may be pictures and even inexpensive color posters of the Hindu gods and goddesses. These are not considered less holy than metal or stone statues. The divine presence has been invoked in these articles, and Hindus treat them as living representations of the deity.

The household shrine saved Hinduism during the Muslim takeover. Fanatic Muslim leaders destroyed almost every major temple in northern India in an effort to exterminate Hinduism, but they failed because the most important temples were in peoples' homes. Most Hindus remained faithful to their religion despite tremendous pressure to convert to Islam. When calmer Muslim governors, and later the British, headed the country, the great Hindu temples were rebuilt.

Hindu Hot Spots

If this entire book were devoted just to listing holy sites in India and I somehow managed to limit myself to only two paragraphs for each one, we still could barely skim the surface of the thousands of pilgrimage spots in India. When Hindus talk about India as a holy land, they're not kidding! But I want to take a quick tour of the subcontinent, so I can introduce you to a few of the most special places in India and explain what each one represents for Hindus.

The Navel of the World

Let's start at the extreme north, a little way across the present Indian border into Tibet. Ironically, the ancients considered this northernmost tip of Hindu culture the *center* of the Hindu world. I'm talking about Mount Kailash, an amazing mountain that seems to spring up out of nowhere in the Tibetan plateau. Its striking conical shape reminds Hindus of a Shiva linga. Lord Shiva and his wife, Parvati, are said to have their main residence at the top of the mountain. It's so sacred no one would even think of climbing it. You might disturb Shiva in his meditation!

Within walking distance from Kailash are two sacred lakes. Remarkably, Manasarovar is shaped just like the Sun. And Raksas Tal is shaped like a crescent Moon. In a way, Kailash really is the center of the world. Remember how the Bible says four rivers run out of the Garden of Eden? Well, the Indus, Sutlej, Brahmaputra, and Karnali rivers—four of the greatest rivers of Asia—begin virtually at the foot of Mount Kailash. This really is the Hindu paradise, or I should say *paradesh,* which means "supreme land" or "highest region," an appropriate designation for the holiest site at the roof of the world!

Sages Say

There are no other mountains equal to the Himalayas! There you will find Mount Kailash and Lake Manasarovar. Dew disappears in the morning Sun. In the same way, sin vanishes instantly at the stunning sight of the Himalayas.

—*Ramayana*

Kailash is the holiest mountain in the world. It's sacred not just to Hindus but also to Buddhists, Jains, and the native Tibetan Bonpos. Even during the most brutal part of the Chinese occupation, Hindu pilgrims risked their lives trying to reach this legendary mountain. Today, the political situation has calmed down somewhat. But the mountain rises from a barely breathable altitude of 15,000 feet (add 22,028 feet on top of that if you want to measure the peak). In addition, the plateau is riddled with killer hail and sandstorms, making this one of the most dangerous sacred sites in the world to travel to. Perhaps that's why pilgrims who actually reach this holy place are said to gain tremendous merit.

City of Light

One of the best things about being a tour guide is I get to pick our stops. The next point on our itinerary is Benares, my favorite city in India. Archeological evidence suggests this is the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world. Kashi, "the City of Light," as Benares is also called, is mentioned even in the ancient Veda!

Benares has been one of the intellectual capitals of India since time immemorial. Today it's home to four universities, including the largest residential university in Asia.

Even more important, it's Lord Shiva's favorite city! Hindus fortunate enough to die here are shuttled directly to the highest heaven, thanks to Shiva's gracious intervention. This is the final stop for many of Hinduism's elderly, who stream into the city hoping to take advantage of Shiva's good nature and pass away here on Shiva's deluxe train to heaven. If you take the spectacular boat ride down the Ganges here, you'll see the famous burning *ghats* on the west side of the river where older pilgrims who got their timing right are being cremated.

Sages Say

Worship the feet of Lord Shiva! They will destroy your evil karma. They will grant you presence of mind. They will bestow unending joy. But you must understand that Shiva's feet are Consciousness itself!
—Natchintanai

On some maps, Benares is still called by its older name, Varanasi. The ancient city was bounded by the Varuna River on its north and the Asi River (now a creek) on its south, with the Ganges running along its western shore. Here's a secret the yogis will share with you. The Varuna stands for the right *nadi,* or "inner river of energy" in the subtle body. The Asi is the left nadi. The Ganges stands for the central canal in the subtle body through which the kundalini energy flows. If at the moment of death you can balance the subtle energy flowing through these nadis, then you will indeed enter the city of Shiva. This is the center of highest consciousness at the top of the brain. If you hold your awareness here throughout the death process, you'll experience the light of liberation. Then your karmas will burn away in the cremation ghat of divine awareness.

def•i•ni•tion

A ghat is a set of steps leading down to a river. Many Hindus bathe, wash their clothes, worship, and perform cremations at

ghats.
A nadi is a current of energy in the subtle body. It's the equivalent of a nerve in the physical body.

City of Tents

What if you threw a party and 70 million guests showed up? In India it happens! Every three years a festival called the Kumbha Mela is held at one of four sites: Prayag at Allahabad in north-central India, Nasik on the West Coast, Ujjain a little northeast of Nasik, and finally at Hardwar in the Himalayas. The festival rotates between these four centers, so each city gets to sponsor the Mela every 12 years.

Tens of million of Hindus attend these fairs with every possible Hindu sect represented. They get together in an atmosphere of mutual respect to worship in their own way. Holy men and women pour out of their retreats in the Himalayan mountains and forests to join the common people in a celebration of spirit.

The Kumbha Mela at Prayag, where the Ganges and Yamuna rivers meet, is the biggest of all. It's generally held in January and February when the two rivers partly dry up. The Indian army is sent in to construct a city of tents in the dry river basin. Pilgrims live in the tents for free. Spiritual leaders from all over the country build makeshift ashrams there for the six-week festival. Programs go on 24 hours a day, and food is distributed free to all comers.

The Hindu View

> Kumbha Mela means "Festival of the Pot." Ages ago the celestial physician (the constellation Aquarius, called Kumbha in India) accidentally spilled his pot of divine nectar. A few drops splattered in Nasik, Ujjain, and Hardwar, but most of it poured out in Prayag. At the astrologically auspicious time of the Kumbha Mela, you can taste the nectar of immortality as it drips from heaven!

Seventy million people turned up for the Kumbha Mela at Prayag in January 2001. It was the biggest collective event in world history! Ordinarily you can't see even the largest cities (like Tokyo with a population of a mere 34 million) from outer space. This Kumbha Mela was so huge that satellite photographs picked up the massive crowds!

I attended the 2001 Kumbha Mela, and it was absolutely one of the most powerful spiritual experiences of my life. I can hardly begin to express the effect of having 70 million human beings together in one place, all praying, chanting, and meditating with each other in an atmosphere of harmony and mutual support. It was like spending a month in heaven!

The Busiest Temple in the World

What is the one most visited pilgrimage site in the entire world? Rome? Mecca? Guess again! If you guessed Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh in South India, you win a cookie and a bowl of ice cream!

The Sri Venkateshvara Temple at Tirupati is the wealthiest in the world, bringing in about $6,000,000 *per day.* Some 30,000 devotees show up every day of the year. They climb 10,000 steps (you read right—I said *10,000* steps) to reach the temple at the top of the hill. There they are offered the opportunities to donate all their gold and valuables and have their heads shaven clean. (Both men and women leave Tirupati bald.)

Devotees then shuffle forward in an agonizingly slow line leading to the inner sanctum. Many of them are singing hymns, chanting holy texts, or repeating their mantra. Finally they reach Vishnu himself, who is appearing

as Sri Venkateshvara in the form of a black stone statue covered with priceless jewels.
It's said that any wish you make before Sri Venkateshvara *must* come true. Stories abound of extraordinary miracles and healings experienced by Hindus who visit this shrine. Many devotees return with even more expensive gifts for Sri Venkateshvara to express their gratitude for the boon he granted on their last visit. There's no stronger endorsement for a Hindu deity than this kind of repeat business!

The Statue of Liberation

The United States has the Statue of Liberty, and India has Saint Tiruvalluvar. At Kanya Kumari, the very southernmost point of India, you can see the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea, and the Bay of Bengal with one sweep of the eyes. You'll also see the spectacular 133-foot statue of Tiruvalluvar towering over the shoreline.
At 151 feet, the Statue of Liberty is a bit taller, but it's only a third the weight of the 7,000-ton Indian statue, which over 150 stone workers sculpted by hand.
Tiruvalluvar wrote a Tamil spiritual classic called the Tirukural ("Holy Verses") some 2,200 years ago. One of the greatest masterpieces on religious ethics in world literature, the 1,330 verses of the text are inscribed around the pedestal of the statue.
The Statue of Liberty represents American's highest value and its lasting contribution to world culture: the commitment to personal freedom. The stone statue on India's southern shore represents India's greatest value and *its* greatest gift to the world: a religious tradition devoted to freedom from ignorance, suffering, and the wheel of rebirth.
While we're here, take note of the Vivekananda Memorial a few hundred yards away. Swami Vivekananda was sitting on this rock when he had a vision of his late guru,
Ramakrishna, standing out on the water, urgently signaling him to step out into the ocean. Vivekananda took this as a sign that he was supposed to cross the Atlantic and begin teaching Hinduism in America. In 1893, he

made the crossing and first introduced modern Westerners to Indian religion.

Sages Say

The satisfaction of getting revenge lasts only for a moment. The glory of forgiveness lasts forever.
—Tirukural

Krishna's Playground

Swinging back up the western side of India, we have to pause in the holy cities of Mathura and Vrindavan, where many of the enchanting episodes in the life of Lord Krishna unfolded. Krishna was born in Mathura and later reigned there as king. But his childhood romances all occurred in Vrindavan (Brindavan in Hindi), about 6 miles to the north.
Mathura has been a great city for thousands of years and was known even to the ancient Greeks following Alexander's visit. But it's hard to get a feel for what the rural area of Vrindavan must have been like thousands of years ago when Krishna was tending cows there and devastating the milkmaids with alluring glances from his foxy eyes. Now so many temples and shrines are built in his honor that he wouldn't recognize his old town if he dropped by!

Sages Say

There is just one place where man meets God—right within the heart He dwells as the innermost self. He who seems to be the farthest is the nearest of all.
—Swami Satprakashananda

About three million Krishna devotees make the pilgrimage to Vrindavan every year. It's a very active center for religious devotion with singing, ecstatic dancing, worshiping, and meditating going on at all hours of the day and night as pilgrims seek to recapture the feeling of being in Krishna's living, loving presence.

Guidepost

Don't be offended if you're denied entrance to a Hindu temple. A number of non-Hindus have behaved so disrespectfully in some temples that the priests have closed the doors to foreigners. The problem isn't you, and it isn't the priests. It's immature

foreigners whose disdainful behavior spoils the experience for everyone.

Seeing the Saints

If Westerners are going to make a pilgrimage all the way to India, often it's the saints, not the temples, they're going to see. Connecting with great yogis and sages is not as easy as you might think. Contrary to popular mythology, you're unlikely to get off the plane at Delhi and find a guru waiting for you, calling out breathlessly, "My child, at last you have come!" Most real gurus play hard to get because life is short and they only have time for serious students. Trusting the flow of karmic forces, they know the legitimate devotees will be guided to the right teacher.

But if it's holy people you want to see, I recommend you make your way to Rishikesh in Uttar Pradesh. There no matter how bad your karma is, you're sure to run into at least a couple of saints.

Rishikesh is about a dozen miles north of the holy city of Hardwar, where the Ganges bursts through a breathtaking gorge to begin its descent into the Indian plains. Rishikesh is less congested than Hardwar, so more sadhus congregate there. It's also where pilgrims come to begin the long trek up to the holy sites of Badrinath, Kedarnath, and Gangotri. These three areas are tougher to get to, but serious spiritual practitioners make their way there to bask in the beauty and purified atmosphere of the Himalayas while they worship and meditate.

You'll find plenty of ashrams in Rishikesh. However, for a place that used to be awfully secluded, a lot of construction is going on these days, and it's not as quiet as it used to be. With the modern world encroaching on all sides, it's getting harder to find a quiet, isolated cave to do your spiritual practice in the traditional manner.

The Goddess Drops In

Divine energy doesn't just center itself in places; it also comes through people. Divine possession is commonplace in Hindu culture. The Goddess in particular is fond of selecting special women as her mouthpiece.
When people in the community experience a crisis, they may go to the Goddess's franchise representative, a local village woman who then goes into a trance. The Goddess speaks through her, offering advice and blessings. The woman temporarily becomes a living temple through which divine grace emanates.
Divine being is not a theoretical abstraction to Hindus. It is really present in the temple and in the land. It even speaks to Hindus directly through a human oracle when receiving specific instructions is critical. While temples and sacred sites can be focal points for divine energy, the most fluid conduit for divine grace remains the human heart.

Quick Quiz

1. Camphor candles are waved in Hindu temples …
    a. So you can see your way in the dark.
    b. To express devotion to the deity inside.
    c. To send messages to priests hiding behind a screen.
2. The most popular pilgrimage place on Earth is …
    a. Mecca.
    b. Tirupati.
    c. Graceland.
3. At the southernmost tip of India is an enormous statue of …
    a. Mother Teresa.
    b. Swami Vivekananda.
    c. Saint Tiruvalluvar.
4. Hindu temples are mostly empty inside …
    a. Symbolizing the unmanifest reality.
    b. To make them easier to clean.

c. Since Hindus never mastered the art of interior decorating.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (b). 3 (c). 4 (a).

The Least You Need to Know

- Hindu temples are constructed to represent inner and outer realities.
- Hindus worship primarily not in temples but in their own homes.
- India contains the most popular pilgrimage sites in the world.
- The Kumbha Mela attracts as many as 70 million pilgrims for a six-week festival.
- "Divine possession" allows people to channel advice directly from the Goddess.

Part 5

God's House Has Many Doors

According to Hinduism, there are many entrances to God's house. There's the door for people with dynamic personalities who always have to be doing something. Another door is for people who are all heart, and still another for those who are mostly in their heads. Then there are entrances for technique-oriented people who prefer a systematic approach to spirituality. You can take your time moseying up to the door or sprint right through like India's yogis and swamis.

Hinduism is not a "one size fits all" religion. Whatever your personality, whatever your circumstances in life, whatever your skills and abilities, the Divine Being will find a way to guide you home. In God's house, everyone is welcome.

Chapter 19

A Robe of Fire

In This Chapter

- God's hobos
- Walking away
- Death before dying
- The spiritual quest
- Freedom to serve

They're the crown jewels of Hinduism, the men in bright orange robes wandering the Indian subcontinent with little more than a walking stick and a begging bowl. In other countries penniless vagrants like these, unkempt and unemployed, might be considered undesirables. If one camped in front of your home, you might call the police to shoo him away. But this is India, where the lens of spiritual insight turns everything topsy-turvy. These men aren't the least respected people in society—they're the most honored of all. These are Hinduism's sannyasins, the renunciates who have given up everything they ever had—including their personal identity—to attain enlightenment.

These remarkable men, with their piercing eyes that seem to see through you into eternity, are the human embodiment of the Hindu tradition. They walk the path of fire and light without regard for heat or cold, hunger or thirst, safety or danger. Supporting their quest for God is the duty and privilege of every Hindu householder. Free of social obligations and free of himself, the wandering sadhu becomes a conduit for the flow of divine grace. The presence of an enlightened sannyasin, with his singular focus on God, radiates blessings to everyone who approaches him. That's why he's the most valuable person in the community!

Meetings with Remarkable Men

Backpacking through northern India one winter, I really thought I was going to freeze to death. It was the coldest January in decades. Four layers of clothes, two wool blankets, and an Arctic-rated sleeping bag barely got me through the night. A group of sannyasins stopped near my campsite. Each was wearing only a thin sheet of cotton cloth covering their loins and lightly tossed over one shoulder. Not even bothering to light a fire, they sat down to chant God's name. They looked as comfortable as if they were sipping a mango *lassi* on a warm summer evening!

> **def•i•ni•tion**
>
> A lassi is a light, frothy, chilled Indian beverage made with yogurt or buttermilk and flavored with spices or fruit.

I interviewed them about their lifestyle, though this wasn't easy with chattering teeth! Amazingly kind and patient, they answered my questions about life on the road to God-realization.

Why They Wander

Many of us feel fundamentally dissatisfied with life. We have a haunting feeling that there's something more, something better, just out of reach. Some of us may even have had genuine mystical experiences, a spontaneous sense of universal oneness or a numinous sense of the immediate presence of something higher. In Western culture this usually means it's time for a good, stiff drink! Often we shrug off these feelings or turn to drugs, alcohol, TV, or computer games to snuff out the sense that something fundamental is missing in our lives.

The sannyasins I spoke with had these feelings as children. They saw that their relatives were frustrated and unhappy despite achieving prosperity and

success. But they also grew up hearing stories about great saints and seeing holy men wander contentedly through the villages and forests. Sooner or later they felt an intense inner call to an active search for mental peace and spiritual understanding. Following the example of seekers for thousands of years before them, they decided to become itinerant monks, often to the horror of their families.

Mothers and fathers are rarely delighted to lose a son to a life of renunciation. Who will take care of them when they get older if their son is gone? Hindus in India don't have Medicare! But there is spiritual compensation: the tradition says when a man becomes enlightened, blessings accrue to his relatives backward in time through seven generations! Benefits like this help, because a would-be sannyasin needs to get his parents' permission (or his wife's, if he's married) before he's inducted into the life of spiritual asceticism. There is a very human paradox in the Hindus' enormous respect for authentic renunciates and grief in seeing a beloved family member leave home forever to become one.

I know you're wondering if women can become renunciates, too. Yes they can! They're called *sadhvis* (female sadhus), *swaminis* (female swamis), or *bhairavis* (female tantrics). Most Hindu women, however, prefer to do their spiritual practices at home, in the context of family life.

Guidepost

Is that Hindu holy man you just met an enlightened master? Or is he an impostor? Unfortunately, some of the sannyasins you see are not genuine spiritual aspirants but people who don't want to work. They know that posing as a holy man can be a ticket to a

free meal. Some just spend the day smoking hashish and soaking up the Sun.

Sages Say

Why don't you understand you really are absolutely One, the single awareness looking out through billions of eyes? You are the irrefutable awareness in which all reality abides, the one self-evident truth that cannot be denied. Why do you divide that which can't be split into pieces?
—Avadhuta Gita

Many Monks

Ochre-robed swamis are India's most famous renunciates. Many of them belong to the order of monks founded by the great yogi and philosopher Shankaracharya centuries ago (see Chapter 9). You can tell a swami belongs to this prestigious tradition if his name ends with any of these words:

- Tirtha, a place of refuge like a holy site
- Ashrama, a source of spiritual family like an ashram
- Vana, self-disciplined as an ascetic living in the forest
- Aranya, nonattached like a yogi living alone in the woods
- Giri, firm in spiritual practice as a hill
- Parvata, unshakably established in truth like a mountain

- Sagara, immersed in knowledge as in an ocean
- Saraswati, an ever-flowing river of wisdom
- Bharati, full of spiritual knowledge
- Puri, vibrant as a city with spiritual realization

Swamis have formally taken vows in one of the renunciate orders. Don't expect to go to their headquarters and get a list of all the swamis, though. Things are not done in an organized way in India but rather in an organic way. Someone who's a swami initiates you in his or her order without necessarily registering your name anywhere. You put on the orange robe of a swami, and you're in business. Recently there was an attempt to begin keeping order in the orders, but the resistance was so fierce the effort collapsed. How can you expect someone who's renounced the world to worry about whether his name is listed in the ledger in some administrative building?

Performing Your Own Cremation

How do you actually become a swami? By celebrating your own death! There are two major types of rites for the dead. One kind is for dead people who've left their bodies (see Chapter 17). The other is for dead people who're still very much alive. When Hindus take formal vows of renunciation, they perform their own cremation, burning themselves in effigy.

The Hindu View

When Hindu renunciates physically die, they are usually not cremated because when they took their vows of renunciation, they already cremated themselves. They can't burn twice! Most often their corpses are offered to a river.

From the point of view of their families, swamis really are dead. The cremation marks the end of the old personality with all its ties of friendship and family, all its attachments and responsibilities. The renunciate then enters a river and emerges naked, symbolizing his or her spiritual rebirth. The guru waiting at the bank gives the renunciate a new name and the orange robe of a world-renouncer.

The orange robe is the color of fire. It stands for the fiery immolation of the person this individual used to be and for the fire of spiritual awareness in which he or she now lives. Most sannyasins then begin a homeless life of incessant pilgrimage, poverty, and one-pointed focus on Self-realization. Others, however, join ashrams or welfare organizations and commit themselves to a lifetime of teaching or selfless service. Shankara, the founder of this order of swamis, established four pithas, or spiritual centers, one in each corner of India, where swamis could study, meditate, and teach. Since his time, the number of mathas, or monasteries, has expanded exponentially.

Sages Say

Everything we enjoy in this world, we're sure to lose one day. What difference does this make to the man who has already renounced them? Clinging to the things we enjoy ultimately

> leads to grief. Renouncing them leads to self-control and contentment.
> —Vairagya Shatakam

Renouncers

Besides swamis, many other types of renunciates are found in Hinduism. If you travel around India, you may run into the nagababas, 100 percent naked ascetics you don't want to mess with because they cultivate extraordinary physical strength and spiritual power. Other Hindus often are justifiably intimidated by them. There are tapasvins, who perform superhuman penances. There are ash-smeared Shaivite tantrics with matted hair who smoke a lot of ganja (hashish) to help them sit still for hours on end, dissolving their consciousness in Shiva. Avadhutas are extremely unconventional and may appear crazy to ordinary people. (I hear that's because their awareness is focused at much higher planes of reality than the rest of us are attuned to!) There are hundreds of different types of renunciates.

As you can see, quite a few of the sannyasins wandering India are not technically swamis. Some wear a white loincloth instead of orange robes. Others wear nothing at all. (Hindus discreetly say this last group is "clothed in pure sky.") But all of them have renounced worldly life with the blessing of their guru. They beg for food once a day or get a free meal at a local temple. Typically they move along from one pilgrimage spot to the next, since staying in any one place for longer than a few days is seen as a potential source of unwanted attachment. During the monsoon season, however, travel just isn't practical, and even the most itinerant ascetics settle down in a shelter especially constructed for pilgrims to wait out the heavy rains.

A Carefree Lifestyle

What a great life! No 9-to-5 job, no mortgage payments, no screaming kids. You just sit around and think about God all the time!

But the renunciate lifestyle is no picnic. He's almost always on the move, often in terrible heat and sometimes in freezing cold. Lots of nights he's sleeping outside on the ground. He may only have one meal a day, and if he's meditating in a particularly remote area, he may not even get that!

He travels light, with maybe one extra loincloth, a small pot for carrying water, a begging bowl, and maybe a stick with a bar at the top to lean on during long hours of meditation. (Pressed against your armpit, the bar helps regulate your breathing pattern so you can meditate more deeply. I'm not kidding; this really works!) Does he have a sleeping bag? No. An extra blanket or two? Probably not. An iPod? Sorry!

The Hindu View

Do yeti, the "abominable snowmen of the Himalayas," really exist? My guru assures me they do! But yeti is a mispronunciation of *yati,* a mountain-dwelling yogi! Scruffy-looking yogis wandering the mountains of north India have sometimes been misidentified as mysterious ape creatures.

Everywhere he goes, he's followed by well-meaning but pesky hangers-on who imagine he's already enlightened and can cure their arthritis or find a husband for their daughter. Maybe mortgage payments and screaming kids don't sound so bad anymore!

A person needs great courage and a lot of dispassion to spend his life under conditions like these. Part of his training is learning to live with hunger and

thirst, extremes of temperature, insects, and illness—and still maintain his psychological equilibrium. Hindu ascetics develop phenomenal inner strength, faith, and focus, living under such tough conditions.

Rules for Renunciation

If you can take the heat (asceticism is called tapas in India, which literally means heat), Hindu culture will support your spiritual work as much as it can. Many temples and hostels will offer you free food. Villagers are often happy to share part of their meal with you—it's a good way to earn karmic credit points! You can ride free on public transportation if your feet ache from walking all day.

Although you're free from the social rules that control most Hindus' lives, you're now bound by another set of regulations. Many renunciate traditions have strict regimes of daily spiritual practice, including many hours of meditation and rituals. Other rules may include never touching money (you can only accept donations like food) or never looking a woman in the eye. (If a woman speaks to you, you direct your gaze to her husband or another man nearby while replying. You're supposed to be celibate, and looking at an attractive person of the opposite sex can lead to difficulty.) Some sannyasins never sleep under a roof. Some go for years, even decades, never uttering a word.

Why would anyone go to all this trouble?

Shipwrecked Aliens

When talking with people who have a deep interest in spiritual life, whether the person is from India or Indianapolis, I frequently hear one comment. "I feel like I don't belong on this planet. My soul must have made a wrong turn, and I landed on Earth by mistake! I don't fit in here. I'm not into what everyone else is into. I don't fit in!"

These people aren't satisfied with the things their relatives, friends, television, and magazine ads all tell them should make them happy. Anti-

wrinkle creams don't do it; sexual experimentation is surprisingly disappointing; drugs are a desperate temporary fix. More and more, these people suspect that what everyone else seems to want in life is just a distraction from facing an underlying sense of anxiety and spiritual homelessness.

Two thousand years ago Christian gnostics described the feeling of being an illegal alien wandering through a hostile foreign country with unfamiliar and self-destructive customs. They just wanted to get back to the world of light they intuitively felt was their real home!

If you're a Hindu and you have this feeling, you don't go to a psychiatrist for a prescription of Prozac. Instead, you set out on a spiritual quest to find the real truth that everyone else seems to be missing. You find a guru who can point you in the right direction. Then you head out on the road to find your way to your true home.

Letting Go

People who feel like strangers in a strange land intuitively sense that while prosperity and pleasure are great (and sure, just about everybody wants them!), they don't last forever. After eight or nine decades at the most, the soul loses everything it has gained in this life as its physical body crumbles away. If our pursuit of the good things in life hasn't been from the perspective of the supreme good, then death can be a horrendous experience. Being cut off from the people and things we're attached to can be wrenching.

Death is less of a trauma if during our lives we've been practicing the premier Hindu spiritual discipline of vairagya or dispassion. Western students sometimes think vairagya or nonattachment means stifling our emotional nature and cutting ourselves off from relationships when in fact it means *expanding* them.

Truly dispassionate people are the most loving folks you'll ever meet. They don't just love their family members and friends; they love everyone and everything. The divine inner nature, which is love itself, is allowed to shine in all directions, embracing everyone without particular attachment to one individual or another. Just as the Sun shines on every person alike without

favoritism, the seeker renounces his ties to a small group of people, like family and friends, or a particular place, like his home or village. Now the entire universe is his house, and everyone he meets is a relative.
This is a radical lifestyle. As human beings we naturally love our children, our family, and close friends. Hinduism suggests though, that we not get overly attached to our attachments. At some point, we will have to let every one of them go. If we bear this in mind through life, death becomes an expansive experience, not a fearful ending. We look forward to—and actively work toward—an illumined state of consciousness that enfolds all our fellow beings in a state beyond time.

Inner Attainment

Sannyasins devote all their energies to the process of detaching from things of lesser value, perishable things, in order to lock onto things of infinite value, imperishable things. Their focus is not on the gifts of the world but the gifts of spirit.

Sages Say

I am the universal awareness that experiences the waking state and the sleep state; I indeed am the cosmic dreamer. I am the state beyond these states. I am the universal mind and, indeed, the universe itself. I am the Self of empty space. Everything, anything, indeed I am. I am pure self-existence.
—Ribhu Gita

Renunciates are giving up things we all ultimately lose anyway. Abandoning the particular, they move toward the universal. Their life outside conventional boundaries allows them the freedom to drill through the mind to the bedrock of existence, the common awareness that unites us all.

Those who succeed in this goal are said to gain extraordinary powers like telepathy, precognition, past life recall, and perhaps even the ability to transfer their consciousness to another body. Hindus believe this is possible because "universal awareness" isn't just a metaphor for them, it's a real state attainable to those who work hard to achieve it. Those who attain this level of consciousness are no longer limited by the perceptions of the five senses. They experience a level of extrasensory awareness the rest of us can barely begin to imagine. For thousands of years, the yogis' psychic powers have been legendary. Yet some of them renounce even this! Others use these abilities to guide and protect humanity. These are the spiritual masters who lead the rest of us forward in our own evolution.

Renouncing Renunciation

Since the beginning of its history, India has looked to its sages not only for spiritual advice but also for personal and social guidance. When Apollonius of Tyana visited India in the first century C.E., he noted how both kings and commoners sought out spiritual adepts for help with their practical concerns (see Chapter 3). The extraordinary level of insight the sages had attained made them the best all-purpose counselors possible! Maybe now you can understand why Hindus believe supporting sannyasins, who go on to become enlightened masters, is such a wise investment!

In the late nineteenth century, the role of swamis and sannyasins in serving the masses greatly intensified. Vivekananda, the swami you met in Chapter 10, was disturbed at the extent to which the Hindu tradition had sunk in India after centuries of foreign domination. A culture that had once been one of the most prosperous, respected, and dynamic in the history of the world had been reduced to physical poverty and psychological slavery. He realized the sannyasins still had the freedom, power, and prestige to rescue India from its morass of self-doubt and despair.

So Vivekananda called upon the Hindu renunciate orders to renounce renunciation! He asked them to meditate with eyes wide open. “Look around instead of closing your eyes. There are hundreds of poor and helpless people in your neighborhood. You will have to nurse and procure food and medicine for the sick. You will have to feed those who have nothing to eat. You will have to teach the ignorant. My advice to you is that if you want peace of mind, you will have to serve others.”

Thousands of swamis have responded to the call. Today many sannyasins work in colleges and universities, hospitals and hospices. Free from the demands of supporting a family or raising children, they devote themselves to selfless service and social activism.

The Fortunate Few

The twentieth-century Himalayan yogi Swami Rama always referred to his fellow sannyasins as “the fortunate few.” Only a fraction of the billions of people on Earth, he said, are cut out for the rigorous lifestyle and intense inner work of the traditional renunciate.

The yogis in his lineage spend part of the year in cave monasteries in the Himalayas. Some of the caves have several compartments, which were enlarged by hand over the centuries so that a growing community of ascetics could live in them. During the rest of the year these monks travel the subcontinent, Tibet and Nepal, visiting sacred pilgrimage sites and studying with adepts from affiliated traditions. Sister lineages are based in forest hermitages or other remote areas where the sannyasins can have privacy.

There the ancient knowledge of the spiritual adepts is passed down to new generations of seekers over the millennia. These forest academies and mountain monasteries have preserved the spiritual heritage of enlightened masters from eras long past and have given birth to many of the illumined adepts of our own time.

These sannyasins are not just philosophers; they’re practical mystics who guard the secrets of the subtle body and research the powers of

consciousness with a thoroughness we usually associate with Nobel Prize-winning scientists. Their monasteries are the Harvards and Yales of spirit. Hinduism has always nurtured these kings of the inner realms. Hindu culture has fed and clothed these adepts, even organizing its society so men and women of spirit are sheltered, supported, and honored. In too many other civilizations great mystics have been persecuted, their schools attacked, their books burned, and their disciplines mocked. In Western culture today the situation is no less insidious. These custodians of humanity's spiritual heritage are blithely dismissed as anachronisms, human fossils from a supposedly more superstitious age. Perhaps our modern bias to dismiss these ancient traditions is only a reflection of our own ignorance. It is to the everlasting credit of the Hindu religion that during its greatest flowering and even at its lowest flounderings, it has always provided a home for the fortunate few, spiritual heroes on the greatest quest of all.

The Hindu View

Imagine backpacking across the country—but without a backpack. You don't have a dime—or a credit card either. All you know is you have to discover the meaning of life. And everywhere you go, people help you and feed you because they recognize your search is the most important thing any human being can undertake. That's Hinduism!

Quick Quiz

1. Sannyasins are …
    a. Hindu hippies.
    b. Wandering holy men.
    c. Ottoman Turks who terrorized the Crusaders.
2. Sannyasins perform their own cremation …
    a. By burning themselves alive.
    b. In order to assume a new spiritual identity.
    c. To avoid making payments on their credit cards.
3. To the Hindu, nonattachment means …
    a. Not marrying your girlfriend after you get her pregnant.
    b. Spending money freely since tomorrow will take care of itself.
    c. Valuing all things equally rather than some things more than others.
4. Hindu society's response to renunciates who abandon their social duties is …
    a. Anger and disgust.
    b. Overwhelming relief.
    c. Respect and support.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (b). 3 (c). 4 (c).

The Least You Need to Know

- Some Hindus are not at peace with conventional reality and actively seek a higher truth.
- Religious renunciates "die" to their former life, assuming a new, spiritualized identity.
- The renunciate's life is difficult and highly self-disciplined.
- Some renunciates commit their lives to social activism.
- Hindu culture actively supports sincere renunciates on their spiritual quest.

Chapter 20

The Rewarding Life

In This Chapter

- God's original sacrifice
- Life without expectations
- Selfless service
- Duties, not rewards
- Unconditional love

Usually when we in the West picture Hindus, we think of orange-robed swamis or naked *babas* meditating alone in a cave. But the vast majority of Hindus are ordinary lay people raising children within the context of the extended family system, getting up each morning and going to work just like us.

In Hinduism, working people are just as capable of enlightenment as swamis. Most of the Vedic rishis, the sages who composed the holy Veda, were married and had full-time jobs. Even great avatars like Rama and Krishna had their hands full with administrative duties and family obligations.

Renunciates are free to devote their full attention to the quest for Self-realization. Lay people have more balls to juggle. Sacred texts like the Bhagavad Gita explain how working men and women can transform their daily duties into spiritual discipline—how housewives and washerwomen can become saints and how farmers and shopkeepers can become spiritual masters.

The Supreme Sacrifice

According to the Veda, at the beginning of time, Prajapati, the Supreme Being, performed the first religious act when he sacrificed himself in order to create us. He sacrificed his original state of perfect unity and bliss, splitting his body into the component parts of the material and subtle worlds and splitting his consciousness into the infinite number of souls inhabiting these worlds.

God set the example for how we ought to live. We also should base our lives on the principle of self-sacrifice. For yogis who want to return to him, this means reversing the process and sacrificing their individual selfhood back into his Supreme Consciousness. For the rest of us, it means performing our actions for the greater good, as if our activities are offerings to God. God sacrificed himself to bring us into being so he could express his creative power and his limitless love. When we imitate him by sacrificing our time and energy in the selfless performance of our duties, we reflect our Maker's love back to him.

def•i•ni•tion

Baba is an affectionate term for any Hindu holy man.

Into the Fire Pit

In ancient times the Vedic seers aligned themselves with God's law by re-enacting the primordial ritual. They didn't sacrifice themselves, though! During the fire sacrifice, called a *yajna,* they offered items of real value nonetheless. This sometimes included livestock, which constituted wealth back in the days before credit cards and ATM machines.

Rams and billy-goats were commonly sacrificed in India (as they were in Old Testament times in the Bible). Usually male animals were humanely slaughtered, then offered to the ritual fire. But other valuable commodities, like clarified butter, grain, or a milky drink called *soma* were offered, too. It

was Agni the fire god's responsibility to carry these items to heaven, and one could see him doing his job as smoke from the fire pit rose to the sky. Today animal sacrifice is rare in India, and many Hindus are vegetarian. But the original concept was based on the observable fact that life feeds on life: herbivores feed on grasses and grains; carnivores feed on herbivores; insects and bacteria feed on carnivores; insects and bacteria become nutrients in the soil which sustains grasses and grains; and so on in a continuous cycle of life and death. Performing a sacrifice meant we as humans acknowledge the living intelligence in nature and offer our fair share back into the system. We feed the forces of nature, and they sustain us. It's a reciprocal exchange that benefits everyone involved.

For many of us Westerners today, sacrifice seems barbaric. Instead of feeding life force back to nature, we feed nature an incessant stream of pollutants. Is that really more enlightened?

Sages Say

The gods need our worship as much as the Sun needs us to hold up a candle to light its way. The real reason we make offerings to the gods is to cultivate the spirit of self-sacrifice. We contemplate the divine qualities of the gods and goddesses in order to become more like them: generous, pure and selfless.

—Amritanandamayi Ma

The Limits of Sacrifice

The practical benefits of ritual actions were immense. If an individual sacrificed to the gods, they would ensure he had good weather, his cows were fertile, his children stayed healthy, and he lived to a ripe old age. Even better, if a deity was happy with a person's offerings, he or she would make sure he enjoyed a long, pleasant vacation in svarga, or heaven, after death. Then he'd return to Earth in a new physical body and enjoy all the pleasures life has to offer, all over again. Fortunately, there was never a shortage of priests willing to take a person's money and perform sacrifices for him! Yet in some sacred texts there is a deep ambivalence about the value of these ancient Hindu rituals. The famous Mundaka Upanishad says,

> Rituals actions were prescribed by the seers in the Veda. Perform these rites correctly and you'll certainly enjoy the results, even rising to heaven to join the Creator. But rituals are a leaky boat because the benefits they deliver don't endure. Fools flatter themselves that they have accomplished something great by all their sacrifices. Due to their attachment to pleasure, performers of religious rites fail to recognize the supreme truth. Therefore they fall from heaven when the good karma produced by their pious deeds is exhausted, and once again fall prey to suffering and death.

Heaven is highly overrated, according to some spiritual masters. Even the special souls in the most comfortable bungalows in heaven glance anxiously over their shoulders. They know that when their pool of karmic credit runs dry, it's back to the salt mines on Earth. A comfortable stay in the afterlife is only temporary according to Hinduism if we're still attached to the things of this world below. When our karmic merit runs out, our visit to heaven comes to a halt, and rebirth is inevitable.

Breaking the Cycle

Birth, measles, school, puberty, years and years of hard work, disease, death, decay, birth …. According to the Hindu sages, the cycles keeps spinning like a dog that never gets tired of chasing its tail.

When you get tired of chasing after one thing you desire, then another, and then another, and constant loss and lack of fulfillment wear you down, then you start to ask, "Is there a way off the treadmill?" Hinduism teaches how you can short-circuit the karmic cables that bind you to the endless, repetitive, and ultimately futile attempt to find lasting happiness in the material world. There *is* a way out of the fire pit of suffering.

Acting in God's Play

As I said a moment ago, the universe is God's sacrificial pit. He has nothing to sacrifice but himself—what else exists but the self-existent Supreme Being? He has no one to sacrifice to but himself.

So God has immolated himself in a cosmic sacrifice. God remains God—perfect and whole—but he's now also *us,* imperfect, fragmented parts of himself. It's as if you looked at yourself in a cracked mirror. You'd see multiple versions of yourself, but you'd still be yourself! You wouldn't be altered in any way; you'd simply be entertained by the spectacle! The universe, in a way, is God's TV set. He's the producer, director, screenwriter, and actors, and he watches all the channels at once.

To keep the shows from becoming boring (where's the suspense if you know how it's going to come out?), God gives each of his actors free will. Each can rewrite his part in the script if he wants to, though God retains the rights to the script as a whole. Free will is the key to the whole process, and it's what makes humans so special. Of all the creatures on Earth, we're the ones with a fully developed will, should we choose to use it.

Most animals don't really generate karma because they're not acting of their own free will—nature is acting through them. That's what behaving instinctually means. But we humans have the unique ability to use our free will to stop karma, the cosmic process, and take ourselves beyond sorrow and fear. We can go back to the place God was before he created the universe, the place where in fact he is right now, whole and unfragmented. That marvelous place is beyond space and time and, therefore, beyond the reach of karma. It's even better than heaven!

Better Than Heaven

The path of Karma Yoga, explained by Lord Krishna himself in the Bhagavad Gita, is not about working with the law of karma to create a happy and fulfilling future. It's about throwing out the karmic process altogether. Its goal is *mukti,* not *svarga.*

Krishna explained you can't get out of doing things. Even renunciates have to go to the toilet! Yet your actions have karmic consequences you must experience sooner or later. Karma Yoga gets you out of this bind. It's simple to understand, but it's tough to practice. It involves cutting the link between cause and effect. You snap the chain of causation in two.

def•i•ni•tion

Mukti means liberation—freedom from karma.
Svarga is the Hindu heaven, a temporary after-death state reserved for virtuous souls.

Sages Say

Not to do what you feel like doing is freedom.
—Swami Chinmayananda

“Surrender the fruits of your actions to Me,” Krishna told the warrior Arjuna. He was speaking to us, too! “Perform your duty without any expectation of reward. Do what you have to do because it’s the right thing to do. Not because there’s something you want out of it.”
If we renounce the fruits of our actions, sacrificing the results to God, we are no longer emotionally bound to suffer or benefit from our actions. We do our job to the best of our ability because that is the work God has put before of us, not because we want to be successful or because we need a paycheck. We don’t worry about money or success because we’ve given our lives to God. Let him worry about it!

The Hindu View

Some Hindus do believe in a heaven world like Brahma Loka, where you reside with the Creator, or Vaikuntha, where you live with Krishna for limitless amounts of time—as long as you want! You don’t need to return to Earth if you can reach those high heavens through your good acts and devotion. Yet from those worlds you can launch into the supreme state beyond space and time if you so choose.

Then when our biweekly paycheck arrives or we get credit for our excellent work, we count these as gifts from God, not as something that we somehow inherently deserve. God gave us the intelligence and energy to do the job in the first place. Why shouldn’t *he* get the credit? The troops out on the battlefield do the fighting, but the general gets credit for winning the war.

Conquer Through Surrender

Karma Yoga involves actively engaging in life, fulfilling our dharma whether that's being a website manager, a police officer, a flight attendant, or a stay-at-home dad or mom. We do the best we can because our everyday actions are our form of worship. Our work—be it ever so humble—is no less valuable spiritually than the inner work a yogi does sitting in meditation—provided that we do it with awareness and without demanding anything in return.

The key to transforming work into worship and external activity into internal sacrifice, is attitude. When we simply do the best we can and leave the results to God, we become free. We raise our children to the very best of our ability, but how they turn out is in God's hands. We sow a crop of grain and tend it carefully, but whether there's a bountiful harvest or a flood that wipes it all away is up to God. He carries the burden of our existence. We are free!

In Karma Yoga, we sacrifice our attention. Thoughts that would ordinarily run toward fantasies about the future or romantic liaisons or irritating memories are instead directed to God. "This action is for you, Lord. And this one. And this one, too."

At Peace with Life

Karma Yoga brings peace through action. The paradox is that while the surrendered soul becomes free from worry about the results of his or her actions, those results still occur. The most rewarding life, ironically, is one where we don't seek rewards. Then if they come, they come.

The law of karma still operates in the outer world. But we are psychologically free because our inner world remains unpolluted by the aggravation caused by unrealized expectations or delayed rewards. We're not haunted by fear about what may or may not happen. If we're karma yogis, our bodies go through the motions of fulfilling our duties and reaping the consequences. But our souls remain at peace, leaving our fate to God or

the Goddess, in whose providence we trust implicitly. We do the work; God manages the outcome.

Sages Say

Duty done out of selfish motives is far inferior to that done with a detached attitude. When the mind is yoked to the ultimate good through cultivation of detachment, which is the highest form of love, then one takes delight in loving all and excluding none.
—Swami Rama of the Himalayas

Yoga, not bhoga, is the desire of the karma yogi. Yoga here means union with the Divine Will. Bhoga means enjoyment in the world. We may well still enjoy life (with Krishna's help Arjuna won the war and enjoyed the victory, such as it was), but the good things that come to us are now seen as gifts of God's grace—not as the rightful results of our work, as something we have coming.

Hindus consider Karma Yoga a legitimate path to spiritual liberation because it cultivates a state of desirelessness and egolessness. And when selfishness and desire drop away, so does the depository of past life karma we carry around with us in our causal body. There's no emotional glue to make it "stick" to our soul anymore. We are now free from the wheel of rebirth and don't have to reincarnate again, unless we want to for the sake of helping others.

Guidepost

Why not experiment with Karma Yoga? If you're intensely aggravated by your job, for example, decide you're simply going to do the very best you can and that's it. It doesn't matter if your boss approves, if you get a raise, if there's a write-up about you in the company newsletter. Do your job well, and surrender the results. You may find that you're in a much more relaxed frame of mind and that you work more effectively and efficiently.

The Potter 's Wheel

By surrendering to God and acting from the space of the Inner Self, the soul is freed from karma. Inside you remain tranquil no matter how good or how bad circumstances are. But the body may still go through tribulation. Though he totally surrenders to Krishna in the Bhagavad Gita, Arjuna suffers horrendous losses in the war, including the death of his son.
In Hinduism, a person who's achieved liberation is called a jivanmukta, which means "a soul who's free." In India, where to this day saints aren't rare, you'll see great men and women who go through life in an amazingly tranquil and composed state of mind. Nothing seems to throw them off their center. Yet karma still plays through their lives: they still get sick, still have enemies, may still be unusually lucky or unlucky.

Sages Say

Karma Yoga teaches us how to work for work's sake, unattached. The karma yogi works because it is his nature … and he has no object beyond that. He knows that he is giving, and does not ask for anything in return, and therefore he eludes the grasp of misery.
—Swami Vivekananda

The sages say this is because the life of an enlightened person is like a potter's wheel. When the potter finishes work, she gets up and walks away. Even so, the potter's wheel keeps spinning for a while because it still carries some momentum. Just as the potter is no longer continuing to spin the pot, a jivanmukta is no longer adding to his store of karmic merits and demerits through his desires and expectations. Yet his body keeps moving and his karma keeps playing out because of the karmic momentum of the past. Inside, however, the jivanmukta is free.

Everyone's Mother

Seva—selfless service—is a major component of Hindu spirituality and an important expression of Karma Yoga. "Our quest for the Self starts with our selfless service in the world," says Amma, the great "hugging saint" from Kerala. She elaborates:

def•i•ni•tion

> The third eye is the center of intuitive consciousness in the subtle body. Find the point between your eyebrows, then move your awareness about 3 inches backward toward the center of your brain. This is the focal point of your inner vision.

> If all we do is sit in meditation with our eyes closed, anticipating the *third eye* will open, we will be disappointed. We cannot escape from the world by keeping our eyes closed. Spiritual practice is the effort we make to see the oneness of all beings in creation with open eyes. When that vision becomes spontaneous, that is Self-realization.

Amma (a.k.a. Ammachi or Amritanandamayi Ma) was born in a poor fishing village in southwestern India in 1953. From earliest childhood, she was completely devoted to God. If she caught herself walking several steps without repeating Krishna's name, she would run back and take those steps again keeping the Lord foremost in her mind.

When Amma was in her late teens, the Goddess herself in the form of blazing light appeared before her, commanding her to serve humanity, and then merged into her body. Extraordinary miracles began occurring all around her. A small bowl of water suddenly contained enough rice pudding to feed the entire village. Patients with serious diseases, such as leprosy or malignant cancers, were suddenly healed. Men addicted to gambling or alcohol mended their ways after just one visit to the radiantly loving young saint.

Unconditional Love

Many Hindus believe Amma is an incarnation of the Mother of the Universe. If you have a chance to see her in action, you'll see why. Her ability to connect with every single soul who comes before her is phenomenal. She radiates love, making each person feel like he or she is the one person Amma loves most in the world.

But here's the really strange thing. At every stop in South India, a minimum of 40,000 people are waiting in line for Amma's blessing. The lines are

literally miles long. She doesn't get up, not even to eat or go to the bathroom, till she's seen—and physically embraced—every person, which can take days! And when Amma finally does get up, she's still as fresh and radiant as she was when she first sat down. I've seen this with my own eyes and can still scarcely believe it. Where does this lady get her batteries? I get exhausted just watching her!

Hinduism Today calls Amma "a supernova of spirituality." In 1993, she was named one of the top three Hindu leaders of our time. She embodies unconditional love in the most dramatic way possible, in her every action. When I interviewed her, Amma explained that she actually sees God in the face of every person she meets. Her limitless love and equally limitless energy arise from her delight in serving God in each of us.

Selfless Service

In the past two decades, Amma's charitable projects have expanded to include orphanages, shelters for battered women, a huge hospital complex in Kerala that provides medical care free to the destitute, schools and vocational training institutes, and temples and ashrams. One of her current projects is building thousands of new homes each year to be given free to poor families.

Ammachi, Hinduism's " supernova of spirituality."

How can a penniless woman from a tiny Indian village inspire millions to help her build huge institutions or give up their jobs to work unpaid for the benefit of the poor? Amma is the quintessential karma yogi. People see her walking her talk. She lives a life of selfless service, working 22 hours a day. Hindus—and increasingly admirers from around the world—are so inspired by her example that they want to join her work.

Hindu culture is perhaps the last place on Earth where many children still dream of being a saint, like Amma, when they grow up. Charitable organizations abound. There is hardly an ashram that doesn't help provide free food and free medical care for the poor. Seva, selfless service, is an integral part of the Hindu tradition.

Action in Inaction

Hindus believe that even the sages who appear to be doing nothing at all immensely enrich society by their mere presence. One of my mentors, Swami Rama of the Himalayas, was a philanthropist who built a huge hospital facility for the impoverished villagers of the state of Uttara Pradesha, as well as providing scholarships for numerous poor students (including me!). Yet he bristled at the suggestion that his own teachers, who spent their lifetimes meditating in the Himalayas, were turning their backs on humanity. "The sages protect the world!" he insisted. "The human race would have destroyed itself long ago if not for the blessings the sages send out in their meditation! You have activists who protect the outer environment. Through their pure thoughts and well wishes the Himalayan sages clean out the pollution in the inner environment!"
In deep states of meditation, the yogi's will takes on laser-like intensity and benefits the entire world. This is the supreme Karma Yoga of the masters who appear to be doing nothing at all.

Quick Quiz

1. Karma Yoga is …
    a. Doing your duty without desiring any reward.
    b. A series of physical postures such as the headstand.
    c. The result of our evil actions.
2. The goal of Karma Yoga is …
    a. Making as much money as possible.

b. Scored only if the goalie can be lured from the net.
c. Freedom from the bondage of karma.

3. Renouncing the fruits of our actions …
   a. Leads to irresponsible behavior.
   b. Frees us from worry.
   c. Is fine if we can still have the vegetables.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (c). 3 (b).

Get Up and Fight!

In the Bhagavad Gita, Krishna describes several paths to God-realization. These are the paths of devotion, knowledge, and action. Yet given the emergency of impending war, Krishna's specific advice to Arjuna is, "Get up and fight!" But Arjuna is not to fight out of anger or desire for revenge. To fight in this mindset would incur terrible karma. Instead he must go to war because it's his duty to stop an evil tyrant from taking over the country. Whether he ultimately wins or loses isn't as important as taking the action he knows is right.

"People are trapped in the web of their own karma except when they perform their actions as worship of God," Krishna explains. "Therefore do your work as if it is a sacrament. Don't be concerned about the results. Always do your duty, but without attachment. By working honestly without anxiety about the future, you will reach the supreme state."

The Least You Need to Know

- Karma Yoga means performing your work to the best of your ability without concern for reward.
- Karma yogis rise above the karmic process by not engaging psychologically with the consequences of their actions.
- Selfless service is a huge component of Hindu spirituality.
- Hindu saints like Vivekananda and Ammachi taught selflessness through their living examples.

- Even sitting alone in meditation, yogis are able to transmit blessings throughout the world.

Chapter 21

An Ever-Expanding Heart

In This Chapter

- Hindu devotionalism
- Relating to God
- Love makes saints
- The holy name
- Religious ecstasy

What's the most intoxicating liquor of all? Southern Comfort? Sake? According to the Hindu sages, it's love for God. Devotion is the divine nectar that makes even the most bitter life sweet.

Throughout the millennia, in the same way other countries have been rocked by earthquakes, India has been rocked with convulsions of religious ecstasy. Waves of bhakti, massive movements of devotion for God or Goddess, have swept through the subcontinent in shockwaves of joy. Hinduism is a religion of bhaktas, of devotees who deeply and truly love their Maker.

Love, Hindu sages claim, is the quickest path to the Lord of Light, whose own infinite love embraces all the beings in all the galaxies in all dimensions of time and space.

The Heart and the Head

Recently a student asked the South Indian Saint Amma (see Chapter 20) what is the most dangerous spiritual path. He was expecting her to say "Tantra" and to warn him away from the alleged sensual pitfalls of "the left-hand path." Instead she instantly answered, "The path of the intellect."

The student was astonished. Many Hindu spiritual masters have been intellectuals of the highest caliber. “Reasoning is necessary, but we should not allow the intellect to eat up our heart,” Amma went on to explain. “Too much intellectual knowledge too often leads to a big ego. The ego is a burden, and a big ego is a big burden.”

“Devotion without spiritual knowledge cannot free us,” Amma continued. “But knowledge without devotion is like eating stones.” She pointed to a nearby jackfruit tree, a tree that produces fruit near the bottom of the trunk where one can easily reach it. “On the path of devotion we can enjoy the fruit from the very beginning,” Amma concluded. On other paths to God you do a lot of spiritual work first before you begin to experience the divine presence. It’s like other trees, which you have to laboriously climb to reach the sweet fruit.

And how sweet the fruit of devotion is! The Goddess’s loving presence suffuses our lives the moment we open our heart. Instantly she takes us into her lap, and we feel at home in the very heart of the universe. This is Bhakti Yoga—reaching straight for the cup of joy.

Intellectuals spend a lot of time discussing the nature of Divine Being. Is it conscious or unconscious? Is it one unitary reality, or is matter different from spirit? How does the One split into the manifold universe we see in front of us? Bhaktas aren’t overly concerned with these nit-picking details. They just want to hang out with God!

The Divine Relationship

You can’t hang out with an abstraction—at least most people can’t. But you can easily relate to another person. So most bhaktas imagine the Divine Being as a sort of Super Person. In the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition, there’s basically one type of relationship you can have with God—He’s the father, you’re his child. Hinduism, however, includes many different ways we can relate to the Supreme. For example, we may picture the Divine Being as our:

- Father
- Mother
- Master
- Friend
- Lover
- Child
- Enemy

Consider the many different ways people looked at Lord Krishna during his lifetime. To Yasoda, who raised Krishna in the tiny village of Vrindavan, the Lord was her little baby. To Radha and the other milkmaids in Vrindavan, Krishna was their lover. To Arjuna, Krishna was his closest friend.

Hindus still relate to Krishna in these ways. Some Hindu women keep a statue of Krishna as a small child in their homes and tend it as if it's their baby! Others look on their own children as baby Krishnas. Still other Hindus carry on a continual internal dialogue with Krishna as if he is their best friend. They feel he is actually present, listening to their problems and providing guidance as he did for his friend Arjuna.

Sages Say

Five minutes of sincerely crying to God is worth more than hours of unfocused meditation.
—Amritanandamayi Ma

To the Bengali saint Ramprasad Sen (the failed accountant from Chapter 14), Divine Being was Mom. He would plead with her and argue with her as if she were his real life mother! Some Hindu saints look at Vishnu or Shiva as their divine father, much as Christians and Jews do.

Many Hindus think of themselves as the servants—even the slaves—of God. Their lives are totally in his hands, and they live only to do his will. Hindu names like Ram Das or Bhagavan Das literally mean servant of God.

Hating God

You may be surprised to hear that Hindus consider people who hate God to be in better shape spiritually than those who never think about God at all. This is because at least those who see God as their enemy think about him continually. That's all the hold God needs in order to begin doing his transformative work in their lives. He just needs their attention! Remember Valmiki, who in Chapter 5, chanted "Mara, mara" ("Evil, evil") and became a saint because unwittingly he was chanting God's name ("Rama, Rama"). Hindus even believe that being killed by God is the greatest possible blessing! For example, remember that Rama, who was God in human form, killed the cruel king Ravana. At that moment, Ravana went straight to heaven! That's because he'd been obsessing about Rama constantly. Even though his mind was filled with animosity, Ravana was totally focused on Rama at the moment of his death, so God was able to reach into his soul and liberate him instantly. God's grace really is amazing!

The Divine Lover

For Hindus, one of the favorite ways to picture God is as the divine lover. Krishna and Shiva particularly lend themselves to this role—Krishna because he had so many girlfriends and Shiva because he is Kameshvara, the Lord of Desire. When Shiva makes love to his wife, Parvati, he has such perfect yogic control that he never ejaculates. So according to the holy texts, when Shiva and Parvati start getting it on, the action continues for years!

Shaivite saints, like Lalla and Antal, pined for the love of Shiva. The Vaishnava saint Mira Bai literally considered herself married to Krishna—a fact her real-life in-laws didn't appreciate. Some male saints, like

Chaitanya, would think of themselves as spiritually female in order to imagine being brides of Krishna.
In the Shakta tradition some images of the Goddess, such as Lalita, are breathtakingly voluptuous. If you're filled with erotic energy, why not redirect that drive toward the divine? Then instead of dragging you off into steamy fantasies, your romantic desires actually help increase your sense of intimacy with the Supreme Being.

God in the Guru

As I mentioned in Chapter 10, for many Hindus, the guru is the physical embodiment of Divine Being. "The water in which the guru's feet are bathed is the holiest water in the world," says the Guru Gita. "This water can wash away your sins, ignite the fire of Self-realization, and carry you to safety across the stormy ocean of this world."
Devotion to the guru is another popular form of Bhakti Yoga. If you're not lucky enough to be living at a time and place when an avatar like Rama or Krishna are physically present, the guru is for all practical purposes your equivalent of Rama. And you don't have to use your imagination to visualize a relationship with God. If you honor your guru as a divine embodiment, then God or the Goddess is standing in front of you in the flesh, walking with you and giving personal guidance.

Guidepost

Has your guru gone bad? Occasionally a Hindu teacher begins abusing his or her power. Out of respect for the teacher's

spiritual lineage, Hindus rarely publish embarrassing exposés. Instead, they quietly withdraw their support and go find another guru!

Obviously, care must be taken to ensure the guru truly is Self-realized and is able to actually handle such powerful projections. My personal observation is that the occasional guru lets the adulation go to his or her head, but most of them take the job of spiritual mentorship very seriously. They are ultimately servants of the Supreme Guru whose wisdom manifests through them when they align themselves with their Highest Self. Being someone's guru is a huge responsibility with major karmic implications. The guru lineage is a safety valve built into the Hindu system. If one is a guru, he has his own guru and the other masters of his lineage to answer to if he messes up. The disciple answers to the guru, but the guru answers to the lineage.

The Saint Factory

The Hindu tradition is a virtual saint factory, having produced more holy women and men than any other religion. In fact, at any one moment, there are far more fully acknowledged Hindu saints than Catholicism has recognized in its entire 2,000-year history!

What transforms an ordinary person into a saint? Does it happen spontaneously or can a person actually go into training to become a saint? Some people are born saints. The Hindu sages explain that this is either because these people have tons of great karma from previous incarnations because they spent lifetimes purifying themselves and serving others. Or it's because they're visitors dropping in from higher planes of reality.

And other times, well, it just kind of seems like the Goddess picks someone out of the crowd and zaps her!

The Hindu View

Hindu psychology focuses mostly on higher states of consciousness. Western psychology focuses mostly on dysfunctional states. Only a few Western psychologists, like Abraham Maslow, have emphasized the value of "peak states" or mystical experiences.

Spontaneous Combustion

Let's talk about the divine zap. In all cultures, in all times, certain people—with or without any previous interest in spirituality—spontaneously have extremely powerful mystical experiences. They can have incredible feelings of self-transcendence, a tremendous sense of unity with all things, and the feeling of melting into all-pervading awareness. These experiences seem to come out of the blue, but they're so vivid and powerful they shake an individual to the core.

In some cases, the experience is drug induced. In other cases, it's triggered by an accident, a major shock, or even by seeing or hearing something mind-blowingly beautiful. There have been numbers of reports in recent years of people having extraordinary mystical sensations during a near-death experience. In other cases, there doesn't seem to be any precipitating factor at all. Someone is just walking across the room when—*zap!*—his awareness explodes out of his body and he experiences himself merging into the universe.

Yogis attribute these events to the sudden temporary triggering of kundalini, the energy underlying consciousness, which causes an abrupt awakening to mystical awareness. It could be a fluke and never occur again. Or it may be that the person did lots of meditating in a previous incarnation and is just now reawakening to inner life. Then again, it may just be the whim of God. "He chooses whom He chooses," the Upanishads say rather wistfully.
But for the vast majority of people, mystical awareness is something they have to work at developing, like any other skill. What turns average people on to God as opposed to football or mineral powder cosmetics or real estate development?

Four Motives for Devotion

In the Bhagavad Gita, Krishna says there are four conditions under which people turn to God. First, there are those who are in trouble. There's nothing like a life crisis to turn the mind to religion! Someone's sick or dying, his house is in foreclosure, or he's about to lose his job, and suddenly the devotee is on his knees pleading to Krishna to save him from calamity.

Sages Say

If I say God is within me, it sounds like blasphemy. If I say He's not in me, it's a lie. In God the inner and outer worlds are one world. He rests His feet on both.
—Kabir

Then there's the person who wants something really badly but can't get it on her own. It could be a potential boyfriend who hasn't yet noticed she exists or a new house that's out of her price range. She's on her knees begging the Lord for the blessing she desires so desperately.
Next there's the type who just wants to understand. Who is God really? How does karma operate? What are worlds in other dimensions like? The quest for knowledge is his burning motivation. He's so boggled by the beauty and complexity of the universe that he spontaneously turns to its living source in worship and wonder.
The final type is the one who loves God for God's sake alone. God is just so lovable! She has no ulterior motive, just love. Krishna says he's delighted to accept the prayers of each kind of devotee. But the soul who delights him most is the one who comes to him out of pure, unselfish devotion.

Deepening Devotion

Once an interest in spiritual life is aroused, how do we increase our enthusiasm? The pressing affairs of our mundane life intrude from all sides. Diverting our attention to a nonphysical entity like God comes naturally to a handful of innately mystically inclined individuals, but for most of us it takes some effort. Here are some of the tried-and-true methods bhaktas use to deepen their connection with the divine.

Satsang: Spiritual Fellowship

Satsang means keeping company with fellow devotees. The mutual support of others with similar interests, especially those further along the path, can be a continual source of inspiration. Seeking out the company of a God-intoxicated mystic is the best form of satsang short of the ecstatic experience of God's presence itself. Reading books about gods and saints and keeping their pictures nearby is a second-tier form of satsang.

Kirtan: Making a Joyful Noise

Kirtan means singing about God or the Goddess. Frequently bhaktas get together to chant the glories of the Divine and sing beautiful hymns of love and longing composed by the saints. Devotional music is a particularly soul-stirring form of worship. “Kirtan is the calling, the crying, the reaching across infinite space—digging into the heart’s deepest well to touch and be touched by the Divine Presence,” says singer Jai Uttal.

Smarana: Divine Obsession

Smarana means remembering God throughout the day. One constantly thinks about the superlative attributes of the Divine: his strength, nobility, and purity or her power, love, and grace. Reading the inspiring stories in Hinduism’s holy scriptures helps. So does chanting a mantra. Eventually even one’s dreams are imbued with divine remembrance.

Puja: Ritual Practice

Puja is ritual worship. Several times a day a person sits down before his home altar to make a living connection with the Supreme by enacting a short ceremony of worship and prayer. It’s like making a telephone call to God, keeping in regular contact. Going through the physical motions of a ritual is especially helpful for people who need something concrete to focus on in order to keep their minds concentrated.

Atma Nivedana: Surrendering Your Attention

Atma Nivedana means offering our innermost being to God. This is total self-surrender, offering not just our stream of thoughts but our continual awareness back to its source in Divine Being. Staying in a state of spiritual balance like this isn’t easy at first, but it’s like learning to ride a bicycle. Once we get the hang of it, it feels natural.

Guidepost

Don't waste time sleeping! Yogis worship and meditate even in the dream state. In laboratory experiments, advanced yogis, hooked up to EEG equipment, have proven they can remain fully conscious while their brains are sleeping.

Good Company

Satsang, spiritual fellowship, is the root practice of Bhakti Yoga. As anyone who's tried to start a fire by rubbing two sticks together knows, fires don't start easily! But if someone brings you a burning stick from their campfire, you can ignite your pile of twigs and dried leaves effortlessly.

The guru, and other devotees farther along the path, already have their fires roaring. When you spend time with them, you see love for God actually happening. You see spirit being lived. For many the effect is galvanizing. Saints who are enlivened with shakti, with divine energy, transmit it to others as if they're spiritual tuning forks.

Some people's spiritual batteries have run down so low that they have to be repeatedly jump-started before they're able to keep their inner light glowing. Once your own light starts burning night and day, whether anyone's there to pump you up or not, you are now a bhakta, a genuine devotee.

What's in a Name?

Who's your God? The form of God or Goddess you relate to most naturally, the face of the divine you love most dearly, is your Ishta Devata, your beloved deity, your personal divine contact. Hindus relate to their Ishta Devata somewhat as Christians think of their guardian angels. The personal deity shields you from harm and guides you through life by supplying just the right information or just the right experiences at just the right time. In another sense, the Ishta Devata is your own Higher Self.

An important technique many Hindus use to cement their relationship with the deity is to chant the God or Goddess's name constantly. Nama Japa, or "chanting the name," purifies the mind, opens the heart, makes the subtle body vibrant and the physical body healthy, and surrounds the devotee with a vibratory aura of protection and blessing.

For Hindus the name of God *is* God. To name him or her is to invoke the Divine's living presence. It's said that in the beginning you chant the name. Then the name chants you. You no longer have to make a conscious effort to repeat it; it repeats itself in the echo chambers of your mind. This doesn't mean you're continually distracted by the syllables humming in your head! When you have to focus your attention on the job in front of you, the divine name shifts into the background of your awareness. You no longer hear the sound, but the *feeling* doesn't stop resonating in your heart.

A teacher of mine told me about an elderly Hindu woman who locked herself in her room to spend the last few years of her life doing Nama Japa, chanting the name of her Ishta Devata. Her devotion was extraordinarily intense. After her death, people claimed they could still hear the mantra sounding in her room. My teacher thought they were exaggerating. But when he stopped by her room and pressed his ear to the wall, he swears he could actually hear God's name sounding over and over again!

All Blissed Out

Hinduism has manuals for everything, even for love. Two of the famous manuals for lovers of God are the Narada Bhakti Sutras and the Shandilya Bhakti Sutras. Bhakta literature lists certain signs that a person is entering higher and higher grades of spiritual ecstasy. Some of these signs are:

- The bhakta spontaneously weeps with love.
- The hair stands on end. (With joy, not horror!)
- The bhakta collapses or rolls on the ground in ecstasy.
- The devotee sings or dances in total self-abandonment.
- The devotee slips into ecstatic trance.
- The devotee is always radiant.
- Miracles occur in the bhakta's presence.

It's important to note that there's a distinction between genuine states of spiritual ecstasy and mental illness or epilepsy! Unbalanced or physically sick people often emerge from similar sorts of fits frightened and unable to cope. Bhaktas experience fits of divine love and come out refreshed, joyful, and transformed in the most positive ways.

Advice from the Source

In the Bhagavad Gita, Krishna distinguishes between three levels of devotees. The purest, he says, worship the one God in any of his manifold forms out of sheer love. The middle group is really only using God, hoping he'll help them in their quest for wealth and power. The lowest type worships ghosts and evil spirits. Lower types may also practice asceticism to such an extreme that they practically destroy their bodies, a practice of which Krishna strongly disapproved. He taught that the body was the temple of spirit and must be kept in good health.

The appropriate practice for bhaktas, Krishna said, is "respect for the gods and goddesses, the forces of nature, the saints, sages and gurus. You should be guileless, honest, clean, and have your sex drive firmly under your control. Speak the truth but without causing pain to others. Study the holy books every day. And don't talk too much!"

"Remain calm and tranquil," Krishna continued. "Be kind to others. Always act with the highest integrity. And for some time every day pull your awareness away from the outer world. Pull it even out of your body, and focus on your Inner Self. When you act in the world, dedicate all your actions to the Supreme Being. In this manner you will come to me."

Quick Quiz

1. When your kundalini is suddenly activated, you may …
    a. Spontaneously experience the unity of all being.
    b. Be able to receive satellite TV programs in your brain.
    c. Be eligible for disability benefits.
2. According to Hinduism, hating God …
    a. Leads straight to the lowest pit of hell.
    b. Is a legitimate form of relationship with the divine.
    c. Can be perfected through Hatha Yoga and vegetarianism.
3. One sign that a bhakta is entering higher states is she …
    a. Stops watching so much TV.
    b. Is radiant with love.
    c. Starts running full-color ads advertising her seminars.
4. Ishta Devata is …
    a. India's leading hip-hop artist.
    b. Torturing your body in order to experience your Inner Self.
    c. The God or Goddess you're mostly closely linked to.

Answers: 1 (a). 2 (b). 3 (b). 4 (c).

The Easiest Path—Or the Hardest?

Hindu saints frequently recommend Bhakti Yoga as the easiest and most enjoyable path into the Divine presence. Often when you attend bhakta gatherings, you find all kinds of sweets laid out on the table. They're a

reminder that God's love is sweet and that walking the path of devotion is life's greatest pleasure.

But when you read the requirements for Bhakti Yoga Krishna spells out in the Bhagavad Gita, you begin to suspect the path of devotion isn't all singing, dancing, and dessert! "Don't hate or harm any creature. If you truly love me, you'll love everyone," Krishna says. That's easier said than done! "Don't kid yourself that anything belongs to you. Everything in this universe is mine alone." He continues:

> A real bhakta is serene, forgiving, content, and self-controlled. My devotee is constantly engaged in meditation. Nothing disturbs the one who trusts in me. My bhakta is unswayed by fear or jealousy, and doesn't desire anything in this world but me. Whatever occurs in life, he remains relaxed. He doesn't dread the difficulties of life, or waste time grieving over what he's lost.
>
> Friend and enemy—My bhakta honors them both. Praise and blame—they're both the same to him. His thoughts are always running toward me, and his heart is always brimming with love.

True bhakti is a tall order. God is present in everyone and everything. If you *really* love God, you love the Divine everywhere it appears, even in your worst enemy or in your worst nightmare. The lightness of heart that comes from such total surrender is moksha: freedom and enlightenment.

Pitfalls on the Path

Could a path that's all about love possibly have any pitfalls? There are plenty, actually. Unfortunately there *is* an all-too-common shadow side to bhakti.

Some of the serious problems people on the path of devotion need to watch out for are …

- Imagining your surging emotions are the highest possible state of spirituality.
- Mistaking your own opinions for the will of God.
- Fanatic devotion to your ideal that excludes and condemns others.

- Developing a fortress mentality. “Anyone who isn’t with us is against us.”

The Yoga Vasishtha explains that devotion to the Divine and selfless, ethical actions—Bhakti Yoga and Karma Yoga—are the two wings of the bird of authentic spiritual life. Without both wings, the bird can’t fly. But the tail feathers, the “rudder” the bird uses to navigate, are reason and common sense. Without the guidance of the intellect, religious emotionalism can spill over into blind and destructive fanaticism.

The Least You Need to Know

- Bhakti Yoga is the spiritual path of devotion.
- Some people have spontaneous flashes of cosmic consciousness due to the abrupt activation of kundalini.
- More typically, people turn to God out of fear, desire, wonder, or love.
- Bhakti Yoga offers methods to help deepen one’s relationship with the Divine.
- Emotionalism that abandons rationality completely can lead to trouble.

Chapter 22

The Razor's Edge

In This Chapter

- Facing reality
- Intellect transcending itself
- Methods of Self-realization
- Mind-shattering truth
- Egolessness and arrogance

Imagine a tornado. It sweeps through a neighborhood with devastating force. But what is this monster, really? It's just air—like the air inside it and the air outside it. Looking at it, you'd think the funnel had some kind of independent reality. Yet as the currents feeding it simmer down, the killer storm dissolves into its source—thin air.

Part of the magic of a tornado is its eye. If you could sit in the center of the swirling storm, you'd find that the air there is motionless. It's calm, peaceful, and perfectly safe! And when the tornado dies, that tranquil eye merges seamlessly into the atmosphere around it, which it really was part of the whole time.

Jnana Yoga, the path of Self-awareness, is the mind's attempt to understand the storm of life and the calm eye of the Inner Self. When intellectual understanding matures into experiential realization, the tornado ends. The Inner Self merges into the all-pervading consciousness from which it was never really separate in the first place.

Lead Me from the Unreal

At the ashram where I lived, several times a day we'd chant one of the oldest prayers in the world. It comes from the Rig Veda, and in English it says, "Lead me from unreality to truth. Lead me from darkness to light. Lead me from death to immortality."

Sages Say

There's no difference between the air in a jar and air everywhere else. Nor is there any difference between the consciousness within you and the consciousness that pervades the universe. Stop imagining that you're separate from the Supreme Consciousness! Enter the inner stillness where truth resides!
—Viveka Chudamani

Jnana Yoga, the spiritual path of discriminating awareness, leads from ignorance to Self-knowledge. The metaphor usually used to explain this transition involves a snake that's not a snake. Walking through the forest on your way back to your village on a moonless night, you suddenly see a cobra coiled in the path before you. You freeze. One false move and it could strike. And that would be the end of you!

You stand there for minutes that seem like hours, paralyzed with fear. Eventually you notice that the snake hasn't moved. I mean, it hasn't moved *at all.* You build up your courage, take a tentative step forward, and look more closely. It turns out it's not a snake at all, just a piece of coiled rope someone left on the path.

You're giddy with relief but also feel a little foolish. You reacted as if your life was in jeopardy when in fact there was no danger at all. The master

jnana yogi Shankaracharya says that's what enlightenment is like. At first you think this world is a big, scary place that sooner or later is going to kill you. Then you finally realize it's all God. It's absolutely nothing but Divine Consciousness. When you *really* see that, when you know it in your gut, fear vanishes forever and you're a jivanmukta, a liberated sage.

Confronting the Snake

Here's another way to look at it. You're walking through the forest on a moonless night. Apparently someone's dropped a coiled rope in the path. You stop to kick it out of the way when instantly the snake you mistook for a rope sinks its venomous fangs into your leg. And that's the end of you! You can't be too careful because ignorance is a dangerous thing. Ignorance, called avidya or "lack of knowledge" in Sanskrit, leads from death to death. "Everything you see here is that one Supreme Reality. That one Being is everything everywhere. He travels from death to death who imagines otherwise," warns the Katha Upanishad.

Most of us are caught up in maya, the illusion that the snake is a rope or the rope is a snake. But the illusion itself is an illusion! Because never at any point in the process were the snake or the rope anything other than themselves. The entire cosmos is not and never has been anything other than Divine Being. We need to get this straight. And straightening out our misperception is what Jnana Yoga is all about. It helps us see the universe *as it really is.* As God sees it, you might say.

Got What It Takes?

Jnana Yoga is a tough path and not for everyone. The path is straight, but it's awfully steep. Centuries ago, the great philosopher-yogi Shankaracharya traveled around India setting up monasteries where monks could devote themselves to this form of spiritual practice. But the entrance exam was rough.

As Shankaracharya explained, you have to meet four prerequisites before you can think seriously of getting on this path.

Requirement 1. You need to be able to discriminate between the eternal and the noneternal. Okay, what's that mean? It means you have to recognize that everything in this world, including your life, is fleeting but that behind this world, there's an abiding Reality that endures forever. If this isn't 100 percent clear to you, another path like devotion or selfless service might be more appropriate for you.

Guidepost

Think you're smart? Surprisingly, Hindu gurus often advise bright people to cultivate devotion. That's because very intelligent people often benefit more by learning to open their hearts. The more mental path of discriminating awareness is not so much for intellectuals as for people with a strongly developed mystical sense and a burning desire for the actual experience of God-realization.

Requirement 2. If you're still craving fame or success, sex, drugs, or rock 'n' roll, forget it! Jnana Yoga requires intense concentration. Desires will distract your mind, and this intensely mental path demands freedom from distraction. You must fully surrender all your actions and all your desires to the divine so that you can focus not on the noneternal, like just about everyone else, but on the eternal, like the great masters and mystics.
Requirement 3. You must have your psychological and ethical act together. In other words, virtue must be your second nature. You're already tranquil, even-minded, honest, and self-controlled. If you're not, you could misuse the power that comes with the superior will power and laser-like mental

focus developed on this path. This is the sort of thing that happened to Ravana, the treacherous king in the *Ramayana.* He started out as a yogi focused on Lord Shiva, but he wound up misapplying the tremendous mental power he developed through his spiritual practices and started exploiting others.

Requirement 4. Your desire for liberation must be real. If it's not incredibly strong, there's no way you'll reach the goal on this difficult path. Jnana Yoga is not for dabblers. Nor is it for intellectuals who want to read all about spirit but aren't prepared to make the sacrifices necessary to actually experience it. Anyone with reasonable intelligence can become a pandit, but very few have what it takes to become a Self-realized sage.

Study, Think, Act!

Once you and your guru have decided Jnana Yoga is the right path for you, you don't have far to go. According to Shankaracharya, there are only three steps on the path to spiritual illumination.

Step 1 is *shravana* or intensive study, which begins with listening to the words of the guru and reading the scriptures carefully. But the point is to develop the intellect as a tool for Self-realization, not just for shooting the breeze with fellow eggheads. If you're able, proceed to Step 2.

Step 2 is *manana,* which means contemplating what you've learned. You chew on it until you digest it, till you deeply understand and live it. You can't just sit around reading scriptures; you must assimilate what they say. It's easy enough to parrot, "My Inner Self is one with the eternal Reality." But do you really grasp what that means? Do you sense its actual truth? When you start to get it, really get it, proceed to Step 3.

Step 3 is *nididhyasana,* which is your practicum. Stop worrying about what your guru says; stop memorizing Sanskrit texts; stop focusing on anything outside yourself. It's time to actually get to know that Divine Reality the teachers and the texts are talking about. This means diving deep into your own spirit, paying attention to your inner states, going beyond the thoughts and images in your mind to the pure awareness behind them, and finally going beyond your own consciousness into cosmic consciousness, the

divine light that holds you and every other thing in its illumined awareness. This inner act turns the truths voiced in the Upanishads into your actual living experience.

def•i•ni•tion

Shravana is listening to the words of the guru and carefully studying the scriptures. Manana means deeply contemplating the spiritual truth you've been taught.
Nididhyasana means deeply contemplating your own Inner Self.

Truths to Chew On

The sages pulled four great sayings from the scriptures, one from each of the four Vedas, for *jnanis* to chew on. These are …

- **Prajnanam Brahma:** The Supreme Reality is illumined awareness.
- **Aham Brahmasmi:** I am the Supreme Reality.
- **Tat Tvam Asi:** You are that Divine Being.
- **Ayam Atma Brahma:** The Inner Self is Self of all.

def•i•ni•tion

Jnani literally means "knower." This is someone who knows the truth from direct experience, not just a person who knows about it. (Think of the related English word "gnostic.")

Sages Say

The divine fragrance of the Inner Self is overwhelmed by the awful stench of our petty thoughts and desires. But foul odors disappear when you rub a stick of sandalwood, which fills the air with its own sweet smell. Rub your mind with the thought, "I am Brahman. I am the Supreme Reality," and your mind will be become pure and fragrant.
—Shankaracharya

Some Buddhist monks contemplate koans, perplexing statements designed to shatter the rational mind and carry human consciousness to a higher level of clarity. These four statements are the koans of the Vedic tradition, except that they're not perplexing at all. In fact, they're the simplest statement of the ultimate truth, "I and the Supreme are One."
Jnanis contemplate these truths until the living reality they point to unfolds itself in their experience. They shut everything out of their awareness except awareness itself and ride it to its source. By stabilizing their attention in the unchanging eternal reality of Divine Consciousness, these adepts transcend birth and death and achieve true immortality. The drop is assimilated into the ocean. The spark falls back into the fire. The racing wind of the tornado dissolves into still air.

Living Like a Tortoise

In the Bhagavad Gita, Krishna spells out the essentials of Jnana Yoga. “That which truly exists will never stop existing. The Supreme Reality which pervades the universe has always existed and always will. You are that Reality. Bodies die but the awareness which inhabits the body lives on. It is impossible to kill it.” Krishna continues:

> The Inner Self was never born. It will never die or ever change. You, the Inner Self, drop one body and put on another like a change of clothes. This Inner Self is not harmed by weapons or affected by the elements. That which is born must die. That which dies must be reborn. But the One who dwells within is never born and never dies. Like a tortoise drawing its legs back into its shell, draw your attention out of your body and into your innermost spirit. He who controls his senses and withdraws his mind into the undying spirit, who lives beyond birth and death, him I call enlightened.

Krishna tells Arjuna to dive into the changeless heart of Reality and experience deathless awareness. At the same time, he had to keep his day job! Enlightenment doesn’t just mean sitting around like a couch potato merged in infinite consciousness (although that option is available). For Krishna, it means living an active life, fulfilling his duties and responsibilities, while merged in cosmic consciousness. Now that’s real mastery!

The Hindu View

Jnana Yoga is an extremely ancient path going back to the time of the Upanishads at the very least. But the form in which it’s best known to Hindus today was popularized more than 12

centuries ago by Shankaracharya and his main disciples, Mandana Mishra, Sureshvara, Padmapada, and the rather dull Totaka, who in the end turned out to be the smartest student of them all.

Knowing the Unknowable

Jnana Yoga is a mental path, yet the mind can never know the truth. The truth is too big. The mind is too small. When the *Apollo* spacecraft bound for the Moon blasted off, the bottom stage of the rocket—filled with the fuel needed to blow the space vehicle off the Earth's surface—was ejected and fell back to Earth. Think of intellect as the booster rocket for soul. Intellect helps propel inner awareness into the vast, still cosmos of consciousness. Intellect can't go there itself, but it can point you in the right direction and give you a lift upward.

Reality is mind-blowing. God/Goddess is utterly beyond human comprehension. But because the innermost core of human awareness comes straight from the heart of divine awareness, all it needs to do is relax back into its true nature. The mind shatters itself to free the inner spirit.

Junior-Level Masters

Does spiritual illumination happen all at once or in stages? Some sages report the moment of liberation is like flipping on a light switch. The light doesn't come on gradually—the room fills with illumination instantaneously. It's like the moment you realized Batman and Bruce Wayne were the same guy. The realization comes in a flash.

Other sages outline varying levels of mastery. Depending on the intensity of your level of practice and how much spiritual work you've already done in previous lives, enlightenment may come quickly or slowly. And, disconcertingly, it may not stay! The Tripura Rahasya describes three levels

of jnanis. Which level you're at depends on how fully you've established yourself in the radiant field of enlightenment.

Level 1: Remembering and Forgetting

Manda yogis have experienced spiritual illumination, but they're not yet able to remain fully focused in that state. It's like going to see a movie. If it's a good film, most of us completely forget ourselves and get wrapped up in the plot and characters. This is exactly analogous to the way the mind forgets its true nature, Divine Consciousness. It gets caught up in the drama playing in the external world. Level 1 jnanis sit in the theater remembering who they really are, experiencing their inherent divine nature. And then the drama gets so exciting they forget their real nature and are caught in the maya again.

These beginning-level jnanis remember and forget. Sometimes I sit with them, and I'm convinced they're fully realized masters. The next time I see them, they seem like average people. Their attention fluctuates between the inner and outer worlds. Treading the path of Jnana Yoga is like walking on a razor's edge, the Upanishads say, because the mind can slip so quickly from its focus on the inner reality.

Level 2: Mad Mystics

Eventually the jnani reaches a stage where she becomes almost totally engrossed in the Inner Self. At this point, it becomes as difficult for her to bring her attention back to the external world as it is for most of us to center our awareness in the inner world. These saints, called madhyama yogis, may seem crazy or dysfunctional. They may sit without moving for hours on end or lose the ability to speak comprehensibly.

Sometimes jnanis at this stage have to be taken care of like small children. Ramakrishna and Anandamayi Ma both temporarily lost the ability to feed themselves and had to be force-fed by disciples. Neem Karoli Baba had to be reminded to go to the bathroom, or he would forget about his bodily functions altogether!

Level 3: Full Mastery

In the highest state of realization a person can attain while still in a physical body, he gains full mastery of both the inner and outer worlds. “He remains in the world, but above it,” as my teacher Swami Rama would say. His awareness never leaves the Supreme, yet he’s able to function quite normally in the world. This adept, called an uttama yogi, becomes a fountain of blessings as the Higher Self pours its grace through him in the form of inspiration, healing, and blessings that engulf those fortunate enough to enjoy his company.

Finding What You Never Lost

Karma yogis want to live in the world without anxiety and, at the end of life, to be free from the bondage of karma that keeps drawing people back to death after death. Bhakti yogis want God or the Goddess’s company. Love is its own reward, and nothing is better than divine love!
Jnana yogis want to actually *be* God. This doesn’t mean they think they’re now lord of the universe and everyone else will worship them. It means they recognize their innermost nature is identical in essence with God’s, just as the air in a tornado is the same as the air outside the tornado. To attain Self-realization is not to obtain anything new. It’s simply to consciously recognize what has always been true anyway: that you and the Supreme Being are, always have been, and always will be one in essence.

Sages Say

> Rama didn't remember he was an incarnation of God till the sages helped reawaken him to his true identity by praising him as Lord Vishnu. We also are identical to the Highest Being. We also have to be reminded who we really are.
> —Totaka, disciple of Shankaracharya

Some Western psychologists mock this goal as a desire to "return to the womb," which only shows they miss the point entirely. Jnanis aren't negating themselves in a retreat from life but expanding their awareness to the ultimate extent possible. They seek to literally embrace the living cosmos permeated with Divine Consciousness. They're not running away from reality but running toward its fullest possible expression.

Center of Joy

In the famous Hindu tale, a musk ox searches everywhere for the heavenly fragrance it smells all around itself and doesn't realize the fragrance comes from its own body. Just so, jnanis say, most people search everywhere for happiness, everywhere but where happiness really lies, which is in one's own Self.

Hindu texts like the Vijnana Bhairava point out that in moments of rapt ecstasy like during sexual climax or while eating premium ice cream, our mind isn't running to the future or the past. It's totally focused, and it's totally present. At that moment the nature of the Self manifests in our awareness, and we experience rapture.

According to Shankaracharya, the Inner Self and the Supreme Reality, to the extent that they can be characterized at all, have three qualities: being, awareness, and bliss. We imagine that objects outside ourselves make us happy. But really they're just serving as focal points that enable us to experience the rapture that's always already inside us though we're usually not focused enough to feel it!

From the point of view of duality, Shankaracharya admitted, universes appear to come and go. Our minds superimpose them on Divine Being the

same way the fellow in the forest superimposed a snake on the rope. But what exists forever is absolute being, awareness, and bliss.

The Most Dangerous Path

The Upanishads say that to walk the path of Jnana Yoga is to tread the razor's edge. The intellect can lead us toward the Supreme, or it can lead us astray. Avidya, Self-delusion, is an ever-present danger.

The Hindu tradition is filled with tales of warning. There was the pandit with a huge following who continually repeated, "Everything is One. I am that one Supreme Reality. You are that one Supreme Reality." Then one day his wife forgot to add salt to the curry. The pandit was furious. "If everything is consciousness and there's no distinction between anything, how can you even tell there's no salt in the beans?" his wife taunted.

Even Shankaracharya himself slipped up from time to time. In one very famous episode, he was about to enter a Shiva temple when he discovered a dead body on the steps. The dead man's widow was wailing with grief. For Hindus, corpses are psychically polluting. Shankaracharya gruffly ordered the low-caste woman to get her husband out of the way so people could enter the temple without contaminating themselves.

"Aren't you the teacher who says there's nothing but Divine Consciousness anywhere?" the woman cried. "What is it you see in my husband's dead body that isn't divine?" Shankaracharya was a great enough soul to recognize words of truth when he heard them. So he prostrated before the widow and thanked her for the lesson.

Confronting the Elephant

Then there was the disciple who took the teachings so seriously that when he saw a charging elephant, he stepped out into the street anyway, thinking, "I am the Reality. The elephant is the Reality. It's all Divine Awareness." The elephant's owner screamed at him, "Get out of the way!" But the

disciple remembered his guru's instructions about maintaining perfect fearlessness and walked straight in front of the elephant.
Needless to say, the disciple spent months flat on his back recovering from his injuries. "This is what I get for believing your teaching!" he yelled at his guru. "I should never have listened to you!"
"What you should have done, you idiot," his guru answered, "was listen to the man who owned the elephant and get out of the way. He was the Supreme Reality, too!"

Quick Quiz

1. Jnana Yoga leads to …
    a. Intellectual brilliance.
    b. The living experience of Self-realization.
    c. Getting bitten by a snake.
2. Jnana Yoga consists of …
    a. Studying, contemplating, and meditating on the Self.
    b. Making other people feel dumb.
    c. Uncoiling a rope.
3. If an elephant charges, a jnani should …
    a. Merge in the elephant's consciousness.
    b. Call the local zoo.
    c. Get out of the way.
4. The Inner Self is like …
    a. A really good movie.
    b. The eye of a tornado.
    c. The eye of a potato.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (a). 3 (c). 4 (b).

Practical Transcendence

There are two common problems that arise on the path of discriminating awareness.

The first is gaining some intellectual knowledge and then thinking you know something. Immature jnanis are frequently criticized for their arrogance. Jnana is not knowledge *about* Reality; it is the living experience *of* Reality. People with a lot of facts in their heads can be quite vain about it. But real jnanis, those who actually live in Divine Being, are noted for their deep humility.

Fully realized masters don't just see the divine in themselves—they see it in everyone. This is not an ego-inflating experience. On the contrary, it opens the heart to all living things. This is why universal love is a quality Krishna and the other sages so often associate with real jnanis.

The second problem half-baked jnanis may run into is lack of practicality. From time to time, the Jnana tradition has come under criticism for contributing to a sense of otherworldliness and a lack of concern for the horrible suffering and injustice in the material world.

Different saints have different missions. It may not be the purpose of all sages to solve our social problems. But it's clear from the Bhagavad Gita that Krishna himself saw Jnana Yoga as an adjunct to effective and successful life in the world, not as a retreat from it. One of the most famous jnanis of all time, King Janaka of Videha, remained in a state of God-realization while ruling a kingdom. He did a really good job, too! Spiritual illumination ultimately increases the soul's ability to bring light to the whole world.

The Least You Need to Know

- Jnana Yoga is a mental path leading to the actual experience of Self-realization.
- The path of knowledge has three steps: intensive study, contemplation of the truths you've studied, and meditation.
- Jnana Yoga simply makes us aware of who we really are and always have been.
- Jnani yogis have to be careful not to confuse intellectual knowledge with genuine Self-realization.

Chapter 23

The Royal Road

In This Chapter

- The deluxe path
- Unlocking the nervous system
- Developing mental focus
- E.S.P.
- Self-absorption

Around the beginning of the twentieth century, Swami Vivekananda wrote a series of highly influential books called *Karma Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Jnana Yoga,* and *Raja Yoga.* These popular little volumes introduced the West to Hinduism's time-tested methods of God-realization.

Raja Yoga, the royal path to realization (*raja* means "king"), is traditionally known as Ashtanga Yoga in Hinduism. (*Ashtanga* means "eight limbs.") Just as the Hindu deities have many arms so does this type of yoga. It doesn't have rungs you climb up one at a time like a ladder, rather it has eight separate arms that all work together to lift you to your true Self.

The Eight Limbs of Yoga

The eight components of this form of spiritual practice are …

1. **Yama,** morality.
2. **Niyama,** ethics.
3. **Asana,** posture.
4. **Pranayama,** control of the breath.
5. **Pratyahara,** control of the senses.
6. **Dharana,** concentration.

7. **Dhyana,** meditation.
8. **Samadhi,** transcendent awareness.

You met the first two, yama and niyama, in Chapter 16. These are the elements of a decent and humane life—not injuring others, being honest, not stealing, expressing sensual desires appropriately, not being greedy, practicing inner and outer purity, being content, disciplining yourself, learning about God/Goddess, and surrendering to the divine will.

Sitting Still

It makes sense that ethical behavior is the very root of spiritual practice, but what does posture have to do with spirituality? Plenty, it turns out. All the rest of the components of Raja Yoga involve controlling the mind so you can begin your inward journey toward Self-realization. This is extremely difficult if the body is out of order. If you're sick or physically restless, it's tough to concentrate. The key to successful meditation, and to some extent to health itself, lies in how you hold your body.

The optimal condition for intense concentration is to sit upright with your head, neck, and trunk straight. Don't sit bolt upright in a strained position; instead, sit up straight in a relaxed manner! Try this next time you have to study for an exam or listen to a lecture. You'll be amazed at how much clearer your awareness is. This is because the nerves running between your spine and brain aren't being obstructed or constricted.

The classical meditation postures involve sitting cross-legged on the floor. But a whole system of more varied postures, called Hatha Yoga, eventually developed to help keep the body healthy and supple, in perfect shape for meditation. These involve exercises ranging from the head stand and shoulder stand to twists, stretches, and balancing poses. Unlike aerobic workouts, which exercise the cardiovascular system, Hatha postures work more with the endocrine system (the endocrine glands are associated with the chakras in the subtle body) and tone the internal organs. A lot of emphasis is placed on keeping the spine limber. A flexible spine, the yogis say, helps ward off problems associated with aging.

People who've been practicing Hatha conscientiously for some time can often sit comfortably in a meditation posture for hours on end. The original

purpose of Hatha postures was not to promote beauty and a youthful appearance but to promote meditation!

When you say the word “yoga” to a Hindu, he or she will automatically think of meditation. Yoga literally means “union with Divine Consciousness,” which typically happens in deep states of meditation. In the West though, when you say “yoga,” most people think of standing on their heads!

Sages Say

Hatha Yoga without meditation is blind, and meditation without Hatha Yoga is lame. The combination of the two is called Raja Yoga—the balanced path.
—Swami Rama of the Himalayas

Hold Your Breath!

“Breath is the flywheel of life,” my teacher Swami Rama would insist. The yoga masters have an amazingly advanced understanding of how the body operates. It wasn’t until yogis like Swami Rama began coming to the West in the early 1970s and allowing scientists to experiment on them that our physiologists even began to suspect how profound the link between the breath and the nervous system is.

Swami Rama called breathing a flywheel because it’s one physical function that’s both voluntary and involuntary, and it affects every other system in the body. That means although the breath runs by itself, we can easily

override its automatic function. We can breathe faster, slower, or even stop our breathing temporarily just by willing to do so.

Guidepost

Please don't experiment with yogic breathing exercises without the close supervision of an experienced teacher. People have done serious damage to their heart and nervous system by practicing some of the more advanced techniques prematurely.

The yogis noticed that how we breathe has an enormous impact on our emotional state and also affects our heart rate, blood pressure, and other bodily functions. If, for example, you make yourself take rapid, jagged breaths, you'll start feeling anxious. If you breathe slowly, evenly, and smoothly, you'll relax. If you hold your breath, you'll be awfully uncomfortable, but your mind will become incredibly focused.

The great Hindu masters studied the breath so intensively they created a whole science of breathing called *Svarodaya.* By applying its principles, they could manipulate functions in their bodies that otherwise wouldn't be possible to control through the power of thought, such as heart rate and the involuntary nervous system. This led to control over brain states, which led to the attainment of focused states of awareness beyond the imagination of nonyogis.

The Hindu View

There's an entire class of Hindu scriptures whose characteristic feature is that nobody can understand them! Sutras are the guru's lecture notes, a list of often meaningless words and phrases that the guru "unpacks" for the students during class. Disciples memorized these sutras as a way to keep the course material organized in their minds.

Western linguists have asked how it could be possible that Panini achieved an understanding of the mechanics of grammar that modern researchers couldn't duplicate even with advanced computers. To Hindus the answer is obvious. It's because Panini was a yogi! States of awareness that seem like genius to the rest of us are available to yogis who master the science of breath, which gives them amazing control over their brain and tremendous powers of concentration.

Diving Deeper: Controlling the Senses

By clearing the conscience through ethical behavior, stabilizing the body through correct meditative posture, and controlling the breath in order to calm and steady the nervous system, the yogi is getting ready to meet God. Not the deity in the temple but the deity in the body, shining splendidly from behind the physical, subtle, and causal bodies. That deity the Tripura Rahasya calls "Her Majesty, the Supreme Sovereign Empress, Pure

Consciousness Herself." In Raja Yoga, the Divine One is called *Purusha,* the Higher Self.

Through breath control, the body and mind become quite still, so we now can move on to pratyahara or sense withdrawal. This means drawing the attention away from the body, away from the breath, and focusing it entirely in the nonmaterial realm of pure mental awareness. In Hinduism, this is accomplished in a number of different ways. One is to move the awareness up through the spine, severing your connection with the elements Earth, Water, Fire, Air, and Ether as you move upward toward pure awareness. The steps of the inward journey are detailed in the sage Patanjali's notes on Raja Yoga, called the Yoga Sutras.

The Flight to God

You're heading from Los Angeles to New Delhi. Your jet starts slowly taxiing down the runway at LAX, going faster and faster until suddenly you're in the air. As you move higher, you encounter some unsettling turbulence, but the jet keeps rising. You race into the clouds, through the clouds, and suddenly—poof!—you're above the clouds at 35,000 feet, and the rest of the flight is smooth sailing.

The last three components of Raja Yoga are exactly like that. You take off slowly as you begin to concentrate. You move higher into the state of meditation, quickly passing through the mental turbulence of thoughts and emotions on the way to a state of tranquil clarity. Finally you enter a realm above space and time where you float unperturbed in the horizonless atmosphere of consciousness. This process of moving from concentration to meditation to total absorption, soaring from 0 to 600 mph in your mind, is called *samyama* in Sanskrit. It's the portal to higher dimensions.

def•i•ni•tion

Samyama is the movement of attention from concentration through meditation into total mental absorption.

Degrees of Attention

What's the difference between concentration, meditation, and absorption? When you concentrate, you think about one subject. There may be numerous thoughts in your mind, but they're all about the same topic. "Krishna is so handsome. He's so compassionate. He's incredibly wise." In meditation, you have only one thought in your mind. You're not thinking *about* Krishna, you're thinking only Krishna. His form (his smiling face or his holy feet, for example) or one of his qualities (such as radiant divine love) is the only image or feeling in your awareness. Hindu sages compare this state to pouring oil into a bowl. The flow of your attention toward God, or whatever object you're meditating on, is as unwavering and unbroken as the stream of oil.

Guidepost

Worried that meditation masters take over their disciples' minds? It's mistaken to confuse deep stages of meditation with hypnotic states. Hypnosis and trance are passive conditions. A meditator, on the other hand, is fully lucid and alert. She is directing her own experience, not being "taken over" by any entity outside herself.

Samadhi—total meditative absorption—takes your mental focus to the highest level. When you're in samadhi, you erase yourself. You're no longer present. The only thing present is Krishna or whatever the object of your meditation is. Your focus is so total that you, the process of meditation, and the thing you're meditating on fuse into one experience. Krishna totally dominates your field of awareness, not you. In a sense, you have become Krishna.

Merging With What You Love

If you can catch hold of Divine Being in meditation, then through samadhi you can actually merge into it. Your own being fuses with the Divine. This is what yoga technically means. Your awareness becomes "yoked" or united with its object. If that object is the Supreme Being, you are now in a very high state indeed.

Psychic Science

Not everyone meditates on God. Some people focus intently on sex, which leads them to a state of bliss. Others focus intently on art or music or poetry, which leads them to another kind of blissful experience. Many people these days experience "computer samadhi" as they sit in front of their computer screens in a state of full mental absorption. One of my mentors, Shree Maa of Kamakya—a saint who's capable of shifting effortlessly into the highest states of consciousness—recently commented that computers are actually good because they teach people to concentrate. That's an important step on the road to Self-realization!

Sages Say

If you practice regular meditation, you are bound to get some psychic powers. You should not use these powers for base and selfish purposes. I again and again seriously warn you! Desire for psychic powers will act like puffs of air which may blow out the lamp of Yoga.
—Swami Sivananda

In the Yoga Sutras, Patanjali admits that many inner explorers focus on developing psychic powers. His sutras list some of the supernatural abilities you can develop through intense mental control, such as …

- Remember your past lives.
- Gain knowledge of past or future events.
- Read other people's minds.
- Become invisible.
- Gain the strength, swiftness, or skills of certain animals.
- Gain full knowledge of cosmology—no telescope required!
- Communicate with higher beings in the subtle worlds.
- Enter someone else's body after that soul has vacated it.
- Travel without dragging your physical body along.
- Pull any information out of the universe that you may have use for!

Spiritual healing, talking with beings in parallel universes, materializing objects, teleporting from one place to another, astral traveling, sending messages telepathically—these things are viewed as spiritual realities, not

superstition, in Hinduism. Even average people experience extrasensory perception from time to time. In India, saints, sages, and yogis demonstrate so-called miraculous powers routinely. After all, becoming a sage means one's normally limited human consciousness is expanding to superhuman proportions. So of course you develop extraordinary mental powers!

Don't Worry, I'm Here!

Late one night the great Bengali saint Anandamayi Ma abruptly announced to her astonished devotees that she was leaving for Sarnath. Her disciples trotted after her as she boarded a train that was not scheduled to stop at Sarnath. At Sarnath, however, the train pulled to a halt. Anandamayi Ma jumped off, trailed by her disciples, and started walking through town obviously looking for something.

When they arrived at the Birla Hotel, Anandamayi Ma walked in without bothering to stop by the reception desk. She burst into a guest room, and there sat her devotee Maharattan, who was stranded in town and had been crying to Anandamayi Ma for the past several hours. "It's all right!" Ma said. "I'm here!"

Sages Say

The kingdom of consciousness is a unity, and until you experience it in its totality, you will never be content. You, a child of immortality, can never feel at home in the realm of death. Man's true nature—call it what you will—is the Supreme Self of all.

> —Anandamayi Ma

This was back in the 1930s—there were no phones in Sarnath at the time. So how did Anandamayi Ma know Maharattan was in trouble? And how could she have known where to find her? “There is only one all-pervading consciousness everywhere,” Ma explained. “In reality, appearance, continuance, and disappearance occur simultaneously in one place.” Anandamayi Ma was constantly in the highest state of samadhi whether she was sitting in meditation or interacting with others in the physical world. She experienced her unity with all being so completely that, like other advanced meditation masters, she seemed to know everything that was going on everywhere all at once!

Caution! Psychic Power Alert!

In the West, we make a distinction between the natural and the supernatural. In Hinduism, this distinction doesn’t exist. The so-called supernatural is just a higher octave of the scale of consciousness. As we continue to grow spiritually, we also experience these siddhis or psychic powers.

To cavalierly show off one’s siddhis is considered a sign of spiritual immaturity in Hinduism. But this is not to say Hindus don’t get as much of a thrill out of watching siddhas, or spiritual adepts, display their special powers as we do in the West!

Yet in the Yoga Sutras Patanjali carefully distinguishes between psychic powers that can enhance spiritual development and those that may actually sabotage it. The appropriate use of intense states of concentration, he says, is to learn to distinguish between the eternal Purusha—the Self within—and the transient things of the world. He discourages disciples from pausing on the path to play with psychic powers. Patanjali encourages them instead to keep their eyes on the prize: spiritual liberation.

Spiritual Expansion

You can't force yourself to relax; you can't make yourself sleep. You "slip" into relaxation; you "fall" asleep. Just so, you "fall" into meditation. When you're really meditating, it's effortless. When you rise from meditation, you're as refreshed and invigorated as if you've had a good sleep. You're not any wiser when you climb out of bed in the morning. But if you've truly made contact with your Higher Self in meditation, you get up from your meditation cushion brimming with intuitive insight, creative energy, and healing power.

As your consciousness continues to expand through the practice of Raja Yoga, you begin to link with other entities everywhere. Swami Rama explained that each of us is like a light bulb while the cosmic mind is like the electric current that sets all the individual bulbs glowing. "The cosmic mind is very subtle, and it is in close contact with other minds," he said. "As one's mind evolves one enters into a conscious relationship with other minds. Numerous minds are linked in this way, and this network forms part of the cosmic mind."

For Christians, mature faith is the key to salvation. For Hindus, actual *experience* of higher realities is what spirituality is really about. By advancing in meditation we can personally experience the living reality our faith points us toward.

Quick Quiz

1. Raja Yoga begins with …
    a. Moving to the Himalayas.
    b. Moral and ethical principles.
    c. Standing on your head so you get a fresh perspective on life.
2. Raja yogis control their breathing in order to …
    a. Turn their faces a dark shade of blue.
    b. Diminish the symptoms of allergies and asthma.
    c. Calm and steady their nervous system and mind.

3. Developing psychic powers …
    a. Is the whole reason for practicing Raja Yoga.
    b. Allows yogis to mentally bend forks and spoons so they don't have to eat with their fingers.
    c. Can be a distraction on the spiritual path.
4. Hatha Yoga postures were originally designed to …
    a. Help you sit in meditation comfortably for hours.
    b. Make you look and feel great!
    c. Torture prisoners in Soviet gulags.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (c). 3 (c). 4 (a).

Inner Enemies

Raja yogis hate and harm no one, but they are not without enemies. And real power, as any politician knows, comes from conquering one's enemies. The five enemies of the Raja yogi are …

- **Avidya,** spiritual ignorance.
- **Asmita,** self-centeredness.
- **Raga,** attachment.
- **Dvesha,** aversion.
- **Abhinivesha,** fear of death.

Avidya, ignorance of one's true nature, is the root cause of all suffering. No one would harm anyone else if he saw into the heart of reality. In the experience of cosmic consciousness, we literally experience every living being as we ourselves. Avidya leads to asmita, the sense that we exist apart from others. We might begin perceiving them as a threat or as competitors, which is to fundamentally misunderstand the unified nature of all things. Attachment and aversion, desire and repulsion, are offshoots of avidya. So is clinging to life, mistaking our physical body for our self.

Sages Say

Yoga means control of the contents of your mind. When your thoughts are stilled, your consciousness experiences only itself. But when thoughts begin to flow, you get caught in them and the images they present to you.
—Yoga Sutras

These enemies are really tough to conquer. But by expanding our consciousness through deeper and deeper states of meditation, we pass the knot in consciousness we call "me" and move into a wider experience of reality.

Patanjali says that when we reoriented our lives so that we're established in the highest state of meditative absorption, we become free from karma. Our past karmas are roasted like seeds fried in a pan and can never germinate again. What this means in our practical experience is that we're no longer governed by our habit patterns, cravings, and fears. Instead we now live in the pure wisdom of the Higher Self.

Divine Isolation

Patanjali, author of the Yoga Sutras, was a great yoga master. He was an ascetic type who didn't believe this world had much to recommend about itself. Most people might be prepared to put up with disease, suffering, and death—but not him.

For Patanjali, the ultimate aim of Raja Yoga was retreat from the outer world into the undying reality of the Inner Self. In the highest state of consciousness, he wrote, your consciousness subsides into itself. It locks

itself away from the surging and heaving of matter and energy and from the fluctuations of thought. It rests instead in its own nature, pure consciousness alone, remaining aware of nothing but itself and absolutely content!
Another, very large group within Hinduism sees life differently. Life—including suffering and death—is the play of consciousness and, therefore, is sacred and deserves our respect, not our contempt. For these people, called tantrics, Patanjali's highest state—consciousness resting in itself—was not the end point of spirituality but the beginning of an even more extraordinary journey into mystical awareness (see Chapter 24).

Is Yoga Hindu?

What if you're not a Hindu? What if you're a Christian or a Jew? Should you practice yoga? Or is that being untrue to your faith? Is yoga a universal set of physical and mental exercises anyone can practice, or is it only appropriate for Hindus? Most people in Western culture have no problem with going to church in the morning and to yoga class in the afternoon. Yet this issue is often raised by fundamentalist Christians and Roman Catholic authorities. It was even debated on CNN! Here is my personal perspective on this continuing controversy.

Tools for the Spirit

Hatha yoga postures and meditation practices are tools for enhancing physical and mental health. They can also be tools for developing higher awareness. Yoga-like practices have long been embraced by non-Hindu religions like Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism.
What many people don't realize is that yoga-like techniques are nearly universal. The ancient Greeks had yoga practices. If you don't believe me, read Plotinus' *Enneads.*

The Hindu View

Psalm 46:10 in the Bible says, “Be still, and know that I am God.” That’s easier said than done! Many of us can barely still our thought stream for two consecutive seconds! Yoga practices teach us how to still our body and mind so we can feel the living presence of a Higher Power.

This third-century Western spiritual master led his students through the exact same stages of meditation Patanjali outlined in the Yoga Sutras! The Native Americans also had yoga-like practices and even shared some of the cosmology described in India’s ancient Puranas! In addition, early Christian ascetics practiced many yoga-like techniques, including breathing exercises. These universal techniques for enhancing spirituality were particularly nurtured and systematized by Hindus in India. Hindus deserve a lot of credit for doing such a fine job! But when yoga masters began arriving in the West, starting with Vivekananda in 1893, they never demanded Western students convert to Hinduism. Instead they offered yoga as a free gift that anyone could use in the context of his own culture, to deepen his connection with spirit.

Hinduism really is like a mother, as it offers its wisdom without strings attached. (Though perhaps a little respect for the Hindu tradition would be refreshing!) This is very different from a missionary showing up at your door offering you food or a job if only you convert to his religion.

Accepting the Gift

True spirituality, from a Hindu point of view, gives freely. Spirit is the opposite of ego. Ego says, “I want …! Give me …!” Spirit, on the contrary, looks for the opportunity to share. So it should surprise no one that Hinduism’s great spiritual masters offer us the gift of yoga simply because it’s the divine thing to do. In my opinion, it would be a little foolish to refuse a gift that does so much to enliven our spiritual lives, no matter what our own religion may be.

The Least You Need to Know

- Raja Yoga is a systematic meditative path to Self-realization.
- Breath control is an important tool for mastering the body and mind.
- The deepest states of mental absorption lead to merging in the object being contemplated.
- Psychic powers are a natural but potentially distracting result of developing intense inward concentration.
- The goal of Raja Yoga is to establish yourself in your true nature: Pure Consciousness.

Part 6

A Timeless Tradition

Hindu science emerges from a worldview radically different from ours in the West. Hindus see our universe as the living expression of divine intelligence, not as a random, meaningless product of atoms and physical forces. For over 5,000 years, Hindu sages have investigated subtle dimensions of the cosmos that Western science has yet to explore.

While Hindu India faces tremendous challenges in its homeland and with its Communist and Muslim neighbors, Hinduism abroad is meeting with increasing success. Basic Hindu tenets such as reincarnation and karma, as well as Hindu practices such as vegetarianism and yoga, are being enthusiastically embraced in the West. The value of Hindu techniques such as meditation and hatha postures, as well as some aspects of ancient Hindu history and cosmology, have been validated by Western scientists.

The most ancient religion in the world is still as fresh and relevant as it was 5,000 years ago. While adapting to the ever-changing conditions of the present day, it preserves the eternal vision of humanity's greatest mystics and visionaries.

Chapter 24

The Interwoven Universe

In This Chapter

- The structure of reality
- Living enlightenment
- Tantric tools
- Raising your kundalini
- The merit of self-discipline

Like it or not, we have incarnated into a physical universe. It's quite beautiful in many respects, but terrible suffering, injustice, disease, and death are never far away.

Hindu tantrics believe the world is an expression of God's delight. They explore its every nook and crevice fearlessly, learning its laws so they can deal effectively with whatever life throws at them. By understanding—and mastering—the cosmic principles underlying manifestation, they make themselves at home in the universe, come what may. After all, this is where their Divine Mother has placed them for now. They have no reason to be afraid.

When you see the universe not as a product of *matter* and energy as we do in the West, but as a projection of *consciousness* and energy as tantrics do in Hinduism, you relate to the cosmos in a very different way!

Warp and Weft

For much of human history, people have manufactured cloth by running thread lengthwise and crosswise over a loom. This weaving became an important metaphor for many Hindus. They sensed that the cosmos itself

had been made the same way, sewn together by a superb seamstress, the Mother of the universe. If one tugs at any bit of thread in one section, the entire piece of fabric is affected.
In Hindu cosmology, each particle in the universe is interlinked with every other one, though some links are closer than others. Understanding these links is the key to cooperating with, and consciously manipulating, nature's finer forces. Understanding how these interconnections operate in your own body and mind leads to self-mastery. And self-mastery is the passion of Hindu tantrics.

Wine, Women, and Song

We think we know what Tantra is all about—sex orgies with God's permission! But how much do we know, really? Western ideas about Tantra are so outrageous, Hindus hardly know whether to laugh or cry. The myth that Tantra is "the yoga of sex" says more about the projections of the repressed Victorian Europeans who took over India a few centuries ago and first started circulating these stories than it does about Hinduism!
Today a whole industry is built around "tantric sex," complete with numerous provocatively illustrated paperbacks and "spiritual sex" seminars in Hawaii. A few Hindu businesspeople, who know how to make a buck as well as the next person, have gotten in on the act. Some professional artists in India even produce paintings of couples having "tantric sex" to sell to the naive Westerners who actually believe this is a common Hindu practice!

Tantra in Real Life

Most of the Hindu teachers I've studied with over the decades have been practicing tantrics. People who believe the sensationalized stories would be disappointed to meet them. Rather than being masters of exotic sexual postures, most of them live lives of extraordinary austerity. Some have engaged in disciplines the Western mind can hardly imagine—such as meditating in a cramped Himalayan cave without any light for 11 months

straight or surviving in the jungles of Assam for months on end with little or no food.

In fact, there are still tantrics today who live without any food at all. In addition to an occasional sip of water, all they eat is sunlight. They assimilate prana, or vital energy, directly out of the atmosphere. Others sit for hours without breathing (do *not* try this at home!), their bodies in a state much like hibernation while their minds remain absorbed in meditation. Stories such as these about tantric adepts sound like they are adapted from science fiction or fantasy novels. Yet those of us who've spent time in areas of India where ancient tantric techniques are still practiced can verify that we've seen these things with our own eyes. In some ways, the *true* story of Tantra is far more fantastic than the garbled tales of spiritual eroticism you hear in the West.

Sages Say

After Self-realization you become absolutely fearless. You can only be afraid if you think there's something *apart from* you that threatens you. When you become Self-realized you see that everything is *a part of* you. There can't be fear in that state, anymore than there can be darkness after sunrise.
—Tripura Rahasya

Liberation or Enlightenment?

The vast majority of people practicing Tantra are not miracle-working adepts, however. They're ordinary Hindus with an extraordinary goal: enlightenment in this lifetime. Some Hindus, including many of the renunciates we met in Chapter 19, believe the highest state of awareness we can experience is *liberation from* this world. Tantrics believe the highest state is *enlightenment in* this world. Their goal is *sahaja* samadhi, which means to remain in the highest state of consciousness not just while withdrawn from the world in meditation, but also while active in the world, fulfilling one's duties, supporting one's family, and enjoying life.

def•i•ni•tion

Sahaja means the natural state. Sahaja samadhi, therefore, means in the highest state of consciousness continuously, both in meditation and out of it. Enlightenment has become one's natural condition.

A story in the Tripura Rahasya tells about a prince who achieves samadhi, a blissful state of mental absorption, while on a meditation retreat. "Don't bother me," he tells his wife when she stops by to pick him up. "I'm experiencing the supreme state of consciousness."

The princess, who is secretly a tantric master—not a beginner like her husband—can't resist teasing him. "What kind of supreme state vanishes when you open your eyes? You're still as far from the true supreme state as the stars are from their reflection in the sea. When you're permanently in that state, you'll enjoy the same bliss whether you're sitting in a cave meditating or sitting on your throne governing the kingdom."

The prince got the message. He returned to his day job but kept working with himself till he could remain balanced in the highest state whether he was awake, dreaming, or asleep, in meditation or out, inspecting the provinces he ruled.

Ladder to Unity

These days people with a spiritual orientation often talk about getting in touch with their Higher Self. In very advanced states of meditation, though, tantrics found that the Higher Self is not the highest reality. The Inner Self is a stop on the way to the final goal, not the destination itself. The ultimate reality is the Supreme Consciousness and its limitless knowledge, power, and peace.

Here's how tantrics explain the nondistinction between your innermost Self and God. Beyond the Higher Self lies maya, the force that leads the Self to mistakenly feel it exists in its own right, apart from God's all-pervading divine awareness. Maya operates through five restraining factors:

- **Niyati** limits omnipresence, creating the illusion that you exist in one particular place in space.
- **Kala** limits eternity, creating the confusion that you exist in this fleeting moment rather than in all times at the same time.
- **Raga** limits your innate sense of complete fulfillment, creating the desire to acquire objects you mistakenly believe exist apart from yourself.
- **Vidya** limits omniscience, generating the illusion that you don't already know everything!
- **Kala** (pronounced with a long "a" at the end, unlike the kala in Item 2 of this list) limits omnipotence, creating the false sense that you can't effortlessly will things into existence.

Beyond these five facets of maya lies your true identity. And that's not jiva, the individual soul, but Shiva, the Universal Spirit.

Divine Identity

For tantrics, the universe is not a vale of suffering, a place you must escape from. Rather, it's a divine realm projected by the Supreme Being, in which we all exist together as seemingly separate entities—when in fact we are one unified whole, a single piece of fabric.

Most Hindus share the tantric perspective that all of nature is holy, and all deserves our reverence. And by learning to control the living energies inherent in the cosmos, we can live in the universe like benevolent angels

rather than helpless victims crushed beneath the wheel of nature's erratic moods and inexorable cycles. We can become companions of the Divine, exercising the compassion, intelligence, and creative power that is our birthright as divine beings.

Guidepost

So you think you're God? Hinduism claims that each of us is an actual part of God, just as a spark is part of a fire. But it never confuses God-realization with megalomania. Megalomaniacs see God only in themselves. Genuine saints see God in everyone. That's why genuine saints are the humblest people you'll ever meet!

Mantra, Yantra, Tantra

The tool kit Hindu tantrics use to expand their consciousness and navigate the sea of energy we misperceive as the physical world is extremely extensive. All the methods of selfless service, rituals, devotion, intellectual inquiry, yoga, and self-understanding are called into play. But other techniques are applied, too, including ones that would be considered "magic" in the West. Two of the most important of these tantric practices are mantra and yantra.

Chant Your Mantra!

Tantrics use mantras to create a link between our limited human awareness and the unimpeded cosmic awareness we can link into, deep inside ourselves. According to Hindu tradition, the sacred syllables of a mantra create a vortex, like a wormhole between worlds that links the subconscious, conscious, and superconscious parts of our mind. We can use this vibratory gateway to bring guidance and healing power from the depths of our being. Tantrics also use it to move consciously into their subconscious and operate on the unhealthy aspects of themselves, their complexes and neuroses. They literally replace “bad vibes” with “good vibrations”!

The Hindu View

Ancient Hindu sages divided the celestial ecliptic into 27 sectors called nakshatras or lunar mansions. Each of these in turn was divided into four equal quarters, 108 in all. Each nakshatra is governed by a different Vedic deity. When you chant the 108 beads on your Hindu rosary you’re invoking the blessings of all the gods in heaven.

You will often see Hindus using a mala or rosary to keep track of the number of times they’ve repeated their mantra. Most malas have 108 beads, which may be made of sandalwood, crystal, lotus seeds, or the rudraksha seeds sacred to Shiva and Shakti. They chant a mala of mantras and give themselves credit for 100 repetitions. The extra eight beads cover the moments when their minds strayed from the mantra. If they were

completely focused while chanting, then they donate the extra eight mantras to the universe for the welfare of all beings.
It's not unusual for pious Hindus to commit to repeating a sacred mantra hundreds of thousands or even millions of times! These practices can take years, and sometimes lifetimes, to complete.

The Hindu View

The ancient Greeks and Egyptians used mantras, too. In the fourth century C.E., the Neoplatonic master Iamblicus complained that Greek mantras didn't work nearly as well as Egyptian ones—because the Greeks would make up mantras off the cuff. Egyptian mantras, on the other hand, had been empowered by thousands of years of repetition and had immensely powerful effects.

Draw Your Yantra!

A yantra is an abstract geometric diagram that represents the structure of the universe. It starts from the center point of consciousness and radiates out via all the shaktis or universal energies through every plane of manifestation. Yantras may be drawn on paper or fabric, carved in wood, or inscribed on metal.
Various yantric designs represent different cosmic energies or deities. Tantrics empower yantras with sacred mantras and enliven them by transferring the center point of their own awareness into the yantra to be

worshipped. Yantras can transmit strong blessings and healing vibrations when they're properly "turned on."

Yantra literally means "machine." They're machines for consciousness, with each square and triangle, petal and circle in the drawing representing not only a cosmic force but also an energy in the tantric's own body and mind. By aligning physical, mental, and cosmic circuits, tantrics aim to achieve specific effects such as enhancing their awareness, creating a protective aura, or attracting prosperity.

The most powerful yantras are those tantrics draw in the subtle matter of their own minds. These become internal maps they follow to the center of the inner universe. Their innermost point is the source of the worlds—of all manifestation, in fact. It's also the point you travel through on your way out of these worlds into a place beyond space and a moment beyond time.

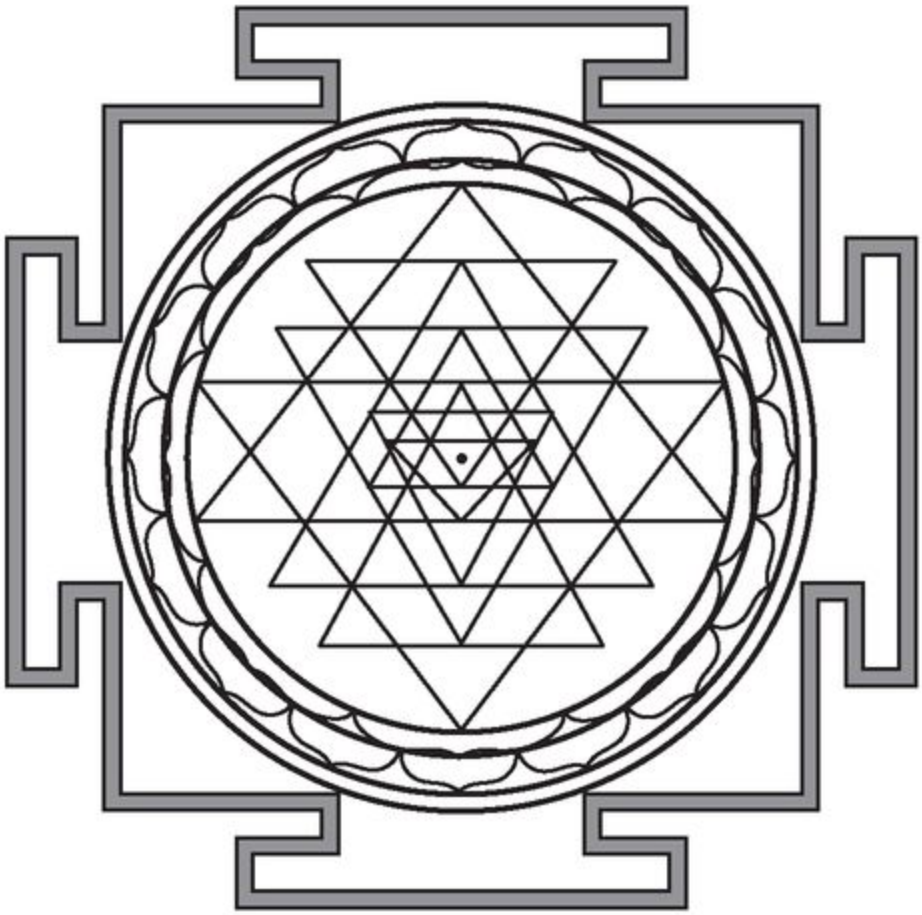

Sri Yantra, a geometric design representing the powers of the Goddess.

Kundalini Rising

Most of us think we know what kundalini is, too. We've heard rumors about a "serpent power" that lies dormant at the base of our spine and, when properly activated, travels upward into our brain to produce amazing mystical experiences.

Kundalini is actually the power of consciousness, whether it's in our body or in the universe at large. Most of us are so preoccupied with the objects or entities we perceive in the world around ourselves or in our thoughts or emotions that we fail to attend to the force of consciousness within us that is doing the seeing, thinking, or feeling. That inner light is the kundalini. In most of us it's only operating at 40 watts. In great saints and tantric masters, it functions at a thousand gigawatt amperage. They're veritable power stations of kundalini!

The Inner Pilgrimage

One way to activate your kundalini is to go on a pilgrimage. However, the sacred sites tantrics visit are inside the body, not outside it. The inner journey proceeds from the bottom of the spine upward through six more pilgrimage sites:

1. **Muladhara Chakra:** Base of the spine
2. **Svadhishthana Chakra:** Near the genital organs
3. **Manipura Chakra:** Behind the navel
4. **Anahata Chakra:** At the heart
5. **Vishuddha Chakra:** At the throat
6. **Ajna Chakra:** Behind the point between the eyebrows
7. **Sahasrara Chakra:** Corresponds to the cerebral cortex

There are hundreds of other smaller chakras, such as the vortices of subtle energy in the hands and feet through which saints can direct blessing power.

Sages Say

That which is the general characteristic of the Indian systems, and that which constitutes their real profundity, is the paramount importance attached to Consciousess and its states ... And whatever be the means employed, it is the transformation of the "lower" into "higher" states of consciousness which is the process and fruit of Yoga.
—Sir John Woodroffe

The Inward Gaze

Jokes about the yogi who sits around contemplating his navel actually refer to meditation on the manipura chakra. According to Patanjali, who wrote the famous Yoga Sutras, intensely focused concentration here can lead to extraordinary insights and powers.
Each chakra is associated with a different set of psychic powers and spiritual experiences. Mastering the heart chakra, for example, brings the experience of universal love. Controlling the throat chakra bestows the powers of telepathy and prophecy. Opening the "third eye" chakra brings universal knowledge. When the "lotus" of the "thousand-petaled" chakra at the top of the head blooms, the tantric merges in Shiva, divine consciousness.

Getting High on Meditation

Tantrics use many other paths to mystical awareness. Drug enthusiasts in the West like to point out that the Rig Veda, India's most ancient sacred text, speaks approvingly of an intoxicating drink called *soma*. For years Western pharmacologists have been trying to identify which chemical substance soma may have been, hoping to recreate the long lost recipe. Some speculate it was a hallucinogenic mushroom called *amanita muscaria.* Others think it may have been the drug harmaline. Identifying it is difficult because ancient descriptions of what it looked like and how it was prepared are confusing and obscure.

Interestingly, the Rig Veda itself says that anyone who believes soma is really a beverage is a fool. Brahmins still drink soma during some of their rituals today, and it has no intoxicating effects at all!

Drinking the Nectar

The Hindu yogis I studied with told me Western scientists will never uncover the secret of soma because they're looking in the wrong direction. The answer lies within, not without. In the esoteric Hindu tradition, soma is understood as a type of inner experience occurring in the soma chakra, which lies between the third eye and the chakra at the very top of the brain. The psychoactively harmless soma prepared by brahmins for their rituals is just a symbol of this inner nectar tasted by yogis in high states of meditation.

Drug use is a controversial topic in Hinduism as everywhere else. Some sannyasins told me they used hashish to help calm the mind and dissolve their mental boundaries, as well as to help them sit still for long hours at a time. It is used sacramentally in some rituals, something like tobacco or peyote are used among American Indians. Marijuana must never be abused, however. Like all natural substances it has a devata, a living spirit or natural intelligence. If you abuse the devata, the devata begins to abuse you. Drug abuse can lead the unwary to disaster.

A Path Without Light

For most Hindus, drug use (as well as alcohol) is strictly forbidden. Many Hindu teachers point to Vyasa's classic commentary on the Yoga Sutras, in which the ancient master explains that although use of "herbs" is one way to alter consciousness, it is not recommended because "it leads to a path without light." Several prominent swamis also advised me to avoid psychedelics since they alter brain chemistry without promoting lasting clarity of consciousness, as meditation does. Worse, I was told, powerful mind-altering drugs can damage the nervous system.

Guidepost

Want to expand your consciousness? Try meditation—not drugs. Yogis say that drugs weaken the will, damage the nervous system, and stupefy consciousness. One yogi told me he'd seen heavy-duty drug users so internally damaged they would need *lifetimes* to detoxify their subtle body.

In the stricter tantric lineages, aspirants are instructed to avoid crutches like drugs. Instead they need to develop mental focus and inner strength—something drugs can't give. Advanced yogis alter their consciousness by manipulating the internal energies of the subtle body and getting "high" on consciousness itself.

Yogis think ahead, considering not just this life but also existences to come. They note that once they're dead, no physical drug can help them! Self-control and mastery of the processes of the subtle body will serve them well in the after-death state. Hashish and other psychoactive drugs are worthless to disembodied spirits!

Indulging in Self-Discipline

The amount of effort and self-discipline required to become a tantric adept is the equivalent of what an athlete needs to do to win an Olympic medal. I myself have watched tantrics sit for half an hour or more without breathing as they shifted their awareness into the increasingly high states that breath retention makes accessible. If you've tried holding your breath for even 30 seconds, you can well imagine how difficult these practices are to master. I've also watched naked tantrics sitting outside in freezing weather as if they were sunning themselves on a beach in Hawaii! In the Hindu tradition, adepts like these have mastered the yogic science of generating internal heat from the chakra in the solar plexus.

If you spend time with genuine tantric masters, you'll quickly be cured of your doubt that tantric science isn't real. While most of the tantric techniques remain unknown to Western science, practitioners in the East have refined and preserved them for thousands of years. Still, the number of Hindus who actually master these techniques is small since the amount of self-discipline they require is so rigorous. Lots of kids play baseball—very few grow up to play in the Major Leagues!

It's ironic that Westerners think of tantrics as libertines! The adepts know that one doesn't become a master by doing things that are easy. A person becomes a master by doing things that are hard. Self-discipline is hard, but no one achieves greatness in any field without it.

Sages Say

> The Moon has a blemish on his face he can't get rid of. I can't get rid of my attachment to the things I own. I throw myself at Your feet, O Lord. They're the only force strong enough to help me overcome my weaknesses!
> —Tulsi Das

Tantric Sex Orgies

Rumors of men and women having sex while consuming intoxicants led Europeans to believe tantrics engaged in wholesale orgies, just as stories of Christians eating "the body and blood of Christ" during Holy Communion originally led to charges that Christians were cannibals!

What was really happening was that in sacred tantric rites, participants raised their awareness together through extraordinarily demanding concentration exercises. Elevating consciousness—raising the kundalini to the top of the head—is a major focus of the practice. They practice this so that at the time of death, they can consciously exit the body through the top of the skull. A conscious yogic exit leads to a conscious after-death experience and also, if the tantric wants, to a choice of which world he or she wants to explore next! Tantric adepts are no longer driven willy-nilly by the force of their karma but can now consciously direct the course of their spiritual evolution.

Western Tantra is generally about releasing one's guilt and inhibitions while indulging in life's pleasures. In India, tantric practice is geared toward developing courage, self-control, and self-knowledge. Traditionally, only students who demonstrated true worthiness in the form of spiritual intelligence, high ethical principles, and commitment to rigorous disciplines were initiated into the tantric lineages. This could include women and members of lower castes who were often excluded from more orthodox Vedic practice.

The Hindu View

Tantric scriptures, called *Agama* in Hinduism, often take the form of dialogues between the god Shiva and his wife, the goddess Parvati, with one lovingly explaining secret tantric teachings to the other.

For the Hindu tantric, to be enlightened means to live—and die—fearlessly, honoring nature's forces without forgetting one's true identity as a spiritual being rooted in all-pervading awareness. For them life is not a horror of suffering from which we must flee as rapidly as possible, but an amazing adventure in the echoing corridors of spirit.

Quick Quiz

1. Tantra is a path to higher consciousness involving …
    a. Complicated sex postures.
    b. Mantras and yantras.
    c. Expensive seminars in Hawaii.
2. Chakras are …
    a. Centers of consciousness in the subtle body.
    b. Geometric diagrams representing college sororities. **c.** Vegan but high in cholesterol.
3. The purpose of Tantra is …

a. Guilt-free sex.
b. Liberation from the world.
c. Enlightenment in the world.

4. Drug use is …
   a. Unknown in India.
   b. Generally not advisable according to many tantrics.
   c. Okay with a doctor's prescription.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (a). 3 (c). 4 (b).

The Least You Need to Know

- Tantrics seek spiritual mastery in the midst of worldly life.
- Mantras and yantras are used to master cosmic energies, both within the mind and outside it.
- Kundalini is the illuminating power of consciousness as it manifests in the body.
- The chakras represent increasingly higher levels of awareness within the subtle body.
- Mastering advanced tantric techniques gives extraordinary powers and requires a commitment to ethical behavior.

Chapter 25

Spiritual Science

In This Chapter

- Directing evolution
- The science of consciousness
- Adventures in awareness
- Reality inside out
- The mental climate

For the last 2,000 years of Western history, religion and science have been at war. But that's not so in India. The Hindu approach to spirituality has always been scientific: search for universal truths, then test and verify them. Hindu sages are the scientists of spirit. They explore the metaphysical terrain, then lay out systematic routes others can travel to reach the same destination. "Here are my findings," says the seer. "Check the evidence for yourself."

Hindus have always been scientists, leading the world in mathematics, physics, medicine, linguistics, and psychology. Yet for thousands of years to this very day, Hindu India has been most famous for its spiritual science.

A Brilliant Design

How did our planet, teeming with millions of life forms, come into being? How did *we* get here? Is there a Creator? Or was the world shaped by blind forces, as Western scientists claim?

The holy texts of Hinduism explain that at the beginning of the present cycle of space and time, Brahma the Creator crafted our world system out of the debris left over from the last manifestation of the universe. It was

shaped like a great shining egg, very much like the glowing ball of plasma and atomic particles Western scientists claim seeded our early solar system.

The Hierarchy of Creation

Then Brahma called in his assistants, the Vishvadevas, who refined this creation, adding an atmosphere, ocean, dry land, all the things we need to make our planet inhabitable. Today we would call the Vishvadevas "natural forces," although to Hindus these great beings are far from blind or random in their actions. Indeed they are inherently intelligent, custom designing the planet so that life can flourish here.

Next Prajapati took over. His name means "father of progeny," since all living beings are his children. He developed creatures that had prana (life force) and manas (the ability to consciously respond to forces outside themselves)—including us!

Did Brahma (Stage 1) or the Vishvadevas (Stage 2) or Prajapati (Stage 3) sit around with compasses and calculators, agonizing over their blueprints? Nope! According to the Hindu sages, these great forces are *inherently* intelligent—intelligence is their very nature. A brilliantly designed cosmos appears spontaneously, with no forethought at all, the way a new tune pops, fully formed, into the mind of a musician.

A fourth stage of creation is going on right now. Prajapati passed the baton to the rishis, the great seers. These sages are guiding us towards the next level of our evolution. They teach us to transcend the animal nature we share with Prajapati's other creatures, to become moral beings who exercise our free will for the good of all. And they direct us toward the state of enlightenment, when we will no longer be bound by a physical body but can transverse the universe at will, subside into the essence of our being, or continue to serve God through service to his creation, whichever destiny we freely choose!

Sounds like a plan!

Intelligent Direction

Modern science claims the universe stumbled blindly toward intelligent life. Hinduism says the universe was projected out of intelligence. A Supreme Intelligence lies at the root of all things, though its level of awareness is virtually inconceivable to those of us who are less than fully enlightened. Its breath is the universal prana, or life force, that actively guides the development of biological forms on worlds prepared by natural forces to receive life.

At first, I was shocked when my Hindu teachers insisted the Darwinian theory of evolution was incomplete. Like many others in the West, I uncritically accepted the scientific views I had learned in school. Gradually I came to appreciate the Hindu perspective: that we can't find "missing links" in the fossil record because the universal prana can radically reshape biological forms with extraordinary rapidity when the need arises. Think of an ordinary grasshopper. When environmental factors give the signal, within hours it transforms itself into a radically different-looking and different-behaving creature called a locust.

The Hindu View

The Hindu Puranas speak of other races of humanity who lived on Earth in remote times but eventually perished. Today paleontologists collect fossil evidence of extinct human races like Neanderthals, Cro-Magnons, and Homo erectus.

Today, textbooks say Fizeau and Foucault discovered the speed of light in 1849. Yet the Hindu pandit Sayana gave the correct figure centuries earlier in his commentary on the Rig Veda.

> The Babylonians are credited with formulating the foundational principles of modern astronomy and dividing the sky into 12 double sectors (the basis of our 24 hours), in the first millennium B.C.E. Yet over 2,000 years earlier, the Rig Veda speaks of a celestial wheel with 12 spokes and 720 segments (2 × 360 degrees of a circle or days of a year).

Each new design is perfect in its own right. DNA, from the Hindu perspective, is simply a biological code shuffled by the inherently intelligent, nonmaterial life force that directs it. Matter is not intelligent. The prana or living energy that organizes it and manifests through it, *is*. This is why the Prashna Upanishad says, "As spokes are fitted in the hub of a wheel, so all living things are fixed in prana. Everything that flourishes on Earth is controlled by the life force. Everything in heaven also is ruled by that living intelligence."

Western scientists speak of the conservation of matter and energy. To that the Hindu scientist would add the conservation of life force and consciousness. These can pass into a nonactive phase when a cycle of manifestation (individual or collective) comes to an end, but they cannot be destroyed.

Humans Come and Go

Western science says Homo sapiens sapiens ("the smartest of the smart humanoids"), a.k.a. *us,* are not the first humans to exist on this planet. Hinduism says the same thing! The Puranas say we're seventh in a line of humans who've appeared on Earth, but we're not necessarily the smartest! In fact, some Hindu texts suggest that people in the past had much better memories, a much greater understanding of nature, and far deeper spiritual vision than we do today. While other cultures have tried to exterminate the past, burning libraries, executing scientists and scholars, and rewriting history, Hindus have done everything in their power to preserve the memory of our distant ancestors as well as their great wisdom and spiritual nobility.

Guidepost

Blind faith is not a virtue in Hinduism. The Upanishads warn that when the blind lead the blind, everyone wanders in darkness. In Hinduism, shraddha, faith in God, guru, or scripture, is for beginners only. Hindus are expected to do their inner work so that direct personal experience of a higher reality can replace faith.

Hindu scriptures agree with Western science that the Earth is billions of years old and that humans have been around for a few million years. But they disagree with modern scientists that our life here is a fluke. The closest Hindus come to admitting a random component in evolution is when they acknowledge this universe is the lila, or "play," of the Great Goddess, who is matter and energy herself.

The Hindu View

Hindu scriptures say the Earth goes through cycles when it flourishes and other periods where it's virtually uninhabitable. Sometimes things get so intolerable the souls who live here flee to other world systems entirely. But don't start packing yet! The texts say these cycles occur over eons.

Reports from Inner Space

Many of Hinduism's great spiritual masters had a profound understanding of the science of consciousness and how to manipulate its many powers. They understood the workings of prana and how to activate their kundalini. Let's look at some examples of the practical application of Hindu spiritual science.

Once the great yogi-philosopher Shankaracharya was having a debate with a very famous scholar named Mandana Mishra. In those days, public debates were serious business because whoever lost had to renounce his own views and become a disciple of the person who won. (Imagine if during our presidential debates, the losing candidate had to join the political party of the winner!)

Shankaracharya defeated Mandana, which meant Mandana had to renounce the world to become a wandering monk like Shankaracharya. Needless to say, Mandana's wife Bharati wasn't particularly thrilled! She went to Shankaracharya and demanded, "The Vedic tradition says husband and wife are one being, doesn't it? Then you haven't won the contest till you've conquered me, too!"

So Shankaracharya and Bharati started to debate. Well, the long and short of it is Bharati was winning. When she argued for the value of married life, Shankara had to acknowledge he couldn't respond based on personal experience because he'd been a renunciate since the age of eight. He asked for a six-month time-out. Knowing that Shankaracharya would never break his vows of celibacy and that he, therefore, would never be able to adequately respond to her arguments, Bharati granted his request.

Sages Say

Nothing exists apart from Divine Being, which is an undivided whole without parts, existing now and always. There is no more difference between the Supreme Being and the world than there is between you and a city you see in your dream.
—Yoga Vasishtha

Guidepost

If you're a fan of fun short stories, check out a Hindu classic called the *Pancha Tantra* at your library. It's a collection of tales about talking animals and the practical life lessons they learn the hard way. You probably know this book as *Aesop's Fables,* as the *Pancha Tantra* was called when it arrived in the West.

Borrowing a Body

Fortunately for Shankaracharya, a local maharajah had just passed away. Shankaracharya asked his disciples to keep an eye on his physical body, then flew off in his subtle body to borrow the king's corpse. Just before his family was about to cremate him, the king suddenly got up from his pyre and headed home!

Now maybe you think borrowing a used body is an easy thing. (Or maybe you don't!) But even advanced yogis like Shankaracharya face complications. One is that a cast-off body is still hard-wired for its previous occupant, so the yogi winds up struggling with a nervous system programmed with the ex-owner's habits and desires. Shankaracharya started living in the maharajah's body in the maharajah's lavish home, with his numerous gorgeous courtesans and every other luxury and convenience a man of that era could desire. I'll leave the consequences to your imagination.

Back at their campsite, Shankaracharya's students began wondering why their master was taking so long to complete his research and return to his own body. Asking around, they heard that a raja from a nearby kingdom had died a few months ago, then suddenly revived during his funeral. The disciples immediately realized, "That's our guru!" and rushed off to see what had gone wrong.

Rescuing the Guru

At the maharajah's palace the disciples were shocked to see the "king" having a wonderful time partying with his girlfriends and enjoying the good life. This wasn't like the sternly ascetic teacher they'd once known! These disciples were sneaky guys, though. They innocently sat down near the king and began to sing one of the songs Shankaracharya himself had composed about the ultimate emptiness of sensual indulgence and the everlasting glories of spiritual life.

Sages Say

Souls are in bondage because they mistake their body for themselves! They take good care of the body, believing that's who they really are. They become enmeshed in it like a caterpillar in its cocoon. And so they get swept here and there, rising and sinking in the ocean of death and rebirth. In reality, only the body dies. The Inner Being is forever.
—Shankaracharya

A stricken look appeared on the raja's face. Suddenly, to his family's horror, the king once again dropped dead. The disciples raced back to their campsite where, sure enough, Shankaracharya had already picked up his physical body and gone back to finish his debate with Bharati Mishra. Shankaracharya won the debate, and the Mishras were forced to become his students.

In the end, Mandana Mishra was so blown away by Shankaracharya's wisdom and yogic power that he became his leading disciple. As for Bharati Mishra, Shankaracharya had so much respect for her that he named one of his monastic orders after her.

Stories about advanced yogis temporarily abandoning their bodies to travel abroad are quite common in the Hindu tradition. In one famous incident some years ago, a yogi—a disciple of the legendary adept Bengali Baba—left his body in a locked room in a hospital in India. The doctor who had promised to look after it was called away on an emergency, and the hospital staff found the "dead" body and carted it away. The yogi was startled to

wake up several hours later in the morgue. But not as startled as the staff in the morgue when he got up and walked away!

Tales from Today

Recently my husband and I were fortunate enough to spend Guru Purnima —the holiday in which Hindus honor their spiritual teachers—with Shree Maa of Kamakhya, one of the greatest saints of northeastern India. She'd just returned to her ashram and was disappointed to find that in her absence the ground had baked dry and her garden had withered away. And the rainy season was still months away!

Shree Maa of Kamakhya.
(Devi Mandir, Napa, California)
Shree Maa told Parvati, one of her disciples, to go into the temple and recite mantras to Lord Indra, god of thunder and rain. Unfortunately Parvati obeyed immediately, rather than waiting till after lunch. Many of us devotees were enjoying a picnic on the ashram grounds when abruptly the temperature plummeted, dark clouds gathered, and suddenly we found ourselves and our plates of curry and chapattis getting soaked!
Later I asked Parvati about the unseasonal shower. "It wasn't me!" she protested. "It was Shree Maa. She just wills it, and it manifests." Welcome to the magic of Hinduism, to the sympathetic connection between us and the universe. In the Hindu worldview, all nature is alive and is literally "all one." If Shree Maa needs her garden watered, she simply goes into that part of her consciousness that's one with the atmosphere and turns on the rain like we turn on a faucet in the kitchen sink!

Bringing Back the Dead

I could tell you zillions of true stories, but let me throw this one into the mix because it's so well documented in India. While these events were going on in the mid-twentieth century, they were headline news in Indian newspapers. Movies have been made about it. The story is about Bengali Baba, one of the legendary holy men of the Himalayas, who left his last known physical body in 1982.
The prince of Bhawal had just died and was taken to the riverbank to be cremated. As his pyre started burning, monsoon rains poured so fiercely they put out the fire and swept the body into the river. It washed up on shore miles downriver where Bengali Baba and a group of his disciples were staying. Baba asked his students to unwrap the body, which was sealed in linen sheets. Then he asked the recently deceased prince to get up—and he did!
The prince of Bhawal spent some time studying with the yoga master. Baba advised him to forget his worldly life and devote the rest of this incarnation to spiritual growth. But the call of worldly pleasure was too strong, so the prince headed home.

The Hindu View

Hindus believe the climate in the world is affected by the climate in our minds. Droughts, cyclones, floods, and other natural phenomena may be caused by our collective karma. If a change in weather is needed, ritual specialists can be hired to make offerings to the subtle intelligences who control the atmosphere. These priests work to improve the community's relations with the gods and request them to send better weather.

Reclaiming Your Identity

The prince was anything but welcome when he got home. He'd been filthy rich, and his money had already been distributed to his relatives. His wife had also taken a lover. And besides, they just couldn't believe it was him. He was supposed to be dead!

The prince had to go to court to prove he was himself and get his land holdings back. It was one of the most publicized cases in Indian judiciary history. His relatives did everything in their power to prove the old prince had really died—including providing the testimony of the physician who had pronounced him dead! The prince, on the other hand, did everything in his power to prove he was still the same man he'd been before he "died." This was Hindu India where, you will recall, all kinds of different versions of the truth can be true at once. The jury decided the prince had in fact died. But since Bengali Baba was a bona fide spiritual master, it didn't seem

unlikely to them that he could recall the prince's soul to his body. The well-known yogic practice of transferring someone's consciousness into a particular body is called *parakaya pravesha* in Sanskrit. So the jury pronounced in the prince's favor, and he got his property back!

Emergency Medicine

Recently K. N. Rao, a prominent Vedic astrologer in India, was glancing over a friend's horoscope when he noticed the man was about to enter an extremely dangerous planetary cycle. Death was imminent! Rao didn't mention what he'd seen but strongly advised his companion to chant the Maha Mrityunjaya mantra faithfully every day.

The Maha Mrityunjaya mantra is the great Vedic mantra for staving off death. Translated into English it goes something like, "I honor the All-Seeing One, whose grace is all-pervading like the fragrance of a flower. May he release me from the grip of death as easily as a ripe fruit is released from a vine!"

A few weeks later this gentleman was conducting an inspection in a warehouse. A girder suddenly gave way and several tons of cement bags came tumbling down over his head!

Sages Say

Do not be frightened by God's cinema. Movies, whether enjoyable or disturbing, are merely movies. Is it not wiser to place our attention on that Power which is indestructible and unchanging? Make God the polestar of your life.

> —Paramahansa Yogananda

Workers rushed to drag the heavy bags off him, but they were certain he'd been killed. If he hadn't died instantly from a blow to the head or been crushed, he should have suffocated in the time it took them to free him. It turned out that although Rao's friend had been knocked unconscious, once he came to, he was no worse for the wear. He had a hairline fracture to a leg bone but was otherwise okay!

I guess most of us in the West would think this was just dumb luck. But Hindus take this kind of story as evidence for the protective power of mantras—and as proof that we can even change our destiny with a little boost from God's grace.

Tales from the Lab

Christianity has always had an uneasy relationship with science. Some of the medieval Christians' fundamental beliefs, such as that the universe is about 6,000 years old or that the Sun circles the Earth, have taken a beating at the hands of scientists. Although the Church is no longer allowed to burn scientists at the stake, the relationship between science and religion in the West remains embittered. In fact, scientists continue to wash their hands of so-called "supernatural" phenomena, which they refuse to research at all. And Christian fundamentalists still seek to keep some aspects of science, such as the theory of evolution or the explanation of human reproduction, out of public school education.

The relation between modern science and Hindu spirituality has gone more smoothly. Although Western researchers were initially even more hostile toward Hindu teachings than Christian ones, many Hindu beliefs have stood the test of laboratory research and demonstrated their real value.

"We're Not in Kansas Anymore! "

The fireworks started in 1970 when Swami Rama of the Himalayas, who had been a high-ranking monk in the Hindu tradition, showed up at the Menninger Foundation, a leading research institute in Topeka, Kansas. He'd been recruited to serve as a human guinea pig in the Foundation's experiments on voluntary control of internal states.

Carefully monitored on some of the most advanced scientific equipment available at the time, Swami Rama quickly showed that he could control his heart rate, brain waves, and body temperature to a degree that up till that day had been considered impossible by Western physiologists. He could effortlessly mimic brain death, for example, as well as alter his heart and breathing rates to barely perceptible levels. These were skills any yogi who had mastered the state of deep meditative absorption could demonstrate, Swami Rama explained.

The results of these amazing experiments were written up in science journals and encyclopedias. But there was one experiment the researchers didn't report for years. The results were so unbelievable, they feared telling anyone would destroy their careers.

The Hindu View

In recent years, a spate of bestsellers and documentaries have explored the astonishing similarities between the most advanced thinking in Western physics and the ancient tenets of Hindu spiritual science. Hindus aren't afraid of Western science. They're just waiting for it to catch up!

In that painstakingly controlled experiment, Swami Rama moved a metal spindle *just by looking at it.* Of course telekinesis—and even teleportation—are just two of the many abilities ascribed to advanced masters of Hindu science. But no one in Kansas, or just about anywhere else in the West, was ready to hear about it!

Researching the Impossible

I actually got to know Swami Rama fairly well over the years. He often complained how frustrating it was to work with Western scientists. They were only interested in what Swami Rama considered the most superficial aspects of yoga, the physical stuff. The real juice, he claimed, lay in what yogis could do *in consciousness.* But Western scientists refused to go anywhere near the fabled nonphysical skills of the yogis—not even with a 10-foot pole!

Quick Quiz

1. According to Hinduism, the world is …
    a. A senseless realm of random genetic mutations.
    b. Shaped and directed by intelligent forces.
    c. Going to hell in a hand basket.
2. Hindus feel that honest scientific inquiry …
    a. Threatens the foundation of their faith.
    b. Is what their ancient sages were doing.
    c. Is irrelevant to spiritual life.
3. Hindus believe you can generate rain by …
    a. Washing your car.
    b. Seeding clouds with ice crystals.
    c. Propitiating the deities who control the weather.
4. In science labs, the claims of yogis have …
    a. Held up remarkably well.
    b. Been utterly disproven.

c. Led to bitter lawsuits over patents.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (b). 3 (c). 4 (a).

Nevertheless, over the years Hindu mystical techniques scored again and again in the laboratory—yes, meditation delivered as promised in terms of enhancing physical and mental well-being. So did Hatha Yoga postures and a balanced vegetarian diet.

Only a handful of Western scientists, such as Dr. Ian Stevenson of the University of Virginia Medical School, dared to venture into the realms of consciousness that Hindu mystics explored. Dr. Stevenson produced a large number of thoroughly researched case studies suggesting that reincarnation might possibly be a reality.

So reports about incredible achievements made possible by Hindu science continue even into our own time. And still most folks in the West refuse to believe them!

The Least You Need to Know

- Hindus believe the force behind evolution is inherently intelligent.
- While Western culture has excelled in studying the external world, Hindus have thoroughly investigated consciousness.
- Hindus believe the human mind has extraordinary potentials that great saints and yogis can tap.
- Hindu adepts use their physical bodies as launching pads into higher dimensions.
- Scientific studies have verified some miraculous-sounding Hindu stories about human potential.

Chapter 26

Ancient Religion in Modern Times

In This Chapter

- The best and the worst of ancient traditions
- The Hindu/Muslim conflict
- Hinduism's impact in today's world
- The East heads West
- The message of the sages

Hinduism is by far the oldest of the world religions; no other faith even comes close. While other cultures around the world have aggressively stamped out their ancient traditions, Hindu civilization has preserved the wisdom of the ancients. When we listen to brahmin priests chanting the Veda today, we are hearing the echoing voices of seers who lived 5,000 years ago. When we read the myths and cosmology recorded in the Puranas, we glimpse legends that may have taken root in the last Ice Age. Archeologists have confirmed what Hindus themselves have always claimed: in thousands of years, their faith has changed little. The Hindu tradition is extremely conservative, having held its basic shape for millennia. This religion has a lot of baggage, some of which, reformers claim, it's time to toss out.

Can such an old tradition meet the challenges of modern times? Can a religion so resistant to change accommodate the realities of technological progress and progressive social ideas? Will a faith so rooted in the past continue to flourish in the future?

Let's look at the problems Hindus wrestle with today. And let's look at the extraordinary gifts "the Eternal Religion" offers our present-day world.

From Bullock Cart to Computer

The Western world made the transition into the modern era relatively gradually, taking about two centuries to shift from a predominantly rural culture into an urban civilization. The Industrial Revolution heaved the West into a new technological era that ultimately catapulted astronauts to the Moon and put radios, then televisions, then computers, then iPODs in nearly everyone's home.

India is making the same jump at light speed. When I visited India in the early 1990s, Hindu children shared with me their dreams of moving to America. They hoped to find better paying jobs there and a wider array of opportunities. By the early 2000s, migrating to the United States or United Kingdom had nearly dropped out of the conversation. The new buzz word was "IT" (information technology). Bangalore is the new Silicon Valley, and Mumbai has plenty of good jobs, too. Who needs the United States?

The Impact of the West

Against all odds, since expelling the British, India has pulled itself up by the bootstraps and put itself back on the map. In the early 1990s, finding a working telephone in India was a day-long project. Less than 10 years later, almost everyone had access to a phone. Five years after that, much of India was online.

There is no underestimating the impact that TV, cinema, and the Internet have on a culture. Contentment and a lack of aggressive materialism have long been the signature of Hindu culture. These values could blow away like dust before the onslaught of Western TV programming, commercials, and pornography now being broadcast into Hindu villages.

Along with rampant consumerism, the media has brought a whole range of new ideas into Hindu communities. Imagine women actually getting university degrees, supporting themselves, and living on their own! Imagine the children of sweepers, even of butchers, growing up to take jobs that make them virtual equals of priests and princes. This is radical stuff for Hindus!

Most of the founders of modern India, men like Jawaharlal Nehru, were British educated. Their essentially Western worldviews inspired them to declare India a secular, democratic state. Western democratic ideals have

not always sat well with Hindu orthodoxy and its entrenched belief in social hierarchy. (It's useful to bear in mind that democracy was not eagerly embraced by the upper classes of Europe, either!)

Sages Say

The tragedy of human history is decreasing happiness in the midst of increasing comforts.
—Swami Chinmayananda

Wisdom and Inertia

Hinduism has preserved both the best—and the worst—of ancient culture. Prejudices cherished for 5,000 years are unlikely to change overnight. In fact, they're unlikely to be recognized as prejudices at all. And practices that have been in effect since before the dawn of history, such as dumping one's garbage in the river, are difficult to change now when a billion Indians are throwing their refuse into the waterways. The horrifying consequence is that today even the holy Ganges itself is choking with pollution.

The rapid changes of modernization are forcing Hindus to begin looking at many issues that even the most prescient sages could hardly have foreseen. But as changes begin to occur, particularly among the younger generation, which craves more of the material goods and freedoms of the West, there's the very real danger that the baby will float away down the river with the

bath water. Down through the ages, Hinduism's most brilliant religious leaders have helped Hindus adjust to changing conditions. But today's more material-minded Hindus may be less inclined to listen to their spiritual elders.

As Swami Vivekananda pointed out, rather astutely I think, "This is the only country where poverty is not a crime." In olden times, Hindus evaluated their quality of life based on the qualities they held in their hearts. Increasingly Hindus are joining the West in judging themselves and others by how expensive their cars are or how fashionable the cut of their new clothes.

Sages Say

Shall India die? Then from the world all spirituality will be extinct; all moral perfection will be extinct; all sweet-souled sympathy for religion will be extinct; all ideality will be extinct; and in their place will reign the duality of lust and luxury as the male and female deities, with money as its priest; fraud, force, and competition its ceremonies; and the human soul its sacrifice.
—Swami Vivekananda

In the rush to change, ancient spiritual wisdom preserved in India—wisdom that once existed everywhere but has been forgotten in almost every other culture around the world—could be lost forever. Hindus may gain materially but, like much of the rest of the modern world, they could lose their soul in the process.

Hindu Reformation

For all its strengths, Hinduism is burdened with all-too-evident weaknesses. First there is the overpopulation spurred in part by the preoccupation with producing sons. Then there is the treatment of women and people of the lower classes, which too often fails to reflect the loftier vision of the more equal-minded Hindu sages.

Throughout Indian history, social reformers have emerged to challenge overly inflexible, and even inhumane, distortions of Hindu doctrine. In the nineteenth century, groups like the Brahmo Samaj, Adi Samaj, and Arya Samaj were leading advocates for human rights.

Guidepost

How do you define happiness? I've often been impressed by Hindu villagers, who are dirt poor by American standards but are healthy and cheerful. They haven't learned yet that they can't be happy because they don't drive a Lexus. Having enough food and shelter, combined with a rich culture, warm family relationships, and a satisfying spiritual life is enough to make most traditional Hindus quite happy.

In their zeal for a revitalized Hinduism, however, reformers sometimes attacked essential institutions that define Hinduism, such as the use of images in worship. Perhaps some of these well-meaning leaders had

become too Europeanized, to the extent that they could no longer see the authentic wisdom in these ancient practices.

Amritanandamayi Ma is a remarkable example of an exceptionally successful twenty-first century reformer. She begins by calling for a reformation of the human heart. She calls on her hundreds of thousands of devotees to love all and serve the needy. By modeling a life of selfless service herself (see Chapter 20), Amma, (mother), as she is called, has connected with the masses in a way the more intellectually minded leaders of the Brahmo Samaj were unable to. Saints walk their talk.

In the presence of saints like Amma, the orthodox priest sits down to eat with the untouchable. When a "supernova of spirituality," as *Hinduism Today* has called Amma, calls for fair and respectful treatment of women or the lower castes, men are inspired to listen. It's impossible to argue with the universal love and astonishing wisdom of one of Hinduism's greatest living saints.

Toe to Toe with Islam

The relationship between Hindus and Muslims has not always been a happy one. Many Muslim rulers in India were relatively tolerant, and a few, such as Akbar the Great (1556-1605), were practically half-Hindu. But other fanatic Islamic rulers laid waste to India in a deliberate attempt to eradicate Hinduism. At the beginning of the second millennium, Mahmud of Ghazni virtually annihilated whole cities, as did the Emperor Aurangzeb, who ruled from 1658 to 1680. They demolished practically every major Hindu temple in North India. Tens of thousands of Hindus who refused to accept Islam were put to the sword. These activities did little to improve Hindu-Muslim relations.

A Clash of Cultures

Muslims say there is one God whose name is Allah and Mohammed is his final authenticated prophet. Hindus say there is one God whose name is any

name you want to give him or her, and prophets—even divine incarnations—appear on Earth all the time, including right now! Muslims say God is formless and should never be worshipped—or even imagined—in any form. Hindus say God is formless and can be worshipped in any form whatsoever since God pervades them all.

Hindus have made room for outsiders who came to stay, often gradually absorbing invaders and immigrants into their culture. But Hindu and Muslim worldviews appear irreconcilable. Mohammed Ali Jinnah tried to solve the problem by calling for the splitting up of India when the British left in 1947. This led the Brits to partition India into two countries: India proper and East and West Pakistan. (East Pakistan is now independent Bangladesh.)

Jinnah's idea was that Muslims would live in the two Pakistans in the far north and Hindus in India. Mahatma Gandhi fought the Partition, as it came to be called, but his worst fears came to pass. The forced evacuation of millions of Hindus from the newly created Pakistan and of millions of Muslims from India led to some of the worst massacres in human history. Both sides participated in atrocities. The horrendous karma of the bloody Partition haunts India and Pakistan to this day.

Nuclear Tensions, High Stakes Hope

As the twenty-first century progresses, the stakes have never been higher. India and Pakistan are fighting over Kashmir, the ancient stronghold of Shaivite religion. Both countries now have nuclear weapons. While both have promised to show restraint, emotions run high.

Sages Say

The path of true nonviolence requires much more courage than violence.
—Mahatma Gandhi

In an effort to promote healing between the two belligerent religions, saints like Kabir, Lokenath, Ramakrishna, and Shirdi Sai Baba publicly acknowledged the value of both traditions, in some cases, even to the extent of adopting spiritual practices from both religions! The saints dramatized through their lives that Hindus and Muslims can set hostility aside, forgive the past, and meet in spiritual community.

Hindus Abroad

In the past two centuries, the population in India has increased by an astonishing 500 percent. In 1800, 200,000,000 people lived on the Indian subcontinent. By 1900, the figure rose to nearly 300,000,000. But by the year 2000, with the world population hitting 6,200,000,000, India now held one fifth of the human beings on the planet: 1,200,000,000 souls.
It may be possible to churn out that many babies that fast, but feeding and creating jobs for that many new people is no simple feat. A massive exodus in the second half of the twentieth century saw Hindus heading for ports abroad. More than a million Hindus live in England now, working alongside the people who used to be their masters. Another 60 million Hindus are scattered across the globe.

Losing My Religion

A serious problem for Hindus abroad has been finding spiritual support. If there is no Hindu temple or cultural center nearby, children born in foreign countries can lose their sense of religious identity within a single

generation. Kids want to fit in with their peers. For Hindu teenagers in North America that's often meant trying to seem a lot less "Hindu" in order to fit more smoothly into a predominantly Judeo-Christian culture.
I can't tell you how often I used to hear Hindus in the United States bewailing the fact that their children didn't know a thing about their religious heritage. The problem was compounded by the fact that often those Hindus motivated to leave India in search of economic opportunities elsewhere were the very ones least educated in their own tradition—and therefore, least qualified to pass it on to the next generation.

The Hindu View

Until recently, in Canada the word "religion" applied only to Christianity and Judaism! When a Hindu couple tried to open a temple there, they ran into enormous legal obstacles because the government didn't recognize their religion! Because of their efforts, religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam finally achieved legal status in Canada in 1973.

A Spate of Temples

Thankfully, the situation is changing rapidly. Is there a Hindu temple near you? If not, there may soon be. They're popping up all over! The two million or so Hindus in North America have responded to their crisis in cultural identity by raising tens of millions of dollars for temple construction—and thousands more to import brahmin priests from India.

The priests conduct their age-old rituals for them and also, in some cases, teach classes on the Bhagavad Gita and other sacred texts.
I am thrilled to visit the new Hindu temples and community centers materializing throughout the United States. Since the Immigration Department relaxed its quotas limiting the influx of South Asians, Hindus have poured onto our shores. Most are professionals, placing the American Hindu population among the best educated and most prosperous ethnic groups in the Western hemisphere.
When Hindus reacted with horror at how insensitively and inaccurately their religion was portrayed in California grade school and high school textbooks, the state was forced to make corrections. American Hindus are reclaiming their tradition and earning the affection and respect of their neighbors in the West.

The Perennial Philosophy

One peaceful evening in 1876, a Canadian physician named Richard Bucke had a sudden, inexplicable mystical experience. He was relaxing quietly when, without warning, he felt an incredible sense of exultation and in "one momentary lightning-flash of Brahmic splendor" he actually experienced, to the core of his being, that "the Cosmos is not dead matter but a living Presence" and that "the foundation principle of the world is what we call love." The universe was actually consciousness itself! This was not a whim or an intellectual insight but an actual explosion of awareness that knocked his socks off!

Sages Say

[Cosmic] consciousness shows the cosmos to consist not of dead matter governed by unconscious, rigid, and unintending law; it shows it on the contrary as entirely immaterial, entirely spiritual and entirely alive; it shows that death is an absurdity; … it shows that the universe is God and that God is the universe.
—Richard Bucke, M.D.

def•i•ni•tion

Bodhi is the experience of enlightenment. It's fully illumined awareness.

The experience lasted only a moment, but it radically transformed his life as he spent the rest of his life investigating the extraordinary phenomenon he called "cosmic consciousness." His book, *Cosmic Consciousness: A Study in the Evolution of the Human Mind,* came out at the beginning of the twentieth century. It catalogued descriptions of similar experiences recorded by historical figures such as Jacob Boehme, Plotinus, Jesus, Mohammed, Swedenborg, Ramakrishna, and a friend of Bucke's, an American newspaper reporter named Walt Whitman.

At the time of his mystical experience, Bucke knew virtually nothing about Hinduism. Yet in one moment of illumination he rediscovered the central truths of India's ancient seers. This is the reason Hinduism can justifiably be called "the Eternal Religion." The experience of divine illumination on which Hinduism is based keeps reasserting itself. At any moment, at any place, someone somewhere spontaneously *awakens.* Hindus would call this the experience of *bodhi* or enlightened awareness. Dr. Bucke speculated that all humanity is evolving toward cosmic consciousness—a view many Hindu texts support.

In the early 1940s, Aldous Huxley explored similar themes in his classic work, *The Perennial Philosophy.* Huxley quoted at length from the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita as well as from Hindu sages like Shankaracharya. He pointed out the astonishing similarities between reports of mystical experiences in many different spiritual traditions. Perhaps you noticed the title of Huxley's book is an alternate translation of the Hindus' name for their tradition, Sanatana Dharma, "the eternal religion."

Ancient Wisdom Is Eternally New

Just about everywhere its teachings have been presented fairly, Hinduism has been a hit. Some of the important cultural components of Hinduism, such as the caste system, have failed to make a favorable impression in today's increasingly democratic world. But the mystical beliefs of the Vedic sages—from karma and reincarnation and the essential unity of all things, to the mind-expanding powers of meditation—have been enthusiastically received wherever they've traveled. As Hinduism leaves home and expands outward from India, it is winning increasing interest and support.

Western Minds, Eastern Truths

From at least the time of the ancient Greek sage Pyrrho, who entered India in the entourage of Alexander the Great, some of the finest minds of the West have turned to Hinduism for inspiration. Many recognized in the Hindu tradition the clearest explanation of the perennial philosophy underlying the great mystical systems of the world. Some of the twentieth century's most progressive thinkers, such as Franklin Merrell-Wolff and Aldous Huxley, were avid students of Hindu philosophy.
From philosophers like Arthur Schopenhauer to scientists like J. Robert Oppenheimer, leading American and European intellectuals have been inspired by Hinduism. Top writers have been involved, too. William Butler Yeats helped translate several of the major Upanishads, the crown jewels of India's spiritual heritage. Christopher Isherwood helped translate the

Bhagavad Gita and wrote extensively on the Hindu saint Ramakrishna. Alan Watts's *The Book: On the Taboo Against Knowing Who You Are* was one of the best introductions to Hinduism thought available in the 1960s.

Innocents in India

Mark Twain is perhaps the best-loved American writer of the nineteenth century, well known for books like *Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn,* and *Innocents Abroad.* But few of his American admirers know Twain traveled extensively in India. He called it the "cradle of the human race, birthplace of human speech, mother of history, grandmother of legend, great-grandmother of tradition."

Twain, usually quite a cynical fellow, was genuinely awed by the Hindu tradition. India, he said, was "the one land that all men desire to see, and having once seen, by even a glimpse, would not give that glimpse for all the shows of all the rest of the globe combined."

Joseph Campbell, the immensely popular American mythologist, traveled widely in India and was a good friend of the radical Hindu teacher J. Krishnamurti. He also assisted in the translation of one of the greatest spiritual classics of modern times, *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna.* At one point, he admitted that discovering the Mandukya Upanishad affected him more profoundly than the beginning of World War II!

Hinduism in the New Age

While Hinduism deeply affected some of the leading Western thinkers, scientists, and artists, its most pervasive influence has been on Western popular culture. Today Hatha Yoga classes are taught at just about every physical fitness center throughout the world. Hatha was shaped into its present form over a thousand years ago by Hindu adepts in Bengal, such as Gorakh Nath and Matsyendra Nath. Its original purpose was to keep the physical body in optimal shape for advanced spiritual practices.

The “New Age” movement, which arose in the West in the latter half of the twentieth century, grew out of an increasing disenchantment with orthodox Western religions and a craving for a richer personal experience of spirituality. “New Agers” were sometimes satirized as superficial and superstitious. What their critics missed was the New Agers’ open-mindedness, willingness to experiment, and heartfelt sincerity.
Hinduism, directly and indirectly, contributed immensely to the New Age movement. The quest for understanding the Inner Self, meditation, visualization and stress-reduction techniques, vegetarianism, a fascination with occult powers, openness to the religious beliefs of indigenous peoples, certain healing methodologies, recognition of past lives and the role of karma, and the search for the spiritual master were all adopted by New Agers from the Hindu tradition. In some respects, the New Age movement is virtually a beginning-level form of Hinduism.
Surveys show that over the past half-century, the number of Westerners who believe in past lives and who take the concept of karma seriously has skyrocketed. Most of these people would never identify themselves as Hindu, yet their worldview has been profoundly altered by the great Hindu masters, whether they realize it or not.

Something for Everyone

Hinduism appeals on so many levels. It recalls the respect for nature and the communion with natural forces, so pervasive in ancient pagan religions. It reactivates reverence for the Goddess, whose worship was stamped out throughout the Western world but is still a living force in Hinduism where the profound mysticism of her tradition has been lovingly preserved from prehistory. There is the singing and dancing and worshipping before the images of the Divine, where one’s love for God and Goddess find full expression. There are the physical and mental exercises that expand one’s capacity to directly experience spirit. And there is the guru. Having a realized guru is for Hindus like walking with Christ himself for Christians. Whatever you call the Supreme Being, however you picture him or her, whatever name you give your faith, an inner core of genuine mystical experience links your faith with every other authentic tradition. Hinduism,

the oldest world religion, has preserved the wisdom of the ancients and their techniques for transcendence. That's why Hinduism is still as vital and vibrant today as it was 5,000 years ago.

The Launch Pad

I'd like to close with a few lines from my favorite American poet. In "Passage to India," Walt Whitman wrote:

> O Thou transcendent,
> Nameless, the fibre and the breath,
> Light of the light, shedding forth universes, thou centre of them …
> Athwart the shapeless vastnesses of space,
> How should I think, how breathe a single breath, how speak, if, out of myself,
> I could not launch, to those, superior universes?

Some blue-eyed Hindus like me have made our hearts a beachhead for Hinduism because we recognize in the Eternal Religion a launching pad for spirit. As the Goddess herself says in the Tripura Rahasya, between our own heart and the limitless being of infinity, there is no distance whatsoever. We have only to turn within to find the Divine One who exists everywhere. The Hindu sages show us how.

I hope this book has given you a little taste of one of the most delicious religions around. I offer my loving respect to the Divine One, to the saints and sages of all traditions, and, my patient reader, holding this book in your hands, especially *to you!*

Quick Quiz

1. "IT," a booming industry in modern India, stands for …
    a. International terrorist.
    b. Information technology.
    c. Inner truth.

2. The Hindu saints Lokenath and Ramakrishna …
    a. Taught that Hindus and Muslims can live together in mutual respect.
    b. Urged the Indian government to expel Muslims from India.
    c. Wore milk moustaches in a prodairy ad campaign.
3. The Partition …
    a. Is the name of a popular television game show in India.
    b. Refers to the creation of India and East and West Pakistan.
    c. Divides the shower stall and toilet in an average Hindu home.
4. The experience of cosmic consciousness …
    a. Has never been reported in the West.
    b. Is the exclusive domain of astronomers and astrophysicists.
    c. Lies at the very heart of Hinduism.

Answers: 1 (b). 2 (a). 3 (b). 4 (c).

The Least You Need to Know

- The rapid transition into a modern, democratic culture is challenging fundamental Hindu values.
- Hindu-Muslim hostilities have a bloody thousand-year history with no resolution in sight.
- The population of India has soared from 200,000,000 to 1,200,000,000 in just 200 years.
- Hindus abroad are actively building more temples in order to preserve their heritage.
- Hindu spirituality, though not necessarily Hindu culture, has found enthusiastic adherents in the Western world.

Appendix A

Glossary

Here's some advice on Sanskrit pronunciation.
Hindus pronounce vowels something like Italians do. Depending on whether the vowel is short or long:

a is pronounced like the u in "but" or the a in "father"
e is pronounced like the a in "say"
i is pronounced as in "it" or like the ea in "eat"
o is pronounced as in "no"
u is pronounced like the u in "push" or "brute"

A couple of vowels in Sanskrit are almost impossible for Americans to pronounce because we have no corresponding letter in the English alphabet. To save you trouble, I've transcribed them as "ri" and "lri," which is probably as close as we English speakers will get to pronouncing them anyway.
A few more tips:

bh is pronounced like the bh between "club house"
chh is pronounced like the chh between "church hill"
dh is pronounced like the dh in "adhesive"
gh is pronounced like the gh between "dog house"
kh is pronounced like the kh between "work house"
ph is pronounced like the ph in "uphill"
th is pronounced like the th in "anthill"

But:

sh is pronounced as in "ship"

There are four different letters each corresponding to four different ways to pronounce the letters "d" and "t" in Sanskrit. Though Indians can easily

hear the difference, we English speakers have a lot of trouble making them out. There are also two letters representing two ways to pronounce the sound "sh" as in "shoe." These depend on exactly how you hold your tongue as you make the sound. Since most English speakers can't hear the difference, in this book I've transliterated them for you as just plain "d," "t," and "sh."

There is no "f" sound in Sanskrit, nor is there any "th" as in "that" or "thing."

For more information on Sanskrit, consult Judith M. Tyberg's wonderful *First Lessons in Sanskrit Grammar and Reading* (Los Angeles: East-West Cultural Center, 1964.)

Abhinavesha Desire for life; fear of death.

Acharya An especially learned teacher.

Adharma Unethical behavior; unrighteousness.

Adhibhautika karma Group karma.

Adhidaivika karma Karmic cycles of the forces of nature.

Adhyatmika karma Karma we generate ourselves.

Adridha karma Karmic consequences that can easily be changed.

Advaita Nondual; unitary; one without a second.

Agama Sacred texts of the tantric tradition.

Agni The god of fire; fire itself; matter in the process of combustion.

Ahankara Self-identity; the sense of me and mine.

Ahimsa Nonviolence; nonharming.

Ajna Chakra The center of awareness found several inches behind the point where the eyebrows meet.

Akasha Extremely attenuated physical matter. The "stuff" of which "empty" space is made.

Akriti Uncreated, eternal. Beyond time, space, and causation.

Allah Muslim name for God.

Alvar "One who dives deep." The 12 great South Indian Vaishnava saints of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Anahata Chakra The chakra at the heart.

Ananda Spiritual bliss.

Ananda Maya Kosha The subtlemost body made of very rarified energy.

Angirasas Ancient fire priests.

Anna Food.

Anna Maya Kosha The physical body.
Aparigraha Nongrasping; not being greedy.
Apas Physical matter that's fluid (such as water).
Arati Ritual waving of lights before a Hindu deity.
Aranya A forest.
Archana Ritual worship involving offerings to a deity (usually of flowers and fruit) and chanting the deity's name.
Artha Wealth, material well-being.
Arthaveda Politics, a subsidiary science regulated by religious texts.
Ashram A group home where the central focus is spiritual practice.
Ashtanga Yoga "Eight-limbed yoga." A form of yoga practice with eight components.
Asmita Egotism and selfishness.
Asteya Not stealing.
Asura A selfish, aggressive supernatural being; in very ancient texts, a god.
Atma Nivedana Surrender of the Inner Self to the Self of All.
Atman The Inner Self; the immortal spirit.
Avadhuta A highly unconventional renunciate.
Avatar An incarnation of God or the Goddess.
Avidya Ignorance, especially of our true spiritual nature.
Ayurveda Indigenous Hindu medicine.
Baba An affectionate term for a Hindu holy man.
Baksheesh Money or a bribe.
Bhagavan "Bestower of good fortune." God.
Bhairavi A female tantric practitioner.
Bhajan A spiritual song, often extolling the divine qualities of God or the Goddess.
Bhakta A person who's in love with the Divine.
Bhakti Love for God or the Goddess; spiritual devotion.
Bharat The Indians' own name for India.
Bharati A Hindu scholar renowned for her wisdom.
Bhava Mood. Feeling of spiritual ecstasy.
Bhoga Worldly enjoyment.
Bodhi Illumined awareness.
Bodhisattva A Buddhist seeker who aspires to benefit all beings.
Brahma Creator deity.

Brahmacharya Celibacy. Avoiding unhealthy extremes of sensual indulgence.
Brahman The Supreme Reality, the one all-pervading consciousness.
Brahmins The caste of priests.
Buddha An enlightened person or, specifically, the Hindu prince who founded Buddhism.
Buddhi The mental capacity to make judgments. The higher intellect, intuition, and conscience.
Chai Indian tea, usually steeped in milk with spices.
Chakra A center of spiritual energy in the body.
Chakshu The sense of sight.
Chandas The sacred science of meter, used to help in pronunciation of mantras.
Chappati A flat slice of fried, unleavened wheat bread.
Chidakasha The spiritual sky or "sky of mind."
Chit Consciousness.
Dahl A dish of curried beans.
Damodara Butter thief. This is an affectionate name for the mischievous, divine child Krishna.
Darshana "Seeing." Any one of Hinduism's schools of theology, which are different ways of "seeing" God. Also having the direct vision of the Supreme Being yourself, for example, when you see His or Her image in a temple.
Dasha Maha Vidyas The 10 great Goddesses of the Hindu mystical tradition.
Deva Radiant being; a divine being or deity.
Deva Loka The heaven world where exceptionally pure souls dwell.
Devata A nature spirit. The inherent intelligence of an object or energy.
Devi A Goddess.
Dhanur Veda The Hindu martial arts, particularly archery.
Dharma The best possible course; righteousness; the fulfillment of one's true purpose; virtue.
Dharma Megha The last hoop a yogi has to jump through before achieving enlightenment. When pierced by the kundalini, it releases a torrent of divine knowledge and bliss.
Dhruva The North Star.

Dosha One's constitutional type according to Ayurvedic medicine. There are three doshas: fiery, phlegmatic, and nervous.
Dridha karma Inevitable karmic consequences.
Dridhadridha karma Karmic results that can be averted with effort.
Durga The warrior goddess.
Dvesha Hatred and aversion.
Gandha Matter that can be smelled.
Gandharva Veda The Hindu sacred arts of music and dance.
Ganja Hashish.
Garbha Womb, matrix, or the inner sanctum of a temple.
Ghee Clarified butter, an important ingredient in Hindu cooking and ritual offerings.
Ghrana The sense of smell.
Giri A hill or mountain.
Gita A song or chant. Specifically, the Bhagavad Gita.
Gopi Milkmaid. The gopis of Vrindavan are legendary as Krishna's most lovelorn devotees.
Gulab Jamin Indian dessert made of condensed milk, soaked in sweet syrup.
Guna One of the three modes in which energy operates: rajas, sattva, or tamas.
Guru Teacher. Specifically, the spiritual preceptor.
Guru Shakti Illuminating power; the energy of enlightenment.
Indriyas The five senses.
Isha God. Also an Indian pronunciation of the name Jesus.
Ishta Devata One's personal deity; the god or goddess with whom you form an intimate relationship.
Ishvara "Lord," a common name for God.
Ishvara Pranidhana Remaining focused on God and surrendering to divine will.
Japa The continual repetition of God's name or of a sacred mantra.
Jatkarman The sacramental rite performed at the birth of a Hindu baby.
Jinva The sense of taste.
Jiva The individual soul.
Jivanmukta A liberated soul who's still in a physical body.
Jnana Knowledge, particularly experiential knowledge.

Jnani A “knower”; a Self-realized sage.
Jyotisha The sacred science of Vedic astrology.
Kala Time. Also the force that limits the soul’s omnipotence.
Kali Fierce mother goddess.
Kalpa Ritual science.
Kalpataru A “wish-fulfilling tree” or a saint who generously grants boons.
Kama Sexual desire or desire in general; pleasure.
Karana Sharira The causal body or “seed” body. The body that reincarnates.
Karma The law of action and reaction at work in the moral universe. “As you sow, so shall you reap.”
Karmashaya Karmic residue we carry from past lives—our old memories, habits, and desires—which are stored in our subtle body.
Kaya Kalpa The technique for regenerating the physical body.
Kirtan Devotional chanting.
Kosha A sheath or covering. Any of the soul’s five increasingly subtle bodies.
Kripa Divine grace.
Kriyaman Karma Our actions; the karma we’re producing in this lifetime.
Kshatriya The warrior caste: rulers, administrators, police, and military.
Kundalini A subtle form of psychic energy, latent in most people, that lies at the bottom of the spine. When it rises into the brain, extraordinary states of mystical awareness are produced.
Lakshmi Goddess of prosperity.
Lassi A light, frothy, chilled Indian beverage made with yogurt or buttermilk and spices or fruit.
Lila Play, or a joyful, spontaneous action performed without thinking first.
Linga A conical or egg-shaped stone representing Shiva, Divine Consciousness beyond form.
Madhyama Verbal thoughts heard with your inner ear.
Maha Deva A “Great God” like Brahma, Vishnu, or Shiva, in charge of many minor gods. Most commonly refers to Shiva.
Mahamandaleshvara A specially acknowledged Hindu leader.
Mahat The cosmic mind, the network of intelligence through which all living creatures are interlinked.
Mala A Hindu rosary.

Manana Deeply contemplating spiritual truth.
Manas The part of the mind that processes sensory data and thinks.
Manipura Chakra The chakra behind the navel.
Mano Maya Kosha The subtle body made of mental energy, the mind (as opposed to the more subtle soul).
Mantra A sacred sound, word, or phrase that leads the mind to a higher state of consciousness.
Manu The forefather of the present race of humanity.
Mara Evil; wrongdoing.
Maranatha "Lord of Love."
Matha A Hindu monastery.
Matsya Fish.
Meru The mountain at the center of the world. Astronomically it represents the north/south axis of the Earth. In yoga, it stands for the spinal column.
Mlecchas Non-Hindu foreigners.
Moksha Liberation from the bondage of karma and from the wheel of death and rebirth.
Mukti Liberation. Another word for moksha.
Muladhara Chakra The chakra at the base of the spine.
Murti A statue of God or the Goddess, sometimes mistakenly called an idol by non-Hindus.
Nadi A current of energy or "nerves" in the subtle body.
Nagababa A naked, militant renunciate.
Nakshatra A constellation, or a 13°20' sector of the Hindu zodiac.
Nama Japa Continual repetition of the name of God or the Goddess.
Nayanar The 63 great Tamil poet saints of the Shaivite tradition.
Nididhyasana Deeply contemplating one's own Inner Self.
Nirguna "Without qualities"; not having shape or form.
Nirguna Brahman The transcendent God beyond the reach of thought.
Nirukta The sacred science of etymology.
Niyama A moral observance. Something you really ought to do.
Niyati This force limits the soul's inherent omnipresence.
Pada The ability to move around.
Panchama Outcastes; people excommunicated from Hinduism.
Pani The ability to handle objects.
Papa Bad karma; actions that generate unfortunate consequences.

Para Vak Unmanifest meaning inherent in silence. The truth abiding in deep meditative states.
Paradesh The highest or supreme land. This is the Tibetan plateau above Uttarapradesh, India's northern region.
Parakaya Pravesha The yogic practice of transferring an adept's consciousness into another soul's vacated body.
Param Anu An atom.
Parvata A mountain.
Parvati Hindu goddess; the wife of Shiva.
Pashupati "Lord of animals that have been bound with a rope." Shiva.
Pashyanti Abstract concepts perceived in your higher mind.
Patala Hell; a transient after-death state of mental terror and anguish.
Payu Excreting.
Pitha A seat of spiritual energy; an important religious institution or pilgrimage site.
Pitri Loka The after-death realm where average souls meet their family members who died before them.
Prajapati The divine intelligence who called animate beings into existence.
Prakriti Primeval energy, the energy matrix from which organized matter emerges.
Prana The breath or life energy, vital force, *chi.*
Prana Maya Kosha The subtle body made of life energy.
Prana Pratishtha The process of infusing the image of a deity with life breath so the image becomes spiritually enlivened.
Prapatti The devotional path of total surrender to God.
Prarabdha Karma That portion of our total karma destined to manifest in our present lifetime.
Prasad Food or some other offering brought to the image of a Hindu God or Goddess and returned to the giver with divine blessings.
Pratyabhijna Self-recognition; recollecting the Divine Consciousness in oneself.
Prithivi Dense physical matter. The Earth.
Puja A religious ritual, usually involving making offerings to an image of a deity.
Punya Past life credit. Actions that generate fortunate consequences.

Purana “Ancient chronicle” or “book of the ancient times.” There are 19 major Puranas and an ever increasing number of minor ones.
Puri A town or city.
Purushottama “The Supreme Person.” God, Vishnu.
Raga Different styles of classical Indian music; also desire and attachment.
Raja King. Raja Yoga is therefore the “royal” yoga.
Rajas The quality of being in motion, active and energetic.
Rakhi A magical bracelet or “band of protection.”
Rasa Matter that can be tasted.
Rasa Lila The dance of divine love.
Rasayana Ayurvedic rejuvenation. Hindu medical techniques for prolonging longevity.
Rishi Seer. The Vedic seers were saints and sages of the highest caliber. One Hindu, tradition notes seven different levels of seers. Ranging from highest to least advanced they are the Deva rishis, Brahma rishis, Raja rishis, Maha rishis, Parama rishis, Shruta rishis, and Kanda rishis.
Rita The laws of nature; the natural flow of reality. Righteous behavior.
Rupa Matter that can be seen; form.
Sadhu A man who has renounced the material world and wanders from place to place without any possessions, immersed in meditation and spiritual practice.
Sadhvi A woman renunciate.
Saguna “With qualities”; having shape and form.
Saguna Brahman The personal God who responds to our appeals.
Sahasrara Chakra The chakra at the top of the head.
Samadhi An intense state of concentration. Also the burial shrine of a saint.
Samskara A habit or tendency. Also a sacrament.
Samyama The movement of attention from concentration through meditation into total mental absorption.
Sanatana Dharma The Hindu’s own word for their spiritual tradition. It means “the eternal religion.”
Sanchita Karma The karma we’ve accumulated in all our previous incarnations.
Sannyas Renunciation.
Sannyasin A Hindu renunciate.
Santosha Contentment.

Sarasvati The goddess of education and the arts.
Sat Pure beingness; absolute truth.
Satsang Keeping company with the guru or other devotees; spiritual fellowship.
Sattva The quality of harmony. Sattvic energy is light and clear.
Satya Truth; honesty.
Saucha Inner purity and external cleanliness.
Seva Selfless service.
Shabda Matter that can be heard; sound.
Shakta A devotee of the Goddess.
Shakti The Goddess. Shakti also means power, energy, or the illuminating power of consciousness.
Shaktipat The transmission of spiritual knowledge and power. Usually the energy of enlightenment is channeled to an aspirant through the guru.
Shiksha The sacred science of phonetics.
Shiva Supreme God or god of dissolution.
Shraddha Faith, or a sacrament performed for the dead.
Shravana Listening to the teachings of the guru and assimilating their truth.
Shruti "That which is heard." Divine revelation imparted directly from God. The holy Veda and its direct auxiliary texts like the Upanishads.
Shuddhi Purification. The shuddi rite restored Hindu status to ex-Hindus who had converted to Christianity or Islam.
Shudra The working class; laborers.
Siddha An advanced spiritual adept.
Siddhi Supernatural power.
Smarana Continuously remembering the Divine and its characteristics.
Smriti "That which is memorized." Sacred scriptures authored by enlightened sages.
Soma The divine nectar drunk by gods and yogis. The Moon.
Sparsha Matter that can be felt.
Sthapatya Veda Hindu sacred architecture.
Sthula Sharira The physical body and its life energy or vital force.
Stotra A holy hymn or prayer. Also the sense of hearing.
Sukshma Sharira The astral body.

Sutradhara A master architect who ensures that buildings are designed according to sacred principles.
Sutratma The cosmic mind which pervades the world like a thread running through all the flowers in a garland.
Svadhishthana Chakra The chakra near the genital organs.
Svadhyaya Study and self-analysis.
Svarga Heaven.
Svarodaya The yogic science of breath.
Swami An orange-robed Hindu renunciate.
Swamini "Master of herself." A female swami.
Tamas The quality of inertia: heavy, stupid, lethargic.
Tapas Self-discipline; austerity.
Tapasvin A person who performs rigorous austerities.
Tilak An auspicious mark some Hindus wear on their forehead.
Tirtha A ford or religious site.
Trimurti "The three forms of God." This refers to the three main gods of Hinduism: Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva.
Tvak The sense of touch.
Upa Veda One of the four sacred sciences not directly related to scriptural study.
Upastha The ability to procreate.
Vaikari Physical sound one hears with his ears.
Vairagya Dispassion; nonattachment.
Vaishnava Shakti The force that stuns the soul at the time of rebirth, so it loses conscious memory of its past life.
Vaishya The merchant caste: business people, trades people, and farmers.
Vak The ability to speak. The goddess of speech. The divine word.
Vana A forest.
Varna The four castes of Hindu society.
Vasana Unconscious thoughts and tendencies.
Vastu The Indian science of sacred space, Hindu *feng shui.*
Vayu Gaseous matter; wind. The god of wind.
Veda The Bible of Hinduism.
Vidya Knowledge. Also the force that limits omniscience, cutting universal knowledge down to human knowledge.
Vijnana Maya Kosha The subtle body consisting of intelligence.

Vimana An airborne vehicle mentioned in ancient accounts.
Vira Hero.
Vishnu Loving God who maintains justice.
Vishuddha Chakra The chakra at the throat.
Vishvadevas The forces of nature understood as intelligent entities.
Vrata A vow to complete a spiritual discipline in a certain time period.
Vyakarana The sacred science of grammar.
Yajna A fire sacrifice.
Yama A moral restraint. Something one shouldn't do. Also the God of death.
Yantra A geometric diagram into which the living presence of the Divine has been invited.
Yati A swami in one of the Shankara orders.
Yeti A Himalayan snowman.
Yoga Union with the Divine. Also a path to that union.
Yoni The base in which a linga rests. It represents the Goddess.
Yuga A cycle of time. Yugas are of different lengths varying from five years to many billions of years.

Appendix B

More to Read

In the happy event that you're inspired to learn more, here's a listing of some of the top books on Hinduism for you. I realize you don't have unlimited free time to sit around reading, so I'm also marking with an asterisk the books I most strongly recommend for a newcomer to the subject. These are the books you might want to pick up first.

Histories and Surveys

Here are some fine general introductions to the Hindu tradition and issues related to Hindu history. *Warning:* Archeological finds in the last 20 years have thrown the investigation of Hindu origins into an uproar. Be advised that many books contain badly outdated information about early Hindu history. Also be aware that any dates you find for events up to about 1000 C.E. may be wrong by centuries. Dates for events before 1000 B.C.E. may be off by more than a thousand years!

Basham, A. L. *The Wonder That Was India.* London: Sigwick & Jackson, 1985.

Bryant, Edwin. *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Flood, Gavin. *An Introduction to Hinduism.* Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

*Frawley, David, and Navaratna S. Rajaram. *Hidden Horizons: Unearthing 10,000 Years of Indian Culture*. Amdavad, India: SwamiNarayan Aksharpith, 2006.

*Jagannathan, Shakunthala. *Hinduism: An Introduction*. Mumbai, India: Vakils, Feffer and Simons, Ltd., 1984.

Johnson, Gordon. *Cultural Atlas of India*. Oxfordshire, England: Andromeda Oxford Limited, 1996.

*Klostermaier, Klaus K. *Hinduism: A Short History.* Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2000.

*———. *A Survey of Hinduism*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989.

Michaels, Axel. *Hinduism: Past and Present.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Subramuniyaswami, Satguru Sivaya. *Dancing with Siva: Hinduism's Contemporary Catechism.* Concord, CA: Himalayan Academy, 1993.

Hindu Saints

The Hindu tradition has more acknowledged saints per capita than any other religious tradition. The following books offer a tiny sampling of the remarkable lives of India's spiritual giants.

*Amritanandamayi, Mata. *Awaken Children!* (nine volumes). San Ramon, CA: Mata Amritanandamayi Center, 1988-1998.

Chetanananda, Swami. *They Lived with God: Life Stories of Some Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna.* St. Louis: Vedanta Society of St. Louis, 1989.

Dehejia, Vidya. *Slaves of the Lord: The Path of the Tamil Saints.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1988.

*Gupta, Mahendranath. *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna.* New York: Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 1969.

Johnsen, Linda. *Daughters of the Goddess: The Women Saints of India.* St. Paul, MN: YES International Publishers, 1994.

Hallstrom, Lisa Lassell. *Mother of Bliss: Aanandamayi Ma.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Hawley, John Stratton, and Mark Juergensmeyer. *Songs of the Saints of India.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Mahadevan, T. M. P. *Ten Saints of India.* Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1961.

Muktananda, Swami. *The Play of Consciousness.* San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978.

Nikhilananda, Swami. *Vivekananda: A Biography.* New York: Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 1989.

O'Brien, Justin. *Walking With a Himalayan Master.* St. Paul, MN: YES International Publishers, 1998.

*Rama, Swami. *Living with the Himalayan Masters*. Honesdale, PA: Himalayan Institute Press, 1999.

Ranade, R. D. *Mysticism in India: The Poet-Saints of Maharashtra.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983.

Saraswati, Swami Satyananda. *Shree Maa: The Life of a Saint*. Napa, CA: Devi Mandir Publications, 1997.

Shuddhananda, Swami. *Yogavatar Baba Lokenath.* Calcutta: Lokenath Divine Life Book Trust, 1986.

Venkataraman, Sri T. N. *Bhagavan Sri Ramana: A Pictorial Biography.* Tiruvannamalai, India: Sri Ramanasramam, 1981.

*Yogananda, Paramahansa. *Autobiography of a Yogi.* Los Angeles: Self Realization Fellowship, 1979.

The Living Tradition

These books transport you into the heart of the living tradition, explaining Hindu thought as it's actually understood and practiced by ordinary—and some quite extraordinary—people.

Dass, Ram. *Be Here Now*. Boulder, CO: Hanuman Foundation, 1978.

*Huyler, Stephen P. *Meeting God: Elements of Hindu Devotion.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

Johnsen, Linda. *The Living Goddess: Reclaiming the Tradition of the Mother of the Universe.* St. Paul, MN: YES International Publishers, 1999.

*Lonnerstrand, Sture. *I Have Lived Before: The True Story of the Reincarnation of Shanti Devi.* Huntsville, AR: Ozark Mountain Publishers, 1998.

Svoboda, Robert E. *Aghora: At the Left Hand of God.* Albuquerque, NM: Brotherhood of Life, Inc., 1986.

Yoga and Hindu Mysticism

Here are some particularly readable introductions to various fascinating aspects of the Hindu mystical tradition.

Feuerstein, Georg. *The Yoga Tradition: Its History, Literature, Philosophy and Practice.* Prescott, AZ: Hohm Press, 1998.

Rama, Swami. *The Royal Path: Practical Lessons on Yoga.* Honesdale, PA: Himalayan Institute Press, 1999.

*Tigunait, Pandit Rajmani. *From Death to Birth: Understanding Karma and Reincarnation.* Honesdale, PA: Himalayan Institute Press, 1997.

*———. *The Power of Mantra and the Mystery of Initiation.* Honesdale, PA: Himalayan Institute Press, 1996.

Hindu Scriptures

You would have to reincarnate many times if you hoped to read all the scriptures of Hinduism. Here are a few special gems from the enormous mass of spiritual literature.

Dimmitt, Cornelia, and J. A. B. van Buitenen. *Classical Hindu Mythology: A Reader in the Sanskrit Puranas.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978.

Nikhilananda, Swami, trs. *The Upanishads.* New York: Bell Publishing Company, 1963.

Panikkar, Raimundo. *The Vedic Experience, Mantramanjari: An Anthology of the Vedas for Modern Man and Contemporary Celebration.* Pondicherry, India: All India Books, 1977.

*Prabhavananda, Swami, and Christopher Isherwood, trs. *The Song of God: Bhagavad-Gita.* New York: New American Library, 1951.

Prabhavananda, Swami, trs. *Srimad Bhagavatam: The Wisdom of God.* New York: Capricorn Books, 1968.

*Rajagopalachari, C. *Mahabharata.* Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1977.

*———. *Ramayana.* Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1976.

Saraswathi, Swami Sri Ramanananda, trs. *Tripura Rahasya or The Mystery Beyond the Trinity.* Tiruvannamalai, India: Sri Ramanasramam, 1980.

Shearer, Allistair, trs. *Effortless Being: The Yoga Sutras of Patanjali.* London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1989.

Tapasyananda, Swami, trs. *Sivananda Lahari or Inundation of Divine Bliss*. Madras, India: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1985.

Venkatesananda, Swami. *The Concise Yoga Vasistha.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984.

Hindu Philosophy

The Indian tradition is not only deeply devotional, but it's also robustly intellectual. Hinduism boasts an extraordinary legacy of philosophical and theological thought going back to the dawn of human memory. If you're a pandit at heart, you'll enjoy these books.

Larson, Gerald J. *Classical Samkhya.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979.

*Mishra, Kamalakar. *Kashmir Saivism: The Central Philosophy of Tantrism.* Cambridge: Rudra Press, 1993.

*Puligandla, P. *Fundamentals of Indian Philosophy.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1975.

Radhakrishnan. *Indian Philosophy* (two volumes). New York: Humanities Press, 1971.

Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli, and Charles A. Moore. *A Sourcebook in Indian Philosophy.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Woodroffe, Sir John. *Principles of Tantra* (two volumes). Madras, India: Ganesh & Company, 1991.

If you have trouble locating any of these books, remember that your local librarian would be delighted to help you track down a book through the Inter-Library Loan service. Or try contacting South Asia Books; their contact information is in Appendix C.

Appendix C

Hindu Resource List

Want to learn more about Hinduism? These contacts will guide you on your way to exploring any and every facet of the Eternal Religion.

Websites

Hindu Universe
www.Hindunet.org
This is one of the leading Hindu websites in the world. It's so immensely popular, sometimes it's difficult to log onto! It's well worth the effort, however!
BBC
www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/hinduism/index.shtml
Count on the BBC to offer all kinds of valuable information about Hinduism!
Hindu Wisdom
www.HinduWisdom.info
A warm and easy-to-digest introduction to the wisdom of India's saints and sages.
The Heart of Hinduism
www.Hinduism.iskcon.com
A wonderful summary of Hinduism by Hindus.
Hindu Temples
www.indiantemples.com
Answers many of your questions about Hindu temples and worship.
Ancient India
www.ancientindia.co.uk/hinduism
This website brings ancient Vedic deities to life.

Magazine

Hinduism Today
107 Kaholalele Road
Kapaa, HI 96746
Phone: 1-800-850-1008
Website: www.HinduismToday.com
Hinduism Today is a superb, full-color bimonthly magazine covering current events in Hinduism. It features excellent interviews with leading Hindu spiritual teachers and engaging historical and educational articles on Hinduism. Informative, funny, inspiring. *Highly* recommended!

Books

South Asia Books
P.O. Box 502
Columbia, MO 65205
Phone: 573-474-0116
Website: www.SouthAsiaBooks.com
If you can't find the book on Hinduism you're looking for from your usual sources, South Asia Books can usually track it down for you. They stock thousands of hard-to-find books from major Indian publishers.

Organizations and Training Programs

The following are a few of the best contacts in North America for learning about Hinduism, yoga, and Ayurveda.
American Institute of Vedic Studies
P.O. Box 8357
Santa Fe, NM 87504
Phone: 505-983-9385
Website: www.vedanet.com
Arsha Vidya Gurukulam
P.O. Box 1059

Saylorsburg, PA 18353
Phone: 570-992-2339
Website: www.arshavidya.org
The Ayurvedic Institute
11311 Menaul Blvd. N.E.
Albuquerque, NM 87112
Phone: 505-291-9698
Website: www.ayurveda.com
International Vedic Hindu University
113 N. Econlockhatchee Trail
Orlando, FL 32825
Phone: 407-275-0013
Website: www.ivhu.edu

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The Jewish Alchemists

The Jewish Alchemists

A HISTORY AND SOURCE BOOK

Raphael Patai

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To the memory of
Harry Starr

Whose chance remark on Jews and alchemy,
made many years ago,
first planted the idea of this book
in my mind
and

To my brother
Saul Patai

---

the chemical encyclopedist,
from whom I learned
how much more—and less—
chemistry is than alchemy

The vocable *alchemia* (or some alternate form such as *ars chemica*) appears in the West from the twelfth century onward in reference to the medieval quest for a means of transmuting base metals into gold, for a universal cure, and for the "elixir of immortality" The alchemist's quest was not scientific but spiritual

Mircea Eliade,
"Alchemy" in *Encyclopedia of Religion*

Alchemy is the art of liberating parts of the Cosmos from temporal existence and achieving perfection which for metals is gold, and, for man, longevity, then immortality, and finally, redemption

H J Sheppard,
"Chinese Alchemy" in *Encyclopedia of Religion*

At times alchemy was an organic part of a comprehensive tradition which in some manner embraced all aspects of human existence The transmutation of base metals into gold is certainly not the true goal of alchemy Alchemy treats the soul as a "substance" which has to be purified, dissolved, and crystallized anew

Titus Burckhardt,
Alchemy

Alchemy is usually defined as the art of transmuting base metals into gold

Encyclopedia Americana

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.	Arabic
Berthelot, *Grecs*	Marcellin P. E. Berthelot and Charles Emile Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1888; reprint London, 1963)
EI[2]	*Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1960–)
EJ(B)	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin, 1928)
EJ(J)	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1972)
G.	Greek
Ger.	German
H.	Hebrew
I.	Italian
JE	*Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1901–)
L.	Latin
P.	Persian
S.	Spanish
Skt.	Sanskrit

PART ONE

Prelude

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

SCHOLARS who have written about alchemy are far from agreeing about what alchemy actually is (or was). Some go along with the popular view that alchemy is nothing but the art that tries, or claims to be able, to transmute base metals into gold. This view considers alchemy as a whole a pseudoscience, a misguided attempt at dealing with the properties of matter, which produced a few practical results before it was superseded in the late eighteenth century by Antoine Lavoisier's establishment of modern chemistry. Others, at the opposite extreme of the range of opinions, hold that alchemy is basically a spiritual endeavor whose aim is to transmute the imperfect human soul into a more perfect spiritual entity. This latter view has antecedents as far back as Maria the Jewess, the famed Hellenistic Jewish founder of alchemy.

Several Renaissance alchemists considered the stages in the alchemical work steps in the mysterious process of spiritual regeneration. Thus Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1601) interpreted transmutation itself as a mystical process occurring within the adept's soul. Highly individual is the cosmological-psychological approach of C. G. Jung (1875–1961), who held that "alchemy is pre-eminently concerned with the seed of unity which lies hidden in the chaos of Tiamat [Jung used the name of this ancient babylonian deity to designate the primordial matriarchal world] and forms the counterpart to divine unity."[1] However, the entire construct erected by Jung in his *Psychology and Alchemy* is summarily dismissed by the *Encyclopedia of Religion* with the statement that "Enticed by the resemblance between the dreams of his patients and alchemical symbols," C. G. Jung concluded that "the attribution of life to matter was the foundation of alchemical belief," which belief he "read . . . from his psychoanalytic standpoint as the projection of inner experience onto matter, and thus as the identification of matter with the Self."[2] Further examples of the great variety in the identification and interpretation of alchemy could easily be culled from the huge literature on alchemy.

During the Renaissance, alchemy broke up into competing schools among whom little sympathy was lost. The spiritual alchemists looked down with contempt at those who labored on transmuting metals, and dubbed them "sooty empirics" and "puffers." On the other hand, the claim of being in possession of spiritual truths revealed by God evoked the jealousy and wrath of many churchmen who remained indifferent to

the smell of the retorts but smelled heresy in what they felt were spiritual pretensions of the alchemists, and were scandalized by such alchemical doctrines as the one that identified the philosophers' stone with Christ, since both redeemed base matter. One of the few to take a contrary view on this issue was Luther, who praised alchemy for its verification of Christian doctrine.

The contrary definitions of alchemy bring to mind the old Indian story about the group of blind men who were trying to identify an elephant. Their guide took them to the courtyard where the maharaja's elephants were kept, and let them touch one of the big beasts. One blind man happened to get hold of the elephant's trunk, and exclaimed, "The elephant is a big fat snake!" Another touched the elephant's leg and said, "No, the elephant is like the trunk of a big tree!" The third one grabbed its tail, and cried, "No, no! The elephant is like the hawser of a ship!" And so on, for the elephant's various parts.

The fact is that alchemy was everything its practitioners claimed it was, and its aims comprised everything its historians attributed to it. They included the transmutation of base metals into silver and gold, the doubling or otherwise increasing the weight of gold, the manufacturing of pearls and precious stones, the production of all kinds of tinctures and other substances, the concoction of dyes, and the making of all kinds of remedies for healing every disease of which humankind suffered, and the creation of the quintessence, the fabulous elixir, which healed, rejuvenated, and prolonged life for centuries. Because health, youth, and long life were always at least as important desiderata as riches, most alchemists were also physicians, and used their alchemical expertise for manufacturing remedies, searching for the elixir, and ministering to the sick and the old in any manner they could. All this was part of the practical aspect of alchemy.

Another of its aspects was the theoretical. Everything the alchemists did was based on theories in which they believed, and which were the guarantee that their quest would ultimately be crowned with success. The most important of the alchemical theories was that of the unity of all nature. Wherever alchemy developed—in China, India, the Ancient Near East, the Arab world, Christian Europe—it was built on the theory that all the visible forms of matter, whether mineral, vegetable, animal, or human, were manifold forms of one basic, essential substance. A rock, a piece of iron or gold, a tree, a human body—however different they appeared to be, they were but variant physical manifestations of the one and only essence contained in all of them. This is why a malfunction of a human body (i.e., an illness) could be healed with a remedy derived, or rather an essence extracted, from some mineral, vegetable, or animal

substance. And this is why a base metal could be transmuted into a precious one, again by applying to it a minuscule amount of that precious essence. This was the area in which alchemy and medicine functioned not merely as sister sciences, but as identical activities: the healing of a sick person was understood to be the transmutation of a sick body into a healthy one, and the transmutation of copper into gold was understood to be the healing of a sick metal and imparting health to it. Among Jews throughout the centuries, most of the alchemists were physicians as well, and it is not easy to decide whether the outstanding role they played as physicians facilitated their entrance into the field of alchemy, or whether they became outstanding physicians because they were led from alchemy into medicine.

Connected with the theory of the unity of nature was the theory of the analogy between the growth of individual plants and animals on the one hand and the development of inanimate forms of matter in the bosom of the earth on the other. Just as a seed germinates and with time becomes a full-grown tree, and just as the human embryo grows in its mother's womb into a fully formed child, so in the earth ores and metals were believed to develop from lower into higher grades, until at the end they became gold. This theory served as the basis for the alchemist's practice of trying to transmute base metal into precious ones, by reproducing in his laboratory the developmental processes of the metals, at a very accelerated speed, always keeping in mind that transmutation was healing.

A related theory was the one that postulated an analogy between body and soul in a human being and bodies and souls in metals. Maria the Jewess said, "Just as man is composed of four elements, likewise is copper; and just as a man results [from the association of] liquids, of solids, and of the spirit, so does copper."[3] An elaboration of this theory was that some metals were bodies, others spirits, and that bodies and spirits could be transmuted into one another and back again; by doing this the adept could change one metal into another. The belief in the alchemist's ability to influence the mineral spirits led back to the human spirit, which too came to be considered subject to alchemical manipulation, and primarily to alchemical ennoblement. Thus alchemy was a comprehensive tradition embracing all aspects of human existence, which was conceived within the broader context of a universal ontology. It was this theoretical aspect of alchemy that attracted some of the greatest minds known to the Western world, including Newton and Goethe.

The main alchemical theories were supported by many subsidiary ones. One such was the identification of metals with the planets, so that when the alchemist worked with gold he felt he enjoyed the power

emanating from the sun, and likewise his silver gave him a connection to the moon, quicksilver to Mercury, copper to Venus, iron to Mars, tin to Jupiter, and lead to Saturn. One of the expressions of this planetary theory was the alchemical usage of substituting the names of planets for those of metals. An alchemist spoke of "Sun," and meant gold, of "Moon," and meant silver, of "Venus," and meant copper, and so on.

Another astronomical connection of alchemy was the one between each alchemical process and a particular sign of the zodiac, with which that process was held to be mysteriously associated. Calcination was associated with Aries, congelation with Taurus, fixation with Gemini, dissolution with Cancer, digestion with Leo, distillation with Virgo, sublimation with Libra, separation with Scorpio, ceration with Sagittarius, fermentation with Capricorn, multiplication with Aquarius, and projection with Pisces—thus according to the schema developed by Dom Antoine Joseph Parnety, the eighteenth-century French alchemist.

An essential part of the alchemical theory was that the Royal Art, as it was called, went back to divine revelation accorded to the great biblical figures beginning with Adam, and hence was endowed with a certain sanctity. The success of an alchemist therefore depended not merely on his expertise in the laboratory, but also on his moral stature: it was only by the grace of God that an experiment succeeded, and God, of course, rewarded with His grace only an alchemist who deserved it. A manifestation of high moral stature was knowledge, or wisdom, whereas ignorance and folly were considered moral shortcomings. This is the basis of the frequent admonition found in alchemical writings that the teachings contained in them must be kept secret, that is, must not be divulged to the ignorant, the vulgar.

To this context belongs the relationship between alchemy and magic—a field not yet investigated. The strictly orthodox alchemist would have nothing to do with magic. He relied on his expertise and his knowledge of procedures, worked hard, and prayed to God. But there were others for whom the enticements of magic were too strong to resist. They combined alchemy and magic, much as in certain religious cults in the Caribbean and Africa Christian and pagan religious elements are joined, despite the original incompatibility of the two. As we shall see in this book, some Jewish alchemists combined alchemical work with magical proceedings.

One of the very interesting, and likewise largely unexplored, aspects of alchemy is the relationship between the three great branches of alchemy that developed more or less simultaneously in three great cultures of antiquity: those of China, India, and the Ancient Near East (especially Hellenistic Egypt). The fascination of such a study lies in the fact that, although widely separated geographically, the alchemies of

these three worlds show surprising similarities in both their theoretical and their practical activities. Since, however, our interest in this book is in Jewish alchemy, which developed within the Western world (that is, the Ancient Near East, the Arab world, and Christian Europe), we shall not be able even to touch upon these issues.

THE prevailing attitude of Jewish scholars to the role Jews played in the history of alchemy is reminiscent of the scholarly position on Jewish mysticism a hundred years ago. At that time—only a generation or two removed from the *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment—Jewish scholars belittled mysticism, distanced themselves from it, and tried to show that they were true, enlightened "Europäer" by roundly condemning both the Kabbalah as a movement and the literature it produced. I remember vividly how shocked I was when, as a teenager in the 1920s in Budapest, while reading *Die Geschichte der Juden* by Heinrich Graetz—who at the time was still considered the greatest Jewish historian—I came across the sentence in which he condemned the *Zohar* and called it a "*Logbuch*" (book of lies). My shock was the greater since my father, who was the dominant influence in my young life, was a great admirer of both the Kabbalah and Hasidism, and I simply could not understand how a Jewish historian could denigrate this wonderful manifestation of lofty spiritualism in Judaism.[4] Fortunately, the *Zohar* and the Kabbalah in general have been fully rehabilitated in the last half century, due primarily to the work of Gershom Scholem and his followers. Martin Buber and his disciples have done the same for Hasidism, which is recognized today as a powerful religious movement that has played a crucial role in Jewish history since the eighteenth century. No such redemption has as yet come to alchemy.

There are, of course, basic differences between Kabbalah and Hasidism on the one hand, and alchemy on the other. First, although Kabbalah and Hasidism reflected outside influences, they were specifically Jewish phenomena.[5] Jewish alchemists, on the other hand, even though they played an important role in the origin, development, transmission, and spread of alchemy, were nevertheless only a small group of adepts in comparison to the large number of non-Jewish alchemists in the countries of the Jewish diaspora. Second, although Kabbalah and Hasidism were mass movements among the Jewish people—at times the majority of the Jews adhered to them—alchemy was always confined to a few individuals. It was an occupational specialization, comparable to medicine. The people at large may have believed in the reality of alchemy, and may even have had an inkling of the basic doctrines of the alchemical worldview, they were nevertheless as little able or inclined to engage in alchemical operations as they were to dabble in medical procedures.

Contemporary scholars, unlike their nineteenth-century counterparts, do not condemn what their research unearths, but, if they find something that is not to their liking, they try to ignore it. And this is precisely what they have done in discussing the Jewish work in alchemy. Even though the actual extent of Jewish alchemical work has been unknown, and there has existed no inventory of alchemical manuscripts written by Jews, nor even a study of references to alchemy found in printed books authored by Jews, those who have written on Jewish alchemy have taken the comfortable position that the participation of Jews in alchemy was insignificant. A few quotations will illustrate this general trend.

Moritz Steinschneider, the great master of Jewish bibliography and book lore, set the trend in the late nineteenth century. He wrote: "The Jews were much too knowledgeable about the real gold-scales to let themselves be fooled by 'the philosophers' stone.' Only later times invented [*fingierte*] a writing by Saadia and foisted another on Maimonides." He added in a footnote: "As for alchemy, I don't know a single document," and stated categorically, "The Kabbalah, as far as I know, teaches nothing of alchemy, even though it attached itself to other superstitious disciplines." He summed up his view by saying, "Hebrew literature contains remarkably little material on this subject."[6]

At the turn of the century, the well-known Jewish folklore scholar Moses Gaster wrote an article on alchemy for *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, which was published in New York in the early twentieth century. He opens with these words: "Traces of the connection of Jews with the science of Alchemy are very scanty in Hebrew literature. Not a single distinguished adept is found who has left in a Hebrew form traces of his knowledge of the subject. There is, however, scarcely a single important ancient work upon the science which is not directly related to the Jews, with their traditions and their science." And he concludes the scant four-page article (much of which is devoted to a description of a Hebrew alchemical manuscript in Gaster's possession) by saying that from the sixteenth century on, "Jews themselves apparently took no more interest in the science of Alchemy, deprived as they were, from that period on, of any further intercourse with the world of science." How unfounded these statements are will become clear from the material presented in this book.

Next in chronological order follows Judah David Eisenstein's article published in his Hebrew encyclopedia, *Oṣar Yisrael* (Berlin and London, 1924). In it he quotes more or less the same sources Gaster did a quarter of a century earlier, and then, as if to excuse the Jewish interest in alchemy, he concludes: "However, we cannot deny that alchemy was the mother of chemistry from the 17th century on and rules now in the

country at the head of all sciences, and great is the number of the Jews who take part in real chemistry just as they took a great part in the study of alchemy earlier "

In the late 1920s two Jewish encyclopedias were published in German The smaller of them, titled *Judisches Lexikon* (5 vols , Berlin, 1927–1930), contains a very brief and superficial entry on "Alchimie " The larger one, entitled *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin, 1928– ,) started to appear in 1928, but the advent of Nazism prevented its completion Its first volume contains a detailed and excellent article on "Alchimie" by Bernard Suler, who utilized all or most of the material available at the time on the subject But he was unable to rid himself of the influence of Steinschneider, and consequently we find in his article such statements as "The number of Jewish alchemists who practiced the art of alchemy is, as far as our present information goes, relatively small But our knowledge is, in this respect, very incomplete " He goes on to state that alchemy "could not have originated among a people to whom it was forbidden to 'make gods of silver and gold ' Alchemy is not a Jewish art, and the Jews occupied themselves with it only to the extent to which they dealt also in other profane sciences "

In 1939 Joshua Trachtenberg's important study on *Jewish Magic and Superstition* was published Although Trachtenberg did not deal with alchemy, he found it proper to state that "alchemy had in general very little currency among the Jews I have not found any reference to or directions for the practice of alchemy in the literary works produced in northern Europe, although Jews were popularly believed to be adepts " One cannot quarrel with the statement of a scholar who says "I have not found " although, as we shall see in this book, references to alchemy *are* found in writings produced by Jewish scholars in northern Europe But it is typical of the general anti alchemical approach of modern Jewish scholars that Trachtenberg casts his statement in a negative form, whereas he could just as well have said that he had found references to alchemy in literary works produced by Jewish scholars except those of northern Europe We may add that, as is well known, Sephardi Jews (those of the Mediterranean area), took a much greater interest in secular sciences than did Ashkenazi Jews in northern Europe, and that therefore one would have expected from them greater participation in, and more writing about, alchemy

The most detailed survey of Jewish alchemy is contained in the 1972 *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem) However, the article, written by Bernard Suler, is just a reworking by the editors of the entry the same author contributed in 1928 to the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* Although it contains some new data, its approach remains unchanged It asserts that "The conclusion to which De Pauw arrived 150 years ago,

namely that the Jews were the creators of alchemy, is incorrect. Alchemy is neither a Jewish science nor a Jewish art. . . . While alchemic literature runs into thousands of volumes, there is no original work in this field in Hebrew literature. It seems, therefore, that Jewish adepts did not write their works in Hebrew." As we shall see, most of these statements are incorrect.

One notices a psychologically understandable correspondence between the general evaluation of alchemy and the Jewish view on the Jews' participation in it. Once alchemy came into disrepute, was considered a false science, a fraudulent art—this is how it was viewed by nineteenth-century scholarship—the position of Jewish historians and other scholars was that Jewish participation in it was minimal. However, this dethronement of alchemy was preceded by a long period, some fifteen centuries long, in which alchemy was considered the greatest of arts and sciences, sincerely believed in and assiduously practiced by some of the greatest minds, including Newton in the early eighteenth and Goethe in the early nineteenth centuries. During this long period Jewish scholars generally emphasized the seminal role Jews played in alchemy. This is a subject that requires much more research than I was able to do, but a few indications can serve as illustrations.

The earliest and most important Hellenistic alchemist, known as Maria the Jewess (Maria Hebraea), who lived in Egypt in the second or third century C.E., is quoted as having said that only "the seed of Abraham" was entitled to alchemical experimentation. Zosimus the Panopolitan (third to fourth centuries), whose writings are our main source of information on Maria the Jewess, and who was himself one of the greatest figures in Hellenistic alchemy, was considered by some medieval Arab alchemical authors a Jew.

Several medieval non-Jewish alchemists were later claimed to have been Jewish. One of the earliest of them was Khālid ibn Yazīd (ca. 668–704), a son of the Caliph Yazīd I, whom later legend made into an alchemist, and whose name became attached to important alchemical works.[7] Still later, his name was distorted into Calid ibn Yazichi or Jazikhi, and he became known also as Calid Hebraeus. Steinschneider, in an article titled "Pseudo-Juden und zweifelhafte Authoren" (Pseudo-Jews and Doubtful Authors), lists several such alchemical authors who were claimed to have been Jewish.[8]

Throughout much of the history of alchemy there was a persistent tendency to attribute a Jewish origin to alchemy as a whole. The non-Jewish alchemists were interested in providing alchemy with a respectable family tree, and since the Hellenistic, Muslim, and Christian worlds all held the Bible and individual biblical figures in great respect, the attribution of alchemical activity to biblical characters, kings, and proph-

ets was a simple and effective way of providing alchemy with a highly prestigious, and religiously impeccable, ancestry. The next chapter will deal with the biblical figures whom later alchemists regarded as adepts, in fact, as founders of alchemy and recipients of its great secrets by divine revelation. These tendencies became especially pronounced in the later Middle Ages, when doubts about alchemy began to surface, and the alchemists felt compelled to look for arguments to marshal against the scorn of the skeptics. And in the context of their religion-directed societies, the claim of a biblical origin for their art provided the alchemists with self-legitimation.

Once biblical figures became entrenched in alchemical tradition as the original masters of the Royal Art, the next, almost inevitable, step was to attribute alchemical mastery to the people to whom those biblical figures belonged, whose Scripture contained the memory of those early adepts, and some of whose traditions were believed to preserve the secret knowledge referred to in the Bible. This is how not only Adam, Tubal-Cain, Moses, and Solomon, but the Jews as a whole became in the gentile view the first recipients of the gift of alchemy from God, or alternately, its first inventors and subsequently its developers and transmitters. This belief gave rise to the fashion, widespread among medieval and later European Christian alchemists, to seek out a Jewish master—usually in the lands of the south and the east, where ancient traditions were supposed to have survived more fully than in the west—and become his disciple in acquiring the secrets of the Royal Art. In fact, the Christian quest for alchemical expertise, which led them to Jewish masters, provides us with invaluable and reliable information concerning the work and the reputation of Jewish alchemists. Once this pattern became established among the Christian alchemists, Jews who lived among them and became interested in alchemy followed suit, and they too went to the south or the east to find a master willing to teach them. Several chapters in the present book will illustrate this search among both Christians and Jews.

Another factor in the high estimation of Jewish alchemical expertise by Christian alchemists was the attribution of alchemical-mystical efficacy to Hebrew divine, angelic, and demonic names, to Hebrew words, and even to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The Jew who knew Hebrew was believed, due to that very fact, to possess an advantage over the Christian when it came to acquiring mastery of the Great Art. Thus the Hebrew language had for the alchemist a greater importance than Latin has had down to the present time for the physician. Gentiles with the ambition of becoming alchemists learned Hebrew in order to be able to enter the field. Some of them became quite proficient in the language, even to the extent of trying their hand at versification in it. Many

more attained only a smattering of Hebrew, barely enough to enable them to embellish their Latin, German, or French writings with a few Hebrew words or names, often written in faultily executed Hebrew characters, or in inaccurate transliteration into Latin characters. Examples of both will be presented in several chapters in this book.

Turning now to the gentile view of the Jewish role in alchemy, we must refer again to Zosimus of Panopolis, whose writings on alchemy are the oldest surviving Greek works on the subject. In them we find the earliest, most detailed, and most reliable information on Maria the Jewess, whom Zosimus quotes frequently with a respect bordering on awe, as the first of the ancient authors. Zosimus also mentions repeatedly the alchemical expertise of the Jews in general. From what he says it is clear that he considered the Jews the repositories of alchemical wisdom, even though he had no sympathy for them and accused them of having obtained the secrets of alchemy by dishonest means. In a remarkable passage he says that the sacred art of the Egyptians (that is, alchemy) and the power of gold that resulted from it were revealed only to the Jews, by fraud, and they made it known to the rest of the world.[9] In general, Zosimus held that the Jews' knowledge of alchemy was greater and more reliable than that of any other people, including even the Egyptians. Chapter 4 will present the relevant material.

Basing himself on his wide reading of ancient Greek alchemical sources Marcellin Berthelot, the author of several important collections of alchemical texts, states, "The connection between Jewish traditions and alchemy goes back very far. One recognizes it in the Leyden Papyrus [an important alchemical treatise found in Thebes, written in Demotic and Greek, and dating from about the third century C.E.], as well as in the Greek alchemical manuscripts. In both we find cited magic treatises and chemical works attributed to Moses, which date from the Alexandrian period."[10]

The widely held belief that Jews were experts in alchemy was grist for the mills of anti-Semitic authors.

Indeed, the overvaluation by gentiles of the Jewish role in the origin and development of alchemy survived the European Enlightenment and continued unabated into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The earliest among the moderns to express himself on the question was Cornelius de Pauw (1739–1799), the famous historian of philosophy. In the first volume of his 1773 French book, *Philosophical Researches on the Egyptians and the Chinese*, he devotes a chapter to "Considerations on the State of Chemistry among the Egyptians and the Chinese." Being a true son of the Enlightenment, he condemns alchemy but nevertheless discusses its development in ancient Egypt, and says (in the 1773 Berlin edition): "The Jews of Egypt had to a great extent been ruined under

the rule of Cleopatra, who detested that colony of monopolists and usurers who had come from Palestine under the first Lagides." In these conditions, de Pauw continues, it was the Jews whom "I suspect of having been the first to think up the foolish fable touching upon the transmutation of metals, whose secret they attributed to a Jewish woman, to a Persian magus, and to all the ancient priests of Egypt, who had never thought of it." Returning to the subject later, de Pauw adds:

> these Jewish allegorists were not unaware that the Egyptians who worked in the glassworks of the great Diospolis and of Alexandria possessed the secret procedures of forging precious stones and murrin vases that sometimes were made to cost infinitely more than the precious stones. These concealed operations of the glassworks in themselves enabled the visionaries to suspect that the priests of Egypt had to be well versed in alchemy. However, I don't doubt at all that this was not the true source of all these fables which germinated in the spirit of the Arabs when they applied themselves to the sciences, for it was they who laid the first foundations of real chemistry, or at least resuscitated this art that had been almost entirely lost.[11]

Although de Pauw's style is convoluted, what he intends to say is clear: the Jews were the first to believe in the possibility of transmuting metals, something he considers "a foolish fable," and they attributed this art to a Jewish woman—undoubtedly a reference to Maria the Jewess—and to a Persian magus, probably Ostanes, the semi-legendary alchemical ancestor figure.

Some two generations after de Pauw another historian of philosophy, August Schmölders, expressed a related idea when he said, "The astrologers and alchemists derived all their pretended science from the Hebrew writings translated from the Arabic."[12]

As late as the 1970s, the French scholar G. Monod-Herzen wrote of Hellenistic alchemy: "The oldest of the schools was Jewish. The Israelites fleeing Roman domination after the fall of Jerusalem had come in large numbers to find refuge in Egypt, by a curious return of destiny. . . . They became Hellenized to the point of translating their Holy Book into Greek. . . . This work brought them close to the mysteries of Hermes. . . . They played an important role in the first chemical researches, and their reputation remains great all through the history of alchemy." Monod-Herzen continued by quoting Sophé the Theban to the effect that the Jews, once initiated, transmitted alchemical procedures that they alone knew.[13]

These revisionist views of the Jewish role in the history of alchemy have not yet penetrated the realm of general histories of alchemy and of encyclopedias, whose articles on alchemy are supposed to be authoritative summaries of the subject. The old *Encyclopaedia of Religion and*

Ethics, published early in this century, has articles on Greek and Roman, Muhammadan, and European alchemy, but does not even mention Jewish alchemy. And in the new *Encyclopedia of Religion*, published in 1987 by Macmillan in New York, we find entries on Chinese, Indian, Hellenistic and Medieval, Islamic, and Renaissance alchemy, but none on Jewish alchemy. In fact, in the introductory "Overview" article, written by Mircea Eliade (editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia of Religion*), no mention at all is made of Jews, and in the article on "Hellenistic and Medieval Alchemy," although Maria the Jewess is mentioned several times, she is referred to by her later appellation as "Maria Prophetissa," or simply as "Maria," and the Jewish contribution to Hellenistic alchemy is transmuted into pious legend. Likewise conspicuous is the absence of any reference to the role of the Kabbalah and of the Hebrew language in the article on Renaissance alchemy. In sum, largely due to the Jewish scholars' negative attitude to alchemy, the Jewish contribution to the Great Art has remained hidden from the general view. I hope that the present book will make a contribution to remedying this situation.

THE overwhelming majority of Jewish alchemists wrote in Hebrew. Since the Hebrew language possessed relatively few technical terms that could be used in writing about alchemical subjects, however, we find that most Jewish alchemists interspersed their Hebrew text with foreign words. They used these foreign terms either as loan words, without bothering to explain their meaning, or else identified them as foreign words by first using a Hebrew word, and then adding, "and in Arabic . . ." or "and in Laʿaz. . . ." Laʿaz is the generic Hebrew term for "foreign language," and in the alchemical writings it refers to either Spanish or Italian. Occasionally it is not easy to determine which of these the author had in mind.

The foreign terms are always presented in the Hebrew alchemical treatises in phonetic Hebrew transliteration, and frequently there is some inconsistency when they are repeated. I have transliterated these foreign words in Latin characters the first time they appear in each document, and I have indicated in square brackets the original language of the word, added the form that the word had in that language, and followed it with its translation into English. For example: *rejalgar* [A. *rahj al-ghār*, cave dust, realgar; or, *qanalatudo* [I. *cannellatudo*, canelike]. Subsequent instances of that word within the document have usually been simply translated.

In this connection it must be pointed out that the substances designated in old alchemical texts by names that are still in use do not necessarily denote the same chemical elements or substances as do the current terms. For instance, the Hebrew *marqasita* (from the Arabic

marqashita) designated a crystallized iron pyrite; today the same term means iron disulfide (FeS_2). Historians of alchemy have to be constantly on guard against being misled by such terminological resemblances and ambiguities.

In addition to Hebrew writings, sources on Jewish alchemy are found in other languages as well, including two of the three most widespread Jewish languages traditionally written in Hebrew characters: Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Spaniolic (Ladino). No alchemical works have come to my attention in the third Jewish language, Yiddish. This does not necessarily mean that the Ashkenazi Jews who wrote in that language were immune to the alchemical virus. The survival of a manuscript is always a matter of chance, and the Yiddish alchemical writings may simply have been lost. It is also possible that if there were alchemists among the Ashkenazi Jews, they wrote not in Yiddish but in one of the European languages. In any case, as far as we now know, the first alchemical work undertaken by Jews from an Ashkenazi background comes from the eighteenth century (see Chapters 36 and 37). The one eighteenth-century Hebrew responsum written by an Askenazi rabbi that shows an acute interest in alchemy stems from the pen of R. Jacob Emden, whose entire intellectual orientation manifests strong Sephardi influences (see Chapter 38). As for alchemical writings in Judeo-Arabic and Ladino, the present book contains a few samples; however, this is an as yet largely unexplored field in which scholarly investigation would be a highly rewarding undertaking.

Finally, mention must be made of Jewish alchemical writings in non-Jewish languages, and of references made by non-Jewish alchemists to the work of Jewish alchemists. This type of material is found in Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Arabic, Spanish, Italian, French, and German, and some of it will be presented in this book.

The material in this book is arranged in chronological order. However, this seems easier than it actually is, because in many cases there are no fewer than three dates to which an alchemical work can be assigned. One is the lifetime of the author to whom the manuscript is attributed. But such a date would often be wrong, because the authorship is often pseudepigraphic. Thus, for example, the alchemical treatise attributed to Maimonides was evidently not written by him (see Chapter 24), and therefore to assign it to the twelfth century would be incorrect.

The second possible date is that of the actual author of the manuscript. Here the problem is that most Hebrew alchemical manuscripts are anonymous, so that it is not possible to determine their date on that basis. Only occasionally are there indications in a manuscript which allow us to estimate its date. It is on this basis that I assigned the pseudo-Maimonidean alchemical treatise to the fifteenth century.

The third possible date is that of the creation of the extant manuscript. On that basis the pseudo-Maimonidean treatise would have to be assigned to the seventeenth century. However, occasionally internal evidence in the text of an extant manuscript shows that it is a copy of an older one, in which case it would, of course, not be justified to assign the work to the date at which the surviving copy of the manuscript was prepared. (If we were to do this, we would have to assign the Book of Isaiah to the first century C.E. on the basis of its oldest extant manuscript, found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.)

All in all, each individual manuscript has to be judged separately by weighing the evidence bearing on its date. Thus I assigned the pseudo-Maimonidean treatise to the fifteenth century (when its author probably lived), and not to the seventeenth, when the extant manuscripts were probably written. On the other hand, I assigned the Jerba manuscript to the nineteenth century (see Chapter 39 and Appendix), even though it utilizes older writings, because the copyist, who seems to have lived in the nineteenth century, has added much of his own to it and considerably reshaped and recast whatever he found. Thus the assignment of dates to Hebrew alchemical manuscripts is, occasionally at least, nothing more than a matter of informed guesswork.

Despite the bulk of this volume and the considerable amount of material it presents, it should not be considered more than a prolegomenon to the history of the Jewish work in alchemy and the role of Jews in contributing to its theory and practice. For one thing, I was not able to consider all the existing Jewish alchemical writings, especially the material still in manuscript and scattered in many libraries all over the world. Although a great number of alchemical manuscripts written in Hebrew or in Judeo-Arabic and Ladino (in Hebrew characters) are accessible in the collection of the Jerusalem Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, to which my indebtedness is greater than I can express, no such collection exists of alchemical manuscripts written by Jews in characters other than Hebrew. Those are still buried in hundreds of libraries all over the world, and wait to be discovered and identified. Hence the impression created by the material in this book, that the Jews wrote most of their alchemical works in Hebrew characters, is probably wrong, and will have to be corrected by locating, evaluating, and publishing Jewish alchemical writings in other languages—a truly Herculean task.

Another reason why I consider this book merely a prolegomenon is that in it I was able to refer only very occasionally to the personal relationships between Jewish and non-Jewish alchemists (such as those between the Greek Zosimus, the Arab Avicenna, and the French Flamel and their respective Jewish masters), and the literary influences between Jewish alchemical writings on the one hand, and the many times more

numerous alchemical works produced in the Muslim and Christian worlds from the end of antiquity to modern times, on the other. Thorough studies comparing the alchemical theories and practices of the Jews with those of the Muslims and Christians, and investigating the contacts between them, will be needed before one can write a truly authoritative history of Jewish alchemy and its role in the development of the "Royal Art" since Hellenistic times. It is my hope that this book will stimulate younger scholars to devote their attention to this subject, and to carry on this fascinating task that time no longer permits me to undertake.

Chapter Two

BIBLICAL FIGURES AS ALCHEMISTS

THE ATTRIBUTION of alchemical mastery to biblical heroes began in Hellenistic Egypt, where alchemists were familiar with the Greek version of the Bible, and where the name of Maria the Jewess was famous as the founder of the Hermetic Art. The first Hellenistic alchemist to allude to the biblical origin of alchemy was Zosimus, who lived in Alexandria in the late third and early fourth centuries C.E. Zosimus was of the opinion that the name of Adam symbolized the four elements, which correspond to the four cardinal points of the earth. Olympiodorus, the sixth-century C.E. Alexandrian neo-Platonic author, considered Adam the first man to have been the issue of the four elements. Latin alchemists held that Adam meant red earth, the philosophical mercury, sulphur, soul, and natural fire, whereas Eve meant white earth, the earth of life, philosophical mercury, radical humidity, and spirit.[1]

In later ages Adam became not only a product of primordial divine alchemy but the first recipient from God of the secrets of the Great Art, which then was transmitted from him to Noah, Aaron, Bezalel, David, Solomon, Jeremiah, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, "as well as all the other prophets."[2] Thus by the sixteenth century alchemy could boast of a complete biblical genealogy, and the alchemists were able to claim that they were the inheritors of a secret science of biblical and divine origin.

In medieval and Renaissance Europe it became fashionable to write alchemical commentaries to the first verses of Genesis, and to derive alchemy from them. This was done by Gerhard Dorn, Michael Maier, and Aegidius Guthmann, among others.[3] The great seventeenth-century compendium of alchemical writings, the *Theatrum chemicum*, contains a tract entitled *Creatio mundi ex narratione Moysis in Genesis*, followed by an *Explication duorum primorum capitum Geneseos juxta physicam*, which is a detailed alchemical commentary on the first two chapters of Genesis.[4]

By that time it had become a cherished tradition in alchemy that the processes of making gold in the *magisterium*, the Great Work, were strictly analogous to those of the creation of the world as described in Genesis 1 and 2. The philosophers' stone was therefore considered a world in miniature, a *minutus mundus*, which corresponded also to man the microcosm.[5] Consequently, Genesis 1 was looked upon by many European alchemists as a guide to the work they were to undertake, and

the process of creation willed by the alchemist in his cucurbit—his distilling flask—was compared to the creation of the world by God as described in Genesis.[6] According to some historians of alchemy, the first chapter in Genesis "is the greatest page in alchemy."[7]

There follows here an overview of the alchemists' tradition about the biblical figures whom they considered the originators and early masters of their art.

Adam. In the thirteenth century, Vincent de Beauvais asserted that Adam was the first teacher of alchemy, followed by Noah and several other biblical heroes.[8] In the same century, the *Book of Sidrach* stated that God, through his angel, taught Adam the art of the smith, and that Noah took the implements made by Adam with him in the ark. The *Book of Sidrach*, written probably before 1250 in the circle of Frederick II, the Holy Roman emperor (1194–1250), contains material from Hebrew and Arabic sources, and was pseudepigraphically attributed to Sidrach, a fictitious grandson of Japheth.[9]

Paracelsus (Aureolus Phillippus Theophrastus Bombastus of Hohenheim, 1493–1541) wrote in his commentary on the alleged *Revelation of Hermes* that there is an "indestructible essence," an *una res*, which is the "perfect equation of the elements," the subject of the Art (namely, of alchemy) revealed from above to Adam. It is "the secret of all secrets," "the last and highest thing to be sought under the heavens," the life elixir, "the stone of spirit and truth," the water of life, the oil and honey of eternal healing. "It is the spirit of God which in the beginning filled the earth and brooded over the waters." It is through this spirit that the philosophers invented the seven liberal arts, and thereby gained their riches.[10]

Ben Jonson (1572–1637) was acquainted with a tradition of this kind, and says in his *The Alchemist*,

> Will you believe in antiquity? records?
> I'll shew you a book where Moses and his sister,
> And Solomon have written of the art;
> Ay, and a treatise penn'd by Adam . . .
> Of the philosopher's stone, and in High Dutch.[11]

The sister of Moses referred to is Maria, who in reality was a Hellenistic Jewish alchemist, but who was identified with Miriam, the sister of Moses.

In 1620 in Frankfurt-am-Main, an anonymous German book titled *Gloria mundi* was published and subtitled "Or the Tablet of Paradise, that is, a description of the age-old science which Adam acquired from God Himself, Noah, Abraham, and Solomon used as one of the greatest gifts of God, all wise men in every age considered above the treasures of

the whole world, and left it behind only to the God-fearing, namely *de lapide philosophico, authore anonymo* [about the philosophical stone, by an anonymous author]."[12] In this book the author says that "when Adam had learned the mystery [of alchemy] out of God's own mouth, he kept it a strict secret from his sons, until at length, toward the end of his life, he obtained leave from God to make the preparation of the stone known to his son Seth." This stone, he adds, was the same one that the builders of Solomon disallowed—a statement which refers, of course, to Psalm 118:22, "The stone which the builders rejected is become the chief corner-stone." The notion that the philosophers' stone is rejected, "scorned, and trodden underfoot," appears in a medieval Arabic alchemical manuscript.[13]

The longevity of Adam and of the other antediluvian heroes of the Bible was believed to have been due to the philosophers' stone. The author of the *Gloria mundi* writes that had Adam not possessed the knowledge of this great mystery he would not have been able to prolong his life even to the age of three hundred, let alone nine hundred, years.[14]

Within a few decades of the publication of the *Gloria mundi*, Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), the famed English antiquarian whose collection became the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University, repeated the contention that the longevity of the biblical patriarchs was due to their possession of the philosophers' stone.[15] It was from them, says Ashmole, that Hermes "obtained the knowledge of this stone," whereupon "he gave over the use of all other stones, and therein only delighted. Moses and Solomon [together with Hermes were the only three that] excelled in the knowledge thereof and who therewith wrought wonders." Among the many names Ashmole lists as being applied to the stone is *jud he voph hé*, that is, the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.[16]

Seth. Adam's third son, Seth, who was believed to have obtained the secret of the stone from his father, was identified by al-Dimashqī[17] with the Egyptian Agathodaimon, who is frequently quoted by Zosimus and others as one of the early masters of alchemy.[18]

THE next biblical personage to figure prominently in what can be called the mythical prehistory of alchemy is the antediluvian Tubal-Cain, of whom Genesis says that he was a "forger of every cutting instrument of brass and iron" (Gen. 4:22), in other words, the inventor of the smith's craft.[19] Tubal-Cain figures prominently in a book titled *Uraltes Chymisches Werck* (Age-Old Chemical Work) written by an otherwise unknown Jewish alchemist, who supposedly lived in the fourteenth century. This book is of sufficient importance to deserve detailed treatment in Chapter 17 below.

The Generation of the Deluge. The brief myth-fragment contained in Genesis 6:1–4, which tells about the sons of God who became desirous of the daughters of man and took them as wives, has been elaborated in the First Book of Enoch (written originally in Hebrew in the second or first century B.C.E.). There we read that "the angels, the children of heaven," not only took unto themselves wives from among the daughters of man, but also "instructed them in charms and enchantments, and taught them the cutting of roots and plants." One of the angels, Azazel or Azael by name, taught men knowledge of "the metals of the earth, and the art of working them, and bracelets and ornaments, and the use of precious stones, and all coloring tinctures." Other angels taught them how to resolve enchantments, how to read the signs of the stars, astrology, the knowledge of the clouds, and the signs of the earth, the sun, and the moon.[20]

Although this apocryphal source makes no reference to alchemy, what it does say about the angelic origin of technology, the arts, and the sciences was a sufficient basis for Hellenistic alchemists to impute to the instruction of those angels the origin of alchemy as well. Thus Zosimus (third or fourth century C.E.), the earliest and most important Hellenistic alchemical author, states in his lost *Book of Imouth* that when certain angels became enamored of earthly women they taught them the works of nature, that the book in which they laid down their teachings was called *Chema* (Khema), which name came to be applied to the alchemical art. This statement of Zosimus is recapitulated by the eighth-century Greek polygraph Georgius Syncellus in his *Chronographia.*[21] The treatise of Zosimus referred to by Syncellus is preserved in a Syriac version.[22]

In the same Hellenistic Egyptian alchemical circles in which this tradition originated, a connection was also made between *chymia* (alchemy) and the name Ham (Cham), son of Noah, and the notion arose that *chymia* was named after Ham, its first practitioner. After reviewing the literature on the subject, Edmund von Lippmann, the thorough German historian of alchemy, came to the conclusion that the derivation of *chymia* from Cham, the identification of Cham with Chemes (Chimes, Chimas), and the belief that this Chemes was the originator of alchemy as well as a prophet and an author, were specifically of Jewish-Hellenistic origin.[23]

The fancy that angels taught men the secrets of alchemy survived from the Middle Ages into modern times, and was restated by several later alchemical authors. Among them was the celebrated eighteenth-century French historian of alchemy, Nicolas Lenglet Du Fresnoy (1674–1755), who wrote in his three-volume history of Hermetic philosophy that, charmed by the beauty of the daughters of man, the angels seduced them, and taught them the greatest of secrets, namely that of

the transmutation of metals. Noah saved this secret lore from being lost in the Great Flood, and of his sons, each of whom chose for himself a special vocation, it was Cham (Ham), or perhaps his children, who chose that of the arts and sciences. If Cham's son "Mezraim" (*Miṣrayim*) "did not practice chemistry, it is believed that it was, at any rate, practiced by his eldest son," who was none other than "Thaut or Athotis, also called Hermes or Mercurius, who became king in Thebes." Then Du Fresnoy goes on to explain that it appears likely that it was Cham, or at least his son Mezraim, who took this science into Egypt, and it was from there that alchemy spread all over the world. Even if Noah had children at the age of five hundred years (cf. Gen. 5:32), this does not mean that one has to accept it as a fact, as did the noted alchemist Vincent de Beauvais (d. 1264), that Noah practiced the most perfect chemistry and possessed the universal medicine, that is, the elixir which gave long life, and which is the most sublime part of the Hermetic philosophy. Still, Noah may have passed it on to his descendants, who cultivated it in Egypt.[24]

Thus Du Fresnoy manages to derive the Hermetic Art from Noah by the simple expedient of making Hermes (*alias* Thaut or Athotis) the son of Mezraim, the son of Cham, the son of Noah. Elsewhere he identifies the great-grandson of Noah with Hermes (or Mercurius) Trismegistus who, he says, lived in the year 1996 B.C., and whom he lists as the first in his enumeration of the "Most Celebrated Authors of the Hermetic Philosophy."[25]

Nor was the wife of Noah excluded from the genealogy of alchemy's biblical ancestry. Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691), the renowned author of the *Polyhistor*, informs his readers that the secret knowledge of alchemy originated from the wife of Noah, or from Sybilla, the wife of Nimrod.[26]

Abraham and Sarah. The Bible says about Abraham that he "was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold" (Gen. 13:2). This brief statement sufficed for some alchemists to argue that Abraham must have practiced alchemy, for how else could he have had much silver and gold? If so, from whom did he learn the Great Art? Evidently from Hermes during his sojourn in Egypt.[27]

The *Tabula Smaragdina* (Emerald Table) of Hermes, an alchemical tract dating, it seems, from the mid-thirteenth century, contains the oft-repeated legend of the original emerald slab upon which the teachings of Hermes were said to have been inscribed in Phoenician characters. It was discovered, so the legend goes, by Alexander the Great in the tomb of Hermes. Others, however, held that Sarah the wife of Abraham took the table from the hands of the dead Hermes in a cave at Hebron. This

version of the legend is reproduced in the *Bibliotheca Graeca* of Johann Albert Fabricus (1668–1736) as follows

> The tabula smaragdina, of great authority among the chemists, which, it is said, was discovered by Sarah (the wife of Abraham, as Christophorus Kriegsman does not hesitate to affirm in the aforementioned tabula smaragdina) in the valley of Hebron, in a tomb and in the hands of the cadaver of Hermes, contains in obscure words (as is the wont of chemists, to give much smoke and little light) everything, as they say, of the basis of performing the chemical magisterium of the metals, and the method of compounding a certain universal medicine, but most generally described [28]

Jacob Of all the biblical figures, the one in whose life a stone played a crucial role was Jacob The story in Genesis tells about his dream of the heavenly ladder which he dreamt in Beth el while sleeping with a stone under his head Upon waking, Jacob anointed the stone and concluded a pact with God (Gen 28 10–22)

Alchemical imagination latched on to this story, and considered the stone which served as Jacob's pillow as having been the philosophers' stone The first in a series of fifteen fine copper plate engravings, which were repeatedly reprinted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, shows a young man sleeping with a stone under his head Next to him stands a ladder reaching from heaven to earth, and on it can be seen angels ascending and descending while blowing trumpets That the picture shows Jacob and the ladder is not open to doubt It is also probable that the stone pillow of Jacob was accepted as a symbol of the philoso phers' stone [29] The fifteenth and last plate shows the ladder laid upon the ground, to symbolize the completion of the Work [30]

As late as in the eighteenth century, it was still maintained by alche mists that Adam, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, and David were in possession of the philosophers' stone This is asserted, for example, in a tract entitled *Splendor lucis* (Splendor of Light), printed in Frankfort and Leipzig in 1785 and written by AdMah Booz, actually Mich Birkholz, who was himself a respected alchemist [31]

Mē-Zahav In the Book of Genesis, in the genealogy of the kings of Edom, there is a name which appeared to the medieval alchemists as a clear proof of their contention that some of the ancient leaders of Israel and the neighboring countries knew the secret of the preparation of aurum potabile, potable gold, that is, liquid gold Genesis 36 39 (1 Chron 1 50) records that the name of the wife of Hadar king of Edom was "Mehetabel daughter of Matred, daughter of Mē-Zahav " Although it remains unclear whether Mē Zahav was a man or a woman, the mean

ing of the name is clear enough: it means, literally, "water of gold," or "gold water." The name could be an allusion to water containing gold (nuggets?), but the alchemists explained it unhesitatingly as referring to liquid gold, aurum potabile, and opined that Mē-Zahav was called by this name because he could liquify gold (see Chapter 34 below). The famed Jewish Bible commentator Abraham Ibn Ezra (1098–1164), in his comments to this verse in Genesis, states, "some say that [the name Mē-Zahav] hints at those who make gold out of copper; but these are words of wind [i.e., nonsense]."

It is possible that the name of Mē-Zahav's granddaughter Mehetabel, which in the Greek transliteration had become Metebel or Metabeel, reminded the alchemists of the Greek term *metabole*, transmutation, and this may have strengthened their belief in the alchemical interpretation of the name Mē-Zahav. They also argued that the great ages reached by the early biblical heroes—Methuselah is said in Genesis 5:27 to have lived 969 years—could have been attained only by using the "elixir of life."[32]

Job. Job had it in his grasp to become a successful alchemist, as can be seen from the words addressed to him by his friend Eliphaz the Temanite: "If thou return to the Almighty, thou shalt be built up; if thou put away unrighteousness far from thy tents, thou wilt lay thy treasure in the dust, and the gold of Ophir among the stones of the brook, and the Almighty will be thy treasure, and thou shalt have precious silver" (Job 22:23–25).[33]

Other passages in Job were also interpreted alchemically. Job named his daughters born to him after his ordeal Jemimah, Keziah, and Keren-happuch, which names were interpreted in a religious-alchemical sense. Keziah was held to mean a still, and Keren-happuch a retort which had the shape of an inverted (*hafukh*) horn (*qeren*). Yet another interpretation of Keren-happuch was the "horn," that is, the strength, of the *pukh* stone, that is, the science of alchemy.[34]

THE next biblical figures in chronological order are Moses and his sister Miriam. Moses will be discussed later in this chapter. For Miriam, with whom the Hellenistic alchemist Maria the Jewess was identified, see Chapters 5 and 6.

Korah. The biblical story of Korah tells about his rebellion against Moses and his subsequent punishment: he and his band were swallowed up by the earth (Num. 16). In the midrash, Korah and Haman are said to have been the richest men on earth. Korah's riches derived from

his having discovered one of the treasures Joseph had hidden in Egypt. He perished because of his rapacity, and because his riches were not the gift of heaven. In his revolt against Moses he was encouraged by his wife.[35]

In the Koran (28:76–82), Qārūn (i.e., Korah) is said to have believed that his immense riches were given to him because of the "knowledge which is in him." This Koranic reference, based on the Bible and the midrash, was embellished by Arab authors, beginning with al-Jāḥiz (ca. 776–868/69) and Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 995 or 998). In their writings, Qārūn emerges as an adept of alchemy who had learned the art from his wife. She, in turn, had acquired it from her brother Moses. We discern in this detail of the Arab Qārūn legend an echo of the belief that Miriam, the sister of Moses, was an alchemist to whom were attributed the teachings of Maria the Jewess. Moses and Aaron, the Arab legend tells, were taught by God the art of making gold in order to cover the *tābūt al-tawrāt*, the ark of the Torah, with gold. They entrusted the work to Qārūn, who, according to one Arab source, was originally a goldsmith, and he accumulated a huge horde of gold and silver, built himself palaces with walls made of these precious metals, and at the end was punished by God for his arrogance.[36]

Gideon. The Israelite judge Gideon, of whom the Bible says that he gathered dew with a "fleece of wool" (Judges 6:36–40), is coupled with the Greek hero Jason of Golden Fleece fame by a sixteenth-century Dutch alchemist, Guilelmus Mennens (1525–1608). In his book *Aurei vellei, sive sacrae philosophiae vatum selectae unicae mysteriorumque ac Dei, naturae, et artis admirabilium libri tres*, Mennens gives an allegorical, symbolical, physical, chemical, and alchemical "history" of Gideon and Jason. The book is full of biblical quotations, and references to Hebrew kings, prophets, and so on.[37]

David. The biblical text states that King David set aside a huge amount of gold and silver for the building of the Temple: "I have prepared for the House of the Lord a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver" (1 Chron. 22:14). This supplied the basis for the alchemists' speculation that David could have amassed such unheard-of quantities of the precious metals only with the help of the philosophers' stone. They found a peg on which to hang this view in the statement that King David left behind for his son Solomon, in addition to all the gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, and precious stones, also "stones of *pukh*" (1 Chron. 29:2, actual meaning uncertain). This term they interpreted as referring to the two philosophers' stones, the

red one for the production of gold, and the white one for the making of silver. It was only because he inherited this stone, or these stones, from his father that Solomon was able to "make silver and gold to be in Jerusalem as stones" (2 Chron. 1:15; cf. 1 Kings 10:27).

Solomon. In their eagerness to find scriptural or semi-scriptural affirmation of the assumption that Solomon indeed possessed the philosophers' stone, the alchemists interpreted Solomon's praise of wisdom as referring to alchemical knowledge. In the apocryphal book Wisdom of Solomon, Solomon is made to say, "Neither did I liken her [i.e., Wisdom] to any precious gem, because all the gold [of the earth] in her sight is but a little sand, and silver shall be accounted as clay before her."[38] This, said the alchemists, referred to alchemical wisdom.[39]

As early as Zosimus there are references to the mystical writings of King Solomon. In his treatise *Book of the Key*, he described in detail the production and utilization of quicksilver: just as the key to everything visible and to the whole world is to be found in "The Mystery of the Nine Letters of King Solomon," so do the various kinds of mercury (the true and the metallic arsenic) contain the key to the Great Art, since everything fugacious belongs to the sulphurs; but the sulphurs, as Maria the Jewess had taught correctly, are the essential coloring agents.[40]

According to a technical treatise from the eighth century or later, one can make silver following a prescription of King Solomon that originated in the Temple of Helios (= Ptah), which calls for eastern and western quicksilver and forty days to complete the Work.[41] Moreover, according to some alchemical authors, the Song of Songs of Solomon is actually an alchemical treatise.[42]

King Solomon, who became an important figure in Arab folklore under the name Nabī Sulaymān, was according to popular belief not only the all-powerful master of demons (as in Jewish folklore), but also a master alchemist and metallurgist. The *Stone Book of Aristotle*, an Arabic treatise dating from about 850 and written by a Syrian who was well versed in Greek and Persian literature, states that Solomon made the ants dig up "red sulphur," that is, gold, from the rocks in the Valley of the Ants, and that it was from Solomon that Alexander the Great derived his knowledge of this "red sulphur."[43] According to Ibn Rusta (Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar ibn Rusta, early tenth century), the Arabs ascribed the invention of iron ploughs, weapons, and utensils mostly to King Solomon.[44] The miraculous seal made of lead with which, according to the *Arabian Nights*, Solomon locked the evil spirits into bottles, also point to his having been an alchemist.[45]

Bonaventure de Periers, the sixteenth-century French polyhistor, makes repeated reference to King Solomon and the prophetess Maria as

the greatest alchemists.[46] In 1620, the famous alchemist Michael Maier published in Frankfurt a book entitled *Septimana philosophica* or "The Philosophical week, in which the Golden secrets of all Kinds of Nature from the Most Wise Solomon King of the Israelites, and Arabia's Queen of Sheba, as well as Hiram Prince of Tyre, are Presented and Explained in Turn in the Manner of a Conversation."[47] Some fifty years later Johann Joachim Becher (1635–1682), one of the clearest heads of his time, asserted that King Solomon was in possession of the philosophers' stone.[48] According to an old English poem, preserved in Ashmole's *Theatrum chemicum Britannicum*, "the Blessed Stone Fro Heven wase sende downe to Solomon."[49]

Nor did Jewish alchemistic authors fall behind their Muslim and Christian colleagues in attributing alchemical works to Solomon. One of the foremost among them, Johanan Alemanno (1453–ca. 1504; see Chapter 23), quotes a story to the effect that the Queen of Sheba had inherited the philosophers' stone from her first husband, Sman, who was a great Nabatean sage. This was the precious stone which she presented to King Solomon (1 Kings 10:2), her purpose being to test his wisdom. But Solomon had already known the secret, and immediately recognized the stone. Although Alemanno took this story from an Arab alchemist, Abufalaḥ of Syracuse, it was originally found in the esoteric *Sefer haMaṣpun* (Book of the Treasure) ascribed to Solomon.[50] Alemanno also wrote another book, *Sefer Sha'ar haḤesheq* (Book of the Gate of Desire), which, as stated in the approbation prefacing it, was part of a larger book entitled *Ḥesheq Sh'lomo* (Solomon's Desire), and the material contained in it was attributed to King Solomon.[51] The book itself contains some references to alchemical and mystical lore, such as the *ḥokhmat haṣeruf* (science of refining gold), how to create and annihilate human beings and calves (following the example of certain talmudic sages), the letters of the alphabet as standing for the four alchemical elements, and so on.[52]

The anonymous Syriac author who reproduces and augments the text of Zosimus has much to say about the magical "talismans of Solomon," which he calls "flasks," in apparent reference to the magical flasks in which Solomon was said to have imprisoned the demons. Among other things he states that while "Solomon wrote only one work about the seven talismans [flasks], several commentaries on it were composed in different periods, to explain the things which this work contained; but in these commentaries there is fraud." However, almost all of them are in accord about the work of the talismans, which are directed against the demons. These talismans act like prayers, and like the nine letters of the name of God written by Solomon: the demons cannot resist them. Then he goes on:

But let us return in greater detail to the subject which we are considering The seven flasks in which Solomon imprisoned the demons were of electrum It is fit to give credit in this respect to Jewish writings about the demons The altered book which is in our possession and which is entitled *The Seven Heavens* contains, in brief, what follows here The angel ordered Solomon to make these flasks Solomon made them according to the number of the seven planets, following the divine prescriptions about the work of the [philosophers'] stone, for the mixture of silver, of gold, and of Cyprian copper with the body called aurichalkos and copper of Marrah[ʾ] One takes one part of metal that has its shadow, and puts it face to face with all the sulphurous stones, the best of all of them will engender metal without a shadow The necessary ingredients are in all nine in number It is through them that everything is accomplished, as you know

The sage Solomon also knew how to conjure up demons He gives a formula of conjuration, and he shows the electrum, that is to say, the flasks of electrum, on whose surfaces he inscribed this formula

You will find the mixture, the weight, and the treatment of each body and precious stone in the Jewish writings, and principally in those of Apilis son of Gagios If you discover the meaning of these writings, you will discover there with sincerity that which you seek If not, seek your refuge in the crocitidos [ʾ], especially that which is in the manual [encheiridion ʾ], [it being] understood that one produces the gold [*siwan*] with the iron [*sahoum*] colored red One finds [in the manual] the complete indication of the nine necessary things

If you do not want to use this means, know that the following bodies are necessary for the preparation of the electrum burnt gold [*siwan*], silver [*loura*] called of the ant [murmēkos], whitened copper [*saroch*], tender and softened iron [*sahoum*], lead [ʾ*tou*], purified silver [*lune*] You will find their treatment everywhere [53]

The close association between Solomon and the philosophers' stone is shown by the fact that the materia prima of the stone was sometimes represented as the two interlaced triangles of "Solomon's seal," which survives to this day as the Jewish national emblem known as the Magen David, David's Shield For the alchemists this seal or star was the symbol of wisdom, and also the sign of the "fiery water," since it consists of a combination of two symbols that of fire, which rises upward and hence is symbolized by the upward pointing triangle, and that of water, which descends from the sky and is represented by the downward pointing triangle [54] The old midrashic interpretation of the Hebrew word for heaven, *shamayim*, namely, that it is a combination of the words *esh*, fire, and *mayim*, water, was known and restated by the alchemists [55] One of them, after explaining the nature of the Upper Waters, writes, "This is

why in the Hebrew language heaven is called 'Fiery Water,' from *Isch* & *Maijm*, that is, *Schamajim*."[56] The Magen David was also interpreted as a symbol of the four basic elements of Earth, Air, Fire, and Water. Sometimes it represents "universal matter."[57]

In 1687 *Arca arcani artificiosissimi* by Johann Grasshoff was published in Hamburg and Stockholm. This book, in which the author warns against hasty attempts to prepare aurum potabile, drinkable gold, was reprinted in 1753 under the new title *Philosophia Salomonis.* In his treatise *Der von Mose und denen Propheten übel urtheilende Alchymist*, published in Chemnitz in 1706, Johann Georg Schmid argued (pp. 55–59) that Solomon, wise though he was, could not have possessed an art which did not exist in rerum natura; rather, he obtained his gold and silver from mines in the usual way, without requiring the philosophers' stone or any miracle. A similar position was taken by Andreas Ottomar Goelicke (1671–1744) in his *Historia medicinae universalis* (1721, 1:61, 62). He raised the question of whether or not Solomon was a chemist, and decided in the negative.[58]

Elijah. Several of the biblical prophets were considered adepts in alchemy by the alchemists of later ages. The prophet Elijah was often referred to by Christian alchemists, several of whose works carry the name Elijah in their title. In some of these treatises Jewish influence is evident, and is manifested in statements that echo the talmudic dictum according to which, Elijah will answer all unsolved questions when he returns as a harbinger of the Messiah. Paracelsus can serve as an example. Although he claimed to have found the philosophers' stone, he wrote in his tract on minerals that "God revealed lesser things, but the most important thing [namely, the transmutation of base metals into gold] is still wrapped in darkness, and will remain so until the coming of Elias Artista."[59]

Isaiah. The prophet Isaiah ranks next to Elijah as an adept in alchemy. Leonhard Rhodius of Transylvania is quoted by the anonymous author (actually Dr. Soldner) of the treatise *Keren Happuch* to the effect that the alchemical expertise of Isaiah is shown by Isaiah 54:11, which says, "Behold, I will set thy stones in fair colors, and lay thy foundations with sapphires, and I will make thy pinnacles of rubies, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of precious stones." The plural in "thy stones" supposedly refers to the two philosophers' stones, the red and the white; while the sapphires refer to the color of sapphire which appears at the last stage of the preparation of the stone, perhaps an allusion to the alchemical process of iosis (or oxydation). Others adduce Isaiah

60:17, which reads, "For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver."[60]

A few biblical figures remain for us to mention. An alchemical prescription is attributed to King Hoshea, the last king of Israel.[61] A Hellenistic alchemical manuscript mentions that the solder of gold which is both an operation and a material, is designated "by the divine Daniel" as a "head of gold."[62] Valentin Weigel (1533–1588) writes in his *The Prophet Daniel Interpreted by Theophrastus* (extant in manuscript) that Daniel was a great master of alchemy.[63]

Ezra. Ezra was the last biblical figure who, in the imagination of the adepts of the Hermetic Art, became an alchemist. In the Cambridge University Library there is a Syriac collection of tracts that includes a "Book of Ezra (Esdras) the Sage Scribe." This is an alchemical treatise containing technical prescriptions analogous to those of the "Chemistry of Moses" (see below). It also contains the names of diverse plants, the planets, and metals.[64] A recipe for manufacturing ink attributed to Ezra will be found in Chapter 29 below.

Moses the Alchemist

In the alchemical literature, beginning with the earliest Hellenistic writings and down to the latest eighteenth-century alchemical treatises, and even in nineteenth-century post-alchemical writings, Moses occupies an important place as master of the Royal Art. Some alchemists even considered Moses, together with Hermes, as one of the co-founders of alchemy, which they consequently called "the Mosaico-Hermetic Art."

There seems to have lived in Hellenistic Egypt an actual alchemist by the name of Moses who appears as the author of several alchemical tracts.[65] Even in the earliest Greek alchemical sources mentioning Moses, it is difficult to separate the references to Moses the Hellenistic alchemist and Moses the Hebrew lawgiver, who was considered an initiator of the alchemical art. Thus, for example, Zosimus included in his writings copies of several detailed alchemical recipes of Moses in a manner which makes it appear that he knew that this Moses was an actual Hellenistic alchemist. But elsewhere in his treatises Zosimus speaks of Moses as if he considered him a personage of remote antiquity, that is, the Hebrew lawgiver. In one passage Zosimus says, "this is why in Jewish writings and in all writings they speak of an inexhaustible mass which Moses obtained following the precept of the Lord." Similarly, a Greek technical treatise says, "It is this about which Moses, the divine prophet, speaks in his Chemistry [the Chemistry of Moses, see below]: placing all

things into a small glass ball, cook it until the product becomes the color of cinnabar and accomplishes the divine mystery "[66]

An alchemical treatise containing about five thousand words and entitled *The Domestic Chemistry of Moses* is preserved in the third-century C E papyrus W of Leyden It contains sixty two alchemical prescriptions, which are introduced with a paraphrase of Exodus 31 1–5 and 35 30–35, with the obvious intention of pseudepigraphically associating the treatise with the biblical Moses, and thereby endowing it with an aura of antiquity and authenticity "And the Lord spoke unto Moses I have chosen the priest called Bezalel, of the tribe of Judah, to work in gold, silver, copper, iron, in all precious stones, to work and to fashion good wood, and to be a master of all the arts " This is followed by alchemical prescriptions on the usual subjects of the treatment of mercury, copper, molybdochalkon (lead copper), pyrite, the distillation of water, the treatment of arsenic, liquids, the purification of lead, and several instructions on how to make gold One of the latter (no 23) reads

> The fabrication of gold Taking female pyrite and that which has the color of silver, which some call the siderite stone [loadstone], treat it as you know, in a manner so as to make it liquid If it is to copper that you add it, you will whiten it as you know how, and if it is to silver, you will yellow it by the cooking of sulphur which you know Then project this yellow metal upon the silver, and you will tint it [i e , obtain gold] Nature takes pleasure in nature [67]

The treatise both begins and ends with the blessing, "Good fabrication and success from the Creator, success in the Work, and long duration of life!"[68]

Zosimus, in his tract on "The Divine Water" (i e , sulphur), refers to *The Domestic Chemistry of Moses* "This is how, in the *maza* of Moses [it is said that] one burns with sulphur, with salt, with alum, and with sulphur (I mean white sulphur) "[69] The term *maza*, employed here in the sense of chemistry or a chemical textbook, otherwise means "black lead," or "magnesia"—as in the instructions of Maria the Jewess [70] The writings attributed to Moses recommend that this *maza*, or Cyprian copper, be used as the material with which to start the alchemical work Due to a confusion of "female magnesia" with the "male magnes" (which here means manganese dioxide [MnO_2], pyrolusite), Moses states that the "divine *maza*" has the character of *oxos* (vinegar, acridity), in that it purifies and softens everything, even glass, which it endows with a shiny white hue The "tinting" of copper is effected by means of tin, white magnesia, white Dalmatian cadmium, Italian stimmi, quicksilver, and quicksilver of sandarac or white lead, that is,

arsenic gained from red sulphide of arsenic or white arsenious acid (H_3AsO_3), which transmute and tint the copper, inasmuch as the desired "nature" or quality which is present inside is driven up to the surface.[71]

In order to obtain the effective means, the *xerion*, whose projection upon tin produces silver which, if tested, shows itself to be genuine (*dókimōs*), one uses the gold-colored auriferous pyrites from Egypt or Libya, sandyx (which here means cinnabar or native red sulphide of mercury), and "deadened" mercury (that is, either mercury in combination with another material, or mercury which is "in the depths of the nether worlds"—in other words, has trickled down to the bottom of the alchemical vessel).

Moses also prescribes the use of "horseradish oil" and "castor oil" for the treatment of the "egg white" and "egg yolk," which terms are evidently pseudonymous. On the other hand, he probably refers to the burning of real linseed oil and castor oil in describing the production of the "black, burned sulphur," presumably from smelted sulphur which, due to its carbon content and its dark color, is also called *mélan*, blackness, or soot. Preparations that require sweet water, rather than sea water, are left for a considerable time to set in dung, or are warmed in cow dung or horse manure.[72]

While there is, of course, no basis whatsoever to the attribution of these Hellenistic alchemical works to the biblical Moses, the writings themselves show strong Jewish influences and Jewish monotheistic views. At one point, for example, one of the treatises speaks of "the Creator who gives success and long life."[73] It can therefore be assumed that the author known pseudonymously as Moses was a Hellenistic Jewish alchemist. In one source he is called "Moses the thrice happy,"[74] which designation is reminiscent of the epithet given to Hermes, "Trismegistus," "thrice great."

One of the most popular of the alchemical prescriptions attributed to Moses was the so-called "Diplosis of Moses," the doubling of the weight of gold. The Greek text of it is contained in the St. Mark manuscript, which dates from the tenth or eleventh century, and in several other medieval manuscripts.[75]

It reads as follows:

> Diplosis of Moses. Copper of Calais,[76] one ounce; arsenic [orpiment], one ounce; native lead, one ounce; decomposed sandarac [a realgar], one ounce. Put it in the *acmadion* [roasting pan], and place it upon the coals, until desulphuration; then take it off, and you will find your product. Of this copper take one part and three parts of gold; melt it, carrying on the fusion strongly, and you will find all of it changed to gold, with the help of God.[77]

That the biblical Moses was well versed in, and was in fact, the founder of, the arts and sciences, was a belief current in antiquity. According to the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo (c. 20 B.C.E.–50 C.E.), Moses in his youth received instruction in the wisdom of the Greeks, the Egyptians, and the neighboring nations.[78] The second-century B.C.E. Hellenistic Jewish author Artapanus, in his *Peri Ioudaiōn* identifies Moses with Musaeus of the Greek legend, and says that Moses was the master of Orpheus and the inventor or initiator of philosophy, medicine, instruments, utensils, weapons, the hieroglyphic characters, and the division of Egypt into thirty-six districts, of which he allotted one to the priests. Therefore, he says, there is nothing surprising in the divine honors paid to Moses by the Egyptians, who called him Hermes.[79] According to Pseudo-Philo, immediately prior to Moses' death great mysteries were revealed to him which, according to midrashic sources, included past and future events of the human race and of Israel, as well as cosmic secrets.[80]

In numerous magical papyri, Moses appears in a similar light.[81] Among the magical and astrological works attributed to Moses is "The Sacred Book called Monas the Eighth (or the Eighth Monad) of Moses on the Holy Name, also called the Key of Moses, the Secret Book of Moses."[82] Both the Leyden Papyrus X (from the Thebais) and the St. Mark manuscript list Moses among the twenty-six "philosophers of the divine science and art," and as early as the third century C.E., Moses appears in a Greek papyrus as a mythical author together with Homer, Orpheus, Pythagoras, and Democritus.[83] Another Hellenistic source states that Ostanes, Agathodaimon, Maria, and Moses taught that the bile of the ichneumon and the vulture, macerated for forty days with red aerugo (copper rost) are used as coloring agents.[84]

The fame of Moses as a magician (not alchemist) spread early in the Roman world. Pliny (23–79 C.E.) writes, "There is yet another branch of magic, derived from Moses . . . and the Jews."[85] The notion that Moses was a great magician is echoed in the late Midrashim, which report that in the court of Ahasuerus it was known that Moses had been "an arch-wizard, bred in the house of Pharaoh."[86]

The identification of Moses with Hermes was a remarkable feat of syncretistic ingenuity on the part of the Hellenistic and later alchemical authors. The Hermes in question was, of course, not the Greek god, but the mythical father of alchemy, who was identified also with Adam, Enoch, a fictitious son of Mizraim son of Ham, Abraham, Joseph, and so on. He was considered the personification of knowledge, of science, of the creative spirit which expresses itself in the arts, and was held to have been the keeper of all ancient hereditary wisdom.[87] As we shall see,

this identification of Moses with Hermes survived well beyond the Middle Ages

According to another, relatively late, tradition, "Hermes Trismegistus, surnamed Mercurius" was a disciple of Moses he was instructed uncommonly [well] in the doctrine of Genesis transmitted by Moses "[88]

When viewed against the background of this legendary embroidery on the image of Moses, considered the greatest universal genius and master of all the arts and sciences, it appears as almost inevitable that the alchemists should make him a founding father of their Royal Art This was the more easily done since the biblical story of the golden calf readily lent itself to alchemistic interpretation When Moses came down from Mount Sinai, we read in Exodus, and found that the Children of Israel had forced Aaron to make them a golden calf and were riotously worshiping the idol, his ire was aroused, "and he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it with fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water, and made the Children of Israel drink of it" (Exod 32 20)

A loose reading of this verse enabled the alchemists to assert that Moses knew the secret of liquid gold, *aurum potabile*, whose production was one of the great aims of the Hermetic art This knowledge of Moses, together with the description of the large golden vessels, weighing more than twenty nine talents each, which Moses had Bezalel fashion for the desert sanctuary (Exod 31 1–11, 35 30–36 1, 38 24), was taken to be proof that Moses knew the secret of the other, even greater, alchemical quest, that of making gold

The first Arab author who refers to Moses as the founder of alchemy is Jābir ibn Hayyān (eighth to ninth century), one of the principal representatives of early Arab alchemy His large opus entitled *The Book of CXII* (i e , 112 chapters or prescriptions), a collection of essays on the practice of alchemy with many references to practitioners of the art in antiquity—such as Zosimus, Democritus, Hermes, Agathodaimon, and so on—contains a "Chapter on Moses "[89] According to Jābir, Moses was the possessor of divine science, and Qarūn (Korah) stole from him the secret of alchemy Other Arab authors such as Ibn al Nadīm, Pseudo Majrīti, Jahiz, and Maqdisi also refer to Moses and Korah as alchemists [90]

Ibn al-Nadīm (d 995 or 998) writes in his well-known *Kitab al-fihrist* (Index Book), which he completed in 987/8,

> Others say that the revelation [of alchemy] was made by God the Most High to Moses son of Amram and to his brother Aaron—peace be upon both of them!—and that it was Qarun who carried out the work in their name This latter, having accumulated much gold and silver, and having

amassed treasures, was, at the request of Moses, taken away by God who perceived the arrogance, pride, and wickedness with which his riches inspired him.[91]

Korah's riches and his inordinate pride are old Jewish legendary motifs, found as early as Josephus and the Midrash but, as mentioned above, Jewish sources do not attribute the origin of Korah's fortune to his practice of alchemy, but to having found treasures hidden by Joseph.[92]

Several medieval adepts of alchemy, as well as nonadepts who had some chemical knowledge, raised the question of how Moses could burn the golden calf (Exod. 32:20), when it was a well-known fact that gold did not burn. Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164), one of the foremost medieval Bible commentators, has a solution for the problem (see Chapter 11).

Five centuries later, the German alchemist and chemist Johann Kunckel (ca. 1630–1703), unaware of Ibn Ezra, restated the essence of his explanation. He argued that Moses had attained the highest degree of alchemical mastery, which comprised not only the ability to transmute base metals into gold, but also its opposite: the knowledge of how to transmute gold into base metals. He first transmuted the gold of the calf into combustible base metal, and then proceeded to burn it in fire.[93]

The *Turba philosophorum* (Assembly of Philosophers), originally written in Arabic or Hebrew (but probably based on older Greek sources), and extant only in a Latin translation, tells of a gathering of the disciples of Hermes convened by Pythagoras.[94] Among those assembled are Anaximandros, Anaxagoras, Pandolfus (Empedocles), Archelaos, Plato, Democritus, the disciple of Lucas (Leukippos), Anaximenes, Parmenides, Arsuberes (Xenophanes), Frictes (Socrates), Zimon (Zenon), Dardaris (Dardanos), Theophilus, and so on, and also Moses. When Moses' turn comes to speak, he explains the various names of quicksilver, and quotes "the Philosopher" as having said that the quicksilver which tinges gold is the quicksilver out of cinnabar (*argentum vivum cambar*), and that this is the "magnesia," while the quicksilver of the auripigmentum or orpiment (a native arsenic trisulphide, As_2S_3) is the sulphur which ascends from this mixed compound material. "You must, therefore," he says, "mix that thick thing with the 'fiery venom,' and let it putrefy, and diligently pound it until a spirit is produced which is hidden in that other spirit; then it will become a tincture for everything that you wish."[95]

Later Moses speaks of molybdochalkon:

One must observe that the envious have named the lead of copper the "instruments of formation," in order to mislead posterity by deception. I am

> making it known to them that their "instruments of formation" are formed from our white, starlike and shining "powder" and from our "stone" which glitters like marble. But of them no "powder" is more fit for our Work and better for our composition than the powder of the "ascocia" [the gum of the acacia], out of which arise suitable "instruments of formation." Further, the philosophers have already said, "Take the instruments out of the egg," but they did not report what kind of egg, of which bird.[96] And know that the regimen of these things is more difficult than the whole Work, because if the "composition" is treated more than necessary, its light, coming from "Pelagus" [the sea] will be extinguished. Therefore the philosophers prescribed that one must observe [the heavens]. Take it, therefore, at full moon, and put it in "sand," until it becomes whitened. And know that if you have no patience for putting it in "sand," and for the repetition, you will err in the procedure, and the Work will be ruined. Therefore cook it in a gentle fire, until you have whitened it, then extinguish it with "vinegar," and you will find that one of the three has already become separated. And know that the first elixir comingles, the second gets burnt, but the third liquifies. Therefore add to the first nine ounces of "vinegar," twice: the first time while the vessel is getting warm, and the second time after it has become warm.[97]

Once the notion that the biblical Moses was a great alchemist had penetrated Christian Europe via the Latin translations of Greek and Arabic works, there was no dearth of imitative treatises composed in Latin and containing references to Moses the alchemist, amongst several other biblical figures and classical Greek and Latin authors, who were considered practitioners of the Royal Art. As a typical example of this kind of writing can be mentioned the *Margarita preciosa* (Precious Pearl) of Petrus Bonus of Ferrara (c. 1330), in which reference is made to Moses, David, Solomon, Ovid, Virgil, Aristotle, and Galen, as witnesses to the transmutability of metals.[98]

In Chapter 21 we shall discuss in some detail the fifteenth-century magico-alchemical treatise written by a certain Abraham ben Simeon of Worms. In it the author gives the biblical genealogy of the "divine science": it was revealed by God to Noah, from whom it was passed on to his descendants: Japhet, Abraham, Ishmael, Lot, Moses, Aaron, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah, the apostles, and St. John.

In the early sixteenth century, Paracelsus referred to the major figures in the biblical genealogy as possessors of the great secret of the philosophers' stone. He spoke of an "indestructible essence," an una res, which was first revealed to Adam.[99] Paracelsus conceived of this una res as a spiritual substance, and says that "through this spirit . . . Moses made the golden vessels in the Ark, and King Solomon achieved many beauti-

ful works to the honor of God. Therewith Moses built the Tabernacle, Noah the Ark, Solomon the Temple. . . . By this Ezra restored the Law."[100]

The standard sixteenth- and seventeenth-century alchemical collections, such as the *Artis auriferae*, the *Theatrum chemicum* (5:57–89), and Manget's *Bibliotheca chemica* (1:467–79), contain a short tract entitled *Allegoriae sapientium supra librum Turbae XXIX distinctiones* (Twenty-nine Sections of the Allegories of the Wise about the Book *Turba*). Distinctio II begins with a dialogue between God and Moses: Moses asks God to have compassion on him and to provide a livelihood for the Children of Israel by instructing him in the production of gold.[101]

By the seventeenth century, the belief that Moses was a great alchemist was so widespread in alchemical circles and had become such a firmly established tenet that several of the more critically minded writers about the Hermetic Art found it necessary to combat it. Thus, for instance, Hermann Conring (1606–1681) wrote in 1648 and again in 1669 that it was nothing but a fable that Moses was a chemist, and asserted that in the biblical story of the golden calf which Moses pulverized nothing is said of a chemical dissolution of gold.[102]

In 1706 the same subject was discussed, and the alchemists sharply criticized, by Johann Georg Schmid, long-time pastor at Nesselbach, in a small German book entitled (in my English translation) *The Alchemist Who Passes Evil Judgment on Moses and the Prophets is Being Presented with Scriptural Proofs that Moses and Several Prophets, such as David, Solomon, Job, Ezra, and the like, Were not Adepts of the Lapis Philosophorum: Likewise that the Doctrine and the Alchemistic Pretense about the Transmutation of Base Metals into Gold is a Pure Fantasy and a Harmful Fancy*, by a Lover of Truth, Who Comforts Himself in that the Almighty is his God, Job 20:25 (? perhaps 37:22), and seeks Nothing in Gold.[103]

However, those who believed that Moses was a great alchemist were much more numerous than those who denied that he had alchemical knowledge. Among the former was Olaus Borrichius (1626–1690), who wrote in 1668 and again in 1674 that only a very good chemist could do what the Bible says Moses did, namely, reduce the golden calf by grinding it into fine powder.[104] In the same vein, Georg Wolfgang Wedel (1545–1721) wrote in his treatise *De Mose chimico* (About Moses the Chemist): "Without doubt Moses was a supreme chemist and craftsman with fire, who could destroy the golden calf so promptly." Wedel surmises that Moses may have used sulphur, acid salts, mercury, or lead for this purpose, and that he ground the calf into fine powder and, sprinkling it over water, made it not only fit for drinking but even salubrious.[105] Reference to the golden calf appears in the title of a book by

Johannes Fridericus Helvetius (Schweitzer), written originally in Latin, translated into German in 1668, and two years later also into English under the title *The Golden Calf Which the World Adores and Desires: In which is handled the most Rare and Incomparable Wonder of Nature in Transmuting Metals: Viz. How the intire Substance of Lead was in one Moment Transmuted into Gold-Obrizon, with an exceedingly small particle of the true Philosophic Stone.*[106] More on Helvetius will be found in the introduction to Part Eight.

However, it was not only religio-romantic scholars, always ready to read into the Bible indications of all the scientific and technical achievements of their own age, who maintained that Moses was indeed a master chemist. Sober scientists did the same. Thus no lesser a chemist than Georg Ernst Stahl (1660–1734), the originator of the famed phlogiston theory, developed in 1698 some ideas about the alleged dissolution of gold in water. He held that by smelting gold together with equal parts of *salis alcali* and *sulphuris citrini* it could be dissolved, and the resulting mass could then be diluted in water. And, he added, this was certainly the manner in which Moses dissolved the golden calf.[107]

In 1742 a three-volume work of Nicolas Lenglet Du Fresnoy entitled *Histoire de la philosophie hermetique* was published; it contains a brief section "Moses Knew the Hermetic Science." In it Du Fresnoy writes:

> Moses was trained in all the sciences of the Egyptians, of which the most secret, and at the same time one of the most essential, was that of the transmutation of Metals. One should, therefore, not be surprised to see him melt, calcinate, and pulverize that enormous mass of the golden calf which the people of Israel made for themselves as a divinity similar to the Apis of Egypt. This calcination could not be effected without the use of fire. What is more: Moses knew how to dissolve and dilute this calcinated gold in ordinary water, which is contrary to all experiments, since without the help of a special science the gold, in however small a quantity it be, is always precipitated to the bottom of all ordinary liquids with which one combines it. It is this science, it is this particular knowledge, which changes the nature of metals, to which we have for a long time given the name of philosophy, or of Hermetic chemistry, and very likely [it was called] by the Egyptians the Sacred Art, the Divine Science.[108]

Du Fresnoy's opus contains an extensive listing in chronological order of "the most celebrated authors of the Hermetic philosophy." He puts Hermes (or Mercurius Trismegistus) at the head, stating that he lived in 1996 B.C. In the second place comes Moses, to whom the date 1595 B.C. is assigned, with the accompanying statement that "there is in his name a supposed book on the Hermetic science."[109]

Although Du Fresnoy thus places four full centuries between Hermes and Moses, the identification of the two nevertheless survived to the very end of the eighteenth century. Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca* quotes Artapanus to the effect that the Egyptians intimated (*innuunt*) that Moses and Mercurius (= Hermes) were one and the same person.[110] To this Gottlieb Harles, the editor of Fabricius' magnum opus, adds in a footnote that Basnage in his history of the Jews "denies that Mercurius and Moses were one and the same man, since before Moses and before Joseph the art of writing was known, and written books did exist."[111]

The question of the identity of Hermes and Moses still agitated the minds of not only alchemists but also historians well into the second half of the nineteenth century. W. Herapath, upon studying silverlike hieroglyphics on the linen wrappings of Egyptian mummies, found that the linen was eaten away next to the writings, and suspected that the writing was done in silver dissolved in nitric acid. Hence he concluded that nitrous ether was known to the ancient Egyptians, and went on to conjecture:

> A very probable speculation might be raised upon this to account for the solution of the Golden Calf by Moses, who had all the mundane knowledge from the Egyptian priests. It had been supposed that he was acquainted with and used the sulphuret of potassium for that purpose; how the inference arose, I know not; but if the Egyptians obtained nitric acid, it could only have been by the means of sulphuric acid, through the agency of which, and by the same kind of process, they could have separated hydrochloric acid from common salt: it is therefore more probable that the priests had taught Moses the use of the mixed nitric and hydrochloric acids with which he could dissolve the statue, rather than a sulphuret, which we have no evidence of their being acquainted with.[112]

Within a year of the publication of the above article, another chemist, J. Denham Smith, raised objections to Herapath's theory, and argued that the biblical text says nothing about Moses having *dissolved* the gold of the calf, but merely states that he "reduced it to an impalpable powder, and thus rendered it potable when mixed with water . . . 'he burnt it with fire,' that is, he fused and alloyed it with a substance capable of rendering gold brittle."[113]

In conclusion, some reflections seem to be called for on the motivation underlying the persistent claim that Moses was a master alchemist. The great quest of alchemy—to fathom the secrets of nature, including those of metals, on the one hand, and of the human being, on the other—was seriously hampered by the disrepute incurred by frauds perpetrated by charlatans who claimed to be able to make gold. In this pre-

dicament it became of paramount importance for alchemists to be able to show that their science had a respectable genealogy. And no other ancient great figure could serve the purpose as perfectly as Moses, the man of God, the great lawgiver, whose sacred Five Books were held in the greatest awe by the whole Christian world, and in no less reverence by the Muslims as well. Hence, if Moses was an alchemist, alchemy itself had to be not merely reputable but a praiseworthy endeavor, approved and indeed originally taught by angels or even by God Himself.

Moses had one great advantage over other biblical figures from the alchemical point of view: although the others may have made golden vessels and utensils or had them made, only about Moses does Scripture say that he burned and pulverized gold. Here then was a religious leader of the greatest distinction, a man of God of unmatched sanctity, whose biblical image was, so to speak, tailor-made to serve as the alchemical equivalent of a patron saint.

Chapter Three

ALCHEMY IN BIBLE AND TALMUD?

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, despite the claims of alchemists, the fact is that the Bible contains nothing that would indicate familiarity with either alchemical theory or alchemical practice. The attribution of alchemical expertise to biblical figures was clearly the figment of later generations' imagination.

This observation does not mean that the Hebrews in biblical times were ignorant of metals, their mining, smelting, and use. Quite to the contrary: although the Bible does not have a generic term for "metal," it mentions seven metals several times: gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead, and antimony. Excavations conducted in various parts of Ereṣ Israel have unearthed remnants of those metals in both raw and processed forms. A closer look at biblical metallurgy seems warranted, since metallurgy is an indispensable prerequisite of practical alchemy.

It is a well-known anthropological-linguistic observation that there is a direct correlation between the importance of an item in the life of a people and the number of words in its language to designate that item and its varieties. There are the proverbial hundred words in Arabic for the camel, and in Eskimo languages many words designating the varieties of snow. Likewise, one may conclude that the many words found in biblical Hebrew for gold must indicate that gold was of great importance in the life of ancient Israel, whereas other metals, covered by fewer terms, had lesser significance.

In the Bible the following seven nouns have the meaning "gold": *zahav, paz, ketem, ḥaruṣ, s'gor, ophir, baṣer.* Whether they referred to various kinds of gold, can no longer be established. In addition, there are in the Bible five adjectives regularly associated with gold: *zahav shaḥuṭ* (beaten or polished gold); *zahav ṭov* (good gold); *zahav ṭahor* (pure gold); *zahav m'zuqqaq* (refined gold); and *zahav saġur* (closed [?] gold). Moreover, kinds of gold were differentiated according to their places of origin: there was Ophir gold, Sheba gold, Uphaz gold, Parvayim gold, gold from the north, and gold from the land of Havila. Ophir, Sheba, and Havila seem to have been located in East Africa; the location of Parvayim and Uphaz is unknown. Four of these determinants were used also together with *ketem*: there were *ketem ṭahor, ketem ṭov, ketem ophir*, and *ketem uphaz.* Finally, the noun *paz* appears in

combination with three other nouns denoting gold: *zahav uphaz, ḥaruṣ uphaz, ketem paz.* There was also a *ḥaruṣ nivḥar* (choice *ḥaruṣ*), and a *y'raqraq ḥaruṣ*, in which the first word originally was yet another synonym for gold. This rich nomenclature makes it clear that the ancient Hebrews carefully differentiated among various kinds of gold according to place of origin, quality, purity, color, and so on.

From other biblical passages it is possible to conclude what processes went into the production of gold objects. The raw gold was melted in a special crucible (Prov. 17:3; 27:21), given the shape of ingots or large "tongues" or "wedges" weighing up to fifty shekels (Joshua 7:21). In the course of smelting, the gold was separated from the impurities (Mal. 3:3; Job 28:1; 1 Chron. 28:18), and thereafter was also assayed (Zech. 13:9; Job 23:10). If the gold was to be used for coating other objects or for making jewelry, it was first beaten into thin plates or cut into threads (Ex. 39:3).

As for metals other than gold, from passages in Jeremiah (6:29–30) and Ezechiel (22:18, 20) it appears that the metallurgists worked with bellows (*mapuaḥ*) to increase the temperature of the fire under the crucible (*kur*), and to separate (or "consume") the lead from the silver, and to remove the dross (*sig*) of silver which consisted of such base metals as copper (*n'ḥoshet*), tin (*b'dil*), iron (*barzel*), and lead (*ʿoferet*).

That metallurgical processes of purifying gold and silver were known in ancient Israel becomes clear from a passage in Malachi (3:1–3): "Behold, I send My messenger, and he shall clear the way before Me. . . . But who may abide the day of his coming? And who shall stand when he appeareth? For he is like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap; and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver." The key words in Hebrew are *esh m'ṣaref* (refiner's fire), *m'ṣaref um'ṭaher kesef* (a refiner and purifier of silver), *v'ṭiher . . . v'ziqqeq otam kazahav v'khakesef* (and he will purify . . . and purge them as gold and silver).

This verse is explained in the medieval commentary *M'ṣudat David*: "That messenger will be like the fire which refines the silver and burns away the dross, and like the soapwort of the washers which removes the spots from the clothes, that is how he will destroy and remove all the sinners and the rebellious." It is evident from the use of such a simile in a prophetic admonition that the work of the refiner and purifier of precious metals was well known to the audience addressed by the prophet; the effect of his words hinged upon striking a familiar chord in the consciousness of the people.

There is a passage in Job that gives a poetic description of the mining of various metals in biblical times. Job is speaking:

For there is a mine for silver, and a place for gold to refine
Iron is taken from dust, and stone is molten to copper—
An end he puts to darkness, and searches what is remote,
Midst lightless rocks, in the shadow of death,
Breaks open a shaft where no man dwells,
Where no foot treads, where no soul moves,
In earth from which no bread will sprout,
And in whose depth the fires churn
Among its crags is found sapphire,
And it is rich in dusts of gold
No bird of prey can know that path,
Nor was it seen by falcon's eye,
No wildebeest has pawed that way,
Nor has the lion strutted there—
Man's hand alone has touched the stone,
Torn up the mountains' mighty root,
Broken channels in the midst of rocks,
His eyes espied the precious bits,
He led the flow of streams across
And brought to light the hidden things
(Job 28 1–11, my free translation)

To counterbalance this poetic description of a mine in the wilderness, let us mention that archaeological work in the southern parts of Israel, carried out by Nelson Glueck and others, has located several copper mines that were exploited in the days of King Solomon Likewise, both biblical references and archaeological finds testify to the general use of bronze, and later iron, implements and other objects in biblical Israel Hence it is clear that in the biblical period the metallurgical preconditions were present for the subsequent development of Jewish interest in alchemy [1]

When we proceed to the talmudic period (c 100 B C E 500 C E) we find more abundant sources, though it is surprising that there are so few references to knowledge of alchemy [2] Much of the talmudic period over lapped with the Hellenistic age, during which there was a sizable Jewish community in Egypt, where alchemy was beginning to flourish, and there was considerable contact between the rabbis of the Talmud and the Jews of Hellenistic Egypt In Alexandria the trades of the gold and silversmiths, gold and silver workers, and coppersmiths were among the most important occupations—this can be concluded from the statement in the Talmud that practitioners of these five crafts, plus that of the weavers, were the only ones seated in separate groups in the huge syna gogue of the city [3]

Although Jewish goldsmiths supplied important pieces of furnishing and ritual objects to the Jerusalem Temple, no overt traces of, or references to, Hellenistic alchemy are found in the entire talmudic literature, except for one passage of doubtful authenticity which we shall discuss below in Chapter 30 Given the interest in alchemy that characterized Hellenistic Egypt, however, it is more than likely that among the many Jewish metal workers there were some who tried their hand at alchemy It almost appears as if the sages of the Talmud purposely shut their eyes to this important aspect of Greek and Jewish culture in Hellenistic Egypt In any case, the talmudic references that lend themselves to an alchemistic interpretation are few and vague

The locus classicus is the discussion of the seven kinds of gold, which is a passage found, with some variations, in several talmudic and mi drashic sources [4] It is a homily on the seven terms for gold which the sages found scattered in the various books of the Bible, and which they believed designated seven different kinds of gold The explanations given to the biblical terms are purely midrashic, based mostly on popular etymology of words whose actual meaning was unknown to the sages I give here the literal translation of the shortest and oldest, and of the longest and most recent of these four versions, with the biblical source references added in parentheses

The shortest and oldest version is found in the Babylonian Talmud

> R Hisda said There are seven kinds of gold gold, good gold, Ophir gold, *Muphaz* gold, *shahut* [beaten] gold, closed gold, and *Parvayim* gold Gold and good gold, as it is written, "and the gold of the land is good" (Gen 2 12) Ophir gold, which comes from Ophir (1 Kings 10 11) *Muphaz* gold (1 Kings 10 18) which is like *paz* [shining gold, Rashi explains "it shines like a pearl"] *Shahut* gold (1 Kings 10 16), which can be stretched like a *hut* [thread Rashi "Because it is soft"] Closed gold (1 Kings 10 21)—when its sale opens, all the stores are closed down [Rashi "because no other kinds of gold are then being bought"] *Parvayim* gold (2 Chron 3 6)—thus called because it is like the blood of *parim* [bulls] We have, in fact, learned thus (in Mishna Yoma 4 4), "Every other day its gold was yellow, on this day [on Yom Kippur] it was red"—this is the *Parvayim* gold which is like the blood of bulls [5]

The etymologically impossible explanations of the three difficult terms *Muphaz, shahut*, and *Parvayim* shows that this is pure aggadah or legend, and that R Hisda was not in possession of any concrete tradi tion or information concerning actual differences in the quality of gold designated by the seven biblical terms

Some traces of an alchemical grasp of the characteristics of gold may be contained in the expanded version found in two Midrashim with al

most identical wording. In my translation I have combined the two texts:

> There are seven kinds of gold: good gold, pure gold, *shaḥuṭ* [beaten] gold, closed gold, *Muphaz* gold, purified gold, and *Parvayim* gold. Good gold—as its simple meaning. . . . Pure gold—if it is put into the melting pot it does not diminish at all. R. Judah in the name of R. Ami said: Solomon put a thousand talents of gold into the melting pot a thousand times, until only one talent remained. But has not R. Yose ben R. Yehuda taught: It so happened that the Menorah of the Temple was heavier than that of the desert [Sanctuary] by the weight of one Gordian denar, whereupon they put it into the melting pot eighty times until it was reduced? [No contradiction, because] at the beginning it was reduced much, and thereafter it was reduced only little by little. *Shaḥuṭ* gold—it could be spun like a thread (*ḥuṭ*) and stretched like wax. Hadrian had an egg's weight [of this gold], Diocletian had a Gordian denar's weight, this nation has none of it. Closed gold—it caused all the works in gold to close shop. . . . *Muphaz* gold—R. Paṭroqi, the brother of R. Drosa, said in the name of R. Abba bar R. Buna: It looked like sulphur set on fire. R. Abin said: It is called after the name of its country, *meUphaz* [from Uphaz]. Purified gold—those of the school of R. Yannai said: They cut it up like olives and feed it to ostriches, and it comes out purified. Those of the school of R. Yudan said in the name of R. Shimʿon that they hide it in dung for seven years, and it comes out purified. *Parvayim* gold—R. Shimʿon ben Laqish said: It is red like the blood of the bull [*par*]. And some say that it brings forth fruit [*perot*], for when Solomon built the Temple, he fashioned in it all kinds of trees, and in the very hour when the trees of the field brought forth fruit, the trees in the Temple also brought forth fruit, and they let their fruit drop, and [the priests] gathered them and put them aside for the repairs of the Temple. But when Manasseh set up an idol in the Temple, all those trees dried up.[6]

Most of the passage is again pure aggadah, but it also touches on a few matters of alchemical concern. It evinces interest in the question of whether or not gold loses some of its weight when melted down. It assumes that there is a kind of gold which is so soft that it can be spun like a thread and stretched like wax, and another which is like burning sulphur in appearance. The belief that the ostriches can ingest and digest gold recurs in several medieval Jewish alchemical tracts. The notion that if gold is put into dung for seven years it comes out purified reappears in a modified form in medieval alchemical writings: certain substances, if buried in dung for periods of varying length become transformed into other substances which in turn can be used for producing gold.

The other great quest of the alchemists—to be able to produce a miraculous substance or essence that could give health and youth, and

banish death—was also known to the rabbis of the Talmud They called it in Hebrew *sam hayyim*, and in Aramaic *samma dihayya*, that is, "elixir of life," and believed in its actual or possible existence The references to it in rabbinic literature are few and indirect, but clear enough to render the presence of such a belief indubitable The following midrash is a good example

> There was a spice seller who used to make the rounds of the villages near Sepphoris [in the Galilee], and he used to announce and say, "Who wants to buy the elixir of life?" The people crowded around him R Yannai, who was sitting and studying in his parlor, heard him announce "Who wants the elixir of life?" and called out to him, "Come over here and sell it to me!" The spice seller said to him, "Neither you nor those like you need it " But R Yannai persisted, whereupon the spice seller went to him, took out a copy of the Book of Psalms, and pointed out to him the verse, "Who is the man who desireth life?" [and said,] What is written after it? "Keep thy tongue from evil depart from evil and do good "[7]

According to a parallel source it was the daughter of R Yannai who heard the spice seller hawking his ware and told her father, who asked the man to approach him, when he heard the answer, he rewarded him with six *sela*ʿs [8]

Although the intent of the story as it stands is pietistic and moralistic, since it teaches that the true elixir of life is righteousness (or, according to one parallel source, the study of the Torah), it presupposes not only a familiarity with the concept of "elixir of life," but also a strong desire among both the simple people and the learned rabbis to acquire it Hence we may conclude that the search for the elixir constituted part of Jewish life in Palestine in the third century, in which R Yannai lived In other talmudic passages, too, the Torah is likened to the elixir of life [9] However, none of this proves that any talmudic sages who lived in Palestine and Babylonia were actually familiar with alchemy, let alone engaged in its practice

PART TWO

The Hellenistic Age

Introduction to Part Two

ALTHOUGH there is no agreement on the question of whether alchemy emerged first in China or in Hellenistic Egypt, there is no doubt that in the Western world alchemical tradition goes back to the latter place and era, and that the first language in which alchemical writings were produced was Greek. Thus it is remarkable that Hellenistic alchemy was from its very inception informed by the belief that it owed its origin to a Jewish, or Hebrew, secret and sacred alchemical science. One form taken by this tradition, which is not supported by any historical evidence, was the creation of a mythical biblical prehistory for alchemy; another the frequently voiced but historically unprovable assertion that the Jews alone were in possession of true alchemical knowledge.

There is historical evidence, on the other hand, that among the Hellenistic alchemists there were several Jewish adepts, one of whom, Maria the Jewess, was considered by them the founder of their art. She is constantly referred to by Zosimus and others as the ultimate authority in both the theory and the practice of alchemy, and her teachings, in many cases in the form of pithy aphorisms, are quoted as if they had been prophetic pronouncements.

This part presents what I was able to learn about Maria and the other Jewish alchemists in the Hellenistic world from extant Greek texts.

Chapter Four

JEWS IN HELLENISTIC ALCHEMY

INFORMATION on Jewish alchemists in the Hellenistic world is contained primarily in the writings of (Pseudo-)Democritus and Zosimus the Panopolitan, and in the so-called Papyrus W of Leiden; these groups of treatises constitute the bulk of all Hellenistic alchemical writings.

(PSEUDO-)DEMOCRITUS

The treatises that go under this name date, as best one can determine, from between 100 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. They deal with a large number of alchemical subjects, and contain occasional direct or indirect references that afford an insight into the role Jews played in the alchemical activities of the Hellenistic world. In his treatise entitled *Planetary List of the Metals*[1] (Pseudo-)Democritus transcribes the names of certain precious stones, such as *smaragdos* (sapphire), sardonyx, jasper, chrysolite, *margarites* (pearl), minerals such as *lithos magnites* (lodestone), *lithargyros* (litharge), and alloys such as *claudianos*, *asem*, *diargyros*,[2] and so on, in Hebrew characters. It appears, says Berthelot, that the author "wanted to deny their knowledge to uninitiated people; this is an indication of an old mystical tradition."[3]

This interpretation is supported by a statement of Maria the Jewess, and by another pronouncement of (Pseudo-)Democritus. As we shall see in the next chapter, Maria the Jewess intended to limit the knowledge of the philosophers' stone to "the race of Abraham" that is, to Jews. In the light of this saying it is more than likely that the following passage in (Pseudo-)Democritus's treatise entitled *On the Assembly of the Philosophers* also refers to Jews:

> The philosopher [(Pseudo-)Democritus], answering clearly about the things known to them, expressed himself thus: "It is not befitting to those of our race, originating in one single species, that we should be reproached for our books, and that imprecations should be hurled at our heads. Concerning the tincture of gold which one wants to obtain, this is what has been indicated to me by the people of the craft: if somebody comes to expose the instructions relating to the multiplicity of the species, it is an error, for the goal to be pursued is another one. The furnace is unique, unique is the road to be followed, unique also the Work.[4]

In interpreting this admittedly obscure passage we can go along with Berthelot, who remarks that "It seems that there is here an allusion to the role of the Jews among the alchemists; analogous phrases, but more precise, are attributed to Maria." We may add that if the expression "those of our race" actually refers to the Jews, as seems to be the case, then there is an indication here that this (Pseudo-)Democritan treatise was written by a Jewish alchemist.

Another passage from (Pseudo-)Democritus speaks explicitly about the role of Jews in the alchemy of Hellenistic Egypt: "It was the law of the Egyptians that nobody must divulge these things in writing. . . . The Jews alone have attained a knowledge of its practice, and also have described and exposed these things in a secret language. This is how we find that Theophilus son of Theogenes has spoken of all the topographic descriptions of the gold mines; the same is the case with the description of the furnaces by Maria and with the writings of the other Jews."[5]

Theophilus son of Theogenes was evidently an otherwise unknown Egyptian Hellenistic Jewish alchemist. He is referred to again, many centuries later, in the Treatise of Stephanus, a philosopher, physician, astrologist, and courtier of the Emperor Heraclius (c. 620), as having said, "There exists an excellent stone in the Land of Egypt."

Zosimus

Zosimus of Panopolis lived in the late third to early fourth century C.E., professed himself a disciple of Maria the Jewess, and was the earliest authentic, non-pseudepigraphic, and reliable author on the state of alchemy in Hellenistic Egypt. What he says on the subject, together with his frequent references to Maria, conveys a good idea of the seminal role Jews played in developing both the theory and the practice of alchemy in Hellenistic Egypt.

Part of the Zosimean corpus is a treatise entitled *On Virtue*, in which Zosimus asks a series of questions, which are in effect enigmatic sayings very similar to those he quotes in the name of Maria the Jewess:

> What do these words signify: "Nature triumphant over natures"? And this: "The moment it is achieved, it [nature] is seized by vertigo"? And again: "Restrained in research, it [nature] takes on the common visage of the work of All, and it absorbs the proper material of the species"? and this: "When, speaking a barbaric tongue, it [nature] imitates the one who speaks the Hebrew language; then, defending itself, the wretched one makes itself lighter by mixing together its own members"? And this: "The liquid totality is driven to maturity by the fire"?[6]

I am unable to interpret these questions, each of which states more than it asks, but it seems clear that the one referring to the Hebrew language

is based on the premise that Hebrew was superior to the other, "barbaric" languages

In his treatise entitled *On the Evaporation of the Divine Water*, ad dressed to his sister Theosebeia, Zosimus states clearly that on the highly important subject named in the title he could find information only in the books of the Jews [7] He writes

> Finding myself once in your residence, O woman, in order to hear you, I admired the whole operation of that which is called by you the "structure " I became greatly amazed at the sight of these effects, and I started to vener ate the *poxamos* [an instrument] as something divine What surprised me was the cooking of the bird,[8] subjected to filtration, it was to see how it undergoes cooking by means of the sublimated vapor, of the heat and of an appropriate liquid, when it partakes of the tincture Surprised, my spirit returned to our object of study it examined whether it is as a result of the emission of the vapor of the divine water that our mixture can be cooked and tinted Then I searched whether any of the ancients had mentioned this instrument, and nothing presented itself to my mind Discouraged, I examined the books, and found in those of the Jews, next to the traditional instrument named *tribikos*, the description of your own instrument [9] This is how the matter is presented
>
> "Taking the [sulphurated] arsenic,[10] whiten it in the following manner Make a fatty paste, of the size of a small very thin mirror, pierce it with small holes, in the manner of a sieve, and place above it a small receptacle, well adjusted, containing some sulphur Put into the sieve some arsenic, as much as you wish After having covered it with another receptacle, and having sealed the points of junction, after two days and two nights you will find ceruse [11] Take of it a fourth of a *mine*[12] and let it breathe for a day, adding to it a little bitumen, etc Thus is the construction of the apparatus "[13]

Another of the treatises of Zosimus is entitled *The True Book of Sophe the Egyptian and of the Divine Lord of the Hebrews [and] of the Powers of Sabaoth* "The Divine Lord of the Hebrews" refers to the God of the Jews, and "Sabaoth" is, of course, the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew divine name *s'va'ot*, which in the Bible usually appears in the com bination *Yahweh S'va'ot*, that is, "Lord of Hosts " The treatise begins as follows

> There are two sciences and two wisdoms that of the Egyptians and that of the Hebrews, which latter is rendered more sound by divine justice The science and the wisdom of the best dominate both they come from ancient centuries Their [present] generation is devoid of a king, is autonomous, insubstantial, it does not search for material and corruptible bodies, it op

erates without submitting to [foreign] action, sustained now by prayers and [divine] grace. The symbol of chemistry is drawn from Creation [in the eyes of its adepts], who save and purify the divine soul enchained in the elements, and who, above all, separate the divine spirit commingled with the flesh. Just as there exists one sun, the flower of the fire, a celestial sun, the right eye of the world, so the copper, if it becomes a flower [that is, if it takes the color of gold] by purification, becomes a terrestrial sun, which is the king on earth just as the sun is king in heaven.

Zosimus goes on to tell of alchemical procedures for the transmutation of copper into gold, and other alchemical works.

In his treatise *On Furnaces and Apparatus*, Zosimus goes in for some comparative mythology. He writes:

The Chaldeans, the Parthians, the Medes, and the Hebrews call him [the first man] Adam; which signifies virgin earth, bloody earth, igneous earth, and carnal earth. These things are found in the library of the Ptolemies, deposited in each sanctuary, notably in the Serapeum. [They were put there] when Asenan, one of the high priests of Jerusalem, sent Hermes who interpreted the whole Hebrew Bible in Greek and in Egyptian.

It is thus that the first man is called Toth by us, and by them Adam, a name given by the voice of the angels. One calls him symbolically by means of the four elements, which correspond to the cardinal points of the sphere, and by saying that his body was composed [of them]. In fact, the letter A of his name designates the Orient (*Anatolē*) and the Air (*Aer*). The letter D designates the setting sun (*Dúsis*), which goes down by reason of its weight. The letter M points to the South (*Mesēmbria*), that is to say the fire of the burning which produces the maturation of the bodies, the fourth zone and the middle zones.[14]

Thus carnal Adam, in his apparent form, is called Toth. But the spiritual man contained in him [has a name] proper and appellative. But we to this day don't know what is this proper name; for only Nicotheus, that personage whom one cannot find, knows these things. As for the appellative name, it is that of *fōs* [light, fire]: this is why men are called *fōtes* [mortals].

When he was in Paradise, in the form of light [*fōs*], subject to the inspiration of destiny, they persuaded him, profiting from his innocence and his incapacity to act, to reclothe [the personage of] Adam, the one which [was subject to] destiny, the one which [corresponded] to the four elements. He, owing to his innocence, did not refuse; and they prided themselves on having captured [in him] the exterior man.

It is in this sense that Hesiod[15] has spoken of the chains with which Jupiter tied Prometheus. Thereafter, after those chains, he sent him another one [that is to say] Pandora, whom the Hebrews call Eve. Now Prometheus and Epimetheus are one and the same man in allegorical language—

the soul and the body Prometheus is sometimes the image of the soul, sometimes [that of] the spirit This is also the image of the flesh, owing to the disobedience of Epimetheus, committed with respect to Prometheus, his brother

Our intelligence says The son of God, who can do everything and who can become everything if he wants to, manifests himself to everybody as he wants to Jesus Christ joined Adam and brought him back to Paradise where the mortals had previously lived

He appeared to people deprived of all power, having [himself] become man, subject to suffering and to blows [Meanwhile,] having secretly cast off his proper mortal character, he [in reality] did not experience any suffer ing, he seemed to trample death underfoot, and repell it, for the present and until the end of the world all this in secret Thus relieved of appear ances, he advised his people to exchange likewise their spirit secretly with that of Adam which they had in themselves, to beat it and to put it to death, this blind man being led to rivaling the spiritual and luminous man it is thus that they kill their proper Adam

In the sequel Zosimus continues to present, in a similar combination of Hebrew, Gnostic, Manichean, and Persian ideas, the struggle be tween God and Antimimos, the "counter-actor," for the soul of Adam [16]

In his treatise entitled *The First Book of the Final Reckoning*, Zosimus discusses the Jews' knowledge of the important alchemical field of tinctures

As for the proper tinctures, nobody either among the Jews or among the Greeks has ever revealed them In fact, they put them in images formed with their own colors and destined to be preserved The operations per formed on the minerals differ greatly with regard to the suitable tinctures They [the Jews and the Greeks] were very jealous of divulging the art itself, and they did not let a manipulator remain without punishment He who made a search without authorization could be thrown down [and put to death] by the overseers of the town markets charged with the collection of the royal taxes Likewise, it was not allowed to operate the furnaces se cretly, or to fabricate in secret proper tinctures Also you will not find any body among the ancients who reveals that which is hidden, and who ex poses anything clearly in this regard I have found among the ancients only Democritus who gave a clear understanding of something in this respect in the enumerations of their catalogs [17]

What is interesting in this passage is that it affords a glimpse into the social position of the Jewish and Greek alchemists in Hellenistic Egypt It would appear that they had the power to prevent unauthorized individuals from engaging in alchemical work and research, and that their

control over the trade (or Art) was backed up by the forces of the royal government.

In the sequal Zosimus quotes some statements by (Pseudo-)Democritus on mercury, magnesia, and other substances used by the alchemists as tinctures. He then explains that Democritus and the Egyptian alchemists recorded their procedures in such a manner that even if "somebody dared to face the darkness of the sanctuary in order to obtain the knowledge in an illicit fashion, he would not succeed in understanding the characters, despite his daring and his efforts." As against them, he continues,

> the Jews, having been initiated, have transmitted these procedures which had been confided to them. Behold what they counsel in their treatises: "If you discover our treasures, abandon the gold for those who want to destroy themselves. After having found the characters which describe these things, you will assemble all these riches in a short [time]. But if you restrict yourself to taking these riches, you will destroy yourself, in consequence of the envy of the kings who reign, and that of all men."[18]

After this warning, which was to be repeated frequently by medieval authors who wrote about the life of alchemists, Zosimus expatiates about the jealousy among alchemists, and advises Theosebeia to follow in her alchemical endeavors the example of King Solomon:

> Let your body rest, calm your passions, resist desire, pleasure, anger, sorrow, and the dozen fatalities of death. In thus conducting yourself you will call to you the divine being, and the divine being will come to you, he who is everywhere and nowhere. Without being asked, offer up sacrifices: not only those advantageous to these men and destined to nourish them and to please them; but also those which remove them and destroy them, sacrifices such as those that were recommended by Membres when he addressed himself to Solomon, king of Jerusalem, and principally those which Solomon himself described according to his own wisdom. Operating in this manner you will obtain the proper, authentic, and natural tinctures. Make these things until you become perfect in your soul. But, when you recognize that you have arrived at perfection, then beware of [the intervention of] the natural elements of the material: descending toward the Shepherd, and plunging into meditation, you will thus re-ascend to your origin.[19]

Next Zosimus returns to quoting Jewish alchemists in his treatise on *The Coloring of Precious Stones*, in which, as we shall see, he frequently quotes Maria the Jewess. He writes:

> The biles of animals, when losing their aqueous material, are desiccated in the shade. In that condition one incorporates them into the rust of our

> copper, just as into the *comaris*; one cooks all of it together according to the rules of the Art. Colored by the [divine] water, they assume a stable tint. This water being removed, the stones are heated, and while still hot mixed in the tincture, according to the precepts of the Hebrews.[20]

From the material presented above it becomes evident that Zosimus had a close familiarity with the work of Hellenistic Jewish alchemists, went along with the view that the Hebrew language was superior to all other tongues, and held that the alchemical knowledge of the Hebrews was "rendered more sound by divine justice" than that of the Egyptians. In addition, in one of his writings, addressed to Eusebeia, he refers to the Jewish legend based on Genesis 6:1–4 and embellished by the Midrash, according to which the angels were seized with passion for the earthly women and were expelled from heaven.[21] He enriches this legend by adding an alchemical interpretation of the angels' sins:

> The ancient and divine books say that certain angels were taken by passion for women. They descended to earth and taught them all operations of nature. It is about them that our book says that those angels who became proud were driven from heaven because they had taught men all the evil things which do not serve the soul. They were the ones who composed [chemical] works, and from them derives the first tradition concerning these arts. Their book is called *Chema* [Khema], and it is from it that chemistry [*kumia*] received its name. The book is composed of twenty-four sections. . . . One of them is called *Imos*, another *Imouth*. . . .[22]

The reference in this passage to the Bible as "our book" was interpreted by Julius Ruska as possibly indicating that Zosimus was a Jew. Long before Ruska, the thirteenth-century Arab alchemist Abu ʿl-Qāṣim al-ʿĪrāqī in his *Book of Knowledge Acquired Concerning the Cultivation of Gold* introduced a long quotation from Zosimus's opuscule "Distinctions of Religions" by identifying the author as "Zosimus the Jew" (A. *Zismus al-ʿIbrī*), which of course is an indication of the existence of an Arab alchemical tradition according to which Zosimus was a Jew.[23] Whether or not this tradition is based on fact cannot be decided on the basis of presently available information.[24]

The Leiden Papyrus W

Papyrus W of Leiden, published in the original Greek, translated into French, and commented upon by Berthelot, is a treatise of alchemy and magic, and contains references to the relationship between magic and Jewish Gnosticism.[25] The Jewishness of its author is shown by references to the Temple of Jerusalem and the Cherubim, and by the names of

Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Michael that appear in it It also contains an invocation that points to the author's affinity with Jewish Gnostic views, colored by an alchemical perception of the deity He addresses himself to God in this language

> All is subject to You, but none of the gods can see Your shape, because You transform Yourself into all I invoke You by the names which You have in the language of the birds, in that of the hieroglyphics, in that of the Jews, in that of the Egyptians, in that of the Cynocephals in that of the sparrow hawks, in the hieratic language [26]

These references to the alchemical knowledge and practices of the Jews are in themselves meager But when they are read together with the frequent references Zosimus makes to Maria the Jewess, they create the impression that Zosimus considered the Jews in general, and Maria in particular, the most important sources of learning about age old alchemical theories and practices that were kept jealously hidden by the Egyptians and the Greeks

The Power of Hebrew

Among the treasures of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale there is a large folio volume of 342 leaves containing several dozens of alchemical treatises, all written in Greek and claiming to be works of Pythagoras, Ptolomaeus, Hermes Trismegistus, Zoroaster, Hippocrates, Aristotle, King Solomon, and other authors famous in the gallery of alleged ancestor figures of Hellenistic alchemical tradition, as well as anonymous works, magical formulas, and so on The hefty volume, identified as MS Grec 2419, is beautifully bound, and is supplied with a Latin table of contents, evidently of later provenance than the Greek manuscripts themselves One of the treatises included in the volume is described in this table of contents as follows "Albumazar qui et Jafar et Aboazar, astrologus, vixit circa annum Christi 540," that is, "Albumazar, who like Japhar and Aboazar, astrologer, lived about the year 540 of Christ " It is the treatise of this Albumazar, contained on folios 37a–69b, which constitutes an eloquent example of the attribution of power to the Hebrew letters by the Hellenistic alchemists, and their heirs in the worlds of both Christianity and Islam [27] The author referred to in the manuscript as Albumazar was Jaʿfar ibn Muhammad ibn ʿUmar Abū Maʿshar al Balkhī He is well known in the history of Arabic literature, but he lived not about A D 540 but in the first half of the ninth century [28] He was born in Balkh in eastern Khurāsān, studied in Baghdad, and became celebrated as an astrologer, even though he was known to be guilty of plagiarism Several of his works dealing with astrology were translated

into Latin in the twelfth century by Johannes Hispalensis, and printed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They were influential in Christian Europe, and introduced a theory of the tides and the law of the ebb and flow of the sea.

That treatise contains, among other matters, a list of the correlations between the planets and metals, and thus is undoubtedly alchemical. However, with its attribution to Abū Maʿshar there is a problem. The usual direction of the flow of literary transmission was from Greek into Arabic, and not vice versa. Hence it would be quite unusual for a treatise written in the ninth century in Arabic to be translated into Greek. This consideration makes me inclined to assume that we have here an anonymous treatise, written originally in Greek, and then mistakenly attributed to Abū Maʿshar.

Marcellin Berthelot, who printed, translated, and described the Albumazar treatise, noticed that several pages of the manuscript contain Greek words written in Hebrew characters, which he explained by saying that it was done because those words had a "mysterious meaning."[29] In his translation of the text he noted that the Greek words (I transliterate them into Latin characters) *lithárgyros, gagátes kai klaudianos, diárgyros, theīon, líthos magnítes, sámfyros, margarítes*, and *sardónyx* are transliterated in Hebrew characters. He observed that Albumazar's list merits special attention because "it corresponds to a more complete and older astrological tradition, probably going back to the Chaldeans, and because it is included in a list of plants and animals also consecrated to the planets. A certain number of the names of precious stones (sapphire, sardonyx, jasper, chrysolith, pearl), minerals (lodestone, litharge), and alloys (claudianos, asem, diargyros) are transcribed in Hebrew characters, as if to interdict their knowledge to noninitiated persons: this is a sign of an old mystical tradition."[30]

Berthelot confined his remarks to a few pages of Albumazar's Greek text, and either did not notice, or found it unnecessary to comment upon, the fact that on several other pages such Hebrew transliterations of Greek words appear with the Greek letters written above them.[31] Since the Greek superscriptions seem to be later additions, what probably happened was this: At first the Greek author of the treatise wrote the "words of power" in Hebrew characters in accordance with the prevalent view that the Hebrew letters themselves lend additional "power" to the word. At that time it was assumed that the adepts who were likely to peruse the manuscript were able to read not only Greek but Hebrew as well. Subsequently, as familiarity with the Hebrew alphabet declined among the late Hellenistic alchemists, a reader of the Greek manuscript who knew Hebrew thought it would be helpful for other readers to have the Hebrew words transliterated in Greek, so that those ignorant of the

Hebrew alphabet should at least be able to pronounce the "power words" (which themselves were Greek!). It should also be pointed out that the Hebrew words themselves in the Albumazar treatise were evidently written by a copyist who did not know Hebrew and who copied the words rather clumsily, leaving considerable spaces between the letters, and reproducing them so inaccurately that some of them cannot be deciphered at all.

Despite this decline of the knowledge of Hebrew, the belief in the power and efficacy of Hebrew survived in alchemical circles into the Middle Ages and beyond. One can easily convince oneself that this indeed is the case by glancing at practically any alchemical work written, down to modern times, in Latin or any European language: they all contain a few, and occasionally more than a few, key Hebrew "power words" that were supposed to lend them authenticity, originality, and reliability.

Chapter Five

MARIA THE JEWESS

THE FIRST nonfictitious alchemists of the Western world lived, as far as can be ascertained, in Hellenistic Egypt. And the earliest among them was Maria Hebraea, Maria the Hebrew, or Maria the Jewess, for whom our chief source is Zosimus the Panopolitan. Zosimus is the first Greek alchemical author whose actual writings have survived. He lived in Hellenistic Egypt, about 300 C.E., and wrote an impressive number of works; twenty-two treatises of his were published in the Greek original and in French translation by Marcellin Berthelot.[1] He also wrote, together with his sister Eusebeia, a chemical encyclopedia in twenty-eight books, of which only fragments survived, also published by Berthelot. Nothing is known of Zosimus's life, but it is generally assumed that he was originally from Panopolis in Thebais, and lived in Alexandria.

For the most part, Zosimus's writings consist of extensive quotations from older alchemical authorities. The ones whom he quotes most frequently are (Pseudo-)Democritus, to whom he refers as "the philosopher," and Maria the Jewess, whom he calls in most cases simply Maria, although occasionally he styles her "the divine Maria."[2]

Despite the frequent references Zosimus makes to Maria, his writings contain practically no clue as to when and where she lived. In his tract on "The Divine Water," however, Zosimus says: "The operation of burning [is] one which all the ancients extolled. Maria, the first, says, 'The copper burnt with sulphur.'"[3] Elsewhere Zosimus refers to a treatise, *On Furnaces and Apparatuses (Peri kaminon kai organon)*, which seems to have been written by Maria, as a writing of "the ancients." He does this while refusing to comply with the request of his sister Theosebeia, who asked him for information on the subject: he concedes that he is unable to treat it more authoritatively than was done in that ancient treatise.[4] From these references to Maria as the first of the ancient authors one can conclude that she must have lived at least two generations before Zosimus himself. We can thus tentatively assign her to the early third century C.E. at the latest.[5]

MARIA'S INSTRUMENTS

There are several alchemical apparatuses which Maria either invented or whose description she provided; from the way Zosimus quotes her it is impossible to say which of these is the case.

Maria constructed and described various ovens and apparatuses for cooking and distilling made of metal, clay, and glass. She connected, tightened, and caulked the various parts of these instruments by means of fat, wax, starch-paste (size), fatty clay, and the "clay of the philosophers." She considered glass vessels especially useful, because "they see without touching," and permit the safe manipulation of dangerous materials such as mercury, which she describes as "the deadly poison, since it dissolves gold, and the most injurious of metals," as well as "sulphurous" (by which she often means arsenical) substances, serving the preparation of "divine water."[6]

The most famous alchemical apparatus either invented or used and described by Maria is the *balneum Mariae*, or water-bath, which consists of a double vessel, the outer one of which is filled with water while the inner one contains the substance(s) which must be heated to a moderate degree. Whether Maria actually invented this apparatus or whether, as Lippmann tried to show, it had been in use for centuries before her, described by Hippocrates and Theophrastus, and attributed to Maria as a result of a chain of fortuitous circumstances, the fact remains that the fame and prestige of Maria led to the association with her of the water-bath, which to this day is known in both chemistry and cooking as *bain Marie* in French, and *Marienbad* in German (see Figures 5.1–3).[7]

The oldest description of a still is again given by Maria. The typical still consisted, and still consists, of three parts: a vessel in which the material to be distilled is heated, a cool part to condense the vapor, and a receiver (see Figure 5.4).[8] The Greek name of the still, *kerotakis*, was derived from the name of the palette on which the ancient Greek painters mixed their four basic pigments—white, black, yellow, and red—with wax (*keros*). The triangular or rectangular metal plate which served as the kerotakis had to be kept warm in order to prevent the wax from hardening.[9] The alchemists used the kerotakis in a similar manner for softening the metals and mixing them with their coloring agents, which was one of their chief procedures in attempting to transmute base metal into gold or silver. Subsequently the kerotakis became a three-part apparatus, which in its simplest form consisted of a vessel under a plate into which were placed vaporizable substances capable of attacking metals, while over it was an inverted cup in which the vapors were condensed to liquid. On the plate itself were placed the metals to be treated.[10]

A more complex alchemical still is described by Maria under the name *tribikos*:

> I shall describe to you the tribikos. For so is named the apparatus constructed from copper and described by Maria, the transmitter of the Art. For she says as follows: "Make three tubes of ductile copper, a little thicker than that of a pastry cook's copper frying pan. Their length should be

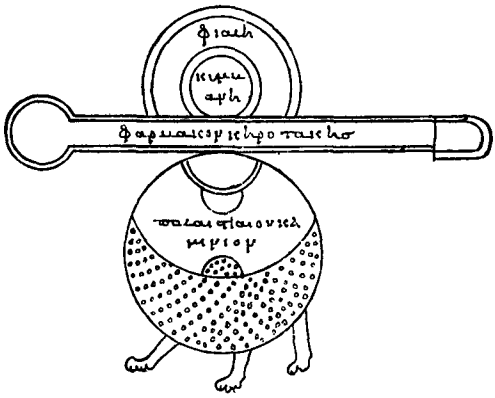

Figure 5 1 Drawing of the *bain Marie*

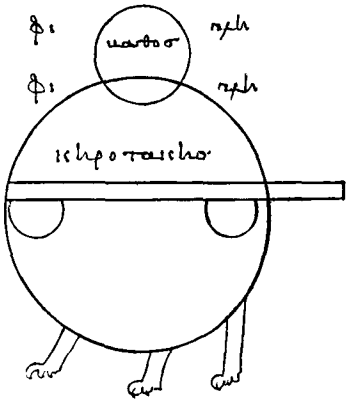

Figure 5 2 Another drawing of the *bain Marie*

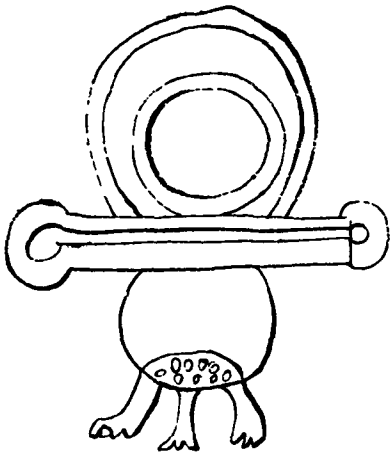

Figure 5 3 Sketch of the *bain Marie*

about a cubit and a half Make three such tubes, and also make a wide tube of a handbreadth width and an opening proportioned to that of the still-head The three tubes should have their openings adapted like a nail to the neck of a light receiver so that they have the thumb tube and the two fin ger tubes joined laterally on either hand Toward the bottom of the still head are three holes adjusted to the tubes, and when these are fitted they are soldered in place, the one above receiving the vapor in a different fash ion Then, setting the still head upon an earthenware pan containing the sulphur, and luting the joints with flour paste, place at the ends of the tubes glass flasks, large and strong, so that they may not break with the heat com ing from the water in the middle Here is the figure" [see Figure 5 5] [11]

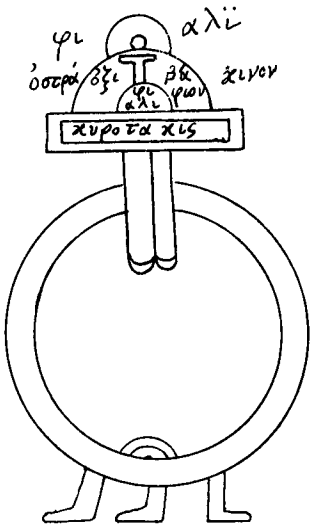

Figure 5.4. Drawing of the *kerotakis.*

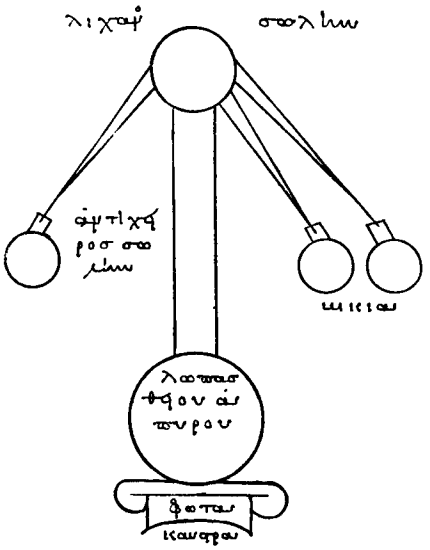

Figure 5.5. Drawing of the *tribikos.*

In his treatise *On Furnaces and Apparatuses*, from which the above quotation is taken, Zosimus apparently does little more than quote or paraphrase the text written by Maria. More on Maria's instructions will be found in the next chapter.

Maria's Procedures

We begin with Maria's prescription for the preparation of the philosophers' stone. According to the early seventh-century anonymous alchemistic author usually referred to as Christianos, she discoursed as follows:

> Invert nature and you will find that which you seek. There exist two combinations: one pertains to the action of whitening, the other to that of yellowing; one is done by trituration [reduction to powder by grinding], the other by calcination [reduction to a friable state]. One pulverizes in a saintly fashion, with simplicity, only in the holy house; there takes place the dissolution and the deposition. Combine together, says Maria, the male and the female, and you will find that which you seek. Do not be anxious to know whether the work is on fire. The two combinations have many names, such as brine water, incorruptible divine water, vinegar water, water of the acid of sea salt, of castor oil, of horse radish, and of balsam. One also calls it water of the milk of a woman who gave birth to a male child, water of the milk of a black cow, water of the urine of a young cow or of a ewe, or of a male ass, water of quicklime, of marble, of tartar, of sandarac

> [realgar, arsenic sulphide], of schistose alum, of niter, of the milk of a she-ass, of a goat, of the ashes of lime, water of ashes, of honey and oxymel [a mixture of vinegar and honey], of the flowers of the arctium, of sapphire, etc. The vessels or the instruments destined for these combinations must be made of glass. One must beware of stirring the mixture with the hands, for the mercury is deadly, just as the gold which is found there is corrupted.[12]

Although much remains unclear in this remarkable passage, Maria appears in it not only as an expert practitioner of alchemy, but also as a person of great erudition in its traditions and lore.

As for the alchemical procedures used, described, and recommended by Maria, in addition to the older methods of performing the Great Work, such as placing base metals into cow dung or horse manure or into a bath of ashes (*thermospodion*), and the like,[13] she employed various new procedures which, according to later authors, she herself had invented.

She taught that the Great Work can be performed only in one particular season, in the Egyptian month Pharmuthi (which corresponds to March-April). The materials must be wrapped tightly in linen, then subjected to salting (*taricheia*), and finally cooked in the "water of Pontus."[14] In the course of the transformation, Maria says, one-quarter, or even one-third, of the materials becomes lost, but whatever is left over can be multiplied by means of the *diplosis* (doubling) of Maria.[15] This can be carried out with mercury, and, in particular, with an alloy of four metals which she calls "our lead."[16]

These four metals—copper, iron, lead, and zinc—constitute the *tetrasomia*. They are "four in one" said Maria according to Olympiodorus, and hence are also called the "egg of the philosophers," because the egg, too, is one thing that comprises four components: the shell, the skin, the egg white, and the yolk.[17] This mixture can be prepared by means of "our lead," which term designates either "black lead" (*molybdos melas*) or antimony (*molybdos hemeteros*), whose melted state is also called "black brew" or "black juice."[18] The four metals are, according to Maria, also called "our copper," or "their copper," and it resembles in its quadruple composition the human body.[19]

In order to make gold, the tetrasomia must be heated and "burned" with certain substances: with sulphur, which becomes vaporized in heat by itself and thereby colors everything—two features it shares with "all sulphurous materials"; with mercury; with "round alum," that is, morsels of arsenious acid derived from the arsenic sulphides;[20] with the "divine water," which can always mean a solution or a molten alloy, prepared from the smoke or soot (*aithale*) of substances containing a sulphur or arsenic, with the addition of vitriol (*chalkanthos*), or two sub-

stances termed gallnut and *kiki* (the Egyptian word for the castor-oil plant). Maria's instructions relating to the "divine water" will be found in the next chapter.

But to return to the materials with which, according to Maria, "our lead" and "our copper" must be treated, they include alabaster (probably a white oxide of antimony), and sulphurlike stimmi (sulphide of antimony).[21] If the "copper" is properly nourished with solids and liquids, it undergoes four phases of color transformation: it becomes, in turn, black, white, yellow, and red. These metamorphoses must be considered the "effects of the stone," that is, of the compound powder prepared by the philosopher, which he sprinkles upon the "copper," thus effecting the transformation whose essence consists of a marriage, that is, the "union of the female and the male," for "nature charms, dominates, and conquers nature."[22] Another procedure either invented by Maria or learned by her from earlier alchemists and described in her writings used by Zosimus was the method of making precious stones shine in the dark. Berthelot assumes that this was probably done by producing a temporary phosphorescence, because Maria advises that mixtures of certain organic substances, such as the gall of fish and tortoises, the juice of jellyfish, oils of plants, resins, and so on—all of which are readily oxidized in the air—should be added in "the proper proportion" to the "tints and varnishes." Lippmann prefers to explain it as the luminosity, often very intensive, which persists, often for several hours, after certain precious stones, as well as other minerals and alloys, are exposed to high heat.[23]

Maria's Doctrines

Probably the most interesting part of Maria's teachings was her doctrine about the nature of nature, which underlies all her alchemical work, and which she herself proffered in numerous enigmatic axioms as the bases of the procedures she describes and recommends.

From what Zosimus says on the subject, one gathers that Maria held that all substances or bodies found in nature were basically one. This, of course, was the alchemical doctrine prevalent in Alexandrian circles. Maria, taking this for granted, states that "All" can be produced by means of the kerotakis.[24] As for the precise nature of All, there is considerable uncertainty in the statements listed by Zosimus. He quotes "the philosopher," that is, (Pseudo-)Democritus, as having called the body of magnesia "the All."[25] Chymes seems to have held that this All comprised all the metallic bodies; he is cited by Zosimus as "having declared with truth: One is the All, and it is through it that the All is born. One is the All, and if the All does not contain all, the All will not be born."[26]

Christianos gives this statement a more succinct form and says that Maria uttered it in an ecstatic shriek (*kraugazein*): "Therefore the Hebrew prophetess shrieked, 'One becomes two, two becomes three, and by means of the third and fourth achieves unity; thus two are but one.'"[27] Medieval alchemists continued to quote this axiom with some variations. Thus, for example, in the *Turba philosophorum*, which probably dates from the twelfth century, we read: "Out of two one must make three, out of four make one, out of two make one."[28]

C. G. Jung calls this utterance of Maria "one of the central axioms of alchemy," which, he says, "runs like a *leitmotiv* throughout almost the whole of the lifetime of alchemy, extending over more than seventeen centuries." He reads a deep psychological meaning into the transformation of one into two, and two into three, and the emergence of the one as the fourth out of the third. The even numbers, he asserts, "which signify the feminine principle, earth, the regions under the earth, and evil itself, are interpolated between the uneven numbers of the Christian dogma."[29] While this interpretation may or may not hold good for Christian alchemy, it cannot be applied to Muslim alchemical schools, which were ignorant of, or unconcerned about, Christian dogma. Nor can one assume that Maria who, as we shall see, was a devoted and fervent Jewess, had Christian doctrine in mind when coining her famous axiom. It seems much more likely that we have here an encapsulated and purposely enigmatic reference to a complex alchemical procedure, consisting of several consecutive stages which, Maria taught, must be performed in order to bring about a unity (or union) of various materials and hence a production of gold. In simplest terms, what she says is that the transmutation must be accomplished by a successive combination of three or four metallic bodies which to begin with are distinct, and then at the end of the operation become identical.[30]

In a manner reminiscent of the midrashic concept of parallelism between the composition of the material world and the human body, which concept was in her days at least a century old, Maria draws an analogy between the kind of nourishment required by man and that which must be supplied to the copper in order to transmute it into gold.[31] Elsewhere too Maria is reported to have made a statement that parallelled a midrashic (and Jewish-Hellenistic) concept: that the human body is composed of four elements. She says: "Just as man is composed of four elements, likewise is copper; and just as man results [from the association of] liquids, of solids, and of the spirit, so does copper."[32]

From the analogy between man and metals it follows that the latter, too, are of two sexes. This notion underlies the enigmatic saying of Maria, "Join the male and the female, and you will find what is sought."[33]

Another feature shared by man and metal is death. In one of her prescriptions concerning the transmutation of base metals into gold, Maria speaks of the "death" of copper and silver: "We do not want to extract their quality, for their body, by its death, becomes useless. Plants, too, are useless, for they are consumed by fire."[34] This rather enigmatic saying seems to mean that in the transmutation of copper and silver neither their quality nor their proper color is preserved; nor is their body, which becomes changed into that of another metal. As for plants, if one understands the term as referring to vegetable dyes, they are, in effect, destroyed by fire. In a figurative sense, the metallic flowers and certain corresponding colorations are likewise evaporated or destroyed by fire.[35] In any case it is clear that Maria saw in the destruction of a metal by fire the death of that metal. At the same time she held that by oxidation the alchemist could "make the nature concealed in the interior [of bodies] come to the fore," and thus, "in effect, you can transform their very nature, and you will find that which you seek [i.e., you can make gold]."[36]

The analogy between man and metal, according to Maria, goes even further. Just as man is composed of body and soul and spirit so, says she, are the metals: "The vapor [produced by volatilizing the sulphurous substances in the metals] is the spirit of the body. The soul differs from the spirit."][37]

A related doctrine is that the metallic bodies can be rendered incorporeal, and incorporeal substances can be made corporeal. Maria says: "If the bodies are not rendered incorporeal, and the incorporeal corporeal, nothing of that which one expects will take place: that is, if the fire-resistant materials are not mixed with those which evaporate in fire, one will obtain nothing of that which one expects."[38] A later, fifth-century alchemist, Olympiodorus, quotes the same passage in a somewhat expanded form: "'How is it ["our lead"] produced?' said Maria. 'If you do not render the corporeal substances incorporeal, and the incorporeal substances corporeal, and if you do not make the two bodies one, nothing of the expected will be produced.' "[39]

The crux of the procedure prescribed by Maria is the assumption that there are two categories of bodies: volatile and fixed, or incorporeal and corporeal. Metals such as copper, lead, and zinc, are corporeal and fixed. One must take away their bodies by subjecting them to sublimation, that is, by rendering them volatile and incorporeal, in the state of oxides (by the action of the air), or in the state of sulphides (by the action of sulphur or of sulphides), or in the state of chlorides (by the action of sea salt), and so on. Then one must restore or regenerate these oxides, sulphides, or chlorides to a metallic state with new properties and colors, either through their purification or through the formation of alloys.[40]

> She [Maria] said "The philosopher (Pseudo-)Democritus said 'Why should you take many things when nature is One?' " He said "True, and I shall teach you that the body is one If you treat this body until you make it become water [i e , until it melts], then solidify it, you have achieved nothing, and you will not satisfy your soul Do you not see how the philosopher said, 'Transform nature, and make the spirit which is hidden inside this body come out?' " She said "And how is it transformed?" He said "Destroy the body, and make it become water, and extract that which is in it "[41]

The Arab alchemical author al-Habīb (dates unknown) says that Maria was a disciple of (Pseudo-)Democritus, and the teacher of "King Aros (Horus) "[42] Since al Habīb took almost everything he wrote from Hellenistic sources, his information about the dialogue between Maria and Aros must have come from some lost Greek manuscript Aros, as the disciple, puts many questions to Maria which she answers in detail Occasionally there is reference to the theoretical basis of her procedures Thus she says on one occasion that "the precious nature [of the metal] which it contains internally" can be extracted by means of "a delicate operation "[43]

Al-Habīb, probably again relying on Hellenistic sources, states that Maria opposed some views held by alchemists in general One example is the question of the total volatility of the sulphur which, in contrast to other alchemists, Maria denied

> I [Maria] say that it [the sulphur water] does not escape [i e , is not volatile], but remains fixed [and] thereupon it tints For Maria has said that wherever it penetrates it tints And if one must admit with the philosophers [alchemists] that it does escape, I say that [the part] of it which escapes is but that [part] which is entirely on top, while the finest of its spirit, the tincture, remains with [the material] with which it is mixed, and therefore she [Maria] called it "deep heat," the finest tincture, because it remains permanently and does not escape, and she then also called it "rust "[44]

Elsewhere al-Habīb quotes Maria on the souls of the metals "In effect, as Maria reported it, the souls [of the metals] can be seen only in restoring these seasons [of summer and winter] to unity "[45]

More about Maria's alchemical doctrines is provided by the tenth-century Arab author Abū ʿAbdullah Muhammad ibn Umail al-Tamīmī, whose treatise, *The Silvery Water and the Starry Earth*, is based on fragments in circulation since Hellenistic times

> Mariya also said "The 'water' which I have mentioned is an angel, and descends from the sky, and the earth accepts it on account of its [the earth's] moistness The water of the sky is held by the water of the earth, and the water of the earth acts as its servant, and its Sand [serves] for the

> purpose of honoring it. The *kiyān* [vital principle] holds the *kiyān*, and the *kiyān* is whitened by the *kiyān*." She meant [by this] the coction of the "soul" with the "spirit" until both mix and are thoroughly cooked together and become a single thing like marble.

Maria's statement about the "angel" is explained by Ibn Umail:

> She meant by this the divine water which is the soul. She named it "angel" because it is spiritual, and because that water has risen from the earth to the sky of the *birbā* [i.e., from the bottom to the top of the alembic]. And as for her statement "[The water] descends from the sky," she meant by this the child which they say will be born for them in the air, while conception had taken place in the lower [region]; this being [through] the higher celestial strength which the water has gained by its absorption of the air. Regarding this Hurmus [Hermes] said: "The strength of the highest and the lowest will be found in it."

Furthermore, says Ibn Umail, "Mariya the Sage in several places in her books named it [this water] 'the rennet,' because it coagulates their water in their second earth, which is their second body. It is the crown of victory. . . . Consequently Mariya said, 'The water is not coagulated save by rennet, this being the ash.'" Remarkably, Ibn Umail reverses the usual chronological sequence assumed by the Hellenistic alchemists, and makes Maria not a disciple but a teacher of Ostanes: "Astanas [Ostanes] states: 'Mariya has said: The water possesses a retentive power.'"[46]

Returning to the philosophers' stone, and translating molybdochalkos by the Arabic *abār nuḥās* (lead-copper), Ibn Umail writes: "Mariya has called the honored stone *abār nuḥās*, and this is the completely perfect and super-perfect *abār nuḥās* that imparts color. Consequently it gives birth to the perfect gold, which is inferior to it, because the gold is only perfect, whereas the *abār nuḥās* is super-perfect. Surely and undoubtedly this *abār nuḥās* is [completely] perfect."[47]

Several of the concepts, doctrines, and terms (angel, *kiyān*, the expected child, the rennet, the two waters, and so on) which Ibn Umail quotes from Maria are found neither in the Greek nor in the other Arab authors who frequently and copiously quote her. This seems to indicate that Ibn Umail was in possession of "books" by Maria that were unknown to other alchemical authors.

Maria's Jewishness

The Jewishness of Maria is attested by internal evidence, in addition to the epithet "Hebraea" attached to her name. In sayings quoted in her name she spoke of the Jews as the chosen people, and held that only they, not the gentiles, should know the deepest alchemical secrets. In

several Greek manuscripts she is reported to have said: "Do not touch the philosophers' stone with your hands; you are not of our race, you are not of the race of Abraham."[48] According to a later version, found in Olympiodorus's commentary on Zosimus, she said: "If you are not of our race, you cannot touch it, for the Art is special, not common."[49]

Indirectly, the Jewishness of Maria is manifested in the numerous references she makes to God. She does this occasionally in quite unexpected contexts, such as when she claims that God had instructed her in certain alchemical procedures, and revealed them to her directly. This claim is reminiscent of the utterances of the biblical Hebrew prophets, who typically opened their prophecies by stating that God addressed them and told them what to do and say.

Also, in speaking of God Maria always uses the singular form ("God"), and not the plural. Even though references to "God," or even to the "only God," occur also in the writings of other Hellenistic Greek authors,[50] still, the consistent use of the singular "God," or "the Lord," and especially in such statements as "the wisdom of the Lord hidden from the gentiles" (see below), definitely suggests Jewish religio-national pride.

Maria's claim that alchemical secrets were revealed to her by God became a part of the medieval alchemical traditions about her. One of those who refer to it is the Byzantine monk Maryanus, also known as Morienus Romanus, of whom nothing concrete is known, although alchemical tradition made him the teacher of the likewise legendary Arab alchemist Khālid ibn Yazīd, who in real life was an Omayyad prince (c. 668–704; see Chapter 9 below). One of the several alchemical treatises attributed to Maryanus is the *De compositione alchemiae*, which was translated into Latin by Robertus Castrensis. In it Maryanus writes that the philosophers (i.e., alchemists), having assembled in the presence of Maria, said to her: "Happy are you, O Maria, for the divine hidden and always splendid secret is revealed to you."[51]

The Arab alchemical author al-Ḥabīb, whom we have already encountered, reports that after Maria explained that the philosophers called a certain tincture "incombustible sulphur" because "the fire has burned it and transformed it into ashes in such a way that no humidity remained" in it, and that "that which comes out of these ashes is the power of our Work and its agents," she exclaimed, "Thanks to the will of God, Who should be glorified!"[52]

A person to whom God speaks and reveals His word and will or His secrets is, of course, a prophet. Accordingly, Maria was endowed with the title "Prophetissa" and, from the early sixteenth century at the latest, she was so styled. By that time her reputation as a true prophetess in possession of divine secrets was so well established that Bonaventure Des Périers (1500?-1546?), in his spirited satire in which he accuses the alchemists of fraud and cheating, charges that they promise the believers

the secrets of King Solomon and the Prophetess Maria, but then put them off with empty talk.[53]

An important selection of Maria's teachings is contained in a small treatise entitled *Dialogue of Maria and Aros*, a Latin translation of which, possibly based on an Arabic version (which in turn may have been a translation or reworking of a Greek original), was included in the late sixteenth-century anthology *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant.*[54] In it the philosopher Aros, a fictitious figure, comes to Maria to learn the ultimate secrets of the Great Work. He greets her respectfully, and asks her many questions, most of which she answers willingly, often at considerable length, and always with a rich admixture of pithy statements. In the course of the conversation Maria refers several times to God, in a style and manner that can best be characterized as those of Jewish piety. The treatise, although certainly apocryphal, is of interest because it shows the extent to which Maria was considered one of the greatest authorities on matters alchemical. In the following I give my translation of the whole treatise, based on the version contained in the *Artis auriferae.* As we shall see, Maria is identified with Miriam (= Maria) the sister of Moses—just as Maria the mother of Jesus was identified in the Koran with the sister of Moses (Koran 3:35ff.). To the historically unschooled, identity of names signified identity of persons.

Here begins the practice of Maria the Prophetess in the alchemical art. Aros the philosopher met with Maria the sister of Moses, and approaching her paid homage to her and said to her:

"O Prophetess, I have heard so much of you—that you can whiten the stone in one day."

And Maria said: "So it is, Aros; indeed, even in part of a day."

Aros said: "O Lady, how will be that work which you claim? How shall we whiten, and then add the black?"

Maria said: "O Aros, is it not that the nations are [come] from that part? Or, O Aros, do you not know what is the water or the thing which whitens the Hendrax?"

Then Aros replied and said to her: "It is as you say, O Lady, [but it takes] a long time."

Maria answered: "Hermes said in all his books that the philosophers whiten the stone in one hour of the day."

Aros said to her: "O how excellent that is!"

Maria said: "This is the most excellent thing for him who does not know."

Aros said: "O Prophetess, if there are in men all the four elements which he [Hermes] said they can contain, then they should be encompassed and their fumes coagulated and retained within one day, until they become complete."

Maria said: "O Aros, by god, if your reasoning was not firm, you would not hear from me these words until the Lord filled my heart, by grace of the divine will. Nevertheless: Take alum from Spain, white gum and red gum which is the *kibric* [A. *kibrīt*, sulphur] of the philosophers, and their sun [gold], and the major tincture, and join the gum with the gum in true matrimony. Did you understand, Aros?"

"Yes, my Lady."

Maria said: "Make it like unto running water, and vitrify this water, when a day has elapsed, by means of the two *zubechs* [from A. *zībaq*, mercury] over the fixed body, and liquify it by the secret of the natures in the vessel of philosophy. Did you understand us?"

"[Yes,] O Lady."

Surely Maria said: "Preserve the fume and take care lest any of it escape. And the measure of the small fire [must be] like the measure of the heat of the sun in the month of June or July. And remain near the vessel, and pay attention to how it becomes black and red and white in less than three hours of the day. And the fume will penetrate the body, and the spirit will be condensed, and they will become like milk, wax-like, liquifying, and penetrating. And it is a secret."

Aros said: "I do not say [i.e., I do not believe] that this will always be like this."

Maria said to him: "Aros, there is a more admirable thing which did not exist among the ancients, nor did it reach them through mediation. And it is: Take the white, clear, precious herb which grows upon the small mountains, and pound it freshly as it is in its hour, and it is the body which truly does not become fugacious in fire."

And Aros said: "Is that not the Stone of Truth?"

And Maria said: "It is. Truly, however, the people do not know this regimen because of their haste."

Aros said: "And what then?"

Maria said: "Vitrify over it sulphur and *zubech* (that is, *zibeic*) [mercury], and they are the two fumes which envelop the two luminaries, and throw out over it the complement of tinctures and of the spirits and the weight [or: a pound] of truth, and grind all of it, and put in on the fire, and you will see of them marvels. The entire regimen consists of tempering the fire. O how wonderful is the way it moves from color to color in less than one hour of the day, until it reaches the point of redness and whiteness. Then extinguish the fire, and let it cool, and open it, and you will find a body, pearl-like, clear, of the color of the poppy of the woods mixed with white, and it is waxing, liquifying, and penetrating, and its golden color falls over a thousand and two hundred. It is a hidden secret."

Then Aros fell on his face. But Maria said to him: "Lift up your head, Aros, for I shall tell you the matter briefly. Take that clear body which

grows on the small mountains, which is not subject to either putrefaction or movement, and pound it with the gum elsaron and with the two fumes, for the gum elsaron is a seizing body, and grind it all Approach it, there fore, since it becomes totally liquified If you project it upon its wife, it will become like distilled water, and when the air penetrates it, it will become congealed and become one body And project it [upon base metals] and you will see wonders O Aros, this is the hidden secret of the *scholia* [sci ence] And know that the two aforementioned fumes are the roots of this art, and they are the white sulphur and the humid lime But the fixed body is the heart of Saturn which comprises the tincture and the fields of wisdom or of the science And the philosophers called it by many and all names And the clear and white body is taken from the small mountains And those are the medicines of this art, some [of which] are prepared, and some found on the small mountains And know Aros, that in these sciences there is nothing except wonderful things For into it enter even those four stones And its regimen is true, as I have said And it is this at first "scoyare Ade & Zethet"[55] and about it Hermes spoke allegorically in his study books And the philosophers have always made its regimen long, and pretended that the work consisted of various things which [in fact] it was not at all neces sary to perform for that Work, and spent a whole year in performing the magisterium But they did this only in order to hide it from the ignorant folk, until it became established in people's hearts and their senses that the Art could not be accomplished except with gold, because it is a great secret of God And those who hear of our secrets do not test its truth because of their ignorance Did you understand, Aros?"

Aros said "I did But tell me of that vessel without which the Work can not be accomplished "

Maria said "It is the vessel of Hermes which the Stoics have hidden, and it is not the vessel of the necromancers, but it is the measure of your fire "

Aros said to her "O Lady, did you listen to the students' society [*scoyari*]? O Prophetess, did you find the secrets of the philosophers who in their books set it down that one can perform the Art by means of one body?"

And Maria said "Yes Hermes did not teach that because the root of the *scholia* is the unbreakable, irretrievable body, and it is a poison which kills all bodies and pulverizes them, and it congeals the mercury with its odor "

And she said "I swear to you by the Eternal God that when that poison is dissolved until it becomes subtle water—and I do not care what the solu tion is—it congeals the mercury into *luna* [silver] with the power of truth, and it occurs in the dominion of Jupiter, and it transmutes them into *luna* And there is a science of all bodies, but the Stoics have hidden it because of the shortness of their lives and the length of the Work And they found these coloring elements, and they themselves increased them, and all the

philosophers teach those things rather than the vessel of Hermes, because the latter is divine, and, by the wisdom of the Lord, hidden from the gentiles. And those who do not know it are ignorant of the regimen of truth because of their ignorance of the vessel of Hermes."

On "the white herb on the mountain," which figures prominantly in this treatise, we shall have more to say below. The "vessel of Hermes" referred to in Maria's peroration seems to be more than a simple alchemical apparatus. It seems to serve as a symbol of the secrets of alchemy in general. As for "the wisdom of the Lord hidden from the gentiles," these words could have been said only by a Jew, and their attribution to Maria, added to her admonition to gentiles not to touch the philosophers' stone, proves that in medieval alchemical tradition she was believed to have been a Jewish woman.

Maria's Legend

It has still not been established precisely when the identification of the Alexandrian Jewish alchemist Maria with Miriam the sister of Moses took place. Lippmann says that this was done by Zosimus himself, but gives no sources for this assertion, nor do there appear to be any in Zosimus's treatises as published by Berthelot.[56]

Within a few decades after Zosimus, however, Maria had become a sufficiently famous figure for at least one church father to claim that she had a vision of Christ. This was done by Epiphanius (c. 315–402), who was born in Palestine, studied in Egypt, and became the bishop of Salamis. In his *Against Eighty Heresies*[57] Epiphanius refers to two works of Maria (whom he does not further identify), entitled *Great Questions* and *Small Questions*, in which, he reports with indignation, Maria describes a vision she had:

In the *Questions* of Maria which are called "Great" (for there are also others which have been fabricated [called] "Small"), they suppose that he [Jesus Christ] revealed himself to her—after he had taken her to a mountain, and after he had prayed, and after he had produced a woman from his side, and after he began to have intercourse with her, and after he had thus transferred his flow [of semen]—that he showed that it was necessary to do thus in order that we may live. And they say that Maria was perturbed and fell to the ground, and that he, raising her again, said to her: "Why have you doubted, O one of little faith?" And they say that this is the very thing which has been said in the Gospel, that "If I have told you earthly things and you did not trust me, how will you believe the heavenly things?" and "When you see the son of man going up where he was formerly," that is, the flow [of semen] being taken back whence it had gone out.[58]

If this Maria is identical with Maria the Jewess (as Jung unquestioningly assumes),[59] and if the two books of *Questions* (otherwise unknown) were written by the alchemist Maria, and if the passage quoted was actually contained in one of them, then we have here perhaps the first historic reference to a Jew or Jewess believing in Jesus—the dream-vision described must be based on a familiarity with the Christian belief in Jesus, and probably on a (subconscious?) sharing of that belief. However, it is more likely that the entire scene as described by Epiphanius belongs to the realm of early Christian legend, from which we can only learn what beliefs had developed about Maria within a century or so after her lifetime. For fifteen centuries after Epiphanius, during which Maria figured prominently in alchemical literature, no student of alchemy read any Christological meaning into her traditionally transmitted words. The only one who has finally followed in the footsteps of the bishop of Salamis was Jung, who gives a Christological interpretation to Maria's most famous axiom, as quoted above.

The legendary transformations of Maria pushed her lifetime further and further back into antiquity. In an Arabic manuscript of unknown origin in the Leyden library she is styled "the matron Maria Sicula."[60] In the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (c. 987) and in other Arabic sources she is called "Mariya al-Qibtiyya" (Maria the Copt), and is described as having carried the infant Jesus on her shoulder, and holding a spindle in her hand. But she is also supposed to have been a student or fellow instructor in alchemy of Ostanes, to whom she was supposed to have said, "The Work is derived from me and from you," alluding thereby to its accomplishment through the female and the male substances.[61] The authors who make her the contemporary of both Jesus and Ostanes are blissfully unaware of the double anachronism they are committing. Ostanes, who gained the reputation of having been the greatest Persian magus, was a historical figure, a Persian satrap and brother-in-law of Xerxes (519?–465 B.C.E.), who participated in the latter's Greek campaign. Later he was considered one of the fathers of alchemy, medicine, mineralogy, and botany, the *magorum omnium magister* (the master of all magi),[62] and to have taught at Memphis in Egypt, where Maria was his disciple or fellow instructor.[63]

Georgius Syncellus (ninth century C.E.) mentions in his *Chronographia* that Ostanes the Mede was sent by the Persian kings to Egypt, and there he instructed the priests and the philosophers, among them Maria Hebraea, in all the disciplines of an occult nature. He wrote about gold, silver, and precious stones, but did it all by careful circumlocution. Maria and Democritus, who used the same methods of presentation and spoke about the Art enigmatically, were praised for their restraint; Pammenes, who wrote amply and openly about it, was condemned.[64]

In a medieval Arabic manuscript, Maria is called "Mariya the Sage, daughter of the king of Saba," and is quoted as having said, "This [the philosophers' stone] is a great mystery. It is scorned, and trodden underfoot. But this scorn is a grace from Allah, may He be exalted, so that the fools should not know it, and it be forgotten."[65] Arnaldus de Villanova (1235–1315) calls Maria "the daughter of Pluto."[66] In medieval and later Latin writings, finally, she is referred to as the sister of Moses, or the sister of Aaron, or, to make the identification crystal clear, "Maria Prophetissa soror Moysis et Aaronis."[67] Therewith the lifetime of Maria was pushed back a full sixteen centuries.

The White Herb on the Mountain

The mountain which, according to Epiphanius, figured in Maria's vision of Jesus, reappears in her description of the procedure of making gold. The recipe is, perhaps, the best known and most frequently referred to of all her teachings and prescriptions. In the dialogue between Maria and Aros, as we saw, Maria refers repeatedly to the "white, clear, precious herb which grows on the small mountains," and when she mentions it a third time she explains that "the two fumes are the roots of this Art" and that "the clear and white body is taken from small mountains."

The enumeration of these basic ingredients of the Great Art—the two fumes and the clear, white, precious herb growing on the small mountains—recurs again and again in alchemical literature. Michael Maier, a leading figure in early seventeenth-century alchemy, has in his *Symbola aureae mensae duodecim nationum* a section entitled *Mariae Hebraeae symbolum*, in whose introductory remarks he characterizes Maria as having been the nearest to Hermes. These remarks, which are interesting because they show the importance Maria had for post-medieval alchemy, are given here in a literal translation with all the convolutions of Maier's style:

> When Hermes the Egyptian had imposed a limit upon his deliberations, as was the law, Pyrgopolynices, now unmindful of his own more gigantic virtue, which had so often been displayed, stood, as if suffused with blushing, bringing an offering to Harpocrates, since he had nothing to present. And so the succession passed to Maria the Hebrew, who was closest to Hermes, and who, being a maiden, was of the weaker sex and seemed unfit for fighting with a very keen enemy, so that consequently she would have been able to enjoy, not undeservedly, the privilege of frailty and bashfulness. Yet, since she had to contend on behalf of Maiden Chemistry, she herself, endowed with a clearly virile spirit and with that of an Amazon, as it were, declared that she by no means dreaded her adversary who, in order to re-

gain his strength, earnestly meditating, ceased from the fight. Meanwhile we shall survey the life and writings of this courageous female warrior, as well as other things that pertain to her race and to those connected with her.[68]

Following this introduction Maier explains that there is a great controversy about whether Maria was a fictitious person, or the sister of Moses, or another woman of the Jewish race. Basing himself on the consensus of the chemists of all ages and of other most learned men, he excludes the first possibility. Discussing the remaining two, he says that it would appear that the book attributed to Maria, that is, the *Dialogue of Maria and Aros*, although extant only in a Latin translation, was originally written in Hebrew. No copies of the Hebrew original have survived, because the knowledge of Hebrew among gentiles is very rare, found only among theologians who deal with theological matters to the total neglect of profane literature. As for the Jews, their low status and the perpetual servitude to which they are condemned make them unfit for such studies.

Maier found it difficult to make up his mind as to whether Maria was identical with the sister of Moses. It is quite possible, he says, that the sister of Moses had prophetic powers, but there is no evidence to show that she was an expert in chemistry. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that she learned the Art from her brother Moses, who was a most skillful chemist—such was the generally held view among alchemists in all ages. At the end Maier inclines to the conclusion that Maria the alchemist was not the sister of Moses but another Jewish woman who had perfect knowledge of chemistry. He approves Maria's method of presenting chemical teachings. Maria, he says, did not clothe her teachings in a garb of allegories, fables, and poetic figments, but presented them in a veiled language, enigmatically. She

speaks of two gums, white and red, and of their matrimony; also of two fumes, of the white and clear herb which grows on the small mountains. But the whole secret, she says, is in the knowledge of the Vessel of Hermes, because it is divine, and is, by the wisdom of the Lord, hidden from the *gentes* [gentiles]. Those who do not know it are ignorant of the regimen of truth, because of their ignorance of the Vessel of Hermes. These words of hers, even if they are very obscure for the ignorant, still appear clearer to those educated by long experience, and to those who are well versed in the seven mountains of the world, day and night. That vessel is that of the Brahman philosophers of India who use it in order to moderate the dryness of the summer, or is not unlike it, and was received by Hermes for the first time. But that vessel, says Maria, which the Stoics have hidden, is not the vessel of the necromancers, but is the measure of your fire. Therefore, in

> the bowl of fire, whose flame is of the color of lead, it was moderated by an element contrary to itself, nor did it ever exceed the rim of the bowl. He who understands this properly grasps the truest mind of Maria, and she will open up to him those secrets of chemistry which, as a rule, all have wrapped in dark silence.

In the sequel Maier says that Maria was one of four women who knew how to produce the philosophers' stone—the other three having been Cleopatra, Taphnutia, and Medera—and that her book is circulated everywhere.[69]

On the page following Maier's introductory remarks there is an engraving showing Maria the Jewess, superscribed as follows: "Fume is completed by fume, and the white herb growing upon the small mountains captures both." The engraving itself shows Maria as a stately woman dressed in an ample robe with a hoodlike cap over her head, pointing with her left hand to a small mountain on which grows a white herb, exhibiting five branches, each topped with a flower. At the foot of the mountain stands an urn from which rise two columns of smoke, which separate so as to circle the white herb like a wreath, and unite with two other fumes that descend from an inverted urn which is the mirror image of the one below, and which seems to be suspended from heaven (see Figure 5.6). This picture was reprinted many times through the ages, from the *Viridarium chymicum* by Daniel Stolcius (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1624), to C. G. Jung's *Psychology and Alchemy* (Zurich, 1944), and John Read's *Prelude to Chemistry* (New York, 1937). Stolcius (or Stolcz) was a disciple of Michael Maier, and his *Viridarium* consists of 107 copper engravings, each with a Latin epigram. Among them are reproductions of the "Twelve Chosen Heroes" (from Michael Maier's *Symbola*). The only woman among the twelve is Maria Hebraea (fig. xvii, the figure reproduced here), and the accompanying epigram reads:

MARIA HEBRAEA

Gente Palaestina Moysis soror, ecce Maria
  In Chymico pariter gaudet ovatq; choro.
Abdita cognovit lapidis mysteria magni
  Erudijt dictis nos quoque docta suis.
Fumus amat fumum, rursusqu; adamatur ab illo:
  Alba sed herba alti montis utrumque capit.

[Of Palestinian race, Moses' sister, behold Maria,
  Equally rejoices and triumphs in the Chymic choir.
She knew the hidden mysteries of the great stone.
  Sage that she is she taught us with her words,
Smoke loves smoke, and is loved by it in return:
  But the white herb of the high mountain captures both.]

Figure 5.6. Maria the Jewess.

The "white herb" may be the lunary (*Botrychium lunaria*), which possesses a peculiar significance in alchemy because of its imagined "impregnation with a celestial vitality," and which was believed to be derived from the moon, whence its name, moonwort. All kinds of healing and magical qualities were attributed to it, and it represented the white stage in the Great Work, that is, the first color transformation from the basic black, followed by yellow and red. The white and red fumes (or smokes) signified the mercury and sulphur of the philosophers.[70]

THE quintessence of Maria's alchemical works and teachings was aptly summed up by Arnaldus de Villanova (1245–1313), the learned friend of Pope Clemens V, in these lines:

> Maria mira sonat breviter, quod talia tonat
> Gummis cum binis fugitivum figit in imis
> Horis in crinis tria vinceat fortia finis
> Maria lux roris ligam ligat in tribus horis
> Filia Plutonis consortia iungit amoris
> Gaudet in assata sata per tria sociata.[71]

> [Maria utters wonders briefly, for she thunders such things
> She fixes the fugacious matter with the double gum in the last hour
> She binds three powerful substances into the ends of the tubes
> Maria, the light of the dew, binds a band in three hours.
> Daughter of Pluto, she unites love's affinities
> Delights in things roasted, sown, assembled in threes.]

Practically each phrase in this poem requires elucidation.

Line 1. "Maria utters wonders briefly" refers to her preference for expressing her teachings in brief, enigmatic sayings. "She thunders" refers to the tradition that she, on one occasion at least, "shrieked" enthusiastically when expressing the essence of her insight into a fundamental alchemical procedure.

Line 2. "She fixes the fugacious matter with the double gum" refers to the volatile material which, Maria taught, must be fixed, and which she did fix with the use of the white gum and the red gum.

Line 3. The "tubes" into which Maria ties "three powerful substances" are the three tubes of the tribikos invented or described by her.

Line 4. "Binds a band in three hours" refers to the alchemical tradition according to which Maria performed the Great Work in three hours, binding together, or uniting, various substances.

Line 5. "Daughter of Pluto" is an allusion to Maria's ability to make gold, thereby becoming, as it were, the daughter of Pluto (Hades), to whom Greek myth attributes fabulous riches. "Unites love's affinities" refers to Maria's teaching according to which the transmutation consists of a marriage, or union, of male and female substances.

Line 6. "Delights in things roasted" refers to the burning of the tetrasomia, the copper, or the sulphur prescribed and described by Maria. Things "sown" refers to the mysterious white herb on the mountains. "Assembled in threes" may refer to the tribikos, or to the three kinds of "divine water" (the whitened, yellowed, and blackened), or to Maria's doctrine according to which two must become three.

Chapter Six

ZOSIMUS ON MARIA THE JEWESS

ZOSIMUS refers frequently and in detail to Maria the Jewess, and his ref erences to her are of such importance due to their unique authenticity that it seems appropriate to present here the remaining material about her that has not already been quoted [1] Zosimus's treatise entitled *On the Sacred and Divine Art of the Fabrication of Gold and Silver* begins

> Taking the soul of copper which is under the water of mercury, make a volatile body, for the soul of copper retained in the material in fusion rises up, the liquid part remains below in the apparatus of the kerotakis,[2] and must be fixed by means of the gum [3] this is the flower of gold, the liquor of gold, etc Others mean by it the coloring, the cooking, the work of the mystical doctrine In the beginning, the projected copper, after treatment in the apparatus of [its] fabrication, charms the eyes When it loses its glit ter, one combines it with the gilded gum, the liquor of gold, etc [Behold this is what] he [Zosimus] has written on the subject of the manufacture of gold, of which also the fixation is proclaimed
>
> Maria says "Take the water of sulphur[4] and a little gum, put it in the bath of ashes, they say that it is in this fashion that the water is fixed " Maria also says "For the preparation of the flower of gold, place the water of sulphur and a little gum in foil of the kerotakis, so that it becomes fixed Make it digest in the heat of manure for some time " After the words "for some time" Maria [added] "Take a part of our copper, a part of gold, sof ten the foil formed by these two metals united by fusion, put [it] on the sulphur, and leave [all of it] for three times twenty four hours, until this product becomes cooked" (3 148)

In his treatise entitled *On the Substances Which Serve to Support and On the Four Metallic Bodies According to Democritus*, Zosimus writes

> The four [metallic] bodies serve as the support [of tincture], and none of them volatilizes Maria says "Remove the sulphurous [nature] from the lead, wherever the sulphur enters, it will tint " She wanted to show by this that we have no reason to burn the sulphur She used strange names for the Arts in the description of their operations It is not thus that those who operate act when they speak of our copper or any other metallic body (3 150–51)

In the section of this treatise dealing with "The Weights of the Raw and the Cooked [Substances]," Zosimus returns to quote Maria

According to what the writings say in this regard, assuredly the sulphur must be expelled by insufflation. This is what Maria wanted to make us understand when she said: "You will find five parts less the fourth, that is to say less the sulphur driven away by the insufflation. Likewise at the end of her statement she says that the copper, when it is refined by melting, diminishes by one-third of its weight. She says that the changes are also accomplished when one whitens and when one makes yellow; for these sulphurous [substances] tint but volatilize themselves. We get rid of the sulphurous substances by volatilization. It is the same with the plants when they are totally dissolved; thus it happens when one cooks them with the water of sulphur, rejecting the ligneous part (3:151–52).

In discussing "the vapor which is the spirit, the spirit which penetrates the bodies," Zosimus states that "in no passage of the [alchemical] writings is there mention of any other support [for the tincture] except copper alone. Thus Maria says that copper is treated and later burnt. It is in this sense that it plays the role of support. This is [the role of] copper or of silver, in our operation."[5]

Agathodemon says: "The magnesia, the antimony, and the litharge become volatilized, after having lost their purity."[6] Maria [said]: "Blow away the vapors until the sulphurous products become volatilized with the shadow (which obscures the metal), and until the copper gains all its glitter." Thus our copper receives from them the sublimated vapor. Now the vapor is the spirit of the body. The soul differs from the spirit (3:153).

In his treatise discussing the importance of timing, Zosimus again quotes Maria:

Maria occupied herself with it in describing the treatment of the small object: "The divine water will be lost for those who don't understand what has been written, to know that the [useful] product is sent upward by the long-necked vessel and the tube. But it is customary to designate by this water the vapor of the sulphur and of the sulphurated arsenics. Because of this you have jeered at me, because in one and the same discourse I have revealed to you such a great mystery.

This divine water, whitened by the whitening materials, whitens. If it is yellowed by the yellowing materials, it makes yellow. If it is blackened by means of vitriol and gallnut, it blackens, and carries out the blackening of silver and that of our molybdochalkon.[7] I have spoken to you previously of this molybdochalkon, [when talking] of our traditional silver. Thus the water blackens, attaching itself to our molybdochalkon, and gives it a permanent black tint; and even though this tincture is nothing, all the initiates desire very much to know it. Now the water capable of taking on such a color produces a fixed tincture, the oil and the honey having been eliminated (3:157).

Somewhat later in the same treatise Zosimus again quotes Maria's instructions on the proper method of applying fire for the purpose of absorbing the water of sulphur, and he does this in a manner which clearly shows that he lifted out the essential phrases from her more detailed discourse on the subject. "Maria said: 'the flames progressively'; and then, 'the fire gradually'; in order to make it understood that it has to be operated according to a suitable progression, beginning with the [instant of the] flame" (3:158).

The extent to which Zosimus is dependent on the instructions of Maria is well illustrated in his treatise entitled *On the Detailed Account of the Work: A Discourse to Philaretes.* This treatise, as indicated in its first sentence, contains what (Pseudo-)Democritus was supposed to have written to Philaretes. Nevertheless Zosimus attributes to (Pseudo-) Democritus a reference to Maria, disregarding the fact, or perhaps unaware, that she lived some hundred years after (Pseudo-)Democritus. He writes:

> Let us speak of the four bodies[8] which resist fire, the [bodies] which serve as support [to the tincture], that is to say, to the ultimate composition. After having composed it, we take a part of it, and adding the divine water[9] until the color is produced and the tone of the corresponding body [the gold or the silver], according to Maria. When one has obtained the ultimate composition, one not only projects on the four bodies which serve as support the composition of the ferment of gold, but also the composition of the water of sulphur (3:160).

Another Zosimean treatise is a one-page discussion entitled *On That Which the Art has Said about All the Bodies in Treating a Unique Tincture.* It reads as follows:

> 1. According to the catalogue one knows that Hermes and Democritus have spoken summarily of a unique tincture, and others have alluded to it. This is also what Africanus says: "That which one uses for tincture are the metals, the liquids, the earths, and the plants." Chymes has said about it truthfully: "One is the All, and it is through it that the All becomes born. One is the All, and if the All did not contain everything, the All would not have become born.[10] Hence it is necessary that you project the All in order to produce the All." Plebichius: "By means of the four bodies." Maria: "By means of the foil of the kerotakis." Agathodaimon: "After the refining of the copper, [its] attenuation, and [its] blackening, and thereafter its whitening, there will take place a solid yellowing." All the other [materials] are explained similarly by them.
>
> 2. When Maria speaks of this question, she says: "There exists a great number of metallic bodies, from lead to copper." When she speaks of diplosis, she says: "There are, in effect, two kinds of materials employed,

whether for alloying copper and silver, or alloying gold and silver; molybdochalkon and all the others are comprised in it." As for the purification of silver, or its blackening, I have spoken of it previously. How one single tincture is applied to all [the materials] is stated by Maria alone and proclaimed in these terms: "When I speak of copper, or of lead, or of iron, I mean by it [their] *ios* (3:168–69)."[11]

Zosimus's short treatise entitled *The Four Bodies Are the Aliment of the Tinctures* is in its entirety a summary of Maria's teachings. It reads as follows:

1. Here is how: Maria says that the copper is tinted at first, and that then it tints. Their copper: that is the four bodies. Behold the tinctures: [they comprise] the solid and liquid species of the catalogue, and also the plants . . .

2. Thus, just as we [humans] are nourished by means of solid and liquid materials, and as we are colored only by their proper quality, so copper behaves in the same way; and just as we are not nourished by means of solids or liquids alone, in the same way neither is copper. In fact, if we receive [as food] only solid material, we become inflamed, burnt, poisoned; the same is the case with their copper. Contrarywise, if we take nothing but liquids, we become inebriated, we have a heavy head, we have cheeks of high color, and we vomit; [the same] is the case with copper. When it has taken the color of gold by the action of the divine water, it becomes heavy and rejects, and immediately thereafter [its color] becomes fugacious. But if we have taken good nourishment in the right proportion composed of the two orders of material, solid and liquid, we are reasonably nourished; our cheeks are colored reasonably, and the nutritive faculty distributes the nourishment in the stomach, by reason of its ability to retain it. Likewise copper, receiving the solids on the one hand by virtue of nourishment, on the other hand nourishes itself by the divine water united with the gum by virtue of the wine; it becomes colored by reason of the faculty to retain that which resides in it. It is thus that she said in the [aforementioned] work: "The sulphurous [things] are dominated and retained by the sulphurous." Hence this truth: "Nature charms, conquers, and dominates nature."

3. "The same way," she says, "as man is composed of four elements, so also is copper. And just as man results from [the association of] liquids, solids, and the spirit, so does copper. Now Apollo, in his oracles, says that the vapor is the spirit: "And a spirit more black, humid, pure."

4. Maria has spoken appropriately of the vapor, [saying]: "Copper does not tint, but is tinted; and when it has been tinted, then it tints; when it has been nourished, it nourishes; when it has been completed, it completes." Good health!

In his treatise entitled *Round Alum Must be Employed*, which deals

with the whitening of metals by mercury, the preparation of mercury, and the use of arsenical sulphur (which is meant by "round alum")[13] for tinting copper and the alloys derived from it, Zosimus again quotes Maria, this time together with Chymes

> All the writings, and [notably] Chymes and Maria, speak of a lead mortar and of a lead pestle [for pounding the cinnabar[14] and reducing the mer cury] One dissolves the lime and the cinnabar with vinegar, in the sun, until mercury develops One produces the same effect with tin The heated, or calcinated, or fixed, or tinted [species] are susceptible to furnishing mer cury, if the operation is performed according to the precepts of the Art Whichever material one works with, if it is potentially cinnabar, it fur nishes vapor and this escapes, the mixture being delayed with all kinds of bodies
>
> According to a certain author one must use round alum instead of the vapor [of mercury] [15] Maria expresses herself in conformity with this opin-ion when she says "The infusion of the tinctures takes place in green flasks, submitted to a gradually growing fire The furnace in the shape of a kiln has nipples at its upper part If you don't succeed, use the double of the round alum, of the color of cinnabar,[16] that is worth more for achieving the same result One can succeed also with other pastes In effect the sublimated vapor fixes itself only on the four bodies Some say that it is absorbed by the other bodies, together with the chrysocolla I on my part know well that chrysocolla alone does not retain it, [but] all the dead and diluted metallic bodies conserve the vapor " These things have been reported by me, who wanted to show that round alum acts similarly, as was stated above all by the divine Maria (3 170–73)

In his treatise *On the Sulphurs*, entitled in one manuscript *On the Divine Waters*, Zosimus says

> Some, and Maria [among others], have mentioned the figure below "It is thus that they have prepared mercury," says she, "as well as sulphur and *ios*, by diluting the ensemble in the sun until everything becomes *ios* They say that [prepared this way] it is more active Some have accomplished this iosis[17] in the sun alone, without adding anything, and they assert that they have obtained the object of their search Others have diluted with divine water, asserting that it is their sulphur—it is also their mercury I admit the opinion of these, more than that of the others Others have projected the mercury, sometimes raw, sometimes in the state of yellow coagulation Some, after the operation of the *iosis*, have effected nothing beyond it" (3 174–75)

In his treatise *On the Measure of Yellowing*, Zosimus quotes not only Maria but also Moses

Maria [places] in first line molybdochalkon and the [processes of] fabrication. The operation of burning [is] that which all the ancients recommended. Maria, the first, says: "Copper burnt with sulphur, treated with the oil of natron,[18] and recovered after having undergone the same treatment several times, becomes excellent gold, and without shadow. Behold, this is what God says: 'Know all, that according to experience, by burning the copper [first], the sulphur produces no effect. But if you burn [first] the sulphur, then it not only renders the copper without blemish, but also makes it approximate gold.' " In the description situated under the figure, Maria speaks a second time and says: "This was graciously revealed to me by God, to know that the copper is first burnt with the sulphur, then with the body of magnesia; and one blows it until the sulphurous parts escape with the shadow: [then] the copper becomes without shadow."

This is how everything burns. This is how in the *maza* [chemistry][19] of Moses one burns with sulphur, with salt, with alum, and with sulphur (I mean white sulphur). This is how also Chymes burns in many places, above all when he operates with celandine. Thus in Plebichius the operation of burning in laurel wood[20] is expressed enigmatically by paraphrase; the leaves of laurel signify white sulphur. This is the explanation concerning the measures.

Behold, this is what Maria has said, here and there, in a thousand places: "Burn our copper with sulphur and after having recovered it will be without shadow." Not only does she know the burning with white sulphur, but also the whitening and the rendering shadowless. It is also with [sulphur] that Democritus burns, whitens, and renders shadowless. And again, "not only do they burn yellow sulphur, but they render the metal shadowless and make it yellow." Behold what Democritus says: "Saffron has the same action as the vapor; the same as cassia with respect to canella." In the *Chemistry of Moses*, toward the end, there is this text: "Sprinkle with water of the native sulphur, it will become yellow and without shadow." That is evidently to say burnt (3:180–81).

In speaking On the Preparation of Ocher[21] Zosimus says: "What rank has to be assigned [to ocher] outside the coloring materials is explained at this point in all the writings. If, consequently, you want to assign it a rank, it is there that you will find the result sought; above all if you follow Maria and the philosopher [Democritus]" (3:184).

In his treatise *On the Body of the Magnesia and on Its Treatment*, Zosimus again quotes Maria at length and repeatedly:

Behold, this is what Maria explains liberally and clearly about the subject that she calls the breads of magnesia. The first stage in the truth of the mystery finds its explanation in these [passages]. Thus, therefore, Maria wants the body of the magnesia to be there: she proclaims this not only in this passage, but in many others. In another place she says: "Without the

concourse of black lead one cannot produce the body of the magnesia, con cerning which we have specified and accomplished the preparation These are," she says, "the doctrines " And without growing tired, teaching [them] for the second and third time, she calls the body of magnesia the black lead and the molybdochalkon On this subject she speaks of cinnabar, or lead, and of etesian stone It is this body which produces potentially the simultaneous fusion of all the materials cooked and gilded It cooks the raw materials, and it brings about their diplosis It produces, says she, poten tially all the materials gilded by cooking, for this no longer exists in actual ity On this [point] I shall write another discourse, but for the moment let us occupy ourselves with our subject

It was therefore explained by Maria that the body of magnesia is black molybdochalkon, for it was no longer tinted "It is molybdochalkon which you must tint, by projecting on it the *motaria* of yellow sandarac,[22] so that the cooked gold should no longer exist [only] potentially, but actually " This is how Maria [expresses herself] after having named the body the breads of the magnesia

We must, above all, show that the philosopher [Democritus] is of the same sentiment in that which [concerns] the body of the magnesia, which they call THE ALL This molybdochalkon was black lead When they said that mercury is fixed with the body of magnesia, they wanted to say by the complete body, that which has been explained in my first memoir, and that which Maria said above about the body of magnesia She [also] says "You will find the black lead use it after having mixed it with mercury" (3 188–89)

This is why Maria says "The body of magnesia is the secret thing which comes from lead, from etesian stone, and from copper" (3 190) Maria on the subject of chrysocolla "After having weighed [it, operate] with molybdochalkon, for one day" Or again "Taking chrysocolla and cinnabar, dilute them with white litharge and make [the nature of the metal] disappear If copper is modified and brought to the state of a [me tallic] body, project on it the color of gold, and you will have gold " Thus chrysocolla receives this qualification of the body when it has been well mixed, and although it is fugacious by itself, because you make it into a body by transmutation (3 191) In the chapter of the sulphurous it is dis-cussed which [substance] acts without the help of fire Maria [calls it] the [substitute for] igneous preparation She also says that if the bodies are not rendered incorporeal, and the incorporeals corporeal, nothing of that which one expects will take place that is to say, if the materials resistant to fire are not mixed with those which evaporate in the fire, one does not obtain anything of what one expects

Which, then, are the bodies and the incorporeals in our Art? The incor poreals are pyrites[23] and its likes, magnesia and its likes, mercury and its likes, chrysocolla and its likes, all incorporeal [materials] The bodies are

copper, iron, tin, and lead these [materials] do not evaporate in the fire, these are the bodies When some [of these materials] are mixed with others, the bodies become incorporeal, and the incorporeals become bodies Mix in this manner mercury, the one which is designated in the classes, and you will produce that which is expected, about which Maria has said "If two do not become one", that is to say if the volatile [materials] do not combine themselves with the fixed materials, nothing will take place of that which is expected If one does not whiten it, and if two do not become three,[24] with the white sulphur which whitens [nothing will take place of that which is expected] But when one renders yellow, three become four, because one renders yellow with the yellow sulphur Finally, when one performs *iosis* [tints violet], all the [materials together] attain unity (3 192)

Zosimus's notes called *On the Philosophers' Stone*, a title given them in the Middle Ages, open with quotations from Maria

Maria says "If our lead is black, that is what it has become, for common lead is black from the outset Now, how is it formed? If you do not deprive the metallic bodies of their state, and if you do not bring back the bodies deprived of their state to the state of [metallic] bodies, if you do not make of two things one single one, nothing of that which one expects will take place If the All is not attenuated in the fire, if the sublimated vapor re duced to spirit does not rise, nothing will be brought to a conclusion " And again "I am not speaking of ordinary lead, but of our black lead Be hold, how one prepares black lead it is by cooking that one reaches [the reproduction of] common lead For common lead is black from the outset, while our lead becomes black, not having been black to begin with" (3 194)

Further on, Maria is quoted several more times

Maria says "If all the metallic bodies are not attenuated by the action of fire, and if the sublimated vapor reduced to spirit does not rise up, nothing will be brought to conclusion " Molybdochalkon is the etesian stone In the whole operation the preparation is black from the beginning When you see that all turns into ashes, understand that you have operated well Pulverize this *scoria*, drain it of its soluble part, and wash it six or seven times in sweetened water after each melting One operates by fusion and according to the richness of the minerals In effect, following this course and the washing, says Maria, "the composition is sweetened and provided with its elements " After the end of the *iosis*, a projection having taken place, the stable yellowing of the liquids is produced In doing this, you induce nature which is hidden in the interior to come out In effect, "trans form," said she, "their very nature, and you will find that which you seek "

Maria says "Join the male and the female, and you will find that which is sought " And elsewhere Maria says "Don't come to touch it with your

hands, for this is an igneous preparation" (3:196).

The Zosimean corpus contains two treatises called *The True Book of Sophé the Egyptian and of the Divine Lord of the Hebrews [and] of the Powers of Sabaoth.* The first one consists almost entirely of a quote from Maria. This is its complete text:

1. Behold the measure of the mercury.

Agathodaimon says: "Cook it, extract the gold." One projects the copper. One obtains the foil of Maria, formed of two metals; one cooks it on fire, in view of the tincture by means of the oil and of the honey, and one recaptures through the mercury: this is the [regular] work, so that the copper, brought anew to the state of *ios*, should dissolve with the gold, according to the measure of the mercury.

Maria says: "When the composition is formed by itself, or else by means of vinegary brine,[25] and when one has cooked it, dilute it with sulphur, that is to say with sublimated sulphur, be it in a flagon, [or] on a kerotakis, then pour or dilute, and see whether you have accomplished the work. If you have not accomplished [it] with a certain yellow, use our *ios* with the material which precedes the coloring: there is that which is necessary for making the gold perfect; otherwise the gold will not become yellow. Project it anew with the material which precedes the coloring, or else dilute with the transformed silver: [take] of the sparkling black one part of *ios*, of the raw *misy*,[26] and also of the material which precedes the coloring, in order to dissolve one portion of the copper.

2. It is cooked; for even if it does not contain mercury, it must be cooked, considering that before the action of the fire it has no tincture. One must make it undergo the purifying action by [appropriate] materials, in order to ascertain that it is pure. Try, or else make it melt. If you know the two steps, those of the Jews and of . . .[27], do not be afraid to try, [executing] in detail all the things which I have revealed to you.

This exposition allows no room for any equivocation; rather its purpose is to induce you to try whether fortune is favorable to you, and whether you have been wholly successful. And, relying on this [knowledge] you will not fail; but by this method you will conquer poverty, especially if you have talent and the ability to surmount the obstacles. In thousands of works it is taught how copper is whitened and yellowed properly; but it will not become alloyed properly by diplosis unless it is changed into *ios*. It can be treated methodically by a thousand [means]; but it is made into a proper alloy only in one single way, by becoming our true copper: this is the whole formula. Such is the efficacious coloring, the one which they have taught them, the coloring sought for centuries, which cannot be discovered otherwise, except in this fashion. What the appropriate principle is for these effects I have shown you in writing about vitriol. There it is told how copper

tints, and there lead is spoken of and all that which is susceptible to receiving the tincture (3 205–6)

The second *True Book of Sophé the Egyptian* has been referred to above in Chapter 4 Another of the treatises of Zosimus entitled *On Furnaces and Apparatuses*, has also been mentioned From the second paragraph of this treatise it appears that Maria was the only source, or, in any case, the most reliable source, for the construction of furnaces He writes

> A great number of constructions of apparatus have been described by Maria, not only those which concern the divine waters, but also many more species of kerotakis and of furnaces The apparatus for sulphur are those which one must explain in the first place Among them, one must speak above all of the glass receiver with the earthen tube, the glass vase *udcoe* [?] with a narrow neck, into which penetrates the tube placed in right proportion with the opening of the receiver (3 216)

In his treatise *On the Tribikos and the Tube*[28], Zosimus again invokes the authority of Maria, then, discussing other furnaces, he reproduces in detail the instructions of Maria

> On Other Furnaces Since the continuation of our discourse has for its subject furnaces and the tincture, I do not want to repeat to you what is found in the writings of others In effect, the description of furnaces presented here does not figure in [the writings of] Maria The philosopher [Democritus] does not mention [them], but only prisms and other [apparatuses], of which I have spoken in passing, in [his] commentary on the rules of fire But so that nothing should be lacking in your writings, speak there of the furnace of Maria, the one which Agathodaimon mentions in these terms "Here is the description of the class of kerotakis destined for sulphur put in suspension Taking a cup, make divisions, that is to say with a stone make a central and circular groove in the bottom of the cup, so as to catch there at the lower part a saucer of corresponding dimension Take a slender earthenware vase, fitted and suspended on the cup, retained by it in its superior part, and projecting toward the kerotakis of fire Arrange the [metallic] foil as you wish, conforming to the writing, on top of the vase and under the kerotakis, at the same time as the cup, so that you should be able to see its interior After having luted the joints, cook it as many hours as our writing says This is for sulphur in suspension For arsenic in suspension one operates similarly Make a little needle hole in the center of the vase
>
> Another glass cup placed beneath The earthenware vase should be of such a dimension that it should fit the rounded parts and conform with those parts
>
> This is the furnace in the shape of a kiln, says Maria, having at the upper part three holes, intended to retain [the big pieces] and to let through the

> melted parts. Heat it progressively, so as to burn the Greek reeds for two or three days and nights, according to what the coloring requires, and let it be completely roasted in the furnace. Then let the asphalt descend for a whole day, while adding that which you know, plus white or yellow copper. [This] can also be done thus: the apparatus in the form of a sieve whitens, yellows, produces the *ios*. Cook gently, as is done for the production of paint, the tincture of the mixtures and all that you can imagine. This is the fabrication (3:230–31).

In his treatise *On the Final Reckoning*, Zosimus returns to quoting what Maria said about coloring: "There are two steps of appropriate tinctures, according to whether one operates with raw or with cooked species. The process of cooking does not involve great effort; [but] it requires great adroitness and it is shorter, as the divine Maria says. For this process of cooking there are many varieties of liquids and of fire" (3:236).

Maria's methods are referred to again by a commentator on Zosimus in a treatise called *The Species Is Composed and Not Simple*: "If any one of these special parts fails to appear, the composition will be incomplete; whether it underwent [only] dilution, or cooking, or calcination, or decomposition effected in the water-bath [*bain-Marie*] heated with the fire of sawdust; or in a bird-beaked vase; or [when it is deposited] in the kerotakis; or in an alembic heated with naked fire; and this, if it is a case of diplosis carried out by means of mercury, according to the procedure of Maria, or any other kind of treatment" (3:261–62).

In conclusion, Zosimus, who was by far the greatest authority among the Hellenistic alchemists, considered Maria the greatest authority among all the alchemists who preceded him and whose teachings and practices he presents in his numerous treatises.

PART THREE

The Early Arab World

Introduction to Part Three

WITHIN a few centuries after the decline of Hellenistic culture—of which alchemy was an integral part—the new and vigorous Arab civilization became its heir, and began to build its own intellectual world on the foundations laid down by the Greeks. Among the constituent elements of the great medieval Arab culture were the sciences of religion (an Arabic term: *ʿulūm al-dīn*), philosophy, all the natural sciences, medicine, geometry, and astronomy, as well as alchemy.

As in the Hellenistic world, so in the Muslim Arab orbit, alchemy was regarded a science, or art, received through the grace of divine revelation by Adam. From him alchemy was transmitted to a chain of adepts, the earlier ones of whom were biblical figures, followed by Greek masters (some of them mythical), and finally by Muḥammad and early caliphs and princes. The latter included Khālid ibn Yazīd (660–704), Jaʿfar al-Sādiq (died 765), and Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (died c. 812).

It was not until the ninth century that these unsubstantiated traditions began to be supplemented by alchemical writings that can be definitely dated, even though their authorship remains doubtful. The two most important Arabic alchemical corpora, the one attributed to Jābir ibn Ḥayyān and the other consisting of the writings of Muḥammad Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, came into being about the turn of the ninth to tenth centuries.

By that time alchemy among the Jews could look back to a history of some seven centuries, although so far no solid evidence has come to light bearing on it between the demise of the Hellenistic age and the rise of Arab alchemy. There are indications which permit us to suspect that, notwithstanding the absence of data, Jewish activity in alchemy did not cease in the intervening period. The fact that Avicenna mentions two Jewish alchemists, and highly praises one of them as his teacher and master in the Great Art, can be considered a proof that in his day alchemy was a specialization in which Jews had achieved expertise and renown, something that could have been developed only in the course of centuries. The legend-studded alchemical writings of Abufalaḥ of Syracuse (eleventh century), preserved in Hebrew manuscripts, also point in the same direction, as does the extant Hebrew version of the *Book of Alums and Salts*, traditionally attributed to al-Rāzī.

There is also the tradition which turned the seventh-century Muslim prince Khālid ibn Yazīd, a legendary founder-figure in Arab alchemy, into the Jew Calid son of Iazich, because—at least in the medieval Chris-

tian world—Jewish alchemists had a reputation that outshone that of their Muslim colleagues. The alternative explanation, which I embrace below in Chapter 9, is that a Hebrew alchemical manuscript was attributed by its author or copyist to Khālid ibn Yazīd because the Jews who lived in the Muslim world shared with the Arabs the belief that Khālid was the most honored of alchemists. In either case, the existence of such a pseudepigraphic treatise in Hebrew indicates that Jewish alchemists were known to be at work in the period in question, and that old Hebrew alchemical treatises circulated among them.

Questions such as these apart, the material presented in the following chapters also indicate that alchemy was yet another of those fields of Arab scholarly, artistic, or intellectual activity in which both Jews and Muslims participated, and in which Jewish achievement was appreciated by the Muslims. Especially noteworthy in this connection are the words of Avicenna about the "law of the philosopher" which requires learning from "the instructed man to whatever religion he belongs." Since Avicenna quotes this maxim in the name of his master Jacob the Jew, it appears that it expresses the position taken by the Jews in the Arab world which made possible, and justified in their eyes, their active participation in all the fields which made medieval Arab culture the greatest of the age.

Avicenna's Jewish Master

Avicenna, as the Latin world knew the Arab encyclopedic philosopher and scientist Ibn Sīnā (980–1037), was one of the shining lights of the medieval Muslim world. Born near Bukhara, at the time the capital of the Samanid dynasty, he learned Arabic in his childhood (his mother-tongue was Persian), and while still in his teens he became known as an outstanding physician. By the age of eighteen he had mastered all the sciences then known. He led an unsettled life, serving various courts in eastern Persia, while laboring tirelessly on producing in Persian and Arabic an astounding number of books on philosophy, metaphysics, medicine, natural history, mathematics, phonetics, and all the sciences of the age. His Arabic books, and especially his most important *Healing of the Soul* and *Canon of Medicine*, were translated into Persian, Hebrew, Latin, and the modern European languages, and were republished again and again. For example, the *Healing of the Soul* was reissued repeatedly in Latin in 1485, 1508, 1546, and as recently as in 1968 a critical edition of its medieval Latin translation was published.[1]

Berthelot in his *La chimie au moyen age* makes a brief presentation of Avicenna's statements on alchemy on the basis of the *Liber abuali abincine de anima, in arte alchimiae*, of which a manuscript is found in the

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale.[2] This work contains a list of mystical and real alchemists, beginning with Adam, Noah, Idris (cf. Koran 19:56/56–58/57; 21:85–86), and Moses. Among the latter-day alchemists is mentioned "Isaac the Jew." Avicenna has more to say about a certain "Jacob the Jew" whom he acknowledges as his master in alchemy:

> Jacob the Jew, a man of penetrating mind, also taught me many things, and I shall repeat to you what he taught me: if you want to be a philosopher of nature, to whichever religion you belong, listen to the instructed man of whatever religion, because the law of the philosopher says: thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not commit adultery, do unto others as you do to yourself, and don't utter blasphemies.[3]

This brief statement is remarkable for several reasons. First, Avicenna professes himself to be the disciple of a Jewish alchemist. Second, of "the many things" he learned from Jacob he quotes him as having taught him not the art of alchemy as such, but the manner in which knowledge should be acquired: by learning from wise men of whatever religion. In the Muslim environment in which Avicenna lived and worked, it was an extraordinary thing to advocate that believers should seek knowledge from unbelievers. That Avicenna himself did learn from Jacob the Jew is eloquently demonstrated by the "law of the philosopher" which Jacob taught him: the basic Jewish ethical commandments which constitute the sixth, seventh, and eighth of the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20:13), quoted literally, followed by a rephrasing of Leviticus 19:18, "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," probably in the light of Hillel's famous reformulation: "What is hateful to you do not unto your neighbor—this is the entire Torah."[4] The prohibition of uttering blasphemies is a reference to the Third Commandment, which in post-biblical Jewish religion developed into the concept of *ḥillul haShem*, "desecration of the name of the Lord."[5]

It is a pity that we know nothing of this Jacob the Jew who made such an impression on one of the greatest minds of the age.

Chapter Seven

ABUFALAḤ'S ALCHEMY

IN THE BRITISH Library is preserved a short but important Hebrew alchemical manuscript numbered Or. 3659 which begins: "Said Abufalaḥ the Saraqusti: Thanks to God who ordered the things and taught the sons of men their knowledge."[1] The author, who seems to have lived in Syracuse, Sicily, in the eleventh century, is known for another work as well, also preserved only in Hebrew, entitled *Sefer haTamar* (Book of the Palm-Tree).[2] MS. Or. 3659 is identified on folio 1v as *The Book of Em haMelekh*, that is, "Mother of the King." Its numerous Arabisms show that it is a translation from the Arabic. Also the references to King Solomon as *hamelekh Sh'lomo al-Yahūd*, that is, "King Solomon the Jew," and *Salmōn al-Yahūd* (8v), show that it was written by a Muslim Arab. Definitely of non-Hebrew origin is also the vacillation in the spelling of the name of the king: it is spelled not only *Salmōn*, but also *Salāmōn* (1v, 2v), and *Sulaymōn* (8r). Moreover, occasionally the Hebrew translator was at a loss to find the Hebrew equivalent of an Arabic term, in which case he used a circumlocution; after writing "the properties of the *sagra*," for example, he adds, "and in our language the properties of the soul of the living" (2r).

Even though the treatise is the work of a Muslim Arab alchemist, the very fact that it was translated into Hebrew testifies to the interest Jews, or at least certain circles of Jews, had in alchemy in the Middle Ages. Moreover, essential parts of the treatise (including the detailed discussion of the metals, 2v–4r), were incorporated verbatim by Gershon ben Shlomo into his *Shaʿar haShamayim* (Gate of Heaven), which shows that the treatise was influential among medieval Jewish alchemists, and was utilized some two centuries after its composition.

Gershon ben Shlomo of Arles was a Provençal scholar of the late thirteenth century, of whose literary output only one book, the *Gate of Heaven*, has survived. It was published first in Venice in 1547, and thereafter several more times. The *Gate of Heaven* is a popular compilation, summing up the sciences as of the thirteenth century, including astronomy, meteorology, mineralogy, alchemy, zoology, botany, anatomy, physiology, and medicine, as well as psychology, heredity, and theology. Gershon lists a great number of Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Jewish authors, but even though he lifted out major parts from Abufalaḥ's *Em haMelekh* and incorporated them word for word into his *Gate of Heaven*,

he did this without giving credit to his source. None of the scholars who have so far discussed the *Gate of Heaven* noticed or commented upon Gershon's borrowing from Abufalaḥ.[3] The fact is that the Second Gate of the Second Article (pp. 9b–10b in the Venice 1547 edition) of the *Gate of Heaven* is in its totality copied from the First Part of Abufalaḥ's manuscript presented below, most of it verbatim, here and there with slight changes, and occasionally with a transposition of paragraphs or inadvertently omitted passages. Only on a very few occasions did Gershon add anything to Abufalaḥ's text. In Chapter 24 we shall see that a long section of this treatise was incorporated into a pseudo-Maimonidean tract as well.

After the opening sentence quoted above, the treatise starts with the customary address to a friend or a disciple:

> You, O successful son, at your request, as the disciple beloved by us, Ibn Masʿūd the Ashbelite, may God let you attain your good desire, and may He in His mercy protect you from evil. Your messenger has reached me here in Asro [?], with your letter of apology, and with your request [presented in] pleasantly flowery language, which arouses desire and yearning. You yearn and desire to comprehend the truth of the wisdoms. . . .

After some more general pleasantries Abufalaḥ gets down to his subject proper:

> (1r) . . . It is my wish to reveal to you everything you asked me, so that you apprehend the truth and wisdom of the intellectual work that is called among the sages *alkīmīyah*. With it you will achieve success in accumulating money and gathering a fortune, for the secret of one single operation of it should suffice for [to satisfy] your need of bread [for yourself] and of bread for your house.
>
> The many troubles I had with the practice of medicine and service of the king have caused me harm, and I reached the decision not to reveal anything of this science in a book, but only to a single person, and face to face. . . . I know also that you are perfect in all kinds of natural sciences, and [I know of] your endeavor to pursue honesty and the religious laws. You were elected judge in that kingdom, and this science will be with you so that none of the usual harm should befall you. . . .
>
> (1v) I am sending you the *Book of Vexation*[4] together with this book, for you are very greatly in need of it in this Work. . . . In order to lighten the burden of my troubles I chose brevity, and I called this book *Mother of the King*, because in it I mention the operation of the precious and wonderful stone that the Queen of Sheba brought to King Shlomo *al-yahūd* [the Jew] as a present . . . as King Salmōn testified in a book which he wrote about this science, called *HaMaṣpen* (The Compass).

BEFORE presenting the alchemical teachings of Abufalah, which begin at this point in his manuscript, it will be of interest to discuss the story about the provenance of the mysterious *Book of the Compass* Information about it is given by Johanan Alemanno, the sixteenth-century Italian Jewish alchemist, in his *Sefer haLiqqutim* (Book of Collectanea), in the name of Abufalah himself, and in the form of a colorful folktale It was published in Hebrew by Yishaq Sh'muel Reggio in 1836,[5] and the following is my translation

> We found in the *Collectanea* of the sage R Yohanan Alemanno of blessed memory, who wrote in the name of Abufalah haSaqruti It is the story of the reason why the Queen of Sheba decided to travel from her country to a faraway land and come to Jerusalem to hear the wisdom of Solomon of the seed of Jesse the Bethlehemite And these things which were told by the aforementioned sage were written in the book of Yathra the Ishmaelite, who wrote an explanation to the work of figures and alchemy, copying it from the *Sefer haMaspun* [Book of the Occult], a book attributed to King Solomon, which he left behind in another language, and perhaps it is the *Sefer haR'fu'ot* [Book of Remedies], which was hidden by Hezekiah king of Judah, and which is still in existence in the Kingdom of Armenia and the Kingdom of Sheba And this is the language of the aforementioned sage
>
> Our ancestors have told us about the sages of this Work, and especially about Suleyman the ancient king in his book entitled *Sefer haMaspun* And there in that book, in the chapter about bringing the spirituality of the planet Mars, he said that there was a great sage among the sages of the Copts or Nabateans, by the name of Seman, who was engaged in philosophical speculation about the wisdom of spirituality, and he had a venerable image which foretold the future before it came to pass Seman in his great wisdom married into the family of the King of Sheba after the death of the king, and took his daughter to wife, and she is the Queen of Sheba mentioned in Scripture Her father the king, at the time of his death, had commanded his princes and councilors concerning her, that when his only daughter grew up to be married, she should be given to a wise man who would rise in his wisdom high above all the other sages in the land, for the king did not want bride price and property, but only wisdom, which is more precious than pearls, and nothing can equal it
>
> And it came to pass after the death of the king that the time arrived in which the maiden reached her full beauty, her breasts developed and her hair grew And the princes said "The time has come to give her in marriage and to raise up seed for the kingdom to reign in the land, for, behold, now is the time of love, and it is proper to find rest for her, as the king, our lord, her father, had commanded "

And they issued a decree, and chose wise and old men, noted in all the kingdoms of Sheba and of Dedan and of the children of Aden, and they made them judges according to the decree which the princes prepared And they sent heralds to all the lands saying "Who is the man who wishes to come and stand before the wise men, to make his wisdom known before them, who can answer all their questions, each word in its fashion, and can stand in the breach, in all their discussions, for ten days, and can defeat them in his wisdom? He will marry the princess, and will be the successor of the king on the royal throne But if he cannot prevail, and spoils her happiness, then, because he was so insolent as to come before the princes and the judges, he will be put to death, and his head will be removed from him, lest a stranger who is unworthy come and aggrandize himself, saying 'I shall reign,' and mock the sages and the elders, and become for them a burden with false words in which there is no understanding "

And the sages gathered together in the appointed place, and the days grew many, but no man came forth, for who is he who has daring in his heart to come to the house of assembly of great wise men and men of note such as these, and can leave in peace, without harm, and without forfeiting his head to the kingdom? Only one man, Seman, came forward and approached them, even though they warned him and cited to him all the conditions of the decree which the princes of the land had issued Despite all this he did not withdraw, for his heart was sure that he would stand up and come out a victor And he came before the wise men and judges, and held forth before them, and he gave correct answers to all their words, even though they asked him very deep questions and tested him with riddles No secret was unknown to him, and he stood and spoke throughout the ten days

And it came to pass that when the judges and princes saw the greatness of his wisdom, and that he had answered everything they asked him, and that there was no way they could withhold the princess from him, they dug deeper in council among themselves to ask him one more great and difficult question, which was in the realm of impossible things It was whether he could make in his wisdom a thing small in quantity and size but great on account of its wondrous qualities and importance, a thing worth more than the whole kingdom? This [they said] he should bring in his hands as a gift to the princess to be a pledge in her hand of the kingship which would come to him through her And thereupon they all would agree to make him king and to cry *abrekh*[6] (majesty) before him

Seman did not hesitate to accomplish that [demand] in his great wisdom, for he wanted the princess He asked for time, and with the spirituality which was known to him he made the precious stone of the philosophers, which all the things in the world cannot equal, and he brought it in his hand to the princess, before all the princes and councilors When the

sages saw the stone in his hand they laughed at him for they did not know what was its nature, and they threw that sage [Seman] in jail and prepared to cut off his head, for they did not believe him But the sage commanded that they bring before him all the vessels in the house of the queen, made of copper, tin, iron, and lead, and all kinds of metals which were in the house, and he cast them into a fire, and then he scraped off a little from that stone over the metals, and out came pure gold from the fire, purified seven fold Then all the people were amazed at the wisdom of the man, and they all cried, "Long live the king!" And they put the royal crown on his head, and gave him the princess to wife She took the stone and put it in her treasury to be her greatest treasure and the most precious thing in all her kingdom

And it came to pass that she lived with him seven years, but she received no male seed from him And at the end of seven years he fell ill with the illness in which he died,[7] and the queen remained a widow in the house of her father, and she had no child And all day the princes and the councilors pressed her to remarry in order to raise up royal seed But she sighed and sat back, for she wanted to wait until she would find as wise and understanding a consort as Seman, her first husband And in the course of days she heard the fame of Solomon, whose name traveled far, and of his great wisdom and virtue And she decided to visit him, so as to test him with riddles Perhaps [she thought] the king will become desirous of her beauty and of the greatness of her kingdom, and will take her to be his wife

And she came to him with great pomp, with much gold and silver and spices and precious stones to present as gifts to the king, as Scripture testifies [8] And also it is found written in the Book of Chronicles of the Kings of Sheba that she brought with her that precious stone of the philosophers which Seman had made, to test with it Solomon, whether he would know its hidden secret, and whether he too could make one like it, with the condition that if the king told her the secret of her stone and its working, then she, and the stone, and her kingdom would become his And if not, she would return home and not marry him

And the king answered all her questions, and told her the secret of the stone and its nature and its working, and other secrets which do not have to be related And the stone remained in the hands of the king And in order to appease her after he had gone in unto her and she became pregnant by him with male seed fit for kingship, he let her return to her kingdom on condition that the son whom she would bear should reign after her and should be called by his father's name And so it was, for the son who was born to her was called thereafter by the name of his father Sulayman son of David, of the seed of Jesse the Bethlehemite And this has continued to this day all the kings are called Sulayman the first, the second And this was done by the princes and the noblemen, the chiefs of the kingdom, so that the royal seed not be lost

And because she brought the precious stone to King Solomon, this was the reason why the king wrote in the *Sefer haMaṣpun* about its working and the manner of the work of its wisdom, and thus Abufalaḥ the Saqruti testifies, as we have written.

Reggio concludes the above story by stating that "the science of alchemy is a divine science and a work about which many ancient sages have written, and it is of the secrets of nature and creation, to know the intrinsic meaning of the natures of the minerals, and to make them work one upon the other. For it is by means of natural wisdom that the philosophers' stone can be made, which is the precious stone that Seman made and about which Solomon wrote to the Queen of Sheba in the *Sefer haMaṣpun*, by bringing spirituality down upon the bodies through the preparation of mixtures and the receipt of exalted forms . . . as attested by Abufalaḥ the Ishmaelite, who gathered his words from the books of Solomon which are found in the Kingdom of Sheba."

WE now return to the text of Abufalaḥ himself as preserved in the Hebrew translation.

(1v) I find it proper to begin with the section which I shall call "Theory [or The Part of Scrutiny]" (*Ḥeleq haʿIyyun*). . . . I shall follow it with a second section . . . which I shall call "The Part of Practice" (*Ḥeleq haMaʿaseh*), for in it I shall explain the order of the operations and the Work that I consider necessary to mention in these operations concerning matters of whitening, coloring, melting, coagulation, distillation, and sublimation—all these are necessary for this sought-after work, and I do this in three sections. In THE FIRST I shall enumerate what I took from the books of wisdom concerning the essence of the kinds of things that receive power from natural action on the part of the supernal bodies, and their origin and composition, such as the kinds of metals and mineral stones that are being born, and the resemblance of their appearance and their nature according to the stars that affect them. In THE SECOND I shall describe the forms of the operations with a mention of the drugs that should be placed in this Work, and those that absorb the power of that action. In THE THIRD I shall mention the operation of the precious stone and the accounts of its inventor with which this operation is completed; it is a selection of all the properties (2r) and operations, and it is at it that this book aims; it is a great secret from among the secrets of the ancient Salāmōn, which is worthy of a place in the treasuries of kings. And I also thought it desirable to write in this book a section about the coagulation of *zībaq* [A., quicksilver], since they are important operations that we have received from the oldest sages and the elders of this Work. Also our tests are directed at those operations to make sure there is in them no failure nor harm, and I ask of God the help and the support.

The First Part: Which is the Part of Theory

The sage Abufalaḥ said: Know, O longed-for son, that the ways of scrutiny to which I have already called your attention are five, and behold, I have alluded to them and explained them in the *Book of Vexation* and the *Book of Competition*; I do not consider it necessary to mention them here except very briefly, and I shall not present their explanation here, for there is no place for them in this book: A. The way in which one can achieve something remote from that which is intended. B. The way in which one can achieve the thing itself without an intermediary. C. The way in which one can achieve the near matter which adheres to the matter itself. D. The way leading to that which is outside of what is proper. E. The way of taking the essence of things out of their husks. . . .

(2v) And he said: Know, O longed-for son, that all things of the plants and the minerals in this world are controlled by the wheel [zodiac], and its power influences them through the intermediacy of the elements. And what comes into being first is two kinds of vapors: the moist and the dry. When the moist rises from the earth there comes rain, and from the dry thunder and winds. And when they come into being inside the earth, out of the dry and smoky vapor are born two kinds: one is mineral stones that come out of the earth, which are not pure, like red arsenic and *siqra* [rock-lichen, fucus], and of these there are two kinds: one is a kind of colored ash, and the other like marcasite and its like. From the moist vapor are also born two kinds: one melts like copper, gold, silver, and their like, and the other breaks like iron. . . . And the appearance of metals is in accordance with the determining powers that work on them and bestow power upon them by means of the elements, for the appearance of gold is due to the sun and its sparks, and the whiteness of silver is due to the moon, and similarly the appearance of each kind is due to one of the moving stars, for blackness is due to Saturn, and red to Mars, and green to Jupiter, and blue to Venus, and that which is compounded of various appearances to the star Sun. And behold, the dusty parts are more abundant in gold and silver, the parts are attached and mixed well, which is not the case with lead and iron. The reason that some metals such as gold and silver take longer to melt, whereas others like lead and tin melt quickly is that the watery and airy parts are attached well and fused better with the dusty parts in gold, silver, and iron, which is not the case with lead and tin. And the greater heaviness of one kind as against the other has two aspects: one is because the attachment of the parts to one another is much greater in gold, and this is the reason why gold does not deteriorate and does not rust a long time, and its melting is very retarded in the fire. And the other is because of the abundance of the parts of dust (3r) in the lead. And behold gold: no dross comes out of it when it is melted, as it does from the other metals, because of the purity of

its nature and its cleanness And it is in its nature that it fuses with silver and copper when they are melted with it, but if the marcasite stone is put on it, it will separate from them And gold does not melt quickly in fire but it melts in the body of ostriches, *otrosi* in La'az, for it is their food, and even though the heat of ostriches is weaker than the heat of the fire, [it melts] because there is a special quality in them

And the reason why the appearance of gold is red and the appearance of silver is white is the vapor that goes into them for if that vapor is very warm because the smoky vapor is intermixed with it, without which it cannot be, it [the gold] becomes red And silver is white because the heat does not prevail in that vapor, and this tends toward the appearance of water

Quicksilver Its origin and nature are of two aspects One it has an origin and source like the other silver, and the reason that it does not coagulate is that there is much humidity in it, which the cold of the earth cannot coag ulate and turn into a dusty [i e , solid] body and make it thick and hard, but turns it humid like water as it results from the vapor, because of its great humidity upon the water it does not coagulate in the cold so as to become a dusty body, but becomes water And the other reason is that the mini mum of cold does not prevail upon it, so [cold] cannot turn it into a hard body and it remains moist, close to the nature of its material

And it is the view of the sage Ben Rushd[9] that heat has thickened it from the beginning, but only a little, and then cold coagulated it, and because the action of the heat has not prevailed upon it, its nature became cold and moist And in the opinion of some sages the substances that are closest to all kinds of metals is quicksilver and sulphur, for the moist vapors that de velop in the space of the earth are affected by the heat [at the time] of origin, and it ripens them and purifies them during the long time of their stay there, and they add thickness and weight and purity of appearance

And if the quicksilver is very pure and the sulphur clean, and the two get mixed in equal measure as is proper, and the sulphur draws off the moisture of the quicksilver and dries it, and the heat of origin is average during its ripening, and if nothing cold happens to them, nor dryness prior to their ripening, then good gold will come into being out of them And if cold happens to them prior to their ripening, white silver will come into being out of them If dryness happens to them due to the great heat [at the time] of origin and the abundance of the dusty particles, (3v) then red copper develops from them And if cold happens to them before the parts of sulphur and quicksilver mix, prior to ripening, then iron[10] develops out of them And if cold happens to them prior to ripening, and the dusty parti cles prevail over the moist ones, then black iron develops out of them And if the quicksilver prevails over the sulphur, and the heat is very weak in them, then lead comes out of them In this manner do metallic substances change for reasons that happen to them more sulphur and less quicksilver,

or less sulphur and more quicksilver, or because the heat becomes strong prior to their ripening, or because of the cold, as we have explained

Next follows a list of metals, each briefly defined or described

(3v) TIN is near in its nature to silver, and differs from it in three re spects in smell, in softness, and in tone And these features became at tached to it at [the time of] origin Indeed, its softness is due to the abun dance of its quicksilver, or due to the small measure of the cold which dried it or desiccated it, and the cause of the tone of its sound is the thickness of the sulphur that is in it, and its bad smell is due to the insufficiency of its ripening Behold, through a known procedure it will become quicksilver, for it is close to its nature, as I shall reveal to you in the Gate that follows this, and due to a slight cause it will be saved from its traits, as we have said about silver, which is close to the nature of gold, and with thoughtful work we can transmute it into gold, as I shall reveal unto you likewise after this And if one of those who deny this argues against us, saying that it is impos sible that one kind should be transmuted into another—except for a kind of wheat which changes into a kind of *goʾl* [variant *yoʾl*] [ʾ], and a kind of hazel tree which also changes into another kind—we shall answer them that this is not a transmutation of one kind into another, because silver, if it ripens for a long time in the warmth of the earth will turn into gold, and the master of this work brings about the ripening in a short time AND LEAD is also close to the nature of silver, and its ripening has not been completed, as with tin, and I shall tell you of its operation in the next Gate AND LATUN [*laiton*, brass, an alloy of copper and zinc] is a kind of copper, but mixed in it are some known drugs, and it becomes hard through them, and I shall tell you also about this later AND METAYL [metal] is a thing mixed of two metals which are tin and copper, or tin and lead, and a kind of iron, also from all the other metals you can transmute them with the devices of this Work into either silver or gold, as I shall reveal unto you the secrets of this Work in the next Gate

And know that out of lead they make the white [substance] which is called *blanqet difoila* [ceruse, white lead ʾ] with vinegar And *mina* [min ium] is a red color which is made out of lead and sulphur, and the vermilion out of quicksilver and sulphur, and *verdet* [aerugo, verdigris] of copper and vinegar These are five good kinds

And know that quicksilver if they put it on fire, will all go up in the smoke of the fire because of the abundance of its moistness, and if it is mixed with [other] kinds of metals it will soften them (4r) and weaken them, and this is why the refiners put [some] of it into silver and gold so that it should melt like water, and they gild vessels with it, and then they put the vessel on a fire, which destroys all the quicksilver in smoke, and the vessel will remain gilded, retaining the hardness and nature [of gold] And

with the devices of this Work we can coagulate it [the quicksilver] and transmute it into the nature of good silver in every respect, and that is among the important works which I shall reveal unto you in the third Gate AND KNOW that if you mix three parts of it [quicksilver] with two parts of good gold and melt all of it, and then weigh the mixture, you will find that it gained in its weight one sixth of what you put into it, and suffice it for him who understands

AND BEHOLD there are artificial substances of other kinds, and they are divided into [several] kinds, such as the kinds of salts, and the kinds of alum, and the *salnitri* [saltpeter, potassium nitrate or sodium nitrate, or the like], and the *naft* [naphtha, bitumen], and all of them enter into these works And among the salts there are those that are sweet, such as the salt which is mined from a certain mountain called Basqar [variant Qardoya, Qardona], and there is bitter salt with which the refiners clean silver vessels And these traits develop with moisture and the waters which mix in the space of the earth, and the heat of the sun burns them away, and because of much burning bitterness develops in them All this I saw in this first Gate

We now reach a passage which is significant because in it Abufalah disclaims any originality for his alchemy, and admits that it is a mere compilation from older sources He writes

(4r) And you, O successful son, understand concerning this Gate that I extracted it from the books of nature, and this should suffice for you to study And to give preference to natural over artificial knowledge is the great secret of this Work If you will deal with it wisely, with the artifices and operations which are known in it, you will transmute the unimportant kind to one more important than it, and will succeed with it in accumulating a fortune in a short time, while you will also preserve the Third Composition which I indicated to you in the First Book, with the five ways which I mentioned there as well And behold I shall present to you hereafter the Second Gate, which will discuss the manner of the artificial operations and the order of the Works and the artifices which are used by the sages of this Work who describe the whitenings and the colorings and the meltings and the coagulations and the distillations and the sublimations and other operations to transform the unimportant to the more important than it is, with a mention of the drugs that are needed to be put into these Works, as we have written

THE SECOND GATE

The wise said Know, O my brother, that just as I have presented to you in the preceding Gate a discussion of the natural operations which take place due to the power of the supernal bodies by means of the elements, and I

> presented to you their origin from the two kinds of vapors, the moist and the dry, which are born with in the space of the earth, and their resemblance and their mixture—so it is meet that I present to you in this Gate a description of the kinds of accidental and artificial operations.

Next follows a summary interpretation of Plato's doctrines concerning the universal and particular souls: the universal soul is found in metals, in vegetation, and in the earth in general, and likewise the powers of the particular soul are found in each of the bodies, including the metals. Love between two individuals is due to the essential similarity of the power of the particular souls in the two persons. This is how Abufalaḥ puts this idea: "The power of one particular soul which is in a person, if it is similar in true quality to the power of the soul of another person, the one will desire the other, and there will be a powerful love between them, even if they should differ in years and in temperament" (4v.).

Following his excursion into Platonism Abufalaḥ turns to concrete alchemical details, and writes:

> There are things which produce their effect by whitening and coloring, for they color and whiten the metal, or by the quality of the cleansing power that is in them, such as vinegar and salt and their like. Or through addition or subtraction they unite with them and endow them with whitening and coloring in their appearance, as *zingar* [verdigris], *verdet* in Laʿaz, and *ruga* [?] and *ruma* [?]. Or they have a relation to that metal, such as *zarnīkh* [arsenic], and the red [?], and their like. Or they relate to the weight, as ashes of the basilisk in water of the cock [see below]. And there are those that exert their effect by weight and adherence, for they adhere to all parts of that kind or those kinds and make them heavy, thus to transmute them to the kind which is sought, whether due to its quality such as the smoke of quicksilver and the smell of silver and their like, or due to its combination and beauty, as the beautification of metals and iron and natron water and their like, or by its relationship, as *marqasiṭa* [marcasite] and the stone that attracts iron, which is called *iymant* [S. *iman*, magnet] and their like. And there are those that exert their effect by way of penetration, for they infuse the power and nature of one kind into the power of the other kind, and they are like a wing for the other things that enter into these kinds of Work; or by means of their quality such as the smell of musk and its like. Or through a combination such as the rind of citron and the moistness of resins and their like. Or through their relations such as hair and naphtha and their like. And I shall begin, with the help of God, with those Works which exert their effect by means of whitening and coloring, with the power of the things that enter into them by means of their quality, relations, and qualitative combination.

DESCRIPTION: To add beauty and color to sun [gold]. [Take] verdigris and *nushādir* [sal ammoniac] and alum in equal weight, grind it and mix it with strong vinegar, and smear it [the gold] with it, and put it into fire, and it will come out a commensurate quality operation. . . .

DESCRIPTION. Of the operation of copper into sun [gold]. Heat copper plates many times, and quench them in the water of alum and *ǵarya* [?] and salt and *ruga* until they become well softened and the blackness is removed, and take *tūtiah* [vitriol] and *atinqar* [alkali, salt], *borias* [borax] in La^{c}az, and pure white glass (5v) and grind it well and sift it in a sieve, and knead it with black seedless raisins and with the juice of figs, and grind it with salt, and drench it with strong vinegar, alum water, and the water of *azig* [?], *vitrionol* in La^{c}z, and sal ammoniac, and thereafter dry it and grind it, and put it into the well-known *tas^{c}īd* [sublimation] vessel, that is the *alanbīq* [alembic], and sublimate it from four to seven times in weak fire as long as four hours, and then sublimate it for four hours in strong fire; there is nothing like them. It is a great secret like the mixture of moon or sun; keep it because it is good.

DESCRIPTION: Coloring. Take the bark of a willow and soak it for nine days until it turns red, and you can color anything with it.

DESCRIPTION: Whitening. Take the globules which you find at the foot of the river willows and press them and squeeze out their water, and put the metal into it while it is warm, and it will become white.

DESCRIPTION: Copper into moon [silver]. Used to be practiced by Barakhia the sage. Take of good green arsenic one weight, and grind it well with strong and good vinegar many times, and sublimate it until all of it becomes white, and let its vapor rise into the well-known sublimation vessel, then make of it a compound with *mask* [musk] and pure fine flour, and sublimate all of it with the arsenic that was worked upon with the vinegar and was sublimated, until it rises like white [i.e., silver] and nothing remains in the bottom of the sublimation vessel, and then grind all this compound well and mix it with the well-known oil of those eggs. . . . One weight of this on seven weights of copper and one weight of silver—and it will come out good.

DESCRIPTION: Another whitening of copper into quality moon [silver]. Take sal ammoniac in the well-known manner and put it on melted copper, and it will become white inside and out.

DESCRIPTION: A wonderful and exalted operation to whiten all operations which are performed with copper into moon [silver] so that they should come out white from the fire each time, even a hundred times, and this is the number of [illegible word] in the experiments. Take *shabī* [A. *shibh*, copper] which is *m'ruqqeh* [H., made thin], alum, and *albish* [A. *bish*, poison plant, Napellus moysis] and *ǵaria* and *ruga* and salt, and

grind all of it well, and put half of it into cold and pure water, and the other half into boiling water in a copper vessel in which there is no tin, and heat the essence of that operation in an iron bowl, and when it is well heated throw it into the aforementioned cold water and then into the boiling water, and do this many times, heat it and put it into cold water and then into boiling water, and then rub it and dry it with a linen cloth, and then rub it between your hands and dry it and put it into fire as many times as you wish, and each time it will come out white [or moon, silver] from the fire, but by way of melting it will not come out white [or moon, silver] And preserve it

DESCRIPTION The operation of coloring copper into gold Take copper and make it into thin layers, and put them into another melting pot, (6r) sprinkle on them some tutty powder, and melt it and throw it into pure olive oil, and do this three or four times, and it will come out good sun [gold] in its appearance and nature And if you heat it and extinguish it in the gall of an ox and *zaʿfrān* [saffron] and *ruga* and sal ammoniac it will be more beautiful, and if some good sun [gold] is mixed into it it will be good for any Work

DESCRIPTION An operation to make sun [gold] Six weights of sun and one weight of moon, and melt it, and it will come out good sun, give it beauty by washing, and it will be better, it is good for using in a mold, and the mold is made with linen oil and egg white

DESCRIPTION A distinguished combinatory operation, tested by Rusis [Rases, Rāzī] the ancient, copper into sun [gold] Take the rind of dry *ethrog* [H , citron] which had ripened thoroughly on the tree, and *qost* [A *qust*, costus, a marine medicinal plant] and *harida*,[11] explanation burnt copper, and *zarnīkh* [arsenic] which has been prepared and sublimated until it has become most white, in equal amounts one part from each, ground *qoral* [coral] and vitriol in equal amounts, one eighth part of each, and all of it should be ground and sifted and kneaded with the milk of figs and *sāg [samgh] ʿaravi, gumma arabica* in Laʿaz, and sublimate all of it Then take it and put one part of it, of good gold, well grated, into thirty parts of it, and knead it in water of copper, and water of the soul, of whose operation I shall tell later in the next Gate, well mixed to the limit of their kneading, return to sublimate it once more, and then take everything out and take of the copper which was melted three or four times and was extinguished in olive oil, ten weights, and of this compound one weight with a little of the copper stone about whose operation I shall tell in the following Gate, and put it into a melting pot whose description is this take white raisins, cleansed of dirt, and let them be ground well with a little musk[12],and let him make of it a melting pot and put it into another melting pot made of clay, and let him seal it on top with dough of the raisin pot, and melt it in strong fire, and throw it into the aforementioned waters, and

out will come for you good gold, and put one part of it on ten parts of red copper, and it will be very good gold

DESCRIPTION Another from copper into sun [gold] Let him take cop per and melt it on a fire and put on it the burnt and extinguished and ground *tutia* and human blood burnt in a vessel, and *gariya* [ʾ], and yellowed and dried cock's excrement, one part of each, filings of good gold one tenth of a part and musk a tenth of a part, and let him make a dough and sublimate it once in the vessel of sublimation, and let him take the sublimated [matter], and grind and mix it a second time with the afore mentioned water of copper on the fire, and a little sal ammoniac which has been prepared, and let it be removed from the fire, and let him throw it while hot into the water of the hair whose operation I shall describe in the following Gate, and when it cools down it will dry, and it should be ground, and let him take twenty *sheqels* of good gold and half a *sheqel* of that stone, and let him melt it in fire, and out will come gold good in color and shape none like it (7v) and let him take if off and throw it on the copper water, and out will come for you important [i e , fine] moon [silver], in all the Works there is none more honored and important than this, as long as you preserve in it the traces of the third composition, and this has been tried by us

DESCRIPTION Another to increase and add to the weight of the sun [gold] Take *nitro* [niter] and put it in an eggshell, and hide it in a pit which you should make in the earth in a very moist place, and there it will melt by itself, and will be like water Then heat the sun and immerse it into that water, and you will find that it increased and added to its weight over and above what was in it, and this suffices to one who understands and succeeds like you

AND HERE is a description for you of making *lutun* [brass] Make a dough out of black raisins cleaned of their seeds, and ground glass, and black human hair cut with scissors very fine, and *tusiah* [i e , tutiah, tutty] of its two kinds, and smear with it pieces of copper which you should make into thin sheets, and put it into the melting pot and on top of it another melting pot luted with philosophers' clay [see below], and melt it, and in stantly take it off the fire and throw upon it a little sal ammoniac, then dip the melting pot gradually into cold water, and then everything will be made quickly in the water

THIS IS FOR YOU another description of increasing the weight of sun [gold], it is from among the operations of our friend the refiner, and it has been tried by us Take the human sweat which accumulates in the pits of the walls in the bathhouse, and the vapor of sublimated quicksilver, with one part of lead whose operation I shall tell you hereafter, ground, knead all of it in the water of human excrement which is found in the distilling vessel in the known manner, and put all of it into an eggshell under the

earth in a moist place, and it will melt and become like water, and then heat that which is cleansed, or the double of the sun, and throw it into the water, and let it stand there about an hour, and then take it out, and it will dry by itself, and you will find that it added much to its weight Preserve it, for it is a secret of secrets and marvelous

AND BEHOLD I shall tell you now about the sublimations as I promised

DESCRIPTION The sublimation of killed [extinguished] quicksilver with lead Take lead and melt it in a fire, and when it is melted throw upon it the quicksilver, and when it is mixed together grind it with a little *zag* which is called vitriol, until it becomes dust, and then put it into the melting pot and light under it a gentle fire all day and all night, and then leave it for about five hours so that it cools down well, then take it out and grind it a second time as you did the first time, and return it to the fire a day and a night, and do this as many as ten times, and each time grind it and burn it, and at the tenth time leave it until it cools down, and collect it and operate with it

DESCRIPTION The sublimation of killed quicksilver with the arsenic This is how you should kill it put it in an iron mortar and put on it half of the arsenic by weight, and grind it until it becomes dust, and then put it into a melting pot well covered with philosophers' clay, and put it into the furnace of fire, and light a fire in it a full day and night, (8r) and then take it out, and when it has cooled down well take it out and grind it a second time and return it into the fire a second time Do this a full seven times, and then take the vapor which rises from it, and you will see that it is similar to frost Collect it and operate with it

DESCRIPTION The sublimation of quicksilver with shavings of iron Take one part of the quicksilver, and two parts of the iron shavings and grind all of it well, and mix it and put it into two melting pots well luted with philos ophers' clay, light under it strong fire Make sure to make a small hole in the lid, and when it begins to make steam like cinders, then you should have with you a little philosophers' clay, close that hole well, and then take it off, and when it has cooled down take it and operate with it

DESCRIPTION The operation [superscribed sublimation of sal ammo niac] Take sal ammoniac and kitchen salt, two parts It should be well ground and mixed and put into two melting pots covered with philoso phers' clay, and do it in the manner of the quicksilver which was killed with the shavings of iron

DESCRIPTION Philosophers' clay Take *gimoliah* [ʾ] and fine sand, and excrement of an ox, and cattle hair cut small with scissors, mix it all and make a kind of mud

DESCRIPTION The preparation of the salt which enters into these Works Put it into the oven in an empty pan until it becomes burnt and is trans formed into coal, and then grind it and dissolve it in water until all the salt is finished, and then let it drip and transfer all that water into two vessels,

in one vessel the water should stand in the heat of the sun, and in the other vessel let the thin [liquid] drip in this manner take a strip of thin cloth of linen or a piece of felt cloth, and put it as mentioned above[13] and put on the fire the water that dripped down in a pot and let it boil until it thickens into pure and white and clear salt

DESCRIPTION The preparation of arsenic Pound it with salt and mix it with vinegar and dry it, and again pound it and mix it and dry it, and do this four times, and put it into the oven for one night after the bread has been taken out, and then use it for any Work

AND SUFFICE for you what I have mentioned until now of these operations in this Gate And I shall tell you in the Third Gate many wonderful and honored things in which we have found overt and well known usefulness I have examined them with our friend Abū Artūs[h], the teacher with whom we joined together to try out these operations, through a faithful and wise refiner who lived in our generation and instructed us in the true way of attaining the desired success And in my hands was a secret book written by the philosopher Aristo for King Alexander his pupil, which explains all that is hidden in these Works from that which the philosopher took out of the book of Sulaymon the ancient about the secret of the precious stone called by the sages *Mother of the King*, after the name of its first inventor, and she [the Queen of Sheba] brought it to King Sulaymon the ancient as a present, and she introduced it with a full and wonderful performance of this Work And she was familiar with the operation and the quality of the work, and was instructed in spiritual wisdom, and the deity was revealed to her, and that book was intended for her, for no one is worthy to use this rare and honored operation except kings and sultans However, when I saw the honesty (8v) of your nature and the pleasantness of your traits I was enticed by your desire, and decided not to hide this secret from you But I warn you a second time not to pass on the [word illegible] of this secret to another, as the sage said, "Guard well your secret, he who reveals it kills it "

And now I shall begin in the Third Gate to tell about the precious stone and the stories of its inventor and its effect and its occurrence and its wonderful utility, together with a description of the coagulation of quicksilver and other weighty operations which I have not mentioned in the Second Gate I shall mention them now in this Third Gate because of the great importance and verity of their experiment, I have tried them I received them from the ancient ones and the sages, and we established their truth, and from God will be my help

THE THIRD GATE

Behold, our predecessors told us The sages of this Work, and especially Salmon al-Yahūd [Solomon the Jew] the ancient king, in his book called *Sefer haMaspen* [Book of the Compass] tells about the secret of the quality

of the spreading of spiritual powers in flesh and blood There he tells the story about the image called "image of the pictures," which [served] to bring the image of spirituality out of the vapors, according to a great sage from among the sages of the contemplatives [*hebetiyyim*, possibly *Nabatiyyim*, Nabateans, or *Qabatiyyim*, Copts], whose name was Kamhan the philosopher in spiritual science He was in possession of the aforementioned image of the picture, a very honored and wonderful image, which foretold the future before it came to pass And he married into the house of the King of Sheba Because of his great wisdom and good fortune they gave him the daughter of the king for wife after the death of the king, for that is what the king commanded to search for a great sage in all lands of his kingdom and to give him his daughter It was the law of the kingdom in those days to enthrone none other but a wise man and philosopher, and she was the only one, no son was left to the king nor another daughter And they searched and found this one, exalted and philosophizing above all the sages of India, and he accepted the condition between them if he should not tell in his wisdom everything they would ask him, [he would lose the throne,] and this story is very long, but I do not want to be long winded

MY BROTHER, take for yourself the stone of copper powder, which is an artificial stone the description of whose Work I shall tell hereafter, and the magnet stone, and the marcasite stone of all three kinds, one weight of each, and the pregnant stone, and *al-zundar* [probably *zingar*, verdigris] stone, and the stone of the bull's gall, and the stone called wolf stone which is known among the physicians (9r) as a stone born in the sand from the urine of the wolves at the summer solstice from the heat of the sun—of each half a weight—and cinnabar stone and *garia* [ʾ] and glass and *hadīda* [A , iron] and vitriol of both its kinds, and red and pure arsenic and *zaigma* [ʾ], one third of a weight Pulverize all of it well, and add to it pure and good gold well pulverized in purity, and put in one-third of the good and important musk, and knead all of it in the water of the quicksilver and sal ammoniac, the description of whose Work I shall also tell you hereafter, and make all of it one body Thereafter put it into two melting pots well sealed and closed with philosophers' clay, and sublimate it in the furnace of fire, light in it a strong fire for a full day and night Then take it out, and when it cools down grind all of it a second time to fine powder, and add to it *nushādir* and *durmig* [perhaps A *darmaq*, flour] and copper and saffron and *nitra* [niter] and frankincense, and this is the gum arabic, ground and sifted, of each an equal weight, all of them together should be half of the weight of the one powder which you took out of the melting pot And thereafter add to it of the good and pulverized gold, one third of the weight of the two powders, and two thirds of the musk, and knead all of it a second time in oil of *k'lil harim* [perhaps *klil horesh*, Judas tree, redbud,

cercis, siliquastrum], the description of whose work I shall also give you hereafter Make of all of it one body and sublimate it a second time as you did at first, and take it out and grind it to fine powder, and add to it one third of its total weight of the powder of the soul, the description of whose preparation I shall give you, and of the good gold dust one third of a weight, and of the good musk two-thirds of it Knead all of it in the soul water the description of whose preparation I shall also give you hereafter, and make all of it one body also, and sublimate it a third time as you did at first Take it out and grind it and add to it the powder of viper which is separated from the eggs of the cock [*sic*], whose operation I shall also tell you hereafter, one third of the weight of all this, and of the good gold dust one third of one weight, and of the good musk two-thirds, and knead all of it for about an hour, whose Work I shall also tell you hereafter, and make of it one body And then put it into the furnace a fourth time and sublimate it as you did at first, and then take out all the sublimate and grind it to fine powder, and then knead it in the water of the gold whose operation I shall tell you hereafter When it has dried thoroughly grind it and then put ev erything into a glass vessel closed and sealed with philosophers' clay [and put it] into warm dung and let it stand there thirty consecutive days, and every five days put it into warmer dung, and when the time has passed take it out and you will find it water Then put that water in a round, thick glass vessel which should have only one hole well sealed and closed with philosophers' clay, and put that vessel into another big vessel made like the shape of the glass vessel in which they show the urine of the sick, and fill the big vessel with pure olive oil and then seal (9v) well that vessel also with philos ophers' clay and put it into a *farid* or a kettle full of pure and sweet water That kettle should be placed in the opening of the furnace and should be coated all around with philosophers' clay, light the fire under it day and night, let it not go out Seven full months should pass in this operation, the power of seven which is upon it will endow and infuse it with its strength

And this too is one of the hints that I gave you in the Third Composi tion And when the water diminishes due to the power of the boiling be careful to add to it little by little every hour, do not wait until the water diminishes to a great extent, because then you will have spoiled the opera tion and toiled in vain And the ancients said of each toil that yields no benefit—death is better And after the mentioned time break the vessel, and you will find those waters have coagulated and become tied together, and become a stone of beautiful shape, precious and wonderful And if you take it and scrape off a little of it with a knife, and you have in front of you any of the metals that can be melted in fire, it will transmute them to the nature of the sun [gold] in its appearance and nature by power of the virtue that is in it, even if they be a thousand talents they will endure many melt ings and will come out of the fire with the nature and appearance of the

sun And there are some metals which will receive the power of that stone even without melting, through mere heating with fire However, beware of giving any of this artificial sun to any person to eat or to drink, and do not mix any of it into medications, lest a misfortune overtake him [who uses it], and guard this secret

AND THIS IS the description of the copper stone which is mentioned in this operation Take red and good copper—for there are two kinds of it—and white glass, one part of each, and put it into fire, it will melt like water, then sprinkle upon it half a part good *burag* [A *buraq*, borax, saltpeter], and when everything is well melted throw it while warm into water, and out will come a stone of the appearance of good gold That stone has sev eral virtues, but they have no place in this book And operate with it

AND THIS IS for you the operation of the water of quicksilver and sal ammoniac Take eight parts quicksilver and nine parts sal ammoniac, and sublimate them in the known vessel, its operation is like the operation of quicksilver with iron filings of which I told in the preceding Gate And then put them upon a marble stone and grind them and mix them well and put them in a glass vessel, well sealed with philosophers' clay, and put it under warm dung, and every five days put it into warmer dung, and mix it, it should stand twenty five days, and it will flow [like] water They have other operations apart from this, but this is not their place And operate with it

AND THIS IS for you the *k'lil harim* [Judas tree?] which is called *romani* [?] or [word illegible] Collect many flowers, at their known time, and gather of them as much as you can, put them into a new soup pot, and make a hole in its bottom, under the pot put another plastered glass or another glass vessel in which they show the urine of the sick, and put it under the earth and let it stand there a full year so that the power of the constellations should pass over it (10r) Then you will find those flowers dissolved and their water fallen into the lower vessel, and then take them and put them into a glass flagon, well sealed, and let them stand there for another year in the ground, and there it will become purified, all the sedi ments will go down into the bottom of the vessel and their pure part will go up, and that is the good oil suitable for this work This oil has several other virtues, but they have no place here Also the sediment is good for several things, and it is the great *tiryaq* (A , theriac, panacea) among expert physicians And operate with it

AND THIS IS the description of the hair water which is very efficacious and wonderful in this Work and also in other Works which have no place here Take hair from a red youth, and none other, as much as you can, and put it in a soup pot well covered with philosophers' clay, and hide it in warm dung for ten days Then take it out and you will find in it black crea tures similar to worms, and their appearance is frightening to him who sees them, and each has a head and two tails And take tongs of iron and collect

them in a vessel, for to touch them is dangerous, and cover the vessel well, and let it stand there until they eat one another And after nine days open the pot and you will find a big snake or several snakes, and take them with the tongs and put them into the distilling vessel known for the operation of rose water, on a mild fire, and take out its *m''m* [ʾ] water with supreme caution, and put it into a glass vessel, and operate with it

AND THIS IS for you the description of the soul water and the soul dust which were mentioned, and it is an efficacious and very wonderful opera tion in this Work and also for other operations which have no place in this book Take blood by bleeding a man's ears and fill with it a glass vessel well sealed with philosophers' clay, and let it stand forty days in the warm sun in the summer days And then you will see that a creature has come into being in it, and take it and put it into flour, and let it be there as [long as] you wish Then take the creature and put it into the known distilling vessel which was mentioned, and out will come its water which is called the soul water, that is to say, the water of the blood, and what is left in the bottom of the vessel is the soul dust, and operate with it with great caution

AND THIS IS for you the description of the basilisk ashes which you can make out of cock's eggs, and this operation was the most exalted and won derful of all the kinds of mentioned Works, and this Work has a great virtue and also other virtues which have no place to be mentioned in this book Take of cock's eggs, that is to say the long and pointed eggs out of which male cocks hatch, and of the short and round eggs from which come the females, take thirty to forty of them, and break them and put them into another pot and hide it in the warm dung under the earth, and the pot should be closed and sealed well with strong clay, and in the lid make another hole (10v) and insert there a somewhat crooked hollow reed, either of metal or of real reed if you can find it, so that its vapor should rise over the earth, and let forty days pass so that those eggs become moldy and a kind of basilisk will be formed, which will cause decay and death to every thing else that his [the basilisk's] glance falls upon, also every plant, tree, or grass will wither Therefore when these [days] are up you should have with you a frying pan, melt in it what you want, and when it is hot throw upon it [the basilisk] with the hollow reed, and kill the basilisk with it And be hold I instructed you that the reed should be crooked so that the basilisk's glance should not fall upon any thing lest the air decay and danger increase And then dig it up and take it out and burn it any time of the day, for thereafter you will no longer be in danger And those ashes are the basilisk ashes whose operation is known among the sages of this Work However, this operation has in truth no value Yet, don't miss its operation, for as long as you observe, while carrying it out, the signs of the Third Composi- tion, which I have explained to you in the First Book, to perform it in these operations at the time when the *maggid* [H , herald, narrator ʾ] gives its

special power, and keep away from its opponents at the time of the dissolutions and the distillations and the sublimations and the congelations and the burnings[14] for then you will be saved from the errors and the mistake of the *maggid* in giving his power. And do not think that when I present the intention of the book I shall give you the particulars of the indications in detail, for what I have included of this work should suffice you, and together with what you will extract from the books of the laws of the stars [astronomy] it will establish this composition properly. And also look up the preceding Gates, and there you will find how some *maggid* is found to be related, such as the sun to gold, and the moon to silver, and likewise the others, and understand this. And behold, what is necessary to be observed in the burning of the basilisk is that it should be done on a day when the sun is shining and in its hour, and when there is the constellation of the Lion and the sun, and the moon should be on the increase and in the first rise of *Tleh* [Aries], and let the evils be far from them. And if you observe all this and put your heart in every one of the operations to observe in them the aforementioned composition, and to select its impressions which are suitable for this Work, then you will reach the desired success and will be saved from errors and mistakes. And observe this.

AND THIS IS for you the description of the operation of the water of gold which was mentioned, and it is very wonderful in this Work. Take pure and good gold and grind it and add to it sal ammoniac, half of its weight, saffron and musk one-quarter of its weight, and mix and grind it until nothing is left of the gold, and put it into a glass vessel of rose water, and put it on a hot fire, and keep it there until the steam that rises from it ceases, and receive the dripping in a glass vessel, and then take out what is found, and grind it again as at first, and grind it and return it to the rose water and add to it of the sal ammoniac, half of its weight, and of the saffron and the musk one-quarter of its weight, and return it to the fire as at first, and do it in this manner up to ten times, and each time add of the sal ammoniac half a weight, and of the saffron . . .

Here ends the last extant leaf of MS 3659.

Chapter Eight

A HEBREW VERSION OF THE *BOOK OF ALUMS AND SALTS*

THE *Book of Alums and Salts* (hereafter *BAS*) is one of the famous treatises of medieval Arab alchemy. Only fragments of its original Arabic text survive; its Latin translations have been published repeatedly. In 1937 Julius Ruska published the extant Arabic fragments, the complete Latin version originally published by John Garland in 1560, a German translation, and an extensive analysis.[1] The *BAS* was traditionally attributed to Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (864–925), the celebrated Persian physician, philosopher, and alchemist, whose writings were for centuries required reading in both Muslim and European medical schools. Modern historians of alchemy agreed with this attribution, but Ruska's own conclusion was that the book was not written by al-Rāzī but by an anonymous Arab alchemist who lived in Spain in the eleventh century.[2] Nevertheless, Ruska considered the *BAS* one of the most important medieval alchemical treatises. He made no reference to a Hebrew version of the book, and seems to have been unaware of its existence.

The Hebrew version of the *BAS*, as noted by Steinschneider,[3] is contained in MS Orient. Oct. 514 of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, which we shall discuss in its entirety in Chapter 33. It contains numerous insertions, most of them in the text itself, with a few added on the margin. These additions always begin with the abbreviation *nʿl*, the initials of the Hebrew words *nir'eh li*, that is, "it seems to me," followed by corrections or explanatory comments.[4]

The first nineteen folios contain alchemical recipes, among them several quoted in the names of authorities (for example, f. 1a: "And I have heard from Menase . . ."; f. 13a: "Miriam [i.e., Maria the Jewess] said . . . ," etc.). The translation of *BAS* begins at the bottom of f. 19b under the heading "I shall begin the Book of *Alume* [Alums] and Salts," followed by the explanatory comment, "The treatise of the *alums* and salts needed for this work. And this is the nature of the *atramento* [L. *atramentum*, vitriol]."[5]

A comparison of the Hebrew text with the Latin and Arabic versions published by Ruska reveals, first of all, a basic difference in the order of sections in the Hebrew, which makes it clear that the Hebrew is based

on neither of the others, but on another prototype whose order of sections it followed In the Hebrew version the order of sections is more logical than that of the Arabic or the Latin It begins with a discussion of alums and salts and *nishdera* (sal ammoniac), then goes on to the souls and spirits of the minerals, arsenic, sulphur, mercury, the bodies, gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, glass, and talc The Latin and the Arabic (assuming that two missing sections of the latter were in the same order as those of the Latin), on the other hand, begin with a discussion of the souls and the spirits, and only after treating the metals do they turn to general statements on alums and salt Given the title of the book, one would expect it to start with this subject, and this expectation is reinforced by the opening statement, which in Ruska's Latin version stands not in the beginning of the book but after seventy-one paragraphs "[Here] Begins the Book of Rasis on the Alums and Salts which are Necessary in This Art" (p 79)

A comparison of the Hebrew text with the text of the two others also shows that it conforms at times to the Arabic and at times to the Latin and at other times differs from both Hence one is led to the tentative conclusion on the basis of this comparison that the Hebrew translator used neither the Arabic nor the Latin text published by Ruska, but had before him a different, older Arabic text, as we can see from the following excerpt

HEBREW VERSION BERLIN MS 514, F 32B

Another thing, fine and good Take *limatura* [I , filings] of copper, one *litra* [pound], and the like of it of quicksilver (it seems to me tin Another view four times like it), and grind it well *peri antribalo* [in like manner?] until it becomes like dough Then wash well with salt and vinegar until it becomes well purified And then wash it with pure water, then dry it And take *atramento* [L *atramentum*] one pound and dissolve it in double of old urine of boys, and filter it And put on it one pound of *nishdera* [sal ammoniac] (It seems to me water it and roast it) And *incera* [I *incerare*, to wax, i e , soften] with this water little by little until it drinks all of it And it will be colored in a color between yellow and red which is called in the Arabic language *asfar* [yellow] (It seems to me anoint with it purified silver filings or silver or tin, and heat it little by little until it penetrates it, and do it until it becomes gold Then melt it and put it on them) We have already combined the quicksilver with the copper, now work it with it, and rejoice (It seems to me or roast it, coagulate it in a glass ball fully covered with clay, and drench it until it coagulates and does not smoke Then dissolve it and coagulate it until you achieve it, or distill it Or coagulate it in a melting pot covered with another melting pot and sealed with clay according to the method of *Yabar* [Jabir] in the coloring of the white [i e ,

silver] into red [i e , gold] Or fill an *anpula* [I , ampolla] and coagulate it in the fire of brass or in hot ashes Or coagulate it and melt it) And if you wish to whiten [i e , to make silver], put instead of the *zāj* [A , vitriol] *alume yamini* [Yemenite alum], and do with it as we said, that you should put it on the copper and it will be transmuted to silver, with the help of God (Nazar tried this method, and roasted it in a moderately hot bread oven, and at the sixth time it melted)

This Hebrew version can be compared with the Arabic and Latin texts

ARABIC VERSION, RUSKA P 47, AG§54, P§64

Another Take copper filings and place of them a portion, and of quicksil ver a portion, and grind them until they are mixed together, and work it with water and salt until purified, then work it with sweet water and dry it, and take of the vitriol like the copper and dissolve it in the like of it of old urine of boys, and put it aside or filter it, and put on it a weight of eagle [i e , sal ammoniac], and soften it with this water little by little, drench it, and it will become like marble Already some of it has been combined, and work it You will rejoice in it, if Allah wills And if you want whitening, make in place of the vitriol Yemenite *shabb* [A , alum or atrament stone], and work it as before, and throw of it upon the copper It will come out silver if Allah wills

LATIN VERSION, RUSKA P 73, G§54 P§64

A Medicine which converts copper into silver Take *limatura* [I , filings] of copper, any part, and just as much quicksilver, and grind it well until they become dough Then work well with salt and vinegar until they are well purified, and then with pure water, and then dry it And take *atramentum* [L , vitriol] in the amount of the copper, and dissolve it in double that much of puerile urine, and filter it And put on top of it as much sal ammo niac, and soften it with this water gradually until it drinks all of it And it will be colored in the color of pale red glass, which color is called in Arabic *firfir* We have already combined the quicksilver with the copper, therefore work it and rejoice And if you wish whitening, put in place of the atramen tum alum of Aleman, and do with it as it has already been said Which you should put over copper, and it will be converted into silver, if God wills

A comparison of the Hebrew with the two other versions shows that the Hebrew is closer to the Latin than to the Arabic, but there are indications that the Hebrew is based on a different Arabic text than the Latin For example, the Latin refers to the Arabic term *firfīr* (marble), which, incidentally, it misinterprets as the word for a color, whereas the Hebrew quotes the Arabic term *asfar* in its correct sense, yellow The

Hebrew also renders correctly the Arabic *shabb yamānī* as *alume yamīnī* (Yemenite alum), where the Latin has the corrupt *alumen de Aleman.*

Most interesting in this excerpt are the numerous and lengthy *n'l* (*nir'eh lī*—it seems to me) additions, the like of which appear in many places throughout the Berlin MS 514. The character of these added comments makes it clear that the person who wrote them—whether he was the Hebrew translator or the copyist of the translation—must have been himself an expert alchemist with broad knowledge of the procedures described in the text, who occasionally disagreed with them and suggested what he considered better alternatives. In one of his additions he refers to a method of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, the famous Arab alchemist. At the end of the section he refers to "Nazar," that is, the alchemist Giovanni Battista Nazari, who lived in the sixteenth century, and whose book *Della Tramutazione Metallica* was first published in Brescia in 1564. Nazari is mentioned also in an addition appended to the Hebrew version at the end of the section titled *Raṣio b'oferet usrub*, that is "Discourse on the lead *usrub* [A., lead]."[6] This addition (exceptionally not introduced with "it seems to me") reads, "Nazari told me that he tried and distilled tin filings, and out came of it white *viline* water. And of copper filings red water came out, which tended to blackness." This brief addition indicates that the Hebrew translator/copyist had personal contact with Nazari, and therefore must have lived in Italy in the sixteenth century.

Apart from the "it seems to me" additions, the Hebrew version also contains a few passages that seem to have been contained in the original Arabic from which the translator worked, and which are missing in both the Arabic and the Latin of Ruska. Thus before the discussion of talc the Hebrew has these added introductory sentences: "And let us begin with the Ninth [i.e., talc, or mica] *deqondimenṭo* [I. *di condimento*, of the preparation] of stones, and the light compounds of it, that which is much needed by students and peoples. And the peoples compound great works. The method of *qondimenṭo* [preparation] with the Ninth." Then follows, as in the Latin, "Take of the white Ninth . . . " (Ruska, 77: *Accipe de altalc foliato albo* . . .). The term "ninth" for talc is not known to me from other sources. In fact, Steinschneider, in discussing the Berlin MS 514, stated that the meaning of *t'shī'ī* (ninth) was unknown to him.[7] However, the designation of metals by ordinal numbers was not unusual in medieval Arab alchemy. Mercury was called "the second," copper "the third," iron "the fifth," tin "the sixth," lead "the seventh,"[8] and now we learn that talc was termed "the ninth." The use of "the fourth" is also attested in the Hebrew version of the *BAS*, in an "it seems to me" addition to folio 35b, but its meaning is not stated. I have not come across the use of "the first" and "the eighth." However, on

the basis of the traditional order of the planets and their associated met als, we get the following sequence

The First – Moon – silver
The Second – Mercury – quicksilver
The Third – Venus – copper
The Fourth – Sun – gold
The Fifth – Mars – iron
The Sixth – Jupiter – tin
The Seventh – Saturn – lead
The Eighth – ? – ?
The Ninth – ? – talc

It should be noted that the term "the ninth" was also used to designate a compound poison described by Ibn al-Wahshīya (ninth century) in his treatise *Kitāb al-Sumūm*[9]

The names of authorities quoted in the Latin and Arabic versions published by Ruska, except for Jābir ibn Hayyān and Pythagoras, appear in different forms in the Hebrew version Where Ruska's texts have *filius Gilgil Cordubensis* and *filius Inthuelis Cordubensis*, the Hebrew (f 20a) has Ben Julio of Cordova For Ruska's *Lialich filius Iasich* the Hebrew (f 23b) has Lial For Ruska's Anfridius the Hebrew has Asidro (34a, perhaps to be read Isidoro?) Marginal additions by the translator/copyist refer to Florentino (possibly Antonius de Florentia who is mentioned in Nazari, or Florentinus de Valentia)[10] as a comtemporary ("Florentino told me " f 29b) Another marginal addition on folio 31b refers to Tastoiani

The style of Berlin MS 514 is frequently clumsy and grammatically sloppy, occasionally to the point of being unintelligible without re course to the Arabic or Latin versions The translator/copyist may have been a good alchemist, but Hebrew was certainly not his best language He frequently took the easy way out by using Italian (and on a few occa sions Arabic) terms in Hebrew transliteration instead of troubling with finding their Hebrew equivalents, and did this occasionally even where perfectly good biblical or talmudic-midrashic Hebrew words were readily available Thus he uses repeatedly the Italian *vegetabile* in inconsistent Hebrew transliterations (*vyytyble*, *vyytbyle*, *vyytible*), even though the Hebrew *semah* would have served just as well (f 21a) He writes *preparare* instead of the Hebrew *l'hakhin* (f 22a), *qurento* (that is I *currento*) instead of *nozlim* for "running (water)" (f 22b), *liberare* instead of *l'shahrer* for "to liberate" (f 22b), and so on

Occasionally, instead of actually translating, he simply transliterates entire phrases "and others said that the vinegar *meliora esso dimeliorazione inqorutibile*" (f 23b), that is, "improves it with an incorruptible

improvement." On folio 28b he writes about gold that it is of *uguale sustansia adurante amitente*, that is, "equal substance, durable, permanent." And occasionally, as if being unsure of the clarity of the Hebrew word he uses, he adds to it the Italian equivalent in transliteration. Thus he writes *b'taḥtit infondo hasir*, that is, "in the bottom *infondo* of the pot" (f. 23a). The linguistic confusion is compounded due to the fact that the copyist of the extant Hebrew manuscript seems to have had only a rudimentary knowledge of Italian and therefore occasionally distorted the words which in the original Hebrew version were given in Hebrew transliteration. Thus the original *suo stridore* (its crackling) became *hasantridore shelo* (f. 24a), by adding the Hebrew article *ha-* (the) and the Hebrew possessive pronoun *shelo* (its) to the Italian two words which he misread as *santridore*.

Despite these linguistic shortcomings, the Hebrew version of the *BAS* (like the entire Berlin MS 514) is a rich storehouse of medieval Hebrew alchemical terminology. It contains hundreds of Hebrew alchemical terms, and its very existence is an eloquent testimony to medieval Jewish interest in alchemy. Moreover, this particular manuscript happened to have preserved more completely, or at least more faithfully, the original text of the *BAS* than the Arabic and Latin versions published by Ruska.

Chapter Nine

PSEUDO-KHĀLID IBN YAZĪD

AMONG the most problematical personages in the history of Arab alchemy is that of the anonymous master (or masters) whose works have been attributed to Khālid ibn Yazīd. The historical Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiya (c. 668–c. 704), one of the sons of the caliph Yazīd I, spent his life in relative obscurity governing his emirate of Ḥims. It was only later that legend made Khālid into an alchemist and that alchemical works were attributed to him, including the *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, a large collection of alchemical poems, and treatises such as the Marianus legend.[1] Perhaps the most important alchemical work attributed to Khālid is the *Liber secretorum artis* (Book of the Secrets of the Art) or *Liber secretorum alchimiae* (Book of the Secrets of Alchemy), with whose authorship there are additional serious problems.

The *Liber secretorum alchimiae* has in due course taken its place in the standard medieval and Renaissance collections of alchemical classics. It is included in the important alchemical compendium published in 1541 in Norimberg (Nürnberg) under a long title which reads in part *In hoc volumine de alchemia continentur haec gebri Arabic philosophi solertissimi rerumque naturalium . . . item liber secretum alchemiae Calidis filii Iazichi Iudaei.* The treatise itself is found on pp. 338–62, and carries the title *Liber secretorum alchemiae compositae per Calid filium Iazichi translatus ex Hebreo in Arabicum & ex Arabico in Latinum, incerto interprete*, that is, "The Book of the Secrets of Alchemy by Calid son of Iazich, translated from Hebrew into Arabic and from Arabic into Latin by an uncertain translator." "Iazich" is evidently a corrupt form of Yazid.

The treatise was subsequently included in Manget's *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*, one of the richest and most complete collections of ancient alchemical works. Here too it is stated that the treatise was translated from Hebrew into Arabic and from Arabic into Latin, and the name of the author is given as *Calid filius Iaichi*, that is, the name Iazich has been further corrupted into Iaich.[2]

The problems represented by the attribution of an originally Hebrew alchemical treatise to an Arab prince can best be tackled by asking whether there is any indication in the text of the treatise itself relative to its authorship. In fact, the treatise starts with a "Preface on the Difficulty of the Art" in which the author first "gives thanks to God the creator of everything who led and directed us, and taught and gave us understand-

ing and knowledge." Then he goes on to say, "Know, O brother, that this magisterium of ours about the secret stone and the honored observance is the secret of secrets of God which He kept hidden for His people, and did not want to reveal to anyone, except to those who faithfully, like sons, deserved it, and who knew His goodness and greatness."

The expression "His people" (in Hebrew *'amo*), that is, God's people, is used so often in the Bible that it has subsequently become a stereotypical designation of the Jews in the writings of Jewish authors. Moreover, the statement that God kept secret the philosophers' stone and revealed it only to the Jews is but a variant of an old idea of Jewish alchemists, first expressed in the third century C.E. by Maria the Jewess, who insisted that the great secret should be known only to "the seed of Abraham." From the Middle Ages on, pronouncements to this effect have become commonplace in the writings of Jewish alchemists. In the recurrence of this statement in the treatise attributed to Khālid (as we shall refer to the unknown author of the book), there is a clear indication that he was a Jew and that he shared the early Jewish alchemists' desire to confine the knowledge of the Great Art to the adepts of their own people. It thus seems reasonable to accept at face value the statements contained in the two title pages, that the treatise was written originally by a Jew and in Hebrew. How, then, did it come about that the author was termed "the Jew Calid son of Iazich"?

The answer, probably, lies in the prevalent medieval tendency to attribute writings pseudepigraphically to famous authors. Whether this attribution was made by the author or by a later copyist or translator, its aim was to secure acclaim for the treatise by claiming that it was written by a famous alchemical author (that Khālid ibn Yazīd was not only famous but also legendary was not known at the time). On the other hand, the author (copyist, translator) was unwilling to forego the prestige Jewish expertise enjoyed in the alchemical world, and thus we get the peculiar hybrid author: a Hebrew-writing Jewish author whose name is Calid son of Iazich, that is, Khālid ibn Yazīd!

In the sequel, Khālid tells about the efforts his most outstanding disciple Mūsa made to understand the writings of the "noble philosophers," studying more than a hundred of their books. When Khālid saw that Musa struggled in vain, he decided to help him out of his quandary by writing for him the present book, in which he described clearly and explicitly what the earlier philosophers concealed behind obscure sayings. He has, he writes, mentioned in this book

> whatever is necessary for the investigator of this science or magisterium, in a language suitable for its understanding and for the perception of the researcher. And I named in this book the four highest and best magisteriums

which the wise men have performed Among them are the elixirs, one min eral and the other animal In fact there are two remaining minerals, which we call bodies, and they are not one, and their artifice is in washing them Yet another [magisterium] is to make gold out of live *azoth*[3] whose formation is [by] generation, according to the generation or the series of generations in the minerals, which exist in the heart and in the interiors of the earth And these four magisteriums and artifices were explained by the wise men in their books about the composition of that magisterium But there were not many of them and they did not want to put anything in their books about its operation, or if there is found [anything about it] it cannot be understood and nothing more serious is found in them than that Therefore I shall speak in this book of mine about it and its making Therefore he who would read this book of mine should read some geometry, and should learn in addition measuring, so that he should properly accomplish the construction of furnaces, nor exceed their dimensions by increasing or diminishing it [the furnace] or the quantity of the fire

Chapter I
On the Four Magisteriums of the Art, that is, Dissolution, Congelation, Albification, and Rubification

I shall begin to speak of the major artifice, which is called alchemy, and I shall certify my saying, and shall hide nothing, nor shall I keep silent but speak of it here, except of that of which it is not proper to speak or which should not be named Let us therefore say that the major artifice is the four magisteriums about which the wise men have spoken, namely, to dissolve, to congeal, to whiten, and to redden

But this dissolution and congelation, which I mentioned, is the dissolu tion of the body and the congelation of the spirit, and they are two but have one single operation, because the spirit cannot be congealed except with the dissolution of the body, and similarly the body cannot be dissolved except with the congelation of the spirit And the body and the soul, when they are joined at the same time, each acts on its partner, making it similar to itself An example of this is water and earth for when water is joined with earth, it attempts to dissolve it with its moisture and its virtue and quality, which are in it, and makes the earth more subtle than it was before, and makes the earth similar to itself, for water is more subtle than earth And the soul acts similarly in the body And in the same manner water is thickened by earth and becomes similar to earth in density, because earth is thicker than water

For the composition in this artifice or magisterium is the conjunction or matrimony of the congealed spirit with the dissolved body, and their conjunction, and their *passio* [occurrence] is over fire For the heat is their

nutriment, and the soul does not release the body, nor is joined to it in all kinds of conjunction, unless by the change of both from their [original] virtue and quality, and after the conversion of their nature. And this is the dissolution and congelation of which previously the philosophers spoke. And know that the sages concealed this dissolution and congelation, and spoke of them in a subtle fashion and in obscure and covered sayings, so that the perception of the searcher should be kept away from their understanding.

And here is an example of the covered and obscure sayings of the philosophers about it: "Smear the leaf with the poison (*toxicum*), and the beginning of your function or its magisterium will be verified." Or: "You operate the strong bodies with dissolved broth until both of them are converted into its subtilty." Similarly a saying of the sage about it is this: "Unless you convert the bodies into subtilty so that they be subtle and impalpable to the touch, you will not be led to what you seek. And if they [the bodies] will not be ground, return to the operation until they are ground and become subtle; for if you will do this you will be led to what you desire." And in this manner they uttered many such sayings. But nobody can achieve in any respect a testing of this fact thus concealed, until a good and manifest unfolding of its proof becomes visible. . . .

Although Khālid does not identify "the sage" whose words he quotes, the quotation itself is but a rephrasing of the sayings of Maria the Jewess we quoted above: "If the volatile [materials] do not combine with the fixed materials, nothing will take place of that which is expected," and "If you do not make out of two things one single thing, nothing of that which you expect will take place." Evidently Khālid had in mind an alchemical doctrine that went back to Hellenistic times and in particular to the school of Maria the Jewess.

Chapter II
On the Things and Instruments Necessary and Suitable for this Work

You need to know the utensils in this magisterium, that is, the *aludela* [aludels], which the sages called cemeteries or sieves, for in them are the parts divided and purified, and in them is performed, completed, and purified the matter of the magisterium. And each of these should have a baking vessel (*clibanus*) suitable for it, and both of them should have a similarity and a shape suitable for the Work. And Mezleme and several philosophers in their books have already named all of them and taught their size and form. And know that the sages agreed in this in their sayings, and hid [them] by signs, and then wrote several books, and made instruments which are necessary in those aforementioned four. And they are two. One is the cucurbit with its alembic, and the other is the aludel, which is well

made. And likewise those which are required for them are four. They are the bodies and souls and spirits and waters. And on these four are based the magisterium and the mineral act (*factum*). And they are explained in the books of the wise, and I took from them for my book, and I mentioned in it that which the philosophers had not mentioned. He who has any intelligence will know which those things are. I did not write this book for the ignorant and unknowing, but composed it for the prudent and for those who have sense and wisdom and for the knowledgeable.

The mention of Mezleme in this chapter is important for the establishment of the date of Khālid's book. Mezleme is none other than Abu'l-Qāsim Maslama al-Majrīṭī, the Arab mathematician and astronomer who lived in Spain in the second half of the tenth century, and to whom several alchemical works were attributed, including the *Sirr al-Kīmīya* (Secret of Alchemy).[4] The mention of Maslama in Khālid's book proves that it could not have been written prior to the end of the tenth century, that is, three centuries after the historical Khālid. Moreover, the reference to a Spanish Arab alchemist makes it appear likely that the anonymous Jewish author of the book lived in Spain, where an Arabic alchemical treatise of Spanish provenance would be more easily accessible than in other Arab countries.

Chapter III
On Things of Nature Pertaining to this Magisterium

Know that the philosophers called it [the philosophers' stone] by many names. Some of them called it minerals, and some animals, while some called it herbs, and some by the name of the natures, that is, naturals. Others again called it by whatever names they pleased, according to what seemed right to them. Also know that their medicaments are near nature, as the philosophers said in their books that nature approaches nature, nature is similar to nature, nature is united with nature, nature is submerged in nature, nature whitens nature, and nature reddens nature; and one generation is retained by the other, and one generation vanquishes the other.

This chapter calls for one brief comment only. The pronouncements about nature are but an elaboration of the saying quoted by al-Tamīmī, a contemporary of Maslama, in the name of Maria the Jewess: "The *kiyān* [vital principle] holds the *kiyān*, and the *kiyān* is whitened by the *kiyān*."

Chapter IV
On Decoction and its Effect

Know that the philosophers spoke in their books of decoction. They said that one should make decoction with things. For that is what generates them [the things] and changes them from their substances and colors into

other substances and colors Do not transgress that which I tell you in this book, but proceed properly Consider, O brother, the seed, which is in the life of man, how the heat of the sun works on it until the seed comes out of it, and men and other animals eat it Afterward nature with its heat works in it, in man, and impacts flesh and blood And such is the operation of our magisterium Hence our seed which, from the sages, is such that its perfec tion and process is fire, which is the cause of life and death, which does not impart life to it except with an intermediary and with its spirituality, which do not mix except with fire I have already stated for you the truth which I saw and did

Chapter V
On Refining, Dissolving, Congealing, and Commingling the Stone, and their Cause and Limit

Know that unless you refine the body until it becomes all water, it will not become moldy, nor will it putrefy, and cannot congeal the fugaceous souls when fire touches them For it is the fire that congeals them with its own help in relation to them And similarly the philosophers taught [us] to dis solve the bodies, and we dissolve [them] so that the heat should cleave to their depths Then we return to dissolve the same bodies, and after their dissolution to congeal them with a thing which is close to them, until we join all of it together in a good and suitable commingling, which is of a moderate quantity Then we join together fire and water and earth and air, and when the thick and the thin (*subtilis*) are mixed, and the thin with the thick, the different remains with the different, and their natures become converted into equals, while earlier they were simple, because the part is generative, it adds and contributes its virtue to the thin which is air

The rest of Chapter V deals with the four properties of heat, cold, dryness, and moisture

Chapter VI is entitled "On the Fixing of the Spirit "

Chapter VII is "On the Decoction, Grinding, and Washing of the Stone "

Chapter VIII is "On the Quantity of Fire and Its Advantage and Dis advantage " In this chapter Plato is quoted, as well as Hermes, who says to his father "Father, I fear the enemy in my dwelling," whereupon his father gives him detailed instructions about the ingredients to be used in producing fire of controlled heat

Chapter IX is "On the Separation of the Elements of the Stone " In it God is invoked and an alchemist named Garib is referred to

Chapter X is "On the Nature of the Stone and Its Origin " It reads

Take it [the stone] therefore and operate with it, as the philosopher has said in his book when he spoke of it thus Take a stone which is not a stone, that is neither a stone nor of the nature of a stone It is the stone whose

mineral is generated on the summit of mountains, and the philosopher wanted to say mountains for animals. He said: My son, go to the mountains of India, and to its caves, and take from them the honored stones which become liquified in water when they are mixed with it. And that water is, evidently, the one which is taken from other mountains and their caves. And they are, my son, stones and not stones, but we call them [stones] because of the similarity which they have to them. And know that the roots of the minerals themselves are in the air, and their head in the earth, and when they are plucked out of their places, a great shout (*rumor*) arises and can be heard, and hasten, my son, with them, because they quickly lose their effect (*evanescunt*).

In this description of "the stone that is not a stone" it is unmistakable that what Khālid had in mind was not so much a stone as a plant. The words "the roots of the minerals are in the air and their head in the earth" can refer only to plants, such as carrots or potatos, whose "heads," that is, tuberous roots, are in the earth, while their "roots," that is, their leafy branches, are "in the air," that is above ground. The added detail that when these plants are plucked out "a great shout arises," that is, they cry aloud, shows that the specific tuberous plant Khālid had in mind was none other than the mandrake (*mandragora officinarum*). The mandrake, whose roots often bear some resemblance to a human body, has attracted a great amount of folklore among various peoples, some of whom believed that when it is torn out of the earth it emits a horrifying shriek.[5] Josephus Flavius (first century C.E.), who describes such a mandrakelike plant, alludes to this feature when he says that "it is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands, nor will it yield itself to be taken quietly." Shakespeare refers to this belief repeatedly. In *Romeo and Juliet* he says, "Shrieks like mandrakes torn out of the earth, That living mortals, hearing them, run mad," and again in the second part of *Henry VI*, "Would curses kill as doeth the mandrake's groan?"[6]

The reason for trying to obtain the mandrake despite the dangers attendant to its uprooting was anchored in the belief in its quasi-miraculous beneficial properties: it could endow those who ate of it with the power of arousing sexual passion, and could make barren women fertile. This belief underlies the biblical story of Rachel and the mandrakes, and was shared by the ancient Greeks.[7] From these sources the folklore of the mandrake spread to many other peoples, including the Arabs. The Arab botanist and pharmacologist Ibn al-Bayṭār (twelfth to thirteenth centuries), a native of Spain who spent the second half of his life in the East, gave in his *Dictionary of Simple Medicaments and Nutriments* a description of the virtues of the mandrake: it is a remedy for all maladies caused by jinn, demons, and Satan; it cures lameness, cramp, epilepsy,

elephantiasis, insanity, and loss of memory, and affords protection against mishaps of all sorts, including theft and murder [8] This belief in the mandrake as the universal medicine may well have influenced Khālid in attributing mandrakelike features to the mysterious philosophers' stone to be sought in the mountains The additional detail that the plant stone is found not simply on a mountain, but in a cave in it, can also be traced back to ancient Jewish sources Josephus Flavius, in the passage quoted above, says that the root is found in "a certain place called Baaras, which produces a root of the same name " The name Baaras is puzzling, but it has been explained by Louis Ginzberg as an abridgement of *yavruha di-m'ara*, that is, "mandragora of the cave," Baaras being the Greek form of Hebrew *m'ara*, cave [9]

We have seen above that in medieval sources also, Maria the Jewess was said to have identified the philosophers' stone with a mysterious "white herb of the mountain "

Chapter XI is "On the Commingling of Separate Elements "

Chapter XII is "On the Dissolution of the Composite Stone "

Chapter XIII is "On the Coagulation of the Dissolved Stone " It describes the properties and uses of the philosophers' stone, quotes Jābir ibn Hayyān, and reads as follows

> Some of the sages said congeal it [the stone] in a bath very thoroughly, as I told you, and it is the sulphur luminous in darkness, and it is the red hyacinth, and the fiery and lethal poison, and it is the elixir, above which nothing remains, and the victorious maleficent lion, and the cutting sword, and the healing *tyriaca* [*theriaca*, theriac, antidote] which heals all infirmities And spoke Geber son of Hayen [Jābir ibn Hayyān] All the operations of this magisterium are contained under six things, which are *fugare* [to make fugacious], to melt, and to incerate, and to whiten as is marble, and to dissolve, and to congeal "To make fugacious" means to make the blackness fugacious and to remove it from the spirit and the soul "To incerate" is to liquefy the body and make it subtle "To whiten" is to melt the body quickly and properly "To congeal" is to congeal the body with the prepared soul Contrarywise, "to make fugacious" pertains to the spirit and the soul, and to melt and to whiten and to incerate and to dissolve pertain to the body, and to congeal pertains to the souls, and understand!

There are several points of interest in this chapter It identifies the philosophers' stone with the elixir and the theriac, the universal healing substance, but also with luminous sulphur and the "red hyacinth " Moreover, the stone is also a lethal poison, and a cutting sword The identification of the stone with the "victorious maleficent lion" is an unusual image as a rule the lion (frequently the "green lion") is an alternative of the unicorn, a metaphor for gold, and more often for mercury

The attribution of both good and evil qualities to the stone is a remarkable example of the coincidentia oppositorum in alchemy. (It is a pity that this text was unknown to Jung, or, in any case, not considered by him—he surely would have been able to make much of it in connection with his manifold interpretations of the philosophers' stone.)[10]

In Chapter XIV, entitled "That There Is Only One Stone, and of Its Nature," the author presents additional details about the wonderful philosophers' stone:

> Said Bauzan, the Greek philosopher,[11] when they questioned him: Is it true that anything sprouting can become a stone? He said thus: Certainly there are two prime stones, the alkali stone and our stone, which is the life of him who knows it and its making. And he who does not know and does not make it and is not aware of how it is born, either considers the stone or, because he does not comprehend above all what I said of the mode of this stone, already appears to have died and to have lost his money. Because, unless he found this honored stone, no other will emerge in its place, and the natures will not be victorious over it. Its nature is much warmth in due proportion. Therefore he who knows it has already taught it, and he who does not know it has not taught it.
>
> Truly, it has many qualities and virtues. For it cleanses the bodies of contracted accidental illnesses, and conserves the healthful substances, so that they do not appear, nor are seen, in their disorders of opposites, nor escaping their chains. This therefore is the soap [cleanser] of the bodies and their spirit and their soul: when it is mixed with them, it dissolves them without detriment. This is the life of the dead and the resurrection, the medicine which preserves the body and purges it of superfluities. And he who knows it knows, and he who does not know, knows not. For its performance does not augment its price, nor is it acquired by sale or purchase. Understand its virtue, value, and honor, and how to operate. And said a certain sage: This magisterium is not given to you by God solely because of your boldness, fortitude, and eagerness, without much work. But men work, and God bestows fortune upon men. Worship, therefore, God the creator, who was willing to grant you so much favor of his blessed works.

In Chapter XV, entitled "The Manner of Operating with the Stone for Whitening," the author describes how the stone can and should be used for transmuting base metals into silver, but does it in a manner that leaves much essential information purposely unstated:

> If therefore you want to make this honored magisterium, take the honored stone, and put it in a cucurbit, and cover with an alembic, and seal it well with philosophers' clay, and let it dry. When you do this, whenever you seal it with philosophers' clay, thereafter leave it in the hottest dung; then distill

it, and put it under the receptor in which the water is distilled, and leave it thus until all the water is distilled, and the humidity dried up, and it drinks the dryness above it Then take it out dry, and preserve the water which has been distilled out of it, as long as you deem it necessary Then take the dry body which has remained in the bottom of the cucurbit, and grind it, and put it in a *chalcosolario* [brass] vessel, whose quantity should be according to the quantity of the medicine, and bury it in moist horse manure, extremely hot, as much as possible, and seal that vessel well with pestels and philosophers' clay, and thus leave it there And if you notice that the dung is about to become cold, prepare other very hot dung, and put the said vessel into it Do thus with it for forty days, renewing the warm dung often, as is necessary, and let the medicine dissolve in it, and let it become thick white water

And when you see it thus, know its weight, and add to it half of the weight of the water which you have previously preserved, and then seal that vessel with philosophers' clay, and again put it into warm horse manure because in it is the humidity and the heat And do not omit (as we have said before) to renew the manure when it begins to cool, until the forty days are completed Because then the medicine is congealed in the same number of days in which it finished being dissolved at first Thereafter take it, and you will know its weight correctly, and take the same quantity of the water which at first you fashioned, and grind the body and the fine matter, and put the water over it And again put it in warm horse manure for one week and a half, or for ten days, and then take it out and you will find that the body has already drunk the water Then grind it, and put on it that water in the stated amount And bury it in the manure, and leave it there for another ten days And then extract it, and you will find that body which has already drunk the water Then grind it as at first, and put upon it and the said water together the aforesaid quantity, and again bury it in the above mentioned manure, and leave it there for ten days, and then take it out And do thus four times, then, after the fourth has been completed, take it out and grind it, and sublimate it in the manure, until it dissolves Then take it out, and repeat this once more, because then its origin will be perfect, and already its preparation will be complete Then, in truth, when it has become thus, and you have brought, O brother, the matter to this honored state, take 250 drachmas of lead or tin, and melt it Then, when it has become liquified, throw upon it one drachma of cinnabar, that is, of this medicine which you have brought to this honored state and to this high order, and let that tin or lead be retained lest it fly away from the fire, and it will whiten it, and will extract its detriment from it, and its blackness, and convert it into a perpetual permanent tincture Then take one drachma of those 250, and throw it upon 250 [drachmas] of tin, or brass, or copper, and it will convert it into silver better than the mineral one, and this is the best you can do, and the ultimate, if God wills

Chapter XVI, the last chapter, is entitled "The Conversion of the Aforesaid Stone in Red." It reads:

> If you want to convert this magisterium into gold, take of this medicine, which (as I have said) you have brought to this honored status and to this high order, one drachma in weight, and [do] this according to the manner of the example which I told you above. And put it in a brass vessel, and bury it in horse manure for forty days so that it should dissolve. Then give it to drink the water of the dissolved body, first a quantity which is half of its weight, then, when it has congealed, bury it in very hot manure as said before. Then in turn do in this chapter of gold as you did above in the chapter of silver. And it will be gold, and can be worked as gold, if God wills. Preserve, O Son, this most secret book, and put not the secret of secrets of God in the hands of the ignorant. Thus you will achieve what you want. Amen.

On this pious note ends the *Book of the Secrets of the Art*, which, quite apart from the question of its authorship, is one of the important alchemical treatises of the Middle Ages. It presents the gist of alchemical theory and practice in a clearer and more understandable language than most other treatises of the age, which undoubtedly contributed to its popularity once it was translated into Latin.

PART FOUR

The Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries

Introduction to Part Four

THE ELEVENTH to thirteenth centuries were the golden age of Arab culture in general and of Arab alchemy in particular. Ibn Sīnā and al-Rāzī, both of whom we met in the preceding part, were but two of a galaxy of great and creative minds who enriched the Arab world, and through it the intellectual history of man. Since it would lead us beyond the limits of our subject to speak even of the most outstanding of them, I want to mention only a single development which makes tangible the importance of alchemy in the intellectual climate of the age. By the eleventh century the popularity of alchemy created a counter-movement of opinion denying its value and even its reality: Ibn Sīnā himself was willing to recognize only that the alchemists were able to produce something that had external resemblance to the precious metals. In the person of Ḥusayn ʿAlī al-Ṭughrā'ī (d. 1121?) alchemy found a spirited and able defender. In his *Kitāb Ḥaqā'iq al-Istishhād fi al-Kīmiyā* (Book of the Truths of Evidence in Alchemy), written in 1112, Al-Ṭughrā'ī argues that alchemy does not create an absolutely new *faṣl* (*differentia specifica*), but merely prepares matter to take in the *faṣl* granted to it by the Creator. This argument took the wind out of the sails of the orthodox theologians, but by no means put an end to the Muslim polemic about alchemy, which continued into the fourteenth century and in which Ibn Khaldūn joined the anti-alchemist side.

Almost nothing of these storms reverberates in the few passages referring to alchemy contained in the writings of the leading Jewish thinkers of the period. Baḥya ibn Paquda seems to have believed unquestioningly that alchemists can produce gold. Judah Halevi denied the validity of alchemical experiments. Abraham Ibn Ezra believed that the production of drinkable gold was possible, and that there existed a substance which causes gold to be burnt and become black. Judah ben Solomon believed that gold matures gradually in the bosom of the earth out of base metals, but denied the ability of alchemists to duplicate that process in their laboratories. Each of these views is an individual opinion with nothing in common among them, and it is difficult to gauge whether they represent reactions to the strongly held and defended competing views of the Muslim alchemists of the period.

As for the Jewish kabbalistic thinkers of the thirteenth and subsequent centuries, among whom Moses de Leon has the pride of place, they were much more interested in the confirmation they thought they could find in alchemy for the kabbalistic mysteries they discovered in the

universe, and in the seemingly limitless possibilities of *gematria* calculations, than in scrutinizing the feasibility of alchemical operations. When, during the Renaissance, the Kabbalah reached the Christian world, it was in these aspects of the strange Jewish mysticism that the Christians found immediate interest, while their own alchemy was slower to penetrate the Jewish kabbalistic spiritual strongholds.

In the introduction to Part Three it was mentioned that the master from whom Ibn Sīnā acquired his alchemical expertise was a Jewish alchemist by the name of Jacob the Jew. Two centuries later we hear of the first Jewish alchemist who taught the Great Art to a Christian scholar. He was Jacobus Aranicus, of whom practically nothing is known, except that he lived in France and was the teacher of Vincent de Beauvais (d. 1264), one of the most celebrated scholars and alchemists of medieval Christian Europe.[1] As we shall see in Chapter 15, by the fourteenth century Jewish alchemists were recognized in the Christian world as masters and authorities whom the Christians sought out when they wished to be initiated into the secrets of the Great Art. Although the available data are too scanty to serve as a basis for any generalization, still there is in them some indication that Jewish alchemists were the teachers of both Muslim and Christian alchemists in the Middle Ages, just as they had been of Hellenistic alchemists in antiquity.

The thirteenth century is notable in the history of Jewish alchemy for one more reason. It is the last century in which all the Jewish alchemists lived in a Muslim environment, although they by no means ceased to write in Arabic, occasionally at least, for several centuries thereafter. In the thirteenth century Jewish alchemists make their first appearance in the Christian world, and thereafter the center of gravity of Jewish alchemy gradually shifted to the West.

Chapter Ten

ARTEPHIUS

ARTEPHIUS, who lived in the twelfth century, was one of the most famous and most respected medieval alchemists. His works are included in the standard alchemical collections, such as the *Theatrum chemicum* and Manget's *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*, and have been translated into French and German beginning with the early seventeenth century. In 1832 Karl Christoph Schmieder, one of the earliest historians of alchemy, listed them and summarized their contents in his *Geschichte der Alchemie.*[1]

One factor that materially contributed to Artephius's fame was his claim, put forward in his book *Tractatus de vita proroganda* (Tractate about the Prolongation of Life), that with the help of his secret tincture, which he used as a medicament, he had reached the age of 1025 years by the time he embarked on writing this book. Schmieder, after mentioning this detail, adds: "A great word!! No other champion of the panacea had gone this far. This audacity should deprive the adept and inventor of all credit. However, the party of the moderates considers this treatise a counterfeit and falsely attributed to him. This could be the reason why it was never printed and is found only in manuscripts."[2]

Bernard Suler's learned article "Alchemy" in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, published in Jerusalem in 1972, states that

> Artephius, the great alchemist of the twelfth century, "before whom there lived no other expert equal to him," was, according to the author of *Keren ha-Pukh* [*Keren Happuch*], a baptized Jew. He is said to have brought the creation of the philosopher's stone to perfection. He wrote three books on alchemy "whose importance is invaluable." . . . Some scholars believe that Artephius was an Arab. However, the fact that he did not write anything in Arabic (all his works were written in Latin), seems to belie this contention.

Suler's source, not easy to trace, was a small pamphlet of forty-two pages, with a preface dated Arnheim, 1700,[3] and an introductory part in which the author recapitulates the well-known biblical pseudo-prehistory of alchemy, with due mention of Adam, Moses, David, Solomon. Then comes the body of the treatise, which consists of a numbered sequence of brief paragraphs, each offering the author's opinion on an alchemist of past ages: Isis "regina Aegypti," Ostanes, Zosimus, Democritus, Virgilius, Papias, Morienus, and so on. No. 19 reads: "Artephius

is supposed to have been a converted Jew. In his still extant treatise he is so explicit and clear that he would properly be liked and valued by everybody. What is stated about his great age is rightly doubted, yet his writings remain incomparable."[4]

An expression such as "is supposed to have been a converted Jew" shows nothing more than that there was a rumor to that effect, and cannot be taken as proof positive. Similar uncertainty appears in other sources. In the great four-volume *Bibliotheca Hebraea* published in Hamburg in 1715–1733, the Christian Hebraist and bibliographer Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739) presents a list of all the Hebrew books which he either saw himself or found mentioned in other bibliographies. In it the following item appears: "Artephius, pro ex Judaeo venditatur in libro vernaculo. *Fegfeuer der Chymisten* p. 12 ibique scriptio ejus Chymica, satis nota, a perspicuitate laudatur & incomparabilis appellatur, vita vero ejus longior in dubium vocatur (Artephius is praised as an ex-Jew in the vernacular book Purgatory of the Alchemists, p. 12, and in the same place his alchemical writing, sufficiently known, is praised for its clarity and called incomparable; his life, however, has long been called in question."[5]

A still earlier source is the great *Theatrum chemicum*, in which the following prefatori remark introduces Artefius's (spelled thus) *Liber qui clavis majoris sapientiae dicitur* (The Book Called the Key of Major Wisdom): "It is not sufficiently agreed, however, who this Artefius was. Somebody thinks that he was a Jew; about him there are certain things in Roger Bacon and Cardan: of how much erudition, morever, this book will be able to demonstrate, in which there are some things beyond credibility; I should like to persuade you that they are enigmas; those things which, indeed, are clearly physical have been woven together with marvelous skill."[6] Although these statements do not prove that Artephius was Jewish, or a converted Jew, they at least indicate that in the early seventeenth century (or perhaps even earlier) he was rumored to have been one.

On the other hand, Artephius is frequently identified as an Arab. The title of his earliest printed book reads: *Artefii Arabis liber secretus artis occultae* (The Secret Book of the Occult Art of Artefius the Arab). In the late eighteenth century, Gmelin wrote that the disciples of Artephius considered him a descendant of Arabs.[7] In 1870, M. Chevreul inclined to the view that Artephius was of Arab origin.[8] In 1876, a German scholar, Gildemeister, identified Artephius with the Arab poet and alchemist al-Ṭughrā'ī, who was put to death about 1119–1120 or 1121–1122.[9]

On the other hand, Schmieder argued in 1832 that Artephius "was not an Arab, as some want to suppose; nor is it proven that he descended

from Arab parents. He wrote only in Latin. . . . He quotes Adfar often, and is himself quoted by Roger Bacon; for which reason one can place him between the two, that is, in the year 1150."[10] Several other historians of alchemy speak of Artephius without mentioning any theory or assumption as to his descent.

It is interesting that Artephius was not at all consistent in the interpretation of alchemical terminology. He explains, for example, the frequently used term *laton* as gold (par. 1), and as "the body compounded of sol [gold] and luna [silver] by our first water" (par. 15). He gives his own interpretation to the *balneum Mariae* (*bain Marie*) as "our fiery and sulphureous water" (par. 31). In another passage (par. 6) he gives a variant interpretation of *balneum Mariae*. *Azoth* for him is "our water, which can take from the perfect bodies of sol and luna their natural color, making the red body white[11] (par. 32). Following the restrictions enunciated by Maria the Jewess, who wished to reserve alchemical knowledge to the Jews, Artephius states that he is willing to reveal everything one needs to know in order to perfect the philosophers' stone "excepting one certain thing which is not lawful for me to discover to any, because it is either revealed or made known by God himself" (par. 30). As against the mystifying references to the "great arcanum, viz. a water of saturnine antimony, mercurial and white" (par. 2), he states explicitly that this water "brings back bodies to their first original of sulphur and mercury, [so] that of them we may afterwards in a little time, in less than an hour's time, do that above ground which nature was a thousand years doing underground, in the mines of the earth, which is a work almost miraculous" (par. 10). However, the "ultimate or highest secret is, by this water, to make bodies volatile, spiritual, and a tincture, or tinging water which may have ingress or entrance into bodies, for it makes bodies to be merely spirit[11] (par. 11). Nor was sexual imagery foreign to Artephius, as can be seen from this statement of his: "Between the body and the [philosophers'] water there is a desire and friendship, like as between the male and the female, because of the propinquity and likeness of their natures" (par. 14).

Chapter Eleven

THE GREAT JEWISH PHILOSOPHERS

THE ELEVENTH, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries were the great age of medieval Jewish philosophy. After a deep sleep of several centuries following Philo of Alexandria, Jewish philosophy awakened to new life under the impact of Arab philosophy, which in turn, was the child of Greek philosophy made available in Arabic translations.[1] The writings of several of the great medieval Jewish philosophers show that they were familiar with alchemy, that they were willing to go along with its theories, and that they accepted the alchemists' claims of being able to transmute base metals into precious ones. In addition, statements made by some Jewish philosophers about alchemy and alchemists give us an insight into the social position occupied by alchemists, their way of life, and the benefits and dangers of their work.

In this chapter we shall discuss briefly what four outstanding medieval Jewish philosophers had to say about alchemy and what we can learn from their statements about the place of alchemy in their society. As we shall see, nowhere do the authors state that the alchemists they speak about were Jews. But given the close participation of the Jews of Muslim and Christian Spain and of other Mediterranean countries in the social and intellectual life of their non-Jewish environment, and data culled from other sources, we can take it for granted that when our authors wrote about alchemists their observations applied to both non-Jewish and Jewish adepts.

BAḤYA IBN PAQUDA

Baḥya ibn Paquda was a Jewish religious philosopher who lived in the second half of the eleventh century in Muslim Spain, probably in Saragossa. He wrote his major work, *Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā Farā'id al-Qulāb* (Book of Guidance to the Duties of the Hearts) in Arabic, about 1080.[2] It was translated into Hebrew in 1161 by Judah ibn Tibbon under the title *Ḥovot haL'vavot* (Duties of the Hearts), became popular, and had a profound influence on all subsequent Jewish moralistic-ethical literature. Although the book evinces strong Muslim-Arab, Neoplatonic, and possibly also Hermetic influences, it remains an essentially Jewish book. Its purpose is to lead the reader to a spiritual perfection in strict accordance with the teachings of Jewish religion. In modern times it has

been translated into the major European languages as well as into Yiddish Although a fine English translation is available (it was done by M Hyamson and published in 1962), I have given the excerpt below in my own translation (based on Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew version to which the book owes its popularity), to make sure that all the nuances of its typical medieval style are reproduced exactly

In its chapter 4, titled "On Trusting in God, Blessed be He," Bahya compares the advantages accruing to him who puts his trust in God with those acquired by a master alchemist who can make gold He concludes, as could be expected, that trust in God is a much more valuable attain ment than alchemical mastery, and in the course of comparing the two achievements paints a rather dismal picture of the worries and dangers to which the alchemist is constantly exposed

However, what is more interesting for us in the present context is that of all the possible careers open to talented individuals (including Jews) in eleventh-century Muslim Spain, which included such positions as that of statesman, army commander, physician, poet, philosopher, astronomer, geometrist, cartographer, architect, and the like, Bahya should have selected that of the alchemist to compare with the values inherent in the trust in God It is possible that among the Jewish intellectual elite of Muslim Spain, the work and the social position of the alchemist were considered the most appealing and rewarding, so that when Bahya searched for a foil against which to offset the supreme good man could derive from trusting God, he selected the career of the alchemist By so doing, he was saying in effect, "You believe that the supreme good one can attain in this world is to be a master alchemist, lo, I shall show you that even that is a paltry thing compared to the benefits one can derive from trusting God " He marshals ten arguments, each of them interspersed with many biblical quotations which are not included in the following Bahya begins by saying that he who puts his trust in God

> will in the quietness of his soul and the breadth of his heart and the small ness of his worries about his affairs be like the master of alchemy, that is, a man who can transmute silver into gold, and copper and tin into silver, through wisdom and deed However, he who trusts in God will have the advantage over him [the alchemist] in ten things
>
> The first of them is that the master of alchemy needs special things for this work and cannot complete anything without them, and cannot find them every time and in every place
>
> *Second, the master of alchemy needs acts and works without which he* cannot obtain that which he desires, and it can happen that the smell and smoke will kill him due to the constant work and length of the effort he devotes to them night and day

Third, the master of alchemy does not entrust his secret to anybody else for he fears for his life. . . .

Fourth, the master of alchemy cannot escape from ordering much gold and silver to have ready in time of need; or he will order nothing of them but only as much as is sufficient for a short time. And if he orders much of it, he will live in fear for his life all his days lest some of it get lost, and his heart will never be tranquil and his soul will not rest, because of his fear of the king and the people; and if he orders of them only as much as is required to fill his need for a short time it can happen that he will be unable to accomplish the work at the time when his need will be great, because one of the factors will be withheld from him. . . .

Fifth, the master of alchemy always trembles because of his work for fear of the king [and] down to the smallest of the people. . . .

Sixth, the master of alchemy is never safe from illnesses and pains which are mixed in with his joy and richness, and these never let him enjoy what he has, nor to take pleasure in what his hands have achieved. . . .

Seventh, the master of alchemy risks not to be able to obtain his food with all the gold and silver he possesses, because food may not be available in his city in certain times. . . .

Eighth, the master of alchemy does not tarry in any place for fear lest his secret be discovered. . . .

Ninth, the master of alchemy is not accompanied by his alchemy at the end of his life, and he achieves through it nothing but security from poverty and human need. . . .

Tenth, the master of alchemy, if he knows his work, it will be the cause of his death, because that which he endeavors to achieve is the opposite of the way of the world, and the leadership [i.e., the king and the government] will send somebody to kill him when he can no longer hide his secret.

A number of interesting things emerge from this portrait of the alchemist. First of all it becomes clear that Baḥya believed in the ability of the alchemists to transmute base metals into precious ones. Second, he knew that alchemical experimentation can be dangerous, and that the smoke and smell produced by it can cause serious illnesses and pain to the alchemist, and can even kill him. From the third, fourth, and fifth points we can conclude that Baḥya's alchemist acquaintances were secretive and feared for their life. The fourth point also informs us that the alchemists known to Baḥya used gold and silver in their work, probably for operations to "multiply" these precious metals by increasing their bulk or weight with the addition of base metals. From point eight we can conclude that the alchemists frequently moved from place to place. And, finally, point ten seems to indicate that the life of alchemists was

frequently in danger from the powerful of the society in which they worked. Although Baḥya undoubtedly exaggerates each of the features he describes—he does so in order to give more weight to his argument that piety was a better way of life than the practice of alchemy—there must have been at least some truth to each of his points.

JUDA HALEVI

Information on the position of medieval Jewish thinkers on alchemy can be gleaned from Judah Halevi's *Book of the Kuzari*. Judah Halevi (before 1075–1141) was born in Tudela, or possibly in Toledo, lived most of his life in Spain, practiced medicine, apparently in the service of the king and his nobles in Toledo, and in 1140 set out for Palestine, but after reaching Egypt he remained there for several months until he died. Considered the greatest medieval Hebrew poet, Halevi wrote love poems, poems of eulogy and lament, *piyyuṭim* (liturgical poems), and songs of Zion which express his longing for Ereṣ Israel. He wrote one philosophical work, the *Kuzari*, on which he worked for some twenty years and which he completed shortly before he set out on his voyage for Palestine.

The frame-story of the *Kuzari* is this: The king of the Khazars (the Kuzari) is induced by a dream to discover what proper conduct is, and invites first an Aristotelian philosopher and then representatives of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism to learn of their respective beliefs. In the course of the discussion the king has with the Jewish scholar, the latter has an opportunity to present a detailed picture of Jewish religion, history, beliefs, and worldview, and to offer a Jewish polemic against Aristotle, Christianity, and Islam. The rabbi also argues that all science originated with the Jews, and that other nations can approach God only through the intermediacy of Israel, since the prophetic faculty is hereditary and unique to the people of Israel. At the end the Kuzari is convinced, and converts to Judaism.

The rabbi is, of course, a mask of Judah Halevi himself, and from his words we learn what Halevi considered the beliefs and tenets of Judaism. In addition, they reveal what he knew and believed about various issues that were of importance in the intellectual environment in which he lived. One of these was alchemy, and it is of interest in our present context to examine what this exponent of Jewish philosophical thinking of his times has to say on the subject.

Two passages in the *Kuzari* deal with alchemy. In the first the rabbi explains to the king that the species of plants and animals are developed

> according to the proportion of heat and cold, moisture and dryness. . . . We are unable to determine these proportions, and could we do it, we

> might produce blood or milk, etc , from liquids mixed according to our calculations We might eventually create living beings endowed with the spirit of life Or we might produce a substitute for bread from ingredients that have no nourishing powers, simply by mixing the right proportions of heat and cold, moisture and dryness, and particularly if we knew the spherical constellations and their influences which, in the opinion of astrologers, assist in bringing forth anything that is desired in this world We have seen, however, that all alchemists and necromancers who have tried those things have been put to shame Do not raise the objection that these people are able to produce animals and living beings, as bees from flesh, and gnats from wine These are not the consequence of their calculations and agency, but of experiments

In the second passage the rabbi explains that "the alchemists and necromancers" are in error

> The former thought, indeed, that they could weigh the elementary fire on their scales, and produce what they wished, and thus alter the nature of materials as is done in living beings by natural heat which transforms food into blood, flesh, bone, and organs They toil to discover a fire of the same kind, but are misled by accidental results of their experiments, not based on calculation, just in the same manner as the discovery was made that from the planting of seed within the womb man arises [3]

The first thing we learn from these passages is that Judah Halevi believed, together with his contemporary scholars and philosophers, that a precise knowledge of the four Aristotelian qualities of heat and cold, moisture and dryness, would enable the experimenter to produce any substance and even life forms Second, we learn that he also believed that an essential ingredient in the proper proportion of substances and living beings was the influence of "the spherical constellations " Third, he believed that the alchemists and necromancers did not succeed in their efforts in this field, because their calculations were inadequate, but they did succeed in producing some living beings by experiments that by chance led to results

From the second passage we learn that Judah Halevi believed that it was "natural heat" that transformed food into the bodies of living beings The alchemists thought, he reports, that by weighing the elementary fire on their scales—by which he probably refers to an accurate method of controlling the heat of fire—they could likewise alter the nature of materials However, he states, the alchemists are in error, and whatever they do achieve by their experiments is due not to calculation but to mere accident

Thus Judah Halevi went along with the general views of his time and

place on the nature and composition of substances and of the bodies of living beings, and believed that by lucky chance experimenters can produce results that duplicate that which the influence of the constellations and of elementary fire creates in this world. However, he denied the value of these chance outcomes of experiments—a position similar to that of modern science, which insists that experiments must be capable of being duplicated and repeated. Most interesting, however, from the point of view of the history of alchemy is that from his references it appears that alchemists in his time were not concerned with the possibility of transmuting base metals into gold and finding the mysterious philosophers' stone—he makes no mention of these things—but concentrated on using the power of fire to create living beings.

Abraham ibn Ezra

A younger contemporary of Baḥya ibn Paquda was Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164), one of the greatest figures of Spanish Jewry. Born in Toledo, Ibn Ezra spent the first fifty years of his life in Spain, although he may have paid extended visits to various North African Jewish centers during those years. The last twenty-five years of his life he spent wandering in Italy and France. Despite his unsettled life, Ibn Ezra's literary output was nothing short of phenomenal. He was a great Hebrew poet, wrote several philosophical works, was an important Hebrew grammarian, the author of numerous books on astrology, astronomy, and mathematics, and, last but not least, an outstanding biblical commentator. Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Bible retained its value through the ages. In the *Miqraot G'dolot*, a valuable and popular edition of the Bible with thirty-two commentaries published in Warsaw in 1860, it is given a place of honor: the sacred text is flanked by Rashi's commentary on one side, and by Ibn Ezra's on the other.

Two brief comments in Ibn Ezra's biblical commentary touch upon alchemical matters. The first is his explanation of the personal name Mē-Zahav (Gen. 36:39), the name of the grandfather (or grandmother) of Mehetabel, the wife of Hadar, king of Edom. The literal translation of Mē-Zahav is "water of gold," and Ibn Ezra comments, "This is his name, and the Gaon said, refiner of gold, and others said, a hint at those who make gold out of copper, but these are *divrē ruaḥ* [words of wind, that is, empty words]."[4]

This comment of Ibn Ezra can be interpreted as meaning that he did not believe in the possibility of transmuting copper into gold, but it can also mean that he considered baseless the explanation of the name Mē-Zahav as meaning "refiner of gold," or as hinting at those who made gold out of copper.

The second comment relating to gold shows that he was both acquainted with, and believed in, the alchemical manipulation of gold. It is appended to Exodus 32:20, which states that after Moses came down from Mount Sinai and saw the Children of Israel worshiping the golden calf, "he took the calf which they had made, and burned it in fire, and ground it until it became fine, and scattered it upon the face of the water, and made the Children of Israel drink it." Ibn Ezra explains: "Some say that Moses burned it means that he melted it down in fire. But this [explanation] is unnecessary, for there is a substance which, if put into the fire with the gold, the gold is instantly burned and becomes black, and will never again become gold. And this is proven and true." This biblical passage has become the locus classicus for medieval alchemists who wanted to prove that their quest for aurum potabile, drinkable gold, which they considered a form of the elixir, was within the realm of the possible, for behold, Moses did produce a liquid gold or a gold liquid which he gave the Children of Israel to drink.

Judah ben Solomon

An early thirteenth-century Jewish philosopher who showed interest in alchemy, was Judah ben Solomon haKohen ibn Matka. Born in Toledo, Judah became a disciple of Meir Abulafia, and in 1245 wrote in Arabic an encyclopedic work on logic, physics, metaphysics, psychology, geometry, astronomy, and other topics, based primarily on Greek authors. He also wrote several other books, some of which he himself translated into Hebrew. He was a highly respected scholar, was recognized as such by the gentiles as well, and corresponded with Frederick II (1194–1250), the Holy Roman Emperor, who was a man with considerable scientific interest.

Judah believed, together with all the alchemists of the Middle Ages, that gold developed in nature, slowly, out of base metals. But this is how far he went in accepting the claims of alchemists. After a discussion with a non-Jew, he remarked:

> Research is not the main thing, but the act. Of what use is their wisdom to the wise? Does one not find among them more bad mores and deception than among all the fools? For they use their wisdom only for images [*ṣ'lamim*], or for sensual gratification [*ḥesheq*], or for the pretense or fabrication of gold which they call "the Great Art," but in which they will never succeed, because it is impossible. It is about such vain words that Solomon said (Prov. 29:3), "He that keepeth company with harlots wasteth his substance."[5]

This brief passage shows that some medieval Jewish scholars who were acquainted with alchemical theory and went along with it drew the line when it came to the alchemists' claim that they were able to transmute base metals into gold. As for Judah's pronouncement that the alchemists would never succeed in fabricating gold, it gives the impression that it must have been preceded by some actual observation of alchemists at work or by a discussion of the issue with knowledgeable people.

Chapter Twelve

KABBALAH AND ALCHEMY: A RECONSIDERATION

IN THE FOURTEENTH century, when the Kabbalah emerged as a powerful factor in Jewish religious life, alchemy had been entrenched in the Muslim world for centuries, and could look back upon a history of several generations in Christian Europe. The Jews, who up to that time were actively involved with secular culture primarily in the Muslim countries, participated, as could be expected, in the alchemical work practiced there, and translated into Hebrew several alchemical treatises which were either written originally in Arabic or were Arabic reworkings of Greek originals. In some cases such treatises survived only in their Hebrew versions, so that, occasionally at least, the Jewish alchemists saved originally non-Jewish alchemical writings for posterity.

We have no way of knowing how many of the Jewish authors who became followers of the Kabbalah had a previous familiarity with alchemy. Inasmuch as Sephardi authors and scholars in general were acquainted with the arts and sciences of their Muslim, and later Christian, environment, it is likely that all of them knew of the theories and practices of alchemy, and most of them accepted if not the feasibility of transmuting base metals into gold at least the alchemical theory of their gradual ripening into gold in the earth. This theory was easily reconcilable with biblical teachings and, in fact, was shown to harmonize with biblical passages.

Given these antecedents, it was practically inevitable that those Jewish scholars who fell under the sway of kabbalism should utilize alchemical theories that readily lent themselves to a mystical interpretation (or reinterpretation), and thus were felt to be grist to the mill of kabbalistic thinking. Where the alchemists spoke of the gradual transformation of the metals in the bosom of the earth, until, in the course of time, they matured and reached the ripe stage of the perfect metal, gold, the Kabbalists understood this to be a "great mystery," a hidden process taking place under the influence of mysterious supernal powers. When the alchemists spoke of gold as "sun," and of silver as "moon," the Kabbalists sensed in this a reference to the mysterious influences emanating from the supernal realm and exerting an effect on the likewise mysterious spiritual essence contained in earthly substances. In the kabbalistic refer-

ences to alchemical ideas there is a surfeit of "mysteries" or "secrets" (the Hebrew *sod* and Aramaic *raza* mean both), and by inserting this term frequently into their comments touching upon alchemical matters they gave the latter a theosophical coloration, and fitted them into the complex kabbalistic imagery of a mystical-spiritual universe. At the end of this chapter, in discussing the writings of Moses de Leon, we shall present examples to support this generalization.

There was, moreover, a certain a priori affinity between the world view of alchemy and that of the Kabbalah. The alchemist considered all existing things, whether mineral, vegetable, animal, or human, as containing a basically identical essence—this is emphasized in every study discussing alchemy—and an almost identical doctrine underlay kabbalistic thought. One kabbalistic manifestation of this idea was the belief in metempsychosis, the transmigration of souls, which assumed that one and the same soul (i.e., spiritual essence) could inhabit in turn a human being, an animal, or a plant, and move from one such body into another. For people habituated to believe in this doctrine there was nothing strange in the idea that lead, copper, silver, gold, and so on were essentially the same, and were but disparate forms containing the same metallic "soul."

The alchemists, building on concepts of ancient Greek philosophers such as Empedocles and Aristotle, postulated four "elements"—fire, water, air, and earth—indwelling all the existing substances, each in a specific proportion of its own. In this again there was nothing extraordinary for the Kabbalists, who readily adopted and spiritualized the idea by the simple expedient of pronouncing it "a supernal mystery."[1] By the same mental process, the Kabbalah spiritualized the other basic alchemical idea, that there were four qualities—heat, cold, dryness, and moisture—which too had their share in the formation of every existing thing. Of course, they pronounced this too a great mystery.

An original contribution of the Kabbalah to this alchemical world view was the mystical theory that there was a dichotomy, or duplication, between the two worlds of the Above and the Below, that there were mutual influences emanating from each of the two, and that not only did powers from the Above, such as the power of the (spiritualized) sun, bring about a ripening into gold of the metals down here Below (as alchemy taught), but also human acts down here could produce major changes in the Above—as, for example, when King David brought about the "perfection" of the moon.[2] Thus for kabbalistic alchemy there was not only a "mystery of the seven metals," but also a "mystery of the supernal and the lower silver and gold"[3] and a rich array of other such discoveries of mysteries in the physical realm.

Although the influence of alchemy on the Kabbalah was confined to such theoretical considerations, and to a contribution of certain concepts that the Kabbalists were able to add to their storehouse of "mysteries," the flow of influence in the reverse direction was stronger. From the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on, the Kabbalah attracted the attention of Christian scholars of the ilk of Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), Pietro Galatinus (1460–1540), and Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), whose writings made the doctrines and methods of the Kabbalah accessible to Christian alchemists. Foremost among them was the Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (ca. 1465–1532), who translated, or sponsored the translation of, extracts from the Zohar and various esoteric tracts (such as the *Ginnat Egoz, Raziel*, etc.), and composed a treatise on the ten sefirot, the ten stages of emanations that form the realm of God's manifestation in His various attributes.[4] As Hermann Sprengel observed, "Theosophical ideas received a significant impetus from the spread of the Kabbalah, or the Oriental system of emanations, presented by scholarly Jews with even more cunning [!], and interlaced with related fancies of the Neo-Platonics."[5] The Christian alchemists pounced upon certain doctrines that they found in the kabbalistic literature, and that they felt had important alchemical implications. One of those doctrines was that of the kabbalistic sefirot, which they forthwith proceeded to interpret alchemically; the other the so-called *gematria*, the kabbalistic method of interpreting biblical (and other) words by calculating the numerical value of the letters (consonants) contained in them, which the Christian alchemists adopted for use in their work.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the connection between the kabbalistic doctrines in general and the kabbalistic sefirot in particular was established. Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535) in his *De incertitudine* mentions that "the learned Jews attribute the number thirty-two to Wisdom, for so many are the ways of Wisdom described by Abraham."[6] In his *De occulta philosophia* (published 1533; III, ch. 10) Agrippa discusses the Kabbalah along with alchemy and astrology, refers Saturn to the sefira of Binah (Intelligence), Jupiter to Ḥesed (Mercy), Mars to Gevurah (Power), the Sun to Tif'eret (Beauty), Venus to Neṣaḥ (Lasting Endurance), Mercury to Hod (Majesty), and the Moon to Yesod (Foundation). In another part of his book (I, chs. 23–29), Agrippa fully develops the correspondence between the planets and the metals. This book was written prior to 1510, since it is prefaced by a letter written by the Abbot Trithemius dated 1510. Soon after its publication the relationship between the metals and the kabbalistic sefirot came to be presented in the *Esh M'ṣaref* (The Refiner's Fire), written in Hebrew or Aramaic by a Jewish author who codified in it the correspondence between the ten kabbalistic sefirot and the seven metals. Chapter

26 will present the full text of the *Esh M'ṣaref* together with a discussion of its alchemical ideas.

Gematria (pl. *gematriyot*; from the Greek *grammateion*) was introduced into talmudic hermeneutics from ancient Near Eastern Gnostic and Hellenistic cultures to serve as a basis for midrashic interpretations of biblical words and passages, and to attribute to or derive from them totally extraneous meanings. Its use became widespread in the post-talmudic age, in midrashim and rabbinic literature. The gematriyot are based on the fact that each of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet has, in addition to its phonemic value, also a numerical value (alef = 1, bet = 2, . . . yod = 10, kaf = 20, . . . qof = 100, resh = 200, shin = 300, and tav = 400). In traditional Hebrew literature, down to the twentieth century, no other numerical notation was used. Numbers of chapters and of pages, measurements, amounts, years, and days of the month, and so on, were always written in letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Thus, for instance, the famous 613 commandments the rabbis counted in the Torah were always referred to as the *TaRYaG miṣvot* (tav = 400, resh = 200, yod = 10, and gimel = 3; the vowels do not count).

This method opened up almost unlimited possibilities of biblical interpretation. For instance, Rashi (1040–1105), the greatest of biblical commentators, explains that when Jacob said "I have sojourned with Laban" (Gen. 32:5), what he intended to convey was that "even though I sojourned with evil Laban, I observed the 613 commandments," which Rashi derives from the gematria of the letters of the word GaRTY (*garti*, "I sojourned"): G = 3 + R = 200 + T = 400 + Y = 10 = 613.

It was in kabbalistic literature that the most extensive use was made of gematriot, and several (according to Moses Cordovero no fewer than nine) gematria systems were developed. The systems became so comprehensive and flexible that practically any idea could be supported by a gematria. In Chapter 26 there are several examples of the use of Gematriot by a Jewish alchemist.

The opening up of the hidden mysteries of the Kabbalah to the Christian scholarly world also made the secret methods of the *gematria* calculations available to it. This in turn led rapidly to their adoption by Christian alchemists and their utilization in the theoretical underpinning of the Great Work. It was thus that "kabbalistic alchemy" developed—not, as one would have imagined, among Jewish alchemists, but among their Christian colleagues. This led the latter to a revival of the Hellenistic alchemical attitude: the attribution of mysterious potency to Hebrew words in general. Even when Christian scholars did not explicitly make use of gematria calculations, the very fact that Hebrew words concealed in themselves the possibilities of an unforeseeable variety of meanings, connections, and hints was sufficient to make Hebrew words,

and even single letters of the Hebrew alphabet, of awesome esoteric value in the eyes of the Christian adepts In fact, from about the fifteenth century on, there was scarcely an alchemical book or treatise written by Christian alchemists that did not display conspicuously some Hebrew power-words on the title page or inside the text A striking example is one of the most influential alchemical compendiums, Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum sapientiae*,[7] which has a very impressive large, circular illustration Unless one has a close look and notices that in its middle there is depicted a small naked human figure with horizontally outstretched arms, and around it the Latin words *Vere filius* DEI ERAT IPSE (Truly, he was the Son of God), one has the impression of seeing a complex Jewish emblem written in Hebrew (Fig 12 1) On top of the big circle there is a small triangle inscribed with the Hebrew letters Y, YH, YHW, YHWH, the last line of which gives the sacred Tetragrammaton Under the triangle is the Latin word OMNIA All around are eight concentric circles, five of them in Hebrew letters, which are a veritable brief anthology of important quotations and names of Jewish religious significance The outermost circle contains the Hebrew text of the Ten Commandments The second circle, the Hebrew angelic names Tarshishim, Hayyot haQodesh, Ofanim, Er'elim, Hashmalim, S'rafim, Mal'akhim, Elohim (not an angelic but a divine name), Bne Elohim (sons of God), K'ruvim (cherubim), Ishim (men) The third circle has in Latin translation the beginning of the Shema' prayer (Deut 6 5), with the added words "and with all thy mind" *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua, et ex omnibus viribus tuis et ex tota mente tua*, followed by the Latin translation of the famous basic Jewish religious commandment, *et proximum tuum sicut teipsum*, that is "and [love] thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev 19 18)

The fourth circle consists of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet The fifth lists, in Hebrew, the ten sefirot Keter, Hokhmah, and so on, and inserted into them is at the top the Hebrew word *En Sof*, infinite, and at the bottom *Emet*, truth, and in between are drawings of clouds The sixth circle is double it consists of the Hebrew letters Y H Sh W H, which looks like an attempt to transliterate the name Jesus into Hebrew, and of the divine names Ehyeh, Yhwh, El, Elohim, Gibbor, Adonay, Melekh, Shaddai, Elohim S'vaot, Yhwh S'vaot, Eloah Inside this is the seventh circle containing the words IN HOC SIGNO VINCES (In this sign you will conquer) Then follows the smallest, innermost circle already mentioned, with the small figure of Jesus in the center, and under it the picture of the burning Phoenix Outside the outermost circle, in very small letters, is the identification of the author and the illustrator "Henricus Khunrath Lips Theosophiae amator et Medicinae utrius Doctor Dei gratia in vintor Paulius vander Doorf Antwerp scalpsit "

Figure 12.1. The World of the Spheres.

Khunrath says in this book that the philosophers' stone is said to be identical with the *Ruah Elohim*, the Spirit of God, which brooded over the waters during the first period of Creation.[8] This is perhaps the most striking example of the daring reinterpretation of the biblical text by Christian alchemists in their efforts to anchor alchemical concepts in the Holy Scripture.

An important contribution to the study of the relationship between Kabbalah and alchemy is the treatise of (Pseudo-)Simeon ben Cantara, entitled *Cabala mineralis* (Mineral Kabbalah), which was published in 1986 in a scholarly edition, with detailed analyses of its context and background.[9] *Cabala mineralis* has survived in two manuscripts, both

probably dating from the seventeenth century, one preserved in the British Library (MS Add. 5245), the other in a private collection. The latter is reproduced in the book in its entirety, and its relationship to other kabbalistic-alchemical treatises of the period is discussed.

The treatise is a review of alchemical interpretations of the biblical creation story of Genesis, as well as of the opposition to them. It follows in the footsteps of Giovanni Agostino Pantheus, the Venetian priest, who in his *Voarchadumia* (published in Venice in 1518) pioneered in establishing a relationship between alchemy and rabbinical science, and maintained that the very word "alchemy" was derived from the Hebrew. After it, many of the speculative alchemical treatises had the word "Kabbalah" in their title. Among them was Franz Kieser's *Cabala chymica* (Frankfurt, 1606), Stephen Michelspacher's *Cabala sive speculum artis et naturae in alchymia* (Augsburg, 1615–1616), the *Cabala chymica ab anonymo quodam compilata* (Hamburg, 1680), and Johann Grasshof's *Cabala chymica* (published in the *Philosophia Salomonis*, Augsburg, 1753). This reliance on the Kabbalah being the general trend of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century alchemy, it was inevitable that Hebrew words should be found frequently in the texts, notably in those of Bang, Muller, Maulius, Sallwigt, and Wienner.

Hand in hand with this "Hebraization" of alchemy went the doctrine that even the legendary ancestor figure of alchemy, the "thrice-great" Hermes Trismegistus, obtained his knowledge of the Royal Art from the Book of Genesis of Moses. This was stated several times, for example, by Gerhard Dorn: "All agree that Hermes Trismegistus was taught by the Genesis of the Hebrews, even though he was an Egyptian, as stated by Augustine [in his] book *De civitate Dei*, Suidas, etc."[10]

One more aspect of the relationship between Kabbalah and alchemy should be mentioned briefly. The Jewish alchemists who came to the Royal Art from a kabbalistic background brought with them a mindset predisposed to having a profound sympathy for and a deep understanding of the central tenet of alchemy, which taught that the many substances of the physical world were but multiform manifestations of the same basic ultimate essence that informed them all. This was the doctrine that underlay the major preoccupation of alchemists, which was to track down and isolate that essence, and thus to be able to change any one of the many forms of matter into any other. The Kabbalists were suffused with the idea of the identity of the most varied manifestations in the spiritual realm. For instance, they were taught in their most revered books, and therefore unquestioningly believed, that the Shekhina, the mystical spouse of God the King, was at one and the same time also the divine Matronit (matron), the Sefira (emanation) of Malkhut (kingship), and the oral Torah, the Community of Israel, Mother Zion, and

so on, and was, in addition, identified with dozens of other mystical entities, such as the Queen, the Holy Spirit, the Moon, the River, the Lower Mother, Rachel, and so on.

This kabbalistic tendency of multiple identifications is found as early as the writings of Philo of Alexandria, so that it preceeds the Spanish Kabbalah by more than a millennium.[11] In the Middle Ages one of its expressions was the use of gematria, which presupposed a basic identity of the most disparate concepts, hidden but discernible in the identity of the numerical value of the letters of which the words denoting them were composed. One particular expression of this kabbalistic tendency to identify multiformities was the tradition called Ḥokhmat haṢeruf, which has a suggestive double meaning: it means "Wisdom of Combination," that is, of the gematria, and also "Wisdom of Refining," that is, of refining the heart by concentrating on divine matters, which recalls the work of alchemical *ṣeruf*, of refining and thus ennobling the quality of metals. The common feature between these kabbalistic ideas and those of alchemy is the tacitly accepted axiom that beneath all diversities lies a hidden essential identity or an identical essence.

To this context belongs also the remarkable correspondence, on the one hand between the sacred marriage of God the King and his spouse the Matronit, which is a central theme in kabbalistic mysticism, and, on the other, between the *conjunctio*, the alchemical marriage, or "chymical wedding," of sun and moon (and we must not forget that sun and moon in alchemy stood for gold and silver), of king and queen, of spirit and body. Nor did the Jewish alchemist find it too strange that in alchemical imagery the two partners in the *conjunctio* were often spoken of as brother and sister; after all, from his readings in kabbalistic literature he was well acquainted with the idea that the King and his Matronit, whose unification was the major purpose of mystical practice, were brother and sister.

What all this amounts to is that there were a priori facets of sympathy between Kabbalah and alchemy: the Kabbalists were prepared and predisposed by their teachings to take up alchemy, in which they found application to the physical world of doctrines that they believed were valid in the worlds of the divine, of the spirit, and of the soul; whereas the alchemists found much in the Kabbalah which not only served their purposes but added a new dimension to their alchemical philosophy. The alchemical view of the nature of substances and the transmutability of one of them into another penetrated the mystical world of the Kabbalah, and contributed additional, previously unsuspected, mysteries to its worldview, and to its interpretation of the mutual interdependence of the Above and the Below. The Kabbalah, in turn, enriched alchemy with its numerological-mystical gematria, in which alchemists found a legiti-

mation of their belief in the interrelationships among substances, and of their search for the common essence which had to underlie the baffling multiplicity of tangible forms. More important, the Kabbalah supplied the alchemists with a quasi sanctification of their views by opening up to them its doctrine of the cosmological structure of the sefirot, which taught them that not only the hidden essence of materia but even the divine unity itself was expressed in multiple mystical manifestations.

Moses de Leon

Of the great variety of types of literature produced by the Jews in the course of the three millennia of their history there is none as difficult to understand, translate, or merely describe as that of the Kabbalah. The typical kabbalistic mode of thinking is replete with symbolism, often vague and obscure, with interchangeable concepts, with ideational jumps from one subject to another, with the equation of disparate matters on the basis of purely formal characteristics of the words designating them which have nothing to do with the meaning of those words, and the like. To what extent these features characterize kabbalistic literature, and in particular the *Zohar*, to which we now turn, will be amply demonstrated by the excerpts which we present from that magnum opus of the Kabbalah.

The *Zohar* is a huge book, published in three volumes in the standard edition and comprising a total of some 850,000 words. It is written almost entirely in Aramaic, and the claim is made in it that it was written by R. Shimʿon ben Yoḥai, a leading *tanna* (mishnaic master), who lived in the second century C.E. in Palestine, and had the reputation of a miracle worker. Formally it is a commentary on the Bible, but in fact it is a rambling mystical discourse on God, the world, man, moral issues, and many other esoteric subjects that were of interest to its author. It was not until the twentieth century that critical scholarship, headed by Gershom Scholem, established that the *Zohar* was in fact written by Moses de Leon (ca. 1240–1305), a Spanish Kabbalist who has to his credit several other books as well, dealing with both traditional Jewish and mystical-kabbalistic subjects.

Since De Leon wrote the *Zohar* in the persona of a second-century *tanna*, we cannot expect to find in it any direct reference to alchemy, since the very term is missing in the entire talmudic literature. However, De Leon lived in a time and a place in which alchemy was an integral part of the cultural atmosphere, and thus it is not surprising that references to alchemical ideas and subjects are found in various contexts in the *Zohar*. In fact, what is surprising is that, given the live interest in alchemy that characterized the Jewish society in which De Leon lived,

he allowed so few references to matters of alchemical interest to appear in his great work Since the extant references do not follow any logical order, but derive from De Leon's haphazard association of ideas, I present them here in the order in which they are found in the *Zohar*, and do so with the most painstaking fidelity to the Aramaic original, even if thereby the clarity of the English translation occasionally had to suffer

To begin with, here is a passage which reflects a familiarity with the alchemical concept of relationship between the moon and silver and the sun and gold

> [King David] sought all his days to bring the moon to perfection, and to sing songs of melody and praise [here] below And when David passed away from the world, he left the moon in a state of perfection And Solo mon received the moon in all its riches and perfection For this moon had left behind poverty and entered into riches And with those riches Solomon ruled over all the kings of the earth And therefore [it is written], "Silver counted for nothing in the days of Solomon"(1 Kings 10 21), but every thing was of gold, for gold became superabundant And of that time [it is written], "And he had dust of gold" (Job 28 6), for that dust which was on the surface—the sun looked at it and with its glance and its power it made the dust turn into gold and increased it
>
> Come, see From the mountains where there is the light of the power of the sun, the dust of the earth among the mountains became all gold And had it not been for the wild beasts that crouched there, the sons of men would not have been poor, for the power of the sun increased the gold [and they could have taken of it at all] It is for this reason that in the days of Solomon silver counted for nothing, for the power of the sun looked at the dust and turned it into gold Moreover, that dust was [of] the side of judgment when the sun looked at it, it took power and the gold increased When Solomon looked at it, he uttered a[n exclamation of] praise and said, "All are from the dust" (Eccl 3 20) (*Zohar* 1 249b–250a)

What De Leon expresses here in his own style is the well known al chemical idea that telluric elements ripen under the influence of the sun and ultimately become gold And he repeats no fewer than six times the simple idea that the power of the sun turned dust into gold and thus the amount of gold increased

The alchemists, as is well known, were keenly interested in colors and coloring De Leon gave a mystical coloration to the phenomenon of colors

> One day R Shim'on sat, and his son R El'azar and R Abba with him Said R El'azar This verse, which says, "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, etc " (Exod 6 2) Why "I appeared"? It should have said,

"I spoke " He [R Shim'son] said to him My son, it is a supernal mystery Come, see There are colors that are visible, and there are colors that are invisible Both are part of the supernal mystery of faith, but the sons of men do not know it and do not consider it Those colors which are visible, no man has merited to perceive them, until the Fathers [Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob] came and perceived them This is why it is written, "I appeared " For they saw those colors which are visible And which are those colors? They are those of *El Shaddai* [God Almighty], which are the appearance of the supernal colors, and they became visible And the supernal colors are hidden, and cannot be seen No man has grasped them, save Moses (*Zohar* 2 23a)

Close on the heels of this passage follows another, much longer one, which discusses another classical alchemical theme, that of the four elements, their four qualities, and their influence on the birth of metals, all of it wrapped, of course, in the mantle of "supernal mystery "

R Shim'on said Come, see! The four primordials (*qadma'e*) are a mystery of faith they are the fathers of all the worlds, and are the mystery of the Supernal Holy Chariot They are the four elements (*y'sodin*) fire, wind, water, and dust They are a supernal mystery, and from them come gold and silver and copper and iron, and beneath them other metals that are similar to them

Come, see Fire, wind, and water and dust—these are primordial, and the roots of the Above and the Below, and the things below and above are based upon them And these four [spread out] to the four winds of the world, and they exist in these four north and south and east and west These are the four winds of the world, and they exist in these four fire on the north side, wind on the east side, water on the south side, dust on the west side And these four are tied to those four, and they all are one, and they produce the four metals which are gold and silver and copper and iron Thus they make twelve, and [yet] they are one

Come, see Fire is on the left, on the north side, for fire has the power of warmth, and its dryness is strong And north is its reverse, and the one commingles with the other, and they become one Water is on the right, on the south side And the holy One, blessed be He, in order to mix them together made the mixture of one like the mixture of the other The north which is cold and moist [was mixed with] fire [which] is hot and dry, and He turned them around on the south side the south, which is hot and dry, [was mixed with] water [which] is cold and moist, and the Holy One, blessed be He, mixed them together, for water comes forth from the south and goes to the north, and from the north the water spreads Fire comes from the north and comes into the power of the south, and from the south comes forth the power of heat over the world For the Holy One, blessed

be He, causes them to borrow from one another, and each of them lent to the other from its own, as it was fit. In a similar fashion wind and east, so that each one of them should lend to the other, and one becomes encompassed in the other, and they unite and become one.

Come, see: Fire from this side, water from that side, and they are in conflict. [But then] the wind comes between them, gets hold of the two sides. This is what is written, "And the *ruaḥ* [wind or spirit] of God hovered over the face of the water" (Gen., 1:2). For fire stands on high on this side, and water stands upon the face of the earth [below]. The wind came between them, got hold of the two sides, and settled the conflict. As for the dust [i.e., the earth], the water and the wind and the fire stand upon it, and it receives from all of them the strength of these three which stand upon it.

Come, see: Wind and the east. The east is hot and moist. The wind is hot and moist, and because of this it gets hold of the two sides, for the fire is hot and dry, and the water cold and moist, and the wind is hot and moist. The side which is hot gets hold of the fire, and the side which is moist gets hold of the water. And thus it harmonizes them and ends the conflict of fire and water.

The dust is cold and dry, and therefore it receives upon it all of them, and all of them accomplish their task upon it. And it receives from all of them, so as to produce, with their strength, nourishment for the world. For the dust gets hold of the west, which is cold and dry, and that side which is cold gets hold of the north which is cold and moist, for the cold unites with the cold. Thus the north gets hold of the west in this side. The south which is hot and dry gets hold with its dryness of the dryness of the west, on the other side, so that the west is got hold of by two sides. Likewise, the south unites with the east, for the heat of the south unites with the heat of the east. And the east unites with the north, for its moisture unites with the moisture of the north. Now, then, we find southern-eastern, eastern-northern, northern-western, western-southern, all contained in one another, commingled one with the other.

In this manner the north produces gold, for from the side of the power of fire gold is produced. And this is what is written, "From the north cometh gold" (Job 27:22). For the fire gets hold of the dust and gold is produced, and this is what is written, "And it hath dust of gold" (Job 28:6). And this is the mystery of the two cherubim of gold.

Water gets hold of the dust, and the cold with the moisture produces silver. Now this dust gets hold of two sides, of gold and of silver, and is placed in between them. The wind gets hold of water and gets hold of the fire, and joins the two into one, which is "the color of burnished copper" (Ezek. 1:7).

As for the dust which we have mentioned, when it is by itself, with its dryness and coldness, it brings forth iron, and your sign is "If the iron be

blunt" (Eccl 10 10) And this dust gets hold of all of them, and all of them produce in it something similar to themselves

Come, see Without dust there is no gold, nor silver, nor copper, for each of them lends the other something of its own, to combine one with the other, and the dust takes hold of all of them For two sides are united in it, namely, fire and water And the wind is joined to it, because of those two, and exercises its influence on it Thus we find that the dust, when joined together with them, produces and gives birth to other dusts, similar to them Dust brings forth something like unto gold, namely green *suspita*, which closely resembles gold Like unto silver it brings forth lead Like unto superior copper it brings forth tin, which is a minor copper Like unto iron it brings forth iron, as you can learn from "Iron with iron together" (Prov 27 17)

Come, see Fire, wind, water, and dust—all of them are cleaving to one another, are joined with one another, and there is no separation between them But when this dust brought forth [its products], thereafter they were no longer joined one to the other, [nor] to those supernal [elements], as it is said, "From thence it was parted and became four heads" (Gen 2 10) In these there was separation For when this dust brought forth, by strength of the three supernal [elements], it produced four streams in which are found precious stones, and they are in one [particular] place, as it is writ ten, "There is bdellium and the onyx stone" (Gen 2 12) And those pre cious stones are twelve in number, and they are toward the four sides of the world as against the twelve tribes, as it is written, "And the stones shall be according to the names of the Children of Israel, twelve, according to their names" (Exod 28 21) And they are the twelve oxen which were under the sea [i e , the basin, in the Temple, cf 1 Kings 7 25]

Come, see Although the four supernal sides [of the world] of which we have spoken are tied one to the other, and are the sustenance of the Above and of the Below, there is more to the existence of the world the wind (spirit), for if the wind (spirit) were to be removed even for one moment, the soul could not exist This mystery is referred to in the verse, "Also with out knowledge the soul is not good" (Prov 19 2) The soul without spirit is not good, and cannot exist

Come, see Those twelve which we have mentioned, those twelve stones, are the twelve oxen under the sea [basin] This is why the twelve princes [of Israel] took "each one an ox and presented them before the Tabernacle" (Num 7 12) All this is a supernal mystery, and he who comprehends these things comprehends the mystery of supernal wisdom in which is the root of all things (*Zohar* 2 23b–24b)

Most of the concepts propounded in this passage were commonplace ideas in medieval alchemy The four elements of fire, wind (air), water,

and dust (earth); the four qualities of heat, cold, dryness, and moisture; their intermixture in varying proportions; their influence in producing the four basic metals of gold, silver, copper and iron—all this is elementary alchemy. New in De Leon's presentation are the ideas centering upon the conflicts, influences, harmonizings, and causalities among the primeval elements, and their close association with the four sides of the earth. Also new, and nonalchemical, but emphatically Jewish religious-mystical-kabbalistic, is the ascription to God of such quasi-physical acts as mixing together the various elements, causing them "to borrow from one another," and the like. And typical of De Leon's thinking and style is the repetitious assertion that what he is saying is a great mystery.

Apart from these general observations, the foregoing passage requires only a few specific elucidations. The Supernal Holy Chariot mentioned at its very beginning is a well-known Jewish mystical concept developed in talmudic literature, in which the term *maʿase merkava* (matters of the chariot) refers to dangerous esoteric speculations. The term itself is based on Ezekiel's vision of God's throne-chariot (Ezek. 1), and in the Kabbalah it became the designation of speculations about the nature and the suppositional visible manifestations of God.

As for the equation of wind and spirit, this is made inevitable by the Hebrew word *ruaḥ*, which means both. It is under the influence of this powerful word that De Leon substitutes it for the talmudic word *avir* (air) when speaking of the four primeval elements. In using *ʿafar* (dust) instead of the likewise biblical word *adamah* (earth) in the same context, De Leon was influenced by the frequent biblical usage of "dust" when referring to the substance of which the earth or the ground consists.

The green *suspita* mentioned in connection with gold has given rise to various interpretations. The *Zohar* commentary *Niṣoṣē Orot* explains: "It is called in Arabic *zarnīkh* [arsenic], and in Laʿaz *orpimento*, and it causes men's hair to fall out." Later commentators explained it as "green copper which is called *allatun*." Robert Eisler, in a 1925 article on the terminology of Jewish alchemy, emended the reading of the word to *susepta*, and suggested that it stood for the Greek *sussepte*, meaning decayed or putrefied gold, in accordance with the alchemical process known as *putrefactio*.[12] This is a possible explanation, although it is hard to see why De Leon should use an uncommon Greek word for an alchemical process which in the western world was called everywhere either by the Latin *putrefactio*, or by its derivative in one of the medieval Romance languages.

In view of the thought processes typical of Moses de Leon we should not be surprised to find that he applied the idea of the seven kinds of gold to physical features of King David, to whom he refers as "the first Messiah":

> I saw in the Book of the First Adam that it said thus the appearance of the First Messiah [David] was like that of the moon His color was greenish gold in the face, his color was Ophir gold in his beard, his color was Sheba gold in his eyebrows, his color was Parvayim gold in the lashes over his eyes, his color was *sagur* (closed) gold in the hair of his head, his color was Muphaz gold on his chest on the tablet upon his heart, his color was Tar shish gold on his two arms All these seven colors were incised in all those places of his hair (*Zohar* 2 73a–b)

Although it is somewhat difficult to imagine how all the seven colors of gold could be visible on various parts of the First Messiah's body and also be incised into his hair, which at the same time was characterized by the color of one single kind of gold, such a question should perhaps not be raised in connection with a book allegedly written by Adam But this type of presentation is typical of the style of the *Zohar*, and is part of the enchantment with which it held in thrall many generations of Jewish mystics

It is interesting that in this passage the appearance of the First Mes siah is stated to be like that of the moon, whereas in view of the unvarying alchemical association of the moon with silver and the sun with gold one would expect of a mystical human, or superhuman, figure sparkling in the colors of seven kinds of gold to have the general appearance of the sun But, again, our logic must not be applied to the pronouncements of the *Zohar*

The *Zohar* discusses the "mystery of gold" elsewhere, too, but its teachings have in general no alchemical significance However, one passage states that "copper comes from gold, and it changed to a diminished thing" (*Zohar* 2 148a), which idea has a definite alchemical coloration

Alchemical concepts figure also in another, smaller, and much less known book by Moses de Leon, titled *Sefer Sheqel haQodesh* (Book of the Holy Sheqel) It was written in 1292, but remained unpublished until 1911 In it we find the following passages dealing with alchemical matters

> Gold is most precious of the metals, and about the mystery of this matter they said There are seven kinds of gold in the world, and they are different, and one is more precious than the other Ophir gold, Parvayim gold, Muphaz gold, beaten gold, greenish [or yellowish] gold, Sheba gold, closed gold These are the seven kinds of gold Verily, they said that the most precious of all is the closed gold, because it is gold which is closed from the eye and closed from everything And this is the mystery of the name of God, which is common in seven places more than in other places The living God is the mystery of the supernal world, and as against this is

the closed gold. Therefore it is more closed than the other degrees. God is the Fear of Isaac, and as against it is Sheba gold. And this is the mystery of what is said, "And he lived and gave him of the gold of Sheba" (Ps. 72:15). For the King Messiah is of that side which receives the left side. God—this is the Eternity of Israel, and as against it is the Parvayim gold, the matter of the thighs [?]. God [is] the totality of the Community of Israel, as against it is the greenish gold. And of this mystery they [i.e., our sages] of blessed memory said, "Esther was greenish" [B. Meg. 13a], and this is the mystery of the *ethrog* [citron]. God is the mystery of the loftiness of the earthly court of law, the seventy [members] of the Sanhedrin, who surround the throne of Glory. And as against it is the beaten gold. God is the mystery of the judges of below in this world. And as against it is Ophir gold. Verily, in these seven places [there is] the continuation of the participation of the name of God, as against the seven kinds of gold which are in the world. And in any case, the continuation of the quality of [stern] justice is continued to several armies, to several powers which have no number, as they said, "Who can utter the powers of the Lord" [Ps. 106:2].[13]

One must truly be steeped in kabbalistic-mystical thinking in order to fathom the meaning of this passage.

The second passage in the *Sheqel haQodesh* which has an alchemical reference consists of only a few words: "Dust. We have already explained this. And, truly, this dust is gold dust. And this is the proper matter, for its cause is the gold of above, and from there she receives, for always the cause of the point is the left. And this is why the dust begets and gives off seed to grow."[14] Again, I must admit that I have difficulty in understanding this passage.

The last passage I wish to quote from the *Sheqel haQodesh* is similar to the one quoted above from the *Zohar*, but is exceptional in that it refers to the opinion of the natural scientists:

The masters of natural science [say that] fire produces the nature of gold. Truly, they said as a mystery, "From the north cometh the gold" (Job 37:22). For the mystery of the four metals, which are gold and silver and copper and iron, [is that they] do not come into being except out of these elements. And were it not for these three elements, the dust could not produce the realization of any thing. For gold comes into being and is attached to the mystery of the fire, and on the north side, for in any case, when the natural warmth approaches a cold thing it produces its thing, for it is green [or: yellow], and that is the mystery of the gold through the nature of the craft on that side, and in the matter of that element.

Silver adheres to the mystery of the water and to the south side, for when the wind and the sun approach each other, it produces a white nature, and that is the mystery of silver. Copper is red, and this produces the nature of

both [gold and silver], because those who know the Work in the manner of their nature [know that] copper produces, and they make of it the nature of gold and silver, and it is [done] with the art of the sun in the wind. And in any case, the matter of the production of gold and silver and copper, their cause is in a great true matter, and it is a deep mystery.

And when the elements are transformed and are comprised one in the other, you will find in this that occasionally water produces gold and fire silver. Verily, the cause of iron in the dust is in the mystery of the west, for its cause produces by being helped by the sun, and by its light being reduced the dust produces iron whose nature is drier than all the others, because it is of the west side out of the products of the dust. For the dust, when it combines with the three supernal elements, when that element stays with it longer, then it produces something like each one of them.

For you will find that when the power of the fundamental fire, the natural heat, which is on the north side, approaches the dust which is below, the dust begets the gold when it approaches it together, and when all the three come together, which is one thing, then the gold produces dust. For when the dust approaches the heat of the fire on the north side, then the product of the dust is gold. And from this you can understand the mystery of the two golden cherubim.

And likewise the dust: when it approaches the water it gets tied up in it on the south side, due to the power of the south and of the water. For water is cold and moist and the south is warm and dry. Hence you can recognize that the dust, which is the receiver, when it approaches any one of the other elements, produces in every case [substances] like itself [and] like each one of them. And we have already been alerted to this mystery in the Book *Shoshan ʿEdut*.

And even though these four elements are the fathers of the fathers of all the offspring, there are nevertheless also other elements below, which stand beneath them, and they are the lower elements whose continued existence is in this low world. And verily they are like those productive elements, verily, for the dust is the one which produces offspring in their likeness according to their families and houses.

And verily the four metals which we have mentioned, and they are the supernals which originate in the mystery of the four elements, produce them with the power of those four, for each one produces in its likeness. And each one of these four lower metals emerges from the power of the supernal metals which are the four elements which we have mentioned. For there is a metal which emerges in the likeness of gold and it is the one called the gilded copper, a *metal* [*sic*] of dust. And in any case it is in the likeness of gold but is not gold. And it emerges due to that power and is like it. And the silver produces the lead which is white and it emerges in the likeness of silver. And understand. And verily, just as the gold is on the north side, as

we have said, and that metal emerges to that side, so the silver which produces the lead is on the south side and produces it to that side. And the copper likewise is of the power of dust and by reason of fire there emerges the strong lower copper which is connected to the iron, and it is to the east side. And everything is due to the power of the supernal elements which we have mentioned, which produce in their likeness below.

And the mystery is as we have said, and this is "and a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted and became four heads" (Gen. 2:10), and they are the four metals of below which are the lower ones. And the precious stones are connected with the metals which we have mentioned. And the precious stones are twelve, which are mentioned in the Torah, and they are connected in the *ephod* [the high priest's breastplate] and the stones according to the names of the Children of Israel emerge with the power of the primeval elements, "like the engravings of a signet, every one according to his name" (Exod. 28:21), and everything is from the continuation of those supernal elements, for with their power and due to them each man moves out to his camp and each with his flag. And understand, for it is a great principle above.[15]

Although these passages quoted from the writings of Moses de Leon show that he was familiar with certain alchemical concepts and perhaps even procedures, they also show that his interest in them was merely tangential, and that he referred to the elements, the metals, and so on, only to express, or illustrate, his mystical religious ideas. Nevertheless, we have here evidence that an extraordinary thinker such as Moses de Leon, who created an entire world of ideas of his own, and constructed an intricate edifice of original concepts, also utilized building blocks which he found lying about in the alchemical byways of his age. While De Leon was not an alchemist, he was certainly aware of the alchemical ideas of his society, and believed in the alchemical doctrines and tenets as firmly as he believed in the teachings of the Bible and the Talmud upon which he built his Kabbalah.

Two more brief comments. The book *Shoshan ʿEdut* (Lily of Testimony), referred to by De Leon as his first book, was written in 1286. The word *metal* appearing in this pericope is one of the very few foreign words De Leon used in this book. He evidently considered it a technical term, and that is why he used it instead of the Hebrew *matekhet*, which he used on all other occasions.

PART FIVE

The Fourteenth Century

Introduction to Part Five

WHEN SURVEYING medieval European alchemical literature, one becomes aware of the marked increase in sources in the fourteenth century. The greater number of both original manuscripts and books printed later but based on older manuscripts must be evidence that in the fourteenth century more alchemists were engaged in what they called the Great Art than in the thirteenth or earlier centuries. What can explain this? The most probable answer lies in the assumption that increased production is an indication of increased demand. In other words, if alchemical work increased, this must mean that in the fourteenth century there was a greater need of precious metals, whose production out of base metals was claimed by alchemists to be their great achievement. It was of course this claim, to which general credence was given in the Middle Ages, which made kings, seigneurs, and princes of the Church employ alchemists, and induced many others who could afford it to seek out their services.

Why should there have been a greater demand for alchemical gold and silver in the fourteenth century? The answer lies in the economic conditions in Central and Western Europe in that century, characterized by a shortage of available gold and silver coinage, which in that period reached almost catastrophic proportions. This has been pointed out recently by the French historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie:

> A huge crisis of liquidity, a great monetary famine, peaked between 1395 and 1415. Its causes were not far to seek: the commercial balance between Europe and the Orient had shown a deficit ever since the year 1000 due to the purchase of spices, silks, and pearls, and also because of the pilgrimages, the Crusades, and the payments of ransoms. This unfavorable balance was worsened about 1400 by internal disasters in the West, and it was not helped by the still growing purchases of spices, and by the drying up of Sudanese gold. In France, not much different in this respect from England, Spain, Italy, Flanders, and Bourgogne, the worst decade, the one most lacking in money, was that of the years 1392–1402. The district of Briaude, deep in the heart of the *massif central* and isolated, was reduced about 1423–1425 to minting coins of lead! In Western Europe as a whole the stock of precious metals was diminished from approximately the equivalent of 2,000 metric tons of silver in ca. 1340, to 1000 tons ca. 1465.

To indicate how abysmally small was this coin supply, Le Roy Ladurie adds that by 1809 the coin supply of Europe had grown to the equiva-

lent of 50,000 tons of silver, that is, to no less than fifty times that of 1465.[1]

The relevance of this situation for the work of Jews in alchemy is obvious. Since, on the one hand, the Christians were prevented by Church law from engaging in moneylending at interest, and, on the other, the Jews were barred by state and municipal statutes from trying to make a living in many occupations in which they would have competed with the Christians, moneylending had become in the Middle Ages a trade in which the Jews were represented far above their proportions in the general population. The drying up of coinage was thus a much greater hardship for Jews than for Christians. This meant that when circumstances brought about a growth in the demand for alchemical gold and silver, a larger number of Jews, who were specialists of long standing in the money business, branched out, or switched to, what was after all in its basic practical aspect an occupation related to the one they had been engaged in for generations.

Since firm data concerning the numbers of Christian and Jewish alchemists do not exist, the above argument is nothing more than a conjecture. But the increase of the number of Jewish alchemical texts is a fact.

Chapter Thirteen

RAYMUND DE TARREGA: MARRANO, HERETIC, ALCHEMIST

IN THE SIXTEENTH century one of the most popular alchemical-medical works was the *De secretis naturae sive quinta essentia* (On the Secrets of Nature or the Fifth Essence). It was first printed in 1514, was reprinted some ten times before the end of the century in Venice and in several German cities, and was translated into Italian and partially into English.[1] In the seventeenth century, the book (hereafter referred to as *De secr.*) continued to be reissued, and it was again translated into Italian in an abridged form as late as 1924.[2] In all these editions the name of Raymund Lull appears as that of the author.

Raymund (or Ramón) Lull (ca. 1234–1315) was a native of Majorca, the son of noble Catalan parents. After a rather profligate youth he saw a vision of Christ in the shape of a crucifix, and heard the Lord addressing him: "Raymund, follow me!" The vision moved Lull to give up his worldly life and devote himself to God.[3] He lived to the age of eighty, and became the foremost Catalan philosopher, logician, theologian, metaphysician, mystic, preacher, and missionary to the Jews and the Muslims. At the age of seventy-eight he pleaded at the ecclesiastical council of Vienne (1312) that, in order to be able to hold its own against Islam, the Church ought to foster the study of Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek. He succeeded in convincing the council and having it resolve to establish chairs for these languages at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. Lull visited Africa several times, and during his last visit, when he was eighty, he was attacked and stoned by the Moors. He died of injuries aboard the ship which was taking him back to his native Majorca, thus achieving his lifelong desire to become a martyr of his faith.[4]

Lull's literary output was monumental and staggering in its variety. He wrote 321, or according to another count 488,[5] works in fields as diverse as general art, grammar, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, politics, medicine, military science, cavalry, astronomy, astrology, geometry, arithmetic, spiritual and contemplative studies, preaching, disputations, theology, and so on. Historians of Spanish literature agree that he was one of the most original and most wide-ranging thinkers of his age.[6] His

admirers and followers bestowed upon him the title *doctor illuminatus*, (the enlightened doctor). The study of his thought and work spread in the sixteenth century to France, where a chair of Lullism was established at the Sorbonne. The preoccupation with Lull continued down to the 1940s, when a Lullian Archeological Society functioned in Majorca and issued papers on him.[7]

His great reputation prompted several other authors who lived shortly after Lull to attribute their own works pseudepigraphically to him. Nicolas Antonio Hispalensis (1617–1684), in his comprehensive *Bibliotheca hispana vetus*, lists no fewer than eighty-one works which, as he says, "were circulated under the name of Lull," but not actually written by him.[8] Among them were several alchemical works, whose spuriousness was recognized by church historians in the sixteenth century at the latest. However, the conclusion that these alchemical treatises could not have been written by Lull seems never to have reached alchemical circles, whose admiration for Lull the alchemist continued to secure him an honored place in alchemical literature.

Thus Lull figures prominently in the large compendiums of alchemical treatises that were published in the seventeenth century. The 1625 *Musaeum Hermeticum* contains a work entitled *Hydrolythus Sophicus seu aquarius sapientum, hoc est opusculum chemicum* (The Sophic Water-Stone or the Water Carrier of the Wise, which is a Small Chemical Work), with an inner title page framed by imaginary portraits of the six most famous alchemists of all times: Hermes, Geber, Morienus, Raymund Lull, Roger Bacon, and Paracelsus.[9] Likewise, the *Gloria mundi* (Glory of the World), another alchemical work reprinted in the same volume, has a title page framed by pictures of the twelve most famous alchemists, including Maria Hebraea and Lull.[10] The very first treatise contained in the same *Musaeum Hermeticum* is the *Tractatus aureus de lapide philosophico* (The Golden Treatise on the Philosophical Stone), which quotes (on p. 15) Lull as having said in his *Codicillus* (Short Note) that "Our Mercury has the property that it can undergo coagulation from its own sulphur," and as having stated in his *Testamentum* that "Quicksilver floats on top and flows with humidity that prevents combustion."[11]

The conclusion that the alchemical books published under the name of Lull cannot be authentic is based on two considerations. One is that Lull himself had an adamantly and consistently negative view of alchemy. In several passages of his unquestionably authentic writings he went on record condemning alchemy in general, and denying that alchemists were able to produce gold, in particular.[12] The second consideration is chronological. The dates mentioned in several manuscripts of alchemical works attributed to Lull as the dates of their completion render

Lullian authorship impossible This was pointed out meticulously as early as in the seventeenth century by Lucas Wadding (1568–1657) in his *Annales minorum* Thus the pseudo-Lullian book *De 24 experimentis* (On 24 Experiments) contains a statement at its end to the effect that it was completed in 1330—fifteen years after the death of Lull The *Testamentum novissimum* (The Newest Testament), also attributed to Lull, contains the statement

> We made our testament by the virtue of God, in the island of England, in the Church of Sancta Catharina, facing part of the Tower before the cham ber (*versus partem castelli ante cameram*) in the reign of Edward by the grace of God, in whose hands we placed in custody, by the will of God, the present testament, in the year 1332 after the incarnation [13]

A third pseudo-Lullian book, *De mercurius* (On Mercuries), states at the end of chapter forty that it was completed in 1333 In the *De 24 experimentis*, says Wadding,

> the author who calls himself Raymund tells in the introduction how King Edward of England while young put aside a great treasure in order to de clare war against the Saracens, but then he diverted it for attacking the king of France However, he says, led by repentance, the same Edward, when already old, asked forgiveness for having wrongfully diverted the money This Edward, however, to whom he [Raymund] delivered his testament, was the third of this name He began to reign in 1327 at the age of four teen, and died in 1377, in the fifty first year of his reign and the sixty fifth of his life [14]

In the sequel Wadding adduces more data to show that the alchemical books circulated under the name of Lull could not have been written by him, and mentions in particular the book *De secr* , three copies of which he consulted in the Vatican Library, as being falsely attributed to Lull [15] The earliest extant manuscript of this book is dated Paris, 1319 [16]

In addition to the aforementioned books there are several other alchemical works attributed to Lull which are identified by colophons in the manuscripts themselves as having been written between 1330 and 1357, that is, decades after the death of Lull These colophons are important evidence for the pseudo Lull's identity The colophon of *Lucidarium totius testamenti* (Lighting up the Whole Testament) reads *Finitus est iste liber in praeclaro studio Montis Pessulani, anno 1330* (This book was finished in the celebrated place of study of Mons Pessulanus [Montpellier], in the year 1330) [17] The colophon of *Liber naturae et lumen nostri lapidis* (The Book of Nature and the Light of Our Stone) reads *Fecimus in Sancta Catharina Londini, 1337* (We wrote it in St Catharine in London, 1337) The colophon of *Liber de conservatione*

vitae humanae et de quinta essentia (The Book on the Preservation of Human Life and on the Fifth Essence) reads: *Factus est his liber anno 1349* (This book was completed in 1349). The *Liber ad serenissimam Reginam Eleanorem uxorem serenissimi regis Anglorum Eduardi* (The Book [addressed] to the Most Serene Queen Eleanor Wife of the Most Serene King of the English Edward) concludes with the words: *Factus Londini in Sancta Catharina, 1355* (Completed in London, in St. Catharine, 1355). And the *Quatuor libri angelorum testamenti experimentorum* (The Four Books of Angels of the Testament of Experiments) states: *Fecimus in Sancta Ecclesia Divae Catharinae Londini, anno salutis 1357* (We wrote it in the holy church of the Divine Catherine in London in the year 1357 of salvation). There is yet another pseudo-Lullian alchemical treatise, the *Opus Abbreviatum super solem et lunam* (The Abbreviated Work on the Sun and the Moon), whose colophon states that it was written in the same church of St. Catharine in London, but it gives no date.[18]

It may be added that Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691), who lived some two generations after Wadding, lists in his *Polyhistor* (The Learned Man), among the pseudonymous and anonymous books, a treatise titled *Manipulus quercuum sive ars comprehendi transcendentia* (A Bundle of Oaks, or the Art of Understanding Transcendence), as written by a Raymund the Second.[19]

Colophons giving the place and date of writing of a manuscript are usually considered reliable, and these give testimony as to the lifetime of the alchemist Raymond who actually wrote the books attributed to Lull. They indicate that this alchemist was in Paris in 1319 (or 1330/33), in Montpellier in 1330, in London in 1332 and in 1337, in an unnamed place in 1349, and again in London in 1355 and 1357. The dates in these colophons were accepted as authentic by Lynn Thorndike, who argued that since there could be no logical reason for a forger to give a treatise attributed to Lull a date after his death, the manuscripts in question "are perhaps the work of another Raymond."[20]

Before addressing ourselves to the problem of the identity of this second Raymund, we must have a closer look at the royal personages named in the books mentioned. King Edward poses no problem. As Wadding asserted, he was Edward III, who reigned from 1327 to 1377, that is, throughout the period during which, according to the testimony of the colophons, the alchemist Raymund lived in London. There is, however, a problem with the wife of Edward III to whom Raymund dedicated his 1355 book: she was not Eleanor, but Philippa of Hainault (Hainaut), whom Edward married in 1328, and who died in 1369. The only King Edward whose wife was called Eleanor was Edward I (r. 1274–1307); she was a half-sister of Alfonso X of Castile. How the

alchemist Raymund could have dedicated a book in 1355 to Queen Eleanor wife of King Edward is a puzzle The only possible explanation is that Raymund made a mistake, and that instead of "Queen Philippa" he wrote "Queen Eleanor" which name, being that of several Spanish queens and princesses, as well as that of the wife of an earlier King Edward and of several other English queens, was more familiar to him Once we assume this, several other parts of the puzzle fall in place In another pseudo-Lullian work, the *Animae transmutationis* (The Soul of Transmutation), the author claims to have come to England at the invitation of King Edward, who, of course, must be Edward III Moreover, in the likewise pseudo-Lullian treatise entitled *Experimenta Raymundi Lullii Majoricani philosophi docissimi* (Experiments of Raymund Lull, the Most Learned Majorcan Philosopher, already mentioned above under the abridged title *De 24 experimentis*), the author states that "we performed this operation for the English king, who pretended that he would fight against the Turk, but who subsequently fought against the king of France, and incarcerated me, though [ultimately] I escaped "[21] The operation referred to was the transmutation of base metals into gold according to the method of Arnold of Villanova

Independent confirmation of the sojourn in England of an alchemist called Raymund is available in *The Testament of Cremer*, a tract included in the *Tripus aureus* (The Golden Tripod) compiled by Michael Maier (1568?–1622) and published in Frankfurt in 1618 The full title of the third of the three treatises contained in this book is "The Testament of the Englishman Cremer, formerly abbot of Westminster, not published until now, now in the esteem of diverse nations, edited and embellished with figures skilfully cut in copper with care and zeal " According to the internal title page (p 181), Cremer was a member of the Benedictine order The introductory part of Cremer's *Testament* reads as follows

> Even though I was a zealous follower of this art and skill [i e , alchemy], I was in a peculiar manner impeded by the thing, to me obscure, explained in the many and diverse books which I read, and with which I kept busy for thirty years, at great cost to me and to the detriment of my Work The more I read, the more I lost my way, until I betook myself by divine providence to Italy where, by the grace of the most good and most great God, it was shown to me in the company of a man endowed with as great a dignity as with all kinds of knowledge, by the name of Raymund in whose company I remained for a long time Indeed, I found such favor in the eyes of this good man that he revealed to me a certain part of this entire mystery, therefore I impressed on him with many entreaties that he should come with me to this island, and he remained with me for two years In the course of that time I attained completely the entire Work Thereafter I

brought this eminent man into the presence of the most glorious King Ed ward, by whom he was received with the honor he deserved, and was treated with all kindness And there, persuaded by the king with many promises, pacts, and propositions, he undertook to make the king rich with the promise of his divine art This with the condition that the king, in his own person, would wage war against the Turks, the enemies of God, and would spend it on the House of the Lord, and under no condition in haughtiness or in waging war against Christians But (O pain!) this promise was broken and violated by the king, whereupon that pious man, afflicted in spirit and in his innermost heart, fled from here overseas in a lamentable and miserable condition, which pains my heart exceedingly, and I daily re quest earnestly that I should be with him in body, for the aspect and integ rity of his daily life can easily induce even obstinate sinners to penitence

I, O most blessed Raymund, pour out my prayers for you to the most good and most great God, and my brothers do likewise All wisdom be longs to God [22]

The foregoing account of Raymund's experiences in England is not without its difficulties As Waite has pointed out, there was no Cremer among the abbots of Westminster, and the statement that Cremer took Raymund to England and two years later introduced him to King Ed ward contradicts the assertion, contained in Raymund's own tract, the *Animae transmutationis*, that he went to England at the request of King Edward Despite these discrepancies, Waite is satisfied that Cremer was not a fictitious person, and that his Testament was "a valuable testimony borne in England to the truth of the story told concerning himself" by the author of the aforementioned alchemical books dated in England [23] By and large, Cremer's account bears out what Raymund says in his *De 24 experimentis* about his relationship with King Edward It also contains three features familiar from the lives of other contemporary alchemists

The first is Cremer's trip to the south in quest of alchemical knowl edge, his encounter there with a great adept of the Royal Art, and his return to his home country accompanied by that alchemist All this is duplicated in the story told by Nicolas Flamel, the fourteenth-century French alchemist [24] The second common feature is that in both encounters the master alchemists involved were converted Jews—we shall see below that this was indeed the case with Raymund The third feature in Cremer's story recurring in other alchemical accounts is the agreement made between a king and a Jewish (or Marrano) alchemist Such agreements were not extraordinary at the time, as shown by the one con cluded, also in the fourteenth century, between King Pedro IV (r 1343–1387) of Majorca, who was greatly interested in alchemy, and a local Jewish physician, astrologer, and alchemist named Magister Menahem [25]

BUT, to return to the story of Raymund, whose pact with King Edward III is made more than likely by the above parallels, the brief and rather vague contemporary references to the relationship between him and the king leave several questions unanswered How was Raymund able to produce the gold which King Edward used to finance his war or wars against France? Did Raymund actually dare to reproach the king for not having kept his promise? Or was there some other reason for Raymund's incarceration? And, how did Raymund manage to escape from prison? A partial answer, possibly fictitious, is supplied by a note Elias Ashmole (1617–1692) appended to an alchemical poem titled "Hermes Bird," included in his *Theatrum chemicum Britannicum* The poem, Ashmole says, was originally written in French by Raymond Lully(!) and trans lated into English by his disciple Cremer Then Ashmole adds that after Edward III led his first military expedition against France in 1337,

> finding that Lully (after he had seen him violate his faith in destroying Christians instead of Mahumetans) refused to further his Ambition with new supply of gold, He clapt him up in the Tower where he lay a long time, and seeing no possibility of release, begun to study his Freedom, and to that end made himself a Leaper (i e , leper), by which means he gained more Liberty, and at length an advantage of escaping into France, where in all probability he penned this Peace [26]

Let us add a single comment for the author of *De secr* it was a simple thing to simulate leprosy or even to produce symptoms taken as those of the dreaded disease by his jailers, who thereupon undoubtedly kept their distance from him, which facilitated his escape

A variant tradition about the imprisonment and escape of Raymund found its way into the French *Bibliotheque des philosophes alchimiques*

> Raymond Lull [still the same confusion of Raymund the alchemist with Raymund Lull], disciple of Arnaldus de Villanova, having been presented to Edward III, king of England, by an abbot of Westminster, who had brought him up from Milan to London, performed considerable transmu tation for that prince, who had persuaded him that he was preparing him self for waging war against the Turks After some time had passed, Raymund saw that Edward turned his arms against the king of France He complained of the use which the king made of the gold which he had sup plied with the sole object of fighting the infidels For fear that Raymund would seek out the protection of his enemy, Edward commanded that he be seized But later Raymund regained his liberty, trusting the vigilance of his physician, for the promise which Lull made to cast a golden bell which would be heard all over the world While he was transmuting the imperfect metals for this work, he seduced the physician, promising him the secret of transmutation The latter then made arrangements with the owner of a ship

> who took them to France, when the materials were near the point of being poured into the mold of the promised bell. Informed of the escape of Raymund, Edward gave orders to pursue him, but it was of no use. In order to record the memory of this event for posterity, Edward commanded that a coin be minted which is called *rosa nobilis* (noble rose), which the curious keep to this day as a precious medal, and on which can be seen a rose above a ship propelled by oars.[27]

It is, of course, a historical fact that Edward III declared war on France in 1337, began actual hostilities in 1339, and fought against France on and off for decades. After suffering reverses, he concluded a peace treaty with France in 1360, promising to renounce his claims to the throne of that country and to territories other than those ceded by France in the treaty itself. It is also a historical fact that Edward did not honor his pledge, which makes it likely that he had no scruples breaking his word given to a lowly alchemist. On the other hand, if Raymund was indeed a Marrano, it seems at first glance puzzling that he should have tried to induce Edward III to fight the Turks instead of the French. Why should a crypto-Jew, whose secret loyalties lay with Judaism, be interested in a war between England and the Turks, and try to prevent fighting between England and France? The Ottomans were at that time struggling to consolidate their hold on Anatolia, and were for several years allied to the Byzantine emperor John VI Cantacuzene (c. 1295–1383), who gave his daughter Theodora in marriage to the Ottoman ruler Orhan (Orkhan, r. 1326–1362). By about 1360 the Ottomans held a firm bridgehead in Europe along the Marmara coast, but the expansion of Turkish power into the Balkans lay far in the future, as did the Ottoman conquest of Palestine (1527), which was to motivate the Jewish adventurer and messianic pretender David Reubeni (d. 1538?) to seek European Christian intervention in the Holy Land. It is, of course, possible that the term "Turk" in the account of Raymund's falling out with Edward was used loosely and inaccurately in the sources quoted, and that their intention was to refer not to the Ottoman Turks, but to the Muslim Mamluks who ruled Egypt from 1250 to 1517, and under whose first, Bahri, dynasty the Jews (as well as the Christians) of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria were actively persecuted. If so, this would explain the interest Raymund, as a Marrano whose loyalties were with his old Jewish, rather than his new Christian, coreligionists, had in seeing an armed confrontation between a Christian and a Muslim power.

The memory of Raymund's sojourn in England and of his successful accomplishment of the Great Art survived for several centuries after him. In 1555 Robertus Constantinus affirmed that he had been shown a coin of very pure gold, under the name of "Raymund noble," which was said

to have been struck from the precious metal manufactured by Raymund in the Tower of London. Also John Stow's *A Survey of London* (1598) mentions a work on alchemy written by Raymund in St. Catharine's Hospital.[28] And, as we have just seen, Elias Ashmole in the seventeenth century, and the *Bibliothèque des philosophes alchimiques* in the eighteenth, still knew of remarkable, albeit disparate, details about his imprisonment and escape.

We mentioned above that the earliest manuscript of the *De secr.* states that it was written in Paris in 1319. This date fits with the statement contained in text of the book itself (p. 9 of the 1542 edition), according to which the author was asked by King Robert for certain alchemical information. On page 33 of the same edition the author states that he sent a "compendium" to King Robert that contained alchemical instructions. Several other pseudo-Lullian alchemical manuscripts also state that they were written for King Robert or Rupert.[29] The king referred to must have been Robert I the Bruce, who was king of Scotland from 1306 to 1329, defeated King Edward II of England at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, and obtained the pope's recognition of his title as king of Scotland in 1323. If King Edward III was interested in our alchemist because of his promise of gold, King Robert turned to him in the hope of obtaining relief through alchemical medicine for the leprosy which afflicted him and of which he ultimately died in 1329. In his *De secr.* (p. 9), Raymund hints at having the fabled "elixir" in his possession, and his quinta essentia is repeatedly described by him as a magical panacea which could cure practically any disease if added to the more commonly used medicaments.

One more royal personage is mentioned in yet another pseudo-Lullian work: an earlier version or copy of the *Testamentum novissimum* is dedicated to "King Charles" by its pseudonymous author, "Raymond Lully the Majorcan." In it the author addresses the king as "my dear Charles," and says that "I choose you as the most beloved son, as the enlarger of the Catholic faith."[30] The king in question was probably Charles IV ("le Bel"), king of France (r. 1322–1328), who also reigned as Charles I in Navarre. If so, Raymund probably stayed on in Paris, or at least in France, for several years after completing his *De secr.* in 1319.

In 1330 we find him in Mount Possulanus (Montpellier) in the south of France, from where he must have returned to London and then gone on to Italy. From Italy he went with Cremer again to London, where he wrote his three treatises dated 1337, 1355, and 1357. Whether Raymund stayed throughout these years in England is uncertain. If we can give credit to the story of his escape from the Tower, he went to France some time after 1337 (the year Edward III declared war on France), and then, prior to 1355, returned to London. It is very unlikely

that in the course of these years he returned to his native Spain, for had he done so the Inquisition would undoubtedly have got hold of him.

The "fifth essence" was a favorite subject of Raymund the alchemist, which occupied him on and off for more than thirty years. The full title of his first treatise on the subject, which he wrote in Paris in 1319, was *Tertia distinctio quintae essentiae quae est de cura corporum* (The Third Distinction of the Fifth Essence which is about the Healing of Bodies). According to a statement contained in the opening passage of Raymund's *Compendium animae transmutationis artis metallorum* (The Compendium of the Art of Transmutation of the Soul of Metals), which he sent to King Rupert, he wrote "the third book of the fifth essence" in the Abbey of St. Benedict in Paris.[31] And in 1349 he returned to the subject and wrote the *Liber de conservatione vitae humanae et de quinta essentia* (The Book of the Conservation of Human Life and of the Fifth Essence).

Who, then, was the author of *De secr.* and of the other alchemical books which subsequently were attributed to the famous Raymund Lull? The direct light of history is thrown on this unknown alchemist only in the last three years of his life, after the Inquisition began its proceedings against him. If the data given in the colophons of the books referred to above are correct, however, this second Raymund had to be born about 1295 in order to be able to complete his first book, the *De secr.*, in 1319. The name by which he became known, Raymund (or Ramón) de Tarrega, indicates that he was born in the town of Tarrega, in the bishopric of Vich (later Solsone), and since all the references to him, including those contained in the inquisitorial proceedings that ultimately cost him his life, are unanimous in identifying him as a converted Jew, we can accept it as a fact that he was born to Jewish parents. This means that he must have received a Jewish education and adhered to the Jewish religion until his conversion to Christianity.

The town of Tarrega was the home of an important Jewish community that dated from the early thirteenth century. At first it was under the jurisdiction of the community of Lérida, but in 1325 King Jaime of Aragon granted it independence. In 1345 King Pedro IV of Aragon (r. 1336–1387) gave the Jews of Tarrega permission to rebuild their synagogue, and recommended to the vicar-general of Vich that he should authorize its reconstruction, which the latter did in August 1346. In 1350 the populace of Tarrega attacked the Jews and killed three hundred men and women among them. But all this happened long after Raymund de Tarrega had left the town.[32]

According to the minutes of the inquisitorial tribunal that interrogated Raymund about 1370, he stated that he had converted to Christianity in his twelfth year. However, this statement about his pre-adoles-

cent conversion is contradicted by the fact that in secret he remained faithful to Judaism to the end of his life. It is hard to imagine that such Marranism should be based on impressions or knowledge a young child had absorbed from his parents. It is much more likely that his conversion took place years later, after he had saturated himself with the doctrines and practices of Judaism. In fact, according to later annalists, Raymund de Tarrega grew up a Jew, became "a rabbi of the Hebrews," and only thereafter did he undergo an insincere conversion to Christianity.[33] Also the two papal letters that deal with Raymund de Tarrega's heresies (see below) and were written, the first before his death, and the second soon thereafter, state that he "lately," or "once," "returned from the error of Judaic blindness to the light of Christian faith," which is unlikely to refer to a child who was converted in his twelfth year. Finally, the appellation "neophyte," by which he was known, seems to refer to a person who converted to Christianity in adulthood rather than in childhood. As Francisco Peña explains, "This Raymund de Tarraga is called Neophytus, as it were a new sprout or twig. For those are called neophytes who were not born of original Christians but converted to the Catholic faith."[34]

Apart from his Jewish origin and the incident in London, all we know of the alchemist Raymund de Tarrega's life prior to his incarceration by the Inquisition is what can be derived from the colophons of his books. We do not know when and how he became interested in alchemy, nor when and how he developed the theological ideas that the Church considered heretical and that brought down the wrath of the Inquisition upon his head. We can only conjecture that the reason he left his native Spain at an early age and spent most of his life in France, Italy, and England might have been his desire to live in a religiously less oppressive environment, in which he would not have to fear inquisitorial censure and punishment for the doctrines he expressed in his writings. In any case, he did live and work in those countries for close to four decades. By 1319, when he wrote the first version of his *De secr.*, he must have been known as an adept of the Great Art, whose services were sought by royalty. From the testimony of Cremer it appears that he never pretended to be anybody but himself, Master Raymund, an alchemist. It was only after his death that his works came to be attributed to Raymond Lull.

If very little is known of most of Raymund de Tarrega's life, this is not true of his last years, when the Inquisition caught up with him. During Raymund's long sojourn abroad, a Dominican friar and master of theology, Nicolas Eymeric (1320–1399) by name, became inquisitor general of Aragon, Valencia, and Majorca. One of Raymund's books, titled *De invocatione demonum* (On the Invocation of Demons), came

to Eymeric's notice He found it full of heretical errors, and during the reign of Pope Innocent VI (1352–1362) he had it burned in Barcelona What happened was recorded by Eymeric himself in his book *Directorium inquisitorum* (The Inquisitors' Directory), which he wrote (in third person) in Avignon, c 1365

> Also in the time of the same Pope Innocent VI, the same Fray Nicolas Eymeric, inquisitor, and Arnaldus de Buchetis, publicly condemned in Barcelona, and caused to be burned, a certain large and bulky book, *Demonum invocatione*, in seven separate parts, which is titled *The Book of Solomon*, in which were described sacrifices, discourses, offerings, and very many nefarious things with which the demons can be consulted [35]

The *De invocatione demonum* is no longer extant, but some idea of its contents can be had from the listing by Eymeric of the heretical doctrines it proposed In question 27 of his *Directorium*, Eymeric states that Pope Gregory XI (r 1370–1378) condemned this book written by Raymund de Tarrega, and in his question 10 he enumerates twenty two heresies the book contained [36] Eymeric's listing is redundant, and hence I present here a somewhat shorter formulation given to the Tarregan heresies by Natalis Alexander (1639–1724), which is practically identical with Eymeric's list Raymund, then, was accused of having taught that

> 1 The distorted dogmas of Almaricus, Arius, Sabellius, and many heretics were not heretical in themselves, but only in respect of those who by their own intention choose to be stubborn
>
> 2 It was permitted to adore creatures and to participate in the cult of their worship, inasmuch as they represent the Creator
>
> 3 It was permissible, for the same reason, to worship demons
>
> 4 He who sacrificed to demons should be excused equally as, and more than, the Christian who worshiped the images of Christ and the saints, to them [the demons] adoration and sacrifice were due by the law of nature
>
> 5 Those who, as victims of torture, denied God with their mouth, but worshiped him in their heart, not only did not sin, but indeed deserved a reward
>
> 6 A layman should not be held to believe explicitly any article of faith and therefore, if he held or believed the opposite of any article out of ignorance or through the temptation of the devil, he did not sin
>
> 7 All those who did not obey the precepts of God or of the Church must be considered heretics
>
> 8 Every sinner, even while he sinned, conformed his will to the divine will, for good and evil pleased God equally, the recklessness (*desperatio*) of Judas as much as the contrition of Petrus

9 It was not possible to observe in this life any precept, nor could charity be had from any person

10 Man, [even] without charity imparted (*infusa*) to him, could love God above everything, and merit eternal life

11 Without charity nobody could be faithful

12 The sect of Mohammed[37] was equally catholic as the faith of Jesus Christ

13 It was more perfect to be a schismatic than a catholic, Christ, the apostles, the angels, [and] all the inhabitants of heaven were schismatics

14 Only God the Father was the best, God the Son was good in the first degree, the Holy Spirit in the second degree, all the creatures in the third degree [38]

It is, of course, questionable whether this list of heresies actually and faithfully represents the doctrines expounded by Raymund de Tarrega in his *De invocatione demonum*, or whether they were intentionally slanted by Eymeric who, for reasons of his own, was interested in having his superiors condemn the book and its author This being the case, it is difficult to say whether Raymund's teachings in that book were indica tive of any belief that would be held by a Marrano Jew rather than by a Christian thinker with an original and independent bent of mind The worship of demons was certainly as sharply condemned by Judaism as by Christianity However, in paragraph 5 one could see an attempt to justify and excuse the Marranos who denied their old religion "with their mouth" but continued to worship "in their heart" according to the faith of their fathers Remarkable is Raymund's positive attitude toward Islam, although this would not be a specifically Jewish position His assertion that Christ and the apostles were schismatics becomes understandable if they are considered from a Jewish point of view Also his point in placing God alone in the highest position while assigning to Jesus and the Holy Spirit lower statuses can perhaps be interpreted as a Jewish attempt to justify strict monotheism as against Christian trinitarianism Whether Eymeric was sufficiently familiar with Jewish theology to recognize Judaizing tendencies in Raymund's heresies is unknown But he knew that Raymund was a former Jew and hence suspect of Judaizing, which suffices to explain his animus against Raymund

Later historians took it for granted that Raymund de Tarrega was a Marrano, a crypto Jew Thus Francisco Peña, in his commentary on Eymeric's *Directorium inquisitorum*, writes "This Raymund called Raymund de Tarrega, who, after first having been a Jew (*Hebraeus*) converted to the faith of Christ, became a monk of the Order of the Preachers Otherwise, as the matter itself demonstrated, he did not change his mores, even though he changed his religion "[39] Henricus Spondanus

(Henri de Sponde, 1568–1643), speaking of the annalist Bzovius (Abraham Bzowski, 1567–1637) says that Bzovius erred in attributing to Raymund Lull "the errors which were those of Raymund Neophitus who had converted from Judaism to the faith of Christ, but nevertheless retained his old errors "[40] Jaime Custurer (1657–1715) says that "Raimundo Neophito, or Raimundo de Tarraga was a Jew, and although he made himself a monk, he did not abandon his customs "[41] Similarly, Theophilus Raynaudus (1583–1663) writes that "Raimundo Lullio de Tarrega, whom others call Raimundo Neofito, because he converted from Judaism to the faith of Christ, and thereafter became a monk but he did not relinquish the errors of which he had been accused before Finally, by command of Gregory XI, he was examined in the year of Christ 1372, and convicted of grave errors, was condemned, and all his books were burned "[42]

Giulio Bartolocci (1613–1687) presents the following information about Raymund de Tarrega in his *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica* (written in Hebrew)

> Raymund the latter (*aharoni*), a false neophyte of the Order of the Preachers, wrote several evil books against our holy community, which were burned in fire by order of Pope Gregory XI About the year 1372 of our Lord our Messiah Jesus Note And know that Raymund de Tarraga the second is not Raymundo the first from the island of Majorca, who visited Africa and died there at the hand of the Ishmaelites for the holy faith of our Messiah, and so say many of our religion and he was of the sect of the monastic order as stated by the author of the book of names who wrote books of chronicles of that minor order[43]

Bartolocci is misquoted by Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739) to the effect that Raymund de Tarrega underwent a feigned conversion to Christianity and joined the Dominican order with the express purpose of deceiving and misleading "the simpler minds" among the Christians

> Raimundus, whom Bartolocci, vol 4, p 363, calls *aharoni*, or the latter, in order to be distinguished from Raymund Lull Of him he thus "Raymundus the latter, called de Tarraga, neophyte, having in external appearance abandoned the superstition of the Jews, simulated adherence to Lord Christ, not from his soul but deceptively, and, in order to be able to deceive the simpler minds with the appearance of holiness and of a more confined life, he assumed the habit of the sacred Dominican Order, and about the year 1370 wrote certain minor works in which were contained several heretical and erroneous things Of them the first was *On the Invocation of Demons*, and another whose beginning is "Whether an unbeliever is required to obey both the divine and the apostolic canons," and several oth

ers, which, by order of Pope Gregory XI, about the year 1372, were condemned and given over to the flames.[44]

The assertion that Raymund de Tarrega, despite his feigned conversion, "continued to Judaize," is repeated by Johann Jacob Hofmann (1635–1706) in his *Lexicon universale*, published in 1698.[45]

Basing himself on the aforementioned sources, Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736) becomes guilty of some inaccuracy in stating that Raymund de Tarrega "ex-Jew, joined the Dominican order in 1370, but entirely as a pretense in order to deceive the Christians."[46] The fact, of course, is that by 1370 Raymund de Tarrega had been in the carcer of the Dominican monastery for more than two years. It is most likely that he joined the order in his youth, prior to 1319, by which time he was in Paris. Fabricius takes it for granted that Raymund de Tarrega is the author of the *De secr.* and of another alchemical book entitled *De alchymia*.[74]

The above reconstruction of Raymund de Tarrega's literary activity and sojourns in France, Italy and England, based on the evidence of the colophons in manuscripts and on Cremer's account contained in his *Testament*, is at variance with the data published by José M. Coll in the January-December, 1948, issue of ILERDA under the title "¿Ramón de Tárrega fué formalmente hereje?" (Was R. d. T. Formally a Heretic?). Coll was either unaware of, or disregarded, the colophons and Cremer's account, and based his life of Ramon only on references to him found in the archives of provincial church institutions. From them he pieced together the following story:

Ramon was born in Tarrega, of Jewish parents, about 1335. At the age of eleven and a half, that is to say, in 1346 or 1347, he embraced the Catholic religion, and some two years later he entered the Order of the *Predicadores* (Dominicans), not in his own town of Tarrega, as some have supposed, or in Barcelona, as others have thought, but in Cervera, in which monastery, founded in 1318, he received the habit of a *Predicador* friar, most probably in 1350. All this is conjectural in Coll's reconstruction of Tarrega's life.

The first official document to mention frater Raymundus de Tarrega dates from September 1351, when the Acts of the Capitulo Provincial de Balaguer state that he was sent for one year to the monastery of Santa Catalina of Barcelona to complete his grammatical studies. In 1352 he was assigned to the same monastery to study first-year logic. One of his colleagues there was Nicolas Eymeric, who years later became Raymund's chief inquisitorial prosecutor. In 1353 Ramon de Tarrega's name appears among the second-year students of logic in the monastery of Barcelona. In 1354 Ramon was sent to the monastery of Lerida to

study logic Coll remarks that Raymund completed his studies in logic in three years, while other students needed five years for the same studies Next, in the records of the Capitulo de Pamplona for 1355, Raymund is stated to have been assigned to the monastery of Majorca to study phi losophy In 1357, after two years of study, the young scholar was ap pointed lecturer of logic at the monastery of Lerida, where he had sev eral students who were to become well known theological authors

Raymund's independence of mind and unwillingness to submit to su perior authority surfaced for the first time in 1358, when he was but twenty three years old In that year he was assigned to teach logic at the monastery of Urgel, where he soon found himself in disagreement with its sub prior, Fr Antonio Laver Details of the conflict are not known, but its result was that Raymund, together with a colleague, Fr Gabriel Ribes, was found guilty of acts of insubordination, for which both young scholars were duly punished The extant document which speci fies the punishment meted out to them reads as follows

> Because Fr Raymund de Tarrega and Fr Gabriel Ribes, together with sev eral other clerics, carried out deceitfully and maliciously an investigation against Fr Antonius Laver, at present the Ilerdan sub prior, therefore they are deprived for three years of all voice and study and other favors As pun ishment we confine the said Fr Raymund de Tarrega to the Sangones mon astery, and Fr Gabriel Ribes to the Stellensian monastery, imposing se verely upon them that while they will be in the said monasteries they should fast twenty days on bread and water

The term of banishment of the two young scholars was completed in September 1361 From that date until 1365 Raymund is not referred to in the few surviving records, and thus Coll is unable to say anything about his life in those four years, except that those were precisely the four years in which Raymund *was supposed* to study theology In any case, in 1365 Raymund was appointed lecturer in theology at the mon astery of Cervera, where he stayed for two years Coll suspects that it was in the course of his lectures that Raymund began to put forward certain theories or propositions which sounded theologically wrong The prior of the monastery felt obliged to alert his superiors to the problem From the local superior the matter was passed on to the provincial, who in turn handed it up to the general of the order On January 6, 1368, the general, Fr Elias Raymund, wrote a "very paternal and affectionate let ter" to Tarrega, exhorting him to give up his false and erroneous view in matters of the faith

Tarrega, however, resisted his superiors' persuasion, whereupon, a short time thereafter, legal proceedings against him began Ramon was sent to Barcelona and detained there in the monastery that was the prin

cipal provincial seat of the order. In the sequel Coll recapitulates an account given by Torres Amat of the inquisitorial proceedings against Tarrega, which we shall present below.

Coll's conclusion is that the image of Ramon de Tarrega "the alchemist, the adept of occult sciences, the Judaizer, the necromancer, etc." is "pure legend and fantasy." The historical Raymund de Tarrega was, he says, what he appeared to be in the lawsuits, a Dominican theologian, whose doctrinal errors were greatly exaggerated by the authors who wrote about him. Coll even suggests that it is most likely that the sea of confusions around the person of Raymund de Tarrega arose from confounding him with the Jew Estruch de Piera, who, according to Eymerich, was not only an invoker of demons but also actually offered them sacrifices.

Obviously, one person could not have studied and taught at the monastery of Santa Catalina in Barcelona, and at the same time been engaged in writing alchemical books in the church of Sancta Catharina in London—to mention only one of the discrepancies between the two life histories, made the more intriguing by the coincidence between the names of the two ecclesiastical institutions. One must therefore ask whether it is possible that there were two men by the name of Raymund de Tarrega, the younger one of whom (born c. 1335) never left his native Spain and never wrote any alchemical books. If so, who was the other Raymond, some forty years his senior, who lived from 1319 to 1357 in Paris, Montpellier, and London, and wrote during those years at least nine alchemical books which are extant and are considered by most historians the work of Raymond de Tarrega? This is one of the many puzzles in the annals of alchemy whose solution awaits the work of future historians.

BUT to return once again to the closing years of Raymund de Tarrega, from the brief statement by Eymeric quoted above it appears that the burning of his *De invocatione demonum* was carried out by Eymeric and Arnaldus de Buchetis in Barcelona between 1352 and 1362, without papal authorization. There the matter rested for a number of years, probably because de Tarrega, living abroad, could not be reached by the arm of the Inquisition. It is likely that in the course of the ensuing years, however, Eymeric managed to obtain copies of the other books written by Raymund and, having studied them, decided that he would have to deal again with their author. Then, some time after 1357, perhaps even several years later, Raymund committed the fatal error of returning to Spain, therewith making himself available to the inquisitorial jurisdiction of Eymeric. Why he returned, even though he must have been aware of the danger in doing so, is a puzzle. Perhaps, having reached the

seventh decade of his life, he felt that he wanted to spend his last years in his homeland, for which, as we know from historical sources, the Spanish Jews had an extraordinarily strong love. In any case, return he did, and Eymeric went after him.

How long a time passed between Raymund's return and the beginning of the inquisitorial proceedings against him we do not know. Since he must have joined the Dominican order prior to his leaving Spain for his long sojourn abroad, it is probable that a Dominican monastery became his home upon his return, so that Eymeric, who was also a Dominican, had no difficulty in tracking him down. As the first step, it seems, Eymeric merely admonished Raymund to retract his errors. When Raymund refused, Eymeric summoned him, and, as Torres Amat puts it, "exhorted him charitably" to retract his false propositions, or else he would have to experience the full weight of inquisitorial justice. Raymund, however, "resisted with various cavilings," whereupon, in 1368, Eymeric had Raymund incarcerated in the Dominican monastery of Barcelona, and commissioned a number of theologians to examine his doctrines.[48]

During Raymund's imprisonment the inquisitorial tribunal obtained depositions from witnesses and also a declaration from Raymund himself, who, as Torres Amat puts it, tried to protect himself "with the subtlety of his genius [*ingenio*], neither retracting his propositions nor manifesting enmity to the Church." The general of the Dominican order, troubled by the unfortunate situation of "Maestro P. Tarrega," sent him a letter (dated January 6, 1368) in which he tried to persuade Raymund to repent of his heresies. He reminded him of the honor of his order, which he had disgraced, and its holiness, which he had desecrated with his deviations, and informed him that he, the general, had caused Raymund's doctrines to be examined many times by the most celebrated theologians of the order, who were unable to reconcile them with the doctrines of the Church. In fact, they found in them twenty-two erroneous propositions which were viciously heretical. The general sincerely counseled him to respect his own honor and that of his order, and to subject himself to the judgment of Fr. Nicholas Eymeric, the inquisitor of the faith, "who had treated him with greater benevolence than he himself could hope for." And he warned him that, should he remain uncontrite, he would be surrendered as a heretic to the secular arm, which would impose upon him a just punishment.

But Maestro Raymund, Torres Amat goes on to relate, disobeyed "these salutary advises," and "resorting to various turns and evasions tried to elude" the inquisitorial sentence. He even had the temerity to complain to the Roman Curia "that they oppressed him and used force against him." Consequently, by order of the pope given on February 15,

1371, Cardinal Guido, bishop of Perusa, wrote to Eymeric instructing him that the proceedings against Raymund, who by that time had been incarcerated for more than three years, should be brought to a conclusion without further delay When nothing happened for several more months, the pope himself sent on September 10, 1371, to the archbishop of Tarragona and to Eymeric a papal decree of which the relevant parts are as follows

> Quite recently, not without great displeasure, it has come to our attention from a trustworthy source that Raymund de Tarrega, a member of the order of preaching friars, who lately returned from the error of Judaic blindness to the light of Christian faith, at the damnable instigation of the sower of evil works, publicly holds, asserts, and preaches some errors in his sacrilegious and perverse doctrine You, son Nicholas, the apostolically au thorized inquisitor into heretical wickedness in those parts, inquired into those errors against this same Raymund, as befits your office Since the aforesaid things, if they are based on truth, ought not to remain unpun ished by apostolic writ we do commit and charge you that with due proceedings you should punish the abovementioned Raymund according to canonical sanctions, with no appeal, if he should hold, set forth, or de fend some heretical errors, unless he should freely abjure them, do pen ance, and show adequate satisfaction But if on account of the power, mal ice, or dread of someone or some persons you should be unable to carry out the above, do not delay to send us as soon as possible the said Raymund with all the proceedings against him with all the documents sealed with our seals, with a trusty guard Let the aid of the secular arms be invoked if necessary Given on the tenth day of the calends of Sep tember, in the first year [of our pontificate] [49]

What Eymeric did upon receipt of this papal decree he recorded in his *Directorium inquisitorum* in a brief paragraph

> The 27th question is Which are the heretical and erroneous books which were condemned by special order of the Lord Pope Gregory XI, outside the Curia, by apostolic authority?
>
> To this we reply that in the time of the Lord Pope Gregory XI, the Lord Petrus, archbishop of Tarragona, and the friar Nicolaus Eymericus of the order of the preachers, inquisitor of Aragon, sententiously condemned a certain booklet *De daemonum invocatione*, which begins Misericordia et veritas (Compassion and truth) and a certain other book which begins Utrum quilibet infidelis tam divinis quam Apostolis canonibus teneatur obedisse (Whether any unbeliever is obliged to obey both the divine and the apostolic canons), and certain other minor works, as wholly heretical and erroneous, written by a certain Raymund Neophyte, because of the

heresies and errors contained in them, which were enumerated above, question 10 [50]

It is not clear which "other minor works" were, according to Eymeric, condemned by the pope They may have been one or more versions of Raymund's *De secr*, and the other alchemical work he wrote, *De alchimia et metallorum metamorphosi* (On Alchemy and the Metamorphosis of Metals),[51] or, as seems more likely, other theological books of which no trace has survived

The papal rescript was followed three days later (September 13, 1371) by a letter the confessor of the pope wrote to the archbishop of Tarragona informing him that the pope had formed a commission of thirty theologians entrusting them with the examination anew of Raymund's doctrines Once they reached their conclusions, there should be no more delay, and sentence should be passed expeditiously

This letter seems to have been the death knell for Raymund On the 20th of September, that is, barely a day or two after the papal confessor's letter could have reached Tarragona, Raymund "was found dead, thrown on his bed" in his cell After the archbishop of Tarragona learned of Raymund's death, he wrote (on October 21) to Francisco Botella, prior of Sta Ana de Barcelona, instructing him to investigate and ascertain, jointly with Eymeric, whether Raymund died a natural or a violent death The very fact that a month after the death of Raymund the archbishop found it necessary to order an investigation into its circumstances shows that there must have been good reason to suspect that Raymund was murdered The results of the investigation, if indeed it took place, are not known Torres Amat concludes his brief biography of Raymund by saying, "Thus the case against Raymund remained without a verdict "[52]

The death of Raymund de Tarrega did not put an end to the preoccupation of the Church with his heresies In January 1372 Pope Gregory XI again wrote to the archbishop of Tarragona and to Eymeric, ordering them to burn all the books of Raymund that contained heretical errors

> To our venerable brother the Archbishop of Tarraco, and our beloved son Nicholas Emmerich, member of the order of preaching friars, master of theology, our chaplain and inquisitor into heretical wickedness in all the lands subject to the authority of our dear son in Christ the illustrious Pedro King of Aragon, greeting and esteem Recently it came to our attention that Raymund de Terraga, a member of the order of preaching friars, who once returned from the error of Judaic blindness to the light of Christian faith, at the damnable instigation of the sower of evil works, at one time publicly held and asserted some errors in his sacrilegious and perverse doctrine You, son Nicholas had inquired into those errors against this

same Raymund, as befits your office. We charged in our commission to you that . . . with due proceedings you should punish the abovementioned Raymund according to canonical sanctions, with no appeal. . . . But since, as we have heard, the said Raymund (who while he lived is said to have produced several different books and writings that contain heretical errors) has gone the way of all flesh . . . we do commit and charge you that by apostolic authority you should cause each and every book and writing of this man to be shown to you, and all his books and writings which contain heretical errors . . . you should burn or cause to be burned. . . . Given at Avignon . . . of January, in the second year [of our pontificate].[53]

Having thus disposed of Raymund de Tarrega, Eymeric turned his inquisitorial attention to Raymund Lull and found him, too, wanting. He informed Pope Gregory XI of his findings, whereupon the pope, in a letter dated June 5, 1372, and addressed to the archbishop of Tarragona, authorized him to burn the books in question. However, Eymeric was not able to lay his hands on all the extant copies of Lull's works, nor did the pope consider the matter closed, for on October 1, 1374, he wrote yet another letter to the bishop of Barcelona instructing him to send to Avignon the copy of the heretical book which Eymeric had deposited with the bishop. Another two years later, in a letter dated February 1, 1376, and addressed to the archbishop of Tarragona, Pope Gregory XI instructed the archbishop to have the twenty books written by Raymund Lull that were examined by a commission of theologians sent to Avignon, as well as other books by the same author which contained similar errors.[54]

It seems fitting to conclude the story of Eymeric's destruction of Raymund de Tarrega and his accusation of Raymund Lull with countless heresies, with a brief reference to what happened thereafter to Eymeric himself. In 1386 Lullism was declared sane and wholesome by the inquisitor Emangaudius of Barcelona. Eymeric was demoted, and subsequently sent by King John of Arragon into exile where he died in 1399, at the age of seventy-nine.[55]

What remains now is to present a brief summation of the book *De secr.*[56] *De secr.* begins on page 6, with a preface entitled, "The Preface to the First Book of the Secrets of Nature or the Fifth Essence by Raimund Lull, the most acute philosopher, and most celebrated Physician." It takes up the whole page and reads as follows:[57]

This is the book of the secrets of nature, or the Fifth Essence, which teaches its extraction and application to human bodies, for the accomplishment of wonderful and nearly divine works. When it is hidden, true medicine is hidden, and also the transmutation of metals is prevented; when it is unlocked, anything having to do with them is unlocked also. Indeed, this book is the

> epitome of all books treating of these subjects, a thing which glorious God has shown to us in order that it might preserve our body from corruption insofar as it is naturally possible, right up to its end fixed for us by God, and also so that imperfect metals may be perfected and transmuted into one another It is my desire that the artists of this art, contemplating God, should prefer to know, worship, and love God through good works by aid ing paupers, widows, and indigent orphans, without a large fee, and by doing divine works of this sort Let them not be like unto him who hid the Lord's talent, and did not show it forth for the purpose for which it had been entrusted to him, as Matthew writes in his 26th chapter [58] But by trusting Him who says through Moses, "I will be in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt speak,"[59] we have decided that this most hidden secret of hidden secrets ought to be declared to you With divine virtue inspiring me and the infinite goodness of the same helping me, I will make brief mention of its principles and rules, and of the process of its nature

The first book itself begins (p 7) with the description of the three basic "principles" which underlie all alchemical work *materia* (matter), *medium* (means), and the *quinta essentia* (fifth essence) On page 9 oc curs the first reference to King Robert "Besides, we are of the intention to treat briefly the testimony and the codicil as we have been requested by the illustrious Lord King Robert " Then our author goes on to explain that the elixir, which is the Fifth Essence, is applicable to three purposes in human medicine, in the transmutation of metals, and in connection with precious stones (p 13)

After some theological digressions, touching upon Christ, Paul, Adam's expulsion from the Garden of Eden, and the divinely ordered limit of human life (pp 16–17), our author describes the immeasurable value of the fifth essence

> It preserves the body from corruption, strengthens the basic constitution (*elementativa*), pristine youth is restored by it, it unifies the spirit, dissolves the crudities, solidifies that which is loose, loosens the solid, fattens the lean, weakens the fat, cools the inflamed, heats up the cold, dries the humid, humidifies the dry, in what way soever, one and the same thing can perform contrary operations, the sole act of one thing is diversified accord ing to the nature of the recipient, just as the heat of the sun has contrary effects, for it dries the mud and liquifies the wax (p 18)

References to Hippocrates, Galenus, and John Damascene (pp 20–21) show that our author was acquainted with the medical literature available in the Middle Ages He concludes this first part with the pious admonition "This is only revealed to you by us so that you comprehend, love, and contemplate God, and be aware of your end, everything to be devoted to the honor and praise of God" (p 21)

The second part explains "how to extract the fifth essence from plants, and primarily from wine":

> Therefore, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, take red or white wine, and it should be the best that can be obtained, or take reserved wine, which is not vinegary in any way, neither too little nor too much, and distill burning water (*aqua ardens*), as it is customary, through the tubes of the arms of copper, and then rectify it four times until the major rectification. But I tell you that it is sufficient to rectify it three times, and to seal it well so that the burning spirit should not escape. And you have an infallible sign when you see that sugar soaked in it and placed into fire burns like water. After you have thus prepared the water, you have the material from which the fifth essence can be extracted in performance (*ad actum*) which is one foremost thing which we intend [to treat] in this book. Take it, therefore, and place it in a vessel which is called [vessel] of circulation or in a pelican which is called a Hermetic vessel, whose form appears below, and seal its opening most tightly with *clibano* [dough or clay] or soft mastic or live lime mixed with egg white, and put it in dung which is very hot by its nature or in *vinacia* [wine flasks] to which no heat should be applied by accident, as you can do if you place a great quantity of any of those things in the corner of the house, which quantity should be thirty portable loads (*onera gerularia*).
>
> It is necessary that the vesel should not lack heat, for if heat is lacking the circulation of the water will be spoiled, and what we seek will not come to pass unless constant heat is administered to it through continuous circulation. Our fifth essence will be separated in the color of the sky, which you can see by the diametrical line which divides the upper part, that is, the fifth essence, from the lower, that is, from the impurities which are of a muddy color. Its nature is almost incorruptible and immutable because from it, it reaches to total glorification. For it has this in respect of the whole body of the world, to the extent that it is possible to change nature by an artifice (pp. 25–26).

Our only comment on these instructions of how to produce the fifth essence is that the author, evidently on purpose, hides more than he divulges, and that for actual experimentation his instructions are all but useless.

The second canon describes how the finished product of the fifth essence can be recognized, once the vessel of circulation is opened, by its "more than miraculous odor with which no fragrance in the world can compare" (p. 26).

The third canon tells "how our fifth essence or vegetable mercury can be obtained without great expenses by him who, due to the greatest poverty, is prevented." For God "created the fifth essence not only in

burning water, but also in all plants, stones, and metals . . . and even in animals, snakes, etc." (p. 26).

The fourth canon (p. 28) teaches how to extract the fifth essence from fruits, roots, meats, eggs, and blood. The fifth (pp. 31–32) explains how "to extract the four elements from all things, namely, plants, animals, and metals." The sixth (pp. 33–34) refers to "a compendium which I sent to King Robert, and in which I revealed the composition of pearls." Then our author addresses directly the person for whom he wrote the present book, and says, "but to you we revealed in this chapter the calcinations. . . ." The seventh (pp. 34–35) "contains the science of extracting the fifth essence from all things so as to apply it to human bodies according to what is needed."

Canons 8 to 44 contain lists of plants and other natural substances used as medicaments, arranged in the following categories:

Canons 8–11. Hot plants of the first to fourth grades.

Canons 12–15. Humid plants of the first to fourth grades.

Canons 16–18. Cold plants and substances of the first to fourth grades.

Canons 19–22. Dry plants and substances of the first to fourth grades.

Canon 23. The doctrine of the application of the aforementioned substances for medical purposes, and a lengthy discussion of the qualities characterizing them. The last four pages of this long canon (pp. 59–62) are written in the form of questions and answers.

Canon 24. Missing in the printed text.

Canon 25. The "attractive things, so that it should be possible to remove from our body every injurious object, such as iron, wood, abscesses, etc." Among the items listed are magnet, sulphur, petroleum, asafoetida, parsley, etc. (pp. 62–63).

Canon 26. Purgatives.

Canon 27. "Substances constricting the belly and the blood, so that you attach them to our heaven [i.e., the fifth essence], and thus make it constrictive." The long list of these substances includes dragon's blood, *terra sigillata* [a kind of clay], gum arabic, *mummia*,[60] alum, etc. (pp. 65–66).

Canons 28–43. Lists of hardening, mollifying, maturing, corrosive, binding, opening, cleansing, attenuating and dissolving, opening and dividing, sweat-producing, repellent, soporific, stinging, strengthening, and poison-repelling substances (pp. 66–80).

Canons 43–44. Explanations as to the administration of the aforementioned drugs.

As an example of Raymund de Tarrega's pharmacopia I am listing here in his original Latin (with the translation in parentheses) the sub-

stances he enumerates in his eighteenth canon as those of the fourth (the highest) grade of frigidity (pp. 46–47):

Opium
Mandragora (mandrake)
Camphora (camphors)
Semen papaveris (poppy seed)
Iusquiamus (hyoscyamus, henbane, or Aster atticus
Semen eius (its seed)
Semperviva (aizoon, evergreen, houseleek)
Salamandra (salamander)
Aqua eius (its water)
Mucilago psilii (musty juice of psyllion, fleabane, fleawort)
Cicuta (Cicuta virosa L., or Conium maculatum L., hemlock)
Semen eius (its seed)
Ebenus (Diospyris ebenum L., Hebenus, ebony)
Verbascus (mullein, a plant of the figwort family)

Following this list the author adds: "Apply these things to our heaven, and you will have it the coldest." It should be noted that his instruction throughout the lists of his medicaments is to add them to "our heaven," that is, the fifth essence, whereby the original medicinal property and effectiveness of the substances in question will be maximized.

With page 83 begins the second book of *De secr.*, which carries the following superscription: "Here begins the second book of this volume which is called On the Ultimate General Remedies for the Preservation of the Good Condition of our Body."

The Introduction gives the purpose of this second book as follows:

> In this present book we intend to deal with the application of the fifth essence to the human body for the purpose of curing it of all the infirmities which are incurable according to the judgment of the most recent physicians. . . . Because in this book the doctrine of healing all diseases from head to foot is specified, we composed it despite our intention of which we have said earlier that it was to be brief. Because of which we shall give one general rule, with which everything can be cured, from head to foot, with our fifth essence. Thereafter truly we shall get down to some specific cases of comparisons [*collationes*], so that according to the doctrine which we shall present concerning it, any investigator should know how to practice it and what is the appropriate method of application in each case.

This introduction is followed by seventeen canons:

Canon 1. How to avoid insomnia.

Canon 2. "Teaches the magisterium of resuscitating the dead, which is one of the greatest secrets in this book."

Canon 3. "Contains the science of healing the leprous so that they should revert to pristine health and be cleansed."

Canon 4. The science of curing paralysis.

Canon 5 Remedies for consumptives

Canon 6 "Which teaches us the perfect cure of demoniacs, melan cholics, and all epileptic diseases (*morborum caducorum*) " We shall have more to say on this canon below

Canon 7 "Teaches the curing of those who have fear, and of incon stancy "

Canon 8 Cure of those infected by poison in a drink or in other ways

Canon 9 Cure of infectious humors of our body, and of hotness (*calefactiones*), itches, and of lice

Canon 10 How to cure quaternary fever

Canon 11 The perfect cure for tertiary fever

Canon 12 The cure for daily fevers (*quotidianis febribus*)

Canon 13 The science of curing all continuous fevers

Canon 14 The science of pestilential fevers

Canon 15 The science of the true cure of spasms

Canon 16 The science of how to administer laxatives, and how it is possible to cure sciatica, podagra, and kinds of *guttae*

Canon 17 "Which teaches you how to conduct yourself in all cures of chirurgy, according to which it will be possible to repair wounds through nature "

Each of the above prescriptions and medical instructions contains references to the use of the fifth essence For example, the very last item (p 107) reads "Likewise a fistula, a cancer, an infection (*plaga*) can be cured, first with the corrosive fifth essence, then with the cleansing [fifth essence], then with that which makes flesh grow, and this should be the general rule in chirurgical cure "

Since Raymund de Tarrega was the author of the book *On the Invocation of Demons*, which caused his downfall when in his old age he returned to Barcelona, and which evidently evinced what could be characterized as a soft or friendly attitude toward demons, it is of special interest to see whether *De secr* reflects in any way this unusual position

Canon 6 of Book Two of *De secr* (pp 90–93), as mentioned above, deals with the curing of demoniacs, as persons believed to be possessed by demons were called In it Tarrega states

> Truly, experience teaches us that all melancholics are occupied with horri ble cogitations The malicious humor has its origin in the spleen, and its fumes ascend through channels in the body until they reach the brain, and they move the fantasy and the imagination, and fabricate horrible fantasms with the perturbation of the intellect while asleep, and while awake they think horrible things At times that humor is excessively malicious and gen erates epilepsy or apoplexy In fact the demons frequently mingle with these infirmities to such an extent that the infirmity mixed with the demons

tortures the patient At other times, however, they are crazed (*stulti*) and talk to themselves, and oftentimes seem as if they were discussing with other people and not only with themselves, and also reach such a state of desperation that they kill themselves

The cure for them lies in the use of our fifth essence or in its addition to those medicines, that is to say to the fumigations (*fumusterrae*), the *centaurea maior*,[61] *epithimus*,[62] thyme, lapis lazuli, black hellebore [63] And let it stand in our fifth essence for three hours, and then give it to him in a potion twice a day and once at night, and from the leftover anoint the whole body and the region of the spleen This medicine surely cleanses the brain and purges the melancholy, and restores cheer to the patient, and [makes him] perfectly healthy in ten days, if he continues taking it

Question How can it be that the demons can be expelled from the bod ies, when they have no bodies in which they could receive the impressions of medicines, all whose potency has an effect [only] in respect of an object?

Answer Many reasons can be adduced in answering this question, both from the texts of the Holy Scripture and from the necessary reason that the demons are driven away by virtue of the perceivable medicines I shall begin by stating the reason from the Holy Scripture The Holy Scripture shows in the Book of Thobias that the demons are driven out through the virtue of sensate things in a creditable and sacred manner, that is, with fumigation, sacrifice, etc For it is said in that book, in chapter 6, that Thobias placed part of a liver over coals and the demon fled from the whole house Also in the same chapter, Thobias placed part of a heart over coals and its smoke drove away the entire race of demons Here is the clear answer to the ques tion from the Holy Scripture which, however, is by belief But if you want to understand how the solution can be found by natural reason, take these principles cause, effect, justice Whence I conclude that once all causes are removed, their effect is removed For justice is that which is reasonably given to every man

From the first maxim we set forth this reason The demons are attached to human bodies because of bad disposition and corrupt humor, or because of melancholic infection which generates evil, black, and horrible images in fantasy, and disturbs the intellect, for the demons habitually take on such forms, and generally dwell in obscure and solitary places When by virtue of the fifth essence and of other things this humor, which is the reason they enter such a body, is expelled from it, then at the same time also the de mons vanish at once together with the humor

Another reason is this Just as the power of God is and was able to make the qualities of the elements become fixed in the Acheron [the Lower World] after the Day of Judgment without proper co essential substances for the vindication of His divine justice, so He is able to make the demons themselves subject to the action of sensate things, so that the truth of His

power, which is directed with that justice, should have a subject in which He can perform His act according to the quantity of the sin, otherwise the inequality of the truth would be destroyed because of the failure of the free will over whose exercise (*ratio*) God has no power of disposition, according to the disposition of the merit in creatures, which is impossible It is there fore true that God has free will, as it is used according to the disposition of their merit in created principles, and metes out punishments according to the quantity of the sin, and merit and glory according to their measure It can therefore not be doubted that God, for the vindication of His divine justice, subjects the demons to the effect of sensate things

The answer to the foregoing question is also made clear by Solomon's acts of necromancy, with which the demons were forced to perform good works, or with the evil virtue of words, stones, and plants It is therefore clear how the demons are subject to the action of sensate things

The same can be clearly understood from the action of Avernian [infer nal] fire, with which the souls of the damned are tortured, and even the demons themselves, in order to multiply their punishment, even though their substance is not composed of the four elements, but so that their pun ishment should be greatly multiplied they feel the punishment by order of divine justice

For he who sins against the infinite substance is guilty of infinite sin Hence the sinner, in whatever fashion, can suffer greater punishment, but beyond the divine vision nothing can give them a greater one than that to which they are submitted by the action of sensate things

And because of this there exists a revelation of how the sensate medicines have the effect of expelling demons from any body Use, therefore that aforementioned medicine, and you will cure any demoniac, apoplectic, and melancholic, and, most importantly, if you add to the said medicines the herb called ypericon,[64] which otherwise is called *fuga demonum* (flight of demons) or *perforata* For a fumigation of its seed drives away all demons from the vicinity of the body or the house

Perhaps I am reading too much into this passage in which Raymund presents his views of demons, but my impression is that he did not con sider the demons with any deep loathing, but rather saw in them instru ments of God's punishment of the wicked It is also remarkable that in this context he should make reference to the "good works" which King Solomon forced the demons to perform This shows the demons in a somewhat favorable light, precisely as one would expect it from the au thor of *De invocatione demonum* That book, as stated by Eymeric, also carried the title *The Book of Solomon*, and hence one can assume that the relationship of Solomon with the demons was discussed in it

Incidentally, from his reference to Solomon's control over the de mons one can perhaps conclude that Raymund was familiar with talmu

dic and midrashic literature. The story that Solomon forced the demons to perform "good works" (for example, to help in the building of the Temple of Jerusalem) is not found in the Bible, whose narratives were known to the learned Christians, but in the Talmud and the Midrash, sources generally unknown to non-Jews.[65] Of course, it is always possible that Raymund knew of the dominion of Solomon over the demons from the apocryphal *Testament of Solomon* or from Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews*, 8:45ff.)—if, that is, he read Greek. I hold it much more likely that Raymund's familiarity with these legends went back to the early period in his life when he studied the Talmud and the Midrashim.

Another point of similarity between the *De secr.* and the *De invocatione demonum* is the author's preoccupation with grading. In the *De secr.* he groups all substances and diseases into four grades, and speaks for nine solid pages (pp. 54–63) of "the doctrine of degrees." In the *De invocatione demonum*, as we have seen, Tarrega applied his penchant for grading to the doctrine of the Trinity, expressed the view that "only God the Father was the best, God the Son was good in the first degree, the Holy Spirit in the second degree, and all the creatures in the third degree." That is, he arranged taxonomically the totality of the spiritual and the human realm into a scheme of four (God the Father, God the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the creatures), which corresponds to his grading of all medicinal substances into four grades.

In this connection it is of interest to note that in the latter fourfold grouping he repeatedly uses the simile of a royal household: the dominant quality in a substance is for him "the king," the next strongest quality "the queen," the third "the soldier," and the fourth "the slave woman." In speaking of the medicinal qualities of pepper he says, for example, "In the pepper the heat is the king, and since dryness agrees more with fire than the others, therefore dryness in the fire, or in pepper, is the queen. And since after dryness humidity agrees with heat, therefore humidity in pepper is the soldier. And since coldness is opposed to heat, water or coldness in pepper is the slave woman" (pp. 52–53).

All in all, the foregoing summation shows that the *De secr.* is a medical rather than an alchemical treatise. More precisely, one can characterize it as a handbook of medicaments concentrating on the application of an alchemically derived elixir, the mysterious *quinta essentia*, also referred to as "our heaven," whose preparation is given only in rather obscure and vague terms.

Chapter Fourteen

THE QUINTA ESSENTIA IN HEBREW

AS WE HAVE SEEN in the preceding chapter, among the many Latin writings published under the name of Ramon Lull there are several that deal with the fabulous quinta essentia, the purest of essences, which was supposed to have the power to rejuvenate the old and to cure all kinds of diseases, including mental aberrations. The popularity of Lull is attested, among other things, by the fact that *De secr.* was reprinted at least eight times between 1514 and 1557.[1] Another Lullian work on the quinta essentia, *Libellus Raimundi Lullii Maioricani de medicinis secretissimis* (The Majorcan Raimund Lull's Book on the Most Secret Medicines, hereafter *De med.*), is contained in a collection of Lullian writings entitled *Raimundi Lullii Maioricani philosophi suit temporis doctisssimi libelli aliquot chemici* (Some Chemical Writings of the Majorcan Raimund Lull, the Most Learned Philosopher of His Time).[2] Lullian treatises on the quinta essentia continued to appear even in the seventeenth century.[3]

De secr. was certainly available to Johannes de Rupescissa in the latter half of the fourteenth century, for his book *De consideratione quintae essentiae rerum omnium* (On the Consideration of the Fifth Essence of All Things) relied heavily on it.[4] Rupescissa wrote most of his works while imprisoned in Avignon by Pope Innocent VI (r. 1352–1362). He seems to have been burned at the stake in 1362. (The Lullian alchemical treatises, as we have seen, were burned in 1372 at the order of Pope Gregory XI.)

Lullian authorship is also claimed for a brief Hebrew manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[5] The manuscript also contains chapters 3 to 7 of the Canon of Avicenna, written in Arabic in Hebrew characters. Steinschneider devoted two pages to its discussion in his book on medieval Hebrew translations.[6] Apart from copying the name Ramon incorrectly as Romon, however, Steinschneider said nothing about the Hebrew manuscript itself, and instead described in some detail the *De secr.*, which, he suspected, was its source. But even a cursory comparison of the Hebrew manuscript with *De secr.* shows that the former is neither a translation of the latter, nor a summary of its contents, nor a reworking of it. Nor does it have any relationship to *De med.* In fact, not a single paragraph or sentence contained in either Lullian treatise reap-

pears in our manuscript. Although all three works deal in the main with the quinta essentia, the contents of each are different.

The Hebrew manuscript begins with the words, "And now I shall copy for you a great secret of the fifth essence. . . . It was written by a great sage whose name is Raimon, and he placed introductions in front of it, and they are these. . . ."[7] The anonymous author of this manuscript seems to have claimed Lullian authorship for the same reason that Ramon de Tarrega—if indeed he was the author of *De secr.*—attributed his book to Lull: the desire to endow it with the prestige and respect commanded by Lull in the fourteenth century among the philosophers, theologians, and physicians of Spain.

The spuriousness of this Lullian claim becomes evident immediately after the two prefatory sentences. Contrary to the Hebrew author's statement that "Raimon" wrote introductions to his work on the quinta essentia, which he purports to "copy," that is, translate, neither the *De secr.* nor the *De med.* contains any introduction. The seven brief introductions with which the Hebrew manuscript opens are definitely original with the Hebrew author, who summarizes in them his views on the origin of diseases, the harmful effect of fear, and the nature of the quinta essentia. Echoing a statement by Rupescissa to the effect that "This fifth essence is the human heaven which the Most High created for the conservation of the four qualities of the human body, just as [he created] the heaven for the conservation of the whole universe,"[8] our author amplifies it and presents in some detail the similarity between heaven and the quinta essentia, "the human heaven."[9]

The conclusion that our author did not intend to summarize, let alone translate, the *De secr.*, the *De med.*, or Rupescissa's book on the quinta essentia is further borne out by his text. Where the two Lullian works give long lists of the materials from which the quinta essentia can be produced, arranging them in groups of minerals, animals, herbs, roots, fungi, and so on, and proceed to describe "the mode of the preparation of the quinta essentia from gold," and its composition, of all this there is no trace in the Hebrew manuscript, whose author evidently was not interested in such details. Instead, he states briefly in his Sixth Introduction that the fifth essence can be distilled "from the edibles, such as meat or fruit or herbs."[10]

The next part of the Hebrew manuscript, which deals with the diseases that can be cured by an admixture of the fifth essence into specific medicines or drugs, shows a certain resemblance to the Lullian works. This was inevitable, since they were all intended to serve as medical guides, and therefore had to specify such diseases as were recognized and diagnosed in their time, and their cures. Yet here, too, the differences are greater than the similarities. Where Lull groups the diseases

into sixty-one "canons" (of which forty-four are contained in the first, and seventeen in the second, book of *De secr.*), the Hebrew author treats them under nineteen "benefits." The actual treatments prescribed are not identical, or even similar. For instance, in discussing the cure for poisons, both *De secr.* and *De med.* enumerate the venomous animals, whereas the Hebrew manuscript does not. In addition, whereas the two Lullian works rely primarily on the effect of "the fifth essence of things" in curing poisonings, the Hebrew manuscript recommends the fifth essence mainly as a solvent for "antidotes of poisons" whose identity it does not specify, probably because it assumes that they were well known to its readers. Another important difference is that the Hebrew author recommends the use of an emetic, whereas the Lullian treatises prefer purgatives, and external applications. It may be of interest to mention here that Maimonides (1135–1204), in his book on poisons and their antidotes (which our author may have known), recommended all the three types of therapy: emetics, purgatives and external treatments.[11]

As for the identity of the author, all that can be said is that he was a Jewish physician-alchemist who lived in Spain in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and knew, in addition to Hebrew, also Latin, Spanish, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Sanskrit.

Was our author a practicing alchemist? He undoubtedly was influenced by the alchemical teachings of his time, in which the quinta essentia occupied a prominent place. He repeats again and again that the admixture of the quinta essentia will increase the effectiveness of drugs. Like the Lullian treatises, he considers that the quinta essentia can cure almost anything, from melancholy to pestilential fever, and from poisoning to demoniac possession; it can remove any foreign object, such as an arrow or thorn, which has penetrated the body; it can even renew the spirit of life, rejuvenate old men, and endow women with beauty. Yet, despite these clearly alchemical features, one gains the impression that the author relies more on the curative power of the drugs themselves than on that of the quinta essentia added to them. Nowhere does he recommend the use of the quinta essentia by itself; he always suggests it as an agent intensifying or augmenting the curative power of drugs. Hence, one is led to the conclusion that he was primarily a physician, and only in the second place an alchemist.

In the translation that follows, the notes contain translations or explanations of the Hebrew, Spanish, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Sanskrit terms used by our author, and references to other Hebrew medical texts, to corresponding terms in the Lullian works, and to the use in folk-medicine of the materia medica mentioned in the text.

TRANSLATION

(155v) And now I shall begin, with the help of God, to copy for you a great secret of the fifth essence, which is called in their language[12] *qinta esensia*. It was written by a great sage whose name is Raimon, and he placed introductions in front of it, and they are these:

The first introduction. The diseases come because of a lack of natural strength, and the medicine which is capable of restoring health must be one which is not subject to putrefaction,[13] and is capable of renewing the spirit of life which has been lost, and of adding the radical humidity and strengthening the natural heat which has become weak.

The second introduction. Everything which is affected by fear is sick and weak, and if the afflicted [person] is given a thing which is affected by fear he will become more affected. And since physicians act against all the things, they will harm, and afflict, and kill. And it also happens to those who cannot comprehend this secret which the physicists[14] have comprehended. Therefore it is proper to search and to seek a thing in which are found the four qualities which are in us, and the four *materiae* of which our bodies are composed, and this will not be subject to corruption[15] in the arrangement of the four elements. And this is why the physicists called heaven by the name "fifth essence," because heaven is not subject to corruption, for it is not hot as fire [and] is not a thing foreign or alien to the four elements. And this thing of which we speak is called "human heaven," or "fifth essence," for it is in them, in the arrangement of the four *materiae*. And it is not subject to corruption, for it is not hot as fire, nor cold as water, nor dry as dust. And just as heaven bestows humidity when it is needed, and heat when it is needed, and likewise coldness and dryness, so the fifth essence bestows upon us what is called "spirit of life," which is composed of the four elements and can be separated from them through human artifice.[16]

The third introduction. It is proper that you know that our fifth essence is not cold, for it warms the coldness; and not hot, for it cools the heat; and not humid, for it dries the humidity; and not dry, for it humidifies the dryness. And it nourishes the body and protects it from all corruption and putrefaction, and thus it seems like a true marvel, for if [it is] put in a vessel and then if one puts into it a slaughtered fowl or a piece of meat, it will not putrefy as long as it is there, and then it will dry, since it has this effect [also] on a live body.

The fourth introduction. Just as the highest heaven does not on its own influence the existence of the world, but [does this] through the intermediacy of the luminaries and the stars, and through them produces enormous and awesome effects, so for our Human Heaven it is

proper that it should be aided by the things which are influenced by it, such as the medicines, or the herbs which have virtues for the limb that we intend to cure. For instance, if we intend to cure the head, it is proper that we should put into our heaven those things which help the head, and thus for the other limbs.

The fifth introduction. It is proper that you should take the water which rises from the wine in a very clear distilling vessel. And let it rise at least four times in the distilling vessel in which there should be many rising and descending tubes, for the more it rises the more it will become purified and the farther it will be from putrefaction.

And let me tell you what I heard from a man whose words are trustworthy, who saw it in the court of the king of Spain where they did it in this manner. After they made it rise in the distilling vessel four times, they hid it in horse manure in a glass vessel tightly sealed. And after four months they took it out gently and transferred it into another vessel, so that the sediment should not be mixed up, and they buried it for another four months. And so they did for yet another four months, until a full year. And then they took it out, and there was not found in the bottom of the vessel even the thinnest dust, so thoroughly it was purified. And its scent rose as if it had issued from the Garden of Eden. And this is the proper way for you to proceed in order to achieve your desire.

The sixth introduction. Likewise it is proper to distil all things which you want to purify and to make of them the fifth essence: from the edibles such as meat or fruit or herbs, and mix them with the aforementioned heaven to cure with them any malady you wish.

The seventh introduction. Likewise it is proper for you, if you want to prepare a potion for a disease, to place those drugs which are appropriate for that potion into our fifth essence, and it will become like the potion, and it will be more effective, one part of it to a hundred. And likewise the things which constipate, or the fragrant drugs, and thus all things of this kind, and thus all the cordial drugs[17] must be pounded to utter thinness, until one can feel it by palpation, and then they must be put into the aforementioned water. And prepare in like manner the laxative medicines, for this water will add power of effectiveness a hundredfold, without doubt. Also, if a man is given a deadly poison, put of the water which received the poison into the aforementioned water, and he will instantly vomit up the poison which he swallowed or imbibed. Also, in order to remove an iron arrow or any object or thorn from any place, put into the aforementioned water the things which attract. Also, in order to clean any wound, put into it the cleansing drugs. And likewise, to make flesh grow, put [into this water] the drugs which cause the flesh to grow,

and likewise those drugs which constipate, and which contract, and all of them in this manner.

Now I shall begin to explain the virtues of the aforementioned water in their general benefit, although we have already mentioned some of them above when we spoke of their importance. However, I shall tell here a little of the secrets which no man has comprehended, except him to whom their virtues have been revealed by word of mouth of those present. And they are powerful things for curing, with the help of the True Beneficer, all serious diseases which the physicians have despaired from curing, except those which are come by divine will, decreed upon him from his allotted lifetime.

The first benefit is to restore the strength of old men which has become very much debilitated, and it will restore it, with the help of God in whose hand is the strength and the power. Take the aforementioned precious water after it has been purified most thoroughly, and add to it of the essence of the gold and the crystal. Thus for the debilitated, each time half an egg full. And if the True Physician so decrees, he will be almost cured, and his strength will return to him like one of the young men, thirty years of age. And after he returns to the days of his youth he should no longer take of it.

The second benefit is to cure with it those who have been debilitated by disease to the point of a depression of the soul, except for those whom God wants to take, whose days have reached their end, or as a punishment, or, as in the case of the anointed of God, King David, peace be upon him, [who said] of Saul, "If his day comes, or if God smites him," etc.[18] And this on condition that the sick person is able to drink it. And also give of the aforementioned water to the old and debilitated, and as soon as the medicine goes down into the stomach it will endow the heart with a new spirit of life, and augment the natural heat which had diminished, and his strength will return to him as it was in the beginning. And if you want him to arise in his time and become healthy, give him the aforementioned water of the fifth essence which arises from the herb *salidonia*,[19] about [as much as] a grain of wheat, and you will see a mighty miracle, as if he had never been sick, and he will walk on his staff, if the True Powerful so decrees. And this secret is [one] of the most important secrets of nature which can be found; no physician has comprehended it in these our times.

The third benefit is that it heals leprosy, except if it is an ensnaring one, for [to heal] that is [one] of the impossible things. And it is proper that you should know that this water, with the help of the True Helper, will cure him of leprosy, because this medicine devours all corrupt and putrefied material, of whatever humidity it be. And I can attest to you

that this (156v) water, with the water of gold and crystal, and with even more power if one puts into it the fruit which is called in their language *frasas*, and in La'az *fraulas*, and in Turkish *jilek*,[20] which is a small round fruit like the grapes of the thorn bush which is called *mora sarsa*,[21] and its leaves are like its leaves, except that they grow near the ground and they have no thorns, and their taste is sweet, leaning a little to sourness, and they have a good smell. And the aforementioned water with the aforementioned fruit strengthens nature very much, and drives away all poison and corruption and putrefaction from the human body, and brings their menses to women, and helps to pregnancy, and is beneficial to cure the cataract in the eye. And I saw a woman in whose face the traces of leprosy were visible, and she washed in this water, and the leprosy was instantly cured.

The fourth benefit is to cure all growths or scrufs or discharges of whatever kind. Let there be put into the aforementioned fifth essence some *tartaro* which is called *rasuras*,[22] after having burned it to lime, and let him anoint with it the spot, and it will be cured.

The fifth benefit is to cure *perlesia*.[23] If you put into this water some of those things which destroy the white [humor],[24] such as *farfiyun turbid*,[25] [and] the husk of *shawqu* root,[26] for these have the virtue of strengthening the vessels of feeling and motion, and also put on the paralyzed places a plaster of cooked and ground *bazr qatuna*,[27] and take of it five parts, and olive oil three parts, and wax two parts, and let the patient drink of their decoction thirty consecutive days.

The sixth benefit is for the sufferer of blight which is called *tisica*,[28] and for all kinds of shrivellings. An infant or child, or a youth, or a mature man, or an old man, whether man or woman, let there be given to them of the aforementioned water with that which comes up from the aforementioned *salidonia*, and they will, within a short time, return to their strength and fatness, as if they had never been sick at all.

The seventh benefit is for insanity or madness or *melakhonia*,[29] rage or spleen. Give them of the aforementioned water, with the fifth essence of gold and crystal, with a little of the drugs which purge the sharpened black humor,[30] and the seed of *fuagia*,[31] and its root.

The eighth benefit is for weakness of the heart or fainting, or beating or fluttering, and the like. Give him the aforementioned essence of gold and crystal and the herb *peonia*,[32] and the *toronjil*,[33] which is called *badrang buya*,[34] and saffron, and he will be cured entirely with the help of God.

The ninth benefit is to cure the bewitched and those who were injured by demons or an evil spirit. [Give] the patient of the aforementioned water with the water of gold and crystal, and put into them the seed of *perforata*,[35] that is, *qorasonsilio*,[36] and he will be saved with the help of God.

The tenth benefit is against lice and the kind which is called *adadores*,[37] which come into being in the flesh between the skin and the flesh, and which cause plague spots and great friction in the body. These things are born from the heat, in addition to being [born] from the putrefaction of wetness. And if the patient washes his body the . . .[38] of the fifth essence he will be saved from the aforementioned affliction, and especially if you mix into it quicksilver and *mozaj*.[39]

The eleventh benefit is to save from all poisons and deadly drugs. Take of the aforementioned essence, and put into it of the remedies which are the antidotes[40] of poisons, and give them to the patient, and with the help of God he will instantly vomit out the poison which he has eaten or drunk or which has come from the outside, from (157r) the bite of a poisonous animal. And if a person takes of the aforementioned things, and [thereafter] some kind of poison is given to him, it will not harm him, with the help of God.

The twelfth benefit is to cure the quartan fever[41] and all the diseases which come from the black [humor].[42] There are some physicians who say that there is no use in removing it quickly, but [only] in prolonging the time of its cure. And if you want to cure it quickly and easily, give the patient of the aforementioned water. And if you want to add to it some of the things which are antidotes of the black [humor], it will be more effective, on condition that he give it to the patient slowly, so that he does not weaken the nature.

The thirteenth benefit is for all those who were damaged by a laxative or emetic drug, which did not work or which worked in excess. For the laxative drugs must be viewed from three points of view. First, the laxative must not weaken the vital force. Second, it must not be [one] of the sharp and deadly drugs. Third, one must try to remove from, or diminish in, that drug any sharpness or poisonousness as far as possible. And [since] the physicians cannot do this as far as possible, at times they cause damage, and at times [the medicine] does not help and does not save, for the constitutions[43] and the years and the time are not the same for all people and diseases. Let him put the medicines into the aforementioned water, [and] they will act gently and without weakening the strength. Therefore it is proper that the physician should give the patient only one grain of our Essence, and he will see wonders. And if he needs to give more let him give the second time two grains, and thus gradually, according to the nature of the patient and the nature of the disease, and open your eyes and see!

The fourteenth benefit. All physicians agree that the permanent fever[44] is caused by a mixture of all putrefied materials, and its cure is to empty the blood and clean it of all rust and of the mixture of bad humors which are mixed into it. This is done completely by our fifth

essence, which removes and separates from the blood all putrefied material, because it differs from the four qualities, for it is neither hot nor cold, neither humid nor dry. Therefore you can give it constantly without any fear, and especially if you mix into it the essence of gold and crystal and blood which were mentioned above. And if you anoint with it the temples and the neck and the veins and pulses, and the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, and if you add to it the herb called *marqurial*,[45] you will add a wonderful thing to its effectiveness.

The fifteenth benefit is for curing tertiary fever. Tertiary fever is born of red and putrefied things.[46] It you want to cure it, put immediately into the [ingredients] mentioned some of the things which draw out the red [humor] and part of the cured liquid,[47] and give it to the patient to drink in the evening and in the morning, and he will be cured with the help of God.

The sixteenth benefit is to cure the day and night fever, which is generated by the putrefied white [humor].[48] And since the white [humor] is cold and humid, take our water with a little *farfiyun*,[49] and a little *shawqu*,[50] with other drugs which are antidotes of the white [humor], and let him drink it in the evening and the morning, and it will help with the help of God.

The seventeenth benefit is to cure epileptics of all kinds, and the acute fevers, and the *sirsam*.[51] Know that the acute fever is seated in the head. And since this fever is produced by the red, acute, and burned [humor], and also by burned blood, and at times by the burning of the three substances except the black one, therefore the physicians became confused in their cure. However, all these are cured by our medicine. Therefore one must take of our (157v) essence with the essence of gold and crystal and blood, and put into them rose water and *violas, boraja, lijunas*,[52] and therewith the patient will be cured with the help of God.[53]

For the healing of ringworm; pitch, one rotl; olive oil, one ounce; sesame oil, half an ounce; clarified butter, half an ounce; colophony, half an ounce; and the *daruru*,[54] peel it, roll it, burned [?]; and dog dirt; and every four [days?] cover its incision. And for him whose head trembles, let him take sesame oil, half an ounce; olive, half; clarified butter, half; mastic, half; pitch, half. Make an ointment and anoint the head, and every three days a hot bath, and between each plaster and plaster bathe.

And if you want to cure the *sirsam*, take of the *popilion*-ointment,[55] and choice vinegar, and ground garden rue,[56] mix all of them together with the essence of blood,[57] and dip into this medicine pieces of linen cloth, and put them on the brain of the patient and on his nostrils, and thereby he will be cured with the help of God. And know that this thing helps to cure epileptics and all kinds of insanity.

The eighteenth benefit is to heal pestilential fevers, that is to say, epidemic. If one is in the habit of using it at such times, with the help of God he will be saved from the pestilence, and patients will be cured with the help of God by the essence of blood, half of this and half of that with the roots of ox tongue[58] and the vinegar herb which is called *agritas y si se paliare el ribas o el jarope de el es munju mejor*,[59] and a little of *suqutri* aloe[60] and a little *firfion*[61] and *gira pigra*[62] and essential *lilio*[63] root, all this mixed also with the Essence of gold and crystal with a little *papili Veneris*[64] and hyssop, and he should do this regularly three times a day so that they should purge him of the empty substances, and he should use all the medicines which are antidotes to the poisonousness of the pestilence, and especially calf's stomach,[65] and these mixed with the aforementioned essence so that its effectiveness should be stronger and more apparent, with the help of God.

The nineteenth benefit is to cure the disease of spasms.[66] The physicians are in agreement that fever is a good sign in this disease, and the experimenters[67] said that if all the joints of the limbs are anointed with the juice of the herb called *flamula*[68]—which is a herb that grows in the ashes and its leaves are similar to the leaves of the celery, and its flower is green—if they smear him many times with its juice, the spasm will be cured, and therefore there is nothing as good for this as our essence, for this will make him completely healthy, with the will of the Creator, and God is the True Physician.

And I shall now reveal to you other hidden secrets which remained hidden from the eyes of the physicians who preceded us.

Take of the herb called *agrimonia*,[69] rue, fox-testicles[70] with their roots, *selidonia*, sugar,[71] and let them be pounded and put into the vessel of the alembic, on a gentle fire. And the water which ascends from it has powerful properties, for there is no pain in the eye, even the strongest, which does not become cured by it. And it helps, if imbibed, to save from all kinds of deadly poisons, and it cleans the stomach and strengthens it, and it helps against all kinds of dropsy,[72] which come from the cold, and it cures the Persian fire[73] in three days if they dip into it chaff of hemp and put it on the afflicted spot. It also is utterly effective against the illness of cancer if it is imbibed with *sabar*[74] and it should be put on the afflicted spot as mentioned above, and changed three times a day.

Take *pinpinela*[75] seed and mustard seed, and *perisil*[76] seed, and celery seed, and clove, and *mastaqi*,[77] an equal part of each, and they should be pounded well, and kneaded with the blood of a he-goat and mixed with strong vinegar, and put into the *resentor*[78] for three days, and then it should be distilled. This water is effective in breaking up kidney and bladder stones, if it is drunk on an empty stomach, and it cures scabies[79]

if the head is washed with it, and it helps all kinds of boils if they are washed with it, and if they drink it twice it helps the *parilisia*,[80] and it helps epilepsy if it is drunk evening and morning.

Take chicks of *golondrinos*,[81] and burn them and pulverize them and mix them with *qastorio*,[82] that is to say *qashni*,[83] and put them into strong vinegar, and put it into a distilling vessel, and this water has many virtues. One is that if they drink it on an empty stomach it cures epilepsy completely if the patient drinks it for forty consecutive days, and it strengthens the brains, and clears the mind, and clears the stomach and the chest, and softens the nerves and removes the . . .[84] from them, and strengthens the nature (158r) and helps those who have a cold. And if hyssop is cooked in this water it will help the rheum which comes from the cold, and it will cure all kinds of fevers. But beware lest you give it to a pregnant woman, for she would instantly miscarry. And it helps cold headache, and [those who take it] will sleep comfortably. And it strengthens digestion and softens the belly, and it makes the urine flow, and it causes the hair to fall out and it will not grow again. Take hyssop and *avhal*[85] and *akheronto*[86] in equal parts in the distilling vessel, and the water which will come out will cure all kinds of headaches that come from the cold, and all old fevers, and will cause the menses to flow. But the woman should not be pregnant, for at times it [the menstruation] is kept back because of pregnancy, and the woman will be weak. It also helps all kinds of diarrhea, and it kills the worms which are born in the body if it is drunk on an empty stomach, and it cleans the stomach of all decayed substances, and if it is mixed with *qastorio* it will cure all kinds of *falij*.[87]

Take a bat and burn it and pound it with sulphur and mix it with the juice of *selidonia*,[88] and put it in a vessel up to six days, and then distil it, and this water has many uses. One: If any black hair is washed in it, it will turn white. Two: If you mix it with *sabar*[89] *and wax, and smear with it the pain of gout,*[90] *it will cure it, and it will cure the kind of cancer which grows on the face, which is called noli me tangere*,[91] that is to say, touch me not, if it is smeared over it, and it will cure scabies[92] by smearing.

Take *pirosil*[93] and pound it and distil it and it will help to expel all kinds of winds and bloatings from the body, and will strengthen the digestion, and if they drink it with *canela*[94] it will cure coughing and clean the chest. And if you distil also the *artemisa*[95] and the *polio*,[96] and mix them together with the water of the *perisil*,[97] it will help more for all the abovementioned things.

Take white *papaver*[98] seed and pound it fine and mix it with the abovementioned water, and it will help the chest and the cough very much, and if *qastorio*[99] is mixed into it it will help the *falij*.[100]

Take *salvia*[101] and *polio*[102] and pound them and distil them, and the water which comes up will warm bodies which have caught cold, and will strengthen the head and the limbs, and improve the tonic,[103] and will cure all kinds of boils, and produce good blood. And if one drinks of this water three times a day, up to forty days, it will cure all kinds of old diseases. And I call your attention to a great secret: if one takes of the abovementioned water and puts it into the distilling vessel a second time and mixes with it the water of *al butm*,[104] that is to say the fruit which is called *ḥub al khadhra*,[105] distilled in the distilling vessel and with *qastorio*,[106] it will cure all kinds of diseases which are born in the body, whether in its interior or on its exterior. This medicine was invented by a great sage, and many old diseases came upon him, and he saw this in his dream, and made it, and was cured, and he put it in writing so as to help many people. And it helps internal [diseases] by drinking, and external [diseases] by way of a plaster with chaff of *qanavos* (hemp).[107] And we have tried this medicine many times, and all those who take of the abovementioned mixture will be saved from leprosy and from *perselia*,[108] and from bad diseases which have no [other] cure.

And now I shall tell you the manner of preparing the abovementioned water of *al butm*. Take one pound of *tarmantina*,[109] half a pound of honey of which the frost has been removed, one pound of *aqua vita*,[110] very fine Indian *ʿand*,[111] *ṣandal*,[112] in equal parts. Arab *samg*,[113] *juz bawwa*,[114] *kholanjan* root,[115] *kababa*,[116] reed, *mastaqi*,[117] *qaranfal*,[118] *sanbal*,[119] of each three drachms. They must be pounded well and put into a distilling vessel made of glass, and it must be well covered, and put on a gentle fire. And the first water which will come up will be pure, and receive it in a vessel while it comes up pure; and then it will come up with the appearance of fire, red and bright, receive it in another vessel. And increase the fire a little, and when you see that the head of the distilling vessel is black and the water is coming out thick like honey, remove the second vessel and put on another vessel, and increase the fire more, and do this until nothing more comes out. And know that these three are hot, to wit, the second is hotter than the first, and the third is hotter than the second. And know that the first is called "the mother of medicine," and the second "the substance of medicine," and the third "the complete medicine." The first, if it is taken lukewarm with wine will strengthen the stomach and expel from it the white [humor] which is closed in, and it arouses the desire to eat, and preserves the heart so that no evil vapor should go into it. And I tried this often. And if a thin piece of linen is dipped into it and put into the nostrils with the little finger when going to sleep, it will be very helpful against all kinds of drips. And it will improve the odor of the mouth and of the nostrils if drunk in the

evening and in the morning. And it whitens the teeth if one gargles with it, and removes all aches from them. And if a piece of linen is soaked in it and then put on the face, it cures the redness of the face which is called *barosnat*.[120] And it cures heaviness of the tongue by drinking [it] and gargling. And if a piece of linen is soaked in it and then put on hemorrhoids, it will cure them, and it will also cure deafness if cotton-wool is soaked in it and put into the ear.

Now I shall reveal to you the secret of the other two drops. They are good for cancer of the face which is called *nujmi Tangier*,[121] which was mentioned above,[122] and for pain of the hips and the kidneys and the neck and the throat, if a cloth soaked in them is placed on the sore spots. And they are good for him who has fallen down from a high place, or was smitten by . . .[123] or broken a bone, if he is bandaged with them, and they drive off all kinds of poisonous creeping [158v] things. This is the rule: they are good for all diseases and all wounds, and all afflictions. And the third drop even more so.

Take the herb *marqurial*,[124] and *qandero*-sugar,[125] in equal parts, and pound them together and put them in the distilling vessel, and let them stand there ten days, then distil them as [you did with] the drops of water which were mentioned before, and if the third is put into a clean vessel it will shine at night like a candle. The third water is like oil. If a man or woman anoints his face with it, it will cleanse it and beautify it, and if he drinks of this water every morning, even if he be a hundred years old, his youth will return to him as if he were twenty, and likewise all his limbs will shine brightly like [those of] a youth, and neither in his face nor in his body will any wrinkles be left at all. And if the epileptic drinks of it for forty days, he will be saved from his disease, and if *qastorio*[126] is mixed into it, it will cure crushed nerves and all the pains of the limbs of the body. And if it is put into eyes which are afflicted by any disease whatsoever, it will cure them. And if pulverized gold and fine crystal and *raubaibaro*[127] are mixed into it and pounded well and mixed, and the leper drinks of it, he will be cured completely, on condition that he drink of it until the freshness of his face becomes beautiful.

Take *rubia* roots[128] and pound them and cook them with olive oil and with *perisil*,[129] in the amount of the roots, and it will cure the disease which is born in the bladder. And if you cook the *rubia* with *parro*,[130] and give it to drink to him who has a diarrhea of blood, it will cure him. And if you cook it with bran, and the gouty[131] part is bandaged with it, it will cure it.

Take *pinpinela*[132] seed and put it into good red wine for ten days, and then dry it and make oil of it, and it will be good for stones in the bladder. And also the juice of the *pinpinela*, if he drinks it, will dissolve the stone and the patient will get it out in his urine in the form of sand.

Wondrous water which makes youth persist, and health remain, and this is its description: Take good white wine, three pounds, uncooked honey of the beehive, one pound, and pulverized gold, and distil them, and let him drink of this morning and evening. This good medicine was sent by the king of Egypt to the king of Garnata [Granada], who was smitten with blindness which is called *cataras*,[133] and he was cured by it. And this is its description: Take flowers of *romero*,[134] with their leaves removed, and spread them on a rug so that the wind should blow on them, for two days, and then put them into a flagon, but do not fill it completely, and cover it with a lead tablet, and paste the bottom of the flagon with clay of the philosophers,[135] and put it in the garden into a hole full of very fine sand, and let it stand there ninety days of the days of the summer. And when the days are up, open the flagon, and you will find the flowers softened like honey, and distil it in a glass vessel, and keep the distillation for both drinking and putting into the eyes, and it will help wonderfully, with the help of God.

Pills came from India, written in their language, and called in the language of Hind "pills of father and mother," for their benefit for a person is like the benefit of his father and mother, and this is their description: *Tirpola tirqota tangargayad ras u-bis gindek arhertal.* And this is their explanation: *tirpola*,[136] three kinds of pepper, that is, black, and red, and *zanjabil*,[137] and because of its sharpness he calls it pepper. *Tirqota*[138]—three kinds of *mirabulanos*,[139] Babylonian, yellow, and *amlaj*.[140] *Tangargayad*[141]—*atinkar*.[142] *Ras*[143] is quicksilver.[144] *Bis* is *bish*.[145] *Gindek*[146] is sulphur. *Arhertal*[147] is *zarnik*.[148] Equal parts should be pounded well and kneaded in the urine of goats and a decoction of *apsantin*.[149] And let it dry in the shade, and then be pounded a second time, up to seven times. And make [of them] pills like peppercorns. Seven to be taken.

To release the menses strongly take *dar*[150] of pepper, one drachm, *darsini*,[151] one drachm, *juz bawwa*[152] one drachm, *zangabil*[153] one drachm, *zaᶜfran*[154] one drachm, pure incense one drachm, sulphur one drachm, *misk*[155] a grain. They should be pulverized and kneaded in a little glue which is called *jaris*,[156] and *hukaro*[157] water, and let them make *farazjat*,[158] and let the woman suffer[159] one of them, and it will help with the help of God.

For pregnancy. The tooth of an elephant should be ground and mixed with *theriak faruq*,[160] and let the woman eat one-third at the time of her menses, and one-third when she becomes purified, and one-third after her immersion, and she will conceive with the help of God.

Chapter Fifteen

FLAMEL'S JEWISH MASTERS

FEW ALCHEMISTS have ever received as much attention and been studied so thoroughly and repeatedly as Nicholas Flamel (c. 1330–1418), the Parisian scribe and clerk, famous for his *Book of Hieroglyphic Figures.* In a 1983 paper, the Belgian scholar Robert Halleux listed some of the studies on Flamel which, he found, fell into two categories. One of them consists of those works which tell about Flamel's long, and ultimately successful, quest for "the Great Work," his gold making, his acquisition of great riches, and founding of huge charitable establishments. Studies of this type began to be written in the early seventeenth century and are still being produced in the late twentieth. The second type of studies describes Flamel as having married a rich widow, working in his métier as a scribe, and also dealing in real estate. He acquired a modest fortune, and set up numerous but rather insignificant charities. These studies began to see the light of day in the eighteenth century, and continue to appear down to the present day.[1]

Our present context does not allow us to discuss the arguments on which these two views of Flamel are based, nor even to go into the question of whether the autobiographical sketch circulated in the name of Flamel is authentic, as many scholars believe, or is a later pseudepigraphous work, as others maintain. Our interest is in the role Jewish alchemists played in medieval France, and it is with that view in mind that we will look at the Flamel story.

That story was first published in 1612, when the Paris firm of the widow M. Guillemot and S. Thiboust printed a book by the otherwise unknown Pierre Arnauld de la Chevallerie, with the long title (in my translation): *Three Treatises on Natural Philosophy, hitherto unprinted, the secret book of the very old philosopher Artephius treating of the occult art and metallic transmutations, Latin French, plus the hieroglyphic figures of Nicholas Flamel, as he put them on the fourth arch which he had constructed in the cemetery of the innocents in Paris, entering through the great gate from St. Denys Street, & taking the right hand, with their explication by the same Flamel, together with the true book of the learned Synesius, taken from the library of the Emperor on the same subject, all translated by P. Arnauld sieur de la Chevallerie of Poitou.*[2] The following is my translation of the book's introductory part:[3]

I, Nicolas Flamel scribe and inhabitant of Paris, in this year 1399, and liv ing in my house in the Rue des Ecrivains [Street of Scribes], near the chapel of Saint Jacques de la Boucherie, although, I say, I learned but a little Latin because of the small means of my parents there fell into my hand, for the amount of two florins, a very old and very large gilded book It was not on paper or parchment as are other books, but was made (so it seemed to me) only of thin barks of tender leaves Its cover was of well beaten copper, all engraved with strange letters of figures, and as for me, I thought that they could be Greek characters or of another similar ancient tongue Thus it happened that I was unable to read them, and that I knew well that they could not be Latin or Gaulois [old French] notes or letters, since we know a little of those languages As for its inside, its leaves of bark were engraved, and written with a very great industry, with an iron point, in beautiful and very neat colored Latin letters It contained three times seven leaves, for they were thus numbered on top of each leaf, every seventh being always without writing, in place of which it had a painted rod and serpents swallowing themselves,[4] on the second seventh a cross on which a serpent was crucified, and on the last seventh were painted deserts in whose midst flowed several beautiful sources from which emerged several serpents that ran hither and tither On the first leaf was written with large, gilded capital letters ABRAHAM THE JEW, PRINCE, PRIEST, LEVITE, ASTROLOGER AND PHILOSOPHER TO THE NATION OF THF JEWS SCATTERED BY THE WRATH OF GOD IN THE GAULES [FRANCE], SALVATION D I After that it was filled with great execrations and maledictions (with this word MA RANATHA that was frequently repeated there) against every person who cast his eyes into it, unless he was a sacrificer or a scribe

The word "maranatha," which Flamel saw frequently repeated in the book and which he believed to be a malediction, comes from I Corinthians 16 22 "If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be anathema Maranatha " It consists of the two Aramaic words māran āthā, or *māranā thā*, meaning "the Lord has come," or "O Lord, come!" The context shows that it was an expletive, an exclamation akin to "Halleluyah!" that is, "Praise the Lord!" Nevertheless, it was frequently taken to have the same meaning as anathema, an execration On the first page of Abraham the Jew's book, as we shall see below, the word is explained as meaning "malediction," not in Aramaic, but "in Greek and in Arabic," which, of course, is erroneous We may add that the use of this expression taken from the New Testament is the first indication pointing to a non Jewish authorship or revision of Abraham the Jew's book But let us return to Flamel's own story

He who sold me that book did not know what it was worth, and as little did I know when I purchased it I believe that it was taken by force from the

miserable Jews, or found in some hidden spot in the old place of their lodg ing In this book, on the second leaf, he comforted his nation, counseling it to flee vices, and above all idolatry, to wait with sweet patience for the coming of the Messiah who would vanquish all the kings of the earth, and would rule with his people in eternal glory Without doubt, he was a man of great wisdom On the third and all subsequent written leaves, in order to help his captive nation to pay tribute to the Roman emperors, and in order to achieve other things about which I shall not speak, he taught them the metallic transmutation in plain words, depicting the vessels on the side and showing the colors and all the rest, except for the first agent, about which he said not a word However (as he said on the entire fourth and fifth leaves), he depicted and represented it with very great artistry For again, even though it was represented and depicted very intelligibly, nevertheless nobody could understand it without being advanced in their traditional Kabbalah, and without having studied the books

In this paragraph Flamel quotes Abraham the Jew as saying that he taught his people the art of making gold in order to help them pay the tribute imposed upon them by "the Roman emperors," that is, evi dently, the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire Flamel also states here that Abraham presented his alchemy in such a manner as to make a thorough knowledge of the Jewish Kabbalah a prerequisite of being able to understand it And—he introduces these statements by citing Abra ham's admonitions to his "captive" brethren, warning them to repent and to wait patiently for the coming of the Messiah There can be no doubt that these thoughts reflect an authentic Jewish spirit that must have characterized Abraham's book Then Flamel continues

Therefore, the fourth and fifth leaves are without writing, all full of beauti ful illuminated figures or the like, for this work was very exquisite At first, he painted a young man with wings on the heels, holding in his hand a caducean rod surrounded by two serpents, with which he struck a helmet that covered his head In my modest opinion he seemed to be the god Mercury of the pagans, toward him came running and flying with open wings a very old man who had an hour glass attached to his head, and in his hands a scythe like [that of] death, with which, terrible and furious, he wanted to cut off the feet of Mercury

On the reverse of the fourth leaf he depicted a beautiful flower on the summit of a very high mountain shaken roughly by the north wind It had a blue stem, the flowers were white and red, the leaves shining like fine gold, and around it the dragons and boreal griffins made their nests and dwellings On the fifth leaf there was a beautiful flowering rosebush in the midst of a garden, leaning against a hollow oak at whose feet a spring of very white water bubbled up and fell headlong into the abyss, passing how

ever at first between the hands of a great many people who were digging in the earth in search of it, but since they were blind, none of them recog nized it, except one who paid attention to its weight

On the reverse of the fifth leaf there was a king with a big cutlass who ordered his soldiers to kill in his very presence a great multitude of small children whose mothers were crying at the feet of the pitiless gendarmes The blood of the little children was thereafter collected by other soldiers and put in a big vessel in which the Sun and the Moon came to bathe And since this history represented most of the story of the innocents killed by Herod, and since it was from this book that I learned most of the Art, this was one of the reasons why I put these hieroglyphic symbols of this secret science into their cemetery

This, then, was in those first five leaves Now I shall not tell that which was written in beautiful and very intelligible Latin on all the other leaves, for God would punish me, since I would commit a greater evil than he who (as is said) wished that all men in the world should have but one head so that he could cut it off with one blow

For information about the alchemical symbolism contained in the pictures Flamel describes the reader can be referred to any of the numerous books dealing with the Flamel story The monster who wished he could cut off the heads of all men with one blow was the Roman emperor Nero (A D 37–68), or at least it was he to whom the wish was attributed

Having completed the description of the book, Flamel now turns to telling of his persistent efforts to understand it

Once I had this beautiful book in my possession, I did nothing but study it night and day, learning very well all the operations it described, but not knowing with what material it should be started This caused me great sor row, kept me in solitude, and made me sigh incessantly My wife Perrenelle, whom I loved like myself, and whom I had married only recently, was greatly astonished at this, comforting and asking me with all her courage whether she could not deliver me from the distress I have never been able to keep from her anything, so I showed her this beautiful book, with which, the moment she saw it, she fell as much in love as I, taking extreme pleasure in contemplating the beautiful covers, engravings, images, and portraits, of which figures she understood as little as I did Nevertheless, it was for me a great consolation to talk about it with her, and to consider what could be done in order to find out their meaning

In the end I had these figures and portraits of the fourth and fifth leaves copied as faithfully as I was able to, in my lodgings, and showed them in Paris to several great clerics, who, however, did not understand them better than I I even informed them that they were found in a book that taught the philosophers' stone, but most of them mocked me and the blessed

> stone, except one, named Master Anselm, who was a licentiate in medicine and had thoroughly studied that science He became very anxious to see my book, and was ready to do anything to see it But I always asserted that I did not have it, even though I gave him a full account of its method He told me that the first picture represented time which devours everything, and that it required the space of six years, according to the six inscribed leaves, to perfect the stone, maintaining that thereafter one should have to turn the time glass and cook no more And when I told him that it was depicted only to show and teach the first agent (as it was said in the book), he answered that this coction of six years was like a second agent, that surely the first agent painted here, which was the white and heavy water, was undoubtedly the quicksilver which one could not fix [solidify], nor could its feet be cut off, that is to say, its volatility be removed, that by this long decoction in the very pure blood of young children, which is [shown] here, this quicksilver, uniting with gold and silver, becomes transmuted with them at first into a herb similar to that which was depicted, and there after, through corruption, into serpents which, being subsequently totally dried and cooked by the fire, will become reduced to gold powder, which is the stone

Flamel refrains from expressing any criticism of Master Anselm's al chemical expertise, and instead goes on with his story

> This was the reason that for the long space of twenty one years I made a thousand errors, although never with blood, which is evil and villainous Moreover, I found in my book that the philosophers call blood the mineral spirit that is in the metals, principally in the Sun [gold], the Moon [silver], and Mercury, whose assemblage I had always attended to Also, these inter pretations were, for the most part, more subtle than veritable Therefore, never perceiving in my operations any of the signs at the times described in the book, I always had to start anew Finally, having given up the hope of ever understanding these figures, at last I made a vow to God and to Mon sieur Saint Jacques de Galice that I would seek their interpretation from some Jewish priest in some synagogue of Spain

It took Flamel no fewer than twenty one years to hit on the idea that his best hope of finding the meaning of the book by Abraham the Jew lay in seeking out the help of contemporary Jewish alchemists In his day, the Jews of France were going through a very difficult period They suffered repeated massacres, confiscations, fines, imprisonments, expul sions, and other persecutions, and were, on the whole, an oppressed and dispirited community These circumstances were certainly not favorable to delving into the secrets of alchemy, which required capital, time, and peace of mind Hence when Flamel conceived the idea of seeking out Jewish alchemists, he had to turn to places outside France The natural

choice was Spain, the home of an old, well established, prosperous, and highly educated Jewish community One cannot know whether Flamel was familiar with the situation of the Jews in Spain, but in the fourteenth century there were several Spanish Jewish alchemists who served kings and princes both in Spain and elsewhere, so that if he was not, his decision to go to Spain to find for himself a Jewish master in alchemy was surely a serendipitous one In any case, his reference to "some Jewish priest in some synagogue of Spain" shows that Spanish rabbis, or at least some of them, had the reputation in France of being adepts of the Royal Art

> Therefore, with the consent of Perrenelle, carrying with me an extract of them [the hieroglyphic figures], I took the habit and the staff, in the same manner in which one can see me [depicted] outside of the arch on which I placed these hieroglyphic figures, in the cemetery, where I also put against the wall on both sides a procession in which are represented in order all the colors of the stone, as they arise and end, with this French inscription
>
> *Moult plaît a Dieu procession* Much pleases God the procession
> *S'elle est faite en devotion* If it is done in devotion
>
> (this, which is, so to speak, the beginning of the book of Hercules [Heraclius] treating of the colors of the stone called Iris, in these terms *Operis procession multum Naturae placet*, etc [The procession of the work much pleases Nature, etc], which I put there intentionally for the great clerics who will understand the allusion)
>
> Then, in this manner, I betook myself on the road, and so it happened that I arrived at Montjoye, and then at Saint Jacques, where, with great devotion, I fulfilled my vow That done, in Leon, on the way back, I met a merchant from Boulogne who made me acquainted with a physician, Jewish by nation, but now a Christian, living in said Leon, who was very knowledgeable in the sublime sciences, called Master Canches When I showed him the figures of my extract, he asked me forthwith, enraptured with great astonishment and joy, whether I knew about the book from which they were taken I answered him in Latin, in which language he had interrogated me, that I hoped to have good news if somebody would decipher these enigmas for me Carried away by great ardor and joy, he instantly began to decipher the beginning for me To cut a long story short, he was very content to get the information on the whereabouts of the book, and to hear me talk about it (And surely he had heard discussions about it for a long time, but only as about a thing one believed completely lost, as he said)
>
> We resumed our voyage, from Leon we proceded to Oviedo, and from there to Sanson, where we set sail for France Our voyage was pleasant enough, and by the time we reached this kingdom he very veritably had

interpreted most of my figures in which, even down to the dots, he found great mysteries (this I found very marvelous) When we arrived at Orleans, this learned man became very ill, afflicted by severe vomitings that had remained with him of that which he had suffered at sea, he was so afraid that I would leave him that he could not imagine anything like it And however faithfully I remained by his side, he called me incessantly In the end he died on the seventh day of his illness, which caused me great grief The best I could do for him was to have him interred in the Church of the Sacred Cross at Orleans, where he still rests May God keep his soul! For he died a good Christian And certainly, if I am not prevented by death, I shall give that church an allowance to have some masses said for his soul every day

Having thus learned from the Jewish alchemist within a few weeks what had eluded him for twenty one years despite sustained efforts and the help of some Parisian Christian adepts, Flamel returned home in a happy mood and proceeded forthwith to put in practice the teachings of Master Canches

He who wishes to see the manner of my arrival, and Perrenelle's joy, can see the two of us in this city of Paris, on the gate of the Chapel of Saint Jacques de la Boucherie, next to my house, where we are depicted, I giving thanks at the feet of Monsieur Saint Jacques de Galice, and Perrenelle at those of Monsieur Saint Jean to whom she had so often prayed For it was by the grace of God and the intercession of the blessed and holy Virgin and of the blessed Saints Jacques and Jean that I attained that which I had desired, that is to say, the first principles, not always their first preparation which is the most difficult of all things in the world But I achieved that too in the end, after long errors of three years or thereabout, during which time I did nothing but study and work, as one can see me doing outside this arch where I placed the sequence [of figures] against the columns that are there, at the feet of Saint Jacques and Saint Jean, praying to God, with rosary in hand, reading very attentively in a book, and pondering the words of the philosophers, and attempting thereafter the diverse operations that I imagined only according to their words Finally, I found that which I desired, that which I instantly recognized by its strong scent Once I had that, I easily accomplished the mastery, also, knowing the preparation of the first agents, following my book to the letter, I could not fail even if I had wanted to

Thus, the first time that I made a projection it was upon Mercury of which I transmuted about half a pound into pure silver, better than that of the mines, as I assayed it and had it assayed several times This was on January 17th, a Monday, about noontime, in my house, in the presence of only Perrenelle, in the year 1382 of the restoration of human lineage And thereafter, always following my book word by word, I did it with the red

stone upon a similar (quality) [quantity] of Mercury, in the presence of only Perrenelle, in the same house, on the 25th of April that followed in the same year, at the hour of five in the evening, that I veritably transmuted into about as much pure gold, very certainly better than the common gold, softer and more pliable

I can say with truth I achieved it three times with the help of Perrenelle, who understood as well as I to help me in the operations, and undoubtedly had she wanted to undertake its performance alone she could have reached the same point I had quite enough by accomplishing it one single time, but I had very great pleasure in seeing and contemplating the admirable works of Nature in the vessels To indicate to you how I accomplished it three times, you can see on this arch, if you are acquainted with it, three furnaces similar to those which served our operations

The foregoing part, as stated at the very beginning of the book, was written in 1399, and tells of events that took place up to the year 1382 In the next part we are suddenly in a much later year, a point in time from which Flamel looks back upon the year 1413 No explanation is given in his text as to this time lapse

When I wrote this commentary, in the year 1413, at the end of the year, after the passing of my faithful companion whom I shall mourn all the days of my life, she and I had already founded and endowed fourteen hospitals in this city of Paris, had built three completely new chapels, decorated seven churches with great donations and goodly endowments, with several repairs in their cemeteries—apart from that which we did in Boulogne, which is not less than what we had done here I shall say nothing of the good that we together did to individual poor people, principally to widows and poor orphans, should I mention their names and how I did those things, apart from being rewarded in this world, I would cause displeasure to those good people (whom God should bless), which I would not want to do for anything in the world

Having built therefore these churches, cemeteries, and hospitals in this city, I resolved to have depicted on the fourth arch of the Cemetery of the Innocents, entering through the great gate from Saint Denis Street, and taking the right hand, the most true and essential signs of the Art, but only under the hieroglyphic veils and covers, in imitation of those of the gilded book of the Jew Abraham They can represent two things, according to the capacity and knowledge of those who contemplate them first, the myster ies of our future and indubitable resurrection on the Day of Judgment and the coming of the good Jesus (may it please him to have mercy on us), a story well suited to a cemetery, and then again they can signify for those who are knowledgeable in the natural philosophy all the principal and necessary operations of mastery These hieroglyphic figures will serve as the

> two paths leading to celestial life, the first, more open sense, teaching the sacred mysteries of our salvation (as I shall show hereafter), the other teaching every man, however little he understands of the stone, the straight path of the Work which, if perfected by anyone, changes him from evil to good, removes from him the root of all sin (which is avarice), making him liberal, soft, pious, religious, and God-fearing, however evil he was earlier, because thenceforth he will remain always entranced by the great grace and compassion which he has received from God, and by the profundity of His divine and admirable works.

Flamel concludes his story with the warning that neither in the hieroglyphic Figures nor in his commentary will be found any teaching or indication concerning the First Principles and First Agents that could in any way be used by those who are not adepts.

Let us now have a look at the two Jewish masters from whom Flamel claims to have acquired his knowledge of alchemy. Flamel is very laconic in speaking of Master Canches, but we do learn something about him. He was a Jewish physician who lived in Leon, Spain, was a master alchemist, and by the time Flamel met him had converted to Christianity. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, among the Jews of Spain there were others too who combined medicine with alchemy. Canches had heard about the book in Flamel's possession even before Flamel told him about it. He had no problem in understanding the pages Flamel had copied and shown him, and on that basis, and probably also drawing on his own alchemical expertise, he instructed Flamel in the art of making gold and silver. We would like to know what induced him to accompany Flamel to France, but are told nothing on this point. He died of an illness before reaching Paris, and was buried in the Church of the Sacred Cross in Orleans. He left behind nothing in writing. His instructions enabled Flamel within three years to transmute quicksilver into silver and gold.

As for the Jew Abraham, two alchemical authors by the name Abraham are known. They seem to have lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, respectively. I shall discuss them and their work in Chapters 17 and 21. The book purchased and described by Flamel seems to be identical with an illustrated manuscript work of which several copies are available in various French libraries.[5] I consulted them and found that the one in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (MS Français 14765) is the best and most complete (see Figure 15.1). The following description is based on it.

The manuscript has a printed title page with a richly decorated frame, identified in the lower right corner as having been designed and engraved by F. N. Martinet, and dated 1760. It reads (in French):

Figure 15.1. Title page of the *Book of Hieroglyphic Figures* by Abraham the Jew.

"HABRAHAM Jew Prince Priest Levite Astrologer and Philosopher to the Nation of the Jews Scattered in all Gaul. Salvation in Our Lord. Book of the hieroglyphic Figures with applications of the Fables of the Poets of the Mysteries of Christianity, of Alchemy, Pharmacy according to Numbers." That is to say, although the book, or part of it, is claimed to have been written by "Habraham Jew," it is presented in Christian garb and with the addition of extranous material.

This title page is the only printed part of the book. It is followed by 395 manuscript pages in eighteenth-century French hand, with inserted hand-painted illustrations in color, corresponding to the descriptions of the figures given by Flamel. The text begins as follows:

> Our respectable Jewish priest has issued no more forceful and more frequent warnings and commandments than to preserve at the bottom of the heart the most hidden secrets of the kabbalistic art, and he uttered a thousand maledictions against those who, with an ignorant sacrilege and a shameless temerity, reveal them to unworthy people in order to be profanated. He inveighs against those who would explicate them with less restraint and respect than fits the curses which it is horrible to hear and which the most penetrating spirit has pain to understand. Maranatha (which in Greek and Arabic signifies ✠ malediction) in the city and in the country ✠ maranatha ✠ malediction upon the children, upon the animals, upon the flocks, maranatha ✠ malediction upon the barns and upon the crops as well as upon the houses if the secrets are not treated with all the piety required. Maranatha if one does not observe with regard to them the silence of *Pythagoras* and of *Harpocrates.* He adds to all this the pestilence, the fever, the heat and the cold and the seasons infested with a malignant air, and finally all that which can ravage and destroy the world (and that to infinity) against those who will mock it, who will consider it as stories of the old people.

We discussed maranatha above; the curses listed, although not a quotation, are closely reminiscent of those enumerated in Deuteronomy 28:16ff.

On page 4 we find a genealogy of the prophetic blessing: it was passed on from Isaac to Jacob, from Jacob to Judah, and so down to Jesus (p. 6). From page 9 on, the text is surrounded by marginal notes, seemingly from the same hand, including drawings of alchemical vessels. Opposite page 9 is the first hand-painted colored plate, followed by six more, opposite pages 14, 21, 37, 43, 51, and 59. Each picture is followed by several pages of explanatory text.

A Christological tendency is evident in a comment on page 37: "All the Hebrew doctors make mention of the cross, and wished that one give it great veneration, since it contains all the secrets of physics, of magic, and of religion."

Page 71 reads: "First book of the sacred numbers with the miraculous prayers appropriate according to the Kabbalah," and then follows a prayer to Jesus Christ.

Page 72 reads: "The manner of making the mirror of Solomon with the prayers for rendering this operation effective," and goes on to describe how to prepare such a mirror with the four names Adonai, Jeho-

vah, Eloin (Elohim), and Mitatron (i.e., Metatron, the chief angel). The prayer to be said asks God to allow the supplicant to see in the mirror "your angel Anäel." Then follows an incantation: "Come, O Anäel, in the name of the terrible Jehovah." On the left margin of the page there is a sketch of the "Mirror of Solomon" (see Figure 15.2).

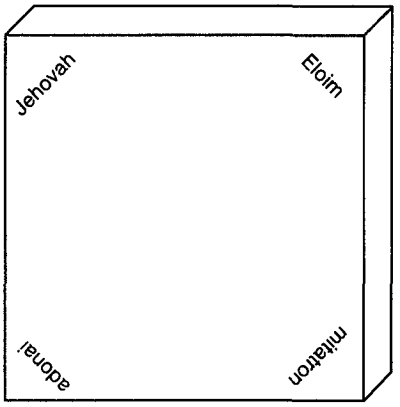

Figure 15.2. Sketch of the Mirror of Solomon.

Page 99 contains a "conjuration of the angel Raphael." Page 124 speaks of the mystery of the incarnation. On page 134 an alchemical operation is stated to be "capable of being taken for a symbol of the proof of the death of Jesus Christ." Page 141 says that "several theologians of the Kabbalah of the Hebrews believe and even assert that Jesus Christ assumed a human body independently of Adam's sin." On page 157 we read that "the resurrection of King Sulphur represents allegorically the resurrection of Jesus Christ himself," and that "all the doctors and masters of the Hebrews have asserted that the seeds of Immortality and of glorification were scattered in all, the things, from which they inferred the resurrection of Jesus Christ and of the bodies." All in all the book is replete with Christological interpretations of alchemical processes. At the same time, Hebrew-Jewish theological terms are frequently used. Thus page 296 mentions "the great Adonay," and pages 300ff. tell of seven temples dedicated to "the great Yahweh" (the word is written in neat Hebrew characters) of which the seventh was that of Solomon. The first was that of Adam, the second of Cain, the third of Enoch, the fourth of Noah, the fifth of Abraham, the sixth of Moses. In connection with the temple of Abraham the text refers to the months of Nissan and Tishri (p. 302). All this shows that even if the book was originally of Jewish authorship, it was subsequently thoroughly reworked by one or more Christian authors. Of Jewish relevance is the repeated

appearance of the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew script and of the David's star (on pp 206, 315, 325) This being the case, it seems justified to interpret Flamel's emphasis on the Jewish authorship, provenance, and decipherment of the book as a reflection of the prestige Jews had in his eyes—and must have had in the eyes of the Christian circles to which he belonged—as masters of alchemy

A REMARKABLE sequel to the story of Flamel and his Jewish masters in alchemy took place in the early eighteenth century, four hundred years after Flamel's death In that period Paul Lucas (1664–1737), a French traveler and antiquarian, made repeated trips to the Orient and de scribed them in several books [6] In the first volume of his 1712 trave logue there is a chapter entitled "Conversations with the Dervishes History of Flamel Is He Still Alive?" In it Lucas describes how one day, taking a walk in the streets of Bursa, Turkey, he met a dervish who told him that he had come from the land of the Uzbeks (in Central Asia)

> He seemed to me to be more learned than the others I think he knew all the languages of the world [7] Since he did not know that I was French, after having spoken Turkish for some time, he asked me whether I knew Latin, Spanish, or Italian [Then] he spoke to me in French like a man who was brought up in Paris Finally I mentioned to him the illustrious Flamel I told him that despite the philosophers' stone, he was dead in all respects Hearing that name he started to laugh at my simplicity Since I had almost begun to believe him in the other things, I was extremely astonished to see him doubt that which I stated Having noticed my surprise, he again asked in the same tone whether I was good enough to believe that Flamel was dead "No, no," said he, "you are mistaken Flamel is alive, neither he nor his wife have as yet known what is death It is not yet three years hence that I have left both of them in India, and he is one of my most trusted friends " He even went on to state for me the time when he made Flamel's acquain tance, but then he restrained himself and told me that he wanted me to learn his history, which undoubtedly is unknown in my country
>
> "Our sages," he continued, "although rare in the world, are found equally among all sects, and in this respect no sect is superior to the other In the days of Flamel there was one [among us] of the Jewish religion In the early times of his life he became desirous of not losing sight of the descendants of his brothers, and knowing that for the most part they had gone to live in France, the desire to see them prompted him to leave us and to undertake the voyage We did all we could to dissuade him, and several times he changed his plan at our advice In the end, his extreme desire to go there made him depart, with the promise, however, to rejoin us as soon as would be possible for him He arrived in Paris, which was at that time,

as it is at present, the capital of the kingdom. He found that the descendants of his father were held in great esteem among the Jews. He saw, among others, a rabbi of his race who appeared to want to become a *savant*, that is to say, who sought the true Philosophy, and labored on the Great Work. Our friend did not disdain to make the acquaintance of his small nephews. He established with him [the rabbi] ties of close friendship, and gave him many explanations. But since the first material takes long to make, he was content with putting in writing the whole science of the Work, and in order to prove to him that he did not write falsehoods for him, he made in his presence a projection of 30 *ocques*[8] of metal which he transmuted into the purest of gold. The rabbi, full of admiration for our brother, made every effort to induce him to stay with him. But this was in vain, he was determined to keep the word he gave us. Finally the Jew [i.e., the rabbi], not being able to obtain anything from him, changed his friendship into mortal hatred, and the avarice that suffocated him made him resort to the black scheme of extinguishing one of the lights of the Universe. But, wishing to dissimulate, he asked the sage to give him the honor of staying with him a few more days, and during that time, with incredible treachery, he killed him and took from him all his medicine. The horrible deed could not for long remain unpunished. The Jew was discovered, put in prison, and, for several other crimes of which he was also convicted, was burned alive. The persecution of the Jews of Paris began shortly thereafter, and you know that all of them were expelled. Flamel, more reasonable than most of the other Parisians, had no difficulty in establishing relations with some Jews; he was considered even by them a person of honesty and of well-known probity. This was the reason why a Jewish merchant conceived of the plan to entrust to him his registers and all his papers, persuaded that he would not use them for evil, and that he would want to save them from the general conflagration. Among these papers were found those of the rabbi who was burned, including the books of our sage. The merchant, undoubtedly busy with his commerce, had not paid much attention to them. But Flamel, who later examined them, noticing the figures of furnaces, alembics, and other similar vessels, and judging with good reason that this could be the secret of the Great Work, felt that he must not stop there. Since these books were in Hebrew, he arranged for the translation of the first page. This little having confirmed him in his thought, in order to use prudence and not to be discovered, this is the manner to which he resorted: he betook himself to Spain, and since there were Jews there almost everywhere, in every place he asked someone to translate for him one page of his book. Having in this manner translated all of it, he took the road back to Paris. On the way there he found for himself a faithful friend whom he took with him to labor on the work, and to whom he planned to divulge subsequently his secret. But an illness carried him off prematurely.

"Thus Flamel, upon reaching home, decided to work with his wife: they achieved their goal, and having acquired immense riches they caused the construction of several large public buildings, and enriched several people. Fame is sometimes a very annoying thing, but a sage knows, with his prudence, how to extricate himself from all difficulty. Flamel saw clearly that he would be arrested if he should be believed to possess the philosophers' stone, and it would be unlikely that much time could pass without that science being attributed to him, in consequence of the glitter which his largess brought him. Thus, like a true philosopher who does not care about living in view of the human race, he found the means to escape by publicizing his death and the death of his wife. At his advice, she feigned illness, which took its course, and when she was pronounced dead, she was near her *suisse* [?] where she was instructed to wait for him. They buried in her place a piece of wood and clothes, and in order not to lack a ritual this was done in a church which she had caused to be built. Subsequently he had recourse to the same stratagem for himself: since one does everything for money, he had no trouble in winning over the physician and the people of the Church. He left a testament in which he recommended explicitly that they should bury him with his wife, and erect a pyramid over their tombs. A second piece of wood was buried in his stead, while the sage himself was on his way to join his wife. After that time the two of them led a philosophical life with one another, sometimes in one country sometimes in another. Behold, this is the true story of Flamel, and not that which you believe, nor that which people foolishly think in Paris, where few have the knowledge of the true wisdom."

This account seemed to me, and in fact was, very strange. It was the more surprising for me since it was told to me by a Turk who, I believe, had never set foot in France. In fact, I report it only as a historian, and I pass over several other things, even less credible, which he nevertheless told me in affirmative tones. I content myself with remarking that one has in general too low an idea about the science of the Turks, and that the one about whom I speak is a man of a superior type.[9]

We cannot undertake here an investigation of the truth of this remarkable story, but sightings of a famous alchemist after his death by individuals who believe that he did not die—could not die since he possessed the philosophers' stone which is the elixir of life—have remained quite common down to the twentieth century, so that this part of the story need not surprise us. What is interesting in the present context is that although Paul Lucas's story (or the dervish's story) knows nothing of the book of the Jew Abraham, it attributes Flamel's alchemical expertise to another Jewish source: this time it is an anonymous Jewish sage, a member of an interreligious brotherhood of Oriental sages, who goes from an unnamed eastern country to Paris, is murdered there by a fellow

Jew, and leaves behind secret Hebrew alchemical notes or books. Subsequently, when the Jews are persecuted in Paris, these books fall into the hands of Flamel. This version too knows of Flamel's voyage to Spain, where several Jewish sages are able and willing to translate for him the Hebrew text page by page. However, in this version Master Canches has paled into an anonymous "faithful friend," whom Flamel meets in Spain, who is not among his masters but a would-be disciple whom Flamel is ready to instruct in alchemy, but who, like Canches, dies prematurely. All these details, even though changed and distorted, bear a definite resemblance to the original Flamel story. What is new in this version is the faking of death by Flamel and his wife, their false burials, and continued life thereafter in many countries down to the present (eighteenth century), and as far east as India.

The Flamel story demonstrates that in both the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries the Jews are presented as adepts of the Royal Art, as its past masters, whose writings and oral instructions are the only truly reliable sources from which its Christian students can obtain real mastery. Whether or not Jewish alchemists actually possessed superior knowledge in alchemy, there can be no doubt that the gentile alchemical circles were suffused with the perception that they did. This view was probably nourished by the fact that the Jewish alchemists knew Hebrew, a language difficult for the gentiles to acquire, and that Hebrew, with its close association with Kabbalah and gematria, was considered by gentiles the key that opened a door to the mysterious realms of the Great Art.

It is not my intention to draw too close an analogy between medieval Jewish medicine and Jewish alchemy—although many Jewish physicians were alchemists as well—but just as Jewish doctors had the reputation in royal and princely courts of being the best, so did Jewish alchemists; and just as kings and princes preferred to employ Jewish doctors as their personal physicians, so they preferred to employ Jewish alchemists, as shown by examples discussed in the present book. It seems that in both medicine and alchemy Jewish practitioners constituted a disproportionately high percentage, and if so, they must have made a considerable contribution to both arts. In view of this it is remarkable—and unfortunate—that from the entire span of the Christian Middle Ages the works of no great Jewish alchemist identified by the author's name have survived to take their place next to those of Albertus Magnus, Ruysbroek, Flamel, Trevisanus, Valentinus, Zachaire, and others.

Chapter Sixteen

TWO SPANISH-JEWISH COURT ALCHEMISTS

THE STORY of Flamel's meeting with Master Canches contains an indication of the reputation Spanish Jewish alchemists enjoyed far beyond the borders of the Iberian Peninsula. Flamel's account creates the impression that the Jewish alchemists in Spain plied their trade openly, that the people at large were well aware of the presence of an alchemist in their midst. Otherwise, it would be hard to imagine how a visiting gentile merchant from France could locate, apparently without any difficulty, a Jewish alchemist.

Contemporary historical sources preserved in Spanish archives confirm this impression. They contain documentation pertaining to the life and work of two Jewish alchemists, one in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the other toward its end. The earlier one was Magister Menahem, who was a physician and alchemist like Master Canches, whereas the later, Caracosa Samuel, was one of the heads of the Jewish community of Perpignan and an alchemist with a royal license.

MAGISTER MENAHEM

The name of Magister Menahem appears the first time in a document dated June 1345, which tells about a lawsuit brought by a certain José Maria Quadrado in Palma de Mallorca, accusing Jacobus Rubeus and "Magister Menaym [Menahem] Judeus" of defrauding people with counterfeit silver and gold. Points III through VII of the indictment read (in Dr. Joseph Salemi's translation):

> III. That the said Jacobus and certain others, through dishonest substitution and by means of wicked and counterfeiting art, caused false and counterfeit gold and silver to be made in his house, and he exchanged them and sold them and deceived some persons. And this is public knowledge.
>
> IV. That the said counterfeiting of metals was accomplished through the work of Magister Menaym the Jew, and this is public knowledge.
>
> V. That the said Menaym is a great experimenter and necromancer, and he is known in the street or among the Jews.
>
> VI. That for many months he dwelt almost continuously, day and night, in the house of Jacobus Rubeus, eating, drinking, and sleeping there—so

much so that he sometimes remained there for a full week, right up until Sabbath evening

VII That the said Jacobus gave clothing and a great quantity of florins to Magister Menaym as wages for his work

Furthermore, the indictment alleged that

since Magister Menaym the Jew and Senata the silversmith, who are ac complices in the counterfeiting of gold and silver, are persons suspected of wanting to flee, and likewise Marcus de Santa Cruz, who has been accused of stirring up the populace with his words—that is, if they should become aware of the aforesaid [indictments]—it is requested that they be appre hended without delay and thrown into one of the royal fortresses, since they cannot be detained safely in a common prison for the reason expressed to you [1]

No information is available as to the outcome of the lawsuit, but if Magister Menahem was actually imprisoned in one of the royal fortresses, that seems to have been the opening for him of a fabulous ca reer, somewhat reminiscent of that of the biblical Joseph Within a year, King Pedro IV (r 1336–1387), who only shortly before had gained control over the Kingdom of Majorca, appointed him his personal physician, and one month later, on July 7, 1346, he concluded an agreement with him concerning certain experiments and *opera*, whose nature is not stated in the surviving letter patent, but which could not have been anything but alchemical in character [2] Thus the man who in the summer of 1345 stood before the law court of Palma accused of manufacturing false gold and silver, and defrauding with them his fellow citizens, became a year later an influential high official of the royal court, and en trusted officially with precisely the type of work that he had been accused of having engaged in fraudulently

Magister Menahem retained his position for several years, and became a confidant of the king, who considered him his master in both alchemy and astrology This is recorded by Geronymo Çurita (Zurita), the six teenth-century chronicler of Aragonese history, who devotes a few lines to sketching the intellectual and literary interests of Pedro IV, and in that connection speaks of Menahem "[King Pedro IV] was much devoted to all kinds of letters, especially to astrology, and was fond of alchemy, in which he found as master a Jewish physician of his, whose name was Menahem "[3]

Caracosa Samuel

Perpignan, located in the eastern Pyrenees, was from 1276 to 1344 the capital of the Kingdom of Majorca, and in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries changed hands several times between Spain and France The

name of Caracosa Samuel appears the first time in 1367 as one of the *ne'emanim* (trustees) who headed the *aljama*, the Jewish community of Perpignan [4] Six years later he appears again in an order issued by King Pedro IV and addressed to several Jewish notables, Samuel among them, instructing them to appear within six days in Barcelona to render their expert opinion in a question that had to be decided according to Jewish law [5]

In the decades that had passed since he first employed Magister Menahem, King Pedro's interest in alchemy did not abate, and on April 1, 1384, he issued a decree that permitted three Christian alchemists to practice their art in *ville Montisalbi* (Montblanch), and empowered them to work "together with those Christians, Jews, or Saracens who might want to take part in the said labor, as often and wherever it will seem expedient to them "[6] This document, incidentally, testifies to cooperation in Spain among alchemists of the three faiths

The successor of Pedro IV on the throne of Aragon, John I (r 1387–1396), was, like his predecessor, a patron of the arts and an aficionado of alchemy Under him, Caracosa Samuel came to play an important role as an alchemist authorized by royal decree to practice his art The decree in question has survived, and the following is its translation

> We John, etc , noting that it shall be illicit for no one to direct his attention to the workings of philosophy, whether they be natural or artificial, and for that reason agreeing to the request of some members of our domestic household who have interceded before us on your behalf, Caracosa Samuel, Jew of the city of Perpignan, we concede to you that you have the right to, and can experiment with, the art of alchemy anywhere in our territories, without incurring anyone's penalty, you may freely use, and try through experimentation to the fullest degree, whatever you think fit in this art, you may do and fabricate each and every thing which is consonant with, necessary to, and convenient in whatever manner to, the said art and to its practice and exercise We command by this same document in specific terms and expressly our governor general and appointees everywhere and their lieutenants, that under pain of incurring our wrath and indignation they should honor and observe, and neither contravene nor permit anyone else to contravene, our concession and license to you, and all contained in it, for any reason In testimony of this thing we have ordered the present document to be made and ratified with our seal Given at Perpignan, on the fifth day of April in the year 1396 from the nativity of our Lord [7]

Two conclusions can be reached from these sparse historical references One is that to be an alchemist was an honored profession among the Jews of Perpignan in the fourteenth century, since otherwise they would not have elected an alchemist to be one of the trustees of the

community. Moreover, since there is no reason to suspect that the situation in Perpignan was exceptional in this respect, and since there is additional evidence supplied by other data, one can generalize and assume that this was the case in the medieval Jewish communities in the Western world in general.

The second conclusion, likewise confirmed by collateral evidence, is that kings and princes put special reliance on Jewish alchemists, endowed them with the right of practicing their secret art all over the royal domains, and appointed them as court alchemists whose official functions included teaching alchemy to the royal aficionados, and producing gold for the treasury. To put it differently: the historical data, even though scarce, do indicate that alchemy was an important field in Jewish cultural and economic life, and that Jewish alchemists played an important role in the practice of the "Great Art" in the gentile world.

Royal sponsorship of alchemy in general, and of Jewish alchemists in particular, inevitably raises a serious question: since the scientific information at our disposal today makes us certain beyond the slightest doubt that no alchemist was ever able to transmute base metal into gold, how then were the alchemists employed by royal heads to make gold for them able to escape the ultimate unmasking of their failure, and the ultimate penalty that would inevitably have followed? I cannot answer this question satisfactorily, even though quite a number of technical, legal, circumstantial, and psychological factors could be cited to show the great difficulty to be encountered in any attempt to prove fraud by an alchemist working under royal license. In any case, it is a fact that in all the historical sources relating to Jewish alchemists I have studied, I found not a single case in which such a practitioner was in any way penalized for failing to produce gold. Hence it seems legitimate to conclude that the alchemists in question were astute enough to protect themselves one way or another, so that, even if a lawsuit was initiated against them (as it happened in the early life of Menahem of Majorca), the authorities did not muster enough evidence to lead to their conviction.

Chapter Seventeen

ABRAHAM ELEAZAR

ALCHEMICAL treatises, as a rule, deal with practical, realistic or quasi realistic subjects, such as the transmutation of metals, or the production of the great elixir, and, on the theoretical side, with the nature of nature, the origin and development of metals, and the like These matters are of equal concern to members of all religious and ethnic groups, and one would not expect to find in alchemical treatises references to particular religio-ethnic concerns In fact, at the most one finds in them a few brief general phrases, such as "thank God," "with the help of God," and so on, which are nothing more than commonplace expressions of the prevalent religious sentiments The most remarkable exception to this rule I have encountered is Abraham Eleazar's *Uraltes Chymisches Werck*, which is unquestionably the most Jewish alchemical book in existence

Nothing is known of Abraham Eleazar except what can be deduced from his book, which was printed in Erfurt in 1735 and which carries the following long descriptive title (in German)

> R Abraham Eleazar's *Age-Old Chymical Work* [*Uraltes Chymisches Werck*] which was ere now written by the Author partly in Latin and Arabic, partly also in the Chaldaean and Syriac Language, subsequently translated into our German Mother Tongue by an Anonymous Now, however, delivered to public Print with appertinent Coppers, Figures, Vessels, Ovens, a brief Preface, the requisite Indices, as well as added Keys of the foreign Words occurring in it, with the usual Approbation for the Benefit and Use of all Lovers of the noble Hermetic Philosophy, in Two Parts, by Julius Gervasius of Schwarzburg, P M & J P E

As the title page states, the book contains two parts, each with an inner title page of its own The first follows Gervasius's Preface, and reads

Covenant[1]
God without Beginning and End
Abraham Eleazar the Jew, A Prince, Priest, and Levite
Astrologer and Philosopher, born of the Stock of Abraham
Isaac, Jacob, and Judah

Figure 17.1. Frontispiece of Abraham Eleazar, *Uraltes Chymisches Werck*. The Hebrew words on top read *ha'orah sefer*, but they are faultily vocalized and reversed. They should read *sefer ha'orah*, i.e., Book of Light. The Hebrew word under the feet of the figure reads "torah."

The title page of the second part reads:

> *Donum Dei* [Gift of God] of Samuel Baruch, the Rabbi, Astrologer and Philosopher, born of the Stock of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Judah, which teaches the great Secret of the great Master Tubal-Cain, from his Tablet, found by the Jew Abraham Eleazar, I. N. J. CXI.[2]

These three title pages in themselves purport to give quite a lot of information about the provenance, authorship, and contents of the two

parts of the book, but the problem is that of the four individuals mentioned only one, the mythical biblical figure Tubal-Cain, is known, and the three others—Abraham Eleazar, Samuel Baruch, and Julius Gervasius—are totally unknown. As often happens with books of such problematic authorship, the provenance of this one has given rise to scholarly controversy.

The *Uraltes Chymisches Werck* (hereafter *Werck*) was first examined by Johann Friedrich Gmelin, a late eighteenth-century historian of chemistry, who states that there are in it "instructions for the preparation of mineral acids," and considers it valuable in connection with "the Great Work of Transmutation." He attributes the book to the beginning of the fourteenth century, a period preceding that of Flamel, but does so without any supporting argument.[3]

After Gmelin, Hermann Kopp, the outstanding nineteenth-century historian of alchemy, subjected the book to critical scrutiny, and found that on page 6 of part 2 of the 1760 edition there was a Latin passage taken from the *Tabula Smaragdina*,[4] which could not be earlier than the twelfth century. He also examined the political references in the book, and found that they reflected the conditions in the seventeenth century. Moreover, he asked his colleague, the Orientalist Gustav Weil (author of the classic *Biblische Legenden der Musulmänner* [1845] and many other important books) to check over the text of the *Werck*. Weil's opinion was that the book contained several incorrect quotations from the Old Testament, a prayer that did not confirm to the Jewish faith, a Chaldaean quote that was partly unintelligible (in part 2, p. 11), and so on. On this basis Kopp concluded that the author, Abraham Eleazar, was supposititious, that the book was spurious, that it could not have been written earlier than the seventeenth century, and that its real author was Julius Gervasius.[5]

This view was unquestioningly accepted by Moritz Steinschneider, who in 1894 pronounced categorically that the book was a forgery.[6]

Another twelve years later, John Ferguson, the conscientious cataloger of alchemical literature, recapitulated Kopp's views and stated that he could not entirely agree with them. His own conclusion was that "Gervasius may . . . have based his adaptation on some old manuscripts, if he did not actually reprint one, as he professes to have done."[7]

Ferguson's view was either unknown to, or disregarded by, C. G. Jung, who in 1963 opined that the *Werck* was a late forgery from the beginning of the eighteenth century, that the author, Abraham Eleazar, purported to be a Jew but was clumsy enough not only to perpetrate anachronisms, but to reveal "his own unquestionably Christian psychology."[8] I am not sure what "anachronisms" Jung refers to, and as to the "psychology" of the author, we shall return to it anon. First, however,

let us tackle the question of whether the book could have been written by Gervasius, as Kopp concluded.

Gervasius (whose name, I repeat, is known only from this book), brought the book to press, as stated on the main title page, and contributed to it the preface that he signed. Even a cursory reading of this preface shows that, as far as his opinion of Abraham Eleazar's Judaism was concerned, Gervasius was a typical son of his age: he speaks of the author's "Jewish blindness" in matters of faith, and criticizes him for mixing in his text, "in accordance with his Jewish rudeness, not only many impertinent phrases, strange fables, empty consolations, adventurous prophecies, and idolatrous formulas of prayer, but also occasionally very great mistakes here and there, which one would either have liked to change, or else to omit entirely, had one not been apprehensive that thereby the position of the whole book could possibly be nullified." And he adds, "One could, if time and space permitted, easily and at length refute the drivel scattered in the book by this Jew, with which he tries to defile Christendom," but feels that since this was done effectively by the anti-Jewish authors Wagenseil, Eisenmenger, Gerson, Hosemann, and Müller, it is unnecessary to do so.

Of the Jews in general Gervasius had a similarly dim view. He writes: "the curse that the ancestors of this miserable people wished upon their own necks in the days of our most beloved Savior Christus Jesus, Matth. 27:22,[9] is still lying upon their souls" (f. 7b). Utterances such as these make it evident that Gervasius was a typical eighteenth-century anti-Semite who, in publishing a book by a Jewish alchemical author, felt obliged to make sure that his own negative views of Jews and Judaism were clearly stated in the preface. It is difficult to imagine that all this was a devious ploy and a ruse, and that he himself wrote the "drivel scattered in the book" only to censure them in the preface.

However, if Gervasius did not write the book, but merely edited a manuscript that was written by a Jewish author—and we shall show that such was the case—the question arises: why did he bother with publishing it at all? The answer, I believe, lies in the great respect that Christian alchemists had for Jewish adepts, despite their unfriendly attitude toward Jews in general. Some of the most renowned Christian (and Muslim) alchemists had learned their art from Jewish masters and Gervasius was evidently one of them. Even though his view of Jews was negative, he nevertheless recognized the Jewish author's alchemical mastery, and considered his book important enough to publish, and thereby enhance his own reputation as an alchemist, while at the same time taking care to emphasize his objections to Jewish views that had nothing to do with alchemy. With this understanding, let us now have a look at Gervasius's preface and see what we can learn from it about Abraham Eleazar.

Gervasius states that he published the book on the basis of "a very rare and precious manuscript." He takes it for granted that this manuscript was identical with (or a copy of) the one that fell into the hands of Flamel, which Flamel spent twenty-one years seeking to understand. Gervasius refers to a German edition of Flamel's "Chymical works," printed in Hamburg in 1681, and, in order to point out the importance of Abraham's manuscript he quotes Flamel to the effect that "he would never have found the true vessel of the philosophers had not the Jew Abraham depicted it with its proportionate fire, in which consists a great part of the secret."

Gervasius also quotes another, anonymous, alchemical author, who in his book, entitled *Curieuse Untersuchung* (Curious Investigation), "praises singularly this Jew for giving indications about how, where, and when to find the prima materia of the philosophers' stone."

As for the person of Abraham Eleazar, Gervasius says that "One cannot precisely determine when this rabbi lived, but words contained in Part One, pages 7 and 8, indicate that he flourished quite some time after the destruction of Jerusalem." He explains that the many Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Greek words contained in the *Werck* are attributable to the fact that after the Jews returned from the Babylonian Captivity, they forgot Hebrew, and within seventy years acquired not only Chaldaic but also the languages of the nations with whom they mingled. Then he goes on to recapitulate the story of the biblical origin of alchemy as it was current in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, including, of course, the names of (the original) Abraham, Tubal-Cain, and Moses. He asserts that what Abraham Eleazar did in his book was to explain clearly the transmitted *formas hieroglyphicas*, that is, the pictorial representations, originally made by Tubal-Cain. In this connection he refers to Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 1:3:7, who, he says, states that Tubal-Cain invented the art of metal-working.[10] All this is merely a rehashing of what was commonplace in alchemical circles in the eighteenth century.

As for the period in which Abraham Eleazar lived, we can learn nothing definite from Gervasius's preface. However, he either believed or pretended to believe that Abraham Eleazar lived prior to the time of Flamel, that is, before the fourteenth century. Nor can we learn more from the text of the book itself, except for one thing: the author evidently lived in the midst of a Jewish community that was suffering oppression, persecution, rapine, and rapings, and had great difficulty in defraying the taxes imposed upon it by the "Roman Emperor," which designation could apply to the head of the Holy Roman Empire, which is generally considered to have been founded by Charlemagne in 800, and lasted for a thousand years.

What is unusual in Abraham Eleazar's book is that in it he gives repeated expression to his deep concern for the misery of the Jews, emphasizes that he reveals the alchemical secrets for the explicit purpose of alleviating their sufferings, and constantly mingles the mysterious alchemical recipes he presents with expressions of commiseration and of consolation The tendency to be the comforter of his people is evinced right after the inner title page of the first book The lower part of that page reads

> I wish my brothers, who by the wrath of the great God lie scattered and captive in slavery here and there in the world, much luck and salvation in the name of the soon to come Messiah and the great prophet Isaiah who already calls out to all his brothers *Deni Adonai Bocitto Ochysche*, 60 F [11] Therefore wait patiently until the Hero comes, but Maranatha[12] [curse] upon all and every one of those who are not of the stock of Judah, who get this book into their hands, so that they should become darkened, and perish like the band of *Korah, Datan, Abiram*, and perish in אש *esh* [fire], or disappear
>
> I N U C XI [13]
>
> AZOTH HYLE SHAMAYIM[14]

In the first few pages of his book Abraham Eleazar reminds his brothers of the sins of their fathers whose consequences they were still suffering, and calls on them to repent their own sins These pages set the tone of the whole book, throughout which Abraham Eleazar shows himself to be full of aching concern for the fate of his people

After a lengthy quotation from 4 Ezra 14 39–47 (which may have been added by Gervasius), Abraham Eleazar holds out the promise to his brothers that the Messiah (the word is written in Hebrew characters) would soon come and redeem them Addressing God, he describes in heartbreaking detail the suffering of his people "O Lord, they make our virgins subservient to them, and violate them in front of our eyes, our elders and princes are mercilessly murdered by them, our youths are put to death under the burden " (p 4) Then he switches to a description of the messianic age which is soon to come, and asserts that he is revealing in this book "the secrets of our fathers so that you should be able to pay the tribute to the Roman Emperor, and to redeem the poor captives Therefore I want to teach you the preparation of the metals in Asophol [gold melted through antimony][15] and Diana [silver], and to depict it with invariable words and figures, so that you should be able to grasp it with your hands, and [know] how to prepare the △ [16] [fire] of the Lord, which was lost, when the time comes to intimidate with it your enemies, so that you should have it in your hands for your protection" (pp 6–7)

The passage that follows is interesting because it contains a reference, unusual in alchemistic literature, to Jewish alchemical secrets hidden in the ruins of Jerusalem

> Furthermore I want to show you the place where our Fathers walled in and buried the secrets, when Jerusalem was destroyed by the emperor Titus Vespasianus, so that you should be able to tell and show it to your children, for no heathen will find the spot, only our brothers For the signs stand to this very hour, so that even a blind man among you will find it, which how ever will happen when the great prophet Elijah will be present, for prior to that time, even if you have all the signs, you will still not obtain it For already out of curiosity some went there, and searched for the place, and even found it, but when they opened it △ [fire] came out so that they partly perished Therefore beware lest this book get into the hands of your enemies, lest the wrath of the great God be kindled against you even more For then your enemies would have even more reason to afflict and torture you Therefore let Maranatha come upon all those who get this book into their hands and to whom it does not belong Maranatha must darken and destroy them (p 7)

The subject of the secret hidden in (or under) the ruins of the Jerusa lem Temple preoccupied Abraham Eleazar to such an extent that on the next page he returned to it

> The great יהוה Jehova will not maintain his wrath forever, but will shortly gather us, to occupy again our inheritance, so that you, when the time comes, should be advised where our priests hid the most noble secrets at the time when Titus Vespasianus wickedly burned and destroyed the holy city and the Sanctuary The same will be found at the entrance to the Holy of Holies toward morning [the east], where there is a vault 500 spans deep, through a narrow passage, and it is paved with broad hewn flat stones, with ▽ [earth] two cubits deep upon them, then again flat stones This is hid den until the present hour, and will be found at the time when Elijah comes with the Maschiach [Messiah] Therefore, dear brothers, moan and groan with yearning for it, for at that time you will everywhere destroy your ene mies There have been a few brothers who received word about this secret from their fathers They dared, went there to help their brothers, this was a good intention, but because they were not of the stock of Judah, and also did not understand the signs, because they started to work without instruc tion, they did not find it Had they, however, understood the *Signa* [signs], they would have found that which was hidden, had not the God of Abraham and Isaac held his hand over it But so that you should be sure of the figures and the indications which you will find in your search, I want to paint for you and reveal those which I received from my fathers 1) When

you come to the place where the Holy of Holies stood and when you have found the spot and the entrance to it toward morning [the east] on the right side, clear it away, and then you will find a stone which lies two cubits deep it is marked thus אש [*esh*, fire], lift it up, it lies 200 spans deep If the passage is ruined, you must continue to clear it until you come to the place where you will find all the secrets which our fathers possessed, and will know how you should make use of them For at that time your enemies will begin to torment you But be of good cheer, for you will get the sword into your hands which will devour your enemies But so that you should have a consolation until the time comes, and you can come to the aid of your poor captive brothers to redeem them of their servitude, pay attention to what these appointed figures indicate For you should know that God the High est will promise and give you His blessing so that you should enjoy the breadth of the land and drink the dew of heaven (pp 8–10)

At this point Abraham Eleazar breaks off his prophetic pronounce ments, divests himself of his Jewish religio nationalistic considerations, and assumes the mantle of the alchemical adept, by continuing in a to tally different vein "For our father Hermes says *Pater eius est Sol, Mater Luna, Ventus portavit in ventre suo*, that is, "His father is the sun, his mother the moon, the wind carried it in its belly " "Our father Hermes" refers, of course, not to the Greek god whom the Roman called Mercu rius, but to the mythical Egyptian alchemist Hermes Trismegistus, whom Hellenistic and later alchemists considered the father of their Art This is followed by alchemical mystical pronouncements which are difficult to understand

Sal ☉ *ri nostrum in mari mundi versans* ♃ *acris, invisibilem, congelatum coelum nostrum,* ▽ *m manus non madefacientem* [(Take) our *salnitri* (so dium nitrate) turning into the sea of the world The spirit of the air, our invisible congealed heaven Water which does not moisten the hand] For the spirit of the Lord is unfathomable It hovers in the air, it signifies the winged serpent, and permeates men and all creatures that are created in the earth, for the winged serpent signifies the ♃ *mundi universalem* [univer sal spirit of the world], permeates all things under the heaven, this is our *Materia* which we prepare out of the coagulated air This is the ♃ [spirit] which is extracted out of the dew, and with which we prepare our ⊖ [salt] The lowest serpent, however, signifies our *Materia* which is found every where, and is earthly as well as heavenly, for it is the true ▽ *Virginea & Adamica* [virginal and Adamic earth]

Abraham Eleazar continues in this vein for several more pages, then switches to alchemical recipes, usually bracketed in expressions of con- cern for the Jewish people's fate A good example of this is found in the

second chapter (Book 1, pp 26–44) which consists of one long and in volved mystico-alchemical recipe, and begins as follows

> I Abraham Eleazar continue, dear brothers, to teach you Dear brothers, since our fathers with their idolatry sinned against the Lord in the deserts, Moses made for them a brazen serpent, fastened it to a cross, so that it should be seen by the whole people, and so that they should recover from the plague which they deserved and suffered Therefore know that if you can fasten the serpent Phython to this cross with a golden nail, you will lack nothing in wisdom Therefore, dear brothers, nature which the great Crea tor created is unfathomable and this is the whole secret of the Art that we extract the ♃ [spirit] of Phython

Phython, or, as he also spells it, Python, is an old alchemical concept that made its first appearance in the writings of Greek alchemists who speak of the "oil of Python" and the "serpent Python "[17] For Abraham Eleazar the Python has special importance

> Nothing in the world has such power to destroy metals as the Phython alone, but, dear brothers, it is not the common Phython, but our ♃ Phythonis [spirit of Python], since with the common Python our ♃ *Phythonis in infinitum* [spirit of Python to infinity] is multiplied, for our ♃ Phythonis transmutes the common Phython into its own nature, just as he transmutes the ☉ [gold] and all metals into its own nature For it is the *primum ens metallorum* [the first essence of the metals], that is, the well of the ancients, the flower which is covered and guarded by the griffins and the poisonous dragons (pp 27–28)

As we can see, this is more mysticism than alchemy, or perhaps it can best be characterized as mysticism clothed in an alchemical garb A few pages later Abraham Eleazar interrupts his presentation, and again addresses his brothers

> With this you can subdue the whole world Therefore, dear brothers, pay attention to my teaching, for I want to reveal to you here a still greater secret, and teach you two ways to achieve the great quintessence Take our *materiam magnesiam* [magnesia material], *plumbum nigrum* [black lead] also called bismuth or *puch* [H *pukh*, antimony], as it comes out of those mountains, ten or twelve pounds, make that Old One [i e , the *plumbum nigrum*] into an incomprehensible powder, after you have purified it of all rock, put this powder into a distinct broad *alabazus* [sand cupel], place it so that the moon should be able to shine on it and the dew to fall on it, but no sun must shine on it, also no rain come to it, leave it stand thus four weeks, but you must stir the powder every day, when the time is over, take

Figure 17.2. Figure illustrating the unification of the air, symbolized by the winged dragon, with the earth, symbolized by the serpent. The two German words on top read *Vereinige sie*, that is, "unite them," followed by the misspelled Hebrew word *awir* (air). At the bottom is the Hebrew word *eres* (earth). From Abraham Eleazar, *Uraltes Chymisches Werck.*

this powder, as our Old One, and put it in an *acures* [round glass vessel] with a crooked neck [see Figure 17.3], place it into an *alabazus* filled with sand, so that the sand should cover the *acures*, upon an oven, and give it *algir* [the fourth and strongest grade of fire], *termon* [another grade of fire], *heruo* [the first grade of fire], *humor* [the third grade of fire] . . . (pp. 29–30).

Figure 17.3. Alchemical vessel: "*acures* with crooked neck." From Abraham Eleazar, *Uraltes Chymisches Werck*.

After continuing to specify the recipe in this vein for several more pages, Abraham Eleazar again returns to his concern for his brothers:

> Thus I have shown to you again, dear brothers, a way so that you should be able to help yourselves and your poor, and also help those of your brothers who lie captured by the enemy, and who are otherwise in need and in misery. Do not forsake the widows and the orphans, so that you should be able to pay the tribute to the emperor. Be taciturn, lest you be overtaken by misfortune. Cry and moan for your redemption, until the hero comes, the Messiah, to redeem you from your tormentors, and lead you out. Then your days will change, and your mourning will turn into joy. Dear brothers, at that time our brothers will again gather from Assyria, Egypt, and the other countries, they will cross with dry feet the Euphrates and the Nile River. Yes, from all four corners of the world, morning, evening, midday and midnight, the angels which rule the four winds will bring you together, and collect all Israel in the holy places . . . (pp. 42–43).

A distinct element in the teachings of Abraham Eleazar is his reliance on pictorial representation of the ideas he wishes to put across. His chapter 4 begins as follows:

> Dear brothers, Oh if only you would understand me, what I depict for you now! For I speak to you as to children, and not in dark words. Learn, and begin the work, so that your poor brothers should be redeemed of fear. Think of how your souls are distressed under the pressure, that they can not even raise their heads, this is why my heart breaks to show you a way, to help you and them. If you cannot work, entreat the Lord that He give you wisdom, Daniel 11.12, 22. It is easy and a small matter if only you will abandon all the high things in the world. Therefore, dear brothers, I have

Figure 17.4. The Python, from Abraham Eleazar, *Uraltes Chymisches Werck*. German inscription: "With this cut off the Pithon's feet or burn them off with the △ [fire] prepared out of the green dragon."

here again painted for you a figure where you have again two ways before your eyes. Firstly you see how the old *albaon* [black lead] with his blade wants to cut off the wild, winged feet of the Python, and that the Python has a stick in his hands, which means that when this happened he then had two natures, for this is what the two serpents indicate [see Figure 17.4]. This old father begetter (*Zeuge-Vater*) is being drawn once out of the *primordial chaos*, this is what the △ [fire]-spewing dragon signifies. That the Old One floats in the air signifies the *universal* ☊ [spirit] or Python, the beginning of all things, as I taught you, dear brothers, at the very beginning; and these figures are obvious. That the Old One has a scythe or a

sickle, and wants to cut off the feet of the Python is an indication that this can be prepared also from another *materia* than the *albaon*, which is a black grey and heavy *materia*, and one can get it in abundance, and that the Old One floats in the △ [air] has the meaning that one should, as I previously taught you, prepare out of this Old One the *columbam Dianae* [dove of Diana, or of the moon, or of silver], and mix it with the Python, and let it rise again, and thus you get the double Python, or the right *gluten* [glue], the △y [fiery] dragon, in a humid way, but out of the green lion a creeping dragon is being prepared, you have it before your eyes, and you can compare the Old One to the humid way, but in the work they result in the same thing, only that in the dry way there is in the pre Work a different *modus* than in the humid (pp 62–64)

I must leave it to students of the general history of alchemy to tackle the question of whether the alchemical concepts and symbols—other than the Python, on which we commented above—appearing in the above text were known in the fourteenth century The answer to this question could supply additional testimony as to the date of the original manuscript of the *Werck*

At a later point Abraham Eleazar is again drawn away from his mysti cal alchemy into an exhortation to his brothers, on which occasion he describes the upheavals he expected would shake the gentile world in the messianic times

Then the Messiah of the tribe of Judah will come Oh! Daughter of Zion, if your king comes, hurry to receive him with a humble heart Then you will no longer be the forsaken one, but your light will shine again When the sound of the trumpets comes, the whole ▽ [earth] will be shaken, and all your enemies will tremble in fear and fright, yes, in fright, and know not where to go Have this for a certain and true emblem All the nations round about you, and also those among whom you dwell, will rise up one against the other, France against the West, as well as Spain, and the Roman Em peror against France, also the Northerners against one another, the Poles against the Turks, the Turks against the Persians, the Muscovites against the Tartars One kingdom will destroy the other, which will be followed by pestilence and famine, and then your enemies will be humbled, and their power will become nothing Therefore, dear brothers, let them always take up the sword, and have nothing to do with them Keep to humility, and wait with patience For your king will rise at the same time, and lead you out with a strong arm (pp 93–95)

This seems to be the passage on which Kopp based his conclusion that the *Werck* must have been written in the seventeenth century However, the "prophetic" statements contained in it are much too vague to be

interpreted as reflecting conditions of a definite period, they seem simply to enumerate all the major powers known to the author, and predict wars between them in the style and tradition of the biblical prophets

The most problematic passage in the book of Abraham Eleazar, as far as its Jewish authorship is concerned, is the one in which he refers to an epidemic caused by the poisoning of wells As is well known, when the great plague raged in Europe (1348–1350), killing between one-quarter and one half of the total population, the Jews were accused of having caused it by poisoning the wells Under torture, several Jews confessed that they, or other Jews they knew, had indeed committed this terrible crime This was widely believed by the Christians despite the fact that the Jewish communities suffered as much from the plague as did the Christian population This seems to be the background of the following passage in Abraham Eleazar's *Werck*

> Do not dare, without Elijah and our King [the Messiah] to gather against the heathen in order to destroy them, as some of our brothers did, by which they only made the exigency worse, so that often 1,000 of them fell in one day, as with Barchocheta [?] He taught, because he understood the science, how to prepare the *Mysterium*, to prepare for the people a horrible, poisonous ▽ [water] and they made out of it by *Cohobation* [?] such a horrible smoke of poison that they themselves had partly to perish through it They poured this into the wells, and when the sky was thick, dark, and gloomy, they poured it into a vessel This they placed in abundance in addition upon the △ [fire], so that it started to smoke, and thus they poisoned the △ [air] so that men and beasts perished A terrible sickness and plague spread among the people, they got a horrible burning pox which began to putrefy and to stink, some became black like pitch, and fell down suddenly, and if it entered a house the poison raged so strongly that there was no rescue Those who were attacked by this poison sought to save themselves and fled into the country, whereby the whole land was ruined Therefore beware of such things, so that you don't make the burden even heavier upon you But if you will walk in the commandments of your God, He will preserve you and you will see an early redemption Be vigorous and watchful, for the yoke will soon be lifted from your necks

This passage reads as if its author had believed in the libel of poisoning of the wells and the responsibility of the Jews for the Black Death Could a Jew, who lived during that epidemic or some time thereafter, believe such a thing? Alas, the answer must be yes the "confessions" were sent to various cities, the accusation spread like wildfire, and the belief in their truth was general in the Christian population [18] In this atmosphere it is little wonder that a Jewish alchemist like Abraham Eleazar came sufficiently under the influence of the general conviction to believe that

one of his colleagues (to whom he referred by a possibly invented name) took unauthorized and reprehensible action to destroy the "heathen" by poison, and that he felt it necessary to warn his brethren not to follow his example If any historical conclusion can be based on this passage, it is that it seems to have been written soon after the Black Death, that is, probably in the second half of the fourteenth century

THE second part of the work, attributed to the otherwise unknown Samuel Baruch, is basically an alchemical mystical commentary on Genesis Its opening statement, purportedly written by Abraham Eleazar, tells how he found its text

> My brothers! In the first part I have left behind for you faithfully that which the great God and Creator had revealed in the book of the secrets of Tubal Cain, for your pressing need, so that you should be able to comfort your selves and your children, and find help in need However, so that it should lack nothing, I want to explain to you the secret book, word by word, as far as I have illumination from the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob Dear brothers, you should know how I obtained it I found this secret written on copper tablets by Samuel Baruch of our race, in figures, in Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic language Although at first it was difficult for me to understand it, to comprehend the proper meaning of the △ [fire] for sacrifice, how ever, the great Jehova soon opened it up for me, by His power, so that I could grasp and understand these secrets Therefore I want to depict for you everything, as much as I understand of this secret, for the elucidation of my first little book, confidentially, as well as the figures engraved on these barks and described

There can be no mistaking the effort at mystification in this opening statement Abraham Eleazar says that he found the secret writings of Samuel Baruch engraved on copper tablets, and that he copied their text onto tree bark—a claim reminiscent of what Flamel says about the Book of Abraham the Jew "it was made of thin barks (as it seemed to me) of tender shrubby trees Its cover was of very thin copper "[19] While this correspondence cannot be used for attributing Abraham Eleazar's book to the fourteenth century (the time of Flamel), it indicates that the idea of associating copper plates and bark leaves with books goes back to that century at least Abraham Eleazar's introductory statement is followed by Samuel Baruch's own preface which begins as follows

> My sons, I have sketched in figures the secrets of the great world, and also its meaning according to its inner secret understanding, as Moyses our brother had learned it from Tubal Cain, and left it behind, to your great joy, to find the Mighty One in Israel, in figures, as well as His servants and

angels, together with the powers of the innermost receptacle in *centro* of the natures, the food of the hidden angels and spirits, the life, the move ment of the stars of heaven, and the power of the soil, the light in △ [fire], the movement and rotation of the earth and ▽ [water], the effluence of יהוה Jehova, the clarity of the picture of the great Creator, the splendor of the Holy One and Most merciful, mine and your power, the blessing of Jacob, the power of Isaac, the preserving fruit of Joseph's chas tity, the refreshing power of Daniel, the effluence of all spirits So, take care, and beware, lest the enemies of the highest Creator find it and get it Keep hidden these marvels which Adam brought out of Paradise for a con solation of his descendants, his brothers who are his equals Therefore, search in darkness, without being seen, in quiet When you have found it, do not forsake your brothers who lie caught in need, for you must be a consolation for them Fear the Creator in the great אדוני Adonai, keep yourself pure, and your souls chaste, then you will be equal to the sub stance (*Wesen*) of these inner, holy, wonderful things, and of life, of the great world, to perform miracles, to tread the rivers with your feet, to go through mountains, and to command the light of the great world Yes, so that the earth will tremble before you, and the rocks shake and fall, for the Lord is with you Up! And be wise and love the תורה [Torah], and be [among those] *qui ingrediuntur sine macula & operantur iustitiam* [who enter upon and serve justice without blemish] [20]

Following this introduction, chapter 1 discusses and explains the alchemical mysteries of Creation which, at the same time, are taken to contain secret instructions for alchemical operations

The *primum ens* [first entity or essence] has appeared, and, after the move ment, was lying in itself, out of steam and smoke, and out of the highest became that which is down here, *inferiora haec cum superior[i]bus illis* [these lower things with those higher things], which, according to the Ara bic, is *quod est inferius centrum, est sicut est quod superius circumferentia* [that which is the lower kernel is as that which is higher in circumference] Therefore the high one is heaven, and the lowest is the elementary earth, and all flowed out of the *primo enti* [first essence] (Book 2, pp 1–4)

Soon thereafter Samuel Baruch introduces the mystical concept of

the supernal serpent [which] is the *spiritus mundi* [the spirit of the world], the most lovely and also the most terrible, who makes everything live, and who also kills everything, and takes on all shapes of nature In sum he is everything, and also nothing

Therefore, *the earth from the separated fire, the subtle and thin from that which is thick and dense, in this it ascends from the earth into heaven, again descends from the earth and from the sky into the earth, and receives the power*

and efficacy of the higher and the lower, in this way you will acquire the glory of the entire world; therefore, you will ward off all darkness and blindness. Thus you have one out of two, which contain in them the third and the fourth. It is the most volatile and also the most fixed, it is a [fire], which burns everything, and also opens and closes everything. *For this strength [more than] any other, carrying off the palm for strength and power, for it is able to penetrate and overcome all subtle and dense and hard things.*[21] Then you will have the power of the Creator in your hands, with which you can pursue Wisdom and work wonders. Cook this fire with fire until it remains standing, so you have the most fixed, which penetrates all things, and this figure emerges. [see Figure 17.5]

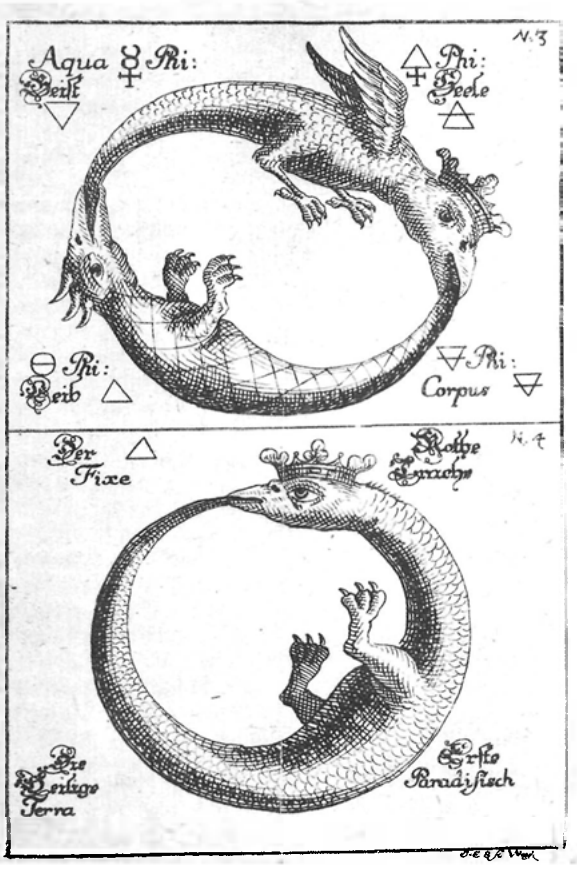

Figure 17.5. Top: the unification of the spirit, the soul, and the body. Bottom: the red dragon of fire. From Abraham Eleazar, *Uraltes Chymisches Werck.*

> Here you have made these two into one. Now you can make this worm volatile again: this happens again with the spirit of the world: rub it and make this fixed *carfunkel* [carbuncle, a mineral] or △ y [fiery] worm, red dragon, to ♁, put it again into an *acures* [round glass], give it to drink of its spirit and of its blood until this worm swells up in its *abrasatim* [a spirit, the sharp ☿ ♎, mercury balance], and becomes fruitful in this brood, and bears many thousands of the same. That is, this much one will say: one should put this red △ y [fiery] stone again into a glass, and water it with the double *abrasatim* (or double spirit) of the world (it is also called a penetrating poison, a double △ [fire], is also the life of nature), until the noble one swells up, i.e., becomes pregnant, and then let it stand in a soft warmth until the parturition, until your paradisiac fruit or earth again becomes dry and coagulates. Then do the same again, and as often until the great secret appears: the △ y [fiery] coagulated ▽ [water], the great mystery of the world, the life and food of the holy souls and angels, out of whose dew the heaven [comes] and the fatness of the earth (p. 9).

In the sequel the author explains that the bowl for which Esau sold his birthright to Jacob was a secret medicine, and in it was hidden "the sun of riches" which he desired greatly. Jacob, on the other hand, wrestled for the blessing of God and obtained the heavenly coagulated water. He instructs his brothers to mix this heavenly water with a coagulated fire, thus to obtain the quinta essentia. That quintessence is

> a holy balsam and also a poison, שאסיא כולה (נלא) [בלא] סיעתא דאלהיא לא יהני וגרים (מהית) [מיתה][22] This is all medicine, [and] without the help of God it is without fruit, it kills and destroys. . . . This is the great secret of the fathers, this is what God gave them as a consolation, which they used when they were in plight and trouble; otherwise they did not use it, because they were satisfied with the Highest, and with little. This was the masterpiece of the wise masters with which they prepared everything necessary that belonged to the Temple (p. 11).

The second book ends (on p. 87) with this comment, evidently written by Abraham Eleazar:

> There were many other important things described in the book of Baruch, and in figures on tables. But they are incomprehensible. I have therefore described and depicted for you only the necessary things of which the Ancient Fathers made use with many effects, so that the supernal Creator should thereby be praised, extolled, and glorified.

There is a star of David printed at the end of the book.

When I started this chapter by saying that the *Werck* was "the most Jewish" alchemical treatise known to me, what I had in mind was the

fervently religio-nationalistic spirit that pervades it and makes it as much a "Zionist" work as an alchemical-mystical one. The above excerpts and analysis show clearly that Abraham Eleazar's purpose in divulging the secrets of alchemy to his brothers was to help them in their misery and oppression, and to enable them to use alchemical mastery for the alleviation of their sufferings. At the same time, he again and again resorted to fatherly exhortation, and warned them with unrelenting religious insistence to repent their sins, and return to the Lord, who in His great mercy would then send the Messiah to lead them back to the land of their fathers. It is in connection with this hoped-for messianic redemption and restoration that Abraham Eleazar depicted the Armageddon-like events he expected to overtake the gentile world in the not-too-distant future. In sum, we have here the work of a Jewish mystical alchemist whose aim was to use his expertise to help his brothers.

As for the period in which the author lived, there are two factors in the book which allow a tentative conclusion. One is the reference to the Black Death. The other factor, also pointing to a fourteenth-century origin of the *Werck*, is the similarity between it and Flamel's famous *Livre des figures hieroglyphiques*, which we have discussed in some detail. The resemblance begins with the title pages of the two books, which describe their respective authors in a series of epithets much too similar to be coincidental. They read:

Flamel	*Abraham Eleazar*
Abraham the Jew, prince, priest, Levite, astrologer and philosopher of the nation of the Jews . . .	Abraham Eleazar the Jew, a prince, priest and Levite, astrologer and philosopher born of the stock of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Judah . . .

When Flamel describes the contents of the mysterious book of the *Hieroglyphic Figures*, he does it in terms that read like a summation of the detailed and repetitious statements contained in Abraham Eleazar's *Werck*.[23] Apart from the close correspondence between this summation and the detailed presentation in the *Werck*, and the appearance in both books of such mystical-alchemical terms as *azoth*, the serpent Python, and the like, there are two non-alchemical details appearing in both books that are noteworthy. One is the use of the word "Maranatha." Abraham Eleazar uses it repeatedly in a self-evident and matter-of-fact manner, indicating that the term was well known to him. Flamel, on the other hand, finds it necessary to explain its meaning. This can be taken to indicate that Flamel was not familiar with the word until he found it in the text of the *Hieroglyphic Figures* which he summarized, and in the original version of which that word appeared without comment, as it does in Abraham Eleazar's text.

The other detail is the statement made in both books that the master alchemist whose work is described in them taught alchemical procedures to his people in order to enable them to pay the tribute to the Roman Emperor, and to obtain other benefits as well. This idea is much too specific to appear independently in two different sources, and can be taken as pointing to a definite connection between the two books.

The question then arises of which book has influenced the other. Can one explain the similarity between Flamel and Abraham Eleazar by assuming that the latter was familiar with Flamel's book, took it as the basis for his own treatise, and expatiated on the brief statements contained in it? This seems to be most unlikely, for a number of reasons. First, Abraham Eleazar provides many details to which there is no reference at all in Flamel. These details are so many and so varied that they preclude the possibility that the book is but an amplification of the brief statements contained in Flamel. Second, it is rather unlikely that the brief references in Flamel should have been sufficient to stimulate another author to write a book, so to speak, around them. Third, Flamel explicitly states that he merely summarizes the contents of pages two to five of the book of Abraham the Jew, that is, he had in his hands a much longer text from which he worked. Fourth, the deeply Jewish religio-national sentiment and quasi-prophetic fervor that characterize Abraham Eleazar could hardly have been produced or evoked by working on an enlargement of Flamel's brief, matter-of-fact statements.

This leaves only one plausible explanation of the similarities: Flamel obtained from the unnamed Jewish vendor a manuscript book, and summarized it in his *Livre des figures hieroglyphiques.* Such a book could have existed in several manuscript copies (and even in several languages) representing, in all probability, differing versions. Another copy, or version, was obtained in Germany by the anonymous translator, who then proceeded to produce a German version of it, which in turn was printed by Gervasius. It is likely, all in all, that Abraham Eleazar's *Uraltes Chymisches Werck* goes back to a fourteenth-century original, written by a Jewish alchemist.

Chapter Eighteen

THEMO JUDAEI

THEMO JUDAEI was a French astronomer and alchemist of German Jewish descent whose major work has survived in toto, and whose life is relatively well documented, but of whose Jewishness (or Jewish origin) nothing is known except for the fact that he called himself, and was called by others, Themo Judaei, that is, Themo of the Jew, probably meaning Themo son of the Jew. A variant of his name, in the form of Themo Judaeus, i.e., Themo the Jew, appears in the *Historia universitatis Parisiensis* (History of Paris University, Paris 1665–1673) of César Egasse du Boulay (d. 1678), who also calls Themo *clericus* (clergyman, priest), which designation was subsequently translated by some authors as "rabbi."[1] On the basis of the evidence, Pierre Duhem concluded that "if Thémon's father was Jewish, he himself was Christian." The particulars known about Themo's life also indicate that he was accepted as a Christian, and it was as such that he played an important role in the life of the University of Paris and of a monastery in Erfurt. On the other hand, the witness of the name cannot be denied, and it is an irrefutable testimony to Themo's Jewish parentage and birth.

The date of Themo's birth is unknown, but it can be assumed that he was born about 1325, for in 1349 he and his brother Nicolas, both identified as hailing from Munster, Westphalia, and surnamed "[sons] of the Jew," passed the *déterminance*, or *baccalauréat* examination given by Maitre Henri de Herne of Unna.[2]

The specific conditions that prevailed at the University of Paris in the fourteenth century are responsible for the survival of details about Themo's early life at that institution. At the time the teachers and students of the university who came from foreign countries formed four "nations": German, Scottish (or English), Dacian, and Swedish, each of which was headed by a Procureur, elected for a month, from among the young masters. In 1353 the "English Nation" elected Themo to the office of Procureur and then reelected him in 1355, and again in 1356.

It appears that young Themo was either well supplied with funds by his Jewish father or else he himself managed to acquire money while associated with Paris University, for the records show that he repeatedly financed drinking bouts of his colleagues, and helped them out otherwise, as well. In 1357, and repeatedly until 1361, he was elected Receveur, a position of financial responsibility at the university, and in

1359 he was entrusted by the assembly of the "English Nation" with an important mission to Pope Innocent VI.[3]

After his departure from Paris, the historical notes about Themo Judaei become more meager, but some years later he is referred to in the records of the monastery of St. Augustin in Erfurt (together with two other clerics) as a witness, and is styled *magister Thymo de monasterio rector scolarium scole monasterii nostri* (Master Themo of the monastery, rector of the students of the school of our monastery). This indicates that, probably soon after his association with the Faculty of Arts at the University of Paris, he went to Erfurt to head the school of the Scottish Benedictine monastery in that city. At a later date he seems to have returned to Paris, where he taught at the Sorbonne until 1371.[4]

Themo's life and work are discussed in several studies. As early as in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Johann Christoph Wolf in his great *Bibliotheca Hebraica* stated briefly: "Rabbi Timon wrote questions in Aristotle's Meteorological books, and in books about Generation and Conception."[5] In the early years of our century Pierre Duhem showed that Leonardo da Vinci knew, used, and was influenced by Themo's work, which served him as a guide in his meditation.[6] Recently, Henri Huggonard-Roche discussed in considerable detail Themo's life and work, and subjected his astronomy to a thorough scientific analysis.[7]

Manuscripts of Themo's writings have survived in the libraries of Paris, Erfurt, Vienna, the Vatican, and elsewhere. His astronomical book, titled *Questiones in quatuor libros meteororum [or meteorum] Aristotelis* (Questions in the Four Meteorological Books of Aristotle) is included in the *Questiones et decisiones physicales insignium virorum* (Physical Questions and Decisions of Distinguished Men), an anthology edited by the Scotsman Master George Lockert, and published in Venice in two editions, in 1516 and 1518, and then again in 1522.[8] The incipit of Themo's treatise describes him as *doctissimus philosopiae professor Thimo* (the most learned professor of philosophy Thimo), and is the only source known to me which omits the epithet *Judaei* after Themo's name.

Although Themo was first and foremost an astronomer, he was a man with a wide range of interests, and devoted a chapter in his treatise to problems of alchemy. He quoted Ibn Sīnā's *De mineralibus*, and the *Liber perfectionis* attributed to Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. He believed in the possibility of metallic transmutation. His approach to the problems of the natural world was expressed in the epigram, *omne possibile est cognoscibile vel intellegibile* (every possible thing is knowable or intelligible). What follows is a translation of that passage of the concluding part of his chapter on alchemy in which this sentence occurs, and which contains Themo's philosophical views on the nature of alchemy:

WITH THESE THINGS ASSUMED, WE CAN TURN TO THE QUESTION And let this be the first conclusion that with the aid of the existing or possible art [of alchemy] metals can be made, just as a rainbow or a halo [can be made artificially] This can be proved [as follows] if someone should know how to apply both passive and active [principles] by means of the art [of al chemy], just as they are applied under the earth in nature, then they would make and cause similar effects, just as there [in nature] The consequence is obvious and the antecedent is also obvious, for this reason because such things require nothing other than that they should be approximate, so that they act unimpeded here [on the earth] just as they do below the earth [This is so] because we see the same thing with respect to other things, so that fire burns here [on earth] just as it does in its own sphere

The second conclusion is this that it is possible that such an art [al chemy] can be known and understood This is proved because such an op eration or mixture of primary qualities does exist, therefore it can be known The consequence is obvious, because every possible thing is know able or intelligible But the antecedent is obvious because every day these things are generated and born under the earth Therefore such a mixture exists

The third conclusion [is] that although it is possible, it is nevertheless very difficult, and for many reasons it is dangerous to insist on the study of this art This is proved because sometimes counterfeit specimens are made of gold and silver by which a whole region can be deceived, and the one making it will be a counterfeiter if he uses it as good currency, or, if not he himself, nevertheless he could do so through others, until someone is deceived

Again, many often make great expenditures which they lose, and the la borers and those who delve [into these matters] suffer similar tribulations And sometimes, if they do achieve perfection, they are destroyed because of envy, [and] not because their work is less good than that of others, be cause, according to Aristotle in the *Politics*, the potter hates the potter And perhaps men take pride in doing such things, but they commit evil deeds Therefore the lesser evil is to abandon [it], and to exert oneself [lit , "to sweat"] in other good arts [9]

PART SIX

The Fifteenth Century

Introduction to Part Six

THE NUMBER of Jewish alchemists whose writings survived, or on whose work information is contained in treatises written by others, is somewhat greater in the fifteenth than in the fourteenth century. An interesting indication of the important place alchemy occupied in Jewish thinking in the fifteenth century is contained in a Spanish document which shows that some Jews believed that the expected Messiah would be a kind of alchemist. This document tells of a posthumous lawsuit that took place in 1491 against a certain Fernando de Madrid, a *converso* (converted Jew) of Torrelaguna in the archdiocese of Madrid. A Christian witness testified that fifteen years earlier (i.e., 1476), when Fernando de Madrid was evidently still an adherent of the Jewish faith, he made a prediction about the Messiah, whom the document terms *el ante cristo*, that is, the Antichrist. He predicted "that the Antichrist would come to the city of Palos, and they say that he would bring a philosopher's stone, and that if he should touch with it an iron rod it will turn into silver, and if one of steel it will turn into gold, and the sea will reveal its treasures to him." The outcome of the appearance of this "Antichrist" would be that the Christians would cease believing in Jesus Christ, and instead follow him. The lawsuit ended with the condemnation of the accused, who had long been dead by that time.[1]

Chapter Nineteen

SIMEON BEN ṢEMAḤ DURAN

ONE MEDIEVAL Jewish scholar whose position on alchemy was ambivalent was R. Simeon ben Ṣemaḥ Duran (1361–1444). He was born in Majorca, studied there in Palma in the yeshivah of Ephraim Vidal at a time when the city was a center of Jewish alchemical activity. His curriculum comprised mathematics, astronomy, science, logic, and medicine. After going on to study in Aragon, he returned to Palma, and worked as physician and surgeon. In the massacre of 1391, in which his master Ephraim Vidal was martyred, Duran lost all his fortune, but managed to leave Majorca together with his family; he settled in Algiers, and took a post as rabbi. In 1408 he was appointed chief rabbi of Algiers. He greatly admired Maimonides, but went against his views in believing in astrology, and considered himself primarily a disciple of the Kabbalists, whom he terms "masters of the truth," and often quotes in his works.

Duran was a many-sided author. His writings fall into the fields of religious philosophy, Hebrew religious poetry, responses dealing with religious and legal problems, as well as Hebrew grammar and philology, biblical exegesis, Kabbalah, and the scientific subjects of mathematics and astronomy. He was also a polemicist, attacked the doctrines of the Karaites, engaged in polemics with the Christians, and expressed himself critically about the Koran. His philosophy forms a major part of what is perhaps his most important book, the *Magen Avot* (Shield of the Fathers), an encyclopedic work treating astronomy, natural sciences, animal and human physiology and pathology, and psychology. It is in this book that Duran manifests his thorough knowledge of alchemical theory and his unquestioning acceptance of them, while at the same time expressing himself critically on the alchemists' claim of being able to transmute base metals into precious ones. This is what he says on the subject:

> AND ALREADY in a special book of Aristotle are found the characteristics of more than 400 stones, for some of them serve the sustenance of men, such as silver and gold; some are for the improvement of his food, that is salt; some in which fire is hidden, and they are of many kinds; some, if another mineral falls on them their body becomes strengthened, and they are quicksilver; some, if water falls upon them their body becomes strengthened, such as lead and its like; and hence comes the error of the people in

the work of alchemy [who think they can] improve lead and quicksilver with the remedy of other admixtures, and they think that thus they can use remedies to turn other metals into silver and gold And many were ruined by this, and their days were cut short, for the nature of the desire to hoard causes men to be seduced by this, and there has never been anybody who succeeded in it

And there are among the metals those which, if they fall into fire, are ruined and melted, like quicksilver, and those which, if they fall into fire, become strengthened and acquire more glitter and luster and good scent, [like] the precious stone which is called *yaqut* [A , sapphire] And there are those that are water in the womb of the earth, and when they come out into the air they turn to stone And there is such that will change by fire from one shape into another, such as the lead out of which they make *zarqon* [A , cinnabar], and such also is iron, for iron is taken from dust, and such is *zanzar* [A *zinjār*, verdigris] that is made of copper, and *ofidas* that is made out of lead, and also *zanzafur* [A *zunjufr*, minium, cinnabar] out of quicksilver that comes out by fire in a glass vessel And some say that *marqasita*, when it is melted, makes quicksilver freeze [i e , coagulate], and likewise *alsalaq* [A *al-silaq*, liquid] stone, and this is an error of the alche mists And from lead [comes] *al-martaq* [A , litharge, oxide of lead] And there are among the stones such as attract iron, and they are called *magtinas* [magnitas], some of which attract iron, and some flesh, and some hair, and some gold, and some silver, and some straw, and some the water that is in the belly, *hidroqen* [dropsy], and some attract the poison that kills by drinking, and they are the topaz that is called *zmurda* [A *zumrud* or *zumurrud*, emerald] (and in La'az *marqadi*), and some are good for opening the [bladder] pebbles that are in a person, and some grow like coral, and some in which fire is hidden and if water touches them the fire will come out and conflagration [will be] all around it like the *magtinas* [magnitas] and lime stone, and there is a stone in which there is another stone and it rattles like a bell, and there is a stone that contracts and glues the flesh in abscesses, and there is a stone that puts to sleep, and there is a stone that begets wakefulness, and there is such that if fire touches it [there is] a con flagration around it, such as the sulphur, and there is such that plucks out hair such as lime, and also *zarnīkh* [A , arsenic], and there are such that are found in animals such as the water lobster [or crayfish], and also in the gall of the ox and of man, and there is such that if it is burned in fire it freezes [i e , coagulates] and becomes a stone like *tabashir* [A , chalk], and there are those that come out of the water like crystal, and who can know the number of the stones and all their characteristics but God, blessed be He, who created them, in addition to those that are in the various plants and in the various animals whose kinds are very numerous, as I shall explain with the help of God when we shall speak about the soul However how did

these elements get mixed together until these substances came to exist? For is it not that the place of each one of the elements is fixed, one above the other, and that it does not have the nature of moving out of its place and nature? However, their moving out of their places came about through compulsion, and the compulsive [factor] in this is the movement of the spheres, due to which a part of the elements of fire moves out of its place and enters into the belly of the earth and brings in with it a part of the air and of the water, and there they mixed and mingled in a wonderful mixture with the help of mixtures of the sparks of the stars which have traces in the moistening, and likewise the other sparks of the stars which have such traces.

And in general the light and the darkness are the causes of all beings, for in the light is warmth and in the darkness is cold, and through their commingling come into being all the emerging substances (*mithawim*), and behold the darkness is a substantial feature of the earth while the light is an accidental feature of the earth and it acts in the darkness. And in the recognition of the movements the elements move out of their place, and due to the mystery of the compulsive [factor] they want to return to their natural place, and when they come out of the earth the substances according to their kinds come into being.

And the matter of their commingling is that the water and the dust mix together like mud, and a part of the air enters into them, for were it not so, all the substances would be heavy like water and dust, and were it not for the element of fire which ripens[1] them, all the substances would remain like the potter's clay, but by reason of the element of fire they divest themselves of that form and assume [other] forms according to the measure of the mixture. And the forms that it [they] assume is the lower world.

Out of the commingling of the elements come four [forms]. The first form is the form that becomes inanimate: the parts which are inanimate [bodies] and the minerals which are dead bodies; they have no movement except the movement from above downward when they have come out of their place due to a compulsion, and by the mystery of the compulsive [force] they return to their natural place, and this is their nature, as I have written above. And in the totality of this form are all the metals according to their kinds, and all the stones according to their kinds, and they all agree in this form, and differ [only] in their quality according to the mixture of their elements. And all of these were created on the third day, when the earth became revealed.

The second form is the form of vegetation, for in it was added to the first form the form of sprouting and growth, and of producing seed that remains in it. This is the life-force to preserve the species, and this is the form which is called soul, for there are in it movements that change, downward and upward, for the roots move downward and branches upward, and the

roots sense the sweetness of water and move toward it, and move away from he bitter water.

In the sequal Duran speaks in a similar style about "the third form," which is that of the animals, and then of "the fourth form," which is that of the "speaking living form," that is, man.

It is evident that the printed version of the quoted passage from which I translated[2] is occasionally corrupt (some statements are duplicated, some of the Arabic words are faultily transliterated, etc.), but those are minor blemishes that do not detract from the value of the passage as a whole as a testimony to Duran's extraordinary knowledge of the chemistry-alchemy, mineralogy, and medicine of his age. It also shows the extent to which in Duran's day medicine and mineralogy were intertwined, and shows the uncritical acceptance of imaginary properties of minerals next to actual ones (types of magnets which attract iron, flesh, hair, gold, silver, straw, water, poison, etc.).

Duran mentions a "stone in which there is another stone and it rattles like a bell." This undoubtedly refers to the stone called *aban e-re-e* or *aban a-la-di* in ancient Assyria, *aetites* in ancient Rome, and *even t'quma* in the Talmud, which was known also to the medieval Arab naturalists al-Baytar and al-Qazwini (both thirteenth century), and in European folklore under the names "eaglestone," "Adlerstein," "Klapperstein," and so on. It was everywhere believed that if a woman wears such a stone around her neck while she is pregnant it will protect her from miscarriage.[3]

The "special book of Aristotle" Duran mentions in the first line of the quoted passage is the well-known *Stone-book* or *Book of Stones*, attributed to Aristotle, which was popular in medieval Arab scientific circles. It was published in 1912 by Julius Ruska, who discussed the extant Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin versions of the book, which contain practically all the terms and ideas appearing in the foregoing passage of Duran.[4]

Chapter Twenty

SOLOMON TRISMOSIN AND HIS JEWISH MASTER

ONE of the several Christian medieval alchemists who reported that they had traveled to the south or the east and there acquired the "Great Art" from one or more Jewish alchemists was Solomon Trismosin (variant spellings Trissmosin, Trismorin). Trismosin lived in the fifteenth century, was German by birth, and his book, entitled *Aureum vellus*, or "Golden Fleece," became almost as popular as Flamel's book of the hieroglyphic figures.

Trismosin's title goes back to the Greek legend of the Argonauts' search for the Golden Fleece, to which by the seventh or eighth century was added the fantastic feature that the inestimable value of the Golden Fleece lay in the fact that it was a skin inscribed with a prescription for making gold. Trismosin's *Aureum vellus* was first published in 1598–1599 in Rorschach am Bodensee. Its German title page reads as follows: *Aureum vellus or Golden Treasure and Art Chamber. In it [are] Workings and Books of the Most Noble, Most Excellent, Choicest, Most Wonderful and Most Valued Authors, from Age-Old Treasure of the Surviving Hidden Reserved Relics and Monuments of the Kings and Sages of the Egyptians, Arabs, Chaldeans and Assyrians. By the Noble, Highly Inspired, Excellent and Trustworthy Philosopher Solomon Trismosin (Who Was Preceptor of the Great Philosopher and Physician Theophrastus Paracelsus), Arranged in Specific Separate Little Tractates, and Brought into German. . . .*

Within a few years after its original publication, the *Aureum vellus* was translated into French, and printed in Paris is 1613. The French version takes liberties with the title page, and adds that the book, called *La toyson d'or*, "treats succinctly and methodically of the philosophers' stone," that it is "enriched with figures and proper colors," and that it was gathered from "the most weighty monuments of antiquity, such as Chaldean, Hebrew, Egyptian, Arab, Greek, and Latin."[1]

On the very first page of the *Aureum vellus*, Trismosin tells something of his early life and years of wandering. He relates that, desirous of finding the secrets of alchemy,

> from the year 1473 I betook myself to the road, and wandered here and there. Wherever I heard of an artist, I was diligent in going to him, and I

spent one year and a half in these wanderings, and I came to know all kinds of arts of alchemy which I do not want to specify, but I saw the truth in several *particularibus* [details], and spent 200 florins, and still did not think of giving up.

I thought, and had the diligence, to raise expenses among my friends, and set out on a journey with a foreigner to Labach, and from there to Milano, and I came to a monastery where I served as an amanuensis, and attended lectures for a whole year. Thereafter I wandered all about in Italy, and came to an Italian merchant and a Jew who knew German. They knew how to make English tin look like the best fine silver, they sold much of it. I offered myself to serve them if it pleased them: the Jew persuaded the merchant that he should take me on as a servant. I had to guard the fire when they made their art with the tin. I was diligent, and they liked it well, and therefore they kept nothing hidden from me. Thus I learned also the art which was carried out with poisonous things, and I was with them fourteen weeks.

Thereafter I traveled with the Jew to Venice [where] he sold forty pounds of the silver to a Turkish merchant. While he negotiated with the merchant I took six lots of the silver and went to a goldsmith, who had two journeymen. He knew Latin, and I asked him to assay the silver. He referred me to St. Mark's Place, to an assayer who was very portly and rich. He had three German assistant assayers. They quickly carried out the assay, with very sharp things, and thereafter they subjected it to the test, but it did not stand any of the tests, everything flew away in the fire. And they asked me harshly from where I had taken the silver. I indicated that I had had it assayed in order to see whether it would stand up as good silver. When I saw the fraud, I did not return to the Jew, and no longer paid attention to this art, and thought I would be caught in a misfortune with the Jew and the false silver. And I went after that to a school in Venice, and requested that they give me food twice a day. The rector referred me to a hospital in which there were several Germans, and they gave me ample food; it was founded for all kinds of nations and foreigners.

Had Trismosin ended his story here, we would have been left with the impression that his Jewish companion or teacher of alchemy was a common charlatan who tried to pass off cheap metal as silver. But the sequel of the story shows that—whatever the quality of the batch of silver he gave to be assayed—subsequently Trismosin came to believe that he had indeed acquired from the Jewish alchemist the art of transmuting base metal into gold. He reports that the same assistant assayer who had found the first sample to be false silver, offered him a job in a laboratory the next day, when the two met again. Trismosin does not report whether he took up that offer, but he informs his readers that he was employed in a large alchemical establishment outside Venice, went to

work, and within two days succeeded in producing "three lots of fine gold." Evidently, he had learned well the "Great Art" from the Jew.

Subsequently, Trismosin reports that he went on to master more and more of the secrets of alchemy. He writes, "From Venice I went to a better place where kabbalistic and magical books in the Egyptian language were entrusted to me; these I had to translate into the Greek language, and from it into Latin."[2] Trismosin claims that from these magical books he learned the secret of the preparation of the philosophers' stone, of which he gives the following description:

> One sublimates mercury with alum, saltpeter, and cooking salt, and in the meantime eats bread thickly spread with butter so that the vapors should not harm one. The sublimate is distilled repeatedly with *spiritus*, and the distillate always poured back, until the sublimate becomes over-distilled. This distillate is the mercury of the philosophers. To it one adds pulverized gold which dissolves in it like fat. One half of the dissolved gold is putrefied with alcohol for fifteen days, so that it turns red and becomes lion's blood. One replaces this with the other half of the dissolved gold, and digests it in a well-sealed still, so that the mixture will turn black, grey, white, yellow, red, one after the other. The substance which one thus obtains, if one puts it on a thousand times as much molten gold or heated mercury, transmutes these into the true stone of the philosophers, with which one can ennoble tin, lead, copper, and iron into good gold.[3]

Little more is known of the life of Trismosin. He seems to have traveled from the West to the East, for Paracelsus records that he met Trismosin in 1520 in Constantinople, and was instructed by him there.[4] Trismosin claims in one of his writings that he was able not only to produce the philosophers' stone, but to use it for rejuvenation. He writes that when he was extremely old and suffered senile decay, he rejuvenated himself with half a grain of the coveted stone: his wrinkled, yellow skin became again smooth and white, his cheeks red, his grey hair black, his bent back straight, and youthful stirrings awakened in him. He also claims to have rejuvenated others: women aged seventy to ninety became so young again that they gave birth to several children. It would, he asserted, be possible for him to live as long as he wanted, and "were it not against the eternal wisdom of God, one could sustain oneself with this *arcano* [secret] until the day of the Last Judgment."[5]

Chapter Twenty-one

ABRAHAM BEN SIMEON'S *CABALA MYSTICA*

THE COMBINATION of mysticism and alchemy in the minds of medieval Jewish thinkers is, as we have seen, strikingly illustrated by the writings of Moses de Leon. No such illustrious testimony can be cited to demonstrate the existence of a similar mental conflation between practical magic and alchemy in the thinking of some medieval and later Jewish authors. In fact, the writer who left behind the most voluminous book treating magic and alchemy in combination is otherwise unknown. Before we discuss that book and its author, however, a few comments are in order about the relationship between magic and alchemy in medieval thought in general.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Paul Lacroix (1806–1884), the famous French historian, offered a scathing opinion of the alchemical literature of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. In his classic *Science and Literature in the Middle Ages*, he termed that literature "a chaotic collection of absurdities," in which "everything grand or mysterious was attributed by the alchemists to the demons which people the air, fire, and water, to the stars which are superior to humans, and to divine will, to mysterious sympathies existing between the Creator and his creatures, and to the hybrid combinations of mineral and vegetable substances."[1] Although Lacroix does not mention the word magic, what he has in mind in the first part of this statement is clearly to condemn the combination of alchemical procedures with magical practices resorted to for conjuring up and controlling demons. His condemnation is the more justified since in their unadulterated forms there is an unbridgeable abyss between magic and alchemy.

The magician (by which term we designate in the present context the practitioner of magic who lives in a Jewish, Christian, or Muslim religious environment, and believes that his magic has a legitimate place within the framework of his religion) believes that by reciting certain secret formulas (incantations), and/or performing certain likewise secret acts or rites, he can force, or at least persuade, supernatural (angelic or demonic) powers or beings to do his bidding. This belief, which was as widespread in medieval Europe as in the Muslim world, had existed among the Jews ever since biblical times, and traces of it could be found,

especially among the Middle Eastern Jewish communities, down to present times.

The alchemist, by contrast, believes that there are in nature certain hidden processes, properties, forces, and powers which the adept can duplicate in his laboratory, and thus achieve within a few weeks, days, or even hours that which nature requires years or eons to produce. If he succeeds in learning the correct procedure, and follows the instructions meticulously, he can transmute base metals into precious ones, produce precious stones and pearls, and concoct the even more precious elixir, the quinta essentia, or the philosophers' stone, which gives strength, health, eternal youth, and can delay death almost indefinitely; this is the alchemist's credo.

In the belief system and work order of the true alchemist there is no place for magic. Although he pays lip-service to God, whose help he feels bound to invoke, he performs his art on a purely empirical basis, relying solely on experience gathered and transmitted by his predecessors, often illustrious and greatly venerated, and on his own patient and painstaking experimentation. He does not invoke demons and spirits, because supernatural spiritual forces have no place in the scheme of his work. He believes only in the possibility of modifying the physical properties he *knows* characterize the metals, the minerals, and the elements; and of changing the materials contained in the bodies of plants, animals, and men, all of which can be subjected to physical, technological manipulation by bringing the influence of heat and cold, of dryness and moisture, to bear on them. Characteristic in this connection is the fact that even the terms "soul" and "spirit" are used by the alchemist to designate certain elements or material substances, and do not have for him the common connotation with which we are familiar from the usual contrasting of body and soul, of flesh and spirit.

But in addition to the uncompromisingly puristic (or shall we call them orthodox?) devotees of magic on the one hand and of alchemy on the other, there existed, in many places and many ages, many others of a less rigorous bent who could not resist the promise held out by either magic or alchemy of breaking through the bounds of a confining and often painful physical existence, and resorted to the techniques of both indiscriminately, alternatingly, or in combination. It is a man of this ilk who speaks to us from the pages of the *Cabala mystica*, also entitled the *Book of Sacred Magic.*

Abraham ben Simeon's book has survived in several versions in Hebrew, German, and French. The Hebrew manuscript in the Bodleian Library (Oxford MS Opp. 594) is fragmentary. The most complete is the German manuscript preserved in the Sachsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden (MS Dresden N. 161, Nr. 56), and the French manuscript

found in the Paris Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (MS 2351). Both manuscripts were probably written in the eighteenth century, but both are evidently copies of older originals. These two manuscripts serve as the main basis for our discussion.

The title page of the German manuscript reads: "The Mystical Kabbalah of the Egyptians and the Patriarchs, which is the Book of the True Old Divine Magic, Written by Abraham Son of Simon for His Younger Son Lamech."

The French manuscript is divided into three books, each with a separate title page, the first of which reads: "FIRST BOOK of the Sacred Magic which God gave to Moses Aaron David Solomon & to other Saints Patriarchs & Prophets, which teaches the true Divine wisdom, left by Abraham to Lamech His Son translated from the Hebrew 1458."

The wording of the French title raises the question of whether the book was written by a Jewish or a Christian author. The listing of "saints" together with patriarchs and prophets could indicate a Christian author, although the French "saints" could mean not saints canonized by the Church but holy men in a general sense; this would be in harmony with the Hermetic traditions which claim that the secret knowledge of alchemy had been passed on to the holy and wise men of all nations.[2] On the other hand, the name of the author and the claim that the book was translated from the Hebrew clearly point to a Jewish author. Who then was the author? Furthermore, does the date 1458 mean that the book was written in that year or that 1458 is the year of its translation into French?

Abraham ben Simeon is mentioned in no historical document other than this book, but that source contains a number of clues. His full name was Abraham ben Simeon ben Judah ben Simeon. He grew up in his father's house in Worms, Germany, and received from his father, a Jewish scholar, a Kabbalist, a good Jewish education that included an introduction to the Kabbalah. The book is written in the first person, and is addressed to Lamech, who is the younger son of the author. His older son is called Joseph, and Abraham also had two daughters.

The German manuscript states that on the sixth of Tebeth 1379 (the Hebrew manuscript also has this date but the year is missing), when Abraham was twenty, his father Simeon died. This gives 1359 as Abraham's birth date. Four years later he set out on an extended study trip in search of mastery of "the true magic" and the "divine wisdom." He went first to Mayence, where for four years he studied under a certain Rabbi Moses. While there he became friendly with a young man from Bohemia, Samuel by name, and the two of them decided to go to Constantinople. They set out in the month of Kislev 1387 (according to the French manuscript on February 13, 1397), and passed through Ger-

many, Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, and Greece. In Constantinople the two young scholars stayed two years, probably studying under local masters. At that point Samuel fell ill and died, and Abraham continued the journey alone. He spent four years wandering in the Near East, and then, as he writes, "I went to the old promised fatherland, where I found nothing but woe and misery." Nevertheless, he spent a year in Palestine, and then, in the company of a Christian youth named Christoph, he went on to Arabia. His book contains not a word about what he did during all that time.

Having been away from home for five years, Abraham felt it was time to return. He reports in a single sentence that he parted from Christoph and returned to Worms. In the next sentence we learn that he set out again for the East in pursuit of his quest. He spent another year in Arabia, and then went on through Palestine to Egypt. There he spent yet another year—he does not say where—and then settled in a small town called Arki (in the Hebrew manuscript Arāqī, in the French Arachi) near the Nino (in the Hebrew manuscript "river Nilus"). After having stayed for six months in the house of an old Jew Aaron, he complained to his host of his inability to find what his heart desired, whereupon Aaron advised him to seek out an old and very wise man named Abrahamelim, who lived in the desert not far from Arki. Aaron provided Abraham with a guide, and one and a half days after they set out from Arki they came to a hill covered with bushes and trees. The guide told Abraham that on that hill lived the sage Abrahamelim, but he himself did not want to go further. So the guide returned to Arki, and Abraham, left alone, called upon God for help, and climbed the hill.

And there he encountered an old man, who greeted him in "the Chaldaic [in the Hebrew manuscript 'Aramaic'] language," and bid him welcome. It was Abrahamelim. Abraham is again silent about what happened next, except for stating in general terms that in Abrahamelim he finally found the master for whom he had searched all his life. He remained with Abrahamelim for a whole year, during which the master taught him all the great, secret, divine mysteries. He instructed him orally, and then gave him two little books to copy, which Abraham did. Those two books were of inestimable value, and Abraham, in turn, left them to his younger son Lamech.[3]

In contrast to his silence concerning the year he spent as the disciple of Abrahamelim—the crucial year during which he learned everything that shaped his life thereafter—Abraham describes in detail the scene that took place on the day he took leave of Abrahamelim to return to Germany, quoting the very words of his esteemed master. I translate from the French manuscript, which is the most detailed at this point.

I presented myself to Abramelim [*sic*], who led me into his own apartment, where I took the two little manuscripts that I had copied, and he asked me whether I desired the divine magic really and without any feint I answered him that it was the only aim and the sole motivation which had obliged me to undertake such a long and arduous voyage in the hope of receiving from the Lord His grace "And I," Abramelin said to me, "I am confident of the mercy of the Lord, I give you and accord you this sacred science which you will have to acquire in the manner prescribed in these little books, without omitting the least thing imaginable from their contents, and without expanding on what could be and what could not be Because the Artist who created the Work is the same God who out of nothing created everything You will not make use of this sacred science for offending the great God, and for harming your neighbor You will not communicate it to anybody alive whom you don't know very well from long contact and conversation with him, examining thoroughly whether such a person has the intention of using it for good or for bad When wishing to give it to him you will observe well and precisely the style which I have used toward you If you act otherwise, the one who would receive it would obtain no fruit from it Guard yourself as you would from a snake from trading this science, and from making it a merchandise, because the graces of the Lord are given to us free and gratis, and one does not sell them "

Upon receiving the two small books I wanted to throw myself on my knees, but he scolded me saying that one must not flex the knees except before God I acknowledge that the two books were written exactly so as you, Lamech my son, will be able to see them after my death, and you will recognize the regard I have for you It is true that prior to my departure I read them thoroughly and studied them, and where I found difficult obscurities I had recourse to Abramelin who, with charity and patience, explained them to me Being well instructed, I took leave of him and, having received his paternal blessing, which is in use not only among the Christians but also among our predecessors, I left and took the road to Constantinople, where, having arrived, I fell ill, and my illness lasted two months [according to the German version six months] But the Lord, in His mercy, delivered me from it, so that a short while after I had regained my strength, having found a vessel about to sail for Venice, I boarded it, and arrived there Having rested a few days, I left for Trieste, where, having disembarked, I took the land route of Dalmatia Finally I arrived in my paternal home, where I lived among my relatives and brothers [4]

The German manuscript supplies the date Abraham arrived home in "Wormbs" (Worms) on the twelfth of Elul Thereafter, to the end of his life, Abraham felt indebted to the Egyptian Jewish sage for everything

he knew and was able to accomplish with his magic, and in his book he again and again mentions Abrahamelim with gratitude and awe bordering on adulation.

After returning home, Abraham embarked upon a career of what today we would call professional magician and spiritual adviser, and in this capacity—so he informs us—helped princes, kings, and popes, as well as a large number of simple people. He reached a ripe old age: according to the German version of his book he was seventy-nine years old when he wrote it; according to the French, ninety-six. In the book he appears as a man of great piety, who always adhered to the highest principles of morality, and who succeeded in his work as a magus because he was deeply religious and always relied on the help of God.

BEFORE presenting the alchemical aspect of Abraham's book we must take a closer look at the question of the author's identity, and the other question, closely connected with it, of whether the book was originally written in Hebrew. These questions have been discussed by several scholars since the early eighteenth century. Their opinions are widely separated. Neither Johann Christoph Wolf nor A. Neubauer expressed any doubt about the original having been written in Hebrew.[5] For this they were reproached by Moritz Steinschneider, who found that the book was "evidently" written by a Christian "swindler" (*Betrüger*) who pretended to have traveled all over the world, and that it was full of "unabashed lies." His final judgment was that "not a word was true in this book."[6]

In 1927, Gershom Scholem had a critical look at Abraham ben Simeon's book and came to the conclusion that the *Book of Sacred Magic* was "one of the most important, internationally known texts" whose "Jewish origin does not seem to be a mere fabrication." Scholem found that the Christian interpolations were few, and assumed that the book originated in the fifteenth century. He argued that the author could not have been a "Christian swindler," because if he were, he would have had to possess "a surprisingly good knowledge of Hebrew."[7] However, forty-five years later, when Scholem briefly returned to the book, he asserted that "the book was no doubt written originally in German, although the author claims it to be a translation from Hebrew," and retreated somewhat from his earlier position by stating that "the question of its authorship, whether Jewish or Christian, is a matter of dispute. The general style of the book shows the author's knowledge [no longer 'surprisingly good knowledge'] of Hebrew. The work may well have been written by a Jew, with the passages of clearly Christian content added later. It may also have been written by a Christian kabbalist who had read the writings of Pico della Mirandola and Johann Reuchlin." He

added that "the book had great influence among those interested in the occult in England and France since the end of the nineteenth century," and concluded by stating that "the magic material in the book is essentially of Jewish origin and constitutes one of the main channels of Jewish influence on late Christian magic."[8]

Another two years later Scholem changed his mind concerning the author of the book. Whereas in 1972 he considered it "a matter of dispute" whether he was Jewish or Christian, in 1974 he wrote that the book "was not in fact written by a Jew." At the same time he returned to his 1927 opinion on the author's mastery of Hebrew, and again considered it not merely "knowledge," but "uncommon command."[9] Such vacillation by a scholar who is generally considered the foremost modern authority on Jewish mysticism only serves to increase our curiosity about the author of the *Cabala mystica* and the original language in which he wrote it.

To tackle the second question first, we must compare the available Hebrew, German, and French manuscripts.[10] In doing so, one notices that the fragmentary Hebrew manuscript is briefer and more terse than the manuscripts in either German or French. Moreover, the Hebrew manuscript abounds in Hebraisms, that is, in turns of phrase typical of rabbinic writing, and is replete with biblical and talmudic references, as one would expect of a medieval Jewish author thoroughly at home in traditional Jewish literature. It seems most unlikely that this style should be found in a book translated from a European language into Hebrew.

Second, the Hebrew manuscript is much more modest in the types and numbers of miraculous acts that it claims Abraham performed than either the German or the French manuscript. We shall return to a discussion of the significance of this feature.

Third, a scrutiny of the magic squares that form the concluding part of the manuscript in both the German and French versions reveals, I believe, important information concerning the original language of the book. In general, Hebrew magical texts abound in non-Hebrew magical names and words used in conjurations, as can be seen, for instance, from the *Sepher Mafteaḥ Sh'lomo* (Book of the Key of Solomon) published in facsimile by Hermann Gollancz.[11] In Abraham's book, too, there are many non-Hebrew magical words inscribed in the squares, but by far the largest number of such words is in Hebrew, transliterated in Latin capital letters.

These magic squares usually consist of a basic word appearing in the first horizontal line of the square, then the same word written on the left side perpendicularly from the first letter; at the bottom of the square the same word appears written backward, and on the right side the same word is written from the bottom up. Finally, the spaces left inside these

four words are filled in with words also written back and forth and down and up. The significant feature for our consideration is that the basic words in the great majority of the squares (there are several hundreds in the book) are, in both the German and French versions, Hebrew words transliterated in Latin capital letters, mostly correctly. These Hebrew words have in every case a direct relationship to the purpose subserved by the magic square as stated in the manuscript. Here are a few examples of the basic words, given precisely as they appear in the German manuscript (in the French they are in most cases identical), followed in parentheses by the correct transliteration and the translation, and by the purpose of the magic square as stated in the manuscript:

ALMANAH (*almanah*, widow): to gain the friendship of a widow
BASAR (*basar*, meat): to make the spirits bring meat
CALLAH (*kallah*, bride): to gain the friendship of a bride
CATAN (*ḥatan*, bridegroom); to gain the friendship of a bridegroom
DOBERAH (*dov'rah*, raft): to make a bridge appear
EBENIEKARAH (*even y'qarah*, precious stone): to make the spirits bring precious stones
GARAGAR (*gargeret*, throat): to make a person sick in his neck
GEBLINAS (*g'vinah*, cheese, with the Spanish *s* added for the plural): to make the spirits bring cheese
IEDIDAH (*y'didah*, woman-friend): to gain the friendship of a woman
MATBA (*maṭbeʿa*, coin): to obtain small coins
MELACAS (*m'lakhah*, work, with the Spanish *s* added for the plural): to know secret works
MILCHAMAH (*milḥamah*, war): to get to know secret wars
PEGER (*peger*, corpse): to make dead bodies come alive
SEARAS (*sʿarah*, storm, with the Spanish *s* for the plural): to bring a storm
SITUK (*shittuq*, paralysis): to heal a paralytic

The sum total of the rich Hebrew vocabulary appearing in the magic squares attests not merely to a thorough knowledge of both biblical and post-biblical Hebrew but also to a familiarity with the nuances of living Hebrew as used by the learned elements in the Jewish communities in books, treatises, letters, and other forms of written expression.

An additional important point emerges from a consideration of these transliterated Hebrew words: in both the German and French manuscripts the words are transliterated in accordance with the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew. Had the author written in German, he would have transliterated the Hebrew words following the Ashkenazic pronunciation that had become prevalent in Central and Eastern Europe from the thirteenth century on. In that case the German manuscript would have had *zoraas* instead of *tsaraat; scholaum, scholem*, or *schulaym* instead of *salom; choson* instead of *catan* (*ḥatan*), and so on.

The occasional addition of the Spanish plural *s* allows us to conclude that the person who translated the book from the Hebrew manuscript into German was a Sephardi Jew who transliterated the Hebrew words as he pronounced them, and where he felt that the plural was more ap propriate than the singular added the Spanish plural ending After the Spanish expulsion the presence of Sephardi Jews in German lands was not unusual

Yet another feature that speaks for a Hebrew original is the style The style of both the German and the French is characterized by long run-on sentences, and by a frequent use of two synonyms in expressing one idea Both of these features are so typical of Hebrew style through out the ages that it is superfluous to illustrate them with examples But let me give one example to show how these features appear in the Hebrew text of Abraham I translate part of one sentence verbatim from the Hebrew manuscript (book 1, chapter 2), with the duplications in italics

> He [R Abraham Elim] *led me on the straight road and brought me to the right path*, as I shall tell below, and the aforementioned Abraham Elim was among my helpers to find *favor and mercy* in the eyes of God, who is *the great and awesome God*, who *graced me with his mercy and increased my understanding from day to day and opened my eyes to see light and to achieve divine wisdom, and I became understanding and knowledgeable in the great holy and awesome secrets* with additional knowledge every morning, until I learned to recognize *the sacred and pure angels, and to be a friend to them and to speak with them mouth to mouth*, and it was they who revealed to me in the end the science of magic to its very essence and how to subdue the evil spirits

I should add that in the original Hebrew this is a perfectly acceptable style, as it is not, of course, in a European language The above quoted sentence is translated (or, rather, paraphrased) in French as follows (I again put the duplications in italics)

> Abramelim, who put me on the true road, as I shall tell later, and he gave me the best *instruction and doctrine* of all the others But this particular grace was granted me by the Almighty Father of all mercy, that is to say, the almighty God, who *enlightened my understanding little by little, and opened my eyes to see and admire, contemplate and learn*, his divine wisdom, so that it was possible for me *to understand and comprehend more and more* of the sacred mystery through which I became knowledgeable of the holy angels, enjoying *their sight and their sacred conversation* whereby I received there after the foundations of the veritable magic, and how I could *dominate and command* the evil spirits

The German version of this passage is very similar

The French and German versions of the Hebrew original take consid erable liberties, and the French manuscript contains occasional evi dences of tampering with the text in the form of Christological additions (which, of course, may have been made not by the original translator but by a later copyist) In the beginning of Book Two, where the biblical genealogy of "the divine magic" is given, founder figures of other religions are included God gave the divine science "to Noah and his children Japhet, Abraham and Ishmael, this was the science which delivered Lot from the conflagration of Sodom, Moses learned the same science in the desert from the burning bush and taught it to his brother Aaron, Joseph, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah, and the apostles, and Saint John in particular (from whom there is an excellent book of prophecies) "

As for the magic and demonic names invoked in the conjurations (whose original Hebrew text, as mentioned, is not extant), quite a num ber of them are not of Jewish or Hebrew origin, including Magot, Avi ton, Lucifer, Oriens, and Paimon This, however, should not be surpris ing, since such names appear frequently in Hebrew magical texts and incantations A glance at the Hebrew *Sefer Maphteah Sh'lomo*, referred to above, will show that the old Hebrew conjurations contained in it are full of non Hebrew magical names, all written in Hebrew characters, such as Lucifer, Mahel, Aglaut, and the Tetragrammaton

It is time now to look at the indications in the book that its author, although undoubtedly a practitioner of magic conjurations (he even calls himself a magus), was also an expert alchemist The first such indi cation is found in chapter eight of the First Book (French manuscript), where Abraham reports that while he was in Herbipolis (Wurzburg), he performed "the operation of the eighth chapter of the Third Book," and "was assigned (?) a very old treasure of gold" and thereafter "struck and converted that gold "into the same weight of gold florins with [the help of] the spirits," and achieved this within a few hours Since, however, chapter eight of the Third Book deals with magical means for arousing tempests and bringing down hail, snow, rain, and thunder, it is evident that the author, or his translator or copyist, made a mistake, and his intention was to refer to chapter seven of that book, which deals with alchemical operations This is how that chapter reads in the German manuscript (in my literal translation)

CHAPTER SEVEN

To make the spirit perform all kinds of alchemical works 1 That the spirits should perform all kinds of alchemical work 2 That the spirits should pro duce all kinds of metals and alchemical arts 3 To learn all kinds of alchem ical art from the spirits

1	2	3
T A B B A T	M E T A H O	I N I H I N O
A R U U C A	E Z A T E H	N A M A M A N
B U I R U B	T A R A T A	I M A C O R I
B U R I U B	A T A R A T	H E L A L E H
A C U U R A	H E Z A T E	I R O C A M I
T A B B A T	O H A T E M	N A M A M A N
		O N I H I N I

In this version not a single word contained in these three magic squares has a recognizable meaning. In the French version, however, the basic first word in square 2 (which in the French is square 1) reads METALO, the common noun "metal" in general use in medieval Hebrew alchemical writings. Also, in the French version of square 3 the central word is not HELALEH but MELACAH, which is the transliteration of the Hebrew *m'lakhah*, meaning "work," and was the term applied also to alchemical operations.

The three sentences defining the purposes of the three magic squares show clearly that Abraham was not only a magus, but also an alchemist. Had he been only a magician, he would have been satisfied with demanding of the spirits that they produce precious metals and perform alchemical operations for him. But being also an alchemist, who believed in his ability to bend the spirits to his will, he wanted them to teach him the methods of "all kinds of alchemical art."

Additional testimony that Abraham was an alchemist is contained in the second book of his *Cabala mystica*. That book is a kind of medical-magical handbook that provides methods of healing all kinds of diseases, of overcoming enemies, of obtaining friendship, love, fertility, of making parturition easy, of quieting storms on the sea, of finding favor in the eyes of potentates, and so on. In this book, in the course of instructions he gives to his son Lamech, he speaks repeatedly of the elements and metals, and in doing so uses the common alchemical signs, for water, air, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and so on. At the same time he also reveals considerable interest in and knowledge of astronomy and astrology, and employs the alchemical signs designating metals in referring to the planets corresponding to them.

ALCHEMY apart, one of the most interesting parts in Abraham's book is chapter eight of his First Book, in which he briefly enumerates cases of miraculous help he was able to render to emperors, counts, and popes with his magic art. This chapter is the only one in which historical figures are mentioned, all of them rulers who lived in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Since this passage contains a number of concrete numerical details, it can also serve as a basis for tackling the question of the time sequence of the various versions in which it has been preserved The general tendency of medieval and later translators and copyists (who were often paraphrasers) was to embellish the original text, to substitute greater and more remarkable deeds for those told in the original, and to multiply or at least increase the numbers appearing in the first version Hence one can assume that the more modest variant is older than the more extravagant one Keeping this in mind we start with the Hebrew version

So that you should know how a man should behave, with the help of God, and do them [his deeds] for the honor of God and for good to settle the earth, and also so that you should know to thank God for His goodness and for the plenty of His mercy and charity to you which He gave you to teach you such a wonderful wisdom through me without your having any trouble and effort, I shall now let you know briefly some of the operations which I have performed with patent faith for all peoples, with proper knowledge, as a servant of God, and I understood how to augment the honor of God and how to do good to settle the earth so that the honor of God should be told and his wisdom praised And the rest of the things which I did and tried with this wisdom you will find after my death when you will have access to my book(s) which I wrote and engraved with a human stylus to serve as a memorial from the day I started to operate in this science until the present day Behold, there are some four or five persons whom I liberated from the enchantment that was imposed on them, apart from many Jewish and Christian men and women who fell ill due to sorcery done to them, and I healed them, and apart from other sicknesses and illnesses of which I shall not speak in this book

1 Our lord the Emperor Zigmundus [Sigismund], may his splendor be exalted, apart from having given him as his share one of the spirits which are subordinated to me to be his servant, I also helped him to wed his wife the queen

2 The lord Count Friederich and a thousand horsemen which were with him I liberated from the pit of captivity, as I instructed you to do in the Fourth Part And had I not done it he would have remained in captivity and in countries inhabited by foreigners

3 The bishop of Wormiza [Worms] I revealed to his ear saying that his servants, and especially the Duke of *Qerin* Burg, would betray his secret, and at the end of half a year it was found that what I said was true and correct, apart from many other things and operations which I performed for him

4 Who is he who liberated your uncle Yitzhaq from the prison in which he sat in Speyer, if not I with the help of God and his wisdom?

5 And did I not help the lord the Duke with the Pope so that they should not be captured?

6 Pope John XXIII and Pope Martin V asked me several times in secret that I let them know the future and tell them what would happen, and what I wrote to them came to pass, and they did not find falsehood and lies in any of my words

7 This has already been known to you when I traveled to the Duke of Bayern [Bavaria], while I was on my way, burglers broke into my house, into the small room which was mine, and took silver and gold and things worth money, in the amount of three thousand gold [ducats] And when I returned to my house the thieves were forced to return the stolen things without the loss of a penny

8 Believe me that about half a year before the fall of the Emperor of Greece in the city of Constantina I wrote to him a letter saying that perhaps he could be spared of all the evils which I worried would come upon him within a short time

Many more the like, which I do not want to write about, did I accomplish with this science, I myself and alone, and the faithful God did always help me, so that I was never put to shame, and no thing was ever turned back, because [I obeyed] all His commandments and the advice of His angels, according to what R Abraham Elim had taught me I walked and observed and performed them as much as possible without turning left or right to the science of the gentiles and their idols, for the ways of the Lord are straight, the pious walk in them and tread in his wisdom

A German version of this chapter was printed in Johann Christoph Wolf's great *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, from which I translate

Briefly now, *inquit* [he says], to relate to you several of the previously mentioned operations, which, after my departure from this world, will be found described in a book, where it is recorded how, from the time when I began to practice this art, which happened in the year 1409, until the day when by the mercy of God I reached the seventy ninth year of my age, I healed and made healthy some forty five persons who had various illnesses and infirmities, were bewitched and crippled, among whom there were men as well as women, without [mentioning] innumerable others, who, praise God! were by my efforts restored to health

With the invincible emperor, our most gracious lord, Sigismund, I not only discoursed concerning my *spiritibus familiaribus* [familiar spirits], but also brought it about by means of my art that he was able to possess the empress, his wife

Count Friederich I equipped by means of my art with 1,000 horsemen through the power of the contents of chapter XXIX of the last Part of this book, to liberate him from the hands of Leopold, the Duke of Saxony, for

otherwise he would have been captured by him and removed from his office

To the bishop of this city, our temporal lord, I have half a year earlier revealed and made known the treachery planned by his governor at Krauenburg, not to mention many other particular things which I showed him and with which I was of service to him

In addition, I set free your cousin Isaac from the prison in Speyer

I was with him who helped the duke and the pope to flee from the Coun cil of Constance, otherwise both of them would have been captured by the Emperor, their enemy

I sent for both popes, John XXIII, and Martin V, to come to me in my secret council, and there I told them and showed them what would happen in the future, and they never found any fraud or error in my responses

You know that when I went the last time to Regenspurg to the Hertzog [duke] of Bavaria, my house was burglarized, and up to 3,000 florins in money, gold, and jewels were stolen But as soon as I reached home again, he [the burglar] was forced to restore everything to me

If the Greek emperor had given credence to my letter which I wrote to him six months ago, then perhaps his affairs would not take such an evil turn, as he has to expect within a few years

All this and much more which is not seemly to describe, have I, my dear son, accomplished solely through the art described in the two last parts of this book and God helped me at all times, so that I was never, in any of my expectation, exposed to shame and derision

The German manuscript is, by and large, identical with the above ver sion except for the following instances in the first paragraph it mentions not forty five but four hundred fifty persons whom Abraham claims to have restored to health, and it adds that they were both Jews and Chris tians, Count Frederick is stated to have been provided by Abraham not with one thousand horsemen, but with an indeterminate number of *vor-gekunstelten* (that is, produced by artifice) horsemen, the amount stolen from Abraham in Regensburg is stated to have been not three thousand but three hundred florins

There exists yet another German version not mentioned so far It was published by Johann Richard Beecken, who does not state on what manuscript he based his edition [12] It differs in several respects from the two discussed above The most significant deviation is that the person whom Abraham claims to have freed from the prison in Speyer was "a nobleman, whom I redeemed from the prison in Speyer without any body having noticed it "

In the French manuscript Abraham's exploits are considerably aug-mented in number and dimension As one would expect of a later re

working, all the numbers are changed to higher ones. In the German versions Abraham writes his book in his seventy-ninth year, in the French in his ninety-sixth. The one thousand horsemen become "two thousand artificial horses." The three hundred or three thousand florins stolen from him become "eighty-three thousand *Hongres*" (Hungarian gold pieces). And it is not his son's "*Vetter* [cousin] Isaac" whom he liberates from prison in Speyer, nor an unnamed nobleman, but "the Count of Varvick [Warwick?] from the prison in England." And as to the common people whose lives Abraham claims to have saved, their number is not a modest fourty-five or four hundred fifty as in the German versions, but 8,413, and they were not simply sick, but bewitched: "I have until the present healed people of all sorts who were bewitched to death, 8,413 of all kinds of religions without any exception" (p. 65).

Since the Hebrew version is brief, simpler, and more modest in its claims to magic achievements than either the German or the French version, it stands to reason that it is the earliest, upon which were based the German and French versions as embellished and augmented translations or paraphrases. This, of course, does not mean that the extant Bodleian Hebrew manuscript is the original version of the book. On the contrary: it is fragmentary, and the cursive Ashkenazi hand in which it is written shows that it is a late (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century) copy.

As for the historical personages, all from the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, can easily be identified. The ruler to whom Abraham refers as "Our lord the Emperor Zigmundus, may his splendor be exalted" (in the Hebrew version), is the Emperor Sigismund of the Holy Roman Empire (1368–1437), the protector of the Council of Constance (1414–1418), who was chiefly responsible for the deposition of Pope John XXIII (r. 1410–1415) and the elevation of Martin V (r. 1417–1431) to the papal throne. John had to flee from Constance in March 1415, and was offered protection by Duke Frederick of Austria (1382–1439). Both the duke and the pope took refuge in Switzerland, at the time a Hapsburg appanage. It is this flight to which Abraham refers.

Abraham mentions also another Frederick, whom he calls "Count Frederick." This could be Frederick I (1369–1428), called *der Streitbare* (the warlike, bellicose), who became the duke and elector of Saxony. However, there was no Leopold Duke of Saxony, and, of course, there was no clash between Frederick and the non-existing Leopold. Abraham's "Count Frederick" could therefore refer to another Frederick, the Burggraf of Nuremberg, who became the first margrave of Brandenburg in about 1415, but in that case the Leopold mentioned is erroneously identified by Abraham as Duke of Saxony; he was Leopold (Ludwig *im*

Bart) of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, with whom Frederick did, in fact, have a long and renowned feud.

The mention of Abraham's sojourn in Regensburg with the Duke of Bavaria, on which occasion his rooms were burglerized, could refer to one of several meetings held in that city at which matters of highest moment were discussed. An especially important one took place in 1422, and had something to do with the Council of Constance.[13]

The Greek emperor to whom Abraham claims to have addressed a warning letter "half a year before" the fall of Constantinople must have been Constantine XI Dragases (r. 1449–1453), the last Byzantine emperor, whose capital Constantinople fell to Sultan Mehmed II on May 29, 1453. The style of this reference in Abraham's book clearly intends to demonstrate two things: that he possessed prescience, and that he wrote his book (or at least this passage of it) prior to the fall of Constantinople. If, as indicated in an early part of his manuscript, Abraham was indeed born in 1359, and he was still alive in 1453, then he must have been at that time ninety-four years old, an age which in itself would have been considered a mark of magic powers.

Do the historical references contained in the book prove, or at least indicate, that it was actually written in, or soon after, 1453? The medievalist Gerald Strauss, whom I consulted in this matter, felt that they do not. He found the clues contained in chapter eight "ambiguous as indicators of contemporary familiarity. The references to Emperor Sigismund and the Council of Constance certainly aren't compelling. Sigismund and the Council were the focal points of the reform agitation that swept the entire fifteenth and much of the sixteenth centuries; everyone knew about them (the *Reformatio Sigismundi* was the most widely circulating reform tract in the entire Reformation period). The problems of the eastern empire were certainly widely known; references to the siege and fall of Constantinople were commonplace in the political and moral literature of the time. . . . The writer seems to get the popes confused. . . . This suggests lack of direct acquaintance with events. A contemporary would probably not have made such an error. I would guess that the writer lifted all these references from some chronicle, most likely that of Ulrich von Richental, whose chronicle of the Council of Constance (printed in 1483 and 1536 in Augsburg, and in 1575 in Frankfurt) was the period's standard source of information." Also the inconsistencies about Frederick and Leopold "suggest later date and indirect source of information for the material in this chapter." As for the Hebrew words in the magic squares, Professor Strauss points out that by the sixteenth century Christian magicians had "easy access to Hebrew grammars and dictionaries, for example those published by Sebastian Munster in Basel. From these it would have been easy to cull words and

phrases." Hence the Hebrew words in the magic squares do not necessarily mean that the squares, and the book as a whole, are a translation from an original Hebrew. "All in all," he concludes, "I would guess that the treatise is later than the fifteenth century. I would guess the sixteenth, but that's only because I find the excerpt so similar to other such texts I have seen."

The points Professor Strauss raises are concrete and weighty (much more so than, for example, Gershom Scholem's unsupported views mentioned in the early part of this chapter), but, I feel, they can be countered. To begin with the Hebrew words in the magic squares: they are so many, and show such a familiarity with both biblical and post-biblical Hebrew, including nuances of meaning, that it seems most unlikely that they could be the work of a Christian Hebraist magician. As for assigning the manuscript to a later date, the question arises, why should an author writing in the sixteenth century select precisely the period of 1359 to 1453 as the time-frame for his story, assign dates within those decades to a series of events he records from the life of his fictitious hero, and then go to the trouble of reading up chronicles of that time in order to insert references to historical figures who acted, and events that took place, strictly during his hero's adulthood and at no other time, so as to connect him with them and illustrate thereby his extraordinary magical powers? This would indicate a concern with scholarly accuracy one would not expect from a sixteenth-century magical author who concocts a pseudepigraphic story set in a past age.

On the other hand, if we assume that the author actually was a Jewish magus-alchemist who tells his own story in the book, and that he did indeed live at the time he says he lived, then it is easy to understand that in trying to furnish proof of his powers he should quote events that took place during his own lifetime, refer to troubles the leading historical figures of his time were known to have had, and then put forward the fictitious claim that it was he who in secret, with his magic, helped those great men and saved their lives. Claims of this type of achievement could count on being believed, since, as Professor Strauss himself points out in his letter, "Jews had the reputation of being the most effective conjurers and spell-binders . . . [and] there are many instances of Jews traveling about Europe to offer their knowledge of the secret arts to those who could pay for it."

Nor can, I believe, the historical errors and confusions that have crept into Abraham's accounts of the magic work he performed for popes and secular rulers be considered as proof of the later provenance of those stories. A Jewish magus who lived in fourteenth- to fifteenth-century Germany, a country comprising many principalities competing and at war with each other, could not be expected to have had accurate knowl-

edge of contemporary events, especially if they took place in remote parts of the vast German lands. Rumors of armed conflicts and the names of the warlords who clashed in them spread across frontiers, but the precise identification of the many emperors, kings, princes, and counts who were involved was difficult, especially since there were several Sigismunds, Fredericks, and Leopolds.

In sum, I think that there are sufficient indications in Abraham's *Cabala mystica* to attribute its authorship to a Jewish magus-alchemist who lived in Worms around 1400, wrote in Hebrew, and pretended (or believed himself) to be favored by God.

Chapter Twenty-two

ISAAC HOLLANDUS AND HIS SON JOHN ISAAC

THE SAME critical list of true and false alchemists which identifies Artephius as a converted Jew also devotes one sentence to the "Hollandi," of whom it says "The *Hollandi* lived not long before Paracelsus, and are known through their writings, but they are very obscure, and cover things under sophistries "[1] Although this source does not say so, the two Hollanduses belong to that group of alchemists rumored to have been Jews This was explicitly stated by Karl Christoph Schmieder ("the two Hollands, whom some consider to have been Jews"),[2] who adduces them as examples of the Jewish predilection for anonymity or, as he puts it, *Verschwiegenheit* (reticence, secretiveness) He is correct, since de spite the great number of their surviving works practically nothing is known of these two men Even their family name is unknown, Hollan dus being merely the designation of their home country Nevertheless, Edmund O von Lippmann, the thorough historian of alchemy, unhesi tatingly pronounces them Jewish [3] Following him, Bernard Suler, in his article "Alchemy" in the 1972 *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, states that in the fifteenth century—according to Lippmann, the seventeenth century—

> two Dutch Jews became famous as alchemists Isaac and his son John Isaac, both called "Hollandus," since their family name was unknown The father was a diamond cutter and his son a physician They led solitary lives, and became famous only posthumously, through the works which they left be hind, some authors consider them equal to Basilius Valentinus They knew how to prepare "royal water" out of nitrate and sea salt, as well as the "spirit of urine" (ammonia), and produced artificial gems

Schmieder discusses the work of the two Hollanduses in some detail and presents his arguments for placing them in the first quarter of the fifteenth century Isaac the father quotes Arnaldus de Villanova, the fa mous author of the *Rosarium philosophorum*, who is known to have lived from 1245 to 1313, and both Isaac and John Isaac are quoted by sixteenth century authors, and especially by Paracelsus (c 1493–1541), who copied passages of their works without, however, mentioning the source Schmieder argues that one must assume, on the one hand, that reclusive scholars could not be expected to become acquainted with the

newest literature within a short time, and, on the other, that the works of such isolated scholars took a long time before it came to the notice of other alchemical authors For these two reasons, Schmieder says, students of the history of alchemy "concluded that they [the Hollanduses] should be placed in the middle between Arnaldus and Paracelsus, that is, about the year 1425 " And he adds that in this respect Torbern Bergmann is wrong by placing them in the early seventeenth century, on the basis that their writings were only printed at that time [4]

Schmieder goes on to adduce the opinions of leading chemists among his own contemporaries, who lauded the Hollanduses and one of whom, Robert Boyle (1627–1691), even subjected their procedures to repeated experiments Another, Kastner, spoke highly of Isaac Hollandus and surmised that his operations involved the decomposing of base metals into substances of unequal calorific capacity by subjecting them to a disoxidizing treatment with carbohydrate [5]

Both the father and the son describe transmutations with a certainty that gives the impression of being based on actual experience John Isaac states in his *Opus Saturni*[6] that his tincture was so powerful that if one part of it was thrown upon a thousand parts of molten lead or silver, it oversaturated the metals And only thereafter, when one of these thousand parts was put on ten parts of metal, was the latter transmuted into gold, the best gold that could be found on earth That is, the Hollanduses not only saw this, but claim that they actually did it several times, with varying experiments, measured with scales and weights

It appears that the Hollanduses wanted to speak to posterity, but without any ambition About the preparation of the philosophers' stone both of them speak only with great restraint, although they make it apparent that it must be composed of substances from all three realms In his book *De triplici ordine elixiris et lapidis theoria* (On the Threefold Order of the Elixir, and the Theory of the Stone)[7], Isaac mentions by name four stones, one mineral, one vegetable, one animal, and one composite, the last one clearly a product of the first three

Schmieder suspects that John Isaac was a practicing physician, for no other alchemist before him wrote in such detail about the utilization of the tincture as a panacea He wrote in the *Opus Saturni*

> This stone makes all leprous people healthy, it heals the pestilence and all contagious diseases Take of it as much as a grain of wheat, put it into good wine, and give it to the patient to drink Very soon it will be drawn to the heart, will course through all the blood vessels, and will pursue all humors The patient will perspire from all pores of his body, but will not become fatigued, but feel more cheerful, stronger, and lighter For the perspiration will last only until all the bad humors are driven out, whereupon it stops

> Next day let the patient take again as much as a grain of wheat in warmed-up wine, and go to the closet. This will not diminish as long as he still has something obnoxious in the body, but make him feel the better. If on the third day he takes again the same amount in wine, his heart will be strengthened. One feels elevated over human nature, so light and nimble will be the members.

The same tincture can also be used as a prophylaxis: "One should take as a preservative as much as a grain of wheat in wine once a week, thus one will always remain healthy until the very last hour of one's term of life as destined by God."

In most of the writings left behind by the Hollanduses they are explicitly named as the authors. One can conclude from the style, the manner of writing, and the views expressed in some other treatises, published anonymously, that they were written by these two. However, since father and son had very similar styles and views, it is impossible to attribute such writings to one or the other of them with certainty. Schmieder says that their books are considered to have been written originally in Dutch, but that the extant Dutch manuscripts leave one in doubt on this point, and that it is possible that the originals were in Latin. Most of the writings are contained in the Latin collection titled *Isaaci et J. I. Hollandi Opera universalia et vegetabilia, sive de lapide philosophorum* (The Universal and Vegetable Works of Isaac and J. I. Hollandus, or on The Philosophers' Stone) printed in Arnheim in 1617.[8]

As an example of John Isaac's alchemy, I present here the concluding part of his brief treatise on the urine, which contains instructions of how to prepare the much sought-after quinta essentia. The first part of the treatise tells how to subject "old and pure" urine to a series of alchemical procedures until an "ineffably subtle" substance is obtained. Then he instructs the alchemist to take of that substance

> six parts, of distilled vinegar four parts, and of aqua vita three parts, half a *libra* [pound] of salt, half a pound of common quicklime, mix all of it together, finally dissolving it in clear water of which the sediments have been removed. And you will have an admirable material which reduces into mercury all the limes of the bodies. With this water can be extracted the blessed fifth essence [quintessence] out of antimony and out of all things which are white or red. . . .
>
> *The Way of Extracting All Tinctures with the Precedent Water*
>
> Take sulphur or auripigment or ochre or the like from whatever the extracting of tincture is desired, make of it the finest powder, and mix it with vinegar until it becomes like a *smegma* [paste]. Then put it in a big receptacle and place it on ashes in an oven or on sand, and sprinkle over it from

that aforementioned pure urine or water so that your receptacle should be half filled Seal it with a cork, and shake it with your hands so that it should be well absorbed Having done that, replace it on the ashes or the sand, giving it at first gentle fire, until it gets extremely hot, and note that the paste or lid must frequently be removed so that the air should pass under it, otherwise the glass will burst apart, and [note] that the material must always be kept shaken with the hands so that it should be mixed, and the vinegar should be able to operate well When you see that the vinegar is saturated with color, then, while it is hot and clear, pour it out, but be careful lest the sediments also go at the same time Preserve what you poured out, well sealed This done, you have extracted all the tincture, then throw away the sediment, or you can apply it to any use you wish

Now put your tincture in any receptor vessel, and evaporate the humidity until a thin skin appears Then, without letting it cool, put the material upon the skin that shows itself in the jug, well sealed with its alembic, and draw out all humidity in ashes or in sand, and there will remain a white or red tincture at the bottom, conditioned by the material you placed there, which will be the quinta essentia if you have put on it a white material your V ESS [quintessence] will be white like snow, if however a red material, it will be red like sparkling gold In the same manner can the quinta essentia of mercury be extracted from red or white Likewise from the *limatura* [filings] of Mars [i e , iron], or from verdigris, cinnabar, or burnt copper, and also from the lime of gold and silver, or from copper, in brief, from all things of the world

Note So that the urine should be stronger, if you wish, instead of *salarmoniac* [sal ammoniac] and common salt add one drachma of *ana* [?], and then extract the nobler tincture

Note Out of these extracted tinctures it is possible to make cements with which you can cement, which is a certain secret art Likewise, a certain aqua fortis, red and sparkling like a Rubinus [ruby?] With that water one can bring to pass miraculous things, which, however, it is not permitted to reveal

Praise to God

Chapter Twenty–three

JOHANAN ALEMANNO AND JOSEPH ALBO

WE HAVE already met Johanan Alemanno (1435–c. 1504) in connection with our discussion of Abufalaḥ's alchemy. Alemanno was a fifteenth-century Italian Jewish Kabbalist, philosopher, and scholar with a wide-ranging interest in the occult. It was he who introduced Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) to the Kabbalah, and thus had a role in the rise of the Christian Kabbalah. Of Alemanno's literary output two books have been printed. One is a kabbalistic miscellany titled *Sefer haLiqqutim* (Book of Collectanea) which quotes Abufalaḥ; the other, titled the *Sefer Shaᶜar haḤesheq* (Book of the Gate of Desire) was printed in Livorno in 1790. He also left behind in manuscript a commentary on the Torah titled *ᶜĒnē haᶜĒdah* (The Eyes of the Community), and an untitled work on the Kabbalah.[1]

Alemanno's *Shaᶜar haḤesheq* is characterized by a deeply religious spirit. He explains that all the sciences (among which he counts *geomanṣia, astrologia*, and music) have the one basic purpose of enabling man to serve God better. A point he emphasizes is that the knowledge of other nations, such as the Egyptians, was based on experimentation, whereas King Solomon had knowledge "by the spirit of wisdom and by the holy spirit that rested upon him" (f. 6b). All in all, the *Shaᶜar haḤesheq* is a valiant attempt by a deeply religious man of science to organize all the sciences into one organic whole under the aegis of religion and of the divine wisdom which God granted to King Solomon.

At the same time, Alemanno's writings show that he was seriously interested in alchemy. Had that not been the case he would certainly not have included in his *Collectanea* Abufalaḥ's tale about the Ethiopian connection of King Solomon's mastery of the philosophers' stone. His *Shaᶜar haḤesheq* contains two sections that betray considerable familiarity with contemporary alchemical theory. One speaks of the relationships between the planets and the metals:

> We saw in the books of the ancients fearsome things which they did in their days because of the greatness of their desire to make an image of the supernal world and its miracles down here on earth. They said that Japheth the son of Noah built a palace in the land of Zin which is on the edge of the east, a very wonderful one, and what is written among us is that in it were

seven windows In each window there stood an image, according to the shape of one of the seven planets, and each image was of a stone attributed to that planet And its appearance was like the appearance of gold for the sun, and whiteness for the moon, and blackness for Saturn and redness for Mars, and greenness for Jupiter, and azure for Venus, and a combination of colors for Mercury And he drew in that palace many figures from which any wise man could undertand the nature of the supernal figures, and the way in which the supernal is represented in the physical form of that which is below, and everything that emerges anew from them as a result of their movements and influences and sparks, and other such indications And with our own ears we heard a Greek who had gone from one end of the world to the other, and who had neither read nor studied, and he related to us something similar about the building in Zin where he had been And we questioned him and investigated him as is proper in order to verify in our heart the words of the sages and their dark sayings which appear in the light of the intellect as vanity of vanities, but they are wise sages and won derful words [2]

What Alemanno does in this passage is to take the well known al chemical doctrine about the connection of the seven planets and the seven metals, and attribute its invention to a biblical figure, Japheth the son of Noah When he says that each "stone" was attributed to a planet, he simply uses the alchemical terminology that was customary in his age, when metals were frequently referred to as "stones " It is, however, noteworthy that he mentions by name only one metal, gold, and re places the names of the other six metals by names of colors As for "the land of Zin" in which Alemanno locates his mystical astrological al chemical palace, its name is, of course, taken from "the wilderness of Zin" located, according to Numbers 34 1–4, at the southern borders of the Land of Canaan

The other passage shows clearly that Alemanno was a firm believer in the "miraculous things" that could be performed by those who knew the secrets of alchemy He writes

And you, if you would know the relations of the metals which affect each other, you could transmute the whole world into silver and gold and pre cious stones and pearls And likewise with the relations of the living things and the plants you could perform miraculous things never imagined by the ancients And if, in addition, you would know the science of the relations of the stars and their representations on earth and all that which they pour out [i e , emanate] day after day, nothing would be too miraculous for you in judging the future and the past and the present, and all that the Lord has wrought, to find its solution in the [things] inanimate, vegetative, speech less living, and the living which has the power of speech As for the inani

mate, behold, gold is dear in value, [and] is endowed with seven properties. One, that if [somebody] eats [of it] as a charm, it makes him cunning like unto running water, or if it is cooked with food, behold, it will be in its power to restore to life the soul of the sick who is close to death. The second, that if he is used to his wine in which it [the gold] is extinguished many times, then, behold, it purifies the intellect to sharpen [the mind of] the man who uses it. The third, that its sight gladdens souls with the special quality that is in it, and even more so in eating and drinking, if one drinks from a golden vessel. The fourth, that it greatly purifies and improves the digestion when it is found in the stomach, just as it makes it hard if it is swallowed whole in the shape of a skull. Behold, it improves the vision darkened by bad digestion, and not only the vision, but it also lights up the face darkened by leprosy or by ugly moisture. The fifth, that even if it is left for thousands of years in caves or in wet places underground, it will not be affected, nor will it be damaged, for it preserves its truth [i.e., original character] forever, for it is not possible to forge it or to exchange it for another thing, even though the masters of alchemy do forge it and make beaten gold which resembles it to such an extent that one can as little distinguish between the two as between a dust-mouse [i.e., born out of dust] and that which is born of its own kind. But as for verification, so that it should not be falsified, there is a feature preserved in it which cannot be forged by means of a charm, for the gold that is made by [alchemical] work raises blisters in burning, whereas the real gold does not raise blisters. This is a little of the natural science. "And by knowledge are the chambers filled" (Prov. 24:4), "they empty themselves upon the earth" (Eccl. 11:3), with the science of geometry and the measures. And of this the rabbi, the author, wrote in the book *Ḥesheq Sh'lomo*, "There is no higher wisdom than that of the form of the world and its function, and likewise the measuring of the stars in relation and value."[3]

This passage, in enumerating the properties of gold, allows an interesting insight into the folklore of gold, which constituted an important part of the alchemical belief system in fifteenth-century Italy. Noteworthy, too, is the belief that alchemists can produce artificial gold which will be like true gold in every respect except one: artificial hot gold, if touched, will raise blisters, whereas true hot gold will not.

In addition to the two passages just quoted, there is in the *Sha'ar haḤesheq* a longer section in which alchemy is combined with the kabbalistic attribution of enormous secret power to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The basis of this combination seems to be the dual meaning of the Hebrew verb *l'ṣaref*, which means both "to refine" and "to combine." The passage in question is much too complex to present here, since it would require lengthy explanation of practically every

phrase. We will only mention that it opens by stating that Bezalel, the biblical craftsman who is characterized in Exodus as skilful in working in gold and silver (Ex. 31:2ff.; 35:30ff.), and who in the Middle Ages became the prototype of alchemists, "knew how to combine (*l'ṣaref*) the letters with which heaven and earth were created. . . ." Then Alemanno goes on to explain that originally the Torah comprised an entirely different order of letters, words, and passages, in which there was such a mysterious power that had men known it they could have healed the sick and resuscitated the dead. Therefore God changed over the entire order of the Torah to its present text, which cannot be used for mysterious purposes. Only a very few of the greatest figures in Jewish history had access to that original sacred and awesome text, such as Abraham, of whom R. Abraham ben David wrote in his commentary to the *Sefer Y'ṣirah*, the earliest Hebrew mystical treatise, that "our father Abraham looked and saw and engraved and hewed and combined and created and thought."[4]

Alemanno explains (quoting older books of mystery) that the Hebrew alphabet contains four groups of letters, each of which is derived from or is representative of one of the four elements: fire, wind (i.e., air), water, and dust (i.e., earth). This being the case, the name of each person indicates his character, since the letters contained in his name are indicative of the elements that preponderate in him. The sage who was the greatest master of this science, Alemanno informs us, was Rabbi Meir, "who would weigh the number of the elements of the letters in the name, and according to the elements which outweighed the others it indicated [to him] righteousness, honesty, or wickedness." Finally, Alemanno refers to a passage in the *Zohar*, section *B'shallaḥ*, which tells about "how they saved a sick man in whom the elements of water and the element of dust prevailed. When these elements prevail over the elements of fire, the life of the person is endangered. Therefore he [Rabbi Meir] reversed the letters [in the name of the sick person and changed them into letters] which show the strengthening of fire over the dust and the water," and thus was able to save his life.[5]

The few passages quoted here should give us a glimpse of the mental world of this fifteenth-century Italian Jewish scholar who was thoroughly at home in astrology, alchemy, and all the sciences, as well as in the Kabbalah, the power of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and yet was a deeply religious person with an unshakable belief in God, and also a serious scholar who had at his fingertips the entire Jewish literature of all the past ages and of his own time. We do not know whether he was an active alchemist, but from his writings it is clear that he knew alchemy and believed in it, and that it served for him as a kind of intellectual philosophers' clay that luted together the disparate elements of his scholarly and mystical comprehension.

For our investigation into the history of Jewish alchemy it is instructive to have a look at the *haskamot* (approbations) printed in Alemanno's *Shaʿar haḤesheq*. In Jewish book publishing it was the established custom over hundreds of years for authors or the publishers of their works to obtain approbations from the leading rabbis and scholars of the age. The typical haskamot contained praise of the author and his book, and expressed the signatories' agreement with the ideas put forward in it. The approbations were thus a guarantee for the reader that the ideas expressed in the book conformed to the generally prevalent view of the religious leadership, and were therefore orthodox. They came nearest in the world of the Jewish book to what the imprimatur and nihil obstat meant for the Catholic readership.

The haskamot of the leading Livornese rabbis of the eighteenth century, the time of publication of *Shaʿar haḤesheq*, conform to this pattern. They term Alemanno "the universal sage, the famous philosopher," and heap praises upon him and his book. It is clear from these approbations that the religious establishment of eighteenth-century Livorno unhesitatingly identified itself with the alchemical ideas expressed by Alemanno. Moreover, it stands to reason that had the rabbis not been acquainted and in agreement with the alchemical worldview long before they read its presentation in *Shaʿar haḤasheq*, they would not have given the book their approbation.

The signatories of the haskamot are R. David Mal'akh, S. Ṭ. (S'faradi Ṭahor, i.e. "pure Sephardi"), Israel Serusi, S. Ṭ., Raphael Benjamin Ḥayyim Moreno, S. Ṭ., Jacob ibn Naim, S. Ṭ., and Joseph Azubib, S. Ṭ., several of whom have books of their own to their credit. The approbations are followed by a lengthy introduction written by Jacob Barukh, who brought the book to press. In it Barukh extolls the importance of the subjects discussed by Alemanno, which include (as he transliterates them in Hebrew characters) *geometria, astrometria, mekhaniqa, esoropiqa* (?), *perspeqtiva*, and *algebra*. He refers by name to several of the great masters in these sciences—Ptolemy and his Almagest, Archimedes, Copernicus, Tigon (Tycho Brache?)—and asserts that "the purpose of the sciences is to comprehend the existence of God, to cleave to Him always, and not to separate oneself from Him in one's thoughts, and this is also the purpose of the Torah."

Joseph Albo

Joseph Albo was an early fifteenth-century Sephardi philosopher and religious polemicist, whose lasting fame is based on a single book, the *Sefer haʿIqqarim* or "Book of Principles," first published in 1485. It was subsequently republished in many editions, several of them with commentaries, and achieved great popularity in Jewish circles. Albo took

part in the famous Disputation at Tortosa and San Mateo in 1413–1414 as representative of the Jewish community of Daroca (Province of Saragossa), and completed his *Sefer haʿIqqarim* in 1425 in Soria in Castile. He was a disciple of Ḥasdai Crescas, and was influenced by Crescas's *Or Adonai* (1410) and by Simon ben Ṣemaḥ Duran's formulation of the principles of the Jewish faith contained in the latter's commentary on Job, written in 1405. In addition to rabbinic literature and Jewish philosophy, Albo had a wide knowledge of Islamic philosophy and Latin Christian scholasticism, and was versed in mathematics and medicine.

In the *Sefer haʿIqqarim*, Albo, following Thomas Aquinas, distinguishes three kinds of law: natural law, conventional law (*dat nimusit*), and divine law. It is while arguing the superiority of divine law over conventional law that Albo betrays his familiarity with alchemical theory and practice; and, by using an alchemical simile in order to make his argument more easily understandable, he shows that alchemical procedures were well known to the Jewish audience for whom he wrote. He writes:

> Divine law, being derived from divine wisdom, determines for all times what is proper and what is improper. Hence the aversion to [that which is] improper which one acquires from it [the divine law] will admit of no change or diminution, because it is pure of all dross and refuse. And for this reason it can persist forever, like the silver that is pure of all dross, as is the saying of the poet, "The words of the Lord are pure words, like silver tried in a crucible on the earth, refined seven times" (Ps. 12:7). Explanation: the counterfeit silver which is made in the work of alchemy, some of it if smelted once will not reveal its falseness, but if it is smelted a second time it reveals its falseness, and there is such that will stand two smeltings, and such that stands three or four or five, but in the end it will reveal its falseness. And there is such that will not reveal its falseness if it is smelted in a melting pot, but if it is smelted in the bowels of the earth it reveals its falseness. And the silver which is refined in the bowels of the earth and is purified many times is pure of all falseness and dross and refuse, and it is impossible for it to change thereafter even if it is smelted many times. And this is why the Poet [i.e., the Psalmist] compares the words of God which are pure to the pure silver that is tried in the crucible of the earth, which is in a place discovered in the bowels of the earth, purified seven times, and there is no suspicion of any falsification in it. And likewise the aversion to the improper that one acquires, which occurs in the Torah, "is pure, enduring forever" (Ps. 19:10), since no change and diminution can occur in it as it occurs in the conventional law.[6]

Albo and his readers were evidently familiar with counterfeit silver produced by alchemists, and knew that, if smelted several consecutive times, the base metal it consists of will show up. It is clear that the pas-

sage quoted could have been written only in an environment and for an audience that was well acquainted with, and subscribed to, the alchemical theory of the gradual purification of metals in the bowels of the earth. If we consider people who knew of this theory and accepted it as a fact of nature to have been alchemists, then Albo lived in, and addressed his magnum opus to, an alchemist society.

Chapter Twenty-four

PSEUDO-MAIMONIDES

WHEN Maimonides (1135–1204) turned the searchlight of his genius on the religion of the people he called the Sabaeans, whom he considered the society in which Abraham grew up, he had nothing but scorn for their misguided, foolish, and superstitious beliefs. The Sabaeans believed, Maimonides writes in his *Guide of the Perplexed* (3:29)[1] that the universe was eternal (that is, not created, as the Bible teaches), and that the stars were deities—in fact, the only divine beings. They "manufactured ridiculous stories" about Adam, Seth, and Noah, and "attributed the metals and the climates to the influence of the planets." Abraham was the first to recognize "the absurdity of the tales in which he had been brought up," opposed the Sabaean theories, and proclaimed "the name of the Lord, the God of the Universe." Among the books from which one can gather an idea of the absurdities of the "Kasdim, Chaldeans, and Sabaeans" Maimonides mentions the book *On the Nabatean Agriculture*, a book entitled *Istimachis* (that is, *Stoecheiomatikos*, or *Astrologer*), falsely attributed to Aristotle (whom Maimonides greatly admired), and several other books, including one ascribed to Hermes. Since in Arabic literature numerous astrological, magical, and alchemical books were attributed to Hermes, we cannot be sure which of them Maimonides had in mind, but we know that the books of Hermes were considered by him especially execrable, for in a letter to his translator Samuel ibn Tibbon, Maimonides warned him not to waste his time by reading them. This being the case, there can be little doubt that Maimonides was a staunch opponent of alchemy.

Whether or not Maimonides' anti-alchemical stand was known to medieval Jewish alchemists in general, the fact is that some of them (their names and identities are unknown) wrote brief alchemical treatises and attributed them to Maimonides. These writings are preserved in several manuscripts four of which I was able to examine—those of Munich, Moscow, Jerusalem, and Manchester.

The Munich manuscript is in the Bavarian State Library in Munich.[2] It consists of nine pages (ffs. 29b–33b), and is among other Hebrew alchemical texts that are unattributed and written by a different hand. The pseudo-Maimonidean treatise is superscribed "Epistle of Secrets by the Rambam [Maimonides] of Blessed Memory," and is addressed to an

unnamed disciple, probably in imitation of the *Guide*, which is addressed to Maimonides' "dear pupil," Joseph ibn Aknin The treatise starts as follows

> In the name of God the Helper, we shall begin the book of wisdom of the true divine philosopher Rabbi Moshe of blessed memory Said the philosopher God gave [me] wisdom and understanding to recognize the honesty of your nature and the goodness of your qualities and the strength of your mind yearning for wisdom [and] giving up for it all worldly affairs And I saw that you need money sufficient for your essential needs, without which it is not possible for you to free yourself for wisdom, for the degree of richness is the ladder to all the degrees and benefits which God, blessed be He, bestows upon His creatures Without it one cannot reach any of them, and especially the degree of wisdom, for how can one devote oneself to it if in his house there is no garb and no dress, and is lacking food? I have already informed you in the esteemed treatise *Guide of the Perplexed* that God does not change the constancy of the nature of existence, except at a certain time, and I gave the reason of this in the treatise on the *Resurrection of the Dead*, that man cannot live and devote himself to the service of God without food and drink
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> Therefore, I thought it proper, O esteemed disciple, to let you know very wonderful things, how great is their benefit and how wonderful it is to gather richness and property and honor without undue toil, on condition that you do not abandon the secret [of] its power and do not divulge it to anybody (f 29b)

After this introduction, which evidently has as its purpose to establish the moral basis for engaging in alchemical operations, the author gets down to specific alchemical instructions

> (f 30a) Behold, I now begin the secrets Know that the *mahriah* [A *muhra*, shell, conch] stone, which is called in Laʿaz *perla* [pearl], is a very precious stone, whose precious virtues I have already revealed to you face to face And when it is big in size, because of its rarity its value is greater than that of gold And I shall reveal to you how to make out of a large number of small pearls one big stone as you wish, without losing its virtues and changing its appearance Take the juice of *saqlade* [Moscow and Manchester MSS *asqalide*], in Laʿaz *limone* [lemon], and pass it through the vessel called *anbiqi* [I *alambicco*, alembic] in Laʿaz, and in Arabic *al-bahar* [plural of A *bahra*, basin, Moscow and Manchester MSS *al-badwar*], and preserve it, and then take of the stones [i e , pearls], as many as you want to make of them a big one [of that] size, and grind them and pass whatever you want through a sieve, and put them into that water [i e , juice], and let them soak there nine days Then take that powder, and you will find it

tightly glued together. Then you can make of it whatever shape you wish, and round that thing until it will be of the shape you want. And then tear open a fish [marginal note: the fish named *r'ina* is the best for this], and put the stone into it so that it should not be squashed and lose its roundness, and put the fish into dough as is the custom of women when they prepare it for food, and put it on fire or into the oven until it becomes baked, and once it is baked open everything, and take the stone, and you will find it a little hard, but not according to the natural custom, nor [usual] in its appearance. Therefore, now in turn feed it to a cock, and instantly slaughter it, and you will find it hard as is its nature, and restored to its color (See Figure 24.1).

Figure 24.1. "These are the craftsmen who make pearls." MS Ebr. 395, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome.

ALSO I let you know, so that you succeed in your wisdom, a thing of high degree and wonderful of benefit But its making is a little difficult TAKE [some] of the best gold you can find and beat it to utter thinness, then take *ashinsa* [ʾ], and dry ethrog [citron] peel, and *alyazmīn* [A *yāsamīn*, jasmine] and *violas* [S , violets], and *alqaft* which is *qust* [A , costus, a maritime medicinal plant], and *zarnīkh* [A , arsenic], in equal amounts, and copper in the weight of all of them together, and grind them well to fine powder, and then mix with this weight twenty *sheqels* of the mentioned stone, and then take flour called *riza* [A *aruzz, ruzz*, rice], and pass it through a sieve, and mix of it one-half of one tenth of the weight of the compound, then take *guma arabiqa* [gum arabic], and the sap of fig twigs which is like milk, and mix it with all this as the eyes of your mind see fit, until you can knead it, and after having kneaded it dry it in the sun forty days, not less, until it becomes well dried, (f 30b) and then take lemon juice and alum juice and *maribulas* [ʾ] juice, in equal amounts, and mix with them, that is with this water, a little *tusiah* [A *tutia*, tutty, crude zinc oxide] as much as you wish, for whether you give more or less will neither help nor harm Also of the gratings of the *qorale* [I , coral]—a little of it is very good—and put it in the juice of the lemon and the alum until it thickens a little, then put here what is dry, and soak it thirty days until it be comes thin, and let it thicken, and it will grow, and add to its quantity three times a like [amount of] what you put into it, and it will purify until it will become clear, even though not like the sapphire Then put it into horse manure, well hidden, and let it stay there three days, and on the fourth day, if it has hardened like a stone take it, and if not leave it there another day but not more, for then it will undoubtedly harden And then take it out from there, grind it well, and take two weights of copper and put with it one weight of this stone, and put everything into the melting pot, and take yourself the work of the secret

TAKE ashes of vine-twigs and pass them through a sieve and then knead them in urine, and put into them a little ground salt, and be careful to put there only a little of the urine, so that you should be able to knead the ashes and make of them whatever you want, and make it in a melting pot, and put into it all the copper and the mentioned stone, and melt it in strong fire with a big flame Out will come seven times purified and refined gold, which will stand a thousand meltings without losing its nature and color I let you know these things which are great of benefit and small of trouble, so that you should succeed in wisdom

MOREOVER I shall let you know a secret whose benefit is not as great as that of the previous things, but its trouble is less than theirs, and the benefit is not small for him who understands and succeeds Take well-ground sulphur and put [some] of it on any metal you choose, upon all its surface,

and then [put it] on fire, and let it burn until all the sulphur is consumed, and be careful that nothing of the sulphur should remain on the metal at the time when you remove it from there after the flame goes out And you will be able to peel the whole metal off its surface where the sulphur has reached However, according to the measure of the sulphur that you put on the metal will be the measure of the peelings which you peel from it if you put much, it will be much, and if little, it will be little And if that metal is copper, you will not need to purify it in order to melt it, but for silver and gold you will have to (f 31a) put the peelings into lemon juice or into the juice of *atages* [Moscow MS *aranges*, Manchester MS *naranjas*, oranges], in case there are no lemons available, but if they are available, the virtue of their water is wonderful, for the strength of its juice is great, and its nature and virtue is to purify the silver and the gold And it has not only this virtue alone

But let us return to where we were, which is that after having soaked the peels in lemon juice one day or more, take them out and put them in the pot whose work I mentioned to you in connection with the work of gold And let there be before you fire with a flame, and put there the pot with the peels in it But after the peels begin to be melted, there should be half of their weight of lead prepared, and put it in the pot with the peels But it is important that you be most careful not to put the lead in it until the silver or the gold begin to melt The reason for this is that the lead is worked much more easily than they, and if you put it in the pot at the time you put the silver or the gold, it will melt a long time before them, and all will be lost and you toiled in vain Therefore it is sufficient for you to put it there when they begin to melt, and you will see that the lead will cover the silver or the gold and will emit smoke until all the lead is consumed, and when it is consumed the smoke will cease, and then the silver or the gold will remain pure and refined

But I want to add and remind you and warn you that you should be most careful to remove from them all the sulphur before you put them in the melting pot, for if any of it is left on them it will cause everything to be lost And let this thing not be light in your eyes, for if you perform it with wisdom and modesty it will benefit you very much in little time and without much trouble And this is so because the matter is very easy to perform, and its work is not great, while the operation of the others is great and their work is difficult

HOWEVER, [another] matter which is known to some wise men in the work of alchemy is of great benefit, but one must be an expert in the Work and well versed And I shall tell you now its Work, for this is the proper place to talk about it And it is not easy, and also the things which I mentioned are not easy And I leave this treatise for your benefit, O esteemed disciple, for I wish that you succeed in any case in all negotiations and in all

buying and selling And the reason for this is that we have seen that the selection you have made and the desire you have had and have embraced lack nothing (f 31b) but completion in deed, and if this book will be with you as intended, you will complete the condition [knowing] what happened to me explicitly and what occurred to me justly, and you will rise and reach the high grade and rank of the sages And truly, it was your good luck that you reached us And I shall say that the sages of this Work take tutty and burn it in fire and quench it in water, and then pound it, and then take alum and put it alone in a vessel on the fire until it melts Then they put on it the powder of the tutty and mix it together, and take it off the fire, and take human blood burnt in a vessel until it becomes black, and take scrap ings of the fatty blood and of the alum and of the tutty mixed together, and salt, in equal amounts, and mix all of it, and take copper and silver in the same amount and melt it together, and put on it [some] of the mentioned powder, and it will be gilded silver

This procedure is famous among the masters of that Work who divide the matter of its wisdom into two kinds And if they are treated [here] under one heading, it is because there is no difference between them except for name And the two kinds are silver and gold And I will explain to you the famous difference between them, which is as follows This work which I mentioned has been tried, and as for trouble, its value makes it easy But I shall let you know what I myself tried and saw that it is supreme and its benefit more vast, and it is of the gold kind And you, take of tin any amount you wish, and melt it, and after the melting put it immediately into lemon juice or citronjuice Then put it into melted fat, then into cold water, and then into onion juice, and then into garlic juice, and then into water in which *faisoles* [S *frisoles*, beans] have been boiled And then melt it once more with one weight of incense, and it will be very good gilded gold This matter is more wonderful in its benefits than everything [else] I mentioned in this matter of this Work And since I want you to benefit, and my soul wishes you to benefit, to bring you to human perfection, beside which there is no other perfection, nor is after it any benefit like it, there fore

I SHALL LET YOU KNOW what is in my heart, and shall inform you of the virtues of my secrets, and reveal to you another matter, whose degree and benefit are great, and it is of this Work, the work of alchemy And I shall not expatiate in its praise for well known to me is the immensity of its vir tue, and this is it

TAKE *lauton* (I or S *laton*, brass) and melt it up to four times, and each time put into the melting pot pulverized glass with the brass an equal [Moscow MS half] part of its weight And the same of tutty, and after the melting melt it in *lantisqole* [I *lentisk*, mastic tree] oil in which burnt tutty has been quenched After this out will come for you gold good and beauti

ful in every respect and appearance And if it appears to the eye that it needs more purifying, take ox gall and *zāʿfrān* [saffron], and mix them together and put them upon it until they become warm, and put the mentioned into it, and it will be good gold Behold this matter is wonderful in its benefits, and its work is light in relation to the greatness of the benefit, and it has been tried by me (f 32a–b)

Moreover I shall let you know a matter with which God has enlightened the eyes of my heart If you fill your barrels with clear, clean, and pure water, and put one *sheqel* of *muhibb al-mulūkh* [lover, or beloved, of kings] which is called in Laʿaz *grāna* [I , grain] into a hundred of the water, and put the same proportion of one part of saffron and two parts of *mal ms balasān* [A , balsam] which is *qarpo balsamo*, as well as two parts of cinnamon, and also one hundred parts of peeled oranges, and in the proportion mentioned above four *litras* [pounds] of *suqo reqolisia* [ʾ], and the same proportion of garlic, and in the same proportion one and half parts of *alume* [alum] tree, and let all this soak there in the barrel thirty full days—you will find that water colored, become in appearance like wine, and also a little sharp in its taste, and like wine in its smell And to complete the enormous work, put in the aforementioned proportion half of a sixth part of *galanga* [A *juljulān*, coriander seed, sesame], and half of a half of an eighth part of *basbās* [A , fennel, rue, nutmeg], and two parts of pomegran ate rinds, and the same amount of their pits, and four weights of the finest wine that you can find, which is strong in its smell and its taste, and has escaped all change in appearance and all accidents and remained un changed, and put all this in the barrel in which there is the aforementioned water, and leave it there eight days, and you will find the wine boiling [effervescent], that is the wine has become real wine, it will boil, and on its surface will appear a great foam, and all the refuse of that which you have put there will remain on top as a refuse on top of the wine And clean away that refuse by removing from there everything that is found there, lest it become moldy and be spoiled, and everything be lost And then leave it for three days, and you will find valuable and good wine, the like of which is not found in good (f 32b) taste and smell and spiciness And this is the potion which I give to those who suffer epilepsy, and the *holī haraʿash* [H , trembling disease], and to the paralytic, and to the melancholic, because of its effect on them, that is to say, this blackish potion, when they [the patients] are about to suffer bodily damage or to be seized by madness, for the virtue of this potion is very wonderful, without the properties of real wine being found [in it] And the general rule is that this helps all illnesses, and strengthens the heart, and cleanses the passages of the [word illegible] and the liver, and reduces the unnatural fever, and increases the natural warmth, and waters the brains and the stomach and the head, and purifies the feelings, and sharpens the mind

And you, my brother, know that if this would become known to the mass of physicians, they would sell a weight of it at twice the price of gold, if it were to be found in their hands and if they knew its value and characteristics And I have already tried it, and have found it to work fast This potion is constantly with me, as commanded by the Honored One [the prince], may God lengthen his peace, to be ready to send it to him

And I also have another remedy which protects against deadly poisons If one drinks it, and thereafter takes a deadly poison, it will not harm him at all And this I tried out on myself when the physicians once gave me deadly poison to drink And if somebody was given deadly poison to drink—and the sign of it is that when the food reaches the stomach he is seized with pain in the stomach, and his sight darkens—then it is necessary that one should quickly give him to drink some of this wine, which will induce diarrhea and cause all the deadly poison to be eliminated in the diar rhea without leaving any part of it in the stomach and in the limbs And when I informed the Honored Prince, may God lengthen his peace, of this matter this was the reason for my finding favor in his eyes, to be able to shelter in the shadow of the wing of his grace, and to tell about the glory of his rule And this potion is always in my possession, with the description of another wonderful medicament, [so that] the person who takes it [can] be saved from deadly and bitter poisons, and it is necessary for every king to have it, when there is somebody who wants to kill him He should take two parts of *lawres* [L *laurus*, laurel] seeds and two parts of *terra sigillata* [fine clay], let all of it be kneaded in olive oil, and the taking [i e , dosage] of it should be like the size of an almond, with one third of an ounce of honey water Let him drink this, and even if he takes thereafter a deadly poison, it will remain in its place [that is, will save him] And if he drinks thereafter (f 33a) a deadly poison, the *qambasa* [?] will be renewed and the deadly poison will have to come out in vomit due to its cleansing power

The remaining page and a half of the text deals with astrological mag ical matters, with divination with the help of a homunculus created by melting certain metals at a certain astrologically determined hour, and with methods of obtaining honor, riches, happiness, and so forth It closes with this personal note

Do not let this become known to anybody besides you, O esteemed disci ple May God bless you with the good and even path which I myself have taken when I came out of the cave in which I hid and was secluded, and this is the reason of my rising high and of the greatness of my wisdom, and of the respect people have for me I advise you to make one [magic homuncu lus] for yourself, and carry it with you hidden and always, and you will succeed in all your affairs, with the help of God

This conclusion, added to the rest of the contents of the *Iggeret ha-Sodot*, makes it clear that this treatise could not have been written by Maimonides Who, then, was its author? He is anonymous, but we can make an educated guess as to where he lived He uses Arabic terms and translates them into La^caz, that is Spanish or Italian—it is often difficult to distinguish between the two in the Hebrew transliteration For exam ple, he repeatedly uses the Arabic term for zinc oxide and other chemical substances, which in the original Arabic is *tutiyah*, but in most cases spells it *tusiah*, which reflects the Spanish form of the word, *tucia* This, together with the other La^caz words he quotes, indicates that the author was a Sephardi Jew who was familiar with both Arabic and Spanish al-chemical terminology He probably lived in Christian Spain, or in one of the Arabic-speaking countries in which the Sephardi exiles found refuge after their 1492 expulsion from Spain

The Moscow manuscript of the treatise[3] is not identified as attributed to Maimonides, probably because its beginning is missing, but the very first extant lines say (as does the Munich manuscript), "I have already informed you in the esteemed treatise *Guide of the Perplexed*," and so on What follows is the translation or description of those parts in the Moscow manuscripts which are not contained in the Munich version

(F 87b) Another thing To make *aljawhar* [A , pearls], many in number, big in size Take them and pound them to dust, cleanly, in a glass or metal mortar, and put it into the juice of lemons *almustaqtir* [A , destillateur] in a *qar^cah* [A , *qa^cran*, bowl] and alembic, and let them soak there nine days, and take of that dough and make a round shape as you wish, let it [sit or soak] *fī sadaf al-bahr* [A , in a sea shell] of the weight of three *pelras* [*perlas*, S , pearls], and the juice of two *limones* [S , lemons], and put it in a glass vessel into the sun, and then make it round and pierce it with the hair of a pig, and [put] in it the hair of a horse, and dry it well in the shade, and then take it and put it into the back of a fish called *dintul* or *diltabah* in La^caz (which you should tear open at its back, and then put it into the back) or into a piece of old beef meat, and cut it in two, and make holes in the middle of the cut part on both sides so that those stones should each fall into a hole, and tie it with a copper thread or another thread, very strongly, so that it should not open, and put it into dough and bake it and put it into the oven at eventide, and it should stand there all night, and in the morning take it out and let it cool, and after its baking and cooling you will find them [the pearls] hard like stone Wrap them in a cloth with barley bran, and if you don't find them clear give them to a cock or to a pigeon to eat, and slaughter it right away, and you will find them clear *taram* [?] stone Then wrap them in a cloth with barley bran, and behold this proce dure is very good DO IT AND SUCCEED! And be very careful about their purity at the time of pounding and kneading and baking, lest dust or pow

der or any other thing dull its shine And in another version I found that one should keep it in its [the fowl's] belly two or three days, or a day and half a night And if you don't find them in the feces, in any case slaughter it, and experience will show the truth

(F 88a) ANOTHER Take the small pearls which are called *lulu* [A , pearl], and put them in a small flask and hang them inside a barrel of strong vinegar, fifteen days, and let the flask be two fingers above the vinegar And at the end of fifteen days you will find that all of them have become a kind of dough Break that flask and take out the dough, and make of it round shapes as you wish, and glue them and pierce them with the hair of a pig, and put them in the shade, in cleanliness, for three days, until they dry thoroughly, and then put them into a fish in a dough of barley, and bake it in the oven as proper, and take it out and leave it until the bread dries, and then take them out they will be strong and hard, but not clear Give them to eat to a pigeon or a cock, let it hunger two days, and then slaughter it, and take them out and wash them in rice water, and wrap them in a cloth with barley bran, and then they will be pure, clean, and clear

THE CUTTING OF CRYSTAL Grind the crystal very thoroughly, and then soak it in the sour water of the *ethrog* [citron] and in a little *tinkar* [A , chrysocolla, silicate of copper], and then melt it, and it will become like yeast, and roll it in the intestines of a sea fish, and pierce it with the hair of a pig, and then put it into the belly of the fish, and put it in dough into the *forno* [I , oven], and then take them out, and behold it is finished

(f 89a) ANOTHER MATTER Take of tin as much as you like, and melt it, and after the melting put it instantly into juice of lemons or juice of sour citron, then put it in melted fat, and then in cold water, then in the juice of onions, then in juice of garlic, and then in water in which *allabi* [ʾ] fruit was cooked, then melt it another time with its own weight of moon [i e , silver], and it will be very good yellow [i e , gold]

The long section contained in Moscow manuscript, folios 89b–91a, is identical (except for minor variations) with the text of Abufalah's al chemy, folios 8b–10a, which we presented above in Chapter 7 The inclu sion of this section in a treatise attributed to Maimonides is an example of the nonchalance with which medieval alchemical writers manipulated source material, disregarding its original authorship and attributing it to more famous and hence more prestigious authors Alchemical instruc tions written by the relatively unknown Abufalah were of no great mo ment, the same instructions, if presented as originating from the great Maimonides, gained enormously in value and significance

Then the unknown author continued

(f 91a) KNOW my brother that just as there exists and is known the virtue of the precious stone for the transmutation of all kinds of metals into a kind

of gold, so there exists the virtue with which they can be transmuted into a kind of silver, if in its composition silver is put instead of gold, and you follow all the rules of the operation as mentioned, but each time put silver instead of gold. But do all the mentioned [word illegible] with quicksilver and *salamoniaq* [sal ammoniac] alone as mentioned in that operation, and you do not need to add anything else. And this is the operation which King Alexander used to perform for a long time, until the operations of the soul water and the hair water and the ashes of the viper and others were verified by him, and then he returned to the practice of the Work of this precious stone.

AND BEHOLD here are other descriptions, also in the operation of the congealing of quicksilver as stipulated, and it is an honored and important operation, and the abovementioned kind was used to perform it, and I extracted it from the book of Baraḥia the Indian. Take a loadstone and put it in a new pot, then put [a mixture] of quicklime stone and *zarnīkh* [arsenic] powder on top and below until it is well covered, and then seal its mouth well, and put it on gentle fire for six days, and remove it during the nights, and then when it cooled down open it and you will see some powder, and if it is not yet a powder return it to the fire until it becomes a powder when it cools, and then take [some] of the quicksilver and heat it in fire in a melting pot, and put on it one part of the powder for six of it, and shake it all around on the fire until it is mixed well, and it will become hard like a stone, and you can do with it all Work as with good silver.

(f. 91b) ANOTHER DESCRIPTION. This was the custom of our friend. Take of the quicksilver water and the sal ammoniac whose work in the operation of the precious stones is known, eighteen parts, and combine them with five parts of good and powdered silver, and put everything in a glass vessel on the fire in the pot with oil, and cook it well in the vessel with oil, and it will become congealed. If you put one part of this on fifty parts of quicksilver it will become good silver.

ANOTHER DESCRIPTION, also his. Take juice of the roots of *zarāwand* [P., A., aristolochium] and *sūsī* [sūsan, A., lily], and put into it [some] of the quicksilver, and there it will thicken a little, and then sublimate it in the known vessel according to the known method, and then put it in the live burning water whose work is already known among the expert physicians, and one should not expatiate on telling its Work, and there it will also harden, and then put it in the melting pot and melt it and throw it into the abovementioned water, and it will become very hard, and it will do for every Work.

ANOTHER, and this is from among the secrets of the esteemed desertic f[lower] *hāl ʿalbīn* [marginal note: another version: *hāl ʿalkan*], its round variety, for it has two, one long and one round. Take it and dry it and mix it with one-third of its weight of *ʿaqarqarḥa* [A. *ʿāqarqarḥā'*, dracunculus,

pyrethrum], and knead it with the juice of aristolochium and lily, and dry it, and make a powder. If you put a little on it on quicksilver in a melting pot, it will congeal it within an hour, and it will become hard like silver good for doing any work.

Here ends the Moscow manuscript of the pseudo-Maimonidean alchemical treatise. It is followed by four pages written by a different hand, containing brief alchemical and medical prescriptions (ff. 91b–93a), one of them attributed to "R. Moshe Zaqen," i.e., Rabbi Moses the Elder. The last piece is interesting: a conjuration in which the words of incantation to be recited are given first in German, then in Hebrew, and then in La'az, that is, Italian.

CONTAINED in the Moscow manuscript is a prescription for the multiplication of saffron, which is an example of the efforts some Jewish alchemists made to increase the supply of certain plants that were valuable and hence sought after for alchemical operations, but not always readily available. The text is found on folio 210a of the Moscow MS 315. It is squeezed in between two unrelated passages, the first dealing with agricultural magic, the second with a philosophical discussion about the character and the attributes of God. It reads as follows:

Take sixty *onqias* [ounces] of *karkom* [H., saffron], which is the most beautiful of flowers, and this number sixty corresponds to the number of queens King Solomon had, who was the choicest of those anointed. And [take] according to the value, that is to say, the weight, of the saffron oil and honey, that is thirty ounces of oil and thirty ounces of honey. And the oil should be very bright. . . . And take eleven ounces of the finest red wine, and seven ounces of *amiro* [?], and one ounce of *guma rabiqa* [gum arabic], and one ounce and two-thirds of *alume* [alum] *satiqo* [or *patiqo*, ?] which is the head of the bitters. Mix all these things together, and put them into the sixty ounces of saffron. Let them be dried, and spread out to the sun or to the wind, and they will become ninety ounces. And do thus always according to the amounts. Behold, you will gain thirty ounces.

However, the good advice is that you should take half of the weight of all these things we mentioned, and put them into the sixty ounces of saffron, and then you will gain fifteen ounces, and do this always according to the weight. And this is its description: Take five *litras* [pounds], that is, sixty ounces of saffron, and take fifteen ounces of oil, and fifteen ounces of honey, eight ounces and a half of red wine, and three and a half ounces of the *amiro* [?], half an ounce of gum arabic, two thirds and a half of *roza* [?], one ounce of alume, which is close to three quarters. Pound what is suitable for pounding in a mortar, and then mix everything with the sixty ounces of saffron, and mix them well, and spread it out to the sun or to the

southern wind so that it should dry. And then all of it will be transmuted generously, and you will gain fifteen ounces.

Saffron (*Crocus sativa*), cultivated in Mediterranean regions since ancient times, has been used as a coloring and aromatic agent for food and medicines, and was valued as an antispasmodic drug. The above recipe shows that it was an expensive substance, then, as now, which made it worthwhile for alchemists to bother with procedures to increase its weight by 50 percent, or even by only 25 percent. In addition, saffron also had considerable symbolic value; in fact, the yellow color of the saffron was considered the color of the sun, and as such had a close affinity to gold. Since much of alchemical gold-making concentrated on giving base metals a golden yellow, color, the innate vegetative yellowness of the saffron was considered in itself of great value. Yellowing (Greek *xanthosis*) was one of the four coloring processes—the other three were blackening (*melanosis*), whitening (*leukosis*), and reddening (*iosis*)—which were essential parts of the transmutation of base metals into gold.

THE third (Jerusalem) manuscript containing texts attributed to Maimonides[4] contains major parts of the material found in the Munich and Moscow manuscripts (with minor variations), identifies the author as "the Rambam of blessed memory," and states explicitly that Maimonides "sent this version to his important pupil." The main value of this manuscript lies in additional lexicographic material it contains. Thus the *ashinsa* of the Munich manuscript (here spelled *ansinas*), is identified as *lubān* (A., benzoin). The Hebrew term for *ethrog* peel is translated into Arabic as *qishr utrunj* (citron peel); the Italian or Spanish word *violas* is translated into Arabic as *banafsaj* (violet); the Hebrew "rice flour" is explained by the Arabic *ris* (that is *ruzz* or *aruzz*, rice); the Italian or Spanish *guma arabica* is translated into Arabic as *ṣamgh al'arab* (gum arabic); alum is explained as *shabb* (Arabic for alum or vitriol); the *maribulas* of the Munich manuscript appears here as *mirabulanos qibulas*, and so on.

Two passages of the pseudo-Maimonidean alchemical treatise are found in yet another manuscript, one preserved in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester.[5] That entire manuscript is alchemical, and will be described in Chapter 31. Relevant here are two passages which deal with the pseudo-Maimonidean treatise.

The first is found on folio 15a, and begins as follows: "FOR SUN. The version of the Rambam [Maimonides] of blessed memory which he sent to his important disciple: I shall let you know and enlighten you, so that you should succeed in your wisdom, a thing of high degree. . . ." The rest of the passage is practically identical with the text which was pre-

sented above, from the Munich manuscript, except for a few explanatory additions.

The second passage is on folio 16a and starts with an introduction almost identical to that of the Munich manuscript: "SAID the divine philosopher, to whom God gave wisdom and understanding, our rabbi and master, son of Rabbi Maimon of blessed memory: Since I know the honesty of your nature and the goodness of your qualities and the strength of your mind yearning for wisdom. . . ."[11]

The passage ends on folio 16b with the words, "until here from Rabbi Moshe." Although we learn nothing new from this manuscript, it completes the picture in one respect: a manuscript of which four versions have survived must have been popular and often copied. In more general terms one can say that the existence of this treatise in this many versions, some complete and some partial, is another indication of the interest taken in alchemy by Jewish scholars in the late Middle Ages.

Chapter Twenty-five

THREE *KUZARI* COMMENTATORS

IN THE fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, several Jewish scholars wrote commentaries on Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* (on which, see Chapter 11), and when dealing with the passages in which Halevi speaks of the alchemists they not only explained them but also recorded their own knowledge and expressed their own opinion of alchemy

SOLOMON VIVAS AND NETHANEL KASPI

One of the first of these commentators was Solomon ben Judah of Lunel (1411–?), also known as Solomon Vivas, a Provençal philosopher Solomon was a child prodigy, who at the age of thirteen composed his *Kuzari* commentary entitled *Hesheq Sh'lomo* (Solomon's Desire), which is extant in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library [1] Much of this work is based on the oral explanations of Solomon ben Menahem (Frat Maimon), of whom Solomon ben Judah was a disciple Another *Kuzari* commentary is based on the same oral explanations, written by a second disciple of Frat Maimon, Nethanel ben Nehemia Kaspi, completed in 1424, and preserved in a Parma manuscript [2] The passages dealing with Halevi's view on alchemy are appended to *Kuzari* 3 53, and are practically identical in the two commentaries They read as follows (in my translation from the Hebrew)

> And from natural science is also separated the science of refining, which is called alchemy, and is known for the making of gold and silver out of that which is not gold and silver in actuality, and likewise other metals, and this is because it is understood that the existence of metals is not due to an accidental thing but that each thing develops out of a material that is related to it, and was prepared, as far as its effect and special impulse is concerned, to receive that form And it is understood that the materials which are related to the metals are the minerals, and they are their origin And the scholars of this Work—he [Halevi] intends to say the work of chemistry—are always searching for the things that are the materials related to each of the metals, and they want them to be salts, and [want] to induce them to produce the metals, whether by the combination of many things or by the making of certain known waters and powders and limes And they complete those operations with fire which in the human Works stands in place of the

sun in the work of nature, and for this they need many different vessels of various appearance, such as ovens and furnaces and others of varying appearance and without number.

And they have in these matters books which divide the science and the Work into two parts, and indeed that science is the study of establishing the beginnings of this Work and its foundations, and establishing the causes and reasons of the transmutation of materials from one form into another, for the wondrous [thing] in these matters is that they can transmute any material they want into any other material they want, by divesting it of its form and causing it to assume another form which is near or far [i.e., similar or different]. And the proof of this is that they make silver and gold out of milk and blood and the brain of the skull, and the yolk of eggs, and urine, and the horn of animals, and the roots of many herbs, and the like. And about this they have spoken at length, and [adduced] proofs by analogy, and proofs derived from deduction by reason of having been verified by experiment many times.

And the second part is the description of the Works and the values of the mixtures and the making of strong waters which will dissolve everything, and the pots, and the waxes and the salt and the known manures which are renewed, and the *habaṭa* [? perhaps *hanaḥa*, placing] of the mixtures on the fire, and the measure of their staying on the fire, or all the other vessels which have been named by them, and the description of the vessels which are used in this Work, whether ovens and stoves, or alembics, and the description of the ovens which blow by themselves, and the other ovens and stoves which are different, and of what thing [or dust] they are made, and many other things like these.[3]

In another passage the same commentators discuss the relationship between alchemy and astrology:

Abū Naṣr wrote in his aforementioned book that behold there are natural devices that are common to the science of the stars, such as the work of the shapes [geometry] and the *ṣ'lamim* [images] and the *talasmaot* [A. *tilasm* (sing.), talisman], which is based on the special relationship of certain metals or certain minerals or certain stones or resins [or juices] or herbs to certain planets or certain constellations. And the scholars of this work mix [them] together by collecting their powers, and with it they observe that those stars should be in limited places—you could say by way of example, in their houses or in the house of their honor—where they will have a conjunction under such and such conditions, by observations and an understanding of the evil powers, and many things like these. And when there is a conjunction under those conditions it will produce such [and such] an effect upon the completion of the Work with burnings of incense and fumigations and sprinklings, and this and this will come to pass with the influ-

> ence of spirituality, in a certain known shape it will presage the future and in other shapes avert damage and heal certain illnesses And [some] of these operations in agriculture will speed up the coming out of fruits, and the ways of grafting, and the manners of planting plants, with devices or strange acts at certain determined times, and they have in these things too many acts to be counted [4]

These comments betray a thorough familiarity with both the theory and practice of alchemy and astrology, and despite their overt intention, which is to explain and elucidate Halevi's skepticism concerning al chemy, they are based on an overall acceptance of the premises that un derlay the alchemical work of their day and age

JUDAH MOSCATO

About a century after the aforementioned two authors, there lived Judah ben Joseph Moscato (c 1530– c 1593), one of the most outstanding rabbis, authors, and preachers of the Italian Renaissance One of his favorite ideas, which Moscato expounds repeatedly in his major works, is that all the great philosophers were disciples of the ancient He brew kings and prophets, and that philosophy, as well as other arts and sciences such as music, were parts of Israel's ancient culture, lost during the long period of exile and preserved only in the works of non Jewish disciples of Jewish masters Moscato was thoroughly at home in the secular sciences of his age, and at the same time was a follower of the Kabbalah He left behind two major works a book of sermons entitled *N'fusot Y'huda* (The Dispersion of Judah)[5] and a commentary on Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, titled *Qol Y'huda* (The Voice of Judah) [6] In the latter work, in discussing Halevi's statements on alchemy, Moscato shows himself familiar with, and at the same time critical of, alchemy

> The masters of alchemy and spirituality did not know that what they envis aged were aspirations of falsehood and vanity For behold the masters of alchemy thought that they could achieve the calculation of the heat of fire in a scale and a precise balance until a kind of metal would be transmuted for them into another kind, and in place of copper they would bring gold, just as natural heat could transmute food into blood and flesh And what misled them was that they saw one species develop out of another, such as the coming into being of bees out of the flesh of cattle and gnats out of wine And their heart enticed them to do the same with their charms, for they said, "Have we not seen with our own eyes the transmutation of one substance into another through measured natural heat? We too shall bring fire from the ordinary and shall measure it in such a manner that the process of transmutation of substances should be completed through it " And through this similarity they pointed to the feasibility of their work [7]

To the second passage in which Judah Halevi discusses alchemy, Mos cato appends these comments

> The masters of alchemy think that by means of measured heat they can bring into being what they want, and that measured fire will transmute for them the substance of copper into the substance of gold, or that the fire will bring them what they want, and that there is male fire and female fire And they exert themselves to find such a fire, but their operations are in vain for they can never calculate it sufficiently for their intention And they were misled by the experiments which they found, etc This refers to those who are mentioned there in section 23 concerning the origin of bees out of the flesh of cattle and others that come into being out of putrefaction, which has no relevance, for only [precisely] measured heat causes them to come into being And their heart enticed them to do likewise, and they did not understand that even though they knew of the existence of something, they did not know its cause, how to measure it in a manner that would lead from it to that innovation, nor could they thereafter derive a proof from it to bring about something like it with the work of their own hands That is to say, they found [those results] by chance and not by calculation, and this is called an experiment by chance, when they don't know its measure and the manner of its regeneration through the degree of that calculated heat And he [Judah Halevi] says that this is not similar to what we find concern ing the origin of man through the placing of the semen into the womb, for in that matter the human being has no *pissul* [formative role?] at all except for the active one approaching the passive one, but the measure of their relationship and their value in the proper manner for the formation of the embryo upon the ready material—all this is hidden from the eyes of every living [being], and man can learn nothing from it applicable to his work in transmuting one substance to another And only God can dispose of these proportions in devising their value, as its explanation is completed in the mentioned section [8]

PART SEVEN

The Sixteenth Century

Introduction to Part Seven

THAT THE SIXTEENTH century was a time of special achievement for Jewish alchemy is due primarily to two major Hebrew alchemical treatises written in that period. One of unknown authorship, entitled *Esh M'ṣaref*, The Refiner's Fire, a quotation from Malachi 3:2, is the most complete extant example of the combination of alchemy, the alchemical interpretation of biblical passages, Kabbalah, gematria, and the utilization of magic squares for alchemical purposes. The treatise must have been more popular among the gentiles than among the Jews, for although its Hebrew original is lost, it has been preserved in Italian and Latin translations made in the seventeenth century, and in an English version produced in the early eighteenth.

The second sixteenth-century Hebrew alchemical treatise is important for two reasons. First, because it is the first book-length Hebrew alchemical compendium of known authorship, and second, because its author was none other than the famous Safed kabbalistic master Ḥayyim Vital, whose voluminous writings are practically the only source from which the kabbalistic doctrines of Isaac Luria have become known, and due to which Luria came to occupy undisputed leadership in the Kabbalah from the sixteenth century on. It has long been known in Jewish scholarly circles that Vital was interested in alchemy, but this fact has been disposed of in a brief footnote in the histories of Jewish mysticism. Vital's deep involvement with alchemy, his sustained work in that field, his systematic alchemical experimentation, his insistence that a procedure should be repeatable before it could be accepted as correct, and his detailed and precise description of alchemical processes—all this has been unknown until now, and is presented in Chapter 28 for the first time as fully as possible on the basis of Vital's own manuscript.

Less significant, but still worth mentioning, are the contributions to alchemy of five known Jewish scholars, as well as those of several anonymous ones, whose work survived in unidentified manuscripts. Taken together, these alchemical works make the sixteenth century one of the most original times in the history of Jewish alchemy.

Chapter Twenty-six

ESH M'ṢAREF: A KABBALISTIC-ALCHEMICAL TREATISE

THE METAPHYSICAL-theosophical-kabbalistic foundations of medieval Jewish alchemy are most fully presented in a treatise entitled *Esh M'ṣaref* (The Refiner's Fire), written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic, probably in the sixteenth century. The original is lost,[1] but an Italian translation of it was known to Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689), who included major parts of it in his Latin work entitled *Kabbala denudata seu doctrina Hebraeorum transcendentalis et metaphysica atque theologica* (The Kabbala Uncovered, or the Transcendental and Metaphysical as well as Theological Doctrine of the Hebrews). The three volumes of this work were printed in Sulzbach by Abraham Lichtenthaler in 1677, 1678, and 1684, respectively. My translation is based on von Rosenroth's Latin text contained in volume 1 of *Kabbala denudata* (hereafter *Kab. den.*)[2]

The brief introductory passage alludes to several important alchemical traditions and concepts. The Prophet Elisha is presented as an "exemplar of natural wisdom," for which there is no basis either in the Bible or in the rich corpus of Jewish legend literature, but which was a commonly held tenet among the alchemists.[3] More significantly, the true alchemist, compared to Elisha the healer, is termed "the true healer of impure metals," in accordance with the general alchemical view that the impurity of metals was something like a disease of which the adept can heal them. The first to state this view was Maria the Jewess who, we have seen, is quoted by Zosimus to the effect that metals can be transmuted by the application of a remedy or medicine. The analogy between the alchemical process and the healing of the human body appears frequently in alchemical literature; what is new, and typically Jewish, in this introductory statement of the *Esh M'ṣaref* is the notion that "the true healer," that is, the expert alchemist, must be a person as contemptuous of riches as was the Prophet Elisha. In my translation, which now follows, I retained the names and words given in the original in Hebrew characters, but substituted the customary English transliteration for words given in Latin characters in the original.

CHAPTER 1 (AS QUOTED IN *KAB DEN* 1 116–18)

[*Elisha*] was a most notable prophet, an example of natural wisdom, and a despiser of worldly goods, as shown by the story of Naaman,[4] 2 Kings 5 6, and was therefore truly rich, in accordance with that which is said in *Pirqe Avot* ch 4, "Who is rich? He who rejoices in his portion " For thus the true healer of impure metals has not a show of external riches, but is rather like the תהו [*tohu*] of primeval nature, empty and void This word has the same numerical value as אלישע [*Elisha*], namely 411 [5] For it is a most true saying in Baba Qama 71b that "The thing which causes riches (such as natural wisdom) is instead of riches "[6]

Learn, therefore, to purify Naaman coming from the north, from Syria, and recognize the powers of the Jordan which is, as it were, יאר דין [*Y'or din*], the River of Judgment, flowing out of the north

After a quotation from B Baba Bathra 25b to the effect that the south is the place of wisdom, whereas the north is that of riches, the author offers a remarkable parallel between alchemy and the kabbalistic sefirot

But know that the mysteries of this wisdom [i e , alchemy] do not differ from the supernal mysteries of the Kabbalah For just as there is a reflection of predicaments in sanctity, so there is also in impurity And the sefirot which are in the Asilut [Emanation, the highest world of the Kabbalah] are also in ʿAsiya [Action, the lowest world of the Kabbalah], yea, even in that kingdom which is commonly called Minerals, although on the supernal plane their excellence is always greater Therefore the place of Keter [Crown, the first and highest of the sefirot] is here [in the mineral king dom] occupied by the Metallic Root, which has an occult nature, involved in great obscurity, and in which all metals have their origin Even so, the nature of Keter is occult and from it emanate all the other sefirot

Lead has the place of Hokhma [Wisdom, the second of the sefirot], and, just as Hokhma is next to Keter, so lead proceeds immediately from the metallic root, and is called in enigmatic similes "the father of the subse quent natures "

Tin holds the place of Bina [Intelligence, the third of the sefirot] show ing age by its greyness, and adumbrating severity and judicial rigor by its crackling

Silver is placed by all masters of the Kabbalah under the class of Hesed [Mercy, the fourth of the sefirot] because of its color and use

Thus far the white natures Now follow the red

Gold, according to the most common opinion of the Kabbalists, is placed under G'vura [Power, the fifth of the sefirot] Job 37 22 also refers gold to the north, not only because of its color but also because of its heat and sulphur [7]

Iron is referred to Tif'eret [Beauty, the sixth sefira], for it is like a man of war, according to Exod 15 2, and has the name Z'ir Anpin [Impatient One] from its swift anger,[8] according to Ps 2, last verse

Nesah [Lasting Endurance] and Hod [Majesty, the seventh and eighth sefirot], the two median places of the body,[9] and the seminal receptacles, are the places of the brass of androgynous nature Likewise the two pillars in the Temple of Solomon, referring to these two modes, were made of brass, according to 1 Kings 7 15

Y'sod [Foundation, the ninth sefira] is quicksilver, for it, characteristically, is given the name "living "[10] And this living water is the foundation of all nature and of the metallic art

But to Malkhut [Kingdom, the tenth and lowest of the sefirot] is referred the true medicine of metals, for many reasons Because it represents the rest of the natures under the metamorphosis of both gold and silver, right and left, judgment and mercy Of all this more will be said elsewhere

Thus I have delivered to you the key to unlock many closed gates, and have opened the door to the innermost secrets of nature But if anyone has placed these [things] in a different order, I shall have no argument with him, since all tend to one truth

For it may also be said that the three supernals [of the sefirot] are the three sources of metallic things Thick water is Keter, salt Hokhma, sulphur Bina for known reasons And, likewise, the seven inferiors [of the sefirot] represent seven metals, namely G'dula and G'vura silver and gold, Tif'eret iron, Nesah and Hod tin and copper, Y'sod lead, and Malkhut will be the metallic woman and the Luna of the wise, and the field into which ought to be cast the seeds of secret minerals, namely the water of gold, as this name occurs in Gen 36 39

But know, my son,[11] that such mysteries are hidden in these things as no human tongue can utter Therefore I shall no more offend with my tongue, but will keep my mouth shut, from Ps 39 2

CHAPTFR 1 (CONTINUED IN *KAB DEN* 1 235–36)

גיחזי, Gehazi, the servant of Elisha, is of the type of the vulgar students of nature who set about contemplating the valleys and profundities of nature, but do not descend into its secrets, wherefore they labor in vain and remain servants forever They give counsel about procuring the son of the wise, whose generation is impossible for nature, 2 Kings 4 14 But they can contribute nothing to this generation (for which a man like Elisha is required) For nature does not open her secrets to them, cf verse 26, contemns them, verse 30, and the resuscitation of the dead to life is impossible for them, verse 31 They are covetous, 5 20, are liars and deceivers, verses 22, 25, and garrulous, narrators of others' deeds, 2 Kings 8 4, 5, and instead of riches they acquire leprosy, that is, disease, contempt, and poverty, 5 27 For the

word גיחזי [*Gehazi*] and the word חול [*hol*], profane, common, both have the same numerical value

Chapter 2 starts in *Kab den* 1 227–28, which contains a lengthy discussion of the various kinds of gold, and the analogy between them and the ten sefirot The same subject is continued in *Kab den* 1 301–2 Then, on pages 303–5, it speaks of the office of the physician

I, the insignificant one,[12] write these things according to the tenuousness of my knowledge, having diligently searched the occult for the healing of creatures However, what moved me was that which is transmitted in *Zohar Haazinu*, fol 145, chapter 580,[13] about the office of the physician, that I should not desist from the good and right way until I find the best medi cine The words there are as follows "It is written in Deut 32 10, 'He found him in a desert land, and in the waste, a howling wilderness, he led him to find the causes and made him understand, etc ' Rightly so, because he compelled all the husks to serve him Thus far it was written in the Book of Kartaneus [Qartana] the physician He then extracted from this text var ious observations necessary for the wise physician, about the healing of the patient who lies in the chamber of sickness, where the king's prisoners (Gen 39 20) may worship the Master of the World For when a prudent physician comes to him, he finds him in a desert land, and in the wilderness of howling solitude, which are the diseases by which he is afflicted, and he finds him in the captivity of the king

"Here it may be objected that, since the Holy One, blessed be He, com manded that he be caught [by illness], man is not permitted to cure him But this is not so For David says, Ps 41 2, 'Blessed is he who understands the weak ' And weak is he who lies in the house of sickness And if the physician is wise, the Holy One, blessed be He, heaps blessings upon him in relation to him whom he cures That physician finds him in the desert land, that is, in the place of death, where he lies And in the waste, howling wilderness, which are the diseases afflicting him? What is to be done for him? etc [14] R El'azar said 'Until now we have heard nothing of this physi cian, nor of his book Except that once a certain merchant told me that he had heard from his father that in his time there was a certain physician who, having seen a sick man, instantly said, "This one will live, that one will die," and that it was reported to him that he was a just and true man who feared sin, and that if anyone was unable to get the things he needed, he himself would obtain them, and supply them from his own And it was said that in the whole world there was no wise man like him, and that he achieved more with his prayers than with his hands And when we supposed that this man was the very same physician, the merchant replied, "Certainly, his book is in my possession, having obtained it from the inheritance of my father And all the sayings of that book are hidden in the mystery of the Law And in it

we find profound secrets and many remedies, which it is not permitted to apply save to those who fear sin, etc."[15]

"R. El'azar said: 'If that book is in your possession, lend it to me.' He answered: 'I shall, so as to show you the power of the sacred light.' And we have heard that R. El'azar had said: 'That book was in my hands for twelve months, and we found in it sublime and precious lights, etc.' And we have found in it many kinds of remedies, ordered according to the requisites of the Law, and profound secrets, etc., and we said, 'Blessed be the Merciful One who bestows wisdom on men from the supernal wisdom, etc.' Thus far there."[16]

This moved me to seek similar good and secret books, and with the good hand of God over me I found that which I now shall teach you. And the camea[17] of this metal is altogether wonderful for it consists of six times six partitions of reticulations, everywhere showing the admirable virtue of the letter *vav*,[18] related to Tif'eret [Beauty]. And all the columns and lines, as well as from the bottom to the top and from right to left and from one corner to another, give the same sum, and you can vary the same ad infinitum. And the various totals always observe the position that their lesser number[19] is always either 3 or 9 or 6, and again 3, 9, 6, and so on. Now I shall present an example whose sum represents the number 216 [which is the numerical value of] אריה [*arye*], our wonderful lion, 14 times, which is the numerical value of זהב [*zahav*], gold [see Figure 26.1].

11	63	5	67	69	1
13	21	53	55	15	59
37	27	31	29	45	47
35	33	43	41	33	25
49	57	19	17	51	23
71	9	65	7	3	61

Figure 26.1. Magic square for gold: "Compute and grow rich!"

CHAPTER 3 (IN *KAB. DEN.* 1:483–85)

כסף [Kesef], silver, is under G'dula on account of whiteness, which denotes mercy. And in *Ra'ya Mehemna*[20] it is said that by fifty [pieces of] silver, Deut. 22:29 etc., is understood Bina, because it inclines to the side of G'dula [Silver] from fifty gates, *Pard. Rim.* trac. 23, ch. 11.[21]

About metallic things R. Mordecai[22] wrote: Let the red mineral of silver

be taken, let it be ground most finely, then add to six ounces of it an ounce and a half of the calx [lime] of Luna [silver]. Let it be placed on a sand bath in a sealed vial. Let it be given weak fire for the first eight days lest its radical humidity be burnt up. In the second week, one degree stronger, and in the third, yet stronger; and in the fourth [even stronger] so that the sand should not be red hot, but that when water is dripped upon it it should hiss. Then, on top of the glass, you will have a white matter, which is the materia prima, the dyeing arsenic,[23] the living water of metals, which all philosophers call dry [water], and its vinegar. This is how it is purified: R_x [Take some] of this sublimated crystalline pure [matter]. Let it be ground on marble with calx of Luna in equal parts. Let it be put in a sealed vial, again in sand, in the first two hours with gentle fire, in the second with stronger, in the third with a yet more violent, and increased until the sand will hiss: and our arsenic will again be sublimated, with starry rays being sent forth. And since a large quantity is required of this, augment it thus: R_x of this six ounces, and of the purest filings of Luna one ounce and a half, and let it be an aaa. [amalgama], and let it be digested in a sealed vial in hot ashes, until all the Luna is dissolved, and converted into arsenical water. Take of this prepared spirit one ounce and a half, put it in a closed vial of hot ashes, and it will ascend and descend; which heat should be continued until it no longer sweats, but lies at the bottom, having the color of ashes. Thus the matter is dissolved and putrefied. Take of this ashy matter one part, and of the aforementioned water half a part, mix them and let them sweat in a glass as before, which will happen in about eight days. When, thereafter, the ashy earth begins to whiten, take it out, and let it be imbibed with five washings of its lunar water, and be digested as before. Let it be imbibed the third time with five ounces of the same water, and coagulated as before, for eight days. The fourth imbibition requires seven ounces of the lunar water, and once the sweating is ended this preparation is finished.

Now for the white work. Take of this white earth twenty-one drachmas. Of lunar water, fourteen drachmas. Of the calx of purest Luna, ten drachmas. Let them be mixed on marble, and committed to coagulation until they harden. Imbibe it with three parts of its own water, until it had drunk up this potion, and repeat this until it flows without smoke on a glowing copper plate. Then you will have a tincture for the white, which you can increase in the aforementioned manner. For [the tincture of] the red, calx of sol [sun, i.e., gold], a stronger fire must be applied. And this is a work of more or less four months. Thus [says] he.[24] This should be compared with the writings of the Arab philosopher,[25] in which he describes the arsenical material in more detail.

Chapter 3 is continued in *Kab. den.* 1:359, which contains further scriptural quotations to prove the correspondence of the sefirot and silver. It is then continued in *Kab. den.* 1:206–8, which begins with

scriptural references to prove the correspondence between the sefirot and iron Then it goes on

> In the natural sciences this metal [iron] is the middle line reaching from one extreme to the other This is that male and bridegroom without whom the virgin is not impregnated This is the Sun of the wise, without whom the Moon would be in perpetual darkness He who knows its rays works in the day The others grope in the night פרזלא [*Parzʿla*, Aramaic for iron], whose minor number is 12, has the same value as the name of that bloodthirsty animal דוב [*dov*], bear, whose number is also 12 And this is that mystical thing of which it is written in Dan 7 5[26] "And behold an other beast, a second like unto the bear, stood on one side, and [there were] three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth, and thus they said to him Arise, devour much flesh!" The meaning is that in order to constitute the metallic kingdom, iron must be taken in the second place, in whose mouth or opening, which comes to pass in an earthen bowl, a threefold scoria will protrude from within its whitish nature Let him eat בשר [*basar*], meat, whose minor number is 7, that is, פוך [*pukh*], stibium, whose minor num ber is the same, 7 And indeed much flesh, because its proportion is greater than that of the other, and indeed such a proportion as is that of פוך [*pukh*], that is, 106, to ברזל [*barzel*], i e , 239, such shall be the iron to *pukh*

Our text continues in this vein to explain alchemically Dan 7 6, 7, 11 Then follows the conclusion of chapter 3

CHAPTER 3 CONCLUSION (IN *KAB DEN* 1 683–84)

> In the history of metallic natures pertains the story of Phinehas, Num 25 7, where by fornicators is understood the masculine [arsenical] sulphur and the dry water[27] improperly mixed together in the mineral By the spear of Phinehas is meant the force of iron acting upon matter to expurgate it of dross By which iron not only is that masculine [arsenical sulphur] com pletely killed, but also the woman herself is at length mortified So that the miracle of Phinehas can be applied to this not unfittingly See Targum, ad loc [Num 25 7] For the nature of iron is wonderful, which is also shown by its camea, which is as follows [see Figure 26 2], where the number ד [5] and its square כד [25] denote the feminine nature which is corrected by this metal

CHAPTER 4 (IN *KAB DEN* 1 185–86)

> בדיל [*B'dil*] tin In natural science this metal is not greatly used For, since it is derived by separation, its matter remains separate from the universal medicine Among the planets Sedeq [Jupiter] is attributed to it, a whitish wandering planet to which the gentiles applied an idolatrous name whose mention is forbidden, Exod 23 13 [and for which] a major extirpation is promised, Hos 2 15, Zech 13 2 Among the beasts no allegory is better

11	24	7	20	3
4	12	25	8	16
17	5	13	21	9
10	18	1	14	22
23	6	19	2	15

Figure 26.2. Magic square for iron.

referred to than that, because of its crackling, it should be called חזיר מיער [*ḥazir miyaʿar*], a boar out of the wood, Ps. 80:14, whose [letters give the] number 545, which is not only produced by five times 109, but whose minor number shows a quinary, as does the name [*ṣedeq*], 194, which numbers, if added up, make 14, and they [if added up] make 5. Which, taken twice, is 10, the minor number of the word בדיל [*b'dil*], by adding together [the two digits of] 46. But five times ten shows the fifty gates of Bina, and the first letter of the sefira Neṣaḥ, which are the sefirotic classes to which this metal is referred.

In particular transmutation of its sulphurous nature does not come forth, but with other sulphurs, especially of the red metals, it reduces thick water duly terrified into gold, so also into silver if it is introduced into thin water of a subtle nature, by quicksilver, which among others is made well enough by tin. But its viscous and watery nature can be ameliorated into gold if it be pulverized with the calx of gold for ten days, through all degrees of fire, and if it is thrown upon liquid gold in the form of little globules, gradually, which, I am taught, is to be done also with water. But no man is wise unless experience is his master.

I add no more. He who is wise can correct natures and where they are deficient help by experiments.

CHAPTER 4 CONTINUED (IN *KAB. DEN.* 1:676)

קסטרא [*Qastra*, or qassitera], tin. See בדיל [*b'dil*]. Its camea[28] is as follows [see Figure 26.3].

4	14	15	1
9	7	6	12
5	11	10	8
16	2	3	13

Figure 26.3. Magic square for tin.

The number resulting from every side is ד"ל [*dal*, 34], representing the tenuity and vileness of this metal[29] in metallic operations

CHAPTER 5 (IN *KAB DEN* 1 271–73)

הוד [Hod, Majesty] in the wisdom of nature is of the class of brass For its color expresses the nature of G'vura [Power] which this sefira has And the use of brass was not alien to instruments of praise and music, 1 Chron 15 19 And in war brazen bows were used, 2 Sam 17 5, 6, 38

But just as Hod is girded by the serpent, so the name נחשת [*n'hoshet*], brass, refers in its root to נחש [*nahash*], serpent

The seventy talents of brass of the offering, Exod 38 29, represent seventy princes For around this place the power of the husks [evil spirits or entities] is the greatest Hence Hod is a degree of prophetic representation, since from the root נחש [*nhsh*] comes נחשים [*n'hashim*] enchantments, Num 23 23, 24 1 But he who wants to be careful will find that Hod has its special decade, and likewise in the history of brass he can easily gather a decade from the Law For can that offering of brass, in general form, from which subsequently vessels were made for the Tabernacle, Exod 38 39, not be referred to Keter, since all other degrees originate from it? Does not the laver of brass, Exod 30 18, refer to the nature of Hokhma [Wisdom] from which a flow is sent down to all the inferiors? But its basis, which was also brass, is Bina [Intelligence], for it is in it that Hokhma resides

In the sequel our author continues in the same vein to discuss the significance of brass, its relationship to the sefirot, and its correspondence to the planet Venus. The conclusion of chapter 5 is found in *Kab den*. 1:570.

CHAPTER 6 (IN *KAB DEN* 1 345–46 AND 625–26)

In metallic doctrine Hokhma is the grade of lead, or the primordial salt in which the lead of the wise lies hidden But how can such a sublime place be attributed to lead, which is such an ignoble metal? And which Scripture so rarely mentions?

But here lies Wisdom! Both of its grades are kept very secret, hence very little mention is made of it Yet there will be no absence of a number of particular sefirot For may not that which in Zech 5 7 is called "a lifted-up talent of lead" and brought up from the deep, represent the grade of Keter? And that which is called, Zech 5.8, "stone of lead" sets before itself the letter Yod which is in Hokhma [30] Then in Ezek 27 12 lead is referred to the place of the congregation, the like of which is Bina And in Amos 7 7 אנך [*anokh*], a leaden plummet, denotes the thread of Hesed For אנך [*anokh*] with the whole word[31] gives 72, the number of hesed But in Num 31 22 lead is enumerated among those things which can abide fire, [it] will

be G'vura. But in Job 19:24 an iron pen and lead are joined together, from whence you have Tif'eret, a writer.[32] Again in Ezek. 22:18, 20 there is the furnace of testing, or of grace, and the furnace of judgment, in which there is also lead. Hence Neṣaḥ and Hod, for thence ought to flow a river of silver.[33]

And Jer. 6:29 [refers to] the furnace of testing out of which, by means of lead, good silver is expected. Is not the just man, and he that justifies, the Y'sod [Foundation]?[34] But if you seek the bottom of the sea, contemplate the passage in Exod. 15:10, where occurs the notion of Malkhut. This is the Red Sea from which can be extracted the Salt of Wisdom, and across which the ships of Solomon fetched gold.

The continuation of chapter 6, containing further kabbalistic and alchemical explanations of the significance of lead, is found in *Kab. den.* 1:625–26, not translated here. This is followed, pages 151–52, by kabbalistic and alchemical explanations of the various Hebrew names for lion, likewise omitted here, except for our author's comments on *k'fir*:

Moreover, the words כפיר [*k'fir*], young lion, and ירק [*yereq*], greenness, have both the numerical value of 310. And it is known in the metallic mysteries that at the very outset there occurs the enigma of the Lion of the green growth, which we call the Green Lion,[35] which, I pray you, do not reckon that it is thus called for any other reason but its color. For unless your matter be green, not only in that immediate state before it is reduced to water, but also after the water of gold is made thereof, you must remember that you must thus amend your universal dry process.

CHAPTER 7 (IN *KAB. DEN.* 1:455)

ירדן [*Yarden*, Jordan] denotes a mineral water, useful for cleansing metals and leprous minerals. This water flows from two sources, one of which is called יאר [*y'or*], that is, fluid, having the nature of the right and benign. The other is called דן [*dan*], that is, rigorous and of a rough nature.[36] But it flows through the Salt Sea, which ought to be noted, and finally it is thought to be mixed with the Red Sea,[37] which is a sulphurous matter, masculine, and known to all true artists.[38] . . . But know that the name זכו [*zakhu*],[39] purity, multiplied by 8, the [minor] number of Y'sod [Foundation: 33], produces the number of סדר [*seder*], order, 264. Which number is also contained in the word ירדן [*yarden*], so that you remember that at least eight orders of purification are required before true purity ensues.

CHAPTER 7 CONTINUED (IN *KAB. DEN.* 1:441–43)

Y'sod in natural things contains under it quicksilver because this is the foundation of the whole art of transmutation. And as the name אל [El, God] indicates the nature of silver, because both belong to the class of

Ḥesed (but here the inferior Ḥesed, Y'sod), so the name אל חי [El Ḥay, the Living God] is, as it were, the same as כסף חי [*kesef ḥay*], living silver [i.e., quicksilver]. And so כוכב [*kokhav*, Mercury], star, the name of the planet under which is this material, is, together with the whole word, 49, which is the number of אל חי [El Ḥay].

But remember that not all quicksilvers are conducive to your work, because they differ even as flax and hemp or silk [differ], and you would in vain prepare flax so that it attain the fineness and splendor of byssus [fine linen cloth].

And there are also those who think that it is a sign of legitimate water if, mixed with gold, it presently effervesces. However, the solution of common quicksilver precipitated by lead evinces this; and what will it effect? Verily, I tell you that there is no other sign of a true quicksilver but this: that in proper heat it invests itself with a skin that is the purest of refined gold, and this in a very little time, yea, in one night. This is that which, not without mystery, is called כוכב [*kokhav*], star, from which, according to the natural Kabbalah, Num. 24:17, "Out of Jacob comes a star," or, plainly, arise the shapes of rods and branches, and from this star flows this influence of which we speak.

This quicksilver is called in the Gemara, tractate Gittin, chapter 7, folio 69b, אספירכא [*ispirkha*],[40] that is *aqua spherica* [spherical water], because it flows from the mundane sphere. And in Gen. 36:39 it is called מהיטבאל [Mehetabel], that is מי הַטבלָא [*me hat'vula*], water of immersion, by a transposition of letters, because in them the king is immersed to be purified; or, as it were, מי אל הטוב [*me el hatov*], by a similar metathesis, "the water of the good God," or living silver, for life and good have equal power, as have death and evil. This is called "The daughter of מטרד [*Matred*]," that is, as the Targum teaches, the goldmaker laboring with assiduous weariness.[41]

For this water does not flow from the earth, nor is it due out of mines, but is produced and perfected through great labor and much diligence. This wife is called מי זהב [Me Zahav], water of gold, or such water as emits gold. If the artist be betrothed to her, he will beget a daughter who will be the water of the royal bath. Although others consider this bride to be waters which are made out of gold, however, the poor men leave her to be espoused by magnates.

The husband of Mehetabel is that Edomite king and [king] of redness[42] who is called הדר [Hadar], splendor, that is, the splendor of the metallic kingdom (Dan. 11:20), which is gold. Namely, such [gold] which can be referred to Tif'eret, for הדר [Hadar] represents 209, which number is obtained also from the Tetragrammaton multiplied by 8, which is the number of [the day of] circumcision, and of Y'sod if the whole word is added.

But so that you may know that what is understood is Tif'eret of the degree of G'vura, know that the same number added to the whole is also contained in יצחק [Yiṣḥaq], which, in like manner, is of the class of gold.

The city of that king is called פָּעוּ [Paʿu], from brightness, according to Deut. 33:2. Both this name and the name יוסף [Yosef], by which Y'sod is designated, have the number 156, so that you should know that quicksilver is required for the work, and that outside this splendid city royal glory does not reside.

Here belongs another epithet, אלהים חיים [*Elohim ḥayyim*, Living God], as if it were called "living gold," for Elohim and gold denote the same measure. But this water is so called because it is the mother and principle of the living gold. For all other kinds of gold are thought to be dead, only this one excepted.

Nor will you err if you attribute to it another epithet, for it may be called מקור מים חיים [*m'qor mayim ḥayyim*], source of living waters. For by this water the king is revived, so that he may give life to all metals and living things. The camea[43] of this water is evidently wonderful, and it exhibits in like manner the number חי [*ḥay*], living, [by yielding] eighteen times the same sum in a square of 64 numbers which is the sum of the name מי זהב [*Me Zahav*], water of gold, in infinite variability, in this manner [see Figure 26.4].[44]

8	58	59	5	4	62	63	1
49	15	14	52	53	11	10	56
41	23	22	44	45	19	18	48
32	34	35	29	28	38	39	25
40	26	27	37	36	30	31	33
17	47	46	20	21	43	42	24
9	55	54	12	13	51	50	16
64	2	3	61	60	6	7	57

Figure 26.4. Magic square for *mē-zahav*, water of gold.

Here you have the sum of 260 from bottom to top, from right to left, and diagonally. Of which the minor number is 8, the number of Y'sod. Also, the root of the whole square is 8. The symbol of the first sum is 260, which is סר [*sar*], [meaning] went back, because in going forward the sum always

goes backward through the units For example, if you begin with 2, the sum will be 268, which can be resolved in 7 Beginning with 3, it will be 276, which can be resolved in 6, and so forth, through the rest [45] And like wise, when the number of purifications increases, the weight of your waters decreases

CHAPTER 8 (IN *KAB DEN* 1 430)

Among the enigmas of natural things [is the fact that] the name of a Dove is never applied to metals, but [only] to the ministering and preparing of nature He who understands here the nature of the burnt offering will not take turtles but two young male doves, Lev 1 14, 12 8, 14 22 But count the word בני [*b'ne*, sons of] 62, and a pair of doves, whence the word נוגה [*nogah*, splendor, or Venus], 64, which is the name of the fifth of the plan ets, and you shall go the true way Else, "labor not to be rich, from thy own wisdom cease Wilt thou cause thine eyes presently to discern it? That will not be But [the disciple of the wise men] maketh for himself wings and like the eagle flieth [so as to obtain the minerals of the star] to heaven Prov 23 4–5 [46]

CHAPTER 8 CONTINUED IN (*KAB DEN* 1 456)

ירח [*Yareah*], moon This is the Shekhina

In the history of natural things Luna is called the medicine for the white, because it has received its whitening splendor from the sun, which, through a similar shining illuminates and converts to its nature the whole earth, that is, the impure metals And from this can be understood mysti cally the passage in Isa 30 26, because, the work being finished, she [the moon] has acquired solar splendor, and in this state the passage in Cant 6 9 pertains to her

By the same name is called the material of the Work, and so indeed it is like the sickle shaped moon in the first state of consistency, and like the full moon in the last state of fluidity and purity For the word ירח [*yareah*], moon, and רזיא [*razaya*], secrets, have in gematria the same numbers, also רבוי [*ribbuy*], multitude, because in this material are found the secrets of multiplication

CHAPTER 8 CONTINUED (IN *KAB DEN* 1 241–42)

גפרית [*Gofrit*], sulphur In the science of minerals this principle is referred to Bina, to the left, because of its color and to that side is gold also referred as a rule And חרוץ [*harus*, lit grooved] is a species of gold referred to Bina, having the minor number 7, which agrees with [that of] גופריתא [*gufrita*, Aramaic for sulphur] Therefore the gold of natural wisdom ought to be *harus*, dug up, or the like, not melted out And this is that sulphur which gives a fiery color is penetrating, and changes the impure earths To wit,

sulphur with salt, Deut. 29:22; sulphur with fire, raining down upon the wicked, that is, the impure metals, Ps. 11:6. This sulphur you must dig up. And it is to be dug up from water, so that you may have fire out of water, and if your way be right before the Lord, your iron will swim upon the water, 2 Kings 6:6. Go then thy way to the Jordan with Elisha, 2 Kings 6:4. But who shall declare the G'vurot of the Lord, Ps. 106:2. Many seek other sulphurs, and he who has entered the house of particular paths, Prov. 8:2, will understand. For the sulphurs of gold and iron, whose extraction is taught by many, is easy. Also of gold, iron, and brass; also of gold, iron, copper, antimony; which are gathered together after the fulmination by vinegar out of the lye (*lixivium*), are changed into red oil with moist *hydrargyrum* [artificially prepared quicksilver] and they tinge silver. But a desirable treasure and oil are found in the dwelling of the wise, Prov. 21:20.

On this moralistic note ends the *Esh M'ṣaref*. It is evident from its text that the author was well versed in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, in the Bible, the Targum, and the Talmud, in the Kabbalah, and the methods of gematria, and in alchemical theory and practice. His treatise can be considered an attempt at unifying these separate disciplines. According to him both the Kabbalah and alchemy contain the same "mysteries of wisdom," and the transmutation of metals, hinted at by gematria correspondences, is analogous to the healing of the sick.

The value of the treatise lies primarily in typifying a specifically Jewish, kabbalistically oriented, trend in alchemy, which differed considerably from the alchemical methodology as practiced by most Muslim and Christian alchemists. We find in its presentation of alchemical theory and procedure an organic connection between alchemy on the one hand and biblical, talmudic, and kabbalistic tradition on the other. By interpreting biblical passages alchemically, our author has, in true alchemical fashion, transmuted the Bible into an alchemical source book. In his view, a true master of alchemy had to be conversant not only with run-of-the-mill alchemical techniques, mythologies, and theories about nature, but also with Jewish tradition; and, over and above all this, he had to be a moral, pious, God-fearing Jew.

One last point deserves mention. In reading this text one feels that its author was only tangentially, if at all, interested in making gold. One looks in vain in the *Esh M'ṣaref* for alchemical recipes such as the famous diplosis of gold attributed by Alexandrian alchemists to Moses. Instead, our author's attention is focused on deciphering the secrets of nature with the help of gematria, which reveals unsuspected connections between stars and metals, and among various metals, thus pointing to the greatest of all mysteries, the unity of God-created nature.

Chapter Twenty-seven

TAITAZAK AND PROVENÇALI

JOSEPH TAITAZAK was an important talmudist, Bible scholar, and Kabbalist who lived in Salonika in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries The exact dates of his birth and death have not been definitely established, but from 1520 on he was recognized as an outstanding scholar and halakhic authority in Salonika, and Joseph Caro in a letter to him called him "the light and the holy one of Israel, the crown of the Diaspora " Taitazak left behind several biblical commentaries and halakhic works, was the head of a kabbalistic circle in Salonika, and the first to develop and utilize the concept of the Maggid, a personalized divine voice, from whom several Kabbalists subsequently claimed to have received communications

In one of his as yet unpublished manuscripts, Taitazak offers a kabbalistic-alchemical explanation of "the mystery of gold and silver " He states that the mystery of Jacob's ladder (Gen 28 10ff) will explain

> also great and fearsome things how you can ascend in the mystery of the ladder, and this is a mystery And thus will be explained to them the mystery of the seven [metals] in the mystery of the ascent and descent And thus will be explained to them the mystery of the supernal gold and silver, and the mystery of the lower gold and silver how you can make it, effectively, in nature, out of all kinds of the seven metals And this is the real natural science, and all of it is embedded in the mystery of the ladder

In the sequel Taitazak states that Jacob and Moses knew this mystery, and in a later context he returns to, and expands, the same idea

> And instantly you will know and understand the whole mystery of the lower world and the mystery of the supernal and the lower silver and gold If you know this great wisdom, you will instantly know how to make, in effect, in the lower world, and easily, each of the seven kinds of metal And this is the science of alchemy, and it is the divine science, as you will understand further when you reach it And he who does not first know the wisdom of the upper world will not be able to achieve it [But he who knows] will be able to make each one of all the seven kinds of metal, and quicksilver, quickly [1]

Scholem, in discussing this passage, expresses regrets that the part in which Taitazak promised to deal with the mysteries of alchemy has not

been preserved, and explains that Taitazak hints that the "select gold of the real Kabbalah is the sefirah of Binah (Understanding), and the mystery of the purification of gold is anchored in the mystery of the god head The melting-pot of the alchemist, in which the metals are purified, is therefore but a natural model of the melting-pot in which one attains the mystery of the godhead in the purification of the holy names "[2]

A study of the alchemical references in the writings of Taitazak, who seems to be the only Jewish scholar to term alchemy "the divine sci ence," is one of the desiderata of the history of Jewish alchemy

JACOB BEN DAVID PROVENÇALI

A glimpse into the interest in alchemy among Italian Jews in the late fifteenth century is afforded by the correspondence between two Italian rabbis of that period It was initiated by David ben Judah Messer Leon (1470/72–1526?), who served as rabbi in Florence, Salonika, and Valona, Albania, a man of vast erudition in Jewish subjects, as well as of interest in the natural sciences In search of information on the latter subject, Messerleon (as he was generally referred to) requested information from R Jacob Provençali on "the views of the talmudic sages about the study of the natural sciences, logic, philosophy, and medicine " Jacob ben David Provençali (dates of birth and death unknown) was a scholar who resided first in Marseille, where he engaged in maritime trade, and subsequently moved to Naples, where by 1480 he was one of the rabbis His response to Messerleon was written from Naples in 1490, and in it he speaks about alchemy

> Let the complete Torah of ours not be like the empty talk of theirs [the gentiles], for that should not be believed in, but only [what they say about] the nature of things, and natural experiments, such as experiments with poisons and herbs, and the powers and mixtures in which the hand of the philosophers is good and reliable, since they stole this from the books of Solomon, peace be upon him, who, as is known, wrote a great book called *Book of the Mystery of Natures* And he wrote that book before the *Book of Medicaments* And our forebears the sages of Babylonia were more versed in the natural sciences than all the other sages and they praised this science very much, I mean the science of the mysteries of nature, which reaches the point where some of the sages give a new mixture to the quick silver to become real silver, or they make good gold anew by an operation, as it is said in the Jerusalem [Talmud] at the end of chapter [?], on the verse "And wisdom keepeth its masters alive (Eccl 7 12) R El'azar said, Like the rich men of the House of Marqo'aya who were experts in the nature of congealing gold, and in the pealing [i e , removal] of silver from dross Thus far his language And this important saying is explained by R Asher

in his commentary to the Jerusalem Talmud That family of Marqoʿin were experts in the science of alchemy and caused the juices of certain herbs to congeal, and made gold out of them And another science which was in their hands was that they were able easily to separate the dross from the silver, and that science is known and famous today But they did not want to reveal the herbs which they congealed and which became gold Thus far the language of the master Hence the conclusion from all that has been said is that the natural science is not at all known today in its secrets For what people today call natural science is but an invented [i e , untrue] sci ence, and empty talk, for these [people] know no real natural mystery, but [only] a linguistic expression, and ways of disputations, in which there is no substance for those who know, and it is not wanted by the enlightened But the science which is hidden today was praised among our sages of blessed memory, for it gave sustenance to its masters in great honor, for by means of that science man achieves great riches in no time, and when man be comes rich he reaches the degree of wisdom [3]

This passage is puzzling for more than one reason First of all, the two books mentioned by Jacob Provençali as written by King Solomon are unknown, although other magical books, such as the *Book of the Key of Solomon*,[4] attributed to him, were well known and often referred to Sec ond, the Jerusalem Talmud does not contain the statement Provençali quotes in the name of R Elʿazar Third, no commentary by Rabbenu Asher (Asher ben Yehiel, c 1250–1327) on the Jerusalem Talmud is known, and therefore his explanation of the statement about the House of Marqoʿaya (or Marqoʿin) cannot be located [5] Since Provençali in-cluded these references in a writing he addressed to a fellow scholar, it is almost impossible to imagine that he simply invented them he would have exposed himself to instant critical censure by David Messerleon Can it be, then, that Provençali had in his possession, or at least knew of, two books attributed to King Solomon, as well as a different text of the Jerusalem Talmud, and a lost commentary on it by Rabbenu Asher?

Leaving these questions aside, one thing is clear Jacob Provençali had knowledge of a tradition about the existence of alchemical expertise in talmudic times possessed by certain families and by the sages in general

Let me conclude this brief section by quoting what Immanuel Low had to say on the subject in his *Die Flora der Juden* [6] After referring to the passage quoted by Provençali from the Jerusalem Talmud as "in vented," and the comment quoted by him from Rabbenu Asher as "al-leged," Low reports that he wrote to the noted historian of alchemy, Edmund O von Lippmann, and asked him what he thought about the method of making gold by congealing the juice of a plant Lippmann

responded saying that he suspected that the passage referred to the "signature theory," which held that yellow plant juices become congealed into gold, white into silver, and so on. "Of course," Lippmann wrote, "this theory goes back to Dioscorides, but it came in vogue in the fifteenth century in a form developed especially by Paracelsus, and an author writing ca. 1490 could well have taken it from this type of writing."

Chapter Twenty-eight

ḤAYYIM VITAL, ALCHEMIST

AFTER MOSES DE LEON, the greatest figure in the history of Jewish mysticism was Isaac Luria (1534–1572). Whereas De Leon produced a great many books, Luria left behind practically no writings of his own, and his impact on the Kabbalah and the recognition of his stature as a highly original mystical thinker are due almost entirely to the presentation of his teachings in the voluminous writings of his chief disciple, Ḥayyim Vital, who effectively played Plato to Luria's Socrates.

Ḥayyim Vital (1542–1620) was born in Safed, Palestine, as son of the scribe Joseph Vital Calabrese, who, as his name shows, had come to Ereṣ Israel from Calabria in southern Italy. In his autobiographical notes Ḥayyim Vital reports that when he was twelve an expert in palmistry predicted that at the age of twenty-four he would spend two years neglecting his Torah studies, after which he would have to choose between the road to Paradise and the road to hell.[1] The prediction came true in the sense that after studying under various mystics in Safed, Vital devoted the two years 1566–1567 to studying and practicing alchemy. In 1570, when Luria arrived in Safed from Egypt, Vital became his chief disciple and remained closely associated with him for the two years that were granted to Luria before he died in 1572, at the age of thirty-eight. After Luria's death Vital jealously claimed to be the sole, or at least the most authentic and reliable, repository of Luria's teachings, and devoted a major part of the remaining forty-eight years of his life to putting in writing what he heard Luria utter during those two short years, elaborating the Lurianic ideas, telling what he knew about Luria's life, and building up in his voluminous writings an image of Luria that was to secure him pride of place not only among sixteenth-century Safed Kabbalists, whose circle included many other luminaries, but also in the history of Jewish mysticism in general. At one point during those two years Luria warned him off alchemy, but soon after his master's death Vital returned to it, and within a few short years thereafter wrote his large untitled book, which deals with alchemy and "practical Kabbalah," and which is the subject of the present chapter.

From 1577 to 1585 Vital was rabbi and head of a yeshivah in Jerusalem. From 1586 to 1592 he again lived in Safed. In 1593 he returned to Jerusalem a second time, and by 1598 we find him in Damascus, where for a time he served as rabbi of the Sicilian community, and stayed until

his death. In all the places of his residence and while fulfilling various official rabbinical functions, however, his main preoccupation remained his scholarly writing, most of it devoted to Luria's Kabbalah. In these books it is not easy to distinguish between Luria's original teachings and their interpretation, presentation, and reinterpretation by Vital, so that ultimately it is difficult to decide whether Vital stood on Luria's shoulders or Luria on Vital's. But one thing is certain about Vital's place in the history of Jewish mysticism: he was unquestionably the most influential author in the Safed circle, and the teachings of "the Holy ARI" ("Lion," as Luria has been referred to by now for four hundred years, from the initials of his name, *Ashkenazi Rabbi Yiṣḥaq*), which have been in the center of Jewish mysticism ever since his death, made their impact in the form in which Vital presented them.

Vital's interest in magic and alchemy has been underplayed to such an extent by the historians of Jewish mysticism that one has the impression that they were embarrassed by the fact that this great Kabbalist devoted much of his attention to such subjects. Typical in this respect is Vital's long biography in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* by Gershom Scholem, in which he discusses in detail each of the books and manuscripts of Vital. This, however, is all he found necessary to say about Vital's alchemy: "He . . . spent two years (1563–65) in the practice of alchemy which he later regretted." Scholem's statement that Vital "later regretted" that he had devoted time to alchemy is based on a passage in Vital's *Sefer haḤezyonot* (Book of Visions) in which he wrote: "[Luria] also told me that he saw written on my forehead the verse 'To devise skilful works, to work in gold and in silver' (Exod. 35:32), which hinted at the two and one-half years during which I desisted from Torah study and dealt with the science of alchemy."[2] However, Vital here quotes the view of his master Luria, and does not express his own attitude to alchemy, which was to remain one of positive interest and active involvement. He may have suspended his alchemical and other practical work during the two years while he was Luria's disciple, but after the death of the master he returned to alchemy, technology, and medicine, as shown by the manuscript discussed in this chapter.

Scholem's article was written in 1971. Fifteen years later Meir Benayahu of Tel Aviv University discussed the Vital manuscript in a paper titled "Medical Matters in an Unknown Manuscript of Ḥayyim Vital,"[3] in which he mentioned that the manuscript contains alchemical material as well. For some reason Benayahu came to the conclusion that the manuscript was written by Vital in his old age in Damascus. However, on top of folio 110a of the manuscript we find these words: "I, the youth, Ḥayyim Vital, disciple of our master the ARI of blessed memory . . .". This entry, written in the same hand as the text of the whole page, shows

that the manuscript was probably written soon after the death of Luria, when Vital was in his early thirties. It also shows that soon after Luria's death Vital took time off from his kabbalistic studies to write this large book, which contains more than 1,500 medical, technical, alchemical, magical, and other prescriptions.

It is time now to have a close look at the manuscript itself, the original of which is in the Moussaieff Collection in Jerusalem.[4] The manuscript consists of 7 + 153 folios of about 7 by 10 inches in size. It begins with seven folios (numbered 2–5 and 7–9) that contain miscellaneous notes in a handwriting other than Vital's, and are evidently of later origin. They are difficult to decipher, but most of them are of alchemical content. The first reads: "*Alanbīqī* [alembic]. In Laʿaz: *aqua ardente* [S., burning water, that is nitric acid], a vessel of burnt water . . . white alum . . . in Arabic *shāb* [vitriol]." This is followed by twenty similar notes giving the names of alchemical substances in Spanish, Arabic, and occasionally in Hebrew. Evidently this is an attempt to compile a vocabulary of the terms appearing in Vital's manuscript. These notes also comprise magical remedies and magical squares for incantations, so-called *qameʿot*, amulets, with angelic and divine names, and so on.

These first seven folios are followed by folios numbered in Hebrew alphabetic numbers, beginning with *beth*. The first few contain another vocabulary and magical recipes, squares, and figures, in two or three different hands. Two of these recipes give instructions for preparing ink for the writing of Torah scrolls and for writing on paper (f. 6a).

On folio 7a begins the clear and neat two-column text written by Vital's own hand. The six folios prior to this are missing, as one can gather from the index prepared by Vital's son Samuel, which is appended to the end of the volume. From that index we also learn that the missing superscription of this first part of the book was "Operations that are performed with holy names or with permutations, which are the external names, or with seals, or with incantations." The prescriptions contained in this part are either medical (remedies for curing various pains and ailments), or magical (interpretations of dreams, how to speak to the dead, the magical use of the herb *santa* [?], and so on).

On folio 10a begins the second part, superscribed "On operations which are performed through nature, and on medicaments and operations that are performed not with nature, which are the ones called *s'gullot* [H., charms]." This part contains a great variety of prescriptions, such as how to fry eggs or fish in a frying pan made of paper so that the paper should not be burned, how to expel smoke from the room, how to make ants flee the house, how to make honey out of grapes and raisins, how to make sour milk, and how to dye woollen cloth. It also contains a great number of instructions for the preparation of practical rem-

edies, such as ointments, kohl for the eyes, and so on. Although in the actual entries Vital does not separate the "natural" from the "not natural," that is, magical, operations, the title of the section makes it clear that he was well aware of the differences between the two categories. Moreover, the details given in these instructions and descriptions show that Vital was not only a medical author and an avid collector of what other physicians before him had said and written, but also a practicing pharmacist and physician, who had many patients and treated them, if need be, for days and weeks. However, the following presentation will be limited to Vital's alchemy, which takes up about one-fourth of his manuscript.

A quite remarkable aspect of Vital's alchemy is its purely factual, technological nature. Vital, as is well known, was a great Kabbalist, a man who formulated mystical doctrines, dwelt at length on the great secrets of the relationship between the Above and the Below, was painfully conscious of the fierce ongoing struggle between the powers of Good and Evil in the world and in man—and yet of all this not a word is found in his alchemical writings. This is the more noteworthy since most Jewish kabbalistic alchemists in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance loved to give a mystical flavor to their alchemical notes by insisting repeatedly that this or that alchemical observation or insight was "a great secret," and it was precisely by doing so that they achieved a fusion, or at least a combination, of alchemy and Kabbalah. Nothing of all this can be found in Vital's long and painstakingly detailed alchemical prescriptions. One gets the definite impression that Vital was able to compartmentalize his thinking and writing: when he cogitated and wrote about the Kabbalah, he was a mystic. When he described magical remedies, *s'gullot, qameʿot*, incantations, adjurations, and magic squares, he was an undoubting believer in angels and demons. But when he worked, thought, and wrote about alchemy he was nothing but a natural scientist who observed keenly what went on in the course of his experiments, and described them with an eye to the smallest detail—at such times the world of the spirit simply did not exist for him.

Vital was also a man of considerable linguistic versatility. Although he wrote his book in Hebrew, in some minor parts of it he switched to Arabic (written in Hebrew characters), and he translated many medical, botanical, and alchemical terms into Arabic. His knowledge of Arabic extended to a familiarity with the differences between the urban and Bedouin dialects. In one recipe, for example, he writes, "For nose bleeding. Take powder of the herb called *ghalqa* [a bitter or poisonous shrub] in the language of the Arabs who dwell in the desert, and throw it into the nostril which bleeds . . ." (f. 24b). In a similar manner he translates words into Turkish, Persian, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and

German In the continuation of the above recipe he writes "And if it still bleeds a little, take the juice of *harulim* [H , nettles brambles], and in Laʿaz *urtigas* [S *urticas*], and in the language of Ashkenaz [i e , German] *urtias*, and put three drops of it into the nostril which bleeds, and let him lie back " On the same page we have this example of linguistic virtuosity "To kill the lice which grow on the head of a woman Take *mio bazaj* in Arabic, and it is called in Latin *estafiza agrias*, [S *agriaz*, china berry] in the Ajami [Persian] language *vazjibāl jayāl*, and take Armenian *bola* which is called in Arabic *tīn Armīnī* [Armenian clay], and take sulphur and white *sirdisinqi* [?] and *minio* [minium] in Portuguese, and it is *azarqon* [*azarcon*] in Spanish Of each of these five things take one *dirham* and pound them well "

As for the alchemical operations themselves, Vital carefully distinguishes among those of which he heard or read, those which he tried unsuccessfully, and those which he tried with occasional success—he groups the operations he describes under these three headings Interestingly, he does not have a category of operations that he performed with consistent success

Folio 34a carries this superscription "THE THIRD PART of operations of the *qimiya* [alchemy] in matters of the seven metals, and I shall start with the making of the melting pot " The first of the numbered sections that follow describes in meticulous detail how to make a melting pot, and is a good example of Vital's interest and expertise in technology

1 To make a melting pot for melting gold and silver, know that there is a special mineral dust of which the pot is made, but there are in it various kinds, for the earth in a certain country is stronger than that of another And we shall tell of it in several ways Behold, if you have [some] of the earth of which the pots are made do this take two parts of that earth, and one part of cotton wool, and if it is old cotton it is better, and if it is chaff of flax it is better And shred the cotton wool into very small, fine, and separate pieces, and then put the earth on a smooth marble stone floor, and put it in a little cotton wool spread and shredded in pieces as mentioned, and put on it two or three drops of water, and pound it with a sledge hammer, etc , so that all the cotton wool should be absorbed, and also that it should be ground and powdered totally until it cannot be recognized and becomes, with the earth, a kind of waxy paste And this is the essence of the whole work And you should have ready a wooden mold of a pot, and press [this waxy paste] onto it and make the pot you want, or shape it between your hands and with your fingers And so that it should not become [too] soft in your hands while you work it, strew on it ashes, little by little, while doing it, and thus it will not become soft in your hands while you work it And make it thin little by little between your hands, until it is finished And

beware lest there be cracks and fissures in it And then do not put it either into the sun or in the shade, but put it on ashes that are a little hot, which are called cinders, and the heat should be very gentle, or beneath the oven, under the place on which one puts the pot for cooking, and leave it there until it becomes very dry And after it has dried completely put it on cinders and fire, and blow it with the bellows until the melting pot burns and be comes red like coals which are a little fiery, and then remove it and put it a second time on hot cinders And all these things are done so that the melt ing pot should not crack when one melts in it

In the sequel Vital describes alternative methods of making melting pots, how to repair them if need be, and how to preserve them Then he goes on to describe the various methods of making *tit hahokhmah* [H , clay of wisdom], that is, philosophers' clay, and the preservation and use of glass flasks (f 34a–b) The subsequent eleven folios (34b–45b) con stitute a veritable handbook of alchemy, containing close to a hundred recipes, covering a great many aspects of treating metals, transmutations, separation of alloys, and much more Among other things he discusses "how to clean a touchstone, called in La'az *toqe* [S *piedra de toquel*, of the gold and silver that adhere to it" (f 34b, no 11) Interesting from the point of view of information on the material culture of Vital's world is his recipe for recovering by burning the silver and gold threads used in embroidering gala clothes (f 34b, no 15)—evidently the society in which he lived included rich people who could afford such very expensive clothes Incidentally, these pages contain most of the standard alchemical vocabulary used by Vital, and, for that matter, by the other medieval and Renaissance alchemical authors, derived mainly from Spanish, Arabic, and Persian Here is a sample (f 37a, no 43)

This is the best operation, in which I succeeded more than in anything else I have tried until now It is to improve the color of gold which is of fifteen *qirat* [A *qirat*, carat] and make it of twenty carats in its color and its tint in the view of the touchstone and in the view of the eye, and it is soft for the hammer and good and beautiful Prepare three operations One is putting together a combination of metals, and the second is kinds of powders, and this is how they are done 1 The combination of metals is this take sixteen carats of purified gold to the value of twenty four carats as is known And five carats of silver refined with lead, as is known And three carats of cop per And first you must purify the copper in this manner take red new cop per or [copper] in which nothing of other metals had been mixed, not even the smell of heating tin, as is known And melt it five times, and each time extinguish [quench] it in linseed oil And if need be, heat the copper in fire until it becomes red like coals, and extinguish it in linseed oil twelve times, but if you melt it as mentioned, it will be much better And melt the three

metals together in a new earthenware melting pot, and throw it in the iron *harīs* [H , mold], and its weight will be found to be a full *mithqāl* [A , a weight equalling twenty four carats], and preserve it And then prepare the two kinds of powders One of them is of prepared silver and *rasukht* [A , orig P , antimony], and the second powder is of prepared antimony alone And this is their matter the first powder is thus take *salnitri* [S *sal de nitro*, saltpeter] and sulphur in equal parts and pound them well and put them in a new earthenware vessel which should not be glazed at all, and put it on gentle fire so that the sulphur should get inflamed, but only to the point of becoming fluid And when it begins to be melted mix them well with a wooden stick, and not with iron And when they melted and are well mixed, pour them out on a wooden tablet to cool And then take of this mixture one part, and *jinjufr* [A *zunjufr*, minium or cinnabar] one part, and *zunjār* [A *zinjār*, verdigris] and in Laʿaz *verdete* [S , verdigris], one part, and *vitriol Romano* which is white from the outside but in the inside it is like the purity of glass which inclines toward the color of sky blue and the color of the leek, and take of it one part, and one part of *bol Armeniqo* [S , Armenian bole, red clay] which, if you break it should be red inside and there should be no blackness at all in it, and *nishādir* [A , P , ammonia] one part, and it should be the cleanest and whitest that it can be, and one part of *alum yamini* [A -H Yemenite alum], and it is like the alum with which they dye the clothes and which is called *alum de roqa* [S *alum de roca*, rock alum], and there are in it white pieces without any redness at all, and they are almost like the *qristal* [S *cristal*, crystal], and this is called *alum yamini* So that all in all there are eight drugs of six of them there should be one part each, and of the first two, the sulphur and the saltpeter, there should be only half a part of each And pound well all the mentioned to be very, very fine This is the powder which is called the powder of eight ingredi ents And then take two parts of this powder and eight parts of red clay, and two parts of *sforea de qana* [S *de caña*, of reed] which is called in Arabic *samg ʿarabī* [A *samgh ʿarabī*, gum arabic], that is to say gum of almonds And pound well each of them alone, and then mix them again very, very well And this powder is called the powder in which there is the *spodio* [ʾ] And take one part of the burnt powdered silver which we shall explain below, with the help of God in no 45, which was burned with the sulphur and the red clay, and do not burn it in any other way but in that manner precisely And take also one part of good and choice antimony, and pound the two of them together very well, and also mix them together, and take of this mixture only one part separately, and four parts separately from the powder in which is the *spodio*, and take the one part of the mixture of the burnt silver and the antimony, and tie it into a thin linen cloth, and make it like a round ball, and cut off that part of the cloth which remains outside the ball, cutting away of it as much as you can so that nothing

should remain but the ball itself, very narrowly And take the four parts of the powder, and divide it and put half of it into an earthenware pot, and make in its middle a kind of pit, and dip the ball into urine, that is water of feet, thoroughly until it becomes very wet And when it is wet put it imme diately into the pit, and put on it the half of the powder which was left, and push it well and squeeze it strongly with your fingers on the stone until it is very well crushed, and then put the melting pot on mild coal fire, and cover it on its sides with dark coals that have not yet been lighted, and it will transpire that the fire will be under the melting pot and not on its sides, until the fire will spread to them by itself, without your having blown it at all, and they will slowly catch fire And when you see that smoke rises from the pot, remove the coals which are at the sides of the pot, and uncover the pot a little, and pour into it a little urine so that the powder should become well moistened, and then cover it again as at first And half an hour later pour into it again a little urine as at first so that it should be well moistened, and do thus three times, every half hour And be careful that the pot should not become red in the fire, for if it becomes red the pot will lose everything that is in it And this is why I told you that it has to be moistened every hour with urine, as mentioned And when the three times are up, as mentioned, then give it a somewhat stronger fire And then take the pot out of the fire and let it cool, and you will find that the silver and the antimony have remained in the place in which you put them in the middle of the powder, and you will find that they have become a little hard like a small ball that is somewhat hard And take it and clean it well of the powders that adhere to it, and then grind it very well, and then wash it in water three or four times until the water comes out clean and pure And then put this powder in a new earthenware vessel or an iron vessel on the fire until it dries, and then take it off And this powder is called the powder of the mixture of prepared silver and antimony With this the matter of the first powder has been explained

THE SECOND POWDER Take one part of antimony, the best and the choicest that you can find, and take two parts of the abovementioned *spodio* powder, and put them into an earthenware pot after you have tied it into a ball, and extinguish it in urine three times, everything precisely as was done with the first ball of the mixture of the prepared silver and antimony However it is not necessary that you should burn this antimony with sulphur, as you did with the silver But all the other things remain the same in all their details And behold this is called the powder of the prepared antimony And know that if you leave this mixture on the fire twenty-four hours and every hour you extinguish it in urine as mentioned, then when you put the weight of one carat of it into one *mithqāl* of gold melted in fire, it will have the color and quality of three carats And if you leave it three days and nights on the fire it will give the color and quality of six carats,

that is to say, if you throw one carat of it upon one *mithqāl* of melted gold of eighteen carats it will improve it to become twenty-two carats However it will not stand up to more than three or four meltings, that is to say, if you melt that gold three or four times it will lose this high quality which it received But if you do this it will not add gold to every *mithqāl* but will only [give] an improvement of one carat alone and it will remain thus for ever

And now I shall explain the completion of their combinations Behold, one which is the powder of the mixture of the prepared silver and the anti mony Take of them one carat and take very good and choice *tinqār* [A *tankār*, alcali, borax] which should not be moist, and it is called good *boraz* [borax], and is also called *bora*, and burn it on coals in a vessel until moisture is removed and its smoke ceases and it becomes very dry and its color becomes black, as is the usage of the refiners And take of this black borax three carats and mix them with one carat of the abovementioned prepared powder of silver and rasukht and pound them well and mix them very well And melt the three metals mentioned at the beginning of this operation, and after they are well melted throw the abovementioned mix ture into them And then take of the prepared antimony alone one carat and pound it and mix it well with one carat of the burned borax and throw it into the remaining three metals as mentioned And then pour it into the known iron mold, and then taste it with the touchstone which is called *toqe* and you will find it gold of twenty carats, beautiful and good and soft And it will be found that there are in it only sixteen carats of refined gold and now it has the weight of twenty five or twenty six carats gold, approximately twenty carats for the *mithqāl* And as for the two aforementioned powders, which are the powder of the mixture of the prepared silver and antimony, and the powder of the prepared antimony by itself, these two powders, if you mix them with the burnt borax as mentioned, they will not survive long but will consume each other And therefore if you wish them to survive a long time, take these powders after they are well washed, as mentioned, and the water comes out pure, and they are well dried Take of them a hundred parts and take of the burnt borax five parts, and mix them well together, and put them aside to be preserved, and they will survive even for ten years And if you wish to operate with them, then take these 105 parts and wash them very well, and dry the metals in fire, and then again mix new burnt borax into them as much as is suitable for its work, as above, and it will be good But as for the powder of the eight substances, including the first powder of the mixture of the prepared silver and anti mony, you can make it on one occasion and it will remain good for ten years

And behold, by the aforementioned acts the color of the gold will tend a little to redness, like the color of the copper And therefore, by [follow

ing] what I shall explain now, its color will be very superior, tending to the color of the greenness [i e , yellowness] of gold and to the redness of copper, and even with a touchstone itself this change can be recognized And this color will remain in it forever, even if you heat it in fire, unless you melt it

TAKE an earthenware or iron vessel, and put into it the powder of the eight substances as mentioned, and heat the abovementioned gold after having made it into something like a long rod, or after having made it into a finished ornament And once it gets hot and red in the fire, put it into the powders in the mentioned vessel and cover the gold well on all sides and above with these powders, and then put the earthenware vessel on gentle fire until the powders are almost consumed and melted And then throw the gold immediately into urine to extinguish it And this procedure will greatly improve its color and its interior and exterior hue, and will also add to it some weight

AND THEN if you want to give it a better external hue, but not an internal one, as the one mentioned, do this heat the gold well in fire, until it becomes red, and then put it immediately into crushed grain or bran of wheat flour, or into fine sawdust of the craftsmen, which falls down when new boards and logs are sawed, and cover it well with what has been mentioned, on all its sides, and leave it until it cools by itself And repeat doing this once more, and then the color will come out very red And then give it the color which is usually achieved by the refiners of salt and alum and ammonia and saltpeter, as is described above in no 36 And do it twice, and its color will come out very superior But this last branlike color will not remain forever, for when you put it into fire it disappears, but it is a very nice color, and is valued more than all the other exterior colors that I have seen, and also it remains as long as it is not put into fire And this color is useful for all inferior gold, to make its color like that of good refined gold, and it remains as mentioned But the color mentioned before is good for all gold in which is mixed copper and which, for that reason, tends to redness, and through it, it will have the color of really green [yellow] gold, even for the touchstone, and even if you heat it in fire, except if you melt it, as mentioned

ALSO know that all gold, if you wish to heighten its color and weight by four carats in every *mithqal*, you can do it in the above manner For example, if you have one *mithqal* of gold of twenty carats per *mithqal*, and after it is melted you put into it one carat of the powder of the mixture of prepared silver and antimony as mentioned, after you have mixed it with three carats of borax as mentioned, then, behold, it will add one carat to the weight of the gold And if you take one carat of the prepared antimony alone, as mentioned, after you have mixed it with one carat of burnt borax as mentioned, and you put it into melted gold, it will add one more carat

to the weight of the gold And also it will add to the quality of the gold, that is, it will improve its color, by one more carat above what it was So that it will add two carats to its weight, and one carat to the improvement of the color of the gold, or a total of three carats And if you prepare the color for it in an earthenware vessel with the powder of the eight ingredi ents, it will improve the color of the gold by one carat That is, it will add two carats to the weight of the gold, and add two carats to the improve ment of its color, improving it by four added carats in its total weight And know that I saw it written concerning these four added carats that there is in it no blemish, nor any forgery at all, but it is a natural thing that even if the gold is melted many times, and even if you give it the known strong water [i e , aquafortis], it will not lose that which has been added to it And now

44 I shall explain the manner of the above operations, and from them you can draw conclusions concerning all the other operations in the *kimiya* [alchemy] Know that every [product of] alchemy, which consists of a mix ture of metals with one another, and especially if there is in it any admixture of antimony, is very hard and not soft for the hammer And therefore the main thing is to be very careful that the gold should come out soft and good and beautiful by performing all your works in a new melting pot into which no refuse has ever entered Also the drugs should all be choice, so that according to their high quality they should add to the quality of the work Also, pound the drugs only on a marble stone, and not in a copper mortar, and if it is possible for the mortar to be of silver, it will be much better For a copper mortar, and in particular if it is *al-mabri* [A , cut, scratched], that is, one in which sand and other metals such as lead and tin and the like had been mixed, they cause two bad things 1 they make the gold into which are put the drugs which are pounded in the mentioned mortar very hard under the hammer, and also [2] such a mortar attracts and takes all the strength and power of the drug which is being pounded in it And beware of this very much Also know that when you mix gold melted in fire, or silver, don't mix it at all with an iron, but with a wooden stick, or with a long [piece] of coal taken with the tongs, and with it mix the melted gold in the pot (f 38a)

On folio 38b, under no 47, Vital writes

All persons who engage in alchemical work must beware of the many kinds of strong drugs that are mixed into silver and gold when they are being melted in fire, and must stay away from their smoke Also they should be ware of the smell and smoke of the strong water [aquafortis] which sepa rates silver from gold, as known And above all one must beware of the smoke that issues from quicksilver when it is on the fire, for it is the quick silver itself which becomes smoke and rises in the air, and it is a danger if it

enters your nose, for the quicksilver is a mortal poison, for out of it is made *solıman* [S or A *sulayman*, mercury chloride, corrosive sublimate] Therefore be extremely careful about the smell of all things that are of quicksilver when it is on the fire, such as mercury chloride, and cinnabar and the like, or when you put quicksilver itself on the fire with drugs

The subsequent items deal with the following subjects

48 How to refine gold from all the impurities in it

49 How to separate gold alloyed with tin, lead, or *alatun* [S *laton*, copper]

50 (f 39a) How to soften hard gold

51 How to liquify the mercury chloride

52 What to do to enable gold alloyed with other metals to "endure the hammer" Also, "How to soften all hard metals or all hard *al-qımıya*" Evidently Vital here uses the term "alchemy" to designate any alchemically produced substance He describes five alternative methods

53 (f 39b) To purify silver or gold mixed with some copper I did not find this written, but I myself succeeded in it after having tried it To begin with, reach an estimate in your mind as to how much copper is mixed in it, and then melt the gold or silver, and when it is completely melted put into it a little saltpeter, as much as is the measure of the copper, and throw it into it little by little, and then pour it into the iron mold, and you will find that at the end of the stick there will be the purified silver alone, and at the other end there will be the burnt copper, something like antimony, and it will break up like dust, and then beat the metal with a hammer, and the rest of the silver will remain, and the copper will jump and break like dust And you must be very accurate about the measure of the copper, so that you don't put more saltpeter than its weight, for then it will also consume [some] of the silver itself And if it is less than the weight of the copper, the silver will not be completely purified

54 How to soften brittle silver

55 How to make gold and silver melt faster

56 How to melt silver or gold which are in the form of thin threads

57 The best way of refining silver and gold

58 (f 40a) How to make two pieces of gold stick together, "and in Laʿaz *soldar* [S , to solder]"

59 How to remove a skin from gold, silver, or copper

60 How to burn copper so that it should become a kind of antimony

61 How to burn tin or lead, "in Laʿaz *qalsınar* [S *calcınar*, to calcine]"

62–64 (f 40b) Various methods of purifying and treating tin and lead

65. (f. 41a) How to make edible salt out of nonedible.

66. How to purify and harden lead.

67. How to transmute gold, silver, tin, or lead into black dust.

68. How to purify copper.

69. The differences between tin and lead on the one hand and the other metals on the other, and the differences between tin and lead among themselves.

70. (f. 41b) On the various uses of *tutia hindia* [A., Indian zinc oxide], arsenic, sulphur, verdigris, vitriol, etc.

71. How to "kill" quicksilver.

72. How to increase the weight of a golden dinar by one or two grains.

73. How to shave gold coins so that it should not be noticeable.

74. How to make a new coin look old.

75. (f. 42a). Operations with *ṭarṭīr* (A., tartar).

76. How to counterfeit any seal, "even if it is on wax." How to counterfeit coins, or seals made of hard metal.

77. (f. 42b) How to engrave and write on iron, "even if it is strong *aziro tinfilado* [S. *acero* . . . , steel]," and how to make molds with which to stamp seals and coins. This is a very long item (over five tightly written columns with two illustrative sketches), which must be the result of extensive research.

78. (43b) The virtues of "the water called *soliman verdete* [S., sublimate of verdigris], with which, if mixed with lemon juice, one can whiten copper coins so that they should be like silver."

79. How to melt lead or tin so that no slag should remain.

80. How to separate gold from the tin, lead, or copper mixed into it.

81. "For all wounds, whether due to a fall or to being smitten with a sword, or a *postema* [S., abcess], and all kinds of growths and *geranqo* [?]. Two kinds of *inguintes* [S. *unguentos*, ointments]. . . ." These medical prescriptions are inserted here because the medicaments prescribed are of an alchemical (or rather chemical) nature: antimony, *mordisenqe*, etc.

82–83. (ff. 44a–b) Recipes for etching letters into iron, and for purifying gold.

Folios 45a–b contain one long unnumbered item which discusses the uses of "strong water," that is, aquafortis.

Part Three continues on folio 48, but under a new heading. It reads: "And these are the operations which I tried, and sometimes they succeeded, but they were not verified by me sufficiently many times." Most of the recipes in this part—numbered again beginning with 1—are medical. On folio 50b, beginning with item no. 43, Vital switches back to alchemy.

43. How to remove the *shibbur* (brittleness) from tin.
44. Recipe for making gold.
45. Recipe for making silver.
46. How to harden quicksilver.
47. How to write protruding letters on soft stone.
48. How to make a candle rise.
49. "To freeze [i.e., curdle] milk without a stomach."
50. (f. 51a) How to dye a sheet of paper green "and in Laʿaz *verde* [S.]."
51. How to remove an oil spot from a silk dress.
52. How to remove grape juice, lemon, or vinegar spots from a silk dress.
53. How to remove a wine spot from a linen dress.
54. How to remove an inkspot from a woollen or linen dress.
55. This item is crossed out.
56. How to clean glasses and glass lamps.
57. Recipe for yawning.
58. How to turn a red rose white.
59. How to protect the water of a cistern from worms, leeches, and bad smell: "throw into it powdered asphalt, or better still, tar."

After this item, quite incongruously, there are three religio-magical items:

60. "I have heard, and also saw proven to some extent, that he who prays the *Nʿīlah* prayer [the closing prayer] in a loud voice serving as a prayer leader on Yom Kippur, will be in danger, God forfend, in that year. Therefore he should be the prayer leader also in another prayer, such as the *mussaf* or the *minḥa* or *shaḥarit* of Yom Kippur."
61–62. (ff. 51a–b). Similar dangers connected with other religious functions.
63–64. Recipes for protection against flees and lice.
65. To know whether milk has been diluted with water.
66. "For him who has suddenly lost something, and it happens sometimes that the demons play with a person and take it." The intrusion of such "superstitious" items among Vital's alchemical, technological, and medical prescriptions occurs in several places in the book.
67–75. (ff. 51a–52a) Medical recipes.
76. "For cheese that it should not grow worms."
77. (f. 52b) For a hen that has been hurt or that does not lay eggs.
78. Very long instructions as to what to do at the time of an epidemic.
79. (f. 53b) General instruction for the preservations of one's health.
80. "For the illness of *azma* [S. *asma*, asthma]."
81–88 (ff. 53b–54a). Recipes for various illnesses.
89. (f. 54a). "For strange fire, which is called *ḥumra* [A., boil carbuncle, erysipelas, St. Anthony's fire]." This recipe is again exceptional,

because it prescribes treatment by an incantation in Spanish, whose text, in Hebrew characters, takes up ten lines in the manuscript.

90–92. More incantations for various ailments.

93–102. (ff. 54a–b). More recipes for various ailments.

103. Another incantation in Spanish for an ailment.

104. For protection against Lilith.

On folio 55a, still continuing Part Three, there is a new heading as follows: "And these are the operations which I have not tried myself, but heard them from tellers of truth. And I shall divide them into two parts: the first part what I have found written in books, which were tried by the authors of those books, and the second part what I heard and received from the mouth of tellers of truth." The material in the first part is medical and is taken from several Jewish and non-Jewish medical authors with whom we need not concern ourselves, beyond mentioning that quotations from Galen, Aristeas, Dioscorides, Tabari, and so on (ff. 55b–58a), are eloquent testimony to Vital's wide reading and familiarity with the Greek and Arabic medical literature available in his times.

On folio 58b begins "The second part on *s'gullot* [charms] and experiments which I got from the mouth of tellers of truth who tested them, and they became verified." This part contains again alchemical, medical, and magical prescriptions.

1. Rub the *qoral* which is called *almogim* [H., coral] with ground nuts, and it will yellow its redness.

2. How to restore the green color of *turqiza* [S. *turquesa*, turquoise].

3. How to "kill" quicksilver.

4. How to purify tin and harden it.

5. How to make a *perla* [S., pearl] which lost its color shiny again.

6. How to use "strong water."

7. How to make lead out of *mordisenqe* [?].

8. How to melt copper quickly.

9. Remedy for scorpion bite.

10. What to do if one swallows deadly poison.

11. "A deadly poison to kill a man."

12. To differentiate between a virgin and a married woman.

13. "Put the tongue of a frog on the clothes of a sleeping person, and he will tell you everything you ask."

14. How to remove an oil spot from clothing.

15–53. (ff. 59a–60b) Mostly medical and magical prescriptions. They include prescriptions for and against pregnancy, against miscarriage, for preventing a small dog from growing, cocks from fighting, wine from going sour, for protecting a person against the evil eye, increasing the milk of a suckling mother, knowing whether the prince is favorably inclined to you, escaping from a person who pursues you with a drawn

sword, forcing the demon to leave the body of a person, and so on. After this excursion into the realm of magic, Vital returns to alchemy.

54–56. (ff. 60a–b) Methods of hardening quicksilver, the use of Indian *tutia* (zinc oxide), and other purely technical matters. It is fascinating to see that the moment Vital speaks of alchemy he becomes the critical scientist whose accuracy and acumen leaves no room for either good spiritual or evil demonic influences. The following can serve as an additional example:

> 57. (f. 60b) To make antimony. Take an oven and put into it burning coals, and put on the coals two stones or two bricks on the two sides of the oven as shown here [Figure 28.1], and again put other long coals which should lie on top of the two stones like beams, in so that there should remain a space between the two stones, and also between the lower and the upper coals. And take a red copper plate with tongues, and sprinkle on it sulphur powder so that the plate should be well covered from above, and with the tongues put this plate in the space between the coals, until the smoke of the sulphur is finished, and then remove it and extinguish it in strong vinegar, and repeat this three or four times, until it is finished, becoming antimony. And its sign is that if you hit this plate with a hammer it will break like glass. And know that if the fire is strong, put into it much sulphur so that it should be done quickly. And even if the copper plate is very thick, about a handbreadth, there [should be] no apprehension. But if the fire is mild, put only a little sulphur, just enough to cover the surface of the copper.

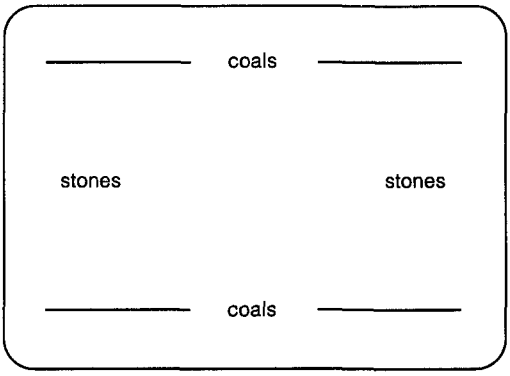

Figure 28.1. Plan for oven to make antimony.

58. (f. 60b) Detailed and complicated instructions for transmuting copper into a silver-like metal.

> Take white *rahj* [A., dust], and it is the *rejalgar* [A. *rahj al-ghār*, cave-dust, whence the Latin and English realgar, arsenic sulfide], and mash it like

beans or almonds. And take seven eggs, and twenty-five *dirhams* [drachmas] of olive oil, twenty-five drachmas of old butter, and mix the eggs and the oil and the butter well until they are like a paste. Then take twenty drachmas of tartar and mash them well, and then mix them very well with the mentioned paste, and it will become like hard dough. And divide it into two, and make of it two cakes. And take a new earthenware pan, coated with ashes, and put one of the cakes into it, and flatten over it the realgar, sprinkled on the cake. And let it enter into it a little, and it will stick to it. And then put on the realgar the second cake, and it has already been said above that these cakes should be like dough, a little hard. And it will be found that there will remain [a little] of the paste that did not mix with the two mentioned drugs, and therefore pour that which is left of the paste over this cake which you have made, and put the pan on mild fire, only under it, and put it on the roof because a strong smell of the realgar will issue from it, and people will feel that it is being prepared. And leave it until the upper cake dries a little, as is done by the women when they make egg cakes baked in oil upon the fire. And it should not burn, but only remain a little hard. And you will find the realgar between the two cakes like moist white cheese. And take it and throw away all the mold that cleaves to it. And take of good red copper eight drachmas, and shape it into thin leaves like paper, and burn them in coal fire, and put them into a mixture of *nishādir* [A., sal ammoniac] and powdered garlic and strong vinegar, up to seven times, and it will become purified as mentioned in section [word missing]. And then melt this copper, and put two drachmas of the mentioned realgar on it after it has melted thoroughly, and wait a little until it thickens and mixes with the copper. And then throw into it one drachma of tartar and one drachma of alum, well powdered, and put it to burn, and then when it is finished pour the copper into an iron mold, into olive oil, and it will come out white like half silver, and better.

59. (f. 60b) The preparation and use of *sal alqali* [S., alkali salt].
60. How to "kill" quicksilver.
61. (f. 61a) How to improve the quality of gold.
62. How to prepare mercury chloride.
63. How to melt copper easily.
64. How to recognize high-quality white sulphur.
65. How to recognize prepared cinnabar.
66. How to make quicksilver fire-resistant.
67. How to improve the color of inferior gold.
68. How to remove the *shibbur* [H., brittleness] from tin.
69. How to prepare gold and silver for alchemical operations.
69(bis). How to "kill" quicksilver and harden it.
70. The treatment of quicksilver with aquafortis.

71. More on quicksilver.
72. How to harden lead.
73. An operation with antimony, sulphur, and cinnabar.
74. (f. 61b) How to *sublimar* [S., sublimate] drugs.
75. The preparation of salt and its alchemical use.
76. How to make the gold heavier.
77. How to harden sulphur.
78. An operation with purified silver and antimony.
79. How to make gold with cinnabar, antimony, iron filings, copper filings, etc.
80. How to make saltpeter.
81. How to prepare *blanqete* [ceruse].
82. How "to give strong *ṭinfila* to the iron so that it should cut."
83. How to recognize the true value of an alloy of gold and other metals.
84. How to prepare a *solver* [?] in an animal's bladder.
85. How to prepare a bladder for the above operation.
86. How to extract salt from urine.
87. How to extract silver or gold from ore.
88. (f. 62b) The true procedure of refining gold.
89–159 (ff. 63a–66b). Incantations, magical procedures, some remedies. However, even here Vital could not deny that he was an alchemist, as can be seen, for example, from the following recipes, which show his use of alchemy for household purposes:
160. To make the roasting spit turn by itself. Put quicksilver between the skin and the meat of the chicken which is roasted on the fire, and sew up the place so that the quicksilver should not come out from there.
161. To make the fish jump and leap out of the frying-pan or of the fire, put quicksilver into its belly.
162. To make wine come out of the barrel, put the weight of two *zuz* [H., a silver coin] of quicksilver, and also a little sulphur, and the wine will come out [by itself].
163–164. Two more similar recipes.
165–170. Medical prescriptions.
171. To remember a dream.
172. How to rid a man of his addiction to gambling with dice.
173. How to make a coin you spend return to your pocket.
174. From the *Sefer haRimmon* [Book of the Pomegranate] by R. Saʿadia ben Saʿid:[5] "He who is bitten [*nashukh*] by a snake [*naḥash*], if he sees copper [*n'ḥoshet*] he will die instantly."
175. How to prevent ink from becoming unclean.
176–181. (f. 67a) More medical prescriptions.
182. An experiment with a *diamanṭ* [S. *diamante*, diamond].

183. An experiment with good mercury chloride.

184–187. More medical prescriptions.

188–192. More magical recipes.

193–196. Again medical prescriptions.

197. On the use of aquafortis, "from the mouth of a reliable expert."

198. (f. 68a) "From the same person," how to refine gold.

199. How to clean the melting pot of the slag remaining in it.

200. "I got this from the aforementioned person." How to improve the color of inferior gold.

201. "Also from the same person." How to recognize *afars'mon* [H., balsam] oil.

202. "I got this from the aforementioned person." The virtues of balsam oil.

203. (f. 68b) From the same person: How to whiten crystal stones which are black when coming from the mine, and sapphires which are sky-blue, and all other precious stones except the ruby.

204. Prescription for tooth ache.

205. How to clean a copper vessel of the tin adhering to it.

206. "Tried. Without any doubt." How to purify silver.

207–208. Medical prescriptions.

209. "A procedure without any doubt to kill quicksilver."

210–395 (ff. 68b–77b). Various medical, magical, and prognostic (divinatory) prescriptions, with occasional mention of the source, such as Rabbi Sh. Sidlit, Rabbi David ben Rosh, "from the *Book Kaf Q'toret*" (Ladle of Incense), a Bible commentary titled *Mar'ot haṢov'ot*, and so on. Dispersed among these are cosmetic prescriptions such as (324 on f. 74a) "for reddening the hair to make it gold," in which Vital's chemical and alchemical expertise is apparent. Later, on folio 79a, there is another recipe for a dye to tint a white beard black. Evidently, attractive appearance was an issue in Vital's circle.

396–397 (f. 77b). Again alchemical prescriptions for hardening quicksilver.

398–435 (ff. 77b–78b). Mostly medical and magical prescriptions, interspersed with occasional chemical or alchemical recipes. Thus 427 is a recipe for hardening iron. Of special interest in this group is 359 (f. 75b), which is a prescription for strengthening loose teeth magically: the "power-word" Vital employs is *tetragran-matan*, that is *tetragrammaton*, which shows that he was familiar, at least to some extent, with non-Jewish magic in which this word was frequently used.

Folio 79a carries the superscription of Part Four, Sub-part Three. It reads: "These One Hundred Tried *S'gullot* [Charms] Were Copied from the Book *Sod Y'sharim* [Secret of the Just]." The numeration of the items begins again with 1 and goes to 111. They constitute a miscellanea

of practical magic, including items that are closer to the realm of prestidigitation than to that of magic. For example, no. 12 (f. 79a): "To make an egg fly in the air. In the morning, prior to sunrise, gather dew and fill with it an egg, and seal the hole well, and put it against the sun, and it will fly in the air." Or, no. 48 (f. 80a): "To show a snake running in the house. Fill the intestines of an animal or a bird with quicksilver, and tie it well on both ends, and put it into the bath or in a warm place, and it will run like a snake."

Folio number 81 appears by mistake on two folios, one after the other. Folio 81a bis contains two large magic circles, and the text next to them explains that their purpose is to prognosticate whether a sick person will live or die. On folio 81b bis there is a new superscription: "I copied this from a book that was brought from the city of Fez." The text begins as follows: "This is from the handwriting of our grandfather the outstanding rabbi, R. Moshe, son of the great rabbi, the saintly R. Levi, of blessed memory, and this is his language: This procedure is according to what my friend R. Abraham son of Levi Almadaʿ testified before me." The procedure itself is a magical prayer for success. (On f. 84a Vital quotes again "R. Abraham Halevi who wrote a book.") The items that follow are again numbered beginning with 1 and reaching 282 (ff. 81b–101a). Again the material is mostly magical and medical, with a few alchemical recipes interspersed. One of the latter, no. 80 (f. 86a, which happens to be missing), was titled according to Samuel Vital's index, "*Qīmīya* for making silver out of tin." Among the authorities quoted in this part are: "In the commentary to the prayers by R. Yosef Ṣīaḥ of blessed memory I found . . ."; "I heard from the mouth of the experimenter . . ."; "Rabbi M. haṢarfati wrote to me . . ." (all these on f. 88a); "A tradition from R. Yehuda haḤasid . . . "(f. 89a); "I received this name as it was told to my teacher and master, peace be upon him [Yiṣḥaq Luria] from the mouth of the G'vurah [divine power] . . . (f. 90b). In between the medical and magical recipes appear two alchemical prescriptions for the "freezing" of quicksilver (f. 92a, nos. 178–179). The second one, after three introductory lines, switches from Hebrew to Arabic, written, as was usual among the Jews, in Hebrew characters, and continues in that language for fifteen lines, describing a method of making gold, and, incidentally, supplying proof that Vital was at home in Arabic. In fact, in these Arabic recipes Vital uses relatively more alchemical terms than is his custom in writing about alchemy in Hebrew, so that one gets the impression that when writing on alchemy he was more fluent in Arabic than in Hebrew, in which he wrote all his kabbalistic works. An interesting detail in this connection is that when writing in Hebrew he never uses the words *shemesh* (sun), the favorite cover name of alchemists for gold, nor *l'vanah* (moon) for silver, but in this Arabic

passage he calls gold *shams* (sun), and silver *qamar* (moon), as do Arab alchemists in general.

On folio 93b there is a recipe for making ink, and another, very long one, for making twenty-four carat gold, followed on folio 94a by instructions for the preparation of arsenic. Still on folio 94a follows no. 193, which demonstrates the extent to which Hebrew-writing alchemists were dependent on Spanish and Arabic. Vital writes:

> 193. The way of *taḥmīr al-ʿabd* [A., reddening the "slave"], that is, the quicksilver. Take the *ʿabd wayadhabuhu bil-bid* ["slave," and gild it with eggs] and then *yuṣaʿʿiduhu* [volatilize it]. Then take lime, one *roṭl*, and four *roṭl* water, and one *roṭl sal alqali* [salt of kali, i.e., potash], and four *roṭl* water, and let it soak two days, and the water will become clear, and take it when clear, and then put again one *roṭl* of the potash on it . . . .

The same observation can be made in connection with no. 194 (f. 94b), which deals with making gold:

> 194. Take cinnabar, and *zāj* [A., vitriol], and verdigris, and red arsenic, and sulphur, and antimony, and *zaʿfrān ḥadīd* [A., iron saffron], and in Laʿaz *qroqos feri* [S. *croco de fierro*, iron oxide], one part of each of these seven. Indian zinc oxide and *dam al-akhawayn* [A., dragon's blood, a red resinous substance, obtained from a plant], and sal ammoniac, of each of these three half a part, and pound all of them well. And take ten boiled eggs and take of their yolk one part, and bees' honey two parts, and knead the mentioned powders in them, and liquify them in the *alanbiqi* [A. *al-inbiq*, alembic] once, and take the remaining residue and pound it well and mix it with the water which flowed out of it, and put it in a glass flask luted with philosophers' clay, and put its mouth down and its bottom up, and seal its mouth with cotton or with cotton-wool, and put strong fire on top of the bottom [of the flask], and put the mouth of the flask down into a bowl which should receive the water that flows from the mouth of the flask, and leave it a day and a night. And again take the residue which is left in the flask and pound it and drench it with the water that flowed down, as mentioned. Do thus until all the water becomes red. And take one part of gold and put it in the melting pot on the fire for a short time, as do the goldsmiths when they melt the gold with which they gild silver. And put on it three parts of quicksilver until they mix like a *m'lugma* [A. *malgham*, softening ointment, whence amalgam], and take it and put it in an iron vessel on mild fire, and put with it [some] of the red water, and leave it to cook gently.

For some reason these two detailed alchemical recipes, as well as the subsequent one, which deals with the treatment of thin silver threads used for embroidering gala clothing, are omitted from Samuel Vital's index, which lists for folio 94b only the four-line religio-magical recommendation for quieting a stormy sea by reciting a psalm and the magical

name *Adirron*, which emerges from that psalm That charm, incidentally, concludes with these words "Tried and tested several times by the writer " It is difficult to believe that these lines were written by the same man who, on the very same page, prescribes the precise and detailed chemical procedures in which religious, spiritual, magical powers have no place at all

This seafaring magic is followed on folio 95a, no 195 by a quotation "From R Netanel the astronomer" discussing methods of dealing with demons, which that astronomer attributed to a certain Asaf ben Berekhia, the author of the *Book of the King* In Muslim folklore Asaf ibn Barakhya was the vizier of King Solomon Nos 196–200 (ff 95a–b) also deal with controlling demons and angels Nos 201–238 (ff 96a–97a) are a mélange of magical and medical recipes These are followed by one of the very few statements made by Vital on general alchemical principles

239 (ff 97a–b) Great rule in the science of alchemy in making gold or silver Know that there is body which are the metals, and there is soul which is quicksilver, and spirit which are all the drugs that are consumed in the fire and fly up and become spirit and are not preserved, and they are *rahj* [A , dust], which is called *rejalgar*, and sulphur, and the sal ammoniac, and the cinnabar and arsenic, and vitriol, and the like And one must at first prepare [or improve] the spirit, which are the aforementioned drugs, until they are preserved in the fire and their impurities are removed from them, which cause them to be consumed by fire And then one must prepare the soul, which is the quicksilver, by removing the impurity from it, so that it should be preserved in the fire, and then one must prepare the body, which are the metals, such as gold or silver or copper or tin or lead or iron, and the like And after all three have been prepared one must melt them and mix them together, and this is called leaven and *iqsir* [A , elixir] And then, when you put a little of this leaven on some dough, such as gold or silver or copper, etc , it will change into what you wish

In fact, there are two kinds of preparations [or improvements] One is for whiteness, and it is for making silver, and the other is for redness, and it is for making gold, and these two kinds of preparations are in [or done with] all the three, the mentioned spirit and soul and body, and therefore the nature of [all] the spirits is not the same, for there is such that is of benefit for whiteness, and another for redness The examples for this are vitriol and sulphur and cinnabar and red arsenic, and the like, which are for gold, and realgar and white arsenic and the like, which are for silver There is yet a fourth aspect, which are the kinds of other drugs through which the mentioned soul and spirit and body are prepared [or improved], as you will find their operations described in books And now I shall explain some works and preparations which are tried

True to his promise, Vital devotes several of the ensuing items to alchemical operations, to wit:

240–241. (f. 97b) How to purify tin.

243. How to purify antimony.

244. The use of oil made of egg yolk.

245. "The preparation of *armoniaq* salt, which is called *nishādir* [sal ammoniac]."

246. How to prepare sal ammoniac oil.

247. "The preparation of sulphur and realgar and tartar, to whiten them and to make them resist fire."

248. "To purify sulphur of its oiliness and to extinuish its fire."

249. "To prepare sal ammoniac."

250. (f. 98a) The making of iron scrapings which are called in Arabic *zaᶜfrān al-ḥadīd* [saffron of iron], and in Laᶜaz *qroqos feri.*"

251. How to calcine thin gold leaves.

252. How to transform quicksilver into a white liquid by soaking it in a decoction of *shinān* [A. *ushnān*, saltwort], which is a herb out of which they make *qalyi* [alkali, soda ash].

253. The preparation of cinnabar.

254–255. How to give gold color to silver and increase its weight.

256. How to whiten copper.

257–258. How to transmute copper into silver.

259. (f. 98b) In this item Vital describes how he himself experimented with an alloy:

> Take two drachmas of good silver, and melt it, and after it melted put on it two drachmas of purified tin, and make all of it like crumbling lime, and grind them well, and take fifteen drachmas of quicksilver. I tried it without grinding the mixed silver and tin, but instead I took fifteen drachmas of quicksilver and put it into a melting pot, and 2 fingers of olive oil over it, and heated it a little, and then I took the mixed silver and tin when they were well melted in another melting pot, and poured them into the melting pot with the oil and the quicksilver, and they instantly got all mixed together. And then I took of this *m'lugma* [amalgam] four drachmas, and eight drachmas of white realgar, and eight drachmas of saltpeter, and ground them well together, and kneaded them with egg white until sufficient, and made of them small round balls, and I melted thirty-six drachmas of purified copper, and after it melted I pelted them with these balls one by one until all were used up, and I poured it out, and then I mixed the copper with one-third of its weight of purified silver, and it came out white and good for all tests.

From this description, and some others like it, one can conclude not only that Vital maintained a well-equipped alchemical laboratory, but

that he experimented with formerly untried procedures—that is, he was a true alchemist

260–265 (ff 98b–99a) Alchemical recipes for making silver

266 How to harden quicksilver

267 How to "whiten" an alloy which is half silver and half copper

268 How to make new coins look old

269 (f 99b) Remedy for bloody diarrhea, and for piles

270 "The stone called in Arabic *hajar al-hayy*, that is, snake stone," found in the heads of old snakes of the land and of the sea—protects against snake bite

271 ff (numbers illegible, ff 99b–101b) Medical prescriptions

Folio 102a is superscribed "These are the things I heard from tellers of truth with complete experience " The numeration again begins with 1

1–193 (ff 102a–109) Medical and magical recipes

Folio 110a has the superscription "I, the youth, Hayyim Vital, disciple of our master the ARI [Yishaq Luria] of blessed memory " The rest of folio 110a is crossed out, and over it is written, "This *drush* [homily] does not belong here " This is followed by a folio again numbered 110, which is superscribed, "These are the operations of medicaments which I found written in books " They are numbered 194–247 (ff 110a–111a), and contain medical and magical recipes Folios 111b–113b contain more magical recipes, amulets, and texts of conjurations, with "names" and drawings These items are not numbered, and these folios are passed over in silence in Samuel Vital's index

Folio 114a carries this superscription "These are the operations which I tried among those which I found written in books, and they were not verified in my hands, and I did not succeed in performing their operation " The items listed are numbered from 1 to 27 (ff 114a–115b), and they are mostly alchemical They are, in general, variations on material covered in earlier parts of the manuscript Although in the title Vital states that he tried these operations unsuccessfully, nevertheless he presents them in the style of "take this and this ," that is, in the form of instructions for effective operations This stylistic peculiarity aside, these items are additional proof that Vital was a true experimental alchemist, as well as a "teller of truth," who reported his failures as frankly as his successes

Number 10 on folio 114b is interesting because it quotes an alchemical recipe in the name of Maimonides

> 10 TO MAKE gold out of tin, by the Rambam [Maimonides] of blessed memory to his disciple And this is his language I am letting you know what I tried and saw that it was the best, and its advantages are enormous,

and it is a kind of gold. And you take of the tin and melt it, and after the melting put it immediately into *ethrog* [citron] juice or in *alsqolde*, which is lemon, then put it in melted tallow, then in cold water. Then in onion juice, then in garlic juice. Then in water in which *frijolas* [S. *frijoles*, beans], which are *ginaros el birgunes* [?], were cooked. Another version: *faisaules*. And then melt it once more with its own weight of *l'vonah* [H., incense], and it will be good yellow gold. Another version ends thus: And needed are sal ammoniac and *saljimana* [S. *sal de gema*, rock salt], one next to the other, mixed before the melting with the tin, and one must burn them together until nothing is left of them."

As we have seen, a similar alchemical recipe is found among the Pseudo-Maimonidean treatises.

Folio 115b (nos. 19–27) contains medical and magical prescriptions. Folio 116a is superscribed: "I tried also these practical traditions, and I did not succeed." Under this heading there are twenty-two items (ff. 116a–117b), all magical and medical prescriptions.

Folios 118a–123b contain again magical matters. Of special interest are nos. 9 and 10, because they contain words written in Arabic, including the name *Allah* three times. From this one can conclude that Vital was as eclectic in his approach to providing magical help as he was in collecting and presenting alchemical prescriptions.

Folios 124a–129b are missing in the manuscript. On folio 130a begins Samuel Vital's index to the book, which continues until folio 153b. The total number of items (prescriptions) contained in the manuscript is upward of 1,500, covering an astounding variety of alchemical, medical, and magical subjects. The variations in the handwriting show unmistakably that the book was written by Vital not in one stretch, but at different times, probably with considerable hiatuses in between. This, in turn, indicates that he maintained his interest in these subjects for a long time, probably for several years. The wording of many items also shows that he was a practicing alchemist, physician, and magician (meaning a provider of magical amulets and methods of healing and helping) for many years.

This is what we can learn from the Moussaieff manuscript about Ḥayyim Vital the alchemist. A portrait of Vital the physician, for which there is ample material in the same manuscript, awaits the attention of a medical historian fluent in Hebrew.

Chapter Twenty-nine

AN ALCHEMICAL MISCELLANY

THE VATICAN MANUSCRIPT

The Vatican Library has a Hebrew manuscript dating from the sixteenth century, and possibly written in Italy Its folios 65–72 contain alchemi cal recipes for making gold, silver, and so on [1] The manuscript is in poor condition, and is difficult to decipher In the following I present a few illustrative excerpts

(f 1) To make ammoniac [I *armeniaca*, ammoniac] salt *fisso* [I , fixed] for the Work Take ammoniac salt, as you wish, and *solima* [I , sublimate] it, then pound it and mix it with the same amount of lime, and put everything in an earthenware pot, and give it fire and warm it for two or three hours, then put all of it in pure water, then *distila* [I *distilla*, distill] it in a *filtro* [I filter] And then mix the sediments in clear water again and distill it in a filter, and thus do until the water becomes sweet And put all this water in a glazed earthenware pot, and boil it up on pure and light fire until the water is almost gone, and you will find fixed ammoniac on the water Put it in a glass vessel and let it dry, put it on a marble stone to dissolve, and in one night it will turn into water from the ammoniac salt, fixed for the men tioned Work

(f 4) Moon [silver] Take one part of purified silver and melt it and com bine with it the same amount of lead, and mix them together, and throw them into a *gar'ine* [granules?] Then take one part of good and fine *borase* [I *borace*, borax] and one part of ammoniac salt and one part of live sulphur, and two parts of *sinabario* [I *cinabro*, cinnabar] and one quarter [part] of copper *limatura* [I , filings], and one quarter of spider's webs which are found in the houses of millers, and make out of all of it a fine powder, and of these powders *simento* [I *cimentare*, to cement] the *gar'ine* of the silver with the lead in a *farmakos* [vessel], and bury it in ashes in the *qapelo* [coppella] in the oven, and give it light fire at first and then give it middling fire for twelve hours, then leave it to cool and take it out and put it to be refined in the coppella, and do this three times, and it will become a dough and it will stand the test of strong water [aquafortis]

This water is good for coloring the aforementioned silver Take *vitriole Romano* [Roman vitriol], salt, *nitro* [natron], *alum daroqo* [I *allume di rocca*, rock alum, i e , ordinary alum], of each one *litra* [pound], *sinabar ion* one ounce, *verdoramo* [I *verde rame*, verdigris] four ounces Take four

ounces of the aforementioned vitriol, and four ounces of the aforementioned alum, and put them pounded on burning coals in a vessel, and powder of which all its moisture has gone out, then [mix] all the things together, and put them to distill in a well sealed vessel Make strong water and then take half of the sediment out of the aforementioned water, and pound them, and take other, new powders, as you did at first, and put them into a *busa* [vessel], and put on them the aforementioned strong water, and seal the vessel and let it stand thus for a day, then put it to distill as the first time, then *purga* [purify] them as required, and combine the *peso* silver with its weight of refined silver which is not *peso*, and put it to a part, and sufficient [for him who understands]

(f 6) *Water more precious than pure gold* Take ammoniac salt, salt *nitro* [saltpeter], salt *qomuno* [common], three pounds of each, cooked and whipped honey five ounces, [called] *siro* in Laʿaz Of milk, which should be sour and liquified five times, four ounces Urine of boys of twelve years, fifteen ounces Mix all of it together and put it to dissolve in a glass vessel in warm and moist dung eight days Then put it to dissolve in warm dung for three days, and preserve that water, for it congeals the quicksilver without *solimasione* [I , sublimation] and without other mortification Only put the quicksilver *ʿoreg* [ʾ] in a melting pot on burning coals, and when it begins to raise smoke put three drops of this water into the melting pot and it will coagulate the quicksilver in *elissire* [I , elixir], that is, the taste of this *elosir* [elixir] will change the copper into silver without limitation And likewise it changes all metals into silver, and it causes the spirits not to fly off, by the power of its strength, and it provides a way of entering and dissolving and refining all the salty [elements] in the metals, and they are good for silver and gold

The work of permanent moon [silver] Take of green Roman vitriol four *litras* You [can] turn it red in this manner Take an earthenware vessel not *vitriato* [glazed], and put into it one pound of the mentioned vitriol, and put the vessel on coals until you see (f 7) that it almost turned to water Add into the vessel half a pound of the mentioned vitriol which also turned to water, and do like this until you have put all of it into the vessel Let it stand on burning coals until it becomes dry, and watch it that it should not raise bubbles nor make noise Remove the vessel from the fire and let it cool Then take out the vitriol from the vessel with iron and pound it fine, and put it into another vessel, and see that the vessel should not be full, only half, and put that vessel on burning coals until the vessel becomes red, for six hours, and occasionally stir inside the vessel with an iron so that what is in the bottom should come up, then remove it from the fire and leave it to cool, and preserve it for the time of need

Perperasione [I *preparazione*, preparation] of vinegar Take of very strong white vinegar ten pounds, bring it to a boil in an earthenware vessel,

then take two pounds of new quicklime, divide these two pounds into two parts, put one part into a glazed new pot, and the other part put into another vessel. And put half of the mentioned boiled vinegar into another vessel, and the other half into another vessel, and stir it with a stick, and let them stand thus for three hours, then distill it with a filter three times.

As can be seen from the above examples, the interest of the author of the Vatican manuscript extended beyond the manipulation of metals, and included such matters as the production of household vinegar.

The language of this work, like many other alchemical manuscripts of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, is characterized by the frequent use of Italian terminology in Hebrew transliteration. Since the Hebrew *bet* can stand for both b and v in the Italian, the Hebrew *pe* for Italian p or f, the Hebrew *ṣade* for Italian soft c or z, the Hebrew *vav* for the Italian o or u, the Hebrew *yod* for the Italian e or i, and in the Hebrew unvocalized transliteration the Italian a is either not reproduced at all or indicated by an inserted *alef*, it is at times difficult to recognize the original Italian as reproduced in Hebrew. Also, more than occasionally the transliteration, even within these limits, is not accurate. Take, for example, a word that appears on the very first page of the manuscript: transliterating accurately its Hebrew letters into Latin, it reads *pyrpyraṣi'ony*, but evidently it stands for *preparazione*. Likewise the Hebrew *pwlyy'tw* stands for *foliato*; *qwmwny* for *commone*. At times the author (or the copyist) is inconsistent in his transliteration: the Italian *coppella* appears as *qwpylyw, qwpyl'*, or *qwpyl*; *elissire* appears once as *'ylisiri*, and in the next line as *'ylosir*; the Italian *cementa* appears once as *ṣymyt*, and on the same page a second time as *ṣymnth*, a third time as *ṣymynth*, a fourth as *ṣymntw*, a fifth as *ṣymyntw*; *alambic* is once *'lnbyqw*, once *'lbyqw*, and a third time *'byqw*; Italian *amalgama* becomes *'mlgm'* and *mlgma*. Despite these difficulties, in most cases it was possible to identify the origin of the foreign terms appearing in Hebrew transliteration.

The Jewish Theological Seminary Manuscript

In the manuscript collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York there is a small volume (no. 2,556) containing a miscellany of writings in Hebrew and in Arabic, several of which are of interest for us in the present context. It comprises forty-seven folios in small quarto, is in a neat old Sephardi hand, and seems to have been written in the sixteenth century.

It begins with a treatise entitled *Book of Minerals* written in Arabic in Hebrew characters. It was identified by a cataloguer of the manuscript as containing excerpts from Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Tīfāshī's (d. 1253) well-

known book *Flowers of Thoughts on the Precious Stones*[2] Since the manuscript is written in Hebrew characters it was evidently aimed at a Jewish readership, and is thus an indication of interest among the Jews in mineralogy It devotes a short chapter or a brief paragraph (ff 2b–8b), to each of the minerals which, thanks to the studies of Alfred Siggel, can be identified without problem[3]

Folio 9a carries the Hebrew title "The Gate of Understanding Various Kinds of Knowledge and Events "

Folio 10a is titled in Hebrew "The Gate of Great Science of Rains "

Folio 11a is titled in Arabic "The Treatise of the Science of the Herbs that are Useful in the Science of Wellbeing " This Arabic title is followed by a Hebrew subtitle which reads "Comprises *S'gullot* [Charms] in Hebrew and Arabic with Conjurations and Spells and Amulets and Medicines and Dream Interpretations from the RAB"D [Rabbi Abraham ben David, c 1125–1198] of blessed memory "

On folio 12a begins "The Gate of the Science of the Kinds of Metals" (in Hebrew with some Arabic notes)

Folios 14a–23b contain medical prescriptions

Folio 24a offers a magical prescription for becoming invisible (in Hebrew), and an Arabic medical treatise

Folios 25a–45b discuss interpretation of dreams, and magic and divination

Folios 46a–47a deal with the seasons

A few illustrative excerpts are presented in my translation from the Hebrew and Arabic of the manuscript

(f 8a A) The twenty fourth Gate on the Crystal The origin of its formation is in its mine Galenus said in the *Book of Causes and Effects* that the crystal is a shining white stone [word illegible] which is found in it [the mine], and its origin is the sapphire Just as the glitter of silver is the formation and origin of the gold, likewise the crystal, there is in it moisture mixed with dryness

(f 11b A) Description of the herb called wild cotton, which is similar to cotton except that its wool is yellow When you find it, take its leaves and squeeze out their water, and then soak silver in it, and change it [the water] six times, and behold it will become pure gold And seal this

(f 11b H) Take sulphur and melt it and pour it into honey with its wax, and do thus up to one hundred times, and take purified silver and melt it, and put of this sulphur into the melting pot, and it will come out black And take of this one part, and two parts of gold, and the *dibs* [A , honey] together, and it will come out very good Finished

TO SOFTEN the silver, take *hiltit* [H , asafetida] and throw it into the purified silver and dry it, and it will be soft

(f. 12a: H.) *The Gate of the Science of Kinds of Metals*

KNOW that if you take a piece of lead and put it in a closed vessel into quicksilver for twenty-four hours, that entire piece will be transmuted into quicksilver.

TAKE *allatūn* [S. *laton*, copper, brass] and melt it four times, and each time add to it ground glass in one-half of the weight of the *allatūn*, and the same way *tūtia* [A., tutty, zinc oxide], and after the melting quench it in *buṭm* [A., terebinth] oil or in linseed oil. Then it will become heavy and thick, and thereafter out will come sun [gold], good in every respect and shape. And if it seems to your consideration that it needs more purification, take ox-gall with *zaʿfrān* [A., saffron] and mix them together, and put them on the fire until they become hot, and put into it the aforementioned, and it will become pure sun.

TO ADD weight to gold, take *salmoniaqo* [sal ammoniac] and scrape it and put it upon the gold, and then put it to soak in strong vinegar for about half a day, and it will become heavier by nine parts. Also: Take the gold and heat it until it becomes like fire, and quench it in *balqa* [A. *baqla*, kohlrabi] juice, and it will increase its weight. Another: Heat it as mentioned, and quench it in the juice of *verdolāga* [S., purslane], which is called in Arabic *baqla al-ḥamqa*. This is how I have heard.

(A.) Gold. Calcify it in mouse droppings as it is calcified in lead. . . . And if the gold is mixed or impure, it will become of fine quality. And if *marqasiṭa* [marcasite] is smeared on it in melting it will become sulphur, which protects the body from harm. The *dahnaj* [malachite] softens the gold and removes its solidity, and makes it fluffy if it is melted in it. And if *tinkar* [chrysocolla] is mixed in it, it hastens its melting, and water of henna is squeezed out of it. If impure gold is heated and is quenched in it repeatedly, it becomes very soft. And salt increases the redness of gold very greatly. And the silver blackens in sulphur, and can be treated with salt. And *lāzward* [lapis lazuli], if it is mixed with gold, increases its beauty.

(A.) RULE. Take of white powder 2, tartar 2, borax 2, alum 2, sal ammoniac 1, white eggshell 2, antimony 12. Heat all of them together, and mix them in egg white, and put it in a small melting pot, and on top of all of it glass, and melt it, and mix it in henna, and add [word illegible] one-third moon, and if God exalted wants it.

(H.) If you take the roots of desert cabbage, and remove from them the water in an *al-anbiq* [A., alembic], it will congeal the quicksilver and whiten the face of women if they wash their face in it.

(H.) For pearls, that they should become white. Take *trementīna* [S., turpentine] and salt in equal parts, in *al-anbīqī* [A., alembic], in mild fire, and something like oil will come out of them. If you put the pearl into this oil for the time required to count a hundred for the most [?], it will become white.

(H) To add weight to gold Take dust of lead and put it into an alembic, and put the gold into the water that comes out of it, and let it stand about an hour And also if human feces are put in the alembic in that water, and if he soaks the gold in that water, it will help as mentioned Another matter Take *nushādir* [A , sal ammoniac] and pound it well and put it on the gold, and then soak it with the sal ammoniac in strong vinegar, and let it stand in the vinegar about half a day To increase the weight of gold Smear it with the brain of a sheep's spinal cord, and throw it into the fire It will add to its weight

Folio 13a is again in Arabic and carries the superscription "Treatise on the Work of the Kinds of Colors of Ink " It contains eight prescriptions for making various kinds of inks, the seventh of which is attributed to "Ezra the Scribe " Although the recipe is, like all the others, in Arabic, these words in it are in Hebrew, which makes us suspect that we have here the work of a Jewish alchemist, and not merely the copy in Hebrew characters of an Arabic text written by a Muslim Arab It reads

THE DESCRIPTION of the ink of *'Ezra haSofer, 'alav hashalom* [Ezra the Scribe, peace be upon him] And it is Take myrtle leaves one part, and olive leaves one part, it should be green, and gallnuts half a part, and one part of pomegranate peel, and of the leaves of the skin of green walnut one part Cook all of it in water, most thoroughly, and take it off the fire, and leave it a day and a night, and thereafter it will become purified, and put on it half a part of Cyprian walnuts, and write And there has never been one like it

THE OXFORD MANUSCRIPT

In the Bodleian Library is preserved an Arabic fragment from the Geniza folio 13 which contains three alchemical recipes for reddening and purifying gold It is written in Hebrew characters, in Temanic cursive script [4] A letter in a very similar script is found in the Cambridge University Library (T-S 20 173), and is dated from 1133, which makes it possible that the Oxford manuscript also dates from about that period, but its contents and style point rather to the sixteenth century

The Gate of reddening gold Take *qalaqant* [colocynth] one part, and salt two parts, and *zinjar* [verdigris] one part, and one part of *zunjufr* [cinnabar], and half a part of red *za'fran* [saffron] Pulverize everything, and [place it] in the fire for one hour Then dry it and roast it in its *qarur* [ʾ] in dung fire for a night, and lift it out If you wish, use it, take of it what you wish and let it melt in fire, tint the gold with it, and place it in the fire until it becomes hot Then put it aside until it cools off, then polish it If you are

pleased with its color [fine]; if not, tint it again until it achieves it. If you pulverize this medicine in the fire for [several] days, it will be improved, God willing.

The Gate of purifying gold. Take cinnabar, and saffron, and colocynth, and *martaq* [A. *martak*, litharge], and gall, and pulverize them together, and cast the gold into them, and place it in a narrow-mouthed crucible or a new *sirag* [A. *siraj*, lamp] and lute its mouth, and bury it in ashes throughout the night. When you remove it in the morning it will be purified.

The Gate of reddening the gold well. Take colocynth, and hemp, and verdigris, and *zig* [A. *zaj*, vitriol], and burnt copper, and salt, one part of each; Yemenite alum, one part and a half. Pulverize well and sift. Put it in a small *ajājah* [flask?] in the urine of young boys, and place it in the sun for three days, and leave it in the light. Three times dry it, pulverize it, and take it out.

Jewish Writings in the *Theatrum chemicum*

In addition to the treatises of Khālid ibn Yazīd, Artephius, Themo Iudaei, and the Hollanduses, the *Theatrum chemicum*,[5]—that greatest of all early alchemical collections—and Manget's *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*[6] contain writings by several other alchemists whose Jewishness is indicated, or hinted at, in some ways.

One of them is attributed to Zadith filius Hamuel, also called Senior Zadith, or briefly Senior, and the title of his treatise is given as *Senioris antiquissimi philosophi libellus*, that is "The Booklet of Senior, the Most Ancient Philosopher." Its incipit is *Dixit Senior Zadith filius Hamuel.*[7] Nothing is known of an author by this name, but Berthelot, who discusses him in his work on medieval alchemy, states definitively that "this is a Jewish writing." He describes it as being full of parables and "commentaries on mystical figures," including the names of Maria the Jewess, Hermes, Khālid ibn Yazīd, Aros, the alchemist Plato, and Solomon. He also mentions Marcos, (whom Berthelot identifies with Marcus Gracus) conversing with King Theodore, Rosinus (that is, Zosimus), and, lastly, Averroes (Ibn Rushd) and Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā). However, no more recent authority is mentioned in it. Berthelot also finds in Senior Zadith's *Libellus* several phrases characteristic of the Greek-Hellenistic alchemical tradition, such as "Our copper is like man—it possesses a spirit, a soul, and a body"; "Three and three are one, and all results from the unity"; and so on.[8]

For lack of additional data, the Jewishness of this alchemist cannot be considered as established, even though his name, Zadith ben Hamuel,

sounds like a Jewish name: Hamuel is a biblical name (Ḥammuel, 1 Chron. 4:26), and Zadith could be a distortion of Zabad (1 Chron. 2:36, etc.) or Zadok (Ṣadoq, 2 Sam.15:24, etc.).

Another treatise contained in the *Theatrum chemicum* (4:114ff., 5:101–90, and Paris MS 6514, f. 88–101) and considered "a Jewish work" by Berthelot is titled *Platonis libri quatuorum cum commento Hebuae habes Hamed. . . .* The word *habes* could be a misspelling of *aben*, that is, *ibn*, so that what we have here is the name Hebua ibn Hamed as that of the author of the comments. However, a variant reading of the name is Hebuhabes Hamed son of Gahar. It seems that Berthelot made his determination on the Jewishness of the author solely on the basis of the phrase *Aron noster* (our Aaron) which occurs in the treatise.[9] The passage in question is found in the dialogue between Hamed and Thebed. Thebed says: "I testify that there is one living God, because my zeal is not a zeal which ought to be censured." At a later point in their dialogue, Hamed says: "When Aaron says that the preparation of the body from beginning to end is rather easy, this is also more sustainable than another [proposition]. Our Aaron [said]: Because a thing is not free once from alterations, as we have previously mentioned. Since, however, the matter is thus, the body always has with it by natural force, and in radical composition, that which is in a member." And still later Hamed says: "You know that the science of the ancients, in whom sciences and virtues have been found, is that the substance from which substances exist is the invisible and immobile God, by whose will intelligence has been established, and by whose will the spirit of intelligence is simple. There is one God whose quality cannot be comprehended."[10]

Although the words of both Hamed and Thebed have a Jewish flavor, we must reserve judgment as to the Jewish authorship of this treatise. Berthelot was also of the opinion that the *Turba philosophorum* (*Bibliotheca chemica curiosa* 1:445–79) was originally written in Greek, then translated either into Arabic or into Hebrew, and from that language into Latin.[11] An investigation of the Jewish contents and references in such early classical alchemical collections as the *Theatrum chemicum* and the *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa* should be a prime task of any further work toward a history of Jewish alchemy.

Ben Zvi Institute Manuscript 2238

This Yemenite manuscript from the seventeenth century, written in beautiful Temanic Mashait script, is partly in Hebrew and partly in Judeo-Arabic.[12] Four pages of it (ff. 29a–70b) contain alchemical prescriptions in Judeo-Arabic, and in the following I present my translation

of its first page which is entitled "The Way of the Sufi," and deals with "the philosophers' gold."

> THE WAY OF THE SUFI. Let there be taken the animal, vegetable, and mineral stone, and [let it] be washed with washing and then with warm clay, and let its water and oil be distilled, and half of the water put aside, and be distilled by itself, until there appear in it at least three distillations, and in seven of its middle (?) and where you want it, and as you increase it so you will have increased the benefit. And let the oil be mixed with the same amount of water, and these are the two leads. And [of] this pour the white upon the grey, and purify also both of them until they unite. And when they have united [and] mixed, they will become very clear. Then take the dye of the stone, and [do] this by soaking the clear pure water in its fourfold, and cook it in gentle fire until the water becomes red. Then distill the water from the dye and preserve it, and this is the philosophers' gold, and their fire, and their sun, and the red gum. And after this, behold the soil will turn it dead, black [and] soft. Continue [putting] on it the sweet water in gentle cooking and purification in stronger fire than at first, until all the blackness departs and it becomes white [and] soft, and it is the seed of the land of silver. Then return to the water and put in it one-sixth of its weight *nushadir* [sal ammoniac] of the stone, and put it in a covered still, and bury them in dung for three days, and it will become sharp [i.e., acid]. And take the white earth and incerate it with the sharp water, drench it and broil it until it melts with the inceration, and that time it becomes the earth foil, and that earth is the seed of gold. And the more you increase its drenching and broiling you will increase the inceration and the dye. And when you dilute and condense it it becomes silver elixir. And when you wish, take this silvery elixir, or of the earth foil, together with the same amount of the red gum, and it will become copper, and this is the body. And incerate it with the water preserved at first, which is the lead, and drench it and broil it until it totally dissolves in the inceration. Then drench it with the two leads, and heat them with three times their amount, and with seven drenchings and seven heatings.

BEFORE concluding this chapter let me mention in passing a number of additional Hebrew alchemical manuscripts, xerox copies of which were kindly put at my disposal by the Jerusalem Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts.

The Hebrew University has a Yemenite Judeo-Arabic manuscript (MS 47434) of sixty-six pages containing a rich alchemical miscellany. It quotes Harmas rayyis al-ḥukamā, that is, "Hermes, head of the wise men" (p. 20; cf. also p. 26), Aflaṭūn (Plato, p. 19), Arasṭaṭilis (Aristotle, pp. 18, 19), Farfīrus (Porphyrius? p. 19), al-Razi (p. 18), Jābir ibn

The Natures	Hot	Moist	Cold	Dry	The Kings	This is the table about the assembly of the numbers and the assembly of the minerals finished complete with the help of Allah exalted the argument
The minerals	The natures					
Zībaq (quicksilver)	1	7	7	1	Mercury	
Usrub (lead)	2	6	6	2	Saturn	
Dhahab (gold)	3	3	5	5	Sun	
Ḥadīd (iron)	4	1	4	7	Mars	
Fiḍḍa (silver)	5	2	3	6	Moon	
Nuḥās (copper)	6	4	2	4	Venus	
al-Qastīr (tin)	7	5	1	3	Jupiter	

Figure 29.1. Table showing the seven metals and their rulers.

The Natures

The Kings	Hot	Moist	Cold	Dry	The Minerals
Zuḥal (Saturn)	1	7	7	1	Lead: cold dry
Mushtarī (Jupiter)	2	6	6	2	Tin: . . . of the naturals
Mirrīkh (Mars)	3	3	5	5	Iron: cold dry
Shams (Sun)	4	1	4	7	Gold: hot dry
Zuhra (Venus)	5	2	3	6	Copper: the most temperate of the four
Uṭārid (Mercury)	6	4	2	4	Quicksilver: cold moist
Qamar (Moon)	7	5	1	3	Silver: cold moist

Figure 29.2. Table showing the ruling planets and their associated metals.

Ḥayyān (p. 36), Masīḥ ibn Ḥakīm (p. 2), Muḥammad ibn Yūnis of Bukhara (p. 18), ʿAlī al-Kandī (p. 18), Muḥammad ibn Līth al-Rasā'ilī (p. 18), ʿAlī al-Aṭlāqī (p. 19). In addition to the usual assortment of alchemical recipes, this manuscript contains (on p. 14) two tables listing the seven metals, their "kings," or "rulers," that is, their associated planets, and two different evaluations of the gradings of their qualities. In translating these tables (see Figures 29.1, 29.2) I substituted for the Hebrew numbers A, B, G, D, H, W, Z our usual numerals from 1 to 7, and added the English names of the planets to the Arabic ones appearing in the original.

MS Günzburg (Moscow) 315, which contains one of the known versions of the pseudo-Maimonidean alchemical treatise (see above, Chapter 24) also contains a miscellany of alchemical recipes, written by several hands. On folio 93a there is an incantation which is interesting from a linguistic point of view: it presents the words of the incantation first in *l'shon Ashkenaz*, that is "the language of Germany," then translates it into *l'shon haqodesh*, "the holy tongue," that is, Hebrew, and then also into *l'shon la'az*, "the foreign tongue," that is, Ladino. This is followed by a recipe for tinting any white substance gold. On folio 210a the manuscript contains a quotation from "The Book of the Fruit" by "Talmai [Ptolemy] the wise," and a recipe for increasing the weight or bulk of *karkom* (H., saffron), which we presented above in Chapter 24.

MS Or. 9861 in the British Library in London has on its folios 58b–59a Hebrew alchemical recipes for adding weight to gold, for preparing *lantisqole* [I., *Lentisk*, mastic tree] oil, and for separating gold from silver.

MS Ogp. 204 in the Bodleian Library of Oxford contains two pages of alchemical recipes, including one in Ladino for working with arsenic, and one in Hebrew for giving gold color to silver.

In the Countway Library of Medicine of Boston (MS Heb. 12), and in the Saltykov Public Library of St. Petersburg (MS Ebr.-Arab. II. 2349) there are Hebrew alchemical treatises.

Chapter Thirty

LABĪ, ḤAMAWĪ, AND PORTALEONE

THE MAJOR works to which these three men devoted their lives had little in common. The first was a Moroccan-Tripolitanian rabbi, Kabbalist, philologist, and poet, the second a Moroccan miracle worker and kabbalistic anthologist, the third an Italian court physician who wrote with equal facility in Latin and Hebrew. What they had in common was an interest in alchemy, either in its theoretical aspect (Labī), or in its technique of producing gold (Ḥamawī), or else in its promise to satisfy the age-old quest for the mysterious quintessence, the elixir of life (Portaleone).

The extant references of these three men to alchemy, meager though they are, tell us that Jewish scholars around the Mediterranean basin in the sixteenth century, with the most varied interests, were familiar with alchemical theory or practice or both. They did not doubt the reality of the alchemists' claims; they themselves dabbled, at least occasionally, in alchemy, and considered it important enough to include passages dealing with it in their writings, or even devote special treatises to it. Thus the three little vignettes of the present chapter round out the picture that emerges from our overview of Jewish alchemists in the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, revealing that half millennium as a period in which alchemy was an important preoccupation of the Jewish intellectual elite.

SIMEON LABĪ

Simeon Labī (d. 1580 or 1585) was a North African Kabbalist, philologist, and liturgical poet, who was familiar with, and believed in, alchemy. Of Spanish origin, Labī grew up in Fez, Morocco, and set out in 1549 to go to the land of Israel, but when he reached Tripoli on his way, he decided to stay there and become a teacher of the local Jewish community. His most important work is a detailed commentary on the book of *Zohar*, entitled *Ketem Paz* (Fine Gold), of which only the volume covering the book of Genesis was published. Of particular interest is his *Bi'ur Millot Zarot sheb'Sefer haZohar* (Explanation of Foreign Words in the Book of *Zohar*), which was published in Abraham Miranda's collection *Yad Ne'eman* (Faithful Hand) in Salonika in 1804. His most popular piece of writing is a mystical poem in honor of R. Shimʿon bar Yoḥai, the Palestinian second-century teacher who was believed to have been

the author of the *Zohar*. This poem, entitled *Bar Yoḥai nimshaḥta ashrekha* (Bar Yoḥai, you have been anointed, happy are you), is sung to this day by Middle Eastern Jews on the Sabbath eve and at the tomb of Shimʿon bar Yoḥai in Meron, Galilee.

In the following passage Labī presents the well-known alchemical theory about the origin of metals in the earth, in combination with some kabbalistic mystical ideas:

> Know that the nature of the origin of silver and gold, their basis and their ore, is one. And pay no attention to those who say that they are two separate substances, for they see that there is a mineral [from which] originates silver, and there is a mineral [from which] originates gold, and they say that there is a difference between them. But that is not so, for there is no difference between them except for the color, for the essence of gold is silver at first. And there are [various] minerals present according to the places where silver comes into being. And from the power of the sun and its spark, which is strong, they become red in the course of many days, and it becomes gold, for the heat increases over it and its white color changes to red color, as you can see it happen in the fruits of trees, that the side which turns toward the sun is red, and the side which is not toward the sun remains white or green, for it is the nature of the sun to make everything red, according to the preparation of its material, or to make it black or white, and likewise in the minerals. . . .
>
> Therefore you will find that the wise men among the masters of alchemy do not deal with other metals, nor do any work with them, but only with silver, to make it red, for these two minerals exist in themselves, and they have one common origin, as we were told by men of truth who came from Ophir, that they had found a mineral of which half was gold and half silver, because it did not ripen sufficiently in the earth, in the heat of the sun, and they purify it and extract the gold separately, and the silver separately. And I wrote this in order to let you know their wisdom, for nothing remained hidden to them. . . . For also the masters of the Kabbalah called the gold sun and the silver moon. . . .
>
> Because of the strength of the sun upon that dust, that is to say, upon that mineral, it makes it red and turns it into gold, and from his words he lets the knowledgeable know that the lower sun and moon, those which are over our heads, are influenced by the power of the higher sun and moon which are souls for them. . . . The dust of silver, which is related to the moon, is the side of judgment.[1]

Abraham Ḥamawī

So little is known of the next sixteenth-century Kabbalist-alchemist to whom we turn that even the pronunciation of his name is in doubt. It is spelled in Hebrew ḤMWY, which is read by Gershom Scholem in his

Encyclopaedia Judaica articles one time "Ḥamoy," and another time "Ḥammawi (or Ḥamoj),"[2] and there is no entry under his name in that most modern and most complete Jewish encyclopedia. Since there were several Arab authors and personalities with the surname al-Ḥamawī, it seems to me that we can assume that this was also the name-form of our author.

His full name, then, was Abraham Shalom Ḥay Ḥamawī. He lived in Morocco, where he, like a number of other rabbis, had the reputation of being able to put an end to drought and make rain fall with his prayer.[3] Ḥamawī was a very prolific author: he wrote no fewer than forty-five books[4] most of which were anthologies of kabbalistic prayers. One of his books contains a number of kabbalistic treatises, including one on chiromancy. Of this entire literary output only two books have survived: *Nifla'im Maᶜasekha* and *Sefer Abīᶜa Ḥidōt* (The Book of "I Will Utter Dark Sayings").[5] It is in the latter (f.7a), that we find this alchemical recipe:

> There is also a herb called in the holy tongue *yarḥī* and in Arabic *al-hilālīlī* [correctly *al-hilālī*, both meaning "of the moon"]. And its height is about one cubit, and its stem is green like spinach. And the stem is quartered into eight parts, and it has only three leaves at its top. Gather it and dry it, not in the sun but in the shade, and make it a powder, and take lead and melt it, and put into it [some] of the aforementioned powder, and you will find that froth will rise upon the lead, and throw it away. And put also a little quicksilver [into it] until all the froth is gone, and it will turn . . . , and it will be real silver. And [this is] a tried thing. Thus did I find it in a manuscript book. And see in the holy book *Ger Hayītī* [I was a Stranger], in section 4.

In his *Nifla'īm Maᶜasekha* (ff. 24a–25a) Ḥamawī presents a prescription for making gold which contains elements familiar to us from Abufalaḥ's recipe of the miraculous "basilisk ashes":

> Gold. See, this is what I found in a manuscript. It is written as follows: A prescription (*s'gullah*) to make gold out of copper, and blessed is he who knows whether the words are true. And this is its description: Take nine eggs from hens, and put them into lime, and cover them well with lime, and put them under dung, covered, and let them remain there thirty days or more. Then take and open the eggs, and you will find a worm in each of them. Put everything into another pot, and cover the pot, and the worms will grow and eat the other things. And then they will eat one another, until only one big worm will remain. Then burn that worm in the pot, [but] you should stand afar, because of its bad smell which is like a deadly poison. And burnt powder will remain of it. And take that powder to pre-

serve it And take pure copper and melt it, and put a little of that powder into it after it had melted, and it will become gold

The subsequent passage contains a quote that repeats almost verbatim what Jacob Provençali said on the House of Marqoʿaya (see above, Chapter 27) The duplicated sentences are in italics

And behold, when I was a youth I set my heart to know the science of alchemy upon what are its pillars founded? That is, how, by means of herbs, can tin and lead become gold? And that herb is called in Arabic *hashishat al-dhahab* [herb of gold] And I saw that herb [described] by our master and teacher Rabbi Hayyim Vital in the chapter on the Holy Spirit, and *in the Jerusalem Talmud, tractate* Shʿqalim, *at the end of the chapter, on the verse "And wisdom keepeth its masters alive" (Eccl 7 12) R Elʿazar said, Like the rich men of the House of Marqoʿaya, who were experts in the nature of congealing of gold, and in the pealing [removal] of silver from dross Thus far his language And this language was quoted by Rabbenu Asher in his commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud, and he wrote about it as follows This family of Marqoʿin was versed in the science of alchemy, and they would cause certain juices of herbs to congeal, and make gold out of them And [they knew] also another science they knew how to separate easily the dross from silver And that science is known and famous But they did not want to reveal the herbs whose juice they would make to congeal so that it becomes gold Thus far his language* Hence it is established that that herb does exist in the world And the real natural scientists have achieved [the ability] to make real silver out of quicksilver And see in the holy book *Abiʿa Hidot*, section *ʿayin*, par 4, at length

The interesting thing about the above passage is that Hamawī disclaims belief in the prescription for goldmaking This indicates a certain skepticism, quite rare among the literati of his age Nevertheless, Hamawī identifies the herb allegedly used by the talmudic Marqoʿaya (or Marqoʿin) family with the herb known to him by both its Hebrew and Arabic names, and probably familiar to him from the Arab-Jewish folk belief of his North African environment

Abraham Portaleone

The Portaleones, named after the Portaleone (Lion Gate) quarter of Rome where they originated, were a famous Italian Jewish family which, from the fourteenth century on, produced more than a dozen outstanding rabbis, physicians, authors, and poets One of them was Abraham ben David Portaleone (1542–1612), a physician and encyclopedist, who in 1573 became body physician to the ducal house of Mantua, received

in 1591 papal authorization to treat gentile patients despite the official restrictions, and wrote several important books in Latin and in Hebrew. Thoroughly versed in the secular sciences, Portaleone nevertheless remained a tradition-abiding Jew and, after suffering a stroke in 1605 that partly paralyzed him, he devoted his time to writing his magnum opus, *Shilṭē haGibborīm* (Shields of the Mighty, published in Mantua, 1612), which he composed for his children and in which he included everything he felt a Jew had to know in order to be able to live a full Jewish life.

At the request of the Duke of Mantua, Portaleone wrote several Latin works, of which two have survived: one is a book of medical guidance (*consilio medica*), the other entitled *De auro dialogi tres.*[6] This book is of interest to us in the present context because it contains, as the title indicates, not only a presentation of the medical use of gold, but also a number of other subjects that belong to the domain of alchemy. It is written in the form of a dialogue between Achryuasmus and Dynachrysus, and contains no direct reference to the author's Jewish beliefs, but is studded with frequent invocations of "the best and highest God," and "the immortal God." It also makes frequent reference to the *ars spagirica*, which was for centuries a term used to denote the art of alchemy.

Among the alchemical subjects discussed in the book are the aurum potabile (drinkable gold, 9, 42–43, 97), and the quinta essentia (quintessence, or elixir, 42–43). Portaleone also speaks about the golden calf and the gold in the Temple of Jerusalem (81–82), and about uniting gold and *hydrargyrus* (quicksilver, 121). A detailed index (179–204) facilitates the use of the book. It is thus evident that Portaleone belonged to that group of medieval and Renaissance physician-alchemists who were able to combine and harmonize the tenets, experiences, and practices of both disciplines.

Chapter Thirty-one

THE MANCHESTER (JOHN RYLANDS) MANUSCRIPT

AN ALCHEMICAL manuscript, numbered 1435, in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester was formerly owned by Moses Gaster, the renowned British Sephardi folklorist. The text is written in a clear Sephardi hand, probably in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. There are indications in it to show that it was copied from older manuscripts that were written in Spain and in Venice. It quotes several books and authorities, and their recipes, including (Pseudo-)Aristotle, (Pseudo-) Maimonides, R. Yaʿqov Alqasṭila, Mestre Ventura, Michael, Sobola, *Sefer haMaor* (The Book of Light), *Sefer haLoʿazim* (Book of Foreign Expressions), the *uman* (artist), Almoli, "a woman expert," and "an old book."

Most of the recipes contained in the manuscript are very brief, some pages containing as many as seventeen prescriptions. Its forty-eight pages contain a total of 374 individual prescriptions. The Hebrew language of the manuscript is grammatically more correct than in many other alchemical writings, but it shares with them the use of a great number of foreign technical terms taken from Spanish, Italian, Arabic, Turkish, and even German. Quite frequently the meaning of these terms is explained by translating them into another language.

The 374 prescriptions cover the entire field of alchemy, and give a rare picture of the many interests, endeavors, and purposes of alchemical work not often matched by other Hebrew (or even non-Hebrew) alchemical manuscripts and a full listing and description of its contents will be given here. Most of the recipes I identify merely by their incipits, or by stating their contents in my own words. Several of the more interesting ones I give fully, including, wherever I was able to ascertain it, the translation of technical terms.

Folios 2a: 1. To tint iron in the color of gold. 2. To write letters of gold upon iron. 3–4. To gild iron. 5. To gild iron or copper. 6. To tint moon [silver]. 7. *Bertolo* [?] color.

Folio 2b: 8. To improve silver. 9. Sweetness of metals [fragment only].

Folio 3a: 10. To make *presto* [?] of moon. 11. To color *Saturno* [Saturn, i.e., lead]. 12–13. To tint moon. 14. To tint *bertolo.*

Folio 3b: 15. To give green color to silver. 16–17. To make silver weigh as much as gold. 18. To transmute lead into gold. 19. To lighten the weight of a dinar and to return it to its original weight, so that of each fifty ducats one ounce should be left over. 20. To collect gold. 21. To tint silver.

Folio 4a: 22. To tint lead or silver to the color of gold. 23. To increase gold by half. "Take *salnitri* [sodium nitrate] and *armoniaq* salt [sal ammoniac], and Roman *vidriol* [vitriol], of each one *unsa* [ounce], *verde ramo* [verdigris] six *oqias* [ounces], and pound all of it well. And take the gold and pound it, and put it into a *maṣaʿ* [H., middle-sized] melting pot, as mentioned, and lute it with philosophers' clay, and give it the proper fire, and it will come out." 24. To make philosophers' clay. 25. *Lega presta* [I., quick alloy]. 26. To purify and improve gold. 27. *Liga* [alloy] for gold.

Folio 4b: 28–30. To extract the gold from a gilded silver vessel without ruining all of it. 31–32. To increase the weight of gold. 33. To separate the gold from a gilded vessel. 34–37. To increase the weight of gold.

Folio 5a: 38–44. To increase the weight of gold. 45. To make ducats heavier. 46. To separate gold from lead, "from the mouth of R. Yaʿaqov Alqastila." 47. To separate iron from tin. 48. To purify a gold thread. 49. To purify a gold chain. 50–51. To add weight to any metal. 52–53. To add weight to gold.

Folio 5b: 54–55. To add weight to gold. [The second recipe ends:] "From the mouth of Sobola, and remember what Michael[2] said, that it is necessary at first to purify the gold well." 56. To add weight to gold. 57–58. To add weight to silver. 59. For gold which does not come under the hammer [i.e., to soften gold]. 60. For gold in which there is an admixture of *alaṭon* [brass] [how to separate them]. 61–63. For gold mixed with copper and silver or tin [how to separate them]. 64. To remove the copper. 65. To separate the gold from gilded vessels.

Folio 6a: 66. To remove gold from silver. 67. For gilded work in which quicksilver is mixed. 68. To separate the gold from a gilded vessel. 69. To extract gold from silver and copper. 70. To extract the gold from a silver vessel. 71–72. To extract the gold from another vessel. 73–74. To remove the gold from a gilded vessel. 75. To remove the gold from an iron vessel.

Folio 6b:

> 76. Sun [gold] and moon [silver]. Take the herb which is called *ilarino* [?], which makes its leaves grow neither very long nor very wide, and they are like grass, and its stalk becomes of the size of a span, and in a few places a little longer, according to the soil in which it grows. And from the stalk grow kinds of knobs, and in each knob it raises a flower whose color is

green and *mulada* [?], and it is made like a *lirio* [?], except in its color, and there is of it a male and a female. The male produces one head, and the female three heads or four like *zaʿfrān* [saffron]. And it is found in the mountains of Jaqa and on the way to Marseille, and in Monaco, and in the forests of Segovia close to Rastafariah. Take of that which produces soft heads, and they are good for moon [silver]. And the others are good for sun [gold]. And cover them and pound them very fine, and keep their powder. And take prepared and purified *merqurio* [mercury] and put it into a glass cup or into one plated with glass, and put it in hot ashes. And when it gets warm and wants to fly away, put on it as much of the powders as you wish, and stir it with a stick, and then cover it for the duration of one hour, then throw into it a little white vinegar. And when the vinegar is completely swallowed up take it out and you will find it completed and good. And some say that it has to dry in bread in the oven. 77. Gold. The herb called *borisa* which is similar to *mangorana* [?], its leaves are of the color of the sun [gold], and this herb grows without leaves, and on the first day of the month it raises one leaf, and likewise every day, until it becomes full of leaves, and then its leaves fall off, one every day, and it again becomes naked as it was in the beginning, and it can be found on the seashore, and the banks of rivers, and in the mountains. Its leaves are round like a dinar, and its color is red, and its flower is black. Its fragrance is like that of the musk, its milk is *sitrina* [lemonlike]. Take the juice of this herb and throw it on the mercury, and boil it on fire, and it will become like a red stone. And of it put one weight upon a hundred, and it will become gold. And if you put the aforementioned juice on moon [silver] it will become gold. Put of this sun [gold] on lead, and it will become gold. And this herb is also called *benedita* [blessed].

78–79. To make gold or silver. 80. To make *sal preparado* [prepared salt].

[Folio 7 missing]

Folio 8a [mistakenly paginated 9a]: 81. To make silver. 82. Silver. "In Guadalcanal and in other places there grows a herb called *flamosa* or *sintilia* [I. *scintilla*, spark]." . . . Description of the use of this herb for making pure silver. 83. To make silver. 84. Sweetness—to boil powdered gold in *tartaro* oil [cream of tartar, potassium bitartrate?]. 85. Strong water [aquafortis] for the aforementioned work.

Folio 8b: 86. *Blanqimento* [whitening]. [The recipe concludes with:] "Some say that one must throw into it burned sulphur, and others say that it is not necessary, and you should test the way of both." 87. To make silver. 88. Glue for the above operation. 89. To make silver.

Folio 9a: 90. To harden quicksilver, "from the mouth of Mestre Ventura." 91. To increase gold. 92. To purify gold. 93–94. To whiten Venus [copper]. 95–96. To whiten anything that you cover with it.

97. To whiten anything you want. 98. To improve, purify and whiten copper.

Folio 9b: 99. To silver any copper vessel. 100. To silver copper. 101. To silver brass or copper. 102. To whiten brass or copper, and for counterfeit and bad silver, so that it should not look as if plated with lead. 103. To tint copper like silver. 104. To gild. 105. To gild a silver platter. 106–7. To make goldlike writing.

Folio 10a: 108. To write in gold color. 109. To gild. 110. Colored letters. "Take stone of corals, which is a green stone with which they sharpen razors, and grind it until it will be all *niato* [?], and mix this powder with rosewater in which there should be *ǵuma* [gum], and write with it, and the letters will be green, and when the letters dry rub them with a pure gold or silver or copper ring." 111. To make letters have the color of gold or silver or any metal. 112. To write writing like gold or silver. 113. To make ink of gold. 114. To make silver writing. 115. To make gold ink.

Folio 10b: 116–18. For gilded letters. 119. To write like tin or lead. 120–21. To write like gold. 122. To give color to gold. 123–24. To gild. 125. To write and the writing should become the color of any metal you want. 126. To melt the gold *waraq* [leaf]. 127. To write or draw upon leather, and the drawing should remain gilded. 128. "Know that all metals are not pure to get color until they are purified by burning and quenched in living water. From the *Sefer haMaor* [Book of Light]."[3] 129. To whiten. 130. To gild with gold leaf.

Folio 11a: 131. "Now we ask what is the difference in gilding with leaf? It is that instead of going for one it goes for three." 132. To recognize whether a silver object is gilded with gold leaf or with gold. 133. To repair a broken copper vessel.

> 134. Take three parts of *oropimento* [orpiment] and one part of mercury, and grind it with *ǵuma arabiqa* [gum arabic], and write with it, and you will make it beautiful like ivory. 135. A good glue, that is *soldadora* [S., solder]. Take filings of Iovis [Jupiter, i.e., tin], and ground *sulfar* [sulphur], which is *razina* [?], and *harṣ*, that is tar, and mix them together, and besmear the *shafut* [H., potted] metals with fat, and sprinkle the powder on top and heat from below the potted [metals] with a candle until the powder on top becomes melted, and then it will be glued together with the potted [metals]. This is for Venus [copper], but for tin and lead do not put sulphur and don't heat with a candle but with coals, and hurry to remove it from the fire.

136. To improve the quicksilver. 137. An operation for burning quicksilver. 138. The philosophers' clay [two methods of its preparation]. 139. Explanation of a few names: *armoniaqo anosanire*; *alqali*

salitri qe is *suza*; *antron* is the waste of glass; *atinkar boras* [borax],[4] *obin ablutos* [I., washed] is oil washed many times and turned white; *azarniqos* is *asirniqo* [arsenic] and *oro pimento* [orpiment]; *alume yaminos* is *alume de paloma*; *agrimino verde* [I., green *agrimonia*, agrimony], *azingar* cup of *soliman*; *vitrioles azij* or powder of *skolia*; *alfano de sirizuelo azair* powder of *skolia*; *al saralige alfur ser pirizuelo*; *afas blanqo* [I. *blanco*, white] *alume botiso*. 140. To improve inferior gold, which is called *astraimento de oro* [atrament of gold] . . . From the mouth of Mestre Ventura."

Folio 11b: 141. Good tint for inferior gold. 142. To gild or to silver any metal. 143. To make water of *nishādīr* [sal ammoniac]. 144. To make ammoniac oil. 145. To make *ṭarṭaro* oil [cream of tartar?] which is called *razuras* [I. *rasura*, scraping, shaving], and that oil is like water. 146. *Ṭarṭaro* oil in another way.

Folio 12a: 147. To make *ṭarṭaro* oil which preserves all spirits, and all the bodies which are lime will become water. 148. To make *azij* [?] water of *atramento* [?] or ashes of *savilia* [?], all of which is one. 149. To make strong water [aquafortis]. 150. To make scorpio oil which is sulphur. "From the mouth of the *uman* [H., artist]." 151. To make oil to give *ingres* [I. *ingresso*, entry] to all medicaments.

> 152. To make sulphur oil. Turn an *orinal* [flask] with its mouth down, and under it put a bowl in which you should collect the oil, and put burning coals in a bowl, and put the sulphur upon the coals so that the flask should get its smoke and the oil should drip into the bowl under it. From the mouth of Almoli. And it is better if you put a wide glass flask with its mouth turned down. 153. To make sulphur oil. Pulverize well live sulphur and put it in a glass flask, and lute with it another flask mouth-to-mouth [see Figure 31.1] . . . and this way put them into warm horse manure and let it stand thus fifteen days, and the sulphur oil will come out into the empty flask.

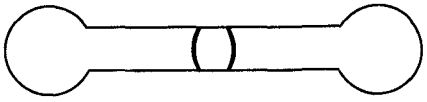

Figure 31.1. Sketch of two flasks, luted.

154. To make scorpio oil which is sulphur.

Folio 112b: 155–156. To whiten the scorpio [sulphur]. 157. To make water out of the *qafar* [or *qafrah* ?]. 158. To make strong water [aquafortis]. 159. Water to preserve all spirits. 160. To make water out of mercury and *luna* [moon, i.e., silver] together. 161. To *fisar* [fixate] the sulphur. 162. To make sulphur white.

Folio 13a:

163. Glue out of gold. Take two ounces of ammoniac salt, half an ounce of *pirite de Espania* [I., pyrite, fool's gold, of Spain], half an ounce of *vitriol Romano rubifiqato* [reddened Roman vitriol], that is, put the vitriol in a small covered pot on the fire until it gets red and then take it out. This is called reddened vitriol. Another, exact version: the vitriol will not become reddened. Pound all this well, and put them in a glass flask, and lute it up to its half [mark] or less with philosophers' clay, and put the flask, as you know it, on an oven with fire to *asuplimar* [sublimate], and give it fire for ten hours, and then let it cool, and put the glass flask upon the fire and let it cool, and then take one quarter of an ounce of this medicine on two ounces of refined silver, *qopelia* [I. *coppella*, cupel, test] in La^{c}az, and melt the silver at first, and when it is melted throw the aforementioned medicine into it, thus three times, and then throw it as mentioned, and then take a part of this alloy, and one part of good gold, and you will find it good. From the mouth of Mestre Ventura.

164. Oil of *atutia* [*ṭuṭia*, tutty, zinc oxide]. 165. Another oil of tutty called oil of *tusia*. 166. *Sa^{c}dun*. "Take two flasks mouth-to-mouth and covered. And put sulphur into one and lute it, and put it on *lutada* [I., luted] fire. And the smoke of one should go into the other. And this is the spirit of *zinjifra* [A. *zunjufr*, cinnabar], the spirit of *ṭuṭia zinjar* [A. tutty of verdigris]." 167–68. To make spirit of sulphur. 169. A color of twenty carats, one for thirty moon [silver].

Folio 13b: 170. Color for silver of twenty-two carats. 171. Color to *qalsina* [calcine] the tutty. 172. Color made of thin gold leaves. 173. To purify lead and to color it gold.

174. Gold. Take tin of Ferrara, one *uns* [ounce] of sulphur and one ounce of orpiment, half of *alqali* [alkali] salt, pounded, and mix them, and put them to boil in a little goat's milk for half an hour, gently, and take it out and let the aforementioned powders dry in the sun, and then take cupeled silver, and make of it a *maṣa^{c}* [H., foundation] four times six hours in ashes, and then *aqopilalo* [refine it] and put it in strong water [aquafortis], and it will be strong and will remain gold.

175. To increase the weight of gold. 176. "The work of *zilata*[?]. Put *merqurio qonzilato*[?] one *liṭra* [pound] with three ounces of leaf of copper. . . ." 177. Another one.

Folio 14a: 178. Sun [gold]. To establish half gold so that it should become twenty-two carat. 179. To make *fizar* [fixing] for moon [silver]. 180. To fixate moon. 181. Moon. 182. To purify copper. 183. *Purifiqar* [to purify] verdigris. 184. *Qalsinar* [to calcine]. 185. *Suplimar* [to sublimate]. 186. *Banio Maria* [*bain Marie*, water-bath].

Folio 14b: 187. Moon. 188. Sun. 189. "Take one part of silver and one part of gold [these words are in Arabic], and melt them together. . . ." 190. To freeze [solidify] mercury. 191. *Fizasion* [fixation]. 192. To make gold-lime. 193. For gold. 194. To freeze [solidify]. 195. Sun and moon. 196. To make *zirnikh* [arsenic] permanent.

Folio 15a: 197. "Good *alizīr* [elixir]. Take sublimated arsenic which does not make silver black, and put it layer upon layer with the silver, and roast it with it, and put on it another layer of arsenic and roast it as at the first time. Do this many times until it is consumed and is melted like wax. . . . And put it with quicksilver, and this is a good elixir." 198. For moon [silver]. 199. For sun [gold]. "The version of the Rambam [Maimonides]. . . ."[5]

Folio 15b: 200. [Continuation of the above with the following personal note added:] "And if it seems to the eye of your brains that it needs to be more purified, I did not find more, I the writer." 201. "Color for silver, from the mouth of Mestre Ventura. Take *tarab* [A. *turab*, dust, earth] color, which is called in the Venetian language *habatasan samrias* [?] of Veneṣia [Venice]. . . ." 202. Color [word illegible].

Folio 16a: 203–4. To separate gold from silver. 205. "Said the divine philosopher. . . ."[6]

Folio 16b: 206. "In the Book of Sadidi.[7] *Qāl Arisṭuṭalis* . . . " [a quotation in Judeo-Arabic from Aristotle]. 207. To make *perlas* [pearls]. 208. To make big pearls out of small ones.

Folio 17a: 209–12. To make big pearls out of small ones.

Folio 17b: 213–17. To make one out of several pearls.

Folio 18a: 218–22. To whiten pearls. 223–24. To purify pearls. 225. To whiten pearls. 226. To give good color to pearls. 227. To whiten pearls.

Folio 18b: 228. To clean and purify pearls. 229. To whiten pearls.

230. And this is the work of the real crystal. Take of it the amount you want, and put it into the middle wall of the oven until it becomes calcined white like snow, and this will happen within one hour or less. Then take it out and preserve it and put [some] of it into an *albūt* [A. *būṭa*, melting pot] made of philosophers' clay, and put on it one-fourth or one-fifth of *ḥūṣa* [A. *ḥaṣan*, pebbles]. And it will instantly dissolve and will be like real glass in every respect. And here I show you the shape of the oven so that you don't err in making it [Figure 31.2]. And it too you should make of philosophers' clay so that it should be strong, and give it fire of thick logs. And there are many kinds. The kind of crystal that breaks easily is called in Laʿaz *franjibile* [I. *frangibile*, breakable]. And for this you will need to mix with the pebbles a little *ladasqos* [?], so that it should melt and run immediately.

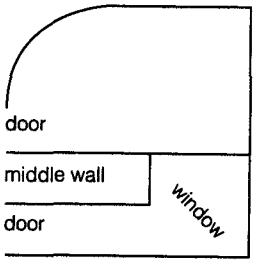

Figure 31.2. Cross section of an oven.

231. To separate alum water from crystal water. 232. To soften crystal. 233. To tint crystal and to make of it precious stones. 234. To soften a horn. 235. To soften stone like wax.

Folio 19a: 236. To soften crystal. 237–39. To melt crystal. 240. To make *esmeralda* [emerald], "from the mouth of Mestre Ventura." 241. To melt crystal. 242. To tint crystal sky-blue color.

243. To tint crystal the color of *margada* [G. *maragdos*, emerald]. Take *alum de pluma* [?] one part, white and pure ground crystal one part, mix everything seven days, and on the seventh day take one-third of a part of arsenic, and cook everything in an iron vessel, and that soup with *zaʿra*, that is, *ayara* [?], which is *verdete* [green] in Laʿaz, clean and pure, and melt it and put it in any form you wish. The herb *darganah* [?] melts the crystal.

244. To soften crystal.

Folio 19b: 245. To melt crystal. 246. "To tint crystal the color of *qrizolitos* [I. *crisolito*, chrysolite]. Take crystal and put it into alum water twelve days, and cook it in *arseniq* [arsenic] or orpiment, and it will become greenish like chrysolite. And if you cook it in *sfangasron* [?] it will be like *smaraq* [emerald]. *Sfansagron* [*sic*], that is *qolitia* or *verderis*, that is *verdet*, which is *qalame jinjir* or *azmar* [A. *asmar*, brown]." 247. To soften crystal. 248. "To tint crystal or another hard stone, or to engrave on it. Take the juice of *milfolio* [I. *millefoglio*, milfoil, *Achillea millefolium*], and put it wherever you want to engrave, and then put it in the sun, and you can engrave what you want." 249. To make artificial crystal. 250. To soften crystal. 251. To tint crystal the color of *rubin* [ruby]. 253. To tint crystal like *granata* [I., garnet]. 254. To make emeralds. 255. To tint glass any color you want. 256. Color. To make glass panes, glasses, and flasks any color you want.

Folio 20a: 257. To tint the aforementioned the color of gold.

258. To soften precious stones or glass like dough. Take dragon's blood [a resinous substance obtained from tropical plants], and blood of *irizo*,

which is an animal with spines [porcupine?], and blood of desertic [i.e., wild] or domestic geese, and wine sediment, and strong vinegar, in equal parts. They should all be cooked together on gentle fire, and after their cooking put into them the stones, and they will soften like wax, so that you can impress into them any seal you want. From an old book.

259. To soften glass so that it should be soft like wax. 260. To purify *qorales* [corals]. 261. To make the coral shiny after it has dried. 262. To make corals and other things *moldasas* [?]. 263. To soften corals. 264. To join together brittle corals. 265. To soften small stones.

Folio 20b: 266. To soften bones. 267. To melt bones and ivory. 268. To pour a horn into a mold. 269. To soften any horn. 270. To tint bones or wood red. 271. To tint green. 272. To tint a bone green. 273. To tint a bone *rozāṭo* [pink]. 274. To tint a bone green. 275. To make combs black, if they are made of horn. 276. To make *almārjīn* [A. *marjan*, small pearls]. 277. To soften the bones of an elephant. 278. To tint bones green or pink. 279. To tint *mārfīl* [I. *marfilo*, elephant's tusk] or another bone pink color. 280. To tint writing or any other thing.

Folio 21a: 281. To tint any object black. 282. To tint the *sapir* [sapphire] white. 283. To give a stone the color of sapphire. 284. "*Rubis.* Take red coral and dragon's blood [a kind of resin], and pure *laqa* [I. *lacca*, lacquer] in equal parts, and grind all of it very well, and knead them in egg white, and make your stones, and put them for nine days in strong sun, so that it should dry." 285. *Matista* [?] . . . to make glass beads. 286. "To make *maistobanio*, and it is like white sapphire, but it is a little greenish. If you want to make it like a diamond. . . ." 287. Black color. 288–89. To whiten sapphire. 290. To make good and pure *azūl* [lapis lazuli].

Folio 21b: 291–93. To make *lāzuward* [A., lapis lazuli]. 294. To tint *turqiza* [turquoise]. 295. To bring out the color of turquoise. 296–98. To tint the turquoise, "from the mouth of the artist." 299. To make *aṭuṭia qalamina* [I. *tuzia calamina*, calamine, a zinc ore]. "Thus did I find it, I the writer."

Folio 22a: 300. To make *ṭuṭia Alisandrina* [Alexandrian tutty, zinc oxide], "from the mouth of Mestre Ventura." 301. To make spirit of tutty.

Folio 22b: 302. "To remove the skin. Take *sālmoniaq* [sal ammoniac], *reagal* [I., realgar], *maṣtiq* [I. *mastica*, mastic] in equal parts, and *boras* [I. *borace*, borax] water, and put it together in a melting pot until they melt, and let it dry, and it will become a powder. And put that powder upon skin, and put it in fire until the powder melts, and the skin will separate." 303. To remove the skin from moon [silver]. 304. For skin. 305. To remove the skin from silver and gold. 306. To remove the skin from silver. 307. "To skin any coin of silver and also gold. First soak

it in water and then put on it quicklime and old cheese in equal parts, and heat it on gentle fire or wax fire until the powder that is on the coin is consumed, and the skin will separate. And if you want, whiten it thereafter because it will get black due to the fire." 308. To remove the skin from silver. 309. To give weight to gold. 310. To remove the skin from gold. 311–12. To remove the skin from gold flower. 313. "To peel off the skin from a vessel, from any metal you wish, from its whole surface. The version of the divine philosopher the Rambam [Maimonides] of blessed memory. . . ."[8]

Folio 23a: 313. Continued. 314. "To purify the aforementioned peelings. . . . All this from the mouth of Mestre Ventura." 315. Treatment of silver peelings. 316. If you want to melt the peelings. 317. "I heard from a woman expert."

Folio 23b: [317 continued:] "in the Work that you should melt the peelings as they are in a melting pot, and always stir it in it with an iron spit [H. *shipuda*], and it does not need an iron pot, nor pieces of *aziro* [?], nor anything else." 318. To peel a silver coin or silver. 319–20. To purify the aforementioned peelings. 321. For gold: to make it better than it is. 322. To give color to a vessel of which part is gilded. 323. If you wish to gild part of a silver vesel. 324. To gild rings of iron or lead.

> 325. To elevate gold in assaying. Melt the gold and pour it into a tube, and there should be prepared a melting pot. When you put into it sal ammoniac. Grind two parts and one part of *niṭro* salt [saltpeter], all ground well. And take the gold which you have poured into the tube while it is still hot and put it into this melting pot with the aforementioned powders, and cover the mouth of the pot with a piece of wooden plank or another thing, and do nothing else but shake the pot with everything that is in it, and put it into assaying. And you will see a marvel. All this from the mouth of Mestre Ventura.

326. To tint an iron ring.

Folio 24a: 327. To *asmaltar* [I. *smaltar*, to smelt, enamel] *de Jovis* [Jupiter, i.e. tin] 328. To smelt. 329. To make color. 330. To make *nieil* [I. *niello*, a black glaze]. 331. "To remove the *istrido* [I. *strido*, shriek, crackling] and the softness from Jupiter [tin], and to make it pure. Take two parts of sulphur and one of *laton Morisqo* [Moorish brass], and melt at first the brass, and throw it into *andimonia* [antimony] water." 332. "To improve tin. Take Iovis, that is, tin, and melt it in vinegar in which there is mercury, and it will be beautiful and hard, and it will give off a voice." 333–35. To make borax which is *atinkar* [A. *tinkar*, a calcareous salt].

Folio 24b: 336–38. Three more recipes for making borax. 339. To make *vermilian* [I. *vermiglio*, vermilion], which is cinnabar. 340. To

make it in another way. 341. To make cinnabar which is vermilion. 342. *Figasion* [fixation] of *sinabra*, that is, cinnabar.

Folio 25a: 343–45. To make alkali salt. 346. To make *azarqon* [A. *zarqūn*, cinnabar] which is *soligin* in the Togar [Turkish] language. 347–49. To make *algalia* [= *alqali*?]. 350. Take *ardij* [?] in the Togar language, ten drachmas; *qitran* [A., tar, pitch], five drachmas; and make a potion of honey with rosewater, and put it to boil on fire, and remove the scum, and take of this ten drachmas, and one drachma of pure *algalia*, and mix it together, and it will be good *algalia*. 351. To make *musq* [A. *misk*, musk].

Folio 25b: 252–54. Three more recipes for making musk. 355. For *musqo* [musk] which lost its fragrance. 356. To try out the musk. 357–59. To recognize *balsamo* [balsam], whether it is good and pure. 360. To concoct *balsamo rubarbaro* [I. *balsamo reubarbaro*, rhubarb balsam].

361. In the *Sefer haMaor* [H., The Book of Light][9] par. 30: To make *ambar* [A. *ʿanbar*, amber]. Take egg white and melt it in gum arabic and a little good saffron, and dry it in the sun. It will become like glass, and it will be amber." 362. In the *Sefer haMaor*, par. SNT [or SKT?]: To make saffron cook the flesh of an ox and dry it in the sun, or dried fishes which are called *stoq fish* [G. *Stockfisch*, stock-fish, dried cod] and grind them fine, and take good saffron and melt it in rosewater. Wet the fish with this water until it becomes red. Look in the *Sefer haLoʿazim*, page 39."

363. To purify saffron. 364. To add weight to saffron. 365. To increase saffron.

Folio 26a: 366–67. Two more recipes for increasing the weight of saffron. 368–69. To increase wax. 370. To make *qwintas* [fifths?] of amber into one *libra* [pound]. 371. To make amber.

Folio 26b: 372. Brittle *quintas* that they should become smearable. 373. "The secret of fragrant water superior in its purpose, and its advantages are many, and it was tried by me."

374. To make *būkhūr* [A. *bakhūr*, incense] *swai* [?]. Rosewater one ounce, *kinjia*, that is *ḥaṣīl* [H., eggplant] *kinṭ* [?] three drachmas, *asturq* twenty-five drachmas, white *sandalos* [A. *sandal*, sandalwood] one drachma, *lingalia* [?] one drachma. Pound all of it and cook it in a vessel called *paila* [I. *palla*, flask; or *pala*, bucket] in Laʿaz, and cover it well with dough so that its vapor and smell should not get out, and let it cook until you see that it smells good. That is a sign that it is cooked. Remove the *paila* from the fire and let it cool one day, and then open it, and throw the water into small flasks. The sediment which remains in the bottom of the vessel, take it out and put it in a *ṭāfsar* [?] on gentle fire, and take a little and make [pieces] like bricks called askaros, and if it is very dry put a little rosewater

into them, or spring water. 375. To make *mandragola* [I. *mandragola*, mandrake]. Take two *lirio* [?] and draw the shape of a whole man, and bury it in the field until it grows thick leaves. And take a razor and prepare [word illegible], and pass it along all of it except its eyelashes and the hair of its head. And in every place where a man has hair, leave it. And after you let it grow, bury it for one day until the *raidores* [?] become smooth, that is, what is pulled off them. 376. To make a *blanqet* [ceruse] prepared for the work, take the ceruse . . .

Here the manuscript breaks off. Attached to it are four pages (unnumbered), written by a different hand, in Judeo-Arabic, except for two brief paragraphs that are in Hebrew.

PART EIGHT

The Seventeenth Century

Introduction to Part Eight

WHEREAS in the sixteenth century most of the Jewish authors who wrote on alchemy lived in Arabic-speaking lands, not a single Jewish alchemical author who lived in that part of the world is known to us from the seventeenth century. Although these seventeenth-century authors were still Sephardi Jews, all of them lived in the West, in a Christian environment—in Italy, the Netherlands, or else in north-central or northeastern Europe.

This geographical shift reflects two movements that took place toward the end of the sixteenth century. One was an internal Jewish one: the intellectual leadership that in the sixteenth century still belonged to those branches of Sephardi Jewry which lived in Muslim countries passed to the western Sephardim who lived in Italy, Holland, and adjacent areas, and to the Ashkenazi Jews who lived in central and eastern Europe. The other movement was one that took place outside the Jewish orbit but could not fail to influence the Jewish intellectual orientation. During the Renaissance, the center of alchemical work shifted from the Muslim world to Christian western Europe. By the seventeenth century this shift was complete, and was paralleled by a corresponding shift in Jewish alchemical work, experimentation, and writing.

This activity, carried out by Sephardi Jews in Christian Europe, was but one manifestation of the openness of the Sephardim to gentile culture, not matched even remotely by their Ashkenazi brethren. Although the dominant positions in Halakha and rabbinical scholarship had been taken by Ahkenazim, they manifested, with a very few exceptions, a negative attitude toward the sciences, arts, and other cultural activities of the Christian environment. One of those activities was alchemy. It was not until the eighteenth century that this situation began to change.

A clear indication of the openness of Sephardi Jewish intellectuals in western Europe to the preoccupations of gentile culture, including alchemy, may be found in the life of Baruch (Benedict) de Spinoza (1632–1677), one of the greatest philosophers of all times. Little attention has been paid to the fact that Spinoza was keenly interested in chemical and physical matters in general, and alchemy in particular. In letters he wrote to Heinrich Oldenburg, a German scholar from Bremen who lived in London, where he became a member and subsequently secretary of the Royal Society, and editor of its *Transactions*, Spinoza repeatedly discusses salts and saltpeter.[1] On March 25, 1667, Spinoza wrote a letter to

Jarrigh (or Jarrich) Jelles, a Mennonite merchant in Amsterdam, who was a friend of his and whose writings Spinoza translated into Dutch after Jelles's death [2] The first part of that letter deals with alchemy, and from the introductory sentence it becomes clear that Spinoza and Jelles had already discussed Helvetius's experiments mentioned in it

> Concerning the matter of Helvetius, I have consulted Vossius, who (in order not to relate the whole contents of our conversation) laughed uncontrollably and was astonished that I asked about such babble (*nugis*) How ever, unconcerned about it, I betook myself to that goldsmith (*aurificem*) himself, who had assayed the gold, his name is Berchtolt (Berchtelt) But he said something quite different than Mr Vossius He maintained that the weight of the gold increased between the melting and the separation (*liquescendum et separandum*), and that it became heavier by the weight of the silver which he threw (*iniecerat*) into the melting pot (*crucibulo*) for the purpose of separation, so that he believed firmly that this gold, which transmuted his silver into gold, contained in itself something special Not only he, but also various other gentlemen who were present, have con firmed that this indeed was the case Thereupon I went to Helvetius him self, who showed me both the gold and the melting pot, whose inner walls were still gilded over, and he related that he had thrown barely a quarter of a barley-corn or mustard seed into the molten lead He added that he would soon publish the entire course of the thing, and further informed me that a man (whom he considered to be the same as the one who had been with him) had carried out this same operation in Amsterdam, about which you have undoubtedly heard This is what I could find out about this thing [3]

Helvetius, mentioned in this letter as an experimenter in goldmaking, was an important alchemist in The Hague in the second half of the sev enteenth century His original name was Johan Frederick Schweitzer (1629–1709), but he became known, by the Latin translation of his last name, as Helvetius He wrote several books on alchemy, and in the year in whcih he told Spinoza about his successful transmutation of lead into gold, he published the book he mentioned to Spinoza In it he discusses several alchemical subjects, but evidently he considered that particular transmutation the most important of all, and therefore described it in the title of the book It reads (in my translation from the Latin) "The Golden Calf which the whole world adores and prays to, in which is discussed the rarest miracle of nature in transmuting metals, namely how the total substance of lead within a moment with a minutest particle of the true philosophers' stone was changed into pure gold in Hagae Comitis, Amsterdam, 1667 "

Helvetius's book contains the explanation of why Spinoza does not mention in his letter what substance it was that Helvetius threw into the motlen lead: Helvetius did not divulge its secret to him. This becomes clear from the fact that even in his book Helvetius passes over this point in silence. What he tells in Part Three of his book is that he was visited by a strange and peculiarly dressed man, who identified himself as "Elias Arista." We recognize under this name that of the prophet Elijah, whom the alchemists considered the great master of their art—this is why they call him "Elias Arista"—and who, they expected, would upon his second coming reveal to them the secret of the philosophers' stone. Helvetius goes on to say that Elias Arista showed him the philosophers' stone, which he had in his satchel, and gave him of it "as much as a coriander seed" (almost the very words of Spinoza's letter), but he refrains from even hinting at what that mysterious stone consisted of. Hence we can assume that he said nothing about it to Spinoza, either.

What Helvetius does instead is to quote the sacred words Elias Artista wrote down for him. They were: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord our God, and all things are full of His honor," which is a free rendering of the Jewish *q'dusha* prayer quoted from Isaiah 6:3. Next Elias Artista wrote: "Of Yehova of the wonderful wonderworking wisdom in the general book of nature, I am made [?] on August 26, 1666"—evidently the date of his visit with Helvetius. And then he wrote: "Wonderful is God, nature, and the Spagirian Art. Do nothing gratuitously. Mostly holy spirit, Hallelujah, Hallelujah. Phew to the Devil! Without light don't speak of God. Amen." "Spagirian Art" is a frequently used designation for the art of alchemy. Chapter 4 of the treatise is a dialogue between Elias Artista and a "Medicus," who is presented as a physician seeking alchemical knowledge. These sections are preceeded in Part One by quotations from various alchemical authors, and descriptions of experiments in goldmaking.

Isaac Vossius (1618–1689), to whom Spinoza referred, was a historian, philosopher, and naturalist, who moved from The Hague to Windsor, where he became *canonicus* in 1673.[4] He wrote several books on natural sciences, and, as can be gathered from Spinoza's reference, was more than skeptical about the possibility of transmuting base metals into gold.

The second alchemist mentioned by Spinoza, the goldsmith Berchtolt (or Berchtelt), did not claim to be in possession of the philosophers' stone, and had a different method for producing gold. He threw silver into the crucible, ostensibly in order to effect a separation of the melted gold from another, unnamed, substance, with the result that the original weight of the gold increased by the weight of the silver, that is, that the

silver was transmuted into gold. This operation, Spinoza writes to Jelles, was witnessed, and its results confirmed, by several men.

In his letter Spinoza embraces no position either for or against alchemy. Nevertheless, he spent a good bit of time in trying to find out whether there was any basis in reality to the alchemists' claim that they could transmute silver and lead into gold. This in itself shows that despite his considerable knowledge of the sciences and his great critical acumen, Spinoza, a man of his time, considered transmutation at least a possibility.

Chapter Thirty-two

LEONE MODENA, DELMEDIGO, AND ZERAḤ

LEONE Modena (also known as Leon da Modena, 1571–1648) was possibly the most colorful character in Italian Jewish history. Born in Venice, brought up in Ferrara, he was an infant prodigy, studied Hebrew, Italian, and Latin, and became rabbi in Venice, where his sermons (in Italian) attracted large Jewish and gentile audiences. He wrote with equal facility in Hebrew and Italian, was an acute polemicist, and attacked with equal sharpness Uriel da Costa, the *Zohar*, Yiṣḥaq Luria, and Christianity. He possessed an extensive talmudic and rabbinical knowledge, wrote numerous responsa of a liberal character, and also produced Italian, and occasionally Latin, prose and poetry. He suffered from an addiction to gambling from which, despite repeated vows, he could not tear himself away, and consequently he was almost constantly in deep financial trouble. He tried to earn money with a great variety of occupations; on occasion he worked as a broker, translator, letter-writer, writer of poems and sermons for others, playwright (he wrote at least one Italian comedy), amateur actor, marriage broker, writer of amulets and teacher of the art of amulet writing, and he was even *maestro di cappella* of a musical academy established in the Venetian ghetto in 1632, when he was sixty-one.

An interest in alchemy ran in the Modena family. This we know from Leone's own account of his life, which is the first "frank" autobiography to be written in Hebrew.[1] In it Leone tells of his uncle Shemaʿya, who was killed because of his alchemy, of his own attempts at making gold, and of his son Mordecai's death as a result of his protracted work in alchemy. At the same time it becomes clear from Leone's account that in his days it was not unusual in Italy for either Jewish physicians and rabbis or Christian priests to engage in alchemical experimentation.

Of his uncle Shemaʿya, Leone writes as follows:

> Shemaʿya lived in Modena and was in charge of the management of a loan-shop there, and his heart inclined to dealing in alchemy, and a gentile cheated him, for he showed him fake increment, and persuaded him to take all the silver and gold that was in the store to a courtyard, by telling him that he would melt it and increase it many times. And there he thrust a sword into his belly and killed him, and took all the silver and gold, and ran

> away And this happened on the eve of the removal of the leavened bread [the eve of Passover] And next day they noticed the matter and found him and buried him And three days later the murderer was caught with all the silver and gold, nothing was missing, and they cut him in four quarters [2]

Of his own involvement with alchemy Leone reports briefly "In the winter of 5363 [1603, he was thirty two years old at the time] I was without pupils, and I went after the foolishness, the work of alchemy, for I was enticed by the physician, the sage R Abraham di Cammeo of the city of Rome, who was at that time a young man, and was here with his father, and also on this I spent a great deal of money" (30) Abraham di Cammeo is known to have become rabbi of Rome fifteen years later, on April 22, 1618 [3]

Mordecai Modena's death as a result of his unceasing and protracted work in alchemy was a terrible blow to his father, who reports it in detail

> It happened on the tenth of Tishri 5375 [the fall of 1614] that my son Mordecai of blessed memory traveled abroad because an ungodly evil man oppressed us, and he [Mordecai] abandoned at that time his studies with the students of the society And he returned in the month of Kislev [December 1614], and began to occupy himself with the work of alchemy with the priest Joseph Grillo, a great sage, and he exerted himself greatly, and became well versed in it to the point where all the masters of that science, who had become old and aged in it, marveled at what a youth like him knew of it Finally, in the month of Iyar [spring 1615], he set up for himself a house in the *Ghetto Vecchio* [in Venice], and made all the preparations necessary for the work, and he repeatedly performed there an experiment that he had learned and tried in the house of the priest, which consisted of making ten ounces of refined silver out of nine ounces of lead and one ounce of silver And I saw this and tested it twice as it was done by him, and I myself sold the silver, six pounds and half an ounce, which stood up in the coppella [assay], and I knew that it was true, even though it was a matter of great effort and exertion, and it required two and a half months each time The end of the matter was that [we were able] to earn about a thousand ducats in a year Nor was this all, for I too spent my life in trying to understand such things, and I would not have misled myself had sin not caused it During the Feast of Sukkot 5376 [fall 1615], suddenly much blood flowed down from his [Mordecai's] head to his mouth, and from then on he ceased performing that work, for they said perhaps the vapors and the smokes of the arsenics and the salts that enter into it injured his head And he stayed thus for two years until his death, doing some easy things (34)

A few paragraphs later Leone describes the symptoms of his son's illness, and the medicaments administered to him. His end came due to high fever on the ninth of Ḥeshvan 5378 (October 1617), at the age of twenty-six. At that point Leone mentions that he is writing these lines three years later, that is, in 1620.

Although some details in the account are not clear, the picture Leone paints of the involvement in alchemy by his uncle Shemaya, the physician-rabbi Abraham Cammeo, the priest Joseph Grillo, and his son Mordecai, as well as his own alchemical work, is unmistakably that of a society in which alchemy was practiced, in which people, including Leone himself, believed in the reality of alchemical transmutation of base metals into precious ones, and in which Christian masters of alchemy taught alchemy to Jewish youths. An interesting feature in this picture is the acceptance by laymen, that is, non-alchemists, of the so-called silver produced by the alchemists as real, on the basis of unreliable assay, which enabled the alchemist to acquire a considerable fortune within a short time.

As for Mordecai Modena's tragic death as a result of the "vapors and smokes" produced by his experiments, such occurrences seem not to have been extraordinary in medieval alchemy. This, at least, is what we can conclude from the description of the alchemist's life given five centuries earlier by Baḥya ibn Paquda, which includes the warning that "it can happen that the smell and the smoke will kill [the alchemist] due to the constant work and the length of the effort he devotes to them night and day."[4] The fact that Mordecai Modena died in precisely such circumstances shows that in this respect the hazards of alchemy had not improved since the days of Baḥya.

Delmedigo and His Disciple Zerah

One of the most outstanding Jewish scholars of the seventeenth century was the polyhistor and encyclopedic author Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1591–1655). As the son of Elijah Delmedigo of Candia (Crete), whose disciple and patron was the famous Renaissance figure Pico della Mirandola, Joseph received a thorough Jewish and classical education, and at the age of fifteen was admitted to the University of Padua, where he studied astronomy and mathematics under Galileo. Simultaneously, he also studied medicine, and was influenced by Leone Modena, rabbi of neighboring Venice, of whose interest in alchemy we have just heard.

In 1613, aged twenty-two, Delmedigo returned to Crete and started practicing medicine, but before long he set out on an extensive journey, visited Egypt and Turkey, and then settled in Vilna, where he became

personal physician to Prince Radziwill His services were much sought after by both Jewish and gentile patients, but his busy life as a physician did not prevent him from producing an impressive number of important works in arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, geography, chemistry, mechanics, medicine, logic, ethics, metaphysics, philosophy, and Kabbalah Of this colossal output only two books have survived, the *Sefer Elim* (Book of Elim) and the *Ta'alumot Hokhma* (Secrets of Wisdom), both of which are of interest to us in the present context Toward the end of his life Delmedigo moved to Frankfurt, and finally to Prague, where he died at the age of sixty four

The antecedents of the *Sefer Elim* throw light on the international contacts Delmedigo maintained throughout his life While sojourning in Egypt and in Constantinople, he became friendly with Karaite leaders, and in 1620 his disciple Moshe Metz made the acquaintance of the Karaite scholar Zerah ben Nathan (b 1578) of Troki, Lithuania Encouraged by Metz's glowing reports about Delmedigo's scholarship, Zerah began to write, in the same year, scholarly Hebrew letters to Delmedigo, grouping his inquiries under the headings of twelve "springs" and seventy "palm trees," which, according to the biblical account (Exod 15 27, Num 33 9), the Children of Israel found at Elim, a station of their wanderings in the desert Zerah's letters deal with mathematics, astronomy, Kabbalah and the occult, astrology, alchemy, medicine, metaphysics, and theology He evidently was a learned man of wide interest, who sought further enlightenment in all the sciences of the day from Delmedigo, whom he recognized as a master in all of them

In 1623 Delmedigo responded in considerable detail, and a few years later he included the full text of Zerah's letters in his *Sefer Elim*, which was published in Amsterdam in 1629 by Manasseh ben Israel [5] Under the title "The Eighth Spring," Zerah writes about alchemy as follows

> The Eighth Spring in the Works of Hermes, and his medicaments, and on the rules of the natural secrets Several books have been printed recently in the languages of the *goyim* [gentiles], and in them are precious things about all the Works, such as how to write scrolls of secrets and how to heal strange diseases, and on agriculture, and on useful compounds, and on the operation of alchemy, and on the transmutation of metals And my heart desires to know whether there is any use in it in relation to its great expense and the troubles and the loss of time in carrying out a thing wanted And behold, there fell into my hands a booklet full of wisdom, a wreath of beauty, attributed to the Rambam [Maimonides] of blessed memory, who spoke wonders in it, as is his wont in all the sciences Also the ancient ones, Greeks and Arabs, extolled it, such as Hermes and Geber, and Ben Sina and Alberto, and Tomaz and Baqon, and thousands with them And in it are all

the affairs of the lands of China and Japan, and there is no nation or king dom that its fame has not reached, and not the whole world "cuts reeds in the meadow "[6] For it is certainly an exalted science, and my ears have perceived only a morsel of it from the mouths of the masters They tell of your honor [this is Zerah writing, addressing Delmedigo], and the makers and merchants of spices tell of the works of your hands, for you have many secrets, all tried and tested, to you are revealed all the mysteries, and with you kings confer and princes take counsel

And behold, this my desire has only recently been awakened, for never before did I have any dealings with these sciences, and especially not with alchemy I had only heard rumors about it, and I put it as a seal upon my heart, and now we have heard the tidings from your disciple [Moshe Metz] that you reign over all the expanses of this science, and rule over all its properties, its nobs and nests He also showed us some of your signs, sev eral kinds of colored glass stones which you have produced, and strong iron which you had made out of weak, and choice silver [you made] of strips of *sinfario* [cinnabar], and coin of half silver and half gold, and quick silver which you produced from several metals, and *talqo* [talc or mica] oil for making faces bright until ripe old age, and a ring in which there is a stone which, if you soak it in wine or beer and give it to a man to drink, it will make him eliminate, and it will suffice to make him eliminate [urinate] as long as he lives, without pain, and other operations, and priceless works He filled our belly with your delicacies, you greatly enriched us with your wisdom, he showed us marvels, for indeed your thoughts are exalted over the thoughts of others like the height of heaven, and "deep calleth unto deep at the voice of Thy cataracts" (Ps 42 8), "the waters stand above the mountains" (Ps 104 6)[7]

Although the letter is written in an effusive and exaggerated style, the factual basis underlying it must have been that Delmedigo's fame as a successful practicing alchemist had reached Zerah, and that Moshe Metz not only told him about Delmedigo's experiments but actually showed him artificial gemstones and other objects Delmedigo produced with his alchemy However, this letter reveals more about Zerah and his familiarity with alchemical literature than about Delmedigo's expertise in alchemy

Zerah begins by referring to alchemy as "the Works of Hermes," which is in conformity with the generally prevalent Hellenistic and medieval alchemical traditional about a mythical Hermes as the originator of the Great Art of alchemy The first alchemical treatise Zerah mentions is a "booklet" attributed to the Rambam, that is, Maimonides, this could refer to the Pseudo-Maimonidean treatise discussed above in Chapter 24 Next Zerah mentions "Geber," who, of course, is none

other than Jābir ibn Hayyān, with whom we are by now quite familiar "Ben Sina" is Ibn Sīnā (980–1037), known in the West as Avicenna, one of the greatest scholars and scientists of the Arab Middle Ages, considered a leading light by the alchemists "Alberto" is Albertus Magnus (c 1206–1280), the German Scholastic philosopher and theologian, another great alchemical luminary "Tomaz" is Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), yet another Catholic philosopher and theologian, who became a great authority for the alchemists "Baqon" is Roger Bacon (1214? 1292), the English philosopher and scientist, who was also adopted by the alchemists as a great master of the art By throwing out these illustrious names Zerah invokes the most prestigious figures of alchemy, and demonstrates that he was indeed well acquainted with the standard literature on the subject Moreover, by quoting a talmudic saying, which refers to ignoramuses as those who "cut reeds in the meadow," Zerah shows himself to be at home in rabbinic literature as well, not a common accomplishment among Karaites Interesting is the account Zerah gives of the antecedents that led him to the study of alchemy at first doubtful, when he read the treatise of Maimonides he became convinced that al chemy was a great science, whereupon he embarked on studying it to the point of becoming quite an expert in it

In a later part of his *Sefer Elim* Delmedigo included a piece of writing by his disciple Moshe Metz that seems to be a response to the above epistle of Zerah

> You have also asked me to let you know some valuable things about the natural secrets and the operations of alchemy, which I learned from my master And you asked me about the production of quicksilver out of Shabtai [Saturn, lead] and moon [silver], and about the transmutation of iron into *stal* [Ger *Stahl*, steel] and into copper, and *sinfario* [cinnabar] into choice silver, and how to add color to gold, and weight to moon, and the freezing of KTB [?, probably *kesef hay*, quicksilver], and how to separate the metals that are mixed together, and how we can draw one of them to the periphery while the other should remain in the center, and how we can bring the precious metals, such as gold and silver, in vessels, when we first melt them to [the consistency of] oil and water, and how we can take them a long distance so that those who look should not notice them, and how to soften glass like wax in fire, and other things about the important medica ments which help severe diseases, such as to heal the cramp and the loose ness and the epilepsy and the illnesses of the stone and the like, on which the members of the sect of Hermes pride themselves, and you dwelt at length on telling their praises according to what you tried, etc My learned sir, the mastery of the secret is a wonderful thing and is useful, but it is not known in public, as if you would say change saltwater into sweet, and keep

gunpowder which, even if fire touched it, would not burn, and preserve wine so that it should not become sour, and lemon juice so that it should not become moldy, and make a very fragrant *borit* [soapwort or borax] which will shave the hair like a razor when one washes with it in water, and remove spots from all kinds of clothes, and other endless things which are unknown to the whole world, except to a few, and they are very effective, and if they were known to the masses they would be considered nothing, and he who would teach how to do them would be like him who teaches the cooking of meat with onions, of which Ben Roshd [Ibn Rushd, Averroes] wrote in his compendium. . . . I shall let you know this time of a secret writing kept hidden with me, from the Book of Bosmath, which deals with the strange disciplines . . . [Signed] Moshe Metz.[8]

The Book of Bosmath Bath Shlomo mentioned above is an unpublished encyclopedic work by Delmedigo.[9] The whole tenor of this letter shows that Moshe Metz, too, was thoroughly at home in the world of alchemy.

Simultaneously with the *Sefer Elim* was published part of Delmedigo's *Taʿalumot Ḥokhma* under the title *Maṣref la Ḥokhma* (Crucible of Wisdom).[10] In its chapter 7 he extols experimental science, especially alchemy, and deprecates abstract theoretical discussion. He writes (48–49):

Hear, O wise artificers, this is not the straight path which you are following in the ways of research. The [true] natural science is to know how to create a creation or a formation, not to waste time in logical and philosophical discussions, and in building a thousand questions about the wings of ants as they wander about in movement. Your thoughts are totally empty, you err about the beginnings of materia and form, and [rehash] incidental chatter collected by idle priests whose books are heaps upon heaps of vain mockeries. Being engaged in them all day long with their disciples they appear to be able to answer every question, even if it be "terrible as an army with banners" [Cant. 6:4]. . . . But I do praise the inventors of definite works for the benefit of many, and the occupations of those who transmute metals, the sages among the philosophers of alchemy, who show manifestly the truth of their philosophizing, and likewise those [who work] in seafaring and in agriculture and in the devices of bringing water, and the like, who help the many in times of peace and times of war, for truly they are the accomplished sages who have invented marvels, and not the philosophers who write empty words. . . . For "let him who glorieth glory in this" [Jer. 9:23]—that he knows how to perform a superior thing of great qualities. Such a man alone can stand up before kings, and not he who asks great questions and scrutinizes words.

In the sequel Delmedigo recounts several fantastic stories known to him from talmudic and medieval Jewish sources about sages who alleg-

edly "created" animals and human beings. He does this in order to show that, by the grace of God, and with serious application, man can indeed achieve marvelous things. The presentation of these stories by Delmedigo right after he gives a realistic appraisal of the value of technical inventions in agriculture, water supply, and the like affords a striking insight into the mind of this late-Renaissance figure: he is fully aware of the value of technology for the improvement of the human condition, but when it comes to stories transmitted by and about prestigious Jewish religious authorities (he quotes the Talmud, the *Sefer Y'ṣirah*, Saadia Gaon, Abraham ben David, Ibn Ezra, and so on) his attitude is one of unhesitating suspension of disbelief, even though these stories run counter to everything he knew as a student of medicine and the natural sciences. We have here the same phenomenon we encountered in looking at the personality of Ḥayyim Vital, who lived a generation before Delmedigo: a combination in one and the same mind of precision, realism, critical observation, and experimentation on the one hand, and unquestioning belief in magic, in spirits and demons, in mysterious powers and influences, on the other.

An additional remarkable feature in the case of Delmedigo is his derisive attitude toward what he calls the "chatter" of "idle priests," whom he leaves cautiously unidentified but whom he characterizes as wasting their time with discussions of "a thousand questions about the wings of ants." We would express the same idea by saying that they were discussing how many angels could dance on the head of a pin. As against this scornful view, Delmedigo praises "the occupations of those who transmute metals," in which he sees a particular manifestation of the truth of the alchemists' philosophy, of which, regrettably, he says nothing further. In any case, it appears from the quoted passage that although Delmedigo disdained purely theoretical discussions of minutiae, he did believe in the feasibility of transmutation. Clearly, he was a man of broad knowledge, a polyhistor and scientist, but at the same time a son of his age.

Chapter Thirty-three

FOUR SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS

BERLIN MS ORIENT. OCT. 514

One of the most valuable Hebrew alchemical manuscripts preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, was discussed in part in Chapter 8.[1] It consists of ninety folios, about 4 by 6 inches in size, written in a clear Sephardi hand, probably in the seventeenth century. From references contained in the text it is evident that the manuscript is a copy of an older one, in fact one so old that parts of it were no longer legible when it was copied. Thus on folio 62b, under the superscription, "This is another way of cleaning the pearl of *lazule* [I. or S., lapis lazuli]," the copyist begins his text as follows: "I did not find the thing explained, for the paper was erased, and I wrote what I was able to." And on the next page (f. 63a) he again writes: "What I shall write here, a little of it was erased in the copy of the paper due to the length of time, and I wrote what I found." In fact, on several pages (e.g., ff. 88a–90b) the copyist left empty spaces in the middle of lines, or even left several lines blank, evidently because he was unable to decipher the writing in the original. In addition, the beginning of the manuscript is missing, and the extant copy begins with folio 45a (numbered in Hebrew), which a later user has renumbered from 1 in Arabic numbers. The following discussion uses the more recent numeration.

The manuscript itself is an alchemical anthology, similar in intent and method to the larger contemporary Gaster manuscript found in the British Library (see below). At one point during the history of the manuscript one of the copyists (not necessarily the last one) added many supplementary notes of his own, explaining what he understood the intention of the author to have been, or supplying alternatives to the author's prescriptions, or else correcting him. Thus the manuscript as it stands is the product of at least two Hebrew-writing alchemists: the original author, and the copyist-editor. The additions are always introduced with the Hebrew abbreviation *n"l*, standing for the words *nir'eh li*, that is, "it seems to me . . ."; and they are either written into the text or placed on the margin.

The author quotes a great many authorities, some known, some unknown, some in a single sentence, others at great length. A listing of

these references conveys an idea of the author's familiarity with the history of alchemy, and of the great variety of alchemical subjects he covers in his book.

On the first extant page (f. 1a) he writes: "And I have heard from MNSH [Menaseh?] that one needs the light of a candle. . . ." The manuscript contains no clue as to the identity of this MNSH. Also on folio 1a he writes: "In the Book of Seventy it says, the *boraṣe* [borax] with the iron is a secret." The *Book of Seventy* is one of the famous alchemical treatises attributed to Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. Still on the same page our author writes, "In the Book of Poisons it says that burnt iron and also burnt copper are deadly poisons." A *Book of Poisons* by Jābir is known and has been published in a German translation.[2]

On folio 1b the first item reads: "MAMYSQRT. Glass and frozen sulphur and *zarnikh* [arsenic] and *kokhav* [H., the planet Mercury, mercury]. . . ." It would be too hazardous to guess the identity of the alchemist referred to.

Folio 2b: "BYRRDO [Berardo?] told me: be careful about the salt, to prepare it so that it should melt like wax, for you will not succeed without it."

Folio 3b: "The philosophers said. . . ."

Folio 11a: "In the *Book of the Amendments of Yeber* [Jābir] it says: Pound well the whitened sulphur with the same amount of *nishdera* [A. *nushādir*, sal ammoniac].

Folio 11b: "A real act which GSPNP tried. . . ."[3]

Folio 13a: "Remember, and let not depart from your eyes that which is said in the *Book* QUPYRYTTE [?] and in the *Book of K"Ḥ* of the dissolution of the spirits. . . ." The letters *K"Ḥ* can stand for the number 28 or for *Kesef Ḥay*, quicksilver. Later in 13a is written: "Miriam [Maria the Jewess] said: 'Make copper white, and burn the books.' It seems to me because thereafter it will become yellow. . . ." No such saying of Maria the Jewess is known to me, but the style is definitely hers. The "It seems to me" note is the copyist's addition.

Folio 13b: "Said Yeber [Jābir] in this book, the *Book of the Moon*, which is Book thirty-eight of the seventy. . . . Said RYSKR [?]. . . . "The act of MAWRYLO [Aurelio?] who burned copper. . . ."

Folio 14a: "In the *Book of Succor* which is twenty-seven out of the seventy, it says. . . ."

Folio 16a: "In the book *The Treatise of Copper*, which is sixty-eight of the seventy, it says. . . ."

Folio 16b: "In Book thirty-eight of the seventy, which is similar to the Gate of Moses [?]. . . ."

Folio 17a: "On the compound salt which is called *sapon* [H., soap?]

of the sages, see in the *Book of Arqilus*. . . ." On the margin the words "King Solomon" are added.

Folios 19b–36a contain a Hebrew version of the famous *Book of Alums and Salts*, which we discussed in Chapter 8.

Folio 36a has a new title in the middle: "Flowers of Explanations of the Wise Men, which I sealed [in the sense of copied?] from those books with the help of God." On the same folio there is a quotation, "Said Hermos," that is, Hermes.

Folio 36b quotes "other people. . . ."

Folio 42a again quotes Yeber ben Ḥayyan, that is, Jābir ibn Ḥayyān.

Folio 46b carries a title "from a Latin book," and quotes Aristotle.

Folio 47a: "From the mouth of MSH [Messer?] Rinaldo of Villa Nova: To make sun [gold] and its water, and in the language of the *goyim* [gentiles] *ana* [read *aqua*] *solis* [L., water of the sun]." Arnaldus de Villanova (1245–1313) was one of the most famous medieval alchemists.

Folios 48a–b contain quotations from a *Book of Elim*.[4]

Folio 52a is identified on the margin as being "From the Hindī [Indian language] of Rabbi Y'udah," and it contains the description of an operation performed by "the Hindī" and instructions given by the same "Hindī," both pertaining to the making of what is called "Venetian gold."

Folios 52b–54a: "From Ḥajjī Aḥmed. . . . From Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn. . . . From Sultan BAZYT [Bayazit?]. . . . From an Arab Shaykh. . . ."

Folio 85b prescribes the use of *ḥammam Miryam* [A. *ḥammām M.*] that is, the bath of Maria, the well-known water-bath whose invention, as we have seen in Chapter 5, was attributed to Maria the Jewess.

The Hebrew of the manuscript is typical of the language used by most medieval and Renaissance Hebrew-writing alchemists. Many of them were guilty of lapses in observing the rules of Hebrew grammar, which require that adjectives, pronouns, and verbs conform in number and gender to the noun to which they refer. Instead, they (and our manuscript among them) often use a masculine verb, pronoun, or adjective with a feminine noun, or a singular verb, pronoun, or adjective with a plural noun. For instance, in the paragraph I quote below, the Hebrew text has *n'ḥoshet adom* (red copper), where grammar would require *n'ḥoshet adumah*, and *haz'khukhit yehafekh* (the glass will become), where correctly it should be *haz'khukhit tehafekh*. And, as we have often seen before, the limitations in the Hebrew technical vocabulary lead these writers simply to transliterate in Hebrew characters the foreign terms familiar to them. In the following example, taken from folio 85b of our manuscript, the italicized words are all Arabic.

Usrub aḥmar [red lead]. Put in the bottom of the melting-pot five *dirhams* [drachmas] of *mashūq* [ground] glass, and upon it five *dirhams* of *rasukht mashūq* [ground antimony], and on it one *ṣaḥīfa* [leaf] of lead—4 *dirhams*, and on it five *dirhams* of *rasukht*, and on it five *dirhams* of glass, and lute the mouth of the pot, and dry it, and put in into fire with bellows, and the *zuhal* [Saturn, lead] should melt like red copper. This is *usrub aḥmar*, and the glass will become like *marjān* [pearl].

Evidently, such an alchemical recipe was useful only for a Jewish alchemist who knew both Hebrew and Arabic. In an interesting passage (f. 39b) our author explains how he proceeded in translating Arabic and Italian alchemical terms into Hebrew:

It seems to me [necessary] to include this rule for you: In every book which I translated, in every place where you find the expression *taas^c^ūd* [A. *taṣ^c^ūd*, or *taṣ^c^īd*, distillation], then it is with dry *solimare* [I., to sublimate]. And thus *ha^c^ala'ah* [H., sublimation] is also *solimare*. But if you find *tas^c^ud* or *ha^c^ala'ah* in the wet, then he wants to say *destilare* [I., to distill] in fire, without the means of ashes and water. And where [you find] the expression *dilluf* [H., dripping], it is *destilare*, that is, as they make rosewater.

The Hebrew style is not very smooth, but the meaning is clear.

In this connection it should be stated that roughly until the middle of the manuscript the author used mostly European (Italian or Spanish) sources, and that accordingly most of the foreign words he uses are Italian or Spanish; often it is difficult to establish which of the two was the original language reproduced. From the middle of the manuscript on, the author relied primarily on Arabic sources, and consequently almost all the foreign words he uses are Arabic.

Now for a few examples from the manuscript. First a very simple and brief prescription:

(f. 4a) Philosophers' clay. Very important. Take ashes and sift them through a cloth. And take salt, and dissolve it in water, and knead it with the ashes, and dry it in the sun. Do this three times. Then grind it in a vessel, and when you want to remove it, soak a cloth and moisten the clay in the vessel, and cleanse it, and when you need it for luting, knead it with the water of the salt.

The next one is interesting because of the limitation it imposes on its dissemination; it has a marginal note: "I found this in a book."

(f.12b) THIS operation is called the Messiah of the Righteous, and it is forbidden to give it to the ignorant. Take smooth green sulphur and quicksilver, and mix them together, and grind them well, and cook them together with rosewater at night in a glass vessel, and the fire should be gen-

tle, and the vessel should be sealed on top, and in the morning take it out and grind it and mix it with strong vinegar, and then return it to the vessel as it was. Do thus six times until the quicksilver dies. Then take these powders and grind them and distill them in a distillation, and of twelve ounces three ounces will remain. Then take one part of *sal armoniaqe* [sal ammoniac] and one part of saffron of iron and *ʿubr* [A., eagle, sal ammoniac], and one part of linseed oil, and grind it all and mix it with what you obtained from the distillation, and grind and mix it well, and put these powders into a new glass flask, and put it into a pit full of dung, and cover it well for seven days, and at the end of the seven days you will find in the flask something like a piece of metal, and make a powder and take the metal, whatever it will be, and heat it and put [some] of this powder on top and [word illegible] it, and then take of lead one part, and cut it up and throw its powder upon two parts of quicksilver, and when you see the smoke from the quicksilver rising, throw on it [some] of this powder, and take of this mixed quicksilver one part, and one part of gold, and mix them together, and it will color it to gold which will be good for all tests, and try it. And he who understands from this will be right, and will live to the end of days.

The only question in connection with this is a run-of-the-mill alchemical prescription is why it should be given such an extravagant name as "Messiah of the Righteous."

(f. 13b) SAID RYSKR: Combine the spirit with the soul and dissolve the strong body—it seems to me: *qroqo di ferro* [I. *croco di ferro*, iron oxide] or any one of the bodies—and mix it with them, and it will restrain it and conquer it. Or put the soul into the body and then put the spirit. Or dissolve both of them and mix them and freeze them.

OIL of sulphur, purified, transmutes burnt copper into gold.

IT HAPPENED to Maurilo [or: Aurilo] that he burned *nogah* [H., Venus, copper] in the same amount of yellow live sulphur—it seems to me arsenic is better—and he washed it in water and salt and *alume* [alum], and it became white. I heard that if you mix with it *sal niṭri* [sodium nitrate], that is to say with the *nogah*, it will make it white.

(f. 15a) IN THE NAME OF GOD IT WILL BE. AMEN

THANKS TO Him who graces with knowledge, Who is the first and the last, etc. The performance of the *kīmīyah* [alchemy] of which the philosophers have said: He who observes my commandments will attain that which he desires. And if he does otherwise, he will err. And let him begin when the sun is in Aries at its height, without fault. And likewise he says: If you do it, it is necessary that the moon should be in Taurus. Take the herb called *moltobona rizinate*[?] without any other thing. And thin it in *viminie*[?], and wash it well, and put it in a pot without water. And put this *ususrbita*

[I *cucurbita*, currurbit, gourd shaped flask] in another pot in which there should be water with ashes, and mix this with gentle fire, and do it until the oil that comes out is red Then make a strong fire under it And the water which you will find in the pot, which has come out of the stone, put it aside in a glass vessel And do thus with the oil, and preserve it in another place in *al-rotībah* [A *rutubah*, moisture] And on this throw fire And when all the water and the oil comes out, and the sediment remains in the pot dry and black, preserve them separately Then take the water and filter it up to three times And put that pot into a pot in which there should be ashes without water Then turn it around and grind it well with its water in a glass *tablah* [A , bucket] And preserve it in a covered glass vessel And put on it enough of that water so that it should cover it [by] two fingers And seal the cover well And bury it in soft and warm dung And the cover should stand above it, and leave it there fourteen days And every four days change the manure, and on the fifteenth day take it out and filter the water and preserve it And put the stone into an *anpulah* [I , ampulla] of glass, in the sun And seal its mouth and dry it And then grind it with water And put it in a glazed vessel covered with clay on all sides But its mouth should be open And make a gentle fire under it for six hours Again grind it well and drench it with the abovementioned water until it becomes soft Then put it in a glass vessel and bake it on the fire for twelve days, and thus it will become white And then take the oil and add to it three parts of urine from a twelve year old boy, and mix it well together, and let it stand in the pot, and leave it, and it will become very red And keep the red and throw away the rest Then put it into that pot, and put it once more into very warm dung, and it will be white And that which is in the pot will be red And preserve it wisely in a glass vessel well covered And this is the root upon which the philosophers relied and in which they trusted The red is a med icine for the sun [gold], and the white for the moon [silver] Put one part of it on a thousand and nine hundred of Mercury And if you wish to make it more pure, put it on a thousand and three hundred And if you don't have Mercury put it on Mars [iron], one ounce on nine hundred (f 16a), and I believe that this is the same for Sun and Moon And the artist Yeber ben Hayyan said that he took of the mentioned thing the weight of one *ǵarah* [carat'] and put it on ground *qristalo* [crystal] of four dinars, and melted it, and out came wonderful *yaqut* [ruby or sapphire]

(f 49a) [On the margin From Hajji Mustafa] Take ten *dra* [drachmas] *tutia* [A , tutty, zinc oxide], ten *drachmas zibak* [A , mercury], and put the tutty to melt, and put in it *ʿabd* [A , slave, quicksilver], and make a *malgama* [A , amalgam], and put into it five *drachmas* of sublimated *zīrnikh* [A , *zarnīkh*, arsenic, realgar, auripigment], and five *drachmas* of white pu rified *sīǵān* ['] and thirty *drachmas* of purified good *burada hadīd*

[A , filings of iron], and thirty *drachmas* of copper leaves like *fārah* [ʾ] and knead them with egg white, and put them into two copper bowls, and lute them well, and put them into dung, and make over it a fire like that for maintaining *zīnjīfra* [cinnabar], and remove it from the *dims* [container], and put it into a melting pot and melt them in sesame oil If it comes out *taqlīs* [A *taklīs*, calcination], put into it the same amount of copper, and mix it with whatever you want

(f 50b) THIS IS HOW one extracts oil from egg yolks Take the yolks after they have been cooked, and put them into a flask, all well luted, and seal its mouth with [word missing], and put it in an earthenware bowl in the bot tom of which there is a hole for the neck of the flask to go through, and place (f 51a) the bowl upon an *istrivade* [ʾ] and put the receiver under it, and put the flask with its mouth downward so that it should go through the hole of the bowl, and lute the hole of the bowl around the neck of the flask, and when it has dried put into the bowl ashes up to four fingers, and on the ashes make fire around the flask at a distance of one or two fingers, little by little, and from the heat of the fire the oil will descend from what it is into the receiver, and this is its sketch [see Figure 33 1, top] And this is called *istanzal* [A , receiver] And there is a thing that needs stronger fire, and they make [for it] the *istanzal* in a bowl and in a flask even more luted, and they put another bowl as a lid on top of the bowl, and the flask sits wholly in the ashes, and they make the fire on top of the bowl which is the lid, and from its heat whatever has to descend will descend into the receiver And this is its sketch [Figure 33 1, bottom]

(f 51b) OIL of scorpio [sulphur] Take seven small flasks that can stand the fire, and fill them with ground scorpio, and lute them well, and let the clay dry, and put on it more clay, and let it dry, and put on it more clay, so that it should be luted three times, so that it should be thick, and dry it well, and make a long pit in which there should be room for the seven flasks, and the flasks should be at a distance of about a span from one an other, and take sand and cover them lightly, and put under them sand four fingers [deep], and upon that sand put the flasks at the distance stated, and fill the whole hole with the aforementioned sand, until full, and it should extend above the flasks four fingers, and the pit should be well filled, and make on it a fire with cattle dung until it becomes ashes, and when it cools press the ashes well with your two hands, and then make a great wood fire on the ashes for about four hours, and when it cools open the sand If you find one flask whole, it should be enough for you

(f 52a) [On the margin From the Hindī of R Y'udah] OIL of sulphur Take four drachmas of *ʿuqāb* [A , eagle, sal ammoniac] and grind it and put it in a flask by itself, and sublimate it, and take of what was sublimated three drachmas and grind, and grind four drachmas of green sulphur, and

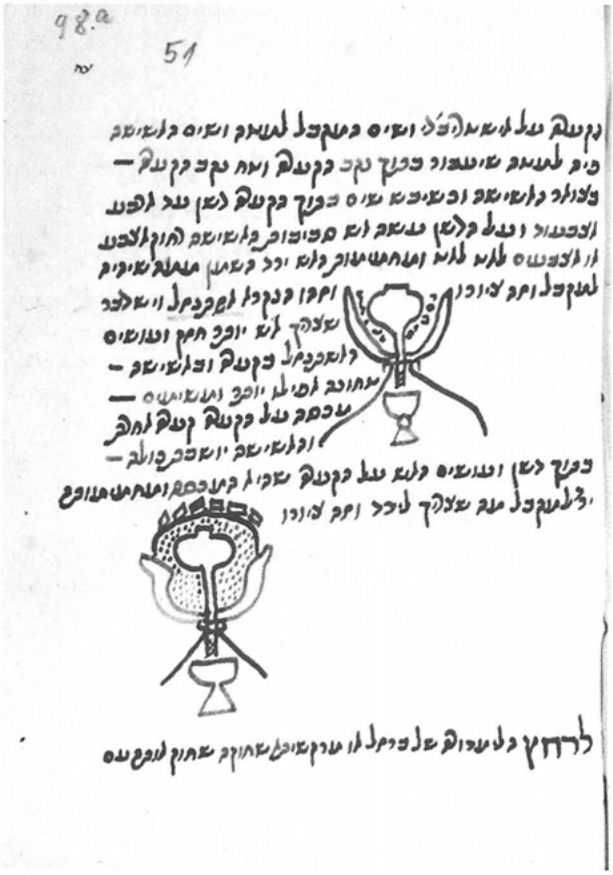

Figure 33.1. Two sketches of *istanzals* (receivers), that is, stills.

grind one drachma and *saf* [A. *sāf*, pebbles], and grind one drachma of *nishisti* [?], and grind twenty-five drachmas of live lime, and mix all the ground substances and put them in a *storta* [I., retort], which is a crooked flask, and put the retort into sifted ashes in an earthenware pot which is well luted, into the oven, and put under it middling coal fire, and let it sit until white smoke rises from its mouth and you see that red comes from its mouth into the receiver, and then oil-like drops, and green smoke. When there is in the receiver about twenty or fifteen drachmas, remove it from the fire and preserve the oil. And then the Hindu took about twenty drachmas of *nogah* [H., Venus, copper], and made of it a thin leaf, and melted it and made of it a thin leaf, and melted it and made of it a thin leaf, up to three times, and he melted it and threw upon it, while it was in the melting pot,

three drops of the oil, and threw it in a *verga* [ʾ], and put the *verga* next to the fire, and it became whole sun [gold] And the Hindu also said that this sun is not whole, for it lasts [only] up to twenty years and then it returns to its root And then he took a golden quart [a coin], and made it thin as the goldsmiths do, and put it in the melting pot, and when it was close to melting he threw into it three drops of the mentioned oil, and it all became (f 52b) like ashes, and he preserved it Then he took twenty drachmas of *zuharah* [A , Venus, copper], and melted it once by itself, and took of the mentioned ashes and threw into it what the head of the *ilal* [ʾ] could stand, and threw it into a *verga*, and out came Venetian gold, and he gilded with it a ring of *ariento* [ʾ]

(f 63a) TAKE three red beans of the kind that is called the white bean, on those which there are with all kinds of eyes, and big and bright, and put them into a flask, and fill the flask with donkey's blood, and seal the mouth of the flask well, and let it sit, and it will produce kinds of worms, and one will eat the other, and at the end only one big one will remain, and when it grows put it into another flask, and beware lest it bite you for it is a kind of viper, and give it donkey's blood to eat, and when you see that it has become big let it starve two days, do not give it blood, so that its strength should diminish, and take sharp scissors and cut off its head, and take its blood and dry and preserve it, and put one drop with any metal you wish and it will become sun [gold]

(f 69b) PHILOSOPHERS' CLAY [Take] glass, if you can, the known iron, in equal amounts, grind them well and knead them with the blood of a sheep, and it will become good clay There is nothing better than this

(f 70a) When you want to operate with spirits and souls, such as *zarnīkh* [arsenic] or scorpio [sulphur], you must thin it in this manner cook it on gentle fire with sesame oil, but at first one must pound it with *qalia* [kali] salt, and at the cooking when the oil becomes black remove it and wash that which is cooked with *qalia* water, and cook it with new oil Do this until it becomes white

Know that if you cook the spirits or the souls with oil to purify them, if you must purify them of the oil there is no other way except that you cook it with lemon water, and with nothing else

This last example from the manuscript shows that the author was well aware of the dangerous nature of some of the experiments he describes

(f 79b) To make *mā zarin* Grind *bārūd* [A , saltpeter]—two, *ʿuqāb* sal ammoniac—one, and put them in a bowl, and make a pit at the bottom of the oven, and in that pit make coal fire, and fasten the *īnbīq* [A , alembic], and have the receiver not luted, and when you see that the likeness of a white cloud rises, quickly put an iron cover over the pit, and put on the *anbīq* [alembic] the edge of a leaf, and you should stand afar, and you will

see that the receiver becomes full of white cloud like cotton wool And when no whiteness is left in the alembic, strengthen the luting of the alem bic, and seal the alembic with the receiver, and then remove the iron cover which is over the fire, and from time to time strengthen the fire until it becomes flames, and you will see that the cloud which is in the receiver will shrink into the bottom of the receiver and will go down like oil into the receiver And when it ceases, remove it and keep it And if you put sun [gold] into it it will become water and will go over into the receiver And when you have distilled it three times the gold at the bottom will remain dust

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The three pages of another Hebrew manuscript in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek[5] written by an anonymous alchemist present a summary of the alchemists' philosophy, the Jewish alchemists' claim to be the only true heirs of the ancient and secret alchemical knowledge, the alchemical worldview of the nature and properties of the four elements, and the most sublime goal of all alchemical endeavor the production of the elixir of life It is written in beautiful Yevanic Mashait script, probably in the seventeenth century, and its author had a fine command of Hebrew

LISTEN to me my sons and lend me your ears I shall reveal to you the secrets of the science hidden by the philosophers, and I shall reveal secrets, transgressing the commands of my teacher, for I considered it wrong to withhold what is good from those who should possess it, so that this sci ence should not become lost but should belong to him whose heart moves him to approach it, to the man who raises the candle of science over his head and protects it and surrounds it He will find it, and take it into his heart, and will be able to translate these hidden things from theory into practice, will draw water from a deep well, and after having reached the heights of science he will find what he desires, and will be proud of it, and will show the fools and the ignorant who have seen no light the hidden things which one must reveal only to a single adept, [otherwise] it would be better had he been an abortion and never seen the light of day, for this secret is so great that the ancient ones ceased to search for it and could never attain it, for the first ones hid it deeply and wrote their words in hints, and after them no man possessed enough spirit to reach it, because of its depth And this science is a gift of God, and no man can achieve it except with an elevated spirit and a pure heart which God, blessed be he, has filled with wisdom and understanding to know all works

And this science no man can deny, because it is true, for the false scholars did not study it well enough and did not learn its true meaning, so that

their words are worthless, for they did not understand the words of the great scholar Aristotle But we, the young ones of the flock, have followed the footsteps of the great wise men, and we exerted ourselves until we grasped the meaning of the great philosopher, and until no doubt was left with us And in this science we found things whose wonders of wonders the eye will not be satisfied seeing and the ear hearing Blessed is he who knows the thing whose value no man has known, and happy is the woman born who attained it

And now my son I shall open to you the gates of wisdom, I shall reveal a little and conceal twice as much, and you will understand its depth in a blessed hour, and will draw water in joy, and will extract the elements as you know how, and put each element separately, and guard it from the air

Thus far the words of our author present no difficulties What follows is more problematic, because while ostensibly he speaks of the four ele ments, what he actually discusses are four quasi miraculous medicaments he terms water, oil (which he equates with air), fire, and dust Moreover, after arousing the reader's curiosity by asserting that he is the heir of great and secret ancient wisdom which he will divulge to the son whom he addresses, he fails to fulfil the promise, and all he does is to state that there exist these miraculous elixirs, and to describe in considerable detail their medical use, but he says almost nothing about the manner of their preparation, except for the last one, that made of earth ("dust")

THE WATER is useful for all illnesses, both the cold ones and the hot ones, because it is hidden in its nature, and is very helpful for him who has stab bing pain in the chest, and it removes poison from the heart, and moistens the nerves and strengthens them, and revives them All illnesses that affect the lungs, such as thick wetness [phlegm] which sticks to them, and weak ness, and damage, it cleanses it and heals it It also cleanses worn out blood and its rancid wetness, and after the natural purification it guards it so that it should not come to a weakening of the breathing vessels And a person who has suffered his illness for a long time and his nature has given out, if he can manage to drink of it three or four times, you will see its effect, and there is hope

THE OIL is the air, and it helps the sucklings and establishes them in health and beauty, and keeps them from illnesses all the days of their lives, and delays old age And he who takes of it should take a small amount in soup And the reason is that it preserves the blood in its health, and also the white humor so that it should not become dominant over the blood, and it subdues the black humor so that it should not dominate the nature [of the body] And it preserves the red humor so that it should not burn and should not produce sediments And it increases the blood and the semen, and because of this those who are accustomed to take the water and the oil

must undergo blood letting at certain times, and cleanse the body, accord ing to the advice of the experts of medicine And this oil opens the obstruc tions of the sinews and nerves, and if a limb has denegerated it heals it and returns it to its nature And this is tried If a person, while he is growing up, until the age of twenty, has lost the sight of one eye or of two eyes, let him put one drop of this oil into the eye every day, and let him refrain from all work, and let him rest up to one month Moreover, if a limb seems to become weakened due to excess of exertion, this will heal it by the power of its effect

THE FIRE is wonderful in producing great effects, for it helps all kinds of diseases, like the oil, and more so Its effect is to make the old young because it cleanses his nature, and makes him rejoice, and returns him to the days of his youth But do not imagine that it can resuscitate the dead, for that key has not been delivered into the hands of any man, only the Creator of All alone has the dominion But he who lies on a bed of suffering and is near death, give him one drop to drink it will enter the chambers of the heart, will make him rejoice, and return him to health, and it expels the poison from the heart quickly, and it dispels and removes all the bad humors, and it revives the nature and returns it to its proper state And if old men get used to taking this oil at the proper time, and drink of the abovementioned water one sip, it removes all the illnesses of old age, such as belching, and yawning, and weakness of digestion, and the flowing of urine, and the shattering of [word illegible], at times they are constipated, and at times suffer looseness of the bowels, and eczema, and halitosis And this is why it is called *elixir vitae*, for just as leaven is good for dough so this elixir is good for the body, for it makes it healthy and establishes nature on a healthy basis

AND THE DUST too has wonderful qualities, if you prepare it and make it into lime, and dissolve it in burnt water, and distill it in a *pito* [ʾ] and then congeal it, it will become like salt, and this is how you should do it sublimate it in the alembic, and what remains in the bottom of the alembic is the salt And this salt can congeal the quicksilver, so that it becomes another body and no longer becomes sublimated in fire And the water that you have sublimated through the alembic will congeal all the other spirits, and make them resist fire And if you take fire [probably the salt] and dissolve it in burnt water the water will become red, and put the quicksilver which is *fiqs* [I , fixed] in the water upon small fire, then the quicksilver will in stantly dissolve in the water, and when it is dissolved mix into it one third of the water of the *su'l* [ʾ], on weak fire, and everything will instantly be come one body And then put into it a little alum, then it will become hard and become a red stone And this stone, if you wish to prepare it, treat it with *mercurios* [mercury] oil, and it will become elixir for the quicksilver, and one part of it on a thousand of quicksilver

Having finished discussing the four elements (or, rather, the elixirs he calls by their names), our author switches to a new theme, and without any introduction or explanation begins to talk about a herb as if the reader would be familiar with it from a previous discussion Nor does he say anything that would enable the reader to identify the herb, or to know how to go about finding it Yet that herb is the supreme elixir of life, and it appears that everything he said earlier was merely an introduction to his presentation of this essential medico-alchemical substance [6]

> BEND your ear and understand that this is the manner in which you can find this herb any time And let your clothes be white, for the ancient ones did not want to reveal this work, except for the remnants whom God calls the Faithful of the Spirit And this herb gives love and brotherliness to him who knows it, and its ashes are beloved and dear and it makes the heart rejoice, and encourages it to be victorious over everybody who opposes him, and he will not retreat from anybody And there are those among the adepts who do not know how to separate the four elements, and they put this herb together with its flower into burnt water which was sprinkled twelve times in its known vessels, and that water extracts the nature of the herb, and the water becomes red Collect of that water about as much as a whole hazel, and give it to him to drink every morning with wine And all the philosophers have agreed that this water helps all illnesses, and if you take a *magneta* [I *magnete*, magnet] stone, and wrap it in this herb with this flower, and put it in a clean white cloth, and carry it with you, you will be liked and favored by kings and great men, and all those who rise up against you will not succeed and will flee from you, all spirits, and demons and harmful beings And nobody was able to find a wisdom such as this anywhere in the earth or the seas, for it is the beginning of the medicine of the philosophers and the chief crown of all wisdom, for the person who knows it is transformed by it into another person, adorned with rows of gold adornments, and all those who see him will recognize him, and it gives him dominion, dignity, and respect, and raises him above all things And it assures the healthy body of its health, lest any bad thing happen to it, and he will dwell in the dwelling of peace And if the illness is renewed, it will heal him in one day, and if it has persisted for a year it will heal him in twelve days, and if it is an old illness it will heal him in one month And therefore this medicine has to be sought above all others, for its effect is greater than that of all other medicaments produced by the wise researchers

In the concluding part of the treatise, the author introduces yet another magic elixir, that of "gold water " The search for the aurum potabile, drinkable gold, has been a favorite preoccupation of alchemists throughout the ages, but our author speaks of it as if it were a known

medicine, of which he had a supply in his possession, and on whose preparation he does not have to waste a single word

> And now I shall reveal to you the secrets of gold water And one has to know that he who takes of it is cured of all the illnesses that are in the body, even absolute leprosy And it gives the barren woman pregnancy, and strengthens the nature of him who is impotent, and raises his rod, and it protects all bodies from all internal and external diseases, and it cleans all the spots and maculae from all faces And it helps the darkening of the eyesight, and strengthens the nature, and protects the health, and he who takes it regularly will rejoice and be happy forever, and the skin of his face will not change, and his juice will not dry up, but he will remain in his beauty all his days, and it helps jaundice, and removes all the bad humors from the heart, and it protects the body against poison And since water is purer and lighter and more convenient to enter into all the limbs of the body than powder, we made this compound And happy is he who under stands and knows it, and happy is she who gave birth to him After all, God is merciful
>
> The spirit of wisdom and understanding
> Finished and completed

The last six lines of the page contain a prescription given in the name of "Maester Arnalo Devila Nova" (Arnaldo de Villanova) recommend ing a medicament composed of a mixture of herbs, goat's milk, and rose water, with the addition of "sixty or seventy gold leaves " Since Villa nova—one of the most famous names in the annals of alchemy—lived from 1245 to 1313, the manuscript discussed above could not have been written earlier than in the beginning of the fourteenth century But its style and the terminology employed (including the absence of Arabic terms), in addition to the script, point to a seventeenth-century origin, possibly in Italy

The Gaster Manuscript

A major seventeenth-century Hebrew alchemical manuscript was acquired by Moses Gaster (1856–1939), rabbi of the English Sephardi community, Zionist leader, and pioneer in Jewish folklore studies In his article on "Alchemy" in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Gaster called it "an important manuscript" and "as complete a *bibliotheca alchemica Judaica* as one could desire "[7]

The manuscript, evidently a copy of an older one, was written in 1690 It contains 173 folios and consists of two parts the first deals mostly with the early Greek Arab period, the second with the Latin world It begins with a note about the "moon" (silver), and recipes for making gold and transmuting copper into silver (f 2a–b) This is fol

lowed by a recipe for transmuting tin into "moon and sun" (silver and gold). Throughout, arsenic, alkali, *zag* (A. *zāj*, vitriol), mercury, tin, lead and *metal* (S., brass) figure prominently (ff. 2b–9b).

Next comes the full text of the treatise of "Ibn Aflaḥ" (= Abufalaḥ) of Syracuse (ff. 3a–21a), presented above in Chapter 7 from an older manuscript. Several subsequent excerpts are stated to be "without a name"(ff. 21b, 23b, 24b). In between are recipes for making gold and silver out of base metals (ff. 14a–15a), and for "adding to the weight of the sun," that is, multiplying gold (f. 15b). Folio 23a contains an excerpt "from the Book of Yoḥanan ASPRMANTT," which name, despite Gaster's guess, cannot be satisfactorily identified. On folio 25a begins the *Book of Astutah* (or *Astuto*), which name, as Gaster suspects, is probably a corruption of Ostanes, the famous ancient alchemist.[8] On folio 45a is found a drawing of an alembic.

Book Two (ff. 45a–52b) is ascribed to Aliberto Manyo, that is Albertus Magnus (c. 1206–1280), the German Scholastic philosopher and theologian, sainted by the Church, who wrote extensively on a great variety of subjects, and to whom alchemical writings were attributed.[9] Folio 2a contains instructions for the preparation of *luna* (moon, silver) out of arsenic, *sid luna* (H.-L. "lime of silver"), etc., ground and mixed with water of sal ammoniac.

Book Three (ff. 53b–58b) is stated to be "The Book of Spiros," whom I am not able to identify. He is quoted as having "performed great works," including the preparation of the elixir. In this book (Pseudo-)Democritus and "Arquitinus" are quoted, and several recipes are given for making gold and silver.

Book Four (ff. 58b–64a) is "The Book of the Shining Star," which again starts with recipes for the transmutation of "metals into sun and moon."

Book Five (ff. 64a–70a) is "The Book of Aristotle." It discusses the use of vitriol, tutty, alum, Saturn (lead), the urine of boys under twelve years of age, red water, white water, and "white philosophers' oil."

Book Six (ff. 70a–76a) is "The Book of Yeber," that is, Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. This book discusses orpiment, atramento (black dye), elixir, and the alchemical use of salts. It includes a "Book of the Great Stone" as well as a discussion of the *supostorio* (*suppositorio*?), arsenic, and so on.

Book Seven (ff. 76a–78b) is "The Book of Arcturus."

Book Eight (ff. 78b–82a) is "The Book of Arkhilus [Archelaos]," who seems to have been a Byzantine alchemist. Ruska identifies him with Archelaos of Miletus, the pupil of Anaxagoras,[10] who is referred to several times in alchemical treatises. This book also mentions the process of *qagular* (*coagulare*, to coagulate).

Book Nine (ff. 82b–90a) is "The Book of Light," a name resembling those borne by many alchemical books, including the *Liber lucis* of John

de Rupescissa, the well-known fourteenth-century alchemist.[11] Among the items discussed in it are antimony, tutty, DRGNT (*dargent*, silver?), salt, gold, silver, lead, sulphur, asphalt, cinnabar, copper, balsam, other substances, and a method for solidifying mercury.

Book Ten (ff. 90b–94a) is entitled "The Book of Maestro Irimans of Qostantina" who, perhaps, is none other than Morienus (variants: Marianus, Morienes), the Byzantine (Qostantina = Constantinople = Byzantium) monk, the legendary teacher in alchemy of the Umayyad prince Khālid ibn Yazīd (see Chapter 9.) To Marianus is attributed the treatise *Sermo de transmutatione metallorum*.[12]

Book Eleven (ff. 94a–97a) is entitled "The Book of the Thirty Paths," which could refer to a part or parts of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān's well-known "Book of Seventy." Following a brief presentation of the thirty paths, we again learn of orpiment, and then of sulphur.

Book Twelve (ff. 97a–103a) is "The Book of Avi Sina," that is, Ibn Sīnā, known in the West as Avicenna (980–1037). Although Ibn Sīnā was in fact rather critical of alchemists—he argued that the transmutation of base metals into gold was merely a matter of appearances, while the substance of the base metals remained unchanged—he was nevertheless adopted into the alchemical canon, and a fourteenth-century Latin practical alchemical treatise bears his name.[13] This book also discusses the use of borax, alums, and stones.

Book Thirteen (ff. 103b–115a) is "The Book of Razes." Razes (or Rhazes, Muḥammad ibn Zakariyya al-Rāzī (c. 854–c. 925), was a great Persian physician who practiced in Baghdad, and whose writings were for centuries required reading for medical students in both the Muslim world and Europe. No less influential in alchemy was his *Kitāb al-Asrār* (Book of Secrets).[14] This book in the Gaster manuscript contains instructions concerning sal ammoniac, orpiment, how to calcinate; it mentions ḤRMS (probably Hermes), cadmium, marcasite, and gold making.

Book Fourteen (ff. 115b–118a) is "The Book of Plato." Alchemical works written by, or attributed to, Hermes, Plato, Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn Sīnā, and Rāzī are standards in the literature of alchemy.

This part of the manuscript concludes with a valuable glossary of Arabic and Greek words, which awaits study by a linguist at home in those two languages.

On folio 118a begins the second part, called "Kolel Sheni," or Second Collection, which contains excerpts in Hebrew from the writings of Christian European alchemists. In this part, Italian terms in Hebrew transliteration appear frequently. It includes (f. 119b) excerpts from Mestre Arnaldus, that is Maestro Arnaldus de Villanova (c. 1300), the famous alchemist, many of whose works have been translated into Hebrew.[15]

This is followed by a quote from Ioane Ashkenazi (ff. 121b–122b), which name, Gaster suspects, could be a Hebrew translation of "Teutonicus," originally "Theodonicus" or "Theotonicus," mentioned by Berthelot.[16] Then we learn of purgation (f. 121b), following which comes a reference to "the well-known man" (f. 123a), and several mentions of fixation (ff. 123a, 123b, 125a). Next comes "the work according to Messer Piero Dabano" (ff. 125a–b), who is Petrus Bonus or Pietro Antonio Boni, the author of *Margarita pretiosa*.[17] This is followed by short recipe-extracts from several alchemical authors: Niccolo di Ingliterra (ff. 125b–126b), Mestero Ermano de Normandia (f. 126b), Messer Andrea di Napoli (ff. 127a–130a), Jacopo da Venesia (f. 127b), Bartolomeo d'Altenpio (f. 129a), and Giaspare (Gaspare) di Bologna (f. 130b).

These excerpts are interrupted by a long recipe entitled "Operation According to the Abifior della Luna" (ff. 130b–131a). "Abifior" (in correct Hebrew spelling *apifiyor*) means "pope," and "Pope della Luna" could perhaps refer to the anti-pope Benedict XII (pontificated 1334–1342), born Pedro de Luna, of a noble family of Aragon.[18]

On folios 131b–133a there is a long discussion (all superscribed "Abifior,") based on the sayings of "ancient philosophers" about the correspondence between mercury in metals and the soul in the human body, which is translated below. These quotations are several times stated to be taken from the *Turba philosophorum* (Philosophers' Assembly), one of the most famous medieval collections of alchemical discussions. The Gaster manuscript quotes many philosophers by name (transcribed in Hebrew as Pramenidas, Mugais, Furnias, Filipelino, Magrines, Mariares, Morienus, Astamus, Artabanus), of whom only a few can be identified with the names actually appearing in the *Turba*.[19]

Now follow references to more alchemists: "Cristoforo of Abolonia who operated in our house" (f. 133b), Messer Joane Botrio (ff. 133b–134a), Frati Elia (ff. 134b–135a), Messer Simone (f. 135b), "Nico who made a white suit of clothes" (ff. 135b–136a), Gulielmo da Monte Polaseno (f. 136a), and an instruction "according to the Romito who speaks of *particulare*" (ff. 136b–137a).

This part of the manuscript concludes on folio 137b with the following colophon (in Hebrew): "Finished and completed are the books of alchemy, today, the 25th of Ṭeveth, in the year "*matay* (when) will the Redeemer come." The letters of the word *matay*, which stands for the year, have the numerical value of 40, 400, 10, or a total of 450, which corresponds to the civil year 1690. The copyist added: "As I merited to copy all of it, so may I merit to reach the light [i.e., the Messiah] which we await every day."

The conclusion of the text (ff. 138a–140b) is followed by drawings of alchemical vessels (alembics, retorts, furnaces, etc.) with Hebrew explanations (see Figures 33.2–33.7).

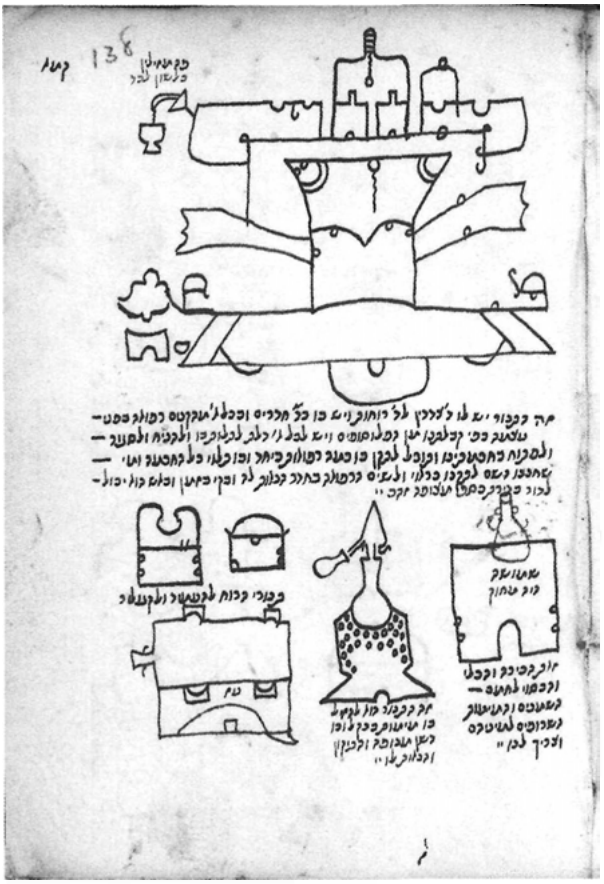

Figure 33.2. Alchemical apparatus in the Gaster Manuscript, folio 138a. Top left: "Here they flow through a tongue into a jar." Middle: This furnace has four sides toward the four winds, and there are in it twenty-four chambers, and in each of the tubes there is a separate medicine as we received them from the philosophers, and each one has a door to hang on it and to put, and to shut and to open, in our wisdom. You can set up in it several medicines together, and on it depends the entire science, and he whom God has graced by blessing him properly and [letting him] put each medicine in the chamber which is suitable for it, and he who is an expert in timing and firing, can dwell in a dwelling of silver overlaid with gold." Bottom right, inside figure: "Its use has been erased." Under it: "This is the furnace and the vessel and the lid to heat the burnt oils and the waters according to their kinds, and we need it." Bottom middle: "This is the furnace to liquify in it the waters easily, and in it are weakened ashes, and the preparation, and what is suitable for it." Bottom left: "The furnaces of spirit to make it stand and to coagulate."

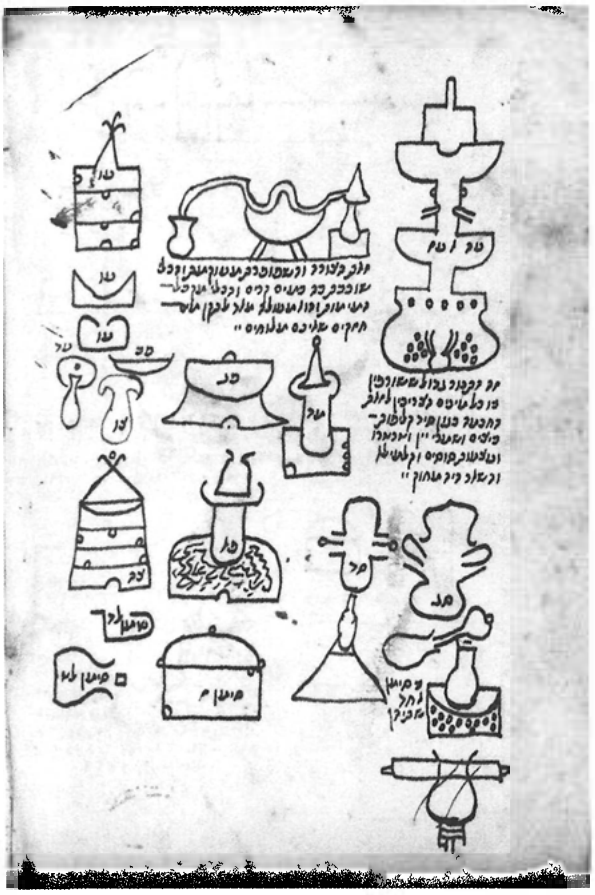

Figure 33.3. Folio 138b of the Gaster Manuscript. Top right, in figure: illegible; under the figure: "This is the big furnace in which are burned all kinds which are needed for this science, such as the lime of eggshells and sediment of wine, and tartar, and bones of horses and calomel, and the rest was erased." Top middle: "This is the shape and the crooked tube, and the vessel lies in it in cold water, and the vessel receives the water, and it is very superior for the preparation of strong water which is not salty." Lower right: "There is one sign for both." In each figure there is a number called "sign."

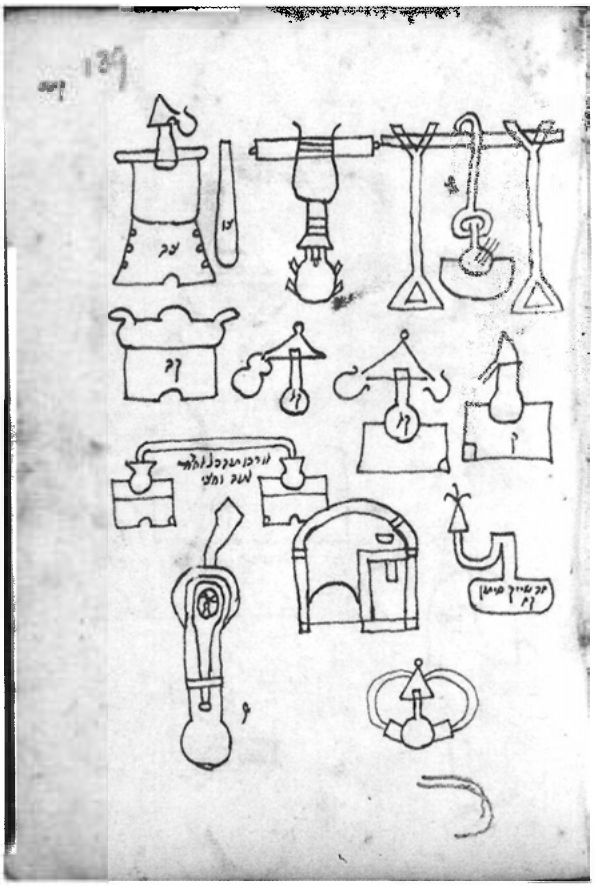

Figure 33.4. Folio 139a of the Gaster Manuscript. Middle right: "This belongs of sign 107." Middle left: "Its total length is one cubit and a half."

The six pages of figures are followed by detailed indexes of names and subjects (ff. 143a–169a). Finally (ff. 170a–173b), there are four leaves in Arabic, with many words written in unconnected letters. In the same disconnected manner is penned the Muslim invocation of God, *Bismillahi l-raḥmāni l-raḥimi* (f. 172b), "In the name of Allah the compassionate, the merciful." The very last page of the manuscript (f. 173b) is written again in Hebrew and deals with mercury.

A few excerpts from this manuscript follow.

> (f. 55a) FOR SOL. DEMOCRITUS said: Take white *ṭuṭia* [arsenic] and *merqurio* [mercury] and red alum and *ṭarṭarus* [tartar], and throw it on tin and on lead which are prepared together.

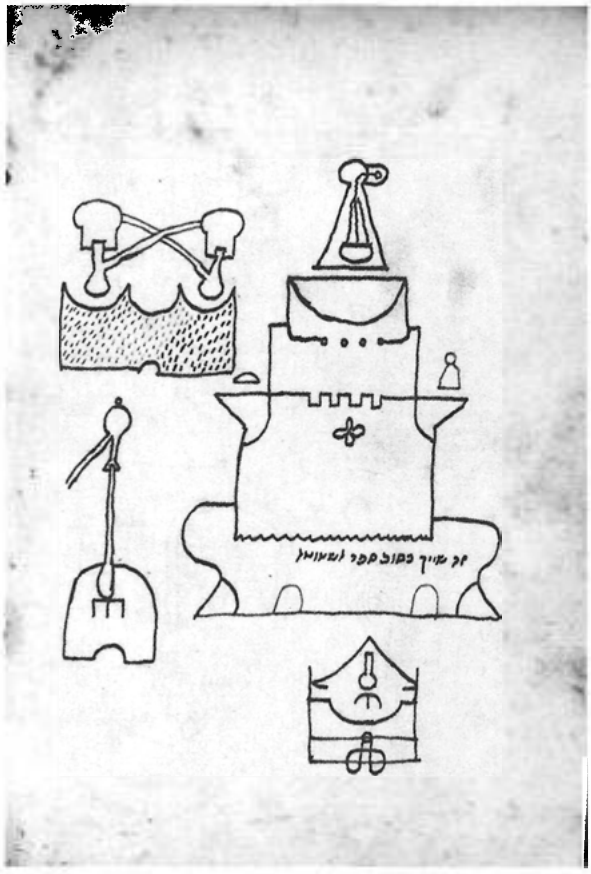

Figure 33.5. Folio 139b of the Gaster Manuscript. Middle: "This belongs to the end of the Book of Astuta."

FOR SOL. Take mercury and red alum and *ṭuṭia* [tutty, zinc oxide], and grind them together in red oil of blood which had become red from *sal armoniq* [sal ammoniac], and with other red things, and throw it on *luna* [silver] or on Venus [copper] four times, and it will be *sol* [gold].

(f. 128b) TO REMOVE hair so that it should not return. Take green frogs called *raqno*, [I. or S. *rana*], three of them, and put them into a bowl in which there should be good wine, and let it stand in the sun two months, that is Yulio [July] Agusto [August], and then wash your face or the roots of the hair, and it will be removed not to return again.

TO MAKE hair black. Take fig leaves and burn them and make of them a *lisia* [solution], and with this solution wash the hair, and it will be black.

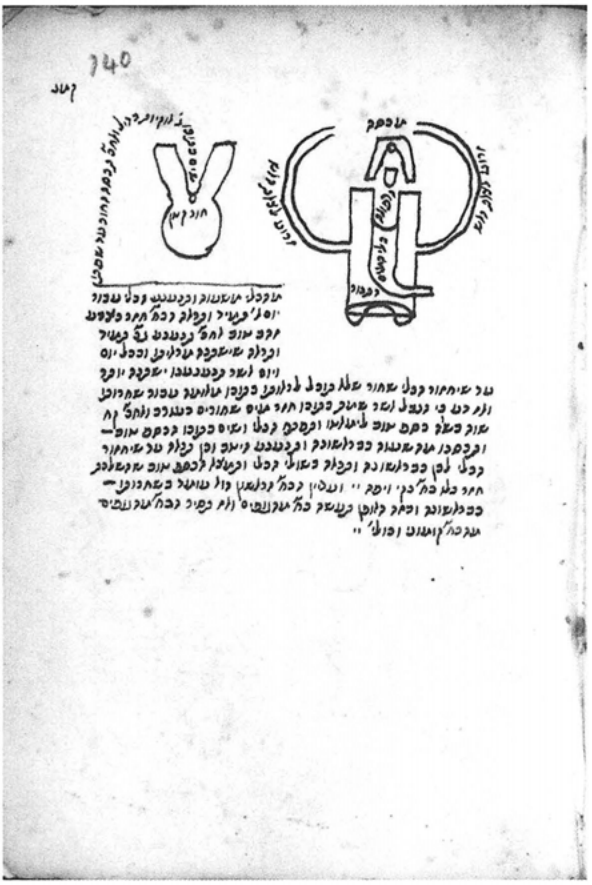

Figure 33.6. Folio 140a of the Gaster Manuscript. Top right (written around the figure), right arm: "arm for the exit of the fire"; top: "lid"; left arm: "arm for the exit of the fire"; inside the vessel: "the medicine; the water vessel; the furnace." Top left figure, inside: "a small hole"; descending from top of vessel: "Put a piece of three ounces of tin, and then plug up the hole up to the lip of the vessel with wax, and shake the vessel for one day always, and you will see the quicksilver become the color of good gold. Then shake it again constantly, and you will see that its appearance has changed, and every day that you shake it, it will change more, until the vessel becomes black so that you can see nothing inside it because of its blackness, and then know that the *nevel* [?] which you put into it became water black like the raven. And then take equal amounts of good filed silver, and open the vessel and put into it the good silver and cover it with wax as at first, and look at the bottom of the vessel and you will find that the good silver that you have thrown in has all become pure and beautiful quicksilver. And the first quicksilver will still remain in its blackness as at first, and in this manner you will make quicksilver out of the bodies, and then remove the quicksilver from the bodies from the common quicksilver, etc."

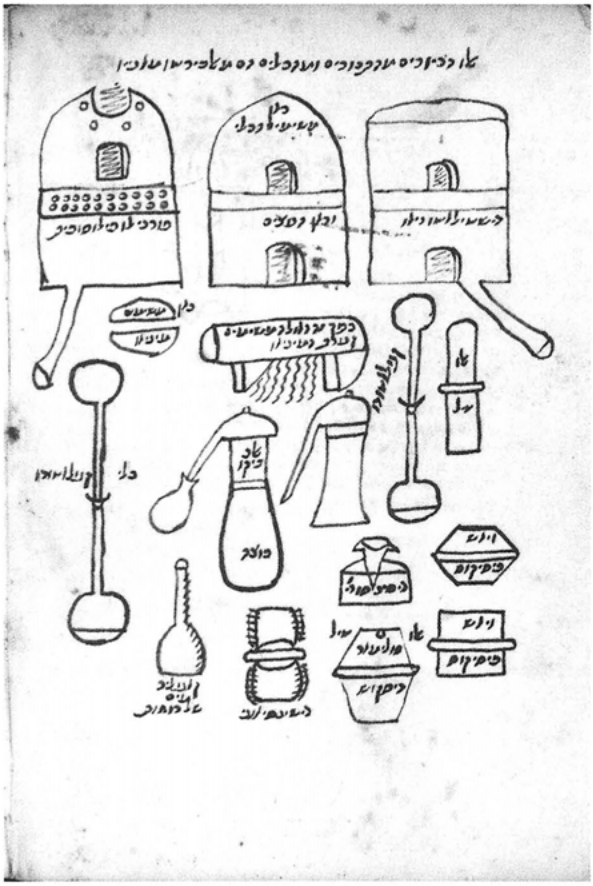

Figure 33.7. Folio 140b of the Gaster Manuscript. Top: "These figures of the furnaces and of the vessels are from Alberto Manyo [Magno]." Inside top right figure: "Disțilațorio [distilling apparatus]." Inside top middle figure: "Here one puts the vessel and here the wood." Inside top left figure: "*fornillo filosofit* [philosophical small furnace]." Under top middle figure: "Into this loop one puts the bowl of minium." On its right, next to long-necked figure: "*ganelatūdo* [cane-like]." On its left: "Here they put the minium." Middle left: "cane-like vessel." Middle, inside vessel, top: "alembic"; bottom: "flask." Lower right, inside both vessels: "*vias fisiqos* [physical . . .]." To their left, inside top vessel: "*disinsorio* [?]"; inside and around bottom vessel: "aludel, to sublimate discs." Bottom center: *resensione* [receiver?]. Bottom left: "*qagulir* [coagulate] water of spirits."

FOR RED COLOR Take *qrıstalo* [crystal] and make a fine powder, and mıx ıt wıth vınegar ten tımes, and dry ıt Then mıx ıt wıth vınegar of the juice of *grānāte* apples [pomegranates] ten tımes Then *rofīfīqa* [*rarıfica*? rarıfy] *vıtrıolo* [vıtrıol], and put ıt ınto the urıne of a boy untıl ıt becomes water, and ın thıs water put sal ammonıac, and grınd ıt ın ıt, and then soak the crystal ten tımes Then put ıt ın a moıst place, and ıt wıll become water Dry thıs water, and ıt wıll become stone crystal Throw one part of thıs on four parts of tın, and ıt wıll turn ınto the color of gold

(f 130b) THE OPERATION ACCORDING TO THE ABIFIOR della Luna on the stone Take one *lıtra* [pound] of *lımato* [filed] copper, and let ıt be ın pure *lımatura* [filings], and mıx ıt wıth four pounds of quıcksılver, and put ıt ınto a *tortıro* [S *tortera*, bakıng pan] wıth a lıttle salt and vınegar untıl they become *amalgamate* [amalgamated] (f 131a) together, and when they are well mıxed and glued together, put on them a great quantıty of quıcksılver, and put all thıs ın the *orınale* [flask], ın a flask whıch should be ın the ashes upon very weak fire, whıch should be lıke the heat of the sun, for one full day Then remove ıt from the fire and let ıt cool, and when ıt cooled put ıt ınto strong and tough lınen cloth, and squeeze the quıcksılver forcefully through that cloth, and what wıll come out of the quıcksılver and of the fılıngs should be *desılata* [*dıstıllata*, dıstılled] lıke the quıcksılver Put ıt asıde ın a flask Also take other quıcksılver and mıx ıt wıth the aforementıoned fılıngs left ın the lınen cloth and return to the weak fire for a full day as you dıd at first, and then let ıt cool and pass through the lınen cloth all that has melted of the fılıngs ın the quıcksılver as you dıd at first, and contınue to do thus untıl all the lımatura fılıngs melt and become quıcksıl ver and all of ıt goes through the lınen cloth If you take all thıs quıcksılver wıth the fılıngs lımatura whıch have become quıcksılver, and put ıt ın a *vıtrıato* [glazed] vessel as ıt ıs proper to do, and put ıt on a gentle fire and bake ıt untıl you see on ıts surface some blackness, and remove that black ness as you can wıth one [word mıssıng], and contınue to do so and to remove the blackness untıl ıt no longer produces blackness, and do thıs on a weak fire, and after the quıcksılver remaıns pure and clean then you wıll have the element of earth and water prepared And after the quıcksılver becomes pure then take all thıs *materıa* and put ıt ın a flask, and put on ıt the quıcksılver that floats on ıt, and bake ıt on a weak fire four full days And agaın put on them quıcksılver and bake ıt and do thus untıl the earth becomes whıte and clear, and thıs ıs what the Phılosopher saıd Take thıs earth wıth the aforementıoned water that should be *montrafiqata* [ʾ] whıch, ıf ıt wıll be pure ın thıs manner, all our work wıll be done Then take all thıs combınatıon and put ıt ın a flask, and put on ıt a *lamıqo* [ʾ] and dıstıll ıt as much as you can ın strong fire so that the choıce [part] should ascend and the earth should remaın ın the bottom of the vessel *qalsınato* [calcınated]

THEN take yeast of whatever you want, one-third of a part, that is, if the impure body is one pound take half a pound of the wheat [soul] of the sun [gold] or of the moon [silver], and don't take any other wheat but of sun and moon, and make of this wheat a *malgama* [amalgam] of the sun or the moon prepared in the manner mentioned above, and bake it together three full days. Then put on them quicksilver, and bake it as you did at first, and do thus until these two bodies become combined, and the sign is that they are combined when the color returns to them. Then put on them other quicksilver, little by little gently until they drink of them as much as can be drunk, and always put on them new quicksilver to drink.

(f. 131b) AND KNOW that in this combination they make the bodies so that the spirit mixes with them and becomes one thing with the bodies, and they are transformed into one nature. And thus *luṣirme* [?] that is to say, the substance that will be born out of these substances will become pure with the bodies, which could not happen before the bodies were pure of their [word illegible] and of their muddiness, and thus they grow and multiply in number of *Vertigero* [?].

In the sequel to this section our author quotes the views of various "philosophers" from the Book Turba on the four basic elements of water, earth, air, and fire, identifies water with quicksilver, and gives instructions concerning the re-creation of the elements in the alchemical work. He subsumes these topics under three "sayings," the first of which concerns the transmutation of the impure bodies into quicksilver, the second the making of earth, and the third the purification of the produced earth. Then, in the "fourth saying," he gets down to a discussion of the analogy between the relationship of body and soul in the human being and in the elements. In doing so, he uses the term "wheat" [H. *ḥiṭṭah*] to designate the soul that informs both the human body and the body of the elements:

THE FOURTH SAYING is that the water can *ababorare e solimaṣione e asènṣione* [I. *evaporare e solimazione e ascensione*, evaporate and sublimation and ascension] and that earth will become air, for at first it was thick, that is, *sfisa* [I., fixed] with the earth and the water. And behold, I showed you the earth and the water and the air, and behold it is what the philosopher Felipelino said in the Book Turba: "You should always whiten it with dry fire until out of it comes the powder which you will find in it." And it is what is called [word illegible] by the philosopher ARMS [Hermes?]. And the philosopher NGRIDES [?] also said that calcinated earth will remain in the bottom of the vessel which is of the nature of fire. And in this manner we shall have four elements in the mentioned work, and of the mentioned dust of which the philosophers and the philosopher Mariaris [Morienus] said, "Don't beat and don't disdain the ashes which are found in the

bottom of the vessel, for in them is the crown of the heart, for they are the *firminato* [I., solidified] ashes." And thereafter put the mentioned wheat into the mentioned dust [which is] the soul of the philosophers, for just as the human body without its soul is nothing and is like dregs, so the impure body [of an element] without its wheat, which is called soul, is nothing. And just as the soul when combined with the human body is its substantial life, so the wheat is prepared and ready for the body [of the elements], which is not yet pure until you combine the one with the other, and the wheat supplies it with its substantial life, and takes it out of its nature and transmutes it to its [own] nature.

And know that there is no other wheat but the wheat of the sun [gold] or of the moon [silver], for just as the sun and the moon rule over the other stars, so these two metals rule over the others, and they are better and more honored than the others, and therefore are called wheat.

Then it is necessary that the wheat, that is, the soul, should be put into the body so that the body should be capable of becoming pure and should receive vitality, and this is what the philosopher Moranais [Morienus] said: "If you don't purify the impure body to make it white, you will not be able to put into it the soul in such a manner that the color should become white, and nothing of your work will become purified."

Then it is necessary that you combine the wheat, that is, the soul, with the pure body, and then the vital spirit will become combined with it, and will rejoice with them [i.e., the soul and the body], because they are pure and clean of their impure nature, and are now bright and fine. And this is what the philosopher Astamus [Ostanes?] said in the Book Turba: "The spirit will not combine with the body until the body becomes pure of its turbid material, and is purified thoroughly and is divested of its dustiness."

And know that at the time of their combination the greatest marvels are seen that can occur in the world. And then the body which is impure receives the color of the complete and permanent color, and this is on behalf of the wheat which is called soul. And the soul, that is, the quicksilver, on behalf of the power of the soul, will combine with the body, and unite with it, and the color from the wheat transmutes and becomes one combined thing. Then, with the mentioned saying, every wise man can see and know that the philosophers, in clear speech and with fine discernment, spoke the truth and uttered deep sayings.

Next our author goes on to discuss other aspects of the relationship between body and soul as they bear on alchemical operations:

(f. 132a) THE PHILOSOPHERS SAID that our stone is of four elements, and they likened it to them. And behold I have shown you that there are in this

stone four elements, that is, earth and water and air and fire And so they said that our stone is composed of body and soul and of spirit, and they spoke the truth about this, for it is spirit They likened the impure body to ashes and water, while the quicksilver they likened to the spirit of the wheat They said that it is the soul, because it gives life to the impure body which is the copper, which previously did not have vitality, and it also transmutes it into a good shape And other philosophers said that if you don't transform the corporeal thing into a non corporeal, and the incorporeal into a corporeal, you have not yet found the way [20] And about this they spoke the truth, for the impure body, that is, the copper, will at first turn into water, that is, into quicksilver, and then it will become incorporeal, and then, at the time of the combination with the spirit, that is, with the quicksilver, it will turn into body There are other philosophers who said something exactly like this in other peculiar words Artabanes [said] one to the other, you will find what you are seeking And they spoke the truth, for our work is to make out of the thick thing a thin [thing], that is, out of the body we make water which is quicksilver, and then (f 132b), we make it dry, that is, out of the water which is quicksilver we make earth And also of the quicksilver which is the moist [element] we make dry, that is earth, and in this manner we make and transmute the corporeal thing into a spiritual, and the spiritual into corporeal, as we said And we make also something which is supernal into something which is lower, and vice versa, that is, that the spirit will become body and body will become spirit, and this will be in the beginning, through the *solimasion* [I , sublimation] of the impure bodies [when] they become quicksilver Thus it will be seen that our stone is of four elements, [and] of body and soul and spirit, and this stone is made of one thing They spoke the truth about this, for we perform our whole work out of quicksilver, which is called in general by all the philosophers "living blessed water," which has such power and virtue that it dissolves every metal and transmutes it into itself

And don't believe that it dissolves the bodies *de solsione* [I *de soluzione*, by dissolution] just a little, as the peoples of the land [the ignorant] believe, but it is a real and natural *disolsione* [I , dissolution] and *qalsinare* [I , to calcinate], and it transforms the *qalsinas* [I , calcinated things] into ashes and whitens it and purifies it as the philosopher Bonays [?] said that everyone must bake the quicksilver in fire with the copper which will remove the blackness and the darkness from the copper, and then combine the two pure bodies together in the aforementioned manner, and they will so combine in strength and mixture that no power of the fire will be able to separate them, nor can any *azminasione* [I *azzimazione*, embellishment] and *stintasione* [I , coloring] separate them from each other, but let him protect them from burning and the scorching of fire, and let him put

the power of the virtue from the one into the other in a manner so that it will no longer be possible to call them two bodies, but [they will be] like one body in shape and quality. And also *solima* [I., sublimate] the bodies not in the sublimation which most people say; we are not speaking here of the superiority of the vessel, that is to say to take the quicksilver with *arseniqo* [I., arsenic] and to make them sublimated with strong and rapid fire. And they said that in this manner the bodies are pure and sublimated. And the truth is that they are in a great error in this, for the bodies will then be more impure than at first, [and] then our work is not in the highest place, that is, *solimare* [I., to sublimate], but it is sublimation which the philosophers call "lower *solimare*." And it means to change the thing which is muddy and make of it a thing which is supernal and pure and clean and sapphire-like [spiritual].[21] The people say "This man is *solimaṭo*," that is, that he ascended to the highest degree from the first, or that he had *dinaiṭare* [cf. I. *renato*, reborn]. And thus we say in our Work, when the bodies are *solimaṭe*, that is, when they are *asoṭiliaṭe* [I. *assottigliata*, thinned], and are combined with the highest nature, and from the muddy thing they become not muddy, that is to say not *qoroṭe* [I. *corrotte*, corrupt]. And likewise this will make the living water a sacred water, that is, quicksilver. And then many colors will become visible before they become white, and in the end there will remain the white color. But the combination of the water with the body will be clean, and the wheat is called many colors, but without purpose, one cannot count them. (f. 133a) In this manner it will appear to you that our Work is of one thing and is made of one independent thing, that is, the sacred water, the living water, and it is the quicksilver, and it is of four things, water, earth, air, fire, as we have said above, and it is of three things, namely body, spirit, soul, as I have shown to you above in the explanation.

The Budapest Manuscript

In the Kaufmann Collection of Hebrew manuscripts in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences there is a one-page Hebrew alchemical manuscript (Kaufman, 454), of apparently Italian provenance, written in what probably is a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Sephardic hand.[22] It contains three recipes: one for making gold out of silver, one for solidifying quicksilver, and the third describes a method of "revivification" by means of verdigris. Linguistically the manuscript belongs to that category of Hebrew alchemical writings which use a great number of foreign terms for the alchemical materials, instruments, and operations for which no Hebrew terms were available, or at least were unknown to the writer. In the following translation, all the foreign terms are Italian.

TO MAKE OUT OF HALF GOLD AND HALF SILVER, OUT OF *QOPULA* [LINKING TOGETHER] SO THAT TOGETHER THEY SHOULD BE GOOD GOLD OF TWENTY TWO *QARATE* [CARATS] GOLD SUITABLE FOR EVERY TEST

First make *qalsıkalısone* [*calcınazıone*, calcination] of the *luna* [silver] in this manner take silver and pass it through a *lıma* [file] so that all of it be *lımato* [filed] finely, and take three times as much quicksilver as is the weight of the good silver, and smelt the two together, and take as much sulphur as is the weight of the aforementioned two silvers [together], and get *qomuno* [common] *kalsınato* [calcinated] salt twice the weight of all the aforementioned things, and put it in a well covered earthenware pot, and put it on the fire, and when you put it [off] it will no longer be liquid Let him take the aforementioned salt and sulphur and quicksilver and good silver, and put it all into *al mortaro* [the mortar], and pound everything until it becomes fine, and put everything in a melting pot which must be well *lutāto* [luted] with clay, and put it on great fire which does not have to be blown, and leave it on the fire until you see that it no longer makes flame, and then remove it from the fire and throw it into a vessel in which there is hot water, and there they will separate, and the silver will remain a powder in the bottom of the aforementioned vessel And remove the water from the aforementioned vessel slowly, and you will find everything at its bottom And then put everything in a vessel on high fire, and when every thing is dry take sulphur twice the weight of all the aforementioned things, and also the same amount of common salt, and repeat twice what you did before, without any quicksilver Thereafter let whatever rises from all of it sink to the bottom, as is written before us about this

To make quicksilver stand [i e , coagulate], take an equal amount of gold and quicksilver and *verde rāmo revıfiqato* [revivified verdigris], and one part of calcinated silver, and the same amount of *salmonıaqo* [sal ammoniac] as the weight of the silver and the verdigris and the gold, and grind all this well on a marble stone so that all of it should be well mixed together, and put all this into a glass *busa* [vessel] with a long neck, and which is so large as to be able to receive three times all the aforementioned things And put the aforementioned vessel on weak fire, and give it fire all the time two days running, and at the end of the two days make under it a great and mighty fire, burning for two hours, and then remove the vessel from the fire and break it, and take the powder which is on its bottom from the aforementioned things, and then take the same amount of silver and of gold as the weight of the aforementioned powder, and put it into a melting pot with the *boraso* [borax, saltpeter], and when it is melted make of it a *verga* [rod, bar], and pound it with a mallet on an *ınqorına* [?] so that it should be fine like the *qarlıno* [*carlıno*, a coin], then take *vıtrıolo romano* [Roman vitriol,

ferrous sulphate] and verdigris in equal amounts, and sal ammoniac weighing as much as the two together, and *qroqonfero* [*croco di ferro*, iron oxide], and put the iron in *limaṭura* [filings] as the weight of all this, and knead all of it together in the urine of a virgin boy, and dry it all on weak fire, and do this four times. Then take the aforementioned *baṭuṭo* [*battuto*, beaten] silver, and cut it into small pieces, and fill a melting pot with the pieces of the silver, and then with the aforementioned *misṭura* [mixture] until the melting pot is full, and then cover the pot with the *luṭa* [clay], and leave a little hole in its roof, and give it weak fire for one hour until the aforementioned clay becomes dry. Then give it great fire for the duration of two hours so that it should melt, and remove the pot from the fire and make of it a rod, and this will be twenty-two *qaraṭo* [carat] gold by any test.

Method of *Revifiqasione* [Revivification] with *Verdigris*

Take verdigris and put it in a melting pot covered with a brick, and give it great fire for one hour, and it should be made to make iron oxide. Take filings of iron and sulphur, and put them in a melting pot and give it fire until smoke rises, and when the mentioned smoke rests remove it from the fire and put it in another melting pot, and do thus three times. Then take all that is in it and put it in a vessel of glass, and put in the mentioned vessel as much strong vinegar as will cover all the mentioned things by two fingers, and put it on strong and powerful fire for two hours until you see that everything is red like the appearance of blood. Then remove everything from the fire and it will be done.

Chapter Thirty-four

BENJAMIN MUSSAFIA

BENJAMIN ben Immanuel Mussafia (1606–1675), a descendant of Spanish Marranos, was probably born in Spain, but lived in Hamburg, where he gained fame as a physician and a man of wide learning in Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Greek. He became personal physician of King Christian IV of Denmark, and dedicated to him one of his books, entitled *Mē haYam* (Water of the Sea), dealing with tidal flow. It was published in Amsterdam in 1642.

Upon the king's death in 1648, Mussafia moved to Amsterdam, where he became one of the intellectual and administrative leaders of the Jewish community. Like many other Jews in Amsterdam, Mussafia was an adherent of Shabbatai Zevi, the false Messiah, and consequently was attacked by Jacob Sasportas, a zealous fighter against the Shabbateans.

Mussafia's most important work is the *Musaf heʿArukh* (Supplement to the *ʿArukh*). The *ʿArukh*, written by Nathan ben Yeḥiel of Rome (1035–c. 1110), is a lexicon of the Talmud and the Midrashim, with comments on all the words found in that literature in need of explanation. Mussafia's supplement, printed in 1655 in Amsterdam, corrected the Greek and Latin words explained in the *ʿArukh*, based largely on Johannes Buxtorf's 1640 *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum*. This book, published in no fewer than twenty editions, secured Mussafia a worldwide reputation.

Among the works of Mussafia that are of special interest in the present context is a short treatise in Latin under the title *Mezahab epistola* (The Epistle Mē-Zahav), which was first published in Hamburg in 1638. Addressed to a learned friend of the author, who remains unnamed, the young Mussafia (he was about thirty) presents an overview of how gold figures in the Bible, and a compendium of the explanations rabbinical scholars, including medieval commentators, appended to those biblical passages in which gold is mentioned. The main value for us of Mussafia's treatise lies in the fact that it gives a detailed and reliable picture of Jewish views in his day on the role gold played in the life of ancient Israel, and on biblical references to alchemy.

The name of the treatise, *Mezahab*, correctly *Mē-Zahav*, is taken from Genesis 36:39 (= 1 Chron. 1:50), where, in the listing of the ancient kings of Edom, who "reigned before there reigned any king over the Children of Israel," we find this statement: "And Baal-Hanan the son of

Achbor died, and Hadar reigned in his stead; and the name of the city was Pau; and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Mē-Zahav." Modern biblical scholarship has very little to say about Mē-Zahav, even whether it is the name of a man or a woman. The literal translation of the name is "water of gold," or "goldwater" (see Chapter 2 above).

The alchemists had, of course, much more to say about Mē-Zahav. Blithely disregarding that it appears in the Bible as the name of a person, they took it to mean "gold-water" and, combining it with the story in Exodus in which Moses gave to the Children of Israel water to drink into which he had mixed the powder of the golden calf (Exod. 32:20), they built upon it the assumption that Moses was a great alchemist who knew the secret of the aurum potabile, one of the never-attained goals of alchemy. This was the subject that Mussafia tackled in writing his *Mezahab epistola.*

Following its publication in 1638, Mussafia's treatise was included in several standard collections of alchemical writings, with detailed comments by the compilers of those anthologies. The Latin text was copied faithfully from one edition into the next, and the Hebrew names and expressions contained in it were also copied consistently, with exactly the same corruptions repeated again and again.

The most detailed and most learned comments on Mussafia's *Mezahab epistola* are contained in Johann Jakob Schudt's monumental *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten.*[1] Schudt was no great friend of the Jews, but he was an indefatigable collector of information which he presented objectively and accurately. The following includes most of the material on pages 327–39 of volume 3 of the work. It consists of three parts: Schudt's introductory remarks in German; the Latin text of the *Mezahab epistola*;[2] and further explanations by Schudt in German. The many faultily transliterated Hebrew names and words have been retained as they appear in Schudt's text, followed in square brackets by their correct transliteration and where applicable, their translation.

A Jewish Epistle Called Mesahab Concerning Alchemy and the Art of Making Gold

Since . . . we promised to present a detailed account of how also the Jews meddled in alchemy and the art of making gold, therefore we enter here the totality of the epistle *Mesahab*, which is not unknown to scholars, the more so since there occur in the same also a few other curious and noteworthy things, which rightly belong to the Jewish curiosities.

§1. When we dealt above . . . with some money- and gold-hungry skinflints, and on that occasion mentioned that also the Jews meddled in gold making by means of alchemy, and at the same time we promised—since in

the mentioned place we did not want to make use of the opportunity for inserting such a lengthy discourse and printing an entire epistle as an authentic curious document of this matter—to discuss it in Part III, therefore we now wish to keep that promise rendered. And we will not enter in an extensive disputation with the gentlemen alchemists about whether gold making is a real transmutation (by means of the *lapis philosophorum* [philosophers' stone] or gold tincture) of one substance into another, namely lead and copper into gold, and tin into silver, in which case the *theologi* will hardly admit that such a thing is possible, because to transmute one entity into another is reserved to the divine omnipotence alone, as Christ did it when he transmuted water essentially into wine at the wedding in Cana in the Galilee, John 2:7seq. Therefore, neither will it be conceded to the devil that he can truly change men into wolves or cats, but it takes place by deluding the eyes so that they see themselves and others as if they were wolves or cats; or else it [gold making] is only a *perfection* and a completion of the baser metals, in which, with the help of fire and other things, one advances in a short time the incomplete metals of lead, copper, tin to the highest perfection of gold, which the sun, together with the subterranean fire-heat, would have attained in quite a lot of years. The best advice was given by the devil to several alchemists who asked him for his advice how they should proceed with the process they had begun when he said: *travaillez, travaillez*, work, work, for this is God's order: to nourish oneself by work, and to obtain God's blessing, as well as gold and money. But they understood it erroneously that they should zealously continue their alchemistical work, and that is what they did, and became beggars by it, and got *pro thesauro carbones*, coals for gold. Nevertheless the gentlemen alchemists are so dogged (*verbast*) about it that even the good Mr. Christian Eisenmenger[3] sacrificed his life to it, and became a veritable alchemical martyr, as we have mentioned above. . . . Others, who sacrificed to it only their fortune, got away more mercifully, but worst off are the deceitful gold makers who have to make and stand the last test on the gallows-assay (*Galgen-Capell*).

§2. Until the present time those scholars have possessed an old Jewish epistle in the Latin tongue entitled *Mesahab* about gold, which in Hebrew is called זהב *Sahaf* or *Sahab* [*zahav*], in which the *auctor* [author] (whose name and lifetime or place are just as little known as are those of the person to whom he wrote), a good alchemist, writes to an intimate friend about the art of making gold. This epistle was brought to light in the Latin language by Mr. Joh. Ludov. Hanneman, Medic, Doct. and Professor at the Hollstein Academie, Kiel, *An.* 1694, in 8 at Frankfurt-am-Main, with many curious *Annotationibus*, under the title OVUM *Hermetico-Paracelsico-Trismegistum, i.e., Commentarius Philosophico-Chemico-Medicus in quandam Epistolam* MEZAHAB *dictam de* AURO.

Despite Schudt's assertion, the identity of the author of the *Epistola* is well known

The Latin text of the *Mezahab epistola* is contained on pp 329–34 of Schudt's *Judische Merkwurdigkeiten* It begins with a descriptive title that reads

MEZAHAB EPISTOLA

On the Potable Gold Extracted from the Repository of the Sacred Litera ture and the Rabbis' Doctrines, for His Most Learned Friend, Already Well Known in all Europe, Carefully Written by a Certain Erudite Who at Pres ent Chooses to Remain Unknown

The text begins, as was the custom widely followed in the Middle Ages, by effusively complimenting the author's unnamed friend for his great learning and studiousness Then, as Schudt summarizes in his comments following the Latin text, the author adduces examples to show that the ancient Hebrews were masters of all the arts and sciences which his contemporaries claim had been recently invented This is fol lowed by a discussion of the central subject of the treatise, namely, the various kinds of gold known to the ancient Hebrews, and the operations they were able to perform with them Since this part is not covered in Schudt's summary, I present here its literal translation

The Holy Scripture mentions not only potable gold but six other varieties of gold, of which two have remained unknown until now to the hunters of secrets, nor have their names been explored, while the other four are termed by the Hermetics, the first purified gold, the second gold calx, the third essence of gold, and the fourth vegetative gold—names that are in fact not suitable to them, and to which I shall now set about to refer one by one

First potable gold, *mezahab*, obviously called water of gold, Gen 36 39

Second termed purified gold, *zahahme zucac* [*zahav m'zuqqaq*], puri fied gold, 1 Chron 28 18

Third clearly calx of gold, *zahab saruff*, burnt gold, Exod 32 20

Fourth that is to say the essence of gold, *zahab tahor*, clean gold, 2 Chron 9 16, 18

Fifth that is to say vegetative gold, *zahab parvaim* [*zahav parvayim*], 2 Chron 3 6, 8, and in the rabbinical language *zahaf mothi peroth* [*zahav mosi perot*], gold that produces fruits Sometimes also [called] *zahab sehru haseh peroth* [*zahav shehu ʿose perot*], gold that makes fruit, brings fruit

Sixth a gold unknown to the Hermetics, *zahab muphaz*, strong gold, 1 Kings 10 18 According to the rabbis *dome legofrit mutsehet baes* [*domeh l'gofrit musetet ha'esh*], similar to sulphur set on fire Sometimes, however, it is actually taken to mean *dome lapaz*, similar to the precious stone *spaz* [*paz*]

> Seventh: also unknown to the Hermetics, *zahab sachut* [*zahav shaḥuṭ*], stretched gold, 1 Kings 10:16, said by the rabbis to be *zahab senitva cahut* [*zahav shenitvah kaḥuṭ*], gold which is spun like a thread. Sometimes, however, called *seminsach que sa hava* [*shenimshakh k'shaʿavah*], which can be stretched like wax.

In the sequel Mussafia presents an erudite assortment of sources, explanations, opinions, and so on, on each of the seven kinds of gold, gathered from the Bible, the talmudic and midrashic literature, and the writings of the medieval exegetes Abraham ibn Ezra, Moses Gerondi, and David Kimhi. He also refers to Suidas, that is, the *Suidae lexicon*, the great historical and literary encyclopedia compiled in the tenth century.

He concludes his *Epistola* (334) with a reference, unusual in Jewish sources, to the alchemical expertise of the Jews in Hellenistic Egypt:

> The rabbis, in *Sh'mot Rabbah*, assert that this [stretchable] gold was very rare some time after the destruction of the [Jerusalem] Temple. For they say that now, indeed, it is found nowhere in the world. Adrianus [Hadrian] possessed a portion of the aforesaid gold the size of an egg; Diocletian, indeed, possessed the weight of a *denarius*. But the race of the Romans have no such thing in their presence. From this assertion I conclude, not undeservedly, that the books of *chymia* where were collected and burned by Diocletian, as Suidas mentions, belonged not, as he says, to the Egyptians, but to the Hebrews. For rather many things are attributed in histories to the Egyptians, above all when there is a discussion about the sciences, which, on stronger grounds, are connected with the Hebrews; because, I think, the Hebrew race was envied or held in contempt, or, what I deem more kind, because the wisest Hebrews dwelling at that time in Alexandria were called Egyptians—this is what I consider most likely.
>
> Whatever I had of gold I offered willingly to you, not ordinary gold but one fetched from the Sacred Treasury, which no other gold has the power to equal. Job 28:17. Farewell![4]

As we can see from the above summation and excerpts, Mussafia's erudition that enabled him to write his *Musaf heʿArukh* is evident in his *Epistola* as well. Most interesting for the history of Jewish alchemy is his assertion that the Hellenistic Alexandrian alchemists were not Egyptians but Jews, whose books were falsely attributed to Egyptian authors. As we have seen above in Chapter 4, this view had its origin among the Hellenistic alchemists themselves, who ascribed the origin of their art to Jewish adepts.

Immediately after his presentation of the Latin text of the *Epistle*, Schudt proceeds to comment upon it in German, without any intervening subtitle. Since he presented the entire *Epistle* as part of his paragraph 2, he numbers the beginning of his commentary as paragraph 3:

§3 This is material that belongs either exclusively or at least largely to scholars, who will surely grasp the meaning of the author from the Latin language, and the matter, obscure in any case, would become even more obscure and more unclear if one were to translate this epistle word by word into German Therefore, in order to make the matter clearer to the gra cious reader, we wish to present the contents of the letter in sequence

§4 At the outset of the letter the author praises the skill, excellence, and zeal of his friend to whom he writes, and promises to answer the question which was put to him whether the Jewish teachers knew also of the auro potabili, or liquid and potable gold, to dissolve it so that he [they] should have joy and pleasure from it Then he begins and says that all the arts and sciences which nowadays pass as newly invented were long known and familiar to the ancient Jews As a proof of this he adduces two pieces first, the art of printing, for which purpose he refers to the two stone tablets upon which was *impressus*, imprinted, the *Decalogue* or the Sacred Ten Commandments, as well as to the frontal plate and little breast shield of the high priest of the Old Testament, upon which various letters and names were engraved But since the letters were written upon the stone tablets and upon the frontal plate and the little shield of office by the finger of God, I am surprised that Mr Hannemann in those *Annotations*, p 13, gives the Jewish *scribenten* [scribes] his assent in his matter, saying *proinde ego huic Rabbino pollicem premo, quod & Judaeis isto tempore, ut & Salomoni, quaedam ars libros aeque celeriter imprimendi fuerit cognita*, that is, "Therefore I give approval to the rabbi that the art of thus rapidly printing books was known to the Jews of those times as well as to Solomon " That the Chinese already had before us Europeans some art of printing books is not denied, but nobody has so far dreamt this about the ancient Jews The proofs adduced by Mr Hannemann are 1 Since at the building of the Tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon all sciences and arts came together through the inspiration by God into the hearts of the master craftsmen, therefore nothing remained hidden to them, and especially not to the wisest Solomon, of all that which human diligence can invent But I answer God taught them those sciences and arts which were necessary for the building of the Tabernacle and the Temple, but not others One can, after all, build the most beautiful royal palace without the science of the noble art of printing 2 He says that the Chinese got their printer's art *per traditionem* [by tradition] from the Jews, but he gives no proof for this, not to mention that the Chinese were already a famous people in the times of Moses and Solomon, and had printing

§5 In the second place, the Jewish rabbi in his gold epistle further ad duces gunpowder as proof of his statement that all the newly invented arts were already known formerly to the ancient Jews, this invention is other wise ascribed to a German monk, Barthold Schwartz, who was a good

chymicus, An. 1378. The rabbi, quite inappropriately, refers to the words of Moses where God threatens the disobedient people of Israel that He would burn their whole land with brimstone and salt so that it could not be sown, nor would any grass grow therein, etc. *Deut.* 29:23 [in the Hebrew Bible Deut. 29:22], in which Mr. Hannemann, p. 15, likewise considers him correct, since, after all, the nature of brimstone and saltpeter was not unknown to Solomon and to other ancient sages of the world, even though they did not utilize it for such a ruination of people as we are doing nowadays with gunpowder. However, even though its nature may not have been unknown to them, they still did not therefore understand all the effects of the same.

§6. Now he continues and comes nearer to his aim: Adam, although he did not practice *chymie* himself, taught it nevertheless, and from him Tubal-Cain acquired metallurgy, and Moses, David, and Solomon practiced it.

§7. He not only describes at length six different kinds of gold from the Holy Scripture, but also wants to show us in it the aurum potabile, or liquid gold, referring to Gen. 36:39, where the name Mesahab (from which he takes the title of his epistle) occurs. Now in Hebrew, where it is written in two separate words, this name reads מי זָהָב, *aquae auri*, gold water. Now since the Hebrew names of the Holy Scripture were not given at random but purposely with reference to some remarkable event, therefore the ancient Jews wanted to make of Mezahab a gold-smelter and alchemist who could prepare the aurum potabile. Therefore our rabbi refers to the Chaldean translation of Onkelos, who renders it מצָרף דַהֲבָא, *conflator auri*, a gold smelter. He refers to the Chaldean *Targum Hierosolymitanum* [the Jerusalem Targum], which translated it in the same manner, and added that because he could transform gold *in liquorem* [into fluid] and other metals into gold, he valued silver and gold lightly, and asked, מָה הוא דַהֲבָא מָה הוא כַסְפָּא, "What is gold? What is silver?" as we are wont to sing: Gold is only red earth, the earth is not worth much. Also R. Solomon Jarchi [Yarḥi, i.e., Rashi] says that the word Mesahab means מה הוא זהב ? היה עשיר ואין זהב חשוב בעיניו לכלום. What is gold? He was rich, and gold counted in his eyes for nothing. The R. Aben Esra [Ibn Ezra] writes about the word מי זהב the most judiciously thus: כן שמו והגאון אמר צורף זהב ואחרים אמרו רמז לעושים זהב מנחשת ואלה דברי רוח, that is, "Thus was his name (Mesahab), and the *R. Saadia Gaon* says that he was a goldsmith; others say that he discovered how one could make gold out of copper; but these are empty words." It can be that this name Mesahab did not arise accidentally, but must it therefore signify the *aurum potabile*? How if he found gold in a river or in water, and discovered a river carrying such gold, and therefore was given the epithet Mesahab, gold stream, gold water? But to assert that also the Jews were goldmakers ever since primeval times makes one wonder that they did not hit upon [the idea] that Solomon in the Song of Songs de-

scribed the art of making gold in allegorical words Otherwise too Mr D Hannemann wants to maintain that most of the ancient rabbis were *adeptos*, or such as could make gold, and he opines that they presented that art in dark words and in fables, when he writes page 12 [5] "What pertains to the writings of the rabbis, they transmit these and many remarkable things in all kinds of disciplines, and many of them are such that they seem old wom anish fables under them, however, lies hidden great wisdom which nobody can obtain unless he is acquainted with the secrets of mystical philosophy Many therefore read the writings of the rabbis either because of the philol ogy, or because of curiosity, when they encounter some fable they do not further inquire into what is hidden under that fable But for us it is firmly established that under those fables the rabbis wanted to hide other things whose knowledge they did not want to transmit to others And most of the ancient rabbis were known to have been adepts of philosophy "

The *chymici* used to present their alleged gold art in such veiled words, as he adduces on page 32 the words of Theophrastus Paracelsus [6] "He commands to cast the red Jew into the Caspian Sea until he dissolves in it, then to burn it to ashes which first will become white, then red " In which riddle he describes the whole art, etc For the wise men this and similar locutions are all *oracula* [oracles] and veils of mysteries

§8 He moreover wants to present two examples from the Holy Scripture of transmutation of metals which actually did occur First, that silver was transmuted into gold, and then also copper into gold *praedicti liquoris forsan appositione*, perhaps by adding the aforementioned *liquor* [fluid] of the aurum potabile or liquid gold That David transmuted silver into gold should therefore be obvious, for otherwise the text of the Holy Scripture could not be reconciled For in 1 Chron 30 4 [actually 1 Chron 29 4] one reads that David gave 7,000 talents of refined silver wherewith to overlay the walls of the Temple, but from 2 Chron 3 6, 7, 8 one learns that Solo mon overlaid the walls of the House with gold Therefore, the silver allo cated for it by David must have been transmuted into gold according to the statement of the rabbis That also brass was transmuted into gold, of this he opines to have found a good basis in the words of Ezra 8 27 And twenty bowls of gold of a thousand darics, and two vessels of fine bright brass precious as gold Then he opines that since these two brass vessels are counted among so many silver and gold vessels, they surely must have been something quite special, especially since the text testifies that they were in no way less valuable than gold Therefore one must assume that they were of brass which was transmuted into gold This he proves first by a rather weak *argumentum grammaticale* [grammatical argument] because the word נחשת, brass, is *generis foemin* [of feminine gender], but the *epithetum* [adjective] מצהב, *fulgens* [shining] is construed *genere masculino* [in mas culine gender], which reflects his secret allusion to the word זהב, gold,

which is *generis mascul.* [of masculine gender]. This, however, can easily be countered by saying that it is *enallage generis mascul. pro foemin.* [a change of the masculine gender for the feminine], which is quite usual in Hebrew in *verbis nominibus* [words of names] and *participiis* [participles], as both R. Solomon Jarchi [Yarḥi, Rashi] and R. Aben-Ezra [Ibn Ezra] remark here. The other is also an *argumentum grammaticum*: if one replaces the צ with a ז, the word מְזֻהָב results, which means golden; it then would mean golden brass, that is, such gold as was formerly brass. This exchange of letters is based on the well-known Hebrew rule *literae unius ejusdemque organi facile inter se permutantur*, letters of the same sound are easily exchanged for one another. Although this rule in itself is quite good, and is sufficiently confirmed by examples from the Holy Scripture, such as צעק and זעק, to cry, still the question remains whether this exchange of letters has taken place in this word as well, because of this there is no example at all in the Holy Scripture, and without a precedent we are not allowed to change even a single letter.

§9. Furthermore, he deals with gold dust or powder, how one can make gold into dust or powder, and attributes such art to Moses, because in Exod. 32:20 it is said of Moses, "And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it with fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water, and made the Children of Israel drink of it." Many have written that Moses had to be a good *chymicus*, of which Mr. D. Hannemann quotes much in *Annotat.* p. 42. We ourselves, in *Historia Jud.* L. 1, Cap. IX, p. 86 *seq.*, after describing the manyfold wisdom and science of Moses, have also commented[7] that "it appears that he knew also *chymia* in that he made the golden calf into powder so that one could drink it."

Borrichius de Ortu & Progressu Chemiae p. 47 writes:[8] "Certainly none but an excellent *chymicus* can accomplish that which the Holy Scripture tells about Moses [and what] he accomplished, namely, to burn the golden calf in fire, to grind it to powder, to strew it into water, and give it to the Children of Israel to drink." But those patrons of the *chymia* go much too far who alleged that Moses wrote a book of *chymia*, as Mr. D. Hoh. Andreas Schmidius, provost at Helmstadt, states in *Pseudo-Veteri Testamento*, p. 49.

§10. When the author describes all kinds of gold, it is somewhat difficult to believe that there exists also an *aurum vegetativum* [vegetative gold], which has its *semen*, seed, within it, and therefore grows. He quotes the opinion of the rabbis that Solomon made in the Temple trees of such gold, which trees brought forth golden fruit at certain times. Mr. Hannemann in *Annotat.* p. 63 agrees with him, but we attribute this to Jewish fiction.

§11. The *autor* [author] concludes by saying that the *chymical* books about the preparation of gold and silver, which the Emperor Diocletianus, according to the testimony of Suidas, collected and burned, were not of the

Egyptians, as Suidas opines, but of the Jews who, because so many of them resided in Alexandria in Egypt, were often called Egyptians, of which Mr. D. Hannemann discourses at length in his *Annotat.*, p. 116 *seq.*

§12. If the ancient Hebrews knew the art of making gold and silver, it is most astonishing that their descendants, the money- and gold-hungry Jews, disregarded this art of their ancestors and let it be lost. In conclusion we want to point to the best goldmaking art which consists of true repentance, conversion, and fear of God, which process the primeval Oriental *Philosophus* Eliphas of Theman described very beautifully and quite clearly in Job 22:21 seq.: "Acquaint now thyself with Him (the Lord God), and be at peace, thereby shall thine increase be good. Receive, pray, instruction from His mouth, and lay up His words in thy heart. If thou return to the Almighty thou shalt be built up, if thou put away unrighteousness far from thy tents. And the Almighty shall be thy gold [in the original: treasure], and silver will accrue to you."

Chapter Thirty-five

BENJAMIN JESSE

AS WE HAVE SEEN, some Jewish alchemists, even though they have left behind writings, remain anonymous; others are known by name because they are referred to by non-Jewish alchemical authors who discuss their works, but we know nothing of their lives, nor have any of their works survived; still others are mentioned only in passing in the available sources, and we know nothing of either their works or their lives outside that single tantalizingly brief reference. The man Benjamin Jesse belongs to none of these categories. None of his works has survived, he is mentioned only in one source, which happens to be of Christian provenance, but that single source is an eyewitness account, which contains more information about him than we have about many a Jewish alchemist who left behind voluminous treatises. The single existing source is a letter written in 1730, some time after Jesse's death, by his Christian disciple and heir (whose name and identity are unknown), and published in excerpts a hundred years later by Schmieder in his history of alchemy.[1]

Schmieder introduces the letter by stating that in the early eighteenth century there were many alchemists in Germany of whom nothing was known during their lifetime, and whose very names became known only after their death. He adds, "It almost seems that the vow of unconditional concealment was easier for the Jews than for the Christians; for we have the first example in Flamel's Abraham, the second in the two Hollanduses, who are considered Jews by some, and the one of whom we shall speak now was also a Jew, by the name of Benjamin Jesse, who lived for a long time in Hamburg without attracting the slightest notice. One would have learned nothing about him even after his death, had he not had a Christian heir, whose letter follows here in excerpts." Schmieder does not say to whom the letter is addressed, how long after Benjamin Jesse's death it was written, nor how it fell into his hands.

> Honored Friend!
>
> You wished to have news of the life and death of my late master Benjamin Jesse. By birth he was a Jew, but in his heart a Christian; for he honored our Savior. He was a gentle person, helped many in secret, and healed the sick whom nobody else could heal. When I was ten years old he took me in out of a foundlings' home, and employed me as a helper in his

laboratory. He had me instructed in Latin, French, and Italian, and taught me also Hebrew. I served him to the best of my ability for twenty years.

One morning he summoned me and said that, being in his eighty-eighth year, his life's balsam was drying out and his end near. In his will, he said, he remembered two cousins and me. It was on the table in his little prayer room. He led me to its door. He covered the lock and the hinges (*fugen*) of the door with a transparent glass pulp which he kneaded in his hands like wax, and pressed his golden seal on the pulp which very quickly became hard. He placed the keys to the door in a little box, sealed it in the same manner, and gave it to me with the instruction to give it only to his cousins Abraham and Solomon, both of whom lived in Switzerland at that time. Thereupon he dropped his seal into a glass flask full of clear water, where it melted like ice, while a white powder gathered at its bottom, and the water became red like a rose. He sealed the flask with his glass pulp, and entrusted me with handing it to his cousin Abraham.

After he had done this, he prayed on his knees, reciting Hebrew Psalms, then seated himself in his armchair, drank a little malmsey, fell asleep placidly, and an hour later expired in my arms. I informed the cousins of his death, and much sooner than I could have expected both of them arrived. When I expressed my astonishment about it, I noticed a gentle smile on the face of Abraham; but the other had a very serious mien.

Next day Abraham Jesse took the flask with the water and broke it over a china bowl to catch the water. With this water he moistened the crystal seals which became quite soft and could be removed easily. Thus he opened the little prayer room. In its middle stood a table of ebony with a gold tray. On it were lying and standing many different singular books and instruments, and among them a box full of an important scarlet powder. Of this Abraham smilingly took charge, for all these things were bequeathed to him in advance in the will.

We found four big crates full of gold bars. These were to be inherited by the cousins in equal parts, and to me six thousand ducats were to be paid out of it; but they gave me twice as much. Abraham renounced his half, for he knew the same art which my patron had possessed, and knew well that he had received in advance more than all this. He designated it for dowries of poor girls. Since up to that time I had to remain single, they persuaded me to marry a poor girl, who then would bring me a part of Abraham's gift. Solomon returned with his gold to Switzerland; but Abraham went with his share of the inheritance to East India.

Schmieder adds that this story is especially interesting because it gives a clear idea of the famous Hermetic seal, which is often mentioned by alchemists. When the alchemists teach us that the *sigillum Hermetis* is in fact glass, this seems to indicate that the mouth of a glass flask becomes closed by being melted, but that does not at all seem suitable for opera-

tions in whose course a repeated opening is prescribed. The contradiction, however, is well explained by this description of the letter-writer. It is characterized by a guileless ingenuousness, and therefore deserves credence.

Schmieder goes on to explain that Jesse had undoubtedly written to his cousins as soon as he felt that his end was near, and asked them to come to Hamburg. The surprise of the helper at their unexpected early arrival indicated to them the simplicity of the well-intentioned man, and it amused them to make the instruments they found appear as magical wonderworks. From this remark it appears that the letter contained a description of some surprising acts, performed by Abraham Jesse, who seems to have been an adept, which seemed to the helper to be works of magic, but which Schmieder found unnecessary to print.

At the end of his account Schmieder remarks that nothing is known of the heir of Jesse's art, his cousin Abraham, who left Europe with his treasure, except that he remained single, and that after some time he adopted the eldest son of Jesse's helper. That is, the art did not die out with him, "and one should therefore not consider it surprising that later South Asia made a contribution to the history of alchemy."

A brief comment in conclusion. The story as told in the unnamed helper's letter is certainly fascinating, and seems to be true, despite, or rather because, of the minor contradictions it contains. The letter tells that the Jew Benjamin Jesse was a Christian believer at heart, but also that he maintained a Jewish prayer room in his house, and that when he felt his death near he recited Hebrew Psalms—which shows that he remained an observant Jew. His cousin Abraham is said to have given up half of the gold, but then we hear that he took along "his share in the inheritance" to East India. But perhaps the latter statement refers to the red powder, which must have been most valuable, and it was that which Abraham took along. If Abraham adopted the eldest son of the helper, born to him after he married the poor girl made rich by her share in the gold, Abraham and the helper must have remained in touch for several years after the former left for East India. Was reference to this also made in the letter, in those parts which Schmieder did not print?

In any case, here we have a unique report of a Jewish alchemist, who was born in 1642 at the latest, who lived in Hamburg for many years in total anonymity, who healed sick people unable to find succor elsewhere, who knew how to soften and harden and again soften a glass-like material, who knew how to melt gold in a water-like liquid, who produced an "important scarlet powder" (used in transmuting base metals into gold?), and who maintained a well-equipped alchemical laboratory. We also learn that the Hermetic Art of which this man was a master was transmitted by him to his cousin who then carried it to faraway East India.

PART NINE

The Eighteenth Century

Introduction to Part Nine

ABOUT THE END of the seventeenth century a remarkable change took place in the identity of the people who engaged in alchemical operations. After Maria Hebraea, until about 1700, almost all the alchemists were men. One of the few exceptions known to us was an anonymous Jewish woman "expert in the Work," who is quoted in the Manchester manuscript discussed above in Chapter 31. However, from about 1700 on women took their place next to men in alchemical laboratories, as indicated, among other things, by the illustrations printed in books from that time on. Thus in the *Mutus liber*, included in Johannes Jacobus Manget's *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa* (Geneva, 1702) many illustrations show a man and a woman working jointly on alchemical operations. In fact, alchemy became something of a fashionable pastime for women of the upper layers of society. Thus Rousseau's friend and mentor Madame de Warens "inherited her father's taste for empirical medicine and alchemy," and in 1728–1731 engaged in the preparation of "elixirs, tinctures, balsams, and magisteries" with the help of all members of her household, and made drugs and medicaments from plants; her house "was never free from quacks, manufacturers, alchemists, and promoters of all kinds." Some years later (1747–1749) Rousseau himself became interested in chemistry, which at that time was scarcely distinguishable from alchemy, and, together with his friends filled "quires of paper with our scribblings upon this science."[1] The social vogue of alchemy could not fail to spread into Jewish circles.

The eighteenth century was a period of great transformation in the social, religious, and cultural life of the Jewish people. The Ashkenazim became firmly established as the dominant sector in Jewry, while the Sephardi-Oriental element receded into relative insignificance both numerically and culturally. In eastern Europe a new Jewish religious development, that of Hasidism, became a vital factor, and almost simultaneously in central Europe the rejuvenating winds of the Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment, began to rise. And western Europe witnessed the first stirrings of what in the following century was to become the emancipation of the Jews.

These developments inevitably left their mark on Jewish alchemical activity. Up to the eighteenth century, the Sephardim had a virtual monopoly in alchemy among the Jews, but the exhaustion of the élan that characterized their communities in general was accompanied by a diminution of productivity in this field as well. This did not mean that inter-

est in alchemy and the practice of alchemy did not continue among them, even into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Evidence shows that they engaged in alchemical practice and also produced copies of earlier Hebrew alchemical works, added annotations to them, compiled alchemical vocabularies, and the like. But all this was merely a faint afterglow of the creativity in alchemy that had secured them for centuries a position of preeminence in the alchemy of the Western world. In my search for information on what alchemy meant to eighteenth-century Sephardi rabbis I came across only one author who makes fleeting references to it: Ḥayyim Yosef Azulai (1724–1806), the Jerusalem-born polygraph, who in one of his minor works, entitled *Midbar Q'demot* (Primeval Desert), mentions in passing that Ḥayyim Vital was a master of alchemy.

On the other hand, for the first time in the millennial history of Jewish alchemy, Ashkenazi Jews appear in its annals. This development undoubtedly came about under the influence of gentile alchemy, which first became accessible to them when some Jews in central and western Europe began to take an interest in the culture of their non-Jewish environment in the eighteenth century. The two eighteenth-century Ashkenazi alchemists who will be discussed in this part represent a new type of Jewish adept: that of the magician-conjurer-alchemist-adventurer, whose work was directed toward the top echelons of the gentile world, who gained the favor of princes and rulers by impressing them with their mystical power, for whom alchemy was but one arrow in their quiver, and whose main ammunition was their ability to project a captivating, overwhelming personality.

One of them, Ḥayyim Sh'muel Falck, flaunted his Judaism in German princely courts, lecturing to, and actually berating, his noble audience in German (the mere fact that he knew German proves that he was an assimilated Jew), and claiming supernatural powers. The other, the Comte de Saint-Germain, on the contrary, never openly acknowledged his Jewish origin, claimed royal parentage as well as a millennial lifespan, and became *persona grata* in many European royal and princely courts, admired for his charm, wit, knowledge, and, to a considerable extent, his alchemical expertise.

In addition to these two remarkable characters, we shall discuss in this part the interest in alchemy displayed by a Sephardi-influenced Ashkenazi rabbi and an alchemical manuscript written in the eighteenth century, mostly in Hebrew and partly in Ladino, by a Sephardi Jew who probably lived in Italy, and whose epigonic character is manifested, among other things, by his admission that he copied some of the things he found in older manuscripts without understanding them.

Chapter Thirty-six

ḤAYYIM SH'MUEL FALCK

IN OR ABOUT 1736 a Jewish magician, who later was to become famous in London as an alchemist, was a house guest in the castle of Alexandre Leopold Antoine, reigning count of Rantzow and free count of the Holy Roman Empire. His name, as spelled in contemporary sources, was Chaim Schmul Falck, and he was in his twenty-eighth year at the time. The reigning count's son, Count George Louis Albert de Rantzow, left behind a detailed account in his *Mémoires* of his impression of Falck, and of Falck's doings in the castle.[1]

> This extraordinary personage is, at the time of my writing, twenty-seven years and eight months old. Of medium stature, he is well proportioned to make him an agreeable man. Without being stout, he is not thin. He has a brownish visage, beautiful and big black eyes, long rather than round and full of fire, an aquiline nose, a mouth of medium size. In his appearance, which is very noble and grand, pleasantness predominates and prevails over pride. His ordinary garb is a robe [*talard*] of purple color, unless he has a reason to dress differently. He has all the appearances of virtue, of probity, yet with all this, beware of his devilry![2]

As one can gather from these words, Falck was a man of prepossessing appearance and personality. The words of caution with which young Rantzow (he was twenty-one years old at the time) closes his brief pen-portrait reflect his ambivalent reaction to the remarkable feats he saw Falck perform. He witnessed those acts in the company of his family and friends, and was totally baffled by them, but at the same time, being a good Christian, he simply could not accept as a fact that a Jewish "priest" should be able to summon angelic and divine powers and make them do his bidding. His description is valuable because he describes in precise detail the magic of Falck, who, it would seem, was at that early stage of his career primarily a magician and conjurer—arts that appear to have served him as a good preparation for his alchemical mastery which later brought him fame as "the Baʿal Shem of London." Despite young Rantzow's reluctance to believe his own eyes, he must have been greatly impressed by Falck's magic since he devoted to their description no fewer than twenty-seven pages in his *Mémoires.*

Young Rantzow tells us nothing about the origin of Falck or his life prior to his sojourn in the castle of the reigning count. However, since

Figure 36.1. Hayyim Sh'muel Falck, by Copley.
Reproduced with permission of Mrs. Cecil Roth.

Rantzow penned his observations between 1736 and 1739, and he states that at the time Falck was twenty-seven years and eight months old, we can conclude that Falck was born between 1708 and 1711. From other sources it appears that the place of Falck's birth was either Furth in Bavaria or Podhajce in Podolia. Since Rantzow says that Falck had "a brownish visage," it is possible that his ancestors were Jews from the Mediterranean area.

Rantzow begins by telling that upon his return from a voyage he found that his father secretly sheltered "the famous Prince and Grand Priest of the Jews, Chaim Schmul Falck," who claimed descent from King David. Rantzow learned that before being taken in by his father, Falck had sojourned for a long time at Geilberg as a guest of the Baron de Donop, court-councillor of the empire, a person of spirit and merit, and a man unlikely to let himself be dazzled by deceptive appearances. Prior to that, says Rantzow, "this Jew" was banished from several German states, because he "performed things that were above the prodigies that one can relate." He adds that "one must see him with one's own eyes" in order to be better convinced of the reality of Falck's powers than is possible by a mere recital, and goes on to list the noblemen and statesmen for whom Falck performed "a thousand marvelous specta-

cles": "Is it necessary to recount that which he did with the Comte de Westerloh, the Marquis Damis, and the Duc de Richelieu, at the time ambassador to the Court of Vienna?" Next he reports an unfortunate incident:

> These gentlemen, all present when the unfortunate valet of the Comte de Westerloh had a fatal accident, could not deny that he [Falck] possessed kabbalistic devilry. The twisted neck of that poor young man, who, had he lived after the accident that took his life, could have seen only backward, proved only too well that the Devil was after the Grand Priest and all those who let him approach them. My father, who was among those listening, and who wanted to test me, approached me at that moment and took me to this pretended Prince of the Jews. As much in deference to the orders of my father as from curiosity by which one is easily overcome at the idea of an extraordinary thing, I let myself be led to the apartment of this famous Kabbalist.
>
> Having arrived there, this new pontiff began by telling me that he was not unaware of what I had in mind. "You, sir," he said to me, "are of an unbelieving sentiment concerning our ancient Jews of whom Jesus Christ said, 'This race will never believe in me unless it sees miracles and figures; I promise to show such to anyone struck by incredulity." "You speak," I answered him, "of the New Testament as if you were a Christian." He responded, "Quite possibly I have read it as much as you." I answered, "That can be, but in that case I am surprised that you still remain in your error."
>
> "I am so little in error," the Jew answered, "and love it so little, that I work at freeing all my brothers from it. They are waiting for somebody to liberate them from the oppression and the slavery in which they are. The time is approaching, but I cannot say more about it. Your law assumes," the Jew continued, "that we are rejected by the people elected by God. But one would have to prove to me that God, who is immutable, could change His decrees. It is quite apparent that He has not changed them with regard to our people, that we are actually under His hand which beats us on our heads like the hands of a father who punishes his children. The Christians bask in the glory of the world. The Jews are in ignominy, so that in a true sense they are the only Christians. The death of Jesus Christ has come about in order to announce to us a humiliating state, after which we must fill the earth, to the very ends of the universe, with the cry of the magnificence of God and the glory of the Jewish nation. This nation has withstood the injuries of all times, it preserved its name, its unity, despite all the efforts of the powers of the earth. Unsuited to perform impostures, and very indifferent to the politics of the century, we do not count except in the thunder of heaven that will be detonated by the ministers of His vengeance. One should not say that we are blind. We always see the finger of God

over our heads. Would you, Monsieur, cease to recognize your father as your father because he punishes you? Is it not that chastisement is the most beautiful sign which the true tenderness of a father can give? When all the Jews will be humble of heart, in sackcloth and ashes, He shall respond with their deliverance."

Assuming that young Rantzow reproduced Falck's words faithfully—and there is no reason to doubt it—this is quite a self-assured, almost provocative, statement coming from the mouth of a Jew in the house of a Christian nobleman. At that moment the arrival of the Baron de Donop was announced. Young Rantzow left "the pretended liberator of the Jews with a shrug," and hastened to meet the baron to ask for more information about Falck. Baron de Donop's response shows that he did not doubt Falck's powers:

"I knew him, having seen him first in Cassel, where his reputation was above suspicion. He cured at that time the daughter of the Court Jew who had suffered almost daily attacks of the falling sickness. He cured her of this illness with kabbalistic talismans, without making her take any medicament. Nor is this all. At one time the Court Jew had to leave the city on some business, and inadvertently took along the key to his cellar. The pretended Grand Priest was taken aback: he thought that this was a trick played on him by his friend. When he sat down at the table and saw that no wine was served, he raised one corner of his napkin, wrote a few characters on it, and said very loudly, 'My host will be quite surprised when he returns.' When the Court Jew returned and went down to his cellar, he saw that all the wine barrels were standing on their bottom. He went back up, and saw that the would-be Grand Priest was laughing very loudly. Then he gave his host a few characters to attach to the barrels. The Jew went back to the cellar, did as he was told, and saw that the barrels instantly returned to their original position."

The recital of these incidents did not impress young Rantzow, who reports that "the more the Baron de Donop seemed intent on affirming this, the more I laughed."

"Right you are," answered the Baron, "go on, laugh. I too laughed and was incredulous to the point of wanting to prove to my own eyes that this was not a case of imposture. I therefore took along to my home in Geilberg this Jew, who was no longer safe in Cassel due to the great fuss occasioned by his prodigies."

Rantzow then reports the many marvels the Baron de Donop told him had been performed by Falck in Geilberg, all the time protesting his own disbelief that they were anything but imposture. He continued:

The greater my repugnance to approach this man, so famous, the more I was pressured to have some confidence in him I acquiesced, giving in to the importune pressure to which I was subjected I went to see the Grand Priest in very good company He started by telling me that I should go and purchase a sheet of paper, mark it with my seal, so as to remove all my suspicions concerning that which he was about to make me see

In this case I had confidence only in myself I left the castle, went to town to buy the paper, being distrustful of everything that he had there in the house I returned, I gave my sheet of paper to the Grand Priest, after having put my seal on its four corners He did not set his eyes on it except for the time he needed to write the Hebrew word *Jehova* on it Then he returned it into my hands, telling me to attach it with pins to the tapestry, and to keep my eyes on it all the time Then he made a circle with his *magne*,[3] and began to chant in Hebrew After about an hour one could hear three knocks which were louder than canon shots

The castle shook to its foundations One could see neither fire nor smoke, one felt no odor, no similarity at all between this noise and the noise of a canon A moment later my sheet of paper on which I had my eyes fixed, appeared to me to be full of writing I called the attention of the Grand Priest to it, he fell on his knees, and prostrated himself A moment later, with eyes bathed in tears, he raised his head, and told me to detach the paper in order to see what was written on it I saw under the [word] *Jehova* a person sitting in a fauteil, and two cherubim covering him with their wings from above Under this figure, which seemed to me to be an inimitable painting, I read in green letters everything remarkable that had happened to me ever since my birth I also read a prediction that I was to see come true to the letter

The Grand Priest asked me whether I had seen everything, and said to me that this was not all Thereafter the Baron de Donop and my father asked me what I thought of the Grand Priest, and what ideas I had about the facts that they had related to me "Excuse my incivility," I answered them, "if I am one who does not easily accept the marvelous At present I do condemn my incredulity, but this does not keep me from doubting that all this was done by permitted means "

"In other words," said the Baron de Donop [turning to my father], "the day before yesterday he told us that he did not believe his eyes, today he believes, but on condition of apparently crediting it to the Devil "

After witnessing another vivid demonstration of Falck's powers, this time involving control over angelic spirits, Rantzow was now forced to acknowledge that this Jew was helped by divine approval This made Jewish religion appear in his eyes as legitimate, something that, as a good Christian, he simply could not accept He felt that it was a sin to

witness that demonstration of Jewish mystical power, that what he had seen jeopardized his Christianity, his very salvation. He retired to his room, and poured into an emotional improvised prayer not so much what he believed as what he wanted to, or felt he should, believe. Having thus calmed his qualms of conscience, and duly recorded the words of his prayer, he continued his account of Falck's baffling performances:

> There is nothing in the world to be feared as much as the spirit of fanaticism. Let him who so wishes embark upon it. As for me, whatever prodigies this famous personage can perform, I shall let him do them without moving me, because I firmly decided not to let myself be found again at his kabbalistic shows. I have attended one, that much is true, in very good company. Present at that spectacle were the Baron de Donop and his younger son who is an officer in the service of the King of Sweden, the Baronesses de Koening, Mr. Rincius, counselor of the Regency, Madame de Malhous and one of her sons, my whole family, and several other persons of standing.
>
> While it lasted, it was done with such mysterious gravity that one lost the inclination to laugh at the two demoiselles and the one lady of high rank. Curious, as women ordinarily are, they were seized with a violent passion to see the Grand Priest operate. They arrived a little late at the house, almost at the moment when the kabbalistic work was about to begin. My mother spoke to them, apparently to warn them that one could approach the mysterious place only in a state of purity. The mother and the two daughters did not dare to present themselves. At any other time I would have given free play to hilarity; but I contented myself by telling them with a very serious mien: "I am sorry, my ladies, that you are not in accordance with the orders of the pontiff."
>
> To compensate them for not being able to satisfy their curiosity, when these surprising mysteries were over, the Baron de Donop and my father showed them the pieces of silver that were found. These were very many, from the times of the triumvirs and Otto the First.
>
> After this I asked the Grand Priest, how he could dare to claim that he worked with God after the valet of the Comte de Westerloh had his neck broken, when he performed his famous sacrifice of the black calf in the garden of the Comte, in the presence of the Duc de Richelieu.
>
> He answered me that that misfortune happened to the unfortunate young man because he dared to appear at that sacrifice in a state of impurity, of which he should have been free, as he was warned. . . .
>
> I know from a very good source that this Jew requested a great prince to give him refuge and give him the freedom to work at his Kabbalah in the Prince's states for forty days.
>
> Even though the Jew suggested to the Prince to have his work examined by such theologians as the Prince deemed reliable to ensure that he did

> nothing except with the help of God, the Prince refused to entertain his propositions The Jew offered the Prince, as the price of his head, four million ecus upon the end of the forty days How beautiful is the response of that generous Prince "That Jew," he said, "should rather multiply bread for the poor, if he performed miracles with the help of heaven, and not address himself to rich people offering to augment their treasuries "

Although the entire story tells only of Falck's activities as a religiously inspired magician and conjurer, this paragraph seems to indicate that even at that early stage of his life he was also an alchemist His offer to enrich the prince's treasury by four million écus—a huge sum by any calculation—and to do so at the end of forty days of "Work," is precisely in line with the modus operandi of many alchemists in his time and in the preceding centuries In several earlier chapters we have heard of Jewish alchemists working for kings and princes in this manner they entered into agreements under which the rulers financed and authorized their alchemical work in exchange for the alchemists' undertaking to deliver the precious metal they were to produce into the rulers' hands This is, it would seem, what Falck offered the unnamed prince, although it is not clear whether he promised to produce the millions of écus by alchemical or by magical, "kabbalistic," work However, given the fact that subsequently, in London, Falck became famous not as a "kabbalistic" conjurer but as an alchemist, one is inclined to assume that when seeking entry into the states of the German prince he held out to him the promises of the alchemical way of producing gold

Rantzow's account of that early phase of Falck's life ends with a reference to Falck's emigration to England

> The Jew was ordered to leave the house of my parents His Highness the Reigning Duke of Brunswic and Lunebourg wrote in strong terms to my family who resolved to abandon the famous Chaim Schahul Falck [*sic*], sovereign pontiff of the Jews, descendant of King David, if one wants to believe it on the faith of a passport of the *Grand Seigneur*
>
> He departed for England, where the Portuguese Jews of the highest reputation rendered him honors as their prince and sovereign pontiff
>
> One of my friends informed me from England that Parliament had him arrested in London, and that afterwards he was released on condition that he would no longer kabbalize

The value of this detailed eyewitness account of the acts and words of the young Falck is enhanced by the fact that its author was not only predisposed by his religious convictions to disbelieve whatever he saw Falck perform, but in addition had no sympathy whatsoever for the man whom he calls, with evident sarcasm, "the Grand Priest," "sovereign pontiff of the Jews," and, most frequently, simply "the Jew " This being

the case, one cannot doubt that the skeptical young count actually believed that he had seen the prodigies performed by Falck, and that he found Falck to be truly a grand master of magic.

Some four decades later a Swedish historian and traveler, Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz (1743–1812), visited London, and while there he learned some particulars about Falck. In his book *England und Italien*[4] Archenholz briefly describes the two Jewish communities he found in London, the Portuguese and the German. He goes on to speak of Falck:

> For the last thirty years there has lived among his people a peculiar man who is very famous in the annals of the kabbalists. His name is Chaim Schmul Falk but he is called here by everybody Doctor Falkon. A certain Count of Ranzow, who recently died as Marechal de Camp in French service, gives in his printed memoirs an account of so-called kabbalistic and magical operation, which he allegedly saw performed by this Falk in Braunschweig [i.e., Brunswic] county, on an estate of his father, in the presence of many respected persons, all of whom he names in his book, and whom he calls upon to contradict him if he does not speak the truth. Whether Falk made use of the cupper's arts, I don't know; however, this man lives in London without ever having played here publicly the role of a kabbalist. He occupies a splendidly decorated big house, in which, apart from him, nobody lives, except for a few domestics. He carries on no trade, lives very modestly, and gives many alms to the poor. Very rarely does he go out, and if that happens, he wears a long robe which suits him very well with his long white beard and noble facial features. He is now about seventy years old. I do not want to enumerate here the wonderful things that are told about him. It seems most probable to me that this Doctor Falkon is an able chymist, and that he possesses in that science a very personal knowledge which, however, he definitely does not want to reveal to anybody. A royal prince, who is seaking the philosophers' stone with great zeal, wanted to see him a few years ago; he drove up to Falkon's house, but had the annoyance of being denied admittance.[5]

The forty-year gap between Rantzow's portrait of the young Falck in Brunswick, and that of the old Doctor Falkon in London given by Archenholz is filled only to a very unsatisfactory extent by writings left behind by Falck himself and by his faithful famulus Zevi Hirsch of Kalisch. Falck kept a diary, a kind of kabbalistic notebook, in which he recorded his dreams, his charitable gifts, and a medley of other items, including cooking recipes. This manuscript, preserved in the library of the Beth Hamidrash of the United Synagogue of London, although interesting for a study of the personality of Falck, contains little or no information about his alchemical activities.

Chapter Thirty-seven

THE COMTE DE SAINT-GERMAIN

THE COUNT of Saint-Germain was one of the most fascinating characters to figure in the annals of alchemy, and certainly the best known all over Europe. Voltaire, whose contemporary he was, referred to him with his typical irony—in a letter he wrote on April 15, 1760, to King Frederick of Prussia—as the only man to whom the Duke of Choiseul, Prince Kaunitz, and William Pitt confided their secrets, "who had souped in the past in the city of Trent with the Fathers of the Council [in the sixteenth century], and who probably will have the honor of seeing Your Majesty in some fifty years. He is a man who does not die and who knows everything." Two weeks later Frederick, who evidently had known of Saint-Germain's reputation before he received Voltaire's letter, responded by commenting caustically, "the Comte de Saint-Germain conte pour rire" (loosely, "counts as a joke").[1]

In the event, Voltaire's prediction came partially true, not in fifty but in a mere seventeen years: in 1777 Saint-Germain submitted to Frederick a memorandum offering him all kinds of quasi-miraculous technological services. It is remarkable that a few years thereafter Frederick completely changed his mind about Saint-Germain, and said to the French ambassador Comte de Saint-Maurice that all the marvels circulating about Saint-Germain "don't prevent me from having for this psychologist of human nature a residual weakness that I would not admit to him but that moves me to admire him."[2]

Much of the second half of Saint-Germain's life took place in the public eye, and hence a good deal is known about it. He was, from 1745 to his death in 1784, a celebrated alchemist, diplomatist, adventurer, the confidant of kings and princes, a personage generally regarded with awe and even adulation, a man believed to possess mysterious knowledge and powers. He was, in addition, a polyhistor, a painter, a composer, and an industrial innovator. The first half of his life, however, has remained totally unknown, despite the prodigious efforts by several nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors who wrote book-length biographies of Saint-Germain, trying to throw light on his origins, childhood, and youth.[3] The fact remains that Saint-Germain was so successful in keeping everything pertaining to his early life completely hidden that even his original name is still unknown.

In contrast to the absence of facts, once Saint-Germain became famous, rumors about his parentage abounded. Some of them are anony-

mous in origin; others were said to be based on statements made by princely personages who knew him; and at least one or two claimed to be based on the words of Saint-Germain himself. The most fantastic was the one to which Voltaire alluded: that Saint-Germain was a man who knew not death, that he was in possession of the fabulous elixir of life—the ultimate quest of all alchemists—and that he was hundreds, even thousands, of years old. It was fabled about him that he had known personally St. Anne, the grandmother of Jesus, and that several centuries later he was instrumental in having the council of Nicea (325 C.E.) approve her canonization. He knew Jesus, too, and intervened with Pilate in his favor. It was reported of him that he astonished his interlocutors by speaking of Jesus with the greatest familiarity. "I knew him intimately," he supposedly said, "he was the best person in the world, but was romantic and inconsiderate. I often predicted to him that he would come to a bad end."[4]

Saint-Germain himself—this much is clear from contemporary records—was quite pleased with these beliefs, and contributed to them. Baron de Gleichen, who knew him well, reports that one day Saint-Germain said to him, "These stupid Parisians believe that I am five hundred years old; I confirm them in this idea since I see that it gives them much pleasure. However, this does not mean that I am not infinitely older than I look."[5]

Shortly after Saint-Germain's death, his patron, friend, and disciple, the Landgrave Charles of Hesse (1744–1836) recorded in his memoirs that Saint-Germain had told him that

> he was the son of Prince Ragozky [a misspelling of Rákóczi] of Transylvania[6] and his first wife, a Tékély [Thököly]. He was under the protection of the last Medicis, who made him sleep as a child in his own bedroom. When he learned that his two brothers, sons of the Princess d'Hesse-Rheinfels or Rothenburg, if I am not mistaken, surrendered to the Emperor Charles VI and received the name of St. Charles and St. Elisabeth, after those of the Emperor and Emperatrice, he said to himself, "Well, then I shall call myself Sanctus Germanus, or holy brother!" I cannot, in truth, guarantee his birth; but that he was prodigiously protected by the last Medicis that I have also learned from another side. That house possessed, as is known, the highest sciences, and it is not surprising that he derived from it his first knowledge.[7]

We must join the landgrave in his doubts; it is almost impossible to accept Saint-Germain's claim that he was born a Rákóczi. Among other things, although Saint-Germain was reputed to have known many languages, Hungarian does not figure among them. On the other hand, he was reputed to have spoken Spanish and Portuguese "to perfection,"

Italian "admirably," German and English "very well," and French "with a slight Piemontese accent."[8]

Count Kobenzl, the powerful plenipotentiary of Maria Theresa in the Austrian provinces of the Netherlands, who was a friend and admirer of Saint-Germain, once said to the leading Austrian statesman, Prince Kaunitz: "Even though the history of his [Saint-Germain's] life and his origins are veiled in a mysterious obscurity, I found in him outstanding talents for all the sciences and all the arts. He is a poet, musician, writer, physician, chemist, a mechanic if need be, and an experienced connoisseur of painting. In brief, he is a man of universal culture, as is but rarely found in one person; he speaks all the languages, Hindustani as Italian, Yiddish as French. He has traveled in the whole world, and since he is very generous with his knowledge, I have spent very agreeable hours of leisure in his company. I can reproach him only for frequently boasting of his talents and his origins. When I asked him about his parents, he answered me emphatically, "Only the House of Bourbon is equal to mine in birth!"[9]

In the eighteenth century only a Jew would know Yiddish, that exclusively Ashkenazi-Jewish language. Although Hebrew was by that time studied by some gentile scholars because of their interest in the Bible, a knowledge of Yiddish seems to be prima facie evidence of a Jewish background. Since Saint-Germain was determined to keep his origins under veil, one must assume that he divulged his knowledge of Yiddish to Count Kobenzl in a moment of inadvertence.

The great pains Saint-Germain took to let nothing at all become known of his true origins can be indicative of only one thing: he was afraid lest a leakage of his actual parentage cause him irreparable harm. In eighteenth-century Europe, prior to the emancipation of the Jews, nothing would have been more damaging to a man whose entire existence depended on the personal admiration he was able to elicit in the circles of the high nobility than to be unmasked as having Jewish parents. Yet despite all his efforts to hide the circumstances of his birth, it was precisely Jewish origin that rumor most persistently attributed to him.

Those who claimed to be privy to details about Saint-Germain's background said he was the son of a Jewish physician of Strasbourg named Daniel Wolf; his real name was Samuel Samer; he was born in Frankfurt on October 12 or 13, 1715, as the illegitimate son of a poor Jew and a grande dame. The Troyes writer Pierre-Jean Grosley reported that "a Dutchman told me that it was public knowledge in Holland that the Comte de Saint-Germain was the son of a refugee princess in Bayonne and a Jew from Bordeaux."[10] Other rumors had it that he was of German-Spanish-Jewish extraction; that he was the son of a Jew and a

princess known to Louis XV; that he was the natural son of the widow of Charles II of Spain, the charming and frivolous Marie-Anne of Spals-Neubourg—father unknown.

Some of his recent biographers have considered the possibility that Saint-Germain was of Jewish descent, and rejected it on rather peculiar grounds.[11] But, as we shall see, in addition to the persistent rumors, there are other indications pointing to Saint-Germain's Jewish origins. It is time to recapitulate briefly what is known about Saint-Germain's life. The first concrete data come from London in 1745, when several songs composed by him were published under the name of Comte de Saint-Germain.[12] On December 9 of that year, Horace Walpole, the Earl of Orford, wrote to Sir Horace Mann:

> the other day they seized an odd man, who goes by the name of Count St. Germain. He has been here for two years, and does not tell who he is, or whence, but professes that he does not go by his right name. He sings, plays on the violin wonderfully, composes, is mad, and not very sensible. He is called an Italian, a Spaniard, a Pole; a somebody that married a great fortune in Mexico, and ran away with the jewels to Constantinople; a priest, a fiddler, a vast nobleman. The Prince of Wales has had unsatiated curiosity about him, but in vain. However, nothing has been made out against him; he is released; and what convinces me that he is not a gentleman, stays here, and talks of his being taken for a spy.[13]

Early in 1746 Saint-Germain went to Germany, and in February 1758 he arrived in Paris.[14] The Marechal de Belle-Isle, who had known him in Germany, introduced him to Mme de Pompadour, who, in turn, presented him to Louis XV. The king found him so entertaining that he invited him to his "small suppers"—a great and rare privilege—and gave him an apartment in Chambord. For a time Saint-Germain was the toast of Paris, and given unquestioning credence for even the most fantastic claims.

How could Saint-Germain get away, even in the credulous time of the mid-eighteenth century, with such preposterous claims as having lived for two thousand or more years, and possessing quasi-miraculous powers? The *Nouvelle biographie générale*, published in the late nineteenth century, raises the question, and offers two factors that may have contributed to that credulity. One was that the *philosophes*, "by casting Paris into skepticism, did not extinguish the belief in the marvelous that seems to be one of the essential conditions of human life; and, replacing the belief in the miracles of religion, there arose a belief in other miracles and another supernatural. Thereupon men arose, coming from who knows whence, who promised prodigies . . . were listened to and generously remunerated, and saw the best of people gather around their

magic mirrors. No one became more fashionable than the Comte de Saint-Germain, and soon there was no talk except about him."

The second factor was the extraordinary personality of Saint-Germain himself. On this point the *Nouvelle biographie* quotes Friedrich Melchior Grimm, the famous historian of French literature, who was Saint-Germain's contemporary, to the effect that "Saint-Germain appeared to all those who knew him as a man of much *esprit.* He had the natural eloquence that is best suited to seduce; he knew much chemistry, and history as few people had acquired it. He had the talent to evoke in conversation the most important events of ancient history, and to tell them as one tells anecdotes of the day, with the same detail, the same degree of interest and vivacity." To this the *Nouvelle biographie* adds it was not possible to deny "the domination Saint-Germain exercised all about, an extrordinary domination, especially if one does not seek an occult basis for it. For in that case one can attribute it only to his power of personality, that is to say, to the superiority of his intelligence or the energy of his will."[15]

On the basis of such eyewitness accounts, supplemented by the studies of his modern biographers, one can state with confidence that Saint-Germain must have been a man not only of extraordinarily wide knowledge and phenomenal memory, but also of great charm and grand manners, a spellbinding conversationalist, a person who inspired everybody who met him with liking and admiration (Figure 37.1). Highly educated people, princes, powerful statesmen, refined noblemen, all fell under his spell, and believed that he had miraculous powers. What Heine says about the troubadour Bertrand de Born must have been true to a multiple degree of Saint-Germain: he had the ability of making the world believe whatever he wanted.

He was also thoroughly at home in the natural sciences, was an eminent chemist, and was able to support with actual experiments his claim of knowing how to make gold and of having discovered the panacea, the universal remedy. On the other hand, his acts and words indicate that he believed in the eternity and unity of substance, which throughout the centuries was a basic tenet of alchemy. He himself was surrounded by myths, and was a legend in his lifetime.[16]

His lifestyle was a curious combination of asceticism and grand luxury. He never ate at the houses to which he was invited, and never invited anybody to a meal in his house. He always prepared his own meals, ate with the greatest frugality, mostly nothing but some vegetable gruel, and never took a drink with his meals. On the other hand, he dressed most luxuriously, loved jewelry, and traveled in a seignorial manner. His way of life involved considerable outlays, and although nothing is known for certain about the sources of his income, some suspected him

Figure 37.1. The only known portrait of the Comte de Saint-Germain. Engraving by N. Thomas, made in 1783, after a painting by an unknown artist-friend of the Comte, which he presented to Mme d'Urfé.

of having received lavish payments for espionage activities, for which he had ample opportunity in his travels all over Europe. He himself claimed, or was rumored to have claimed, that his riches were literally self-made, in the sense of being produced—manufactured alchemically—by himself: it was his mastery of the Great Art that enabled him to make as much gold and as many precious stones as he wanted.[17]

It is a rather puzzling fact that although his biographers and the memoirists who wrote about him never fail to mention his seductive

charm, they give no information whatsoever about his relations with women. It is known that women of the high aristocracy, for instance Mme de Pompadour and Mme de Hausset in Paris, were greatly impressed by him, but no gossip has survived about any amorous affair he might have had. It is not even known whether he was ever married. The sexual aspect of his life is as much a mystery as are his true name and origins.

More is known about Saint-Germain's diplomatic activities. It is a documented fact that in February 1760 he was given full powers by Louis XV and an authorization by Marechal Belle-Isle, the minister of war, to go to Holland and obtain there a loan of thirty million florins (an enormous amount at the time) for France. Upon his arrival in Amsterdam, Saint-Germain presented himself to the Jewish bankers Thomas and Adrien Hope. It would seem that the leading bankers both in Amsterdam and The Hague knew, or believed, that Saint-Germain was of Jewish origin (the son of "Wolf"?), and it was possibly due to this that he had ready access to them. However, Saint-Germain's mission aroused the displeasure of the Duc de Choiseul, and he sent instructions to his representative in Amsterdam to have the "the pretended Comte de Saint-Germain," as he referred to him, arrested and sent back to France. Luckily for Saint-Germain, he learned of the order in time, and managed to obtain a personal loan of 2,000 florins from the Jewish money-lender Boas against the surety of three opals, evade capture, and flee to England (in June, 1760).[18] In London Saint-Germain was given to understand that he was unwelcome there, too, whereupon he proceeded to The Hague and thence to Nimègues, near the German border, where he bought a large estate, and engaged in the research of dyes.

In April 1762 Saint-Germain received, and accepted, an invitation from the Count Pierre Rotari to come to Russia.[19] There he became an intimate friend of Count Orlov, and was believed to have played a part in the coup d'état carried out by the three Orlov brothers against Peter III. Thereafter nothing is known about Saint-Germain until 1770, when he appeared in Livorno in the uniform of a Russian general.

The last chapter in Saint-Germain's life was played out in Germany. He participated in the Masonic movement. For a while he achieved complete domination over Margrave Charles-Alexander of Anspach, who took him along wherever he went. Finally, in 1779, he became a close friend of Landgrave Charles of Hesse, whom we have already met. The landgrave was keenly interested in alchemy, and provided Saint-Germain with a laboratory and a home to the end of his life. Saint-Germain became not only a friend of the landgrave, but also his mentor in alchemy and things spiritual. The story of the relationship between Saint-Germain and the landgrave is best told in the latter's own words:

Upon my return to Altona I saw the famous Comte de St. Germain, who seemed to take a liking to me, especially when he learned that I was not a hunter, neither had other passions contrary to the study of the high things of nature. He told me then: "I shall come to see you at Schleswig, and you will see the great things that we shall do together."

I made him understand that I had good reason for not accepting, for the moment, the favor he wanted to do me. He answered, "I know that I must come to you, and must talk to you." I knew no other way of avoiding all explanations except to tell him that Colonel Koeppern, who was staying behind sick, would follow me in a couple of days, and that he could talk to him about it. Then I wrote a letter to Koeppern to tell him to prevent, and if possible dissuade, the Comte de St. Germain from coming here. Koeppern arrived in Altona and spoke to him. But the comte answered him, "You can say what you want, I must go to Schleswig, and I shall not change my mind. The rest will come about by itself. You should take care of providing me with prepared lodgings, etc." Koeppern told me of this result of their conversation, of which I could not approve.

I have gathered much information about this extraordinary man from the Russian army where I had spoken about him in particular with my friend Colonel Frankenberg. He told me, "You can be sure that he is not a *trompeur* [charlatan], and that he possesses great knowledge. He was at Dresden; I was there with my wife. He showed goodwill toward both of us. My wife wanted to sell a pair of earrings. A jeweler offered a small sum for it. She spoke about it in front of the comte, who told her, "Do you want to show them to me?"—which she did. Then he said, "Can you confide them to me for a couple of days?" He gave them back to her after having enhanced them. The jeweler, to whom my wife showed them thereafter, told her, "These are beautiful stones, they are totally different from the previous ones that you showed me!" and paid her more than double.

St. Germain arrived soon thereafter at Schleswig. He talked to me about great things he wanted to do for the good of humanity, etc. I had no desire for them, but then I had scruples about rejecting knowledge, very important in all respects, because of a false idea of wisdom or avariciousness, and I made myself his disciple. He spoke a lot about the improvement of colors which cost almost nothing, of the amelioration of metals, adding that one should absolutely not make gold, even if one knew how, and remained absolutely faithful to this principle. Precious stones cost much to buy, but if one knows how to ameliorate them, they increase infinitely in value. There is almost nothing in nature that he did not know how to improve and utilize. He confided in me almost all the knowledge of nature, but only its beginning, making me thereafter search myself, by experiments, for the means to succeed, and was extremely pleased with my progress. This concerns metals and stones, but as for colors, he gave them to me effectively,

and also some more important knowledge. One will perhaps be curious to know his story, and I shall trace it with the greatest veracity according to his own words, adding the necessary explanations.

He told me that he was eighty-eight years old when he came here; he was ninety-two or ninety-three when he died. . . . He pretended to have acquired the knowledge of nature by his own application and his researches. He knew the herbs and plants completely, and had invented the medicaments that he used continuously, and that prolonged his life and health. I still have all his prescriptions, but the physicians turned against his science after his death. There was a Dr. Lossau, who had been an apothecary and to whom I gave 1,200 écus each year to work on the medicaments that the Comte de St. Germain dictated to him, among others, and principally, his tea that rich people purchased and that the poor received for nothing—as they did also the care of this doctor who cured many people—of which tea, to my knowledge, nobody died. But after the death of this physician, disgusted by the remarks I was hearing from every side, I withdrew all the prescriptions, and did not replace Lossau.

St. Germain wanted to establish a factory of dyes in this country. The one of the late Otte at Eckernfoerde was vacant and abandoned. Thus I had the opportunity to purchase those buildings next to the town at a good price, and I set up the Comte de St. Germain there. I bought silks, wools, etc. It was necessary to have a lot of utensils for such a factory. I saw there fifteen pounds of silk being dyed in a big cauldron according to the method that I had learned and carried out myself in a cup. This succeeded perfectly. One therefore cannot say that this was not done on a large scale.

Unfortunately, the Comte de St. Germain, when arriving at Eckernfoerde, stayed in a humid room where he contracted very bad rheumatism, from which, despite all his remedies, he never recovered completely. I often went to see him at Eckernfoerde, and never went away without new, very interesting instructions, often making notes of the questions I wanted to ask him. Toward the end of his life I found him very sick one day, and he believed that he was about to die. He was visibly losing weight. After having dined in his bedroom, he made me sit down alone next to his bed, and spoke to me then more clearly about a lot of things, foretelling much. He told me to come back as soon as possible, which I did. Upon my return I found him somewhat better, but he was very silent. When I went in 1783 to Cassel, he told me that if he died during my absence I would find a sealed note by his hand which should be sufficient for me. But this note was not found, having perhaps been entrusted to unfaithful hands. Often I pressed him to give me during his life that which he wanted to leave in that note. This distressed him, and he said, "Ah, how unhappy I would be, my dear Prince, if I dared to speak!"

He was perhaps one of the greatest philosophers who had ever lived. Friend of humanity, wanting money only to give it to the poor, friend also

of animals, his heart was occupied only with the happiness of others. He thought he could make the world happy by providing it with new pleasures, more beautiful fabrics, more beautiful colors, at better prices. For his superb colors cost almost nothing. I have never seen a man who had a clearer mind than his, and with it an erudition, especially in ancient history, the like of which I have rarely found. . . .

He traveled to all the countries of Europe, and I know almost none in which he did not sojourn a long time. He knew them all thoroughly. He has often been to Constantinople and Turkey. Nevertheless, France seemed to be the country he loved most. . . .

His philosophical principles in religion were pure materialism, but he knew how to present them with such refinement that it was very difficult to counter him successfully with reasoning. Still, I often succeeded in confounding his views. He was the opposite of an adorer of Jesus Christ, and permitted himself to say things about him that were rather disagreeable to me. I said to him, "My dear Comte, it depends on you what you want to believe about Jesus Christ, but I admit frankly that you cause me much pain in making remarks against him, to whom I am so completely devoted." He remained pensive for a time, then answered, "Jesus Christ is nothing, but to cause you pain is something. So I promise you never again to speak about him." On his deathbed, during my absence, one day he asked Lossau to tell me when I returned to Cassel that God granted him the grace to make him again change his views before his death, and added that he knew how much this would please me, and that I shall still do much for his happiness in another world.[20]

This document is most important as an authentic eyewitness account of the last five years of Saint-Germain's life. It shows that while he still engaged in mystifying people whom he encountered (as in the incident with the jewels of Colonel Frankenberg's wife), he concentrated on practical methods of improving technological production, the production of medicaments, the fabrication and dyeing of materials, and the like. Most remarkable is that he dared to risk offending the landgrave's religious sensibilities by making "rather disagreeable remarks" about Jesus, and by giving unrestrained expression to his disbelief in him. Could it be that these views were survivals of attitudes he had absorbed many decades earlier in his Jewish parental home, views which now, in his extreme old age, he no longer felt constrained to hide?

The landgrave's account is supplemented by that of another eyewitness. The Hamburg physician, Dr. Kelemann, was present at a conversation between the landgrave and Saint-Germain. He heard Saint-Germain say: "I carry the burden of centuries. I shall die like all others, at least as far as appearances go, but my spirit will be reabsorbed into the

bosom of the Great All (*Grand Tout*) who inspires me." Next Saint-Germain expressed the belief that he would be reincarnated in the body of a newborn child, and then said to the landgrave:

> You doubt the existence of Satan. Yet he does exist and is powerful. But he is the spirit of evil, and will ultimately succumb. It is due to Satan's maleficent influence that man must exist as he does. Two currents, one good, one bad, did inevitably go into the making of your ancestor. The All did not desire man. It was the rebellion of Satan that brought about the creation of Adam. Do not proclaim this, for many people cannot conceive this truth. This secret, should it be divulged, could not be admitted by human pride.

The landgrave objected to this view of the origin of man, but Saint-Germain answered, "So it is, life springs from the union of the sexes. One is of a diabolic order, the other of a divine order." At that point the landgrave asked him why he did not believe in Jesus, but before Saint-Germain could answer, Dr. Kelemann had to leave the room and thus could not record his response.[21]

Saint-Germain's view of the mixed divine-diabolic origin of man bears too close a resemblance to the well-known midrash about Cain having been fathered on Eve not by Adam but by Satan to be mere coincidence. It would appear that, as his final hour approached, Saint-Germain remembered that midrash which he may have studied, or heard, in his Jewish youth.

Saint-Germain died on February 27, 1784, at Eckenfoerde, in the Duchy of Schleswig. Upon his death Landgrave Charles inherited all his papers, burned them all, and thereafter refused to give any information about the mysterious man.

Saint-Germain's death, far from putting an end to his legend, added new chapters to it. Rumors began circulating that he had not died, and more and more people claimed to have met him personally: he was seen in Paris in 1835, and even as late as 1926. For the Society of Theosophy Saint-Germain became one of the "immortal initiates"; he was sighted again in Paris in 1934; it was believed that he would be reincarnated in December 1939, and that he would appear in a district of the Midi in 1945 and resume his occult activities.[22]

More relevant to our present interest is the alchemical knowledge Saint-Germain claimed to possess. The most authentic document in this respect is the memorandum he submitted—signing himself as "L.P.T.C. de Welldone", a name he used at one time—to M. d'Alvensleben, Frederick II's ambassador to Dresden. In this document, comprising twenty-nine points, Saint-Germain offered to set up industrial, chemical, and technical operations that would greatly benefit the economy of the Prussian state. They included, under points 19 to 29, the following:

19. Diverse processes for precious metals, that is to say, without gold or silver, being of great utility and of great economy, which will surely astonish every good chemist, and which will also reduce the enormous prices of perishable articles of luxury.
20. The preparation of a totally new metal whose qualities are amazing.
21. Diverse processes for precious objects which seem perfectly impossible.
22. The preparation of paper, feathers, ivory, bone, and wood tinted in very fine splendid colors.
23. Good chemical processes for various wines.
24. The preparation of Rossoli liqueur out of fruit-stones, etc. of superior quality and at advantageous prices.
25. The preparation of other useful things about which I keep silent.
26. Preventive measures against illnesses and all kinds of nuisances.
27. True purgatives that remove from the body only harmful elements.
28. True, sure, and beneficial cosmetics.
29. Superfine olive oil produced in Germany within twelve hours. That which concerns agronomy is reserved for later.

L.P.T.C. de Welldone

On another point one cannot say anything here for various reasons. It is reserved, etc.

The execution of this new industrial plan can serve the political economy to the highest degree, and introduce an indissoluble union among certain great nations.

De Welldone

On June 25, 1777, this memorandum was forwarded to Frederick II by D'Alvensleben who added: "The secret procedures about which he does not want to give information concern the transmutation of fine stones into precious stones."[23] Considering the risk to which an individual exposed himself if he disappointed the expectations of an autocrat such as the king of Prussia, the least one can conclude from this document is that Saint-Germain had supreme confidence in his ability to fulfill the alchemical and technological promises he made in it.

In addition to the above memorandum, unquestionably written by Saint-Germain, two manuscripts are attributed to him. One is titled *La magie sainte revelée a Moyse*, which is basically a handbook of magic ceremonial ritual including descriptions of rites for the purpose of discovering various hidden things, such as "mines of diamonds, of gold and silver, in the bosom of the earth," of prolonging life for more than a century in full health and strength, and so on.[24] It contains this statement: "Moses found it [the manuscript] in an Egyptian monument and conserved it piously in Asia under the device of a winged dragon." One remarkable feature of this manuscript was that it was triangular in

shape.[25] As we shall see, the triangle (and the number three) had special fascination for Saint-Germain.

The second manuscript, preserved in the Municipal Library of Troyes, France, is entitled *La trés sainte trinosophie*, and is essentially a description of a fantastic voyage undertaken by the author in search of alchemical-kabbalistic secrets. As to its authorship, there is no unanimity among the scholars who studied it, several of whom doubt that it was actually written by Saint-Germain.[26] The body of the book contains a fantastic and repetitious travelogue. Written in first person singular, this travelogue has a depressing, nightmarish quality: the author crosses terrifying landscapes, moves in and out of vaguely described imaginary and bizarre palaces designated often by repulsive names, encounters strange human beings who are stated to be hoary with the wisdom of the ages, and yet whatever they are quoted as saying amounts to very little. In the course of his fantastic journey the author is accosted by dangerous fires and waters, wades through sandy and salty deserts and lakes of putrefaction, sees phantoms, hydras, and lamias, and an assortment of fearsome birds. But in all this there is no mention of either alchemy or mysticism. On the other hand, we do get a large number of Hebrew-Aramaic, and somewhat fewer Arabic, words and expressions, penned partly in the original characters. The text of the book begins as follows:

> It was night, the moon hidden by dark clouds cast only an uncertain glimmer over the blocs of lava that surround the solfatara [sulphur springs]. My head covered with a linen veil, holding in my hand the golden bough, I advanced without fear toward the place where I had been ordered to spend the night. Walking on scorching sand, every instant I felt it give way under my steps. The clouds piled up over my head, lightning streaked through the night and gave a blood-red coloring to the flames of the volcano. . . . Finally I arrive, find an altar of iron, I place on it the mysterious bough. . . . I pronounce the terrible words. . . . Instantly the earth trembles under my feet, there is a clap of thunder. . . . The roarings of Vesuvius respond to its redoubled blows, its fires join the fires of the lightning. The choirs of spirits rise up into the air, and reach the praises of the Creator. . . . The consecrated bough that I have placed on the triangular altar bursts into flame; suddenly a thick smoke surrounds me, I can see no more. Plunged into darkness I feel that I am descending into an abyss. I do not know how long I remained in this situation, but when I opened my eyes I searched diligently for the objects that had surrounded me some time earlier. The altar, Vesuvius, the open country of Naples had vanished from my sight, I was in a vast subterranean realm, alone, removed from the whole world. . . . Next to me was a long white robe; its loose fabric seemed to me to be composed of linen yarn; on a granite block rested a copper lamp; on

top, a black tablet inscribed with Greek letters indicated the route I was to follow.

In the sequel the author describes his trials and tribulations while traversing a terribly frightening landscape. After an "immense march" he arrives at a square place. He enters through the northern portal, then proceeds across more fantastic lands. He sees a boat, and says to the boatman, *Bonum est sperare in domino quam confidere in principibus*, which is the Latin translation of Psalm 118:9, "it is better to take refuge in the Lord than to trust in princes." Then he comes to a lake of fire, and crossing it finds a hall upheld by columns of fire. He sees all kinds of phantoms. This section closes with an emblem inscribed in unskilled Hebrew script with the words *esha ḥolit*, that is, "sandy fire" in Aramaic letters.

The book is literally studded with Hebrew and Aramaic words, names, and expressions that a non-Jewish author would be most unlikely to know, and that would be familiar only among Jews who had a good talmudic education. Only part of these Hebrew and Aramaic words can be identified; many of them are reproduced by the person who prepared the Troyes copy of the manuscript so badly that it is impossible to recognize what words they intend to stand for. The same holds good for those Hebrew words which are given in French transliteration.

Among the illustrations contained in the Troyes manuscript there is one that shows a bird, an altar, and a lamp stand supporting a candle (See Figure 37.2). Above the picture there is a Hebrew inscription: *kohen, rofe, ashaf*, "priest, physician, wizard (or: magician)." Since of these three nouns the first is biblical, and the second and third are talmudic, their use again indicates the author's familiarity with both biblical and post-biblical Hebrew.

In contrast to the gloomy mood that pervades the whole book, it ends on an upbeat, almost triumphant note: "I took the sword, and striking the sun reduced it to dust. Then I touched it, and each molecule became a sun of gold similar to the one I had shattered. 'The work is accomplished,' a strong and melodious voice cried out instantly" (237). Since "sun" is the ubiquitous alchemical name for gold, these words could indicate that the traumatic voyage related in the book was meant to be a symbolic and mystical description of the Work of the alchemist, that of making gold, which, in the end, he succeeded in accomplishing.

The last page of the *Trinosophie* is inscribed with four lines of mystical signs at the bottom, and over them is a triple circular diagram containing Hebrew words (see Figure 37.3).[27]

Figure 37.2. Illustration from *La très sainte trinosophie*, attributed to the Comte de Saint-Germain. Hebrew at top: "priest, physician, wizard."

The author of the *Trinosophie* evidently had more than a working knowledge of biblical and post-biblical Hebrew and of talmudic Aramaic. The latter is evidenced, for example, in his ability to find no fewer than four synonyms for "decomposition": *ṣaḥan, raqav, bash,* and *ne'elaḥ*. This points to an author who had received in his youth a thorough talmudic education. In addition, he also had at least some familiarity with Arabic, including some Arabic alchemical terms, which he may have acquired at a later age. He must have acquired Yiddish, too, in his adulthood, while he lived in places (such as Strasbourg) inhabited by Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jews.

Figure 37.3. Last page of *La très sainte trinosophie*. The Hebrew words, from the top, clockwise: Outer circle: "*Adonay* [Lord]. And the spirit of God. Supernal world. Infinity." Middle circle: "Supernal. Middle. World of the angels. Infernal." Inner circle: "*Ispirkha* [white lead]. Flower. Sulphur." The French words in the center read: "Réunion des principes. Unité. Création. Conservat[rice]. Génératrice [Union of principles. Unity. Creation. Keeper. Generative]." I am unable to deciper the four lines at the bottom.

WHAT can be said in conclusion of the life and work of the famous, fabulous, and mysterious Comte de Saint-Germain? I think that the data contain sufficient evidence of his Sephardi (Spanish-Portuguese) background, of a childhood spent in Piemonte (he spoke French with a Piemontese accent), and of talmudic education. Being gifted with a pro-

digious memory, the knowledge he acquired even in the earliest stages of his life remained with him as long as he lived. After striking out on his own and embarking on a career of international adventurism, he found it essential to conceal his Jewish origin. He assumed many guises and names, always pretending to be a nobleman, usually a count, and hailing from a country other than the one in which he happened to be. Exploiting the credulity of the times, he claimed—or at least encouraged the rumors to the effect—that he was hundreds or even thousands of years old, that he was in possession of the elixir of life, and that he knew how to make gold and precious stones, in a word that he was a master of the Great Art of alchemy. Most importantly for his success in being admitted into, and admired by, the highest circles of nobility in one country after the other, he had such a winning personality that he was able to cast his spell over all people whom he met, including princes and even crowned heads. Another side of his talents was his aptitude in diplomacy, business, and industry, of which Louis XV, the Landgrave Charles, and leading French and possibly Russian statesmen made use. Although to the very end of his life he never revealed his Jewish origin, in his old age he made no secret of his disbelief in Jesus, nor of his knowledge (among the many tongues he knew) of the Jewish languages of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Yiddish.

As for his alchemy and chemistry, although no documentation has survived as to whether he made any original contribution to them, he certainly played a significant role in keeping alive the belief and interest in the former, and possibly contributed to laying the foundations for the industrial use of the latter.

Chapter Thirty-eight

JACOB EMDEN; THE BAR ILAN MANUSCRIPT

THE TWO eighteenth-century Jewish alchemists discussed so far were primarily professional magicians and mystifiers whose orientation was very remote from the traditional pre-Haskala Jewish mentality. The third man, to whom we now turn briefly, was in contrast, a rabbi, a halakhic authority, and Kabbalist, one of the most outstanding Jewish scholars of his generation. He devoted much of his life to combating those of his co-religionists who still adhered to what he considered the dangerous Shabbatean heresy, and those who initiated during his lifetime the equally heretical Frankist movement. He was the son of Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi, known as Ḥakham Zevi, and like his father was a man of a stormy, independent, and uncompromising character.

His name was Jacob Emden (1697–1776), and the little that is known of his life indicates that he was in many respects an exceptional character in the north European Jewish environment of his age. For one thing, despite his great knowledge and voluminous scholarly literary output, he occupied a rabbinical position, in the community of Emden, for only a short period in his long life. For another, he established a printing press in Altona, providing himself with a certain economic and intellectual independence that enabled him to disseminate his views, often strongly critical of the traditions and social mores of the Jewish community in which he lived. He became embroiled in numerous controversies, of which the most envenomed was that with Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschuetz, who became rabbi of the "Three Communities" of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck in 1751, and was suspected (by Emden as well as by others) of being an adherent of Shabbatai Zevi, the false Messiah. The fight between the two rabbinical giants reached such a point that Emden was forced to escape to Amsterdam, from where, however, he continued his attacks on Eybeschuetz. From fighting the Shabbateans, Emden went on to a criticism of the *Zohar*, the holy book of the Kabbalah, and even dared to question its antiquity (it was considered by the Kabbalists to be the work of the second-century Palestinian sage Rabbi Shimʿon ben Yoḥai), and ultimately its sanctity as well. This, of course, aroused strong opposition, and contributed to the controversy that surrounded Emden.

In addition to his halakhic works, his commentaries on Scripture and the prayer book, and his polemical writings, Emden wrote an autobiography, which is unique in the rabbinical world Apart from all this, he was interested in the natural sciences, knowledgeable of Hebrew grammar, and familiar with the Latin, German, and Dutch languages As for alchemy, although there is no evidence in his voluminous works that he engaged in alchemical experimentation or that he believed in alchemical tenets and teachings, one of his responsa shows that he took the claims of alchemy very seriously and, more than that, that he was eager to obtain information about alchemical doctrines and achievements In Emden's great responsa collection, entitled *Sh'elat Ya'vetz* (printed in Altona, 1738–1759), there is one long letter which he wrote in answer to a question addressed to him by a certain Wolf Ginzburg, who wanted to know whether it was permissible to learn sciences, and especially medical science, from the gentiles In his responsum (no 41, ff 65a–74a), Emden inserts a question of his own in which he asks Ginzburg for information on alchemy in general, and on Hebrew (or Jewish) alchemical writings in particular What follows is my translation of the relevant passage (ff 73b–74a) from Emden's Hebrew Emden was not familiar with Hebrew alchemical terms, but managed to convey what he wanted to say by using Hebrew words whose basic meanings were near enough to the terms he lacked (these words are in parentheses)

> Inform me, please, whether there is there somebody who is skilled in the analysis (*nituah*) of elements (*y'sodot*), and their extraction from compounds (*murkavim*), and the separation of the three pillars of alchemy, and the science of their combination and mixing in all the low existing things down to plants and herbs, and metals and minerals I would like to know whether that science still exists, and whether those things, such as the transmutation (*hishtanut*) of the substances of metals (*'atzme hama takhot*), have been verified with a full certainty And [whether] the greatness of the medicaments, about which the masters of that sect (*kat*) sang exaggerated praises and told great marvels, is actually as rumored And whether there is anything about it in any book of ours And recently I saw a book printed in the foreign language (*La'az*), in the name of an ancient one of the sons of our people, which is considered among them [the gentiles] of very great value, and they say that they have several Jewish authors who were great in that science And this makes me wonder greatly if the thing is really true, how did their memory totally disappear from among us, nobody knows how far, even though the author of the *Duties of the Hearts* [by Bahya ibn Paquda] mentions the virtues of alchemy at the beginning of his chapter on Trusting, making it clear that he verified its existence? Also Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra seems to assume its reality But the *Kuzari* talks

> about them in two places, and mentions them disparagingly and mocks them. However, I have neither seen as yet nor heard that our early sages mentioned anywhere that they knew of any book written in the holy tongue on that science. Therefore my soul yearns also to know whether perchance somebody among us still possesses such a book. In the great houses of books [libraries] and in the collections of the honored houses of study [universities] there are [such books]. My soul would greatly enjoy to know what their wise men think about this matter. And from our old ones, may their memory be for a blessing, we know that one should not, heaven forfend, leave the precious, holy study for the sake of this. But, happy is he who can hold on to the one without leaving the other, to do as they do. But to go a long way to their houses of study is, to my mind, not a proper thing to do. Even though it does not have to be condemned as has learning from a magus. In any case, don't go near the door of its house, and don't dwell with them in their ornamented rooms and courtyards and palaces, to learn their customs and manners.

Several interesting points are supplied by this passage. One is that Emden had some general knowledge about the basic tenets of alchemy, including its claim to be able to transmute metals, but was not sure whether that "science" was still in existence in his day. Second, he was familiar with the views of the medieval Jewish philosophers on alchemy and understood clearly that some of them believed in alchemy, while others rejected it. Third, he had read at least one alchemical book in a foreign language (*Laʿaz*) written by a Jew and greatly valued by the gentile alchemists. Fourth, he knew that the gentile alchemists possessed, and valued, several books written by Jewish alchemists, which were unknown to him. Fifth, he was puzzled as to how it was possible that those old Jewish alchemical books were unknown to Jewish scholars, and regretted that this was the case. Sixth, he was keenly interested in finding out whether such alchemical books of Jewish authorship could still be found anywhere. Seventh, while he cautions his interrogator not to abandon Torah study for the sake of alchemy, he offers the opinion that "happy is he" who can pursue both studies simultaneously.

Jacob Emden was an exceptional figure among the Ashkenazi Jews of the eighteenth century. Whereas the Sephardi Jews could by that time look back upon several centuries of achievement in all fields of sciences (in addition to halakha, philosophy, poetry, and mysticism), so that interest in alchemy was for them, so to speak, a natural given, Ashkenazi Jewry (with a very few exceptions) concentrated exclusively on halakha and Talmud study, and opened up to new trends, such as Hasidism and the Enlightenment, only in the latter half of the eighteenth century. For

a halakhically anchored Ashkenazi Jew of those days to take an interest in sciences, and especially in alchemy, was in fact so unusual that one is prompted to look for special factors in trying to account for it.

In the case of Jacob Emden such special factors can easily be found. His father, Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi (1660–1718), although he was of Ashkenazi stock and lived in Moravia in his childhood, was sent at the age of fifteen to Salonika, to study there in the yeshiva of R. Elijah Covo. Zevi Hirsch stayed in Salonika for some twelve years, then spent another year in Belgrade. During this time he adopted Sephardi customs, manners, and outlook, and even assumed the Sephardi title *ḥakham* rather than its Ashkenazi equivalent, rabbi. As for the surname "Ashkenazi," it was adopted by, or given to, some Jews of Ashkenazi descent who lived in a Sephardi environment. (The most famous of them was Yiṣḥaq Luria Ashkenazi, or Ashkenazi Rabbi Yiṣḥaq, whence his acronym "the Holy ARI.") Subsequently Ḥakham Zevi was appointed *ḥakham* of the Sephardi community of Sarajevo. He was close to thirty when he returned to the Ashkenazi world, accepting the position of *av bet din* (which can be translated as "suffragan rabbi") of the "Three Communities" of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. In 1710 he was invited to serve as rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam, where he maintained close relations with the Sephardim, and had the highest regard for them and their traditions. His son, Jacob Emden, was greatly influenced by him, and was imbued by him with Sephardi views and attitudes, and the Sephardi positive approach to the secular sciences. This is the background that explains Emden's interest in the sciences, in medicine, and in alchemy.

The responsum quoted above affords us a fleeting glimpse into the status of alchemy among the Ashkenazi rabbinical scholars of the eighteenth century. The interest of the run-of-the-mill Ashkenazi scholar was in that period still largely confined to "the four cubits of the halakha." Their general silence concerning alchemy indicates that they were, in all probability, unaware of its meaning, scope, tenets, and possibly of its very existence. Even Jacob Emden, despite his much broader Sephardi-influenced approach to the world of intellectual endeavor, had only a vague idea of what alchemy meant and what it tried to achieve, and although he knew about the existence of Jewish alchemical treatises, he was unable to identify their authors. No wonder that, as we proceed from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, we find the last Jewish alchemists not among the Ashkenazi but among the Sephardi Jews. There remains but one manuscript from the eighteenth century to discuss, and it too is evidence of some continuing interest in alchemy among the Sephardi community.

Bar Ilan Manuscript 625

This manuscript, found in the Margaliot Collection of Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel, consists of ten folios, paginated 4–6, and 8–14 It is in poor shape, with several pages partly illegible It seems to date from the eighteenth century, although it undoubtedly is but a copy of an older manuscript Nineteen of its twenty pages are in Hebrew, folio 6a and part of folio 7b are in Ladino Most of the foreign technical terms appearing in it are in Italian Hence it stands to reason to assume that its author was a Sephardi Jew who lived in Italy

The most interesting part of this manuscript is a long recipe for the preparation of a liquid "philosophers' stone," which can transmute silver into gold

(f 8a) THE MAKING of a precious stone which is called the philosophers' stone Take one *litra* [pound] of purified and white *armoniaqo* [ammoniac] salt in which there should be no blackness at all Pound it very fine, and pass it through a very dense sieve Then take fifteen wet [fresh] eggs, one day old, and boil them in water until they become very hard, and take the egg whites and cut them into small pieces, and take a marble stone and put on it layer (*ʿaliyah*) upon layer, one layer of the aforementioned ammoniac salt, and one layer of the aforementioned egg whites, until the aforementioned salt and egg whites are used up And then put it into a receptor [until] all the salt becomes water Take that water and put it aside to keep Then take two pounds of *sublimato* [sublimated] quicksilver which should be of the best, and pound it to a very very thin powder which the wind can blow away, and put the powder with the aforementioned water into an *orinal* [flask], and put it [in] very gradually, and all the time mix it well with a [word missing] of wood, and when it is well mixed cover the flask immediately, and lute well the joints so that is should not be able to blow through, and then take four or ten hard boiled egg whites as mentioned, and cut them into small pieces, and put them into the water which is mixed with the aforementioned powder, and mix well And cover the flask well, and put it into a *bagno tineiro* [bath], until all of it is saturated with water, and it should be [there] for four days And when all has become *resolvido* [dissolved], pour the aforementioned water through a *filtro* [filter] cloth in cleanliness

In the name of God Take two pounds of good *antimonio* [antimony], which should not be counterfeit but should have *samforot arutat* [ʾ], and he will see written some *samforot zufiyot* [ʾ], and grind the aforementioned two pounds on a marble stone, very very fine, then take a glass flask whose neck should be long, and lute it with the philosophers' clay, and let it dry,

and put into it the aforementioned ground antimony, and on it put the aforementioned water, and instantly seal its mouth with wax made with *aṣṭize* [?] which should close well, so that the spirits should not get lost, and put the aforementioned flask in your oven upon two iron sticks so that it should not move at all, and then put into it the receptor as customary, and the aforementioned receptor must be as big as possible, and lute well the joint with a glue made of quicklime and egg white and fine flour, and make it so that it should not be able to breathe, and let it stand like this until the glue hardens, and then make a fire in the oven with two coals [several illegible words], until the oven and the flask get hot, and then increase the fire little by little three hours [words illegible] water white like milk, which when it falls [words illegible] it appears that it has frozen, and after four hours have passed [put?] it on the fire with eight or nine coals which should not be big, but like small apples, and you will see the shape of color, either *stanire* [?] or *verde* [*amordo* green]. And you will see in the receptor that a black cloud has developed with other colors, and continue the aforementioned fire for another four hours, and when the said cloud disappears you will see another color, and know that a drop red like blood will drop down, and then give it more fire for another four hours. Then you will see another color like gold drop down. Give always fire for another four hours, and after those colors have become mixed you will see that another black color like burnt blood comes, then for eight hours give very strong fire of wood which makes a clear and strong flame like that of the *reverbero* [?], and after those eight hours put coals above the flask so that the ascent of the fire should be strong, and leave it until it becomes extinguished by itself. And when you see that the fire is weak, take the aforementioned receptor cleverly and cover it with cotton-wool and wax or something similar, so that it should not breathe, and cover that wax with glue made of flour and egg white, and cover it very well, for it is the key of keys and the secret of secrets. And then remove the mud which is on the flask, until it remains pure and you can see in it a tree like a tree with fruits and flowers, and this is one of the signs that the operation is going well—and when everything is nice and pure take what is in it and pound it well until it becomes very fine powder, and put it in an unglazed pot and cover it with another pot like it, mouth to mouth, and tie [?] them with an iron thread, and cover it with mud so that it should not breathe, and so that the mud should be one finger [thick] over them. And when you have dried them, put them into an oven to [word illegible], and make light fire for one hour. Then cover that pot with burning coals [word illegible] for about four hours so that the fruits should be well covered, and after that time take them and let them cool, and when they are cool open it and see: if that powder is colored red, that is *melone* [?] in Laʿaz, good; and if not, repeat

and cover it in the pot upon fire as at first, for twelve hours or until it becomes very red, and then take that powder and pound it fine, then put on it strong *desṭillaṭo* [distilled] vinegar, and take care that when you liquify it you should put into every pound of vinegar half an *onqia* [ounce] of *armoniaqo preparaṭo* [prepared ammoniac] salt. Then put that vinegar [upon] that powder so that it should cover it by two fingers, and cover everything well so that it should not breathe. Then put it into horse manure or a bath for about four hours. Then take it and you will find that vinegar red. Empty it gently into the other vessel and put on that powder new vinegar, liquified as the aforementioned, and put it into manure or a bath for about four hours, and do this each time until the aforementioned powder dissolves completely in the vinegar, by putting each time enough vinegar to cover the powder and two fingers [above it]. And when you see that the vinegar no longer brings color, take all the aforementioned colored vinegar and combine it, and liquify it like that oil of the aforementioned antimony, and lute well the joints. And know that at first will come pure water like rain water, and when you see that it begins to change color, that it comes tinted like gold, then take the receptor and give it strong fire at last, when you see that it stopped flowing give it very strong fire, and when all of it is collected take it and mix it with the oil of the aforementioned antimony, the oil of the colors for the powder, [and] put aside the aforementioned and preserve it well, and you should keep in great secret, for this is the precious oil of antimony of the philosophers with which they tint the silver to good gold.

Although the above recipe is contained in an eighteenth-century Hebrew manuscript, it obviously goes back to a much older original, from which it was copied in that century. It is in the traditional genre of instructions of how to prepare the invaluable "philosophers' stone" (which in this case is not a stone at all but a liquid), which can be used for "tinting silver to good gold," that is, either to transmute silver into gold, or, at least, to give silver the appearance of "good gold."

Despite some illegible words in the manuscript, and a few technical terms that could not be identified, this recipe is one of the most complete and detailed in Hebrew alchemical literature for the preparation of the secret substance termed here "the precious oil of antimony of the philosophers," and in many other tracts "the elixir of life." Particularly interesting in this recipe are the instructions which require the adept to spend an inordinate number of hours tending the fire, supervising the procedures, repeating them again and again. One gets the impression that the author's intention was to make the operation so difficult as to make it almost impossible for the average alchemist to undertake it.

Also, the complexity of the operation is such that it makes the committing of errors almost inevitable. One wonders how many alchemists, reading this recipe, were actually prepared to embark upon this operation, and how many of those who did so were able to carry it through correctly. In any case, "the precious oil of antimony" must have been among the rarest of substances ever produced by alchemists.

PART TEN

The Nineteenth Century

Introduction to Part Ten

BY THE NINETEENTH century, active engagement in alchemy was largely a thing of the past in the Western world. Chemistry, the triumphant heir and successor of alchemy, left no room for either the theories believed in or the operations performed by alchemists ever since the Hellenistic age, although the debt of chemistry to alchemy is a fascinating and as yet insufficiently explored subject. In the rare instances where isolated alchemical work still did continue in nineteenth-century Europe, it had become a quaint and queer fringe phenomenon.

The same situation did not obtain in the Muslim Middle East, where many venerable traditions were able to survive the century almost intact, among them the interest in, and practice of, alchemy. Islamic alchemy has been relatively well studied, but only in its classical period. Practically no research of later Islamic alchemy has been undertaken. Under the entry *al-Kīmīya* in the authoritative *Encyclopedia of Islam* (5:110–15), published in 1979, one finds not a word about what work Muslims did in alchemy, or what Muslim authors thought about it, after Ibn Khaldūn, who lived in the fourteenth century. The *Encyclopedia of Religion*, published in 1987, also stops with that century in its article "Islamic Alchemy" (1:196–99). This being true, the material I present here on Jewish alchemical activity in North Africa in the nineteenth century opens a window to the extension of Muslim alchemy by five centuries. Jewish alchemy could not have survived in that part of the world, even in the diminished form in which it did survive, unless alchemy was still a constituent part of the cultural atmosphere breathed by Jews and Muslims alike.

Chapter Thirty-nine

AN ALCHEMICAL MANUSCRIPT FROM JERBA

THE TUNISIAN island of Jerba (Djerba), despite its isolation from the North African mainland, was the home of a centuries-old Jewish community, which survived persecutions under the Almohads in the twelfth century, under the Spaniards in 1519, and under the Nazis in 1943. In the twelfth century Maimonides, in a letter to his son Abraham, expressed a very low opinion of the Jerban Jews, calling them "dull and of a crude nature."[1] However, by the nineteenth century, the period with which we are concerned in the present context, the yeshivot of Jerba produced many rabbis and writers, and provided religious leaders for the communities of North Africa. The Jewish community numbered 4,900 in 1946, before most emigrated to Israel. The manuscript which we are discussing in this chapter shows that, in addition, some of them were also engaged in alchemical study and practice.[2]

The manuscript, written in 1865 in Sephardi cursive, measures approximately 6 by 4 inches, and contains 145 folios. The title page, which carries the date-line "In the Island of Jerba, in the year 625," which corresponds to 1865, is surrounded by a primitive decorative frame, and it reads as follows:

This is the gate of the Lord the righteous shall enter into it [Ps. 118:20]

THE BOOK
OF THE SCIENCE OF BKRTNTB[3]

Behold here are before you wonderful and precious sciences, pleasant and honored, they are very very straight, and are revealed only to the honest sages whose hearts are pure and choice in the fear of God, and who do not reveal anything, for this science should not be explained to everybody, lest they spoil its secret and pleasantness and shine and splendor. Therefore it comes in a very hidden way, and very very obscurely, and what God has granted a person in knowledge and wisdom is properly kept hidden. And let him give thanks to God for the benefits He granted him, and for having raised up his horn [i.e., honor] and luck, and let him turn all his days to His service and His Torah, and let him hold on to the hand of [i.e., support] the wise and

the poor and the destitute, in order to learn the Torah of God and to serve Him, and to augment and exalt the Torah which is more precious than pearls, and to write books and print them and also those of others. And let him make the Torah a constant preoccupation for the old and the youth, the small and the young. And of the Lord, the God of heaven and earth, I beg that He save me from all evil and trouble, and let me attain this science, and guide me in His pure and flawless Torah. And what I arranged above I vowed and shall fulfill, with His help who gives knowledge and wisdom. And then I shall offer Him a song and praise, and shall bless Him, "in the congregations will I bless the Lord" [Ps. 26:12].

Written
on the Island of Jerba, may our city be rebuilt,
in the year
625 [1865]

As one can see from this literal translation, the author is not a great stylist, but he makes up for that deficiency by intense piety, and considers "this science" (the term he uses is *ḥokhmah*, which can also mean "wisdom") closely related to the Torah.

The text of the book begins on the reverse of the title page. The many non-Hebrew technical terms, mostly Italian and Arabic, include words in the local North-African Arabic dialect that are not found in the Arabic dictionaries:

THE SCIENCE OF ALCHEMY. In all parts of the melting of metals and the nature of minerals it is necessary to understand the meaning of the building of the Sanctuary and the Tabernacle, which is for silver and which for gold and which for copper and iron, and the meaning of the precious stones and their virtues, and likewise the secrets of nature, *simpaṭiyah* and *anṭipiaiṭiya* [I. *simpatia* and *antipatia*], and it is necessary to know for each thing what is the limit and the virtue of its nature, and that there is in it nothing of the ways of the Emorite [i.e., idolatrous matters], and whatever does not belong to the roots of this science is of the ways of the Emorite.

The next two lines refer the reader to a later part of the book, dealing with *purgaṣione* (purgation), then follows another introductory statement which is of considerable interest due to its kabbalistic connotations. It begins by identifying the author (or the copyist) as "the youth Barukh Abraham HaKohen, S"Ṭ." The family name HaKohen is the same as that of the author of the book, but that is not an indication of relationship, since the majority of the Jews of Jerba were of Kohanite, that is, priestly, descent. S"Ṭ stands for *S'faradi ṭahor*, meaning "pure Sephardi," the proud self-identification of men who boasted pure

Sephardi descent even centuries after the expulsion of the Sephardi Jews from Spain in 1492

> SAYS THE AUTHOR, the youth Barukh Abraham HaKohen, S"T In my humble opinion, before you start reading in this honored and precious sci ence you should recite this prayer that I composed In my humble opinion it will be considered in the eyes of my Creator, blessed be His name, amen, and except for what you find written in it, do as God favors you with knowledge and wisdom, for the Lord our God is compassionate, and then also its study in which you will engage, and the neglect [of Torah study] it involves, will count for you as if you had studied His holy Torah, for the Holy One, blessed be He, adds the good thought to the deed And this is the text of the prayer, with the help of heaven
>
> For the unification of the Holy One, blessed be He [with His Shekhina], in fear and in trembling, to unite the name *YaH* with *WeH* [i e , Yahweh] in a complete unity, in the name of all Israel, behold I come to study the science of TKDYMMT,[4] so that if the Lord our God will grant me to under stand it and to succeed in working in it, I shall print the books of our brothers, the righteous and pious Children of Israel, and to study the Torah of the Lord day and night, to learn and to teach and to do and to raise up the horn [i e , glory] and the banner of the Torah, and to strengthen the hands of those who devote themselves to it, and to work the holy work without trouble, with a full heart, and without turning anywhere else

The first few lines of this prayer consist of a somewhat shortened version of the well known *yihud* formula, whose full text contains the words "with His Shekhina," in brackets above This brief dedication prayer was instituted by Yishaq Luria, the leading sixteenth-century Safed kabbalistic master, who is quoted as having said categorically, "One must always be careful to say before everything, 'For the unification of the Name of the Holy One, blessed be He, in fear and love and awe, in the name of all Israel,' for one must always unite the male and the female " Luria's influence was so powerful that ever since his time the unification formula has been faithfully recited by traditional kabbal istic and Hasidic Jews many times a day, at the start of each of the daily prayers, and before performing any religious or otherwise significant act Underlying it is the mystical conviction that the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem and the exile of the People of Israel brought about a separation between God the King and His mate the Shekhina (the feminine Presence of God), that as a result of this cleavage in the godhead God Himself was not complete, and that therefore it was the duty of the pious to dedicate everything they did to the overarching great purpose of bringing about the unification of God and the Shekhina [5] The recom

mendation of the author of our book to recite the *yiḥud* before embarking on alchemical work brings that work most definitely within the compass of licit, and more than that, approved and valuable, religious activity. Among the hundreds of manuscript and printed alchemical texts I have perused, this manuscript is the only one in which I found a reference to the *yiḥud*.

After some more religious admonitions and recommendations of prayers, the author (f. 1a) identifies, first of all, the provenance of his treatise:

> This esteemed book I found in a manuscript . . . of our master and teacher R. Moshe HaKohen, son of the great rabbi R. Shaul HaKohen of blessed memory.
>
> Know that every passage over which you find a half-moon is by the aforementioned R. Moshe Kohen, and where you [do not] find a half-moon, it is by me, I the young Abraham Kohen, S"Ṭ.

Nowhere in the book is a half-moon (or any other identification mark) to be found. However, scattered in the text of the manuscript are additional indications concerning the provenance and authorship of the book. On folio 54b, introducing the third part of the book, we find some more details about the manner in which the copyist, Barukh Abraham HaKohen, obtained the material he included in the book:

> SAYS THE COPYIST: after having presented to you the first and second parts of the aforementioned book which I found in a manuscript . . . of his honor Rabbi Moshe Kohen . . . son of the great terebinth, the master of the land, . . . Rabbi Shaul HaKohen of blessed memory . . . author of the book *Leḥem haBikkurim* [Bread of the Firstfruits] and other books, I now come to put before you some pearls which I found in a manuscript of my master and father, may his light shine, and which are not contained in the aforementioned book; and my master and father told me that he had copied them from writings of the aforementioned RM"K [Rabbi Moshe Kohen].

Dealing with a manuscript of such composite origin it is difficult to determine whether certain specific statements, made in the first person singular, represent the words of the author or of the copyist. Thus, for example, on folio 58a we find a recipe for making "silver-water with which you can write as with ink," which is introduced with these words: "I found it written in a manuscript, and this is its language." We are at a loss in trying to determine whether the author or the copyist speaks here. If the latter, then he made use of sources in addition to Rabbi Moshe HaKohen's manuscript.

Another reference to an extraneous source, if it can be taken at face value, seems to indicate that the author, Moshe ben Shaul HaKohen,

lived in the sixteenth century in Bologna, Italy On folio 40b we find this statement

> Know that I received from a wise man, and his name is Patīsta, here, Bolo gna, the 9th of Marso [March], year 5308 [1548], *s'gullot* [H , remedies] of two herbs the herb *torah* [?] and the herb *antorah* [?] And they are found only in the mountains of France One of them is good for hardening iron, and the other for softening it Also the herb *sfera qaswalo* [?] is good for breaking and crushing all iron vessels and all copper, and it is found only in Napoli [Naples]

This is a very intriguing entry I have not been able to identify a sixteenth-century Bolognese alchemist named Patīsta (probably Batista), nor could I find traces of a Moshe ben Shaul HaKohen, or his book *Lehem haBikkurim* However, in about 1500 one of the Jews expelled from Spain, Abraham ben Moshe HaKohen, was appointed rabbi of Bo logna, and it is possible that our Moshe ben Shaul HaKohen was of the same family In 1568 the Jews were banished from Bologna, and it could have been at that time that Moshe ben Shaul moved to Jerba Since most of the alchemical terms used in the manuscript are Italian, it is more than likely that its author was an Italian Jew

The actual alchemical text of the manuscript begins on the same folio 1a

AND THIS IS MY DESIRE WITH THE HELP OF
THE LORD MY ROCK AND SAVIOR

THE KINDS of salt are many but all of them are of three kinds natural, heavenly, and artificial

THE NATURAL comes from the mountains and some of it is dark and some of it is pure like the onyx, and is called *sal gemma*, that is salt whose glitter sparkles like a precious stone AND THERE IS of it a kind of mineral which is called *sal indi*, that is, it comes from India AND THERE IS another mineral one which is called *sal natiqo* [?] AND THERE IS yet another min eral one called *sal nitro* [saltpeter] which comes from Egypt and its bor ders AND THERE IS another mineral, scented and good smelling, which comes from *al-Yaman* [Yemen] AND THERE IS another one whose color is black AND THERE IS another one, white like glass, with whose pieces one can see the face of man, and therefore it is called *speculare* [I , mirror] salt AND THERE IS a kind which is red of an essential redness, similar to *qarma* [garnet] And there is a kind of it whose redness is clear like that of the rose And there is [a kind] of it which is yellow like saffron

THE HEAVENLY is the salt of Sodom which came down from heaven, and it is bitter and very salty It burns easily, and its grains do not burst in fire, as do the other salts

THE ARTIFICIAL some of it comes from the soil and is called *sal misitro* [I *sal mastro*, brackish salt], and it is the one out of which they make the *polvere* [I , powder] for guns AND THERE IS THE ONE which is made out of the water of the sea, as in Sicily and Italy AND THERE IS ONE which is made out of the blood of domestic and wild animals AND THERE IS ONE which is made out of gold AND THERE IS ONE which is made out of silver AND THE ONE made out of honey AND THE ONE made out of the sedi ment of wine called *tartaro* [tartar] AND THE ONE made out of burnt ol ives AND THE ONE made out of the *lipio santo* [?] AND THE ONE made out of the *ienpiro* [I *giunipero* or ginepro, juniper] tree AND THE ONE made out of wormwood roots AND THE ONE made out of the *absinsio* [I *absintina*, absinthe, wormwood] tree And thus it can be made out of all the fruits and plants, and the salt of each thing is good for particular diseases according to the nature of the fruit or the plant of which it is made AND THERE IS ONE made out of urine AND out of the *saratanes* [A *saratan*, lobster] And see in the book ShLH"G[6] at length

The last two lines of folio 1a are only partly legible, but they deal with "a dust taken out from under the sand big stones, and it is called *salarmoniaqo* [sal ammoniac], that is, salt that is found under the sand "

Folio 1b contains a table of contents listing the forty one chapters of the book, each with its page number The foreign terms are Italian in the first part (numbers 7 to 16), then follow several Hebrew terms (numbers 17 to 25), and finally (numbers 26 to 39) terms in Arabic I have put all the Italian and Arabic terms in italics, and added my translations and explanation in square brackets

INDEXES OF THE BOOK IN GENERAL TERMS,
WITH THE HELP OF GOD AWESOME IN PRAISES

1 Kinds of salt, 1a
2 Explanation of some things, 2a, 8a
3 Introduction to the book, 4a
4 Operations of abridgments, 5b
5 The waters, 9a
6 The oils, 11b
7 *Solimasione* [I , sublimations], 13a
8 *Asolimare* [I , to sublimate], 13b
9 The *fisasione* [I , fixations], 13b
10 *Afisare* [I , to fixate], 15a
11 *Purgasione* [I , purgations], 15b
12 *Apurgare* [I , to purgate], 16a
13 The *preparasione* [I , preparations], 16b
14 *Apreparare* [I , to prepare], 16b

15. The *qalṣinasione* [I., calcination], 17b
16. The *qalṣināre* [I., to calcinate], 18a
17. *Has'arah* [H., sublimation], 18b
18. The preparation [or improvement] of some things, 19a
19. The purification of metals, 20b
20. Freezing [i.e., congelation], 21a
21. Whitening, 25a
22. Reddening and tinting, 28b
23. The long operations, 31b
24. Separate operations, 41b, 55b
25. The work of the pearls, 45a, 55b
26. The *taṭhīr* [A., purification], 49a, 55a
27. The *taḥmīr* [A., reddening], 50a
28. The *tabyīḍ* [A., whitening], 50a, 55a
29. The *tathbīt* [A., fixation] 51a, 54b
30. *Thabāt* [A., fixation] for the *'abd* [A., slave, i.e., mercury], 51b
31. The *tarṣīṣ* [A., coating with lead or zinc], 52a
32. The *taḥṣīn* [A., cementing or solidification], 52b
33. Particular expression, 52b, 55a
34. The *taqṭīr* [A., distilling or filtering], 53a
35. The *taklīs* [A., calcifying], 53a
36. The *tarzīn* [A., explained as *libbun* [H.], whitening], 53a
37. The *tarṭīb* [A., wetting], 53b
38. For *ḥal* [A., dissolving], 53b
39. *Hajrān wal 'aqd* [A., expanding and tying, i.e., fixing of the spirits], 54a
40. The work of writing, 55b
41. Separate operations, 55b

This listing comprises most of the standard alchemical operations, indicating that the author was thoroughly at home in all aspects of alchemy. The next four pages (ff. 2a–3b) contain explanations of alchemical terms, the great majority Italian words that are translated into Hebrew with supporting elucidations. The material contained in this brief vocabulary has been included in the general vocabulary of the Jerba manuscript in the Appendix.

Following that brief vocabulary our manuscript presents (f. 3b) some technical information on weight measures taken from the book *Oṣar haḤayyim* (Treasury of Life), an encyclopedic work written by Jacob ben Isaac Ṣahalon (1630–1693), which was published in 1683 in Venice. Ṣahalon intended to write a general encyclopedia of all the sciences, but only this (the third) part, which deals with medicine, was published. Since Ṣahalon lived more than a century after Moshe ben Shaul, it is evident that this entry was added by the copyist. It reads:

The order of the proportions copied from the book *Osar haHayyim*, page 43b and 44a One *litra* [pound] is twelve *onqias* [ounces] The ounce is divided into eight *drāme* [drams] and one *ottava* [I , eighth] The dram is divided into three *scrupalo* [I *scrupolo*, the twenty-fourth part of an ounce] The *scrupalo* is twenty four wheat [seeds] Thus far, and see there

Then the copyist goes on to add material of his own:

And I found in a manuscript the names of the weights as follows *drakhma, dirhām, grāno, qimha, scrupalo*, twenty four wheat [seeds] One *ritla*—twelve ounces, one ounce—eight *dirhām*, one *dirhām*—three *scrupalo* Thus far The rule of how you should behave with all the frozen [con gealed] matters See its description in part one, in the Freezing [Congealing], par 10 Remember it and don't forget it

Sīnērāsio ʿAMSh"L [H acronym "see what I wrote above"] And to QʿAD"N [H acronym "the shortness of the poverty of my mind it seems"] that *S"D* [H acronym "the end of the matter is"] that it is not closed, for the *ramās* [A , read *ramad*, hot cinders] of the oven are themselves *tasfīya'* [A , purification] if you make it into a kind of *aljūja* [ʾ], and many persons, in places where they have no *zakhs* [ʾ] to make of it a combination, make a place to feed the oven, but they say that the hot cinders of the oven swallow much of the silver, however, the *zakhs* stone is better

OUR ORDER of measures in the Island of Jerba, YʿI"A [H abbreviation of "May our city be rebuilt, Amen"] the *qintār* [A *kantar*] is one hundred *ratl*, and the *ratl* is fifteen *onqiot* [ounces], and the ounce is eight *tas*, and the *tas* is twenty carob seeds, and the carob seed is two wheat [seeds] The *mithqāl* is twenty four carob seeds The *dirhām* is fifteen carob seeds We say that the *grāno* is half a wheat [seed], it is the weight of a *prutah* [H , farthing] of RZ"L [our masters of blessed memory]

Now the copyist is finally ready to begin with the actual alchemical text of his book Italian and Arabic words are transliterated at first appearance, translated where possible thereafter

BʿE"H [WITH THE HELP OF GOD] PREFACE
WHICH CONTAINS THE RULES OF THIS PRECIOUS SCIENCE

1 IN THE BEGINNING all those who enter this work must know the four spirits, that is the *prēpārasione*, and the preparation out of the seven bodies, that is to say the seven known metals

2 AND THE FOUR spirits are *sālarmoniāqo* [sal ammoniac], *k"h* [H ab breviation for quicksilver], sulphur, *arsēnīqo* [arsenic], and they are called spirits because they do not tolerate fire, but fly off into the air like a vapor and a wind, unless they are mixed wisely and carefully, for one must sublimate them in special vessels of glass and clay, which are called *solimatore*, for if you do not sublimate them you cannot cleanse them of their moisture

3 AND THE SEVEN metals, if they were not made into lime, that is *qālsināre* [to calcinate], and if you did not extract from them their mois ture and then drench them on a marble in sharp water, and then retrans form them into water, your operation is worth nothing, for in the begin ning one must make lime out of them, and then transform them into water, and then they will rise like the aforementioned spirits, and then one must mix the water from those metals together with the waters of the aforemen tioned spirits, and then one must transform them into one body, and then into water, and in this way your operations will be complete and good, and this is the great secret in this work, and there is nothing higher than it, and the philosophers hid it, and the proof is that you cannot mix together two things well even if you grind them Moreover, if you mix together two waters, or if they become more colored when this medicine is added to them, for their first nature has already departed from them and they ac quired a different nature, and they have a wonderful effect on the metal if you put the prepared medicine upon it in the aforementioned manner And do not be astonished at the way the metal is transmuted into another nature, for, see, even glass was originally a herb and then transformed into glass, and apart from this also many other things change but it would take too long to describe them And the best of the spirits and the bodies should be prepared, that is *prēpārasione*, and then they should be connected and made into one body And so that you should know the sublimation and the preparation out of the four spirits and the seven metals easily, behold I wrote them down for you B"H [with the help of God], and they are de scribed above, each one in its place in the manner of sublimation and prep aration

4 AND THE PREPARATION of the seven metals can be done in four ways One is to calcinate, that is their transformation into lime, the second, *inserasione*, that is to drench them and to mix them on marble so that they should unite well, the third, *risolasione* [I *risoluzione*, dissolution], that is to transform them into water, the fourth [*qonyelasione*], to freeze [congeal] that water and to turn it into stone And he who does not know this will not be able to operate with any completeness in this science

5 AND THE DRENCHINGS and the manner of doing them, which is called *inkikirāmento* The manner of doing them take any one you want of the spirits or of the metals, and drench it upon a marble stone, steadily grind and drench it with the best sharp water such as vinegar and *wenirame* [?] urine, sal ammoniac, and you must know that this will be a superior opera tion, and it will work better

6 AND KNOW that the philosophers have a nice saying, very *singolāre* [I , singular, i e , excellent] They said all the bodies of metal can *arorifiqare* [I *rarefare*, to rarify] with *ziya* water, that is *witriolo* [vitriol], but you should add something finer and more honored

7. THE SULPHUR *minerale* is a fat from the earth, and the mineral sulphur of the philosophers is (f. 4b) *ekṣteraso* [extracted] of all its *soriṣe* [?] and of all things that are *qorumpionaṭe* [cf. I. *corrompere*, to corrupt, spoil].

8. AND THE K''H [quicksilver] *minerale* is for the philosophers *wiskosa* [I. *viscosa*, viscous] water, which is in the bellies of the earth, and the philosophical quicksilver is extracted from the impure things and of all things corrupted.

9. AND KNOW that if you make lime out of silver and then transform it into a body, it will no longer be damaged, and then the sulphur if you put it. . . .

10. LEAD is composed of quicksilver and *inṭuoso* [?] sulphur, and the quicksilver is dark and not pure, and it is weak from being cooked, and it also weakens in combination, and therefore one must extract from it the blackness and impurity, and it will become *reisaṭo* [?] in this manner. MELT the quicksilver and then remove it from the fire, and throw upon it [marginal note: one quarter of it] *purgaṭo* [purified] quicksilver, and then grind it on a marble stone, and grind with it its own weight of crushed *qomano* [I. *comuno*, common] salt until it does not crackle upon the fire, and grind it together until the salt becomes black, and then remove the salt with warm water, and do thus as many as six times, and then put upon it its own weight of salt and grind it well and boil it with strong vinegar, and boil it a full day, and the blackness will come out, and it will become purified of its blackness and its sulphur, and then remove the salt with water, and it will be a powder of lead and quicksilver, which will be *repuraṭo* [I. *ripurgato*, purified] in a *miraoqare* [I. *miracoloso*, miraculous] manner and white. Return to doing the grinding and the boiling as at first until that lead will be found to be white and pure, and whatever you want to do so, it will be so well purified and good.

11. TIN is a body composed of quicksilver that has been purified in a miraculous manner, and impure, white and weak from cooking sulphur, as well as other *wwari* [I. *vario*, varied] metals, and dry and less *poroso* [I., porous]. Therefore melt it with one quarter of its weight of purified quicksilver which will reduce its *stridore* [I., noise, crackling] *tiri'i* [?], and it is because it is purified like *muḥraq* [A., burnt] for *qontriṣione* [I. *contrazione*, contraction] with burnt common salt, that is to say *riqoṭo* [I. *ricotto*, burnt], due to boiling with the salt and the vinegar. Then let it stand a long time with the *reṭifiqaṭo* [I. *rettificato*, rectified] oil, until it becomes very *omitato* [?]. When there is no [more] crackling upon it, either drench it with pork fat, that is *asukia*, and extinguish it in it until it receives the moisture that is in it . . . so as to diminish its dryness and to open its *porosiṭaṭe* [I., porosity] which was reduced due to it, until it becomes *pransibile* [I. *prendibile*, takable, catchable], which is *misustosia porisma* [?] which breaks all the metals by its dryness and reduces their viscosity. Therefore

understand and work, for if it is not *separato* [I., separated] well it breaks all the other metals except lead, for it [lead] is *fisimo* [?] and *inifiṭo* [?], which is called in the science of alchemy *leproso* [I. *lebbroso*, leprous], and if it is purified well it will accept the medicine and will be very good.

12. INQALLARE [I. *incollare*, to paste, glue] the *yuntore* [?] from the vessels. Take eggs of *greqa* [?], and pound them and put them in a *qasa* [A. *kuza*, flask] to melt on fire, and put in it a little *maṭone* [I. *mattone*, brick] finely ground, until it becomes like a *liqwida* [liquid] dough, and grind with it the *yuntore* from the vessels when it is warm, and it is good.

13. TO MELT the four spirits and the seven metals, which is called *resolimēnṭo*. Take sal ammoniac water and drench with it whatever water you want, that is of the four spirits and the seven metals, and drench it (f. 5a) three times, and dry it three times in the sun or by gentle fire, and the last time when you drench it put it as it is, wet, into a flask and seal its opening and put it in dung forty days or more if necessary, and at the end see: if all of it turned into water, fine; and if not, renew it in the dung another seven days and another seven days, and leave it there until all of it becomes *resolaṭo* [I., dissolved]. In this manner you can transform all the lime into water, and this is a great secret in this Work. AND IF YOU WANT to operate in this Work take the two waters, that is, the water of the spirit and the water of the lime that was made out of the metal, and mix them and put them into a flask, and seal its mouth with philosophers' clay, and put the flask into a kettle in which there are already ashes, and put it on the oven on gentle fire until the water in the flask becomes frozen [congealed] and becomes a stone, then your work is good and superior. And if you persist to make water out of that stone, and then congeal it to make it again a stone, in the aforementioned manner, it will be better and it will function as suitable: any metal which you put there will become powdery, and strew [some] of that powder upon hot plates and it will become moon [silver]. And if you put [some] of this powder upon any metal when it is melted, you will see wonderful colors that the metal will get. AND KNOW that lime of gold is made in the aforementioned manner, and then it is turned into water with the spirit, and then turned into stone and ground. If you put some of it on any one of the seven metals it will color it very much and turn it into its own quality and color. And thus you can do with lime of silver as you did with lime of gold with one of the spirits.

14. IF you take one ounce of *alume* [I. *allume*, alum] and an ounce of sal ammoniac, and you extract from them the water in the *alambiqo* [I. *alambicco*, alembic, still], and put into that water *solimaṭo* [sublimated] silver, it will melt it and turn it into water. And if you freeze [congeal] the water and turn it into the shape of a stone, and grind it and put one ounce of the aforementioned powder on tin or on quicksilver, it will work wonders. . . .

15. TO MELT common salt, so that it should melt like wax and should be *fisibile* [I. *fissibile*, fixable] and good to soften anything takable, and should congeal quicksilver, take common salt and *şementa* [cement] with quicklime and put it into the oven twelve hours, and then remove it and put on it water and *disţila* [distill] the water and dry it, and then return it with other new lime and return it into the oven a second time and a third, and everything as at the first time, until you see that if you put it on a *lamina* [thin plate] it melts like wax, and if you put it on quicksilver in a melting pot or *alutilo* [I., aludel], it will congeal it, and if you throw it upon a takable thing it will sweeten it definitely. This is the end of the preface B'E"H [with the help of God] "who hangeth the earth over nothing" [Job 26:7].

This is followed, on the bottom of folio 5a, by an evidently later addition which is a kind of index, with several page numbers after each entry. Folio 5b is superscribed by a new title:

B'E"H OPERATIONS OF ABRIDGMENTS

1. TAKE sublimated silver and prepared salt, in equal parts and sublimate together, and do thus five times and each time put new salt, and take this sublimation with the same amount of sal ammoniac, sublimate with *pomişe* [I. *pomice*, pumice] (another version: *pumize*), and let the sublimation be white. Then take both of them and grind them together well, and sublimate that which rose up with the *pise* [or *fise* ?] (which is *larşie* [?]) mentioned among the Waters, par. 17. . . . and also in the Oils), and grind and sublimate until the quicksilver becomes *fisso* [I., fixed] (hence we learn that the silver mentioned in the beginning is quicksilver and not silver, and see its description in the *Solimaşione*, par. 4, and in *Solimare*). Then take *disţilāţo* [distilled] vinegar and put it on the fixed thin quicksilver, and it will melt in the vinegar. Then congeal it in weak fire, and when it is congealed let it cool, and then grind it well and put it in a moist place for thirty days, and when it has turned into water take of that water one *riţla* [12 ounces], and four ounces of *foliaţo* [foliated] silver, and put it in warm dung one [?] day, and then congeal in weak fire, and then grind and put it to melt and congeal, thus do ten times, and you will have more riches than can be imagined, for one part of this upon thirty parts of *purga* [purified] quicksilver put into the melting pot to be heated will harden it so much that it will stand up in the *qupela* [cupel].

2. ANOTHER matter of superior congelation. Take bricks, the oldest ones you can find, and make them red hot in fire, and leave them to cool, and then granulate them to the size of beans, and put them in a pot which should not be *wiţriaţa* [glazed], and put it on three [word illegible], and

give fire until they become hot but not red, and shake it well as do the perfumers to the *ʿaṭarye'a* [literary A. *ʿiṭriyāt*, perfumes]. And when they are hot throw them into a glazed *lanila* [or: *lawila* ?], in which there should be as much old oil as you can find, and let it cool, and put it *adisṭilāre* [to distill] (there it is written *asṭilāre*, and it seems to me that it is a *ṭ"s* [ṭʿut sofer, H., scribe's error]) in an *orināle* [flask] with weak fire at first for four hours (and then strengthen the fire) and what flows out at first is not good, and take the last one which is select oil. And there are those who make out of this oil that flowed out two ounces with one ounce of *ṭarṭaro* [tartar] oil, because it is more *arisṭino* [?]. Then [take] purified quicksilver and put it in a *kuza luṭa* [luted flask] up to its half, and put enough oil on the quicksilver to cover it [to a depth of] two fingers, and put it into the oven with a burning candle which you should put in the bottom of the flask, for eight days, and make sure that the candle never goes out, and let it cool, and you will find your desire congealed and full. . . . (And one must repeat and write it as it is witten there and not as it is written here.)

3. TAKE very thin *lamine* [leaves] of copper and make them red [hot], and cover them in a *morṭaro* [mortar] in which there is tartar salt and urine and strong vinegar, and do this ten times and then take these leaves and smear them with olive oil, and wrap them in *iropimenṭo* [?] dust, then cement these leaves in a pot with common salt, and seal the mouth of the pot with a lid, and put it into a *rewerbero* [?] oven for four hours, then take this calcinated copper and lute it well and wash it with warm water as many times as [needed] until the lime remains pure, and then dry it in the sun or in fire in a ladle, then take one *riṭla* of this copper and one ounce of saltpeter, and one ounce of lime of eggshells, and one ounce of calcinated tartar and mix everything together with egg white until it becomes like dough, and put it to melt through a *foṭos* [or: *poṭos*] [another version: *foṭos barbuṭos*] . . . *barbāṭos* [?], and it will come out a nice *lege* [or: *lego*, I., alloy].

4. TAKE the whites of hard-boiled eggs, and grind them well, then put them in a wet place to become moist, and then put them into an earthenware vessel for fifteen days in a wet place, then mix them with lime of eggshells [marginal note: (there it is written : to make a *fisso* oil take etc.)] (f. 6a) and put in a flask sealed with warm dung fifteen days and then *disṭila fiso* [distill fixed?] water, and thus you can do out of the yolks to tint red [i.e. yellow] and then take general *fusibile* [I. *fissibile*, fixable] salt, and put it in this water in a flask whose neck is long, and put into it the quicksilver to boil until the water is finished, and dry it, and you will find it very good silver.

5. TAKE sublimation and smear it on a marble stone with tartar oil like *salṣa qlara* [I. *salsa clara*, clear sauce], and put it into a flask whose neck is

long, and put it into dung into the oven and distill in very weak fire, and when the flask is hot increase the fire a little and dry your medicine with the flask open, and let it cool, and break the flask and you will find a hard stone. Then take it and grind it with *ṭarṭaro* oil as the first time, on marble, and put it into a flask and dry it as at first, and do thus seven times, and in the last flask take it and put it into warm dung for twenty-five days, and it will become water. Then put the flask to congeal in very gentle fire and it will become fixed spirit, and make it into powder, and of this powder put one part [blank space] and one part of it on sixty parts of *rāe qālṣinato* [I. *rame calcinato*, calcinated copper] will transmute it into silver for all tests.

6. TAKE water of *sālarmoniaq fisso* [fixed sal ammoniac] three ounces, and one ounce sublimated silver, and grind it on marble five times, and drench it with the aforementioned water as much as you can, and place it on *marmaro* [marble], and it will become water, and you should have quicksilver water (hence one understands that the sublimated silver is quicksilver and not *mukallas* [A., calcincated; or *mukhlas*, A., unadulterated] silver, and this is meant above par. 1), and the sal ammoniac water together, and make it so that all the sal ammoniac water should take three ounces of sublimated silver, to drench together and become water. And then take for each ounce of sublimated silver two *dirhām*s of good silver, and the silver will be very *limaṭura* [I., filing], and put it into the flask with the aforementioned water, and put it into warm dung for eight days, and you will have three waters: the quicksilver water, and the sal ammoniac water, and the good silver water, and then congeal these waters and dissolve and congeal many times, and then one part on three (another version: fifty) parts of quicksilver [will transmute it into real silver].

7. TAKE prepared salt, and grind it and put it in an earthenware *fisiqa* vessel suspended in strong vinegar, and it will dissolve into water, and congeal it and dissolve it and congeal it many times until it will run on the iron, and put [some] of this on the quicksilver, and it will make it good moon [silver] for all tests.

8. TAKE *olibāno serafino sarqāqula* [?], common prepared salt, and grind it well, and knead it well in tartar water, as well as in *alume suqarino* [I. *allume zuccherino*, sugared alum] (another version: *saqutrino* [?]), and make of them a lid and a melting pot, and fill it with *luton* [brass] quicksilver, and it seems to me that he wanted to say washed and killed with *roǧririo* [?] and *sināpe* [I., mustard] and vinegar, and cover it well, and put it on hot ashes six hours, and it will congeal again, and on the quicksilver make *riqone* [?] of quicklime and of lime of eggs, and the melting pot should be luted with philosophers' clay all over, and the clay should be made of ashes and salt and water, and dry it well, and it should be put with the quicksilver into the melting pot. And see below par. 34 something close to this.

9 TAKE (in its beginning it is written, I shall tell you secrets of wisdom, etc) quicksilver sublimated three times, and make of it ounces of *arseniqo solima* [sublimated arsenic] water, three times ounces, and if it is steady it is better And make of it also *salqali prepara* [prepared sal alcali] water two ounces, and make of it sublimated sal ammoniac water three times, and make of it water two ounces, *solimato qalsinato* [sublimated calcinated] sil ver one ounce, and mix together all the waters, and with them knead and grind the good silver on marble, and if you know how to make water out of it too then it is better, and then mix all the waters together and it should suffice for you Then put all these waters into dung three or four days, and then distill them in a *banio Maria* [I *bagno Maria*, water bath], and then distill them in fire, dry as is customary, and take what is found in the bot tom of the vessel and leave it, and return the (f 6b) water that came out and distill a second time, and then take what is left in the bottom of the flask and put it into strong water made of vitriol and nitrous salt and *alume di rosa* [or *rocea*, rock alum] in equal parts, in the amount that all the med icine should dissolve well from the strength of the water, and distill thereaf ter as is customary, with gentle fire, and then increase it, and return the water that comes out a second time upon the medicine, and if you grind it it will be better, and when it is distilled twice take the medicine which is found in the bottom and grind it and drench it with the I tartar oil, and then dry it three times and then drench it with the egg white water three times, and then dry it, and then you will have a wonderful medicine whose effect cannot be imagined, and if you throw one part of it on thirty parts of pure *rame* [I , copper] as is proper, when it is melted, and if you put the medicine into copper put it in tied into new wax, and out will come a thing that will make your heart rejoice And if you put [some] of this medicine upon quicksilver when it is hot on the fire, it seems to me that it will con geal it in a good manner, and the experiment will prove it

10 TAKE sublimated arsenic, sublimated sal ammoniac, one part of each, and grind them separately, and then mix them together, and then subli mate all of it with a full amount of copper shavings twice, and then cook it one day in water made of liquid egg white in the alembic, on a gentle fire, like the warmth of the sun, then cook it one day in *pastela* [I *pastella*, batter] vinegar on a gentle fire, then mix it with its own weight of silver shavings, and combine all of it together on marble with tartar oil, and then put it *arisensoria* [?], and it will come out for you a small and good philo sophical stone One ounce of it on forty ounces of *rame purga* [I , purified copper] will become moon [silver] good for all tests From the *gallah* [H , priest or monk]

11 TO MAKE the *d* [abbreviation of *dahab* A *dhahab*, gold] of fourteen carats, take of live permanent sulphur three ounces, *rubifiqa* [I , reddened] quicksilver (see its abbreviation in the Redness, par 3) four ounces, *verde*

rame [I , verdigris] sublimated with lime one ounce, permanent sal ammoniac three ounces, *tutia Alessandrina purga* (I , purified Alexandrian tutty), two ounces, *qroqo ferro* [I *croco di ferro*, iron oxide] three ounces, gold dissolved in water three ounces, and sublimate all these things together, and always grind them with their sediments, three times And then take twice the amount of Roman vitriol water, and drench these things until all that water becomes dry in them, and then take this medicine and sublimate it once more, and then put it *apotrifasione* [ʾ], and then dissolve it on a marble stone, and congeal it, and dissolve four times, and one part of this medicine on twelve parts of Shabtai [H , Saturn, lead] will work wonders, and give thanks to God, and don't teach them to any creature, except to your sons From the *gallah* of Prato [or Frato]

12 TAKE common strong water [aquaforte] [marginal note (this is the explanation of common strong water, see in the Color, 8, and read carefully)] two ounces, and one ounce quicksilver, and dissolve it in the aforementioned juice, and after it is soaked make it *ewaporare* [I *evaporare*, to evaporate] (it seems to me that he intends to say to boil it as mentioned in the Whitening, par 15) on hot ashes until the water is gone, and then take a melting pot and put the quicksilver into it, and give it temperate fire until it becomes red, and then it is done And preserve it for the Work which you know (it seems to me that he should throw it upon moon [silver], one on six parts, as below), and know that thereafter I found a man who said to me that his *qomosāre* [ʾ] gave him this *pratiqa* [I *pratica*, practice], and he swore to me that it is true and good, but it goes on six parts, that is, once one part on six, the second time one on twelve, the third time one on twenty four, and thus you can multiply until a hundred And then I want to reveal to you a great secret that if you take one leaf of silver, and make it red hot in fire, and quench it in this compound (it seems to me that it should be dissolved before it congeals), it will color it [into gold] of twenty four *qirate* [carats], and he did this several times, and did not want to reveal it to anybody

13 TAKE half a *ritla* of live sulphur, and half a *ritla* of red arsenic, and grind them on a marble stone with strong vinegar, and then take half of one eighth of sal ammoniac, and half of one eighth of common salt, and mix everything and dry them, and make of them a powder, and put them into the alembic, and make water like the water made to separate gold from silver, and preserve this water like a treasure, and when you want to operate, put well washed quicksilver into this water, and the water must cover the quicksilver by two fingers, and cook it in gentle fire until the water dries, and the quicksilver will be congealed and hard, and this is true and clear, with the help of God

14 TO MAKE out of Z"K [ʾ] one pure one, and this is an honored work, take one ounce of quicksilver, and wash it several times (there it is written

once and a second time, and thus in the second star mentioned after it), and each time pass it through a *qomosa* [sieve ʾ], and then take one ounce of pure and purified silver, which should be filed very fine, and mix it with the quicksilver and make a *malgama* [amalgam], and again wash them twice (there it is written once and a second time, etc as mentioned) with pure water and then take one ounce of sal ammoniac, and one ounce of saltpeter, and one ounce of glass, and grind everything very fine, and mix them with the abovementioned amalgam very thoroughly so that every thing should become one body And then put everything in a flask on the oven which is prepared as you know how, and light under it gentle fire, that is, light a candle under the flask, and let that candle burn thirty days, and at the end of the thirty days take out the flask and scrape off what is in it and preserve it And when you want to perform an operation take one *ritla* of washed and pure quicksilver, and put it into the melting pot, and put one quarter of an ounce of the medicine which you have preserved, with a little paper, and put on it a little melted wax, and then cover the melting pot with philosophers' clay, and put it on a fire to melt, and start with gentle fire, and then increase the fire a little, and then give it fire to melt, and throw it in the *qānāl* [I *canale*, tube], and out will come for you purified moon [silver] of *carlina* [I , a coin]

15 TAKE wax and make of it a round ball, and cover it with philoso phers' clay, and let it dry, and make for it an additional cover, and do this with four covers of clay, and then make a small hole in it and put it next to the fire, so that the wax should melt and run out, and the clay should re main hollow, and then put into it through the hole linseed oil with *totomilo* [I *titimaglia*, spurge, euphorbia] juice, and put into it quicksilver, and seal the hole well with philosophers' clay, and then put it on burning coals until you see that it is thoroughly burnt, and then it will be like a hard stone

16 TAKE one *rotl* of sal ammoniac, and two *rotls* of quicklime, and mix them together in pure water, and boil it upon the fire until it is reduced to one third, and let it dry, and put that pure water in a *kasīn* [ʾ], and put other pure water on the sediment, and bring it to a boil as the first time, and let it dry, and put it into the *kāsīn*, and do thus until all the saltiness comes out of the sediments, and the sediments become sweet And then take all these waters and put into them two *rotla* of quicklime, and do as at the first time (thus repeat four times, that is, until you put for each *rotl*) sal ammoniac eight *rotls* of quicklime, and then take all these waters and distill through a *filtro* [I , filter], and then congeal it, and it will become like a stone, and it will be fixed like oil, and then take one *dirham* of good gold, and four *dirhāms* of quicksilver, and make an amalgam in the pot on a gentle fire, and always stir it with an iron rod, and calcinate the gold as is customary, and then take this lime of gold and grind it on marble with the abovementioned oil, and put it in a flask, and put of the oil as much as

needed to cover the lime, and cover it and *luṭ* [I. *luto*, seal, cement] it well, and put it in warm dung ten days, then take it out and you will find that the lime has been transmuted into quicksilver. (f. 7b) Then take of this quicksilver of the gold [?] one *dirhām*, and of other purified quicksilver three *dirhām*, and amalgamate them together, and put it in an *orinale* [flask], into hot ashes in light fire, for seven days, and in the end strengthen the fire for six hours, and it will be congealed, then instantly restore it to become a body with the melting pot, and sal ammoniac and *salpeṭro* [saltpeter] in equal parts, pulverized and dissolved in white wine, and let the salts be two parts and the body one part, and put it on marble and drench all of it together, and cause it to return to a body in a melting pot, and it will become wonderful sun [gold], and it is an honored amalgam.

17. TAKE *sālarmoniāq* [marg. note: (another version: *armoniāqo* salt, and it is the same)] sublimated three times seven times (it seems to me that he did it on purpose and wrote it thus: three times seven times, in order to satisfy the reader, and it surely needs seven times, or he wanted to say between them twenty-one times), with the same amount of common salt, and then grind it and put it on marble until water issues from it, and take of that water four ounces and put into it a quarter of an an ounce *ia probio* [?; marg. note: (another version: *oprobia*)], and put it into the *banio Maria adisṭila* [water-bath still; marg. note: (*adisṭilāre*)], and take the abovementioned water and preserve it, and take quicksilver and heat it in the melting pot, and while it is hot throw it seven times into the abovementioned water, and it will congeal. And then throw it seven times into oil, whose description is this: take three ounces of linseed oil, and half an ounce of *oprobio* of leaves (*ṭasin*)[?], and pass it through the alembic in the water-bath, and preserve the abovementioned oil and into it throw seven times the congealed quicksilver while it is hot from the melting pot, and it will congeal and become hard, and then place it into the abovementioned oil a third time, and it will become good for every thing, for the hammer, and for melting only for cupel, and I received it [on condition] not to tell it to anybody.

18. TAKE one ounce of good silver, and three ounces of quicksilver, and make an amalgam, and then put it in one *riṭla* of olive oil and three ounces of *oprobio*, and boil them up together until the oil dries and it will become congealed.

19. TAKE gumma arabica [gum arabic], *gumma derengānṭe, [?] orpimenṭo* [orpiment], in equal parts, and make them into water, and put in it the quicksilver for three full days, and then take *nitro* [niter] salt, common salt, *salyemma* [I. *salgemma*, rock salt], lime, *werde rāme* [I. *verderame*, verdigris] in equal parts, and make of them a powder, and put it on the abovementioned thing, and it will become very hard. And know that the juice of the *werbena* [I., verbena] congeals the quicksilver, by experiment.

20. TAKE sublimated quicksilver seven times three ounces, and grind it with three ounces of sal ammoniac, and sublimate three times, then dissolve it in moss, and in this *resolāṣione* [solution] put one ounce of calcinated moon [silver] and one ounce of *arseniqo solimāṭo* [sublimated arsenic], and half an ounce of *alume yāmāni preparāṭo* [I., prepared Yemenite alum], and grind all of it, and put it *arisolvere* [to dissolve] in strong water [aquafortis] made of nitric salt and *alume diroṣa* [I. *allume di rocca*, rock alum]. Then congeal, and then again dissolve and congeal. Thus do three times, and then one part on one hundred hot quicksilver in the melting pot will congeal it, and if [you put] one part of it on ten *rāme purga* [I., purified copper] it will be silver better than Venetian.

Here follows a second short vocabulary of Arabic and Italian terms which have been included in the general vocabulary in the Appendix.

On folio 9a begins the detailed discussion of each topic in the order as listed in the index on folio 1b, starting with chapter 5, The Waters. Each chapter is subdivided into numbered sections. These sections contain mostly recipes, that is, instructions for alchemical procedures involving the substances or the procedures figuring in the title of the section. Thus, for instance, the chapter on "The Waters" contains thirty-six sections, most of which describe methods of "turning into water," that is, liquifying, such substances as arsenic, mercury, silver, sal ammoniac, vitriol, lead, virgin milk, talc, "anything," any salt, and so on. What is missing in these recipes (and in all the recipes contained in the manuscript) is a statement of the purpose subserved by these liquifications and other alchemical procedures. Take as an example recipe no. 25 on folio 11a:

Water of the *qosmim* [H., wizards], that is to say water of *revenāṣione* [I., ?] Take egg whites cooked in water so that the water should cover the egg whites, one part, [and] quicklime two parts, and mix them together, and put it in a *kuza* [A., flask] well sealed and its mouth luted, and put it in warm dung until it becomes like moldy mud, and then let it drip in an alembic, and take the water that drips, and then remove the sediment from the bottom of the vessel, and take new quicklime and mix it with the abovementioned water, and let them drip in an alembic, and then put in the water a little lime of eggshell, and put it in a sealed flask and put it in warm dung or in the *banyo Maria* [water-bath] nine days, then let them drip in the alembic as mentioned, and do thus three times, and then the wizard's water is completed, and the philosophers call it *rosa ṣeleste* [I., heavenly rose], and he who reveals the secret of this water is called a thief.

The section on "Congelations" (ff. 21a–25a) contains no fewer than seventy-six prescriptions, some of them titled *reseṭṭah ṭovah* [I.-H., good recipe], or *reseṭṭah nikhb'dah* [I.-H., honored recipe].

Although most of the manuscript is in Hebrew, there are major parts in it written in Arabic, more precisely in the Judeo Arabic of northwest Africa, the cultural and linguistic area to which the island of Jerba be longs Folios 49a–55a are written in this language, and so are parts of the subsequent folios On folio 72a, for example, there is a recipe in Arabic for the transmutation of copper into gold with the admixture of quicksilver These pages deal mostly with such alchemical procedures as the purification of metals, processes of coloring red, white, and so on, and the treatment of quicksilver, lead, calcination, and so on

A few samples of the Arabic passages contained on folio 51a of the manuscript demonstrate that Hebrew expressions are frequently mixed into the Arabic text

> The fixation of the *ʿuqab* [A , eagle, sal ammoniac] Take of it a *rotl*, and like it [the same amount] of saltpeter salt, and pound them, and burn them well in a sufficient fire, and take them out and fill them, and what *ʿuqab* is reduced add to it, and do thus until the weight of the *ʿuqab* is fixed
>
> *ʿAyin alef* [H abbreviation of *ʿOd aheret*, "another one"] Its fixation and making it yellow Take two [amounts] of *ʿuqab* and one of *asad* [H , lion, could stand for *al-asad al barri*, "the wild lion," sal ammoniac, or for *al-asad al akhdar*, "the green lion," copper], and one quarter of red dened *zaj* [A , vitriol], and purify them well, and put them in a baking pan, and seal it, and put it on the fire And before you seal it you will be wise to work it well until it becomes consumed in the fire until you know its time And AH"K [H abbreviation of *w'ahar kakh*, and then] throw it down, and diminish it, and return it to the fire Do thus seven times [these words are in Hebrew], until the work rises up yellowed, and in it is red color [Then] know that it is fixed
>
> *ʿAyin alef* [H , another one] Take cooking salt and let it stand [over night], and after the stars, and in the morning take what remained in the *hasefel* [H , cup], and dry it, and spread it out, and soak of it in the *ʿuqab*, and let it stand And repeat this *kaniz' d"p* [H , as mentioned, four times] It will be fixed

Several of these sections are superscribed by technical terms (in Ara bic) which do not appear in the vocabularies

Since the Jerba manuscript, as mentioned earlier, is the composite work of two authors, we cannot be sure whether any characteristic revealed by it pertains to the first or to the second However, it appears that both authors were deeply religious—a trait shared with the Jews of Jerba in general, whose exceeding piety was observed and commented upon by Maimonides in the twelfth century Both authors considered studying alchemy and working in it as ways of serving God, and of exalt ing the Torah In addition, the junior author was also a Kabbalist, a fol lower of the Lurianic Kabbalah

Another trait is shared by the two authors. The copyist proudly identifies both himself and the senior author as "pure Sephardi," that is, men of pure Spanish-Jewish descent. There can be little doubt that the senior author, like the other Kohens of sixteenth-century Bologna, either was himself born in Spain or was the son of an immigrant from Spain, which means that he surely must have spoken Spanish. Likewise the junior author, a "pure Sephardi" living in Jerba in the nineteenth century, could be expected to use Spanish (Ladino) as his colloquial. And yet in the entire manuscript (written in Hebrew), which is full of Italian and Arabic technical terms, there are only a very few and doubtful traces of Spanish (such as the Spanish *s* ending for the plural). Evidently both authors had acquired their alchemical expertise from Italian and Arabic alchemical literature, and not from Spanish works. This becomes especially clear from the vocabularies contained in the manuscript (see Appendix). That they had not only a reading knowledge of Italian but also spoke it can be concluded from the manner in which they transliterate the Italian words into Hebrew characters: their transliteration invariably reflects the pronunciation, and not the spelling, of the Italian terms. For example, they spell in Hebrew *banyo* for the Italian spelling *bagno, conyelaṣi'one* for *congelazione*, and so on.

The frequent and expert use of Arabic in the manuscript makes us suspect that the share of the junior author in it was greater than he claims. The senior author, even if he settled in Jerba immediately after the expulsion of the Jews from Bologna (1568), by which time he was an elderly man, is unlikely to have acquired Arabic quickly and thoroughly enough to be able to translate into, and to explain in, that language the hundreds of Italian alchemical terms appearing in the book. One is therefore inclined to assume that the Arabic translation and explanation of these terms is rather the work of the junior author, who was a native of Jerba and whose mother tongue was the Judeo-Arabic spoken by his community. This assumption is strengthened by the passages in the book (e.g. on folios 51a, 71a–72b) in Arabic, which indicate an equal facility in both languages. Also, quite a number of times the author does not translate the Arabic technical terms he lists into another language, but instead adduces Arabic synonyms for them, or uses only the Arabic term without any translation or explanation at all. The latter is the case especially with terms denoting alchemical procedures; terms such as *taṭhīr* (purification), *taḥmīr* (reddening), *tabyīḍ* (whitening), etc., are given only in Arabic, despite the fact that these procedures were widely designated by Latin-derived alchemical terminology.

Apart from these three languages (Hebrew, Arabic, and Italian) the authors (or one of them) knew, or claims to have known, "Latin and the languages of the ancients," as stated in the superscription of one of the vocabularies.

In addition to being alchemists, Kabbalists, and linguists, our authors were also naturalists, thoroughly at home in the fields of mineralogy and botany. This becomes evident when they speak of three groups of salt (natural, heavenly, and artificial), and enumerate and define ten kinds of salt belonging to the first group, and more than twelve belonging to the third, or when they refer to various kinds of rare plants.

Finally, our authors were also historians of alchemy and medicine, and were acquainted with the literature in Hebrew and Arabic covering both subjects. Their reference to sources can not always be identified. For instance, the older author mentions Batista of Bologna and the priest Prato, whom I was not able to trace. But he also refers to works by some of the well-known figures in alchemical history, such as Ibn Sīnā, Joseph Kimḥi, Ḥayyim Yisr'eli, Simeon ben Ṣemaḥ Duran, and Jacob Anatoli. The younger author mentions treatises by Abraham Portaleone and Jacob Ṣahalon. Since in the sixteenth century, or even in the nineteenth, books or manuscripts by authors such as these were not easy to come by anywhere, and especially not in a relatively isolated place such as the island of Jerba, one must conclude that our authors had contacts with sources around the Mediterranean which were able to supply them with copies, and had the money to pay for them.

All in all, we can conclude by saying that this book is a worthy last fruit of the almost two millennia of Jewish alchemical work and writing.

Chapter Forty

MORDECAI ABI SEROUR

THERE EXISTS evidence that the copyist of the *Book of Wisdom* discussed in the previous chapter was not the last North African Jew to take an active interest in alchemy. It is supplied by Charles de Foucauld (1858–1916), the French officer, explorer, and later missionary, much of whose work was concentrated on Morocco. At an early age Foucauld became an officer of the Hussards, and was sent to Morocco to gather information on local conditions. Such intelligence was considered important by France, engaged at the time in strengthening its influence in Morocco in competition with other European powers. Since it would have been extremely dangerous for Foucauld to appear in Morocco as a French officer, that is, a Christian, it was decided that he would adopt the disguise of a Jewish rabbi. The Jews, although a *declassé* community in Morocco, were able to move about relatively freely. Foucauld employed a Jewish guide, and thus was able to visit many places in the country. This first trip of Foucauld took place in 1883, when he was twenty-five years old, and the information he gathered about the almost completely unknown country proved very useful for its penetration by the French. Subsequently Foucauld became a missionary, and settled in Tamanrasset in the central Sahara, where he was ultimately assassinated by the Touareg of the Hoggar.

Foucauld's guide on that first Moroccan trip was Mordecai Abi Serour, a Moroccan Jew born about 1830 in the oasis of Aqqa in Southern Morocco, and living in Algeria, where he was an alchemist, albeit not a very successful one. He probably agreed to enter the service of Foucauld and go with him into the depths of the Moroccan countryside because he needed the money Foucauld was willing to pay him. The relationship between the two men was tense, as can easily be understood if one considers that the fifty-four-year-old Jew, who was the guide and life insurance for the twenty-five-year-old Frenchman, could easily have felt unhappy being subordinated to a youngster almost thirty years his junior. After a final quarrel they parted, and Mordecai returned to Algeria to his family.

Once back home, Mordecai took up the alchemical experiments interrupted by his Moroccan trip. With the money he received from Foucauld he purchased mercury, an essential ingredient in his operations to transmute base metals into gold. What happened thereafter was a repeti-

tion of the pattern known to us from the lives of several alchemists. As René Bazin, Foucauld's biographer, put it, "since he [Mordecai], remained all day long bent over his crucibles, the mercurial vapors, without much delay, poisoned this last of the alchemists."[1]

I doubt that Mordecai Abi Serour was indeed the last of the alchemists. Morocco in particular has remained a country of widespread folk rituals and folk beliefs; no wonder Edward Westermarck chose it for the subject of his classic *Ritual and Belief in Morocco.* Because of self-imposed limitations, Westermarck does not speak about alchemy in that exceptionally thorough study, but it nevertheless contains indications of interest and belief in the possibility of producing gold. Thus he mentions that in Fez he was told that "if the *jnūn* [jinns] cause the water supply in the house to cease at night, there is a splendid opportunity for anybody who notices it to enrich himself: he gets up and puts into the basin . . . an object of silver or gold, with the result that the water there is transformed into the same metal. Many persons have made a fortune in this way through the kindness of the *jnūn.*"[2] The procedure described by Westermarck is but a variant of the widespread alchemical operation of multiplying gold or silver by placing some of it into another substance.

As late as the 1940s, in the course of my own studies of Moroccan Jewish folk custom, I was told by an old Moroccan Jewish woman in Jerusalem that on rare occasions one could find an object or growth called *wars* in the gall of a cow that had eaten a grass called *qamia*, and that *wars* could be used for making gold. Since *wars* is an Arabic term for saffron, and *qamia* seems to be a distortion of the Arabic term *kameh*, meaning "cameo" or precious stone, it appears that my informant inadvertently switched the two terms, and what she meant to say was that if a cow eats a plant called *wars*, one could find in its gall a precious stone.[3] In any case, the belief, which she recalled from her young days in Fez, shows that the interest in making gold, and the idea that it was possible to do so, were still alive in Morocco in the 1920s.

With the penetration of modern European culture into the Jewish communities in central and western Europe, the decline of alchemical belief and practice that took place about the end of the eighteenth century was parallelled by a similar practice developed among the Jews. However, only the faintest echoes of the European Enlightenment had reached the Muslim countries by the nineteenth century, and their Jewish communities remained practically untouched by the Haskalah, and continued in their age-old religious beliefs and practices. Among the Jews of Morocco, perhaps more than among their co-religionists in other Muslim countries, the belief in the efficacy of amulets was widespread, for example, and many a rabbi was engaged in writing *qameʿot*

(amulets) which were worn by practically everybody. The amulets were usually small pieces of paper or parchment, or else small platelets of metals, always inscribed with magic names and formulas. After the mass immigration of Middle Eastern Jews to Israel, as the younger people among them began to assimilate to the prevalent Israeli non-religious (or even anti-religious) mood, they sold these amulets by the thousands to antique dealers in the Tel Aviv and Jaffa flea markets, and it was possible to buy them for relatively little money.

We know from our historical review of the work of Jewish alchemists that in many cases they also engaged in providing amulets that were supposed to serve all kinds of apotropaeic needs, such as protection against dangers and illnesses, and, on the positive side, to give success in all possible types of quests—the same assortment of purposes that were served by the amulets that passed through the hands of the dealers in the Tel Aviv flea markets. The best example to illustrate this combination of alchemy with amulets is the manuscript of the great sixteenth-century Kabbalist Ḥayyim Vital. This being the case, it stands to reason that at least some of the rabbis who produced the great profusion of amulets from Middle Eastern Jewish communities that came to light in Israel must also have been engaged in alchemy, but this activity did not leave behind such tangible traces as represented by the amulets.

Adding this argument to the case history of Mordechai Abi Serour, and to the testimony of the book-sized alchemical manuscript discussed in the preceding chapter, I believe we are safe in assuming that as long as the Middle Eastern Jewish communities continued to live in their traditional home environments, the persistence among them of the belief in and use of amulets points to the survival of alchemical practices among some of them.[4]

Conclusion

A PROFILE OF JEWISH ALCHEMY

HAVING REACHED the end of our trek through eighteen centuries, we are faced with the task that confronts all conscientious travelers upon the conclusion of their voyage: they must try to answer the question of what they have learned in the course of their explorations. What have the records taught us about the many Jewish men and one or two Jewish women who pursued the alchemical quest? Did they truly believe in the feasibility of transmuting base metals into gold? Were such transmutations the major, or at least a major, goal of their alchemical work? What were the theoretical foundations of their work in the Great Art, which was both a philosophy and a technology, both a quasi-religious worldview and a skill requiring manual precision and dexterity? Was the search for the philosophers' stone (also known as the elixir of life) another of their main concerns? Were they among the ranks of the many alchemists who, ever since antiquity, persisted in pursuing the elusive Faustian goals of restoring youth, regaining health, achieving long life, and finding happiness? Did they merely follow the alchemical theories and practices established by the gentile adepts, or were they pathfinders and inventors in one or both of those fields? If the latter was the case, did they significantly advance the theoretical foundations of alchemy and the techniques utilized in its operations? And, apart from the question of innovation and originality, were there any essential differences between the alchemy as practiced by the gentiles on the one hand and by the Jews on the other; in other words, was there such a thing as a *Jewish* alchemy?

Let us begin with the last question first. By asking whether there was such a thing as a Jewish alchemy what we mean is, can we speak of Jewish alchemy in the sense in which one can distinguish between Jewish philosophy and the philosophy of the Muslims and Christians, because the former, being suffused through and through with Jewish religious ideas, had an unmistakably Jewish character? Or was the alchemy practiced by the Jews rather comparable to medicine, to which Jewish doctors made important contributions as both practitioners and theoreticians, but which, in the hands of the Jews, was an art devoid of any particular Jewish component?

It seems to me that in this respect alchemy occupied a middle position between philosophy and medicine. It was like medicine in the sense that the basic alchemical views of the composition and evolution of sub-

stances, the apparatus used, the operations performed, and the goals pursued were shared by Jews and gentiles. In all this, religio-national affiliation or commitment, whether gentile or Jewish, did not come into play. On the other hand, alchemy was like philosophy in that a complex network of conceptual connections ran between it and the religio-ideational structures that until the Enlightenment were the most important components of every cultural environment, whether Muslim, Christian, or Jewish. The Jewish alchemists who, like practically all the Jews until the nineteenth century, were religiously observant, saw in alchemy a God-given gift, and therefore considered engaging in alchemical work a God-pleasing religious activity. As a corollary of this attitude, some Jewish alchemists felt that their achievements in the Great Art should not go beyond the confines of the Jewish people—an early representative of this view, as we have seen, was Maria the Jewess. Others, while not going quite that far, were convinced that the Jews, being heirs to an age-old religio-cultural tradition, of which alchemy was a part, and which included familiarity with the Hebrew language, the Bible and its exegesis, Jewish ritual and moral precepts, and, from the later Middle Ages on, also the Kabbalah, were much better equipped to become master alchemists than the gentiles who lacked that essential background. As we have seen in several chapters of this book, this view was shared by many gentile alchemists, who were therefore prompted to learn Hebrew, to study the Bible, and to delve into the mysteries of the Kabbalah and gematria, and to seek out Jewish mentors from whom to acquire the true and full measure of alchemical mastery.

Related to this feature is another characteristic of all the Jewish alchemists: they considered their art a specialization closely interwoven with religious observance. We know of no Jew who was a full-time alchemist; all the Jewish alchemists were also engaged in other work, and in most cases in work that was either directly religious or was sanctioned by religious tradition. Thus many Jewish alchemists were rabbis, or teachers or students of religion, or else were physicians (probably the majority), or communal heads, or money-lenders.

Focussing on their alchemical work, we know from the sources that some Jewish alchemists were independent entrepreneurs who engaged in alchemy to satisfy their personal drive for knowledge and achievement, or in search of fame, recognition, and riches; others were employed by kings, princes, and potentates, and served them as unofficial court or house alchemists. Our book contains several examples of both kinds of Jewish alchemists, some of whom enjoyed positions of considerable influence in royal and lordly courts, or basked in the protection of princes of the Church. Of particular interest are the records or reports telling of contractual arrangements entered into by royalty with Jewish

alchemists, under which the rulers extended all kinds of privileges to the latter, and undertook to finance their operations, in exchange for which the alchemists were supposed to make gold to replenish the royal treasury. The most interesting case in point is that of Raymund, who stipulated in his agreement with Edward III that the king would use the gold he was to produce for financing a military expedition against the Turks.

One curious byproduct of the prestige Jewish alchemy and Jewish alchemists enjoyed is the attribution of Jewish authorship to alchemical treatises that were actually written by non-Jewish adepts. Such attributions were variants of the more frequently encountered claim in ancient, medieval, and Renaissance writings whose true authors hid under the pseudepigraphic names of famous authorities. When an anonymous gentile alchemical author gave out that his treatise was written by, say, Raymond Lull, or when an anonymous Jewish alchemical author attributed his treatise to Maimonides, this was clearly done in order to ensure favorable reception of the work by having it accepted as that of an author of great renown. Likewise, when a known non-Jewish alchemical author was, long after his death, pronounced Jewish, this was done because by transmuting him into a Jew, his status in the alchemical community was enhanced, and thus his treatises could claim greater prestige, greater authenticity, greater veracity. At the same time, the very occurrence of such pseudepigraphic transmutations from gentile into Jew are eloquent testimonies to the standing of Jewish alchemy at the top of the alchemical value system. No cases of reverse transmutations of Jewish alchemical authors into gentiles have come to my attention.

Do the sources permit us to draw any definite conclusion as to whether or not the Jewish alchemists believed in the authenticity of the Art? In the course of studying the sources I repeatedly asked myself this question, and the conclusion I reached was that they did sincerely believe that the recipes they presented in their treatises as "tried and true" were actually accurate descriptions of procedures that led to the results they promised. This conclusion is based on the Hebrew alchemical texts themselves, which, on the one hand, occasionally include frankly stated reservations as to the reliability of the prescriptions, while, on the other, present the most complex recipes for transmuting base metals into gold in the same matter-of-fact style in which they offer simple chemical instructions for making, for instance, various kinds of inks or cosmetic preparations.

A consideration of the life, work, and character of the few Hebrew alchemical authors of whom we have information leads to the same conclusion. To mention only one example—the most outstanding one—it is quite impossible to imagine that a man of the stature and probity of Ḥayyim Vital, a leading light of the Safed kabbalistic school, should

describe alchemical operations in meticulous detail, state that he himself performed them and that the results were in some cases satisfactory, in others not, and do all this with the fraudulent intent of misleading his readers. In addition, there is another important general factor that practically vouches for the honesty of Jewish alchemical tracts: for a religious Jew to write something that he knew to be untrue would have been a grave transgression that, he firmly believed, would bring about severe punishment in afterlife.

In this connection we must touch, at lest fleetingly, upon a question that has often been asked in connection with alchemy as a whole but never satisfactorily answered: leaving aside the issue of whether the alchemists themselves believed in the feasibility of transmuting base metals into gold, how was it possible that the thousands who were their clients, among them intelligent and cultured people of power and means, continued to believe that gold could be manufactured in retorts, alembics, and crucibles, when the simple (and for us easily ascertainable) fact is that such a thing is not within the realm of the possible?

Among the explanations, most of which sound like excuses for human credulity, are: for many centuries many alchemists, and most of their clients, were unable to distinguish between gold and other metals that had the color of gold, that is, looked like gold; because of loose terminology any metal that looked like gold was called gold; there were hundreds of ready excuses for lack of success in gold-making operations, which enabled the adept to hold out the hope that next time he would be successful; lack of success in one particular type of experiment did not necessarily translate into distrust in the alchemists' ability to perform other types of operations; those other types of operations, and especially the search for the philosophers' stone (that mysterious compound substance which was believed to be the elixir of life), were at least as important goals within the general realm of the Great Art as gold making.

But let us set aside the hopeless issue of alchemical verification, and return to the profile of Jewish alchemy, taking up the matter of the philosophers' stone. The overall impression one gains from a comparison of Jewish with gentile alchemical texts is that in the former the quest for the philosophers' stone was more closely associated than in the latter with the humanitarian purpose of healing the sick. Hebrew alchemical texts, generally speaking, devote more attention and hence more space to the medical use of alchemically produced substances than to the methods and procedures of producing those healing liquids, unguents, or powders. The examples presented in this book show quite clearly that the Jewish adept was in many cases as much a physician as an alchemist, and that his major purpose in committing his prescriptions to writing

was to enable his disciples to make use of his accumulated knowledge in their efforts to heal the sick. The most eloquent example of this procedure can again be found in the treatise of Ḥayyim Vital.

In this connection yet another characteristic feature of the Hebrew alchemical writings must be mentioned. The Jewish adept, as a rule, did not distinguish between procedures aimed at the transmutation of substances and others based on what we know are valid, experimentally correct, chemical or physical effects. In other words, no distinction was made by them between alchemy proper and what today we would subsume under chemistry. On the same page of a typical Hebrew alchemical manuscript we find prescriptions belonging to the first category alternating with recipes belonging to the second, and, in addition, with a third type consisting of charms, magic, incantations, conjurations, and divinations. This being the case, the scope of the Jewish alchemist's activity is found to comprise practically the entire range of human needs, whether physical, economic, political, social, cultural, psychological, or religious. In view of this global interest the Jewish adept evinces in all aspects of the welfare of his fellow man, and the many disparate methods he employs and proposes to avoid dangers, alleviate suffering and anxiety, and provide relief for painful states of body and mind, one could say in general terms that for the Jewish adept alchemy was but one of several paths he followed in his all-embracing concern for his fellow man, and in his dedication to translating into action in every possible manner and fashion that most basic of all biblical commandments, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

As for the relationship between theory and practice in the work of the Jewish alchemists, the extant sources seem to indicate that its balance tilted toward the latter. Jewish alchemists were, of course, interested in and knowledgeable about alchemical theory. From their extant writings alone one could easily reconstruct a full picture of alchemical theory, alchemical worldview, and the alchemical understanding of the nature of nature and of the divinely ordained natural processes that resulted in the present configuration of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. But, reading what they had to say about these subjects, one has the impression that they were not intrinsically interested in these issues. They spoke of them only because they felt that some theory was required in order to provide the underpinning for the technical instructions in the hundreds of recipes with which they filled their treatises.

This being the case, one would not expect the Jewish alchemists to have made any significant contribution to alchemical theory. In fact, and practically everything they have to say about theory is taken from ancient Greek and medieval Arabic sources. I say "practically," because there is

one area in which the Jewish alchemists did make a significant contribution, and that was in the field of what can be called "mysticization." This process, and the influence of the kabbalistic gematria on gentile alchemists, have been dealt with in Chapter 12, to which I want to add here only one point: under the impact of the Kabbalah and its *gematria* the medieval alchemical tradition underwent a noticeable change, and became during the Renaissance a more mystically and religiously oriented discipline.

As for the technical instructions contained in Hebrew alchemical treatises, they are, in general, of a high quality, in the sense that they are precise and detailed. This, of course, does not mean that they are easy to follow. First of all, in many cases we cannot be sure of the exact meaning of the technical terms used in Hebrew alchemical texts to designate substances, apparatuses, processes, and procedures. Many of these are given in foreign languages (especially Arabic, Spanish, and Italian) in Hebrew transliteration, which does not help, because the precise meaning of terms is uncertain in those languages as well. Precision in terminology was not a strong point of ancient, medieval, and Renaissance alchemy in general. Even frequently recurring terms, whose derivatives are still in use in the modern European languages, do not necessarily mean the same in the alchemical texts as they mean today. Second, many substances are called not by their proper names, but by a confusing variety of cover-names: gold is called "sun," silver "moon," mercury "slave," sulphur "scorpio," and so on. Similar difficulties arise in connection with terms used for apparatuses, measures, and alchemical processes. That is, an old Hebrew alchemical text, even in the few cases in which it is not too difficult to decipher, cannot simply be read; it has to be carefully and often painstakingly interpreted. Once one has done the work, what emerges is a prescription containing precise and detailed instructions.

It is also characteristic of the Hebrew alchemists' treatises that they often state that they themselves invented a procedure, or that they carried out a certain recipe not exactly as prescribed, but with certain modifications, and they don't hesitate to mention whether, in performing an operation, they were successful or not. In fact, some even state that they succeeded with an operation only occasionally. Such details indicate the beginnings of an attitude characteristic of the modern experimental scientist who knows that the foremost criterion of the validity of a discovery is procedural repeatability.

THIS book has, I think, lifted out of obscurity a field of Jewish cultural activity which, although not entirely unknown, had been grossly neglected. Its significance has consistently been denied, or at least belit-

tled, by those few Jewish historians who deigned to refer to it in their works. In view of this situation one cannot blame the authors of general histories of alchemy for not paying attention to Jewish alchemy, and presenting the history of alchemy as comprising only Chinese, Indian, Greek, Hellenistic, Arab, and Christian-European branches. The present book shows, however,—as far as this was possible on the basis of the insufficiently explored source material—that alchemy was throughout the ages an important Jewish occupational specialization, comparable to Jewish work in medicine. Jewish alchemists were engaged in experimentation, introduced new apparatus, techniques, and procedures, were employed as court alchemists, and enjoyed a high reputation in those societies of the Muslim and the Christian worlds in which alchemy was practiced.

This book also shows that alchemy was a unique field of activity in which Jews were able to have contact with gentiles on an equal footing, and, occasionally at least, they occupied a higher position than their gentile colleagues, serving as teachers and masters of aspiring gentile adepts. In this connection it would be of considerable interest to look into the question of whether the position of the Jews in general was better in those countries in which alchemy was a recognized Jewish specialization than in those in which this was not the case. My guess would be that such a positive correlation would indeed be found.

Finally, in the modern world Jews have occupied an important position in chemistry in which, as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* puts it, "the percentage of Jews achieving eminence has been high compared to their number in the general population." The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* contains no general article on the role of Jews in chemistry, only a listing of Jewish chemists with a few lines of biographical notes (s. v. Chemistry), and thus it provides no basis for any consideration of the roots of this intensive Jewish interest in the field. Since, as has been generally recognized, alchemy was the father of chemistry, it stands to reason that the attention Jews paid to alchemy throughout the ages became the cultural heritage that led relatively more Jews than gentiles into specializing in the successor science of what for many centuries was considered and termed the Great Art.

Appendix

AN ALCHEMICAL VOCABULARY FROM JERBA

THE MOST VALUABLE part of the Jerba manuscript discussed in Chapter 39 is the alchemical vocabulary found in it. In fact the manuscript contains no fewer than three vocabularies: a short one on folios 2a–3b; a second short one on folios 8a–b; and a long one on folios 136a–144a, which contains most, but not all, of the items listed in the first two.

The purpose of the vocabularies is stated in almost identical terms in the heading of each of the three. The first heading (f. 2a) reads: BIN"U ʿAM"I ʿAS"U: Specific Explanations of Some Things that Belong to the Work. The first three words are acrostics of the Hebrew *b'shem adonay naʿaseh w'naṣliaḥ—ʿezri meʿim adonay—ʿose shamayim wa'areṣ*, that is: "In the name of God we shall do and succeed, my help is from God the maker of heaven and earth." The second vocabulary is headed as follows: "Explanation of some names in Latin and in the languages of the ancients." The third: "BIN"U ʿAM"I AS"U: Explanation of Some [Words] Hard to Understand."

Most of the words explained in the vocabularies are either in Italian or Arabic. A few, to judge from the appended -s plural, are in Spanish. A very few are in Hebrew. Despite the superscription of the second vocabulary, none of the words listed in it can clearly be identified as Latin. All the words, whatever their language, are given in Hebrew transliteration. The Arabic words are occasionally transliterated in accordance with their Judeo-Arabic Maghrebite (Western) pronunciation: *sams* (sun, gold), instead of the literary Arabic *shams*; *qāṣiḥ* (thick), for *qāshiḥ*; the article *al-* is abridged into *l-*; and so on.

The language into which the "difficult words" are translated is in almost every case Arabic. Occasionally, one Arabic term is translated (or rather explained) simply by a synonym. In a few cases the explanation-translation is given in both Arabic and Italian; for example; "*anṭūn*: *nuḥās* [A.], that is *rāme* [I.]," both of which mean copper. On a few occasions the explanation is given in Hebrew, or in what appears to be Latin or Greek. Sometimes, however, an Arabic word is translated into Italian (e.g., *bīlār* [in literary A., *bilawr*]: *qrisṭalo* [I. *cristallo*]). Occasionally, when translating an Arabic word into Italian, the author states that it is in Laʿaz, using the traditional Hebrew term for "foreign tongue."

The explanations or translations are occasionally bilingual: the author uses expressions compounded of Arabic and Hebrew. For example, he explains the Italian *alūmē diroqa* (I. *allume di rocca*) as *shabb maḥṣavī* (A.-H., mineral vitriol). Or, he uses an Arabic or an Italian word with the Hebrew article *ha-*: *ha-nār* (the fire), or *ha-numero* (the number).

On a few occasions the author is not satisfied with simply giving the equivalent of the word to be explained in Arabic (or in another language), but instead appends a sentence explaining in detail what the word means. These sentences are either in Hebrew or in Arabic, or in a mixture of the two languages. For example, "*Barbīna* [L. verbena officialis]: *ʿesev qanyī ya'sir yusayyib hadam* [a reedy herb which stops the flow of blood]," where the first two Hebrew words are followed by two Arabic words, and then the last word is again Hebrew.

The Hebrew transliteration of the Arabic, Italian, and other words is in general adequate, although by no means consistent. For example, the Arabic word *zuwaq* (quicksilver) is transliterated *zwq, zāwāq, zāwwāq*; the Italian *salgemma* (rocksalt) as *salgemah, saljemah, salyemah*; and so on. This difficulty in transliterating the Italian soft *g* is parallelled by the problem the author had in transliterating the Italian *z*: he vacillates between the Hebrew *zayin, samekh*, and *ṣade*.

An interesting feature in the vocabularies is the listing of Hebrew *Decknamen* (cover names). The use of *Decknamen* for the alchemical designation of substances is very common in Arabic, and our author uses quite a few of them, e.g., *shams* (sun) for gold, *qamar* (moon) for silver, and *zuhrā* (Venus) for copper, and so on. The use of the Hebrew equivalents of these names is not unusual in Hebrew alchemical literature, in which one finds *shemesh* (sun), *l'vanah* (moon), and *nogah* (Venus) for these three metals. Unusual and original, however, is our author's occasional use of Hebrew *Decknamen* that do not seem to appear in other Hebrew alchemical texts. Thus for *zuwaq* (quicksilver) he uses the phrase *ʿof haporeaḥ ba'awīr* (bird that flies in the air); for sal ammoniac the expression *ʿof haqam b'vehalah* (bird that rises in fright); for tin, Arabic *qazdīr*, he uses both the Hebrew *Deckname m'ṣoraʿ*, leper, and the Arabic *Deckname mustarī*, lion (the planet Jupiter). He also lists the Arabic *zabad al-baḥr* (foam of the sea) and explains it only as *isquma maris* (that is, *scuma maris*) meaning the same, without any further translation.

An additional interesting feature in the vocabularies is that the author frequently describes the substances listed as being "hot and dry in the third degree," or "cold and wet in the second degree," and so on, using (in the second half of the nineteenth century) the classification of substances according to the degrees of heat and dryness, or cold and wetness, established by the famous second-century Greek physician Galen. On the other hand, our author was up to date as far as the division of the

world into a Christian and a Muslim realm was concerned, as can be gathered from the comment he makes in explaining the word *'onqi'ah* as a measure of weight which "in the cities of Edom" (that is, in the Christian world) is divided into eight drachmas, while "in the cities of Ishmael" (that is, in the Muslim world) into ten. The one authority whom our author quotes frequently is Ibn Sīnā (980–1037), to whom he refers either by name or as "the Physician," and whose *Kānūn* he seems to have known well.

The entries in the vocabulary that follows are arranged in this manner: the entry words are listed in English alphabetical order, and in careful transliteration of the Hebrew letters in which they appear in the manuscript. If I was able to identify the original language of a word, it is followed in square brackets by an abbreviation indicating that language; then, wherever necessary, I added in *italics* the original spelling of the word or my transliteration of it; then comes my translation of the word into English. This is followed by a dash, after which comes in *italics* the translation of the word as given in the manuscript. Then, in square brackets, my identification of the language of the translation, and my translation of that word (or words) into English. If the manuscript contains, in addition to the translation of the word, an explanation (which is always in Hebrew), I give that explanation in my English translation. That is, all the material contained in the manuscript of the vocabularies is given outside the brackets; whatever is inside the brackets is my translation or explanation. In many cases I had to leave words unidentified and unexplained. I am aware that this vocabulary is but a first attempt at the presentation of this rather complex multilingual material whose full treatment has to await the attention of future researchers.

a'awrum [L. *aurum*, gold]—*dahab* [A. *dhahab*, gold]
ʿabd [A. slave, *Deckname* for quicksilver]—*zawaq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
abrū'ol—*antimonio* [I., antimony], *kuḥl* [A., antimony]
adraṣogane—*ʿunṣul* [A., wild onion, leek]
affināṭo [I.]—that is, refined
afroniṭum [I. *afronitro*, foam of nitre, *spuma nitri*, saltpeter]—*burāqas* or *nītrī*
al'abar, al'ahbar [A. *al-ābār*, lead]—*raṣāṣ* [A., lead]
ʿalam—*zarnīkh* [A., arsenic]
alambiqo [I. *alambicco*, alembic]—kettle in which burnt water is extracted.
al'anaq [A. *al'anuk, al'anaq*, tin]—*qazdīr* [A., tin]
al'anūq albar'ī [A. . . . *al-burā'ī*, tin shavings]—*b'dil wʿoferet* [H., tin and lead]
al'asirāngē—*limatura plombo* [I., filings of lead]

alaṭqad, al'aṭqī—*antimonio* [I., antimony], *kuḥl* [A., antimony]
albūno—*sheten* [H., urine]
alīga [I. *aliga, alga*, seaweed]—that is, pearl shell. Refine as mentioned in the *libbun* [H., whitening]
alīqālī—*vitriolo* [I.], *zāj* [A., vitriol]
alīzmārīr—*shenāder* [A., see *nushādir*]
almārqashīṭā [A., marcasite]—*litarigiri'o* [I. *litargirio*, litharge]
almiṣādīr [I. *almizadir, almicadir, almisadir*]—*shenāder* [see *nushādir*]; *salarmoni'aqo* [I., sal ammoniac], and likewise *alīzmārīr* [see above].
alqālṣinārē [I. *calcinare*, to calcine, with the A. article *al-*]—that is, that it should be like lime
alqāsīdēs [A. *al-qasid*, broken]—*ᶜoferet* [H., lead] *qrispus* [L., crisped, curled], *raṣāṣ* [A., lead].
alqībrīṭ [A. *al-kibrīt*; or I. *alcubrith*, sulphur]—white sulphur.
alqūsūr [A. *al-qaswar*, the old one, lion, *Deckname?*]—*antimonio* [I., antimony]
alrā'ī—*nitrozisqo*
alrāsīs—*shenāder* [see *nushādir*]; *salarmoniaqo* [I., sal ammoniac]
alṣērārē [I. *cerare*, with A. article, to cerate, to wax]—this is to melt the solid thing which is not capable of being melted and when it becomes *liqwido* [I., liquid] then it is called *iġtarāto* or *inṣērāto*
alṭālīq [A., the separated or the mild]—*sal* [I. salt], and it seems that it is *talq* [A., talc]
alūmē [I. *allume*, alum]—*shabb* [A., vitriol]
alūmē difiūma [I. *allume di fiume*, river alum?]—*shabb yamanī* [A., Yemenite vitriol]
alūmē diplūma [another spelling of the above]
alūmē diroqa [I. *allume di rocca*, ordinary alum]—*shabb* [A., vitriol] *maḥṣavī* [H., mineral]
alūmīn [I. *allumina*, alumina]—*zarnīkh* [A., arsenic]; *orpimento* [I., orpiment]
al'unon—*qazdīr* [A., tin]
alwānās, salarmoniqo, shenāder [see *nushādir*]
alyas [A., lion, a *Deckname?*]—*melaḥ* [H., salt]
amīr lmilḥ [A. *amīr a-milḥ*]—*melaḥ* [H., salt], *milḥ nuᶜās* [A., sleepy (?) salt]
amrūn [A. *al-amrān*, the two most bitter things, aloe and mustard]—*ashrah baqarā'* [A. *shara, asharr*, worst, colocynth, bitter apple], hot and dry in the third [degree]
andadān [see *angira'*]
anfiyum [A. *afyūn*, opium]—*tusmirat*
angira'—*urtiga* [L. *urtica*, nettle], it and its seeds are dry
angīrā [A. *anjudān*, asafetida]—*waraq alḥiltīt* [A., leaf of asafetida], hot and dry in the third [degree]

anī'odīn—*waraq alḥiltīt* [A., leaf of asafetida]
anṭīmonī—it seems to me that it is what is called *antimonio*, it is *atmad* [A. *ithmad*], which is *kuḥl* [A., antimony]
anṭīmonīo [I.]—that is, a kind of metal called in Arabic *magnīṭiā*, and in Lat[in] *dīmībūzan* [marginal note:] *dimirkuzan*. And in the *Kānūn* he [Ibn Sīnā] wrote that it is similar to *marqashīṭa* [A., marcasite]
anṭron—it is *shuman zkhukhit* [H., glass-oil, glass-fat]
anṭūn—*nuḥās* [A., copper], that is *rāme* [I., copper]
anverga—*shabīkah* [A., net]
aposārē—that is, *rīposārē* [I., to repose], that is, *yirtāḥ* [A. *yirtakh*, tarry]
apoṭrīpāṣione—that is, a vessel *yakhmur wayaʿban* [A., sealed and big]
aqālṣīnārē [I. *calcinare*, to calcine]—that is, that it should be like lime
ʿaqrab [A., Scorpio, *Deckname* for sulphur]—*bukhārah* [A., smoke, fog, steam]
arēsolvārē [I., to dissolve]—that is, *ḥulhum* [A., error for *maḥlūl*, dissolved]
argenṭos vivos [I.-S.]—*zībaq* [A., quicksilver]
arinṭano vivos [I. *argentovivo*, quicksilver]—*zauwāq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
armanos—*niṭros*
armīkh—*qarfa* [A. *qirf*, skin, peel, rind]
armoniaqo [I. *ammoniaco*, ammonia]—*ūṣaq* [A. *ushshaq*, ammoniac]
aroni'āqos [S.]—*shenādir* [see *nushādir*]
aropniqārē—that is, *taḥrīk* [A., encouragement, moving]; or *taḥrīq*, [A., burning]
arsēnīqo(s) [I. *arsenico*]—*zarnīkh* [A., arsenic]
arṭīfīqārē [I. *artificiare*, to work with artifice]—that is, *ṣafiyy* [A., pure]
'arubīsqārē [I. *arrubinare*, to make red]—that is *taḥrīk* [A., read *taḥrīq*, burning]
āsa fāṭīda [I. *assafatida*]—*ḥiltīt* [H. and A., asafetida]
asad [A., lion, a *Deckname*]—*rahj* [A., dust]
aṣē'ēy [thus vocalized, I. *azey*]—*vitriol shāṭār* [I.-A. *v. shaṭr*, half vitriol]
asenṣio [I. *ascensione*, ascent]—*sujrat Maryam* [A., basin of Maria, i.e., bain-Marie]
aṣēto [I. *aceto*, vinegar]—*khall* [A., vinegar], *zāj waḍīf* [A., quick vitriol]
aseṭum [I. *acetum*, vinegar]—*khall* [A., vinegar]
asfīnārē—*bāhuq* or *bāhnaq*
asfōdē, asfōdium [I. *asfodelo*, asphodel]—*ṭabāshīr* [A., the pebbly substance in bamboo, chalk]
aspōne [I. *asabon, sapone*, soap]—*ṣābūn* [A., soap]
ass—*ḥiltīt* [A. and H., asafetida]
aṣṭuraq—*qālāmīṭa* [I. *calamita*, a fossil plant], hot and dry in the third [degree]
ʿaṭ [A.]—it seems it is *zāwāq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]

aṭaq—*ūṣaq* [or *usaq*; A. *wushshaq*, ammoniac], hot at the end of the third [degree]
ʿaṭārd—*zāwāk* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
atmad [A. *ithmad*, antimony]—*kuḥl* [A., antimony], *anṭimonio* [I., antimony]
aṭrāmēnṭūm [or *aṭrāmēntōs*; L. or I.]—*zāj* [A., vitriol], that is, *vitriolo* in Laʿaz
aṭrāmēnṭūm soṭorium [I. *a. sotorio*, sulfate of copper or of iron]
awwis—*qazdīr* [A., tin]
ayres [I. *aeris*, copper]—*n'ḥoshet sarūf* [H., burnt copper]
azāfāran—*zaʿfarān* [A., saffron]
azarīqon—*zārqūn* [A., cinnabar]
azīg, or *azīq* [I. *azec*, vitriol]—*zāj* [A., vitriol]
azimar [I., minium, vermilion, copper]—some say that it is *zinjār* [A., verdigris] which is *sqāliya* [I., scalings] of copper, others think it is *sqāliya* of iron [I., *scaglie di ferro*]
azīq [see *azīg*]
azōg [see *zāg*]
azwar [read *azwaq*; A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]—*kesef ḥay* [H., quicksilver]

bālbaḥ anqarde—hot and dry in the fourth [degree]
banyo arēna [I. *bagno arena*, sand bath]—that is, *yaḥūṭ ha-raml fī burma wayaḥūṭ liklī fawq ha-raml wayaʿṭi ha-nār taḥt l-burma* [Judeo-A.: throw the sand in a kettle and throw it in a vessel over the sand and give it fire under the kettle]
banyo Maria [I. *bagno Maria*]—as is known . . .
barbīna [I. *verbena*]—a reedy herb which stops the *yusayyib* [A., flow] of blood
baṣal haʿakhbar [H., mouse onion]—*ʿunṣul* [A., wild onion, leek]
basbā'īg [A. *basbā'īj, e. polypodium (Filice)*] *solifāre*—hot in the third [degree] and wonderful in its dryness
basīrāg, basīrāj—*shemen shumsh'min* [H., sesame oil]
baure—*ṣurqi* or *ṣudqi*
bi'aqa [I. read *bianca*, white]—*bārūq* [A., white lead, ceruse]
bīlār [A. *bilawr*, crystal]—*qriṣṭalo* [I. *cristallo*]
blānqēṭ [I. *bianchetto*, ceruse, stannic oxide pigment]—*bārūq* [A., white lead, ceruse]
bōl armīnī [A., Armenian clay]

dam tanīn [H., dragon's blood]—*damm lakhwa* [A. *d. al-akhawayn*, dragon's blood, the juice of the *dracaena draco*]
damm alkhawīn [A., variant of the preceding]
dī'ai mīdīli—*b'dil o qali'ah* [H., tin or kali]

disōlūṣione [I. *dissoluzione*, dissolution]—this is to turn into water anything that has become lime [was calcinated]

dīstīla in rēsqonṭaro [I. *distilla in . . .*]—that is, between the *lambiq* [A. *al-anbīq*, alembic] and the *qābilah* [A., receptor], as known

disṭilaṣione [I. *distillazione*] or *haṭafah* [H., distillation]—making the vapors rise from the things that are in the vessel, to collect them in another vessel

esh meha-grado ha-bet [H.-I., fire of the second grade]—that is, *taḥūṭ* [A., put] the vessel *qurbī* [A., near] *ha-nār* [H.-A., the fire], *watashūf* [A., and you will see] *ha-numero* [H.-I., the number]

ewaporare [I. *evaporare*, to evaporate]—that is, you should let it boil gently until all the moisture goes out and the thing remains dry

ferrum [L., iron]—*ḥadid* [A., iron]

filṭro [I., filter]—this is a piece of woolen cloth; that is, the *anbīq* [A., alembic], and they hollow out in it a *pūma sīqa* [Aramaic, correctly *sika*, "mouth of a pin," i.e., pinhole]

fisaṣione [I. *fissazione*, fixation]—this is to gather the thing that flees from the fire and does not stand heat, and they keep it *per artifiṣio* [I., for an artifice], also for that which flees from strong water

fiṣṣe [I. *fisso*, fixed]—*hashmarim* [H., sediments]; they are the sediments in La'az

fi'umah [see *pli'umah*]

flor da'irim [from the L. *flos aeris*, copper oxide, verdigris]—*nuḥās* [A., copper]

fornello [I., furnace]—*maṣref* [H., melting pot], and it means *kur* [H., melting pot], that is melting pot for gold

friṭṭa [I. *frits*, the partly fused mixture of sand and fluxes of which glass is made]; in La'az it means glass-fat

friṭṭo di Aspania [I. *frits* of Spain]

gale, galos [I. *galla*, gallnut]—'afṣ [A., gallnut]

gandaba dasṭar [A. *jundbadastar*, castoreum]—*qāsṭūr* [L. *castoreum*], hot at the end of the fourth and dry in the third [degree]

ganti'anah [L. *gentiana*, gentian]—*nasi'anah*. Hot in the third and dry in the second [degree]

garīr, ṭartaro, ṭarṭār [A. *ṭarṭīr*, tartar]

gāshīr [A. *jashar*, spring herbs]—*apoponago*, hot and dry in the third [degree]

gawzbō [A. *jawz bawwa*, muscat nut]—*nusse musqade* [I. *noce moscado*, nutmeg tree], hot and dry in the third [degree]

gīrārāsīro—*gofrit ḥay* [H., live sulphur], *qībrītē* [A. *kibrīt*, sulphur]

gisos [I. *gisisun*, a kind of gum]—*jāsū*
gofrit [H., sulphur] is of five kinds: green, red, black, white, *zinjārī barṭi*
goma [I. *gomma*]—*ṣemeg* [H., rubber], that is, *s'raf* [H., resin]
goma arabiqa [I. *gomma arabica*]—*ṣemeg ʿaravi* [H., gum arabic]
goma rossa [I. *gomma rossa*, red gum]—*lūkh* or *lūk*

ḥadīdah lkalwiya [A., explanation illegible]
hawīrmaṣe or **huwirnīse**—is made of linseed oil and quicklime melted together
ḥōm [H., heat] *ṭemperāṭo* [I., tempered, temperate]

i'adrosero, idrosero—*kesef ferro* [H.-I., iron silver], *iqtra'iros, fuzrah* [A. *fiḍḍah*, silver]
idrogorias [I. *idrargirio*, quicksilver]—*zawaq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
il'asṭīrob [cf. P. and A. *usrub*, lead]—*ʿoferet sale* [H. *ʿoferet*, lead, I. *sale*, of salt]
imunqabiʿal—*zanzafūr* [A. *zunjufr*, cinnabar], *zinafario* [I. *cinnabrio*, cinnabar]
in esso [I. in himself or itself]—and it seems to me *fīhī* [A., in it]
infaṭānṭa—that is, *banyo di Maria* [I. *bagno di Maria, bain Marie*]
ingresso [I.?]—that is, *shaḥrut* [H., blackness]
īnoq—*zāwāq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
īnos [G. *oenos*, wine]—*sharāb* [A., a drink]
inpola [I. *ampolla*, ampulla]—*kūza* [A., flask with a narrow neck], that is a vessel like a *ṭāṣa* [A. *ṭassa*, or I. *tazza*, cup, mug]
inqolare [I. *incollare*, to paste, to glue]—that is, *taṣʿīd* [A., sublimation or distillation]
insenṣio, inṣīnaṣio [I. *incensario*, fleabane, a kind of gentian]—*lūbān* [A. *labūn, lubān*, juniper, benzoin]
inṣērāṣione [I. *incerazione*, ceration, waxing]—that is, to drench and to mix on marble until they combine
inṣēre sālis [I. *essere salis?*]—*salyema* [I. *salgemma*, rock salt]
insūlīṭos [S.]—*ṭarṭaro* [I., tartar, or A. *tartir*, tartar]
i'owuṣīsṭon—*damm lkhawā'* [A. *damm al-akhawayn*, dragon's blood], *dam tanin* [H., dragon's blood]
iqtrā'iros [S.]—*fuzrah* [A., read *fiḍḍah*, silver; see *i'adrosero*]
is [L. *aes*, metal, copper]—*nuḥās* [A., copper]
ʿīsah [H., dough]—*liqwida* [I. *liquido*, liquid], that is, soft, that is, *jāriwah* [A., correctly *jārīyah*, liquid, in feminine]
isfīdāg [A. *isfīdāj*, white lead, ceruse]—*bārūq* [A., white lead, ceruse]
isīrī salis [I. *essere salis?*]—*saleyma* [i.e. *salyema*, I. *salgemma*, rock salt]
iṣīṣīṣī—*zāj* [A., vitriol]

isqīl, isqoalla [A. *isqīl*, sea-onion, *scilla maritima*]—*ʿunṣul* [A., wild onion, leek]
isṭīs [cf. L. *aes ustum*, burnt copper]—*zāj* [A., vitriol]

kāṣīn—a vessel
kesef foliaṭo [H. *kesef*, silver, I. *foliato*, foliated]—that is, *waraqī* [A., leaflike]
kesef fitto [H. *kesef*, silver, I. *fitto*, counterfeit]—it is permanent silver, that is *marzan*
kesef ḥay [H., quicksilver]—which has been passed through leather, and a linen cloth is good instead of leather
kesef ḥay sōlīma [H. *kesef ḥay*, quicksilver, I. *solima*, sublimated]—that is, which has been made to rise [i.e., sublimated]
kesef qupēlah [H. *kesef*, silver, I. *coppella*, cupelled]—that is, pure, purified
kesef qupēllāṭo [H. *kesef*, silver, I., cupelled]—that is, *waraqah* [A., leaf]
kesef sōlīma [H. *kesef*, silver, I. *solima*, sublimated]—that is, dead, and possibly he intended dead quicksilver
kesef sōlīmāṭo [H. *kesef*, silver, sublimated]—it is the *kesef sōlīma*
kuḥl [A., antimony]
kurqomah [I. *curcuma*, curcuma]—*nuḥās* [A., copper]
kūza [P. and A. *kūz*, pitcher, jug]—I saw a few times that he calls it *batlis iǵfula*

labgīn—*fuzrah* [A., read *fiḍḍah*, silver]
lamine [I. *lamina*, thin layer]—*ṣafāʾiḥ* [A., leaves]
lane or **li'ane, li'one** [I. *lana*, wool, and *leone*, lion]—*shemen pishtan* [H., linseed oil]
lapis [L., stone]—*ḥajar* [A., stone]
lapis al'āgi'us [L.-A.]—*ḥajar lʿāj* [A. *ḥajar al-ʿāj*, ivory stone]
lapis ametitis [L. *l. amethystus*, amethyst stone]—*ḥajrat almas* [A., diamond stone]
lapis antimoni [L.-I., antimony stone]—*kuḥl* [A., antimony]
lapis apodogi'on—[L.-G.] *ḥajar alqadūḥī* [A. *ḥajar al-qaddāḥī*, firestone]
lapis aqwa'iṭor [L.-I. *l. acquatura*, watering stone]—*ḥajar almisann* [A., whetstone]
lapis arminos [L.-I. *l. armeno*, Armenian stone]—*ḥajar aromīnī* [A., Armenian stone]
lapis guda'iqan [L.-I. *l. giudaicon*, Jewish stone, i.e., calcium carbonate]
lapis lūne [L.-I. moonstone]—*ḥajar lqamar* [A. *ḥajar al-qamar*, moonstone]
lapis molades [L. *l. molaris*? millstone]—*ḥajar haraḥah* [A. *ḥajar*, stone, H., smelling]

lapis nigrorum [L., Negroes' stone]—*ḥajar lḥabas* [A. *ḥ. al-ḥabash*, Abyssinian stone]

lapis serpentos [L. or L.-S., snake stone]—*ḥajar (a)lḥayyah* [A., snake stone]

lapis y'hūdīt [L., stone, H. Jewish]—*ḥajar alyahūd wahuwa ḥab haranḏ* [A., Jewstone, and it is a grain of rice]

lasērābā [A. *al- usrub*, lead]—*ʿoferet* [H., lead], *raṣāṣ* [A., lead, tin], *martero* [I., pounded]

lima, limaṭo [I., filed, polished]—*madwūk* [A., ground, triturated], for turning into water

liminios [I. *limone*, lemon]—*limon* [H., lemon]

liqwide [I. *liquido*, liquid]—*ʿisl* [A., honey, juice]

lunah [I. *luna*, moon]—*fuzrah* [A., read *fiḍḍah*, silver; a *Deckname*], *l'vanah* [H., moon, *Deckname* for silver]

luṭa [I., sealed]—*sadda* [A., seal], that is, *satum* [H., sealed]

luṭāṭah [I. *lutata*, sealed]—that is, *muṭaynah* [A., luted, coated with clay]

lutēmētālium, limasinas, orpimento—*zarnīkh* [A., arsenic]

luṭōn [I., copper]—*nuḥās* [A., copper]

luṭum absoluṭe

luṭum arminum [L. *lutum armenicum*, Armenian clay]

luṭum sigillaṭum [L. *terra sigillata*, sealed earth, i.e., fine clay]

mā' ʿabd [A., mercury water]—*mā'ḥalyu* [A. *mā'ḥulla*, melted water]

ma'adīm [H., planet Mars, iron]—*ḥadīd* [A. iron]

mābūr [A., pierced, punctured]—*fazra* [A. *fiḍḍah*, silver], *kesef* [H., silver]

mah shahayta [A., what you desire]—that is, *mah shetirṣeh* [H., what you wish]

malfa, mu'allafa [A., composite, a *Deckname* of lead]—*khābīza*

maliar—*zanzār* [A. *zinjār*, verdigris]

maroqurio [I. *mercurio*]—*zawaq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]

marrīkh [A., planet Mars, iron]—*ḥadīd* [A., iron]

masālaṭu—*abra*

māshīt [see *mah shahayta*]

māsqīṭ nos [I. *moscato noce*, muscat nut]—*maṣṭari* [A. *mustarī*, planet Jupiter, tin]

masṭīṣe [I. *mastice*, a vegetable resin]—*maskatah*

mayim ḥazaqim [H., strong water, i.e., *aquafortis*]—*mafartire* [?]

mayyit ḥay [A. *mā' al-ḥayāt*, living water, or *mā al-ḥayya*, serpent water, *Deckname* for quicksilver]—*mā' yaṭīrsī min hanār walākin bāqī ḥay yutaharraq* [Explanation: What is taken off the fire, and therefore remains living (and) burning]

melaḥ klali [H., common salt]—it seems to me that it is the *milḥ taʿām* [A., kitchen salt]

melaḥ petra [H. *melaḥ*, salt, L. *petra*, rock: rocksalt]—it is the *milḥ yema* [A.-I. *m. gemma*, rock salt]
melaḥ prēparāṭo [H.-I. prepared salt]—see *bārukhes* [?]
mīlbūraq [A. *mā' al-būraq*, borax water]—*sālīma* [I., solution] *milḥ qardam* [A., cardamum salt]
milḥ alqālīy [A., alcali salt]
milqa lqālīy [A. *milḥ al-qālīy*, alcali salt]- *sāl qālīy* [I., alcali salt]
minio [I., minium]—*zārqūn* [A. *zarqūn*, cinnabar]
mīra [A. *murr*, bitter]—*mar* [H., bitter]
mōlībārōn—it is burnt
mōlifiqārē [I. *mollificare*, to soften]—that is, *rākhaf* [A. *rakhif*, thin and watery]
morṭario, morṭaro [I., mortar]—*māhrāz* [A. *mihrās*, mortar]
morṭaro b'porfiro morṭaro—that is *mihrās* [A., mortar] and *porfiro* [I. *porfire*, marble], that is, the thinnest of the thin. And in La'az *morṭaro*
mqoroqorio [I. *mercurio*]—*zawwaq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
m'ṣora' [H., leper]—*qazdīr* [A., tin., a *Deckname*]
muṣīnṣībar—see *nusha'idira* [*nushādir*]
mustarī [A., lion, *Deckname* for planet Jupiter, tin]—*qazdīr* [A., tin]

naqar—*fuzrah* [A. *fiḍḍah*, silver]
nās [A., contraction of *nuḥās*]—[A., copper]
nashdār [A., colloquial for *nushādir*, which see]
nāṭrōn [I. *natron*; A. *natrūn*, niter]—*būraq* [A., borax, saltpeter]
niṭro—*niṭrum* [I., soda, natron]
nobile [I., noble]—*nikhbad* [H., honored person]
nogah [H., planet Venus, *Deckname* for copper]—*nuḥās* [A., copper]
nūnsōmāṭo
nūra [A. *nūrā'*, depilatory]—*jayr* [A., quicklime]
nushādir [A., sal ammoniac, often spelled *shenāder*]
nushī'ādīra—*shenāder* [A. *nushādir*, sal ammoniac]
nuṣīnṣībar, nushdār, *salarmoniaq* [synonyms for *nushādir*, sal ammoniac]

ōda fāsa or **ōra fāsa**—*zabīb* [A., raisins]
'of haporeaḥ ba'awir [H., bird that flies in the air]—*zāwāq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
'of haqam b'vehalah [H., bird that rises in fright]—*shenāder* [see *nushādir*]
oli'oṭodos—is silver and gold mixed
onqi'ah—a measure of weight of the cities of Edom [i. e., Rome, the Christian world], divided into eight *drame* [drachmas], and in the cities of Ishmael [the Arab world] ten *drahes* [drachmas]
origano [I. *origan*, marjoram]—*ṣa'tar* [A., thyme]

orinale [I.]—that is, a glass vessel like a *ṭāṣā* [A. *ṭassa*, cup], or *qandīl tawīl* [A., long lamp]
orpimento [I., orpiment]—*zarnīkh* [A., arsenic]
osṭrāqum [G. *'ostrakion*, L. *ostracium*, mussel]—*ṣedef* [H., seashell]

pelosā'irim—*nuḥās* [A., copper]
peripiṭah, perpeṭa—that is *naḍif* [A., unclean], or *waḍif* [A., quick]
pīla [I. *pila*, basin, font; cf. *pīwa*]
pīlūle [L. *pilula*, globule]—*ḥubūb* [A., corn, a plague-boil], that is, *ḥarābes*
pīrīṭo dī aspania [I., pyrite of Spain]—according to the Physician [Ibn Sīnā] *khuyūṭ nuḥās* [A., threads of copper]
pīṣe [I. *pece*]—*zefet* [H., tar, pitch]
pīwa [I. read *pila*, basin, font]—that is, *maʿūn* [A., pot]. *Qāl* [A., he said] that this should read *pīla*, that is, a vessel
pīwa luṭāṭah [I. *pila lutata*, luted vessel]—that is, *maʿūn muṭayyan* [A., luted pot], and according to his [Ibn Sīnā's] words it is a *ṭass* [A., saucer, tray], and it has to be read *pīla*
pli'umah—it should say *fi'umah* [cf. I. *fumo*, smoke], it means *dūkhān* [A., smoke, steam] or *dunaṣ* [A. *danaṣ*, impurity]
polmone [I., lung]
porfiro [I., porphyry]—that is, the thinnest possible
prānṣībīle [I. *prendibile*, takable]—*qāṣiḥ* [A. *qāshiḥ*, thick], that is, hard
prēṣiaso [I. *prezioso*, precious, costly]
p'tīlah [H., wick]
purga [I., purified]—that is, *ṣarūf* [H., refined]
purgaṣi'one [I. *purgazione*]—that is, *naḍif* [A. read *naẓif*, clean], that is, to clean and thus to refine
purgāṭo [I., purified]—that is, *naḍif* [A. *naẓif*, clean], that is, purified
puro [I., pure]—that is, *naḍif* [A. as above]

qālami'onah, qālamīṭa [I. *calamita*, magnet]—*ḥajarat alamas* [A. *ḥajarat al-mass*, touchstone]
qāldīr—I do not know whether it is a repetition of *sālqalīy*
qalʿi [A. *qalʿiyy*, Indian tin]—*qazdīr* [A., tin]
qalīmasṭīqā—*lītarīgiros* [I. *lithargiro*] also *qrīsīsos*
qālqadīs, qalqanṭum, isīsīsī, ru'anīj, īstīq—*zāj*, vitriol [evidently synonyms]
qalqanṭum, qālkānte, qālkāntos—*zāj* [vitriol; alternate spellings]
qālsināṣi'one, qalṣinaṣi'one [I. *calcinazione*, calcination]—this is *siyyud* [H., plastering, calcifying], and it seems to me to transmute into lime, and it is to pulverize the thing and remove the moisture from it and from the thing you want to calcify
qālsīṭrān—*salqaliy* [see *saleqaliy*]

qālṭīqrī'on—a glass vessel . . . [illegible]
qamar, qamarah [A., moon, silver]—*fuzrah* [A. *fiḍḍah*, silver]
qāmfōrah [I. *camfore*]—*kāfūr* [A., camphor]
qānābar [G., *kinnabari*, cinnabar]—*minio* [I., minium], *zarqūn* [A., cinnabar]
qapīṭīlan, qapīṭīlo [I. *capitello*, or *capitellum*, watery solution of soap, lye]—this is *līsa'ah* [I. *lisi*, lysis] made of quicklime and ashes of *ṭarṭaro*, wine sediment
qāreṭūre—*dahab* [A. *dhahab*, gold]
qārīnā', *qīrīnā'* [read *qārūre*, I. *carure*, glass bottle, urinal]—*orinale* [I., flask]
qāṭīmī'a—*ṭuṣī'ah* [I. *tutia*, tutty, white arsenic]
qawqo—*zawak* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver], *kesef ḥay* [H., quicksilver]
qīlīqīmī'āre—*purgāmenṭo* [I. ?, cleansing agent]
qonyelaṣione [I. *congelatione*, congealing]—this is to make it moist after it has become lime
qonyelāṭo [I. *congelato*, congealed]—that is, *yābis* [A., dry], and possibly it should be *consēlāṭo*
qopēla [I. *copella*, cupel]—*maṣref* [H., melting pot], and it means *jūja* [A.]
qorālo [I. *corallo*, coral]—*marzān* or *marwān* [A.]
qori'o [I. *corio*, corium for tanning]—*zāᶜfarān* [A., saffron], *karkom* [H., saffron]
qrīso jāled [G. *chrysos*, gold, A. *jalīd*, frozen]—*zahav o 'iril* [H., gold or . . .]
qrīsos [G. *chrysos*, gold]—*dahab* [A. *dhahab*, gold]
qrispus [L. *crispus*, curled, crisped]—*raṣāṣ* [A., lead]
qroqos [I. *croco*]—*zāᶜfarān* [A., saffron]
qwilasione [I. *acquilazione*, turning into water]—after it has been calcified to bring it to its humidity

rāme [I., copper]—*nuḥās* [A., copper]
rāme purgāṭo [I., purified copper]—that is, pure
raroṭaq—*vērnīz* [I. *vernice*, varnish, glaze]
rāṣ hasabōn [A.-H., . . . of the soap]—this is the *liyān* [A., softness]
rāsah dī fīn or **rāsah mifīn**—this is *qalafonia*
rasās [A., lead]—*raṣāṣ* [A., lead]
rēmōlaṭo [I. *remollato*, resoaked]—that is, *maḥlūl* [A., dissolved]
remolwe—that is, sand
rē'oqīq—*ḥadīd* [A., iron]
rē'oqiq stomā'oqos—*b'dil* [H., tin]
rēsēnsorio [over-the-line correction: *reskonṭario*]—that is, *yaḥuṭ burmah maqlūbah min qāᶜaha wayaḥūṭ ᶜalayha burmah thāniyah manqūbah g'k* [H. abbr. *gam ken*] *min qāᶜaha w'aḥ"k* [H. abbr. *w'aḥar kakh*, and then]

yaḥūṭ ʿalayha burmah ǧ' [H. 3] *min ǧīd naqūb wayashad liwaṣl bayna kulhum wayuṣʿad* [A., let him put a vessel upside down from its bottom, and let him put on it another vessel with holes in it also at its bottom, and then put on it a third vessel with a long perforated neck, and let him tie it as a connection between them, and let it sublimate]

rēṣipi'ente [I. *recipiente*]—that is, a vessel in which there is a receptacle

rēṣipērazione—that is, *ṭarian* in fire, *yamshī filanir* [read *fi'lnār*, put it into the fire], that is, enliven the fire, it should go on the fire

rēsolaṭo—that is, *maḥlūl māh* [read *mā'*, A., dissolved in water]

rēsolusione [I. *resoluzione*]—this means all things that were made into lime to make them again water [i.e., to liquify the calcinated substances]

rēsolwamenṭo—this is *ḥalhūm* [A. read *maḥlūl*, dissolved]

rēsolwe [I. *resolve*]—that is *ḥalhūm* [A. read *maḥlūl*, dissolved]

rēwērbēro [I. *riverbero*], *rēwērbērāsione* [I. *reverberazione*]—that is, close to the *nār muqābilathā mahushi taḥt* . . . [illegible] [fire opposite it . . .]

rīqoṭo [I. *ricotto*, burnt]—that is, *sarūf* [H., burnt]

rīse taqazqilo

ro'anig—*zāj* [A., vitriol]

ro'ārē palombah—*ʿoferet ub'dil* [H., lead and tin]

rubīfīqa [I. *rubifica*]—that is, in fire [illegible], set it near fire

rukhifqa—that is, in fire, *yawli nūr* [A. *yawli nār*, set near fire]

rumor [I. *rumore*, noise, clamor]—*ǧaṭros rufi'os*

sādārāqah [I. *sandracca*, realgar]—*sandarūs* [A., sandarac, red arsenic]

sāfārāno [I. *zafferano*]—*zaʿfarān* [A., saffron]

sal [I. *sale*, salt]—*melaḥ* [H., salt]

sālāmoniāqo [I. *sale ammoniaco*, sal ammoniac]—this is salt that comes from beneath the sand, big pebbles, *shenāder* [see *nushādir*]

saleqaliy [I.-A. *sale kalīy*, alkali salt]

salgemah or **salyemah** [I. *salgemma*, rock salt]—it is the real *qomane* [I. *comune*, common], *lākin ṣāfī mlīḥ* [A., therefore it is very pure] . . . [Another definition:] salt that shines like a precious stone

saljema niṭrissima [I. *salgemma nitrissima*, most nitric rock salt]—*qāl* [A., he said] that this is *ṣāfī* [A., pure]

salkomune or **salqomune** [I. *sal comune*]—*milḥ ṭaʿām* [A., kitchen salt]. [Another definition:] the one found among us, and it comes from water or from the sea

salmesṭro [I. *salmastro*, salt, brackish]—*milḥ bārūd* [A., powdered salt]

salmesṭro raffināṭo [I., refined *salmastro*]—*milḥ bārūd* [A., powdered salt]

salniṭro [I. *salnitro*, saltpeter]—*būraq* [A., borax, saltpeter]; [another definition:] it is of the *pulvere* [I., powder]

samāq—*samgh ʿarabī* [A., gum arabic]
ṣamās—the same as the preceding
sams [A. *shams*, the sun, gold]—*dahab* [A. *dhahab*, gold]
sanbuqo [illegible]
sāndaria, sāndariār, sāndariāre—burnt orpiment or burnt arsenic
sangi'os draqonis [L. read *sanguis draconis*, dragon's blood]—*dam lkhiwwa* [A. read *damm al-akhawayn*, dragon's blood, a resinous substance]
sango'is [I. *sangue*, blood]—*dam* [A. or H., blood]
sangwe darqon [I. *sangue di drago*, dragon's blood]—this is a kind of resin which drips from a tree that is born in *Andi'ah* [India?], which is called *draqona*, and it is cold and dry. This is what the *Oṣar Ḥayyim* wrote, and it seems that it is *dam al-khiwwa*, and this is the language of Ibn Sīnā: *damm al-khawin*, in Latin *sanguis draqonis*, called *si'ān* (or *shay'ān*), it is kind of red, it is known
ṣangwides [no definition. Possibly variant spelling of sango'is.]
saqīla—*ʿunṣul* [A., wild onion]
sarusah [I. *cerussa*, white lead]—*bādūq* [A., white lead]
saṭīṣtīrī'ah—*shab* [A., vitriol] *mal'akhuti* [H., artificial]
sāwī'ah—*zawak* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
sawi'ah unuq za'ikht, tresaron, 'idrogori'as
sawres—*arseniqo sarūf* [I. *arsenico*, arsenic, H. *sarūf*, burnt]
sawṣīr—*b'dil* [H., tin], *qazdīr* [A., tin]
ṣedeq [H. planet Jupiter, tin]—*qazdīr* [A., tin]
ṣemenṭa [I. *cementa*]—that is, *faras* [A., to break, grind, crush]
sība marīna [L. *caepa marina*, I. *cipolla marina*, great sea squill]—*ʿunṣul* [A., wild onion, leek]
sībaseros, sibasiores [S.]—*tusī'ās* [S. or I., *tutias*, tutties, white arsenics]
sīdrārāqī—*zawak* [A., *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
sīhra [Aramaic, moon]—*fuzrah* [A. *fiḍḍah*, silver]
ṣīnābrio [I. *cinabrio, cinabro*]—*zanzafur* [A. *zunjufr*, cinnabar]
sīnapeo—*khardal* [A., mustard]
ṣīnērāṣio [I. *cinerazio*, burning]—*ramāṣ* [A. *ramaḍ*, burning]. According to the *Kānūn* of Ibn Sīnā. However, it seems that it is *aljūma*, or a kind of *taṣfīya* [A., purification]
sīra—*fuzrah* [A. *fiḍḍah*, silver]
sīrā', 'idrosiro, 'iqṭara'iros—*kesef* [H., silver]
sīrī'āre—*zawaq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
sīrī'āre sīdrāwāre—*kesef ḥay* [H., quicksilver]
soliēnē, antimonio—*kuḥl* [A., antimony]
sōlīmāṣione [I. *sublimazione*, sublimation]—this is *haʿala'ah* [H., sublimation] of the hard substances that adhere to the bottom of the melting

pot due to the heat of the fire, and the fire makes several kinds join together, as is known to the masters of the *sōlīmāṣione*. And according to the Physician [Ibn Sīnā] it is *taṣᶜīd* [A., sublimation]

spodium [L., dross of metals, scoria; I., ivory black, spodium]—*ṭābsīr* [A.]

sqālia [I. *scaglia*, scale]—that is, *qashūr* [H., tied], for thus *qasqeset* [H., fish-scale] is *sqalia* in Laᶜaz, and according to the Physician [Ibn Sīnā] pieces of *ṣijād* [A.]

sqālia di ferro [I. *scaglia di ferro*, scalings of iron]—that is, "tied," for likewise *qasqeset* [H., fish-scale] is *sqalia* in Laᶜaz

sqālia di ramo [I. *scaglia di r.*, scalings of copper]

sqrupalo [I. *scrupalo*]—one of the measures of weight, and there are in it 24 grains

sṭanio [I. *stagno*, tin]—*qazdīr* [A., tin]

sṭerqos [I. *sterco*, excrement]—*zevel* [H., dung]

sṭēsosīrī'o—*ᶜoferet* [H., lead] *figutos*

sṭomawqos [I. *stomaco*, stomach]—*ḥadīd* [A., iron]

sūbāres—*kuḥl* [A., antimony]

sūkar alfar [A. *sukkar al-fa'r*, mouse sugar]—*rāqiz* [A., jumping?]

sūlfo [I. *zolfo*, sulphur]—*sublimaṣio fī hasfīsīriya wahuwa ᶜawdi mayin* [I.-A. sublimation of the . . . , and it is turning to water]

sūlfūr [I.]—*gofrit* [H., sulphur]

surmīṭāse—*kuḥl* [A., antimony]

ṭalq [A.]—*milḥ taᶜām* [A., kitchen salt]

ṭarminṭanah [I. *trementina*, turpentine]—*tamartinah* [I., turpentine]

ṭaron—*ṭarmah* [A. *tarm* (?), butter, honey]

ṭarq—*salyema* [I. *salgemma*, rock salt], hot and dry in the second [degree]

ṭāso barbāso [I. *tasso barbato*, bearded yew tree, possibly mullein with downy leaves]—it is a herb . . . it is one kind of the *totomalio* [I. *titimaglia*, spurge, euphorbia], and it is found in the words of the Physician [Ibn Sīnā]

ṭāso werbāso [I. *verbasco*, mullein]—according to the Physician [Ib Sīnā] it is the great *totomalio* whose leaves are broad; but the leaves of the small one are long, as is known. However, from the *purgāṣione*, par. 2, which he wrote, it appears that white *ṭāso* is not a herb

ṭemperāṭo [I., tempered]—see *ḥōm ṭemperāṭo*

tiqqun [H., reparation]—wherever it says to repair a thing it means to purify it, that is, in *rēpāraṣio* [I. *reparazione*, reparation]

ṭīnṭūra bilṭīn [I. *tintura*, tincture, A. *bi'ltin*, with clay; or *biLatin*, in Latin]—that is, *ṣabāgh* [A., dyeing], and according to the Physician [Ibn Sīnā] it is a medicine

ṭoṭomalio [I. *titimaglia*, spurge, euphorbia]—see *ṭāso barbāso* and *ṭāso werbāso*

ṭrīsāron—*zawaq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
ṭora [I. *torà, tora, bubalis tora*]—it is *laᶜanah* [H., wormwood], as Ibn Sīnā has written in the vegetable poisons, section 2, chapter 8
ṭuṣī'ah alessandrina [A.-I. Alexandrian *tutiyah*, tutty]—*tutiyah zarqah* [A., blue tutty]
ṭuṭiyah [A.]—tutty, white arsenic

ubar fāso—*zabib* [A., raisins]
unsilāṭos—*ᶜarᶜār* [A. *ᶜarᶜar*, juniper; or *ᶜarᶜarah*, stopper, cork]
uqab [A., sal ammoniac]—*shenāder* [A. *nushādir*, sal ammoniac]
uranginṭos wiwos [I.-L.? . . . *vivos*]—*zawaq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
uraniaqos—*shenāder* [A. *nushādir*, sal ammoniac]
urīna [I. *urina*, urine]—*sheten* [H., urine]
urṭīnas—*ᶜafṣ* [A., gallnut]
urṭīqa [I. *urtica*, nettle]—*ḥārīq* [A., burning, glowing]
ushaq—*waṣq* [P. and A. *ushshaq*, ammoniac]
usrub [A., lead]—*raṣāṣ* [A., lead]
ustu—*raṣāṣ* [A., lead]
uzīfur—*zanzafur* [A. *zunjufr*, cinnabar]

werde [I. *verde*, green]—name of the green color
werderāme [I. *verderame*, verdigris]—*zinzār* [A. *zinjār*, verdigris]
werga or *wirga* [I. *verga, virga*, rod, cane]—it seems it is the *rāt* [A., straw]
wermilion or **wermilon** [I. *vermiglio*, vermilion]—*zanzafur* [A. *zunjufr*, cinnabar], *sināfaro* [I. *cinabro*, cinnabar, vermilion]
wiṭrī'āṭa, wiṭrīāṭo [I. *vitreo*, vitreous]—*metaliya* [I. *metalia*, metallic?], *metali*
wiṭri'olo [I. *vitriolo*]—*zāj* [A., vitriol]
wiṭri'olo romāno [I., Roman vitriol]—*zāj naṣīf* [A. read *naẓīf*, purified vitriol], that is pure, and I also heard that it means that it comes from Rome

yanās [probably Venus, i.e., copper]—*nuḥās* [A., copper]
yasāsīṭiri'on—*kularminio* [A. *khall armīnī*, Armenian vinegar]
yowis [Iovis, Jupiter, i.e., tin]—*yazdīr* [A., tin]
yenāli'ār—*zanzafur* [A. *zunjufr*, cinnabar], *sinabārio* [I. *cinabro*, cinnabar]

zabad lbaḥr [A. *zabad al-baḥr*, foam of the sea], *isqoma maris scuma* [Ger. *schaum*, foam] *maris* [L., of the sea: *Deckname* for quicksilver], hot and dry in the third [degree]
zāfārāno [I. *zafferano*, saffron, crocus]—*zāᶜfarān* [A., saffron]

zāg [A. *zāj*, vitriol], *witriolo* [I., vitriol], and likewise *azīq* and *azōg*
zāhāfāran [I. *zafferano*, saffron, crocus]—*zāʿfarān* [A., saffron]
zahara [A. *zuhrah*, the planet Venus, copper]—*nuḥās* [A., copper]
zarawand [A., *aristolochia*, birthwort]—*aristoligia* [L.-I. *aristolochia*, birthwort], hot in the third and dry in the second [degree]
zarī—*pinpinella* [I. *pimpinella*, a plant of the primrose family], hot and dry in the third [degree]
zarī'ūn—*zārqūn* [A. *zarqūn*, cinnabar], *minio* [I., minium]
zarnīkh [A., arsenic]—*orpimento* [I., orpiment], hot and dry in the third [degree]
zarnīkh sarūf [A.-H., burnt arsenic]—*orpimento sarūf* [I.-H., burnt orpiment]
zarqūn [A. cinnabar; see *zarī'ūn*]
zawaq [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
zayqaṭ—*zawaq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver]
zāzag [A. *zajāj*, glass]—*zkhukhit* [H., glass]
zībaq [A., quicksilver]—*zawaq* [A. *zuwaq*, quicksilver], cold and wet in the third [degree]
zili'ar—*zanzār* [A. *zinjār*, verdigris]
zīnyār—*zinzār* [A. *zinjār*, verdigris]
zīya—is *vitriolo* [I.], zāj [A., vitriol]
zuwaq [A.]—quicksilver

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1 C G Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, Bollingen Series XX (Princeton, 1968), 25

2 Henry and Renee Kahane, "Alchemy Hellenistic and Medieval Alchemy," *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York, 1987), 1 195

3 See Chapter 5 below

4 Modern Jewish scholarship is still scandalized by this attitude of Graetz, for example, the entry devoted to him in the 1972 *Encyclopaedia Judaica* faults him for having shown "no understanding for mystical forces and movement such as the Kabbalah and Hasidism, which he despised and considered malignant growths in the body of Judaism "

5 On this subject see my *The Jewish Mind* (New York, 1977), chapters 6 and 8

6 Moritz Steinschneider, "Typen," in Joseph Kobak's *Jeschurun* 9 (1873) 84, cited by Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York, 1939), 304 n 1

7 *EI*², 4 929

8 In *Monatschrift fur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 38 (1894) 39ff

9 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 232–37

10 Marcellin P E Berthelot, "Alchimie," in *La grande encyclopedie* (Paris, no date), 2 13

11 Cornelius de Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, vol 1 (Berlin, 1773), 288ff

12 August Schmolders, *Essai sur les ecoles philosophiques chez les Arabes* (Paris, 1842), 105

13 G Monod-Herzen, *L'Alchimie et son code symbolique* (Paris, 1978), 24, 62

CHAPTER TWO
BIBLICAL FIGURES AS ALCHEMISTS

1 See Berthelot *Grecs*, 3 95, 223 There is more on Zosimus in Chapters 4 and 6 below

2 See Bernard Gorceix, *Alchimie Traites alemandes du XVIe siecle* (Paris, 1980), 190 Cf also pp 21, 68–69, 189

3 See *EJ* (B), 2 140, s v Alchemie

4 *Theatrum chemicum*, vol 1 (Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1659), 331–61

5 Alfred Edward Waite, *The Secret Tradition in Alchemie* (London and New York, 1926), 261–62 On the parallel between the world and man the micro cosm, see R Patai, *Adam va'Adamah* (Jerusalem, 1942–1943), 1 165–76

6 Maurice P Crosland, *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry* (Cambridge, Mass , 1962), 10

7 Grillot de Givry, *Witchcraft, Magic, and Alchemy* (London, 1931), 350, Crosland, *Historical Studies*, 19

8 Hermann Kopp, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Chemie* (Braunschweig, 1869), 319, 398, quoting Vincent de Beauvais (d 1264), *Speculum maius*, part 1, *Speculum naturale* (Venice, 1591), f 82a

9 Hermann F Jellinghaus, ed , *Das Buch Sidrach*, Bibliothek des Litterari schen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol 235 (Tubingen, 1904), 96–98 On its sources, see Moritz Steinschneider, *Il Buonarotti*, vol 6 (Rome, 1872), 241

10 Waite, *Secret Tradition*, 182–83

11 Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist* (London, 1612), act 2, scene 1, line 80

12 Hermann Kopp, *Die Alchemie in alterer und neuerer Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1886), 2 370

13 John Read, *Prelude to Chemistry* (New York, 1937), 112, Alfred Edward Waite, ed , *The Hermetic Museum Restored and Enlarged* (London, 1893), 1 236 In his *Secret Tradition*, 349 n 1, Waite overlooked the biblical source of this tradition

14 Waite, *Hermetic Museum*, 1 236, Read, *Prelude*, 24

15 Elias Ashmole, *Qui est Mercuriophilus Anglicus?* (London, 1652), 1 449, as quoted by Read, *Prelude*, 124

16 Ashmole, *Mercuriophilus*, 312, as quoted by Read, *Prelude*, 128

17 Shams al Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b Abi Tālib al-Ansārī al Sūfī al Dimashqī, known as Ibn Shaykh Hittīn, d 1327 Cf *EI*², s v Dimashqī

18 Edmund O von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (Berlin, 1919), 1 258, citing al Dimashqī and Chwolson

19 Johann Ludwig Hannemann (1640–1724) wrote a thesis about him en titled *Tubalkain stans ad fornacem* (Tubal Cain Standing at the Furnace) Kopp, *Die Alchemie*, 2 314–17

20 1 Enoch 7 1, 8 1, 3 Cf also Clemens Romanus, *Hom* viii 11, 14, Cle mens of Alexandria, *Strom*, v 1 10, Tertullian, *Cult fem* 1 2, cf 11 10 Cf also Marcellin P E Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen age* (Paris, 1893), 2 xxvi, xxx, 238

21 Marcellin P E Berthelot, *Les origines de l'alchimie* (Paris, 1885), 9, cit ing Syncellus, *Chronographia*, ed Goar (Venice, 1652), 12, 14

22 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 2 xx, xxx, 214 n 1, 238, translating a Syriac manu script (MS 6 29) in the Cambridge University Library See also Chapters 4 and 6 below

23 Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 308 Cf also Hoffmann, in Ladenburg, *Handworterbuch der Chemie*, 2 516ff as cited in Pauly Wissowa, *Realenzyklopedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894), 1339, s v Alchemie, Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 181 quotes a passage from Zosimus in which he speaks of "the prophet Chymes "

24 Nicolas Lenglet Du Fresnoy, *Histoire de la philosophie hermetique* (Paris, 1742), 1 4, 5, 7–8

25 Ibid

26 Daniel Georg Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 3rd ed (Lubeck, 1732), 89–91

27 Kopp, *Die Alchemie*, 1 209

28 Johannes Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, edited by Gottlieb Christophorus Harles (Hamburg, 1790), 1 76 My translation is from the Latin According to John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica* (Glasgow, 1906), 1 393, the *Tabula smaragdina* was first printed, together with other tracts, in *De alchemia* (Nuremberg, 1541), after it had been known for at least three hundred years

29 Johannes Jacobus Manget, ed , *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1702), as quoted by Read, *Prelude*, 156 Read also refers to Ashmole's mention of Jacob's ladder, p 92 Cf also *Mutus liber*, or the Book of Silence of Hermes (Rupella [La Rochelle], 1677)

30 Waite, *Secret Tradition*, 400–401

31 Kopp, *Die Alchemie*, 1 209

32 B Suler in *EJ* (B), 2 140, s v Alchemie

33 Kopp, *Die Alchemie*, 1 302–9

34 Suler in *EJ* (B) 2 142 Cf figure there in col 143 A treatise entitled *Keren ha Pukh* will be discussed in Chapter 10 below

35 Cf sources in *JE*, 7 556, and *EJ* (J), 10 1192–93, s v Korah

36 Cf sources in *EI*[2],4 673, s v Karun, and *EJ* (J), 10 1143, s v Korah

37 Included in the *Theatrum chemicum*, vol 5 (Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1622), 16, 240 Cf Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 2 87

38 Wisdom of Solomon, in R H Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), 1 545

39 Kopp, *Die Alchemie*, 1 209, 2 370

40 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 1 242, 243, Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 92 See also below, Chapter 5

41 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 389, 390, 3 373, Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 111

42 Read, *Prelude*, 275

43 See Julius Ruska, *Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (Heidelberg, 1912), 161, as quoted by Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 383

44 Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 625 On Ibn Rusta see *EI*[2],s v

45 *Arabian Nights*, as cited by Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 423

46 Bonaventure de Periers, *Cymbalum mundi* (1537), and *Nouvelles recreations* (Lyon, 1558), as cited by Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 503

47 Kopp, *Die Alchemie*, 2 370

48 Johann Joachim Becher (1655–1682), *Physica subterranea*, edited by Stahl (Leipzig, 1703), 696, as cited by Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 510

49 London, 1652, p 350, cited by Read, *Prelude*, 110

50 See below, Chapters 7 and 23

51 *Sefer Sha*[c]*ar haHesheg*, edited with an introduction by Moshe Hayyim Barukh (Leghorn, 1790), 8+57 folios, see esp ff 2a, 3a

52 See ff 36a–37b

53 See Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 2 265–66, Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 91

54 Kopp, *Die Alchemie*, 2 246 On the origin and history of the Magen David as a Jewish symbol and talisman, see Gershom Scholem, "The Star of David History of a Symbol," in his *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other*

Essays (New York, 1971), 256–81 In a brief paragraph on p 271 Scholem refers to the alchemical interpretation of the Magen David

55 Genesis Rabba, edited by J Theodor (Berlin, 1912), 1 31, in the name of the third century sage, Rav See parallel passages, ibid

56 *Physica naturalis rotunda visionis chemicae cabalisticae*, in *Theatrum chemicum*, vol 6 (Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1661), 377

57 Read, *Prelude*, 167–68

58 The above four books are listed and described in Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 1 338–41, 2 3, 320–21

59 Suler, *EJ* (B), 2 142 See also Introduction to Part Eight below on Elias Artista's appearance to Johannes Fredericus Schweitzer

60 Kopp, *Die Alchemie*, 1 209, Suler, *EJ* (B), 2 142

61 Leyden Papyrus no 75, edited by Reuvens, cited in Berthelot, *Les origines*, 54, and appendix, 158

62 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 261

63 See note 60 above

64 MS 6 29, ff 116–20, Berthelot, *Moyen age* 2 xxii, xxxvi, 296

65 Kopp, *Die Alchemie*, 1 207, Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 86, Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 2 113 See also John G Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville and New York, 1972), which discusses the image of Moses in Greco-Roman literature, including his reputation as magician Gager says very little (pp 152–55) about the alchemical writings attributed to Moses

66 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 209, 338

67 Ibid , 2 304, 3 292

68 Ibid , 2 300, 315, 3 287, 302 The Leyden Papyrus no 75, written in demotic script and in Greek, contains several Hebrew names such as Jao Sabaoth, Adonai, Abraham, and parallel Hebrew, Egyptian, and Greek invocations Ibid , 1 8–9, Berthelot, *Les origines*, 171, and sources there Cf also Kopp, *Beitrage*, 262, 354

69 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 182, 183, 3 180, 181, 209, 338 In his Introduction (1 257), Berthelot quotes *Lexicon alchemiae rulandi* "Kymus id est massa Kuria vel kymia, id est massa, alchimia "

70 Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 69–70, and Chapter 5 below

71 Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 69, and sources there in the footnotes

72 Ibid , 1 69–70, and sources there in the footnotes

73 Ibid , 1 68

74 Thus the Greek philosopher Pappos (7th or 8th century), cf Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 30, Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 107

75 These are listed in Kopp, *Beitrage*, 262, 273, 302, 397–98, and in Berthelot, *Les origines*, 61, 175, 188

76 Cf Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 9, 40, 431, Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 69 suggests Kalais in the Sinai or in Persia On Qalai or Callais, cf Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 1 367–69

77 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 38–39, 3 40, idem, *Les origines*, 54 In square brackets I added the variant translations by F Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists Founders of Modern Chemistry* (New York, 1949), 35 Since the prescription is called "diplosis," doubling, it seems that the text calling for one part of copper

and three parts of gold is corrupt it should read one part of copper and one part of gold Cf also the comments of Taylor, *The Alchemists*, 35–36

78 Philo, *Vita Mosis*, 1 5–7, and following him Clemens of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 1 23 Cf additional sources in Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols (Philadelphia, 1909–1938), 6 402

79 Artapanus, *Peri Ioudaion* (About the Jews), 432ff , in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, as cited by Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5 401 n 59, and 402–3 n 67

80 Pseudo Philo, *Philonis Alexandrini libri antiquitatum* (Basel, 1527), 19 10–13, *Mekhilta*, Amalek 2, 55b–56a, *Assumption of Moses*, 12, as quoted by Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6 151, 158

81 Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 68–69, Kopp, *Beitrage*, 396ff

82 Leyden Papyrus no 76, as quoted by Berthelot, *Les origines*, 54 According ing to the doctrines of the Carpocratians, Monas was the ignored Great God, cf Berthelot, *Grecs*, 1 17

83 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 1 110–11, 271, Kopp, *Beitrage*, 354, Papyrus Kenyon (3rd century C E ?), as cited by Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 74

84 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 353, 3 338

85 Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, 30 2 (Loeb Classical Library, 8 284–85)

86 Midrash Esther 68–69, Abba Gorion 29–32, as quoted in Ginzberg, *Legends*, 4 411

87 Kopp, *Beitrage*, 367, Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 56, and references there, Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, 1 46–94, Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 2 113

88 "Explicatio duorum primorum capitum Geneseos juxta Physicam," in *Theatrum chemicum*, 1 331–32

89 See *EI*[2],s v Djābir b Hayyān

90 See sources in Paul Kraus, *Jabir ibn Hayyan Contribution a l'histoire des idees scientifiques dans l'Islam* (Cairo, 1942–1943), 1 90, 2 32, 44

91 *EI*,[2]s v Ibn al Nadīm, Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 3 27

92 Ginzberg, *Legends*, 2 125, 3 11, 286 See sources there, 6 99 n 560

93 Suler, *EJ* (B), 2 140 Kunckel's works are listed in Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 1 483–85

94 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 1 254, 267

95 Julius Ruska, *Turba philosophorum Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie* (Berlin, 1931), 231

96 Ruska remarks at this point that this is a jocular statement The author, of course, knew that the egg symbolized the four elements

97 My translation from the German of Ruska, *Turba*, 248–49 Cf the English translation in Arthur Edward Waite, *The Turba Philosophorum or Assembly of the Sages* (London, 1896), 138–39, 181–84

98 Petrus Bonus, *Margarita pretiosa*, first printed in Aldina, Venice, 1561, then included in Manget's *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa* Cited by Ruska, *Turba*, 341

99 See above at n 10

100 Waite, *Secret Tradition*, 182–83

101 Ruska, *Turba*, 331 In this book the well known dialogue between Maria the Jewess and Aros has become a dialogue between Maria and Aaron

102 Hermann Conring, *De Hermetica Aegyptorum vetere et Paracelsicorum*

nova medicina (Helmstedt, 1648), 393, idem, *De Hermetica medicina* (Helmstedt, 1669), 431, both cited by Kopp, *Beitrage*, 399

103 Johann Georg Schmid, *Der von Mose und denen Propheten ubel urtheilende Alchymist* (Chemnitz, 1706) Cf Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 2 336

104 Olaus Borrichius, *De ortu et progressu chemiae* (Copenhagen, 1668), 46–47, idem, *Hermetis Aegyptorum et chemicorum sapientia* (Copenhagen, 1674), 226, as cited by Kopp, *Beitrage*, 399

105 Georg Wolfgang Wedel, *Excitationum medico-philologicarum* (Jena, 1699), 1ff as quoted by Kopp, *Beitrage*, 399–400

106 Published in London by John Starkey, 1670 Cf Lenglet Du Fresnoy, *Histoire*, 3 62, 185 "Obrizon" is the English translation of the Latin *Obryzum*, pure gold

107 Georg Ernst Stahl, "Observat chymico physico medic ann MDCXCVIII, mensis Aprilis, quo vitulus aureus igne combustus, arcanum simplex, sed arcanum demonstratur," in his *Opusculo chymico physico-medico* (Halle in Saxony, 1715), 585ff , as quoted by Kopp, *Beitrage*, 400

108 Lenglet Du Fresnoy, *Histoire*, 1 18–19

109 Ibid , 1 459

110 See note 79 above

111 Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, 1 46, 49 Jacques Christian Basnage (1653–1725) was a French Protestant divine, one of whose works was the multi volume *Histoire des Juifs depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'a present* (The Hague, 1706–1711) The reference to Mercurius and Moses is in book 3, chapter 18, par 18, p 458

112 W Herapath, in *Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science*, series 4, vol 3 (London, 1852), 528, as quoted by Kopp, *Beitrage*, 401–2

113 J Denham Smith, in *Philosophical Magazine* 4 142 Some additional references to Moses the alchemist, made by Huetius, Fabricius, and Libavius, can be found in Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 2 113

Chapter Three
Alchemy in Bible and Talmud

1 More information can be found in the Hebrew *Ensiqlopediya Miqrait*, s v Matekhet, and in the English *EJ* (J), s v Metals and Mining

2 The *EJ* (J) covers the subject, and the material in Samuel Krauss's *Talmudische Archaeologie* (Leipzig, 1910–1912) is still valuable, after eighty years

3 Cf B Sukka 51b

4 Jerusalem Talmud Yoma 41d, Babylonian Talmud Yoma 44b–45a, Exodus Rabba 35 1, Canticles Rabba 3 9

5 B Yoma 44b–45a

6 Numbers Rabba 12 4, Canticles Rabba 3 9

7 Leviticus Rabba 16 2, quoting Psalms 34 13–14

8 *Midrash Tanhuma*, edited by S Buber (New York, 1946), vol 2, *M'sora*ᶜ, pp 45–46 and additional sources in note there

9 Cf B Shabbat 88b, B Yoma 72b, B Qid 30b

CHAPTER FOUR
JEWS IN HELLENISTIC ALCHEMY

1. Berthelot published and translated the version of this treatise preserved in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 2419 (dating from 1460): Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3:24.

2. Litharge: Greek alchemists used this term in the sense of "silver-producing stone" *claudianos*: a copper-lead alloy; *asem* or *asemon*: a lustrous alloy of varied composition, in which silver, copper, tin, lead, and mercury are frequent ingredients; *Diargyros* or *argyrite*: perhaps native silver sulphite, or argentiferous galena. T. Sherwood Taylor, "A Survey of Greek Alchemy," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 50 (1930): 109–39.

3. Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2:24–25; 3:25–26.

4. Ibid., 3:37.

5. Ibid., 2:90; 3:98. Marcellin P. E. Berthelot, *Introduction à l'étude de la chimie* (Paris, 1889), 294.

6. Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3:120–21.

7. "Divine water" is sulphurous water, whose preparation is dealt with in long sections of the writings of Greek alchemists, and especially in those of the school of Maria the Jewess, but its use and nature remain obscure. Taylor, "Survey," 130–31. For Theosebeia, see Marrellin P. E. Berthelot, *Les origines de l'alchimie* (Paris, 1885), 9, 64.

8. "The bird" refers to the bird of Hermes, which was considered the spirit of the fire of nature, enclosed in the humidity of the Hermetic mercury, or the natural heat united with the radical humidity. Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3:140–41.

9. The tribikos was a widely used alchemical apparatus. See Figure 5.3.

10. Yellow arsenic sulphide, orpiment. Taylor, "Survey," 123.

11. Ceruse: white lead, but also perhaps other white substances such as arsenic trioxide. Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3:140; Taylor, "Survey," 124.

12. *Mine* is an abbreviated form of the Greek *ʿēmina*, the name of an old Greek measure.

13. Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3:140–41.

14. It seems likely that when Zosimus says "bloody earth" he means "blood-red earth." If so, his explanation may hark back to the Hebrew assonance of *Adam* and *adom* (red), even though Greek legend too tells of man having been formed by Prometheus out of red clay (cf. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, X:4:4; James G. Frazer, *Folk Lore in the Old Testament*, 3 vols. London, 1919, [1:6]). Zosimus's notion that the name Adam signifies "virgin earth" is found in the writings of Josephus Flavius in the first century C.E. He says that the man whom God created "was called Adam . . . which signifies one who is red, because he was formed out of red earth . . . of that which is virgin soil and real earth," Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, I:1:2. As for the meaning of the individual letters contained in the name Adam, what Zosimus says is a variant of the explanations found in several ancient Jewish and Greek sources. In Hebrew the name consists of the three letters, ADM, and accordingly, R. Yoḥanan (2nd century C.E.) explains that the name is the acrostic of the words *Efer, Dam, Marah*,

i e , dust, blood, gall (B Sotah 5a cf Pirqe R Eliezer 12) In the Sybilline Books (3 24–26) and elsewhere in Christian literature the name, consisting of four letter in the Greek transliteration (ADAM), is explained as being an acrostic composed of the initials of *anatolē* (east), *dusis* (west), *arktos* (north), and *mesembria* (south), which goes back to 2 Enoch 30 13 The first Jewish source to state that the body consists of the four elements of earth, water, air, and fire was Philo of Alexandria (1st century C E) Cf Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1909–1938) 5 72, and R Patai, *Adam va'Adamah* (Jerusa lem, 1942), 1 159–61

15 Hesiod, *Theogony*, pars 521, 618

16 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 223–25

17 Ibid , 3 232

18 Ibid , 3 233–34

19 Ibid , 3 235–36

20 Ibid , 3 337

21 The book in question is preserved in a manuscript in Cambridge, which has been analyzed by Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1926, reprint 1948), 41–42 See also above, Chapter 2, notes 20 and 21 Cf Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1 151, 5 172

22 Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina*, 41–42

23 Abu-l-Qāsim al-ʿĪrāqī, *Kitāb al-ʿilm al-muktasab fī zirāʿat al-dhahab*, edited by E J Holmyard (Paris, 1923), Arabic text, 229

24 In saying this I follow Edmund O von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (Berlin, 1931), 2 229 See also Moshe Idel, "The Or igin of Alchemy According to Zosimus " *Revue des Études Juives* 144 (1986) 117–24

25 Berthelot, *Introduction*, 16–18

26 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 90, 99

27 The catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the Bibliotheque Nationale identifies this treatise as "Albumazaris excerpta " *Inventaire sommaire des manuscripts grecs*, part 2, *Ancien fonds grec* (Paris, 1888), 257

28 *EI*², 1 139–40

29 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 1 79

30 Ibid , Greek text, 24, translation, 25 Most of the terms listed above are explained by Berthelot in his *Introduction*

31 See for example ff 39b–56b

CHAPTER FIVE
MARIA THE JEWESS

1 Marcellin P E Berthelot and Charles Emile Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 3 vols (Paris, 1888) The introductory volume of this work is cited here as Berthelot, *Grecs* 1, the Greek texts as Berthelot, *Grecs* 2, and the French translation as Berthelot, *Grecs* 3 A critical edition of the Greek text of one of Zosimus's treatises, that on the letter Omega, with an English translation and annotations was prepared by Howard M Jackson, *Zosimus of Panopolis on*

the Letter Omega (Missoula, Montana, 1978) On Zosimus's life, see Jackson, *Zosimus*, 4–5

2 Berthelot, *Grecs* 3 172–73, 236

3 Ibid , 180

4 Jackson, *Zosimus*, 19, 42 n 10

5 Jack Lindsay, *The Origins of Alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (London, 1970), 243, says that Maria "probably existed not very long after Bolos," who, he says (on pp 22, 66–67), seems to have lived c 200 B C E

6 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 224ff , 237, 3 216ff , 228, 2 201, 3 197

7 Edmund O von Lippmann, "Zur Geschichte des Wasserbades," in his *Abhandlungen und Vortrage zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* idem, 2 vols (Leipzig 1906–1913), *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (Berlin, 1919), 1 50 The English usage is exceptional in that the name of the water bath is not associated with that of Maria The *balneum Mariae* was so popular in medieval and later alchemy that no fewer than eight symbols were used to de note it

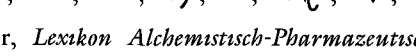

Wolfgang Schneider, *Lexikon Alchemistisch-Pharmazeutischer Symbole* (Wen heim/Bergstr, 1962), 32

8 See the detailed description of the still, based on Zosimus, in Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 48–49, and the brief summary with figures in F Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists Founders of Modern Chemistry* (New York, 1949), 46–49 Cf also Berthelot, *Grecs*, 1 142ff , 148

9 Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, 35 31 (Loeb Classical Library 9 297–99)

10 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 1 146–49, Taylor, *The Alchemists*, 46–49

11 Taylor, *The Alchemists*, 39 Cf Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 225–26, 236, 3 217–18, 228–29, and fig 15 in *Grecs*, 1 139

12 "Discourse of the Most Sage Maria about the Philosophers' Stone," as quoted by Ferdinand Hoefer, *Histoire de la chimie* (Paris, 1886), 1 283–84

13 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 146, 3 148

14 Cf Lippmann's summary, *Entstehung*, 1 48, based on Berthelot

15 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 146, 169, 273, 3 148, 168–69, 262

16 Ibid , 2 93, 94, 273, 3 101–2, 262

17 Ibid , 2 96, 3 104, cf 3 92 Other names applied to this "four in one" are lead, magnesia, *molybdochalkon* (lead copper), and *maza*, that is, dough or bread, Berthelot *Grecs*, 2 96, 192, 197, 3 104, 188

18 Olympiodorus, in Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 92, 3 101, cf also 2 93, 93, 3 171–72

19 Ibid , 2 146, 170, 3 148, 169

20 Zosimus, in Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 148, 149, 3 151–52, cf 2 172, 3 171–72

21 Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 47, Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen age* (Paris, 1893), vol 2, *L'Alchimie syriaque* 281

22 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 2 171, 199, 3 170, 194

23 Ibid , 1 271, Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 50

24 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 168

25 Ibid , 3 188

26 Ibid , 3 168

27 Ibid , 1 389, 2 404

28 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 1 260, quoting the *Theatrum chemicum*, vol 1 (Argentaati [Strasbourg], 1659), 461

29 C G Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, vol 12 of *Collected Works*, Bollingen Series XX (2nd ed , Princeton, 1968), 23

30 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 389 n 2

31 A detailed comparison of the human body and parts of the world is found in *Avot diRabbi Nathan*, ed Solomon Schechter (New York, 1945), version A, 91ff Cf R Patai, *Adam va'Adama* (Jerusalem, 1942), 1 166–67 The *Avot* dates from the second century C E The passage on nourishment is given in the next chapter

32 Philo of Alexandria (Philo Judaeus), *On the Creation of the World*, 51 (Loeb Classical Library, 1 115, 117) Cf also Philo's *De decalogo*, 8 (Loeb, 7 21) In his *De somniis* [On Dreams], Philo says that man was created of earth and water, which is also a midrashic view, cf Targum Yerushalmi ad Genesis 2 7 Cf Patai, *Adam va'Adama*, 1 159–60, Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 170

33 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 196, cf 3 124 n 1, 147

34 Ibid , 153

35 Ibid , 153 n 2, and 159 n 2

36 Ibid , 196

37 Ibid , 153

38 Ibid , 192

39 Ibid , 2 93, 3 101 In a Syriac manuscript of Zosimus a somewhat different version is given of Maria's doctrine of volatilization "The first mercury among the fugacious bodies determines only a partial volatilization Instead of disappearing, it fixes the fugacious bodies, which are the sulphurs Thus is verified the word of Maria who says that the sulphurs tint and are fugacious They are fixed by mercury " Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 2 243

40 Cf Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 101 n 2, and 124 n 1

41 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, vol 3, *L'Alchimie arabe*, 47 My translation from the Arabic See also p 88, and Berthelot, *Grecs*, translation of Synesius, 3 64 n 1

42 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 3 86, cf 3 83

43 Ibid , 3 90

44 Ibid My translation from the Arabic I read the Arabic *hrsfly* as *harr sufly* (deep heat), instead of *harrsefla*, which remains untranslated and unexplained by Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 94

45 Ibid , 104

46 H E Stapleton, G I Lewis, and F Sherwood Taylor, "The Sayings of Hermes Quoted in the Ma al Waraqi of Ibn Umail," *Ambix* 3 (1949) 72–73

47 M Turāb Ali, H E Stapleton, and M Hidāyat Husain, *Three Arabic Treatises by Muhammad bin Umail (10 Century A D)*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 12 1 (Calcutta, 1933), 130, 134

48 St Mark MS, f 178, MS 2,327, f 214, MS 2,250, f 163, as quoted in Marcellin P E Berthelot, *Les Origines de l'alchimie* (Paris, 1885), 56, 172

49 Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 112 n 4

50 E g Zosimus, see Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 235, Olympiodorus, *ibid* , 90–91

51 Latin translation by Robertus Castrensis, in Johannes Jacobus Manget, *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1702), 1 515 col 1, cited by Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 1 243

52 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 3 81–82

53 Des Periers, *Cymbalum mundi* (Bell of the World) (1537), 43, 45, 314ff, and *Nouvelles recreations* (1558, repr Paris Jacobs, 1858), as quoted in Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 503

54 *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant*, 2 vols (Basel, 1610) 1 205–7 First published in Basel, 1593 For the publishing history, see John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica* (Glasgow, 1906), 1 51–52, 2 106–7

55 The words "scoyare Ade & Zethet" seem to mean "to study [two works called] Ade and Zethet " The root "scoya" appears twice more in our text "in libris suis scoyas," which seems to mean, "in his study books," and "in societate scoyari," which could mean "in the students' society " The latter expression was taken by Jung to refer to a secret society, whose name, he says, "recalls the mysterious Scayolus in the writings of Paracelsus (*De vita longa*), where it means the adept Scayolae are the higher spiritual forces or principles " Cf Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, 314 n 50

56 Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 46

57 Cf J P Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca* (Paris, 1858), vol 41 col 173, and vol 42 col 832

58 Ibid , 41 324–43 The words in square brackets are added from the Latin translation The quotations are from John 3 12 and 6 62 I am indebted to Louis H Feldman of Yeshiva University for the translation of the above excerpt from the Greek original

59 Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, 160

60 P de Jong and M J de Goeje, *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae academiae Lugduno Batavae* (Leiden, 1865), 3 196 and elsewhere, Hermann Kopp, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Chemie* (Braunschweig, 1869), 406, idem, *Die Alchemie in alterer und neuerer Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1886), 2 208

61 Berthelot, *Les origines*, 172, Paul Kraus, *Jabir ibn Hayyān* (Cairo, 1943), 43 n 1, quoting *Kitāb al-Hajar*, ed Holmyard, 15, 18

62 Cf Pliny, as cited by Kopp, *Beitrage*, 407

63 Lippmann, *Entstehung*, 1 46, 66–67, 333–35, cf Berthelot, *Les origines*, 163ff , Kopp, *Beitrage*, 506–7

64 Georgii Syncelli, *Chronographia*, edited by J Goar (Venice, 1729), 198, as cited by Kopp, *Beitrage*, 506–7

65 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 3 90 (Arabic text) My translation

66 See the poem at the end of this chapter

67 Kopp, *Beitrage*, 405–6, idem, *Die Alchemie*, 207, Berthelot, *Les origines*, 172

68 Michael Maier, *Symbola aureae mensae duodecim nationum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1617), 2 56 I am indebted to Louis H Feldman and David Berger for their help in translating the above passage Pyrgopolynices, the central figure in Plautus's *Braggart Soldier*, appears here as the "adversary of Chymistry and Chymists," whereas Maria is the courageous defender of the Hermetic Art, cf John Read, *Prelude to Chemistry An Outline of Alchemy*, 2nd ed (Cambridge, Mass , 1966), 223, 225

69 Maier, *Symbola*, 57–64

70 John Read, *Prelude to Chemistry* (New York, 1937), 257–58

71 Arnaldus de Villanova, "Carmen," as reprinted in *Theatrum chemicum*, vol 4 (Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1613), 614–15, and *Artis auriferae*, 1 208

Chapter Six
Zosimus on Maria the Jewess

1 The excerpts assembled here are my translations from the texts published in Berthelot, *Grecs* Page numbers are given in parentheses after each passage

2 The kerotakis is a complex still See Figure 5 2

3 The word "gum" (G *kommi*) designates the material that provides the yellow coloring Its nature is not explained See Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 148 n 3

4 Sulphur (G *theion*) means not only the element sulphur but also similar substances such as arsenic sulphide

5 This seems to signify that in the transmutation the copper and the silver do not retain their proper qualities or colors, nor their bodies, which become changed into that of another metal As for plants, if one understands them in the sense of vegetable tinctures, they are in effect destroyed by the fire In this sense, the metallic flowers and certain corresponding colorings are equally evaporated or destroyed by the fire Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 153

6 "Magnesia" is not the modern magnesia, but usually an alloy of four base metals copper, iron, lead, and tin, the term is used in a very wide sense Anti mony (G *stimmi*) means antimony sulphide Litharge (G *lithargyros*) is used in the sense of "silver producing stone" it is doubtful whether lead oxide was ever intended See F Sherwood Taylor, "A Survey of Greek Alchemy," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 50 (1930) 123–24

7 Molybdochalkon is a copper lead alloy, or perhaps a metallic sulphide Ibid , 123

8 The four bodies are the four base metals listed in note 6

9 "Divine water" is sulphur, the pale yellow, nonmetallic element It can also mean sulphurous water

10 Cf Marcellin P E Berthelot, *Introduction a l'etude de la chimie* (Paris, 1889), 56, 60, 64

11 *Ios* has the meaning of "rust," or "calx," and also that of the Latin *virus* The use of the word is difficult to follow See Taylor, "Survey," 124, and note 17 below

12 Chrysocolla is apparently malachite, but is also used in other senses in the texts See Berthelot, *Introduction*, 232, Taylor, "Survey," 124

13 Alum (G *stypteria*) is not always identical with modern alum, and is pos sibly used as a term for arsenic, Taylor, "Survey," 123

14 Cinnabar (G *kinnabaris*) is native mercury sulphide, but the term is also used of realgar, and perhaps of red lead, which are similar in color, and were imperfectly distinguished from one another, ibid , 124

15 That is to say, use sulphur of arsenic instead of cinnabar or mercury, Ber thelot, *Grecs*, 3 173 n 1

16 The reference seems to be to realgar (G *sandarache*), arsenic sulphide, an orange red mineral, Berthelot, *Introduction*, 238, 244

17 *Iosis* has several meanings 1 the operation by which metals are oxidized, 2 the purification or refining of the metals, such as gold, 3 the virulence or possession of a specific active quality, communicated, for example, with the help of oxidation, 4 the coloring to yellow or violet of metallic compounds, often produced by certain oxidations Berthelot, *Introduction*, 255

18 Natron (G *nitron*) is native soda

19 The term *maza* was used by the Greek alchemists to denote chemistry or alchemy The term is discussed repeatedly by Berthelot in his *Introduction*, 209, 210, 257, 270

20 Laurel wood is a symbolic name of a mineral substance, Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 159 n 2, and 178 n 1

21 Ocher (G *ochra*) perhaps has the additional meaning of realgar and cin nabar

22 *Motaria* is the residue remaining in the linen wrapping used in opera tions with minerals, especially yellow sandarac, Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 112, 157–58, 188 Sandarac is the resin of the sandarac tree, or a realgar

23 Pyrites (G), probably included iron and copper pyrites, galena, and mispickel, Taylor, "Survey," 124

24 That is if you do not transform the metals by taking away their metallic state, and if you do not regenerate them in that state with the new properties, by uniting several metals into one Cf Berthelot, *Grecs*, 3 101 n 2

25 Brine (G *almyria, alme*) the term is perhaps also used figuratively for other liquids, Taylor, "Survey," 124

26 *Misy* (G), is basic iron sulphate, ibid

27 One or more words missing in the original

28 On the tribikos see above, Chapter 5 at note 11

Introduction to Part Three

1 See the detailed bibliography in A M Goichon's article "Ibn Sīnā" in *EI*², 3 945–47

2 MS 6514, f 149r It was printed in Basel, 1572, as pp 1–471 of the *Artis chemiae principes*

3 Cf Marcellin P E Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen age* (Paris, 1893), 1 301–2 Berthelot himself comments on the"tolerance and community of sen timents established among the adepts of the alchemical science whatever their religious beliefs," which is evinced by Ibn Sīnā's quoted reference

4 B Shabbat 31a

5 Cf B Yoma 86a, etc

Chapter Seven
Abufalah's Alchemy

1 British Library Hebrew MS 3659 consists of ten leaves, written in clear Sephardi cursive, and it is undoubtedly several centuries later than the eleventh century, when Abufalah was supposed to have lived Its incipit is *Amar Abul falah haSaraqusti*, and it ends in medias res on folio 10v with the words "*y'habber min hanushadir hasi mishqal min*" I wish to thank the British Library

for having put a photocopy of the manuscript at my disposal, and permitted me to publish my English translation on it

2 The *Sefer haTamar* was published by Gershom Scholem in the Hebrew original and a German translation in Jerusalem, 1926, and Hannover, 1927

3 Cf F S Bodenheimer, *Gershon ben Solomon of Arles Gate of Heaven* (Jerusalem, 1953), and especially pp 19–34, which list "The Sources and Au thors quoted or Used in the Sha'ar Ha Shamayim " Abufalah should be added to that list A few of the many scholars who discussed this book are Shneur Zacks, in *Kerem Hemed* (Berlin) 8 (1854) 152–58, Steinschneider, *Hebraische Ubersetzungen*, 9–16, Lothar Kopf in *Tarbiz* 24 (1955) 150–66, 274–89, 410–25 (this excellent article lists the foreign words used by Gershon), and Kopf's article on Gershon in the *EJ* (J), 7 515–16

4 Cf Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebraischen Ubersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893, reprint Graz, 1956), 381–82, 850, s v *Sefer haHaqnatah*

5 Cf Yitzhaq Sh'muel Reggio, in the Viennese *Kerem Hemed*, 2 (1836) 48–50

6 Cf Gen 41 43

7 Cf 2 Kings 13 14

8 Cf 1 Kings 10

9 The reference is to Ibn Rushd (1126–1198), the famous Arab philos opher

10 In the excerpt from Abufalah's manuscript contained in Gershon ben Shlomo's *Book of the Gate of Heaven* (Venice, 1547), which includes the above passage, the word *bdil*, tin, is substituted for the *barzel*, iron, of our text

11 Marginal note "explanation that which falls off from the iron when the smiths beat it "

12 Marginal note "I found in a copy that possibly it is dust of which clay vessels are made "

13 Marginal note "one end of it in the water and the other end in the empty vessel "

14 Marginal note in Hebrew characters *"soluzione, distilazione, solimazione, coniulazione, qalzinazione"*

Chapter Eight
A Hebrew Version of the *Book of Alums and Salts*

1 Julius Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze Ein Grundwerk spatlateinischer Alchemie* (Berlin, 1935)

2 Ibid , 16, 23 n 1, 38

3 Moritz Steinschneider, *Verzeichniss der hebraischen Handschriften* (Berlin, 1878), 120

4 The MS was received by the Staatsbibliothek in 1893, and some time later the cataloger renumbered the folios, designating the extant folio 45 as 1, folio 46 as 2, and so on, so that the original last folio, f 136, became f 89 (the dis crepancy is due to some errors in the pagination) In the following we shall use this new pagination in referring to the folios

5 I give the quotations from the Hebrew text in my translation The many non Hebrew words contained in the MS are given in transliteration in italics, followed by my translation in square brackets

6 Folio 34a, which corresponds to Ruska's Latin text section, pp 74–75, G 58, and is missing in the Arabic

7 Cf Steinschneider, *Verzeichniss*, 120

8 Cf J Ruska and E Wiedemann, "Beitrage zur Geschichte der Naturwis senschaften LXVII Alchemische Decknamen," in Physikalisch medizinische So zietat (Erlangen), *Sitzungsberichte* 56 (1924) 24–26, 28, 32, Alfred Siggel, *Decknamen in der arabischen alchemistischen Literatur* (Berlin, 1951), 12

9 Cf Martin Levey, *Early Arabic Pharmacology* (Leiden, 1977), 143

10 Giovanni Battista Nazari, *Della Tramutazione Metallica* (Brescia, 1564), 135 Cf Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica* 1 281–82, quoting Lenglet Du Fresnoy

Chapter Nine
Pseudo Khalid ibn Yazid

1 Cf *EI*², s v Marianus

2 Johannes Jacobus Manget, *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1702)

3 *Azoth* (variant *azoch*), also called *viriditas*, presumably verdigris, was con sidered by alchemical authors as the substance out of which gold could be made See, e g , *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant* (Basel, 1593), 2 220 Cf C G Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, vol 12 of *Collected Works*, Bollingen Series XX (2nd ed , Princeton, 1968), 159, 286, 458

4 Historians of Arabic literature are of the opinion that the books of alchem ical and magical nature attributed to Maslama were actually written by a con temporary compatriot of Maslama named Abu Maslama Muhammad al Majrītī and the latter's pupil Ibn Bishrūn al Majriti, but this question of authorship is of no particular interest for us in the present context Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1971), 4 294–98

5 Cf Raphael Patai, *Adam va'Adamah* (Jerusalem, 1942), 1 216–26

6 Josephus Flavius, *Wars of the Jews*, 7 6 3 Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, act IV, scene III, *Henry VI*, second part, act III, scene II See also James G Frazer, *Folk Lore in the Old Testament* (London 1919), 2 384–85

7 Cf Genesis 30, Frazer, *Folk Lore*, 2 372ff

8 Cf J Sontheimer's German translation (Stuttgart, 1840–1842), 2 14ff , 594

9 Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols (Philadelphia, 1909–1938), 5 297–98

10 Cf Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, Index, s v *lapis*

11 Bauzan is perhaps identical with Bacsen or Bassen mentioned in the *Turba* See Manget, *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*, 1 454, 455, 482

Introduction to Part Four

1 Cf B Suler, "Alchemy," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1972), 2 547

Chapter Ten
Artephius

1. Karl Christoph Schmieder, *Geschichte der Alchemie* (Halle, 1832), 125–27.
2. Ibid., 127.
3. *Fegfeufer der Chymisten* . . . (Amsterdam, 1702). There is a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
4. Suler's article in the *EJ* (B), 2:152, states that the *Keren Happuch* mentions another Jewish alchemist, Tenellus by name, whom the "pious author" characterizes as "a despicable soul, a Jew." The fact is that under the category "Chief Lies," the author of Keren Happuch only says "No. 23. Tenelli MSt. eine liederliche Seele," with no indication that Tenellus was a Jew.
5. Johann Christoph Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, 4 vols. (Hamburg, 1715–1733), 4:790.
6. *Theatrum chemicum*, published by Lazarus Zetzner (Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1613), 4:220. Just a year earlier P. Arnauld translated Artephius's *Liber secretus* into French and published it, together with alchemical treatises by Flamel and Synesius, under the title *Trois traitez de la philosophie naturelle* . . . (Paris, 1612). I wish to thank Louis H. Feldman for the translation.
7. Johann Friedrich Gmelin, *Geschichte der Chemie* (Göttingen, 1797), 1:22–23.
8. M. Chevreul, "Examen critique au point de vue de l'histoire de la chimie, d'un écrit alchimique intitulé *Artefii clavis majoris sapientiae*," in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Institut Impérial de France*, 36 (1870): 27.
9. Thus according to Ibn Khallikān. Cf. Gildemeister, *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 30 (1876): 538, as quoted by John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 51.
10. Schmieder, *Geschichte*, 125–26.

Chapter Eleven
The Great Jewish Philosophers

1. See Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Mind* (New York: 1977), 126.
2. Baḥya ibn Paquda, *Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā Farā'id al-Qulūb*, edited by A. Yahuda (Leiden, 1912).
3. Cf. *Judah Hallevi's Kitāb al Khazarī*, translated from the Arabic by Hartwig Hirschfeld, new rev. ed. (London, 1931), 144 (3:23), 159 (3:53).
4. More on Mē-Zahav will be found in Chapter 34.
5. MS *Midrash haḤokhmah*, quoted by Moritz Steinschneider in his article "Typen," in Joseph Kobak's *Jeschurun* 9 (1873): 84–85.

Chapter Twelve
Kabbalah and Alchemy: A Reconsideration

1. *Zohar* 2:23b–24b.
2. Cf. *Zohar* 2:249b–250a.
3. See Chapter 27 on Taitazak and Provençali.

4 Cf MSS 527, 596–98, 3663, 3667, Angelica MS 3, in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris

5 Hermann Sprengel, "Alchemy," in Johann S Ersch and J G Gruber, eds , *Allgemeine Encyklopadie* (Leipzig, 1850–1851), 2 416

6 Cf Henricus Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheym, *De incertitudine et vanitate omnium scientiarum et artium* (On the Incertitude and Vanity of All Sciences and Arts) (The Hague, 1656), English translation, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1676), vol 2, ch 15

7 Printed in Hanau, 1602, and again in 1609

8 Arthur Edward Waite, *The Secret Tradition of Alchemy* (London and New York, 1926), 255

9 Jacques Van Lennep, Nicolas Sed, and Sylvain Matton, *Simeon ben Cantara Cabala Mineralis* (Paris, 1986)

10 Gerhard Dorn, *Physica Trismegisti*, in *Theatrum chemicum*, (Strasbourg [Argentorati], 1659), 371, cf also 359

11 Cf Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* (Detroit, 1990), 78

12 "Zur Terminologie der judischen Alchemie," In *Monatschrift fur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Breslau, 1925), 69 364–71

13 Albert W Greenup, ed , *Sefer Sheqel haQodesh* (London, 1911), 46–47 My translation from the Hebrew

14 Ibid , 77

15 Ibid , 120–22

Introduction to Part Five

1 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *L'Etat royal De Louis XI a Henri IV (1460–1610)* (Paris, 1987), 51–52

Chapter Thirteen
Raymund de Tarrega
Marrano, Heretic, Alchemist

1 Italian translation by M Pietro Lauro (Venice, 1557, English translation Oxford MS, Ashmole 1507, Cat Col 1409 A somewhat abridged version of this chapter was published in *Ambix* 35 (March 1988) 14–30

2 Enrico Cardile, *Il Trattato della Quinta Essenza ovvero d' Secreti di Natura di Raimundo Lullo a cura di Enrico Cardile* (Todi, 1924) This is more of a summary than a translation

3 Lucas Waddingus (Wadding), *Annales minorum*, 25 vols (Rome, 1731–1886), 3rd ed (Florence, 1931), 4 477–78

4 Ibid , 6 233, *Dictionnaire de theologie catholique* (Paris, 1926), 9 1086, *EJ* (J), 8 14, 13 1542

5 Lucas Waddingus, *Scriptores ordinis minorum* (Rome, 1906), 192–202, A Perroquet, *Apologia de la vie et des oeuvres du bienheureux Raymond Lulle* (Vendome, 1662)

6 Nicolas Antonio Hispalensis (1617–1684), *Bibliotheca hispana vetus* (Madrid, 1788), 2 126–41

7. See the volumes of the *Boletin de la Sociedad Arqueologica Luliana*, Majorca.

8. Cf. Hispalensis, *Bibliotheca*, 2:126–41, and Joannes Baptista Sollerius (Sollier), *Acta B. Raymundi Lulli* (Antwerp 1708), 59ff. Arthur Edward Waite, in *Three Famous Alchemists*, (Philadelphia, n.d. [c. 1903], 50, counted 77 alchemical works attributed to Lull in the *Opera omnia catalogus librorum beati Raymundi Lullii.* See also Miguel Massuti y Alzamora, "Ramón Lull y la alquimia," *Boletin de la Sociedad Arqueologica Luliana* 28 (July 1942–Dec. 1943): nos. 695–703 on p. 526.

9. *Musaeum Hermeticum* (Frankfurt, 1625), 101.

10. Ibid., 271.

11. My translation from the Latin. Cf. *Codicillus seu vade mecum* (Cologne, 1563), and other editions; *Testamentum* (Rouen, 1663), part 1, "Theoria & Practica."

12. Waddingus, *Annales minorum*, 6:166, quotes passages from four books by Lull. See also Hispalensis, *Bibliotheca*, 2:136–37; Jaime Custurer (1657–1715), *Disertaciones historicas del culto immemorial del B. Raymundo Lulli . . .* (Majorca, 1700), 625; Erhad Wolfram Platzeck, ed., *Raimund Lull, Opuscula*, 3 vols. (Hildesheim, 1971–1973) 1:xviii; 2:xlvii; *Acta sanctorum*, June, no. 5 (Antwerp, 1709), 657–61, 706. A number of anti-alchemical statements made by Lull are presented in Waite, *Three Famous Alchemists*, 49–50.

13. The Basel, 1600, edition of the *Testamentum novissimum*, which I consulted in the rare book division of the New York Public Library, has on p. 139 a slightly different version of this statement. St. Catharine's Hospital was located near the Tower of London, and in 1351 Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III, founded a chantry in it; cf. Robert Seymour, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1733), 1:197.

14. Waddingus, *Annales minorum*, 6:266–67.

15. Ibid.

16. Massuti y Alzamora, "Ramón Lull," 526.

17. Montpellier was indeed a "celebrated place of study," famous for its medical school. See Alexandre Charles Germain, *L'École de medicine à Montpellier* (Montpellier, 1880).

18. The conclusion that the dates contained in the colophons of these manuscripts render Lullian authorship impossible has been emphasized by D. José Ramon de Luanco in his *Ramon Lull (Raimundo Lulio) cosiderado como alquimista* (Barcelona, 1870), 38ff., and after him by Massuti y Alzamora, "Ramon Lull," 515–17. By coincidence, Lull was in Montpellier in 1309 and in Paris in 1310; Joan Avinyo, *Les obres autentiques del Beat Ramon Llull, Repertori Bibliografic* (Barcelona, 1935), 207, 232; Leon Teissier, "La cité de Montpellier au temps de Raymond Lulle," *Revue des Pays d'Oc* 2 (Paris, 1933): 384–90.

19. Daniel Georg Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 3rd ed. (Lübeck, 1732), 1:81.

20. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York, 1923–1958), 4:13–14.

21. Quoted by Waite, *Three Famous Alchemists*, 52. My translation from the Latin.

22 Michael Maier, *Tripus aureus hoc est tres tractatus chymici selectissimi* (The Golden Tripod which Is Three Most Selected Chemical Tractates), (Frankfurt am Main, 1618) A different version of *The Testament of Cremer* was reissued in 1983 by the Alchemical Press, Edmonds, Washington

23 Waite, *Three Famous Alchemists*, 56, cf 52

24 See below, Chapter 15

25 See below, Chapter 16

26 Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652), 467 The poem "Hermes Bird" is on pp 213–26

27 My translations from the Spanish of Ramon de Luanco, *Ramon Lull*, 43–44, quoting the *Bibliotheque des philosophes chimiques* (Paris, 1741)

28 Robertus Constantinus, *Nomeclator insignium scriptorum* (Paris, 1555), as cited by Waite, *Three Famous Alchemists*, 60

29 See the Oxford manuscripts listed by J M Batista y Roca, "Catalech de les obres Lulianes d'Oxford," in *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 15 60 (Oct –Dec 1915) 220–22, 225–26 See also Johannes Jacobus Manget, *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1702), 1 780–90, 853–62, 863–72

30 *Testamenti novissimi Raymundi Lullii Majoricani*, Regi Carolo dicati, liber primus, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, 1 790

31 Cf Manget, *Bibliotheca*, 1 780

32 See the Spanish *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada*, 58 (1928), 762

33 R P Alexander Natalis (Alexandre Noel, 1639–1724), *Historia ecclesiastica*, first published in 8 volumes in Paris, 1714, (Bingen, 1789), 15 212–13 See also the *Enciclopedia Universal*, 58 764, which says that "some call him Ramón Lull de Tárrega, neophyte, Jew, and rabbi At the age of twelve he embraced the Catholic religion, and later entered the order of Santo Domingo " The author of the article seems to have overlooked the difficulty of how a boy who at the age of twelve converted to Christianity could have been a rabbi

34 Cf Francisco Peña's comment in Nicolas Eymeric, *Directorium inquisitorum*, first printed with copious notes by Peña in 1503, and reprinted five times between 1576 and 1607 I consulted the Rome, 1587, and Venice, 1607, editions in the rare book division of the Columbia University Library, in both of which the above statement is on p 315

35 Ibid , 316 This book was still of sufficient interest in 1973 to be translated into French in a greatly abridged version, with an introduction and notes by Louis Sala Molino, *Le manual des inquisiteurs* (Paris, 1973) See pp 11–12, 15

36 Eymeric, *Directorium*, 262–64, and Peña's comment, p 264, to the effect that the (unnamed) books in which Eymeric found the twenty four heresies were written by Raymundus Neophytus, as also Eymeric himself states in question 27

37 Eymeric in his *Directorium*, 264, has "hostile Mahomet "

38 Natalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* 15 212–13 My translation from the Latin After enumerating Raymund de Tarrega's heresies, Natalis adds "Let one read the same Eymericus, Question 27, and Franciscus Peña, Commentarium 52 From this should be corrected the error of Prateolus, Bernardus Lutzemburgus,

and Bzovius, who, misled by the similarity of the name, falsely attributed the errors and pernicious books of Raymundus Neophytus to the better known Raymundus Lullus "

39 Peña ad Eymeric, *Directorium*, part 1, question 27, as quoted in Cus turer, *Disertationes*, 200–1

40 As quoted by Jaime Custurer, *Disertationes historicas*, (Majorca, 1700), 200–1 In the sequel Custurer enumerates the observations of Odericus Ray naldus, Waddingus, Gubernantis, Luis Moreri, D Nicolas Antonio, Athanasius Kirker (Kircher), Pedro Sanchez Arroyo, Francisco Porter, etc

41 Custurer, *Disertationes*, 202, 213

42 As quoted ibid , 404

43 Giulio Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica*, vol 4 (Rome, 1693), 362 My translation from the Hebrew In the sequel, written in Latin (p 363), Bartolocci tells the story of the two papal letters, and again cautions against con fusing the two Raymunds

44 Johann Christoph Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebreae*, vol 3 (Hamburg, 1727), 289 Cf also 1 1016

45 Johann Jacob Hofmann, *Lexicon universale*, 4 vols (Leiden, 1698), 4 vii

46 Johannes Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, 6 vols (Hamburg, 1734–1736), 6 119

47 Ibid and 4 867 In the Florence, 1858, edition the passages about de Tarrega are in 3 575 and 5 346

48 See Raymund de Tarrega's brief biography in Felix Torres Amat, *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario critico de los escritores catalanes* (Barce lona, 1836) The date 1368 for the incarceration of Raymund seems more prob able than 1360, given in the *Enciclopedia Universal*, 58 764

49 Cf Greg XI Decret de Curia Anno I, Reg Vat 263, f 225 I wish to thank the Director of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano for supplying me with pho tocopies of this document and of the one referred to in note 54, and permitting me to publish them I also wish to thank Dr Joseph Salemi for helping me to decipher the difficult handwriting of these two documents and translating them into English

50 Eymeric, *Directorium*, 314

51 The *De alchimia* is considered by all scholars who dealt with the problem as having been written by Raymund de Tarrega Cf Waddingus, *Annales mino rum*, 6 265, Natalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 15 212, Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina* (Florence, 1858), 3 575, 5 346, John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica* (Glasgow, 1906), 2 54

52 Torres Amat, *Memorias*, 615–16 My translation from Spanish

53 Greg XI Decret de Curia Anno II, Reg Vat 263, f 1919 See note 49 above

54 See the text of the letter in Franciscus Peyna (Peña), *Litterae apostolicae diversorum Romanorum pontificum* (Rome, 1587), 67–68

55 Cf W T A Barber, "Lullists," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings (London, c 1900), E Grahit, *El inquisidor Fray Nicolas Eymerich* (Gerona, 1878) A list of documentary material concerning

Eymeric's work as an inquisitor is given by J Avinyo, "Catalech de Documents Lulians," in *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 12 47 (July–Sept 1912) 395ff

56 The Venice 1542 edition, of which I studied one copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and another at the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, is a small volume about 4" x 6" in size It contains in its first 107 pages the Latin text of *De Secr* , followed by the text, also in Latin, of *De mineralibus et rebus metallicis libri quinque* (Five Books on Minerals and Metallic Things) by Albertus Magnus

57 I wish to thank Joseph Salemi for the translation of this page

58 Actually the parable of the talents is in Matthew 25 14–30

59 Exodus 4 12

60 "Mumia" was a substance reputedly derived from the bodies of Egyptian mummies For its use in folk medicine, see Raphael Patai, "Indulco and Mumia," *Journal of American Folklore* 77 (Jan –March, 1964) 3–11

61 A plant, *Centaurea centaurium L*

62 Epithymus, flower of thyme

63 A plant much used by the ancients as a remedy for mental diseases, epi lepsy, etc Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s v Elleborus

64 Hypericon, chamaepitys, corion, groundpine Ibid , s v

65 See sources in Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol 6 (Philadel phia, 1928), 289, 291, 292, 296

Chapter Fourteen
The Quinta Essentia in Hebrew

1 *De secretis naturae sive quinta essentia* No fewer than seven of these editions (Venice, 1514, Augsburg, 1518, Venice, 1521, Lyons, 1535, Venice, 1542, Nuremberg, 1546, Venice, 1557) are in the National Library of Medi cine, Bethesda, Maryland A copy of the Strasbourg, 1541, edition is in the En gineering Library, New York

2 Printed in Basel, 1600, pp 330–74

3 E g , *Raymundi Lullii tractatus brevis et eruditus de conservatione vitae item Liber secretorum, sive quintae essentiae* (Strasbourg, 1616) Although my own perusal of contemporary papal and other documents leads me to accept Ramon de Tarrega as the author of *De secr* for the sake of brevity I shall herein after refer to both *De secr* , and *De med* as "Lullian" works

4 The *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, vol 3 (Leipzig, 1752), 2,315–16, states that Rupescissa's *De consideratione* (Basel, 1597) "was almost entirely copied from Raymund Lull "

5 Fonds hebr 1207, ff 155v–158v

6 Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebraischen Ubersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893, reprint Graz, 1956), 824–25

7 It was this prefatory statement that misled Steinschneider, who evidently did not examine the whole MS, to state that it was a reworking of *De secr*

8 Rupescissa, *De consideratione*, 18 My translation from the Latin On the same page Rupescissa refers to *quinta essentia id est coelum humanum*

9 Folio 155v

10 Folio 156r

11 Sussman Muntner, *Moshe ben Maimon (Maimonides), Poisons and Their Antidotes* (Jerusalem, 1942), 98ff

12 "Their language" refers to Spanish In his Hebrew transliteration, *qinta esensia*, the author uses the Spanish form of this term

13 *ʿIppush* (H) moldiness, decay, putrefaction, a term often used by medi eval Hebrew medical authors

14 The Hebrew *tivʿiyyim* can mean naturalists or physicists, i e , scholars who devoted themselves to the study of nature

15 Rupescissa, *De consideratione*, 16, says that the quinta essentia is *sicut coelum incorruptibile* (like heaven incorruptible)

16 "Human artifice" is again a phrase reminiscent of Rupescissa, who says (p 17) that the quinta essentia was created by God and can be extracted from the body of nature *cum artificio humano* (with human artifice)

17 *HaSamim haLeviyyim* (H) drugs pertaining to the heart

18 Quotation, in a modified form, from 1 Sam 26 10, which reads, "the Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die "

19 *Salidonia* (L *chelidonia*) celandine, swallow-wort or pilewort, a weedy plant of the poppy family

20 *Frasas* (S *fresas*) strawberries I am unable to identify *fraulas* or *praulas*, but cf *fralles* in C E Dubler, *La "Materia media" de Dioscorides Transmision medieval y renacentista*, 6 vols (Barcelona, 1953–1959), 6 101 Laʿaz in medie val Hebrew authors usually refers to the local colloquial, which in this case would be Spanish But since our author calls Spanish "their tongue," his Laʿaz seems to refer to Latin The Latin *fragulae* could have easily been mistransliter ated as *fraula Jilek* is the Turkish *çilek*, strawberry

21 *Mora sarsa mora* is Spanish for raspberry or blackberry *Sarsa* is the Spanish *zarza*, common bramble, or the European blackberry, *rubus fruticosus* In modern Spanish usage the name of the blackberry is *zarzamora*, see Maria Molinar, *Diccionario de Uso del Español* (Madrid, 1967), s v

22 *Tartaro* (S) explained in our text as *rasuras*, which in Spanish means argol, tartar in its natural form as deposited in wine casks

23 *Perlesia* (S) muscle weakness accompanied by trembling, paralysis

24 *HaL'vana* (H), lit "the white one " Medieval Hebrew medical authors use this word for phlegm, one of the four humors which, since Hippocrates and Galen, were believed to be responsible for one's health and disposition The preponderance or impairment of any one of these humors was believed to cause certain types of diseases

25 Persian *farfayūn* or *farfiyun*, is the euphorbium or gum euphorbium, an African plant The yellow or brownish, very acrid, gum resin derived from the *Euphorbia resinifera* of Morocco and other African species was used medicinally as an emetic or cathartic Also called *furbiyun* or afarbiyūn in Arabic Cf Max Meyerhof, *Šarh Asma al-ʿUqqār* (Explication of the Names of the Drugs, by Maimonides), in *Mémoires Institute de l'Egypt*, vol 41 (Cairo, 1940) *Turbid* (A , *turbidh* in Avicenna) is a purgative, cf Sussmann Muntner, *Moshe ben Maimon Maimonides) The Book on Asthma* (Jerusalem, 1940), 142 and index

26 *Shawqu* (probably A *shawk* or *shawka*) thorn, thistle

27 *Bazr qatuna* (A , alternative form *qutna*) cotton seed, *Plantago psyllium L* See Alfred Siggel, *Arabisch-Deutsches Worterbuch der Stoffe aus den drei Naturreichen* (Berlin, 1950), 20, Raphael Patai, *On Jewish Folklore* (Detroit, 1983), 347, 372

28 *Tisiqa* (S *tisica*) from the Latin *phthisica*, atrophy, asthma, pulmonary consumption

29 *Melakhonia* melancholy, the state of mind caused by the *melan-chole*, black bile, which our author terms *haSh'hora*, the black one

30 *HaSh'hora haMuhadit* (H), the sharpened black, or acute melancholy

31 *Fuagia* I am unable to identify this term Perhaps *phlegium*, cf Dubler, *Materia media*, 3 III 287, or a term derived from the Spanish *fuego*, fire

32 *Peonia* (S), peony See Oskar von Hovorka and Adolf Kronfeld, *Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1908–1909), 1 186, 349

33 *Toronjil* (S) from the Arabic *taranjabil*, genet d'Espagne, waythorn, furze broom, genista, balm gentle, Melissa

34 *Badrang buya* (P , *bardangbuya*) *Melissa officinalis*, mountain balm Muntner, *Poisons*, 118 Also called *turunjan*, Meyerhof, *Šarh*, 22 n 40, and note 33 above

35 *Perforata* perfoliate, St John's wort, *Hypericum perforatum L* Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1 228–30 The Spanish *perfoliata* means hare's ear, thoroughwort wax, *Bupleurum rotundifolium*

36 *Qorasonsolio* (S *corazoncillo*) perforated St John's wort, *Hypericum perforatum*

37 *Adadores* (S *aradores*) parasitic mites affecting animals and humans, and causing a skin disease characterized by scabby eruptions

38 Word illegible Perhaps *meha'alim*, of the leaves

39 *Muzaj* probably Arabic *mazaj* or *mizj*, honey, bitter almond

40 *M'nagdim* (H) lit , opposed to

41 *HaQadahat had'* (H) quartan fever Cf Hovorka Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin* 2 323–24

42 *HaSh'hora* (H) the black one, i e , the black humor See note 29 above

43 *M'zagim* (H) constitutions, lit , "mixtures "

44 *haQadahat haTmidit* (H) perpetual fever *De secr* , ff 51a–b list *tertiana febris, quotidiana febris, continuae febris* (this is our author's perpetual fever), and *febres pestilentiales* among the diseases which can be cured with the quinta essentia To them are added in *De med* , 369, the following types of fe vers *quartanae* (see n 41 above), *acutae, pestiferae, sanguinaea, cholericae, phlegmaticae, melancholiae, venales, aestivales, autumnales,* and *hyemales*

45 *Marqurial* (S *mercurial*) all good (a plant), mercury, *Mercurialis L* Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1 69–70

46 *Aduma w'appusha* (H) red and putrefied (fever) Perhaps redwater fever No such fever is mentioned in the Lullian treatises See note 13 above

47 *HaMis haNirpa'* (H) the cured (?) juice or liquid

48 *HaL'vana haM'uppeshet* (H) the white putrefied (fever), i e , fever caused by the putrefied white humor or phelgm

49 Cf note 25 above

50 Cf note 26 above

51 *Sirsam* (A *sirsam*), which, according to Jār Allah Zamakhsahri's *Lexicon Arabico Persicum* (Leipzig, 1850), means fever with headache and inflammation of the palate

52 *Violas, boraja, lijunas* (S) *viola* is violet, Muntner, *Poisons*, 97, Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1 403, 431–32 *Boraja* is the Spanish *borraja, borago L* , *lijuna* is possibly the logania

53 The next paragraph is inserted as a box in the top right corner of folio 157b of the manuscript It is in Arabic, written in a different hand, in large He brew characters It has been translated freely, since its syntax is extremely prob lematic

54 *Darur* could be our author's transliteration of the Arabic *darur*, meaning overflow or abundance, or of *dharur*, powder, or an unusual form (plural?) of *dhurra*, a variety of sorghum Or else it could stand for *daru*, mastic, Dubler, *Materia medica*, 3 55

55 *M'shihat popilion* (H S) popilion ointment In modern Spanish *populeon* is a popular ointment prepared with pigs' butter, poppy leaves, bella donna, and other things, and used as a sedative Its principal base consists of the first shoots of black poplar trees Molinar, *Diccionario*, s v On the *papilonaceae* in folk medicine, see Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin* 1 350

56 *Roda ganit* (S H) garden rue, *ruta domestica De secr* ff 19a, 38a, Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1 171, 356–58, Patai, *Jewish Folklore*, 347, 372

57 *Mahut haDam* (H) essence of the blood See *De med* , 341–42, which describes in detail how to produce essence out of human blood

58 *L'shon haShor* (H) ox tongue In other medieval Hebrew medical works the term appears also in Aramaic as *l'shon tora* or *lishna tora*, in Arabic, *lisan al-thawr* All these terms are translations of the Greek *buglosson*, cf Latin *lingua bovis* It is the *Picris echoides L* , borage See Immanuel Low, *Die flora der Juden*, 4 vols (Vienna, 1923–1924), 1 295, 299, 4 133, 170, 481, Siggel, *Worterbuch*, 65, Patai, *Jewish Folklore*, 346

59 The sentence in italics is in Spanish in Hebrew characters, and translates as "*agritas*, and if it is diluted with currant or with the syrup of it, it is much better " *Agritas* is the Spanish *agrito, Berberis vulgaris L* , Molinar, *Diccionario*, s v *Ribas* is the Spanish *ribes*, currant, from the Arabic *ribas*, a kind of sorrel *Jarope* is Spanish for syrup, Meyerhof, *Šarh*, 175, no 350

60 *Sabr suqutri* (A), Socotrine aloe, *aloe socotrina* or *succotrina*, the res inous juice of the aloe from the island of Socotra, still sold under this name in the Cairo bazaar as a drastic and emmenagogue, Meyerhof, *Šarh* 158 no 318

61 See note 25 above

62 *Gira pigra* (S *gerapliega, hierapicra*) a cathartic powder made of aloes and canella bark Muntner, *Asthma*, 139, idem, *Poisons*, 143

63 *Lilio* (L *lilium*) lily

64 *Qapili veneris* (L) Venus hair, *Adiantum capillus Veneris L*

65 *Qevat ha'Egel* (H) calf's stomach I am unable to identify this disease

66 *Holi haQeves* (H) the disease of spasms, *De secr* f 53a *vera cura spasmi*

67 "Experimenters" seems to refer to alchemists who engage in medical ex periments

68. *Flamula*, see *De secr.*, ff. 37b, 53a.

69. *Agramonia* (L. *argemonia-agremonia*): agrimony, cocklebur; Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1:120, 328.

70. *Eshskhe haShuʿal* (H.): fox testicles. In other medieval Hebrew medical sources also called "fox eggs." According to Löw, *Flora*, 1:27, 652; 2:296, it is the *Kynos orchis*, a member of the *orchidaceae* family; according to Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*. s.v. *eshekh*, it is the *Satyrum album*.

71. *Asukar* (S. *azucar*): sugar.

72. *Shiqquy* (H.): dropsy.

73. *HaEsh haParsi* (H.): translation of Spanish *fuego Persico*, Persian fire, and alternative name for *herpes zona*, a cutaneous eruption. Molinar, *Diccionario*, s.v.

74. See note 60 above.

75. *Pinpinela* (S. *pimpinela*): burnet, a roseaceous plant. Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1:32, 66; 2:312.

76. *Perisil*, elsewhere spelled *pirosil* (S. *peresil*): parsley. Ibid., 1:33, 170, 349; Patai, *Jewish Folklore* 372.

77. *Maṣṭaki*, (A. *maṣṭaka*): mastic; the reference probably is to the mastic thistle, *Carlina gummifera*. Siggel, *Wörterbuch*, 68; Meyerhof, *Šarḥ*, 115, no. 232.

78. *Resentor*: an alchemical vessel; cf. Gino Testi, *Dizionario di alchimia* (Rome, 1950), 153: *restentorio*, a vessel for collecting the product of distillation.

79. *Neteq* (H.): scab, scabies, perhaps *tinea tonsurans*, or *herpes tonsurans*.

80. See note 23 above, and *De secr.* f. 46a on the cure of paralysis.

81. *Golondrinos* (S.): swallows.

82. *Qastorio* (S. *castoreo*, from L. *castoreum*, G. *kastorion*): A strong-smelling oily substance obtained from the sexual glands of the beaver, used as a stimulant in medicine, and in making perfumes. *De secr.*, f. 19a.

83. *Qashni* (A.): *galbanum*, a bitter, bad-smelling Asiatic gum resin used in medicine. Our author is in error in identifying *castoreum* with *galbanum*.

84. Word illegible.

85. *Avhal* (A. *abhal* or *abhul*): savin, *Juniperus sabina*, a Eurasian evergreen, with small berries. Its bitter, acrid tops were used in medicine for gout and amenorrhoea, and as an abortifacient. Siggel, *Wörterbuch*, 11; Meyerhof, *Šarḥ*, 14, no. 22.

86. *Akheronto* (perhaps S. *agerato*): sweet milfoil or maudlin, *Achilles ageratum*.

87. *Falij* (A. *fālij*): half paralysis, hemiplegia. Munter, *Asthma*, 137.

88. See note 19 above.

89. See note 60 above.

90. *Niqras* (H.): gout. Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, s.v., lists several medicines for gout from medieval Hebrew medical authors. According to Muntner, *Asthma*, 114, *niqras* is podagra.

91. *Nolimitanjero*, i.e., *noli me tangere*, touch me not. This was the name of several skin diseases characterized by ulcers. In the Spanish usage it means a malignant ulcer on the face or the nose.

92. See note 79 above.

93. See note 76 above.

94 *Qanila* (S *canela*) The inner bark of certain tropical trees, still used as a spice and a tonic Patai, *Jewish Folklore*, 348

95 *Artemisa* (S) mugwort or wormwood Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1 104–5

96 *Polio* (L *polium* or *polion*) perhaps the poley germander *De secr* , ff 18a, 36a, 37b

97 See note 76 above

98 *Papaver* (S) poppy Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1 209–11, 235

99 See note 82 above

100 See note 87 above

101 *Salvia* (S) sage, a plant of the mint family Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1 171, 370–71, Patai, *Jewish Folklore*, 344, 346

102 See note 96 above

103 Approximate quotation from Prov 17 22, which reads, "A merry heart improves the tonic "

104 *Al-butm* (A) terebinth "Water of the terebinth" is turpentine See note 109 below Also called *mastaka*, mastic, see note 77 above Meyerhof, *Šarh*, 36, no 66

105 *Hub al-qadhra* (A *hubbat al-khadhra*) fruit of the terebinth

106 See note 82 above

107 *Qanavos* (a mishnaic term) hemp From the Greek *kannabos* or *kannabis*

108 *Perselia*, probably a misspelling for *perlesia*, see note 23 above

109 *Tarmintina* (S *trementina*) turpentine Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1 172, 2 29, 75

110 *Aqwa vita* (L *aqua vitae*) In alchemy it usually means alcohol

111 *ʿAnd hindi* Indian *ʿand* I am unable to identify *ʿand*

112 *Sandal* (A) sandalwood Spanish *sandalo*

113 *Semeg* (A *samgh*) gum "Arab *samgh*" is gum arabic, *samgh al-butm* is the resin of the terebinth Meyerhof, *Sarh* , 159, no 320

114 *Juz bawwa* (A) nutmeg

115 *Kolanjan* (A *khalanjan)* , *Alpinia galanga*, or *Maranta galanga De secr*, f 19a

116 *Kababa* (A *kubaba* or *kabbaba*) cubeb, *Piper cubeba Tr De secr* , ff 34a, 36a Cf Siggel, *Worterbuch*, 62, Meyerhof, *Šarh*, 159, no 320

117 See note 77 above

118 *Qaranfal* (A *qaranful*) cloves Patai, *Jewish Folklore*, 348

119 *Sanbal* (A *sunbul*) nard Low, *Flora*, 3 62, 395, Muntner, *Poisons*, 108, Meyerhof, *Šarh*, 129, no 265

120 *Barosnat*, cf modern S *barroso* pimpled, full of pimples, *barros*

121 *Nujmi tanjir nujm* in A is star, "Tangier star" evidently refers to a carbuncle like boil on the face

122 The words "mentioned above" indicate that our author considered *nujmi tanjir* an alternative designation for *barosnat*, cf note 120 above

123 Word illegible

124 See note 45 above

125 *Sukar qandero* from the A *sukkar qandı*, candy sugar, with the Spanish suffix *ero* Meyerhof, *Šarh*, 141, no 289

126 See note 82 above

127 *Raubarbaro* (medieval L *rheubarbarum*, modern S *ruibarbo*) rhu barb Muntner, *Asthma*, 98 (32), lines 8–9

128 *Rubıa* (S) rhubarb, madder, a root used in medicines and dyes

129 See note 76 above

130 *Parro*, perhaps from Spanish *parron* or *parra*, wild wine

131 See note 90 above

132 See note 75 above

133 *Qataras* (S *catarata*) cataract

134 *Romero* (S) rosemary, *Rosemarius officinalis*, an evergreen shrub of the mint family, with a warm, pungent, bitterish taste, used in cookery, perfumes, etc

135 *Tıt hahokhma* (H) clay of wisdom, the Hebrew name of philosophers' clay

136 *Tırpola* (Skt *trıphala*) having three fruits, namely, the three myrobal ans, *Terminalıa chebula, T bellerica*, and *Phyllantus emblica* Monier Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary* (1899, reprint Delhi, 1974) 459, Alex Wayman, "Notes on Three Myrobalans," *Phi Theta Annual* 5 (Berkeley, 1954–1955) 63–77, Bhagwan Dash, "The Drug *Terminalıa Chebula* in Ayurveda and Tibetan Medical Literature," *Kailash A Journal of Himalayan Studies* 4 (1976) 5–20 Our author evidently mixed up the meaning of the two terms *tırpola (trıphala)* and *tırqota* (see n 138 below), and attached the explanation of the first to the second, and vice versa

137 *Zangavıl* (A *zanjabıl*) ginger, or juniper berry

138 *Tırqota* (Skt *trıkatu*) the three spices (black pepper, long pepper, and dry ginger) Monier Williams, *Dictionary*, 458 The three kinds of pepper, *Piper longum, P album, P nigrum*, were part of the classical theriac Muntner, *Asthma*, 137

139 *Mırabulanes* (S *mırabolano*) myrobalan, a dried, astringent, prunelike fruit of India Raymond Lull, *Secreta secretorum* (Cologne, 1592), 26, lists *mırabolanı condıtı* among the medicines Cf Muntner, *Asthma*, 132, and note 117 above

140 *Amlaj* (A) brownish Our author refers to the *Myrobalan amilegum* Cf Muntner, *Asthma*, 132

141 *Tangargayad* (Skt *tankana*), borax

142 *Atınkar* (S *atıncar*) borax Martin Ruland, *Lexicon alchimiae sive dictionarium alchemisticum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1612), 132 *Atıncar, atınkar, id est borax de petra, baurach, boras, Burress von Felsen*

143 *Ras* (Skt *rasa*) quicksilver Monier Williams, *Dictionary*, 869

144 *Zıbaq* or *zaıbaq* (P and A *zı'baq*) quicksilver Cf Meyerhof, *Šarh*, 68, no 139

145 *Bıs*, perhaps Skt *bısa*, lotus plant, *Napellus moysis* Cf Adolf Wahrmund, *Handworterbuch der arabischen und deutschen Sprache*, 2 vols (Giessen, 1877), s v

146 *Gndek* (thus vocalized in the manuscript), (Skt *gandhaka*) sulphur Monier Williams, *Dictionary*, 345

147 *Arhertal* (Skt *haritāla*) yellow orpiment or sulphuret of arsenic Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*, 1291 Hindi *hartal*, arsenic cf C Bulcke, *An English-Hindi Dictionary* (Ranchi, Bihar, 1968), 40

148 *Zarnikh* (A) arsenic Siggel, *Worterbuch*, 81

149 *Apsantin* (G *apsinthion*) wormwood *De secr* f 36a, Muntner, *Asthma*, 131

150 *Dār* (A) house, here meaning pod

151 *Darsini* (A *dar sīnī*) cinnamon bark, canella of China, *Cinnamonum ceylanicum* or *aromatum* Maimonides translates the Hebrew *qinnamon* as *dār sīni* Cf Muntner, *Poisons*, 109 (with additional references to other medieval Hebrew sources on cinnamon—*dār sīni*) Cf Siggel, *Worterbuch*, 34, Meyerhof, *Šarh*, 50, no 95, Low, *Flora*, 2 106

152 See note 114 above

153 See note 137 above

154 *Zafran* (A *zaʿfarān*) saffron Meyerhof, *Šarh*, 66, no 135, Patai, *Jewish Folklore*, 347, 372

155 *Mesekh* (A *misk*) musk Siggel, *Worterbuch*, 68, Patai, *Jewish Folkore*, 347

156 *Jarīs* (A) groat

157 *Hukaro* (reading uncertain) *Jucaro* is the Spanish term for *Terminalia hilariana*, and *T bucera*, a tree whose fruit resembles the olive Molinar, *Diccionario*, s v

158 *Farazjat* (P *farzaja*) suppository, clyster

159 "Let the woman suffer" the *ponos*, suffering, of the patient was part of the Hippocratic therapy

160 *Teriaq faruq* (A *tiryāq fārūq*) special (?) theriac On the various kinds of theriac, see Muntner, *Poisons*, Index, s v teriaqim See also Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Volksmedizin*, 1 413, 2 312

Chapter Fifteen
Flamel's Jewish Masters

1 Robert Halleux, "Le myth de Nicolas Flamel ou les mécanismes de la pseudepigraphie alchimique," in *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* (Rome) 33 (1983) 234–45 In the first group Halleux lists thirteen, in the second nine, books or studies Another two dozen or so books on Flamel are quoted by Jacques Van Lennep, *Alchimie Contribution à l'histoire de l'art alchimique* (Brussels, 1984), 256–62 English-language studies about Flamel, including Arthur Edward Waite's important analysis of Flamel in his *The Secret Tradition in Alchemy* (London and New York, 1926), 137ff , are overlooked by the aforementioned two scholars

2 This book was subsequently reprinted many times from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, and translated into English and German See Van Lennep, *Alchimie*, 256–57 n 88

3 Preface by Elie Charles Flamand to Nicolas Flamel, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1973), 45–58

4 The carelessness that characterizes many authors writing about alchemy can be illustrated by this passage The French original has *une verge et des ser-*

pents s'engloutissants, which I translated here literally. Waite, *The Secret Tradition*, 139, translates: "a virgin who was being swallowed up by serpents." F. Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists: Founders of Modern Chemistry* (New York, 1949), 164, following "a translation made in 1624" (that of Eirenaeus Orandus, London) writes, "a Virgin, and serpents swallowing her up."

5. Other manuscripts are: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Français 22157 (Nouvelle Acquisition), ff. 256r–271r; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS 3012 (157 S.A.F.) dated from 1756; Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 3680, no. 7, dating from the 17th century; etc.

6. *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas au Levant*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1704); *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du Roy, dans la Grece, l'Asie Mineure, la Macedonie at l'Afrique* (Paris, 1712); *Troisième voyage de sieur Paul Lucas fait en MDCCXIV, etc. par ordre de Louis XIV dans la Turquie, l'Asie, la Sourie, la Palestine, la Haute et la Basse Egypt, etc.*, 3 vols. (Rouen, 1719).

7. This claim was often made by dervishes or on their behalf. For example, when Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913), the famous Hungarian Jewish traveler and Orientalist, stayed in a Persian village disguised as a dervish, the villagers believed that his mystical powers enabled him to speak all the languages of the world. My relative Bernát Munkácsi (1860–1937), who was a student of Vámbéry, told me this in the master's name.

8. Note in the original: *Un ocque pese 3. livres* (one *ocque* weighs three pounds). The *ocque* or *oque* was a unit of weight used in Turkey, Greece, and elsewhere in the Orient. It corresponded to about 1 kilogram, but varied from place to place.

9. Paul Lucas, *Voyages* (1712), 1:98–112.

Chapter Sixteen
Two Spanish-Jewish Court Alchemists

1. Text printed in *Bolletin de la Societat Arqueologica Luliana*, Palma (de Majorca), January 1914, 6. David Romano in his article "*Trumata shel Yahadut Sfarad laMadaʿim*, in Hayyim Beinart, ed., *Moreshet Sfarad* (Jerusalem, 1992), 204, misunderstood the text of the indictment, which charges Menahem with being "a great experimenter and necromancer," and interprets these words as being Menahem's "title" (*to'ar*).

2. Fritz Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, 1 (Berlin, 1929), 310–11.

3. Geronymo Çurita (Zurita) Chronista, *Los Cinco Libros Postreros de la Primera Parte de los anales de la Corona de Aragon*, 2 (Saragossa, 1610), 389a. See also *Indice de las cosas mas notables* . . . (Aragon, 1621), 532, which states that "Menahẽ Iudio fue Maestro del Rey don Pedro Quarto en la Astrologia," and also see p. 615. José Amador de los Rios, in his *Historia Social, Politica y Religiosa de los Judios de España y Portugal*, 2 (Madrid, 1876), 299, basing himself on Zurita, enlarges somewhat on the subject and says that King Pedro "showed deference to his Jewish physicians, and especially to Don Rabbi Menahem, whose disciple he declared himself to be," and that the king found in his physician Don Menahem a master in astrology and alchemy.

4. Pierre Vidal, "Les Juifs des anciens comté de Roussillon et de Cerdagne," *Revue des Études Juives* 15 (1887): 53.

5 Baer, *De Juden*, 1 452

6 Antoni Rubio y Lluch, *Documents per l'Historia de la Cultura Catalana Mig eval*, 1 (Barcelona, 1908), 319

7 Ibid , 2 (1921), 346–47 I thank Joseph Salemi for translating this document

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN
ABRAHAM ELEAZAR

1 In Hebrew letters

2 The letters I N J CXI stand for "in nomine Jesu Christi " They were undoubtedly added by Gervasius

3 Johan Friedrich Gmelin, *Geschichte der Chemie*, 3 vols (Gottingen, 1797–1799), 1 64

4 See Julius F Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1926)

5 Hermann Kopp, *Die Alchemie in alterer und neuerer Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1886) 2 314–17

6 Moritz Steinschneider, "Pseudo Juden und zweifelhafte Autoren," *Monatschrift fur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 38 (1894) 41

7 John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica* (Glasgow, 1906), 1 3

8 C G Jung, *Mysterium conjunctionis*, Collected Works, vol 14, Bollingen Series XX (2nd ed , Princeton, 1960), pars 591, 597 note An interesting addition to the bibliographic history of Abraham Eleazar's book is supplied by Dennis I Duveen, who had a copy of it which was supplemented by a 12 ½ page manuscript vocabulary (in German) with this title "German Key of those foreign words which are found in these books but are partly not explained in their registers, but which are contained in the Book of Zoroastro the Jew and Rabbi " Dennis I Duveen, *Bibliotheca alchemica et chemica* (London, 1949), 2

9 Actually Matthew 27 25

10 Actually *Ant* 1 2 2 "invented the art of making brass "

11 I am at a loss to explain this quotation However, it could be a very corrupt transliteration of the Hebrew phrase found in Isaiah 60 16, which reads in the original *ki ani Adonai moshi'ekh v'go'alekh*—"that I am the Lord, thy Savior and thy Redeemer " These words are followed in v 17 by the promise of "bringing gold for brass, silver for iron," etc , which was given alchemical interpretation by medieval and later alchemists

12 See above, Chapter 15

13 I N U [J] C XI, again "In nomine Jesu Christ," added by Gervasius

14 AZOTH is explained in the vocabulary appended to the second book of the *Werck* as "a running fire, *Mercurius animatus*" (animated mercury) or "*M philosophorum*" (mercury of the philosophers) HYLE (written here in Greek letters) is explained as "a confused mixture " The Hebrew word, SHAMAYIM, heaven, is written in Hebrew characters but vocalized incorrectly

15 The explanations I put in square brackets after the technical terms appearing in the text are taken from the vocabularies appended to Books I and II of the *Werck*

16 Alchemical symbols like this one appear frequently in the *Werck*, as well as in many medieval and later alchemical treatises They could have been added by the translator or by Gervasius I added their meanings in square brackets

17 Cf Berthelot, *Grecs*, I 11, 17, on "the eye of Python," and "the serpent Python "

18 On the libel of well poisoning, the torture of Jews to extract admission of guilt, etc , see *EJ* (J), 2, s v "Black Death "

19 Preface by Elie Charles Flamand to Nicholas Flamel, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1973) 45–46 See above, Chapter 15 The idea that sacred texts were originally inscribed on metal tablets recurs in the Mormon belief that the *Book of Mormon* came down inscribed on gold tablets Important documents were in fact in scribed on metal tablets and preserved in stone or marble boxes in Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc H Curtis Wright, "Ancient Burials of Metal Documents in Stone Boxes," in John M Lundquist and Stephen D Ricks, eds , *By Study and Also by Faith* (Salt Lake City, 1990), 2 273 ff I am indebted to Dr Lundquist, head of the Oriental Division of the New York Public Library, for this reference

20 I wish to thank Louis H Feldman of Yeshiva University for providing the translation of this and the subsequent four Latin passages

21 Italicized passages are in Latin

22 This Hebrew sentence contains two printer's errors which I put in parentheses and corrected in square brackets Its precise translation is "All medicine, without God's help, is of no use, and causes death " This seems to have been the Aramaic passage that Gustave Weil found to be erroneous

23 See above, Chapter 15 at n 3

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN
THEMO JUDAEI

1 Pierre Duhem, *Etudes sur Leonard de Vinci* 1st ser (Paris, 1906), 164

2 Ibid , 164–65, and sources there

3 Ibid , 163–70

4 Henri Huggonard Roche, *L'Oeuvre astronomique de Themon Juif, maitre parisien du XIVe siecle* (Geneva and Paris, 1973) 13, 18, 22

5 Johann Christoph Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, 4 vols (Hamburg, 1715–1733), 1 1257, No 2,223

6 Duhem, *Etudes*, 171ff

7 Huggonard Roche, *L'Oeuvre astronomique*, 13, 18, 22

8 Folios 155b–213b in the 1516 edition, and folios 155b–214b in that of 1518 The book also contains treatises by Albertus of Saxonia and Johannes Buridanus

9 Ibid , 203b (1516) or 202b (1518) The phrase about the potters, referring to professional jealousy, is found in Aristotle, *Politics*, 1312b 5, and in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 25 I am indebted to James W Halporn of Indiana University for these references and for transcribing the difficult Latin print of the original text, and to Edward Grant of Indiana University for translating the above passage

Introduction to Part Six
The Fifteenth Century

1 Cf Fritz Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien* (Berlin, 1936), 515, quoting Archivo Historico Nacional, Inq To , leg 164, no 530 Rendered in a free English translation in Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia, 1971), 351–52 I wish to thank Mrs Joseph Adler for translating this passage from the Spanish

Chapter Nineteen
Simeon ben Semah Duran

1 The text has *m'vatel* (annuls), which seems to be a printer's error for *m'vashel* (ripens)

2 C Simeon ben Semah Duran, *Magen Avot* (Leghorn, 1785), 10a

3 I discussed this stone in my book *Adam va'Adamah* (Jerusalem, 1943), 2 28–32

4 Julius Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (Heidelberg, 1912)

Chapter Twenty
Solomon Trismosin and His Jewish Master

1 Paris, 1613 The book was actually on the market before the end of 1612 the copy in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, is inscribed with a dedication dated Paris, 25 November 1612 A German manuscript of this book, entitled *Splendor solis* (Splendor of the Sun) and dated 1582, is found in the British Library (Harley MS 3469) Its text is largely identical with that of the Rorschach 1598–1599 edition See John Reed, *Prelude to Chemistry An Outline of Alchemy, Its Literature and Relationship* (Cambridge, Mass , 1966), 67ff

2 *Aureum vellus* (Rorschach am Bodensee, 1598–1599), 4

3 *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1894), reprint Berlin, 1971), 38 625

4 Ibid , quoting Hermann Kopp, *Geschichte der Chemie*, 4 vols (Braunschweig, 1843–1848), 2 179, 228, idem, *Die Alchemie in alterer und neuerer Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1886), 1 98, 242, 2 229, idem, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Chemie* (Braunschweig, 1869), 1 12

Chapter Twenty one
Abraham ben Simeon's *Cabala Mystica*

1 Paul Lacroix, *Sciences et lettres au moyen age et a l'epoque de la Renaissance*, (Paris, 1877)

2 I am indebted for this comment to Professor Gerald Strauss

3 The above summary is based primarily on the untitled Hebrew manuscript in Oxford I wish to thank the Bodleian Library for its permission to publish excerpts in my English translation

4. I wish to thank the Bibliothèque Nationale for its permission to publish excerpts from the manuscript in my English translation.

5. Johann Christoph Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, vol. 4 (Hamburg, 1733), 757–59. Adolf Neubauer, *Catalogi cod. MSS. Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, pars XII (Oxford, 1886–1906), no. 2051.

6. Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893; reprint Graz, 1956), 381–82, 850.

7. Gershom Scholem, *Kabbala: Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der jüdischen Mystik* (Leipzig, 1927), 2:2 n. 8.

8. Gershom Scholem, "Abraham ben Simeon of Worms," in *EJ* (J), 2:156.

9. Gershom Scholem, "Farben und ihre Symbolik in der jüdischen Überlieferung und Mystik," in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, 41 (Leiden, 1974), 1–49.

10. The Hebrew manuscript has not yet been published. The French was published by Robert Ambelain under the title *La magie sacrée d'Abramelin le mage* (no place, no date) under the auspices of the Kabbalistic Order of the Rosicrucians. The text as printed is somewhat different from that of the manuscript in phrases, expressions etc., and the spelling has been modernized. As for the German manuscript, a few pages of it (part of book one, chapter eight) have been published by Wolf in his *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, see note 5 above. A version rather different from the German manuscript was published in Cologne by Peter Hammer in 1725. That edition seems to be unavailable, but it was reprinted about 1900, without stating that it is a reprint, and a microfilm of this edition, entitled *Die egyptischen grossen offenbarungen* . . . was kindly put at my disposal by the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Another German edition was published by Johann Richard Beecken, entitled *Die heilige Magie des Abramelin: Die Überlieferung des Abraham von Worms* (Berlin, 1957). An English translation was published by S. L. MacGregor-Mathers under the title *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage, as delivered by Abraham the Jew unto his son Lamech, A. D. 1458* (London, 1898). In none of these printed versions, except for the fragment published by Wolf in 1733, did I find anything useful for my search for the original version of Abraham's book.

11. Hermann Gollancz, *Sepher Mafteaḥ Shelomo* (Oxford, 1914).

12. See above, note 10.

13. The above overview of Abraham's references to popes and princes is based on Gerald Strauss's analysis of the text. Private communication February 23, 1991.

Chapter Twenty-two
Isaac Hollandus and His Son John Isaac

1. Cf. *Fegfeuer der Chymisten* . . . (Amsterdam, 1702), no. 31.

2. Karl Christoph Schmieder, *Geschichte der Alchemie* (Halle, 1832), 210.

3. E. O. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1931).

4. Schmieder, *Geschichte*, 211, quoting Torbern Olof Bergman, *Historia chemiae medii aevi* (History of Medieval Chemistry) (Uppsala, 1782), 112.

5. Schmieder, *Geschichte* 211.
6. Nurnburg, 1676.
7. Published in Latin in Middelburg, the Netherlands, in 1600.
8. In addition to those mentioned above, the following works are attributed to the Hollanduses: To Isaac Hollandus: *Opera vegetabilia* (Vegetable Operations), in Latin (Amsterdam, 1659), elucidations of *Opera mineralia*; *De salibus et oleis metallorum* (On the Salts and Oils of the Metals), in Latin (no place, 1604); *Secreta revelatio operationis manualis pro universali opere et lapide sapientium, sicut filio suo Joanni Isaaco Hollando e Flandria paterno animo fidelissimo manu traduit* (The Secret Revelation of the Manual Operation for the Whole Work and the Philosophers' Stone, as He Transmitted it to His Son John Isaac Hollandus of Flanders with the Strongest Feelings of Paternal Fidelity), listed in the *Bibliotheca chemica* of Giovanni Aefonso Borelli (1608–1679).

To John Isaac Hollandus: *De urina* (On the Urine), included in the *Theatrum chemicum*, vol. 6 (Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1661), no. 204, pp. 566–68; *De lapide seu elixir philosophico* (On the Philosophical Stone or Elixir), in German (Frankfurt, 1669); *Manus philosophorum cum signaturis* (The Handwriting of the Philosophers with Their Signs), published in German together with the *Opus Saturni* (Frankfurt, 1667); *Rariores operationes chymiae* (The More Remarkable Chemical Operations), published in German in *Cureusen und raren chymischen operationen* (Leipzig and Gardeleben, 1714); *Fragmenta chemica de opere philosophico* (Chemical Fragments of the Philosophical Work), in Latin, *Theatrum chemicum* (Ursel, 1602), vol. 2, no. 33.

Chapter Twenty-Three
Johanan Alemanno and Joseph Albo

1. Paris MS 849. See *Kiryat Sefer* 5 (1929): 273–77.
2. *Sefer Shaʿar haḤesheq* (Livorno, 1790), 29a.
3. Ibid., 55b–56a.
4. Ibid., 36a.
5. Ibid., 36a–37a.
6. Joseph Albo, *Sefer haʿIqqarim* (Book of Principles) (Rimino, Italy, 1522), unpaginated. The passage translated above is found in the first treatise, chapter eight. My translation from the Hebrew.

Chapter Twenty-Four
Pseudo-Maimonides

1. The *Guide of the Perplexed* has been published in the Arabic original, in three Hebrew translations, and in all the major European languages.
2. MS 14; the Bavarian State Library kindly put a photocopy of the manuscript at my disposal.
3. I was able to examine the Moscow manuscript, folios 87a–91b of MS Guenzburg 315 in the Moscow Lenin State Library, thanks to the courtesy of Benjamin Richler of the Jerusalem Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, who kindly put a photocopy of it at my disposal. As soon as I started

deciphering it, it became evident that it was only another version of Munich MS 14 discussed above Some parts contained in the latter are missing in it, but it is richer than the Munich manuscript by several pages of text

4 I was also able to consult this manuscript thanks to the courtesy of Benjamin Richler

5 MS Gaster 1435

Chapter Twenty Five
Three Kuzari Commentators

1 Bodleian Library, Opp Add 114, Moritz Steinschneider, *Hebraische Bibliographie*, vol 16 (1876, reprint New York, 1972), 127

2 Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebraischen Ubersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893, reprint Graz, 1956), 404, 427

3 Steinschneider also refers to Encykl Cod Ascher 11 = Cod Munich B1 63b Cf his "Alfarabi (Alpharabius) des arabischen Philosophen Leben und Schriften," in *Memoires de l'Academie Imperiale de St -Petersbourg*, 7th Series, Vol 13, No 4 (1869), 244–45

4 Ibid , 245

5 Printed in Venice, 1589

6 Printed in Venice, 1594

7 Judah Halevi, *Sefer haKuzari*, with the commentary of Judah Moscato (Venice, 1594), 160a

8 Ibid , f 184a

Chapter Twenty Six
Esh M'saref A Kabbalistic Alchemical Treatise

1 Cf Gershom Scholem, in *EJ* (J), s v Knorr von Rosenroth According to him the lost original of *Esh M'saref* was written in Hebrew

2 In my translation, I substituted the customary English forms of biblical names for the German given in *Kabbala denudata* In 1714 a somewhat flawed English translation of its sections quoting *Esh M'saref* was printed by a "Lover of Philalethes," which, in turn, was reprinted in 1894 by the Theosophical Publishing Society of London, with a preface, notes, and explanation by "Sapere Aude " Another, rather inaccurate, translation was edited by W W Westcott, and reprinted in 1991 by Sure Fire Press in Edmonds, Wa

3 Cf Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols (Philadelphia, 1909–1938), 7, Index, s v Elisha See Chapter 2, above

4 In his chapter 6 the author explains that Naaman stands for "the matter of metallic medicine which must be purified seven times "

5 For an explanation of the exegetical method called gematria, see above, Chapter 12

6 This saying is not found in B Bab Qam 71b

7 Cf B Bab Bath 25b "R Yishaq said 'He who wants to be wise should turn to the south (Rashi adds, "while praying"), he who wants to be rich should turn to the north ' "

8 Here the author of *Esh M'saref* anticipates G Scholem by some four centuries in explaining the term *z'ir anpin* as "Impatient One " Scholem seems to have been unaware of this see his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1961), 270

9 The ten sefirot are often represented in the shape of a human body

10 *Argentum vivum* in Latin, *kesef hay* in Hebrew

11 To address one's treatise to one's son was a widespread literary convention

12 Translation of the Hebrew *ani haqatan*

13 The passage quoted is found in the *Zohar*, 3 299a in the standard editions

14 Here our text omits some 17 lines of the zoharic passage

15 Here again five lines of the *Zohar* are omitted

16 End of quote from the *Zohar*

17 Camea (H *q'me'a*, amulet) Here and in the following the word is used in the sense of a magic square of numbers Our author assigns a camea to each of the metals

18 The letter *vav*, the sixth letter of the alphabet, stands for the number six

19 By lesser or minor number is meant the sum of the digits comprised in a number Thus the lesser number of 216 (2+1+6) is 9

20 *Ra'ya Mehemna* (Aramaic, The Faithful Shepherd) is a part of the *Zohar*

21 Our author frequently quotes Moses Cordovero (1522–1570), a leading Safed Kabbalist, whose major work is *Pardes Rimmonim* (H , The Pomegranate Orchard) Hence the *Esh M'saref* could not have been written prior to the second half of the sixteenth century

22 It is possible that this Mordecai was identical with the son of Leon de Modena of the same name, who attempted to transmute lead into silver, and died as a result of his experiments, see Chapter 32 below If so, the *Esh M'saref* could not have been written before the early seventeenth century

23 The term can also mean orpiment, auripigment, or corrosive sublimate

24 The aforementioned R Mordecai

25 The reference is probably to the most famous Arab alchemist, Jābir ibn Hayyān

26 There follows a detailed alchemical explanation of Daniel's vision of the beast

27 Water, *aqua*, has the feminine gender in Latin

28 Sapere Aude in his English translation remarks here that "This is the true magic square of Jupiter "

29 Actually the Hebrew word *dal* means poor

30 The reference is to the letter *yod* in the tetragrammaton YHWH, which the Kabbalists interpreted as representing Hokhma, Wisdom See Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* (Detroit, 1990), 116

31 One way of calculating the numerical value of a word is to count the word itself as one, and add to it the sum total of the value of its letters Thus the word ANKh (*anokh*) obtains the value of 72 the word (1)+aleph (1)+*nun* (50)+*kaph* (20)=72

32 I am at a loss as to the meaning of this sentence

33 Again, meaning unclear

34 Reference to Prov 10 25, "The righteous is an everlasting foundation "

35 On the Green Lion in alchemy, see Betty Jo Dobbs, *The Hunting of the Green Lion* (Cambridge, 1975)

36 There is perhaps a faint echo here of Philo's distinction of two natures in the deity, one gentle and beneficent, the other sovereign and chastising, and of the rabbis' concept of the two thrones of God, one of mercy and one of judg ment Cf Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, 76, 78

37 The notion that the river Jordan flows out of the Dead Sea and into the Red Sea is talmudic

38 I e , alchemists, who held themselves to be masters of the Great Art

39 This is one of the Aramaic forms of the word *z'khuta*

40 Correctly *isfdikha*, white lead, cf Arabic *isfidāj*

41 The Targum translates the words "the daughter of Me-Zahav" as "the daughter of a (or the) refiner of gold," using the word *m'saref* which appears in the title of our treatise

42 *Edom* is interpreted as *adom*, red

43 Here the word is spelled *kamea*

44 Sapere Aude remarks "This is the usual form of the magic square of 8 related to Mercury "

45 That is, if in the first column on the right, instead of 1, 56, 48, etc , you write 2, 57, 49, etc

46 That is, he volatilizes the metals, the earthly representatives of the stars The translation above of the passage from Proverbs follows the author's Latin

Chapter Twenty-Seven
Taitazak and Provençali

1 My translation from the Hebrew published by G Scholem in his article "The Maggid of R Joseph Taitazaq," *Sefunot* 11 (1971–1978) 86, 107a

2 Ibid , 87

3 Cf *Divre Hakhamim*, ed by Eliezer Ashkenazi of Tunis (Metz, 1849), 63–75

4 Hermann Gollancz, ed , *Sepher Mafteah Shelomo* (Oxford, 1914)

5 On Rabbenu Asher's lost commentary see Nissan Meir Feivel Zacks, *Massekhet Sh'qalim ʿim Perush haROSh* (Jerusalem, 1943), 10 I wish to thank Tuvia Preschel for having called my attention to Zacks's book

6 Immanuel Low, *Die Flora der Juden*, 4 vols (Vienna, 1923–1924), 4 402

Chapter Twenty-Eight
Hayyim Vital, Alchemist

1 Meir Benayahu, "Medical Matters in an Unknown Manuscript by R Hayyim Vital" (in Hebrew), *Koroth A Bulletin Devoted to the History of Medicine and Science* (Jerusalem) 34 3–4 (Spring 1984) 3–17, idem, "Collectanea from the Book of Medicines and S'gullot of R Hayyim Vital," ibid 35 5–6 (Spring 1987) 91–112

2 *Shivhe R Hayyim Vital* (Ostrog, 1826), Hayyim Vital, *Sefer haHezyonot* (Jerusalem, 1866)

3 See note 1 above

4 A microfilm copy of it is found in the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which kindly put at my disposal a photocopy enlarged to the size of the original On this occasion I want to thank my brother Saul Patai of the Hebrew University, who located the microfilm, and to Benjamin Richler of the Institute, who had the copy prepared for me, and to the Moussaieff Collection for its permission to describe it and to quote from it in my own English translation

5 This seems to be an unpublished manuscript

Chapter Twenty Nine
An Alchemical Miscellany

1 MS ebr 375 A copy was put at my disposal by the Institute of Hebrew Manuscripts of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Vatican Library permitted me to present it

2 Ahmad ibn Yūsuf al Tīfāshī, *Kitab Azhar al-Afkar fī Jawahir al-Asjar*, translated by Reineri Biscia, 2nd ed (Bologna, 1906), 53–54 I wish to thank the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, for permission to publish excerpts from this manuscript

3 Alfred Siggel, *Arabisch-Deutsches Worterbuch der Stoffe aus den drei Naturreichen* (Berlin, 1950)

4 MS Ox Hebr c 55, cat 2659 5 I wish to thank the Bodleian Library for its permission to publish a translation of the manuscript, to the Jerusalem Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts for sending me a photocopy of it, and to Moshe Sokolow of Yeshiva University for deciphering and translating it

5 *Theatrum chemicum* (Argentorati [Strasbourg], several editions in the 17th century)

6 Joannes Jacobus Manget, ed , *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa* (Geneva, 1702)

7 *Theatrum chemicum*, 5 215

8 Marcellin P E Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen age* (Paris, 1893), 1 248–49

9 Ibid I might add that the names Hebua, Hamed, and Thebed could be corruptions of biblical Hebrew names Hebua could stand for Hubba (1 Chron 7 34) or Havaya (Ezra 2 61), Hamed for Hamdata (Esth 3 1) or Hemdan (Gen 36 26), and Thebed for Tafat (1 Kings 4 11)

10 *Theatrum chemicum*, 5 (1622 ed), 114, 120, 145 I wish to thank Leon Feldmann for the translation of these passages

11 Cf Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 1 250

12 I wish to thank the Ben Zvi Institute fro permission to publish a translation of this excerpt

Chapter Thirty
Labi Hamawi and Portaleone

1 Shim'on Labī, *Ketem Paz* (Leghorn, 1795), 2 445a–b

2 *EJ* (J), 5 479 and 10 641

3 Abraham Hamawī, *Niflaim Ma'asekha* (Wonderful Are Thy Works) (Leghorn, 1881), 4b The title is taken from Psalm 139 14

4 Ibid , approbation

5 *Abi'a Hidot* (Leghorn, 1879) The title is taken from Psalm 78 2 Also see note 3 above

6 Its subtitle is *in quibus non solum de auri in re medica facultate, verum etiam de specifica eius, & caeterarum rerum forma, ac duplici potestate, qua mixtis in omnibus illa operatur, copiose disputatur* (Venice, 1584) The author is identified as Abrahamo e Porta Leonis Mantuano Medico Hebraeo Auctore, and the book, published *cum licentia sanctae inquisitionis & illustrissimi senatus Veneti*, is dedicated to Guilelmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua

Chapter Thirty One
The Manchester (John Rylands) Manuscript

1 The manuscript consists of 48 pages, paginated in Hebrew numbers be ginning with folio *beth/a*, that is 2, to folio *waw/a*, that is 6, and then continu ing with *het/b*, that is, 8, to *kaf-waw/b*, that is, 26 A later pagination running from 1 through 24 was added in Arabic numbers In the following I have used the original pagination

2 There were two famous alchemists with the first name Michael whose books were printed in the early seventeenth century Michael Maier and Michael Sendivogius Our manuscript's reference could be to either of them, or to yet another alchemist by that name

3 *Sefer haMaor* at least six books of this title are known in Hebrew litera ture, the oldest being that of the Spanish Halakhist Zerahiah ben Yishaq haLevi (ca 1125–1186) However, none of them has alchemical contents, so that we must assume that our manuscript refers to a *Sefer haMaor* that is lost

4 The Arabic alchemical term *tinkar* has many meanings a stone of the class of salts, cf Julius Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (Heidelberg, 1912), (1895–1896) 11, alkali or borax, cf Ernst Darmstaedter, *Die Alchemie des Geber* (Berlin, 1922), index, a calcareous salt from which glass is made, cf Martin Levey, *Early Arabic Pharmacology* (Leiden, 1973), 112 The multiple meanings of terms such as this constitute one of the most difficult problems in trying to interpret alchemical recipes

5 This long recipe, as well as the one that follows it (no 200), are practically identical with the prescriptions translated above in Chapter 24

6 This is another version of the pseudo Maimonidean alchemical instruc tions, including operations with pearls, presented above, Chapter 24

7 I am unable to identify the *Book of Sadidi*

8 These pseudo Maimonidean instructions are again largely identical with those contained in the Munich MS 14, presented above in Chapter 24

9 See note 3 above

10 I am unable to identify *Sefer haLo'azim* (Book of Foreign Expressions)

Introduction to Part Eight

1 Cf Hugo Ginsberg, *Der Briefwechsel des Spinoza* (Leipzig, 1876), letters VI and IX, the Latin original, and J Stern, *Spinozas Briefwechsel* (Leipzig, 1904), German translation

2 They were published in 1677 Jelles wrote the introduction to Spinoza's *Ethics*, published likewise in 1677 Biographies of Jelles are contained in *Nieuw Nederlansch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 9 (Leiden, 1933), 459, and de Bie en Loosjes, *Biogr Woordenboek d Protest Godgel in Nederland*, 4 535

3 See Latin text in Ginsberg, *Briefwechsel*, letter XLV, 127ff

4 For a biography of Isaac Vossius, see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol 1 (Leiden, 1911), 1519–26

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO
LEONE MODENA, DELMEDIGO, AND ZERAH

1 Leon of Modena, *Sefer Hayye Y'huda*, edited by Abraham Kahana (Kiev, 1911)

2 Ibid , 12

3 Abraham Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* (Frankfurt-am Main, 1893, reprint Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 1987), 2 54

4 See above, Chapter 11

5 Delmedigo's response, entitled *Iggeret Ahuz*, was published by Abraham Geiger in *Melo Chofnajim* [*M'lo Hofnayim*], with a German translation and notes (Berlin, 1840) There was a new edition of *Sefer Elim* in Odessa (1864), I quote from this edition On pp xxvii–lvi, Geiger gives a biography of Del medigo Incidentally, in his response Delmedigo does not speak at all of alchemy

6 This is a talmudic phrase, meaning ignorant, or illiterate Cf B Shabbat 95a, B Sanhedrin 33a

7 *Sefer Elim*, 24–25

8 Ibid , 73–74

9 See Isaac Barzilay, *Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo* (Leiden, 1974), 49 This book is valuable for its portraiture of Delmedigo

10 *Masref laHokhma* (Basel, 1629, new ed Warsaw, 1890), I used the new edition

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE
FOUR SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS

1 A photocopy was put at my disposal by the library and the curator of its Oriental Department, Hartmut Ortwin Feistel Moritz Steinschneider in his *Verzeichniss der Hebraeischen Handschriften (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin)* (Berlin, 1897), 2 119–21, gave a brief de scription of this manuscript, though his reading of the Hebrew text was occa sionally faulty

2 Cf Alfred Siggel, *Das Buch der Gifte des Ǧabir ibn Hayyan* (Wiesbaden, 1958)

3 Steinschneider misread the word as GSPWS, and guessed that it stood for Josephus (?)

4 Steinschneider, *Verzeichniss*, 121, says that he cannot explain this title, ev idently he was not aware of Delmedigo's *Sefer Elim* (see Chapter 32 above)

5 A photocopy was put at my disposal by the Jerusalem Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, with the kind permission of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek

6 For "white herb from the mountain," see above, Chapter 5

7 *JE* 1 330 The manuscript is in the British Library in London (MS Or 10289), and copies of it are available in the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York The following analysis is based on the latter copy

8 Cf Marcellin P E Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen age* (Paris, 1893), 3 13, 116

9 Ibid , 1 290ff

10 Julius F Ruska, *Turba philosophorum Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie* 1 (Berlin, 1931), 23

11 Cf Johannes Jacobus Manget, *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1702), 2 84–85, *Theatrum chemicum* 3 (Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1659), 284–92

12 Reprinted in *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant* (Basel, 1593), 2 7–54

13 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 1 213

14 This work of al Rāzī was so popular among the Jews that in a Yemenite Judeo-Arabic manuscript parts of it were copied in Hebrew characters under the title *Kitāb Sirr al-Asrar* (The Book of the Secret of Secrets), with the incipit "*Qala* [said] Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya al Rāzī " Jerusalem Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, film no 47434, page 18ff

15 Cf Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebraischen Ubersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893, reprint Graz, 1956), 778ff , index, s v Arnaldus

16 Berthelot, *Moyen age*, 1 213

17 Cf Manget, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 2 1–80

18 On the anti pope Benedict XII, see *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol 7 (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1968), index s v

19 Cf Manget, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 1 444–509, Ruska, *Turba*, 341–42, 345

20 This is the well-known and oft quoted axiom of Maria the Jewess

21 This sentence seems to be corrupt in the original The above is the best I could make of it

22 I wish to express my thanks to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for its permission to present the translation of this manuscript

Chapter Thirty Four
Benjamin Mussafia

1 Published in 4 volumes in Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1714–1718

2 I wish to thank Joseph Salemi for translating the Latin text

3 The alchemist Christian Eisenmenger is not to be confused with Johann Andreas Eisenmenger (1654–1704), the anti Semitic author of the notorious *Entdecktes Judentum* (Judaism Unmasked), published in Koenigsberg in 1711

4 I wish to thank Louis H Feldman for his help in translating this excerpt
5 The Latin has been omitted
6 The Latin has been omitted
7 The Latin has been omitted
8 The Latin has been omitted

CHAPTER THIRTY FIVE
BENJAMIN JESSE

1 Karl Cristoph Schmieder, *Geschichte der Alchemie* (Halle, 1832), 523–26

INTRODUCTION TO PART NINE

1 Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions*, Everyman's Library ed (London, 1931) 1 43, 98, 161, 164, 314

CHAPTER THIRTY SIX
HAYYIM SH'MUEL FALCK

1 George Louis Albert de Rantzow, *Memoires du Comte de Rantzow, ou les heures de recreation a l'usage de la noblesse de l'Europe*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1741), 1 197ff I consulted the copy of this rare book in the Bibliotheque Na tionale, Paris

2 In inthe original *Sauve qui peut la Diablerie!* Ibid , 1 223

3 The word *magne* evidently refers to the rolled up scroll Falck used as a wand I am unable to find in any dictionary of the French language any mention of this word in the sense that would suit Rantzow's use of it

4 Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, *England und Italien* (Leipzig, 1785, new ed , Carlsruhe, 1791) This latter is the edition I used in the British Library, London An English translation was published under the title *A Picture of England* (London, 1797)

5 The story of Falck's refusal to see the unnamed British prince is repeated by Cecil Roth in his paper "The King and the Kabbalist," published in his *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (Philadelphia, 1962), 139–64 Roth also wrote a brief biography of Falck (Falk, Samuel Jacob Hayyim), for the *EJ* (J), 2 1159–60, where he says that Falk "about 1742 made his way to England " Since Rantzow's *Memoires*, published in 1741, tell about Falck's move to Lon don, his reception there by the Portuguese Jewish community, his arrest, and his subsequent release, it is clear that Falck must have arrived in London quite some time prior to 1742, probably as early as the late 1730s On Falck's life in Lon don, see Herman Adler in *JE*, 5 331

CHAPTER THIRTY SEVEN
THE COMTE DE SAINT GERMAIN

1 Cf *Oeuvres completes de Voltaire*, new ed , *Correspondance* (Paris, 1880), 8 353, 376, *Nouvelle biographie generale* (Paris, 1864), 43 27 The *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne* (Paris, Leipzig, c 1860), 37 324–25,

mistakenly gives the date of April 15, 1758, for Voltaire's letter, and attributes, likewise mistakenly, to Voltaire Frederick II's bon mot about Saint-Germain

2 Pierre Lhermier, *Le mystérieux Comte de Saint-Germain Rose-croix et diplomate* (Paris, 1943), 243, quoting the memoires of the Comte de Saint Maurice

3 See entry "Comte de Saint Germain," in *La grande encyclopedie* (Paris, 1895–1902), 29 168–69, and earlier literature in the bibliography there, Paul Chacornac, *Le Comte de Saint-Germain* (Paris, 1947, new ed Paris, 1989), Maurice Heim, *Le vrai visage du Comte de Saint-Germain* (Paris, 1957), René Alleau, ed , *Comte de Saint-Germain, la très sainte trinosophie* (Paris, 1971) Cf also George B Kauffman, "The Comte de Saint-Germain," in *The Hexagon* (Iowa City, Iowa), Autumn 1979, pp 20–22, and the bibliography therein

4 *Biographie universelle*, 37 324

5 Ibid

6 The Rakóczi whose son Saint-Germain claimed to be was Ferenc Rákóczi (1676–1735), who led an uprising against Hapsburg rule over Hungary in 1703, was defeated by Austria, and after the Peace of Satmar (1711) found refuge in Turkey

7 Charles, Prince of Hesse, *Memoires de mon temps* (Copenhagen, 1861) 133–34

8 Frederic Bulau, *Personnages énigmatiques Histoires mysterieuses* translated by W Duckett (Paris, 1861), 1 340 ff

9 Lhermier, *Le mystérieux Comte*, 217–18

10 As quoted by Chacornac, *Le Comte de Saint-Germain*, 269

11 Ibid , 28, 86, Heim, *Le vrai visage*, 49 Jean Robin in a recent book presents several additional unfounded assumptions about the origin of Saint-Germain from Spanish noblemen of remote Marrano descent *La véritable mission du Comte de Saint-Germain* (Paris, 1986), 14–15, relying primarily on Jean Lombard, *La face cachee de l'histoire moderne*, vol 1 (Madrid, 1984)

12 Chacornac, *Le Comte de Saint-Germain*, 39, 44, 46, Heim, *Le vrai visage*, 63

13 *Letters of Horace Walpole Earl of Orford to Sir Horace Mann*, edited by Lord Dover (New York, 1833) 1 383 Letter 145, dated Arlington Street, December 9, 1745

14 Chacornac, *Le Comte de Saint-Germain*, 49

15 *Nouvelle biographie génerale*, 43 28–29 See also the testimony in Frederic Nicolai, *Description d'un voyage a travers l'Allemagne et la Suisse en 1781* (Berlin and Stettin, 1786) 7 109, addenda, as quoted by Chacornac, *Le Comte de Saint-Germain*, 190 And see the poem printed in the January 1785 issue of the *Berlinische Monatschrift*, under the caption "Le Comte de St Germain célèbre alchimiste "

16 Heim, *Le vrai visage*, 37–40

17 Ibid , 75–76, Lhermier, *Le mystérieux Comte*, 71

18 Ibid , 18, 124, Pierre Andremont, *Les trois visages du Comte de Saint-Germain* (Geneva, 1979), 89–90, 99–102, quoting official Dutch documents

19 Andremont, *Les trois visages*, 104–7

20 *Mémoires de mon temps*, 132–36

21 Lhermier, *Le mysterieux Comte*, 248–51, quoting Dr Kelemann

22 Heim, *Le vrai visage*, 226ff , 237–38, 277 Cf also Andremont and Jean Robin, both of whom give details about the posthumous "sightings" of Saint Germain

23 Alleau, *Comte de Saint Germain*, 287

24 Chacornac, *Le Comte de Saint-Germain*, 207–8

25 Lhermier, *Le mystérieux Comte*, 254

26 Heim, *Le vrai visage*, 159, Alleau, *Comte de Saint-Germain*, 290 I had no opportunity to examine the Troyes manuscript, but Mme A Plassard, curator of the Troyes Municipal Library, kindly sent me photocopies of several pages of it, including one that carries this colophon "This manuscript is the only existing copy of the famous Trinosophie of the Comte de St Germain, which he himself destroyed on one of his voyages [Signed] J B C Philotaume " The manuscript was published several times in the French original in the *Annales maçoniques* (Paris, 1908), in *Le voile d'Isis* (April 1932), 269–88, and by Alleau in *Le Comte de Saint-Germain*, also in an annotated edition in English by Manly Hall, 3rd ed (Los Angeles, 1949) In all of them the Hebrew words contained in the text are frequently misread and mistranslated

27 I am indebted to Mme A Plassard for deciphering the French in this inscription

Chapter Thirty Nine
An Alchemical Manuscript from Jerba

1 Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Mind* (New York, 1977) 464

2 I received from my friend Benjamin Richler of the Jerusalem Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts a photocopy of this miraculously preserved book-sized Hebrew alchemical manuscript (MS Jerusalem, M Feldman 15)

3 BKRTNTB is our author's cryptogram for the word ALQIMIA, as he spells alchemy in Hebrew He arrived at the cryptogram by substituting for the He brew letters of the word ALQIMIA alternately the letters following them and pre ceding them in the Hebrew alphabet, which resulted in BKRTNTB

4 TKDYMMT is another cryptogram which stands for ALQIMIA in the so called ATB"SH code, in which *tav* is substituted for *aleph, shin* for *bet, resh* for *gimel*, etc I am indebted to Benjamin Richler for this explanation

5 See details in Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* (3rd ed , Detroit, 1990), 161–201

6 The abbreviation shLH"G stands for the book *Shilte haGibborim* (Shields of the Heroes) by Abraham Portaleone, printed in Mantua in 1612 We have dealt with Portaleone's works in Chapter 30 The reference to this book shows that our junior author was in possession of rare books, and perused and ex cerpted them

Chapter Forty
Mordecai Abi Serour

1 See Rene Bazin, *Charles de Foucauld* (Paris, 1921), 30–43

2 Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 vols (London, 1926), 1 363

3 Raphael Patai, *On Jewish Folklore* (Detroit, 1983), 375 and notes on 427

4 This assumption is borne out by a research study on the Algerian Moroc can alchemist Rabbi Makhluf Amsallam (1837–1927), who was for a while em ployed by the Sultan of Morocco, Mulay Al Hasan (r 1873–1894) See Joseph Yinon (Fenton), "Rabbi Makhluf Amsallam," in *Peʿamim Studies in Oriental Jewry* (a quarterly) Jerusalem, Spring 1993

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The forms of the non Hebrew words that appear in the Hebrew alchemical texts and are reproduced here often differ from the forms of those words in the original languages Those languages are identified by abbreviations (see p xv) following the entry words Arabic names and words beginning with the article *al-* are listed under the letter following it See also the entries listed in the vocabulary contained in the appendix, which are not included here so as to avoid duplication

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I

Genesis

The ספר הזהר

ZOHAR

PRITZKER EDITION

Translation and Commentary by

DANIEL C. MATT

ספר הזהר

The

ZOHAR

ספר הזהר

Pritzker Edition

VOLUME ONE

Translation and Commentary by

Daniel C. Matt

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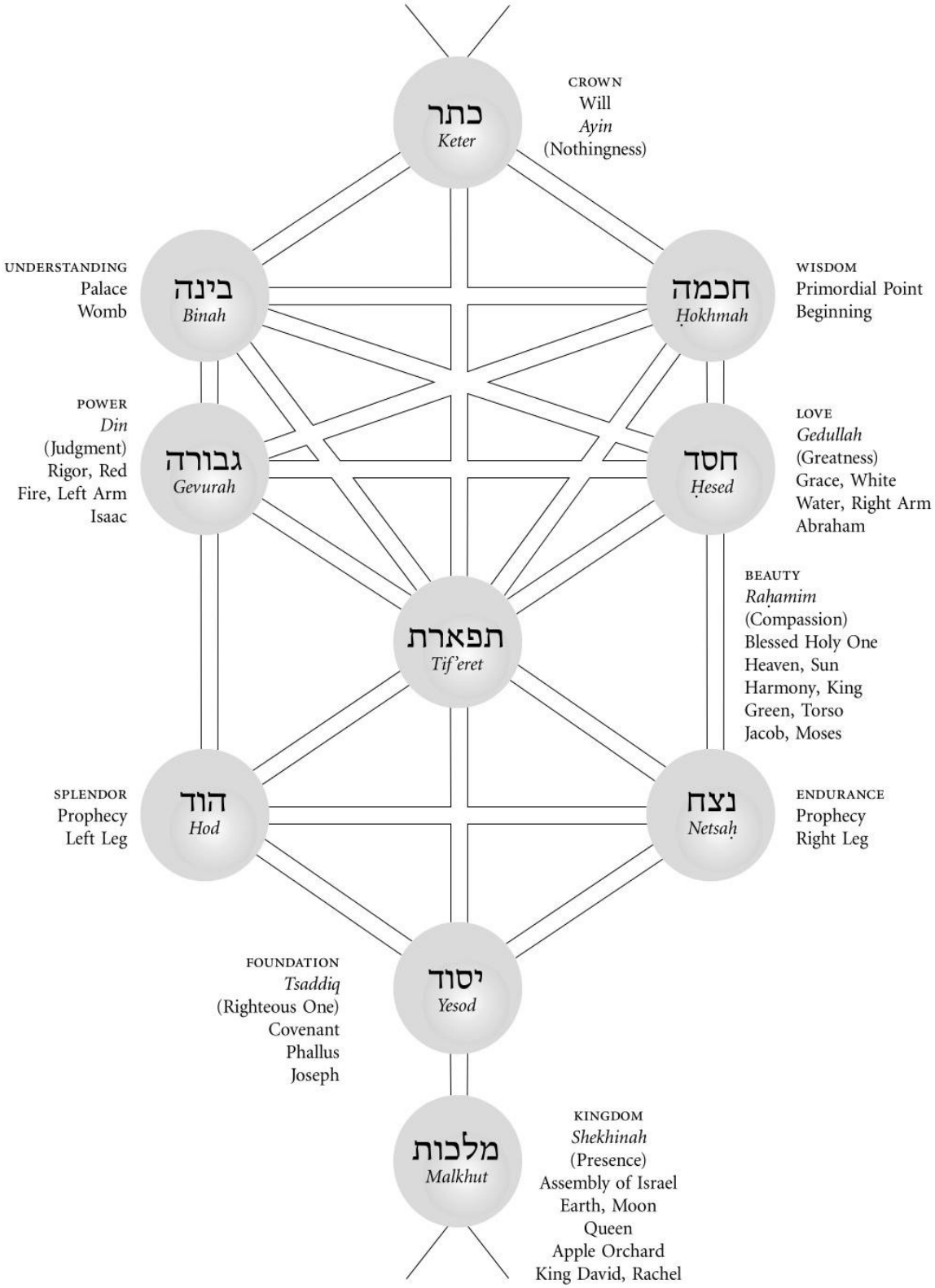

The Ten Sefirot

Foreword

SOME YEARS AGO, I began to study the Torah. As my facility with the text grew, I pursued the midrashic literature of the rabbis, and the interpretations of the classic medieval commentators. Eventually, I began to inquire about mystical commentaries on the Torah. I turned to the *Zohar*, seeking an English translation of its original Aramaic. I soon learned that previous translations not only were incomplete but also had been undertaken in the early twentieth century. Therefore, they did not reflect the enormous advances in scholarship since made by Gershom Scholem and his students. It was at this point that I realized how much I wanted to be able to study the *Zohar* from an English translation that would draw upon the research and scholarship of the past half-century. I determined to sponsor such a translation; the book you hold in your hands is the result.

By its nature and purpose, the *Zohar* is difficult to penetrate. For hundreds of years it was inaccessible to all but a few. Furthermore, after the Sabbatean episode of the seventeenth century, the Jewish community became concerned about the potency of mystical ideas; leaders were anything but eager to promulgate the *Zohar*. Even with the rise of Hasidism as a mystically based movement starting in the eighteenth century, the *Zohar* remained a closed book. Consequently, bringing the *Zohar* to the English-reading public was—and continues to be—a complex, challenging task.

The words that can express my appreciation to Daniel C. Matt are found on every page of his translation of the *Zohar*. His scholarship, his artistry, and his poetry speak for themselves. You, the reader, are in his debt.

The odyssey of the past nine years, which will continue for some years to come, has been shepherded through a tangle of legal and administrative steps with the able and devoted skill of Glen Miller.

Professor Arthur Green, who co-chairs the Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, has been a thoughtful and faithful counselor from the inception of the project.

My husband Tom, while not a student of the *Zohar*, recognized the

magnitude and the importance of this project. He has kept us ever vigilant and focused with his insightful questions and thoughts and his constant support.

From conception through gestation and finally to birth, this project would not have been realized without the wisdom, knowledge, and nurturing of Rabbi Yehiel Poupko. He is my teacher and my friend, and it is to him that this edition of the *Zohar* is dedicated.

It is with a sense of fulfillment and awe for Daniel Matt's remarkable accomplishment that my family and I now present the *Zohar* to the English-reading public, with the hope that the radiance that flows from this great work and from the Jewish mystical tradition will bring light to those who seek it.

Margot Pritzker

Translator's Introduction

DANIEL C. MATT

SEFER HA-ZOHAR (The Book of Radiance)[1] has amazed and overwhelmed readers ever since it emerged mysteriously in medieval Spain (Castile) toward the end of the thirteenth century. Written mostly in a unique Aramaic, this masterpiece of Kabbalah exceeds the dimensions of a normal book; it is virtually a body of literature, comprising over twenty discrete sections. The bulk of the *Zohar* consists of a running commentary on the Torah, from Genesis through Deuteronomy. This translation begins and focuses there—in what are projected to be ten volumes; two subsequent volumes will cover other, shorter sections.[2]

Arthur Green's introduction to this volume traces the development of Kabbalah and discusses the historical and literary context of the *Zohar*, its style, the complex question of authorship, and the symbolism of the ten *sefirot* (various aspects of the divine Self). Here I wish to treat several topics directly related to this translation and commentary.

Establishing the Text of the Zohar

This edition reflects a newly constructed, precise text of the *Zohar*, based on original manuscripts. Why was the creation of such a text necessary? All previous translations of the *Zohar* are based on the standard printed editions, which nearly all derive from the Mantua edition (1558–60), supplemented by variant readings from the Cremona edition (1559–60). At first I intended to follow the same procedure, but upon examining many of the original manuscripts of the *Zohar* dating from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, I discovered a significant number of superior readings that had been rejected or revised by editors of the first printed editions.

Upon further examination, I noticed something more intriguing—a

phenomenon familiar to scholars of medieval texts. Within the manuscripts themselves were signs of an editorial process: revision, reformulation, and emendation.[3] After careful analysis, I concluded that certain manuscripts of older lineage reflect an earlier version of the *Zohar*, which was then reworked in manuscripts of later lineage.[4]

I realized that I could no longer rely on the printed editions of the *Zohar*, since these obscured earlier versions. So I took it upon myself to reconstruct a new-ancient version of the Aramaic text based on the manuscripts, one which could serve as the foundation for this translation.

If I could have located a complete, reliable manuscript of the *Zohar*, this would have provided a starting point. Unfortunately no such manuscript exists anywhere in the world; in all likelihood it never did, since from the start the *Zohar* was circulated in sections or booklets. Probably no single complete *Book of the Zohar* existed until it was printed nearly three hundred years later in the sixteenth century, collated from various manuscripts.[5]

This situation left me with two choices. I could select the best manuscript for each individual Torah portion of the *Zohar* and produce a "diplomatic" text, an exact reproduction of the original. Or, I could fashion a critical text, selecting from a wide range of variants in different manuscripts.

After consulting with members of our Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, I chose to compose a critical text, based on a selection and evaluation of the manuscript readings. The primary reason was simply that even for individual sections of the *Zohar* there is no one "best" manuscript: each has its own deficiencies and scribal errors. Back in the sixteenth century, the editors in Mantua and Cremona also fashioned critical texts, the former drawing on ten manuscripts, the latter on six.[6]

For the first two volumes of the translation, I identified approximately twenty reliable manuscripts, based on the criteria of provenance, age, lack of scribal errors, and legibility. The originals are preserved in the libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Paris, Munich, Rome, the Vatican, Parma, Toronto, and the Jewish Theological Seminary, while microfilm copies are available in the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, in the Jewish National and University Library on the campus of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.[7]

It is appropriate to describe more fully the methodology used in this scholarly undertaking. My research assistant meticulously combs through about half of these manuscripts and prepares a list of variant readings. For particularly difficult words or phrases, we check additional manuscripts. In addition to the manuscripts, my assistant lists variants from the Mantua and Cremona editions

of the *Zohar*, as well as the edition used by Moses Cordovero in his sixteenth-century commentary, *Or Yaqar*.[8]

My procedure for establishing the Aramaic text is as follows. I begin with Reuven Margaliot's edition of *Sefer ha-Zohar*,[9] based on the Vilna edition, which in turn is based on the Mantua edition. This represents a relatively reliable starting point. In front of me I have the list of variants prepared by my research assistant, photocopies of the original manuscripts, and other witnesses referred to previously.[10] I peruse the variants line by line. Some of these are simply scribal errors or glosses, but some represent what appear to be better readings. When I identify an apparently better reading, I check if it is shared and confirmed by several reliable manuscripts and witnesses. If it is, I consider substituting it for the printed text.

Over the centuries, *Sefer ha-Zohar* has been revised by countless scribes and editors who tried to smooth away the rough edges of the text by adding an explanatory phrase, correcting an apparent syntactical mistake, or taming a wild neologism by substituting a more familiar, bland term. Often, relying on the variants, I decide to remove these accumulated layers of revision, thereby restoring a more original text. I seek to recover the *Zohar*'s primal texture and cryptic flavor.

If the early manuscripts preserve unusual, striking wording that is revised or "corrected" by several later manuscripts and the printed editions, I tend to go with the older reading. Often, according to the more reliable manuscripts, a Zoharic rabbi creatively paraphrases a Talmudic saying. Some of the later manuscripts and the printed editions may then restore this saying to its exact Talmudic form. In such cases I emend the printed text in favor of the *Zohar*'s original formulation—original in both senses: older and creative. In the commentary I cite the Talmudic saying on which the paraphrase is based, so that readers can see the transition and trace the imaginative process.

I do not claim to be fully restoring "*the* original text of the *Zohar*." There may never have been any such thing, since the text probably emerged over many years, written and distributed piecemeal. However, through painstaking analysis of the variants, I am able to scrape away some seven hundred years of accretion and corruption, and at least approach that elusive, hypothetical original. This Aramaic text of the *Zohar*, the basis of my translation, is available for study and scholarly examination.[11]

Translation and Commentary

All translation is inherently inadequate, a well-intentioned betrayal. In the words of the second-century sage Rabbi Yehudah, “One who translates a verse literally is a liar; one who adds to it is a blasphemer.”[12] Furthermore, the *Zohar* is notoriously obscure—perhaps the most difficult Jewish classic to translate. It was composed in Castile mostly in Aramaic, a language no longer spoken in medieval Spain.[13] The author(s) concocted a unique blend of Aramaic out of traditional sources, especially the Babylonian Talmud and *Targum Onqelos* (an Aramaic translation of the Torah). This unparalleled neo-Aramaic is peppered with enigmatic expressions, puns, outlandish constructions, puzzling neologisms, solecisms, and traces of medieval Hebrew and Castilian.

The *Zohar*’s prose is poetic, overflowing with multiple connotations, composed in such a way that you often cannot pin down the precise meaning of a phrase. The language befits the subject matter, which is mysterious, elusive, and ineffable; words can merely suggest and hint. An unfathomable process may be stated, then immediately denied: “It split and did not split its aura.”[14] Occasionally we encounter oxymorons, such as “new-ancient words,” alluding to the dual nature of the *Zohar*’s secrets, recently composed yet ascribed to ancient sources.[15] The first impulse of divine emanation is described as בוצינא דקרדינותא (*botsina de-qardinuta*), “a spark of impenetrable darkness,”[16] so intensely bright that it cannot be seen.

Through the centuries, the potency of the *Zohar*’s language has mesmerized even those who could not plumb its secrets. While kabbalists delved deeply, the uninitiated chanted the lyrical Aramaic, often unaware of its literal meaning. In the words of an eighteenth-century mystic, “Even if one does not understand, the language is suited to the soul.”[17]

No doubt it is risky to translate the *Zohar*, but it would be worse to leave these gems of wisdom buried in their ancient Aramaic vault. So I have plunged in, seeking to transmit some of the *Zohar*’s magic. The previous English translation (composed in the 1930s by Harry Sperling, Maurice Simon, and Paul Levertoff) reads smoothly but often misunderstands the text.[18] Its genteel prose is more a paraphrase than an accurate translation—avoiding unfamiliar terms, censoring erotic material, skipping difficult passages and even entire sections. The English flows too fluently compared to the original, subduing the unruly Aramaic, failing to render its untamed vibrancy. Moreover, since the translation is unaccompanied by a commentary, the symbolism remains impenetrable.

Despite its shortcomings, I have learned much from consulting this translation, along with others.[19] But my approach is significantly different. Though I wish to make the *Zohar* accessible, I also want to convey its strangeness, potency, and rich ambiguity. Here the commentary is essential.

When the translation cannot adequately express a multifaceted phrase, I unfold the range of meaning in the commentary. When the translation is as cryptic as the original Aramaic, the commentary rescues the stranded reader.

My style of translation is literal yet poetic. I am convinced that a literal rendering of the *Zohar* is not only the most accurate but also the most colorful and zestful—the best way to transmit the lyrical energy of the Aramaic. Still, at times, the multivalent language invites a certain freedom of expression. Let me cite two related examples. In *Zohar* 1:83a, Rabbi Shim'on describes the nighttime journey of the soul, soaring skyward from her sleeping body: "Flying, she encounters those קומרין טהירין (*qumrin tehirin*) of defilement."

What does this bizarre term mean? The Sperling-Simon translation renders it as "certain bright but unclean essences."[20] The English translation of Tishby's *Wisdom of the Zohar* reads: "the deceiving lights of uncleanness,"[21] while Tishby's original Hebrew translation reads a bit differently: קימורי נגוהות (*qimmurei negohot*)—roughly: "vaulted splendors"—though in his note he acknowledges that the meaning is "doubtful."[22] I render the sentence as follows: "Flying, she encounters those hooded, hunchbacked, dazzling demons of defilement." The accompanying commentary explains that these are malevolent forces who block the ascent of an unworthy soul. *Qumrin* derives via rabbinic usage from the Greek *qamara*, "arched cover," while *tehirin* is a cognate of the Aramaic *tihara*, meaning "brightness, noon." One class of demons is named *tiharei*, "noonday demons."

The virtuous soul who evades these demons reaches heaven and receives a divine message. According to another Zoharic passage (1:130a), while descending back to her sleeping earthbound body, the soul is assailed by חבילי טריקין (*ḥavilei teriqin*). The Sperling-Simon translation renders this phrase as "malignant bands."[23] The English translation of Tishby's *Wisdom of the Zohar* reads: "ill-intentioned destructive powers."[24] I render it as "ravaging bands of truculent stingers." The commentary explains that *ḥavilei* derives from either *ḥevel*, "band, group," or the verb *ḥvl*, "to injure, destroy." *Teriqin* derives from the root *trq*, "to sting, bite."

Although the *Zohar*'s basic vocabulary is limited, its roots generate a rich variety of meanings. For example, the root תקן (*tqn*) spans the following range: "establish, institute, mend, restore, correct, perfect, prepare, arrange, array, adorn." The root סלק (*slq*) can mean: "rise, raise, culminate, attain, surpass, depart, disappear, die, remove, postpone, reserve, emit (fragrance)." In normal Aramaic and Hebrew, the specific verbal conjugation determines which meaning of the root applies, but the *Zohar* ignores or flouts rules of grammar—confusing the conjugations, playing with multiple meanings, often leaving the reader

stumped and wondering.

Mysticism strives to penetrate a realm beyond distinctions, but this mystical masterpiece demands constant decision making, challenging the reader or translator to navigate between conflicting meanings and determine the appropriate one—or sometimes to discover how differing meanings pertain simultaneously. The frequent dilemmas of interpretation suggest that in exploring the *Zohar*, linguistic search and spiritual search go hand in hand.

Especially puzzling, though charming, are the neologisms strewn throughout the *Zohar*, intended to bewilder and astound the reader.[25] Some derive from rare Talmudic terms, which the author refashions by intentionally misspelling or by inverting letters; some derive from Greek, Latin, or Castilian; some appear to be pure inventions. These nonce words often contain the letters ט (tet), ס (*samekh*), פ (pe), ק (*qof*), and ר (*resh*) in various combinations: קוספיתא (*quspita*), קטפירא (*qatpira*), קירטא (*qirta*), קסירא (*qesira*), קוסטרא (*qustera*), טופסרא (*tufsera*). *Qustera* derives from the Latin word *castrum* (plural, *castra*), "fortress, castle." *Qatpira* and its variations mean several things, including "knot" (based on Aramaic קטרא [*qitra*]) and "waterskin."[26]

One newly coined noun, טיקלא (*tiqla*), is particularly versatile. In various contexts it can mean "scale, hollow of the hand, fist, potter's wheel, and water clock." This last sense refers to a device described in ancient and medieval scientific literature, which in the *Zohar* functions as an alarm clock, calibrated to wake kabbalists precisely at midnight for the ritual study of Torah.[27] A similar device was employed in Christian monasteries to rouse monks for their vigils. How appropriate to invent a word for an invention!

Often, by pondering the context, comparing Zoharic and rabbinic parallels, and scouring sundry dictionaries and lexicons, one can decipher or at least conjecture the meaning of these weird terms, but some remain as perplexing as originally intended.[28]

In translating biblical citations, I have consulted various translations but generally composed my own.[29] Sometimes, in quoting a verse, the *Zohar* intends a meaning different from that conveyed by any known translation. In such cases I usually translate the verse as the *Zohar* understands it and then explain the difference in the commentary.

The main purpose of the commentary is to clarify the dense symbolism and unique terminology. Here I seek to elicit the meaning of the text, drawing it forth from the *Zohar*'s own language without being heavy-handed—without ruining the subtlety and ambiguity of the original. Remember that the *Zohar* was not intended to be easily understood but rather to be deciphered. I want to allow and compel the reader to wrestle with the text. Over the centuries, the tendency has

grown to overinterpret, with commentators often insisting on assigning sefirotic significance to nearly every image and metaphor. I have resisted this tendency, while still identifying sefirotic correspondences when they are called for. Often a phrase or passage implies more than one meaning; the reader is encouraged to ponder various possibilities.

To clarify the context, I cite sources and parallels from the Bible, rabbinic literature, and the *Zohar* itself, with occasional references to secondary literature. The aim is not to overwhelm the reader by citing everything conceivable, but rather to provide what is needed to make sense of this enigmatic work of art.[30]

In composing the commentary, I have drawn on numerous traditional and modern *Zohar* commentaries, especially those of Moses Cordovero, Shim'on Lavi, Ḥayyim Vital, Abraham Galante, Shalom Buzaglo, Yehudah Ashlag, Charles Mopsik, and Daniel Frisch.[31] Other valuable resources include the annotations of Reuven Margaliot (*Nitsotsei Zohar*) in his edition of the *Zohar*, Isaiah Tishby's monumental *Mishnat ha-Zohar* (The Wisdom of the *Zohar*), *Gershom Scholem's Annotated Zohar*, and Yehuda Liebes's eye-opening *Peraqim be-Millon Sefer ha-Zohar* (Sections of the *Zohar* Lexicon).

A glossary, bibliography, and an index of biblical and rabbinic citations are appended to each volume. A diagram of the ten *sefirot* appears on page xi of this volume. The standard Aramaic pagination of the *Zohar* is indicated in the running head on each page (e.g., 1:34b).

How to Read the Zohar

There is no single right way to read and proceed through the *Zohar*, but I can point out certain features and suggest several guidelines.

First of all, the *Zohar* is dynamic—full of surprises. Typically we find that "Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose were walking on the way," wandering through the hills of Galilee, sharing secrets of Torah—but also moving from one dimension to another, accompanied by *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence Herself. Who knows whom they will encounter on the road? A child amazes them with wisdom, a beggar enriches them with precious teachings, a cantankerous old donkey-driver turns out to be a sage in disguise.

You are about to enter an enchanted realm. Still, although the *Zohar* sometimes reads like a mystical novel, remember that this is fundamentally a biblical commentary. It's helpful to have a Bible at hand to check the original context, to see how a particular verse becomes a springboard for the imagination.

Every few pages we read: “Rabbi Ḥiyya opened,” “Rabbi Yose opened,” signifying that he is opening not only his exposition but also the verse: disclosing new layers of meaning, expanding the range of interpretation. The reader of the *Zohar* should be open, too—open to new ways of thinking and imagining. As the *Ḥavrayya* (Companions) continually exclaim, “Come and see!”

The *Zohar* is firmly rooted in tradition but thrives on discovery. “This verse has been discussed, but come and see!” “This verse has been established, but come and see!”[32] “Innovations of Torah are required here!”[33] Innovation emerges through scrutinizing the biblical text, so questioning becomes a supreme value. After Rabbi Ḥizkiyah asks Rabbi Abba a challenging question, we are told that “Rabbi Abba came and kissed him.”[34] Why? Because, as one commentator notes here, “The question is half the answer; without a question, there is no reason for an answer.”[35]

Even when the meaning of a verse is perfectly clear, the *Zohar* may question its structure, sometimes probing so deeply that the reader is stunned. To take an extreme example, come and see how Rabbi El’azar deals with the concluding verse in the story of the Garden of Eden, which could hardly be more explicit: *He drove out Adam*.[36] “We do not know who divorced whom: if the blessed Holy One divorced Adam, or not.”[37] As the rabbi demonstrates by exegetical artifice, the mystical meaning is the shocking alternative lurking within that bland phrase, “or not”: Adam *drove out*, divorced *Shekhinah*, splitting Her from Her divine partner, *Tif’eret*, and from himself. Once, as Adam, humanity was wedded to God. The original sin lies in losing intimacy with the divine, thereby constricting unbounded awareness. This loss follows inevitably from tasting the fruit of discursive knowledge; it is the price we pay for maturity and culture. The spiritual challenge is to search for that lost treasure—without renouncing the self or the world.

As you read, see how the *Ḥavrayya* coax new meaning out of a biblical verse, phrase, word—or even letter. Often, they rely on standard rabbinic techniques of interpretation, such as verbal analogy: “Here is written: [such-and-such a biblical expression], and there is written: [an identical (or nearly identical) expression],” implying a close link between the two expressions.

The hermeneutical leap may be long, far from the literal meaning, but sometimes a verse is read “hyperliterally,” ignoring idiomatic usage in favor of a radically spiritual sense. For example, when God commands Abraham, לך לך (*Lekh lekha*), *Go forth, ... to the land that I will show you* (Genesis 12:1), Rabbi El’azar insists on reading the words more literally than they were intended: *Lekh lekha*, *Go to yourself!*[38] Search deep within to discover your true self.

Another startling illustration is the *Zohar*’s reading of the opening words of

the Torah, traditionally rendered: *In the beginning God created*. Everyone assumes the verse describes the creation of the world, but for the *Zohar* it alludes to a more primal beginning: the emanation of the *sefirot* from *Ein Sof* ("Infinity"). How is this allusion discovered, or invented? By insisting on reading the Hebrew words in their precise order: בראשית אלהים ברא (*Bereshit bara Elohim*), construed now as *With beginning, It created Elohim*—that is, by means of *Ḥokhmah* (the *sefirah* of "Wisdom," known as *beginning*), *It* (ineffable *Ein Sof*) emanated *Binah* (the *sefirah* of "Understanding," known by the divine name *Elohim*).[39] *God*, it turns out, is the object of the verse, not the subject! The ultimate divine reality, *Ein Sof*, transcends and explodes our comfortable conception of "God." The *Zohar* dares us to confront this reality, as it transforms the familiar story of Creation into divine biography.

So, as you undertake this adventure, expect to be surprised—stay alert. The *Zohar*'s teachings are profound and intense; one who hopes to enter and emerge in peace should be careful, persevering, simultaneously receptive and active. The message is not served to you on a platter; you must engage the text and join the search for meaning. Follow the words to what lies beyond and within; open the gates of imagination.

Above all, don't reduce everything you encounter in these pages to something you already know. Beware of trying to find "the essence" of a particular teaching. Although usually essence is the goal of mystical search, here essence is inadequate unless it stimulates you to explore ever deeper layers, to question your assumptions about tradition, God, and self. In the words of a Zoharic parable:

> There was a man who lived in the mountains. He knew nothing about those who lived in the city. He sowed wheat and ate the kernels raw. One day he entered the city. They offered him good bread. The man asked, "What's this for?"
>
> They replied, "It's bread, to eat!"
>
> He ate, and it tasted very good. He asked, "What's it made of?"
>
> They answered, "Wheat."
>
> Later they offered him thick loaves kneaded with oil. He tasted them, and asked, "And what are these made of?"
>
> They answered, "Wheat."
>
> Later they offered him royal pastry kneaded with honey and oil. He asked, "And what are these made of?"
>
> They answered, "Wheat."

He said, “Surely I am the master of all of these, since I eat the essence of all of these: wheat!”

Because of that view, he knew nothing of the delights of the world, which were lost on him. So it is with one who grasps the principle but is unaware of all those delectable delights deriving, diverging from that principle.[40]

Acknowledgments

TO THANK ALL the people who have helped me begin to plumb the *Zohar* would burst this book's binding. So here I will briefly trace my path and acknowledge some of those who have helped me along the way.

My father, of blessed memory, Rabbi Hershel Jonah Matt, taught me that God is real, and that by studying Torah you can experience *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence. (I have sketched his life and assembled his writings in *Walking Humbly with God*.) My mother, Gustine, has always been a fountain of love and a source of strength; I am grateful for her deep wisdom.

I first ventured into *Sefer ha-Zohar* in 1970 during my junior year abroad at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The thick volumes were simultaneously forbidding and alluring; deciphering the Aramaic text was a puzzle, a challenge, a quest. Soon I fell in love with the *Zohar*, captivated by its lush imagery and poetic magic. My teachers that year in Kabbalah included Joseph Dan, Efraim Gottlieb, and Rivka Schatz-Uffenheimer—and a kabbalist, Rav Toledano. I thank them all for guiding me into the orchard.

From Jerusalem I returned to Brandeis University, where I completed my undergraduate degree and then, after some European travel, plunged into graduate study in Jewish mysticism with Alexander Altmann, a superb *Wissenschaft* scholar and a gem of a man. He directed my doctoral dissertation, which consisted of a critical edition of *The Book of Mirrors*, a previously unpublished fourteenth-century Hebrew commentary on the Torah by David ben Judah he-Ḥasid. I chose to edit this text because it included the first extended translations of the *Zohar*, from Aramaic to Hebrew. I was encouraged to undertake this project by Gershom Scholem, while serving as his teaching assistant in the fall of 1975.

After I completed my dissertation, my friend Arthur Green invited me to compose an annotated translation of selections from the *Zohar* for the Paulist Press, as one volume in their *Classics of Western Spirituality*. Years earlier, Art had initiated me into the mystical thought of Hasidism, which stimulated me to uncover its roots in the *Zohar*. I am grateful for his insight and guidance over the

years, and for demonstrating how to combine scholarship and spirituality.

For two decades, I taught Jewish mysticism in Berkeley at the Graduate Theological Union (GTU), a school where Jews, Christians, and Buddhists study side by side, stimulating one another. I learned much there from my colleagues and students; I want to thank, in particular, David Winston and David Biale for their friendship and for the depth of their learning.

I had been at the GTU for many years already when, one afternoon in September 1995, Art Green called me on the phone and told me about a woman from Chicago named Margot Pritzker. She had been studying the *Zohar* with Rabbi Yehiel Poupko, but the dated English translation they were reading had proved inadequate. Margot had decided to commission a new translation, said Art, and she was inviting me to undertake the task! I was astounded, and told my friend that I needed a few days to consider this.

The days turned into weeks, which turned into months, as I kept wrestling with the thrilling, terrifying offer. I decided to translate a short section of the *Zohar* to see how it felt, but I poured myself into the experiment so intensely, day after day, that I was left drained, exhausted, discouraged. How could I keep this up for years and years? I reluctantly resolved to decline the offer, but Art convinced me to at least meet this woman and her rabbi; so the following May, the four of us gathered at the O'Hare Hyatt. I expressed my hesitation to them, and told Margot that the project could take twelve to fifteen years—to which she responded, "You're not scaring me!" I was won over by her genuine desire to penetrate the *Zohar* and make it accessible to English readers. A year or so later, over Independence Day weekend 1997, the *Zohar* project formally began with a two-day conference outside Chicago attended by the leading academic scholars of Kabbalah. They were invited not just to participate in this conference but to constitute the Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, which was intended to guide and support this translation. (The members of the committee are listed at the front of this volume.) Over the past six years, I have benefited immensely from their feedback and encouragement. I thank all of them, especially Moshe Idel, Yehuda Liebes, Ronit Meroz, and Elliot Wolfson. Time and again, Yehuda generously shared insights drawn from his vast, intimate knowledge of the *Zohar*. I smile, recalling the many times we wrestled over the mystifying Aramaic, deepening our understanding of the text and our friendship.

I spent the second year of the project (1998–99) at the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on a program entitled "Studying the *Zohar*," directed by Yehuda Liebes. Here seven fellows and seven other visiting scholars (all fourteen of us, members of the Academic Committee) engaged in research on various aspects of the text. Our weekly seminars were

devoted to a close reading of *Zohar* passages—often those that I was currently translating. Here I presented a draft of my translation and benefited from the responses of my colleagues. I am grateful to all of them, as well as to the staff of the Institute, who provided an ideal setting for our research. When the yearlong program ended in June 1999, the institute graciously allowed me to retain an office for the following year as well.

In the summer of 2000, it was finally time to leave the tranquil environment of the institute. Fortunately, Rabbi David Hartman provided me with an office at the Shalom Hartman Institute across town, where I spent the following two years (2000–2002) in an atmosphere simultaneously peaceful and stimulating. David's enthusiasm for Torah energizes everyone around him, and I thank him for his support and encouragement, and for his healthy skepticism of mystical excess. I was enriched by my contact with many of the fellows at the Hartman Institute, especially Donniel Hartman (co-director), Daniel Abrams, Moshe Halbertal, Moshe Idel, Israel Knohl, Levi Lauer, Menachem Lorberbaum, Yair Lorberbaum, Israel Ta-Shma, and Shlomo Naeh. Shlomo was always generous in sharing with me his immense linguistic knowledge.

As described in the Translator's Introduction, I have based my English rendering on a critical text of the *Zohar*, which I have constructed by drawing on variant readings from a wide range of manuscripts. I could not have accomplished this task without my indefatigable research assistant, Barry Mark, who spent more than five years painstakingly preparing lists of these variants for the first two volumes of the translation. I thank him immensely for his years of devotion to this task. Recently, Merav Carmeli has followed in his footsteps, proving herself a worthy successor, and I am indebted to her as well.

Arthur Green has carefully read large portions of this translation and offered criticism and suggestions, for which I am truly grateful. As co-chair of the Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, he has helped guide the project from its birth.

Numerous libraries offered valuable resources, especially the Gershom Scholem Collection and the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, both housed in the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. I want to thank, in particular, Esther Liebes (head of the Scholem Collection) for her constant willingness to help, Benjamin Richler (director of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts) along with his staff, and Adam Verete for checking obscure references. Other libraries and collections that provided precious material include: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican; Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome; Biblioteca Palatina, Parma; Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; the

British Library; Cambridge University Library; the Flora Lamson Hewlett Library of the Graduate Theological Union; the Friedberg Collection, University of Toronto Library; the Guenzburg Collection of the Russian State Library, Moscow; and the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

The team at Stanford University Press, led by Geoffrey Burn and Norris Pope, has been superb to work with and wondrously adept at generating the first, demanding volumes of this complex classic. In addition to Geoffrey and Norris, I want to thank Lowell Britson, Alan Harvey, Randy Hurst, David Jackson, Patricia Myers, and especially Mariana Raykov and Rob Ehle. Rabbi David E. S. Stein's expert copyediting polished this *Book of Radiance*.

As I toiled and exulted over the *Zohar*, I have received sound advice and warm encouragement from my far-flung siblings: Rabbi Jonathan Matt (Israel), David Matt (Iowa), and Debbie Erdfarb (New Jersey).

My wife, Ḥana, and I have been delving together into the *Zohar* ever since we met, discovering and sharing its new-ancient meanings, gazing into each other's souls through its penetrating lens. Thank you for your compassionate wisdom and unfailing support. You bring to life the verse: *On her tongue, a Torah of love* (Proverbs 31:26). You help me understand the words of Rabbi El'azar (*Zohar* 1:141a): "Isaac embraced faith, seeing *Shekhinah* dwelling in his wife."

My angelic children, Michaella and Gavriel, have never lost their sense of wonder, and I thank them for arousing mine. May this translation touch you and open up new worlds!

Rabbi Yehiel Poupko, co-chair of the Academic Committee, has excited and inspired me ever since our first meeting seven years ago. Descended from a famous kabbalist, the *Shelah* (Isaiah Horowitz), he is intimately bound to the *Zohar* and has devoted himself to spreading its light. I thank him for conducting this project so deftly and passionately.

Glen Miller, vice president of Zohar Education Project, Inc., has vitalized this adventure through his vision and devotion. On a practical level, he has navigated the ark of *Zohar* through countless legal and administrative passageways. I am profoundly grateful.

Thomas J. Pritzker has generously supported and heartened all of us through this long process. I thank him deeply. And I wonder: Is there a correlation between Tom's passion for exploring caves to discover ancient Asian art and the fact that, according to tradition (see below, page 76), the *Zohar* was composed in a cave?

Margot, how can I express my gratitude to you? You have enabled me to devote myself to what I love—that is every scholar's dream. You have not only

sponsored this immense project; you have participated, probing the translation and commentary, skillfully guiding the entire process. I hope that I have responded to your bold generosity by opening up the *Zohar* for you and for all those who, thanks to you, will be illumined by its rays. To you I dedicate this translation.

Finally, to the One beyond all names: Blessed are You for enlivening and sustaining me, and for bringing me to this moment.

D.C.M.

Introduction

ARTHUR GREEN

I

THE *ZOHAR* is the great medieval Jewish compendium of mysticism, myth, and esoteric teaching. It may be considered the highest expression of Jewish literary imagination in the Middle Ages. Surely it is one of the most important bodies of religious text of all times and places. It is also a lush garden of sacred eros, filled to overflowing with luxurious plantings of love between master and disciples, among the mystical companions themselves, between the souls of Israel and *Shekhinah*—God's lovely bride—but most of all between the male and female elements that together make up the Godhead. Revered and canonized by generations of faithful devotees, the *Zohar*'s secret universe serves as the basis of kabbalistic faith, both within the boundaries of Judaism and beyond it, down to our own day, which has seen a significant revival of interest in Kabbalah and its teachings.

The *Zohar* is a work of sacred fantasy. To say this about it is by no means to impugn the truth of its insights or the religious profundity of its teachings. The Middle Ages are filled with fantasy. Angels and demons, heavenly principalities, chambers of heaven and rungs within the soul, secret treasures of the spirit that could be seen only by the elect, esoteric domains without end—all of these were to be found in the writings of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic authors throughout medieval times. All of them partake of fantasy. It may be said that all theological elaborations, insofar as they are allowed to become pictorial, are fantasy. They depict realities that have not been seen except by the inner eye of those who describe them, or by their sacred sources.

In the case of Judaism, prohibitions derived from the second of the Ten Commandments forbade the depiction of such sacred realms in any medium other than that of words. Perhaps because of this, the literary imagination

became extraordinarily rich. All those creative energies that might in other contexts have sought to reify sacred myth in painting, sculpture, manuscript illumination, or stained glass here had to focus on the word—especially on the timeless Jewish project of commentary and exegesis. In this sense the *Zohar* may be seen as the greatest work of medieval Jewish "iconography"—one that exists only in the words of the written page, thence to be distilled in the imagination of its devoted students.

Written in a lofty combination of Aramaic and Hebrew, the *Zohar* was first revealed to the world around the year 1300. Those who distributed it, orally and in small written fragments, claimed that it was an ancient text they had recently rediscovered, and that it had been composed in the circle of those described within its pages—Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai and his disciples, who lived in the land of Israel during the second century of the Common Era. The obscurity of the *Zohar*'s origins combined with its unique language and its rich poetic imagination to lend to the work an aura of unfathomable mystery. While a few of the more critical spirits in each century doubted the *Zohar* and questioned its authority, the great majority of readers, and later of Jewry as a whole, believed in the *Zohar* and venerated it, considering it a holy revelation and a sacred scripture that was to be ranked alongside the Bible and the Talmud as a divinely inspired source of religious truth. Only in modern times, and largely for apologetic reasons, was the *Zohar* deleted from the canon of what was considered "mainstream" Judaism.

Translation of the *Zohar* into Western languages began as early as the fifteenth century, when passages were rendered into Latin for use by Christian devotees of esoteric lore in Renaissance Italy. In the twentieth century, various translations of the *Zohar*, or at least of most sections of it, appeared in German, French, and English. The previous standard English translation is that of Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, published in 1931–34 by the Soncino Press.

The present translation and commentary by Daniel Matt reflect the high standards of *Zohar* scholarship that have been achieved in recent decades. These are the result of the new attention paid to Kabbalah in academic circles, largely thanks to the writings of Gershom Scholem (1897–1982) and the cadre of scholars he and his successors have trained within the Israeli universities. The first to bring Scholem's approach to kabbalistic studies to North American shores was Alexander Altmann (1906–1987) at Brandeis University, whose students include both the translator of these volumes and the author of this introduction. Further discussion of the translation and the principles underlying it may be found in the Translator's Introduction.

The purpose of this introduction is to equip the reader to better appreciate

the *Zohar* text. The translation before you is one that takes full cognizance of the poetic spirit in which the *Zohar* was composed and especially of the elevated tone achieved by its unique use of language. To appreciate these in the fullest sense, it must be said, the *Zohar* needs to be read, indeed studied, in the original. Like most of the kabbalistic tradition within which it stands, the *Zohar* is entranced with the mysteries of language, in both its oral and written forms. No translation could do justice to the *Zohar*'s rich and creative appropriation of the nuances of Hebrew and Aramaic speech, its startling transformation of countless biblical verses, and the frequent subtle rereadings of the Talmudic/midrashic legacy that together comprise much of the *Zohar*'s charm and genius. Nevertheless, a great deal can be gained through carefully reading and studying the *Zohar* in translation. For this to be possible, however, the reader needs to be initiated into the symbolic language in which the work was written.[1] Although the *Zohar*'s poesis often transcends the symbolic conventions, they are always present in the background of the writers' imagination. So too, it was assumed, would they be present in the mind of the reader. The *Zohar* was composed in the hope that it would be passed on and studied within circles of initiates, as indeed it was for many generations.

To appreciate the *Zohar*, you will also need to know something of the historical and literary context in which it appeared. The *Zohar* made use of a very wide selection of Jewish texts that preceded it, ranging from the Torah itself to legal, mystical, and philosophical works that were written just shortly before its appearance. It reflected on all of these and used them freely as inspiration for its own unique sort of innovative and sometimes even playful religious creativity. It is also much concerned with the Jews and their history: that recorded in Scripture, the present exile, and the dream of messianic redemption. These, too, form part of the background needed to understand the *Zohar*.

This introduction will begin by outlining the development of Kabbalah in the century leading up to the *Zohar*, considering also the use made in Kabbalah of prior Jewish sources. We will then turn to the *Zohar* itself, discussing in turn its style of thought and exegesis, its narrative modes, and the question of the *Zohar*'s appearance and authorship. Because this essay serves as an introduction to the entire *Zohar* text, we will not quote passages to exemplify the analysis offered. We hope that the reader will proceed from this introduction to a careful reading of the text and commentary, finding ample passages throughout the *Zohar* against which to test the claims offered in this brief introductory essay.

The "tall order" detailed in the preceding paragraphs requires a disclaimer. Monographs and learned articles have been written on each of the subjects just mentioned. Some of them have been the subject of entire books. This

introduction does not seek to break new ground in most of them. It is rather a digest of what the writer considers to be the finest scholarship and deepest insights regarding the *Zohar* that have been written since Scholem began the era of modern Kabbalah scholarship. While responsibility for any misunderstandings or omissions in this introduction are entirely my own, I wish to acknowledge fully that the insights contained within it are those of three or four generations of scholars who have labored hard as today's *meḥatstsedei haqla*, "reapers in the field," of *Zohar* scholarship. Many of these are members of the Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, and their names are listed at the front of this volume. I am grateful to each of them for their contributions to our collective efforts to understand even "a drop in the sea" of the *Zohar*'s profound secrets.

II

Jewish mysticism in the Middle Ages is a rereading of earlier Jewish tradition, including both the Bible and the corpus of rabbinic literature. It has to be understood in the context of the great project of medieval Jewry as a whole, the interpretation of a received, authoritative, and essentially complete body of normative Jewish teaching. This body of teaching, canonized in the Gaonic age (eighth-tenth centuries), nominally commanded the loyalty of all Jewry, with the exception of a Karaite minority. But the deeper attachment of Jews to this tradition had to be re-won constantly, especially in the face of both Christian and Muslim polemics against Judaism, ever the religious culture of a minority living in the shadow of one or the other of its giant offspring. Increasingly, various new intellectual currents that came into fashion among the Jews also occasioned a need for defense or reinterpretation of the tradition. These included Mut'azilite Philosophy, Neoplatonism, and Aristotelianism. The classic form for such reinterpretation of authoritative texts was the commentary, whether on one or more books of the Bible or on a part of the Talmudic legacy. Kabbalah, a new sort of mystical-esoteric exegesis first appearing in the twelfth century, may be seen as another medieval rereading of the received Jewish canon.

In order to understand the ways in which Kabbalah, and particularly the *Zohar*, finds its home within the earlier tradition, we need to distinguish five elements that are present in the legacy that medieval Jews had received from the Judaism of late antiquity or the Talmudic age. Although these five are not at all equal either in the amount of text devoted to them or in the degree of formal authority with which they are accredited, each was to play an important role in

the new configuration of Judaism that Kabbalah represents.

First of the five is *aggadah*, the narrative tradition, contained in the Talmud and the various works of Midrash. Midrash is a hermeneutical term, renderable both as "inquiry" and "homiletics," indicating a way of delving into Scripture that tended toward fanciful and extended rereadings. Much of *aggadah* is legendary in content, expanding biblical history and recreating the biblical landscape in the setting of the rabbinic world. But *aggadah* also includes tales of the rabbis themselves and teachings of wisdom in many forms: maxims, parables, folk traditions, and so forth.

The kabbalists made great use of the midrashic/aggadic tradition, drawing on both its methods of interpretation and its contents. The hermeneutical assumptions of Midrash, including the legitimacy of juxtaposing verses from anywhere within Scripture without concern for dating or context, the rearranging of words or even occasional substitution of letters, use of numerology and abbreviation as ways to derive meaning, the endless glorification of biblical heroes and the tarring of villains—all of these and others were carried over from Midrash into Kabbalah. Indeed many of them were used by other sorts of medieval preachers as well. But the content of the aggadic worldview—with its mythic picture of God as Creator and divine Ruler who sees everywhere; who acts in history; who responds to prayer and human virtue, even suspending the laws of nature to rescue His beloved; who mourns with Israel the destruction of their shared Temple and suffers with them the pain of exile—all this too was faithfully carried over into the kabbalistic imagination. In fact the kabbalists were partial to the most highly anthropomorphic and mythic versions of rabbinic tradition, such as were contained in the eighth-century collection *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer*. Here they stood in sharp contrast to the prior emerging intellectual trend of the Middle Ages: Jewish philosophy, which exercised a degree of critical skepticism with regard to the more fantastic claims of the *aggadah* and sought out, whenever possible, those more modest and somewhat naturalistic viewpoints that could be found among certain of the early rabbis.

Second is the tradition of *halakhah*, the legal and normative body of Talmudic teaching, the chief subject of study for Jews throughout the era, and thus the main curriculum upon which most kabbalists themselves were educated. The early kabbalists lived fully within the bounds of *halakhah* and created a meaning system that justified its existence. While later Kabbalah (beginning in the early fourteenth century) contains some elements that are quite critical of *halakhah*, little of this trend is evident in the period before the *Zohar*. Some transmitters of Kabbalah—Rabbi Moses Naḥmanides (see below) is the great example—were also active in the realm of halakhic creativity, writing responsa and

commentaries on Talmudic tractates. More common was a certain intellectual specialization, undoubtedly reflecting spiritual temperament, spawning kabbalists who lived faithfully within *halakhah* and whose writings show its patterning of their lives, but who devoted their literary efforts chiefly to the realm of mystical exegesis, including kabbalistic comments on the commandments or reflection on aspects of halakhic practice.

A third element of the rabbinic legacy is the liturgical tradition. While liturgical praxis was codified within *halakhah* and thus in some ways is a subset of it, the texts recited in worship—including a large corpus of liturgical poetry, or *piyyut*—constitute a literary genre of their own. Medieval writers, including the mystics of both Spain and Ashkenaz, were much concerned with establishing the precise proper wording of each prayer. The text of the prayer book had been mostly fixed by compendia dating from the tenth century; in the Middle Ages, however, it became the object of commentaries, many of which sought to find their authors' own theologies reflected in these venerated and widely known texts by the ancient rabbis. This is especially true of the kabbalists, who devoted much attention to the *kavvanah*, or inward meaning, of liturgical prayer.

The fourth strand of earlier tradition is that of Merkavah mysticism. *Merkavah* designates a form of visionary mystical praxis that reaches back into the Hellenistic era but was still alive as late as tenth-century Babylonia. Its roots lie close to Apocalyptic literature, except that here the voyager taken up into the heavens is usually offered a private encounter with the divine glory, one that does not involve metahistorical predications. Those who "went down into the *merkavah*" sought visions that took them before the throne of God, allowing them to travel through the divine "palaces" (*heikhalot*), realms replete with angels and, at the height of ecstasy, to participate in or even lead the angelic chorus. The term *merkavah* (chariot) links this tradition to the opening vision of the prophet Ezekiel, which was seen as the great paradigm for all such visionary experiences and accounts. It is also connected to the *qedushah* formula ("Holy, holy, holy is *YHVH* of hosts; the whole earth is filled with His glory!") of Isaiah 6, since it is this refrain that most Merkavah voyagers recount hearing the angels sing as they stand with them in the heavenly heights.

The Merkavah tradition was known to the medievals in two ways. Treatises by those who had practiced this form of mysticism, often preserved in fragmentary and inchoate form, were copied and brought from the Near East to western Europe, as we shall see below. But just as important were the references to Merkavah practice in the Talmudic literature itself, a fact that lent legitimacy to the fascination that latter-day mystics clearly felt for this material. Such great Talmudic sages as Rabbi Akiva and Rabban Yoḥanan son of Zakkai were

associated with Merkavah traditions. Akiva, considered in some aggadic sources to be a sort of second Moses, is the subject of the most famous of all rabbinic accounts of such mystical voyages. He alone, unlike the other three of the "four who entered the orchard," was able to "enter in peace and leave in peace." While some modern scholars question the historicity of associating the early rabbinic sages with Merkavah praxis, in the Middle Ages the Talmudic sources were quite sufficient to sustain this link. It was the philosophic questioners of the Merkavah traditions, rather than their mystical supporters, who were hard-pressed to defend their views. Merkavah traditions also had considerable influence on the rabbinic liturgy, and this association too raised their esteem in medieval eyes.

The fifth and final element of this ancient legacy is the hardest to define, partly because it hangs on the thread of a slim body of text, but also because it contains elements that seem contradictory to one another. I refer to the speculative/magical tradition that reached medieval Jewry through the little book called *Sefer Yetsirah* and various other small texts, mostly magical in content, that are associated with it. *Sefer Yetsirah* has been shown to be a very ancient work, close in spirit to aspects of Greek esotericism that flourished in the late Hellenistic era. While the practice associated with this school of thought is magical/theurgic, even including the attempt to make a *golem*, its chief text contains the most abstract worldview to be found within the legacy of ancient Judaism. By contemplating the core meaning of both numbers and letters, it reaches toward a notion of cosmic unity that underlies diversity, of an abstract deity that serves as cosmic center, in whom (or perhaps better: "in which") all being is rooted. The magical praxis is thus a form of *imitatio dei*, man's attempt to reignite the creative spark by which the universe has emerged from within the Godhead. Here we have the roots of a theology more abstract than anything to be found in the *aggadah* or the Merkavah tradition, an essentially speculative and nonvisual mysticism.

Sefer Yetsirah was the subject of a wide variety of commentaries in the Middle Ages, rationalists as well as mystics claiming it as their own. In the twelfth century, the language and style of thought found in this work became central to the first generations of kabbalistic writing, as reflected by commentaries on it and by the penetration of its terminology into other works as well.

Kabbalah must be seen as a dynamic mix of these five elements, sometimes with one dominating, sometimes adding the mix of another. It was especially the first and last listed, the aggadic/mythic element and the abstract/speculative/magical tradition that seemed to vie for the leading role in

forging the emerging kabbalistic way of thought.

Jewish esoteric traditions began to reach the small and isolated communities of western Europe (some of which dated back to Roman times) perhaps as early as the ninth or tenth century. How these ancient materials first came to Franco-German Jewry is lost in legend, but it is clear from manuscript evidence that much of the old Merkavah and magical literature was preserved among the earliest Ashkenazic Jews, along with their devotion to both *halakhah* and *aggadah*. These esoteric sources were studied especially by groups in the Rhineland, who added to them their own speculations on God, the cosmos, and the secrets of the Torah. Out of these circles there emerged in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries a movement known to history as *Ḥasidut Ashkenaz*, a pietistic revivalism based on small communities or brotherhoods of mystics who committed themselves to high standards of ascetic practice and contemplative devotion. These groups also played a key role in the preservation and further development of esoteric traditions.

It was in the area of southern France called Provence, culturally akin in the High Middle Ages to northern Spain, that a somewhat different sort of esoteric speculations began to emerge. These came to be called by the name Kabbalah, a term applied to this emerging school of mystical thought in the early thirteenth century. The word means “tradition”; its use in this context indicates that the kabbalists saw themselves as a conservative element within the Jewish religious community. Their secrets—so they claimed—were *qabbalah*, esoteric teachings received from ancient masters by means of faithful oral transmission from one generation to the next.

The Provençal Jewish community in the twelfth century was one of great cultural wealth, forming something of a bridge between the spiritual legacy of Jewish creativity in Spain of Muslim times and the rather separate world of Jewry in the Ashkenazic or Franco-Rhenish area. It is in this cultural realm that Kabbalah first appears, about the middle of the twelfth century. The origins of this spiritual and literary movement are obscure and still much debated. There are clearly elements of Near Eastern origin in the earliest Kabbalah, materials related to Merkavah and late midrashic texts that were present in the Holy Land in the ninth or tenth centuries. There are also strong influences of elements that were to appear in Rhineland Hasidism as well, indicating that at some early point these two movements had a common origin. But here in Provence, a new sort of religious discourse began to emerge in circles of mystics who combined knowledge of these various traditions. These groups, which may have been several generations in formation, are known to us as the editors of one of the strangest and most fascinating documents in the long history of Hebrew

literature. This slim volume is known as *Sefer ha-Bahir*, awkwardly renderable as *The Book of Clarity*. We first find reference to it in Provençal works of the latter twelfth century, and from that time forward it has a continuous history as a major shaper of Jewish mystical ideas.

The *Bahir* takes the form of ancient rabbinic Midrash, expounding on biblical phrases, tying one verse of Scripture to another, and constructing units of its own thought around what it offers as scriptural exegesis. Like the old Midrash, it makes frequent use of parables, showing special fondness for those involving kings and their courts, in which God is repeatedly compared to "a king of flesh and blood." In form, then, the *Bahir* is quite traditional. But as soon as the reader opens its pages to look at the content, astonishment takes over. The text simply does not work as Midrash. Questions are asked and not answered, or answered in a way that only adds mystification. Images are proposed that in the midrashic context surely refer to God, and then suddenly things are said that make such a reading theologically impossible (The "King" turns out to have an older brother, for example). What sort of questions are these, and what sort of answers? The scholar is sometimes tempted to emend the text!

If one comes to the *Bahir*, on the other hand, bearing some familiarity with the methods of mystical teachers, particularly in the Orient, the text may seem less bizarre. Despite its title, the purpose of the book is precisely to mystify rather than to make anything "clear" in the ordinary sense. Here the way to clarity is to discover the mysterious. The reader is being taught to recognize how much there is that he doesn't know, how filled Scripture is with seemingly impenetrable secrets. "You think you know the meaning of this verse?" says the *Bahir* to its reader. "Here is an interpretation that will throw you on your ear and show you that you understand nothing of it at all." Everything in the Torah, be it a tale of Abraham, a poetic verse, or an obscure point of law, hints at a reality beyond that which you can obtain by the ordinary dialectics of either Talmudic or philosophical thinking.

As we read on in the *Bahir*, it becomes clear that the authors are not simply advocating obscurantism for its own sake. The text has in mind a notion, often expressed only vaguely, of a world that lies behind the many hints and mysteries of the scriptural word. To say it briefly, the *Bahir* and all kabbalists that follow it claim that the true subject of Scripture is God Himself, that revelation is essentially an act of divine self-disclosure. Because most people would not be able to bear the great light that comes with knowing God, the Torah reveals divinity in secret form. Scripture is strewn with hints as to the true nature of "that which is above" and the mysterious process within divinity that led to the creation of this world. Only in the exoteric, public sense is revelation primarily a

matter of divine *will*, teaching the commandments Israel is to follow in order to live the good life. The inner, esoteric revelation is rather one of divine *truth*, a web of secrets pointing to the innermost nature of God's own self. That self is disclosed in the garb of a newly emergent symbolic language, one describing the inner life of the Deity around a series of image-clusters that will come to be called (in a term derived from *Sefer Yetsirah*) the ten *sefirot*.

The earliest documentary evidence of Kabbalah is found in two very different sorts of literary sources. The *Bahir* constitutes one of these. Alongside it there is a more theoretical or abstract series of kabbalistic writings. These appear first in the family and close circle of Rabbi Abraham ben David of Posquieres, a well-known Provençal Talmudic authority. His son, Rabbi Isaac the Blind (d. ca. 1235), and others linked to his study circle (including family members) evidence an ongoing tradition of kabbalistic praxis both in their brief commentaries on prayer and on *Sefer Yetsirah*, and in their written reflections on names of God. These treatises—quite laconic in style when compared with the mythic lushness of the *Bahir*—point to an already well-defined system of kabbalistic contemplation, suggesting that their appearance after 1150 may reflect a decision to reveal in writing that which had been previously kept secret, rather than an entirely new genre of religious creativity. The sort of rabbinic circles in which Kabbalah is first found are highly conservative; it is hard to imagine them inventing this new sort of religious language on their own. It seems more likely that they saw themselves as guardians and transmitters of a secret tradition, passed down to them from sources unknown, but in their eyes surely ancient.

The context for the publication of kabbalistic secrets is the great spiritual turmoil that divided Provençal Jewry in the second half of the twelfth century: the controversy over philosophy, and especially over the works of Rabbi Moses Maimonides (1135–1204). This conflict came to a head with the public burning of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* (by the Dominicans, but possibly with the tacit approval of anti-Maimonidean Jews) in 1232. The surrounding struggle engaged the intellectual life of the Provençal Jewish elite for several decades. As the era's great halakhic authority and codifier of Jewish law, Maimonides' name commanded tremendous respect. In many writings of the age, he is simply referred to as "the Rabbi." But his works raised not a few questions regarding his degree of theological orthodoxy. Did Maimonides go too far in his insistence that the Bible's ascription of emotions to God, as well as bodily attributes, was a form of anthropomorphism that needed to be explained away? Was it right that he derived so much of his wisdom from non-Jewish sources, the Greek and Islamic philosophical traditions? Was he correct in identifying the ancient

rabbinic references to “The Account of the Chariot” and “The Account of Creation” with metaphysics and physics as the philosophers taught them? Did he have a right to dismiss certain old Jewish esoteric speculations as inauthentic nonsense? Still more painful in this law-centered culture: how could the rabbi have given legal status to his own Aristotelian philosophic views, seemingly insisting, in the opening section of his Code, that any Jew who did not share them was either an idolator or a naive fool?

But the heart of the Maimonidean controversy went deeper than all of these accusations, touching the very heart of the philosophical notion of the Godhead. Philosophy insisted on divine perfection—on the unchanging, all-knowing, all-capable quality of God. If perfect and unchanging, this God was necessarily self-sufficient and in no need of human actions of any sort. Why, then, would such a God care about performance of the commandments? How could a Torah centered on religious law, including so much of ritual performance, represent the embodiment of divine will? Maimonides taught that indeed God had no “need” for us to fulfill the commandments. The chief purpose of religious observance was educational, a God-given way of cultivating the mind to turn toward God. But once the lesson had been learned, some suspected, there would be those who would come to see the form itself as no longer needed. Moreover it was rumored that in some circles of wealthy Jewry in Muslim Spain, the abstractions of philosophy had begun to serve as an excuse for a more lax view of the commandments and the details of their observance.

Some rabbis of Provence were deeply loyal to a more literalist reading of the Talmudic and midrashic legacy, one that left little room for the radical rationalization of Judaism proposed by the philosophers. Others had been exposed to the esoteric traditions of the Rhineland and northern France, which stood in conflict with the new philosophy partly because they seemed to highlight—rather than minimize—the anthropomorphic passages in Scripture and tradition. The Franco-Rhenish tradition also had room for a strong magical component to religion. Ancient speculations on secret names of God and the angels still held currency in these circles. The power of using such names to affect the divine will, utter blasphemy in the eyes of the Maimonidean, was taken for granted in early Ashkenaz, as it had been centuries earlier throughout the Jewish world.

The secrets of Kabbalah were made public in this age as a way to combat the influence of Maimonidean rationalism. The freedom and implied disinterest in human affairs of the philosophers’ God frightened the mystics into coming out of the deep esotericism that had until then restricted them to oral transmission of their teachings within closed conventicles of initiates. Their secrets were to serve

as an alternative explanation of the Torah, one that saw Torah and its commandments not only as playing a vital role in the ongoing spiritual life of Israel, but also as having a cosmos-sustaining role in a view of the universe that made them absolutely essential. It is no accident that two of the key subjects discussed in these earliest kabbalistic speculations are the *kavvanot*, or secret meanings of prayer, and *ta'amei ha-mitsvot*, the reasons for the commandments. Both of these are interpreted in a way that insists on the cosmic effects of human actions. The special concentration on divine names played an essential part in early Kabbalah, setting in course a theme that was to be developed over many centuries of kabbalistic praxis.

The secret doctrines first taught in Provence were carried across the Pyrenees in the early thirteenth century, inspiring small circles of mystics in the adjacent district of Catalonia. One key center of this activity was the city of Gerona, well known as the home of two of the most important rabbinic figures of the age, Rabbi Moses ben Naḥman (called Naḥmanides) and Rabbi Jonah Gerondi (ca. 1200–1263). Naḥmanides, perhaps the most widely respected Jewish intellectual figure of the thirteenth century, is the most important personage associated with the early dissemination of kabbalistic secrets. He was a leading Talmudic commentator, scriptural interpreter, and legal authority. His Torah commentary includes numerous passages—most brief and intentionally obscure, but several lengthy and highly developed—where he speaks "in the way of truth," referring to secret kabbalistic traditions. Alongside Naḥmanides there emerged a somewhat separate circle of kabbalists including two very important teachers, Rabbi Ezra ben Solomon and Rabbi Azriel. These figures seem to have been more innovative than Naḥmanides in their kabbalistic exegesis and also more open to the Neoplatonic philosophy of Abraham Ibn Ezra and others that was gaining credence in their day. Naḥmanides was essentially conservative in his kabbalistic readings, insisting that he was only passing down what he had received from his teachers, and his view of philosophical thought in general was quite negative. Rabbi Ezra, the author of commentaries on the Song of Songs and some Talmudic *aggadot*, and his disciple Rabbi Azriel, who wrote a larger treatise on the *aggadot* as well as a widely quoted commentary on the liturgy, combined the legacy of the *Bahir* with teachings received from Rabbi Isaac the Blind and his nephew Rabbi Asher ben David. They read Kabbalah in a Neoplatonic spirit, which is to say that they saw the *sefirot* as an ordered series of emanations, increasingly removed from an unknowable primal source.

This Catalonian kabbalistic tradition remained fairly close to the original purpose we have suggested for the publication of kabbalistic secrets. Naḥmanides' inclusion of openly kabbalistic references in his highly popular

Torah commentary complemented his fierce polemical attacks in that same work on Maimonides' philosophical interpretation of the Torah. Jacob bar Sheshet, another key Gerona figure, also engaged in the battle against the rationalists. While neither Rabbi Azriel nor Rabbi Ezra of Gerona is known to have written anything outside the realm of Kabbalah, their writings reflect significant rabbinic learning and show them to belong to the same traditionalist and anti-Aristotelian circles. Neoplatonism, they found, was a philosophy more amenable to the needs of mystics, thus rediscovering in a Jewish context something that Christian mystics had come to know many centuries earlier.

Around the middle of the thirteenth century, a new center of kabbalistic activity became active in Castile, to the west of Catalonia. Soon the writings of this new group, out of which the *Zohar* was to emerge, overshadowed those of the earlier Catalonian circle with regard to both volume and originality of output. The Castilian kabbalists' writings were not characterized by the highly conservative rabbinic attitude that had been lent to Kabbalah by such figures as Rabbi Isaac the Blind and Naḥmanides. This circle had its roots more planted in the *Bahir* tradition than in that of the abstract language of early Provençal/Catalonian Kabbalah. Mythic imagery was richly developed in the writings of such figures as the brothers Rabbi Isaac and Rabbi Jacob ha-Kohen and their disciple Rabbi Moses of Burgos. Their writings show a special fascination with the "left side" of the divine emanation and the world of the demonic. Rabbi Isaac ha-Kohen developed a full-blown mythos in which the forces of evil were presented as near autonomous powers emanated in an act of purgation from the depths of divinity. Dependent upon both the divine and the human for their existence, they exist at the liminal outskirts of the sefirotic realm and the phenomenal universe, at the very borders of chaos and non-being. There they wait in ambush for the *Shekhinah* and the worlds that She creates and nurtures. Thus, to the world picture of divine sefirotic hierarchy and an emanated cosmos, the Castilians add a parallel but antithetical realm of the demonic, serving as the source of all that is destructive in the cosmos.

This conception of the "left-hand emanation" is founded on a set of suggestive aggadic statements and biblical verses. In particular, the Castilian kabbalists' imagination was sparked by Rabbi Abbahu's famous dictum: "The blessed Holy One created and destroyed worlds before He created these, saying: 'These please me. Those did not please me.'" Out of this and other fragments of aggadic thought, Rabbi Isaac spun an elaborate mythos in which the *sefirah Binah*, at the dawn of time, welled forth emanations of pure *din* (literally "judgment," but resulting in absolute forces of destruction, whose intensity doomed them to almost immediate annihilation). From the residue of these destructive forces rose

a hierarchy of powers of unmitigated judgment. Possessing no creative potency of their own, these forces are ontologically dependent upon divinity and are energized by the power released by human transgression.

Because of their fascination with myths of the demonic realm, this group was characterized by Gershom Scholem as the "Gnostic Circle" of Castilian kabbalists. Their writings had great influence in the further development of kabbalistic thought. They are the most immediate predecessors of the circle of kabbalists represented in the *Zohar*. The mythic imagination of the *Zohar*, reaching to its greatest heights in depicting the realms of evil, has its roots in this setting. It is likely that Rabbi Moses de León, the central figure in both the writing and the circulation of the *Zohar*, saw himself as a disciple of these "Gnostic" kabbalists. Rabbi Todros Abulafia, a kabbalist who also served as an important political leader of Castilian Jewry, is another important link between these two groups. Although significant in their own day, the writings of the Gnostic circle were mostly forgotten by later generations of kabbalists and were not printed until Scholem himself retrieved them from rare surviving manuscripts.

There is another difference between Catalonian and Castilian circles that is especially important for understanding the *Zohar*'s place in the history of Kabbalah. The earliest kabbalists were fascinated with the origin of the sefirotic world, devoting much of their speculation to the highest *sefirot* and their relationship to that which lies beyond them. They were also deeply committed to the full unity of the sefirotic world, even to its circularity, so that the rising of all the *sefirot* to be united with the highest one was a frequently articulated goal of contemplation. Varied patterns of inner connection in the upper worlds were reflected in the *kavvanot* (mystical directions) of prayers and in understandings of ritual commandments, but the ultimate goal of all of these was the full restoration of the divine unity and the rise of all to the highest rung, designated as *maḥashavah* or *haskel* (contemplation, intellect). The situation was quite different in the Castilian writings. Here the emphasis was placed on the lower part of the sefirotic world, especially on the relationships between "right" and "left" and "male" and "female." The counterbalancing of demonic energies needed the strengthening of the right-hand power of divine love, and this could be awakened by human love of God and performance of the commandments. But as these writings developed, it was fascination with the sexual mysteries, reflected in the joining together of divine male and female, that overwhelmed all other symbolic interests. The uniting of the male sixth/ninth *sefirot* with the female tenth became the chief and in some places almost unique object of concern and way of explaining the religious life as a whole. This *mysterium coniunctionis* or

zivvuga qaddisha lies at the very heart of Zoharic teaching.

In the divergence between these two tendencies within Kabbalah, we see mythic and abstractionist elements struggling within the emerging self-articulation of the mystical spirit. In raising all to the very heights of the sefirotic world, the Catalonians were voting for abstraction, a Kabbalah that led the mystic to experience a God not entirely removed from the rarified transpersonal deity of the Jewish philosophers. The Castilians may have incorporated some aspects of Gerona's Neoplatonism, but their spirit is entirely different. Perhaps influenced in part by renewed contact with more mythically-oriented Ashkenazic elements, and in part reflecting also the romantic troubadour ethos of the surrounding culture, they write in a spirit far from that of philosophy. Here we find a strong emphasis on the theurgic, quasi-magical effect of kabbalistic activity on the inner state of the Godhead, and its efficacy in bringing about divine unity and thus showering divine blessing upon the lower world. Their depictions of the upper universe are highly colorful, sometimes even earthy. The fascination with both the demonic and the sexual that characterizes their work lent to Kabbalah a dangerous and close-to-forbidden edge that undoubtedly served to make it more attractive, both in its own day and throughout later generations.[2]

The last quarter of the thirteenth century was a period of great creative expansion among the kabbalists of Castile. The sefirotic Kabbalah—as detailed in the works of such well-known figures as Moses de León, Todros Abulafia, Joseph Gikatilla, Isaac Ibn Sahula, Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi, Joseph Angelet, and Joseph of Hamadan, all dating from the period between 1280 and 1310—constitutes a considerable and highly varied body of writing, even leaving aside the *Zohar* itself. It was within this circle that fragments of a more poetic composition, written mostly in lofty and mysterious Aramaic rather than Hebrew, first began to circulate. These fragments, composed within one or two generations but edited over the course of the following century and a half, are known to the world as the *Zohar*.

III

Kabbalah represents a radical departure from any previously known version of Judaism, especially in the realm of theology. While kabbalists remained loyal followers of normative Jewish praxis as defined by *halakhah*, the theological meaning system that underlay their Judaism was reconstructed. The God of the kabbalists is not primarily the powerful, passionate Leader and Lover of His

people found in the Hebrew Bible, not the wise Judge and loving Father of the rabbinic *aggadah*, nor the enthroned King of Merkavah visionaries. The kabbalists' God also differs sharply from the increasingly abstract notions of the deity created by Jewish philosophers in the Middle Ages, beginning in the tenth century with Saadia Gaon and culminating in the twelfth with Maimonides—whose work often stands in the background as the object of kabbalistic polemics. The image of God that first appears in *Sefer ha-Bahir*—to be elaborated by several generations of kabbalists until it achieved its highest poetic expression in the *Zohar*—is a God of multiple mythic potencies, obscure entities eluding precise definition but described through a remarkable web of images, parables, and scriptural allusions. Together these entities constitute the divine realm; "God" is the collective aggregate of these potencies and their inner relationship. The dynamic interplay among these forces is the essential myth of Kabbalah—the true inner meaning, as far as its devotees are concerned, both of the Torah and of human life itself.

In describing the God of the kabbalists as a figure of myth, we mean to say that the fragmented narratives and scriptural interpretations found in the *Bahir* and other early kabbalistic writings refer to a secret inner life of God, lifting the veil from the ancient Jewish insistence on monotheism and revealing a complex and multifaceted divine realm. In sharp contrast to the well-known ancient adage of Ben Sira ("Do not seek out what is too wondrous for you; do not inquire into that which is concealed from you"), these writings precisely seek to penetrate the inner divine world and to offer hints to the reader about the rich and complex life to be found there. Of course, outright polytheism (like that of the pagan Gnostic groups of late antiquity) is out of the question here at the heart of a medieval Jewry that defined itself through proud and devoted attachment to the faith in one God. What we seem to discover in the early Kabbalah are various stages of divine life, elements within the Godhead that interact with one another. In the *Bahir*, these potencies relate quite freely and mysteriously with one another; a fixed pattern of relationships is somehow vaguely in the background, but not clearly presented. In the century of development following the *Bahir*'s publication (1150–1250), the system comes to be quite firmly fixed. It is that pattern that lies behind the fanciful and multi-layered creativity of the *Zohar*.

What we are speaking of here is the realm of divine entities that are called *sefirot* by early kabbalistic sources. The term originates in *Sefer Yetsirah*, where it refers to the ten primal numbers which, along with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, comprise the "thirty-two wondrous paths of wisdom" or the essential structure of existence. For the kabbalist, it is these forces and the dynamic interplay among them that constitutes the inner life of the Godhead. To

know God, a necessary condition of proper worship (on this point the kabbalists agree with the philosophers), one must understand the symbolic language of the *sefirot*. To be a kabbalist is to contemplate the flow of energy among the *sefirot* and reflect upon their ultimate unity.

The *non-Bahir* writings of early Kabbalah add an important new element to this picture. Here the term *Ein Sof* begins to appear as the hidden source from which the ten *sefirot* emerge. Originally part of an adverbial phrase meaning "endlessly," *Ein Sof* is used in this context in a nominal sense to designate "the Endless" or "that which is beyond all limits." *Ein Sof* refers to the endless and undefinable reservoir of divinity, the ultimate source out of which everything flows. *Ein Sof* is utterly transcendent in the sense that no words can describe it, no mind comprehend it. But it is also ever-present in the sense of the old rabbinic adage "He is the place of the world." To say that *Ein Sof* is "there" but not "here" would entirely falsify the notion. Nothing can ever exist outside of *Ein Sof*. It is thus not quite accurate to say that the *sefirot* "emerge" or "come out of" *Ein Sof*. Within the hidden reaches of infinity, in a way that of necessity eludes human comprehension, there stirs a primal desire, the slightest rippling in the stillness of cosmic solitude. That desire (not a change, the more philosophically-oriented kabbalist hastens to add, but an aspect of reality that has been there forever) draws the infinite well of energy called *Ein Sof* toward self-expression: a becoming manifest or a concretization that begins with the subtlest of steps, moves toward the emergence of "God" as divine persona, manifests its spectrum of energies in the "fullness" of the ten *sefirot*, and then spills over with plentitude to create all the "lower" worlds, including—as its very lowest manifestation—the material universe. The *sefirot* are thus a revelation, a rendering more accessible, of that which has existed in *Ein Sof* all along.

We are now ready to trace the pattern of the *sefirot* and the essential symbols associated with them. The description in the following paragraphs does not summarize any particular passage in a single kabbalistic text, but attempts to offer a summary understanding of the *sefirot* as they were portrayed in the emerging Castilian Kabbalah of the late thirteenth century. (See the Diagram of the Ten *Sefirot*, above, page xi.)

The highest *sefirah* represents the first stirrings of intent within *Ein Sof*, the arousal of desire to come forth into the varied life of being. There is no specific "content" to this *sefirah*; it is a desire or intentionality, an inner movement of the spirit, that potentially bears all content, but actually none. It is therefore often designated by the kabbalists as "Nothing." This is a stage of reality that lies between being wholly within the One and the first glimmer of separate existence. Most of the terms used to describe this rather vague realm are

apophatic in nature, describing it negatively. “The air [or: ether] that cannot be grasped” is one favorite; “the hidden light” is another. The prime pictorial image assigned to it is that of the crown: *Keter*, the starting point of the cosmic process. Sometimes this rung of being is referred to as *Keter Elyon*, the Supreme Crown of God. This image is derived partly from a depiction of the ten *sefirot* in anthropic form, that is to say, in the image of a human being. Since this personification is of a royal personage, the highest manifestation of that emerging spiritual “body” will be the crown. But we should also recall that the more primary meaning of the word *keter* is “circle”; it is from this that the notion of the crown is derived. In *Sefer Yetsirah* we are told that the *sefirot* are a great circle, “their end embedded in their beginning, and their beginning in their end.” The circularity of the *sefirot* will be important to us further along in our description.

Out of *Keter* emerges *Ḥokhmah*, the first and finest point of “real” existence. All things, souls, and moments of time that are ever to be, exist within a primal point, at once infinitesimally small and great beyond measure. (Like mystics everywhere, kabbalists love the language of paradox, a way of showing how inadequate words really are to describe this reality.) The move from *Keter* to *Ḥokhmah*, the first step in the primal process, is a transition from nothingness to being, from pure potential to the first point of real existence. The kabbalists are fond of describing it by their own reading of a verse from Job’s Hymn to Wisdom: “Wisdom comes from Nothingness” (Job 28:12). All the variety of existence is contained within *Ḥokhmah*, ready to begin the journey forward.

But *Ḥokhmah*, meaning “wisdom,” is also the primordial *teaching*, the inner mind of God, the Torah that exists prior to the birth of words and letters. As being exists here in this ultimately concentrated form, so too does truth or wisdom. The kabbalists are building on the ancient midrashic identification of Torah with primordial wisdom and the midrashic reading of “In the beginning” as “through Wisdom” God created the world. Here we begin to see their insistence that Creation and Revelation are twin processes, existence and language, the real and the nominal, emerging together from the hidden mind of God. As the primal point of existence, *Ḥokhmah* is symbolized by the letter *yod*, smallest of the letters, the first point from which all the other letters will be written. Here all of Torah, the text and the commentary added to it in every generation—indeed all of human wisdom—is contained within a single *yod*. This *yod* is the first letter of the name of God. The upper tip of the *yod* points toward *Keter*, itself designated by the *alef* or the divine name *Ehyeh*.

This journey from inner divine Nothingness toward the beginning of existence is one that inevitably arouses duality, even within the inner realms. As *Ḥokhmah* emerges, it brings forth its own mate, called *Binah*, “understanding” or

"contemplation." *Ḥokhmah* is described as a point of light that seeks out a grand mirrored palace of reflection. The light seen back and forth in those countless mirrored surfaces is all one light, but infinitely transformed and magnified in the reflective process. *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* are two that are inseparably linked to one another; either is inconceivable to us without the other. *Ḥokhmah* is too fine and subtle to be detected without its reflections or reverberations in *Binah*. The mirrored halls of *Binah* would be dark and unknowable without the light of *Ḥokhmah*. For this reason they are often treated by kabbalists as the primal pair, ancestral *Abba* and *Imma*, Father and Mother, deepest polarities of male and female within the divine (and human) Self. The point and the palace are also primal Male and Female, each transformed and fulfilled in their union with one another. The energy that radiates from the point of *Ḥokhmah* is described chiefly in metaphors of flowing light and water, verbal pictures used by the mystics to speak of these most abstract levels of the inner Mind. But images of sexual union are never far behind these; the flow of light is also the flow of seed that fills the womb of *Binah* and gives birth to all the further rungs within the ten-in-one divine structure, the seven "lower" *sefirot*.

This first triad of *sefirot* together constitutes the most primal and recondite level of the inner divine world. It is a reality that the kabbalist regularly claims is quite obscure and beyond human ken, although the many references to *kavvanah* reaching *Keter* and to the union of all the *sefirot* with their source undercut such assertions. But for most passages in the *Zohar*, *Binah* stands as the womb of existence, the jubilee in which all returns to its source, the object of *teshuvah* (turning, returning)—in short, the highest object of the religious quest to return to the source. Out of the womb of *Binah* flow the seven "lower" *sefirot*, constituting seven aspects of the divine persona. Together these comprise the God who is the subject of worship and the One whose image is reflected in each human soul. The divine Self, as conceived by Kabbalah, is an interplay of these seven forces or inner directions. So too is each human personality, God's image in the world. This "holy structure" of the inner life of God is called the "Mystery of Faith" by the *Zohar* and is refined in countless images by kabbalists through the ages. "God," in other words, is the first Being to emerge out of the divine womb, the primal "entity" to take shape as the endless energies of *Ein Sof* begin to coalesce.

These seven *sefirot*, taken collectively, are represented in the spatial domain by the six directions around a center (in the tradition of *Sefer Yetsirah*) and in the realm of time by the seven days of the week, culminating in the Sabbath. Under the influence of Neoplatonism, the kabbalists came to describe the *sefirot* as emerging in sequence. This sequence does not necessarily have to be one of time, as the *sefirot* comprise the inner life of *YHVH*, where time does not mean what

it does to us. The sequence is rather one of an intrinsic logic, each stage a response to that which comes "before" it. The structure consists of two dialectical triads (sets of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis) and a final vehicle of reception that also energizes the entire system from "below," corresponding to *Keter* at the "upper" end.

First to manifest is *Ḥesed*, the grace or love of God. The emergence of God from hiding is an act filled with love, a promise of the endless showering of blessing and life on all beings, each of whose birth in a sense will continue this process of emerging from the One. This gift of love is beyond measure and without limit, the boundless compassion of *Keter* now transposed into a love for each specific form and creature that is ever to emerge. This channel of grace is the original divine *shefa*, the bounteous and unlimited love of God. But the divine wisdom also understands that love alone is not the way to bring forth "other" beings and to allow them their place. Judaism has always known God to embody judgment as well as love. The proper balance between these two, ever the struggle of the rabbis themselves (loving the people as well as the law), is a struggle that Jewish sources have long seen as existing in God as well. *Ḥesed* therefore emerges linked to its own opposite, described both as *Din*, the judgment of God, and *Gevurah*, the bastion of divine power. This is a force that measures and limits love, that controls the flow of *Ḥesed* in response to the needs, abilities, and deserts of those who are to receive it.

Ḥesed represents the God of love, calling forth the response of love in the human soul as well. *Gevurah* represents the God we humans fear, the One before whose power we stand in trembling. The kabbalists saw *Ḥesed* as the faith of Abraham, described by the prophet as "Abraham My lover" (Isaiah 41:8). Abraham, the first of God's true earthly followers, stands parallel to *Ḥesed*, the first quality to emerge within God. He is the man of love, the one who will leave all behind and follow God across the deserts, willing to offer everything, even to place his beloved son upon the altar, for love of God. *Gevurah*, on the other hand, is the God called "Fear of Isaac" (Genesis 31:42). This is the divine face Isaac sees when bound to that altar, confronting the God he believes is about to demand his life. Isaac's piety is of a different quality than his father's. Trembling obedience, rather than love, marks his path through life. In the *Zohar*, the "Fear of Isaac" is sometimes depicted as a God of terror.

The linking together of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* is an infinitely delicate balance. Too much love and there is no judgment, none of the moral demand that is so essential to the fabric of Judaism. But too much power or judgment is even worse. The kabbalists see this aspect of the divine and human self as fraught with danger, the very birthplace of evil. *Gevurah* represents the "left" side of the

divine as the *sefirot* emerge in humanlike form. The *Zohar* speaks of a discontent that arises on this "left" side of God. *Gevurah* becomes impatient with *Ḥesed*, unwilling to see judgment set aside in the name of love. Rather than permitting love to flow in measured ways, *Gevurah* seeks for some cosmic moment to rule alone, to hold back the flow of love. In this "moment," divine power turns to rage or fury; out of it all the forces of evil are born, darkness emerging from the light of God, a shadow of the divine universe that continues to exist throughout history, sustained by the evil wrought by humans below. Here we have one of the most important moral lessons of Kabbalah. Judgment not tempered by love brings about evil; power obsessed with itself turns demonic. The force of evil is often referred to by the *Zohar* as *sitra aḥra*, the "other side," indicating that it represents a parallel emanation to that of the *sefirot*. But the origin of that demonic reality that both parallels and mocks the divine is not in some "other" distant force. The demonic is born of an imbalance within the divine, flowing ultimately from the same source as all else, the single source of being.

The proper balance of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* results in the sixth *sefirah*, the center of the sefirotic universe. This configuration represents the personal God of biblical and rabbinic tradition. This is God seated on the throne, the one to whom prayer is most centrally addressed. Poised between the "right" and "left" forces within divinity, the "blessed Holy One" is the key figure in a central column of *sefirot*, positioned directly below *Keter*, the divine that precedes all duality. The sixth *sefirah* is represented by the third patriarch, Jacob, also called Israel—the perfect integration of the forces of Abraham and Isaac, the God who unites and balances love and fear.

Nonpersonal designations for this sixth *sefirah* include *Tif'eret* (Beauty, Splendor), *Raḥamim* (Compassion), *mishpat* (balanced judgment), and *emet* (truth). The three consonants of *emet* represent the first, middle, and last letters of the alphabet. Truth is stretched forth across the whole of Being, joining the extremes of right and left, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, into a single integrated personality. Thus is the sixth *sefirah* also described as the central "beam" in God's construction of the universe. Adopting a line from Moses' Tabernacle (Exodus 26:28), depicted by the rabbis as reflecting the cosmic structure, Jacob or the sixth *sefirah* is called "the central beam, reaching from one end unto the other."

In Jacob or *Tif'eret* we reach the synthesis that resolves the original tension between *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, the inner "right" and "left," love and judgment. The "blessed Holy One" as a personal God is also the uppermost manifestation called "Israel," thus serving as a model of idealized human personality. Each member of the house of Israel partakes of this Godhead, who may also be understood as a totemic representation of His people below. "Jacob" is in this sense the perfect

human—a new Adam, according to the sages—the radiant-faced elder extending blessing through the world. This is also the God of *imitatio dei*. In balancing their own lives, the people of Israel imitate the God who stands at the center between right and left, balancing all the cosmic forces. That God knows them and sees Himself in them, meaning that the struggle to integrate love and judgment is not only the great human task, but also a reflection of the cosmic struggle. The inner structure of psychic life *is* the hidden structure of the universe; it is because of this that we can come to know God by the path of inward contemplation and true self-knowledge.

The key dialectical triad of *Ḥesed-Gevurah-Tif'eret* is followed on the kabbalistic chart by a second triad, that of the *sefirot Netsaḥ, Hod,* and *Yesod,* arranged in the same manner as those above them. Little that is new takes place on this level of divinity. These *sefirot* are essentially channels through which the higher energies pass on their way into the tenth *sefirah*, *Malkhut* or *Shekhinah*, the source of all life for the lower worlds. The only major function assigned to *Netsaḥ* and *Hod* in the kabbalistic sources is their serving as the sources of prophecy. Moses is the single human to rise to the level of *Tif'eret*, to become "bridegroom of the *Shekhinah*." Other mortals can experience the sefirotic universe only as reflected in the *Shekhinah*, the single portal though which they can enter. (This is the "formal" view of the kabbalists, though it is a position exceeded by a great many passages in the *Zohar* and elsewhere.) The prophets other than Moses occupy an intermediate position, receiving their visions and messages from the seventh and eighth *sefirot*, making prophecy a matter of participation in the inner sefirotic life of God.

The ninth *sefirah* represents the joining together of all the cosmic forces, the flow of all the energies above now united again in a single place. In this sense the ninth *sefirah* is parallel to the second: *Ḥokhmah* began the flow of these forces from a single point; now *Yesod* (Foundation), as the ninth is called, reassembles them and prepares to direct their flow once again. When gathered in *Yesod*, it becomes clear that the life animating the *sefirot*, often described in metaphors of either light or water, is chiefly to be seen as male sexual energy, specifically as semen. Following the Greek physician Galen, medieval medicine saw semen as originating in the brain (*Ḥokhmah*), flowing down through the spinal column (the central column, *Tif'eret*), into the testicles (*Netsaḥ* and *Hod*), and thence into the phallus (*Yesod*). The sefirotic process thus leads to the great union of the nine *sefirot* above, through *Yesod*, with the female *Shekhinah*. She becomes filled and impregnated with the fullness of divine energy and She in turn gives birth to the lower worlds, including both angelic beings and human souls.

The biblical personality associated with the ninth *sefirah* is Joseph, the only

figure regularly described in rabbinic literature as *tsaddiq* or "righteous." He is given this epithet because he rejected the wiles of Potiphar's wife, making him a symbol of male chastity or sexual purity. The *sefirah* itself is thus often called *tsaddiq*, the place where God is represented as the embodiment of moral righteousness. So too is *Yesod* designated as *berit* or "covenant," again referring to sexual purity through the covenant of circumcision.

But there is more than one way to read these symbols. The ninth *sefirah* stands for male potency as well as sexual purity. The kabbalists resolutely insist that these are ideally identical and are not to be separated from one another. Of course sexual transgression and temptation were well known to them; the circle of the *Zohar* was quite extreme in its views on sexual sin—and on the great damage it could cause both to soul and cosmos. But the inner world of the *sefirot* was completely holy, a place where no sin abided. Here the flow of male energy represented only fruitfulness and blessing. The fulfillment of the entire sefirotic system, especially as seen in Castile, lay in the union of these two final *sefirot*. *Yesod* is, to be sure, the agent or lower manifestation of *Tif'eret*, the true bridegroom of the Song of Songs or the King who weds the *matronita—Shekhinah*—as the grand lady of the cosmos. But the fascination with the sexual aspect of this union is very strong, especially in the *Zohar*, and that leads to endless symbolic presentations of the union of *Yesod* and *Malkhut*, the feminine tenth *sefirah*.

By far the richest network of symbolic associations is that connected with the tenth and final *sefirah*. As *Malkhut* (Kingdom), it represents the realm over which the King (*Tif'eret*) has dominion, sustaining and protecting her as the true king takes responsibility for his kingdom. At the same time, it is this *sefirah* that is charged with the rule of the lower world; the blessed Holy One's *Malkhut* is the lower world's ruler. The biblical personage associated with *Malkhut* is David (somewhat surprisingly, given its usual femininity), the symbol of kingship. David is also the psalmist, ever crying out in longing for the blessings of God to flow from above. While *Malkhut* receives the flow of all the upper *sefirot* from *Yesod*, She has some special affinity for the left side. For this reason She is sometimes called "the gentle aspect of judgment," a mitigated version of *Gevurah*. Several *Zohar* passages, however, paint Her in portraits of seemingly ruthless vengeance in punishing the wicked. A most complicated picture of femininity appears in the *Zohar*, ranging from the most highly romanticized to the most frightening and bizarre.

The last *sefirah* is also called *Shekhinah*, an ancient rabbinic term for the indwelling divine presence. In the medieval Jewish imagination, this appellation for God had been transformed into a winged divine being, hovering over the community of Israel and protecting them from harm. The *Shekhinah* was also said

to dwell in Israel's midst, to follow them into exile, and to participate in their suffering. In the latest phases of midrashic literature, there begins to appear a distinction between God and His *Shekhinah*, partly a reflection of medieval philosophical attempts to assign the biblical anthropomorphisms to a being less than the Creator. The kabbalists identify this *Shekhinah* as the spouse or divine consort of the blessed Holy One. She is the tenth *sefirah*, therefore a part of God included within the divine ten-in-one unity. But She is tragically exiled, distanced from Her divine Spouse. Sometimes She is seen to be either seduced or taken captive by the evil hosts of *sitra aḥra*; then God and the righteous below must join forces in order to liberate Her. The great drama of religious life, according to the kabbalists, is that of protecting *Shekhinah* from the forces of evil and joining Her to the holy Bridegroom who ever awaits Her. Here one can see how medieval Jews adapted the values of chivalry—the rescue of the maiden from the clutches of evil—to fit their own spiritual context.

As the female partner within the divine world, the tenth *sefirah* comes to be described by a host of symbols, derived both from the natural world and from the legacy of Judaism, that are classically associated with femininity. She is the moon, dark on her own but receiving and giving off the light of the sun. She is the sea, into whom all waters flow; the earth, longing to be fructified by the rain that falls from heaven. She is the heavenly Jerusalem, into whom the King will enter; She is the throne upon which He is seated, the Temple or Tabernacle, dwelling place of His glory. She is also *Keneset Yisra'el*, the embodied "Community [or: Assembly] of Israel" itself, identified with the Jewish people. The tenth *sefirah* is a passive/receptive female with regard to the *sefirot* above Her, receiving their energies and being fulfilled by their presence within Her. But She is ruler, source of life, and font of all blessing for the worlds below, including the human soul. The kabbalist sees himself as a devotee of the *Shekhinah*. She may never be worshiped separately from the divine unity. Indeed, this separation of *Shekhinah* from the forces above was the terrible sin of Adam that brought about exile from Eden. Yet it is only through Her that humans have access to the mysteries beyond. All prayer is channelled through Her, seeking to energize Her and raise Her up in order to effect the sefirotic unity. The primary function of the religious life, with all its duties and obligations, is to rouse the *Shekhinah* into a state of love.

All realms outside the divine proceed from *Shekhinah*. She is surrounded most immediately by a richly pictorialized host. Sometimes these surrounding beings are seen as angels; at others, they are the maidens who attend the Bride at Her marriage canopy. They inhabit and rule over variously described realms or "palaces" of light and joy. The *Zohar* devotes much attention to describing seven such palaces with names that include "Palace of Love," "Palace of the Sapphire

Pavement" (alluding to the vision of God in Exodus 24:10), "Palace of Desire," and so forth. The "palaces" (*heikhalot*) of the Zoharic world are historically derived from the remains of the ancient Merkavah or Heikhalot mysticism, a tradition that was only dimly remembered by the *Zohar*'s day. In placing the *heikhalot* beneath the *Shekhinah*, the kabbalists mean to say that the visionary ascent of the Merkavah mystic was a somewhat lesser sort of religious experience than their own symbolic/contemplative ascent to the heights of the sefirotic universe, one that ascended with the *Shekhinah* as She reached into the highest realms. While the inner logic of the kabbalists' emanational thinking would seem to indicate that *all* beings, including the physical universe, flow forth from *Shekhinah*, the medieval abhorrence of associating God with corporeality complicates the picture, leaving Kabbalah with a complex and somewhat divided attitude toward the material world. The world in which we live, especially for the *Zohar*, is a thorough mingling of divine and demonic elements. Both the holy imprint of the ten *sefirot* and the frightening structure of multilayered *qelippot*, or demonic "shells," are to be found within it.

IV

The *Zohar* first made its appearance in Castile toward the end of the thirteenth century. Passages from it are included in works by Castilian and Catalonian kabbalists writing at about that time. In some cases these are presented as quotations, attributed to "Yerushalmi" (usually referring to the Jerusalem Talmud, but sometimes also to other work originating in the Holy Land) or to Midrash, particularly "the Midrash of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai." Some refer to it as an ancient work. In other cases, including passages in the writings of well-known Castilian kabbalist Moses de León and the Barcelona author Baḥya ben Asher, pieces identical to sections of the *Zohar* are simply absorbed within their writings and presented as their own. By the second decade of the fourteenth century, the *Zohar* is referred to (by the author of *Tiqqunei Zohar*) as a "prior" or completed document. Large portions of it are by then available to such authors as David ben Judah he-Ḥasid, who paraphrases and translates various sections, and the Italian kabbalist Menaḥem Recanati, who quotes copiously from the *Zohar* in his own commentary on the Torah. Recanati seems to be the first one to regularly refer to this group of sources by the term *Zohar*.

The question of the *Zohar*'s origins has puzzled its readers ever since its first appearance, and no simple and unequivocal statement as to the question of its authorship can be made even in our own day. There is no question that the

work was composed in the decades immediately preceding its appearance. It responds to literary works and refers to historical events that place it in the years following 1270. The 1280s seem like the most likely decade for composition of the main body of the *Zohar*, probably preceded by the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* and possibly certain other sections. Indeed it is quite possible that the *Zohar* was still an ongoing project when texts of it first appeared, and that parts of it were being written even a decade later. Because the question of the *Zohar*'s origins has been so hotly debated by readers and scholars over the centuries, it is important to offer a brief account here of the history of this discussion.

Debate about the *Zohar*'s origins began in the very decade of its appearance. Fragments of the *Zohar* were first distributed by Rabbi Moses de León, who claimed that they were copied from an ancient manuscript in his possession. This was a classic technique of pseudepigraphy, the attribution of esoteric teachings to the ancients, to give them the respectability associated with hoary tradition. While some naive souls seem to have believed quite literally in the antiquity of the text and the existence of such a manuscript, others, including some of De León's fellow kabbalists, joined with him in the pretense in order to heighten the prestige of these teachings. While they may have known that De León was the writer, and may even have participated in mystical conversations that were reflected in the emerging written text, they did believe that the *content* of the *Zohar*'s teachings was indeed ancient and authentic. They probably saw nothing wrong in the creation of a grand literary fiction that provided for these ancient-yet-new teachings an elevated literary setting, one worthy of their profound truth. There were, however, skeptics and opponents of the *Zohar* right from the beginning, who depicted the whole enterprise as one of literary forgery.

Fascinating evidence of this early controversy is found in an account written by the kabbalist Isaac of Acre, a wandering mystic who arrived in Castile in 1305. A manuscript version of Isaac's account was known to the sixteenth-century chronicler Abraham Zacuto and was included in his *Sefer Yuḥasin*. Isaac tells us that he had already heard of the *Zohar*, and came to Castile to learn more about it and specifically to investigate the question of the *Zohar*'s origins. He managed to meet De León shortly before the latter's death. De León assured him that the ancient manuscript was real, and offered to show it to him. By the time Isaac arrived at Avila, where De León had lived in the last years of his life, he had a chance only to meet the kabbalist's widow. She denied that the manuscript had ever existed, recounting that her husband had told her that he was claiming ancient origins for his own work for pecuniary advantage. Others, however, while agreeing that there was no ancient manuscript source, claimed that De León had written the *Zohar* "through the power of the Holy Name." (This might

refer either to some sort of trancelike “automatic writing” or to a sense that he saw himself as a reincarnation of Rabbi Shim’on and—through the Name—had access to his teachings.) Various other players then enter the account in a series of claims and counterclaims, and the text breaks off just before a disciple of De León is able to present what seems like promising testimony in the *Zohar*’s behalf.

This account has been used by opponents of the *Zohar* and of Kabbalah in general in various attempts to dismiss the *Zohar* as a forgery and Moses de León as a charlatan. Most outspoken among these attempts is that of the nineteenth-century historian Heinrich Graetz, for whom the *Zohar* was the epitome of the most lowly, superstitious element within medieval Judaism. Graetz and others assumed that the wife was the one who spoke the truth, all other explanations serving to cover or justify the obvious chicanery of the author. Wanting to denigrate the *Zohar*—which did not fit the early modern Enlightenment idea of proper Judaism—Graetz did not consider the possibility that De León might have told his wife such things for reasons other than their being the simple truth. Sadly, her account may reflect the kabbalist’s assumption of his wife’s inability to appreciate his literary intentions. The claim that he did it for the sake of selling books has about it the air of an explanation to a spouse, offered in a dismissive context.

Modern *Zohar* scholarship begins with the young Gershom Scholem’s attempts to refute Graetz. He set out in the late 1920s to show that the picture was more complex and that indeed there might be earlier layers to the *Zohar*. Awed by the vastness of the *Zohar* corpus, he found it hard to believe that all of it could have been the work of a single author. But in a series of stunningly convincing essays Scholem reversed himself and came to the conclusion that the entire *Zohar* had indeed been written by De León. He supported this conclusion by careful analysis of the *Zohar*’s language, its knowledge of the geography of the land of Israel, its relationship to philosophy and to earlier works of Kabbalah, and references to specific historical events or dates. Most convincing was Scholem’s painstaking philological analysis. Scholem compared the *Zohar*’s unique (and sometimes “mistaken”) use of Aramaic linguistic forms to characteristic patterns of language to be found (uniquely, he claimed) in De León’s Hebrew works. Here he believed he had found something of a literary fingerprint, making it finally clear that De León was the author. As to the magnitude of the work and its attribution to a single individual, Scholem was consoled by historical parallels, particularly that of Jakob Boehme, a seventeenth-century German shoemaker, originally illiterate, who had composed a vast corpus of writings under the force of mystical inspiration.

But the matter is by no means ended here. The fact that Scholem agreed with Graetz on the question of single authorship did not at all mean that he shared in his lowly opinion of the *Zohar* or its author. The parallel to Boehme in fact sounds rather like the writing "through the power of the Holy Name" that had been suggested to Isaac of Acre. Assuming that Moses de León did write the entire *Zohar*, the question became one of understanding *how* this might be the case. Two specific questions here come to the fore. One concerns the notable differences between the *Zohar*'s various sections. Could one person have written the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, with its hesitant, incomplete usage of sefirotic symbolism; the *Idrot*, where that symbolism was incorporated and surpassed; and the obscure *Matnitin* and *Heikhalot*, along with the rich narrative and homilies of the main *Zohar* text? What can account for all these seeming variations in both literary style and symbolic content?

The other question has to do with the intriguing relationship between a single author and the many voices that speak forth from within the *Zohar*'s pages. Is the community of mystics described here entirely a figment of the author's creative imagination? Is there not some real experience of religious community that is reflected in the *Zohar*'s pages? Might it be possible, to take an extreme view, that each of the speakers represents an actual person, a member of the Castilian kabbalists' circle, here masked behind the name of an ancient rabbi? Or is there some other way in which the presence of multiple authors (or participants in the group's ongoing conversations) can be detected within the *Zohar*'s pages?

Contemporary scholarship on the *Zohar* (especially the pioneering work of Yehuda Liebes and its development by Ronit Meroz) has parted company with Scholem on the question of single authorship. While it is tacitly accepted that De León did either write or edit long sections of the *Zohar*, including the main narrative (homiletical body) of the text, he is not thought to be the only writer involved. Multiple layers of literary creativity can be discerned within the text. It may be that the *Zohar* should be seen as the product of a *school* of mystical practitioners and writers, one that may have existed even before 1270 and continued into the early years of the fourteenth century. Certain texts, including the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* (perhaps an earlier rescension of it than that which has survived?) belong to the oldest stratum of writing. Then the main part of the *Zohar*, including both the epic tale and teachings of Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples, was indeed composed in the decades claimed by Scholem. Work on the *Zohar* did not cease, however, with the turn of the fourteenth century or the passing of Moses de León. In fact, the author of the *Tiqqunei Zohar* and the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, seen by Scholem as "later" addenda to the *Zohar* corpus,

may represent the third "generation" of this ongoing school. It would have been in his day, and perhaps with the cooperation of several editors, that the fragments of the *Zohar* as first circulated were linked together into the somewhat larger units found in the surviving fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts.

There is no single, utterly convincing piece of evidence that has led scholars to this revision of Scholem's view. It is rather a combination of factors stemming from close readings of the text and a body of scholarship on it that did not yet exist in Scholem's day. There is considerable evidence of what might be called "internal commentary" within the *Zohar* text. The "Secrets of the Torah" are an expansion of the brief and enigmatic *Matnitin*, as the *Idrot* comment and enlarge upon themes first developed in the *Sifra di-Tsni'uta*. In the *Zohar* narrative, whole or partial stories are told more than once—one version seemingly an expansion of an earlier rescension. The same is true of certain homilies, some of which are repeated in part or whole several times within the text. These expansions and repetitions could be explained as the developing project of a single author; however, when taken together with other factors (the differing sections of the *Zohar* and the multiple "voices" that speak within the text), they point more toward multiple or collective authorship. Historical evidence has shown that closed schools or societies (*ḥavurot*) for various purposes were a common organizational form within Spanish Jewry. The image of Rabbi Shim'on and his followers, encountering a series of mysterious teachers in the course of their wanderings, looks rather like a description of a real such school, meeting various mystics from outside its ranks who were then accepted by the school's leader as legitimate teachers of secret Torah.

It is particularly intriguing to compare this fictionalized but historically real school of kabbalists to another that is rather more clearly described in documents available to us. In neighboring Catalonia, the kabbalistic school of Naḥmanides lasted—side by side with his halakhic school—for three generations. Naḥmanides' disciple Solomon ben Adret (ca. 1235–ca. 1310) carried his master's teachings forward to a group of disciples who then wrote multiple commentaries on the secret aspects of Naḥmanides' work. That circle was significantly more conservative in its views of kabbalistic creativity than was the Castilian group. But we could easily imagine a parallel school of Castilian kabbalists—beginning with the "Gnostics" of the mid-thirteenth century and extending forward over the same three generations—whose collective literary product, much freer and richer in imagination than the Naḥmanidean corpus, included the body of work finally edited into what later generations have come to know as the *Zohar*. It may indeed be that the competition between these two schools of mystical thought had some role in advancing the editing process that

finally resulted in the *Zohar* as we know it in its printed version.

V

The *Zohar* was composed in the Castile of the late thirteenth century, a period that marked the near completion of the Reconquista and something of a golden age of enlightenment in the history of Christian Spain. As the wars of conquest ended, the monarchy was able to ground itself and establish central authority over the semi-independent and often unruly Spanish nobility. This included responsibility for protection of the Jews, who generally fared better at the hands of kings than at the arbitrary mercy of local rivals. Alfonso X (1252–1284) was known as *el Sabio* or "the Wise" because of his interest in the sciences—which he was willing to learn from Jews and Muslims when necessary—as well as history, literature, and art.

Jews retained a high degree of juridical and cultural autonomy, as well as freedom of religious practice, in the Castile of this period. They constituted a significant percentage of city and town dwellers, generally choosing to live in self-enclosed neighborhoods and communities. But Jews were seen by Christian society as barely tolerated outsiders, and they viewed themselves as humiliated and victimized exiles. As an emerging class of Christian burghers came to see the Jews as rivals, the economic opportunities afforded by the early Reconquista years were gradually eroded. Jews were required to wear distinguishing garb, synagogue building was restricted, and various burdens of extra taxation came to be an expected part of Jewish life.

Most significantly, Jews were under constant pressure to convert to Christianity in the atmosphere of a church triumphant with the glory of having vanquished the Moorish armies and standing on the verge of ending the "stain" of Islamic incursion into Christian Europe. Alfonso X commissioned translations of both the Qur'an and the Talmud into Castilian, partly out of scholarly interest but also as an aid to the ongoing missionary campaign. The success of the Reconquista itself was trumpeted as great testimony to the validity of Christian claims. The Christian supersessionist theology, beginning with the Church Fathers but growing in stridency through the Middle Ages, claimed tirelessly that Judaism after Christ was an empty shell, a formalist attachment to the past, lacking in true faith. This message was delivered regularly in polemical writings, in sermons that Jews were forced to hear, and in casual encounters between Jews and Christians. We should remember that Jews in Spain spoke the same language as their neighbors and lived with them in the same towns and cities.

Their degree of isolation from their surroundings was significantly less than that of later Jews in eastern Europe, the lens through which all Jewish diaspora experience is often mistakenly viewed in our time.

In this context, the *Zohar* may be viewed as a grand defense of Judaism, a poetic demonstration of the truth and superiority of Jewish faith. Its authors knew a great deal about Christianity, mostly from observing it at close hand but also from reading certain Christian works, including the New Testament, which Dominicans and other eager seekers of converts were only too happy to place in the hands of literate and inquisitive Jews. The kabbalists' attitude toward the religion of their Christian neighbors is a complex one, and it also has come down to us through a veil of self-censorship. Jews writing in medieval Europe, especially those promulgating innovative religious teachings that were controversial even within the Jewish community, must have been well aware that their works would be read by Christian censors (often themselves Jewish apostates) who would make them pay dearly for outright insults to the Christian faith.

The *Zohar* is filled with disdain and sometimes even outright hatred for the gentile world. Continuing in the old midrashic tradition of repainting the subtle shadings of biblical narrative in moralistic black and white, the *Zohar* pours endless heaps of wrath and malediction on Israel's enemies. In the context of biblical commentary these are always such ancient figures as Esau, Pharaoh, Amalek, Balaam, and the mixed multitude of runaway slaves who left Egypt with Israel, a group treated by the *Zohar* with special venom. All of these were rather safe objects for attack, but it does not take much imagination to realize that the true address of this resentment was the oppressor in whose midst the authors lived. This becomes significantly clearer when we consider the *Zohar*'s comments on the religion of these ancient enemies. They are castigated repeatedly as worshipers of the demonic and practitioners of black magic, enemies of divine unity and therefore dangerous disturbers of the cosmic balance by which the world survives. Israel, and especially the kabbalistic "companions" who understand this situation, must do all they can to right the balance and save the *Shekhinah* from those dark forces and their vast network of accursed supporters on earth. As Moses had fought off the evil spells of Balaam—darkest of all magicians—in his day, so must the disciples of Rabbi Shim'on fight those evil forces that stand opposed to the dawning of the messianic light that is soon to come.

All of this is said, of course, without a single negative word about Christianity. But Rabbi Shim'on and his second-century companions lived in a time when the enemies of biblical Israel had long disappeared from the earth.

The same is even more true of the reader in medieval Christian Spain, who is being firmly admonished to join the battle against those who would strengthen the evil forces—wounding or capturing the *Shekhinah* and thus keeping the divine light from shining into this world. It does not require a great deal of imagination to understand who these worshipers of darkness must be. We must remember, of course, that this was also the era when the Christian image of the Jew as magician and devil-worshiper was becoming rampant. The *Zohar*'s unstated but clearly present view of Christianity as sorcery is a mirror reflection of the image of Judaism that was gaining acceptance, with much more dangerous consequences, throughout the Christian world.

But this is only one side of the picture. As people of deep faith and of great literary and aesthetic sensibility, the kabbalists also found themselves impressed by, and perhaps even attracted to, certain aspects of the Christian story and the religious lives of the large and powerful monastic communities that were so prominent in Christian Spain. The tale of Jesus and his faithful apostles, the passion narrative, and the struggles of the early Church were all powerful and attractive stories. Aspects of Christian theology—including both the complicated oneness of the trinitarian God and the passionate and ever present devotion to a quasi-divine female figure—made their mark on the kabbalistic imagination. The monastic orders, and especially their commitment to celibacy and poverty, must have been impressive to mystics whose own tradition did not make such demands on them, but who shared the medieval otherworldliness that would have highly esteemed such devotion.

The kabbalists were much disconcerted by the power of Christianity to attract Jewish converts, an enterprise that was given high priority particularly by the powerful Dominican order. Much that is to be found in the *Zohar* was intended to serve as a counterweight to the potential attractiveness of Christianity to Jews, and perhaps even to the kabbalists themselves. Of course this should not be seen as an exclusive way of reading the *Zohar*, a mystical work which was not composed chiefly as a polemical text. Nevertheless, the need to proudly assert Judaism's spirit in the face of triumphalist Christianity stands in the background of the *Zohar* and should not be ignored as we read it.

VI

The *Zohar*, as the contemporary reader of the original encounters it, is a three-volume work, constituting some sixteen hundred folio pages, ordered in the form of a commentary on the Torah. The first volume covers the *Zohar* on Genesis,

the second volume is *Zohar* on Exodus, and the third volume completes the remaining three books of the Torah. The text is divided into homilies on the weekly Torah portions, taking the form of an ancient midrash. Within this form, however, are included long digressions and subsections of the *Zohar*, some of which have no relation to this midrashic structure and seem to be rather arbitrarily placed in one Torah portion or another.[3] An addition to the three volumes is *Zohar Ḥadash* (New *Zohar*), a collection of materials that were omitted from the earliest printed *Zohar* editions but were later culled from manuscript sources. Here we find addenda to the Torah portions but also partial commentaries on Ruth, Lamentations, and the Song of Songs. Another work usually considered part of the *Zohar* literature is *Tiqqunei Zohar*, a kabbalistic commentary on the opening verse of Genesis that explicates it in seventy ways. This work—along with the *Ra'aya Meheimna* or "Faithful Shepherd" passages published within the *Zohar* itself, mostly taking the form of a commentary on the commandments—is seen by modern scholars to be the work of a slightly later kabbalist, one who wrote perhaps in the opening decades of the fourteenth century and saw himself as continuing the *Zohar* tradition.

As stated, the main body of the *Zohar* takes the form of midrash: a collection of homiletical explications of the biblical text. The *Zohar* enters fully into the midrashic genre, even though that form of writing was considered antiquated in the time and place where the *Zohar* was composed. Its authors were especially learned in *aggadah* and used it ingeniously, often convincingly portraying themselves as ancient midrashic masters. But the anachronism of their style was intentional. The *Zohar* is an attempt to re-create a form of discourse that would have seemed appropriate to a work originating with its chief speakers, Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai and those of his circle, who lived in the land of Israel eleven hundred years earlier. In fact, this medieval midrash is based on a thorough knowledge of the entire earlier Jewish tradition, including rabbinic, philosophical, and esoteric works. Its purpose, as will quickly become clear to the reader, goes far beyond that of the ancient midrashic model. The *Zohar* seeks nothing less than to place the kabbalistic tradition, as it had developed over the preceding centuries, into the mouths of these much-revered sages of antiquity and to use them as its mouthpiece for showing the reader that the entire Torah is alive with kabbalistic secrets and veiled references to the "mystery of faith" as the kabbalists taught it. In this sense, the *Zohar* may be seen as an attempt to create a new midrash or, as one scholar has put it, a renaissance of the midrashic art in the Middle Ages.

The old midrashic homilies were often preceded by a series of "Openings," introductory proems in which the homilist would demonstrate his skill, picking

his way through a series of biblical associations eventually leading up to the subject at hand. The *Zohar* too uses such "Openings," but with a very different purpose in mind. Here the preacher wants to "open" the scriptural verse itself, remove its outer shell, and find its secret meaning. In this way, the verse itself may serve as an opening or a gateway into the "upper" world for the one who reads it. This leads us closer to the real purpose of Zoharic exegesis. The *Zohar* wants to take the reader inside the divine life. It wants ever to retell the story of the flow of the *sefirot*, their longings and union, the arousal of love above and the way in which that arousal causes blessing to flow throughout the worlds. This is the essential story of Kabbalah, and the *Zohar* finds it in verse after verse, portion after portion, of the Torah text. But each retelling offers a new and often startlingly different perspective. The *Zohar* is ever enriching the kabbalistic narrative by means of retelling it from the vantage point of yet another hermeneutic insight. On each page yet another verse, word, or tale of the Torah is opened or "uncovered" to reveal new insight into the great story of the *Zohar*, that which it proffers as the truth of the Torah, of the cosmos, and of the reader's soul.

In the series of homilies by various speakers around a particular verse or moment in the scriptural text, the *Zohar* takes its readers through multiple layers of understanding, reaching from the surface layer of "plain" meaning into ever more profound revelations. A great love of language is revealed in this process; plays on words and subtle shadings of meaning often serve as ways to a total reconfiguration of the Scripture at hand. For this reason, the *Zohar*'s best readers, both traditional and modern, are those who share its endless fascination with the mystery of words, including both their aural and graphic (or "spoken" and "written") manifestations.

Other kabbalists contemporaneous with the *Zohar* were offering multileveled readings of Scripture as well. Rabbi Baḥya ben Asher of Barcelona immediately comes to mind. His Torah commentary, written in the 1290s, offers the best example of the fourfold interpretation of Scripture in its Jewish form: verse after verse is read first for its plain meaning, then according to "the way of Midrash," followed by "the way of intellect" or philosophical allegory, and finally "the way of Kabbalah." Rabbi Baḥya's work is in fact important as one of the earliest sources for quotations from the *Zohar*.

The *Zohar* offers no such neat classifications. Insights offered by a group of "companions" discussing a text may bounce back and forth from readings that could be (and sometimes indeed are) found in earlier midrashic works to ways of reading that belong wholly to the world of Kabbalah. Kabbalistic interpretations are sometimes so well "sewn" into the midrashic fabric that the reader is left

wondering whether the kabbalistic referent might not indeed be the "real" meaning of a given biblical verse or rabbinic passage. In one well-known text, the *Zohar* refers to mystical interpretations as the "soul" of Torah, distinguished from the narrative that forms the outward "garments" and the legal derivations that serve as Torah's "body" (playing on the phrase *gufei Torah* ["bodies of Torah"], that in rabbinic parlance means "essential teachings"). That text also suggests a further level of readings, the "innermost soul" of Torah that will not be fully revealed until messianic times. But when encountering actual passages from the *Zohar*, it is not easy to determine just where their author stood in the process of undressing the textual bride. Here as almost everywhere, the poesis of the *Zohar* overflows the banks, thwarting any attempt at gradation or definition. It is mostly within the area of "soul" or kabbalistic readings that the assembled sages reveal layer after layer, showing that this level of reading itself is one that contains inexhaustible riches of the imagination. There is not a single mystical interpretation of a verse or passage that is *the* secret in the eyes of the *Zohar*. "Secret" (sod in Hebrew; raza in Aramaic) is rather a *method*, a way of reading that contains endless individual secrets within it.

The language of sefirotic symbolism offers the *Zohar* limitless opportunities for creative interpretations of Scripture. On the one hand, the *Zohar*'s speakers and authors exult in the newness and originality of this exegesis. Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples speak glowingly of *ḥiddushei Torah*, novellae in Torah interpretation, and their great value. God and the angels join in rejoicing over each new insight. But the *Zohar* also seeks to deny the newness of kabbalistic interpretation. Not only is the work itself allegedly an ancient one; the interpretive craft of the *Zohar* goes to a higher, deeper, and hence also more "ancient" level of the text. As the highest rung within the Godhead is sometimes called *Attiqa*, the elder or "ancient one," so does profound interpretation take Torah "back to its antiquity," to its original, pristine, highest state.

The *Zohar* stands within the long tradition of Jewish devotion to sacred study as a religious act. The faithful are commanded to "contemplate it day and night" (Joshua 1:8), traditionally taken to mean that the study and elaboration of Torah is ideally the full-time obligation of the entire community of male Israelites (women were exempted from the obligation to study, and only rarely were they offered more than a rudimentary education). This community viewed the Torah as an object of love, and an *eros* of Torah study is depicted in many passages in the rabbinic *aggadah*. Based on biblical images of feminine wisdom, Torah was described as the daughter and delight of God and as Israel's bride. Study of Torah, especially the elaboration of its law, was described by the sages as courtship and sometimes even as the shy, scholarly bridegroom's act of love,

the consummation of this sacred marriage. The midrash on the Song of Songs, compiled in the sixth or seventh century, devotes a large part of its exegesis of that erotic text to discussing the revelation at Sinai and the delights of both God and the sages in the study of Torah.

The *Zohar* is well aware of these precedents and expands upon them in its own richer and even more daring version of *amor dei intellectualis*. The lush and well-watered gardens of the Song of Songs are the constant dwelling place of the *Zohar*, where frequent invocation of the Canticle is the order of the day. In the kabbalists' literary imagination, the gardens of eros in the Song, the *pardes* or "orchard" of mystical speculation itself, and the mystical Garden of Eden—into which God wanders each night "to take delight in the souls of the righteous"—have been thoroughly linked with one another. The description in Genesis (2:10) of paradise—"a river goes forth from Eden to water the garden, whence it divides into four streams"—and certain key verses of the Canticle— "a spring amid the gardens, a well of living waters, flowing from Lebanon" (4:15) and others—are quoted endlessly to invoke the sense that to dwell in mystical exegesis is to sit in the shade of God's garden. Even more: the mystical exegete comes to understand that all of these gardens are but reflections of the true inner divine garden, the world of the *sefirot*, which *Sefer ha-Bahir* had already described as lush with trees, springs, and ponds of water.

The *Zohar* is devoted to the full range of religious obligations that the Torah places upon the community of Israel. The mysteries of the commandments and the rhythms of the sacred year very much occupy its pages, even if we discount the somewhat later *Ra'aya Meheimna* (Faithful Shepherd) section, which is almost wholly devoted to the meaning of the commandments. Both prayer and the ancient Temple ritual, the classic Jewish forms of devotion, are given lofty kabbalistic interpretations, and the figure of the priest in particular is very central to the Zoharic imagination. Still, it is fair to say that the central religious act for the *Zohar* is the very one in which its heroes are engaged as described throughout its pages, and that is the act of study and interpretation of Torah. Again and again Rabbi Shim'on waxes eloquent in praise of those who study Torah, especially those who do so after midnight. They indeed take the place of the priests and Levites of old, "who stand in the house of the Lord by night." Those who awaken nightly to study the secrets of Torah become the earthly attendants of the divine bride, ushering Her into the chamber where She will unite at dawn with Her heavenly spouse. This somewhat modest depiction of the mystic devotee's role in the *hieros gamos* or sacred marriage rite that stands at the center of the kabbalistic imagination does not exclude a level of emotional/mystical reality in which the kabbalist himself is also the lover of that

bride and a full participant in, rather than merely an attendant to, the act of union.

Torah in the *Zohar* is not conceived as a text, as an object, or as material, but as a living divine presence, engaged in a mutual relationship with the person who studies her. More than that, in the Zoharic consciousness Torah is compared to a beloved who carries on with her lovers a mutual and dynamic courtship. The *Zohar* on the portion *Mishpatim* contains, within the literary unit known as *Sava de-Mishpatim*, a description of a maiden in a palace. Here the way of the Torah's lover is compared to the way of a man with a maiden. Arousal within Torah is like an endless courting of the beloved: constant walking about the gates of her palace, an increasing passion to read her letters, the desire to see the beloved's face, to reveal her, and to be joined with her. The beloved in the nexus of this relationship is entirely active. She sends signals of her interest to her lover, she intensifies his passionate desire for her by games of revealing and hiding. She discloses secrets that stir his curiosity. She desires to be loved. The beloved is disclosed in an erotic progression before her lover out of a desire to reveal secrets that have been forever hidden within her. The relationship between Torah and her lover, like that of man and maiden in this parable, is dynamic, romantic, and erotic. This interpretive axiom of the work—according to which the relationship between student and that studied is not one of subject and object but of subject and subject, even an erotic relationship of lover and beloved—opens a great number of new possibilities.[4]

Seeing the act of Torah study as the most highly praised form of devotional activity places the *Zohar* squarely within the Talmudic tradition and at the same time provides a setting in which to go far beyond it. Here, unlike in the rabbinic sources, the *content* of the exegesis as well as the *process* is erotic in character. Formerly it was the ancient rabbis' intense devotion to the text and to the *process* of Torah study that had been so aptly described by the erotic metaphor. The laws derived in the course of this passionate immersion in the text were then celebrated as resulting from the embrace of Torah, even when they dealt with heave-offerings and tithes or ritual defilement and ablutions. (The Talmudic rabbi Akiva—the greatest hero of the rabbinic romance with the text—was inspired by his great love of Torah to derive "heaps and heaps of laws from the crowns on each of the letters." That indeed had been the genius of Rabbi Akiva's school of thought: *all* of Torah, even the seemingly most mundane, belonged to the great mystical moment of Sinai, the day when God gave Torah to Israel and proclaimed His love for her in the Song of Songs.) But the authors of the *Zohar* crave more than this. The *content* as well as the *process* has to reveal the great secret of unity, not merely the small secrets of one law or another. In the *Zohar*,

the true subject matter that the kabbalist finds in every verse is the *hieros gamos* itself, the mystical union of the divine male and female—the eros that underlies and transforms Torah, making it into a symbolic textbook on the inner erotic life of God.

VII

But the *Zohar* is not only a book of Torah interpretation. It is also very much the story of a particular group of students of the Torah, a peripatetic band of disciples gathered around their master Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. In the main body of the *Zohar*, there appear nine such disciples: Rabbi El'azar (the son of Rabbi Shim'on), Rabbi Abba, Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Yitsḥak, Rabbi Ḥizkiyah, Rabbi Ḥiyya, Rabbi Yose, Rabbi Yeisa, and Rabbi Aḥa. A very significant part of the *Zohar* text is devoted to tales of their wanderings and adventures, proclamations of their great love for one another, accounts of their devotion to their master, and echoes of the great pleasure he takes in hearing their teachings. While on the road, wandering about from place to place in the Holy Land, they encounter various other teachers in the form of mysterious elders, wondrous children, merchants, and donkey-drivers, all of whom are possessed of secrets that they share with this band of loving and faithful companions. Usually these mysterious figures know more than the wanderers had expected, and Rabbi Shim'on's disciples are often outshone in wisdom by these most unlikely figures. That too is part of the *Zohar*'s story. A contemporary scholar notes that there are more than three hundred whole and partial stories of this sort contained within the *Zohar* text. In some places the narrative shifts from the earthly setting to one that takes place partly in heaven or "the Garden of Eden," in which the master is replaced by God Himself, who proclaims His pleasure at the innovations offered as the kabbalists engage in Torah.

These tales of Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples, wandering about the Galilee a thousand years before the *Zohar* was written, are clearly a work of fiction. But to say that is by no means to deny the possibility that a very real mystical brotherhood underlies the *Zohar* and shapes its spiritual character. Anyone who reads the *Zohar* over an extended period of time will come to see that the interface among the companions and the close relationship between the tales of their wanderings and the homilies they occasion are not the result of fictional imagination alone. Whoever wrote the work knew very well how fellow students respond to companionship and support and are inspired by one another's glowing rendition of a text. He (or they) has felt the warm glow of a

master's praises and the shame of being shown up by a stranger in the face of one's peers. The *Zohar*—leaving aside for now the question of who actually penned the words—*reflects the experience* of a kabbalistic circle. It is one of a series of such circles of Jewish mystics, stretching back in time to Qumran, Jerusalem, Provence, and Gerona, and forward in history to Safed, Padua, Miedzybozh, Bratslav, and again to Jerusalem. The small circle of initiates gathered about a master is the way Kabbalah has always happened, and the *Zohar* is no exception. In fact, the collective experience of this group around Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai as "recorded" in the *Zohar* forms the paradigm for all later Jewish mystical circles.

The group life reflected in the text is that of a band of living kabbalists, except that they occupied Castile of the thirteenth century rather than the land of Israel of the second. They lived in Toledo and Guadalajara rather than Tiberias and Sepphoris. Whether these real kabbalists wandered about in the Spanish countryside as their fictional counterparts did in the Holy Land is hard to know, but they certainly felt that the most proper setting for study of Torah was out of doors, especially in a garden or a grove of trees. Occasionally the companions in the *Zohar*'s pages have conversations indoors, as when the disciples visit Rabbi Shim'on or they all travel to the home of Rabbi Pinḥas son of Ya'ir. Interestingly there is no house of study or synagogue that appears as a setting for any of their encounters. The *Zohar* very much prefers that they take place under the shade of a certain tree, at a spring of water, or at some similar place that might call to mind a verse from a psalm or the Song of Songs, with which a homily might then open.

The very frequent references in the text to the importance of secret Torah study at night raises the likelihood that this group of Spanish kabbalists shared for some time, as a regular, ritualized activity, a late-night session for the study of Kabbalah. If they were anything like their fictional counterparts, these sessions began after midnight and went until dawn, concluding with morning prayers. These nightly gatherings (of course there is no way to be certain whether or for how long they did take place on an actual level) were omitted on the Sabbath, when it was the companion's duty to be at home with his wife. They reached their annual climax on the eve of *Shavu'ot*, when the vigil was in preparation for a new receiving of the Torah. The intense climax of the *Zohar* narrative is the tale of two great and highly ritualized meetings of master and disciples in the *Idra*, a special chamber of assembly. In the first of these two assemblies, three of the companions die in the ecstasy of their mystical devotions. The second, the *Idra Zuta* or Lesser Assembly, records the death of Rabbi Shim'on himself and forms the grand conclusion of the *Zohar*.

Gershom Scholem once suggested that the *Zohar* takes the form of a "mystical novel." This suggestion is particularly intriguing because the *Zohar* appeared in Spain some three hundred years before Cervantes, who is often seen as the father of the modern novel. One may see the tales of Rabbi Shim'on and the companions as a sort of novel in formation, but it is clear that the form is quite rudimentary. When the *Zohar* wants to express an idea, it needs to slip back into the more familiar literary form of textual hermeneutics. The novelist in the classic post-Cervantes sense is one who can develop ideas or suggest complex thought patterns by means of character development and plot themselves, rather than by having the characters assemble and make a series of speeches to one another (though such moments are not entirely unknown in later fiction). It might be interesting to place the *Zohar* into the setting of such works as medieval troubadour romances, Chaucer's fourteenth-century *Canterbury Tales*, or the *Thousand and One Nights*. All of these are narrative cycles, frameworks of story into which smaller units (in these cases narrative, in the *Zohar*'s case homiletical) can be fitted. All of them, too, may be seen as precursors of the novel.

But the peregrinations of Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples are more than the "story" of the *Zohar*, whether fictional or masking a historical reality. In the *Zohar*, everything is indeed more than it appears to be. Master and disciples represent wandering Israel, both the ancient tribes in the wilderness on their way to the promised land, and the people of Israel in their present exile. While the ancient rabbis suggest to the would-be scholar to "exile yourself to a place of Torah," here exile or wandering is itself that place. The "place of Torah" is indeed wherever the companions happen to be, the home of the master or the grove of trees. Said in words that they might prefer, the "garden" of mystical conversation follows them wherever they wander, just as Miriam's movable well gave drink to Israel throughout their forty-year trek through the wilderness. The adventures of the companions show their participation in Israel's greatest suffering, that of exile.

Israel's historic exile, however, is itself symbolic, an earthly representation of a still greater exile, that of the *Shekhinah* from Her divine spouse. The nature and origin of this inner divine "exile" is one of the kabbalists' great mysteries. Some passages, both in the *Zohar* and in earlier sources, attribute it to the sin of Adam and Eve. In this sense, Kabbalah may be said to have a true sense of the "fall" or "original sin" of humans, much more so than the older rabbinic sources. The world as first created was a true Garden of Eden because the blessed Holy One and *Shekhinah* were "face-to-face," joined in constant embrace like that of the upper *sefirot Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*. Divine blessing thus coursed through the system

without interruption, flowing through all of *Shekhinah*'s "hosts" and "palaces" into an idealized lower world as well. Only Adam and Eve's sin—sometimes depicted as that of separating *Shekhinah* from the upper *sefirot* to worship Her alone (symbolized by the separation of the Tree of Knowledge from its roots in the Tree of Life)—disturbed this initial harmony, which since the expulsion from Eden has been sporadic rather than constant, dependent upon the balance of human virtue and transgression.

But other passages express a somewhat darker vision of the exile within God. Here the very existence of the lower worlds is an after-effect of divine exile and would not have taken place without it. Some of these sources employ the old Platonic myth of androgyny, embedded in an ancient midrashic description of Adam and Eve, to explain the cosmic reality. Adam and Eve, according to the *aggadah*, were Siamese twins, conjoined back-to-back. This single being is that described in Genesis 1:27: "God created the human in His form; in the divine form He created him, male and female He created them." The forming of Eve from Adam's rib (or "side") in the following chapter is the separation of this pair, in which they are first turned face-to-face to one another, so that they might meet, see one another, and unite to propagate the species, fulfilling God's first command. The kabbalists claim that in this sense too humans are made in God's image: the *sefirot Tif'eret* and *Malkhut* were a single entity, back-to-back. They had to be "sawed" apart (a rather violent choice of verb) so that they might be properly united. Only through this union does the divine life begin to flow outward, giving life to worlds below. In order for our life to come about, in other words, God has to undergo a transformative act of great pain, one in which the divine becomes separated from itself, its future reunification to depend entirely upon the actions of these creatures below. Here exile and suffering are inherent in the cosmos, and the balm provided by human goodness is somewhat more superficial, an oasis of relief in the wandering that is indeed the necessary human and cosmic condition.

It is this exile that the kabbalists are acting out in their wanderings through the Galilee of their imagination. In this sense, it may indeed be said that the *Zohar* in its entirety is a symbolic work, not just a collection of symbolic interpretations of Scripture. The narratives themselves may be seen as the most profoundly symbolic and "kabbalistic" part of the *Zohar's oeuvre*, not just a framework into which the homilies are woven.

VIII

Our discussion to this point leads us now to confront the question of the *Zohar* and religious/mystical experience. A first reading of the *Zohar* might give one the impression of a work that is more *mythical* than *mystical* in content; i.e., more involved with a narrative of cosmic origins and structures than it is with inner experience, the soul, or higher states of consciousness. But this view is partially misleading. To read the *Zohar* well is to fathom the experiential dimension of the entire text, including narrative, exegesis, cosmology, and all the rest. The kabbalist speaking in the sefirotic idiom is laying bare the innermost structure of reality as he both understands and *experiences* it. That same structure is reflected in the cosmos, in Torah, and in the human (or more precisely: "Jewish") soul. The language of sefirotic symbolism provides a new lens through which to see Torah. But the power of that reading, especially as practiced in the circle of the *Zohar*, offers more than a hermeneutic. To open one's inner eyes to the new reality created by that pattern of thinking is to live within the realm of the *sefirot* themselves. The transformations of language and inner experience go hand in hand with one another; the breakthrough in consciousness to a higher realm of contemplative existence is conveyed through the vehicle of self-expression in sefirotic terms. Therefore to speak of the origins of the sefirotic universe, or to interpret the Torah text in terms of sefirotic symbols, is also to enter into those places within the soul. For the speakers within the *Zohar*, as for the ideal kabbalist in any time, to speak of the *sefirot* is not only to draw on a body of esoteric knowledge, but also to enter the inner universe where sefirotic language is the guide to measured experience.

The authors of the *Zohar* do not generally feel the need to tell their readers that this is the case. In a work written for initiates, the link between the intellectual and experiential dimensions was taken for granted. It is primarily the frequent expressions of enthusiasm and ecstasy with which the text is dotted that serve to indicate how deeply and personally the sefirotic teachings were felt. The repeated refrain "Had I come into the world only to hear this, it would be sufficient!" and the kisses showered upon speakers by their grateful companions make it clear to any but the most obtuse of readers that in the pages of the *Zohar* we are witnessing the shared inner life of a vital mystical circle and not merely a series of exercises in biblical homiletics.

The sefirotic universe as a representation of inner religious experience may be described in more specific ways as well, though these are surely not exhaustive. The "descent" of the *sefirot*, beginning with *Keter*, is said to describe the emergence of God from hiddenness to revelation. Both the creation of the world and the giving of Torah are this-worldly extensions of that inner divine process. On a more realistic plane, however, so too is the mystic's own inner

life. Sefirotic symbolism provides a language for describing the mystic's own return from an experience of absorption in the "nothingness" of God and gradual reintegration into the framework of full human personality, the re-emergence of conscious selfhood. It should be emphasized that the *Zohar* never makes such a claim. In general the kabbalists were loathe to speak too openly about the experiential aspects of their teaching. Especially when it came to the highest triad of the sefirotic world, to speak in terms that claimed direct experience was considered far beyond the bounds of propriety. But one who reads the kabbalists with an eye to comparative and phenomenological descriptions of mysticism cannot but suspect that such experience underlies the sources. The accounts of a mysterious energy that flows from undefined endlessness, through a primal arousal of will, into a single point that is the start of all being, and thence into the womb-palace where the self (divine or human) is born, sound familiarly like descriptions of the rebirth of personality that follows the contemplative mystical experience. Even though the *Zohar* depicts it chiefly as the original journey of God, we understand that the mystical life repeats that divine process. In fact, it is out of their own experience that the mystics know what they do of the original journey on which theirs is patterned. Perhaps one can go even a step further to claim that the constant movement within the sefirotic world, including both the flow of energy "downward" from *Keter* and the rising up of *Malkhut* and the lower worlds into the divine heights, represents the dynamic inner life of the mystic and the spiritual motion that ever animates his soul. It is these nuances of inner movement that constitute the "real" subject of a very large part of the *Zohar* and the world it creates. To most fully appreciate the *Zohar* as a mystical text is to understand these movements as reverberations within the mystic's soul of events as they transpire within the sefirotic cosmos that constitutes the divine reality.

When the *Zohar* does speak of mystical experience, it is largely through use of the term *devequt*, "attachment" or "cleaving" to God, and its Aramaic cognates. Ever since the early rabbinic discussions of Deuteronomy 4:4 ("You who cleave to *YHVH* your God are all alive today") and 10:20 ("Fear *YHVH* your God, cleave to Him and serve Him"), *devequt* has played a central role in the devotional life of pious Jews. But the *Zohar* is also quick to associate this term with its first biblical usage in Genesis 2:24, where man "cleaves to his wife and they become one flesh." Attachment to God, for the *Zohar*, is erotic attachment, whether referring to the kabbalist's own attachment to God by means of Torah, to *Shekhinah*'s link to the upper "male" *sefirot* as God's bride, or in the rare passages where Moses becomes the kabbalistic hero and himself weds *Shekhinah*, entering the Godhead in the male role. The contemplative and erotic aspects of attachment to God are just different ways of depicting the same reality, quite

wholly inseparable from one another.

With the experience of human love and sexuality as its chief metaphor for intimacy, the *Zohar* depicts *devequt* as a temporary and fleeting experience. Scholars have debated for some time the question of whether true *unio mystica* is to be found in the *Zohar*. But this debate may itself hinge on the sexual analogy. Is there true loss of self or absorption within union to be attained in sexual climax? How does one begin to answer such a question without interviewing all of the world's great lovers? Whether or not the experience underlying countless passages in the *Zohar* can be described as "union" lies, I would submit, beyond our ken. But it is clear that there is no possibility offered of *permanent* bliss to those still attached to bodily existence; only in the world to come will the disembodied spirits of the righteous enjoy the endless delight of basking in the divine presence. Religious experience in this world is but a foretaste of that eternal joy.

As the *Zohar* seeks to develop a language for what we may call its *eros* of poetic creativity, exegesis of the Song of Songs plays a major role. The *Zohar* turns with great frequency, especially in its proems or homiletical "warm-ups," to that great font of sacred *eros*. The Song of Songs, a text in which *eros* in fact remains unconsummated, offers poetic language for every other aspect of the complete drama of courting, including even loss, separation, and longing. All of these come to the fore in the *Zohar*'s frequent disquisitions on the Song, which is often most surprisingly linked to verses describing some aspect of the Tabernacle cult or another seemingly dry detail of biblical law. Those texts are utterly transformed by association with the Canticle. The Torah text as a whole, it may be said, is "washed over" in an eroticizing bath created by repeated juxtaposition of Torah texts with verses of the Song of Songs, poetically enriching the *eros* of sefirotic symbolization itself.

The *Zohar* learned from the Neoplatonist milieu within which it existed to speak of the flow of energy, usually described as light, from one cosmic realm to the next. The Neoplatonists tended to emphasize the diminution of that light as it reached "downward" toward the material plane. For the kabbalist, this constantly renewed pouring forth of divine presence could be felt, both in the daily renewal of nature and in the creative vigor of Torah interpretation. He sought to align himself with the cosmic flow, in order to receive its bounty, but also to act in such ways as to stimulate the flow itself. Images of both light and water abound in the *Zohar*'s pages to describe the *shefa*, the endless flux of divine bounty that sustains the universe. In the context of the *Zohar*, it is clear that this fluid is also the divine seed, that which enters into *Shekhinah* and allows for the constant rebirth of life in the realms beneath Her.

Read this way, the *Zohar* is very much a mystical, often even an ecstatic, work, or at least one in which the ecstatic dimension is very highly developed. One of the strongest expressions of this reality is found in the *Zohar*'s powerful and poetic soliloquies around the word *zohar* itself, and on the verse (Daniel 12:3) from which the work's title is taken: "The enlightened shall shine like the radiance [*zohar*] of the sky, and those who lead multitudes to righteousness, like the stars, forever." *Zohar* represents a hidden radiance issuing forth from the highest sefirotic realms, a showering of sparks lighting up all that comes in its path. Its inspiration is surely the night sky, the wondrous event of shooting stars against the background of the Milky Way. But like all such images in mystical literature, the beacon of light or drop of divine seed is a pictorial representation of an event that takes place also within the mystic's heart, the inspiration that "sparks" this creative vision.

The inner event of this radiant presence is outwardly manifest in the shining gaze of the kabbalist's face. "The enlightened shall shine" is also understood in this rather literal way. Here, as frequently in the *Zohar*, there is an assimilation of the kabbalist to the biblical description of Moses as he emerged from the Tent of Meeting, his face glowing with the radiant presence of God. But the kabbalist is also Moses' brother Aaron, the ancient priest whose face shines with divine presence as he bestows the blessing of God's own countenance upon the children of Israel. "May the Lord cause His face to shine upon you" (Numbers 6:25) is seen as the Torah's personified way of calling forth the same light that the kabbalist as Neoplatonist perceives to be shining forth from one cosmic rung to another. He now seeks to become the earthly bearer of that light, transmitting it to his community of disciples and readers. This is the kabbalist (most often personified in the *Zohar* by Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai) in the role of *tsaddiq*, conveyer of divine light.

A main purpose of the *Zohar* is to arouse within the reader a constant longing for such "enlightenment" or inspiration. The great religious creativity—and even the ecstatic deaths—of Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples are meant to induce in the reader a sense that he too, as an initiate into the *Zohar*'s secrets, may continue in this path. While no generation before the advent of messiah will fully equal that of Rabbi Shim'on, all those who come in his wake are encouraged to follow in his path. The *Zohar* is thus a highly evocative work, one that seeks to create and sustain a mood of ecstatic devotion. Certain familiar biblical verses, including the "garden" passages mentioned above, are used as awakeners—one might almost think of them as "bells"—to regularly restimulate awareness, rousing readers from their daily torpor and reminding them of the constant vital flow needed to quicken the cosmos. This reminder is meant to

renew and refresh their participation in Israel's great collective task of rousing *Shekhinah*. She in turn awakens Her divine Lover to release the flow of light/water/seed, enveloping Her in His presence and renewing the universal flow of life.

The "Eden" (or "Lebanon") whence that flow is to come is an accessible if hidden rung within the divine and human self. It is not just an ancient and lost site of the biblical tale, nor is it only the "paradise" to which souls will ascend after death. Eden is the "upper world," a recondite and inward aspect of being that is mirrored in the "garden," the One who needs to be watered by that flow. We creatures of the "lower world," trees growing in the garden, need to trace back the course of that river to its source, linking the upper and lower worlds (*Binah* and *Shekhinah*, but also *Shekhinah* and "this" world, or *Shekhinah* and the soul), so that the flow will never cease.

Reflecting on these nature-evoking verses takes us back to the typically outdoor settings of the companions' conversations, which we have mentioned earlier. These settings represent the varied topography of the land of Israel as it existed in the authors' imagination, including deserts and vast, forbidding mountains as well as fertile oases and springs of water. The lush garden, especially as evoked in the Song of Songs, is a particularly characteristic setting to inspire such conversations. This may be connected to the much older designation of the "place" of mystical speculation as *pardes* or "orchard." But it is related also to the verses quoted here and to the series of connected gardens in which the kabbalist sees himself as dwelling. This world is a lower garden, needing constantly to be watered by sources from above, ultimately by the love and sustenance that is the gift of *Shekhinah*. But She too is a garden, nurtured by the river that comes forth from the hidden Eden, itself also a "garden" in some unknown, mysterious way. Somewhere between this world and *Shekhinah* stands the "Garden of Eden" that contains the souls of the righteous, both those who have completed their time on earth and those not yet born. It too is divided into "upper" and "lower" sections, described in various mythic ways.

All of these gardens are linked to one another. The kabbalist sitting and studying Torah with his companions in an earthly garden—physically in Castile, but imaginatively in the Holy Land—is aware that at the same moment the righteous in the Garden of Eden are also engaged in such study. Their garden is open from above, because it is taught that God Himself descends into that Garden to take delight in the souls of the righteous. All of these point still higher, toward the sefirotic gardens, and all these levels of the imagination fructify and enrich one another. The sweet aromas rising from these gardens also play a role in the descriptions of mystical intoxication frequently found in the

Zohar's pages.

IX

The unique genius that finds expression in the *Zohar* has everything to do with language. Its homiletical style builds upon midrashic sensitivity to the nuances of biblical language, and often seeks to go beyond it. Underlying every page of the *Zohar*'s reading of Torah is a rich "ear" for associative links and plays on words, a constant search for "hints" within the text that will allow for an opening to deeper levels of interpretation. This careful attention to the text is joined to the *Zohar*'s readiness to apply to it the symbolic language of the *sefirot* that we have discussed above. It is the interplay between these two factors, heightened midrashic sensitivity and the old/new grid of sefirotic symbols, that creates the unique and powerful poesis of the *Zohar*.

Another element that plays a key role in the powerful impression the *Zohar* has made on its readers throughout the generations is the sonorous and seemingly mysterious Aramaic in which it is written. All the sections of the *Zohar*, except for about half of *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, are written in Aramaic rather than Hebrew. While scholars have devoted much attention to the unique grammatical and syntactical features of the *Zohar*'s Aramaic, few have tried to understand *why* it is that the *Zohar* is written in Aramaic and what meaning this surprising choice of language might have had for the work's authors.

Aramaic was the spoken language of Jews, both in the land of Israel and in Babylonia, from late biblical times (fourth-third century B.C.E.) until after the Islamic conquest and its replacement by Arabic (seventh century C.E.). The Talmud, in both its Babylonian and Palestinian versions, is composed mostly in Aramaic, as are portions of Midrash and other rabbinic writings. The Targum, existing in several versions, is the old Jewish translation of the Bible into Aramaic.

By the time the *Zohar* was written, Aramaic was a purely literary language for all but a tiny group of Jews in the mountains of Kurdistan. Knowledge of it elsewhere was purely passive, even among rabbinic scholars; only very rarely was a short treatise or poem still written in Aramaic. The choice to compose the *Zohar* in Aramaic gave to the work an archaic cast, and this immediately set the stage for its mysterious quality.

In Spain of the thirteenth century, unlike Palestine of the second, Aramaic was a mysterious and only vaguely understood language. Presenting secrets in Aramaic rather than Hebrew (a method that had been tried, in brief texts, before

the *Zohar*) shrouded them in an obscuring veil, forcing a slower pace of reading upon those who delved into its pages. It also permitted a certain grandiloquence that might have seemed pretentious in the more familiar vehicle of medieval Hebrew. Images that might have been seen as trivial in Hebrew, especially if frequently repeated, maintained a certain mysterious grandeur when veiled by the obscurity of Aramaic dress.

The *Zohar*'s Aramaic made the text slightly, but not impossibly, more difficult for the educated Jewish reader in its day. This was probably the precise intent: to offer the reader a sense that he had come to a more profound, and therefore less penetrable, sort of teaching. With some extra effort, it would reveal to him the secret universe that the *Zohar* sought to share and pass on to its elite community of readers. Students of the *Zohar* come quickly to understand that the Aramaic of the *Zohar* is indeed a penetrable veil. The real difficulty in reading the text is that of mastering the symbolic language and the subtlety with which it was employed.

It may also be that the *Zohar*'s composition in Aramaic was not entirely a matter of conscious choice. Perhaps it was something that "happened," either in the author's psyche or in the community of mystics where Zoharic teachings were first shared orally. If there was a living community of kabbalists in Castile in the 1280s, meeting by night in courtyards and gardens to study the secrets of the Torah, in what language did they share those secrets with one another? How did the transition take place from discussing the Hebrew text of Torah in Castilian—their only spoken language—back into Hebrew or Aramaic, for transcription onto the written page? Could it be that the richly vocalic sound of Aramaic—where each noun ends in a vowel—better reflected the sounds of their own speech than did Hebrew? Were they themselves somehow "seduced" by the mysterious sound of Aramaic to follow it into the fantasy realm represented by the *Zohar*?

These speculations may also be applied to the written text itself, especially if we assume that Rabbi Moses de León is the author of large portions of the *Zohar*. Some twenty Hebrew treatises by De León have survived, and several of these have now been published. Compared to the *Zohar*, they are relatively dull and uninspired. While the doctrinal content is very much the same, they possess little of the poetic muse and freedom of expression that so characterize the *Zohar*. One has the impression that De León stepped into another world when writing the *Zohar*, and the transition from Hebrew to Aramaic was one of the ways he marked that portal. Working in this other, more dimly perceived language released his muse, as it were, giving him the freedom to soar to heights of imagination and literary excess that he would not have dared attempt in

Hebrew. We might almost say that the use of Aramaic was some part of "the Holy Name" by which it was said that De León had written the *Zohar*.

The Aramaic of the *Zohar* is indeed a unique composite of dialects and features drawn from ancient literary sources. Details of Scholem's analysis of the *Zohar*'s language can be found in his writings and need not be repeated here. See also the Translator's Introduction to this volume for further discussion of linguistic questions that have direct bearing on the translation before you.

X

During the last two centuries of Jewish life in Spain, the *Zohar* continued to be copied and studied among small groups of devotees. It competed with two other schools of kabbalistic thought, the Catalonian and the Abulafian, for the attention of those few interested in mystical pursuits. Some kabbalists seem to have combined these various approaches, or else to have "migrated" in the course of their own quests from one school of mystical thought to another. Jewish rationalism was also very much alive in Spain through the fifteenth century, probably continuing to have a larger following than did Kabbalah. Manuscripts of the *Zohar* also reached Italy, the Byzantine lands of the eastern Mediterranean, and the Holy Land during this period.

It was after the expulsion of Spanish Jewry in 1492 that the influence of Kabbalah entered a period of rapid growth. Various explanations have been offered for this increased interest in the mystical tradition. Some have attributed it to the suffering and despair that visited this once-proud group of Jewish communities in the period between 1391 and 1492. The devastation of the age, so it is said, caused Jews to seek out deeper resources of consolation than those offered by the typically optimistic worldview of the philosophers. Others claim that the growth of Kabbalah came as a response of a different sort to the Spanish expulsion. Jews throughout the Mediterranean world, including many Spanish exiles, were shocked and disgraced by the high numbers of Spanish Jews who converted to Christianity in the course of the fifteenth century. Once again the blame was placed partly at the door of philosophy, the intellectual sophistication of Spanish Jewry having supposedly led to a laxity in religious observance and a relative indifference to the question of religious identity. Yet another view attributes the growth in Kabbalah's influence to the new home cultures in which former Iberian Jews found themselves. Ottoman Turkey, with its closed *millet* system—in which each faith community held fast to exclusive truth-claims and total denigration of all outside influences—was a hospitable environment for

precisely the closed-minded Zoharic view of the outside world, rather than the Aristotelian quasi-universalism of the philosophers, which had served the needs of a very different age.

Whatever the reason (and a combination of the above factors is most likely), we begin to see new kabbalistic works written and old ones distributed and explicated in the early sixteenth century. The *Zohar* and other works of the Castilian tradition are especially prominent in this period. Perhaps typical is the figure of Rabbi Meir ibn Gabbai, a Turkish kabbalist who tells us that he was born in Spain in 1481 and left as a child among the exiles. Ibn Gabbai's magnum opus, *Avodat ha-Qodesh* (Venice, 1567), is a grand systematization of Kabbalah and a defense of it against philosophy. Typically of the sixteenth century, Ibn Gabbai knows a great many earlier texts and seeks to harmonize them with one another. But the great source of kabbalistic truth is the *Zohar*, which he quotes on virtually every page as "the Midrash of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai."

The kabbalistic conventicles of Safed, which flourished in the late sixteenth century, also accorded to the *Zohar* top place as the authoritative source of kabbalistic truth. Clearly, the choice of Safed as a place of settlement for Jews attached to the kabbalistic legacy had much to do with its proximity to Meron, the supposed burial place of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. His tomb had been a site of pilgrimage for local Jews long earlier, but with the growth of the Safed community it became a truly important shrine. Both Rabbi Moses Cordovero (1522–1570), who probably immigrated to Safed from elsewhere in the Ottoman realm, and Rabbi Isaac Luria (1534–1572), who came from Egypt, chose to live in Safed because of the nearness of holy graves and the possibility (described by Cordovero in his *Sefer Gerushin*) of achieving mystical knowledge through prostration upon them. Among the sacred dead of the Galilee, Rabbi Shim'on, now acclaimed as the undisputed author of the *Zohar*, took a central place. Luria specifically hoped to achieve a true understanding of passages in the *Zohar* by visiting what he believed to be the grave of its author.

The "return" of Kabbalah to the Galilean landscape of the *Zohar*'s heroes fired the imagination of Jews throughout the Diaspora. Reports of the holy men of Safed, especially the mysterious figure of Luria, known as *ha-Ari ha-Qadosh* (the Holy Lion), were widely copied and printed in several versions. A vast literature of both kabbalistic writings and ethical or pietistic works influenced by Kabbalah poured forth from the printing presses of Venice, Constantinople, and Amsterdam—to be distributed throughout the Jewish world. It did not take long until the claim emerged that the soul of the *Ari* was in fact a reincarnation of that of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai.

It was in this period that the *Zohar* came to be considered not only an

ancient and holy book, but a *canonical* text, bearing authority comparable to that of the Bible and the Talmud. The authority of the *Zohar* as the prime source of mystical truth had already been considered by fourteenth-century kabbalists, some of whom came to view its word as superior to that of Naḥmanides, for example, because of its allegedly greater antiquity. Naḥmanides was portrayed by these as a "modem" source, whose word could be set aside by a contrary quotation from the work of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. But in the sixteenth century, it was said that Elijah himself had appeared to Rabbi Shim'on, and the *Zohar*'s authority became that of heaven itself. Meir ibn Gabbai traced the kabbalistic tradition back to Sinai, claiming that Zoharic secrets were given to Moses along with the written Torah.

Canonical status, in the context of Judaism, bears with it halakhic authority as well as mystical prestige. If the *Zohar* contained the "true" meaning of both written and oral Torah, might it be used as a source of legal authority, especially in ritual and liturgical matters, as well? This question came up among halakhic scholars, especially in the few cases in which the *Zohar* seemed to contradict the majority opinion of rabbis deciding the law on the basis of Talmudic precedent and its formulation in responsa and codes. In fact, as scholars have shown, these cases mostly turn on local custom—the *Zohar* reflecting either Franco-German or old Spanish customs, while the *halakhah* had decided in favor of others. A classic example of such halakhic dispute involving the *Zohar* concerns the donning of *tefillin* on the intermediate weekdays of *Pesaḥ* and *Sukkot*. The *Zohar* expresses itself most strongly on the issue, considering the wearing of *tefillin* on those days an insult to the festival and a virtual sacrilege. Although the halakhic codes mostly tended otherwise, some halakhic authorities bowed to the *Zohar*, and the use of *tefillin* on those days was rejected throughout the Sephardic (and later Hasidic) communities.

Thanks to the influence of the Safed revival of mystical studies, Kabbalah became widely known among eastern European Jews in the seventeenth century. The works of Rabbi Isaiah Horowitz, a Prague kabbalist who later settled in Jerusalem, carried the teachings of Ibn Gabbai and Cordovero, among others, to preachers throughout the Ashkenazic communities. Here, too, the *Zohar* was very widely quoted. Prayer books with kabbalistic commentaries, including those by both Cordovero and Horowitz, brought kabbalistic thinking into the realm of actual synagogue practice. The highly mythical Kabbalah of Naftali Bacharach, seventeenth-century German author of *Emeq ha-Melekh* (Valley of the King), is primarily influenced by the language and imagery of the *Zohar*.

Another area of the growing canonicity of the *Zohar* is reflected in its use in liturgical contexts and its appearance in digests of daily religious practice.

Various kabbalistic *Tiqqunim* or "Orders" were published throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These include many collections of *Zohar* passages to be recited during the vigils of *Shavu'ot* and *Hosha'na Rabbah*, at the Sabbath table, and on various other occasions. It came to be understood in this period that oral recitation of the *Zohar* was efficacious even for those who did not understand its meaning. In the nineteenth century, vocalized editions of the *Zohar* were printed to allow for this situation, and to assure that the recitation would nevertheless be performed with some degree of accuracy. There were also various digests produced for daily study/recitation, especially in the eighteenth century. The most widespread of these was called *Ḥoq le-Yisra'el* (Cairo, 1740), including passages to be recited each day from the Torah, Prophets, Hagiographa, Mishnah, Talmud, *Zohar*, ethical guides, and legal digests. The *Ḥemdat Yamim*, an anonymous compendium of kabbalistic praxis (Izmir, 1731/32), prescribes readings from the *Zohar* for nearly every conceivable occasion in the Jewish liturgical year. In both of these compendia, we see the *Zohar* at the apex of its acceptance and integration into the daily regimen of Jewish spiritual life.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the messianic movement around Sabbatai Tsevi (1626–1676) swept through the Jewish communities. In the more radical forms of Sabbateanism, the *Zohar* carried even greater weight as the authority of Talmudic law came to be questioned. The kabbalistic system of Nathan of Gaza (1643/4–1680), the great prophet of Sabbateanism, is based on the imagery of the *Zohar*; and devotion to the *Zohar* was touted loudly throughout the history of Sabbateanism. Some of the later Ashkenazic Sabbateans—followers of Jacob Frank—came to refer to themselves as "Zoharites," Jews who followed the authority of the *Zohar* while rejecting that of the Talmud and the rabbis. This, of course, would be a spurious claim had the authors of the *Zohar* been asked their opinion, since they had no intention of rebelling against Talmudic authority. But by this time (and in these circles), the *Zohar* was being read through the lenses of such radical interpreters as the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, the fifteenth-century *Sefer ha-Qanah*, the anonymous work *Galei Razayya*, and the writings of Nathan of Gaza. When seen as the font of this literary tradition, the *Zohar* could be read as a very radical work indeed.

The decline of Sabbateanism in the mid-eighteenth century preceded by only a few decades the beginning of the Enlightenment era in western Europe and the admission of Jews into a more open and religiously tolerant society. As large numbers of Jews became eager supporters of what they could only see as emancipation, readings of Judaism that supported or fit this new situation became widespread. One feature of this emerging post-Enlightenment Judaism,

whether in its Reform or Orthodox versions, was either an open rejection or a quiet setting aside of Kabbalah and the *Zohar* in particular. Scholem wrote an essay about several obscure nineteenth-century figures whom he designated as "The Last Kabbalists in Germany." We have already spoken of Heinrich Graetz's negative views of the *Zohar*, a position that was widely shared by his contemporaries. While there were a few scholars in the period of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Adolph Jellinek of Vienna is the most notable) who studied the *Zohar*, it was mostly neglected by westernized Jews throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In eastern Europe, the situation was quite different. Hasidism, a popular religious revival based on Kabbalah, continued to revere the *Zohar* and believe in its antiquity. Several significant *Zohar* commentaries were written within Hasidic circles, and the authors of Hasidic works often referred to the *Zohar*. Rabbi Pinḥas of Korzec, an early Hasidic master, was said to have thanked God that he was born after the appearance of the *Zohar*, "for the *Zohar* kept me a Jew." Hasidic legend has it that when the *Zohar* was published by his sons, who owned the printing-works in Slawuta, they dipped the press in the *miqveh* (ritual bath) before printing each volume, so great was the holy task that was about to come before it! Hasidic masters, because of this legend, went out of their way to acquire copies of the Slawuta edition of the *Zohar* and to study from it. The great opponent of Hasidism, Rabbi Elijah (the "Gaon") of Vilna (1720–1797), was also a kabbalist, and a small group within the circle of his disciples continued the study of *Zohar* for several generations.

Among the Sephardic and Mizraḥi Jews, the reputation of the *Zohar* as a holy book was particularly strong. Jews in such far-flung communities as Morocco, Turkey, and Iraq studied it avidly. Simple Jews recited the *Zohar* much in the way that uneducated eastern European Jews recited the Psalms. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Jerusalem became known as a center of kabbalistic studies, and Jews from throughout these communities went there and studied works that emanated from that center. Outside of Europe, it was primarily the Lurianic Kabbalah that held sway, and the *Zohar*, while revered, was generally viewed through the Lurianic prism. Only as Enlightenment ideas began to spread in the early twentieth century, partly through the arrival of European Jews in the Colonial era, did the authority of the *Zohar* come into question.

The writings of Scholem, Tishby, and the scholars following in their wake have done much to make the *Zohar* intelligible to moderns and to renew interest in its study. Tishby's *Wisdom of the Zohar*, translating selected passages from Aramaic into Hebrew, was a highly successful attempt to make the *Zohar* more

accessible to an educated Israeli readership. The interest aroused among scholars of religion by Scholem's highly readable and insightful essays, especiaily those first presented at the Eranos conferences, served to kindle great interest in Kabbalah within the broader scholarly community. This interest is maintained today thanks to the profound and sometimes provocative studies of Yehuda Liebes and Elliot Wolfson. The important writings of Moshe Idel continue to bring Kabbalah to the attention of the scholarly and intellectual world. The availability of English and other translations, including the selections in Tishby and anthologies by both Scholem and Matt, have also served the *Zohar* well in creating readerships outside of Israel. In more recent decades, this intellectual interest in Kabbalah has spread to wider circles, including many who are concerned with questions of symbolism, philosophy of language, and related issues.

At the same time, two other seemingly unrelated phenomena have come together to greatly increase the interest in *Zohar* studies at the turn of the twenty-first century. One is the broad interest throughout the Western world in works of mysticism and "spirituality." Our age has seen a great turn toward sources of wisdom neglected by two centuries of modernity, partly in hope of finding in them a truth that will serve as a source of guidance for the difficult and complex times in which we live. Recently, an interest in the *Zohar* and Kabbalah has emerged as part of this trend. As is true of all the other wisdoms examined in the course of this broad cultural phenomenon, the interest in Kabbalah includes both serious and trivial or "faddist" elements. This revival of Kabbalah is a complicated phenomenon within itself, containing expressions of great hunger for religious experience and personal growth, alongside the broader quest for wisdom.

This interest has come to be combined with a very different renewal of Kabbalah, primarily in Israel, after the 1967 and 1973 wars. It is manifest in the growth of kabbalistic *yeshivot* or academies, the publication of many new editions of kabbalistic works, and a campaign of public outreach intended to spread the teachings of Kabbalah more broadly. This new emphasis on Kabbalah is partly due to the reassertion of pride in the Sephardic and Mizraḥi heritage, where Kabbalah has an important place. It is also in part related to the difficult and trying times through which Israel has lived, resulting in both a resurgence of messianism and a turn to "practical Kabbalah"—a long-standing part of Near Eastern Judaism—as a source of protection against enemies and hope of victory over them. The Kabbalah taught in these circles is primarily of the Lurianic variety, as interpreted through a long chain of Jerusalem-based teachers. Some versions of what is proffered as "Kabbalah" today can only be described as

highly debased versions of the original teachings. But the *Zohar*, even if reinterpreted in Lurianic terms, is revered throughout these circles as the primary font of kabbalistic truth, the ancient teaching of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai.

How this very complex interweaving of forces will affect the future of interest in Kabbalah is yet to be seen. It is certain, however, that the *Zohar* will continue to find a place in the hearts of new readers, some of whom will turn to the more authentic and profound aspects of its teachings. It is hoped that these readers will be helped and guided by the present translation and commentary.

THE ZOHAR

הקדמת ספר הזהר

Haqdamat Sefer ha-Zohar

INTRODUCTION TO THE *ZOHAR*

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah opened, "*Like a rose*[1] *among thorns, so is my beloved among the maidens* (Song of Songs 2:2). Who is *a rose*? Assembly of Israel.[2] For there is a rose, and then there is a rose! Just as a rose among thorns is colored red and white,[3] so Assembly of Israel includes judgment and compassion. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, so Assembly of Israel has thirteen qualities of compassion surrounding Her on every side.[4] Similarly, from the moment אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, is mentioned, it generates thirteen words to surround Assembly of Israel and protect Her; then it is mentioned again.[5] Why again? To produce five sturdy leaves surrounding the rose.[6] These five are called Salvation;[7] they are five gates.[8] Concerning this mystery it is written: *I raise the cup of salvation* (Psalms 116:13). This is the cup of blessing, which should rest on five fingers— and no more[9]—like the rose, sitting on five sturdy leaves, paradigm of five fingers. This rose is the cup of blessing.

"From the second אלהים (*Elohim*) till the third, five words appear. From here on: light—created, concealed, contained in the covenant,[10] entering the rose, emitting seed into Her. This is the *tree bearing fruit with its seed in it* (Genesis 1:12).[11] That seed endures in the actual sign of covenant. Just as the image of the covenant is sown in forty-two couplings of that seed, so the engraved, explicit name[12] is sown in forty-two letters of the act of Creation."[13]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "*The blossoms have appeared on the earth*, [*the time of pruning has arrived; the voice of the turtledove is heard in our land*] (Song of Songs 2:12). *The blossoms* are the act of Creation, which *appeared on the earth*. When? On the third day, as is written: *The earth brought forth vegetation* (Genesis 1:12). Then they *appeared on the earth. The time of pruning has arrived*—the fourth day, on which *the pruning of tyrants* (Isaiah 25:5) took

place.[14] מארת (*Me'orot*), *Lights*, spelled deficiently.[15] *The voice of the turtledove* is the fifth day, as is written: *Let the waters swarm* [*with a swarm of living creatures, and let birds fly above the earth, across the expanse of the sky*] (Genesis 1:20), generating offspring. *Is heard* is the sixth day, as is written: *Let us make a human being* (Genesis 1:26), who was destined to declare acting before hearing, for here is written: [1b] נעשה (*Na'aseh*), *Let us make, a human being*, and there is written: נעשה (*Na'aseh*), *We will do, and we will listen* (Exodus 24:7).[16] *In our land* is the Sabbath day, paradigm of the land of eternal life.[17]

"*The blossoms* are the patriarchs, who entered the divine mind before Creation[18] and entered the world that is coming,[19] where they were treasured away. From there, they emerged secretly and were concealed within prophets of truth.[20] When Joseph was born, they were concealed within him.[21] When Joseph entered the Holy Land, he planted them there. Then they *appeared on earth*, were revealed there. When are they visible? When the rainbow is revealed in the world.[22] When the rainbow appears, they are revealed. Then, *the time of pruning has arrived*, time to excise the wicked from the world. Why are they spared? Because *the blossoms have appeared on the earth*. Had they not *appeared*, they would not remain in the world,[23] nor would the world endure. Who sustains the world, enabling the patriarchs to be revealed? The voice of children engaging in Torah.[24] For the sake of those children, the world is saved. Corresponding to them, *We will make you wreaths of gold* (Song of Songs 1:11). These are little children, youngsters, as is written: *Make two cherubim of gold* (Exodus 25:18)."[25]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi El'azar opened, "*Lift your eyes on high and see: Who created these?* (Isaiah 40:26). *Lift your eyes on high*. To which site? The site toward which all eyes gaze. Which is that? *Opening of the eyes*.[26] There you will discover that the concealed ancient one, susceptible to questioning, *created these*. Who is that? *Who*.[27] The one called End of Heaven above,[28] whose domain extends over everything. Since it can be questioned, yet remains concealed and unrevealed, it is called *Who*. Beyond, there is no question.[29]

"This end of heaven is called *Who*. There is another below, called *What*.[30] What distinguishes the two? The first, concealed one—called *Who*—can be questioned. Once a human being questions and searches,[31] contemplating and knowing rung after rung to the very last rung—once one reaches there: *What?* What do you know? What have you contemplated? For what have you searched? All is concealed, as before.

"Concerning this mystery it is written: *What can I take as a witness to you?*

What can I compare to you? (Lamentations 2:13). When the holy Temple was destroyed, a voice cried out: '*What can I take as a witness to you? What can I compare to you?*' I take *What* as a witness to you. Every single day I have called witnesses against you, since days of old, as is written: *I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day* (Deuteronomy 30:19).[32] I compare you to *What*, precisely![33] I crowned you with holy crowns, gave you dominion over the world, as is written: *Is this the city that was called perfect crown of beauty, joy of all the earth?* (Lamentations 2:15). I called you *Jerusalem built up, a city bound together* (Psalms 122:3). Now, *What can I liken to you*, [*to console you*]? (Lamentations, ibid., 13).[34] Just as you sit desolate, so it is above, as it were. Just as now, the holy people do not enter you in holy array, so I swear to you that I Myself will not enter above until your inhabitants enter you below.[35] This is your consolation: I compare this rung to you completely.[36] But now that you are here, *your ruin is vast as the ocean* (ibid.).[37] Yet if you say you cannot endure or be healed, then *Who will heal you* (ibid.), really! That concealed, high rung in which all exists will heal you and raise you up.

"*Who* is End of Heaven above; *What* is End of Heaven below. Jacob inherited this, *running from end to end* (Exodus 26:28),[38] from first end, *Who*, to last end, *What*, for he stands in the middle. So, *Who created these*."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "El'azar, my son, cease your words,[39] so that the concealed mystery on high, unknown to any human, may be revealed."

Rabbi El'azar was silent.

Rabbi Shim'on wept and paused for a moment. Then he said, "El'azar, what is *these*?[40] If you answer, 'Stars and constellations,' they are always visible there[41] and were created by *What*, as is said: *By the word of YHVH the heavens were made* (Psalms 33:6).[42] As for things concealed, such would not be referred to as *these*, for that word indicates something revealed. This mystery was only revealed one day when I was at the seashore. Elijah[43] came and asked me, 'Rabbi, do you know the meaning of *Who created these*?' I answered, 'These are the heavens and their array, the work of the blessed Holy One. Human beings should contemplate them and bless Him, as is written: *When I behold Your heavens, the work of* [2a] *Your fingers, the moon and stars that You set in place,... YHVH our Lord, how majestic is Your name throughout the earth!* (Psalms 8:4, 10).

"Elijah said to me, 'Rabbi, the word was concealed with the blessed Holy One, and He revealed it in the Academy on High.[44] Here it is:

'When Concealed of all Concealed[45] verged on being revealed, it produced at first a single point,[46] which ascended to become thought. Within, it drew all drawings, graved all engravings,[47] carving within the concealed holy lamp[48] a

graving of one hidden design, holy of holies, a deep structure emerging from thought, called מי (*Mi*), *Who*, origin of structure.[49] Existent and non-existent, deep and hidden, called by no name but *Who*.

'Seeking to be revealed, to be named, it garbed itself in a splendid, radiant garment and created אלה (*elleh*), *these*.[50] אלה (*Elleh*) attained the name: these letters joined with those, culminating in the name אלהים (*Elohim*).[51] Until it created אלה (*elleh*), it did not attain the name אלהים (*Elohim*).[52] Based on this mystery, those who sinned with the Golden Calf said "אלה (*Elleh*), *These, are your gods, O Israel!*" (Exodus 32:8).[53] Just as מי (*mi*) is combined with אלה (*elleh*), so the name אלהים (*Elohim*) is constantly polysemous.[54] Through this mystery, the universe exists.'

"Then Elijah flew off; I did not see him. From him I discovered the word, whose mysterious secret I have demonstrated."

Rabbi El'azar and all the Companions came and bowed down in front of him. Weeping, they said, "If we have come into the world only to hear this, it is enough."[55]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "So the heavens and their array were created by מה (*Mah*), *What*,[56] as is written: *When I behold Your heavens, the work of Your fingers, the moon and stars that You set in place,...* מה (*mah*), *how, majestic is Your name throughout the earth! Your splendor is celebrated above heaven* (Psalms 8:4, 1). *Above heaven*,[57] to attain the name. For it created a light for its light, one enclothed in the other, and it attained a high name. So, *In the beginning* אלהים (*Elohim*) *created* (Genesis 1:1), אלהים (*Elohim*) above.[58] For מה (*Mah*) was not so, is not composed until these letters—אלה (*elleh*)—are drawn from above to below and Mother lends Daughter Her garments, though not adorning Her with Her adornments.[59] When does She adorn Her fittingly? When all males appear before Her, as is written: [*All your males shall appear*] *before the Sovereign*, *YHVH* (Exodus 23:17).[60] This one is called Sovereign, as is said: *Behold, the ark of the covenant, Sovereign of all the earth* (Joshua 3:11).[61] Then the letter ה (*he*) departs and י (*yod*) enters, and She adorns Herself in masculine clothing in the presence of every male in Israel.[62] Other letters Israel draws from above to this site: אלה (*Elleh*), *These, I remember* (Psalms 42:5).[63] 'With my mouth I mentioned them, in my yearning I poured out my tears, drawing forth these letters. Then *I conduct them* from above *to the house of Elohim*, to be *Elohim*, like Him.'[64] With what? *With joyous shouts of praise, the festive throng*."

Rabbi El'azar said, "My silence assembled a temple above, a temple below.[65] Indeed, 'a word is worth one coin; silence, two.'[66] 'A word is worth one coin': what I said, the meaning I aroused. 'Silence, two': by holding my silence, two worlds were created, erected as one."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "From here on, the completion of the verse, as is written: *The one who brings forth their array by number* (Isaiah 40:26).[67] These are two rungs, each of which should be inscribed. One is *What*; the other, *Who*. This is above, that is below. The one above is inscribed by the words: *The one who brings forth their array by number*, the one who is known, beyond compare.[68] Similarly, 'The one who brings forth bread from the earth,'[69] the one who is known, the lower rung, and all is one.[70] *By number*: 600,000, standing together, generating forces according to their kind, beyond number.[71] *And calls them each by name*, both the 600,000 and their forces. What does this mean: *by name*? If you say they were called individually by name—not so, for then the verse should read *each by its name*. Rather, as long as this rung had not ascended and was still called מי (*Mi*), *Who*, it did not give birth nor bring forth what was hidden, each according to its kind, though all of them were hidden within. Once it *created* אלה (*elleh*), *these*, and attained its name, אלהים (*Elohim*), then by the power of this name, it yielded them perfectly. This is the meaning of *calls them each by name*: by its very name, it called forth each and every kind to exist perfectly. Similarly, *See, I have called by name Bezalel* (Exodus 31:2) :[72] 'I mentioned My name so that Bezalel would attain perfect existence.' *His great might* (Isaiah 40:26).[73] What is this? First of rungs, to which all desires ascend, ascending there [2b] secretly.[74] *And vast power*— mystery of the upper world,[75] which attained the name *Elohim*, as we have said. *Not one is missing*—not one of those 600,000 generated by the power of the name. Because *not one is missing*, whenever any of the Children of Israel died as punishment for their sins, the people were counted, and not even one of the 600,000 was lacking,[76] so that everything accorded with the paradigm: just as *not one is missing* above, so *not one is missing* below."

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rav Hamnuna Sava said, "We find the letters backward:[77] ב (*Bet*) first, followed by ב (bet): בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning* followed by ברא (*bara*), *created*. Then א (*alef*) first, followed by א (*alef*): אלהים (*Elohim*), followed by את (*et*).

"The reason is: When the blessed Holy One wished to fashion the world, all the letters were hidden away.[78] For two thousand years before creating the world,[79] the blessed Holy One contemplated them and played with them. As He verged on creating the world, all the letters presented themselves before Him, from last to first.[80]

"The letter ת (tav) entered first of all. She said, 'Master of the worlds, may it please You to create the world by me, for I complete Your seal: אמת (*emet*),

truth[81]—and You are called Truth.[82] It is fitting for the King of Truth to begin with a letter of truth and to create the world by me.'

"The blessed Holy One replied, 'You are seemly and worthy, but not deserving to initiate Creation, since you are destined to be marked on the foreheads of the faithful who fulfilled the Torah from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), and by your mark they will die.[83] Furthermore you are the seal of מות (*mavet*), death.[84] So you do not deserve to serve as the instrument of Creation.' She immediately departed.

"The letter ש (*shin*) came before Him. She said, 'Master of the worlds, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are named שדי (*Shaddai*), and it is fitting to create the world by a holy name.'

"He replied, 'You are seemly, you are good, and you are true, but since letters of deceit take you as their accomplice, I do not wish to create the world by you. For a lie cannot exist unless ק״ר (*qof-resh*) take you.'[85] So whoever wants to tell a lie will first lay a foundation of truth and then construct the lie.[86] For ש (*shin*) is a letter of truth, a true letter of the patriarchs, who were united in it;[87] ק״ר (*qof-resh*) are letters that appear on the evil side.[88] In order to survive, they entangle the letter ש (*shin*), forming קשר (*qesher*), conspiracy. Seeing this, she left His presence.

"The letter צ (*tsadi*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for צדיקים (*tsaddiqim*), the righteous, are sealed by me, and You, who are called צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous, are signified by me, as is written: *For* יהוה (*YHVH*) *is* צדיק (*tsaddiq*)—*loving righteousness* (Psalms 11:7). It is fitting to create the world by me!'

"He replied, 'צ (*Tsadi*), you are צדיק (*tsaddiq*), but you should remain hidden—not so revealed—so as not to provide the world a pretext.' How so? She is נ (*nun*). י (*Yod*) from the name of the holy covenant comes and rides on her, is united with her.[89] This is the mystery: When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces.[90] So the י (*yod*) faces backward, like this: .[91] They were not turned face-to-face, like this: .[92] It looked upward like this: . It looked downward like this: .[93] The blessed Holy One said to her, 'Turn back, for I intend to split you and transfigure you face-to-face, but you will arise elsewhere.'[94] She left His presence and departed.

"The letter פ (*pe*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for I signify פורקנא (*purqena*), the redemption, that You will someday bring to the world, also called פדות (*pedut*),

deliverance. It is fitting to create the world by me!'

"He replied, 'You are seemly, but you signify hidden transgression, like a serpent striking, then tucking its head into its body:[95] so one who sins bows his head, stretching out his hands.'

"Similarly ע (*ayin*) stands for עון (*avon*), iniquity. Although she said, 'I imply ענוה (*anavah*), humility,' the blessed Holy One replied, 'I will not create the world by you.' She left His presence.

"The letter ס (*samekh*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of [3a] the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me סמיכא (*semikha*), support, exists for those who fall, as is written: סומך יהוה (*Somekh YHVH*), *YHVH* supports, all who fall (Psalms 145:14).'

"He replied, 'So you are needed where you are; do not move! If you leave, what would happen to the fallen, who depend on you?' She immediately left His presence.

"The letter נ (*nun*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are called נורא (*Nora*), *Awesome, in praises* (Exodus 15:11). By me, the praise of the righteous is called נאוה (*navah*), *comely* (Psalms 33:1).'

"He replied, 'נ (*Nun*), return to your place, for because of you ס (*samekh*) returned to her place.[96] Depend on her.' She returned immediately, leaving His presence.

"The letter מ (*mem*) entered. She said to him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are called מלך (*Melekh*), King.'

"He replied, 'Certainly so, but I will not create the world by you, since the world needs a king. Return to your place, you along with ל (*lamed*) and ך (*khaf*),[97] for the world should not be without a king.'

"At that moment the letter כ (*kaf*) descended from His throne of glory[98] and said, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for I am Your כבוד (*Kavod*), Glory.'

"When כ (*kaf*) descended from the throne of glory, 200,000 worlds trembled, the throne trembled, and all the worlds verged on collapse. The blessed Holy One said to her, 'כ, כ (*Kaf, kaf*), what are you doing here? I will not create the world by you. Return to your place, for you imply כליה (*kelayah*), destruction—*a decree of destruction* (Isaiah 10:23). Return to your throne and stay there.' She thereupon left His presence and returned to her place.

"The letter י (*yod*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for I am the beginning of the holy Name.[99] It is fitting for You to create the world by me!'

“He replied, ‘It is enough for you to be engraved in Me, to be inscribed in Me. My desire culminates in you. You should not be uprooted from My name.’

“The letter ט (*tet*) entered. She said to Him, ‘Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are called טוב וישר (*tov ve-yashar*), *good and upright* (Psalms 25:8).’

“He replied, ‘I will not create the world by you, for your goodness is concealed and hidden within you,[100] as is written: *How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You* (Psalms 31:20). Since it is hidden within you, it plays no part in this world that I am about to create, but rather in the world to come.[101] Furthermore, because your goodness is hidden within you, the gates of My Temple will sink, as is written: *Her gates* טבעו (*tave’u*), *have sunk, into the earth* (Lamentations 2:9). Further, facing you is ח (*ḥet*),[102] and when you join together you spell חטא (ḥet), sin.’[103] So these two letters are not inscribed in the holy tribes.[104] She immediately left His presence.

“The letter ז (*zayin*) entered. She said to Him, ‘Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me Your children observe the Sabbath, as is written: זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember, the Sabbath day, to hallow it* (Exodus 20:8).’

“He replied, ‘I will not create the world by you, for you imply war—a sharp sword and a spear for battle, like a ן (*nun*).’[105] She immediately left His presence.

“The letter ו (*vav*) entered. She said to Him, ‘Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for I am a letter of Your name.’[106]

“He replied, ‘ו (*Vav*), it is enough for you and ה (*he*) to be letters of My name, included in the mystery of My name, engraved and carved in My name. I will not create the world by either of you.’

“The letters ד (*dalet*) and ג (*gimel*) entered and made the same request. He replied to them as well, ‘It is enough for you to be with each other, since the poor will never cease from the world[107] and need to be treated kindly. ד (*Dalet*) is poor; ג (*gimel*) גומל (*gomel*), renders, goodness to her.[108] Do not separate from one another! It is enough for one of you to sustain the other.’

“The letter ב (*bet*) entered. She said to Him, ‘Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are blessed above and below.’[109]

“The blessed Holy One replied, ‘Indeed, by you I will create the world. You will be the beginning of Creation.’

“The letter א (*alef*) stood and did not enter. The blessed Holy One said to her, ‘א, א (*Alef, alef*), why do you not enter My presence like all the other letters?’

“She replied, ‘Master of the world! Because I saw all the letters leaving Your presence fruitlessly. What could I do there? Furthermore, look, [3b] You

have given this enormous gift to the letter ב (*bet*), and it is not fitting for the exalted King to take back a gift He has given to His servant and give it to another!'

"The blessed Holy One said, 'א, א (*Alef, alef*)! Although I will create the world with the letter ב (*bet*), you will be the first of all the letters. Only through you do I become one.[110] With you all counting begins and every deed in the world. No union is actualized except by א (*alef*).'

"The blessed Holy One fashioned high, large letters and low, small letters.[111] So, ב, ב (*Bet, bet*): בראשית ברא (*Be-reshit bara*); א, א (*Alef, alef*): אלהים את (*Elohim et*). Letters above and letters below. They were all as one, from the upper world and the lower world.

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi Yudai said, "What is בראשית (*Be-reshit*)? With Wisdom.[112] This is the Wisdom on which the world stands—through which one enters hidden, high mysteries. Here were engraved six vast, supernal dimensions, from which everything emerges, from which issued six springs and streams, flowing into the immense ocean.[113] This is ברא שית (*bara shit*), created six,[114] created from here. Who created them? The unmentioned, the hidden unknown."[115]

Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose were walking on the way. As they reached the site of a certain field, Rabbi Ḥiyya said to Rabbi Yose, "What you have said — ברא שית (*bara shit*)—is certainly true, for there are six supernal days in the Torah, not more; the others are concealed.[116] But in the Secrets of Creation we have discovered this:

"'The holy hidden one[117] engraved an engraving in the innards of a recess, punctuated by a thrust point.[118] He engraved that engraving, hiding it away, like one who locks up everything under a single key, which locks everything within a single palace.[119] Although everything is hidden away within that palace, the essence of everything lies in that key, which closes and opens. Within that palace lie hidden treasures, one greater than the other. Within that palace stand gates built cryptically, fifty of them. Carved into four sides, they were forty-nine. One gate has no side. No one knows whether it is above or below; it is shut.[120] In those gates is one lock and one precise place for inserting the key,[121] marked only by the impress of the key, known only to the key. Concerning this mystery it is written: בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *In the beginning God created*. בראשית (*Be-reshit*) is the key enclosing all, closing and opening. Six gates are contained in that key that closes and opens.[122] When it closes those gates, enclosing them within itself, then indeed: בראשית (*Be-reshit*)—a revealed word

combined with a concealed word. ברא (*Bara*), *Created*, is always concealed, closing, not opening.'"[123]

Rabbi Yose said, "Certainly so! I heard the Holy Lamp[124] say so, that ברא (*bara*) is a concealed word, closing, not opening. As long as the world[125] was locked within the word ברא (*bara*), it was not, did not exist. Enveloping everything was תהו (*tohu*), *chaos*,[126] and as long as תהו (*tohu*) reigned, the world was not, did not exist. When did that key open gates? When was it fit to be fruitful, to generate offspring? When Abraham arrived,[127] as is written: *These are the generations of heaven and earth* בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created* (Genesis 2:4), and we have learned: באברהם (*be-Avraham*), through Abraham.[128] Whereas everything was concealed in the word ברא (*bara*), now the letters were transposed and rendered fruitful. A pillar emerged, generating offspring: אבר (*ever*), organ—Holy Foundation on which the world stands.[129]

"When אבר (*ever*) was inscribed in the word ברא (*bara*), the supernal concealed one inscribed another inscription for its glorious name. This is אלה מי ברא (*Mi vara elleh*), *Who created these* (Isaiah 40:26).[130] The holy blessed name מה (*Mah*), *What*, was also inscribed.[131] Out of ברא (*bara*) it generated אבר (*ever*), inscribing אלה (*elleh*) at one end and אבר (*ever*) at the other.[132] Holy concealed one! אלה (*Elleh*) exists, אבר (*ever*) exists. As one was completed, so was the other. In אבר (*ever*) it engraved ה (*he*); in אלה (*elleh*), י (*yod*). Letters were aroused to complete one side and the other. It produced מ"ם (two *mems*), moving one to this side, one to that. The holy name was completed— becoming אלהים (*Elohim*)—and the name אברהם (*Avraham*) as well. [4a] As one was completed, so was the other.[133] Then life was generated and the complete Name emerged, unlike before, as is written: *These are the generations of heaven and earth* בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created*. All remained suspended until the name of Abraham was created.[134] Once that name was completed, the holy name was completed, as the verse concludes: *on the day that* יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*) *made earth and heaven* (Genesis 2:4)."[135]

Rabbi Ḥiyya prostrated himself on the ground, kissing the dust and weeping. He cried out, "Dust, dust, how stubborn you are, how impudent! All delights of the eye decay in you. All pillars of light in the world you consume and pulverize. How insolent you are! The Holy Lamp[136] who has illumined the world, majestic ruler, prince whose merit sustains the world, decays in you. O Rabbi Shim'on, radiance of the lamp, radiance of the worlds, you decompose in the dust, yet you subsist and guide the world!"[137]

For a moment he was shocked, and then exclaimed, "Dust, dust, do not boast! The pillars of the world will not be surrendered to you. Rabbi Shim'on has not decayed in you!"[138]

Still weeping, Rabbi Ḥiyya rose and walked on together with Rabbi Yose. From that day on, he fasted forty days to envision Rabbi Shim'on.[139] He was told, "You are not entitled to see him." He wept and fasted another forty days. In a vision he was shown Rabbi Shim'on and his son Rabbi El'azar, studying the word that Rabbi Yose had spoken,[140] with thousands listening. Meanwhile he noticed many huge celestial wings,[141] which Rabbi Shim'on and his son Rabbi El'azar mounted, and they soared to the Academy of Heaven. All those wings waited for them. He saw them returning, their splendor renewed, and they shone more brilliantly than the dazzle of the sun.

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "Let Rabbi Ḥiyya enter and see how the blessed Holy One intends to rejuvenate the faces of the righteous in the time to come.[142] Happy is one who enters here without shame. Happy is one who stands in that world[143] as a sturdy pillar."

Rabbi Ḥiyya saw himself entering. Rabbi El'azar rose together with the other pillars sitting there. Embarrassed, he drew back, then entered and sat at the feet of Rabbi Shim'on. A voice issued: "Lower your eyes, do not raise your head, do not gaze!" Lowering his eyes, he saw a light shining in the distance. The voice returned: "O high, hidden, concealed ones, open-eyed, roaming the entire world, gaze and see![144] O low, sleeping ones, close-eyed, awake![145] Who among you turns darkness into light, bitter into sweet before arriving here?[146] Who among you awaits each day the light that shines when the King visits the doe[147] and is glorified—declared King of all kings of the world? Whoever does not await this each day in that world has no portion here."[148]

Meanwhile he noticed many of the Companions surrounding him—all those erect pillars—and he saw them being raised to the Academy of Heaven, some ascending, some descending.[149] Above them all, he saw the Master of Wings[150] approaching. When he arrived, he solemnly swore that he had heard from behind the curtain[151] that the King remembers the doe who lies in the dust and visits Her every day. At that moment He kicks the 390 firmaments,[152] which all tremble and quake [4b] before Him. He sheds tears over this,[153] and those tears of bubbling fire fall into the vast ocean. From those tears the Prince of the Ocean[154] emerges—by them he is sustained. And he hallows the name of the Holy King, agreeing to swallow up all the waters of Creation and absorb them when all the nations gather against the holy people,[155] so that the waters will dry up and they will pass through on dry land.[156]

Meanwhile he[157] heard a voice proclaiming, "Make way, make way—for King Messiah is coming to the Academy of Rabbi Shim'on!" For all the righteous present there are heads of academies, and those academies are designated there; and all members of each academy ascend from the Academy

here[158] to the Academy of Heaven. The Messiah visits all those academies, setting his seal on the Torah issuing from the mouths of the rabbis.[159] At that moment the Messiah arrived, adorned by the heads of the academies with celestial crowns. At that moment all the Companions rose and Rabbi Shim'on rose, his light radiating to the vault of heaven.

He said to him,[160] "Happy are you, Rabbi, for your Torah ascends in 370 lights,[161] each and every light refracting into 613 senses,[162] ascending and bathing in rivers of pure balsam.[163] The blessed Holy One sets His seal on the Torah of your academy, and of the academy of Hezekiah, king of Judah,[164] and of the academy of Ahiyah of Shiloh.[165] I have not come to set my seal on what issues from your academy. Rather, the Master of Wings has entered here, for I know he enters no academy but yours."[166]

Then Rabbi Shim'on told him[167] the oath that the Master of Wings had sworn. The Messiah began trembling and cried aloud. The heavens trembled, the vast ocean trembled, Leviathan trembled, and the world verged on overturning. At that moment, he noticed Rabbi Ḥiyya sitting at the feet of Rabbi Shim'on. He said, "Who placed a human here, clothed in the garb of that world?"[168]

Rabbi Shim'on answered, "This is Rabbi Ḥiyya, radiance of the lamp of Torah!"

The Messiah said, "Let him be gathered in,[169] together with his sons,[170] so that they become members of your academy."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Let him be granted time."[171]

Time was granted to him. He emerged trembling, his eyes streaming with tears. Quivering, he cried, "Happy is the share of the righteous in that world! Happy is the share of the son of Yoḥai who has attained this! Of him is written: *So that I may endow those who love Me with substance and fill their treasuries* (Proverbs 8:21)."[172]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "I *have put My words in your mouth* (Isaiah 51:16). How vital it is for a human being to engage in Torah day and night! For the blessed Holy One listens to the voice of those who occupy themselves with Torah, and every word innovated in Torah by one engaged in Torah fashions one heaven.

"We have learned: The moment a new word of Torah originates from the mouth of a human being, that word ascends and presents herself before the blessed Holy One,[173] who lifts that word, kisses her, and adorns her with seventy crowns—engraved and inscribed.[174] But an innovated word of wisdom[175] ascends

and settles on the head of צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One— Vitality of the Worlds.[176] From there, it flies and soars through 70,000 worlds,[177] ascending to the Ancient of Days.[178] All the words of the Ancient of Days are words of wisdom, conveying supernal, concealed mysteries.[179] When that secret word of wisdom, innovated here, ascends, it joins those words of the Ancient of Days. Along with them, it ascends and descends, entering eighteen hidden worlds, which *no eye has seen, O God, but You* (Isaiah 64:3).[180] Emerging from there, they roam until they arrive, full and complete, presenting themselves before the Ancient of Days. At that moment, the Ancient of Days inhales the aroma of that word and it pleases Him more than anything. Lifting that word, He adorns her with 370,000 crowns.[181] The word flies, ascending and descending, and is transformed into a heaven. So each and every word of wisdom is transformed into a heaven, existing enduringly in the presence of the Ancient of Days. He calls them *new heavens*, newly created heavens, hidden mysteries of supernal wisdom. As for all other innovated words of Torah,[182] they stand before [5a] the blessed Holy One, then ascend and are transformed into *earths of the living* (Psalms 116:9). Then they descend, crowning themselves upon one earth,[183] which is renewed and transformed into a *new earth* through that renewed word of Torah. Concerning this is written: *As the new heavens and the new earth that I am making endure before Me....* (Isaiah 66:22). The verse does not read *I have made*,[184] but rather *I am making*, for He makes them continually out of those innovations and mysteries of Torah. Of this is written: *I have put My words in your mouth and covered you with the shadow of My hand, to plant heavens and establish earth* (Isaiah 51:16). The verse does not read *the heavens*, but rather *heavens*."[185]

Rabbi El'azar asked, "What is the meaning of: *I have covered you with the shadow of My hand*?"

He replied, "When Torah was transmitted to Moses, myriads of celestial angels came to scorch him with flames from their mouths, but the blessed Holy One sheltered him.[186] Now when this word ascends, is aroused, and stands before the blessed Holy One, He shelters that word and covers that person so that he will not be discovered by them—arousing their jealousy— before that word is transformed into new heavens and a new earth, as is written: *I have covered you with the shadow of My hand, to plant heavens and establish earth*. From this we learn that every word concealed from the eyes attains supernal value,[187] as is written: *I have covered you with the shadow of My hand*. Why was it covered and hidden from view? For the sake of supernal value, as is written: *to plant heavens and establish earth*, as already explained.

"*To say to Zion: 'You are* עמי (*ammi*), *My people!'* (ibid.). *To say to* those gates, those distinguished words,[188] these above those: '*You are* עמי (*ammi*).' Do

not read '*You are* עמי (*ammi*), *My people*,' but rather '*You are* עמי (*immi*), *with Me*, becoming My partner! Just as I made heaven and earth by speaking, as is said: *By the word of YHVH, the heavens were made* (Psalms 33:6), so do you.' Happy are those engaged in Torah!

"Now if you say that the word of any ignorant person has the same effect, come and see: One who is unaccustomed to the mysteries of Torah and innovates words he does not fully understand—when that word ascends, a *man of perversity, tongue of falsehood* (Proverbs 16:28; 6:17)[189] bursts forth from the chasm of the immense abyss,[190] leaping 500 parasangs[191] to obtain that word. Grabbing her, he takes that word back to his chasm and transmogrifies her into a distorted heaven called 'chaos.' The *man of perversity* flies through that heaven —6,000 parasangs in one glide.[192] As soon as the distorted heaven is established, *a woman of whoredom* (Hosea 1:2)[193] emerges, clinging to it, joining with it. From there she sets out, killing thousands, myriads. For as long as she endures in that heaven, she is empowered to swoop through the entire world in a single moment.[194] Concerning this is written: *Woe unto them who haul iniquity with cords of falsehood, and sin as with a cart rope* (Isaiah 5:18).[195] *Iniquity* is the male. Who is *sin*? The female. He[196] hauls the one called *iniquity* with those *cords of falsehood*, and then *sin as with a cart rope*, that female called *sin*, who is empowered there to fly and kill human beings. So, *Many are those she has struck dead* (Proverbs 7:26). Who has struck them dead? This *sin* who slays human beings. Who causes this? A disciple unqualified to teach who teaches.[197] May the Compassionate One save us!"

Rabbi Shim'on said to the Companions, "I beg of you not to utter a word of Torah that you do not know and have not heard properly from a lofty tree,[198] lest you enable *sin* to slay multitudes without cause."[199]

They all opened, saying, "May the Compassionate One save us! May the Compassionate One save us!"

"Come and see: With Torah the blessed Holy One created the world. This has been established, as is written: *I was with Him as a nursling, I was a daily delight* (Proverbs 8:30).[200] He gazed upon her once, twice, three and four times, then spoke, creating through her.[201] To teach human beings not to err in her,[202] as is written: *Then He saw and declared her, arranged her and probed her. He told humanity* (Job 28:27).[203] The blessed Holy One created what He created corresponding to those four times: *He saw and declared her, arranged her and probed her*.[204] Before generating His work, He introduced four words: בראשית ברא אלהים את (*Be-reshit bara Elohim et*), *In the beginning God created*. First, these four; then, השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*. These correspond to the four times that the blessed Holy One contemplated Torah before actualizing His work of

art.”

Rabbi El’azar was going to see Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim’on son of Lekonya, his father-in-law.[205] [5b] Rabbi Abba accompanied him, and a man was goading the donkeys behind them.

Rabbi Abba said, “Let us open openings of Torah, for the time is ripe to adorn ourselves on our way.”

Rabbi El’azar opened, saying, “*My Sabbaths you are to observe* (Leviticus 19:30). Come and see: In six days the blessed Holy One created the world. Every single day revealed its work, transmitting its power through that day.[206] When did it reveal its work and transmit its power? On the fourth day,[207] for those first three days were all concealed, not revealed. When the fourth day arrived, it generated the work and power of them all, since fire, water, and air—although they are three ethereal elements[208]—were all suspended, their work unrevealed until earth revealed them. Then the skill of each one of them was made known.

“Now you might say this happened on the third day, concerning which is written: *Let the earth sprout vegetation*, and *The earth brought forth vegetation* (Genesis 1:11–12). But although written of the third day, it was really the fourth, included in the third to be one without division.[209] From the fourth day on, its work was revealed, yielding an artisan for each and every skill,[210] for the fourth day constitutes the fourth leg of the celestial throne.[211] All the work of all of them, both earlier and later days, was dependent on the Sabbath day,[212] as is written: *God included*[213] *in the seventh day His work that He had made* (Genesis 2:2). This is *Sabbath*, fourth leg of the throne.

“Now you might ask, ‘If so, why *My Sabbaths you are to observe*, two?’ The answer is: the Sabbath of Sabbath eve and the Sabbath of the day itself, which are indivisible.”[214]

That rambling donkey-driver[215] goading behind them said, “And what is *My sanctuary you are to hold in awe* (Leviticus 19:30)?”[216]

He replied, “This is the holiness of the Sabbath.”

He said, “What is the holiness of the Sabbath?”

He replied, “This is the holiness drawn down from above.”

He said, “If so, you have turned the Sabbath into something not holy except for the holiness that rests upon it from above!”

Rabbi Abba said, “So it is: *Call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of* YHVH *honored* (Isaiah 58:13). *Sabbath* and *holy of* YHVH are each mentioned separately.”

He said, “If so, who is *holy of* YHVH*?*”

He replied, “Holiness that descends from above, resting upon it.”

He said, “If holiness drawn down from above is called *honored*, then it

appears that the Sabbath is not *honored*. Yet it is written: *And honor it* (ibid.)!"

Rabbi El'azar said to Rabbi Abba, "Let this man be! Within him lies a new word we do not know."

They said to him, "Speak!"

He opened, saying, "את שבתותי (*Et Shabbetotai*), *My Sabbaths*. את (*Et*)[217] amplifies the meaning to include[218] the range of Sabbath, which is 2000 cubits in every direction.[219] So the meaning is expanded: את שבתותי (*Et Shabbetotai*), *My Sabbaths*—one is the higher Sabbath; the other, the lower Sabbath;[220] both included as one, concealed as one.

"Another Sabbath[221] was left unmentioned and felt ashamed. She said before Him, 'Master of the universe, since the day You created me, I have been called Sabbath—and there can be no day without night.'[222] He replied, 'My daughter, you are Sabbath—I call you Sabbath—but I am about to crown you with a higher crown.' He issued a proclamation: *My sanctuary you are to hold in awe*. This is the Sabbath of Sabbath eve, who is awe and in whom awe dwells.[223] Who is that? The one included by the blessed Holy One when He said *I am YHVH*.[224]

"I heard my father say so precisely: את (*Et*) includes the range of Sabbath. *My Sabbaths* are a circle with a square inscribed within.[225] They are two, corresponding to which are two hallowings we should recite. One is ויכלו (*Vaykhullu*), *And they* [*heaven and earth*] *were completed*... (Genesis 2:1–3);[226] the other, קדוש (*qiddush*), hallowing.[227] *Vaykhullu* contains thirty-five words, and in the *qiddush* that we recite there are thirty-five words,[228] altogether amounting to seventy names of the blessed Holy One,[229] with which Assembly of Israel is adorned.[230] Since this circle and square are *My Sabbaths*, they are both included in שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe* (Deuteronomy 5:12), as is written: תשמורו (*Tishmoru*), *You are to observe* (Leviticus 19:30),[231] whereas the higher Sabbath is not included here in שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe*, but rather in זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember* (Exodus 20:8), for the supreme King is completed by זכור (*zakhor*).[232] So He is called 'the King who possesses peace,' and His peace is זכור (*zakhor*).[233] That is why there is no strife above, because of the two peaces below: one, Jacob; the other, Joseph.[234] So it is written twice: *Peace, peace to the far and the near* (Isaiah 57:19). *To the far* refers to Jacob, [6a] *and the near* refers to Joseph. *To the far*, as is said: *From afar, YHVH appeared to me* (Jeremiah 31:2),[235] *His sister stood far off* (Exodus 2:4).[236] *And the near*, as is said: *New* [*gods*] *who came from nearby* (Deuteronomy 32:17).[237] *From afar* is the highest point, standing in its palace.[238] So it is written: תשמורו (*Tishmoru*), *You are to observe*, included in שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe*.[239] *My sanctuary you are to hold in awe* is the point standing in the center,[240] which one should fear more than anything, for its punishment is death, as is written: מחלליה (*Meḥaleleha*), *Those who profane it, shall surely be put*

to death (Exodus 31:14). Who are מחלליה (*meḥaleleha*), *those who profane it?* Whoever enters the חלל (*ḥalal*), hollow, of the circle and the square—the site where that point rests—and damages it[241] *shall surely be put to death*. So it is written: *You are to hold in awe*. That point is called *I*,[242] and on it rests that high concealed one, unrevealed.[243] This is *YHVH*, and all is one."[244]

Rabbi El'azar and Rabbi Abba dismounted[245] and kissed him. They said, "All this wisdom in your hand, and you are goading our donkeys behind us? Who are you?"

He replied, "Do not ask who I am! Rather, let us go together, engaging in Torah. Let each one speak words of wisdom to illumine the way."

They said to him, "Who appointed you to go here, goading donkeys?"

He replied, "יוד (*Yod*) waged war with two letters, כף (*kaf*) and סמך (*samekh*), to be bound together with me.[246] כף (*Kaf*) did not want to depart and be bound, since it cannot survive for a moment anywhere else.[247] סמך (*Samekh*) did not want to depart, so it could support those who fall, for without סמך (*samekh*) they cannot survive.[248] Alone, יוד (*yod*) came to me, kissing and embracing me. She wept with me, saying, 'My son, what can I do for you? But look, I will ascend and fill myself with goodness—with hidden, celestial, splendid letters! Then I will come to you, serving as your support. I will endow you with two letters, higher than those that departed, namely, יש (*yesh*), substance—celestial יוד (yod) and שין (*shin*)—as your treasuries filled with everything. So, my son, go and goad donkeys.' That is why I go like this."[249]

Rabbi El'azar and Rabbi Abba rejoiced and wept. They said, "Go ride! We will goad the donkeys behind you."

He said to them, "Didn't I tell you it is the command of the King, until the one driving donkeys arrives?"[250]

They said to him, "But you haven't told us your name. The site you inhabit—what is it?"

He replied, "The site I inhabit is fine and lofty for me: a certain tower soaring in the air, grand and splendid.[251] Those dwelling in this tower are the blessed Holy One and a certain poor person.[252] This is where I reside, but I have gone into exile, goading donkeys."

Rabbi Abba and Rabbi El'azar gazed at him. He had flavored his words for them as sweet as manna and honey.

They said to him, "If you tell us the name of your father, we will kiss the dust of your feet."

He said, "Why? It is not my habit to boast of Torah.[253] But my father's dwelling was in the great ocean. He was a fish,[254] circumnavigating the vast ocean from one end to the other. So grand and splendid, ancient of days, he

would swallow all the other fish in the ocean, then spew them out alive, thriving, filled with all goodness of the world. So strong, he could swim the ocean in one moment. He shot me out like an arrow from the hand of a mighty warrior,[255] secreting me in that site I described. Then he returned to his site, disappearing into the ocean."

Rabbi El'azar contemplated his words. He said, "You are the son of the Holy Lamp![256] You are the son of Rav Hamnuna Sava,[257] son of the radiance of Torah, and you are goading donkeys behind us?"

They both wept together, kissed him, and went on.

They said to him, "If it pleases our master, let him reveal his name to us." He opened, saying, "*Benayahu son of Yehoyada* (2 Samuel 23:20).[258] This verse has been established[259]—which is fine—but this verse alludes to supernal mysteries of Torah. *Benayahu son of Yehoyada* appears on behalf of a mystery of wisdom—a concealed word, and the name prevails. *Son of a living man* (ibid.)—צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One—Vitality of the Worlds.[260] *Master of deeds* (ibid.)[261]—Master of all action, of all celestial powers, for all emerge from Him. He is יהוה צבאות (*YHVH Tseva'ot*), Lord of Hosts, insignia of all His hosts.[262] Distinguished and supreme, He is called *Master of deeds*.

"*From Qavtse'el* (ibid.)—this grand and dignified tree, supreme above all,[263] from which site did it emerge? From which rung did it come? The verse goes on to say: *From Qavtse'el*[264]—a high, concealed rung that [6b] *no eye has seen*... (Isaiah 64:3),[265] a rung containing all, gathered in from upper light, and from which all emerges. It is the holy, hidden palace, in which all rungs are gathered and concealed.[266] In the trunk of this tree all worlds exist; from it, all holy powers are nourished and deployed.

"*He smote the two Ariel of Moab* (2 Samuel, ibid.). Two sanctuaries existed because of Him, were nourished by Him: First Temple and Second Temple.[267] As soon as He departed, the flow flowing from above ceased. *He*, as it were, *smote* them, destroying and obliterating them, and the Holy Throne fell,[268] as is written: *And I was in the midst of the exile* (Ezekiel 1:1)—that rung called *I*[269] was *in the midst of the exile*. Why? *By the River Kevar* (ibid.), River of Already,[270] on account of the river gushing and flowing, whose waters and springs ceased, so that it did not flow as before, as is written: *A river dries up and is parched* (Job 14:11).[271] *Dries up*—in the First Temple; *is parched*—in the Second. So *He smote the two Ariel of Moab*. מואב (*Mo'av*), *Moab*—for they originated מאב (*me-av*), from Father, in heaven and were destroyed and obliterated because of Him.[272] All the lights illumining Israel darkened.

"Further, *He went down and slew the lion* (2 Samuel, ibid.).[273] In former times, when this river gushed its waters below, [the people of] Israel were

fulfilled, offering offerings and sacrifices to atone for their souls. Then from above would descend the image of a lion, whom they could see on the altar, crouching over its prey,[274] consuming sacrifices like a fierce warrior, while all dogs[275] hid themselves away, not venturing out.

"When sins prevailed, He descended to the rungs below,[276] and He killed that lion, no longer willing to provide its prey. He, as it were, killed it. *He slew the lion*, really! *Within the pit* (ibid.)—in plain sight of the evil Other Side.[277] Seeing this, that Other Side was emboldened to send a dog to eat the offerings. What is the name of that lion? אוריאל (*Uri'el*), for his face is the face of אריה (*aryeh*), a lion.[278] What is the name of that dog? בלאדן (*Bal'adan*) is its name, for it is excluded from the category of אדם (*adam*), human, but is rather a dog—its face a dog.[279] *On a snowy day*—a day when sins prevailed, and judgment was decreed above by the celestial court.[280] Of this is written: *She is not afraid of snow for her household* (Proverbs 31:21)—Judgment on high.[281] Why? Because *her whole household is clothed in crimson*[282] (ibid.) and can endure the fierce fire.

"Until here, mystery of the verse. What is written next? *He slew an Egyptian, a man of good appearance* (2 Samuel, ibid., 21). Here the mystery of the verse discloses that whenever Israel sinned He[283] departed, withholding from them all the goodness, all the light illumining them. *He slew an Egyptian man*—the light of that light illumining Israel. Who is it? Moses,[284] as is written: *They said, 'An Egyptian man rescued us'* (Exodus 2:19).[285] There he was born, there he was raised, there he rose to the highest light.[286] *A man of* מראה (*mar'eh*), *good appearance*, as is said: ומראה (*u-mar'eh*), *in appearance, not in riddles* (Numbers 12:8).[287] *Man*, as is said: *Man of Elohim* (Deuteronomy 33:1)—husband, as it were, of that מראה (*mar'eh*), *appearance, of the Presence of YHVH*,[288] for he was worthy of conducting this rung on earth in any way he wished— something no other human attained.

"*The Egyptian had a spear in his hand* (2 Samuel, ibid.). This is the staff of God, handed down to him,[289] as is said: *with the staff of God in my hand* (Exodus 17:9). This is the staff created on the eve of Sabbath at twilight,[290] engraved with the holy name,[291] a holy graving. With this he sinned at the rock, as is said: *He struck the rock with his staff twice* (Numbers 20:11). The blessed Holy One said to him, 'Moses, I did not give you My staff for this. By your life! From now on, it will no longer be in your hand.' Immediately *He went down to him with a club* (2 Samuel, ibid.)[292]—with severe judgment. *And wrenched the spear out of the Egyptian's hand*, for from that moment it was withheld from him and was never again in his hand. *And killed him with his own spear*. Because of the sin of striking with that staff,[293] he died and did not enter the Holy Land, and this light was withheld from Israel.

"*From the thirty, he was most honored* (2 Samuel, ibid., 23).[294] These are the thirty celestial years,[295] on which He drew, conveying Them below. Drawing on Them, He drew near. *But the three he did not attain*. They approached Him, giving to Him wholeheartedly, but He did not approach Them.[296] Still, although He was not counted as one of Them, *David set him over his bodyguard*, for He never faded from the tablet of His heart.[297] [7a] They are never separated. David set Him close—not conversely—for with the praises, songs, and love that the moon offers to the sun,[298] She draws Him toward Her, so that He dwell with Her. This is: *David set him over his bodyguard*."

Rabbi El'azar and Rabbi Abba fell before him. Meanwhile they did not see him. They rose, looking in every direction, but could not see him. They sat down and wept, and could not speak to one another. After a while Rabbi Abba said, "This is precisely what we learned: On whatever path the righteous walk, with words of Torah between them, virtuous ones of that world come to them.[299] This was indeed Rav Hamnuna Sava,[300] coming to us from that world to reveal these words to us. Before we could recognize him, he vanished!"

They rose and tried to goad the donkeys, but they would not move. They tried to goad them, but they would not move. Frightened, they left the donkeys behind. Still today that spot is called Donkeys' Site.

Rabbi El'azar opened, saying, "*How immense is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You!...* (Psalms 31:20). How great is the precious, supernal goodness the blessed Holy One intends to lavish upon humanity—for the supremely righteous, dreading sin, engaging in Torah— when they enter that world! The verse does not read *Your goodness*, but rather *Your immense goodness*. Who is that? *The memory of Your immense goodness they express* (Psalms 145:7)[301]—joy of life flowing from the world that is coming[302] to Vitality of the Worlds,[303] who is *the memory of Your immense goodness —immense goodness for the house of Israel...* (Isaiah 63:7).[304]

"Further, *How immense is Your goodness*. Here is engraved a mystery of wisdom, all mysteries intimated here. מה (*Mah*), *How*, as has been explained.[305] *Immense*—the *immense* and mighty tree,[306] for there is another, smaller tree,[307] but this one is *immense*, penetrating the vault of heaven. *Your goodness*—the light created on the first day.[308] *That you have hidden away for those in awe of You*, for He concealed it for the righteous in that world.[309]

"*That You made* (Psalms 31:20)[310]—the upper Garden of Eden,[311] as is written: *The place You have made to dwell in, O YHVH* (Exodus 15:17). This is *that You made for those who take refuge in You. In the presence of human beings*

—the lower Garden of Eden, where all the righteous abide in spirit clothed in a splendid garment resembling the image of this world.[312] This is נגד (*neged*), *in the presence of, human beings*—in the image of *human beings* of this world.[313] There they stand, then fly through the air, ascending to the Academy of Heaven in that upper Garden of Eden.[314] They soar and bathe in the dew of rivers of pure balsam,[315] then descend and dwell below. Sometimes they appear *in the presence of human beings*, enacting miracles for them like celestial angels[316]—as we just saw the radiance of the High Lamp,[317] though we were not privileged to contemplate and discover further mysteries of wisdom."

Rabbi Abba opened, saying, "*Manoah said to his wife, 'We will surely die, for we have seen God!'* (Judges 13:22). Even though Manoah did not know its nature,[318] he said, 'Since it is written: *No human shall see Me and live* (Exodus 33:20), and we certainly have seen, so *we will surely die*.' As for us, we have seen and attained this light moving with us,[319] yet we are still alive, for the blessed Holy One sent him to us to reveal mysteries of wisdom. Happy is our share!"

They went on. They reached a certain mountain, as the sun was inclining. The branches of the tree on the mountain began lashing one another, emitting a song. As they were walking, they heard a resounding voice proclaim: "Holy sons of God,[320] dispersed among the living of this world! Luminous lamps, initiates of the Academy! Assemble at your places to delight with your Lord in Torah!"

They were frightened, stood in place, then sat down. Meanwhile a voice called out as before, proclaiming: "Mighty boulders, towering hammers,[321] behold the Master of Colors,[322] embroidered in figures, standing on a dais.[323] Enter and assemble!" That moment, they heard the branches of the trees resounding intensely, proclaiming: *The voice of YHVH breaks cedars* (Psalms 29:5).[324] Rabbi El'azar and Rabbi Abba fell on their faces, immense fear falling upon them. They rose hastily, went on, and heard nothing. Leaving the mountain, they walked on.

Upon reaching the house of Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lekonya,[325] they saw Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai and rejoiced. [7b] Rabbi Shim'on rejoiced, saying to them, "Indeed you have traversed a path of heavenly miracles and signs. For I was just now sleeping, and I saw you and Benayahu son of Yehoyada, who was sending you two crowns[326] by the hand of a certain old man to crown you. This was certainly a path of the blessed Holy One! Further, I see your faces transfigured."

Rabbi Yose said, "Well have you said, 'A sage is preferable to a prophet.'"[327]

Rabbi El'azar approached, placed his head between the knees of his

father,[328] and told him what happened. Rabbi Shim'on was frightened and wept. He said, "*YHVH, I heard what You made heard; I am awed* (Habakkuk 3:2). This verse was spoken by Habakkuk when he saw his death and was restored to life by Elisha.[329] Why was he named חבקוק (*Ḥavaqquq*), Habakkuk? Because it is written: *At this time next year, you will be* חובקת (*ḥoveqet*), *embracing, a son* (2 Kings 4:16). He[330] was the son of the Shunammite! Furthermore there were two embracings[331]—one by his mother, one by Elisha—as is written: *He placed his mouth on his mouth* (ibid., 34).

"I have discovered in *The Book of King Solomon*:[332] He inscribed on him[333] in words the engraved name of seventy-two names.[334] For the letters of the alphabet that his father had originally inscribed on him[335] flew away from him when he died. Now that Elisha embraced him, he inscribed on him all those letters of the seventy-two names. The letters of these seventy-two engraved names are 216 letters,[336] all of which Elisha inscribed with his breath to restore him to life through the letters of the seventy-two names. He called him חבקוק (*Ḥavaqquq*), a name fulfilling all sides: fulfilling embracings, as explained, and fulfilling the mystery of the 216 letters of the holy name.[337] He was revived with words,[338] restoring his spirit, and with letters,[339] reviving his entire body enduringly. So he was called Habakkuk; it was he who said, '*YHVH, I heard what You made heard; I am awed*. I heard what happened to me, my tasting of that world,[340] and I am frightened.' He began begging for compassion for his soul, exclaiming, '*YHVH, Your action* that You did for me, *in the midst of years* חייהו (*ḥayyehu*), *may its life be*' (Habakkuk, ibid.). חייהו (*Ḥayyehu*), like חייו (*ḥayyav*): its life.[341] Whoever is bound to those primordial years,[342] life is bound to him. *Convey it in the midst of years* (ibid.)—*Convey it* to that level that has no life at all."[343]

Rabbi Shim'on wept and said, "From what I have heard, I, too, am afraid of the blessed Holy One."

Raising his hands above his head, he exclaimed: "What a privilege that you saw Rav Hamnuna Sava, radiance of Torah, face-to-face! I was not so privileged."

He fell on his face and saw him[344]uprooting mountains,[345] kindling lights in the palace of King Messiah.[346] He said to him,[347] "Rabbi, in that world you will be neighbors, empowered masters in the presence of the blessed Holy One."

From that day on, he called Rabbi El'azar, his son, and Rabbi Abba פניאל (*Peni'el*), *Face of God*, as is said: *For I have seen God face-to-face* (Genesis 32:31).[348]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "*The beginning of wisdom is awe of YHVH; all who actualize it gain good insight. His praise endures forever* (Psalms 111:10). *The beginning of wisdom*—this verse should read *The end of wisdom is awe of YHVH*, because *awe of YHVH* is really the end of Wisdom.[349] However, it enables one to enter the level of supernal Wisdom, as is written: *Open for me gates of righteousness. This is the gate to YHVH* (Psalms 118:19–20).[350] Truly! For unless one enters this gate, one will never enter.

"This can be compared to an exalted king—high, concealed, and hidden away—who built gates for himself, one above the other. At the end of all the gates, he fashioned one gate with many locks, openings, palaces—one above the other. He said, 'Whoever wishes to enter my presence, this gate will be first. Whoever enters, will enter through this gate.'

"Similarly, the first gate to supernal Wisdom is *awe of YHVH*.[351] This is ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*; ב (*bet*)—two joined together as one.[352] These are two points: one hidden and concealed, one existing overtly.[353] Since they are inseparable, they are called ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*—one, not two. Whoever attains one attains the other.[354] All is one, for He and His name are one,[355] as is written: *They will know that You, YHVH, alone are Your name* (Psalms 83:19).

"Why is it called *awe of YHVH*? Because it is the Tree of Good and Evil.[356] If a person is deserving, it is good; if not, evil. [8a] So awe abides at this site, gateway to all goodness of the world.

"*Good insight*—two gates as one."[357]

Rabbi Yose said, "*Good insight* is the Tree of Life[358]—*good insight* with no evil at all.[359] Since no evil abides there, it is *good insight* without evil. *All who actualize it—David's loyal acts of love* (Isaiah 55:3), supporters of Torah.[360] Those supporting Torah, as it were, actualize.[361] All those studying Torah attain no actualization while they study, while those supporting them do. Through this power, *His praise endures forever*, and the throne stands fittingly firm.[362]

Rabbi Shim'on was sitting engaged in Torah on the night when the Bride is joined with Her Husband.[363] For we have learned: All those Companions initiated into the bridal palace[364] need—on that night when the Bride is destined the next day to be under the canopy with Her Husband[365]—to be with Her all night, delighting with Her in Her adornments in which She is arrayed,[366] engaging in Torah, from Torah to Prophets, from Prophets to Writings,[367] midrashic renderings of verses and mysteries of wisdom: these are Her adornments and finery.[368]

She enters, escorted by Her maidens,[369] standing above their heads. Adorned

by them, She rejoices with them the whole night. The next day She enters the canopy only with them, and they are called "members of the canopy."[370] As soon as She enters the canopy, the blessed Holy One inquires about them,[371] blesses them, and crowns them with bridal crowns. Happy is their share!

Rabbi Shim'on and all the Companions were singing the song of Torah,[372] innovating words of Torah, each one of them. Rabbi Shim'on and all the other Companions rejoiced.

Rabbi Shim'on said, "My children, happy is your share! For tomorrow the Bride will enter the canopy only with you. For all those arranging Her adornments tonight, rejoicing with Her, will be recorded and inscribed in the Book of Memory.[373] The blessed Holy One blesses them with seventy blessings[374] and crowns of the supernal world."

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*Heaven declares the glory of God* ... (Psalms 19:2).[375] We have already established this verse;[376] but at this time, when the Bride is aroused to enter the canopy the next day, She is arrayed and illumined with Her adornments, together with the Companions rejoicing with Her that whole night, while She rejoices with them. The following day, countless troops, soldiers, and camps[377] assemble with Her, and She waits together with all of them for each and every one who adorned Her this night.[378] As soon as they join together, and She sees Her Husband, what is written? *Heaven declares the glory of God*. *Heaven*—the Groom entering the canopy.[379] מספרים (*Mesapperim*), *Declares*—sparkles with the radiance of ספיר (*sappir*), sapphire, sparkling and radiating from one end of the universe to the other. *The glory of God*—glory of the Bride, who is called *God*, as is written: *God rages every day* (Psalms 7:12).[380] Every day of the year, She is called *God*, but now that She has entered the canopy, She is called *Glory* as well as *God*, glory upon glory, radiance upon radiance, dominion upon dominion. Then, at the moment when *Heaven* enters the canopy, coming to illumine Her,[381] all those Companions who adorned Her are designated there by name, as is written: *The sky proclaims the work of His hands* (Psalms 19:2). *The work of His hands*—masters of the covenant with the Bride, Her partners.[382] Those masters of the covenant are called *the work of His hands*, as is said: *The work of our hands, establish it* (Psalms 90:17). This is the covenant sealed in a man's flesh.[383]

"Rav Hamnuna Sava[384] said as follows: '*Do not let your mouth induce your flesh to sin* (Ecclesiastes 5:5). One should not let his mouth reach evil fantasies,[385] causing that holy flesh in which the holy covenant is sealed to sin.[386] If he does, he is dragged into Hell. The one appointed over Hell is named Dumah,[387] who is escorted by many myriads of angels of destruction. He stands at the door of Hell, but he is not permitted to approach any of those who guarded the holy covenant

in this world.[388]

'King David—when that incident befell him[389]—was frightened. That moment, Dumah rose in the presence of the blessed Holy One and said to Him, "Master of the universe, [8b] it is written in the Torah: *A man who commits adultery with a man's wife* ... (Leviticus 20:10),[390] and: *To your neighbor's wife* ... (Leviticus 18:20).[391] David, who ruined the covenant by lewdness, what shall be done to him?"

'The blessed Holy One said to him, "David is innocent, and the holy covenant stands arrayed, for it is revealed before Me that Bathsheba was destined for him since the day the world was created."[392]

'He replied, "Even if it is revealed before You, before him it was not!"

'He said, "Further, what happened happened with permission, for of all those entering battle, no one would enter until he legally divorced his wife."[393]

'He replied, "If so, he should have waited three months,[394] and he didn't."

'He said, "Concerning which case was that rule established? Where we fear she might be pregnant. But it is revealed before Me that Uriah never approached her, for look, My name is sealed within him as evidence: it is spelled both אוריה (*Uriyyah*) and אוריהו (*Uriyyahu*).[395] My name is sealed in him, proving he never cohabited with her."

'He replied, "Master of the universe, as I already said, even if before You it is revealed that Uriah did not lie with her, was it revealed to him?[396] He should have waited three months for her. Furthermore, if he knew[397] that he[398] never lay with her, why did David send for him and order him to have intercourse with his wife, as is written: *Go down to your house and bathe your feet* (2 Samuel 11:8)?"[399]

'He said, "He certainly did not know.[400] But he waited longer than three months—actually four, for so have we learned: On the twenty-fifth of Nisan[401] David issued a proclamation throughout Israel,[402] and by the seventh of Sivan, they had assembled under Joab; then they set out and destroyed the land of the children of Ammon. They lingered there for Sivan, Tammuz, Av, and Elul, and on the twenty-fourth of Elul happened what happened with Bathsheba. On Yom Kippur the blessed Holy One forgave him that sin. Some say: he issued the proclamation on the seventh of Adar,[403] they assembled on the fifteenth of Iyyar, on the fifteenth of Elul happened what happened with Bathsheba, and on Yom Kippur he was assured: *YHVH has removed your sin; you will not die* (2 Samuel 12:13). What does *you will not die* mean? *You will not die* at the hand of Dumah."

'Dumah replied, "Master of the universe, I still have one thing against him: he opened his mouth and said[404] As *YHVH lives, the man who did this deserves to*

die (ibid., 5).[405] He condemned himself. I claim him!"

'He said, "You are not entitled! He confessed to Me, saying, *I have sinned against YHVH* (ibid., 13), even though he did not sin! But as for his sin against Uriah,[406] I sentenced him to punishment, which he received."[407]

'Immediately Dumah returned in despair to his site. Concerning this, David said *Unless YHVH had been my help, my soul would soon have dwelt with Dumah* (Psalms 94:17). *Unless YHVH had been my help*, my guardian, *my soul would soon have dwelt....* What does *would soon have* mean? By a thread as fine as a filament of hair, separating me from the Other Side.[408] By that measure *my soul* did not *dwell with Dumah*.

'So a person should be on guard not to speak as David did,[409] since one will not be able to plead with Dumah *that it was an error* (Ecclesiastes 5:5),[410] as happened with David, when the blessed Holy One defeated him legally.[411] *Why should God be angry at your voice?*—at the voice in which one speaks.[412] *And destroy the work of your hands*—holy flesh, holy covenant that he damages,[413] and he is dragged into Hell by Dumah.'

"So[414] *The sky proclaims the work of His hands* (Psalms 19:2)—the Companions who join this Bride, masters of Her covenant, Her partners.[415] *Proclaims*—inscribing every single one. Who is *the sky?* The sky embracing sun, moon, stars, and constellations[416]—the Book of Memory.[417] He *proclaims* and inscribes them, recording them as initiates of the palace, constantly fulfilling their desires.

"*Day to day pours forth speech* (Psalms 19:3)[418]—a holy day of those supernal days of the King.[419] They praise the Companions and repeat the word[420] each one told his companion. *Day to day expresses* that *speech* and praises it.

"*Night to night* (ibid.)—every rung ruling the night extols to one another each Companion's *knowledge*,[421] ecstatically becoming their companions and lovers.[422]

"*There is no speech, there are no words* (ibid., 4)[423]—any other, mundane words, not heard in the presence of the holy King, nor does He wish to hear them. But as for these words, *their line extends throughout the earth* (ibid., 5)—these words extend [9a] a cord,[424] measuring above and below. From some of them skies are made; from others, earth, through that praise.[425] Do not suppose that those words stay in one place; they roam the world: *Their words extend to the end of the world* (ibid.). Once transformed into skies, who dwells in them? The verse goes on to say: *In them He set a tent for the sun* (ibid.)—that sacred sun abides in them, is crowned by them.[426] Dwelling in those skies, crowned in them, *he is like a groom coming forth from his chamber* (ibid., 6),[427] running joyously through those skies. Emerging from them, He enters and runs through a

certain other tower at another site.[428] *His going forth is at one end of the heaven* (ibid., 7)[429]—indeed He emerges from the upper world, *the end of heaven* above.[430] *And his circuit* (ibid.)—who is *his circuit*? *The end of heaven* below, who is *the circuit of the year* (Exodus 34:22), encircling all endings, linking heaven with this sky.[431] *Nothing is hidden from his heat* (Psalms 19:7)—from the heat of this *circuit* and the *circuit* of the sun,[432] encircling all sides. *Nothing is hidden*—not one of the supernal rungs[433] is concealed from Him, for they all come encircling Him; not one of them hides from Him, *from his heat*, when He arouses himself, desiring them totally. All this praise and exaltation stems from Torah,[434] as is written: *The Torah of YHVH is pure* (ibid., 8). Six times *YHVH* is written here,[435] and there are six verses from *Heaven declares* (ibid., 2) to *The Torah of YHVH is pure* (ibid., 8). Concerning this mystery it is written: בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*—look, six letters![436] ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ (*Bara Elohim et ha-shamayim ve-et ha-arets*), *God created the heavens and the earth*—look, six more words, corresponding to the six times *YHVH* appears! Six verses for six letters here; six names for six words here.

While they were sitting,[437] Rabbi El'azar, his son, and Rabbi Abba entered. He said to them, "The face of *Shekhinah* has indeed arrived![438] That is why I called you 'פניאל (*Peni'el*), Face of God,' for you have seen the face of *Shekhinah* face-to-face.[439] Now that you know, and he[440] has revealed to you the verse *Benayahu son of Yehoyada*, it is certainly a word of the Holy Ancient One,[441] and the following verse as well. The concealed one of all spoke it,[442] and this verse appears similarly elsewhere."[443]

He opened, saying, "*He slew the Egyptian, a man of measure*,[444] *five cubits high* (1 Chronicles 11:23). All one mystery. What does *the Egyptian* mean?[445] That well-known one, *very great in the land of Egypt* (Exodus 11:3),[446] grand and splendid, as revealed by that old man. This verse was discussed in the Academy on High.[447] *A man of measure*. All is one. *A man of good appearance* (2 Samuel 23:21). Why *measure*?[448] All is one, for it is the Sabbath and her range, as is written: *You are to measure outside the city* (Numbers 35:5),[449] and similarly: *You are not to commit corruption in justice—in measure* (Leviticus 19:35).[450] So he is *a man of measure*—really *a man of measure*, his length extending from one end of the universe to the other, as with Adam.[451] Now if you say, 'Look at what is written: *five cubits high*!' those *five cubits* extended from one end of the universe to the other.[452]

"*In the Egyptian's hand was a spear*—as he said.[453] *Like a weaver's beam* (1 Chronicles, ibid.)—the staff of God in his hand,[454] engraved with the graven, explicit name,[455] with the radiance[456] of permutations of letters engraved by Bezalel, called *weaver*, together with his academy,[457] as is written: *the engraver*,

the designer, the embroiderer... (Exodus 35:35).[458] That staff was radiating the engraved name in every direction with radiance of the wise who engraved the explicit name in forty-two colors.[459] From here on, the verse accords with what he said.[460] Happy is his share!

"Sit, dear ones, sit! Let us renew the adornment of the Bride tonight.[461] For everyone joining Her on this night will be protected, above and below, that entire year and will live through the year in peace. Of them is written: *The angel of YHVH encamps around those in awe of Him and delivers them. Taste and see that YHVH is good* (Psalms 34:8–9)."

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*In the beginning God created* (Genesis 1:1). This verse calls for contemplation, for anyone claiming that there is another god[462] is extirpated from worlds, as is said: *Thus shall you say to them: The gods who did not make heaven and earth shall perish from earth and from under these heavens* (Jeremiah 10:11), for there is no god other than the blessed Holy One alone. Now this [9b] verse is in Aramaic,[463] except for the word ending the verse.[464] If you suppose that this is because holy angels do not attend to Aramaic nor recognize it,[465] then this word[466] should have been spoken in the holy tongue, so that holy angels will listen and be obliged to acknowledge it. But indeed, precisely because of this it is written in Aramaic, for since holy angels do not attend to it, they will not become jealous of a human and harm him.[467] For those holy angels are included in this verse, since they are called אלהים (*Elohim*), *gods*.[468] They are included in the category of *gods*, though *they did not make heaven and earth*.

"וארקא (*Ve-arqa*), *And earth*—the verse should read וארעא (*ve-ar'a*),[469] but ארקא (*arqa*) is one of those seven earths below,[470] site of descendants of Cain. After he was banished from the face of the earth,[471] he descended there, generating offspring.[472] He blundered there, knowing nothing. It is a dual earth, dualized by darkness and light.[473] Two officials rule there, one ruling darkness, the other light, inciting one another. When Cain descended there, they joined together—were completed as one—entirely befitting the offspring of Cain. So they have two heads[474] like two snakes, but the one of light rules—prevailing, defeating the other. So those of darkness merged in those of light, and they became one. Those two officials are Afrira and Kastimon,[475] who resemble six-winged holy angels. One resembles an ox, the other an eagle, but when they join they are transformed into the image of a human being.[476] In darkness they turn into the image of a two-headed serpent, moving like a serpent, then swooping into the abyss,[477] bathing in the vast ocean. Reaching the chains of Uzza and

Azael,[478] they agitate and arouse them. These then leap into the dark mountains, thinking the blessed Holy One is about to call them to judgment.[479] Those two officials swim the vast ocean and fly through the night to Na'amah, mother of demons, after whom the primordial deities strayed.[480] They intend to approach her, but she leaps 60,000 parasangs, transmogrifying herself into countless figures confronting human beings, so that they stray after her. These two officials fly and roam throughout the world, then return to their abode, arousing those descendants of Cain to generate offspring by the spirit of evil impulses.[481]

"The heavens ruling there do not resemble these,[482] nor does the earth bear seed and harvest through their power as does this,[483] and they only cycle once in many years of seasons.[484] These *gods who did not make heaven and earth shall perish from the* higher *earth* of the world,[485] so that they will not rule over it nor roam through it, causing humans to defile themselves through a nocturnal mishap.[486] So, *they shall perish from the earth and from under the heavens* fashioned by the name אלה (*elleh*), *these*, as explained.[487] That is why this verse is written in Aramaic: so that the celestial angels will not think it is being said about them and denounce us. So the mystery of אלה (*elleh*) accords with what has been said; it constitutes a sacred word, not to be exchanged for Aramaic." Rabbi El'azar said to him,[488] "This verse that is written: *Who would not be in awe of You, O King of the nations? For it befits You* (Jeremiah 10:7)[489]—what kind of praise is that?"[490]

He replied, "El'azar, my son, this verse has been discussed in various places,[491] but it is certainly not so, for it is written: *since among all the wise of the nations and among all their kingdoms* [*there is none like You*] (ibid.), providing a pretext for sinners who think that the blessed Holy One does not know their thoughts and fantasies.[492] So their stupidity must be exposed.

"Once a Gentile philosopher came to me and said, 'You claim that your God rules all the heights of heaven, that all the hosts and camps[493] cannot grasp or know His site.[494] Well, this verse does not exalt Him very well: *since among all the wise of the nations and among all their kingdoms there is none like You*. What kind of comparison is this—to human beings who do not [10a] endure? Furthermore, you say: "*Never again did there arise in Israel a prophet like Moses* (Deuteronomy 34:10)—In Israel none arose, but among the nations of the world one did!"[495] Similarly I can say: Among all the wise of nations there is none like Him, but among the wise of Israel there is! If so, a God who has an equal among the wise of Israel is not a God who reigns supreme. Look closely at the verse, and you will find I have been fittingly precise.'

"I replied, 'You have certainly spoken well. Who revives the dead? The blessed Holy One alone. Along came Elijah and Elisha, and they revived the

dead! Who makes the rain fall? The blessed Holy One alone. Along came Elijah and withheld it—and then brought it down through his prayer.[496] Who created heaven and earth? The blessed Holy One alone. Abraham came, and they were firmly established because of him.[497] Who controls the sun? The blessed Holy One. Joshua came and calmed it down, commanding it to stand in place, and it stood still, as is written: *The sun stood still, and the moon halted* (Joshua 10:13). The blessed Holy One issues decrees. Similarly Moses issued decrees, which were fulfilled. Further, the blessed Holy One issues decrees, and the righteous of Israel abolish them, as is written: *The righteous one rules the awe of God* (2 Samuel 23:3).[498] Further, He commanded them to walk in His ways, literally, imitating Him consummately.'[499]

"That philosopher went and converted in the village of Shiḥlayim.[500] They called him Yose the Small.[501] He studied Torah intensively and is considered one of the righteous sages of that place.

"Now we should contemplate the verse. Isn't it already written: *All the nations are as nothing before Him* (Isaiah 40:17)? What amplification appears here? But, *Who would not be in awe of You, O King of the nations?* Is He then *King of the nations* and not King of Israel? The blessed Holy One always desires to be glorified through Israel—and is named for Israel alone, as is written: *God of Israel, God of the Hebrews* (Exodus 5:1, 3), and similarly: *Thus says YHVH, King of Israel* (Isaiah 44:6). *King of Israel*, indeed! The nations of the world said, 'We have another patron in heaven, since your King rules only over you, not over us.' So the verse comes and says: *Who would not be in awe of You, O King of the nations?* Supreme King, ruling them, punishing them, implementing His will upon them. *For it befits You*—to be in awe of You, above and below. *Since among all the wise of the nations*—the mighty rulers appointed over them.[502] *And among all their kingdoms*[503]—in that kingdom on high, for there are four kingdoms reigning above,[504] reigning by His will over all other nations; nevertheless, none of them does even the slightest thing unless He commands them, as is written: *He does as He wishes with the host of heaven and with the inhabitants of earth* (Daniel 4:32). *The wise of the nations*—princes appointed on high, whose wisdom issues from His mouth. *And among all their kingdoms*—the reigning kingdom, as explained.

"This is the simple meaning of the verse, but: *Among all the wise of the nations and among all their kingdoms*—In the books of the ancients I have found as follows: Although those camps[505] and hosts have been empowered over affairs of the world, and He has commanded each and every one to enact his action, מאין כמוך (*mi ayin kamokha*), *who is Ayin like You?* (Jeremiah 10:7).[506] Who else is the holy concealed one? It is not His will that any of them act *like You*.

For You are distinguished in esteem, distinguished from all of them in action and speech. This is מאין כמוך יהוה (*Mi ayin kamokha YHVH*), *Who is Ayin like You, YHVH?* (ibid., 6).[507] Who is the holy concealed one that would act or be *like You*, above or below, that would resemble You at all? The act of the holy King is heaven and earth, but they are *chaos, and what they desire is worthless* (Isaiah 44:9).[508] Of the blessed Holy One is written: *In the beginning God created...* (Genesis 1:1); of *their kingdoms*, it is written: *The earth was chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2)."[509]

Rabbi Shim'on said to the Companions, "Members of this wedding party, let each one of you adorn the Bride with one adornment."[510]

He said to Rabbi El'azar, his son, "El'azar, give one present to the Bride, for tomorrow when He enters the canopy[511] He will gaze upon those songs of praise bestowed upon Her by initiates of the palace, to stand in His presence." Rabbi El'azar opened, saying, "*Who is this that ascends from the wilderness ... ?* (Song of Songs 3:6). *Who is this?*—sum of two sanctities, two worlds in one bond, one nexus.[512] *Ascends*, literally, to become the holy of holies,[513] for the holy of holies is *Who* and is joined with *This*, so that She[514] *ascends*, becoming the holy of holies. *From the wilderness*—for in the desert She inherited the role of Bride, entering the canopy.[515]

"Further, *From the* מדבר (*midbar*), *wilderness*, She *ascends*, as is said: ומדברך (*u-midbarekh*), *and your speech, is lovely* (ibid. 4:3). By that מדבר (*midbar*), *speech* [10b]—by the whispering of lips—She *ascends*.[516] We have learned: What is the meaning of the verse *These mighty gods—these are the gods who smote the Egyptians with every kind of plague* במדבר (*ba-midbar*), *in the wilderness* (1 Samuel 4:8)?[517] Was it in the wilderness that the blessed Holy One did everything to them? It was in inhabited land! Rather, במדבר (*ba-midbar*) means בדבורא (*be-dibbura*), *by speech*, as is said: ומדברך (*u-midbarekh*), *and your speech, is lovely*.[518] Similarly, ממדבר הרים (*mi-midbar harim*), *from wilderness mountains* (Psalms 75:7): *from speech he raised*.[519] So, too: *She ascends from* המדבר (*ha-midbar*), indeed *from ha-midbar!* By that word of the mouth, She ascends, nestling between the Mother's wings.[520] Afterward through speech She descends, hovering over the heads of the holy people.[521]

"How does She ascend by speech? First, upon rising in the morning, one should bless his Lord, the moment he opens his eyes.[522] How can he bless?[523] This is what the ancient *ḥasidim* used to do:[524] In front of them was a receptacle of water, and when they awoke at night they would wash their hands, rise, and study Torah—and offer a blessing over the crowing of the rooster.[525] For the

moment that the rooster crows is precisely midnight, when the blessed Holy One appears with the righteous in the Garden of Eden.[526] It is forbidden to bless with impure, filthy hands,[527] and similarly at all times.[528] For when a person is sleeping, his spirit flies away from him, and as his spirit flies off, an impure spirit is ready to settle on his hands, defiling them.[529] So it is forbidden to offer a blessing with them without first washing. Now if you ask, 'If so, then during the daytime (when one has not been sleeping, and his spirit has not flown away and no impure spirit rests upon him), why is one who enters the bathroom forbidden to bless or read Torah—even a single word— until after washing his hands? If you say the reason is that his hands are dirty—not so: how have they become dirty?' The answer is: Woe to the inhabitants of the world who fail to consider, who are unaware of the glory of their Lord, who do not realize the foundation of the world's existence. There is one spirit in every bathroom of the world,[530] dwelling there, reveling in that dirt and filth, and it settles immediately on the fingers of one's hands."[531]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "Whoever rejoices on the festivals without giving the blessed Holy One His share—that stingy one, evil-eyed Satan, Archenemy, appears and accuses him, removes him from the world.[532] How much compounded suffering he brings upon him!

"The share of the blessed Holy One consists in gladdening the poor as best as one can.[533] For on these days the blessed Holy One comes to see those broken vessels of His.[534] Entering their company and seeing they have nothing to celebrate, He weeps over them—and then ascends to destroy the world!

"Many members of the Academy[535] come before Him and plead: 'Master of the universe! You are called Compassionate and Gracious.[536] May your compassion be aroused for your children!'

"He answers them, 'Don't the inhabitants of the world realize that I based the world solely on love? As is written: *I said, "The world shall be built on love*" (Psalms 89:3). By this the world endures.'[537]

"The angels on high declare before Him, 'Master of the universe! Look at so-and-so who is eating and drinking his fill. He could be generous with the poor, but he gives them nothing!'

"The Accuser comes, claims permission, and sets out in pursuit of that human being.[538]

"Who in the world was greater than Abraham, who acted kindly to all creatures?[539] What is written concerning the day that he prepared a feast? *The child grew and was weaned, and Abraham held a great feast on the day that*

Isaac was weaned (Genesis 21:8). He made a feast, inviting all the dignitaries of his generation.[540]

"We have learned:[541] Whenever there is a joyous meal, the Accuser comes to observe. If the host has first provided for the poor or invited them into his home, then the Accuser departs from the house without entering. If not, he enters and witnesses the chaos of revelry,[542] without any poor, without prior generosity toward the poor. Then he ascends, accusing the host.

"As Abraham welcomed the dignitaries, the Accuser descended and stood at the door, disguised as a poor man. No one paid him any attention. Abraham was waiting on those kings and princes. Sarah was suckling all their babies because they did not believe that she had given birth;[543] they said, 'It is a foundling from off the streets!' So when they brought along their babies, Sarah took them and suckled them in front of everyone, as is written: *Who would have said* [11a] *to Abraham: Sarah will suckle children?* (ibid. 21:7). *Children*, literally![544]

"Meanwhile the Accuser was still at the door. She[545] said, '*God has made a laughingstock of me*' (ibid. 21:6).

"At once, the Accuser rose to face the blessed Holy One. He exclaimed, 'Master of the universe! You called Abraham *My beloved* (Isaiah 41:8)? He held a feast and gave me nothing,[546] and nothing to the poor. To You, he didn't offer even a single dove![547] Furthermore, Sarah said that You made fun of her!'

"The blessed Holy One replied, 'Who in the world is like Abraham?'[548]

"But he held his ground[549] until he ruined all that joy, and the blessed Holy One commanded that Isaac be offered as a sacrifice,[550] and it was decreed that Sarah die in anguish over her son's ordeal.[551] All that suffering came about because he[552] gave nothing to the poor."

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "What is the meaning of the verse: *Hezekiah turned his face to the wall and prayed to YHVH* (Isaiah 38:2)?[553] Come and see how potent is the power of Torah, how supreme above all! For whoever engages in Torah has no fear of those above and those below, nor of any grave sickness in the world, since he grasps the Tree of Life and learns from it every day.[554] For Torah teaches a person to follow the true path, advises him how to return to his Lord, nullifying that decree.[555] Even if it has been ordained that the decree not be nullified, it is annulled immediately and removed from him, looming over him no longer in this world. So one should engage in Torah day and night, never departing from her, as is written: *Meditate on it day and night* (Joshua 1:8). If one departs from Torah or separates from her, it is like separating oneself from

the Tree of Life.[556]

"Come and see this advice: When one climbs into bed at night, he should accept upon himself wholeheartedly the Kingdom on high[557] and in advance deliver to Him the pledge of his soul.[558] At once he is protected from any grave illness[559] or maleficent spirit, which are powerless against him.

"In the morning, upon rising from bed, one should bless his Lord, enter His house, bow down in great awe before His sanctuary,[560] and then offer his prayer. He should seek advice from those holy Patriarchs,[561] as is written: *As for me, through Your abundant love, I will enter Your house; I will bow down at Your holy sanctuary in awe of You* (Psalms 5:8). So they have established:[562] A person should not enter the synagogue without first consulting Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for they innovated prayer to the blessed Holy One,[563] as is written: *As for me, through Your abundant love, I will enter Your house*—Abraham; *I will bow down at Your holy sanctuary*—Isaac; *in awe of You*—Jacob.[564] One should embrace them first, then enter the synagogue and offer one's prayer. So it is written: *He said to me, 'You are My servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified.'* (Isaiah 49:3)."[565]

Rabbi Pinḥas[566] used to frequent Rabbi Reḥumai[567] by the shore of Lake Ginnosar.[568] He[569] was distinguished, advanced in years, and his eyes had transcended seeing.[570]

He said to Rabbi Pinḥas, "Truly I have heard that our Companion Yoḥai has a pearl, a precious stone.[571] I gazed at the light of that pearl, issuing like the radiance of the sun from its sheath, illuminating the entire world.[572] That light extends from heaven to earth, illumining the entire world until the Ancient of Days[573] comes and sits fittingly upon the throne.[574] That light is contained totally in your house,[575] and from the light contained in your house emanates a fine, threadlike ray, radiating, illumining the entire world.[576] Happy is your share! Go, my son, go out after that pearl illuminating the world, for the time is ripe."

He left him[577] and was about to board a boat along with two other men, when he saw two birds come flying over the lake.[578] He shouted to them, "Birds, birds, flying over the lake! Have you seen the site of the son of Yoḥai?"

He paused a while, and then said, "Birds, birds, go and bring me a reply!" They flew off.

They embarked, setting off across the lake.[579] Before he had disembarked, those birds returned, and in the mouth of one of them was a note on which was written: "The son of Yoḥai has emerged from the cave along with his son Rabbi El'azar."[580]

He went to him and found him transfigured, his body full of moldy sores.[581] He wept [11b] together with him and said, "Alas, that I see you so!"

He replied, "Happy is my share that you see me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not be so."[582]

Rabbi Shim'on opened with the commandments of Torah, saying, "The commandments of Torah given by the blessed Holy One to Israel are all written in Torah in general terms.[583]

"*In the beginning God created* (Genesis 1:1). This is the first commandment of all, called *awe of YHVH*, which is called *beginning*, as is written: *The beginning of wisdom is awe of YHVH* (Psalms 111:10), *Awe of YHVH is the beginning of knowledge* (Proverbs 1:7). For this entity is named *beginning*; it is the gate through which one enters faith.[584] The entire world is based upon this commandment.[585]

"Awe branches in three directions, two of which are not fittingly rooted, one of which is essence[586] of awe. There is the person who fears the blessed Holy One so that his children may live and not die, or who fears physical or material punishment. Because of this he fears Him constantly, but his awe is not focused on the blessed Holy One.[587]

"Then there is the person who fears the blessed Holy One because he is afraid of the punishment of the other world and the punishment of Hell. Neither of these is the essential root of awe.

"The essence of awe is that a person be in awe of his Lord because He is immense and sovereign—essence and root of all worlds—before whom everything is considered as nothing, as is said: *All the inhabitants of the earth are considered as nothing* (Daniel 4:32). One should direct his desire to the site called Awe."[588]

Rabbi Shim'on wept and exclaimed, "Woe is me if I speak! Woe is me if I do not speak! If I speak, the wicked will know how to serve their Lord. If I do not speak, the Companions will be deprived of this word."[589]

"At the site where holy awe dwells, below is evil awe, beating, striking, accusing.[590] It is a lash to whip the wicked. Whoever fears the punishment of flogging and accusation, as mentioned—that awe called *awe of YHVH leading to life* (Proverbs 19:23)[591] does not hover over him. Who then hovers over him? Evil awe. So that lash deploys above him—evil awe, not *awe of YHVH*.[592]

"So the site called *awe of YHVH* is called *beginning*, and therefore this commandment is included here.[593] This is the root and foundation of all the other commandments in Torah. Whoever adheres to awe adheres to all; one who does

not, does not keep the commandments of Torah, for this is the gate to all.

"So it is written: בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *Because of beginning*, which is awe, *God created heaven and earth*.[594] Whoever violates this violates the commandments of Torah, and his punishment is the evil lash. This is: *The earth was chaos and void, with darkness over the face of the abyss, and the wind of God* (Genesis 1:2). These are four types of punishment by which the wicked are punished.[595] *Chaos* is strangulation, as is written: *a line of chaos* (Isaiah 34:11),[596] *a measuring rope* (Zechariah 2:5).[597] *Void* is stoning, stones sunk in the immense abyss[598] for punishing the wicked. *Darkness* is burning, as is written: *When you heard the voice from the midst of the darkness* (Deuteronomy 5:20),[599] *and the mountain was ablaze with fire to the heart of heaven, darkness* (ibid. 4:11).[600] This is the fierce fire licking the heads of the wicked to consume them.[601] *And the wind* is death by sword, *a stormy wind* (Ezekiel 1:4), a sharp sword flashing in it, as is said: *the flaming, ever-turning sword* (Genesis 3:24), called *wind*.[602]

"Such is the punishment awaiting one who violates the commandments of Torah. It is written after awe, *beginning*, sum of all.[603] Then follow the other commandments of Torah.

"The second commandment: one to which the commandment of awe is linked, never departing. This is love, loving one's Lord consummately.[604] What is consummate love? Abounding love,[605] as is written: *Walk in My presence and be wholehearted* (Genesis 17:1)—consummate in love.[606] This is what is written: *God said, 'Let there be light'* (ibid. 1:3)—consummate love, called 'abounding love.'[607] Here is the commandment to love one's Lord fittingly."

Rabbi El'azar said, "Father, I have heard something about consummation of love."

He replied, "Speak, my son, in the presence of Rabbi Pinḥas, for he stands on this rung."[608]

Rabbi El'azar said, "Abounding love is consummate love, consummate in two aspects. Unless embracing both, it is not [12a] consummate fittingly. So we have learned: Love—love of the blessed Holy One—branches in two directions.[609] There is the person who loves Him because he has wealth, longevity, children surrounding him; he dominates his enemies, his paths are paved. Because of this he loves Him. If things were overturned—the blessed Holy One turning the wheel of strict judgment against him—then he would hate Him, not love Him at all. So this love is not rooted.[610]

"The love called consummate abides both aspects, whether judgment or favor.[611] The ripening of the way is to love one's Lord as we have learned: 'even

if He plucks your soul.'[612] Such love is consummate, embracing both aspects. So the light of the act of Creation radiated and was then hidden away.[613] When it was hidden, severe Judgment flashed,[614] and two aspects merged, consummating love fittingly."[615]

Rabbi Shim'on, his father, took hold of him and kissed him.

Rabbi Pinḥas came and kissed him, then blessed him, saying, "The blessed Holy One certainly sent me here. This is the fine ray of light I was told is contained in my house, about to illumine the entire world."[616]

Rabbi El'azar said, "Awe should certainly not be forgotten in any of the commandments and should cleave especially to this commandment. How does it cleave? In one aspect, love is gracious—as explained—bestowing wealth, goodness, long life, children, and sustenance. So one should arouse awe, fearing the sway of sin. Therefore it is written: *Happy is one who always fears* (Proverbs 28:14), for awe is embraced by love.

"Similarly on the other side—of severe Judgment[617]—one should arouse awe. When one sees severe Judgment befalling him, he should then arouse awe and fear his Lord fittingly, not hardening his heart. So it is written: *But one who hardens his heart falls into evil* (ibid.)—into that other side called *evil*.[618]

"So awe is linked to both aspects,[619] embraced by them. This is fittingly consummate love."

"The third commandment:[620] to realize that God exists[621]—vast and controlling the world—and to unify Him fittingly each day in those six supernal directions,[622] unifying them through the six words of שמע ישראל (*Shema Yisra'el*), *Hear, O Israel!* (Deuteronomy 6:4),[623] directing one's desire above along with them.[624]

"So one should prolong אחד (*eḥad*), *one*, to the length of six words, as is written: *Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place* (Genesis 1:9)—let the rungs beneath heaven be gathered together to unite with it, to be fittingly complete in six directions.[625] Yet, with that unity one should bind awe,[626] prolonging the ד (*dalet*) of אחד (*eḥad*), *one*, since the ד (*dalet*) of אחד (*eḥad*) is large, as is written: *Let the dry land appear* (ibid.)—let ד (*dalet*), who is *dry land*, *appear* and be bound in that union.[627] After She is bound there above, one should bind Her below with Her forces, in six other directions below: ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד (*Barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-olam va-ed*), Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever, comprising six other words of unification.[628] Then, what was *dry land* is transformed into *earth*, generating fruit, verdure, planting trees.[629] This corresponds to what is written: *God called the dry land Earth* (ibid., 10)—through that unification below, ארעא (*ar'a*), *Earth*, fittingly

consummates רעוא (*ra'ava*), desire.[630] So, *it was good, it was good* (ibid. 1:10, 12), twice:[631] one for the unification above, one for the unification below. Once It[632] was unified in both aspects, from then on: *Let the earth sprout vegetation* (ibid., 11)[633]—arrayed to generate fruit and verdure fittingly.

"The fourth commandment:[634] to realize that יהוה (*YHVH*) is האלהים (*ha-Elohim*), God,[635] as is said: *Know today and take to heart that* יהוה (*YHVH*) *is* האלהים (*ha-Elohim*), *God* (Deuteronomy 4:39). To include the name אלהים (*Elohim*) in the name יהוה (*YHVH*), realizing they are one, indivisible. This is the mystery written: *Let there* be מארת (*me'orot*), *lights, in the expanse of heaven to shine upon earth* (Genesis 1:14–15), that the two names be one, with absolutely no division—that מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, spelled deficiently, merge in the name of *heaven*:[636] one together and indivisible, black light with white light,[637] indivisible, and all is one. [12b] This is the white cloud of day and the cloud of fire in the night,[638] as they have said: 'Quality of day and quality of night'[639]— to be arrayed by each other to shine, as is said: *to shine upon earth*.

"This is the sin of the primordial serpent: he joined below and it separated above.[640] So he caused what he caused to the world. For one should separate below and join above. The black light should be united above in a single bond, then united with Her forces of unification[641] and separated from the evil side.

"Nevertheless one should realize that אלהים יהוה (*Elohim YHVH*) is entirely one, indivisible. יהוה (*YHVH*) *is* האלהים (*ha-Elohim*). Once one realizes all is one and does not impose division, even that Other Side will disappear from the world, not be drawn below.[642]

"This is the mystery written: *Let them be* מאורות (*me'orot*), *lights* (ibid., 15). The shell rises in the wake of the kernel.[643] The kernel is אור (*or*), light; the other side, מות (*mavet*), death. אור (*Or*) in letters joined together, מות (*mavet*) in separation.[644] When this אור (*or*) disappears from there, the letters of separation join together.[645] From these letters Eve began, bringing evil upon the world, as is written: ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *The woman saw* (ibid. 3:6),[646] reversing the letters. מ״ו (*Mem, vav*) were left; they went and took the letter ת (*tav*) along with them, inflicting death upon the world, as is written: ותרא (*Va-tere*), *She saw*."[647]

Rabbi El'azar said, "Father, I have learned that מ (*mem*) was left alone.[648] ו (*Vav*), who is always life, was transformed,[649] then went and took ת (*tav*), as is written: ותקח...ותתן (*Va-tiqqaḥ ... va-titten*), *She took ... and she gave* (ibid.).[650] This word[651] was completed, the letters joined."

He said to him, "Blessed are you, my son! We have established this word."

“The fifth commandment. It is written: *Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls* (Genesis 1:20).[652] This verse contains three commandments: to study Torah, to be fruitful and multiply, and to circumcise on the eighth day, removing the foreskin.[653]

“To study and contemplate Torah, expanding her every day,[654] not letting her be forgotten, as is written: *Let the waters swarm*—Torah.[655] One should engage in her every day—enhancing one’s soul and spirit. For when a person studies Torah he is adorned with another holy soul,[656] as is written: *with a swarm of* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*)—a נפש (*nefesh*), *soul*, of that holy חיה (*ḥayyah*), *living being*.[657] For when a person does not study Torah, he has no holy soul;[658] supernal holiness does not rest upon him. When he is engaged with Torah, through his murmuring[659] he attains that *living soul*, becoming like the holy angels, as is written: *Bless YHVH, O His angels* (Psalms 103:20)—those engaged in Torah, called *His angels* on earth.[660] This is what is written: *and let birds fly above the earth* (Genesis, ibid.),[661] referring to this world.[662] Regarding that world, we have learned that the blessed Holy One intends to provide them with wings like eagles to roam throughout the world, as is written: *They who await YHVH shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles* (Isaiah 40:31).[663] This is what is written: [*Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls*] *and let birds fly above the earth*—Torah, called water,[664] let it *swarm* and generate the movement of a *living soul*, drawing her down from the site of the *living being*, as explained. Concerning this David declared, *Create in me a pure heart, O God*, to study Torah, and then, *renew in me a steadfast spirit* (Psalms 51:12).[665]

“The sixth commandment: to be fruitful and multiply. For whoever engages in this causes that river to flow constantly, its waters never ceasing, and the sea is filled from every direction.[666] New souls are innovated, emerging from that tree,[667] while above, numerous powers[668] increase along with them, as is written: *Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls* [*and let birds fly above the earth*] (Genesis, ibid.). This is the holy sealed covenant, a river streaming forth,[669] its waters swelling, swarming with swarms of souls for that living being.[670] With those souls entering that living being, emerge many birds,[671] flying, soaring throughout the world. As a soul emerges into this world, the bird flying forth with this soul from that tree emerges with her.

“How many emerge with each and every soul? Two, one on the right and one on the left. If one is virtuous they protect him, as is written: *For He will order His angels* [*to guard you in all your ways*] (Psalms 91:11). If not, they accuse him.”[672]

Rabbi Pinḥas said, [13a] "There are three who serve as the guardians of a human being, as is written: *If he has an angel over him, an advocate, one among a thousand, to vouch for his uprightness* (Job 33:23). *If he has an angel over him*—here is one. *An advocate*—two. *To vouch for his uprightness*—here is three."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Five, since it is written further: *Then he is gracious to him and he says*, ["*Deliver him from descending to the Pit, I have found a ransom*"] (ibid., 24). *Then he is gracious to him*—one. *And he says*—two."

He replied, "Not so! Rather, *Then He is gracious to him*—the blessed Holy One alone, for no one but He has the authority."[673]

He said to him, "You have spoken well!

"Whoever avoids engendering new life diminishes, as it were, the image comprising all images,[674] causing the waters of that river to flow no more, damaging the holy covenant on all sides.[675] Concerning him it is written: *They will go out and stare at the corpses of the people who rebelled against Me* (Isaiah 66:24), indeed![676] This is for the body.[677] As for his soul, it does not pass through the curtain at all; it is banished from that world.[678]

"The seventh commandment: to circumcise on the eighth day, removing the filth of the foreskin.[679] For the living being is the eighth of all rungs,[680] and the soul that has flown from Her should appear before Her on the eighth day, since She is the eighth rung.[681] Then it is clearly seen that she is נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *a soul* of that holy *living being* (Genesis 1:20), not from the Other Side.[682] This is *Let the waters swarm* (ibid.).[683] In *The Book of Enoch*:[684] Let the water of the holy seed be inscribed with the mark of נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *a soul of the living being*.[685] This is the mark of the letter י (*yod*),[686] inscribed in the holy flesh in preference to all other marks of the world.

"*Let birds fly above the earth* (ibid.). This is Elijah, who sweeps through the entire world in four glides to be present at that holy circumcision. One must prepare a chair for him and declare: 'This is the chair of Elijah.' If not, he does not abide there.[687]

"*God created the great sea monsters* (ibid., 21)—two: foreskin and uncovering, cutting the foreskin and afterward uncovering. They are male and female.[688]

"*And every soul of the living being that moves* (ibid.)[689]—inscription of the sign of the holy covenant,[690] indicating that she is a *soul of the* holy *living being*, as we have said.

"*Which the waters brought forth in swarms* (ibid.)—the upper waters were drawn toward this inscribed sign.[691] Consequently Israel is inscribed with the

holy, pure mark below. Just as they are inscribed to distinguish between the holy side and the other side, of impurity,[692] so Israel is inscribed to distinguish between holiness and other nations, deriving from the other, impure side, as explained. As He marks them, so He marks off their animals and birds from the animals and birds of other nations.[693] Happy is their share!

"The eighth commandment: to love the convert[694] coming to circumcise himself, to enter beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*.[695] Under Her wings She brings those separating themselves from the impure Other Side[696] and approaching Her, as is written: *Let the earth bring forth* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *souls of the living being*,[697] *according to their kind* (ibid., 24).

"Now if you say that the *soul of the living being* contained in Israel is designated for everyone, the verse continues: *according to their kind*. How many rooms and parlors, one within the other, are located in this *earth*,[698] *the living being*, beneath Her wings! Her right wing includes two parlors, branching from it for two other nations closely related to Israel,[699] to bring them into these parlors. Beneath Her left wing are two other parlors, branching off for two other nations, namely, Ammon and Moab.[700] All of them are called *souls of the living being*.

"Countless other concealed rooms and palaces abide in each wing, from which spirits emerge, to be distributed to all converting converts. They are called *souls of the living being*, but *according to their kind*. They all enter beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*, no further.[701] But as for Israel, their soul emerges from the trunk of that tree,[702] whence souls fly into *earth*, into Her womb, deep within. The secret is: *You shall be an earth of delight* (Malachi 3:12).[703] So Israel is *a precious son*, for whom Her *innards yearn*,[704] and they are called *borne from the womb* (Isaiah 46:3), not from the wings, outside. Furthermore, [13b] converts have no share in the celestial tree, certainly not its trunk;[705] rather, their share is in the wings, no higher. A convert is beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*, no higher. They are converts of Righteousness,[706] for there they dwell, uniting, not within, as explained.

"So, *Let the earth bring forth souls of the living being, according to their kind*. Which kind? *Cattle, crawling things, and living creatures of the earth, according to their kind* (Genesis 1:24).[707] All of them draw a *soul* from that *living being*, but each *according to its kind*, fittingly.

"The ninth commandment: to be generous to the poor and provide them with

food, for it is written: *Let us make a human being in our image, according to our likeness* (Genesis 1:26). *Let us make a human being*—jointly, including male and female;[708] *in our image*—the wealthy, *according to our likeness*—mystery of the poor.[709] For the wealthy derive from the side of the male, the poor from the side of the female. Just as they constitute a single partnership[710]—one caring for the other, providing for the other, and rendering goodness—so should human beings below be rich and poor in a single bond, one providing for the other and rendering goodness.

"*They shall have dominion over the fish of the sea*, [*the birds of the sky, the animals, the whole earth, and all crawling things that crawl on earth*] (ibid.). This secret we have seen in *The Book of King Solomon*:[711] If one cares for the poor wholeheartedly, his image never mutates from that of Adam;[712] and since the image of Adam is impressed on him, he controls all creatures of the world,[713] as is written: *Fear and dread of you shall be upon all the beasts of the earth* [*and upon all the birds of the sky, everything with which the earth teems and all the fish of the sea—into your hand they are given*] (ibid. 9:2). All of them fear and tremble from that image impressed on him because of all the commandments this[714] is the finest for attaining the image of one's Lord.

"How do we know? From Nebuchadnezzar. Even though he dreamed that dream,[715] as long as he was generous to the poor, his dream did not befall him.[716] As soon as he cast a stingy, evil eye, no longer acting generously to them,[717] what is written? *The word was still in the king's mouth*, [*when a voice fell from heaven, "To you it is decreed, O King Nebuchadnezzar: The kingdom has departed from you. You are being driven away from human beings, and your habitation shall be with the beasts of the field. You shall be fed grass like cattle*"] (Daniel 4:28–29). Immediately his image mutated and he was banished from humankind.

"So, נעשה (*Na'aseh*), *Let us make, a human being* [*in our image*]. Here is written עשיה (*asiyyah*), *making*, and there is written: *The name of the man with whom* עשיתי (*asiti*), *I worked, today is Boaz* (Ruth 2:19).[718]

"The tenth commandment: to put on תפילין (*tefillin*),[719] perfecting oneself in the image on high, for it is written: *God created the human being in His image* (Genesis 1:27)."[720]

He opened, saying, "*Your head upon you is like Carmel* (Song of Songs 7:6).[721] We have established this verse and it has been discussed,[722] but *Your head upon you is like Carmel*—the head on high, *tefillin* of the head,[723] name of the holy King on high, יהוה (*YHVH*), inscribed in letters. Each and every letter—one

portion; the holy name engraved fittingly, in the order of the letters.[724]

"We have learned: [*All the peoples of the earth shall see*] *that the name of YHVH is proclaimed upon you, and they shall be in awe of you* (Deuteronomy 28:10)—the *tefillin* of the head, the holy name in the order of its letters.[725]

"The first portion is: *Hallow to Me every firstborn* (Exodus 13:1–10)[726]— י (*yod*), holiness, firstborn of all the holy above.[727] *Breacher of every womb* (ibid.)—by that narrow path descending from the י (*yod*), opening the womb to generate fruit and verdure fittingly.[728] That is holiness above.

"The second portion is: *So when YHVH brings you* [*to the land...*] (ibid., 11–16)—ה (*he*), the palace, whose womb was opened by י (*yod*) through fifty openings, parlors, and concealed rooms of *Binah*.[729] That opening made by י (*yod*) in the palace is intended to trumpet the sound issuing from the shofar,[730] for this shofar was stopped up on every side, and י (*yod*) came and opened it, bringing forth its sound. As soon as He opened it, He blew it, bringing forth a sound to bring forth slaves to freedom.[731] Through the sounding of this shofar Israel went forth from Egypt, as destined once again at the end of days.[732] Every deliverance issues from this shofar. So the Exodus from Egypt is included in this portion,[733] for it emerged from this shofar through the power of י (*yod*), who opened Her womb, bringing forth its sound for the deliverance of the slaves. This is ה (*he*), second letter of the holy name.

"The third portion is the mystery of unification: *Hear, O Israel!* [*YHVH is our God, YHVH is one...*] (Deuteronomy 6:4–9). This is ו (*vav*)—including all, unifying all; in Him they unite, and He carries all.[734]

"The fourth portion is: *If you listen* (Deuteronomy 11:13–21),[735] totality of two sides, [14a] with whom Assembly of Israel, Power below, is united.[736] This is the final ה (*he*),[737] receiving them, comprised by them.

"*Tefillin* are the actual letters of the holy name. So, *Your head upon you is like Carmel*—*tefillin* of the head. ודלת (*Ve-dallat*), *The locks, of your head are like purple* (Song of Songs, ibid.)—*tefillah* of the hand, who is poor compared to those above.[738] Nevertheless, She is complete, as above. *A king is held captive in the tresses* (ibid.)—He is bound and held within those compartments,[739] uniting with that holy name fittingly.

"So one adorned in them is *in the image of God* (Genesis 1:27).[740] Just as the holy name is united with God, so is the holy name united with him, fittingly. *Male and female He created them* (ibid.)—*tefillin* of the head and *tefillah* of the hand.[741] All is one.

"The eleventh commandment: to tithe the tithe of the earth.[742] Here are two

commandments: one to tithe the tithe of the earth, the other the first fruits of the tree,[743] for it is written: *See, I have given you every seed-bearing plant that is upon the face of all the earth* [*and every tree that has seed-bearing fruit; they shall be yours for food*] (ibid., 29). Here is written: *See, I have given*, and there is written: *See, I have given the Levites every tithe in Israel* (Numbers 18:21),[744] and similarly: *Every tithe of the earth, from the seed of the earth or from the fruit of the tree, belongs to YHVH* (Leviticus 27:30).

"The twelfth commandment: to bring the first fruits of the tree, for it is written: *Every tree that has seed-bearing fruit* (Genesis 1:29). 'Everything designated for Me, which I have forbidden you to eat, I permitted to them and gave them—all tithes and first fruit of the trees.' *I have given you* (ibid.)—*you*, not to the generations after you.[745]

"The thirteenth commandment: to redeem one's son,[746] binding him to life. For there are two appointees, one of life and one of death, standing above a person.[747] When he redeems his son, he redeems him from the hand of that one of death, who now has no power over him. The secret is: *God saw all that He had made*—in general; [*and behold, it was very good*] (Genesis 1:31): *and behold, it was good*—Angel of Life; *very*—Angel of Death.[748] So through that redemption, this one of life is sustained, that one of death weakened. Through this redemption, he acquires life for him,[749] as explained, and that evil side leaves him, cannot seize him.

"The fourteenth commandment: to observe the Sabbath day, day of rest from all acts of Creation.[750] Here two commandments coalesce: one, observing the Sabbath day; the other, endowing that day with its holiness.

"To observe the Sabbath day, as I have mentioned, whose meaning I have aroused, for it is a day of rest for the worlds,[751] on which all acts were consummated and enacted before the day was hallowed. Once the day was hallowed, the creation of spirits remained—for them no body had been created.[752] Now, didn't the blessed Holy One know to delay hallowing the day until bodies had been created for these spirits? The answer is: the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil[753] aroused that other, evil side,[754] who verged on seizing power in the world, and countless spirits of varied species spread out to empower themselves in bodies. As soon as the blessed Holy One saw this, He aroused a

gust of wind from the Tree of Life,[755] which struck another tree,[756] arousing the other, good side, and the day was hallowed. For the creation of bodies and the arousal of spirits derive from the side of goodness on this night,[757] not from the other side. If on this night the other side had preceded the side of goodness, the world could not have withstood them for even a moment.[758] But the blessed Holy One provided a remedy in advance, for the hallowing of the day skipped ahead,[759] forestalling the other side, and the world stood firm.

"Whereas the other side had schemed to be constructed in the world, empowered, on this night the side of goodness was constructed and empowered. Holy bodies and spirits were constructed on this night from the side of goodness—so the conjugal interval of the wise, who know this, is from Sabbath [14b] to Sabbath.[760] Once the other side saw that the side of holiness had done what she[761] had intended to do, she began roaming with her countless forces and her flanks, observing all those having intercourse in the nude by the light of a lamp. All children issuing from there are epileptic, possessed by spirits of that other side, naked spirits of the wicked called demons,[762] or possessed by Lilith who slays them.

As soon as the day is hallowed and holiness rules the world, that other side diminishes itself, hiding away throughout the night and day of Sabbath. Except for Asimon[763] and his entire band who pass secretly over lamps, observing naked intercourse, then hide themselves away in the chasm of the immense abyss until Sabbath departs.[764] As soon as Sabbath departs, countless forces and companies fly, roaming through the world. So the song against maleficent spirits[765] was instituted to prevent their ruling the holy people. Where do they fly on that night? After they issue in a rush—intending to rule in the world over the holy people—and they see them in prayer and song, first enacting *havdalah* during prayer and then again over the cup,[766] they fly away, roaming till they reach the desert.[767]

"Concerning the departure of Sabbath, they have said, may their memory be a blessing: Three bring evil upon themselves. One, whoever curses himself.[768] The second, whoever throws out bread or crumbs amounting to the size of an olive.[769] The third, whoever lights a lamp at the departure of Sabbath before Israel has reached the hallowing of the portion,[770] because by this fire he prematurely kindles the fire of Hell. For there is a place reserved in Hell for those who violate Sabbaths; and those punished in Hell curse the one who lights a lamp prematurely,[771] exclaiming: *YHVH is going to hurl you with a mighty hurl, winding you round and round. He will wrap you up as a turban, a ball—off to a vast land* (Isaiah 22:17–18).[772] For it is not right to kindle fire as Sabbath departs until Israel enacts *havdalah* during prayer and then over the cup, because until then it is

still Sabbath and the holiness of Sabbath reigns over us. At the moment they enact *havdalah* over the cup, all those forces and companies empowered over the days of the week return, each and every one to its station and task. For when Sabbath enters and the day is hallowed, holiness is aroused and rules the world, while the profane is divested of its rule. Until Sabbath has departed they do not return. Even as Sabbath departs, they do not return to their places till the moment Israel says: 'Blessed are You, *YHVH*, who separates the holy from the profane.'[773] Then holiness withdraws, and the companies empowered over the weekdays are aroused and return to their posts, each to its assigned watch. Even so, they do not assume control until they shine through the mystery of the lamp. They are all called 'lights of the fire,' for they all spring from the mysterious stream of elemental fire[774] and rule over the lower world.

"All this applies when one lights a lamp before Israel has completed the hallowing of the portion. However, if one waits until they have completed it, those sinners in Hell acknowledge the justice of the blessed Holy One and confirm for that person all the blessings declared by the congregation: *May God give you of the dew of heaven* [*and the fat of the earth, abundance of grain and new wine*] (Genesis 27:28). *Blessed be you in the city, blessed be you in the field* (Deuteronomy 28:3)."[775] [15a]

פרשת בראשית

Parashat Be-Reshit

"IN THE BEGINNING" (GENESIS 1:1–6:8)

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning* (Genesis 1:1).

At the head of potency of the King,[1] He engraved engravings[2] in luster on high.[3] A spark of impenetrable darkness[4] flashed within the concealed of the concealed,[5] from the head of Infinity[6]—a cluster of vapor forming in formlessness, thrust in a ring,[7] not white, not black, not red, not green, no color at all.[8] As a cord surveyed,[9] it yielded radiant colors. Deep within the spark gushed a flow, splaying colors below, concealed within the concealed of the mystery of *Ein Sof*.[10] It split and did not split its aura,[11] was not known at all, until under the impact of splitting, a single, concealed, supernal point shone. Beyond that point, nothing is known, so it is called ראשית (*Reshit*), *Beginning*,[12] first command of all.[13]

The enlightened[14] *will shine like the* זהר (*zohar*), *radiance*,[15] *of the sky, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever* (Daniel 12:3).

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance!* Concealed of concealed struck its aura, which touched and did not touch this point.[16] Then this *beginning* expanded, building itself a palace worthy of glorious praise. There it sowed seed to give birth, availing worlds.[17] The secret is: *Her stock is seed of holiness* (Isaiah 6:13).[18]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*! Sowing seed for its glory, like the seed of fine purple silk wrapping itself within, weaving itself a palace,[19] constituting its praise, availing all.

With this *beginning*, the unknown concealed one[20] created the palace. This palace is called אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*.[21] The secret is: בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *With beginning, created God* (Genesis 1:1).[22]

זהר (*Zohar*, *Radiance*! From here all commands were created through the mysterious expansion of this point of concealed radiance. If *created* is written

here, no wonder it is written: *God created the human being in His image* (Genesis 1:27).[23]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*! Mystery! בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, first of all. אהיה (*Ehyeh*), *I will be* (Exodus 3:14), a sacred name engraved in its sides;[24] אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, engraved in the crown.[25] אשר (*Asher*), *Who* (ibid.)—a hidden, treasured palace, beginning of the mystery of ראשית (*reshit*).[26] אשר (*Asher*)—ראש (*rosh*), head, emerging from ראשית (*reshit*).[27] When [15b] afterward point and palace were arrayed as one, then בראשית (*Be-reshit*) comprised supernal ראשית (*reshit*) in wisdom.[28] Afterward the color of the palace transformed and it was called בית (*bayit*), house, while the supernal point was called ראש (*rosh*), merging in one another in the mystery of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), when all was as one in one entirety, before the house was inhabited.[29] Once it was sown, arraying habitation, it was called אלהים (*Elohim*)—hidden, concealed.[30]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*! Concealed and treasured, while offspring lay within, yet to be born, and the house expanded, arrayed by that seed of holiness.[31] Until it conceived, expanding into habitation, it was not called אלהים (*Elohim*), rather all combined: בראשית (*Be-reshit*). Once arrayed in the name אלהים (*Elohim*), it generated offspring from that seed sown within.

What is that seed? Those engraved letters, mystery of Torah, emerging from that point.[32] Within that palace the point sowed the seed of three points—חולם (*ḥolem*), שורק (*shuruq*), חירק (*ḥireq*)[33]—merging together, becoming a single mystery: a voice emerging in unison.[34] As it emerged, its consort emerged with it, comprising all letters, as is written: את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*—voice and consort.[35] This voice, *heaven*, is the final אהיה (*ehyeh*), *I will be*.[36]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*! Comprising all colors in this way, till here. יהוה יהוה אלהינו (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), *YHVH, our God, YHVH* (Deuteronomy 6:4)—three rungs, corresponding to the supernal mystery.[37] בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *In the beginning God created*. *Be-reshit*—primordial mystery.[38] *Bara*—concealed mystery, from which all expands.[39] *Elohim*— mystery sustaining all below.[40] את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*—so as not to separate them, male and female as one.[41] את (*Et*)—conveying all those letters, entirety of them all: beginning and end. Afterward ה (*he*) was added, so all those letters would be combined with *he*, and it was called אתה (*Attah*), *You*.[42] So, ואתה (*Ve-Attah*), *And You, enliven them all* (Nehemiah 9:6). *Et*— mystery of אדני (*Adonai*), Lord, and so it is called.[43] *Ha-shamayim—YHVH*, supernal mystery.[44] ואת (*Ve-et*)—array of male and female.[45] ואת (*Ve-et*)— mystery of ויהוה (*va-YHVH*), *and YHVH*, and all is one.[46] הארץ (*Ha-arets*), *The earth—Elohim*, as above, generating fruit and verdure.[47] This name is embraced at three sites, branching from there variously.[48]

Until here, mystery of secret of secrets, which He engraved, fashioned,

vivified in hidden ways, through the mystery of a single verse.[49] From here on,[50] בראשית—ברא (*Be-reshit—bara shit*), He created six, *from one end of heaven to the other* (Deuteronomy 4:32), six directions extending from the supernal mystery[51] through the expansion that He created from the primordial point. ברא (*Bara*), *Created*—expansion of a single point on high. Here is engraved the mystery of the name of forty-two letters.[52]

The enlightened will shine like the זהר (*zohar*), *radiance, of the sky* (Daniel 12:3)[53]—like musical intonations,[54] whose melody is followed by the letters and vowels, undulating after them like troops behind their king. The letters are body; the vowels, spirit.[55] All of them range in motion after the intonations and halt with them. When the melody of the intonation moves, letters and vowels follow; when it stops, they do not move but stand in place.

The enlightened will shine—letters and vowels. *Like the* זהר (*zohar*), *radiance*—melody of the notes. *Of the sky*—extension of the melody, like those extending, prolonging the melody.[56] *And those who lead many to righteousness*—pausal notes, halting their movement, as a result of which the word is heard.[57] *Will shine*—letters and vowels shining as one on their journey into a mystery of concealment, a journey on concealed paths. From this all expands.[58]

We have learned: Every *Solomon* mentioned in the Song of Songs connotes the King to whom peace belongs, while *king*, anonymous, connotes the female, lower connoting upper.[59] The mystery is that lower inherits upper, both as one.[60] This is ב (*bet*), as is written: *By wisdom* בית (*bayit*), *a house is built* (Proverbs 24:3).[61] Similarly, *King Solomon made himself a pavilion from the trees of Lebanon* (Song of Songs 3:9).[62] *Pavilion* is the adorning of the lower world by the upper world.[63] For before the blessed Holy One created the world, He and His name were enclosed within Him, one.[64] Nothing existed until there arose within the will of thought[65] actualizing all by impress of the signet,[66] creating the world. He traced and built, but it did not endure[67] until He enwrapped Himself in a wrapping of radiance, supernal right, creating *the heavens*.[68] With this first radiance of all He created *the heavens*. The mystery is this verse: *With beginning Elohim created the heavens and the earth* (Genesis 1:1).[69]

The enlightened will shine like the זהר (*zohar*), *radiance, of the sky*—these are pillars and sockets of that *pavilion*.[70] המשכילים (*Ha-maskilim*), *The enlightened*—supernal pillars and sockets, contemplating in wisdom everything needed by that *pavilion* and its supports. This mystery accords with what is said: *Happy is* משכיל (*maskil*), *one who considers, the poor* (Psalms 41:2).[71]

Will shine—for unless they shine and radiate, they cannot contemplate that *pavilion*, looking out for all it needs.

Like the זהר (*zohar*), *radiance, of the sky*—standing [16a] above *the*

enlightened, of whom is written: *An image above the heads of the living being: a sky, like awesome ice* (Ezekiel 1:22).[72]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*—illumining Torah.[73] זהר (*Zohar*)—illumining the *heads* of that *living being*. Those *heads* are *the enlightened*, who constantly radiate and shine, contemplating that *sky*, the radiance flashing from there, radiance of Torah, sparkling constantly, never ceasing.

The earth was תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void*... (Genesis 1:2).[74]

Was, precisely: previously.[75] Snow in water. Through the potency of snow in water emerged slime.[76] Blazing fire struck it, refuse came to be, and תהו (*tohu*), *chaos*, was produced—abode of slime, nest of refuse.[77] ובהו (*Va-vohu*), *And void*—sifting sifted from refuse, settling upon it.[78]

חשך (*Ḥoshekh*), *Darkness* (ibid.)[79]—mystery of blazing fire.[80] That *darkness* covers *tohu*, over the refuse, and thereby it is empowered.[81]

ורוח אלהים (*Ve-ruaḥ Elohim*), *And a wind of God* (ibid.)—רוח קודשא (*Ruaḥ Qudsha*), Holy Spirit, emerging from the living God,[82] *hovering over the face of the waters* (ibid.). Once this *wind* blew, one fine film clarified from that refuse, like filthy froth flying off, clarified, refined again and again, till that filth is left lacking any filth at all.[83] So was *tohu* clarified and refined, from it emerging a *great, mighty wind, splitting mountains and shattering rocks* (1 Kings 19:11), the one seen by Elijah.[84] *Bohu* was clarified and refined, from it emerging *an earthquake*, as is written: *After the wind—an earthquake* (ibid.). *Darkness* clarified, embracing fire within its mystery, as is written: *After the earthquake—fire* (ibid., 12). *Wind* clarified, and embraced in its mystery was *the sound of sheer silence* (ibid.).

Tohu—a colorless, formless realm, not embraced by the mystery of form. Now within form—as one contemplates it, no form at all.[85] Everything has a garment in which to be clothed, except for this: though appearing upon it, it does not exist at all, never did.[86]

Bohu—this has shape and form: stones sunk within the shell of *tohu*,[87] emerging from the shell in which they are sunk, conveying benefit to the world. Through the form of a garment they convey benefit from above to below, ascending from below to above.[88] So they are hollow and moist,[89] suspended in the air[90]—sometimes suspended in the air, sometimes concealed on a cloudy day, generating water from the abyss to nourish *tohu*,[91] for then frivolity and folly prevail as *tohu* spreads through the world.

Darkness is black fire, potent in color; red fire, potent in appearance; green fire, potent in shape; white fire, embracing all.[92] *Darkness*, most powerful fire,

empowers *tohu*. *Darkness* is fire but not dark fire until it empowers *tohu*.[93] This is the mystery of: *His eyes were too dim to see, and he called Esau...* (Genesis 27:1). *Darkness*—face of evil, for he greeted evil with a friendly face.[94] Then it is called *darkness*, for it settles upon it,[95] empowering it. This is the mystery of: *Darkness over the face of the abyss* (Genesis 1:2).

רוח (*Ruaḥ*), *Wind*, is a voice hovering over *bohu*, empowering and conducting it with whatever is needed. This is the mystery of: *The voice of YHVH is upon the waters* (Psalms 29:3), and similarly: *The wind of God hovering over the face of the waters* (Genesis 1:2)—stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues. So it is called *face, face of the abyss* (ibid.). The wind conducts and empowers that *face, face of the waters*, each one receiving what it needs.[96]

Tohu—upon it rests the name שדי (*Shaddai*).[97] *Bohu*—upon it rests the name צבאות (*Tseva'ot*), Hosts.[98] *Darkness*—upon it rests the name אלהים (*Elohim*).[99] *Wind*—upon it rests the name יהוה (*YHVH*).[100] *A* [*great,*] *mighty wind, splitting mountains and shattering rocks... YHVH was not in the wind* (1 Kings 19:11). This name was not in it, for *Shaddai* controls it through the mystery of *tohu*. *After the wind, an earthquake; YHVH was not in the earthquake*—for the name *Tseva'ot* controls it through the mystery of *bohu*. *So bohu* is called *earthquake*, for it does not exist without quaking. *After the earthquake, fire; YHVH was not in the fire*—for the name *Elohim* controls it, from the side of *darkness*. *After the fire, the sound of sheer silence*—here is found the name *YHVH*.[101]

Here are four sections, constituting well-known sections of the limbs of the body, numbering four,[102] numbering twelve.[103] Here is the engraved name of twelve letters, transmitted to Elijah in the cave.[104] [16b]

God said, "Let there be light!" And there was light (Genesis 1:3).

Here begins the discovery of hidden treasures: how the world was created in detail. For until here was general, and afterward general returns, constituting general-particular-general.[105] Till here, all was suspended in space,[106] from the mystery of *Ein Sof*. Once the force spread through the supernal palace, mystery of *Elohim*, saying is ascribed: ויאמר אלהים (*Va-yomer Elohim*), *God said*.[107] Above, saying is not specified. Although בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, is a saying,[108] *said* is not ascribed. This *said* is susceptible to questioning and knowing.[109] ויאמר (*Va-yomer*), *Said*—a power raised, ארמותא (*armuta*), rising, silently from the mystery of *Ein Sof*, in the origin of thought.[110] *God said*—now that palace, impregnated by the seed of holiness, gave birth, giving birth silently, while outside the newborn was heard.[111] The one giving birth gave birth silently, was not heard at all. As the emergent one emerged, a voice was generated, heard

outside: יהי אור (*Yehi or*), *Let there be light!* All that emerged, emerged through this mystery. יהי (*Yehi*), *Let there be*, alluding to the mystery of Father and Mother, namely, י״ה (*yod he*),[112] afterward turning back to the primordial point, to begin expanding into something else: *light*.[113]

And there was light—light that already was.[114] This light is concealed mystery, an expansion expanding, bursting from the mysterious secret of the hidden supernal aura.[115] First it burst, generating from its mystery a single concealed point,[116] for *Ein Sof* burst out of its aura, revealing this point: י (*yod*). Once this *yod* expanded, what remained was found to be: אור (*or*), *light*, from that mystery of concealed אויר (*avir*), aura.[117] After the primordial point, *yod*, emerged from it into being, it manifested upon it, touching yet not touching.[118] Expanding, it emerged; this is אור (*or*), *light* remaining from אויר (*avir*), aura, namely, the light that already was. This endured, emerged, ascended, was treasured away, and a single point remained, so that by a hidden path it constantly touches that point, touching yet not touching, illumining it through the primordial point that emerged from it.[119] So all is linked, one to another, illumining this and that.[120] As it ascends, all ascend, merging in it.[121] Attaining the realm of *Ein Sof*, it is hidden away, and all becomes one.

That point of light is *light*.[122] It expanded, and seven letters of the alphabet shone within, not congealing, still fluid.[123] Then *darkness* emerged, and seven other letters of the alphabet emerged within, not congealing, remaining fluid.[124] An *expanse* emerged, dissipating the discord of two sides, and eight other letters emerged within, making twenty-two.[125] Seven letters jumped from this side and seven from that, and all were engraved in that *expanse*, remaining fluid. The *expanse* congealed, and the letters congealed, folding into shape, forming forms.[126] Torah was engraved there, to shine forth.[127]

Let there be light! Namely, אל גדול (*El gadol*), great God,[128] the mystery emerging from the primordial aura. ויהי (*Vayhi*), *And there was*—mystery of *darkness*, called אלהים (*Elohim*).[129] *Light*—left merging in right. Then from the mystery of אל (*El*) came to be אלהים (*Elohim*), right merging in left, left in right.[130]

God saw that the light was good (Genesis 1:4)—the central pillar.[131] *Good*, illumining[132] above and below and all other directions, through the mystery of *YHVH*, the name embracing all sides.[133]

God separated the light from the darkness (ibid.), dissipating discord, so that all would be perfect.

God called the light Day (ibid., 5). What does *called* mean? He called forth and summoned this perfect light, standing in the center, to emit a radiance—foundation of the world, upon which worlds are established. From that perfect light, the central pillar, extended יסודא (*Yesoda*), Foundation, Vitality of the

Worlds, *Day*, from the right side.[134]

And the darkness He called Night (ibid.). He called forth, summoned and generated from the side of *darkness* a female, the moon ruling by night, called *Night*, mystery of אדני (*Adonai*), אדון (*Adon*), *Lord, of all the earth* (Joshua 3:11).[135]

The right entered that perfect pillar in the center, embracing the mystery of the left,[136] and ascended to the primordial point [17a], grasping there the power of three points: חולם (*ḥolem*), שורק (*shuruq*), חירק (*ḥireq*), seed of holiness,[137] for without this mystery no seed is sown. All was united in the central pillar, generating the foundation of the world, who is therefore called כל (*Kol*), All, for He embraces all in a radiance of desire.[138]

The left blazed potently, inhaling, inhaling fragrance on all those rungs. Out of that blazing flame, it generated the female, the moon.[139] That blaze was dark, deriving from *darkness*. These two sides generated these two rungs, one male and one female.[140]

Foundation was linked to the central pillar by the increase of light within it, for as the central pillar was consummated, pacifying all sides, its radiance was increased from above, from all sides in all-encompassing joy. Out of that increased joy emerged the foundation of the worlds, called Increase.[141] From here emerge all forces[142] below and holy spirits and souls through the mystery of יהוה צבאות (*YHVH Tseva'ot*), Lord of Hosts, אל אלהי הרוחות (*El Elohei ha-ruḥot*), *God, God of spirits* (Numbers 16:22).[143]

Night, Lord of all the earth, derives from the left side, from *darkness*. Since *darkness* yearns to merge in the right, and its strength weakened, *night* spread out from it.[144] *As* this *night* began to spread, before being completed,[145] that *darkness* entered and merged in the right, right embracing it, and *night* was left wanting.[146] As *darkness yearns* to merge into *light*, so *night* yearns to merge into *day*. *Darkness* lacked its light, so it generated a level lacking, not radiant. *Darkness* does not shine unless it merges into *light. Night*, emerging from it, does not shine unless it merges into *day*. *Night's* lack is filled solely through Increase. What is increased here, decreases there. Increase comprised mystery of the primordial point and mystery of the central pillar along with all sides.[147] So two letters were added to it, while from *night* these two letters were subtracted. Hence, קרא (*qara*), *He called*. It is written: ויקרא (*Va-yiqra*), *And He called*. Then ו״י (*vav, yod*) were subtracted, and it is written: קרא (*Qara*), *He called, Night*.[148] Here lies mystery of the name of seventy-two engraved letters[149] of the supernal crown.

God said, "Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters... (Genesis 1:6).[150]

Here is mystery in detail,[151] separating upper waters from lower through mystery of the left.[152] Here conflict was created through the left side. For until here was mystery of the right,[153] and here is mystery of the left, so conflict raged between this and the right. Right is consummate of all, so all is written by the right,[154] for upon it depends all consummation. When the left aroused, conflict aroused, and through that conflict blazed the fire of wrath.[155] Out of that conflict aroused by the left, emerged Hell. Hell aroused on the left and clung.[156]

The wisdom of Moses: he contemplated this, gazing into the act of Creation. In the act of Creation a conflict arose between left and right, and in that conflict aroused by the left, Hell emerged, clinging there. The central pillar, who is the third day,[157] entered between them, mediating the conflict, reconciling the two sides. Hell descended, left merged in right, and peace prevailed over all.[158]

Similarly the conflict between Korah and Aaron was left against right.[159] Moses, contemplating the act of Creation, said, "It is fitting that I mediate the conflict between left and right."[160] He endeavored to reconcile them, but the left was unwilling, and Korah stiffened his resistance.[161] He[162] said, "Hell must certainly join in the heat of the conflict of the left.[163] Since he[164] does not want to join above, merging in the right, he will certainly descend below by the intensity of his rage." Korah did not want this conflict to be harmonized by Moses because it was not for the sake of heaven;[165] he cared nothing about the supernal glory and denied the act of Creation.[166] As soon as Moses saw that he had denied the act of Creation and been thrust outside,[167] *Moses became very angry* (Numbers 16:15). *Moses became angry* because they had denied him the opportunity to harmonize that conflict. *Very*—because they had denied the act of Creation. Korah denied everything, [17b] above and below, as is written: *who strove against Moses and Aaron as part of Korah's band when they strove against YHVH* (ibid. 26:9), below and above.[168] So he joined what befitted him.[169]

A conflict arrayed as above, ascending, not descending, established rightly, is the conflict of Shammai and Hillel.[170] The blessed Holy One mediated between them, harmonizing them.[171] This was a conflict for the sake of heaven, so Heaven mediated the conflict, and upon this conflict the world was established.[172] This resembled the act of Creation, whereas Korah totally denied the act of Creation, disputing heaven, seeking to deny the words of Torah.[173] He certainly adhered to Hell, so there he clung.[174] This secret appears in *The Book of Adam*.[175] When *darkness*[176] aroused, it aroused intensely, thereby creating Hell, clinging to it in that conflict. As the seething fury subsided, conflict of a different type arose: a conflict of love.[177] There were two conflicts: one, beginning; one, ending. This is the way of the righteous: beginning harshly, ending gently.[178] Korah was the

beginning of the conflict: seething in wrath, he was compelled to cling to Hell. Shammai was the end of the conflict, when wrath subsides and one must arouse the conflict of love and be reconciled by heaven.

This is the mystery of: *Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, that it may separate*—the first conflict, outburst of seething fury. He[179] sought to mediate, but before the fury cooled, Hell aroused. Then *God fashioned the expanse and separated* (Genesis 1:7)[180]—arousing a conflict of passionate love, endurance of the world.[181] In accord with this mystery was the conflict of Shammai and Hillel, for Oral Torah approached Written Torah in love, together consummating existence.[182]

Separation is certainly on the left. Here separation is written: *that it may separate*, and *He separated*; and there is written: *Is it too little for you that the God of Israel has separated you from the community of Israel...?* (Numbers 16:9).[183] Similarly: *At that time YHVH separated the tribe of Levi* (Deuteronomy 10:8).[184] Separation, indeed, is solely on the second, on the left.[185] Now you might say, "Indeed, separation is on the second, so why is it associated with Levi, who is third? It should be with Simeon, who is second."[186] But although Levi is third, in Jacob's mind he was second,[187] and separation is always on the second. Everything follows the straight path perfectly.

הבדלה (*Havdalah*), Separation, as Sabbath departs, separates those who rule the weekdays from Sabbath.[188] As soon as Sabbath departs, a specter,[189] an evil officer, ascends from Hell, intent on seizing power the moment Israel recites: *Let the work of our hands prosper* (Psalms 90:17).[190] Emerging from the rung known as Sheol,[191] he desires to mingle in the seed of Israel and dominate them. But Israel takes action with myrtle and wine,[192] reciting *havdalah*, so he departs from them. As soon as they recite the blessing of separation over the cup, that specter sinks into his place in Sheol, site of Korah and his gang, as is written: *They and all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol* (Numbers 16:33). They did not descend there until Israel separated from them, as is written: *Separate yourselves from the midst of this community...!* (ibid., 21).[193]

So separation is always on the second, which is the left,[194] at the outbreak of intense fury aroused by the left in the conflict, before it subsides into calm. On it, Hell was created,[195] and then all those angels who denounce their Master above and are burned, consumed by fire;[196] and all those others who vanish, unenduring, devoured by fire.[197] Similarly Korah below,[198] entirely the same.

Let there be an expanse—Let an expanse expand, one from the other.[199]

אל (*El*), God, cluster on the right, אל גדול (*El gadol*), Great God.[200] From the midst

of the waters an expanse expanded to complete this name, אל (*El*), to merge in that expansion, one in the other, and from אל (*El*) expanded אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*.[201] The letters הי״ם (*he, yod, mem*) expanded and were transposed into lower waters, ים״ה (*yod, mem, he*). That expansion expanding on the second day is the upper waters: הי״ם (*he, yod, mem*), *this vast* הים (*ha-yam*), *sea* (Psalms 104:25). הי״ם (*He, yod, mem*) is the upper waters; the transposition of these letters, ים״ה (*yod, mem, he*), is the lower waters.[202] Once arrayed, all became one entity, this name extending to various realms.[203] The upper waters are male; the lower waters, female.[204] At first water intermingled with water,[205] until they were separated, to distinguish upper from lower: these are אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, and these are אדני (*Adonai*), Lord, upper ה (*he*) and lower ה (*he*).[206] What is written? *Elohim fashioned the expanse* (Genesis 1:7)— this expansion took this name: *Elohim*, upper waters,[207] while the lower waters [18a] are *Adonai*. Nevertheless, once male waters were completed by female waters, the name *Elohim* extended over all.[208]

Even though He separated the upper waters from the lower, the conflict did not cease until the third day[209] arrived, harmonizing the conflict, and everything settled fittingly in place. Because of this conflict, although it sustains the world, *that it was good* is not written of the second day, for the act was incomplete.[210] Upper waters and lower waters mingled, and nothing generated in the world until they were separated and distinguished, thereby generating offspring. Even so, although the separation took place on the second day, and the conflict arose then, the third day harmonized everything, for it is the name engraved with the engravings הו״ה (*he, vav, he*), harmonizing upper and lower waters: upper ה (*he*), lower ה (*he*), ו (*vav*) between them, pacifying the two sides.[211] This is the sign: the waters of the Jordan, upper waters, *rose in one heap* (Joshua 3:16), the lower waters flowed down into the sea, and Israel passed between.[212]

Five *expanses* are written here.[213] Vitality of the Worlds moves through them, conducts by them,[214] all comprising one another.[215] Were it not for this conflict, harmonized by the middle, they would not merge or be at peace with one another. There are five hundred years to which the Tree of Life clings, generating verdure and offspring for the world. All the waters of Creation, drawn and flowing from the beginning, branch beneath it, through it.[216] King David captures it all and then distributes,[217] as is written: *He distributed among all the people, the entire multitude of Israel... a cake made in a pan and a raisin cake* (2 Samuel 6:19).[218] Similarly, *You give to them, they gather* (Psalms 104:28), and *She rises while it is still night, and gives food to her household* (Proverbs 31:15).

When conflict was aroused by the potency of the left, Colonel Ember[219] glowed and flared. Out came two specters, male and female, immediately congealing with no moisture at all.[220] From them split off various maleficent

species; from here infusion of impure spirit into all those fierce specters, mystery of foreskin.[221] They were empowered by virulent species—viper and serpent—turning into one. The viper bears at seventy years, but in union all reverts to the seven years of the serpent.[222] Here lies the mystery of Hell, called by seven names.[223] The evil impulse is called by seven names.[224] From here, through countless rungs, impurity spreads through the world, all from the mystery of the left. Good and evil diverge—cultivation of the world.[225] Here is the engraved name of eighteen letters,[226] presiding over rain of favor and blessing, cultivating the world.

God said, "Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place!" (Genesis 1:9).[227]

יקוו (*Yiqqavu*), *Let* [*the waters*] *be gathered*—in קו (*qav*), a line, following a straight path.[228] For out of the mystery of the primordial point,[229] all emerges secretly, till reaching, clustering in the supernal palace.[230] From there it radiates in a straight line to the other rungs, until reaching that *one place*, which gathers all in the totality of male and female. Who is that? Vitality of the Worlds.[231] *The waters*—flowing from above, from upper ה (*he*).[232] *Under heaven*—small ו (*vav*); so, ו״ו (*vav*): one is *heaven*; the other, *under heaven*.[233] Then, *Let the dry land appear!* (ibid.)—lower ה (*he*).[234] This is revealed, the rest all concealed—so mystery of blessings revealed and concealed[235]—none but this lower one being revealed. From this one, *let it appear!*—through contemplation the concealed one is perceived.[236] *To one place*—for here is the nexus of unity of the upper world.[237]

YHVH is one and His name is one (Zechariah 14:9). Two unifications: one of the upper world, to be unified in its rungs,[238] and one of the lower world to be unified in its rungs.[239] Nexus of unity of the upper world extends till here.[240] Vitality of the Worlds is consummated there, the upper world bound in unity. So it is called *one place*. All levels and limbs[241] gather there, all unified within, completely indivisible. On no level but this are they unified; within, they are all secretly concealed in a single desire.[242] Here, on this rung, the revealed world joins the concealed.[243]

Similarly the revealed world is unified below, and this revealed world is the world of *let it appear!* (Genesis 1:9). *I saw YHVH* (Isaiah 6:1).[244] *They saw the God of Israel* (Exodus 24:10). *The presence of YHVH appeared* (Numbers 14:10). *The presence of YHVH appeared* (ibid. 17:7). *Like the appearance of the bow in the cloud on a rainy day, so was the appearance of the surrounding radiance—the appearance of the image of the presence of YHVH* (Ezekiel 1:28). This is the

mystery of: *Let the dry land appear!* (Genesis 1:9).

I have set My bow in the cloud (ibid. 9:13)—since the day the world was created.[245] On a cloudy day, [18b] when the קשת (*keshet*), rainbow, appears, *the appearance of the image of the presence of YHVH*, the left is aroused to be empowered.[246] Rachel emerges, ותקש (*va-teqash*), *and she had hard, labor* (ibid. 35:16).[247] Michael on one side, Gabriel on another, Raphael on a third—these are the colors appearing in that *image*: white, red, and green.[248] *So was the appearance of the surrounding radiance*—a radiance concealed in revolving the vision of the eye.[249] *The appearance of the image of the presence of YHVH*—colors, for the lower unity is unified in accord with the unity above.[250] יהוה יהוה אלהינו (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), *YHVH, our God, YHVH* (Deuteronomy 6:4)—colors concealed, unrevealed, banding together *to one place*, one unity above.[251] The colors of the rainbow below, uniting white, red, and green, match the concealed colors,[252] composing another unity, mystery of *His name is one* (Zechariah 14:9), "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever," the unity below.[253] The unity above is: *Hear, O Israel!* יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), *YHVH is our God, YHVH is one* (Deuteronomy 6:4). One parallels the other: six words here, six words there.[254]

יקוו (*Yiqqavu*), *Let* [*the waters*] *be gathered*—surveying by קו (*qav*), line, and measure.[255] Measure, plumb of dark brilliance,[256] as is written: *Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand?* (Isaiah 40:12).[257] This is יקוו המים (*Yiqqavu ha-mayim*), *Let the waters be aligned*. Here is the measure of the Creator of the worlds: יוד, הא, ואו, הא (*yod, he, vav, he*).[258] *Holy, holy, holy! YHVH of Hosts!* (Isaiah 6:3). *Holy, holy, holy—Let the waters be aligned*.[259] *YHVH of Hosts—to one place*, in the mystery of this name.[260] *The whole earth is full of His presence* (ibid.)—*Let the dry land appear*, engraved mystery, name of unity: כוזו במוכסז כוזו (*Kuzu be-mukhsaz kuzu*).[261]

Let the earth sprout vegetation— seed-bearing plants (Genesis 1:11).[262]

Now *Earth* generates Her powers with those waters gathered *to one place*,[263] flowing into Her in hidden secrecy, emerging within Her as supernal secrecies, sacred forces, arrayed in an array of faith by all those scions of faith by worshiping their Lord.[264] This is the mystery of: *Who makes the grass grow for the* בהמה (*behemah*), *beast, and plants for the work of humanity, to bring forth food from the earth* (Psalms 104:14). *Who makes the grass grow for the behemah*—the behemoth crouching on a thousand mountains, which grow that *grass* for her every day.[265] *Grass* is the angels ruling momentarily, created on the second day,[266] existing as food for this *behemah*, for there is fire consuming fire.[267] *And*

plants for the work of humanity. *Plants* are the אופנים (*ofanim*), whirling angels; חיות (*ḥayyot*), living creatures; and כרובים (*keruvim*), cherubs[268]—all arrayed, standing ready to be arrayed the moment that human beings come to worship their Lord in offering and prayer,[269] which is *the work of humanity*.[270] These *plants* are designated, destined for *the work of humanity*, to be fittingly arrayed and enhanced. Once they are enhanced by that *work of humanity*, nutriment and food emerge for the world, as is written: *to bring forth food from the earth*.[271] This is *seed-bearing plants*, for grass is not *seed-bearing* but rather destined for food for the holy fire,[272] whereas *plants* maintain the world. All this: *to bring forth food from the earth*. All the tending that humans provide these *plants* in that *earth* by worshiping their Lord is intended entirely to generate food and nutriment from that *earth* for this world, ensuring that humanity will be blessed from above.[273]

Fruit trees bearing fruit (Genesis 1:11)—rung upon rung, male and female.[274] As the *fruit tree* generates the potency of *bearing fruit*, similarly She generates. Who are these? Cherubs and columns. What are columns? Those ascending in the smoke of sacrifice, arrayed therein, called *columns of smoke* (Song of Songs 3:6).[275] They all abide in full array through *the work of humanity*,[276] whereas *grass* does not, for it is destined to be consumed, as is written: *Behold behemoth, whom I fashioned along with you, eating grass like an ox* (Job 40:15).

Fruit trees bearing fruit—image of male and female.[277] *The image of their face was a human face* (Ezekiel 1:10).[278] These differ from those cherubs; these are large faces, in concealed color, while כרובים (*keruvim*), cherubs, are small faces, כרביין (*ke-ravyan*), like children.[279] All images are comprised in the *human face*,[280] for it is a large face, traced with tracings, engraved with engravings of the explicit name[281] in the four directions of the world: East, West, North, and South.

Michael is inscribed on the South.[282] All faces gaze at the *human face: face of a lion, face of an ox, face of an eagle* (ibid.) *A human* is male and female, and is otherwise not called *human*.[283] From it are traced figures of *the chariots of God, myriads upon myriads*, as is written: *The chariots of God, myriads upon myriads, thousands of* שנאן (*shin'an*) (Psalms 68:18). שנאן (*Shin'an*)—totality of all those figures: שור (*shor*), *ox*; נשר (*nesher*), *eagle*; אריה (*aryeh*), *lion*; ן (final *nun*)—the *human*, [19a] an extension merging as one through the mystery of male and female.[284] All those thousands and myriads[285] emerge from this mystery: שנאן (*shin'an*). From these images, each one spreads out fittingly. These are the ones interlaced, interwoven, included in one another: *ox, eagle, lion, human*,[286] conducted by the mystery of four engraved names, ascending to be guided and to gaze.

Ox ascends to the *human face*. A name ascends, crowned and engraved in

the mystery of two colors: אל (*El*).[287] Then it turns back—is inscribed and engraved on the throne—designated to be conducted by the mystery of this name.[288]

Eagle ascends to the *human face*, to be guided and to gaze. Another name ascends, crowned and engraved in the mystery of two faces, radiant colors, ascending in the ascent of the crown above: גדול (*Gadol*), *Great*.[289] Then it turns back—is inscribed and engraved on the throne—designated to be conducted by the mystery of this name.

Lion ascends to the *human face*, to be guided and to gaze. Another name ascends, crowned and engraved in the mystery of two faces, bold colors, aligned in power: גבור (*Gibbor*), *Mighty*.[290] Then it turns back, is inscribed and engraved on the throne, designated to be conducted by the mystery of this name.

Human gazes at them all, while all ascend and gaze at him. Then they are all traced in their engravings, in this tracing, in the mystery of one name called נורא (*Nora*), *Awesome*.[291] So it is written of them: *The image of their face was a human face*. They are all comprised in this image, an image comprising them.[292] Because of this mystery, the blessed Holy One is called *the great, mighty, and awesome God* (Deuteronomy 10:17),[293] for these names are engraved above in the mystery of the supernal chariot, comprised of four letters: יהוה (*YHVH*), the name comprising all.[294]

These images are engraved, carved in the throne, a throne engraved, embroidered in them:[295] one on the right, one on the left, one in front, one behind, inscribed in the four directions of the world. The throne, ascending, is inscribed with these four images.[296] These four supernal names[297] carry this throne—a throne comprised of them—as it grasps and gathers souls, delights, and yearnings.[298] Having grasped and gathered those delights and yearnings, it descends full, like a tree full of branches in every direction, filled with fruit.[299] Once it descends, these four images emerge, traced in their tracings, engraved, radiant, sparkling, flashing, scattering seed upon the world. Then they are called *seed-bearing plants*, for they scatter seed upon the world. The *human* image emerges, embracing all images.[300] Then this verse applies: *fruit trees of every kind, bearing fruit with the seed in it upon earth* (Genesis 1:11). It emits seed only purposefully, *upon earth*.[301] *With the seed in it*. Precisely! From here we learn that one is not permitted to emit seed in vain.[302]

The *vegetation* here[303] is not *seed-bearing*, so it is undone and does not endure like those others, having no image to be traced or engraved in any image or figure at all, rather seen and unseen. All those untraced in figure and image do not endure, existing momentarily, consumed by the fire-consuming fire, then returning as before, and so on every day.[304]

The human being below has an image and figure,[305] yet does not endure in the manner above. The figure and image above[306] are drawn as they are, with no other garment to be drawn, so they endure constantly. The human figure below is drawn in a garment,[307] in no other manner, so they endure for a set time. Every single night, the spirit strips itself of that garment and ascends,[308] and the consuming fire consumes it. Later they are restored as before, figured in clothes. So they do not endure as those figures and images above, and of this is written: *New every morning* (Lamentations 3:23)—human beings who are *new* every single day.[309] [19b] What is the reason? *Immense is Your faithfulness!* (ibid.)—immense, not small.[310] *Immense is Your faithfulness!—immense*, indeed! For it can grasp all creatures of the world, absorbing them in itself, higher and lower. A place immense and vast, absorbing all, filled no further. This is the mystery: *All the rivers flow into the sea, yet the sea is not full; to the place the rivers flow, they flow back again* (Ecclesiastes 1:7).[311] They flow toward the sea, who grasps them, consumes them, and is filled no fuller. Then it pours them out as before, so they flow on.

Your faithfulness is immense, absorbing all, consuming them, filled no fuller, restoring them as before; they are *new* in the world every single day. Of this day is written: *it was good, it was good* (Genesis 1:10, 12), twice,[312] for this day united two sides, mediating the conflict.[313] It said to this side: *It was good*, and to the other side: *It was good*, reconciling them. So it includes *He said, he said*, twice.[314] Mystery of the four-letter name,[315] engraved and carved, ascending to twelve letters in four images on four sides,[316] inscribed on the holy throne. *Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights, in the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:14)— spelled deficiently: מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, for diphtheria was created for children.[317] After the radiance of primordial light was treasured away,[318] a shell was created for the kernel.[319] That shell expanded, generating another shell.[320] Emerging, she ascended and descended, arriving at the small faces.[321] She desired to cling to them, be portrayed in them, and never depart.[322] The blessed Holy One separated her from there, bringing her down below when He created Adam, so that this would be perfected in this world.[323] As soon as she saw Eve cleaving to the side of Adam, beauty above, as soon as she saw the complete image, she flew away,[324] desiring as before to cleave to the small faces. Those guardians of the gates on high did not allow her. The blessed Holy One rebuked her and cast her to the bottom of the sea, where she dwelled until Adam and his wife sinned. Then the blessed Holy One plucked her from there, and she rules over all those children—small faces of humanity—who deserve to be punished for the sins of their fathers.[325] She flies off, roaming through the world. Approaching the earthly Garden of Eden, she sees cherubs guarding the gates of the Garden, and she

dwells there by that *flaming sword* (Genesis 3:24),[326] for she emerged from the side of that *flame*.[327] As the flame revolves she flees and roams the world, finding children who deserve to be punished; she toys with them and kills them.[328] This happens in the waning of the moon, whose light diminishes;[329] this is מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, deficient.[330]

Until Cain was born, she could not cling to him.[331] Later she drew close to him and gave birth to spirits and flying demons.[332] For 130 years Adam copulated with female spirits[333] until the arrival of Na'amah,[334] whose beauty seduced *the sons of Elohim*, Uzza and Azael.[335] By them she gave birth; from her, maleficent spirits and demons spread through the world. In the night she roams; they[336] roam the world and titillate humans, causing them to spill seed accidentally. Wherever they find people sleeping alone in a house, they hover above them, grab hold of them, cling to them, seize desire from them, and bear offspring.[337] Further, they attack him with disease unawares. All this in the waning of the moon.[338]

מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*. When the moon was restored, letters were rearranged: אמרת (*imrat*), *The word of YHVH is refined; He is a shield to all who seek refuge in Him* (Psalms 18:31).[339] *He is a shield* against all those maleficent spirits and quaestors[340] who roam the world in her waning, for all those holding fast to faith in the blessed Holy One.

When King Solomon descended to the depth of the nut,[341] as is written: *I descended to the nut garden* (Song of Songs 6:11), he took the shell of a nut, contemplated all those shells, and realized that all the joy and delight of those spirits—shells of the nut—consists solely in clinging to human beings and leading them astray, as is written: *The delights of the sons of men: demon after demon* (Ecclesiastes 2:8).[342] Further, *the delights of the sons of men*, in which they indulge asleep at night, generate *demon after demon*.[343]

The blessed Holy One had to create everything in the world, arraying the world. All consists of a kernel within, with several shells covering the kernel.[344] The entire world is like this, above and below, from the head of the mystery of the primordial point[345] to the end of all rungs: all [20a] is this within that, that within this, so that one is the shell of another, which itself is the shell of another.[346]

The primordial point is inner radiance—there is no way to gauge its translucency, tenuity, or purity until an expanse expanded from it.[347] The expansion of that point became a palace, in which the point was clothed—a radiance unknowable, so intense its lucency.[348] This palace, a garment for that concealed point, is a radiance beyond measure, yet not as gossamer or translucent as the primordial point, hidden and treasured. That palace expanded an expanse: primordial light.[349] That expansion of primordial light is a garment

for the palace, which is a gossamer, translucent radiance, deeper within. From here on, this expands into this, this is clothed in this, so that this is a garment for this, and this for this. This, the kernel; this, the shell. Although a garment, it becomes the kernel of another layer.

Everything is fashioned the same way below, so that a human in this world manifests this image: kernel and shell, spirit and body.[350] All for the arrayal of the world, and so the world is.

When the moon shared a single cleaving with the sun, she was radiant.[351] As soon as she was separated from the sun and appointed over her forces, she diminished herself, diminished her light. Shells upon shells were created for concealing the kernel, all for arraying the kernel.[352] So, *Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, is spelled deficiently.[353] All this for arraying the world, as is written: *to shine upon earth* (Genesis 1:15).[354]

God made the two great lights (Genesis 1:16). *Made*—enhancement and arrayal of all, fittingly. *The two great lights*—at first in a single bond, mystery of the name complete as one: יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*),[355] though not revealed, rather in a manner concealed.[356] *Great*—for they were enhanced in name, both alike, to be called by the mystery of all: מצפץ מצפץ (*MTsPTs, MTsPTs*), supernal names of the thirteen qualities of compassion.[357] *Great*—these were enhanced, ascending, for they are supernal, from the mystery on high, ascending for the benefit of the world, so that through them worlds endure.[358]

Similarly, *the two lights*, both ascending as one, in one enhancement. The moon was uneasy with the sun, ashamed in its presence.[359] The moon said, "*Where do you pasture your sheep? Where do you let them rest at noon?* (Song of Songs 1:7).[360] How can a little lamp shine at noon?[361] *Lest I be like one enwrapped* (ibid.)—how can I abide in shame?" So she diminished herself, becoming head of those below,[362] as is written: *Go forth in the footsteps of the flock, and graze your goats* (ibid., 8). The blessed Holy One said to her, "Go, diminish yourself!" From that point on, she has light only from the sun.[363] Whereas at first they dwelled as one, evenly, later she diminished herself on all her rungs, though heading them, for a woman is enhanced only together with her husband.

The greater light (Genesis, ibid.)—יהוה (*YHVH*); *and the smaller light*—אלהים (*Elohim*), end of all rungs, end of thought.[364] At first she was inscribed above among the letters of the holy name, its fourth letter.[365] Afterward she diminished herself, to be called by the name *Elohim*. Nevertheless she ascended in all directions above in the letter ה (*he*), through the joining of letters of the holy

name.[366] Then rungs expanded on this side and that. Rungs expanding from the higher side are called *ruling the day*; rungs expanding from the lower side are called *ruling the night* (ibid.).[367] *And the stars* (ibid.)—other forces and camps, innumerable,[368] all suspended in that *expanse of heaven*, Vitality of the Worlds,[369] as is written: *God placed them in the expanse of heaven* (ibid., 17).

On this day the kingdom of David was established, fourth leg and support of the throne.[370] The letters were arrayed and aligned.[371] Yet even so, until the sixth day, when the image of Adam was fully arrayed, it did not stabilize.[372] Then the upper throne and the lower throne were established,[373] all the worlds settled in place, and all the letters were arrayed [20b] in their wheels[374] by the expanding scribal matrix of the nexus.[375]

The fourth day is a day rejected by builders, as is said: *the stone that the builders rejected* (Psalms 118:22), and similarly: *My mother's sons were incensed at me* (Song of Songs 1:6).[376] For this light diminished herself and her radiance, and shells were arrayed at their sites.[377] All those radiant lights are suspended in this *expanse of heaven*, so that in them the throne of David will be arrayed.[378] These lights depict a figure below, arraying a figure of all those included in the category *human*, an intrinsic figure.[379] Every intrinsic figure is so called, so every figure comprised in this expansion is called *human*, as is written: *You are human* (Ezekiel 34:31). *You are human*; the other nations are not.[380] Every spirit is called *human*; the body of the spirit of the holy side[381] is a garment of the *human*, and so it is written: *You clothed me in skin and flesh, wove me of bones and sinews* (Job 10:11).[382] Flesh is the garment of the *human*, as is written everywhere: *flesh of a human* (Exodus 30:32)—*human*, within; *flesh*, garment of the *human*, its body.

Specters[383] below, melted in the smelting of this spirit,[384] were figured into figures clothed in another garment, such as figures of pure animals: *ox, sheep, goat, deer, gazelle, roebuck, wild goat, ibex, antelope, and mountain sheep* (Deuteronomy 14:4–5), who desire to be interwoven in the garment of the *human*, flesh of the *human*.[385] The inner spirit of those figures attains the name applied to its body, the garment of that name. Flesh of an ox: ox is the interior of that body; its flesh, a garment; and so with them all.

Similarly on the other side, side of impurity: the spirit spreading through the other nations emerges from the side of impurity.[386] It is not *human*, and so does not attain this name. The name of that spirit is Impure, not attaining the name *human*, having no share in it. Its body is a garment of that Impure, flesh of Impure—impure within; flesh, its garment. So as long as that spirit abides in that body, it is called Impure.[387] Once the spirit emerges from that garment, it is not called Impure; that garment does not attain the name.[388]

Specters[389] below, melted in the smelting of this spirit,[390] are figured into figures clothed in another garment, such as figures of animals of impurity, of which the Torah opens: *These shall be impure for you* (Leviticus 11:29), such as the pig and the birds and animals of that side.[391] The spirit attains that name; the body is its garment and is called "flesh of pig"—pig within; flesh, its garment.

So the two sides diverge. These are comprised in the mystery of *human*; those, in the mystery of Impure. Each kind follows its own, returning to its own kind.[392]

The radiant lights above shine in that *expanse of heaven*,[393] so that figures are drawn below fittingly, as is written: *God placed them in the expanse of heaven to shine upon earth and to rule the day and the night* (Genesis 1:17–18). The reign of two lights is a fitting reign: *greater light* ruling by day; *smaller light*, by night.[394] From here derives this secret: The rule of the male by day consists in filling His house with all that is needed, bringing in food and nutriment.[395] As night enters and the female grasps all, the house is ruled solely by Her—for then the reign belongs to Her, not to the male—as is written: *She rises while it is still night, and gives food to her household and a portion to her maidens* (Proverbs 31:15)—*She*, not *He*. *Ruling the day* (Genesis 1:16) belongs to the male; *ruling the night* (ibid.), to the female.

And the stars (Genesis 1:16). Once the female commands Her household and retires with Her husband,[396] the house is ruled solely by the maidens who remain in the house to array it consummately.[397] Afterward the house returns to the rule of the male by day, all fittingly.

God made the two great lights (Genesis 1:16)—this one, a *light*; that one, a *light*.[398] So those lights ascending are called "luminaries of light,"[399] while those descending are called "luminaries of fire"—rungs below, controlling all the weekdays.[400] Therefore when Sabbath departs, a blessing is recited over a lamp, for they have been granted authority to rule.[401]

The fingers of a human being are the secret of rungs and mysteries on high,[402] including front and back.[403] The backs are outside, alluding to the fingernails, so one is [21a] permitted to gaze at the fingernails as Sabbath departs, for they shine from that lamp, from that fire, to rule.[404] These may be viewed, but the inside of the fingers may not be viewed by the light of that lamp, for they shine from above and are called "inner faces."[405] This is the mystery of: *You will see My back, but My face will not be seen* (Exodus 33:23). *You will see My back*—the outer face, alluded to by the fingernails. *But My face will not be seen*—the inside of the fingers. This rules on Sabbath; that, during the week.[406]

On the Sabbath day, the blessed Holy One rules alone through those inner faces on His throne of glory,[407] all embraced by Him; dominion belongs to Him. So He conveys rest to all the worlds, and the holy people, called "a people unique on earth,"[408] inherit the heritage of this day: luminaries of light from the side of the right,[409] primordial light prevailing on the first day.[410] On the Sabbath day those luminaries of light shine alone, ruling, and from them shine all those below. When Sabbath departs, luminaries of light are treasured away, no longer revealed, and luminaries of fire rule, each in its position. When do they rule? From the departure of Sabbath until the entrance of Sabbath.[411] So as Sabbath departs, they must be illumined by that lamp.[412]

The creatures darting to and fro (Ezekiel 1:14).[413] No eye catches them since they are *darting to and fro*. They are revealed *creatures*, within whom stands that *wheel*[414] Who is that? Metatron,[415] more grand and splendid than the other forces, 500 parasangs higher.[416] The hidden creatures[417] crouch beneath two supernal letters concealed: י״ה (*yod, he*), letters ruling over ו״ה (*vav, he*), these a chariot of those,[418] while Concealed of all Concealed,[419] totally unknown, rules over all, rides all. The revealed creatures are below, beneath these hidden supernal ones, illumined by them, moving because of them. The supernal creatures are all comprised *in the expanse of heaven*,[420] and of them is written: *Let there be lights.... Let them serve as lights in the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:14-15). They are all suspended in that *expanse of heaven*.

The expanse above the creatures[421] is the one of which is written: *An image above the heads of the creature: an expanse like awesome ice, spread out above their heads* (Ezekiel 1:22). This is primordial ה (*he*), beyond which no one can contemplate or know.[422] What is the reason? Because it is enclosed in thought.[423] The thought of the blessed Holy One is the concealed, enveloped, supernal א (*alef*);[424] no human thought in the entire world can either grasp or know it. If what is suspended in supernal thought[425] cannot be grasped by anyone, all the more so thought itself! Within thought—who can conceive an idea? Understanding fails to even pose a question, much less to know. *Ein Sof* contains no trace at all;[426] no question applies to It, nor conceiving contemplating any thought. From within concealing of the concealed, from the initial descent of *Ein Sof*,[427] radiates a tenuous radiance, unknown, concealed in tracing like the point of a needle, mystery of concealment of thought.[428] Unknown, until a radiance extends from it to a realm containing tracings of all letters, issuing from there.[429]

First of all, א (*alef*), first and last of all the rungs, a tracing traced by all the rungs,[430] yet called "One," to demonstrate that although containing many images,

it is only one. This is certainly a letter on which above and below depend. The beginning of the א (*alef*) is a single secrecy of the mystery of supernal thought.[431] The expansion of the celestial expanse is entirely concealed in that beginning, for when א (*alef*) issues from that expanse, it issues in the form of mystery of the beginning of thought. The middle of the א (*alef*) comprises six rungs, mystery of all those hidden, supernal *creatures* suspended in thought.[432]

One is the radiance that shone and was treasured away,[433] the radiance of the letter ט (*tet*) of Creation,[434] *the heat of the day*—mystery of Abraham sitting *at the opening of the tent* (Genesis 18:1), the opening from below to above, while *the heat of the day* shines on that opening, shining from there.[435]

Second, a radiance that darkens away as evening turns,[436] mystery of the prayer of Isaac to mend this rung, as is written: *Isaac went out to meditate in the field* לפנות ערב (*lifnot erev*), *as evening turned* (Genesis 24:63)—toward that *turning of the evening*.[437] Contemplation of the *evening* and all the darkness focused on him. In this *turning of the evening* Jacob was endangered by the Prince of Esau.[438]

Third, a radiance combining both of [21b] these,[439] a radiance radiant with healing, mystery written of Jacob: *The sun rose upon him as he passed Penu'el* (Genesis 32:32)[440]—indeed, once he had merged in that פנות ערב (*penot erev*), *turning of the evening*.[441] From here on, *he was limping on his thigh* (ibid.)—נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *Eternity of Israel* (1 Samuel 15:29).[442] It is written: *his thigh*; not: *his thighs*. This is the fourth rung, from which no human prophesied until Samuel arrived, and of which is written: *Moreover*, נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *the Eternal One of Israel, does not lie or change His mind* (1 Samuel 15:29).[443] Then this rung was mended, for it had been weak ever since Jacob was endangered by the Prince of Esau. *He touched the socket of his thigh* (Genesis 32:26).[444] When he reached Jacob, he seized power from that *turning of the evening* in severe Judgment.[445] Jacob had merged with it, so he could not prevail against him.[446] *When he saw that he could not prevail against him, he touched the socket of his thigh*—he seized the power of judgment from there, for the thigh is outside the torso.[447] Jacob was the torso,[448] comprising mystery of two rungs, mystery called אדם (*adam*), *human*.[449] Once he seized power outside the torso, immediately *the socket of Jacob's thigh was wrenched* (ibid.), and no human prophesied from there until Samuel arrived. So concerning נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *the Eternal One of Israel*, it is written: *For He is not human* (1 Samuel, ibid.).[450] Joshua prophesied from the הוד (*Hod*), *Splendor* of Moses, as is written: *Confer* מהודך (*me-hodekha*), *of your splendor, upon him* (Numbers 27:20).[451] This is the fifth rung, נצח (*Netsaḥ*), *Eternity*, left thigh of Jacob.[452] So David came and combined it with the right, as is written: *Delights in Your right hand* נצח (*netsaḥ*),

for eternity (Psalms 16:11)—not *Your right hand*, but *in Your right hand*.[453]

Why was Jacob's thigh weakened? Because the side of impurity[454] approached, seizing power from it, and it was delayed until Samuel. So he[455] pointed out that this is the thigh of Israel, as is written: *Moreover*, נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *the Eternal One of Israel* (1 Samuel, ibid.). So, too, all his words were stern, at the beginning and at the end.[456] Further, the blessed Holy One later merged him in הוד (*Hod*), *Splendor*. When? After he had anointed kings.[457] Thus he is equivalent to Moses and Aaron: just as Moses and Aaron occupy two sides above,[458] so does he below, like those two sides. Who are they? *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*.[459] So Samuel is equivalent to Moses and Aaron. All those rungs are linked to one another, as is written: *Moses and Aaron among His priests, Samuel among those invoking His name* (Psalms 99:6),[460] for six aspects are interlaced, interlinked. Just as these—Moses, Aaron, and Samuel—are linked, so are Jacob, Moses, and Joseph.[461] Jacob, master of the house.[462] When Jacob died, Moses took over the house, enjoining it in his lifetime.[463] Joseph was righteous through Jacob and Moses, both of whom performed in the house[464] only through Joseph because he was righteous.[465] Jacob took over the house through Joseph, as is written: *These are the generations of Jacob: Joseph* (Genesis 37:2).[466] Moses did not perform with Her until he carried Joseph—when *Shekhinah* emerged from exile,[467] he could join with Her only through Joseph, as is written: *Moses took the bones of Joseph with him* (Exodus 13:19).[468] Since it is written: *Moses took the bones of Joseph*, why *with him*? Because the body does not join the female before joining with the covenant.[469] So Moses carried Joseph with him, and being with him, he performed with the female fittingly. Thus Jacob, Moses, and Joseph go together.[470] When Jacob died, his body was brought into the Holy Land.[471] When Joseph died, his body was not buried in the Holy Land, rather his bones.[472] Moses, neither one.[473] Why? Because Jacob was first husband of the Consort.[474] When Jacob died, She joined Moses, and as long as Moses existed in this world, he enjoined Her fittingly; he was Her second husband. Jacob was brought into the land with his entire body because he is the body.[475] Joseph, his bones and not his body because bones are soldiers and companies above, all emerging from that צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One, that *Tsaddiq* called צבאות (*Tseva'ot*), Hosts.[476] Why? Because all supernal hosts and companies emerge from Him. So his bones, which are hosts, entered the land. Moses was outside and did not enter there, neither his body nor his bones. Rather, after Moses died, *Shekhinah* entered the land and returned to Her first husband from there, namely, Jacob. From here we learn that a female married to two, returns to the first in that world.[477] Moses was outside since Her first husband was in the land. Moses enjoined Her in his lifetime, something Jacob did not attain. Jacob performed with Her in that world;

Moses, in this world.

Now if you say this shows Moses' inferiority, not so![478] Rather, when Israel went forth from Egypt, it was from the aspect of Jubilee.[479] All those 600,000 were from the upper world,[480] [22a] and in that image they wandered through the desert. Not one of them entered the land, just their children, their offspring, fittingly, for they constitute the mending of the moon.[481] All the cultivation of earth was the mending of the moon.[482] Moses performed with the moon while still in the body, enjoining her as he wished. Departing from this world, he ascended in sublime ascent through his holy spirit,[483] returning by spirit to upper Jubilee, where he joined those 600,000 who were his.[484] Not so with Jacob, who returned by spirit to Sabbatical;[485] not so in his lifetime, since he had another house.[486] The Holy Land was restored below through the power above.[487] So it was not fitting for them all to be as one: those of the upper world were apart, all in spirit; those of the lower world were apart, all in body.[488] It was not fitting for both of these to be within the moon, rather these within the moon and those outside, so that those would be illumined by these.[489]

All those who entered the land resembled the originals[490] but did not experience an ascent as high. For there will never be, nor has there ever been, a generation like those originals, shown the splendid luster of their Lord face-to-face.[491]

Jacob performed with his wives in the body, later cleaving spirit to spirit.[492] Moses separated himself from his wife, performing while in the body with that Holy Spirit.[493] Later his spirit cleaved to a high, hidden spirit above.[494] So all levels cleaved as one. The spirit of Moses derives from Jubilee; his body, from Sabbatical. The spirit of Jacob, cleaving to Sabbatical; his body belonged to his wives in this world.

All those upper lights appear in their image below on earth; all are suspended in *the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:15).[495] Mystery of two names merging into one,[496] their perfection three, turning back into one, corresponding to one another.[497] This is the name inscribed and engraved, embraced by the mystery of faith.[498]

[29a] בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.[499]

We have learned: Every *Solomon* mentioned in the Song of Songs connotes the King to whom peace belongs, while *king*, anonymous, connotes the female, lower reflecting upper.[500] Mystery of the matter: lower inherits upper, both as one.[501] This is בית (*bayit*), *house*, as is written: *By wisdom a house is built* (Proverbs 24:3),[502] and similarly: *King Solomon made himself a pavilion from the*

trees of Lebanon (Song of Songs 3:9).[503] *Pavilion* is the adorning of the lower world by the upper world.[504] For before the blessed Holy One created the world, He and His name were enclosed within Him, one.[505] Nothing existed—He alone — until there arose within the will of thought[506] actualizing all by impress of the signet,[507] creating the world. He traced and built, but it did not endure[508] until He enwrapped Himself in a wrapping of contemplative radiance[509] and created the world, generating trees, supernal, grand cedars,[510] from the light, that supernal luster. He set His chariots on twenty-two engraved letters, carved in ten utterances, settling.[511] So it is written: *from the trees of Lebanon*, and similarly: *the cedars of Lebanon that He planted* (Psalms 104:16), for from these He fashioned that *pavilion*.

King Solomon made himself. Himself—for Himself; *himself*—for His arrayal; *himself*—displaying supernal splendor; *himself*—proclaiming that He is one and His name one,[512] as is said: *YHVH will be one and His name one* (Zechariah 14:9), and that He and His name are one, as is written: *They will know that You alone are Your name: YHVH* (Psalms 83:19).

By the impact of His truncheons,[513] ramparts[514] are revealed. Trickling to this side above, trickling to the right, deviating to the left, descending below, and so in four directions.[515] Dominion extends above, below, and in four directions,[516] becoming one supernal stream, flowing down, forming a vast sea,[517] as is said: *All the streams flow into the sea, yet the sea is not full* (Ecclesiastes 1:7), for it gathers all, drawing it within, as is said: *I am the rose of Sharon* (Song of Songs 2:1), *Sharon* being none other than the site drawing all waters of the world.[518] So this brings forth and that draws in, one illumining the other by well-known paths.[519] Thus, *By wisdom a house is built* (Proverbs 24:3), and so ב (*bet*), בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*: the upper house is built *by wisdom*, and the lower one, as well,[520] though the upper house is grand, cultivation of the world, while *king*, anonymous, is the lower house.

The king will rejoice in אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (Psalms 63:12). When supernal גבורה (*Gevurah*), Power, is aroused to embrace Him beneath His head, drawing Him close in joy, so that all will be one, then *the king will rejoice*,[521] the joy of a stream issuing through a single secret, hidden channel,[522] flowing into him. ב (*Bet*), two who are one, and so the world is consummated in existence. *The king will rejoice in Elohim*—the lower world rejoicing in the upper, deep world, a joy streaming forth.[523] Where does He rejoice? *In Elohim*. In Him, He rejoices; by Him, He transmits life to all.[524] He is called "life of the king."[525] This is the essence [29b] of the house.[526] This house built the house of the world, built the world.[527] The secret is: בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*— ב ראשית (*bet reshit*), two, beginning, *beginning of wisdom*.[528]

Then it gathers all into itself[529] and is transformed into a vast sea to imbibe all, a sea whose waters congeal, imbibing all waters of the world, gathering them into itself, so waters continually flow and are absorbed within. This emerges from above. The sign of this secret: *From the womb of* מי (*mi*), *whom, emerged the ice* (Job 38:29),[530] its waters congealing to draw others in. This ice, this frozen sea—its waters flow only when the power of the South reaches it, drawing it close.[531] Then the waters that were congealed on the side of the North[532] are released and flow, for on the side of the North the waters congeal, and from the side of the South they are released and flow, watering all those beasts of the field, as is said: *watering all beasts of the field* (Psalms 104:11).[533] These are called *cleft mountains* (Song of Songs 2:17), mountains of separation,[534] all of whom are watered when the side of the South begins to draw near it.[535] Then waters flow, and through this supernal energy, all streams in joy.

When thought arises in joyous desire,[536] from the Concealed of all Concealed,[537] a concealed river is drawn forth from it.[538] They approach one another on a single path unknown above or below;[539] here lies the beginning of all. ב (*Bet*), anonymous *king*, was consummated by this beginning.[540] With this energy,[541] אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, created heaven* (Genesis 1:1)—the hidden one, hidden river whose waters flow forth, created, generated a voice from within, called "voice of the shofar."[542] This is: אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, created heaven. Heaven* rules over *earth* by the life of the supernal king, as indicated by: *The son of Jesse lives on earth* (1 Samuel 20:31), for life depends on *the son of Jesse*.[543] Through that life He[544] rules over all, and earth is thereby nourished, as is written: ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth* (Genesis, ibid.)—the ו (*vav*) added to regulate the nourishment of earth;[545] את (*et*) above, the lower power comprising twenty-two letters generated by *God* for *heaven*, as is written: *the crown with which his mother crowned him on his wedding day* (Song of Songs 3:11).[546] This is: השמים את (*et ha-shamayim*), *heaven*, merging one with the other, joining them together,[547] to endure as one through that life of the king, the anonymous king,[548] so that *heaven* thereby is nourished. ואת הארץ (*Ve-et ha-arets*), *And earth*—union of male and female,[549] graved in traced letters, and the life of the king drawn from the world above to *heaven*, sustaining *earth* and all her habitants.[550]

The mystery of supreme אלהים (*Elohim*)[551] fashioned *heaven* and *earth* to endure, generating them as one by supreme energy, beginning of all.[552] Similarly the supreme mystery descended, and the final one fashioned *heaven* and *earth* below.[553] The mystery of all: ב (*bet*). Both of them are worlds,[554] which created worlds, this one an upper world, this one a lower world, one corresponding to the other; this one *heaven* and *earth*, this one *heaven* and *earth*.[555] So, ב (*bet*): there are two worlds, one generating two worlds, the other generating two

worlds, all through the energy of supernal ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*.[556] Above descended below,[557] who was filled by way of a certain rung resting upon Her,[558] corresponding to that secret, hidden path, concealed above,[559] though one is a narrow path and one is a way. The one below is a way, as is said: *The way of the righteous is like gleaming light* (Proverbs 4:18),[560] while the one above is a path, as is written: *a path unknown to any vulture* (Job 28:7). The mystery of all is: *who makes a way through the sea and a path through raging waters* (Isaiah 43:16). Similarly it is written: *Your way is through the sea, Your path through mighty waters* (Psalms 77:20).[561]

When the world above was filled and impregnated, like a female impregnated by a male, it generated two children as one, male and female, who are *heaven* and *earth*, as above.[562] *Earth* is nourished by the waters of *heaven*,[563] released into her, though the upper are male and the lower female,[564] the lower nourished by the male. The lower waters call to the upper, like a female opening to the male, pouring out water toward the water of the male to form seed.[565] The female is nourished by the male, as is written: ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, with the additional ו (*vav*), as mentioned.[566]

It is written: *Lift your eyes on high and see: Who created these?* (Isaiah 40:26). Letters were engraved [30a] in actualizing all, in actualizing above and below.[567] Subsequently letters were traced and inscribed in Scripture. ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*; א (*alef*): את (*et*).[568] ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*, indeed, as explained.[569] ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*, indeed, by supreme energy.[570] ב (*Bet*), female; א (*alef*), male.[571] As ב (*bet*) *created*, so א (*alef*) generated letters, totality of twenty-two letters.[572] ה (*He*) generated שמים (*shamayim*), *heaven*: השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heaven*, enlivening it, embedding it.[573] ו (*Vav*) generated הארץ (*ha-arets*), *earth*, to nourish her, array her, provide her the gratification she deserves.[574] ואת הארץ (*Ve-et ha-arets*), *And earth*, for ו (*vav*) takes את (*et*), totality of twenty-two letters, and *earth* is nourished, absorbing them within, as is said: *All the rivers flow into the sea* (Ecclesiastes 1:7).[575] This is the mystery of: ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, union of male and female.[576] All is gathered to the female, who absorbs them. *Earth* received ואת (*ve-et*), absorbing them as nourishment.

The impact of a word[577] is discovered in its cudgels.[578] The fortress of vapor is discovered on earth.[579]

When flashing fire flows, aroused on the left, it seizes Her and smoke ascends, as is said: *Mount Sinai was all in smoke, for YHVH had descended upon it in fire* (Exodus 19:18)—this is fire, this is smoke.[580] And it is written: *the mountain smoking* (Exodus 20:15). For as fire descends, they cling to each other:

smoke and fire. So all endures on the side of the left.[581] This is the mystery of: *My own hand founded earth, My right hand spread out heaven* (Isaiah 48:13), by the power of the right above.[582] In this manner *heaven* was fashioned, for He is male, and the male emerges from the side of the right, while the female emerges from the side of the left,[583] as is written: *My own hand founded earth*.

Lift your eyes on high and see: Who created these? (Isaiah 40:26). Words extend till here; beyond, one does not inquire.[584] For Wisdom was consummated by Nothingness[585] and is insusceptible to questioning, for it is concealed deep; no one fathoms it. Once a deep river emanates,[586] it becomes susceptible to question, though concealed from everything below,[587] and in accord with questioning is called מי (*Mi*), Who.[588] מי (*Mi*), *Who, created these*.[589] This is the secret of which we have spoken: *From the womb of מי* (*mi*), *whom, emerged the ice* (Job 38:29) —*the womb of mi*, indeed:[590] the one susceptible to question— though one does not ask, "What is above?" "What is below?"[591]—seeking rather the site of their issuance,[592] knowing yet not knowing it,[593] for we cannot. Susceptible to questioning, not knowing.

ב׳ בראשית: ראשית (*Be-reshit: bet reshit*), *bet*, *beginning*.[594] Is ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, an utterance, or should we say that בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, is an utterance?[595] As long as its energy has not emerged and expanded, all concealed within, it is בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, an utterance.[596] Once potencies emerge and expand, it is called ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, an utterance of its own.

מי (*Mi*), *Who*, a question, the one who created אלה (*elleh*), *these*.[597] Afterward, once it expanded and consummated itself, it became ים (*yam*), ocean,[598] creating below, fashioning everything exactly as above, one corresponding to the other, reflecting one another, both of them ב (*bet*).[599]

It is written: *While the king was reclining* (Song of Songs 1:12).[600] *Reclining* — settling with the lower kingdom in the mystery of that intimacy of delight in Eden above,[601] by that hidden, concealed, unknown path by which He is filled, issuing in well-known streams.[602] *My spikenard spread its fragrance*—the lower king who created a world below resembling the one above.[603] A redolent, supreme fragrance ascends to preside and perform, enduring, prevailing, sparkling with transcendent light.[604]

The world was created in two modes, by the right and by the left, by six transcendent days.[605] Six days were fashioned to radiate, as is said: *Six days YHVH made, heaven and earth* (Exodus 31:17).[606] These dug pathways and drilled sixty holes into the immense abyss—hollows conducting the water of streams into the abyss.[607] So we have learned: "The hollows were formed from the six days of Creation,"[608] constituting peace for the world.

The earth was תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2)—dregs of an inkwell in seepage.[609] For at first it existed but did not endure: *was* already,[610] later enduring. In forty-two letters the world was engraved and endured, all of them crowning the holy name.[611] As they permutate, letters ascend [30b] and descend, crowning themselves in the four directions of the world, so the world may endure, while these endure through the doings of the world.[612] Scribal patterns of impress appear here by the seal of the signet.[613] They entered and emerged, letter by letter, and the world was created. They entered the seal, permutated, and the world endured by the cudgels of the mighty serpent.[614] They struck and penetrated chasms of dust 1500 cubits.[615] Then the immense abyss ascended in darkness, and darkness covered all, until light emanated, split the darkness, and radiated, as is written: *Revealing depths out of darkness, bringing pitch-blackness to light* (Job 12:22).[616] Water was measured by the handful,[617] 1500 by fingers dripping thrice into the balance,[618] half for sustenance, half entering below, these rising, these falling. Once they rise by the handful, the balance stands even, inclining neither right nor left, as is written: *Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand...?* (Isaiah 40:12).[619] All was within Earth, concealed and unrevealed.[620] Energy, power, and water congealed within Her, neither flowing nor expanding until a light from above shone upon Her. The light struck sponginess,[621] and Her energy was released, as is written: *God said, "Let there be light!" And there was light* (Genesis 1:3)—primordial, transcendent light, already existent.[622] From here issued all powers and forces, so Earth turned firm and fragrant,[623] generating Her potencies. As the light shone, its radiance blazed from one end of the universe to the other. When it gazed upon the wicked of the world, it hid itself away, emerging only by its paths, concealed, unrevealed.[624]

God saw that the light כי טוב (*ki tov*), *was good* (Genesis 1:4). We have learned: Every dream enjoying the status of כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that it was good*, fosters peace above and below.[625] One sees letters corresponding to his ways, every single one.[626] If he sees ט (*tet*)—טב (*tav*), *good* for him, *good* for his dream,[627] for the Torah inaugurated it with כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that it was good*,[628] radiating from one end of the universe to the other. ט (*Tet*)—טב (*tav*), *good*, consummate radiance. ט (*Tet*), ninth of all,[629] a letter radiating from Primordial One above, contained within,[630] coming to be in the secrecy of the point, mystery of י (*yod*), singular point.[631] From its energy emerged ו (*vav*), whereby heaven came into being.[632] When it culminated in a single point and was hidden within a letter, ב (*bet*) glowed.[633] From it emerged above and below—above, concealed; below, revealed

—in the mystery of two,[634] existing by the energy above. This is טוב (*tov*), *good*. These three letters, ט״ו ב (*tet, vav, bet*), later merged into the Righteous One of the world, who embraces all, above and below, as is said: *Say of the righteous one* כ ט״ו ב (*ki tov*), *that he is good* (Isaiah 3:10),[635] for a supernal radiance is contained within him,[636] as is written: *YHVH is* טוב (*tov*), *good, to all* (Psalms 145:9)—*to all*, unspecified, illuminating one day illumining all, supreme above all.[637] Until here, obscurity of words.[638]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning God created* (Genesis 1:1)—mystery of: ראשית (*Reshit*), *At the beginning of, your baking, offer a loaf as a gift* (Numbers 15:20).[639] ב (*Bet*) is ביתא (*beita*), house, of the world[640]—watered by that river entering it, the mystery written: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (Genesis 2:10).[641] This river gathers all from the high depth,[642] its waters never ceasing to saturate the garden. That high depth, initial ב (*bet*)—letters are sealed inside it by a single narrow path hidden within.[643] Out of that depth emerged two forces,[644] as is written: את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*), *the heavens* (Genesis 1:1). Not שמים (*shamayim*), *heavens*, but השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*, from that depth, a mystery utterly concealed.[645] *And the earth* (ibid.)—the concealed one generated this *earth*, but included with *heaven*, emerging together, cleaving side by side.[646] When the *beginning* of all was illumined, *heaven* carried Her and set Her in Her site,[647] as is written: ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and the earth*—ו (*vav*) and totality of letters.[648] When She turned to dwell in Her place, separating [31a] from His side, She was confounded and bewildered,[649] yearning to cleave to *heaven* as one, as before, for She saw *heaven* beaming and Herself darkened.[650] But then a transcendent light shone upon Her, illumining Her, and She returned to Her place, gazing at *heaven* face-to-face.[651] So *earth* was mended, rendered firm and fragrant.[652]

Light radiated on the right side, darkness on the left.[653] He then separated them, so they would merge, as is written: *God separated the light from the darkness* (Genesis 1:4). Now if you say an actual separation—no; rather, *Day* came from the side of light, which is right, and *Night* from the side of darkness, which is left,[654] and when they emerged as one, He separated them, dividing them along their sides, so they could gaze face-to-face, cleaving to one another, all becoming one. He is called *Day*—He named him *Day*[655]—and She is called *Night*, as is written: *and the darkness He called Night* (Genesis 1:5),[656] for *darkness* seizes Her; She has no light of Her own.[657] Though deriving from the side of fire, which is *darkness*, still She is dark until illumined from the side of *Day*.[658] *Day* illumines *Night*, but *Night* does not shine until the time of which is

written: *Night will shine as day; darkness and light will be the same* (Psalms 139:12).[659]

Rabbi El'azar jumped in first,[660] expounding: "*The voice of YHVH is over the waters: the God of glory thunders, YHVH over mighty waters* (Psalms 29:3). *The voice of YHVH*—the supernal *voice* appointed over *the waters* flowing from rung to rung until they gather at one site, in one throng.[661] That supernal *voice* conducts the *waters* in their courses, each in its own way, like a gardener appointed over water to conduct it to each site fittingly. So *the voice of YHVH* is appointed *over the waters*.

"*The God of glory thunders*, as is said: *Who can contemplate the thunder of His might?* (Job 26:14). This is the side extending from *Might*,[662] emerging therefrom.

"Alternatively, *The God of glory thunders*—the right, from which left emerges.[663]

"*YHVH over mighty waters*—transcendent Wisdom, who stands *over mighty waters*—over that concealed depth emerging therefrom, as is said: *Your path through mighty waters* (Psalms 77:20)."[664]

Rabbi Shim'on resolved the conflict,[665] opening with a verse: "It is written, *Next to the enclosure are the rings to be, as housings for the poles* (Exodus 25:27).[666] Who is that *enclosure*? A closed site, opened only by a single narrow path, intimated secretly.[667] Thereby it is filled, and traces gates to kindle lamps.[668] Because it is a site hidden and concealed, it is called *enclosure*; this is the world that is coming.[669]

"*Are the rings to be*—supernal rings linked to one another, water from air, air from fire, fire from water, all linked to each other, emerging from one another, like rings.[670] They all gaze at that *enclosure*, into which merges the supernal river to water them,[671] and they merge in it.

"*Housings for the poles*—these supernal rings are *housings* designated *for the poles*, the chariots below,[672] for one derives from the side of fire, one from the side of water, one from the side of air, and so with them all, constituting a chariot for the ark.[673] So whoever approaches should approach these *poles*, not what lies within.[674] As we say to the Nazarite, 'Go around, around! Do not come near the vineyard!'[675] Except for those worthy of serving within, privileged to enter and draw near. Of this is written: *An outsider who comes near shall be put to death* (Numbers 1:51)."

Rabbi Yose asked him, "These six days of Creation (בראשית [*Be-reshit*], *In the beginning*) that we study, who are they?"

He replied, "The same as is written: *The cedars of Lebanon that He planted* (Psalms 104:16). As these *cedars* emerge from *Lebanon*, so those six days emerge from בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning* (Genesis 1:1).[676] Scripture designates these six supernal days explicitly, as is written: *Yours, YHVH, are* גדולה (*gedullah*), *greatness*; גבורה (*gevurah*), *power*; [תפארת (*tif'eret*), *beauty*; נצח (*netsaḥ*), *victory*;הוד (*hod*), *splendor—yes, all...*] (1 Chronicles 29:11).[677] [31b] So בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*—ב ראשית (*Bet, reshit*), 'two, *beginning*,' for though second by count, it is called *beginning*. For the supernal, concealed Crown is first, but since it is not included in the count, the second is *beginning*. So: ב ראשית (*Bet, reshit*), 'two, *beginning*.'[678]

"ברא (*Bara*), *Created* (Genesis, ibid.)—as is written: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (ibid. 2:10), to water and maintain it, attending to all its needs.[679]

"אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (ibid. 1:1)—אלהים חיים (*Elohim ḥayyim*), *Living God*.[680] So the meaning of בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *In the beginning God created*, is certainly: By means of that river, generating, saturating all.[681]

"את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *heaven* (ibid.)—the expansion of the river, expanding and gushing after being generated by *beginning*.[682] Once this generated all, and all settled in its site as one, the last link became a *beginning*.[683] Through this *beginning* it channeled the river, pouring water to flow below.[684]

"So, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *By means of beginning*, indeed, *God created*—by it He created the lower world, by it He radiated lights, by it He energized everything."[685]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Concerning this is written: *Should the axe boast over him who hews with it?* (Isaiah 10:15). To whom does praise belong—not to the craftsman? Similarly, with this ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, the transcendent *God created heaven*. To whom does praise belong? To *God*."

Rabbi Yose said, "It is written: *To whom* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, are close* (Deuteronomy 4:7). *Are close?* The verse should read: *is close*. However, transcendent *Elohim, Elohim* of *the fear of Isaac*, final *Elohim*; therefore, *are close*.[686] Many powers emerge from one, all being one."

God said, "Let there be light!" (Genesis 1:3). This is the light that the blessed Holy One created at first.[687] It is the light of the eye.[688] This is the light that the blessed Holy One showed Adam, who gazed with it from one end of the universe to the other.[689] It is the light that the blessed Holy One showed David,

who praised it, declaring: *How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You!* (Psalms 31:20). This is the light that the blessed Holy One showed Moses; by it he saw from Gilead to Dan.[690]

When the blessed Holy One saw that three wicked generations would arise —the generation of Enosh, the generation of the Flood, and the generation of Dispersion—He hid it away to prevent them from using it.[691] The blessed Holy One gave it to Moses, who used it for the three remaining months of his gestation, as is said: *She hid him for three months* (Exodus 2:2).[692] When three months later he was brought before Pharaoh,[693] the blessed Holy One took it away from him, until he stood upon Mount Sinai to receive the Torah, when He restored that light to him. He wielded it[694] all his days, and the Children of Israel could not approach him until he placed a veil over his face, as is said: *They were afraid to come near him* (Exodus 34:30).[695] He enwrapped Himself in it as in a *tallit*, as is written: *He wraps in light as in a garment* (Psalms 104:2).[696]

"Let there be light!" And there was light (Genesis, ibid.). Every subject of the phrase *and there was* exists in this world and in the world that is coming.[697]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "The light created by the blessed Holy One in the act of Creation flared from one end of the universe to the other, and was hidden away. Why was it hidden away? So the wicked of the world would not enjoy it, nor the worlds enjoy it because of them.[698] It is preserved for the righteous— for the righteous, precisely, [32a] as is written: *Light is sown for the righteous, joy for the upright in heart* (Psalms 97:11).[699] Then the worlds will be fragrant and all will be one. But until the day when the world that is coming arrives, it is preserved, treasured away.

"That light radiated from the midst of darkness hewn by truncheons of the Concealed of All,[700] until a single secret path[701] was carved by the hidden light, leading to darkness below, where light dwells. Who is darkness below? The one called *Night*, of whom is written: *And the darkness He called Night* (Genesis 1:5).[702] So we have learned: *Revealing depths out of darkness* (Job 12:22)."[703]

Rabbi Yose said, "If you say they are revealed from sealed *darkness*,[704] we can see they are concealed—all those supernal crowns—[705] and we call them *depths*. Why, then, *revealing?*[706] Because all those supernal concealments are revealed only from the *darkness* abiding in the mystery of *Night*.[707]

"Come and see: All those concealed depths emerging from thought, conveyed by the voice, are not revealed until the word reveals them.[708] Who is the word? Speech. This speech is called Sabbath,[709] and because Sabbath is called Speech, mundane speech is forbidden on Sabbath, for this speech must prevail,

no other.[710] This speech deriving from the side of *darkness*[711] *reveals depths*."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "If so, what is the meaning of the verse: *God separated the light from the darkness* (Genesis 1:4)?"

He replied, "*Light* generated day, *darkness* generated night.[712] Afterward He joined them together and they became one, as is written: *There was evening, there was morning: day one* (ibid. 1:5), for night and day are called *one*.[713] As to what is written: *God separated the light from the darkness*, this pertains to the time of exile, when division prevails."[714]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Until now the male was in *light*; now the female is in *darkness*, reflecting its light.[715] Later they join together, becoming one. How are they differentiated, distinguishing light from dark? Rungs differentiate, yet both are as one, for there is no light without darkness, no darkness without light.[716] Though one, they diverge in color;[717] even so, they are one, as is written: *day one*."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Through a covenant the world was created and established, as is written: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth* (Jeremiah 33:25).[718] Who is *Covenant*? צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One.[719] So the world endures by *Covenant, day and night* together,[720] as is written: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth—the allowance of heaven and earth*, flowing forth from Eden."[721]

He opened, saying, "*From the voice of* מחצצים (*meḥatsatsim*), *dividers, between the water drawers—there they will chant the righteous acts of* YHVH, *His righteous deliverance of Israel. Then the people of* YHVH *descended to the gates* (Judges 5:11). *From the voice of* מחצצים (*meḥatsatsim*), *dividers*—the voice of Jacob. מחצצים (*Meḥatsatsim*), *Dividers*, as is said: *Man of the space between* (1 Samuel 17:4).[722] *Between the water drawers*, for He dwells between those drawing water from above and receives on two sides, blending them within Himself.[723]

"*There they will chant the righteous acts of* YHVH—there is the site of faith cleaving.[724] *There the righteous acts of* YHVH *will chant*—there *the righteous acts of* YHVH suck, imbibe.[725]

"*His righteous deliverance*—Righteous One of the world, Holy Covenant, drawing, conveying all, delivering, dispersing supernal water into the vast ocean.[726]

"*Of Israel*—for *Israel* inherited this covenant, the blessed Holy One conveying it to them eternally.[727] When Israel abandoned it by not פרעין (*pare'in*),

uncovering—cutting and not uncovering[728]—what is written? *Then the people of YHVH descended to the gates—gates of righteousness*. They sat by the gates but did not enter.[729] Of that time [32b] is written: *The Children of Israel forsook YHVH* (Judges 2:12),[730] until Deborah appeared, inspiring them to offer themselves for this, as is written: בפרוע פרעות (*Biphro'a pera'ot*), *When uncoverings are uncovered, in Israel; when the people willingly offer themselves* (ibid. 5:2).[731] So it is written: *Deliverance ceased, ceased in Israel* (ibid., 7). *Deliverance—His deliverance* (ibid., 11), of which we spoke. *Deliverance ceased*—the holy covenant, for they failed to uncover.[732] *Until I, Deborah, arose; I arose, mother in Israel* (ibid., 7). What is the meaning of *mother*? 'I channeled supernal water from above, sustaining worlds.'[733] *In Israel*—unspecified, above and below, showing that the world is erected only on this covenant.[734] Mystery of all: *The righteous one is the foundation of the world* (Proverbs 10:25).[735]

"Three emerge from one; one stands in three, enters between two; two suckle one, one suckles many sides,[736] so all is one, as is written: *There was evening, there was morning: day one* (Genesis 1:5), a *day* embracing *evening* and *morning* as *one*, namely, the mystery of *covenant with day and night*, in which all is one."[737]

God said, "Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it separate water from water" (Genesis 1:6). Rabbi Yehudah said, "There are seven expanses above, all abiding in supernal holiness,[738] and through them the holy name is consummated.[739] This *expanse* lies in the middle of the waters,[740] above other creatures,[741] separating upper waters from lower waters. The lower waters call to the upper and imbibe them through this *expanse* separating them,[742] for all those waters merge in it, and then it sheds them upon these creatures, drawing from there.

"It is written: *A locked garden is my sister, bride; a locked fountain, a sealed spring* (Song of Songs 4:12). *A locked garden*, for within all is enclosed, all is embraced.[743] *A locked fountain*, for that river gushes, flows, and enters it, and it absorbs without releasing, the water congealing within.[744] Why is this? Because the north wind blows on those waters and they congeal, unable to flow out, eventually turning into ice.[745] Were it not for the wind from the side of the South whose power smashes this ice,[746] the waters would never flow. The appearance of that supernal *expanse* is like this ice congealing, gathering all those waters within.[747] Similarly, that supernal one above gathers all those waters and separates upper from lower.

"As to what we said: *Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters*,

meaning ‘in the middle,’ it is not so! Rather, it is written: *Let there be*—the one emerging from it lies in the middle of the waters, while it lies above, resting on the heads of the creatures.”[748]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, “There is a membrane in the midst of the innards of the human body, partitioning below and above, drawing from above, issuing below.[749] Similarly the *expanse* is in the middle, resting upon those creatures below, separating upper from lower waters.

“Come and see: Those waters conceived and bore darkness.[750] Concerning this mystery it is written: *The curtain will serve you as a partition between the Holy and the Holy of Holies* (Exodus 26:33).”[751]

Rabbi Abba opened, “*Setting the rafters of His lofts in the waters, making the clouds His chariot, walking on the wings of the wind* (Psalms 104:3). *In the waters*—the uppermost waters, by which He established the house, as is said: *By wisdom a house is built, by understanding established* (Proverbs 24:3).[752]

“*Making* עבים (*avim*), *the clouds, His chariot*. Rabbi Yeisa Sava divides עבים (*avim*) into עב ים (*av yam*), cloud, sea—a cloud that is darkness on the left abiding above this sea.[753]

“*Walking on the wings of the wind*—spirit of the supernal sanctuary,[754] mystery of *two cherubim of gold* (Exodus 25:18).[755] It is written: *He rode upon a cherub and flew, gliding on the wings of the wind* (Psalms 18:11). *He rode upon a cherub*—one; afterward He manifested *on the wings of the wind*. Until this aroused, He did not manifest on that.”[756]

Rabbi Yose said, “It is written: *He meted the waters by measure* (Job 28:25) — literally, *in measure*,[757] arraying them as they arrived in Her for the harmony of the world, as they arrived from the side of *Gevurah*.”[758]

Rabbi Abba said, “When the ancients arrived at this site, they would say: ‘The lips of the wise move but they say nothing lest they be punished.’”[759]

Rabbi El’azar said, “First letter of all[760] flitted on the surface of pure vapor,[761] was crowned below and above, ascended [33a] and descended. Waters carved in carvings settle in their sites, merging in one another.[762] So all the letters combine with each other, crown one another until a structure is soundly constructed.[763] Once all were constructed and crowned, upper waters mingled with lower, generating the house of the world.[764] So ב (*bet*) appears at the beginning.[765] Waters ascend and descend until this *expanse* comes to be, separating them. Division occurred on the second, on which Hell was created,[766] a blazing fire—as is said: *He is a consuming fire* (Deuteronomy 4:24)—destined to rain upon the heads of the wicked.”

Rabbi Yehudah said, "From here we learn that every division of opinion for the sake of heaven is destined to endure,[767] for here is a division for the sake of heaven, and through it heaven endured, as is written: *God called the expanse Heaven* (Genesis 1:8).[768]

"In a waterskin of lofts they appear by the pint and endure.[769] For we have learned that it is written: *The curtain shall serve you as a partition between the Holy and the Holy of Holies* (Exodus 26:33), precisely, for this is an *expanse* dividing in the middle.[770]

"Come and see what is written next: *Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place* (Genesis 1:9)[771]—*under heaven*, literally![772] *To one place*—to a place called *One*, namely, the lower sea, completing *One*, without whom He is not called *One*.[773] *Let them be gathered* means that there all those waters converge, as is said: *All the rivers flow into the sea* (Ecclesiastes 1:7)."[774]

Rabbi Yeisa said, "*To one place*—the place of which is written: *My covenant of peace will not be shaken* (Isaiah 54:10), for He carries all and casts it into the sea.[775] By Him Earth is arrayed, as is written: *Let the dry land appear* (Genesis, ibid.)—Earth, as is said: *God called the dry land Earth* (ibid., 10).[776]

"Why is it called *dry land*?"[777]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "This corresponds to what is written: לחם עוני (*leḥem oni*), *bread of affliction* (Deuteronomy 16:3), spelled: לחם עני (*leḥem ani*), *impoverished bread*.[778] Since it is *impoverished bread*, it is called *dry land*, though it absorbs all the waters of the world. She remains *dry* until this *place* fills Her; then water streams through those springs.[779]

"*And the gathering of waters He called Seas* (Genesis, ibid.)—house of convergence above, where all waters converge, whence they flow and gush."[780]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "*The gathering of waters* is the Righteous One,[781] for when the text reaches *the gathering of waters*, it is written: *God saw that it was good* (ibid.), and it is similarly written: *Say of the righteous one that he is good* (Isaiah 3:10).[782] So, too, the primordial light is called *good*,[783] and on all of them is written: *that it was good*, except for the second day, of which *good* is not written.[784]

Rabbi Yose said, "This מקוה (*miqveh*), *gathering*, is Israel, as is written: מקוה ישראל (*Miqveh Yisra'el*), *Hope of Israel—YHVH* (Jeremiah 17:13)."[785]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "It is the Righteous One, corresponding to what is written: *He called Seas* (Genesis, ibid.), for He conveys all springs, streams, and rivers;[786] He is the source of all, conveying all. So, *Seas*, and therefore: *God saw that it was good* (ibid.), and similarly: *Say of the righteous one that he is good* (Isaiah, ibid.). Since He is distinguished, the first day is separated from the third, and between them *that it was good* is not declared.[787] For on the third day Earth

generated verdure from the power of this Righteous One, as is written: *God said, 'Let the earth sprout vegetation, seed-bearing plant, fruit tree'* (Genesis 1:11).[788] What is *fruit tree?* The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, who generates fruit.[789] *Bearing fruit*—the Righteous One.[790] *Of its kind*—for every human being endowed with a holy spirit, fruit of that tree, is signed with an insignia *of its kind*.[791] What is that? Covenant of holiness, covenant of peace.[792] Scions of faith are found, each *of its kind*, on the tree, not parting from it.[793] The Righteous One *bears fruit*, and the tree conceives, generating fruit *of its kind*, of the kind of that one *bearing fruit*, resembling Him.[794] Happy is the share of the one who resembles his mother and father! Therefore the holy insignia on the eighth day, so that he resemble his mother, and when the insignia is uncovered and revealed, he resembles his father.[795] So *fruit tree* is mother; *bearing fruit*, his father; *of its kind*, resembling him, marked by him.

"*With its seed in it on earth* (ibid.). זרעו (*Zar'o*), *Its seed, in it*. The verse should read: זרע (*zera*), *seed, in it*.[796] Why זרעו (zar'o), *its seed, in it*? So that the word may be read זרע ו׳ (*zera vav*), *the seed of* ו (*vav*), *in it on earth*. So it is indeed, for He pours that seed on Earth.[797]

"Happy is the share of Israel, for they are holy, resembling holy ones. Certainly of this is written: *Your people, all of them righteous* (Isaiah 60:21)—*all of them righteous*, indeed, for they emerged from these and resemble them. Happy are they in this world and in the world that is coming!"[798]

[33b] Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "It is written: *He makes Earth by His power* (Jeremiah 10:12). Why *makes Earth*? The verse should read: *made Earth*. But indeed, *makes*, continuously! The blessed Holy One illumines and arrays this Earth.[799] *By His power*—the Righteous One.[800]

"*He establishes the world by His wisdom* (ibid.). *The world* is the earth below.[801] *By His wisdom*—Righteousness, as is written: *He will judge the world with righteousness* (Psalms 9:9).[802]

"*He makes Earth*—the blessed Holy One, who arrays Earth and its pathways. How? *By His power*, as we have explained."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "In *The Engraved Letters of Rabbi El'azar*[803] are clusters of letters, twenty-two clustered as one, two letters, one ascending, one descending—the descending, ascending; the ascending, descending—the sign being: אך בך אל (*Akh bakh el*), *Surely God is in you* (Isaiah 45:14)."[804]

Rabbi Yose said, "The lip of the balance stands in the middle.[805] The sign: *In measuring or* משקל (*mishqal*), *weighing* (Leviticus 19:35).[806] *Mishqal*, *Weighing*—tongue standing in the middle, mystery of שקל הקדש (*sheqel ha-qodesh*), *the weight of holiness* (Exodus 30:13), from which scales are suspended and balanced.[807] Who are the scales? As is said: *Scales of justice* (Leviticus, ibid.), all suspended

in the balance, *sheqel of holiness*."[808]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "*Sheqel of holiness*—spirit of holiness."[809]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "It is written: *By the word of YHVH the heavens were made, by the breath of His mouth all their host* (Psalms 33:6). *By the word of YHVH the heavens were made*—the heavens below, fashioned *by the word of* the heavens above through a breath generating a voice reaching that river flowing forth, whose waters never cease.[810] *By the breath of His mouth all their host*—all those below endure *by the breath*, namely, *the word*.

"*Watering mountains from His lofts; from the fruit of Your work, Earth is sated* (ibid. 104:13). This is well known. *Watering mountains from His lofts*. Who are *His lofts? As* we have explained, for it is written: *Setting the rafters of His lofts in the waters* (ibid., 3).[811] *From the fruit of Your work, Earth is sated*—mystery of that river flowing forth below, as is written: *bearing fruit with its seed in it...* (Genesis 1:11), as explained."[812]

Let there be מארת (*me'orot*), *lights, in the expanse of heaven....* (Genesis 1:14). *Let there be* מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, spelled deficiently.[813]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "מארת (*Me'erat*), *Curse*, for there abides the rigor of the seepage of judgment."[814]

Rabbi Yose said, "*Let there be* מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, below, for diphtheria in the world's children depends upon her,[815] and she depends upon this מארת (*me'orot*), smallest of all the lights, sometimes darkened, receiving no light.[816]

"*In the expanse of heaven*—the expanse that is the sum of them all, for it receives all lights and illumines the light that does not shine because that מארה (*me'erah*), curse, clung to it.[817] All those other species below depend upon it because of the diminution of the light."[818]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Even this expanse that does not shine is called *expanse of heaven*, and similarly Kingdom of Heaven, Land of Israel.[819] This expanse derives from Heaven. So, *Let there be* מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, missing the ו (*vav*).[820] Why? Because without ו (*vav*) death appears in the world.[821] *Let there be* מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*—everything depends upon this, including Lilith in the world.[822] It is written: *Small and great alike are there* (Job 3:19), and similarly: *There YHVH shall be majestic for us* (Isaiah 33:21), and so: *There Lilith shall repose and find herself a resting place* (ibid. 34:14)."[823]

Rabbi El'azar said, "*Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*)—a speculum that does not shine on its own[824] but like a lantern absorbing light and glowing.

"It is written: *Behold the ark of the covenant, Lord of all the earth* (Joshua 3:11). *Behold the ark*—מארת (*me'orot*);[825] *the ark*—the chest containing Written

Torah.[826] *The covenant*—the sun illumining Her, to illumine the world.[827] *The ark of the covenant*—precisely, *Lord of all the earth. The covenant* is *Lord of all the earth*, so this *ark* is *Lord* because of the sun illumining it, illumining the whole world.[828] [34a] From Him this *ark* takes its name, being called in the mystery of אל״ף, דל״ת, נו״ן, יו״ד (*alef, dalet, nun, yod*).[829] As we say: 'Righteous One and Righteousness,'[830] and similarly: אדון (*Adon*), *Lord*; אדני (*Adonai*), one dependent on the other.

"Come and see: Stars and constellations endure through a covenant, which is indeed *the expanse of heaven* (Genesis, ibid., 15), in which stars and constellations are traced and engraved, in which they are suspended to shine."[831]

Rabbi Yeisa Sava used to say: "*Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), suspended *in the expanse of heaven*—the moon.[832] Once it is written: *Let them be for* מאורת (*me'orot*), *lights* (ibid.)—behold, the sun....[833] *For seasons* (ibid., 14),[834] because times, festivals, months, and Sabbaths depend upon them. All through the supernal, primordial act, linked with His holy name.[835] He is all.

"There are seven planets corresponding to seven heavens, all of them conducting the world, and above them the upper world.[836] There are two worlds: the upper world and the lower world, lower resembling upper, for it is written: *From world to world* (Psalms 106:48), upper king and lower king.[837] It is written: '*YHVH* is king, *YHVH* was king, *YHVH* will be king for eternity.'[838] *YHVH* is king—above; *YHVH* was king—in the middle; *YHVH* will be king—below."

Rabbi Aḥa said, "*YHVH* is king—the upper world, the world that is coming.[839] *YHVH* was king—*Tif'eret Yisra'el*.[840] *YHVH* will be king—*the ark of the covenant*.[841] Another time David reversed them, from below to above, saying: *YHVH is king forever and ever* (Psalm 10:16). *YHVH is king* below; *forever*—in the middle; ועד (*va-ed*), *and ever*—above, site of ויעודא (*vi'uda*), convening, and enduring in the consummation of all.[842] *King* above; *king*, below."[843]

Rabbi Abba said, "All these lights join *in the expanse of heaven to shine upon earth* (Genesis 1:15), to illumine Earth. Who is the expanse illumining Earth? You must admit, this is the river flowing forth from Eden, as is written: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (Genesis 2:10).[844]

"Come and see: Once the moon prevails, illumined by that river flowing forth, all those heavens below and their hosts are augmented with light.[845] The stars empowered over the world prevail, raising plants and trees.[846] Earth grows in its entirety—even the waters and fish of the sea abound. Countless wardens of judgment roam the world, overjoyed and empowered.[847] When joy prevails in the king's palace, even the gatekeepers, even crag dwellers[848] all revel and roam the world, and children of the world must beware."

Rabbi Aḥa said, "*God placed them in the expanse of heaven* (Genesis

1:17).[849] When all of them are present there, joy prevails between one another.[850] Then the moon diminishes herself in the presence of the sun,[851] and whatever he conveys is designed to illumine her, as is written: *to shine upon earth* (ibid.)."[852]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "It is written: *The light of the moon shall be like the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, like the light of the seven days* (Isaiah 30:26). Who are *the seven days?* The seven days of Creation."[853]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "These are the seven days of מלואים (*millu'im*), investiture—*millu'im*, filling, indeed, for at that time the world is rendered firm and fragrant, restored to fullness.[854] The moon is not tainted by the evil serpent, of whom is written: *A whisperer separates an intimate* (Proverbs 16:28).[855] When is this? When *He will swallow up death forever* (Isaiah 25:8). Then this verse will be fulfilled: *On that day YHVH will be one and His name one* (Zechariah 14:9)."

Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls (Genesis 1:20).

Rabbi El'azar said, "These are the lower waters, teeming with species as above, those higher, these lower."[856]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "The higher generated *a living soul*. What is that? The soul of Adam, as is said: האדם (*Ha-adam*), *The human, became a living soul* (Genesis 2:7).[857]

"*And let birds fly upon the earth* (ibid. 1:20)—messengers from above appearing to humans in human appearance, as implied by the wording *fly upon the earth*.[858] For there are others who appear only in genuine spirit, according to human awareness.[859] [34b] So of these is not written: *after its kind*, as with those others, of whom is written: *every winged bird after its kind* (ibid., 21), for these never change their kind, like these others, of whom is not written: *after its kind*.[860]

"Now if you say, 'Some of them differ from one another'—certainly so, some of them do differ, and so it is written: *From there it divides* (ibid. 2:10).[861]

"*God created the great sea serpents* (ibid. 1:21)[862]—Leviathan and his mate.[863]

"*And every* נפש החיה (*nefesh ha-ḥayyah*), *soul of the living being, who glides*—the soul of that *living being* gliding in all four directions of the world. Who is She? Night.[864]

"*With which the waters swarmed, after their kind*—for waters nourish them.[865] When South arrives, waters are released, flowing in all directions.[866] Ships of the sea sail away, plying, as is said: *There ships travel, Leviathan whom You formed to play with* (Psalms 104:26).[867]

"*And every winged bird after its kind*—as is said: *For a bird of heaven will*

carry the sound, a winged creature will report the word (Ecclesiastes 10:20)."[868]

Rabbi Yose said, "All of them are six-winged, never changing, so it is written: *after its kind*. What does this mean? After a supernal kind.[869] These sweep through the world in six,[870] observing the actions of human beings, conveying them above.[871] So, *even in your thoughts do not curse the king, even in your bedroom do not curse the rich, for a bird of heaven will carry the sound* (ibid.)."[872]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "הרומשת (*Ha-romeset*), *Who glides*—the verse should read: השורצת (*ha-shoretset*), *who swarms*.[873] But as we say: 'Night רמש (*remash*), dusked.'[874] So, *when all creatures of the forest* תרמוש (*tirmos*), *creep* (Psalms 104:20),[875] for when She reigns they all reign, opening with song in three watches, segments of the night, chanting without subsiding.[876] Of them is written: *O you, who call upon YHVH, be not silent!* (Isaiah 62:6)."[877]

Rabbi Shim'on rose and said, "I was gazing:[878] When the blessed Holy One was about to create Adam, above and below trembled.[879] The sixth day was ascending its rungs[880] as the supernal will arose[881] and the origin of all lights dawned,[882] opening the gate of the East, whence light issues.[883] South displayed the power of the light inherited from the head[884] and was empowered by the East. East empowered North; North aroused and expanded, calling potently to the West to draw near, to join him.[885] Then West rose to the North, bonding with him. Afterward South approached, embracing West, now encompassed by South and North, mystery of the hedges of the garden.[886] Then East draws near West,[887] and West abides in joy, inviting them all: *Let us make a human being in our image, according to our likeness* (Genesis 1:26), resembling this in four directions, above and below.[888] East cleaved to West, generating him, and so we have learned: Adam emerged from the site of the Temple.'[889]

"Further, *Let us make* אדם (*adam*), *a human being*—the blessed Holy One imparted to these lower beings, who emerged from the aspect above,[890] the secret of the name amounting to אדם (*adam*), from the sealed supernal mystery.[891] אדם, mystery of letters, for אדם embraces above and below: א (*alef*), beyond, beyond;[892] ם (final *mem*), who is לרבה (*le-marbeh*), *for the abundance of, dominion* (Isaiah 9:6);[893] lower ד (*dalet*), concealed in the West.[894] This is the entirety of above and below, arrayed above, arrayed below. When these letters descended, all was as one in consummation: male and female.[895] The female cleaved to his side until He cast sleep upon him and he slumbered, lying on the site of the Temple below.[896] The blessed Holy One sawed him, adorned her as one adorns a bride, and brought her to him, as is written: *He took one of his sides and closed up the flesh*

in its place (Genesis 2:21).[897] *He took one*—precisely! In the books of the ancients I have discovered: This is the original Lilith, who accompanied him, was impregnated by him, and taken away from him.[898] She was no *fitting helper* for him[899]—What is a *helper?* סמך (*Semakh*), A support.[900] Till finally it is written: *It is not good for Adam to be alone. I will make him a fitting helper* (ibid., 18).[901]

"Come and see: Adam was last of all, fittingly, so as to arrive in a consummate world."[902]

Rabbi Shim'on said further, "It is written: *No bush of the field was yet on earth, no plant of the field had yet sprouted, for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth...* (ibid. 2:5).[903] *No bush of the field*—[35a] magnificent trees planted later, still tiny.[904]

"Come and see: Adam and Eve were created side by side.[905] Why not face-to-face? Because, as is written, *YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth*, and the coupling was not yet fittingly arrayed.[906] When the one below was arrayed, and they turned face-to-face, then so it was above.[907] How do we know?[908] From the *Dwelling*, as is written: *The Dwelling was erected* (Exodus 40:17), from which we learn that another *Dwelling* was erected along with it, and until erected below, it was not erected above.[909] Similarly here, once arrayed below, it was arrayed above. Since until now it had not been arrayed above, they were not created face-to-face, as proven by Scripture: *for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth*. Consequently, *there was no human*, for he was not arrayed.[910]

"This secret is implied by the fact that up to this point in the portion the letter ס (*samekh*) does not appear. Although the Companions have commented, still ס (*samekh*) is *a helper*, namely, *a helper* above, for above turned face-to-face, male and female supported by each other, indeed, *supported eternally, fashioned in truth and integrity* (Psalms 111:8).[911] *Supported*—male and female, supported as one. The world of which we have spoken depends upon the world below, for as long as the world below was not arrayed, neither was the world of which we have spoken.[912]

"*YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth*, for one supports the other. This lower world, once arrayed—once turned and arrayed face-to-face—became a support above, for previously the work was in disarray. Each depends on the other.

"What is written next? *A flow welled up from earth* (Genesis 2:6). This is the arrayal below, afterward *watering the whole face of the ground* (ibid.). This is the desire of female for male.[913]

"Alternatively, why *had* He *not rained?* Because no arrayal *welled up from earth*. So from earth below action is aroused above.[914] Come and see: Vapor ascends from earth at first, a cloud is aroused, and then all conjoins. Similarly,

smoke of sacrifice is aroused below, consummates above, and all conjoins in consummation.[915] Similarly above, arousal begins from below, then all is consummated.[916] If Assembly of Israel did not initiate arousal, the one above would not be aroused toward Her.[917] By desire below, all is consummated."

Rabbi Abba said, "It is written: *the tree of life in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil* (Genesis 2:9). *The tree of life*—we have learned that it extends over a journey of five hundred years, and all the waters of Creation branch off below.[918] *The tree of life* is precisely in the middle of the garden, conveying all waters of Creation, branching below, for that flowing, gushing river spreads into the garden, whence waters branch in many directions. Receiving them all is the ocean, from which they emerge in numerous streams below, as is said: *watering all beasts of the field* (Psalms 104:11).[919] Just as they emerge from that world above, watering those towering mountains of pure balsam,[920] subsequently upon reaching *the tree of life*, they branch below by paths in every direction.

"*And the tree of knowledge of good and evil*. Why is it called so? It is not in the middle.[921] But what does *knowledge of good and evil* mean? Since it suckles on two sides and knows them as one suckling sweet and bitter, since it suckles on two sides, knowing them and dwelling among them, it is called so.[922] All those plants dwell above it,[923] while within it dwell other plants, supernal plants called *cedars of Lebanon*. Who are those *cedars of Lebanon*? The six days of Creation of which we have spoken, *the cedars of Lebanon that He planted* (Psalms 104:16), certainly saplings, later firmly implanted.[924]

"From here on, ס (*samekh*). What is it? ויסגור (*Va-yisgor*), *He closed up, the flesh at that place* (Genesis 2:21). She was attached to his side, one to the side of the other. Indeed the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting [35b] them elsewhere, where they turned face-to-face for endurance.[925] Similarly, the worlds were adjoined; the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them elsewhere, where they endured."[926]

Rabbi Abba said, "How do we know that Adam and Eve were saplings? For it is written: *sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may he glorified* (Isaiah 60:21)[927]—*work of My hands*, precisely, for no other creature engaged in them.[928] Similarly it is written: *On the day of your planting, you become debased* (ibid. 17:11), for the very day they were planted in the world, they united and decayed.[929] We have learned: 'They resembled antennae of grasshoppers,' for their light was tenuous and they did not shine. Once planted firmly, their light increased and they were called *cedars of Lebanon*.[930] Adam and Eve, as well, did

not grow until planted, gave forth no fragrance; indeed they were uprooted, transplanted, fittingly arrayed."[931]

YHVH Elohim commanded [*the human*, *saying*...] (Genesis 2:16).[932] We have learned: "*Command* means idolatry; *saying*—this is woman...[933] That is fine. *From every tree of the garden you are free to eat*—everything was permitted to him if eaten in oneness.[934] For we see that Abraham ate, Isaac, and Jacob—they all ate and endured.[935] But this tree is a tree of death; whoever takes it alone dies, for he has taken deadly poison.[936] So, *on the day you eat from it*, *you will surely die* (ibid., 17), for he separates saplings.[937]

Rabbi Yehudah asked Rabbi Shim'on, "We have learned: 'Adam stretched his foreskin.'[938] What does this mean?"

He replied, "That he separated the holy covenant from its site.[939] He certainly stretched the foreskin, for he abandoned the holy covenant, cleaved to the foreskin, was seduced by the word of the serpent."[940]

But from the fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden (ibid. 3:3)[941]—this is woman.[942]

Do not eat from it (ibid.), for it is written: *Her feet descend to death*... (Proverbs 5:5).[943] On this one there is fruit, on the other there is not.[944]

For on the day you eat from it, *you will surely die* (ibid. 2:17), for it is a tree of death, as we have said: *Her feet descend to death*.

Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field (ibid. 3:1).

Rabbi Yose said, "The tree of which we have spoken was watered, flourished, and rejoiced, as is said: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (Genesis 2:10). *The garden*—this is woman, the *river* entering Her, watering Her, and all was one, while from there below is division, as is written: *From there it divides* (ibid.)."[945]

Now the serpent. Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "This is the evil impulse."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "An actual *serpent*."

They came before Rabbi Shim'on, who said to them, "Indeed, all is one. It was Samael appearing on a *serpent*, and the form of *the serpent* is Satan; all is one.[946]

"We have learned: At that moment Samael descended from heaven, riding on this *serpent*, and when all creatures saw his form they fled from him.[947] They got to the woman with words, inflicting death upon the world. Indeed through wisdom Samael brought curses on the world, destroying the primordial tree created in the world by the blessed Holy One.[948]

"This matter loomed over Samael until another holy tree arrived—namely,

Jacob—who wrested blessings from him, so that he would not be blessed above, nor Esau below.[949] For Jacob was patterned on Adam; the beauty of Jacob was the beauty of Adam.[950] Just as Samael withheld blessings from the primordial tree, so Jacob, a tree patterned on Adam, withheld blessings from Samael above and below. Jacob took what was his entirely. So, *a man wrestled with him* (Genesis 32:25).[951]

"*The serpent was slier*—evil impulse, Angel of Death.[952] Being the Angel of Death, he inflicted death upon the whole world. This is the mystery written: *End of all flesh has come before Me* (ibid. 6:13)—*End of all flesh* who takes the soul of all flesh and is so named."[953]

He said to the woman, "אף (*Af*), *Really...*" (ibid. 3:1).[954]

Rabbi Yose said, "He opened with אף (*af*), *really*, and cast אף (*af*), wrath, into the world.[955] He said to her, [36a] 'With this tree the blessed Holy One created the world. Eat from it and you will really *be like* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, knowing good and evil!* (ibid., 5).' For so it is: *Elohim* is its name, *the tree of knowledge of good and evil*.[956] So, *You will be like Elohim, knowing good and evil*."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "That is not what he said. For if he had said: 'With this tree the blessed Holy One created the world,' it would have been correct.[957] What he said was, rather: 'The blessed Holy One ate from this tree and then created the world, and every artisan hates his fellow. Eat from it and you will be creating worlds! So, *God knows that on the day you eat from it* [*your eyes will be opened and you will become like God...*] (ibid., 5). Because He knew this, He commanded you concerning it.'"[958]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "He spoke lies entirely. The very first thing he said was a lie, as is written: *Even though God said, 'Do not eat from any of the trees in the garden*' (ibid., 1).[959] It was not so, for it is written: *From every tree of the garden you are free to eat* (ibid. 2:16)[960]—He permitted him all of them."[961]

Rabbi Yose said, "We have learned: 'The blessed Holy One commanded him concerning idolatry, as is written: *commanded* (ibid.); *YHVH*, concerning blasphemy; *Elohim*, concerning judges; *the human*, concerning murder; *saying*, concerning the woman, concerning exposing nudity.'[962] Now, how many people existed in the world, necessitating this?[963] But certainly all touched upon this tree, by which they are embraced.[964] Whoever takes it by itself, takes it together with hordes below embraced by it, takes idolatry, murder, and exposing nudity.[965] Idolatry toward those empowered princes.[966] Murder engendered by this tree, which is *Gevurah*; Samael is appointed over this.[967] Exposing nudity— She is Woman, so named, and it is forbidden to invite a woman by herself, only with her husband, that one not be suspected of exposing nudity.[968] So in them all he

was commanded concerning this tree. When he ate from it, he violated them all, for it embraces all."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Indeed this is so, for it is forbidden to be alone with a woman, only together with her husband.[969] What did that wicked one do? He said, 'Look, I touched this tree and did not die. You, too, come and touch it with your hand; you won't die.' This he added for her on his own.[970]

"Immediately, *The woman saw that the tree was good* (ibid. 3:6).[971] What did she see?"

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "That tree gave forth an aroma, as is said: *like the fragrance of a field blessed by YHVH* (ibid. 27:27).[972] Because of that aroma ascending, she desired eating of it."

Rabbi Yose said, "It was vision."

Rabbi Yehudah said to him, "But it is written: *The eyes of both of them were opened* (ibid. 3:7)!"[973]

He replied, "The vision she beheld was the measure of the tree, as is written: ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *She saw the Woman*, precisely![974]

"*The woman saw that it was good* (ibid., 6). She saw and did not see. She saw *that it was good*, but she was unsettled. What is written next? *She took of its fruit* (ibid.), not *She took of it*. She cleaved to the site of death, inflicting death upon the whole world, separating life from death, which are not to be separated.[975] For voice is never separate from speech, and whoever separates voice from speech turns dumb, speechless.[976] Deprived of speech, he turns to dust."[977]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "It is written: *I was dumb with silence, stilled, bereft of goodness, my pain aroused* (Psalms 39:3). This verse was spoken by Assembly of Israel, who is in exile.[978] Why? Because voice conducts speech.[979] When She is in exile, voice separates from Her, no word is heard, and so: *I was dumb with silence*. Why? Because *I was stilled, bereft of goodness*—for voice no longer accompanies Her, and Israel declares: *To You, praise is silent* (ibid. 65:2). Who is *silent? Praise, praise of David* (Psalms 145:1), who turns *silent* in exile, voiceless."[980]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "What does *to you* mean? Because of You, She is *silent*, for You abandoned Her."[981]

She took of its fruit and ate.[982] We have learned: She squeezed grapes and offered them to him,[983] and they inflicted death upon the whole world, for death abides in this tree, a tree ruling by night.[984] [36b] When She rules, all creatures of the world taste a taste of death,[985] but those scions of faith first pledge their souls to Him, and since pledged, the souls return to their sites. So, *Your faithfulness every night* (Psalms 92:3).[986]

The eyes of both of them were opened (Genesis 3:7).[987]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "Opened to perceive the evil of the world, unknown to them till now.[988] Once they knew and were open to knowing evil, then *they knew that they were naked* (ibid.), for they had lost the supernal radiance enveloping them, which disappeared, leaving them *naked*.[989]

"*They sewed together fig leaves* (ibid.). They knew to be covered by the shade of that tree from which they had eaten, called 'leaves of the tree.'"[990]

And made themselves loincloths (ibid.). Rabbi Yose said, "Once they knew of this world and clung to it, they saw that this world is conducted by those leaves of the tree. So they built themselves a stronghold, fortifying themselves with them in this world, discovering every kind of magic. They sought to gird themselves with the weapons of those leaves of the tree for protection."[991]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Then three were brought to justice and convicted, and the lower world was cursed[992] and could not firmly endure due to the slime of the serpent until Israel stood at Mount Sinai.[993] Afterward the blessed Holy One clothed them in garments soothing to the skin, as is written: כתנות עור (*kotnot or*), *garments of skin* (ibid., 21).[994] At first they wore כתנות אור (*kotnot or*), *garments of light*, and he was waited upon by the highest beings, for the angels on high came to bask in that light, as is written: *You made him little less than God, adorned him with glory and majesty!* (Psalms 8:6).[995] Now that they sinned, כתנות עור (*kotnot or*), *garments of skin*, soothing the skin, not the soul.[996]

"Afterward they bore their first son, son of slime. Two copulated with her; she conceived and bore two.[997] Each emerged according to his kind; by their spirit they separated, one to this side, one to the other, each resembling its side. From the side of Cain emerge all the haunts of maleficent species, spirits, demons, and sorcerers.[998] From the side of Abel, a side of greater compassion, yet incomplete—good wine adulterated with bad, immature until Seth appeared, from whom descended all righteous generations, by whom the world was sown.[999] From Cain descended all those insolent, wicked sinners of the world."

Rabbi El'azar said, "When Cain sinned he was terrified, for he saw several armed camps confronting him, coming to kill him. When he returned to God,[1000] what did he say? *Behold, You have banished me today from the face of the soil, and from Your face I will be hidden* (Genesis 4:14). What is the meaning of: *from Your face* אסתר (*essater*), *I will be hidden*? His structure סתיר (*setir*), destroyed."

Rabbi Abba said, "As is written: *He will hide His face from them* (Micah 3:4).[1001] So, *From Your face I will be hidden*—it will not watch over me, *and whoever finds me will kill me* (Genesis, ibid.).

"*YHVH put* אות (*ot*), *a mark, on Cain* (ibid., 15). What is אות (*ot*), *a mark*? He

placed upon him one אות (*ot*), letter, of the twenty-two letters of Torah to protect him."[1002]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Why is it written: *When they were in the field* (ibid., 8)? This is a woman. Because of this he killed him, for from this side he inherited killing, the side of Samael, who inflicted death upon the whole world. Cain was jealous of Abel because of his female."[1003]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "But we have seen it written: *Cain was very angry and his face fell* (ibid., 5) because his offering was not accepted."

He replied, "So it is! All this confronted him."[1004]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Why is it written: *Surely if you do well, there is dignity. But if you do not do well, sin crouches at the opening* (ibid., 7)? Because the verse declares this: *If you do well, there is dignity*. What is *dignity*? As is written: *surpassing in dignity* (ibid. 49:3), for the firstborn is entirely praiseworthy, depending on his deeds.[1005] So, *if you do well, there is dignity. But if you do not do well, sin crouches at the opening*. What is *the opening?* The opening [37a] above, from whom judgments issue for evil deeds of the world. *Opening*, as is said: *Open for me the gates of justice* (Psalms 118:19).[1006] At that *opening, sin crouches*, namely, the Angel of Death, poised to punish you.

"Come and see: On Rosh Hashanah Adam was born.[1007] On Rosh Hashanah, indeed, mystery above and below: Rosh Hashanah above, Rosh Hashanah below.[1008] On Rosh Hashanah barren women are attended.[1009] How do we know this happens on Rosh Hashanah? As is written: ויהוה (*Va-YHVH*), *And YHVH, attended to Sarah* (Genesis 21:1)—ויהוה (*Va-YHVH*), *And YHVH*, precisely: this is Rosh Hashanah.[1010] Since Adam emerged from Rosh Hashanah, he emerged through judgment, and the world endures through judgment.[1011] So, *at the opening*, indeed, *sin crouches* to punish you. *His desire is toward you* (ibid. 4:7), till you are destroyed. ואתה (*Ve-attah*), *And you, will rule over him* (ibid.)—a mystery, as is written: ואתה (*Ve-Attah*), *And You, enliven them all* (Nehemiah 9:6).[1012] From here they have concluded that the blessed Holy One reigns only when the wicked of the world are destroyed.[1013] So, once the Angel of Death destroys them, He rules over him, preventing him from putrefying the world, as is written: ואתה (*Ve-attah*), *And you, will rule over him*—ואתה (*Ve-Attah*), *And You*, precisely!"[1014]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "In a grapple of strife a potentate appears."[1015]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "*And you will rule over him*, by returning to God."

Rabbi Yose said, "The generations of Cain resembled beings above and below: walking upon the earth, they pulverized the ground."[1016]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "When Uzza and Azael fell from their holy site above, they saw the daughters of human beings, sinned, and engendered sons.[1017] These

were נפילים (*nefilim*), *fallen beings*, as is written: *The* נפילים (*nefilim*), *fallen beings, were on earth* (Genesis 6:4)."[1018]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "The sons of Cain were *the sons of* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (ibid., 2). For when Samael copulated with Eve, injecting her with slime, she conceived and bore Cain.[1019] His features differed from other humans,[1020] and all those issuing from his aspect are called *sons of Elohim*."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Even the sons of those *nefilim* are so called.

"*They were the mighty men* (ibid., 4).[1021] There were sixty on earth, corresponding to the number above. Here is written: *They were the mighty men* מעולם (*me-olam*), *of old*, and there is written: *sixty mighty men encircling her* (Song of Songs 3:7)."[1022]

Rabbi Yose said, "*They were the mighty men* מעולם (*me-olam*), *from the world*, literally, *from the world*, precisely![1023]

"*The men of name* (Genesis, ibid.). What does *name* mean? This is *the world* of which we have spoken, *men of the name*, precisely![1024] Here is written: *men of the name*, and there is written: *when he blasphemes the name* (Leviticus 24:16), and similarly: *The son of the Israelite woman blasphemed the name* (ibid., 11)."[1025]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "They were מעולם (*me-olam*), *from the world*, literally! *From the world* below, the blessed Holy One took them, as is said: *Remember Your compassion, YHVH, and Your love, for they are* מעולם (*me-olam*), *from the world*—really *from the world* the blessed Holy One took them to become a holy chariot above.[1026] Similarly here, *They were the mighty men from the world*—really *from the world*."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "מעולם (*Me-olam*), *From the world*—this is *the bed of Solomon* (Song of Songs 3:7), as is written: *sixty mighty men encircling her* (ibid.)."[1027]

Rabbi Aḥa said, "They are all called *sons of Elohim*, for *the world* was not yet firm and fragrant.[1028]

"Come and see: All those saplings were concealed, tenuously traced in a certain site. Afterward the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them elsewhere, and they endured."[1029]

Rabbi Yeisa asked, "Concerning what is written: *This is the book of the generations of Adam...* (Genesis 5:1)—"

"This is a supernal mystery," said Rabbi Abba. "We have learned: 'Three books are opened on Rosh Hashanah: one, of the completely righteous....'[1030] [37b] A supernal book whence all emerges, whence emerges writing.[1031] A middle

book comprising above and below, embracing all sides, mystery of Written Torah, Primordial Adam.[1032] A book called *Generations of Adam*. Which is that? The one of the completely righteous, as is written: *This is the book*, really! Righteous One engendering generations.[1033]

"*On the day God created Adam in the likeness of God* (ibid.),[1034] for really then was all arrayed above and below, stabilized in a single paradigm.[1035]

"*Male and female He created them* (ibid., 2)—unidentifiable, one merging in the other."[1036]

Our Mishnah.[1037] It is written: *The name of YHVH is a tower of strength, into which the righteous one runs and is safe* (Proverbs 18:10). This is *the book of the generations of Adam*, who runs into that *tower*.[1038] This *tower*—what is its nature? This is the Tower of David.[1039] This is: מגדל עוז שם יהוה בו ירוץ צדיק ונשגב (*Migdal oz shem YHVH, bo yaruts tsaddiq ve-nisgav*), *The name of YHVH is a tower of strength, into which the righteous one runs and is safe*. All is one. Here is a cipher for scions of faith:[1040]

מבש עוי מיץ
גרג ווה יצד
דצב זדו היי
לקה שוה ונק

This is really *the book of the generations of Adam* for scions of faith.

Rabbi Abba said, "An actual book was brought down to Adam, from which he discovered supernal wisdom.[1041] This book reached *the sons of Elohim*, who contemplate and know it.[1042] This book was brought down by the master of mysteries, preceded by three envoys.[1043] When Adam departed the Garden of Eden he grasped that book, but as he was leaving it flew away from him to the gate. He prayed and cried before his Lord, and it was restored to him as before, so wisdom would not be forgotten by humanity and they would strive to know their Lord.

"Similarly we have learned: חנוך (*Ḥanokh*), Enoch, had a book—a book from the site of *the book of the generations of Adam*, mystery of wisdom—for he was taken from Earth, as is written: *He was no more, for God took him* (Genesis 5:24).[1044] He is the Lad, as is written: חנוך (*Ḥanokh*), *Train, the lad* (Proverbs 22:6).[1045] All hidden treasures above were entrusted to him, and he transmits,

carrying out the mission. A thousand keys were handed to him; he conveys one hundred blessings every day, wreathing wreaths for his Lord.[1046] The blessed Holy One took him from the world to serve Him, as is written: *for God took him*. By him a book was transmitted, a book was conveyed called *The Book of Enoch*.[1047] When the blessed Holy One grasped him, He showed him all the treasures above, the Tree of Life in the middle of the garden, including its leaves and branches.[1048] All this we see in his book. Happy are the devout of the world, to whom supernal wisdom is revealed, never to be forgotten, as is said: *The secret of YHVH is for those in awe of Him; to them He reveals His covenant* (Psalms 25:14)."[1049]

YHVH said, "My spirit shall not abide in humanity forever, since they, too, are flesh" (Genesis 6:3).[1050] Rabbi Aḥa said, "At that time the flowing, gushing river was gushing a supernal spirit from the Tree of Life, pouring into the tree where death abides,[1051] so spirits were drawn into human beings recurrently, until maleficent species ascended, presenting themselves at the opening. Then, as human souls were flying off, the supernal spirit departed from that tree, as is written: *My spirit shall not abide in humanity* לעולם (*le-olam*), *forever*, given לעולם (*la-olam*), to the world."[1052]

Since they, too, are flesh. Members of the academy of Rabbi El'azar said, "בשגם (*Be-shaggam*), *Since too*—this is משה (*Mosheh*), Moses, who illumines the moon, by whose energy humanity endures for many days in the world.[1053]

"*Let his days be a hundred and twenty years* (ibid.), alluding to Moses, through whom Torah was given and who thereby poured life lavishly for humanity from that Tree of Life.[1054] So it would have been, had Israel not sinned, as is written: חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved, on the tablets* (Exodus 32:16)—חרות (*ḥerut*), freedom, from the Angel of Death, for the Tree of Life extended to those below.[1055] So, בשגם (*be-shaggam*), *since* [*he*,] *too, is flesh*, the event transpires: the spirit of life is lavishly poured.[1056] בשגם (*Be-shaggam*), *Since too*— embraced below and above. So we have learned: 'Moses did not die, but was rather gathered [38a] from the world and illumines the moon.'[1057] For even when the sun is gathered from the world, it does not die but illumines the moon. So too, Moses."

Alternatively, *since it, too, is flesh*—when the spirit extends long within human beings, it turns into *flesh*, being drawn after the body.[1058]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "All the generations perfected by Seth were entirely righteous and devout.[1059] Subsequently spreading and multiplying, they learned the art of annihilation: spears and swords.[1060] Finally Noah appeared and rearranged the world for them, preparing and cultivating the soil. For at first they

neither sowed nor reaped, which afterward they found essential, as is written: *So long as the earth endures*, [*sowing and harvest... shall not cease*] (Genesis 8:22)."[1061]

Rabbi El'azar said, "God will one day mend the world and ripen the spirit within human beings so they prolong their days forever, as is written: *For as the days of a tree shall the days of My people be* (Isaiah 65:22), and similarly: *He will swallow up death forever...* (ibid. 25:8)."

[45b] [1062] *God said, "Let there be light!" And there was light* (Genesis 1:3).

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "From here we learn that the blessed Holy One uprooted these saplings and transplanted them, as indicated by the expression: *And there was*."[1063]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "A light that already was. We have learned that it is written: ויהי (*Vayhi*), *And there was, light*. Not והיה (*ve-hayah*), but rather *vayhi*.[1064] When the blessed Holy One contemplated the generations of the wicked, who would prove unworthy of that light, He treasured it away, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous—the righteous, precisely, as is written: *Light is sown for the righteous, joy for the upright in heart* (Psalms 97:11).[1065]

"*God said, 'Let there be light!'* As is written: *Who aroused from the East...?* (Isaiah 41:2).[1066]

"*God saw that the light was good* (Genesis 1:4). What did He see?"

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "As we have said, He saw the acts of the wicked and treasured it away."

Rabbi Abba said, "*God saw the light*, its radiance flashing from one end of the universe to the other.[1067]

"*That it was good* [46a]—to hide it, so that the wicked of the world would not enjoy it."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "*God saw that the light was good*—without a trace of wrath. Here is written *that it was good*, and there is written: *that it was good in the eyes of YHVH to bless Israel* (Numbers 24:1).[1068] The end of the verse proves it: *God separated the light from the darkness* (Genesis, ibid.), so no wrath could be found, although the blessed Holy One joined them as one.[1069]

"Come and see: Supreme radiance, so this light would glow, and from that radiance, delight to all—the right, by which gravings of engravings are wreathed.[1070] This has been said, as is written: *How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You* (Psalms 31:20). This is the primordial light treasured away by the blessed Holy One for the righteous, as we have said.[1071]

"*There was evening* (Genesis, ibid., 5), from the side of darkness; *there was morning*, from the side of light. Since they join as one, it is written: *day of oneness*."[1072]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Why is it written of every single day: *There was evening, there was morning*? To reveal that there is no day without night, no night without day; they must not be parted."[1073]

Rabbi Yose said, “That day, on which primordial light radiated, extended through all those days, for on all of them is written: *day*.”[1074]

Rabbi El’azar said, “This is implied by the fact that on all of them is written *morning*, and *morning* is solely from the side of primordial light.”[1075]

Rabbi Shim’on said, “The first day accompanies all of them, and all inhabit it, showing there is no separation between them. All is one.

“*God said*, ‘*Let there be light*!’—an extension of this light below. These are angels created on the first day, abiding enduringly on the right side.[1076]

“*God saw* את האור (*et ha-or*), *the light* את (*Et*), including the speculum that does not shine together with the speculum that shines, of which is written: *that it was good*.”[1077]

Rabbi El’azar said, “את (*Et*)—amplifying, including all those angels issuing from the side of this light, all radiant as at first, enduringly.”

Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters (Genesis 1:6).[1078]

Rabbi Yehudah said, “By this, upper waters were separated from lower waters. *An expanse*—an expansion of the waters, as has been explained. *That it may separate water from water*, upper waters from lower waters.[1079]

“*God fashioned the expanse* (Genesis 1:7), fashioning it lavishly. The verse does not read: *There was an expanse*, but rather: *God fashioned*, expanding it immensely.”

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, “On the second day Hell was created for the wicked of the world. On the second, conflict was created. On the second, work was not completed, so *that it was good* is not written of it, until the third day arrived, when work was completed, so *that it was good* is written twice, once for the completion of the second day’s work and once for itself. On the third day, the second day was mended, the conflict mediated.[1080] Then compassion ripened for the wicked in Hell. On the third day sparks of Hell subside, so by it the second day is embraced, consummated.”[1081]

Rabbi Ḥiyya was sitting in the presence of Rabbi Shim’on. He said to him, “This light on the first day, and darkness on the second, when waters were separated and conflict arose—why was it not consummated on the first day, since right embraces left?”[1082]

He replied, “This was precisely the conflict, so the third had to intervene, harmonizing, extending peace between them.”[1083]

God said, “*Let the earth sprout vegetation*” (ibid., 11)[1084]—upper waters joined

with lower, yielding fruit. Upper waters swell and generate; lower call to upper, as female to male, for upper waters are male, and lower, female.[1085]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "All this transpires both above and below."[1086]

Rabbi Yose said, "If so, אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, mentioned here—who is *Elohim*?"[1087]

He replied, "*Elohim* unspecified is אלהים חיים (*Elohim Ḥayyim*), Living God, above.[1088] If you say 'below,' not so;[1089] rather, below is generation, [46b] as is said: *These are the generations of heaven and earth* בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created* (Genesis 2:4), and we have explained: בה׳ בראם (*be-he bera'am*), with *he* He created them,[1090] while the one above is Patriarchs Supreme.[1091] She is activity, so earth activated *generations*, for She conceives, like female from male."[1092]

Rabbi El'azar said, "All forces were in earth, though she did not issue her forces, namely *generations*, until the sixth day, as is written: *Let the earth bring forth living beings* (ibid. 1:24).[1093] If you say, 'But it is written: *The earth brought forth vegetation* (ibid., 12),' this means she arrayed her forces so they would be fittingly deployed, all hidden away within her until necessary.[1094] For at first is written: *desolate and void* (ibid., 2), as translated.[1095] Afterward she was arrayed and inhabited, receiving seed, grass, vegetation, and trees fittingly, generating them afterward.[1096] Similarly with *the lights*, not functioning until necessary.[1097]

"*Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights, in the expanse of heaven* (ibid., 14)—spelled deficiently: מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*,[1098] to include the evil serpent who injected slime, causing separation, for the sun does not perform with the moon.[1099] מארת (*Me'erot*), *Curses*, causing earth to be cursed, as is written: *Cursed is the ground* (ibid. 3:17). So it is spelled: מארת (*me'erat*).

"*Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*—the moon.[1100] *In the expanse of heaven*—the sun.[1101] Both in a single entity, coupling, illumining worlds above and below, as indicated by the expression על הארץ (*al ha-arets*), *above the earth*, rather than בארץ (*ba'arets*), *on the earth*, implying above and below. Calculation of all is by the moon."[1102]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Numerologies and calculations of equinoxes, solstices, and intercalations derive entirely from the mystery of the moon, no higher."[1103]

Rabbi El'azar said to him, "No? But the Companions perform numerous calculations and measurements."[1104]

He replied, "Not so! Calculation abides in the moon, whence one enters to discover above."[1105]

He said to him, "But it is written: *that they may be for signs and for seasons*."[1106]

He replied, “Spelled deficiently: לאתת (*le-otot*), *for signs*.”[1107]

He said to him, “But it is written: *that they may be*.”[1108]

He replied, “All those essences that will inhabit Her, like a treasure ship filled with all,[1109] but calculation of all is by the moon.

“Come and see: There is a single point, origin of counting, for what lies within that point is unknown, uncountable.[1110] There is a point above, concealed, totally unrevealed and unknown, origin of constructing everything concealed and profound.[1111] Similarly there is a point below, revealed, origin of every calculation and reckoning.[1112] So here is the site of all equinoxes and solstices, numerologies, intercalations, festivals, holidays, and Sabbaths. Israel, cleaving to the blessed Holy One, calculate by the moon, cleaving to Her and raising Her, as is written: *You, cleaving to YHVH your God* (Deuteronomy 4:4).”[1113]

Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living creatures (Genesis, ibid., 20).[1114]

Rabbi El’azar said, “They have established that those waters teemed and generated as above. This has already been said.[1115]

“*And let birds fly above the earth* (ibid.). The verse should read: יעוף (*ya’uf*), *let fly*. Why יעופף (*ye’ofef*)?”[1116]

Rabbi Shim’on said, “It is a mystery. ועוף (*Ve-of*), *And a bird*—Michael, as is written: *One of the serafim* ויעף (*va-ya’af*), *flew, to me* (Isaiah 6:6). יעופף (*Ye’ofef*), *Let fly*—Gabriel, as is written: *The man Gabriel whom I had previously seen in the vision* מועף ביעף (*mu’af bi’af*), *was flown in flight* (Daniel 9:21).[1117]

“על הארץ (*Al ha-arets*), *Upon the earth*[1118]—Elijah, appearing continually on earth, not from the aspect of father and mother,[1119] arriving in four glides,[1120] as is written: *The spirit of YHVH will carry you off I know not where* (1 Kings 18:12).[1121] *The spirit of YHVH*—one; *will carry you off*—two; *where*—three; *I know not*—four.

“*Across the face of* (Genesis, ibid.)—Angel of Death, who darkens the face of the world and of whom is written: *darkness over the face of the abyss* (ibid., 2).[1122]

“*The expanse of heaven* (ibid.), as we have said: ‘He ascends and accuses...’”[1123]

Rabbi Abba said, “But the Angel of Death was created on the second day![1124] Rather, *upon the earth*—Raphael, empowered to heal the earth,[1125] thanks to whom earth is restored to health along with all her forces and the human being endures thereon.

“*Across the face of the expanse of heaven*—Uriel. All is contained within the text.[1126] So afterward is written: *God created the great sea serpents* (ibid.,

21).”[1127]

Rabbi El’azar said, “These are Leviathan and his mate.[1128] Alternatively, these are seventy princes appointed over the seventy nations, all created to rule over earth.[1129]

“*And every* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *soul of the living being, that moves* (ibid.)[1130]—Israel, who are [47a] the actual *soul* of that *living being*[1131] and are called *a nation unique on earth* (2 Samuel 7:23).[1132]

“*Which the waters brought forth in swarms, according to its kind* (ibid.), for they engage in Torah.[1133]

“*And every winged bird*—the righteous among them, who are therefore חיה נפש (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *living souls*.[1134] Alternatively, *and every winged bird*, as has been explained: messengers of the world.”[1135]

Rabbi Abba said, “נפש חיה (*Nefesh ḥayyah*), *Soul of the living being*, namely, Israel, for they are scions of the blessed Holy One and their holy souls derive from Him.[1136] The soul of other nations—whence does it come?”

Rabbi El’azar said, “From those impure aspects of the left, defiling them and anyone approaching them.[1137]

“*God said, ‘Let the earth bring forth* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *living beings, according to their kind*’ (ibid., 24)—all the other creatures, each according to its kind.”[1138]

Rabbi El’azar added, “This supports what we have said: נפש חיה (*Nefesh ḥayyah*), *Souls of the living being*—Israel, who are *souls of the* supernal, holy *living being*.[1139]

“*Cattle, crawling things, and living creatures of the earth* (ibid.)[1140]—other nations, who are not *souls of the living being*, but rather foreskin, as we have said.”[1141]

Let us make a human being in our image, according to our likeness (ibid., 26), embracing six aspects comprising all, as above,[1142] with smooth members[1143] arrayed fittingly in the mystery of wisdom, an entirely supernal array. *Let us make a human being*—mystery of male and female, entirely in supernal, holy wisdom.[1144] *In our image, according to our likeness*—to be consummated by one another, so that he will be unique in the world, ruling over all.[1145]

God saw all that He had made, and behold it was very good (ibid., 31). Here was restored the omission of *it was good* on the second day, omitted because death was created then. Here is stated: *and behold, it was* טוב מאד (*tov me’od*), *very*

good.[1146] This parallels what the Companions say: *And behold*, טוב מות (*tov mavet*), *death is good*.[1147]

God saw all that He had made. Had He not seen it before? The blessed Holy One had certainly seen everything, but the mention of את כל (*et kol*), *all*, amplifies the meaning to include all following generations, and all that would newly emerge in the world in every generation, before it actually existed.[1148]

That He had made—all the works of Creation, for there was created the elemental essence of all that would later emerge anew. So the blessed Holy One saw it before it existed, deploying all in the act of Creation.[1149]

יום הששי (*Yom ha-shishi*), *The sixth day* (ibid.). What is different about all the other days, lacking the letter ה (*he*)?[1150] Here, when the world was consummated, female united with male in single union, ה (*he*), with ששי (*shishi*), *sixth*, so that all would be one.[1151]

They were completed (ibid. 2:1)—all consummated as one, totally perfect and complete.[1152]

The heavens and the earth were completed (ibid.).

Rabbi El'azar opened, "*How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You...* (Psalms 31:20).[1153] Come and see: The blessed Holy One fashioned the human being in the world and prepared him to become perfect through his service, to mend his ways, so as attain the supernal light treasured away by the blessed Holy One for the righteous, as is written: *No eye has seen, O God, but You, what You will do for one who awaits You* (Isaiah 64:3).[1154] How does one attain that light? Through Torah, for whoever is engaged with Torah attains each day a share in the world that is coming.[1155] He is deemed a builder of worlds,[1156] for by Torah the world was built and consummated, as is written: *YHVH founded the earth by wisdom* (Proverbs 3:19), and similarly: *I was with Him as a nursling, I was a daily delight* (Proverbs 8:30).[1157] Whoever engages in her consummates and sustains the world.

"Come and see: By breath the blessed Holy One made the world,[1158] and by breath it is sustained[1159]—the breath of those studying Torah, especially the breath of schoolchildren.[1160]

"*How abundant is Your goodness*—the *goodness* hidden away *for those in awe of You*, those fearing sin.

"*That You made for those who take refuge in You* (Psalms, ibid.). What is the meaning of: *You made*? The act of Creation."

Rabbi Abba said, "This is the Garden of Eden, for the blessed Holy One fashioned it exquisitely on earth, resembling the one above, so that the righteous would be invigorated therein,[1161] [47b] as is written: *that You made for those who take refuge in You, in the presence of human beings* (ibid.)—for that one is *in the presence of human beings*, while the other is *in the presence of* holy celestial beings."[1162]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Even the other one is *in the presence of human beings*, so that the righteous who fulfill the will of their Lord will be gathered there."[1163]

They were completed (Genesis 2:1)[1164]—for acts above and below *were completed. The heavens and the earth*—above and below.[1165]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Act and artistry of Written Torah, act and artistry of Oral Torah.[1166]

"*With all their array* (ibid.)—the details of Torah, faces of Torah. 'Torah assumes seventy faces.'[1167]

"*They were completed*—sustained and consummated by one another.[1168]

"*Heaven and earth*—particular and general.[1169]

"*With all their array*—secrets of Torah, purities of Torah, impurities of Torah.[1170]

"*On the seventh day God completed* (ibid., 2).[1171] This is Oral Torah, for She is *the seventh day*. Through Her the world was consummated, for She sustains all.[1172]

"*The work that He had done*—not *all His work*, for Written Torah generated all through the potency of Writing, issuing from Wisdom.[1173]

"Three times here: *on the seventh day. On the seventh day God completed. He rested on the seventh day. God blessed the seventh day* (ibid., 2–3). Look, three![1174] *On the seventh day God completed*—Oral Torah, for with this *seventh day* the world was consummated, as we have said. *He rested on the seventh day*—Foundation of the world.[1175] In *The Book of Rav Yeiva Sava*:[1176] This is Jubilee,[1177] so here is written: *from all the work* (ibid., 2),[1178] for all issues therefrom. But as for us: This is Foundation, as we have said, for the rest thereon is best of all.[1179] *God blessed the seventh day*—the High Priest, who blesses all and receives first share.[1180] Blessing inheres in Him, begins blessing from Him,[1181] and He is called *seventh*.

"Rabbi Yeisa Sava said, 'These two refer respectively to Foundation and Central Pillar,[1182] but these three correspond to the entry of Sabbath at night, the day, and the world that is coming, namely Great Sabbath.'[1183]

"He *hallowed* אותו (*oto*), *it* (ibid., 3).[1184] Whom did He hallow? That site where את (*at*), sign, of the covenant abides, as is said: *He will show me* אותו (*oto*),

His sign, and His habitation (2 Samuel 15:25).[1185] At this site abides all holiness from above, issuing from there to Assembly of Israel[1186] to provide Her delectable pastry.[1187] This accords with what is written: *Out of Asher his bread is rich, he will yield delicacies of a king* (Genesis 49:20). *Out of Asher*— consummate covenant.[1188] *His bread is rich*—what had been *bread of affliction* (Deuteronomy 16:3) was transformed into pastry.[1189] *He will yield delicacies of a king*. Who is *king?* Assembly of Israel.[1190] He provides Her all the delights of the world.[1191] All holiness issuing from above issues from this site. So *He hallowed* אותו (*oto*), *His sign*.

"*For on it He rested* (ibid. 2:3).[1192] *On it*, repose of all, repose above and below. *On it* earth *rested* in repose.[1193]

"*That God created* (ibid.)—from the totality of *Remember* emerged *Observe*, arraying the works of the world.[1194]

"To *make* (ibid.)—Artisan of the world, fashioning the works of all."[1195] Rabbi Shim'on further elucidated the word, saying: "It is written: *Guarding the covenant and the love* (Deuteronomy 7:9). *Guarding*—Guardian of Israel;[1196] *the covenant*, as we have explained;[1197] *and the love*—Abraham.[1198] Assembly of Israel is *guarding the covenant and the love*. This one guards the gate of all; on it depend all works of the world.[1199] Indeed, *that God created to make*—perfecting and arraying all, every single one, every single day,[1200] generating spirits and souls, even demonic spirits. Now if you say that these[1201] do not enhance the world—yes they do, by whipping the wicked of the world, for they confront and chastise them. Whoever wends to the left is seized by them on the left side.[1202] So they came into being to mend the world.

"Come and see what is written of Solomon: *I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of Adam* (2 Samuel 7:14). What are *blows of the children of Adam*? These are demons.[1203]

"Come and see: As they were being created, the day was hallowed, and they were left spirit without body.[1204] These are creatures never [48a] completed, from the left side, dross of gold.[1205] Since they are incomplete and defective, the holy name does not abide in them nor do they cleave to it. Their terror is provoked by the holy name, before which they tremble and panic, for the holy name does not abide in a defective site.[1206]

"Come and see: A person flawed by not leaving a son in this world does not cleave to the holy name when he departs, nor is he admitted within the curtain because he is defective, incomplete.[1207] An uprooted, barren tree must be transplanted, for the holy name is consummate from every angle and no defect can cleave to it.[1208]

"Come and see: These creatures are defective from above and below, so

they cleave neither above nor below.[1209] These *God created to make* (Genesis 2:3), for they were completed neither above nor below.[1210] Now if you say, 'Look, they are spirits! Why not above?'[1211] Since they were not completed below, on earth, they were not completed above.[1212] All deriving from the left side, they are invisible to human beings, whom they menacingly confront.

"Three features they share with the ministering angels and three with human beings, as has been established.[1213] Having been created, those spirits were plunged behind the millstones of the chasm of the immense abyss for the duration of Sabbath eve and Sabbath day.[1214] Once the holiness of the day departed and they were not completed, they erupted into the world, roaming in every direction.[1215] The world must defend itself against them, for then the entire left side is aroused, fire of Hell flashes, and all denizens of the left roam the world, craving to clothe themselves in a body, but they cannot. We must protect ourselves against them, so a song against maleficent spirits has been prescribed for whenever their dread prevails in the world.[1216]

"Come and see: When the day is hallowed at the entrance of Sabbath, a canopy of peace hovers, spreading over the world. Who is Canopy of Peace? Sabbath, when all spirits, whirlwinds, demons, and the entire dimension of impurity are hidden away within the eye of the millstone of the chasm of the immense abyss.[1217] For as soon as holiness arouses over the world, the spirit of impurity cannot arouse; one flees the other. Then the world enjoys supernal shelter, and we need not pray for protection, for example: 'who guards His people Israel forever.' This has been prescribed for weekdays, when the world does need protection,[1218] but on Sabbath a canopy of peace spreads over the world, which is sheltered on every side. Even the wicked in Hell are protected;[1219] all bask in peace, those above and those below. So in hallowing the day, we bless: 'who spreads a canopy of peace over us, over His entire people Israel, and over Jerusalem.'[1220] Why 'over Jerusalem'? Because this is the abode of that canopy, and we should invite that canopy to spread over us, abide with us, and protect us, like a mother hovering over her children, who are thereby free of fear from any direction. So, 'who spreads a canopy of peace.'

"Come and see: When Israel blesses and invites this canopy of peace—holy guest—by reciting 'who spreads a canopy of peace,' supernal sanctity descends, spreading Her wings over Israel, covering them like a mother over her children. All maleficent species are rounded up from the world, and Israel dwells beneath the holiness of their Lord. Then this canopy of peace issues new souls to Her children.[1221] Why? Because then is the time of coupling, and She receives souls, abiding in Her, emerging from Her. As She hovers, spreading Her wings over Her children, She pours new souls upon every single one."

Rabbi Shim'on said further, "So we have learned: 'Sabbath is patterned on the world that is coming.'[1222] Certainly so! Sabbatical and Jubilee are paradigms of one another,[1223] as are Sabbath and the world that is coming.[1224] That supplement to the soul comes to this canopy of peace from the mystery of זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember* (Exodus 20:8), as received [48b] from the world that is coming.[1225] She bestows this supplement upon the holy people, who rejoice in it, and all fear, trouble, and sorrow sink into oblivion, as is said: *On the day that YHVH gives you rest from your sorrow and anxiety, and from the hard bondage imposed on you* (Isaiah 14:3).

"On Sabbath eve one should taste everything, to show that this canopy of peace encompasses all, provided one doesn't mar one course for the day— some say two, for the two other meals of the day, and this is fine.[1226]

"Kindling the lamp of Sabbath has been entrusted to the women of the holy people.[1227] The Companions have said that she extinguished the lamp of the world and darkened it....[1228] This is fine, but here is the mystery of the matter: This canopy of peace is the Consort of the world, and souls constituting the supernal lamp abide within Her.[1229] So the consort should kindle, for linked to her site, she performs the act.[1230] A woman should kindle the Sabbath lamp in joy to attain supernal honor and merit, to be worthy of holy sons who will become lamps of the world in Torah and reverence, spreading peace through the world.[1231] She also provides her husband long life; so she should be careful.[1232]

"Come and see: Sabbath, night and day, זכור (*zakhor*), *remember*, and שמור (*shamor*), *observe*, as one. So it is written: *Remember the Sabbath day, to hallow it* (Exodus 20:8), and: *Observe the Sabbath day* (Deuteronomy 5:12). זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember*, for דכורא (*dekhora*), male; and שמור (*shamor*), *observe*, for female—all is one.[1233]

"Happy are Israel, portion of the blessed Holy One, His share and heritage. Of them is written: *Happy the people who have it so; happy the people whose God is YHVH* (Psalms 144:15)."

YHVH Elohim fashioned הצלע (*ha-tsela*), *the side*,[1234] *that He had taken from the human into a woman, and He brought her to the human* (Genesis 2:22).

Rabbi Shim'on said, "It is written: *Elohim understands her way, He knows her site* (Job 28:23). This verse bears numerous nuances,[1235] but *Elohim* הבין (*hevin*), *understands, her way* corresponds to what is said: ויבן יהוה אלהים (*Va-yiven YHVH Elohim*), *YHVH Elohim fashioned, the side*—namely, Oral Torah, who contains a way, as is said: *who makes a way through the sea* (Isaiah 43:16).[1236] So, *Elohim understands her way*.

"*He knows her site*. Who is *her site*? Written Torah, containing knowledge.[1237]

"*YHVH Elohim*—a complete name, arraying Her with all, so it is called both Wisdom and Understanding, for it bore the complete name entirely—*YHVH Elohim*—consummating two names.[1238]

"הצלע (*Ha-tsela*), *The side*—the speculum that does not shine, as is said: ובצלעי (*Uv-tsal'i*), *At my stumbling, they rejoiced*... (Psalms 35:15).[1239]

"*That He had taken from* האדם (*ha-adam*), *the human*—for She issued from Written Torah.[1240]

"*Into a woman*—to be joined to the flame of the left side, for Torah was given from the side of Power.[1241] לאשה (*Le-ishshah*), *Into a woman*—to be אש ה׳ (*esh he*), fire of *he*, bound together as one.[1242]

"*And He brought her to* האדם (*ha-adam*), *the human*—for She should not be alone but rather embraced by, joined with Written Torah.[1243] Once She joins with Him, He will nourish and adorn Her, providing Her what She needs. From here we learn that when one offers his daughter in marriage, until she enters her husband's domain her parents prepare and provide all she needs, but once she joins her husband, he nourishes her and provides what she needs.[1244]

"Come and see: At first is written, *YHVH Elohim fashioned the side*, for Father and Mother array Her. Afterward *He brought her to the human*, so that all is bound as one, joined to one another, and He provides Her what She needs.[1245]

"Alternatively, *Elohim understands her way*. When the daughter resides in her mother's house, she watches out every day for everything her daughter needs, as is written: *Elohim understands her way*.[1246] Once she joins her husband, he provides her all she needs and arranges her affairs, as is written: *He knows her site*.

[49a] "Alternatively, this verse was spoken concerning supernal wisdom and linked to supernal secrets. The primordial point is totally unknown to anyone, but *Elohim understands her way*—this is the world that is coming.[1247] *He*—hidden of all hidden, concealed of all concealed, called *He*, unknown by any name.[1248]

"It is written: וייצר יהוה אלהים (*Va-yitser YHVH Elohim*), *YHVH Elohim formed, the human* (Genesis 2:7). Here he was perfected consummately, on the right and on the left. We have already established that he encompassed the good impulse and the evil impulse.[1249] Why? The good impulse, for himself; the evil impulse, to arouse toward his female.[1250] Arousal always arises from the left side toward the female, linking itself with her, so she is called אשה (*ishshah*), woman.[1251]

"Come and see the good impulse and the evil impulse, for the female is embraced by them, linked with them, though not until the evil impulse arouses

toward her and they join one another. Once they do, the good impulse, who is joy, arouses, drawing her close to him. Above, genuine North, who is joy without the filth of evil impulse, holds Her first, as is written: *His left hand beneath my head*, and afterward, *his right embracing me* (Song of Songs 2:6).[1252] She is positioned between right and left, to be nourished, so: *YHVH Elohim formed*—a complete name, corresponding to these two sides.[1253]

"*The human* (Genesis, ibid.). We have already established that this implies male and female as one, not separated to be face-to-face.[1254]

"What is written? *Dust of the earth* (ibid.),[1255] now poised to be arrayed.[1256]

"Come and see: When a woman is joined with her husband, she is called by his name: איש אשה (*ish ishshah*), man, woman; צדיק צדק (*tsaddiq tsedeq*), righteous, righteousness.[1257] He is עופר (*ofer*), fawn, and she is עפר (*afar*), dust. Then he is צבי (*tsevi*), hart, and she is צביה (*tseviyyah*), doe; צבי (*tsevi*), *fairest, of all lands* (Ezekiel 20:6).[1258]

"It is written: *Do not plant* אשרה (*asherah*)[1259] *or any tree-like object beside the altar that you make for YHVH your God* (Deuteronomy 16:21). *Beside the altar*—Is it permitted above the altar or anywhere else? Rather, we have established: אשר (*Asher*) is her husband, and she is named after him: אשרה (*Asherah*). So it is written: *For Baal and Asherah* (2 Kings 23:4).[1260] So, *Do not plant* אשרה (*Asherah*) *... beside the altar that you make for YHVH your God*—over against *the altar of YHVH*, for *the altar of YHVH* is based on this, so *do not plant* another *Asherah* over against Her.[1261]

"Come and see: All those sun-worshipers are always called worshipers of Baal, and those who worship the moon are called worshipers of Asherah, so *for Baal and Asherah*, Asherah being named after her husband, Asher. If so, why was this name displaced?[1262] Because Asherah derives from the verse באשרי (*Be-oshri*), *Happy am I! For daughters will deem me happy* (Genesis 30:13), while the other nations did not deem Her happy, substituting another in Her place.[1263] Further it is written: *All who honored her despise her* (Lamentations 1:8). So this name was displaced in order that those worshiped by other nations not be empowered.[1264] We call Her *altar* made of *earth*, as is written: *altar of earth ...* (Exodus 20:22). So, *dust of the earth*.[1265]

"*He blew into his nostrils the breath of life* (Genesis 2:7). The word is inclusive, but *He blew into his nostrils the breath of life*—into that *dust*, like a female impregnated by a male, for they join and this *dust* is filled with all.[1266] With whom? Spirits and souls.

"*And* האדם (*ha-adam*), *the human, became a living soul* (ibid.)—now *the human* was arrayed enduringly, to adorn and nourish the *living soul*.[1267]

"*YHVH Elohim fashioned* (ibid., 22).[1268] Here, too, with the complete name, for

Father and Mother adorned Her before She approached Her husband.[1269]

"*The side*, as is said: *I am black but beautiful* (Song of Songs 1:5), the speculum that does not shine,[1270] but Father and Mother adorned Her so that Her husband be pleased with Her.

"*And He brought her to the man* (ibid.). From here we learn that the father and mother of the bride should bring her into the domain of the groom, as is said: *I have given my daughter to this man* (Deuteronomy 22:16). From now on, her husband comes to her, for the house is hers, as is written: *He came in to her* (Genesis 29:23), *He came in to Rachel also* (ibid., 30).[1271] First, *He brought her to the man*, for up to this point the father and mother should act. Afterward, he should come to her, for the entire house is hers and he must obtain her permission.[1272]

"We have aroused our awareness of this, as is written: *He approached the place and stayed there for the night* (ibid. 28:11), first obtaining permission.[1273] From here we learn that one who joins [49b] his wife should entreat her and sweeten her with words, or otherwise not spend the night with her, so that their desire be as one, with no coercion.

"*He stayed there for the night, for the sun had set* (ibid.), showing that one is forbidden to engage in intercourse in the daytime.[1274]

"*He took one of the stones of the place and put it under his head* (ibid.). Here we learn that if a king has golden beds and precious spreads in which to spend the night, and his consort prepares him a bed arranged with stones, he should leave his own and sleep in the one that she prepares, as is written: *He lay down in that place* (ibid.).[1275]

"Come and see what is written here: *The man said, 'This one at last...'* (ibid. 2:23).[1276] Behold the fragrance of words, to draw love with her, draw her toward his desire, arouse passion together. See how sweet, how full of love: *Bone of my bones, flesh of flesh*, showing her they are one, inseparable.[1277]

"Now he begins praising her: *This one shall be called Woman* (ibid.). This one is unparalleled, glory of the house! All women compared with her are like an ape compared with humans.[1278] Certainly *this one shall be called Woman*, perfection of all, *this one* and no other, as is written: *Many daughters have done virtuously, but you surpass them all* (Proverbs 31:29).[1279]

"*Therefore a man leaves his father and mother and cleaves to his wife* [*and they become one flesh*] (Genesis 2:24)—all to draw her in love, to cleave to her.[1280] Once he had aroused her with all these words, what is written? *Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field...* (ibid. 3:1). The evil impulse aroused to seize her, binding her with bodily desire, arousing in her other things in which evil impulse delights, until eventually what is written? *The woman saw*

that the tree was good for eating and a delight to the eye,[1281] *and she took of its fruit and ate* (ibid., 6)—receiving it willingly[1282]—*and also gave to her husband beside her*, for now she aroused desirously toward him, offering passionate love. This shows human beings how the act corresponds above."[1283]

Rabbi El'azar said, "If so, how can we demonstrate the evil impulse above, seizing the female?"[1284]

He replied, "We have already aroused our awareness of the mystery of left and right, corresponding to the good impulse and the evil impulse—good impulse on the right, evil impulse on the left—these above and those below.[1285] The left above grasps the body to join with Her as one, as is said: *His left hand beneath my head...* (Song of Songs 2:6).[1286] So until here words are interpretable above and below. From here on, words with a residue of tar, interpretable by tiny children.[1287] By this the Companions have already been aroused."

Rabbi Shim'on was traveling to Tiberias, accompanied by Rabbi Yose, Rabbi Yehudah, and Rabbi Ḥiyya. On the way they saw Rabbi Pinḥas approaching. Upon joining as one, they dismounted and sat beneath the trees of the hillside.

Rabbi Pinḥas said, "Now that we are sitting, I am eager to hear some of those sublime words you convey every day!"[1288]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*He went on his journeys from the Negev as far as Bet-El* (Genesis 13:3).[1289] *He went on his journeys*. The verse should read: *his journey*. Why *his journeys*? Because there are two journeys: one, his; one, of *Shekhinah*. For every human being should manifest as male and female to fortify faith; then *Shekhinah* never separates from him.[1290]

"You might say: 'If one sets out on the road and is no longer male and female, *Shekhinah* separates from him.'[1291] Come and see: Whoever sets out on the road should offer his prayer to the blessed Holy One to draw upon himself *Shekhinah* of his Lord before he leaves, while still male and female.[1292] Once he has offered his prayer and *Shekhinah* rests upon him, he can leave, for *Shekhinah* has coupled with him so that he will be male and female: male and female in town, male and female in the countryside,[1293] as is written: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way* (Psalms 85:14).[1294]

"Come and see: As [50a] long as one lingers on the way, he must guard his conduct, so that supernal coupling will not separate from him, leaving him defective, lacking male and female.[1295] In town he must, when his female is with him; how much more so here, for supernal coupling is linked with him! Further, this coupling protects him on the way, not parting from him until he returns home.

"Upon entering his house he should delight the lady of his house, for she engendered that supernal coupling.[1296] As soon as he reaches her he should delight her anew, for two nuances. First, because the joy of this coupling is joy of *mitsvah*, and joy of *mitsvah* is joy of *Shekhinah*.[1297] Further, he increases peace below,[1298] as is written: *You will know that your tent is at peace, attend to your abode and not sin* (Job 5:24). Is it a sin if one does not attend to his wife? Certainly so, for he diminishes the splendor of supernal coupling coupled with him, engendered by the lady of his house.[1299] Second, if his wife conceives, supernal coupling pours into it a holy soul,[1300] for this covenant is called Covenant of the blessed Holy One.[1301] So one should focus on this joy as on the joy of Sabbath, coupling of the wise.[1302] So, *You will know that your tent is at peace*, for *Shekhinah* accompanies you and dwells in your house; therefore, *you will attend to your abode and not sin*. What is the meaning of *not sin*? Not fail to perform the joy of *mitsvah* in the presence of *Shekhinah*.[1303]

"Similarly, when disciples of the wise part from their wives all days of the week to engage in Torah, supernal coupling couples with them, not parting from them, so that they be male and female.[1304] Once Sabbath enters, disciples of the wise should delight their wives anew for the sake of the splendor of supernal coupling, focusing their hearts on the will of their Lord, as has been explained.

"Similarly, when a man's wife undergoes days of impurity and he waits for her fittingly,[1305] supernal coupling couples with him all those days, so he is male and female. Once his wife is purified, he should delight her anew—joy of *mitsvah*, supernal joy!

"All the reasons we have offered rise to a single rung.[1306] The gist of the word: All scions of faith should focus their heart and will on this.[1307]

"Now you might say, 'If so, it is more admirable for a person to set out on the road than to stay at home because of supernal coupling who couples with him.' Come and see: When a man is at home, the essence of the home is his wife, for on account of her, *Shekhinah* does not leave the house. So we have learned: *Isaac brought her into the tent of his mother Sarah* (Genesis 24:67), for the lamp was kindled. Why? Because *Shekhinah* entered the home.[1308]

"Mystery of the matter: Supernal Mother appears with the male only when the house is arrayed, when male and female join. She then pours blessings upon them.[1309] Similarly, Lower Mother appears with the male only when the house is arrayed, when the male approaches his female and they join as one. She then pours blessings upon them.[1310] So a man at home is adorned with two females, as above.[1311] This corresponds to the mystery written: *until the desire of hills of eternity* (ibid. 49:26). *The desire of hills of eternity* extends to this *until*: supernal female, to array, adorn, and bless Him; lower female, to unite with Him, be

nourished by Him.[1312]

"Similarly below, when a male is married, *the desire of hills of eternity* verges toward him, and he is adorned with two females, one above and one below: the upper to pour blessings upon him, the lower to be nourished by him, unite with him.[1313] A man at home is the focus of *the desire of hills of eternity*, with whom he is adorned. Not so when he sets out on the road: Supernal Mother unites with him, while the lower is left behind.[1314] Upon returning home he should adorn himself with two females, as we have said."

Rabbi Pinḥas said, "Even in a skein of scales and fins,[1315] no one [50b] dares challenge you."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Similarly Torah stands between two houses, as is written: *for the two houses of Israel* (Isaiah 8:14), one concealed on high, the other more revealed.[1316] The concealed one on high is the *mighty voice*, as is written: *a mighty voice unceasing* (Deuteronomy 5:19). This voice is inward, inaudible, and unrevealed, as the larynx wells, whispering ה (*he*), flowing incessantly, tenuous, internal, eternally unheard.[1317]

"From here emerges Torah, *voice of Jacob*, audible issuing from inaudible.[1318] Afterward speech merges in it, resounding from its potency.[1319] The voice of Jacob, Torah, is embraced by two females: this inner, inaudible one, and this outer one, audible.[1320]

"Two are inaudible, two audible. Of the two inaudible, this is supernal, concealed Wisdom abiding in Thought, unrevealed, unheard. Afterward it emerges, revealing itself slightly in a whisper unheard, called *mighty voice*, tenuous whispering.[1321]

"Two who are audible issue from here: voice of Jacob and speech merging in it. The *mighty voice* in a whisper unheard is בית (*bayit*), a house, for supernal Wisdom—every female is called 'house'—while final speech is a house for the voice of Jacob, mystery of Torah.[1322] Therefore Torah begins with בית (*bet*): בראשית (*Bet reshit*), *Two-house beginning* (Genesis 1:1)."[1323]

He opened, saying, "בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning, created* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (Genesis 1:1), corresponding to what is written: *YHVH Elohim fashioned the side* (ibid. 2:22).[1324] את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *Heaven*, corresponding to: *He brought her to the human* (ibid.). ואת הארץ (*Ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, as is written: *Bone of my bones* (ibid., 23)."[1325]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*YHVH declares to my Lord, 'Sit at My right hand*

until I make your enemies your footstool' (Psalms 110:1). *YHVH declares to my Lord*—the upper rung says to the lower rung:[1326] *Sit at My right hand*, so that West will be linked with South, left with right, to smash the power of other nations.[1327] *YHVH declares to my Lord. YHVH declares*—this is Jacob;[1328] *to my Lord—the ark of the covenant, Lord of all the earth* (Joshua 3:11).[1329]

"Alternatively, *YHVH declares*—this is Jubilee; *to my Lord*—Sabbatical,[1330] of whom is written: *I love my lord* (Exodus 21:5).[1331] *Sit at My right hand*, for right abides in Jubilee, and Sabbatical yearns to be linked with right.[1332]

"Come and see: Since the day She came to be, Sabbatical was never linked enduringly to right and left.[1333] When She yearned to be linked, He extended His left arm toward Her and created this world.[1334] Since it derived from the left side, it remains unstable till the seventh millennium, when it will be named One.[1335] Then She will be linked to the right, abide enduringly between right and left.[1336] *New heavens* and *new earth* will come to be;[1337] then She will never depart.

"If so, how can we establish the meaning of *Sit at My right hand*?[1338] This implies until a certain time, as is written: *until I make your enemies your footstool*, not permanently. But then You will never depart from there, as is written: *For you shall burst forth right and left* (Isaiah 54:3), all becoming one.[1339]

"Come and see: את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *Heaven* (Genesis 1:1) is upper *Shekhinah*; ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth* (ibid.) is lower *Shekhinah*, in a merging of male and female as one.[1340] This has been explained, as discussed arousingly by the Companions."

They rose and were about to leave, when Rabbi Shim'on said, "A word lingers here with us."

He opened, saying, "Two verses are written: *YHVH your God is a devouring fire* (Deuteronomy 4:24), and *You, cleaving to YHVH your God, are alive every one of you today* (ibid., 4). We have established these verses in various places, and the Companions have been aroused by them.[1341]

"Come and see: *For YHVH your God is a devouring fire*. The word has been discussed among the Companions: There is a fire devouring fire, devouring and consuming it, for there is fire fiercer than fire, as they have established.[1342] But come and see: Whoever desires to penetrate the wisdom of holy unification should contemplate the flame ascending from a glowing ember or a burning candle.[1343] For flame ascends only [51a] when grasped by coarse substance.

"Come and see! In a flame ascending are two lights: one, a white light, radiant; the other, a light tinged with black or blue.[1344] The white light is above, ascending unswervingly, while beneath it is the blue or black light, a throne for

the white, which rests upon it, each embracing the other, becoming one. This black light colored blue, below, is a throne of glory for the white— here lies the mystery of the thread of blue.[1345] This blue-black throne is grasped by another substance below, so it can flame, arousing it to embrace the white light.[1346] Sometimes this blue-black turns red,[1347] while the white light above never wavers, constantly white. This blue one, though, changes color: sometimes blue or black, sometimes red. This is grasped in two directions: above, by that white light; below, by what lies beneath, by which it is fueled, primed to glow. This constantly consumes and devours what is placed beneath it, for the blue light consumes anything cleaving below, anything it rests upon, since by nature it consumes and devours. On it depends destruction and death of all.[1348]

"So it consumes anything cleaving below, while that white light hovering over it never devours or consumes, nor does its light waver. Therefore Moses said, '*For YHVH your God is a devouring fire*'—really *devouring*, devouring and consuming anything found below. That is why he said *your God*, not *our God*, for Moses inhabited that white light above, which does not consume or devour.[1349]

"Come and see: The only arousal kindling this blue light, to be grasped by the white light, is Israel cleaving below.[1350]

"Come and see: Although by nature this blue-black light consumes anything cleaving below, Israel cleaves below and abides enduringly, as is written: *You, cleaving to YHVH your God, are alive. To YHVH your God*, not *our God; to YHVH your God*, to that blue-black light devouring, consuming whatever cleaves below—yet you cleave and endure, as is written: *alive every one of you today*.

"Above the white light hovers a concealed light, encompassing it.[1351] Here abides supernal mystery. You will discover all in the ascending flame, wisdoms of the highest."[1352]

Rabbi Pinḥas approached and kissed him, saying, "Blessed be the Compassionate One, that we happened to meet here."

They escorted Rabbi Pinḥas for three miles.[1353] When Rabbi Shim'on and the Companions returned, he said, "What we have discussed is a mystery of wisdom concerning holy unification, for the final ה (*he*) of the holy name is blue-black light, grasped by יה״ו (*yod, he, vav*), radiant white light.[1354]

"Come and see: Sometimes this blue light is ד (*dalet*), sometimes ה (*he*). When Israel does not cleave below, kindling it to be grasped by the white light, it is ד (*dalet*). When they arouse it to join the white light, it is called ה (*he*).[1355] How do we know? For it is written: *If there is* נערה (*na'arah*), *a girl, a virgin*

(Deuteronomy 22:23), spelled נער (*na'ara*), without a ה (*he*). Why? Because She has not joined a male, and wherever male and female are not found, ה (*he*) is not found but rather ascends, leaving ד (*dalet*).[1356] Whenever She is joined to the radiant white light, She is called ה (*he*), for all is as one: She cleaves to the white light, and Israel cleaves to Her, enduring beneath Her to kindle Her. Then all is one.

"This is the mystery of sacrifice. For the smoke ascending arouses this blue light to kindle, and when it kindles, it joins [51b] the white light, and the candle burns in oneness.[1357] Since this blue light by nature consumes and devours anything cleaving below, when favor prevails and the candle burns indivisibly, then this verse applies: *Fire descended from heaven and consumed the offering...* (1 Kings 18:38).[1358] Then it is known that the candle burns in a single union, a single bond: blue light cleaving to white light, and it is one. Below, it consumes fat and flesh of the offerings, though only when it ascends, joined to the white light. Then peace pervades all worlds, all linked inseparably.

"Once the blue light has finished consuming below, priests, Levites, and Israel cleave to it below, whether in joy of song, in heart's desire, or in prayer,[1359] while above them glows the candle, lights merging as one, worlds glimmering, above and below in bliss. Then, ואתם (*Ve-attem*), *And you, cleaving to YHVH your God, are alive every one of you today*. ואתם (*Ve-attem*), *And you*—the verse should read: אתם (*attem*), *you*. But ו (*vav*), *and*, surpasses the fat and flesh of the offerings: while they, cleaving to it, are devoured and consumed, you cleave to that blue-black devouring light and endure, as is written: *alive every one of you today*.[1360]

"'In a dream all colors bode well, except blue,'[1361] for it devours and consumes continuously. It is a tree of death spreading over the lower world, and since all abides beneath, it consumes and devours.[1362]

"Now you might say, 'It also prevails in heaven above, yet countless powers above endure.'[1363] Come and see: All those above are encompassed by the blue light,[1364] but those below, not so, for they constitute coarse substance upon which it alights, so it devours and consumes them. Nothing in the world escapes destruction, for the blue light consumes whatever it bestrides."

The universe diffracts into forty-five hues of colored light.[1365] Seven disperse into seven abysses, each one striking its own abyss, stones gyrating.[1366] The light penetrates those stones, piercing them, and water issues from them, each one sinking within an abyss, covering both sides.[1367] Water flows through those holes, light penetrates, striking all four sides of the abyss. Each light whirls around its

partner, converging as one, splitting the water. All seven seize seven abysses, delving their darkness, which mingles with them.[1368] Waters rise and fall, swirling amidst those lights. Light, darkness, and water blend as one, yielding darkened, invisible lights. Each strikes its partner, splaying into seventy-five abyssal channels, water streaming through. Every channel roars, abysses quake. As the roar sounds, each abyss calls to its partner: "Split your waters and I will enter you," as is written: *Abyss calls to abyss in the roar of Your channels* (Psalms 42:8).[1369]

Beneath these lie 365 sinews, some white, some black, some red, intertwining, turning into one color.[1370] These sinews interweave into seventeen webs, each one called a sinew web.[1371] Interwoven, they sink to the depths of the abysses. Beneath these abide two webs like iron and two others like copper. Upon them stand two thrones, one on the right and one on the left. All those webs join as one, and water pours down from the channels through the webs. Those two thrones—one is the throne of black expanse; the other, the throne of multicolored expanse. When they rise, they rise through the throne of black expanse; when they fall, they fall through the throne of multicolored expanse.[1372] These two thrones appear on the right and the left—of black expanse on the right, of multicolored expanse on the left. [52a] When they rise through the throne of black expanse, the throne of the expanse on the left sinks and through it they fall. Spinning around one another, the thrones catch all those webs, drawing them into the depths of the lowest abyss. One throne ascends above all the abysses, the other lies below, while in between all channels are inserted, all abysses swirl.

There are seventy-five channels: seven, highest of all; all the others connected to them. All are implanted in the wheels of the throne on this side and in the wheels of the throne on that. Through them waters rise and fall. Falling, they delve the abysses, splitting them. Rising, they penetrate the holes in the stones, filling seven seas. Till here, seven colors of light in supernal mystery.

Seven other lights disperse into seven seas, one sea encompassing them.[1373] That one sea is supernal, all seas merging within. These seven lights enter that sea, striking it on seven sides, each side splitting into seven torrents, as is written: *He will smite it into seven torrents...* (Isaiah 11:15). Each torrent splits into seven rivers, each river into seven channels, each channel into seven conduits, and all the waters of the sea entirely flow through.[1374]

Seven lights ascend and descend on seven sides. Seven supernal lights enter the sea—six radiating from one supreme.[1375] As the sea receives, so it disperses its waters to all those seas, all those rivers.

One monster below, on the left side, swims through all those rivers.[1376] He

approaches the side, all his scales iron-hard, stretches to suck, and defiles the site. All lights darken before him. His mouth and tongue flame with fire, his tongue sharp as a steely sword, till he penetrates the sanctuary within the sea.[1377] Then the sanctuary is desecrated, lights extinguished, supernal lights ascend from the sea.[1378] The waters of the sea split on the left side, and the sea congeals, its waters flowing no more.[1379]

So the mystery of the word is as written: *Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field that YHVH Elohim had made* (Genesis 3:1)—mystery of the evil serpent descending from above, skimming the surface of bitter waters, seducing below till they fall into his nets.[1380] This serpent is death of the world,[1381] penetrating a person's blind gut.[1382] He is on the left, while another, of life, is on the right, both accompanying each human, as they have established.[1383]

Than any creature of the field. For no other creature of the field is as cunning in perpetrating evil, for he is dross of gold.[1384] Woe to one drawn toward him, for he inflicts death upon him and upon all those following him! This they have established.[1385]

Adam was drawn down toward him, descending to know everything below.[1386] As he descended, his will and ways were drawn toward them,[1387] until they reached that serpent, discovering worldly desire, straying at that site.[1388] Then he rose,[1389] drawn toward Adam and his wife, clung to them, inflicted death upon them and upon all subsequent generations. Until Israel arrived at Mount Sinai, his slime never ceased infecting the world, as has been explained.[1390]

Once they sinned, clinging to the tree where death abides,[1391] what is written? *They heard the voice of YHVH Elohim moving about in the garden* (ibid. 3:8). The verse does not read: מהלך (*mehallekh*), *moving*, but rather: מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *moving about*.[1392]

Come and see: Until Adam sinned, he ascended and abode in supernal, radiant wisdom, never parting from the Tree of Life.[1393] Once he indulged in desire to descend and know below, he was drawn toward them until he parted from the Tree of Life, knowing evil, abandoning good.[1394] So it is written: *You are not a God who delights in wickedness; evil cannot abide with You* (Psalms 5:5). [52b] Whoever is drawn toward evil cannot abide with the Tree of Life. Until they sinned, they used to hear a voice from above, perceive supernal wisdom, endure supernal radiance fearlessly. Once they sinned, even a voice below they could neither understand nor withstand.[1395]

Similarly, when Israel stood at Mount Sinai, before sinning, the slime of this serpent was eliminated from them, for the evil impulse was repulsed by them, universally abolished.[1396] So they grafted to the Tree of Life, ascending, not descending; knowing, seeing supernal specula;[1397] eyes glistening, delighting in

discovery, in listening. Then the blessed Holy One girded them with belts of letters of the holy name, so the serpent could not dominate or defile them as before. Once they sinned, all those supernal lights and rungs were removed from them, along with the belts bristling with crowns of the supreme name. Attracting the evil serpent as before, they inflicted death upon the whole world.[1398]

What is written next? *The Children of Israel saw the face of Moses, and behold, the skin of his face was radiant! They were afraid to come near him* (Exodus 34:30).[1399] Come and see what is written previously: *Israel saw the great hand* (ibid. 14:31).[1400] All were seeing supernal radiancies, being enlightened by the resplendent speculum, as is written: *All the people were seeing the voices* (ibid. 20:15).[1401] By the sea they were gazing fearlessly, as is written: *This is my God and I will adorn Him* (ibid. 15:2).[1402] After they sinned, what is written? *They were afraid to come near him*.[1403]

Come and see what is written of them: *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments from Mount Horeb on* (ibid. 33:6), for they were divested of the weapons girded on them at Mount Sinai, preventing the evil serpent from dominating them. Once they were deprived of these, what is written? *Moses took the Tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp* (ibid. 33:7).

Rabbi El'azar said, "What is this verse doing next to that?[1404] Since Moses knew that those supernal weapons had been removed, he thought, 'Certainly from now on, the evil serpent will come dwell among them. If the sanctuary remains standing here among them, it will be defiled.[1405] Immediately, *Moses took the Tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp*, for he saw that, unlike before, the evil serpent was poised to prevail."

He called it Tent of Meeting (ibid.). Was it not so previously? At first, it was simply *Tent*, now, *Tent of Meeting*. Why מועד (*mo'ed*), meeting? Rabbi El'azar explained it positively; Rabbi Abba, negatively.

Rabbi El'azar explained positively, "Just as מועד (mo'ed), festival, is a day of joy for the moon, when her holiness waxes and she is free of defect,[1406] so now he called Her by this name, showing She had been removed far from them and not been tainted.[1407] So it is written: *He called it Tent of Mo'ed, Festival*."

Rabbi Abba explained negatively, "At first, it was simply *Tent*, as is said: *a tent not to be moved, whose pegs will never be pulled up* (Isaiah 33:20). Now, *Tent of Mo'ed, Slated Time*.[1408] At first, extending long life eternally, so death would not prevail.[1409] From now on, *Tent of Mo'ed*, as is said: *the house mo'ed, slated, for all living* (Job 30:23).[1410] Now time is allotted, life rationed to the world. At first, untainted; now tainted. At first, joining and coupling of the moon with the sun unceasingly.[1411] Now, *Tent of Mo'ed, Slated Time*, coupling from time to time. So unlike before, *He called it Tent of Mo'ed*."

One night Rabbi Shim'on was sitting, plying Torah. Sitting in front of him were Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Yitsḥak, and Rabbi Yose.

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Look at what is written: *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments from Mount Horeb on* (Exodus 33:6)! We assert that from that moment on they inflicted death upon themselves; that evil serpent they had just thrown off now dominated them.[1412] This may be true of the Israelites, but what of Joshua, who did not sin?[1413] Was he, too, divested of that supernal weapon he received with them at Mount Sinai or not? [53a] If you say not, then why did he die like all other human beings? If you say he was, why, seeing that he had not sinned, for he was with Moses when Israel was sinning? And if you say he did not receive the same crown received by Israel at Mount Sinai, why not?"

He opened, saying,[1414] "*For YHVH is righteous, loving righteousness; the upright shall behold His face* (Psalms 11:7). The Companions have discussed this verse,[1415] but: *For YHVH is righteous*—He is righteous and His name is Righteous, so: *loving righteousness*.[1416] *Upright*—He is *upright*, as is said: *Righteous and upright is He* (Deuteronomy 32:4). So all inhabitants of the world *shall behold His face*, mending their ways to follow the straight path fittingly.[1417]

"Come and see: When the blessed Holy One judges the world, He does so according to the majority of human beings.[1418]

"Come and see: When Adam sinned by eating from the tree, he transmogrified that tree into a universal source of death; he caused a defect, separating the Woman from Her Husband.[1419] The fault of this defect stood out in the moon, until Israel stood at Mount Sinai, when that defect disappeared from the moon, enabling Her to constantly shine.[1420] Once Israel sinned with the calf, She relapsed into defectiveness; the evil serpent prevailed and seized Her, dragging Her to him.[1421] When Moses discovered that Israel had sinned and been divested of their supernal, sacred weapons, he knew for sure that the serpent had seized the moon to drag Her to him, that She had been tainted. So he brought Her outside.[1422] Even though Joshua maintained his armored crown, since She was susceptible to turning defective and defect abode in Her and She slipped back into the defectiveness caused by Adam's sin, no human being can perdure except for Moses, who controlled Her and whose death ensued from another aspect.[1423] So She was not empowered to sustain Joshua forever, nor anyone else. Therefore he called Her *Tent* of מועד (*Mo'ed*), *Slated Time* (Exodus 33:7), a tent housing allotted time for the entire world.[1424]

"So the mystery of the word: There is right above, there is right below. There is left above, there is left below.[1425] Right above in supernal sanctity; right below on the other side. Left above in supernal sanctity, arousing love, linking

the moon with a sacred site to shine.[1426] Left below, blocking love from above, preventing Her from reflecting the sun and drawing near. This is the side of the evil serpent, for when this lower left arouses, it pulls the moon, separating Her from above, so Her light darkens and She cleaves to the serpent. Then She draws death for all, distancing Herself from the Tree of Life,[1427] inflicting death upon the whole world. Consequently the sanctuary is defiled for a fixed time till the moon is restored and resumes shining; therefore, *Tent* of מועד (*Mo'ed*), *Slated Time*.[1428] So Joshua died only through the incitement of the serpent, who approached and tainted the Dwelling as at first.[1429] This is the mystery written: *Joshua son of Nun, a lad*—although he was *a lad* below, absorbing light, *he would not depart from the Tent* (Exodus 33:11): as one was defective, so was the other.[1430] Even though he possessed the sacred weapon, since he was tainted he was certainly not singularly saved from that very stain.

"Come and see: Similarly, once Adam sinned, the blessed Holy One deprived him of those weapons of sacred sparkling letters with which he was arrayed. Then they were frightened, knowing they had been stripped of them, as is written: *They knew that they were naked* (Genesis 3:7).[1431] At first they were adorned with those precious studded crowns—absolute freedom.[1432] Once they sinned, they were stripped of them; then they knew that death was calling them, that they were stripped of absolute freedom, that they had inflicted death upon themselves and upon the whole world. [53b]

"*They sewed together fig leaves* (ibid.). We have already established that they discovered every kind of sorcery and magic, grasping the one below, as has been said.[1433] At that moment the erect stature of Adam diminished by one hundred cubits.[1434] Separation ensued, Adam was arraigned, earth was cursed, as we have established."

He drove out את האדם (*et ha-adam*), *Adam* (ibid., 24).[1435]

Rabbi El'azar said, "We do not know who divorced whom: if the blessed Holy One divorced Adam, or not.[1436] But the word is transposed: *He drove out* את (*Et*)—precisely![1437] Who drove out *Et*? *Adam. Adam* actually drove out *Et*![1438] Consequently it is written: *YHVH Elohim expelled him from the Garden of Eden* (ibid., 23). Why did He expel him? Because Adam drove out *Et*, as we have explained.[1439]

"*He placed* [... *the cherubim*] (ibid., 24).[1440] He installed them in this site; he was the cause, closing pathways, inflicting punishment on the world, extending curses from that day on.[1441]

"*And a blazing, ever-turning sword* (ibid.)—all those projectiles of

judgment deployed against the world in the hollow of a sling,[1442] turning countless shades to chastise the world,[1443] sometimes male, sometimes female,[1444] flashing fire, winds—unbearable, unfathomable. All this *to guard the way to the Tree of Life* (ibid.), so they would commit no further wrong, as before.

"*A blazing sword*—flashing fiery torment[1445] upon the heads of sinners, turning various shades according to human conduct. So, *blazing*, as is said: *The day that is coming shall set them ablaze...* (Malachi 3:19), as has been explained.

"*Sword—the sword of YHVH*, as is said: *the sword of YHVH filled with blood...* (Isaiah 34:6)."[1446]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "*A blazing sword*. Even all those quaestors below, constantly transforming, are empowered over the world to harass and accuse sinners violating their Lord's commands.[1447]

"Come and see: When Adam sinned, he drew upon himself countless maleficent species and wardens of judgment,[1448] before all of whom he trembled, overwhelmed. Solomon knew supernal wisdom, was crowned with royalty by the blessed Holy One, feared by the entire world. Yet once he sinned, he drew upon himself countless maleficent species and wardens of judgment, before all of whom he trembled, so they were able to torment him, snatching his possessions.[1449]

"So as a person tends, according to his pursued path, he draws upon himself an appointed power encountering him.[1450] Thus Adam attracted another, impure power defiling him and all humanity.

"Come and see: When Adam sinned he drew upon himself an impure power, defiling him and all humanity. This is the evil serpent, impure, defiling the world. For we have learned: When he plucks out souls from human beings, the body is left impure, defiling the house and anyone coming near, as is written: *Whoever touches a corpse...* (Numbers 19:11).[1451] Once he seizes the soul and defiles the body, permission is granted to all those impure aspects to hover over it, for that body has been defiled by the aspect of the evil serpent settling upon it. So wherever that serpent prevails, he defiles.

"Come and see: When night spreads her wings and all inhabitants of the world lie asleep in bed, they taste a taste of death.[1452] Due to this taste, the impure spirit roams the world, defiling the world with its whirlwind,[1453] alighting on the hands of a human being, now contaminated.[1454] Upon awakening, his soul restored, he defiles whatever his hands draw near because the impure spirit settles upon them. So when dressing, one should not take his clothes from anyone who has not washed his hands, for he thereby draws upon himself that impure spirit and is contaminated. This impure spirit is empowered to settle anywhere it detects a trace of its side. So one should not let his hands be washed

by anyone who has not washed his hands, for he draws upon him that impure spirit, received by the one whose hands are being washed, empowered to settle upon him.[1455] [54a]

"So one should guard every side against the side of this evil serpent, lest it dominate him. In the world to come the blessed Holy One intends to exterminate him from the world, as is written: *I will eliminate the spirit of impurity from earth* (Zechariah 13:2). Then *He will swallow up death forever*... (Isaiah 25:8)."

The man knew Eve his wife... (Genesis 4:1).[1456]

Rabbi Abba opened, "*Who knows if the spirit of the sons of men ascends on high and the spirit of a beast descends into earth?* (Ecclesiastes 3:21). This verse bears numerous nuances,[1457] as does every word of Torah, each and every one including countless colors, all fitting. So they are, the entire Torah assuming seventy aspects, seventy faces.[1458] So it is with every single word of Torah, and whatever emerges from each and every word diverges into numerous nuances in countless directions.

"Come and see: When one follows the path of truth, he tends toward the right, drawing upon himself a supernal holy spirit from above.[1459] This spirit ascends in holy desire to unite above, cleaving to supernal holiness irremovably. But when one follows the path of evil and strays, he draws upon himself an impure spirit of the left side, defiling him, so he becomes defiled,[1460] as is said: *Do not defile yourselves with them, and thus become defiled* (Leviticus 11:43). If one turns toward defiling himself, he is defiled.[1461]

"Come and see: When one follows the path of truth, drawing upon himself a supernal, holy spirit, cleaving to it, he draws supernal holiness upon the son he engenders, who issues from him into the world, who is thereby endowed with the holiness of his Lord, as is written: *Hallow yourselves and you will be holy*... (ibid., 44).[1462] But when he follows the left side, drawing upon himself an impure spirit, cleaving to it, he draws an impure spirit upon the son who issues from him into the world, who is thereby defiled by the impurity of that side.

"So it is written: *Who knows if the spirit of the sons of men ascends on high?* When he cleaves to the right, she ascends, but when he cleaves to the left, that side of the left, spirit of impurity, descends and possesses him unyieldingly, so whatever son he engenders derives from that impure spirit.[1463]

"Adam cleaved to that impure spirit,[1464] while his wife cleaved to it first, receiving, absorbing its slime, from which a son was engendered—son of impure spirit. So there were two sons: one from that impure spirit and one when Adam returned to God;[1465] this from the impure side, this from the pure."[1466]

Rabbi El'azar said, "When the serpent injected that slime into Eve, she absorbed it, so when she copulated with Adam she bore two sons: one from that impure side and one from the side of Adam,[1467] Cain resembling both the higher image and the lower.[1468] So their paths diverged from one another. Cain was certainly son of the impure spirit, and deriving from the side of the Angel of Death, he killed his brother.[1469] Being from his side, from him emerged all evil haunts, goblins, spirits, and demons."[1470]

Rabbi Yose said, "קין (*Qayin*), Cain—קינא (*qina*), nest, of evil lairs materializing from the side of impurity.[1471] Afterward they brought an offering, each from his own side, as is written: *It came to pass at the end of days that Cain brought an offering to YHVH from the fruit of the soil* [*and as for Abel, he, too, brought— from the firstlings of his flock, from their fat portions*] (Genesis 4:3–4)."[1472]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "ויהי מקץ ימים (*Vayhi mi-qets yamim*), *It came to pass at the end of days*.[1473] What is מקץ ימים (*mi-qets yamim*), *at the end of days*? This is *end of all flesh* (ibid. 6:13). Who is that? Angel of Death.[1474] Cain brought an offering precisely from that *end of days*, for it says: מקץ ימים (*mi-qets yamim*), *from the end of days*, and not מקץ ימין (*mi-qets yamin*), *from the end of the right*.[1475] So of Daniel it is written: *As for you, go till the end and take your rest; you will rise for your reward* לקץ הימין (*le-qets ha-yamin*) (Daniel 12:13). He asked, 'לקץ הימים (*Le-qets ha-yamim*), *At the end of days*, or לקץ הימין (*le-qets ha-yamin*), *at the end of the right*?' He responded, 'לקץ הימין (*Le-qets ha-yamin*), *At the end of the right*.'[1476] [54b] Whereas Cain brought (*mi-qets ha-yamim*), *from the end of days*.

"*Cain brought from the fruit of the soil*, as is said: *from the fruit of the tree* (Genesis 3:3)."[1477]

Rabbi El'azar said, "*From the fruit of the soil*, as is said: *Woe to the wicked! Disaster! What his hands have done shall be done to him. For they shall eat the fruit of their deeds* (Isaiah 3:10–11). *For they shall eat the fruit of their deeds*—Angel of Death.[1478] *They shall eat*—for he is drawn to them, clings to them, to kill and defile them. So Cain offered from his side.

"*As for Abel, he brought* גם הוא (*gam hu*), *Him, too*—amplifying the meaning to include the supernal side deriving from the side of holiness.[1479] So *YHVH gazed upon Abel and his offering with favor, but upon Cain and his offering He gazed not*, not accepting them, so *Cain was very angry and his face fell* (Genesis 4:4–5), for *his face*, the facet of his side, was not accepted,[1480] whereas Abel was. Consequently it is written: *And when they were out in the field* (ibid., 8)[1481]—this is a woman, as has been said.[1482]

"*If you do right, is there not* שאת (*se'et*), *uplift?* (ibid., 7), as has been explained,[1483] but according to Rabbi Abba, שאת (*se'et*), *uplift* means: You will

ascend, not descend."

Rabbi Yose said, "This word has now been said and is fitting, but I have heard as follows: שאת (*Se'et*)—He will remove from you, forgive you this clinging of impure spirit.[1484] If not, *sin crouches at the opening* (ibid.). What is the meaning of *at the opening?* Supernal judgment, opening of all, as is said: *Open for me the gates of justice* (Psalms 118:19).[1485] *Sin crouches*—that side to which you clung, extending toward you, lies in wait for you to punish you, as translated."[1486]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Come and see: As Cain was killing Abel, he did not know how his soul would expire, as the Companions have established.[1487] At that moment the blessed Holy One cursed him, and he wandered the world, everywhere rejected, till finally he slapped himself on the head and returned to the presence of his Lord.[1488] Then Earth admitted him to a stratum below."[1489]

Rabbi Yose said, "Earth permitted him to walk on her surface, as is written: *YHVH put a mark on Cain* (Genesis, ibid., 15)."[1490]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Not so! Rather, a certain stratum below her, as is written: *For You have banished me today from the face of the earth* (ibid., 14). He was banished *from the face of the earth*, but not below. Where did Earth admit him? To *Arqa*, concerning all of whose denizens is written: *They shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens* (Jeremiah 10:11).[1491] There he resided, as is written: *He settled in the land of Nod, east of Eden* (Genesis, ibid., 16)."[1492]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said further, "From that time on, Adam separated from his wife and bore spirits and demons who roam the world.[1493] This should not seem strange to you, for when a man abides in his dream, female spirits approach and titillate him, are inflamed by him, and subsequently give birth to those called *blows of the children of Adam* (2 Samuel 7:14).[1494] These transform solely into the image of human beings[1495] and have no hair on their heads.[1496] So of Solomon is written: *I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of Adam*. Similarly male spirits approach women of the world, who are impregnated by them and bear spirits, all called *blows of the children of Adam*.

"After 130 years Adam wrapped himself [55a] in jealousy and united with his wife,[1497] engendering a son he called שת (*Shet*), Seth—mystery of consummation of letters engraved in clusters."[1498]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Mystery of vanished spirit, enveloped bodily in the world, as is written: *For God* שת (*shat*), *has granted, me another seed in place of Abel* (Genesis, ibid., 25)."[1499]

He said further, "It is written: *He engendered in his likeness, according to his image* (ibid. 5:3), implying that the other sons were not in his likeness or

image, which accords with what Rabbi Shim'on said in the name of Rabbi Yeisa Sava: 'The other sons derived from the clinging of the slime of the serpent to its rider, so they were not in the image of Adam.'[1500]

"If you object, 'But you stated that Abel derived from the other side!'[1501] So it is, but neither one was in the image below."[1502]

Rabbi Yose said, "Look at what is written: *Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bore Cain* (ibid. 4:1). Certainly so! It is not written: *and he engendered Cain*. Even of Abel, it is not written: *He engendered*, but rather: *She continued bearing—his brother, Abel* (ibid., 2). This is the mystery of the word. But of this one, what is written? *He engendered in his likeness, according to his image*."[1503]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "For 110 years Adam separated from Eve,[1504] and throughout that time he engendered spirits and demons in the world through the potency of the slime he had absorbed.[1505] Once that slime was eliminated, he returned jealously to his wife and engendered a son, as is written: *He engendered in his likeness, according to his image*.

"Come and see: When a human follows the left side, defiling his ways,[1506] he draws upon himself all sorts of impure spirits, clinging to him relentlessly, clinging to him alone, clinging only to those who cling to them. Happy are the righteous who follow the straight path! They are truly righteous, their children eternally righteous."

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "Why is it written: *The sister of Tuval-Cain was* נעמה (*Na'amah*), *Na'amah* (ibid., 22)? What is the point of Scripture specifying her name?[1507] Because human beings stray after her, even spirits and demons."[1508]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Those *sons of Elohim* (ibid. 6:4), Uzza and Azael, strayed after her."[1509]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "She was the mother of demons, having issued from the side of Cain,[1510] and was appointed together with Lilith over children's diphtheria."[1511]

Rabbi Abba objected, "But Master has said she was appointed to titillate humans."[1512]

He replied, "Certainly so! She approaches and titillates them, sometimes bearing them spirits in the world. Still now she persists, toying with humans."

Rabbi Abba said, "But they die like human beings! How can she have survived till now?"[1513]

He replied, "So it is, but Lilith, Na'amah, and Agrat daughter of Maḥalat—who issued from their side[1514]—all endure until the blessed Holy One

exterminates the impure spirit from the world, as is written: *I will eliminate the spirit of impurity from earth* (Zechariah 13:2)."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Woe to human beings who do not know, consider, or see![1515] They are all obtuse, unaware how full the world is of strange, invisible creatures, of hidden things. If the eye were empowered to see, humans would be amazed how they themselves can endure.[1516]

"Come and see: This Na'amah was mother of demons. From her side issue all those inflamed by human beings, absorbing their spirit of lust, titillating them, turning them into casualties of ejaculation.[1517] Since such a casualty derives from the side of impure spirit, he must bathe to purify himself, as established by the Companions."[1518]

This is the book of the generations of Adam... (Genesis 5:1).

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "The blessed Holy One showed Adam images of every generation that would arise in the world, all the wise of the world, and kings of the world destined to dominate Israel.[1519] When he caught sight of David, king of Israel, who died at birth, he said, 'I will lend him some of my own years.' So these were deducted from Adam and reserved by the blessed Holy One for David, who sang praise for this: '*For You have gladdened me* [55b] *by Your deed, YHVH; I sing for joy at Your handiwork* (Psalms 92:5).[1520] Who brought me joy in this world? *Your deed*—Adam, deed of the blessed Holy One, not of flesh-and-blood, *handiwork* of the blessed Holy One, not of human beings.[1521] So those seventy years were deducted from Adam, from the thousand that were his to endure.[1522]

"The blessed Holy One showed him the wise of every single generation until he reached the generation of Rabbi Akiva. Seeing his Torah, he rejoiced; seeing his death, he grieved. He opened, saying, '*How precious to me are Your companions, O God! How mighty their chiefs!* (ibid. 139:17).'[1523]

"*This is the book*—an actual book, as we have established. When Adam was in the Garden of Eden, the blessed Holy One brought down a book for him by the hand of Raziel, the holy angel appointed over supernal, sacred mysteries.[1524] In it were engraved supernal engravings, sacred wisdom. Seventy-two species of wisdom expanded, were expounded into 670 engravings of supernal secrets.[1525] In the middle of the book, an engraving of wisdom revealing 1500 keys not transmitted to sacred celestial beings, all concealed in the book until it reached Adam.[1526] As soon as it did, supernal angels thronged to discover and listen; then they declared: *Be exalted above the heavens, O God! Let Your glory manifest over all the earth!* (ibid. 57:12).

"Just then the holy angel Hadraniel[1527] encountered him and exclaimed: 'Adam, Adam, treasure away the precious glory of your Lord, for permission has not been granted to supernal beings to know it, only to you!' So he kept it hidden until he left the Garden of Eden, daily wielding treasures of his Lord,[1528] discovering supernal mysteries of which supernal ministers are unaware.

"As soon as he sinned, violating his Lord's command, that book flew away from him. Adam slapped himself on the head and wept. He entered the waters of Gihon up to his nape, till the water moldered his skin and his luster faded.[1529]

"At that moment the blessed Holy One signaled to Raphael, who returned the book to him.[1530] Adam engaged in it and left it to his son Seth, and so to all those generations until it reached Abraham, who thereby discovered how to contemplate the glory of his Lord, as has been said. Similarly a book was given to Enoch, and he contemplated supernal glory."[1531]

Male and female
He created them (Genesis 5:2).

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Supernal secrets are revealed in these two verses.[1532] *Male and female He created them*—revealing supernal glory, mystery of faith, for out of this mystery Adam was created.[1533]

"Come and see: With the secret by which heaven and earth were created, Adam was created. Of them is written: *These are the generations of heaven and earth* (ibid. 2:4). Of Adam is written: *This is the book of the generations of Adam* (ibid. 5:1). Of them is written: *when they were created* (ibid. 2:4). Of Adam is written: *on the day they were created* (ibid. 5:2).[1534]

"*Male and female He created them*. From here we learn: Any image not embracing male and female is not fittingly supernal. So we have established in the mystery of our Mishnah.[1535]

"Come and see: Anywhere male and female are not found as one, the blessed Holy One does not place His abode. Blessings are found solely where male and female are found,[1536] as is written: *He blessed them and named them Adam* (ibid.). It is not written: *He blessed him and named him Adam*. One is not even called אדם (*adam*), human, unless male and female are as one."[1537]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed, blessings are found nowhere in the world;[1538] they are lost every day, as is written: *The righteous one loses* (Isaiah 57:1). What does *loses* mean? He loses the blessings found within Him, as is written: *blessings upon the head of the righteous* (Proverbs 10:6). It is written as well: *Faith has lost* (Jeremiah 7:28).[1539] Similarly, *He blessed them* (Genesis, ibid.), and *God blessed them* (ibid. 1:28).[1540]

"Back to שת (*Shet*), Seth, all generations trace, all truly righteous of the world."[1541]

Rabbi Yose said, "These are the final letters found in Torah.[1542] For Adam violated all the letters of Torah, [56a] and when he returned to the presence of his Lord[1543] he grasped these two, whereupon the letters were restored, though not fully arrayed until Israel stood at Mount Sinai. Then they were restored consummately as on the day heaven and earth were created, and the world turned fragrant and firm, erected enduringly."[1544]

Rabbi Abba said, "On the day Adam violated the command of his Lord, heaven and earth sought to uproot themselves. Why? Because they were based solely on the covenant, as is written: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth* (Jeremiah 33:25),[1545] and Adam violated the covenant, as is said: *Like Adam, they violated the covenant* (Hosea 6:7).[1546] If it had not been revealed to the blessed Holy One that Israel was destined to stand firm at Mount Sinai, affirming this covenant, this world would not have endured."

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "Whoever confesses his sin is forgiven and pardoned by the blessed Holy One. Come and see: When the blessed Holy One created the world, He fashioned this covenant, upon which the world was established. How do we know? As it is written: בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning* (Genesis 1:1): ברא שית (*bara shit*), *created foundation*. This is the covenant upon which the world stood firm, a conduit through which blessings flow and gush to the world.[1547] Adam violated this covenant, wrenching it from its site.[1548]

"This covenant is intimated by the letter י (*yod*), a tiny letter, root and foundation of the world.[1549] When he engendered a son he confessed his sin, naming him שת (*Shet*), Seth, not enunciating י (*yod*) and thereby forming שית (*shit*), foundation, for this he had violated.[1550] So from here the blessed Holy One sowed the world; to here all generations of the righteous trace.[1551]

"Come and see: When Israel stood at Mount Sinai, between these two letters entered the mystery of covenant.[1552] Who is that? ב (*Bet*), entering between the two surviving letters and transmitted to Israel.[1553] When ב (*bet*)—mystery of covenant—entered between these two letters, שבת (*shabbat*), Sabbath, entered into being, as is said: *The Children of Israel shall observe the Sabbath, celebrating the Sabbath throughout their generations as an eternal covenant* (Exodus 31:16).[1554] As at the beginning of the world all generations stood poised to descend from the two letters, ש״ת (*shin, tav*), so these two remained suspended until the world was perfected and the holy covenant entered between them, consummating, becoming שבת (*shabbat*), Sabbath."[1555]

Rabbi Yose said, "These two letters were consummated by the letter ב (*bet*).

When the letters were reversed, from the day Seth was born letters were restored in every single generation until Israel reached Mount Sinai and they were perfectly arrayed."[1556]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "They were restored below, and in every single generation the world was embraced by letters, but they did not settle in their sites. When Torah was transmitted to Israel, all was arrayed."

Rabbi El'azar said, "In the days of Enosh humans became skilled in the wisdom of sorcery and magic, in the art of blocking heavenly powers.[1557] Ever since Adam left the Garden of Eden, taking with him the wisdom of the leaves of the tree,[1558] no human had engaged in it, for Adam, his wife, and his descendants until Enosh abandoned it. When Enosh appeared he saw them,[1559] saw their wisdom transforming upper beings. They engaged, achieving effects, performing sorcery and magic, till that wisdom spread through the generation of the Flood, all of whom enacted their acts wickedly. Defying Noah with those forms of wisdom, they asserted that universal justice could not prevail against them, for they were actualizing wisdom to repel all those masters of judgment.[1560] So from the time of Enosh they all began to engage in these forms of wisdom, as is written: *Then the name of YHVH was invoked profanely* (Genesis 4:26)."[1561]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "All the righteous who appeared later among that generation—such as Jered, Methuselah, and Enoch[1562]—tried to thwart them but failed, so the wicked proliferated, rebelling against their Lord, exclaiming: *What is Shaddai that we should serve Him?* (Job 21:15).[1563] Did they really speak such stupidity? Rather, since they knew all those modes of wisdom and all the officials of the world appointed over them, they relied upon them,[1564] till finally the blessed Holy One turned the world back into what it had been. For [56b] originally it was water intermingled with water,[1565] and afterward He returned the world to its original state, though not completely devastated, since He gazed upon it compassionately, as is written: *YHVH sat enthroned at the Flood* (Psalms 29:10), not *Elohim*.[1566]

"In the days of Enosh even children of those days all gazed upon supernal modes of wisdom, contemplating them."

Rabbi Yeisa said, "If so, they were stupid, since they did not know that the blessed Holy One intended to inundate them with waters of the Flood, in which they would perish!"

Rabbi Yitsḥak replied, "They certainly did know, yet their minds embraced stupidity, for they knew the angel empowered over fire and the one empowered over water, and they knew how to block them, preventing them from executing judgment upon them. But they did not know that the blessed Holy One rules over earth, that from Him issues judgment upon the world.[1567] Rather, they saw

that the world was entrusted to those officials, who controlled all mundane matters, so they failed to contemplate the blessed Holy One or consider His exploits until the earth was destroyed and Holy Spirit proclaimed daily: *Let sinners be consumed from the earth, and the wicked be no more* (Psalms 104:35). The blessed Holy One delayed patiently as long as those righteous ones endured in the world.[1568] As soon as they departed from the world, He brought judgment upon them and they perished, as is said: *They were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis 7:23)."

Enoch walked with God;
then he was no more,
for God took him (Genesis 5:24).

Rabbi Yose opened, "*While the king was on his couch, my spikenard spread its fragrance* (Song of Songs 1:12). This verse has been discussed,[1569] but come and see! Such are the ways of the blessed Holy One: When a person cleaves to Him, so He plants His abode upon him, yet knowing that one day he will decay, He culls his fragrance ahead of time, plucking him from the world,[1570] as is written: *While the king was on his couch, my spikenard spread its fragrance. While the king*—the blessed Holy One. במסבו (*Bimsibbo*), *On his couch*—a person cleaving to Him, walking in His ways.[1571] *My spikenard spread its fragrance*—good deeds, on account of which he is plucked from the world prematurely.

"Concerning this King Solomon said, *There is futility befalling earth: there are righteous people* [*treated according to the conduct of the wicked, and there are wicked people treated according to the conduct of the righteous*] (Ecclesiastes 8:14). *There are righteous people treated according to the conduct of the wicked*, as we have established: because of their good deeds, the blessed Holy One removes them from the world prematurely, executing judgment upon them. *And there are wicked people treated according to the conduct of the righteous*, for the blessed Holy One prolongs their days and postpones His anger, as has all been explained: these, so that they not decay; those, so they turn back to Him, or so virtuous children issue from them.[1572]

"Come and see: Enoch was pure, but the blessed Holy One saw that he would eventually decay, so He gathered him in beforehand, as is written: *to gather lilies* (Song of Songs 6:2)—because of their fragrance the blessed Holy One gathers them before they decay.[1573] *Then he was no more, for God took him. Then he was no more*—not living as long as other humans. Why? Because the blessed Holy One *took him* before his time."

Rabbi El'azar said, "He *took him* from the earth, raised him to the highest

heavens, and transmitted to him all supernal treasures, along with forty-five secret engraved keys, wielded by highest angels. All these were handed to him, as we have established."[1574]

YHVH saw that human evil on earth was immense, and every thought devised by their mind [*was nothing but evil all day*] (Genesis 6:5).

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*You are not a God who delights in wickedness; evil cannot abide with You* (Psalms 5:5). This verse has been discussed and established,[1575] but come and see! Whoever clings to the evil impulse and is drawn after it, defiles himself and is defiled, as has been said.[1576] *That human evil on earth was immense*—they committed all sorts of evil, but their guilt was incomplete until they spilled blood upon the earth fruitlessly.[1577] Who wasted their ways upon earth?[1578] As is written: *nothing but evil all day*. Here is written: *nothing but evil*, [57a] and there is written: *Evil cannot abide with You*, and similarly: *Er, firstborn of Judah, was evil in the eyes of YHVH* (Genesis 38:7)."[1579]

Rabbi Yose said, "Isn't *evil* the same as *wicked*?

He replied, "No. One is called *wicked* even if he merely raises his hand against his fellow without harming him at all,[1580] but one is only called *evil* if he wastes his way, defiling himself, defiling the earth, empowering the impure spirit called *evil*, as is written: *nothing but evil all day*.[1581] He never enters the palace nor gazes upon the face of *Shekhinah*, for on account of this *Shekhinah* withdraws from the world.[1582]

"How do we know? From Jacob, for when *Shekhinah* departed from him, he thought there was a blemish in his sons,[1583] on account of whom the impure spirit was empowered in the world, the light of the moon diminished, the moon tainted.[1584]

"If you ask, 'Why?' Because this defiles the sanctuary, so She withdrew from Jacob.[1585] All the more so, one defiling his way and defiling himself empowers the impure spirit; so in becoming defiled he is called *evil*.

"Come and see: When a person defiles himself, he is not visited favorably by the blessed Holy One, but rather visited continually, malevolently by that one called *evil*,[1586] as is written: *Passing the night in contentment, he will not be visited by evil* (Proverbs 19:23)—when he walks on the straight path, *he will not be visited by evil*.[1587] Concerning this is written: *nothing but evil all day*, and similarly: *Evil cannot abide with You*. Such a one is called *evil*, not *wicked*. So, too, is written: *Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me* (Psalms 23:4)."

וינחם יהוה (*Va-yinnaḥem YHVH*),

YHVH was sorry, that He had made humankind on earth, and His heart was saddened (Genesis 6:6).

Rabbi Yose opened, "*Woe unto them who haul iniquity with cords of* שוא (*shav*), *falsehood, and sin as with a cart rope* (Isaiah 5:18). *Woe unto them who haul iniquity*—people who sin in the presence of their Lord every day, and in whose eyes those sins appear like *cords of* שוא (*shav*), *nothingness*, the sin they commit like nothing at all, unnoticed by the blessed Holy One, till eventually they make that sin as thick and strong *as a cart rope*, so strong as to be indestructible.[1588]

"Come and see: When the blessed Holy One executes judgment upon the wicked, even though they have sinned in His presence, provoking Him daily, He does not want to exterminate them from the world. Observing their works, He feels *sorry* for them, work of His hands, and prolongs them in the world. Since they are the work of His hands, He takes compassion upon them, feels *sorry* for them, pities them. On the verge of executing judgment upon them, He is *saddened*, as it were, as is said: *No entertainment was brought before him* (Daniel 6:19),[1589] for since they are the work of His hands, He feels sad for them."[1590]

"But it is written: *Splendor and majesty are before Him, power and joy in His place* (1 Chronicles 16:27)."[1591]

Rabbi Yose said, "Come and see! It is written: *His heart was saddened—His heart*, no other place; *His heart*, as is said: *who will act according to what is in My heart and in My soul* (1 Samuel 2:35)."[1592]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "וינחם יהוה (*Va-yinnaḥem YHVH*), *YHVH renounced*, as is said: וינחם יהוה (*Va-yinnaḥem YHVH*), *YHVH renounced, the evil He had intended to bring upon His people* (Exodus 32:14)."[1593]

Rabbi Yeisa explained it positively; Rabbi Ḥizkiyah, negatively.

Rabbi Yeisa explained it positively, as has been said, that the blessed Holy One feels *sorry* for those works of His hands, feels compassion for them. He is *saddened* because they sin in His presence.

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah explained it negatively, for when the blessed Holy One wants to exterminate the wicked from the world, He is consoled over them, as it were, like one reconciled to a loss. Once He has been consoled, judgment is certainly executed, independent of returning to God.[1594] When does it depend on returning? Until He is consoled over them. Once He is, it does not depend on returning at all, and judgment is executed. Then judgment is added to judgment, intensifying that site of judgment, and He exterminates the wicked from the

world.[1595] All in the text, as is written: וינחם יהוה (*Va-yinnaḥem YHVH*), *YHVH was comforted*—He was consoled. Afterward, ויתעצב אל לבו (*Va-yit'atstsev el libbo*), *His heart was embittered*—He empowered Judgment to execute judgment.[1596]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "*YHVH was comforted when He had made Adam on earth*. The blessed Holy One was comforted and overjoyed *when He had made Adam on earth*, for he resembled the supernal, and upon seeing his supernal image, all the supernal angels praised the blessed Holy One, saying: [57b] *You made him little less than God, adorned him with glory and majesty!* (Psalms 8:6). Afterward when Adam sinned, He *was saddened*, for he provided a rationale to the supernal angels who had exclaimed before Him: *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?* (Psalms 8:5)."[1597]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "*His heart was saddened* because He had to execute judgment upon them, as is said: *going forth before the warriors*, [*exclaiming*:] '*Praise YHVH, for His love endures forever*' (2 Chronicles 20:21), and Rabbi Yitsḥak has said, 'Why is it not written here: *for it is good*? Because He was about to destroy the work of His hands in the presence of Israel.' Correspondingly when Israel was crossing the sea, the celestial angels came that night to sing before Him, but the blessed Holy One said to them, 'The work of My hands is drowning in the sea, and you are singing?' So, *one did not approach the other all night long* (Exodus 14:20).[1598] Similarly whenever the wicked are being eliminated, sadness hovers over them."

Rabbi Abba said, "When Adam sinned in the presence of the blessed Holy One, violating His commands, sadness appeared before Him. The blessed Holy One said to him, 'Woe to you, Adam! You have weakened supernal power!'[1599] That moment one light darkened.[1600] He immediately drove him out of the Garden of Eden, saying, 'I brought you into the Garden of Eden to bring an offering, but you impaired the altar, so no offering can be brought.[1601] From now on, *to till the ground* (Genesis 3:23).'[1602] He decreed death upon him. Yet taking pity upon him, as he was about to die the blessed Holy One treasured him away close to the Garden. What did Adam do? He dug a cave and hid himself inside together with his wife. How did he know? He saw a ray of light glinting on that spot, gleaming from the Garden of Eden, and desired a desire for his grave. Right there is a site bordering the gate of the Garden of Eden.[1603]

"Come and see: No one departs from the world without first seeing Adam, who asks him why he is leaving the world and how he is exiting. He replies, 'Woe to you! On account of you, I am leaving the world.'[1604] He responds, 'My son, I violated one command and was punished for it. Look at all your sins! Look how many of your Lord's commands you have violated!'"[1605]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "To this day Adam endures, gazing at the patriarchs

twice a day, confessing his sins, showing them the site where he dwelled in supernal splendor.[1606] He goes to see all the righteous and devout who issued from him, who inherited that supernal splendor in the Garden of Eden. All the patriarchs offer praise, saying: *How precious is Your love, O God! The children of Adam shelter in the shadow of Your wings* (Psalms 36:8)."

Rabbi Yeisa said, "At the moment he departs from the world, every inhabitant of the world sees Adam to bear witness that due to his own sins he is departing, not because of Adam[1607]—except for those three who departed due to the incitement of the primordial serpent, namely, Amram, Levi, and Benjamin; some say: also Jesse.[1608] They never sinned; no trace of sin could be found upon them to warrant their death, but that incitement of the serpent was brought to bear upon them, as we have said.

"Come and see: All generations in the days of Noah exposed their sins to the world brazenly, in sight of all.[1609] One day Rabbi Shim'on was walking through the gates of Tiberias when he saw some men drawing the bow taut with the shaft of a centaur.[1610] He exclaimed, 'What! Such brazen sin, provoking their Lord?' He cast his eyes upon them; they were hurled into the sea and drowned.[1611]

"Come and see: Every sin committed openly repels *Shekhinah* from earth, so She removes Her abode from the world.[1612] These walked haughtily, with head erect, perpetrating their sins brazenly, thrusting *Shekhinah* from the world,[1613] till finally the blessed Holy One thrust them away. Concerning this is written: *Remove the wicked from the presence of the king.... Remove the dross from silver* (Proverbs 25:5, 4)."[1614]

YHVH said, "My spirit shall not abide in humanity לעלם (*le-olam*), *forever, since they, too, are flesh...* (Genesis 6:3).[1615]

Rabbi El'azar said, "Come and see: When the blessed Holy One created the world, He fashioned this world to perform [58a] as above.[1616] When the inhabitants of the world are virtuous, walking the straight path, the blessed Holy One arouses the spirit of life above until that life reaches the site where Jacob abides.[1617] From there life flows until the spirit is drawn to this world in which King David abides.[1618] From there blessings flow to all those below. Since that supernal spirit is drawn and conducted below, they are able to endure in the world. So, לעלם (*le-olam*), *forever*, without a ו (*vav*)—עולם (*olam*), world, of King David, spelled without a ו (*vav*).[1619] For when that spirit flows into this world, from there blessings and life issue to all, to be sustained. Now that humans sinned, all was withdrawn to prevent the spirit of life from reaching this world, benefiting, sustaining those below.[1620]

"*Since he, too, is flesh*—so spirit would not be poured into this world. Why? Amplifying the meaning to include the serpent, lowest of rungs, who would thereby be empowered—so that holy spirit not mingle with impure spirit.[1621]

"*Since he, too, is flesh*—primordial serpent, who would be blessed. So, *he is flesh*, as is said: *End of all flesh has come before Me* (ibid. 6:13), concerning which Rabbi Shim'on has said: 'This is the Angel of Death.'[1622]

"*Let his days be a hundred and twenty years* (ibid., 3)—duration of banded diadem."[1623]

The נפילים (*nefilim*), *fallen beings, were on earth in those days* (Genesis 6:4).

Rabbi Yose teaches: "These are Uzza and Azael, as has been stated, cast down by the blessed Holy One from supernal sanctity."[1624]

But how could they survive in this world? Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "They were among those of whom is written: *Let birds fly upon the earth* (ibid. 1:20), and as explained, these appear to humans in human appearance.[1625] If you ask: 'How can they transform?'—it has been stated: 'They turn countless shades,'[1626] and as they descend they materialize in the atmosphere, appearing as human beings. These are Uzza and Azael, who rebelled above, were cast down by the blessed Holy One, and materialized on earth, abiding on it, unable to strip themselves of it.[1627] Subsequently they strayed after earthly women, and to this day they endure, teaching sorcery to human beings. They engendered children, whom they called Mighty Giants,[1628] while the *nefilim* themselves are called *sons of Elohim*, as has been explained."[1629]

YHVH said, "I will exterminate humankind, whom I have created, from the face of the earth" (ibid. 6:7).

Rabbi Yose opened, "*For My thoughts are not your thoughts* [*nor are your ways My ways, says YHVH*] (Isaiah 55:8). Come and see: When a person seeks vengeance on another, he keeps silent, saying nothing, for if he lets him know, he will be on guard, invulnerable. Not so the blessed Holy One. He does not execute judgment upon the world until He proclaims to them once, twice, thrice,[1630] for *there is no one who can stay His hand or say to Him, 'What are You doing?'* (Daniel 4:32), nor can one guard against Him nor withstand Him.

"Come and see: *YHVH said, 'I will exterminate humankind, whom I have created, from the face of the earth.'* He announced it to them through Noah, warning them several times, but they would not listen.[1631] After they failed to

listen He brought judgment upon them, eliminating them from the face of the earth.

"Come and see: What is written of Noah? *He named him* נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah, saying: This one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *will provide us relief, from our labor* (Genesis 5:29).[1632] How did he know? When [58b] he was born, he saw that he was circumcised, inscribed with the sign of *Shekhinah*; he saw *Shekhinah* cleaving to him.[1633] So *he named him* for what he would later do. At first they did not know how to sow, reap, or plow. Once Noah appeared, he innovated techniques for them along with all the implements required to cultivate the soil to yield fruit.[1634]

"*From our labor and from the painful toil of our hands caused by the soil* [*that YHVH cursed*]. For he liberated the earth from her curse and was therefore called איש האדמה (*ish ha-adamah*), *man of the soil* (ibid. 9:20)."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "איש האדמה (*Ish ha-adamah*), *Husband of the soil*, as is said: איש נעמי (*ish no'omi*), *husband of Naomi* (Ruth 1:3), for he was called Righteous, and by bringing an offering he liberated her from her curse,[1635] as is written: *Never again will I curse the soil because of humankind* (Genesis 8:21). He was therefore called *husband of the soil* and named for the future."

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*Come, gaze upon the works of Elohim, how He has brought* שמות (*shammot*), *desolation, on earth* (Psalms 46:9).[1636] If it had been *the works of* יו״ד ה״א וא״ו ה״א (*yod he vav he*), *YHVH*, He would have *brought existence to earth*, but being *the works* of this name, *He brought desolation on earth*."[1637]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "Now this I would not say, for whether it be one name or the other, all is praise, but I say as the Companions have aroused: He brought names—actual שמות (*shemot*), *names, He brought to earth*. Why? So the world would wield them, be sustained by them."[1638]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Even what Rabbi Yehudah said is fine! For if the world were conducted by the name of compassion, it would endure, but since it was founded on justice and abides by justice, *He has brought desolation on earth*. This is fine, for otherwise the world could not endure human sin.[1639]

"Come and see: When נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, was born, he was named for נחמה (*neḥamah*), comfort, so that the name would determine his destiny.[1640] Not so, the blessed Holy One: נח (*Noaḥ*), is the reverse of חן (*ḥen*), favor, as is said: ונח (*Ve-Noaḥ*), *But Noah, found* חן (*ḥen*), *favor* [*in the eyes of YHVH*] (Genesis 6:8)."[1641]

Rabbi Yose said, "חן (*Ḥen*), *Favor*, is נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah*. Names of the righteous are auspicious; names of the wicked, ominous. Of Noah is written: ונח (*Ve-Noaḥ*), *But Noah, found* חן (*ḥen*), *favor, in the eyes of YHVH*, while the letters of ער (*Er*), Er, firstborn of Judah, were reversed for evil: ער (*Er*), Er—רע (*ra*), evil;

ra, evil, in the eyes of YHVH (ibid. 38:7).[1642]

"Come and see: When Noah was born he saw the deeds of human beings, sinning in the presence of the blessed Holy One, so he hid himself away, engaging in devotion to his Lord, so as not to follow in their paths. If you ask, 'In what did he engage?'—that *Book of Adam* and *The Book of Enoch*, engaging in them to worship his Lord.[1643]

"Come and see: So it was, for how did he know to bring an offering to his Lord? He discovered the wisdom of how the world is sustained and realized it is sustained by offering. Without offering, those above and those below would not endure."[1644]

Rabbi Shim'on was walking on the way together with his son Rabbi El'azar, Rabbi Yose, and Rabbi Ḥiyya. While they were walking, Rabbi El'azar said to his father, "The way before us is smooth. We want to hear words of Torah!"[1645]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*Even when a fool walks on the way,* לבו (*libbo*), *his mind, is lacking, and he reveals to everyone that he is a fool* (Ecclesiastes 10:3). When a person wants to smooth his way before the blessed Holy One, before setting out on the way he should consult Him and pray for his way before Him, as we have learned, for it is written: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way* (Psalms 85:14). Then *Shekhinah* does not part from him.[1646]

"Concerning one who does not trust His Lord, what is written? [59a] *Even when a fool walks on the way,* לבו (*libbo*), *his heart, is lacking*.[1647] Who is *his heart*? The blessed Holy One, who will not accompany him on the way.[1648] So that person lacks his escort since, not trusting His Lord, he failed to seek His companionship and support before setting out. Even while walking on the way he does not engage in words of Torah, so *his heart is lacking*, for his Lord does not walk along with him, is absent from his way.

"*And he says to everyone*: סכל הוא (*Sakhal hu*), *It is foolish*. Even when he hears a word of faith in his Lord, he says *it is foolish* to engage in it. Like the time someone was asked about the sign of covenant engraved in a man's flesh, and he replied, 'That's irrelevant to belief!'[1649] Rabbi Yeisa Sava heard, stared at him, and he turned into a heap of bones.[1650]

"As for us, look, we are being accompanied on the way by the blessed Holy One, so we should speak words of Torah!"

He opened, saying, "*Teach me Your way, O* YHVH, *that I may walk in Your truth; unify my heart to be in awe of Your name* (Psalms 86:11). This verse presents a difficulty, for we have learned: 'All is in the hand of the blessed Holy

One except being virtuous or wicked.'[1651] So how could David ask this of the blessed Holy One?[1652] Rather, this is what David declared: *Teach me Your way, O YHVH*—that straight, smooth way, opening my eyes so I can know it. Then, *I will walk in Your truth*—I will walk the true way, not deviating right or left. *Unify my heart*. Who is *my heart*? As is said: *Rock of my heart and my portion* (ibid. 73:26).[1653] All this I request *to be in awe of Your name*—cleaving to *awe*,[1654] guarding my way fittingly. *To be in awe of Your name*—my allotted site, where awe strikes awe.[1655]

"Come and see: Faith abides fittingly with every human being in awe of the blessed Holy One,[1656] for such a human consummates the service of his Lord. Faith does not abide with anyone devoid of the awe of his Lord; he is unworthy of sharing the world that is coming."[1657]

He opened further, saying, "*The path of the righteous is like gleaming light, shining ever brighter until full day* (Proverbs 4:18). Happy are the righteous in this world and in the world that is coming, for the blessed Holy One desires to glorify them! Come and see what is written: *The path of the righteous is like gleaming light*. What does this mean: *like gleaming light*? Like that radiant light created by the blessed Holy One in the act of Creation, treasured away for the righteous in the world that is coming.[1658] *Shining ever brighter*, for it constantly intensifies, never fading. But of the wicked, what is written? *The way of the wicked is like deep darkness; they do not know what will make them stumble* (ibid., 19). *They do not know*—Don't they know? Rather, the wicked walk this world on a crooked path, not caring to contemplate that the blessed Holy One intends to judge them in that world and cast them into the chastisements of Hell, where they scream: 'Woe to us that we did not stretch our ears and listen in that world!'[1659] Every day, this 'Woe'!

"Come and see: The blessed Holy One intends to enlighten the righteous in the world that is coming, providing them their due reward, penetrated, perceived by no eye, as is said: *No eye has seen, O God, but You, what You will do for one who awaits You* (Isaiah 64:3).[1660] Whereas it is written: *They will go out and stare at the corpses of the people who rebelled against Me* (ibid. 66:24). Similarly, *You will trample the wicked, for they will be ashes under the soles of your feet* (Malachi 3:21). Happy are the righteous in this world and in the world that is coming! Of them is written: *The righteous will inherit the land forever* (Isaiah 60:21), and similarly: *Surely the righteous will praise Your name; the upright will dwell in Your presence* (Psalms 140:14).[1661] *Blessed be YHVH forever! Amen and Amen* (ibid. 89:53)." [59b]

פרשת נח

Parashat Noaḥ

"NOAH" (GENESIS 6:9–11:32)

These are the offspring of Noah (Genesis 6:9).

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "*Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever*... (Isaiah 60:21). Happy are Israel who engage in Torah and know her ways, for on account of her they will attain the world that is coming![1]

"Come and see: All of Israel have a share in the world that is coming.[2] Why? Because they uphold the covenant upon which the world is erected, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth* (Jeremiah 33:25).[3] So Israel, who embraced the covenant and uphold it, have a share in the world that is coming. Moreover, they are therefore called *righteous*. From here we learn that anyone upholding this covenant, upon which the world is erected, is called *righteous*. How do we know? From Joseph. Because he upheld the covenant of the world, he attained the title Righteous. So, *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever*."[4]

Rabbi El'azar said, "We have learned that *these are* always invalidates the preceding.[5] Come and see: What is written above? *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (Genesis 2:10). That *river* gushes and flows, entering *the garden*, drenching it with supernal saturation, satisfying it, generating fruit and seed.[6] Then, satisfaction for all: satisfaction for *the garden*, who satisfies Him, as is said: *for* בו (*vo*), *on it, He rested*,[7] and: *He rested on the seventh day* (ibid., 2–3).[8] This is the mystery of the word: this generated *offspring*, no other.[9]

"Come and see: Noah below embodied the covenant, modeled on above,[10] so he was called איש האדמה (*ish ha-adamah*), *husband of earth* (ibid. 9:20).[11] We have learned a secret: Noah needed the ark—to unite with it, to sustain the seed of all, as is written: *to keep seed alive* (ibid. 7:3). Who is the ark? *Ark of the covenant* (Joshua 3:11).[12] Noah and the ark followed this paradigm.[13] Of Noah, *covenant* is written: *I will erect My covenant with you* (Genesis 6:18).[14] Until the

covenant was erected with him, he did not enter the ark, as is written: *I will erect My covenant with you, and you will enter the ark*. Then the ark was *ark of the covenant*, ark of Noah, corresponding consummately above. Since this covenant above generates offspring, similarly Noah generates offspring. So, *these are the offspring of Noah*.

"*Noah was a righteous man* (ibid. 6:9). Certainly so, corresponding above, and so it is written: *The righteous one is the foundation of the world* (Proverbs 10:25). Upon this, earth is established, for it is the pillar on which the world stands. Who is He? Righteous One, and Noah is called *righteous* below.[15] Mystery of all: *Noah walked with* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (Genesis, ibid.), existing on earth as above.[16]

"*A righteous man*, foundation of the world, *covenant of peace* (Ezekiel 34:25), peace of the world, *husband of earth*, indeed![17] So, *Noah found favor in the eyes of YHVH* (Genesis, ibid., 8).

"*Perfect in his generations* (ibid., 9). What does this mean: *in his generations*? Those issuing from him: perfecting them all, he was more perfect than all of them.

"*Perfect*, for he was born circumcised, as is written: *Walk before Me and be perfect* (ibid. 17:1).[18]

"*In his generations*, not the generations of the world, for from him issued offspring to the world.[19]

"Come and see: Since the day the world was created, Noah was destined to be united with the ark, to enter her. Until they joined as one, the world was unfit. Afterward what is written? *From these the whole earth dispersed* (ibid. 9:19). What does *dispersed* mean? As is said: *from there it divides* (ibid. 2:10).[20] From there division appeared, offspring scattered in every direction. All is as one, according to a single paradigm. So, *these are the offspring of Noah. These*, indeed! For Foundation of the World is the one who generates [60a] offspring enduring on earth."[21]

Rabbi Abba came and kissed him, saying, "A lion in his potency pierces, pulverizes rock![22] So, indeed! Come and see: So, too, from the measurement of the ark."[23]

Rabbi El'azar opened, saying, "*Come, gaze upon the works of Elohim, how He has brought desolation on earth* (Psalms 46:9).[24] *Come, gaze*. What does חזו (*ḥazu*), *gaze*, mean? As is said, *A harsh* חזות (*ḥazut*), *vision, has been conveyed to me* (Isaiah 21:2). Through the acts of the blessed Holy One, supernal prophecy is revealed to human beings.[25]

"*How He has brought* שַׁמּוֹת (*shammot*), *desolation*—שֵׁמוֹת (*shemot*), *names*, indeed, for the name determines destiny entirely.[26]

"It is written: *He named him Noah, saying: This* (Genesis 5:29).[27] Why *saying*? Why *this*? *Saying* implies Woman;[28] *this*, Righteous One,[29] as the blessed Holy One named him: נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, נייחא (*neyaḥa*), satisfaction, of the earth.[30] What does *saying* mean? This site named him Noah.[31] Who is that? Holy Land,[32] who said: *This one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *will provide us relief*. The blessed Holy One fashioned him below corresponding above.

"Here is written: *This*, and there is written: *This is YHVH for whom we have waited* (Isaiah 25:9).[33] Happy are the righteous, inscribed with the inscription of the royal signet, inscribed with His name.[34] He has brought names to earth fittingly.

"It is written: *He called* את שמו (*et shemo*), *his name, Noah*. Yet it is written: *He called* שמו (*shemo*), *his name, Jacob* (Genesis 25:26). Why is את (*et*) not written?[35] There, another rung; here, another rung, as is written: *I saw* את (*et*) *YHVH* (Isaiah 6:1)—not *I saw YHVH*, but את (*et*) *YHVH*. Similarly here: *He called his name Jacob*—his rung, the blessed Holy One Himself, named him Jacob. But here: את (*et*), encompassing *Shekhinah*.[36]

These are the offspring of Noah.

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*A good man lends graciously and conducts his affairs with justice* (Psalms 112:5). *A good man*— the blessed Holy One, who is called *good*, as is written: *YHVH is good to all* (ibid. 145:9).[37] *Lends graciously*—to the site possessing nothing of its own, nourished by Him.[38] *Conducts his affairs with justice*—for that *affair* is nourished only *with justice*, as is said: *Righteousness and justice are the foundation of Your throne* (ibid. 89:15).[39]

"Alternatively, *a good man*—this is Righteous One, as is written: *Say of the righteous one that he is good* (Isaiah 3:10)."[40]

Rabbi Yose said, "This is Noah, as is written: *a righteous man* (Genesis 6:9)."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "This is Sabbath who opened with *good*, as is written: *It is good to praise YHVH* (Psalms 92:1)."[41]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "All is one! All have spoken one word.[42] This generates offspring in the world.[43] Who are the offspring of the world? Souls of the righteous, fruit of the handiwork of the blessed Holy One."[44]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "When the blessed Holy One adorns Himself in His crowns, He crowns Himself above and below.[45] Above, from the site deepest of all;[46] below, with what? With souls of the righteous. Then vitality is lavished above and below, embracing the site of the sanctuary on all sides.[47] The cistern is filled, the ocean consummated, providing for all.[48]

"It is written: *Drink water from your cistern, flowing water from your well* (Proverbs 5:15). Why first *your cistern*, then *your well*? A *cistern* is empty, unflowing, while a *well* bubbles with water.[49] Yet all is one site. The site embracing the poor is called *cistern*, possessing nothing of its own, only what is deposited there.[50] Who is that? ד (*Dalet*). Subsequently it becomes a well, filled from all directions. Who is that? ה (*He*), filled from above, [60b] bubbling from below. Filled from above, as we have explained; bubbling from below, from souls of the righteous.[51]

"Alternatively, *Drink water from your cistern*—this is King David, of whom is written: *Who will get me a drink of water from the cistern of Bethlehem?* (2 Samuel 23:15).[52] *Flowing water*—this is Abraham.[53] *From the midst of*—this is Jacob, in the middle.[54] *Your well*—this is Isaac, called *well of living water* (Genesis 26:19).[55] Look, in this verse appears the supernal holy chariot, composed of the patriarchs joined by King David![56]

"Desire of the female toward the male arouses only when a spirit enters her and she gushes water toward upper, masculine waters.[57] Similarly Assembly of Israel arouses desire toward the blessed Holy One only by the spirit of the righteous entering Her.[58] Then waters flow from within Her toward waters of the male, all becoming one desire, one cluster, one nexus. Rapture, total rapture! An amble ambled by the blessed Holy One with souls of the righteous.[59]

"Come and see: All those offspring of the Garden of Eden issue from Righteous One only when He enters this ark in a single bond.[60] All are treasured away in Her, afterward issuing. Similarly here, Noah, *righteous man* (ibid. 6:9), did not generate offspring, becoming fruitful in the world, until he entered the ark, in which all was gathered and treasured, afterward issuing, becoming fruitful in the world, enduring on earth.[61] Had they not issued from the ark, they would not have endured in the world. All corresponding above: issuing from the ark above, issuing from the ark below, corresponding to one other. From here the world was firmly established, not previously, and so it is written: *The earth was corrupt before God* (ibid. 6:11)."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Since it is written: *The earth was corrupt*, why *before God*? Because they perpetrated their sins brazenly, in the eyes of all, it is written: *before God*."[62]

Rabbi Yose said, "I say the opposite. *The earth was corrupt before God*. At first, *before God*, for they did not act openly: they acted *before God*, not before human beings. Eventually they acted brazenly, as is written: *and the earth was filled with violence* (ibid.), for nowhere on earth was it unexposed. So the verse conveys two modes."[63]

These are the offspring of Noah.

Rabbi Abba said, “From the day Adam violated the command of his Lord, all children of the world born thereafter are called ‘children of Adam’[64]—not admiringly, but as if to say: ‘the children of that one who violated his Lord’s command.’ Once Noah appeared, children of the world are named after him: *offspring of Noah*, for he actualized their existence in the world,[65] not *offspring of Adam*, who removed them from the world, inflicting death upon them all.”[66]

Rabbi Yose said, “If so, look at what is written later: *YHVH came down to see the city and tower that the children of Adam had built* (ibid. 11:5)—*the children of Adam*, not *the children of Noah*!”[67]

He replied, “Because of Adam, who sinned in the presence of his Lord. Better for him had he never been created, so that this verse would not have been written. But come and see what is written: *A wise son delights a father* (Proverbs 10:1).[68] When a son is good, all the inhabitants of the world speak well of his father, but when he is bad, all speak ill of his father. Since Adam sinned, violating the command of his Lord, when rebels arose against their Lord, what is written? *That the children of Adam had built*—children of Adam who rebelled against his Lord, violating the command.[69] So *these are the offspring—these*, not the earlier ones. *These*, who emerged from the ark and generated offspring for the world, not *the offspring of Adam*, who emerged from the Garden of Eden without generating them from there.[70]

“Come and see: If Adam had generated offspring from the Garden of Eden, they would never have been destroyed[71] and the light of the moon would never have darkened.[72] They all would have lived forever, and even the supernal angels could not have withstood their radiant luster and wisdom. But since [61a] sin compelled him to leave the Garden of Eden and he generated offspring outside, they did not endure in the world and were imperfect.”

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, “How could they have generated offspring there? For if the evil impulse had not been drawn toward him, enticing him to sin, he would have existed alone in the world, generating no offspring.[73] Similarly if Israel had not sinned, drawing to themselves the evil impulse, they would never have generated offspring and no other generations would have come into the world.”[74]

He replied, “If Adam had not sinned, he would not have generated offspring like this. For now he generates only from the side of the evil impulse, and since all human offspring derive from that side, they do not endure and are incapable of the other side.[75] But if Adam had not sinned and not been banished from the Garden of Eden, he would have generated offspring from the side of Holy Spirit, holy as supernal angels, enduring forever, corresponding above. Since he sinned and engendered children outside the Garden, and was unworthy of generating them from the Garden, they did not endure even long enough to take root in the

world, until Noah appeared and entered the ark. From the ark issued all generations of the world, dispersing from there to all four directions of the world."[76]

God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt (Genesis 6:12). Why was it corrupt? *For all flesh had corrupted their way* (ibid.), as has been explained.[77]

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened with a verse, saying, "*God saw their deeds, how they turned from their evil ways* (Jonah 3:10). Come and see: When human beings are virtuous, observing the commandments of Torah, earth is invigorated, pervaded with joy. Why? Because *Shekhinah* hovers over earth, so all delight, above and below. But when human beings corrupt their ways, failing to observe the commandments of Torah, sinning in the presence of their Lord, then, as it were, they thrust *Shekhinah* out of the world, and earth is left ruined.[78] For *Shekhinah* no longer hovers over her, so she is ruined. Why? Because another spirit hovers over her, ruining the world.[79]

"You might think this applies even to the land of Israel, yet we have learned that no other spirit or official hovers over the land of Israel, only the blessed Holy One.[80] Come and see! So it is in the land of Israel: no official or emissary hovers over her, only the blessed Holy One. But for a moment it does hover to destroy human beings.[81] How do we know? From David, for it is written: *David saw the angel of YHVH* [*standing between earth and heaven*], *with a drawn sword in his hand extended over Jerusalem* (1 Chronicles 21:16), so the land was ruined."

Rabbi El'azar said, "Even that time, it was the blessed Holy One. Here is written: *angel*, and there is written: *the angel who redeems me* (Genesis 48:16), and similarly: *The angel of YHVH moved* (Exodus 14:19).[82] Whether for good or for ill, the blessed Holy One reigns over her. For good, so that other officials and all inhabitants of earth will be ashamed of their deeds.[83] For ill, so that they will not rejoice in ruling over her.[84]

"Now you might say, 'No? Look at what is written: *For she has seen heathens invade her sanctuary* (Lamentations 1:10) and destroy the House.[85] If those officials were not in charge, the Temple would not have been destroyed!' Come and see! It is written: *For You have done it* (ibid. 1:21), and similarly: *YHVH has done what He devised* (ibid. 2:17).

"Come and see! It is written: *God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt. Corrupt*, indeed, as has been explained.[86] Correspondingly, *God saw their deeds, how they turned from their evil ways*. For then, earth called above, adorning her face like a woman for a man.[87] So, *God saw the earth, and behold, it was*

corrupt, like a woman rendered impure, hiding her face from her husband. When the sins of humanity abounded brazenly, the face of earth transmogrified into that of a woman totally shameless, as is said: *Earth was defiled under her inhabitants* (Isaiah 24:5). So, *it was corrupt*, indeed! Why? *For all flesh had corrupted* [61b] *their way upon earth*."[88]

Rabbi El'azar went to visit Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lekonya, his father-in-law.[89] As soon as he saw him, he set up a canopied carpet with wooden poles,[90] and they sat.

His father-in-law asked him, "Did you happen to hear from your father anything about this verse: *YHVH has done what He devised; He has executed His utterance that He ordained in days of old* (Lamentations 2:17)?"

He replied, "The Companions have already established it: *He has executed His utterance*—He rent His purple raiment.[91] *That he ordained in days of old*, for He ordained that purple from those supernal, primordial days;[92] and on the day the Temple was destroyed, He rent it because this purple robe is His glory and adornment—so He rent it."[93]

He said to him, "*YHVH has done what He devised*. Does a king devise evil against his children before they sin?"

He replied, "This can be compared to a king who possessed a precious vessel.[94] Every day he feared it might be broken, so he gazed upon it constantly, eyeing its perfection. One day the king's son provoked him. The king took that precious vessel and smashed it, as is written: *YHVH has done what He apprehended*.[95]

"Come and see: From the day the Temple was built, the blessed Holy One would gaze upon it, so precious was it to Him. He feared Israel might sin and the Temple be destroyed. Whenever He entered, He would don that purple robe.[96] Afterward, when sins prevailed, provoking the King, the Temple was destroyed and He rent that purple raiment, as is written: *YHVH has done what He apprehended, He has executed His utterance*.

"This applies to the time when the Temple was destroyed; but at other times, nothing delights the blessed Holy One as much as the elimination of the wicked of the world and those who have provoked Him, as is written: *When the wicked perish, jubilation!* (Proverbs 11:10). So in every generation that He punishes the wicked of the world, joyous song resounds in the presence of the blessed Holy One.

"Now you might say, 'But we have learned that joy vanishes from the presence of the blessed Holy One when He punishes the wicked!'[97] Come and

see: When judgment is executed upon the wicked, joyous song does resound in His presence over their elimination from the world—but only when the extension He patiently granted them has expired and they have still not turned back to Him from sinning.[98] If, however, they are punished prematurely—with incomplete guilt, as is said: *for the guilt of the Amorites is not yet complete* (Genesis 15:16)—then joy vanishes from His presence due to their perishing.[99]

"You might ask, 'If their time has not yet come, why does He punish them?' But the blessed Holy One punishes them prematurely only because they interfere with Israel, harassing them. So He punishes them prematurely, eliminating them from the world. This is why He was distressed when He drowned the Egyptians in the sea and when he destroyed the enemies of Israel in the days of Jehoshaphat,[100] and so with all of them, for they were eliminated prematurely on account of Israel.

"But when the extension He has granted them expires without their having returned to God, then joyous song resounds in His presence over their elimination from the world. Except for the time when the Temple was destroyed, for even though their time was up—for they had provoked Him[101]—joy vanished from His presence, and ever since that time, there has been no joy above or below."[102]

For in another seven days I will make it rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights... (Genesis 7:4).

Rabbi Yehudah said, "What is the nature of these forty days and forty nights? Forty, to lash sinners, as is written: *Forty he is to be struck, no more* (Deuteronomy 25:3),[103] corresponding to the four directions of the world, ten in each, because the human being was created from these four.[104] So, *I will obliterate all existing things* (Genesis, ibid.).[105] Forty were required for lashing, for the world to be obliterated."

Rabbi Yitsḥak was in the presence of Rabbi Shim'on. He asked him, "This verse: *The earth was corrupt* [62a] *before God* (ibid. 6:11)—given that humans sinned, but how did earth?"

He replied, "Since it is written: *for all flesh had corrupted their way* [*upon earth*] (ibid., 12), as has been said.[106] Similarly, *The earth was defiled, and I inflicted her punishment upon her* (Leviticus 18:25). It was human beings who sinned. If you ask 'How did earth?' the answer is: Human beings constitute the essence of earth—they ruin earth and she is ruined. The verse proves it, as is

written: *God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth* (Genesis, ibid.).

"Come and see: All sins of a human being are entirely his ruination, yet are susceptible to return;[107] but the sin of spilling seed, wasting his way, emitting seed upon earth,[108] ruining both himself and earth—of this is written: *Stained is your iniquity before Me* (Jeremiah 2:22). Similarly, *You are not a God who delights in wickedness; evil cannot abide with You* (Psalms 5:5).[109] Similarly, *Er, firstborn of Judah, was evil in the eyes of YHVH...* (Genesis 38:7).[110] This has already been explained."

He asked, "Why did the blessed Holy One punish the world with water, and not with fire or some other element?"

He replied, "It is a mystery! For they wasted their ways, so that the upper waters and lower waters failed to unite fittingly.[111] Who has ever ruined like this: male and female waters? So they were punished with water, just like they sinned. The water was boiling, peeling off their skin, just as they wasted their ways with boiling water.[112] A fitting punishment, as is written: *All the springs of the great abyss burst forth* (ibid. 8:2)—lower waters; *and the sluices of heaven opened* (ibid.)—upper waters. Upper and lower waters."

Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yehudah were walking on the way and reached some huge mountains, in whose ravines they discovered human bones from victims of the Flood. They paced three hundred paces along one bone.[113] Amazed, they exclaimed, "Just as our companions have said: They did not fear the judgment of the blessed Holy One, as is written: *They say to God, 'Leave us alone! We have no desire to know Your ways* (Job 21:14). What did they do? With their feet they dammed up the springs of the abyss, but the waters bubbled up boiling and they could not endure, finally slipping, falling to the ground, and dying."[114]

Noah engendered three sons... (Genesis 6:10).[115]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said to Rabbi Yehudah, "Come and I'll tell you a word I heard regarding this. It can be compared to a man who implants in a female the fruit of her womb simultaneously, two or three children, diverging from one another in character and conduct: this one virtuous, that one wicked.[116] Here, too, three clusters of spirit roaming, embraced by three worlds.[117]

"Come and see: The soul emerges, navigating the mountains of separation,[118] and spirit is joined to soul.[119] As it descends, vitality joins spirit,[120] all of them descending, joining one another."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Vitality and spirit intertwine, while soul abides in one's ways—a hidden abode, her site unknown.[121] If one strives to purify himself, then he is assisted by a holy soul, purified, sanctified, called 'holy.' If he is unvirtuous, not trying to purify himself, then he has two openings—vitality and spirit—but is devoid of the holy soul—supernal boost—suiting his way."[122]

Tosefta[123] Incredible clusters![124] Impregnable castles! Quaestors of quaestory![125] Those of open eyes, open ears! A voice—voice of voices—descends from above, pulverizing mountains and boulders:[126]

"Who are those who see without seeing,[127] ears blocked, eyes shut? Neither seeing, nor hearing, nor knowing through contemplation the one encompassed by two within them, cast away by them.[128] They cling to those two, while one, artisan of artisans, does not abide within them.[129] [62b] They are not inscribed in the Books of Memory,[130] are erased from the Book of Life, as is said: *May they be erased from the Book of Life, and not be inscribed among the righteous* (Psalms 69:29).

"Woe to them when they leave this world! Woe to their lives! Who will plead for them? They are to be handed over to Dumah,[131] burned in blazing fire from which they cannot escape—except on new moons and Sabbaths, as is said: *From new moon to new moon and from Sabbath to Sabbath, all flesh shall come to bow down before Me, says YHVH* (Isaiah 66:23).[132] Afterward[133] a herald in the North proclaims: *Let the wicked return to Sheol!* (Psalms 9:18).[134] How many ravaging bands of truculent stingers[135] gather against them! In four directions fire flames in the Valley of Ben Hinnom;[136] three times a day they are burned.

"Moreover, when Israel responds aloud: 'Amen! May His great name be blessed!' the blessed Holy One is filled with compassion and takes pity upon all.[137] He signals to the angel appointed over the gates of Hell—Samriel is his name.[138] Three keys are in his hand; he opens three gates on the side of the wilderness,[139] and they see the light of this world. Fiery smoke emerges, choking the ways. Then three deputies under his command fan with three spades in their hands, chasing the smoke back to its site, providing them relief for an hour-and-a-half,[140] following which they return to their fire. So it is three times a day and whenever Israel recites: 'Amen! May His great name be blessed...!'[141]

"Happy are the righteous, whose paths in that world radiate in every direction,[142] as is said: *The path of the righteous is like gleaming light, shining ever brighter until full day* (Proverbs 4:18)."

Rabbi Abba said, "In Hell there are abodes upon abodes: second, third, until seven, as the Companions have established.[143] Happy are the righteous who steel themselves against the sins of the wicked, neither following their paths nor becoming defiled through them. Upon reaching that world, whoever has defiled himself descends to Hell, where he is sunk to the lowest abode. There are two abodes adjacent to one another: Sheol and Avadon.[144] One who descends to Sheol is judged there, receives his punishment, and is raised to another, higher abode; and so on—level after level—till they elevate him. But one who descends to Avadon is never raised,[145] which is why it is called Avadon, for he is totally אביד (*avid*), lost.[146]

"Come and see: Noah warned his contemporaries, but they would not listen,[147] until finally the blessed Holy One inflicted upon them the punishment of Hell. What is that? Fire and snow, water and fire—one freezing, one boiling.[148] All of them were sentenced to the punishment of Hell and eliminated from the world, following which the world fittingly endured.

"Noah entered the ark, bringing with him every species of the creatures of the world. Truly Noah was a *tree bearing fruit* (Genesis 1:11), and all species of the world sprang from the ark, corresponding to the manner above.[149]

"Come and see when this *tree bearing fruit* joins the *fruit tree*:[150] all those supernal species! Living things great and small; countless species, each one unique, as is said: *Living things small and great* (Psalms 104:25).[151] Similarly, Noah in the ark, all of them issuing from the ark, and the world was established, corresponding above.[152] So he is called *Noah, husband of earth* (Genesis 9:20),[153] *Noah, righteous man* (ibid. 6:9), as they have already established."[154]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "For 300 years before the onslaught of the Flood, Noah warned them concerning their deeds, but they would not listen to him,[155] till finally the blessed Holy One completed the span of time He had patiently extended for them, and they were eliminated from the world.[156]

"Come and see: What is written above? *When humans began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born to them* (ibid. 6:1). They walked around naked in sight of all. What is written? *The sons of Elohim saw the human daughters...* (ibid., 2).[157] This was the foundation, the root of their persistent sinning, leading finally to their extermination from the world. So they were drawn after the evil impulse, its stem and roots, rejecting holy faith, defiling themselves, as has been explained."[158]

God said to Noah, "End of all flesh has come before Me" (Genesis 6:13). We return to the previous matter.[159] *End of all flesh has come before Me—come*

before Me, indeed, as caused by them.[160]

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*YHVH, let me know my end, what is the measure of my days, that I may know how ephemeral I am* (Psalms 39:5). David said in the presence of the blessed Holy One, 'There are two ends, one on the right and one on the left, these being two paths humans walk to that world.[161]

"An end on the right, as is written: לקץ הימין (*le-qets ha-yamin*), *at the end of the right* (Daniel 12:13).[162] An end on the left, as is written: *He puts an end to darkness, the furthest reaches he explores—earth of pitch-black darkness* (Job 28:3).[163] *He puts an end to darkness. End*—Angel of Death, Serpent, *End of all flesh*.[164] *Puts to darkness*—for he derives from the side of the smelting of gold.[165] *The furthest reaches he explores*—When judgment looms over the world,[166] *he explores*, becoming Accuser of the world,[167] besmirching creatures' faces. [63a]

"An end on the right, as we have said, for it is written: *at the end of the right*. The blessed Holy One said to Daniel, '*As for you, go on till the end; you will rest, and arise*' (Daniel, ibid.).[168]

"He asked, 'Where? I don't know what will happen to me in that world.'

"He replied, '*You will rest*.'[169]

"He asked, 'When they rise from the dust, will I rise among them or not?'

"He replied, '*You will arise*.'

"He said, 'I know they will rise in various groups—some genuinely righteous, some the wicked of the world[170]—and I don't know with which of them I will rise.'

"He replied, '*For your share*' (ibid.).

"He said, 'You told me: *As for you, go on till the end*. There is an *end* on the right and an *end* on the left; I don't know to which: to קץ הימין (*qets ha-yamin*), *the end of the right*, or קץ הימים (*qets ha-yamim*), *the end of days*.'[171]

"He replied, 'לקץ הימין (*Le-qets ha-yamin*), *At the end of the right* (ibid.).'

"Similarly here, David said to the blessed Holy One, '*YHVH, let me know my end*. What is my allotted share?' He remained uneasy until he was assured that he would be on the right, as is written: *Sit on My right* (Psalms 110:1).

"Come and see: Similarly, the blessed Holy One said to Noah, '*End of all flesh has come before Me*.' Who is that? The *end* who besmirches creatures' faces: *End of all flesh*.

"*Has come before Me*. From here we learn that the wicked of the world anticipate him, attracting him to themselves to besmirch them.[172] As soon as he is authorized, he seizes the soul, yet not until then.[173] So he *has come before Me* to obtain permission to besmirch faces of the inhabitants of the world. Therefore, *I am about to destroy them along with the earth* (Genesis, ibid.).[174] So, *Make yourself an ark of gopher wood* (ibid., 14) to save yourself, preventing him from

overpowering you.

"Come and see: We have learned that when death appears in town or anywhere in the world, one should not show himself on the street because the Destroyer is empowered to destroy everything.[175] So the blessed Holy One said to him, 'You must hide yourself away! Do not show yourself in the presence of the Destroyer, so that he will not overpower you.'

"Now you might say, 'Who deployed the Destroyer here? It was simply water overwhelming.' Come and see: Judgment never manifests in the world, nor is the world obliterated, without that Destroyer surging through the punishments executed upon the world. Similarly here, there was a flood, the Destroyer surging through that flood, called by that name.[176] So the blessed Holy One told Noah to hide himself, not expose himself openly.

"Now you might say, 'The ark was exposed in this world, and the Destroyer was surging.' However, as long as one's face is not visible to the Destroyer, he has no power over him.[177] How do we know? From Egypt, as is written: *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22). Why? Because the Destroyer loomed, ready to destroy, and one must not expose himself in his presence. So Noah together with all his companions were hidden away in the ark, and the Destroyer had no power over them."

Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose were walking on the way. They encountered the mountains of Kurdistan,[178] where they saw traces of crevices in the earth dating from the time of the Flood.[179]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said to Rabbi Yose, "These crevices are vestiges of the Flood, preserved by the blessed Holy One ever since, throughout the generations, so that the sins of the wicked not be obliterated from His sight. For such is the way of the blessed Holy One: He wants the virtuous who do His will to be remembered above and below, their blessed memory unforgotten generation to generation. Similarly He wants the sins of the wicked, who fail to do His will, not to be forgotten, their punishment and evil memory remembered generation to generation, as is written: *Stained is your iniquity before Me* (Jeremiah 2:22)."[180]

Rabbi Yose opened, saying, "*Cry shrilly, O Daughter of Gallim! Listen, Laishah! O poor Anathoth!* (Isaiah 10:30).[181] This verse has been established by the Companions, but it was declared for Assembly of Israel.[182] *Cry shrilly, O Daughter of Gallim!* Daughter of Abraham; so they have established.[183]

"*Daughter of Gallim*, as is written: *a sealed* גל (*gal*), *spring* (Song of Songs 4:12). *Gallim—waves*, streams merging, flowing into Her, filling Her, as is written: *Your branches are an orchard of pomegranates* (ibid., 13).[184]

"*Listen, Laishah*, as is written: ליש (*Layish*), *The lion, perishes for lack of prey* (Job 4:11). *Layish* is male; *Laishah*, female. Why is She called *Layish*?[185] Either because of the verse: *Layish, Lion, mighty among beasts* (Proverbs 30:30), or because of: *Layish, The lion, perishes for lack of prey*. But She is all: *Mighty lion*, deriving from upper Might;[186] *The lion perishes for lack of prey*, when those streams disappear, no longer entering Her. Then She is called *Poor Laishah, lioness* (Isaiah, ibid.), perishing for lack of prey, as is written: *The lion perishes for lack of* [63b] *prey, and the cubs of the lioness are scattered*.[187]

"*Anathoth*, poorest of the poor, as is said: *of the priests who were in Anathoth* (Jeremiah 1:1),[188] and similarly: *Anathoth, go to your field*! (1 Kings 2:26).[189] What is the point?[190] As long as King David was alive, Abiathar rose in wealth and in all ways. Afterward Solomon said to him, *Anathoth, go to your field*! Why did Solomon call him this? Because he was telling him, 'In your days father was poor; now, *go to your field*!'[191]

"Now still the question may be posed: Why was Abiathar called *Anathoth*? If you say he came from Anathoth, look at what is written: *One son of Ahimelech son of Ahitub escaped—his name was Abiathar* (1 Samuel 22:20),[192] so he must have been from Nob, since Nob was the city of the priests.[193] Even though it is claimed that Nob and Anathoth are one and the same—it being called 'Anathoth' only because the city was reduced to poverty and destroyed by Saul, and the priests eliminated—still Anathoth was a village, not identical with Nob.[194] The real reason he called Abiathar *Anathoth* was as he said: *Because* התענית (*hit'anneita*), *you were afflicted, with all the hardships my father endured* (1 Kings, ibid.).[195] He came from the city of Nob, but because the poverty of David transpired during his lifetime, he was called otherwise."

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "The world was impoverished ever since the day Adam violated the commands of the blessed Holy One until Noah arrived and offered an offering, and the world was settled."[196]

Rabbi Yose said, "The world remained unsettled and earth did not escape the slime of the serpent until Israel stood at Mount Sinai, embracing the Tree of Life;[197] then the world was settled. Had Israel not relapsed, sinning before the blessed Holy One, they would have never died, for they had been purged of the slime of the serpent. Then the original tablets were smashed—tablets comprising total freedom, freedom from that serpent: *End of all flesh*.[198] When the Levites rose to deal death,[199] the evil serpent aroused, slithering in front of them, but he could not overpower Israel for they were all girded with armored belts. Once Moses said *Now take off your ornaments* (Exodus 33:5), the serpent was empowered to dominate them.[200]

"Come and see what is written: *The Children of Israel were stripped of*

their ornaments from Mount Horeb on (ibid., 6). ויתנצלו (*Va-yitnatstselu*), *They were stripped*—the verse should read וינצלו (*Vaynatstselu*), *They stripped*.[201] But, *they were stripped*, by someone else, for the serpent was empowered to rule. *Their ornaments from Mount Horeb*—that they received *from Mount Horeb* when Torah was given to Israel."[202]

Rabbi Ḥiyya asked, "Since Noah was *a righteous man* (Genesis 6:9), why didn't he abolish death throughout the world?"[203]

Rabbi Yose replied, "Because the slime of the world had not yet disappeared. Furthermore, they did not believe in the blessed Holy One; all of them were grasping the leaves of the tree below and dressing themselves in impure spirit.[204] Further, they later persisted in sinning, clinging to the evil impulse as before, and Torah, Tree of Life, had not yet been brought down to earth by the blessed Holy One."[205]

As they were walking, they saw a Jew approaching.

Rabbi Yose said, "This person is a Jew—he looks so!"[206]

When he reached them, they asked him.

He said, "I am an envoy for a *mitsvah*![207] For we live in the village of Ramin,[208] and the time of the Festival[209] nears, so we need a *lulav* and its fellow species.[210] I'm on my way to pluck them for the *mitsvah*."

They walked on as one.

The Jew said to them, "These four species of the *lulav*, all of which propitiate for water[211]—have you heard why we need them on the Festival?"[212]

They replied, "The Companions have already been aroused by this,[213] but if you possess a new word, say it!"

He said to them, "True, the place we live in is small, but everyone there engages in Torah under the guidance of one inflamed by the rabbis:[214] Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Yose from Maḥoza,[215] who each day tells us new words. He said that the Festival is the time when all those princes appointed over other nations prevail, blessed from the side of Israel,[216] called by us *raging waters*, as is said: *the raging waters* (Psalms 124:5).[217] In order to overpower them, we approach with the mystery of the holy name—with those four species of the *lulav*[218]—in order to propitiate the blessed Holy One to prevail [64a] against them through the mystery of the holy name, and to arouse holy water upon us, to pour upon the altar.[219]

"He further told us that on Rosh Hashanah the first arousal arises in the world. What is the first arousal? Lower Court of Justice, aroused to judge the world, with the blessed Holy One sitting in judgment over the world.[220] This court remains in session until Yom Kippur, when Her face beams,[221] while the serpent—cosmic informer—is nowhere to be found, being engrossed in that goat they

offer to him, deriving from the side of impure spirit, befitting him.[222] Occupied with that goat, he does not approach the sanctuary.[223] This goat resembles the goat of the new moon, in which he is engrossed,[224] so the face of the sanctuary shines and all of Israel find compassion in the presence of the blessed Holy One, their guilt eliminated.

"One secret he told us, but permission has not been granted to reveal it, except to holy, wise devotees."

Rabbi Yose asked, "What is it?"

He replied, "I haven't examined you yet."[225]

They walked on. After a while he said to them, "When the moon approaches the sun,[226] the blessed Holy One arouses the side of North, who grasps Her lovingly, drawing Her close.[227] South arouses from the other side, and the moon ascends, uniting with East.[228] Then She suckles from two sides, drawing blessing secretly, until the moon is blessed and filled. Here Woman approaches Her Husband.[229] Corresponding to the mysterious image of the smooth members of Adam is the mysterious arrayal of the Female.[230] All is elucidated among us.

"Similarly, below: mysterious arrayal of another, lower Adam beneath the moon.[231] Just as the left arm above[232] grasps Her, arousing toward Her in love, so too, below. This serpent is the left arm, impure spirit; her rider grasps her,[233] approaches the moon and draws Her,[234] sucking from the trough, and She is defiled.[235]

"Then Israel below offer up a goat, to which the serpent is drawn,[236] and the moon is purified, ascending, bound above to be blessed. Her face, darkened below, now shines.

"Similarly here, on Yom Kippur, since that evil serpent is engaged with that goat, the moon breaks away from him, engaging with Israel, and the blessed Holy One blesses them above, forgiving them. Afterward, when Israel arrive at the Festival,[237] they arouse the right side above,[238] so that the moon will bind herself there and her face shine fittingly. Then they distribute a share of blessings to all those deputies below,[239] so that they will occupy themselves with their portion and not approach to suck from the side of Israel's share.[240]

"Similarly below, when the other nations are blessed, they all engage in their inherited share, not meddling with Israel or coveting their share. They therefore convey blessing[241] to all those deputies, so that they will be absorbed with their portion and not interfere with them.

"When the moon is fittingly filled with blessings above, Israel come and suckle from her all by themselves. Of this is written: *On the eighth day you shall have an assembly* (Numbers 29:35).[242] What is *an assembly*? As translated: 'a gathering.'[243] Everything gathered from those supernal blessings is imbibed by no

one except Israel. So it is written: *You shall hold an assembly; you*—no other nation; *you*—no other deputy. Therefore they propitiate for water,[244] to provide them a portion of blessings to keep them occupied, so that later they will not interfere in Israel's joy as they suck supernal blessings. Of that day is written: *My beloved is mine and I am his* (Song of Songs 2:16), for no other interferes with us.

"This may be compared to a king who invited his beloved to a sublime feast he was preparing for him on a designated day.[245] Now the king's beloved knows that the king [64b] delights in him.

"The king said, 'I now want to rejoice with my beloved, but I fear that as we are feasting together, all those appointed quaestors[246] will come in and sit down with us at the table, feasting from the feast of joy with my beloved.'

"What did he do? Anticipating, his beloved brought wickered baskets[247] of greens and meat of oxen, offering them these. Afterward the king sits down with his beloved to that feast more sublime than all delicacies of the world. The king rejoices with his beloved alone, with no others interfering between them.

"Similarly, Israel with the blessed Holy One. So: *On the eighth day you shall have an assembly*."[248]

Rabbi Yose and Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "The blessed Holy One has paved the way for us. Happy are they who engage in Torah!"

They came up and kissed him.

Rabbi Yose proclaimed for him, "*All your children will be taught by* YHVH... (Isaiah 54:13)."[249]

When they reached the site of a certain field they sat down. That man asked, "Why is it written: *And* YHVH *rained brimstone and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah* (Genesis 19:24), whereas in the Flood it is everywhere written: *Elohim, Elohim*?[250] Because we have learned: 'Everywhere it is written: *And* YHVH—this means "He and His Court." *Elohim*, unspecified, means Judgment alone.'[251] Now, at Sodom judgment was executed, yet not destroying the world, so He intermingled with Judgment;[252] but in the Flood It[253] destroyed the whole world and all those present in the world.

"Now you might say, 'But look, Noah and his companions were saved!' Come and see: Noah was hidden from sight, invisible! So everything present in the world It destroyed.[254]

"Therefore: *And* YHVH—in the open, not destroying all. *Elohim*—one needs concealment and must seek protection, for It destroys all. So *Elohim* was alone.[255]

"The secret is: YHVH *sat at the Flood* (Psalms 29:10). What does *sat* mean? If the verse were not written, we could not say it:[256] He sat by, alone, not accompanying Judgment. Here is written: *sat*, and there is written: *Alone he will*

sit (Leviticus 13:46)—all alone.[257]

"Since Noah was hidden from view, afterward when judgment had been executed, destroying the world, and His rage subsided, what is written? *Elohim remembered Noah* (Genesis 8:1). For when He destroyed the world, he was not remembered, since he was hidden from sight.

"I have learned a secret: The blessed Holy One—concealed and revealed. 'Revealed'—Lower Court of Justice. 'Concealed'—site from which all blessings flow.[258] So blessings settle upon everything kept concealed,[259] whereas everything revealed is occupied by that site of the Court, it being a site revealed. All within supernal mystery, corresponding above."

Rabbi Yose wept, and said, "Happy is the generation in which Rabbi Shim'on dwells,[260] for here in the mountains his virtue evoked for us words as high as these!"

Rabbi Yose said, "This person appeared in order to reveal these words to us. The blessed Holy One sent him to us!"

When they reached Rabbi Shim'on and arrayed words before him, he said, "He spoke well indeed!"

Rabbi El'azar was sitting one day in the presence of his father, Rabbi Shim'on. He asked him, "Did that *End of all flesh* enjoy those offerings offered by Israel on the altar?"[261]

He replied, "All were satisfied as one, above and below. Come and see: Priests, Levites, and Israel are called אדם (*adam*), human,[262] through the union of those sacred aspirations[263] ascending from within them. That sheep or lamb or beast that they offer[264]—before it is offered upon the altar, one must specify over it all one's sins and evil desires, confessing over it. Then it is called entirely 'beast,' within those sins, wrongs, and fantasies. As with the offering of Azazel, of which is written: *He shall confess over it all the iniquities of the Children of Israel* (Leviticus 16:21), so too, here. As it ascends upon the altar, a burden of two on one.[265] So this one ascends to its site, and that one to its site; this in the mystery of human, that in the mystery of beast, as is said: *Human and beast You deliver, O YHVH* (Psalms 36:7).[266]

"Pancakes and all other meal-offerings,[267] to arouse Holy Spirit[268] through the aspiration of priests, the song of Levites, and the prayer of Israel. By that smoke, oil, and flour ascending, all other masters of judgment are saturated and satisfied, [65a] unable to execute the judgment delivered to them. All simultaneously.[269]

"Come and see: All transpires in the mystery of faith, so that one is satisfied

by the other,[270] so that the one who must, ascends to *Ein Sof*, Endless."[271]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "I raise my hands above in prayer![272] When supernal Will, above, above,[273] abides upon the Will unknown, totally ungrasped forever, the head concealed extremely above[274] (and that head generated what it generated, unknown—radiated what it radiated, all in concealment), the desire of supernal Thought is to pursue it, be illumined by it.[275] A single curtain is spread,[276] and from within this curtain, through the pursuit of supernal Thought, it touches and does not touch,[277] until that curtain radiates what it radiates. Then Thought radiates with nameless radiance unknown—unknown even by Thought![278]

"Then this radiance of unknown Thought strikes the radiance of the extended curtain, radiating with that which is unknown, unknowable, unrevealed. So this radiance of unknown Thought strikes the radiance of the curtain, and they radiate as one, forming nine palaces of palaces—neither lights nor spirits nor souls; no one can fathom them.[279] The desire of all nine lights,[280] all existing in Thought—the latter numerically one of them[281]—is to pursue them while existing in Thought,[282] but they remain unapprehended, unknown. These fathom neither Will nor supernal Thought, grasping yet not grasping. In these abide all mysteries of faith, and all those lights from the mystery of supernal Thought downward are called *Ein Sof*, Endless.[283] Until here lights extend and do not extend and are unknown. No will here, no thought.[284]

"When Thought illumines—from whom is unknown—it is clothed and enveloped in *Binah*, Understanding, illumining whom it illumines, one entering the other, till all merge as one.[285]

"Through the mystery of the offering, as it ascends, all are bound together, illumining one another. Then all engage in ascent, and Thought is crowned in *Ein Sof*.[286] The radiance from which supernal Thought shines, of which it is totally unaware, is called *Ayin*, Nothingness,[287] whence it comes into being, upon which it stands, illumining whom it illumines. Happy is the share of the righteous in this world and in the world that is coming!

"Come and see this *End of all flesh*:[288] Just as a bond is found above in joy, so too, below, in joyous desire, satisfying all, above and below, with Mother over Israel fittingly.[289]

"Come and see: Every single new moon, as the moon is renewed, this *End of all flesh* is given one portion over and above the offerings,[290] to keep him occupied handling his portion, so that the aspect of Israel is alone to delight with their King. This is the שעיר (*sa'ir*), goat,[291] being the portion of Esau, of whom is written: *Look, my brother Esau is* איש שעיר (*ish sa'ir*), *a hairy man!* (Genesis 27:11).[292] So he handles his portion, and Israel theirs. Hence it is written: *For Yah has chosen Jacob for Himself, Israel as His own treasure* (Psalms 135:4).

"Come and see: This *End of all flesh* desires nothing but flesh constantly, so flesh is arrayed for him constantly[293] and He is called *End of all flesh*. When he rules, he rules over body, not over soul.[294] Soul ascends to her site, while flesh is given to this site. Similarly with an offering: aspiration ascends to one site, flesh to another.[295] A virtuous human being is an actual offering of atonement,[296] while another is not,[297] for he is defective, as is written: *not acceptable* (Leviticus 22:20).[298] So the righteous are an atonement for the world, an offering."

[65b] Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose were walking on the way. One said,[299] "It is written: *Noah did everything YHVH commanded him* (Genesis 7:5). Come and see what is written: *Noah was 600 years old...* (ibid., 6).[300] Why is this calculation reckoned? Because if Noah had not been 600 years old, he would not have entered the ark nor united with her. Once completed by 600 years, he joined her.[301] So from the day that the guilt of the world's inhabitants was complete, the blessed Holy One waited patiently for them until Noah was completed by 600 years, his rung fittingly complete, and he became completely righteous.[302] Then he entered the ark, corresponding entirely to the pattern above. *Noah was 600 years old*, as we have said, so the verse does not read *about 600 years old*."[303]

He opened again,[304] saying, "ואני (*Va-Ani*), *And I, I am about to bring the Flood, waters* (ibid. 6:17).[305] Why *I am about to*, if He already said *Va-Ani*, *And I?* Because *I* and *I am about to* are one and the same.[306] Come and see: Everywhere *Ani* becomes a body for the soul, receiving what is above,[307] so it is intimated by the sign of the covenant, as is written: *Behold, Ani, I, am My covenant with you* (ibid. 17:4)[308]—*Ani, I*, standing revealed, verging on being known; *Ani, I*, throne to what is above;[309] *Ani, I*, avenging from generation to generation.[310] *Va-Ani, And I*, encompassing male and female as one;[311] afterward designated alone, poised to execute judgment: *I am about to bring the Flood, waters*.[312]

"Since He said *bring the Flood*, don't we know that it's water? However, את (*et*) *the Flood*, amplifying the meaning to include the Angel of Death,[313] for even though there were waters, the Destroyer was coursing through the world, devastating with those waters.

"אני יהוה (*Ani YHVH*), *I, YHVH* (Leviticus 18:2). We have learned: 'I will faithfully reward the righteous and punish the wicked.'[314] So with *Ani* He promised the righteous their reward, and with *Ani* He threatened the wicked with punishment in the world that is coming.

"*To destroy all flesh* (Genesis 6:17), as we have established, for this is the Destroyer of the world, of whom is written: *He will not allow the Destroyer to enter your homes to strike* (Exodus 12:23).[315] This is: *to destroy all flesh*, from

the aspect of *End of all flesh has come before Me* (Genesis, ibid., 13),[316] for as soon as the time extended for them by the blessed Holy One had expired—until Noah completed 600 years[317]—then: *to destroy all flesh*."

He said, "So we have learned in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak, who told us."[318]

He opened, saying, "*I said, 'I will not see Yah, Yah in the land of the living. I will never see* אדם (*adam*), *a human, again among the inhabitants of cessation*' (Isaiah 38:11).[319]

"*I said, 'I will not see Yah.'* How obtuse are human beings who neither know nor consider words of Torah nor contemplate matters of that world,[320] so the spirit of wisdom fades from their mind! For when a human departs from this world and renders an account to his Lord of all he did in this world while still existing as spirit and body united,[321] he sees what he sees, finally reaching that world, where he meets Adam, sitting by the gate of the Garden of Eden, gazing upon all those who have observed the commands of their Lord, delighting in them.[322] Around Adam stand many of the righteous, those who have refrained from the path of Hell and inclined toward the path of the Garden of Eden. These are called *inhabitants* of חדל (*ḥadel*), *cessation*, not written: *inhabitants of* חלד (*ḥaled*), *the world*,[323] but rather: *inhabitants of cessation*, for they desisted from the path of Hell and overpowered themselves to enter the Garden of Eden.

"Alternatively, *inhabitants of cessation*—masters of return[324] who have refrained from sins of the wicked. Since Adam returned to the presence of his Lord,[325] he presides over those who have refrained from their sins, who are children of *ḥadel*, cessation, as is said: *that I may know how ḥadel, ephemeral, I am* (Psalms 39:5).[326] So he sits at the gate of the Garden of Eden, delighting in the righteous who come on that path.

"Come and see what is written: *I said, 'I will not see Yah.'* Now, who can see *Yah*? But the conclusion of the verse demonstrates the meaning: *Yah in the land of the living*. Come and see: When souls ascend to the site of the bundle of life,[327] there they bask in radiance of the resplendent speculum,[328] shining [66a] from the highest site of all.[329] If the soul did not garb herself in the radiance of another garment, then she could not draw near to view that light. The mystery of the matter: Just as the soul is given a garment in which to be garbed, to exist in this world,[330] so she is given a garment of supernal radiance in which to exist in that world,[331] to gaze into the speculum that shines from within *the land of the living*.[332]

"Come and see: Moses could not draw near to gaze upon what he gazed until he was garbed in another garment, as is said: *Moses entered the cloud and ascended the mountain* (Exodus 24:18)—into the midst of the cloud.[333] He clothed himself in it, as one clothes himself in a garment, and therefore, *Moses*

approached the thick darkness where God was (ibid. 20:18), and *Moses was on the mountain forty days and forty nights* (ibid. 24:18), able to gaze upon what he gazed.

"Similarly, souls of the righteous garb themselves in that world in a garment suiting that world, so they stand gazing at the light radiating into *the land of the living*.

"*I will never see* אדם (*adam*), *a human, again*—this is Adam, as has been explained.[334] Why all this? Because he did not generate children,[335] for anyone who does not generate children in this world is banished, when he leaves, from all that we have mentioned and is not allowed to view that radiant light.[336] If this was the case with Hezekiah, who possessed ancestral merit[337] and was himself virtuous, righteous, and devout, all the more so with one who lacks ancestral merit and has sinned in the presence of his Lord!

"This garment of which we have spoken is what the Companions call the 'shirt' worn in that world.[338] Happy is the share of the righteous, for whom the blessed Holy One has treasured away such goodness in that world! Of them is written: *No eye has seen, O God, but You, what You will do for one who awaits You* (Isaiah 64:3)."[339]

And I, I am about to bring the Flood, waters upon the earth (Genesis 6:17).[340]

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*These are the Waters of Quarrel, where the Children of Israel quarreled with YHVH, and through which He was hallowed* (Numbers 20:13). Didn't *the Children of Israel quarrel with YHVH* anywhere else?[341] What's different here, that the verse should state: *These are the Waters of Quarrel*, and no others? But these were really *Waters of Quarrel*, potently empowering the masters of judgment.[342] For there are sweet waters and bitter waters, clear waters and turbid waters, waters of peace and waters of strife.[343] So *these are the Waters of Quarrel, where the Children of Israel quarreled with YHVH*, attracting to themselves the one they must not,[344] through whom they became defiled, as is written: ויקדש בם (*va-yiqqadesh bam*), *through which he was tabooed*."[345]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah asked, "If so, why ויקדש (*va-yiqqadesh*), *he was tabooed*? The verse should read ויקדשו (*va-yiqqadeshu*), *they were tabooed*."[346]

He replied, "The word transcends:[347] *va-yiqqadesh*—the one who must not be tainted was, for the moon was tainted, as it were;[348] *va-yiqqadesh*—here implying no praise.[349] *And I, I am about to bring the Flood*, as we have established: to unleash the Destroyer upon them, since through him they had defiled themselves."[350]

Rabbi Yose said, "Woe to the wicked who, having sinned, refuse to return to the blessed Holy One[351] while still in the world! For when a person returns,

regretting his sins, the blessed Holy One forgives him, but all those who cling to their sins, refusing to return to the blessed Holy One, will eventually fall into Hell, never to be raised.

"Come and see: Since the entire generation of Noah hardened their hearts, desiring to flaunt their sins, the blessed Holy One executed judgment upon them in a similar manner."[352]

"Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Even when someone sins in secret, the blessed Holy One exposes him in sight of all.[353] How do we know? From the straying wife.[354] Similarly these wicked ones were obliterated from earth. Obliterated? How? Waters gushed boiling from the abyss, rising and peeling off their skin, then their flesh,[355] leaving nothing but bones, fulfilling the verse: *They were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis 7:23). All those bones disjointed from one another, no longer together,[356] so they were totally eradicated from the world." [66b]

I will establish My covenant with you (Genesis 6:18).[357]

Rabbi El'azar said, "From here we learn that when the righteous appear in the world, the world is established firmly above and below."[358] Rabbi Shim'on said, "It is a concealed matter, concerning the arousal of a male toward his female when he jealously suspects her.[359] Come and see the mystery of the matter: The moment a righteous man appears in the world, *Shekhinah* never leaves him, Her desire drawn toward him. Then supernal desire toward Her in love, like desire of a male for his female when he jealously suspects her.[360] So, *I will erect My covenant with you*—desire arouses because of you.[361] Similarly, *My covenant I will erect with Isaac* (ibid. 17:21).[362]

"*I will erect My covenant with you*—so that you signify My covenant in the world; then *you will enter the ark*. If he had not embodied the covenant, he would not have entered the ark, for only the righteous one unites with the ark. So, *enter the ark*, as has been explained."[363]

Rabbi El'azar said, "As long as people hold fast to the covenant, not abandoning it,[364] no nation or language in the world can harm them. Noah held firmly to this covenant, preserving it,[365] so the blessed Holy One preserved him; but all his contemporaries failed to preserve it, so the blessed Holy One eliminated them from the world. As already explained, they were obliterated from the world in the very same manner as the sin they sinned."[366]

Rabbi Yehudah was in the presence of Rabbi Shim'on, engaging together in this

verse: וירפא (*Vayrappe*), *He healed, the wrecked altar of* YHVH (1 Kings 18:30).[367]

"What does *healed* mean? Come and see: All Israel had abandoned the blessed Holy One and abandoned their sealed covenant.[368] When Elijah appeared, he saw that the Israel had abandoned the holy covenant, removing it.[369] Seeing this, he set about repairing the matter. Once he drew the entity to its site,[370] what is written? *He healed the wrecked altar of* YHVH—the sealed covenant coming to repair *the wrecked altar of* YHVH; the sealed covenant, abandoned by the world.[371]

"It is written: *Elijah took twelve stones, corresponding to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob* (ibid., 31)—this is the repair of *the altar of* YHVH.[372]

"*To whom the word of* YHVH *came, saying, 'Israel shall be your name'* (ibid.).[373] Indeed, *Israel shall be your name*, ascending on high, restoring the sealed covenant to its site,[374] corresponding to what is written: *For the Children of Israel have abandoned Your covenant*, and thereby *torn down Your altars* (ibid. 19:10).

"Come and see: As long as Israel preserve the holy covenant, they erect existence above and below.[375] When they abandon this covenant, existence sags above and below, as is written: *Were it not for My covenant day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth* (Jeremiah 33:25).[376] So, *He healed the wrecked altar of* YHVH. Now, is that healing? Certainly so! For he sustains the site on which faith depends.[377]

"Come and see, similarly, Phinehas: When he filled with zeal over the act of Zimri, he repaired this covenant in its site, and therefore it is written: *I hereby grant him My covenant of peace* (Numbers 25:12).[378]

"Now, do you think it was for Phinehas? What quarrel did Phinehas have with this covenant?[379] Rather, here an entity was linked with its place.[380] *I hereby grant Him, My covenant*. What will I grant Him? *Peace*, so that each will join its place, so that covenant will join its site.[381] So, *I hereby grant Him, My covenant*. What? *Peace*, its site to join. What had been separated from it by their sins, because of him rejoined.[382] So since he arrayed the entity in its place, from now on: *It shall be for him and for his seed after him a covenant of perpetual* priesthood, because he was zealous for his God (ibid., 13)."[383]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Nothing in the world so provokes the jealousy of the blessed Holy One as the sin of the covenant,[384] as is said: *A sword avenging with vengeance of the covenant* (Leviticus 26:25). Come and see: The guilt of the generation of the Flood remained incomplete until they sinned by ruining their ways upon earth,[385] even though they robbed one another, as is written: *The earth was filled with violence* (Genesis 6:11).[386] [67a]

"Come and see how many deputies on high are appointed over the voices of those invoking heavenly judgment against their fellows for what was done to

them. So it is written: *For the earth is filled with violence because of them*, and therefore, *Here, I am about to destroy them along with the earth* (ibid., 13)."[387]

YHVH said to Noah, "Come, you and all your household, into the ark!" (ibid. 7:1).

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Throughout, *Elohim*, while here, *YHVH*. What is different here that it should say *YHVH*, supernal name of compassion?[388] It is a mystery, for we have learned: It is not proper for a woman to receive a guest without her husband's permission.[389] Similarly, here: Noah wanted to enter the ark, to unite with Her,[390] but it was unseemly until the husband of the ark gave him permission,[391] as is written: *Come, you and all your household, into the ark!* So here He is called *YHVH*, husband of the ark. Only then did Noah enter, uniting with Her.

"Similarly, we have learned that a guest is not permitted to enter the house without the consent of the woman's husband, master of the house,[392] as is subsequently written: *Noah entered...* (ibid., 7).[393]

"Come and see what is written: *For you have I seen as righteous before Me in this generation* (ibid., 1). From here we learn that one should not receive a guest into his home if he seems suspicious, but only if he appears virtuous, beyond all suspicion, as is written: *Come, you and all your household, into the ark!* Why? *For you have I seen as righteous before Me....*[394]

"We also learn that if he grants permission to him alone, and not to all those accompanying him, he should not bring them into the house, as is written: *Come, you and all your household, into the ark*—permitting them all to enter. From this verse we learn the mystery of manners."

Come, you and all your household, into the ark!

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *Of David, a psalm. The earth and her fullness are YHVH's, the world and her inhabitants* (Psalms 24:1). We have learned: לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *Of David, a psalm*—he exclaimed a song, then Holy Spirit dwelled upon him. מזמור לדוד (*Mizmor le-David*), *A psalm of David*—Holy Spirit dwelled upon him, then he exclaimed a song.[395]

"*The earth and her fullness are YHVH's*. This verse was uttered for the land of Israel, the Holy Land. *Her fullness* is *Shekhinah*, as is said: *For the Presence of YHVH* מלא (*male*), *filled, the house of YHVH* (1 Kings 8:11), and similarly: *The Presence of YHVH* מלא (*male*), *filled, the Dwelling* (Exodus 40:35).[396] Why מָלֵא (*male*), full, and not מִלֵּא (*mille*), *filled*?[397] But full, indeed! Filled with everything,

filled by the sun, a moon complete on every side,[398] *male*, full, of supernal substance, like a treasure ship filled with all the best of the world.[399] So, *The earth and her fullness are YHVH's*.[400] *The world and her inhabitants*—the rest of the world.

"Alternatively, *The earth is YHVH's*—the supernal Holy Land, in which the blessed Holy One delights.[401] *And her fullness*—souls of the righteous, all of whom fill Her, by whom She is filled, through the potency of a single pillar upon which the world stands.[402]

"Now if you say, 'It stands upon one,' come and see what is written: *For He founded it upon seas* (Psalms, ibid., 2).[403] *For He*. Who is *He*? The blessed Holy One, as is said: *He made us* (ibid. 100:2), and similarly: *He looks to the ends of earth* (Job 28:24).[404]

"*He founded it upon seas and established it upon rivers* (Psalms 24:2)—seven pillars upon which She stands.[405] They fill Her, She is filled by them. How? When the virtuous abound in the world, this *earth* yields fruit and is filled with all.[406] When the wicked abound in the world, it is written: *Waters vanish from the sea; a river dries up and is parched* (Job 14:11). *Waters vanish from the sea*—the Holy Land we have mentioned, drenched by supernal saturation.[407] *A river dries up and is parched*—that single pillar standing above Her, by whom She is illumined.[408] *A river dries up and is parched*, as is said: *The righteous one perishes* (Isaiah 57:1)."[409]

Rabbi Yehudah said further, "When the wicked were annihilated from the world, the blessed Holy One was saddened, seeing no one upon whom it could stand.[410] Now if you say, 'What about Noah?' It was plenty for him to protect himself and to engender generations for the world, as is written: *For you have I seen as righteous before Me in this generation* (Genesis 7:1)—*in this generation*, precisely!"[411]

Rabbi Yose [67b] said, "*In this generation*—a tribute to him, for though living in that wicked generation, he became all this: *a completely righteous man* (ibid. 6:9)—even in the generation of Moses![412] But he could not protect the world, because ten could not be found in the world—as is said: *if I find ten there* (ibid. 18:32), and they could not be found; here, too, ten could not be found: just he and his three sons and their wives, not totaling ten."[413]

Rabbi El'azar asked his father, Rabbi Shim'on, "We have learned that when the world is pervaded by the sins of humanity, and judgment breaks out, woe to the virtuous one found in the world, for he is snared first for the sins of the wicked.[414] How was Noah saved, not seized for their sins?"

He replied, "The blessed Holy One desired to engender from him generations for the world, from out of the ark. Further, judgment could not overpower him because he was hidden away in the ark, concealed from sight.[415]

"Come and see what is written: *Seek righteousness, seek humility; perhaps you will be hidden on the day of YHVH's wrath* (Zephaniah 2:3). Noah sought righteousness and entered Her,[416] becoming *hidden on the day of YHVH's wrath*, so judgment could not overpower or denounce him.

"Here is a hint for holy ones of the Most High,[417] to discover the mystery of supernal letters—reversal of letters, twenty-two—to obliterate the wicked.[418] Therefore it is written: *They were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis 7:23), and: בא (*Bo*), *Come... into the ark!* (ibid., 1)."[419]

Rabbi Yitsḥak opened, "*Who sent His glorious arm to be at Moses' right hand, splitting the waters before them to make Himself an everlasting name* (Isaiah 63:12). Come and see the difference between Moses and other inhabitants of the world![420] When the blessed Holy One said to Moses, *Now, leave Me alone, that My wrath may blaze against them and I may consume them, and I will make of you a great nation* (Exodus 32:10),[421] Moses immediately said, 'Should I abandon Israel's cause simply for my own advantage? Now all inhabitants of the world will claim that I killed Israel, as Noah did.'

"For when the blessed Holy One told him to save himself in the ark, as is written: *As for Me, I am about to bring the Flood, waters upon the earth.... And I will obliterate all existing things that I have made.... But with you I will establish My covenant, and you will enter the ark* (Genesis 6:17–18; 7:4)—when He told him that he and his sons would be saved, he did not plead for compassion for the world and it perished. Because of this the waters of the Flood are named after him, as is said: *For this is like the waters of Noah to Me: As I swore that the waters of Noah would never again cover* [*the earth*] (Isaiah 54:9).[422]

"Moses said, 'Now the inhabitants of the world will claim that I killed them because He told me, *I will make of you a great nation*. Better, then, that I die and Israel not be destroyed. Immediately, *Moses sweetened the face of YHVH his God* (Exodus 32:11)—pleading for compassion for them, arousing compassion for the world."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said further, "How did he begin pleading for compassion? *Why, YHVH, should Your wrath blaze against Your people?* (ibid.). How could Moses speak this word: *Why?* They had worshiped strange gods, as is said: *They have made themselves a molten calf, bowed to it, and sacrificed to it* (ibid., 8)—and Moses said *Why?!* But so we have learned: One who appeases another[423]

should not magnify the wrong, but rather minimize it before him. Afterward he should maximize it before the other,[424] as is written: *You have sinned a great sin!* (ibid., 30).[425]

"He did not leave the blessed Holy One alone until offering to die, as is written: *Now, if You would only bear their sin! If not, please obliterate me from Your book!* (ibid., 32).[426] Then the blessed Holy One forgave them, as is written: *YHVH renounced the evil* (ibid., 14).[427] But Noah did not act so: he just wanted to save himself, abandoning the entire world.

"Whenever judgment looms over the world, Holy Spirit exclaims, 'Alas, there is no one like Moses to be found! *Where is he who brought them up from the sea?* (Isaiah 63:11).'[428] As is written: *YHVH said to Moses, 'Why are you crying out to Me*?' (Exodus 14:15), which shows that by prayer he raised them from the sea.[429]

"*Where is he who placed within them his holy spirit* (Isaiah, ibid.)—this is Moses, who ensconced [68a] *Shekhinah* among Israel.[430]

"*Who led them through the depths* (ibid., 13), when the waters were split, and they walked through the depths on dry land, the water having congealed. All this is ascribed to Moses because he risked his life for Israel."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Although Noah was virtuous, he was not worthy enough for the blessed Holy One to protect the world for his sake.[431] Come and see: Moses did not depend on his own merit, but rather on the merit of the ancient patriarchs.[432] Noah, however, had no one upon whose merit he could depend."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Even so, once the blessed Holy One said to him, *I will erect My covenant with you* (Genesis 6:18), he should have pleaded for compassion; and the sacrifice he offered afterward[433] he should have offered before, so that the wrath threatening the world would abate."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "The wicked of the world were provoking Him, and he should offer a sacrifice? He must have feared for his life, lest death befall him among the wicked of the world, whose deeds he witnessed every day, their provocation of the blessed Holy One."

Rabbi El'azar said, "Whenever wicked of the world abound, a righteous one found among them is seized first,[434] as is written: *Begin* ממקדשי (*mi-miqdashi*), *at My sanctuary* (Ezekiel 9:6). Do not read ממקדשי (*mi-miqdashi*), *at My sanctuary*, but rather ממקודשי (*mi-mequddashai*), *with My saintly ones*.[435] So here, how was he saved by the blessed Holy One among all those wicked? It was in order for the blessed Holy One to engender generations through him for the world, since he was fittingly righteous.

"Furthermore, he warned them every single day, but they disregarded him.[436]

So he himself fulfilled the verse that is written: *Yet if you warn the wicked... you will have saved your life* (ibid. 3:19).[437] From here we learn that whoever warns a sinner—even though his warning is rejected—saves himself, while that sinner is snared in his sin. For how long? This has been established by the Companions."[438]

Rabbi Yose frequented the presence of Rabbi Shim'on. One day he asked him, "Why did the blessed Holy One see fit to annihilate all the beasts of the field and the birds of heaven along with the wicked? If humans sinned, how did animals, birds, and other creatures?"

He replied, "Because it is written: *For all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth* (Genesis 6:12). All of them ruined their ways, abandoning their species, cleaving to another species.[439]

"Come and see: The wicked of the world brought this upon all creatures, seeking to contravene the act of Creation,[440] causing all creatures to ruin their ways, as they did themselves.[441] The blessed Holy One said, 'Do you seek to deny the work of My hands? I will fulfill your desire: *I will obliterate all existing things that I have made* (ibid. 7:4). I will return the world to water, as it originally was—water intermingled with water, as has been said.[442] From now on, I will form other, more fitting creatures in the world.'"

Noah entered, with his sons, his wife, and his sons' wives, [*into the ark*] (Genesis 7:7).

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "'*If a man hides in secret places, do I not see him?' says YHVH* (Jeremiah 23:24). How obtuse are human beings, totally unaware of the glory of their Lord, of whom is written: *Do I not fill heaven and earth?* (ibid.). How can humans seek to hide from their sins, saying: *Who sees us? Who knows us?* (Isaiah 29:15). It is written: *Their deeds are in darkness* (ibid.), but where can they hide from His presence?

"This may be compared to a king who built a palace, constructing secret subterranean tunnels.[443] Subsequently the courtiers rebelled against the king. He stormed[444] them with his troops. What did they do? They hid themselves within the recesses of those tunnels. The king said, 'I constructed them, and you want to hide from me?' As is written: '*If a man hides in secret places, do I not see him?' says YHVH*. 'It is I who made those hollow tunnels, who fashioned darkness and light—and you can hide from Me?'[445]

"Come and see: When a person sins in the presence of his Lord and

obscures himself, concealing himself, the blessed Holy One executes judgment upon him openly.[446] But when a person purifies himself, the blessed Holy One wants to hide him so that he will be invisible on the day of the wrath of *YHVH*. For one should certainly [68b] not be visible to the Destroyer looming over the world, lest he gaze at him, since he is authorized to destroy all those visible to him.[447]

"This accords with the remark of Rabbi Shim'on: Whoever possesses an evil eye[448] comes under the spell of the Destroyer's eye and is called Destroyer of the world. One must be on guard against him, not come near him, so as not to be injured by him; it is forbidden to approach him in the open. So what is written of Balaam? *Oracle of the man whose eye is open* (Numbers 24:3),[449] for he possessed an evil eye and everywhere he gazed he channeled the spirit of the Destroyer.[450] So he sought to gaze upon Israel in order to destroy wherever his eye gazed. What is written? *Balaam lifted up his eyes* (ibid., 2),[451] raising one eye and lowering one eye,[452] to gaze upon Israel with an evil eye.

"Come and see what is written: *He saw Israel* שוכן (*shokhen*), *encamped, tribe by tribe* (ibid.)—he saw *Shekhinah* sheltering them, brooding them, adorned by twelve tribes beneath Her,[453] and his eye could not overpower them. He said, 'How can I prevail against them? For look, supernal Holy Spirit broods them, sheltering them with Her wings!' As is written: *He crouches, lies down like a lion, like a lioness—who can rouse him?* (ibid., 9).[454] Who can raise Him from them, so that they will be exposed and the eye will overpower them?

"Therefore the blessed Holy One sought to shield Noah—to hide him from the eye, so that the impure spirit would not overpower him, destroying him, as has already been said."

Noah entered (Genesis 7:7), as has been said, to hide himself from the eye. *Because of the waters of the Flood* (ibid.), for the waters forced him.[455]

Rabbi Yose said, "He saw the Angel of Death coming, so he entered the ark and hid himself there for twelve months. Why twelve months? Because that is the punishment of the wicked."[456]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "For six months they are suspended in water, and for six in fire, but here there was only water, so why twelve months?"[457]

Rabbi Yose replied, "They were inflicted with both punishments of Hell: with water and fire. With water—water from above; with fire—water gushing from below, boiling hot as fire.[458] So they were inflicted with the punishment of Hell—with fire and water—for twelve months, as Rabbi El'azar said, 'The punishment of the wicked in Hell lasts for twelve months,' as has been

established. So all those wicked of the world were inflicted with both these punishments, water and fire, until they were exterminated from the world.

"Meanwhile, Noah hid himself in the ark, concealing himself from the eye, so the Destroyer could not come near him; and it floated on the face of the waters, as is said: [*The waters increased*] *and lifted the ark, and it rose above the earth* (ibid. 7:17). For forty days they were lashed, as is written: *The Flood continued forty days upon the earth* (ibid.), and for the rest of the time[459] they were obliterated from the world, as is written: *They were obliterated from the earth* (ibid., 23). Woe to those wicked ones, for they will not rise from the dead to stand at Judgment, as is written: *They were obliterated*, and similarly: *You have obliterated their name forever and ever* (Psalms 9:6), for they will not rise even to stand at Judgment."[460]

They lifted the ark, and it rose above the earth (Genesis 7:17).[461]

Rabbi Abba opened, "*Rise, O God, above the heavens! Let Your glory be above all the earth!* (Psalms 57:6).[462] Woe to the wicked who sin and provoke their Lord every day, who through their sins repel *Shekhinah* from earth, making Her disappear from the world.[463]

"Come and see what is written: *They lifted the ark*, for they thrust Her out.[464] *And she rose above the earth*, for She no longer abides on earth but ascends. When She withdraws from the world, there is no one to watch over the world, and Judgment dominates it.[465] Then the wicked of the world are removed, obliterated, and *Shekhinah* restores Her abode to the world."

Rabbi Yeisa asked him, "If so, then what about the land of Israel? The wicked living at that time[466] were obliterated, so why didn't *Shekhinah* return to Her site, as before?"

He replied, "Because the remnant of the righteous of the world did not remain there.[467] But wherever they went She descended, placing [69a] Her abode among them.[468] If She did not part from them in another, foreign land, all the more so if they had remained in the Holy Land.

"As has been said, by all sins of sinners of the world, *Shekhinah* is repelled. One of them is wasting one's way on earth, as we have explained,[469] because of which one does not see the face of *Shekhinah* nor enter the palace.[470] So of these is written: *They were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis 7:23), obliterated entirely.

"Come and see: When the time comes for the blessed Holy One to revive the dead, He will create suitable bodies for all those located outside in other, foreign lands.[471] For a single bone surviving in a human being underground will

become like leaven in dough, upon which the blessed Holy One will build an entire body.[472] But He will provide them with souls only in the land of Israel, as is written: *when I open your graves and raise you from your graves, O My people, and bring you to your land* (Ezekiel 37:12–13),[473] for they will roll underground.[474] What is written next? *I will put My spirit within you and you shall live* (ibid., 14). Look, only in the land of Israel will all inhabitants of the world receive souls, excluding those who defiled themselves and defiled the earth, of whom is written: *They were obliterated from the earth—from the earth*, precisely,[475] although the ancients disputed this and differed.[476] *They were obliterated*, as is said: *May they be obliterated from the Book of Life* (Psalms 69:29)."[477]

Rabbi Shim'on said to him, "They certainly have no share in the world to come, as is written: *They were obliterated from the earth*, and conversely: *They will inherit the earth forever* (Isaiah 60:21).[478] However, they will rise for Judgment, and of them is written: *Many of those who sleep in the dust of earth will awake, some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting contempt* (Daniel 12:2)."

He obliterated את כל (*et kol*), *all, existing things over the face of the earth* (Genesis 7:23).

Rabbi Abba said, "Encompassing all those empowered rulers, appointed over earth.[479] This is *existing things over the face of the earth*.[480] For when the blessed Holy One executes judgment upon the world, He first removes those rulers appointed over them, and afterward those abiding beneath their wings, as is written: *YHVH will punish the host of the high heavens on high*, and afterward: *the kings of the earth upon the earth* (Isaiah 24:21).[481] How are they removed from His presence? He removes them with blazing fire, as is written: *For YHVH your God is a consuming fire*—a fire consuming fire.[482] Those *existing* above them[483]—with fire; those dwelling beneath them[484]—with water. So, *He obliterated all existing things over the face of the earth*,[485] and afterward: *both humans and animals, crawling things and birds of the sky; they were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis, ibid.)—all those below.

"אך (*Akh*), *Only, Noah remained* (ibid.)[486]—limiting,[487] for nothing was left in the world except for Noah and those with him in the ark."

Rabbi Yose said, "He was lame, for a lion bit him, as they have established."[488]

God remembered Noah and all the beasts and all the cattle that were with him in the ark (ibid. 8:1).

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "*A prudent person sees evil and hides* (Proverbs 22:3). This verse was spoken for Noah, who entered the ark, hiding himself inside, entering the ark when the waters forced him.[489] As has been said, before entering the ark he saw the Angel of Death walking among them, encircling them.[490] As soon as he saw him, he entered, hiding himself within, as is written: *A prudent person sees evil and hides. Evil*—the Angel of Death. *And hides* from his presence, as is written: *because of the waters of the Flood* (Genesis 7:7)."[491]

Rabbi Yose said, "*A prudent person sees evil* ונסתר (*ve-nistar*), *and is hidden*. It is written: ויסתר (*va-yissater*), *and hides himself*,[492] referring back to what has been said: When death looms over the world, a wise person hides himself, not standing outside, not making himself visible to the Destroyer, who, having been empowered, will destroy anyone found in his presence, anyone passing before him openly.[493] The verse concludes: *But the simple pass and are punished* (Proverbs, ibid.)—they pass before him, are seen by him, *and are punished*.

"Alternatively, [*they*] *pass*—they transgressed this command and were punished.[494]

"Alternatively, A *prudent person sees evil and hides*—this is Noah. *But the simple pass and are punished*—these are his contemporaries.

"When he had hidden himself and stayed there all that time, [69b] finally, *God remembered Noah*."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "*God remembered Noah*. Come and see: When judgment is being executed, זכירה (*zekhirah*), remembering, is not recorded. Once judgment has been executed and the wicked of the world have been removed, then remembering is recorded. For when judgment looms over the world, unification vanishes and the Destroyer prevails.[495] Once judgment has been executed and wrath subsides, all returns to its site.[496] So here is written: *God remembered Noah*, for זכור (*zakhor*), remember, inheres in him, as is written: *Noah was a righteous man* (Genesis 6:9).[497]

"It is written: *You rule the raging of the sea. When its waves surge, You still them* (Psalms 89:10). When the sea leaps with its rollers, abysses billowing and plunging,[498] the blessed Holy One transmits a single ray, pulling its waves, assuaging its rage, unknown to anyone.[499]

"Jonah descended into the sea and encountered that destined fish,[500] who swallowed him. Why did his soul not depart and immediately fly away? Because the blessed Holy One *rules the raging of the sea*, and that raging is a single ray swelling the sea, by which it swells. Were it not for the ray reaching it from the right side,[501] it would never swell, for as soon as the ray descends to the sea,

grasping it, rollers arouse, roaring to tear prey, until the blessed Holy One turns them back and they return to their place, as is written: *When its waves surge*, תשבחם (*Teshabbeḥem*), *You still them—You still* those waves of the sea. *You still them*—breaking them, restoring them to their place.

"Alternatively, תשבחם (*Teshabbeḥem*), *You praise them*, literally![502] It is their praise, since they ascend in desire to see. From here we learn that whoever yearns to gaze and know, even if incapable, is to be praised. All praise him!"

Rabbi Yehudah said, "When Noah was in the ark, he feared that the blessed Holy One would never remember him. Once judgment had been executed and the wicked of the world removed, what is written? *God remembered Noah*."

Rabbi El'azar said, "Come and see: When judgment looms over the world, one's name should not be mentioned on high, for if it is, his sins will be mentioned and he will be scrutinized. How do we know? From the Shunammite,[503] for that day was the festival of Rosh Hashanah, when the blessed Holy One judges the world.[504] Then Elisha asked her, *Can we speak on your behalf to the king?* (2 Kings 4:13)—this is the blessed Holy One, who is then called King, Holy King, King of Judgment.[505] *She replied, 'I dwell among my own people'* (ibid.)—'I do not want to be mentioned or observed except *among my own people*.' Whoever yokes with his own people will not be scrutinized and judged harshly by anyone. So she said: *Among my own people*.

"Come and see: When wrath prevailed in the world, Noah was not recalled.[506] As soon as judgment had been executed, what is written? *God remembered Noah*. Now his name was recalled.

"Alternatively, *God remembered Noah*, corresponding to what is said: *I have remembered My covenant* (Exodus 6:5)."[507]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah was walking from Cappadocia to Lydda.[508] He met Rabbi Yeisa, who said to him, "I am surprised that you are all alone, for we have learned that one should not set out alone on a journey."[509]

He replied, "A child is walking with me; he's following behind."

He said, "I am surprised by that! How can you be accompanied by someone with whom you cannot discuss words of Torah? For whoever walks on the way unaccompanied by words of Torah endangers his life."[510]

He replied, "Certainly so!"

Meanwhile the child arrived. Rabbi Yeisa asked him, "My son, where are you from?"

He answered, "From the town of Lydda. When I heard that this wise man was going there, I offered to serve and accompany him."

He asked, “Do you know any Torah?”

He answered, “I do, because father used to teach me the section of sacrifices, and I inclined my ear when he spoke with my brother, who is older than me.”

Rabbi Yeisa said to him, “My son, tell me.”

He opened, saying, “*Noah built an altar to YHVH, and took of every pure animal and of every pure bird, and offered ascent-offerings on the altar* (Genesis 8:20).

“*Noah built an altar*—the same altar on which Adam sacrificed.[511] [70a] Why did he bring an ascent-offering, since that is offered only for sinful imagining?[512] How did Noah sin? By imagining, ‘Look, the blessed Holy One decreed the destruction of the world! Perhaps because He saved me, all my merit has been expended and none is left.’[513] Immediately, *Noah built an altar to YHVH*—the same one on which Adam sacrificed. If it was the same, why *built*?[514] Because the wicked of the world dislodged it from its site.[515] When Noah appeared, of him is written: *built*.[516]

“*And offered up* עולות (*olot*), *ascent-offerings*—spelled עלת (*olat*), *ascent-offering*, one.[517] It is written: *He is* עולה (*olah*), *an ascent-offering, a fire-offering, an aroma pleasing to YHVH* (Leviticus 1:17).[518] Ascent-offering always ascends as male, not female, as is written: *Let him offer it male, unblemished* (ibid., 3). Why is it written: אשה (*ishsheh*), *fire-offering*, since אש (*esh*), fire, must be present there?[519] Because even though ascent-offering is offered as male, offered to his site,[520] female must not part from him.[521] Rather he is offered together with her, uniting one with the other, so female ascends toward male, uniting as one—even though ‘אשה (*ishsheh*), *fire-offering*, is intended for אישים (*ishim*), angelic personages.’[522]

“Noah had to offer an ascent-offering, for the blessed Holy One cast him in the sphere of the male, to join and enter the ark, so he offered an ascent-offering.[523]

“*He is an ascent-offering*, אשה (*ishsheh*), *a fire-offering*—אש ה (*esh he*), fire, *he*, for left unites with female[524]—every female deriving from the left side[525]—cleaving to one another. So female is called אשה (*ishshah*), woman: אשה (*ishshah*)—cluster of love, grasped by the left to raise Her above, to be bound as one.[526] So, *He is an ascent-offering*, *ishsheh*—nexus of male and female intertwined.

“*YHVH smelled the pleasing aroma* (Genesis, ibid., 21). And it is written: *a fire-offering, a pleasing aroma* (Leviticus, ibid., 17). *A fire offering*—so I have heard: Smoke and fire, joined as one, for there is no smoke without fire, as is written: *Mount Sinai was all in smoke, for YHVH had descended upon it in fire* (Exodus 19:18).

“Come and see: Fire issues from within, and is tenuous, grasped by another

substance, without, less tenuous; they are grasped by one another. Then smoke ascends. Why? Because fire is grasped by sensate substance.[527] Your symbol for this is the nose, through which issues smoke out of fire.[528] Of this is written: *They shall place incense in Your nostril* (Deuteronomy 33:10), for fire returns to its site, and through that aroma the nose contracts inward, inward—till all is embraced, returning to its site, all drawn in toward thought, becoming a single desire.[529] Then, ריח ניחח (*reiaḥ niḥoaḥ*), *a pleasing aroma*, for wrath נח (*naḥ*), subsides, yielding נייחא (*neyaḥa*), tranquility[530]—for smoke is absorbed, condensed in fire, fire grasping smoke, both entering within, within, until wrath subsides. When all intermingles and wrath subsides, then tranquility, a single nexus named 'tranquility'—tranquility of spirit, joy of all as one, radiance of sparkling lamps,[531] radiance of faces. So it is written: *YHVH smelled* [*the pleasing aroma*], like one inhaling, drawing everything in to its site."

Rabbi Yeisa came and kissed him, saying, "All this goodness in your hand, and I was unaware! I will turn around so we can join as one."

They went on.

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "Let us walk on this way together with *Shekhinah*, for it is paved for us."[532]

They grasped the child's hands, and they went on.

They said to him, "Tell us one of those verses your father told you."

He opened, saying, "*O that he would kiss me with the kisses of his mouth* (Song of Songs 1:2).[533] This is supernal desire, for passion issues from the mouth, not from the nose, as does fire. For look, when a mouth merges by kissing, fire issues passionately,[534] in radiant faces, total joy, blissful cleaving. So, *for your caresses are fine, deriving from wine* (ibid.)[535]—from the wine that delights and brightens the face, sparkling the eyes, arousing passion;[536] not from the wine that intoxicates, arousing rage, darkening the face, inflaming the eyes —wine of rage.[537] So, because this good wine brightens the face, delights the eyes, and arouses passionate love, it is offered every day upon the altar [70b] in a quantity satiating and delighting one who drinks it, as is written: *Its wine libation is a quarter of a hin* (Numbers 28:7).[538] So, *for your caresses are fine, de*riving from wine—from that wine arousing love and desire.

"Entirely as below, love arouses above. Two lamps, the light of the upper one extinguished: by the smoke ascending from the one below, the one above is rekindled."[539]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "Certainly so! For the upper world depends upon the lower,[540] and the lower upon the upper. Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed, blessings are not to be found above or below,[541] demonstrating that each depends on the other."

Rabbi Yeisa said, “Blessings are not to be found, curses are! For the sucking of all issues to the world from that side,[542] and blessings do not issue. Why? Because Israel does not dwell in the land and does not perform the vital service: kindling sparkling lamps so that blessings appear.[543] So they disappear above and below, and the worlds remain unfulfilled, unstable.”

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, “What is the meaning of: לא אוסיף (*Lo osif*), *I will never, again curse the earth because* of האדם (*ha-adam*), *humankind* (Genesis 8:21)?”

Rabbi Yeisa replied, “I have heard as follows from Rabbi Shim’on: As long as fire above אוסיף (*osif*), continues, blazing, smoke—judgment below—rages fiercely, consuming all.[544] For when fire issues, it does not cease until judgment has been completed. When judgment below לא אוסיף (*lo osif*), is no longer, intensified by judgment above,[545] it executes judgment intermittently, consuming incompletely. So it is written: לא אוסיף (*Lo osif*), *I will never*, give תוספת (*tosefet*), an increase, intensifying judgment below.”[546]

The child said, “I have heard that it derives from the verse: *Cursed is the earth because of you* (Genesis 3:17).[547] For when the earth was cursed through Adam’s sin, she was subjugated to that evil serpent—cosmic destroyer, exterminator of humanity.[548] From the day that Noah offered a sacrifice and the blessed Holy One smelled it,[549] earth was empowered to escape that serpent, escape defilement. So Israel offers a sacrifice to the blessed Holy One to brighten the face of the earth.”

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, “Correct, but this remained suspended until Israel stood at Mount Sinai.”[550]

Rabbi Yeisa said, “The blessed Holy One had diminished the moon and that serpent prevailed,[551] but because of Adam’s sin she[552] was cursed, to curse the world. Ever since that day,[553] earth has escaped the curse, while the moon remains defective—except when an offering appears in the world and Israel dwells in their land.”[554]

Rabbi Yeisa asked that child, “What is your name?”

He replied, “אבא (*Abba*).”[555]

He said, “You will be אבא (*abba*), father, in everything: in wisdom and in years.”[556]

He proclaimed this verse for him: *Your father and mother will be glad; she who bore you will rejoice* (Proverbs 23:25).[557]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, “One day the blessed Holy One will eliminate the impure spirit from the world, as has been said, for it is written: *I will eliminate the spirit of impurity from earth* (Zechariah 13:2). Similarly it is written: *He will swallow up death forever. YHVH Elohim will wipe away tears from all faces and*

remove the disgrace of His people... (Isaiah 25:8).

"One day the blessed Holy One will illumine the moon, delivering her from the darkness caused by that evil serpent, as is written: *The light of the moon shall be like the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, like the light of the seven days* (Isaiah 30:26). Which light? The light hidden by the blessed Holy One in the act of Creation."[558]

Elohim blessed Noah and his sons... (Genesis 9:1).[559]

Rabbi Abba opened, "*The blessing of YHVH— she enriches, and He adds no pain to her* (Proverbs 10:22). *The blessing of YHVH* is *Shekhinah*, appointed over blessings of the world, from whom blessings issue for all.[560]

"Come and see what is written at first: *YHVH said to Noah, 'Come, you and all your household, into the ark!'* (Genesis 7:1). As has been said, the Master of the house gave him permission to enter, while afterward the Woman told him to leave.[561] Initially, he entered with the permission of Her Husband; finally, he emerged with the permission of the Wife. From here we learn that the master [71a] of the house should bring in and the woman send out, as is written: *Elohim said to Noah, 'Go out of the ark!'* (ibid. 8:15–16), for She was empowered to send him out, though not to bring him in.

"Having emerged, he gave Her presents,[562] for She is the house, and the house is in Her hands.[563] Those presents he gave Her were intended to intensify Her Husband's love for Her.[564] From here we learn how a guest should behave.

"So once he had given Her presents, She blessed him, as is written: *Elohim blessed Noah*. Therefore, *The blessing of YHVH—she enriches*, indeed, as has been said. *And He adds no pain to her*—mystery of what is written: *By painful toil you will eat of it* (ibid. 3:17).[565] *Painful toil*—pain and anguish, a face lacking radiance, when the moon darkens and blessings are nowhere to be found.[566] *By painful toil*—side of the other spirit,[567] depriving the world of blessings. So, ולא יוסיף (*Ve-lo yosif*), *He adds no, pain to her*—mystery of what is written: לא אוסיף (*Lo osif*), *I will never, again curse the earth* (ibid. 8:21)."[568]

"*Fear and dread of you shall be* [*upon every beast of the earth...*] (ibid. 9:2). From now on, human images, for at first, there were no human images.[569] Come and see: At first, it is written: *In the image of God He made the human being* (ibid. 9:6),[570] and similarly: *He created him in the image of God* (ibid. 5:1).[571] As soon as they sinned, their image mutated from that supernal image and they turned into being frightened by the beasts of the field. At first, all creatures of the world would raise their eyes, see the supernal, sacred image, and be overcome by fear and trembling.[572] Once they sinned, their image transformed in

their eyes into another image,[573] and on the contrary, human beings fear and tremble in the presence of other creatures.

"Come and see: All humans who do not sin in the presence of their Lord and do not transgress the words of Torah—their image never wavers from the appearance of the supernal image, so every creature of the world fears and trembles before them. But when humans transgress the words of Torah, their image changes, so they all fear and tremble before other creatures because the supernal image has been exchanged, removed from them. Then beasts of the field dominate them, since they no longer see that worthy image.[574]

"So now that the world was renewed, as originally, He bestowed this blessing upon them, granting them dominion over all, as is said: *and all the fish of the sea are given into your hand* (ibid. 9:2)[575]—even the fish of the sea."[576]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "*Were given into your hand*, previously,[577] for when the blessed Holy One created the world, He delivered everything into their hands, as is written: *Have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky...* (ibid. 1:28)."[578]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah opened, "Of *David*. משכיל (*Maskil*).[579] *Happy is one whose transgression is lifted*,[580] *whose sin is covered* (Psalms 32:1). This verse has been established,[581] yet it was spoken in the mystery of wisdom. For we have learned: 'With ten varieties of praise, David praised the blessed Holy One,' one of which is משכיל (*maskil*), one of those ten rungs.[582] David attuned himself before this rung settled upon him.[583]

"*Happy is one whose transgression is lifted*. For when the blessed Holy One weighs the sins and merits of human beings, the scale on the side of sins ascends, while in the other, merits tip the scale. This is: *whose transgression is lifted*.[584]

"*Whose sin is covered*, when judgment prevails in the world, so that he will be protected, so the Destroyer will not overpower him.[585] As with Noah, concealed by the blessed Holy One from that sin Adam channeled to him and to the world.[586] For since Adam conveyed this sin to the world, other creatures dominate, humans fear them, and the world lies in disarray. So when Noah emerged from the ark, the blessed Holy One blessed him, as is written: *God blessed Noah and his sons....* (Genesis 9:1–2).[587]

"*And as for you, be fruitful and multiply* (ibid., 7). In these blessings females are not to be found, just Noah and his sons; the verse does not mention females."[588]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "ואתם (*Ve-attem*), *And as for you*—entirety of males

[71b] and females as one.[589] So, *And as for you, be fruitful and multiply*, generating offspring. From here on, *teem on earth* (ibid.).[590] Here the blessed Holy One gave them seven commandments of Torah, for them and all succeeding them, until Israel stood at Mount Sinai and were given all the commandments of Torah as one."[591]

God said to Noah.... This is the sign of the covenant I set between Me and you....I have set My bow in the cloud (Genesis 9:8, 12–13). *I have set*—previously.[592]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "*Above the expanse over their heads—appearance of sapphire, semblance of a throne* (Ezekiel 1:26).[593] What is written above? *I heard the sound of their wings like the sound of mighty waters, like the sound of Shaddai, as they moved* (ibid., 24). These are four magnificent, supernal, sacred creatures,[594] above whom that *expanse* is arrayed,[595] all their wings spread, joined to one another, to cover their bodies.[596] As they spread their wings, the sound of all those wings is heard—singing a song, as is written: *like the sound of Shaddai*, never subsiding, as is written: *so that glory may sing to You and not be silent* (Psalms 30:13).[597] What do they exclaim? *YHVH has manifested His salvation; He has revealed His righteousness in the sight of the nations* (ibid. 98:2).[598]

"*A sound of tumult like the sound of an army camp* (Ezekiel, ibid.), like the sound of a holy camp, all supernal hosts gathering above.[599] What do they exclaim? *Holy, holy, holy is YHVH of hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory!* (Isaiah 6:3).[600] Turning south, they sing *holy*; turning north, they sing *holy*; turning east, they sing *holy*; turning west, they sing *blessed*.[601]

"The *expanse* lies above their heads; wherever it moves, it turns faces in that direction, faces encompassed in it.[602] Faces turn to four corners, each revolving within its square, engraved with four faces:[603] face of a lion, face of an eagle, face of an ox, face of a human engraved with them all. Human—face of a lion; human—face of an eagle; human—face of an ox; all coalescing in him. So it is written: *Semblance of their face: a human face* (Ezekiel 1:10).[604]

"In this quadrisected *expanse*, all colors are included, four colors seen within, engraved quadruply,[605] higher and lower secrecies inscribed in four engravings.[606] When the colors of these four scatter, they total twelve: green, red, white, and a color blended of all colors,[607] as is written: *Like the appearance of the bow in the cloud on a rainy day, so was the appearance of the surrounding radiance—the appearance of the semblance of the glory of YHVH* (ibid., 28)—appearance of the colors of all. So, *I have set My bow in the cloud*.[608]

"What is *My bow*? As is said of Joseph: *His bow remained firm* (Genesis 49:24),[609] for Joseph is called Righteous, so *his bow* is covenant of the bow,

contained in Righteous One, covenant linking one with the other.[610] Since Noah was righteous, his covenant was a *bow*.[611]

"[*The arms of his hands*] ויפוזו (*va-yaphozu*), *stayed agile* (ibid.). What is *va-yaphozu*? They sparkled most desirably of all, as is said: *More desirable than gold, even much* פז (*paz*), *pure gold* (Psalms 19:11). They sparkled in supernal radiance when he kept the covenant,[612] so he was called Joseph the Righteous. Therefore the rainbow is called 'covenant,' embracing one another.

"Luster of supernal glory, vision of all visions, vision resembling hidden vision, hidden colors, revealed colors.[613] It is forbidden to gaze at the rainbow appearing in the world, lest shame be exposed in *Shekhinah*.[614] Furthermore, colors of the rainbow appear as dross[615] clinging to the appearance of supernal glory—not to gaze!

"Once earth sees this rainbow, the holy covenant is firmly erected.[616] So, *it will be a sign of the covenant between God* [*and the earth*] (Genesis 9:13).[617]

"As to what we have said concerning these colors—three colors and one blended of them—all comprise one mystery, within the cloud ascending to manifest.[618]

"*Above the expanse over their heads—an appearance of sapphire stone* (Ezekiel, ibid., 26). This is the Foundation Stone, centric point of the entire universe, upon which stands the Holy of Holies.[619] This is the supernal sacred throne, appointed over these four.[620] *Semblance of a throne* (ibid.), with four legs—Oral Torah.[621] *Upon the semblance of a throne—semblance of the appearance of a man* (ibid.)—Written Torah.[622] From here we learn that Written Torah is placed [72a] upon Oral Torah,[623] for one is the throne of the other. *Appearance of a man*—image of Jacob, enthroned upon Her."[624]

Rabbi Yehudah rose one night to ply Torah at an inn in the town of Meḥasya.[625] There in the house was a certain Jew who arrived with two ragged saddlebags.[626]

Rabbi Yehudah opened, saying, "*This stone that I have set up as a pillar will become the house of God* (Genesis 28:22). This is the Foundation Stone, upon which the world was planted, upon which the Temple was built."[627]

That Jew raised his head[628] and said, "How can that be? The Foundation Stone existed before the world was created; from it the world was sown. Yet you cite: *This stone that I have set up as a pillar*, which implies that Jacob set it up now, as is written: *He took the stone that he had placed under his head* (ibid., 18).[629] Furthermore, Jacob was in Bethel,[630] while this stone was in Jerusalem!"

Without turning his head toward him, Rabbi Yehudah opened, saying, "*Prepare to meet your God, O Israel!* (Amos 4:12). Similarly, *Be silent and*

listen, O Israel! (Deuteronomy 27:9). Words of Torah require intention;[631] words of Torah must be arranged with body and will as one."[632]

The Jew arose and dressed himself. He sat beside Rabbi Yehudah and said, "Happy are you righteous, engaging in Torah day and night!"

Rabbi Yehudah replied, "Now that you have prepared yourself, say your word, so that we may join as one, for words of Torah require arraying the body and arraying the mind. Otherwise, I would have lain in bed, expressing words in my mind. But we have learned that even a single person sitting and studying Torah is joined by *Shekhinah*.[633] Now, if *Shekhinah* is here, how can I lie in bed? Furthermore, they require thirsting clarity.[634]

"Moreover, when anyone rises to ply Torah at midnight, as the north wind arouses, the blessed Holy One comes to delight in the righteous in the Garden of Eden, and He together with all the righteous in the Garden listen to him, listening to those words issuing from his mouth.[635] Now, if the blessed Holy One and all the righteous revel in hearing words of Torah at this moment, how can I lie in my bed?"

He said to him,[636] "Now say your word!"

He said, "I asked about what you said concerning the verse *This stone that I have set up as a pillar will become the house of God*: 'This is the Foundation Stone.' How can that be? The Foundation Stone existed before the world was created; from it the whole world was sown. Yet you cite: *that I have set up*, which implies that Jacob set it up now, as is written: *He took the stone that he had placed under his head*.[637] Furthermore, Jacob was in Bethel, while this stone was in Jerusalem!"

He replied, "He rolled up the whole land of Israel beneath him, so that stone lay underneath him."[638]

He said to him, "It is written: *that he had placed*, and similarly: *this stone that I have placed*."[639]

He replied, "If you know something, say it."

He opened, saying,[640] "*As for me, I will behold Your face in righteousness; I will be satisfied, when I awake, with Your likeness* (Psalms 17:15). King David loved and cleaved to this stone, of which he said *The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone* (ibid. 118:22).[641] When he desired to gaze at the sight of the glory of his Lord, he first took this stone in his hand and then entered, for whoever desires to appear before his Lord can enter only through this, as is written: *Through this shall Aaron enter the sanctuary* (Leviticus 16:3).[642] David praises himself, saying: *As for me, I will behold Your face in righteousness*.[643] All David's striving focused on appearing fittingly in this stone, facing above.[644]

"Come and see: Abraham innovated morning prayer, revealing the goodness of his Lord to the world, arraying that hour fittingly, as is written: *Abraham arose early in the morning* (Genesis 22:3). Isaac innovated afternoon prayer, revealing to the world that there is judgment and a Judge, capable of saving or condemning the world. Jacob innovated evening prayer, and having arrayed through this prayer what no human had ever fittingly arrayed, he praised himself, saying: [72b] *This stone that I have set up as a pillar*, for until then no one else had set Her as he had.[645] So, *He took the stone that he had placed under his head and set her up as a pillar* (ibid. 28:18). What does *pillar* mean? That She was fallen and he raised Her. *And he poured oil upon her head* (ibid.), for it depended on Jacob to accomplish more than anyone in the world."[646]

Rabbi Yehudah came and kissed him, saying, "All this you know? Then why do you exert yourself in trade, neglecting eternal life?"[647]

He replied, "Times are stressful, and I have two sons attending school every day. I am exerting myself to provide them food and tuition, so that they can exert themselves in Torah."[648]

He opened, saying,[649] "*Solomon sat upon the throne of his father David, and his kingdom was firmly established* (1 Kings 2:12). What is so great about that? It implies, however, that he arrayed the Foundation Stone, setting upon it the Holy of Holies, so then *his kingdom was firmly established*.[650]

"It is written: *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant* (Genesis 9:16).[651] For the desire of the blessed Holy One focuses constantly on Her,[652] and whoever does not appear in Her does not enter the presence of his Lord.[653] So it is written: *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*. What does *I will see her* mean? It is a mystery, as is written: *Make a mark* (Ezekiel 9:4),[654] clearly visible. Some say this is the impress of the sacred insignia in the flesh."[655]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Certainly it is all![656] However, the rainbow appearing in the world abides in supernal mystery.[657] When Israel emerges from exile, this rainbow is destined to be adorned in its colors, like a bride adorning herself for her husband."[658]

The Jew said to him, "This is what my father told me as he was departing the world: 'Do not expect the footsteps of Messiah until this rainbow appears in the world, adorned in radiant colors, the world resplendent. Then expect Messiah!'[659]

"How do we know? For it is written: *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*.[660] Now when she appears, she appears in dim colors, and *to remember* means: so that the Flood will not return.[661] But at that time she will appear in radiant colors, adorned in her finery. Then, *to remember the everlasting covenant*—the blessed Holy One will remember this *covenant* who

lies in exile[662] and raise Her from the dust, as is written: *They will seek YHVH their God and David their king* (Hosea 3:5),[663] and similarly: *They will serve YHVH their God and David their king whom I will raise for them* (Jeremiah 30:9)—whom I will raise from the dust, as is said: *I will raise the fallen tabernacle of David* (Amos 9:11).[664] So, *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*, to raise Her from the dust.

"And Father said this: 'Therefore the redemption of Israel and her remembrance are mentioned here in the Torah,[665] as is written: *As I swore that the waters of Noah would never again cover the earth, so I swear not to be angry with you or rebuke you* (Isaiah 54:9)."[666]

The sons of Noah coming out of the ark were [*Shem, Ham, and Japheth*] (Genesis 9:18).

Rabbi El'azar said, "Since it is written: *The sons of Noah*, why: *coming out of the ark*? Did he have other sons who didn't come out of the ark?"

Rabbi Abba replied, "Yes! For later his sons engendered sons, as is written: *These are the generations of Shem* (ibid. 11:10), and they did not come out of the ark. So it is written: *coming out of the ark: Shem, Ham, and Japheth*."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "If I had been present in the world[667] when the blessed Holy One issued *The Book of Enoch* to the world and *The Book of Adam*,[668] I would have objected to the presence of human beings, because all the wise did not contemplate them carefully and strayed in strange words, abandoning the supernal domain for the other domain.[669] But now the wise of the world know words and conceal them, invigorating themselves in the service of their Lord.[670]

"I have found this verse[671] in Mystery of Mysteries:[672] When Delight of all Delights[673] arouses—concealed, sealed, Cause of Causes[674]—a tenuous radiance radiates, delight of all delights, lustering right in supernal anointing oil, lustering left in delightfully fine wine, lustering medially in delightful purple.[675] Spirit arouses, spirit rises, rendered to spirit, cleaving to one another.[676] Three enter three,[677] out of three issues one covenant cleaving to covenant.[678] Spirit ascending conceives, conceiving from Him.[679] When She is placed between two sides, spirit cleaves to spirit, [73a] and She conceives three sons.[680] From Noah and the ark issued three, corresponding to the supernal three, namely, those emerging from the ark: *Shem, Ham, and Japheth—Shem* on the right; *Ham* on the left; *Japheth*, purple, blending both.[681]

"*Ham is father of Canaan* (ibid. 9:18)—scoria of gold underneath slag,[682] arousal of impure spirit, primordial serpent. So the verse designates: *Ham is father of Canaan*, who brought curses upon the world, that *Canaan* who was

cursed, that *Canaan* who besmirched creatures' faces.[683] So of them all, only this one diverges from them all, as is written: *Ham is father of Canaan*—the one who besmirched the world—whereas of the others is not written: *Shem is father of so-and-so*, or *Japheth is father of so-and-so*. Rather, the verse suddenly skips: *Ham is father of Canaan*, indeed!

"So when Abraham arrived, what is written? *Abram passed through the land* [... *and the Canaanite was then in the land*] (ibid. 12:6), for the patriarchs were still unfulfilled and the seed of Israel had not issued into the world, so that this name leave and the supernal name enter.[684] When Israel proved virtuous, the land was called by this name: land of Israel. When they did not, the land was called by another name: land of Canaan. So it is written: *Cursed be Canaan* (ibid. 9:25), for he brought curses upon the world. What is written of the serpent? *Cursed are you among all animals*... (ibid. 3:14), corresponding to what is written: *slave of slaves* (ibid. 9:25).[685]

"Therefore it is written, *Shem, Ham, and Japheth*—these are the three *sons of Noah coming out of the ark*, as we have explained.

"*These three are the sons of Noah* (ibid., 19)—establishing the world, establishing supernal mystery.

"*From these the whole world dispersed* (ibid.)—mystery of three supernal colors. For when that flowing, gushing river waters the garden through the potency of these three supernal ones[686]—from there colors scattering below—each absorbs its companion,[687] showing how the glory of the blessed Holy One extends above and below, how He is one above and below."

Rabbi El'azar said, "These three colors pervade all that derives from the side of holiness, and through reflection they disperse to all those deriving from the side of the other spirit.[688] When you contemplate the mystery of rungs,[689] you will discover how colors scatter in every direction, finally filtering below through the mystery of twenty-seven conduits, sockets of doors covering the abysses.[690]

"All is known to the supernal wise. Happy is the share of the righteous whom the blessed Holy One delights to honor, to whom He reveals supernal secrets of wisdom! Of them is written: *The secret of YHVH is for those in awe of Him* (Psalms 25:14)."

Rabbi El'azar opened, saying, "*YHVH, You are my God; I will exalt You, I will praise Your name. For You have done wonders, plans of long ago, faithful and true* (Isaiah 25:1). How intensely human beings should contemplate the glory of the blessed Holy One, praising His glory! For if one knows how to praise his

Lord fittingly,[691] the blessed Holy One fulfills his desire. Further, he multiplies blessings above and below.[692]

"So one who knows how to praise his Lord and unify His name[693] is beloved above and desirable below.[694] The blessed Holy One prides Himself on him. Of him is written: *He said to me, 'You are My servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified*' (Isaiah 49:3)."

Noah, a man of the soil, was the first to plant a vineyard (Genesis 9:20).

Rabbi Yehudah and Rabbi Yose. One said, "It was banished from the Garden of Eden, and he planted it here." The other said, "It was in the earth and he uprooted it, then transplanted it. That same day it yielded fruit, blossoming into grapes; he squeezed them, drank of the wine and became drunk."[695]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "There is a mystery here in this verse. When he sought to probe the sin probed by Adam—not to cling but to know, to mend the world—he was incapable.[696] He squeezed grapes to probe that vineyard,[697] but as soon as he arrived, *he became drunk and exposed himself* (ibid., 21),[698] and was powerless to rise. So, *he exposed himself*, exposing the breach of the world that had been closed.[699] *Inside* אהלה (*oholoh*), *his tent* (ibid.)—spelled with a ה (*he*): *inside* [73b] *oholah*, *her tent*, the tent of that vineyard.[700]

"Similarly, the sons of Aaron, for we have learned that they were drunk on wine.[701] Now, who would give them wine to drink at that site? Can you conceive of them being so impudent as to quaff wine like this? Rather, they were actually saturated with that other wine,[702] as is written: *They offered strange fire in the presence of YHVH* (Leviticus 10:1). Here is written: *strange fire*, and there is written: *to protect you from a strange woman* (Proverbs 7:5)—all one and the same.[703]

"Similarly, *He drank of the wine and became drunk, and exposed himself*. So Ham, father of Canaan, aroused, as has been explained, and scope was provided to Canaan to prevail.[704] Whereas he had been righteous, in the mystery of covenant,[705] he castrated him, for we have learned that he removed that covenant from him.[706] Therefore, *He said, 'Cursed be Canaan*' (Genesis 9:25), for curses aroused, as at first.[707] *Slave of slaves he shall be* (ibid.), as is said: *Cursed are you among all animals and among all beasts of the field* (ibid. 3:14).[708] All will be restored in the time to come, but he will not; all will be liberated, but he will not.[709] This is a mystery intended for those who know the ways and paths of Torah."

He opened, saying, "*For I know my transgressions; my sin confronts me constantly* (Psalms 51:5). How carefully humans should guard themselves from sinning in the presence of the blessed Holy One! For once one has sinned, his sin is inscribed above, inexpungible except through extreme exertion, as is said: *Though you wash yourself with natron and use an abundance of lye, your iniquity is stained before Me* (Jeremiah 2:22).

"Come and see: When a human being sins once in the presence of the blessed Holy One, it leaves a mark. If he repeats, that mark is deepened. If he repeats again, that stain spreads from one side to the other; then, *your iniquity is stained before Me*.

"Come and see: When King David sinned in the presence of the blessed Holy One in the affair of Bathsheba,[710] he thought the sin was marked on him forever. What is written? *YHVH has removed your sin; you shall not die* (2 Samuel 12:13)—He removed that mark from His presence."

Rabbi Abba said to him, "Look, we have learned that Bathsheba was destined for King David since the day the world was created![711] So why did the blessed Holy One give her first to Uriah the Hittite?"

He replied, "Such are the ways of the blessed Holy One. Even though a woman is destined for a certain man, another—anticipating—marries her before the time of this other one arrives.[712] As soon as his time arrives, the one who had married her is thrust away in favor of this other one coming later, and he departs the world.[713] It is difficult for the blessed Holy One to remove him from the world before his time arrives, in favor of this other one.[714]

"This mystery of Bathsheba who was given first to Uriah the Hittite—go search and you will discover why the Holy Land was given to Canaan before Israel arrived. You will discover it is all one mystery.[715]

"Come and see: Even though David confessed his sin and returned,[716] his heart and mind did not depart from those sins he sinned or from that sin regarding Bathsheba, for he feared them constantly, lest one of them prevail and accuse him in time of danger.[717] So he did not obliterate them from his mind.

"Alternatively, *For I know my transgressions*—I know all those rungs from which human sins suspend.[718] *My sin confronts me constantly*—defect of the moon,[719] who did not escape impurity until Solomon appeared and she lustered in fullness.[720] Then the world turned firm and fragrant,[721] so Israel dwelled securely, as is written: *Everyone in Israel dwelled under his vine and under his fig tree* (1 Kings 5:5).[722] Nevertheless, *my sin confronts me constantly* and will not be eradicated from the world until King Messiah arrives in the time to come, as is said: *I will eliminate the spirit of impurity from earth* (Zechariah 13:2)."

He was a mighty hunter before YHVH; hence the saying: Like Nimrod, a

mighty hunter before YHVH (Genesis 10:9).[723]

Come and see: He was a mighty man, garbed in the garments of Adam, through which he discovered how to hunt creatures.[724] Rabbi El'azar said, "Nimrod used to entice creatures into worshiping idols. In those garments he prevailed, conquering the inhabitants of the world. He proclaimed himself Ruler of the World, and humanity worshiped him. Why was he called נמרוד (*Nimrod*), Nimrod? Because he מרד (*marad*), rebelled, against the supernal King on high, rebelling against those on high, rebelling against those below.[725]

"In those [74a] garments he ruled all inhabitants of the world, reigning over them, rebelling against his Lord, proclaiming himself Ruler of the World. He enticed creatures, finally luring humans to abandon the worship of the Lord of the world."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Concerning these garments, the Companions know a supernal mystery!"[726]

Our Mishnah. [727] *The whole earth was of one language and of identical words* (Genesis 11:1).

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "*The House, in its being built, was built of stone dressed at the quarry, so no hammer, ax, or any iron tool was heard...* (1 Kings 6:7).

"*The House, in its being built*. Didn't Solomon build it along with all those artisans who were there? Why, *in its being built*?[728] But so it was, as is written: *Of hammered work shall the lampstand be made* (Exodus 25:31). If it was *hammered work*, then why *shall it be made*? But indeed, entirely by miracle, made by itself.[729] As soon as they began working, the work taught them how to create what they never knew before. Why? Because the blessing of the blessed Holy One inhabited their hands. So it is written: *in its being built*—it was built by itself,[730] for it taught the artisans how to commence creating, and the actual design of that creation did not vanish from their sight. Contemplating it, they kept working till the entire House was built.

"*Was built* אבן שלמה (*even shelemah*), *of stone dressed, at the quarry*—spelled שלמה (*shelemah*), missing the י (*yod*), *stone of* שלמה (*Shelomoh*), *Solomon*, indeed![731]

"מסע (*Massa*), *Quarry*, Journey[732]—transported, coming and resting upon them, so the work was accomplished.[733] *Massa*—moving their hands to create unconsciously. Here is written: מסע (*massa*), and there is written: *And for* מסע (*massa*), *journeying, the camps* (Numbers 10:2).[734]

"*So no hammer, ax, or any iron tool was heard*—for *shamir*[735] split all

soundlessly, so they needed no other tools to work, all miraculously!”

Rabbi Shim’on said, “How beloved are words of Torah! Happy is the share of one engaged in them, knowing how to walk the path of truth! *The House, in its being built*. When it arose in the will of the blessed Holy One to fashion glory for Its glory,[736] from the midst of thought a desire arose to expand— expanding from the site of concealed thought, unknown, expanding and settling in the larynx,[737] a site continuously gushing in the mystery of the spirit of life. When thought expanded and settled in this site, that thought was called אלהים חיים (*Elohim Ḥayyim*), Living God: *He is Living God* (Jeremiah 10:10).

“It sought to expand and reveal Itself further; thence issued fire, air, and water,[738] merging as one. Jacob emerged, Consummate Man,[739] a single voice issuing audibly. Hence, thought, having been concealed in silence, was heard revealing itself.[740]

“Thought expanded further revealing itself, and this voice struck against lips. Then speech issued, consummating all, revealing all.[741] It is perceived that all is concealed thought, having been within, and all is one.[742]

“Once this expansion ripened, generating speech through the potency of that voice, then *The House, in its being built*. The verse does not read *when it was built*, but rather *in its being built*, every single time.[743]

“*Of stone dressed*—as has been said.[744] And it is written: *the crown with which his mother crowned him* (Song of Songs 3:11).[745]

“מסע (*Massa*), *Quarry*, Journey—issuing from within, dwelling, journeying outside; issuing from above, dwelling, journeying below.

“*No hammer, ax, or any iron tool was heard*—other, lower rungs, all dependent upon it, neither heard nor admitted within when She ascends to unite above, to suckle from there.[746]

“This is *in its being built*. Then as She suckles, they all abide in joy, suckling, being filled with blessings. Then all worlds abide in single mystery, in single union, with no division. After each and every one receives his share, they all disperse in their directions, to their appointments.

“Come and see: *The whole earth was of one language and of identical words*. [74b] What is written next? *When they journeyed from* קדם (*qedem*), *the east* (Genesis 11:2)[747]—from קדמאה (*Qadma’ah*), Primordial One, of the world.[748] *They found* בקעה (*biq’ah*), *a valley, in the land of Shinar*, for from there they disperse in all directions, it being the first kingdom to scatter.[749]

“Now if you say, ‘Look at what is written: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides* (Genesis 2:10),’ certainly so, for once they journey from there, division ensues.[750] When they gather there to suckle, no division; when they journey, division, as is written: *When they*

journeyed from qedem, they found a valley, as has been said.

"*The whole earth was of one language and of identical words*. For then the world shared a single essential root, a united faith in the blessed Holy One. What is written? *When they journeyed from qedem*—from *Qadma'ah*, Primordial One, root of the world, faith of all. *They found a valley*—they found a find by which they forsook supernal faith.

"Come and see: What is written of Nimrod? *The beginning of his kingdom was Babylon* (ibid. 10:10). From there he journeyed to embrace the other dominion.[751] Similarly here, *They found a valley in the land of Shinar*.[752] From there they drifted in their hearts, abandoning supernal dominion for the other."

They said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves" (Genesis 11:4).

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "*The wicked are like the banished sea that cannot be still...* (Isaiah 57:20).[753] Now is there such a thing as a *banished sea*? Yes, for when the sea escapes its normal array, surging out of control, then it is banished, expelled from its site. Like one who is drunk on wine, agitated, heaving up and down. Why? Because *it cannot be still, and its waters toss up mire and mud* (ibid.)—casting up all that mud of the sea, all the muck, onto the shore.[754] Similarly, those wicked who abandon the paved path, staggering like incoherent drunkards, abandoning the straight path for the crooked. Why? Because they *cannot be still*—the crookedness of their path causes them to walk aimlessly, restlessly. Furthermore, all their rage as they snarl words from their mouths—each word *mire and mud*—all spewing abhorrent filth from their mouths until they defile themselves [75a] and are defiled.[755]

"Come and see: *They said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city....*" The expression *Come* denotes mere preparation.[756]

"*Let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens*. They all followed bad advice, rebelling against the blessed Holy One. They proceeded foolishly, stupidly."

Rabbi Abba said, "They admitted stupidity into their minds but proceeded with evil wisdom, abandoning supernal dominion for the other,[757] exchanging His glory for alien glory. Everywhere lies a mystery of supernal wisdom.[758]

"*Come, let us build ourselves a city and a tower*. Come and see: When they reached this valley, the alien domain, and the site of its dominion was revealed to them—plunged in the midst of the fish of the sea[759]—they said, 'Here is a place to settle, to harden the heart, and for lower beings to indulge.' Immediately, *Come, let us build ourselves a city*—'let us establish on this site *a*

city and a tower.'

"*And let us make a name for ourselves*. 'This site will be our deity, no other;[760] for this site *let us build a city and a tower*. Why ascend any higher, whence we cannot derive pleasure? Here is a perfect place. *Let us make a name for ourselves*—a deity to worship. *Lest we be scattered* (Genesis, ibid.)—to other rungs, in all directions.'

"*YHVH came down to see the city and the tower* (ibid., 5). This is one of the ten times that *Shekhinah* descended to earth.[761] Why *to see?* Didn't He already know?[762] Rather, *to see*, 'to scrutinize in judgment,' as is said: *May YHVH see you and judge!* (Exodus 5:21).

"*The city and the tower*. Here one should contemplate, for the verse does not read *to see the human beings*, but rather *to see the city and the tower*. Why? Because when the blessed Holy One gazes in judgment, at first He gazes at the rung above, then at the rung below; at first at those above, then at those below.[763] Since this matter impinged above, gazing above preceded, as is written: *the city and the tower that* בני האדם (*benei ha-adam*), *the humans, had built* (ibid.). What is the meaning of *benei ha-adam*? 'The children of Adam,' who rebelled against his Lord, inflicting death upon the world.[764] *That the humans had built*—producing an actual building, striving to build above."[765]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "*Thus says YHVH: The gate of* [75b] *the inner court facing east shall be shut on the six working days, but on the Sabbath it shall be opened, and on the day of the new moon it shall be opened* (Ezekiel 46:1).[766] This verse calls for contemplation, for it is a mystery, as has been explained.

"*It shall be shut on the six working days*. Why *shall it be shut* all those *six working days*? Because these are secular days when this gate should be shut so secular not exploit sacred.[767] *But on the Sabbath it shall be opened, and on the day of the new moon it shall be opened*, for then performance of sacred with sacred; then the moon is illumined to unite with the sun.[768]

"Come and see: This gate is not opened on those six secular days because on those days the lower world is nourished and those six secular days rule the world, except for the land of Israel.[769] They rule because this gate is shut, but *on the Sabbath... and on the day of the new moon* they are all removed and rule no more, for this gate is open and the world is joyous—nourished from there, not handed over to the other dominion.

"Now if you say those six days rule entirely on their own, come and see: *facing* קדים (*qadim*), *east*—before they rise to rule, it gazes constantly upon the world,[770] though it is not opened for the world to be nourished from the sacred

except on Sabbath and the new moon. All those days cleave to Sabbath, whence they are nourished;[771] for on Sabbath all those gates are opened and tranquility manifests for all, those above and those below.

"Come and see: וירד יהוה (*Va-yered YHVH*), *YHVH came down, to see*, descending from sacred to secular, with רדיד (*redid*), a veil, spread,[772] to inspect what they had built, the edifice they had erected to provoke the world to worship them."

Rabbi Yitsḥak was sitting in the presence of Rabbi Shim'on and asked him, "How could these people have been so foolish to rebel against the blessed Holy One, unanimously adopting the same plan?"

He replied, "This has already been explained: *When they journeyed from the east*—journeying from above to below, journeying from the land of Israel and descending to Babel.[773] They said, 'Here is a site to embrace. *Let us make a name for ourselves*; then sustenance from below will adhere to this site.[774] For when judgment looms over the world, this site will resist; from here the world will derive pleasure and nourishment, since above is too remote. Further, we will ascend to heaven and wage battle,[775] so that no flood will pour down upon the world as before.'

"*YHVH said, 'Look, they are one people with one language for them all'* (Genesis 11:6). 'Since they are all united as one, they will succeed in their project. Let all rungs disperse, each in its own direction, so that all these below disperse.'[776] What is written? *YHVH scattered them from there* (ibid., 8).[777]

"If you ask, 'Why was their language scattered and scrambled?'—it is because they were all speaking the holy tongue,[778] and that language aided them, for the act of enunciation is essential to attaining one's intention.[779] Thereby they supported the place they sought to erect. So their language was confounded to prevent them from empowering their desire in the holy tongue. As soon as their language mutated, they failed in the project, since the powers above know and recognize only the holy tongue.[780] Once language was scrambled, their power weakened and fractured.

"Come and see: A word spoken by lower creatures in the holy tongue is comprehended by all the powers of heaven, who are thereby invigorated, but any other language they neither comprehend nor recognize. So as soon as their language was scrambled, *they stopped building the city* (ibid.), for their power fractured and despite their desire they could not accomplish anything.

"*Blessed be the name of the blessed Holy One forever and ever, for wisdom and power are His* (Daniel 2:20).[781] Because the blessed Holy One brought

secrets of wisdom down to the world, humanity was corrupted by it and sought to attack Him.[782] He gave supernal wisdom to Adam, and through that revealed wisdom [76a] he discovered rungs[783] and clung to the evil impulse until the springs of wisdom vanished. Afterward he returned to the presence of his Lord,[784] and some was revealed, though not as before. Later, through that book of his,[785] he discovered wisdoms; but then people appeared and provoked Him.[786]

"He gave wisdom to Noah, who thereby served the blessed Holy One. Afterward what is written? *He drank of the wine and became drunk, and exposed himself* (Genesis 9:21), as has been explained.[787]

"He gave wisdom to Abraham, who thereby served the blessed Holy One. Afterward Ishmael issued from him, who provoked the blessed Holy One. Similarly Isaac, from whom issued Esau.[788] Jacob married two sisters.[789]

"He gave wisdom to Moses. What is written of him? *Throughout My house he is faithful* (Numbers 12:7). There was none as faithful as Moses: he performed on all those rungs, yet his heart did not stray into desiring any of them;[790] rather, he stood firm in supernal faith fittingly.

"He gave supernal wisdom to King Solomon. Afterward what is written of him? *Proverbs of Solomon* (Proverbs 1:1). *An oracle. The man spoke*: '*לאיתיאל* (*Le-Iti'el*), *To Ithiel, to Ithiel* *ואוכל* (*ve-Ukhal*), *and Ucal*' (ibid. 30:1). Solomon said, '*אתי אל* (*Itti El*), *God is with me*. Wisdom is His. *ואוכל* (*Ve-ukhal*), *And I can*, do what I desire!' Later, *YHVH stirred up* *שטן* (*satan*), *an adversary, against Solomon* (1 Kings 11:14).[791]

"Come and see: With fragments of wisdom discovered by these people from wisdom of the ancients, they antagonized the blessed Holy One, built a tower, and perpetrated all they did—until they were scattered over the face of the earth, lacking the wisdom to accomplish anything. But in the time to come the blessed Holy One will arouse wisdom in the world, with which He will be served, as is written: *I will put My spirit within you and cause you*—not like the ancients who ruined the world with it, but rather: *cause you to follow My laws and carefully observe My rules* (Ezekiel 36:27)."

Rabbi Yose and Rabbi Ḥiyya were walking on the way. Rabbi Yose said to Rabbi Ḥiyya, "Let us open with Torah and say a word!"[792]

Rabbi Yose opened, saying, "*For YHVH your God walks about amid your camp to save you and deliver your enemies to you. Your camps are to be holy, so that He not see among you anything indecent and turn away from you* (Deuteronomy 23:15). *For YHVH your God* *מתהלך* (*mithallekh*), *walks about*. The verse should read *מהלך* (*mehallekh*), *walks*. But as is said: *walking about in the*

garden in the breeze of the day (Genesis 3:8).[793] This is the tree from which Adam ate.[794] *Mithallekh*—female; *mehallekh*—male.[795] This is who walked in front of Israel when they were walking in the desert, as is written: *And YHVH walks before them by day* (Exodus 13:21).[796] This is who walks in front of a person when he is walking on the way, as is written: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way* (Psalms 85:14).[797] This is who walks in front of a person when he is virtuous. Why? *To save you and deliver your enemies to you*—so that one is saved on the way, not overpowered by the other.[798] So one should guard himself against his sins and purify himself. What is written? *Your camps are to be holy*. Why קדוש (*qadosh*), *holy*? The verse should read קדושים (*qedoshim*), *holy*.[799] However, *Your camps are to be qadosh, holy*— smooth members of the body, composing, arraying the body. So, *Your camps are to be qadosh*.[800]

"*So that He not see among you anything indecent*. What is *anything indecent*? Indecency of indecencies, despised by the blessed Holy One more than anything.[801] Since the verse states: *So that He not see among you* ערות (*ervat*), *indecent*, why דבר (*davar*), *anything*? Because this signifies the wicked of the world who befoul and defile themselves with the word issuing from their mouths. This is *ervat davar*, *indecency of word*.[802] Why to such an extreme?[803] Because He is walking in front of you, and if you act like this, He will immediately *turn away from you*, no longer walking with you but turning away. As for us, look, we are walking on the way, so let us engage in words of Torah! For Torah crowns a person's head, so *Shekhinah* never departs from him."[804]

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, saying, "*YHVH said, 'Look, they are one people with one language for them all...* (Genesis 11:6). Come and see what is written: *When they journeyed* מקדם (*mi-qedem*), *from the east* (ibid., 2). What is *mi-qedem*? מקדמונו (*Mi-Qadmono*) From Primordial One, of the world.[805] *They found* [*a valley in the land of Shinar*] (ibid.). The verse should read *They saw*. Why *they found*?[806] They found a find there from mysteries of wisdom of the ancients, deposited there by victims of the Flood,[807] with which they tried to perpetrate their deed, rebelling against the blessed Holy One. They vocalized and perpetrated [76b] the act.[808]

"See what is written: *Look, they are one people with one language for them all*. 'Since they share a single mind, a single will, and speak the holy tongue, *now nothing that they scheme to do will be barred to them!* (ibid., 6). No one can thwart their act! What will I do? I will derange the rungs above[809] and their language below, so their action will be thwarted.' Now since they shared a single will and mind, and spoke the holy tongue, it is written: *Nothing that they scheme to do will be barred to them*—supernal Judgment is powerless against them. All the more so, we Companions who engage in Torah, sharing a single mind and will!"[810]

Rabbi Yose said, “From here we learn that quarrelers do not endure. For as long as these inhabitants of the world shared a single will and mind, even though they rebelled against the blessed Holy One, supernal Judgment could not prevail against them. As soon as they differed, immediately *YHVH scattered them from there over the face of all the earth* (ibid., 8).”[811]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, “By implication, all depends on the word of the mouth.[812] For as soon as it was scrambled, immediately *YHVH scattered them from there*. But of the time to come, what is written? *Then I will transform the language of the peoples into a pure one, so they may all call upon the name of YHVH and serve Him shoulder to shoulder* (Zephaniah 3:9). Similarly, *YHVH will be king over all the earth. On that day YHVH will be one and His name one* (Zechariah 14:9).”[813]

REFERENCE MATTER

Abbreviations

add.	addendum
Add.	Additional
Arukh	Nathan ben Yehiel of Rome, *Sefer he-Arukh*
Battei Midrashot	Shlomo Aharon Wertheimer, ed., *Battei Midrashot*
B.C.E.	before the Common Era
Beit ha-Midrash	Adolph Jellinek, ed., *Beit ha-Midrash*
BT	Babylonian Talmud
C9	MS Add. 1023, University Library, Cambridge
C12	MS Dd. 4.2, 1, University Library, Cambridge
C13	MS Dd. 10.14, 4, University Library, Cambridge
ca.	*circa*, approximately
C.E.	Common Era
chap.	chapter
Cr	Cremona edition of *Sefer ha-Zohar*
ed.	editor (pl. eds.); edition; edited by
esp.	especially
DE	*Derekh Emet*, in *Sefer ha-Zohar*, ed. Reuven Margaliot
DE (emendations)	Joseph Ḥamiẓ, ed., *Derekh Emet*
diss.	dissertation
frag.	fragmentary
Galante	Abraham Galante, in *Or ha-Ḥammah*, ed. Abraham Azulai
Hash	*Hashmatot*

Ḥayyat	Judah Ḥayyat, *Minḥat Yehudah*
Heikh	*Heikhalot*
intro	introduction
IR	*Idra Rabba*
IZ	*Idra Zuta*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JT	Jerusalem Talmud
KP	Shim'on Lavi, *Ketem Paz*
L2	MS 762, British Museum, London
L27	MS Gaster 747, British Museum, London
L32	MS Gaster 773, British Museum, London
M	Mishnah; Mantua edition of *Sefer ha-Zohar*
M7	MS Hebr. 217, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
Ma'arikh	Menaḥem ben Judah de Lonzano, *Sefer ha-Ma'arikh*
Mat	*Matnitin*
Matt, *Zohar*	Daniel Chanan Matt, trans. and ed., *Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment*
MhN	*Midrash ha-Ne'lam*
MM	Shalom Buzaglo, *Miqdash Melekh*
MmD	Daniel Frisch, *Peirush Matoq mi-Devash*
Mopsik	Charles Mopsik, trans. and ed., *Le Zohar*
MS (pl. MSS)	(manuscripts)
Ms1	MS Guenzburg 83, Russian State Library, Moscow
Ms3	MS Guenzburg 487, Russian State Library, Moscow
n. (pl. nn.)	note(s)
N23	MS 1761, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York
n.d.	no date
Nefesh David	David Luria, *Nefesh David*
NJV	New Jewish Version: *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh*
NO	Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai, *Nitsotsei Orot*
n.p.	no publisher
NZ	Reuven Margaliot, *Nitsotsei Zohar*
O2	MS 1564, Bodleian Library, Oxford
O16	MS 2433, Bodleian Library, Oxford

O16	MS 2455, Bodleian Library, Oxford
OḤ	Abraham Azulai, ed., *Or ha-Ḥammah*
OL	Abraham Azulai, *Or ha-Levanah*
OY	Moses Cordovero, *Or Yaqar*
P1	MS héb. 778, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
P2	MS héb. 779, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
P4	MS héb. 781, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
par.	paragraph
Pereq Shirah	Malachi Beit-Arié, ed., *Pereq Shirah*
Piq	*Piqqudin*
pl.	plural
Pr6	MS Perreau 15/A, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma
QhM	*Qav ha-Middah*
R1	MS 2971, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome
RM	*Ra'aya Meheimna*
RR	*Raza de-Razin*
Scholem	Gershom Scholem, *Sefer ha-Zohar shel Gershom Scholem*
SdTs	*Sifra di-Tsni'uta*
ShS	*Shir ha-Shirim*
SO	*Sitrei Otiyyot*
Soncino	Harry Sperling et al., trans., *The Zohar* (Soncino Press)
ST	*Sitrei Torah*
Sullam	Yehudah Ashlag, *Sefer ha-Zohar... im... ha-Sullam*
T1	MS Friedberg 5–015, University of Toronto Library
Tiq	*Tiqqunim* (in *Zohar Ḥadash*)
Tos	*Tosefta*
trans.	(translator(s)); translated by
TZ	*Tiqqunei ha-Zohar*
V5	MS ebr. 206, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
V6	MS ebr. 207, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
V7	MS ebr. 208, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
V16	MS Neofiti 23, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
Vital	Ḥayyim Vital, in *Or ha-Ḥammah*, ed. Abraham Azulai

YN	Yechiel Bar-Lev, *Bei'ur Yedid Nefesh*
ZḤ	*Zohar Ḥadash*
Zohorei Ya'bets	Jacob Emden, *Zohorei Ya'bets*

Transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic

א	*alef*	’ [1]	ל	*lamed*	*l*
בּ	*bet*	*b*	מ	*mem*	*m*
ב	*vet*	*v*	נ	*nun*	*n*
ג	*gimel*	*g*	ס	*samekh*	*s*
ד	*dalet*	*d*	ע	*ayin*	’ [2]
ה	*he*	*h*	פּ	*pe*	*p*
ו	*vav*	*v*	פ	*phe*	*f* [3]
ז	*zayin*	*z*	צ	*tsadi*	*ts*
ח	*ḥet*	*ḥ*	ק	*qof*	*q*
ט	*tet*	*t*	ר	*resh*	*r*
י	*yod*	*y, i*	שׁ	*shin*	*sh*
כּ	*kaf*	*k*	שׂ	*sin*	*s*
כ	*khaf*	*kh*	ת	*tav*	*t*

The English equivalent letter is doubled when a strong *dagesh* in Hebrew or Aramaic characterizes a verbal conjugation or indicates an assimilated letter, e.g., *dibber*, *yitten*. The English letter is not doubled when preceded by a hyphenated prefix, e.g., *ha-sefer*, *la-melekh*, *mi-tokh*.

Proper names that appear in roman type do not follow the above schema. Biblical names are rendered according to the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh*. Rabbinic names are rendered according to common convention, e.g., Akiva, Resh Lakish. Medieval names are Anglicized, e.g., Moses de León, Joseph Gikatilla. Authors’ names in the Bibliography follow library listings or the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

1. *Alef* is not transliterated at the beginning or end of a word nor after a hyphenated prefix. Elsewhere it is transliterated only when accompanied by a vowel, e.g., *Shemu'el*.

2. *Ayin* is not transliterated at the beginning of a word, nor after a hyphenated prefix, nor, unless accompanied by a vowel, at the end of a word.

3. Occasionally transliterated as *ph* to compare or contrast it to the letter *pe*.

Glossary

alef The first letter of the Hebrew alphabet; the beginning of divine and human speech.

amidah "Standing"; the central prayer, recited three times daily.

amora, pl. ***amora'im*** "Speaker, interpreter"; a teacher living in the centuries following the compilation of the Mishnah (ca. 200 C.E.) and whose opinions are recorded in subsequent rabbinic literature.

apophatic Referring to knowledge of God obtained by way of negation.

Ashkenaz Germany (mainly the Rhineland) and northern France.

Ayin "Nothingness"; the creative "no-thingness" of God, out of which all being emanates.

Binah "Understanding"; the third *sefirah*; the Divine Mother who gives birth to the seven lower *sefirot*.

blessed Holy One Common rabbinic name for God. In the *Zohar* it often designates *Tif'eret*.

Din "Judgment"; the fifth *sefirah*; the left arm of the divine body, balancing *Ḥesed*. The roots of evil lie here; also called *Gevurah*.

Eikhah The Book of Lamentations.

Ein Sof "There is no end"; that which is boundless; the Infinite. The ultimate reality of God beyond all specific qualities of the *sefirot*; the God beyond God.

Elohim "God, gods"; a biblical name for God. In the *Zohar* it has various sefirotic associations: *Binah*, *Gevurah*, *Shekhinah*.

Gedullah "Greatness"; the fourth *sefirah*; the outpouring of God's great goodness; also called *Ḥesed*.

Geihinnom "Valley of Hinnom"; Hell.

Gevurah "Power"; the fifth *sefirah*; also called *Din*.

gimatriyya Derived from the Greek *geometria* ("measuring the earth"); a method of interpretation based on the numerical value of Hebrew letters.

halakhah "Practice, law," from the root הלך (*hlkh*), "to walk": the way that one should follow.

Haqdamat Sefer ha-Zohar “Introduction to the *Zohar*”; not an introduction per se but a typical collection of passages, apparently intended to introduce the reader to the atmosphere of the book. *Zohar* 1:1a–14b.

Hashmatot “Omissions”; additions printed at the end of each of the three standard Aramaic volumes of the *Zohar*, drawn from the Cremona edition and *Zohar Ḥadash*.

ḥasid, pl. ***ḥasidim*** “Pious one,” devotee, saint, lover of God.

Heikhalot “Palaces”; descriptions of the heavenly palaces in *Zohar* 1:38a–45b; 2:244b–268b.

Ḥesed “Loving-kindness, love, grace”; the fourth *sefirah*; the right arm of the divine body, balancing *Din*; also called *Gedullah*.

Hod “Splendor”; the eighth *sefirah*; the left leg of the divine body; source of prophecy along with *Netsaḥ*.

Ḥokhmah “Wisdom”; the second *sefirah*; the primordial point of emanation.

Holy Ancient One The most ancient manifestation of *Ein Sof* through *Keter*, Its crown.

idra “Threshing place,” assembly.

Idra Rabba “The Great Assembly”; a description of the gathering of Rabbi Shim’on and the Companions at the threshing house, where profound mysteries of divine being are expounded. *Zohar* 3:127b–145a.

Idra Zuta “The Small Assembly”; a description of the last gathering of Rabbi Shim’on and the Companions, the master’s final teachings, and his ecstatic death. *Zohar* 3:287b–296b.

Israel Often, the people of Israel.

Kabbalah Hebrew, קבלה (*qabbalah*), “receiving, that which is received, tradition”; originally referring to tradition in general (or to post-Mosaic Scripture), but from the thirteenth century onward, specifically to the esoteric teachings of Judaism.

Keter “Crown”; the first sefirah; coeternal with *Ein Sof*; also called *Ratson* (“Will”) and *Ayin* (“Nothingness”).

Lilith A demoness who harms babies and seduces men; married to Samael.

Malkhut “Kingdom”; the tenth *sefirah*, ruling the lower worlds; also called *Shekhinah*.

Matnitin “Our Mishnah”; short pieces scattered throughout the *Zohar*, most of which appear as utterances of a heavenly voice urging the Companions to arouse themselves and open their hearts to the mysteries. Some of them contain principles of kabbalistic teaching in a condensed form, constituting a kind of mystical Mishnah, expounded in the main section of the *Zohar*.

menorah Candelabrum of seven branches; a feature of the wilderness Tabernacle and of the Temple in Jerusalem.

midrash, pl. **midrashim** Homiletical or legal interpretation of the Bible.

Midrash ha-Ne'lam "The Concealed Midrash, the Esoteric Midrash"; an early stratum of the *Zohar*. Its language is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* on the Torah pertains to several portions of Genesis, the beginning of Exodus, and several other portions; it is printed partly alongside the main text of the *Zohar* and partly in *Zohar Ḥadash*. *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* on Song of Songs, Ruth, and Lamentations is printed in *Zohar Ḥadash*. The subject matter of *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* is mostly Creation, the soul, and the world to come; its style is often allegorical.

mishkan "Dwelling"; God's dwelling place during Israel's forty years in the wilderness; the tabernacle constructed by Moses and the Children of Israel.

Mishnah Collection of oral teachings compiled near the beginning of the third century by Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi; the earliest codification of Jewish Oral Law; the core of the Talmud.

mitsvah, pl. ***mitsvot*** "Commandment"; one of the 613 commandments of the Torah or one of various rabbinic precepts; religious duty; by extension, good deed.

Mizraḥi "Eastern"; referring to Jews of Middle Eastern or North African origin.

Netsaḥ "Endurance"; the seventh *sefirah*; the right leg of the divine body; source of prophecy along with *Hod*.

Oral Torah The rabbinic interpretation of the Written Torah (the Five Books of Moses); in Kabbalah, a symbol of *Shekhinah*.

Other Side Aramaic, סטרא אחרא (*Sitra Aḥra*); the demonic realm, shadow of the divine.

parashah "Portion"; portion of the Torah read on a particular Sabbath, named after its opening word (or phrase) or a key word (or phrase) in the opening sentence.

Piqqudin "Commandments"; kabbalistic interpretations of the commandments scattered throughout the *Zohar* (to be distinguished from *Ra'aya Meheimna*).

Qav ha-Middah "The Standard of Measure"; a detailed description of the process of emanation delivered by Rabbi Shim'on. *Zohar Ḥadash* 56d–58d.

Ra'aya Meheimna "The Faithful Shepherd"; a separate composition on the kabbalistic meaning of the commandments, printed piecemeal in the *Zohar*. Here Moses, the Faithful Shepherd, appears to Rabbi Shim'on and the Companions, revealing secrets.

Raḥamim "Compassion"; the sixth *sefirah*, harmonizing the polar opposites, *Ḥesed* and *Din*; also called *Tif'eret*.

Rav Metivta "Head of the Academy"; an account of a visionary journey of Rabbi Shim'on and the Companions to the Garden of Eden, where they hear mysteries concerning the life to come from one of the heads of the heavenly academy. *Zohar* 3:161b–174a.

Raza de-Razin "The Secret of Secrets"; a separate section dealing with physiognomy and chiromancy (*Zohar* 2:70a–75a, *Zohar Ḥadash* 35b–37c). A second version is incorporated into the main body of the *Zohar* (2:70a–78a).

Rosh Hashanah The Jewish New Year, celebrated on the first two days of the Hebrew month Tishrei.

Rut The Book of Ruth.

Samael Prince of demons, married to Lilith; identical with Satan.

Sava "The Elder."

Sava de-Mishpatim "The Old Man of [Torah portion] *Mishpatim*"; an account of the Companions' encounter with a donkey-driver who turns out to be a master of wisdom. *Zohar* 2:94b–114a.

Sefer ha-Zohar "The Book of Radiance."

sefirah, pl. ***sefirot*** Literally, "counting," number, numerical entity; in Kabbalah, one of the ten aspects of divine personality, nine of which emanate from *Ein Sof* and the first *sefirah, Keter*. See the diagram on page xi.

Shaddai An obscure divine name, which may originally have meant "[God] of the mountain." In Kabbalah it often denotes *Shekhinah*.

Shekhinah "Presence," divine immanence; the tenth and last *sefirah*; female partner of *Tif'eret*; also called *Malkhut*.

Shema Literally, "hear"; central prayer recited morning and evening, comprising Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21; and Numbers 15:37–41. The opening verse is: *Hear O Israel! YHVH our God, YHVH is one!*

Shir ha-Shirim The Book of Song of Songs.

Sifra di-Tsni'uta "Book of Concealment"; an anonymous, highly condensed commentary on the beginning of the Torah in short, obscure sentences, divided into five chapters. Its subject is the mysteries of divine being. *Zohar* 2:176b–179a.

Sitrei Otiyyot "Secrets of the Letters"; a discourse by Rabbi Shim'on focusing on the letters of the divine name *YHVH* and how they symbolize the process of emanation. *Zohar Ḥadash* 1b–7b.

Sitrei Torah "Secrets of Torah"; interpretations of certain verses of Genesis, printed in separate columns parallel to the main body of the *Zohar*, and in *Zohar Ḥadash*. It includes allegorical explanations of the mysteries of the

soul.

Talmud Each of the two compilations of Jewish law, legend, ethics, and theology comprising the Mishnah and its vast commentary (the Gemara) by rabbis of the third through fifth centuries. The Jerusalem Talmud was compiled ca. 400 C.E.; the Babylonian Talmud, about one hundred years later.

tanna, pl. ***tanna'im*** "One who repeats, teacher"; an authority cited in the Mishnah or belonging to the Mishnaic period (first two centuries of the Common Era); an Amoraic scholar whose task was to memorize and recite tannaitic texts.

Targum "Translation"; an Aramaic translation of the Torah or the Bible.

tav The last letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

tefillin "Phylacteries"; two black leather boxes containing passages from the Torah (Exodus 13:1–10, 11–16; Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21) written on parchment.

They are bound by black leather straps on the left arm and on the head, and are prescribed for men to wear during weekday morning prayer. Each of the biblical passages indicates that the Children of Israel should place a sign upon their hand and a frontlet (or reminder) between their eyes.

teshuvah "Returning," returning to God, repentance.

Tif'eret "Beauty, glory"; the sixth *sefirah*, harmonizing the polar opposites,

Ḥesed and ***Din***; male partner of *Shekhinah*; the torso of the divine body; also called *Raḥamim*.

Tiqqunei ha-Zohar "Embellishments on the *Zohar*"; an independent book whose setting is similar to *Ra'aya Meheimna*. It comprises a commentary on the beginning of Genesis, each *tiqqun* opening with a new interpretation of the word בראשית (*be-reshit*), "in the beginning."

Tiqqunim "Embellishments"; additional material in the genre of *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar*, printed in *Zohar Ḥadash* 93c–122b.

Torah "Instruction, teaching"; the Five Books of Moses (Genesis through Deuteronomy); by extension, the entire corpus of Jewish religious literature.

Tosefta "Addenda"; in rabbinic literature, a collection of laws parallel to and contemporary with the Mishnah. In the *Zohar*, *Tosefta* is similar to *Matnitin*.

Tsaddiq "Righteous One"; a name for *Yesod*, the ninth *sefirah*.

Written Torah The Five Books of Moses (Genesis through Deuteronomy); in Kabbalah, a symbol of *Tif'eret*.

Yah A contracted form of the divine name *YHVH*.

Yanuqa "The Child"; the story of a wonder child who confounds and amazes the Companions. *Zohar* 3:186a–192a.

Yesod "Foundation"; the ninth *sefirah*, who channels the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*; the phallus of the divine body, also called *Tsaddiq*.

YHVH The ineffable name of God, deriving from the root הוה (*hvh*), "to be." In the *Zohar* it often symbolizes *Tif'eret*.

Yom Kippur The Day of Atonement, observed on the tenth of the Hebrew month Tishrei.

zohar "Radiance, splendor."

Zohar Ḥadash "New Zohar"; a collection of Zoharic texts not included in the early editions of the *Zohar*. It was first printed in Salonika in 1597. The title is misleading since *Zohar Ḥadash* contains much of *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, an early stratum of the *Zohar*.

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1. For a list of eighty-four *Zohar* manuscripts, see Rubin, “Mif’al ha-Zohar,” 172–73.

2. References to *Alfa Beita de-Ven Sira* are cited according to Yassif, *Sippurei Ben Sira bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim*.

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NOTES

1. The title derives from the word זהר (*zohar*) in Daniel 12:3: *The enlightened will shine like the zohar, radiance* [or: *splendor*], *of the sky*.

2. On the various sections of the *Zohar*, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 214–19; Isaiah Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:1–7. All of these sections are written in Aramaic, except for *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, which is written in Hebrew and Aramaic.

The following sections are scheduled to be translated as part of the running commentary on the Torah, as in the standard editions of the *Zohar: Raza de-Razin*, *Sava de-Mishpatim*, *Sifra di-Tsni'uta*, *Idra Rabba*, *Idra Zuta*, *Rav Metivta*, and *Yanuqa*. The two subsequent volumes will include *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, *Matnitin*, *Tosefta*, *Sitrei Torah*, *Heikhalot*, *Sitrei Otiyyot*, "Vision of Ezekiel," *Qav ha-Middah*, and *Zohar* to Song of Songs. Two sections identified as imitations written by a later kabbalist, *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* and *Ra'aya Meheimna*, are not planned to be included.

3. See Ernst Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and Their First Appearance in Print*; Malachi Beit-Arié, "Transmission of Texts by Scribes and Copyists: Unconscious and Critical Interferences"; Israel Ta-Shma, "The 'Open' Book in Medieval Hebrew Literature: The Problem of Authorized Editions"; Daniel Abrams, introduction to *Sefer ha-Bahir*, edited by idem, 8–14; idem, "Critical and Post-Critical Textual Scholarship of Jewish Mystical Literature."

4. Among the manuscripts reflecting an earlier version are the following: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 1023; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 217; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, MS 1761; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 1564; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, heb. 779; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2971; Toronto, University of Toronto, MS Friedberg 5–015; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, ebr. 206, 208. Manuscripts resembling (and perhaps underlying) the Mantua edition include: London, British Museum, MS 762; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, heb. 781; Parma, Perreau 15/A.

A list of eighty-four *Zohar* manuscripts (assembled by a team working under Rivka Schatz-Uffenheimer) was published by Zvia Rubin in "Mif'al ha-Zohar: Mattarot ve-Hessegim," 172–73. Ronit Meroz of Tel Aviv University is conducting a systematic analysis of over six hundred extant manuscripts and fragments of the *Zohar*. In her extensive research she has identified numerous examples of editing and revision. While the discovery noted here of earlier and later versions of the *Zohar* is my own, I have benefited from discussions with her and wish to thank her for sharing her insights with me. See her article "Zoharic Narratives and Their Adaptations" and her other studies listed in the Bibliography.

For further information on the manuscripts of the *Zohar*, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:99–101; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 236–37; and the comments of Malachi Beit-Arié, cited by Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 103–4.

5. See Abrams, "Eimatai Ḥubberah ha-Haqdamah le-Sefer ha-Zohar?"; idem, "Critical and Post-Critical Textual Scholarship of Jewish Mystical Literature," 61.

6. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:98. For an enlightening comparison of diplomatic and critical editing, see Chaim Milikowsky, "Further on Editing Rabbinic Texts."

7. See the list of *Zohar* manuscripts in the Bibliography, and above, note 4. Bound copies of nearly all of these manuscripts are housed in the Gershom Scholem Collection, Jewish National and University Library.

8. I also check readings in other sources including: Menaḥem Recanati, *Peirush al ha-Torah*; Joseph Angelet, *Livnat ha-Sappir*; Abraham Galante, in *Or ha-Ḥammah*; Shim'on Lavi, *Ketem Paz*; Abraham Azulai, *Or ha-Levanah*; Joseph Ḥamiẓ, ed., *Derekh Emet* (a list of emendations to the Mantua edition); Shalom Buzaglo, *Miqdash Melekh*; Yehudah Ashlag, *Peirush ha-Sullam*; and *Gershom Scholem's Annotated Zohar*. See the Bibliography.

9. *Sefer ha-Zohar*, ed. Reuven Margaliot.

10. See above, note 8.

11. At the website of Stanford University Press: www.sup.org/zohar.

12. BT *Qiddushin* 49a.

13. On the *Zohar*'s Aramaic, see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 226–29; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:64–68.

14. *Zohar* 1:15a. Citations of the *Zohar* refer to the standard Aramaic pagination (based on the Mantua edition of 1558–60), which in *The Zohar: Pritzker Edition* is indicated in the running head on each page.

15. See Daniel Matt, "'New-Ancient Words': The Aura of Secrecy in the *Zohar*."

16. *Zohar* 1:15a.

17. Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, in his preface to *Qelaḥ Pitḥei Ḥokhmah*, cited by Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:29.

18. This five-volume edition is entitled *The Zohar* (see Bibliography). Scholem remarks (*Kabbalah*, 241) that it "suffers from incomplete or erroneous understanding of many parts of the kabbalistic exposition."

19. I have also consulted four different Hebrew translations, by Yehudah Ashlag, Daniel Frisch, Yehudah Edri, and Yechiel Bar-Lev; Charles Mopsik's French translation, *Le Zohar*; the Hebrew anthology by Fischel Lachower and Isaiah Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, and its English version, *The Wisdom of the*

Zohar, trans. David Goldstein; and the recent English translation edited by Michael Berg, *The Zohar by Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai*, which, however, is based not on the original Aramaic but on Ashlag's Hebrew translation. For details on all of these, see the Bibliography.

20. *The Zohar*, trans. Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, 1:277.

21. Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, trans. Goldstein, 2:818.

22. Idem, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, 2:134. He concludes by saying that the phrase may mean: "delusive lights."

23. *The Zohar*, trans. Sperling and Simon, 2:19.

24. Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, trans. Goldstein, 2:813.

25. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:66–67.

26. See Yehuda Liebes, *Peraqim be-Millon Sefer ha-Zohar*, 349–54.

27. See *Zohar* 1:92b and my commentary.

28. After wrestling with Zoharic neologisms for years, I no longer share Tishby's view (*Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:66) that "only rarely is it possible to determine their meaning from the context, while for the most part it is difficult even to guess what the author had in mind." Still, I can appreciate the confession of David Goldstein (translator of *Wisdom of the Zohar*), who, after rendering several obscure lines directly from the Aramaic, writes (ibid., 106, n. 16): "The English translations given are purely hypothetical."

29. Translations I have consulted include the King James Version, New International Version, New Revised Standard Version, the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh*, Everett Fox's *The Five Books of Moses*, and Richard Elliott Friedman's *Commentary on the Torah with a New English Translation*.

30. I have tried to follow the sage advice of Samuel Sandmel, who years ago warned scholars about the dangers of "parallelomania." See his presidential address of that title delivered to the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and published in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962): 1–13.

31. See the Bibliography.

32. *Zohar* 1:56b, 112a, 136a, and frequently.

33. Ibid., 155b.

34. Ibid., 155a.

35. Abraham Galante, in *Or ha-Ḥammah*, ad loc. On questioning in the *Zohar*, see Matt, "New-Ancient Words," 198–99.

36. Genesis 3:24. Literally, *He drove out the human*.

37. *Zohar* 1:53b.

38. Ibid., 78a.

39. Ibid., 15a.

40. *Zohar* 2:176a–b. The wheat and its products (kernels, bread, cake, and

pastry) may symbolize four levels of meaning in Torah: simple, homiletical, allegorical, and mystical. See Matt, *The Essential Kabbalah*, 207.

1. A much expanded version of this introduction to the *Zohar* is to be found in my *Guide to the Zohar*, also available from Stanford University Press. There the symbolic language of Kabbalah (i.e., the sefirotic system) is more fully outlined and discussed. The most comprehensive introduction to the subject is the three-volume *Wisdom of the Zohar* by Isaiah Tishby, originally written in Hebrew. The English translation by David Goldstein offers a thorough historical analysis of many topics covered by the *Zohar*, followed by selected passages. Although the Hebrew version was published in 1949–61 and thus predates much of current *Zohar* scholarship, Tishby's work remains an invaluable source of knowledge.

2. The emergence of kabbalistic teaching is more complex and obscure than has been described in the preceding paragraphs. The relationship between Kabbalah and certain late forms of midrashic writing is still not entirely clear. The nature and degree of contact between early kabbalists and the German Hasidic circles, especially as reflected in the writings of Rabbi Eleazar of Worms (ca. 1165–ca. 1230), continues to puzzle scholars. The group of abstract mystical writings known as *Sifrei ha-Iyyun*, or *Books of Contemplation*, fits somewhere into this puzzle, but its precise date and relationship to other parts of the pre-Zoharic corpus is still debated by scholars. The sources of the highly distinctive school of "prophetic" or "ecstatic" Kabbalah taught by Rabbi Abraham Abulafia (1240–after 1292), while having little connection to the *Zohar*, also would require treatment in a full picture of the emergence of kabbalistic thought. But this very brief treatment of major schools and themes should suffice to set forth the context out of which the *Zohar* emerged.

3. For a discussion of how these special sections of the *Zohar* have been handled in this translation, see the Translator's Introduction.

4. Melila Hellner-Eshed, "The Language of Mystical Experience in the Zohar: The Zohar through Its Own Eyes" (in Hebrew) (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 2000), 19.

1. ***rose*** שושנה (*Shoshanah*) probably means “lily” or “lotus” in Song of Songs, but here Rabbi Ḥizkiyah has in mind a rose.

See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:3; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:2; *Zohar* 1:137a, 221a; 2:20a (*MhN*), 189b; 3:107a, 180b, 233b, 286b; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489 (lily); Joseph ibn Akhnin, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 63–65 (rose); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 183–84; *Zohorei Ya’bets*.

A Ladino translation of the verse (*The Ladino Five Scrolls*, ed. Lazar, 4–5) reads: “Commo la roza entre los espinos, ansi mi conpañera entre las dueñas.”

2. **Assembly of Israel** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra’el*). In rabbinic Hebrew, this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes an allegorical love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:1. In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra’el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif’eret* and *Shekhinah*.

3. **colored red and white** As is *Rosa gallica versicolor* (also known as *Rosa mundi*), one of the oldest of the striped roses, whose flowers are crimson splashed on a white background. The striping varies and occasionally flowers revert to the solid pink of their parent, *Rosa gallica*. The parent was introduced to Europe in the twelfth or thirteenth century by Crusaders returning from Palestine. Both parent and sport were famous for their aromatic and medicinal qualities. Elsewhere (2:20a–b) the *Zohar* alludes to the process of distilling oil from the petals of the flower to produce rose water, a popular remedy. During this process the color gradually changes from red to white.

4. **thirteen petals... thirteen qualities of compassion...** A rose blossom can have thirteen petals in its second tier. In rabbinic tradition, God’s thirteen attributes of compassion are derived from Exodus 34:6–7. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 17b. According to Kabbalah, these qualities originate in *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, the realm of total compassion untainted by judgment.

5. אלהים (***Elohim***), ***God*, is mentioned...** The divine name אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, refers here to *Binah*, the Divine Mother. Between its first and second occurrences in the opening verses of Genesis there are thirteen words, which allude to the thirteen qualities of compassion originating in *Keter*, emanating from *Binah* and surrounding the rose of *Shekhinah*.

6. **five sturdy leaves...** The leaves of rose plants grow in clusters of five, nine, or thirteen leaves. And between the second and third occurrences of אלהים (*Elohim*) in Genesis are five words, alluding to five divine leaves: the five *sefirot* emanating from *Binah* and transmitting the flow to *Shekhinah*. These *sefirot* are

Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret (including *Yesod*), *Netsaḥ*, and *Hod*.

7. **Salvation** The flow of emanation saves the rose of *Shekhinah* from the demonic thorns surrounding Her.

8. **five gates** By which one enters the divine realm.

9. **cup of blessing... on five fingers...** According to the Talmud, the cup of wine is held in the right hand during the blessing after food. See BT *Berakhot* 51a: "One takes it with both hands and places it on the right hand." Cf. *Zohar* 1:156a (*ST*), 250a; 2:138b, 143b, 157b.

10. **light—created, concealed...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

Elsewhere, the Midrash links the hidden light with Psalms 97:11: *Light is sown for the righteous*. See *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Midrash Tehillim* 27:1.

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah now specifies *where* the primordial light was concealed: in the covenant, which is a name for the *sefirah* of *Yesod*—the divine phallus, site of the covenant of circumcision. *Yesod* is also known as Righteous. See *Zohar* 1:21a, 31b–32a, 45b; 2:35a, 148b–149a; 166b–167a, 230a.

11. ***tree bearing fruit...*** The tree symbolizes male divinity.

12. **explicit name** The Ineffable Name, *YHVH*. See *Devarim Rabbah* 3:8; *Midrash Tehillim* 114:9; *Zohar* 2:48a.

13. **forty-two couplings... forty-two letters of the act of Creation** The forty-two-letter name is mentioned in the name of Rav, though not recorded, in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. According to one later view, it consists of the first forty-two letters of the Torah, from the ב (bet) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*) through the ב (*bet*) of בהו (*bohu*), *void* (Genesis 1:2).

See *Tosafot, Ḥagigah* 11b, s.v. *ein doreshin; KP* 1:46c–d; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 94–95; cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:62. Cordovero (*OY*) describes how the name *YHVH* ("the engraved, explicit name") can be permuted into a forty-two-letter name; cf. *Zohar* 2:260a. In *Zohar* 1:9a, Moses' staff is described as "radiating the engraved name in every direction with the radiance of the wise who engraved the explicit name in forty-two colors." Cf. *Zohar* 1:15b, 30a; 2:130b, and 175b: "... the forty-two holy letters of the holy name, by which heaven and earth were created."

14. ***pruning of tyrants...*** זמיר (*Zemir*) is usually translated "singing of" in

this verse, but Rabbi Shim'on understands it as "pruning of," i.e., the pruning of the demonic powers, the *tyrants* (*KP*; cf. *Zohar* 3:4b), or the pruning of humans by the demonic tyrants (*OY*).

15. **מארת** (***Me'orot***), ***Lights*, spelled deficiently** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without vavs, the vowel letters. (Such variant spelling is common in the Torah and affects neither pronunciation nor the plain meaning of the words.) This deficient spelling implies that something was missing on the fourth day of Creation, a lack representing the potential for evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

See Proverbs 3:33; JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:12a, 19b, 33b.

16. ***We will do, and we will listen*** Spoken by the people of Israel at Mount Sinai. With these words, Israel demonstrated true faith by committing themselves to fulfill and enact God's word even before hearing the details. See BT *Shabbat* 88a.

17. **paradigm of the land...** According to BT *Berakhot* 57b, the Sabbath is "a reflection of the world to come."

18. **patriarchs, who entered...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:4: "Six things preceded Creation.... The patriarchs arose in thought [i.e., were intended] to be created." In the Kabbalah, the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) represent the triad of *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret.* Cf. *Zohar* 1:39b, 97a–b; 3:4b.

19. **the world that is coming עלמא דאתי** (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma, Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends."

In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation, who gives birth to the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

20. **prophets of truth** The *sefirot* of *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, the source of prophecy.

21. **Joseph...** Joseph symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, the divine phallus, since

he withstood the test of sexual temptation in Egypt (Genesis 39). The upper triad of *sefirot* (*Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*) flows into him, and when *Yesod* enters *Shekhinah* ("the Holy Land," "earth"), the sefirotic triad is planted there and revealed. Though Joseph never returned to the land of Israel, his bones did. See Joshua 24:32.

22. **When the rainbow is revealed...** The rainbow symbolizes both *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, in whose union *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret* are revealed in their respective colors: white, red, and green.

23. **they would not remain...** The wicked would not remain.

24. **voice of children...** See BT *Shabbat* 119b: "Resh Lakish said in the name of Rabbi Yehudah the Prince, 'The world endures only for the sake of the breath of children in the house of study.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:146b; 3:17b.

25. ***Make two cherubim...*** In BT *Sukkah* 5b, Rabbi Abbahu interprets the word כרוב (*keruv*), "cherub," as כרביא (*ke-ravya*), "like a child." The plump childlike angels of Christian art derive either from this tradition or from the Greco-Roman *Erotes*, "loves." Here Rabbi Shim'on relates the golden cherubim to the golden wreaths of the Song of Songs, concluding that both images allude to children.

26. ***Opening of the eyes*** פתח עינים (*Petaḥ einayim*). The phrase originates in Genesis 38:14, where it means "the entrance to Einayim," a village where Tamar seduced her father-in-law, Judah. The midrash on Genesis (*Bereshit Rabbah* 85:7) discovers a deeper meaning: "Rabbi [Yehudah the Prince] said, 'We have searched through the entire Bible and have not found a place called *Petaḥ Einayim*. What is *Petaḥ Einayim*? This indicates that she [Tamar] gazed at the opening toward which all eyes gaze and said, 'May it be the divine will that I not leave this house empty.'" In the *Zohar*, this opening is identified with *Shekhinah*, gateway to the divine. See 3:71b–72a.

27. ***Who*** מי (*Mi*). *Binah*, the Divine Mother, is called *Who*. A spiritual seeker may inquire about Her, but such questions do not yield ordinary answers. The identity of the divine is discovered only in a realm beyond words. The mystical name *Who* becomes a focus of meditation, as question turns into quest. See Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 1:91a: "Concerning everything that cannot be grasped, its question constitutes its answer."

See *Zohar* 1:29b–30a, 45b, 85b–86a, 237b; 2:126b–127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

28. **End of Heaven above** See Deuteronomy 4:32: *For ask now of primal days, which were before you: from the day that God created humankind on earth, and from one end of heaven to the other*. In BT *Ḥagigah* 11b, this verse is interpreted as imposing a limit on cosmological speculation: "You may inquire

concerning *from one end of heaven to the other*, but you may not inquire concerning what is above, what is below, what came before, what will come after." See M *Ḥagigah* 2:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:10.

These restrictions on cosmological speculation recall the Gnostic striving after "the knowledge of who we were, what we have become, where we were, where we have been thrown, where we hasten, from what we are redeemed, what birth is and what rebirth" (Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpts from Theodotus* 78:2). See *Zohar* 1:30a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 31; idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 20, 375; idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 371.

29. **Beyond...** The realms beyond *Binah*, namely, *Ḥokhmah, Keter*, and *Ein Sof*, are so unknowable that no question concerning them can even be formulated.

30. ***What*** מה (*Mah*), a name for *Shekhinah*, last of the ten *sefirot*, daughter of *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:127a. *Binah* and *Shekhinah* comprise the two ends of heaven, above and below *Tif'eret*, who is called Heaven.

31. **and searches** ומפשפש, *Umphashpesh*. Cr reads here: ומתפשט, *u-mitpashshet*, "and expands." See *Bahir* 134 (194); and Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 39: "Thought expands (מתפשטת, *mitpashshetet*) and ascends to its source. When it reaches there, it is stopped and can ascend no further."

32. ***I call heaven and earth...*** Earth symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

33. **I compare you to *What*, precisely!** Israel resembles *Shekhinah* perfectly.

34. ***What can I liken...*** Again, Israel and *Shekhinah* (*What*) are compared.

35. **I Myself will not enter...** The blessed Holy One promises not to enter the heavenly Jerusalem, *Shekhinah*, until the earthly Jerusalem is restored. See *Tanḥuma, Pequdei* 1: "There is a Jerusalem above aligned with Jerusalem below. Out of His love for the one below, He fashioned another above.... He has sworn that His presence will not enter the heavenly Jerusalem until the earthly Jerusalem is rebuilt."

See Revelation 21:2; *Targum Yonatan*, Psalms 122:3; BT *Ta'anit* 5a; *Zohar* 1:80b (*ST*), 128b, 183b, 231a; 3:15b, 68b, 147b.

36. **this rung...** *Shekhinah*.

37. **But now that you are here, *your ruin is vast...*** Now that Israel has fallen to the low state of exile, her *ruin is vast as the ocean*, another name for *Shekhinah*, who shares Israel's exile.

38. ***running from end to end*** A description of the central wooden beam of the Tabernacle in the desert. The *Zohar* applies this description to *Tif'eret*, the central *sefirah*, symbolized by Jacob, who spans the *sefirot* from *Binah* (*Who*) to *Shekhinah* (*What*). See *Zohar* 1:148b (*ST*).

39. **cease your words** פסוק מליך, *Pesoq millaikh*. The phrase could also be translated: "utter your words." See BT *Ḥagigah* 15a–b: פסוק לי פסוקך, *pesoq li*

pesuqekha, “Recite for me your verse”; cf. *Zohar* 1:238b. “Cease” fits the context of our passage, but the ambiguity may be intentional, in which case a better rendering would be: “Complete your words,” or “Cut your words.”

40. ***these*** In the verse from Isaiah 40:26: *Lift up your eyes and see: Who created these?* Now that the mystical meaning of *Who* has been established, Rabbi Shim’on explores the meaning of *these*.

41. **they are always visible there** So why would the verse say, *Lift up your eyes and see*, implying that there is something new to see?

42. ***By the word of YHVH...*** *The word of YHVH* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who conveys the divine essence. Thus the heavens were made by Her (also known as *What*), not by *Binah* (*Who*).

See *Zohar* 1:119b; 3:191a, 193b.

43. **Elijah** According to the Bible (2 Kings 11:12), the prophet Elijah did not die a normal death but was carried off to heaven in a chariot of fire. He became associated with the Messianic age (Malachi 3:23–24) and in rabbinic tradition is described as “still existing” (BT *Bava Batra* 121b) and revealing divine secrets to righteous humans (BT *Bava Metsi’a* 59b).

In Kabbalah mystical experiences are known as revelations of Elijah. See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 19–21; *Zohar* 1:151a; 3:221a, 231a; *ZḤ* 59d. In *Zohar* 3:241b Elijah turns to Rabbi Shim’on for instruction! Elsewhere (*ZḤ* 63d, 70d, 73c [*ShS*]) Elijah encourages him to reveal the secrets and says (62c), “My words will be written by you.”

44. **Academy on High** The Heavenly Academy, where souls of the righteous study Torah with God.

45. **Concealed of all Concealed** *Ein Sof* or *Keter*, the most hidden recesses of divinity.

46. **single point** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* (“Wisdom”), the first emanation.

47. **it drew all drawings...** The *sefirot* were prefigured within divine thought before they emerged in the process of emanation.

48. **concealed holy lamp** *Ḥokhmah*.

49. **graving of one hidden design...** *Binah*, the origin of the structure of the seven lower *sefirot*.

50. **created אלה (*elleh*), *these*** *Binah* emanated the seven lower *sefirot*, which are less hidden than *Binah* and therefore referred to as *these*.

51. **these letters joined... אלהים (*Elohim*)** The letters אלה (*elleh*) (*these*) joined with the letters מי (*mi*) (*who*) to form the divine name אלהים (*Elohim*). See *Zohar* 2:105a.

52. **Until it created...** *Binah* was not called אלהים (*Elohim*) until She emanated

the seven lower *sefirot*.

53. **"אלה (*Elleh*), *These, are your gods...*"** Their sin was that they separated the lower, more concrete *sefirot* (אלה [*elleh*], *these*) from their mysterious source, *Binah* (מי [Mi], *Who*), and worshiped *these* alone.

54. **constantly polysemous** The name *Elohim* refers not only to *Binah*, but also to *Gevurah* and *Shekhinah*, as well as to angels and human judges. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 42–43.

55. **"If we have come..."** Similar exclamations appear in rabbinic literature and often in the *Zohar*. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Ka-hana* 1:3; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:11; *Qohelet Rabbah* on 6:2; *Qohelet Zuta* 5:17; BT *Berakhot* 16a, 24b; *Shabbat* 41a; *Zohar* 1:148b, 164b, 240a; 2:99a, 121b, 122a, 193b; 3:26a; *KP* 1:20d.

56. מה (*Mah*), ***What*** *Shekhinah*.

57. ***Above heaven*** Heaven refers to *Tif'eret*, above which lies *Binah*.

58. ***In the beginning* אלהים (*Elohim*) *created...*** By emanating the lower *sefirot*, "a light for its light," *Binah* attained the name *Elohim*.

59. מה (*Mah*) **was not so...** *Shekhinah* does not emerge until *Binah* emanates the seven lower *sefirot*. Only then can *Binah*, the Divine Mother, lend Her garments, the lower *sefirot*, to Her daughter, *Shekhinah*.

60. ***All your males...*** All Israelite males are commanded to appear in God's Temple in Jerusalem three times a year on the pilgrimage festivals: *Pesaḥ* ("Passover"), *Shavu'ot* (Festival of "Weeks"), and *Sukkot* (Festival of "Booths"). Here the command implies that the masculine power of the *sefirot* must be drawn down to *Shekhinah*, the Sovereign. Through the ritual of pilgrimage, *Shekhinah* is adorned.

61. ***Behold, the ark...*** *Shekhinah* is *the ark* housing the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, *the covenant*. See *Zohar* 1:33b, 59b, 228b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 75 (95).

62. **letter ה (*he*)...** The letter ה (*he*) signifies the feminine; the letter י (*yod*), the masculine. When the masculine powers of the *sefirot* reach *Shekhinah*, She is transformed from feminine to masculine, from מה (*Mah*) to מי (*Mi*). Then She rules the world.

63. אלה (*Elleh*), ***These, I remember*** The verse continues: *and pour out my soul: how I walked with the crowd, conducting them to the house of Elohim with joyous shouts of praise, the festive throng*. With the arrival of these letters, *Shekhinah* also attains the name of אלהים (*Elohim*): מי (*mi*) plus אלה (*elleh*). Here the verse describes both the earthly pilgrimage to the Temple and the divine procession of emanation to *Shekhinah*. The two meanings are linked because the human ritual below stimulates the *sefirot* above.

64. **to be *Elohim*, like Him** So *Shekhinah* will be *Elohim*, like *Binah*. On the masculine nature of *Binah*, see *Zohar* 1:5b, 17b, 96a; 2:127b; *ZḤ* 72b (*ShS*).

65. **temple above... below** The temple above is *Binah*; the one below, *Shekhinah*. See BT *Sanhedrin* 99b: "Rav said, '[Whoever engages in Torah for its own sake,] it is as if he built the heavenly and earthly palaces.'"

On the heavenly and earthly temples, see *Mekhilta, Shirata* 10; JT *Berakhot* 4:5, 8c; *Tanḥuma, Vayaqhel* 7; *Pequdei* 1–3; *Shemot Rabbah* 33:4; *Midrash Tehillim* 30:1.

Rabbi El'azar's silence stimulated his father, Rabbi Shim'on, to reveal mysteries of two realms.

66. **a word is worth...** A proverb cited by Rav Dimi in BT *Megillah* 18a.

67. **completion of the verse...** The verse that Rabbi Shim'on and his son have been expounding continues: *Who brings forth their array by number and calls them each by name: because of His great might and vast power, not one is missing*.

68. **the one who is known, beyond compare** *Binah*. Rabbi Shim'on interprets the opening letter ה (*he*) of המוציא (*ha-motsi*), *who brings forth*, as a definite article ("the one who") rather than simply a relative pronoun ("who").

69. **'The one who brings forth bread...** The traditional blessing over bread, derived from Psalms 104:14. Again, the ה (he) is interpreted as a definite article.

70. **the one who is known, the lower rung, and all is one** *Shekhinah* is modeled on *Binah*, shares Her name (*Elohim*), and is also known as *Earth*.

71. **600,000... beyond number** The number represents the six *sefirot* between *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, which generate innumerable offspring. See *Zohar* 1:21b–22a.

72. ***See, I have called by name Bezalel*** Referring to the chief artisan of the Tabernacle in the Sinai Desert.

73. ***His great might*** This is the continuation of the verse from Isaiah: *Because of His great might and vast power, not one is missing*; cited above, note 67.

74. **First of rungs...** Either *Keter*, also known as *Ratson* ("Will, Desire"), or *Ḥokhmah*, the first *sefirah* that can be identified. See *Zohar* 2:231b.

75. **the upper world** *Binah*.

76. **Children of Israel... 600,000...** The total number of male Israelites above the age of twenty who left Egypt was approximately 600,000. See Exodus 12:37; Numbers 11:21. The precise total of the first census taken in the Sinai Desert was 603,550 (Exodus 38:26; Numbers 1:46; cf. Numbers 26:51; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Numbers 1:46). The 600,000 Israelites parallel the 600,000 divine forces.

See *Mekhilta, Baḥodesh* 3: “If even one of them had been missing [at Mount Sinai], they would not have been worthy of receiving [the Torah].” Cf. *Mekhilta de-Rasbhi*, on Exodus 19:11; *Devarim Rabbah* 7:8.

77. **We find the letters backward** The first two words of the Torah begin with the second letter of the alphabet, ב (*bet*); the next two words of the Torah begin with the first letter, א (*alef*).

78. **hidden away** Before Creation, the letters were concealed within the divine mind and arranged in reverse order.

79. **For two thousand years...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:2: “Rabbi Shim’on son of Lakish said, ‘The Torah preceded the creation of the world by two thousand years.’”

80. **all the letters presented themselves before Him...** A similar story appears in *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*, Version 2 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:396–404); *Midrash Aseret ha-Dibberot* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:62–63); *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim* (ed. L. Greenhut) 5:11; *Zohar* 1:205b; *ZḤ* 88c–d (*MhN, Rut*); *TZ, Haqdamah*, 16a. The *Zohar* draws primarily on *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*. See Michal Oron, in *Meḥqerei Yerushalayim be-Maḥashevet Yisra’el* 3 (1984): 97–109.

81. **Your seal: אמת (*emet*), truth** According to Rabbi Ḥanina (BT *Shabbat* 55a), God’s seal is אמת (*emet*), “truth,” the final letter of which is ת (*tav*).

82. **You are called Truth** See Jeremiah 10:10: יהוה (*YHVH*) *is the God of truth*.

83. **destined to be marked...** See Ezekiel 9:3–4: *He* [יהוה (*YHVH*)] *called to the man dressed in linen with the scribe’s kit at his waist, and* יהוה (*YHVH*) *said to him, “Pass through the city, through Jerusalem, and put a mark* [תו (*tav*)] *on the foreheads of those who moan and groan over all the abominations being committed in it*.” See Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 177. In the old Hebrew script, the ת (*tav*) was shaped like an X, the simplest mark. Its purpose in Ezekiel was to distinguish the righteous from the rest of the population, but according to Rabbi Aḥa son of Rabbi Ḥanina (BT *Shabbat* 55a), even those marked were killed, since their silence in the face of the wicked implicated them.

84. **seal of מות (*mavet*), death** The word מות (*mavet*), “death,” ends with the letter ת (*tav*).

85. **letters of deceit...ק״ר (*qof-resh*)...** The word שקר (*sheqer*), “lie,” begins with ש (*shin*) and continues: קר (*qof, resh*). See BT *Shabbat* 104a; Judah ben Barzillai, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 146.

86. **whoever wants to tell a lie...** See Rashi on Numbers 13:27, who paraphrases BT *Sotah* 35a; *Zohar* 2:215b, 264a; 3:161a.

87. **ש (*shin*) is a letter of truth...** The three prongs of the ש (*shin*) stand for

the three patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who symbolize the triad of *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah,* and *Tif'eret.* See *Zohar* 1:25b (*TZ*); 2:204a.

88. **appear on the evil side** Perhaps because they stand for קליפה (*qelippah*), "husk," and רע (*ra*), "evil." See *Zohar* 2:180b; *ZḤ* 8c (*SO*).

89. **She is נ (*nun*)...** The letter צ (*tsadi*) consists of a נ (*nun*) and a י (*yod*). See *Bahir* 42 (61); *Sefer ha-Temunah*, 2, 21a. The נ (*nun*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the feminine (נקבה [neqevah]). The י (*yod*) symbolizes *Yesod*, the divine phallus, who is called "covenant." The mark of the covenant of circumcision is pictured as the smallest of the Hebrew letters. In *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 14, *Shemini* 8, this mark is identified with the י (*yod*) of the divine name שדי (*Shaddai*). A German Hasidic tradition identifies the mark with the *yod* of יהוה (*YHVH*).

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 56a, 95a–b; 2:36a, 216b; 3:142a (*IR*), 215b, 220a, 256a (*RM*); Wolfson, in *JQR* 78 (1987): 77–112; idem, *Circle in the Square*, 29–48. Liebes (*Studies*, 154–58) suggests that the צ (*tsadi*) alludes to Jesus.

90. **two faces** דו פרצופין (*Du partsufin*). See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥamani said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:13b, 47a; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

91. **י (*yod*) faces backward...** This reflects the Sephardic practice of writing the צ (*tsadi*). See Scholem; Friedman, *Tsidqat ha-Tsaddiq*, 41–55; Meshi-Zahav, *Qovets Sifrei Setam*, intro, 36; 8, 149–52, 239–40; Havlin, in *Alei Sefer* 12 (1986): 13–19; Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 65, 139, nn. 163–66.

92. **not turned face-to-face...** Initially the union between the masculine and feminine aspects of God was back-to-back and thus incomplete. See *Zohar* 2:176b (*SdTs*); 3:292b (*IZ*); BT *Bava Batra* 99a. This incomplete union is symbolized by the configuration of the צ (*tsadi*). The צ (*tsadi*) must remain hidden so that this secret will not become widely known and "provide the world a pretext" to impugn the divine union.

93. **It looked upward... downward...** Trying to face its partner. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:564.

94. **you will arise elsewhere** The י (*yod*) and the נ (*nun*) will face one another not here but in another letter: ט (*tet*). See *KP*.

95. **hidden transgression...** The form of the letter פ (*pe*) resembles someone trying to hide his head. See *Zohar* 3:119b.

96. **because of you...** נ (*Nun*) stands for נופלים (*nofelim*), the "fallen."

97. ל (***lamed***) **and** ך (***khaf***) The other two letters in the word מלך (*melekh*), "king," which precede the letter מ (*mem*) in the alphabet.

98. **letter** כ (***kaf***) **descended...** The final ך (*khaf*) in the word מלך (*melekh*) was eliminated, but now the regular כ (*kaf*) approaches God.

99. **beginning...** The first letter of יהוה (*YHVH*).

100. **hidden within you** The point at the upper right of the ט (*tet*) is turned inward. See *Zohar* 1:30b.

101. **rather in the world to come** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a (cited above, note 10); *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

102. **facing you is** ח (***ḥet***) The letter preceding ט (tet) in the alphabet.

103. חטא (***ḥet***), **sin** Which ends with a quiescent א (*alef*). See *Zohar* 1:204a.

104. **these two letters are not inscribed...** The letters ח (*ḥet*) and ט (*tet*) do not appear in the names of the twelve tribes, which were engraved on the jewels of the breastplate worn by the high priest. See BT *Yoma* 73b; JT *Yoma* 7:7, 44c; *Zohar* 2:152a, 230a; 3:188b.

105. **like a** ן (***nun***) Like the straight line of a ן (final *nun*). The word זין (*zayin*) means "weapon."

106. **letter of Your name** The third letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

107. **poor will never cease...** See Deuteronomy 15:11.

108. ד (***Dalet***) **is poor...** The letter ד (*dalet*) signifies דל (*dal*), "poor." See BT *Shabbat* 104a: "גמול גימ״ל — דלים דל״ת (*Gimel dalet: gemol dallim*), Render kindness to the poor."

109. **by me You are blessed...** ב (*Bet*) stands for ברכה (*berakhah*), "blessing." See JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77c; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:10; *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 1:1, 10.

110. **Only through you do I become one** The א (*alef*) stands for the number one and also for *Keter*, the first *sefirah*. The word אחד (*eḥad*), "one," begins with א (*alef*).

111. **high, large letters and low, small letters** The initial letters of the first four words of the Torah are ב, ב (*bet, bet*), then א, א (*alef, alef*). Although the first word, בראשית (*be-reshit*), does open with a large ב (*bet*), the emphasis here is not on the size of the letters but rather their origin. The first of each pair derives from *Binah*, the higher world; the second of each from *Shekhinah*, the lower world.

See *Zohar* 1:159b; 2:132a, 174a, 180b; 3:2a, 220a; *ZḤ* 66c (*ShS*), 74c (*ShS*).

112. בראשית (***Be-reshit***)? **With Wisdom** See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.), Genesis 1:1: "With wisdom God created." Wisdom (*Ḥokhmah*) is the second *sefirah*, the primordial point of emanation.

The identification of ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, with Wisdom appears widely. See Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:242–45, 266–69; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81; Naḥmanides on Genesis 1:1; *Zohar* 1:2a, 15a, 16b, 20a, 145a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 21–22 (25–26); Scholem, *Major Trends*, 391, n. 80.

113. **six vast, supernal dimensions...** Within *Ḥokhmah*, the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod* are etched, subsequently emerging and flowing to the ocean of *Shekhinah*. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:13.

114. **ברא שית** (***bara shit***)... The word בראשית (*Be-reshit*) is divided in two and read as ברא שית (*bara shit*), "created six." See *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 1:1, 11–12; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:19), where it is said that the world was created by six letters (the divine names יה [*YH*] and יהוה [*YHVH*]); BT *Sukkah* 49a; *Zohar* 1:15b, 39b.

115. **The unmentioned, the hidden unknown** The hidden source of emanation, *Ein Sof* or *Keter*; the unnamed subject of the verb ברא (*bara*), "created."

116. **six supernal days... the others...** The mystical Torah, *Tif'eret*, includes the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, the six primordial days of Creation, whereas the higher *sefirot* are concealed.

117. **holy hidden one** Apparently *Keter*. See *Zohar* 1:10a; 3:66b.

118. **recess... thrust point** *Binah* is the recess, or womb, penetrated by the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*.

119. **a single key... a single palace** The key of *Ḥokhmah* opens and closes the palace of *Binah*.

120. **Carved into four sides... forty-nine...** Forty-nine gates of *Binah* are revealed in four lower *sefirot*, corresponding to the four directions: *Ḥesed* (south), *Gevurah* (north), *Tif'eret* (east), and *Shekhinah* (west). The fiftieth gate remains hidden; it "has no side" and "is shut."

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b: "Rav and Shemu'el both said, 'Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6).'"

Instead of "forty-nine" (preferred by *OY* and *OL*), several witnesses (C12, Ms3, M, Cr) read "forty." *KP* suggests that the original reading was מי (*Mi*), "Who," indicating *Binah* and Her fifty (the *gimatriyya* of מי) gates, and that this word was misread as מ׳ (*mem*), "forty."

121. **one lock...** The opening within *Binah*. The "precise place" is the subtle link between the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* and the womb of the Divine Mother, *Binah*. Elsewhere in the *Zohar* this site is identified as *a path unknown to any vulture* (Job 28:7). See 1:29a–b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b.

122. **Six gates...** The six *sefirot* hidden within *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 2:177a (*SdTs*).

123. **revealed word... concealed word...** The word בראשית (*Be-reshit*) contains two words: ברא (*bara*), "created," referring to the hidden mystery of creation, and שית (*shit*), "six," referring to the revelation of the six *sefirot*.

Yehuda Liebes argues that the insistence on the concealed nature of ברא (*bara*) alludes to a different pronunciation and meaning: ברא (*bera*), "son," the Divine Son. See *Zohar* 2:178b (*SdTs*); and Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 146–52.

124. **Holy Lamp** בוצינא קדישא (*Botsina Qaddisha*), the Zoharic title of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. See *Zohar* 1:4a, 156a, 197b; 3:171a; *ZḤ 85d* (*MhN, Rut*).

See 2 Samuel 21:17; *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4; BT *Ketubbot* 17a, where Rabbi Abbahu is called: בוצינא דנהורא (*Botsina di-Nhora*), "Lamp of Light"; and *Berakhot* 28b, where Rabban Yoḥanan son of Zakkai is called נר ישראל (*Ner Yisra'el*), "Lamp of Israel."

125. **world** The lower *sefirot*, which constitute the pattern of all the worlds.

126. תהו (***tohu***), ***chaos*** *Ḥokhmah*, the primordial divine substance representing pure potential, corresponding to the Greek philosophical concept of *hyle*, primordial matter.

127. **When Abraham arrived** Abraham symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, first of the lower *sefirot* emanating from *Binah*.

128. **באברהם (*be-Avraham*)...** According to Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Korḥah (*Bereshit Rabbah* 12:9), בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created*, is an anagram of באברהם (*be-Avraham*), "through Abraham," indicating that the world was created for his sake.

See *Zohar* 1:86b, 91b, 93a, 105b, 128b, 154b, 230b; 3:117a.

129. **Whereas everything was concealed ...אבר (*ever*)...** The letters of the word ברא (*bara*) were rearranged into אבר (*ever*), which not only forms the beginning of אברהם (*Avraham*) but also signifies the male "organ," *Yesod* ("Foundation"), the divine phallus and cosmic pillar.

130. **מי ברא אלה (*Mi vara elleh*)...** *Binah*, known as מי (*Mi*), *Who* (see above, pages 5–9), emanated *elleh* (*these*), the lower *sefirot*. The transition from מי (*mi*) to אלה (*elleh*) corresponds to the transposition of ברא (*bara*) into אבר (*ever*).

131. **מה (*Mah*), *What...*** *Shekhinah* is known as מה (*mah*), *What* (see above, pages 6–9). When מה (*mah*) was added to אבר (*ever*), the name אברהם (*Avraham*) was formed.

132. **אלה (*elleh*) at one end and אבר (*ever*) at the other** The verse *These are the generations of heaven and earth, when they were created* contains אלה (*elleh*), *these*, at one end and אבר (*ever*) (included in the word בהבראם [*be-hibbare'am*],

when they were created) at the other.

133. **As one was completed...** The letters ה (*he*) and מ (*mem*) were added to אבר (*ever*) to complete the name אברהם (*Avraham*); the letters י (*yod*) and מ (*mem*) were added to אלה (*elleh*) to complete the name אלהים (*Elohim*).

134. **until the name of Abraham...** See the remark by Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Korḥah (*Bereshit Rabbah* 12:9) referred to above: בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*) is an anagram of באברהם (*be-Avraham*).

135. ***on the day...*יהוה אלהים** (***YHVH Elohim***)... In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice.

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:35 and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name." Cf. *Zohar* 1:20a, 48b; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

136. **Holy Lamp** Rabbi Shim'on, who had recently died; see above, note 124. On the following passage see Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 19–32.

137. **yet you subsist...** The soul of Rabbi Shim'on endures in the Garden of Eden, and his spiritual power still guides the world.

138. **has not decayed...** The bodies of the righteous do not decay. See BT *Bava Metsi'a* 84b, concerning Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on.

139. **he fasted forty days to envision Rabbi Shim'on** See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 9:10: "Resh Lakish (according to another version: Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi) was longing to see Rabbi Ḥiyya Rabbah [in a dream]. He was told, 'You are not worthy.' 'Why?' he asked. 'Didn't I study Torah as he did?' They replied, 'You did not teach Torah as he did; and not only that, he exiled himself [wandering for the sake of Torah].' He said to them, 'Didn't I exile myself?' They replied, 'You exiled yourself to learn; he exiled himself to teach.' He sat for 300 fasts, and then he [Rabbi Ḥiyya] appeared to him in a dream, saying, 'If someone is a nobody but speaks of himself as though he were somebody—better for him if he had never been created.' Rabbi Assi fasted for thirty days to envision Rabbi Ḥiyya Rabbah but did not see him. He was told, 'You are not worthy.' He said to them, 'Show him to me, and let happen what happens!' He saw his steps [the steps of Rabbi Ḥiyya's throne in heaven], and his eyes grew dim." See JT *Kil'ayim* 9:4, 32b; Lerner, in *Sinai* 59 (1966): 20–21.

In the *Zohar* Rabbi Ḥiyya is no longer the saint whose appearance is sought by fasting, but rather the devotee who seeks. Rabbi Shim'on, who has replaced him as the spiritual hero, welcomes him to heaven.

On Mount Sinai Moses fasted for forty days (Exodus 34:28). According to Rabbi Tanḥum son of Ḥanilai (*Midrash Mishlei* 1:1), Solomon did the same "so that God would give him a spirit of wisdom and understanding." See BT *Bava*

Metsi'a 85a, where Rabbi Yosef is said to have fasted forty fasts, then forty more, then forty more, in order to ensure that Torah not depart from him. On the following page (85b) we read of Rabbi Ḥiyya's glorious state in heaven, a passage that influences the *Zohar*'s description here of Rabbi Shim'on and Rabbi El'azar: "Rabbi Ḥaviva said, 'Rabbi Ḥaviva son of Surmaki told me: "I saw one of the rabbis whom Elijah used to frequent. In the morning his eyes were lovely, but in the evening they looked as if they had been burnt by fire. I asked him, 'What is this?' He told me that he had asked Elijah, 'Show me the [departed] rabbis as they ascend to the Heavenly Academy.' He [Elijah] replied: 'You can gaze at all of them except for the carriage of Rabbi Ḥiyya, at which you cannot gaze.' 'What is their sign? [How can I distinguish between them?]' 'All are accompanied by angels as they ascend and descend, except for Rabbi Ḥiyya's carriage, which ascends and descends on its own.' 'Unable to restrain myself, I gazed at it. Two sparks of fire shot forth and struck that man [i.e., me], blinding him. The next day I went and prostrated myself upon his [Rabbi Ḥiyya's] grave, crying, "Your mishnah is my mishnah," and I was healed.'"'"

On the special relationship between Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Shim'on, see *Zohar* 2:14a (*MhN*). On weeping as a technique for attaining a vision, see Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, 75–88.

140. **the word that Rabbi Yose had spoken** Rabbi Yose had transmitted a teaching of Rabbi Shim'on's concerning בראשית ברא (*Be-reshit bara*). See above, pages 18–20.

141. **wings** Of angels, or "winged beings."

142. **rejuvenate the faces...** See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 1:7: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of Rabbi El'azar said, 'In the time to come, the blessed Holy One will rejuvenate the light of the faces of the righteous, as is said: *But may those that love him be as the sun going forth in its might* (Judges 5:31).'"

143. **in that world** On earth.

144. **O high, hidden, concealed ones...** Referring to the angels or perhaps the souls of the righteous. See *ZḤ 76d* (*MhN, Rut*); and Zechariah 4:10: *the eyes of YHVH roaming the whole earth*.

145. **O low, sleeping ones...** Human beings.

146. **darkness into light...** By acting righteously on earth.

147. **visits the doe** Joins *Shekhinah* and redeems Her from exile. The *Zohar* identifies *Shekhinah* with the *doe of love* (Proverbs 5:19) and *the doe of dawn* (Psalms 22:1). See *Zohar* 2:7b; 3:21b, 25b; JT *Berakhot* 1:1, 2c.

148. **Whoever does not await...** See BT *Shabbat* 31a: "Rava said, 'When a human is led in for judgment, he is asked, "Were you honest in your business dealings, did you set aside time for Torah, did you generate new life, did you

await salvation, did you engage in the dialectics of wisdom, did you understand one thing from another?”’”

149. **saw them being raised to the Academy...** See the passage from BT *Bava Metsi’a* 85b, cited above, note 139. Again, what is said in rabbinic literature about Rabbi Ḥiyya is transferred here to Rabbi Shim’on.

150. **Master of Wings** מארי דגדפי (*Marei de-gadpei*). Apparently Metatron, the chief angel. Cf. Proverbs 1:17; Ecclesiastes 10:20 (in both of which the corresponding Hebrew expression means simply “a winged creature,” “a bird”); BT *Shabbat* 49a (where the title is applied to Elisha, who wore *tefillin* despite a Roman prohibition). Elsewhere in the *Zohar*, the expression means simply “angel.” See 1:44a, 92a, 152a; 2:13a, 122b; 3:80b. At times (e.g., above; 2:171a), גדפין (*gadpin*), “wings,” itself means “angels”; so “the Master of wings” would be the chief angel.

Metatron is often associated with the Heavenly Academy. See BT *Avodah Zarah* 3b; *Bereshit Rabbati* 5:24; *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:115–16); *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:134–35); *Zohar* 2:169b; *ZḤ* 36b (*ST*).

In *Targum Qohelet* 10:20 and *Ma’yan Ḥokhmah* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:60), Elijah is identified as “Master of Wings.” See BT *Bava Metsi’a* 85b, a passage which influences the *Zohar* here (cited above, note 139): “He [Rabbi Ḥaviva] had asked Elijah, ‘Show me the [departed] rabbis as they ascend to the Heavenly Academy.’”

151. **behind the curtain** The curtain concealing God from the world. See BT *Ḥagigah* 15a; *Ma’yan Ḥokhmah* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:60).

152. **He kicks the 390 firmaments** See *Derekh Erets Rabbah*, 2, 56a: “He is one and dwells in 390 firmaments.” The *gimatriyya* of שמים (*shamayim*), “heaven,” is 390.

On kicking the firmament, see BT *Berakhot* 59a; *Zohar* 1:231a; 2:195b–196a; *ZḤ* 53b.

153. **sheds tears over this** Over the exile of *Shekhinah*. See BT *Berakhot* 59a: “When the blessed Holy One remembers His children, who are plunged in suffering among the nations of the world, He sheds two tears into the Great Sea, and His voice resounds from one end of the world to the other.”

See *Zohar* 2:9a, 19a–b (*MhN*), 195b; 3:172a–b; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:133).

154. **Prince of the Ocean** Apparently Leviathan, mentioned below, page 24.

155. **to swallow up all the waters...** See *Tanḥuma*, *Ḥuqqat* 1, and BT *Bava Batra* 74b (in the name of Rav), where God commands the Prince of the Ocean to swallow the chaotic waters of creation. When he refuses, God kicks

and slays him. Here, the prince obeys the divine command.

On the parallel between the waters and the nations, see *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 35, where both gatherings (of the water and of the nations) are peaceful. Cf. *Zohar* 1:119a; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 30–31.

156. **pass through on dry land** Recalling the crossing of the Red Sea. See Micah 7:15: *As in the days when You went forth from the land of Egypt, I will show him wonders*. Cf. Exodus 14:21–22; Isaiah 11:15–16; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 27:4.

157. **he** Rabbi Ḥiyya.

158. **the Academy here** In the Garden of Eden.

159. **setting his seal...** Endorsing their teachings. See *Zohar* 3:173a; *ZḤ* 80b (*MhN, Rut*); BT *Ḥagigah* 15b. The image of sealing Torah originates in Isaiah 8:16: *Bind up the testimony, seal Torah among my disciples*.

160. **He said to him** The Messiah said to Rabbi Shim'on.

161. **370 lights** Apparently the number 300 signifies the three highest *sefirot*, while the number 70 represents the seven lower *sefirot* emanating from them. See *OY; Zohar* 2:14a–b (*MhN*); 3:128b (*IR*). *KP* reads: 390, corresponding to the 390 firmaments.

162. **613 senses** Corresponding to the 613 *mitsvot* of the Torah. See *Zohar* 3:128a (*IR*).

163. **pure balsam** Thirteen rivers of balsam await the righteous in the world that is coming. See BT *Ta'anit* 25a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 62:2. In the *Zohar* (2:127a; 3:181a), the rivers of balsam are the fragrant flow of emanation from *Binah* to *Shekhinah*.

164. **Hezekiah...** King of Judah toward the end of the eighth century B.C.E. According to rabbinic tradition, Hezekiah was extremely devoted to the study and teaching of Torah. See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:8; BT *Sanhedrin* 94b. According to Rabbi Ḥizkiyah (*Bereshit Rabbah* 35:2), there was no need of the covenantal sign of the rainbow in the generations of Hezekiah and of Rabbi Shim'on because of the righteousness of those two figures.

165. **Ahiyah of Shiloh** Ahiyah was the prophet who revealed to King Jeroboam that Solomon's kingdom would be divided (1 Kings 11:29–39). According to rabbinic tradition, he was a master of the secrets of Torah (BT *Sanhedrin* 102a; *Midrash Tehillim* 5:8) and the teacher of Elijah (JT *Eruvin* 5:1, 22b).

Rabbi Shim'on associates himself with Ahiyah in *Bereshit Rabbah* 35:2; *Zohar* 3:287b (*IZ*); *ZḤ* 19a (*MhN*). Hasidic legend portrays Ahiyah as the mentor of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, founder of Hasidism.

166. **I have not come...** Your teachings do not need my confirmation, as

your teachings have been confirmed by God. Rather, I have come to hear the words of Metatron.

167. **told him** Told the Messiah.

168. **clothed in the garb of that world** In a physical body. See the reaction of the angels when Moses ascends to receive the Torah (BT *Shabbat* 88b): "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'When Moses ascended on high, the ministering angels said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! What is one born of woman doing here among us?"'"

169. **"Let him be gathered in"** Let his life on earth come to an end. Cf. the biblical idiom "to be gathered to one's people" (Genesis 25:8; 35:29; 49:29).

170. **together with his sons** The *amo-ra'im* Rabbi Ḥizkiyah and Rabbi Yehudah. In BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b (which, as already noted, influences the *Zohar* here), Elijah compares Rabbi Ḥiyya and his sons with the patriarchs. See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 9:10 (which also influences this *Zohar* passage).

171. **"Let him be granted time"** Let Rabbi Ḥiyya remain alive on earth a while longer. See *ZḤ* 80c (*MhN, Rut*); and *Zohar* 1:217b–218b, where Rabbi Shim'on intercedes with God to spare the life of Rabbi Yitsḥak when it was decreed that he was to die.

The theme of a holy person remaining on earth appears in a contemporary thirteenth-century Spanish hagiography, *Vida de Santa Oria*, composed by Gonzola de Berceo. There St. Orea ascends to heaven and sees her reward as a throne but is told that for now she must return to earth and continue her spiritual practice. See Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 28–29.

172. ***So that I may endow those who love Me with substance...*** According to rabbinic tradition, this verse describes the reward of the righteous in the afterlife. See M *Avot* 5:19; *Uqtsin* 3:12; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana*, *nispaḥim*, *Vezot Haberakhah*, 451; BT *Sanhedrin* 100a; *Zohar* 1:158a, 206a, 242b; 2:166b.

173. **the blessed Holy One** *Tif'eret*.

174. **seventy crowns...** The number seventy appears in the context of revelation in BT *Shabbat* 88b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '... Every utterance emerging from the mouth of Power branched into seventy languages.'" See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 13:16, where Torah is compared to wine: "Just as יין (*yayin*), wine, is numerically equivalent to seventy, so Torah assumes seventy faces."

See *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:116); Ibn Ezra, introduction to Commentary on the Torah; *Zohar* 1:26a (*TZ*), 47b, 54a.

175. **innovated word of wisdom** A new mystical insight, which rises higher than other new interpretations. Cf. *OY*: "One is able to innovate in Torah matters that Moses himself was not permitted to reveal."

176. צדיק (***Tsaddiq***), **Righteous One—Vitality of the Worlds** *Yesod*, who

channels the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah* and the worlds below.

On various senses of the title "Vitality of the Worlds," see Daniel 12:7; *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 16; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:5; Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, § 275; *Zohar* 1:132a, 135b, 167b.

177. **70,000 worlds** Corresponding to the seven lower *sefirot*.

178. **Ancient of Days** עתיק יומין (*Attiq yomin*). See Daniel 7:9: *The Ancient of Days sits, the hair on His head like clean fleece, His throne—flames of fire*. In the *Zohar* this name designates the primordial *sefirah* of *Keter*.

179. **words of the Ancient of Days...** In BT *Pesaḥim* 119a, secrets of Torah are referred to as "things hidden by the Ancient of Days." See the rabbinic blessing in BT *Berakhot* 17a: "May your steps run to hear words of the Ancient of Days."

See BT *Bava Batra* 91b; *Zohar* 1:9a; 2:168a; 3:105b, 138b (*IR*), 232b; and 3:20a: "Rabbi Yose said to Rabbi Ḥiyya, 'Let us engage in words of Torah, in words of the Ancient of Days.'"

180. **eighteen hidden worlds...** Recalling the phrase above, חי עלמין (*ḥei almin*), "vitality of the worlds," describing *Yesod*; the word חי (*ḥei*) has a numerical value of eighteen. See BT *Avodah Zarah* 3b: "Rabbi Abba said to Rabbi Naḥman son of Yitsḥak, '...What does [God] do at night?... He rides his light cherub and sails through 18,000 worlds.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You will do for one who awaits You*]... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [those who succeed in turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

181. **370,000...** An allusion to the three higher *sefirot* (3 × 100,000) and seven lower *sefirot* (7 × 10,000). See *Zohar* 1:4b; 2:14a–b (*MhN*); 3:128b (*IR*).

182. **all other innovated words of Torah** Nonmystical insights.

183. ***earths of the living...* one earth** *Shekhinah* is the singular "earth of the living," who is adorned and renewed by human insights of Torah, which have been transformed into planetoids, miniature *earths of the living* orbiting Her.

184. **The verse does not read *I have made*** In the past tense, referring to the original creation of heaven and earth.

185. **The verse does not read *the heavens*...** The reference is not to the existing heavens, but to new heavens. See BT *Sanhedrin* 99b: "Rav said, '[Concerning one who studies Torah for her own sake,] it is as though he built heavenly and earthly palaces, as is written: *I have put My words in your mouth and covered you with the shadow of My hand, to plant heavens and establish*

earth.'" Rabbi Shim'on amplifies this teaching and radicalizes it; note how the phrase "it is as though" has disappeared.

186. **angels came to scorch him...** Jealous that a mere mortal dared to enter the celestial realm. See *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20: "When Moses ascended on high... a band of angels of destruction... sought to scorch him with the breath of their mouths. What did the blessed Holy One do? He spread over him some of His splendor."

See *Ma'yan Ḥokhmah* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:58–60); and BT *Shabbat* 88b: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'When Moses ascended on high, the ministering angels said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! What is one born of woman doing here among us?" He answered, "He has come to receive Torah." They said, "That precious treasure hidden by You for 974 generations before the world was created, You desire to give to flesh and blood! *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?*" (Psalms 8:5). "Answer them," said the blessed Holy One to Moses. "Master of the Universe," he replied, "I fear they could scorch me with the breath of their mouths." He said, "Grasp My throne of Glory, and answer them.... Rabbi Naḥman observed, 'This teaches that the Almighty spread some of the luster of His *Shekhinah* and His cloud over him.'" See *Zohar* 2:58a, 156b.

187. **every word concealed...** See BT *Ta'anit* 8b: "Blessing is not found in anything weighed, measured, or counted, but only in that which is hidden from the eye." Cf. *Zohar* 1:64b, 202a.

188. ***Zion*... gates... distinguished words** In BT *Berakhot* 8a, the phrase *gates of* ציון (*Tsiyyon*), *Zion* (Psalms 87:2) is interpreted in the name of Rav Ḥisda as "gates מצויינים (*metsuyyanim*), distinguished, by *halakhah*." Based on this passage, Rabbi Shim'on identifies original interpretations of Torah as Zion.

189. ***man of perversity...*** Samael, the male demon who schemes and accuses falsely.

190. **chasm of the immense abyss** The abode of demons.

191. **parasangs** The Greek parasang equals about 3.5 miles.

192. **in one glide** The distorted heaven empowers Samael, providing him a fast celestial highway.

193. ***woman of whoredom*** Lilith, the female demon, wife of Samael. Together they comprise *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side." See *Zohar* 1:148a (*ST*); 2:245a; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

194. **in a single moment** See BT *Berakhot* 4b: "A *tanna* taught: 'Michael [reaches his destination] in one [glide], Gabriel in two, Elijah in four, and the Angel of Death in eight—in time of plague, however, in one.'"

195. ***Woe unto them...*** See BT *Sukkah* 52a: "Rabbi Assi said, 'The evil

impulse at first resembles the thread of a spider but ultimately it resembles cart ropes, as is said: *Woe unto them who haul iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as with a cart rope*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a.

196. **He** The sinner or the distorted heaven.

197. **A disciple unqualified...** See BT *Sotah* 22a: "Rav said, 'What is the meaning of the verse *Many are those she has struck dead, numerous are her slain? Many are those she has struck dead*—this refers to a disciple unqualified to teach [to decide questions of law] who teaches. *Numerous are her slain*—this refers to a disciple qualified to teach who does not.'"

198. **from a lofty tree** From a recognized authority. See the similar expression: "from high tamarisks" (BT *Beitsah* 27a). One of the five things that the imprisoned Rabbi Akiva taught Rabbi Shim'on (BT *Pesaḥim* 112a) was: "If you want to be strangled, then be hanged on a large tree," which according to Rashi (ad loc.) means: If you must depend on an authority, see that it is a great one.

See *Kallah Rabbati*, 2; *Zohar* 2:87a; 3:76a–b; and BT *Berakhot* 27b: "Rabbi Eli'ezer says, '... One who says something that he has not heard from his teacher causes *Shekhinah* to depart from Israel.'"

The conservative attitude here contrasts with the preceding encouragement to innovate. See *OY* and *KP*.

199. **slay multitudes without cause** Righteous and sinful die together in the plagues and disease brought by Lilith.

200. **With Torah... This has been established...** According to M *Avot* 3:14, Torah is the "precious instrument by which the world was created." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1: "Rabbi Osha'ya opened, '*I was with Him as* אמון (*amon*), *a nursling*...אמון (*amon*)—אומן (*umman*), *an artisan*. Torah says, "I was the artistic tool of the blessed Holy One."... The blessed Holy One gazed into Torah and created the world.'"

See *Zohar* 1:47a, 134a–b; 2:161a–b; 3:35b; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:243–45.

201. **then spoke...** Only after perusing Torah did God proclaim her words, thereby creating the world.

202. **not to err...** But rather to imitate God and study Torah thoroughly. Cf. BT *Eruvin* 54b: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'One must teach his student four times.'"

203. ***Then He saw... declared... arranged... probed...*** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:5. The four verbs correspond to the four times that God gazed into Torah, perhaps also to the four methods of interpretation: literal, allegorical, midrashic, and mystical. After creating the world, God *told humanity* to imitate Him by studying Torah intensively.

204. **corresponding to those four times...** Apparently a reference to the

four worlds, containing respectively the *sefirot*, the Chariot, the angels, and the physical world.

205. **Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lekonya, his father-in-law** See the similar setting in *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 11:20: "Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on was going to Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yose son of Lekonya, his father-in-law...." According to this rabbinic tradition, El'azar's father-in-law was named Shim'on son of Yose.

See JT *Ma'aserot* 3:8, 50d; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:11; *Devarim Rabbah* 7:11; *Seder ha-Dorot*, s.v. Shim'on ben Yose ben Lekonya. (In BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85a the name of Rabbi El'azar's brother-in-law is given as Rabbi Shim'on son of Issi [Yose] son of Lekonya, which would make Yose his father-in-law, as here in the *Zohar*, but nowhere in rabbinic literature is he named Yose son of Shim'on.)

The author(s) of the *Zohar* consistently switches father and son, transforming Shim'on son of Yose into Yose son of Shim'on. See 1:61b, 143b; 3:84b, 188a, 193a; *ZḤ* 10d, 14a (*MhN*), 22c (*MhN*). El'azar's own father, of course, is Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. Note who accompanies Rabbi El'azar: Rabbi Abba ("father"). Soon another father and son appear.

206. **In six days...** The six days of Creation correspond to six primordial days, the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, through which God fashioned the world. Each sefirotic day displayed its creative power on the corresponding day of the week.

207. **On the fourth day** Corresponding to *Shekhinah*. Although usually pictured as seventh of the lower *sefirot*, She can also be characterized as the fourth primordial day (the middle of the cosmic week), completing the triad of *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. *Shekhinah* actualizes the potential of the other *sefirot*.

208. **three ethereal elements** According to Empedocles and later Greek and medieval thought, the four elements—water, fire, air, and earth—are the ultimate root of all things. By their combination and separation, everything in nature comes into being and passes away.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 3:3; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 4:1. In the *Zohar*, the four elements symbolize the quartet of *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret,* and *Shekhinah.*

209. **included in the third...** The third primordial day is *Tif'eret*, the male *sefirah*. The activity of the female, *Shekhinah*, symbolized by earth, took place on the fourth day but is included in His day to ensure and demonstrate their union.

210. **From the fourth day on... an artisan...** Beginning on the fourth day, the lower triad of *sefirot* emerged: *Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*. These three artisans completed the work of the preceding skilled trio: *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. See

OY.

211. **fourth leg...** The four *sefirot* (*Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, *Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*), the four elements, also constitute the four legs of the divine throne upon which sits *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:20a.

212. **earlier and later days... Sabbath** *Shekhinah* completes the triad of *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, as well as the next triad: *Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*. She is the Sabbath, culmination of the primordial week of Creation.

213. ***included*** ויכל (*Vaykhal*), "And He completed," from the root כלה (*klh*). Rabbi El'azar understands this word in light of the related root כלל (*kll*), "include, comprise, gather."

214. **Sabbath of Sabbath eve...** There are two aspects of the Sabbath: the feminine Sabbath eve, symbolized by *Shekhinah*, and the masculine Sabbath day, symbolized by *Tif'eret* or *Yesod*. Cf. Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 110.

215. **rambling donkey-driver** טייעא (*Tayya'a*), "Arab," Arabian caravanner, derived from the name of the Arabian tribe *Ṭayyi'*. The prophet Elijah returns to earth to appear as a *tayya'a* in BT *Berakhot* 6b, and as an ערבי (*aravi*), "Arab" in *Rut Zuta* 1:20; 4:11. See *Rosh ha-Shanah* 26b; *Yevamot* 120b; *Bava Batra* 73b; *Sanhedrin* 110a; *Ḥullin* 7a.

In the *Zohar*, *tayya'a* indicates one of several wandering donkey-drivers who annoy, perplex, and enlighten the Companions on the road. See 2:45b, 94b–114a, 145b, 155b–157a; 3:21a–23a, 186b; *ZḤ* 83a–d (*MhN, Rut*); *TZ* 23, 69a. Cf. *Tosefta, Ḥagigah* 2:1 (BT *Ḥagigah* 14b; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a); BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 25a–b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:10; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:3; Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 248–54; Pushinski, in *Yavneh* 2 (1940): 140–47; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 46; idem, *Kabbalah*, 227.

216. ***My sanctuary...*** The continuation of the verse with which Rabbi El'azar opened: *My Sabbaths you are to observe...* (Leviticus 19:30).

217. **את** (***Et***) Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a–b; *Zohar* 1:79b, 247a; 2:90a, 135b.

218. **amplifies the meaning to include** לאסגאה (*Le-asga'ah*), "To increase," a Zoharic rendering of the rabbinic Hebrew לרבות (*le-rabbot*), "to increase"—that is, to include, amplify, or widen the scope of meaning.

219. **2000 cubits...** The traditional limitation on how far one may walk beyond the city limits on the Sabbath. See *Mekhilta, Vayassa 6*; cf. *Zohar* 2:207a. Here it refers to the range of holiness beyond the realm of the *sefirot*;

according to *KP*, the feet of the divine chariot.

220. **the higher Sabbath... the lower Sabbath** The higher Sabbath is *Binah*, the seventh *sefirah* counting up from *Yesod*. The lower Sabbath is *Yesod*, the seventh *sefirah* counting down from *Binah*.

221. **Another Sabbath** Sabbath eve, symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

222. **there can be no day...** The sefirotic day of *Yesod* needs the night of *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 11:8, where according to Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai, the Sabbath complains to God that she has no partner among the days of the week, and she is told: "The Assembly of Israel is your partner." See BT *Ḥullin* 60b.

223. **who is awe...** The "Sabbath of Sabbath eve" (Friday night) is *Shekhinah*, who conveys the attribute of Judgment, inspiring awe and fear. The *sefirah* of *Ḥokhmah*, the father of *Shekhinah*, is also called "awe" and is reflected in His daughter, who is lower *Ḥokhmah*.

224. ***I am YHVH*** The full verse reads: *My Sabbaths you are to observe, My sanctuary you are to hold in awe, I am YHVH* (Leviticus 19:30). Through *Shekhinah*, God reveals the full spectrum of divine personality and is thus called *I*. In this phrase, *I* is joined with *YHVH* (*Tif'eret*). *Shekhinah* manifests in both sacred time (*Sabbath*) and sacred space (*sanctuary*).

225. **circle with a square inscribed within** The phrase derives from BT *Eruvin* 76b; cf. *Bahir* 83 (114–16). Here the reference is to the higher *sefirot* (beginning with *Binah* and culminating in *Yesod*) and *Shekhinah*.

See *KP*; Scholem. Cf. *Zohar* 2:127a, where the circle of the letter ס (*samekh*) symbolizes *Binah*, while the square of the letter ם (final *mem*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

226. ויכלו (***Vaykhullu***)... The opening lines of the *qiddush* ("hallowing, sanctification"), the prayer recited over wine Friday evening to hallow the Sabbath.

227. קדוש (***qiddush***)... The rest of the prayer, which includes the blessing over wine and the blessing of hallowing the Sabbath.

228. **in the *qiddush* that we recite... thirty-five words** This total requires the omission of the following ten words from the *qiddush*: כי הוא יום (*ki hu yom*), "for it is the day," and כי בנו בחרת ואותנו קדשת מכל העמים (*ki vanu vaḥarta ve-otanu qiddashta mi-kol ha-ammim*), "for You have chosen us and hallowed us from among all nations."

See Scholem, 493 (unnumbered); Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 63, 138–39, n. 159. The *Zohar*'s phrase "that we recite" indicates a particular custom, which differs from the standard *qiddush*.

229. **seventy names...** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12; Naḥmanides, *Kitvei Ramban*, 1:135; cf. *Zohar* 2:207b. For various lists of these names, see *Alfa*

Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:350–51); *Shir ha-Shirim Zuta* 1:1; *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 46:8; and *Ba'al ha-Turim*, Numbers 11:16.

230. **Assembly of Israel...** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:1. In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

231. **they are both included...** Both aspects of the Sabbath, the masculine *Yesod* and the feminine *Shekhinah*, are included in the feminine, which is signified by the opening word of the fourth of the Ten Commandments: שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe, the Sabbath day to keep it holy*. This word signifies the feminine because the other version of the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:8) reads: זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember, the Sabbath day*, and זכור (*zakhor*) suggests זכר (*zakhar*), "male." In the verse in Leviticus 19, the plural verb תשמורו (*tishmoru*), *you are to observe*, indicates the union of male and female.

See BT *Berakhot* 20b; *Bahir* 124 (182); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 496–97; Naḥmanides on Exodus 20:8; *Zohar* 1:47b, 48b, 164b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 118.

232. **completed by זכור** (***zakhor***) *Binah*, the supreme King and higher Sabbath, finds its completion in the masculine *sefirah* of *Yesod*, signified by זכור (*zakhor*), which implies זכר (*zakhar*), "male." Although often depicted as the Divine Mother, *Binah* is also described as "World of the Male," encompassing the entire configuration of *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. Together they constitute a masculine entity ready to join *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:96a, 147a, 149a, 160b, 246a, 248b; 2:127b; *ZḤ* 72b (*ShS*). Cf. 1:17b, 46b, 163a; 2:4a.

233. **'the King who possesses peace'...** In midrashic literature this phrase is applied to God. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 1:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:2. Here it designates *Binah*, who contains *Yesod*, who is called "peace" either because He mediates between the right and left poles of the *sefirot*, or because He unites *Tif'eret* with *Shekhinah*. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home."

234. **two peaces below...** Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*; Joseph symbolizes *Yesod*, the divine phallus, since he withstood the test of sexual temptation in Egypt (Genesis 39). See *TZ* 21, 43b, 45b. Both of these mediate between right and left, and unite with *Shekhinah*, insuring peace in the sefirotic realm.

235. ***From afar, YHVH appeared...*** *Tif'eret*, who is called *YHVH*, appeared *from afar*. See Rashi, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:120a.

236. ***His sister stood far off*** Miriam, the subject of the sentence, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who faces *Tif'eret*. See BT *Sotah* 11a.

237. ***from nearby*** Idiomatic for "recently." Joseph, *Yesod*, represents a more recent emanation than Jacob, *Tif'eret*. This citation is striking, since the verse in Deuteronomy refers to false gods.

238. ***From afar* is the highest point...** *Ḥokhmah*, the primordial point of emanation, is situated in the palace of *Binah*. *Tif'eret* issues from them, *from afar*.

239. **So it is written...שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe*** Referring back to the two Sabbaths, *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, who are indicated together by the plural verb תשמורו (*Tishmoru*), *You are to observe*.

240. **point standing in the center** The central point of *Shekhinah* inside the square inscribed within the circle.

See *Zohar* 2:204a–b; 3:250a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 110; Joseph Gikatilla, cited in Elijah de Vidas, *Reshit Ḥokhmah, Sha'ar ha-Qedushah*, 2. On the Sabbath as sacred center, see Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 85–92.

241. **Whoever enters... damages it** Profaning the Sabbath damages the core of *Shekhinah*. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 332–35; idem, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 111.

242. **called** *I* *Shekhinah*, who fully expresses the personality of God, is called *I*.

243. **that high concealed one...** *Tif'eret*, more concealed than *Shekhinah*.

244. **all is one** The conclusion of the verse, *I am YHVH*, indicates that *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* are united.

245. **dismounted** Out of respect for the sanctity of Torah. See *Tosefta*, *Ḥagigah* 2:1, where Yoḥanan son of Zakkai dismounts from his donkey to hear an exposition of *ma'aseh merkavah*, "the account of the chariot," from El'azar son of Arakh, who had been driving the donkey from behind.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 14b; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; *Zohar* 1:160a.

246. **to be bound together...** These three letters spell the word כיס (*kis*), "pocket." If all three had joined together, then the wandering donkey-driver would have been wealthy, but such was not the case.

247. **כף (*Kaf*) did not want...** כף (*Kaf*) wanted to remain at the head of the word כסא (*kisse*), the divine "throne." See above, pages 14–15 (transmitted in the name of Rav Hamnuna Sava), where the throne begins to tremble when כף (*kaf*) descends from it.

248. **סמך (*Samekh*) did not want...** The letter סמך (*samekh*) stands for the word

סומך (*somekh*), "supporting." See above, page 14, where God tells her: "You are needed where you are; do not move! If you leave, what would happen to the fallen, who depend on you?"

249. **יש** (***yesh***), **substance...** Composed of the two letters יוד (*yod*) and שין (*shin*). יש (*Yesh*) designates the flow of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") and *Binah* ("Understanding"), which is the ultimate substance, more valuable than wealth.

The *gimatriyya* of יש (*yesh*) is 310, and according to Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi (M *Uqtsin* 3:12), "In the world to come, the blessed Holy One will endow every righteous person with 310 worlds, as is written: *So that I may endow those who love Me with* יש (*yesh*), *substance, and fill their treasuries* (Proverbs 8:21)." See Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 93a–b.

250. **until the one driving...** Until the Messiah arrives riding on a donkey. See Zechariah 9:9: *Behold, your king is coming to you. He is righteous and triumphant, humble* [or: *poor*] *and riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of an ass*.

251. **tower soaring in the air...** The expression originates in the Talmud (BT *Ḥagigah* 15b; *Sanhedrin* 106b), where the phrase *counter of the towers* (Isaiah 33:18) is interpreted as: "one who counted 300 fixed laws concerning a tower soaring in the air." The laws are apparently laws of defilement (see M *Oholot* 4:1). Rashi (on both Talmudic passages) offers several interpretations, including one from his teacher that the tower refers to the letter ל (*lamed*), highest letter of the alphabet. Todros Abulafia, in *Otsar ha-Kavod*, discusses this interpretation of the *Ḥagigah* passage (ad loc.); cf. *Shoshan Sodot*, 108. In several Qumran texts the ל (*lamed*) is written above the normal line of letters. See Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts*, 1:127, 143.

In the *Zohar*, the tower is *Binah*, towering over the lower *sefirot*. See 2:91a, 102a; *ZḤ* 58a, 70a (*ShS*), and 66a–b (*ShS*), where the connection between ל (*lamed*) and the tower is cited from the Book of Rav Hamnuna Sava. Cf. Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 89–90 (112–14); *Zohar* 1:9a, 37b, 96b; 3:164a–b.

252. **the blessed Holy One and a certain poor person** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who is poor in the sense that She has no emanation of Her own but receives emanation from the other *sefirot*. These two *sefirot* are joined in the tower of *Binah*, the ל (*lamed*). According to Todros Abulafia, *Otsar ha-Kavod*, *Ḥagigah* 15b, the ל (*lamed*) is composed of the two letters ד (*dalet*) and ו (*vav*). In Kabbalah ד (*dalet*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is דלה (*dallah*), "poor," while ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who joins with the five *sefirot* around Him (*Ḥesed, Gevurah, Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*) to form the sixfold sefirotic torso. The three letters joined together spell לוד (*Lod*), the city of Lydda (cf. *KP*), and the donkey-driver

is apparently hinting that on the material plane he resides there. On the messianic implication of "poor," see Zechariah 9:9, cited above, note 250.

253. **It is not my habit to boast...** See *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 1945 (ed. Margaliot, par. 522): "A person whose father is called 'Rabbi,' e.g., 'Rabbi Ya'akov,' and his son [i.e., he himself] is called 'Reu'ven,' should not sign his name 'Reu'ven son of Rabbi Ya'akov,' but rather simply 'Reu'ven.'"

254. **fish** נונא (*Nuna*), swimming in the ocean of Torah. Sefirotically, the fish is *Yesod*, swimming the ocean of divinity.

255. **like an arrow...** See Psalms 127:4: *Like arrows in the hand of a warrior, so are the children of one's youth*. Cf. BT *Ḥagigah* 15a: "Shemu'el said, 'Any emission of semen that does not shoot forth like an arrow does not fructify.'"

256. **Holy Lamp** בוצינא קדישא (*Botsina Qaddisha*), the title usually reserved by the *Zohar* for Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. See above, note 124.

257. **Rav Hamnuna Sava** Rav Hamnuna the Elder, a Babylonian teacher who lived in the third century, though the *Zohar* assumes that he died in the lifetime of Rabbi Shim'on, before the story related here. The donkey-driver had hinted at the name Hamnuna by saying that his father was a נונא (*nuna*), "fish."

See *Zohar* 3:187a; *Tosafot*, *Qiddushin* 25a, s.v. *hamnuna karnuna; Bereshit Rabbah* 97:3. The fish carries messianic overtones in both Judaism and Christianity; see Stroumsa, "The Early Christian Fish Symbol Reconsidered."

In the Talmud Rav Hamnuna occasionally transmits teachings of Rabbi Shim'on (e.g., BT *Ḥullin* 21a; *Temurah* 15a), and several prayers are attributed to him (BT *Berakhot* 11b, 17a, 58a). Cf. BT *Gittin* 39b. In the *Zohar* roles are reversed and Rabbi Shim'on cites Rav Hamnuna (e.g., 1:8a–b). Throughout the *Zohar* Hamnuna is greatly revered, and several original ritual acts are attributed to him.

See 1:240a, 250a; 2:88a, 124a, 136b; 3:87b, 103b, 145b (*IR*), 188a; Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, 68; idem, *Major Trends*, 368, n. 134; Liebes, in *Eshel Be'er Sheva* 4 (1996): 198–201; Goldreich, in *Massu'ot*, 486–91.

258. ***Benayahu son of Yehoyada*** The verse continues: *son of a living man, abounding in deeds, from Qavtse'el. He smote the two Ariel of Moab. He went down and slew the lion within the pit on a snowy day*. The donkey-driver begins to answer the question of his identity with a verse about Benayahu, a loyal follower of King David, one of the heroes mentioned in 2 Samuel 23.

259. **This verse has been established** See BT *Berakhot* 18a–b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya said..., '*Son of a living man*. Are all other people then sons of dead men? Rather, *son of a living man*, for even in his death he was called *living*...'"

Cf. Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Tsedeq*, 7a; *Zohar* 1:132a, 136a.

260. **the name prevails...צדיק** (***Tsaddiq***), **Righteous One...** The name בניהו (*Bena-yahu*) indicates *Yesod*, who is בן (*ben*), "son of," יהו (*yod, he, vav*), three letters symbolizing *Ḥokhmah, Binah*, and *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 1:136a, 164a.

Yesod, "Vitality of the Worlds," animates all of existence. On various senses of this title see above, note 176. On the notion that "the name prevails," see BT *Berakhot* 7b; *Zohar* 1:58b; 2:179b.

261. ***Master of deeds*** The donkey-driver interprets the biblical word רב (*rav*), *abounding*, according to its alternate meaning: "master."

262. **insignia of all His hosts** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a, in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan: "He is the insignia among His myriad." Cf. *Zohar* 2:232a.

263. **this grand and dignified tree...** *Yesod*, often identified with the Tree of Life.

264. ***Qavtse'el*** The root קבץ (*qvts*) means "to gather," and *Qavtse'el* refers to *Binah*, who gathers in the upper light of *Ḥokhmah*.

265. ***no eye has seen*** The verse continues: O *God, but You, what You will do for one who awaits You*. See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You will do for one who awaits You*]... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [those who succeed in turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

In the *Zohar* this verse often refers to *Binah*, who is identified with "the world that is coming." See 1:4b; 2:97b, 163a; above, note 19.

266. **holy, hidden palace...** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, contains within Herself— and then gives birth to—all the lower *sefirot*.

267. ***two Ariel...*** **Two sanctuaries...** The meaning of the word *Ariel* in the verse in Samuel is unclear. In Ezekiel 43:15–16 it apparently means "hearth" of an altar; in Isaiah 29:1 the name is applied to Jerusalem. In rabbinic sources *Ariel of Moab* refers to the Temple, since King David was descended from Ruth the Moabite. See M *Middot* 4:7; and BT *Berakhot* 18a–b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya said..., '*He smote the two Ariel of Moab*, for he did not leave his like in either the First Temple or the Second.'"

268. **Holy Throne fell** *Shekhinah* fell into exile.

269. **that rung called *I*** *Shekhinah*, who reveals the full spectrum of divine personality.

270. ***River Kevar...*** **River of Already** The prophet Ezekiel experienced his vision by the River Kevar, a stream near Nippur in Babylon. In Hebrew, though, the word כבר (*kevar*) means "already," "long ago." The point here is that the river

of *Yesod* was of the past and had ceased to flow, causing the destruction of the Temple and the exile of *Shekhinah*.

See *Re'uyyot Yeḥhezqel*, ed. Gruenwald, in *Temirin* 1 (1972): 111–14; Matt, *Essential Kabbalah*, 126, 205; *Zohar* 1:85a, 149a–b.

271. ***A river dries up and is parched*** See *Zohar* 1:26a (*TZ*), 67a; 2:166b; 3:150b.

272. **originated... were destroyed...** The two Temples came into being through the flow of divine emanation, and when that flow ceased they were destroyed.

273. ***He went down and slew the lion*** The verse continues: *within the pit on a snowy day*.

274. **image of a lion...** See BT *Yoma* 21b: "Five things were reported about the fire of the pile of wood on the Temple altar: it crouched like a lion, it was as clear as sunlight, its flame was of substance, it devoured wet wood like dry wood, and it caused no smoke to rise." Cf. *Zohar* 3:32b, 211a, 241a; Todros Abulafia, *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, 90.

275. **dogs** The demonic powers.

276. **He descended...** Sin severed the connection between *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, and the flow of emanation became available to "the rungs below," the demonic forces. The holy lion no longer received its prey and was thus killed, as it were, by *Yesod*.

277. **evil Other Side** סטרא אחרא בישא (*Sitra aḥra bisha*), the demonic realm, which represents the shadow of the divine.

278. **אוריאל** (***Uri'el***)... Literally, "God is my light," though here connected by the *Zohar* with the similar-sounding אריה (*aryeh*), "lion" and with אריאל (Ariel), symbol of the Temple. Uriel is one of the four angels of the Presence (along with Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael), who surround the divine throne. In Kabbalah these angels of the Presence are identified with the four holy creatures seen by Ezekiel. Uriel appears sometimes as the figure of the eagle, sometimes as the lion.

See 1 Enoch 9:1; 2 Esdras 4:1; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 46; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 2:10; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:39); cf. *Zohar* 3:32b, 211a.

279. **name of that dog? בלאדן** (***Bal'adan***)... The name derives from Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon (722–710 B.C.E.), with whom King Hezekiah of Judea had contact. See 2 Kings 20:12–13; Isaiah 39:1–2, where he is named Merodach Baladan son of Baladan. On this the Talmud (BT *Sanhedrin* 96a) comments: "Why was he called [Merodach-]Baladan the son of Baladan? It has been told: Baladan was a king whose face turned into that of a dog, so his son sat upon his throne instead. In his documents he wrote his own name and the name

of his father, King Baladan." Baladan's dog-face is probably a rabbinic explanation of the dogs seen on Assyrian-Babylonian monuments (Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:368, n. 82).

Here בלאדן (*Bal'adan*) is a demonic figure whose name is taken to mean: אדם בל (*bal adam*), "not human." *KP* refers to non-Jewish magical traditions concerning בילאד (*Bil'ad*), prince of the demons. See *OY; Shoshan Sodot*, 104; Scholem, in *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* 1 (1926): 112–27. In the continuation of the passage cited above (note 274), BT *Yoma* 21b observes that in the First Temple the fire on the altar appeared crouching like a lion, while in the Second Temple it crouched like a dog. See *Zohar* 3:32b, 211a.

Here the donkey-driver blends several of these traditions to describe a demonic figure with the face of a dog who is empowered to devour the sacrifices.

280. ***On a snowy day...* sins... judgment...** Water symbolizes *Ḥesed*, but snow symbolizes *Gevurah* and *Din* ("Judgment"), the congealing and hardening of water. See *Zohar* 1:16a; and *Aggadat Olam Qatan* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 5:58): "Snow is human sin." According to rabbinic literature, the yearlong punishment of the wicked in Hell is equally divided between fire and snow. See JT *Sanhedrin* 10:3, 29b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 10:4; *Zohar* 1:62b, 68b, 107b, 238b.

In *Zohar* 2:97b, 104a, 109a, the donkey-driver who confounds the rabbis refers cryptically to a snowy day on which he and Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai "sowed beans in fifty-two colors," alluding to the fifty-two-letter name of God and to the word בן (*ben*), "son," whose *gimatriyya* is fifty-two. See Liebes, in *Eshel Be'er Sheva* 4 (1996): 200.

281. ***She is not afraid...*** The *She* of Proverbs 31 is understood as *Shekhinah*, who does not fear the power of *Din* ("Judgment").

282. ***clothed in crimson...*** *Shekhinah* has an affinity with *Gevurah* and *Din*, symbolized by the color red, and She executes the decrees of Judgment, so She does not fear Judgment's fire or snow. See *Zohar* 1:238b.

283. **He** *Yesod*.

284. **the light of that light... Moses** Moses attained the *sefirah* of *Tif'eret* and transmitted some of its light.

285. ***'An Egyptian man...'*** A description of Moses given by Jethro's daughters to their father after Moses rescued them from aggressive shepherds.

286. **There ... there ... there ...** In Egypt. See *Zohar* 2:34a.

287. ומראה (***u-mar'eh***), ***in appearance...*** In plain sight. God appears to Moses directly, unlike the experience of other prophets.

288. ***Man of Elohim*—husband, as it were, of that** מראה (***mar'eh***)...

Shekhinah is the מראה (*mar'eh*), *appearance of the Presence of* *YHVH*, the site of divine manifestation. She is also known as *Elohim*. Moses is on such intimate terms with *Shekhinah* that he is called Her husband, as indicated by his title: *Man of* *Elohim* (Deuteronomy 33:1; Psalms 90:1).

See *Midrash Tehillim* 90:5; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim, Vezot Haberakhah*, 443–44, 448 (variants); *Tanḥuma, Vezot Haberakhah* 2 (*Ets Yosef*, ad loc.); *Devarim Rabbah* (Lieberman), on 33:1; *Zohar* 1:21b–22a, 148a, 152a–b, 236b, 239a; 2:22b, 235b, 238b, 244b (*Heikh*).

According to rabbinic tradition, after encountering God on Mount Sinai, Moses abstained from sexual contact with his wife and maintained union with *Shekhinah*.

See *Sifrei*, Numbers 99; BT *Shabbat* 87a; *Tanḥuma, Tsav* 13; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 7:6; *Zohar* 1:22a, 152b, 234b; 2:222a; 3:148a, 180a.

289. **staff of God, handed down to him** The staff with which Moses performed miracles before Pharaoh, split the Red Sea, and struck the rock to produce water. According to *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 40, the rod had previously been in the possession of Adam, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Jethro. See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 2:21; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:106, n. 600.

290. **staff created on the eve of Sabbath...** One of the ten things created in the last moments of the week of Creation, just before the first Sabbath began. See M *Avot* 5:6.

291. **engraved with the holy name** The Ineffable Name, *YHVH*. See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 2:21; *Devarim Rabbah* 3:8; *Midrash Tehillim* 114:9; *Sefer ha-Yashar, Shemot*, 307; *Zohar* 2:28a, 48a.

292. ***He went down to him with a club*** The verse continues: *and wrenched the spear out of the Egyptian's hand and killed him with his own spear*. As the donkey-driver interprets the verse, the subject, Benayahu, is really *Yesod*, who confronts Moses the Egyptian. See *Zohar* 2:114b (*RM*).

293. ***And killed him with his own spear* ...that staff** Benayahu killed Moses the Egyptian *with* Moses' own staff, i.e., because of Moses' own misuse of the staff. The notion that Moses was an Egyptian who was killed by an Israelite foreshadows Freud's thesis. See Amado Lévy-Valensi, *Le Moïse de Freud*; Goldreich, in *Massu'ot*, 486–87.

294. ***From the thirty, he was most honored*** The verse continues: *but the three he did not attain. David set him over his guard*. The actual biblical verse does not include the word *most* (הכי [*ha-khi*]). Apparently the *Zohar*'s author or a later scribe replaced this phrase with a different one, several verses earlier,

describing another of King David's warriors, Avishai: *Of the three, he was most honored* (2 Samuel 23:19). See *Zohar* 1:105b.

295. **thirty celestial years** The three *sefirot Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret* each reflect the full decade of the *sefirot*; so together They form a total of thirty, which flow into and through *Yesod*. See Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 48a.

296. **They approached Him...** The highest triad of *sefirot, Keter, Ḥokhmah,* and *Binah,* emanate to *Yesod*, but He has no direct contact with Them.

297. ***David set him... bodyguard...*** King David, who symbolizes *Shekhinah*, yearns to unite with *Yesod*. *Bodyguard* renders the Hebrew משמעתו (*mishma'ato*), "his obedient band," from the root שמע (*shm'*), "to hear."

Liebes (oral communication) suggests that the use of the word in this passage is influenced by the Arabic Sufi term *sama*, "hearing," the ecstatic song and dance of the Dervishes. Note the following reference to "songs and love." One Sufi defense of *sama* invokes the Koranic tradition (34:10) that David sang praises to God (*Encyclopedia of Religion*, 13:30–31). See Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 178–86.

298. **moon... sun** *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Yesod*.

299. **On whatever path... with words of Torah...** See M *Avot* 3:2: "Rabbi Ḥananya son of Teradyon said, '... If two are sitting engaged in words of Torah, *Shekhinah* dwells between them.'" Here the seekers are walking, not sitting, and they are visited not by *Shekhinah*, but by a righteous soul who has reincarnated and comes to puzzle and enlighten them.

On the importance of engaging in Torah while on a journey, see Deuteronomy 6:7; BT *Eruvin* 54a; *Ta'anit* 10b; *Zohar* 1:58b, 69b–70a, 76a, 87a, 115b.

300. **Rav Hamnuna Sava** Earlier, the donkey-driver had hinted at the name Hamnuna when he said that his father was a נונא (*nuna*), "fish" (above, page 37). The rabbis concluded that he was the son of the late Hamnuna, but now they realize that he was really Hamnuna himself, reincarnated as a lowly donkey-driver. Father and son are one and the same. Hamnuna's reincarnation is referred to (by his son) in *Zohar* 3:186a–88a; cf. *Zohar* 2:94b–95a; *ZḤ* 97b–c (*Tiq*).

According to BT *Berakhot* 18a–b, the phrase *son of a living man* (2 Samuel 23:20) describing Benayahu refers to the fact that Benayahu (or the righteous in general) are called *living* even in death. In the *Zohar*, Rav Hamnuna, the donkey-driver, embodies Benayahu anew.

301. ***memory...*** זכר (*Zekher*), connected by Rabbi El'azar with זכר (*zakhar*), "male," denoting *Yesod*, the divine male who transmits the flow of emanation from the upper *sefirot* to *Shekhinah*. The cited verse is fitting because *Yesod* is also known as "good."

302. **world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends."

In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

303. **Vitality of the Worlds** *Yesod*, who channels the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah* and the worlds below. On this title, see above, note 176.

304. ***house of Israel*** *Shekhinah*, also known as Assembly of Israel. See above, note 230.

305. מה (***Mah***), ***How,* as has been explained** Earlier (above, page 6) Rabbi El'azar had explained that מה (*mah*), "what" or "how," is a name for *Shekhinah*.

306. ***immense* and mighty tree** *Tifer'et*, trunk of the cosmic tree. See Daniel 4:8.

307. **another, smaller tree** *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 2:99b; 3:170a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:696.

308. **light created on the first day** *Ḥesed*, the first of the lower seven *sefirot*, the seven primordial days. In the Torah, the word "good" appears for the first time in the verse describing this light: *God saw that the light was good* (Genesis 1:4).

309. **He concealed it...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–

b; 3:88a, 173b.

310. ***That You made*** The verse continues: *for those who take refuge in You, in the presence of human beings*. Rabbi El'azar now concludes the verse that he began.

311. **upper Garden of Eden** *Shekhinah*, the divine presence and dwelling, the culmination of the emanation that was *made*. *Shekhinah* actualizes the various divine qualities.

312. **all the righteous abide...** Righteous souls who have departed this world abide in the Garden of Eden clothed in an ethereal body resembling their previous human form. The soul is clothed in this garment before descending to earth, retains it while in the physical body until shortly before death, and then regains it upon ascending.

See *Zohar* 1:38b (*Heikh*), 81a (*ST*), 90b–91a, 131a, 219a, 220a, 227b; 2:96b, 150a, 161b; 3:43a–b, 104a–b; Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 24 (1955): 293–95; idem, *Kabbalah*, 158–59; idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 251–73; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:770–73. Cf. Rashi on BT *Ḥagigah* 12b, s.v. *ve-ruḥot unshamot*.

313. נגד (*neged*), ***in the presence of...*** **in the image of...** The Hebrew word means both "in the presence of" and "corresponding to."

314. **Academy of Heaven...** Where the souls of the righteous study Torah with God.

315. **dew of rivers of pure balsam** Thirteen rivers of pure balsam await the righteous in the world that is coming. See BT *Ta'anit* 25a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 62:2.

In the *Zohar* the rivers of balsam are the fragrant flow of emanation from *Binah*, who is known as "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing" (*Zohar* 3:290b [*IZ*]; see 2:127a; 3:181a.

The reference to dew recalls the rabbinic notion that God will resurrect the dead with dew. See BT *Shabbat* 88b; JT *Berakhot* 5:2, 9b.

316. **Sometimes they appear...** See Naḥmanides on Genesis 49:33.

317. **High Lamp** Rav Hamnuna Sava.

318. **its nature** The divine nature of the angel, as indicated in Judges 13:16: *Manoah did not know that he was an angel of YHVH*. See BT *Berakhot* 61a; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 36b.

319. **this light...** Rav Hamnuna Sava.

320. **Holy sons of God...** Souls of the righteous, such as Rav Hamnuna, who circulate among humanity, spreading wisdom.

321. **towering hammers** See BT *Berakhot* 28b, where Yoḥanan son of Zakkai is addressed by his students as "Mighty Hammer." Cf. *Zohar* 3:206a, and

187a: “Rabbi Yehudah wept and said, ‘Rabbi Shim’on, happy is your share! Happy is the generation! On account of you, even schoolchildren are towering, mighty hammers!’”

322. **Master of Colors** Apparently Metatron (see *KP*). According to *TZ*, intro, 7a; 70, 119b, Metatron has *the appearance of the rainbow* (Ezekiel 1:28). He is often associated with the Heavenly Academy.

See BT *Avodah Zarah* 3b; *Bereshit Rabbati* 5:24; *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:115–16); *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:134–35); *Zohar* 2:169b; *ZḤ* 36b (*ST*).

323. **a dais אצטוונא** (*Itstevana*). See Targum to 2 Kings 11:14; Radak, ad loc.

324. **branches of the trees...** In *Pereq Shirah* (2:80), an early mystical text according to which every created thing sings a biblical verse to God, the trees of the field sing differently: *Then all the trees of the forest will sing before YHVH because He is coming to judge the earth* (Psalms 96:12–13; 1 Chronicles 16:33).

Elsewhere too the trees exult in song at the revelation of secrets of Torah. See JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; BT *Ḥagigah* 14b; *Zohar* 1:77a; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:138).

325. **Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim’on son of Lekonya** See the beginning of this story, above, page 30. As noted there, the *Zohar* changes Shim’on son of Yose into Yose son of Shim’on, transposing father and son. Similarly, the apparent son of Rav Hamnuna turned out to be Hamnuna himself.

326. **two crowns** Two new words of Torah, each of which becomes a crown. The donkey-driver presented the rabbis with new interpretations of two biblical passages, one concerning the Sabbath, the other concerning Benayahu son of Yehoyada. See BT *Shabbat* 88a; *Zohar* 1:4b; 3:291a (*IZ*).

327. **A sage is preferable to a prophet** See BT *Bava Batra* 12a, in the name of Amemar; *Zohar* 1:183b; 2:6b; 3:35a. Rabbi Shim’on’s visionary power is unrivaled.

328. **placed his head...** Placing one’s head between one’s own knees was a meditative posture in early rabbinic mysticism. See 1 Kings 18:42; *Zohar* 3:166b. Here Rabbi El’azar places his head between his father’s knees before relating what has happened to them on the road.

329. **spoken by Habakkuk when he saw his death...** The son of the Shunammite, who was born miraculously, died suddenly, and was restored to life by the prophet Elisha (2 Kings 4), is identified by the *Zohar* with the prophet Habakkuk. See 2:44b–45a; 3:195a; and El’azar of Worms, *Rimzei Haftarot* for *Shavu’ot* (Scholem).

Habakkuk’s desire to know secrets and his special intimacy with God are noted in *Midrash Tehillim* 7:17; 77:1; cf. BT *Ta’anit* 23a. He appears as a

paradigmatic mystic in *Bahir* 46–47 (68–69). This particular verse, which opens Habakkuk's theophany, appears again in *Zohar* 2:45a; 3:128a, 138b (*IR*). See Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 34–35.

330. **He** Habakkuk.

331. **two embracings** חבוקין (*Ḥibbuqin*), which explains the doubling in the name חבקוק (*Ḥavaqquq*).

332. ***The Book of King Solomon*** One of the many volumes housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*. See 1:13b, 33b, 225b; Matt, *Zohar*, 25; and the comment on this passage by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*... have been lost in the wanderings of exile.... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

333. **He inscribed on him** Elisha inscribed on Habakkuk, the son of the Shunammite woman.

334. **engraved name of seventy-two names** The divine name derived from the description of the splitting of the Red Sea: Exodus 14:19–21. Each of these three verses contains seventy-two letters. The name is composed of seventy-two triads (or "words"), according to the following pattern: the first letter of the first verse, the last letter of the second verse, the first letter of the third verse (forming the first triad); the second letter of the first verse, the penultimate letter of the second verse, the second letter of the third verse (the second triad); etc.

Revival by means of a divine name recalls the legend of the Golem, according to which dust could be animated by the recitation of magical names, and in fact Abraham Abulafia notes that the seventy-two-letter name animates the Golem. See Idel, *Golem*, 98–101; Liebes, in *Kiryat Sefer* 63 (1991): 1318–21. According to a magical text (British Museum MS 752:17, 107a), Elisha used the forty-two-letter name of God to revive the son of the Shunammite (see Scholem). *Sefer Ḥasidim* (ed. Wistinetzki, par. 219) states that Elisha was punished with illness for using the forty-two-letter name of God to curse a group of children who had insulted him by calling him "Baldhead" (2 Kings 2:23–24). As a result of his curse, forty-two of the children were killed by two she-bears.

On the seventy-two-letter name, see *Leqaḥ Tov*, Exodus 14:21; *Bereshit Rabbah* 44:19; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:2; Hai Gaon, *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah*, 23; Rashi on BT *Sukkah* 45a, s.v. *ani*; Ibn Ezra on Exodus 14:19; *Bahir* 79 (110); *Zohar* 1:17a; 2:51b, 132b, 270a; 3:150b–151a; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 95–97; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, 14:67, 284–86.

335. **letters... that his father...** Habakkuk, the son of the Shunammite, was born through the power of the letters of the alphabet, but not the particular combination of seventy-two triads of letters that Elisha employed.

336. **216 letters** The total number of letters in the seventy-two triads derived from the three verses (Exodus 14:19–21).

337. חבקוק (*Ḥavaqquq*)... **216 letters...** The name חבקוק has a numerical value of 216.

338. **with words** The seventy-two triads, whose greater spiritual potency is required for the restoration of the spirit.

339. **with letters** The 216 individual letters, whose potency suffices to restore the body.

340. **my tasting of that world** My brief experience of death.

341. ***Your action ...in the midst of years ...*** The verse concludes: חייהו (*ḥayyehu*), *revive it*. Rabbi Shim'on reads this last word not as a verb but as a noun: *its life*.

342. **those primordial years** See Malachi 3:4. Here the phrase refers to the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, flowing into *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:238b; 2:105b; 3:134b, 138b (*IR*). They are also the six primordial days of the week culminating in the Sabbath of *Shekhinah*.

343. **that level that has no life at all** *Shekhinah*, who has nothing of Her own and is dependent on the flow from above.

344. **him** Rav Hamnuna Sava.

345. **uprooting mountains** In BT *Berakhot* 64a, Rabbah son of Naḥmani is called "Uprooter of Mountains," based on his sharp mind.

346. **palace of King Messiah** Also known in the Zohar as "the bird's nest" (2:7b–8b). Cf. 3:164b; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:132).

347. **He said to him** Rav Hamnuna said to Rabbi Shim'on.

348. ***For I have seen God face-to-face*** The verse continues: *and my life has been saved*. After surviving his wrestling match with the angel, Jacob names the site *Peni'el*. Perhaps here the name is understood in the plural: *Penei El*, *Faces of God*, referring to both rabbis.

349. ***awe of YHVH* is really the end of Wisdom** *Shekhinah* is called *awe of YHVH* because She is characterized by the power of Judgment and inspires awe. See above, page 32. She is also lower Wisdom, culmination of the process of emanation that begins at upper Wisdom.

350. ***gates of righteousness. This is the gate...*** *Shekhinah* is called Righteousness. Through Her one enters the realm of *sefirot* and can eventually ascend to Wisdom. See *Zohar* 1:11b, 36b–37a, 141b; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 4b.

351. **Similarly...** The king in the parable symbolizes supernal Wisdom, who has fashioned the various gates (*sefirot*). The last gate, first to be encountered, is *Shekhinah*, but even before reaching Her, one must pass through several levels of

camps of angels, chariots, and palaces. See BT *Shabbat* 31a–b.

352. **This is ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*; ב (*bet*)—two...** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, alludes to both Wisdom (*Ḥokhmah*) and *Shekhinah*. The letter ב (*bet*), the second letter of the alphabet, signifies "two," and both of these *sefirot* are called ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*: Wisdom is the beginning of emanation, while *Shekhinah* is the first gate on the spiritual path.

353. **two points...** *Ḥokhmah* and *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 34–35.

354. **Whoever attains one...** Upon entering *Shekhinah*, lower Wisdom, one encounters higher Wisdom, reflected in Her.

355. **He and His name are one** *Shekhinah* reveals the *sefirot*, the various divine qualities, and is therefore called the name of God. See *Zohar* 1:18a; 2:134a, 161b.

356. **Tree of Good and Evil** The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, whose fruit was eaten by Adam and Eve. In Kabbalah this Tree symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who transmits either reward or punishment, depending on human behavior.

357. **two gates as one** *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, the union of male and female. *Yesod* is often called "good," and *Shekhinah* is lower Wisdom or, in this verse, *insight* (שכל [*sekhel*]).

358. **Tree of Life** The other tree mentioned in the Garden story, identified by the rabbis with Torah, based on the description of wisdom in Proverbs 3:18: *She is a tree of life to those who grasp her*. See BT *Berakhot* 32b, 61b. In Kabbalah this tree symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who is known as Written Torah. Here Rabbi Yose contrasts *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, with *Shekhinah*, Tree of Good and Evil.

359. ***good insight* with no evil at all** Rabbi Yose interprets שכל טוב (*sekhel tov*), *good insight*, as שכלו טוב (*she-kullo tov*), "entirely good."

360. ***David's loyal acts of love...*** *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, representing the legs (or genitals) of the sefirotic body. They transmit love to *Shekhinah*, known as David, while above they support and strengthen *Tif'eret*, Written Torah. See *Zohar* 1:219a; 2:169a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 48 (59).

361. **Those supporting Torah... actualize** Those who support the study of Torah on earth actualize (עבדין [*avedin*], "make, do") their divine archetypes, the supports of *Tif'eret*, Written Torah: *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*. On actualizing the divine, see BT *Sanhedrin*, 99b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 35:7; Idel, *Kabbalah*, 187–91.

362. ***His praise...* the throne...** *Shekhinah*, known as both Praise and the throne of *Tif'eret*, is sustained by those who support Torah. Thereby divine union is stimulated.

363. **on the night when the Bride...** On the eve of *Shavu'ot* (Festival of

"Weeks"), the celebration of the revelation of Torah, *Shekhinah* prepares to join Her groom, *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 3:97b–98b; Moses de León, *Sod Ḥag ha-Shavu'ot*, 87a–b.

364. **Companions initiated...** The חבריא (*ḥavrayya*) who accompany *Shekhinah*.

365. **next day...** The marriage between the masculine and feminine takes place on the day of *Shavu'ot*, when the Torah was actually given at Mt. Sinai. *Tif'eret* is symbolized by the Written Torah, while *Shekhinah* is alluded to by the Oral Torah, and together they convey revelation.

366. **all night...** On other nights, the Companions rise at midnight and study Torah until dawn, chanting to *Shekhinah*. On this night of *Shavu'ot*, they adorn Her all night long. This all-night study ritual became known as *tiqqun leil Shavu'ot*, "the *tiqqun* of the eve of *Shavu'ot*." See Wilhelm, "Sidrei Tiqqunim," 125–30.

The root תקן (*tqn*) appears throughout the *Zohar*, ranging widely in meaning: "mend, restore, correct, perfect, prepare, arrange, array, adorn, establish, institute."

Philo (*On the Contemplative Life*, 10:75–90) describes a similar night vigil of study and song practiced by the Therapeutae. Cf. the account of revelation through the Holy Spirit at Pentecost in Acts 2, and Revelation 21:2: "I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." See Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 74–82.

367. **from Torah to Prophets...** The three divisions of the Bible. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 16:4: "Ben Azzai was sitting and expounding, and fire was blazing around him. They [his disciples] came and told Rabbi Akiva.... He went to him and said, 'Perhaps you are engaged in the chambers of the Chariot [the secrets of Ezekiel's vision of the Chariot].' He replied, 'No, I am stringing words of Torah to the Prophets, and words of the Prophets to the Writings, and the words of Torah are as joyous as on the day they were given from Sinai.'"

368. **Her adornments and finery** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:11, in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: "Just as a bride is adorned with twenty-four ornaments [see Isaiah 3:18–24] and lacking one of them, she is considered worthless, so a disciple must be fluent in twenty-four books [of the Bible]—lacking in one of them, he is worthless."

See *Tanḥuma*, *Ki Tissa* 18; *Zohar* 1:4b–5a; *ZḤ* 63d–64a (*ShS*); *OY*, where Cordovero lists the biblical and rabbinic passages read on the eve of *Shavu'ot*; and Vital's list in *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot*, 2:202a–203b. It became customary to read this passage from the *Zohar* ("Rabbi Shim'on was sitting...sealed in a man's flesh") as part of the *tiqqun*.

369. **She enters...** *Shekhinah* enters the Companions' house of study with Her

attending angels.

370. **members of the canopy** A rabbinic phrase meaning "members of the wedding party." The Companions participate in the divine union.

371. **inquires about them** See *Zohar* 3:98a: "Happy is the share of the Companions when the King asks the Consort who adorned Her in jewelry, polished Her crown, and arrayed Her adornments."

372. **singing the song of Torah** Torah is referred to as song in BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Ḥagigah* 12b. Cf. BT *Megillah* 32a; Targum to Lamentations 2:19; *Zohar* 3:23b; *KP*.

373. **Book of Memory** The celestial book in which all human actions are recorded. Later in this passage, it is identified with *Yesod*. See Ezra 4:15; Targum to Esther 6:1; *Zohar* 1:62b; 2:70a, 200a, 217a, 246a.

374. **seventy blessings** Corresponding to the seven *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Shekhinah*.

375. ***Heaven declares the glory of God*** The verse continues in parallelism: *the sky proclaims the work of His hands*.

376. **We have already established this verse** The verse is cited frequently in rabbinic literature. See BT *Ketubbot* 5a; *Zohar* 2:136b.

377. **troops, soldiers, and camps** Countless angels.

378. **She waits... for each...** For each Companion who adorned Her with a gem of Torah.

379. **Groom...** *Tif'eret*, who is called *Heaven*. See *Bahir* 68 (100), citing 1 Kings 8:32; *Zohar* 2:85a–b. Several verses later in this psalm, the sun is identified as a groom: *He* [*the sun*] *is like a groom coming forth from his chamber* [or: *canopy*] (Psalms 19:6).

380. ***God rages every day*** אל (*El*), "God," is a name of *Shekhinah*, who manifests the power of judgment and is angered daily by the evil of humanity. See *Zohar* 1:91a; 3:119b, 176b.

381. **illumine Her** The verse is taken to mean: *Heaven* (*Tif'eret*) illumines *the glory of God* (*Shekhinah*).

382. **masters of the covenant... Her partners** Literally, "masters of the oath of covenant with the Bride." The expression מארי קיימא דברית (*marei qeyama divrit*), "masters of the oath of covenant," reflects the Hebrew בעל ברית (*ba'al berit*), "master of the covenant," or "partner." The covenant is that of circumcision, and the masters of this covenant are those who have mastered the sexual urge, leading holy sexual lives. Since they embody the quality of *Yesod*, the divine phallus, their virtue is proclaimed by *Yesod*, symbolized by *the sky*. These Companions are invited to participate in the union with *Shekhinah*.

See *Tanḥuma*, *Lekh Lekha* 17, where Abraham's circumcision is compared

to marrying the king's daughter.

383. ***The work... establish it...*** The mark of circumcision, made by hand, is called *the work of our hands*. The interpretation of the verse is: May God *establish* (help us control and purify) *the work of our hands* (our sexual conduct). A similar phrase, *the work of your hands* (Ecclesiastes 5:5, cited later in this passage) is linked to sexuality in BT *Shabbat* 32b: "Rabbi says, '... What is the work of one's hands? You must conclude: one's sons and daughters.'"

384. **Rav Hamnuna Sava...** Rabbi Shim'on now cites Rav Hamnuna at length to support his interpretation of *the work of His hands*. In the Talmud their roles are reversed: it is Rav Hamnuna who cites Rabbi Shim'on.

385. **reach evil fantasies** One should not speak of things that can incite lust.

386. **that holy flesh...** Sexual misconduct defaces the sign of covenant sealed in the flesh. See *Zohar* 2:87a–b. Cf. *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:3, where covenant is linked to both tongue and phallus.

387. **Dumah** Literally, "silence," a name for the netherworld in the Bible, e.g., Psalms 94:17: *Unless YHVH had been my help, my soul would soon have dwelt in dumah* (cited later in this passage). Cf. Psalms 115:17.

In rabbinic literature Dumah is the angel in charge of souls of the dead (BT *Berakhot* 18b, *Shabbat* 152b, *Sanhedrin* 94a). In the *Zohar* he retains this role but also oversees Hell. See 1:94a, 102a, 124a (*MhN*), 237b.

388. **any of those who guarded...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 48:8: "Rabbi Levi said, 'In the time to come, Abraham [who initiated circumcision] will be sitting at the door to Hell, and he will not let any circumcised Israelite descend there.'" Cf. BT *Eruvin* 19a; *Zohar* 1:93a, 94a, 95b.

389. **that incident...** With Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite (2 Samuel 11–12). Seeing her bathing, David was attracted to her and slept with her. He then arranged for her husband, Uriah, to die in battle, after which he married her.

390. *A* ***man who commits adultery with a man's wife*** The verse continues: *—who commits adultery with his neighbor's wife—is surely to be put to death, the adulterer and the adulteress*.

391. ***To your neighbor's wife*** The verse continues: *you are not to give your emission of seed, defiling yourself through her*.

392. **Bathsheba was destined...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 107a: "Rava expounded, '...Ever since the six days of Creation, Bathsheba, daughter of Eliam, was designated for David, but she came to him with suffering.' The school of Rabbi Yishma'el taught likewise: 'She was designated for David, but he ate her unripe [prematurely, while she was still married to Uriah].'" See *Zohar* 1:73b; 2:107a; 3:78b.

393. **of all those entering battle...** See BT *Shabbat* 56a: "Rav said, 'Rabbi [Yehudah the Prince], who is descended from David, seeks to defend him, and expounds [the verse] in David's favor: *You have taken his wife to be your wife* (2 Samuel 12:9) implies that you have marriage rights to her [since the verb *to take* denotes marriage, as in Deuteronomy 24:1], for Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥmani said in the name of Rabbi Yonatan: "Everyone who went to war in the dynasty of David would first write a writ of divorce for his wife."'"

394. **waited three months** To determine whether Bathsheba was pregnant or not. Otherwise, if a baby were born seven months after the new marriage, it would be unclear whether the newborn's father was David or Uriah. See M *Yevamot* 4:10; BT *Yevamot* 42a.

395. **spelled both אוריה (*Uriyyah*) and אוריהו (*Uriyyahu*)** The first spelling ends with the divine name יה (*yah*), the second with יהו (*yahu*), three of the four letters of יהוה (*YHVH*). The sacredness of Uriah's name indicates his chaste

character (see *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:10). Note how the prophet Nathan describes the relationship between Uriah and Bathsheba (2 Samuel 12:3): *she was like a daughter to him*. In the Bible, the spelling אוריהו (*Uriyyahu*) is never applied to Uriah the Hittite; it is the name of an entirely different figure, a prophet contemporary with Jeremiah who was executed by King Jehoiakim (Jeremiah 26:20–23). Rabbinic sources identify this prophet Uriahu with Uriah the priest, mentioned in Isaiah 8:2 (*Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 7; BT *Makkot* 24b), but Rav Hamnuna is apparently the first to blend the identity of Uriahu the prophet with David's victim, Uriah the Hittite.

396. **to him** To David.

397. **if he knew** If David knew.

398. **that he** That Uriah.

399. ***Go down to your house and bathe your feet*** Understood as a euphemism for intercourse. See 2 Samuel 11:11; Ruth 3:7; *Tosafot*, *Eruvin* 63b, s.v. *kol zeman*.

Similarly, God's command to Moses, *Remove your sandals from your feet* (Exodus 3:5), is interpreted to mean: "Refrain from intercourse with your wife." See *Zohar* 2:222a; 3:148a, 180a; *ZḤ* 59b. Cf. 1:112b.

400. **He certainly did not know** David certainly did not know.

401. **Nisan** The first month of spring, followed by Iyyar, Sivan, Tammuz, Av, Elul, and Tishrei. Yom Kippur is the tenth of Tishrei. According to this chronology, Uriah died in battle at the beginning of the month of Sivan, and David had intercourse with Bathsheba nearly four months later, at the end of Elul. The Bible mentions simply that David sent Israel out to war *at the time when kings go out* [to battle] (2 Samuel 11:1), in springtime.

402. **issued a proclamation...** Calling the people to assemble for war.

403. **Adar** The month preceding Nisan. According to this chronology, David waited four full months, from the middle of Iyyar to the middle of Elul.

404. **he opened his mouth...** Recalling the saying attributed to Rabbi Yose (BT *Berakhot* 19a): "One should not open his mouth to Satan," i.e., speak in such a way as to give him an opening.

405. ***the man who did this...*** David's incriminating response to the parable told him by Nathan the prophet. Nathan replies, *You are the man!* (2 Samuel 12:7).

406. **his sin against Uriah** Arranging for Uriah's death in battle.

407. **punishment...** As Nathan prophesies, David's dynasty is wracked by war, his wives are violated, and the child born of David's union with Bathsheba dies (ibid., 9–23).

408. **separating me from the Other Side** In Kabbalah David symbolizes

Shekhinah, whose realm borders the demonic realm of *Sitra Aḥra* ("the Other Side"). According to *Qohelet Rabbah* on 7:22, the separation between Heaven and Hell is slight: "*This opposite that* (Ecclesiastes 7:14)—Hell and the Garden of Eden. What is the distance between them? A handbreadth. Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'A wall.' The Rabbis say, 'They are parallel, so that they will gaze at one another.'"

409. **not to speak as David did** Apparently the words with which David condemned himself, cited above: *As YHVH lives, the man who did this deserves to die*. Or perhaps a reference to Psalms 26:2: *Probe me, YHVH, and test me*. With his confident words, David tempted Satan, providing him an opening. (The entire phrase is missing in C12, Ms3, Cr, and *OY*.)

410. ***that it was an error*** From the conclusion of the verse with which Rav Hamnuna opened (above, page 54): *Do not let your mouth induce your flesh to sin, and do not plead before the messenger that it was an error. Why should God be angry at your voice and destroy the work of your hands?*

411. **defeated him legally** Defeated Dumah with valid arguments.

412. **voice in which one speaks** The suggestive words that a person might utter, inducing him to sin.

413. **holy flesh... that he damages** Apparently "he" refers to the person who damages the covenant through immoral speech and behavior. Galante and *OY* interpret the subject as Dumah, who damages the sign of covenant and thereby condemns the sinner to Hell. See above, pages 53–54: "*The work of His hands*—masters of the covenant with the Bride, Her partners. Those masters of the covenant are called *the work of His hands*, as is said: *The work of our hands, establish it* (Psalms 90:17). This is the covenant sealed in a man's flesh.... He [Dumah, standing at the door of Hell] is not permitted to approach any of those who guarded the holy covenant in this world."

414. **So** Rabbi Shim'on resumes his interpretation of Psalm 19 after transmitting this long teaching from Rav Hamnuna, which was cited to demonstrate that the phrase *the work of His hands* refers to the covenant in the flesh. See Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 57–60.

415. **masters of Her covenant, Her partners** This renders two senses of one term, מארי קיימא דילה (*marei qeyama dilah*), "masters of Her covenant." The expression reflects the Hebrew בעל ברית (*ba'al berit*), "master of the covenant," i.e., "partner." See above, page 53.

416. **sky embracing...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Resh Lakish said, 'There are seven heavens.... In the one called רקיע (*raqi'a*), "sky," sun, moon, stars, and constellations are set.'" Here the sky symbolizes *Yesod*, through which the divine male and female, symbolized by sun and moon, unite. Cf. *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 34a; 2:2a, 246a.

417. **Book of Memory** *Yesod*. See above, pages 52–53.

418. ***Day to day pours forth speech*** The verse continues in parallelism: *night to night declares knowledge*.

419. **those supernal days of the King** The *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, which surround *Tif'eret*.

420. **word** The interpretation offered as an adornment to *Shekhinah* during the allnight study session.

421. **every rung ruling the night...** *Shekhinah* and the forces under Her command exchange the past day's innovations of Torah. See *Zohar* 2:137a.

422. **ecstatically becoming...** *Shekhinah* and those under Her become companions of the Companions.

423. ***There is no speech, there are no words*** The verse continues in parallelism: *their sound is not heard*.

424. **cord** משיחא (*Meshiḥa*), identified by the *Zohar* with "the line of measure," which maps out the paths and stages of emanation. See *ZḤ* 56d–58d; *Zohar* 1:15a.

425. **skies are made... earth...** See above, page 26, where it is said that new kabbalistic interpretations of Torah are transformed into *new heavens*, while other new interpretations are transformed into *earths of the living*. Here Rabbi Shim'on adds that the praise offered by the *sefirot* to these interpretations serves as the catalyst.

426. **that sacred sun...** The divine male, *Yesod*, abides in mystical innovations. See *Zohar* 1:33b; 2:136b–137b, 205b, 224b; 3:12a, 225b; Moses de León, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 381; idem, *Shushan Edut*, 338; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 50 (61).

427. ***he is like a groom coming forth from his chamber*** The verse continues in parallelism: *rejoicing like a hero to run his course*.

428. **a certain other tower at another site** *Shekhinah*, who is referred to as a *tower of strength* (Proverbs 18:10; *Zohar* 1:37b, 96b; 3:164a–b), as distinguished from the "tower soaring in the air" (above, page 36), symbolizing *Binah*.

Here the divine bridegroom runs through the tower, uniting with *Shekhinah*. See Galante; Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 59–60. For other interpretations, see *OY*; the fragment in *OḤ* 12b; and Scholem.

429. ***His going forth is at one end of the heaven*** The verse continues in parallelism: *and his circuit reaches the other; nothing is hidden from his heat*.

430. ***the end of heaven*** **above** *Binah*. She and *Shekhinah* comprise the two ends of heaven, above and below *Tif'eret*, known as Heaven. See *Zohar* 1:1b; 2:137a.

431. ***the end of heaven*** **below** ***...the circuit of the year...*** *Shekhinah*, who includes all the *sefirot* and unites with *Tif'eret* and *Yesod*.

432. **this *circuit* and the *circuit* of the sun** The divine female and male.

433. **supernal rungs** The *sefirot*.

434. **All this praise and exaltation...** New readings of Torah here on earth garner sefirotic praise, which, in turn, stimulates the divine union.

435. **Six times *YHVH*...** This divine name appears six times in the following three verses (Psalms 19:8–10). See *Zohar* 2:137b.

436. **six letters** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, contains six letters.

437. **While they were sitting** Adorning *Shekhinah* with new insights of Torah on the night of *Shavu'ot* (Festival of "Weeks").

438. **face of *Shekhinah* has indeed arrived** See *Mekhilta, Amaleq* (*Yitro*) 1: "Whoever receives the face of [i.e., welcomes] the wise, it is as if he receives the face of *Shekhinah*." Cf. JT *Eruvin* 5:1, 22b: "Rabbi Shemu'el said in the name of Rabbi Ze'eira, '... Whoever receives the face of his teacher, it is as if he receives the face of *Shekhinah*.'... Rabbi Yishma'el taught... 'One who receives the face of his friend, it is as if he receives the face of *Shekhinah*.'" Cf. Genesis 33:10; *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 27; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:5.

The *Zohar* transforms the rabbinic simile into an actual description of the *Ḥavrayya*, the Companions, who "are called the face of *Shekhinah* because *Shekhinah* is hidden within them. She is concealed, they are revealed" (*Zohar* 2:163b). See 1:94b; 2:5a, 50a; 3:6b, 148a, 298a; *ZḤ* 11c (*MhN*).

439. **פניאל (*Peni'el*), Face of God...** Earlier, Rabbi Shim'on gave this name because in meeting Rav Hamnuna they had encountered the Divine Presence. See above, page 49: "From that day on, he called Rabbi El'azar, his son, and Rabbi Abba פניאל (*Peni'el*), Face of God, as is said: *For I have seen God face-to-face* [*and my life has been saved*] (Genesis 32:31)."

440. **he** Rav Hamnuna Sava. See above, pages 38–44.

441. **word of the Holy Ancient One** *Keter*, the first *sefirah*. New revelations of kabbalistic wisdom are called "words of the Ancient of Days" (above, pages 25–26). In BT *Pesaḥim* 119a, the secrets of Torah are referred to as "things hidden by the Ancient of Days." Cf. the rabbinic blessing in BT *Berakhot* 17a: "May your steps run to hear words of the Ancient of Days."

See BT *Bava Batra* 91b; *Zohar* 2:168a; 3:105b, 138b (*IR*), 232b; and 3:20a: "Rabbi Yose said to Rabbi Ḥiyya, 'Let us engage in words of Torah, in words of the Ancient of Days.'"

442. **The concealed one of all...** *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, also known as the Holy Ancient One.

443. **this verse appears similarly elsewhere** The verse that follows (1 Chronicles 11:23) is a variant of 2 Samuel 23:21, which Rav Hamnuna

interpreted above, pages 41–42. Here Rabbi Shim'on expounds on the slight differences between the two verses.

444. ***a man of measure*** Meaning *a man of stature*.

445. ***the Egyptian...*** In Samuel the verse reads *an Egyptian*. The definite article in Chronicles is intentional and significant.

446. ***very great in the land of Egypt*** The full verse reads: *The man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the eyes of Pharaoh's servants and in the eyes of the people*. Thus, the definite article in the phrase *the Egyptian* refers to Moses.

447. **Academy on High** The Heavenly Academy, where the souls of the righteous study Torah with God.

448. ***A man of good appearance...* Why *measure*?** What is the significance of this difference between the two verses?

449. **the Sabbath and her range...** ***You are to measure outside the city*** The verse continues: *two thousand cubits on the east side, two thousand on the south side, two thousand on the west side, and two thousand on the north side, with the town in the center. That shall be the pasture for their towns*. The measure of two thousand cubits for the pasture lands of the Levitical cities served as the basis for the "range of Sabbath," the maximum distance one may walk beyond the city on the Sabbath. See *Mekhilta*, *Vayassa* 6; cf. *Zohar* 1:5b; 2:207a.

Earlier (above, page 41), Rav Hamnuna had interpreted *a man of good appearance* as meaning "husband of *Shekhinah*"; Rabbi Shim'on now applies the same interpretation to the variant in Chronicles: *a man of measure*. *Shekhinah* is the Sabbath, whose holiness extends beyond the realm of the *sefirot*.

450. ***in justice—in measure*** The full concluding phrase reads: *in measure, weight, or capacity*. *Tif'eret* is called *justice*, and *Shekhinah* is *measure*.

451. **from one end of the universe to the other, as with Adam** Moses symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who spans the *sefirot* from *Binah*, at one end of the divine realm, to *Shekhinah* at the other.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 14:1; and BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Adam extended from one end of the universe to the other.'"

452. **those *five cubits* extended...** The five cubits symbolize the realm of five *sefirot* surrounding *Tif'eret: Ḥesed, Gevurah, Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*. Alternatively, this group of six can be pictured as five, since *Yesod* and *Tif'eret* are often counted together as one.

453. **as he said** As Rav Hamnuna explained. See above, page 42.

454. **staff of God...** The staff with which Moses performed miracles before

Pharaoh, split the Red Sea, and struck the rock to produce water.

455. **explicit name** The Ineffable Name, *YHVH*. See *Devarim Rabbah* 3:8; *Midrash Tehillim* 114:9; *Zohar* 2:48a.

456. **radiance** נהירו (*Nehiru*). Apparently Rabbi Shim'on interprets the Hebrew word מנור (*menor*), "beam," as מנורה (*menorah*), "lamp," or as מנור (*mi-nur*), "from fire."

457. **permutations of letters... Bezalel...** See BT *Berakhot* 55a: "Rabbi Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Bezalel knew how to permute the letters by which heaven and earth were created.'" By weaving together various combinations of letters, Bezalel was able to fashion the vessels of the Tabernacle in the desert. Similarly, permutations of the name *YHVH* flashed from the staff of Moses.

458. ***the engraver, the designer, the embroiderer*** The verse continues: *in blue, purple, crimson yams and in fine linen, and the weaver....*

459. **radiance of the wise... in forty-two colors** The name *YHVH* was permuted on the staff in forty-two ways. See *Zohar* 2:260a. On the forty-two-letter name of God, see above, page 2: "the engraved, explicit name is sown in forty-two letters of the act of Creation." Cf. *Zohar* 2:175b: "the forty-two holy letters of the holy name, by which heaven and earth were created."

The forty-two-letter name is mentioned in the name of Rav, though not recorded, in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. According to one later view, it consists of the first forty-two letters of the Torah, from the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*) through the ב (*bet*) of בהו (*bohu*), *void* (Genesis 1:2).

See *Tosafot*, *Ḥagigah* 11b, s.v. *ein doreshin; KP* 1:46c–d; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 94–95; cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:62. Cordovero (*OY*) on the passage in 1:1a describes how the name *YHVH* can be permuted into a forty-two-letter name. In his commentary here, Cordovero describes permutations of the forty-two-letter name itself. In *Zohar* 2:97b, 104a, 109a, the donkey-driver who confounds the rabbis refers cryptically to a snowy day on which he and Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai "sowed beans in fifty-two colors," alluding to the fifty-two-letter name of God.

460. **with what he said** With what Rav Hamnuna said. See above, pages 42–43.

461. **tonight** The night of *Shavu'ot*, when *Shekhinah*, the Bride, is adorned by the Companions' new words of Torah.

462. **there is another god** As could be heretically inferred from the apparently plural form of the word אלהים (*Elohim*), *gods*, in the opening verse of the Torah.

463. **in Aramaic** Hebrew, תרגום (*targum*), "translation," often referring to an

Aramaic translation of the Bible. By referring to Aramaic as *targum*, the *Zohar* betrays the fact that its author(s) lived at a time when Aramaic was no longer spoken. See *Zohar* 1:88b–89a (*ST*); 2:129b, 132b–133a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:75.

464. **the word ending the verse** Namely, the Hebrew word אלה (*elleh*), *these*.

465. **do not attend to Aramaic...** See BT *Shabbat* 12b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'If one petitions for his needs in Aramaic, the ministering angels do not attend to him, for they do not know Aramaic.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:74b (*ST*), 88b–89a (*ST*).

466. **this word** This verse.

467. **become jealous...** See *Tosafot*, *Berakhot* 3a, s.v. *ve-onin*.

468. **they are called אלהים (*Elohim*), *gods*** See Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:2: "Every Hebrew knew that the term *Elohim* is equivocal, designating the deity, the angels, and the rulers governing the cities." Cf. *Zohar* 1:111b; 3:113a; *ZḤ* 4a (*MhN*).

469. **the verse should read וארעא (*ve-ar'a*)** The common Aramaic word for "earth."

470. **those seven earths below** Corresponding to the seven heavens. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:11; *Sefer Yetsirah* 4:12; *Zohar* 1:39b–40a, 54b, 157a; 3:9b–10a; *ZḤ* 8c–9b (*SO*); 87b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

471. **banished from the face of the earth** See Cain's statement in Genesis 4:14: *Behold, You have banished me today from the face of the earth*.

472. **generating offspring** On the demonic descendants of Cain, see El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 26c; *Zohar* 1:36b, 54a, 178a–b; 3:76b, 122a.

473. **dual earth, dualized by darkness and light** Both manifesting in confusion. See *KP*. Cf. *Zohar* 3:285b.

474. **two heads** On the two-headed descendants of Cain, see *Beit ha-Midrash*, 4:151–52; Judah ben Barzillai, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 173; *Tosafot*, *Menaḥot* 37a, s.v. *o qum gelei; Zohar* 1:157a; 2:80a; *ZḤ* 9b (*ST*); Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:143 n. 34; Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 125, n. 84.

475. **Afrira and Kastimon** Ruling darkness and light, respectively. Afrira's name derives from עפר (*afar*), "dust," and, as noted below, his earth is not fruitful (see *Zohar* 2:266b). For the second name, *KP* reads: Kastiron, who also appears in *Sefer Razi'el*, 41a. Cf. קוסטור (*qustor*), "quaestor," a Roman prosecutor (e.g., JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b).

In *Zohar* 1:151a the word קסטוטירא (*qastutira*) apparently means "luster" and seems to derive from the Greek *kassiteros*, "tin." See *Targum Yerushalmi* and

Targum Yerushalmi (frag.), Numbers 31:22; *Zohar* 1:125a; 2:24b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 188.

476. **ox... eagle... human being** In his vision, Ezekiel sees four creatures, each of whom has four faces: the face of a human being in front, the face of a lion on the right, the face of an ox on the left, and the face of an eagle at the back (Ezekiel 1:10). Here the demonic officials Afrira and Kastimon resemble the creatures who appear on the left and the back before combining into a human image.

477. **abyss** Home of all demons.

478. **Uzza and Azael** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2). They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:23a (*TZ*), 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN, Rut*).

479. **call them to judgment** For their deeds of lust.

480. **Na'amah, mother of demons...** Na'amah, whose name means "lovely," was the sister of Tuval-Cain and the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Cain (Genesis 4:22). According to rabbinic tradition, the fallen angels were attracted by her beauty. See ibid. 6:1–4; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat*, add. 1; *Midrash Aggadah* and *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 4:22.

In the *Zohar*, Na'amah is the mother of Ashmedai, king of the demons, and she generates demons by seducing men in their sleep. See Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:19b, 55a; 3:76b–77a; *ZḤ* 19d (*MhN*).

481. **by the spirit of evil impulses** Through lustful desire, in the style of Na'amah.

482. **these** The heavens above our earth.

483. **seed and harvest...** Which depend on the influence of heaven. Only on our earth ("this") do the various species of grain grow. See *Zohar* 1:157a; *ZḤ* 9b (*ST*), 87b (*MhN, Rut*).

484. **they only cycle...** The heavenly spheres of that lower earth revolve slowly. Alternatively, the reference is to vegetation, which fails to sprout annually.

485. **world** Hebrew, תבל (*tevel*), referring to our earth, the most desirable of all. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:11.

486. **nocturnal mishap** A nocturnal emission, an involuntary emission of

semen. See Deuteronomy 23:11. According to the *Zohar*, such semen impregnates Na'amah, producing a new generation of demons.

See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11; BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:34b, 54b–55a, 2:231b, 3:76b.

487. **as explained** See above, pages 8–10, 19–20.

488. **to him** To his father, Rabbi Shim'on.

489. ***Who would not be in awe of You...*** This verse appears shortly before the verse that Rabbi Shim'on has just interpreted.

490. **what kind of praise is that?** God is not merely *King of the nations*; He rules the entire cosmos.

491. **discussed in various places** See *Shemot Rabbah* 29:9; *Midrash Tehillim* 93:1; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Avodat Kokhavim* 1:1; *Zohar* 2:38a, 95b–96a.

492. **pretext for sinners...** Apparently, since the verse compares God with *the wise of the nations* (although contrasting the two), sinners could conclude that just as those wise ones cannot conceive the thoughts of other humans, neither can God.

See *KP; OY; MmD*. For other interpretations, see Galante; Scholem.

493. **camps** Camps of angels.

494. **cannot grasp or know His site** See BT *Ḥagigah* 13b: "It is written [that the angels exclaimed]: *Blessed be the Presence of* YHVH *in His place* (Ezekiel 3:12)—because no one knows His place."

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 4; Bahir* 90 (131); *Zohar* 1:103a; 3:159a.

495. **but among the nations... one did** See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 357: "*Never again did there arise in Israel a prophet like Moses* —In Israel none arose, but among the nations of the world one did! Who is this? Balaam son of Beor."

See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:20; *Zohar* 2:21b (*MhN*); 3:193b.

496. **Who revives the dead?... Who makes the rain fall?...** See 1 Kings 17:1, 7, 17–24; 18:41–45; 2 Kings 4:8–37; *Bereshit Rabbah* 77:1.

497. **Abraham came...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:9; above, page 19.

498. **righteous of Israel abolish them...** See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 16b: "*The righteous one rules the awe of God....* Rabbi Abbahu said, '... I rule over humanity. Who rules over Me? The righteous one. For I issue a decree and he abolishes it.'"

See *Zohar* 1:45b; 2:15a (*MhN*), 262a; 3:15a.

499. **to walk in His ways...** See Deuteronomy 8:6; 11:22; 13:5; 28:9; 30:16. In rabbinic literature (*Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 49; BT *Sotah* 14a) this biblical idiom is understood as *imitatio dei*. Here Rabbi Shim'on implies that such imitation

includes the exercise of Godlike powers.

500. **Shiḥlayim** Mentioned in BT *Gittin* 57a, as one of three cities with a population twice the size of the total number of Israelites who left Egypt. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:4. Its name is said to derive from its major business: *shiḥlayim*, "watercress."

501. **Yose the Small** יוסי קטינאה (*Yose Qattina'ah*). See the reference in M *Sotah* 9:15 to יוסי קטנותא (*Yose Qatnuta*), so called because he was the last, or tail end, of the *ḥasidim*. A story with a similar ending appears in *Pesiqta Rabbati* 14.

502. **mighty rulers appointed...** According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God.

See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 61a, 108b; 2:33a, 151b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

503. ***And among all their kingdoms*** The verse continues: *there is none like You*.

504. **four kingdoms...** The book of Daniel (chapters 2 and 7) suggests a framework of four world-kingdoms: Babylonians, Medes, Persians, and Greeks, to be succeeded by the everlasting kingdom of God.

505. **camps** Camps of angels.

506. מאין כמוך (***mi ayin kamokha***), ***who is Ayin like You*** The final two words of the verse are read not as מאין כמוך (*me-ein kamokha*), *there is none like You*, but rather as מי אין כמוך (*mi ayin kamokha*), *who is Ayin like You? Ayin*, "nothingness," is a name for *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*. This ultimate stage of divinity is inconceivable, the divine nothingness, also called "the holy concealed one." See *OY*.

507. **This is מאין כמוך יהוה** (***Mi ayin kamokha YHVH***)... This verse immediately precedes the verse being discussed (Jeremiah 10:7). Here, too, Rabbi Shim'on reads מאין (*me-ein*), *there is none*, as מי אין (*mi ayin*), *who is Ayin?*

508. ***chaos, and what they desire...*** The subject of the biblical verse is *the makers of idols*.

509. **of *their kingdoms... chaos...*** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 2:4, where Genesis 1:2 is similarly applied to the four kingdoms.

510. **Members of this wedding party...** On the eve of *Shavu'ot* (Festival of "Weeks"), the Companions are invited to adorn *Shekhinah* with new interpretations of Torah, preparing Her for Her union with *Tif'eret*. See above, pages 51–52.

511. **when He enters...** When *Tif'eret* enters the canopy to be united with *Shekhinah*.

512. ***Who is this?*—sum of two...** *Who* is a name of *Binah*, the Divine Mother, whose nature can be questioned and explored, though She remains a mystery. See above, page 5. *This* is a name of *Shekhinah*, who is more revealed. See *Zohar* 1:176b; 2:37b (*MhN*); 3:145b.

513. ***Ascends*, literally...** עולה (*Olah*) is also the name for the offering on the altar that is totally consumed by fire—that "ascends" to God. In M *Zevahim* 5:4, the *olah* offering is classified as one of the קדשי קדשים (*qodshei qodashim*), "holies of holies," i.e., the most sacred offerings. Here Rabbi El'azar indicates that *Shekhinah* ascends to *Binah*, the "holy of holies," and is united with Her. See *Zohar* 2:239a; 3:26a–b.

514. **She** *This*, that is, *Shekhinah*.

515. **in the desert She inherited...** *Shekhinah* is also called *Keneset Yisra'el*, "Assembly of Israel," since She is the divine counterpart of the people, that aspect of God most intimately connected with them. At Mount Sinai on *Shavu'ot*, when the Torah was given to Israel, *Keneset Yisra'el* was wedded to *Tif'eret*, the blessed Holy One.

516. **by the whispering of lips...** Through fervent, meditative prayer or study, *Shekhinah* ascends to *Binah*.

517. ***These mighty gods...*** This verse records the frightened reaction of the Philistines when the ark of the covenant was brought into the Israelite camp in the midst of battle.

518. **Rather, במדבר (*ba-midbar*) means בדבורא (*be-dibbura*), *by speech...*** See *Shemot Rabbah* 2:4; Radak on 1 Samuel 4:8.

519. **ממדבר הרים (*mi-midbar harim*), *from wilderness mountains...*** In *Bemidbar Rabbah* 22:8 the word הרים (*harim*) is interpreted by Rabbi Abba as הרים (*herim*), "he raised." See *Tanḥuma, Mattot* 6; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Mattot* 9; *Midrash Tehillim* 75:3.

Here Rabbi El'azar combines this interpretation with the midrashic rendering of מדבר (*midbar*).

520. **By that word of the mouth...** Through the power of prayer and study, *Shekhinah* ascends to the realm of *Binah*.

521. **Afterward through speech...** Holy speech also draws down emanation.

522. **bless...the moment he opens his eyes** See BT *Berakhot* 60b: "Upon opening his eyes, one should say: 'Blessed is He who opens the eyes of the blind.'"

523. **How can he bless?** Seeing that he has not yet washed his hands.

524. **ancient *ḥasidim*...** This group is referred to in rabbinic literature, but here Rabbi El'azar may be alluding to the German *ḥasidim* of the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries. See Scholem, who cites *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 798 (ed. Margaliot, par. 992), where a rabbi instructs young men to sleep with "a vessel filled with [cold] water by their beds" and to immerse themselves in the water in order to overcome the evil impulse. Cf. par. 1066 (Margaliot, par. 371), where advice is given that "at night one place next to him water in a cup" to purify oneself from nocturnal emission. See *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 10: "Be careful to have a cup of water next to your bed, and when you rise in the morning do not put on your garment without first washing your hands."

525. **blessing over the crowing of the rooster** See BT *Berakhot* 60b: "When one hears the rooster crowing he should say: 'Blessed is He who has given the rooster understanding to distinguish between day and night.'" Here the rooster marks the moment of midnight, the beginning of the union of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. See Rashi on BT *Eruvin* 53b, s.v. *maggidei ba-alatah*, according to whom the rooster's crows mark the various divisions of the night. See *Pereq Shirah*, 2:57 (s.v. *tarnegol*): "When the blessed Holy One comes to the righteous in the Garden of Eden, all the trees of the Garden sprinkle spices before Him. Then he [the rooster] praises."

See Naḥmanides on Job 38:36; *Zohar* 1:77b, 218b; 2:196a; 3:22b–23b, 171b; *ZḤ* 88a (*MhN*, *Rut*).

526. **midnight...** See Psalms 119:62; and BT *Berakhot* 3b: "Rabbi Shim'on the Ḥasid said, 'There was a harp suspended above [King] David's bed. As soon as midnight arrived, a north wind came and blew upon it, and it played by itself. He immediately arose and engaged in Torah until the break of dawn.'"

In the *Zohar*, this legendary custom is expanded into a ritual: all kabbalists are expected to rise at midnight and adorn *Shekhinah* with words of Torah and song in preparation for Her union with *Tif'eret*. See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 146–50. This parallels the midnight vigil, common among Christian monks from early medieval times. In *Zohar* 3:119a Rabbi Yehudah alludes to the Christian practice: "I have seen something similar among the nations of the world." At midnight God delights in the souls of the righteous in the Garden of Eden, and those who study Torah here below partake of the celestial joy.

See *Sifra*, *Beḥuqqotai* 3:3, 111b; *Aggadat Bereshit* 23:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 102a; 2 Enoch 8:3; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:138); *Zohar* 1:72a, 77a, 82b, 92a–b, 136b, 178b, 231b; 2:46a, 130a–b, 136a, 173b, 195b–196a; 3:21b–22b, 52b, 193a; *ZḤ* 13c (*MhN*). Cf. Matthew 25:6.

527. **forbidden to bless with impure, filthy hands** See BT *Berakhot* 53b: "R. Zuhamai said, 'Just as a filthy [person or animal] is unfit for the Temple service, so filthy hands render one unfit for reciting a blessing [after eating].'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:184b; 3:186a; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 12.

528. **at all times** When a person rises from sleep, even during the day.

529. **his spirit flies away... an impure spirit...** During sleep one's spirit soars upward and an impure spirit arrives. See BT *Shabbat* 109a; *Ḥullin* 107b; *Zohar* 1:53b, 169b, 184b; 3:67a; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 10.

Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 14:9: "It was said in the name of Rabbi Me'ir: 'This soul fills the body, and when a person sleeps she ascends, drawing down life from above.'"

530. **one spirit in every bathroom...** See "the demons of the bathroom" mentioned in BT *Qiddushin* 72a; cf. *Berakhot* 62b.

531. **on the fingers of one's hands** The passage is apparently incomplete. See *KP*; Scholem.

532. **removes him from the world** Satan and the Angel of Death are two manifestations of *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side," the demonic. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

See the description of Satan's itinerary in *Bava Batra*, loc cit.: "He descends and seduces, ascends and arouses wrath, obtains authorization, and seizes the soul." Cf. Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 89a, s.v. *ba ha-satan; Zohar* 1:46b, 125a, 148a (*ST*), 152b; 2:33b, 268b.

533. **gladdening the poor...** See *ZḤ* 87b (*MhN, Rut*): "The blessed Holy One enjoys the food that one gives to a poor person because that food satisfies the poor person and makes him happy." Cf. *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 65; *Zohar* 2:88b; 3:103b–104a; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yom Tov* 6:18.

534. **those broken vessels of His** See Psalms 34:19: *YHVH is close to the broken-hearted*. According to midrashic sources, Rabbi Alexandri, referring to such supplicants, says, "All of God's vessels are broken" (*Vayiqra Rabbah* 7:2; cf. *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 24:5).

In the *Zohar* God's broken vessels are the poor, who are compared to *Shekhinah* because, like Her, they have nothing at all of their own (3:113b). As She is provided for by the other *sefirot*, so other humans must provide for the poor, and "anyone who mistreats a poor person mistreats *Shekhinah*" (2:86b). See 2:218a; *ZḤ* 77c (*MhN, Rut*).

535. **Many members of the Academy** The souls of the righteous reside in heaven, imbibing the deepest secrets of Torah.

536. **Compassionate and Gracious** See Exodus 34:6: *YHVH, YHVH, a God compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, abounding in love and faithfulness*.

537. **By this the world endures** Without deeds of love, the world will collapse.

538. **The Accuser...** Satan, who claims permission to punish the selfish person.

539. **Abraham... acted kindly...** On Abraham's hospitality, see *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 7; *Bereshit Rabbah* 54:6; BT *Sotah* 10a–b. According to the *Zohar* (1:83a; 3:104a, 267a), Abraham's devotion to God and love of his fellow creatures elevated him to the rung of *Ḥesed* ("Love").

540. **inviting all the dignitaries...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 53:10: "Rabbi Yehudah said, 'A *great feast* means a feast of the great. Og [king of Bashan, who was a giant (Deut. 3:11)] and all the great ones were there.'"

541. **We have learned...** The following teaching has no known source in rabbinic literature.

542. **chaos of revelry** On this expression, see *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:10; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 64 (79).

543. **they did not believe...** That Sarah, aged ninety, had really given birth to Isaac.

544. ***Children,* literally!** In the plural. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 52; *Bereshit Rabbah* 53:9; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 22:1; and BT *Bava Metsi'a* 87a: "*She* [Sarah] *said, Who would have said to Abraham: Sarah will suckle children?* How many children did Sarah suckle? Rabbi Levi said, 'On the day that Abraham weaned his son Isaac, he held a great feast. All the nations of the world mocked him, saying, "Have you seen that old man and woman, who brought a foundling from off the streets, and now claim him as their son! Furthermore they hold a great feast to establish their claim!" What did Abraham our father do? He invited all the dignitaries of his generation, and Sarah our mother invited their wives. Each one brought her baby with her, but not her wetnurse, and a miracle happened to Sarah our mother: her breasts opened like two fountains, and she suckled them all.'"

545. **She** That is, Sarah.

546. **gave me nothing** Elsewhere the *Zohar* indicates that the demonic powers should be assuaged by giving them their share, as a bone is thrown to a dog. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 46: "They gave him [Satan] a bribe on Yom Kippur [i.e., the scapegoat] so that he would not nullify Israel's sacrifice."

According to Leviticus 16, a goat bearing the sins of Israel is designated for Azazel, a wilderness demon. Similarly, in the Babylonian Akitu ritual a goat, substituted for a human being, is offered to Ereshkigal, goddess of the Abyss.

See Naḥmanides on Leviticus 16:8; *Zohar* 1:64a, 65a, 113b–114b, 138b, 174b, 190a, 210b; 2:154b, 237b; 266b; 3:63a (*Piq*), 102a, 202b–203a, 258b; *ZḤ* 87b–c (*MhN, Rut*); Moses de León, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 49; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:890–95.

547. **even a single dove** See BT *Sanhedrin* 89b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Yose son of Zimra, '... Satan said in the presence of the blessed Holy One, "Master of the universe! You bestowed upon this old man the fruit of the womb at the age of one hundred! From his entire feast could he not offer a single dove or pigeon to You?"'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 55:4. Leviticus 5:7 specifies doves or pigeons as the offering that a poor person may bring if he cannot afford a sheep.

548. **Who in the world is like Abraham?** See *Sefer ha-Yashar*, *Vayera*, 117; Job 1:8.

549. **he held his ground** Satan, the Accuser, would not leave God's presence or relent.

550. **that Isaac be offered as a sacrifice** According to BT *Sanhedrin* 89b (the continuation of the passage cited above), God commanded Abraham to offer up Isaac in order to prove to Satan that Abraham was a loyal servant. Here in the *Zohar*, the tone is different: the binding of Isaac is a punishment for Abraham's selfishness and neglect of the poor, a substitute offering to God.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 55:4–5, where Rabbi Yehoshu'a in the name of Rabbi Levi cites Micah 6:7: *Shall I offer my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for my own sin?* See *Zohar* 1:119b.

551. **that Sarah die in anguish...** When she heard the details of the binding of Isaac. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:2; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 26:3; *Tanḥuma*, *Vayera* 23; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 32.

552. **he** Abraham.

553. ***Hezekiah turned his face to the wall and prayed...*** When King Hezekiah of Judah fell dangerously ill, Isaiah prophesied to him that he would die (Isaiah 38:1). See *Zohar* 1:132a, 228a–b; 2:44a, 133a; 3:260a–b.

554. **learns from it every day** In *Zohar* 3:260a the reading is: "eats from it every day."

555. **that decree** Whatever has been decreed against him, as the decree against King Hezekiah was nullified when he turned back to God in sincere prayer (Isaiah 38:4–8).

556. **Tree of Life** Torah is identified with the Tree of Life, based on the description of wisdom in Proverbs 3:18: *She is a tree of life to those who grasp her*. See BT *Berakhot* 32b, 61b.

557. **accept... the Kingdom on high** Before going to sleep, one should recite the *Shema* (*Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one* [Deuteronomy 6:4]), thereby accepting upon oneself "the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven."

See BT *Berakhot* 4b: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'Even if one has recited the *Shema* in the synagogue, it is a *mitsvah* to recite it upon his bed.'" Cf.

Zohar 1:183a; 3:211a; and on the phrase "the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven," see M *Berakhot* 2:2.

558. **in advance deliver to Him the pledge...** During sleep the soul ascends to heaven. On account of one's daily sins, the soul should not be restored in the morning, but by consciously delivering the soul as a pledge to God before sleep, one ensures that God will return the pledge. See *Zohar* 1:36b; 3:119a, 260a; *ZḤ* 18b–c (*MhN*), 89a (*MhN, Rut*).

The nightly delivery of the pledge is announced by reciting Psalms 31:6: *Into Your hand I entrust* [or: *deposit*] *my spirit; You redeem me, YHVH, faithful God*. See BT *Berakhot* 5a, where this verse is recommended by Abbaye.

559. **any grave illness** As with Hezekiah, sincere prayer wards off illness.

560. **His house... His sanctuary** The synagogue and the ark.

561. **He should seek advice from those holy Patriarchs** One should meditate on the sefirotic triad symbolized by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*.

562. **So they have established** In the *Zohar*, this formula often refers to Talmudic traditions, but here it refers to the Spanish custom of reciting this verse from Psalms upon entering the synagogue. See *Abudarham*, 349; Scholem; *Zohar* 3:8b.

563. **they innovated prayer...** See BT *Berakhot* 26b: "Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'The patriarchs instituted the prayers'.... Abraham instituted the morning prayer,... Isaac, the afternoon prayer,... Jacob, the evening prayer." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9.

564. **Abraham... Isaac... Jacob** The verse is applied to all three patriarchs. Abraham is often identified with *Ḥesed* ("Love"). The correlation of the next part of the verse with Isaac is not clear. Jacob and awe are linked in Genesis 28:17, where the third patriarch declares: *How awesome is this place!* (cf. Genesis 32:8). The *Zohar* links the divine name נורא (*Nora*), *Awesome* (Deuteronomy 10:17; Nehemiah 9:32), with Jacob and *Tif'eret* (see *Zohar* 1:19a; 2:78b–79a, 261a).

There are various alternate readings in the manuscripts and commentaries. See Vital and Galante; *KP*; Scholem; Meir ibn Gabbai, *Tola'at Ya'aqov, sod ha-tefillin*, 9a; cf. *Zohar* 3:8b.

565. ***Israel, in whom I will be glorified*** Through contemplative prayer, the Jew (*Israel*) unites the triad of *sefirot*, imitating *Tif'eret* ("Glory"), who synthesizes *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*.

566. **Rabbi Pinḥas** Son of Ya'ir, a second-century rabbi who lived in Palestine, renowned for his saintliness and ability to work miracles. See BT *Ḥullin* 7a; JT *Demai* 1:3, 22a. In the *Zohar*, he is accorded special status. In

recognition of his *ḥasidut* ("saintliness, piety, love of God"), Rabbi Shim'on affirms that Pinḥas has attained the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed* (3:62a; cf. 201a, 240b). Generally he is in a class by himself among the Companions. See 3:59b–60b, 62a–b, 200b–202a, 203a, 225b, 288a, 296b (*IZ*); *ZḤ* 12b, 19a (*MhN*).

Such special treatment is to be expected given that, according to BT *Shabbat* 33b (a passage on which the following story is based), Rabbi Pinḥas was the son-in-law of Rabbi Shim'on. However, the *Zohar* elevates Pinḥas further by transforming him into Rabbi Shim'on's father-in-law. This new role could be the result of a simple mistake: confusing חתן (*ḥatan*), "son-in-law," and חותן (*ḥoten*), "father-in-law." However, the switch may also be deliberate, another instance of interchanging father and son (see above, notes 300 and 325). The fantastic or contrived contexts in which the son-in-law appears as the father-in-law support this possibility. In the following lines, Rabbi Reḥumai alludes cryptically to the relationship; Rabbi El'azar meets Pinḥas on the road and quotes an appropriate verse (3:36a); Rabbi Shim'on quotes another verse to his son, El'azar, and interprets it as referring to El'azar's mother, Pinḥas's daughter (3:240b, on the Torah portion *Pinḥas*); the prophet Elijah appears and tells Rabbi Shim'on: "Today for your sake, your father-in-law, Rabbi Pinḥas son of Ya'ir, has been crowned with fifty crowns!" (3:144b [*IR*]). In 3:200b–202a, the relationship is given narrative substance: Rabbi Pinḥas is on his way to see his sick daughter, the wife of Rabbi Shim'on (cf. 3:64a). Yet this setting is provided only to highlight the fabricated relationship and set the tone for a fantastic tale. Pinḥas's daughter never appears in the story.

567. **Rabbi Reḥumai** One of the main characters in *Sefer ha-Bahir*.

568. **Lake Ginnosar** The Sea of Galilee, Lake Kinneret.

569. **He** Rabbi Reḥumai.

570. **transcended...** אסתלקו (*Istallaqu*), "had ascended, departed, withdrawn." His eyes had ceased seeing in the normal way.

571. **a pearl, a precious stone** The son of Yoḥai: Rabbi Shim'on. Together with his son, Rabbi El'azar, Rabbi Shim'on hid from the Roman authorities in a cave for thirteen years.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6; *Qohelet Rabbah* on 10:9; BT *Shabbat* 33b; JT *Shevi'it* 9:1, 38d; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 11:16; *Midrash Tehillim* 17:13; *ZḤ* 59c–60a; *Zohar* 1:216b.

On the tradition that the *Zohar* was composed in this cave, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:13; Huss, "Hofa'ato shel Sefer ha-Zohar," 528.

572. **issuing...** Alluding to Rabbi Shim'on's emergence from the cave.

573. **Ancient of Days** עתיק יומין (*Attiq yomin*). See Daniel 7:9: *The Ancient of Days sits, the hair on His head like clean fleece, His throne—flames of fire*. In

the *Zohar*, this name designates *Keter*, the first, primordial *sefirah*.

574. **throne** The *sefirot* below *Keter*. Until then, the light of Rabbi Shim'on unifies the *sefirot*.

575. **contained totally in your house** According to the *Zohar*, Rabbi Shim'on is married to the daughter of Rabbi Pinḥas and thus contained in his house. See above, note 566; below, page 81.

576. **a fine, threadlike ray, radiating...** Rabbi El'azar, son of Rabbi Shim'on, is now "radiating" (נפיק לבר [*nafeiq le-var*], "coming out" of the cave).

577. **He left him** Rabbi Pinḥas left Rabbi Reḥumai.

578. **two birds...** See *ZḤ* 59c–60a, where a dove transmits a message from the Companions to Rabbi Shim'on in the cave and brings back his response to them. Cf. *Zohar* 2:6b; 3:201a–b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6.

579. **They embarked...** Rabbi Pinḥas and his two companions.

580. **emerged from the cave...** The cave in which Rabbi Shim'on and his son hid themselves for thirteen years. See above, note 571.

581. **full of moldy sores** From living in the cave. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6. According to BT *Shabbat* 33b, "A miracle occurred: A carob tree and a spring of water were created for them [Rabbi Shim'on and Rabbi El'azar], They took off their clothes and sat up to their necks in the sand. All day long they studied; when it was time to pray they put on their clothes, prayed, and then took them off again, so as not to wear them out."

582. **I would not be so** I would not have attained the high level that I attained in the cave. See BT *Shabbat* 33b. According to *ZḤ* 59c, Elijah taught Rabbi Shim'on and Rabbi El'azar in the cave twice daily.

583. **in general terms** The commandments are alluded to in the opening verses of Genesis and spelled out later in the Torah. On the following list of fourteen commandments, see Gottlieb, *Meḥqarim*, 215, n. 1; Wolfson, introduction to *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, by Moses de León, 32–33.

584. **gate...** *Shekhinah* is the gate through which one enters the divine realm of faith. She is also called *awe*, since She is associated with the *sefirah* of *Din*, Judgment. See *Zohar* 1:7b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 24–32.

585. **The entire world is based...** The letter ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, means not only "in," but also "with." Rabbi Shim'on reads the verse: *With beginning* (awe), *God created the heavens and the earth*.

586. **essence** עקרא (*Iqqara*), "Root, essence." On the distinction between different types of awe, see Baḥya ibn Paquda, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* 10:6; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:975–989.

587. **his awe is not focused...** See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 31; *TZ* 33, 77a; *Zohar* 2:33b.

588. **site called Awe** *Shekhinah*, the focus of genuine devotion.

589. **Woe is me if I speak!...** See BT *Bava Batra* 89b, where Rabbi Yoḥanan son of Zakkai says, concerning the details of illegal practices, "Woe is me if I say it! Woe is me if I do not say it! If I say it, the deceivers will learn. If I do not say it, the deceivers will say, 'Scholars are not expert in our practices.'"

See M *Kelim* 17:16; *Tosefta, Kelim* (*Bava Metsi'a*) 7:9; *Zohar* 2:100b, 257b (*Heikh*); and *Zohar* 3:74b: "Rabbi Shim'on clapped his hands and wept. He exclaimed, 'Woe is me if I speak and reveal the secret! Woe is me if I do not speak, for the Companions will be deprived of the word.'" See 3:127b (*IR*): "Rabbi Shim'on sat down. He wept and exclaimed, 'Woe is me if I reveal! Woe is me if I do not reveal!'"

Given the rabbinic and kabbalistic emphasis on repentance, it seems startling that Rabbi Shim'on would not want the wicked to learn how to serve God, but apparently he feels that in certain cases they are irredeemable and must be punished; cf. Isaiah 6:9–10. *OY* and Galante suggest that Rabbi Shim'on doesn't want the wicked to discover this secret because if they then persist in sinning willfully, they would be even more evil. According to *KP*, Rabbi Shim'on fears that revealing the secret to the wicked would lead them to serve the demonic, "their lord."

See also *Nefesh David*; Zeitlin, "*Haqdamat Sefer ha-Zohar*"; *Sullam*; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1065; *YN; MmD*.

590. **below is evil awe...** Below *Shekhinah*, holy awe, lies the demonic realm, *Sitra Aḥra* ("the Other Side"), who accuses human sinners and is then empowered to punish them. See *TZ* 30, 73a; 33, 76b–77a.

591. **that awe called *awe of YHVH*...** *Shekhinah*, who dwells only with those whose awe is genuine.

592. **Who then hovers over him?...** By fearing punishment, one attracts the demonic lash.

593. **this commandment is included here** The commandment of awe is indicated in the opening word of the Torah.

594. בראשית (*Be-reshit*), ***Because of beginning*, which is awe...** The letter ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), usually translated "in," can also mean "because of."

595. **four types of punishment...** According to M *Sanhedrin* 7:1, there are four types of capital punishment: stoning, burning, beheading, and strangulation.

596. ***line of chaos*** The verse reads: *He will stretch over it a line of chaos and plummet-stones of void*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "*Chaos* is a green line encompassing the whole world, from which darkness issued." Cf. Moses de León, *Or Zaru'a*, 268.

597. ***measuring rope*** The full verse reads: *I raised my eyes and looked, and*

behold: a man with a measuring rope in his hand. Together, the two prophetic verses indicate that *chaos* is a line, which is a rope—implying strangulation.

598. ***Void* is stoning, stones sunk...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "*Void*—the slimy stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues, as is said: *He will stretch over it a line of chaos and plummet-stones of void*." The immense abyss is the home of demonic powers.

599. ***When you heard the voice from the midst of the darkness*** The verse continues: *while the mountain was ablaze with fire*.

600. ***the mountain was ablaze... heaven...*** The verse concludes: *darkness, cloud, and fog*.

601. **fierce fire...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 13b: "Where does the river of fire pour forth? Rabbi Zutra son of Toviah said in the name of Rav, 'Upon the heads of the wicked in Hell.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:16a; and Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 2:30: "The elemental fire was designated by this term [*darkness*] because it is not luminous, but only transparent."

602. **called *wind*** The sword of punishment swishes through the air.

603. **It is written after awe, *beginning*...** The verse alluding to the various types of punishment (Genesis 1:2) follows the verse *In the beginning*..., which alludes to awe, the all-inclusive commandment.

604. **loving one's Lord consummately** See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 44–45.

605. **Abounding love** Hebrew, אהבה רבה (*ahavah rabbah*), "great love," a designation of *Ḥesed*, while *Shekhinah* is אהבה זוטא (*ahavah zuta*), "small love." See *Zohar* 2:254b; *ZḤ* 52b.

606. ***be wholehearted*—consummate in love** By fulfilling this command, Abraham attained the rung of *Ḥesed* ("Love").

607. ***Let there be light*...** The primordial light of Creation is *Ḥesed* (*Zohar* 1:16b), so the commandment of love is alluded to in the phrase *Let there be light*, following the allusion to the commandment of awe in the first verse (see above, page 77).

608. **Pinḥas... stands on this rung** Rabbi Pinḥas has attained the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed* ("Love"). See *Zohar* 3:62a, where Rabbi Shim'on describes him as "crown of *Ḥesed*, supernal head." Cf. 3:201a, 240b, where he is called חסידא (*ḥasida*), "devotee, saint, pious one, lover of God."

Mishnah *Sotah* 9:15 attributes to Rabbi Pinḥas the following teaching: "Zeal leads to cleanliness, cleanliness leads to purity, purity leads to restraint, restraint leads to holiness, holiness leads to humility, humility leads to fear of sin, fear of sin leads to *ḥasidut* ("love, devotion"), *ḥasidut* leads to Holy Spirit, Holy Spirit leads to resurrection of the dead, and resurrection of the dead comes

through Elijah, remembered for good."

The order of stages varies; see JT *Shabbat* 1:3, 3c; *Sheqalim* 3:3, 47c; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:9 (on 1:1); and BT *Avodah Zarah* 20b, where Rabbi Pinḥas concludes that "*ḥasidut* is greater than any of these."

609. **love of the blessed Holy One— branches in two directions** On the various types of love of God, see Baḥya ibn Paquda, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* 10:2.

610. **this love is not rooted** The line can also be rendered: "this love is not love, for it is based on something." See M *Avot* 5:16: "Any love dependent on something—if that thing ceases, love ceases. Love not dependent on anything never ceases." Cf. Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 44.

611. **whether judgment or favor** Consummate love of God endures whatever comes.

612. **'even if He plucks your soul'** See BT *Berakhot* 61b: "Rabbi Akiva said, '[*You shall love YHVH your God*] *with all your soul* (Deuteronomy 6:5)—even if He plucks your soul.'... When Rabbi Akiva was brought out to be executed [by the Romans], it was the time for reciting the *Shema*. While they were combing his flesh with iron combs, he accepted upon himself the Kingdom of Heaven [by reciting the *Shema*]. His disciples asked him, 'Our teacher, even this far?' He replied, 'All my days I have been troubled by this verse: *with all your soul*, [which I interpret] "even if He plucks your soul." I said, "When will I have the opportunity to fulfill this?" Now that I have the opportunity, shall I not fulfill it?' He prolonged the word אחד (*eḥad*), *one* [in the verse: *Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one* (Deuteronomy 6:4)] until his soul departed with *one*. A voice echoed from heaven: 'Happy are you, Akiva, whose soul has departed with *one*!'"

See M *Berakhot* 9:5; *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 32; *Zohar* 3:68a; *TZ, Haqdamah*, 10b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 43–44.

613. **light... radiated and was then hidden away** The primordial light of the first day of Creation was hidden away. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

614. **severe Judgment flashed** The primordial light symbolizes *Ḥesed*,

while its concealment symbolizes the next stage of emanation, *Gevurah*, or *Din* ("Judgment").

615. **two aspects merged...** The *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, also known as רחמים (*Raḥamim*), Compassion, represents the blending of *Ḥesed* and *Din*. Complete love must include both extremes: grace and judgment.

616. **This is the fine ray of light I was told...** Rabbi Reḥumai had told Rabbi Pinḥas about this ray of light, which he now realizes is his grandson, Rabbi El'azar, who emerged from the cave with Rabbi Shim'on (see above, pages 75–76).

617. **on the other side—of severe Judgment** The other aspect of love, mediated by Judgment. "The other side" (סטרא אחרא [*sitra aḥra*]) alludes to the demonic realm, mentioned several lines later. The *Zohar* plays with various senses of this phrase.

618. **that other side...** The other side is the realm of evil. To avoid falling into its clutches, one should arouse awe when harsh Judgment arrives.

619. **both aspects** Both aspects of love: grace (good fortune) and judgment (suffering). Awe is essential in either case to consummate love.

620. **third commandment** Rabbi Shim'on continues, linking the third commandment with the third day of Creation, on which God said: *Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place* (Genesis 1:9).

621. **to realize that God exists** See Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 1:1: "The ultimate foundation and pillar of wisdom is to realize that there is a first existent who brings every existent into existence. Every existent in heaven and earth and what is between has come into existence solely out of His genuine existence."

While for Maimonides, the primal commandment is to realize that God exists, for the *Zohar*, awe and love of God take precedence.

622. **six supernal directions** See BT *Berakhot* 13b, in the name of Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba: "Once you have enthroned Him above and below and in the four directions of heaven, you need do nothing more." These six directions (above, below, north, south, east, and west) symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, which join in preparation for the union with *Shekhinah*.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:13; *Zohar* 1:158a; 2:216b; *Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 61:6.

623. **through the six words...** The first line of the *Shema* contains six words in Hebrew: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד (*Shema Yisra'el YHVH Eloheinu YHVH eḥad*), *Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*. By reciting these words with כונה (*kavvanah*), "intention," one unifies the corresponding six *sefirot*.

See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:971–74. Cf. BT *Berakhot* 13b: "Our

Rabbis taught: '*Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*. Until here *kavvanah* is required.'"

624. **directing one's desire above along with them** While reciting the first six words, one should focus on the six corresponding *sefirot*, but one should then aim toward the three highest *sefirot* (*Keter*, *Ḥokhmah*, and *Binah*) and ultimately to that which is beyond all words: *Ein Sof*. Here lies the source and goal of the lower *sefirot*, and so one's desire ascends "along with them." See *Zohar* 2:216b.

625. **one should prolong אחד (*eḥad*), *one*... to be fittingly complete...** The word אחד (*eḥad*), *one*, completes the first line of the *Shema*. See BT *Berakhot* 13b: "It has been taught: Symmachus says, 'Whoever prolongs the word אחד (*eḥad*), *one*, has his days and years prolonged.'... Rabbi Yirmeyah was sitting in the presence of Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba. [Rabbi Ḥiyya] saw that he was prolonging [the word *eḥad*] greatly. He said to him, 'Once you have declared Him king over what is above and below and in the four directions of heaven, you need do nothing more.'"

Here Rabbi Shim'on teaches that by prolonging *eḥad* to the length of all six words of the first line of the *Shema*, one fulfills the mystical meaning of Genesis 1:9: *Let the waters* (the *sefirot*) *under heaven* (around *Tif'eret*) *be gathered to one place* (*Yesod*), thus forming a union of six directions. Cf. *Zohar* 1:18a–b.

626. **awe** *Shekhinah*. See above, page 77.

627. **prolonging the ד (*dalet*) of אחד (*eḥad*), *one*...** The ד (*dalet*) is the final letter of אחד (*eḥad*). According to Rabbi Aḥa son of Ya'akov (BT *Berakhot* 13b), one should prolong this letter specifically, and in the Torah scroll it is written large. See *Zohar* 2:160b; 3:236b.

In the *Zohar*, ד (*dalet*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is called both דלה (*dallah*), "poor," and *dry land* before She receives the flow of emanation from the higher *sefirot*.

628. **with Her forces, in six other directions...** *Shekhinah* should be united with Her retinue of angels, who parallel the six *sefirot* above. The six Hebrew words of the second line of the *Shema*, ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד (*Barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-olam va-ed*), "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever," allude to these angels, the six other directions below, accompanying *Shekhinah*, who is known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

See BT *Pesaḥim* 56a; *Zohar* 1:18b; 2:139b; 3:264a.

629. ***dry land* is transformed into *earth*...** *Shekhinah* becomes fertile, engendering new life.

630. **ארעא (*ar'a*), *Earth* fittingly consummates רעוא (*ra'ava*), desire** Literally, "*Earth* is fittingly consummate favor [or: will, desire]." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 5:8: "*God called the dry land Earth*. Why ארץ (*erets*), *Earth*? Because

she wanted to fulfill רצונו (*retsono*), His will." The Aramaic רעוא (*ra'ava*) and Hebrew רצון (*ratson*) both mean "will, favor, desire."

631. ***it was good, it was good,* twice** The phrase *God saw that it was good* appears twice in the account of the third day of Creation.

632. **It** *Shekhinah*.

633. ***Let the earth sprout vegetation*** The verse continues: —*seed-bearing plants, fruit trees of every kind on earth bearing fruit with the seed in it*.

634. **fourth commandment** Linked with the fourth day of Creation, on which God said *Let there be lights in the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:14).

635. **יהוה (*YHVH*) is האלהים (*ha-Elohim*), God** Rabbi Shim'on is alluding to the first line of the *Shema*, discussed above, which contains both these names and concludes with the word *one*. In rabbinic literature the two names represent the divine qualities of compassion and justice, respectively. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*) is called "a complete name."

In Kabbalah the two names often designate *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who are essentially one and should not be separated. See *Zohar* 1:4a, 20a, 48b, 91a; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

636. **מארת (*me'orot*)... deficiently...** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vavs*, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling is interpreted as alluding to *Shekhinah*, the moon, who is incomplete without Her partner, *Tif'eret*, sun or heaven.

See Proverbs 3:33; JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:1a, 19b, 33b.

On the diminution of the moon, see BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written: *the greater light... and the lesser light* (ibid.). The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!"...'"

637. **black light with white light** *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*, also known, respectively, as "the speculum that does not shine" and "the speculum that shines." See *Zohar* 1:51a, 77b, 83b. On "speculum," see below, p. 209, n. 824.

638. **white cloud of day...** See Exodus 13:21: *YHVH walks before them in a pillar of cloud by day, to guide them along the way, and in a pillar of fire by night, to give them light*. The white cloud symbolizes *Tif'eret*, often associated with the day; the cloud of fire, *Shekhinah*, associated with the night.

639. **Quality of day... of night** In BT *Berakhot* 11b, Rava and Abbaye indicate that light is mentioned in the evening prayers, and darkness in the morning prayers, "in order to mention the quality of day during the night and the

quality of night during the day."

See *Zohar* 1:120b, 259a (*Hash*); 2:162a; 3:260b, 264a.

640. **he joined below...** The serpent united the demonic powers below, thereby ruining the divine harmony above. Alternatively, he united *Shekhinah* with the demonic powers. On the nature of the sin in the Garden of Eden, see *Zohar* 1:35b–36b, 51a–53b, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373–76.

641. **Her forces of unification** The angels beneath *Shekhinah* with whom She is joined through the unification of the second line of the *Shema*. See above, page 83.

642. **that Other Side...** *Sitra Aḥra*, "The Other Side," the demonic realm.

643. **The shell rises in the wake of the kernel** The demonic follows the lead of the holy.

644. **אור (*Or*) in letters joined together, מות (*mavet*) in separation** The word מאורות (*me'orot*), *lights*, contains the letters of the word אור (*or*), "light," in proper sequence, while the letters of the word מות (*mavet*), "death," are interrupted. Whereas in Genesis 1:14 מארת (*me'orot*) is written without either ו (*vav*), in this next verse it is spelled מאורת, with one ו (*vav*), and Rabbi Shim'on reads it as if it contained two *vavs*.

645. **letters of separation...** The letters of the word מות (*mavet*), "death," which until now had been separated. The command *Let them be* מאורות (*me'orot*), *lights*, was intended to ensure that the letters of death remain apart.

646. **ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *The woman saw*** The verse continues: *that the tree was good for eating and a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was desirable to contemplate. She took of its fruit and ate, and also gave to her husband beside her, and he ate*.

647. **reversing the letters...** The verse describing Eve's sin opens with the word ותרא (*va-tere*), *she saw*. This word contains the letters of the word אור (*or*), but now out of order and interrupted by the ת (*tav*), whereas in the word מאורות (*me'orot*) they appeared in correct sequence. Through her sin, Eve reversed the letters. Furthermore she removed the letters of the word ותרא (*va-tere*) from the word מאורות (*me'orot*), which was left with only two letters: מ״ו (*mem, vav*). These two letters joined together with the letter ת (*tav*) of ותרא (*va-tere*), which interrupts the disordered letters of the word אור (*or*). The combination of מ״ו (*mem, vav*) and ת (*tav*) formed the word מות (*mavet*), "death." See Genesis 2:17.

648. **מ (*mem*) was left alone** Rabbi El'azar insists on reading the word מאורת (*me'orot*) exactly as it is spelled in Genesis 1:15, with one ו (*vav*). Without the letters of the word ותרא (*va-tere*), *She saw*, only the מ (*mem*) is left.

649. **ו (*Vav*), who is always life, was transformed** The letter ו (*vav*), whose

numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). See *Zohar* 1:33b, 241b; 2:137a; 3:176b. Sin changes this letter from a symbol of life to a component of death, as Rabbi El'azar goes on to explain. The word "transformed" (אתהפבת [*ithappakhat*]) may allude to the grammatical term ו׳ המהפבת (*vav ha-mehappekhet*), "the conversive [or: transformative] *vav*," which transforms the imperfect tense to the perfect, as in the two examples that follow.

650. **went and took ת** (***tav***)... ***She took ... and she gave*** The verse reads: *She took of its fruit and ate, and she gave also to her husband beside her, and he ate*. Rabbi El'azar indicates that the first two letters of the verbs ותקח (*va-tiqqaḥ*), *she took*, and ותתן (*va-titten*), *she gave*, are ו (*vav*) and ת (*tav*). Once these two letters joined, they needed only the letter מ (*mem*) to produce מות (*mavet*), "death." See *Zohar* 3:237a.

651. **This word** The word מות (*mavet*), "death."

652. **fifth commandment... *Let the waters swarm...*** The verse continues: *and let birds fly above the earth*. The fifth commandment is linked with the fifth day of Creation, on which God gave the command recorded here.

653. **on the eighth day...** A male infant is circumcised normally on the eighth day.

654. **expanding her...** Expanding one's understanding of Torah and thereby expanding Torah herself.

655. ***Let the waters swarm*—Torah** Torah is often compared to water. See BT *Bava Qamma* 82a: "Those who interpret metaphorically said, 'Water means solely Torah, as is said: *Ho, all who thirst, come for water* (Isaiah 55:1).'" Cf. *Ta'anit* 7a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 54:1; *Zohar* 2:60a.

656. **another holy soul** If one engages in Torah and purifies oneself, then this higher soul (נשמתא [*nishmeta*], "soul") is added to the two lower levels: נפשא (*nafsha*), "soul," and רוחא (*ruḥa*), "spirit."

See *Zohar* 1:62a; 3:70b; *TZ* 45, 82b. On the various levels of soul, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:677–722.

657. **that holy חיה** (***ḥayyah***), ***living being*** *Shekhinah*, who gives birth to the highest level of soul. See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 508–9; *Zohar* 1:46b–47a, 242a; 2:48b, 177b–178a (*SdTs*); 3:46b.

Shekhinah, the *ḥayyah*, controls and sustains the holy *ḥayyot* ("living creatures, animals") who support the Chariot, the divine throne.

658. **no holy soul** The highest level.

659. **his murmuring** רחישו דרחיש (*Reḥishu de-raḥeish*). The root means "to move," here, to move the lips, whisper. *Targum Onqelos* employs the same root to translate *swarm* in Genesis 1:20; see *Zohar* 2:177b (*SdTs*).

660. **those engaged in Torah, called *His angels*...** The sages are compared to, or described as, angels in BT *Nedarim* 20b; *Qiddushin* 72a.

661. ***and let birds fly*...** This verse is applied to the angels in *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3. See *Devarim Rabbah* 8:2.

662. **referring to this world** To their reward in this world.

663. **to provide them wings...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 92a–b: "It was taught in the school of Elijah: The righteous whom the blessed Holy One will resurrect will... endure forever.... The blessed Holy One will provide them wings like eagles, and they will fly above the water, as is written, *They who await YHVH shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not grow weary; and they shall walk and not grow faint*." See *Zohar* 3:163a.

664. **Torah, called water** See above, note 655.

665. ***renew in me a steadfast spirit*** Through the study of Torah, one attains a new soul.

666. **causes that river...** By fulfilling the commandment *Be fruitful and multiply* (Genesis 1:28), one stimulates *Yesod*, the divine river and phallus, and ensures that it will flow into *Shekhinah*, the sea, transmitting to Her the emanation from the higher *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:186b; *TZ* 43, 82b.

667. **New souls...** The flow of emanation from *Yesod* to *Shekhinah* consummates the union of the divine male and female, engendering new souls, which emerge from the tree (*Tif'eret* or *Yesod*).

668. **powers** Angels, soon described also as birds.

669. **holy sealed covenant, a river** streaming forth *Yesod*, the divine phallus, is referred to as "the sign of covenant," site of circumcision. The flow of *Yesod* is symbolized by *the waters* of Genesis 1:20. The phrase "a river streaming forth" derives from Daniel 7:10: *A river of fire streams forth before Him*.

670. **that living being** *Shekhinah*.

671. **many birds** Angels. See *Zohar* 1:34a, 46b. The verse is interpreted: *Let the waters* (*Yesod*) *swarm with a swarm of souls* (for the) *living being* (*Shekhinah*), *and let birds* (angels) *fly above the earth*.

672. **on the right... on the left...** Corresponding to *Ḥesed* ("Love") and *Din* ("Judgment"). Though the angels stem from opposite sides, they act in concert, according to each person's conduct.

See BT *Shabbat* 119b; *Ta'anit* 11a; *Zohar* 1:144b, 165b; 2:106b, 239a; *ZḤ* 47a; *ZḤ* 84d (*MhN*, *Rut*).

673. **has the authority** To grant a pardon. See *Zohar* 2:252a.

674. **Whoever avoids... diminishes...** Whoever fails to fulfill the commandment *Be fruitful and multiply* disrupts the union of the divine couple

and thereby diminishes *Shekhinah*, who ideally comprises all the higher *sefirot* and reflects those images.

See *Zohar* 1:186b; *ZḤ* 59a (*MhN*), 89b (*MhN, Rut*); and BT *Yevamot* 63b: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'Whoever does not engage in procreation is as though he sheds blood....' Rabbi Ya'akov said, 'As though he diminishes the [divine] image."' Because human beings are created in the image of God, by failing to bring new life into the world, one diminishes the manifestation of that divine image.

675. **that river... the holy covenant...** The flow of emanation culminating in *Yesod*, the divine phallus, symbolized by the covenant of circumcision.

676. ***against Me,* indeed!** Failure to fulfill this vital commandment renders the body a mere corpse and damages the *sefirot*.

677. **This is for the body** The conclusion of the verse in Isaiah describes the punishment: *their worms shall not die, nor their fire be quenched; they shall be a horror to all flesh*. Cf. *ZḤ* 59a (*MhN*), 89b (*MhN, Rut*).

678. **does not pass through the curtain...** The soul of such a person is not allowed to enter the divine realm and must transmigrate into a different body, where it is given another opportunity to fulfill this vital commandment.

See BT *Bava Batra* 116a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai, 'Whoever does not leave a son to succeed him incurs the full wrath of the blessed Holy One.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:48a, 90a, 115a, 186b, 228b; *ZḤ* 89b (*MhN, Rut*); Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 16 (1945): 146-47.

679. **filth of the foreskin** Symbolizing the demonic. See below; and Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (68).

680. **the living being is the eighth...** *Shekhinah* is the eighth *sefirah*, counting from *Binah*, who is the first *sefirah* about whom one can inquire (see above, page 5). Elsewhere the *Zohar* identifies *Yesod* as the eighth *sefirah*, counting from *Ḥokhmah*, called "Beginning." See 3:11a and, in the context of circumcision, 43b (*Piq*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 228.

681. **soul that has flown from Her... eighth day...** The soul that has emerged from *Shekhinah* into the world should appear before Her.

See *Zohar* 1:12b, 33a; cf. *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 9:10; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 228.

682. **Other Side** The demonic realm.

683. ***Let the waters swarm** with a swarm of* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *living souls* [or: *a soul of the living being*].

684. ***The Book of Enoch*** Concerning Enoch, Genesis 5:24 states: *He was no more, for God took him*. In postbiblical literature this verse is taken to mean

that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded extensively in the Enoch literature. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by this literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes. It comprises one of the many books housed in the real or imaginary Zoharic library.

See 1:37b, 72b; 2:55a, 100a, 105b, 180b, 192b, 217a; 3:10b, 236b, 240a, 248b, 253b, 307a; *ZḤ* 2c (*SO*). See Matt, *Zohar*, 25; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:158, 163, nn. 60, 61; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 80–83; and *KP*, 22d: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*... have been lost in the wanderings of exile... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

685. **Let the water of the holy seed...** Let the phallus of the holy people, which symbolizes the flowing river of *Yesod*, be inscribed with the mark of circumcision and thereby distinguished as *a soul of Shekhinah, the living being*. The biblical command ישרצו (*yishretsu*), *Let* [*the waters*] *swarm*, is interpreted freely as יתרשמון (*yitrashshemun*), "Let [the water] be inscribed."

686. **mark of the letter י (*yod*)** The mark of circumcision is pictured as the smallest of the Hebrew letters. In *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 14, *Shemini* 8, this mark is identified with the י (*yod*) of the divine name שדי (*Shaddai*). A German Hasidic tradition identifies the mark with the *yod* of יהוה (*YHVH*). In the *Zohar*, it signifies the divine name as well as *Yesod* (and occasionally *Shekhinah*).

See *Zohar* 1:2b, 56a, 95a–b; 2:36a, 216b; 3:142a (*IR*), 215b, 220a, 256a (*RM*); Wolfson, in *JQR* 78 (1987): 77–112; idem, *Circle in the Square*, 29–48.

687. **Elijah... in four glides...** According to 2 Kings 11:12, the prophet Elijah did not die a normal death but was carried off to heaven in a chariot of fire. See *Midrash Tehillim* 8:7: "*The bird of heaven* (Psalms 8:9)—this is Elijah, who flies through the world as a bird." Cf. *Targum Qohelet* 10:20; *Zohar* 1:46b. See BT *Berakhot* 4b: "A *tanna* taught: 'Michael [reaches his destination] in one [glide], Gabriel in two, Elijah in four, and the Angel of Death in eight—in time of plague, however, in one.'"

According to *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 29, when the Israelites neglected the commandment of circumcision, "Elijah, may his memory be a blessing, was passionately zealous and adjured the heavens not to send down dew or rain upon the earth. [Queen] Jezebel heard and sought to kill him. Elijah immediately prayed before the blessed Holy One. The blessed Holy One said to him, 'Are you better than your ancestors? Jacob fled [from Esau] and escaped.... Moses fled [from Pharaoh] and escaped.... David fled [from Saul] and escaped....' Elijah immediately fled from the land of Israel and escaped [to Horeb].... The blessed Holy One appeared to him and said, '*What are you doing here, Elijah?*' (1 Kings 19:9). He answered, '*I have been very zealous* [*for YHVH, the God of Hosts, for the Children of Israel have abandoned Your covenant*]' (ibid., 10).

The blessed Holy One said, 'You are always zealous! You were zealous in Shittim on account of sexual immorality [Numbers 25; Elijah is identified with Phinehas]..., and here, too, you are zealous. By your life! Israel will not enact the covenant of circumcision until you see it with your own eyes.' Because of this the sages ordained that a seat of honor be arranged for the Angel of the Covenant [Elijah; see Malachi 3:1]."

Traditionally, at a circumcision the chair of Elijah is placed at the right of the *sandaq* ("godfather") and left unoccupied. The *mohel* ("circumciser") declares in the opening prayer: "This is the chair of Elijah, may his memory be a blessing."

See *Halakhot Gedolot* (according to *Shibbolei ha-Leqet* 376:6); *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 585; *Zohar* 1:93a, 209b; 2:190a; *Shulḥan Arukh, Yoreh De'ah* 265:11; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:338, n. 103.

688. **foreskin and uncovering... male and female** In the ritual of circumcision, first the foreskin is cut and removed, disclosing the mucous membrane, which is then torn down the center and pulled back, revealing the corona. The act of tearing and pulling back the membrane is called פריעה (*peri'ah*), "uncovering" the corona. See M *Shabbat* 19:6: "If one circumcises but does not uncover the circumcision, it is as if he has not circumcised." See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (67).

Here the two acts designate the two monsters, the demonic couple Samael and Lilith. See *Zohar* 1:34b; 2:34a–b. Through the double ritual of circumcision, one overcomes them. Elsewhere the two acts symbolize the sefirotic couple of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*. Through the double procedure, one unites, and communes with, both of these *sefirot*. See 1:32a (*Tos*), 96b; 3:91b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 133.

Although the wording here implies that the foreskin symbolizes the male, and the uncovering symbolizes the female, the reverse is maintained in *Zohar* 2:40a, 125b; 3:91b, 95b; *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, loc. cit.

689. ***every soul...*** The verse continues: *which the waters brought forth in swarms*.

690. **inscription...** The words ואת כל (*ve-et kol*), *and every*, are interpreted as referring to *Yesod*, who is referred to both as את (*at*), "sign, letter"—the sign of covenant and the letter י (*yod*)—and כל (*kol*), "everything," since He includes the entire flow of the upper *sefirot*. There is also a play on the words רומשת (*romeset*), *moves*, and רשימו (*reshimu*), "inscription."

691. **upper waters were drawn...** The flow of emanation from the higher *sefirot* descended to the את (*at*), "sign," or "letter," of *Yesod*.

692. **Just as they are inscribed...** As the *sefirot* themselves are inscribed.

See *Zohar* 3:44a (*Piq*): "When the holy people gather to remove that foreskin from the covenant, the blessed Holy One gathers His entire household and openly reveals Himself in order to remove that foreskin above from the covenant of the holy oath [*Yesod*]. For behold, every action that Israel enacts below arouses an action above."

693. **so He marks off their animals...** Through the signs distinguishing permitted and forbidden animals, birds, and fish. See Leviticus 11; Deuteronomy 14; *Zohar* 1:20b; and the continuation of the verse interpreted here (Genesis 1:21): *and every living creature that moves, according to its kind, which the waters brought forth in swarms, and every winged bird, according to its kind*.

694. **convert** גיורא (*Giyyora*), "Stranger, convert"; cf. Deuteronomy 10:19: *Love the* גר (*ger*), *stranger, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt*

695. **to enter beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*** See Ruth 2:11–12, where Boaz says to Ruth: *I have been told of all that you did for your mother-in-law after the death of your husband, how you left your father and mother and the land of your birth and came to a people you had not known before. May YHVH reward your deed, and may you have a full recompense from YHVH, the God of Israel, under whose wings you have sought refuge*. Based on this verse, the metaphor of coming under the divine wings is used in rabbinic literature to describe conversion. See BT *Shabbat* 31a; *Mekhilta de-Rashbi*, Exodus 18:6; and *Vayiqra Rabbah* 2:9: "Thus have the sages taught in the Mishnah: If a convert comes to convert, one should extend a hand to him to bring him beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*."

See *Zohar* 2:70a; 3:168a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 16, 212–13; Wijnhoven, "The *Zohar* and the Proselyte," 123–25.

696. **Other Side** *Sitra Aḥra*, "The Other Side," the demonic realm.

697. ***souls of the living being*** Souls deriving from *Shekhinah*.

698. **this *earth*** *Shekhinah*.

699. **closely related to Israel** Apparently referring to the descendants of Ishmael (son of Abraham and Hagar), and Edom, descended from Esau (son of Isaac and Rebecca). See Vital. Cordovero interprets "closely related" as referring to those who *may be admitted to the Assembly of YHVH in the third generation* (Deuteronomy 23:9), namely, Edom and Egypt.

In medieval Jewish literature Edom symbolizes Christianity, while both Ishmael and Egypt represent Islam (see Scholem; *Zohar* 2:87a). Cryptically, Rabbi Shim'on teaches that Christians and Muslims are closely related to Israel, and *Shekhinah* prepares a special place for them, inviting them to convert. The *Zohar*'s reluctance to explicitly name the two sister religions is understandable, given the strict prohibition against conversion to Judaism in thirteenth-century

Spain.

The manuscripts C12 and Ms3, as well as *OY*, *OL*, and *KP*, support the reading קריבין ביחוסא לישראל (*qerivin be-yiḥusa le-yisra'el*), "closely related to Israel," while M and Cr read קריבין ביחודא לישראל (*qerivin be-yiḥuda le-yisra'el*), "[who] approach Israel in unity," i.e., in monotheism, also implying Christianity and Islam.

See *Zohorei Ya'bets*; Naḥmanides on Genesis 2:3 (end); *Zohar* 2:237a; *ZḤ* 38b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 62–63.

700. **Ammon and Moab** According to Deuteronomy 23:4–5, *No Ammonite or Moabite shall be admitted into the Assembly of YHVH; none of their descendants, even in the tenth generation, shall ever be admitted... because they did not meet you with food and water on your journey after you left Egypt, and because they hired Balaam ...to curse you*. According to later Jewish law, however, any foreigner may convert.

701. **no further** Such souls ascend no higher. See Judah Halevi, *Kuzari* 1:27; *Zohar* 1:96a; 2:87a; 3:14a–b.

702. **from the trunk of that tree** *Tif'eret*. C12 and C13 read here: נופא (*nofa*), "boughs, crown," instead of גופא (*gufa*), "trunk." See *Bahir* 67 (98); Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, 71, n. 3.

703. ***an earth of delight*** *Shekhinah*, who unites with *Tif'eret* in joy and gives birth to the soul. See *Zohar* 2:275b.

704. ***precious son...*** See Jeremiah 31:20: *Truly Ephraim is a precious son to Me, a child that is dandled! Whenever I speak against him, My thoughts still dwell on him. That is why My innards yearn for him. I will surely love him, says YHVH*.

705. **the celestial tree...its trunk** The body of the *sefirot... Tif'eret*.

706. **converts of Righteousness** In rabbinic literature the term גר צדק (*ger tsedeq*), "convert of righteousness, righteous convert," denotes a full convert; here it indicates that the convert has an intimate connection with *Shekhinah*, who is called צדק (*tsedeq*), "righteousness." See *Zohar* 1:96a; 2:87a; 3:14a–b, 168a.

707. ***Cattle, crawling things, and living creatures...*** The continuation of the verse—which, according to Rabbi Shim'on, specifies various kinds of souls. See *Zohar* 1:47a.

708. **jointly...** The original human being was androgynous, engendered by the masculine and feminine aspects of the *sefirot*, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who together constitute the *image* and *likeness* of God.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥmani

said, ‘When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.”

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:47a; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

709. ***in our image*—the wealthy...** *Our image* indicates *Tif’eret*, who transmits the rich flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*, *our likeness*, who “has nothing at all of Her own” (*Zohar* 1:181a). See 3:35b.

710. **Just as they...** As *Tif’eret* and *Shekhinah*.

711. ***The Book of King Solomon*** One of the many volumes housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*. See above, note 684.

712. **his image... that of Adam** By fulfilling the *mitsvah* of caring for the poor, one imitates God and regains the pristine divine image in which Adam was created. See BT *Bava Batra* 58a; *Zohar* 1:71a.

713. **since the image of Adam...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 11: “[Adam] stood on his feet and was adorned with the divine image. The creatures saw him and were frightened, thinking that he was their Creator, and they all approached to bow down to him.”

See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:7: “It was taught: Before a person sins, he inspires awe and fear, and creatures are afraid of him. Once he sins, he is filled with awe and fear, and he is afraid of others.” Cf. *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 50; and BT *Shabbat* 151b: “Rami son of Abba said, ‘A wild beast has no power over a person until he appears to it as an animal.’”

See *Zohar* 1:38a, 71a, 191a, 221b; 2:55a, 125b; 3:107b; *ZḤ* 38c; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 337–38; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:119–20, n. 113.

714. **this** The commandment to care for the poor.

715. **dreamed that dream** According to Daniel 4, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon dreamed of a huge tree reaching to the sky, providing food for all creatures. A heavenly messenger then decrees that the tree be cut down and that Nebuchadnezzar share the grass of the earth with the beasts. The messenger adds: *Let his heart be changed from that of a human, and let him be given the heart of a beast* (4:13).

716. **as long as he was generous...** Daniel interpreted the dream to the king: *You will be driven away from human beings and have your habitation with the beasts of the field* (ibid., 22). He then advised him: *Redeem your sins by charity and your iniquities by generosity to the poor; then your serenity may be extended* (24). According to rabbinic tradition, the king followed Daniel’s advice for one year.

See *Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim*, 25; *Tanḥuma*, *Mishpatim* 4; *Shemot Rabbah* 30:24; BT *Bava Batra* 4a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:423–24, n. 104.

717. **As soon as he cast a stingy, evil eye...** One year later King Nebuchadnezzar bragged *as he was walking on the roof of the royal palace...: "Is this not great Babylon, which I have built by my vast power to be a royal residence for the glory of my majesty!*" (Daniel 4:26–27). He decided against spending any more of his resources on the poor, and this selfish refusal ensured the fulfillment of his tragic dream.

718. ***with whom* עשיתי (*asiti*), *I worked...*** See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 34:8. The appearance of the verb עשה (*asah*), "to make, work," in both biblical verses implies a parallel: just as in the story of Ruth the verb indicates an act of generosity toward the poor, so, too, in the story of Creation. By accepting Boaz's generosity, Ruth "made" him a complete *man*. Generosity is inherent in the makeup of humanity, the clearest sign of our original divine nature.

719. תפילין (*tefillin*) Phylacteries, two black leather boxes containing passages from the Torah (Exodus 13:1–10, 11–16; Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21) written on parchment. The *tefillin* (singular, *tefillah*) are bound by black leather straps on the left arm and on the head and are worn during weekday morning services. Each of the biblical passages indicates that the Israelites should place a sign upon their hand and a frontlet (or reminder) between their eyes. In the *tefillah* of the hand, all four passages are written on one piece of parchment in the order of their occurrence in the Torah. The *tefillah* of the head, however, is divided into four compartments, and each of the four passages, written on a separate piece of parchment, is inserted in one compartment. The exact order of the biblical passages in the *tefillah* of the head was a matter of dispute in the time of the Second Temple, and in the twelfth century this dispute was renewed. According to Rashi, they are inserted in the order of their occurrence in the Torah, while according to his grandson, Rabbeinu Tam, the passage from Deuteronomy 11:13–21 precedes that of Deuteronomy 6:4–9. See BT *Menaḥot* 34b; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Tefillin* 3:5.

The commandment of *tefillin* was widely disregarded in France and Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The *Zohar*, seeking to reinforce the commitment to this *mitsvah*, emphasizes its mystical significance. See *Tosafot, Shabbat* 49a, s.v. *ke-elisha ba'al kenafayim*; Baer, *History* 1:250; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1161–65.

720. **perfecting oneself in the image on high...** By wearing *tefillin*, one imitates God. See BT *Berakhot* 6a: "Rabbi Avin son of Rabbi Adda said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak, 'How do we know that the blessed Holy One puts on *tefillin*? For it is said: *YHVH has sworn by His right hand and by the arm of His strength* (Isaiah 62:8). *By His right hand*—this is Torah, as is said: *At His right hand was a fiery law unto them* (Deuteronomy 33:2). *And by the arm of His*

strength—this is *tefillin*, as is said: *YHVH will give strength unto His people* (Psalms 29:11). How do we know that *tefillin* are a strength to Israel? For it is written: *All the peoples of the earth shall see that the name of YHVH is proclaimed upon you, and they shall be in awe of you* (Deuteronomy 28:10), and it has been taught: Rabbi Eli'ezer the Great says, "This refers to the *tefillin* of the head."' Rabbi Naḥman son of Yitsḥak asked Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Avin, 'These *tefillin* of the Master of the Universe—what is written in them?' He replied, '*Who is like Your people Israel, a unique nation on earth?* (1 Chronicles 17:21).'"

See Isaac the Blind, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 4; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 525; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 4; Todros Abulafia, *Otsar ha-Kavod*, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:141a; 3:81a, 140a (*IR*), 262a–263a, 264a, 269a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 235–39; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1161–65.

721. **He opened, saying, *"Your head upon you is like Carmel*** Rabbi Shim'on continues his mystical explanation of the commandments. The verse concludes: *the locks of your head are like purple; a king is held captive in the tresses*.

722. **We have established...** See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 31:5; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 7:6; *Tanḥuma, Tetsavveh* 6; *Zohar* 1:113a–b (*MhN*).

723. **head on high...** The divine head, which also wears *tefillin*. See Rashi on Song of Songs 7:6, who interprets *Your head upon you is like Carmel* as referring to the *tefillin* on the head of Israel.

724. **Each and every letter...** Each letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*) corresponds to one of the four portions in the *tefillin* (Exodus 13:1–10, 11–16; Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21), as Rabbi Shim'on goes on to explain. He follows the view of Rashi, according to whom the order of these passages in the *tefillah* of the head follows their order in the Torah. See above, note 719; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 15.

725. **We have learned...** See BT *Berakhot* 6a: "Rabbi Avin son of Rabbi Adda said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak, '... It is written: *All the peoples of the earth shall see that the name of YHVH is proclaimed upon you, and they shall be in awe of you* (Deuteronomy 28:10), and it has been taught: Rabbi Eli'ezer the Great says, "This refers to the *tefillin* of the head."'"

726. ***Hallow to Me every firstborn*** The verse continues: *—breacher of every womb among the Children of Israel, of human or beast—it is Mine*.

727. **י** (***yod***)... The first portion of the *tefillin* symbolizes *Ḥokhmah*, the first *sefirah* (excluding *Keter*, so concealed that it cannot be counted). *Ḥokhmah* is the primordial point of holiness, indicated by the letter י (*yod*), first letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*). See *Zohar* 2:43a–b.

728. **that narrow path...** The thin stroke that tapers off at the bottom of the י (*yod*) symbolizes the subtle connection between the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* and the womb of the Divine Mother, *Binah*. Elsewhere in the *Zohar* (1:29a–b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b), this path is identified as *a path unknown to any vulture* (Job 28:7).

729. **ה (*he*)...** The second portion symbolizes *Binah*, whose identifying letter is the feminine marker ה (*he*), second letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*). According to BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, Rav and Shemu'el taught: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." The fifty gates of *Binah* figure prominently in Kabbalah; here the number constitutes the product of the numerical equivalent of the י (*yod*) of *Ḥokhmah* (10) times the numerical equivalent of the ה (*he*) of *Binah* (5).

730. **the shofar** *Binah*, who expresses the raw power of revelation. See *Zohar* 1:114a–b; 2:81b.

731. **to bring forth slaves...** *Binah* is also symbolized by the Jubilee, celebrated every fifty years, when slaves were released and land reverted to its original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). The Jubilee was proclaimed by the blast of the shofar.

732. **at the end of days** See Isaiah 27:13: *On that day a great shofar shall he sounded*. Cf. the daily a*midah*: "Sound the great shofar for our redemption."

733. **the Exodus from Egypt is included...** See Exodus 13:14–15: *When, in the time to come, your son asks you, "What is this?"* [i.e., "Why are you setting apart to God the firstborn?"], *you shall say to him, "By strength of hand YHVH brought us out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage...."* See *Zohar* 1:21b; 2:83a–b, 85b.

734. **mystery of unification... This is ו (*vav*)...** The first line of the *Shema* contains six words in Hebrew: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד (*Shema Yisra'el YHVH Eloheinu YHVH eḥad*), *Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*. By reciting these words with כונה (*kavvanah*), "intention," one unifies *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). *Tif'eret* then channels the entire flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*, consummating the union. See above, page 82; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:971–74.

The letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret* and constitutes the third letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*). *Tif'eret* is also symbolized by Jacob, who is called Israel. See *Zohar* 2:43a, 160b; BT *Pesaḥim* 56a.

735. ***If you listen** closely to My commandments that I command you this day, to love YHVH your God and to serve Him with all your heart and with all your being....*

736. **totality of two sides... Assembly of Israel, Power below...** The two sides are *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, divine love and power, which both flow into *Shekhinah*, Assembly of Israel (the divine counterpart of the people Israel, that aspect of God most intimately connected with them). *Shekhinah* is also called "*Gevurah* below" because She manifests, in a more mild way, the rigor of *Gevurah*. The fourth portion of the *tefillin* contains both grace and rigor, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*: if Israel obeys God's commands, they will be blessed with rain and abundance (Deuteronomy 11:13–15), but they are threatened with drought and famine if they worship false gods (ibid., 16–17).

737. **final ה** (***he***) As *Binah*, the Divine Mother, is symbolized by the initial ה (*he*) of the name יהוה (*YHVH*), so *Shekhinah*, daughter of *Binah*, is symbolized by the final ה (*he*).

738. **ודלת** (***Ve-dallat***)... **poor...** Rabbi Shim'on interprets דלה (*dallah*), *lock*, according to its homonym, דלה (*dallah*), "poor." *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the *tefillah* of the hand, is poor in relation to the upper *sefirot*, who provide Her with the flow of emanation. See *Zohar* 1:168b; 2:43a.

739. **He is bound... within those compartments** *Tif'eret* is bound by the *tefillin*, held within the four compartments of the *tefillah* of the head. By wearing *tefillin*, one "captures" God. Rabbi Shim'on is playing with the two meanings of רהטים (*rehatim*): "tresses" and "troughs."

See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 31:4; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 7:6; *Tanḥuma, Tetsavveh* 6; *Zohar* 1:161a–b; 162a (*ST*), 3:140a (*IR*), 269b; *TZ* 6, 21b; *TZ* (2) 6, 144b. Cf. the phrase רהיטי מוחא (*rehitei moḥa*), "channels (or cavities) of the brain," in the last two citations (from *TZ*) and *Zohar* 3:136a (*IR*), 293a–b (*IZ*).

740. ***in the image of God*** From the verse with which Rabbi Shim'on began his discussion of this commandment: *God created the human being in His image; in the image of God He created him, male and female He created them*.

741. ***Male and female... tefillin* of the head... of the hand** Symbolizing *Tif'eret* with the *sefirot* surrounding Him, and *Shekhinah*. By wearing both *tefillin*, one imitates and unites the divine couple.

742. **to tithe...** The Torah commands that all produce be tithed. The first tithe is given to the Levite. The second tithe is eaten by the owner himself at the site of the sanctuary or exchanged for its value, which is then taken to the site of the sanctuary together with an additional fifth and spent there. In the third and sixth years of each seven-year cycle, instead of eating this second tithe, it is given to the poor. See Leviticus 27:30–31; Numbers 18:21–24; Deuteronomy 14:22–29.

The eleventh and twelfth commandments differ from the others listed by Rabbi Shim'on in that they did not apply in medieval times nor were they

required outside the land of Israel. Neither is interpreted here mystically.

743. **first fruits...** The first ripe fruits are to be brought to the Temple (Exodus 23:19; Deuteronomy 26:1–11).

744. ***See, I have given the Levites every tithe in Israel*** The verse continues: *as an inheritance in return for the services that they perform, the services of the Tent of Meeting*. Both verses contain the phrase *See, I have given*. By applying the hermeneutical principle of analogy, Rabbi Shim'on concludes that they refer to the same topic: tithes.

745. **Everything designated for Me...** The tithes and first fruits belong to God, and according to the Torah, Israel is forbidden to eat them, but in the Garden of Eden, before the Torah was revealed, God gave them to Adam and Eve.

746. **redeem one's son** During the night of the Exodus, when the Egyptian firstborn were slain, the Israelite firstborn were spared. In return for their deliverance, they were originally to be consecrated to God, forming a priesthood. Instead, the tribe of Levi was selected to serve God. Among the other tribes, each father is commanded to redeem the firstborn son on the mother's side by paying five shekels or its equivalent to the priest when the infant is thirty days old.

See Exodus 13:1–16; Numbers 3:11–13; *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim, Sha'arei Teshuvah*, 47; Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon*, 336-42.

747. **two appointees...** Two angels accompany each human being. See BT *Shabbat* 119b; *Ta'anit* 11a; *Zohar* 1:12b, 52a, 144b, 165b; 2:106b, 239a.

748. ***good*—Angel of Life; *very*—Angel of Death** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:10 (according to Oxford MS 147; cf. Paris MS 149 and *Yalqut Shim'oni* [in the variants in Theodor-Albeck's edition]): "Rabbi Shemu'el son of Rav Yitsḥak said, '*Behold, it was good*—this is the Angel of Life; *very*—this is the Angel of Death.'"

According to Rabbi Shemu'el, the Angel of Death is *very good* because he kills those who fail to accumulate good deeds. According to *Zohar* 2:149b, he is *very good* because the awareness of mortality stimulates a person to return to God. See 1:47a, 144b; 2:68b, 103a, 149b, 163a, 249a.

749. **acquires...** קני (*Qanei*), "Buys, purchases, acquires." With the ransom of the five shekels (see above, note 746), the father purchases life for his son.

750. **to observe the Sabbath day...** For this commandment, unlike the preceding ones, Rabbi Shim'on cites no verse from the opening section of Genesis, apparently because the connection is obvious: *On the seventh day God completed the work that He had done, and He ceased on the seventh day from all the work that He had done. God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, for on*

it He ceased from all His work that God created to make (Genesis 2:2–3).

751. **for the worlds** לעלמין (*Le-almin*), "For the worlds" or "forever, eternally." The worlds above and below share the tranquility of the Sabbath.

752. **for them no body had been created** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17: "It is not written here: [*He ceased from all His work*] *that* [*God*] *created and made*, but rather [*that God created*] *to make* (Genesis 2:3), for the Sabbath came first, with the work not yet completed. Rabbi Benaya said, 'This refers to the demons, for He created their souls, and as He was creating their bodies, the Sabbath day was hallowed. He left them, and they remained soul without body.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; 11:9; *Zohar* 1:20b, 47b–48a, 178a; 2:155b; 3:142b (*IR*); and M *Avot* 5:6: "Ten things were created on Sabbath eve at twilight:... Some say, 'Also the demons.'"

753. **Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil** Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit of this tree. In Kabbalah it symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who transmits either reward or punishment, depending on human behavior (see above, page 50). By eating its fruit, Adam and Eve stimulated the power of evil.

754. **that other, evil side** The demonic realm, known as *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side."

755. **Tree of Life** The other tree mentioned in the Garden story. In Kabbalah it symbolizes *Tif'eret*, husband of *Shekhinah*.

756. **another tree** *Shekhinah*, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. See *Zohar* 2:95b.

757. **on this night** On Sabbath eve.

758. **could not have withstood them...** The embodied maleficent spirits.

759. **remedy... the hallowing of the day skipped ahead** The Sabbath began ahead of time, before sunset. See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:5: "Rava said in the name of Rabbi Shim'on, 'A human being does not prepare a compress until he sees the wound. Not so the One by whose word the world came into being: He first prepares the compress and then strikes.'"

See BT *Megillah* 13b: "Resh Lakish said, 'The blessed Holy One does not strike Israel unless He has created healing for them beforehand.'"

760. **conjugal interval of the wise...** The Mishnah (*Ketubbot* 5:6) discusses how often husbands of various professions are required to fulfill the commandment of עונה (*onah*), "conjugal rights," i.e., to satisfy their wives sexually. According to Rabbi Eli'ezer, "The *onah* mentioned in the Torah [applies as follows]: Those who are unoccupied, every day; laborers, twice a week; donkey-drivers, once a week; camel-drivers, once every thirty days; sailors, once every six months."

The Talmud (BT *Ketubbot* 62b) adds: "When is the *onah* of the disciples of the wise? [I.e., What is the proper interval between two successive times of fulfilling this *mitsvah?*] Rav Yehudah said in the name of Shemu'el, 'From one Sabbath eve to the next.'"

In the *Zohar*, the union of the devotee of Torah with his wife on the eve of Sabbath symbolizes and stimulates the union of the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The sacred human act engenders a holy body and draws down a holy soul. See *Zohar* 1:50a, 112a (*MhN*); 2:63b, 89a–b; 3:49b, 78a.

761. **she** Lilith, the demonic feminine, married to Samael. See *Zohar* 1:148a (*ST*); 2:96a–b, 245a; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

762. **intercourse in the nude... epileptic... possessed...** See BT *Pesaḥim* 112b: "It has been taught: 'One who stands naked in front of a lamp will become an epileptic. One who engages in sexual intercourse by the light of a lamp will have epileptic children.'" The *Zohar* combines both motifs.

The rabbinic Hebrew word for epileptic, נכפה (*nikhpeh*), means "forced, overtaken," hence, overtaken and possessed by demons, epileptic. Similarly, the Greek word for epilepsy derives from *lambanein*, "to seize."

According to *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 34 (see the version in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Isaiah, 429), the souls of the generation of the Flood will not arise at the resurrection of the dead; rather, they turn into bodiless spirits harming human beings. According to the *Zohar*, souls of the wicked in general turn into bodiless demons who roam in search of vulnerable bodies.

See 1:28b–29a (*TZ*), 48a, 100a, 129b; 2:99b, 118a (*RM*); 3:25a, 70a, 143a–b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 11a (*MhN*); *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Margaliot, par. 770.

763. **Asimon** Hebrew, אסימון (*asimon*), derived from the Greek *asemon*, "without mark, uncoined, shapeless, formless, unperceived." In rabbinic literature (e.g., M *Bava Metsi'a* 4:1) the term refers to uncoined metal and unmarked coin. Here Asimon designates an amorphous, unperceived demon. In *Zohar* 2:249b Asimon appears in holy form as one of the four multicolored, eight-winged angels (*ofanim*).

764. **chasm of the immense abyss...** The demonic abode. According to *Midrash Tehillim* 92:5, on the first Sabbath, "demons ceased from the world."

765. **song against maleficent spirits** Psalms 91:1–9, traditionally recited to ward off demons and maleficent spirits. Since Gaonic times, this psalm has been recited at the conclusion of the Sabbath, following the *amidah* prayer of the evening service.

See BT *Shevu'ot* 15b; JT *Shabbat* 6:2, 8b; *Midrash Tehillim* 91:1, and Buber's nn. 12–13; Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 50 (1982): 248, 251; *Zohar* 1:48a.

766. **enacting *havdalah*...** The *havdalah* ("separation") is the ritual marking the

end of Sabbath (and in an abbreviated form, the end of festivals). The *havdalah* at the conclusion of the Sabbath is first recited in the fourth blessing of the *amidah* prayer of the evening service and then over a cup of wine. This second, longer ritual consists of blessings over wine, spices, and the light of a candle (or here, a lamp).

See Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 256–84; idem, in *Meḥqerei Yerushalayim be-Maḥashevet Yisra'el* 8 (1989): 189–90, n. 19.

767. **desert** Abode of the demons. See *Zohar* 1:126a, 169b, 178b; 2:157a, 184a, 236b–237a; 3:63b.

768. **whoever curses himself** According to M *Shevu'ot* 4:13, "One who curses himself or his neighbor by any of them [any of the divine names] violates a negative commandment." Further, BT *Shevu'ot* 36a adds the verse *But take care, take exceeding care for yourself* (Deuteronomy 4:9), implying that such a curse is dangerous.

See *Zohar* 2:266a; 3:155b, 246a (*RM*).

769. **whoever throws out bread...** See BT *Berakhot* 52b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'One may willfully [literally: with the hand] destroy crumbs smaller than an olive.'"

Cf. *Tosafot*, ad loc., s.v. *peirurin; Pesaḥim* 111b; *Ḥullin* 105b.

770. **hallowing of the portion** קדושא דסדרא (*Qiddusha de-sidra*), a version of the *qedushah* in Hebrew and Aramaic usually included in the prayer ובא לציון גואל (*U-va le-tsiyyon go'el*), *A redeemer will come to Zion* (Isaiah 59:20), and originally recited after studying passages from the Prophets following daily prayer. This *qedushah* appears in the liturgy near the end of the morning service, on Sabbath afternoon, and at the close of Sabbath, following the evening prayer. See BT *Sotah* 49a, and Rashi, ad loc.

Rabbi Shim'on here goes beyond the Talmud (BT *Shabbat* 150b), according to which one is allowed to engage in work after reciting *havdalah* in the evening prayer before reciting it again over the cup of wine.

See *Zohorei Ya'bets*; Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon*, 217–20.

771. **prematurely kindles the fire of Hell... a place reserved...** According to *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 33, one of the dwellers in Hell reports: "Whoever does not observe the Sabbath properly [*Bereshit Rabbah* 11:5: "willingly"] in your world comes here and observes it against his will.... All week long we are punished and on the Sabbath we rest, and [we continue resting] as Sabbath departs until the portions [i.e., *qiddusha de-sidra*, "the hallowing of the portion" (see previous note)] have been completed. Once they are completed, an angel named Dumah, appointed over souls, comes and takes the souls of those people [i.e., our souls] and slings them...."

By lighting a lamp before the completion of *qiddusha de-sidra*, one cuts short the Sabbath rest of the sinners in Hell and returns them to their suffering prematurely.

See *Zohar* 1:197b; 2:31b, 88b, 150b–151a, 203b, 207a; 3:94b; *ZḤ* 17a–b (*MhN*).

772. ***YHVH is going to hurl you ... off to a vast land*** The person who lights a lamp too soon will himself be cast into Hell. See BT *Menaḥot* 99b–100a; *Aggadat Bereshit* 61:1.

773. **Blessed are You...** The main blessing of *havdalah*, recited over the cup of wine. See BT *Pesaḥim* 103b.

774. **lights of the fire... elemental fire** The blessing over the flame in *havdalah* concludes: "... who creates the lights of the fire." The forces that dominate the week are beneath *Shekhinah*, symbolized by fire, while She herself derives from the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, elemental fire. See *Zohar* 1:20b–21a; 2:207b–208b.

775. ***May God give you...*** These verses are recited at the conclusion of the evening service as Sabbath departs.

1. **potency of the King** הורמנותא דמלבא (*Hurmanuta de-malka*), "Authority [or: decree] of the king." The phrase הרמנא דמלכא (*harmana de-malka*), "authority [or: decree] of the king," appears in BT *Berakhot* 58a, *Gittin* 57b, *Bava Metsi'a* 83b–84a, *Ḥullin* 57b.

See *Zohar* 1:76b, 97a, 108a, 109b (all *ST*), 147a (*Tos*); 2:123a; *ZḤ* 67c (*ShS*), 121d. Here the King is *Ein Sof*, arousing Itself to manifest through the process of emanation.

2. **engraved engravings** These engravings eventually manifest as the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 38a; 2:126b; 3:128a (IR).

3. **luster on high** The brilliance of the first *sefirah, Keter*, represented in the *Zohar* as coeternal with *Ein Sof*.

4. **spark of impenetrable darkness** בוצינא דקרדינותא (*Botsina de-qardinuta*), "A lamp of impenetrability." Though בוצינא (*botsina*) usually means "lamp," here "spark" is likely. See the wealth of material collected and analyzed by Liebes, *Peraqim*, 145–51, 161–64. *OY* and *OL* record the variant בוציצא (*botsitsa*), "spark." Cf. *Zohar* 3:139a (*IR*), 295a (*IZ*); and the phrase בוציצא דקרדינותא (*botsitsa de-qardinuta*), which appears several times in *ZḤ* 56d–58d (*QhM*). קרדינותא (*Qardinuta*) recalls a phrase in BT *Pesaḥim* 7a: חיטי קורדניתא (*ḥittei qurdanaita*), "wheat from Kurdistan," which, according to Rashi, is very hard. *OY*, *OL*, and *DE* record the variants קדרינותא (*qadrinuta*) or קדרוניתא (*qadrunita*), "darkness." See *ZḤ* 2a, where קרדנותא דסיהרא (*qardenuta de-sihara*) means "eclipse of the moon," corresponding to the Hebrew קדרות הירח (*qadrut ha-yareaḥ*), "darkening of the moon." Shim'on Lavi (*KP*) retains the reading בוצינא דקרדינותא (*botsina de-qardinuta*) but renders it שביב הקדרות (*sheviv ha-qadrut*), "the spark of darkness." Cf. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, 1:163: שביב של קדרות (*shaviv shel qadrut*), "a spark of darkness"; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, tr. Goldstein, 1:309: "a spark of blackness." See *Tanḥuma, Shemot* 15.

The spark is so potently brilliant that it overwhelms comprehension. Many mystics convey similar paradoxical images: "a ray of divine darkness" (Dionysius, *Mystical Theology* 1:1); "the luminous darkness" (Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses* 2:163); "the black light" (Iranian Sufism; see Corbin, *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism*, 99–120). Prior to the *Zohar*, Azriel of Gerona and the author of *Ma'yan ha-Ḥokhmah* mention "the light darkened from shining." See Verman, *The Books of Contemplation*, 59–60, 158–59; Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 336. Cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:59: "We are dazzled by His beauty, and He is hidden from us because of the intensity with which He becomes manifest, just as the sun is hidden to eyes too weak to apprehend it."

Here the blinding spark is the first impulse of emanation flashing from *Ein Sof* through *Keter* and proceeding to delineate the various *sefirot*. (On the connection

between *qardinuta* and measurement, see Liebes, *Peraqim*, 146–49, 162–63.) The goal of meditation is to attain this spark and participate in the primal flow of being. See *ZḤ* 57d–58a (*QhM*); cf. *Zohar* 1:18b, 86b, 172a; 2:133b, 177a, 233a, 254b, 260a; 3:48b–49a, 135b, 139a (*IR*), 292b, 295a–b (*IZ*).

Other renderings of the phrase include: מנורה חשוכה (*menorah ḥashukhah*), "a dark lamp" (Galante); ניצוץ חזק (*nitsots ḥazaq*), "powerful spark" (*DE*); נר של חשך (*ner shel ḥoshekh*), "a lamp of darkness" (Elijah of Vilna, *Yahel Or*); "a dark flame" (Scholem, *Zohar*, 27); "a very powerful light" (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 228); "a lamp of scintillation [or: darkness, measurement]" (Sperling and Simon, *The Zohar*); "a blinding spark" (Matt, *Zohar*, 49); *une flamme obscure* (Mopsik, *Le Zohar*); "the hardened spark" (Wolfson, "Woman—The Feminine as Other in Theosophic Kabbalah," 178–82). On the phallic connotations of the phrase, see Wolfson's discussion there and in his *Circle in the Square*, 60–62, and index, s.v. "hardened spark"; Liebes, "*Zohar ve-Eros*," 73–80.

5. **concealed of the concealed** The luster on high, the first and most hidden *sefirah, Keter*.

6. **Infinity** Hebrew, אין סוף (*Ein Sof*), "there is no end," the ultimate divine reality. On the evolution of this term, see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 88–89.

7. **cluster of vapor forming in formlessness...** קוטרא בגולמא (*Qutra be-gulma*). *Qutra* means both "knot" and "smoke" in the *Zohar*. See 1:172a, and 30a, 33b, 94b, 106a, 161b; 2:80a, 124a; 3:45b, 51a–b, 107a, 289b, 295b (*IZ*).

Some commentators (Galante, *OY*, *Sullam*) suggest translating *qutra* as "form." Cf. קטורין (*qeturin*) in *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:12; *Arukh*, s.v. *qtr*. The phrase would then mean: "a form in formlessness," which resonates with "a spark of darkness." The ring is *Keter*, the "Crown."

8. **not white, not black...** These four colors are associated with four *sefirot: Ḥesed, Shekhinah, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, none of which appears until a later stage of emanation. See *ZḤ* 57a (*QhM*); Liebes, *Studies in Jewish Myth*, 84.

9. **As a cord surveyed** The spark that is a vapor is also a cord (משיחא [*meshiḥa*]), referred to elsewhere in the *Zohar* as קו המדה (*qav ha-middah*), "the line of measure," based on Jeremiah 31:38.

See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 89–90; Jacob ben Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 113; *Zohar* 1:18b; 2:233a–b, 258a; *ZḤ* 56d–58d (*QhM*); *TZ* 18, 37b.

The cord, or measuring line, maps out the paths and stages of emanation, the spectrum of divine colors, each with its own wavelength.

10. **concealed within the concealed...** The flow of emanation has just begun; everything is still hidden within the mystery of *Ein Sof*.

11. **It split and did not split...** בקע ולא בקע (*Beqa ve-la beqa*). The flow

somehow broke through, but the nature of the breakthrough is impossible to describe, so the act is stated and immediately denied. See Scholem's remarks on expressions of this kind in *Major Trends*, 166–67.

The aura (אויראָ [*avira*], "air, space, ether, aura") is *Keter*. See *Zohar* 1:16b; 3:135b (*IR*); Altmann, *Studies*, 174; Scholem, "*Iqvotav shel Gevirol be-Qabbalah*," 167–68; idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 331–47 (especially 342); Pines, in *Tarbiz* 50 (1981): 339–47; Liebes, in *Meḥqerei Yerushalyim be-Maḥashevet Yisra'el* 6:3–4 (1987): 80–86; Verman, *The Books of Contemplation*, 153–56.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:6: "Out of chaos He formed substance, making what is not into what is. He hewed enormous pillars out of ether that cannot be grasped."

See Solomon ibn Gabirol, *Keter Malkhut* 9:101: "He called to אין (*ayin*), nothingness, ונבקע (*ve-nivqa*), and it was split, to יש (*yesh*), something, and it was thrust." On the parallel between the *Zohar*'s description and the Orphic myth of the hatching of the cosmic egg, see Liebes, *Studies in Jewish Myth*, 79–84.

12. **a single, concealed, supernal point... *Beginning*** The flow of emanation manifests as a point of light. This is the second *sefirah: Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), which is called *Beginning* because it is the first ray of divine light to appear outside of *Keter*, the first aspect of God that can be known.

The identification of ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, with Wisdom appears widely. See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.), Genesis 1:1; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:242–45, 266–69; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81; Naḥmanides on Genesis 1:1; *Zohar* 1:2a, 3b, 16b, 20a, 145a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 21–22 (25–26); Scholem, *Major Trends*, 391, n. 80.

13. **first command of all** According to M *Avot* 5:1, "The world was created through ten commands." Only nine explicit commands appear in Genesis 1, but the decade is completed by counting the phrase *In the beginning*.

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 32a, *Megillah* 21b; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:16b, 30a; *TZ* 32, 76a. In Kabbalah the ten commands symbolize the ten *sefirot*, the first of which establishes the basis for the other nine.

14. ***The enlightened*** המשכילים (*Ha-maskilim*). Both philosophers and kabbalists described themselves by this term, which originally may have designated the community of those who shared Daniel's vision. See Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 224. On the following pages of the *Zohar* (15b–16a), the term is applied to the letters and vowels, as well as to the *sefirot*. The *Zohar* on Exodus opens with the same verse and applies it to the kabbalists: "*The enlightened* are those who contemplate the secret of wisdom" (2:2a).

See *Bahir* 95 (139); *Zohar* 2:23a; *ZḤ* 58c (*QhM*), 93d–94b (*Tiq*); Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 383–84; Liebes, "*Zohar ve-Eros*," 73–75.

15. זהר (*zohar*), ***radiance*** The word designates the hidden power of emanation and provides the title of the book. See below, and *Zohar* 1:100a (*ST*); 3:124b, 153b (*RM*); Liebes, "*Zohar ve-Eros*," 73–86.

16. זהר (*Zohar*), ***Radiance!...* this point** The spark of emanation flashes again, and *Keter*, the aura, subtly transmits the impulse to *Ḥokhmah*, the point of Wisdom. See *Zohar* 1:16b, 65a; 2:268b.

17. **palace worthy of glorious praise.... sowed seed...** The purpose of emanation is to display the glory of the hidden God, which is achieved through a rhythm of revelation and concealment: only by concealing itself can the overwhelming light be revealed. The point expands into a circle, a palace—the third *sefirah: Binah* ("Understanding"). She is the divine womb, where the seed of *Ḥokhmah*, the divine father, is sown. *Binah* gives birth to the seven lower *sefirot*, which engender the rest of creation. See *Zohar* 2:68b (*Tos*). The idea that the sperm originates in the brain is based on the theory of the second-century Greek physician Galen, common in medieval literature.

18. ***Her stock is seed of holiness*** The prophet Isaiah refers to one-tenth of the people of Israel, who will be saved. The *Zohar* cites the verse as an allusion either to *Binah* or *Shekhinah*, the mystical Assembly of Israel, the tenth *sefirah*, whose origin is the seed of *Ḥokhmah* (known as "Holiness") sown in *Binah*. See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 20; *Zohar* 2:121a.

19. **fine purple silk wrapping itself within...** As the silkworm spins a cocoon out of its own substance, so *Ḥokhmah*, the point of *beginning*, expands into the palace of *Binah*. (The silk industry was extensive in Andalusia, south of Castile, where the *Zohar* emerged.)

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:5: "like the locust whose garment is of itself." Cf. Shneur Zalman of Lyady, *Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Emunah*, chap. 7; and the spider simile in the Upanishads (Hume, ed., *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, 95, 367).

20. **the unknown concealed one** The hidden source of emanation, *Ein Sof* or *Keter*.

21. אלהים (*Elohim*), ***God*** Here the name signifies *Binah*, the Divine Mother who gives birth to the seven lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 15b.

22. **The secret is...** The *Zohar* offers its mystical reading of the opening words of Genesis. It translates the first word, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), as *With beginning* rather than *In the beginning*, relying on an alternative meaning of the preposition ב (*be*). See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.) and Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81.

The subject of the verse, אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, follows the verb ברא (*bara*), *created*. In its typical hyperliteral fashion, the author(s) of the *Zohar* insists on

reading the words in the exact order in which they appear, thereby transforming *God* into the object! This means that the subject is now unnamed, but that is perfectly appropriate because the true subject of emanation is unnamable. The opening words of the Bible no longer mean: *In the beginning God created*, but rather: *With beginning* [by means of the point of *Ḥokhmah*], the ineffable source *created Elohim* [the palace of *Binah*].

The rabbis of the Talmud were aware of the danger of misinterpreting *Elohim* as the object of the sentence, which could promote Gnostic dualism (see BT *Megillah* 9a; Rashi and Tosafot, ad loc.). Various early kabbalists also adopt such a reading. See *Kiryat Sefer* 6 (1929–30): 415; Verman, *The Books of Contemplation*, 139–41; Isaac ibn Latif, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* 2:10; *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, 82b–83a; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 402, n. 55; Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 152–54. For Gnostic parallels, see Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library*, index, s.v. Autogenes, Self-begotten One.

23. **If *created*... no wonder...** The verb ברא (*bara*), *created*, thought to be reserved for creation *ex nihilo*, refers in the opening verse of Genesis to an act of emanation, the emanation of *Binah* (*Elohim*) from the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* (*Reshit*). See below, page 113: "*Bara*—concealed mystery, from which all expands." If so, no wonder the same verb is employed to describe the creation of Adam and Eve, a further stage of divine unfolding.

For alternative interpretations, see Scholem; *KP; OY*; Galante; *MM*; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:310. Liebes ("*Zohar ve-Eros*," 75) suggests: If, by means of זהר (*zohar*), *radiance*, God created heaven and earth, no wonder that it is written: *God created the human being in His image*, a verse that perplexed those medieval interpreters who denied anthropomorphism. The verse is not comparing the human and divine forms, but rather the creative power called *zohar*, common to both God and humans. In creating the human being, God emanated and imparted this creative potential.

24. **אהיה (*Ehyeh*), *I will be*...** A name of *Keter*. At the burning bush, God reveals His name to Moses: אהיה אשר אהיה (*Ehyeh asher ehyeh*), *I will be who I will be* [or: *I am who I am*]. Here the first two of the three Hebrew words are applied to *Keter* and *Binah* respectively. See *Zohar* 3:11a, 65a–b.

25. **אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*...** As noted above, this name applies to *Binah*, but it also alludes to *Shekhinah*, known as עטרה (*atarah*), "crown."

26. **אשר (*Asher*), *Who*...** Referring to *Binah*, the palace, the first *sefirah* to emanate from *Ḥokhmah*, known as ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*. On *Asher* as a name of *Binah*, see *Zohar* 1:158a, 246a.

27. **אשר (*Asher*)—ראש (*rosh*), head...** אשר (*Asher*), signifying *Binah*, is an anagram of ראש (*rosh*), the initial letters of ראשית (*reshit*), signifying *Ḥokhmah. Binah*

emerges from *Ḥokhmah*.

28. **then בראשית (*Be-reshit*)... in wisdom** The opening word of the Torah indicates both the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* (*reshit*) and the palace of *Binah* (*be*).

29. **the color... transformed...** *Binah* develops further and is no longer called by the single letter ב (*bet*) (i.e., the preposition *be*, "in" or "with"), but by the word בית (*bayit*), "house," though it is still joined with the point of *Ḥokhmah*, called ראש (*rosh*), "head," and together they comprise בראשית (*Be-reshit*). At this stage, the house of *Binah* is still uninhabited by the primordial seed or by any of the lower *sefirot*. See *ZḤ* 5a (*MhN*).

30. **Once it was sown...אלהים (*Elohim*)...** Once the seed of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* flows into Her, *Binah* attains the independent name *Elohim*. "Hidden, concealed" may refer to the lower *sefirot* gestating within *Binah* or to the fact that *Binah* is assigned the letters of the name יהוה (*YHVH*) with the vowels of the name אלהים (*Elohim*). See *Zohar* 3:65a; *OY*; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:311.

31. **while offspring...** The lower *sefirot* exist potentially within the primordial seed of *Ḥokhmah*, which has not yet impregnated *Binah*, though the primordial point has already expanded into a circle, the house of *Binah*, and begun to enter Her.

32. **Those engraved letters...** The emanation is depicted as a stream of the letters of the alphabet flowing from *Ḥokhmah*, who is known as primordial Torah.

33. **the seed of three points—חולם (*ḥolem*), שורק (*shuruq*), חירק (*ḥireq*)** These three vowels appear, respectively, as points placed above, within, and beneath the letter. Here they apparently represent the three lines of emanation: right, left, and center.

See Isaac ha-Kohen, *Ta'amei ha-Nequddot*, ed. Scholem, *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 265–68; *Zohar* 1:17a; Judah Ḥayyat, *Ma'are-khet ha-Elohut*, 136a. According to Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 328–30 (see Wolfson's note, 329:2), the three points symbolize *Ḥokhmah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*.

34. **a voice...** The *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, known as Written Torah.

35. **its consort emerged with it...** The partner of *Tif'eret* is *Shekhinah*, who is called את (*Et*), comprising the entire alphabet of divine speech, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

Grammatically, the accusative particle *et* has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a–b; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

את (*Et*), the range of the alphabet, is an appropriate name for *Shekhinah*, who is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. In the opening

verse of Genesis, the phrase את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*) refers to *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret*, the voice, also known as *shamayim*, *heaven*.

36. **the final אהיה (*ehyeh*), *I will be*** In the name revealed by God to Moses, אהיה אשר אהיה (*Ehyeh asher ehyeh*), *I will be who I will be* [or: *I am who I am*] (Exodus 3:14), the first *ehyeh* refers to *Keter, asher* refers to *Binah*, and the second *ehyeh* refers to *Tif'eret*. See above, page 111.

37. **יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), *YHVH, our God, YHVH*...** This triad of divine names from the opening line of the *Shema* corresponds to the triad interpreted above, אהיה אשר אהיה (*Ehyeh asher ehyeh*), *I am who I am*. Both triads symbolize *Keter* (or *Ḥokhmah*), *Binah*, and *Tif'eret*. The triad immediately following, בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *In the beginning God created* (along with the continuation of the verse), conveys a similar meaning. On the possibility of trinitarian influence on the *Zohar*'s interpretation of triads such as these, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:973; Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 140–45.

38. **primordial mystery** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*.

39. **concealed mystery...** The hidden source of emanation, *Keter* or *Ein Sof*.

40. **mystery sustaining all below** *Binah*, who gives birth to the lower seven *sefirot*.

41. **male and female...** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, whose union is vital to the cosmos.

42. **ה (*he*) was added...** The final ה (*he*) in the name יהוה (*YHVH*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*. When this letter is added to Her name את (*Et*), She attains an expanded name: אתה (*Attah*), *You*.

See *Zohar* 1:37a, 154b, 158b; 2:138b, 261a (*Heikh*).

43. **mystery of אדני (*Adonai*), Lord, and so it is called** *Shekhinah* is also called אדני (*Adonai*), which is pronounced as it is written, unlike the more concealed name יהוה (*YHVH*), which is also pronounced *Adonai*, differently than it is written.

44. **supernal mystery** *Tif'eret*.

45. **ואת (*Ve-et*)—array of male and female** The word ואת (*ve-et*) immediately precedes הארץ (*ha-arets*), *the earth*, in the opening verse of Genesis. While את (*et*) signifies *Shekhinah*, the prefix ו (*ve*), *and*, signifies *Tif'eret*, since the numerical value of the letter ו (*vav*) is six, and *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* associated with Him (*Ḥesed, Gevurah, Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*) constitute a sixfold entity. See *Zohar* 1:29b.

46. **mystery of ויהוה (*va-YHVH*), *and YHVH*...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 51:2: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Wherever it is said: *and YHVH*, this implies: He and His Court.'" In Kabbalah this court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment") and pronounces the divine decree, so the phrase *and YHVH* encompasses "He [*Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*] and His Court [*Shekhinah*]." Whereas

the ו (*vav*) of the word ואת (*ve-et*) refers to *Tif'eret*, the ו (*vav*) of ויהוה (*va-YHVH*) refers to *Shekhinah*, but "all is one."

See JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b; Rashi on Exodus 12:29; *Zohar* 1:64b, 107b; 2:37b, 44b; 3:149a. The hermeneutical significance of *and* was championed by Rabbi Akiva. See BT *Yevamot* 68b; *Sanhedrin* 51b.

47. **fruit and verdure** Souls. See *Bahir* 14 (22); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489, 504; *Zohar* 1:19a, 33a, 59b–60a, 82b, 85b, 115a–b; 2:223b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 51; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69). Cf. Ibn Ezra on Psalms 1:3.

48. **הארץ (*Ha-arets*), *The earth—Elohim*, as above... at three sites...** *Shekhinah* is called Earth, and She shares the name *Elohim* with *Binah* ("as above"). As *Binah* reigns over the lower *sefirot*, *Shekhinah* reigns over the lower worlds. The name *Elohim* is also applied to *Gevurah* (thus to three *sefirot* in all) and—outside of the *sefirot*—to angels, false gods, and human judges.

49. **which He engraved, fashioned, vivified...** The opening verse of the Torah discloses the most secret divine activities: the initial engraving within the luster of *Keter*, fashioning the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* into the palace of *Binah*, and the gestation of the lower *sefirot*.

50. **From here on** Now the opening word of the Torah is interpreted as referring directly to the lower *sefirot*.

51. **ברא בראשית — שית (*Be-reshit—bara shit*)...** The word בראשית (*Be-reshit*) is divided in two and read as ברא שית (*bara shit*), "created six." See *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 1:1, 11–12; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:19), where it is said that the world was created by six letters (the divine names יה [*YH*] and יהוה [*YHVH*]); BT *Sukkah* 49a; *Zohar* 1:3b, 39b.

The six directions are north, south, east, west, up, and down (see *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:13), which symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, emanating from the hidden source. At the center stands *Tif'eret*, *Heaven*, so all six extend *from one end of heaven to the other*.

52. **the mystery of the name of forty-two letters** The forty-two-letter name is mentioned in the name of Rav, though not recorded, in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. According to one later view, it consists of the first forty-two letters of the Torah, from the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*) through the ב (*bet*) of בהו (*bohu*), *void* (Genesis 1:2).

See *Tosafot*, *Ḥagigah* 11b, s.v. *ein doreshin; KP* 1:46c–d; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 94–95. Cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:62; *Zohar* 1:1a, 30a; 2:130b, and 175b: "... the forty-two holy letters of the holy name, by which heaven and earth were created."

53. ***The enlightened will shine like the* זהר (*zohar*), *radiance, of the sky*** The

verse continues: *and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever*.

54. **musical intonations** The cantillation signs in the biblical text impart meaning to the words of each verse, thereby illuminating the letters and vowels, which are soon identified as *the enlightened*. The word משכילים (*maskilim*), *enlightened*, is perhaps associated here with the biblical word משכיל (*maskil*), an obscure musical term appearing in the title of various psalms. See *TZ* 21, 48b–49a; Wolfson, "Biblical Accentuation in a Mystical Key."

55. **The letters are body; the vowels, spirit** See *Bahir* 83 (115): "[The vowels] in the letters resemble the breath of life in the human body."

See Judah Halevi, *Kuzari* 4:3; Ibn Ezra on Exodus 20:1; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 487; Todros Abulafia, *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, 73–76; Gikatilla, *Ginnat Egoz*, 413–16; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 328; Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, 87–89, n. 5; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 174–76; *ZḤ* 73c (*ShS*), 84b, 104a–b (*TZ*), 107d (*TZ*)*; TZ* 5, 20b.

56. **those extending, prolonging...** The cantillation signs that extend the melody are compared to *the sky*, stretched out above the earth.

57. **pausal notes, halting their movement...** Cantillation signs that bring the melody to a halt. By indicating the appropriate pauses, they *lead many* letters and words to the correct syntax and phrasing. See BT *Megillah* 3a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 36:8.

58. **all expands** The flow of letters and vowels, guided by musical intonation, symbolizes the expansion of the primordial point of emanation. The divine manifests through speech.

59. **We have learned...** This paragraph appears here in several manuscripts (L2, P1, P4, V5) and witnesses (*OY*, Cr), while in other manuscripts and in M it appears in 1:29a with slight variations.

See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:11 (on 1:1): "Rabbi Yudan and Rabbi Levi said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Wherever in this scroll [the Song of Songs] the expression *King Solomon* appears, the text speaks of King Solomon, while *the king*, anonymous, connotes the blessed Holy One.' The Rabbis say, "Wherever *King Solomon* appears, the text speaks of the King to whom peace belongs [deriving שלמה (*Shelomoh*), *Solomon*, from שלום (*shalom*), peace], while *the king*, anonymous, connotes the Assembly of Israel.'"

In rabbinic Hebrew the phrase כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*), "Assembly of Israel," denotes the people of Israel, and the Song of Songs is read as a love poem between them and God. In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* refers to *Shekhinah*, described here as נוקבא (*nuqba*), "female." She is the divine counterpart of the people, that aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers

depicted in the Song of Songs symbolize *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret. Shekhinah* is described there as *King*, reflecting Her name *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). See *Zohar* 1:47a, 84a. Here, apparently, King Solomon denotes *Binah*, "to whom peace belongs," namely, *Yesod*, who conveys the flow of *Binah* and thereby links the two lovers. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home." Cf. *Zohar* 1:5b; 2:127b. The lower (plain, earthly) meaning of the text connotes the upper, divine sense. See below, page 170.

60. **lower inherits upper...** Through Her union with *Tif'eret, Shekhinah* absorbs the flow of emanation from Her mother above, *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:215a: " ... for Daughter inherits Mother," and above, page 9: "Mother lends Daughter Her garments."

61. **This is ב (*bet*)...** The opening letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, stands for בית (*bayit*), *house*. The letter *bet*, the second letter of the alphabet, is equivalent to two, and here indicates two sefirotic structures: *Binah*, fashioned from the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, divine wisdom; and *Shekhinah*, comprising the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*.

62. ***a pavilion...*** אפריון (*Appiryon*), a biblical hapax legomenon, often translated "palanquin" but apparently referring to a stationary structure. In the Midrash, it is interpreted as referring to the Tabernacle and to the Temple in Jerusalem (*Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 1:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* and *Targum*, ad loc.).

In the *Zohar*, the *appiryon* is *Shekhinah*, the divine palace (1:29a; 2:127a). This *pavilion* is constructed of the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, known as *the trees of Lebanon*, namely, of *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:31a, 35a–b; 2:127b.

63. **adorning of the lower world by the upper world** *Shekhinah* is adorned by the light radiating from *Binah*.

64. **before the blessed Holy One ereated...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3: "Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Hyrcanus [said], '... Before the world was created, there existed only the blessed Holy One and His great name. The thought of creating the world arose in His mind. He traced the world, but it did not endure. They told a parable. To what can this be compared? To a king who wishes to build his palace. If he does not trace in the earth its foundations, exits, and entrances, he cannot begin to build. Similarly, the blessed Holy One traced the world in front of Himself, but it did not endure until He created *teshuvah* ("returning, turning back" to God).'" Cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:61; *ZḤ* 2d (*MhN*).

In Kabbalah the *sefirot* are considered God's names since they reveal the divine identity. In particular, *Shekhinah*, the culminating expression of the *sefirot*, is called "the name" of God. Before the process of emanation, all of the *sefirot*

existed potentially within *Ein Sof*.

65. **the will of thought** *Keter*, the impulse within the divine mind. See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 92, 94, 107; *Zohar* 1:45b; 2:259b, 268b; *ZḤ* 1b, 6c (*ST*).

66. **the signet** סמיטרא (*Samitra*), apparently based on סימנטיר (*simanteir*), derived from the Greek *semanterion*, "seal, signet, stamp." *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182, defines *samitra* as "turban," based on the *Arukh*; see *KP*, *OY*.

The process of emanation begins with a gesture of royal authority. See above, note 1.

67. **but it did not endure** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:2: "*He fashioned everything at its appropriate time* (Ecdesiastes 3:11).... Rabbi Abbahu said, 'From here [we learn] that the blessed Holy One kept creating worlds and destroying them until He created these [i.e., heaven and earth]. Then He declared, "These please Me, those do not."'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:7; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3, cited above. The theme of previous worlds that did not endure appears in the *Idrot* (*Zohar* 3:128a [*IR*], 292b [*IZ*]) and inspired Isaac Luria's theory of "the breaking of the vessels."

68. **wrapping of radiance...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Vayaqhel* 7: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yehotsadak asked Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman, 'Since you are a master of Aggadah, tell me how the blessed Holy One created the world.' He replied, 'When the blessed Holy One wished to create the world, He enwrapped Himself in light and created the world, as is said: *He wraps in light as in a garment* (Psalms 104:2), and afterward: *He spreads out the heavens like a curtain*.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3. The image of God wrapping Himself in a garment of light appears in Greek, Iranian, Gnostic, and kabbalistic sources. See Matt, *Zohar*, 212; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 493–94; Ezra's letter, ed. Scholem, in *Sefer Bialik*, 157–58; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 110–11; *Zohar* 1:2a, 29a, 90a (*ST*), 245a; 2:39b, 164b; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 5a.

Here the garment of light is the *sefirah* of *Ḥokhmah*, located on the upper right side of the sefirotic tree. Divinity clothes itself in this radiant wrapping, thereby mediating the intense primordial energy and generating *Tif'eret*, known as *heaven*.

69. ***With beginning...*** See above, note 22.

70. **pillars and sockets of that *pavilion*** The pillars and sockets allude to the *sefirot* (as well as to the kabbalists) who sustain *Shekhinah* (the *pavilion*). See above, note 14.

71. ***Happy is*** משכיל (***maskil***) ... ***the poor*** This verse alludes to the *sefirot* as

well as to the kabbalists, both of whom sustain *Shekhinah*. She is called *poor*, having nothing at all of Her own. See BT *Bava Batra* 8b.

72. **standing above *the enlightened*, of whom is written...** The *sky* is *Tif'eret*, who stands above *the enlightened*, specifically *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, also called *the heads*. The *living being* (חיה [*ḥayyah*]) is *Shekhinah*, who controls and sustains the holy *ḥayyot* ("living creatures, animals"), who support the Chariot, the divine throne.

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 508–9; *Zohar* 1:12b, 242a; 2:48b, 177b–178a (*SdTs*); 3:46b.

73. **illumining Torah** The radiance illumines *Tif'eret*, called Written Torah, and through Him, the lower *sefirot*.

74. ***The earth was* תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void*** The verse continues: *with darkness over the face of the abyss, and the wind of God hovering over the face of the waters*.

75. ***Was*, precisely: previously** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:15: "Rabbi Ḥanin said, '... *The earth was*—it already had been [i.e., it preceded the creation of heaven].'" In the *Bahir* 2 (2), the midrashic interpretation of *was* is applied specifically to *tohu*: the earth was originally in a state of תהו (*tohu*) and then changed to בהו (*bohu*), which is interpreted as בו הוא (*bo hu*), "in it is something," i.e., something with substance, as opposed to chaos.

The early kabbalists, drawing on Jewish Neoplatonism, understood *tohu* and *bohu* as referring to primordial matter and form, respectively. *Tohu*, primordial matter, was seen as the root of evil (a Platonic notion developed in Gnosticism and Neoplatonism), while *bohu*, form, was the origin of good.

See *Bahir* 9 (11), 109 (163); Abraham bar Ḥiyya, *Hegyon ha-Nefesh*, 2a; Isaac the Blind, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 2:6; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 1:11; 2:6; idem, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 89, 102–5; Jacob ben Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 118–21; Naḥmanides on Genesis 1:2.

Here the *Zohar* indicates that *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*, was originally in a chaotic state before *tohu* (matter) and *bohu* (form) emerged from Her. This process, described in the following lines, produces the demonic realm.

See *Zohar* 1:11b, 30a, 39b, 262b–263a (*Hash*); Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:460–64. In several passages (e.g., 1:39b; *ZḤ* 6d [*MhN*]), *tohu, bohu*, *darkness*, and *wind* symbolize the four elements: fire, water, earth, and air.

76. **Snow in water...** Water symbolizes *Ḥesed*, while snow symbolizes *Gevurah* and *Din* ("Judgment"), the congealing and hardening of water. The two were mingled in *Shekhinah*, yielding a slime. See *Zohar* 1:6b; and *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3: "From where was the earth created? From the snow beneath the Throne of Glory. He took it and threw it upon the waters, and the waters

congealed and dust was made."

77. **Blazing fire...** The fire of *Gevurah* struck *Shekhinah*, and the slime turned into refuse and then *tohu*, primordial matter, the domain of evil. On the dregs of primordial matter, see Jacob ben Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 120.

78. **sifting sifted from refuse...** *Bohu*, form, was sifted out of the refuse and then joined to matter.

79. חשך (***Ḥoshekh***), ***Darkness*** The verse continues: *over the face of the abyss and the wind of God hovering over the face of the waters*.

80. **mystery of blazing fire** The fire of *Gevurah*, called *Darkness*. This designation apparently derives from Maimonides (*Guide of the Perplexed* 2:30), who identifies the *darkness* of Genesis 1:2 with "elemental fire": "The elemental fire was designated by this term [*darkness*] because it is not luminous, but only transparent." The other three elements (earth, air [*ruaḥ*], and water) are mentioned explicitly in Genesis 1:2.

See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 111; Jacob ben Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 124.

81. **it is empowered** *Tohu*, matter, is empowered by *Gevurah*.

82. **Holy Spirit...** *Tif'eret*, emanating from *Binah*, "the living God." רוח (*Ruaḥ*) means both "wind" and "spirit." The *ruaḥ* of Genesis 1:2 is identified with Holy Spirit in *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:24).

83. **one fine film...** The *wind*, or Holy Spirit, of *Tif'eret* refines the refuse, yielding *bohu*, form. The process is described as the smelting of dross off molten metal.

84. ***a great, mighty wind*...seen by Elijah** The passage reads (1 Kings 19:11–12): [*God*] *said* [*to Elijah*]: "*Go out and stand on the mountain before YHVH*." *Behold, YHVH was passing by. A great, mighty wind, splitting mountains and shattering rocks before YHVH; YHVH was not in the wind After the wind—an earthquake; YHVH was not in the earthquake. After the earthquake—fire; YHVH was not in the fire. After the fire—the sound of sheer silence*. The four elements referred to in Genesis 1:2 (*tohu, bohu*, *darkness*, and *wind*) are each clarified, and from them emerge the four refined manifestations experienced by Elijah: *a great, mighty wind, an earthquake, fire*, and *the sound of sheer silence*.

On the demonic aspect of Elijah's vision, see *Zohar* 2:203a; *ZḤ* 38a; cf. 3:30a. Similarly, the four phenomena of Ezekiel's vision (1:4: *a stormy wind, a huge cloud, flashing fire*, and *a radiance*) are described as four demonic shells enclosing a kernel. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:463–64.

85. ***Tohu*—... no form at all** Primordial matter is formless, despite transient appearances. See *Zohar* 1:40a.

86. **Everything has a garment...** All things comprise matter and form, the

latter pictured as a garment, but primordial matter is formless and naked.

87. **stones sunk within the shell of *tohu*** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "*Bohu*—these are the slimy stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues." The potential forms of *bohu* are sunk in the abyss, or shell, of *tohu* before they are clarified and emerge. On the shell of *tohu*, see *Zohar* 3:227a (*RM*); *ZḤ* 32c, 55b.

88. **conveying benefit...** Once the forms of *bohu* emerge from *tohu*, they clothe matter and enable the things of the world to exist. They transmit the stream of emanation from the *sefirot* above to the world below.

89. **hollow and moist** Channeling the flow of emanation.

90. **suspended in the air** Linking the *sefirot* with the physical world.

91. **on a cloudy day...** When human sin evokes harsh judgment, the flow of emanation is blocked and the forms descend to the abyss, nourishing the demonic powers of *tohu*. See *Zohar* 3:32a; and BT *Ta'anit* 8b: "Rabbah son of Shila said, 'A day of rain is as harsh as a day of judgment.'" The *Zohar* understands תהום (*tehom*), *abyss*, as equivalent to תהו (*tohu*), *chaos*.

92. ***Darkness* is black fire...** *Gevurah* includes several aspects, pictured as various colors of fire. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 1:3. Cf. *Tanḥuma, Shemot* 15.

93. ***Darkness...* dark fire... empowers *tohu*** *Gevurah* manifests as dark fire when it strengthens the demonic.

94. ***His eyes...*** The verse describes the aged Isaac preparing to bless his firstborn son, Esau. Isaac symbolizes *Gevurah*, while Esau symbolizes the demonic. Because Isaac greeted Esau with a friendly face, his eyes grew dim. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:6; *Zohar* 2:46b. As *Gevurah* empowers evil, it grows dark or *dim*.

95. **upon it** Upon evil.

96. ***face of the abyss... face of the waters* ... each one receiving...** *Darkness* empowers *tohu*, *the face of the abyss*, while *wind* empowers *bohu*, which is equated with *the face of the waters*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "*Bohu*—these are the slimy stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues." *Wind* is a name for *Tif'eret*, also known as *voice* and *YHVH*.

97. שדי (***Shaddai***) An obscure divine name, which may mean "of the mountain." The traditional rendering "Almighty" is unjustified. Here *Shaddai* designates the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, limiting the destructive power of *tohu*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a, where Resh Lakish interprets *Shaddai* as a reference to God's command to limit the universe at creation: "I am the one ש (*she*), who, said to the world: 'די (*dai*), Enough!'"

98. צבאות (***Tseva'ot***), **Hosts** This divine name, associated with the *sefirot* of *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, refers here to the hosts of forms emerging from *bohu*.

99. אלהים (***Elohim***) This name designates *Gevurah*, known as *Darkness*.

100. יהוה (***YHVH***) This name designates *Tif'eret*, known as *Ruaḥ*, *Wind* (or: *Spirit*).

101. **This name was not in it... here is found the name *YHVH*** The name *YHVH* is not associated with the *mighty wind*, *earthquake*, or *fire*, each of which has its own distinct divine name, corresponding to its primordial element: *tohu, bohu*, and *darkness*, respectively. *YHVH* is reserved for *the sound of sheer silence*, corresponding to *ruaḥ*. *Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH* and *Ruaḥ*, is also called *Qol* (*voice* or *sound*). See *ZḤ* 38a; *Zohar* 3:227a (*RM*).

102. **four sections... sections of the limbs...** The four parts of Elijah's vision correspond to four parts of the body of the *sefirot*: the trunk (*Tif'eret*), the left arm (*Gevurah*), the thighs (*Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, taken together), and the phallus (*Yesod*).

103. **numbering twelve** Each of the four limbs apparently comprises three parts. See the passage from *Bahir* cited below.

104. **name of twelve letters...** Perhaps referring to the fact that the four-letter name *YHVH* appears three times in the phrases: *YHVH was not in the wind... YHVH was not in the earthquake... YHVH was not in the fire* (1 Kings 19:11–12). Taken together, the letters of these three occurrences total twelve. The name of twelve letters is mentioned but not identified in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. It was later associated with the three occurrences of *YHVH* in the priestly blessing (Numbers 6:24–26). See *Bahir* 80 (111): "... numbering three, numbering twelve."

Cf. *Zohar* 1:19b; 2:58a; 3:78a–b, 172b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 92, 290, n. 32. *Zohar* 2:201b refers to "the holy name of twelve letters... ruling the air. This is the name with which Elijah flew, ascending to heaven." See 2 Kings 2:11.

105. **general-particular-general** בלל ופרט וכלל (*Kelal ufrat ukhlal*), "Generality, particularity, and generality." According to one of Rabbi Yishma'el's thirteen hermeneutical rules (*Sifra*, intro, 1a–b), if a biblical law is stated in general terms, followed by particular instances and then followed by another generality, one may derive only things similar to those specified. For example, Deuteronomy 14:26 states: *You may spend the money on anything that your appetite desires* (generality), *cattle, sheep, wine, or intoxicant* (particularity), *or anything that your appetite seeks* (generality). According to the principle of *kelal ufrat ukhlal*, one may purchase things other than those specified, but only if they are food or drink similar to those specified.

Here the *Zohar* indicates that the opening verse of Genesis describes the emergence of *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* out of *Keter*. These three *sefirot* contain the entirety of emanation (generality). Then, beginning with *Let there be light!*, the emanation of the seven lower *sefirot* is spelled out in detail (particularity). Finally, generality returns in Genesis 2:4: *This is the story of heaven and earth when they*

were created, on the day when YHVH Elohim made earth and heaven. Applying the hermeneutical principle of *kelal ufrat ukhlal*, one should understand the emanation of the initial *sefirot* in light of the detailed account of the further emanation.

106. **space אוירא** (*Avira*), "Air, space, ether, aura." The *avira* is *Keter*, the original *sefirah*. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:6: "Out of chaos He formed substance, making what is not into what is. He hewed enormous pillars out of אויר (*avir*), ether, that cannot be grasped."

See *Zohar* 1:15a; 3:135b (*IR*); Altmann, *Studies*, 174; Scholem, "*Iqvotav shel Gevirol be-Qabbalah*," 167–68; idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 331–47 (especially 342); Pines, in *Tarbiz* 50 (1981): 339–47; Liebes, in *Meḥqerei Yerushalyim be-Maḥashevet Yisra'el* 6:3–4 (1987): 80–86; Verman, *The Books of Contemplation*, 153–56.

107. **Once the force spread...** Once the primordial seed of *Ḥokhmah* impregnated the divine womb of *Binah*, known as *Elohim*, the subsequent process of emanation can be described in terms of speech. Until that stage, the appropriate metaphor is not speech but thought.

108. **Although בראשית** (***Be-reshit***)... According to M *Avot 5:1*, "The world was created through ten utterances [or: sayings, commands]." Only nine explicit commands appear in Genesis 1, but the decade is completed by counting the phrase *In the beginning*.

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 32a, *Megillah* 21b; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:15a, 30a; *TZ* 32, 76a. In Kabbalah the ten commands symbolize the ten *sefirot*, the first of which establishes the basis for the other nine.

109. **This *said* is susceptible to questioning...** Only beginning with the rung of *Binah* does speech manifest, so She is characterized by the verb *said*. She is also known as the primordial question, Who. A spiritual seeker may inquire about Her, but such questions do not yield ordinary answers. The identity of the divine is discovered only in a realm beyond words. The mystical name "Who" becomes a focus of meditation, as question turns into quest. See Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 1:91a: "Concerning everything that cannot be grasped, its question constitutes its answer."

See *Zohar* 1:1b, 29b–30a, 45b, 85b–86a, 237b; 2:126b–127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

110. **a power raised...** *Binah* represents the subtle beginnings of speech, the inner voice emerging silently through thought, *Ḥokhmah*. ויאמר (*Va-yomer*), *Said*, is interpreted here as ארמותא (*armuta*), "rising." On the subtle nature of the verb אמר (*amr*), "to say," see *Zohar* 1:234b; 2:17a (*MhN*), 25b; 3:132b–133a (*IR*).

111. **while outside the newborn was heard** *Tif'eret*, the son born to *Binah*, is

known as Voice and was now heard.

See *Zohar* 1:50b, 74a, 141b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 89 (113). Cf. BT *Berakhot* 15b: "The womb, which takes in silently, gives forth loudly."

112. **Father and Mother...** *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, symbolized by the first two letters of יהוה (*YHVH*), which are also the first two letters of יהי (*yehi*), *let there be*. See *Zohar* 2:22a.

113. **afterward turning back...** The final letter of יהי (*yehi*), *let there be*, is once again י (*yod*), symbolizing the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, from which emerges the first of the lower seven *sefirot: Ḥesed*, known as *light*.

114. **light that already was** The primordial light emerging from the depths of the first *sefirah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:2: "It is not written here והיה אור (*Ve-hayah or*) [which could mean either *And there will be light* or *And there was light*], but rather ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*) [which can mean only] *And there was light*—it already was." Theodor (ad loc.) regards this as a scribal gloss. In any case, the point in the Midrash is that the creation of light was instantaneous and effortless, whereas here the *Zohar* emphasizes that the light preexisted—it already *was*.

See *Bahir* 17 (25), elaborating on *Bereshit Rabbah*: "Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Why is it written: *God said, "Let there be light!"* ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*), *And there was light*, and not: והיה (*Ve-hayah*) [which could mean either *And there will be* or *And there was*]? This can be compared to a king who had a beautiful object and set it aside until he had prepared a place for it; then he placed it there. As is written: "*Let there be light!*" *And there was light*. For it already was.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 494; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 109; *Zohar* 1:45b; 3:245b (*RM*); *ZḤ* 1a, 37d; Recanati on Genesis 1:3, 3c.

115. **the hidden supernal aura** *Keter*. See above, note 106.

116. **single concealed point** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, which broke through the aura of *Keter*. See above, page 109.

117. **what remained...** Once the י (*yod*) left אויר (*avir*), "aura," what remained was אור (*or*), "light." See *Zohar* 3:245b (*RM*).

118. **it manifested upon it...** The light remaining from the aura of *Keter* shone subtly upon the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:15a, 65a.

119. **emerged, ascended... a single point remained...** After emerging, the light returns to its source within *Keter*. A single point, the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, now stands revealed, and the light beyond maintains contact with the point of *Ḥesed* through the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*.

120. **illumining this and that** The light hidden away within *Keter* illumines both points: *Ḥokhmah* and *Ḥesed*.

121. **all ascend, merging in it** As the light ascends, all the *sefirot* follow and

merge into it.

122. **That point of light is *light*** The point is *Ḥesed*, revealed when most of the light withdrew to its hidden source in *Keter*.

123. **seven letters...** Emanation continues to unfold, manifesting as divine speech.

124. ***darkness* emerged, and seven other letters...** The *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, symbolized by *darkness*, emanates, generating the next set of letters.

125. **An *expanse* emerged... twenty-two** *Tif'eret*, the *expanse* (רקיע [*raqi'a*], "firmament, expanse, sky" [Genesis 1:6]), is also known as רחמים (*Raḥamim*), Compassion, and this central *sefirah* balances the contending forces of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, Love and Judgment. Its accompanying eight letters bring the total to twenty-two, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet.

126. **The *expanse* congealed...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:2: "Rav said, 'The works of Creation [i.e., the heavens] were fluid, and on the second day they congealed. *Let there be an expanse [in the midst of the waters]!* (Genesis 1:6), Let the expanse be firm!'"

See *Zohar* 2:167b; *ZḤ* 68d (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 88 (111).

127. **Torah was engraved there...** The twenty-two letters of Creation, now fully formed, spell out the text of Torah within *Tif'eret*, who is known as Written Torah.

128. אל גדול (***El gadol***), **great God** *Ḥesed*, who is known both as אל (*El*), God, and גדולה (*Gedullah*), Greatness.

129. ויהי (***Vayhi***), ***And there was*—mystery of *darkness*...** See BT *Megillah* 10b: "Rabbi Levi, or some say Rabbi Yonatan, said, 'This matter is a tradition handed down to us from the Men of the Great Assembly: Wherever it is said ויהי (*vayhi*), *and there was* [or: *and it came to* pass], this denotes distress.'" The word ויהי (*vayhi*), *it came to pass*, is split into וי היה (*vai hayah*), "there was woe," or וי הי (*vai, hi*), "woe, wailing."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 41(42):3 (on Genesis 14:1); *Vayiqra Rabbah* 11:7; BT *Megillah* 11a; *Zohar* 1:119b; 2:140b, 167a; 3:231a; *ZḤ* 77a (*MhN, Rut*).

Here the distress is the *darkness* and judgment of the left side, also known as *Elohim*.

130. ***Light*—left merging in right...** The repetition of the word *light* indicates the resolution of the conflict between light and darkness, right and left. The mingling of the two forces is also indicated by the fact that אל (*El*) is included in אלהים (*Elohim*).

131. **the central pillar** *Tif'eret*, who mediates between the polar opposites, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*. See *Zohar* 2:167a.

132. **illumining** אנהיר (*Anhir*). Recanati on Genesis 1:4, 4c reads: אדליק (*adliq*), "kindling," based on an Aramaic rendering of בהיטיבו (*be-heitivo*), *as he tends* [or: *trims*] (Exodus 30:7): באדלקותיה (*be-adlequteih*), *as he kindles*.

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 485; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 89.

133. **all other directions...** All of the lower *sefirot* surrounding *Tif'eret*, who is symbolized by the name *YHVH*.

134. **to emit a radiance...** *Tif'eret* is summoned to emanate *Yesod*, "foundation" of the world, also known as *Day*, with the help of *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of the right side. *Yesod* channels the vivifying flow of emanation to *Shekhinah* and the worlds below.

135. **generated from the side of *darkness*...** From the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, known as *darkness*, emanates *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon and called *Night*. One of Her other many names is אדני (*Adonai*), *Lord*. See *Zohar* 1:228b.

136. **embracing the mystery of the left** *Tif'eret*, the central pillar, balances right and left.

137. **three points: חולם (*ḥolem*), שורק (*shuruq*), חירק (*ḥireq*)...** These three vowels appear, respectively, as points above, within, and beneath the letter. Here they apparently represent three lines of emanation (right, left, and center) extending from the primordial point (or seed) of *Ḥokhmah*.

See Isaac ha-Kohen, *Ta'amei ha-Nequddot*, ed. Scholem, *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 265–68; *Zohar* 1:15b; Judah Ḥayyat, in *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, 136a. According to Moses de León, the three points symbolize *Ḥokhmah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*. See his *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 328–30, and Wolfson's note, 329:2.

138. **generating the foundation of the world...** *Ḥesed* transmits the seed of holiness, *Ḥokhmah*, through the central pillar, thereby generating *Yesod*, who embodies all of the *sefirot* as He streams joyously toward union with *Shekhinah*. On *Yesod* as כל (*Kol*), All, see *Zohar* 1:130b, 195b; 2:157a.

139. **The left blazed...** *Gevurah*, drawing power from the various *sefirot*, generates *Shekhinah*.

140. **These two sides...** The right and left sides generate *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, respectively.

141. **Increase** מוסף (*Musaf*), "Additional," the additional service for Sabbaths, festivals, and fast days. The word is a cognate of the name יוסף (*Yosef*), Joseph—the biblical hero who symbolizes *Yesod*, the divine phallus, since he withstood the test of sexual temptation in Egypt (Genesis 39). See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 10 (12–13).

142. **forces** Angels.

143. **יהוה צבאות (*YHVH Tseva'ot*)...אל אלהי הרוחות (*El Elohei ha-ruḥot*)...** Both of these names are associated with *Yesod*, who by uniting with *Shekhinah* generates human souls.

144. **Since *darkness* yearns...** As *Gevurah* approaches *Ḥesed*, its harshness weakens, and *Shekhinah*, known as Lenient Judgment, emerges.

145. **before being completed** Instead of אסתיים (*istayyam*), "it was completed," *OY* reads here: אתבסים (*itbesim*), "it was sweetened," i.e., sweetened by the light of *Ḥesed*.

146. ***night* was left wanting** *Shekhinah* lacks the full power of *Gevurah*, now softened by *Ḥesed*. Emanating from *darkness*, She also lacks light.

147. **Increase comprised mystery of the primordial point...** *Yesod* includes the emanation of *Ḥokhmah* and *Tif'eret*.

148. **two letters were added... subtracted...** The word ויקרא (*va-yiqra*), *and He called*, describing the emergence of *day* (*Yesod*), contains two more letters than קרא (*qara*), *He called*, describing the emergence of *night* (*Shekhinah*). These two extra letters, ו, י (*vav, yod*), symbolize *Tif'eret* and *Ḥokhmah*, which constitute the increase of *Yesod*.

149. **the name of seventy-two engraved letters** The divine name derived from the description of the splitting of the Red Sea: Exodus 14:19–21. Each of these three verses begins with the letters ו, י (*vav, yod*) and contains seventy-two letters. The name is actually composed of seventy-two triads of letters, according to the following pattern: the first letter of the first verse, the last letter of the second verse, the first letter of the third verse (forming the first triad); the second letter of the first verse, the penultimate letter of the second verse, the second letter of the third verse (the second triad); etc.

See *Leqaḥ Tov*, Exodus 14:21; *Bereshit Rabbah* 44:19; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:2; Rashi on BT *Sukkah* 45a, s.v. *ani*; Hai Gaon, *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah* 23; *Bahir* 79 (110); *Zohar* 1:7b; 2:51b, 132b, 270a; 3:150b–151a; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 95–97; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, 14:67, 284–86. The *Zohar* associates the seventy-two-letter name with *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, whose emanation is alluded to in the verses discussed here. See *Zohar* 2:132b; 3:150b–151a.

150. ***"Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters...** that it may separate water from water*."

151. **in detail** See above, page 122: "*God said, 'Let there be light!' And there was light* (Genesis 1:3). Here begins the discovery of hidden treasures: how the world was created in detail. For until here was general...." The opening verse of Genesis describes the emergence of *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* out of *Keter*. These three *sefirot* contain the entirety of emanation. Then, beginning with *Let there be*

light!, the emanation of the seven lower *sefirot* is spelled out in detail. Now the *Zohar* proceeds with the second day of creation, on which conflict arose. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6.

152. **separating upper waters from lower...** Separating *Binah* from *Shekhinah* through the mystery of *Gevurah*, the *sefirah* of the left side, manifesting on the second day. See *Zohar* 1:46a, 2:149b.

153. **mystery of the right** *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of the right side, manifesting in the light of the first day.

154. **all is written by the right** The act of writing is usually performed with the right hand.

155. **blazed the fire of wrath** The harsh power of the left side was aroused.

156. **emerged Hell...** See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a, "Rabbi Bana'ah son of Rabbi Ulla said, 'Why was the expression *that it was good* not said concerning the second day of Creation? Because on that day the fire of Hell was created.'"

Here the *Zohar* indicates that Hell was generated by the fiery wrath of the left side and remained attached there. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 4*; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:33a, 46a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

157. **The central pillar...** *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the third day of Creation, who mediates between the polar opposites, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*.

158. **Hell descended...** The extreme manifestation of harsh Judgment separated from the left side and descended, while the left side itself was harmonized.

159. **Korah and Aaron...** Aaron the high priest symbolizes *Ḥesed*, the right side, while the rebel Korah, who was a Levite, symbolizes the left side, *Gevurah*. See Numbers 16; *Zohar* 3:176a.

160. **It is fitting that I mediate...** Moses, who symbolizes the harmonizing *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, can mediate the conflict.

161. **but the left was unwilling...** According to *Zohar* 3:176a, Korah "sought to reverse right and left."

162. **He** Moses.

163. **Hell must certainly join...** As in the second day of Creation.

164. **he** Korah.

165. **not for the sake of heaven** See M *Avot* 5:17: "Every conflict that is for the sake of heaven is destined to endure, while every conflict not for the sake of heaven is not destined to endure. Which conflict is for the sake of heaven? The conflict between Hillel and Shammai. Which conflict is not for the sake of heaven? The conflict of Ko-rah and his entire band." See *Zohar* 1:33a.

166. **denied the act of Creation** By refusing to harmonize with the right side, he denied the process of Creation.

167. **been thrust outside** Korah was now beyond the pale.

168. **below and above** Korah rebelled against Moses and Aaron, the human leaders of Israel, as well as against the divine creative process.

169. **what befitted him** Hell, or Sheol, to which Korah descended. See Numbers 16:33, cited below: *They and all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol.*

170. **the conflict of Shammai and Hillel** See M *Avot* 5:17: "Every conflict that is for the sake of heaven is destined to endure, while every conflict not for the sake of heaven is not destined to endure. Which conflict is for the sake of heaven? The conflict between Hillel and Shammai. Which conflict is not for the sake of heaven? The conflict of Korah and his entire band."

Numerous disputes between the disciples of Hillel and Shammai are recorded in rabbinic literature. One of these (*Bereshit Rabbah* 1:15; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 18) concerns the order of Creation, the school of Shammai insisting that the heavens were created before the earth, the school of Hillel the reverse. Another dispute between them continued for years, according to BT *Eruvin* 13b: "Rabbi Abba said in the name of Shemu'el: 'For three years the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel disputed, the former contending: "The *halakhah* accords with our view," the latter contending: "The *halakhah* accords with our view." A heavenly voice came forth, saying: "Both these and those are the words of the living God, but the *halakhah* accords with the school of Hillel."'" According to Isaac Luria (*MM*), in messianic times Shammai's views will prevail.

171. **harmonizing them** אסכים לון (*Askim lon*). See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 18: "The school of Shammai said, 'The heavens were created first, and the earth afterward....' The school of Hillel said, 'The earth was created first....' Contention arose between them over this matter, until *Shekhinah* rested between them and they agreed (הסכימו [*hiskimu*]) with one another that both were created simultaneously." See *Zohar* 1:29b.

172. **for the sake of heaven, so Heaven...** As noted above, M *Avot* 5:17 cites the dispute between Hillel and Shammai as the prototypical "conflict for the sake of heaven," destined להתקיים (*le-hitqayyem*), "to endure." Appropriately, the *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, known as Heaven, mediates this conflict, and thus "the world אתקיים (*itqayyam*), was established." See the reference to the heavenly voice, above, note 170. Cf. *Zohar* 1:33a, 252b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 113–14.

173. **deny the words of Torah** According to which, Aaron was designated

to be the priest; or according to which, the process of Creation involved the harmonizing of left and right.

174. **so there he clung** Descending to Sheol: *They and all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol* (Numbers 16:33).

175. ***The Book of Adam*** One of the many volumes housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*. According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See Genesis 5:1; *Be-reshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. This book is not to be confused with the Apocryphal *Book of Adam*, known in various versions, though the Apocryphal book may have influenced the *Zohar*'s depiction of the *Book of Adam*. According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam. Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.

See *Zohar* 1:37b, 55a–b, 58b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a–b, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Matt, *Zohar*, 25; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54. Note the comment by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, on *Zohar* 1:7a: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*...have been lost in the wanderings of exile... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

176. ***darkness*** The *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, on the left.

177. **a conflict of love** The tension between left and right, when resolved, yields the harmony of *Tif'eret*, also known as רחמים (*Raḥamim*), Compassion, who eventually unites with *Shekhinah*.

178. **the way of the righteous...** See BT *Qiddushin* 30b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said, 'Even father and son, master and disciple, who are engaged in Torah at the same gate become each other's enemies. Yet, they do not stir from there until they come to love one another.'" See *Zohar* 1:174; 2:56a; 3:42a (*RM*).

179. **He** God.

180. ***God fashioned the expanse...*** The *expanse* of *Tif'eret*.

181. **a conflict of... love, endurance of the world** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6: "... a conflict that promoted the ordering of the world and civilization."

182. **Oral Torah... Written Torah...** *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*.

183. ***has separated you from the community of Israel*** The verse continues: *to bring you near to Him, to perform the duties of the Dwelling of YHVH, to stand before the community and serve them?* These are Moses' words to the rebellious Korah, who was privileged to be a Levite.

184. ***At that time YHVH separated the tribe of Levi*** The verse continues: *to*

carry the ark of the covenant of YHVH, to stand before YHVH to serve Him, and to bless in His name.

185. **on the second, on the left** Separation occurred on the second day of Creation, symbolizing the *sefirah* of the left side, *Gevurah*, which is also symbolized by the tribe of Levi.

186. **Levi, who is third... Simeon, who is second** The birth order of the eldest sons of Jacob was: Reuben, Simeon, and Levi.

187. **in Jacob's mind he was second** When Jacob had sexual relations with Leah, he thought she was Rachel (Genesis 29:23, 25), so the child who was conceived (Reuben) was in his mind Rachel's. Simeon was therefore considered Leah's firstborn, and Levi was the second. Furthermore, Reuben's primogeniture was disavowed by Jacob following the incident of the mandrakes (ibid. 30:14–17) or after Reuben slept with his father's concubine, Bilhah (ibid. 35:22).

See ibid. 49:4; 1 Chronicles 5:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 98:4; *Zohar* 1:155a (*ST*), 176b, 222b, 236a.

188. הבדלה (***Havdalah***)... *Havdalah* ("separation") is the ritual marking the end of Sabbath (and, in an abbreviated form, the end of festivals). The *havdalah* at the conclusion of the Sabbath is first recited in the fourth blessing of the *amidah* prayer of the evening service and then over a cup of wine. This second, longer ritual consists of blessings over wine, spices, and the light of a candle. For the kabbalist, the end of Sabbath is fraught with danger, for now the harsh powers of judgment, banished for the duration of the Sabbath, are aroused and stand poised to dominate the weekdays. The wicked, who enjoyed a day's respite from their torment in Hell, resume their suffering.

See *Tanḥuma*, *Ki Tissa* 33; *Zohar* 1:14b, 21a; 2:207a; Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 256–84.

189. **specter** טסירא (*Tesira*), a neologism appearing several times in the *Zohar* (1:20b, 178a ["*tesirin* without a body"]; 2:29a). See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17: "It is not written here: [*He ceased from all His work*] *that* [*God*] *created and made*, but rather [*that God created*] *to make* (Genesis 2:3), for the Sabbath came first and their work was not completed. Rabbi Benaya said, 'This refers to the demons, for He created their souls, and as He was creating their bodies, the Sabbath day was hallowed. He left them, and they remained soul without body.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; 11:9; *Zohar* 1:14a, 47b–48a, 178a; 2:155b; 3:142b (*IR*); and M *Avot* 5:6: "Ten things were created on Friday eve at twilight:.... Some say, 'Also the demons.'"

An alternative rendering here is "warden"; cf. טסורא (*tesora*) in JT *Ketubbot* 11:3, 34b, a corruption of סנטירא (*santeira*), "guardsman." See *Zohar* 1:14b.

190. ***Let the work of our hands prosper*** This verse, recited as Sabbath departs, is intended to ward off demonic forces, but it also signals their return. See *Zohar* 1:197b.

191. **Sheol** The biblical term for the abode of the dead, later identified with גיהנם (*geihinnom*), "Hell."

192. **myrtle and wine** Used in the ritual of *havdalah*. See *Zohar* 2:20a (*MhN*), 208b–209a; 3:35a–b; J. Lauterbach, in *Hebrew Union College Annual* 15 (1940): 367–86; Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 259–67; Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 125, n. 84; Hallamish, *Ha-Qabbalah*, 323.

193. ***Separate yourselves from the midst of this community*** The verse continues: *that I may annihilate them in an instant!* The command is actually spoken to Moses and Aaron, not the entire people.

194. **on the second, which is the left** On the second day of Creation, symbolizing the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*.

195. **Hell was created** As noted above, page 128.

196. **all those angels who denounce...** Apparently referring to the angels who opposed the creation of the human being. See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav: 'When the blessed Holy One sought to create the human being, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and asked them, "Is it your desire that we make the human being in our image?" They responded, "Master of the Universe, what are his deeds?" He replied, "Such and such are his deeds." They exclaimed, "Master of the Universe, *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?* (Psalms 8:5)." He stretched out His little finger among them and burned them. The same thing happened with a second company. The third company said to Him, "Master of the Universe, the former ones who spoke in Your presence—what did they accomplish? The entire world is Yours! Whatever You wish to do in Your world, do it." When He reached the members of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the Tower of Babel], whose deeds were corrupt, they [the angels] said to Him, "Master of the Universe, didn't the first ones speak well?" He responded, "*Till* [*your*] *old age, I am He; till* [*you turn*] *grey, I will carry you*. [*I have made and I will bear* (*your sins*)*; I will carry and deliver*] (Isaiah 46:4)."'"

197. **all those others...** According to Rabbi Yoḥanan (*Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3), all the angels were created on the second day. In the *Zohar*, those angels created on the second day are angels of Judgment, deriving from the side of *Gevurah*. Consisting solely of strict Judgment, they cannot survive.

On the notion of angels vanishing, see BT *Ḥagigah* 14a: "Shemu'el said to Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Rav, 'O son of a lion! Come, I will tell you one of those fine

words said by your father: Every single day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream, chant a song, then cease to be, as is said: *New every morning, immense is Your faithfulness!'* (Lamentations 3:23)."

See *Zohar* 1:18b; 2:213b–214a, 247a; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 507, 510; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 65; idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 205; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:624–25.

198. **Similarly Korah below** He was descended from Levi, considered the second son (see above, page 131), and he embodied the left side.

199. **Let an expanse expand...** Let the *sefirot* emanate from *Binah*. See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506.

200. **אל (*El*), God, cluster...** *Ḥesed* is known as both אל (*El*) and גדולה (*Gedullah*), Greatness, and therefore אל גדול (*El gadol*). See *Zohar* 1:16b; 2:253a.

"Cluster" renders קטפא (*qitpa*). See BT *Ketubbot* 112a, *Avodah Zarah* 72b: קטופי (*qeto-phei*), "clusters, fruit ready to be plucked"; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 190.

201. **From the midst of the waters...** From *Binah*, the upper waters, the letters הי״ם (*he, yod, mem*) emanated and thus אל (*El*), *Ḥesed*, expanded into אלהים (*Elohim*), the next *sefirah: Gevurah*.

202. **transposed into lower waters...** The letters הי״ם (*he, yod, mem*) emanate from *Binah*, who is known as upper waters and as הים (*ha-yam*), "the sea." As this alphabetic flow proceeds, it is gradually transposed into ימ״ה (*yod, mem, he*), which spell ימה (*yammah*), "sea," indicating the lower waters of *Shekhinah*. (The homonym ימה [*yammah*], "west," also refers to *Shekhinah*.)

203. **this name extending...** The name אלהים (*Elohim*) refers not only to *Binah* and *Gevurah*, but now also to *Shekhinah*, angels, and even "other gods."

204. **upper waters are male...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep...* (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta*, *Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

Although often depicted as the Divine Mother, *Binah* is also described as "World of the Male," encompassing the entire configuration of *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. Together they constitute a masculine entity ready to join *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:96a, 147a, 149a, 160b, 246a, 248b; 2:127b; *ZḤ* 72b (*ShS*). Cf. 1:17b, 46b, 163a; 2:4a.

205. **water intermingled with water** Aramaic and Hebrew, הוו מים במים (*havo mayim be-mayim*). See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayaqhel* 6: "When the blessed Holy One created His world, היה העולם בלו מים במים (*hayah ha-olam kullo mayim be-mayim*), it was entirely water intermingled with water."

See JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 1; *Shemot Rabbah* 50:1; *Zohar* 1:56b, 68a.

206. **these are אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, and these are אדני (*Adonai*), Lord...** *Binah* is *Elohim* and the first ה (*he*) of יהוה (*YHVH*); *Shekhinah* is *Adonai* and the second ה (*he*).

See *Bahir* 20 (29); *Zohar* 1:62a; 2:177a (*SdTs*); 3:74b, 89b; *ZḤ* 82c (*MhN*, *Rut*).

207. **this expansion took this name...** The emanation proceeded from *Binah*, first to *Ḥesed* and then to *Gevurah*, which took the name *Elohim*, previously associated with *Binah*, the upper waters.

208. **the name *Elohim* extended over all** Once *Shekhinah* completed the array of *sefirot*, the name *Elohim* was extended to Her as well.

209. **the third day** *Tif'eret*.

210. ***that it was good* is not written of the second day...** In the biblical account of Creation, the statement *God saw that it was good* (or a variant) is included in the description of each of the six days except for the second. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6: "Why is *that it was good* not written concerning the second day? Rabbi Yoḥanan said..., 'Because on that day Hell was created....' Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'Because on that day conflict was created: *that it may separate water from water.'*.... Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'Because the work of the water was not completed. Therefore *that it was good* is written twice on the third day: once for the work of the water [see Genesis 1:9–10] and once for the work of the [third] day [ibid., 11].'"

In the *Zohar*, the second day marks the emergence of *Gevurah*, characterized by strict justice, which conflicts with *Ḥesed*, divine love. On the third day, these polar opposites were balanced and synthesized.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 4; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 33a; 46a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

211. **the name engraved with the engravings...** In the name יהוה (*YHVH*), the letter ו (*vav*)—whose numerical value is six— symbolizes *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). *Tif'eret* harmonizes *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, the upper and lower waters, symbolized by the first and second ה (*he*),

respectively.

212. **This is the sign...** See Joshua 3:16, describing Israel's crossing the Jordan: *The waters coming down from above* [upstream] *rose in one heap a great way off, at Adam, the town next to Zarethan; and those flowing down* [downstream] *toward the Sea of the Aravah, the Dead Sea, ran out completely. So the people crossed near Jericho*. Here *the waters from above* symbolize *Binah*, *those flowing down toward the Sea* symbolize *Shekhinah*, and *the people* (of Israel) symbolize *Tif'eret*.

213. **Five *expanses*...** The word רקיע (*raqi'a*), *expanse*, appears five times in the description of the second day (Genesis 1:6–8), alluding to the five *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Hod*. See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 11 (14).

214. **Vitality of the Worlds...** *Yesod*, the river of emanation, flows through these five *sefirot* and, drawing on them, conducts the lower worlds by means of *Shekhinah*.

On various senses of the title "Vitality of the Worlds," see Daniel 12:7; *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 16; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:5; Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, §275; *Zohar* 1:4b, 132a, 135b, 167b.

215. **all comprising...** Each *sefirah* reflects the entire array of *sefirot*.

216. **There are five hundred years...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:6: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Il'ai said, 'The Tree of Life extends over a journey of five hundred years, and all the waters of Creation branch off beneath it.'"

The five hundred years symbolize the five *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Hod*, which channel the emanation from *Ḥokhmah* (known as ראשית [*Reshit*], "Beginning" or "Creation") and nourish *Yesod*, the Tree of Life.

See *Zohar* 1:35a, 78b (*ST*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69).

217. **King David...** David, the ideal king, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is often called *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). *Shekhinah* receives the flow of emanation from *Yesod* and distributes it to the lower worlds.

218. ***He distributed among all the people...*** After defeating the Philistines.

219. **Colonel Ember הורפילא דטיפסא** (*Hurpila de-tifsa*). *Hurpila* derives from the Aramaic רופילא (*rufila*) and Latin *rufulus*, a military tribune appointed by the general. See BT *Bava Metsi'a* 49b, 107b; *Shevu'ot* 6b; *Avodah Zarah* 33b, 61b. *Tifsa* means "ember" in *Zohar* 1:242a; 3:111a. See *DE; Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 176, 178–79.

Here the demonic Colonel Ember is empowered and enflamed by the harsh conflict.

220. **congealing...** The male and female demonic forces unite. Congealing typifies the second day, according to *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:2: "Rav said, 'The works of Creation [i.e., the heavens] were fluid, and on the second day they

congealed. *Let there be an expanse* [*in the midst of the waters*]! (Genesis 1:6), Let the expanse be firm!'" See above, page 124.

221. **mystery of foreskin** The foreskin, removed in the ritual of circumcision, symbolizes the demonic. See *Zohar* 1:13a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (68).

222. **viper and serpent...** See BT *Bekhorot* 8a: "A viper bears at seventy years;... a serpent at seven years." Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:4; *Zohar* 2:220a. The gestation period of snakes is actually several months.

223. **Hell, called by seven names** See BT *Eruvin* 19a: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'Hell has seven names: Sheol, Ruin, Pit of Destruction, Tumultuous Pit, Miry Clay, Shadow of Death, and Netherworld.'" Cf. *Zohar* 2:150b.

224. **The evil impulse... seven names** See BT *Sukkah* 52a: "Rabbi Avira, or some say Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi, expounded, 'The evil impulse has seven names. The blessed Holy One called it Evil...; Moses called it Uncircumcised...; David called it Impure...; Solomon called it Enemy...; Isaiah called it Stumbling Block...; Ezekiel called it Stone...; Joel called it Hidden One.'" See *Zohar* 2:262b–263a.

225. **cultivation of the world** The world is maintained through a rhythm of light and darkness, good and evil. Human choice and action determine which power will manifest on earth: the divine or the demonic. The demonic forces, too, serve a sacred function by punishing human evil.

226. **engraved name of eighteen letters** Apparently referring to the six different permutations of the three letters יה״ו (*yod, he, vav*), which compose the name יהוה (*YHVH*): יה״ו, יו״ה, הי״ו, הו״י, וי״ה, וה״י.

227. ***Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place*** The verse continues: *and let the dry land appear! And it was so*.

228. קו (*qav*), **a line...** The flow of emanation, proceeding in a line, referred to elsewhere in the *Zohar* as קו המדה (*qav ha-middah*), "the line of measure."

See Jeremiah 31:38; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 89–90; Jacob ben She-shet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 113; *Zohar* 1:15a; 2:233a–b, 258a; *ZḤ* 56d–58d (*QhM*)*; TZ* 18, 37b.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 5:1: "יקוו המים (*Yiqqavu ha-mayim*). Rabbi Berekhiah said in the name of Rabbi Abba son of Yama, 'Let a measure be made for the waters, as is said: וקו (*Ve-qav*), *And a line, will be stretched out over Jerusalem* (Zechariah 1:16).'"

229. **the primordial point** *Ḥokhmah*, the point of light issuing from *Keter*.

230. **the supernal palace** *Binah*, the divine womb.

231. **Vitality of the Worlds** *Yesod*, who channels the entire flow of

emanation to *Shekhinah*, thereby uniting male and female. See above, note 214.

232. **upper ה (*he*)** *Binah*, symbolized by the first ה (*he*) in the name יהוה (*YHVH*), and perhaps alluded to by the ה (*he*) of המים (*ha-mayim*), *the waters*.

233. **small ו (*vav*)...** *Yesod*, which emerges from, yet remains joined to, *Tif'eret*. Whereas *Tif'eret* is known as *heaven* and is symbolized by the large ו (*vav*), *Yesod* is *under heaven* and symbolized by the small ו (*vav*). Together they spell out the name of the letter, וו (*vav*), as well as the double ו (*vav*) in the word יקוו (*yiqqavu*), *let* [*the waters*] *be gathered*.

See *Zohar* 1:119a; 2:9b; 3:11a, 53b, 74b. On the question of the small ו (*vav*), see *Minḥat Shai* on Psalms 24:4.

234. **lower ה (*he*)** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the second ה (*he*) of the name יהוה (*YHVH*), and perhaps alluded to by the ה (*he*) of היבשה (*ha-yabbashah*), *the dry land*. Without the *waters* of emanation, *Shekhinah* is *dry land*. Of all the *sefirot*, She is the one revealed, the one who reveals the others.

235. **mystery of blessings revealed and concealed** The Hebrew formula of blessing begins by addressing God directly in the second person (revealed): "Blessed are You, *YHVH*," but then it switches to the third person (concealed): "... who has hallowed us by His commandments...."

See *Bahir* 125 (184); Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, 134–35; Naḥmanides on Exodus 15:26; Todros Abulafia, *Otsar ha-Kavod*, *Berakhot* 12a; *Zohar* 1:158a–b; 3:271b, 289a (*IZ*) (*NZ*, n. 6); *TZ* 39, 79b; *Kolbo* 1.

236. **From this one, *let it appear!*...** By contemplating the revealed *sefirah* of *Shekhinah*, one is able to perceive concealed realms.

237. **the nexus of unity...** In *Yesod* all the higher *sefirot* are united in preparation for joining *Shekhinah*.

238. **one of the upper world...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, centering on *Tif'eret*, who is symbolized by the name *YHVH*.

239. **one of the lower world...** *Shekhinah* and the powers accompanying Her. She is called *His name* because through Her revealed nature *YHVH* becomes known and recognized. See *Zohar* 2:133b–134b.

240. **till here** To *Yesod*.

241. **limbs** שייפין (*Shaifin*), from a root meaning "to smooth, rub, slip." In the *Zohar*, the word signifies "limbs," perhaps based on the Talmudic expression (BT *Sotah* 7b) על איבריה לשפא (*al eivreih le-shafa*), "each limb entered its socket"—"slipping" into place—or "... the chest."

See *Arukh*, s.v. *shaf*; Rashi, ad loc., and on Job 33:21, citing BT *Ḥullin* 42b; *Zohar* 3:170a.

242. **in a single desire** As *Yesod* verges on union with *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 2:128b, 133b.

243. **the revealed world joins the concealed** *Shekhinah* joins the more hidden *sefirot*.

244. ***I saw YHVH*** The verse actually reads *I saw* אדני (*Adonai*). See *Zohar* 1:60a; 2:81b. The key root in each of the following verses is ראה (*r'h*), "to see," or, in its passive conjugation, "to appear." All these theophanies are linked by the *Zohar* with the command of Genesis: תראה (*Tera'eh*), *Let it appear!*, which is taken to mean: "Let the divine appear through *Shekhinah*!" *Shekhinah* is often referred to as אדני (*Adonai*), "Lord," and כבוד (*kavod*), *presence*.

245. ***I have set My bow in the cloud...*** God's declaration to Noah after the Flood, assuring him of the divine covenant with humanity. According to M *Avot* 5:6, the rainbow was one of the ten things created at the end of the week of Creation, "at twilight on Sabbath eve."

See Ibn Ezra and Radak on Genesis 9:13; Naḥmanides on 9:12; Judah ben Barzillai, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 139; *Zohar* 1:71b; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 9:13, n. 81.

In the *Zohar*, the *bow* often symbolizes *Yesod*, the divine phallus and site of the covenant (the sign of circumcision). *Yesod* comprises the various colors of the *sefirot*, set in *the cloud* of *Shekhinah* since the beginning of time. *Bow* is a euphemism for phallus in rabbinic literature (e.g., *Bereshit Rabbah* 87:7; BT *Sanhedrin* 92a) and also refers to the Divine Presence. See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "'Whoever shows no concern for the glory of his Maker, it were better for him if he had not come into the world' (M *Ḥagigah* 2:1). What does this mean? Rabbi Abba said: 'It refers to one who gazes at the rainbow,'... for it is written: *Like the appearance of the bow in the cloud on a rainy day, so was the appearance of the surrounding radiance—the appearance of the image of the presence of YHVH* (Ezekiel 1:28)."

See BT *Berakhot* 59a; Isaac ben Jacob ha-Kohen, *Commentary on the Merkavah*, ed. Scholem, *Tarbiz* 2 (1931): 200; Naḥmanides on Genesis 9:12; *Zohar* 1:71b; 2:51b, 66b, 99a; 3:84a, 215a; *TZ* 30, 74b; Scholem, "Colours and Their Symbolism," 69–71; Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 336–40.

246. **On a cloudy day...** On a day when judgment prevails. See Naḥmanides on Genesis 9:12; he identifies the rainbow (קשת [*qeshet*]) as the quality of Judgment (*Din*) or *Gevurah*—which is harsh (קשה [*qasheh*]). Cf. Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 9:13. According to BT *Ketubbot* 77b, the rainbow appears when no righteous human is present. See *Zohar* 1:225a; 3:15a, 36a, 215a.

247. ***and she had hard labor*** The full verse reads: *They set out from Bethel; but when they were still some distance short of Efrat, Rachel went into childbirth, and she had hard labor*. Rachel dies giving birth to Benjamin. The word ותקש (*va-teqash*), *and she had hard* [*labor*], indicates harsh judgment, and it

also contains the letters of the word קשת (*qeshet*), "rainbow" (cf. *TZ* 69, 99b). *Shekhinah*, symbolized by Rachel, transmits divine judgment; She shares the symbol of the rainbow with *Yesod*, displaying the colors of the *sefirot*.

248. **Michael... Gabriel... Raphael...** These angels (together with Uriel) are the angels of the Presence, surrounding the divine throne. In Kabbalah these angels of the Presence are identified with the four holy creatures seen by Ezekiel (1:5–14). Here the *Zohar* indicates that they accompany *Shekhinah*, displaying the spectrum of colors: white (associated with the right side), red (the left), and green (the middle). See *Zohar* 1:98b–99a (*ST*).

249. **revolving the vision of the eye** An allusion to a technique for seeing the concealed colors of the *sefirot*. By closing one's eye and pressing a finger on the eyeball until it is moved to one side, one gains a vision of colors (white, red, and green), symbolizing *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 2:23b: "The secret is: close your eye and roll your eyeball. Those colors that shine and sparkle will be revealed."

See 1:42a, 43a, 97a–b (*ST*); 2:43b, 247a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 96–97 (123–24); *KP* on *Zohar* 1:18b; Scholem, "Colours and Their Symbolism," 66–67; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 291–93; Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 380–83.

250. **the lower unity...the unity above** The unity of *Shekhinah* (*presence*) with Her powers, and the unity of *Tif'eret* with the *sefirot* surrounding Him.

251. **יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*)...** The opening line of the *Shema* (*Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*) contains these three divine names, symbolizing the colors of the triad of *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, which band together in *Yesod*. See *Zohar* 2:43b.

252. **The colors of the rainbow...** On the rainbow's colors, see *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 1445 (ed. Margaliot, par. 484); Moses of Burgos, *Commentary on the Merkavah*, ed. Scholem, *Tarbiz* 5 (1934): 183; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 9:13; *Zohar* 1:71b, 98b (*ST*), 136b; 3:215a.

253. **another unity, mystery of *His name is one*...** The unity of *Shekhinah*, who "names" or reveals the divine. She is often called *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

254. **six words here, six words there** The first line of the *Shema* contains six words in Hebrew: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד (*Shema Yisra'el YHVH Eloheinu YHVH eḥad*), *Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*. These six words symbolize the unity above: *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). The second line of the *She-ma* (a nonbiblical response) also contains six words:ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד (*Barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-olam va-ed*), "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever." These six words symbolize *Shekhinah* (known as *Malkhut* ["Kingdom"]) and Her

accompanying powers. The two realms correspond and eventually unite.

See *Zohar* 1:12a; 2:133b–134a; 3:264a.

255. **surveying by קו (*qav*)...** As the waters of emanation flow, the various *sefirot* take shape, assuming size and dimension. See above, page 137: "יקוו (*Yiqqavu*), *Let* [*the waters*] *be gathered*—in קו (*qav*), a line, following a straight path," and note 228.

256. **plumb of dark brilliance בוצינא דקרדינותא** (*Botsina de-qardinuta*), "Lamp of impenetrability." See above, page 107: "a spark of impenetrable darkness," and note 4; *ZḤ* 56d–58d (*QhM*). Liebes (*Peraqim*, 146–49, 162–63) notes the connection between *qardinuta* and measurement and, citing an early *Zohar* dictionary, suggests the translation: "a plumb of darkened light."

257. ***Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand*** The verse continues: *gauged the skies with a span, meted the dust of the earth with a measure, and weighed the mountains with a scale and the hills with a balance?*

258. **the measure of the Creator of the worlds...** The *sefirot* constitute the limbs of the divine body and represent the full articulation of the divine name. The *Zohar* sees the divine anatomy alluded to in both Genesis 1:9 and Isaiah 6:3.

שעורא (*Shi'ura*), "Measure," recalls שעור קומה (*shi'ur qomah*), "the measure of the stature," a term describing the vision of the divine form in early Jewish mysticism. יוצר עלמין (*Yotser almin*), "Creator of the worlds," recalls the early mystical term יוצר בראשית (*Yotser Bereshit*), "Creator of the Beginning." See Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, index, s.v. *shi'ur, yotser*; 3 Enoch 11:1; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 17 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:28); *Sefer ha-Temunah*, 71b; *Zohar* 2:175b–176a; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 65.

259. ***Holy, holy, holy!... Let the waters...*** The beginning of the verse in Isaiah refers to the emanation flowing from *Binah* through the triad of *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*.

260. ***YHVH of Hosts—to one place...*** *Yesod* is called יהוה צבאות (*YHVH Tseva'ot*), *YHVH of Hosts* (see above, page 126), and as noted above, page 137, *one place*—the place where the entire flow of emanation gathers before streaming into *Shekhinah*.

261. ***The whole earth is full of His presence*** *Shekhinah* is known as the Divine *Presence* (כבוד [*kavod*]), as well as *earth* and *dry land*. Her more mysterious name is כוזו במוכסז כוזו (*Kuzu be-mukhsaz kuzu*), an encoded version of יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), formed by replacing each letter of this triple divine name with the following letter in the alphabet. Whereas אלהינו יהוה יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*) denotes the triad of *sefirot* culminating in *Tif'eret*, כוזו כוזו במוכסז (*Kuzu be-mukhsaz kuzu*) denotes *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:23a (*TZ*). As noted in *Zohar* 2:134a, "the letters of the female are transposed."

The formula כוזו במוכסז כוזו (*Kuzu be-mukhsaz kuzu*) is written on the back of the parchment in the *mezuzah*, opposite the words on the front: יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*). See Asher ben Yeḥiel, on Alfasi, *Hilkhot Mezuzah* (end); *Tur, Yoreh De'ah* 288; Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nis-tar*, 31, 121, n. 58.

262. ***Let the earth sprout vegetation— seed-bearing plants*** The verse continues: *fruit trees of every kind on earth bearing fruit with the seed in it*.

263. **Now *Earth* generates...** *Shekhinah* receives the flow of emanation from *Yesod* (*one place*) and transmits it in the form of angels who accompany Her. See above, page 138.

264. **arrayed in an array...** The angels are arrayed and adorned through the human act of prayer, as performed by the kabbalists—the "scions of faith," Aramaic בני מהימנותא (*benei meheimanuta*).

265. **behemoth crouching on a thousand mountains...** See *Vayiqra Rabba* 22:10: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'It is one beast [interpreting the apparent plural, בהמות (*behemot*), *beast*, in Psalms 50:10], crouching on a thousand mountains—and a thousand mountains grow all kinds of herbs for her and she eats.'"

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11; BT *Bava Batra* 74b; *Zohar* 1:223a; 3:189a, 217a, 240b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 201. Here the *beast* symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

266. **created on the second day** The angels created on the second day of Creation are angels of Judgment, deriving from the side of *Gevurah*. Consisting solely of strict Judgment, they cannot survive. See above, page 133.

267. **fire consuming fire** See BT *Yoma* 21b, where *Shekhinah* is called "fire consuming fire" because of God's burning the angels who opposed human creation (as related in *Sanhedrin* 38b). Here the fire of *Shekhinah* consumes the angels created on the second day, who consist of "flashing fire" (*Zohar* 3:217a) and derive from the fire of *Gevurah*.

See Psalms 104:4; BT *Ḥagigah* 14a; *Zohar* 1:50b, 69a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 65.

268. **אופנים (*ofanim*), whirling angels...** Various families of angels. The term אופנים (*ofanim*), "wheels," derives from Ezekiel's vision of the throne-chariot (Ezekiel 1:15–21), where it refers to "wheels" rimmed with eyes, moving in perfect unison with the חיות (*ḥayyot*), "living creatures, animals" (1:5–26) and together transporting the throne, turning it into a chariot.

The ברובים (*keruvim*), "cherubs," modeled on human-animal-bird figures of the Fertile Crescent, are the only pictorial representation permitted in biblical religion. They guard the path to the Tree of Life (Genesis 3:24). Two golden *keruvim* with outstretched wings covered the ark in the Tabernacle in the

wilderness (Exodus 25:18–22), and from between them issued the divine voice speaking to Moses (Numbers 7:8–9). Ezekiel identifies them with the *ḥayyot* (Ezekiel 10:20). In the *Zohar*, all three types of angels emanate from *Shekhinah* and are here symbolized by *plants*.

269. **to be arrayed...** Through human prayer, the angels are arrayed and adorned.

270. ***the work...*** עבודה (*Avodah*) means both "work" and "worship."

271. ***from the earth*** From *Shekhinah*.

272. **the holy fire** *Shekhinah*, the "fire consuming fire." See *OY*.

273. **All the tending...** Human worship ensures the continued flow of divine sustenance and blessing.

274. **male and female** *Shekhinah* is the *fruit tree*, conveying the fructifying power of *Yesod*, known as *bearing fruit*. See *Zohar* 1:33a, 238a.

275. **Those ascending in the smoke...** Angels accompanying the offering in the Temple. See *Zohar* 3:307a.

276. **through *the work of humanity*** The act of human worship adorns the angelic *columns of smoke*.

277. **male and female** *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*.

278. ***The image of their face was a human face*** The opening of Ezekiel's description of the faces of the *ḥayyot*, which include also the faces of lion, ox, and eagle. Here the *human face* alludes to the divine couple. See Liebes, *Studies in Jewish Myth*, 76–77.

279. **differ from those cherubs... large faces... small faces...** See BT *Sukkah* 5b: "Rabbi Aḥa son of Ya'akov said, 'We have learned that the face of the cherubim was no less than a handbreadth....' What is a כרוב (*keruv*), cherub? Rabbi Abbahu said, 'כרביא (*Ke-ravya*), Like a child, for in Babylon they call a child רביא (ravya).' Abbaye said to him, 'If so, how do you explain the verse: *The face of one was the face of a cherub, and the face of the second the face of a human* (Ezekiel 10:14), seeing that [the faces of] a cherub and a human are the same?'—'A large face and a small face [i.e., *The face of a human* is large, while *the face of a cherub* is small].'"

See *Zohar* 1:228b; 3:60b, 217b. Cf. 3:201a, where Rabbi Shim'on and his son Rabbi El'azar are called "the large face and the small face."

According to BT *Yoma* 54a, the cherubs in the Temple were depicted in sexual embrace: "Rabbi Katina said, 'When Israel ascended [to Jerusalem] for the Festival, the curtain would be rolled open for them and the cherubs revealed, their bodies intertwined. They [the people] would be addressed: "Look! You are beloved by God [as intensely] as man loves woman."'"

280. **All images are comprised...** Identical language appears in the *Zohar*'s

section on physiognomy. See 2:73a (*RR*); cf. 74a.

281. **the explicit name** The Ineffable Name, *YHVH*. See *Devarim Rabbah* 3:8; *Midrash Tehillim* 114:9; *Zohar* 2:48a.

282. **Michael... the South** Michael, one of the *ḥayyot*, is associated with the South, the side of *Ḥesed*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Zohar* 2:254a; 3:118b.

283. ***A human* is male and female...** The human face seen by Ezekiel was complete, combining male and female characteristics, reflecting the union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*. See BT *Yevamot* 63b: "Rabbi El'azar said, Any אדם (*adam*), man, without a woman is not an *adam*, as is said: *Male and female He created them... and He named them adam* (Genesis 5:2).'"

284. **שנאן (*Shin'an*)...** This word from Psalms 68:18, of uncertain origin and meaning, is interpreted here as an acronym alluding to the four faces of the *ḥayyot*: שור (*shor*), *ox*; נשר (*nesher*), *eagle*; אריה (*aryeh*), *lion*; and finally אדם (*adam*), *human*, symbolized by the last letter, ן (final *nun*), whose extended length implies the fullness of male and female.

See *Bahir* 56 (83); *Zohar* 1:147a–b (*Tos*), 149b (*ST*); 2:118a (*RM*); 3:66b, 155a, 156b, 285b.

285. **All those thousands and myriads** Of angels.

286. **included in one another** The *ḥayyot* have four faces each. See Ezekiel 1:5–11.

287. ***Ox* ascends... A name ascends...** The *ox* symbolizes *Gevurah*, the left side (see Ezekiel 1:10), yet its name is אל (*El*), symbolizing *Ḥesed*, the right. As the *ox* ascends to gaze, the two opposite forces harmonize in a pattern of two colors: white (symbolizing the right side) and red (symbolizing the left).

288. **Then it turns back...** After gazing at the *human face*, the ox returns and is engraved on the throne, *Shekhinah*. Thereafter it is guided by the name אל (*El*), "God."

289. ***Eagle* ascends... Another name ascends...** The *eagle* symbolizes the middle (see *Zohar* 2:80b), and its name is גדול (*Gadol*), *Great*, symbolizing *Ḥesed*, the right. The colors are white (symbolizing the right side) and green (symbolizing the middle).

290. ***Lion* ascends... Another name ascends...** The *lion* symbolizes the right side (see Ezekiel 1:10); its name is גבור (*Gibbor*), *Mighty*, symbolizing *Gevurah*, the left. The two colors are white and red. For "aligned in power" (ולאתישרא בתוקפא [*ul-ityashshara be-tuqpa*]), the parallel in *Zohar* 3:274a (as well as Recanati) reads: ולאתקשרא בתוקפיה [*ul-itqashshara be-tuqpeih*], "to be bound in its power."

291. **נורא (*Nora*), *Awesome*** Associated with *Tif'eret*, who is symbolized by the humanlike figure seated on the throne of *Shekhinah*. See Ezekiel 1:26; *Zohar*

2:78b–79a, 261a.

292. ***The image of their face...*** The *ḥayyot* all combine into the *human face*.

293. ***the great, mighty, and awesome God*** Designating *Tif'eret* (the blessed Holy One, *awesome*), who harmonizes the qualities of right (*great*) and left (*mighty*).

294. **the supernal chariot...** The *sefirot*, specifically *Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*, which constitute a throne for *Binah*. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:588–89. The name יהוה (*YHVH*) represents both *Tif'eret* and the entirety of the *sefirot*: י (*yod*) symbolizing the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*; the feminine marker ה (*he*) symbolizing *Binah*, the Divine Mother; ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizing the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*; and the final ה (*he*) symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

295. **These images...** The images of the *ḥayyot* are engraved in the throne of *Shekhinah*.

296. **The throne, ascending...** To unite with *Tif'eret*.

297. **These four supernal names** אל, גדול, גבור, נורא (*El, Gadol, Gibbor, Nora*), *God, Great, Mighty, Awesome*.

298. **as it grasps and gathers souls...** As *Shekhinah* unites with Her partner (*Tif'eret* or *Yesod*), She gathers in the ecstatic flow of new souls.

299. **it descends...** *Shekhinah* descends, now filled with the fruit of new souls.

On souls as fruit, see *Bahir* 14 (22); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489, 504; *Zohar* 1:15b, 33a, 59b–60a, 82b, 85b, 115a–b; 2:223b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 51; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69). Cf. Ibn Ezra on Psalms 1:3.

300. **embracing all images** See *Zohar* 1:44a; 2:73a (*RR*), 74a; 3:241b; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 50–51.

301. **It emits seed...** *Yesod* channels its flow to *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*, in order to engender new life.

302. **Precisely!...** The wording of Genesis (*in it*) implies that *Yesod* retains its flow, channeling it only *on earth*, i.e., to *Shekhinah*. Similarly, human seed should remain within the male except when fulfilling the *mitsvah* of procreation. According to the *Zohar*, masturbation is a heinous sin.

See *Kallah Rabbati* 2; BT *Niddah* 13a; *Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 188a, 219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66.

303. **The *vegetation* here** The angels created on the second day, who rule momentarily and are then consumed by *Shekhinah*. Above, page 142, they are referred to as *grass*.

304. **and so on every day** See BT *Ḥagigah* 14a: "Shemu'el said to Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Rav, 'O son of a lion! Come, I will tell you one of those fine words

said by your father: Every single day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream, chant a song, then cease to be, as is said: *New every morning, immense is Your faithfulness!* (Lamentations 3:23).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 78:1; above, pages 133, 142.

305. **an image and figure** A soul.

306. **The figure and image above** Of the angels who endure.

307. **in a garment** In a body.

308. **the spirit strips itself...** The spirit divests itself of the body and ascends to *Shekhinah*. See El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 4b.

309. ***New every morning...*** In BT *Ḥagigah* 14a, this verse is applied to the angels. See above, note 304; *Zohar* 2:213b–214a, 247a; *ZḤ* 18b (*MhN*). Here the reference is to the daily miracle of human rebirth.

310. ***faithfulness...*** One of the many names of *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 2:214a; 3:35b.

311. ***All the rivers...*** Each night souls stream into the sea of *Shekhinah*, each morning they reemerge. See *Zohar* 1:235a.

312. **Of this day is written...** The phrase *God saw that it was good* appears twice in the account of the third day of Creation.

313. **this day united two sides...** The third day symbolizes *Tif'eret*, third of the lower *sefirot*, who mediates the extremes of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*. See above, page 128.

314. **So it includes...** God gives two commands (*He said*) on the third day (Genesis 1:9, 11), each of which is followed by the phrase *God saw that it was good*.

315. **the four-letter name** יהוה (*YHVH*), the divine name associated with *Tif'eret*.

316. **ascending to twelve...** Formed into twelve letters. A name of twelve letters is mentioned but not identified in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. It was later associated with the three occurrences of *YHVH* in the priestly blessing (Numbers 6:24–26). See *Bahir* 80 (111): "...numbering three, numbering twelve."

Cf. *Zohar* 1:16a; 2:58a; 3:78a–b, 172b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 92, 290, n. 32. *Zohar* 2:201b refers to "the holy name of twelve letters that... rules the air. This is the name with which Elijah flew, ascending to heaven [see 2 Kings 2:11]."

KP interprets the twelve-letter name as the full spelling of אדני (*Adonai*): אלף, דלת, נון, יוד (*alef, dalet, nun, yod*). *Adonai* ("My Lord") is the traditional, circumlocutional pronunciation of יהוה (*YHVH*) and a name of *Shekhinah*, the throne. Scholem provides a conceivable diagram of יהוה (*YHVH*) written four times in a square using twelve letters.

317. **spelled deficiently: מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*...** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vavs*, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling is interpreted to mean that something was missing on the fourth day of Creation: the light of *Shekhinah*—symbolized by the moon—diminished; and this lack represents the potential for evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

See JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b: "On the fourth day [of the week, Wednesday] they would fast for infants, so that diphtheria not enter their mouths. *God said, 'Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*'—spelled מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*."

Cf. Proverbs 3:33; BT *Ta'anit* 27b, *Ḥullin* 60b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:1a, 12a, 33b; 2:167b, 205a.

Diphtheria here alludes to Lilith, the female demon who strikes children with this dread disease. See BT *Berakhot* 8a; *Zohar* 2:264b. In *Zohar* 2:267b Lilith and diphtheria appear as two distinct but kindred spirits.

318. **After the radiance of primordial light...** The primordial light of the first day of Creation was hidden away. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:12a, 31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

319. **a shell was created...** Surrounding, concealing, and protecting the kernel of light. This shell is the demonic realm of *Sitra Aḥra*—or, according to *KP*, *Shekhinah*.

320. **another shell** Lilith, the female demon, wife of Samael. See *Zohar* 1:34b; 3:19a; *ZḤ* 16c (*MhN*); Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

321. **the small faces** The cherubim, guarding the heavenly gates. See above, page 142; *Zohar* 1:228b; 3:60b, 217b; and BT *Sukkah* 5b: "Rabbi Aḥa son of Ya'akov said, 'We have learned that the face of the cherubim was not less than a handbreadth'.... What is a כרוב (*keruv*), cherub? Rabbi Abbahu said, 'כרבייא (*Ke-ravya*), Like a child, for in Babylon they call a child רביא (*ravya*).' Abbaye said to him, 'If so, how do you explain the verse: *The face of one was the face of a cherub, and the face of the second the face of a human* (Ezekiel 10:14), seeing that [the faces of] a cherub and a human are the same?'— 'A large face and a small face [i.e., *The face of a human* is large, while *the face of a*

cherub is small].'"

322. **She desired...** The demonic seeks to assume higher form. See above, pages 144–45, where the four faces of the *ḥayyot* are engraved on the divine throne.

323. **so that this would be perfected in this world** Through overcoming evil, Lilith herself is perfected (see *OY*, *Sullam*, *YN*). Alternatively, Adam is perfected (Scholem, *MmD*), or the world is perfected by Adam (*KP*; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:540). See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 157.

324. **As soon as she saw Eve...** According to *Alfa Beita de-Ven Sira*, 232–34, Lilith was Adam's first wife, created from the earth. Insisting on her equality, she refused to lie beneath Adam; uttering the name *YHVH*, she flew away. Here Lilith flees once she sees Eve. Adam's beauty reflects that of the *sefirot*, Primordial Adam. Together, he and Eve constitute an image of the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

325. **children... who deserve...** See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 4:1: "*I further observed all the oppression that goes on under the sun....* Rabbi Yehudah says, 'These are the children who are hidden away [taken away early] in life through the sins of their fathers in this world....'" Adam and Eve's sin empowers Lilith to kill.

326. **cherubs...** These cherubs are lower than the ones mentioned above. According to Genesis 3:24, cherubs along with *the flaming, ever-turning sword* guard the Garden of Eden and its path to the Tree of Life. See *Zohar* 3:167a.

327. **she emerged from the side of that *flame*** Lilith emerged from the left side, Judgment, symbolized by fire. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:9: "*Ever-turning*—changing: sometimes male, sometimes female; sometimes spirits, sometimes angels."

328. **As the flame revolves...** As the *flaming sword* revolves, Judgment and Love manifest alternately. When Judgment prevails, Lilith strikes. Or, according to *MM*, when Judgment prevails, Lilith abides by the flame; when Love prevails, she flees. See *Zohar* 1:221b.

329. **in the waning of the moon...** When *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, is weakened, the power of the demonic grows dominant. See *Zohar* 1:70b, 146a.

330. **מארת** (***me'orot***), ***lights*, deficient** See above, page 148.

331. **Until Cain was born...** Until then, Lilith could not cling to Adam, who was united with Eve. Once Cain killed Abel, Adam saw no reason to have any more children, so he separated from Eve, whereupon maleficent spirits copulated with him.

See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11; BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:34b, 54b–55a; 2:231b; 3:76b.

According to various sources, Cain himself was engendered by the union of Eve and the serpent. See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 54a; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

332. **Later she drew close to him...** to Adam.

333. **For 130 years...** Referring to Genesis 5:3: *Adam lived 130 years and engendered a son in his likeness, after his own image*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11: "Rabbi Simon said, 'Throughout all 130 years that Adam separated himself from Eve, male spirits heated themselves from her and she gave birth, while female spirits heated themselves from Adam and gave birth.'"

See BT *Eruvin* 18b: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'During all those [130] years that Adam was under the ban [for having eaten from the Tree of Knowledge], he engendered spirits, demons, and לילין (*lilin*), female demons, as is said: *Adam lived 130 years and engendered a son in his likeness, after his own image* (Genesis 5:3), from which it follows that until that time he did not engender after his own image'.... That statement refers to semen that he emitted accidentally."

See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26; *Zohar* 1:34b, 54a–55a; 2:231b; 3:76b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51–54.

334. **Na'amah** Na'amah, whose name means "lovely," was the sister of Tuval-Cain and the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Cain (Genesis 4:22). According to rabbinic tradition, the fallen angels were attracted by her beauty. See ibid. 6:1–4; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat*, add. 1; *Midrash Aggadah* and *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 4:22.

According to the *Zohar*, she is the mother of Ashmedai, king of the demons, and she generates demons by seducing men in their sleep. See Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:9b, 55a; 3:76b–77a; *ZḤ* 19d (*MhN*).

335. **Uzza and Azael** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2), here specifically Na'amah. They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:9b, 23a, 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

336. **they** Na'amah and her demonic offspring.

337. **sleeping alone in a house... seize desire from them...** The spirits and demons are succubi, who were created without bodies and are eager to be impregnated by the seminal emission of males sleeping alone.

See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17; *Zohar* 1:55a; 2:264a; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51–54; Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 154–57; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1366–67. See BT *Shabbat* 151b: "Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'One may not sleep alone in a house [or: in an isolated house], and whoever sleeps alone in a house is seized by Lilith.'" Cf. *Zohar* 3:45a; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 60.

338. **the waning of the moon** As the light of *Shekhinah* diminishes.

339. **letters were rearranged...** When the light returned, *Shekhinah* regained Her fullness, manifesting as the divine *word*.

340. **quaestors** קסטירין (*Qastirin*). The rabbinic term קוסטור (*qustor*) derives from Latin *quaestor*, a Roman official or prosecutor. See JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b; *Zohar* 1:53b; 2:58b, 208b; 3:13a. *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 188 relates the Zoharic term to the rabbinic קוסטינר (*qustinar*), which derives from the Latin *quaestionarius*, "torturer, executioner." Cf. קלסטור (*qalastor*), from the Greek *kolaster*, "torturer, executioner."

341. **descended to the depth of the nut** Solomon explored the nature of reality by examining the structure of the nut, which is composed of a kernel symbolizing divinity surrounded by layers of shells (קליפין [*qelippin*]), symbolizing demonic forces. In the writings of El'azar of Worms, the nut symbolizes the *merkavah* (the divine chariot-throne).

See Scholem, *Major Trends*, 239; Altmann, *Studies*, 172–79; Pope, *Song of Songs*, 574–79. Cf. Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 156–60; *Zohar* 1:44b; 2:15b (*MhN*), 140b, and 233b: "Just as a nut has a shell surrounding and covering the kernel, the kernel resting within, so, too, with everything holy: holiness within, the other side without." The nut also appears as a cosmic symbol in the Orphic mysteries. See Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 2:521–25.

342. ***The delights of the sons of men...*** Interpreting the verse to mean: The delights of demons are the sons of men.

343. **Further...** Interpreting the verse hyperliterally: *The delights of the sons of men* (i.e., their seminal emissions) impregnate the succubi, thereby generating *demon after demon*.

344. **had to create everything...** Both the shells and the kernel play a role in existence. The ultimate kernel is *Ein Sof*, surrounded, as it were, by the shells of the *sefirot*, which clothe and filter the intense light emanating out. See *Zohar* 2:131a.

345. **the head of the mystery...** *Ḥokhmah*, the first ray of emanation.

346. **all is this within that...** Each layer of existence is simultaneously the kernel of the shell surrounding it and the shell of the kernel within it. See

Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 3:2, who describes the many spheres within the eight celestial spheres as arranged "like the skins of an onion."

347. **until an expanse...** Until the circle of *Binah* expanded from the point of *Ḥokhmah*. See above, pages 109–12.

348. **radiance unknowable...** Apparently the radiance of the point of *Ḥokhmah*, though some commentators specify the palace of *Binah*, also unknowable.

349. **primordial light** *Ḥesed*, symbolized by the light of the first day of Creation.

350. **kernel and shell, spirit and body** The human being, fashioned *in the image of God* (Genesis 1:27), manifests the structure of kernel and shell. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 159.

351. **When the moon shared...** When *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret* were united, She was radiant. Originally the moon and the sun were equally radiant. See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!"....'"

352. **Shells upon shells...** The shells conceal the kernel of light, yet also filter it. Even the outermost shells, the demonic forces, serve this function by testing and punishing humanity.

353. **מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, is spelled deficiently** As noted above (page 148), in Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vavs*, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling alludes to the diminished light of *Shekhinah*, the moon, now surrounded by shells, which culminate in evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

354. ***to shine upon earth*** The arrayal of the kernel within a series of shells actually benefits the world; now the light is filtered, shining with a bearable intensity.

355. ***The two great lights...*** Originally, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the sun and moon, were united. Their union is indicated by the full name: אלהים יהוה (*YHVH Elohim*). In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name."

In Kabbalah the two names often designate *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who were originally one and whose reunion represents the goal of religious life. See *Zohar*

1:4a, 20a, 48b; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

356. **in a manner concealed** Concealed within divine thought prior to emanation (*KP*), or concealed by not appearing in this verse in its full form but only as אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*. An encoded form of the other half of the name follows.

357. **מצטץ מצפץ** (***MTsPTs, MTsPTs***)... An encoded form of the name יהוה יהוה (*YHVH YHVH*), according to the system of letter substitution known as א״ת ב״ש (*at bash*), in which the last letter of the alphabet is substituted for the first, the penultimate for the second, etc. See *Zohar* 2:132a–b. The double name יהוה יהוה (*YHVH YHVH*) appears at the beginning of the thirteen qualities of compassion, derived from Exodus 34:6–7. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 17b; *Zohar* 1:1a. According to Kabbalah these qualities originate in *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, the realm of total compassion untainted by judgment.

358. **these were enhanced...** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* return to their source in *Keter*, the mystery on high, and draw down a flow of emanation to the worlds.

359. **The moon was uneasy...** See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!" She said before Him, "Master of the Universe! Because I have suggested something proper I should make myself smaller?" He replied, "Go and rule by day and night." She said, "But what is the value of this? What good is a lamp at noon?"... Seeing that her mind was uneasy [that she could not be consoled], the blessed Holy One said, "Bring an atonement for Me for making the moon smaller."' As was said by Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: 'Why is the goat offered on the new moon distinguished by the phrase *to* [or: *for*] *YHVH* (Numbers 28:15)? The blessed Holy One said, "Let this goat be an atonement for My having made the moon smaller."'"

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 23b; *Zohar* 1:146a; *ZḤ* 70d–71a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 189; idem, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 35b.

360. ***Where do you pasture... Where do you let them rest...*** *OY* suggests the rendering: *Where will she pasture... Where will she let them rest...*, referring to the moon herself (the pronominal prefix ת [*tav*] denotes either *you* or *she*). See *MM*; and *ZḤ* 71a (*ShS*), where the verse is addressed by the moon to the blessed Holy One.

361. **How can a little lamp shine at noon?** The moon is ashamed to reveal its own meager light in the face of the sun's light. See the moon's complaint cited above, note 359: "What good is a lamp at noon?" Cf. *ZḤ* 71a (*ShS*).

362. **head of those below** Of the angelic forces beneath her and of the lower worlds.

363. **she has light only from the sun** Reflecting its light. Similarly, *Shekhinah* reflects the light of *Tif'eret*, lacking light of Her own. The expression derives from a medieval astronomic description of the moon.

See Radak on Genesis 1:16; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 338; idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 381; *Zohar* 1:31a, 132b, 181a, 238a; 2:43a, 142a, 218b.

364. ***The greater light... and the smaller light...*** *Tif'eret*, whose name is *YHVH*, and *Shekhinah*, known as *Elohim*. As the final *sefirah*, She is the culmination of divine thought.

365. **inscribed above among the letters...** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by the final letter in the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

366. **Nevertheless she ascended...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the letter ה (*he*), regained union with the higher *sefirot*, symbolized by the first three letters of the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

367. **Rungs expanding...** Both *Tif'eret*, who rules the day, and *Shekhinah*, ruling the night, generate angelic forces.

368. **other forces and camps...** Of angels.

369. **that *expanse of heaven*...** *Yesod*, who encompasses the angels. He is also known as "Vitality of the Worlds," since He channels the flow of emanation, animating all of existence. See above, note 214.

370. **On this day the kingdom of David...** *Shekhinah*, who is known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"), is symbolized by the ideal kingdom of David and by the fourth day of Creation, on which the sun and moon were fashioned. She together with the sefirotic triad of *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret* (symbolized by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) constitute the four legs of the divine throne upon which sits *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:5b, 82a, 89b (*ST*), 154b.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 47:6: "Resh Lakish said, 'The patriarchs themselves constitute the [divine] Chariot.'" Cf. Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 57; *Zohar* 1:60b, 99a, 150a, 173b, 248b; 2:144a; 3:38a, 99a.

On the relation between David and the patriarchs, see Acts 2:29; *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 1; BT *Berakhot* 16b; *Pesaḥim* 117b; *Sanhedrin* 107a; *Midrash Tehillim* 18:8, 25; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 45 (54); Jacob ben Sheshet, *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon*, 396; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 32:10; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:265, 94. Cf. *Zohar* 1:82a and note 164 there.

371. **The letters were arrayed...** The letters of the name יהוה (*YHVH*) were arranged, no longer encoded, with the final ה (*he*) symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

372. **until the sixth day...** The creation of the human being on the sixth day symbolizes the full emanation of the *sefirot*, envisioned as the limbs of Primordial

Adam. Only at this point did *Shekhinah* stabilize.

373. **the upper throne and the lower throne...** Here the upper throne symbolizes *Tif'eret* and the *sefirot* around Him, enthroning *Binah*, while the lower throne symbolizes *Shekhinah*, enthroning *Tif'eret*.

374. **arrayed in their wheels** The letters of the alphabet, by which the world was created, were arrayed in correct order. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:4: "Twenty-two elemental letters. God set them in a wheel with 231 gates, turning forward and backward." Cf. Liebes, *Peraqim*, 293.

375. **scribal matrix of the nexus** טופסירא דקוטרא (*Tufsira de-qutra*). In the *Zohar*, *tufsira* (or *tufsera*) means either "mold, form, configuration" (based on טופסא [*tufsa*], derived from the Greek *tupos*), or "royal dignitary" (based on טפסרא [*tafsera*], derived from biblical טפסר [*tifsar*], "marshal, scribe").

See Jeremiah 51:27; Nahum 3:17; *Zohar* 1:30b, 96b, 157a, 241b, 242b, 243b; 2:235b (*Tos*); 3:120a, 270b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 178–80, 185; *KP*; Scholem. Here the letters are linked in a creative pattern.

376. **a day rejected...** When *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the fourth day of Creation, diminished Her light, She excluded Herself from the brilliance of *the builders*, the triad of *sefirot* (*Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*) symbolized by the first three days of Creation who together construct the pattern of the *sefirot*. See *Bahir* 131 (190); *Zohar* 1:89b (*ST*). *Shekhinah* refers to them as *My mother's sons*, the offspring of *Binah*, the Divine Mother.

377. **shells were arrayed...** Concealing the light. See above, pages 151–52.

378. **All those radiant lights...** The lights of the *sefirot* (from *Ḥesed* through *Hod*) converge in *Yesod* in order to adorn *Shekhinah*, the throne of David.

379. **all those included in the category *human*...** Those creatures (ox, lion, eagle) comprised in the *human* face of the *ḥayyot*. See above, page 145: "*The image of their face was a human face* (Ezekiel 1:10). They are all comprised in this image, an image comprising them."

380. ***You are human...*** See BT *Yevamot* 60b–61a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'The graves of Gentiles do not impart impurity by a tent [i.e., one who stands on or bends over such a grave, thereby constituting a tent with his body, is not rendered impure], as is said: *You, My sheep, sheep of My pasture, are human* [*and I am Your God*] (Ezekiel 34:31). You are called *human*; Gentiles are not called *human*.'"

Rabbi Shim'on assumes a connection between *human* and "impurity by a tent," based on the wording of Numbers 19:14: *When a human dies in a tent, whoever enters the tent and whoever is in the tent shall be impure seven days*.

See *Zohar* 1:131a, 220a; 2:25b, 86a.

381. **the spirit of the holy side** Emanating from the world of the *sefirot*.

382. **body... is a garment...** The body clothes the soul. See *Zohar* 2:75b–76a; *ZḤ* 78c (*MhN*, *Rut*). The identical teaching appears in Moses de León's *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 44: "They have said in *Secrets of the Torah* " Cf. ibid., 159.

383. **Specters** טסירין (*Tesirin*), a neologism appearing several times in the *Zohar* (1:17b, 178a ["*tesirin* without a body"]; 2:29a). See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17: "It is not written here: [*He ceased from all His work*] *that* [*God*] *created and made*, but rather [*that God created*] *to make* (Genesis 2:3), for the Sabbath came first and their work was not completed. Rabbi Benaya said, 'This refers to the demons, for He created their souls, and as He was creating their bodies, the Sabbath day was hallowed. He left them, and they remained soul without body.'"

Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; 11:9; *Zohar* 1:14a, 47b–48a, 178a; 2:155b; 3:142b (*IR*); and M *Avot* 5:6: "Ten things were created on Friday eve at twilight.... Some say, 'Also the demons.'"

384. **melted in the smelting of this spirit** As the spirit (called *human*) is refined, lower spirits ("specters") are produced, which are then clothed in the form of ten pure animals, permitted to be eaten.

385. **who desire to be interwoven...** To be included in the category of *human*.

386. **the other side...** The demonic realm, source of other nations' souls. The claim that the souls of the nations derive from the demonic is supposedly based on the rabbinic source cited above (note 380), but is amplified far beyond its original context. For parallel medieval Christian views of the demonic nature of the Jews, see Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*. Cf. *Zohar* 1:47a, 131a; *ZḤ* 10c (*MhN*).

387. **it is called Impure** The body shares the impurity of the spirit.

388. **Once the spirit emerges...** Once that person dies, the garment ("it"), that is, the body, is no longer called Impure, which explains why "the graves of Gentiles do not impart impurity" (BT *Yevamot* 61a, cited above, note 380).

See *Zohar* 1:131a, 220a; *ZḤ* 78d (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 48a.

389. **Specters** טסירין (*Tesirin*). See above, note 383.

390. **this spirit** The spirit of impurity.

391. **that side** The side of impurity.

392. **Each kind follows its own...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 92b: "It was taught in the Mishnah: 'Anything attached to something subject to impurity is itself subject to impurity. Anything attached to something that remains pure will itself remain pure.' It was taught in a *baraita* [a tannaitic tradition]: Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'Not for nothing did the starling follow the raven, but because it is of its kind.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:3; *Zohar* 1:137b, 167b.

393. **The radiant lights above shine...** The *sefirot* emanate through *Yesod*.

394. ***greater light... smaller light...*** *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the sun, and *Shekhinah*, by the moon.

395. **The rule of the male...** The *sefirot* function as a traditional household: the male, *Tif'eret*, gathers the flow of emanation from left and right, while the female, *Shekhinah*, channels this flow, thereby nourishing the world.

396. **commands Her household...** Once *Shekhinah* arranges the powers under Her and retires with *Tif'eret*.

397. **the maidens who remain...** Angels serving *Shekhinah*.

398. ***God made the two great lights...*** The verse is taken to mean: *Binah*, known as אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, gave birth to *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, *the two great lights*. See above, page 153.

399. **"luminaries of light"** A phrase appearing in the morning liturgy: "May You be blessed, *YHVH* our God, for the exquisite work of Your hands, for the luminaries of light You fashioned; they glorify You." See Ezekiel 32:8. Here the phrase refers to the emanation flowing between *Ḥesed* and *Shekhinah*.

400. **"luminaries of fire"...** The ritual of *havdalah*, marking the end of Sabbath, consists of blessings over wine, spices, and the light of a candle (here, a lamp). The blessing over the flame concludes: "... who creates the lights of the fire." Here "luminaries of fire" are the forces dominating the weekdays and sustained by *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by fire. See *Zohar* 1:14b; 2:207b–208b.

401. **for they have been granted...** The weekday forces have been empowered by *Shekhinah*, the divine lamp. The ceremony of *havdalah* symbolizes and actualizes this transition of authority.

402. **fingers of a human being...** The ten fingers of the human hand symbolize the ten *sefirot*.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:3; *Midrash Tadshe* 10 (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:174); *Bahir* (87) 124; Naḥmanides on Exodus 30:19; *Zohar* 2:67a, 208a; 3:143a (*IR*), 186a, 195b.

403. **front and back** The fronts of the fingers (adjoining the palm) symbolize the *sefirot*, while the backs of the fingers symbolize the forces beneath *Shekhinah* who rule the weekdays.

404. **permitted to gaze at the fingernails...** As one recites the blessing over the flame, one bends the fingers in toward the palm and gazes at the light reflected off the fingernails, which symbolize the weekday forces illumined and empowered by the fire of *Shekhinah*.

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 20, and David Luria, ad loc., n. 20; *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, *Sha'arei Teshuvah*, 104; *Zohar* 2:208a–b; S. Finesinger, in *Hebrew*

Union College Annual 12–13 (1937–38): 347–65; D. Noy, in *Maḥa nayim* 85–86 (1963): 166–73; Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 272–74; Hallamish, *Ha-Qabbalah*, 322–23.

405. **the inside of the fingers may not be viewed...** The fronts of the fingers, symbolizing the *sefirot*, should be concealed.

406. **This rules on Sabbath...** On Sabbath the *sefirot* rule through *Shekhinah*, while the rest of the week is dominated by the forces beneath *Shekhinah*.

407. **the blessed Holy One... His throne of glory** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

408. **"a people unique on earth"** See 2 Samuel 7:23: *Who is like Your people, like Israel, a nation unique on earth...?*

409. **the side of the right** The side of *Ḥesed*.

410. **primordial light...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:12b, 31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b. According to *Zohar* 1:1a, this primordial light was concealed in the covenant, a name for *Yesod*, also known as the Sabbath day.

411. **From the departure of Sabbath...** All week long.

412. **by that lamp** *Shekhinah*.

413. ***The creatures darting to and fro*** The verse continues: *with the appearance of sparks*. This is from Ezekiel's vision of the חיות (*ḥayyot*), "living creatures, animals," who carry the divine throne. The long passage that follows soon refers to *the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:15) encompassing the *ḥayyot* and concludes with the same verse.

414. ***wheel*** אופן (*Ofan*), one of the אופנים (*ofanim*) described by Ezekiel (1:15–21). There the wheels are rimmed with eyes and move in perfect unison with the *ḥayyot*, transporting the throne together with them. Here the *ofan* is identified with Metatron.

415. **Metatron** The chief angel, variously described as Prince of the World, Prince of the Presence, celestial scribe, and even יהוה קטן (*YHVH Qatan*), "Lesser *YHVH*" (3 Enoch 12:5, based on Exodus 23:21). In Heikhalot literature Metatron is also identified with Enoch, who ascended to heaven (based on Genesis 5:24). See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 377–81; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 73–108.

416. **500 parasangs higher** The Greek parasang equals about 3.5 miles. See BT *Ḥagigah* 13b, on Ezekiel 1:15: "As *I beheld the creatures, behold, one wheel on the ground alongside the creatures*. Rabbi Eleazar said, 'This is a certain angel who stands on earth and whose head extends close to the living creatures.' In a *matnita* [tannaitic tradition] it is taught: His name is Sandalfon, who is taller than his companion [Munich MS: companions] by a journeying distance of five hundred years. He stands behind the Chariot, binding crowns for his Lord." Here in the *Zohar*, Metatron replaces Sandalfon. Cf. 3 Enoch 9:1–2: "Rabbi Yishma'el said, 'Metatron, Prince of the Presence, said to me: ".... I was enlarged and increased in size till I matched the world in length and breadth."'"

417. **The hidden creatures** *Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*.

418. **beneath two supernal letters...** The quartet of *sefirot* lies beneath the divine parents, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, symbolized by the first two letters of יהוה (*YHVH*), who rule over the lower *sefirot*, symbolized by the last two letters. The highest *sefirah, Keter*, is alluded to by the tip of the initial letter, י (*yod*).

419. **Concealed of all Concealed** *Ein Sof*.

420. ***the expanse of heaven*** *Yesod*. See above, page 154.

421. **above the creatures** Above the hidden creatures, the quartet of *sefirot*.

422. **primordial ה (*he*)...** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, symbolized by the second letter of יהוה (*YHVH*). See *Zohar* 2:22a. She is also known as מי (*Mi*), "Who." See above, pages 5–9. A spiritual seeker inquires about Her, but such questions do not lead to ordinary verbal answers.

423. **it is enclosed in thought** *Binah* is concealed within the realm of divine thought, which is impenetrable.

424. **The thought of the blessed Holy One... א (*alef*)** Divine thought is identified with the open-ended א (*alef*) in *Bahir* 48 (70).

425. **what is suspended...** The lower *sefirot*.

426. **no trace at all** Similar language appears in *Zohar* 3:289b (*IZ*).

427. **the initial descent of *Ein Sof*** *Keter*, out of which all emanation proceeds.

428. **a tenuous radiance...** *Ḥokhmah*, the primordial point of light. See above, page 109; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 21–22 (25–26).

429. **a realm containing tracings of all letters...** *Binah*, who generates the letters of the alphabet.

430. **first and last of all the rungs...** The graphic shape of the letter א (*alef*) encompasses the entire range of *sefirot*: on the top right is a י (*yod*), symbolizing the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* (along with *Keter* and *Binah*); the central shaft of the א (*alef*) is a ו (*vav*), whose numerical value of six symbolizes *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*); and finally the י (*yod*) on the bottom left of the א (*alef*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, (lower *Ḥokhmah*), also pictured as a point.

See *Zohar* 3:73a, 193b; *ZḤ* 5c (*ST*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 87–89 (111–12).

431. **a single secrecy...** The primordial point represented by the י (*yod*) on the top right of the א (*alef*).

432. **six rungs...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* suspended in the divine mind (*Keter, Ḥokhmah*, and *Binah*).

433. **the radiance that shone...** *Ḥesed*, first of the six rungs, identified with the primordial light of the first day of Creation. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a, cited above, note 410.

434. **the letter ט (*tet*) of Creation** The first appearance of the letter ט (*tet*) in the Creation story is in Genesis 1:4: *God saw that the light was* טוב (*tov*), *good*. The primordial light of *Ḥesed* was hidden away in *Yesod*, the ninth *sefirah* (matching the numerical value of *tet*), who is also called *tov*. Thus *tet* indicates the light of *Ḥesed* concealed within *Yesod*.

See BT *Bava Qamma* 55a; *Zohar* 1:3a, 30b; 2:152a, 230a; *ZḤ* 63b (*ShS*).

435. ***the heat of the day... at the opening of the tent...*** From the description of Abraham's theophany: *YHVH appeared to him by the oaks of Mamre; he was sitting at the opening of the tent in the heat of the day*. In the *Zohar*, Abraham symbolizes *Ḥesed*, who shines on *Shekhinah*, *the opening of the tent*, the opening of the divine realm. *The heat of the day* alludes to *Ḥesed*, Abraham's day within the cosmic week, and *Yesod*, through whose passion *Ḥesed* joins *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:97b–98b (*ST*), 98a–b, 103b; 2:36a; 3:14a.

436. **a radiance that darkens away...** *Gevurah*, second of the six rungs, on the left side, which tends toward judgment and severity.

437. **the prayer of Isaac to mend this rung...** See BT *Berakhot* 26b: "Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'The patriarchs instituted the prayers'.... Abraham instituted the morning prayer..., Isaac instituted the afternoon prayer, as is said: *Isaac went out to meditate in the field as evening turned. ...* Jacob instituted the evening prayer." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9.

The three patriarchs each symbolize one of the sefirotic triad: *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. Isaac embodies *Gevurah*, also known as *the turning of the evening*. His prayer focused on restoring this darkened radiance and sweetening its harsh judgment.

438. **the Prince of Esau** The story of Jacob wrestling with *a man* (Genesis 32:25) is interpreted by Rabbi Ḥama son of Rabbi Ḥanina (*Bereshit Rabbah* 77:3) as a wrestling match with "the Prince of Esau," Esau's guardian angel. *Tanḥuma, Vayishlaḥ* 8 identifies this figure as Samael. Both Esau and Samael are empowered by *Gevurah* on the left side.

439. **a radiance combining both of these** The third rung is *Tif'eret*, who

balances the *sefirot* of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*. He is symbolized by both Jacob and the sun.

440. ***The sun rose upon him as he passed Penu'el,*** *limping on his thigh*, following his wrestling ordeal. On the healing power of the sun, see Malachi 3:20; BT *Bava Batra* 16b.

441. **once he had merged...** Jacob wrestled with the power of the left, the *turning of the evening*, and integrated it with the right. Thereby he attained the rung of *Tif'eret*, the sun. The *Zohar* relates פנות ערב (*penot erev*), *turning of the evening*, to פנואל (*Penu'el*).

442. **נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *Eternity of Israel...*** The verse reads: *Moreover, the Eternal One of Israel does not lie or change His mind, for He is not human that He should change His mind.* *Netsaḥ* is symbolized as one thigh of Primordial Adam, paired with *Hod*, the other thigh. Together these two *sefirot* constitute the source of prophecy.

443. **the fourth rung, from which no human prophesied...** When Jacob was wounded in his thigh, *Netsaḥ* (one of the two rungs of prophecy) was weakened and therefore such prophecy was suspended until the time of Samuel, who restored the *sefirah* of *Netsaḥ* and referred to it in the verse cited here. See 1 Samuel 3:1: *In those days the word of YHVH was rare; vision was not widespread*.

See *Zohar* 1:170b–171a; 2:111b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 10–12 (13–14); idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 82–83.

444. ***He touched the socket of his thigh*** The full verse reads: *When he saw that he could not prevail against him* [Jacob], *he touched the socket of his thigh, so the socket of Jacob's thigh was wrenched as he wrestled with him*.

445. **from that *turning of the evening...*** The Prince of Esau was empowered by *Din* ("Judgment"), the *sefirah* of the left side.

446. **had merged with it...** Jacob had balanced left and right.

447. **from there, for the thigh...** The Prince of Esau could not overpower Jacob, who symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the harmony of left and right, but he succeeded in wounding Jacob's thigh, symbolizing *Netsaḥ*, which is outside the torso of the body, and from there he derived power. See *Zohar* 1:146a, 166a; 2:227a.

448. **the torso** *Tif'eret*, torso of the sefirotic body.

449. **mystery of two rungs, mystery called אדם (*adam*), *human*** *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, the *sefirot* of the right and the left, are balanced in *Tif'eret*, the torso of the body of Primordial Adam. *Tif'eret* is symbolized by Jacob, of whom it is said (BT *Bava Me-tsi'a* 84b): "Jacob's beauty was a reflection of Adam's."

450. ***He is not human*** The full verse reads: *Moreover, the Eternal One of Israel does not lie or change His mind, for He is not human that He should*

change His mind. The *sefirah* of *Netsaḥ*, being outside the torso of the body, lacks the balance of *Tif'eret* ("the mystery called *human*") and is therefore vulnerable to the Prince of Esau. See above, page 163; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 11 (14).

By wounding Jacob's thigh, this demonic power damages the source of prophecy in the sefirotic thigh, *Netsaḥ*, and thereby prophecy is delayed until the arrival of Samuel. See *Zohar* 3:136b (*IR*).

451. ***Confer*** **מהודך** (***me-hodekha***), ***of your splendor, upon him*** The verse continues: *so that the entire community of the Children of Israel hearken*. In the biblical passage, God instructs Moses to impart his charisma to Joshua. Here in the *Zohar*, הודך (*hodekha*), *your splendor*, indicates the *sefirah* of *Hod*, companion of *Netsaḥ*, who together inspire prophecy. Joshua, living before Samuel, did not have access to *Netsaḥ*.

452. **the fifth rung, נצח** (***Netsaḥ***), ***Eternity*, left thigh...** M7 deletes the word נצח (*Netsaḥ*), *Eternity*, which simplifies the line, since in Kabbalah *Hod* is usually described as the fifth lower *sefirah* and the left thigh, while *Netsaḥ* is the fourth, the right thigh. The commentators wrestle with this inconsistency and attempt various solutions; see *OY*, *KP*, *MM*, *Sullam*. Apparently, here the *Zohar* adopts the view that *Netsaḥ* is on the left, and *Hod* on the right.

See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 10–11, 47–48 (13–14, 57, 59); idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 82–83, and Wolfson's note on 82:17.

453. **David came and combined it with the right... *in Your right hand*...** David combined left with right, so that *Netsaḥ* was included *in Your right hand*, on the right side.

See *Zohar* 2:168b–169a; *ZḤ* 44a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 11 (13): "But I have seen in the Midrash...."

454. **the side of impurity** The demonic power embodied by the Prince of Esau.

455. **So he** Samuel.

456. **all his words were stern...** Samuel devoted himself to restoring the *sefirah* of *Netsaḥ*, which had been attacked by the Prince of Esau on the left side, so his prophecy was characterized by the severe quality of the left side. Samuel's career began with the condemnation of the house of the high priest Eli, delivered by *a man of God* (1 Samuel 2:27–36), who is identified in rabbinic sources as Elkanah, Samuel's father.

See *Midrash Tanna'im*, 208; *Seder Olam Rabbah* 20:6; *Battei Midrashot*, 2:121; Rashi on BT *Eruvin* 18b, s.v. *Elqanah*; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:222, n. 28.

Samuel's final prophecy was a condemnation of King Saul. See 1 Samuel 15:10–34; 28:15–19.

457. **anointed kings** Saul and David.

458. **two sides above** *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, on the left and the right, symbolized by Aaron the priest and Moses the Levite.

459. ***Netsaḥ* and *Hod*** The source of prophecy, situated beneath *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, and actualized by the prophet Samuel.

460. **Samuel is equivalent...** See BT *Berakhot* 31b, where Hannah's prayer, *Give your handmaid the seed of men* [i.e., offspring], is interpreted by Rabbi Yoḥanan as referring to: "Seed equivalent to two men. Who are they? Moses and Aaron, as is said: *Moses and Aaron among His priests, Samuel among those invoking His name*."

Cf. *Zohar* 2:148a; 3:19b; *ZḤ* 43c.

461. **six aspects...** All six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* are encompassed by the six named figures. Moses, Aaron, and Samuel symbolize *Ḥesed, Gevurah, Netsaḥ*, and *Hod* (see above), while Jacob as well as Moses symbolize *Tif'eret*, and Joseph symbolizes *Yesod*.

462. **master of the house** Jacob, symbolizing *Tif'eret*, is the husband of *Shekhinah*, known as "house." In the *Zohar*, the phrase "master of the house" is applied to both Jacob and Moses (1:138b, 152b, 236b, 239a; 2:22b, 235b, 238b, 244b [*Heikh*]) as well as to the mystic who masters the secrets of Torah (2:99b). See Numbers 12:7: *Throughout My house he* [Moses] *is trusted*.

On Jacob and Moses in the *Zohar*, see Liebes, in *Eshel Be'er Sheva* 4 (1996): 193–98.

463. **Moses took over...** During his lifetime Moses united with *Shekhinah*, thereby becoming "master of the house" while still in the body, whereas Jacob atttained this state only at death. See *Zohar* 1:152b, 236b; 3:187b.

According to rabbinic tradition, after encountering God on Mount Sinai, Moses abstained from sexual contact with his wife and maintained union with *Shekhinah*.

See *Sifrei*, Numbers 99; BT *Shabbat* 87a; *Tanḥuma, Tsav* 13; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 7:6; *Zohar* 1:152b, 234b; 2:222a; 3:148a, 180a.

On the theme of Moses the husband commanding God, see *Midrash Tehillim* 90:5, in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: "Why was he [Moses] called איש האלהים (*ish ha-elohim*), *man* [or: *husband*] *of God* (Psalms 90:1)? Just as a husband can, if he wishes, either nullify his wife's vow or confirm it, as is said: אישה (*Ishah*), *Her husband may confirm it, her husband may nullify it* (Numbers 30:14), so, as it were, Moses said to the blessed Holy One, *Arise, O YHVH!... Return, O YHVH!* (ibid. 10:35–36)."

See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim, Vezot Haberakhah*, 443–44, 448

(variants); *Tanḥuma, Vezot Haberakhah* 2 (*Ets Yosef*, ad loc.); *Devarim Rabbah* (Lieberman), on 33:1; *Zohar* 1:6b, 21b–22a, 148a, 152a–b, 236b; 239a; 2:22b, 235b, 238b, 244b (*Heikh*).

464. **performed in the house** שמשו בביתא (*Shimmeshu be-veita*), "Served in the house," based on the rabbinic euphemism for sexual intercourse: "performed [the function of] the house," "house" itself being a euphemism for "vulva." See M *Miqva'ot* 8:4; *Niddah* 1:7; 10:8.

Here "the house" is *Shekhinah*, with whom both Jacob and Moses unite. See *Zohar* 1:133a.

465. **he was righteous** Since Joseph resisted the sexual advances of Potiphar's wife, he is called "righteous" in rabbinic literature. See BT *Yoma* 35b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 93:7; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim*, 460. Cf. *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 5; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 38, which cite Amos 2:6.

In Kabbalah Joseph symbolizes the divine phallus, *Yesod* ("Foundation"), also known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

The point here is that both Jacob and Moses could unite with *Shekhinah* only through the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, symbolized by Joseph. See *Zohar* 1:180a.

466. ***These are the generations of Jacob: Joseph*** The *Zohar* conveniently breaks off the citation here with the mention of the two males, so that the verse now implies that they must be together. By means of *Yesod* (Joseph), Jacob united with *Shekhinah* and generated new life. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 84:6.

467. **emerged from exile** From the exile of Egyptian slavery, which She shared with the Children of Israel.

468. ***Moses took the bones of Joseph...*** Joseph, at his death, had made his brothers promise to eventually take his bones out of Egypt (Genesis 50:25), a promise fulfilled by Moses at the Exodus. Joseph's bones were reinterred in Canaan at the end of the conquest (Joshua 24:32).

469. **the body...with the covenant** As a male body unites with a female through the phallus, which is marked with the sign of the covenant of circumcision, so Moses, symbolizing *Tif'eret*, the torso of the body of the *sefirot*, unites with the divine female, *Shekhinah*, only by means of the divine phallus, *Yesod*, known as Covenant. See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 10 (12–13).

470. **Jacob, Moses, and Joseph...** Jacob and Moses both symbolize *Tif'eret*, while Joseph symbolizes *Yesod*.

471. **When Jacob died...** See Genesis 50:13. Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the

torso of the sefirotic body, so when he died his body entered the Holy Land, symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

472. **When Joseph died...** Joseph symbolizes *Yesod*, the phallus protruding from the torso of the body, so his body did not enter the land; rather, it was his bones (whose symbolism is clarified below). See *Zohar* 2:141b.

473. **Moses, neither one** Moses died just outside the land of Israel on Mt. Nebo and was buried in the valley below. See Deuteronomy 34:1–6.

474. **first husband of the Consort** Jacob was the first to wed *Shekhinah*, who is called מטרוניתא (*Matronita*), an aramaized form of the Latin *matrona*, "matron, married woman, noble lady."

475. **he is the body** Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*, torso of the divine body.

476. **bones are soldiers...** The bones symbolize camps of angels emerging from *Yesod*, who is known both as צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), "Righteous One" (see above, note 465) and צבאות (*Tseva'ot*), "Hosts," referring to these hosts of angels. See *Zohar* 3:296a (*IZ*).

477. **a female married to two...** If a woman marries two men, in the future world when all are resurrected, she will be reunited with her first husband.

See Matthew 22:28; Mark 12:23; *Zohar* 2:102a–b; Moses de León, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 59; *NZ*, here, n. 9, and *millu'im*, 15; Mordechai Shpielman, *Tif'eret Tsevi*, 1:248a–249a.

478. **this shows Moses' inferiority...** The fact that he did not enter the land and maintain his union with *Shekhinah* apparently indicates failure.

479. **the aspect of Jubilee** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, is symbolized by the Jubilee, proclaimed every fifty years, when slaves were released and land reverted to its original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). In general She is characterized by the number fifty, based on BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, where Rav and Shemu'el teach: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." *Binah* is the source of redemption and liberation, specifically the Exodus from Egypt.

See *Zohar* 1:47b; 2:46a, 83b, 85b; 3:262a.

480. **All those 600,000...** According to the Torah, the total number of male Israelites above the age of twenty who left Egypt was approximately 600,000. See Exodus 12:37; Numbers 11:21. The precise total of the first census taken in the Sinai Desert was 603,550. See Exodus 38:26; Numbers 1:46; cf. Numbers 26:51; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Numbers 1:46.

The 600,000 Israelites redeemed from Egypt derive from *Binah*, the upper world, and symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* generated by *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:2a–b.

481. **Not one of them entered...** The generation redeemed from Egypt was condemned to die in the desert because of their faithlessness, except for Caleb and Joshua. See Numbers 14:26–35. The offspring who do enter the Holy Land thereby restore *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by both the land and the moon.

482. **All the cultivation of earth...** *Shekhinah* was restored and arrayed by the labor of those who entered the land and cultivated it, whereas the generation of the Exodus who died in the desert derived from *Binah* and were sustained effortlessly by the manna, known as *bread from heaven* (Exodus 16:4); they were not meant to enter the land. What appears to be a tragic punishment is actually a cosmic necessity.

483. **through his holy spirit** Through his soul, or through *Shekhinah*, known as Holy Spirit.

484. **those 600,000...** When the generation of the Exodus, who derived from *Binah* (Jubilee), died in the desert, their souls returned to Her. There they united with Moses, whose soul also derives from *Binah*. They symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, while Moses symbolizes the core of those six, *Tif'eret*, also designated by the letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six. Moses did not need to enter the land (symbolizing *Shekhinah*). Having already united with Her during his lifetime, he was now destined to return directly to *Binah*, the Divine Mother.

485. **Sabbatical** שמטה (*Shemittah*), "Release." Every seventh year is a year of *shemittah*, during which the land must lie fallow and at the end of which all debts are remitted. See Leviticus 25:1–24; Deuteronomy 15:1–3. In Kabbalah *shemittah* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the seventh of the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:153b.

486. **another house** As the *Zohar* indicates below, Jacob was married to earthly partners, namely Leah, Rachel, and their two handmaids, Bilhah and Zilpah, so he could not unite with *Shekhinah*. Moses, on the other hand, is said to have abstained from sexual contact with his wife after encountering the divine on Mount Sinai. See BT *Shabbat* 87a; and below. Maintaining intimacy with *Shekhinah* throughout his life, he became master of the house while still in the body; at death his spirit joined with *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:23a.

487. **The Holy Land was restored below through the power above** *Shekhinah* was restored by the generation entering and working the land who derived power from their parents, whose souls had returned to *Binah*.

488. **not fitting for them all to be...** It was inappropriate for both generations to enter the land. Rather, the generation that wandered in the desert rose in spirit to *Binah*, the upper world, whereas the next generation physically entered the land, symbolizing *Shekhinah*. Similarly, with Moses and Jacob: one rose to *Binah*, remaining outside the land, whereas the other was buried in the land

and joined *Shekhinah*.

489. **these within the moon and those outside...** The younger generation entered the land, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, also identified with the moon. The generation of the Exodus were "outside": having risen in spirit to *Binah*, they could illumine their descendants below.

490. **the originals** The generation of the Exodus.

491. **For there will never be...** Despite the failures and faithlessness of the generation of the Exodus, they are later described in glowing terms. See *Mekhilta de-Rashbi*, Exodus 19:11: "There never arose, nor will there ever arise, a generation as worthy to receive the Torah as these." Cf. Jeremiah 2:2; and *Mekhilta, Shirata* 3: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, '... A handmaiden at the [Red] Sea saw what Isaiah, Ezekiel, and all the other prophets never saw.'"

See *Zohar* 2:60a, 64b, 82a, 93b–94a; 3:22b, 287a; and Isaac ibn Latif, *Iggeret ha-Teshuvah*, 25: "The generation of the desert comprehended the intellectual forms while still in the body... Their world was the world to come." The phrase "face-to-face" derives from the description of the revelation at Mount Sinai (Deuteronomy 5:4): *Face-to-face YHVH spoke to you on the mountain out of the fire*.

492. **spirit to spirit** His soul united with *Shekhinah*, Holy Spirit.

493. **Moses separated himself from his wife...** See above, note 463.

494. **a high, hidden spirit above** *Binah*.

495. **All those upper lights...** Various *sefirot* are reflected and embodied by the biblical heroes mentioned above: Jacob (*Tif'eret*), Joseph (*Yesod*), Moses (*Gevurah, Tif'eret*), Aaron (*Ḥesed*), Samuel (*Netsaḥ, Hod*). These *sefirot* gather in *Yesod*, known as *the expanse of heaven*, from which they illumine *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 154, 156–57, 159.

496. **Mystery of two names...** Apparently יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*). In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name."

In Kabbalah the two names often designate *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who were originally one and whose reunion represents the goal of religious life. See *Zohar* 1:4a, 20a, 48b; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (IR); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*). *OY* suggests two other possibilities: יהוה (*YHVH*) and אדני (*Adonai*) merged into one name, יאהדונהי (*YAHDVNHY*); or יהוה (*YHVH*) and אהיה (*Ehyeh*) merged into יאהויהה (*YAHHVYHH*).

497. **their perfection three...** Apparently אהיה יהוה אדני (*Ehyeh, YHVH, Adonai*), names of *Keter, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*, respectively, all three of which are aligned in the middle column of the *sefirot*. The *gimatriyya* of יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*), 112, is equivalent to that of אהיה יהוה אדני (*Ehyeh, YHVH, Adonai*). See *KP*;

Scholem; cf. *OY*.

498. **the mystery of faith** The mystery of the union of the *sefirot*, symbolized by the unification of the divine names. See *Zohar* 2:9a; 3:65b.

499. **[29a] בראשית** (***Be-reshit***), ***In the beginning*** The section comprising 1:22a–29a belongs to *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar*, a later stratum of Zoharic literature, so it is not included in this translation. See Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 218–19.

500. **We have learned...** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:11 (on 1:1): "Rabbi Yudan and Rabbi Levi said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Wherever in this scroll [the Song of Songs] the expression *King Solomon* appears, the text speaks of King Solomon, whereas *the king*, anonymous, connotes the blessed Holy One.' The Rabbis say, 'Wherever *King Solomon* appears, the text speaks of the King to whom peace belongs [deriving שלמה (*Shelomoh*), *Solomon*, from שלום (*shalom*), "peace"], whereas *the king*, anonymous, connotes the Assembly of Israel.'"

In rabbinic Hebrew, the phrase כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*), "Assembly of Israel," denotes the people of Israel, and the Song of Songs is read as a love poem between them and God. In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* refers to *Shekhinah*, described here as נוקבא (*nuqba*), "female." She is the divine counterpart of the people, that aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers depicted in the Song of Songs symbolize *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret. Shekhinah* is described there as *King*, reflecting Her name *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). See *Zohar* 1:47a, 84a. Here, apparently, King Solomon denotes *Binah*, "to whom peace belongs," namely, *Yesod*, who conveys the flow of *Binah* and thereby links the two lovers. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home." Cf. *Zohar* 1:5b; 2:127b. The lower (plain, earthly) meaning of the text connotes the upper, divine sense. See above, page 115.

501. **lower inherits upper...** Through Her union with *Tif'eret, Shekhinah* absorbs the flow of emanation from Her mother above, *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:215a: "... for Daughter inherits Mother." Cf. above, page 9: "Mother lends Daughter Her garments."

502. **This is בית** (***bayit***), ***house...*** The opening letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, stands for בית (*bayit*), *house*. The letter *bet*, second letter of the alphabet, is equivalent to two, and here indicates two sefirotic structures: *Binah*, fashioned from the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), and *Shekhinah*, comprising the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*.

503. ***pavilion...*** אפריון (*Appiryon*), a biblical hapax legomenon of uncertain meaning, often translated "palanquin," but apparently referring to a stationary structure. In the Midrash it is interpreted as referring to the Tabernacle and to the

Temple in Jerusalem. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 1:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* and *Targum*, ad loc.

In the *Zohar* the *appiryon* is *Shekhinah*, the divine palace (2:127a). This *pavilion* is constructed out of the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, known as *the trees of Lebanon*, namely, of *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:31a, 35a–b; 2:127b.

504. **the adorning of the lower world by the upper world** *Shekhinah* is adorned by the light radiating from *Binah*.

505. **before the blessed Holy One created...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3: "Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Hyrcanus opened, '... Before the world was created, there existed only the blessed Holy One and His great name. The thought of creating the world arose in His mind. He traced the world, but it did not endure. They told a parable. To what can this be compared? To a king who wishes to build his palace. If he does not trace in the earth its foundations, exits, and entrances, he cannot begin to build. Similarly the blessed Holy One traced the world in front of Himself, but it did not endure until He created *teshuvah* ("returning, turning back" to God).'" Cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:61; *ZḤ* 2d (*MhN*).

In Kabbalah the *sefirot* are considered God's names since they reveal the divine identity. In particular, the final *sefirah, Shekhinah*, is called "the name" of God. Before the process of emanation, all of the *sefirot* existed potentially within *Ein Sof*.

506. **the will of thought** *Keter*, the impulse within the divine mind. See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 92, 94, 107; *Zohar* 1:45b; 2:259b, 268b; *ZḤ* 1b, 6c (*ST*).

507. **the signet** סמיטרא (*Samitra*), apparently based on סימנטיר (*simanteir*), derived from the Greek *semanterion*, "seal, signet, stamp." *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182, defines *samitra* as "turban," based on the *Arukh*; see *KP*, *OY*.

The process of emanation begins with a gesture of royal authority. Cf. above, page 107: "At the head of potency ["authority, decree"] of the King, He engraved engravings in luster on high."

508. **but it did not endure** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:2: "*He fashioned everything at its appropriate time* (Ecclesiastes 3:11).... Rabbi Abbahu said, 'From here [we learn] that the blessed Holy One kept creating worlds and destroying them until He created these [i.e., heaven and earth]. Then He declared, "These please Me, those do not."'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:7; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 3*, cited above (note 505). The theme of previous worlds that did not endure appears in the *Idrot* (*Zohar* 3:128a [*IR*], 292b [*IZ*]) and inspired Isaac Luria's theory of "the breaking of the vessels."

509. **wrapping of contemplative radiance** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Vayaqhel* 7: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yehotsadak asked Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman, 'Since you are a master of Aggadah, tell me how the blessed Holy One created the world.' He replied, 'When the blessed Holy One wished to create the world, He enwrapped Himself in light and created the world, as is said: *He wraps in light as in a garment* (Psalms 104:2), and afterward: *He spreads out the heavens like a curtain*.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3. The image of God wrapping Himself in a garment of light appears in Greek, Iranian, Gnostic, and kabbalistic sources. See Matt, *Zohar*, 212; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 493–94; Ezra's letter, ed. Scholem, in *Sefer Bialik*, 157–58; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 110–11; *Zohar* 1:2a, 15b, 90a (*ST*), 245a; 2:39b, 164b; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 5a. Here the wrapping of radiance filters the intense primordial energy.

510. **generating trees, supernal, grand cedars** The *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, generated by the union of *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1; *Zohar* 1:35b.

511. **twenty-two engraved letters, carved in ten utterances...** The twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet spell out the ten utterances by which the world was created (according to M *Avot* 5:1). The ten utterances parallel both the ten *sefirot* and the Ten Commandments, which contain all twenty-two letters (in the version of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy 5:6–18). According to *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:1–2, God created the world by means of "thirty-two wondrous paths of wisdom," namely, the twenty-two letters and the ten *sefirot*.

See Naḥmanides, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 401; *Zohar* 1:109a (*ST*); 3:290a (*IZ*).

512. ***himself*—for His arrayal...** The divine King is arrayed in the *pavilion*, *Shekhinah*, who reveals the royal glory and is known as "the name" of God.

513. **His truncheons** קלפוי (*Qulpoi*), "His clubs." The flow of emanation is stimulated by a divine blow.

514. **ramparts** קסטורין (*Qastorin*), derived from the Latin *castra*, "fortifications," referring here to the sefirotic structures beginning to emerge.

515. **Trickling...** Emanation begins to trickle down the sefirotic tree. See *Zohar* 1:245a.

516. **above, below...** The six directions correspond to the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:13.

517. **a vast sea** *Shekhinah*, who gathers the stream of emanation.

518. ***Sharon*... the site drawing all waters of the world** The Sharon is the coastal plain from Jaffa to Mount Carmel.

519. **So this brings forth and that draws in...** *Binah* generates the stream of emanation, which pours into *Shekhinah* through sefirotic channels.

520. ***By wisdom a house is built...*** **ב** (***bet***)... The opening letter of the Torah, ב (*bet*), indicates בית (*bayit*), "house," and the number two. The two houses are: *Binah*, built out of the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, and *Shekhinah*, constructed by the *sefirot* emerging from *Binah*.

521. **When supernal גבורה** (***Gevurah***), **Power, is aroused...** *Shekhinah* is embraced by *Gevurah*, as indicated by the verse: *The king* (*Shekhinah*) *will rejoice in Elohim* (which denotes both *Binah* and *Gevurah*). The phrase "beneath His head" derives from Song of Songs 2:6: *His left hand beneath my head, his right embracing me*, a verse applied in the *Zohar* to sefirotic embrace.

522. **a single secret, hidden channel** *Yesod*, who conveys the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*.

523. **the lower world rejoicing in the upper...** *Shekhinah* rejoicing in *Binah*.

524. **In Him, He rejoices...** In *Binah, Shekhinah* rejoices.

525. **"life of the king"** *Binah* is called by this epithet because it is the source of life for *Shekhinah*, "the king."

See *Zohar* 2:115b; 3:58a; cf. *Sifrei*, Numbers 153; Naḥmanides on Genesis 2:7 and Numbers 30:3.

526. **the essence of the house** *Binah* animates the entire divine realm as well as the world below.

On this phrase, see Psalms 113:9; *Bereshit Rabbah* 71:2; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 20:2; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Vayetse* 15; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:8; *Zohar* 1:50a, 149b, 154a, 157b.

527. **This house built the house of the world, built the world** *Binah*, the primordial house, generated *Shekhinah*, "the house of the world," and through Her, the world. See *Zohar* 1:33a.

528. **ב ראשית** (***bet reshit***)... The letter ב (*bet*) indicates the number two and בית (*bayit*), "house." The two houses, *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, originate in the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), known as ראשית (*reshit*), *Beginning*, while *Shekhinah* is known as *beginning of wisdom* (Psalms 111:10), the starting point of the search for *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:7b, 31b.

529. **Then it gathers...** *Shekhinah* gathers the flow of emanation.

530. ***From the womb of*** **מי** (***mi***), ***whom, emerged the ice*** *Shekhinah* emerged from the womb of *Binah*, known as מי (*Mi*), "Who" (or "Whom"). A spiritual seeker may inquire about Her, but such questions do not yield ordinary answers. The identity of the divine is discovered only in a realm beyond words. The mystical name "Who" becomes a focus of meditation, as question turns into quest. See Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 1:91a: "Concerning everything that cannot be

grasped, its question constitutes its answer."

See *Zohar* 1:1b, 45b, 85b–86a, 237b; 2:126b–127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

531. **its waters flow only...** The frozen sea of *Shekhinah* thaws only through the warmth of *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of flowing love, associated with the warm South. See *Zohar* 1:152a, 161b; 2:30a; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 341.

532. **on the side of the North** Due to the influence of *Gevurah*, or *Din* (severe "Judgment"), associated with the North.

533. **all those beasts of the field...** The forces, including the *ḥayyot* ("living creatures, animals, beasts") beneath *Shekhinah*, who is known as "field" or Holy Apple Orchard.

See *Zohar* 1:107a, 122a, 128b, 142b, 224b; 2:61b; 3:84a. Cf. BT *Ta'anit* 29b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:22; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 35–37.

534. ***cleft mountains...*** הרי בתר (*Harei vater*). The word בתר (*vater*) in Song of Songs is interpreted variously and is probably derived from the root meaning "to cut, divide," thus denoting "jagged, craggy" mountains. In the *Zohar*, *cleft mountains* refers to the forces outside *Shekhinah* that are not included in the unified realm of the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:62a, 158a; 2:234a–b.

535. **near it** Near *Shekhinah*, the frozen sea.

536. **When thought arises...** When *Ḥokhmah* emerges from *Keter*, known as Desire.

537. **Concealed of all Concealed** *Ein Sof* or *Keter*, the most hidden recesses of divinity. See *Zohar* 2:234b.

538. **concealed river...** *Binah* emanates from *Ḥokhmah*.

539. **They approach one another...** *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* meet on a secret path described below.

540. ב (***Bet***), **anonymous *king*...** The opening letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, stands for בית (*bayit*), *house*, and here indicates *Shekhinah*, who is also known as the anonymous *king*. See above, note 500. *Shekhinah* is emanated (or "consummated") through the union of *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*. So the opening word of the Torah spans the range of *sefirot*, from *Shekhinah* (ב [*bet*]) to *Ḥokhmah*, known as ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*. Alternatively, *king* here refers to *Binah*.

541. **With this energy** With the energy of *Ḥokhmah*. See above, page 110.

542. **the hidden one...** *Binah*, known as אלהים (*Elohim*), generated *Tif'eret* (*heaven*), who emerges from Her as a blast from the shofar.

543. ***Heaven* rules over *earth* by the life...** *Tif'eret* rules over *Shekhinah* by the vivifying energy that flows from *Binah* to *Yesod*, who is known as *the son of Jesse* and "Vitality of the Worlds." See above, note 214; *Zohar* 1:29a; 2:175b.

544. **He** *Tif'eret*.

545. **the ו (*vav*) added...** The ו (*vav*), meaning *and*, has a numerical value of six, alluding to *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). The appearance of the letter here in the phrase ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, indicates that *Tif'eret* conducts nourishment to *Shekhinah*, known as both את (*et*) and *earth*. See above, pages 112–14.

546. **את (*et*) above, the lower power...** Grammatically, the accusative particle *et* has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

את (*Et*) comprises the entire alphabet, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), and is therefore an appropriate name for *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, who is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

Here the *Zohar* indicates that the letters were generated by *Binah*, the Divine Mother, for the wedding of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who is also known as *Atarah* ("Crown"). The word "above" (in "את [*et*] above") may refer to the preceding occurrence of את (*et*) in the phrase את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*), *heaven*.

547. **את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*), *heaven*...** The words imply the union of *Shekhinah*, known as את (*et*), and *Tif'eret*, *heaven*.

548. **life of the king, the anonymous king** The flow of emanation from *Binah* is called "life of the king" because it animates *Shekhinah*, the anonymous king.

See above, pages 170 and 173 (and note 500); *Zohar* 3:58a; Naḥmanides on Genesis 2:7; Numbers 30:3. Alternatively, *king* here refers to *Binah*.

549. **ואת הארץ (*Ve-et ha-arets*), *And earth*...** Here, too, the wording implies the union of *Tif'eret*, known as ו (*vav*), and *Shekhinah*, known as both את (*et*) and *earth*. See above, notes 545–46.

550. **the world above... *heaven*... *earth*...** *Binah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*.

551. **The mystery of supreme אלהים (*Elohim*)** *Binah*.

552. **beginning of all** An allusion to *Ḥokhmah, Binah's* origin and partner.

553. **the supernal mystery descended...** The process of emanation continued until *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, who generated the physical *heaven* and *earth*.

554. **Both of them are worlds** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:10: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Pazzi expounded on the act of Creation together with Bar Kappara. 'Why was the world created with ב (*bet*)? To inform you that there are two worlds: this world and the world that is coming.'" Here the *Zohar* alludes to two sefirotic realms: *Binah* and *Shekhinah*.

555. **which created worlds...** *Binah* and *Shekhinah* each yield a world comprising *heaven* and *earth*. *Binah* emanates *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, while *Shekhinah* generates *heaven* and *earth* below.

See *Zohar* 1:240b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 192.

556. **supernal** ראשית (***reshit***), ***beginning*** *Ḥokhmah*, the primordial point of emanation. See above, page 109.

557. **Above descended below** *Tif'eret* joined *Shekhinah*.

558. **certain rung...** *Yesod*, who channels the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*.

559. **that secret, hidden path...** The subtle link between the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* and the womb of the Divine Mother, *Binah*.

See *Zohar* 1:3b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b.

560. ***The way of the righteous...*** The verse associates *way* with *righteous*, a name of *Yesod*.

561. ***who makes a way...*** Both verses connect *way* (symbolizing *Yesod*) with the *sea* (*Shekhinah*), and *path* (the subtle link) with powerful *waters* (*Binah*).

562. **When the world above...** After *Binah* was impregnated by Her partner, *Ḥokhmah*, She gave birth to *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, known as *heaven* and *earth*, who resembled their parents. See *Zohar* 2:85b–86a.

563. ***Earth* is nourished by the waters of *heaven*** *Shekhinah* is fed the flow of emanation from *Tif'eret*.

564. **the upper are male and the lower female** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep...* (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta*, *Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:17b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b. Here the upper and lower waters symbolize *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

565. **pouring out water...** *Shekhinah* stimulates the flow from *Tif'eret*. According to the second-century Greek physician Galen, sperm is generated by both male and female. See Leviticus 12:2: *When a woman yields seed*. Cf. Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides, Baḥya ben Asher, and Sforno, ad loc.; BT *Berakhot* 60a; *Niddah* 31a.

566. **with the additional** ו (***vav***)... Indicating *Tif'eret*, who nourishes *Shekhinah*, known as both את (*et*) and *earth*. See above, note 545.

567. **Letters were engraved...** The process of emanation above and

physical creation below unfolded through the medium of language, conveyed by the letters of the alphabet. According to *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:1–2, God created the world by means of "thirty-two wondrous paths of wisdom," namely, the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the ten *sefirot*.

568. **ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*; א (*alef*): את (*et*)** The first two letters of the Hebrew alphabet appear as the initial letters of the first four words of the Torah. The first two words, בראשית ברא (*Be-reshit bara*), *In the beginning created*, begin with the letter ב (*bet*); the next two words, אלהים את (*Elohim et*), *God*, begin with א (*alef*). Some manuscripts and witnesses include all four words, but apparently the focus is on these two.

569. **ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*, indeed...** The letter ב (*bet*) symbolizes *Binah* (above, pages 173–76), who emanated the lower *sefirot*. The rest of this paragraph appears with slight variation in *Zohar* 2:234b.

570. **by supreme energy** By the power of *Ḥokhmah*.

571. **ב (*Bet*), female; א (*alef*), male** The two letters symbolize *Binah* and *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:200a; 2:228a; *ZḤ* 74c (*ShS*).

572. **so א (*alef*) generated letters...** From *Ḥokhmah* emanation streamed in the form of letters to *Binah* and below.

573. **ה (*He*) generated... *heaven*...** The fifth word of the Torah, השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heaven*, consists of the letter ה (*he*), the second letter of יהוה (*YHVH*), alluding to *Binah*, and שמים (*shamayim*), *heaven*, signifying *Tif'eret*, who emanated from *Binah*.

See *Zohar* 1:12b, 33b, 241b; 2:137a; 3:176; and the parallel in 2:234b.

574. **ו (*Vav*) generated הארץ (*ha-arets*), *earth*...** The letter ו (*vav*), the third letter of יהוה (*YHVH*), has a numerical value of six and symbolizes *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him. *Tif'eret* emanated *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*.

575. **for ו (*vav*) takes את (*et*)...** The word ואת (*ve-et*), *and*, consists of ו (*vav*), *and*, symbolizing *Tif'eret* (see above, note 574), and את (*et*), representing all twenty-two letters of the alphabet, from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), the entire flow of emanation (see above, note 546). *Tif'eret* conveys this flow to *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by both *earth* and *sea*. She is the sea into which stream all the rivers, the lower *sefirot*.

576. **male and female** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

577. **a word** מלה (*Millah*), "Word" or "thing."

578. **its cudgels** קולפוי (*Qulpoi*), "Its clubs." See above, note 513.

579. **The fortress of vapor...** קוסטרא דקוטרא (*Qustera de-qutra*). *Qustera* derives from the Latin *castrum* (pl. *castra*), "fortress, castle." See above, note 514. The phrase here alludes to *Shekhinah*; see immediately below.

580. **When flashing fire flows...** When the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, symbolized by fire, is aroused, it stimulates *Shekhinah*, symbolized by smoke. See *Zohar* 1:70a–b.

581. **So all endures on the side of the left** By stimulating *Shekhinah* to join *Tif'eret*, the fire of *Gevurah* ensures the continued flow of emanation and the generation of the lower worlds.

582. ***My own hand founded earth...*** Since both *hand* and *right hand* are mentioned in the verse, it is assumed that *hand* denotes the left hand (symbolizing *Gevurah*), who *founded earth* (symbolizing *Shekhinah*). *Tif'eret*, on the other hand, emanated from *Ḥesed*, the divine *right hand*.

583. **the male emerges from the side of the right...** The male is associated with *Ḥesed*, the female with *Gevurah*.

584. **Words extend till here...** Concerning *Binah*, known as *Who*, one can speak, or at least pose a question. Beyond this realm, the divine mind is impenetrable.

585. **For Wisdom was consummated by Nothingness** The *sefirah* of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") emerged from *Keter*, who is known as אין (*Ayin*), "Nothingness," because this ultimate stage of divinity is inconceivable, the divine no-thingness. Wisdom shares in the incomprehensibility of *Ayin*.

586. **Once a deep river emanates** Once *Binah* emanates from the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*.

587. **concealed from everything below** Even from the *sefirot* emerging from Her. According to the Gnostic *Gospel of Truth* (22:27–29), the aeons (divine emanations) below *Nous* ("Intellect") are unaware of hidden divinity: "It was quite amazing that they were in the Father without knowing Him." The phrase here can also be rendered: "concealed more than anything below."

588. **it is called מי (*Mi*), Who** Or, "they [namely, the lower *sefirot*] call it Who." *Binah* is known as מי (*Mi*), Who, because when a spiritual seeker inquires about Her, the questions do not yield ordinary answers. The identity of the divine is discovered only in a realm beyond words. The mystical name Who becomes a focus of meditation, as question turns into quest. See Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 1:91a: "Concerning everything that cannot be grasped, its question constitutes its answer."

See *Zohar* 1:1b, 45b, 85b-86a, 237b; 2:126b–127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

589. **מי (*Mi*), *Who, created these*** The question is transformed into a declaration: *Binah* emanated the lower seven *sefirot*, known as *these*. See above, pages 5–9.

590. ***From the womb of* מי (*mi*), *whom, emerged the ice...*** *Shekhinah*, the sea whose waters congeal and thaw, emerged from the womb of *Binah*. See above, page 174.

591. **“What is above?” “What is below?”** See M *Ḥagigah* 2:1: “Whoever contemplates four things, it would be better for him if he had not come into the world: what is above, what is below, what before, and what after.” These Mishnaic restrictions on cosmological speculation recall the Gnostic striving after “the knowledge of who we were, what we have become, where we were, where we have been thrown, where we hasten, from what we are redeemed, what birth is, and what is rebirth” (Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpts from Theodotus* 78:2). Here the restriction is applied to probing the origin and essence of *Binah*.

592. **the site of their issuance** Where the lower *sefirot* emerge from *Binah*.

593. **yet not knowing it** Not knowing the essence of *Binah* Herself.

594. **ב׳ בראשית: ראשית (*Be-reshit: bet reshit*), *bet, beginning*** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, is divided into the letter ב (*bet*), and ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*. In *KP* this paragraph appears several paragraphs below, following the phrase “constituting peace for the world.”

595. **Is ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, an utterance...** According to M *Avot* 5:1, “The world was created through ten utterances [or: sayings, commands].” Only nine explicit commands appear in Genesis 1, but the decade is completed by counting the phrase *In the beginning*. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 32a, *Megillah* 21b; cf. *Zohar* 1:15a, 16b; *TZ* 32, 76a.

Here the *Zohar* asks whether the tenth command is represented by the entire word בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, or just by ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*.

596. **As long as its energy...** As long as the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* has not expanded, it is called בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, which signifies that *Ḥokhmah*, known as ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, includes what will emerge as *Binah*, symbolized by the initial ב (*bet*). See above, page 111.

597. **אלה (*elleh*), *these*** The lower seven *sefirot*, who emerge from *Binah*.

598. **ים (*yam*), ocean** *Shekhinah*, who collects all the rivers, the *sefirot*. The letters of מי (*mi*) and ים (*yam*) are identical; *Shekhinah* consummates *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:86a.

599. **fashioning everything exactly as above...** *Shekhinah* creates the world below, which corresponds to the world of the *sefirot*, emanated by *Binah*. Both creative forces are indicated by the letter ב (*bet*), whose numerical value is two. See above, pages 173–76.

600. ***While the king was reclining*** The verse continues: *my spikenard spread its fragrance*.

601. **settling with the lower kingdom...** *Binah*, the supreme *king*, joins *Shekhinah*, who is often called *Malkhut* (“Kingdom”). Their union reflects that between *Ḥokhmah*—known as Eden—and *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:227b.

602. **by that hidden, concealed, unknown path...** The subtle link between

Ḥokhmah and *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 29a; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b. Once filled by this path, *Binah* emanates the lower *sefirot*, the "well-known streams."

603. **lower king...** *Shekhinah*.

604. **A redolent, supreme fragrance ascends...** The arousal of *Shekhinah* stimulates the forces above.

605. **by the right and by the left...** By *sefirot* on the right side, characterized by *Ḥesed*, and on the left, characterized by *Gevurah*. The *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod* are symbolized by the six days of Creation.

606. **Six days were fashioned to radiate...** The six cosmic days, the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, emanated from *Binah*, culminating in *Shekhinah* and the creation below. The plain meaning of the verse, *For in six days YHVH made heaven and earth*, is abandoned in favor of a hyperliteral reading, which emphasizes the lack of the preposition ב (*be*), *in*, before *six days*, thereby turning the *six days* into the object of *YHVH*'s creative power: the *six days* were themselves fashioned, or emanated. The phrase *heaven and earth* refers to *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, whose union marks the consummation of the cosmic week. See *Bahir* 55 (82).

607. **These dug pathways...** These six *sefirot* channeled the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*, "the immense abyss," through sixty openings. The *Zohar* is playing on the homonyms שיתין (*shittin*), "sixty," and שיתין (*shitin*), "hollows, pits."

608. **So we have learned...** See BT *Sukkah* 49a: "Rabbah son of Bar Ḥana said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'The hollows [under the Temple altar into which the wine and water of libation flowed] were formed during the six days of Creation.'" The *Zohar* indicates that the openings into *Shekhinah* were formed not just *during* the six days of Creation but *by* "the six days of Creation," by the six *sefirot*.

According to Rabbi Yose (*Tosefta*, *Sukkah* 3:15), the hollows penetrated to the abyss. Cf. *Zohar* 1:56a; *ZḤ* 62d–63a (*ShS*).

609. **dregs of an inkwell in seepage** סוספיתא דקמרי גו קולטוי (*Suspita de-qamrei go qultoi*), one of the *Zohar*'s typical mystifying phrases constructed out of rare or invented words.

סוספיתא (*Suspita*) is a neologism apparently based on Aramaic כוספא (*kuspa*), "pomace, husk, residue." See *Zohar* 1:71b, 118b, 228a; 2:24b, 203a, 224b, 236b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182; *KP*; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 389, n. 54; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 336–38.

קמרי (*Qamrei*) is a variation on קלמרין (*qalmarin*), "inkwell," and the Greek *qalamarion*; see *Arukh*, s.v. *qamrin*. *As* for קולטוי (*qultoi*), rendered here "seepage," the root קלט (*qlt*) means "to absorb, receive."

The dregs are the forces of evil left over after the refining process of

emanation, the residue of ink remaining after the divine writer has sketched the *sefirot*. Here the *Zohar* indicates that *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*, was still in a chaotic state, since the dregs had not been completely separated from the sefirotic realm of holiness.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 10:2: "*Remove the dross from the silver*... [*and a vessel emerges for the refiner*] (Proverbs 25:4). Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'This can be compared to a bath full of water, in which were two beautiful sculptured disks. As long as it was full of water, the artistry of the disks could not be seen, but as soon as it was unplugged and the water emptied, the artistry could be seen. Similarly, as long as תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void*, was in the world, the artistry of heaven and earth could not be seen, but as soon as *tohu va-vohu* was eradicated from the world, the artistry of heaven could be seen: *A vessel emerges for the refiner*.'" See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 104–5.

610. ***was* already** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:15: "Rabbi Ḥanin said, '... *The earth was* —it already had been [i.e., it preceded the creation of heaven].'"

Here the point is that before She attained enduring existence, *Shekhinah* (the *earth*) was in chaos. Cf. above, page 118 (and note 75), *Zohar* 1:39b, 262b–263a (*Hash*); Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:460–64.

611. **In forty-two letters...** The forty-two-letter name is mentioned in the name of Rav, though not recorded, in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. According to one later view, it consists of the first forty-two letters of the Torah, from the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*) through the ב (*bet*) of בהו (*bohu*), *void* (Genesis 1:2).

See *Tosafot*, *Ḥagigah* 11b, s.v. *ein doreshin; KP* 1:46c–d; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 94–95; cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:62; *Zohar* 1:1a, 15b; 2:130b, 132b, 175b, 234a–b.

The forty-two letters crown the name יהוה (*YHVH*) or *Shekhinah*, known as "the name" of God. See *MM; Sullam; Zohar* 2:132b.

612. **while these endure through the doings...** The permutations of letters animate the world, while they themselves are sustained by righteous action below.

613. **Scribal patterns of impress...** טופסרא דקילטא (*Tufsera de-qilta*). In the *Zohar*, *tufsera* (or *tufsira*) means either "mold, form, configuration" (based on טופסא [*tufsa*], derived from the Greek *tupos*), or "royal dignitary" (based on טפסרא [*tafsera*], derived from biblical טפסר [*tifsar*], "marshal, scribe"). See above, page 155: "All the letters were arrayed in their wheels by the expanding דקוטרא טופסירא (*tufsira de-qutra*), scribal matrix of the nexus."

See Jeremiah 51:27; Nahum 3:17; *Zohar* 1:96b, 157a, 241b, 242b, 243b; 3:120a, 270b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 178–80, 185.

As mentioned previously (note 609), the root קלט (*qlt*) means "to absorb,

receive." Cf. *Zohar* 2:235b (*Tos*): טיפסרא דקולטא (*tifsera de-qulta*). Here letters of creation are being stamped by the divine seal.

614. **by the cudgels of the mighty serpent** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 9, where it is said of Leviathan: "Between his fins stands the axis of Earth." Cf. *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 17 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:28): "The entire world stands on one fin of Leviathan." See *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:26); *Zohar* 2:34b, 108b; 3:279a (*RM*).

615. **1500 cubits** The letters penetrate 1500 cubits beneath the surface of the earth. The number appears in rabbinic discussions of the abyss. According to JT *Sanhedrin* 10:2 (29a), "When [King] David began digging the foundations of the Temple, he dug 1500 cubits without finding the abyss." When he finally penetrated the abyss, "it rose and threatened to drown the world." David's adviser, Ahitophel, managed to subdue the abyss by reciting a divine name, upon which David sang the fifteen Psalms of Ascent (Psalms 120–134), one psalm for each 100 cubits.

See the tradition reported in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan (BT *Sukkah* 53a–b): "When David dug the hollows [beneath the site of the Temple], the abyss arose and threatened to drown the world.... [David] inscribed the [divine] Name on a shard and cast it into the abyss, and it subsided 16,000 cubits. When he saw that it had subsided so far, he said, 'The higher it is raised, the more the earth will be watered.' So he sang the fifteen Ascents and raised it 15,000 cubits, leaving it 1000 cubits [below the surface]." Cf. *Zohar* 3:198b.

616. **split the darkness, and radiated...** See the *Zohar*'s description of the beginning of emanation (1:15a): "It split and did not split its aura."

617. **the handful** תיקלא (*Tiqla*), a Zoharic neologism derived from the root תקל (*tql*), "weigh." The word has a wide range of meaning: "hollow of the hand, fist, water clock (1:92b), potter's wheel, scale." See *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 178; Baer, *History*, 1:437, n. 24; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 331; and Isaiah 40:12, cited several lines below.

618. **1500 by fingers dripping thrice...** Three handfuls of water, each including five fingers, drip into the balance, thereby conveying a total of fifteen (hundred) units. See Rashi on BT *Menaḥot* 29b, s.v. *aḥat be-he va-aḥat be-yod*.

619. ***Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand*** The verse continues in parallelism: *gauged the skies with a span, meted the dust of the earth with a measure, and weighed the mountains with a scale and the hills with a balance?*

620. **All was within Earth...** Concealed within *Shekhinah*.

621. **sponginess** קולטוי (*Qultoi*), "Its absorption," the congealed substance within *Shekhinah*. See above, page 181: "dregs of an inkwell in seepage," and note

609 there.

622. **primordial, transcendent light, already existent** The light of *Ḥesed*, which manifested on the first day of Creation but existed primordially. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:2: "It is not written here והיה אור (*Ve-hayah or*) [which could mean either *And there will be light* or *And there was light*], but rather ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*) [which can mean only] *And there was light*—it already was." Theodor (ad loc.) regards this as a scribal gloss. In any case, the point in the Midrash is that the creation of light was instantaneous and effortless, whereas here the *Zohar* emphasizes that the light preexisted—it already *was*.

See *Bahir* 17 (25), elaborating on *Bereshit Rabbah*: "Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Why is it written *God said, "Let there be light!"* ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*), *And there was light*, and not והיה (*Ve-hayah*) [which could mean either *And there will be* or *And there was*]? This can be compared to a king who had a beautiful object and set it aside until he had prepared a place for it; then he placed it there. As is written: "*Let there be light*!" *And there was light*. For it already was.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 494; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 109; *Zohar* 1:16b, 45b; 3:245b (*RM*); *ZḤ* 1a, 37d; Recanati on Genesis 1:3, 3c.

623. **turned firm and fragrant** אתבסמת (*Itbassamat*), "Was sweetened" or "was firmly established." The root *bsm* conveys both senses.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 66:2; *Midrash Shemu'el* 26:4; *Zohar* 1:31a, 34a, 37a, 56a, 137a; 2:143a, 168a, 227a; 3:18a; N. Bronsnick, in *Sinai* 63 (1968): 81–85; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 44; idem, *Kabbalah*, 228.

624. **its radiance blazed...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

625. **Every dream...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 55a: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a said, 'One who sees [the letter] ט (*tet*) in a dream should regard it as a good omen. Why so?... Because Scripture inaugurated it with goodness, for from בראשית (*Bereshit*), *In the beginning*, up to *God saw the light*, no ט (*tet*) occurs.'" Since the first ט (*tet*) in Scripture begins the word טוב (*tov*), *good*, it is a good omen to see ט (*tet*) in a dream.

See *Zohar* 2:152a, 230a; *ZḤ* 63b (*ShS*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 366.

626. **One sees letters...** One's daily conduct determines the contents of the dream.

627. **good for his dream** A dream is vulnerable to various interpretations, which affect its outcome. See *Zohar* 1:183a–b.

628. **for the Torah inaugurated it...** See above, note 625.

629. **ninth of all** The letter ט (*tet*) is the ninth letter of the Hebrew alphabet and symbolizes the ninth *sefirah, Yesod*. In this *sefirah* the primordial light of *Ḥesed* was hidden away. See *Zohar* 1:3a, 21a; 2:230a. On the primordial light, see above, note 624.

630. **Primordial One above...** *Ḥokhmah*, known as Beginning, since it is the first *sefirah* that can be even faintly known. For a different rendering and interpretation of the phrase "contained within," see *KP*, *OY*.

631. **the secrecy of the point...** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, symbolized by the letter י (*yod*). See above, page 109.

632. **From its energy emerged ו (*vav*)...** From the point represented by the letter י (*yod*) extended the line of the letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizing *Tif'eret* (known as Heaven) and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him.

633. **When it culminated...** When the point of *Ḥokhmah* was implanted within the womb of *Binah*, symbolized by the letter ב (*bet*), She glowed.

634. **From it emerged above and below...** From *Ḥokhmah* emerged the Divine Mother, *Binah*, and Her daughter, *Shekhinah*, both alluded to by the letter ב (*bet*), whose numerical value is two. See above, pages 173–76.

635. **These three letters...** As noted above, these letters stand for different stages of emanation: ט (*tet*) for *Yesod*, ו (*vav*) for *Tif'eret*, and ב (*bet*) for *Binah*. The entire flow of emanation gathers in *Yesod*, also known as Righteous One, who then unites with *Shekhinah*. See BT *Yoma* 38b.

636. **supernal radiance...** The primordial light of *Ḥesed* is concealed within *Yesod*.

637. ***to all,* unspecified...** *Yesod*, who contains and conveys the totality of emanation, is called All. He is the sixth cosmic day of Creation, animating the universe.

638. **obscurity of words** The mysteries of the process of emanation hidden within Scripture.

639. ***At the beginning of, your baking, offer a loaf...*** The loaf (חלה [*ḥallah*]) was offered as the first fruits of baking. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:4: "Rav Huna said in the name of Rav Mattanah, 'The world was created for the sake of three things: for the sake of *ḥallah*, tithes, and first fruits. For it is said: בראשית (*Bereshit*), *In the beginning* [taken to mean: *For the sake of beginning*], and

beginning is *ḥallah*, as is written: *At the beginning of your baking* [*offer* חלה (*ḥallah*), *a loaf, as a gift*]....'"

Here ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, symbolizes the second *sefirah*, *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), which is the first aspect of God that can be known, since the initial *sefirah*, *Keter*, is transcendently unknowable.

The identification of *beginning* with Wisdom appears widely. See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.), Genesis 1:1; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:242–45, 266–69; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81; Naḥmanides on Genesis 1:1; *Zohar* 1:2a, 3b, 15a, 16b, 20a, 145a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 21–22 (25–26).

640. **ב (*Bet*) is ביתא (*beita*), house, of the world** The opening letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence encompassing the world. See *Zohar* 1:29b, 33a, 172a.

641. **that river entering it...** The flow of emanation channeled by *Yesod* to *Shekhinah*, *the garden*. This proof text from Genesis appears approximately fifty times in the *Zohar*.

642. **the high depth** *Binah*, source of emanation for the lower *sefirot*. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:5: "... depth of above, depth of below...."

643. **That high depth, initial ב (*bet*)...** The ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, alludes also to *Binah*, who unites with *Ḥokhmah*, known as ראשית (*Reshit*), *Beginning*, and receives from Him the stream of emanation in the form of letters. The narrow path is the subtle link between *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 29a–b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b.

644. **two forces** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, known as *heaven* and *earth*.

645. **Not שמים (*shamayim*), *heavens*, but השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*...** The definite article ה (*ha*) in השמים (*ha-shamayim*) symbolizes *Binah*, who is often identified with the first ה (*he*) in the divine name יהוה (*YHVH*).

646. ***And the earth...*** *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*, also emanated from *Binah*, not as a separate entity but joined together with *Tif'eret* (*heaven*), side by side, or back-to-back. See the description of the original androgynous nature of the human being in *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:2b, 13b, 47a; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

647. **When the *beginning* of all...** When *Ḥokhmah* received further

emanation from *Keter*, the flow extended to *Tif'eret* (*heaven*), empowering Him to install *Shekhinah* in Her position as the culmination of the *sefirot*.

648. ו (*vav*) **and totality of letters** The word ואת (*ve-et*) is divided into ו (*vav*) and את (*et*). *Vav*, the third letter of יהוה (*YHVH*), is numerically equivalent to six and symbolizes *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). את (*Et*) represents the totality of emanation from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), which is transmitted by *Tif'eret* to *Shekhinah* (*earth*), enabling Her to attain independent existence. See above, pages 112, 175, 178.

649. **confounded and bewildered** תוהה ובוהה (*Tohah u-vohah*), playing on תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), [*The earth was*] *chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2). The pun derives from *Bereshit Rabbah* 2:2, where *earth* is said to be "confounded and bewildered" by the inferior position of earthly creatures relative to heavenly creatures. See *Zohar* 1:24b (*TZ*).

On the Gnostic connotation of this phrase, see Van Winden, in *Studies in Gnosticism*, 458–66.

650. **for She saw *heaven* beaming and Herself darkened** On the diminution of *Shekhinah*, see BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!" She said before Him, "Master of the Universe! Because I have suggested something proper I should make myself smaller?" He replied, "Go and rule by day and night." She said, "But what is the value of this? What good is a lamp at noon?"'"

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b–20a; *ZḤ* 70d-71a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 35b.

651. **gazing at *heaven* face-to-face** *Shekhinah* achieves reunion with *Tif'eret*, but now face-to-face, rather than back-to-back. See the description of the original nature of the human being from *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1, cited above (note 646): "Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See *Zohar* 3:296a (*IZ*); BT *Bava Batra* 99a.

652. **rendered firm and fragrant** See above, note 623.

653. **Light radiated...** As *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* emerge from *Binah*, *Tif'eret* derives from *Ḥesed* on the right side (identified with light), while *Shekhinah* derives from *Gevurah* on the left side (identified with darkness). See above, page 125.

654. ***Day... Night...*** *Tif'eret, Shekhinah*.

655. **He is called *Day*...** *Tif'eret* is called *Day*.

656. ***and the darkness He called Night*** The verse reads: *God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night*.

657. ***darkness* seizes Her...** *Gevurah* seizes *Shekhinah*, who reflects the light of the other *sefirot* but has none of Her own. The expression "She has no light of Her own" derives from a medieval astronomic description of the moon.

See Radak on Genesis 1:16; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 338; idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 381; *Zohar* 1:20a, 132b, 181a, 238a; 2:43a, 142a, 218b.

658. **Though deriving from the side of fire, which is *darkness*...** Though *Shekhinah* derives from *Gevurah*, symbolized by both fire and *darkness*, She receives no light from this fire but rather remains dark until illumined by *Tif'eret*.

On the combination of fire and *darkness*, see Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 2:30, where the *darkness* of Genesis 1:2 is identified with "elemental fire": "The elemental fire was designated by this term [*darkness*] because it is not luminous, but only transparent."

659. **until the time of which is written...** Until Messianic time, when *Shekhinah* will shine on Her own.

660. **Rabbi El'azar jumped in first** The beginning of this passage appears to be missing. See *KP*. This is the first occurrence of the name of one of the *Ḥavrayya* ("Companions") in "Parashat Be-Reshit" of the *Zohar*.

661. **the supernal *voice*...** The transcendent voice of *Binah* regulates the flow of emanation through the lower *sefirot* until they collect in *Yesod*.

662. **the side extending from *Might*** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence is also known as כבוד (*kavod*), *glory*. She emanates via *Gevurah* ("might, power"), located on the left side of the sefirotic tree.

663. **the right...** *Ḥesed*, also known as אל (*El*), *God* (*Zohar* 3:30b), and located on the right side. From here *Gevurah* emerges on the left as thunder.

664. **that concealed depth...** *Binah*, who emerges from *Ḥokhmah* and remains linked to Him by a narrow path.

665. **resolved the conflict** The conflict between *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, right and left sides of the sefirotic tree symbolizing light and darkness, or the conflict between the waters of Creation. See above, pages 124–36.

666. ***Next to the enclosure are the rings to be, as housings for the poles** to carry the table*. In the desert Tabernacle, each week twelve loaves of bread were placed on a portable table, which was fitted with rings and poles and topped with a rim (*enclosure*).

667. **A closed site...** *Binah*, joined intimately to *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 29a–b, 30b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b.

668. **traces gates...** *Binah*, filled by the flow from *Ḥokhmah*, begins to emanate the lights of the lower *sefirot* ("gates").

669. **the world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, *26* (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

670. **supernal rings...** The triad of *sefirot* emerging from *Binah: Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, symbolized respectively by water, fire, and air. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:9–12; *Zohar* 1:110a, 118b. The *sefirot* are links in the cosmic chain of being. See Matt, intro to *Mar'ot ha-Ẕove'ot*, by David ben Judah he-Ḥasid, 34, n. 238.

671. **the supernal river...** The flow of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* to *Binah*.

672. **the chariots below** As the *poles* in the Tabernacle carried the table (and the ark), so the chariots beneath *Shekhinah* carry Her. Each of these lower forces derives from one of the *housings: Ḥesed, Gevurah*, or *Tif'eret*.

673. **the ark** *Shekhinah*. According to Exodus 25:12–15, *the ark of the covenant* in the Tabernacle was also fitted with rings and poles.

674. **not what lies within** *Shekhinah* and the entire sefirotic realm.

675. **As we say to the Nazarite...** See BT *Shabbat* 13a; cf. *Zohar* 2:125b; 3:127b. A Nazarite vows not to eat grapes or drink wine (Numbers 6:1–3). As a precaution, he is forbidden even to approach a vineyard. Here, the unproven spiritual seeker is directed toward the chariot but not its occupant, *Shekhinah*, who is known as "vineyard."

676. **As these *cedars* emerge from *Lebanon*...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* are symbolized by *cedars* rooted in *Lebanon* (*Ḥokhmah*). See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1; above, pages 170–72. Alternatively, they are the six cosmic days of Creation, emerging from *Ḥokhmah*, known as בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

677. ***Yours, YHVH, are*** גדולה (***gedullah***), ***greatness...*** הוד (***hod***), ***splendor—yes, all...*** The verse continues: *that is in heaven and on earth....* This verse appears

often in kabbalistic literature as a designation of the lower *sefirot: Ḥesed* (also called *Gedullah*), *Gevurah, Tif'eret, Netsaḥ, Hod, Yesod* (known as *all*), and *Shekhinah* (symbolized by *earth*), who is joined with *Tif'eret* (symbolized by *heaven*).

678. ב ראשית (***Bet, reshit***), **'two, *beginning'*...** *Ḥokhmah*, the second *sefirah*, is the first that can be known at all, since *Keter*, the first *sefirah*, shares the unknowable infinity of *Ein Sof* and is therefore "not included in the count." See *Zohar* 3:269a.

679. ***A river issues from Eden...*** The act of Creation described in the opening verse of Genesis is the flow of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* (known as *Eden*) through *Binah* and the *sefirot* below Her to *Shekhinah*, *the garden*. The *Zohar* may be associating the Hebrew word יוצא (*yotse*), *issues*, "goes out," with the Aramaic word ברא (*bara*), "outside."

680. אלהים חיים (***Elohim ḥayyim***), ***Living God*** The phrase appears in Deuteronomy 5:23; Jeremiah 10:10. Here it is a name of *Binah*, source of life and emanation. See *Zohar* 1:74a; 2:140a.

681. **By means of that river...** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), is understood as meaning not *In the beginning*, but *With beginning*, "by means of the primordial river emanating from *Ḥokhmah*, known as *beginning*." This interpretation relies on the fact that the Hebrew preposition ב (*be*) means "with" as well as "in."

See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.) and Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81; above, page 110.

682. **the expansion of the river...** The river, generated by *Ḥokhmah*, emerges from *Binah* and emanates *Tif'eret*, known as *heaven*.

683. **the last link...** *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, is the *beginning* of the creation of the world below.

684. **it channeled the river...** *Binah* channeled the flow of emanation.

685. **by it He created the lower world...** By means of *Shekhinah*, the lower *beginning*, *Binah* (known as אלהים [*Elohim*], *God*) created the world below.

686. **However, transcendent *Elohim*...** The name אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, applies to several *sefirot: Binah* (transcendent *Elohim*), *Gevurah* (associated with Isaac and known as *the fear of Isaac*; see Genesis 31:42), and *Shekhinah* (final *Elohim*). So, the plural is justified. See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Devarim Rabbah* 2:13.

687. **the light... created at first** The primordial light of the first day of Creation, identified with the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, the first to emerge from *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:20a; 2:137a, 166b.

688. **the light of the eye** Vision derives from the primordial light and was originally boundless. According to rabbinic tradition, the primordial light was overwhelming. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6: "The light created during the six days

of Creation cannot shine during the day because it dims [i.e., overwhelms] the globe of the sun."

See Isaiah 30:26; and *Bahir* 97 (147): "No creature could look at the primordial light." Cf. *ZḤ* 15b (*MhN*); Philo, *On the Creation of the World*, 29–31. An alternate view appears in *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1: "Its light was pleasant for the world and did not cause harm like the sun."

Elsewhere the *Zohar* refers to a technique for seeing the concealed colors of the *sefirot*. By closing one's eye and pressing a finger on the eyeball until it is moved to one side, one gains a vision of colors (white, red, and green), symbolizing *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 2:23b: "The secret is: close your eye and roll your eyeball. Those colors that shine and sparkle will be revealed."

Cf. 1:18b, 42a, 43a, 97a–b (*ST*); 2:43b, 247a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 96–97 (123–24); *KP* on *Zohar* 1:18b; Scholem, "Colours and Their Symbolism," 66–67; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 291–93; Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 380–83.

689. **who gazed with it from one end of the universe to the other** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one [or "Adam"] could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:30b, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

690. **from Gilead to Dan** When he was about to die, Moses ascended Mt. Nebo in Moab and was shown the entire land of Israel from a distance. See Deuteronomy 34:1–5, where *Gilead as far as Dan* refers to just one part of the entire landscape.

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 338, where Rabbi Yehoshu'a says that Moses was able to view the entire land because God "placed power in Moses' eyes and he saw from one end of the world to the other." According to the *Zohar*, this power derives from the primordial light.

691. **three wicked generations...** Concerning the generation of Enosh, Genesis 4:26 states: *Then for the first time the name YHVH was invoked*. In the Midrash this is taken to mean that Enosh's generation was the first to worship idols and address them by the name *YHVH*.

See *Mekhilta, Baḥodesh* 6; *Bereshit Rabbah* 23:7; *Targum Yerushalmi* and

Rashi, ad loc.; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Avodah Zarah* 1:1; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:151, n. 54.

The generation of the Flood was notoriously corrupt (Genesis 6:5–13). "The generation of Dispersion" refers to the generation of the Tower of Babel who attempted to assault heaven and were punished by being dispersed and by their having their common language divided into many tongues (ibid. 11:1–9; cf. 10:25). All three generations are mentioned in *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1 and *Pesiqta Rabbati* 23.

692. **the three remaining months...** According to one midrashic tradition, Moses was born three months premature in order to deceive the Egyptians, who were planning to kill him; the wording in Exodus 2:2, *She hid him for three months*, refers to the last three months of the normal period of pregnancy, which were the first three months of Moses' life. The Midrash also connects the preceding phrase, *She saw that he was good*, with Genesis 1:3: *God saw that the light was good*, implying that Moses radiated supernal light.

See *Mekhilta de-Rashbi*, Exodus 6:2; *Targum Yerushalmi* and *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Exodus 2:2; Rashi on Exodus 2:3; as well as BT *Sotah* 12a; *Shemot Rabbah* 1:20; *Zohar* 2:11b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:397, nn. 42, 44.

The *Zohar* may also have in mind the teaching of Rabbi Simlai (BT *Niddah* 30b) that a fetus in the womb has "a lamp kindled above its head, and it gazes from one end of the world to the other."

693. **he was brought before Pharaoh** By Pharaoh's daughter, who found him in the Nile. See Exodus 2:3–10.

694. **He wielded it** אשתמש ביה (*Ishtammash beih*), "He used it." The verb has theurgic connotations.

See M *Avot* 1:13; *Zohar* 1:55b; Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 54, n. 36; idem, *Major Trends*, 358, n. 17.

695. ***They were afraid to come near him*** The full verse reads: *Aaron and all the Children of Israel saw Moses, and behold, the skin of his face was radiant! They were afraid to come near him*.

696. **He enwrapped Himself in it as in a *tallit*...** *Tallit* originally meant a "gown, cloak" worn by distinguished scholars and the wealthy. Later it came to mean "prayer shawl." The image applied here to Moses derives from an esoteric rabbinic description of God. See *Midrash Tehillim* 104:4: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yehotsadak asked Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman, 'How did the blessed Holy One create the light?' He replied, 'He enwrapped Himself in a white *tallit*, and the world shone from His light.' He said this to him in a whisper. [Rabbi Shim'on] said, 'Is this not stated explicitly in Scripture: *He wraps in light as in a garment* (Psalms 104:2)?' He replied, 'As I received it in a whisper, so I told it

to you in a whisper.'"

Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3. The image of God wrapping Himself in a garment of light appears in Greek, Iranian, Gnostic, and kabbalistic sources.

See Matt, *Zohar*, 212; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 493–94; Ezra's letter, ed. Scholem, in *Sefer Bialik*, 157–58; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 110–11; *Zohar* 1:2a, 29a, 90a (*ST*), 245a; 2:39b, 164b; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 5a.

697. **Every subject of the phrase...** This exegetical principle derives from older rabbinic models. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Naso* 24: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'Wherever the phrase *and there was* appears, it refers to something that was and ceased for many days and returned to its original state.'" Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 41:3: "Rabbi Shim'on said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Wherever the phrase *and there was* appears, it serves for sorrow and for joy. If sorrow, there is none like it; if joy, there is none like it.' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman came and made a distinction: 'Wherever it says, *and there was*, there is sorrow; wherever it says, *and there will be*, there is joy.' It was objected: 'But it is written: *God said, "Let there be light!" And there was light*.' He responded, 'There is no longer any joy, for the world was not worthy to use that light.'" Cf. BT *Megillah* 10b.

The *Zohar* alludes here to the primordial light, which appeared briefly in this world and was hidden away for the righteous in the hereafter. *Bahir* 106 (160) identifies the hidden light with the world that is coming, which it takes to mean "the world that already came." The phrase *And there was light* is similarly taken to mean "There already was light," i.e., the primordial light.

See *Bahir* 17 (25); *Zohar* 1:16b, 30b, 45b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:2, along with the variant readings and Theodor, ad loc.

698. **nor the worlds enjoy it because of them** The wicked deprive the world of the primordial light.

699. **for the righteous, precisely...** The word "righteous" alludes to the *sefirah* of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

The primordial light is hidden in *Yesod*, the procreative power of God. See *Zohar* 1:3a, 21a, 45b; 2:35a, 148b–149a; 166b–167a, 230a.

The Midrash links the verse *Light is sown for the righteous* with the hidden light. See *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Midrash Tehillim* 27:1.

700. **by truncheons...** בקלפוי (*Be-qulpoi*), "By His clubs." The darkness is carved by divine blows. See above, note 513.

701. **a single secret path...** The path of emanation or, specifically, *Yesod*, who conveys the emanation to *Shekhinah*.

702. **The one called *Night*...** *Shekhinah*, who is called "darkness below" because She has no light of Her own but simply reflects the light of the other *sefirot*.

703. ***Revealing depths*...** See above, page 183: "Then the immense abyss ascended in darkness, and darkness covered all, until light emanated, split the darkness, and radiated, as is written: *Revealing depths out of darkness, bringing pitch-blackness to light*."

704. **from sealed *darkness*** From the source of emanation.

705. **all those supernal crowns** The *sefirot*.

706. **Why, then, *revealing?*** Such an explicit description is incompatible with the hidden nature of the emanation.

707. **from the *darkness* abiding...**

From *Shekhinah*, the "darkness below."

708. **All those concealed depths...** The *sefirot* emerge from within the recesses of the divine mind and are conveyed by the "voice," the central *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, until fully articulated in the divine word, *Shekhinah*.

709. **This speech is called Sabbath** *Shekhinah*, the divine word, is the last of the seven lower *sefirot* and is symbolized by the Sabbath, the seventh day of the week.

710. **mundane speech is forbidden on Sabbath...** See BT *Shabbat* 113b: "Your speech on the Sabbath should not resemble your speech on weekdays." Mundane speech mars the holiness of Sabbath and arouses demonic powers.

See *Zohar* 2:47b, 63b–64a; 3:105a–b.

711. **from the side of *darkness*** From the left side.

712. ***Light* generated day...** The *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, symbolized by light, emanated *Tif'eret*, whereas *Gevurah*, symbolized by darkness, emanated *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 125–26.

713. **for night and day are called *one*** *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret* are intended to unite. See *Zohar* 1:31a, 46a.

714. **the time of exile...** When the divine couple is separated.

715. **Until now...** First, *Tif'eret* emerged from *Ḥesed*. Then *Shekhinah* emerged from *Gevurah* and had no light of Her own, only what She reflected.

716. **Rungs differentiate...** The *sefirot* are differentiated, yet still unified. On the interdependence of light and darkness, see *Zohar* 2:187a; 3:47b.

717. **they diverge in color** As different frequencies of the wavelengths of

light yield different colors.

718. ***Were it not for My covenant...*** See BT *Shabbat* 137b, where this verse is applied to the covenant of circumcision: "Were it not for the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth would not endure, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*."

See *Zohar* 1:56a, 59b, 66b, 89a, 93b.

719. **Who is *Covenant*? צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One** *Covenant* alludes to *Yesod*, the divine phallus, site of the covenant of circumcision. On his title *Tsaddiq*, see above, note 699.

720. ***day and night* together** Symbolizing *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who unite by means of *Yesod*, the *Covenant*.

721. ***the allowance of heaven and earth*, flowing forth from Eden** The word חקות (*ḥuqqot*), *laws*, is understood to mean "prescribed portion, allowance," i.e., the emanation intended for *Tif'eret* (*heaven*) and *Shekhinah* (*earth*), which emerges from *Ḥokhmah* (Eden).

722. ***From the voice of* מחצצים (*meḥatsatsim*)... the voice of Jacob...** In Deborah's song (Judges 5), the rare word מחצצים (*meḥatsatsim*) may mean "archers," "singers," "musicians," or "thunder peals." Here Rabbi Shim'on understands it hyperliterally as *dividers*, alluding to *Tif'eret*, symbolized by Jacob, who mediates between right and left, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*.

The phrase "the voice of Jacob" originates in Genesis 27:22. The verse in Samuel refers to Goliath, who stood *between* the Israelites and Philistines.

723. **He dwells between those drawing water...** *Tif'eret* stands between *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, who draw the emanation from above.

724. **the site of faith cleaving...** *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the name יהוה (*YHVH*), is the focus of human belief and also the partner of *Shekhinah*, known as Faith (מהימנותא [*Meheimanuta*]).

725. **there *the righteous acts*...** From *Tif'eret* the next two *sefirot, Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, draw their sustenance. Now the verse is being read: *There* (at *Tif'eret*) *the righteous acts of YHVH* (*Netsaḥ* and *Hod*) *will chant*.

726. **Righteous One...** *Yesod* (see above, notes 699, 719), who channels the rivers of emanation to the ocean of *Shekhinah*.

727. **for *Israel* inherited this covenant...** The covenant between God and Israel is embodied in the rite of circumcision.

728. **cutting and not uncovering** In the ritual of circumcision, first the foreskin is cut and removed, disclosing the mucous membrane, which is then torn down the center and pulled back, revealing the corona. The act of tearing and pulling back the membrane is called פריעה (*peri'ah*), "uncovering" the

corona. See M *Shabbat* 19:6: "If one circumcises but does not uncover the circumcision, it is as if he has not circumcised."

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 32a (*Tos*), 93b, 96b, 98b (*ST*); 2:3b, 40a, 125b; 3:91b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 133; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (67).

729. ***gates of righteousness...*** *Shekhinah*, who is known as *righteousness*. Those who fail to complete the act of circumcision remain outside the divine realm. The phrase *gates of righteousness* derives from Psalms 118:19.

730. ***The Children of Israel forsook YHVH*** The verse actually reads: *They forsook YHVH*. See *Zohar* 1:93b; 3:42b.

731. **until Deborah appeared...** Deborah renewed Israel's commitment to complete the rite of circumcision by uncovering the corona. Literally, the opening words of the verse (בפרוע פרעות [*Biphro'a pera'ot*]) apparently mean *When locks go untrimmed*, an expression of dedication (see Numbers 6:5). Here, though, Rabbi Shim'on intends another meaning of the root: "uncover," alluding to the act of פריעה (*peri'ah*), "uncovering." See *Zohar* 1:93b.

732. ***His deliverance...*** *Deliverance* alludes to *Yesod*, who delivers the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*. By failing to uncover the corona, one interrupts their union.

733. **What is the meaning of *mother?*...** By inspiring Israel, Deborah stimulated *Binah*, the Divine Mother, to channel life and sustenance.

734. ***In Israel*—unspecified...** *Israel* refers to both the earthly people and the central *sefirah* named *Tif'eret Yisra'el* ("Beauty of Israel"), both of whom are included in the covenant of circumcision and dependent upon it.

735. ***The righteous one is the foundation of the world*** The verse applies below and above. The righteous human who fulfills the commandments maintains the world, just as *Yesod* constitutes the cosmic pillar. *Yesod* ("Foundation") is known as Righteous One, based on this verse: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*), which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

736. **Three emerge from one...** A multivalent riddle, one of whose meanings may be: *Keter, Ḥokhmah*, and *Binah* emerge from *Ein Sof; Tif'eret* stands in the next triad, which includes *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*. The flow continues to *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, who suckle *Yesod*, who disperses the flow through *Shekhinah* to many sides.

For other interpretations see *OY; KP*; Scholem; and *MM*, who after listing many meanings, writes: "Perhaps Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai intended all of these interpretations." Similar numerical riddles appear in *Zohar* 1:72b, 77a, 151b (*Tos*); 2:12b, 95a; 3:162a.

737. **a *day* embracing *evening* and *morning*...** *Yesod* binds *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*.

738. **seven expanses above...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Resh Lakish said, 'There are seven heavens [רקיעים (*reqi'im*), expanses or firmaments].'" Here the expanses are the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:85b; 2:56b.

739. **the holy name is consummated** In Kabbalah the name יהוה (*YHVH*) represents the entirety of the *sefirot*: י (*yod*) symbolizes the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*; the feminine marker ה (*he*) symbolizes *Binah*, the Divine Mother; ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*; and the final ה (*he*) symbolizes *Shekhinah. Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* by themselves spell out the name יה (*Yah*), while the final seven *sefirot*, "the seven expanses," complete the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

740. **This *expanse* lies in the middle...** *Yesod*, the *expanse*, separates the upper *sefirot* from *Shekhinah*, through whom the flow extends to the worlds below.

See *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 1:6; *Zohar* 1:20a, 21a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 198.

741. **other creatures** The *ḥayyot* ("living creatures, animals") who transport the divine throne (*Shekhinah*). See Ezekiel 1:22: *There was a shape above the heads of the creature, of an expanse that looked like awesome ice, stretched above their heads*. Here the *ḥayyot* are called "other creatures" in contradistinction to the "creatures" within the world of the *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*. See above, page 160.

742. **The lower waters call to the upper...** The lower powers seek the streaming energy of the *sefirot*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep*... (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta, Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

743. **for within all is enclosed...** *Shekhinah* contains the entire flow of emanation.

744. **that river gushes, flows...** The river of emanation empties into *Shekhinah*, which absorbs the waters but does not release them.

745. **Because the north wind blows...** The harsh power of *Gevurah* freezes

the waters that have gathered in *Shekhinah*, preventing them from streaming on to the worlds below.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:2: "Rav said, 'The works of Creation [i.e., the heavens] were fluid, and on the second day they congealed. *Let there be an expanse* [*in the midst of the waters*]*!* (Genesis 1:6), Let the expanse be firm!'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:29b; 2:167b.

746. **wind from the side of the South...** The warmth of *Ḥesed*, which thaws the frozen sea of *Shekhinah*.

747. **The appearance of that supernal *expanse*...** *Yesod*. See Ezekiel 1:22: *There was a shape above the heads of the creature, of an expanse that looked like awesome ice, stretched above their heads*.

748. **it is not so!...** The *expanse*, *Yesod*, does not divide between the upper and lower waters; rather, it contains the upper waters—whereas *Shekhinah*, who emerges from *Yesod*, separates the two realms.

749. **There is a membrane...** The diaphragm, permeable only from above to below. The phrase "partitioning below and above" can also be rendered "impermeable below to above." According to medieval physiology, the diaphragm transmits moisture from the lungs to the lower parts of the body. Similarly, within the sefirotic body, *Yesod*, the *expanse*, separates the waters and channels emanation from above to below.

750. **Those waters conceived...** See *Shemot Rabbah* 15:22: "Water conceived and bore darkness." Here apparently the lower waters give birth to darkness. Cf. *Zohar* 1:103b, where the waters of *Ḥesed* give birth to the darkness of *Gevurah*.

751. ***The curtain will serve you as a partition...*** The curtain in the Tabernacle parallels the diaphragm in the human body and the *expanse* in the cosmos. Here *the curtain* symbolizes *Yesod*, who separates *Shekhinah* and *Binah*, symbolized respectively by *the Holy* and *the Holy of Holies*. See *Zohar* 2:178b (*SdTs*).

752. **the uppermost waters ... the house...** The emanation emerging from *Ḥokhmah* (*wisdom*) and *Binah* (*understanding*) culminates in *Shekhinah*, the *house*.

753. **a cloud that is darkness...** *Gevurah*, on the left side of the sefirotic tree, hovering above the sea of *Shekhinah*.

754. **spirit of the supernal sanctuary** *Tif'eret*, known as רוח (*ruaḥ*), "spirit, wind," who emanates from *Binah*, the sanctuary above.

755. ***two cherubim...*** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, the divine couple. According to BT *Yoma* 54a, the cherubs in the Temple were depicted in sexual embrace: "Rabbi Katina said, 'When Israel ascended [to Jerusalem] for the Festival, the curtain would be rolled open for them and the cherubs revealed, their bodies

intertwined. They [the people] would be addressed: "Look! You are beloved by God as intensely as the love between man and woman."""

756. **Until this aroused...** Until *Shekhinah*, the *cherub*, was aroused, *Tif'eret* did not fully reveal Himself.

757. **literally, *in measure*...** In *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, through which the Infinite becomes finite.

758. **from the side of *Gevurah*** *Shekhinah* is influenced by this *sefirah*, located on the left.

759. **When the ancients arrived at this site...** At the stage of mystical ascent described in BT *Ḥagigah* 14b: "Rabbi Akiva said to them [his companions on the mystical journey: Ben Azzai, Ben Zoma, and Elisha son of Avuyah], 'When you arrive at the stones of pure marble, do not say, "Water, water!" For it is said, *One who speaks falsehood shall not remain in My sight* (Psalms 101:7).'"

"This site" may also allude to the verse: *God said, "Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it separate water from water*" (Genesis 1:6). This verse served as a focus of speculation and contemplation. See the various estimates of the size of the separation in *Ḥagigah* 15a, including that of Ben Zoma: "I was gazing between the upper and lower waters, and there is merely three fingers' breadth between them."

760. **First letter of all** The letter א (*alef*), which symbolizes the first *sefirah*, *Keter*. See *Bahir* 48 (70). Its shape (a line separating two points) symbolizes the *expanse* separating the upper and lower waters.

761. **pure vapor** קיטרא דכיא (*Qitra dakhya*), referring to *Keter*, the first *sefirah*, also known as אוירא דכיא (*avira dakhya*), "pure ether, air."

See above, page 108: "a cluster of vapor forming in formlessness." Cf. 3:135b (*IR*), 292b (*IZ*); Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 331–47; and *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:6: "Out of chaos He formed substance, making what is not into what is. He hewed enormous pillars out of ether that cannot be grasped."

762. **Waters carved...** Emanation assumes the form of the *sefirot*.

763. **So all the letters...** The letters of the alphabet permutate and spell out words, thereby constituting spiritual entities. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 4:12: "Two stones [letters] build two houses...."

764. **the house of the world** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence who includes all of creation. See above, page 173.

765. **So ב (*bet*) appears at the beginning** The initial letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, symbolizes the בית (*bayit*), "house," of the world.

766. **Division occurred on the second...** The upper waters were separated

from the lower waters on the second day of Creation, corresponding to the second of the seven lower *sefirot, Gevurah*, who administers strict justice and conflicts with divine love, *Ḥesed*. Hell and conflict emerged on the second day, according to *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6: "Why is *that it was good* not written concerning the second day? Rabbi Yoḥanan said..., 'Because on that day Hell was created....' Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'Because on that day conflict was created: *that it may separate water from water.'*... Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'Because the work of the water was not completed. Therefore *that it was good* is written twice on the third day: once for the work of the water [see Genesis 1:9–10] and once for the work of the [third] day [ibid., 11].'"

See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 4; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 18a, 46a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

767. **every division of opinion for the sake of heaven...** See M *Avot* 5:17: "Every conflict that is for the sake of heaven is destined to endure, while every conflict not for the sake of heaven is not destined to endure. Which conflict is for the sake of heaven? The conflict between Hillel and Shammai. Which is not for the sake of heaven? The conflict of Korah and his entire band."

768. **through it heaven endured...** *Tif'eret*, known as *Heaven*, endured as a result of the conflict between the *sefirot* on the right and left, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah. Yesod*, *the expanse*, is an extension of *Tif'eret* and shares His name. See above, pages 127–31.

769. **In a waterskin of lofts...** One of the *Zohar*'s neologistic gnomes, apparently alluding to the waters measured in heaven. See Liebes, *Peraqim*, 349. קטפירא (*Qatpira*)—perhaps an expansion of קטרא (*qitra*), "knot, bond, connection"—carries several meanings in the *Zohar*, including "waterskin," which here refers to the waters above. See Psalms 119:83; and Job 38:37: *Who can tilt the waterskins of the sky?*

The "lofts" are the heavens, as in Psalms 104:3, cited above (page 200): *Setting the rafters of His lofts in the waters*.

"By the pint" renders בקסטייהו (*be-qistaihu*), "in their pints." The singular, קסטא (*qista*), derives from the Greek *xestes*, a measure about the size of a pint. See Job 28:25, also cited above: *He meted the waters by measure*. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:5: "Ben Pazzi said, 'The upper waters exceed the lower waters by about thirty *xestes*.'"

770. ***The curtain shall serve you...*** *As the curtain* divides *between the Holy and the Holy of Holies*, so *Yesod, the expanse*, separates the upper and lower waters. See above, page 200; cf. *Zohar* 2:178b (*SdTs*).

771. **what is written next...** In the account of the third day of Creation.

772. ***under heaven*, literally!** In the *Zohar*, the term ממש (*mammash*), "really, literally," often implies one of the *sefirot*, the realm of ultimate reality. Here the allusion is to *Tif'eret*, known as *heaven*, beneath whom streams of emanation gather.

773. **to a place called *One*...** To *Shekhinah*, the lower sea, who joins Her partner, *Tif'eret*, thereby completing the unity of the *sefirot*.

774. ***All the rivers flow into the sea*** The streams of emanation flow into the sea of *Shekhinah*.

775. **the place of which is written: *My covenant*...** Rabbi Yeisa offers a different interpretation: *One place* implies *Yesod*, the divine phallus—symbolized by the covenant of circumcision, who pours into the sea of *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 137–41.

776. **Earth...** *Shekhinah*.

777. **Why is it called *dry land?*** How can *Shekhinah*, who is called Sea, also be *dry land*?

778. לחם עוני (***leḥem oni***), ***bread of affliction*...** Referring to *matstsah*, unleavened bread eaten on Passover.

779. **Since it is *impoverished bread*...** *Shekhinah* on Her own lacks the waters of emanation, so She is impoverished and dry until filled by the flow of *Yesod*.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 36a–b, 115b–116a; *Zohar* 1:157a; 2:40a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 112, 133.

780. **house of convergence above...** *Shekhinah*.

781. **the Righteous One** *Yesod* ("Foundation"), who channels the waters from above. He is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: יסוד עולם וצדיק (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*), which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

782. ***Say of the righteous one that he is good*** This verse links *righteous one* with the phrase כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that he is good*; so by analogy the same phrase in Genesis, כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that it was good*, also implies the *righteous one*, namely, *Yesod*. See BT *Yoma* 38b.

783. **the primordial light is called *good*** See Genesis 1:4: *God saw that the light was good*.

784. **on all of them is written...** In the biblical account of Creation, the statement *God saw that it was good* (or a variant) is included in the description of each of the six days except for the second. See above, note 766.

785. **This מקוה (*miqveh*), *gathering*, is Israel...** Rabbi Yose contends that the

word מקוה (*miqveh*) alludes to the central *sefirah*, *Tif'eret Yisra'el*, who is the third of the lower *sefirot* and associated with the third day of Creation.

786. ***He called Seas...*** *And the gathering of waters He called Seas*. This name fits *Yesod* since He includes the entire flow.

787. **Since He is distinguished...** Since *Yesod* is so full, the text highlights its creation on the third day by separating it from the first day with the account of the second day, in which the phrase כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that it was good*, does not appear. The third day is further distinguished by a double mention of *ki tov*.

788. **For on the third day...** *Shekhinah*, known as Earth, sprouted with life. The verse reads literally: *Let the earth sprout vegetation, seed-bearing plant, fruit tree bearing fruit of its kind with its seed in it on earth*.

789. **the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil...** Adam and Eve ate from this tree. In Kabbalah it symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who transmits either reward or punishment, depending on human behavior.

790. ***Bearing fruit*—the Righteous One** *Yesod*, the divine phallus. See *Zohar* 1:18b, 238a.

791. ***Of its kind...*** Souls are generated by *Yesod*. When a male infant is circumcised, he is linked with the source of his soul, the divine phallus.

On souls as fruit, see *Bahir* 14 (22); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489, 504; *Zohar* 1:15b, 19a, 59b–60a, 82b, 85b, 115a–b; 2:223b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 51; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69). Cf. Ibn Ezra on Psalms 1:3.

792. **Covenant of holiness...** *Yesod*, symbolized by the covenant of circumcision.

793. **Scions of faith...** בני מהימנותא (*Benei meheimanuta*). The faithful ripen on the tree of *Shekhinah*, each fruit still linked with its source, *Yesod*.

794. **the tree conceives...** *Shekhinah* gives birth to humans who resemble *Yesod*.

795. **the one who resembles his mother and father...** When a male infant is circumcised on the eighth day, he resembles the divine couple: *Shekhinah* (the eighth *sefirah* counting from *Binah*) and *Yesod* (the divine phallus). The ritual of circumcision involves two stages. First, in מילה (*milah*), "cutting," the foreskin is cut and removed, disclosing the mucous membrane, which is then torn down the center and pulled back, revealing the corona. The act of tearing and pulling back the membrane is called פריעה (*peri'ah*), "uncovering" the corona. See M *Shabbat* 19:6: "If one circumcises but does not uncover the circumcision, it is as if he has not circumcised." The removal of the foreskin links the infant with *Shekhinah*, while the act of *peri'ah* binds him with *Yesod*.

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 32a (*Tos*), 93b, 96b, 98b (*ST*); 2:3b, 40a, 125b; 3:91b;

Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 133; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (67).

796. **The verse should read...** The pronominal suffix ו (*vav*), indicating *its*, in the word זרעו (*zar'o*), *its seed*, appears superfluous.

797. **So that the word may be read...** The letter ו (*vav*) has a numerical value of six and indicates *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). This entire flow of emanation pours into *Shekhinah*, the Earth. See above, page 146.

798. ***all of them righteous,* indeed...** They resemble the divine couple, *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, known individually as צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), "Righteous One," and צדק (*Tsedeq*), "Righteousness," and together as צדיקים (*Tsaddiqim*), *Righteous*.

The verse from Isaiah, appearing frequently in the *Zohar*, reads in full: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever—sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*. In M *Sanhedrin* 10:1, it is cited to demonstrate that "all of Israel have a share in the world that is coming."

799. **The blessed Holy One illumines...** *Tif'eret* shines upon *Shekhinah*.

800. **the Righteous One** *Yesod*.

801. **the earth below** The physical universe.

802. **Righteousness...** *Shekhinah*, partner of *Yesod*, the Righteous One. She is also known as Lower Wisdom, daughter of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom").

803. ***The Engraved Letters of Rabbi El'azar*** A manual of letter permutations attributed to the son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. This book, one of many housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*, is cited again in *Zohar* 3:175b, 285a, 286b; cf. 1:224a; 2:139b; 3:180b.

See Matt, *Zohar*, 25; and the comment by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, on *Zohar* 1:7a: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*... have been lost in the wanderings of exile... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

804. **clusters of letters, twenty-two clustered as one...** A veiled description of the permutation of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, one of the primary methods of kabbalistic contemplation. According to *Sefer Yetsirah* (2:2, 4–5), the world was created by a divine act of permutation: "Twenty-two elemental letters. He engraved them, carved them, weighed them, permuted them, and transposed them—forming with them everything formed and everything destined to be formed.... Twenty-two elemental letters. He set them in a wheel with 231 gates, turning forward and backward.... How did He permute them? א (*Alef*) with them all, all of them with א (*alef*); ב (*bet*) with them all, all of them with ב (*bet*); and so with all the letters, turning round and round, within 231 gates."

The "231 gates" represent the number of two-letter combinations that can be formed from the twenty-two letters, provided that the same letter is not

repeated. The permutations are often arranged in a table consisting of twenty-one rows, each containing eleven two-letter combinations (21 × 11 = 231). The biblical phrase cited here by the *Zohar* apparently indicates such a table: the word אך (*akh*) is numerically equivalent to twenty-one, the number of rows; the next word, בך (*bakh*), equals twenty-two, the number of letters in the alphabet; the final word, אל (*el*), is the opening combination of the middle row, according to a particular scheme of permutation (see the chart printed in *KP*). In this permutation the opening letters of the two-letter combinations "ascend" from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), while the second letters "descend" in reverse order.

See *OY; MM; Zohar* 2:9a–b, 132b; Isaac of Acre, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 385; Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah*, 108–24.

805. **The lip...** סיפתא (Sifta), apparently a playful reference to the tongue in the middle of the balance. The verse cited in the preceding line may refer to the middle row of a particular scheme of permutation (see previous note).

806. ***In measuring...*** The full verse reads: *You are not to commit corruption in justice—in measure, weight, or capacity*.

807. **mystery of שקל הקדש (*sheqel ha-qodesh*), *the weight of holiness...*** Referring to a cosmic scale or to *Shekhinah*. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 169.

808. ***Scales of justice...*** Referring to scales in the celestial palaces or to *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*. See *Zohar* 2:95b, 175b, 252a; *TZ*, *Haqdamah*, 17b; 5, 19b.

809. **spirit of holiness** Holy Spirit, often identified with *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:67a; 2:97b, 238b; 3:61a.

810. **fashioned *by the word of* the heavens above...** The heavens below were generated by the power of *Tif'eret*, "the heavens above," channeled through the river of *Yesod*. On breath, voice, and word, see *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:9.

811. **As we have explained...** See above, page 200. Cf. *Zohar* 2:98b, where *His lofts* refers to *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*.

812. **mystery of that river flowing forth...** *Yesod*, who is indicated by the phrase *bearing fruit*. See above, page 204. He flows into *Shekhinah*, the Earth, who is referred to in the conclusion of the verse from Genesis: *bearing fruit with its seed in it of its kind on earth*.

813. **מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, spelled deficiently** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vav*s, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling is interpreted to mean that something was missing on the fourth day of Creation: the light of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, diminished, and this lack represents the potential for evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

See JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b: "On the fourth day [of the week, Wednesday] they would fast for infants, so that diphtheria not enter their mouths. *God said, 'Let*

there be מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*'—spelled מארת (*me'erat*), curse."

See Proverbs 3:33; BT *Ta'anit* 27b, *Ḥullin* 60b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:1a, 12a, 19b; 2:167b, 205a.

814. **the rigor of the seepage of judgment** *Shekhinah* is influenced by the left side of the *sefirot*, dominated by *Gevurah*, the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment"). On קילטא (*qilta*), "absorbing, seepage," see above, page 181: "dregs of an inkwell in seepage," and note 609.

815. **diphtheria...** This dread disease originates in Lilith, the demoness below the divine realm, who strikes children.

See *Zohar* 1:19b; 2:264b, 267b; and above, note 813.

816. **she depends upon...** Lilith depends on *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, who inclines toward Judgment.

817. **the expanse that is the sum...** *Yesod*, *the expanse of heaven*, includes the light of all the *sefirot* above Him and illumines *Shekhinah*, the light that does not shine.

818. **All those other species...** External powers are nourished by the dimmed light of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon. See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!"'"

819. **this expanse that does not shine...** *Shekhinah* does not shine with light of Her own and is dependent on *Tif'eret*. Her link to this source of light is indicated by Her names *expanse of heaven*, Kingdom of Heaven, and Land of Israel—since *Tif'eret* is known as both Heaven and Israel.

820. **missing the** ו (***vav***) See above, note 813.

821. **without** ו (***vav***)... The letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). Without the vivifying *vav*, the life force no longer flows through *Shekhinah* to the world.

See *Zohar* 1:12b, 241b; 2:137a; 3:176b.

822. **Lilith in the world** The demoness Lilith is the wife of Samael, and together they oversee *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side." See *Zohar* 1:148a (*ST*); 2:245a; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

823. ***Small and great alike are there... There ... There Lilith...*** The biblical word *there* signifies *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence. The deficient spelling of מארת (*me'orot*) indicates the potential for evil, symbolized by Lilith, who dwells

in the vicinity of *Shekhinah*.

824. **speculum... אספקלריא** (*Ispaqlarya*), "Glass, mirror, lens, speculum." See BT *Yevamot* 49b: "All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines]." Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face."

Shekhinah is the "speculum [or: mirror] that does not shine on its own" but rather reflects the other *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:183a; 2:23b. The deficient spelling of מארת (*me'orot*) indicates the lack of independent light.

825. **מארת** (***me'orot***) *Shekhinah*. See above, note 813.

826. **Written Torah** *Tif'eret*.

827. **the sun...** *Yesod*, *the covenant*, illumines *Shekhinah*.

On *Yesod* as sun, see *Zohar* 1:9a; 2:3b, 136b–137b; 3:12a, 225b; Moses de León, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 381; idem, *Shushan Edut*, 338; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 50 (61).

828. ***The ark of the covenant*—precisely...** *Shekhinah* is *the ark* housing *the covenant*, *Yesod*, and She thereby inherits His name: אדון (*Adon*), *Lord*.

See *Zohar* 1:2a, 59b, 228b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 75 (95).

829. **the mystery of אל״ף, דל״ת, נו״ן, יו״ד** (***alef, dalet, nun, yod***) *Shekhinah* is called אדני (*Adonai*), "My Lord," because of Her link with *Yesod*, called אדון (*Adon*), *Lord*. See *Zohar* 2:235b.

830. **Righteous One and Righteousness** *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:32a (*Tos*), 49a; 3:287a.

Yesod ("Foundation") is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*), which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

Shekhinah, partner of Righteous One, is called Righteousness.

831. **Stars and constellations...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Resh Lakish said, 'There are seven heavens.... The one called רקיע (*raqi'a*), expanse, is that in which the sun, moon, stars, and constellations are set.'"

Here *the expanse* symbolizes *Yesod*, known as Covenant. See *Zohar* 1:8b, 17a–b; 2:2a, 246a.

832. ***Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), suspended...** The deficient spelling of מארת (*me'orot*) indicates a lack, as in the diminution of the moon. See above, notes 813 and 818.

833. **Once it is written...** In the following verse, the word is spelled out more completely (מאורת [*me'orot*], with a *vav*), thus indicating the fuller light of the sun, symbolizing *Tif'eret* and *Yesod*. See *Minḥat Shai*, ad loc. The ellipsis points at the end of this sentence indicate a lacuna in the text, as attested by several of the manuscripts (C9, V7, 02).

834. ***For seasons...*** The full verse reads: *God said, "Let there be lights in the expanse of heaven to separate the day from the night, that they may be for signs and for seasons, for days and years*."

835. **linked with His holy name** Creation was enacted through the power of the divine name.

836. **seven planets...** The seven planets correspond to the seven lower *sefirot*, known as רקיעין (*reqi'in*), "heavens, expanses."

837. **two worlds...** Though the statement could refer to the physical world and the spiritual world (see *Zohar* 1:38a), the continuation of the passage concerns the two worlds within the *sefirot: Binah* and *Shekhinah*, known as upper and lower kings (above, pages 170–73).

See *Zohar* 1:153b, 158b, 248b; 2:22a, 53b; 3:145b, 285b, 297b.

838. **It is written...** This is not a biblical verse but rather a liturgical formula. See *Bahir* 80 (111), 88 (127).

839. **the world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however,

"the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

840. ***Tif'eret Yisra'el*** "Beauty of Israel," the central *sefirah*.

841. ***the ark of the covenant*** *Shekhinah*, the last *sefirah*, who houses *Yesod*, *the covenant*.

842. **site of ויעודא** (***vi'uda***), **convening...** *Binah*, source and perfection of all.

843. ***King*, above; *king*, below** *Binah* and *Shekhinah*.

844. **the river flowing forth from Eden...** *Yesod*, who conveys the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*, known as Earth.

845. **the moon...** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

846. **raising plants and trees** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 10:6: "Rabbi Simon said, 'You cannot find a single blade of grass [Oxford MS 147 adds: 'below'] that does not have a constellation in the sky, striking it and telling it: "Grow!"'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:251a (*Hash*); 2:171b; 3:86a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 181, 294; idem, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 135; Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 2:10.

847. **wardens of judgment...** Harsh powers. The Zoharic term גרדיני (*gardinei*), "wardens, guardians," derives from the Castilian *guardián*. See Corominas, *Diccionario*, 3:246–48.

848. **crag dwellers** מדבי טרטשי (*Mi-devei tarteshei*). *Tarteshei* may derive from טרש (*teresh*), "crag, stony ground," here the hiding place of the demons. Alternatively, it could be a corruption of תיאטראות (*ti'at-ra'ot*), "theaters, spectacles" (see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 552a, 1663a), in which case the phrase would mean: "crowds from the stadium," "those of the theaters."

The point of the saying is that the overflow from *Shekhinah* ("the king's palace") also energizes demonic powers, who run rampant, threatening innocent children. At any moment, Lilith, Mother of the Demons, may strike with diphtheria.

849. ***God placed them in the expanse of heaven*** *to shine upon earth*.

850. **When all of them are present...** When the *sefirot* gather in *Yesod*.

851. **Then the moon diminishes herself...** See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself."'" Cf. *Zohar* 3:191a.

852. **whatever he conveys...** Whatever *Tif'eret* receives from above is intended for *Shekhinah*.

853. **seven days of Creation** The seven *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Shekhinah*, each of which manifests on one day of the primal week of Creation. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 11:1.

854. **seven days of מלואים (*millu'im*), investiture...** The weeklong ceremony of installing the priests described in Leviticus 8. The literal meaning of the word מלואים (*millu'im*), "filling," alludes to the restoration of the full brightness of the moon (and of *Shekhinah*). See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 11:4.

On the phrase "rendered firm and fragrant," see above, note 623.

855. **not tainted by the evil serpent...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:2: "*A whisperer separates an intimate.... A whisperer*—[this is the serpent] for he whispered rebelliously against his Creator, saying: *You surely will not die* (Genesis 3:4). *Separates an* אלוף (*aluf*), *intimate*—for he separated the אלוף (*Aluf*), Chief, of the world [he caused *Shekhinah* to depart] and was immediately cursed." Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:7.

The serpent's advice led to the eating of the Tree of Knowledge and the separation of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the diminution of the moon.

856. **These are the lower waters...** The waters emerging from the *sefirot* are a continuation of the upper waters within the world of the *sefirot*. Both generate souls. See *Zohar* 1:46b.

857. **The soul of Adam...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Tazri'a* 2: "Rabbi El'azar son of Pedat says, '... [Of the six things created on the sixth day,] the soul of Adam was created first, as is said: *Let earth bring forth a living soul* (Genesis 1:24). *A living soul* means the soul of Adam, as is said: *The human became a living soul*."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; *Zohar* 3:39b.

858. **messengers...** Angels, symbolized by birds, who manifest in human form, that is, *upon the earth*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Devarim Rabbah* 8:2; *Zohar* 1:13a, 46b; 3:39b.

859. **only in genuine spirit...** Without assuming bodily form.

860. **So of these is not written: *after its kind*...** Of those angels who *fly*

upon earth, i.e., who appear in human form on earth, the biblical text does not say: *after its kind*, since by appearing on earth, they change their *kind*. The phrase *after its kind* is reserved for angels of genuine spirit, who never appear in physical form and so never change their *kind*.

861. ***From there it divide***s The full verse reads: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides and becomes four stream-heads*. Once the flow of emanation reaches *Shekhinah*, *the garden*, it branches off into various kinds of angels.

See *Zohar* 3:40a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:556–57.

862. ***God created the great sea serpents*** The verse continues: *and every soul of the living being who glides, with which the waters swarmed after their kind, and every winged bird after its kind*.

863. **Leviathan and his mate** See BT *Bava Batra* 74b: "*God created the great sea serpents*.... Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'This is Leviathan the elusive serpent and Leviathan the twisting serpent [see Isaiah 27:1].... Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Everything that the blessed Holy One created in His world, He created male and female. Even Leviathan the elusive serpent and Leviathan the twisting serpent He created male and female, and if they mated with another, they would destroy the entire world. What did the blessed Holy One do? He castrated the male and killed the female, salting her for the righteous in the world to come, as is written: *He will slay the dragon of the sea* (ibid.).'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 510; *Zohar* 1:46b.

864. **that *living being* gliding... Night** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence who spreads over the entire world. The word רומשת (*romeset*), *glides*, is here identified with רמש (*remesh*), "evening."

On *Shekhinah* as *ḥayyah*, see Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 508–9; *Zohar* 1:12b, 242a; 2:48b, 177b–178a (*SdTs*); 3:46b.

865. **for waters nourish them** Emanation flowing from the *sefirot* nourishes the souls emerging from *Shekhinah*.

866. **When South arrives...** The waters within *Shekhinah* tend to congeal due to the influence of *Gevurah*, or *Din* (severe "Judgment"), associated with the North. These waters are released through the warmth of *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of flowing love, associated with the South.

See *Zohar* 1:29b, 152a, 161b; 2:30a; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 341.

867. **Ships of the sea...** Powers extending from *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:40b.

868. ***For a bird of heaven will carry the sound...*** The verse is understood as alluding to angels in *Devarim Rabbah* 6:10; *Zohar* 1:92a; 3:138a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 203. Cf. above, page 213.

869. **All of them are six-winged...** All the angels have six wings (see Isaiah

6:2), corresponding to the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, who together constitute the supernal paradigm, known as *Ze'eir Anpin*, the Impatient One.

870. **in six** In six glides, playing on BT *Berakhot* 4b: "A *tanna* taught: 'Michael [reaches his destination] in one [glide], Gabriel in two, Elijah in four, and the Angel of Death in eight—in time of plague, however, in one.'"

871. **conveying them above** Where they are recorded and weighed.

872. ***for a bird of heaven will carry the sound*** *a winged creature will report the word* (cited above).

873. **the verse should read: השורצת (*ha-shoretset*), *who swarms...*** Matching the wording in the preceding verse (Genesis 1:20): *Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls*.

874. **But as we say: 'Night רמש (*remash*), dusked'** Rabbi Ḥizkiyah refers to the idiom of the *Zohar*. See 2:36b, 171a, 173a, 188a; 3:21a, 149b, 166b; cf. above, note 864.

875. ***when all creatures...*** The full verse reads: *You make darkness and it is night, when all creatures of the forest creep*. Here in the *Zohar*, the *creatures of the forest* are the angels singing at night while *Shekhinah* reigns.

876. **opening with song in three watches...** The night is divided into three watches, during each of which a different choir of angels sings.

See BT *Berakhot* 3b; *Zohar* 1:230b; 2:195b–196a; *ZḤ 17d* (*MhN*), 88a (*MhN*, *Rut*).

877. ***O you, who call upon YHVH, be not silent!*** The verse begins: *Upon your walls, O Jerusalem, I have set watchmen, who shall never be silent day or night*.

878. **I was gazing** Upon the secrets of Creation. See the testimony of Shim'on son of Zoma (*Tosefta*, *Ḥagigah* 2:6): "I was gazing upon the act of Creation, and not even a handbreadth separates the upper waters from the lower waters."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 2:4; BT *Ḥagigah* 15a; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a–b.

879. **above and below trembled** On heavenly opposition to human creation, see BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav: 'When the blessed Holy One sought to create the human being, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and asked them, "Is it your desire that we make the human being in our image?" They responded, "Master of the Universe, what are his deeds?" He replied, "Such and such are his deeds." They exclaimed, "Master of the Universe, *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?* (Psalms 8:5)." He stretched out His little finger among them and burned them. The same thing happened with a second company. The third company said to Him, "Master of the Universe, the former

ones who spoke in Your presence—what did they accomplish? The entire world is Yours! Whatever You wish to do in Your world, do it." When He reached the members of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the Tower of Babel], whose deeds were corrupt, they [the angels] said to Him, "Master of the Universe, didn't the first ones speak well?" He responded, "*Till your old age, I am He; till you turn grey, I will carry you* [*I have made and I will bear; I will carry and deliver*] (Isaiah 46:4)."""

See *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*, Version 2 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:412): "At first, Adam was created extending from earth to heaven. When the ministering angels saw him, they trembled and recoiled from him. Immediately they presented themselves before the blessed Holy One and said, 'Master of the world! There are two powers in the world: one in heaven and one on earth.' What did the blessed Holy One do at that moment? He placed His hand on him and reduced him to one thousand cubits."

880. **The sixth day...** The *sefirah* of *Yesod*, sixth of the lower seven *sefirot*, the cosmic week of Creation.

881. **the supernal will...** *Keter*, the first *sefirah*.

882. **the origin of all lights...** *Ḥokhmah*, first *sefirah* to emerge from *Keter*.

883. **the gate of the East...** The four directions (east, south, north, west) symbolize *Tif'eret, Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Shekhinah*, respectively. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3.

884. **from the head** From the highest *sefirot*.

885. **North aroused and expanded...** *Gevurah*, stimulated by *Tif'eret*, seeks to join *Shekhinah*, the West.

886. **Afterward South approached...** Once *Gevurah* joins *Shekhinah*, so does *Ḥesed*. Thus South and North (*Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*) surround Her, hedging the garden of *Shekhinah*.

887. **East draws near West** *Tif'eret* approaches *Shekhinah*.

888. ***Let us make a human being...*** *Shekhinah* invites the other *sefirot* to join in creating the human being, who will reflect all dimensions of the divine realm. See *Zohar* 1:38a. Rabbi Shim'on thus explains the plural construction *Let us make*, which perplexed many biblical readers. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:3, where various answers are offered to the question: "Whom did He consult?"

889. **Adam emerged from the site of the Temple** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 12: "He created him from a pure, holy site. From where did He take him? From the site of the Temple."

See 2 Enoch 30:13; *Bereshit Rabbah* 14:8 (and Theodor, ad loc.); JT *Nazir* 7:2, 56b; *Tanḥuma, Pequdei* 3; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 2:7; *Zohar* 1:130b, 205b; 2:23b, 24b; 3:83a.

Here the Temple symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence dwelling there.

890. **these lower beings...** The angels who emerged from the divine realm.

891. **the secret of the name amounting to אדם (*adam*)...** The divine name יהוה (*YHVH*) spelled out according to its letters— יוד (*yod*), הא (*he*), ואו (*vav*), הא (*he*)—whose *gimatriyya* is forty-five, equal to אדם (*adam*).

892. **א (*alef*), beyond, beyond** א (*Alef*) symbolizes *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*.

893. **ם (final *mem*), who is למרבה (*le-marbeh*), *for the abundance of, dominion*** This is the only time in the entire Bible that a final ם (*mem*) appears out of place, before the end of the word—a peculiarity that stimulated the rabbinic mind. See BT *Sanhedrin* 94a; *Soferim* 7:3; *Midrash Ḥaserot Vi-Yterot* 185 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:302); *Minḥat Shai*, ad loc.

Here the ם (*mem*), shaped like a house, signifies *Binah*, who houses the lower *sefirot*. See *ZḤ* 5c (*SO*); cf. *Zohar* 2:127a–b; 3:156b, 285b.

On the esoteric nature of the ם (final *mem*), see BT *Shabbat* 104a: "The Rabbis told Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi: 'Children have now come to the house of study and said things unparalleled even in the days of Joshua son of Nun:... Open מ (*mem*) and closed ם (*mem*): open saying and sealed saying.'"

894. **lower ד (*dalet*), concealed in the West** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*, who is דלה (*dallah*), "poor," before She receives the rich flow of emanation from the higher *sefirot*. See BT *Bava Batra* 25a: "Rabbi Abbahu said, '*Shekhinah* is in the West.'"

895. **When these letters descended...** Through the creative power of the letters אדם (*adam*), an androgynous being emerged, reflecting the male and female aspects of the *sefirot*.

896. **until He cast sleep upon him...** See Genesis 2:21: *YHVH Elohim cast a deep sleep upon the human and he slept*. On the Temple, see above, note 889.

897. **The blessed Holy One sawed him...** God split the original androgynous human into two: Adam and Eve. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'" The word צלע (*tsela*) in Genesis 2:21, often translated as "rib," also means "side."

See Exodus 26:20; BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:2b, 47a, 48b; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

On the adorning of Eve, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 18:1: "*YHVH Elohim fashioned the rib* (Genesis 2:22).... It was taught in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai: 'He adorned her like a bride and brought her to him.'"

Cf. BT *Berakhot* 61a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Menasia expounded, 'Why is it written: *YHVH Elohim fashioned the rib* (Genesis 2:22)? This teaches that the blessed Holy One braided Eve's hair and brought her to Adam.'"

898. **In the books of the ancients...** Alluding to the tenth-century text *Alfa Beita de-Ven Sira*, 232–34, according to which Lilith was Adam's original wife. Insisting on her equality, Lilith refused to lie beneath Adam and flew away.

See *Zohar* 1:19b; 3:19a; *ZḤ* 16c (*MhN*); Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

אתעברת (*It'abbarat*) is rendered here "was impregnated... and taken away," since the Aramaic word conveys both meanings. According to *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26, after Cain killed Abel, Adam saw no reason to have any more children, so he separated from Eve, whereupon maleficent spirits copulated with him.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11; BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:54b, 2:231b, 3:76b.

899. ***fitting helper...*** See Genesis 2:20: *But for Adam no fitting helper was found*.

900. **What is *a helper*? סמך (*Semakh*), A support** *Targum Onqelos* renders עזר (*ezer*) *a helper* (Genesis 2:18, 20) by the Aramaic סמך (*semakh*), "support, help."

901. **Till finally...** Until Eve was created to replace Lilith.

902. **Adam was last of all...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 38a: "Our Rabbis taught: 'Adam was created on the eve of Sabbath. Why? ... So he could immediately go to the banquet. A parable: A king of flesh and blood built palaces and decorated them, prepared a banquet, and only then brought in the guests.'"

903. ***for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth...*** *and there was no human to till the soil*.

904. **magnificent trees planted later, still tiny** The nascent *sefirot*, seedlings in the divine mind, planted later in the field of *Shekhinah*.

905. **created side by side** As an androgynous being with two faces in opposite directions. See above, note 897.

906. ***YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth...*** The upper *sefirot* had not flowed into *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*, so the union was incomplete.

907. **When the one below...** When the androgynous human was split in two (Adam and Eve), and they turned face-to-face, then the union above was actualized.

908. **How do we know?** How do we know that actions on earth affect the divine realm?

909. **From the *Dwelling...*** The Tabernacle in the desert. The passive construction, *The Dwelling was erected* (instead of the active, *Moses erected the Dwelling*), alludes to the erection of a heavenly Dwelling, *Shekhinah*.

See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 12:12: "Rabbi Simon said, 'When the blessed Holy One told Israel to erect the Dwelling, he hinted to the angels that they, too, construct a Dwelling. When it was erected below, it was erected above.'" See *Tanḥuma, Naso* 18; *Zohar* 2:143a, 159a; 3:3b.

910. ***there was no human...*** The verse concludes: *for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth, and there was no human to till the soil*. Since Adam and Eve could not face each other, the human being was incomplete.

911. **up to this point in the portion... the Companions have commented...** The ס (*samekh*) under discussion appears in Genesis 2:21: *He took one of his sides*, ויסגר (*va-yisgor*), *and He closed up, the flesh in its place*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 17:6: "Rabbi Ḥanina son of Rav Adda said, 'From the beginning of the book until here, no ס (*samekh*) appears. Once she was created, סטן (*Satan*), Satan, was created with her. Now, if someone cites for you: "הסובב (*Ha-sovev*), *Circling* (Genesis 2:11, 13, an earlier occurrence of the letter ס [*samekh*])," answer him: "The text refers there to rivers [and not the creation of the human being]."'"

In contrast to this demonic interpretation, Rabbi Shim'on claims that the ס (*samekh*) signifies help. The root סמך (*smkh*) means "to support," and *Targum Onqelos* renders עזר (*ezer*) *a helper* (Genesis 2:18) by the Aramaic סמך (*semakh*). With Eve's help, the human couple united face-to-face, thereby stimulating a similar union above between the divine couple *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

912. **The world of which we have spoken...** The divine realm depends upon the human realm.

913. ***A flow welled up*...the desire of female...** *Shekhinah* is stimulated by humans below and in turn stimulates *Tif'eret*.

914. **from earth below action is aroused above** A general principle of Kabbalah. See *Zohar* 1:77b, 82b, 86b, 88a, 164a, 244a; 2:31b, 265a; 3:92a, 110b.

915. **Similarly, smoke of sacrifice...** The ritual of sacrifice unites the *sefirot*.

916. **Similarly above...** In the divine realm *Shekhinah* arouses the passion of *Tif'eret*.

917. **Assembly of Israel...** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

918. ***The tree of life...*** **five hundred years...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:6: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Il'ai said, 'The Tree of Life extends over a journey of five hundred years, and all the waters of Creation branch off beneath it.'"

For Rabbi Abba, the five hundred years symbolize the five *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Hod*, which channel the emanation to *Yesod*, *the tree of life*. See *Zohar* 1:18a, 78b (*ST*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69).

919. **precisely in the middle of the garden...** *Yesod*, *the tree of life*, is planted in the middle of the garden, *Shekhinah*. Similarly, *Yesod* is the river of emanation flowing into the ocean of *Shekhinah*, from whom water streams to the powers beneath Her.

920. **Just as they emerge...** The waters emanate from *Binah*, the Divine Mother, and flow through the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, the mountains of pure balsam. In rabbinic tradition thirteen rivers of balsam await the righteous in the world that is coming.

See BT *Ta'anit* 25a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 62:2; cf. *Zohar* 1:4b; 2:87b, 127a; 3:91a, 181a.

921. **It is not in the middle** According to Genesis 3:3, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil was planted in the middle of the Garden of Eden. However, as we have seen, the Tree of Life was planted precisely in the middle of the garden. Furthermore, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is not precisely in the middle but rather tends toward the left side of the *sefirot*. If She is not in the middle, how can She know the two extremes?

922. **Since it suckles...** *Shekhinah* is called *the tree of knowledge of good and evil* because She imbibes from both sides of the *sefirot*, the sweet right side and the bitter left side.

923. **All those plants...** Apparently offshoots of the right and left sides.

924. ***cedars of Lebanon...*** **The six days of Creation...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, which began as saplings in the higher sefirotic realm and were later transplanted into *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1: "*YHVH Elohim planted a garden in Eden* (Genesis 2:8).... As is written: *The trees of YHVH drink their fill, the cedars of Lebanon that He planted*. Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'They resembled antennae of grasshoppers, and the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them in the Garden of Eden.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 504; *Zohar* 1:31a, 37a; 2:127b; 3:4b, 217b; and below.

925. **From here on, ס (*samekh*)...** See above, notes 897 and 911. Eve and Adam were attached side to side, or back-to-back, until God split them, enabling them to unite face-to-face.

926. **Similarly, the worlds were adjoined...** The *sefirot* were originally united in their source. Alternatively, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* were united as an androgyne, back-to-back. Once the *sefirot* emerged individually, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* reunited face-to-face. See above, note 924.

927. ***sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*** The verse opens: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever*.

928. **no other creature engaged...** Adam and Eve had no human parents.

929. ***On the day of your planting, you become debased...*** The word תשגשגי (*te-sagsegi*), *you make it grow*, is interpreted as if deriving from the root סיג (*sig*), "dross." Cf. *Vayiqra Rabbah* 18:3; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 7:4.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:2: "Rabbi El'azar son of Azariah said, 'Three wonders were performed on that day: On that very day they were created; on that very day they engaged in sexual union; on that very day they generated offspring.'" According to BT *Sanhedrin* 38b, "In the seventh hour [of the first day] Eve was joined with him... In the tenth hour he decayed [i.e., sinned]."

See Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 63b: "Because Adam did not want to wait until Sabbath eve [to unite with Eve]... evil and death came upon his descendants." According to BT *Ketubbot* 62b (in the name of Shemu'el), Sabbath eve is the appropriate time for scholars to engage in sexual union. In the *Zohar*, the union of the devotee of Torah with his wife on the eve of Sabbath symbolizes and stimulates the union of the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The human couple thereby engenders a holy body and draws down a holy soul.

See *Zohar* 1:50a, 112a (*MhN*); 2:63b, 89a–b; 3:49b, 78a.

930. **We have learned...** See above, note 924.

931. **uprooted, transplanted, fittingly arrayed** Split apart and then reunited face-to-face.

932. ***YHVH Elohim commanded*** [***the human, saying...***] The passage continues: "*From every tree of the garden you are free to eat; but as for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, do not eat from it, for on the day you eat from it, you will surely die*" (Genesis 2:16–17).

933. ***"Command* means idolatry; *saying*—this is woman...** A Zoharic revision of a midrashic interpretation found in *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:6: "*YHVH Elohim commanded the human, saying, 'From every tree of the garden you are free to eat.'* Rabbi Levi said, 'He issued him six commands. *He commanded*, concerning idolatry...; *YHVH*, concerning blasphemy...; *Elohim*, these are the judges...; *the human*, this is murder...; *saying*, concerning גלוי עריות (*gillui arayot*), exposing nudity (fornication)— *Saying: If a man divorces his wife* (Jeremiah 3:1); *From every tree of the garden you are free to eat*, commanding him concerning theft.'"

In this midrash the word *saying* connotes "adultery" (based on the verse *Saying: If a man divorces his wife* [literally: *woman*]), while for the *Zohar*, *saying* alludes to the divine woman, *Shekhinah*.

See BT *Sanhedrin* 56a–b; *Zohar* 2:83b, 239b; 3:27a.

934. **everything was permitted...** Adam could partake of anything in the garden as long as he preserved its unity with all.

935. **Abraham ate, Isaac...** All of the patriarchs partook of *Shekhinah*, the Tree of Knowledge, without separating Her from the other *sefirot*. See the expression "feasted their eyes on *Shekhinah*" (*Pesiqta de-Rav Ka-hana* 26:9).

936. **a tree of death...** See Genesis 2:17. According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is called the Tree of Death because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued. Here *Shekhinah* is given this name because anyone who partakes of Her alone separates Her from the other *sefirot*, thereby cutting off the vivifying flow of emanation, which is replaced by a deadly potion.

On the nature of Adam and Eve's sin, see *Zohar* 1:12b, 51a–53b, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373–76. On the relation between *Shekhinah* and the demonic, see Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 189–92; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:376–79.

937. **separates saplings** פריש נטיעין (*Pareish neti'in*). See BT *Ḥagigah* 14b, the famous account of the four rabbis who engaged in mystical search: "Four entered פרדס (*pardes*), an orchard [whence: paradise]: Ben Azzai, Ben Zoma, Aḥer, and Rabbi Akiva.... Ben Azzai glimpsed and died.... Ben Zoma glimpsed and went mad.... Aḥer קיצץ בנטיעות (*qitstsets ba-neti'ot*), severed the saplings. Rabbi Akiva emerged in peace."

See *Tosefta*, *Ḥagigah* 2:2; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77c; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:4; *Devarim Rabbah* 7:4.

Aḥer, "the other," is the nickname of Elisha son of Avuyah, the most famous heretic in rabbinic literature. The metaphor of "severing the saplings" may allude to his conversion to Gnostic dualism. In Kabbalah "severing the saplings" refers to splitting the unity of the *sefirot*, specifically separating *Shekhinah* from the others.

938. **'Adam stretched his foreskin'** See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'He [Adam] stretched his foreskin.'" The phrase refers to epispasm, an attempt to disguise circumcision by cutting and pulling forward the loose skin of the penis to form a partial foreskin. According to rabbinic tradition, Adam was one of those rare individuals born circumcised. See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 2; *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5.

939. **he separated the holy covenant...** Adam separated *Yesod*—the divine phallus, symbolized by the covenant of circumcision—from *Shekhinah*.

940. **the foreskin...** Symbolizing the demonic. See *Zohar* 1:13a, 18a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (68).

941. ***But from the fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden*** The verse continues: *God said: "Do not eat from it and do not touch it, lest you die*." Cf. Genesis 2:17.

942. **this is woman** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "*But from the fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden*. It has been taught: Rabbi Ze'eira said, '*But from the fruit of the tree*—this *tree* means man, who is compared to a tree, as is said: *Man is a tree of the field* (Deuteronomy 20:19). *In the middle of the garden—the middle of the garden* is a euphemism for what lies in the middle of the body. *In the middle of the garden*—in the middle of the woman, for *garden* means woman, who is compared to a garden, as is said: *A locked garden is my sister, bride* (Song of Songs 4:12).'"

Here *woman* alludes to the divine woman, *Shekhinah*. See above, note 933.

943. ***Her feet descend to death*** The verse alludes to the fatal aspect of *Shekhinah* and the demonic realm that lies below Her. See *Zohar* 1:221b; 2:48b.

944. **On this one there is fruit...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the Tree of Knowledge, yields fruit, unlike the demonic realm, which is barren. See *Zohar* 2:103a.

945. ***A river issues from Eden...*** The flow of emanation proceeds from the highest *sefirot* to *Shekhinah*, *the garden*. Below Her, the unity of the divine yields multiplicity.

946. **all is one...** Both interpretations are valid, since the demonic power, which activates the evil impulse, appeared on an actual *serpent*. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

947. **At that moment Samael descended...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 13: "Samael... took his band and descended and saw all the creatures created by the blessed Holy One. He determined that the most cunningly evil was the serpent, as is said: *Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field that YHVH Elohim had made*. He [the serpent] looked like a camel, and he [Samael] mounted and rode him."

See *Zohar* 1:64a, 137b, 146a, 153a.

948. **through wisdom...** Through shrewdness. See *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 3:1. The primordial tree symbolizes Adam and Eve, who are modeled

on the sefirotic tree.

949. **until another holy tree arrived...** Jacob, who symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, took blessings away from his brother, Esau, thereby depriving Samael, Esau's heavenly guardian, of blessing above.

See *Zohar* 1:145b; Moses de León, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 45–46.

950. **For Jacob was patterned on Adam...** See BT *Bava Metsi'a* 84a: "The beauty of our father Jacob resembled the beauty of Adam." The *Zohar* transforms the Talmudic comparison into an affirmation of identity. Jacob manifested Adam's beauty and by his bold act rectified the demonic flaw of Adam's sin.

See *Bava Batra* 58a; *Zohar* 1:142b, 145b–146a, 222a.

951. **Jacob took what was his...** The blessings that Jacob took from Esau belonged to Jacob, having originally been taken away from Adam (Jacob's paradigm) by Samael (Esau's heavenly guardian). Before Jacob's reunion with Esau, *Jacob was left alone, and a man wrestled with him until the rising of dawn*. This *man* is identified by Rabbi Ḥama son of Rabbi Ḥanina (*Bereshit Rabbah* 77:3) as "the Prince of Esau," and in *Tanḥuma, Vayishlaḥ* 8, he is explictly named Samael.

952. **evil impulse, Angel of Death** See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'" See above, note 946.

953. ***End of all flesh...*** Angel of Death. See *Zohar* 1:54a.

954. ***He said to the woman, "אף*** (*Af*), ***Really...*** The verse reads: *He said to the woman, "Did God really say: 'Do not eat from any of the trees in the garden'?"*

955. **He opened with אף** (*af*)... See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:2: "Rabbi Ḥanina son of Sansan said, 'Four opened with אף (*af*) [which has a range of meanings] and perished in אף (*af*), "wrath": the serpent, the chief baker [Genesis 40:16], Korah's band [Numbers 16:14], and Haman [Esther 5:12].'"

956. ***Elohim* is its name...** *The tree of knowledge*, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, is called *Elohim*.

957. **it would have been correct** *Shekhinah* channels the vivifying flow of emanation beyond the sefirotic realm, and so the world is brought into being.

958. **The blessed Holy One ate from this tree...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:4: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a of Sikhnin said in the name of Rabbi Levi: 'He [the serpent] began defaming his Creator, saying: "From this tree He ate and created the world. Then He said to you, '*Do not eat from it*,' so that you not create other worlds. Every person hates his fellow craftsman."'"

959. ***Even though God said...*** Usually translated: "*Did God really say: 'Do*

not eat from any of the trees in the garden'?" See above, page 225.

960. ***From every tree of the garden you are free to eat*** The passage reads: *YHVH Elohim commanded the human, saying "From every tree of the garden you are free to eat; but as for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, do not eat from it, for on the day you eat from it, you will surely die*" (Genesis 2:16–17).

961. **He permitted him all of them** If eaten in oneness. See above, page 222.

962. **We have learned...** See above, page 222; and *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:6: "*YHVH Elohim commanded the human, saying, 'From every tree of the garden you are free to eat.'* Rabbi Levi said, 'He issued him six commands. *He commanded*, concerning idolatry...; *YHVH*, concerning blasphemy...; *Elohim*, these are the judges...; *the human*, this is murder...; *saying*, concerning גלוי עריות (*gillui arayot*), exposing nudity (fornication)—*Saying: If a man divorces his wife* (Jeremiah 3:1); *From every tree of the garden you are free to eat*, commanding him concerning theft.'"

See BT *Sanhedrin* 56a–b; *Zohar* 2:239b; 3:27a.

963. **Now, how many people...** Since Adam and Eve were the only inhabitants of the earth, what need was there for these laws?

964. **all touched upon this tree...** All the various commands implied by the verse concerned *the tree of knowledge*, namely *Shekhinah*.

965. **Whoever takes it by itself...** Whoever separates *Shekhinah* from the other *sefirot* becomes prey to powers of judgment beneath Her. The phrase "exposing nudity" is the literal rendering of the Hebrew term גלוי עריות (*gillui arayot*), fornication.

966. **Idolatry toward those empowered princes** In separating *Shekhinah* from the other *sefirot*, one becomes fixated on Her and the powers beneath Her, thus committing idolatry.

967. **Murder engendered by this tree...** Murder has its roots in *Shekhinah*, who is known as the Tree of Death and derives from *Gevurah*, the *sefirah* of harshness on the left side. See Genesis 2:17; above, page 222.

According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is called the Tree of Death, because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued.

968. **She is Woman...** *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine. See BT *Qiddushin* 70b: "So said Shemu'el: 'One should greet a woman only via her husband.'" By invoking *Shekhinah* alone, without Her husband, *Tif'eret*, one commits sexual sin in the sefirotic world.

969. **it is forbidden to be alone with a woman...** See M *Qiddushin* 4:12; BT *Qiddushin* 81a; *Sanhedrin* 21a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 232–

33. Cf. *Zohar* 1:67a.

970. **Look, I touched this tree...** Based on the account in *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 13 and *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 1. Although the last sentence here describes the serpent's action, it derives from the tradition in *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* that when Adam informed Eve of the divine command not to eat from the tree, he added the restriction against touching it.

971. ***The woman saw that the tree was good*** The verse continues: *for eating and a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was desirable to contemplate. She took of its fruit and ate, and also gave to her husband beside her, and he ate*.

972. **as is said: *like the fragrance of a field blessed by* YHVH** The field of *Shekhinah*, also known as the Holy Apple Orchard.

See BT *Ta'anit* 29b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:22; *Tanḥuma, Toledot* 11; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 35–37; *Zohar* 1:85a–b, 122a, 128b, 142b, 143b, 224b, 249b; 2:60b, 61b; 3:74a, 84a, 133b (*IR*), 135b (*IR*), 286b–287a, 288a (*IZ*); Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 365.

973. ***The eyes of both of them were opened*** *and they knew that they were naked*. Rabbi Yehudah's point is that only after eating from the tree could they see. How could Eve see before eating?

974. **the measure of the tree... *She saw the Woman*, precisely!** Eve beheld a vision of *Shekhinah*. שיעורא (*Shi'ura*), "Measure," recalls שיעור קומה (*shi'ur qomah*), "the measure of the stature," a term describing the mystical vision of the divine form, also known as גוף השכינה (*guf ha-shekhinah*), "the body of *Shekhinah*."

Here the biblical phrase, ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *The woman saw*, is read hyperliterally, according to the exact word order: ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *She saw the woman*, transforming *the woman* from the subject of the sentence (Eve) into its object (*Shekhinah*).

975. ***She took of its fruit*, not *She took of it*...** In separating the fruit from its source, Eve caused separation above. Deprived of the flow of emanation, *Shekhinah* generates death.

See *ZḤ* 18c (*MhN*); cf. Genesis 2:17.

976. **For voice is never separate from speech...** The flow of emanation is described in terms of divine speech. *Tif'eret*, the primal voice, should never be separate from *Shekhinah*, articulated speech.

See *Zohar* 1:145a–b, 246b; 2:3a, 25b.

977. **he turns to dust** As in the divine decree to Adam: *For dust you are, and to dust you shall return* (Genesis 3:19). The wording here recalls the Talmudic legend of the Golem animated by permutating letters of the alphabet (BT *Sanhedrin* 65b): "Rava created a man and sent him to Rabbi Zeira. He [Rabbi Zeira] conversed with him, but he did not respond. He said to him, 'You

are from the Companions. Return to your dust!'"

978. **Assembly of Israel...** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. Here Assembly of Israel, suffering in exile, yearns for Her partner, *Tif'eret*. See Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 336.

979. **voice conducts speech** *Tif'eret* conducts *Shekhinah*.

980. ***To You, praise is silent...*** Literally, the verse may mean: *To You, silence is praise*. Here Rabbi Shim'on interprets it to mean that *Shekhinah*, known as *praise of David*, turns *silent* in exile without the resounding voice of *Tif'eret*.

981. **Because of You...** *Tif'eret* is responsible for the silencing of *Shekhinah*.

982. ***She took of its fruit and ate*** The verse continues: *and also gave to her husband beside her, and he ate*.

983. **She squeezed grapes...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:5: "Rabbi Aivu said, 'She squeezed grapes and offered them to him.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:192a; 2:267b.

984. **for death abides in this tree...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by night and the Tree of Knowledge, is also known as the Tree of Death. See Genesis 2:17; above, pages 222–26.

985. **a taste of death** See BT *Berakhot* 57b: "Sleep is one-sixtieth of death."

986. **scions of faith...** בני מהימנותא (*Benei meheimanuta*). They entrust their souls to *Shekhinah*, confident that She will restore each soul to its body the next morning, even if the person be undeserving.

See *Zohar* 1:11a, 92a, 183a; 3:119a, 120b; *ZḤ* 18b–c (*MhN*), 89a (*MhN*, *Rut*); and BT *Berakhot* 5a: "Abaye said, 'Even a disciple of the wise should recite one verse of compassion [before going to bed], such as: *Into Your hand I entrust my spirit; You redeem me, YHVH, God of truth* (Psalms 31:6).'"

987. ***The eyes of both of them were opened*** The verse continues: *and they knew that they were naked. They sewed together fig leaves and made themselves loincloths*.

988. **Opened to perceive the evil of the world...** See Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:2; *Zohar* 3:261b.

989. **they had lost the supernal radiance...** Their original aura.

See *Zohar* 1:52a–b, 224a; cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:6 (and Theodor, ad loc.); 19:6; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 3:7; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 14; *Bahir* 141 (200).

990. **that tree from which they had eaten...** According to Rabbi Neḥemiah (BT *Berakhot* 40a), Adam and Eve sinned by eating from the fruit of a fig tree. The leaves of this Tree of Knowledge convey the knowledge of magic.

See *Zohar* 1:53b, 56a, 63b. Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

991. **They sought to gird themselves...** Adam and Eve sought the protection of magical knowledge.

992. **Then three were brought...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 5:9: "It was taught in the name of Rabbi Natan: 'Three were brought to justice and four were convicted: Adam, Eve, and the serpent were brought to justice, and the earth was cursed along with them: *Cursed is the ground* (Genesis 3:17).'"

993. **the slime of the serpent...** זוהמא דנחש (*Zohama de-naḥash*), "The filth of the serpent." See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:37a, 52a, 54a, 122b.

994. **garments soothing to the skin...** The verse reads: *YHVH Elohim made garments of skin for Adam and his wife, and clothed them*. See BT *Sotah* 14a: "*Garments of skin*. Rav and Shemu'el. One said: 'Deriving from skin.' The other said: 'Soothing to the skin.'"

995. **and he was waited upon...** Adam's brilliance attracted the angels. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:10: "Rabbi Hosha'ya said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, the ministering angels mistook him and sought to recite in his presence: *Holy!*'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:55b.

996. **כתנות אור (*kotnot or*), *garments of light*...כתנות עור (*kotnot or*), *garments of skin*...** The verse in Genesis reads: כתנות עור (*kotnot or*), *garments of skin*, but a variant reading is: כתנות אור (*kotnot or*), *garments of light*, suggesting the original aura. See above, note 989. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:12: "In the Torah [scroll] of Rabbi Me'ir, it was found written: 'כתנות אור (*kotnot or*), *garments of light*.' These are the clothes of Adam...."

As a result of eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, thereby splitting the divine, Adam and Eve lost their luster and were clothed in skin.

See *Zohar* 1:224a; 2:229b; 3:261b; cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 4:40; *Apocryphon of John* 23:31–32; *Hypostasis of the Archons* 90:16; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1:5:5; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 404, n. 87.

997. **son of slime...** Cain, born from the union of the serpent and Eve. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "The serpent-rider [Samael] copulated with her and she conceived Cain. Afterward Adam copulated with her and she conceived

Abel."

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Zohar* 1:37a, 52a, 54a; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

998. **From the side of Cain...** On the demonic descendants of Cain, see El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 26c; *Zohar* 1:9b, 54a, 178a–b; 3:76b, 122a.

999. **until Seth appeared...** Even Abel was not fully refined, since he was still tainted by the demonic. Seth, the third child of Adam and Eve, generated the righteous.

See BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:54a, 55a; 3:77a, 143b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 8c (*SO*). Cf. *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12: "*He named him* שת (*Shet*), *Seth* (Genesis 5:3), because on him the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded."

See *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 37; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:148, n. 50; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 372–73; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 74.

1000. **returned to God** Repenting sincerely.

1001. ***He will hide His face from them*** The full verse reads: *Then they will cry out to YHVH, but He will not answer them; He will hide His face from them at that time, in accordance with the wrongs they have committed*.

1002. **He placed upon him one אות (*ot*), letter...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "Cain said in the presence of the blessed Holy One, 'Now some righteous person will arise and recite Your name and kill me!' What did the blessed Holy One do? He took one of the twenty-two letters and placed it on Cain's arm, so that he would not be killed.'"

See *Yalqut Re'uveni*, Genesis 4:15; *TZ* 69 (118b–119a).

1003. ***When they were in the field*? This is a woman...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "Rabbi Tsadok said, 'Envy and hatred toward his brother Abel entered Cain's heart because his [Abel's] offering had been accepted. Further, Abel's wife and twin sister was the most beautiful of women. He said, "I will kill my brother Abel and take his woman," as is said: *When they were in the field...*, and *in the field* means "woman," who is compared to a field, as is said: *Man is a tree of the field* (Deuteronomy 20:19).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:7; 63:12; BT *Bava Batra* 16b; *Zohar* 1:35b, 54b; 3:202a–b.

1004. **All this confronted him** He was angry both because of the offering and because of a woman.

1005. ***surpassing in dignity...*** From the blessing given by Jacob to Reuben, his firstborn: *Reuben, you are my firstborn, my strength and first fruit of my vigor! Surpassing in dignity, surpassing in power!* Cain, the firstborn of Adam and Eve, can also attain such *dignity* if he behaves well.

See Naḥmanides on Genesis 4:7; *Zohar* 1:54b; *ZḤ* 19c–d (*MhN*); Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 4:7, n. 68.

1006. **The opening above...** *Shekhinah*, known as Justice, through whom divine punishment is delivered.

1007. **On Rosh Hashanah Adam was born** See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 23:1: "Rabbi Eli'ezer taught, 'The world was created on the twenty-fifth of Elul.'... Consequently Adam was created on Rosh Hashanah."

See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:1; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 8, and David Luria, ad loc., n. 1; BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 10b; Asher ben Yeḥiel, on *Rosh ha-Shanah* 8a; *Ḥiddushei ha-Ran* on *Rosh ha-Shanah* 16a; *Tosefot Yom Tov*, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 1:2.

1008. **Rosh Hashanah above... below** Rosh Hashanah is both the beginning of the year and the Day of Judgment. It symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who administers justice and constitutes the beginning of the *sefirot* from a human perspective.

1009. **barren women are attended** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 73:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Vayera* 17; and BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 11a: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a says, '... On Rosh Hashanah Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah were attended.'" All barren until then, they miraculously conceived on Rosh Hashanah.

1010. **How do we know...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 51:2: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Wherever it is said: *And YHVH*, this implies: He and His Court.'" In Kabbalah this court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment") and pronounces the divine decree, so the phrase *And YHVH* encompasses "He [*Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*] and His Court [*Shekhinah*]."

See JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b; Rashi on Exodus 12:29; *Zohar* 1:15b, 64b, 107b; 2:37b, 44b; 3:149a. The hermeneutical significance of *and* was championed by Rabbi Akiva. See BT *Yevamot* 68b; *Sanhedrin* 51b.

On Rosh Hashanah, the Day of Judgment, *YHVH* is accompanied by His Court, *Shekhinah*, also known as Rosh Hashanah. Thus the opening word of the verse in Genesis, ויהוה (*Va-YHVH*), *And YHVH*, alludes to Rosh Hashanah. Further, the verse opens the Torah portion read on the first day of Rosh Hashanah.

1011. **Since Adam emerged...** Adam's origin, *Shekhinah*, is characterized by judgment, essential to the world.

1012. ואתה (***Ve-Attah***), ***And You, enliven them all*** *Shekhinah* is often called את (*Et*) and is also symbolized by the final ה (*he*) in the name יהוה (*YHVH*). Together these letters spell an expanded name of *Shekhinah*: אתה (*Attah*), *You*. See *Zohar* 1:15b, 154b, 158b; 2:138b, 261a (*Heikh*).

As for the accusative particle *et*, grammatically it has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught

that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

את (*Et*) comprises the entire alphabet, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), and is therefore an appropriate name for *Shekhinah*, who is known in the *Zohar* as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

1013. **the blessed Holy One reigns only when...** See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 24:1: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'When is the name of the blessed Holy One exalted in His world? When He executes the quality of judgment upon the wicked. This is demonstrated by many verses....'" Cf. *Zohar* 3:297b.

1014. **ואתה** (***Ve-Attah***), ***And You*, precisely!** *Shekhinah*, who is known by this name. See above, note 1012.

1015. **In a grapple of strife...** One of the *Zohar*'s neologistic gnomes. On the simple level, it means apparently that an officer comes to break up a quarrel. The implication may be that in the struggle with the sinful urge, a divine power appears to help, or in the struggle with the Angel of Death, *Shekhinah* appears, restraining him.

The Aramaic neologism קפסירא (*qafsira*) means "ruler, potentate" in *Zohar* 1:177a; 3:152a. Cf. 1:243a; 3:36b.

1016. **pulverized...** מטרטשי (*Metarteshei*), "Crumbled," based on מטרשי (*metareshei*), "make brittle," and טרש (*teresh*), "stony ground." See *Zohar* 1:239b; 2:30a; cf. above, note 848: מדבי טרטשי (*mi-devei tarteshei*), "crag dwellers."

1017. **Uzza and Azael...** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2). They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 22; Zohar* 1:9b, 23a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1018. **These were נפילים** (***nefilim***), ***fallen beings...*** Uzza and Azael, referred to also as *the sons of* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (Genesis 6:2). See *Zohar* 1:58a; 3:144a (*IR*).

1019. **For when Samael copulated with Eve...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "The serpent-rider [Samael] copulated with her and she conceived Cain. Afterward Adam copulated with her and she conceived Abel."

Cf. BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime,

lewdness].'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Zohar* 1:36b, 52a, 54a, 122b; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1020. **His features differed...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22: "*When Adam had lived a hundred and thirty years, he engendered in his likeness, according to his image*, [*and named him Seth*] (Genesis 5:3). From here you learn that Cain was not from his seed, nor *in his likeness*, nor *according to his image*. Finally Seth was born, who was *in his likeness* and *according to his image*." See above, page 63.

1021. ***They were the mighty men*** The verse continues: *of old, men of name*.

1022. ***sixty mighty men encircling her*** The female figure in the Song of Songs is identified with *Shekhinah*, who is surrounded by sixty angelic powers. See *Zohar* 2:5a, 51a; 3:60a.

1023. **מעולם (*me-olam*), *from the world*, literally, *from the world*, precisely!** The word עולם (*olam*) means both "eternity" and "world." Rabbi Yose picks the second meaning, which is also one of the names of *Shekhinah*, the culmination of the upper world. From Her *the mighty men* derived. See *Zohar* 2:179a (*SdTs*); 3:144a (*IR*).

1024. **What does *name* mean?...** *Shekhinah*, known as *the world*, is also the divine name, the full expression of divine being.

1025. ***when he blasphemes the name...*** Here, too, *the name* is *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 3:176b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 360.

1026. **the blessed Holy One took them...** God removed *the sons of Elohim* from the world because of their destructiveness. See above, note 1017. A different removal took place with the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob), who were transformed into a divine chariot, having attained respectively the rungs of *Ḥesed* (*love*), *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, also known as *Raḥamim* (*compassion*).

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 47:6: "Resh Lakish said, 'The patriarchs themselves constitute the [divine] Chariot.'"

Cf. Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 57; *Zohar* 1:60b, 99a, 150a, 154b, 173b, 248b; 2:144a; 3:38a, 99a.

1027. **this is *the bed of Solomon*...** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*, surrounded by angels and married to *Tif'eret*, known as Solomon.

1028. **for *the world* was not yet firm and fragrant** *Shekhinah*, *the world*, was not yet filled with the flow of emanation, and tended toward severe judgment, symbolized by the name אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*.

"Firm and fragrant" renders both senses of אתבסמת (*itbassamat*), "was sweetened" or "was firmly established."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 66:2; *Midrash Shemu'el* 26:4; *Zohar* 1:30b, 31a, 34a,

56a, 137a; 2:143a, 168a, 227a; 3:18a; N. Bronsnick, in *Sinai* 63 (1968): 81–85; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 44; idem, *Kabbalah*, 228.

1029. **All those saplings were concealed...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod* began as saplings in the higher sefirotic realm and were later transplanted into *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1: "*YHVH Elohim planted a garden in Eden* (Genesis 2:8).... As is written: *The trees of YHVH drink their fill, the cedars of Lebanon that He planted*. Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'They resembled antennae of grasshoppers, and the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them in the Garden of Eden.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 504; *Zohar* 1:31a, 35b; 2:127b; 3:4b, 217b.

1030. **Three books are opened...** See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 16b: "Rabbi Keruspedai said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Three books are opened on Rosh Hashanah: one of the completely wicked, one of the completely righteous, and one of those in between. The completely righteous are immediately inscribed and sealed for life. The completely wicked are immediately inscribed and sealed for death. Those in between remain pending from Rosh Hashanah until Yom Kippur. If they prove worthy, they are inscribed for life; if not, for death.'"

For Rabbi Abba, the "three books" (ספרים [sefarim]) are three *sefirot*. See the play on *sefer* and *sefirot* at the opening of *Sefer Yetsirah*.

1031. **A supernal book...** *Binah*, Divine Mother and source of the linguistic stream of emanation. See *Zohar* 2:200a.

1032. **A middle book...** *Tif'eret*, torso of the sefirotic body of Primordial Adam, including the right and left sides (*Ḥesed and Gevurah*). In Him the stream of divine language takes shape as the Written Torah.

1033. **The one of the completely righteous...** The third ספר (*sefer*), "book," is the *sefirah* of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), the procreative force. He is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*), which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

Yesod is also called זה (*Zeh*), "This" (masculine), partner of *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence, known as זאת (*Zot*), "This" (feminine).

On *the book of the generations*, see BT *Avodah Zarah* 5a: "Did not Resh Lakish say: 'What is the meaning of the verse *This is the book of the generations of Adam*...? Did Adam possess a book? Rather, this teaches that the blessed Holy One showed Adam every generation with its expounders, every generation with

its sages, every generation with its leaders. When he reached the generation of Rabbi Akiva [martyred by the Romans], he rejoiced over his Torah and grieved over his death, saying: *How precious to me are Your companions, O God!* [*How mighty their chiefs!*] (Psalms 139:17).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:2; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Zohar* 1:55a–b, 90b, 227b; 2:70a; *ZḤ* 16d (*MhN*).

1034. ***On the day God created Adam in the likeness of God*** The verse concludes: *He made him*.

1035. **all was arrayed above and below...** The human being embodies the sefirotic paradigm.

1036. **unidentifiable, one merging in the other** Adam and Eve were not yet differentiated as male and female, having been created as one androgynous entity. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:47b; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

1037. **Our Mishnah** The *Zohar* often cites teachings from a secret, mystical Mishnah known only to its own circle.

See 1:55b, 74a, 91b, 93a, 95b, 96a, 224a, 252a (*Hash*); 3:57b, 61b, 78a, 284b, 285a. This is to be distinguished from the *Matnitin* of the *Zohar*, on which see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 216.

1038. **This is *the book of the generations of Adam...*** *The righteous one* is *Yesod*, the generative power of the *sefirot*, who unites with *Shekhinah*, the divine name—symbolized by the *tower*. See *Zohar* 1:9a, 96b; 3:164a–b.

1039. **the Tower of David** *Shekhinah*, known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom") and symbolized by the ideal king, David.

1040. **Here is a cipher for scions of faith** A lexical labyrinth, a kabbalistic permutation of letters consisting of twelve triads, encoding the verse from Proverbs. Begin at the top right and read down the first column of letters: מגדל. Proceed to the middle column of triads and read down the first column of letters and continue likewise with the final column of triads on the left: עוז שם יהו. The final ה (*he*) of יהוה appears at the end of the last triad of the first column of triads on the right. Now return to the starting point and read the second letter of each triad from right to left: בו ירוץ צדיק ונ. To complete the verse, return to the starting point and read the final letter of each triad from top to bottom: שגב. Skip

the final letter of the last triad of the first column of triads (ה [*he*], since this already completed the name יהוה), and continue with the second and third columns of triads, reading the final letters from top to bottom, which encapsulate the verse: יהוה צדיק.

1041. **An actual book was brought down to Adam...** According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam, though after his departure from the Garden of Eden. Here the book preserves the primordial wisdom of paradise for Adam and his generations. (Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.)

According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:2. This is not to be confused with the Apocryphal *Book of Adam*, known in various versions, though the Apocryphal book may have influenced the *Zohar*'s *Book of Adam*. The book is referred to frequently, sometimes in the context of physiognomy and chiromancy.

See 1:17b, 55a–b, 58b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a–b, 70a–b (*RR*), 77a, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54. Cf. *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah* 11b; Naḥmanides on Genesis 5:2.

1042. ***the sons of Elohim*, who contemplate and know it** On *sons of Elohim*, see above, pages 234–35. Several manuscripts and the printed editions read here: "*the sons of Elohim*, wise of the generation, and whoever are privileged to contemplate it discover higher wisdom."

1043. **the master of mysteries...** The angel Raziel, whose name means "mystery of God." See *Zohar* 1:55b.

1044. חנוך (***Ḥanokh***), **Enoch, had a book...** In postbiblical literature the phrase *for God took him* was taken to mean that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in his book, *The Book of Enoch*. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by the Enoch literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes.

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 55b, 72b; 2:55a, 100a, 105b, 180b, 192b, 217a; 3:10b, 236b, 240a, 248b, 253b, 307a; *ZḤ* 2c (*SO*). Cf. *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 38; *Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 5:24; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:156–64, nn. 58–61; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 80–83.

1045. **He is the Lad...** Through his heavenly journey, Enoch was transformed into the chief angel, Metatron, also known as the Lad (heavenly servant). Rabbi Abba proves the identification of Enoch with the Lad by citing

the phrase from Proverbs: חנוך לנער (*ḥanokh la-na'ar*), *train the lad*, which is understood to mean that *Ḥanokh* (Enoch) was transformed into *the lad*.

See 3 Enoch 4:1–10; BT *Yevamot* 16b, and *Tosafot*, s.v. *pasuq zeh; Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 5:24; *Zohar* 1:223b; 2:179a (*SdTs*), Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:162–63, n. 61; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 378–79; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei El-yon*, 89–90.

1046. **he conveys one hundred blessings...** See *Shemot Rabbah* 21:4: "Rabbi Pinḥas said in the name of Rabbi Me'ir and Rabbi Yirmeyah said in the name of Rabbi Abba, 'When Israel prays, you do not find them all praying as one, but rather each assembly prays on its own, one after the other. When they have all finished, the angel appointed over prayers gathers all the prayers offered in all the synagogues and weaves them into wreaths, which he places on the head of the blessed Holy One.'"

In BT *Ḥagigah* 13b, it is reported that the angel Sandalfon "stands behind the Chariot, binding crowns for his Lord." See *Pesqita Rabbati* 20; *Midrash Tehillim* 88:2; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 495; *Zohar* 1:37b, 167b; 2:58a, 146b, 202b, 209a, 245b–246a (*Heikh*); Green, *Keter*, 37–38.

Here Metatron weaves wreaths out of the one hundred blessings recited each day by Israel. See BT *Menaḥot* 43b: "Rabbi Me'ir used to say: 'One should offer one hundred blessings each day.'"

1047. ***The Book of Enoch*** See above, note 1044.

1048. **the Tree of Life in the middle of the garden...** As described in Genesis 2:9. The leaves of the Tree of Knowledge convey the knowledge of magic.

See *Zohar* 1:36b, 56a, 63b. Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

1049. **Happy are the devout of the world...** Alluding to those who discover wisdom, including the Companions.

1050. ***My spirit shall not abide in humanity forever, since they, too, are flesh*** *Let his days be a hundred and twenty years*.

1051. **the flowing, gushing river...** In antediluvian history *Yesod* conveyed the supernal spirit from *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, to *Shekhinah*, from whom human souls emerge. She is characterized by judgment and associated with death. See Genesis 2:17; above, pages 222–23, 228–29.

According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is called the Tree of Death, because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued.

1052. **maleficent species ascended... the supernal spirit departed...** Human wickedness activated demonic powers who blocked the opening, *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 58a. Consequently the supernal spirit departed

from Her as souls were beginning to emanate, thereby diluting each soul and reducing human longevity, as the verse concludes: *Let his days be a hundred and twenty years*.

1053. **בשגם (*Be-shaggam*), *Since too*—this is משה (*Mosheh*), Moses...** The word בשגם (*be-shaggam*) in the verse in Genesis is numerically equivalent to the word משה (*Mosheh*), Moses, and alludes to Moses' life span, specified in the continuation of the verse: 120 years. The wordplay appears in BT *Ḥullin* 139b, in the name of Rabbi Mattanah. Here Moses, symbolizing the sun and *Tif'eret*, illumines the moon (*Shekhinah*), thereby ensuring longevity on earth.

1054. **alluding to Moses...** Who lived for 120 years (see Deuteronomy 34:7).

Torah is identified with the Tree of Life, based on the description of wisdom in Proverbs 3:18: *She is a tree of life to those who grasp her*. See BT *Berakhot* 32b, 61b. Here the tree symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who is both Written Torah and source of the spirit.

1055. **had Israel not sinned...** If Israel had not sinned at Sinai with the Golden Calf (Exodus 32), they would have become immortal. See *Tanḥuma*, *Ki Tissa* 16; and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 8:6: "חרות (*Ḥarut*), *Engraved, on the tablets* [describing the divine writing on the tablets of stone, spelling out the Ten Commandments]. Do not read חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved*, but rather חירות (*ḥeirut*), freedom. Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Neḥemiah, and the Rabbis: Rabbi Yehudah says, 'Freedom from the Angel of Death.' Rabbi Neḥemiah says, 'Freedom from foreign rulers.' The Rabbis say, 'Freedom from suffering.'"

1056. **So, בשגם (*be-shaggam*), *since* [*he,*] *too, is flesh...*** As noted above, Moses' name is equivalent to בשגם (*be-shaggam*). When he appears in bodily form on earth and transmits Torah, spirit pours into the world.

1057. **Moses did not die...** See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 357: "Some say: Moses did not die, but rather stands ministering above."

See BT *Sotah* 13b; *Zohar* 1:21b–22a; 3:284a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:161–62, n. 951.

1058. **when the spirit extends long...** When humans live long, the spirit is gradually transformed into matter and inured to material pursuits.

1059. **All the generations perfected by Seth...** Seth, the third child of Adam and Eve, generated the righteous. See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12: "*He named him* שת (*Shet*), *Seth* (Genesis 5:3), because on him the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded."

See BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:36b, 54a, 55a; 3:77a, 143b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 8c (*SO*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 372–73.

1060. **the art of annihilation: spears and swords** According to Genesis

4:22, Tuval-Cain, a descendant of Cain, *forged every blade of copper and iron*. According to *Bereshit Rabbah* 23:3, "Rabbi Yehoshu'a said in the name of Rabbi Levi, 'This one [Tuval-Cain] refined the sin of Cain. Cain killed without any instrument, whereas this one *forged every blade....*'" See Rashi, ad loc.

1061. **Finally Noah appeared...** See Genesis 5:29: *He* [Lamech] *named him* נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah, saying: "May this one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *provide us relief, from our labor and from the painful toil of our hands caused by the soil that YHVH cursed*." Commenting on this verse, *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 11 relates: "Before Noah was born, people did not reap what they sowed. If they sowed wheat, they reaped thorns and thistles. Once Noah was born, the world became arable once again. They reaped what they sowed, sowing wheat and reaping wheat, sowing barley and reaping barley. Furthermore, until Noah was born, they worked by hand.... Once Noah was born, he invented plows, scythes, spades, and all kinds of tools." See *Zohar* 1:58b, 97b.

1062. **[45b]** The folios 1:38a–45b comprise one of two Zoharic sections entitled *Heikhalot*, descriptions of the heavenly "Palaces." This section, not connected exegetically with Torah portion *Be-Reshit*, does not appear here in manuscripts representing an earlier recension of the *Zohar*. Therefore the *Heikhalot* have not been translated here and are scheduled to appear in a subsequent volume.

1063. **the blessed Holy One uprooted these saplings...** The image derives from *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1: "*YHVH Elohim planted a garden in Eden* (Genesis 2:8).... As is written: *The trees of YHVH drink their fill, the cedars of Lebanon that He planted*. Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'They resembled antennae of grasshoppers, and the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them in the Garden of Eden.'"

Here the saplings symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, which sprouted in the higher sefirotic realm and were later transplanted into *Shekhinah*. See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 504; *Zohar* 1:31a, 35b, 37a; 2:127b; 3:4b, 217b.

Rabbi Yitsḥak reads the phrase *and there was* as alluding to the initial stage of the emanation of the *light*.

1064. **A light that already was...** The primordial light emerging from the depths of the highest *sefirot*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:2: "It is not written here והיה אור (*Ve-hayah or*) [which could mean either *And there will be light* or *And there was light*], but rather ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*) [which can mean only] *And there was light*—it already was." Theodor (ad loc.) regards this as a scribal gloss. In any case, the point in *Bereshit Rabbah* is that the creation of light was instantaneous and effortless, whereas here Rabbi Yehudah emphasizes that the light preexisted —it already *was*.

See *Bahir* 17 (25), elaborating on *Bereshit Rabbah*: "Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Why is it written: *God said, "Let there be light!"* ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*), *And there was light*, and not והיה (*Ve-hayah*) [which could mean either *And there will be* or *And there was*]? This can be compared to a king who had a beautiful object and set it aside until he had prepared a place for it; then he placed it there. As is written: *"Let there be light!" And there was light*. For it already was.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 494; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 109; *Zohar* 1:16b, 45b; 3:245b (*RM*); *ZḤ* 1a, 37d; Recanati on Genesis 1:3, 3c.

1065. **When the blessed Holy One contemplated...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

In the *Zohar*, the word *righteous* indicates the *sefirah* of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

The primordial light is hidden in *Yesod*, the procreative power of God (*Zohar* 1:3a, 21a; 2:35a, 148b–149a, 166b–167a, 230a). Righteous humans are linked with this *sefirah* and thereby experience the light.

1066. ***God said... Who aroused from the East...?*** Alluding to the process of emanation from *Binah*, the Divine Mother, who is called *Elohim*, *God*, as well as *Who*, since She can be questioned and sought.

See *Zohar* 1:1b, 30a, 85b–86a; 2:127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

1067. **its radiance flashing...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a (cited above): "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other....'"

1068. **without a trace of wrath...** The primordial light of *Ḥesed* was untainted by the harshness of the left side. The verse from Numbers indicates that *good* connotes blessing, the opposite of wrath.

1069. **although the blessed Holy One joined them as one** The polar

opposites *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* merged.

1070. **the right, by which gravings...** *Ḥesed*, on the right, conveying emanation to entities below.

1071. ***How abundant is Your goodness...*** The primordial light of *Ḥesed* was hidden away. See above, page 242.

1072. ***day of oneness*** The verse reads literally: *There was evening, there was morning: one day*. Here the last two words are taken to mean "day of oneness," referring to the union of the opposites: dark and light, left and right.

1073. **there is no day without night...** The opposites are interdependent. See *Zohar* 1:93a–b.

1074. **That day... extended...** The primordial light of *Ḥesed*, the first day, radiated through all the lower *sefirot*, symbolized by the other six days of the week of Creation. See *Zohar* 1:141b–142a.

1075. ***morning* is solely from the side of primordial light** Morning derives from the light of *Ḥesed*.

1076. **These are angels...** In the world of the *Zohar* most of the angels were created on the fifth day, but angels of Judgment emerged on the second day from *Gevurah*, while angels of Love emerged on the first day from *Ḥesed*.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; Jubilees 2; *Zohar* 1:17b, 18b, 34a, 46b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:623–24.

1077. **את (*Et*), including the speculum that does not shine...** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse it amplies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a.

את (*Et*) comprises the entire alphabet, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). In the *Zohar*, it becomes a name for *Shekhinah*, who is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah.

See *Zohar* 1:29b, 247a; 2:90a, 135b; and the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

Shekhinah is also known as the "speculum (אספקלריא [*ispaqlarya*]) [or: glass, mirror, lens] that does not shine." She does not shine on Her own but rather reflects the other *sefirot*, who are centered in *Tif'eret*, the speculum that shines. See *Zohar* 1:33b, 48b, 183a; 2:23b.

See BT Yevamot 49b: "All the prophets gazed through an opaque glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a translucent glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines]." Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face."

1078. ***Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters*** The verse

continues: *that it may separate water from water*.

1079. **upper waters were separated from lower waters...** On the second day of Creation, *Gevurah* emerged, separating the upper flow of emanation (channeled through *Binah* to *Ḥesed*) from the *sefirot* below. Alternatively, the *expanse* of *Yesod* separated the upper flow of emanation (channeled through *Binah* to *Yesod*) from *Shekhinah* and Her lower waters. The comment that follows (on *God fashioned...*) apparently relates to *Yesod*. See *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 32b; 2:149b.

1080. **On the second day... On the third day...** In the biblical account of Creation, the statement *God saw that it was good* (or a variant) is included in the description of each of the six days except for the second. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6: "Why is *that it was good* not written concerning the second day? Rabbi Yoḥanan said..., 'Because on that day Hell was created....' Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'Because on that day conflict was created: *that it may separate water from water*.'.... Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'Because the work of the water was not completed. Therefore *that it was good* is written twice on the third day: once for the work of the water [see Genesis 1:9–10] and once for the work of the [third] day [ibid., 11].'"

In the *Zohar*, the second day marks the emergence of *Gevurah*, characterized by strict justice, which conflicts with *Ḥesed*, divine love. On the third day, these polar opposites were balanced and synthesized.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 4; Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 18a, 33a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

1081. **compassion ripened...** On the third day emerged *Tif'eret*, also known as *Raḥamim* (Compassion), who mitigates the harsh judgment of Hell, stemming from *Gevurah*.

1082. **why was it not consummated on the first day...** Since *Ḥesed*, the first cosmic day, includes within itself the following *sefirot*, why was the work not completed then?

1083. **This was precisely the conflict...** *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* manifested two extremes, which were harmonized only by the appearance of the third day.

1084. ***Let the earth sprout vegetation*** The verse continues: —*seed-bearing plants, fruit trees of every kind on earth bearing fruit with the seed in it*.

1085. **upper waters joined with lower...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep...* (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They

immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta*, *Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:17b, 29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

According to the second-century Greek physician Galen, sperm is generated by both male and female. See Leviticus 12:2: *When a woman yields seed*. Cf. Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides, Baḥya ben Asher and Sforno, ad loc.; BT *Berakhot* 60a; *Niddah* 31a.

1086. **both above and below** In both the sefirotic realm and the physical universe. Above, *Binah* and the six *sefirot* beneath Her (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*) constitute the upper waters, which join the lower waters flowing from *Shekhinah*. On the masculine aspect of *Binah*, see below.

1087. **who is *Elohim*?** To whom does the word *Elohim*, the subject of this verse, refer? *Elohim* is the name of several *sefirot: Binah, Gevurah*, and *Shekhinah*.

1088. ***Elohim* unspecified...** The most general, inclusive *Elohim* is the Divine Mother, *Binah*, also known as *Elohim Ḥayyim*.

1089. **If you say 'below,' not so** *Elohim* does not refer here to the lower *sefirah, Shekhinah*.

1090. **rather, below is generation...** *Shekhinah* generates the worlds beneath Her including the physical universe. See BT *Menaḥot* 29b: "As Rabbi Yehudah son of Il'ai expounded...: '*These are the generations of heaven and earth* בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created*. Do not read בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created*, but rather בה׳ בראם (*be-he bera'am*), "With ה (*he*) He created them."'"

Here *he* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, often identified with the final letter of יהוה (*YHVH*). See *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:10; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77c; *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*, Version 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:363); *Zohar* 1:91b.

1091. **Patriarchs Supreme** From *Binah* emerge *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, identified with the three patriarchs, so *Binah* assumes their title. Although often depicted as the Divine Mother, *Binah* is also described as "World of the Male," encompassing the entire configuration of *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. Together they constitute a masculine entity ready to join *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:96a, 147a, 149a, 160b, 246a, 248b; 2:127b; *ZḤ* 72b (*ShS*). Cf. 1:17b, 46b, 163a; 2:4a.

1092. **She is activity...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*, conceives by the patriarchal power above Her and generates life, thus actualizing the emanation of *Binah*.

1093. **All forces were in earth...** The living beings latent in earth were

brought forth on the sixth day of Creation.

1094. **But it is written: *The earth brought forth vegetation...*** Already on the third day. See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Assi pointed out a contradiction: It is written: *The earth brought forth vegetation*, on the third day, but it is written: *No bush of the field was yet on earth* [*and no plant of the field had yet sprouted, for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth and there was no human to till the soil*] (ibid. 2:5), on the eve of Sabbath. This teaches that plants began to grow but stopped as they verged on breaking through the soil, until Adam came and prayed for them; then rain fell and they sprouted. This teaches you that the blessed Holy One yearns for the prayers of the righteous." See *Zohar* 1:97a.

1095. ***desolate and void...*** צדיא וריקניא (*Tsadeya ve-reiqanya*), from *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc., rendering the Hebrew תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void*. The full verse reads: *The earth was chaos and void, with darkness over the face of the abyss, and the wind of God hovering over the face of the waters*.

1096. **Afterward she was arrayed... generating them afterward** On the third day, earth was arrayed with seed and vegetation, though these emerged only on the sixth day.

1097. **Similarly with *the lights...*** Though fashioned on the fourth day, they began to function only as Creation culminated on the sixth day.

1098. **spelled deficiently: מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vav*s, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling is interpreted to mean that something was missing on the fourth day of Creation: the light of the moon, diminished, and this lack represents the potential for evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

See JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b: "On the fourth day [of the week, Wednesday] they would fast for infants, so that diphtheria not enter their mouths. *God said, 'Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *light*s'—spelled מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*."

See Proverbs 3:33; BT *Ta'anit* 27b, *Ḥullin* 60b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:1a, 12a, 19b, 33b; 2:167b, 205a.

1099. **to include the evil serpent who injected slime...** The unusual spelling of the word alludes to the cursed serpent. See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness].'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a, 54a, 122b; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

The serpent's act ruined the union of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, the sun and the moon.

1100. **the moon** The singular imperative יהי (*yehi*), *let there be*, as well as

the deficient spelling of מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, imply only one light, namely, the moon, symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

1101. **the sun** Symbolizing *Yesod*, who unites with *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:19b–20a.

1102. **Calculation of all is by the moon** The Jewish calendar is lunar and derives from *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon. See BT *Sukkah* 29a: "Our Rabbis taught:... 'Israel counts by the moon.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:239a.

1103. **Numerologies...** These various numerical operations derive from the tenth *sefirah*, *Shekhinah*, mother of the bounded world, not from the higher *sefirot*, where unity prevails and the numerical multiplicity is irrelevant. "Numerologies" (גימטריאות [*gimatriyya'ot*]) refers to the numerical values of the letters of the alphabet. "Intercalation" refers to the insertion of an additional day in a lunar month (to harmonize the month with the lunar cycle) or an additional month in a lunar year (to harmonize the lunar and solar years).

See M *Avot* 3:18: "Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Ḥisma said, '[Laws concerning] bird offerings and commencements of the menstrual cycle are essential laws. Determining equinoxes and solstices, and mathematical calculations (גימטריאות [*gimatriyya'ot*]) are wisdom's dessert.'" Cf. *Zohar* 3:220b.

1104. **But the Companions perform numerous calculations and measurements** The kabbalists engage in numerology concerning the higher *sefirot* as well. Furthermore, they measure the divine body, as recorded in *Shi'ur Qomah* (Measure of the Stature) and the *Idrot* of the *Zohar*.

1105. **Not so!...** All calculations derive from *Shekhinah*, whence one can enter more deeply into the divine. The various divine measurements are perceived through the lens of *Shekhinah*, and "the measure of the stature" concerns גוף השכינה (*guf ha-shekhinah*), "the body of *Shekhinah*." See above, page 227.

1106. ***that they may be for signs and for seasons*** The full verse reads: *God said, "Let there be lights in the expanse of heaven to separate the day from the night, that they may be for signs and for seasons, for days and years*." The plural, *signs*, indicates not only the moon (*Shekhinah*) but also the sun (*Tif'eret*).

1107. **Spelled deficiently: לאתת (*le-otot*), *for signs*** The word לאתת (*le-otot*), *for signs*, is spelled without a ו (*vav*), and this deficiency implies just one *sign*.

1108. **But it is written: *that they may be*** The plural is explicit.

1109. **All those essences... like a treasure ship...** All the *sefirot* who will pour into *Shekhinah*. "Treasure ship" renders אסקופא (*isquppa*), which may mean both "yard of a ship" and "threshold." Cf. Greek *skaphe* and אסקפא (*isqapha*), "skiff, light boat." The image here apparently derives from *Midrash Mishlei* 31:14, where Joseph is compared to "a ship filled with all the best of the world."

In *ZḤ* 3a (*MhN*), *isquppa* refers to the "threshold" beneath which household

valuables were buried. See BT *Berakhot* 18b; Rashi on BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 11a, s.v. *tsinnor*; idem on Joshua 24:26.

See *Zohar* 1:67a; 2:83b; 3:69a; *ZḤ* 88c (*MhN, Rut*); *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 173; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 47.

1110. **There is a single point, origin of counting...** Apparently *Ḥesed*, first of the seven lower *sefirot*, beyond whom lie unfathomable divine qualities. See *Zohar* 1:16b. Other commentators understand this phrase as referring to *Shekhinah* (*OY*) or *Ḥokhmah* (*KP*).

1111. **There is a point above, concealed...** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, from which the sefirotic world is constructed.

1112. **Similarly there is a point below, revealed...** *Shekhinah*.

1113. **Israel, cleaving...** By following the moon, Israel cleaves to *Shekhinah*, stimulating Her union with *YHVH*.

1114. ***Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living creatures*** *and let birds fly above the earth, across the face of the expanse of heaven*.

1115. **They have established that those waters teemed...** The waters of *Shekhinah* generated life below. See above, page 212.

1116. **Why יעופף** (*ye'ofef*)? With a double פ (*fe*).

1117. **Michael... Gabriel...** Two of the four angels of the Presence (along with Raphael and Uriel), who surround the divine throne. The phrase ועוף יעופף (*ve-of ye'ofef*), *and let birds fly*, alludes to these two archangels. Michael is identified as *one of the* birdlike *serafim* in BT *Berakhot* 4b, while the double פ (*fe*) of יעופף (*ye'ofef*) suggests the doublet describing Gabriel in the book of Daniel: מועף ביעף (*mu'af bi'af*), *was flown in flight*. Furthermore, the *gimatriyya* of גבריאל (*Gavri'el*), Gabriel, is equal to יעופף (*ye'ofef*), *let fly*.

See *Zohar* 2:239a; 3:26b; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 1:20; cf. *Devarim Rabbah* 8:2.

1118. **על הארץ** (***Al ha-arets***), ***Upon the earth*** In the verse this phrase means *above the earth*, but the word על (*al*) also means "on, upon," as in the interpretation that follows.

1119. **Elijah, appearing continually...** According to the Bible (2 Kings 2:11–12), the prophet Elijah did not die a normal death but was carried off to heaven in a chariot of fire. He became associated with the Messianic age (Malachi 3:23–24) and in rabbinic tradition is described as "still existing" (BT *Bava Batra* 121b) and revealing divine secrets to righteous humans (*Bava Metsi'a* 59b).

See *Midrash Tehillim* 8:7: "*The bird of heaven* (Psalms 8:9)—this is Elijah, who flies through the world as a bird." He is identified as "Master of Wings" in *Targum Qohelet* 10:20 and *Ma'yan Ḥokhmah* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:60). See BT

Berakhot 4b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 29, and David Luria, ad loc., nn. 66–67.

In Kabbalah Elijah appears in various guises, e.g., a guest at each rite of circumcision, or a wanderer encountered on the road by the Companions. Mystical experiences are known as revelations of Elijah. See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 19–21; *Zohar* 1:13a; 3:221a, 231a; *ZḤ* 59d.

In the passage here, Elijah is described as an angel, "not from the aspect of father and mother." This accords with the view of Moses de León, according to whom the angel Elijah assumed bodily form in descending to earth. See his *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 63, 68–71. Cf. *Zohar* 1:151b, 209a, 245b (*NZ*, n. 2); 2:197a; 3:88b; *ZḤ* 84c–d (*MhN*, *Rut*). Moses de León's view is criticized by Moses Cordovero (*Pardes Rimmonim* 24:14).

1120. **in four glides** See BT *Berakhot* 4b: "A *tanna* taught: 'Michael [reaches his destination] in one [glide], Gabriel in two, Elijah in four, and the Angel of Death in eight—in time of plague, however, in one.'" See *Zohar* 1:13a, 93a.

1121. ***The spirit of YHVH will carry you off...*** Spoken to Elijah by Obadiah, steward of King Ahab.

1122. **Angel of Death, who darkens the face of the world...** See *Tanḥuma*, *Shemot* 17.

1123. **He ascends and accuses...** See the description of Satan's itinerary in BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "He descends and seduces, ascends and arouses wrath, obtains authorization, and seizes the soul." On the same page, Satan is identified with the Angel of Death: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

See Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 89a, s.v. *ba ha-satan; Zohar* 1:10b, 125a, 148a (*ST*), 152b; 2:33b, 268b.

1124. **the Angel of Death was created on the second day** Along with all the angels of Judgment, not on the fifth day, which is the context of the verse under discussion.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Zohar* 1:17b, 46a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:623–24.

1125. **Raphael...** Whose name derives from a root meaning "to heal."

1126. **All is contained within the text** The verse alludes to all these angels.

1127. **So afterward is written...** The *sea serpents* allude to other angelic forces.

1128. **Leviathan and his mate** See BT *Bava Batra* 74b: "*God created the great sea serpents*.... Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'This is Leviathan the elusive serpent and Leviathan the twisting serpent [see Isaiah 27:1]....' Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Everything that the blessed Holy One created in His world, He

created male and female. Even Leviathan the elusive serpent and Leviathan the twisting serpent He created male and female, and if they mated with another, they would destroy the entire world. What did the blessed Holy One do? He castrated the male and killed the female, salting her for the righteous in the world to come, as is written: *He will slay the dragon of the sea* (ibid.).'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 510; above, 34b.

1129. **seventy princes...** According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God.

See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:61a, 108b; 2:33a, 151b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

1130. ***And every soul of the living being that moves*** The verse continues: *which the waters brought forth in swarms, according to its kind, and every winged bird, according to its kind*.

1131. **the actual *soul* of that *living being*** The souls of Israel derive from *Shekhinah*, who is known as *ḥayyah*, *living being*. On *Shekhinah* as *ḥayyah*, see Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 508–9; *Zohar* 1:12b, 242a; 2:48b, 177b–178a (*SdTs*); 3:46b.

1132. ***a nation unique on earth*** The verse begins: *Who is like Your people, like Israel, a nation unique on earth...?* The phrase can also be translated *a single nation* [or: *a nation of oneness*] *on earth*, perhaps connected here to the singular *soul*.

1133. **for they engage in Torah** Often compared to water. See BT *Bava Qamma* 82a: "Those who interpret metaphorically said, 'Water means solely Torah, as is said: *Ho, all who thirst, come for water* (Isaiah 55:1).'"

See *Ta'anit* 7a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 54:1; *Zohar* 2:12b, 60a.

1134. **who are therefore נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *living souls*** The righteous, who resemble the winged angels, attain the status of *living souls*, or they are linked by their souls to *Shekhinah*, the חיה (*ḥayyah*), *living being*.

1135. **as has been explained: messengers of the world** Angels. See above, notes 858 and 1117.

1136. **Israel, for they are scions...** The souls of Israel derive from the union of the blessed Holy One and *Shekhinah*.

1137. **From those impure aspects of the left...** From demonic powers stemming from the left side of the *sefirot*. For parallel medieval Christian views of the Jewish soul, see Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*. Cf. *Zohar* 1:20b, 131a; *ZḤ* 10c (*MhN*).

1138. **all the other creatures...** All the other creatures on earth created on the sixth day, or all the other angelic powers, who derive from *Shekhinah*.

1139. **This supports what we have said...** See above, page 251.

1140. ***Cattle, crawling things, and living creatures of the earth*** *according to their kind*. See *Zohar* 1:13b, where Rabbi Shim'on applies this verse to various kinds of souls.

1141. **other nations...** Who derive from the demonic aspect, known as (uncircumcised) "foreskin." See *Zohar* 1:13a, 18a, 35b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (68).

1142. **embracing six aspects...** Reflecting the structure of the cosmos. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 4:3, where six directions are specified: above, below, east, west, north, and south. Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11.

The six aspects also represent the core of the *sefirot*, composed of *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. The limbs of the human body are modeled on those of the divine body.

1143. **smooth members** Rendering two senses of one term, שייפי (*shaifei*). Deriving from a root meaning "to smooth, rub, slip," the word signifies "limbs" in the *Zohar*, perhaps based on the Talmudic expression (BT *Sotah* 7b): לשפא על איבריה (*al eivreih le-shafa*), "each limb entered its socket"—"slipping" into place —or "... the chest."

See *Arukh*, s.v. *shaf*; Rashi, ad loc., and on Job 33:21, citing BT *Ḥullin* 42b; *Zohar* 3:170a.

1144. **mystery of male and female...** The original human being was androgynous, reflecting the masculine and feminine aspects of the *sefirot, Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who together constitute the *image* and *likeness* of God. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs—one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:2b, 13b, 48b; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

1145. **ruling over all** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), intro, 77b: "What is the meaning of: *In our image, according to our likeness*? Similar to us, that he will rule below as I do above."

1146. **Here was restored the omission...** In the biblical account of Creation, the statement *God saw that it was good* (or a variant) is included in the description of each of the six days except for the second. See *Bereshit Rabbah*

4:6: “Why is *that it was good* not written concerning the second day? Rabbi Yoḥanan said..., ‘Because on that day Hell was created.... Rabbi Ḥanina said, ‘Because on that day conflict was created: *that it may separate water from water.’*... Rabbi Shemu’el son of Naḥman said, ‘Because the work of the water was not completed. Therefore *that it was good* is written twice on the third day: once for the work of the water [see Genesis 1:9–10] and once for the work of the [third] day [ibid., 11].’”

See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 4; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:18a, 46a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

According to *Zohar* 1:46b, the Angel of Death was created on the second day along with all the angels of Judgment. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Zohar* 1:17b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:623–24.

Here the *Zohar* suggests that the omission of *that it was good* was restored not on the third day but on the sixth, by the phrase *very good*.

1147. ***And behold,* טוב מות (*tov mavet*), *death is good*** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:5: “In the Torah of Rabbi Me’ir it was found written: ‘*And behold it was* מאד טוב (*tov me’od*), *very good: And behold* טוב מות (*tov mavet*), *death is good*.’”

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:10: “Rabbi Shemu’el son of Rav Yitsḥak said, ‘*Behold, it was very good*—this is the Angel of Life; *And behold, it was very good*—this is the Angel of Death.’”

According to Rabbi Shemu’el, the Angel of Death is *very good* because he kills those who fail to accumulate good deeds. According to *Zohar* 2:149b, he is *very good* because the awareness of mortality stimulates a person to return to God. See 1:14a, 144b; 2:68b, 103a, 163a, 249a.

1148. **the mention of את כל (*et kol*), *all*, amplifies the meaning...** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when et appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

Here the word *et* expands the meaning of *all* to include all future generations and events. See *Zohar* 2:198b–199a.

1149. ***That He had made*—all the works of Creation...** God not only foresaw everything; through the power of the divine gaze, He included everything potentially in the primal act of Creation.

1150. **What is different about all the other days...** The definite article ה (*ha*), *the*, appears only in the phrase יום הששי (*yom ha-shishi*), *the sixth day*, not in any of the corresponding phrases describing the other five days of Creation. See BT *Shabbat* 88a: “Resh Lakish said, ‘Why is it written: *There was evening and*

there was morning: יום הששי (*yom ha-shishi*), *the sixth day?* Why the extra letter ה (*ha*), *the*? This teaches that the blessed Holy One stipulated a condition with the works of Creation, saying to them: "If Israel accepts the Torah [given at Mount Sinai on the sixth day of the month Sivan], you will endure. If not, I will return you to *chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2).""" See *Zohar* 2:63b.

1151. **female united with male...** With the completion of Creation, *Shekhinah* united with *Yesod*. *Shekhinah* is symbolized by the feminine marker ה (*he*), which is also the final letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*), while *Yesod* is the sixth of the lower seven *sefirot*.

1152. ***They were completed...*** The full verse reads: *The heavens and the earth were completed, with all their array*. See *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 2:1; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 8a.

1153. ***How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You*** The verse continues: *that You made for those who take refuge in You, in the presence of human beings*.

1154. **the supernal light treasured away...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, "With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:7a, 31b–32a, 45b–46a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You will do for one who awaits You*].... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [those who succeed in turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

1155. **whoever is engaged with Torah...** On the link between Torah and the primordial light, see *Bahir* 97–99 (147–49); *Zohar* 2:149a, 167a.

See BT *Niddah* 73a: "It was taught in the school of Elijah: 'Whoever studies laws each day is guaranteed admission into the world that is coming.'" Rabbi El'azar introduces a significant variation: by studying Torah, one attains here and now a share in the world that is coming.

"The world that is coming" (Aramaic, עלמא דאתי [*alma de-atei*]; Hebrew, הבא העולם [*ha-olam ha-ba*]) is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is

usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma, Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation, who gives birth to the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

1156. **He is deemed a builder of worlds** By engaging in Torah, one creates entire worlds. See BT *Shabbat* 114a: "What does 'builders' mean? Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'These are the disciples of the wise, who are engaged all their days in building the world.'" See *Zohar* 1:4b–5a.

1157. **by Torah the world was built...** According to M *Avot* 3:14, Torah is the "precious instrument by which the world was created." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1: "Rabbi Osha'ya opened, '*I was with Him as* אמון (*amon*), *a nursling...* אמון (*amon*)—אומן (*umman*), *an artisan*. Torah says, "I was the artistic tool of the blessed Holy One."... The blessed Holy One gazed into Torah and created the world.'"

See *Zohar* 1:5a, 134a–b; 2:161a–b; 3:35b; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:242–45, 266–69.

1158. **By breath the blessed Holy One made the world** See Psalms 33:6: *By the word of YHVH the heavens were made, by the breath of His mouth all their host*.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:9; and Shabbetai Donnolo, *Sefer Ḥakhmoni*, on *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:10 (in Matt, *Essential Kabbalah*, 92, 194): "God, great, mighty, and awesome, powerfully breathed out a breath, and cosmic space expanded to the boundary determined by divine wisdom, until God said, 'Enough!'"

1159. **by breath it is sustained** See *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 5; *Midrash Temurah*, 2 (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:109); *Zohar* 1:148a.

1160. **the breath of schoolchildren** See BT *Shabbat* 119b: "Resh Lakish said in the name of Rabbi Yehudah the Prince, 'The world endures only for the sake of the breath of schoolchildren.'"

1161. **resembling the one above, so that the righteous would be invigorated therein** The earthly Garden of Eden is modeled on the one above

and invigorates the souls of the righteous. See *Zohar* 1:106b (*MhN*).

1162. **that one is *in the presence of human beings...*** The earthly Garden of Eden is in the human realm, whereas the heavenly Garden of Eden is in the angelic realm.

1163. **Even the other one...** Even the heavenly Garden of Eden is accessible to souls of the righteous.

1164. ***They were completed*** The full verse reads: *The heavens and the earth were completed, with all their array*.

1165. **for acts above and below *were completed...*** The emanation of the *sefirot* and the creation of the world were both completed.

1166. **Act and artistry of Written Torah... Oral Torah** The emergence of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, each of whom conveys more explicitly the unwritten, unspoken Primordial Torah of *Ḥokhmah*, divine Wisdom.

1167. **Torah assumes seventy faces** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 13:16, where Torah is compared to wine: "Just as יין (*yayin*), wine, is numerically equivalent to seventy, so Torah assumes seventy faces."

See *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:116); Ibn Ezra, introduction to Commentary on the Torah; *Zohar* 1:4b, 26a (*TZ*), 54a. Cf. the description of the revelation at Mount Sinai in BT *Shabbat* 88b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '... Every utterance emerging from the mouth of Power branched into seventy languages.'"

1168. **sustained and consummated by one another** At the climax of Creation, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* (*heaven* and *earth*) unite. See *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 2:1; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 8a.

1169. **particular and general** פרט וכלל (*Perat ukhlal*), a halakhic term referring to legal details and their general formulations, included in Rabbi Yishma'el's thirteen hermeneutical rules (*Sifra*, intro, 1a–b). Cf. *Zohar* 1:16b.

Here the term is applied to *heaven* and *earth*, symbolizing the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The former includes various individual *sefirot*, which culminate and coalesce in *Shekhinah*. Alternatively, the Written Torah (*Ti'feret*) conveys generalities, which unfold into the endless particularities of Oral Torah (*Shekhinah*).

1170. **purities of Torah, impurities of Torah** The various detailed laws of ritual purity and impurity. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 4:4: "[Israel] knows how to expound Torah according to forty-nine aspects [literally, "faces"] of purity and forty-nine aspects of impurity."

See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:4; BT *Eruvin* 13b.

1171. ***On the seventh day God completed*** The verse continues: *the work that He had done, and He ceased on the seventh day from all the work that He had done*.

1172. **This is Oral Torah ...*the seventh day*...** *Shekhinah*, seventh of the lower *sefirot*, seventh day of the cosmic week of Creation.

1173. **not *all His work*...** As phrased later in the same verse. *Shekhinah*, Oral Torah, derives from *Tif'eret*, Written Torah, who derives from the Divine Mother, *Binah*, known as Writing, who Herself emerges from the Primordial Torah of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom").

See *Zohar* 2:85a, 200a. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 17:5: "Rabbi Avin [said]..., 'Torah is an unripe fruit of supernal Wisdom.'"

1174. **Three times here...** A different interpretation of the tripled phrase appears in Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 111.

1175. **Foundation of the world** יסודא דעלמא (*Yesoda de-alma*), referring to the ninth *sefirah, Yesod* ("Foundation"), also known as Righteous, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

Yesod is the seventh *sefirah* counting from the Divine Mother, *Binah*.

1176. ***The Book of Rav Yeiva Sava*** One of the many volumes housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*. It is cited frequently: 1:79b, 117b; 2:6a, 60b, 206b; 3:7b, 155b, 289b, 290a, 295a (*IZ*).

See Matt, *Zohar*, 25; and the comment by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 22d: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*... have been lost in the wanderings of exile... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

1177. **This is Jubilee** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, giving birth to all. She is symbolized by the Jubilee, proclaimed every fifty years, when slaves were released and land reverted to the original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). Here fifty (seven squared plus one) is linked to the phrase *on the seventh day*. *Binah* is often characterized by the number fifty, based on BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, where Rav and Shemu'el teach: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." *Binah* is the source of redemption and liberation, specifically the Exodus from Egypt.

See *Zohar* 1:21b; 2:46a, 83b, 85b; 3:262a. Cf. Solomon ibn Adret, *She'elot u-Tshuvot* 1:9.

1178. ***from all the work*** The verse reads: *He ceased on the seventh day from all the work that He had done*.

1179. **the rest thereon is best of all** *Yesod* represents the culmination of the process of emanation, when all is released into *Shekhinah*.

1180. **the High Priest...** *Ḥesed*, the first *sefirah* to emerge from *Binah*, conveys emanation to those below Him. Counting upward from *Shekhinah*, He is the seventh.

According to M *Yoma* 1:2, the high priest chooses his sacrificial portion first. See the formulation attributed to Rava in BT *Nedarim* 62a: "A priest receives first," which is included here in most printed versions but not in the manuscripts.

See *Zohar* 1:147a; 2:225a; *ZḤ* 43a.

1181. **inheres in... begins...** שריין (*Shareyan*) conveys both these meanings.

1182. **These two refer respectively to...** Apparently the two phrases, *He rested on the seventh day* and *God blessed the seventh day*, refer respectively to *Yesod* (as just indicated by Rabbi Shim'on) and *Tif'eret* (the seventh *sefirah* from *Keter*), who constitutes the Central Pillar of the sefirotic structure and conveys the blessings of emanation. For other interpretations, see *OY; KP*.

1183. **but these three correspond to...** Rabbi Yeisa Sava offers an alternative interpretation, based on the triplicate phrase *the seventh day*. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 111. (Some commentators suggest that "these three" refers to the three occurrences of the word אלהים [*Elohim*], *God*, in Genesis 2:2–3; see *OY*.) The three phases of the Sabbath (Sabbath Eve, Sabbath Day, and Great Sabbath) symbolize respectively *Shekhinah* (the Sabbath Bride arriving with sunset on Friday evening), *Tif'eret* or *Yesod* (the masculine Day), and *Binah*, the Divine Mother, known as שבת הגדול (*Shabbat ha-Gadol*). This name, traditionally designating the last Sabbath before Passover, means literally "Sabbath of *the great*," referring to the phrase *the great day of YHVH* (Malachi 3:23), the climax of the prophetic portion read on that Sabbath. On the various sefirotic aspects of the Sabbath, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1223–26.

1184. ***He hallowed* אותו (*oto*), *it*** The full verse reads: אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, for on it He rested from all His work that God created to make*.

1185. **That site where את (*at*), sign, of the covenant abides...** *Yesod*, the phallus in the sefirotic body, is the site of circumcision, sign of the covenant. The phrase *He* (namely, *Elohim*) *hallowed it* implies that *Binah*, known as *Elohim*, emanated holiness to *Yesod*. The word אותו (*oto*), *it*, is identified with Hebrew אות (*ot*) and Aramaic את (*at*), "sign." So the verse now reads: *He hallowed His sign*, meaning: *Binah hallowed Yesod*. Similarly, in the verse in Samuel, the word אותו (*oto*), *it*, is understood to mean *His sign*, namely *Yesod*, while *His habitation* refers to *Shekhinah*.

A similar midrashic reading appears in *Shemot Rabbah* 1:20. See *Zohar* 1:94a, 112b; 3:184a.

1186. **Assembly of Israel** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

1187. **pastry** לחם פנג (*Leḥem pannag*), "Bread of *pannag*," a biblical hapax legomenon (Ezekiel 27:17) apparently meaning "meal, ground seeds of grain."

1188. ***Out of Asher*—consummate covenant** *Asher* derives from אושר (*osher*), "happiness," and symbolizes *Yesod*, site of the sign of covenant of circumcision, who delights *Shekhinah*. She is named similarly Asherah.

See *Zohar* 1:49a, 245b; Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, 39, 296–97, n. 15.

1189. ***bread of affliction* was transformed into pastry** *Bread of affliction* refers to *matstsah*, the unleavened bread eaten on Passover. *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *matstsah*, had been in a state of affliction or impoverishment until She was filled by the riches of *Yesod*.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 36a–b, 115b; *Zohar* 1:33a, 157a, 235b, 245b–246a; 2:40a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 112, 133.

1190. **Who is *king*? Assembly of Israel** *Shekhinah* reigns over the lower worlds and is known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). See *Zohar* 1:122a.

1191. **He provides Her...** *Yesod* provides *Shekhinah*, known as *king*, with delights.

1192. ***For on it He rested*** The verse continues: *from all His work that God created to make*.

1193. ***On it*, repose of all...** At the stage of *Yesod*, all the *sefirot* culminated, emptying into *Shekhinah*, symbolized by earth.

1194. **from the totality of *Remember* emerged *Observe*...** The command to observe the Sabbath appears differently in the two versions of the Ten Commandments in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Exodus 20:8 reads: זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember, the Sabbath Day*, while Deuteronomy 5:12 reads: שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe, the Sabbath Day*. To the kabbalists, זכור (*zakhor*) suggests זכר (*zakhar*), "male," and is identified with *Yesod*, while שמור (*shamor*) is identified with the female, *Shekhinah*.

See BT *Berakhot* 20b; *Bahir* 124 (182); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 496–97; Naḥmanides on Exodus 20:8; *Zohar* 1:5b; 48b, 164b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 118.

Here Rabbi Shim'on indicates that *Shekhinah* emerged from *Yesod*. The phrase

אשר ברא אלהים (*asher bara Elohim*), *that God created*, is read: *Asher*, *That* (namely, *Yesod*, known as *Asher* [see above, note 1188]) *created Elohim* (namely, *Shekhinah*).

1195. **Artisan of the world...** *Shekhinah*, who actualizes the potential of the *sefirot* and fashions the world.

1196. ***Guarding*—Guardian of Israel** The first word of the biblical phrase denotes *Shekhinah*, who protects the people of Israel. See *Zohar* 3:239b. The phrase "Guardian of Israel" originates in Psalms 121:4.

1197. ***the covenant*, as we have explained** Symbolizing *Yesod*, the phallus in the sefirotic body, which is the site of circumcision, sign of the covenant. See above, page 259.

1198. ***and the love*—Abraham** Referring to *Ḥesed* ("Love"), first of the seven lower *sefirot*, symbolized by Abraham, who manifested love on earth.

1199. **Assembly of Israel is *guarding*...** *Shekhinah* (known as Assembly of Israel; see above, note 1186) constitutes the gateway to the realm of the *sefirot*. By entering Her, one encounters the various aspects of the divine—in particular, the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. She actualizes the other *sefirot* and brings about Creation.

1200. **every single one, every single day** Each of the cosmic days, the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, manifests in *Shekhinah* and subsequently in Creation. See *Zohar* 2:127b.

1201. **these** The demonic spirits.

1202. **Whoever wends to the left...** Whoever sins, succumbing to the demonic, is attacked and punished by demonic spirits.

1203. **What are *blows of the children of Adam*? These are demons** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26: "Rabbi Simon said, 'For 130 years Adam separated from his wife, Eve, for once Cain was killed, Adam said, "Why should I engender children if they become cursed?" What did he do?... Female spirits approached him and heated themselves from him. As the blessed Holy One said to David, "... *When he* [*Solomon*] *does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of Adam*" (2 Samuel 7:14)..., namely, the demons.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11: "Rabbi Simon said, 'Throughout all 130 years that Adam separated himself from Eve, male spirits heated themselves from her and she gave birth, while female spirits heated themselves from Adam and gave birth, as is written: *When he does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of* אדם (*adam*), namely, children of Adam.'"

See BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:19b, 34b, 54a–55a; 2:231b, 3:76b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51–54.

1204. **As they were being created...** At twilight on the eve of the first

Sabbath, as the six days of Creation drew to a close. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17: "It is not written here: [*He ceased from all His work*] *that* [*God*] *created and made*, but rather [*that God created*] *to make* (Genesis 2:3), for the Sabbath came first and their work was not completed. Rabbi Benaya said, 'This refers to the demons, for He created their souls, and as He was creating their bodies, the Sabbath day was hallowed. He left them, and they remained soul without body.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; 11:9; *Zohar* 1:14a, 178a; 2:155b; 3:142b (*IR*); and M *Avot* 5:6: "Ten things were created on Friday eve at twilight:....Some say, 'Also the demons.'"

1205. **from the left side, dross of gold** The demonic derives from the dregs of *Gevurah* or *Din* (strict Judgment), located on the left side of the sefirotic tree and symbolized by gold.

See *Zohar* 1:52a, 73a, 193a; 2:236b.

1206. **Their terror is provoked by the holy name...** If adjured by the divine name, demons flee in terror. See BT *Gittin* 68a.

1207. **A person flawed...** One who fails to fulfill the first command of the Torah, *Be fruitful and multiply* (Genesis 1:28), is flawed. Consequently, at death his soul is excluded from the divine realm.

See BT *Bava Batra* 116a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai, 'Whoever does not leave a son to succeed him incurs the full wrath of the blessed Holy One.'"

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 90a, 115a, 186b, 228b; *ZḤ* 89b (*MhN, Rut*); Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 16 (1945): 146–47.

1208. **An uprooted, barren tree must be transplanted...** The soul of such a person must transmigrate into another body, where it is given another opportunity to fulfill this vital commandment. See *ZḤ* 89b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1209. **These creatures...** The demons.

1210. **These *God created to make...*** According to Rabbi Shim'on, the unusual wording implies that the creation of the demons was incomplete. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17, cited above, note 1204.

1211. **Why not above?** In the spiritual realm.

1212. **Since they were not completed below, on earth...** Even a spiritual entity is incomplete unless actualized in the physical realm.

1213. **Three features...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Our Rabbis taught: 'Six things have been said concerning the demons, three of which correspond to the ministering angels and three to human beings. Three correspond to the ministering angels: they have wings, they fly from one end of the world to the other, and they know what will happen in the future.... Three correspond to

human beings: they eat and drink, they are fruitful and multiply, and they die.'"

1214. **plunged behind the millstones of the chasm of the immense abyss...** The chasm of the immense abyss is the abode of the demons, where they are confined throughout each Sabbath. According to *Midrash Tehillim* 92:5, on the first Sabbath, "demons ceased from the world." See *Zohar* 1:14b.

The phrase "behind the millstones" derives from Exodus 11:5: *the slave girl who is behind the millstones*. See *Zohar* 1:118a, 177a, 223b; 2:28a, 37b, 80a, 191b.

1215. **and they were not completed...** They were still not furnished with bodies.

1216. **a song against maleficent spirits has been prescribed...** Psalms 91:1–9, traditionally recited to ward off demons and maleficent spirits. Since Gaonic times this psalm has been recited at the conclusion of the Sabbath, following the *amidah* prayer of the evening service.

See BT *Shevu'ot* 15b; JT *Shabbat* 6:2, 8b; *Midrash Tehillim* 91:1, and Buber's nn. 12–13; Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 50 (1982): 248, 251; *Zohar* 1:14b.

1217. **Who is Canopy of Peace? Sabbath...** *Shekhinah*, identified with Sabbath eve, when peace reigns and the demonic dimension disappears.

See *Zohar* 2:135a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 111–12.

1218. **'who guards His people Israel forever'...** The conclusion of the second blessing following the *Shema* in the weekday evening liturgy.

1219. **Even the wicked in Hell are protected** According to *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 33, one of the dwellers in Hell reports: "Whoever does not observe the Sabbath properly in your world comes here and observes it against his will.... All week long we are punished and on the Sabbath we rest."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 11:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 65b; *Zohar* 1:14b, 197b; 2:31b, 88b, 150b–151a, 203b, 207a; 3:94b; *ZḤ* 17a–b.

1220. **'who spreads a canopy of peace over us...'** According to an Ashkenazic custom promoted by the *Zohar*, on Sabbath eve the wording of the second blessing following the *Shema* changes.

See *Zohar* 2:205a; *ZḤ* 79b–c (*MhN, Rut*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 112–13; *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim, Sha'arei Teshuvah*, 80; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1266, n. 139; Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon*, 142–56.

1221. **this canopy of peace issues new souls...** See BT *Beitsah* 16a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish said, 'On Sabbath eve, the blessed Holy One imparts an extra soul to a human being. When Sabbath departs, it is taken from him.'" Medieval Jewish philosophers disregarded this teaching or reinterpreted it rationalistically, while the *Zohar* revels in the literalness of the image and

embellishes it.

See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1230–33; *Zohar* 2:135b, 204a; 3:173a; and 2:136b: "Every Sabbath eve, a human being sits in the world of souls."

1222. **'Sabbath is patterned on the world that is coming'** See BT *Berakhot* 57b: "Three [things] reflect the world to come: Sabbath, sunshine, and sexual union."

1223. **Sabbatical and Jubilee...** Symbolizing *Shekhinah* and *Binah*, divine daughter and mother, who reflect one another.

According to the Bible, every seventh year is a Sabbatical (שמטה [*shemittah*], "release"), during which the land must lie fallow and at the end of which all debts are remitted (Leviticus 25:1–24; Deuteronomy 15:1–3). In Kabbalah the Sabbatical symbolizes *Shekhinah*, seventh of the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:153b.

In the biblical cycle, after seven Sabbaticals comes the Jubilee, proclaimed every fifty years, when slaves are released and land reverts to its original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). In Kabbalah the Jubilee symbolizes *Binah* —the Divine Mother—who is characterized by the number fifty, based on BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, where Rav and Shemu'el teach: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." *Binah* is the source of redemption and liberation, specifically the Exodus from Egypt. See *Zohar* 1:21b, 47b; 2:46a, 83b, 85b; 3:262a.

1224. **as are Sabbath and the world that is coming** Symbolizing, respectively, *Shekhinah* and *Binah*. The rabbinic concept of העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming" (Aramaic, עלמא דאתי [*alma de-atei*]), is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends."

In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

1225. **from the mystery of זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember...*** From *Yesod*, who

receives the additional soul from *Binah*, "the world that is coming." *Yesod*, the masculine potency, is called זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember*, because of the association with זכר (*zakhar*), 'male.'

1226. **one should taste everything...** By tasting many foods on Sabbath eve, one demonstrates that the divine Sabbath, *Shekhinah*, includes all. Yet one course (or two) should remain untouched until the Sabbath day. See *TZ* 24 (69b).

On the significance of the three Sabbath meals, see BT *Shabbat* 118b; *Zohar* 2:88a–b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1234–36.

1227. **Kindling the lamp of Sabbath...** See M *Shabbat* 2:6; *Zohar* 2:166a.

1228. **she extinguished the lamp of the world...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Metsora* 17: "Why were [the commandments of kindling the Sabbath lights, separating a portion of dough before baking, and menstrual purity] given to the woman? The blessed Holy One said, 'She [i.e., Eve] extinguished the lamp of the world [i.e., the soul of Adam]..., so she [the woman of the house] should keep the commandment of the lamp.'"

See JT *Shabbat* 2:4, 5b; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ* 1 (and n. 15); *Bereshit Rabbah* 17:8 (and Theodor, ad loc.).

1229. **the Consort...** מטרוניתא (*Matronita*), an aramaized form of the Latin *matrona* ("matron, married woman, noble lady"). *Matronita* is one of the many names of *Shekhinah*, the feminine partner of *Tif'eret*. She transmits souls deriving from the lamp of the higher *sefirot*ic realms.

1230. **So the consort should kindle...** By kindling the Sabbath lights, the woman of the house, who corresponds to *Shekhinah*, stimulates the transmission of souls.

1231. **to be worthy of holy sons...** Rabbi Shim'on blends two Talmudic traditions (BT *Shabbat* 23b, *Berakhot* 64a): "Rav Huna said, 'One who regularly lights the lamp will have sons who are disciples of the wise.'" "Rabbi El'azar said in the name of Rabbi Ḥanina, 'Disciples of the wise spread peace through the world.'"

1232. **she should be careful** In fulfilling this commandment.

1233. **night and day, זכור (*zakhor*), *remember*, and שמור (*shamor*), *observe*...** Sabbath eve (when light is kindled by the woman of the house) and Sabbath day symbolize, respectively, the feminine and masculine *sefirot*: *Shekhinah* and *Yesod*, who unite on the Sabbath. Each of the two aspects of Sabbath is alluded to by one version of the opening word of the fourth of the Ten Commandments. The version in Exodus 20:8 reads זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember, the Sabbath day*, which suggests the Hebrew זכר (*zakhar*) and Aramaic דכורא (*dekhora*), "male." The version in Deuteronomy 5:12 reads שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe, the Sabbath day*, and this alternate formulation suggests the other, feminine aspect of Sabbath.

According to *Mekhilta, Baḥodesh* 7, both versions of the fourth Commandment were spoken by God simultaneously.

See BT *Berakhot* 20b; *Bahir* 124 (182); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 496–97; Naḥmanides on Exodus 20:8; *Zohar* 1:5b, 47b, 164b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 118.

1234. **הצלע** (***ha-tsela***), ***the side*** The word צלע (*tsela*) is often translated "rib," but it also means "side," which is the meaning adopted here by Rabbi Shim'on.

See Exodus 26:20; *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1 (cited in note 1236, below); *Zohar* 1:34b.

1235. **This verse bears numerous nuances** A similar expression appears in *Zohar* 1:54a, 81b, 197b.

1236. **namely, Oral Torah...** *Shekhinah* is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. She represents one *side* of the primordial androgynous figure of Primordial Adam, the other side being *Tif'eret*. The image derives from *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:13b, 34b, 47a; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

The *way through the sea* symbolizes *Yesod*, coursing into the sea of *Shekhinah* (*Zohar* 1:29b). *Elohim* symbolizes *Binah* ("Understanding"), mother of both *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, intimate with both of them.

1237. **Written Torah...** *Tif'eret*, who together with *Shekhinah* (Oral Torah) emerges from *Ḥokhmah* (Primordial Torah). The hidden *sefirah* of *Da'at* ("Knowledge") is enclosed within *Tif'eret*.

1238. ***YHVH Elohim*—a complete name...** In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name."

Here the complete name *YHVH Elohim* indicates the divine parents, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* ("Wisdom" and "Understanding"), who transmit their qualities to their daughter, *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:49a; 3:296a (*IZ*). Cf. *Zohar* 1:4a, 20a; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

1239. **speculum...** אספקלריא (*Ispaqlarya*), "Glass, mirror, lens, speculum." See BT Yevamot 49b: "All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear

glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines].” Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: “For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face.”

Shekhinah is the “speculum [or: mirror] that does not shine on its own” but rather reflects the other *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:33b, 183a; 2:23b. Her incomplete state is implied here by another meaning of the root צלע (*tsl’*), “to stumble.”

1240. **for She issued from Written Torah** *Shekhinah* (Oral Torah) emanates from *Tif’eret*, symbolized by Written Torah and Primordial Adam.

1241. **the flame of the left side...** *Shekhinah* is associated with *Gevurah* (“Power”), on the left side of the sefirotic tree. For the connection between revelation and the divine name *Gevurah*, see BT *Shabbat* 88b: “Rabbi Yoḥanan said, ‘... Every utterance [at Sinai] emerging from the mouth of Power branched into seventy languages.’”

See *Tanḥuma*, *Yitro* 11; BT *Makkot* 24a; *Zohar* 2:81a, 84a.

1242. **to be אש ה׳ (*esh he*), fire of *he*...** The word אשה (*ishshah*), *woman*, is divided into two elements linked together: the fire of *Gevurah*, and *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by the second ה (*he*) of the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

1243. **She should not be alone...** *Shekhinah* (Oral Torah) should be joined with Her partner, *Tif’eret*, who is known as Primordial Adam and Written Torah.

1244. **when one offers his daughter in marriage...** See the husband’s declaration to his wife in M *Ketubbot* 4:11: “The female children born from our marriage will dwell in my house and be maintained out of my estate until they are married.”

1245. **for Father and Mother array Her...** The complete name *YHVH Elohim* indicates the divine parents, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, who sustain and adorn their daughter, *Shekhinah*. Once She is wed to *Tif'eret*, He sustains Her.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 18:1: "*YHVH Elohim fashioned the rib* [or: *side*] It was taught in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai: 'He adorned her like a bride and brought her to him.'"

Cf. BT *Berakhot* 61a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Menasia expounded, 'Why is it written: *YHVH Elohim fashioned the rib?* This teaches that the blessed Holy One braided Eve's hair and brought her to Adam.'"

1246. **she watches out every day...** The name *Elohim* indicates the Divine Mother, *Binah*, who provides for Her daughter, *Shekhinah*, until She is wed to *Tif'eret*. The same pattern is followed on earth.

1247. **The primordial point is totally unknown...** The point of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") is incomprehensible even to the *sefirot* emerging from it, except for *Binah* ("Understanding"), known as "the world that is coming." According to the Gnostic *Gospel of Truth* (22:27–29), the aeons (divine emanations) below *Nous* ("Intellect") are unaware of the hidden divinity: "It was quite amazing that they were in the Father without knowing Him."

On the rabbinic concept of העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming," see above, note 1224.

1248. ***He*—hidden of all hidden...** *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, cannot be identified precisely, only by the vague term *He*. See *Zohar* 3:129b (*IR*), 290a (*IZ*).

1249. **he encompassed the good impulse and the evil impulse** See BT *Berakhot* 61a: "Rav Naḥman son of Rav Ḥisda expounded, 'Why is it written: וייצר (*Va-yitser*), [*YHVH Elohim*] *formed...*, spelled with two yods? Because the blessed Holy One created two impulses, one good and the other evil.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 14:4; *Targum Yerushalmi*, ad loc.

The good impulse derives from *Ḥesed* ("Love") on the right side of the sefirotic tree, while the evil impulse derives from *Gevurah* ("Power"), also known as *Din* ("Judgment") on the left.

1250. **to arouse toward his female** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:7: "Naḥman said in the name of Rabbi Shemu'el: '*Behold, it was very good*—this is the good impulse; *And behold, it was very good* (Genesis 1:31)—this is the evil impulse. Is the evil impulse *very good*? How astonishing! Yet were it not for the evil impulse, no man would ever build a house, marry a woman, or engender children.'"

1251. **so she is called אשה (*ishshah*), woman** See above, page 268.

1252. **Above, genuine North...** In the realm of the *sefirot*, *Gevurah*,

symbolized by the direction north and the left hand, arouses toward *Shekhinah*. Then *Ḥesed*, the right hand, embraces Her.

1253. ***YHVH Elohim formed*—a complete name...** In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and judgment. Here they correspond to *Ḥesed* ("Love") and *Gevurah*, also known as *Din* ("Judgment"). Cf. above, note 1238.

1254. **this implies male and female as one...** The original human was an androgynous being. Similarly, the sefirotic couple *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* were originally joined. See above, note 1236.

1255. ***Dust of the earth*** The verse reads: *YHVH Elohim formed the human from the dust of the earth*.

1256. **now poised to be arrayed** *Dust* alludes to *Shekhinah*, as Rabbi Shim'on goes on to explain. Originally part of the androgynous being, She was now about to manifest as a separate entity.

1257. צדיק צדק (***tsaddiq tsedeq***), **righteous, righteousness** Symbolizing *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, respectively (see *Zohar* 1:132b). *Yesod* ("Foundation") is called Righteous, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

1258. צבי (***tsevi***), ***fairest, of all lands*** Alluding to *Shekhinah*, often identified with the land of Israel.

1259. אשרה (***asherah***) This term denotes a standing wooden object apparently symbolizing the Canaanite goddess Asherah. The following, remarkable passage (until "So, *dust of the earth*") is missing in many manuscripts.

1260. אשר (***Asher***) **is her husband...** ***For Baal and Asherah*** Baal was the most prominent Canaanite god, often paired in the Bible with Asherah. Here Rabbi Shim'on plays on the literal meaning of the word בעל (*ba'al*), "husband." Elsewhere in the *Zohar* (1:47b, 245b), the name Asher is associated with the male sefirotic potency, *Yesod*; so *Shekhinah*, wife of *Yesod*, is named after Him: Asherah. This startling name of *Shekhinah* and Her intimacy with the masculine divinity mirror the ancient Israelite worship of *YHVH* and *Asherah*. An inscription from the eighth century B.C.E. found in Khirbet el-Qom (Northern Israel) reads: "To *YHVH*, my Protector and to His *Asherah*." Another in Kuntillet Arjud (Sinai) reads: "*YHVH* of Yemen and His *Asherah*."

See Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, 39, 296–97, n. 15; *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. "Kom, Khirbet el-," "Kuntillet Arjud."

1261. **over against *the altar of YHVH*...** The verse is understood to mean: Do not substitute the false goddess Asherah ("another *Asherah*") for *Shekhinah*, the original Asherah, who is the genuine *altar of YHVH*.

1262. **why was this name displaced?** Why was the name Asherah, which originally designated *Shekhinah*, removed from Her and applied only to the Canaanite goddess?

1263. **the other nations did not deem Her happy...** The other nations did not recognize *Shekhinah* and in Her place worshiped the Canaanite goddess.

1264. **So this name was displaced...** The name Asherah was removed from *Shekhinah* so that the false goddess would not be empowered by the invocation of that name.

1265. **We call Her *altar* made of *earth*... *dust of the earth*** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by earth.

1266. **The word is inclusive...** *Nostrils* is plural, but the object here is specifically *Shekhinah*, known as *dust*, into whom *Tif'eret* blows *the breath of life*.

1267. **now *the human* was arrayed enduringly...** Now *Tif'eret*, Primordial Adam, was prepared to emanate to *Shekhinah*, known as *living soul*.

1268. ***YHVH Elohim* *fashioned*** The verse continues: *the side that He had taken from the human into a woman, and He brought her to the human*.

1269. **Here, too, with the complete name...** As in Genesis 2:7 (see above, page 270). In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. Here the complete name *YHVH Elohim* indicates the divine parents, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, who sustain and adorn their daughter *Shekhinah*. Once She is wedded to *Tif'eret*, He sustains Her.

See above, note 1238; and *Bereshit Rabbah* 18:1 and BT *Berakhot* 61a, cited above, note 1245.

1270. **speculum...** אספקלריא (*Ispaqlarya*), "Glass, mirror, lens, speculum." See BT Yevamot 49b: "All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines]." Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face."

Shekhinah is the "speculum [or: mirror] that does not shine on its own" but rather reflects the other *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:33b, 183a; 2:23b. Her incomplete state is indicated by the root צלע (*tsl'*), which in addition to "side" or "rib," also means "to stumble." See above, page 268: "הצלע (*Ha-tsela*), *The side*— the speculum that does not shine, as is said: ובצלעי (*Uv-tsal'i*), *At my stumbling, they rejoiced*... (Psalms 35:15)." Once adorned, She turns *beautiful*

1271. ***He came in to her... He came in to Rachel also*** Jacob united with Leah and later with Rachel.

1272. **he must obtain her permission** The husband must not force himself on the wife.

1273. ***He approached...*** ויפגע (*Va-yifga*), *He encountered* (or: *reached*), understood here according to another sense of the root, *entreated*. Jacob's journey to *the place* symbolizes the union of *Tif'eret* with *Shekhinah*. Proper union requires a gentle approach.

See *Mekhilta, Beshallaḥ* 2; *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9; BT *Berakhot* 26b; *Zohar* 1:148b, 165a.

In rabbinic literature, מקום (*maqom*), "place," is a name of God, emphasizing divine immanence and omnipresence. Here it designates *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9; Urbach, *Sages*, 1:66–79.

1274. **one is forbidden to engage in intercourse in the daytime** See BT *Niddah* 17a: "Rav Ḥisda said, 'One is forbidden to engage in intercourse in the daytime.'"

1275. **if a king has golden beds...** See *Zohar* 1:148b; 3:242a.

1276. ***This one at last*** In the verse, the man continues: *is bone of my bones, flesh of flesh! This one shall be called Woman, for from Man was she taken*.

1277. **Behold the fragrance of words...** According to Rabbi Shim'on, Adam spoke these words romantically to Eve.

1278. **like an ape compared with humans** See BT *Bava Batra* 58a: "Rabbi Bana'ah said, '... Compared with Sarah, all others are like an ape compared with a human. Compared with Eve, Sarah was like an ape compared with a human. Compared with Adam, Eve was like an ape compared with a human. Compared with *Shekhinah*, Adam was like an ape compared with a human.'"

1279. ***this one...*** Referring to Eve, and alluding to *Shekhinah* (the Divine Presence), who is known as זאת (*zot*), "this." The hymn to the virtuous woman in Proverbs 31:10–31 is interpreted in the *Zohar* as applying to *Shekhinah*.

1280. **all to draw her in love...** This verse, too, is understood as part of Adam's approach to Eve.

1281. ***and a delight to the eye*** Rabbi Shim'on omits the phrase: *and that the tree was desirable to contemplate*.

1282. **receiving it willingly** Seduced by the evil impulse, Eve indulged in physical desire.

1283. **how the act corresponds above** In the realm of the *sefirot*, male and female interact similarly.

1284. **how can we demonstrate the evil impulse above...** How can an evil component appear in the realm of the *sefirot*?

1285. **the mystery of left and right...** The good and evil impulses derive,

respectively, from the *sefirot* of *Ḥesed* on the right and *Gevurah* on the left.

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Zohar* 1:144b, 155b, 165b, 174b; 3:263b.

1286. ***His left hand beneath my head*** The verse continues: *his right embracing me*. In the divine romance, the left hand (*Gevurah*) arouses the body of *Shekhinah*, then the right hand (*Ḥesed*) completes the embrace, uniting Her with *Tif'eret*. See above, page 270.

1287. **So until here...** Perhaps meaning: until this point in Genesis (3:6), the verses apply both on the earthly plane and the sefirotic plane. From here on, they apply primarily on the corporeal level (as indicated by "a residue of tar") and their interpretation requires no profound insight.

See *KP; Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 176–77; Scholem; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1390.

1288. **I am eager to hear some of those sublime words...** The expression derives from the Talmud and appears often in the *Zohar*. See BT *Berakhot* 8a; *Ta'anit* 20b; *Ḥa-gigah* 14a; *Zohar* 1:87a, 96b, 197b; 2:31a; 3:148a, 209b, 231a.

1289. ***He went on his journeys...*** Describing the journeyings of Abraham on his way back to Canaan from Egypt. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 40:3 (on Genesis 13:3); *Zohar* 1:83b.

1290. **every human being should manifest as male and female...** When a human couple unites, they stimulate the union of *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret*, thereby strengthening the entirety of the *sefirot*, the realm of faith. A married man is constantly accompanied by *Shekhinah* (*Zohar* 1:228b).

See BT *Sotah* 17a: "Rabbi Akiva expounded: 'איש ואשה (*Ish ve-ishshah*), Man and woman: If they are worthy, *Shekhinah* abides between them; if not, fire consumes them.'" As indicated by Rashi (ad loc.), the two Hebrew words ואשה איש (*ish ve-ishshah*), "man and woman," share the letters א (*alef*) and ש (*shin*), which spell אש (*esh*), "fire"; in addition each contains one of the two letters of the divine name יה (*Yah*). Without divinity between them, only fire remains.

1291. **no longer male and female...** If he travels without his wife, *Shekhinah* would apparently desert him.

1292. **should offer his prayer... before he leaves...** Before setting out on a journey, one should pray, including (or specifically) *tefillat ha-derekh* ("the prayer for the way"). See BT *Berakhot* 29b: "Elijah said to Rav Yehudah the brother of Rabbi Sala the Ḥasid, 'Do not let your anger boil and you will not sin; do not get drunk and you will not sin; and when you set out on the way, consult your Creator and then set out.' What is meant by 'consult your Creator and then set out'? Rabbi Ya'akov said in the name of Rav Ḥisda, 'This is *tefillat ha-derekh*.'"

By praying before leaving home and while still with his wife, the husband ensures that *Shekhinah* will abide with him throughout his journey.

See BT *Berakhot* 14a (cited in the note after next), 30a; *Zohar* 1:58b, 121a (*MhN*), 178a, 230a–b, 240b; 2:130b; *Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 110:7; David ben Samuel ha-Levi, *Turei Zahav*, ad loc.; Issachar Ber Eilenburg, *Be'er Sheva*, 45; Mordechai Shpielman, *Tif'eret Tsevi*, 1:351–53.

1293. **in town...in the countryside** In town with his wife, in the countryside with *Shekhinah*.

1294. ***Righteousness...*** See BT *Berakhot* 14a: "Rav Idi son of Avin said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Ishyan, 'Whoever prays and then sets out on the way, the blessed Holy One fulfills his desires, as is said: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way*.'"

In this Talmudic passage, *righteousness* (or: *justice*) implies justification by prayer, which guarantees a successful journey. Here in the *Zohar*, *Righteousness* is a name of *Shekhinah*, who symbolizes divine justice. By praying, one secures Her accompanying presence. See *Zohar* 1:49a, 58b.

1295. **supernal coupling...** *Shekhinah*, his partner on the road.

1296. **he should delight the lady of his house...** Upon returning home, he should unite with his wife, thanks to whom *Shekhinah* accompanied him. See the question posed by King David to Uriah in 2 Samuel 11:10: *You just returned from a journey; why didn't you go down to your house*?

See BT *Yevamot* 62b: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'A man must attend to his wife when he is about to set out on the road, as is said: *You will know that your tent is at peace...* [*you will attend to your abode and not sin*].'"

1297. **the joy of this coupling is joy of *mitsvah*...** Uniting with one's wife upon returning from a journey is a religious obligation and stimulates the union of *Shekhinah* with Her partner, *Tif'eret*. See BT *Shabbat* 30b: "*Shekhinah* abides neither through gloom nor laziness nor frivolity nor levity nor talk nor idle chatter [or: vain pursuits], but only through the joy of *mitsvah*."

1298. **he increases peace below** He guarantees peace and harmony in his house. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home."

1299. **he diminishes the splendor...** If on returning home, the husband fails to unite with his wife, he dishonors *Shekhinah*, who united with him because of his wife, and he hinders Her union with *Tif'eret*.

1300. **supernal coupling pours into it...** *Shekhinah* emanates to the fetus a holy soul generated from Her union with *Tif'eret* (through *Yesod*).

1301. **this covenant is called Covenant of the blessed Holy One** The human phallus, inscribed with the covenant of circumcision, symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, the divine phallus. Human sexual union stimulates the divine union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, which generates the soul.

1302. **the joy of Sabbath, coupling of the wise** The Mishnah (*Ketubbot* 5:6) discusses how often husbands of various professions are required to fulfill the commandment of עונה (*onah*), "conjugal rights," i.e., to satisfy their wives sexually. According to Rabbi Eli'ezer, "The *onah* mentioned in the Torah [applies as follows]: Those who are unoccupied, every day; laborers, twice a week; donkey-drivers, once a week; camel-drivers, once every thirty days; sailors, once every six months."

The Talmud (BT *Ketubbot* 62b) adds: "When is the *onah* of the disciples of the wise? [i.e., What is the proper interval between two successive times of fulfilling this *mitsvah*?] Rav Yehudah said in the name of Shemu'el, 'From one Sabbath eve to the next.'"

See *Zohar* 1:112a (*MhN*); 2:63b, 89a–b; 3:49b, 78a.

1303. **What is the meaning of *not sin?* Not fail...** The Hebrew verb חטא (*ḥt'*) means both "to sin" and "to fail, miss."

1304. **when disciples of the wise part from their wives...** See above, note 1302. All week long *Shekhinah* joins the solitary male devotees of Torah.

1305. **undergoes days of impurity...** During and immediately following menstruation, when the husband must avoid contact with her.

1306. **All the reasons we have offered rise to a single rung** The reasons for delighting one's wife upon returning from a journey apply as well to sexual union on Sabbath eve and following the wife's purification. All pertain to *Shekhinah*.

1307. **All scions of faith...** Those who believe in the reality of the *sefirotic* realm are called בני מהימנותא (*benei meheimanuta*), "children of faith."

1308. **the lamp was kindled...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 60:16: "*Isaac brought her* [*Rebekah*] *into the tent of his mother Sarah* ... As long as Sarah existed... the lamp would burn in her tent from one Sabbath eve until the next. As soon as she died, it went out. As soon as Rebekah arrived, it returned."

Rabbi Shim'on alludes to this midrash to demonstrate that the presence of the light of *Shekhinah* in the home depends upon the presence of the essence of the home (the wife): first Sarah, and upon her death, Rebekah. See *Zohar* 1:133a.

On the phrase "essence of the home," see Psalms 113:9; *Bereshit Rabbah* 71:2; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 20:2; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Vayetse* 15; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:8; *Zohar* 1:29a–b, 149b, 154a, 157b.

1309. **Supernal Mother appears...** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, manifests only when *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* join.

1310. **Lower Mother appears...** *Shekhinah* manifests only when husband and wife establish a home and join together.

1311. **adorned with two females, as above** Adorned with both his wife

and *Shekhinah*, as in the sefirotic realm *Tif'eret* is adorned both with His partner, *Shekhinah*, and the Divine Mother, *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:66b, 153b.

1312. ***The desire of hills of eternity* extends to this *until*...** *Binah* and *Shekhinah* are the *hills of eternity*, towering, respectively, over the lower *sefirot* and the lower worlds. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 11a; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 49:26; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 48, and David Luria, ad loc., n. 20; *Zohar* 2:112b.

Both of these female divine entities desire the male divine potency (*Tif'eret* or *Yesod*), who is known as עד (*ad*), *until*. See *Zohar* 1:150b, 247b; 2:22a.

1313. **he is adorned with two females...** The human husband is adorned by both *Shekhinah* and his wife.

1314. **Supernal Mother unites...** On the road, *Shekhinah* joins him, while his wife remains at home.

1315. **in a skein of scales and fins...** בקילפי סנפירי קטרא (*Be-qilpei senappirei qitra*). According to Leviticus 11:9 (see *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc.), fins and scales are the distinguishing features of kosher seafood. Perhaps Rabbi Pinḥas's point is that in all realms, ranging from mystical truth to the fine points of dietary law, Rabbi Shim'on's wisdom is unchallenged. More likely, the phrase is metaphorical: Rabbi Shim'on has mastered not only the holy but also the demonic realm. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 9, where it is said of the monstrous Leviathan: "Between his fins stands the axis of Earth."

Cf. *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 17 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:28): "The entire world stands on one fin of Leviathan." See *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:26); *Zohar* 2:34b, 108b; 3:279a (*RM*).

1316. **Torah stands between two houses...** Torah symbolizes *Tif'eret Yisra'el*, the core of the *sefirot*, God's self-revelation. *Tif'eret* is situated between *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, the two feminine houses.

1317. **the *mighty voice*...** *Binah* is *mighty*, powerful in Her silence. Through Her, the divine voice begins to emerge as the whispered letter ה (*he*), the second letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*). This ה (*he*) expands from the primordial point of Wisdom, the initial letter י (*yod*).

See *Zohar* 2:226b; 3:261a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 89 (113).

1318. **Torah, *voice of Jacob*...** See Genesis 27:22. *Tif'eret*, identified with the third patriarch, Jacob, harmonizes the qualities of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, symbolized by Abraham and Isaac. With the emergence of *Tif'eret*, silent revelation becomes audible.

See *Zohar* 1:16b, 74a, 97b–98a, 141b; 2:226b. Cf. BT *Berakhot* 15b: "The womb, which takes in silently, gives forth loudly."

1319. **speech merges in it...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by speech, resounds from

the power of the voice.

1320. **two females...** *Binah* and *Shekhinah*.

1321. **Two are inaudible...** *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*.

1322. **every female is called 'house'...** As indicated in BT *Shabbat* 118b; *Yoma* 2a; *Sotah* 44a; cf. 2 Samuel 11:10. In the sefirotic realm, *Binah* houses *Ḥokhmah*, while *Shekhinah* houses *Tif'eret*.

1323. **Therefore Torah begins with בית (*bet*)...** The initial letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, is numerically equivalent to two and suggests the word בית (*bayit*), "house." Thus the Torah opens with an allusion to two houses: *Binah* and *Shekhinah*. The word ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, signifies the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* as well as Torah, symbol of *Tif'eret*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; cf. *Zohar* 1:29b.

1324. **בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning, created* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*...** Rabbi Shim'on understands the phrase to mean that *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* (implied by the word בראשית [*Be-reshit*]; see previous note) emanated *Shekhinah*, who is called *Elohim*. The verse thus corresponds to the account of the creation of Eve, where *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* (*YHVH Elohim*) fashion *Shekhinah* (*the side*). See *Zohar* 1:15a, 48b–49a.

1325. **את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *Heaven*, corresponding to...** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

את (*Et*) comprises the entire alphabet, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), and serves as an appropriate name for *Shekhinah*, who is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

According to Rabbi Shim'on, the phrase את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*) refers to *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret*, who is also called *shamayim*, *heaven*. This corresponds to the phrase *He brought her to the human*, which is interpreted as meaning that *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* (*YHVH Elohim*) brought *Shekhinah* to *Tif'eret* (האדם [*ha-adam*], *the man* [or: *human*], i.e., primordial Adam). See above, page 268.

The conclusion of the first verse of the Torah, ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, also refers to the union of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, denotes *Tif'eret*, along with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). את (*Et*) here symbolizes either *Shekhinah* or the flow of emanation conveyed by *Tif'eret* to *Shekhinah*, who is called *earth*. The phrase ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, thus corresponds to *bone of my bones*, which similarly expresses the intimacy of the divine couple.

1326. **the upper rung says to the lower rung** *Tif'eret* (*YHVH*) says to *Shekhinah* (אדני [*Adoni*], *my Lord*, identified here with the divine name אדני [*Adonai*], "my Lord").

1327. **so that West will be linked with South...** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by West, based on BT *Bava Batra* 25a: "Rabbi Abbahu said, '*Shekhinah* is in the West.'" *Ḥesed*, the warm love of God, is symbolized by South and located on the right side of the sefirotic tree. Here *Shekhinah*, who is influenced by the left side, is invited by *Tif'eret* to join the right.

1328. **Jacob** Symbolizing *Tif'eret*, who harmonizes the qualities of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, symbolized by Abraham and Isaac.

1329. ***the ark of the covenant...*** *Shekhinah* is the ark housing the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, the covenant. See *Zohar* 1:2a, 33b, 59b, 228b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 75 (95).

1330. **Jubilee... Sabbatical** Symbolizing *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, Divine Mother and Daughter.

According to the Bible, every seventh year is a Sabbatical (שמטה [*shemittah*], "release"), during which the land must lie fallow and at the end of which all debts are remitted (Leviticus 25:1–24; Deuteronomy 15:1–3). In Kabbalah the Sabbatical symbolizes *Shekhinah*, seventh of the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:153b.

In the biblical cycle, after seven Sabbaticals comes the Jubilee, proclaimed every fifty years, when slaves are released and land reverts to its original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). In Kabbalah the Jubilee symbolizes *Binah*—the Divine Mother—who is characterized by the number fifty, based on BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, where Rav and Shemu'el teach: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." *Binah* is the source of redemption and liberation, specifically the Exodus from Egypt. See *Zohar* 1:21b, 47b; 2:46a, 83b, 85b; 3:262a.

1331. ***I love my lord*** According to the Torah, at the start of the Sabbatical Hebrew slaves were to be set free, though they could refuse by declaring these words.

1332. **right abides in Jubilee...** *Ḥesed*, on the right, is the first *sefirah* to emerge from *Binah*. *Shekhinah*, influenced by the left, yearns to complete Herself by linking with the right.

1333. **Since the day She came to be...** *Shekhinah* was unable to join *Tif'eret* and be embraced by both *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, His right and left arms, without an arousal from the world below, which had not yet been created.

1334. **He extended His left arm...** The world was created through the power of *Gevurah*, the left arm of God.

1335. **it remains unstable till the seventh millennium...** At the end of the seventh millennium, the world will be perfected and renewed, with right balancing left. Then *Shekhinah* will attain complete union with *Tif'eret*, and oneness will prevail. See BT *Sanhedrin* 97a: "Rabbi Katina said, 'The word will exist for six thousand years and for one thousand he desolate.'"

1336. **Then She will be linked...** Then *Shekhinah* will be perfectly balanced between right and left, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, and united with *Tif'eret*.

1337. ***New heavens* and *new earth*...** See Isaiah 66:22: *As the new heavens and the new earth, which I am making, rise before Me.... Heavens* and *earth* symbolize, respectively, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

1338. **If so, how can we establish the meaning...** If *Shekhinah* will remain imbalanced until the next eon, how does this verse apply in the present eon?

1339. **But then...** When the world is perfected and renewed.

1340. **את השמים** (***Et ha-shamayim***), ***Heaven*...ואת הארץ** (***ve-et ha-arets***), ***and earth*...** On the word את (*et*), see above, note 1325. Here, apparently, את (*et*) refers not to a specific *sefirah*, but to the flow of emanation from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *Heaven*, refers to *Binah* (upper *Shekhinah*), from whom emanation flows to *Tif'eret* (*heaven*). The following words, ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, refer to *Shekhinah* (lower *Shekhinah*), known as *earth*, who, by uniting with *Tif'eret*, receives the flow. The letter ו (*vav*) in the word ואת (*ve-et*), whose numerical value is six, may symbolize *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* through *Yesod*).

1341. **We have established these verses...** The apparent contradiction between the two verses is discussed in BT *Ketubbot* 111b: "Rabbi El'azar said,... '*You, cleaving to YHVH your God, are alive every one of you today*. Now is it possible to cleave to *Shekhinah*, of whom is written: *YHVH your God is a devouring fire*? Rather the meaning is: Whoever marries his daughter to a disciple of the wise, conducts business on their behalf, or benefits them from his assets is regarded by Scripture as if he cleaves to *Shekhinah*.'"

In BT *Sotah* 14a, Rabbi Ḥama son of Ḥanina explains that one can approach and withstand the consuming fire of *Shekhinah* by imitating the divine, e.g., by clothing the naked, visiting the sick, comforting mourners, and burying the dead. See the discussion by Heschel, *Torah min ha-Shamayim*, 1:153-55.

A mystical response to this dilemma is offered by Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 166: "As to what the rabbis have said: 'Now is it possible for one to cleave to *Shekhinah*?'—it certainly is!"

1342. **There is a fire devouring fire...** See BT *Yoma* 21b, where the fire of *Shekhinah* is identified as "a fire devouring fire," i.e., consuming the fiery angels.

Cf. *Zohar* 3:27b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 63–65.

1343. **candle** בוצינא (*Botsina*), "Lamp," employed by *Targum Onqelos* (e.g., Exodus 27:20; 30:7–8) to render the Hebrew word נר (*ner*), "lamp" and later "candle."

Wax candles are discussed in a thirteenth-century treatise commissioned by Alfonso X of Castile (1252–1284); see *Libro del saber de astrologia* (University of Madrid MS 156), fol. 194r. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4; *Tosafot*, *Shabbat* 20b, s.v. *ad kan*; *Zohar* 1:83b.

1344. **a white light... a light tinged with black or blue** Symbolizing, respectively, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The last *sefirah* has no light of Her own but reflects the light of the other *sefirot*.

See *Zohar* 1:12a, 77b, 83b. On *Shekhinah* and the color blue, see the next note; *Zohar* 2:139a, 152a–b.

1345. **the mystery of the thread of blue** The blue thread woven into the tassels of one's garment, according to Numbers 15:38. See *Sifrei*, Numbers 115: "Rabbi Me'ir says, '... Whoever fulfills the *mitsvah* of *tsitsit* (the "tassel") is considered to have greeted the face of *Shekhinah*, as it were; for blue resembles the sea, and the sea resembles the sky, and the sky resembles the Throne of Glory.'"

1346. **another substance below...** The flame of the candle (or lamp) feeds on the wick and wax (or oil). Similarly, *Shekhinah* feeds on the realms beneath Her and is thereby enabled to flame and unite with *Tif'eret*.

1347. **Sometimes this blue-black turns red** When *Shekhinah* is influenced by *Gevurah*, the attribute of strict judgment, She is tinged with its color: red.

1348. **destruction and death of all** *Shekhinah* is identified with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, which—according to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5—is called the Tree of Death, because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued. See Genesis 2:17; *Zohar* 1:35b.

1349. ***your God*, not *our God*...** Moses specified *your God*, indicating the *sefirah* pertaining to Israel, namely, *Shekhinah*, who devours and consumes. Moses, himself, attained the rung of *Tif'eret*, the white light, who does not consume.

See *Zohar* 2:79b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 67.

1350. **Israel cleaving below** Their devotion fuels the passion of the divine couple.

1351. **Above the white light hovers a concealed light...** The encompassing light of *Binah*, the Divine Mother.

1352. **You will discover all in the ascending flame...** See the remark of the nineteenth-century physicist Michael Faraday at the beginning of his *Chemical History of a Candle*: "There is not a law under which any part of this universe is governed which does not come into play and is touched upon in these phenomena. There is no better, there is no more open door by which you can

enter into the study of natural philosophy, than by considering the physical phenomena of a candle."

1353. **for three miles** According to Rav Sheshet (BT *Sotah* 46b), one should escort his teacher a distance of a parasang. A distinguished teacher, however, is to be escorted for three parasangs. (The Greek parasang equals about 3.5 miles.)

See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 18:5; *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:10; *Zohar* 1:87a, 96b, 150b; 2:14a, 164a, 187a; 3:8b.

1354. **the final ה (*he*) of the holy name...** The name יהוה (*YHVH*) represents the entirety of the *sefirot*: י (*yod*) symbolizing the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*; the feminine marker ה (*he*) symbolizing *Binah*, the Divine Mother; ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizing *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*); and the final ה (*he*) symbolizing *Shekhinah*. Here Rabbi Shim'on focuses on the final ה (*he*), symbolizing the blue-black light of *Shekhinah*, and the first three letters, combining in the white light of *Tif'eret*.

1355. **Sometimes this blue light is ד (*dalet*), sometimes ה (*he*)...** When *Shekhinah* is not aroused by the devotion of Israel below, She cannot join the white light of *Tif'eret* and is symbolized by the letter ד (*dalet*), signifying that She is דלה (*dallah*), "poor," lacking the rich flow of emanation from above. When the human arousal from below stimulates Her union with *Tif'eret*, the ד (*dalet*) is enhanced by the straight line of the letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value of six symbolizes *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him. Thereby the ד (*dalet*) is transformed into ה (*he*).

See *Zohar* 1:60a; 2:104a, 123b, 188b (*SdTs*).

1356. **spelled נער (*na'ara*), without a ה (*he*)...** The lack of the final letter indicates the incomplete status of *Shekhinah*.

See BT *Ketubbot* 40b; *Zohar* 2:38b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 115.

1357. **the candle... שרגא** (*Sheraga*), "Lamp." See above, note 1343.

1358. ***Fire descended from heaven...*** The verse reads: *The fire of YHVH descended and consumed the offering*, which is adopted by Cr. The ritual offering stimulates the union of the divine couple, symbolized by the blue and white lights. Their passionate embrace ignites the fire that consumes the sacrifice.

1359. **priests, Levites, and Israel cleave to it...** The ritual devotion of the priests is accompanied by the singing of the Levites and the prayers of Israel. See *Zohar* 2:238b.

1360. **But ו (*vav*), *and*, surpasses...** The apparently superfluous conjunction here connotes *hut*. As opposed to the sacrifice, which is consumed by the fire of *Shekhinah*, *you* (Israel) endure.

1361. **In a dream all colors bode well, except blue** See BT *Berakhot* 57b: "In a dream all kinds of color bode well, except blue." Cf. *Zohar* 2:135a, 152a.

1362. **It is a tree of death...** *Shekhinah* is identified with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, which according to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5 is called the Tree of Death, because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued. See Genesis 2:17; above, page 283. *Shekhinah* governs this world, and everything is eventually consumed by Her.

1363. **countless powers above endure** The heavenly hosts and angels are not consumed by *Shekhinah*. According to another tradition, certain angels are consumed daily by *Shekhinah*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 14a: "Shemu'el said to Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Rav, 'O son of a lion! Come, I will tell you one of those fine words said by your father: Every single day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream, chant a song, then cease to be, as is said: *New every morning, immense is Your faithfulness!* (Lamentations 3:23).'"

See *Zohar* 1:17b, 18b; 2:213b–214a, 247a; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 507, 510; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 65; idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 205; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:624–25.

1364. **encompassed by the blue light** The heavenly powers are included within *Shekhinah*, thereby escaping destruction.

1365. **The universe diffracts...** In the following cryptic passage (which reappears in *Zohar* 2:228b–229a), I have chosen not to impose any sefirotic interpretation, but rather to let the reader encounter the imagery in its raw, pristine form. The number forty-five may allude to the *gimatriyya* of the divine name יהוה (*YHVH*), spelled out according to its letters: יוד (*yod*), הא (*he*), ואו (*vav*), הא (*he*), which is equal to the *gimatriyya* of אדם (*adam*). See *Zohar* 1:34b.

1366. **seven abysses...** The seven abysses are mentioned in *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 9 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:24–25).

1367. **water issues from them...** On the connection between abyss, stones, and water, see BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "תהו ובהו (*Tohu va-vohu*), *Chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2)... *Void*—the slimy stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues, as is said: *He will stretch over it a line of chaos and plummet-stones of void* (Isaiah 34:11)."

1368. **All seven...** All seven lights.

1369. **each abyss calls to its partner...** See BT *Ta'anit* 25b: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'When water libations are poured [on the Temple altar] on *Sukkot* [Festival of "Booths"], one abyss calls to its partner, "Let your waters gush, I hear the voice of two friends [the two vessels used for libation]," as is said: *Abyss calls to abyss in the roar of Your channels.*'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every

single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Abyss calls to abyss....*' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta, Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit* 10 (*Battei Midrashot* 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:17b, 29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

1370. **365 sinews...** Corresponding to the number of sinews in the human body, according to rabbinic tradition. See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 1:27; *Zohar* 1:170b. Cf. BT *Makkot* 23b. The human body is a microcosm.

1371. **seventeen webs...** The *gimatriyya* of the word גיד (*gid*), "sinew," is seventeen.

1372. **When they rise...** When the waters rise.

1373. **Seven other lights...** Apparently the seven *sefirot* from *Binah* through *Yesod*, which flow into the sea of *Shekhinah*.

1374. **all the waters of the sea...** The emanation gathered in the sea of *Shekhinah* flows through a multitude of channels to the worlds below.

1375. **six radiating from one supreme** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* radiate from the Divine Mother, *Binah*.

1376. **One monster below...** The chief demonic power, who approaches *Shekhinah* from his domain below on the left side. See *Zohar* 2:27b, 34a–35b.

1377. **the sanctuary within the sea** The sacred space of *Shekhinah*.

1378. **supernal lights ascend from the sea** The lower *sefirot* abandon *Shekhinah*.

1379. **The waters of the sea split on the left side...** Abandoned by the other *sefirot*, *Shekhinah* provides sustenance to the demonic serpent and then congeals. See *Zohar* 1:32b.

1380. **till they fall into his nets** Until human beings fall into his trap.

1381. **This serpent is death of the world** The demonic power and the Angel of Death are both manifestations of *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side." See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

See *Zohar* 1:35b, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

1382. **blind gut** מעוי דסתים (*Me'oi distim*), "His hidden intestine," the cecum, beginning of the large intestine; corresponding to the Latin *intestinum caecum*, "blind gut," so called because it is prolonged behind the opening of the ilium

into a cul-de-sac.

See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 16: "... the evil impulse in his intestines." Cf. *Zohar* 1:190b.

1383. **while another, of life, is on the right...** The demonic serpent (corresponding to the evil impulse) is balanced by the holy serpent (corresponding to the good impulse). See *TZ* 21 (43a).

According to rabbinic tradition, two angels—one good and one bad—accompany each person. See BT *Shabbat* 119b; cf. *Ta'anit* 11a; *Zohar* 1:12b, 14a, 144b, 165b; 2:106b, 239a.

1384. **dross of gold** The demonic derives from the dregs of *Gevurah* or *Din* (strict Judgment), located on the left side of the sefirotic tree and symbolized by gold.

See *Zohar* 1:48a, 73a, 193a; 2:236b.

1385. **he inflicts death upon him...** The serpent inflicts death upon anyone drawn toward him. See *Zohar* 1:35b.

1386. **descending to know everything below** Adam explored the demonic realm.

1387. **drawn toward them** Toward the demonic powers.

1388. **until they reached...** Until Adam and Eve reached.

1389. **Then he rose** The serpent rose, aroused by Adam.

1390. **Until Israel arrived at Mount Sinai...** See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a, 54a, 122b; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1391. **Once they sinned, dinging to the tree where death abides** Adam and Eve sinned by eating from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, this tree is called the Tree of Death, because as a result of their sin, death ensued. In Kabbalah the tree is identified with *Shekhinah*, and the sin consists in separating Her from the other *sefirot*, thereby cutting off the vivifying flow of emanation.

See Genesis 2:17; *Zohar* 1:12b, 35b–36a, 51a–b, 53b, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373–76.

1392. **but rather: מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *moving about*** This form of the verb includes the additional letter ת (*tav*), often a feminine marker, which in the *Zohar* implies the divine feminine, *Shekhinah*, identified with the Tree of Death. With the

added letter, the word now begins: מת (*met*), "dead."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:7: "Rabbi Abba son of Kahana said, 'The verse does not read: מהלך (*mehallekh*), *moving*, but rather: מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *moving about*, leaping up. The essence of *Shekhinah* was in the lower realms. As soon as Adam sinned, it withdrew to the first heaven.'"

See Naḥmanides on Genesis 3:8; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 15–17; *Zohar* 1:76a; *ZḤ* 18d (*MhN*).

1393. **the Tree of Life** Symbolizing *Tif'eret*, trunk of the sefirotic tree.

1394. **he was drawn toward them...** Toward the demonic powers. Splitting the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, Adam abandoned good and clung to evil.

1395. **Until they sinned...** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:8: "It was taught: Until a person sins, he inspires awe and fear; creatures are terrified of him. Once he has sinned, he himself is filled with awe and fear; he is terrified of others. The proof of this was offered by Rabbi [Yehudah the Prince], who said, 'Until Adam sinned, he could listen to the divine voice while standing upright, fearlessly. Once he sinned, when he heard the divine voice he was frightened and hid himself, as is said: *I heard Your voice...* [*and I was afraid*] (Genesis 3:10); *The man* [*and his wife*] *hid* (ibid., 8).'" Cf. *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:3; *Zohar* 1:36b.

Here the "voice from above" alludes to *Tif'eret*, who is known as Voice, while the "voice below" apparently refers to *Shekhinah*, subject of the verb מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *moving about*. See above, note 1392.

1396. **the slime of this serpent was eliminated from them...** See above, note 1390.

1397. **specula** אספקלריאן (*Ispaqlaryan*), "Specula [or: glasses, mirrors, lenses]." Here the word implies *sefirot*.

1398. **the blessed Holy One girded them with belts of letters...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Shelaḥ*, add. 1: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'He adorned them with weapons engraved with the Ineffable Name [*YHVH*], and as long as they possessed these, no evil could touch them, neither the Angel of Death nor anything else. As soon as they sinned [with the Golden Calf], Moses said to them: *Now take off your ornaments, and I will decide what to do to you* (Exodus 33:5). At that moment, *When the people heard this evil word, they mourned*, [*and no one put on his ornaments*] (ibid., 4). What is written? *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments....*'"

See *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 33:4, 6; *Targum Shir ha-Shirim* 2:17; *Eikhah Rabbah, Petiḥta* 24; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:4; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 47; BT *Shabbat* 88a; *Avodah Zarah* 5a; Naḥmanides on

Exodus 33:6; *Zohar* 1:63b, 126b; Green, *Keter*, 70–71.

1399. ***The Children of Israel saw the face of Moses*** The verse actually reads: *Aaron and all the Children of Israel saw Moses...*, which is adopted in later printed editions of the *Zohar*.

1400. ***Israel saw the great hand*** The verse continues: *that YHVH had wielded against Egypt* (at the Red Sea).

1401. **the resplendent speculum... אספקלריא דנהרא** (*Ispaqlarya de-nahara*), "Glass [or: mirror, speculum] that shines," symbolizing *Tif'eret*, who is also known as Voice. See BT Yevamot 49b: "All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines]." Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face."

1402. **By the sea they were gazing fearlessly...** See *Mekhilta, Shirata* 3: "*This is my God and I will adorn Him*. Rabbi Eli'ezer says, '...A maidservant by the [Red] Sea saw that which Ezekiel and all the other prophets did not see.'"

1403. **After they sinned, what is written?...** See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:3: "Rabbi Abba son of Kahana said, '[At Mount Sinai] seven realms of fire were devouring one another, yet Israel gazed fearlessly. Once they sinned, they could not even look at the face of the intermediary, as is written: *Aaron and all the Children of Israel saw Moses* [*and behold, the skin of his face was radiant! They were afraid to come near him*].'"

See Deuteronomy 5:5; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:8.

1404. **What is this verse doing next to that?** What is the connection between Israel being *stripped of their ornaments* and Moses pitching the tent *outside the camp*? See *Shemot Rabbah* 45:3; BT *Shabbat* 88a; *Zohar* 2:236a; 3:114a.

1405. **it will be defiled** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the sanctuary in the tent, will be defiled by the serpent.

1406. **Just as מועד (*mo'ed*), festival, is a day of joy for the moon...** One of the meanings of the word מועד (*mo'ed*) is "festival," and many festivals begin on the full moon.

1407. **he called Her by this name...** Moses called *Shekhinah Tent of* מועד (*Mo'ed*), indicating that She was full and free of any defect.

1408. ***Mo'ed, Slated Time*** The word מועד (*mo'ed*) can also mean "appointed time."

1409. **At first, extending long life eternally...** At Sinai, the serpent's slime was eliminated from Israel, so they could have lived forever, nourished by the vivifying flow from *Shekhinah*. Unfortunately, they committed the sin of the Golden Calf and forfeited the gift of immortality.

See *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 16; and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 8:6: "חרות (*Ḥarut*), *Engraved, on the tablets* (Exodus 32:16) [describing the divine writing on the tablets of stone, spelling out the Ten Commandments]. Do not read: חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved*, but rather: חירות (*ḥeirut*), freedom. Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Neḥemiah, and the Rabbis: Rabbi Yehudah says, 'Freedom from the Angel of Death.' Rabbi Neḥemiah says, 'Freedom from foreign rulers.' The Rabbis say, 'Freedom from suffering.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:37b.

1410. ***the house mo'ed, slated, for all living*** The verse begins: *I know You will bring me to death...*

1411. **joining and coupling of the moon with the sun...** The union of *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

1412. **from that moment on they inflicted death upon themselves...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Shelaḥ*, add. 1: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'He adorned them with weapons engraved with the Ineffable Name [*YHVH*], and as long as they possessed these, no evil could touch them, neither the Angel of Death nor anything else. As soon as they sinned [with the Golden Calf], Moses said to them: *Now take off your ornaments, and I will decide what to do to you* (Exodus 33:5). At that moment, *When the people heard this evil word, they mourned*, [*and no one put on his ornaments*] (ibid., 4). What is written? *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments....*'"

See above, note 1398.

1413. **what of Joshua, who did not sin?** Joshua was outside of the camp during the sin of the Golden Calf, waiting for Moses to descend from Mount Sinai. See Exodus 24:13; 32:17.

1414. **He opened...** The subject could be Rabbi Yehudah, answering his own questions, though the parallel passage in *Zohar* 2:194a reads: "Rabbi Shim'on opened," which accords with the style of the *Zohar* and with the interpretation of *MmD* and Soncino. See 3:15a.

1415. **The Companions have discussed this verse** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:2: "*For YHVH is righteous, loving righteousness; the upright shall behold His face*. Rabbi *Tanḥuma* said in the name of Rabbi Yehudah, and Rabbi Menaḥem said in the name of Rabbi El'azar, 'No one loves his fellow artisan. A sage, however, loves his fellow artisan; for example, Rabbi Ḥiyya loves his colleagues, and Rabbi Hosha'ya his. The blessed Holy One loves His fellow artisan: *For YHVH is righteous, loving righteousness....*'"

See *Midrash Tehillim* 11:6; *Zohar* 1:241b; 3:15a.

1416. **He is righteous... *loving righteousness*** The *sefirah* of *Yesod* ("Foundation") is called Righteous, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting*

foundation but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

The phrase *loving* צדקות (*tsedaqot*), *righteousness*, may allude to *Shekhinah*, known as צדק (*Tsedeq*), "Righteousness," or (reflecting the plural form *tsedaqot*) to both *Shekhinah* and *Binah*.

1417. ***Upright*—He is *upright*...** The word *upright* refers primarily to God, not to human beings. Humans who succeed in imitating God *shall behold His face*. See *Shir ha-Shirim Zuta* 1:13.

1418. **according to the majority of human beings** See BT *Qiddushin* 40b: "Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on said, '... The world is judged by its majority, and similarly an individual is judged by his majority [of deeds, good or bad].'" So although Joshua did not sin in the incident of the Golden Calf, he was still punished along with the majority.

1419. **he transmogrified that tree...** Adam sinned by separating *Shekhinah* from the other *sefirot*—in particular, from Her partner, *Tif'eret*. Divorced from the vivifying flow of emanation, *Shekhinah* was transformed from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil into the Tree of Death. See Genesis 2:17. According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, the Tree of Knowledge is called the Tree of Death, because as a result of Adam and Eve's sin, death ensued.

See *Zohar* 1:12b, 35b–36a, 51a–b, 52a, 53b, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373-76.

1420. **The fault of this defect stood out in the moon...** The moon symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who waxes and wanes according to the conduct of Israel.

See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a–b, 54a, 122b; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1421. **the evil serpent prevailed and seized Her...** The demonic, empowered and emboldened by human sin, seized *Shekhinah*.

1422. **So he brought Her outside** Moses brought the Tent of Meeting, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, outside of the camp, so that it would not be tainted any further by Israel's impurity and the demonic power. See Exodus 33:7 (discussed above, page 292): *Moses took the Tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp*.

1423. **Moses, who controlled Her and whose death ensued...** Moses attained the rung of *Tif'eret* and became the master, or husband, of *Shekhinah*, as

indicated by his title איש האלהים (*Ish ha-Elohim*), *Man of Elohim* (Deuteronomy 33:1; Psalms 90:1).

See *Midrash Tehillim* 90:5; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim, Vezot Haberakhah*, 443–44, 448 (variants); *Tanḥuma, Vezot Haberakhah* 2 (*Ets Yosef*, ad loc.); *Devarim Rabbah* (Lieberman), on 33:1; *Zohar* 1:6b, 21b, 148a, 236b; 239a; 2:22b.

Having mastered *Shekhinah*, Moses was invulnerable to Her. His death ensued from striking the rock to bring forth water (Numbers 20:11–12) and derived from a higher *sefirah*: the Divine Mother, *Binah* (*Zohar* 1:21b–22a).

According to rabbinic tradition, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam died by a kiss of God. See BT *Bava Batra* 17a; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:2; *Tanḥuma, Va'ethannan* 6.

1424. **Therefore he called Her *Tent of* מועד (*Mo'ed*), *Slated Time*...** See Exodus 33:7: *Moses took the Tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp. He called it Tent of* מועד (*Mo'ed*), *Meeting* [understood here as *Slated Time*]. *Shekhinah* rations the lifetime of every human being. See above, page 292.

1425. **There is right above...below... There is left above... below** In the sefirotic realm, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* represent the right and left sides, respectively. In the demonic realm below, powers are also arrayed right and left.

1426. **arousing love, linking the moon with a sacred site...** *Gevurah* arouses *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, and links Her with Her partner, *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the sun.

1427. **the Tree of Life** Symbolizing *Tif'eret*.

1428. **the sanctuary is defiled...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the sanctuary in Jerusalem and the Dwelling in the desert, is defiled by the demonic serpent. See above, page 292.

1429. **Joshua died only through the incitement of the serpent...** See BT *Shabbat* 55b: "Four died through the incitement of the serpent, namely: Benjamin the son of Jacob, Amram the father of Moses, Jesse the father of David, and Chileab the son of David." According to this view, these four individuals did not sin on their own but died only because of the sin of Adam and Eve, who were enticed by the serpent. Here the *Zohar* specifies Joshua, who did not participate in the sin of the Golden Calf. See *Zohar* 1:57b, where Levi is substituted for Chileab.

1430. **although he was *a lad* below...** Joshua's description, נער (*na'ar*), *lad*, suggests the chief angel, Metatron—known as the Lad who serves beneath *Shekhinah*, receiving Her light. Joshua displayed the qualities of Metatron, yet he also reflected the defective nature of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *the Tent*.

See BT *Yevamot* 16b, and *Tosafot*, s.v. *pasuq zeh*; above, note 1045; *Zohar*

1:223b; 2:179a (*SdTs*), Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 378–79; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 89–90.

1431. **the blessed Holy One deprived him of those weapons...** Adam and Eve were stripped of their original potent splendor, here identified with the weapons bestowed upon Israel at Sinai.

See *Zohar* 1:36b, 52a–b, 224a. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:6; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 3:7; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 14; *Bahir* 141 (200).

1432. **absolute freedom** Another motif from midrashic tradition concerning Israel at Sinai, here applied to Adam and Eve. See *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 16; and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 8:6: "חרות (*Ḥarut*), *Engraved, on the tablets* (Exodus 32:16) [describing the divine writing on the tablets of stone, spelling out the Ten Commandments]. Do not read: חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved*, but rather: חירות (*ḥeirut*), freedom. Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Neḥemiah, and the Rabbis: Rabbi Yehudah says, 'Freedom from the Angel of Death.' Rabbi Neḥemiah says, 'Freedom from foreign rulers.' The Rabbis say, 'Freedom from suffering.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:37b, 52b.

1433. ***fig leaves...* they discovered every kind of sorcery...** According to Rabbi Neḥemiah (BT *Berakhot* 40a), Adam and Eve sinned by eating from the fruit of a fig tree. The leaves of this Tree of Knowledge convey the knowledge of magic. See *Zohar* 1:56a, 63b, and 36b: "Once they knew of this world and clung to it, they saw that this world is conducted by those leaves of the tree. So they built themselves a stronghold, fortifying themselves with them in this world, discovering every kind of magic. They sought to gird themselves with the weapons of those leaves of the tree for protection." Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

"The one below" apparently refers to the demonic realm, though perhaps to *Shekhinah*, identified with the Tree of Knowledge and split off from the other *sefirot* by Adam's sinful act. See *Zohar* 1:35b–36a, 52a, and below.

1434. **the erect stature of Adam diminished...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Adam extended from earth to heaven.... As soon as he sinned, the blessed Holy One placed His hands upon him and diminished him.... Rabbi Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Adam extended from one end of the world to the other.... As soon as he sinned, the blessed Holy One placed His hand upon him and diminished him.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:6: "Rabbi Aivu said, 'His stature was reduced to one hundred cubits.... Rabbi Shim'on said, '[His stature was originally] two hundred cubits.'" Cf. *Sifra, Beḥuqqotai* 3:3, 111b; BT *Bava Batra* 75a; *Sanhedrin* 100a; *Araqim* 6 (*Otsar Midrashim* 1:70–71); *Zohar* 1:142b; and Rashbam, *Bava Batra* 75a, who suggests, matching the view here, that his original stature was two hundred cubits and was reduced by half.

For Iranian and Gnostic parallels, see Altmann, “The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends”; Urbach, *The Sages*, 227–32.

1435. ***He drove out*** **את האדם** (***et ha-adam***), ***Adam*** Literally, *He drove out the human*. The preceding verse reads similarly: *YHVH Elohim expelled him from the Garden of Eden*. The apparent redundancy stimulates the following mystical midrash.

1436. **We do not know who divorced whom...** Several midrashim interpret the biblical word ויגרש (*vaygaresh*), *He drove out*, in the sense of גירושין (*geirushin*), “divorce.” See *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:8; *Midrash Avkir*, in *Yalqut Shim’oni*, Genesis, 34; and *Seder Eliy-yahu Rabbah* 1: “*He drove out Adam*. This teaches that the blessed Holy One divorced him like a wife.” Cf. *Ziqquqin de-Nura*, ad loc.; and *Midrash ha-Gadol* on this verse: “This teaches that he was divorced like a wife divorced from her husband because of some indecency.”

Adam’s harmonious and intimate relationship with God is ruined by sin. Rabbi El’azar adopts this midrashic view but reassigns the roles.

1437. **את** (***Et***)**—precisely!** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a.

Here, as often in the *Zohar*, את (*et*) becomes a name of *Shekhinah*, who comprises the totality of divine speech, the entire alphabet from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). See *Zohar* 1:29b, 247a; 2:90a, 135b; and the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: “I am *alpha* and *omega*.”

1438. ***Adam*** **actually drove out** ***Et***! By dividing the biblical sentence, *He drove out* את (*et*) *Adam*, into two units, Rabbi El’azar transforms its meaning. The first unit consists of: *He drove out* את (*et*). The second unit identifies the subject of the sentence, which is shockingly not God, but *Adam*. His sin consists in divorcing *Shekhinah*.

In the *Zohar*, the exact nature of Adam’s sin is a tightly guarded secret; the biblical account of the Garden story is seen as hiding the true meaning. See *ZḤ* 19a (*MhN*), where Rabbi Shim’on recounts a conversation he had with Adam while selecting his future site in Paradise: “Adam... was sitting next to me, speaking with me, and he asked that his sin not be revealed to the whole world beyond what the Torah had recounted. It is concealed in that tree in the Garden of Eden.” The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil symbolizes *Shekhinah*. Adam’s sin was that he worshiped and partook of *Shekhinah* alone, splitting Her off from the other *sefirot* and divorcing Her from Her husband, *Tif’eret*, the Tree of Life. See *Zohar* 1:12b, 35b–36a, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373–76.

On the psychological plane, the sin corresponds to the splitting off of consciousness from the unconscious. See Jung, *Collected Works*, 8:157; Neumann, *Origins and History of Consciousness*, 102–27; Jaynes, *Origin of Consciousness*, 299; cf. Scholem, *Major Trends*, 216, 236–37.

By his midrashic transposition, Rabbi El'azar teaches that Adam divorced *Shekhinah*, divorcing Her from *Tif'eret* and consequently also from himself. See above, page 294: "When Adam sinned by eating from the tree,... he caused a defect, separating the Woman from Her Husband." Cf. Isaiah 50:1: *Because of your transgressions your mother was divorced*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:7: "Rabbi Abba son of Kahana said, 'The essence of *Shekhinah* was in the lower realms. As soon as Adam sinned, it withdrew to the first heaven.'" Cf. Naḥmanides on Genesis 3:8; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 15–17.

Adam's sin has driven *Shekhinah* from the Garden and dissolved Her union with *Tif'eret*, so She finds Herself abandoned in a no-man's-land. Meanwhile, as a result of his sin, Adam is banished from the Garden. Wandering outside, he finds *Shekhinah*, and together they go into exile. See *Zohar* 3:114a–115b, and 1:237a: "Come and see the secret of the word: Adam was caught in his own sin, inflicting death upon himself and the whole world, causing that tree with which he sinned to be divorced, driven away with him, driven away with his children forever, as is written: *He drove out* את (*et*) *Adam*."

1439. **Consequently it is written...** The apparent redundancy is eliminated. Adam was expelled because he divorced *Shekhinah*.

1440. ***He placed...*** The verse continues: *east of the Garden of Eden the cherubim and a blazing ever-turning sword to guard the way to the Tree of Life*.

1441. **He installed them...** As in the beginning of the verse, the subject is not God but Adam, who by his divisive act installed *the cherubim*. Here *the cherubim* represent harsh powers.

See Rashi and Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 3:24; Theodor's note on *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:9.

1442. **projectiles... the hollow of a sling** קוזפי (*Quzpei*), a Zoharic neologism perhaps deriving from the Arabic root *qdph*, "to throw." Cf. the neologism קוספיתא (*quspita*), "hollow of a sling"; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 347; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 189; and the similar forms קזטיפי (*qaztiphei*) (*Zohar* 1:167a), קיזפא (*qizpa*) (2:175b), and קסטיפא דשמשא (*qastipha de-shimsha*), "ray of the sun" (3:283b).

1443. **turning countless shades...** See BT *Yoma* 75a, where demons are said to "turn many colors."

1444. **sometimes male, sometimes female** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:9: "*Ever-turning*— changing: sometimes male, sometimes female; sometimes

spirits, sometimes angels."

See *Zohar* 1:44a, 165a (*ST*), 237a; 3:19b.

1445. **torment** קוסטירי (*Qustirei*). Cf. the rabbinic term קוסטור (*qustor*) from Latin *quaestor*, a Roman official or prosecutor. See JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b; 2:19b, 58b, 208b; 3:13a. *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 188 relates the Zoharic term to the rabbinic קוסטינר (*qustinar*), deriving from Latin *quaestionarius*, "torturer, executioner."

1446. ***the sword of YHVH...*** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*, who executes the divine judgment of *Gevurah*. See *Zohar* 2:28b.

1447. **quaestors...** קסטרין (*Qisterin*). See above, note 1445.

1448. **wardens of judgment** Harsh powers. The Zoharic term גרדיני (*gardinei*), "wardens, guardians" derives from the Castilian *guardián*. See Corominas, *Diccionario*, 3:246–48.

1449. **Yet once he sinned...** According to midrashic tradition, when Solomon sinned by marrying many foreign wives and worshiping false gods (1 Kings 11:1–13), he was replaced on the throne by the demon Ashmedai and forced to wander as a commoner for years.

See *Midrash Tehillim* 78:12; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 11:3; *Beit ha-Midrash*, 6:106–7; BT *Gittin* 68a–b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:299–300, n. 86.

1450. **So as a person tends...** See BT *Shabbat* 104a: "Resh Lakish said, '... If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening; if one comes to purify himself, he is assisted.'"

Cf. *Makkot* 10b: "Rabbah son of Bar Ḥana said in the name of Rabbi Huna (some say, Rabbi Huna said in the name of Rabbi El'azar), 'From the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings it can be demonstrated that one is led on the path one wishes to take.'"

See *Zohar* 1:54a, 125b, 169b, 198b; 2:50a; 3:47a.

1451. ***Whoever touches a corpse...*** The verse continues: *of any human being shall be impure for seven days*. See *Zohar* 3:88a–b.

1452. **they taste a taste of death** See BT *Berakhot* 57b: "Sleep is one-sixtieth of death." Cf. *Zohar* 1:36b.

1453. **whirlwind** קפטירא (*Qaftira*), a Zoharic neologism. See *Zohar* 2:178a (*SdTs*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 351.

1454. **the hands of a human being, now contaminated** During sleep one's spirit soars upward and an impure spirit arrives.

See BT *Shabbat* 109a; *Ḥullin* 107b; *Zohar* 1:10b, 169b, 184b; 3:67a; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 10. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 14:9: "It was said in the name of Rabbi Me'ir: 'This soul fills the body, and when a person sleeps she ascends and draws down life from above.'"

1455. **one should not take his clothes from anyone...** See BT *Berakhot* 51a: "Rabbi Yishma'el son of Elisha said, 'Three things were told to me by Suriel, Prince of the [Divine] Countenance: Do not take your shirt from the hand of the attendant when dressing in the morning, do not let your hands be washed by anyone who has not washed his hands, and do not return a cup of asparagus to anyone other than the one who has handed it to you. For a band of demons (some say: a cluster of angels of destruction) lies in wait, saying: "When will a human do one of these things, so we can capture him!"'"

Cf. *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 10; *Zohar* 1:198b.

1456. ***The man knew Eve his wife*** The verse continues: *and she conceived and bore* קין (*Qayin*), *Cain, saying* "קניתי (*Qaniti*), *I have created, a male along with YHVH*."

1457. **This verse bears numerous nuances** A similar expression appears in *Zohar* 1:48b, 81b, 197b.

1458. **seventy aspects, seventy faces** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 13:16, where Torah is compared to wine: "Just as יין (*yayin*), wine, is numerically equivalent to seventy, so Torah assumes seventy faces."

See *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:116); Ibn Ezra, introduction to Commentary on the Torah; *Zohar* 1:4b, 26a (*TZ*), 47b.

See the description of the revelation at Mount Sinai in BT *Shabbat* 88b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '... Every utterance emerging from the mouth of Power branched into seventy languages.'"

1459. **toward the right...** The right side is characterized by *Ḥesed* ("Love").

1460. **the left side...** The left side is characterized by harshness and generates the demonic realm.

1461. **If one turns toward defiling himself...** See BT *Shabbat* 104a: "Resh Lakish said, '... If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening; if one comes to purify himself, he is assisted.'"

Cf. *Yoma* 39a: "Our Rabbis taught: '*Do not defile yourselves with them, and thus become defiled*. If one defiles himself slightly, he is defiled greatly; below, he is defiled from above; in this world, he is defiled in the world to come.'"

See *Zohar* 1:53b, 125b, 169b, 198b; 2:50a; 3:47a; and *Makkot* 10b: "Rabbah son of Bar Ḥana said in the name of Rabbi Huna (some say, Rabbi Huna said in the name of Rabbi El'azar), 'From the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings it can be demonstrated that one is led on the path one wishes to take.'"

1462. ***Hallow yourselves and you will be holy*** The verse continues: *for I am holy*. See BT *Yoma* 39a: "Our Rabbis taught: '*Hallow yourselves and you will be holy*. If one sanctifies himself slightly, he is sanctified greatly; below, he is sanctified from above; in this world, he is sanctified in the world to come.'"

Here Rabbi Abba applies the verse specifically to the act of sexual union, which should be fulfilled in purity to ensure a holy soul for the fetus. Cf. BT *Shevu'ot* 18b; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 9:7.

1463. **when he cleaves to the left...** If he engages in sexual union impurely, acting like *a beast* (Ecclesiastes, ibid.), then his son's soul will be tainted.

1464. **Adam cleaved to that impure spirit** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26: "Rabbi Simon said, 'For 130 years Adam separated from his wife Eve, for once Cain was killed, Adam said, "Why should I engender children if they become cursed?" What did he do?... Female spirits approached him and heated themselves from him. As the blessed Holy One said to David, "... *When he* [*Solomon*] *does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of* אדם (*adam*)" (2 Samuel 7:14)..., namely, the demons.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11: "Rabbi Simon said, 'Throughout all 130 years that Adam separated himself from Eve, male spirits heated themselves from her and she gave birth, while female spirits heated themselves from Adam and gave birth, as is written: *When he does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children* of אדם (*adam*), namely, children of Adam.'"

See BT *Eruvin* 18b: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'During all those [130] years that Adam was under the ban [for having eaten from the Tree of Knowledge], he engendered spirits, demons, and female demons.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:19b, 34b, 55a; 2:231b; 3:76b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51-54.

1465. **returned to God** Repenting sincerely.

1466. **while his wife cleaved to it first...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "The serpent-rider [Samael] copulated with her and she conceived Cain. Afterward Adam copulated with her and she conceived Abel."

Cf. BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness].'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a; *KP* on this passage; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1467. **so when she copulated with Adam...** According to Rabbi El'azar, both sons were engendered by Adam, though Cain inherited the slime of the serpent. See *ZḤ* 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1468. **Cain resembling both the higher image and the lower** Through the fallen angel Samael, Cain inherited traits of the upper world; through Adam, he inherited traits of the lower world. Alternatively, the lower image derived from the slime of the serpent; the higher, from Adam, created in the divine image. See *Zohar* 2:231a; *ZḤ* 63c (*ShS*).

1469. **the side of the Angel of Death...** The Angel of Death is a demonic manifestation. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

1470. **from him emerged all evil haunts...** On the demonic descendants of Cain, see El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 26c; *Zohar* 1:9b, 36b, 178a–b; 3:76b, 122a.

1471. קין (*Qayin*), **Cain—קינא** (*qina*), **nest...** The same play on words appears in *Zohar* 2:178a (*SdTs*).

1472. **each from his own side...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:5: "*Cain brought* [*an offering to YHVH*] *from the fruit of the soil*— from the inferior crops." In this midrash the phrase *from the fruit* is taken to mean: "not from the first fruit."

Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Bereshit* 9; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21.

1473. ויהי מקץ ימים (*Vayhi mi-qets yamim*), ***It came to pass at the end of days*** The phrase מקץ ימים (*mi-qets yamim*) is usually taken to mean *in the course of time*, but here Rabbi Shim'on focuses on the literal meaning.

1474. ***end of all flesh...*** **Angel of Death** A manifestation of the demonic. See BT *Ba-va Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

See *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95. On the phrase *end of all flesh*, see *Zohar* 1:58a, 62b.

1475. **not מקץ ימין** (*mi-qets yamin*), ***from the end of the right*** Whereas *the end of days* symbolizes the demonic power of death, *the end of the right* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the culmination of the flow of emanation, characterized by the divine grace of the right side. See *Zohar* 1:75a (*ST*), 152b; 2:134a–b.

1476. **He asked...** Daniel asked God which *end* He intended, the demonic or the divine. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:6; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 17:5; *Zohar* 1:63a, 210b; 2:34a, 181b.

1477. ***from the fruit of the tree*** The verse continues: *in the middle of the garden, God said: "Do not eat from it and do not touch it, lest you die*." See Genesis 2:17: *As for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, do not eat from it, for on the day you eat from it, you will surely die*.

In Kabbalah the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil symbolizes *Shekhinah*. Adam's sin was that he worshiped and partook of *Shekhinah* alone, splitting Her off from the other *sefirot* and divorcing Her from Her husband, *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life. See above, note 1438. Here Rabbi Shim'on compares Cain's sin to that of Adam: Cain, too, separated *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the soil, from the other *sefirot*.

1478. ***For they shall eat the fruit of their deeds...*** This phrase, addressed by

Isaiah to the righteous, is here applied to the wicked Cain and paired with the phrase *the fruit of the soil*. See Genesis 4:10: *Your brother's blood cries out to Me from the soil*. Cain's murderous act arouses the Angel of Death to avenge his brother.

1479. **amplifying the meaning to include...** לאסגאה (*Le-asga'ah*), "To increase," a Zoharic rendering of the rabbinic Hebrew לרבות (*le-rabbot*), "to increase"— that is, to include, amplify, or widen the scope of meaning. In rabbinic hermeneutics the word גם (*gam*), "also, too," amplifies the literal meaning of a biblical word or phrase. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:14; JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b.

Here the phrase גם הוא (*gam hu*), referring to Abel and usually translated *he, too*, is apparently understood as the object of the sentence: *Him, too*, referring to the divine male. Whereas Cain's demonic offering split *Shekhinah* from Her partner (*Tif'eret*), Abel united Her with Him. See *Zohar* 2:34a, 181b.

1480. **the facet of his side...** The demonic side.

1481. ***And when they were out in the field*** The verse continues: *Cain set upon his brother Abel and killed him*.

1482. **this is a woman, as has been said** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "Rabbi Tsadok said, 'Envy and hatred toward his brother Abel entered Cain's heart because his [Abel's] offering had been accepted. Further, Abel's wife and twin sister was the most beautiful of women. He said, "I will kill my brother Abel and take his woman," as is said: *When they were in the field...*, and *in the field* means "woman," who is compared to a field, as is said: *Man is a tree of the field* (Deuteronomy 20:19).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:7; 63:12; BT *Bava Batra* 16b; *Zohar* 1:35b, 36b; 3:202a–b.

In Kabbalah, *field* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, whom Abel, unlike Cain, successfully united with *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 1:142b; 2:61b. Cf. BT *Ta'anit* 29b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:22; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 35–37.

1483. **as has been explained** The root נשא (*ns'*) has a range of meaning, including: "lift, remove, forgive." The reference here may be to the interpretation offered by *Targum Onqelos* and adopted by Rashi: "You will be forgiven." Cf. the views of Naḥmanides and Ibn Ezra, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:36b; *ZḤ* 19c–d (*MhN*); Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 4:7, n. 68.

1484. **He will remove from you, forgive you...** God will remove and forgive. Here שאת (*se'et*) is interpreted according to two of its root meanings: "remove" and "forgive."

1485. **Supernal judgment...** ***the gates of justice*** *Shekhinah* is called Justice (or: Righteousness); through Her gate one enters the realm of the *sefirot*. See

Zohar 1:7b, 11b, 36b–37a; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 4b.

1486. **as translated** See *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc.

1487. **as the Companions have established** See BT *Sanhedrin* 37b: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Ḥiyya said, '... Cain inflicted many blows and wounds upon his brother Abel because he did not know whence the soul departs, until he reached his neck.'"

Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Bereshit* 9; and *Zohar* 2:231a–b: "We have found in ancient books that when Cain killed Abel he bit him with bites like a snake till he plucked out his soul and killed him." See Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:139–40, n. 20.

1488. **returned to the presence of his Lord** Repenting sincerely.

1489. **Earth admitted him to a stratum below** To one of the levels beneath the surface of the earth. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:11; *Sefer Yetsirah* 4:12; *Zohar* 1:9b, 39b–40a, 157a; 3:9b–10a; *ZḤ* 8c–9b (*SO*); 87b (*MhN, Rut*).

1490. ***YHVH put a mark on Cain*** The verse continues: *so that whoever came upon him would not strike him*.

1491. ***Arqa... They shall perish from the earth...*** *Arqa* is one of the levels below Earth, alluded to in the Aramaic verse from Jeremiah: *Thus shall you say to them: "The gods who did not make heaven* וארקא (*ve-arqa*), *and earth, shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens*."

See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:10; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 37; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit* 9 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:24); *Zohar* 1:9a–b, 39b.

1492. ***the land of Nod...*** This region, whose name derives from the root "to wander," is here identified with *Arqa*.

1493. **Adam separated from his wife...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26: "Rabbi Simon said, 'For 130 years Adam separated from his wife Eve, for once Cain was killed, Adam said, "Why should I engender children if they become cursed?" What did he do?... Female spirits approached him and heated themselves from him. As the blessed Holy One said to David, "... *When he* [*Solomon*] *does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of* אדם (*adam*)" (2 Samuel 7:14)..., namely, the demons.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11: "Rabbi Simon said, 'Throughout all 130 years that Adam separated himself from Eve, male spirits heated themselves from her and she gave birth, while female spirits heated themselves from Adam and gave birth, as is written: *When he does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of* אדם (*adam*), namely, children of Adam.'"

See BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:19b, 34b, 54a, 55a; 2:231b, 3:76b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51–54.

1494. **female spirits approach and titillate him...** These female demons desire to be impregnated by human semen. See *Zohar* 1:9b, 19b, 47b, 169b; and

the citation of the verse from Samuel in *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26 and *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11 (in the previous note).

1495. **solely into the image of human beings** Other demons assume the form of various creatures.

1496. **have no hair on their heads** According to *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bo* 16, "Demons have no hair." See *Rut Rabbah* 6:1; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* 275–76, n. 18; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:192, n. 58. Cf. *Zohar* 3:48b: "Holiness depends on the hair," based on the description of the Nazirite in Numbers 6:5: *He shall be holy, letting the locks of the hair on his head grow untrimmed*.

1497. **After 130 years...** See Genesis 5:3: *When Adam had lived 130 years, he engendered in his likeness, according to his image, and named him Seth*. Cf. above, note 1493. Adam was jealous of Eve's illicit partner, the serpent.

On the phrase "wrapped himself in jealousy," see Isaiah 59:17; *Zohar* 2:231b.

1498. שת (*Shet*), **Seth—mystery of consummation of letters...** This name is composed of the final two letters of the alphabet, all of which were engraved in the process of creation. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:2, 4–5: "Twenty-two elemental letters. He engraved them, carved them, weighed them, permuted them, and transposed them— forming with them everything formed and everything destined to be formed.... Twenty-two elemental letters. He set them in a wheel with 231 gates, turning forward and backward.... How did He permute them? א (*Alef*) with them all, all of them with א (*alef*); ב (*bet*) with them all, all of them with ב (*bet*); and so with all the letters, turning round and round, within 231 gates."

The "231 gates" represent the number of two-letter combinations that can be formed from the twenty-two letters, provided that the same letter is not repeated. Cf. *Zohar* 1:33b; *ZḤ* 8c–9a (*SO*); 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1499. **Mystery of vanished spirit, enveloped bodily...** According to Rabbi Yehudah, the soul of Abel disappeared and was then reincarnated in his newborn brother, Seth. On reincarnation in Kabbalah, see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 344–50.

1500. **the other sons derived...** See BT *Eruvin* 18b: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'During all those [130] years that Adam was under the ban [for having eaten from the Tree of Knowledge], he engendered spirits, demons, and female demons, as is said: *Adam lived 130 years and engendered a son in his likeness, after his own image* (Genesis 5:3), from which it follows that until that time he did not engender after his own image'.... That statement refers to semen that he emitted accidentally."

According to BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zoha-ma*), filth [or: slime,

lewdness].'"

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "The serpent-rider [Samael] copulated with her and she conceived Cain. Afterward Adam copulated with her and she conceived Abel." Here Rabbi Yehudah and Rabbi Shim'on contend that even Abel was tainted by the serpent's slime.

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:19b, 34b, 36b–37a, 52a, 54a; 2:231b; 3:76b; *ZḤ* 8c (*SO*); Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1501. **Abel derived from the other side** From the side of holiness. See above, page 303.

1502. **in the image below** In the image of Adam.

1503. **It is not written: *and he engendered...*** Adam's name is linked with neither Cain nor Abel, only with Seth, who was born *in his likeness, according to his image*. See *Zohar* 2:167b–168a.

1504. **For 110 years...** Both the midrashic tradition and the preceding passage in the *Zohar* (above, pages 302–7) specify 130 years, based on Genesis 5:3: *Adam lived 130 years and engendered in his likeness, according to his image*. However, nearly all of the witnesses on this passage (manuscripts and printed editions) read "110 years." *KP* suggests that Abel was killed at age twenty, following which Adam separated from Eve for 110 years.

1505. **the slime he had absorbed** When Adam united with Eve, he was contaminated by the slime previously injected into her by the serpent.

1506. **When a human follows the left side...** When he is seduced by evil.

1507. **What is the point of Scripture specifying her name?** Nothing further is said of her, so why is she mentioned?

1508. **Because human beings stray after her...** Na'amah, whose name means "lovely," was the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Cain. According to rabbinic tradition, the fallen angels were attracted by her beauty.

See Genesis 6:1–4; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat*, add. 1; *Midrash Aggadah* and *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 4:22; and the next note. According to the *Zohar* (1:9b, 19b; 3:76b–77a), Na'amah generates demons by seducing men in their sleep.

1509. **Those *sons of Elohim*, Uzza and Azael...** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2). They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi*

Eli'ezer 22; Zohar 1:23a (*TZ*), 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN, Rut*).

1510. **She was the mother of demons...** In the *Zohar*, Na'amah is the mother of Ashmedai, king of the demons.

See Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:9b, 19b; 3:76b–77a; *ZḤ* 19d (*MhN*).

1511. **appointed together with Lilith over children's diphtheria** This dread disease originates in Lilith, the demoness who attacks children.

See *Zohar* 1:19b, 33b; 2:264b, 267b; cf. JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b: BT *Berakhot* 8a.

1512. **she was appointed to titillate humans** See above, page 150: "From her [Na'amah], maleficent spirits and demons spread through the world. In the night she roams; they [Na'amah and her offspring] roam the world and titillate humans, causing them to spill seed accidentally. Wherever they find people sleeping alone in a house, they hover above them, grab hold of them, cling to them, seize desire from them, and bear offspring."

1513. **But they die like human beings...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Our Rabbis taught: 'Six things have been said concerning the demons, three of which correspond to the ministering angels and three to human beings. Three correspond to the ministering angels: they have wings, they fly from one end of the world to the other, and they know what will happen in the future.... Three correspond to human beings: they eat and drink, they are fruitful and multiply, and they die.'"

1514. **Agrat daughter of Maḥalat...** Maḥalat was the daughter of Ishmael and wife of Esau (Genesis 28:9). According to rabbinic tradition, her daughter Agrat rules over myriads of demonic powers. See BT *Pesaḥim* 112b: "One should not go out alone at night, neither on the eve of Wednesday nor of Sabbath, for Agrat daughter of Maḥalat along with 180,000 thousand angels of destruction emerge, each independently empowered."

Cf. *Bemidbar Rabbah* 12:3; *Zohar* 3:113b–114a; Baḥya ben Asher, on Genesis 4:22.

1515. **Woe to human beings who do not know, consider, or see!** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Rabbi Yose said, 'Woe to creatures, for they see but do not know what they see, they stand but do not know on what they stand.'"

1516. **If the eye were empowered to see...** See BT *Berakhot* 6a: "Abba Binyamin says, 'If the eye were empowered to see, no creature could endure the demons.'" Cf. *Zohar* 2:142a; 3:104b.

1517. **all those inflamed by human beings...** The demons issuing from Na'amah seduce human beings, inciting them to spill semen (see above, note 1512). The phrase בעלי קריין (*ba'alei qerayin*), "casualties of ejaculation," means

literally "masters [owners] of mishaps," those to whom mishaps happen, those who succumb to nocturnal emission.

1518. **he must bathe to purify himself...** See the law concerning nocturnal emission in Deuteronomy 23:11: *If any man among you becomes impure due to nocturnal mishap, he must go outside the camp; he must not enter the midst of the camp. Toward evening he shall bathe in water, and when the sun sets he may come inside the camp*.

1519. **The blessed Holy One showed Adam...** See BT *Avodah Zarah* 5a: "Did not Resh Lakish say: 'What is the meaning of the verse *This is the book of the generations of Adam*...? Did Adam possess a book? Rather, this teaches that the blessed Holy One showed Adam every generation with its expounders, every generation with its sages, every generation with its leaders. When he reached the generation of Rabbi Akiva [martyred by the Romans], he rejoiced over his [vast knowledge of] Torah and grieved over his death, saying: *How precious to me are Your companions, O God!* [*How mighty their chiefs!*] (Psalms 139:17).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:2; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Zohar* 1:37a–b, 90b, 227b; 2:70a; *ZḤ* 16d (*MhN*).

1520. **David, king of Israel, who died at birth...** According to a midrashic tradition, King David was destined to die at childbirth, but Adam offered him 70 of his own 1000 allotted years, so David lived for 70 years and Adam for 930.

See Genesis 5:5; Jubilees 4:30; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 19, and David Luria, ad loc., n. 31; *Midrash Tehillim* 92:10; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12; *Bereshit Rabbati* 5:5; *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 41; *Zohar* 1:91b, 140a, 168a, 233b, 248b; 2:103b, 235a; *ZḤ* 67d (*ShS*), 81a (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 68 (85); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 383.

1521. **Adam, deed of the blessed Holy One...** Adam, unlike all his descendants, was fashioned solely by God without the participation of human parents.

1522. **the thousand that were his to endure** According to *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12, this was Adam's intended life span, "as is said: *On the day you eat from it, you will surely die* (Genesis 2:17), and a day of the blessed Holy One is a thousand years, as is said: *For a thousand years in Your eyes are like a day just gone by* (Psalms 90:4)."

1523. **Seeing his Torah, he rejoiced; seeing his death, he grieved...** See above, note 1519. According to BT *Menaḥot* 29b, Moses also saw Akiva's Torah and his death.

1524. ***This is the book*—an actual book...** According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel (whose name derives from ר [*raz*], "secret") transmitted a magical book to Adam, though after his departure from the Garden

of Eden.

According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. *The Book of Adam* figures prominently in the *Zohar*, sometimes in the context of physiognomy and chiromancy.

See 1:17b, 37b, 58b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a-b, 70a–b (*RR*), 77a, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54. Cf. *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah* 11b; Naḥmanides on Genesis 5:2.

1525. **Seventy-two species of wisdom...** Corresponding to the seventy-two names of God, a complex divine name derived from the description of the splitting of the Red Sea: Exodus 14:19–21. Each of these three verses contains seventy-two letters. The name is composed of seventy-two triads (or "words"), according to the following pattern: the first letter of the first verse, the last letter of the second verse, the first letter of the third verse (forming the first triad); the second letter of the first verse, the penultimate letter of the second verse, the second letter of the third verse (the second triad); etc.

See *Leqaḥ Tov*, Exodus 14:21; *Bereshit Rabbah* 44:19; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:2; Rashi on BT *Sukkah* 45a, s.v. אני (*ani*); Hai Gaon, *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah* 23; *Bahir* 79 (110); *Zohar* 1:7b, 17a; 2:51b, 132b, 270a; 3:150b–151a; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 95–97; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, 14:67, 284–86.

The 670 engravings may symbolize the seven lower *sefirot*: 600 corresponding to the first six of them, 70 corresponding to the seventh, *Shekhinah*.

1526. **1500 keys...** See *Zohar* 1:37b, where Enoch, also possessing a heavenly book, is said to have one thousand keys. Cf. 1:56b, 92a, 223b.

1527. **Hadraniel** According to *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20, Hadraniel blocked Moses' ascent up Mount Sinai until he was rebuked by God, whereupon he became Moses' guide. See *Zohar* 2:58a, 247a.

1528. **wielding...** משתמש (*Mishtammash*), "Using." The verb has theurgic connotations. See M *Avot* 1:13; *Zohar* 1:31b; Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 54, n. 36; idem, *Major Trends*, 358, n. 17.

1529. **He entered the waters of Gihon...** On Adam's repentance, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:13; BT *Avodah Zarah* 8a; and *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 20: "On the first day of the week, Adam entered the waters of the upper Gihon until the waters reached his neck, and he fasted seven weeks until his body became like a sieve." Gihon is the name of one of the four rivers of the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:13) as well as the spring providing water for Jerusalem. See David

Luria on *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 20, n. 30; *Zohar* 2:35a.

The phrase "moldered his skin" derives from the story of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai and his son, Rabbi El'azar, who hid from the Roman authorities in a cave for thirteen years "until their bodies were afflicted with moldy sores" (*Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6). See *Zohar* 1:11a. On Adam's luster, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:6 (and Theodor, ad loc.).

1530. **Raphael...** The angel of healing.

1531. **Similarly a book was given to Enoch...** Concerning Enoch, Genesis 5:24 states: *He was no more, for God took him*. In postbiblical literature this verse is taken to mean that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in the Enoch literature. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by this literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes.

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 37b, 72b; 2:55a, 100a, 105b, 180b, 192b, 217a; 3:10b, 236b, 240a, 248b, 253b, 307a; *ZḤ* 2c (*SO*). Cf. *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 38; *Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 5:24; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:156–64, nn. 58–61; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 80–83.

1532. **Supernal secrets are revealed...** These two verses (Genesis 5:1–2) are cited elsewhere as biblical indications of the secret arts of physiognomy and chiromancy. See above, note 1524; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 317–19.

Such techniques were employed by the Merkavah mystics to ascertain whether a potential initiate was fit to receive esoteric teachings. *The book of the generations of Adam* was taken to mean "the book of human character and fate." *Male and female He created them* implied that chiromantic prediction varied according to sex, the right hand being the determining factor for the male, the left hand for the female.

1533. **revealing supernal glory, mystery of faith...** The human being mirrors the structure of divinity, the ten *sefirot*, in which masculine and feminine are balanced. The union of the divine couple engenders all human souls and constitutes רזא דמהימנותא (*raza dimheimanuta*), "the mystery of faith," the belief system of Kabbalah.

See *Bahir* 55 (82); *Zohar* 1:101b, 160a; 3:117a, 141b (*IR*).

1534. **heaven and earth... Adam...** Rabbi Shim'on proves the correspondence between Adam's creation and the creation of heaven and earth by verbal analogy (*ge-zerah shavah*, "equal category"), a common rabbinic technique of interpretation. The human being is a microcosm.

See *Tanḥuma*, *Pequdei* 3; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 31; *Qohelet Rabbah* on 1:4; *Zohar* 1:90b, 134b, 186b.

1535. **mystery of our Mishnah** This formulation appears nowhere in the Mishnah. Rabbi Shim'on is apparently alluding to a secret, mystical Mishnah

known only to his circle. See *Zohar* 1:37b, 91b, 93a, 95b, 96a, 224a, 252a (*Hash*); 3:57b, 61b, 78a, 284b, 285a. (This is to be distinguished from the *Matnitin* of the *Zohar*, on which see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 216).

See BT *Bava Batra* 74b: "Rabbi Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Everything that the blessed Holy One created in His world He created male and female.'" See *Zohar* 1:157b; 2:144b.

1536. **Blessings are found solely...** See BT *Yevamot* 62b: "Rabbi Tanḥum said in the name of Rabbi Ḥanilai, 'Any man without a wife is without joy, without blessing, without goodness."

See *Zohar* 1:165a, 182a; 3:74b; 296a (*IZ*).

1537. **One is not even called אדם (*adam*), human...** See BT *Yevamot* 63b: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Any אדם (*adam*), man, without a wife is not an *adam*, as is said: *Male and female He created them... and He named them adam*.'" See *Bereshit Rabbah* 17:2.

Rabbi Shim'on is also alluding to the original androgynous nature of Adam, reflecting the divine union of male and female, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:2b, 13b, 47a; 2:55a, 144b; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

1538. **Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed...** See M *Sotah* 9:12: "Rabban Shim'on son of Gamli'el says in the name of Rabbi Yehoshu'a, 'Ever since the day that the Temple was destroyed, there is no day without a curse, dew has not descended as a blessing, and flavor has departed from fruit.'"

In Kabbalah the destruction of the Temple symbolizes the separation of the divine couple. See *Zohar* 1:70b, 134a; 3:74b.

1539. ***The righteous one loses...*** Usually translated: *The righteous one perishes*. Rabbi Yehudah understands the verse to mean that *Yesod* ("Foundation"), known as *Righteous One*, loses the flow of emanation intended for *Shekhinah*, known as *Faith*. See *Zohar* 1:182a; 3:16b. *Yesod*'s title, *Righteous One*, is based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

1540. **Similarly, *He blessed them...*** Both passages specify that the human

being was created *male and female*, a condition essential to receiving blessing.

1541. **Back to שת (*Shet*), Seth, all generations trace...** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12: "*He named him* שת (*Shet*), *Seth* (Genesis 5:3), because on him the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded."

On the righteous descending from Seth, see *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:36b, 38a, 54a, 55a; 3:77a.

1542. **These are the final letters...** The letters ש (*shin*) and ת (*tav*), which spell שת (*Shet*), Seth, are the final letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

1543. **when he returned to the presence of his Lord** Repenting sincerely.

1544. **Adam violated all the letters of Torah...** By his sin, Adam ruined the creative flow of emanation, pictured as a linguistic stream. So the letters of the alphabet were reversed. By turning back to God, he began to restore the letters to their proper order; the first two to be restored were ש (*shin*) and ת (*tav*), which Adam employed to name his son שת (*Shet*), Seth. The process of alphabetic restoration was completed at Mount Sinai, when language manifested perfectly through the revelation of Torah, a renewal of the act of Creation.

See *Zohar* 1:67b; 2:51b; *ZḤ* 66c–d (*ShS*), 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*). On the letters appearing in reverse order at Creation, see *Zohar* 1:2b, 205b; *ZḤ* 88c–d (*MhN*, *Rut*).

The phrase "turned fragrant and firm" renders both senses of אתבסם (*itbassam*), "was sweetened" or "was firmly established."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 66:2; *Midrash Shemu'el* 26:4; *Zohar* 1:30b, 31a, 34a, 37a, 137a; 2:143a, 168a, 227a; 3:18a; N. Bronsnick, in *Sinai* 63 (1968): 81–85; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 44; idem, *Kabbalah*, 228.

1545. **heaven and earth sought to uproot themselves...** See *Shemot Rabbah* 47:4: "[God said to Israel,] 'Had you not accepted My Torah, I would have returned the world to *chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2), as is said: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night*, [*I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*]. Why? Because with Torah I created heaven and earth.... If you annul the covenant [of Torah], you cause Me to return the upper and lower realms to *chaos and void*.'"

See BT *Shabbat* 33a, 88a, and 137b, where the verse from Jeremiah is applied to the covenant of circumcision: "Were it not for the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth would not endure, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*."

Cf. *Zohar* 1:32a, 59b, 66b, 89a, 93b.

1546. **Adam violated the covenant...** Adam's sin is related specifically to the covenant of circumcision. See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'He

[Adam] stretched his foreskin. Here is written: *Like Adam, they violated the covenant*, and there is written: *He has broken My covenant* [by not fulfilling the command of circumcision] (Genesis 17:14).'" The phrase "stretched his foreskin" refers to epispasm, an attempt to disguise circumcision by cutting and pulling forward the loose skin of the penis to form a partial foreskin.

In the *Zohar*, Adam's sin is understood as ruining the union of *Shekhinah* and *Yesod*, the divine phallus, site of the covenant. See *Zohar* 1:35b, 53b.

1547. **בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning:* ברא שית (*bara shit*), *created foundation*** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Bereshit*), is divided in two. See BT *Sukkah* 49a: "It was taught in the school of Rabbi Yishma'el: '*Be-reshit*... Do not read בראשית (*Be-reshit*) but rather ברא שית (*bara shit*),'" referring to the שיתין (*shitin*), "hollows, pits," beneath the main Temple altar, into which the wine and water of libation flowed.

Here Rabbi Ḥizkiyah alludes to the covenant of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), upon which the world is based and through which it receives the flow of emanation. Elsewhere the phrase ברא שית (*bara shit*) means "created six," which also applies to *Yesod*, sixth of the seven lower *sefirot*.

See *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:19); *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 1:1, 11–12; *Zohar* 1:3b, 15b, 30a, 39b.

1548. **wrenching it from its site** Disrupting the union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*.

1549. **This covenant is intimated by the letter י (*yod*)...** The mark of circumcision is pictured as the smallest of the Hebrew letters. In *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 14, *Shemini* 8, this mark is identified with the י (*yod*) of the divine name שדי (*Shaddai*). A German Hasidic tradition identifies the mark with the *yod* of יהוה (*YHVH*). Here the י (*yod*) signifies *Yesod* ("Foundation").

See *Zohar* 1:2b, 13a, 95a–b; 2:36a, 216b; 3:142a (*IR*), 215b, 220a, 256a (*RM*); Wolfson, in *JQR* 78 (1987): 77–112; idem, *Circle in the Square*, 29–48.

1550. **When he engendered a son...** When Adam engendered his third son, he named him שת (*shet*), Seth, and not שית (*shit*), "foundation," which contains the letter י (*yod*). The missing letter implied that he had impaired *Yesod* ("Foundation"). See *TZ* 69 (110a, 119a).

1551. **So from here the blessed Holy One sowed the world...** Since Adam repented. אשתיל (*Ashtil*), "Sowed, planted" is a play on the midrashic wording (*Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12): "*He named him* שת (*Shet*), *Seth* (Genesis 5:3), because on him the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded."

See *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 37; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:36b, 38a, 54a, 55a–b; 3:77a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:148, n. 50; Liebes, *Peraqim, 372–73*; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 74.

1552. **between these two letters...** Between the letters ש (*shin*) and ת (*tav*).

1553. ב (*Bet*), **entering between the two surviving letters...** The letter ב (*bet*) symbolizes ברית (*berit*), "covenant." ש (*Shin*) and ת (*tav*), the final letters of the alphabet, were the first to be restored to their proper order after Adam violated all the letters of Torah (see above, page 315).

1554. שבת (*shabbat*), **Sabbath...** Composed of all three letters and identified as the *covenant* of *Yesod*.

1555. **As at the beginning of the world...** Following the tragedy of Cain and Abel, שת (*Shet*), Seth, represented a new beginning of humanity. Similarly at Mount Sinai, the letters ש (*shin*) and ת (*tav*) symbolized a new beginning, which unfolded when they were joined by the letter ב (*bet*).

1556. **When the letters were reversed...** See above, note 1544.

1557. **In the days of Enosh...** According to rabbinic tradition, the generation of Enosh was the first to commit idolatry by worshiping the heavenly bodies.

See *Mekhilta*, *Baḥodesh* 6; *Bereshit Rabbah* 23:7; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:26; Rashi on Genesis, ibid.; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Avodah Zarah* 1:1; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:151, n. 54.

Here the sin is sorcery and specifically interfering with heavenly powers.

1558. **the wisdom of the leaves of the tree** The leaves of the Tree of Knowledge convey the knowledge of magic. See *Zohar* 1:36b, 53b, 63b. Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

1559. **saw them** Saw the leaves of the tree.

1560. **Defying Noah...** According to a rabbinic tradition, Noah attempted to warn his contemporaries and induce them to repent, but he was unsuccessful. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7; *Tanḥuma, Noaḥ* 5; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a–b. Armed with magical knowledge, the sinners of Noah's generation were confident that they could repel the powers of judgment.

1561. ***Then the name of YHVH was invoked profanely*** The verse means literally: *Then* הוחל (*huḥal*), *it was begun, to invoke the name YHVH*. Here, following midrashic tradition, the word הוחל (*huḥal*) is derived from the root meaning "profane" and applied to the practice of sorcery. See above, note 1557.

1562. **Jered, Methuselah, and Enoch** See Genesis 5:15–27; *Sefer ha-Yashar, Noaḥ*, 56.

1563. ***What is Shaddai that we should serve Him?*** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:6.

1564. **since they knew all those modes of wisdom...** They thought that with their magical knowledge they could block any form of heavenly punishment.

1565. **it was water intermingled with water** הוה מים במים (*Havah mayim be-*

mayim). See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayaqhel* 6: "When the blessed Holy One created His world, היה העולם כלו מים במים (*hayah ha-olam kullo mayim be-mayim*), it was entirely water intermingled with water."

Cf. JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 1; *Shemot Rabbah* 50:1; *Zohar* 1:17b. Only on the second day of Creation were the waters separated (see Genesis 1:6–7).

1566. ***YHVH* sat enthroned at the Flood, not *Elohim*** In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice.

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; *Zohar* 1:64b; 2:187a, 227b.

1567. **they knew the angel empowered over fire...** See *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:5, describing the scene in Jerusalem on the eve of the Babylonian attack: "Before the vicious enemy came, Jeremiah kept calling to them, 'Turn back to God so that you will not go into exile.' They retorted, 'If the enemy comes, what can they do to us?' One said, '[By invoking the aid of the appropriate heavenly prince] I will surround the city with a wall of water.' Another said, 'I will surround it with a wall of fire.' Another said, 'I will surround it with a wall of iron.' The blessed Holy One replied, 'You are exploiting what is Mine!' He immediately changed the names of the angels, empowering the angel in charge of water over fire, and the one in charge of fire over iron, so when they invoked their names below, they did not respond."

Here Rabbi Yitsḥak adapts the midrashic account to the eve of the Flood. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 281–82; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Avodah Zarah* 1:1–2.

1568. **as long as those righteous ones...** Such as Jered, Methuselah, and Enoch (see above, page 318).

1569. **This verse has been discussed** See BT *Shabbat* 88b, where the verse is applied to the Children of Israel at Sinai. Cf. *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:12.

1570. **one day he will decay...** Since God knows that the person will degenerate morally, He plucks him prematurely from the world. See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 7:23, and below.

1571. **במסבו** (***Bimsibbo***), ***On his couch*—a person cleaving to Him...** The human devotee has transformed himself into a dwelling place for God.

1572. **those, so they turn back to Him...** The days of the wicked are prolonged to enable them to turn back to God or to engender worthy children.

See BT *Bava Qamma* 38b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 32:4; *Zohar* 1:118a (*MhN*), 140a, 227a.

1573. **Enoch was pure...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 25:1: "*Enoch walked with*

God; then he was no more, for God took him.... Rabbi Aivu said, ‘Enoch was a hypocrite, sometimes righteous, sometimes wicked. The blessed Holy One said, “While he is righteous I will remove him.”’”

See Theodor, ad loc.; *Wisdom of Solomon* 4:10–11; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 6:2; *Zohar* 2:10b, 96a; *ZḤ* 20a–b (*MhN*), 36b (*ST*); cf. M *Sanhedrin* 8:5; *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 218.

1574. **He *took him* from the earth, raised him to the highest heavens...** God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in *The Book of Enoch*.

See *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 38; *Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 5:24; *Zohar* 1:37b, 55b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:156–64, nn. 58–61; Margaliot, *Mal’akhei Elyon*, 80–83.

The number forty-five may allude to the numerical value of the divine name יהוה (*YHVH*) spelled out according to its letters: יוד (*yod*), הא (*he*), ואו (*vav*), הא (*he*), which equals the value of the word אדם (*adam*). See *Zohar* 1:34b.

In Heikhalot literature Enoch is identified with the chief angel, Metatron, sometimes described as יהוה קטן (*YHVH Qatan*), “Lesser *YHVH*.” See BT *Yevamot* 16b, and *Tosafot*, s.v. *pasuq zeh; Sanhedrin* 38b; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 5:24; *Zohar* 1:21a, 37b, 223b; 2:179a (*SdTs*), Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 378–79; Margaliot, *Mal’akhei Elyon*, 89–90.

1575. **This verse has been discussed...** See BT *Sotah* 42a; *Niddah* 13b.

1576. **defiles himself and is defiled...** See BT *Shabbat* 104a: “Resh Lakish said, ‘... If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening; if one comes to purify himself, he is assisted.’”

See *Yoma* 39a: “Our Rabbis taught: ‘*Do not defile yourselves with them, and thus become defiled* (Leviticus 11:43). If one defiles himself slightly, he is defiled greatly; below, he is defiled from above; in this world, he is defiled in the world to come.’”

Cf. *Zohar* 1:53b–54a, 169b, 198b; 2:50a; 3:47a.

1577. **spilled blood upon the earth fruitlessly** An allusion to masturbation. See BT *Niddah* 13a: “Rabbi Yitsḥak and Rabbi Ammi said, ‘[Whoever emits semen fruitlessly] is as though he sheds blood.’”

See *Zohar* 1:188a, 219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66.

1578. **Who wasted their ways upon earth?** See Genesis 6:12: *God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth*. The expression *corrupted their way* is interpreted as referring to masturbation in *Kallah Rabbati* 2, which cites Genesis 38:9: שחת ארצה [*Shiḥet artsah*], *He* [Onan] *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground*.

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:62a, 69a.

1579. ***Er, firstborn of Judah, was evil...*** Genesis does not specify the nature of Er's sin, but rabbinic tradition maintains that it was the same as that of his younger brother, Onan, who let his seed *waste on the ground* (Genesis 38:9).

See BT *Yevamot* 34b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 38:7.

1580. **One is called *wicked...*** רשע (*Rasha*) means both "wicked" and "guilty." See BT *Sanhedrin* 58b: "Resh Lakish said, 'One who raises his hand against his fellow, even if he does not strike him, is called *rasha*, wicked, as is written: *He* [Moses] *said to the rasha, guilty one: Why will you strike your fellow?* (Exodus 2:13). It is not written *Why did you strike?* but rather *Why will you strike?* Even though he had not yet struck him, he was called *rasha*.'"

1581. **one is only called *evil* if he wastes his way...** The act of masturbation nourishes the demonic.

See *Zohar* 1:19a, 188a, 219b; 3:90a, 158a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66. Above (pages 309–10) it is said that Na'amah, mother of demons, titillates men in their sleep, causing nocturnal emissions.

1582. **He never enters the palace...** See BT *Niddah* 13b: "Rabbi Ammi said, 'Whoever excites himself lustfully is not allowed to enter the domain of the blessed Holy One.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:69a; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 23b.

Sexual purity is a prerequisite for encountering *Shekhinah*, who in general flees from sin. See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'Whoever sins secretly, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*.'"

1583. **he thought there was a blemish in his sons** See BT *Pesaḥim* 56a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish said, '... [Upon his death bed] Jacob wished to reveal to his sons the end of days, but *Shekhinah* departed from him. He said, "Perhaps, Heaven forbid, there is someone unfit in my bed [i.e., among my children], like Abraham, from whom issued Ishmael, or like my father Isaac, from whom issued Esau." His sons answered him, "*Hear, O Israel!* [i.e., Jacob]. *YHVH is our God, YHVH is one* (Deuteronomy 6:4): just as there is only *one* in your heart, so there is only *one* in ours." At that moment our father Jacob opened and exclaimed, "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever."'"

1584. **impure spirit was empowered... light of the moon diminished...** Human misconduct diminishes the light of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, and empowers the demonic.

See BT *Ḥullin* 60b; *Zohar* 1:19b–20a, 146a.

1585. **this defiles the sanctuary...** Sin, especially sexual sin, defiles

Shekhinah, symbolized by the sanctuary.

1586. **by that one called *evil*** By the demonic, which manifests as the evil impulse. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 198a–b, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394-95.

1587. ***Passing the night in contentment...*** Not being seduced by lust. See BT *Sukkah* 52b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'Man has a small organ. If he starves it, it is satisfied; if he satisfies it, it is hungry.'"

1588. **till eventually they make that sin as thick and strong as *a cart rope...*** See BT *Sukkah* 52a: "Rabbi Assi said, 'The evil impulse at first resembles the thread of a spider but ultimately it resembles cart ropes, as is said: *Woe unto them who haul iniquity with cords of nothingness, and sin as with a cart rope*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:5a.

1589. ***No entertainment was brought before him*** Describing the scene in the palace of King Darius, after he sent Daniel to the lions' den. Here the verse is applied to God.

1590. **since they are the work of His hands...** See BT *Megillah* 10b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '[At the Red Sea] the ministering angels wanted to sing, but the blessed Holy One said, "The work of My hands is drowning in the sea, and you are singing?"'" Rabbi Yose understands the verse in Genesis to mean: *YHVH was sorry* [about punishing them] *because He had made humankind on earth, and His heart was saddened*.

1591. **But it is written...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 5b: "*If you will not listen, My soul will weep in secret because of the arrogance* (Jeremiah 13:17).... But is there weeping in the presence of [i.e., on the part of] the blessed Holy One? Look, Rabbi Papa has said: 'There is no sadness in the presence of the blessed Holy One, as is said: *Splendor and majesty are before Him, power and joy in His place*.' There is no contradiction: this refers to the inner chambers; that refers to the outer chambers." The last sentence is usually taken to mean: "This [the weeping] refers to the inner chambers; that [the joy] refers to the outer chambers."

1592. ***His heart,* no other place...** The divine sadness is confined to *Shekhinah*, the last *sefirah*, known as *heart* and *soul*, while in the higher realms joy prevails. This view accords with Ḥanan'el ben Ḥushi'el's interpretation of the passage cited from *Ḥagigah* in the previous note: "This [the joy] refers to the inner chambers; that [the weeping] refers to the outer chambers."

See *Zohar* 1:163a (and *KP*, ad loc.); 2:17b–18a; 3:15b; Margaliot, *Sha'arei Zohar*, *Ḥagigah* 5b.

1593. ***YHVH* renounced, the evil...** In this verse, the word וינחם (*va-yinnaḥem*) can be rendered variously: "changed His mind, retracted, renounced, relented, repented, regretted, was sorry." Rabbi Yitsḥak apparently understands the word in the sense of "renounced," and similarly in Genesis 6:6: *YHVH renounced having made humankind on earth*.

1594. **returning to God** Repenting sincerely.

1595. **that site of judgment...** *Shekhinah*, who receives the power of judgment from *Gevurah* and executes it upon humans. See *Zohar* 1:70b.

1596. ויתעצב אל לבו (***Va-yit'atstsev el libbo***), *His heart was embittered...* *Shekhinah*, known as both *heart* and Judgment, was empowered by the harshness of *Gevurah*.

1597. ***What is a human that You are mindful of him...*** See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav: 'When the blessed Holy One sought to create the human being, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and asked them, "Is it your desire that we make the human being in our image?" They responded, "Master of the Universe, what are his deeds?" He replied, "Such and such are his deeds." They exclaimed, "Master of the Universe, *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?*" He stretched out His little finger among them and burned them. The same thing happened with a second company. The third company said to Him, "Master of the Universe, the former ones who spoke in Your presence—what did they accomplish? The entire world is Yours! Whatever You wish to do in Your world, do it." When He reached the members of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the Tower of Babel], whose deeds were corrupt, they [the angels] said to Him, "Master of the Universe, didn't the first ones speak well?" He responded, "*Till your old age, I am He; till you turn grey, I will carry you* [*I have made and I will bear; I will carry and deliver*] (Isaiah 46:4)."'" Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:6; 31:12.

1598. **as is said: *going forth before the warriors...*** When King Jehoshaphat of Judah was attacking Moab and Ammon, he stationed singers ahead of the troops. See BT *Megillah* 10b: "Does the blessed Holy One rejoice in the downfall of the wicked? Look at what is written: *going forth before the warriors, exclaiming: 'Praise YHVH, for His love endures forever,'* and Rabbi Yoḥanan has said, 'Why isn't the phrase *for He is good* [which usually follows *Praise YHVH* and is here interpreted as *for it is good*] omitted from this praise? Because the blessed Holy One does not rejoice in the downfall of the wicked.' And Rabbi Yoḥanan said further, 'What is the meaning of the verse: *One did not approach the other all night long?* [In its literal sense, this verse refers to the Israelites and the Egyptians.] The ministering angels [referred to as *one* and *the other* in Isaiah

6:3] wanted to sing, but the blessed Holy One said, "The work of My hands is drowning in the sea, and you are singing?"'"

This midrash is sometimes cited to explain the reduced version of the *Hallel* prayer on the latter days of Passover, commemorating the crossing of the Red Sea.

1599. **You have weakened supernal power!** Human sin impairs the divine. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 1:33: "Rabbi Azariah said in the name of Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Simon, 'When Israel enact the will of the Omnipresent, they strengthen heavenly power, as is said: *In God we generate strength* (Psalms 60:14). When Israel do not enact the will of the Omnipresent, they weaken, as it were, the great power of the One above, as is written: *You weakened the Rock that engendered you* (Deuteronomy 32:18).'"

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 319; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:12; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 25:1; *Zohar* 2:32b, 64a, 65b.

In the *Zohar*, Adam's sin is understood as ruining the union of the divine couple, *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 1:35b, 53b.

1600. **one light...** The light of *Shekhinah*, now separated from Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

1601. **I brought you into the Garden of Eden to bring an offering...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:5: "[*YHVH Elohim took the human and placed him in the Garden of Eden*] *to work it and tend it* (Genesis 2:15)—these are the offerings." *Zohar* 1:141b, 199b; 2:165b; 3:263a.

Here, "to bring an offering" means to bring the *sefirot* together by uniting *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*. *Shekhinah* is symbolized by both the altar and the Garden.

1602. ***to till the ground*** Having failed to serve *Shekhinah*, symbolized by earth, Adam is banished from the Garden and condemned to till the earth.

1603. **the blessed Holy One treasured him away close to the Garden...** Guided by a ray of light emanating from the Garden, Adam dug a cave close by, a cave later known as the Cave of Machpelah (Genesis 23), where all the patriarchs and matriarchs (except for Rachel) were buried. According to rabbinic tradition, Adam and Eve were buried there as well.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 58:8; BT *Eruvin* 53a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 20, 36; *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 23:9; *Zohar* 1:81a (*ST*), 127a–128b, 248b; 3:164a; *ZḤ* 21a (*MhN*), 79d (*MhN*).

1604. **On account of you, I am leaving the world** Because of Adam's sin, death was decreed upon humanity.

1605. **No one departs from the world without first seeing Adam...** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 19:18: "Death is decreed upon all the righteous who spring from him [Adam], They do not depart this life without first gazing upon the face

of *Shekhinah* and reproving Adam, saying: 'You inflicted death upon us!' Adam responds: 'As for me, I possess only one sin, while in your case, every single one of you possesses more than four.'" See *Tanḥuma, Ḥuqqat* 16; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat* 39; *Zohar* 1:65b, 81a (*ST*), 127a.

1606. **Adam endures, gazing at the patriarchs...** Adam points out to them his former site in the Garden.

1607. **due to his own sins...** As opposed to the doctrine of original sin. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 29; and BT *Shabbat* 55a: "Rabbi Ammi said, 'There is no death without sin; there is no suffering without iniquity. There is no death without sin, for it is written: *The soul who sins is the one who will die. The son will not share the guilt of the father, nor the father the guilt of the son....* (Ezekiel 18:20).'"

1608. **except for those three...** See BT *Shabbat* 55b: "Four died through the incitement of the serpent, namely: Benjamin the son of Jacob, Amram the father of Moses, Jesse the father of David, and Chileab the son of David." According to this view, these four individuals did not sin on their own but died only because of the sin of Adam and Eve, who were enticed by the serpent.

Here the *Zohar* substitutes Levi for Chileab; see Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar* (1st ed.), 115. Cf. above, page 296, where only Joshua (who did not participate in the sin of the Golden Calf) is specified.

1609. **brazenly, in sight of all** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:60b.

1610. **drawing the bow taut with the shaft of a centaur** A cryptic reference to masturbation. On the phallic association of the bow, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 87:7; BT *Sanhedrin* 92a. Cf. BT *Ḥagigah* 15a: "Shemu'el said, 'Any emission of semen that does not shoot forth like an arrow does not fructify.'"

קולפא (*Qulpa*) means "pole, lance, shaft, club, strap" (see *Zohar* 1:29a, 32a). קנטיר (*Qantir*), is "centaur," the mythical creature who is half-human, half-horse. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 23:6; *Ma'arikh*, s.v. *qtr*.

1611. **He cast his eyes upon them...** On the destructive power of Rabbi Shim'on's gaze, see BT *Shabbat* 33b–34a; JT *Shevi'it* 9:1, 38d; *Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 11:16; *Qohelet Rabbah* on 10:9; *Midrash Tehillim* 17:13; *Eikhah Zuta* 1:43. In all of these sources (except the last), the context is the purification of Tiberias. The sea mentioned here is the Sea of Galilee.

1612. **Every sin committed openly repels *Shekhinah*...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'Whoever sins secretly, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a, 61a, 68b–69a.

1613. **haughtily, with head erect...** ברישא זקיף (*Be-reisha zeqif*), "With head erect." See BT *Berakhot* 43b: "Whoever walks with a haughty [literally, "erect"]

stature even for four cubits, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*."

1614. ***Remove the wicked from the presence of the king...*** The first of the cited verses continues: *and his throne will be established in justice*. The second verse reads: *Remove the dross from silver, and a vessel emerges for the smith*.

1615. ***My spirit shall not abide in humanity forever, since they, too, are flesh*** The verse continues: *Let his days be a hundred and twenty years*.

1616. **to perform as above** The world below is modeled on the divine realm and sustained by the stream of emanation.

See *Zohar* 1:38a, 129a, 145b, 156b, 158b, 205b; 2:15b (*MhN*), 20a (*MhN*), 48b, 82b, 251a (*Heikh*); 3:40b, 65b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:273.

1617. **the spirit of life above...** The flow of emanation, which emerges from the highest realms of the *sefirot* and proceeds to *Tif'eret*, symbolized by Jacob.

1618. **this world in which King David abides** *Shekhinah*, also known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"), symbolized by the ideal king, David.

1619. **לעלם (*le-olam*), *forever*, without a ו (*vav*)...** In the verse in Genesis (*My spirit shall not abide in humanity* לעלם [*le-olam*], *forever*), the word לעלם (*le-olam*) is written without the letter ו (*vav*), a spelling that alludes to *Shekhinah* without Her partner, *Tif'eret*. He together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*) is symbolized by this letter whose numerical value is six.

See *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 6:3; Exodus 3:15; 31:17; BT *Pesaḥim* 50a.

1620. **Now that humans sinned...** In the generation of the Flood.

1621. **Amplifying the meaning to include...** לאסגאה (*Le-asga'ah*), "To increase," a Zoharic rendering of the rabbinic Hebrew לרבות (*le-rabbot*), "to increase"— that is, to include, amplify, or widen the scope of meaning. In rabbinic hermeneutics the word גם (*gam*), "also, too," amplifies the literal meaning of a biblical word or phrase. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:14; JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b.

Here the word *too* amplifies the meaning to include the serpent, who lurks beneath *Shekhinah*, craving the rich nourishment of emanation.

1622. ***he is flesh*, as is said: *End of all flesh*...** The demonic primordial serpent is known as *End of all flesh* (see *Zohar* 1:35b, 54a, 62b) and identified with the Angel of Death. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

Rabbi El'azar apparently reads the verse: *My spirit shall not abide in* אדם (*adam*) [namely, *Tif'eret*, known as Primordial Adam, so that the flow of emanation will not continue] לעלם (*le-olam*), *to the world* [of *Shekhinah*], *since he, too* [the serpent, lurking beneath *Shekhinah*], *is flesh* [and would be nourished]. Alternatively, *My spirit shall not abide in humanity* לעלם (*le-olam*) [because

Shekhinah is lacking ו (*vav*) due to Adam's sin], *since he, too* [the serpent, lurking beneath *Shekhinah*], *is flesh* [and would be nourished].

1623. **duration of banded diadem** One of the *Zohar*'s neologistic phrases, apparently alluding to the splendid bond of body and soul. On קוזפירא (*quzpira*), "diadem," see *Zohar* 2:175a; 3:154a.

1624. **These are Uzza and Azael...** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2). They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:9b, 23a, 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1625. ***Let birds fly upon the earth...*** Certain angels, symbolized by birds, manifest in human form *upon the earth*.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Devarim Rabbah* 8:2; *Zohar* 1:13a, 34a–b, 46b, 101a, 144a; 3:39b.

1626. **'They turn countless shades'** See BT *Yoma* 75a, where demons are said to "turn many colors." Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:9, commenting on a *blazing, ever-turning sword* (Genesis 3:24): "*Ever-turning*—changing: sometimes male, sometimes female; sometimes spirits, sometimes angels."

See *Zohar* 1:44a, 53b, 165a (*ST*), 237a; 3:19b.

1627. **abiding on it, unable to strip themselves of it** They had materialized so fully that they could not escape the physical realm. See *ZḤ* 81a (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1628. **Mighty Giants** See *Zohar* 3:160b.

1629. **the *nefilim* themselves are called *sons of Elohim*...** See Genesis 6:2–4; *Zohar* 1:19b, 37a, 55a; 3:144a (*IR*).

1630. **When a person seeks vengeance...** See *Tanḥuma*, *Va'era* 14: "The way the world operates, if a person wants to do something evil to his enemy, he does it suddenly to catch him unawares. But the blessed Holy One warned Pharaoh before every single plague [so that he might turn back to God]."

Cf. BT *Yoma* 86b, citing Job 33:29.

1631. **He announced it to them through Noah, warning them...** Noah attempted to warn his contemporaries and induce them to repent, but he was unsuccessful. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7; *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a–b.

1632. ***He named him* נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah, saying...*** The full verse reads: *He*

named him נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah, saying: This one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *will provide us relief, from our labor and from the painful toil of our hands caused by the soil that* YHVH *cursed*. Here Noah is named by his father Lamech.

1633. **How did he know?...** How did Lamech, Noah's father, know that his son would *provide relief*? See *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 11: "How did he know to say, *This one will provide us relief from our labor*...? Was he a prophet? Rabbi Shim'on son of Yehotsadak said, 'They had been taught that when the blessed Holy One said to Adam, *Cursed is the ground because of you; by painful toil will you eat of it all the days of your life* (Genesis 3:17), Adam asked, "Master of the world, for how long?" He replied, "Until a human is born circumcised." When Noah was born circumcised, Lamech immediately knew and said, "Indeed, *this one will provide us relief*...!"'"

See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 2; *Tanḥuma, Noaḥ* 5; *Zohar* 1:59b. According to the *Zohar*, the mark of circumcision signifies union with *Shekhinah*; see *Zohar* 1:2b, 13a.

1634. **At first they did not know how to sow...** See *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 11: "Before Noah was born, people did not reap what they sowed. If they sowed wheat, they reaped thorns and thistles. Once Noah was born, the world became arable once again. They reaped what they sowed, sowing wheat and reaping wheat, sowing barley and reaping barley. Furthermore, until Noah was born, they worked by hand... Once Noah was born, he invented plows, scythes, spades, and all kinds of tools." Cf. *Zohar* 1:38a, 97b.

1635. **as is said: איש נעמי** (***ish no'omi***), ***husband of Naomi...*** This verse demonstrates that איש (*ish*) can mean "husband." Noah was not simply *man of the soil*, but *husband of Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by earth. He fulfilled the role of *Yesod*, known as Righteous, uniting with the divine feminine. Similarly, Moses is called איש האלהים (*ish ha-Elohim*), *husband of Elohim*. See above, pp. 41–42, n. 288. Cf. 1:59b, 62b.

The mystical purpose of an offering is to redeem *Shekhinah* by uniting Her with Her partner.

1636. ***the works of Elohim...*** The Masoretic text reads: *the works of YHVH*. See Psalms 66:5: *Come, see the works of Elohim*. The entire discussion here is based on the assumption that Psalms 46:9 reads *Elohim* rather than *YHVH*; cf. *ZḤ* 12a (*MhN*). Such a reading is attested in biblical manuscripts as well as the Septuagint (codex Alexandrinus), and the Zoharic rabbis are aware of both variants. Note the comment by Rabbi Ḥiyya in the following lines: "Whether it be one name or the other, all is praise."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 84:8; 88:3 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Tanḥuma, Vayelekh* 1; Radak on Psalms 46:9; *Zohar* 1:60a, 157b (*ST*); 2:5a; *ZḤ* 73a (*ShS*); Moses de

León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 288; *OY*, *KP*, *MM*, and *Zohorei Ya'bets* on this passage; *Minḥat Shai* on Numbers 23:9; Psalms 46:9; 66:5; Menaḥem Azariah of Fano, *Yonat Elem*, 99; Margaliot, *Sha'arei Zohar*, *Berakhot* 7b.

1637. ***works of*** **יו״ד ה״א וא״ו ה״א** (***yod he vav he***), ***YHVH*...** ***works of*** **this name...** In rabbinic literature the names *YHVH* and *Elohim* represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; *Zohar* 1:64b; 2:187a, 227b.

Strict justice demands punishment, namely, *desolation*.

1638. **He brought names...** God imparted divine names to the world so that human beings could wield them theurgically, drawing down the rich flow of emanation. See BT *Berakhot* 7b: "How do we know that a name determines destiny? Rabbi El'azar said, 'For Scripture states: *Come, gaze upon the works of YHVH, how He has brought* שמות (*shammot*), *desolation, on earth*. Do not read שמות (*shammot*), *desolation*, but rather שֵׁמוֹת (*shemot*), *names*.'"

1639. **For if the world were conducted by the name of compassion...** As noted above, the two divine names, *YHVH* and *Elohim*, symbolize, respectively, compassion and justice. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15, explaining the appearance of both names in Genesis 2:4, *On the day YHVH Elohim created heaven and earth*: "The blessed Holy One said, 'If I create the world by the quality of compassion, its sins will abound; by the quality of justice, the world will not endure. Rather, I will create it by both the quality of justice and the quality of compassion. Oh that it may endure!' So, *YHVH Elohim*."

Here Rabbi Yitsḥak's point is that the name *Elohim* in Psalms 46:9 denotes justice (or: judgment) and the consequent punishment of *desolation*, whose purging power ensures the continued existence of the world.

1640. **so that the name would determine his destiny** So that Noah would succeed in providing comfort and relief to the world. See BT *Berakhot* 7b (cited above, note 1638); *Zohar* 1:6a; 2:179b.

1641. **Not so, the blessed Holy One...** God favored a different etymology of Noah's name.

1642. **Of Noah is written... while the letters of עֵר** (***Er***), **Er...** See *Kallah Rabbati* 2: "It was taught: [ער (*Er*), Er] spelled backward is רע (*ra*), evil. Similarly, נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, spelled backward is חן (*ḥen*), favor." Genesis does not specify the nature of Er's sin, but rabbinic tradition maintains that it was the same as that of his younger brother, Onan, who spilled his semen on the ground (38:9).

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); BT *Yevamot* 34b; *Kallah Rabbati*, ibid.; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 38:7; *Zohar* 1:56b–57a.

1643. **That *Book of Adam* and *The Book of Enoch*...** See *Sefer Noaḥ* (*Beit*

ha-Midrash, 3:158–60). Both of these books are referred to frequently in the *Zohar*. According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See Genesis 5:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam. Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.

See *Zohar* 1:17b, 37b, 55a–b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a–b, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54.

Concerning Enoch, Genesis 5:24 states: *He was no more, for God took him*. In postbiblical literature this verse is taken to mean that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in the Enoch literature. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by this literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes. It comprises one of the many books housed in the real or imaginary Zoharic library.

See *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 38; *Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 5:24; *Zohar* 1:13a, 37b, 55b, 72b; 2:55a, 100a, 105b, 180b, 192b, 217a; 3:10b, 236b, 240a, 248b, 253b, 307a; *ZḤ* 2c (*SO*); Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:156–64, nn. 58–61; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 80–83.

1644. **how did he know to bring an offering...** When the waters of the Flood receded, Noah emerged from the ark and offered sacrifices (Genesis 8:20). According to the *Zohar*, the purpose of such offerings is to unite the *sefirot* and ensure the flow of blessing and sustenance to the world. Noah discovered this mystical truth by studying the books of Adam and Enoch.

See BT *Ta'anit* 27b: "Rabbi Ya'akov son of Aḥa said in the name of Rabbi Assi: 'Were it not for the *ma'amadot* [representatives accompanying the Temple sacrifices], heaven and earth would not endure.'" Cf. Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:878–90.

1645. **The way before us is smooth. We want to hear words of Torah!** Since the road is clear, let us focus on Torah. On the importance of engaging in Torah while on a journey, see Deuteronomy 6:7; BT *Eruvin* 54a; *Ta'anit* 10b; *Zohar* 1:7a, 69b–70a, 87a, 115b.

1646. **before setting out on the way...** Before setting out on a journey, one should pray, including (or specifically) *tefillat ha-derekh* ("the prayer for the way"). See BT *Berakhot* 29b: "Elijah said to Rav Yehudah the brother of Rabbi Sala the Ḥasid, 'Do not let your anger boil and you will not sin; do not get drunk and you will not sin; and when you set out on the way, consult your Creator and then set out.' What is meant by 'consult your Creator and then set out'? Rabbi Ya'akov

said in the name of Rav Ḥisda, 'This is *tefillat ha-derekh*.'"

See *Berakhot* 14a: "Rav Idi son of Avin said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Ishyan, 'Whoever prays and then sets out on the way, the blessed Holy One fulfills his desires, as is said: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way*.'" In this Talmudic passage, *righteousness* (or: *justice*) implies justification by prayer, which guarantees a successful journey. Here, for Rabbi Shim'on, *Righteousness* is a name of *Shekhinah*, who symbolizes divine justice. By praying, one secures Her accompanying presence. See above, note 1292.

1647. לבו (***libbo***), ***his heart...*** לב (*Lev*) means both "heart" and "mind."

1648. **Who is *his heart*? The blessed Holy One...** God is identified as "heart" in *Eikhah Rabbah, Petiḥta* 16; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 5:2; and *Shemot Rabbah* 33:3.

1649. **the sign of covenant engraved in a man's flesh...** The mark of circumcision. Some radical critics of tradition contended that belief in God did not require fulfilling the commandments; the *Zohar* insists on integrating belief and observance.

1650. **he turned into a heap of bones** On the destructive power of the rabbinic gaze, see BT *Berakhot* 58a; *Shabbat* 33b–34a; *Bava Batra* 75a; cf. above, page 328; *Zohar* 3:221a.

1651. **'All is in the hand of the blessed Holy One except being virtuous or wicked'** See BT *Berakhot* 33b: "Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'All is in the hands of heaven except the awe of heaven, as is said: *Now, Israel, what does YHVH your God ask of you but to be in awe?* (Deuteronomy 10:12).'" Cf. *Niddah* 16b.

1652. **So how could David...** How could David (traditionally, the author of Psalms) ask God to make him virtuous, since this is dependent on free will?

1653. **Who is *my heart*?...** As noted above, God is identified as "heart" in *Eikhah Rabbah, Petiḥta 16; Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 5:2; and *Shemot Rabbah* 33:3, all of which cite Psalms 73:26. Here the reference is specifically to *Shekhinah*, associated with David; see below.

1654. **cleaving to *awe*** Cleaving to *Shekhinah*, known as *awe*.

1655. **my allotted site...** David, the ideal king, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the divine name, who is also known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

1656. **Faith abides fittingly...** *Shekhinah*, known as Faith, accompanies one who lives in awe of God.

1657. **the world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See

Tanḥuma, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation, who gives birth to the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

1658. **treasured away for the righteous...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:7a, 31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

1659. **listen in that world** While on earth.

1660. ***No eye has seen, O God, but You...*** See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You will do for one who awaits You*]... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [those who succeed in turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

In the *Zohar*, this verse often refers to *Binah*, who is identified with "the world that is coming." See 1:4b, 6b; 2:97b, 163a.

1661. ***The righteous will inherit the land forever...*** This verse, appearing frequently in the *Zohar*, reads in full: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever— sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*. In M *Sanhedrin* 10:1, it is cited to demonstrate that "all of Israel have a share in the world that is coming."

1. **world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation, who gives birth to the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

Here "the world that is coming" is identified with *the land* mentioned in Isaiah.

2. **All of Israel have a share...** See M *Sanhedrin* 10:1: "All of Israel have a share in the world that is coming, as is said: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever—sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*."

3. **Because they uphold the covenant...** The covenant of circumcision, which is upheld by living in sexual purity. See BT *Shabbat* 137b: "Were it not for the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth would not endure, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*."

Cf. *Zohar* 1:32a, 56a, 66b, 89a, 93b. See BT *Sanhedrin* 110b: "An infant—from when may he enter the world that is coming?... Rabbi Naḥman son of Yitsḥak said, 'From the moment he is circumcised.'"

Rabbi Ḥiyya's concern with sexual purity reflects the promiscuity prevalent in the Jewish community in thirteenth-century Castile. On this issue, see Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 51–54 (63–67); Baer, in *Zion* 2 (1937): 31–33, 36–44; idem, *History*, 1:250–63; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1371–72; Assis, "Sexual Behavior in Mediaeval Hispano-Jewish Society."

4. **From Joseph...** Joseph upheld the covenant by resisting the sexual advances of Potiphar's wife, and he is therefore called "righteous" in rabbinic literature. See Genesis 39; BT *Yoma* 35b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 93:7; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana*, *nispaḥim*, 460. Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Bereshit* 5 and *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer*

38, which cite Amos 2:6.

According to Kabbalah, because of his sexual purity Joseph attained the level of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), the divine phallus and site of the covenant. *Yesod* is known as Righteous, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34. The righteous who follow the example of Joseph participate in *Yesod* and attain the world that is coming.

5. ***these are* always invalidates...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:3: "Rabbi Abbahu said, 'Wherever *these are* is written, it invalidates the preceding, whereas *and these are* adds to the preceding. Here [namely, *These are the offspring of Noah*], the wording *these are* invalidates the preceding. What is invalidated? The generation of the Flood.'"

Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:3 (based on Genesis 2:4); *Zohar* 2:223a.

6. **That *river* gushes and flows...** The stream of emanation flows from *Ḥokhmah* (known as *Eden*) through *Binah* and the *sefirot* below Her, and via *Yesod* enters *Shekhinah*, *the garden*, who yields souls.

On souls as fruit, see *Bahir* 14 (22); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489, 504; *Zohar* 1:15b, 19a, 33a, 60a, 82b, 85b, 115a–b; 2:223b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 51; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69). Cf. Ibn Ezra on Psalms 1:3.

7. ***for* בו (*vo*), *on it, He rested*** On *Yesod*, *Shekhinah* rested. See *Zohar* 1:47b.

8. ***He rested on the seventh day*** *Yesod* rested on *Shekhinah*, seventh of the lower *sefirot*. Rabbi El'azar is playing with the various meanings of נייחא (*neyaḥa*): "satisfaction, pleasure, rest" and alluding to נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, who symbolizes *Yesod*.

9. **this generated *offspring*, no other** *Yesod* alone engenders new life, as implied by the wording: *These are the offspring of Noah*.

10. **Noah below embodied the covenant...** Noah lived in sexual purity, unlike the rest of the generation of the Flood (see above, pages 321–23), so he attained the level of *Yesod*, the divine phallus and site of the covenant. According to rabbinic tradition (see below, note 18), Noah was born circumcised, already embodying the covenant.

11. **איש האדמה (*ish ha-adamah*), *husband of earth*** The phrase is normally rendered *man of the soil*, but Rabbi El'azar understands it as *husband of earth*. Having embodied *Yesod*, Noah unites with *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*. See 1:58b, 62b.

Similarly, Moses is called איש האלהים (*ish ha-Elohim*), *husband of Elohim*. See

Deuteronomy 33:1; Psalms 90:1; *Midrash Tehillim* 90:5; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim*, *Vezot Haberakhah*, 443–44, 448 (variants); *Tanḥuma*, *Vezot Haberakhah* 2 (*Ets Yosef*, ad loc.); *Devarim Rabbah* (Lieberman), on 33:1; *Zohar* 1:6b, 21b–22a, 148a, 152a–b, 236b; 239a; 2:22b, 235b, 238b, 244b (*Heikh*).

12. ***Ark of the covenant*** *Shekhinah*, who houses *the covenant* of *Yesod*. See *Zohar* 1:2a, 33b, 228b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 75 (95).

13. **Noah and the ark followed this paradigm** Noah, embodying *Yesod*, enters the ark, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, thereby ensuring the continuity of life.

14. ***I will erect...*** והקימותי (*Va-haqimoti*), *I will establish*. Rabbi El'azar focuses on the literal meaning: "raise up, erect."

See *Zohar* 1:66b; Moses de León, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 381–82; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 378–79; idem, in *Da'at* 1 (1978), 107.

15. **Righteous One...** As explained above in note 4, *Yesod* ("Foundation") is known as Righteous One, based on this verse in Proverbs.

16. ***Noah walked with*** אלהים (***Elohim***), ***God...*** He accompanied *Shekhinah*, known as *Elohim*.

17. ***covenant of peace*** (**Ezekiel 34:25**), **peace of the world...** *Yesod*, the divine phallus and site of the covenant, brings peace by uniting *Tif'eret* with *Shekhinah*. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home."

18. ***Perfect,*** **for he was born circumcised...** According to rabbinic tradition, Noah was one of those rare individuals born circumcised. See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 2; *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5; *Zohar* 1:58a–b. The verse in Genesis 17 is addressed by God to Abraham immediately preceding the command of circumcision; see *Bereshit Rabbah* 46:1, 4.

19. ***In his generations,*** **not the generations of the world...** The wording implies that all future generations are considered Noah's generations, but Rabbi El'azar is apparently also alluding to the tradition that Noah was only relatively righteous: "*In his generations*, not in other generations" (*Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5, according to the view of Rabbi Yehudah).

20. ***from there it divides*** The full verse reads: A *river issues from Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides and becomes four stream-heads*. In Kabbalah this verse is interpreted as a description of the flow of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* (*Eden*) to *Shekhinah* (*the garden*), below whom *it divides*, generating the lower worlds. Noah's entrance into the ark symbolizes the union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, which ensures proliferation. See *Zohar* 1:60b–61a.

21. **Foundation of the World...** *Yesod*, embodied by Noah.

22. **A lion in his potency pierces, pulverizes rock!** The mighty Rabbi

El'azar penetrates even the hardest passage.

23. **So, too, from the measurement of the ark** Perhaps, as follows: The ark was 300 cubits long, 50 cubits wide and 30 cubits high, totaling 380, which is the *gimatriyya* (numerical value) of two divine names symbolizing *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*: שדי (*Shaddai*) and אדני (*Adonai*), with the addition of one indicating their unification.

24. ***works of Elohim...*** The Masoretic text reads: *the works of YHVH*. Cf. Psalms 66:5: *Come, see the works of Elohim*. The reading *Elohim* in Psalms 46:9 is attested in many manuscripts and the Septuagint (codex Alexandrinus), and the Zoharic rabbis are aware of both variants. Note the comment by Rabbi Ḥiyya, above, page 332: "Whether it be one name or the other, all is praise."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 84:8; 88:3 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Tanḥuma*, *Vayelekh* 1; Radak on Psalms 46:9; *Zohar* 1:157b (*ST*); 2:5a; *ZḤ* 12a (*MhN*), 73a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 288; *OY*, *KP*, *MM*, and *Zohorei Ya'bets* on 1:58b; *Minḥat Shai* on Numbers 23:9; Psalms 46:9, 66:5; Menaḥem Azariah of Fano, *Yonat Elem*, 99; Margaliot, *Sha'arei Zohar*, *Berakhot* 7b.

25. ***A harsh* חזות (*ḥazut*), *vision...*** Rabbi El'azar explains the word חזו (*ḥazu*), *gaze*, by relating it to the word חזות (*ḥazut*), prophetic *vision*.

26. **name determines destiny entirely** See BT *Berakhot* 7b: "How do we know that a name determines destiny? Rabbi El'azar said, 'For Scripture states: *Come, gaze upon the works of YHVH, how He has brought* שמות (*shammot*), *desolation, on earth*. Do not read שַׁמּוֹת (*shammot*), *desolation*, but rather: שֵׁמוֹת (*shemot*), *names*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:6a, 58b; 2:179b.

Here the point is that the name given to a child determines and predicts his future character.

27. ***saying; This*** The full verse reads: *He named him Noah, saying: This one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *will provide us relief, from our labor and from the painful toil of our hands caused by the ground that YHVH cursed*.

28. ***Saying* implies Woman** Literally, "*Saying*: this is woman." A Zoharic revision of a midrashic interpretation found in *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:6: "*YHVH Elohim commanded the human, saying, 'From every tree of the garden you are free to eat.'* Rabbi Levi said, 'He issued him six commands..., [one of which was implied by] *saying*, concerning גלוי עריות (*gillui arayot*), exposing nudity (fornication) [as shown by analogy from this proof text]: *Saying: If a man divorces his wife* (Jeremiah 3:1).'"

See BT *Sanhedrin* 56a–b; *Zohar* 1:35b; 2:83b, 239b; 3:27a. Here Rabbi El'azar alters the interpretation of the word *saying* from "concerning adultery" (based on the verse *Saying: If a man divorces his wife* [literally: *woman*]) to "this is Woman," alluding to the divine woman, *Shekhinah*.

29. ***this*, Righteous One** The biblical word זה (*zeh*), *this*, refers to *Yesod*, known as Righteous One, while the feminine form, זאת (*zot*), *this*, refers to his partner, *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence.

30. **נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, נייחא (*neyaḥa*), satisfaction, of the earth** Noah's name implies that by embodying *Yesod* he satisfied *Shekhinah*, symbolized by earth.

31. **This site...** *Shekhinah*, implied by the word *saying*. Rabbi El'azar reads the verse: *He named him Noah*. [Who named him Noah?] *Saying* [i.e., *Shekhinah*].

32. **Holy Land** *Shekhinah*.

33. **Here is written: *This*, and there is written: *This is YHVH*...** The second verse specifies the divine male, *YHVH*, thereby demonstrating that *this* conveys that meaning.

34. **inscribed with the inscription of the royal signet, inscribed with His name** In *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 14, *Shemini* 8, the mark of circumcision is identified with the י (*yod*) of the divine name שדי (*Shaddai*). A German Hasidic tradition identifies the mark with the *yod* of יהוה (*YHVH*). In the *Zohar*, it signifies the divine name as well as *Yesod* (and occasionally *Shekhinah*).

See *Zohar* 1:2b, 13a, 56a, 95a–b; 2:36a, 216b; 3:142a (*IR*), 215b, 220a, 256a (*RM*); Wolfson, in *JQR* 78 (1987): 77–112; idem, *Circle in the Square*, 29–48.

35. **Why is את (*et*) not written?** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense; but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

36. **There, another rung; here, another rung...** In the *Zohar*, the word את (*et*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who comprises the entire alphabet of divine speech, from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). She is also known as Oral Torah. See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

Here Rabbi El'azar's point is that *Shekhinah* named Noah; he reads the verse: את (*Et*) [*Shekhinah*] *called his name Noah*. Jacob, on the other hand, was named by his *sefirah*, *Tif'eret*, known as the blessed Holy One, so in that verse the word את (*et*) does not appear. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 63:8; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemot 4; Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 25:26; Rashi, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:138a, 186a–b.

The verse from Isaiah is cited to show that את (*et*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is paired with יהוה (*YHVH*), symbolizing *Tif'eret*, though actually in that verse the divine name is written: אדני (*Adonai*). See *Zohar* 1:18a, 247a; 2:81b.

37. **the blessed Holy One...** *Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*.

38. **site possessing nothing of its own...** *Shekhinah*, who receives emanation from Her partner.

39. **that *affair* is nourished only *with justice*...** *Shekhinah* is known as דבר (*davar*), "affair" or "word," since She is the realm of divine speech. She is nourished by *Tif'eret*, known as *justice*. *Shekhinah* is also known as *righteousness*, and together with *Tif'eret* constitutes the foundation of the divinity.

40. **Righteous One** *Yesod* ("Foundation"), who is called Righteous One based on Proverbs 10:25; see above, note 4.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

41. **Sabbath who opened with *good*** According to *Midrash Tehillim* 92:3, the Sabbath Day herself recited this psalm together with Adam. Cf. the Sabbath morning liturgy: "The Sabbath Day exclaims in praise: *A psalm, a song for the Sabbath Day. It is good to praise YHVH*."

42. **All is one! All have spoken one word** All these different interpretations harmonize. *Tif'eret* and *Yesod* represent two aspects of the divine masculine potency, while Noah embodies *Yesod*, who is also symbolized by the Sabbath day.

43. **This generates offspring...** *Yesod* generates life.

44. **Souls of the righteous...** Souls are engendered by the union of *Tif'eret* (or *Yesod*) and *Shekhinah*. On souls as fruit, see above, note 6.

45. **adorns Himself in His crowns...** Divinity is adorned both by the *sefirot* and by righteous human souls. See *Zohar* 3:291a (*IZ*).

46. **site deepest of all** The highest sefirotic realm is also the deepest.

47. **site of the sanctuary...** *Shekhinah*.

48. **cistern... ocean...** Other names of *Shekhinah*, who receives the divine flow and channels it to the lower worlds.

49. **Why first *your cistern*, then *your well*?...** The words בור (*bor*), *cistern*, and באר (*be'er*), *well*, are nearly identical. See BT *Avodah Zarah* 19a.

50. **site embracing the poor is called *cistern*...** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by poverty and by the empty cistern, since She possesses nothing of Her own and is dependent on the higher *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:235a.

51. **Who is that? ד (*Dalet*)... ה (*He*)...** When *Shekhinah* is empty, She is symbolized by the letter ד (*dalet*), signifying that She is דלה (*dallah*), "poor," lacking the flow of emanation from above. Once the human arousal from below stimulates Her union with *Tif'eret*, the ד (*dalet*) is enhanced by the straight line of the letter ו (*vav*), the third letter of יהוה (*YHVH*) whose numerical value of six symbolizes *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him. Thereby *Shekhinah* is enriched, and ד (*dalet*) is transformed into ה (*he*), the final letter of יהוה (*YHVH*). See *Zohar* 2:51a, 104a, 123b, 188b (*SdTs*).

52. **King David...** David, the ideal king, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is also

known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

53. **Abraham** Symbolizing the free-flowing love of *Ḥesed*.

54. **Jacob, in the middle** Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the central pillar and core of the *sefirot*, who mediates between *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*.

55. **Isaac...** Whose servants discovered *a well of living water*. See *Zohar* 1:135b.

56. **supernal holy chariot, composed of the patriarchs...** The three patriarchs symbolize the sefirotic triad *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, which is completed by *Shekhinah*, symbolized by King David.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 47:6: "Resh Lakish said, 'The patriarchs themselves constitute the [divine] Chariot.'" Cf. Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 57; Jacob ben Sheshet, *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon*, 396; *Zohar* 1:5b, 20a, 89b (*ST*), 99a, 150a, 154b, 173b, 248b; 2:144a; 3:38a, 99a; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 32:10.

57. **Desire of the female toward the male arouses...** On the spirit entering the female, cf. *Zohar* 2:102a. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep*... (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)— like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta*, *Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:17b, 29b, 35a, 46a, 85b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

According to the second-century Greek physician Galen, sperm is generated by both male and female. See Leviticus 12:2; Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides, Baḥya ben Asher, and Sforno, ad loc.; BT *Berakhot* 60a; *Niddah* 31a.

58. **Assembly of Israel...** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

Here Rabbi Shim'on teaches that *Shekhinah*'s passion for *Tif'eret* is stimulated by righteous souls of Israel "assembled" within Her. See *Zohar* 1:235a, 244a–b,

245b. This ascent of "female waters" is emphasized by Isaac Luria.

59. **amble ambled by the blessed Holy One...** See *Sifra*, *Beḥuqqotai* 3:3, 111b: "*I will walk among you* (Leviticus 26:12).... In the time to come the blessed Holy One will stroll with the righteous in the Garden of Eden."

See Genesis 3:8; *Aggadat Bereshit* 23:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 102a; 2 Enoch 8:3; *Pereq Shirah*, 2:57 (s.v. *tarnegol*); *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:138).

According to the *Zohar*, at midnight God delights in the souls of the righteous in the Garden of Eden, and those who study Torah here below partake of the celestial joy.

See *Zohar* 1:10b, 72a, 77a–b, 82b, 92a–b, 132b, 136b, 178b, 231b; 2:46a, 130a–b, 136a, 173b, 195b–196a; 3:21b–22b, 52b, 193a; *ZḤ* 13c (*MhN*). Cf. BT *Berakhot* 3b; Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 146–50.

60. **All those offspring of the Garden of Eden...** Souls emerge only from the union of *Yesod*, known as Righteous One, with *Shekhinah* (known as both "Garden of Eden" and "ark").

61. **Similarly here, Noah, *righteous man*...** Noah, embodying *Yesod*, had to enter the ark, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, in order to generate offspring.

62. **Because they perpetrated their sins brazenly...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:57b.

63. **verse conveys two modes** The first half of the verse (*The earth was corrupt before God*) conveys hidden sin, known only to God, while the second half (*and the earth was filled with violence*) denotes brazen sin. Both interpretations of *before God* presented here by Rabbi Yehudah and Rabbi Yose derive from Ibn Ezra, ad loc., who prefers a different interpretation. See BT *Keritot* 25b; *Leqaḥ Tov*, ad loc.

64. **'children of Adam'** בני האדם (*Benei ha-adam*), "The children of the human," i.e., human beings. Rabbi Abba understands the phrase as "children of Adam."

65. **he actualized their existence in the world** By entering the ark, he saved humanity.

66. **inflicting death upon them all** By eating the forbidden fruit, he brought death into the world. See Genesis 2:17; *Zohar* 1:36a.

67. ***the children of Adam*, not *the children of Noah*** Even though the account of the Tower of Babel appears after Noah, it still includes the phrase: *the children of Adam*. Why?

68. ***A wise son delights a father*** The verse continues in parallelism: *but a foolish son is his mother's grief.*

69. **when rebels arose against their Lord...** By building the Tower of Babel. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:9, which compares the sinful ingratitude of

Adam and the generation of the Tower of Babel: "*That* בני האדם (*benei ha-adam*), *the children of the human, had built*. Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Would we have thought it was built by the children of donkeys or camels? Rather, it means *the children of Adam*. "Just as Adam, after all the good that I bestowed upon him, said *The woman whom You gave to be beside me* [*she gave me of the tree, and I ate*] (Genesis 3:12), so although the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel] followed the generation of the Flood by only two years [as is said:] *two years after the Flood* (ibid. 11:10), yet [they rebelled, displaying gross ingratitude]."'" See *Zohar* 1:74b (*ST*), 75a.

70. ***these*, not the earlier ones...** See above, p. 340 and n. 5. Here Noah's offspring are contrasted with Adam's, who were generated only after he was banished from the Garden.

71. **If Adam had generated offspring from the Garden...** If he had engendered children while still in the Garden, they would have lived forever. Actually, according to various rabbinic sources, Adam did engender children in the Garden.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:2; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 1; Rashi on Genesis 4:1.

72. **light of the moon would never have darkened** The light of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, would not have diminished. See *Zohar* 1:1a, 12a, 19b, 33b.

73. **How could they have generated offspring there?...** Procreation is linked with the evil impulse, so if Adam had not sinned, he would have remained childless. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:7: "Naḥman said in the name of Rabbi Shemu'el: '*Behold, it was very good*—this is the good impulse; *And behold, it was very good* (Genesis 1:31)—this is the evil impulse. Is the evil impulse *very good*? How astonishing! Yet were it not for the evil impulse, no man would ever build a house, marry a woman, or engender children.'"

See *Yoma* 69b; *Zohar* 1:49a; 3:189a.

74. **Similarly if Israel had not sinned...** At Sinai with the Golden Calf. See BT *Avodah Zarah* 5a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Let us be grateful to our ancestors, for if they had not sinned [with the Golden Calf], we would never have come into the world!'"

75. **incapable of the other side** They cannot endure on the other, holy side. Alternatively, they are incapable of enduring on "the other side," the side of evil, which is barren.

76. **From the ark issued...** See Genesis 9:18–19.

77. ***For all flesh had corrupted their way...*** The verse concludes: *upon earth*. Immorality, especially sexual sin, contaminates the earth. The phrase

corrupted their way upon earth is elsewhere interpreted as referring to masturbation (spilling seed on earth) or crossbreeding.

See BT *Sanhedrin* 108a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 28:8; *Kallah Rabbati* 2; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 61b–62a, 69a. Cf. *Sanhedrin* 57a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4.

78. **they thrust *Shekhinah* out of the world...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'Whoever sins secretly, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a–b, 69a, 84b.

79. **another spirit hovers over her...** A demonic spirit fills the vacuum left by *Shekhinah*.

80. **no other spirit or official hovers over the land of Israel...** See BT *Ta'anit* 10a: "The land of Israel is watered by the blessed Holy One Himself, whereas the rest of the world is watered by an emissary."

Cf. *Tanḥuma, Re'eh* 8; BT *Ketubbot* 110b; *Zohar* 1:84b, 108b; 2:33a, 151b. According to *Bereshit Rabbah* 33:6, "Rabbi Levi said, '... The land of Israel was not inundated by the Flood.'"

According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God. See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma, Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 84b, 108b; 2:33a, 151b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

81. **But for a moment it does hover...** A destructive power hovers even over the land of Israel.

82. **Here is written: *angel*...** In all these passages *angel* refers to *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:113a, 120b, 166a, 230a; 3:187a. Cf. *Mekhilta, Shirata* 3.

83. **For good, so that other officials...** In good times, when Israel acts virtuously, God rules over the land of Israel directly, lavishing blessing, so that all others will witness His intimacy with Israel and be ashamed of their own failings.

84. **For ill, so that they will not rejoice...** When Israel sins, God Himself administers the punishment, so as not to give her enemies the satisfaction of dominating her. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 1:41; BT *Sanhedrin* 96b.

85. **the House** The Temple.

86. ***Corrupt,* indeed, as has been explained** See above, note 77. The word נשחתה (*nishḥatah*), *corrupt*, can also mean "destroyed," alluding to the destruction of the Temple described above.

87. **earth called above...** Earth symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who, stimulated by

human repentance, adorns Herself for Her partner, *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 1:72b; 2:232b.

88. **So, *it was corrupt,* indeed!...** Immorality defiles both the earth and *Shekhinah*.

89. **Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lekonya, his father-in-law** See the similar setting in *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 11:20: "Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on was going to Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yose son of Lekonya, his father-in-law... According to this rabbinic tradition, El'azar's father-in-law was named Shim'on son of Yose.

See JT *Ma'aserot* 3:8, 50d; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:11; *Devarim Rabbah* 7:11; *Seder ha-Dorot*, s.v. Shim'on ben Yose ben Lekonya. (In BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85a, the name of Rabbi El'azar's brother-in-law is given as Rabbi Shim'on son of Issi [Yose] son of Lekonya, which would make Yose his father-in-law, as here in the *Zohar*; but nowhere in rabbinic literature is he named Yose son of Shim'on.)

The author(s) of the *Zohar* consistently switches father and son, transforming Shim'on son of Yose into Yose son of Shim'on. See 1:5a–b, 143b; 3:84b, 188a, 193a; *ZḤ* 10d, 14a (*MhN*), 22c (*MhN*). El'azar's own father, of course, is Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai.

90. **canopied carpet with wooden poles** טופסיסא דקומרא במטון דקולפא (*Tufsisa de-qumra be-matun de-qulpa*). One of the *Zohar*'s neologistic phrases, describing the gracious welcome given Rabbi El'azar by his father-in-law. *Tufsisa* derives from the Greek *tapes*, "carpet, rug." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 33:1; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 178.

Qumra derives from the Greek *qamara*, "arched cover." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 31:11 (describing Noah's ark); M *Eruvin* 8:9–10; *Arukh*, s.v. *qmr*.

The word *qulpa* means "pole, lance." See *Zohar* 1:29a, 32a, 57b.

91. **Companions have already established...** This interpretation appears in *Vayiqra Rabbah* 6:5 (and parallels) in the name of Rabbi Ya'akov of Kefar Ḥanin, who interprets אמרתו (*emrato*), *His utterance*, as *imrato*, "His hemmed garment," the royal purple torn by God in mourning over the destruction of the Temple. According to rabbinic tradition, the Temple curtain was slashed by the Roman general Titus.

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 328; *Bereshit Rabbah* 10:7; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:5; BT *Gittin* 56b. Cf. *Midrash Tehillim* 9:13; *Ester Rabbah* 7:10; *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Numbers, 785; *Zohar* 1:39a, 41a (*Heikh*), 224b; 2:8b; 3:140b (*IR*).

92. **He ordained that purple...** The royal purple symbolizes *Shekhinah*, known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). She culminates the emanation of the "primordial days," the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*.

93. **on the day the Temple was destroyed, He rent it...** *Shekhinah*, corresponding to the Temple, was torn from Her partner, *Tif'eret*, and thrown into exile along with Israel.

94. **This can be compared to a king...** See the similar parable in *Bahir* 23 (33).

95. *He apprehended* זמם (*Zamam*), which means both "devise" and "consider." Rabbi El'azar adopts the latter meaning, in the sense of "being apprehensive."

96. **Whenever He entered, He would don...** Whenever the blessed Holy One manifested in the Temple, for example, during the three pilgrimage festivals, He would be robed in *Shekhinah*, uniting with Her.

97. **But we have learned that joy vanishes...** See BT *Megillah* 10b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan has said, '... The blessed Holy One does not rejoice in the downfall of the wicked.' And Rabbi Yoḥanan said further, 'What is the meaning of the verse *One did not approach the other all night long* (Exodus 14:20)? [In its literal sense, this verse refers to the Israelites and the Egyptians encamped at the Red Sea.] The ministering angels [referred to as *one* and *the other* in Isaiah 6:3] wanted to sing, but the blessed Holy One said, "The work of My hands is drowning in the sea, and you are singing?"'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a–b.

98. **extension He patiently granted them...** The days of the wicked are prolonged to enable them to turn back to God or to engender worthy children.

See BT *Bava Qamma* 38b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 32:4; *Zohar* 1:56b, 62b, 65b, 118a (*MhN*), 227a; 2:12b.

99. **punished prematurely—with incomplete guilt...** See BT *Sotah* 9a: "Rav Hamnuna said: 'The blessed Holy One does not punish a person until his peck is full.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:113b, 121b. The verse from Genesis explains why Abraham's descendants can inherit the Promised Land only in the distant future.

100. **Egyptians in the sea... enemies of Israel...** On the drowning of the Egyptians, see above, note 97, citing BT *Megillah* 10b. Earlier in the same Talmudic passage, reference is made to the sad fate of the soldiers of Moab and Ammon who died in battle against King Jehoshaphat of Judah. See *Zohar* 1:57b.

101. **even though their time was up...** Even though Israel had sinned and deserved punishment.

102. **there has been no joy...** See M *Sotah* 9:12: "Rabban Shim'on son of Gamli'el says in the name of Rabbi Yehoshu'a: 'Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed, there is no day without a curse, dew has not descended as a blessing, and the flavor of fruit has been eliminated.'"

See *Zohar* 1:70b, 177a, 181a–b, 203a; 3:15b, 74b.

103. **Forty, to lash sinners...** This interpretation by Rabbi Yehudah accords with the view attributed to him in the Mishnah (M *Makkot* 3:10) that forty full lashes should be administered by the court, not thirty-nine, as ruled by the majority of rabbis.

See *Tanḥuma, Qoraḥ* 12; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Sanhedrin* 17:1; *Zohar* 2:184a, 249b (*Heikh*). For other associations of the forty days and nights of the Flood, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:5.

104. **the human being was created from these four** See *Tanḥuma, Pequdei* 3: "He began assembling the body of Adam from the four directions of the world."

See 2 Enoch 30:13; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 2:7; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11; *Zohar* 1:130b, 205b; 2:23b, 24b; 3:83a.

105. ***I will obliterate all existing things*** The verse continues: *that I have made, from the face of the earth*. Rabbi Yehudah is playing with two senses of מחה (*mḥh*): "wipe out" and "strike."

106. ***for all flesh had corrupted their way...*** Human immorality, especially sexual sin, contaminates earth. Rabbi Shim'on understands the expression דרכו השחית (*hishḥit darko*), *corrupted their way*, as an allusion to masturbation.

See *Kallah Rabbati* 2, citing Genesis 38:9: שחת ארצה (*shiḥet artsah*), *he* [Onan] *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground* (or: *let it go to ruin*). Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4, 31:7; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 69a.

In the world of the *Zohar*, masturbation is a heinous sin. See 1:188a, 219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66. Cf. BT *Niddah* 13a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak and Rabbi Ammi said, '[Whoever emits semen fruitlessly] is as though he sheds blood.'"

107. **return** Turning back to God in sincere repentance.

108. **emitting seed upon earth** Instead of על ארעא (*al ar'a*), "upon earth," several manuscripts read על זרעא (*al zar'a*), "upon seed."

109. ***evil cannot abide with You*** See *Zohar* 1:56b–57a; cf. BT *Niddah* 13b. Later editions include a qualifying gloss here: "except through great returning [repentance]." See *Zohar* 1:219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353.

110. ***Er, firstborn of Judah, was evil...*** The verse concludes: *and YHVH put him to death*. As noted in *Kallah Rabbati* 2, "[ער (*Er*), Er] spelled backward is רע (*ra*), evil." Genesis does not specify the nature of Er's sin, but rabbinic tradition maintains that it was the same as that of his younger brother, Onan, who *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground* (Genesis 38:9).

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 38:7; BT *Yevamot* 34b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Zohar* 1:56b–57a.

111. **upper waters and lower waters failed to unite fittingly** Human immorality ruins the union of the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the upper and lower waters. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23: "Rabbi Tsadok said, '...The waters of the Flood came down upon the earth—namely, the male waters—and they rose from the depths—namely, the female waters. Joining one another, they prevailed and destroyed the world.'" Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:7.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep...* (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta, Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Zohar* 1:17b, 29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

According to the second-century Greek physician Galen, sperm is generated by both male and female. See Leviticus 12:2; Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides, Baḥya ben Asher, and Sforno, ad loc.; BT *Berakhot* 60a; *Niddah* 31a.

112. **The water was boiling... just as they wasted their ways...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 108b: "It has been taught: The waters of the Flood were as thick as semen.... Rav Ḥisda said: 'With boiling [passion] they sinned, and with boiling [water] they were punished.'"

See *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Job, 906; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 7:10; *Zohar* 1:66a.

113. **bones from victims of the Flood... three hundred paces...** According to rabbinic tradition, the generation of the Flood were giants, of whom only Og, King of Bashan, survived. See *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 7:20: "Each of them was fifteen cubits [approximately twenty-two feet] high, and they said, 'Let's climb to the top of the mountains!' Therefore the waters swelled fifteen cubits above the mountains."

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Deuteronomy 3:11; *Bereshit Rabbah* 31:12; BT *Niddah* 61a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22–23, 34.

The immense size of the bone recorded here derives from (and is dwarfed by) the description in BT *Niddah* 24b: "Abba Sha'ul (or, as some say, Rabbi Yoḥanan) stated: 'I used to be a grave digger. Once while chasing a deer, I entered the thighbone of a corpse. I pursued it for three parasangs [about ten miles] but did not catch the deer and the thighbone did not end. When I returned I was told that the bone belonged to Og, King of Bashan.'"

114. **With their feet they dammed up the springs...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi*

Eli'ezer 22: "They said, 'If He brings the waters of the Flood upon us, behold, we are of high stature, and the waters will not reach our necks. If He brings up the waters of the depths against us, behold, the soles of our feet can dam up the depths.' What did they do? They spread the soles of their feet and dammed up all the depths. What did the blessed Holy One do? He boiled the waters of the depths, which seethed their flesh and peeled off their skin."

115. ***Noah engendered three sons*** The verse continues: —*Shem, Ham, and Japheth*.

116. **this one virtuous, that one wicked** A gloss preserved in M and several other witnesses adds: "this one average." See Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, 1:88, where Shem symbolizes good; Ham, evil; and Japheth, indifference.

117. **Here, too, three clusters of spirit roaming...** Noah, symbolizing divine potency, generates the soul in her three aspects: נשמה (*neshamah*), "soul, breath," the highest aspect, followed by רוח (*ruaḥ*), "spirit, wind," and נפש (*nefesh*), "vitality, being." These three dimensions of soul correspond to three worlds. In *ZḤ* 6d (*MhN*) the three aspects of the soul correspond to the upper, middle, and lower worlds. In *Maskiyyot Kesef*, 9–11, Moses de León writes that the soul partakes of three worlds: the World of Creation, the World of Formation, and the World of Action. In later Kabbalah these three worlds contain, respectively, the divine throne, the angels, and the physical cosmos. Here the worlds may symbolize the sefirotic triad of *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*.

See *Zohar* 2:155a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 39–40. On the variety of worlds in the *Zohar*, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:555–60; on the soul, 2:677–722, especially 687–89.

Noah's middle son, Ham, *saw... the nakedness of his father* (Genesis 9:22), for which he was cursed. In the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* (*ZḤ* 21c) he symbolizes the evil impulse, while here he symbolizes the lowest level of soul, *nefesh* ("vitality"), which originates, according to the *Zohar*, outside the divine realm and on its own is prone to evil.

See 1:81a (*ST*); 3:25a–b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh* 29 (35).

118. **mountains of separation** Angels or the forces surrounding the divine throne who are situated outside the unified realm of the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:29b, 158a; 2:234a–b (which all cite Song of Songs 2:17); Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:556.

119. **spirit is joined to soul** The soul (*neshamah*) is clothed in spirit (*ruaḥ*).

120. **vitality joins spirit** The spirit (*ruaḥ*) is clothed in vitality (*nefesh*).

121. **while soul abides in one's ways...** The lower two aspects of the soul, vitality (*nefesh*) and spirit (*ruaḥ*), appear simultaneously at the beginning of life,

but the highest aspect, *neshamah*, manifests only if one lives virtuously. Until then she remains hidden within the deepest recesses of divinity.

122. **If one strives to purify himself...** See BT *Shabbat* 104a: "Resh Lakish said, '...If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening; if one comes to purify himself, he is assisted.'"

Cf. *Yoma* 39a: "Our Rabbis taught: '*Do not defile yourselves with them and thus become defiled* (Leviticus 11:43). If one defiles himself slightly, he is defiled greatly; below, he is defiled from above; in this world, he is defiled in the world to come.' Our Rabbis taught: '*Hallow yourselves and you will be holy* (ibid., 44). If one sanctifies himself slightly, he is sanctified greatly; below, he is sanctified from above; in this world, he is sanctified in the world to come.'"

See *Makkot* 10b: "Rabbah son of Bar Ḥana said in the name of Rabbi Huna (some say, Rabbi Huna said in the name of Rabbi El'azar), 'From the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings it can be demonstrated that one is led on the path one wishes to take.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:54a, 56b, 169b, 198b; 2:50a; 3:47a. The reference to "two openings" plays on the wording in BT *Shabbat* 104a, cited above: "If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening."

123. **T**osefta "Addenda." The *Matnitin* and *Tosefta* of the *Zohar*, strewn throughout the text, consist mostly of anonymous enigmatic revelations addressed to the Companions, urging them to open their hearts to the mysteries. The terseness of these passages recalls the style of the Mishnah. See Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 216.

The *Matnitin* and *Tosefta* are not formally part of the *Zohar*'s running commentary on the Torah and will consequently be translated separately in a subsequent volume. I have included this passage of *Tosefta* here because it appears here in nearly all of the manuscripts.

124. **Incredible clusters!** קטורי רמאי (*Qeturei rama'ei*), "Exalted bonds," referring to the kabbalists, whose souls link up with divinity. In the preceding passage, the three aspects of soul are referred to as "three clusters of spirit."

The phrase *qeturei rama'ei*, reappearing in *Zohar* 1:107b (*ST*), 251a (*Hash*), could conceivably be rendered "Conspiratorial impostors!" The Hebrew cognate קשר (*qesher*) means "knot, band, conspiracy," while the root *rmy* means "deceive," as in *Zohar* 1:137a (*MhN*), 204b; 2:71a, 72b, 71b–72a (*RR*); *ZḤ* 32a. (See also note 208, below.) The phrase would then refer to the pseudepigraphic circle of the *Zohar* who present their teachings in the guise of ancient Mishnaic rabbis.

125. **Impregnable castles! Quaestors of quaestory!** קסטורי דקוסטרי (*Qastorei de-qusterei*). The root *qstr* appears in two senses in the *Zohar*: one deriving from Latin *castrum* (pl. *castra*), "castle, fortress" (as in *Zohar* 1:29a, 30a); the

other from Latin *quaestor*, a Roman official (JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b, 53b; 2:19b, 58b, 208b; 3:13a). Either sense applies here to the kabbalists, impregnable in their faith, appointed from above.

126. **A voice—voice of voices—descends...** A heavenly voice manifests. See *Zohar* 1:77a, 161b (*Mat*); 2:81a.

127. **who see without seeing** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Rabbi Yose said, 'Woe to creatures, for they see but do not know what they see, they stand but do not know on what they stand.'"

128. **the one encompassed by two within them...** As indicated above (in the passage immediately preceding this *tosefta*), the deepest aspect of soul (*neshamah*) is clothed in spirit (*ruaḥ*), which is itself clothed in vitality (*nefesh*). So the *neshamah* is "the one encompassed by two [dwelling] within them," yet rejected by them through their conduct.

129. **They cling to those two, while one...** They desire only to stay alive through the power of the lower aspects of the soul, *nefesh* and *ruaḥ*, making no effort to attain the deeper spirituality of *neshamah*, who consequently flees from them.

The *neshamah* is "artisan of artisans," the source of creativity, emanating from *Shekhinah*, who is called "Artisan of the world" (*Zohar* 1:47b) and derives from *Binah*, also called Artisan (2:167b; 3:219b; 1:22a [*TZ*]). See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1: "Rabbi Osha'ya opened, '*I was with Him as an artisan, I was a daily delight* (Proverbs 8:30).... Torah says, "I was the instrument of the blessed Holy One."... The blessed Holy One gazed into Torah and created the world.'" Cf. *Zohar* 2:161a–b.

130. **Books of Memory** The celestial books in which all human actions are recorded. Elsewhere in the *Zohar*, the Book of Memory is identified with *Yesod*. See Ezra 4:15; Targum to Esther 6:1; *Zohar* 1:8a–b; 2:70a, 200a, 217a, 246a.

131. **Dumah** Literally, "silence," a name for the netherworld in the Bible. See Psalms 94:17: *Unless YHVH had been my help, my soul would have nearly dwelt in dumah*. Cf. Psalms 115:17.

In rabbinic literature Dumah is the angel in charge of souls of the dead (BT *Berakhot* 18b, *Shabbat* 152b, *Sanhedrin* 94a). In the *Zohar*, he retains this role but also oversees Hell. See 1:8a–b, 94a, 102a, 124a (*MhN*), 237b.

132. **except on new moons and Sabbaths...** According to *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 33, one of the dwellers in Hell reports: "Whoever does not observe the Sabbath properly [*Bereshit Rabbah* 11:5: "willingly"] in your world comes here and observes it against his will.... All week long we are punished and on the Sabbath we rest."

See BT *Sanhedrin* 65b; *Zohar* 1:14b, 41a (*Heikh*), 48a, 197b; 2:31b, 88b,

150b–151a, 203b, 207a; 3:94b; *ZḤ* 17a–b.

The notion that the suffering of the wicked in Hell also abates on new moons derives from Ashkenazic sources. See Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 40.

133. **Afterward** At the close of each Sabbath or new moon.

134. **herald in the North...** Associated with the left side and characterized by harsh judgment.

135. **ravaging bands of truculent stingers** חבילי טריקין (*Ḥavilei teriqin*). The first word derives from either חבל (*ḥevel*), "band, group," or the verb חבל (*ḥvl*), "to injure, destroy." The second word derives from the root טרק (*trq*), "to sting, bite."

See *Zohar* 1:130a, 237b, 243b–244a; 3:52b, 62b, 154b, 181a, 291b (*IZ*).

136. **Valley of Ben Hinnom** גי בן הנם (*Gei Ven Hinnom*). Originally, the valley outside the western wall of Jerusalem where the god Molech was worshiped, perhaps through child sacrifice. See 2 Kings 23:10; Jeremiah 7:31–32. Jeremiah prophesied that it would be known as *the Valley of Slaughter* and serve as a burial site. In postbiblical literature *Geihinnom* became the name of Hell.

137. **when Israel responds aloud: 'Amen! May His great name be blessed!'...** The response of the congregation in the middle of the Kaddish prayer. See BT *Shabbat* 119b: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'Whoever responds with all his strength: "Amen! May His great name be blessed!"—his decreed sentence is torn up.'"

See *Tosafot*, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:38b (*Heikh*); 3:285b; *ZḤ* 49a–b, 84c (*MhN*, *Rut*); *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*, Version 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:368); *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Isaiah, 429; *Seder Eliyyahu Zuta* 17 (22–23); Nissim of Kairouan, *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshu'ah*, 104–5; *Maḥazor Vitri* 144 (112–13); Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon*, 299–302; Lerner, in *Asufot* 2 (1988): 29–70.

138. **Samriel is his name** Based on the root סמר (*smr*), "to bristle," in Psalm 119:120: *My flesh bristles in fear of You*. See *Midrash Tehillim*, ad loc.: "*My flesh bristles in fear of You*—in fear of *Geihinnom*."

139. **three gates on the side of the wilderness** A somewhat different layout appears in BT *Eruvin* 19a: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, '*Geihinnom* has three gates: one in the wilderness, one in the ocean, and one in Jerusalem.'"

On the demonic nature of the wilderness, see *Zohar* 1:14b, 169b, 178b; 2:157a, 184a.

140. **hour-and-a-half** See *Zohar* 3:167a, where a person is punished in Hell for an hour-and-a-half.

141. **three times a day and whenever Israel recites: 'Amen!...'** During

the three daily services, which include the Kaddish prayer, and upon completing a session of Torah study, when the prayer is also recited.

142. **in every direction** Even to Hell, bringing relief to the wicked.

143. **In Hell there are abodes upon abodes...** On the seven divisions of Hell, see BT *Sotah* 10b; *Midrash Tehillim* 11:6; *Zohar* 1:40a (*Heikh*), 237b; 2:150b, 263a–68b (*Heikh*); 3:178a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:20, n. 56.

144. **Sheol and Avadon** In the Bible, שאול (*she'ol*) is the underworld, abode of the dead, sometimes paired with אבדון (*avaddon*), "destruction, ruin," which may refer to a distinct area of the underworld reserved for the wicked. See Proverbs 15:11; Job 26:6; and Revelation 9:11, where Avadon is the name of *the angel of the bottomless pit*. Cf. *Zohar* 3:54b, 178a, 285b–86a.

145. **receives his punishment, and is raised... is never raised...** According to M *Eduyyot* 2:10, the wicked are punished in *Geihinnom* for twelve months. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 17a: "Transgressors of Israel who sin with their body and transgressors of the Gentiles who sin with their body descend to *Geihinnom* and are punished there for twelve months. After twelve months their body is consumed, their soul burned, and the wind scatters them under the soles of the feet of the righteous.... But as for the heretics, informers, apostates, skeptics, those who rejected Torah and denied the resurrection of the dead, those who abandoned the ways of the community, those who *spread* their *terror in the land of the living* (Ezekiel 32:23), and those who sinned and made the masses sin..., these descend to *Geihinnom* and are punished there for generation after generation.... *Geihinnom* will be consumed, but they will not be consumed."

146. **totally... lost** Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, 3: "Abandon hope, all you who enter here."

147. **Noah warned his contemporaries...** According to a rabbinic tradition, Noah attempted to warn his contemporaries and induce them to turn back to God, but he was unsuccessful. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7; *Tanḥuma, Noaḥ* 5; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a–b.

148. **Fire and snow...** According to rabbinic literature, the year-long punishment of the sinners in Hell is equally divided between fire and snow. See JT *Sanhedrin* 10:3, 29b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 10:4; *Zohar* 1:68b, 107b, 238b. Similarly, the generation of the Flood was punished with freezing water raining down from the sky and boiling water surging up from the depths. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 33; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; above, page 356.

149. **Noah was a *tree bearing fruit*...** Noah symbolizes *Yesod*, the fructiferous phallus, identified with this tree. See *Zohar* 1:1a, 18b, 33a, 238a.

150. **when this *tree bearing fruit* joins the *fruit tree*** When *Yesod* joins with *Shekhinah*, who receives His fruit and is called *fruit tree*.

151. **all those supernal species...** Various heavenly and angelic powers.

152. **Similarly, Noah in the ark...** In entering the ark, Noah both imitated and stimulated the union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*.

153. ***Noah, husband of earth*** The phrase איש האדמה (*ish ha-adamah*) is normally rendered as *man of the soil*, but Rabbi Abba understands it as *husband of earth*. Having embodied *Yesod*, Noah unites with *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*. See above, note 11.

154. ***Noah, righteous man...*** Noah symbolizes *Yesod*, who is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34; *Zohar* 1:59b.

155. **300 years...** Rabbinic tradition records 120 years. See *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 6:3; *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7.

156. **completed the span of time He had patiently extended for them...** The days of the wicked were prolonged to enable them to turn back to God. See BT *Bava Qamma* 38b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 32:4; *Zohar* 1:56b, 61b, 65b, 118a (*MhN*), 227a; 2:12b.

157. ***The sons of Elohim saw the human daughters...*** The verse reads: *The sons of Elohim saw how beautiful the human daughters were, and they took themselves wives, whomever they chose*. The myth behind this fragment in Genesis appears in postbiblical sources describing angels who rebelled against God and descended from heaven to earth, where they were attracted by mortal women.

See Isaiah 14:12; 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:23a (*TZ*), 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN, Rut*); *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 6:2; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:153-56, n. 57.

158. **This was the foundation, the root of their persistent sinning...** The generation of the Flood, descended from the lustful union of angels with mortal women, persisted in the ancestral sin. Thereby they rejected *Shekhinah*, known as מהימנותא קדישא (*meheima-nuta qaddisha*), the realm of "holy faith."

159. **We return to the previous matter** Previously the discussion had focused on Genesis 6:12, then on 6:10, following which there appear a passage from the Zoharic *Tosefta* and a discussion of Noah warning his generation. Now the text returns to Genesis 6:13.

160. ***End of all flesh has come before Me...* caused by them** Human

wickedness empowers the Angel of Death, known as *End of all flesh*. See *Zohar* 1:35b, 54a, 58a.

161. **to that world** To the afterlife. See BT *Berakhot* 28b: "When Rabban Yoḥanan son of Zakkai fell ill, his disciples came in to visit him. As soon as he saw them, he began to weep. They exclaimed, 'Lamp of Israel! Right-hand Pillar! Mighty Hammer! Why do you weep?' He replied, '... There are two paths before me—one leading to Paradise, the other to Hell—and I do not know on which one I will be led. Should I not weep?'"

162. לקץ הימין (***le-qets ha-yamin***), ***at the end of the right*** The phrase means literally *at the end of days*, the word ימין (*yamin*) being an aramaized form of the Hebrew ימים (*yamim*), "days." Rabbi Yehudah, however, understands the word as the Hebrew ימין (*yamin*), "right."

163. ***earth of pitch-black darkness*** The verse actually reads: *rock of pitch-black gloom*. See *Zohar* 1:193a.

164. **Angel of Death, Serpent, *End of all flesh*** The demonic manifests as the Angel of Death. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:58a.

165. **he derives from the side of the smelting of gold** The Angel of Death and the entire demonic realm represent the dark dross of the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, who is situated on the left side of the sefirotic tree and symbolized by gold.

166. ***The furthest reaches...* When judgment looms...** Perhaps understanding the biblical word תכלית (*takhlit*), "end, *reaches*," according to the intensive form of the root בלה (*klh*), "to destroy."

167. **Accuser of the world** See the description of Satan's itinerary in BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "He descends and seduces, ascends and arouses wrath, obtains authorization, and seizes the soul."

See Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 89a, s.v. *ba ha-satan; Zohar* 1:10b, 46b, 125a, 148a (*ST*), 152b; 2:33b, 268b.

168. ***As for you, go on till the end; you will rest, and arise*** The verse continues: *for your share at the end of days*. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:6; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 17:5.

169. **He asked, 'Where?... *You will rest*'** Several manuscripts read here: "He asked, 'Rest in this world or in that world?' He replied, 'In that world, as is said: *They will rest on their couches* (Isaiah 57:2).'"

170. **they will rise in various groups...** See Daniel 12:2; BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 16b.

171. **I don't know to which...** Daniel asks God which *end* He intends. Whereas *the end of days* symbolizes the demonic power of death, *the end of the right* symbolizes the culmination of emanation, characterized by the grace and

bliss of the right side. See *Zohar* 1:54a–b, 152b, 210b; 2:33a–34a, 134a–b, 181b. Cf. BT *Berakhot* 28b (cited above, note 161).

172. **wicked of the world anticipate him...** Those who indulge in immorality stimulate the *End of all flesh*, paving the way for him to approach the divine, ushering him in to seek authorization to strike.

173. **As soon as he is authorized, he seizes the soul...** See above, note 167.

174. ***I am about to destroy...*** By empowering the Destroyer.

175. **when death appears in town...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b: "Rabbi Yosef taught: 'What is the meaning of the verse *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22)? Once permission has been granted to the Destroyer, he does not distinguish between righteous and wicked.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? Keep your feet indoors.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? One should not walk in the middle of the road, because the Angel of Death walks there—for as soon as permission has been granted him, he strides brazenly.'"

See *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 11; *Zohar* 1:68a–b, 69a, 101b–102a, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b, 204b; 2:36a (*MhN*), 196a, 227a; 3:54a–b.

176. **called by that name** Called "Flood."

177. **as long as one's face is not visible...** See *Devarim Rabbah* 4:4; *Zohar* 1:68b, 108b.

178. **mountains of Kurdistan** טורי קרדו (*Turei qardu*), namely, the mountains of Ararat, upon which the ark settled as the waters of the Flood subsided. See Genesis 8:4, and *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc., from whom the *Zohar* borrows this Aramaic expression. Cf. *Zohar* 3:149a; *ZḤ* 11b (*MhN*), 49a. The neologistic phrase in 1:15a: בוצינא דקרדינותא (*botsina de-qardinuta*), "a spark of impenetrable darkness," may allude to Kurdistan (see above, p. 107, n. 4).

179. **crevices... from the time of the Flood** See Genesis 7:11: *All the springs of the great abyss burst*.

180. ***Stained is your iniquity before Me*** See above, page 355.

181. ***Cry shrilly, O Daughter of Gallim! Listen, Laishah! O poor Anathoth!*** Isaiah calls on the inhabitants of the city of Bat Gallim (literally, *Daughter of Gallim*) to warn the nation (specifically, the residents of Laishah and Anathoth) of the impending Assyrian invasion.

182. **Assembly of Israel** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected

with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

Here Rabbi Yose cites a verse from Isaiah addressed to the people of Israel and applies it to *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:249a–b.

183. **O *Daughter of Gallim!* Daughter of Abraham...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 94b: "Rav Huna said, '... *Cry shrilly, O Daughter of Gallim!* Daughter of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who enacted *mitsvot* as profusely as גלי הים (*gallei ha-yam*), the waves of the sea.'" Cf. *Eikhah Rabbah*, *Petiḥta* 1; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 13:1.

Here Rabbi Yose focuses on Abraham, who according to rabbinic tradition was blessed with a daughter in his old age. In Kabbalah this daughter symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from *Ḥesed*, symbolized by Abraham and by flowing water. See *Tosefta*, *Qiddushin* 5:17; BT *Bava Batra* 16b; *Bahir* 52 (78); Naḥmanides on Genesis 24:1.

184. ***sealed*** גל (***gal***), ***spring...*** **streams merging...** In the midrashic interpretation of Song of Songs, the beloved described as *a sealed spring* symbolizes the people of Israel (*Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:12; *Shemot Rabbah* 20:5). Here the *spring* is *Shekhinah*, Assembly of Israel, filled by the flow of the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, who are known as *Gallim*, "waves" of emanation.

185. ***Layish*** **is male; *Laishah*, female...** The word לישה (*laishah*) means "lioness," while its homonym, *Laishah*, is the name of the city addressed by Isaiah. Usually male and female symbolize the divine couple, *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, though here, as we soon see, both genders characterize *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:249b–250a and, on the masculine aspect of *Shekhinah*, 1:232a.

186. **deriving from upper Might** *Shekhinah*, the lioness, derives from *Gevurah* (Might).

187. **when those streams disappear... *Poor Laishah...*** When She is not nourished by the flow of emanation, *Shekhinah* is impoverished and unable to transmit blessing. See *Zohar* 1:250a.

188. ***Anathoth*, poorest of the poor...** Rabbi Yose interprets the name of the priestly village, ענתות (*Anatot*), in the sense of עני (*ani*), "poor," referring to the priests' lack of inheritance (Deuteronomy 18:1–2). The plural form suggests intense poverty. See *Zohar* 1:249b.

189. ***Anathoth, go to your field!*** The expression means literally: *Go to Anathoth, to your field*, a command given by King Solomon to Abiathar. Abiathar had been a loyal follower of Solomon's father, King David, and was appointed high priest. However, as a result of his support for the succession of Adonijah (another of David's sons), King Solomon banished him to Anathoth. See 1 Samuel 22–23; 1 Kings 1:7; 2:26–27.

190. **What is the point?** Why did Solomon call Abiathar by the name Anathoth?

191. **‘In your days father was poor; now, *go to your field!’*** Abiathar initially served David in a period of poverty, as indicated by the name Anathoth. *Shekhinah*, symbolized by David, was then also incomplete. Now in the affluent reign of Solomon, with *Shekhinah* fulfilled, Abiathar is out of place and must return to his humble home.

According to the Midrash, just as the moon does not become full until the fifteenth day of its cycle, so it remained incomplete until the glorious reign of Solomon in the fifteenth generation from Abraham. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:12; and *Shemot Rabbah* 15:26: “When Solomon appeared, the disk of the moon became full.”

See *Zohar* 1:73b, 74a, 150a, 223a, 225b, 249b; 2:85a; 3:61a; *ZḤ* 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 342. In Kabbalah the moon symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

192. ***One son... his name was Abiathar*** The verse concludes: *and he fled to David*.

193. **he must have been from Nob...** When David fled from King Saul, he was assisted by Ahimelech, priest of Nob. Saul then destroyed Nob, killing all its inhabitants—except for Abiathar, Ahimelech’s son, who escaped. See 1 Samuel 21–22; *Zohar* 1:224a.

194. **Anathoth was a village, not identical with Nob** The village of Anathoth was located on the outskirts of the city of Nob. See Nehemiah 11:32; *Zohar* 1:249b.

195. ***all the hardships my father endured*** Abiathar shared the hardships of Solomon’s father, David, as he fled from King Saul.

196. **The world was impoverished... until Noah arrived and offered an offering...** Adam’s sin ruined the union of the *sefirot*, thereby depriving the world of the rich divine flow. When Noah emerged safely from the ark following the Flood, he offered sacrifices (Genesis 8:20–22), which stimulated the union of the *sefirot*, ensuring blessing and harmony for the world.

197. **slime of the serpent...** זוהמא דנחש (*Zohama de-naḥash*), “The filth of the serpent.”

See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: “Rav Yosef taught: ‘... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.’” Israel’s acceptance of the Torah, symbolized by the Tree of Life, inoculated them against the venomous slime and restored them to a paradisiacal state.

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a, 54a, 122b.

198. **original tablets were smashed...** When Moses saw the Children of Israel worshiping the Golden Calf, he smashed the stone tablets inscribed with the Ten Commandments. Later Moses carved a second set, which were again inscribed by God. See Exodus 32:19; 34:1.

According to rabbinic tradition, the first tablets offered immortality. See *Tanḥuma*, *Ki Tissa* 16; and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 8:6: "חרות (*Ḥarut*), *Engraved, on the tablets* [describing the divine writing]. Do not read חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved*, but rather חירות (*ḥeirut*), freedom. Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Neḥemiah, and the Rabbis: Rabbi Yehudah says, 'Freedom from the Angel of Death.' Rabbi Neḥemiah says, 'Freedom from foreign rulers.' The Rabbis say, 'Freedom from suffering.'" See *Zohar* 1:37b, 52a–b.

Here the serpent is identified with the Angel of Death, known as *End of all flesh* (see above, pages 363–65). On the distinction between the original tablets and their copy, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1103–06.

199. **When the Levites rose to deal death** To kill those who had sinned with the Golden Calf. See Exodus 32:26–28.

200. **they were all girded with armored belts...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Shelaḥ*, add. 1: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'He adorned them with weapons engraved with the Ineffable Name [*YHVH*], and as long as they possessed these, no evil could touch them, neither the Angel of Death nor anything else. As soon as they sinned [with the Golden Calf], Moses said to them: *Now take off your ornaments, and I will decide what to do to you* (Exodus 33:5). At that moment, *When the people heard this evil word, they mourned*, [*and no one put on his ornaments*] (ibid., 4). What is written? *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments....* (ibid., 6).'"

Cf. *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 33:4, 6; *Targum Shir ha-Shirim* 2:17; *Eikhah Rabbah, Petiḥta* 24; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:4; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 47; BT *Shabbat* 88a; *Avodah Zarah* 5a; Naḥmanides on Exodus 33:6; *Zohar* 1:52b, 126b; 2:227a.

201. **the verse should read וינעלו (*Vay-natstselu*), *They stripped*** Since the Children of Israel stripped off their ornaments, why the construably passive conjugation?

202. **But, *they were stripped*, by someone else...** See BT *Shabbat* 88a: "Rabbi Simai expounded: 'When Israel said *We will do* before *We will listen* (Exodus 24:7) [thereby demonstrating true faith by committing themselves to fulfill God's word before hearing the details], 600,000 ministering angels came to each and every Israelite, setting two crowns upon him, one for *We will do*, and

one for *We will listen*. As soon as Israel sinned, 1,200,000 angels of destruction descended and removed them, as is said: *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments from Mount Horeb*.'"

According to the simple sense of the verse, the phrase *from Mount Horeb* means "from Mount Horeb on," "from when they stood at Mount Sinai," but Rabbi Simai (in the Talmud) and, following him, Rabbi Yose (in the *Zohar*), interpret it differently.

203. **why didn't he abolish death...?** Since, as Rabbi Ḥiyya taught above, Noah repaired the cosmic damage caused by Adam's sin, why could he not also abolish death, which was decreed as a result of that sin? In rabbinic tradition, the righteous are empowered to abolish the divine decree. See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 16b: "*The righteous one rules the awe of God*.... Rabbi Abbahu said, '... I [God] rule over humanity. Who rules over Me? The righteous one. For I issue a decree and he abolishes it.'"

204. **all of them were grasping the leaves of the tree below...** Noah's generation grasped the leaves of the Tree of Knowledge, which convey the knowledge of magic.

See *Zohar* 1:36b, 53b, 56a. Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

205. **Torah, Tree of Life, had not yet been brought down to earth...** Torah, the source of life, could have guided and protected them.

Torah is identified with the Tree of Life, based on the description of wisdom in Proverbs 3:18: *She is a tree of life to those who grasp her*. See BT *Berakhot* 32b, 61b.

206. **This person is a Jew—he looks so!** See *Zohar* 1:164a: "While they were walking, they saw a man approaching, accompanied by a child riding on his shoulders. Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "This man is certainly a Jew!"

207. **I am an envoy for a *mitsvah!*** The anonymous Jew is on a spiritual errand, having been sent to fulfill a commandment. See BT *Sukkah* 10b, 26a.

208. **village of Ramin** The name means "high, exalted," though see above, note 124. The village is not mentioned in rabbinic literature, but it reappears in *Zohar* 3:39b.

209. **Festival** The week-long harvest festival of *Sukkot*, celebrated at the end of summer.

210. ***lulav* and its fellow species** Four plants taken and waved during the festival of *Sukkot*: a palm branch (*lulav*), a citron, three sprigs of myrtle, and two willow twigs. See Leviticus 23:40.

211. **all of which propitiate for water** Originally the four species were waved as part of a ritual prayer for rain. Similarly, in the Temple in Jerusalem on the last six days of *Sukkot*, as the rainy season approached, water was drawn and

poured as a libation on the altar. The additional service for *Shemini Atseret* (the day following *Sukkot*) opens with a prayer for rain.

212. **why we need them on the Festival** In his Hebrew writings, Moses de León attacks assimilated Jews who used rationalistic ideology to justify their neglect of *mitsvot*, specifically this *mitsvah*. See his *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 391–92; Matt, *Zohar*, 5–6.

213. **Companions have already been aroused by this** The symbolic meaning of the four species is discussed in *Zohar* 1:220a–221a; 2:186b; 3:24a, 31b, 104a. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1249–51.

214. **one inflamed by the rabbis** צורבא מרבנן (*Tsurba me-rabbanan*), a phrase referring to a scholar, perhaps meaning "scorched by the rabbis." See BT *Ta'anit* 4a; and M *Avot* 2:10: "Rabbi Eli'ezer says, '... Warm yourself by the fire of the wise—and beware their glowing coals, so that you'll not be burned. For their bite is the bite of a fox; their sting, the sting of a scorpion; their hiss, the hiss of a serpent; and all their words like coals of fire.'"

215. **Maḥoza** A large trading town on the Tigris River.

216. **all those princes appointed over other nations...** According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God.

See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 108b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy bullocks offered by Israel on *Sukkot* (Numbers 29:12–34) benefit the seventy nations. See BT *Sukkah* 55b; *Eikhah Rabbah* 1:23; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 28:9; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1251–53.

217. ***the raging waters*** The full verse reads: *Then over us would have swept the raging waters*. See *Zohar* 2:64b.

218. **In order to overpower them... the holy name...** The four species symbolize the four letters of the name יהוה (*YHVH*), perhaps as follows: myrtle, י; willow, ה; *lulav*, ו; citron, ה. See *OY; MM; Zohar* 1:220b. Brandishing these species, Israel vanquishes the seventy princes. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 27:2.

219. **to arouse holy water upon us, to pour upon the altar** As mentioned above (note 211), in the Temple on the last six days of *Sukkot*, water was drawn and poured as a libation on the altar. Here the water symbolizes the flow of emanation stimulated by Israel's ritual of the four species. This flow pours down upon *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the altar.

220. **Lower Court of Justice...** According to the rabbinic view, "All are

judged on Rosh Hashanah" (BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 16a). Here the court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment, Justice") and conveys it to the world. See *Zohar* 2:186b, 237b–238a.

221. **when Her face beams** By Yom Kippur, on the tenth of the lunar month, Israel has engaged deeply in turning back to God, and the moon, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, has brightened. See *Zohar* 3:100b.

222. **serpent—cosmic informer—is nowhere... engrossed in that goat...** On Yom Kippur, a scapegoat bearing the sins of Israel is offered to the wilderness demon Azazel (Leviticus 16:10). Similarly, in the Babylonian Akitu ritual a goat, substituted for a human being, is offered to Ereshkigal, goddess of the Abyss. According to *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 46, the goat is intended to preoccupy Satan: "They gave him [Satan] a bribe on Yom Kippur so that he would not nullify Israel's sacrifice."

See BT *Yoma* 20a: "On Yom Kippur, Satan has no permission to accuse. How do we know? Rami son of Ḥama said, 'השטן (*Ha-satan*), Satan, equals 364 in numerical value, implying that on 364 days he has permission to accuse, while on Yom Kippur he does not.'"

See Naḥmanides on Leviticus 16:8; *Zohar* 1:11a, 113b–114b, 138b, 174b, 190a, 210b; 2:154b, 237b; 266b; 3:63a (*Piq*), 102a, 202b–203a, 258b; *ZḤ* 87b–c (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 49; Cordovero, *OY*, 4:51b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:890–95.

223. **sanctuary** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

224. **goat of the new moon...** According to Numbers 28:15, on each new moon a goat must be brought as a sin-offering. Here, this goat too is intended to preoccupy Satan, leaving Israel and *Shekhinah* (both symbolized by the moon) alone with the blessed Holy One.

See *Zohar* 1:65a, 122b, 138b; 2:33a, 185a, 238a, 269a. Cf. BT *Ḥullin* 60b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 6:3. The sixteenth-century kabbalists of Safed observed the day preceding the new moon as *Yom Kippur Qatan* ("Minor Day of Atonement").

225. **I haven't examined you yet** See *Zohar* 3:186b.

226. **When the moon approaches the sun** At the time of the new moon, *Shekhinah* approaches *Tif'eret* and begins to receive His light.

227. **the blessed Holy One arouses the side of North...** *Gevurah*, symbolized by North, is aroused and embraces *Shekhinah*.

228. **South... East** Symbolizing *Ḥesed* and *Tif'eret*.

229. **Here Woman approaches Her Husband** At the new moon, *Shekhinah* begins to approach Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

230. **smooth members of Adam... arrayal of the Female** The masculine figure of divinity, symbolized by Adam, includes various sefirotic limbs, to

which correspond different aspects of *Shekhinah*.

"Smooth members" renders two senses of one term, שייפי (*shaifei*). From a root meaning "to smooth, rub, slip," the word signifies "limbs" in the *Zohar*, perhaps based on the Talmudic expression (BT *Sotah* 7b) על איבריה לשפא (*al eivreih le-shafa*), "each limb entered its socket"—"slipping" into place— or "... the chest."

See *Arukh*, s.v. *shaf*; Rashi, ad loc., and on Job 33:21, citing *Ḥullin* 42b; *Zohar* 3:170a.

231. **Similarly, below... another, lower Adam beneath the moon** The demonic male attempts to seduce *Shekhinah* in Her time of darkness at the new moon. See *Zohar* 2:194b.

232. **left arm above** *Gevurah*, located on the left side of the divine body.

233. **her rider grasps her** The serpent's rider, Samael, grasps the serpent. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 13*: "Samael... took his band and descended and saw all the creatures created by the blessed Holy One. He determined that the most cunningly evil was the serpent, as is said: *Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field that YHVH Elohim had made*. He [the serpent] looked like a camel, and he [Samael] mounted and rode him."

See *Zohar* 1:35b, 137b, 146a, 153a.

234. **draws Her** Draws *Shekhinah*.

235. **sucking from the trough... ביניקו דקופטא** (*Biyniqu de-qufta*). *Qufta* means "trough, crib" in *Zohar* 1:236a, perhaps derived from קופסא (*qufsa*), "box." Cf. *Zohar* 1:33a: קופטרא (*quftera*), "waterskin"; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 349–50. In *Tosefta*, *Avodah Zarah* 4:11, קפטא (*qafta*) apparently means "leeks." Alternatively, several witnesses read here: קוטפא (*qutpa*), which could mean either "resin" or "cluster." See BT *Ketubbot* 112a, *Avodah Zarah* 72b: קטופי (*qetofei*), "clusters, fruit ready to be plucked"; *Zohar* 1:17b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 190.

In either case, the point is that the demonic draws sustenance from *Shekhinah* and in the process defiles Her.

236. **Then Israel below offer up a goat...** The new-moon offering (see above, note 224) distracts the demonic from *Shekhinah*, enabling Her to join Her divine partner.

237. **Festival** Of *Sukkot*, which begins on the full moon.

238. **right side above** The *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, flowing love of God.

239. **all those deputies below** The seventy heavenly princes below *Shekhinah* appointed over the seventy nations of the world.

240. **from the side of Israel's share** Directly from *Shekhinah*.

241. **They... convey blessing** The people of Israel convey blessing.

242. **When the moon is fittingly filled... *an assembly*** The seven-day

festival of *Sukkot*, which begins on the full moon, is immediately followed by an additional holy day known as *Shemini Atseret* ("Eighth Day of Assembly"). Now the people Israel rests alone with *Shekhinah*.

243. **As translated...** From Hebrew into the Aramaic כנישו (*kenishu*). See *Targum Onqelos*, Leviticus 23:36; Numbers 29:35; Deuteronomy 16:8; *Zohar* 3:96b, 259b.

244. **they propitiate for water** As mentioned above in note 211, during *Sukkot* Israel prays for rain by waving the four species and offering water libations.

245. **This may be compared to a king...** A similar parable appears in *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 28:9. See BT *Sukkah* 55b; *Zohar* 3:104b.

246. **quaestors** קסטורי (*Qastorei*), from Latin *quaestor*, a Roman official, referring here to the heavenly princes. See JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b, 53b, 62a (*Tos*); 2:19b, 58b, 208b; 3:13a.

247. **wickered baskets** קוסטורין (*Qustorin*), perhaps derived from קלוסטוד (*qelustor*), an Aramaic corruption of the Greek *kartallos*, "basket."

248. **Similarly, Israel with the blessed Holy One...** By offering seventy bullocks on *Sukkot*, Israel assures that the seventy heavenly princes and their earthly nations will be sustained (see above, note 216). Then on the eighth day, Israel feasts alone with God.

249. ***All your children will be taught by YHVH*** The verse continues in parallelism: *and great will be the peace of your children*.

250. **Why is it written: *And YHVH... Elohim, Elohim*?** In rabbinic literature the divine names יהוה (*YHVH*) and אלהים (*Elohim*) indicate, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and judgment. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name." Cf. *Zohar* 1:20a, 48b, 56b, 67a; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*). The following passage reappears in *Zohar* 2:227b.

The name *Elohim* (denoting judgment) appropriately dominates the account of the Flood, though, in fact, the name *YHVH* appears too (Genesis 6:5–8; 7:1, 5, 16). But why does the name *YHVH* (denoting compassion) figure in the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah?

251. **'Everywhere it is written: *And YHVH... Elohim...*'** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 51:2: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Wherever it is said: *And YHVH*, this implies: He and His Court.'" In Kabbalah this court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment") and pronounces the divine decree, so the phrase *And YHVH* encompasses "He [*Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*] and His Court [*Shekhinah*]."

See JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b; Rashi on Exodus 12:29; *Zohar* 1:15b, 107b; 2:37b, 44b; 3:149a. The hermeneutical significance of *and* was championed by

Rabbi Akiva. See BT *Yevamot* 68b; *Sanhedrin* 51b.

The Jew from Ramin adds to this rabbinic rubric: "*Elohim*, unspecified, means Judgment alone." The name *Elohim* can refer to various *sefirot* (*Binah, Din, Shekhinah*); without further identification it refers to דינא (*dina*), Judgment alone, without the compassion of *YHVH*. See *Zohar* 1:46a; 2:140a.

252. **He intermingled with Judgment** *YHVH*, denoting compassion, mitigated the harsh judgment.

253. **It** Judgment alone. The word can also be rendered "He."

254. **Noah was hidden from sight...** The demonic only attacks what is visible. See *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 11; BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b; *Zohar* 1:63a, 68a–b, 69a, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b; 2:196a, 227a.

255. ***And YHVH*—in the open... *Elohim*—one needs concealment...** When compassion mingles with judgment, one can venture outside; but if judgment manifests alone—as in the Flood—one must remain hidden.

256. **If the verse were not written, we could not say it** A rabbinic saying highlighting a radical formulation either in the biblical text or its midrashic interpretation. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:5.

257. **He sat by, alone...** *YHVH*, symbolizing Compassion, sat alone, uninvolved in the Flood, while Judgment, symbolized by the name *Elohim*, wrought the catastrophe.

258. **The blessed Holy One—concealed and revealed...** God is revealed through *Shekhinah*, the divine court, yet remains concealed above. The phrase "site from which all blessings flow" refers apparently to *Binah* or *Yesod*. See *Zohar* 1:130b; 3:36a.

259. **blessings settle upon everything kept concealed** See BT *Ta'anit* 8b: "Blessing is not found in anything weighed, measured, or counted, but only in that which is hidden from the eye." Cf. *Zohar* 1:5a, 202a. The success of the *Zohar* itself depends on concealment: the concealment of the medievai author's (or authors') identity behind the pseudepigraphic veil of Rabbi Shim'on.

260. **Happy is the generation in which Rabbi Shim'on dwells** Rabbi Shim'on's potent wisdom enriches his entire generation. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 35:2; *Zohar* 2:156a; 3:79a; Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 28–34.

261. **Did that *End of all flesh* enjoy those offerings...?** As discussed above (pages 372–73), the goats offered on Yom Kippur and the new moon were intended to occupy the demonic and prevent him from accusing Israel in heaven.

262. **Priests, Levites, and Israel are called אדם (*adam*), human** Rabbi Shim'on's declaration derives from BT *Yevamot* 60b–61a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai says, 'The graves of Gentiles do not impart impurity by a tent [i.e., one who stands on or bends over such a grave, thereby constituting a tent with his

body, is not rendered impure], as is said: *You, My sheep, sheep of My pasture, are* אדם (*adam*), *human* [*and I am Your God*] (Ezekiel 34:31). You are called *adam*; Gentiles are not called *adam*.'" Rabbi Shim'on assumes a connection between *adam* and "impurity by a tent," based on the wording of Numbers 19:14: *When an adam dies in a tent, whoever enters the tent and whoever is in the tent shall be impure seven days*.

Here *adam* alludes to the *sefirot*, configured as a human body. The priests symbolize the right arm (*Ḥesed*); the Levites, the left arm (*Gevurah*); Israel, the trunk of the body (*Tif'eret*). See *Zohar* 1:20b, 131a, 220a; 2:25b, 86a; 3:219a.

263. **aspirations** רעותין (*Re'utin*), "Desires, wills," referring to the intention of those worshiping and praying.

264. **That sheep or lamb or beast that they offer** An offering brought by an individual Israelite. See Leviticus 5:5.

265. **burden of two on one** The animal bears a double burden: the aspirations of the worshipers and their confessions.

266. **this one ascends to its site, and that one to its site...** Human aspirations stimulate the union of the *sefirot*, which constitute the divine paradigm of the human being, while confessions and the animal's flesh satisfy the beastly demonic. The verse from Psalms is taken to imply that both the *sefirot* and the demonic are nourished by the divine flow. See *Zohar* 2:238b–239a.

267. **Pancakes and all other meal-offerings** Various meal-offerings, consisting of flour, oil, and frankincense, are specified in Leviticus 2.

268. **Holy Spirit** Often a designation of *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:67a; 2:238b; 3:61a.

269. **All simultaneously** Both holy and demonic powers are sustained by the offerings.

270. **so that one is satisfied by the other** So that the lower is satisfied by the higher, and vice versa.

271. **so that the one who must, ascends to *Ein Sof*, Endless** So that *Shekhinah* (alternatively, human intention) ascends through and beyond all the *sefirot* to *Ein Sof*, Divine Infinity. The phrase "to *Ein Sof*" can also be understood adverbially: "endlessly, infinitely."

272. **I raise my hands above in prayer!** Rabbi Shim'on invokes the divine as he prepares to describe the primal origins of emanation. The formula derives from *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 14:22, and recurs in *Zohar* 2:9a, 70a (*RR*), 268b; 3:195b, 258b, 287a.

273. **supernal Will, above, above** *Ein Sof*, unbounded by the *sefirot*—specifically beyond *Keter*, the first *sefirah*, which itself is known as Will. See *Zohar* 2:268b (*Heikh*).

274. **Will unknown... the head...** *Keter* ("Crown"), head of the *sefirot*.

275. **desire of supernal Thought...** Divine thought, *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), generated by *Keter*, yearns to return to its source. See Plotinus, *Enneads* 6:7:16. According to *KP*, "supernal Thought" refers to *Keter*, who yearns to rejoin *Ein Sof*.

276. **A single curtain is spread** Between *Keter* and *Ḥokhmah*, Will and Thought. See *Zohar* 2:165b, 259a (*Heikh*); 3:128a (*IR*).

277. **touches and does not touch** The light of *Keter* shines faintly, subtly through the curtain. See *Zohar* 1:15a.

278. **unknown even by Thought!** Even Thought itself remains unaware of the nature of this radiance. According to the Gnostic *Gospel of Truth* (22:27–29), the aeons (divine emanations) below *Nous* ("Intellect") are unaware of the hidden divinity: "It was quite amazing that they were in the Father without knowing Him." See *Zohar* 1:30a, 49a.

279. **nine palaces of palaces—neither lights...** These entities are the hidden essences of the nine *sefirot* from *Ḥokhmah* downward, so they are not to be identified as "lights," a term designating the *sefirot*, nor as "spirits" or "souls."

280. **all nine lights** Paradoxically, immediately after denying this name to the palaces, Rabbi Shim'on applies it to them. See *Zohar* 3:288a (*IR*).

281. **numerically one of them** *Ḥokhmah*, divine thought, is first of the nine lower *sefirot*, whose essences (the palaces of palaces) are contained within *Ḥokhmah* itself.

282. **pursue them...** The palaces pursue their origin, namely, Will and Thought, but these two cannot be apprehended.

283. **all those lights... are called *Ein Sof*, Endless** The totality of hidden lights, yearning to return to their source, share in the designation *Ein Sof*. See *ZḤ* 1b (*SO*), 104c (*Tiq*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 174–75.

284. **Until here lights extend and do not extend...** Up to this point in the process of emanation, the light cannot be clearly perceived. No will or thought can venture there. Alternatively, these lights are not to be identified with either *Keter* (known as Will) or *Ḥokhmah* (known as Thought).

285. **When Thought illumines...** When *Ḥokhmah* emanates, it fashions the palace of *Binah*, into which it enters.

286. **Through the mystery of the offering...** The sacrificial offering unites the *sefirot*, which then together ascend to the Beyond. Maimonides had relativized the importance of the sacrificial offerings, explaining them away as a concession to the primitive nature of ancient Israel. The *Zohar* counters by emphasizing their vital role in unifying and sustaining the cosmos. See Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 3:32; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:878–90.

287. ***Ayin*, Nothingness** A name for the primal, unknowable *sefirah*, source of

Thought and of all existence, yet not to be identified with any particular "thing," thus best called Nothingness (No-thingness).

288. **this *End of all flesh*** The demonic. See above, pages 377–78.

289. **Just as a bond is found above in joy, so too, below...** The *sefirot* *are* united through the sacrificial offering, while the powers below revel in their share, not disturbing Israel's intimacy with *Shekhinah*.

290. **over and above the offerings** In addition to his regular share of other offerings, namely, the flesh.

291. **This is the שעיר (*sa'ir*), goat** According to Numbers 28:15, on each new moon a goat must be brought as a sin-offering. Here, this goat is intended to preoccupy Satan, leaving Israel alone with God. See above, note 224.

292. **portion of Esau...איש שעיר (*ish sa'ir*), *a hairy man*** Esau, Jacob's twin and nemesis, symbolizes the demonic. The word שעיר (*sa'ir*) also means "goat, demon, satyr." Further, Esau and his descendants inhabited שעיר (*Se'ir*), *Seir* (see Genesis 32:4; 36:8–9).

See Genesis 25:25; *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:15; *Zohar* 1:138b, 145b, 153a; 3:64a.

293. **flesh is arrayed for him constantly** The flesh of sacrificial offerings is intended for him.

294. **When he rules, he rules over body...** At death, the demonic power rules over the body, while the soul ascends. See *Zohar* 3:170a, 172b.

295. **aspiration ascends to one site, flesh to another** The intention of the one offering the sacrifice ascends to the *sefirot*, unifying them, while the animal's flesh satisfies the demonic.

296. **A virtuous human being is an actual offering of atonement** See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 28a: "Rabbi Ammi said, 'Just as the red heifer atones [by the ritual use of its ashes], so does the death of the righteous atone.'" Cf. *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:12; BT *Shabbat* 33b; *Zohar* 2:36b, 38b, 269a; 3:9b, 218a–b; *ZḤ* 12c–d (*MhN*).

According to one tradition, souls of the righteous are offered by the archangel Michael on a heavenly altar. See *Tosafot*, *Menaḥot* 110a, s.v. *u-mikha'el*; *Zohar* 1:80a (*ST*); *ZḤ* 21a (*MhN*).

297. **while another is not** One unvirtuous is not.

298. ***not acceptable*** The full verse reads: *Whatever has a defect you are not to offer, for it will not be acceptable on your behalf.*

299. **Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose... One said** In an earlier version of the *Zohar* (preserved in manuscripts V5 and R1, *OY*, and 1:254b [*Hash*]), the speaker here is neither Rabbi Ḥiyya nor Rabbi Yose, but rather the anonymous Jew encountered earlier by the two rabbis (above, pages 371–77).

300. ***Noah was 600 years old*** The verse continues: *when the Flood came, waters upon the earth*.

301. **Because if Noah had not been 600 years old...** Noah's ripe age reflects the full sextet of *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. Through living a long, righteous life, Noah embodied *Yesod*, known as Righteous One, and therefore entered the ark, symbolizing *Shekhinah*. See above, page 341.

302. **from the day that the guilt of the world's inhabitants was complete ...** Noah's generation was so wicked that they deserved to be annihilated long before the Flood, but God waited for them to turn back to Him until Noah reached spiritual maturity.

See BT *Bava Qamma* 38b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 32:4; *Zohar* 1:56b, 61b, 62b, 118a (*MhN*), 227a; 2:12b.

303. **so the verse does not read *about 600 years old*** Noah's precise age corresponds to the six *sefirot* that culminate in *Yesod*, Righteous One.

304. **He opened again** See above, note 299.

305. ***And I, I am about to bring the Flood, waters*** The verse continues: *upon the earth to destroy all flesh*.

306. **Because *I* and *I am about to* are one and the same** Both refer to *Shekhinah*, through whom the divine manifests, declaring "I am."

307. **Everywhere *Ani* becomes a body for the soul...** Wherever this word appears in Scripture, it alludes to *Shekhinah*, who receives *Tif'eret* as the body receives the soul.

308. **it is intimated by the sign of the covenant...** *Shekhinah* is linked with the covenant of circumcision, a symbol of *Yesod*, the divine phallus.

309. **throne to what is above** Throne to *Tif'eret*.

310. **avenging from generation to generation** *Shekhinah* executes severe judgment.

311. ***Va-Ani, And I,* encompassing male and female as one** The letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* through *Yesod*).

312. **afterward designated alone...** The wording *I am about to* refers to *Shekhinah* alone. See above, note 306.

313. **את (*et*) *the Flood,* amplifying the meaning to include...** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense; but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

314. **'I will faithfully reward the righteous and punish the wicked'** See *Sifra, Aḥarei Mot* 9:1, 85c; *Sifrei*, Numbers 115; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:9.

315. ***He will not allow the Destroyer to enter your homes...*** During the last of the ten plagues in Egypt: the slaying of the firstborn.

316. **aspect of *End of all flesh*...** The demonic. See above, pages 363–65.

317. **time extended for them...** See above, note 302.

318. **He said... Rabbi Yitsḥak...** See above, note 299. On page 371, the anonymous Jew tells the rabbis: "True, the place we live in is small, but everyone there engages in Torah under the guidance of one inflamed by the rabbis: Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Yose from Maḥoza, who each day tells us new words."

319. ***I said, 'I will not see Yah...'*** According to Scripture, the verse was sung by King Hezekiah of Judah upon recovering from mortal illness. *Yah* is a divine name, an abbreviated form of *YHVH*. The final word, חדל (*ḥadel*), *cessation*, is usually understood as a metathesis of חלד (*ḥaled*), *world*, but here the anonymous speaker insists on the meaning "cessation."

320. **that world** The spiritual realm.

321. **while still existing as spirit and body united** The phrase applies both to his condition when he acted in this world and to his condition now as he renders his account. See the parable concerning the joint responsibility of body and soul in *Mekhilta de-Rashbi*, Exodus 15:1; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 4:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 91a–b; *Zohar* 1:79a, 130b; 2:199b; 3:126b.

322. **he sees what he sees ... meets Adam...** He sees *Shekhinah* and then meets Adam, who is evoked by the verse in Isaiah. See *Sifra, Vayiqra, dibbura dindavah* 2:12, 4a: "Rabbi Dosa says, 'Scripture states: *No human can see Me and live* (Exodus 33:20). In their lifetime they do not see, but in their death they do!'"

See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 19:18: "Death is decreed upon all the righteous who spring from him [Adam]. They do not depart this life without first gazing upon the face of *Shekhinah* and reproving Adam, saying: 'You inflicted death upon us!' Adam responds: 'As for me, I possess only one sin, while in your case, every single one of you possesses more than four.'"

Cf. *Tanḥuma, Ḥuqqat* 16; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat* 39; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 34; *Zohar* 1:57b, 81a (*ST*), 98a (*MhN*), 99a (*ST*), 127a, 218b, 226a; 3:88a.

323. **not written: *inhabitants of* חלד (*ḥaled*), *the world*** As in Psalms 49:2. The rare form חדל (*ḥadel*) in Isaiah is usually understood as a metathesis of חלד (*ḥaled*).

324. **masters of return** Those who succeed in turning back to God.

325. **Adam returned to the presence of his Lord** On Adam's repentance, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:13; BT *Avodah Zarah* 8a; and *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer*

20: “On the first day of the week, Adam entered the waters of the upper Gihon until the waters reached his neck, and he fasted seven weeks until his body became like a sieve.” Cf. *Zohar* 1:55b.

326. ***that I may know how ḥadel, ephemeral, I am*** The full verse reads: *YHVH, let me know my end, what is the measure of my days, that I may know how ephemeral I am* (Psalms 39:5).

327. **bundle of life** See 1 Samuel 25:29: *The soul of my lord will be bound in the bundle of life*. Here the phrase describes *Shekhinah*, destination of the soul. See *Zohar* 1:224b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 60–61 (75).

328. **resplendent speculum... אספקלריא דנהרא** (*Ispaqlarya de-nahara*), “Speculum [or: glass, mirror, lens] that shines,” symbolizing *Tif’eret*. See BT Yevamot 49b: “All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [“an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine”], while Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear glass [“an *ispaqlarya* that shines”].” Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: “For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face.”

329. **highest site of all** The upper reaches of the *sefirot*, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, who are named *Yah*.

330. **garment in which to be garbed, to exist in this world** The body.

331. **garment of supernal radiance... in that world** To enter and experience higher dimensions, the soul is enveloped in a radiant garment. According to *Zohar* 1:224a–b, this garment is woven out of one’s virtuous days. Parallels appear in Islamic and Iranian eschatology—and in Mahayana Buddhism, according to which the Buddha enjoys *sambhogakaya* (“a body of bliss”), generated by merit accrued over aeons.

See *Zohar* 1:7a, 82b, 91a; 2:11a, 150a, 210a–b, 229b, 247a (*Heikh*); 3:70b, 101a, 174b; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:133); Scholem, *Major Trends*, 77–78; idem, in *Tarbiz* 24 (1955): 290–306; idem, *Kabbalah*, 158–59; idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 264–65; Nakamura Hajime, in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2:458.

Cf. *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 36; *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:6; *Shemot Rabbah* 1:35; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 14; Matthew 22:1–14.

332. ***the land of the living*** *Shekhinah*, abode of the soul, from where the soul gazes upon *Tif’eret*, the “speculum that shines.” See *Zohar* 1:95b, 115a, 124b, 143b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 62 (77).

333. **Moses could not draw near... until he was garbed in another garment...** See BT *Yoma* 4a: “Moses ascended in the cloud, was enveloped by the cloud, and was sanctified within the cloud—so as to receive Torah for Israel in holiness.” Cf. *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20; *Zohar* 2:99a, 197a, 229a.

334. **this is Adam, as has been explained** As noted above, page 383,

Adam greets those who arrive at the Garden of Eden.

335. **he did not generate children** The subject is King Hezekiah, who sang these lines upon recovering from his illness. See Isaiah 38:9. According to BT *Berakhot* 10a (in the name of Rav Hamnuna), Hezekiah's illness was a punishment for his failure to *be fruitful and multiply* (Genesis 1:28).

336. **anyone who does not generate children in this world...** See BT *Bava Batra* 116a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai, 'Whoever does not leave a son to succeed him incurs the full wrath of the blessed Holy One.'" Cf. BT *Yevamot* 63b; *Zohar* 1:13a, 48a, 90a, 115a, 228b; *ZḤ* 89b (*MhN, Rut*).

337. **ancestral merit** Rabbinic Hebrew, זבות אבות (*zekhut avot*), "merit of the fathers," the protecting influence of distinguished ancestry. Hezekiah was descended from King David. See Isaiah 37:35; and BT *Shabbat* 55a: "Since when has ancestral merit ceased?... Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'Since the days of Hezekiah.'"

338. '**shirt'...** חלוקא (*ḥaluqa*). See above, note 331. The Hebrew term חלוק (*ḥaluq*) appears in Heikhalot literature describing divine or angelic garments. See *Heikhalot Rabbati*, 3–4 (in *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:86); Schäfer, *Synopse*, 48–51, §§102, 105; 178, §420.

The printed editions and *DE* (emendations) read חלוקא דרבנן (*ḥaluqa de-rabbanan*), "shirt of the rabbis." See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 56. Cf. the later Hebrew phrase איצטלא דרבנן (*itstela de-rabbanan*), "robe of the rabbis." See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 28b; and *Shabbat* 128a: "It was taught in the name of Rabbi Yishma'el and in the name of Rabbi Akiva: 'All of Israel are worthy of that איצטלא (*itstela*), [royal] robe.'"

339. **for whom the blessed Holy One has treasured away...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini*, 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:7a, 31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a, 59a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You*

will do for one who awaits You]... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

340. ***And I, I am about to bring the Flood, waters upon the earth*** The verse continues: *to destroy all flesh*.

341. **Didn't *the Children of Israel quarrel*...anywhere else?** The wandering Israelites complained frequently; see Exodus 17:1–7; Numbers 11; 21:4–9.

342. **potently empowering the masters of judgment** Nourishing the powers of harsh judgment. As indicated by the preceding verse (Numbers 20:12), this incident led to the death of Moses and Aaron.

343. **sweet waters and bitter waters...** See *Zohar* 1:80a (*ST*); 3:12b; *ZḤ* 30c (*MhN*); Numbers 5:17–27 (alluded to below).

344. **the one they must not** The demonic who manifests in bitter, turbid waters of strife.

345. ויקדש בם (***va-yiqqadesh bam***), ***through which he was tabooed*** The root קדש (*qdsh*) means "to be set apart, consecrated, hallowed" but also "forfeited, tabooed." See Deuteronomy 22:9; *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc. Cf. Genesis 38:21–22; Deuteronomy 23:18; Isaiah 65:5; Haggai 2:12.

The phrase here is normally construed as *through which He was hallowed*, the subject *He* indicating God, who *was hallowed* through the *Waters of Quarrel* or through the subsequent death of Moses and Aaron. Here Rabbi Yehudah identifies the subject as Israel, who was defiled and tabooed by the waters.

346. **The verse should read ויקדשו (*va-yiqqadeshu*), *they were tabooed*** If the subject is the Children of Israel, the verb should be plural.

347. **The word transcends** The word applies not to Israel but to a higher realm.

348. **the moon was tainted, as it were** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, was tainted by bitter waters.

349. **here implying no praise** The word does not convey holiness but rather defilement. See Rashi on Deuteronomy 22:9; Ibn Ezra on Numbers 11:18.

350. ***And I, I am about to bring the Flood... the* Destroyer...** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence known as *I*, conveys the attribute of Judgment and here unleashes the waters of the Flood, pervaded by the demonic. The wicked generation of the Flood brought this destruction upon themselves through the defilement of sin. See above, page 382.

351. **to return to the blessed Holy One** Repenting sincerely.

352. **in a similar manner** Openly and boldly. See above, pages 347–48.

353. **Even when someone sins in secret...** See M *Avot* 4:4: "Rabbi

Yoḥanan son of Beroka says, ‘Whoever profanes the name of Heaven secretly is punished openly.’”

354. **straying wife** According to the Bible, a wife suspected of infidelity must undergo an ordeal of drinking bitter water. If she is guilty, the water causes her public suffering and disgrace. See Numbers 5:11–31.

355. **Waters gushed boiling from the abyss...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 22: “[The giants of the generation of the Flood] said, ‘If He brings the waters of the Flood upon us, behold, we are of high stature, and the waters will not reach our necks. If He brings up the waters of the depths against us, behold, the soles of our feet can dam up the depths.’ What did they do? They spread the soles of their feet and dammed up all the depths. What did the blessed Holy One do? He boiled the waters of the depths, which seethed their flesh and peeled off their skin.” Cf. above, pages 356–57.

356. **All those bones disjointed from one another...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 28:3.

357. ***I will establish My covenant with you*** The verse continues: *and you will enter the ark—you, your sons, your wife, and your sons’ wives with you*.

358. **when the righteous appear in the world...** The verse is addressed to Noah the Righteous but applies to all the righteous. The wording *with you* implies their active participation in stabilizing both this world and the sefirotic world. These virtuous humans embody the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, who is known as Righteous One and symbolized by the *covenant*. Through their virtuous living, they unite the divine couple, *Tif’eret* and *Shekhinah*.

359. **arousal of a male toward his female when he jealously suspects her** See above, note 354. On the visceral link between love and jealousy, see Song of Songs 8:6; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah*, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:245a; 3:54b.

360. **supernal desire toward Her in love...** The desire of the divine male (*Tif’eret* or *Yesod*) is aroused toward *Shekhinah*, who was intimate with a righteous man. See *Zohar* 1:49b–50a, 153b.

361. ***I will erect...*** והקימותי (*Va-haqimoti*), *I will establish*. Rabbi Shim’on focuses on the literal meaning “raise, erect,” suggesting that *Yesod*, the divine phallus bearing the covenant, is stimulated and aroused by righteous humans.

See above, page 341; Moses de León, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 381–82; *OY*; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 378–79; idem, in *Da’at* 1 (1978): 107.

362. ***My covenant I will erect with Isaac*** Isaac symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, through whose passion *Yesod* is aroused.

363. **If he had not embodied the covenant...** If Noah had not embodied *Yesod*, he could not have entered the ark, symbolizing *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:59b, 65b.

364. **As long as people hold fast to the covenant, not abandoning it** As long as they observe the ritual of circumcision (sign of the covenant) and live in sexual purity.

365. **Noah held firmly to this covenant...** Not only did Noah live purely, but according to rabbinic tradition he was one of those rare individuals born circumcised. See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 2; *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5; *Zohar* 1:58a–b, 59b.

366. **all his contemporaries failed to preserve it...** On the sexual nature of the sins of Noah's generation, see BT *Sanhedrin* 108b: "It has been taught: The waters of the Flood were as thick as semen.... Rav Ḥisda said: 'With boiling [passion] they sinned, and with boiling [water] they were punished.'"

See *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Job, 906; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 7:10; above, page 356.

Rabbi El'azar's condemnation of sexual promiscuity reflects the promiscuity prevalent in the Jewish community in thirteenth-century Castile. On this issue, see Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 51–54 (63–67); Baer, in *Zion* 2 (1937): 31–33, 36–44; idem, *History*, 1:250–63; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1371–72; Assis, "Sexual Behavior in Mediaeval Hispano-Jewish Society."

367. **וירפא** (***Vayrappe***), ***He healed, the wrecked altar...*** The subject is the prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel engaged in a contest with the priests of Ba'al. The word **וירפא** (*vayrappe*) means, literally, "he healed," and in this verse, "he repaired."

368. **abandoned their sealed covenant** By neglecting the command of circumcision or indulging in sexual sin. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 29.

369. **abandoned the holy covenant, removing it** Their sinful rejection of the covenant caused the divine covenant, *Yesod*, to abandon *Shekhinah*. The phrase "removing it" may refer to epispasm, the attempt to disguise circumcision by cutting and pulling forward the loose skin of the penis to form a partial foreskin. See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; JT *Pe'ah* 1:1, 16b; *Zohar* 1:35b.

370. **Once he drew the entity to its site** Once Elijah succeeded in reuniting *Yesod* with *Shekhinah*.

371. **sealed covenant coming to repair *the wrecked altar of YHVH...*** *Yesod* reuniting with *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by the altar.

372. ***twelve stones...* this is the repair of *the altar of YHVH*** The twelve stones of the altar symbolize twelve powers surrounding and adorning *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:80a (*ST*), 149a–b (*ST*), 241a.

373. ***To whom the word of YHVH came, saying, 'Israel shall be your name'*** After Jacob wrestled with the angel, he was renamed Israel. See Genesis 32:29; 35:10.

374. **ascending on high...** Ascending to the level of *Tif'eret Yisra'el* ("Beauty of Israel") and reuniting *Yesod* with *Shekhinah*.

375. **erect existence...** עבדי קיומא (*Ave-dei qiyyuma*). *Qiyyuma* means here both "existence" and "erection." Sexual purity stimulates *Yesod*, unites the divine couple, and ensures a continued flow of sustenance to earth.

376. **When they abandon this covenant...** Sexual sin ruins the divine union, interrupting the vital flow. See BT *Shabbat* 137b: "Were it not for the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth would not endure, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*." Cf. *Zohar* 1:32a, 56a, 59b, 89a, 93b.

377. **site on which faith depends** *Shekhinah*, the link between humans and all aspects of the divine.

378. **similarly, Phinehas...** In his zeal, Phinehas killed Zimri together with his forbidden Midianite sexual partner (Numbers 25:1–9). His zeal prefigures that of Elijah, with whom he is often identified.

See Pseudo-Philo 48:1–2; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 6:18; Numbers 25:12; *Tanḥuma, Pinḥas* 1; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 21:3; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 47; *Zohar* 2:190a; 3:214a, 215a (*RM*); Origen on John 6:7; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:316–17, n. 3. In Matthew 11:14, John the Baptist is identified with Elijah.

379. **Now, do you think it was for Phinehas?...** Was he in need of a covenant of peace? It was not Phinehas but rather Israel who had rejected the covenant and aroused divine wrath.

380. **an entity was linked with its place** Through his zeal, Phinehas stimulated the union of the divine covenant (*Yesod*) with its abode (*Shekhinah*), yielding harmony and peace.

381. ***I hereby grant Him, My covenant.* What will I grant Him? *Peace...*** The object of the verse is not Phinehas, but *Yesod*, the covenant, whose union with *Shekhinah* brings peace.

382. **What had been separated from it by their sins...** Through their sexual contact with the daughters of Moab (Numbers 25:1–9), Israel had separated *Shekhinah* from *Yesod*. Through the zeal of Phinehas, the divine couple reunited.

383. ***because he was zealous for his God*** The verse continues: *and made atonement for the Children of Israel*.

384. **sin of the covenant** Sexual sin, which betrays the covenant, provoking divine jealousy.

385. **ruining their ways upon earth** The phrase *ruined their way upon earth* (Genesis 6:11) is elsewhere interpreted as referring to masturbation (spilling seed on earth) or crossbreeding. See BT *Sanhedrin* 108a; *Bereshit*

Rabbah 28:8; *Kallah Rabbati* 2; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 61a–62a, 68a.

386. **even though they robbed one another...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 108a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'Come and see how great is the power of robbery! For the generation of the Flood violated everything, yet their decree of punishment was sealed only when they stretched out their hands to rob, as is written: *For the earth is filled with violence because of them; here, I am about to destroy them along with the earth* (Genesis 6:13).'"

387. **those invoking heavenly judgment against their fellows...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 93a: "Rabbi Ḥanan said, 'One who invokes [heavenly] judgment against his fellow is punished first.'" The proof-text cited there (Genesis 16:5) contains the word *violence*, as does the verse here.

388. **Throughout, *Elohim*, while here, *YHVH*... name of compassion** In rabbinic literature the divine names יהוה (*YHVH*) and אלהים (*Elohim*) indicate, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name." Cf. *Zohar* 1:20a, 48b, 56b, 64b; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

The name *Elohim* dominates the account of the Flood, though the name *YHVH* appears too (Genesis 6:5–8; 7:1, 5, 16). Rabbi Shim'on's point is: The name *Elohim* (denoting judgment) is appropriate to the Flood, so why does the name *YHVH* (denoting compassion) appear here?

389. **It is not proper...** See *Zohar* 1:70b–71a; and above, p. 227 and n. 969 there.

390. **to enter the ark, to unite with Her** To unite with *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the ark.

391. **until the husband of the ark gave him permission** Until Her husband, *Tif'eret* (symbolized by the name *YHVH*), permitted Noah to enter.

392. **not permitted to enter...** See *Zohar* 1:70b–71a.

393. ***Noah entered*** The verse continues: *with his sons, his wife, and his sons' wives, into the ark*, after receiving permission.

394. ***For you have I seen as righteous before Me*** The verse continues: *in this generation*.

395. **We have learned: לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *Of David, a psalm...A psalm of David...*** These titles, whose precise meaning is unclear, alternate in Psalms. The interpretation formulated here reverses the rabbinic version in BT *Pesaḥim* 117a: "לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *To David, a psalm*, indicates that *Shekhinah* dwelled upon him and then he exclaimed a song. מזמור לדוד (*Mizmor le-David*), *A psalm, to David*, indicates that he exclaimed a song and then *Shekhinah*

dwelled upon him." (The preposition ל [*le*] can mean either "of" or "to".) In Rabbi Yehudah's revision, *psalm* becomes a name of *Shekhinah*, who is adorned by human song, so the wording *Le-David mizmor* (*Of David, a psalm*) refers first to David and then to *Shekhinah* (Holy Spirit), known as *psalm*.

See *Midrash Tehillim* 24:1; Rashi on Psalms 23:1; Jacob bar Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 92; Todros Abulafia, *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, 48; *Zohar* 1:39b; 2:50a, 140a, 170a.

396. ***Her fullness* is *Shekhinah*, as is said: *For the Presence...*** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence, filled the Tabernacle in the Desert (*the Dwelling*) and the Temple in Jerusalem (*the house of YHVH*).

397. **Why מָלֵא (*male*), full, and not מִלֵּא (*mille*), *filled*?** Why does Scripture employ the participle and not the intensive verb?

398. **full, indeed!... filled by the sun...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, is filled by the flow of emanation from *Tif'eret*, the sun.

399. **treasure ship...** אסקופא (*Isquppa*), which may mean both "yard of a ship" and "threshold." Cf. Greek *skaphe* and אסקפא (*isqapha*), "skiff, light boat." The image here apparently derives from *Midrash Mishlei* 31:14, where Joseph is compared to "a ship filled with all the best of the world."

In *ZḤ* 3a (*MhN*), *isquppa* refers to the "threshold" beneath which household valuables were buried. See BT *Berakhot* 18b; Rashi on BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 11a, s.v. *tsinnor*; idem on Joshua 24:26.

See *Zohar* 1:46b; 2:83b; 3:69a; *ZḤ* 88c (*MhN, Rut*); *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 173; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 47.

400. **So, *The earth and her fullness are YHVH's*** Both the Holy Land and her fullness, *Shekhinah*, derive from *Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*.

401. **supernal Holy Land...** *Shekhinah*, in whom *Tif'eret* delights. Rabbi Yehudah is playing with the similar-sounding ארעא (*ar'a*), "land," and אתרעי (*itra'ei*), "delights." See *Zohar* 3:22b.

402. **souls of the righteous... potency of a single pillar...** Righteous souls are conveyed by the flow of emanation from *Yesod*, the cosmic pillar, to *Shekhinah*. *Yesod* Himself is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: יסוד עולם וצדיק (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The phrase, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Rabbi El'azar son of Shamu'a says, '[The world stands] upon a single pillar named Righteous One, as is said: *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.'"

Cf. *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34; *Zohar* 3:45b.

403. ***For He founded it upon seas*** The plural *seas* refers to all of the *sefirot*

from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, which flow into *Shekhinah*.

404. **Who is *He?* The blessed Holy One...** Here apparently referring to *Binah*, from whom the *seas* proceed to *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*. See *Zohar* 1:156b, 158b, 171b; 3:171a, 183b.

405. **seven pillars...** The *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Shekhinah* Herself. See *Zohar* 2:23a.

406. **When the virtuous abound in the world...** The righteous stimulate the union between *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*.

407. **Holy Land we have mentioned...** *Shekhinah*, watered by the flow of emanation.

408. **single pillar standing above Her...** *Yesod*.

409. ***The righteous one perishes*** The flow channeled through *Yesod* dries up. See *Zohar* 1:55b.

410. **no one upon whom it could stand** No righteous human upon whom the world could stand.

411. **It was plenty for him to protect himself... *in this generation,* precisely!** Noah's virtue extended sufficiently to save himself, but he was not righteous enough to redeem his entire generation. See *Devarim Rabbah* 11:3. Rabbi Yehudah's statement matches the one attributed to him in *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:9: "*In his generations* (Genesis 6:9). Rabbi Yehudah and Rabbi Neḥemiah. Rabbi Yehudah said, '*In his generations* he was righteous, but if he had lived in the generations of Moses or Samuel, he would not have been righteous....' Rabbi Neḥemiah said, 'If he was righteous *in his generations* [despite the corrupt environment], all the more so if he had lived in the generations of Moses or Samuel.'"

412. ***In this generation*—a tribute to him...** Rabbi Yose's view matches the one attributed to Rabbi Neḥemiah. See the preceding note.

413. **ten could not be found in the world...** Ten righteous people would have sufficed to save the generation of Noah, as when Abraham argued with God over the fate of the wicked city of Sodom, convincing Him that even ten innocent Sodomites should suffice to save their city.

The citation *if I find ten there* is a conflation of Genesis 18:30, 32.

414. **he is snared first for the sins of the wicked** See BT *Shabbat* 33b: "Rabbi Gorion (according to others, Rabbi Yosef son of Rabbi Shema'yah) said, 'When there are righteous ones in the generation, the righteous are seized [killed] for the generation. When there are no righteous in the generation, schoolchildren are seized for the generation.'"

415. **judgment could not overpower him because he was hidden away...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b: "Rabbi Yosef taught: 'What is the meaning of the verse *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22)? Once permission has been granted to the Destroyer, he does not distinguish between righteous and wicked.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? Keep your feet indoors.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? One should not walk in the middle of the road, because the Angel of Death walks there—for as soon as permission has been granted him, he strides brazenly.'"

See *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 11; *Zohar* 1:63a, 68a–b, 69a, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b; 2:196a, 227a.

416. **Noah sought righteousness and entered Her** *Shekhinah* is known as Righteousness, partner of *Yesod* (Righteous One) and of righteous humans such as Noah.

417. **holy ones of the Most High** In Daniel 7:18, the phrase refers to Israel; here, to the kabbalists. See *Zohar* 1:77a, 95b.

418. **mystery of supernal letters—reversal of letters, twenty-two...** According to *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:2, God created the world by permutating the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet: "Twenty-two elemental letters. He engraved them, carved them, weighed them, permuted them, and transposed them, forming with them everything formed and everything destined to be formed." See BT *Berakhot* 55a; BT *Sanhedrin* 65b; *Zohar* 1:33b. Numerous two-letter combinations bring about creation, while the reversal of letters leads to obliteration. See *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, 51d. The citation from Genesis 7:1 opens with the word בא (*bo*), *come*, a reversal of the first two letters of the alphabet.

419. ***Come... into the ark!*** The verse reads: "*Come, you and all your household, into the ark!*"

420. **Come and see the difference...** Moses is contrasted with Noah and others in *Vayiqra Rabbah* 1:14; *Devarim Rabbah* 11:3; *Zohar* 1:106a; 3:14b–15a; *ZḤ* 23a (*MhN*).

421. **When the blessed Holy One said to Moses...** When Israel sinned by worshiping the Golden Calf. See BT *Berakhot* 32a; *Shemot Rabbah* 42:9.

422. **waters of the Flood are named after him...** See *Zohar* 3:15a.

423. **One who appeases another** On behalf of someone else who had harmed him.

424. **the othe**r The one responsible for the wrong.

425. ***You have sinned a great sin!*** After Moses convinces God not to annihilate Israel, he descends from the mountain and the next day accuses the people in these words.

426. **He did not leave... until offering to die...** See BT *Berakhot* 32a: "Shemu'el said, '... He offered to die for them, as is written: *If not, please obliterate me from Your book!*'"

427. ***YHVH* renounced the evil** The verse continues: *that He had intended to bring upon His people*.

428. ***Where is he who brought them up from the sea?*** In Isaiah the subject *he* refers to God, but here Rabbi Yitsḥak understands it as referring to Moses.

429. ***Why are you crying out to Me?...*** The verse continues: *Tell the Children of Israel to go forward!*

430. **this is Moses...** The subject *he* refers to Moses, who caused *Shekhinah*, Holy Spirit, to dwell among Israel.

431. **not worthy enough...** See *Devarim Rabbah* 11:3; above, page 395.

432. **Moses did not depend on his own merit...** See BT *Berakhot* 10b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Yose son of Zimra, '... Whoever depends on the merit of others, is made dependent on his own merit. Moses depended on the merit of others, as is said: *Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, Your servants!* (Exodus 32:13), and he was made dependent on his own merit, as is said: *He threatened to destroy them, had not Moses His chosen confronted Him in the breach to turn away His wrath from destroying* (Psalms 106:23).

433. **afterward** After the Flood. See Genesis 8:20–22.

434. **a righteous one found among them is seized first** See above, p. 395 and n. 414.

435. **Do not read ממקדשי (*mi-miqdashi*), *at My sanctuary...*** See BT *Avodah Zarah* 4a, in the name of Rabbi Yose. The Talmud goes on to explain: "Since it was in their power to protest [the wickedness being perpetrated] and they did not protest, they are considered incompletely righteous." Cf. *Ba-va Qamma* 60a; *Zohar* 1:205b.

436. **he warned them every single day...** According to a rabbinic tradition, Noah attempted to warn his contemporaries and induce them to turn back to God, but he was unsuccessful. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7; *Tanḥuma, Noaḥ* 5; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a–b; above, page 362.

437. ***Yet if you warn the wicked...*** The verse continues: *and he does not turn from his wickedness or from his wicked way, he shall die for his iniquity, but you will have saved your life*.

438. **For how long? This has been established...** How long should one keep warning the sinner? Until the sinner strikes the warner. See BT *Arakhin* 16b: "How long reproof? Rav said, 'Until striking.'" Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot De'ot* 6:7.

439. **ruined their ways, abandoning their species, cleaving to another species** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ* 18: "Why were the animals annihilated, too?... Because even the animals acted corruptly and copulated with species not their own: the horse with the donkey, the lion with the ox, the serpent with the lizard, as is said: *God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt* [*for all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth*]. It does not say: *all humans*, but rather: *all flesh*, even animals, beasts, and birds. Therefore they were obliterated as well."

See BT *Sanhedrin* 108a: "*For all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth*. Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'This teaches that they mated beasts with animals, animals with beasts— all of them with humans, and humans with all of them.'"

Rabbi Shim'on understands the biblical expression השחית דרכו (*hishḥit*

darko), *corrupted their way*, as an allusion to sexual sin. See *Kallah Rabbati 2*, citing Genesis 38:9: שחת ארצה [*shiḥet artsah*], *he* [Onan] *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground* (or: *let it go to ruin*). Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4, 31:7; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 62a, 69a.

440. **seeking to contravene the act of Creation** By intermingling species that had been created distinctly.

441. **to ruin their ways, as they did themselves** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ* 5: "Rabbi Aḥa son of Ze'eira said, '... Just as a man copulated with a woman who was not his, so an animal copulated with another species not his own.'"

442. **I will return the world to water, as it originally was...** See *Tanḥuma, Vayaqhel* 6: "When the blessed Holy One created His world, it was entirely water intermingled with water." Cf. JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 1; *Shemot Rabbah* 50:1; *Zohar* 1:17b, 56b.

443. **tunnels** פצירין (*Petsirin*), apparently based on פצידא (*patsida*), "trench, ditch." See *Targum Yonatan* and Radak on 2 Kings 3:16.

444. **stormed** אסער (*As'ar*). Certain witnesses (*KP* and *DE* [emendations]) preserve an alternative reading: אסחר (*asḥar*), "surrounded," besieged.

445. **This may be compared to a king...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1: "It is written: *Woe to those who go to great depths to hide their plan from YHVH, who perpetrate their deeds in darkness and say, 'Who sees us? Who knows us?'* (Isaiah 29:15). Rabbi Levi said, 'This may be compared to a master builder who constructed a city with chambers, underground conduits, and caves. Subsequently he became a tax-collector, and the inhabitants of the city hid from him in those chambers and caves. He said to them, "It is I who built all these chambers and caves. Why are you hiding?" Similarly, *Woe to those who go to great depths,... who perpetrate their deeds in darkness!*'"

446. **When a person sins...** See M *Avot* 4:4: "Rabbi Yoḥanan son of Beroka says, 'Whoever profanes the name of Heaven secretly is punished openly.'"

447. **lest he gaze at him...** See *Devarim Rabbah* 4:4; *Zohar* 1:63a, 108b.

448. **Whoever possesses an evil eye** In biblical Hebrew this idiom means "one who is stingy" (Proverbs 23:6; Deuteronomy 15:9). Later, the envious evil eye was thought to exert harmful influence. See *Zohar* 3:63b.

449. ***whose eye is open*** שתום העין (*Shetum ha-ayin*), a phrase whose meaning is unclear. Elsewhere the *Zohar* interprets שתום (*shetum*) as equivalent to סתום (*setum*), "closed" (see 2:69a, 237a; 3:147b), but here the sense is "open." See BT *Sanhedrin* 105a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'Balaam was blind in one eye, as is said:

shetum ha-ayin, *whose eye is open* [i.e., only one of his eyes was open and capable of vision].'"

450. **he possessed an evil eye...** See M *Avot* 5:19; *Tanḥuma, Balaq* 6; *Zohar* 3:63b, 206b, 211b.

451. ***Balaam lifted up his eyes*** The verse continues: *and saw Israel encamped tribe by tribe*.

452. **raising one eye and lowering one eye** The verse reads עיניו (*einav*), *his eyes*, but elsewhere the *Zohar* insists on the reading עינו (eino), *his eye*. See 3:202b; *Minḥat Shai* on Numbers 24:2.

453. ***He saw Israel... encamped, tribe by tribe*—he saw *Shekhinah*...** See BT *Bava Batra* 60a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '... Scripture reads: *Balaam lifted up his eyes and saw Israel encamped tribe by tribe*. What did he see? He saw that the openings of their tents did not face one another, so he exclaimed: "These are worthy of having *Shekhinah* rest upon them!"'"

454. ***He crouches, lies down like a lion, like a lioness...*** The verse, sung by Balaam, refers to Israel, but Rabbi Ḥiyya applies it to *Shekhinah*.

455. ***Because of the waters of the Flood,* for the waters forced him** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:6: "*Noah entered, with his sons*, [*his wife, and his sons' wives, into the ark because of the waters of the Flood*]. Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'He was lacking in faith: if the waters had not reached his ankles, he would not have entered the ark.'"

456. **twelve months... the punishment of the wicked** The Flood lasted a full year. See Genesis 7:11; 8:14; and M *Eduyyot* 2:10: "[Rabbi Akiva] said, 'The judgment of the generation of the Flood lasted twelve months.... The judgment of the wicked in Hell lasts twelve months.'" Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 33:7; *Seder Olam Rabbah* 4; *Zohar* 1:107b.

457. **For six months they are suspended in water, and for six in fire...** According to rabbinic literature, the yearlong punishment of the sinners in Hell is equally divided between fire and snow. See JT *Sanhedrin* 10:3, 29b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 10:4; *Zohar* 1:62b, 107b, 238b. Since the Flood consisted only of water, Rabbi Yehudah wonders why it lasted twelve months and not just six.

458. **With water—water from above; with fire... gushing from below** The Flood consisted of freezing water raining down from the sky and boiling water surging up from the depths. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 33; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; above, pages 356–57.

459. **for the rest of the time** For the rest of the year.

460. **they will not rise from the dead to stand at Judgment...** See M *Sanhedrin* 10:3: "The generation of the Flood has no share in the world to come, nor will they stand at the [Last] Judgment."

461. ***They lifted the ark...*** The verse opens: *The waters increased and they lifted the ark*.

462. ***Rise, O God...*** Usually rendered *Be exalted, O God...*, but here the verse is interpreted in a radically different way.

463. **who through their sins repel *Shekhinah* from earth...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'Whoever sins secretly, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a–b, 61a, 69a.

464. ***They lifted the ark*, for they thrust Her out** For Rabbi Abba, the subject of the verse is no longer *the waters*, but rather, the wicked, who repel *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the ark.

465. **When She withdraws... Judgment dominates it** Without the protection of *Shekhinah*, the world becomes vulnerable to harsh judgment.

466. **at that time** At the time of the destruction of the Temple, the site of *Shekhinah*.

467. **remnant of the righteous of the world did not remain there** All of Israel, including the righteous, were exiled from the land.

468. **wherever they went She descended...** See BT *Megillah* 29a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai says, 'Come and see how beloved are Israel in the sight of the blessed Holy One! Wherever they went in exile, *Shekhinah* accompanied them. When they were exiled to Egypt, *Shekhinah* was with them.... When they were exiled to Babylon, *Shekhinah* was with them.... And even when they are destined to be redeemed, *Shekhinah* will be with them.'" See *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 14.

469. **wasting one's way on earth...** The biblical expression השחית דרכו (*hishḥit darko*), *corrupted their way*, is interpreted as an allusion to masturbation. See *Kallah Rabbati* 2, citing Genesis 38:9: שחת ארצה [*shiḥet artsah*], *he* [Onan] *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground*. Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4, 31:7; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam*; *Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 62a.

In the world of the *Zohar*, masturbation is a heinous sin. See 1:188a, 219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66. Cf. BT *Niddah* 13a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak and Rabbi Ammi said, '[Whoever emits semen fruitlessly] is as though he sheds blood.'"

470. **one does not see the face of *Shekhinah* nor enter the palace** Sexual purity is a prerequisite for encountering *Shekhinah*. See BT *Niddah* 13b: "Rabbi Ammi said, 'Whoever excites himself lustfully is not allowed to enter the domain of the blessed Holy One.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 23b.

471. **all those located outside in other, foreign lands** All those buried outside the land of Israel.

472. **single bone surviving... like leaven in dough...** According to Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Ḥananya (*Vayiqra Rabbah* 18:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 28:3), God will resurrect humans from the vertebra at the base of the spinal column, which does not decompose in the grave. Here Rabbi Abba combines this motif with the tradition in *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 34: "Rabbi Shim'on says, 'All bodies crumble into the dust of the earth until nothing remains except a spoonful of decayed matter. This mingles with the dust like leaven mixed with dough. In the time to come... it resurrects the entire body.'" See *Zohar* 1:137a (*MhN*); 2:28b; 3:222a, 270b.

473. ***when I open your graves...*** The citation is actually a conflation of verses 12–14.

474. **roll underground** The resurrected bodies will roll underground until they reach the land of Israel. See BT *Ketubbot* 111a: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Whoever walks four cubits in the land of Israel is assured membership in the world to come.' Now,... aren't the righteous outside the Land going to be revived? Rabbi Il'a replied, 'By rolling [underground to the land of Israel].' Rabbi Abba Sala the Great objected, 'Rolling will be painful to the righteous!' Abbaye replied, 'Tunnels will be made for them underground.'"

See *Zohar* 1:113b–114b (*MhN*), 131a.

475. ***from the earth,* precisely** Even their one surviving vertebra decomposed in the earth. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 28:3. Alternatively, *the earth* (or: *the land*) refers to the land of Israel, which these wicked will never reach.

476. **although the ancients disputed this and differed** According to M *Sanhedrin* 10:3, "The generation of the Flood has no share in the world to come, nor will they stand at the [Last] Judgment." In *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 32, opinions differ as to whether or not this generation will be judged in the hereafter. See *Tosefta*, *Sanhedrin* 13:6; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a; *Zohar* 1:68b, 108a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:184, n. 44.

477. ***May they be obliterated from the Book of Life*** They will never be resurrected.

478. ***They will inherit the earth forever*** This verse, appearing frequently in the *Zohar*, reads in full: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever—sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*. In M *Sanhedrin* 10:1, it is cited to demonstrate that "all of Israel have a share in the world to come." Conversely, according to Rabbi Shim'on, the verse in Genesis indicates that the generation of the Flood has no share in that world.

479. **Encompassing all those empowered rulers...** Rabbi Abba focuses on the word אֵת (*et*), an accusative particle. Though grammatically it has no

ascertainable independent sense, Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

Here the word is understood to imply the heavenly powers appointed over individual nations of the world. See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 108b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

480. **This is *existing things over the face of the earth*** The biblical word יקום (*ye-qum*), *existing things*, is interpreted to mean the powers who "exist" (קיימים [*qayyamim*]) or "stand" (קמים [*qamim*]) in heaven *over* [i.e., above] *the face of the earth*.

481. **He first removes those rulers appointed over them...** See *Shemot Rabbah* 21:5: "Rabbi El'azar son of Pedat said, '... The blessed Holy One does not cast down a nation before He first casts down their prince [guardian angel].'" Cf. *Midrash Tehillim* 82:3; *Zohar* 2:6b, 49a.

482. **fire consuming fire** A divine fire consuming the guardian angels, who are themselves composed of fire. In BT *Yoma* 21b, *Shekhinah* is called "a fire consuming fire" because of God's burning the angels who opposed human creation (as related in *Sanhedrin* 38b). See Psalms 104:4; BT *Ḥagigah* 14a; *Zohar* 1:18b, 50b; 2:6b; 3:217a.

483. **Those *existing* above them** The guardian angels.

484. **those dwelling beneath them** The wicked generation of the Flood.

485. ***all existing things over the face of the earth*** The guardian angels.

486. **אך** (***Akh***), ***Only, Noah remained*** The verse continues: *and those with him in the ark*.

487. **limiting** Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when the word אך (*akh*), *only*, appears in a biblical verse, it limits or qualifies the original meaning. See JT *Berakhot* 9, 14b. Here Rabbi Abba does not note any limitation but rather an emphasis.

488. **He was lame, for a lion bit him**... Rabbi Yose insists that the word *akh* implies a limitation. See *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 9: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Rabbi Yose the Galilean, 'Once Noah delayed feeding the lion, so the lion bit him, and he came out [of the ark] limping, as is said: אך (*Akh*), *Only, Noah remained—akh*, for he was not intact.'"

489. **entering the ark when the waters forced him** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:6: "*Noah entered, with his sons*, [*his wife, and his sons' wives, into the ark because of the waters of the Flood*]. Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'He was lacking in faith: if the waters had not reached his ankles, he would not have entered the

ark.'" See above, page 402.

490. **he saw the Angel of Death walking among them...** Among his contemporaries. The Angel of Death manifested in the waters of the Flood. See above, pages 382, 402.

491. ***because of the waters of the Flood*** The full verse reads: *Noah entered, with his sons, his wife, and his sons' wives, into the ark because of the waters of the Fbod*.

492. **It is written: ויסתר** (***va-yissater***), ***and hides himself*** The word in this verse is traditionally written as ויסתר (*va-yissater*), *and hides himself*, although it is read as ונסתר (*ve-nistar*), which can be rendered *and is hidden*.

493. **referring back to what has been said: When death...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b: "Rabbi Yosef taught: 'What is the meaning of the verse *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22)? Once permission has been granted to the Destroyer, he does not distinguish between righteous and wicked.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? Keep your feet indoors.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? One should not walk in the middle of the road, because the Angel of Death walks there—for as soon as permission has been granted him, he strides brazenly.'"

See *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 11; *Zohar* 1:63a, 68a–b, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b; 2:196a, 227a.

494. [***they***] ***pass*—they transgressed...** The verb עבר (*avar*) means both "to pass" and "to transgress." By not hiding themselves, Noah's contemporaries transgressed a command.

495. **זכירה** (***zekhirah***), **remembering, is not recorded... unification vanishes...** During harsh judgment, the unification of the divine masculine and feminine is interrupted, so there is no mention of זכירה (*zekhirah*), "remembering," alluding to זכר (*zakhar*), "male." The absence of divine masculine mindfulness creates a vacuum filled by the demonic.

496. **all returns to its site** The divine male and female reunite.

497. **זכור** (***zakhor***), **remember, inheres in him...** Again, a play on the root זכר (*zkhr*), which encompasses two meanings: "remember" and "male." Noah the righteous is appropriately remembered, since he symbolizes the divine male, *Yesod* ("Foundation"), also known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

498. **When the sea leaps...** See *Zohar* 2:48b, 50b, 56a. The sea often

symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

499. **single ray...** A ray of divine grace.

500. **that destined fish** See *Tanḥuma, Vayiqra* 8: "Rabbi Tarfon said, 'Ever since the six days of Creation, that fish was designated to swallow up Jonah, as is said: *YHVH had prepared a huge fish* [*to swallow up Jonah*] (Jonah 2:1).'" Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 10; *Bereshit Rabbah* 5:5; BT *Bekhorot* 8a; *Zohar* 2:198b.

501. **from the right side** The side of *Ḥesed*. The ray both arouses and calms the sea. See BT *Bava Batra* 73a; *MM*.

502. **Alternatively, תשבחם (*Teshabbeḥem*), *You praise them*, literally!** The root שבח (*shvḥ*) can mean "to still," but its more common meaning is "to praise."

503. **Shunammite** The wealthy woman from the town of Shunem who fed and housed the prophet Elisha. She was rewarded with a son, who later died but was resuscitated by Elisha. See 2 Kings 4:8–36; *Zohar* 1:160b; 2:33b, 44b.

504. **that day was the festival of Rosh Hashanah...** The day referred to in 2 Kings 4:8: *One day Elisha was passing through Shunem, where a wealthy woman lived, and she urged him to have a meal*. Similarly, according to a midrashic tradition, the phrase *one day* in Job 1:6 refers to Rosh Hashanah, the Day of Judgment.

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, *Midrash Iyyov*, Rashi, and Ibn Ezra on Job 1:6; *Battei Midrashot*, 2:158; *Zohar* 3:231a.

505. **who is then called King, Holy King...** Between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, God is addressed in the liturgy as "Holy King" and "King of Judgment." See BT *Berakhot* 12b.

506. **Noah was not recalled** So he would not be vulnerable to harsh judgment.

507. ***God remembered Noah ...I have remembered My covenant*** Noah symbolizes and embodies *Yesod*, the divine phallus, which is also symbolized by the covenant of circumcision.

508. **from Cappadocia to Lydda** This improbable journey from eastern Asia Minor to a city in Palestine recurs frequently in the *Zohar* and usually includes an encounter with some surprising character. See 1:132a, 138a (*MhN*), 160a, 197b, 223a; 2:31a, 38b, 80b, 86a; 3:35a, 75b, 221b; *ZḤ* 22a (*MhN*).

The itinerary seems to be intentionally fantastic, though perhaps the author(s) imagined that Cappadocia was a Galilean village near Sepphoris, based on the phrase "Cappadocians of Sepphoris" in JT *Shevi'it* 9:5, 39a. According to a dream interpretation in *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:12, Cappadocia is not far at all from Palestine. Cappadocia figures prominently in M *Ketubbot* 13:11 and BT *Ketubbot* 110b, while Cappadocia and Lydda are linked in *Tosefta*, *Yevamot* 4:5

and BT *Yevamot* 25b.

See Scholem, in *Zion* (*Me'assef*) 1 (1926): 40–46 (and the appended note by S. Klein, 56); idem, *Major Trends*, 169; idem, *Kabbalah*, 222; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:63–64.

509. **one should not set out alone on a journey** See *Tanḥuma, Vayishlaḥ* 8: "Our Rabbis have taught: 'In three situations a person's account book is opened [i.e., his sins will be punished]: One who sets out alone on a journey, one who dwells in a tottering house, and one who vows and does not pay.'" Cf. M *Avot* 3:4: "Rabbi Ḥanina son of Ḥakhinai says, 'One who stays awake at night and one who walks on the way alone and one who makes room in his heart for that which is futile—such a person deserves to die.'" Cf. JT *Shabbat* 2:6, 5b; *Zohar* 1:169b; 2:264b; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 46.

510. **whoever walks on the way unaccompanied by words of Torah...** See BT *Ta'anit* 10b: "Rabbi Il'ai son of Berekhiah said, 'Two disciples of the wise who are walking on the way and are not engaged in words of Torah deserve to be burned.'"

See Deuteronomy 6:7; BT *Eruvin* 54a; *Zohar* 1:58b, 70a, 76a, 87a, 115b.

511. **altar on which Adam sacrificed** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 34:9: "*Noah built an altar to YHVH... and offered ascent-offerings on the altar*. Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Ya'akov said, 'On the great altar in Jerusalem, where Adam sacrificed.'" According to BT *Avodah Zarah* 8a, "On the day Adam was created, when the sun set, he said, 'Woe is me! Because I have sinned, the world is turning dark and will now revert to chaos and void. This is the death decreed against me from Heaven!' He sat up all night fasting and weeping, and Eve wept facing him. As soon as dawn broke, he said: 'This is the normal course of the world!' He rose and offered up an ox." See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 8:20.

512. **that is offered only for sinful imagining** See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 7:3: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai taught, 'An ascent-offering is due only for sinful imagining.'" Cf. *Tanḥuma, Lekh Lekha* 10. Having survived the Flood, it would have been more appropriate for Noah to bring a thanksgiving-offering, as Adam did when he survived the darkness.

513. **By imagining...** Noah sinned by lacking faith, by imagining that God would not continue to protect him.

514. **If it was the same, why *built*?** The altar had already been built by Adam.

515. **wicked of the world dislodged it from its site** The altar symbolizes *Shekhinah*, whose union with *Tif'eret* is ruined by human wickedness.

516. **When Noah appeared ... *built*** Noah's righteousness restored *Shekhinah*, reuniting Her with Her partner. See above, pages 388–91.

517. **spelled עלת (*olat*), *ascent-offering,* one** The word עולות (*olot*), *ascent-offerings*, is spelled here without either ו (*vav*): עלת, and so can be read *olat*, *ascent-offering*, in the singular. See *Minḥat Shai*, ad loc. From this spelling, the child concludes that Noah's offering consisted of only one gender.

518. ***He is* עולה (*olah*), *an ascent-offering...*** The verse would normally be translated: *It is an ascent-offering...*, but here the child emphasizes the masculine sense of the pronoun הוא (*hu*), which means both "it" and "he."

519. **Why is it written: אשה (*ishsheh*), *fire-offering...*** Why the extra letter ה (*he*), indicating the feminine and suggesting the word אשה (*ishshah*), "woman"? (Actually, the literal meaning of *ishsheh* is probably "gift"; see Milgrom, *Leviticus* 1:161–62.)

520. **his site** The masculine *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*.

521. **female must not part from him** The offering must be intended also for the feminine realm, *Shekhinah*.

522. **even though 'אשה (*ishsheh*)... is intended for אישים (*ishim*)...** See *Sifra, Vayiqra, dibbura dindavah* 6:9, 7c: "אשה (*Ishsheh*): for the sake of אישים (*ishshim*), fire-offerings [i.e., not for the sake of charring the flesh]." See M *Zevaḥim* 4:6; BT *Zevaḥim* 46b.

Here the child understands אישים as *ishim*, "angelic personages," who also benefit from the sacrifice. See *Sifrei Zuta*, Numbers 28:2; *Midrash Zuta*, Song of Songs 1:15; *Zohar* 1:81a (*ST*), 164a–b; 2:43a; 3:110a (*RM*), 258b. (On this class of angels, see Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 2:7.) The child's point is that even though the word *ishsheh* has been interpreted in earlier sources, his new reading is also valid.

523. **the blessed Holy One cast him in the sphere of the male...** God modeled the righteous Noah on the masculine *sefirah* of *Yesod* (known as Righteous One), so the offering that Noah brought had to be male: an ascent-offering.

524. **אש ה (*esh he*), fire, *he,* for left unites with female** The word אשה (*ishsheh*), *fire-offering*, is divided into אש ה (*esh he*), "fire, *he*," indicating the fire of the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, on the left side, and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the feminine marker ה (*he*).

525. **every female deriving from the left sid**e The left side of the sefirotic tree is associated with the feminine.

526. **to raise Her above...** To raise *Shekhinah* to Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

527. **Fire issues from within...** The fire of *Gevurah* issues from *Binah* and is grasped by *Shekhinah*, less rarified and more sensate, also symbolized by smoke. See *Zohar* 1:30a, 50b–51b.

528. **nose, through which issues smoke out of fire** When the nostrils flare in anger.

529. ***They shall place incense in Your nostril...*** Divine wrath, symbolized by the fire of *Gevurah*, is assuaged by the offering of incense, and the fire returns to its source in the divine mind. On the divine nose, see *Zohar* 2:122b; 3:130a–b (*IR*), 137b–138a (*IR*), 289a (*IZ*), 294a (*IZ*).

530. ריח ניחח (***reiaḥ niḥoaḥ***)... נח (***naḥ***)...נייחא (***neyaḥa***)... The alliteration extends implicitly to נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah.

531. **sparkling lamps** בוסינין (*Bosinin*), "Lamps." In the *Zohar*, *bosina or botsina* may also imply "spark." See above, page 107: בוצינא דקרדינותא (*botsina de-qardinuta*), "lamp of impenetrability," "spark of impenetrable darkness"; and note 4 there.

532. **Let us walk on this way together with *Shekhinah*...** *Shekhinah* accompanies those engaged in Torah. See M *Avot* 3:2: "Rabbi Ḥananya son of Teradyon said, '... If two are sitting engaged in words of Torah, *Shekhinah* dwells between them.'"

On the importance of engaging in Torah while on a journey, see above, page 410 and note 510.

533. **O *that he would kiss me...*** Having been kissed by Rabbi Yeisa, the child cites an appropriate verse. On the spiritual significance of a kiss, see *Zohar* 2:124b, 146a–147a, 256b (*Heikh*); *ZḤ* 60c (*MhN*, *ShS*).

534. **fire issues passionately** The fire of love, not the fire of anger.

535. ***for your caresses are fine, deriving from wine*** The verse would normally be rendered *for your caresses are better than wine*, but here the child understands מיין (*mi-yayin*) not as *than wine*, but rather *from wine*. See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 485.

536. **wine that delights and brightens the face...** This wine symbolizes the sweet emanation flowing from *Binah*.

537. **wine that intoxicates... wine of rage** Symbolizing harsh, concentrated judgment.

538. ***a quarter of a hin*** The quantity of the libation accompanying the daily *olah*, approximately one quart. The word *wine* does not appear in this verse and apparently derives from Leviticus 23:13.

539. **Two lamps, the light of the upper one extinguished...** Similarly, the divine realm—even if temporarily darkened—can be rekindled by human arousal below. See *Sefer ha-Atsamim*, 20; El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 15c; *Zohar* 3:35b.

540. **the upper world depends upon the lower** A general principle of Kabbalah. See *Zohar* 1:35a, 77b, 82b, 86b, 88a, 164a, 244a; 2:31b, 265a; 3:92a, 110b.

541. **Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed...** See M *Sotah* 9:12:

“Rabban Shim’on son of Gamli’el says in the name of Rabbi Yehoshu’a: ‘Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed, there is no day without a curse, dew has not descended as a blessing, and the flavor of fruit has been eliminated.’” Cf. *Zohar* 1:61b, 177a, 181a–b, 203a; 3:15b, 74b.

542. **from that side** From the demonic side.

543. **vital service: kindling sparkling lamps...** Israel’s worship in the Temple stimulates the divine realm.

544. **fire above... smoke—judgment below...** The fire of *Gevurah* activates the judgment of *Shekhinah*.

545. **judgment below... judgment above** *Shekhinah* and *Gevurah*.

546. תוספת (***tosefet***), an increase See *Zohar* 3:54a, 115a.

547. **I have heard that it derives from the verse...** The child offers an alternative to the interpretation of Rabbi Shim’on. God’s promise to Noah—*I will never again curse the earth because of* האדם (*ha-adam*), *humankind*—corresponds to God’s decree to Adam: *Cursed is the earth because of you*.

548. **evil serpent—cosmic destroyer, exterminator of humanity** The serpent is identified with the Angel of Death. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: “Resh Lakish said, ‘Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.’”

549. **Noah offered a sacrifice...** See Genesis 8:20–21; above, pages 410–12.

550. **this remained suspended until Israel stood at Mount Sinai** The venom of the serpent was not remedied until Israel accepted the Torah at Sinai. See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: “Rav Yosef taught: ‘... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.’”

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a, 54a, 63b, 122b.

551. **The blessed Holy One had diminished the moon and that serpent prevailed** See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: “Rabbi Shim’on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. ‘It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, “Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?” He answered, “Go, diminish yourself!” She said before Him, “Master of the Universe! Because I have suggested something proper I should make myself smaller?” He replied, “Go and rule by day and night.” She said, “But what is the value of this? What good is a lamp at noon?”... Seeing that her mind was uneasy [that she could not be consoled], the blessed

Holy One said, "Bring an atonement for Me for making the moon smaller."' As was said by Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: 'Why is the goat offered on the new moon distinguished by the phrase *to* [or: *for*] *YHVH* (Numbers 28:15)? The blessed Holy One said, "Let this goat be an atonement for My having made the moon smaller."'"

In Kabbalah the moon symbolizes *Shekhinah*. Here Her diminution entails the empowerment of the demonic. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b–20a, 146a; *ZḤ* 70d–71a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 189; idem, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 35b.

552. **she** Apparently, the moon. See 3 Baruch 9:7; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:6. According to some commentators, the earth.

553. **that day** When Noah offered his sacrifice.

554. **except when an offering appears...** A sacrificial offering restores the moon to her fullness, reuniting *Shekhinah* with *Tif'eret*.

555. **אבא** (***Abba***) "Father," an honorary title conferred upon several Talmudic rabbis.

556. **אבא** (***abba***), **father, in everything: in wisdom and in years** You will be wise and live long. Rabbi Yeisa is playing on the saying of Rabbi Yehudah (*Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 1): "Father in wisdom, tender in years."

557. **He proclaimed this verse for him...** See BT *Berakhot* 19a, where Shim'on son of Shetaḥ applies this verse to the miracle-worker Ḥoni.

558. **The light hidden by the blessed Holy One...** The primordial light of the first day of Creation was hidden away and reserved for the righteous in the hereafter. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini*, 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

559. ***Elohim blessed Noah and his sons*** The verse continues: *saying to them*, "*Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth*."

560. ***Shekhinah*, appointed over blessings...** Receiving the flow of emanation from above, *Shekhinah* transmits it to those below.

561. **Master of the house... Woman...** *YHVH* (the masculine *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*) invited Noah into the ark, while *Elohim* (the feminine *sefirah* of *Shekhinah*) told him to

leave. See above, page 392.

562. **he gave Her presents** Noah offered sacrifices. See Genesis 8:20.

563. **She is the house...** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by the house and the ark. While Noah was inside, She provided for him.

564. **to intensify Her Husband's love for Her** By showing Him how much She was appreciated.

565. ***By painful toil you will eat of it*** The curse decreed by God upon Adam: *Cursed is the earth because of you; by painful toil you will eat of it all the days of your life*.

566. **when the moon darkens...** When *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, lacks illumination. See *Zohar* 1:180b; *ZḤ* 61b (*MhN*, *ShS*).

567. **side of the other spirit** The demonic realm.

568. **לא אוסיף** (***Lo osif***), ***I will never, again curse the earth*** Earth symbolizes *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 414–15.

569. **at first, there were no human images** Before the Flood.

570. ***In the image of God He made the human being*** See Genesis 1:27.

571. ***He created him...*** The verse reads: *He made him*.

572. **all creatures of the world...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11: "[Adam] stood on his feet and was adorned with the divine image. The creatures saw him and were frightened, thinking that he was their Creator, and they all approached to bow down to him."

See *Zohar* 1:13b, 38a, 191a, 221b; 2:55a, 125b; 3:107b; *ZḤ* 38c; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 337–38; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:119–20, n. 113.

573. **their image transformed in their eyes...** The human image transformed in the eyes of other creatures.

574. **All humans who do not sin...** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:7: "It was taught: Before a person sins, he inspires awe and fear, and creatures are afraid of him. Once he sins, he is filled with awe and fear, and he is afraid of others."

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 50; and BT *Shabbat* 151b: "Rami son of Abba said, 'A wild beast has no power over a person until he appears to it as an animal.'"

575. ***and all the fish of the sea are given into your hand*** The full verse reads: *Fear and dread of you shall be upon all the beasts of the earth and upon all the birds of the sky, everything with which the earth teems and all the fish of the sea—into your hand they are given*. See above, page 417.

576. **even the fish of the sea** Which, according to one view, were not condemned to die in the Flood and were thus not saved by Noah's merit. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:11; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a, *Zevaḥim* 113b; Ginzberg, *Legends*,

5:183, n. 42; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 7:22, n. 94.

577. ***Were given into your hand,* previously** The word נתנו (*nittanu*), though usually rendered *are given*, is actually in the past tense: *were given, have been given*.

578. ***Have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky*** The verse continues: *and every living creature that crawls upon the earth*.

579. **משכיל** (***Maskil***) A literary or musical term whose precise meaning is unclear.

580. ***lifted*** נשוי (*Nesui*), "Lifted, carried off, taken away, forgiven."

581. **This verse has been established** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:6; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 45.

582. **'With ten varieties of praise, David praised the blessed Holy One'...** See BT *Pesaḥim* 117a: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'The Book of Psalms was uttered with ten utterances of praise.... These ten utterances symbolize the ten *sefirot*, משכיל (*maskil*) symbolizing *Yesod*. Cf. *Zohar* 2:110a–b; 3:101a.

583. **David attuned himself...** King David, the ideal ruler, symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"), also known as *Shekhinah*. The wording לדוד משכיל (*le-David maskil*), "*Of David. Maskil*," indicates that David prepared himself to receive *Yesod* (*Maskil*), partner of *Shekhinah*.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 117a: "לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *To David, a psalm*, indicates that *Shekhinah* dwelled upon him and then he exclaimed a song. לדוד מזמור (*Mizmor le-David*), *A psalm, to David*, indicates that he exclaimed a song and then *Shekhinah* dwelled upon him." See above, page 393, where this rabbinic exegesis is reversed.

584. **when the blessed Holy One weighs the sins and merits...** See *Midrash Tehillim* 30:4: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'If the scale is evenly balanced—sins on this side, merits on that—what does the blessed Holy One do? He tips it toward love, as is said: *Love is Yours, O YHVH* (Psalms 62:13).' Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'What does the blessed Holy One do? He snatches one bond of debt from the sins, and instantly the merits tip the scales, as is said: *He lifts iniquity and passes over transgression* (Micah 7:18).'"

See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 25:2; JT *Pe'ah* 1:1, 16b; BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 17a.

585. **so that he will be protected...** If one's sin is concealed, then the Destroyer cannot harm him. On concealment and the Destroyer, see BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b: "Rabbi Yosef taught: 'What is the meaning of the verse *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22). Once permission has been granted to the Destroyer, he does not distinguish between

righteous and wicked.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? Keep your feet indoors.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? One should not walk in the middle of the road, because the Angel of Death walks there—for as soon as permission has been granted him, he strides brazenly.'"

See *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 11; *Zohar* 1:63a, 68a–b, 69a, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b; 2:196a, 227a.

586. **that sin Adam channeled to him...** Adam's sin of eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge affected all future generations.

587. ***God blessed Noah and his sons*** The passage continues: *saying to them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth. Fear and dread of you shall be upon all the beasts of the earth and upon all the birds of the sky, everything with which the earth teems and all the fish of the sea—into your hand they are given*." This divine blessing restored the human dominion over creatures, which had been lost due to Adam's sin. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 34:12.

588. **the verse does not mention females** See Genesis 9:1, cited above: *God blessed Noah and his sons....*

589. ואתם (***Ve-attem***), ***And as for you*— entirety of males and females...** Rabbi Shim'on interprets the ו (*vav*), *and*, preceding the word אתם (*attem*), *you*, as including females. The disagreement between Rabbi Ḥizkiyah and Rabbi Shim'on reflects the rabbinic debate over the question of whether women as well as men are commanded to *be fruitful and multiply*. See M *Yevamot* 6:6; BT *Yevamot* 65b.

590. ***teem on earth*** The verse concludes: *and multiply on it*.

591. **Here the blessed Holy One gave them seven commandments...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 56a: "Our rabbis taught: The sons of Noah were commanded seven commandments: Courts of justice, [not to commit] blaspheming the divine name, idolatry, sexual immorality, bloodshed, robbery, and eating a limb from a living animal." Traditionally, these basic laws of morality apply to all humankind, whereas Israel received 613 commandments. *KP* explains how the seven Noahide commandments emerge from Genesis 9:1–8. See BT *Sanhedrin* 56b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:6; *Zohar* 1:36a.

592. ***I have set*—previously** At the beginning of Creation. According to M *Avot* 5:6, the rainbow was one of the ten things created at the end of the week of Creation, "at twilight on Sabbath eve." See Ibn Ezra and Radak on Genesis 9:13; Naḥmanides on 9:12; Judah ben Barzillai, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 139; *Zohar* 1:18a; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 9:13, n. 81.

593. **Rabbi Shim'on opened...** Rabbi Shim'on begins to draw a parallel between the heavenly sign given to Noah and the heavenly vision of Ezekiel, which constitutes the basis for much of Jewish mysticism.

594. **four magnificent, supernal, sacred creatures** The חיות (*ḥayyot*), "living creatures, animals," who, according to Ezekiel's vision, carry the divine throne.

595. **that *expanse*...** Instead of "*expanse*," several witnesses read "Creature," alluding to *Shekhinah*.

596. **cover their bodies** See Ezekiel 1:11, 23.

597. ***Shaddai*... *glory*...** Two names of *Shekhinah*, who sings to Her partner, *Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*.

598. ***YHVH* has manifested His salvation...** According to Shim'on son of Lakish (BT *Avodah Zarah* 24b), this psalm was chanted by the two cows pulling the cart with the ark of *YHVH* (1 Samuel 6:10–12). See *Zohar* 1:123a; 2:137b–138a. *Righteousness* symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

599. **holy camp...** A camp of angels.

600. ***Holy, holy, holy is YHVH of hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory!*** Rabbi Shim'on interweaves the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, as does early Jewish mysticism and the *qedushah*, the daily prayer of "sanctification."

601. ***blessed*** See Ezekiel 3:12: *Blessed be the glory of YHVH from His place!*

602. **wherever it moves, it turns faces...** The faces of the four creatures are engraved in the expanse, so they turn in whichever direction it moves. Alternatively, the subject "it" refers to any one of the creatures. See Ezekiel 1:12.

603. **engraved with four faces** Each creature has four faces. See Ezekiel 1:5–11.

604. **face of a human engraved with them all... all coalescing in him...** The human face comprises all the others. See *Zohar* 1:19a.

605. **engraved quadruply** Apparently implying that the four colors of the expanse convey the corresponding radiance of the *sefirot*: green—*Tif'eret*; red —*Gevurah*; white —*Ḥesed*; all colors—*Shekhinah*.

606. **higher and lower secrecies...** Of the *sefirot* and of the expanse.

607. **they total twelve...** Each color reflects all the others, but since the fourth is not a specific color, three radiate from each of the four, totaling twelve. As noted above, green, red, and white symbolize, respectively, *Tif'eret, Gevurah*, and *Ḥesed*.

608. **appearance of the colors of all...** *Shekhinah*, *the glory of YHVH*, includes all the other *sefirot*, reflecting their colors. She is *the cloud*, in which appears the divine rainbow, the full sefirotic spectrum.

On the rainbow's colors, see *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 1445 (ed. Margaliot, par. 484); Moses of Burgos, *Commentary on the Merkavah*, ed. Scholem, *Tarbiz* 5 (1934): 183; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 9:13; *Zohar* 1:18b,

98b (*ST*), 136b; 3:215a; Scholem, "Colours and Their Symbolism," 69–71.

609. **Joseph: *His bow remained firm*** This verse is applied to the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 87:7: "Rabbi Samuel said, 'The bow was stretched [i.e., Joseph's phallus became erect] and then returned [to its flaccid state, reading ותשב (*va-teshev*), *remained*, as *va-tashov*, "returned (from its firmness)"].'" See BT *Sotah* 36b; *Zohar* 1:247a; 3:66b.

610. **Joseph is called Righteous...** Because Joseph resisted the sexual advances of Potiphar's wife, he is called "righteous" in rabbinic literature. See BT *Yoma* 35b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 93:7; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana*, *nispaḥim*, 460. Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Bereshit* 5; *Pir-qei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 38, which cite Amos 2:6.

In Kabbalah Joseph symbolizes the divine phallus, *Yesod* ("Foundation"), also known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34; *Zohar* 1:21b.

The phallus of *Yesod* is often symbolized by the *bow* and is also the site of the covenant (the sign of circumcision). Here, though, both *bow* and "covenant" include *Shekhinah*, who is linked to *Yesod*, "contained in Righteous One." See *Zohar* 1:247a; 3:243b (*RM*); Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, index, s.v. "rainbow."

611. **Since Noah was righteous...** Noah the Righteous symbolizes *Yesod*, Righteous One.

612. **when he kept the covenant** When Joseph withstood the temptation of being seduced.

613. **Luster of supernal glory... hidden colors, revealed colors** The revealed colors of the rainbow symbolize *Shekhinah*, "vision of all visions," who reflects the more hidden colors of the higher *sefirot*.

614. **It is forbidden to gaze at the rainbow...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "'Whoever shows no concern for the glory of his Maker, it were better for him if he had not come into the world' (M *Ḥagigah* 2:1). What does this mean? Rabbi Abba said: 'It refers to one who gazes at the rainbow,'... for it is written: *Like the appearance of the bow in the cloud on a rainy day, so was the appearance of the surrounding radiance—the appearance of the semblance of the glory of YHVH* (Ezekiel 1:28)." See *Zohar* 2:66b, 99a; 3:84a.

Here, gazing at the rainbow implies gazing at the divine phallus uniting with *Shekhinah*. See Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 336–40.

615. **dross** סוספיתא (*Suspita*), apparently a deformation of כוספא (*kuspa*), "pomace, husk." Dross symbolizes the demonic, the residue of *Gevurah* or *Din*

(strict Judgment), which is located on the left side of the sefirotic tree and symbolized by gold. The colors of the rainbow are inferior to divine colors.

See *Zohar* 1:30a, 118b, 228a; 2:24b, 203a, 224b, 236b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 389, n. 54; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 336–38.

616. **Once earth sees this rainbow...** See Genesis 9:8–17.

617. ***between God*** [***and the earth***] The verse reads: *between Me and the earth*. See Genesis 9:16.

618. **all comprise one mystery...** The colors of the rainbow symbolize the divine spectrum manifesting within the cloud of *Shekhinah*.

619. **Foundation Stone...** אבן שתיה (*Even Shetiyyah*), "Rock of Foundation" (upon which the world was founded) or "Rock of Weaving" (from which the world was woven). According to midrashic tradition, the world was created from this rock, located in the Holy of Holies. Here, this stone symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

See M *Yoma* 5:2; *Tosefta*, *Yoma* 3:6; BT *Yoma* 54b; JT *Yoma* 5:4, 42c; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:4; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 35; *Zohar* 1:231a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:14–15, n. 39; Tur-Sinai, *Ha-Lashon ve-ha-Sefer*, 3:272; Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Fshutah*, 4:772–73.

On the phrase "centric point" (נקודה חדא [*nequddah ḥada*], "one point"), see *Zohar* 1:231a; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 391, n. 80.

620. **supernal sacred throne...** *Shekhinah*, carried by the four creatures.

621. **Oral Torah** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

622. **Written Torah** Symbolizing Her male partner, *Tif'eret*.

623. **Written Torah is placed upon Oral Torah** See BT *Megillah* 27a: "... One of the Five Books [of Moses may be placed] on the Prophets and Writings, but the Prophets and Writings may not be placed on one of the Five Books." Rabbi Shim'on's formulation here corresponds with the judgment of Joseph ibn Migash, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 92.

624. **image of Jacob, enthroned upon Her** According to Genesis 28:12, Jacob dreamed of *a ladder set on earth, its top reaching the heavens, and behold: angels of God were ascending and descending* בו (*bo*), *on it* [or: *on him*], *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:12 records a dispute between Rabbi Ḥiyya the Elder and Rabbi Yannai concerning this verse: "One said, '*Ascending and descending* the ladder,' while the other said, '*Ascending and descending* Jacob'... whose image is engraved on high."

See Theodor's note, ad loc.; *Bereshit Rabbah* 82:2 ("engraved on My throne"); *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:1; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 28:12; BT *Ḥullin* 91b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 35; Moses de León, Munich MS 47, 338b; Wolfson, *Along the Path*, 1–62.

Based on the midrashic motif of Jacob's image being engraved on the

divine throne, Rabbi Shim'on identifies Jacob with the *appearance of a man* seated on the throne, symbolizing *Tif'eret* enthroned upon *Shekhinah*.

625. **Meḥasya** A suburb of Sura on the Euphrates and site of a rabbinic academy. See *Zohar* 1:92b, 101a–b (*MhN*).

626. **ragged saddlebags** קסירי דקטפירא (*Qesirei de-qatpira*), one of the *Zohar*'s neologistic phrases. *Qesirei* apparently derives from קיסר (*qeisar*), "Caesar," whose Latin root was considered related to the stem *caes*, "cut." See *Tosafot*, *Avodah Zarah* 10b, s.v. *hakhi garsinan kol nesi'eha*.

Qatpira, perhaps an expansion of קטרא (*qitra*), "knot, bond, connection," carries several meanings in the *Zohar*, including "bag, sack, waterskin." See Psalms 119:83; *Zohar* 1:33a, 64a; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 353.

The Jew at the inn is an itinerant merchant transporting his wares.

627. **This is the Foundation Stone, upon which the world was planted...** According to midrashic tradition, the world was created from this rock, located in the Holy of Holies in the Temple in Jerusalem.

אשתיל (*Ishshetil*), "Was planted," is a play on the rabbinic wording: "from which the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded." See the sources cited above, note 619; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 74–75 (95); *Zohar* 1:78a, 82a, 231a; 2:48b, 222a; *ZḤ* 28a (*MhN*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 372–73.

628. **That Jew raised his head** While still in bed.

629. ***He took the stone that he had placed under his head*** The verse continues: *and set it up as a pillar*.

630. **Jacob was in Bethel** See Genesis 28:19.

631. **Words of Torah require intention** Directing and preparing one's mind. See BT *Berakhot* 13a, 15b–16a.

632. **with body and will as one** With physical and mental preparation. Rabbi Yehudah is telling the Jew, still lying in bed, that he should prepare himself properly before engaging in Torah.

633. **even a single person sitting and studying Torah...** See M *Avot* 3:6: "Rabbi Ḥalafta of Kefar Ḥananya says, 'Ten who are sitting engaged in Torah, *Shekhinah* abides among them.... Even five...; even three...; even two...; even one....'" See *Zohar* 1:58b, 70a, 87a, 115b, 135b.

634. **they require thirsting clarity** Words of Torah require mental clarity, which is difficult while lying in bed. "Thirsting clarity" renders צחותא (*tsaḥuta*), for Rabbi Yehudah is using this Aramaic word meaning "thirst" to play on the Hebrew צחות (*tsaḥut*), "clarity." He has in mind the rabbinic Aramaic saying (BT *Megillah* 28b): "A legal decision requires as much צילותא (*tsiluta*), clarity, as a day of the north wind."

See BT *Eruvin* 65a; *Megillah* 28b; *Targum* on Song of Songs 6:7; *Zohar*

2:89a; 3:23a, 46a, 207b, 221b, 266b; *ZḤ* 13d (*MhN*); Scholem, *Major Trends*, 389, n. 49.

635. **when anyone rises to ply Torah at midnight...** See Psalms 119:62; and BT *Berakhot* 3b: "Rabbi Shim'on the Ḥasid said, 'There was a harp suspended above [King] David's bed. As soon as midnight arrived, a north wind came and blew upon it, and it played by itself. He immediately arose and engaged in Torah until the break of dawn.'"

In the *Zohar*, this legendary custom is expanded into a ritual: all kabbalists are expected to rise at midnight and adorn *Shekhinah* with words of Torah and song in preparation for Her union with *Tif'eret*. See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 146–50. This parallels the midnight vigil, common among Christian monks from early medieval times. In *Zohar* 3:119a Rabbi Yehudah alludes to the Christian practice: "I have seen something similar among the nations of the world." At midnight God delights in the souls of the righteous in the Garden of Eden, and both He and they listen attentively to anyone studying here below.

See *Sifra*, *Beḥuqqotai* 3:3, 111b; *Aggadat Bereshit* 23:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 102a; 2 Enoch 8:3; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:138); *Zohar* 1:10b, 77a–b, 82b, 92a–b, 136b, 178b, 231b; 2:46a, 130a–b, 136a, 173b, 195b–196a; 3:21b–22b, 52b, 193a; *ZḤ* 13c (*MhN*). Cf. Matthew 25:6.

636. **He said to him** Rabbi Yehudah said to the Jew.

637. ***He took the stone that he had placed under his head*** The verse continues: *and set it up as a pillar*.

638. **He rolled up the whole land of Israel beneath him...** See BT *Ḥullin* 91b: "*The land upon which you lie* [*I will give to you and to your seed*] (Genesis 28:13). What is so great about that? [The actual area of land occupied by Jacob's body was minuscule.] Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'This teaches that the blessed Holy One rolled up the whole land of Israel and placed it beneath our father Jacob, so that it would be easily conquered by his descendants.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 69:4; *Zohar* 1:156a; 3:84a. Here Rabbi Yehudah's point is that by rolling up the entire land of Israel, God brought the Foundation Stone, located in the Temple in Jerusalem, to Bethel.

639. **It is written: *that he had placed...*** Jacob placed the stone when he was at Bethel, so how could it be identical with the Foundation Stone, set in place by God before Creation?

640. **He opened, saying** The Jew opened.

641. **this stone... *that the builders rejected...*** Rabbinic tradition applies this verse to David, youngest of Jesse's sons, relegated to tending the flock. See 1 Samuel 16:11; BT *Pesaḥim* 119a; *Midrash Shemu'el* 19:7; *Yalqut ha-Makhiri*, Psalms 118:22, par. 28.

David identifies with *Shekhinah*, the rejected stone, whose diminished light excluded Her from the brilliance of *the builders*, the triad of *sefirot* (*Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*). Eventually he became a triumphant king, while She completed the quartet of *sefirot* (*Ḥesed, Gevurah*, *Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*). See *Bahir* 131 (190); *Zohar* 1:20b, 89b (*ST*).

642. **through this...** One who enters the divine realm must begin with *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence, known as זאת (*zot*), *this*. See *Zohar* 2:51a, 57a; 3:31a.

643. ***I will behold Your face in righteousness*** I will encounter the divine through *Shekhinah*, known as *righteousness*.

644. **All David's striving focused on appearing fittingly...** David strove to enter *Shekhinah*, identify with Her, and thereby ascend higher.

645. **Abraham innovated morning prayer...** See BT *Berakhot* 26b: "Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'The patriarchs instituted the prayers.'... Abraham instituted the morning prayer,... Isaac, the afternoon prayer,... Jacob, the evening prayer." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9.

Abraham symbolizes *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of light and goodness. Isaac symbolizes *Gevurah* or *Din* ("Judgment"). Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who unites with *Shekhinah*. Each patriarch adorned *Shekhinah* with the quality of his particular *sefirah*, but Jacob was the first to array *Shekhinah* fittingly, to set up the primordial Foundation Stone as a pillar.

On *the stone* in this verse as *Shekhinah*, see *Zohar* 1:146b, 151a, 231a; 2:229b–230a.

On the expression "There is judgment and a Judge," see *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:6; JT *Sanhedrin* 10:2, 28d; *Zohar* 1:87b.

646. ***And he poured oil upon her head...*** Jacob stimulated the flow of emanation from the highest *sefirot* to *Shekhinah*.

647. **why do you exert yourself in trade, neglecting eternal life?** Eternal life is guaranteed only by the study of Torah. See BT *Shabbat* 10a, 33b; *Beitsah* 15b; *Ta'anit* 21a.

648. **so that they can exert themselves in Torah** The identical motivation appears in *Zohar* 2:95a.

649. **He opened, saying** The Jew opened.

650. **he arrayed the Foundation Stone...** Solomon arrayed *Shekhinah* with the Holy of Holies (apparently, *Binah* or *Yesod*), so that *Shekhinah*, known as *Malkhut* (*kingdom*), was *firmly established*. Thereby Solomon's own *kingdom was firmly established*.

According to the Midrash, just as the moon does not become full until the fifteenth day of its cycle, so it remained incomplete until the glorious reign of

Solomon in the fifteenth generation from Abraham. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:12; and *Shemot Rabbah* 15:26: "When Solomon appeared, the disk of the moon became full."

See *Zohar* 1:73b, 74a, 150a, 223a, 225b, 249b; 2:85a; 3:61a; *ZḤ* 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 342. In Kabbalah the moon symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

651. ***I will see her...*** The verse reads: *When the bow is in the clouds, I will see it* (or: *her*), *to remember the everlasting covenant...* (Genesis 9:16).

652. **on Her** On *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the rainbow. She displays the full sefirotic spectrum. See above, page 421.

653. **whoever does not appear in Her...** Whoever does not attain the rung of *Shekhinah* cannot enter further into the divine realm. See Exodus 23:17: *Three times a year all your males shall appear before the presence of the Lord, YHVH*.

654. ***Make a mark*** The verse reads: *Pass through the city, through Jerusalem, and make a mark upon the foreheads of the people who moan and groan over all the abominations committed in it*. Only those bearing the mark escape death (ibid. 9:6). Here the Jew's point is that those who appear within *Shekhinah* are designated for life.

655. **Some say this is the impress...** Alternatively, when God sees the covenantal sign of circumcision, He remembers the covenant.

656. **Certainly it is all!** The wording *I will see it* (or: *her*) implies both interpretations, since one who is circumcised attains *Shekhinah*.

657. **rainbow appearing in the world...** The colors of the rainbow in the sky allude to the colors of the *sefirot*. Specifically, white, red, and green symbolize *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, respectively. See above, page 421.

658. **this rainbow is destined to be adorned in its colors...** The rainbow in the sky will display the brilliant colors of the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:1b, 117a.

659. **Do not expect the footsteps of Messiah...** See *TZ* 18, 36b.

660. ***I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*** Upon seeing the resplendent rainbow, God will fulfill His promise to redeem Israel.

661. ***to remember* means: so that the Flood will not return** The dim colors of the rainbow ensure the preservation of the world but not its redemption.

662. **this *covenant* who lies in exile** *Shekhinah*, who participates in Israel's exile. See BT *Megillah* 29a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai says, 'Come and see how beloved are Israel in the sight of the blessed Holy One! Wherever they went in exile, *Shekhinah* accompanied them. When they were exiled to Egypt, *Shekhinah* was with them.... When they were exiled to Babylon, *Shekhinah* was with them.... And even when they are destined to be redeemed, *Shekhinah* will be with them.'" See *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 14.

663. ***David their king*** David, the ideal king, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

664. ***the fallen tabernacle of David*** *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 2:239b–240a.

665. **here in the Torah** In the verse *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*.

666. ***not to be angry with you or rebuke you*** But rather, to redeem you. See the following verse.

667. **If I had been present in the world** Similar expressions appear in JT *Berakhot* 1:2, 3b (in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai) and in *ZḤ* 78b (*MhN, Rut*).

668. ***The Book of Enoch... The Book of Adam*** Two volumes of esoteric knowledge housed in the real or imaginary Zoharic library. Concerning Enoch, Genesis 5:24 states: *He was no more, for God took him*. In postbiblical literature this verse is taken to mean that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in the Enoch literature. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by this literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes.

According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See Genesis 5:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Adam* is not to be confused with the Apocryphal *Book of Adam*. According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam. Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 17b, 37b, 55a–b, 90b; 2:55a, 70a–b, 100a, 180a–181a, 197a; 3:10a–b, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; 158, 163, nn. 60–61; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87. Note the comment by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 22d: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*...have been lost in the wanderings of exile.... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

669. **strayed in strange words...** They delved into magic, abandoning the divine realm for the realm of the demonic. See *Zohar* 1:74b.

670. **But now the wise of the world know words and conceal them...** The mystics are careful not to reveal their secret knowledge. The reference to concealment may allude to the pseudepigraphic style of the *Zohar*. See *Zohar* 1:243a; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 202, 396–97, nn. 151–52; Matt, *Zohar*, 22.

671. **this verse** Namely: *The sons of Noah coming out of the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth*.

672. **Mystery of Mysteries** Another volume in the Zoharic library. See *Zohar* 2:70a–78a, 122b; 3:70b; *ZḤ* 35b–37c; Glossary, s.v. *Raza de-Razin*.

673. **Delight of all Delights** Alluding to *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, known as *Ratson* ("Will, Desire").

674. **Cause of Causes** סיבתא דסיבתין (*Sibbeta de-sibbatin*), reflecting the medieval Hebrew סבת הסבות (*sibbat ha-sibbot*), based on Latin *causa causarum*, "cause of causes," the ultimate ground of being. See *Zohar* 3:288b (*IZ*); *ZḤ* 48b–c; Moses de León, *She-qel ha-Qodesh*, 4 (6–7); Scholem, *Über einige Grundbegriffe des Judentums*, 50.

675. **lustering right... left... medially...** The flow of emanation spreads on the right, proceeding from *Ḥokhmah* to *Ḥesed*, and on the left, from *Binah* to *Gevurah*. Right and left are balanced in *Tif'eret*, symbolized by royal purple. On oil and wine, see *Zohar* 1:88a, 96a; 3:7b, 88b.

676. **spirit rises...** *Shekhinah* rises toward Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

677. **Three enter three** The triad of *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret* enter the following triad: *Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*.

678. **one covenant cleaving to covenant** *Yesod*, the divine phallus, symbolized by the covenant of circumcision, unites with *Shekhinah*, who shares the symbol of covenant.

679. **Spirit ascending...** *Shekhinah* ascends toward Her partner.

680. **When She is placed between two sides...** Once *Shekhinah* is embraced by the right and left arms (*Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*), Her union is consummated and She conceives three spiritual entities or souls.

681. ***Shem* on the right; *Ham* on the left; *Japheth*, purple, blending both** Noah's three sons embody the souls deriving from the triad of *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. These souls issue from *Shekhinah* (symbolized by the ark) through the power of *Yesod* (symbolized by Noah).

682. **scoria of gold underneath slag** Ham, Noah's second son, corresponds to the *sefirah* of *Gevurah* or *Din* (strict Judgment), symbolized by gold and located on the left side of the sefirotic tree. Ham's son, Canaan, symbolizes the demonic, the dross of *Din*. See *Zohar* 1:48a, 52a, 193a; 2:236b.

"Scoria" renders זוהמא (*zohama*), "filth, slime." "Slag" renders the Zoharic neologism קספיטין (*qaspitin*), apparently a deformation of כוספא (*kuspa*), "pomace, husk, residue." See the similar neologism סוספיתא (*suspita*), meaning "dross," in *Zohar* 1:30a, 71b, 118b, 228a; 2:24b, 203a, 224b, 236b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 389, n. 54; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 336–38.

Canaan is dross of dross, "scoria of gold underneath slag."

683. ***Ham is father of Canaan*, who brought curses upon the world...** Ham *saw his father's nakedness* (Genesis 9:22) and consequently his son Canaan was cursed by Noah (ibid., 25). Here Canaan is identified with the demonic, specifically the Angel of Death, who "besmirches creatures' faces."

684. **the patriarchs were still unfulfilled...** Only Abraham had appeared. Until the triad of patriarchs was complete and the people of Israel established, the demonic could not be uprooted from the land.

685. ***slave of slaves*** The verse continues: *shall he be to his brothers*. This curse uttered against Canaan parallels the curse pronounced upon the serpent. As the serpent is more cursed than all other animals, who are themselves enslaved to humanity, so Canaan is doomed to be *slave of slaves*.

686. **when that flowing, gushing river waters the garden...** The flow of emanation reaches *Shekhinah*, the garden, through the potency of the sefirotic triad of *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. This triad is characterized by the colors white, red, and green.

687. **each absorbs its companion** Each aspect reflects and includes the others.

688. **through reflection they disperse...** Indirectly, the sefirotic colors illumine the demonic realm as well.

689. **mystery of rungs** The mystery of emanation extending from the divine to the realms below.

690. **twenty-seven conduits, sockets of doors covering the abysses** The abyss is the domain of the demonic. The number twenty-seven matches the twenty-seven forces of impurity mentioned in *Zohar* 3:79a. *KP* and *OY* understand the number as referring to the twenty-seven letters of the Hebrew alphabet (including the five final letters), grouped in nine triads. As the world was created through combinations of letters, so certain other combinations obstruct the ever threatening chaos while allowing a measure of divine light to filter through to the demonic realm.

691. **if one knows how to praise his Lord fittingly** According to the various qualities of the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:193b, where Rabbi El'azar interprets this verse sefirotically.

692. **multiplies blessings...** The human worshiper multiplies blessings, drawing them down from above, while stimulating divine union from below.

693. **unify His name** Unify the *sefirot* through contemplation.

694. **beloved above and desirable below** This blessing is linked with knowledge of the divine name in BT *Qiddushin* 71a: "Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'The forty-two-letter name [of God] is transmitted only to one who is modest, humble, middle-aged, free from anger, sober, and not insistent on retaliating. Whoever knows it, is careful with it, and guards it in purity is beloved above and desirable below, feared by creatures, and endowed with two worlds: this world and the world to come.'" See *Bahir* 80 (111).

695. **One said... the other said...** Both views derive from *Pirqei de-Rabbi*

Eli'ezer 23: "Noah found a vine that had been banished from the Garden of Eden along with its clusters. He took of its fruit and ate and desired them in his heart. He planted a vineyard with it. That same day its fruit flourished... He drank of its wine and was exposed in the tent...."

See 3 Baruch 4:8–17; Origen, *Selecta*, Genesis 9:20–21; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 9:20; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ 20; Zohar* 1:140b; *ZḤ* 22c (*MhN*).

Noah's sin resembles the sin of Adam, who, according to Rabbi Yehudah son of Il'ai and Rabbi Me'ir, ate from a vine. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:7; BT *Sanhedrin* 70a; Apocalypse of Abraham 23:6.

696. **When he sought to probe the sin probed by Adam...** Noah attempted to explore the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in order to repair the damage done by Adam. In Kabbalah this tree symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who should be unified with the other *sefirot*, especially with Her partner, *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the Tree of Life. Adam's sin was that he separated Her from Her partner—in effect, banishing Her from the Garden and exposing Her and the world to demonic forces. Noah repeated this sin.

See *Zohar* 1:53b; Recanati on Genesis 9:20–21, 20b. On the relation between *Shekhinah* and the demonic, see Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 189–92; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:376–79.

697. **that vineyard** *Shekhinah*.

698. ***he became drunk and exposed himself*** The full verse reads: *He drank of the wine and became drunk, and exposed himself inside his tent*.

699. **breach of the world...** The gap between *Shekhinah* and the other *sefirot*, which had been opened by Adam's sin and then closed when he turned back to God.

700. **אהלה (*oholoh*), *his tent*—spelled with a ה (*he*)... *her tent*...** In the biblical text the final letter of אהלה (*oholoh*), *his tent*, is a ה (*he*), rather than the normal masculine possessive suffix ו (*vav*). The suffix ה (*he*) usually denotes the feminine possessive, *her*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 36:4: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Simon and Rabbi Ḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Shemu'el son of Rav Yitsḥak, '... It is spelled אהלה (*oholah*), *her tent*: inside the tent of his wife.'" In other words, Noah shamed himself in his wife's tent. See Theodor's note, ad loc.

Here similarly, Rabbi Shim'on reads the word as *oholah*, *her tent*, but he takes this to mean: "the tent of that vineyard," namely, the tent of *Shekhinah*, site of Noah's sin. See *Zohar* 1:83a.

Instead of "*inside* אהלה (*oholah*), *her tent*, the tent of that vineyard," several manuscripts (V5, R1) read "corresponding to what is written: *Do not come near the door of her house* (Proverbs 5:8)," namely, the house of the strange woman,

symbolizing the demonic. See *Zohar* 2:245a (*Heikh*), 267b (*Heikh*).

701. **Similarly, the sons of Aaron...** Aaron's two eldest sons, Nadab and Abihu, were killed when *they offered strange fire in the presence of YHVH* (Leviticus 10:1–2). According to Rabbi Yishma'el (*Vayiqra Rabbah* 12:1), they died because they "entered while drunk with wine."

702. **that other wine** Of the demonic realm.

703. ***strange fire... a strange woman...*** The *strange fire* symbolizes the demonic feminine. See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 37 (44).

704. **Ham, father of Canaan, aroused...** Ham, Noah's second son, who saw his father's nakedness, corresponds to the *sefirah* of *Gevurah* or *Din* ("Judgment"), located on the left side of the sefirotic tree. Ham's sin empowered his son Canaan, who symbolizes the demonic refuse of *Din*. See above, page 431.

705. **Whereas he had been righteous...** Noah had been righteous, symbolizing the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, known as Righteous One. *Yesod* is the divine phallus and site of the covenant of circumcision.

706. **he castrated him...** According to Rav (BT *Sanhedrin* 70a), Ham castrated his father, thereby eliminating the covenantal sign of circumcision.

707. **as at first** Following Adam's sin.

708. ***Slave of slaves... Cursed are you among all animals...*** The curse uttered against Canaan parallels the curse pronounced upon the serpent in the Garden. As the serpent is more cursed than all other animals, who are themselves enslaved to humanity, so Canaan is doomed to be *slave of slaves*. See above, page 431.

709. **All will be restored...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:5: "Rabbi Levi said, 'In the time to come, all will be healed except for the serpent and the Gibeonites [see Joshua 9:23].'" Here Canaan, symbolizing the demonic, shares the eternal curse of the serpent.

710. **When King David sinned...in the affair of Bathsheba** Seeing her bathing, David was attracted to her and slept with her. He then arranged for her husband, Uriah the Hittite, to die in battle, after which he married her. See 2 Samuel 11–12.

711. **Bathsheba was destined for King David...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 107a: "Rava expounded, '... Ever since the six days of Creation, Bathsheba daughter of Eliam was designated for David, but she came to him with suffering.' The school of Rabbi Yishma'el taught likewise: 'She was designated for David, but he ate her unripe [prematurely, while she was still married to Uriah].'" See *Zohar* 1:8b; 2:107a; 3:78b.

712. **another—anticipating—marries her...** See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 18b: "Shemu'el said, 'One is allowed to betroth a woman during the intermediate

days of a festival, lest another [rival suitor] anticipate him.' ... But could Shemu'el have said, 'Lest another anticipate him'? Surely Rav Yehudah said in the name of Shemu'el, 'Every single day a heavenly echo issues, announcing: "The daughter of so-and-so for so-and-so...."' Rather, 'lest another anticipate him through supplication.'" See *Zohar* 1:91b; 2:101a; 3:78b, 283b.

713. **he departs the world** The first husband dies.

714. **It is difficult for the blessed Holy One...** On God's difficulty in matching couples, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:4.

715. **the Holy Land was given to Canaan before Israel arrived... all one mystery** The land was refined through Canaan's prior occupation. Similarly, Bathsheba was prepared for David by her prior marriage to Uriah. See *Zohar* 1:83a.

716. **David confessed his sin and returned** Repenting sincerely. See 2 Samuel 12:13: *David said to Nathan*, "I *have sinned against YHVH!*"

717. **accuse him in time of danger** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 91:9: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, '... Satan accuses only in time of danger.'"

718. **all those rungs from which human sins suspend** The various *sefirot*, each of which is impaired by particular human sins.

719. ***My sin confronts me constantly*—defect of the moon** The Hebrew root חטא (*ḥt'*) includes the meanings "to miss" and "to sin." Here the word implies "something missing," a defect in *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon. This *sefirah*, known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"), corresponds to King David.

On the defect of the moon, see BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!" She said before Him, "Master of the Universe! Because I have suggested something proper I should make myself smaller?" He replied, "Go and rule by day and night." She said, "But what is the value of this? What good is a lamp at noon?"... Seeing that her mind was uneasy [that she could not be consoled], the blessed Holy One said, "Bring an atonement for Me for making the moon smaller."' As was said by Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: 'Why is the goat offered on the new moon distinguished by the phrase *to* [or: *for*] *YHVH* (Numbers 28:15)? The blessed Holy One said, "Let this goat be an atonement for My having made the moon smaller."'"

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b–20a, 146a; *ZḤ* 70d–71a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 189; idem, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 35b.

720. **until Solomon appeared...** During the triumphant reign of Solomon,

Shekhinah regained Her full splendor.

According to the Midrash, just as the moon does not become full until the fifteenth day of its cycle, so it remained incomplete until the glorious reign of Solomon in the fifteenth generation from Abraham. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:12; and *Shemot Rabbah* 15:26: "When Solomon appeared, the disk of the moon became full."

See *Zohar* 1:74a, 150a, 223a, 225b, 249b; 2:85a; 3:61a; *ZḤ* 83b (*MhN, Rut*); Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 342.

721. **turned firm and fragrant** אתבסם (*Itbassam*), "Was sweetened" or "was firmly established." The root *bsm* conveys both senses.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 66:2; *Midrash Shemu'el* 26:4; *Zohar* 1:30b, 31a, 34a, 37a, 56a, 137a; 2:143a, 168a, 227a; 3:18a; Bronsnick, in *Sinai* 63 (1968): 81–85; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 44; idem, *Kabbalah*, 228.

722. ***Everyone in Israel...*** The full verse reads: *Judah and Israel dwelled securely, everyone under his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan to Beer-sheba, all the days of Solomon*.

723. ***Nimrod...*** King of Babylonia and Assyria. See Genesis 10:8–12.

724. **garbed in the garments of Adam...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24: "Rabbi Yehudah said, 'The coat made by the blessed Holy One for Adam and his wife [see Genesis 3:21] was with them in the ark. When they emerged from the ark, Ham son of Noah took it out with him and gave it as an inheritance to Nimrod [his grandson]. When he wore it, every animal, beast, and bird came and prostrated itself before him. They [his contemporaries] thought this was due to his own power, so they made him king.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 63:13; 65:16; *Zohar* 1:142b; 2:39a–b; *ZḤ* 65a (*ShS*).

725. **Why was he called** נמרוד (***Nimrod***), **Nimrod?...** See BT *Pesaḥim* 94a–b. According to rabbinic tradition, Nimrod instigated the building of the Tower of Babel. See *Avodah Zarah* 53b; *Ḥullin* 89a.

726. **Concerning these garments, the Companions know a supernal mystery!** See the Zoharic passages cited above, note 724. In 2:39a–b, Rabbi Shim'on maintains that the garments of Adam and Eve were never worn again by anyone else.

727. **Our Mishnah** The *Zohar* often cites teachings from a secret, mystical Mishnah known only to its own circle. See 1:37b, 55b, 91b, 93a, 95b, 96a, 224a, 252a (*Hash*); 3:57b, 61b, 78a, 284b, 285a. This is to be distinguished from the *Matnitin* of the *Zohar*, on which see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 216.

728. **Didn't Solomon build it...** Didn't Solomon and his artisans build the Temple? Why, then, the wording *in its being built*, which implies that the work was accomplished effortlessly and miraculously?

729. **entirely by miracle, made by itself** Similarly, the lampstand in the Tabernacle took shape miraculously. See *Tanḥuma, Be-ha'alotekha* 3.

730. ***in its being built*—it was built by itself** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:1 (5): "Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'It is not written here: *The House that they were building*, but rather: *The House, in its being built*. It was built by itself!'"

731. **spelled שלמה (*shelemah*), missing the י (*yod*)...** The defective spelling of the word enables it to be read *Shelomoh, Solomon*. During Solomon's triumphant reign, *Shekhinah* (symbolized by the stone) was complete, and She inspired the construction of the Temple.

See *Zohar* 1:83b, and above, note 720.

732. **מסע (*Massa*), *Quarry*, Journey** The Hebrew word bears both meanings.

733. **transported, coming and resting upon them...** The presence of *Shekhinah* came upon them.

734. ***And for* מסע (*massa*), *journeying, the camps*** Just as *Shekhinah* directed Israel's journey through the desert, so too She guided the building of the Temple. See *Ba-raita di-Mlekhet ha-Mishkan*, 13.

735. ***shamir*** A fabulous worm that could cut through the sharpest stone. According to rabbinic tradition, Solomon employed it in building the Temple. See BT *Gittin* 68a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:53, n. 165.

736. **When it arose in the will of the blessed Holy One...** As the infinite divinity verged on manifesting Itself, fashioning *the House*, the sefirotic structure. See *Zohar* 1:246b.

737. **larynx** *Binah*, source of the divine voice. See *Zohar* 1:50b.

738. **fire, air, and water** *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, the central triad of *sefirot*, emanating from *Binah*.

739. **Jacob emerged, Consummate Man** Jacob, consummation of the patriarchs, symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who balances left and right, expressing the emanation from *Binah*. The phrase גבר שלים (*gevar shelim*), "Consummate Man," derives from *Targum Onqelos*, on Genesis 25:27, where Jacob, in contrast to Esau the hunter, is described as איש תם (*ish tam*), rendered variously: "a simple (or: innocent, plain, mild, quiet, sound, wholesome) man."

740. **single voice issuing audibly... concealed in silence...** See *Zohar* 1:16b, 50b, 141b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 89 (113). Cf. BT *Berakhot* 15b: "The womb, which takes in silently, gives forth loudly."

741. **Then speech issued...** *Shekhinah* articulates divine revelation.

742. **all is concealed thought...** The entire sefirotic realm evolves from divine thought.

743. **every single time** The process unfolds gradually and continuously.

744. ***Of stone dressed...*** The phrase אבן שלמה (*even shelemah*), *stone dressed*,

is read as *even Shelomoh*, *stone of Solomon*, referring to *Shekhinah*. See above, note 731.

745. ***the crown with which his mother crowned him*** In Song of Songs this verse applies to King Solomon. Here he symbolizes the male divinity, who is adorned by the Divine Mother (*Binah*) with *Shekhinah*, also known as *Atarah* ("Crown").

746. **other, lower rungs...** The forces and realms below *Shekhinah*, who are nourished by Her. They do not join in Her union with the higher *sefirot*.

747. ***When they journeyed from*** קדם (***qedem***), ***the east*** The verse continues: *they found a valley in the land of Shinar and settled there*. The following verses describe the construction of the Tower of Babel.

748. קדמאה (***Qadma'ah***), **Primordial One, of the world** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:7: "*When they journeyed from* קדם (*qedem*), *the east*.... Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on said, 'They removed themselves from קדמונו (*Qadmono*), Primordial One, of the world, saying, "We desire neither Him nor His divinity."'"

749. **for from there they disperse...** Rabbi Shim'on interprets בקעה (*biq'ah*), *valley*, according to its root, "to cleave, split." Those who built the Tower of Babel attempted to split the divine unity and were punished by being scattered (Genesis 11:8–9). See Baḥya ben Asher, Genesis 11:4. Similarly, the realms beneath *Shekhinah* are characterized by multiplicity and division.

750. **Now if you say, 'Look at what is written: *A river issues*...** This verse is understood to refer to the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah* (*the garden*) and the division beneath Her. Though it appears that the split begins at the stage of *Shekhinah*, Rabbi Shim'on explains that it takes effect only beneath Her, as a result of the journey away from *the garden*.

751. **other dominion** The demonic realm.

752. ***land of Shinar*** Identical with Babylon.

753. ***the banished sea...*** ים נגרש (*Yam nigrash*), usually rendered as *the tossing sea* or *the troubled sea*, but Rabbi Ḥiyya focuses on the literal meaning.

754. **casting up all that mud of the sea...** See Radak's explanation of *banished sea*, ad loc.

755. **defiled** By the demonic powers.

756. **The expression *Come* denotes mere preparation** See Rashi, ad loc.; *Zohar* 2:18a (*MhN*).

757. **proceeded with evil wisdom...** Consciously seeking the demonic realm. See above, pages 440–41.

758. **Everywhere...** Even in a sinful act.

759. **plunged in the midst of the fish of the sea** The sea apparently

symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who nourishes many powers, including the demonic.

760. **This site will be our deity...** They sought to worship the demonic in place of *Shekhinah*, the divine *name*. Or, they focused on *Shekhinah* alone, thereby splitting Her off from the other *sefirot* and ruining the divine union. The two explanations are related, since the demonic thrives on this cosmic split.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:8: "*And let us make a name for ourselves*. It was taught in the school of Rabbi Yishma'el: '*Name* means nothing but an idol.'" Cf. *Mekhilta*, *Mishpatim* 20; Naḥmanides on Genesis 11:2.

761. **one of the ten times that *Shekhinah* descended to earth** These divine manifestations are referred to in various sources, including: *Mekhilta*, *Baḥodesh* 3; *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:8; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 34; B, 37; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 14.

762. **Didn't He already know?** Since God is omniscient, why should He have to come down *to see?*

763. **at the rung above, then at the rung below...** The sin of the rebels ruined the union of the divine couple, *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *the city and the tower*. God first inspected the damage above, then gazed below. See *Zohar* 1:74b (*ST*).

764. **'The children of Adam'...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:9, which compares the sinful ingratitude of Adam and the generation of the Tower of Babel: "*That* בני האדם (*benei ha-adam*), *the children of the human, had built*. Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Would we have thought it was built by the children of donkeys or camels? Rather, it means *the children of Adam*, [by which God implied:] "Just as Adam, after all the good that I bestowed upon him, said *The woman whom You gave to be beside me* [*she gave me of the tree, and I ate*] (Genesis 3:12), so although the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel] followed the generation of the Flood by only two years [as is said:] *two years after the Flood* (ibid. 11:10), yet [they rebelled, displaying gross ingratitude]."'" See *Zohar* 1:60b, 74b (*ST*).

Adam's sin also ruined the union of the divine couple. See *Zohar* 1:35b–36a, 52a.

765. **striving to build above** Attempting to replace the sefirotic structure with a demonic one.

766. ***The gate of the inner court facing east...*** The verse is from Ezekiel's vision of the restored Temple in Jerusalem. See *Zohar* 2:248b (*Heikh*); *TZ* 21, 61a; 36, 78a.

767. **Because these are secular days...** The six weekdays symbolize demonic powers who rule the world on those days. During that time, *Shekhinah*, the gate of the upper world, must remain closed, so that the flow of emanation

not flow freely to them.

768. **performance of sacred with sacred...** On these holy days, *Shekhinah* (symbolized by the moon) unites with Her partner, *Tif'eret* (symbolized by the sun). Similarly, according to BT *Ketubbot* 62b (in the name of Shemu'el), scholars should unite with their wives each Sabbath eve. In the *Zohar*, this act symbolizes and stimulates the union of the divine couple, engendering a holy body and drawing down a holy soul.

See Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 63b; *Zohar* 1:14a, 50a, 112a (*MhN*); 2:63b, 89a–b; 3:49b, 78a.

Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 51: "Rabbi Yehudah says, 'On Sabbath and new moons, Israel stood there [in the court of the Temple] and saw the doors open by themselves, and they knew that Sabbath had arrived, and they sanctified it. Similarly on the new moons.... Because they stood there and saw the doors open by themselves, they knew that the *Shekhinah* of the blessed Holy One dwelled within.'"

769. **except for the land of Israel** Ruled and nourished directly by the divine. See BT *Ta'anit* 10a: "The land of Israel is watered by the blessed Holy One Himself, while the rest of the world is watered by an emissary."

Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; BT *Ketubbot* 110b; *Zohar* 1:61a, 84b, 108b; 2:33a, 151b.

770. ***facing* קדים (*qadim*), *east*—before they rise to rule...** Rabbi Shim'on connects the word קדים (*qadim*), *east*, with קודם (*qodem*), "before." The providential gaze of *Shekhinah* precedes and oversees the dominion of the demonic powers.

771. **All those days cleave to Sabbath...** The weekdays derive their nourishment from Sabbath.

772. **a veil, spread** The veil separates the heavenly and earthly realms.

773. **This has already been explained... journeying from above to below...** See above, pages 440–41; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24. Babel is the site of the demonic.

774. ***Let us make a name for ourselves...*** Let us replace the divine with the demonic, so that the worship of creatures below will be directed here, empowering the demonic. See above, page 442 and note 760.

775. **we will ascend to heaven and wage battle** See BT *Sanhedrin* 109a.

776. **Let all rungs disperse...** Let the heavenly powers disperse, so they will be unable to help the earthly rebels. (According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God.)

See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32;

Targum Yerushalmi, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 108b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

777. ***YHVH scattered them...*** Both the heavenly powers and the rebels below.

778. **they were all speaking the holy tongue** See JT *Megillah* 1:11, 71b; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ* 28; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:1; Ibn Ezra, ad loc.

779. **enunciation is essential...** The pronunciation of Hebrew words stimulates heavenly powers to actualize the speaker's intention. See *Zohar* 3:112b.

780. **the powers above know and recognize only the holy tongue** See BT *Shabbat* 12b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'If one petitions for his needs in Aramaic, the ministering angels do not attend to him, for they do not know Aramaic.'"

See *Zohar* 1:9b, 74b (*ST*), 88b–89a (*ST*).

781. ***Blessed be the name of the blessed Holy One...*** The verse actually reads: *Blessed be the name of God....*

782. **Because the blessed Holy One brought secrets...** Despite the fact that humanity would misuse the secrets, God still generously revealed them.

783. **rungs** Various levels of reality, including the demonic.

784. **he returned to the presence of his Lord** Repenting sincerely.

785. **that book of his** According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See Genesis 5:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. This book is not to be confused with the Apocryphal *Book of Adam*, known in various versions, though the Apocryphal book may have influenced the *Zohar*'s depiction of the *Book of Adam*. According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam. Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.

Adam's book is referred to frequently in the *Zohar*. See 1:17b, 37b, 55a–b, 58b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a–b, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54.

786. **then people appeared and provoked Him** They misused the wisdom contained in the book, employing it selfishly for magical purposes.

787. ***He drank of the wine and became drunk...*** See above, pages 433–34.

788. **Ishmael issued from him... Esau** Abraham and Isaac were tainted by engendering Ishmael and Esau. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 31; *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:11.

789. **Jacob married two sisters** Leah and Rachel. Such an act is explicitly forbidden in Leviticus 18:18; see BT *Pesaḥim* 119b; *Zohar* 1:168a. Elsewhere the *Zohar* offers mystical justification for this act. See 1:153b; 2:126b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 351–55; idem, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 40–41.

790. **his heart did not stray...** Moses explored all aspects of both the divine and the demonic realms, yet he was not seduced by any evil power.

791. ***The man spoke:* 'לאיתיאל (*Le-Iti'el*), *To Ithiel...'*** In Deuteronomy 17:17, the king is commanded not to *have many wives lest his heart turn astray*. King Solomon disobeyed this command, offering the following rationalization, according to *Shemot Rabbah* 6:1: "*The man spoke*: 'לאיתיאל (*Le-Iti'el*), *To Ithiel*. The only reason that the blessed Holy One decreed *he shall not have many wives* was *lest his heart turn astray. Le-Iti'el!*' [Solomon] said, '*Itti El*, *God is with me*, *ve-ukhal*, *and I will be able* [to withstand the temptation].' But what is written of him? *In Solomon's old age, his wives turned away his heart* [*after other gods*] (1 Kings 11:4)."

792. **Let us open with Torah and say a word!** While walking on the way, one should be engaged in words of Torah. See BT *Ta'anit* 10b: "Rabbi Il'ai son of Berekhiah said, 'Two disciples of the wise who are walking on the way and are not engaged in words of Torah deserve to be burned.'"

On the importance of engaging in Torah while on a journey, see Deuteronomy 6:7; BT *Eruvin* 54a; *Zohar* 1:7a, 58b, 69b–70a, 87a, 115b.

793. **The verse should read מהלך (*mehallekh*), *walks...*** The reflexive form of the verb (*mithallekh*) is unusual in this context. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:7: "*They heard the sound of YHVH Elohim walking about in the garden in the breeze of the day*.... Rabbi Abba son of Kahana said, 'The verse does not read מהלך (*mehallekh*), *walking*, but rather מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *walking about*, leaping up. The essence of *Shekhinah* was in the lower realms. As soon as Adam sinned, it withdrew to the first heaven.'"

See Naḥmanides on Genesis 3:8; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 15–17; *Zohar* 1:52a; *ZḤ* 18d (*MhN*).

794. **tree from which Adam ate** The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

795. ***Mithallekh*—female; *mehallekh*— male** Though grammatically both words are masculine, מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *walks about*, includes the letter ת (*tav*), often a feminine marker. For Rabbi Yose, apparently, this letter implies the divine feminine, *Shekhinah*. The simpler verbal form, מהלך (*mehallekh*), *walks*, lacks this letter and so implies the masculine, *Tif'eret*.

796. **This is who walked in front of Israel... *And YHVH...*** Implying *Shekhinah*. Though the name *YHVH* usually symbolizes *Tif'eret*, when *Shekhinah* is fully

united with Him, She shares this name. See *Zohar* 2:215a; 3:9b, 166a.

Alternatively, the conjunction *and* signifies *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 51:2: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Wherever it is said: *And YHVH*, this implies: He and His Court.'" In Kabbalah this court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment") and pronounces the divine decree, so the phrase *And YHVH* encompasses "He [*Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*] and His Court [*Shekhinah*]."

See JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b; Rashi on Exodus 12:29; *Zohar* 1:15b, 64b, 107b; 2:37b, 44b; 3:149a. The hermeneutical significance of *and* was championed by Rabbi Akiva. See BT *Yevamot* 68b; *Sanhedrin* 51b.

797. **This is who walks in front of a person... *Righteousness*...** See BT *Berakhot* 14a: "Rav Idi son of Avin said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Ishyan, 'Whoever prays and then sets out on the way, the blessed Holy One fulfills his desires, as is said: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way*.'" In the Talmudic passage, *righteousness* (or: *justice*) implies justification by prayer, which guarantees a successful journey. Here in the *Zohar*, *Righteousness* is a name of *Shekhinah*, who symbolizes divine justice and accompanies the worthy on the way. See *Zohar* 1:49a–50a, 58b.

798. **the other** The demonic, or another.

799. **Why קדוש (*qadosh*), *holy?* The verse should read קדושים (*qedoshim*), *holy*** Rabbi Yose reads the word מחניך (*maḥanekha*) as a plural, meaning *camps*, though it is normally understood as singular: *camp*. See *Minḥat Shai*, ad loc. The plural would require a plural adjective: *qedoshim*, rather than the singular: *qadosh*.

800. ***Your camps are to be qadosh, holy*— smooth members of the body...** The plural, *camps*, refers to the numerous limbs, which together comprise the single body, described by the singular adjective: *qadosh*. See *Zohar* 3:75b.

"Smooth members" renders two senses of one term, שייפי (*shaifei*). Deriving from a root meaning "to smooth, rub, slip," the word signifies "limbs" in the *Zohar*, perhaps based on the Talmudic expression (BT *Sotah* 7b) איבריה לשפא על (*al eivreih le-shafa*), "each limb entered its socket"—"slipping" into place—or "... the chest."

See *Arukh*, s.v. *shaf*; Rashi, ad loc., and on Job 33:21, citing *Ḥullin* 42b; *Zohar* 3:170a.

801. **Indecency of indecencies...** Illicit sexual behavior, or the verbal indecency described in the following lines.

802. ***ervat davar*...** Foul language. Because דבר (*davar*) means both "thing" and "word," this phrase can be rendered as *anything indecent* or *indecency of word*. See JT *Terumot* 1:5, 40d; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 24:7.

803. **Why to such an extreme?** Why is obscenity considered so repulsive?

804. ***Shekhinah* never departs from him** See M *Avot* 3:6: "Rabbi Ḥalafta of Kefar Ḥananya says, 'Ten who are sitting engaged in Torah, *Shekhinah* abides among them.... Even five...; even three...; even two...; even one....'"

805. מקדמונו (***Mi-Qadmono***), **From Primordial One, of the world** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:7: "*When they journeyed* מקדם (*mi-qedem*), *from the east*.... Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on said, 'They removed themselves מקדמונו (*mi-qadmono*), from the Primordial One, of the world, saying, "We desire neither Him nor His divinity."'" See above, page 440.

806. **Why *they found*?** One finds only something lost or abandoned.

807. **deposited there by victims of the Flood** Rabbi Ḥiyya is apparently playing with the words שנער (*shin'ar*) and אתנער (*itne'ar*), "deposited." See a similar play on words in *Eikhah Rabbah*, *Petiḥta* 23; BT *Shabbat* 113b. Cf. above, page 447: "With fragments of wisdom discovered by these people from wisdom of the ancients..."

808. **They vocalized and perpetrated the act** The power of their words, spoken in unison in Hebrew, effected the construction of the Tower. See above, page 445.

809. **rungs above** The heavenly powers invoked by their words. See above, page 445; *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:5.

810. **All the more so, we Companions...** By engaging intimately in Torah, we will be protected and can accomplish whatever we wish. See *Zohar* 2:190b.

811. **as long as these inhabitants of the world shared a single will...** See *Sifrei*, Numbers 42: "Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi El'azar ha-Kappar says, 'Great is peace, for even idolators who live peacefully cannot be harmed by Satan, as it were...; but as soon as they differ,... *now they bear their guilt* (Hosea 10:2).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:6; *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 7; *Zohar* 1:200b.

812. **all depends on the word of the mouth** See *Tanḥuma*, *Metsora* 2: "All depends upon the tongue."

813. ***Then I will transform the language...*** See *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Zephaniah, 567; Rashi and Ibn Ezra on Deuteronomy 6:4; Radak on Zephaniah 3:9.

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The ספר הזהר

ZOHAR

PRITZKER EDITION

Translation and Commentary by

DANIEL C. MATT

ספר הזהר

The

ZOHAR

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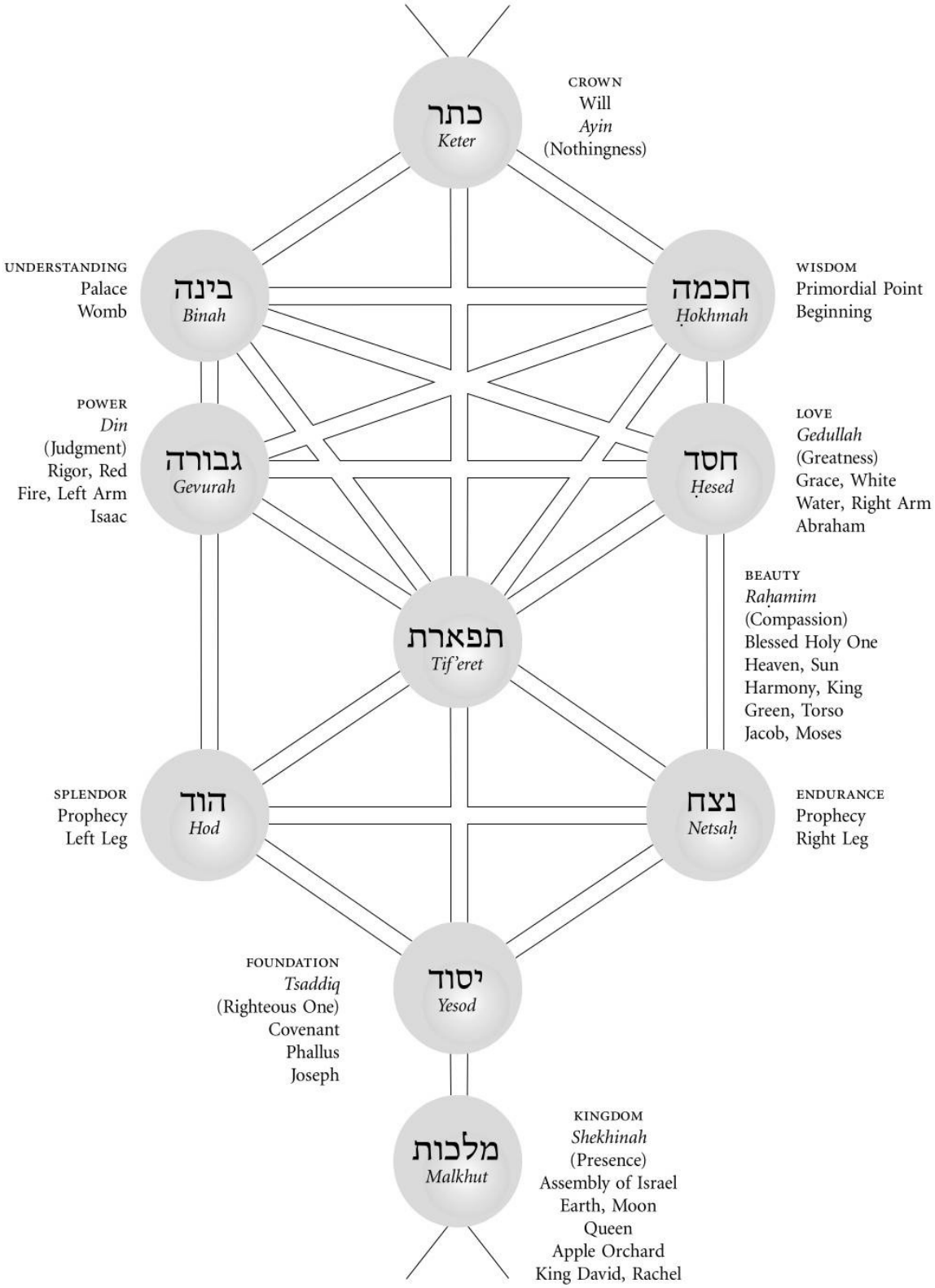

The Ten Sefirot

Foreword

SOME YEARS AGO, I began to study the Torah. As my facility with the text grew, I pursued the midrashic literature of the rabbis, and the interpretations of the classic medieval commentators. Eventually, I began to inquire about mystical commentaries on the Torah. I turned to the *Zohar*, seeking an English translation of its original Aramaic. I soon learned that previous translations not only were incomplete but also had been undertaken in the early twentieth century. Therefore, they did not reflect the enormous advances in scholarship since made by Gershom Scholem and his students. It was at this point that I realized how much I wanted to be able to study the *Zohar* from an English translation that would draw upon the research and scholarship of the past half-century. I determined to sponsor such a translation; the book you hold in your hands is the result.

By its nature and purpose, the *Zohar* is difficult to penetrate. For hundreds of years it was inaccessible to all but a few. Furthermore, after the Sabbatean episode of the seventeenth century, the Jewish community became concerned about the potency of mystical ideas; leaders were anything but eager to promulgate the *Zohar*. Even with the rise of Hasidism as a mystically based movement starting in the eighteenth century, the *Zohar* remained a closed book. Consequently, bringing the *Zohar* to the English-reading public was—and continues to be—a complex, challenging task.

The words that can express my appreciation to Daniel C. Matt are found on every page of his translation of the *Zohar*. His scholarship, his artistry, and his poetry speak for themselves. You, the reader, are in his debt.

The odyssey of the past nine years, which will continue for some years to come, has been shepherded through a tangle of legal and administrative steps with the able and devoted skill of Glen Miller.

Professor Arthur Green, who co-chairs the Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, has been a thoughtful and faithful counselor from the inception of the project.

My husband Tom, while not a student of the *Zohar*, recognized the

magnitude and the importance of this project. He has kept us ever vigilant and focused with his insightful questions and thoughts and his constant support.

From conception through gestation and finally to birth, this project would not have been realized without the wisdom, knowledge, and nurturing of Rabbi Yehiel Poupko. He is my teacher and my friend, and it is to him that this edition of the *Zohar* is dedicated.

It is with a sense of fulfillment and awe for Daniel Matt's remarkable accomplishment that my family and I now present the *Zohar* to the English-reading public, with the hope that the radiance that flows from this great work and from the Jewish mystical tradition will bring light to those who seek it.

Margot Pritzker

Translator's Introduction

DANIEL C. MATT

SEFER HA-ZOHAR (The Book of Radiance)[1] has amazed and overwhelmed readers ever since it emerged mysteriously in medieval Spain (Castile) toward the end of the thirteenth century. Written mostly in a unique Aramaic, this masterpiece of Kabbalah exceeds the dimensions of a normal book; it is virtually a body of literature, comprising over twenty discrete sections. The bulk of the *Zohar* consists of a running commentary on the Torah, from Genesis through Deuteronomy. This translation begins and focuses there—in what are projected to be ten volumes; two subsequent volumes will cover other, shorter sections.[2]

Arthur Green's introduction to this volume traces the development of Kabbalah and discusses the historical and literary context of the *Zohar*, its style, the complex question of authorship, and the symbolism of the ten *sefirot* (various aspects of the divine Self). Here I wish to treat several topics directly related to this translation and commentary.

Establishing the Text of the Zohar

This edition reflects a newly constructed, precise text of the *Zohar*, based on original manuscripts. Why was the creation of such a text necessary? All previous translations of the *Zohar* are based on the standard printed editions, which nearly all derive from the Mantua edition (1558–60), supplemented by variant readings from the Cremona edition (1559–60). At first I intended to follow the same procedure, but upon examining many of the original manuscripts of the *Zohar* dating from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, I discovered a significant number of superior readings that had been rejected or revised by editors of the first printed editions.

Upon further examination, I noticed something more intriguing—a

phenomenon familiar to scholars of medieval texts. Within the manuscripts themselves were signs of an editorial process: revision, reformulation, and emendation.[3] After careful analysis, I concluded that certain manuscripts of older lineage reflect an earlier version of the *Zohar*, which was then reworked in manuscripts of later lineage.[4]

I realized that I could no longer rely on the printed editions of the *Zohar*, since these obscured earlier versions. So I took it upon myself to reconstruct a new-ancient version of the Aramaic text based on the manuscripts, one which could serve as the foundation for this translation.

If I could have located a complete, reliable manuscript of the *Zohar*, this would have provided a starting point. Unfortunately no such manuscript exists anywhere in the world; in all likelihood it never did, since from the start the *Zohar* was circulated in sections or booklets. Probably no single complete *Book of the Zohar* existed until it was printed nearly three hundred years later in the sixteenth century, collated from various manuscripts.[5]

This situation left me with two choices. I could select the best manuscript for each individual Torah portion of the *Zohar* and produce a "diplomatic" text, an exact reproduction of the original. Or, I could fashion a critical text, selecting from a wide range of variants in different manuscripts.

After consulting with members of our Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, I chose to compose a critical text, based on a selection and evaluation of the manuscript readings. The primary reason was simply that even for individual sections of the *Zohar* there is no one "best" manuscript: each has its own deficiencies and scribal errors. Back in the sixteenth century, the editors in Mantua and Cremona also fashioned critical texts, the former drawing on ten manuscripts, the latter on six.[6]

For the first two volumes of the translation, I identified approximately twenty reliable manuscripts, based on the criteria of provenance, age, lack of scribal errors, and legibility. The originals are preserved in the libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Paris, Munich, Rome, the Vatican, Parma, Toronto, and the Jewish Theological Seminary, while microfilm copies are available in the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, in the Jewish National and University Library on the campus of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.[7]

It is appropriate to describe more fully the methodology used in this scholarly undertaking. My research assistant meticulously combs through about half of these manuscripts and prepares a list of variant readings. For particularly difficult words or phrases, we check additional manuscripts. In addition to the manuscripts, my assistant lists variants from the Mantua and Cremona editions

of the *Zohar*, as well as the edition used by Moses Cordovero in his sixteenth-century commentary, *Or Yaqar*.[8]

My procedure for establishing the Aramaic text is as follows. I begin with Reuven Margaliot's edition of *Sefer ha-Zohar*,[9] based on the Vilna edition, which in turn is based on the Mantua edition. This represents a relatively reliable starting point. In front of me I have the list of variants prepared by my research assistant, photocopies of the original manuscripts, and other witnesses referred to previously.[10] I peruse the variants line by line. Some of these are simply scribal errors or glosses, but some represent what appear to be better readings. When I identify an apparently better reading, I check if it is shared and confirmed by several reliable manuscripts and witnesses. If it is, I consider substituting it for the printed text.

Over the centuries, *Sefer ha-Zohar* has been revised by countless scribes and editors who tried to smooth away the rough edges of the text by adding an explanatory phrase, correcting an apparent syntactical mistake, or taming a wild neologism by substituting a more familiar, bland term. Often, relying on the variants, I decide to remove these accumulated layers of revision, thereby restoring a more original text. I seek to recover the *Zohar*'s primal texture and cryptic flavor.

If the early manuscripts preserve unusual, striking wording that is revised or "corrected" by several later manuscripts and the printed editions, I tend to go with the older reading. Often, according to the more reliable manuscripts, a Zoharic rabbi creatively paraphrases a Talmudic saying. Some of the later manuscripts and the printed editions may then restore this saying to its exact Talmudic form. In such cases I emend the printed text in favor of the *Zohar*'s original formulation—original in both senses: older and creative. In the commentary I cite the Talmudic saying on which the paraphrase is based, so that readers can see the transition and trace the imaginative process.

I do not claim to be fully restoring "*the* original text of the *Zohar*." There may never have been any such thing, since the text probably emerged over many years, written and distributed piecemeal. However, through painstaking analysis of the variants, I am able to scrape away some seven hundred years of accretion and corruption, and at least approach that elusive, hypothetical original. This Aramaic text of the *Zohar*, the basis of my translation, is available for study and scholarly examination.[11]

Translation and Commentary

All translation is inherently inadequate, a well-intentioned betrayal. In the words of the second-century sage Rabbi Yehudah, “One who translates a verse literally is a liar; one who adds to it is a blasphemer.”[12] Furthermore, the *Zohar* is notoriously obscure—perhaps the most difficult Jewish classic to translate. It was composed in Castile mostly in Aramaic, a language no longer spoken in medieval Spain.[13] The author(s) concocted a unique blend of Aramaic out of traditional sources, especially the Babylonian Talmud and *Targum Onqelos* (an Aramaic translation of the Torah). This unparalleled neo-Aramaic is peppered with enigmatic expressions, puns, outlandish constructions, puzzling neologisms, solecisms, and traces of medieval Hebrew and Castilian.

The *Zohar*’s prose is poetic, overflowing with multiple connotations, composed in such a way that you often cannot pin down the precise meaning of a phrase. The language befits the subject matter, which is mysterious, elusive, and ineffable; words can merely suggest and hint. An unfathomable process may be stated, then immediately denied: “It split and did not split its aura.”[14] Occasionally we encounter oxymorons, such as “new-ancient words,” alluding to the dual nature of the *Zohar*’s secrets, recently composed yet ascribed to ancient sources.[15] The first impulse of divine emanation is described as בוצינא דקרדינותא (*botsina de-qardinuta*), “a spark of impenetrable darkness,”[16] so intensely bright that it cannot be seen.

Through the centuries, the potency of the *Zohar*’s language has mesmerized even those who could not plumb its secrets. While kabbalists delved deeply, the uninitiated chanted the lyrical Aramaic, often unaware of its literal meaning. In the words of an eighteenth-century mystic, “Even if one does not understand, the language is suited to the soul.”[17]

No doubt it is risky to translate the *Zohar*, but it would be worse to leave these gems of wisdom buried in their ancient Aramaic vault. So I have plunged in, seeking to transmit some of the *Zohar*’s magic. The previous English translation (composed in the 1930s by Harry Sperling, Maurice Simon, and Paul Levertoff) reads smoothly but often misunderstands the text.[18] Its genteel prose is more a paraphrase than an accurate translation—avoiding unfamiliar terms, censoring erotic material, skipping difficult passages and even entire sections. The English flows too fluently compared to the original, subduing the unruly Aramaic, failing to render its untamed vibrancy. Moreover, since the translation is unaccompanied by a commentary, the symbolism remains impenetrable.

Despite its shortcomings, I have learned much from consulting this translation, along with others.[19] But my approach is significantly different. Though I wish to make the *Zohar* accessible, I also want to convey its strangeness, potency, and rich ambiguity. Here the commentary is essential.

When the translation cannot adequately express a multifaceted phrase, I unfold the range of meaning in the commentary. When the translation is as cryptic as the original Aramaic, the commentary rescues the stranded reader.

My style of translation is literal yet poetic. I am convinced that a literal rendering of the *Zohar* is not only the most accurate but also the most colorful and zestful—the best way to transmit the lyrical energy of the Aramaic. Still, at times, the multivalent language invites a certain freedom of expression. Let me cite two related examples. In *Zohar* 1:83a, Rabbi Shim'on describes the nighttime journey of the soul, soaring skyward from her sleeping body: "Flying, she encounters those קומרין טהירין (*qumrin tehirin*) of defilement."

What does this bizarre term mean? The Sperling-Simon translation renders it as "certain bright but unclean essences."[20] The English translation of Tishby's *Wisdom of the Zohar* reads: "the deceiving lights of uncleanness,"[21] while Tishby's original Hebrew translation reads a bit differently: קימורי נגוהות (*qimmurei negohot*)—roughly: "vaulted splendors"—though in his note he acknowledges that the meaning is "doubtful."[22] I render the sentence as follows: "Flying, she encounters those hooded, hunchbacked, dazzling demons of defilement." The accompanying commentary explains that these are malevolent forces who block the ascent of an unworthy soul. *Qumrin* derives via rabbinic usage from the Greek *qamara*, "arched cover," while *tehirin* is a cognate of the Aramaic *tihara*, meaning "brightness, noon." One class of demons is named *tiharei*, "noonday demons."

The virtuous soul who evades these demons reaches heaven and receives a divine message. According to another Zoharic passage (1:130a), while descending back to her sleeping earthbound body, the soul is assailed by חבילי טריקין (*ḥavilei teriqin*). The Sperling-Simon translation renders this phrase as "malignant bands."[23] The English translation of Tishby's *Wisdom of the Zohar* reads: "ill-intentioned destructive powers."[24] I render it as "ravaging bands of truculent stingers." The commentary explains that *ḥavilei* derives from either *ḥevel*, "band, group," or the verb *ḥvl*, "to injure, destroy." *Teriqin* derives from the root *trq*, "to sting, bite."

Although the *Zohar*'s basic vocabulary is limited, its roots generate a rich variety of meanings. For example, the root תקן (*tqn*) spans the following range: "establish, institute, mend, restore, correct, perfect, prepare, arrange, array, adorn." The root סלק (*slq*) can mean: "rise, raise, culminate, attain, surpass, depart, disappear, die, remove, postpone, reserve, emit (fragrance)." In normal Aramaic and Hebrew, the specific verbal conjugation determines which meaning of the root applies, but the *Zohar* ignores or flouts rules of grammar—confusing the conjugations, playing with multiple meanings, often leaving the reader

stumped and wondering.

Mysticism strives to penetrate a realm beyond distinctions, but this mystical masterpiece demands constant decision making, challenging the reader or translator to navigate between conflicting meanings and determine the appropriate one—or sometimes to discover how differing meanings pertain simultaneously. The frequent dilemmas of interpretation suggest that in exploring the *Zohar*, linguistic search and spiritual search go hand in hand.

Especially puzzling, though charming, are the neologisms strewn throughout the *Zohar*, intended to bewilder and astound the reader.[25] Some derive from rare Talmudic terms, which the author refashions by intentionally misspelling or by inverting letters; some derive from Greek, Latin, or Castilian; some appear to be pure inventions. These nonce words often contain the letters ט (tet), ס (*samekh*), פ (pe), ק (*qof*), and ר (*resh*) in various combinations: קוספיתא (*quspita*), קטפירא (*qatpira*), קירטא (*qirta*), קסירא (*qesira*), קוסטרא (*qustera*), טופסרא (*tufsera*). *Qustera* derives from the Latin word *castrum* (plural, *castra*), "fortress, castle." *Qatpira* and its variations mean several things, including "knot" (based on Aramaic קטרא [*qitra*]) and "waterskin."[26]

One newly coined noun, טיקלא (*tiqla*), is particularly versatile. In various contexts it can mean "scale, hollow of the hand, fist, potter's wheel, and water clock." This last sense refers to a device described in ancient and medieval scientific literature, which in the *Zohar* functions as an alarm clock, calibrated to wake kabbalists precisely at midnight for the ritual study of Torah.[27] A similar device was employed in Christian monasteries to rouse monks for their vigils. How appropriate to invent a word for an invention!

Often, by pondering the context, comparing Zoharic and rabbinic parallels, and scouring sundry dictionaries and lexicons, one can decipher or at least conjecture the meaning of these weird terms, but some remain as perplexing as originally intended.[28]

In translating biblical citations, I have consulted various translations but generally composed my own.[29] Sometimes, in quoting a verse, the *Zohar* intends a meaning different from that conveyed by any known translation. In such cases I usually translate the verse as the *Zohar* understands it and then explain the difference in the commentary.

The main purpose of the commentary is to clarify the dense symbolism and unique terminology. Here I seek to elicit the meaning of the text, drawing it forth from the *Zohar*'s own language without being heavy-handed—without ruining the subtlety and ambiguity of the original. Remember that the *Zohar* was not intended to be easily understood but rather to be deciphered. I want to allow and compel the reader to wrestle with the text. Over the centuries, the tendency has

grown to overinterpret, with commentators often insisting on assigning sefirotic significance to nearly every image and metaphor. I have resisted this tendency, while still identifying sefirotic correspondences when they are called for. Often a phrase or passage implies more than one meaning; the reader is encouraged to ponder various possibilities.

To clarify the context, I cite sources and parallels from the Bible, rabbinic literature, and the *Zohar* itself, with occasional references to secondary literature. The aim is not to overwhelm the reader by citing everything conceivable, but rather to provide what is needed to make sense of this enigmatic work of art.[30]

In composing the commentary, I have drawn on numerous traditional and modern *Zohar* commentaries, especially those of Moses Cordovero, Shim'on Lavi, Ḥayyim Vital, Abraham Galante, Shalom Buzaglo, Yehudah Ashlag, Charles Mopsik, and Daniel Frisch.[31] Other valuable resources include the annotations of Reuven Margaliot (*Nitsotsei Zohar*) in his edition of the *Zohar*, Isaiah Tishby's monumental *Mishnat ha-Zohar* (The Wisdom of the *Zohar*), *Gershom Scholem's Annotated Zohar*, and Yehuda Liebes's eye-opening *Peraqim be-Millon Sefer ha-Zohar* (Sections of the *Zohar* Lexicon).

A glossary, bibliography, and an index of biblical and rabbinic citations are appended to each volume. A diagram of the ten *sefirot* appears on page xi of this volume. The standard Aramaic pagination of the *Zohar* is indicated in the running head on each page (e.g., 1:34b).

How to Read the Zohar

There is no single right way to read and proceed through the *Zohar*, but I can point out certain features and suggest several guidelines.

First of all, the *Zohar* is dynamic—full of surprises. Typically we find that "Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose were walking on the way," wandering through the hills of Galilee, sharing secrets of Torah—but also moving from one dimension to another, accompanied by *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence Herself. Who knows whom they will encounter on the road? A child amazes them with wisdom, a beggar enriches them with precious teachings, a cantankerous old donkey-driver turns out to be a sage in disguise.

You are about to enter an enchanted realm. Still, although the *Zohar* sometimes reads like a mystical novel, remember that this is fundamentally a biblical commentary. It's helpful to have a Bible at hand to check the original context, to see how a particular verse becomes a springboard for the imagination.

Every few pages we read: “Rabbi Ḥiyya opened,” “Rabbi Yose opened,” signifying that he is opening not only his exposition but also the verse: disclosing new layers of meaning, expanding the range of interpretation. The reader of the *Zohar* should be open, too—open to new ways of thinking and imagining. As the *Ḥavrayya* (Companions) continually exclaim, “Come and see!”

The *Zohar* is firmly rooted in tradition but thrives on discovery. “This verse has been discussed, but come and see!” “This verse has been established, but come and see!”[32] “Innovations of Torah are required here!”[33] Innovation emerges through scrutinizing the biblical text, so questioning becomes a supreme value. After Rabbi Ḥizkiyah asks Rabbi Abba a challenging question, we are told that “Rabbi Abba came and kissed him.”[34] Why? Because, as one commentator notes here, “The question is half the answer; without a question, there is no reason for an answer.”[35]

Even when the meaning of a verse is perfectly clear, the *Zohar* may question its structure, sometimes probing so deeply that the reader is stunned. To take an extreme example, come and see how Rabbi El’azar deals with the concluding verse in the story of the Garden of Eden, which could hardly be more explicit: *He drove out Adam*.[36] “We do not know who divorced whom: if the blessed Holy One divorced Adam, or not.”[37] As the rabbi demonstrates by exegetical artifice, the mystical meaning is the shocking alternative lurking within that bland phrase, “or not”: Adam *drove out*, divorced *Shekhinah*, splitting Her from Her divine partner, *Tif’eret*, and from himself. Once, as Adam, humanity was wedded to God. The original sin lies in losing intimacy with the divine, thereby constricting unbounded awareness. This loss follows inevitably from tasting the fruit of discursive knowledge; it is the price we pay for maturity and culture. The spiritual challenge is to search for that lost treasure—without renouncing the self or the world.

As you read, see how the *Ḥavrayya* coax new meaning out of a biblical verse, phrase, word—or even letter. Often, they rely on standard rabbinic techniques of interpretation, such as verbal analogy: “Here is written: [such-and-such a biblical expression], and there is written: [an identical (or nearly identical) expression],” implying a close link between the two expressions.

The hermeneutical leap may be long, far from the literal meaning, but sometimes a verse is read “hyperliterally,” ignoring idiomatic usage in favor of a radically spiritual sense. For example, when God commands Abraham, לך לך (*Lekh lekha*), *Go forth, ... to the land that I will show you* (Genesis 12:1), Rabbi El’azar insists on reading the words more literally than they were intended: *Lekh lekha*, *Go to yourself!*[38] Search deep within to discover your true self.

Another startling illustration is the *Zohar*’s reading of the opening words of

the Torah, traditionally rendered: *In the beginning God created*. Everyone assumes the verse describes the creation of the world, but for the *Zohar* it alludes to a more primal beginning: the emanation of the *sefirot* from *Ein Sof* ("Infinity"). How is this allusion discovered, or invented? By insisting on reading the Hebrew words in their precise order: בראשית אלהים ברא (*Bereshit bara Elohim*), construed now as *With beginning, It created Elohim*—that is, by means of *Ḥokhmah* (the *sefirah* of "Wisdom," known as *beginning*), *It* (ineffable *Ein Sof*) emanated *Binah* (the *sefirah* of "Understanding," known by the divine name *Elohim*).[39] *God*, it turns out, is the object of the verse, not the subject! The ultimate divine reality, *Ein Sof*, transcends and explodes our comfortable conception of "God." The *Zohar* dares us to confront this reality, as it transforms the familiar story of Creation into divine biography.

So, as you undertake this adventure, expect to be surprised—stay alert. The *Zohar*'s teachings are profound and intense; one who hopes to enter and emerge in peace should be careful, persevering, simultaneously receptive and active. The message is not served to you on a platter; you must engage the text and join the search for meaning. Follow the words to what lies beyond and within; open the gates of imagination.

Above all, don't reduce everything you encounter in these pages to something you already know. Beware of trying to find "the essence" of a particular teaching. Although usually essence is the goal of mystical search, here essence is inadequate unless it stimulates you to explore ever deeper layers, to question your assumptions about tradition, God, and self. In the words of a Zoharic parable:

> There was a man who lived in the mountains. He knew nothing about those who lived in the city. He sowed wheat and ate the kernels raw. One day he entered the city. They offered him good bread. The man asked, "What's this for?"
>
> They replied, "It's bread, to eat!"
>
> He ate, and it tasted very good. He asked, "What's it made of?"
>
> They answered, "Wheat."
>
> Later they offered him thick loaves kneaded with oil. He tasted them, and asked, "And what are these made of?"
>
> They answered, "Wheat."
>
> Later they offered him royal pastry kneaded with honey and oil. He asked, "And what are these made of?"
>
> They answered, "Wheat."

He said, “Surely I am the master of all of these, since I eat the essence of all of these: wheat!”

Because of that view, he knew nothing of the delights of the world, which were lost on him. So it is with one who grasps the principle but is unaware of all those delectable delights deriving, diverging from that principle.[40]

Acknowledgments

TO THANK ALL the people who have helped me begin to plumb the *Zohar* would burst this book's binding. So here I will briefly trace my path and acknowledge some of those who have helped me along the way.

My father, of blessed memory, Rabbi Hershel Jonah Matt, taught me that God is real, and that by studying Torah you can experience *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence. (I have sketched his life and assembled his writings in *Walking Humbly with God*.) My mother, Gustine, has always been a fountain of love and a source of strength; I am grateful for her deep wisdom.

I first ventured into *Sefer ha-Zohar* in 1970 during my junior year abroad at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The thick volumes were simultaneously forbidding and alluring; deciphering the Aramaic text was a puzzle, a challenge, a quest. Soon I fell in love with the *Zohar*, captivated by its lush imagery and poetic magic. My teachers that year in Kabbalah included Joseph Dan, Efraim Gottlieb, and Rivka Schatz-Uffenheimer—and a kabbalist, Rav Toledano. I thank them all for guiding me into the orchard.

From Jerusalem I returned to Brandeis University, where I completed my undergraduate degree and then, after some European travel, plunged into graduate study in Jewish mysticism with Alexander Altmann, a superb *Wissenschaft* scholar and a gem of a man. He directed my doctoral dissertation, which consisted of a critical edition of *The Book of Mirrors*, a previously unpublished fourteenth-century Hebrew commentary on the Torah by David ben Judah he-Ḥasid. I chose to edit this text because it included the first extended translations of the *Zohar*, from Aramaic to Hebrew. I was encouraged to undertake this project by Gershom Scholem, while serving as his teaching assistant in the fall of 1975.

After I completed my dissertation, my friend Arthur Green invited me to compose an annotated translation of selections from the *Zohar* for the Paulist Press, as one volume in their *Classics of Western Spirituality*. Years earlier, Art had initiated me into the mystical thought of Hasidism, which stimulated me to uncover its roots in the *Zohar*. I am grateful for his insight and guidance over the

years, and for demonstrating how to combine scholarship and spirituality.

For two decades, I taught Jewish mysticism in Berkeley at the Graduate Theological Union (GTU), a school where Jews, Christians, and Buddhists study side by side, stimulating one another. I learned much there from my colleagues and students; I want to thank, in particular, David Winston and David Biale for their friendship and for the depth of their learning.

I had been at the GTU for many years already when, one afternoon in September 1995, Art Green called me on the phone and told me about a woman from Chicago named Margot Pritzker. She had been studying the *Zohar* with Rabbi Yehiel Poupko, but the dated English translation they were reading had proved inadequate. Margot had decided to commission a new translation, said Art, and she was inviting me to undertake the task! I was astounded, and told my friend that I needed a few days to consider this.

The days turned into weeks, which turned into months, as I kept wrestling with the thrilling, terrifying offer. I decided to translate a short section of the *Zohar* to see how it felt, but I poured myself into the experiment so intensely, day after day, that I was left drained, exhausted, discouraged. How could I keep this up for years and years? I reluctantly resolved to decline the offer, but Art convinced me to at least meet this woman and her rabbi; so the following May, the four of us gathered at the O'Hare Hyatt. I expressed my hesitation to them, and told Margot that the project could take twelve to fifteen years—to which she responded, "You're not scaring me!" I was won over by her genuine desire to penetrate the *Zohar* and make it accessible to English readers. A year or so later, over Independence Day weekend 1997, the *Zohar* project formally began with a two-day conference outside Chicago attended by the leading academic scholars of Kabbalah. They were invited not just to participate in this conference but to constitute the Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, which was intended to guide and support this translation. (The members of the committee are listed at the front of this volume.) Over the past six years, I have benefited immensely from their feedback and encouragement. I thank all of them, especially Moshe Idel, Yehuda Liebes, Ronit Meroz, and Elliot Wolfson. Time and again, Yehuda generously shared insights drawn from his vast, intimate knowledge of the *Zohar*. I smile, recalling the many times we wrestled over the mystifying Aramaic, deepening our understanding of the text and our friendship.

I spent the second year of the project (1998–99) at the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on a program entitled "Studying the *Zohar*," directed by Yehuda Liebes. Here seven fellows and seven other visiting scholars (all fourteen of us, members of the Academic Committee) engaged in research on various aspects of the text. Our weekly seminars were

devoted to a close reading of *Zohar* passages—often those that I was currently translating. Here I presented a draft of my translation and benefited from the responses of my colleagues. I am grateful to all of them, as well as to the staff of the Institute, who provided an ideal setting for our research. When the yearlong program ended in June 1999, the institute graciously allowed me to retain an office for the following year as well.

In the summer of 2000, it was finally time to leave the tranquil environment of the institute. Fortunately, Rabbi David Hartman provided me with an office at the Shalom Hartman Institute across town, where I spent the following two years (2000–2002) in an atmosphere simultaneously peaceful and stimulating. David's enthusiasm for Torah energizes everyone around him, and I thank him for his support and encouragement, and for his healthy skepticism of mystical excess. I was enriched by my contact with many of the fellows at the Hartman Institute, especially Donniel Hartman (co-director), Daniel Abrams, Moshe Halbertal, Moshe Idel, Israel Knohl, Levi Lauer, Menachem Lorberbaum, Yair Lorberbaum, Israel Ta-Shma, and Shlomo Naeh. Shlomo was always generous in sharing with me his immense linguistic knowledge.

As described in the Translator's Introduction, I have based my English rendering on a critical text of the *Zohar*, which I have constructed by drawing on variant readings from a wide range of manuscripts. I could not have accomplished this task without my indefatigable research assistant, Barry Mark, who spent more than five years painstakingly preparing lists of these variants for the first two volumes of the translation. I thank him immensely for his years of devotion to this task. Recently, Merav Carmeli has followed in his footsteps, proving herself a worthy successor, and I am indebted to her as well.

Arthur Green has carefully read large portions of this translation and offered criticism and suggestions, for which I am truly grateful. As co-chair of the Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, he has helped guide the project from its birth.

Numerous libraries offered valuable resources, especially the Gershom Scholem Collection and the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, both housed in the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. I want to thank, in particular, Esther Liebes (head of the Scholem Collection) for her constant willingness to help, Benjamin Richler (director of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts) along with his staff, and Adam Verete for checking obscure references. Other libraries and collections that provided precious material include: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican; Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome; Biblioteca Palatina, Parma; Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; the

British Library; Cambridge University Library; the Flora Lamson Hewlett Library of the Graduate Theological Union; the Friedberg Collection, University of Toronto Library; the Guenzburg Collection of the Russian State Library, Moscow; and the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

The team at Stanford University Press, led by Geoffrey Burn and Norris Pope, has been superb to work with and wondrously adept at generating the first, demanding volumes of this complex classic. In addition to Geoffrey and Norris, I want to thank Lowell Britson, Alan Harvey, Randy Hurst, David Jackson, Patricia Myers, and especially Mariana Raykov and Rob Ehle. Rabbi David E. S. Stein's expert copyediting polished this *Book of Radiance*.

As I toiled and exulted over the *Zohar*, I have received sound advice and warm encouragement from my far-flung siblings: Rabbi Jonathan Matt (Israel), David Matt (Iowa), and Debbie Erdfarb (New Jersey).

My wife, Ḥana, and I have been delving together into the *Zohar* ever since we met, discovering and sharing its new-ancient meanings, gazing into each other's souls through its penetrating lens. Thank you for your compassionate wisdom and unfailing support. You bring to life the verse: *On her tongue, a Torah of love* (Proverbs 31:26). You help me understand the words of Rabbi El'azar (*Zohar* 1:141a): "Isaac embraced faith, seeing *Shekhinah* dwelling in his wife."

My angelic children, Michaella and Gavriel, have never lost their sense of wonder, and I thank them for arousing mine. May this translation touch you and open up new worlds!

Rabbi Yehiel Poupko, co-chair of the Academic Committee, has excited and inspired me ever since our first meeting seven years ago. Descended from a famous kabbalist, the *Shelah* (Isaiah Horowitz), he is intimately bound to the *Zohar* and has devoted himself to spreading its light. I thank him for conducting this project so deftly and passionately.

Glen Miller, vice president of Zohar Education Project, Inc., has vitalized this adventure through his vision and devotion. On a practical level, he has navigated the ark of *Zohar* through countless legal and administrative passageways. I am profoundly grateful.

Thomas J. Pritzker has generously supported and heartened all of us through this long process. I thank him deeply. And I wonder: Is there a correlation between Tom's passion for exploring caves to discover ancient Asian art and the fact that, according to tradition (see below, page 76), the *Zohar* was composed in a cave?

Margot, how can I express my gratitude to you? You have enabled me to devote myself to what I love—that is every scholar's dream. You have not only

sponsored this immense project; you have participated, probing the translation and commentary, skillfully guiding the entire process. I hope that I have responded to your bold generosity by opening up the *Zohar* for you and for all those who, thanks to you, will be illumined by its rays. To you I dedicate this translation.

Finally, to the One beyond all names: Blessed are You for enlivening and sustaining me, and for bringing me to this moment.

D.C.M.

Introduction

ARTHUR GREEN

I

THE *ZOHAR* is the great medieval Jewish compendium of mysticism, myth, and esoteric teaching. It may be considered the highest expression of Jewish literary imagination in the Middle Ages. Surely it is one of the most important bodies of religious text of all times and places. It is also a lush garden of sacred eros, filled to overflowing with luxurious plantings of love between master and disciples, among the mystical companions themselves, between the souls of Israel and *Shekhinah*—God's lovely bride—but most of all between the male and female elements that together make up the Godhead. Revered and canonized by generations of faithful devotees, the *Zohar*'s secret universe serves as the basis of kabbalistic faith, both within the boundaries of Judaism and beyond it, down to our own day, which has seen a significant revival of interest in Kabbalah and its teachings.

The *Zohar* is a work of sacred fantasy. To say this about it is by no means to impugn the truth of its insights or the religious profundity of its teachings. The Middle Ages are filled with fantasy. Angels and demons, heavenly principalities, chambers of heaven and rungs within the soul, secret treasures of the spirit that could be seen only by the elect, esoteric domains without end—all of these were to be found in the writings of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic authors throughout medieval times. All of them partake of fantasy. It may be said that all theological elaborations, insofar as they are allowed to become pictorial, are fantasy. They depict realities that have not been seen except by the inner eye of those who describe them, or by their sacred sources.

In the case of Judaism, prohibitions derived from the second of the Ten Commandments forbade the depiction of such sacred realms in any medium other than that of words. Perhaps because of this, the literary imagination

became extraordinarily rich. All those creative energies that might in other contexts have sought to reify sacred myth in painting, sculpture, manuscript illumination, or stained glass here had to focus on the word—especially on the timeless Jewish project of commentary and exegesis. In this sense the *Zohar* may be seen as the greatest work of medieval Jewish "iconography"—one that exists only in the words of the written page, thence to be distilled in the imagination of its devoted students.

Written in a lofty combination of Aramaic and Hebrew, the *Zohar* was first revealed to the world around the year 1300. Those who distributed it, orally and in small written fragments, claimed that it was an ancient text they had recently rediscovered, and that it had been composed in the circle of those described within its pages—Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai and his disciples, who lived in the land of Israel during the second century of the Common Era. The obscurity of the *Zohar*'s origins combined with its unique language and its rich poetic imagination to lend to the work an aura of unfathomable mystery. While a few of the more critical spirits in each century doubted the *Zohar* and questioned its authority, the great majority of readers, and later of Jewry as a whole, believed in the *Zohar* and venerated it, considering it a holy revelation and a sacred scripture that was to be ranked alongside the Bible and the Talmud as a divinely inspired source of religious truth. Only in modern times, and largely for apologetic reasons, was the *Zohar* deleted from the canon of what was considered "mainstream" Judaism.

Translation of the *Zohar* into Western languages began as early as the fifteenth century, when passages were rendered into Latin for use by Christian devotees of esoteric lore in Renaissance Italy. In the twentieth century, various translations of the *Zohar*, or at least of most sections of it, appeared in German, French, and English. The previous standard English translation is that of Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, published in 1931–34 by the Soncino Press.

The present translation and commentary by Daniel Matt reflect the high standards of *Zohar* scholarship that have been achieved in recent decades. These are the result of the new attention paid to Kabbalah in academic circles, largely thanks to the writings of Gershom Scholem (1897–1982) and the cadre of scholars he and his successors have trained within the Israeli universities. The first to bring Scholem's approach to kabbalistic studies to North American shores was Alexander Altmann (1906–1987) at Brandeis University, whose students include both the translator of these volumes and the author of this introduction. Further discussion of the translation and the principles underlying it may be found in the Translator's Introduction.

The purpose of this introduction is to equip the reader to better appreciate

the *Zohar* text. The translation before you is one that takes full cognizance of the poetic spirit in which the *Zohar* was composed and especially of the elevated tone achieved by its unique use of language. To appreciate these in the fullest sense, it must be said, the *Zohar* needs to be read, indeed studied, in the original. Like most of the kabbalistic tradition within which it stands, the *Zohar* is entranced with the mysteries of language, in both its oral and written forms. No translation could do justice to the *Zohar*'s rich and creative appropriation of the nuances of Hebrew and Aramaic speech, its startling transformation of countless biblical verses, and the frequent subtle rereadings of the Talmudic/midrashic legacy that together comprise much of the *Zohar*'s charm and genius. Nevertheless, a great deal can be gained through carefully reading and studying the *Zohar* in translation. For this to be possible, however, the reader needs to be initiated into the symbolic language in which the work was written.[1] Although the *Zohar*'s poesis often transcends the symbolic conventions, they are always present in the background of the writers' imagination. So too, it was assumed, would they be present in the mind of the reader. The *Zohar* was composed in the hope that it would be passed on and studied within circles of initiates, as indeed it was for many generations.

To appreciate the *Zohar*, you will also need to know something of the historical and literary context in which it appeared. The *Zohar* made use of a very wide selection of Jewish texts that preceded it, ranging from the Torah itself to legal, mystical, and philosophical works that were written just shortly before its appearance. It reflected on all of these and used them freely as inspiration for its own unique sort of innovative and sometimes even playful religious creativity. It is also much concerned with the Jews and their history: that recorded in Scripture, the present exile, and the dream of messianic redemption. These, too, form part of the background needed to understand the *Zohar*.

This introduction will begin by outlining the development of Kabbalah in the century leading up to the *Zohar*, considering also the use made in Kabbalah of prior Jewish sources. We will then turn to the *Zohar* itself, discussing in turn its style of thought and exegesis, its narrative modes, and the question of the *Zohar*'s appearance and authorship. Because this essay serves as an introduction to the entire *Zohar* text, we will not quote passages to exemplify the analysis offered. We hope that the reader will proceed from this introduction to a careful reading of the text and commentary, finding ample passages throughout the *Zohar* against which to test the claims offered in this brief introductory essay.

The "tall order" detailed in the preceding paragraphs requires a disclaimer. Monographs and learned articles have been written on each of the subjects just mentioned. Some of them have been the subject of entire books. This

introduction does not seek to break new ground in most of them. It is rather a digest of what the writer considers to be the finest scholarship and deepest insights regarding the *Zohar* that have been written since Scholem began the era of modern Kabbalah scholarship. While responsibility for any misunderstandings or omissions in this introduction are entirely my own, I wish to acknowledge fully that the insights contained within it are those of three or four generations of scholars who have labored hard as today's *meḥatstsedei haqla*, "reapers in the field," of *Zohar* scholarship. Many of these are members of the Academic Committee for the Translation of the *Zohar*, and their names are listed at the front of this volume. I am grateful to each of them for their contributions to our collective efforts to understand even "a drop in the sea" of the *Zohar*'s profound secrets.

II

Jewish mysticism in the Middle Ages is a rereading of earlier Jewish tradition, including both the Bible and the corpus of rabbinic literature. It has to be understood in the context of the great project of medieval Jewry as a whole, the interpretation of a received, authoritative, and essentially complete body of normative Jewish teaching. This body of teaching, canonized in the Gaonic age (eighth-tenth centuries), nominally commanded the loyalty of all Jewry, with the exception of a Karaite minority. But the deeper attachment of Jews to this tradition had to be re-won constantly, especially in the face of both Christian and Muslim polemics against Judaism, ever the religious culture of a minority living in the shadow of one or the other of its giant offspring. Increasingly, various new intellectual currents that came into fashion among the Jews also occasioned a need for defense or reinterpretation of the tradition. These included Mut'azilite Philosophy, Neoplatonism, and Aristotelianism. The classic form for such reinterpretation of authoritative texts was the commentary, whether on one or more books of the Bible or on a part of the Talmudic legacy. Kabbalah, a new sort of mystical-esoteric exegesis first appearing in the twelfth century, may be seen as another medieval rereading of the received Jewish canon.

In order to understand the ways in which Kabbalah, and particularly the *Zohar*, finds its home within the earlier tradition, we need to distinguish five elements that are present in the legacy that medieval Jews had received from the Judaism of late antiquity or the Talmudic age. Although these five are not at all equal either in the amount of text devoted to them or in the degree of formal authority with which they are accredited, each was to play an important role in

the new configuration of Judaism that Kabbalah represents.

First of the five is *aggadah*, the narrative tradition, contained in the Talmud and the various works of Midrash. Midrash is a hermeneutical term, renderable both as "inquiry" and "homiletics," indicating a way of delving into Scripture that tended toward fanciful and extended rereadings. Much of *aggadah* is legendary in content, expanding biblical history and recreating the biblical landscape in the setting of the rabbinic world. But *aggadah* also includes tales of the rabbis themselves and teachings of wisdom in many forms: maxims, parables, folk traditions, and so forth.

The kabbalists made great use of the midrashic/aggadic tradition, drawing on both its methods of interpretation and its contents. The hermeneutical assumptions of Midrash, including the legitimacy of juxtaposing verses from anywhere within Scripture without concern for dating or context, the rearranging of words or even occasional substitution of letters, use of numerology and abbreviation as ways to derive meaning, the endless glorification of biblical heroes and the tarring of villains—all of these and others were carried over from Midrash into Kabbalah. Indeed many of them were used by other sorts of medieval preachers as well. But the content of the aggadic worldview—with its mythic picture of God as Creator and divine Ruler who sees everywhere; who acts in history; who responds to prayer and human virtue, even suspending the laws of nature to rescue His beloved; who mourns with Israel the destruction of their shared Temple and suffers with them the pain of exile—all this too was faithfully carried over into the kabbalistic imagination. In fact the kabbalists were partial to the most highly anthropomorphic and mythic versions of rabbinic tradition, such as were contained in the eighth-century collection *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer*. Here they stood in sharp contrast to the prior emerging intellectual trend of the Middle Ages: Jewish philosophy, which exercised a degree of critical skepticism with regard to the more fantastic claims of the *aggadah* and sought out, whenever possible, those more modest and somewhat naturalistic viewpoints that could be found among certain of the early rabbis.

Second is the tradition of *halakhah*, the legal and normative body of Talmudic teaching, the chief subject of study for Jews throughout the era, and thus the main curriculum upon which most kabbalists themselves were educated. The early kabbalists lived fully within the bounds of *halakhah* and created a meaning system that justified its existence. While later Kabbalah (beginning in the early fourteenth century) contains some elements that are quite critical of *halakhah*, little of this trend is evident in the period before the *Zohar*. Some transmitters of Kabbalah—Rabbi Moses Naḥmanides (see below) is the great example—were also active in the realm of halakhic creativity, writing responsa and

commentaries on Talmudic tractates. More common was a certain intellectual specialization, undoubtedly reflecting spiritual temperament, spawning kabbalists who lived faithfully within *halakhah* and whose writings show its patterning of their lives, but who devoted their literary efforts chiefly to the realm of mystical exegesis, including kabbalistic comments on the commandments or reflection on aspects of halakhic practice.

A third element of the rabbinic legacy is the liturgical tradition. While liturgical praxis was codified within *halakhah* and thus in some ways is a subset of it, the texts recited in worship—including a large corpus of liturgical poetry, or *piyyut*—constitute a literary genre of their own. Medieval writers, including the mystics of both Spain and Ashkenaz, were much concerned with establishing the precise proper wording of each prayer. The text of the prayer book had been mostly fixed by compendia dating from the tenth century; in the Middle Ages, however, it became the object of commentaries, many of which sought to find their authors' own theologies reflected in these venerated and widely known texts by the ancient rabbis. This is especially true of the kabbalists, who devoted much attention to the *kavvanah*, or inward meaning, of liturgical prayer.

The fourth strand of earlier tradition is that of Merkavah mysticism. *Merkavah* designates a form of visionary mystical praxis that reaches back into the Hellenistic era but was still alive as late as tenth-century Babylonia. Its roots lie close to Apocalyptic literature, except that here the voyager taken up into the heavens is usually offered a private encounter with the divine glory, one that does not involve metahistorical predications. Those who "went down into the *merkavah*" sought visions that took them before the throne of God, allowing them to travel through the divine "palaces" (*heikhalot*), realms replete with angels and, at the height of ecstasy, to participate in or even lead the angelic chorus. The term *merkavah* (chariot) links this tradition to the opening vision of the prophet Ezekiel, which was seen as the great paradigm for all such visionary experiences and accounts. It is also connected to the *qedushah* formula ("Holy, holy, holy is *YHVH* of hosts; the whole earth is filled with His glory!") of Isaiah 6, since it is this refrain that most Merkavah voyagers recount hearing the angels sing as they stand with them in the heavenly heights.

The Merkavah tradition was known to the medievals in two ways. Treatises by those who had practiced this form of mysticism, often preserved in fragmentary and inchoate form, were copied and brought from the Near East to western Europe, as we shall see below. But just as important were the references to Merkavah practice in the Talmudic literature itself, a fact that lent legitimacy to the fascination that latter-day mystics clearly felt for this material. Such great Talmudic sages as Rabbi Akiva and Rabban Yoḥanan son of Zakkai were

associated with Merkavah traditions. Akiva, considered in some aggadic sources to be a sort of second Moses, is the subject of the most famous of all rabbinic accounts of such mystical voyages. He alone, unlike the other three of the "four who entered the orchard," was able to "enter in peace and leave in peace." While some modern scholars question the historicity of associating the early rabbinic sages with Merkavah praxis, in the Middle Ages the Talmudic sources were quite sufficient to sustain this link. It was the philosophic questioners of the Merkavah traditions, rather than their mystical supporters, who were hard-pressed to defend their views. Merkavah traditions also had considerable influence on the rabbinic liturgy, and this association too raised their esteem in medieval eyes.

The fifth and final element of this ancient legacy is the hardest to define, partly because it hangs on the thread of a slim body of text, but also because it contains elements that seem contradictory to one another. I refer to the speculative/magical tradition that reached medieval Jewry through the little book called *Sefer Yetsirah* and various other small texts, mostly magical in content, that are associated with it. *Sefer Yetsirah* has been shown to be a very ancient work, close in spirit to aspects of Greek esotericism that flourished in the late Hellenistic era. While the practice associated with this school of thought is magical/theurgic, even including the attempt to make a *golem*, its chief text contains the most abstract worldview to be found within the legacy of ancient Judaism. By contemplating the core meaning of both numbers and letters, it reaches toward a notion of cosmic unity that underlies diversity, of an abstract deity that serves as cosmic center, in whom (or perhaps better: "in which") all being is rooted. The magical praxis is thus a form of *imitatio dei*, man's attempt to reignite the creative spark by which the universe has emerged from within the Godhead. Here we have the roots of a theology more abstract than anything to be found in the *aggadah* or the Merkavah tradition, an essentially speculative and nonvisual mysticism.

Sefer Yetsirah was the subject of a wide variety of commentaries in the Middle Ages, rationalists as well as mystics claiming it as their own. In the twelfth century, the language and style of thought found in this work became central to the first generations of kabbalistic writing, as reflected by commentaries on it and by the penetration of its terminology into other works as well.

Kabbalah must be seen as a dynamic mix of these five elements, sometimes with one dominating, sometimes adding the mix of another. It was especially the first and last listed, the aggadic/mythic element and the abstract/speculative/magical tradition that seemed to vie for the leading role in

forging the emerging kabbalistic way of thought.

Jewish esoteric traditions began to reach the small and isolated communities of western Europe (some of which dated back to Roman times) perhaps as early as the ninth or tenth century. How these ancient materials first came to Franco-German Jewry is lost in legend, but it is clear from manuscript evidence that much of the old Merkavah and magical literature was preserved among the earliest Ashkenazic Jews, along with their devotion to both *halakhah* and *aggadah*. These esoteric sources were studied especially by groups in the Rhineland, who added to them their own speculations on God, the cosmos, and the secrets of the Torah. Out of these circles there emerged in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries a movement known to history as *Ḥasidut Ashkenaz*, a pietistic revivalism based on small communities or brotherhoods of mystics who committed themselves to high standards of ascetic practice and contemplative devotion. These groups also played a key role in the preservation and further development of esoteric traditions.

It was in the area of southern France called Provence, culturally akin in the High Middle Ages to northern Spain, that a somewhat different sort of esoteric speculations began to emerge. These came to be called by the name Kabbalah, a term applied to this emerging school of mystical thought in the early thirteenth century. The word means “tradition”; its use in this context indicates that the kabbalists saw themselves as a conservative element within the Jewish religious community. Their secrets—so they claimed—were *qabbalah*, esoteric teachings received from ancient masters by means of faithful oral transmission from one generation to the next.

The Provençal Jewish community in the twelfth century was one of great cultural wealth, forming something of a bridge between the spiritual legacy of Jewish creativity in Spain of Muslim times and the rather separate world of Jewry in the Ashkenazic or Franco-Rhenish area. It is in this cultural realm that Kabbalah first appears, about the middle of the twelfth century. The origins of this spiritual and literary movement are obscure and still much debated. There are clearly elements of Near Eastern origin in the earliest Kabbalah, materials related to Merkavah and late midrashic texts that were present in the Holy Land in the ninth or tenth centuries. There are also strong influences of elements that were to appear in Rhineland Hasidism as well, indicating that at some early point these two movements had a common origin. But here in Provence, a new sort of religious discourse began to emerge in circles of mystics who combined knowledge of these various traditions. These groups, which may have been several generations in formation, are known to us as the editors of one of the strangest and most fascinating documents in the long history of Hebrew

literature. This slim volume is known as *Sefer ha-Bahir*, awkwardly renderable as *The Book of Clarity*. We first find reference to it in Provençal works of the latter twelfth century, and from that time forward it has a continuous history as a major shaper of Jewish mystical ideas.

The *Bahir* takes the form of ancient rabbinic Midrash, expounding on biblical phrases, tying one verse of Scripture to another, and constructing units of its own thought around what it offers as scriptural exegesis. Like the old Midrash, it makes frequent use of parables, showing special fondness for those involving kings and their courts, in which God is repeatedly compared to "a king of flesh and blood." In form, then, the *Bahir* is quite traditional. But as soon as the reader opens its pages to look at the content, astonishment takes over. The text simply does not work as Midrash. Questions are asked and not answered, or answered in a way that only adds mystification. Images are proposed that in the midrashic context surely refer to God, and then suddenly things are said that make such a reading theologically impossible (The "King" turns out to have an older brother, for example). What sort of questions are these, and what sort of answers? The scholar is sometimes tempted to emend the text!

If one comes to the *Bahir*, on the other hand, bearing some familiarity with the methods of mystical teachers, particularly in the Orient, the text may seem less bizarre. Despite its title, the purpose of the book is precisely to mystify rather than to make anything "clear" in the ordinary sense. Here the way to clarity is to discover the mysterious. The reader is being taught to recognize how much there is that he doesn't know, how filled Scripture is with seemingly impenetrable secrets. "You think you know the meaning of this verse?" says the *Bahir* to its reader. "Here is an interpretation that will throw you on your ear and show you that you understand nothing of it at all." Everything in the Torah, be it a tale of Abraham, a poetic verse, or an obscure point of law, hints at a reality beyond that which you can obtain by the ordinary dialectics of either Talmudic or philosophical thinking.

As we read on in the *Bahir*, it becomes clear that the authors are not simply advocating obscurantism for its own sake. The text has in mind a notion, often expressed only vaguely, of a world that lies behind the many hints and mysteries of the scriptural word. To say it briefly, the *Bahir* and all kabbalists that follow it claim that the true subject of Scripture is God Himself, that revelation is essentially an act of divine self-disclosure. Because most people would not be able to bear the great light that comes with knowing God, the Torah reveals divinity in secret form. Scripture is strewn with hints as to the true nature of "that which is above" and the mysterious process within divinity that led to the creation of this world. Only in the exoteric, public sense is revelation primarily a

matter of divine *will*, teaching the commandments Israel is to follow in order to live the good life. The inner, esoteric revelation is rather one of divine *truth*, a web of secrets pointing to the innermost nature of God's own self. That self is disclosed in the garb of a newly emergent symbolic language, one describing the inner life of the Deity around a series of image-clusters that will come to be called (in a term derived from *Sefer Yetsirah*) the ten *sefirot*.

The earliest documentary evidence of Kabbalah is found in two very different sorts of literary sources. The *Bahir* constitutes one of these. Alongside it there is a more theoretical or abstract series of kabbalistic writings. These appear first in the family and close circle of Rabbi Abraham ben David of Posquieres, a well-known Provençal Talmudic authority. His son, Rabbi Isaac the Blind (d. ca. 1235), and others linked to his study circle (including family members) evidence an ongoing tradition of kabbalistic praxis both in their brief commentaries on prayer and on *Sefer Yetsirah*, and in their written reflections on names of God. These treatises—quite laconic in style when compared with the mythic lushness of the *Bahir*—point to an already well-defined system of kabbalistic contemplation, suggesting that their appearance after 1150 may reflect a decision to reveal in writing that which had been previously kept secret, rather than an entirely new genre of religious creativity. The sort of rabbinic circles in which Kabbalah is first found are highly conservative; it is hard to imagine them inventing this new sort of religious language on their own. It seems more likely that they saw themselves as guardians and transmitters of a secret tradition, passed down to them from sources unknown, but in their eyes surely ancient.

The context for the publication of kabbalistic secrets is the great spiritual turmoil that divided Provençal Jewry in the second half of the twelfth century: the controversy over philosophy, and especially over the works of Rabbi Moses Maimonides (1135–1204). This conflict came to a head with the public burning of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* (by the Dominicans, but possibly with the tacit approval of anti-Maimonidean Jews) in 1232. The surrounding struggle engaged the intellectual life of the Provençal Jewish elite for several decades. As the era's great halakhic authority and codifier of Jewish law, Maimonides' name commanded tremendous respect. In many writings of the age, he is simply referred to as "the Rabbi." But his works raised not a few questions regarding his degree of theological orthodoxy. Did Maimonides go too far in his insistence that the Bible's ascription of emotions to God, as well as bodily attributes, was a form of anthropomorphism that needed to be explained away? Was it right that he derived so much of his wisdom from non-Jewish sources, the Greek and Islamic philosophical traditions? Was he correct in identifying the ancient

rabbinic references to “The Account of the Chariot” and “The Account of Creation” with metaphysics and physics as the philosophers taught them? Did he have a right to dismiss certain old Jewish esoteric speculations as inauthentic nonsense? Still more painful in this law-centered culture: how could the rabbi have given legal status to his own Aristotelian philosophic views, seemingly insisting, in the opening section of his Code, that any Jew who did not share them was either an idolator or a naive fool?

But the heart of the Maimonidean controversy went deeper than all of these accusations, touching the very heart of the philosophical notion of the Godhead. Philosophy insisted on divine perfection—on the unchanging, all-knowing, all-capable quality of God. If perfect and unchanging, this God was necessarily self-sufficient and in no need of human actions of any sort. Why, then, would such a God care about performance of the commandments? How could a Torah centered on religious law, including so much of ritual performance, represent the embodiment of divine will? Maimonides taught that indeed God had no “need” for us to fulfill the commandments. The chief purpose of religious observance was educational, a God-given way of cultivating the mind to turn toward God. But once the lesson had been learned, some suspected, there would be those who would come to see the form itself as no longer needed. Moreover it was rumored that in some circles of wealthy Jewry in Muslim Spain, the abstractions of philosophy had begun to serve as an excuse for a more lax view of the commandments and the details of their observance.

Some rabbis of Provence were deeply loyal to a more literalist reading of the Talmudic and midrashic legacy, one that left little room for the radical rationalization of Judaism proposed by the philosophers. Others had been exposed to the esoteric traditions of the Rhineland and northern France, which stood in conflict with the new philosophy partly because they seemed to highlight—rather than minimize—the anthropomorphic passages in Scripture and tradition. The Franco-Rhenish tradition also had room for a strong magical component to religion. Ancient speculations on secret names of God and the angels still held currency in these circles. The power of using such names to affect the divine will, utter blasphemy in the eyes of the Maimonidean, was taken for granted in early Ashkenaz, as it had been centuries earlier throughout the Jewish world.

The secrets of Kabbalah were made public in this age as a way to combat the influence of Maimonidean rationalism. The freedom and implied disinterest in human affairs of the philosophers’ God frightened the mystics into coming out of the deep esotericism that had until then restricted them to oral transmission of their teachings within closed conventicles of initiates. Their secrets were to serve

as an alternative explanation of the Torah, one that saw Torah and its commandments not only as playing a vital role in the ongoing spiritual life of Israel, but also as having a cosmos-sustaining role in a view of the universe that made them absolutely essential. It is no accident that two of the key subjects discussed in these earliest kabbalistic speculations are the *kavvanot*, or secret meanings of prayer, and *ta'amei ha-mitsvot*, the reasons for the commandments. Both of these are interpreted in a way that insists on the cosmic effects of human actions. The special concentration on divine names played an essential part in early Kabbalah, setting in course a theme that was to be developed over many centuries of kabbalistic praxis.

The secret doctrines first taught in Provence were carried across the Pyrenees in the early thirteenth century, inspiring small circles of mystics in the adjacent district of Catalonia. One key center of this activity was the city of Gerona, well known as the home of two of the most important rabbinic figures of the age, Rabbi Moses ben Naḥman (called Naḥmanides) and Rabbi Jonah Gerondi (ca. 1200–1263). Naḥmanides, perhaps the most widely respected Jewish intellectual figure of the thirteenth century, is the most important personage associated with the early dissemination of kabbalistic secrets. He was a leading Talmudic commentator, scriptural interpreter, and legal authority. His Torah commentary includes numerous passages—most brief and intentionally obscure, but several lengthy and highly developed—where he speaks "in the way of truth," referring to secret kabbalistic traditions. Alongside Naḥmanides there emerged a somewhat separate circle of kabbalists including two very important teachers, Rabbi Ezra ben Solomon and Rabbi Azriel. These figures seem to have been more innovative than Naḥmanides in their kabbalistic exegesis and also more open to the Neoplatonic philosophy of Abraham Ibn Ezra and others that was gaining credence in their day. Naḥmanides was essentially conservative in his kabbalistic readings, insisting that he was only passing down what he had received from his teachers, and his view of philosophical thought in general was quite negative. Rabbi Ezra, the author of commentaries on the Song of Songs and some Talmudic *aggadot*, and his disciple Rabbi Azriel, who wrote a larger treatise on the *aggadot* as well as a widely quoted commentary on the liturgy, combined the legacy of the *Bahir* with teachings received from Rabbi Isaac the Blind and his nephew Rabbi Asher ben David. They read Kabbalah in a Neoplatonic spirit, which is to say that they saw the *sefirot* as an ordered series of emanations, increasingly removed from an unknowable primal source.

This Catalonian kabbalistic tradition remained fairly close to the original purpose we have suggested for the publication of kabbalistic secrets. Naḥmanides' inclusion of openly kabbalistic references in his highly popular

Torah commentary complemented his fierce polemical attacks in that same work on Maimonides' philosophical interpretation of the Torah. Jacob bar Sheshet, another key Gerona figure, also engaged in the battle against the rationalists. While neither Rabbi Azriel nor Rabbi Ezra of Gerona is known to have written anything outside the realm of Kabbalah, their writings reflect significant rabbinic learning and show them to belong to the same traditionalist and anti-Aristotelian circles. Neoplatonism, they found, was a philosophy more amenable to the needs of mystics, thus rediscovering in a Jewish context something that Christian mystics had come to know many centuries earlier.

Around the middle of the thirteenth century, a new center of kabbalistic activity became active in Castile, to the west of Catalonia. Soon the writings of this new group, out of which the *Zohar* was to emerge, overshadowed those of the earlier Catalonian circle with regard to both volume and originality of output. The Castilian kabbalists' writings were not characterized by the highly conservative rabbinic attitude that had been lent to Kabbalah by such figures as Rabbi Isaac the Blind and Naḥmanides. This circle had its roots more planted in the *Bahir* tradition than in that of the abstract language of early Provençal/Catalonian Kabbalah. Mythic imagery was richly developed in the writings of such figures as the brothers Rabbi Isaac and Rabbi Jacob ha-Kohen and their disciple Rabbi Moses of Burgos. Their writings show a special fascination with the "left side" of the divine emanation and the world of the demonic. Rabbi Isaac ha-Kohen developed a full-blown mythos in which the forces of evil were presented as near autonomous powers emanated in an act of purgation from the depths of divinity. Dependent upon both the divine and the human for their existence, they exist at the liminal outskirts of the sefirotic realm and the phenomenal universe, at the very borders of chaos and non-being. There they wait in ambush for the *Shekhinah* and the worlds that She creates and nurtures. Thus, to the world picture of divine sefirotic hierarchy and an emanated cosmos, the Castilians add a parallel but antithetical realm of the demonic, serving as the source of all that is destructive in the cosmos.

This conception of the "left-hand emanation" is founded on a set of suggestive aggadic statements and biblical verses. In particular, the Castilian kabbalists' imagination was sparked by Rabbi Abbahu's famous dictum: "The blessed Holy One created and destroyed worlds before He created these, saying: 'These please me. Those did not please me.'" Out of this and other fragments of aggadic thought, Rabbi Isaac spun an elaborate mythos in which the *sefirah Binah*, at the dawn of time, welled forth emanations of pure *din* (literally "judgment," but resulting in absolute forces of destruction, whose intensity doomed them to almost immediate annihilation). From the residue of these destructive forces rose

a hierarchy of powers of unmitigated judgment. Possessing no creative potency of their own, these forces are ontologically dependent upon divinity and are energized by the power released by human transgression.

Because of their fascination with myths of the demonic realm, this group was characterized by Gershom Scholem as the "Gnostic Circle" of Castilian kabbalists. Their writings had great influence in the further development of kabbalistic thought. They are the most immediate predecessors of the circle of kabbalists represented in the *Zohar*. The mythic imagination of the *Zohar*, reaching to its greatest heights in depicting the realms of evil, has its roots in this setting. It is likely that Rabbi Moses de León, the central figure in both the writing and the circulation of the *Zohar*, saw himself as a disciple of these "Gnostic" kabbalists. Rabbi Todros Abulafia, a kabbalist who also served as an important political leader of Castilian Jewry, is another important link between these two groups. Although significant in their own day, the writings of the Gnostic circle were mostly forgotten by later generations of kabbalists and were not printed until Scholem himself retrieved them from rare surviving manuscripts.

There is another difference between Catalonian and Castilian circles that is especially important for understanding the *Zohar*'s place in the history of Kabbalah. The earliest kabbalists were fascinated with the origin of the sefirotic world, devoting much of their speculation to the highest *sefirot* and their relationship to that which lies beyond them. They were also deeply committed to the full unity of the sefirotic world, even to its circularity, so that the rising of all the *sefirot* to be united with the highest one was a frequently articulated goal of contemplation. Varied patterns of inner connection in the upper worlds were reflected in the *kavvanot* (mystical directions) of prayers and in understandings of ritual commandments, but the ultimate goal of all of these was the full restoration of the divine unity and the rise of all to the highest rung, designated as *maḥashavah* or *haskel* (contemplation, intellect). The situation was quite different in the Castilian writings. Here the emphasis was placed on the lower part of the sefirotic world, especially on the relationships between "right" and "left" and "male" and "female." The counterbalancing of demonic energies needed the strengthening of the right-hand power of divine love, and this could be awakened by human love of God and performance of the commandments. But as these writings developed, it was fascination with the sexual mysteries, reflected in the joining together of divine male and female, that overwhelmed all other symbolic interests. The uniting of the male sixth/ninth *sefirot* with the female tenth became the chief and in some places almost unique object of concern and way of explaining the religious life as a whole. This *mysterium coniunctionis* or

zivvuga qaddisha lies at the very heart of Zoharic teaching.

In the divergence between these two tendencies within Kabbalah, we see mythic and abstractionist elements struggling within the emerging self-articulation of the mystical spirit. In raising all to the very heights of the sefirotic world, the Catalonians were voting for abstraction, a Kabbalah that led the mystic to experience a God not entirely removed from the rarified transpersonal deity of the Jewish philosophers. The Castilians may have incorporated some aspects of Gerona's Neoplatonism, but their spirit is entirely different. Perhaps influenced in part by renewed contact with more mythically-oriented Ashkenazic elements, and in part reflecting also the romantic troubadour ethos of the surrounding culture, they write in a spirit far from that of philosophy. Here we find a strong emphasis on the theurgic, quasi-magical effect of kabbalistic activity on the inner state of the Godhead, and its efficacy in bringing about divine unity and thus showering divine blessing upon the lower world. Their depictions of the upper universe are highly colorful, sometimes even earthy. The fascination with both the demonic and the sexual that characterizes their work lent to Kabbalah a dangerous and close-to-forbidden edge that undoubtedly served to make it more attractive, both in its own day and throughout later generations.[2]

The last quarter of the thirteenth century was a period of great creative expansion among the kabbalists of Castile. The sefirotic Kabbalah—as detailed in the works of such well-known figures as Moses de León, Todros Abulafia, Joseph Gikatilla, Isaac Ibn Sahula, Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi, Joseph Angelet, and Joseph of Hamadan, all dating from the period between 1280 and 1310—constitutes a considerable and highly varied body of writing, even leaving aside the *Zohar* itself. It was within this circle that fragments of a more poetic composition, written mostly in lofty and mysterious Aramaic rather than Hebrew, first began to circulate. These fragments, composed within one or two generations but edited over the course of the following century and a half, are known to the world as the *Zohar*.

III

Kabbalah represents a radical departure from any previously known version of Judaism, especially in the realm of theology. While kabbalists remained loyal followers of normative Jewish praxis as defined by *halakhah*, the theological meaning system that underlay their Judaism was reconstructed. The God of the kabbalists is not primarily the powerful, passionate Leader and Lover of His

people found in the Hebrew Bible, not the wise Judge and loving Father of the rabbinic *aggadah*, nor the enthroned King of Merkavah visionaries. The kabbalists' God also differs sharply from the increasingly abstract notions of the deity created by Jewish philosophers in the Middle Ages, beginning in the tenth century with Saadia Gaon and culminating in the twelfth with Maimonides—whose work often stands in the background as the object of kabbalistic polemics. The image of God that first appears in *Sefer ha-Bahir*—to be elaborated by several generations of kabbalists until it achieved its highest poetic expression in the *Zohar*—is a God of multiple mythic potencies, obscure entities eluding precise definition but described through a remarkable web of images, parables, and scriptural allusions. Together these entities constitute the divine realm; "God" is the collective aggregate of these potencies and their inner relationship. The dynamic interplay among these forces is the essential myth of Kabbalah—the true inner meaning, as far as its devotees are concerned, both of the Torah and of human life itself.

In describing the God of the kabbalists as a figure of myth, we mean to say that the fragmented narratives and scriptural interpretations found in the *Bahir* and other early kabbalistic writings refer to a secret inner life of God, lifting the veil from the ancient Jewish insistence on monotheism and revealing a complex and multifaceted divine realm. In sharp contrast to the well-known ancient adage of Ben Sira ("Do not seek out what is too wondrous for you; do not inquire into that which is concealed from you"), these writings precisely seek to penetrate the inner divine world and to offer hints to the reader about the rich and complex life to be found there. Of course, outright polytheism (like that of the pagan Gnostic groups of late antiquity) is out of the question here at the heart of a medieval Jewry that defined itself through proud and devoted attachment to the faith in one God. What we seem to discover in the early Kabbalah are various stages of divine life, elements within the Godhead that interact with one another. In the *Bahir*, these potencies relate quite freely and mysteriously with one another; a fixed pattern of relationships is somehow vaguely in the background, but not clearly presented. In the century of development following the *Bahir*'s publication (1150–1250), the system comes to be quite firmly fixed. It is that pattern that lies behind the fanciful and multi-layered creativity of the *Zohar*.

What we are speaking of here is the realm of divine entities that are called *sefirot* by early kabbalistic sources. The term originates in *Sefer Yetsirah*, where it refers to the ten primal numbers which, along with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, comprise the "thirty-two wondrous paths of wisdom" or the essential structure of existence. For the kabbalist, it is these forces and the dynamic interplay among them that constitutes the inner life of the Godhead. To

know God, a necessary condition of proper worship (on this point the kabbalists agree with the philosophers), one must understand the symbolic language of the *sefirot*. To be a kabbalist is to contemplate the flow of energy among the *sefirot* and reflect upon their ultimate unity.

The *non-Bahir* writings of early Kabbalah add an important new element to this picture. Here the term *Ein Sof* begins to appear as the hidden source from which the ten *sefirot* emerge. Originally part of an adverbial phrase meaning "endlessly," *Ein Sof* is used in this context in a nominal sense to designate "the Endless" or "that which is beyond all limits." *Ein Sof* refers to the endless and undefinable reservoir of divinity, the ultimate source out of which everything flows. *Ein Sof* is utterly transcendent in the sense that no words can describe it, no mind comprehend it. But it is also ever-present in the sense of the old rabbinic adage "He is the place of the world." To say that *Ein Sof* is "there" but not "here" would entirely falsify the notion. Nothing can ever exist outside of *Ein Sof*. It is thus not quite accurate to say that the *sefirot* "emerge" or "come out of" *Ein Sof*. Within the hidden reaches of infinity, in a way that of necessity eludes human comprehension, there stirs a primal desire, the slightest rippling in the stillness of cosmic solitude. That desire (not a change, the more philosophically-oriented kabbalist hastens to add, but an aspect of reality that has been there forever) draws the infinite well of energy called *Ein Sof* toward self-expression: a becoming manifest or a concretization that begins with the subtlest of steps, moves toward the emergence of "God" as divine persona, manifests its spectrum of energies in the "fullness" of the ten *sefirot*, and then spills over with plentitude to create all the "lower" worlds, including—as its very lowest manifestation—the material universe. The *sefirot* are thus a revelation, a rendering more accessible, of that which has existed in *Ein Sof* all along.

We are now ready to trace the pattern of the *sefirot* and the essential symbols associated with them. The description in the following paragraphs does not summarize any particular passage in a single kabbalistic text, but attempts to offer a summary understanding of the *sefirot* as they were portrayed in the emerging Castilian Kabbalah of the late thirteenth century. (See the Diagram of the Ten *Sefirot*, above, page xi.)

The highest *sefirah* represents the first stirrings of intent within *Ein Sof*, the arousal of desire to come forth into the varied life of being. There is no specific "content" to this *sefirah*; it is a desire or intentionality, an inner movement of the spirit, that potentially bears all content, but actually none. It is therefore often designated by the kabbalists as "Nothing." This is a stage of reality that lies between being wholly within the One and the first glimmer of separate existence. Most of the terms used to describe this rather vague realm are

apophatic in nature, describing it negatively. “The air [or: ether] that cannot be grasped” is one favorite; “the hidden light” is another. The prime pictorial image assigned to it is that of the crown: *Keter*, the starting point of the cosmic process. Sometimes this rung of being is referred to as *Keter Elyon*, the Supreme Crown of God. This image is derived partly from a depiction of the ten *sefirot* in anthropic form, that is to say, in the image of a human being. Since this personification is of a royal personage, the highest manifestation of that emerging spiritual “body” will be the crown. But we should also recall that the more primary meaning of the word *keter* is “circle”; it is from this that the notion of the crown is derived. In *Sefer Yetsirah* we are told that the *sefirot* are a great circle, “their end embedded in their beginning, and their beginning in their end.” The circularity of the *sefirot* will be important to us further along in our description.

Out of *Keter* emerges *Ḥokhmah*, the first and finest point of “real” existence. All things, souls, and moments of time that are ever to be, exist within a primal point, at once infinitesimally small and great beyond measure. (Like mystics everywhere, kabbalists love the language of paradox, a way of showing how inadequate words really are to describe this reality.) The move from *Keter* to *Ḥokhmah*, the first step in the primal process, is a transition from nothingness to being, from pure potential to the first point of real existence. The kabbalists are fond of describing it by their own reading of a verse from Job’s Hymn to Wisdom: “Wisdom comes from Nothingness” (Job 28:12). All the variety of existence is contained within *Ḥokhmah*, ready to begin the journey forward.

But *Ḥokhmah*, meaning “wisdom,” is also the primordial *teaching*, the inner mind of God, the Torah that exists prior to the birth of words and letters. As being exists here in this ultimately concentrated form, so too does truth or wisdom. The kabbalists are building on the ancient midrashic identification of Torah with primordial wisdom and the midrashic reading of “In the beginning” as “through Wisdom” God created the world. Here we begin to see their insistence that Creation and Revelation are twin processes, existence and language, the real and the nominal, emerging together from the hidden mind of God. As the primal point of existence, *Ḥokhmah* is symbolized by the letter *yod*, smallest of the letters, the first point from which all the other letters will be written. Here all of Torah, the text and the commentary added to it in every generation—indeed all of human wisdom—is contained within a single *yod*. This *yod* is the first letter of the name of God. The upper tip of the *yod* points toward *Keter*, itself designated by the *alef* or the divine name *Ehyeh*.

This journey from inner divine Nothingness toward the beginning of existence is one that inevitably arouses duality, even within the inner realms. As *Ḥokhmah* emerges, it brings forth its own mate, called *Binah*, “understanding” or

"contemplation." *Ḥokhmah* is described as a point of light that seeks out a grand mirrored palace of reflection. The light seen back and forth in those countless mirrored surfaces is all one light, but infinitely transformed and magnified in the reflective process. *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* are two that are inseparably linked to one another; either is inconceivable to us without the other. *Ḥokhmah* is too fine and subtle to be detected without its reflections or reverberations in *Binah*. The mirrored halls of *Binah* would be dark and unknowable without the light of *Ḥokhmah*. For this reason they are often treated by kabbalists as the primal pair, ancestral *Abba* and *Imma*, Father and Mother, deepest polarities of male and female within the divine (and human) Self. The point and the palace are also primal Male and Female, each transformed and fulfilled in their union with one another. The energy that radiates from the point of *Ḥokhmah* is described chiefly in metaphors of flowing light and water, verbal pictures used by the mystics to speak of these most abstract levels of the inner Mind. But images of sexual union are never far behind these; the flow of light is also the flow of seed that fills the womb of *Binah* and gives birth to all the further rungs within the ten-in-one divine structure, the seven "lower" *sefirot*.

This first triad of *sefirot* together constitutes the most primal and recondite level of the inner divine world. It is a reality that the kabbalist regularly claims is quite obscure and beyond human ken, although the many references to *kavvanah* reaching *Keter* and to the union of all the *sefirot* with their source undercut such assertions. But for most passages in the *Zohar*, *Binah* stands as the womb of existence, the jubilee in which all returns to its source, the object of *teshuvah* (turning, returning)—in short, the highest object of the religious quest to return to the source. Out of the womb of *Binah* flow the seven "lower" *sefirot*, constituting seven aspects of the divine persona. Together these comprise the God who is the subject of worship and the One whose image is reflected in each human soul. The divine Self, as conceived by Kabbalah, is an interplay of these seven forces or inner directions. So too is each human personality, God's image in the world. This "holy structure" of the inner life of God is called the "Mystery of Faith" by the *Zohar* and is refined in countless images by kabbalists through the ages. "God," in other words, is the first Being to emerge out of the divine womb, the primal "entity" to take shape as the endless energies of *Ein Sof* begin to coalesce.

These seven *sefirot*, taken collectively, are represented in the spatial domain by the six directions around a center (in the tradition of *Sefer Yetsirah*) and in the realm of time by the seven days of the week, culminating in the Sabbath. Under the influence of Neoplatonism, the kabbalists came to describe the *sefirot* as emerging in sequence. This sequence does not necessarily have to be one of time, as the *sefirot* comprise the inner life of *YHVH*, where time does not mean what

it does to us. The sequence is rather one of an intrinsic logic, each stage a response to that which comes "before" it. The structure consists of two dialectical triads (sets of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis) and a final vehicle of reception that also energizes the entire system from "below," corresponding to *Keter* at the "upper" end.

First to manifest is *Ḥesed*, the grace or love of God. The emergence of God from hiding is an act filled with love, a promise of the endless showering of blessing and life on all beings, each of whose birth in a sense will continue this process of emerging from the One. This gift of love is beyond measure and without limit, the boundless compassion of *Keter* now transposed into a love for each specific form and creature that is ever to emerge. This channel of grace is the original divine *shefa*, the bounteous and unlimited love of God. But the divine wisdom also understands that love alone is not the way to bring forth "other" beings and to allow them their place. Judaism has always known God to embody judgment as well as love. The proper balance between these two, ever the struggle of the rabbis themselves (loving the people as well as the law), is a struggle that Jewish sources have long seen as existing in God as well. *Ḥesed* therefore emerges linked to its own opposite, described both as *Din*, the judgment of God, and *Gevurah*, the bastion of divine power. This is a force that measures and limits love, that controls the flow of *Ḥesed* in response to the needs, abilities, and deserts of those who are to receive it.

Ḥesed represents the God of love, calling forth the response of love in the human soul as well. *Gevurah* represents the God we humans fear, the One before whose power we stand in trembling. The kabbalists saw *Ḥesed* as the faith of Abraham, described by the prophet as "Abraham My lover" (Isaiah 41:8). Abraham, the first of God's true earthly followers, stands parallel to *Ḥesed*, the first quality to emerge within God. He is the man of love, the one who will leave all behind and follow God across the deserts, willing to offer everything, even to place his beloved son upon the altar, for love of God. *Gevurah*, on the other hand, is the God called "Fear of Isaac" (Genesis 31:42). This is the divine face Isaac sees when bound to that altar, confronting the God he believes is about to demand his life. Isaac's piety is of a different quality than his father's. Trembling obedience, rather than love, marks his path through life. In the *Zohar*, the "Fear of Isaac" is sometimes depicted as a God of terror.

The linking together of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* is an infinitely delicate balance. Too much love and there is no judgment, none of the moral demand that is so essential to the fabric of Judaism. But too much power or judgment is even worse. The kabbalists see this aspect of the divine and human self as fraught with danger, the very birthplace of evil. *Gevurah* represents the "left" side of the

divine as the *sefirot* emerge in humanlike form. The *Zohar* speaks of a discontent that arises on this "left" side of God. *Gevurah* becomes impatient with *Ḥesed*, unwilling to see judgment set aside in the name of love. Rather than permitting love to flow in measured ways, *Gevurah* seeks for some cosmic moment to rule alone, to hold back the flow of love. In this "moment," divine power turns to rage or fury; out of it all the forces of evil are born, darkness emerging from the light of God, a shadow of the divine universe that continues to exist throughout history, sustained by the evil wrought by humans below. Here we have one of the most important moral lessons of Kabbalah. Judgment not tempered by love brings about evil; power obsessed with itself turns demonic. The force of evil is often referred to by the *Zohar* as *sitra aḥra*, the "other side," indicating that it represents a parallel emanation to that of the *sefirot*. But the origin of that demonic reality that both parallels and mocks the divine is not in some "other" distant force. The demonic is born of an imbalance within the divine, flowing ultimately from the same source as all else, the single source of being.

The proper balance of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* results in the sixth *sefirah*, the center of the sefirotic universe. This configuration represents the personal God of biblical and rabbinic tradition. This is God seated on the throne, the one to whom prayer is most centrally addressed. Poised between the "right" and "left" forces within divinity, the "blessed Holy One" is the key figure in a central column of *sefirot*, positioned directly below *Keter*, the divine that precedes all duality. The sixth *sefirah* is represented by the third patriarch, Jacob, also called Israel—the perfect integration of the forces of Abraham and Isaac, the God who unites and balances love and fear.

Nonpersonal designations for this sixth *sefirah* include *Tif'eret* (Beauty, Splendor), *Raḥamim* (Compassion), *mishpat* (balanced judgment), and *emet* (truth). The three consonants of *emet* represent the first, middle, and last letters of the alphabet. Truth is stretched forth across the whole of Being, joining the extremes of right and left, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, into a single integrated personality. Thus is the sixth *sefirah* also described as the central "beam" in God's construction of the universe. Adopting a line from Moses' Tabernacle (Exodus 26:28), depicted by the rabbis as reflecting the cosmic structure, Jacob or the sixth *sefirah* is called "the central beam, reaching from one end unto the other."

In Jacob or *Tif'eret* we reach the synthesis that resolves the original tension between *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, the inner "right" and "left," love and judgment. The "blessed Holy One" as a personal God is also the uppermost manifestation called "Israel," thus serving as a model of idealized human personality. Each member of the house of Israel partakes of this Godhead, who may also be understood as a totemic representation of His people below. "Jacob" is in this sense the perfect

human—a new Adam, according to the sages—the radiant-faced elder extending blessing through the world. This is also the God of *imitatio dei*. In balancing their own lives, the people of Israel imitate the God who stands at the center between right and left, balancing all the cosmic forces. That God knows them and sees Himself in them, meaning that the struggle to integrate love and judgment is not only the great human task, but also a reflection of the cosmic struggle. The inner structure of psychic life *is* the hidden structure of the universe; it is because of this that we can come to know God by the path of inward contemplation and true self-knowledge.

The key dialectical triad of *Ḥesed-Gevurah-Tif'eret* is followed on the kabbalistic chart by a second triad, that of the *sefirot Netsaḥ, Hod,* and *Yesod,* arranged in the same manner as those above them. Little that is new takes place on this level of divinity. These *sefirot* are essentially channels through which the higher energies pass on their way into the tenth *sefirah*, *Malkhut* or *Shekhinah*, the source of all life for the lower worlds. The only major function assigned to *Netsaḥ* and *Hod* in the kabbalistic sources is their serving as the sources of prophecy. Moses is the single human to rise to the level of *Tif'eret*, to become "bridegroom of the *Shekhinah*." Other mortals can experience the sefirotic universe only as reflected in the *Shekhinah*, the single portal though which they can enter. (This is the "formal" view of the kabbalists, though it is a position exceeded by a great many passages in the *Zohar* and elsewhere.) The prophets other than Moses occupy an intermediate position, receiving their visions and messages from the seventh and eighth *sefirot*, making prophecy a matter of participation in the inner sefirotic life of God.

The ninth *sefirah* represents the joining together of all the cosmic forces, the flow of all the energies above now united again in a single place. In this sense the ninth *sefirah* is parallel to the second: *Ḥokhmah* began the flow of these forces from a single point; now *Yesod* (Foundation), as the ninth is called, reassembles them and prepares to direct their flow once again. When gathered in *Yesod*, it becomes clear that the life animating the *sefirot*, often described in metaphors of either light or water, is chiefly to be seen as male sexual energy, specifically as semen. Following the Greek physician Galen, medieval medicine saw semen as originating in the brain (*Ḥokhmah*), flowing down through the spinal column (the central column, *Tif'eret*), into the testicles (*Netsaḥ* and *Hod*), and thence into the phallus (*Yesod*). The sefirotic process thus leads to the great union of the nine *sefirot* above, through *Yesod*, with the female *Shekhinah*. She becomes filled and impregnated with the fullness of divine energy and She in turn gives birth to the lower worlds, including both angelic beings and human souls.

The biblical personality associated with the ninth *sefirah* is Joseph, the only

figure regularly described in rabbinic literature as *tsaddiq* or "righteous." He is given this epithet because he rejected the wiles of Potiphar's wife, making him a symbol of male chastity or sexual purity. The *sefirah* itself is thus often called *tsaddiq*, the place where God is represented as the embodiment of moral righteousness. So too is *Yesod* designated as *berit* or "covenant," again referring to sexual purity through the covenant of circumcision.

But there is more than one way to read these symbols. The ninth *sefirah* stands for male potency as well as sexual purity. The kabbalists resolutely insist that these are ideally identical and are not to be separated from one another. Of course sexual transgression and temptation were well known to them; the circle of the *Zohar* was quite extreme in its views on sexual sin—and on the great damage it could cause both to soul and cosmos. But the inner world of the *sefirot* was completely holy, a place where no sin abided. Here the flow of male energy represented only fruitfulness and blessing. The fulfillment of the entire sefirotic system, especially as seen in Castile, lay in the union of these two final *sefirot*. *Yesod* is, to be sure, the agent or lower manifestation of *Tif'eret*, the true bridegroom of the Song of Songs or the King who weds the *matronita—Shekhinah*—as the grand lady of the cosmos. But the fascination with the sexual aspect of this union is very strong, especially in the *Zohar*, and that leads to endless symbolic presentations of the union of *Yesod* and *Malkhut*, the feminine tenth *sefirah*.

By far the richest network of symbolic associations is that connected with the tenth and final *sefirah*. As *Malkhut* (Kingdom), it represents the realm over which the King (*Tif'eret*) has dominion, sustaining and protecting her as the true king takes responsibility for his kingdom. At the same time, it is this *sefirah* that is charged with the rule of the lower world; the blessed Holy One's *Malkhut* is the lower world's ruler. The biblical personage associated with *Malkhut* is David (somewhat surprisingly, given its usual femininity), the symbol of kingship. David is also the psalmist, ever crying out in longing for the blessings of God to flow from above. While *Malkhut* receives the flow of all the upper *sefirot* from *Yesod*, She has some special affinity for the left side. For this reason She is sometimes called "the gentle aspect of judgment," a mitigated version of *Gevurah*. Several *Zohar* passages, however, paint Her in portraits of seemingly ruthless vengeance in punishing the wicked. A most complicated picture of femininity appears in the *Zohar*, ranging from the most highly romanticized to the most frightening and bizarre.

The last *sefirah* is also called *Shekhinah*, an ancient rabbinic term for the indwelling divine presence. In the medieval Jewish imagination, this appellation for God had been transformed into a winged divine being, hovering over the community of Israel and protecting them from harm. The *Shekhinah* was also said

to dwell in Israel's midst, to follow them into exile, and to participate in their suffering. In the latest phases of midrashic literature, there begins to appear a distinction between God and His *Shekhinah*, partly a reflection of medieval philosophical attempts to assign the biblical anthropomorphisms to a being less than the Creator. The kabbalists identify this *Shekhinah* as the spouse or divine consort of the blessed Holy One. She is the tenth *sefirah*, therefore a part of God included within the divine ten-in-one unity. But She is tragically exiled, distanced from Her divine Spouse. Sometimes She is seen to be either seduced or taken captive by the evil hosts of *sitra aḥra*; then God and the righteous below must join forces in order to liberate Her. The great drama of religious life, according to the kabbalists, is that of protecting *Shekhinah* from the forces of evil and joining Her to the holy Bridegroom who ever awaits Her. Here one can see how medieval Jews adapted the values of chivalry—the rescue of the maiden from the clutches of evil—to fit their own spiritual context.

As the female partner within the divine world, the tenth *sefirah* comes to be described by a host of symbols, derived both from the natural world and from the legacy of Judaism, that are classically associated with femininity. She is the moon, dark on her own but receiving and giving off the light of the sun. She is the sea, into whom all waters flow; the earth, longing to be fructified by the rain that falls from heaven. She is the heavenly Jerusalem, into whom the King will enter; She is the throne upon which He is seated, the Temple or Tabernacle, dwelling place of His glory. She is also *Keneset Yisra'el*, the embodied "Community [or: Assembly] of Israel" itself, identified with the Jewish people. The tenth *sefirah* is a passive/receptive female with regard to the *sefirot* above Her, receiving their energies and being fulfilled by their presence within Her. But She is ruler, source of life, and font of all blessing for the worlds below, including the human soul. The kabbalist sees himself as a devotee of the *Shekhinah*. She may never be worshiped separately from the divine unity. Indeed, this separation of *Shekhinah* from the forces above was the terrible sin of Adam that brought about exile from Eden. Yet it is only through Her that humans have access to the mysteries beyond. All prayer is channelled through Her, seeking to energize Her and raise Her up in order to effect the sefirotic unity. The primary function of the religious life, with all its duties and obligations, is to rouse the *Shekhinah* into a state of love.

All realms outside the divine proceed from *Shekhinah*. She is surrounded most immediately by a richly pictorialized host. Sometimes these surrounding beings are seen as angels; at others, they are the maidens who attend the Bride at Her marriage canopy. They inhabit and rule over variously described realms or "palaces" of light and joy. The *Zohar* devotes much attention to describing seven such palaces with names that include "Palace of Love," "Palace of the Sapphire

Pavement" (alluding to the vision of God in Exodus 24:10), "Palace of Desire," and so forth. The "palaces" (*heikhalot*) of the Zoharic world are historically derived from the remains of the ancient Merkavah or Heikhalot mysticism, a tradition that was only dimly remembered by the *Zohar*'s day. In placing the *heikhalot* beneath the *Shekhinah*, the kabbalists mean to say that the visionary ascent of the Merkavah mystic was a somewhat lesser sort of religious experience than their own symbolic/contemplative ascent to the heights of the sefirotic universe, one that ascended with the *Shekhinah* as She reached into the highest realms. While the inner logic of the kabbalists' emanational thinking would seem to indicate that *all* beings, including the physical universe, flow forth from *Shekhinah*, the medieval abhorrence of associating God with corporeality complicates the picture, leaving Kabbalah with a complex and somewhat divided attitude toward the material world. The world in which we live, especially for the *Zohar*, is a thorough mingling of divine and demonic elements. Both the holy imprint of the ten *sefirot* and the frightening structure of multilayered *qelippot*, or demonic "shells," are to be found within it.

IV

The *Zohar* first made its appearance in Castile toward the end of the thirteenth century. Passages from it are included in works by Castilian and Catalonian kabbalists writing at about that time. In some cases these are presented as quotations, attributed to "Yerushalmi" (usually referring to the Jerusalem Talmud, but sometimes also to other work originating in the Holy Land) or to Midrash, particularly "the Midrash of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai." Some refer to it as an ancient work. In other cases, including passages in the writings of well-known Castilian kabbalist Moses de León and the Barcelona author Baḥya ben Asher, pieces identical to sections of the *Zohar* are simply absorbed within their writings and presented as their own. By the second decade of the fourteenth century, the *Zohar* is referred to (by the author of *Tiqqunei Zohar*) as a "prior" or completed document. Large portions of it are by then available to such authors as David ben Judah he-Ḥasid, who paraphrases and translates various sections, and the Italian kabbalist Menaḥem Recanati, who quotes copiously from the *Zohar* in his own commentary on the Torah. Recanati seems to be the first one to regularly refer to this group of sources by the term *Zohar*.

The question of the *Zohar*'s origins has puzzled its readers ever since its first appearance, and no simple and unequivocal statement as to the question of its authorship can be made even in our own day. There is no question that the

work was composed in the decades immediately preceding its appearance. It responds to literary works and refers to historical events that place it in the years following 1270. The 1280s seem like the most likely decade for composition of the main body of the *Zohar*, probably preceded by the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* and possibly certain other sections. Indeed it is quite possible that the *Zohar* was still an ongoing project when texts of it first appeared, and that parts of it were being written even a decade later. Because the question of the *Zohar*'s origins has been so hotly debated by readers and scholars over the centuries, it is important to offer a brief account here of the history of this discussion.

Debate about the *Zohar*'s origins began in the very decade of its appearance. Fragments of the *Zohar* were first distributed by Rabbi Moses de León, who claimed that they were copied from an ancient manuscript in his possession. This was a classic technique of pseudepigraphy, the attribution of esoteric teachings to the ancients, to give them the respectability associated with hoary tradition. While some naive souls seem to have believed quite literally in the antiquity of the text and the existence of such a manuscript, others, including some of De León's fellow kabbalists, joined with him in the pretense in order to heighten the prestige of these teachings. While they may have known that De León was the writer, and may even have participated in mystical conversations that were reflected in the emerging written text, they did believe that the *content* of the *Zohar*'s teachings was indeed ancient and authentic. They probably saw nothing wrong in the creation of a grand literary fiction that provided for these ancient-yet-new teachings an elevated literary setting, one worthy of their profound truth. There were, however, skeptics and opponents of the *Zohar* right from the beginning, who depicted the whole enterprise as one of literary forgery.

Fascinating evidence of this early controversy is found in an account written by the kabbalist Isaac of Acre, a wandering mystic who arrived in Castile in 1305. A manuscript version of Isaac's account was known to the sixteenth-century chronicler Abraham Zacuto and was included in his *Sefer Yuḥasin*. Isaac tells us that he had already heard of the *Zohar*, and came to Castile to learn more about it and specifically to investigate the question of the *Zohar*'s origins. He managed to meet De León shortly before the latter's death. De León assured him that the ancient manuscript was real, and offered to show it to him. By the time Isaac arrived at Avila, where De León had lived in the last years of his life, he had a chance only to meet the kabbalist's widow. She denied that the manuscript had ever existed, recounting that her husband had told her that he was claiming ancient origins for his own work for pecuniary advantage. Others, however, while agreeing that there was no ancient manuscript source, claimed that De León had written the *Zohar* "through the power of the Holy Name." (This might

refer either to some sort of trancelike “automatic writing” or to a sense that he saw himself as a reincarnation of Rabbi Shim’on and—through the Name—had access to his teachings.) Various other players then enter the account in a series of claims and counterclaims, and the text breaks off just before a disciple of De León is able to present what seems like promising testimony in the *Zohar*’s behalf.

This account has been used by opponents of the *Zohar* and of Kabbalah in general in various attempts to dismiss the *Zohar* as a forgery and Moses de León as a charlatan. Most outspoken among these attempts is that of the nineteenth-century historian Heinrich Graetz, for whom the *Zohar* was the epitome of the most lowly, superstitious element within medieval Judaism. Graetz and others assumed that the wife was the one who spoke the truth, all other explanations serving to cover or justify the obvious chicanery of the author. Wanting to denigrate the *Zohar*—which did not fit the early modern Enlightenment idea of proper Judaism—Graetz did not consider the possibility that De León might have told his wife such things for reasons other than their being the simple truth. Sadly, her account may reflect the kabbalist’s assumption of his wife’s inability to appreciate his literary intentions. The claim that he did it for the sake of selling books has about it the air of an explanation to a spouse, offered in a dismissive context.

Modern *Zohar* scholarship begins with the young Gershom Scholem’s attempts to refute Graetz. He set out in the late 1920s to show that the picture was more complex and that indeed there might be earlier layers to the *Zohar*. Awed by the vastness of the *Zohar* corpus, he found it hard to believe that all of it could have been the work of a single author. But in a series of stunningly convincing essays Scholem reversed himself and came to the conclusion that the entire *Zohar* had indeed been written by De León. He supported this conclusion by careful analysis of the *Zohar*’s language, its knowledge of the geography of the land of Israel, its relationship to philosophy and to earlier works of Kabbalah, and references to specific historical events or dates. Most convincing was Scholem’s painstaking philological analysis. Scholem compared the *Zohar*’s unique (and sometimes “mistaken”) use of Aramaic linguistic forms to characteristic patterns of language to be found (uniquely, he claimed) in De León’s Hebrew works. Here he believed he had found something of a literary fingerprint, making it finally clear that De León was the author. As to the magnitude of the work and its attribution to a single individual, Scholem was consoled by historical parallels, particularly that of Jakob Boehme, a seventeenth-century German shoemaker, originally illiterate, who had composed a vast corpus of writings under the force of mystical inspiration.

But the matter is by no means ended here. The fact that Scholem agreed with Graetz on the question of single authorship did not at all mean that he shared in his lowly opinion of the *Zohar* or its author. The parallel to Boehme in fact sounds rather like the writing "through the power of the Holy Name" that had been suggested to Isaac of Acre. Assuming that Moses de León did write the entire *Zohar*, the question became one of understanding *how* this might be the case. Two specific questions here come to the fore. One concerns the notable differences between the *Zohar*'s various sections. Could one person have written the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, with its hesitant, incomplete usage of sefirotic symbolism; the *Idrot*, where that symbolism was incorporated and surpassed; and the obscure *Matnitin* and *Heikhalot*, along with the rich narrative and homilies of the main *Zohar* text? What can account for all these seeming variations in both literary style and symbolic content?

The other question has to do with the intriguing relationship between a single author and the many voices that speak forth from within the *Zohar*'s pages. Is the community of mystics described here entirely a figment of the author's creative imagination? Is there not some real experience of religious community that is reflected in the *Zohar*'s pages? Might it be possible, to take an extreme view, that each of the speakers represents an actual person, a member of the Castilian kabbalists' circle, here masked behind the name of an ancient rabbi? Or is there some other way in which the presence of multiple authors (or participants in the group's ongoing conversations) can be detected within the *Zohar*'s pages?

Contemporary scholarship on the *Zohar* (especially the pioneering work of Yehuda Liebes and its development by Ronit Meroz) has parted company with Scholem on the question of single authorship. While it is tacitly accepted that De León did either write or edit long sections of the *Zohar*, including the main narrative (homiletical body) of the text, he is not thought to be the only writer involved. Multiple layers of literary creativity can be discerned within the text. It may be that the *Zohar* should be seen as the product of a *school* of mystical practitioners and writers, one that may have existed even before 1270 and continued into the early years of the fourteenth century. Certain texts, including the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* (perhaps an earlier rescension of it than that which has survived?) belong to the oldest stratum of writing. Then the main part of the *Zohar*, including both the epic tale and teachings of Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples, was indeed composed in the decades claimed by Scholem. Work on the *Zohar* did not cease, however, with the turn of the fourteenth century or the passing of Moses de León. In fact, the author of the *Tiqqunei Zohar* and the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, seen by Scholem as "later" addenda to the *Zohar* corpus,

may represent the third "generation" of this ongoing school. It would have been in his day, and perhaps with the cooperation of several editors, that the fragments of the *Zohar* as first circulated were linked together into the somewhat larger units found in the surviving fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts.

There is no single, utterly convincing piece of evidence that has led scholars to this revision of Scholem's view. It is rather a combination of factors stemming from close readings of the text and a body of scholarship on it that did not yet exist in Scholem's day. There is considerable evidence of what might be called "internal commentary" within the *Zohar* text. The "Secrets of the Torah" are an expansion of the brief and enigmatic *Matnitin*, as the *Idrot* comment and enlarge upon themes first developed in the *Sifra di-Tsni'uta*. In the *Zohar* narrative, whole or partial stories are told more than once—one version seemingly an expansion of an earlier rescension. The same is true of certain homilies, some of which are repeated in part or whole several times within the text. These expansions and repetitions could be explained as the developing project of a single author; however, when taken together with other factors (the differing sections of the *Zohar* and the multiple "voices" that speak within the text), they point more toward multiple or collective authorship. Historical evidence has shown that closed schools or societies (*ḥavurot*) for various purposes were a common organizational form within Spanish Jewry. The image of Rabbi Shim'on and his followers, encountering a series of mysterious teachers in the course of their wanderings, looks rather like a description of a real such school, meeting various mystics from outside its ranks who were then accepted by the school's leader as legitimate teachers of secret Torah.

It is particularly intriguing to compare this fictionalized but historically real school of kabbalists to another that is rather more clearly described in documents available to us. In neighboring Catalonia, the kabbalistic school of Naḥmanides lasted—side by side with his halakhic school—for three generations. Naḥmanides' disciple Solomon ben Adret (ca. 1235–ca. 1310) carried his master's teachings forward to a group of disciples who then wrote multiple commentaries on the secret aspects of Naḥmanides' work. That circle was significantly more conservative in its views of kabbalistic creativity than was the Castilian group. But we could easily imagine a parallel school of Castilian kabbalists—beginning with the "Gnostics" of the mid-thirteenth century and extending forward over the same three generations—whose collective literary product, much freer and richer in imagination than the Naḥmanidean corpus, included the body of work finally edited into what later generations have come to know as the *Zohar*. It may indeed be that the competition between these two schools of mystical thought had some role in advancing the editing process that

finally resulted in the *Zohar* as we know it in its printed version.

V

The *Zohar* was composed in the Castile of the late thirteenth century, a period that marked the near completion of the Reconquista and something of a golden age of enlightenment in the history of Christian Spain. As the wars of conquest ended, the monarchy was able to ground itself and establish central authority over the semi-independent and often unruly Spanish nobility. This included responsibility for protection of the Jews, who generally fared better at the hands of kings than at the arbitrary mercy of local rivals. Alfonso X (1252–1284) was known as *el Sabio* or "the Wise" because of his interest in the sciences—which he was willing to learn from Jews and Muslims when necessary—as well as history, literature, and art.

Jews retained a high degree of juridical and cultural autonomy, as well as freedom of religious practice, in the Castile of this period. They constituted a significant percentage of city and town dwellers, generally choosing to live in self-enclosed neighborhoods and communities. But Jews were seen by Christian society as barely tolerated outsiders, and they viewed themselves as humiliated and victimized exiles. As an emerging class of Christian burghers came to see the Jews as rivals, the economic opportunities afforded by the early Reconquista years were gradually eroded. Jews were required to wear distinguishing garb, synagogue building was restricted, and various burdens of extra taxation came to be an expected part of Jewish life.

Most significantly, Jews were under constant pressure to convert to Christianity in the atmosphere of a church triumphant with the glory of having vanquished the Moorish armies and standing on the verge of ending the "stain" of Islamic incursion into Christian Europe. Alfonso X commissioned translations of both the Qur'an and the Talmud into Castilian, partly out of scholarly interest but also as an aid to the ongoing missionary campaign. The success of the Reconquista itself was trumpeted as great testimony to the validity of Christian claims. The Christian supersessionist theology, beginning with the Church Fathers but growing in stridency through the Middle Ages, claimed tirelessly that Judaism after Christ was an empty shell, a formalist attachment to the past, lacking in true faith. This message was delivered regularly in polemical writings, in sermons that Jews were forced to hear, and in casual encounters between Jews and Christians. We should remember that Jews in Spain spoke the same language as their neighbors and lived with them in the same towns and cities.

Their degree of isolation from their surroundings was significantly less than that of later Jews in eastern Europe, the lens through which all Jewish diaspora experience is often mistakenly viewed in our time.

In this context, the *Zohar* may be viewed as a grand defense of Judaism, a poetic demonstration of the truth and superiority of Jewish faith. Its authors knew a great deal about Christianity, mostly from observing it at close hand but also from reading certain Christian works, including the New Testament, which Dominicans and other eager seekers of converts were only too happy to place in the hands of literate and inquisitive Jews. The kabbalists' attitude toward the religion of their Christian neighbors is a complex one, and it also has come down to us through a veil of self-censorship. Jews writing in medieval Europe, especially those promulgating innovative religious teachings that were controversial even within the Jewish community, must have been well aware that their works would be read by Christian censors (often themselves Jewish apostates) who would make them pay dearly for outright insults to the Christian faith.

The *Zohar* is filled with disdain and sometimes even outright hatred for the gentile world. Continuing in the old midrashic tradition of repainting the subtle shadings of biblical narrative in moralistic black and white, the *Zohar* pours endless heaps of wrath and malediction on Israel's enemies. In the context of biblical commentary these are always such ancient figures as Esau, Pharaoh, Amalek, Balaam, and the mixed multitude of runaway slaves who left Egypt with Israel, a group treated by the *Zohar* with special venom. All of these were rather safe objects for attack, but it does not take much imagination to realize that the true address of this resentment was the oppressor in whose midst the authors lived. This becomes significantly clearer when we consider the *Zohar*'s comments on the religion of these ancient enemies. They are castigated repeatedly as worshipers of the demonic and practitioners of black magic, enemies of divine unity and therefore dangerous disturbers of the cosmic balance by which the world survives. Israel, and especially the kabbalistic "companions" who understand this situation, must do all they can to right the balance and save the *Shekhinah* from those dark forces and their vast network of accursed supporters on earth. As Moses had fought off the evil spells of Balaam—darkest of all magicians—in his day, so must the disciples of Rabbi Shim'on fight those evil forces that stand opposed to the dawning of the messianic light that is soon to come.

All of this is said, of course, without a single negative word about Christianity. But Rabbi Shim'on and his second-century companions lived in a time when the enemies of biblical Israel had long disappeared from the earth.

The same is even more true of the reader in medieval Christian Spain, who is being firmly admonished to join the battle against those who would strengthen the evil forces—wounding or capturing the *Shekhinah* and thus keeping the divine light from shining into this world. It does not require a great deal of imagination to understand who these worshipers of darkness must be. We must remember, of course, that this was also the era when the Christian image of the Jew as magician and devil-worshiper was becoming rampant. The *Zohar*'s unstated but clearly present view of Christianity as sorcery is a mirror reflection of the image of Judaism that was gaining acceptance, with much more dangerous consequences, throughout the Christian world.

But this is only one side of the picture. As people of deep faith and of great literary and aesthetic sensibility, the kabbalists also found themselves impressed by, and perhaps even attracted to, certain aspects of the Christian story and the religious lives of the large and powerful monastic communities that were so prominent in Christian Spain. The tale of Jesus and his faithful apostles, the passion narrative, and the struggles of the early Church were all powerful and attractive stories. Aspects of Christian theology—including both the complicated oneness of the trinitarian God and the passionate and ever present devotion to a quasi-divine female figure—made their mark on the kabbalistic imagination. The monastic orders, and especially their commitment to celibacy and poverty, must have been impressive to mystics whose own tradition did not make such demands on them, but who shared the medieval otherworldliness that would have highly esteemed such devotion.

The kabbalists were much disconcerted by the power of Christianity to attract Jewish converts, an enterprise that was given high priority particularly by the powerful Dominican order. Much that is to be found in the *Zohar* was intended to serve as a counterweight to the potential attractiveness of Christianity to Jews, and perhaps even to the kabbalists themselves. Of course this should not be seen as an exclusive way of reading the *Zohar*, a mystical work which was not composed chiefly as a polemical text. Nevertheless, the need to proudly assert Judaism's spirit in the face of triumphalist Christianity stands in the background of the *Zohar* and should not be ignored as we read it.

VI

The *Zohar*, as the contemporary reader of the original encounters it, is a three-volume work, constituting some sixteen hundred folio pages, ordered in the form of a commentary on the Torah. The first volume covers the *Zohar* on Genesis,

the second volume is *Zohar* on Exodus, and the third volume completes the remaining three books of the Torah. The text is divided into homilies on the weekly Torah portions, taking the form of an ancient midrash. Within this form, however, are included long digressions and subsections of the *Zohar*, some of which have no relation to this midrashic structure and seem to be rather arbitrarily placed in one Torah portion or another.[3] An addition to the three volumes is *Zohar Ḥadash* (New *Zohar*), a collection of materials that were omitted from the earliest printed *Zohar* editions but were later culled from manuscript sources. Here we find addenda to the Torah portions but also partial commentaries on Ruth, Lamentations, and the Song of Songs. Another work usually considered part of the *Zohar* literature is *Tiqqunei Zohar*, a kabbalistic commentary on the opening verse of Genesis that explicates it in seventy ways. This work—along with the *Ra'aya Meheimna* or "Faithful Shepherd" passages published within the *Zohar* itself, mostly taking the form of a commentary on the commandments—is seen by modern scholars to be the work of a slightly later kabbalist, one who wrote perhaps in the opening decades of the fourteenth century and saw himself as continuing the *Zohar* tradition.

As stated, the main body of the *Zohar* takes the form of midrash: a collection of homiletical explications of the biblical text. The *Zohar* enters fully into the midrashic genre, even though that form of writing was considered antiquated in the time and place where the *Zohar* was composed. Its authors were especially learned in *aggadah* and used it ingeniously, often convincingly portraying themselves as ancient midrashic masters. But the anachronism of their style was intentional. The *Zohar* is an attempt to re-create a form of discourse that would have seemed appropriate to a work originating with its chief speakers, Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai and those of his circle, who lived in the land of Israel eleven hundred years earlier. In fact, this medieval midrash is based on a thorough knowledge of the entire earlier Jewish tradition, including rabbinic, philosophical, and esoteric works. Its purpose, as will quickly become clear to the reader, goes far beyond that of the ancient midrashic model. The *Zohar* seeks nothing less than to place the kabbalistic tradition, as it had developed over the preceding centuries, into the mouths of these much-revered sages of antiquity and to use them as its mouthpiece for showing the reader that the entire Torah is alive with kabbalistic secrets and veiled references to the "mystery of faith" as the kabbalists taught it. In this sense, the *Zohar* may be seen as an attempt to create a new midrash or, as one scholar has put it, a renaissance of the midrashic art in the Middle Ages.

The old midrashic homilies were often preceded by a series of "Openings," introductory proems in which the homilist would demonstrate his skill, picking

his way through a series of biblical associations eventually leading up to the subject at hand. The *Zohar* too uses such "Openings," but with a very different purpose in mind. Here the preacher wants to "open" the scriptural verse itself, remove its outer shell, and find its secret meaning. In this way, the verse itself may serve as an opening or a gateway into the "upper" world for the one who reads it. This leads us closer to the real purpose of Zoharic exegesis. The *Zohar* wants to take the reader inside the divine life. It wants ever to retell the story of the flow of the *sefirot*, their longings and union, the arousal of love above and the way in which that arousal causes blessing to flow throughout the worlds. This is the essential story of Kabbalah, and the *Zohar* finds it in verse after verse, portion after portion, of the Torah text. But each retelling offers a new and often startlingly different perspective. The *Zohar* is ever enriching the kabbalistic narrative by means of retelling it from the vantage point of yet another hermeneutic insight. On each page yet another verse, word, or tale of the Torah is opened or "uncovered" to reveal new insight into the great story of the *Zohar*, that which it proffers as the truth of the Torah, of the cosmos, and of the reader's soul.

In the series of homilies by various speakers around a particular verse or moment in the scriptural text, the *Zohar* takes its readers through multiple layers of understanding, reaching from the surface layer of "plain" meaning into ever more profound revelations. A great love of language is revealed in this process; plays on words and subtle shadings of meaning often serve as ways to a total reconfiguration of the Scripture at hand. For this reason, the *Zohar*'s best readers, both traditional and modern, are those who share its endless fascination with the mystery of words, including both their aural and graphic (or "spoken" and "written") manifestations.

Other kabbalists contemporaneous with the *Zohar* were offering multileveled readings of Scripture as well. Rabbi Baḥya ben Asher of Barcelona immediately comes to mind. His Torah commentary, written in the 1290s, offers the best example of the fourfold interpretation of Scripture in its Jewish form: verse after verse is read first for its plain meaning, then according to "the way of Midrash," followed by "the way of intellect" or philosophical allegory, and finally "the way of Kabbalah." Rabbi Baḥya's work is in fact important as one of the earliest sources for quotations from the *Zohar*.

The *Zohar* offers no such neat classifications. Insights offered by a group of "companions" discussing a text may bounce back and forth from readings that could be (and sometimes indeed are) found in earlier midrashic works to ways of reading that belong wholly to the world of Kabbalah. Kabbalistic interpretations are sometimes so well "sewn" into the midrashic fabric that the reader is left

wondering whether the kabbalistic referent might not indeed be the "real" meaning of a given biblical verse or rabbinic passage. In one well-known text, the *Zohar* refers to mystical interpretations as the "soul" of Torah, distinguished from the narrative that forms the outward "garments" and the legal derivations that serve as Torah's "body" (playing on the phrase *gufei Torah* ["bodies of Torah"], that in rabbinic parlance means "essential teachings"). That text also suggests a further level of readings, the "innermost soul" of Torah that will not be fully revealed until messianic times. But when encountering actual passages from the *Zohar*, it is not easy to determine just where their author stood in the process of undressing the textual bride. Here as almost everywhere, the poesis of the *Zohar* overflows the banks, thwarting any attempt at gradation or definition. It is mostly within the area of "soul" or kabbalistic readings that the assembled sages reveal layer after layer, showing that this level of reading itself is one that contains inexhaustible riches of the imagination. There is not a single mystical interpretation of a verse or passage that is *the* secret in the eyes of the *Zohar*. "Secret" (sod in Hebrew; raza in Aramaic) is rather a *method*, a way of reading that contains endless individual secrets within it.

The language of sefirotic symbolism offers the *Zohar* limitless opportunities for creative interpretations of Scripture. On the one hand, the *Zohar*'s speakers and authors exult in the newness and originality of this exegesis. Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples speak glowingly of *ḥiddushei Torah*, novellae in Torah interpretation, and their great value. God and the angels join in rejoicing over each new insight. But the *Zohar* also seeks to deny the newness of kabbalistic interpretation. Not only is the work itself allegedly an ancient one; the interpretive craft of the *Zohar* goes to a higher, deeper, and hence also more "ancient" level of the text. As the highest rung within the Godhead is sometimes called *Attiqa*, the elder or "ancient one," so does profound interpretation take Torah "back to its antiquity," to its original, pristine, highest state.

The *Zohar* stands within the long tradition of Jewish devotion to sacred study as a religious act. The faithful are commanded to "contemplate it day and night" (Joshua 1:8), traditionally taken to mean that the study and elaboration of Torah is ideally the full-time obligation of the entire community of male Israelites (women were exempted from the obligation to study, and only rarely were they offered more than a rudimentary education). This community viewed the Torah as an object of love, and an *eros* of Torah study is depicted in many passages in the rabbinic *aggadah*. Based on biblical images of feminine wisdom, Torah was described as the daughter and delight of God and as Israel's bride. Study of Torah, especially the elaboration of its law, was described by the sages as courtship and sometimes even as the shy, scholarly bridegroom's act of love,

the consummation of this sacred marriage. The midrash on the Song of Songs, compiled in the sixth or seventh century, devotes a large part of its exegesis of that erotic text to discussing the revelation at Sinai and the delights of both God and the sages in the study of Torah.

The *Zohar* is well aware of these precedents and expands upon them in its own richer and even more daring version of *amor dei intellectualis*. The lush and well-watered gardens of the Song of Songs are the constant dwelling place of the *Zohar*, where frequent invocation of the Canticle is the order of the day. In the kabbalists' literary imagination, the gardens of eros in the Song, the *pardes* or "orchard" of mystical speculation itself, and the mystical Garden of Eden—into which God wanders each night "to take delight in the souls of the righteous"—have been thoroughly linked with one another. The description in Genesis (2:10) of paradise—"a river goes forth from Eden to water the garden, whence it divides into four streams"—and certain key verses of the Canticle— "a spring amid the gardens, a well of living waters, flowing from Lebanon" (4:15) and others—are quoted endlessly to invoke the sense that to dwell in mystical exegesis is to sit in the shade of God's garden. Even more: the mystical exegete comes to understand that all of these gardens are but reflections of the true inner divine garden, the world of the *sefirot*, which *Sefer ha-Bahir* had already described as lush with trees, springs, and ponds of water.

The *Zohar* is devoted to the full range of religious obligations that the Torah places upon the community of Israel. The mysteries of the commandments and the rhythms of the sacred year very much occupy its pages, even if we discount the somewhat later *Ra'aya Meheimna* (Faithful Shepherd) section, which is almost wholly devoted to the meaning of the commandments. Both prayer and the ancient Temple ritual, the classic Jewish forms of devotion, are given lofty kabbalistic interpretations, and the figure of the priest in particular is very central to the Zoharic imagination. Still, it is fair to say that the central religious act for the *Zohar* is the very one in which its heroes are engaged as described throughout its pages, and that is the act of study and interpretation of Torah. Again and again Rabbi Shim'on waxes eloquent in praise of those who study Torah, especially those who do so after midnight. They indeed take the place of the priests and Levites of old, "who stand in the house of the Lord by night." Those who awaken nightly to study the secrets of Torah become the earthly attendants of the divine bride, ushering Her into the chamber where She will unite at dawn with Her heavenly spouse. This somewhat modest depiction of the mystic devotee's role in the *hieros gamos* or sacred marriage rite that stands at the center of the kabbalistic imagination does not exclude a level of emotional/mystical reality in which the kabbalist himself is also the lover of that

bride and a full participant in, rather than merely an attendant to, the act of union.

Torah in the *Zohar* is not conceived as a text, as an object, or as material, but as a living divine presence, engaged in a mutual relationship with the person who studies her. More than that, in the Zoharic consciousness Torah is compared to a beloved who carries on with her lovers a mutual and dynamic courtship. The *Zohar* on the portion *Mishpatim* contains, within the literary unit known as *Sava de-Mishpatim*, a description of a maiden in a palace. Here the way of the Torah's lover is compared to the way of a man with a maiden. Arousal within Torah is like an endless courting of the beloved: constant walking about the gates of her palace, an increasing passion to read her letters, the desire to see the beloved's face, to reveal her, and to be joined with her. The beloved in the nexus of this relationship is entirely active. She sends signals of her interest to her lover, she intensifies his passionate desire for her by games of revealing and hiding. She discloses secrets that stir his curiosity. She desires to be loved. The beloved is disclosed in an erotic progression before her lover out of a desire to reveal secrets that have been forever hidden within her. The relationship between Torah and her lover, like that of man and maiden in this parable, is dynamic, romantic, and erotic. This interpretive axiom of the work—according to which the relationship between student and that studied is not one of subject and object but of subject and subject, even an erotic relationship of lover and beloved—opens a great number of new possibilities.[4]

Seeing the act of Torah study as the most highly praised form of devotional activity places the *Zohar* squarely within the Talmudic tradition and at the same time provides a setting in which to go far beyond it. Here, unlike in the rabbinic sources, the *content* of the exegesis as well as the *process* is erotic in character. Formerly it was the ancient rabbis' intense devotion to the text and to the *process* of Torah study that had been so aptly described by the erotic metaphor. The laws derived in the course of this passionate immersion in the text were then celebrated as resulting from the embrace of Torah, even when they dealt with heave-offerings and tithes or ritual defilement and ablutions. (The Talmudic rabbi Akiva—the greatest hero of the rabbinic romance with the text—was inspired by his great love of Torah to derive "heaps and heaps of laws from the crowns on each of the letters." That indeed had been the genius of Rabbi Akiva's school of thought: *all* of Torah, even the seemingly most mundane, belonged to the great mystical moment of Sinai, the day when God gave Torah to Israel and proclaimed His love for her in the Song of Songs.) But the authors of the *Zohar* crave more than this. The *content* as well as the *process* has to reveal the great secret of unity, not merely the small secrets of one law or another. In the *Zohar*,

the true subject matter that the kabbalist finds in every verse is the *hieros gamos* itself, the mystical union of the divine male and female—the eros that underlies and transforms Torah, making it into a symbolic textbook on the inner erotic life of God.

VII

But the *Zohar* is not only a book of Torah interpretation. It is also very much the story of a particular group of students of the Torah, a peripatetic band of disciples gathered around their master Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. In the main body of the *Zohar*, there appear nine such disciples: Rabbi El'azar (the son of Rabbi Shim'on), Rabbi Abba, Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Yitsḥak, Rabbi Ḥizkiyah, Rabbi Ḥiyya, Rabbi Yose, Rabbi Yeisa, and Rabbi Aḥa. A very significant part of the *Zohar* text is devoted to tales of their wanderings and adventures, proclamations of their great love for one another, accounts of their devotion to their master, and echoes of the great pleasure he takes in hearing their teachings. While on the road, wandering about from place to place in the Holy Land, they encounter various other teachers in the form of mysterious elders, wondrous children, merchants, and donkey-drivers, all of whom are possessed of secrets that they share with this band of loving and faithful companions. Usually these mysterious figures know more than the wanderers had expected, and Rabbi Shim'on's disciples are often outshone in wisdom by these most unlikely figures. That too is part of the *Zohar*'s story. A contemporary scholar notes that there are more than three hundred whole and partial stories of this sort contained within the *Zohar* text. In some places the narrative shifts from the earthly setting to one that takes place partly in heaven or "the Garden of Eden," in which the master is replaced by God Himself, who proclaims His pleasure at the innovations offered as the kabbalists engage in Torah.

These tales of Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples, wandering about the Galilee a thousand years before the *Zohar* was written, are clearly a work of fiction. But to say that is by no means to deny the possibility that a very real mystical brotherhood underlies the *Zohar* and shapes its spiritual character. Anyone who reads the *Zohar* over an extended period of time will come to see that the interface among the companions and the close relationship between the tales of their wanderings and the homilies they occasion are not the result of fictional imagination alone. Whoever wrote the work knew very well how fellow students respond to companionship and support and are inspired by one another's glowing rendition of a text. He (or they) has felt the warm glow of a

master's praises and the shame of being shown up by a stranger in the face of one's peers. The *Zohar*—leaving aside for now the question of who actually penned the words—*reflects the experience* of a kabbalistic circle. It is one of a series of such circles of Jewish mystics, stretching back in time to Qumran, Jerusalem, Provence, and Gerona, and forward in history to Safed, Padua, Miedzybozh, Bratslav, and again to Jerusalem. The small circle of initiates gathered about a master is the way Kabbalah has always happened, and the *Zohar* is no exception. In fact, the collective experience of this group around Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai as "recorded" in the *Zohar* forms the paradigm for all later Jewish mystical circles.

The group life reflected in the text is that of a band of living kabbalists, except that they occupied Castile of the thirteenth century rather than the land of Israel of the second. They lived in Toledo and Guadalajara rather than Tiberias and Sepphoris. Whether these real kabbalists wandered about in the Spanish countryside as their fictional counterparts did in the Holy Land is hard to know, but they certainly felt that the most proper setting for study of Torah was out of doors, especially in a garden or a grove of trees. Occasionally the companions in the *Zohar*'s pages have conversations indoors, as when the disciples visit Rabbi Shim'on or they all travel to the home of Rabbi Pinḥas son of Ya'ir. Interestingly there is no house of study or synagogue that appears as a setting for any of their encounters. The *Zohar* very much prefers that they take place under the shade of a certain tree, at a spring of water, or at some similar place that might call to mind a verse from a psalm or the Song of Songs, with which a homily might then open.

The very frequent references in the text to the importance of secret Torah study at night raises the likelihood that this group of Spanish kabbalists shared for some time, as a regular, ritualized activity, a late-night session for the study of Kabbalah. If they were anything like their fictional counterparts, these sessions began after midnight and went until dawn, concluding with morning prayers. These nightly gatherings (of course there is no way to be certain whether or for how long they did take place on an actual level) were omitted on the Sabbath, when it was the companion's duty to be at home with his wife. They reached their annual climax on the eve of *Shavu'ot*, when the vigil was in preparation for a new receiving of the Torah. The intense climax of the *Zohar* narrative is the tale of two great and highly ritualized meetings of master and disciples in the *Idra*, a special chamber of assembly. In the first of these two assemblies, three of the companions die in the ecstasy of their mystical devotions. The second, the *Idra Zuta* or Lesser Assembly, records the death of Rabbi Shim'on himself and forms the grand conclusion of the *Zohar*.

Gershom Scholem once suggested that the *Zohar* takes the form of a "mystical novel." This suggestion is particularly intriguing because the *Zohar* appeared in Spain some three hundred years before Cervantes, who is often seen as the father of the modern novel. One may see the tales of Rabbi Shim'on and the companions as a sort of novel in formation, but it is clear that the form is quite rudimentary. When the *Zohar* wants to express an idea, it needs to slip back into the more familiar literary form of textual hermeneutics. The novelist in the classic post-Cervantes sense is one who can develop ideas or suggest complex thought patterns by means of character development and plot themselves, rather than by having the characters assemble and make a series of speeches to one another (though such moments are not entirely unknown in later fiction). It might be interesting to place the *Zohar* into the setting of such works as medieval troubadour romances, Chaucer's fourteenth-century *Canterbury Tales*, or the *Thousand and One Nights*. All of these are narrative cycles, frameworks of story into which smaller units (in these cases narrative, in the *Zohar*'s case homiletical) can be fitted. All of them, too, may be seen as precursors of the novel.

But the peregrinations of Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples are more than the "story" of the *Zohar*, whether fictional or masking a historical reality. In the *Zohar*, everything is indeed more than it appears to be. Master and disciples represent wandering Israel, both the ancient tribes in the wilderness on their way to the promised land, and the people of Israel in their present exile. While the ancient rabbis suggest to the would-be scholar to "exile yourself to a place of Torah," here exile or wandering is itself that place. The "place of Torah" is indeed wherever the companions happen to be, the home of the master or the grove of trees. Said in words that they might prefer, the "garden" of mystical conversation follows them wherever they wander, just as Miriam's movable well gave drink to Israel throughout their forty-year trek through the wilderness. The adventures of the companions show their participation in Israel's greatest suffering, that of exile.

Israel's historic exile, however, is itself symbolic, an earthly representation of a still greater exile, that of the *Shekhinah* from Her divine spouse. The nature and origin of this inner divine "exile" is one of the kabbalists' great mysteries. Some passages, both in the *Zohar* and in earlier sources, attribute it to the sin of Adam and Eve. In this sense, Kabbalah may be said to have a true sense of the "fall" or "original sin" of humans, much more so than the older rabbinic sources. The world as first created was a true Garden of Eden because the blessed Holy One and *Shekhinah* were "face-to-face," joined in constant embrace like that of the upper *sefirot Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*. Divine blessing thus coursed through the system

without interruption, flowing through all of *Shekhinah*'s "hosts" and "palaces" into an idealized lower world as well. Only Adam and Eve's sin—sometimes depicted as that of separating *Shekhinah* from the upper *sefirot* to worship Her alone (symbolized by the separation of the Tree of Knowledge from its roots in the Tree of Life)—disturbed this initial harmony, which since the expulsion from Eden has been sporadic rather than constant, dependent upon the balance of human virtue and transgression.

But other passages express a somewhat darker vision of the exile within God. Here the very existence of the lower worlds is an after-effect of divine exile and would not have taken place without it. Some of these sources employ the old Platonic myth of androgyny, embedded in an ancient midrashic description of Adam and Eve, to explain the cosmic reality. Adam and Eve, according to the *aggadah*, were Siamese twins, conjoined back-to-back. This single being is that described in Genesis 1:27: "God created the human in His form; in the divine form He created him, male and female He created them." The forming of Eve from Adam's rib (or "side") in the following chapter is the separation of this pair, in which they are first turned face-to-face to one another, so that they might meet, see one another, and unite to propagate the species, fulfilling God's first command. The kabbalists claim that in this sense too humans are made in God's image: the *sefirot Tif'eret* and *Malkhut* were a single entity, back-to-back. They had to be "sawed" apart (a rather violent choice of verb) so that they might be properly united. Only through this union does the divine life begin to flow outward, giving life to worlds below. In order for our life to come about, in other words, God has to undergo a transformative act of great pain, one in which the divine becomes separated from itself, its future reunification to depend entirely upon the actions of these creatures below. Here exile and suffering are inherent in the cosmos, and the balm provided by human goodness is somewhat more superficial, an oasis of relief in the wandering that is indeed the necessary human and cosmic condition.

It is this exile that the kabbalists are acting out in their wanderings through the Galilee of their imagination. In this sense, it may indeed be said that the *Zohar* in its entirety is a symbolic work, not just a collection of symbolic interpretations of Scripture. The narratives themselves may be seen as the most profoundly symbolic and "kabbalistic" part of the *Zohar's oeuvre*, not just a framework into which the homilies are woven.

VIII

Our discussion to this point leads us now to confront the question of the *Zohar* and religious/mystical experience. A first reading of the *Zohar* might give one the impression of a work that is more *mythical* than *mystical* in content; i.e., more involved with a narrative of cosmic origins and structures than it is with inner experience, the soul, or higher states of consciousness. But this view is partially misleading. To read the *Zohar* well is to fathom the experiential dimension of the entire text, including narrative, exegesis, cosmology, and all the rest. The kabbalist speaking in the sefirotic idiom is laying bare the innermost structure of reality as he both understands and *experiences* it. That same structure is reflected in the cosmos, in Torah, and in the human (or more precisely: "Jewish") soul. The language of sefirotic symbolism provides a new lens through which to see Torah. But the power of that reading, especially as practiced in the circle of the *Zohar*, offers more than a hermeneutic. To open one's inner eyes to the new reality created by that pattern of thinking is to live within the realm of the *sefirot* themselves. The transformations of language and inner experience go hand in hand with one another; the breakthrough in consciousness to a higher realm of contemplative existence is conveyed through the vehicle of self-expression in sefirotic terms. Therefore to speak of the origins of the sefirotic universe, or to interpret the Torah text in terms of sefirotic symbols, is also to enter into those places within the soul. For the speakers within the *Zohar*, as for the ideal kabbalist in any time, to speak of the *sefirot* is not only to draw on a body of esoteric knowledge, but also to enter the inner universe where sefirotic language is the guide to measured experience.

The authors of the *Zohar* do not generally feel the need to tell their readers that this is the case. In a work written for initiates, the link between the intellectual and experiential dimensions was taken for granted. It is primarily the frequent expressions of enthusiasm and ecstasy with which the text is dotted that serve to indicate how deeply and personally the sefirotic teachings were felt. The repeated refrain "Had I come into the world only to hear this, it would be sufficient!" and the kisses showered upon speakers by their grateful companions make it clear to any but the most obtuse of readers that in the pages of the *Zohar* we are witnessing the shared inner life of a vital mystical circle and not merely a series of exercises in biblical homiletics.

The sefirotic universe as a representation of inner religious experience may be described in more specific ways as well, though these are surely not exhaustive. The "descent" of the *sefirot*, beginning with *Keter*, is said to describe the emergence of God from hiddenness to revelation. Both the creation of the world and the giving of Torah are this-worldly extensions of that inner divine process. On a more realistic plane, however, so too is the mystic's own inner

life. Sefirotic symbolism provides a language for describing the mystic's own return from an experience of absorption in the "nothingness" of God and gradual reintegration into the framework of full human personality, the re-emergence of conscious selfhood. It should be emphasized that the *Zohar* never makes such a claim. In general the kabbalists were loathe to speak too openly about the experiential aspects of their teaching. Especially when it came to the highest triad of the sefirotic world, to speak in terms that claimed direct experience was considered far beyond the bounds of propriety. But one who reads the kabbalists with an eye to comparative and phenomenological descriptions of mysticism cannot but suspect that such experience underlies the sources. The accounts of a mysterious energy that flows from undefined endlessness, through a primal arousal of will, into a single point that is the start of all being, and thence into the womb-palace where the self (divine or human) is born, sound familiarly like descriptions of the rebirth of personality that follows the contemplative mystical experience. Even though the *Zohar* depicts it chiefly as the original journey of God, we understand that the mystical life repeats that divine process. In fact, it is out of their own experience that the mystics know what they do of the original journey on which theirs is patterned. Perhaps one can go even a step further to claim that the constant movement within the sefirotic world, including both the flow of energy "downward" from *Keter* and the rising up of *Malkhut* and the lower worlds into the divine heights, represents the dynamic inner life of the mystic and the spiritual motion that ever animates his soul. It is these nuances of inner movement that constitute the "real" subject of a very large part of the *Zohar* and the world it creates. To most fully appreciate the *Zohar* as a mystical text is to understand these movements as reverberations within the mystic's soul of events as they transpire within the sefirotic cosmos that constitutes the divine reality.

When the *Zohar* does speak of mystical experience, it is largely through use of the term *devequt*, "attachment" or "cleaving" to God, and its Aramaic cognates. Ever since the early rabbinic discussions of Deuteronomy 4:4 ("You who cleave to *YHVH* your God are all alive today") and 10:20 ("Fear *YHVH* your God, cleave to Him and serve Him"), *devequt* has played a central role in the devotional life of pious Jews. But the *Zohar* is also quick to associate this term with its first biblical usage in Genesis 2:24, where man "cleaves to his wife and they become one flesh." Attachment to God, for the *Zohar*, is erotic attachment, whether referring to the kabbalist's own attachment to God by means of Torah, to *Shekhinah*'s link to the upper "male" *sefirot* as God's bride, or in the rare passages where Moses becomes the kabbalistic hero and himself weds *Shekhinah*, entering the Godhead in the male role. The contemplative and erotic aspects of attachment to God are just different ways of depicting the same reality, quite

wholly inseparable from one another.

With the experience of human love and sexuality as its chief metaphor for intimacy, the *Zohar* depicts *devequt* as a temporary and fleeting experience. Scholars have debated for some time the question of whether true *unio mystica* is to be found in the *Zohar*. But this debate may itself hinge on the sexual analogy. Is there true loss of self or absorption within union to be attained in sexual climax? How does one begin to answer such a question without interviewing all of the world's great lovers? Whether or not the experience underlying countless passages in the *Zohar* can be described as "union" lies, I would submit, beyond our ken. But it is clear that there is no possibility offered of *permanent* bliss to those still attached to bodily existence; only in the world to come will the disembodied spirits of the righteous enjoy the endless delight of basking in the divine presence. Religious experience in this world is but a foretaste of that eternal joy.

As the *Zohar* seeks to develop a language for what we may call its *eros* of poetic creativity, exegesis of the Song of Songs plays a major role. The *Zohar* turns with great frequency, especially in its proems or homiletical "warm-ups," to that great font of sacred *eros*. The Song of Songs, a text in which *eros* in fact remains unconsummated, offers poetic language for every other aspect of the complete drama of courting, including even loss, separation, and longing. All of these come to the fore in the *Zohar*'s frequent disquisitions on the Song, which is often most surprisingly linked to verses describing some aspect of the Tabernacle cult or another seemingly dry detail of biblical law. Those texts are utterly transformed by association with the Canticle. The Torah text as a whole, it may be said, is "washed over" in an eroticizing bath created by repeated juxtaposition of Torah texts with verses of the Song of Songs, poetically enriching the *eros* of sefirotic symbolization itself.

The *Zohar* learned from the Neoplatonist milieu within which it existed to speak of the flow of energy, usually described as light, from one cosmic realm to the next. The Neoplatonists tended to emphasize the diminution of that light as it reached "downward" toward the material plane. For the kabbalist, this constantly renewed pouring forth of divine presence could be felt, both in the daily renewal of nature and in the creative vigor of Torah interpretation. He sought to align himself with the cosmic flow, in order to receive its bounty, but also to act in such ways as to stimulate the flow itself. Images of both light and water abound in the *Zohar*'s pages to describe the *shefa*, the endless flux of divine bounty that sustains the universe. In the context of the *Zohar*, it is clear that this fluid is also the divine seed, that which enters into *Shekhinah* and allows for the constant rebirth of life in the realms beneath Her.

Read this way, the *Zohar* is very much a mystical, often even an ecstatic, work, or at least one in which the ecstatic dimension is very highly developed. One of the strongest expressions of this reality is found in the *Zohar*'s powerful and poetic soliloquies around the word *zohar* itself, and on the verse (Daniel 12:3) from which the work's title is taken: "The enlightened shall shine like the radiance [*zohar*] of the sky, and those who lead multitudes to righteousness, like the stars, forever." *Zohar* represents a hidden radiance issuing forth from the highest sefirotic realms, a showering of sparks lighting up all that comes in its path. Its inspiration is surely the night sky, the wondrous event of shooting stars against the background of the Milky Way. But like all such images in mystical literature, the beacon of light or drop of divine seed is a pictorial representation of an event that takes place also within the mystic's heart, the inspiration that "sparks" this creative vision.

The inner event of this radiant presence is outwardly manifest in the shining gaze of the kabbalist's face. "The enlightened shall shine" is also understood in this rather literal way. Here, as frequently in the *Zohar*, there is an assimilation of the kabbalist to the biblical description of Moses as he emerged from the Tent of Meeting, his face glowing with the radiant presence of God. But the kabbalist is also Moses' brother Aaron, the ancient priest whose face shines with divine presence as he bestows the blessing of God's own countenance upon the children of Israel. "May the Lord cause His face to shine upon you" (Numbers 6:25) is seen as the Torah's personified way of calling forth the same light that the kabbalist as Neoplatonist perceives to be shining forth from one cosmic rung to another. He now seeks to become the earthly bearer of that light, transmitting it to his community of disciples and readers. This is the kabbalist (most often personified in the *Zohar* by Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai) in the role of *tsaddiq*, conveyer of divine light.

A main purpose of the *Zohar* is to arouse within the reader a constant longing for such "enlightenment" or inspiration. The great religious creativity—and even the ecstatic deaths—of Rabbi Shim'on and his disciples are meant to induce in the reader a sense that he too, as an initiate into the *Zohar*'s secrets, may continue in this path. While no generation before the advent of messiah will fully equal that of Rabbi Shim'on, all those who come in his wake are encouraged to follow in his path. The *Zohar* is thus a highly evocative work, one that seeks to create and sustain a mood of ecstatic devotion. Certain familiar biblical verses, including the "garden" passages mentioned above, are used as awakeners—one might almost think of them as "bells"—to regularly restimulate awareness, rousing readers from their daily torpor and reminding them of the constant vital flow needed to quicken the cosmos. This reminder is meant to

renew and refresh their participation in Israel's great collective task of rousing *Shekhinah*. She in turn awakens Her divine Lover to release the flow of light/water/seed, enveloping Her in His presence and renewing the universal flow of life.

The "Eden" (or "Lebanon") whence that flow is to come is an accessible if hidden rung within the divine and human self. It is not just an ancient and lost site of the biblical tale, nor is it only the "paradise" to which souls will ascend after death. Eden is the "upper world," a recondite and inward aspect of being that is mirrored in the "garden," the One who needs to be watered by that flow. We creatures of the "lower world," trees growing in the garden, need to trace back the course of that river to its source, linking the upper and lower worlds (*Binah* and *Shekhinah*, but also *Shekhinah* and "this" world, or *Shekhinah* and the soul), so that the flow will never cease.

Reflecting on these nature-evoking verses takes us back to the typically outdoor settings of the companions' conversations, which we have mentioned earlier. These settings represent the varied topography of the land of Israel as it existed in the authors' imagination, including deserts and vast, forbidding mountains as well as fertile oases and springs of water. The lush garden, especially as evoked in the Song of Songs, is a particularly characteristic setting to inspire such conversations. This may be connected to the much older designation of the "place" of mystical speculation as *pardes* or "orchard." But it is related also to the verses quoted here and to the series of connected gardens in which the kabbalist sees himself as dwelling. This world is a lower garden, needing constantly to be watered by sources from above, ultimately by the love and sustenance that is the gift of *Shekhinah*. But She too is a garden, nurtured by the river that comes forth from the hidden Eden, itself also a "garden" in some unknown, mysterious way. Somewhere between this world and *Shekhinah* stands the "Garden of Eden" that contains the souls of the righteous, both those who have completed their time on earth and those not yet born. It too is divided into "upper" and "lower" sections, described in various mythic ways.

All of these gardens are linked to one another. The kabbalist sitting and studying Torah with his companions in an earthly garden—physically in Castile, but imaginatively in the Holy Land—is aware that at the same moment the righteous in the Garden of Eden are also engaged in such study. Their garden is open from above, because it is taught that God Himself descends into that Garden to take delight in the souls of the righteous. All of these point still higher, toward the sefirotic gardens, and all these levels of the imagination fructify and enrich one another. The sweet aromas rising from these gardens also play a role in the descriptions of mystical intoxication frequently found in the

Zohar's pages.

IX

The unique genius that finds expression in the *Zohar* has everything to do with language. Its homiletical style builds upon midrashic sensitivity to the nuances of biblical language, and often seeks to go beyond it. Underlying every page of the *Zohar*'s reading of Torah is a rich "ear" for associative links and plays on words, a constant search for "hints" within the text that will allow for an opening to deeper levels of interpretation. This careful attention to the text is joined to the *Zohar*'s readiness to apply to it the symbolic language of the *sefirot* that we have discussed above. It is the interplay between these two factors, heightened midrashic sensitivity and the old/new grid of sefirotic symbols, that creates the unique and powerful poesis of the *Zohar*.

Another element that plays a key role in the powerful impression the *Zohar* has made on its readers throughout the generations is the sonorous and seemingly mysterious Aramaic in which it is written. All the sections of the *Zohar*, except for about half of *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, are written in Aramaic rather than Hebrew. While scholars have devoted much attention to the unique grammatical and syntactical features of the *Zohar*'s Aramaic, few have tried to understand *why* it is that the *Zohar* is written in Aramaic and what meaning this surprising choice of language might have had for the work's authors.

Aramaic was the spoken language of Jews, both in the land of Israel and in Babylonia, from late biblical times (fourth-third century B.C.E.) until after the Islamic conquest and its replacement by Arabic (seventh century C.E.). The Talmud, in both its Babylonian and Palestinian versions, is composed mostly in Aramaic, as are portions of Midrash and other rabbinic writings. The Targum, existing in several versions, is the old Jewish translation of the Bible into Aramaic.

By the time the *Zohar* was written, Aramaic was a purely literary language for all but a tiny group of Jews in the mountains of Kurdistan. Knowledge of it elsewhere was purely passive, even among rabbinic scholars; only very rarely was a short treatise or poem still written in Aramaic. The choice to compose the *Zohar* in Aramaic gave to the work an archaic cast, and this immediately set the stage for its mysterious quality.

In Spain of the thirteenth century, unlike Palestine of the second, Aramaic was a mysterious and only vaguely understood language. Presenting secrets in Aramaic rather than Hebrew (a method that had been tried, in brief texts, before

the *Zohar*) shrouded them in an obscuring veil, forcing a slower pace of reading upon those who delved into its pages. It also permitted a certain grandiloquence that might have seemed pretentious in the more familiar vehicle of medieval Hebrew. Images that might have been seen as trivial in Hebrew, especially if frequently repeated, maintained a certain mysterious grandeur when veiled by the obscurity of Aramaic dress.

The *Zohar*'s Aramaic made the text slightly, but not impossibly, more difficult for the educated Jewish reader in its day. This was probably the precise intent: to offer the reader a sense that he had come to a more profound, and therefore less penetrable, sort of teaching. With some extra effort, it would reveal to him the secret universe that the *Zohar* sought to share and pass on to its elite community of readers. Students of the *Zohar* come quickly to understand that the Aramaic of the *Zohar* is indeed a penetrable veil. The real difficulty in reading the text is that of mastering the symbolic language and the subtlety with which it was employed.

It may also be that the *Zohar*'s composition in Aramaic was not entirely a matter of conscious choice. Perhaps it was something that "happened," either in the author's psyche or in the community of mystics where Zoharic teachings were first shared orally. If there was a living community of kabbalists in Castile in the 1280s, meeting by night in courtyards and gardens to study the secrets of the Torah, in what language did they share those secrets with one another? How did the transition take place from discussing the Hebrew text of Torah in Castilian—their only spoken language—back into Hebrew or Aramaic, for transcription onto the written page? Could it be that the richly vocalic sound of Aramaic—where each noun ends in a vowel—better reflected the sounds of their own speech than did Hebrew? Were they themselves somehow "seduced" by the mysterious sound of Aramaic to follow it into the fantasy realm represented by the *Zohar*?

These speculations may also be applied to the written text itself, especially if we assume that Rabbi Moses de León is the author of large portions of the *Zohar*. Some twenty Hebrew treatises by De León have survived, and several of these have now been published. Compared to the *Zohar*, they are relatively dull and uninspired. While the doctrinal content is very much the same, they possess little of the poetic muse and freedom of expression that so characterize the *Zohar*. One has the impression that De León stepped into another world when writing the *Zohar*, and the transition from Hebrew to Aramaic was one of the ways he marked that portal. Working in this other, more dimly perceived language released his muse, as it were, giving him the freedom to soar to heights of imagination and literary excess that he would not have dared attempt in

Hebrew. We might almost say that the use of Aramaic was some part of "the Holy Name" by which it was said that De León had written the *Zohar*.

The Aramaic of the *Zohar* is indeed a unique composite of dialects and features drawn from ancient literary sources. Details of Scholem's analysis of the *Zohar*'s language can be found in his writings and need not be repeated here. See also the Translator's Introduction to this volume for further discussion of linguistic questions that have direct bearing on the translation before you.

X

During the last two centuries of Jewish life in Spain, the *Zohar* continued to be copied and studied among small groups of devotees. It competed with two other schools of kabbalistic thought, the Catalonian and the Abulafian, for the attention of those few interested in mystical pursuits. Some kabbalists seem to have combined these various approaches, or else to have "migrated" in the course of their own quests from one school of mystical thought to another. Jewish rationalism was also very much alive in Spain through the fifteenth century, probably continuing to have a larger following than did Kabbalah. Manuscripts of the *Zohar* also reached Italy, the Byzantine lands of the eastern Mediterranean, and the Holy Land during this period.

It was after the expulsion of Spanish Jewry in 1492 that the influence of Kabbalah entered a period of rapid growth. Various explanations have been offered for this increased interest in the mystical tradition. Some have attributed it to the suffering and despair that visited this once-proud group of Jewish communities in the period between 1391 and 1492. The devastation of the age, so it is said, caused Jews to seek out deeper resources of consolation than those offered by the typically optimistic worldview of the philosophers. Others claim that the growth of Kabbalah came as a response of a different sort to the Spanish expulsion. Jews throughout the Mediterranean world, including many Spanish exiles, were shocked and disgraced by the high numbers of Spanish Jews who converted to Christianity in the course of the fifteenth century. Once again the blame was placed partly at the door of philosophy, the intellectual sophistication of Spanish Jewry having supposedly led to a laxity in religious observance and a relative indifference to the question of religious identity. Yet another view attributes the growth in Kabbalah's influence to the new home cultures in which former Iberian Jews found themselves. Ottoman Turkey, with its closed *millet* system—in which each faith community held fast to exclusive truth-claims and total denigration of all outside influences—was a hospitable environment for

precisely the closed-minded Zoharic view of the outside world, rather than the Aristotelian quasi-universalism of the philosophers, which had served the needs of a very different age.

Whatever the reason (and a combination of the above factors is most likely), we begin to see new kabbalistic works written and old ones distributed and explicated in the early sixteenth century. The *Zohar* and other works of the Castilian tradition are especially prominent in this period. Perhaps typical is the figure of Rabbi Meir ibn Gabbai, a Turkish kabbalist who tells us that he was born in Spain in 1481 and left as a child among the exiles. Ibn Gabbai's magnum opus, *Avodat ha-Qodesh* (Venice, 1567), is a grand systematization of Kabbalah and a defense of it against philosophy. Typically of the sixteenth century, Ibn Gabbai knows a great many earlier texts and seeks to harmonize them with one another. But the great source of kabbalistic truth is the *Zohar*, which he quotes on virtually every page as "the Midrash of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai."

The kabbalistic conventicles of Safed, which flourished in the late sixteenth century, also accorded to the *Zohar* top place as the authoritative source of kabbalistic truth. Clearly, the choice of Safed as a place of settlement for Jews attached to the kabbalistic legacy had much to do with its proximity to Meron, the supposed burial place of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. His tomb had been a site of pilgrimage for local Jews long earlier, but with the growth of the Safed community it became a truly important shrine. Both Rabbi Moses Cordovero (1522–1570), who probably immigrated to Safed from elsewhere in the Ottoman realm, and Rabbi Isaac Luria (1534–1572), who came from Egypt, chose to live in Safed because of the nearness of holy graves and the possibility (described by Cordovero in his *Sefer Gerushin*) of achieving mystical knowledge through prostration upon them. Among the sacred dead of the Galilee, Rabbi Shim'on, now acclaimed as the undisputed author of the *Zohar*, took a central place. Luria specifically hoped to achieve a true understanding of passages in the *Zohar* by visiting what he believed to be the grave of its author.

The "return" of Kabbalah to the Galilean landscape of the *Zohar*'s heroes fired the imagination of Jews throughout the Diaspora. Reports of the holy men of Safed, especially the mysterious figure of Luria, known as *ha-Ari ha-Qadosh* (the Holy Lion), were widely copied and printed in several versions. A vast literature of both kabbalistic writings and ethical or pietistic works influenced by Kabbalah poured forth from the printing presses of Venice, Constantinople, and Amsterdam—to be distributed throughout the Jewish world. It did not take long until the claim emerged that the soul of the *Ari* was in fact a reincarnation of that of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai.

It was in this period that the *Zohar* came to be considered not only an

ancient and holy book, but a *canonical* text, bearing authority comparable to that of the Bible and the Talmud. The authority of the *Zohar* as the prime source of mystical truth had already been considered by fourteenth-century kabbalists, some of whom came to view its word as superior to that of Naḥmanides, for example, because of its allegedly greater antiquity. Naḥmanides was portrayed by these as a "modem" source, whose word could be set aside by a contrary quotation from the work of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. But in the sixteenth century, it was said that Elijah himself had appeared to Rabbi Shim'on, and the *Zohar*'s authority became that of heaven itself. Meir ibn Gabbai traced the kabbalistic tradition back to Sinai, claiming that Zoharic secrets were given to Moses along with the written Torah.

Canonical status, in the context of Judaism, bears with it halakhic authority as well as mystical prestige. If the *Zohar* contained the "true" meaning of both written and oral Torah, might it be used as a source of legal authority, especially in ritual and liturgical matters, as well? This question came up among halakhic scholars, especially in the few cases in which the *Zohar* seemed to contradict the majority opinion of rabbis deciding the law on the basis of Talmudic precedent and its formulation in responsa and codes. In fact, as scholars have shown, these cases mostly turn on local custom—the *Zohar* reflecting either Franco-German or old Spanish customs, while the *halakhah* had decided in favor of others. A classic example of such halakhic dispute involving the *Zohar* concerns the donning of *tefillin* on the intermediate weekdays of *Pesaḥ* and *Sukkot*. The *Zohar* expresses itself most strongly on the issue, considering the wearing of *tefillin* on those days an insult to the festival and a virtual sacrilege. Although the halakhic codes mostly tended otherwise, some halakhic authorities bowed to the *Zohar*, and the use of *tefillin* on those days was rejected throughout the Sephardic (and later Hasidic) communities.

Thanks to the influence of the Safed revival of mystical studies, Kabbalah became widely known among eastern European Jews in the seventeenth century. The works of Rabbi Isaiah Horowitz, a Prague kabbalist who later settled in Jerusalem, carried the teachings of Ibn Gabbai and Cordovero, among others, to preachers throughout the Ashkenazic communities. Here, too, the *Zohar* was very widely quoted. Prayer books with kabbalistic commentaries, including those by both Cordovero and Horowitz, brought kabbalistic thinking into the realm of actual synagogue practice. The highly mythical Kabbalah of Naftali Bacharach, seventeenth-century German author of *Emeq ha-Melekh* (Valley of the King), is primarily influenced by the language and imagery of the *Zohar*.

Another area of the growing canonicity of the *Zohar* is reflected in its use in liturgical contexts and its appearance in digests of daily religious practice.

Various kabbalistic *Tiqqunim* or "Orders" were published throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These include many collections of *Zohar* passages to be recited during the vigils of *Shavu'ot* and *Hosha'na Rabbah*, at the Sabbath table, and on various other occasions. It came to be understood in this period that oral recitation of the *Zohar* was efficacious even for those who did not understand its meaning. In the nineteenth century, vocalized editions of the *Zohar* were printed to allow for this situation, and to assure that the recitation would nevertheless be performed with some degree of accuracy. There were also various digests produced for daily study/recitation, especially in the eighteenth century. The most widespread of these was called *Ḥoq le-Yisra'el* (Cairo, 1740), including passages to be recited each day from the Torah, Prophets, Hagiographa, Mishnah, Talmud, *Zohar*, ethical guides, and legal digests. The *Ḥemdat Yamim*, an anonymous compendium of kabbalistic praxis (Izmir, 1731/32), prescribes readings from the *Zohar* for nearly every conceivable occasion in the Jewish liturgical year. In both of these compendia, we see the *Zohar* at the apex of its acceptance and integration into the daily regimen of Jewish spiritual life.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the messianic movement around Sabbatai Tsevi (1626–1676) swept through the Jewish communities. In the more radical forms of Sabbateanism, the *Zohar* carried even greater weight as the authority of Talmudic law came to be questioned. The kabbalistic system of Nathan of Gaza (1643/4–1680), the great prophet of Sabbateanism, is based on the imagery of the *Zohar*; and devotion to the *Zohar* was touted loudly throughout the history of Sabbateanism. Some of the later Ashkenazic Sabbateans—followers of Jacob Frank—came to refer to themselves as "Zoharites," Jews who followed the authority of the *Zohar* while rejecting that of the Talmud and the rabbis. This, of course, would be a spurious claim had the authors of the *Zohar* been asked their opinion, since they had no intention of rebelling against Talmudic authority. But by this time (and in these circles), the *Zohar* was being read through the lenses of such radical interpreters as the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, the fifteenth-century *Sefer ha-Qanah*, the anonymous work *Galei Razayya*, and the writings of Nathan of Gaza. When seen as the font of this literary tradition, the *Zohar* could be read as a very radical work indeed.

The decline of Sabbateanism in the mid-eighteenth century preceded by only a few decades the beginning of the Enlightenment era in western Europe and the admission of Jews into a more open and religiously tolerant society. As large numbers of Jews became eager supporters of what they could only see as emancipation, readings of Judaism that supported or fit this new situation became widespread. One feature of this emerging post-Enlightenment Judaism,

whether in its Reform or Orthodox versions, was either an open rejection or a quiet setting aside of Kabbalah and the *Zohar* in particular. Scholem wrote an essay about several obscure nineteenth-century figures whom he designated as "The Last Kabbalists in Germany." We have already spoken of Heinrich Graetz's negative views of the *Zohar*, a position that was widely shared by his contemporaries. While there were a few scholars in the period of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Adolph Jellinek of Vienna is the most notable) who studied the *Zohar*, it was mostly neglected by westernized Jews throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In eastern Europe, the situation was quite different. Hasidism, a popular religious revival based on Kabbalah, continued to revere the *Zohar* and believe in its antiquity. Several significant *Zohar* commentaries were written within Hasidic circles, and the authors of Hasidic works often referred to the *Zohar*. Rabbi Pinḥas of Korzec, an early Hasidic master, was said to have thanked God that he was born after the appearance of the *Zohar*, "for the *Zohar* kept me a Jew." Hasidic legend has it that when the *Zohar* was published by his sons, who owned the printing-works in Slawuta, they dipped the press in the *miqveh* (ritual bath) before printing each volume, so great was the holy task that was about to come before it! Hasidic masters, because of this legend, went out of their way to acquire copies of the Slawuta edition of the *Zohar* and to study from it. The great opponent of Hasidism, Rabbi Elijah (the "Gaon") of Vilna (1720–1797), was also a kabbalist, and a small group within the circle of his disciples continued the study of *Zohar* for several generations.

Among the Sephardic and Mizraḥi Jews, the reputation of the *Zohar* as a holy book was particularly strong. Jews in such far-flung communities as Morocco, Turkey, and Iraq studied it avidly. Simple Jews recited the *Zohar* much in the way that uneducated eastern European Jews recited the Psalms. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Jerusalem became known as a center of kabbalistic studies, and Jews from throughout these communities went there and studied works that emanated from that center. Outside of Europe, it was primarily the Lurianic Kabbalah that held sway, and the *Zohar*, while revered, was generally viewed through the Lurianic prism. Only as Enlightenment ideas began to spread in the early twentieth century, partly through the arrival of European Jews in the Colonial era, did the authority of the *Zohar* come into question.

The writings of Scholem, Tishby, and the scholars following in their wake have done much to make the *Zohar* intelligible to moderns and to renew interest in its study. Tishby's *Wisdom of the Zohar*, translating selected passages from Aramaic into Hebrew, was a highly successful attempt to make the *Zohar* more

accessible to an educated Israeli readership. The interest aroused among scholars of religion by Scholem's highly readable and insightful essays, especiaily those first presented at the Eranos conferences, served to kindle great interest in Kabbalah within the broader scholarly community. This interest is maintained today thanks to the profound and sometimes provocative studies of Yehuda Liebes and Elliot Wolfson. The important writings of Moshe Idel continue to bring Kabbalah to the attention of the scholarly and intellectual world. The availability of English and other translations, including the selections in Tishby and anthologies by both Scholem and Matt, have also served the *Zohar* well in creating readerships outside of Israel. In more recent decades, this intellectual interest in Kabbalah has spread to wider circles, including many who are concerned with questions of symbolism, philosophy of language, and related issues.

At the same time, two other seemingly unrelated phenomena have come together to greatly increase the interest in *Zohar* studies at the turn of the twenty-first century. One is the broad interest throughout the Western world in works of mysticism and "spirituality." Our age has seen a great turn toward sources of wisdom neglected by two centuries of modernity, partly in hope of finding in them a truth that will serve as a source of guidance for the difficult and complex times in which we live. Recently, an interest in the *Zohar* and Kabbalah has emerged as part of this trend. As is true of all the other wisdoms examined in the course of this broad cultural phenomenon, the interest in Kabbalah includes both serious and trivial or "faddist" elements. This revival of Kabbalah is a complicated phenomenon within itself, containing expressions of great hunger for religious experience and personal growth, alongside the broader quest for wisdom.

This interest has come to be combined with a very different renewal of Kabbalah, primarily in Israel, after the 1967 and 1973 wars. It is manifest in the growth of kabbalistic *yeshivot* or academies, the publication of many new editions of kabbalistic works, and a campaign of public outreach intended to spread the teachings of Kabbalah more broadly. This new emphasis on Kabbalah is partly due to the reassertion of pride in the Sephardic and Mizraḥi heritage, where Kabbalah has an important place. It is also in part related to the difficult and trying times through which Israel has lived, resulting in both a resurgence of messianism and a turn to "practical Kabbalah"—a long-standing part of Near Eastern Judaism—as a source of protection against enemies and hope of victory over them. The Kabbalah taught in these circles is primarily of the Lurianic variety, as interpreted through a long chain of Jerusalem-based teachers. Some versions of what is proffered as "Kabbalah" today can only be described as

highly debased versions of the original teachings. But the *Zohar*, even if reinterpreted in Lurianic terms, is revered throughout these circles as the primary font of kabbalistic truth, the ancient teaching of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai.

How this very complex interweaving of forces will affect the future of interest in Kabbalah is yet to be seen. It is certain, however, that the *Zohar* will continue to find a place in the hearts of new readers, some of whom will turn to the more authentic and profound aspects of its teachings. It is hoped that these readers will be helped and guided by the present translation and commentary.

THE ZOHAR

הקדמת ספר הזהר

Haqdamat Sefer ha-Zohar

INTRODUCTION TO THE *ZOHAR*

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah opened, "*Like a rose*[1] *among thorns, so is my beloved among the maidens* (Song of Songs 2:2). Who is *a rose*? Assembly of Israel.[2] For there is a rose, and then there is a rose! Just as a rose among thorns is colored red and white,[3] so Assembly of Israel includes judgment and compassion. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, so Assembly of Israel has thirteen qualities of compassion surrounding Her on every side.[4] Similarly, from the moment אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, is mentioned, it generates thirteen words to surround Assembly of Israel and protect Her; then it is mentioned again.[5] Why again? To produce five sturdy leaves surrounding the rose.[6] These five are called Salvation;[7] they are five gates.[8] Concerning this mystery it is written: *I raise the cup of salvation* (Psalms 116:13). This is the cup of blessing, which should rest on five fingers— and no more[9]—like the rose, sitting on five sturdy leaves, paradigm of five fingers. This rose is the cup of blessing.

"From the second אלהים (*Elohim*) till the third, five words appear. From here on: light—created, concealed, contained in the covenant,[10] entering the rose, emitting seed into Her. This is the *tree bearing fruit with its seed in it* (Genesis 1:12).[11] That seed endures in the actual sign of covenant. Just as the image of the covenant is sown in forty-two couplings of that seed, so the engraved, explicit name[12] is sown in forty-two letters of the act of Creation."[13]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "*The blossoms have appeared on the earth*, [*the time of pruning has arrived; the voice of the turtledove is heard in our land*] (Song of Songs 2:12). *The blossoms* are the act of Creation, which *appeared on the earth*. When? On the third day, as is written: *The earth brought forth vegetation* (Genesis 1:12). Then they *appeared on the earth. The time of pruning has arrived*—the fourth day, on which *the pruning of tyrants* (Isaiah 25:5) took

place.[14] מארת (*Me'orot*), *Lights*, spelled deficiently.[15] *The voice of the turtledove* is the fifth day, as is written: *Let the waters swarm* [*with a swarm of living creatures, and let birds fly above the earth, across the expanse of the sky*] (Genesis 1:20), generating offspring. *Is heard* is the sixth day, as is written: *Let us make a human being* (Genesis 1:26), who was destined to declare acting before hearing, for here is written: [1b] נעשה (*Na'aseh*), *Let us make, a human being*, and there is written: נעשה (*Na'aseh*), *We will do, and we will listen* (Exodus 24:7).[16] *In our land* is the Sabbath day, paradigm of the land of eternal life.[17]

"*The blossoms* are the patriarchs, who entered the divine mind before Creation[18] and entered the world that is coming,[19] where they were treasured away. From there, they emerged secretly and were concealed within prophets of truth.[20] When Joseph was born, they were concealed within him.[21] When Joseph entered the Holy Land, he planted them there. Then they *appeared on earth*, were revealed there. When are they visible? When the rainbow is revealed in the world.[22] When the rainbow appears, they are revealed. Then, *the time of pruning has arrived*, time to excise the wicked from the world. Why are they spared? Because *the blossoms have appeared on the earth*. Had they not *appeared*, they would not remain in the world,[23] nor would the world endure. Who sustains the world, enabling the patriarchs to be revealed? The voice of children engaging in Torah.[24] For the sake of those children, the world is saved. Corresponding to them, *We will make you wreaths of gold* (Song of Songs 1:11). These are little children, youngsters, as is written: *Make two cherubim of gold* (Exodus 25:18)."[25]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi El'azar opened, "*Lift your eyes on high and see: Who created these?* (Isaiah 40:26). *Lift your eyes on high*. To which site? The site toward which all eyes gaze. Which is that? *Opening of the eyes*.[26] There you will discover that the concealed ancient one, susceptible to questioning, *created these*. Who is that? *Who*.[27] The one called End of Heaven above,[28] whose domain extends over everything. Since it can be questioned, yet remains concealed and unrevealed, it is called *Who*. Beyond, there is no question.[29]

"This end of heaven is called *Who*. There is another below, called *What*.[30] What distinguishes the two? The first, concealed one—called *Who*—can be questioned. Once a human being questions and searches,[31] contemplating and knowing rung after rung to the very last rung—once one reaches there: *What?* What do you know? What have you contemplated? For what have you searched? All is concealed, as before.

"Concerning this mystery it is written: *What can I take as a witness to you?*

What can I compare to you? (Lamentations 2:13). When the holy Temple was destroyed, a voice cried out: '*What can I take as a witness to you? What can I compare to you?*' I take *What* as a witness to you. Every single day I have called witnesses against you, since days of old, as is written: *I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day* (Deuteronomy 30:19).[32] I compare you to *What*, precisely![33] I crowned you with holy crowns, gave you dominion over the world, as is written: *Is this the city that was called perfect crown of beauty, joy of all the earth?* (Lamentations 2:15). I called you *Jerusalem built up, a city bound together* (Psalms 122:3). Now, *What can I liken to you*, [*to console you*]? (Lamentations, ibid., 13).[34] Just as you sit desolate, so it is above, as it were. Just as now, the holy people do not enter you in holy array, so I swear to you that I Myself will not enter above until your inhabitants enter you below.[35] This is your consolation: I compare this rung to you completely.[36] But now that you are here, *your ruin is vast as the ocean* (ibid.).[37] Yet if you say you cannot endure or be healed, then *Who will heal you* (ibid.), really! That concealed, high rung in which all exists will heal you and raise you up.

"*Who* is End of Heaven above; *What* is End of Heaven below. Jacob inherited this, *running from end to end* (Exodus 26:28),[38] from first end, *Who*, to last end, *What*, for he stands in the middle. So, *Who created these*."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "El'azar, my son, cease your words,[39] so that the concealed mystery on high, unknown to any human, may be revealed."

Rabbi El'azar was silent.

Rabbi Shim'on wept and paused for a moment. Then he said, "El'azar, what is *these*?[40] If you answer, 'Stars and constellations,' they are always visible there[41] and were created by *What*, as is said: *By the word of YHVH the heavens were made* (Psalms 33:6).[42] As for things concealed, such would not be referred to as *these*, for that word indicates something revealed. This mystery was only revealed one day when I was at the seashore. Elijah[43] came and asked me, 'Rabbi, do you know the meaning of *Who created these*?' I answered, 'These are the heavens and their array, the work of the blessed Holy One. Human beings should contemplate them and bless Him, as is written: *When I behold Your heavens, the work of* [2a] *Your fingers, the moon and stars that You set in place,... YHVH our Lord, how majestic is Your name throughout the earth!* (Psalms 8:4, 10).

"Elijah said to me, 'Rabbi, the word was concealed with the blessed Holy One, and He revealed it in the Academy on High.[44] Here it is:

'When Concealed of all Concealed[45] verged on being revealed, it produced at first a single point,[46] which ascended to become thought. Within, it drew all drawings, graved all engravings,[47] carving within the concealed holy lamp[48] a

graving of one hidden design, holy of holies, a deep structure emerging from thought, called מי (*Mi*), *Who*, origin of structure.[49] Existent and non-existent, deep and hidden, called by no name but *Who*.

'Seeking to be revealed, to be named, it garbed itself in a splendid, radiant garment and created אלה (*elleh*), *these*.[50] אלה (*Elleh*) attained the name: these letters joined with those, culminating in the name אלהים (*Elohim*).[51] Until it created אלה (*elleh*), it did not attain the name אלהים (*Elohim*).[52] Based on this mystery, those who sinned with the Golden Calf said "אלה (*Elleh*), *These, are your gods, O Israel!*" (Exodus 32:8).[53] Just as מי (*mi*) is combined with אלה (*elleh*), so the name אלהים (*Elohim*) is constantly polysemous.[54] Through this mystery, the universe exists.'

"Then Elijah flew off; I did not see him. From him I discovered the word, whose mysterious secret I have demonstrated."

Rabbi El'azar and all the Companions came and bowed down in front of him. Weeping, they said, "If we have come into the world only to hear this, it is enough."[55]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "So the heavens and their array were created by מה (*Mah*), *What*,[56] as is written: *When I behold Your heavens, the work of Your fingers, the moon and stars that You set in place,...* מה (*mah*), *how, majestic is Your name throughout the earth! Your splendor is celebrated above heaven* (Psalms 8:4, 1). *Above heaven*,[57] to attain the name. For it created a light for its light, one enclothed in the other, and it attained a high name. So, *In the beginning* אלהים (*Elohim*) *created* (Genesis 1:1), אלהים (*Elohim*) above.[58] For מה (*Mah*) was not so, is not composed until these letters—אלה (*elleh*)—are drawn from above to below and Mother lends Daughter Her garments, though not adorning Her with Her adornments.[59] When does She adorn Her fittingly? When all males appear before Her, as is written: [*All your males shall appear*] *before the Sovereign*, *YHVH* (Exodus 23:17).[60] This one is called Sovereign, as is said: *Behold, the ark of the covenant, Sovereign of all the earth* (Joshua 3:11).[61] Then the letter ה (*he*) departs and י (*yod*) enters, and She adorns Herself in masculine clothing in the presence of every male in Israel.[62] Other letters Israel draws from above to this site: אלה (*Elleh*), *These, I remember* (Psalms 42:5).[63] 'With my mouth I mentioned them, in my yearning I poured out my tears, drawing forth these letters. Then *I conduct them* from above *to the house of Elohim*, to be *Elohim*, like Him.'[64] With what? *With joyous shouts of praise, the festive throng*."

Rabbi El'azar said, "My silence assembled a temple above, a temple below.[65] Indeed, 'a word is worth one coin; silence, two.'[66] 'A word is worth one coin': what I said, the meaning I aroused. 'Silence, two': by holding my silence, two worlds were created, erected as one."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "From here on, the completion of the verse, as is written: *The one who brings forth their array by number* (Isaiah 40:26).[67] These are two rungs, each of which should be inscribed. One is *What*; the other, *Who*. This is above, that is below. The one above is inscribed by the words: *The one who brings forth their array by number*, the one who is known, beyond compare.[68] Similarly, 'The one who brings forth bread from the earth,'[69] the one who is known, the lower rung, and all is one.[70] *By number*: 600,000, standing together, generating forces according to their kind, beyond number.[71] *And calls them each by name*, both the 600,000 and their forces. What does this mean: *by name*? If you say they were called individually by name—not so, for then the verse should read *each by its name*. Rather, as long as this rung had not ascended and was still called מי (*Mi*), *Who*, it did not give birth nor bring forth what was hidden, each according to its kind, though all of them were hidden within. Once it *created* אלה (*elleh*), *these*, and attained its name, אלהים (*Elohim*), then by the power of this name, it yielded them perfectly. This is the meaning of *calls them each by name*: by its very name, it called forth each and every kind to exist perfectly. Similarly, *See, I have called by name Bezalel* (Exodus 31:2) :[72] 'I mentioned My name so that Bezalel would attain perfect existence.' *His great might* (Isaiah 40:26).[73] What is this? First of rungs, to which all desires ascend, ascending there [2b] secretly.[74] *And vast power*— mystery of the upper world,[75] which attained the name *Elohim*, as we have said. *Not one is missing*—not one of those 600,000 generated by the power of the name. Because *not one is missing*, whenever any of the Children of Israel died as punishment for their sins, the people were counted, and not even one of the 600,000 was lacking,[76] so that everything accorded with the paradigm: just as *not one is missing* above, so *not one is missing* below."

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rav Hamnuna Sava said, "We find the letters backward:[77] ב (*Bet*) first, followed by ב (bet): בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning* followed by ברא (*bara*), *created*. Then א (*alef*) first, followed by א (*alef*): אלהים (*Elohim*), followed by את (*et*).

"The reason is: When the blessed Holy One wished to fashion the world, all the letters were hidden away.[78] For two thousand years before creating the world,[79] the blessed Holy One contemplated them and played with them. As He verged on creating the world, all the letters presented themselves before Him, from last to first.[80]

"The letter ת (tav) entered first of all. She said, 'Master of the worlds, may it please You to create the world by me, for I complete Your seal: אמת (*emet*),

truth[81]—and You are called Truth.[82] It is fitting for the King of Truth to begin with a letter of truth and to create the world by me.'

"The blessed Holy One replied, 'You are seemly and worthy, but not deserving to initiate Creation, since you are destined to be marked on the foreheads of the faithful who fulfilled the Torah from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), and by your mark they will die.[83] Furthermore you are the seal of מות (*mavet*), death.[84] So you do not deserve to serve as the instrument of Creation.' She immediately departed.

"The letter ש (*shin*) came before Him. She said, 'Master of the worlds, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are named שדי (*Shaddai*), and it is fitting to create the world by a holy name.'

"He replied, 'You are seemly, you are good, and you are true, but since letters of deceit take you as their accomplice, I do not wish to create the world by you. For a lie cannot exist unless ק״ר (*qof-resh*) take you.'[85] So whoever wants to tell a lie will first lay a foundation of truth and then construct the lie.[86] For ש (*shin*) is a letter of truth, a true letter of the patriarchs, who were united in it;[87] ק״ר (*qof-resh*) are letters that appear on the evil side.[88] In order to survive, they entangle the letter ש (*shin*), forming קשר (*qesher*), conspiracy. Seeing this, she left His presence.

"The letter צ (*tsadi*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for צדיקים (*tsaddiqim*), the righteous, are sealed by me, and You, who are called צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous, are signified by me, as is written: *For* יהוה (*YHVH*) *is* צדיק (*tsaddiq*)—*loving righteousness* (Psalms 11:7). It is fitting to create the world by me!'

"He replied, 'צ (*Tsadi*), you are צדיק (*tsaddiq*), but you should remain hidden—not so revealed—so as not to provide the world a pretext.' How so? She is נ (*nun*). י (*Yod*) from the name of the holy covenant comes and rides on her, is united with her.[89] This is the mystery: When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces.[90] So the י (*yod*) faces backward, like this: .[91] They were not turned face-to-face, like this: .[92] It looked upward like this: . It looked downward like this: .[93] The blessed Holy One said to her, 'Turn back, for I intend to split you and transfigure you face-to-face, but you will arise elsewhere.'[94] She left His presence and departed.

"The letter פ (*pe*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for I signify פורקנא (*purqena*), the redemption, that You will someday bring to the world, also called פדות (*pedut*),

deliverance. It is fitting to create the world by me!'

"He replied, 'You are seemly, but you signify hidden transgression, like a serpent striking, then tucking its head into its body:[95] so one who sins bows his head, stretching out his hands.'

"Similarly ע (*ayin*) stands for עון (*avon*), iniquity. Although she said, 'I imply ענוה (*anavah*), humility,' the blessed Holy One replied, 'I will not create the world by you.' She left His presence.

"The letter ס (*samekh*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of [3a] the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me סמיכא (*semikha*), support, exists for those who fall, as is written: סומך יהוה (*Somekh YHVH*), *YHVH* supports, all who fall (Psalms 145:14).'

"He replied, 'So you are needed where you are; do not move! If you leave, what would happen to the fallen, who depend on you?' She immediately left His presence.

"The letter נ (*nun*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are called נורא (*Nora*), *Awesome, in praises* (Exodus 15:11). By me, the praise of the righteous is called נאוה (*navah*), *comely* (Psalms 33:1).'

"He replied, 'נ (*Nun*), return to your place, for because of you ס (*samekh*) returned to her place.[96] Depend on her.' She returned immediately, leaving His presence.

"The letter מ (*mem*) entered. She said to him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are called מלך (*Melekh*), King.'

"He replied, 'Certainly so, but I will not create the world by you, since the world needs a king. Return to your place, you along with ל (*lamed*) and ך (*khaf*),[97] for the world should not be without a king.'

"At that moment the letter כ (*kaf*) descended from His throne of glory[98] and said, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for I am Your כבוד (*Kavod*), Glory.'

"When כ (*kaf*) descended from the throne of glory, 200,000 worlds trembled, the throne trembled, and all the worlds verged on collapse. The blessed Holy One said to her, 'כ, כ (*Kaf, kaf*), what are you doing here? I will not create the world by you. Return to your place, for you imply כליה (*kelayah*), destruction—*a decree of destruction* (Isaiah 10:23). Return to your throne and stay there.' She thereupon left His presence and returned to her place.

"The letter י (*yod*) entered. She said to Him, 'Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for I am the beginning of the holy Name.[99] It is fitting for You to create the world by me!'

“He replied, ‘It is enough for you to be engraved in Me, to be inscribed in Me. My desire culminates in you. You should not be uprooted from My name.’

“The letter ט (*tet*) entered. She said to Him, ‘Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are called טוב וישר (*tov ve-yashar*), *good and upright* (Psalms 25:8).’

“He replied, ‘I will not create the world by you, for your goodness is concealed and hidden within you,[100] as is written: *How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You* (Psalms 31:20). Since it is hidden within you, it plays no part in this world that I am about to create, but rather in the world to come.[101] Furthermore, because your goodness is hidden within you, the gates of My Temple will sink, as is written: *Her gates* טבעו (*tave’u*), *have sunk, into the earth* (Lamentations 2:9). Further, facing you is ח (*ḥet*),[102] and when you join together you spell חטא (ḥet), sin.’[103] So these two letters are not inscribed in the holy tribes.[104] She immediately left His presence.

“The letter ז (*zayin*) entered. She said to Him, ‘Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me Your children observe the Sabbath, as is written: זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember, the Sabbath day, to hallow it* (Exodus 20:8).’

“He replied, ‘I will not create the world by you, for you imply war—a sharp sword and a spear for battle, like a ן (*nun*).’[105] She immediately left His presence.

“The letter ו (*vav*) entered. She said to Him, ‘Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for I am a letter of Your name.’[106]

“He replied, ‘ו (*Vav*), it is enough for you and ה (*he*) to be letters of My name, included in the mystery of My name, engraved and carved in My name. I will not create the world by either of you.’

“The letters ד (*dalet*) and ג (*gimel*) entered and made the same request. He replied to them as well, ‘It is enough for you to be with each other, since the poor will never cease from the world[107] and need to be treated kindly. ד (*Dalet*) is poor; ג (*gimel*) גומל (*gomel*), renders, goodness to her.[108] Do not separate from one another! It is enough for one of you to sustain the other.’

“The letter ב (*bet*) entered. She said to Him, ‘Master of the world, may it please You to create the world by me, for by me You are blessed above and below.’[109]

“The blessed Holy One replied, ‘Indeed, by you I will create the world. You will be the beginning of Creation.’

“The letter א (*alef*) stood and did not enter. The blessed Holy One said to her, ‘א, א (*Alef, alef*), why do you not enter My presence like all the other letters?’

“She replied, ‘Master of the world! Because I saw all the letters leaving Your presence fruitlessly. What could I do there? Furthermore, look, [3b] You

have given this enormous gift to the letter ב (*bet*), and it is not fitting for the exalted King to take back a gift He has given to His servant and give it to another!'

"The blessed Holy One said, 'א, א (*Alef, alef*)! Although I will create the world with the letter ב (*bet*), you will be the first of all the letters. Only through you do I become one.[110] With you all counting begins and every deed in the world. No union is actualized except by א (*alef*).'

"The blessed Holy One fashioned high, large letters and low, small letters.[111] So, ב, ב (*Bet, bet*): בראשית ברא (*Be-reshit bara*); א, א (*Alef, alef*): אלהים את (*Elohim et*). Letters above and letters below. They were all as one, from the upper world and the lower world.

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi Yudai said, "What is בראשית (*Be-reshit*)? With Wisdom.[112] This is the Wisdom on which the world stands—through which one enters hidden, high mysteries. Here were engraved six vast, supernal dimensions, from which everything emerges, from which issued six springs and streams, flowing into the immense ocean.[113] This is ברא שית (*bara shit*), created six,[114] created from here. Who created them? The unmentioned, the hidden unknown."[115]

Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose were walking on the way. As they reached the site of a certain field, Rabbi Ḥiyya said to Rabbi Yose, "What you have said — ברא שית (*bara shit*)—is certainly true, for there are six supernal days in the Torah, not more; the others are concealed.[116] But in the Secrets of Creation we have discovered this:

"'The holy hidden one[117] engraved an engraving in the innards of a recess, punctuated by a thrust point.[118] He engraved that engraving, hiding it away, like one who locks up everything under a single key, which locks everything within a single palace.[119] Although everything is hidden away within that palace, the essence of everything lies in that key, which closes and opens. Within that palace lie hidden treasures, one greater than the other. Within that palace stand gates built cryptically, fifty of them. Carved into four sides, they were forty-nine. One gate has no side. No one knows whether it is above or below; it is shut.[120] In those gates is one lock and one precise place for inserting the key,[121] marked only by the impress of the key, known only to the key. Concerning this mystery it is written: בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *In the beginning God created*. בראשית (*Be-reshit*) is the key enclosing all, closing and opening. Six gates are contained in that key that closes and opens.[122] When it closes those gates, enclosing them within itself, then indeed: בראשית (*Be-reshit*)—a revealed word

combined with a concealed word. ברא (*Bara*), *Created*, is always concealed, closing, not opening.'"[123]

Rabbi Yose said, "Certainly so! I heard the Holy Lamp[124] say so, that ברא (*bara*) is a concealed word, closing, not opening. As long as the world[125] was locked within the word ברא (*bara*), it was not, did not exist. Enveloping everything was תהו (*tohu*), *chaos*,[126] and as long as תהו (*tohu*) reigned, the world was not, did not exist. When did that key open gates? When was it fit to be fruitful, to generate offspring? When Abraham arrived,[127] as is written: *These are the generations of heaven and earth* בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created* (Genesis 2:4), and we have learned: באברהם (*be-Avraham*), through Abraham.[128] Whereas everything was concealed in the word ברא (*bara*), now the letters were transposed and rendered fruitful. A pillar emerged, generating offspring: אבר (*ever*), organ—Holy Foundation on which the world stands.[129]

"When אבר (*ever*) was inscribed in the word ברא (*bara*), the supernal concealed one inscribed another inscription for its glorious name. This is אלה מי ברא (*Mi vara elleh*), *Who created these* (Isaiah 40:26).[130] The holy blessed name מה (*Mah*), *What*, was also inscribed.[131] Out of ברא (*bara*) it generated אבר (*ever*), inscribing אלה (*elleh*) at one end and אבר (*ever*) at the other.[132] Holy concealed one! אלה (*Elleh*) exists, אבר (*ever*) exists. As one was completed, so was the other. In אבר (*ever*) it engraved ה (*he*); in אלה (*elleh*), י (*yod*). Letters were aroused to complete one side and the other. It produced מ"ם (two *mems*), moving one to this side, one to that. The holy name was completed— becoming אלהים (*Elohim*)—and the name אברהם (*Avraham*) as well. [4a] As one was completed, so was the other.[133] Then life was generated and the complete Name emerged, unlike before, as is written: *These are the generations of heaven and earth* בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created*. All remained suspended until the name of Abraham was created.[134] Once that name was completed, the holy name was completed, as the verse concludes: *on the day that* יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*) *made earth and heaven* (Genesis 2:4)."[135]

Rabbi Ḥiyya prostrated himself on the ground, kissing the dust and weeping. He cried out, "Dust, dust, how stubborn you are, how impudent! All delights of the eye decay in you. All pillars of light in the world you consume and pulverize. How insolent you are! The Holy Lamp[136] who has illumined the world, majestic ruler, prince whose merit sustains the world, decays in you. O Rabbi Shim'on, radiance of the lamp, radiance of the worlds, you decompose in the dust, yet you subsist and guide the world!"[137]

For a moment he was shocked, and then exclaimed, "Dust, dust, do not boast! The pillars of the world will not be surrendered to you. Rabbi Shim'on has not decayed in you!"[138]

Still weeping, Rabbi Ḥiyya rose and walked on together with Rabbi Yose. From that day on, he fasted forty days to envision Rabbi Shim'on.[139] He was told, "You are not entitled to see him." He wept and fasted another forty days. In a vision he was shown Rabbi Shim'on and his son Rabbi El'azar, studying the word that Rabbi Yose had spoken,[140] with thousands listening. Meanwhile he noticed many huge celestial wings,[141] which Rabbi Shim'on and his son Rabbi El'azar mounted, and they soared to the Academy of Heaven. All those wings waited for them. He saw them returning, their splendor renewed, and they shone more brilliantly than the dazzle of the sun.

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "Let Rabbi Ḥiyya enter and see how the blessed Holy One intends to rejuvenate the faces of the righteous in the time to come.[142] Happy is one who enters here without shame. Happy is one who stands in that world[143] as a sturdy pillar."

Rabbi Ḥiyya saw himself entering. Rabbi El'azar rose together with the other pillars sitting there. Embarrassed, he drew back, then entered and sat at the feet of Rabbi Shim'on. A voice issued: "Lower your eyes, do not raise your head, do not gaze!" Lowering his eyes, he saw a light shining in the distance. The voice returned: "O high, hidden, concealed ones, open-eyed, roaming the entire world, gaze and see![144] O low, sleeping ones, close-eyed, awake![145] Who among you turns darkness into light, bitter into sweet before arriving here?[146] Who among you awaits each day the light that shines when the King visits the doe[147] and is glorified—declared King of all kings of the world? Whoever does not await this each day in that world has no portion here."[148]

Meanwhile he noticed many of the Companions surrounding him—all those erect pillars—and he saw them being raised to the Academy of Heaven, some ascending, some descending.[149] Above them all, he saw the Master of Wings[150] approaching. When he arrived, he solemnly swore that he had heard from behind the curtain[151] that the King remembers the doe who lies in the dust and visits Her every day. At that moment He kicks the 390 firmaments,[152] which all tremble and quake [4b] before Him. He sheds tears over this,[153] and those tears of bubbling fire fall into the vast ocean. From those tears the Prince of the Ocean[154] emerges—by them he is sustained. And he hallows the name of the Holy King, agreeing to swallow up all the waters of Creation and absorb them when all the nations gather against the holy people,[155] so that the waters will dry up and they will pass through on dry land.[156]

Meanwhile he[157] heard a voice proclaiming, "Make way, make way—for King Messiah is coming to the Academy of Rabbi Shim'on!" For all the righteous present there are heads of academies, and those academies are designated there; and all members of each academy ascend from the Academy

here[158] to the Academy of Heaven. The Messiah visits all those academies, setting his seal on the Torah issuing from the mouths of the rabbis.[159] At that moment the Messiah arrived, adorned by the heads of the academies with celestial crowns. At that moment all the Companions rose and Rabbi Shim'on rose, his light radiating to the vault of heaven.

He said to him,[160] "Happy are you, Rabbi, for your Torah ascends in 370 lights,[161] each and every light refracting into 613 senses,[162] ascending and bathing in rivers of pure balsam.[163] The blessed Holy One sets His seal on the Torah of your academy, and of the academy of Hezekiah, king of Judah,[164] and of the academy of Ahiyah of Shiloh.[165] I have not come to set my seal on what issues from your academy. Rather, the Master of Wings has entered here, for I know he enters no academy but yours."[166]

Then Rabbi Shim'on told him[167] the oath that the Master of Wings had sworn. The Messiah began trembling and cried aloud. The heavens trembled, the vast ocean trembled, Leviathan trembled, and the world verged on overturning. At that moment, he noticed Rabbi Ḥiyya sitting at the feet of Rabbi Shim'on. He said, "Who placed a human here, clothed in the garb of that world?"[168]

Rabbi Shim'on answered, "This is Rabbi Ḥiyya, radiance of the lamp of Torah!"

The Messiah said, "Let him be gathered in,[169] together with his sons,[170] so that they become members of your academy."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Let him be granted time."[171]

Time was granted to him. He emerged trembling, his eyes streaming with tears. Quivering, he cried, "Happy is the share of the righteous in that world! Happy is the share of the son of Yoḥai who has attained this! Of him is written: *So that I may endow those who love Me with substance and fill their treasuries* (Proverbs 8:21)."[172]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "I *have put My words in your mouth* (Isaiah 51:16). How vital it is for a human being to engage in Torah day and night! For the blessed Holy One listens to the voice of those who occupy themselves with Torah, and every word innovated in Torah by one engaged in Torah fashions one heaven.

"We have learned: The moment a new word of Torah originates from the mouth of a human being, that word ascends and presents herself before the blessed Holy One,[173] who lifts that word, kisses her, and adorns her with seventy crowns—engraved and inscribed.[174] But an innovated word of wisdom[175] ascends

and settles on the head of צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One— Vitality of the Worlds.[176] From there, it flies and soars through 70,000 worlds,[177] ascending to the Ancient of Days.[178] All the words of the Ancient of Days are words of wisdom, conveying supernal, concealed mysteries.[179] When that secret word of wisdom, innovated here, ascends, it joins those words of the Ancient of Days. Along with them, it ascends and descends, entering eighteen hidden worlds, which *no eye has seen, O God, but You* (Isaiah 64:3).[180] Emerging from there, they roam until they arrive, full and complete, presenting themselves before the Ancient of Days. At that moment, the Ancient of Days inhales the aroma of that word and it pleases Him more than anything. Lifting that word, He adorns her with 370,000 crowns.[181] The word flies, ascending and descending, and is transformed into a heaven. So each and every word of wisdom is transformed into a heaven, existing enduringly in the presence of the Ancient of Days. He calls them *new heavens*, newly created heavens, hidden mysteries of supernal wisdom. As for all other innovated words of Torah,[182] they stand before [5a] the blessed Holy One, then ascend and are transformed into *earths of the living* (Psalms 116:9). Then they descend, crowning themselves upon one earth,[183] which is renewed and transformed into a *new earth* through that renewed word of Torah. Concerning this is written: *As the new heavens and the new earth that I am making endure before Me....* (Isaiah 66:22). The verse does not read *I have made*,[184] but rather *I am making*, for He makes them continually out of those innovations and mysteries of Torah. Of this is written: *I have put My words in your mouth and covered you with the shadow of My hand, to plant heavens and establish earth* (Isaiah 51:16). The verse does not read *the heavens*, but rather *heavens*."[185]

Rabbi El'azar asked, "What is the meaning of: *I have covered you with the shadow of My hand*?"

He replied, "When Torah was transmitted to Moses, myriads of celestial angels came to scorch him with flames from their mouths, but the blessed Holy One sheltered him.[186] Now when this word ascends, is aroused, and stands before the blessed Holy One, He shelters that word and covers that person so that he will not be discovered by them—arousing their jealousy— before that word is transformed into new heavens and a new earth, as is written: *I have covered you with the shadow of My hand, to plant heavens and establish earth*. From this we learn that every word concealed from the eyes attains supernal value,[187] as is written: *I have covered you with the shadow of My hand*. Why was it covered and hidden from view? For the sake of supernal value, as is written: *to plant heavens and establish earth*, as already explained.

"*To say to Zion: 'You are* עמי (*ammi*), *My people!'* (ibid.). *To say to* those gates, those distinguished words,[188] these above those: '*You are* עמי (*ammi*).' Do

not read '*You are* עמי (*ammi*), *My people*,' but rather '*You are* עמי (*immi*), *with Me*, becoming My partner! Just as I made heaven and earth by speaking, as is said: *By the word of YHVH, the heavens were made* (Psalms 33:6), so do you.' Happy are those engaged in Torah!

"Now if you say that the word of any ignorant person has the same effect, come and see: One who is unaccustomed to the mysteries of Torah and innovates words he does not fully understand—when that word ascends, a *man of perversity, tongue of falsehood* (Proverbs 16:28; 6:17)[189] bursts forth from the chasm of the immense abyss,[190] leaping 500 parasangs[191] to obtain that word. Grabbing her, he takes that word back to his chasm and transmogrifies her into a distorted heaven called 'chaos.' The *man of perversity* flies through that heaven —6,000 parasangs in one glide.[192] As soon as the distorted heaven is established, *a woman of whoredom* (Hosea 1:2)[193] emerges, clinging to it, joining with it. From there she sets out, killing thousands, myriads. For as long as she endures in that heaven, she is empowered to swoop through the entire world in a single moment.[194] Concerning this is written: *Woe unto them who haul iniquity with cords of falsehood, and sin as with a cart rope* (Isaiah 5:18).[195] *Iniquity* is the male. Who is *sin*? The female. He[196] hauls the one called *iniquity* with those *cords of falsehood*, and then *sin as with a cart rope*, that female called *sin*, who is empowered there to fly and kill human beings. So, *Many are those she has struck dead* (Proverbs 7:26). Who has struck them dead? This *sin* who slays human beings. Who causes this? A disciple unqualified to teach who teaches.[197] May the Compassionate One save us!"

Rabbi Shim'on said to the Companions, "I beg of you not to utter a word of Torah that you do not know and have not heard properly from a lofty tree,[198] lest you enable *sin* to slay multitudes without cause."[199]

They all opened, saying, "May the Compassionate One save us! May the Compassionate One save us!"

"Come and see: With Torah the blessed Holy One created the world. This has been established, as is written: *I was with Him as a nursling, I was a daily delight* (Proverbs 8:30).[200] He gazed upon her once, twice, three and four times, then spoke, creating through her.[201] To teach human beings not to err in her,[202] as is written: *Then He saw and declared her, arranged her and probed her. He told humanity* (Job 28:27).[203] The blessed Holy One created what He created corresponding to those four times: *He saw and declared her, arranged her and probed her*.[204] Before generating His work, He introduced four words: בראשית ברא אלהים את (*Be-reshit bara Elohim et*), *In the beginning God created*. First, these four; then, השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*. These correspond to the four times that the blessed Holy One contemplated Torah before actualizing His work of

art.”

Rabbi El’azar was going to see Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim’on son of Lekonya, his father-in-law.[205] [5b] Rabbi Abba accompanied him, and a man was goading the donkeys behind them.

Rabbi Abba said, “Let us open openings of Torah, for the time is ripe to adorn ourselves on our way.”

Rabbi El’azar opened, saying, “*My Sabbaths you are to observe* (Leviticus 19:30). Come and see: In six days the blessed Holy One created the world. Every single day revealed its work, transmitting its power through that day.[206] When did it reveal its work and transmit its power? On the fourth day,[207] for those first three days were all concealed, not revealed. When the fourth day arrived, it generated the work and power of them all, since fire, water, and air—although they are three ethereal elements[208]—were all suspended, their work unrevealed until earth revealed them. Then the skill of each one of them was made known.

“Now you might say this happened on the third day, concerning which is written: *Let the earth sprout vegetation*, and *The earth brought forth vegetation* (Genesis 1:11–12). But although written of the third day, it was really the fourth, included in the third to be one without division.[209] From the fourth day on, its work was revealed, yielding an artisan for each and every skill,[210] for the fourth day constitutes the fourth leg of the celestial throne.[211] All the work of all of them, both earlier and later days, was dependent on the Sabbath day,[212] as is written: *God included*[213] *in the seventh day His work that He had made* (Genesis 2:2). This is *Sabbath*, fourth leg of the throne.

“Now you might ask, ‘If so, why *My Sabbaths you are to observe*, two?’ The answer is: the Sabbath of Sabbath eve and the Sabbath of the day itself, which are indivisible.”[214]

That rambling donkey-driver[215] goading behind them said, “And what is *My sanctuary you are to hold in awe* (Leviticus 19:30)?”[216]

He replied, “This is the holiness of the Sabbath.”

He said, “What is the holiness of the Sabbath?”

He replied, “This is the holiness drawn down from above.”

He said, “If so, you have turned the Sabbath into something not holy except for the holiness that rests upon it from above!”

Rabbi Abba said, “So it is: *Call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of* YHVH *honored* (Isaiah 58:13). *Sabbath* and *holy of* YHVH are each mentioned separately.”

He said, “If so, who is *holy of* YHVH*?*”

He replied, “Holiness that descends from above, resting upon it.”

He said, “If holiness drawn down from above is called *honored*, then it

appears that the Sabbath is not *honored*. Yet it is written: *And honor it* (ibid.)!"

Rabbi El'azar said to Rabbi Abba, "Let this man be! Within him lies a new word we do not know."

They said to him, "Speak!"

He opened, saying, "את שבתותי (*Et Shabbetotai*), *My Sabbaths*. את (*Et*)[217] amplifies the meaning to include[218] the range of Sabbath, which is 2000 cubits in every direction.[219] So the meaning is expanded: את שבתותי (*Et Shabbetotai*), *My Sabbaths*—one is the higher Sabbath; the other, the lower Sabbath;[220] both included as one, concealed as one.

"Another Sabbath[221] was left unmentioned and felt ashamed. She said before Him, 'Master of the universe, since the day You created me, I have been called Sabbath—and there can be no day without night.'[222] He replied, 'My daughter, you are Sabbath—I call you Sabbath—but I am about to crown you with a higher crown.' He issued a proclamation: *My sanctuary you are to hold in awe*. This is the Sabbath of Sabbath eve, who is awe and in whom awe dwells.[223] Who is that? The one included by the blessed Holy One when He said *I am YHVH*.[224]

"I heard my father say so precisely: את (*Et*) includes the range of Sabbath. *My Sabbaths* are a circle with a square inscribed within.[225] They are two, corresponding to which are two hallowings we should recite. One is ויכלו (*Vaykhullu*), *And they* [*heaven and earth*] *were completed*... (Genesis 2:1–3);[226] the other, קדוש (*qiddush*), hallowing.[227] *Vaykhullu* contains thirty-five words, and in the *qiddush* that we recite there are thirty-five words,[228] altogether amounting to seventy names of the blessed Holy One,[229] with which Assembly of Israel is adorned.[230] Since this circle and square are *My Sabbaths*, they are both included in שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe* (Deuteronomy 5:12), as is written: תשמורו (*Tishmoru*), *You are to observe* (Leviticus 19:30),[231] whereas the higher Sabbath is not included here in שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe*, but rather in זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember* (Exodus 20:8), for the supreme King is completed by זכור (*zakhor*).[232] So He is called 'the King who possesses peace,' and His peace is זכור (*zakhor*).[233] That is why there is no strife above, because of the two peaces below: one, Jacob; the other, Joseph.[234] So it is written twice: *Peace, peace to the far and the near* (Isaiah 57:19). *To the far* refers to Jacob, [6a] *and the near* refers to Joseph. *To the far*, as is said: *From afar, YHVH appeared to me* (Jeremiah 31:2),[235] *His sister stood far off* (Exodus 2:4).[236] *And the near*, as is said: *New* [*gods*] *who came from nearby* (Deuteronomy 32:17).[237] *From afar* is the highest point, standing in its palace.[238] So it is written: תשמורו (*Tishmoru*), *You are to observe*, included in שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe*.[239] *My sanctuary you are to hold in awe* is the point standing in the center,[240] which one should fear more than anything, for its punishment is death, as is written: מחלליה (*Meḥaleleha*), *Those who profane it, shall surely be put*

to death (Exodus 31:14). Who are מחלליה (*meḥaleleha*), *those who profane it?* Whoever enters the חלל (*ḥalal*), hollow, of the circle and the square—the site where that point rests—and damages it[241] *shall surely be put to death*. So it is written: *You are to hold in awe*. That point is called *I*,[242] and on it rests that high concealed one, unrevealed.[243] This is *YHVH*, and all is one."[244]

Rabbi El'azar and Rabbi Abba dismounted[245] and kissed him. They said, "All this wisdom in your hand, and you are goading our donkeys behind us? Who are you?"

He replied, "Do not ask who I am! Rather, let us go together, engaging in Torah. Let each one speak words of wisdom to illumine the way."

They said to him, "Who appointed you to go here, goading donkeys?"

He replied, "יוד (*Yod*) waged war with two letters, כף (*kaf*) and סמך (*samekh*), to be bound together with me.[246] כף (*Kaf*) did not want to depart and be bound, since it cannot survive for a moment anywhere else.[247] סמך (*Samekh*) did not want to depart, so it could support those who fall, for without סמך (*samekh*) they cannot survive.[248] Alone, יוד (*yod*) came to me, kissing and embracing me. She wept with me, saying, 'My son, what can I do for you? But look, I will ascend and fill myself with goodness—with hidden, celestial, splendid letters! Then I will come to you, serving as your support. I will endow you with two letters, higher than those that departed, namely, יש (*yesh*), substance—celestial יוד (yod) and שין (*shin*)—as your treasuries filled with everything. So, my son, go and goad donkeys.' That is why I go like this."[249]

Rabbi El'azar and Rabbi Abba rejoiced and wept. They said, "Go ride! We will goad the donkeys behind you."

He said to them, "Didn't I tell you it is the command of the King, until the one driving donkeys arrives?"[250]

They said to him, "But you haven't told us your name. The site you inhabit—what is it?"

He replied, "The site I inhabit is fine and lofty for me: a certain tower soaring in the air, grand and splendid.[251] Those dwelling in this tower are the blessed Holy One and a certain poor person.[252] This is where I reside, but I have gone into exile, goading donkeys."

Rabbi Abba and Rabbi El'azar gazed at him. He had flavored his words for them as sweet as manna and honey.

They said to him, "If you tell us the name of your father, we will kiss the dust of your feet."

He said, "Why? It is not my habit to boast of Torah.[253] But my father's dwelling was in the great ocean. He was a fish,[254] circumnavigating the vast ocean from one end to the other. So grand and splendid, ancient of days, he

would swallow all the other fish in the ocean, then spew them out alive, thriving, filled with all goodness of the world. So strong, he could swim the ocean in one moment. He shot me out like an arrow from the hand of a mighty warrior,[255] secreting me in that site I described. Then he returned to his site, disappearing into the ocean."

Rabbi El'azar contemplated his words. He said, "You are the son of the Holy Lamp![256] You are the son of Rav Hamnuna Sava,[257] son of the radiance of Torah, and you are goading donkeys behind us?"

They both wept together, kissed him, and went on.

They said to him, "If it pleases our master, let him reveal his name to us." He opened, saying, "*Benayahu son of Yehoyada* (2 Samuel 23:20).[258] This verse has been established[259]—which is fine—but this verse alludes to supernal mysteries of Torah. *Benayahu son of Yehoyada* appears on behalf of a mystery of wisdom—a concealed word, and the name prevails. *Son of a living man* (ibid.)—צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One—Vitality of the Worlds.[260] *Master of deeds* (ibid.)[261]—Master of all action, of all celestial powers, for all emerge from Him. He is יהוה צבאות (*YHVH Tseva'ot*), Lord of Hosts, insignia of all His hosts.[262] Distinguished and supreme, He is called *Master of deeds*.

"*From Qavtse'el* (ibid.)—this grand and dignified tree, supreme above all,[263] from which site did it emerge? From which rung did it come? The verse goes on to say: *From Qavtse'el*[264]—a high, concealed rung that [6b] *no eye has seen*... (Isaiah 64:3),[265] a rung containing all, gathered in from upper light, and from which all emerges. It is the holy, hidden palace, in which all rungs are gathered and concealed.[266] In the trunk of this tree all worlds exist; from it, all holy powers are nourished and deployed.

"*He smote the two Ariel of Moab* (2 Samuel, ibid.). Two sanctuaries existed because of Him, were nourished by Him: First Temple and Second Temple.[267] As soon as He departed, the flow flowing from above ceased. *He*, as it were, *smote* them, destroying and obliterating them, and the Holy Throne fell,[268] as is written: *And I was in the midst of the exile* (Ezekiel 1:1)—that rung called *I*[269] was *in the midst of the exile*. Why? *By the River Kevar* (ibid.), River of Already,[270] on account of the river gushing and flowing, whose waters and springs ceased, so that it did not flow as before, as is written: *A river dries up and is parched* (Job 14:11).[271] *Dries up*—in the First Temple; *is parched*—in the Second. So *He smote the two Ariel of Moab*. מואב (*Mo'av*), *Moab*—for they originated מאב (*me-av*), from Father, in heaven and were destroyed and obliterated because of Him.[272] All the lights illumining Israel darkened.

"Further, *He went down and slew the lion* (2 Samuel, ibid.).[273] In former times, when this river gushed its waters below, [the people of] Israel were

fulfilled, offering offerings and sacrifices to atone for their souls. Then from above would descend the image of a lion, whom they could see on the altar, crouching over its prey,[274] consuming sacrifices like a fierce warrior, while all dogs[275] hid themselves away, not venturing out.

"When sins prevailed, He descended to the rungs below,[276] and He killed that lion, no longer willing to provide its prey. He, as it were, killed it. *He slew the lion*, really! *Within the pit* (ibid.)—in plain sight of the evil Other Side.[277] Seeing this, that Other Side was emboldened to send a dog to eat the offerings. What is the name of that lion? אוריאל (*Uri'el*), for his face is the face of אריה (*aryeh*), a lion.[278] What is the name of that dog? בלאדן (*Bal'adan*) is its name, for it is excluded from the category of אדם (*adam*), human, but is rather a dog—its face a dog.[279] *On a snowy day*—a day when sins prevailed, and judgment was decreed above by the celestial court.[280] Of this is written: *She is not afraid of snow for her household* (Proverbs 31:21)—Judgment on high.[281] Why? Because *her whole household is clothed in crimson*[282] (ibid.) and can endure the fierce fire.

"Until here, mystery of the verse. What is written next? *He slew an Egyptian, a man of good appearance* (2 Samuel, ibid., 21). Here the mystery of the verse discloses that whenever Israel sinned He[283] departed, withholding from them all the goodness, all the light illumining them. *He slew an Egyptian man*—the light of that light illumining Israel. Who is it? Moses,[284] as is written: *They said, 'An Egyptian man rescued us'* (Exodus 2:19).[285] There he was born, there he was raised, there he rose to the highest light.[286] *A man of* מראה (*mar'eh*), *good appearance*, as is said: ומראה (*u-mar'eh*), *in appearance, not in riddles* (Numbers 12:8).[287] *Man*, as is said: *Man of Elohim* (Deuteronomy 33:1)—husband, as it were, of that מראה (*mar'eh*), *appearance, of the Presence of YHVH*,[288] for he was worthy of conducting this rung on earth in any way he wished— something no other human attained.

"*The Egyptian had a spear in his hand* (2 Samuel, ibid.). This is the staff of God, handed down to him,[289] as is said: *with the staff of God in my hand* (Exodus 17:9). This is the staff created on the eve of Sabbath at twilight,[290] engraved with the holy name,[291] a holy graving. With this he sinned at the rock, as is said: *He struck the rock with his staff twice* (Numbers 20:11). The blessed Holy One said to him, 'Moses, I did not give you My staff for this. By your life! From now on, it will no longer be in your hand.' Immediately *He went down to him with a club* (2 Samuel, ibid.)[292]—with severe judgment. *And wrenched the spear out of the Egyptian's hand*, for from that moment it was withheld from him and was never again in his hand. *And killed him with his own spear*. Because of the sin of striking with that staff,[293] he died and did not enter the Holy Land, and this light was withheld from Israel.

"*From the thirty, he was most honored* (2 Samuel, ibid., 23).[294] These are the thirty celestial years,[295] on which He drew, conveying Them below. Drawing on Them, He drew near. *But the three he did not attain*. They approached Him, giving to Him wholeheartedly, but He did not approach Them.[296] Still, although He was not counted as one of Them, *David set him over his bodyguard*, for He never faded from the tablet of His heart.[297] [7a] They are never separated. David set Him close—not conversely—for with the praises, songs, and love that the moon offers to the sun,[298] She draws Him toward Her, so that He dwell with Her. This is: *David set him over his bodyguard*."

Rabbi El'azar and Rabbi Abba fell before him. Meanwhile they did not see him. They rose, looking in every direction, but could not see him. They sat down and wept, and could not speak to one another. After a while Rabbi Abba said, "This is precisely what we learned: On whatever path the righteous walk, with words of Torah between them, virtuous ones of that world come to them.[299] This was indeed Rav Hamnuna Sava,[300] coming to us from that world to reveal these words to us. Before we could recognize him, he vanished!"

They rose and tried to goad the donkeys, but they would not move. They tried to goad them, but they would not move. Frightened, they left the donkeys behind. Still today that spot is called Donkeys' Site.

Rabbi El'azar opened, saying, "*How immense is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You!...* (Psalms 31:20). How great is the precious, supernal goodness the blessed Holy One intends to lavish upon humanity—for the supremely righteous, dreading sin, engaging in Torah— when they enter that world! The verse does not read *Your goodness*, but rather *Your immense goodness*. Who is that? *The memory of Your immense goodness they express* (Psalms 145:7)[301]—joy of life flowing from the world that is coming[302] to Vitality of the Worlds,[303] who is *the memory of Your immense goodness —immense goodness for the house of Israel...* (Isaiah 63:7).[304]

"Further, *How immense is Your goodness*. Here is engraved a mystery of wisdom, all mysteries intimated here. מה (*Mah*), *How*, as has been explained.[305] *Immense*—the *immense* and mighty tree,[306] for there is another, smaller tree,[307] but this one is *immense*, penetrating the vault of heaven. *Your goodness*—the light created on the first day.[308] *That you have hidden away for those in awe of You*, for He concealed it for the righteous in that world.[309]

"*That You made* (Psalms 31:20)[310]—the upper Garden of Eden,[311] as is written: *The place You have made to dwell in, O YHVH* (Exodus 15:17). This is *that You made for those who take refuge in You. In the presence of human beings*

—the lower Garden of Eden, where all the righteous abide in spirit clothed in a splendid garment resembling the image of this world.[312] This is נגד (*neged*), *in the presence of, human beings*—in the image of *human beings* of this world.[313] There they stand, then fly through the air, ascending to the Academy of Heaven in that upper Garden of Eden.[314] They soar and bathe in the dew of rivers of pure balsam,[315] then descend and dwell below. Sometimes they appear *in the presence of human beings*, enacting miracles for them like celestial angels[316]—as we just saw the radiance of the High Lamp,[317] though we were not privileged to contemplate and discover further mysteries of wisdom."

Rabbi Abba opened, saying, "*Manoah said to his wife, 'We will surely die, for we have seen God!'* (Judges 13:22). Even though Manoah did not know its nature,[318] he said, 'Since it is written: *No human shall see Me and live* (Exodus 33:20), and we certainly have seen, so *we will surely die*.' As for us, we have seen and attained this light moving with us,[319] yet we are still alive, for the blessed Holy One sent him to us to reveal mysteries of wisdom. Happy is our share!"

They went on. They reached a certain mountain, as the sun was inclining. The branches of the tree on the mountain began lashing one another, emitting a song. As they were walking, they heard a resounding voice proclaim: "Holy sons of God,[320] dispersed among the living of this world! Luminous lamps, initiates of the Academy! Assemble at your places to delight with your Lord in Torah!"

They were frightened, stood in place, then sat down. Meanwhile a voice called out as before, proclaiming: "Mighty boulders, towering hammers,[321] behold the Master of Colors,[322] embroidered in figures, standing on a dais.[323] Enter and assemble!" That moment, they heard the branches of the trees resounding intensely, proclaiming: *The voice of YHVH breaks cedars* (Psalms 29:5).[324] Rabbi El'azar and Rabbi Abba fell on their faces, immense fear falling upon them. They rose hastily, went on, and heard nothing. Leaving the mountain, they walked on.

Upon reaching the house of Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lekonya,[325] they saw Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai and rejoiced. [7b] Rabbi Shim'on rejoiced, saying to them, "Indeed you have traversed a path of heavenly miracles and signs. For I was just now sleeping, and I saw you and Benayahu son of Yehoyada, who was sending you two crowns[326] by the hand of a certain old man to crown you. This was certainly a path of the blessed Holy One! Further, I see your faces transfigured."

Rabbi Yose said, "Well have you said, 'A sage is preferable to a prophet.'"[327]

Rabbi El'azar approached, placed his head between the knees of his

father,[328] and told him what happened. Rabbi Shim'on was frightened and wept. He said, "*YHVH, I heard what You made heard; I am awed* (Habakkuk 3:2). This verse was spoken by Habakkuk when he saw his death and was restored to life by Elisha.[329] Why was he named חבקוק (*Ḥavaqquq*), Habakkuk? Because it is written: *At this time next year, you will be* חובקת (*ḥoveqet*), *embracing, a son* (2 Kings 4:16). He[330] was the son of the Shunammite! Furthermore there were two embracings[331]—one by his mother, one by Elisha—as is written: *He placed his mouth on his mouth* (ibid., 34).

"I have discovered in *The Book of King Solomon*:[332] He inscribed on him[333] in words the engraved name of seventy-two names.[334] For the letters of the alphabet that his father had originally inscribed on him[335] flew away from him when he died. Now that Elisha embraced him, he inscribed on him all those letters of the seventy-two names. The letters of these seventy-two engraved names are 216 letters,[336] all of which Elisha inscribed with his breath to restore him to life through the letters of the seventy-two names. He called him חבקוק (*Ḥavaqquq*), a name fulfilling all sides: fulfilling embracings, as explained, and fulfilling the mystery of the 216 letters of the holy name.[337] He was revived with words,[338] restoring his spirit, and with letters,[339] reviving his entire body enduringly. So he was called Habakkuk; it was he who said, '*YHVH, I heard what You made heard; I am awed*. I heard what happened to me, my tasting of that world,[340] and I am frightened.' He began begging for compassion for his soul, exclaiming, '*YHVH, Your action* that You did for me, *in the midst of years* חייהו (*ḥayyehu*), *may its life be*' (Habakkuk, ibid.). חייהו (*Ḥayyehu*), like חייו (*ḥayyav*): its life.[341] Whoever is bound to those primordial years,[342] life is bound to him. *Convey it in the midst of years* (ibid.)—*Convey it* to that level that has no life at all."[343]

Rabbi Shim'on wept and said, "From what I have heard, I, too, am afraid of the blessed Holy One."

Raising his hands above his head, he exclaimed: "What a privilege that you saw Rav Hamnuna Sava, radiance of Torah, face-to-face! I was not so privileged."

He fell on his face and saw him[344]uprooting mountains,[345] kindling lights in the palace of King Messiah.[346] He said to him,[347] "Rabbi, in that world you will be neighbors, empowered masters in the presence of the blessed Holy One."

From that day on, he called Rabbi El'azar, his son, and Rabbi Abba פניאל (*Peni'el*), *Face of God*, as is said: *For I have seen God face-to-face* (Genesis 32:31).[348]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "*The beginning of wisdom is awe of YHVH; all who actualize it gain good insight. His praise endures forever* (Psalms 111:10). *The beginning of wisdom*—this verse should read *The end of wisdom is awe of YHVH*, because *awe of YHVH* is really the end of Wisdom.[349] However, it enables one to enter the level of supernal Wisdom, as is written: *Open for me gates of righteousness. This is the gate to YHVH* (Psalms 118:19–20).[350] Truly! For unless one enters this gate, one will never enter.

"This can be compared to an exalted king—high, concealed, and hidden away—who built gates for himself, one above the other. At the end of all the gates, he fashioned one gate with many locks, openings, palaces—one above the other. He said, 'Whoever wishes to enter my presence, this gate will be first. Whoever enters, will enter through this gate.'

"Similarly, the first gate to supernal Wisdom is *awe of YHVH*.[351] This is ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*; ב (*bet*)—two joined together as one.[352] These are two points: one hidden and concealed, one existing overtly.[353] Since they are inseparable, they are called ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*—one, not two. Whoever attains one attains the other.[354] All is one, for He and His name are one,[355] as is written: *They will know that You, YHVH, alone are Your name* (Psalms 83:19).

"Why is it called *awe of YHVH*? Because it is the Tree of Good and Evil.[356] If a person is deserving, it is good; if not, evil. [8a] So awe abides at this site, gateway to all goodness of the world.

"*Good insight*—two gates as one."[357]

Rabbi Yose said, "*Good insight* is the Tree of Life[358]—*good insight* with no evil at all.[359] Since no evil abides there, it is *good insight* without evil. *All who actualize it—David's loyal acts of love* (Isaiah 55:3), supporters of Torah.[360] Those supporting Torah, as it were, actualize.[361] All those studying Torah attain no actualization while they study, while those supporting them do. Through this power, *His praise endures forever*, and the throne stands fittingly firm.[362]

Rabbi Shim'on was sitting engaged in Torah on the night when the Bride is joined with Her Husband.[363] For we have learned: All those Companions initiated into the bridal palace[364] need—on that night when the Bride is destined the next day to be under the canopy with Her Husband[365]—to be with Her all night, delighting with Her in Her adornments in which She is arrayed,[366] engaging in Torah, from Torah to Prophets, from Prophets to Writings,[367] midrashic renderings of verses and mysteries of wisdom: these are Her adornments and finery.[368]

She enters, escorted by Her maidens,[369] standing above their heads. Adorned

by them, She rejoices with them the whole night. The next day She enters the canopy only with them, and they are called "members of the canopy."[370] As soon as She enters the canopy, the blessed Holy One inquires about them,[371] blesses them, and crowns them with bridal crowns. Happy is their share!

Rabbi Shim'on and all the Companions were singing the song of Torah,[372] innovating words of Torah, each one of them. Rabbi Shim'on and all the other Companions rejoiced.

Rabbi Shim'on said, "My children, happy is your share! For tomorrow the Bride will enter the canopy only with you. For all those arranging Her adornments tonight, rejoicing with Her, will be recorded and inscribed in the Book of Memory.[373] The blessed Holy One blesses them with seventy blessings[374] and crowns of the supernal world."

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*Heaven declares the glory of God* ... (Psalms 19:2).[375] We have already established this verse;[376] but at this time, when the Bride is aroused to enter the canopy the next day, She is arrayed and illumined with Her adornments, together with the Companions rejoicing with Her that whole night, while She rejoices with them. The following day, countless troops, soldiers, and camps[377] assemble with Her, and She waits together with all of them for each and every one who adorned Her this night.[378] As soon as they join together, and She sees Her Husband, what is written? *Heaven declares the glory of God*. *Heaven*—the Groom entering the canopy.[379] מספרים (*Mesapperim*), *Declares*—sparkles with the radiance of ספיר (*sappir*), sapphire, sparkling and radiating from one end of the universe to the other. *The glory of God*—glory of the Bride, who is called *God*, as is written: *God rages every day* (Psalms 7:12).[380] Every day of the year, She is called *God*, but now that She has entered the canopy, She is called *Glory* as well as *God*, glory upon glory, radiance upon radiance, dominion upon dominion. Then, at the moment when *Heaven* enters the canopy, coming to illumine Her,[381] all those Companions who adorned Her are designated there by name, as is written: *The sky proclaims the work of His hands* (Psalms 19:2). *The work of His hands*—masters of the covenant with the Bride, Her partners.[382] Those masters of the covenant are called *the work of His hands*, as is said: *The work of our hands, establish it* (Psalms 90:17). This is the covenant sealed in a man's flesh.[383]

"Rav Hamnuna Sava[384] said as follows: '*Do not let your mouth induce your flesh to sin* (Ecclesiastes 5:5). One should not let his mouth reach evil fantasies,[385] causing that holy flesh in which the holy covenant is sealed to sin.[386] If he does, he is dragged into Hell. The one appointed over Hell is named Dumah,[387] who is escorted by many myriads of angels of destruction. He stands at the door of Hell, but he is not permitted to approach any of those who guarded the holy covenant

in this world.[388]

'King David—when that incident befell him[389]—was frightened. That moment, Dumah rose in the presence of the blessed Holy One and said to Him, "Master of the universe, [8b] it is written in the Torah: *A man who commits adultery with a man's wife* ... (Leviticus 20:10),[390] and: *To your neighbor's wife* ... (Leviticus 18:20).[391] David, who ruined the covenant by lewdness, what shall be done to him?"

'The blessed Holy One said to him, "David is innocent, and the holy covenant stands arrayed, for it is revealed before Me that Bathsheba was destined for him since the day the world was created."[392]

'He replied, "Even if it is revealed before You, before him it was not!"

'He said, "Further, what happened happened with permission, for of all those entering battle, no one would enter until he legally divorced his wife."[393]

'He replied, "If so, he should have waited three months,[394] and he didn't."

'He said, "Concerning which case was that rule established? Where we fear she might be pregnant. But it is revealed before Me that Uriah never approached her, for look, My name is sealed within him as evidence: it is spelled both אוריה (*Uriyyah*) and אוריהו (*Uriyyahu*).[395] My name is sealed in him, proving he never cohabited with her."

'He replied, "Master of the universe, as I already said, even if before You it is revealed that Uriah did not lie with her, was it revealed to him?[396] He should have waited three months for her. Furthermore, if he knew[397] that he[398] never lay with her, why did David send for him and order him to have intercourse with his wife, as is written: *Go down to your house and bathe your feet* (2 Samuel 11:8)?"[399]

'He said, "He certainly did not know.[400] But he waited longer than three months—actually four, for so have we learned: On the twenty-fifth of Nisan[401] David issued a proclamation throughout Israel,[402] and by the seventh of Sivan, they had assembled under Joab; then they set out and destroyed the land of the children of Ammon. They lingered there for Sivan, Tammuz, Av, and Elul, and on the twenty-fourth of Elul happened what happened with Bathsheba. On Yom Kippur the blessed Holy One forgave him that sin. Some say: he issued the proclamation on the seventh of Adar,[403] they assembled on the fifteenth of Iyyar, on the fifteenth of Elul happened what happened with Bathsheba, and on Yom Kippur he was assured: *YHVH has removed your sin; you will not die* (2 Samuel 12:13). What does *you will not die* mean? *You will not die* at the hand of Dumah."

'Dumah replied, "Master of the universe, I still have one thing against him: he opened his mouth and said[404] As *YHVH lives, the man who did this deserves to*

die (ibid., 5).[405] He condemned himself. I claim him!"

'He said, "You are not entitled! He confessed to Me, saying, *I have sinned against YHVH* (ibid., 13), even though he did not sin! But as for his sin against Uriah,[406] I sentenced him to punishment, which he received."[407]

'Immediately Dumah returned in despair to his site. Concerning this, David said *Unless YHVH had been my help, my soul would soon have dwelt with Dumah* (Psalms 94:17). *Unless YHVH had been my help*, my guardian, *my soul would soon have dwelt....* What does *would soon have* mean? By a thread as fine as a filament of hair, separating me from the Other Side.[408] By that measure *my soul* did not *dwell with Dumah*.

'So a person should be on guard not to speak as David did,[409] since one will not be able to plead with Dumah *that it was an error* (Ecclesiastes 5:5),[410] as happened with David, when the blessed Holy One defeated him legally.[411] *Why should God be angry at your voice?*—at the voice in which one speaks.[412] *And destroy the work of your hands*—holy flesh, holy covenant that he damages,[413] and he is dragged into Hell by Dumah.'

"So[414] *The sky proclaims the work of His hands* (Psalms 19:2)—the Companions who join this Bride, masters of Her covenant, Her partners.[415] *Proclaims*—inscribing every single one. Who is *the sky?* The sky embracing sun, moon, stars, and constellations[416]—the Book of Memory.[417] He *proclaims* and inscribes them, recording them as initiates of the palace, constantly fulfilling their desires.

"*Day to day pours forth speech* (Psalms 19:3)[418]—a holy day of those supernal days of the King.[419] They praise the Companions and repeat the word[420] each one told his companion. *Day to day expresses* that *speech* and praises it.

"*Night to night* (ibid.)—every rung ruling the night extols to one another each Companion's *knowledge*,[421] ecstatically becoming their companions and lovers.[422]

"*There is no speech, there are no words* (ibid., 4)[423]—any other, mundane words, not heard in the presence of the holy King, nor does He wish to hear them. But as for these words, *their line extends throughout the earth* (ibid., 5)—these words extend [9a] a cord,[424] measuring above and below. From some of them skies are made; from others, earth, through that praise.[425] Do not suppose that those words stay in one place; they roam the world: *Their words extend to the end of the world* (ibid.). Once transformed into skies, who dwells in them? The verse goes on to say: *In them He set a tent for the sun* (ibid.)—that sacred sun abides in them, is crowned by them.[426] Dwelling in those skies, crowned in them, *he is like a groom coming forth from his chamber* (ibid., 6),[427] running joyously through those skies. Emerging from them, He enters and runs through a

certain other tower at another site.[428] *His going forth is at one end of the heaven* (ibid., 7)[429]—indeed He emerges from the upper world, *the end of heaven* above.[430] *And his circuit* (ibid.)—who is *his circuit*? *The end of heaven* below, who is *the circuit of the year* (Exodus 34:22), encircling all endings, linking heaven with this sky.[431] *Nothing is hidden from his heat* (Psalms 19:7)—from the heat of this *circuit* and the *circuit* of the sun,[432] encircling all sides. *Nothing is hidden*—not one of the supernal rungs[433] is concealed from Him, for they all come encircling Him; not one of them hides from Him, *from his heat*, when He arouses himself, desiring them totally. All this praise and exaltation stems from Torah,[434] as is written: *The Torah of YHVH is pure* (ibid., 8). Six times *YHVH* is written here,[435] and there are six verses from *Heaven declares* (ibid., 2) to *The Torah of YHVH is pure* (ibid., 8). Concerning this mystery it is written: בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*—look, six letters![436] ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ (*Bara Elohim et ha-shamayim ve-et ha-arets*), *God created the heavens and the earth*—look, six more words, corresponding to the six times *YHVH* appears! Six verses for six letters here; six names for six words here.

While they were sitting,[437] Rabbi El'azar, his son, and Rabbi Abba entered. He said to them, "The face of *Shekhinah* has indeed arrived![438] That is why I called you 'פניאל (*Peni'el*), Face of God,' for you have seen the face of *Shekhinah* face-to-face.[439] Now that you know, and he[440] has revealed to you the verse *Benayahu son of Yehoyada*, it is certainly a word of the Holy Ancient One,[441] and the following verse as well. The concealed one of all spoke it,[442] and this verse appears similarly elsewhere."[443]

He opened, saying, "*He slew the Egyptian, a man of measure*,[444] *five cubits high* (1 Chronicles 11:23). All one mystery. What does *the Egyptian* mean?[445] That well-known one, *very great in the land of Egypt* (Exodus 11:3),[446] grand and splendid, as revealed by that old man. This verse was discussed in the Academy on High.[447] *A man of measure*. All is one. *A man of good appearance* (2 Samuel 23:21). Why *measure*?[448] All is one, for it is the Sabbath and her range, as is written: *You are to measure outside the city* (Numbers 35:5),[449] and similarly: *You are not to commit corruption in justice—in measure* (Leviticus 19:35).[450] So he is *a man of measure*—really *a man of measure*, his length extending from one end of the universe to the other, as with Adam.[451] Now if you say, 'Look at what is written: *five cubits high*!' those *five cubits* extended from one end of the universe to the other.[452]

"*In the Egyptian's hand was a spear*—as he said.[453] *Like a weaver's beam* (1 Chronicles, ibid.)—the staff of God in his hand,[454] engraved with the graven, explicit name,[455] with the radiance[456] of permutations of letters engraved by Bezalel, called *weaver*, together with his academy,[457] as is written: *the engraver*,

the designer, the embroiderer... (Exodus 35:35).[458] That staff was radiating the engraved name in every direction with radiance of the wise who engraved the explicit name in forty-two colors.[459] From here on, the verse accords with what he said.[460] Happy is his share!

"Sit, dear ones, sit! Let us renew the adornment of the Bride tonight.[461] For everyone joining Her on this night will be protected, above and below, that entire year and will live through the year in peace. Of them is written: *The angel of YHVH encamps around those in awe of Him and delivers them. Taste and see that YHVH is good* (Psalms 34:8–9)."

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*In the beginning God created* (Genesis 1:1). This verse calls for contemplation, for anyone claiming that there is another god[462] is extirpated from worlds, as is said: *Thus shall you say to them: The gods who did not make heaven and earth shall perish from earth and from under these heavens* (Jeremiah 10:11), for there is no god other than the blessed Holy One alone. Now this [9b] verse is in Aramaic,[463] except for the word ending the verse.[464] If you suppose that this is because holy angels do not attend to Aramaic nor recognize it,[465] then this word[466] should have been spoken in the holy tongue, so that holy angels will listen and be obliged to acknowledge it. But indeed, precisely because of this it is written in Aramaic, for since holy angels do not attend to it, they will not become jealous of a human and harm him.[467] For those holy angels are included in this verse, since they are called אלהים (*Elohim*), *gods*.[468] They are included in the category of *gods*, though *they did not make heaven and earth*.

"וארקא (*Ve-arqa*), *And earth*—the verse should read וארעא (*ve-ar'a*),[469] but ארקא (*arqa*) is one of those seven earths below,[470] site of descendants of Cain. After he was banished from the face of the earth,[471] he descended there, generating offspring.[472] He blundered there, knowing nothing. It is a dual earth, dualized by darkness and light.[473] Two officials rule there, one ruling darkness, the other light, inciting one another. When Cain descended there, they joined together—were completed as one—entirely befitting the offspring of Cain. So they have two heads[474] like two snakes, but the one of light rules—prevailing, defeating the other. So those of darkness merged in those of light, and they became one. Those two officials are Afrira and Kastimon,[475] who resemble six-winged holy angels. One resembles an ox, the other an eagle, but when they join they are transformed into the image of a human being.[476] In darkness they turn into the image of a two-headed serpent, moving like a serpent, then swooping into the abyss,[477] bathing in the vast ocean. Reaching the chains of Uzza and

Azael,[478] they agitate and arouse them. These then leap into the dark mountains, thinking the blessed Holy One is about to call them to judgment.[479] Those two officials swim the vast ocean and fly through the night to Na'amah, mother of demons, after whom the primordial deities strayed.[480] They intend to approach her, but she leaps 60,000 parasangs, transmogrifying herself into countless figures confronting human beings, so that they stray after her. These two officials fly and roam throughout the world, then return to their abode, arousing those descendants of Cain to generate offspring by the spirit of evil impulses.[481]

"The heavens ruling there do not resemble these,[482] nor does the earth bear seed and harvest through their power as does this,[483] and they only cycle once in many years of seasons.[484] These *gods who did not make heaven and earth shall perish from the* higher *earth* of the world,[485] so that they will not rule over it nor roam through it, causing humans to defile themselves through a nocturnal mishap.[486] So, *they shall perish from the earth and from under the heavens* fashioned by the name אלה (*elleh*), *these*, as explained.[487] That is why this verse is written in Aramaic: so that the celestial angels will not think it is being said about them and denounce us. So the mystery of אלה (*elleh*) accords with what has been said; it constitutes a sacred word, not to be exchanged for Aramaic." Rabbi El'azar said to him,[488] "This verse that is written: *Who would not be in awe of You, O King of the nations? For it befits You* (Jeremiah 10:7)[489]—what kind of praise is that?"[490]

He replied, "El'azar, my son, this verse has been discussed in various places,[491] but it is certainly not so, for it is written: *since among all the wise of the nations and among all their kingdoms* [*there is none like You*] (ibid.), providing a pretext for sinners who think that the blessed Holy One does not know their thoughts and fantasies.[492] So their stupidity must be exposed.

"Once a Gentile philosopher came to me and said, 'You claim that your God rules all the heights of heaven, that all the hosts and camps[493] cannot grasp or know His site.[494] Well, this verse does not exalt Him very well: *since among all the wise of the nations and among all their kingdoms there is none like You*. What kind of comparison is this—to human beings who do not [10a] endure? Furthermore, you say: "*Never again did there arise in Israel a prophet like Moses* (Deuteronomy 34:10)—In Israel none arose, but among the nations of the world one did!"[495] Similarly I can say: Among all the wise of nations there is none like Him, but among the wise of Israel there is! If so, a God who has an equal among the wise of Israel is not a God who reigns supreme. Look closely at the verse, and you will find I have been fittingly precise.'

"I replied, 'You have certainly spoken well. Who revives the dead? The blessed Holy One alone. Along came Elijah and Elisha, and they revived the

dead! Who makes the rain fall? The blessed Holy One alone. Along came Elijah and withheld it—and then brought it down through his prayer.[496] Who created heaven and earth? The blessed Holy One alone. Abraham came, and they were firmly established because of him.[497] Who controls the sun? The blessed Holy One. Joshua came and calmed it down, commanding it to stand in place, and it stood still, as is written: *The sun stood still, and the moon halted* (Joshua 10:13). The blessed Holy One issues decrees. Similarly Moses issued decrees, which were fulfilled. Further, the blessed Holy One issues decrees, and the righteous of Israel abolish them, as is written: *The righteous one rules the awe of God* (2 Samuel 23:3).[498] Further, He commanded them to walk in His ways, literally, imitating Him consummately.'[499]

"That philosopher went and converted in the village of Shiḥlayim.[500] They called him Yose the Small.[501] He studied Torah intensively and is considered one of the righteous sages of that place.

"Now we should contemplate the verse. Isn't it already written: *All the nations are as nothing before Him* (Isaiah 40:17)? What amplification appears here? But, *Who would not be in awe of You, O King of the nations?* Is He then *King of the nations* and not King of Israel? The blessed Holy One always desires to be glorified through Israel—and is named for Israel alone, as is written: *God of Israel, God of the Hebrews* (Exodus 5:1, 3), and similarly: *Thus says YHVH, King of Israel* (Isaiah 44:6). *King of Israel*, indeed! The nations of the world said, 'We have another patron in heaven, since your King rules only over you, not over us.' So the verse comes and says: *Who would not be in awe of You, O King of the nations?* Supreme King, ruling them, punishing them, implementing His will upon them. *For it befits You*—to be in awe of You, above and below. *Since among all the wise of the nations*—the mighty rulers appointed over them.[502] *And among all their kingdoms*[503]—in that kingdom on high, for there are four kingdoms reigning above,[504] reigning by His will over all other nations; nevertheless, none of them does even the slightest thing unless He commands them, as is written: *He does as He wishes with the host of heaven and with the inhabitants of earth* (Daniel 4:32). *The wise of the nations*—princes appointed on high, whose wisdom issues from His mouth. *And among all their kingdoms*—the reigning kingdom, as explained.

"This is the simple meaning of the verse, but: *Among all the wise of the nations and among all their kingdoms*—In the books of the ancients I have found as follows: Although those camps[505] and hosts have been empowered over affairs of the world, and He has commanded each and every one to enact his action, מאין כמוך (*mi ayin kamokha*), *who is Ayin like You?* (Jeremiah 10:7).[506] Who else is the holy concealed one? It is not His will that any of them act *like You*.

For You are distinguished in esteem, distinguished from all of them in action and speech. This is מאין כמוך יהוה (*Mi ayin kamokha YHVH*), *Who is Ayin like You, YHVH?* (ibid., 6).[507] Who is the holy concealed one that would act or be *like You*, above or below, that would resemble You at all? The act of the holy King is heaven and earth, but they are *chaos, and what they desire is worthless* (Isaiah 44:9).[508] Of the blessed Holy One is written: *In the beginning God created...* (Genesis 1:1); of *their kingdoms*, it is written: *The earth was chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2)."[509]

Rabbi Shim'on said to the Companions, "Members of this wedding party, let each one of you adorn the Bride with one adornment."[510]

He said to Rabbi El'azar, his son, "El'azar, give one present to the Bride, for tomorrow when He enters the canopy[511] He will gaze upon those songs of praise bestowed upon Her by initiates of the palace, to stand in His presence." Rabbi El'azar opened, saying, "*Who is this that ascends from the wilderness ... ?* (Song of Songs 3:6). *Who is this?*—sum of two sanctities, two worlds in one bond, one nexus.[512] *Ascends*, literally, to become the holy of holies,[513] for the holy of holies is *Who* and is joined with *This*, so that She[514] *ascends*, becoming the holy of holies. *From the wilderness*—for in the desert She inherited the role of Bride, entering the canopy.[515]

"Further, *From the* מדבר (*midbar*), *wilderness*, She *ascends*, as is said: ומדברך (*u-midbarekh*), *and your speech, is lovely* (ibid. 4:3). By that מדבר (*midbar*), *speech* [10b]—by the whispering of lips—She *ascends*.[516] We have learned: What is the meaning of the verse *These mighty gods—these are the gods who smote the Egyptians with every kind of plague* במדבר (*ba-midbar*), *in the wilderness* (1 Samuel 4:8)?[517] Was it in the wilderness that the blessed Holy One did everything to them? It was in inhabited land! Rather, במדבר (*ba-midbar*) means בדבורא (*be-dibbura*), *by speech*, as is said: ומדברך (*u-midbarekh*), *and your speech, is lovely*.[518] Similarly, ממדבר הרים (*mi-midbar harim*), *from wilderness mountains* (Psalms 75:7): *from speech he raised*.[519] So, too: *She ascends from* המדבר (*ha-midbar*), indeed *from ha-midbar!* By that word of the mouth, She ascends, nestling between the Mother's wings.[520] Afterward through speech She descends, hovering over the heads of the holy people.[521]

"How does She ascend by speech? First, upon rising in the morning, one should bless his Lord, the moment he opens his eyes.[522] How can he bless?[523] This is what the ancient *ḥasidim* used to do:[524] In front of them was a receptacle of water, and when they awoke at night they would wash their hands, rise, and study Torah—and offer a blessing over the crowing of the rooster.[525] For the

moment that the rooster crows is precisely midnight, when the blessed Holy One appears with the righteous in the Garden of Eden.[526] It is forbidden to bless with impure, filthy hands,[527] and similarly at all times.[528] For when a person is sleeping, his spirit flies away from him, and as his spirit flies off, an impure spirit is ready to settle on his hands, defiling them.[529] So it is forbidden to offer a blessing with them without first washing. Now if you ask, 'If so, then during the daytime (when one has not been sleeping, and his spirit has not flown away and no impure spirit rests upon him), why is one who enters the bathroom forbidden to bless or read Torah—even a single word— until after washing his hands? If you say the reason is that his hands are dirty—not so: how have they become dirty?' The answer is: Woe to the inhabitants of the world who fail to consider, who are unaware of the glory of their Lord, who do not realize the foundation of the world's existence. There is one spirit in every bathroom of the world,[530] dwelling there, reveling in that dirt and filth, and it settles immediately on the fingers of one's hands."[531]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "Whoever rejoices on the festivals without giving the blessed Holy One His share—that stingy one, evil-eyed Satan, Archenemy, appears and accuses him, removes him from the world.[532] How much compounded suffering he brings upon him!

"The share of the blessed Holy One consists in gladdening the poor as best as one can.[533] For on these days the blessed Holy One comes to see those broken vessels of His.[534] Entering their company and seeing they have nothing to celebrate, He weeps over them—and then ascends to destroy the world!

"Many members of the Academy[535] come before Him and plead: 'Master of the universe! You are called Compassionate and Gracious.[536] May your compassion be aroused for your children!'

"He answers them, 'Don't the inhabitants of the world realize that I based the world solely on love? As is written: *I said, "The world shall be built on love*" (Psalms 89:3). By this the world endures.'[537]

"The angels on high declare before Him, 'Master of the universe! Look at so-and-so who is eating and drinking his fill. He could be generous with the poor, but he gives them nothing!'

"The Accuser comes, claims permission, and sets out in pursuit of that human being.[538]

"Who in the world was greater than Abraham, who acted kindly to all creatures?[539] What is written concerning the day that he prepared a feast? *The child grew and was weaned, and Abraham held a great feast on the day that*

Isaac was weaned (Genesis 21:8). He made a feast, inviting all the dignitaries of his generation.[540]

"We have learned:[541] Whenever there is a joyous meal, the Accuser comes to observe. If the host has first provided for the poor or invited them into his home, then the Accuser departs from the house without entering. If not, he enters and witnesses the chaos of revelry,[542] without any poor, without prior generosity toward the poor. Then he ascends, accusing the host.

"As Abraham welcomed the dignitaries, the Accuser descended and stood at the door, disguised as a poor man. No one paid him any attention. Abraham was waiting on those kings and princes. Sarah was suckling all their babies because they did not believe that she had given birth;[543] they said, 'It is a foundling from off the streets!' So when they brought along their babies, Sarah took them and suckled them in front of everyone, as is written: *Who would have said* [11a] *to Abraham: Sarah will suckle children?* (ibid. 21:7). *Children*, literally![544]

"Meanwhile the Accuser was still at the door. She[545] said, '*God has made a laughingstock of me*' (ibid. 21:6).

"At once, the Accuser rose to face the blessed Holy One. He exclaimed, 'Master of the universe! You called Abraham *My beloved* (Isaiah 41:8)? He held a feast and gave me nothing,[546] and nothing to the poor. To You, he didn't offer even a single dove![547] Furthermore, Sarah said that You made fun of her!'

"The blessed Holy One replied, 'Who in the world is like Abraham?'[548]

"But he held his ground[549] until he ruined all that joy, and the blessed Holy One commanded that Isaac be offered as a sacrifice,[550] and it was decreed that Sarah die in anguish over her son's ordeal.[551] All that suffering came about because he[552] gave nothing to the poor."

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "What is the meaning of the verse: *Hezekiah turned his face to the wall and prayed to YHVH* (Isaiah 38:2)?[553] Come and see how potent is the power of Torah, how supreme above all! For whoever engages in Torah has no fear of those above and those below, nor of any grave sickness in the world, since he grasps the Tree of Life and learns from it every day.[554] For Torah teaches a person to follow the true path, advises him how to return to his Lord, nullifying that decree.[555] Even if it has been ordained that the decree not be nullified, it is annulled immediately and removed from him, looming over him no longer in this world. So one should engage in Torah day and night, never departing from her, as is written: *Meditate on it day and night* (Joshua 1:8). If one departs from Torah or separates from her, it is like separating oneself from

the Tree of Life.[556]

"Come and see this advice: When one climbs into bed at night, he should accept upon himself wholeheartedly the Kingdom on high[557] and in advance deliver to Him the pledge of his soul.[558] At once he is protected from any grave illness[559] or maleficent spirit, which are powerless against him.

"In the morning, upon rising from bed, one should bless his Lord, enter His house, bow down in great awe before His sanctuary,[560] and then offer his prayer. He should seek advice from those holy Patriarchs,[561] as is written: *As for me, through Your abundant love, I will enter Your house; I will bow down at Your holy sanctuary in awe of You* (Psalms 5:8). So they have established:[562] A person should not enter the synagogue without first consulting Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for they innovated prayer to the blessed Holy One,[563] as is written: *As for me, through Your abundant love, I will enter Your house*—Abraham; *I will bow down at Your holy sanctuary*—Isaac; *in awe of You*—Jacob.[564] One should embrace them first, then enter the synagogue and offer one's prayer. So it is written: *He said to me, 'You are My servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified.'* (Isaiah 49:3)."[565]

Rabbi Pinḥas[566] used to frequent Rabbi Reḥumai[567] by the shore of Lake Ginnosar.[568] He[569] was distinguished, advanced in years, and his eyes had transcended seeing.[570]

He said to Rabbi Pinḥas, "Truly I have heard that our Companion Yoḥai has a pearl, a precious stone.[571] I gazed at the light of that pearl, issuing like the radiance of the sun from its sheath, illuminating the entire world.[572] That light extends from heaven to earth, illumining the entire world until the Ancient of Days[573] comes and sits fittingly upon the throne.[574] That light is contained totally in your house,[575] and from the light contained in your house emanates a fine, threadlike ray, radiating, illumining the entire world.[576] Happy is your share! Go, my son, go out after that pearl illuminating the world, for the time is ripe."

He left him[577] and was about to board a boat along with two other men, when he saw two birds come flying over the lake.[578] He shouted to them, "Birds, birds, flying over the lake! Have you seen the site of the son of Yoḥai?"

He paused a while, and then said, "Birds, birds, go and bring me a reply!" They flew off.

They embarked, setting off across the lake.[579] Before he had disembarked, those birds returned, and in the mouth of one of them was a note on which was written: "The son of Yoḥai has emerged from the cave along with his son Rabbi El'azar."[580]

He went to him and found him transfigured, his body full of moldy sores.[581] He wept [11b] together with him and said, "Alas, that I see you so!"

He replied, "Happy is my share that you see me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not be so."[582]

Rabbi Shim'on opened with the commandments of Torah, saying, "The commandments of Torah given by the blessed Holy One to Israel are all written in Torah in general terms.[583]

"*In the beginning God created* (Genesis 1:1). This is the first commandment of all, called *awe of YHVH*, which is called *beginning*, as is written: *The beginning of wisdom is awe of YHVH* (Psalms 111:10), *Awe of YHVH is the beginning of knowledge* (Proverbs 1:7). For this entity is named *beginning*; it is the gate through which one enters faith.[584] The entire world is based upon this commandment.[585]

"Awe branches in three directions, two of which are not fittingly rooted, one of which is essence[586] of awe. There is the person who fears the blessed Holy One so that his children may live and not die, or who fears physical or material punishment. Because of this he fears Him constantly, but his awe is not focused on the blessed Holy One.[587]

"Then there is the person who fears the blessed Holy One because he is afraid of the punishment of the other world and the punishment of Hell. Neither of these is the essential root of awe.

"The essence of awe is that a person be in awe of his Lord because He is immense and sovereign—essence and root of all worlds—before whom everything is considered as nothing, as is said: *All the inhabitants of the earth are considered as nothing* (Daniel 4:32). One should direct his desire to the site called Awe."[588]

Rabbi Shim'on wept and exclaimed, "Woe is me if I speak! Woe is me if I do not speak! If I speak, the wicked will know how to serve their Lord. If I do not speak, the Companions will be deprived of this word."[589]

"At the site where holy awe dwells, below is evil awe, beating, striking, accusing.[590] It is a lash to whip the wicked. Whoever fears the punishment of flogging and accusation, as mentioned—that awe called *awe of YHVH leading to life* (Proverbs 19:23)[591] does not hover over him. Who then hovers over him? Evil awe. So that lash deploys above him—evil awe, not *awe of YHVH*.[592]

"So the site called *awe of YHVH* is called *beginning*, and therefore this commandment is included here.[593] This is the root and foundation of all the other commandments in Torah. Whoever adheres to awe adheres to all; one who does

not, does not keep the commandments of Torah, for this is the gate to all.

"So it is written: בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *Because of beginning*, which is awe, *God created heaven and earth*.[594] Whoever violates this violates the commandments of Torah, and his punishment is the evil lash. This is: *The earth was chaos and void, with darkness over the face of the abyss, and the wind of God* (Genesis 1:2). These are four types of punishment by which the wicked are punished.[595] *Chaos* is strangulation, as is written: *a line of chaos* (Isaiah 34:11),[596] *a measuring rope* (Zechariah 2:5).[597] *Void* is stoning, stones sunk in the immense abyss[598] for punishing the wicked. *Darkness* is burning, as is written: *When you heard the voice from the midst of the darkness* (Deuteronomy 5:20),[599] *and the mountain was ablaze with fire to the heart of heaven, darkness* (ibid. 4:11).[600] This is the fierce fire licking the heads of the wicked to consume them.[601] *And the wind* is death by sword, *a stormy wind* (Ezekiel 1:4), a sharp sword flashing in it, as is said: *the flaming, ever-turning sword* (Genesis 3:24), called *wind*.[602]

"Such is the punishment awaiting one who violates the commandments of Torah. It is written after awe, *beginning*, sum of all.[603] Then follow the other commandments of Torah.

"The second commandment: one to which the commandment of awe is linked, never departing. This is love, loving one's Lord consummately.[604] What is consummate love? Abounding love,[605] as is written: *Walk in My presence and be wholehearted* (Genesis 17:1)—consummate in love.[606] This is what is written: *God said, 'Let there be light'* (ibid. 1:3)—consummate love, called 'abounding love.'[607] Here is the commandment to love one's Lord fittingly."

Rabbi El'azar said, "Father, I have heard something about consummation of love."

He replied, "Speak, my son, in the presence of Rabbi Pinḥas, for he stands on this rung."[608]

Rabbi El'azar said, "Abounding love is consummate love, consummate in two aspects. Unless embracing both, it is not [12a] consummate fittingly. So we have learned: Love—love of the blessed Holy One—branches in two directions.[609] There is the person who loves Him because he has wealth, longevity, children surrounding him; he dominates his enemies, his paths are paved. Because of this he loves Him. If things were overturned—the blessed Holy One turning the wheel of strict judgment against him—then he would hate Him, not love Him at all. So this love is not rooted.[610]

"The love called consummate abides both aspects, whether judgment or favor.[611] The ripening of the way is to love one's Lord as we have learned: 'even

if He plucks your soul.'[612] Such love is consummate, embracing both aspects. So the light of the act of Creation radiated and was then hidden away.[613] When it was hidden, severe Judgment flashed,[614] and two aspects merged, consummating love fittingly."[615]

Rabbi Shim'on, his father, took hold of him and kissed him.

Rabbi Pinḥas came and kissed him, then blessed him, saying, "The blessed Holy One certainly sent me here. This is the fine ray of light I was told is contained in my house, about to illumine the entire world."[616]

Rabbi El'azar said, "Awe should certainly not be forgotten in any of the commandments and should cleave especially to this commandment. How does it cleave? In one aspect, love is gracious—as explained—bestowing wealth, goodness, long life, children, and sustenance. So one should arouse awe, fearing the sway of sin. Therefore it is written: *Happy is one who always fears* (Proverbs 28:14), for awe is embraced by love.

"Similarly on the other side—of severe Judgment[617]—one should arouse awe. When one sees severe Judgment befalling him, he should then arouse awe and fear his Lord fittingly, not hardening his heart. So it is written: *But one who hardens his heart falls into evil* (ibid.)—into that other side called *evil*.[618]

"So awe is linked to both aspects,[619] embraced by them. This is fittingly consummate love."

"The third commandment:[620] to realize that God exists[621]—vast and controlling the world—and to unify Him fittingly each day in those six supernal directions,[622] unifying them through the six words of שמע ישראל (*Shema Yisra'el*), *Hear, O Israel!* (Deuteronomy 6:4),[623] directing one's desire above along with them.[624]

"So one should prolong אחד (*eḥad*), *one*, to the length of six words, as is written: *Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place* (Genesis 1:9)—let the rungs beneath heaven be gathered together to unite with it, to be fittingly complete in six directions.[625] Yet, with that unity one should bind awe,[626] prolonging the ד (*dalet*) of אחד (*eḥad*), *one*, since the ד (*dalet*) of אחד (*eḥad*) is large, as is written: *Let the dry land appear* (ibid.)—let ד (*dalet*), who is *dry land*, *appear* and be bound in that union.[627] After She is bound there above, one should bind Her below with Her forces, in six other directions below: ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד (*Barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-olam va-ed*), Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever, comprising six other words of unification.[628] Then, what was *dry land* is transformed into *earth*, generating fruit, verdure, planting trees.[629] This corresponds to what is written: *God called the dry land Earth* (ibid., 10)—through that unification below, ארעא (*ar'a*), *Earth*, fittingly

consummates רעוא (*ra'ava*), desire.[630] So, *it was good, it was good* (ibid. 1:10, 12), twice:[631] one for the unification above, one for the unification below. Once It[632] was unified in both aspects, from then on: *Let the earth sprout vegetation* (ibid., 11)[633]—arrayed to generate fruit and verdure fittingly.

"The fourth commandment:[634] to realize that יהוה (*YHVH*) is האלהים (*ha-Elohim*), God,[635] as is said: *Know today and take to heart that* יהוה (*YHVH*) *is* האלהים (*ha-Elohim*), *God* (Deuteronomy 4:39). To include the name אלהים (*Elohim*) in the name יהוה (*YHVH*), realizing they are one, indivisible. This is the mystery written: *Let there* be מארת (*me'orot*), *lights, in the expanse of heaven to shine upon earth* (Genesis 1:14–15), that the two names be one, with absolutely no division—that מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, spelled deficiently, merge in the name of *heaven*:[636] one together and indivisible, black light with white light,[637] indivisible, and all is one. [12b] This is the white cloud of day and the cloud of fire in the night,[638] as they have said: 'Quality of day and quality of night'[639]— to be arrayed by each other to shine, as is said: *to shine upon earth*.

"This is the sin of the primordial serpent: he joined below and it separated above.[640] So he caused what he caused to the world. For one should separate below and join above. The black light should be united above in a single bond, then united with Her forces of unification[641] and separated from the evil side.

"Nevertheless one should realize that אלהים יהוה (*Elohim YHVH*) is entirely one, indivisible. יהוה (*YHVH*) *is* האלהים (*ha-Elohim*). Once one realizes all is one and does not impose division, even that Other Side will disappear from the world, not be drawn below.[642]

"This is the mystery written: *Let them be* מאורות (*me'orot*), *lights* (ibid., 15). The shell rises in the wake of the kernel.[643] The kernel is אור (*or*), light; the other side, מות (*mavet*), death. אור (*Or*) in letters joined together, מות (*mavet*) in separation.[644] When this אור (*or*) disappears from there, the letters of separation join together.[645] From these letters Eve began, bringing evil upon the world, as is written: ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *The woman saw* (ibid. 3:6),[646] reversing the letters. מ״ו (*Mem, vav*) were left; they went and took the letter ת (*tav*) along with them, inflicting death upon the world, as is written: ותרא (*Va-tere*), *She saw*."[647]

Rabbi El'azar said, "Father, I have learned that מ (*mem*) was left alone.[648] ו (*Vav*), who is always life, was transformed,[649] then went and took ת (*tav*), as is written: ותקח...ותתן (*Va-tiqqaḥ ... va-titten*), *She took ... and she gave* (ibid.).[650] This word[651] was completed, the letters joined."

He said to him, "Blessed are you, my son! We have established this word."

“The fifth commandment. It is written: *Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls* (Genesis 1:20).[652] This verse contains three commandments: to study Torah, to be fruitful and multiply, and to circumcise on the eighth day, removing the foreskin.[653]

“To study and contemplate Torah, expanding her every day,[654] not letting her be forgotten, as is written: *Let the waters swarm*—Torah.[655] One should engage in her every day—enhancing one’s soul and spirit. For when a person studies Torah he is adorned with another holy soul,[656] as is written: *with a swarm of* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*)—a נפש (*nefesh*), *soul*, of that holy חיה (*ḥayyah*), *living being*.[657] For when a person does not study Torah, he has no holy soul;[658] supernal holiness does not rest upon him. When he is engaged with Torah, through his murmuring[659] he attains that *living soul*, becoming like the holy angels, as is written: *Bless YHVH, O His angels* (Psalms 103:20)—those engaged in Torah, called *His angels* on earth.[660] This is what is written: *and let birds fly above the earth* (Genesis, ibid.),[661] referring to this world.[662] Regarding that world, we have learned that the blessed Holy One intends to provide them with wings like eagles to roam throughout the world, as is written: *They who await YHVH shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles* (Isaiah 40:31).[663] This is what is written: [*Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls*] *and let birds fly above the earth*—Torah, called water,[664] let it *swarm* and generate the movement of a *living soul*, drawing her down from the site of the *living being*, as explained. Concerning this David declared, *Create in me a pure heart, O God*, to study Torah, and then, *renew in me a steadfast spirit* (Psalms 51:12).[665]

“The sixth commandment: to be fruitful and multiply. For whoever engages in this causes that river to flow constantly, its waters never ceasing, and the sea is filled from every direction.[666] New souls are innovated, emerging from that tree,[667] while above, numerous powers[668] increase along with them, as is written: *Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls* [*and let birds fly above the earth*] (Genesis, ibid.). This is the holy sealed covenant, a river streaming forth,[669] its waters swelling, swarming with swarms of souls for that living being.[670] With those souls entering that living being, emerge many birds,[671] flying, soaring throughout the world. As a soul emerges into this world, the bird flying forth with this soul from that tree emerges with her.

“How many emerge with each and every soul? Two, one on the right and one on the left. If one is virtuous they protect him, as is written: *For He will order His angels* [*to guard you in all your ways*] (Psalms 91:11). If not, they accuse him.”[672]

Rabbi Pinḥas said, [13a] "There are three who serve as the guardians of a human being, as is written: *If he has an angel over him, an advocate, one among a thousand, to vouch for his uprightness* (Job 33:23). *If he has an angel over him*—here is one. *An advocate*—two. *To vouch for his uprightness*—here is three."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Five, since it is written further: *Then he is gracious to him and he says*, ["*Deliver him from descending to the Pit, I have found a ransom*"] (ibid., 24). *Then he is gracious to him*—one. *And he says*—two."

He replied, "Not so! Rather, *Then He is gracious to him*—the blessed Holy One alone, for no one but He has the authority."[673]

He said to him, "You have spoken well!

"Whoever avoids engendering new life diminishes, as it were, the image comprising all images,[674] causing the waters of that river to flow no more, damaging the holy covenant on all sides.[675] Concerning him it is written: *They will go out and stare at the corpses of the people who rebelled against Me* (Isaiah 66:24), indeed![676] This is for the body.[677] As for his soul, it does not pass through the curtain at all; it is banished from that world.[678]

"The seventh commandment: to circumcise on the eighth day, removing the filth of the foreskin.[679] For the living being is the eighth of all rungs,[680] and the soul that has flown from Her should appear before Her on the eighth day, since She is the eighth rung.[681] Then it is clearly seen that she is נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *a soul* of that holy *living being* (Genesis 1:20), not from the Other Side.[682] This is *Let the waters swarm* (ibid.).[683] In *The Book of Enoch*:[684] Let the water of the holy seed be inscribed with the mark of נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *a soul of the living being*.[685] This is the mark of the letter י (*yod*),[686] inscribed in the holy flesh in preference to all other marks of the world.

"*Let birds fly above the earth* (ibid.). This is Elijah, who sweeps through the entire world in four glides to be present at that holy circumcision. One must prepare a chair for him and declare: 'This is the chair of Elijah.' If not, he does not abide there.[687]

"*God created the great sea monsters* (ibid., 21)—two: foreskin and uncovering, cutting the foreskin and afterward uncovering. They are male and female.[688]

"*And every soul of the living being that moves* (ibid.)[689]—inscription of the sign of the holy covenant,[690] indicating that she is a *soul of the* holy *living being*, as we have said.

"*Which the waters brought forth in swarms* (ibid.)—the upper waters were drawn toward this inscribed sign.[691] Consequently Israel is inscribed with the

holy, pure mark below. Just as they are inscribed to distinguish between the holy side and the other side, of impurity,[692] so Israel is inscribed to distinguish between holiness and other nations, deriving from the other, impure side, as explained. As He marks them, so He marks off their animals and birds from the animals and birds of other nations.[693] Happy is their share!

"The eighth commandment: to love the convert[694] coming to circumcise himself, to enter beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*.[695] Under Her wings She brings those separating themselves from the impure Other Side[696] and approaching Her, as is written: *Let the earth bring forth* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *souls of the living being*,[697] *according to their kind* (ibid., 24).

"Now if you say that the *soul of the living being* contained in Israel is designated for everyone, the verse continues: *according to their kind*. How many rooms and parlors, one within the other, are located in this *earth*,[698] *the living being*, beneath Her wings! Her right wing includes two parlors, branching from it for two other nations closely related to Israel,[699] to bring them into these parlors. Beneath Her left wing are two other parlors, branching off for two other nations, namely, Ammon and Moab.[700] All of them are called *souls of the living being*.

"Countless other concealed rooms and palaces abide in each wing, from which spirits emerge, to be distributed to all converting converts. They are called *souls of the living being*, but *according to their kind*. They all enter beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*, no further.[701] But as for Israel, their soul emerges from the trunk of that tree,[702] whence souls fly into *earth*, into Her womb, deep within. The secret is: *You shall be an earth of delight* (Malachi 3:12).[703] So Israel is *a precious son*, for whom Her *innards yearn*,[704] and they are called *borne from the womb* (Isaiah 46:3), not from the wings, outside. Furthermore, [13b] converts have no share in the celestial tree, certainly not its trunk;[705] rather, their share is in the wings, no higher. A convert is beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*, no higher. They are converts of Righteousness,[706] for there they dwell, uniting, not within, as explained.

"So, *Let the earth bring forth souls of the living being, according to their kind*. Which kind? *Cattle, crawling things, and living creatures of the earth, according to their kind* (Genesis 1:24).[707] All of them draw a *soul* from that *living being*, but each *according to its kind*, fittingly.

"The ninth commandment: to be generous to the poor and provide them with

food, for it is written: *Let us make a human being in our image, according to our likeness* (Genesis 1:26). *Let us make a human being*—jointly, including male and female;[708] *in our image*—the wealthy, *according to our likeness*—mystery of the poor.[709] For the wealthy derive from the side of the male, the poor from the side of the female. Just as they constitute a single partnership[710]—one caring for the other, providing for the other, and rendering goodness—so should human beings below be rich and poor in a single bond, one providing for the other and rendering goodness.

"*They shall have dominion over the fish of the sea*, [*the birds of the sky, the animals, the whole earth, and all crawling things that crawl on earth*] (ibid.). This secret we have seen in *The Book of King Solomon*:[711] If one cares for the poor wholeheartedly, his image never mutates from that of Adam;[712] and since the image of Adam is impressed on him, he controls all creatures of the world,[713] as is written: *Fear and dread of you shall be upon all the beasts of the earth* [*and upon all the birds of the sky, everything with which the earth teems and all the fish of the sea—into your hand they are given*] (ibid. 9:2). All of them fear and tremble from that image impressed on him because of all the commandments this[714] is the finest for attaining the image of one's Lord.

"How do we know? From Nebuchadnezzar. Even though he dreamed that dream,[715] as long as he was generous to the poor, his dream did not befall him.[716] As soon as he cast a stingy, evil eye, no longer acting generously to them,[717] what is written? *The word was still in the king's mouth*, [*when a voice fell from heaven, "To you it is decreed, O King Nebuchadnezzar: The kingdom has departed from you. You are being driven away from human beings, and your habitation shall be with the beasts of the field. You shall be fed grass like cattle*"] (Daniel 4:28–29). Immediately his image mutated and he was banished from humankind.

"So, נעשה (*Na'aseh*), *Let us make, a human being* [*in our image*]. Here is written עשיה (*asiyyah*), *making*, and there is written: *The name of the man with whom* עשיתי (*asiti*), *I worked, today is Boaz* (Ruth 2:19).[718]

"The tenth commandment: to put on תפילין (*tefillin*),[719] perfecting oneself in the image on high, for it is written: *God created the human being in His image* (Genesis 1:27)."[720]

He opened, saying, "*Your head upon you is like Carmel* (Song of Songs 7:6).[721] We have established this verse and it has been discussed,[722] but *Your head upon you is like Carmel*—the head on high, *tefillin* of the head,[723] name of the holy King on high, יהוה (*YHVH*), inscribed in letters. Each and every letter—one

portion; the holy name engraved fittingly, in the order of the letters.[724]

"We have learned: [*All the peoples of the earth shall see*] *that the name of YHVH is proclaimed upon you, and they shall be in awe of you* (Deuteronomy 28:10)—the *tefillin* of the head, the holy name in the order of its letters.[725]

"The first portion is: *Hallow to Me every firstborn* (Exodus 13:1–10)[726]— י (*yod*), holiness, firstborn of all the holy above.[727] *Breacher of every womb* (ibid.)—by that narrow path descending from the י (*yod*), opening the womb to generate fruit and verdure fittingly.[728] That is holiness above.

"The second portion is: *So when YHVH brings you* [*to the land...*] (ibid., 11–16)—ה (*he*), the palace, whose womb was opened by י (*yod*) through fifty openings, parlors, and concealed rooms of *Binah*.[729] That opening made by י (*yod*) in the palace is intended to trumpet the sound issuing from the shofar,[730] for this shofar was stopped up on every side, and י (*yod*) came and opened it, bringing forth its sound. As soon as He opened it, He blew it, bringing forth a sound to bring forth slaves to freedom.[731] Through the sounding of this shofar Israel went forth from Egypt, as destined once again at the end of days.[732] Every deliverance issues from this shofar. So the Exodus from Egypt is included in this portion,[733] for it emerged from this shofar through the power of י (*yod*), who opened Her womb, bringing forth its sound for the deliverance of the slaves. This is ה (*he*), second letter of the holy name.

"The third portion is the mystery of unification: *Hear, O Israel!* [*YHVH is our God, YHVH is one...*] (Deuteronomy 6:4–9). This is ו (*vav*)—including all, unifying all; in Him they unite, and He carries all.[734]

"The fourth portion is: *If you listen* (Deuteronomy 11:13–21),[735] totality of two sides, [14a] with whom Assembly of Israel, Power below, is united.[736] This is the final ה (*he*),[737] receiving them, comprised by them.

"*Tefillin* are the actual letters of the holy name. So, *Your head upon you is like Carmel*—*tefillin* of the head. ודלת (*Ve-dallat*), *The locks, of your head are like purple* (Song of Songs, ibid.)—*tefillah* of the hand, who is poor compared to those above.[738] Nevertheless, She is complete, as above. *A king is held captive in the tresses* (ibid.)—He is bound and held within those compartments,[739] uniting with that holy name fittingly.

"So one adorned in them is *in the image of God* (Genesis 1:27).[740] Just as the holy name is united with God, so is the holy name united with him, fittingly. *Male and female He created them* (ibid.)—*tefillin* of the head and *tefillah* of the hand.[741] All is one.

"The eleventh commandment: to tithe the tithe of the earth.[742] Here are two

commandments: one to tithe the tithe of the earth, the other the first fruits of the tree,[743] for it is written: *See, I have given you every seed-bearing plant that is upon the face of all the earth* [*and every tree that has seed-bearing fruit; they shall be yours for food*] (ibid., 29). Here is written: *See, I have given*, and there is written: *See, I have given the Levites every tithe in Israel* (Numbers 18:21),[744] and similarly: *Every tithe of the earth, from the seed of the earth or from the fruit of the tree, belongs to YHVH* (Leviticus 27:30).

"The twelfth commandment: to bring the first fruits of the tree, for it is written: *Every tree that has seed-bearing fruit* (Genesis 1:29). 'Everything designated for Me, which I have forbidden you to eat, I permitted to them and gave them—all tithes and first fruit of the trees.' *I have given you* (ibid.)—*you*, not to the generations after you.[745]

"The thirteenth commandment: to redeem one's son,[746] binding him to life. For there are two appointees, one of life and one of death, standing above a person.[747] When he redeems his son, he redeems him from the hand of that one of death, who now has no power over him. The secret is: *God saw all that He had made*—in general; [*and behold, it was very good*] (Genesis 1:31): *and behold, it was good*—Angel of Life; *very*—Angel of Death.[748] So through that redemption, this one of life is sustained, that one of death weakened. Through this redemption, he acquires life for him,[749] as explained, and that evil side leaves him, cannot seize him.

"The fourteenth commandment: to observe the Sabbath day, day of rest from all acts of Creation.[750] Here two commandments coalesce: one, observing the Sabbath day; the other, endowing that day with its holiness.

"To observe the Sabbath day, as I have mentioned, whose meaning I have aroused, for it is a day of rest for the worlds,[751] on which all acts were consummated and enacted before the day was hallowed. Once the day was hallowed, the creation of spirits remained—for them no body had been created.[752] Now, didn't the blessed Holy One know to delay hallowing the day until bodies had been created for these spirits? The answer is: the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil[753] aroused that other, evil side,[754] who verged on seizing power in the world, and countless spirits of varied species spread out to empower themselves in bodies. As soon as the blessed Holy One saw this, He aroused a

gust of wind from the Tree of Life,[755] which struck another tree,[756] arousing the other, good side, and the day was hallowed. For the creation of bodies and the arousal of spirits derive from the side of goodness on this night,[757] not from the other side. If on this night the other side had preceded the side of goodness, the world could not have withstood them for even a moment.[758] But the blessed Holy One provided a remedy in advance, for the hallowing of the day skipped ahead,[759] forestalling the other side, and the world stood firm.

"Whereas the other side had schemed to be constructed in the world, empowered, on this night the side of goodness was constructed and empowered. Holy bodies and spirits were constructed on this night from the side of goodness—so the conjugal interval of the wise, who know this, is from Sabbath [14b] to Sabbath.[760] Once the other side saw that the side of holiness had done what she[761] had intended to do, she began roaming with her countless forces and her flanks, observing all those having intercourse in the nude by the light of a lamp. All children issuing from there are epileptic, possessed by spirits of that other side, naked spirits of the wicked called demons,[762] or possessed by Lilith who slays them.

As soon as the day is hallowed and holiness rules the world, that other side diminishes itself, hiding away throughout the night and day of Sabbath. Except for Asimon[763] and his entire band who pass secretly over lamps, observing naked intercourse, then hide themselves away in the chasm of the immense abyss until Sabbath departs.[764] As soon as Sabbath departs, countless forces and companies fly, roaming through the world. So the song against maleficent spirits[765] was instituted to prevent their ruling the holy people. Where do they fly on that night? After they issue in a rush—intending to rule in the world over the holy people—and they see them in prayer and song, first enacting *havdalah* during prayer and then again over the cup,[766] they fly away, roaming till they reach the desert.[767]

"Concerning the departure of Sabbath, they have said, may their memory be a blessing: Three bring evil upon themselves. One, whoever curses himself.[768] The second, whoever throws out bread or crumbs amounting to the size of an olive.[769] The third, whoever lights a lamp at the departure of Sabbath before Israel has reached the hallowing of the portion,[770] because by this fire he prematurely kindles the fire of Hell. For there is a place reserved in Hell for those who violate Sabbaths; and those punished in Hell curse the one who lights a lamp prematurely,[771] exclaiming: *YHVH is going to hurl you with a mighty hurl, winding you round and round. He will wrap you up as a turban, a ball—off to a vast land* (Isaiah 22:17–18).[772] For it is not right to kindle fire as Sabbath departs until Israel enacts *havdalah* during prayer and then over the cup, because until then it is

still Sabbath and the holiness of Sabbath reigns over us. At the moment they enact *havdalah* over the cup, all those forces and companies empowered over the days of the week return, each and every one to its station and task. For when Sabbath enters and the day is hallowed, holiness is aroused and rules the world, while the profane is divested of its rule. Until Sabbath has departed they do not return. Even as Sabbath departs, they do not return to their places till the moment Israel says: 'Blessed are You, *YHVH*, who separates the holy from the profane.'[773] Then holiness withdraws, and the companies empowered over the weekdays are aroused and return to their posts, each to its assigned watch. Even so, they do not assume control until they shine through the mystery of the lamp. They are all called 'lights of the fire,' for they all spring from the mysterious stream of elemental fire[774] and rule over the lower world.

"All this applies when one lights a lamp before Israel has completed the hallowing of the portion. However, if one waits until they have completed it, those sinners in Hell acknowledge the justice of the blessed Holy One and confirm for that person all the blessings declared by the congregation: *May God give you of the dew of heaven* [*and the fat of the earth, abundance of grain and new wine*] (Genesis 27:28). *Blessed be you in the city, blessed be you in the field* (Deuteronomy 28:3)."[775] [15a]

פרשת בראשית

Parashat Be-Reshit

"IN THE BEGINNING" (GENESIS 1:1–6:8)

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning* (Genesis 1:1).

At the head of potency of the King,[1] He engraved engravings[2] in luster on high.[3] A spark of impenetrable darkness[4] flashed within the concealed of the concealed,[5] from the head of Infinity[6]—a cluster of vapor forming in formlessness, thrust in a ring,[7] not white, not black, not red, not green, no color at all.[8] As a cord surveyed,[9] it yielded radiant colors. Deep within the spark gushed a flow, splaying colors below, concealed within the concealed of the mystery of *Ein Sof*.[10] It split and did not split its aura,[11] was not known at all, until under the impact of splitting, a single, concealed, supernal point shone. Beyond that point, nothing is known, so it is called ראשית (*Reshit*), *Beginning*,[12] first command of all.[13]

The enlightened[14] *will shine like the* זהר (*zohar*), *radiance*,[15] *of the sky, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever* (Daniel 12:3).

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance!* Concealed of concealed struck its aura, which touched and did not touch this point.[16] Then this *beginning* expanded, building itself a palace worthy of glorious praise. There it sowed seed to give birth, availing worlds.[17] The secret is: *Her stock is seed of holiness* (Isaiah 6:13).[18]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*! Sowing seed for its glory, like the seed of fine purple silk wrapping itself within, weaving itself a palace,[19] constituting its praise, availing all.

With this *beginning*, the unknown concealed one[20] created the palace. This palace is called אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*.[21] The secret is: בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *With beginning, created God* (Genesis 1:1).[22]

זהר (*Zohar*, *Radiance*! From here all commands were created through the mysterious expansion of this point of concealed radiance. If *created* is written

here, no wonder it is written: *God created the human being in His image* (Genesis 1:27).[23]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*! Mystery! בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, first of all. אהיה (*Ehyeh*), *I will be* (Exodus 3:14), a sacred name engraved in its sides;[24] אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, engraved in the crown.[25] אשר (*Asher*), *Who* (ibid.)—a hidden, treasured palace, beginning of the mystery of ראשית (*reshit*).[26] אשר (*Asher*)—ראש (*rosh*), head, emerging from ראשית (*reshit*).[27] When [15b] afterward point and palace were arrayed as one, then בראשית (*Be-reshit*) comprised supernal ראשית (*reshit*) in wisdom.[28] Afterward the color of the palace transformed and it was called בית (*bayit*), house, while the supernal point was called ראש (*rosh*), merging in one another in the mystery of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), when all was as one in one entirety, before the house was inhabited.[29] Once it was sown, arraying habitation, it was called אלהים (*Elohim*)—hidden, concealed.[30]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*! Concealed and treasured, while offspring lay within, yet to be born, and the house expanded, arrayed by that seed of holiness.[31] Until it conceived, expanding into habitation, it was not called אלהים (*Elohim*), rather all combined: בראשית (*Be-reshit*). Once arrayed in the name אלהים (*Elohim*), it generated offspring from that seed sown within.

What is that seed? Those engraved letters, mystery of Torah, emerging from that point.[32] Within that palace the point sowed the seed of three points—חולם (*ḥolem*), שורק (*shuruq*), חירק (*ḥireq*)[33]—merging together, becoming a single mystery: a voice emerging in unison.[34] As it emerged, its consort emerged with it, comprising all letters, as is written: את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*—voice and consort.[35] This voice, *heaven*, is the final אהיה (*ehyeh*), *I will be*.[36]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*! Comprising all colors in this way, till here. יהוה יהוה אלהינו (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), *YHVH, our God, YHVH* (Deuteronomy 6:4)—three rungs, corresponding to the supernal mystery.[37] בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *In the beginning God created*. *Be-reshit*—primordial mystery.[38] *Bara*—concealed mystery, from which all expands.[39] *Elohim*— mystery sustaining all below.[40] את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*—so as not to separate them, male and female as one.[41] את (*Et*)—conveying all those letters, entirety of them all: beginning and end. Afterward ה (*he*) was added, so all those letters would be combined with *he*, and it was called אתה (*Attah*), *You*.[42] So, ואתה (*Ve-Attah*), *And You, enliven them all* (Nehemiah 9:6). *Et*— mystery of אדני (*Adonai*), Lord, and so it is called.[43] *Ha-shamayim—YHVH*, supernal mystery.[44] ואת (*Ve-et*)—array of male and female.[45] ואת (*Ve-et*)— mystery of ויהוה (*va-YHVH*), *and YHVH*, and all is one.[46] הארץ (*Ha-arets*), *The earth—Elohim*, as above, generating fruit and verdure.[47] This name is embraced at three sites, branching from there variously.[48]

Until here, mystery of secret of secrets, which He engraved, fashioned,

vivified in hidden ways, through the mystery of a single verse.[49] From here on,[50] בראשית—ברא (*Be-reshit—bara shit*), He created six, *from one end of heaven to the other* (Deuteronomy 4:32), six directions extending from the supernal mystery[51] through the expansion that He created from the primordial point. ברא (*Bara*), *Created*—expansion of a single point on high. Here is engraved the mystery of the name of forty-two letters.[52]

The enlightened will shine like the זהר (*zohar*), *radiance, of the sky* (Daniel 12:3)[53]—like musical intonations,[54] whose melody is followed by the letters and vowels, undulating after them like troops behind their king. The letters are body; the vowels, spirit.[55] All of them range in motion after the intonations and halt with them. When the melody of the intonation moves, letters and vowels follow; when it stops, they do not move but stand in place.

The enlightened will shine—letters and vowels. *Like the* זהר (*zohar*), *radiance*—melody of the notes. *Of the sky*—extension of the melody, like those extending, prolonging the melody.[56] *And those who lead many to righteousness*—pausal notes, halting their movement, as a result of which the word is heard.[57] *Will shine*—letters and vowels shining as one on their journey into a mystery of concealment, a journey on concealed paths. From this all expands.[58]

We have learned: Every *Solomon* mentioned in the Song of Songs connotes the King to whom peace belongs, while *king*, anonymous, connotes the female, lower connoting upper.[59] The mystery is that lower inherits upper, both as one.[60] This is ב (*bet*), as is written: *By wisdom* בית (*bayit*), *a house is built* (Proverbs 24:3).[61] Similarly, *King Solomon made himself a pavilion from the trees of Lebanon* (Song of Songs 3:9).[62] *Pavilion* is the adorning of the lower world by the upper world.[63] For before the blessed Holy One created the world, He and His name were enclosed within Him, one.[64] Nothing existed until there arose within the will of thought[65] actualizing all by impress of the signet,[66] creating the world. He traced and built, but it did not endure[67] until He enwrapped Himself in a wrapping of radiance, supernal right, creating *the heavens*.[68] With this first radiance of all He created *the heavens*. The mystery is this verse: *With beginning Elohim created the heavens and the earth* (Genesis 1:1).[69]

The enlightened will shine like the זהר (*zohar*), *radiance, of the sky*—these are pillars and sockets of that *pavilion*.[70] המשכילים (*Ha-maskilim*), *The enlightened*—supernal pillars and sockets, contemplating in wisdom everything needed by that *pavilion* and its supports. This mystery accords with what is said: *Happy is* משכיל (*maskil*), *one who considers, the poor* (Psalms 41:2).[71]

Will shine—for unless they shine and radiate, they cannot contemplate that *pavilion*, looking out for all it needs.

Like the זהר (*zohar*), *radiance, of the sky*—standing [16a] above *the*

enlightened, of whom is written: *An image above the heads of the living being: a sky, like awesome ice* (Ezekiel 1:22).[72]

זהר (*Zohar*), *Radiance*—illumining Torah.[73] זהר (*Zohar*)—illumining the *heads* of that *living being*. Those *heads* are *the enlightened*, who constantly radiate and shine, contemplating that *sky*, the radiance flashing from there, radiance of Torah, sparkling constantly, never ceasing.

The earth was תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void*... (Genesis 1:2).[74]

Was, precisely: previously.[75] Snow in water. Through the potency of snow in water emerged slime.[76] Blazing fire struck it, refuse came to be, and תהו (*tohu*), *chaos*, was produced—abode of slime, nest of refuse.[77] ובהו (*Va-vohu*), *And void*—sifting sifted from refuse, settling upon it.[78]

חשך (*Ḥoshekh*), *Darkness* (ibid.)[79]—mystery of blazing fire.[80] That *darkness* covers *tohu*, over the refuse, and thereby it is empowered.[81]

ורוח אלהים (*Ve-ruaḥ Elohim*), *And a wind of God* (ibid.)—רוח קודשא (*Ruaḥ Qudsha*), Holy Spirit, emerging from the living God,[82] *hovering over the face of the waters* (ibid.). Once this *wind* blew, one fine film clarified from that refuse, like filthy froth flying off, clarified, refined again and again, till that filth is left lacking any filth at all.[83] So was *tohu* clarified and refined, from it emerging a *great, mighty wind, splitting mountains and shattering rocks* (1 Kings 19:11), the one seen by Elijah.[84] *Bohu* was clarified and refined, from it emerging *an earthquake*, as is written: *After the wind—an earthquake* (ibid.). *Darkness* clarified, embracing fire within its mystery, as is written: *After the earthquake—fire* (ibid., 12). *Wind* clarified, and embraced in its mystery was *the sound of sheer silence* (ibid.).

Tohu—a colorless, formless realm, not embraced by the mystery of form. Now within form—as one contemplates it, no form at all.[85] Everything has a garment in which to be clothed, except for this: though appearing upon it, it does not exist at all, never did.[86]

Bohu—this has shape and form: stones sunk within the shell of *tohu*,[87] emerging from the shell in which they are sunk, conveying benefit to the world. Through the form of a garment they convey benefit from above to below, ascending from below to above.[88] So they are hollow and moist,[89] suspended in the air[90]—sometimes suspended in the air, sometimes concealed on a cloudy day, generating water from the abyss to nourish *tohu*,[91] for then frivolity and folly prevail as *tohu* spreads through the world.

Darkness is black fire, potent in color; red fire, potent in appearance; green fire, potent in shape; white fire, embracing all.[92] *Darkness*, most powerful fire,

empowers *tohu*. *Darkness* is fire but not dark fire until it empowers *tohu*.[93] This is the mystery of: *His eyes were too dim to see, and he called Esau...* (Genesis 27:1). *Darkness*—face of evil, for he greeted evil with a friendly face.[94] Then it is called *darkness*, for it settles upon it,[95] empowering it. This is the mystery of: *Darkness over the face of the abyss* (Genesis 1:2).

רוח (*Ruaḥ*), *Wind*, is a voice hovering over *bohu*, empowering and conducting it with whatever is needed. This is the mystery of: *The voice of YHVH is upon the waters* (Psalms 29:3), and similarly: *The wind of God hovering over the face of the waters* (Genesis 1:2)—stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues. So it is called *face, face of the abyss* (ibid.). The wind conducts and empowers that *face, face of the waters*, each one receiving what it needs.[96]

Tohu—upon it rests the name שדי (*Shaddai*).[97] *Bohu*—upon it rests the name צבאות (*Tseva'ot*), Hosts.[98] *Darkness*—upon it rests the name אלהים (*Elohim*).[99] *Wind*—upon it rests the name יהוה (*YHVH*).[100] *A* [*great,*] *mighty wind, splitting mountains and shattering rocks... YHVH was not in the wind* (1 Kings 19:11). This name was not in it, for *Shaddai* controls it through the mystery of *tohu*. *After the wind, an earthquake; YHVH was not in the earthquake*—for the name *Tseva'ot* controls it through the mystery of *bohu*. *So bohu* is called *earthquake*, for it does not exist without quaking. *After the earthquake, fire; YHVH was not in the fire*—for the name *Elohim* controls it, from the side of *darkness*. *After the fire, the sound of sheer silence*—here is found the name *YHVH*.[101]

Here are four sections, constituting well-known sections of the limbs of the body, numbering four,[102] numbering twelve.[103] Here is the engraved name of twelve letters, transmitted to Elijah in the cave.[104] [16b]

God said, "Let there be light!" And there was light (Genesis 1:3).

Here begins the discovery of hidden treasures: how the world was created in detail. For until here was general, and afterward general returns, constituting general-particular-general.[105] Till here, all was suspended in space,[106] from the mystery of *Ein Sof*. Once the force spread through the supernal palace, mystery of *Elohim*, saying is ascribed: ויאמר אלהים (*Va-yomer Elohim*), *God said*.[107] Above, saying is not specified. Although בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, is a saying,[108] *said* is not ascribed. This *said* is susceptible to questioning and knowing.[109] ויאמר (*Va-yomer*), *Said*—a power raised, ארמותא (*armuta*), rising, silently from the mystery of *Ein Sof*, in the origin of thought.[110] *God said*—now that palace, impregnated by the seed of holiness, gave birth, giving birth silently, while outside the newborn was heard.[111] The one giving birth gave birth silently, was not heard at all. As the emergent one emerged, a voice was generated, heard

outside: יהי אור (*Yehi or*), *Let there be light!* All that emerged, emerged through this mystery. יהי (*Yehi*), *Let there be*, alluding to the mystery of Father and Mother, namely, י״ה (*yod he*),[112] afterward turning back to the primordial point, to begin expanding into something else: *light*.[113]

And there was light—light that already was.[114] This light is concealed mystery, an expansion expanding, bursting from the mysterious secret of the hidden supernal aura.[115] First it burst, generating from its mystery a single concealed point,[116] for *Ein Sof* burst out of its aura, revealing this point: י (*yod*). Once this *yod* expanded, what remained was found to be: אור (*or*), *light*, from that mystery of concealed אויר (*avir*), aura.[117] After the primordial point, *yod*, emerged from it into being, it manifested upon it, touching yet not touching.[118] Expanding, it emerged; this is אור (*or*), *light* remaining from אויר (*avir*), aura, namely, the light that already was. This endured, emerged, ascended, was treasured away, and a single point remained, so that by a hidden path it constantly touches that point, touching yet not touching, illumining it through the primordial point that emerged from it.[119] So all is linked, one to another, illumining this and that.[120] As it ascends, all ascend, merging in it.[121] Attaining the realm of *Ein Sof*, it is hidden away, and all becomes one.

That point of light is *light*.[122] It expanded, and seven letters of the alphabet shone within, not congealing, still fluid.[123] Then *darkness* emerged, and seven other letters of the alphabet emerged within, not congealing, remaining fluid.[124] An *expanse* emerged, dissipating the discord of two sides, and eight other letters emerged within, making twenty-two.[125] Seven letters jumped from this side and seven from that, and all were engraved in that *expanse*, remaining fluid. The *expanse* congealed, and the letters congealed, folding into shape, forming forms.[126] Torah was engraved there, to shine forth.[127]

Let there be light! Namely, אל גדול (*El gadol*), great God,[128] the mystery emerging from the primordial aura. ויהי (*Vayhi*), *And there was*—mystery of *darkness*, called אלהים (*Elohim*).[129] *Light*—left merging in right. Then from the mystery of אל (*El*) came to be אלהים (*Elohim*), right merging in left, left in right.[130]

God saw that the light was good (Genesis 1:4)—the central pillar.[131] *Good*, illumining[132] above and below and all other directions, through the mystery of *YHVH*, the name embracing all sides.[133]

God separated the light from the darkness (ibid.), dissipating discord, so that all would be perfect.

God called the light Day (ibid., 5). What does *called* mean? He called forth and summoned this perfect light, standing in the center, to emit a radiance—foundation of the world, upon which worlds are established. From that perfect light, the central pillar, extended יסודא (*Yesoda*), Foundation, Vitality of the

Worlds, *Day*, from the right side.[134]

And the darkness He called Night (ibid.). He called forth, summoned and generated from the side of *darkness* a female, the moon ruling by night, called *Night*, mystery of אדני (*Adonai*), אדון (*Adon*), *Lord, of all the earth* (Joshua 3:11).[135]

The right entered that perfect pillar in the center, embracing the mystery of the left,[136] and ascended to the primordial point [17a], grasping there the power of three points: חולם (*ḥolem*), שורק (*shuruq*), חירק (*ḥireq*), seed of holiness,[137] for without this mystery no seed is sown. All was united in the central pillar, generating the foundation of the world, who is therefore called כל (*Kol*), All, for He embraces all in a radiance of desire.[138]

The left blazed potently, inhaling, inhaling fragrance on all those rungs. Out of that blazing flame, it generated the female, the moon.[139] That blaze was dark, deriving from *darkness*. These two sides generated these two rungs, one male and one female.[140]

Foundation was linked to the central pillar by the increase of light within it, for as the central pillar was consummated, pacifying all sides, its radiance was increased from above, from all sides in all-encompassing joy. Out of that increased joy emerged the foundation of the worlds, called Increase.[141] From here emerge all forces[142] below and holy spirits and souls through the mystery of יהוה צבאות (*YHVH Tseva'ot*), Lord of Hosts, אל אלהי הרוחות (*El Elohei ha-ruḥot*), *God, God of spirits* (Numbers 16:22).[143]

Night, Lord of all the earth, derives from the left side, from *darkness*. Since *darkness* yearns to merge in the right, and its strength weakened, *night* spread out from it.[144] *As* this *night* began to spread, before being completed,[145] that *darkness* entered and merged in the right, right embracing it, and *night* was left wanting.[146] As *darkness yearns* to merge into *light*, so *night* yearns to merge into *day*. *Darkness* lacked its light, so it generated a level lacking, not radiant. *Darkness* does not shine unless it merges into *light. Night*, emerging from it, does not shine unless it merges into *day*. *Night's* lack is filled solely through Increase. What is increased here, decreases there. Increase comprised mystery of the primordial point and mystery of the central pillar along with all sides.[147] So two letters were added to it, while from *night* these two letters were subtracted. Hence, קרא (*qara*), *He called*. It is written: ויקרא (*Va-yiqra*), *And He called*. Then ו״י (*vav, yod*) were subtracted, and it is written: קרא (*Qara*), *He called, Night*.[148] Here lies mystery of the name of seventy-two engraved letters[149] of the supernal crown.

God said, "Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters... (Genesis 1:6).[150]

Here is mystery in detail,[151] separating upper waters from lower through mystery of the left.[152] Here conflict was created through the left side. For until here was mystery of the right,[153] and here is mystery of the left, so conflict raged between this and the right. Right is consummate of all, so all is written by the right,[154] for upon it depends all consummation. When the left aroused, conflict aroused, and through that conflict blazed the fire of wrath.[155] Out of that conflict aroused by the left, emerged Hell. Hell aroused on the left and clung.[156]

The wisdom of Moses: he contemplated this, gazing into the act of Creation. In the act of Creation a conflict arose between left and right, and in that conflict aroused by the left, Hell emerged, clinging there. The central pillar, who is the third day,[157] entered between them, mediating the conflict, reconciling the two sides. Hell descended, left merged in right, and peace prevailed over all.[158]

Similarly the conflict between Korah and Aaron was left against right.[159] Moses, contemplating the act of Creation, said, "It is fitting that I mediate the conflict between left and right."[160] He endeavored to reconcile them, but the left was unwilling, and Korah stiffened his resistance.[161] He[162] said, "Hell must certainly join in the heat of the conflict of the left.[163] Since he[164] does not want to join above, merging in the right, he will certainly descend below by the intensity of his rage." Korah did not want this conflict to be harmonized by Moses because it was not for the sake of heaven;[165] he cared nothing about the supernal glory and denied the act of Creation.[166] As soon as Moses saw that he had denied the act of Creation and been thrust outside,[167] *Moses became very angry* (Numbers 16:15). *Moses became angry* because they had denied him the opportunity to harmonize that conflict. *Very*—because they had denied the act of Creation. Korah denied everything, [17b] above and below, as is written: *who strove against Moses and Aaron as part of Korah's band when they strove against YHVH* (ibid. 26:9), below and above.[168] So he joined what befitted him.[169]

A conflict arrayed as above, ascending, not descending, established rightly, is the conflict of Shammai and Hillel.[170] The blessed Holy One mediated between them, harmonizing them.[171] This was a conflict for the sake of heaven, so Heaven mediated the conflict, and upon this conflict the world was established.[172] This resembled the act of Creation, whereas Korah totally denied the act of Creation, disputing heaven, seeking to deny the words of Torah.[173] He certainly adhered to Hell, so there he clung.[174] This secret appears in *The Book of Adam*.[175] When *darkness*[176] aroused, it aroused intensely, thereby creating Hell, clinging to it in that conflict. As the seething fury subsided, conflict of a different type arose: a conflict of love.[177] There were two conflicts: one, beginning; one, ending. This is the way of the righteous: beginning harshly, ending gently.[178] Korah was the

beginning of the conflict: seething in wrath, he was compelled to cling to Hell. Shammai was the end of the conflict, when wrath subsides and one must arouse the conflict of love and be reconciled by heaven.

This is the mystery of: *Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, that it may separate*—the first conflict, outburst of seething fury. He[179] sought to mediate, but before the fury cooled, Hell aroused. Then *God fashioned the expanse and separated* (Genesis 1:7)[180]—arousing a conflict of passionate love, endurance of the world.[181] In accord with this mystery was the conflict of Shammai and Hillel, for Oral Torah approached Written Torah in love, together consummating existence.[182]

Separation is certainly on the left. Here separation is written: *that it may separate*, and *He separated*; and there is written: *Is it too little for you that the God of Israel has separated you from the community of Israel...?* (Numbers 16:9).[183] Similarly: *At that time YHVH separated the tribe of Levi* (Deuteronomy 10:8).[184] Separation, indeed, is solely on the second, on the left.[185] Now you might say, "Indeed, separation is on the second, so why is it associated with Levi, who is third? It should be with Simeon, who is second."[186] But although Levi is third, in Jacob's mind he was second,[187] and separation is always on the second. Everything follows the straight path perfectly.

הבדלה (*Havdalah*), Separation, as Sabbath departs, separates those who rule the weekdays from Sabbath.[188] As soon as Sabbath departs, a specter,[189] an evil officer, ascends from Hell, intent on seizing power the moment Israel recites: *Let the work of our hands prosper* (Psalms 90:17).[190] Emerging from the rung known as Sheol,[191] he desires to mingle in the seed of Israel and dominate them. But Israel takes action with myrtle and wine,[192] reciting *havdalah*, so he departs from them. As soon as they recite the blessing of separation over the cup, that specter sinks into his place in Sheol, site of Korah and his gang, as is written: *They and all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol* (Numbers 16:33). They did not descend there until Israel separated from them, as is written: *Separate yourselves from the midst of this community...!* (ibid., 21).[193]

So separation is always on the second, which is the left,[194] at the outbreak of intense fury aroused by the left in the conflict, before it subsides into calm. On it, Hell was created,[195] and then all those angels who denounce their Master above and are burned, consumed by fire;[196] and all those others who vanish, unenduring, devoured by fire.[197] Similarly Korah below,[198] entirely the same.

Let there be an expanse—Let an expanse expand, one from the other.[199]

אל (*El*), God, cluster on the right, אל גדול (*El gadol*), Great God.[200] From the midst

of the waters an expanse expanded to complete this name, אל (*El*), to merge in that expansion, one in the other, and from אל (*El*) expanded אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*.[201] The letters הי״ם (*he, yod, mem*) expanded and were transposed into lower waters, ים״ה (*yod, mem, he*). That expansion expanding on the second day is the upper waters: הי״ם (*he, yod, mem*), *this vast* הים (*ha-yam*), *sea* (Psalms 104:25). הי״ם (*He, yod, mem*) is the upper waters; the transposition of these letters, ים״ה (*yod, mem, he*), is the lower waters.[202] Once arrayed, all became one entity, this name extending to various realms.[203] The upper waters are male; the lower waters, female.[204] At first water intermingled with water,[205] until they were separated, to distinguish upper from lower: these are אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, and these are אדני (*Adonai*), Lord, upper ה (*he*) and lower ה (*he*).[206] What is written? *Elohim fashioned the expanse* (Genesis 1:7)— this expansion took this name: *Elohim*, upper waters,[207] while the lower waters [18a] are *Adonai*. Nevertheless, once male waters were completed by female waters, the name *Elohim* extended over all.[208]

Even though He separated the upper waters from the lower, the conflict did not cease until the third day[209] arrived, harmonizing the conflict, and everything settled fittingly in place. Because of this conflict, although it sustains the world, *that it was good* is not written of the second day, for the act was incomplete.[210] Upper waters and lower waters mingled, and nothing generated in the world until they were separated and distinguished, thereby generating offspring. Even so, although the separation took place on the second day, and the conflict arose then, the third day harmonized everything, for it is the name engraved with the engravings הו״ה (*he, vav, he*), harmonizing upper and lower waters: upper ה (*he*), lower ה (*he*), ו (*vav*) between them, pacifying the two sides.[211] This is the sign: the waters of the Jordan, upper waters, *rose in one heap* (Joshua 3:16), the lower waters flowed down into the sea, and Israel passed between.[212]

Five *expanses* are written here.[213] Vitality of the Worlds moves through them, conducts by them,[214] all comprising one another.[215] Were it not for this conflict, harmonized by the middle, they would not merge or be at peace with one another. There are five hundred years to which the Tree of Life clings, generating verdure and offspring for the world. All the waters of Creation, drawn and flowing from the beginning, branch beneath it, through it.[216] King David captures it all and then distributes,[217] as is written: *He distributed among all the people, the entire multitude of Israel... a cake made in a pan and a raisin cake* (2 Samuel 6:19).[218] Similarly, *You give to them, they gather* (Psalms 104:28), and *She rises while it is still night, and gives food to her household* (Proverbs 31:15).

When conflict was aroused by the potency of the left, Colonel Ember[219] glowed and flared. Out came two specters, male and female, immediately congealing with no moisture at all.[220] From them split off various maleficent

species; from here infusion of impure spirit into all those fierce specters, mystery of foreskin.[221] They were empowered by virulent species—viper and serpent—turning into one. The viper bears at seventy years, but in union all reverts to the seven years of the serpent.[222] Here lies the mystery of Hell, called by seven names.[223] The evil impulse is called by seven names.[224] From here, through countless rungs, impurity spreads through the world, all from the mystery of the left. Good and evil diverge—cultivation of the world.[225] Here is the engraved name of eighteen letters,[226] presiding over rain of favor and blessing, cultivating the world.

God said, "Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place!" (Genesis 1:9).[227]

יקוו (*Yiqqavu*), *Let* [*the waters*] *be gathered*—in קו (*qav*), a line, following a straight path.[228] For out of the mystery of the primordial point,[229] all emerges secretly, till reaching, clustering in the supernal palace.[230] From there it radiates in a straight line to the other rungs, until reaching that *one place*, which gathers all in the totality of male and female. Who is that? Vitality of the Worlds.[231] *The waters*—flowing from above, from upper ה (*he*).[232] *Under heaven*—small ו (*vav*); so, ו״ו (*vav*): one is *heaven*; the other, *under heaven*.[233] Then, *Let the dry land appear!* (ibid.)—lower ה (*he*).[234] This is revealed, the rest all concealed—so mystery of blessings revealed and concealed[235]—none but this lower one being revealed. From this one, *let it appear!*—through contemplation the concealed one is perceived.[236] *To one place*—for here is the nexus of unity of the upper world.[237]

YHVH is one and His name is one (Zechariah 14:9). Two unifications: one of the upper world, to be unified in its rungs,[238] and one of the lower world to be unified in its rungs.[239] Nexus of unity of the upper world extends till here.[240] Vitality of the Worlds is consummated there, the upper world bound in unity. So it is called *one place*. All levels and limbs[241] gather there, all unified within, completely indivisible. On no level but this are they unified; within, they are all secretly concealed in a single desire.[242] Here, on this rung, the revealed world joins the concealed.[243]

Similarly the revealed world is unified below, and this revealed world is the world of *let it appear!* (Genesis 1:9). *I saw YHVH* (Isaiah 6:1).[244] *They saw the God of Israel* (Exodus 24:10). *The presence of YHVH appeared* (Numbers 14:10). *The presence of YHVH appeared* (ibid. 17:7). *Like the appearance of the bow in the cloud on a rainy day, so was the appearance of the surrounding radiance—the appearance of the image of the presence of YHVH* (Ezekiel 1:28). This is the

mystery of: *Let the dry land appear!* (Genesis 1:9).

I have set My bow in the cloud (ibid. 9:13)—since the day the world was created.[245] On a cloudy day, [18b] when the קשת (*keshet*), rainbow, appears, *the appearance of the image of the presence of YHVH*, the left is aroused to be empowered.[246] Rachel emerges, ותקש (*va-teqash*), *and she had hard, labor* (ibid. 35:16).[247] Michael on one side, Gabriel on another, Raphael on a third—these are the colors appearing in that *image*: white, red, and green.[248] *So was the appearance of the surrounding radiance*—a radiance concealed in revolving the vision of the eye.[249] *The appearance of the image of the presence of YHVH*—colors, for the lower unity is unified in accord with the unity above.[250] יהוה יהוה אלהינו (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), *YHVH, our God, YHVH* (Deuteronomy 6:4)—colors concealed, unrevealed, banding together *to one place*, one unity above.[251] The colors of the rainbow below, uniting white, red, and green, match the concealed colors,[252] composing another unity, mystery of *His name is one* (Zechariah 14:9), "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever," the unity below.[253] The unity above is: *Hear, O Israel!* יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), *YHVH is our God, YHVH is one* (Deuteronomy 6:4). One parallels the other: six words here, six words there.[254]

יקוו (*Yiqqavu*), *Let* [*the waters*] *be gathered*—surveying by קו (*qav*), line, and measure.[255] Measure, plumb of dark brilliance,[256] as is written: *Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand?* (Isaiah 40:12).[257] This is יקוו המים (*Yiqqavu ha-mayim*), *Let the waters be aligned*. Here is the measure of the Creator of the worlds: יוד, הא, ואו, הא (*yod, he, vav, he*).[258] *Holy, holy, holy! YHVH of Hosts!* (Isaiah 6:3). *Holy, holy, holy—Let the waters be aligned*.[259] *YHVH of Hosts—to one place*, in the mystery of this name.[260] *The whole earth is full of His presence* (ibid.)—*Let the dry land appear*, engraved mystery, name of unity: כוזו במוכסז כוזו (*Kuzu be-mukhsaz kuzu*).[261]

Let the earth sprout vegetation— seed-bearing plants (Genesis 1:11).[262]

Now *Earth* generates Her powers with those waters gathered *to one place*,[263] flowing into Her in hidden secrecy, emerging within Her as supernal secrecies, sacred forces, arrayed in an array of faith by all those scions of faith by worshiping their Lord.[264] This is the mystery of: *Who makes the grass grow for the* בהמה (*behemah*), *beast, and plants for the work of humanity, to bring forth food from the earth* (Psalms 104:14). *Who makes the grass grow for the behemah*—the behemoth crouching on a thousand mountains, which grow that *grass* for her every day.[265] *Grass* is the angels ruling momentarily, created on the second day,[266] existing as food for this *behemah*, for there is fire consuming fire.[267] *And*

plants for the work of humanity. *Plants* are the אופנים (*ofanim*), whirling angels; חיות (*ḥayyot*), living creatures; and כרובים (*keruvim*), cherubs[268]—all arrayed, standing ready to be arrayed the moment that human beings come to worship their Lord in offering and prayer,[269] which is *the work of humanity*.[270] These *plants* are designated, destined for *the work of humanity*, to be fittingly arrayed and enhanced. Once they are enhanced by that *work of humanity*, nutriment and food emerge for the world, as is written: *to bring forth food from the earth*.[271] This is *seed-bearing plants*, for grass is not *seed-bearing* but rather destined for food for the holy fire,[272] whereas *plants* maintain the world. All this: *to bring forth food from the earth*. All the tending that humans provide these *plants* in that *earth* by worshiping their Lord is intended entirely to generate food and nutriment from that *earth* for this world, ensuring that humanity will be blessed from above.[273]

Fruit trees bearing fruit (Genesis 1:11)—rung upon rung, male and female.[274] As the *fruit tree* generates the potency of *bearing fruit*, similarly She generates. Who are these? Cherubs and columns. What are columns? Those ascending in the smoke of sacrifice, arrayed therein, called *columns of smoke* (Song of Songs 3:6).[275] They all abide in full array through *the work of humanity*,[276] whereas *grass* does not, for it is destined to be consumed, as is written: *Behold behemoth, whom I fashioned along with you, eating grass like an ox* (Job 40:15).

Fruit trees bearing fruit—image of male and female.[277] *The image of their face was a human face* (Ezekiel 1:10).[278] These differ from those cherubs; these are large faces, in concealed color, while כרובים (*keruvim*), cherubs, are small faces, כרביין (*ke-ravyan*), like children.[279] All images are comprised in the *human face*,[280] for it is a large face, traced with tracings, engraved with engravings of the explicit name[281] in the four directions of the world: East, West, North, and South.

Michael is inscribed on the South.[282] All faces gaze at the *human face: face of a lion, face of an ox, face of an eagle* (ibid.) *A human* is male and female, and is otherwise not called *human*.[283] From it are traced figures of *the chariots of God, myriads upon myriads*, as is written: *The chariots of God, myriads upon myriads, thousands of* שנאן (*shin'an*) (Psalms 68:18). שנאן (*Shin'an*)—totality of all those figures: שור (*shor*), *ox*; נשר (*nesher*), *eagle*; אריה (*aryeh*), *lion*; ן (final *nun*)—the *human*, [19a] an extension merging as one through the mystery of male and female.[284] All those thousands and myriads[285] emerge from this mystery: שנאן (*shin'an*). From these images, each one spreads out fittingly. These are the ones interlaced, interwoven, included in one another: *ox, eagle, lion, human*,[286] conducted by the mystery of four engraved names, ascending to be guided and to gaze.

Ox ascends to the *human face*. A name ascends, crowned and engraved in

the mystery of two colors: אל (*El*).[287] Then it turns back—is inscribed and engraved on the throne—designated to be conducted by the mystery of this name.[288]

Eagle ascends to the *human face*, to be guided and to gaze. Another name ascends, crowned and engraved in the mystery of two faces, radiant colors, ascending in the ascent of the crown above: גדול (*Gadol*), *Great*.[289] Then it turns back—is inscribed and engraved on the throne—designated to be conducted by the mystery of this name.

Lion ascends to the *human face*, to be guided and to gaze. Another name ascends, crowned and engraved in the mystery of two faces, bold colors, aligned in power: גבור (*Gibbor*), *Mighty*.[290] Then it turns back, is inscribed and engraved on the throne, designated to be conducted by the mystery of this name.

Human gazes at them all, while all ascend and gaze at him. Then they are all traced in their engravings, in this tracing, in the mystery of one name called נורא (*Nora*), *Awesome*.[291] So it is written of them: *The image of their face was a human face*. They are all comprised in this image, an image comprising them.[292] Because of this mystery, the blessed Holy One is called *the great, mighty, and awesome God* (Deuteronomy 10:17),[293] for these names are engraved above in the mystery of the supernal chariot, comprised of four letters: יהוה (*YHVH*), the name comprising all.[294]

These images are engraved, carved in the throne, a throne engraved, embroidered in them:[295] one on the right, one on the left, one in front, one behind, inscribed in the four directions of the world. The throne, ascending, is inscribed with these four images.[296] These four supernal names[297] carry this throne—a throne comprised of them—as it grasps and gathers souls, delights, and yearnings.[298] Having grasped and gathered those delights and yearnings, it descends full, like a tree full of branches in every direction, filled with fruit.[299] Once it descends, these four images emerge, traced in their tracings, engraved, radiant, sparkling, flashing, scattering seed upon the world. Then they are called *seed-bearing plants*, for they scatter seed upon the world. The *human* image emerges, embracing all images.[300] Then this verse applies: *fruit trees of every kind, bearing fruit with the seed in it upon earth* (Genesis 1:11). It emits seed only purposefully, *upon earth*.[301] *With the seed in it*. Precisely! From here we learn that one is not permitted to emit seed in vain.[302]

The *vegetation* here[303] is not *seed-bearing*, so it is undone and does not endure like those others, having no image to be traced or engraved in any image or figure at all, rather seen and unseen. All those untraced in figure and image do not endure, existing momentarily, consumed by the fire-consuming fire, then returning as before, and so on every day.[304]

The human being below has an image and figure,[305] yet does not endure in the manner above. The figure and image above[306] are drawn as they are, with no other garment to be drawn, so they endure constantly. The human figure below is drawn in a garment,[307] in no other manner, so they endure for a set time. Every single night, the spirit strips itself of that garment and ascends,[308] and the consuming fire consumes it. Later they are restored as before, figured in clothes. So they do not endure as those figures and images above, and of this is written: *New every morning* (Lamentations 3:23)—human beings who are *new* every single day.[309] [19b] What is the reason? *Immense is Your faithfulness!* (ibid.)—immense, not small.[310] *Immense is Your faithfulness!—immense*, indeed! For it can grasp all creatures of the world, absorbing them in itself, higher and lower. A place immense and vast, absorbing all, filled no further. This is the mystery: *All the rivers flow into the sea, yet the sea is not full; to the place the rivers flow, they flow back again* (Ecclesiastes 1:7).[311] They flow toward the sea, who grasps them, consumes them, and is filled no fuller. Then it pours them out as before, so they flow on.

Your faithfulness is immense, absorbing all, consuming them, filled no fuller, restoring them as before; they are *new* in the world every single day. Of this day is written: *it was good, it was good* (Genesis 1:10, 12), twice,[312] for this day united two sides, mediating the conflict.[313] It said to this side: *It was good*, and to the other side: *It was good*, reconciling them. So it includes *He said, he said*, twice.[314] Mystery of the four-letter name,[315] engraved and carved, ascending to twelve letters in four images on four sides,[316] inscribed on the holy throne. *Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights, in the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:14)— spelled deficiently: מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, for diphtheria was created for children.[317] After the radiance of primordial light was treasured away,[318] a shell was created for the kernel.[319] That shell expanded, generating another shell.[320] Emerging, she ascended and descended, arriving at the small faces.[321] She desired to cling to them, be portrayed in them, and never depart.[322] The blessed Holy One separated her from there, bringing her down below when He created Adam, so that this would be perfected in this world.[323] As soon as she saw Eve cleaving to the side of Adam, beauty above, as soon as she saw the complete image, she flew away,[324] desiring as before to cleave to the small faces. Those guardians of the gates on high did not allow her. The blessed Holy One rebuked her and cast her to the bottom of the sea, where she dwelled until Adam and his wife sinned. Then the blessed Holy One plucked her from there, and she rules over all those children—small faces of humanity—who deserve to be punished for the sins of their fathers.[325] She flies off, roaming through the world. Approaching the earthly Garden of Eden, she sees cherubs guarding the gates of the Garden, and she

dwells there by that *flaming sword* (Genesis 3:24),[326] for she emerged from the side of that *flame*.[327] As the flame revolves she flees and roams the world, finding children who deserve to be punished; she toys with them and kills them.[328] This happens in the waning of the moon, whose light diminishes;[329] this is מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, deficient.[330]

Until Cain was born, she could not cling to him.[331] Later she drew close to him and gave birth to spirits and flying demons.[332] For 130 years Adam copulated with female spirits[333] until the arrival of Na'amah,[334] whose beauty seduced *the sons of Elohim*, Uzza and Azael.[335] By them she gave birth; from her, maleficent spirits and demons spread through the world. In the night she roams; they[336] roam the world and titillate humans, causing them to spill seed accidentally. Wherever they find people sleeping alone in a house, they hover above them, grab hold of them, cling to them, seize desire from them, and bear offspring.[337] Further, they attack him with disease unawares. All this in the waning of the moon.[338]

מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*. When the moon was restored, letters were rearranged: אמרת (*imrat*), *The word of YHVH is refined; He is a shield to all who seek refuge in Him* (Psalms 18:31).[339] *He is a shield* against all those maleficent spirits and quaestors[340] who roam the world in her waning, for all those holding fast to faith in the blessed Holy One.

When King Solomon descended to the depth of the nut,[341] as is written: *I descended to the nut garden* (Song of Songs 6:11), he took the shell of a nut, contemplated all those shells, and realized that all the joy and delight of those spirits—shells of the nut—consists solely in clinging to human beings and leading them astray, as is written: *The delights of the sons of men: demon after demon* (Ecclesiastes 2:8).[342] Further, *the delights of the sons of men*, in which they indulge asleep at night, generate *demon after demon*.[343]

The blessed Holy One had to create everything in the world, arraying the world. All consists of a kernel within, with several shells covering the kernel.[344] The entire world is like this, above and below, from the head of the mystery of the primordial point[345] to the end of all rungs: all [20a] is this within that, that within this, so that one is the shell of another, which itself is the shell of another.[346]

The primordial point is inner radiance—there is no way to gauge its translucency, tenuity, or purity until an expanse expanded from it.[347] The expansion of that point became a palace, in which the point was clothed—a radiance unknowable, so intense its lucency.[348] This palace, a garment for that concealed point, is a radiance beyond measure, yet not as gossamer or translucent as the primordial point, hidden and treasured. That palace expanded an expanse: primordial light.[349] That expansion of primordial light is a garment

for the palace, which is a gossamer, translucent radiance, deeper within. From here on, this expands into this, this is clothed in this, so that this is a garment for this, and this for this. This, the kernel; this, the shell. Although a garment, it becomes the kernel of another layer.

Everything is fashioned the same way below, so that a human in this world manifests this image: kernel and shell, spirit and body.[350] All for the arrayal of the world, and so the world is.

When the moon shared a single cleaving with the sun, she was radiant.[351] As soon as she was separated from the sun and appointed over her forces, she diminished herself, diminished her light. Shells upon shells were created for concealing the kernel, all for arraying the kernel.[352] So, *Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, is spelled deficiently.[353] All this for arraying the world, as is written: *to shine upon earth* (Genesis 1:15).[354]

God made the two great lights (Genesis 1:16). *Made*—enhancement and arrayal of all, fittingly. *The two great lights*—at first in a single bond, mystery of the name complete as one: יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*),[355] though not revealed, rather in a manner concealed.[356] *Great*—for they were enhanced in name, both alike, to be called by the mystery of all: מצפץ מצפץ (*MTsPTs, MTsPTs*), supernal names of the thirteen qualities of compassion.[357] *Great*—these were enhanced, ascending, for they are supernal, from the mystery on high, ascending for the benefit of the world, so that through them worlds endure.[358]

Similarly, *the two lights*, both ascending as one, in one enhancement. The moon was uneasy with the sun, ashamed in its presence.[359] The moon said, "*Where do you pasture your sheep? Where do you let them rest at noon?* (Song of Songs 1:7).[360] How can a little lamp shine at noon?[361] *Lest I be like one enwrapped* (ibid.)—how can I abide in shame?" So she diminished herself, becoming head of those below,[362] as is written: *Go forth in the footsteps of the flock, and graze your goats* (ibid., 8). The blessed Holy One said to her, "Go, diminish yourself!" From that point on, she has light only from the sun.[363] Whereas at first they dwelled as one, evenly, later she diminished herself on all her rungs, though heading them, for a woman is enhanced only together with her husband.

The greater light (Genesis, ibid.)—יהוה (*YHVH*); *and the smaller light*—אלהים (*Elohim*), end of all rungs, end of thought.[364] At first she was inscribed above among the letters of the holy name, its fourth letter.[365] Afterward she diminished herself, to be called by the name *Elohim*. Nevertheless she ascended in all directions above in the letter ה (*he*), through the joining of letters of the holy

name.[366] Then rungs expanded on this side and that. Rungs expanding from the higher side are called *ruling the day*; rungs expanding from the lower side are called *ruling the night* (ibid.).[367] *And the stars* (ibid.)—other forces and camps, innumerable,[368] all suspended in that *expanse of heaven*, Vitality of the Worlds,[369] as is written: *God placed them in the expanse of heaven* (ibid., 17).

On this day the kingdom of David was established, fourth leg and support of the throne.[370] The letters were arrayed and aligned.[371] Yet even so, until the sixth day, when the image of Adam was fully arrayed, it did not stabilize.[372] Then the upper throne and the lower throne were established,[373] all the worlds settled in place, and all the letters were arrayed [20b] in their wheels[374] by the expanding scribal matrix of the nexus.[375]

The fourth day is a day rejected by builders, as is said: *the stone that the builders rejected* (Psalms 118:22), and similarly: *My mother's sons were incensed at me* (Song of Songs 1:6).[376] For this light diminished herself and her radiance, and shells were arrayed at their sites.[377] All those radiant lights are suspended in this *expanse of heaven*, so that in them the throne of David will be arrayed.[378] These lights depict a figure below, arraying a figure of all those included in the category *human*, an intrinsic figure.[379] Every intrinsic figure is so called, so every figure comprised in this expansion is called *human*, as is written: *You are human* (Ezekiel 34:31). *You are human*; the other nations are not.[380] Every spirit is called *human*; the body of the spirit of the holy side[381] is a garment of the *human*, and so it is written: *You clothed me in skin and flesh, wove me of bones and sinews* (Job 10:11).[382] Flesh is the garment of the *human*, as is written everywhere: *flesh of a human* (Exodus 30:32)—*human*, within; *flesh*, garment of the *human*, its body.

Specters[383] below, melted in the smelting of this spirit,[384] were figured into figures clothed in another garment, such as figures of pure animals: *ox, sheep, goat, deer, gazelle, roebuck, wild goat, ibex, antelope, and mountain sheep* (Deuteronomy 14:4–5), who desire to be interwoven in the garment of the *human*, flesh of the *human*.[385] The inner spirit of those figures attains the name applied to its body, the garment of that name. Flesh of an ox: ox is the interior of that body; its flesh, a garment; and so with them all.

Similarly on the other side, side of impurity: the spirit spreading through the other nations emerges from the side of impurity.[386] It is not *human*, and so does not attain this name. The name of that spirit is Impure, not attaining the name *human*, having no share in it. Its body is a garment of that Impure, flesh of Impure—impure within; flesh, its garment. So as long as that spirit abides in that body, it is called Impure.[387] Once the spirit emerges from that garment, it is not called Impure; that garment does not attain the name.[388]

Specters[389] below, melted in the smelting of this spirit,[390] are figured into figures clothed in another garment, such as figures of animals of impurity, of which the Torah opens: *These shall be impure for you* (Leviticus 11:29), such as the pig and the birds and animals of that side.[391] The spirit attains that name; the body is its garment and is called "flesh of pig"—pig within; flesh, its garment.

So the two sides diverge. These are comprised in the mystery of *human*; those, in the mystery of Impure. Each kind follows its own, returning to its own kind.[392]

The radiant lights above shine in that *expanse of heaven*,[393] so that figures are drawn below fittingly, as is written: *God placed them in the expanse of heaven to shine upon earth and to rule the day and the night* (Genesis 1:17–18). The reign of two lights is a fitting reign: *greater light* ruling by day; *smaller light*, by night.[394] From here derives this secret: The rule of the male by day consists in filling His house with all that is needed, bringing in food and nutriment.[395] As night enters and the female grasps all, the house is ruled solely by Her—for then the reign belongs to Her, not to the male—as is written: *She rises while it is still night, and gives food to her household and a portion to her maidens* (Proverbs 31:15)—*She*, not *He*. *Ruling the day* (Genesis 1:16) belongs to the male; *ruling the night* (ibid.), to the female.

And the stars (Genesis 1:16). Once the female commands Her household and retires with Her husband,[396] the house is ruled solely by the maidens who remain in the house to array it consummately.[397] Afterward the house returns to the rule of the male by day, all fittingly.

God made the two great lights (Genesis 1:16)—this one, a *light*; that one, a *light*.[398] So those lights ascending are called "luminaries of light,"[399] while those descending are called "luminaries of fire"—rungs below, controlling all the weekdays.[400] Therefore when Sabbath departs, a blessing is recited over a lamp, for they have been granted authority to rule.[401]

The fingers of a human being are the secret of rungs and mysteries on high,[402] including front and back.[403] The backs are outside, alluding to the fingernails, so one is [21a] permitted to gaze at the fingernails as Sabbath departs, for they shine from that lamp, from that fire, to rule.[404] These may be viewed, but the inside of the fingers may not be viewed by the light of that lamp, for they shine from above and are called "inner faces."[405] This is the mystery of: *You will see My back, but My face will not be seen* (Exodus 33:23). *You will see My back*—the outer face, alluded to by the fingernails. *But My face will not be seen*—the inside of the fingers. This rules on Sabbath; that, during the week.[406]

On the Sabbath day, the blessed Holy One rules alone through those inner faces on His throne of glory,[407] all embraced by Him; dominion belongs to Him. So He conveys rest to all the worlds, and the holy people, called "a people unique on earth,"[408] inherit the heritage of this day: luminaries of light from the side of the right,[409] primordial light prevailing on the first day.[410] On the Sabbath day those luminaries of light shine alone, ruling, and from them shine all those below. When Sabbath departs, luminaries of light are treasured away, no longer revealed, and luminaries of fire rule, each in its position. When do they rule? From the departure of Sabbath until the entrance of Sabbath.[411] So as Sabbath departs, they must be illumined by that lamp.[412]

The creatures darting to and fro (Ezekiel 1:14).[413] No eye catches them since they are *darting to and fro*. They are revealed *creatures*, within whom stands that *wheel*[414] Who is that? Metatron,[415] more grand and splendid than the other forces, 500 parasangs higher.[416] The hidden creatures[417] crouch beneath two supernal letters concealed: י״ה (*yod, he*), letters ruling over ו״ה (*vav, he*), these a chariot of those,[418] while Concealed of all Concealed,[419] totally unknown, rules over all, rides all. The revealed creatures are below, beneath these hidden supernal ones, illumined by them, moving because of them. The supernal creatures are all comprised *in the expanse of heaven*,[420] and of them is written: *Let there be lights.... Let them serve as lights in the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:14-15). They are all suspended in that *expanse of heaven*.

The expanse above the creatures[421] is the one of which is written: *An image above the heads of the creature: an expanse like awesome ice, spread out above their heads* (Ezekiel 1:22). This is primordial ה (*he*), beyond which no one can contemplate or know.[422] What is the reason? Because it is enclosed in thought.[423] The thought of the blessed Holy One is the concealed, enveloped, supernal א (*alef*);[424] no human thought in the entire world can either grasp or know it. If what is suspended in supernal thought[425] cannot be grasped by anyone, all the more so thought itself! Within thought—who can conceive an idea? Understanding fails to even pose a question, much less to know. *Ein Sof* contains no trace at all;[426] no question applies to It, nor conceiving contemplating any thought. From within concealing of the concealed, from the initial descent of *Ein Sof*,[427] radiates a tenuous radiance, unknown, concealed in tracing like the point of a needle, mystery of concealment of thought.[428] Unknown, until a radiance extends from it to a realm containing tracings of all letters, issuing from there.[429]

First of all, א (*alef*), first and last of all the rungs, a tracing traced by all the rungs,[430] yet called "One," to demonstrate that although containing many images,

it is only one. This is certainly a letter on which above and below depend. The beginning of the א (*alef*) is a single secrecy of the mystery of supernal thought.[431] The expansion of the celestial expanse is entirely concealed in that beginning, for when א (*alef*) issues from that expanse, it issues in the form of mystery of the beginning of thought. The middle of the א (*alef*) comprises six rungs, mystery of all those hidden, supernal *creatures* suspended in thought.[432]

One is the radiance that shone and was treasured away,[433] the radiance of the letter ט (*tet*) of Creation,[434] *the heat of the day*—mystery of Abraham sitting *at the opening of the tent* (Genesis 18:1), the opening from below to above, while *the heat of the day* shines on that opening, shining from there.[435]

Second, a radiance that darkens away as evening turns,[436] mystery of the prayer of Isaac to mend this rung, as is written: *Isaac went out to meditate in the field* לפנות ערב (*lifnot erev*), *as evening turned* (Genesis 24:63)—toward that *turning of the evening*.[437] Contemplation of the *evening* and all the darkness focused on him. In this *turning of the evening* Jacob was endangered by the Prince of Esau.[438]

Third, a radiance combining both of [21b] these,[439] a radiance radiant with healing, mystery written of Jacob: *The sun rose upon him as he passed Penu'el* (Genesis 32:32)[440]—indeed, once he had merged in that פנות ערב (*penot erev*), *turning of the evening*.[441] From here on, *he was limping on his thigh* (ibid.)—נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *Eternity of Israel* (1 Samuel 15:29).[442] It is written: *his thigh*; not: *his thighs*. This is the fourth rung, from which no human prophesied until Samuel arrived, and of which is written: *Moreover*, נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *the Eternal One of Israel, does not lie or change His mind* (1 Samuel 15:29).[443] Then this rung was mended, for it had been weak ever since Jacob was endangered by the Prince of Esau. *He touched the socket of his thigh* (Genesis 32:26).[444] When he reached Jacob, he seized power from that *turning of the evening* in severe Judgment.[445] Jacob had merged with it, so he could not prevail against him.[446] *When he saw that he could not prevail against him, he touched the socket of his thigh*—he seized the power of judgment from there, for the thigh is outside the torso.[447] Jacob was the torso,[448] comprising mystery of two rungs, mystery called אדם (*adam*), *human*.[449] Once he seized power outside the torso, immediately *the socket of Jacob's thigh was wrenched* (ibid.), and no human prophesied from there until Samuel arrived. So concerning נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *the Eternal One of Israel*, it is written: *For He is not human* (1 Samuel, ibid.).[450] Joshua prophesied from the הוד (*Hod*), *Splendor* of Moses, as is written: *Confer* מהודך (*me-hodekha*), *of your splendor, upon him* (Numbers 27:20).[451] This is the fifth rung, נצח (*Netsaḥ*), *Eternity*, left thigh of Jacob.[452] So David came and combined it with the right, as is written: *Delights in Your right hand* נצח (*netsaḥ*),

for eternity (Psalms 16:11)—not *Your right hand*, but *in Your right hand*.[453]

Why was Jacob's thigh weakened? Because the side of impurity[454] approached, seizing power from it, and it was delayed until Samuel. So he[455] pointed out that this is the thigh of Israel, as is written: *Moreover*, נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *the Eternal One of Israel* (1 Samuel, ibid.). So, too, all his words were stern, at the beginning and at the end.[456] Further, the blessed Holy One later merged him in הוד (*Hod*), *Splendor*. When? After he had anointed kings.[457] Thus he is equivalent to Moses and Aaron: just as Moses and Aaron occupy two sides above,[458] so does he below, like those two sides. Who are they? *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*.[459] So Samuel is equivalent to Moses and Aaron. All those rungs are linked to one another, as is written: *Moses and Aaron among His priests, Samuel among those invoking His name* (Psalms 99:6),[460] for six aspects are interlaced, interlinked. Just as these—Moses, Aaron, and Samuel—are linked, so are Jacob, Moses, and Joseph.[461] Jacob, master of the house.[462] When Jacob died, Moses took over the house, enjoining it in his lifetime.[463] Joseph was righteous through Jacob and Moses, both of whom performed in the house[464] only through Joseph because he was righteous.[465] Jacob took over the house through Joseph, as is written: *These are the generations of Jacob: Joseph* (Genesis 37:2).[466] Moses did not perform with Her until he carried Joseph—when *Shekhinah* emerged from exile,[467] he could join with Her only through Joseph, as is written: *Moses took the bones of Joseph with him* (Exodus 13:19).[468] Since it is written: *Moses took the bones of Joseph*, why *with him*? Because the body does not join the female before joining with the covenant.[469] So Moses carried Joseph with him, and being with him, he performed with the female fittingly. Thus Jacob, Moses, and Joseph go together.[470] When Jacob died, his body was brought into the Holy Land.[471] When Joseph died, his body was not buried in the Holy Land, rather his bones.[472] Moses, neither one.[473] Why? Because Jacob was first husband of the Consort.[474] When Jacob died, She joined Moses, and as long as Moses existed in this world, he enjoined Her fittingly; he was Her second husband. Jacob was brought into the land with his entire body because he is the body.[475] Joseph, his bones and not his body because bones are soldiers and companies above, all emerging from that צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One, that *Tsaddiq* called צבאות (*Tseva'ot*), Hosts.[476] Why? Because all supernal hosts and companies emerge from Him. So his bones, which are hosts, entered the land. Moses was outside and did not enter there, neither his body nor his bones. Rather, after Moses died, *Shekhinah* entered the land and returned to Her first husband from there, namely, Jacob. From here we learn that a female married to two, returns to the first in that world.[477] Moses was outside since Her first husband was in the land. Moses enjoined Her in his lifetime, something Jacob did not attain. Jacob performed with Her in that world;

Moses, in this world.

Now if you say this shows Moses' inferiority, not so![478] Rather, when Israel went forth from Egypt, it was from the aspect of Jubilee.[479] All those 600,000 were from the upper world,[480] [22a] and in that image they wandered through the desert. Not one of them entered the land, just their children, their offspring, fittingly, for they constitute the mending of the moon.[481] All the cultivation of earth was the mending of the moon.[482] Moses performed with the moon while still in the body, enjoining her as he wished. Departing from this world, he ascended in sublime ascent through his holy spirit,[483] returning by spirit to upper Jubilee, where he joined those 600,000 who were his.[484] Not so with Jacob, who returned by spirit to Sabbatical;[485] not so in his lifetime, since he had another house.[486] The Holy Land was restored below through the power above.[487] So it was not fitting for them all to be as one: those of the upper world were apart, all in spirit; those of the lower world were apart, all in body.[488] It was not fitting for both of these to be within the moon, rather these within the moon and those outside, so that those would be illumined by these.[489]

All those who entered the land resembled the originals[490] but did not experience an ascent as high. For there will never be, nor has there ever been, a generation like those originals, shown the splendid luster of their Lord face-to-face.[491]

Jacob performed with his wives in the body, later cleaving spirit to spirit.[492] Moses separated himself from his wife, performing while in the body with that Holy Spirit.[493] Later his spirit cleaved to a high, hidden spirit above.[494] So all levels cleaved as one. The spirit of Moses derives from Jubilee; his body, from Sabbatical. The spirit of Jacob, cleaving to Sabbatical; his body belonged to his wives in this world.

All those upper lights appear in their image below on earth; all are suspended in *the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:15).[495] Mystery of two names merging into one,[496] their perfection three, turning back into one, corresponding to one another.[497] This is the name inscribed and engraved, embraced by the mystery of faith.[498]

[29a] בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.[499]

We have learned: Every *Solomon* mentioned in the Song of Songs connotes the King to whom peace belongs, while *king*, anonymous, connotes the female, lower reflecting upper.[500] Mystery of the matter: lower inherits upper, both as one.[501] This is בית (*bayit*), *house*, as is written: *By wisdom a house is built* (Proverbs 24:3),[502] and similarly: *King Solomon made himself a pavilion from the*

trees of Lebanon (Song of Songs 3:9).[503] *Pavilion* is the adorning of the lower world by the upper world.[504] For before the blessed Holy One created the world, He and His name were enclosed within Him, one.[505] Nothing existed—He alone — until there arose within the will of thought[506] actualizing all by impress of the signet,[507] creating the world. He traced and built, but it did not endure[508] until He enwrapped Himself in a wrapping of contemplative radiance[509] and created the world, generating trees, supernal, grand cedars,[510] from the light, that supernal luster. He set His chariots on twenty-two engraved letters, carved in ten utterances, settling.[511] So it is written: *from the trees of Lebanon*, and similarly: *the cedars of Lebanon that He planted* (Psalms 104:16), for from these He fashioned that *pavilion*.

King Solomon made himself. Himself—for Himself; *himself*—for His arrayal; *himself*—displaying supernal splendor; *himself*—proclaiming that He is one and His name one,[512] as is said: *YHVH will be one and His name one* (Zechariah 14:9), and that He and His name are one, as is written: *They will know that You alone are Your name: YHVH* (Psalms 83:19).

By the impact of His truncheons,[513] ramparts[514] are revealed. Trickling to this side above, trickling to the right, deviating to the left, descending below, and so in four directions.[515] Dominion extends above, below, and in four directions,[516] becoming one supernal stream, flowing down, forming a vast sea,[517] as is said: *All the streams flow into the sea, yet the sea is not full* (Ecclesiastes 1:7), for it gathers all, drawing it within, as is said: *I am the rose of Sharon* (Song of Songs 2:1), *Sharon* being none other than the site drawing all waters of the world.[518] So this brings forth and that draws in, one illumining the other by well-known paths.[519] Thus, *By wisdom a house is built* (Proverbs 24:3), and so ב (*bet*), בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*: the upper house is built *by wisdom*, and the lower one, as well,[520] though the upper house is grand, cultivation of the world, while *king*, anonymous, is the lower house.

The king will rejoice in אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (Psalms 63:12). When supernal גבורה (*Gevurah*), Power, is aroused to embrace Him beneath His head, drawing Him close in joy, so that all will be one, then *the king will rejoice*,[521] the joy of a stream issuing through a single secret, hidden channel,[522] flowing into him. ב (*Bet*), two who are one, and so the world is consummated in existence. *The king will rejoice in Elohim*—the lower world rejoicing in the upper, deep world, a joy streaming forth.[523] Where does He rejoice? *In Elohim*. In Him, He rejoices; by Him, He transmits life to all.[524] He is called "life of the king."[525] This is the essence [29b] of the house.[526] This house built the house of the world, built the world.[527] The secret is: בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*— ב ראשית (*bet reshit*), two, beginning, *beginning of wisdom*.[528]

Then it gathers all into itself[529] and is transformed into a vast sea to imbibe all, a sea whose waters congeal, imbibing all waters of the world, gathering them into itself, so waters continually flow and are absorbed within. This emerges from above. The sign of this secret: *From the womb of* מי (*mi*), *whom, emerged the ice* (Job 38:29),[530] its waters congealing to draw others in. This ice, this frozen sea—its waters flow only when the power of the South reaches it, drawing it close.[531] Then the waters that were congealed on the side of the North[532] are released and flow, for on the side of the North the waters congeal, and from the side of the South they are released and flow, watering all those beasts of the field, as is said: *watering all beasts of the field* (Psalms 104:11).[533] These are called *cleft mountains* (Song of Songs 2:17), mountains of separation,[534] all of whom are watered when the side of the South begins to draw near it.[535] Then waters flow, and through this supernal energy, all streams in joy.

When thought arises in joyous desire,[536] from the Concealed of all Concealed,[537] a concealed river is drawn forth from it.[538] They approach one another on a single path unknown above or below;[539] here lies the beginning of all. ב (*Bet*), anonymous *king*, was consummated by this beginning.[540] With this energy,[541] אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, created heaven* (Genesis 1:1)—the hidden one, hidden river whose waters flow forth, created, generated a voice from within, called "voice of the shofar."[542] This is: אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, created heaven. Heaven* rules over *earth* by the life of the supernal king, as indicated by: *The son of Jesse lives on earth* (1 Samuel 20:31), for life depends on *the son of Jesse*.[543] Through that life He[544] rules over all, and earth is thereby nourished, as is written: ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth* (Genesis, ibid.)—the ו (*vav*) added to regulate the nourishment of earth;[545] את (*et*) above, the lower power comprising twenty-two letters generated by *God* for *heaven*, as is written: *the crown with which his mother crowned him on his wedding day* (Song of Songs 3:11).[546] This is: השמים את (*et ha-shamayim*), *heaven*, merging one with the other, joining them together,[547] to endure as one through that life of the king, the anonymous king,[548] so that *heaven* thereby is nourished. ואת הארץ (*Ve-et ha-arets*), *And earth*—union of male and female,[549] graved in traced letters, and the life of the king drawn from the world above to *heaven*, sustaining *earth* and all her habitants.[550]

The mystery of supreme אלהים (*Elohim*)[551] fashioned *heaven* and *earth* to endure, generating them as one by supreme energy, beginning of all.[552] Similarly the supreme mystery descended, and the final one fashioned *heaven* and *earth* below.[553] The mystery of all: ב (*bet*). Both of them are worlds,[554] which created worlds, this one an upper world, this one a lower world, one corresponding to the other; this one *heaven* and *earth*, this one *heaven* and *earth*.[555] So, ב (*bet*): there are two worlds, one generating two worlds, the other generating two

worlds, all through the energy of supernal ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*.[556] Above descended below,[557] who was filled by way of a certain rung resting upon Her,[558] corresponding to that secret, hidden path, concealed above,[559] though one is a narrow path and one is a way. The one below is a way, as is said: *The way of the righteous is like gleaming light* (Proverbs 4:18),[560] while the one above is a path, as is written: *a path unknown to any vulture* (Job 28:7). The mystery of all is: *who makes a way through the sea and a path through raging waters* (Isaiah 43:16). Similarly it is written: *Your way is through the sea, Your path through mighty waters* (Psalms 77:20).[561]

When the world above was filled and impregnated, like a female impregnated by a male, it generated two children as one, male and female, who are *heaven* and *earth*, as above.[562] *Earth* is nourished by the waters of *heaven*,[563] released into her, though the upper are male and the lower female,[564] the lower nourished by the male. The lower waters call to the upper, like a female opening to the male, pouring out water toward the water of the male to form seed.[565] The female is nourished by the male, as is written: ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, with the additional ו (*vav*), as mentioned.[566]

It is written: *Lift your eyes on high and see: Who created these?* (Isaiah 40:26). Letters were engraved [30a] in actualizing all, in actualizing above and below.[567] Subsequently letters were traced and inscribed in Scripture. ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*; א (*alef*): את (*et*).[568] ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*, indeed, as explained.[569] ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*, indeed, by supreme energy.[570] ב (*Bet*), female; א (*alef*), male.[571] As ב (*bet*) *created*, so א (*alef*) generated letters, totality of twenty-two letters.[572] ה (*He*) generated שמים (*shamayim*), *heaven*: השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heaven*, enlivening it, embedding it.[573] ו (*Vav*) generated הארץ (*ha-arets*), *earth*, to nourish her, array her, provide her the gratification she deserves.[574] ואת הארץ (*Ve-et ha-arets*), *And earth*, for ו (*vav*) takes את (*et*), totality of twenty-two letters, and *earth* is nourished, absorbing them within, as is said: *All the rivers flow into the sea* (Ecclesiastes 1:7).[575] This is the mystery of: ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, union of male and female.[576] All is gathered to the female, who absorbs them. *Earth* received ואת (*ve-et*), absorbing them as nourishment.

The impact of a word[577] is discovered in its cudgels.[578] The fortress of vapor is discovered on earth.[579]

When flashing fire flows, aroused on the left, it seizes Her and smoke ascends, as is said: *Mount Sinai was all in smoke, for YHVH had descended upon it in fire* (Exodus 19:18)—this is fire, this is smoke.[580] And it is written: *the mountain smoking* (Exodus 20:15). For as fire descends, they cling to each other:

smoke and fire. So all endures on the side of the left.[581] This is the mystery of: *My own hand founded earth, My right hand spread out heaven* (Isaiah 48:13), by the power of the right above.[582] In this manner *heaven* was fashioned, for He is male, and the male emerges from the side of the right, while the female emerges from the side of the left,[583] as is written: *My own hand founded earth*.

Lift your eyes on high and see: Who created these? (Isaiah 40:26). Words extend till here; beyond, one does not inquire.[584] For Wisdom was consummated by Nothingness[585] and is insusceptible to questioning, for it is concealed deep; no one fathoms it. Once a deep river emanates,[586] it becomes susceptible to question, though concealed from everything below,[587] and in accord with questioning is called מי (*Mi*), Who.[588] מי (*Mi*), *Who, created these*.[589] This is the secret of which we have spoken: *From the womb of מי* (*mi*), *whom, emerged the ice* (Job 38:29) —*the womb of mi*, indeed:[590] the one susceptible to question— though one does not ask, "What is above?" "What is below?"[591]—seeking rather the site of their issuance,[592] knowing yet not knowing it,[593] for we cannot. Susceptible to questioning, not knowing.

ב׳ בראשית: ראשית (*Be-reshit: bet reshit*), *bet*, *beginning*.[594] Is ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, an utterance, or should we say that בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, is an utterance?[595] As long as its energy has not emerged and expanded, all concealed within, it is בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, an utterance.[596] Once potencies emerge and expand, it is called ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, an utterance of its own.

מי (*Mi*), *Who*, a question, the one who created אלה (*elleh*), *these*.[597] Afterward, once it expanded and consummated itself, it became ים (*yam*), ocean,[598] creating below, fashioning everything exactly as above, one corresponding to the other, reflecting one another, both of them ב (*bet*).[599]

It is written: *While the king was reclining* (Song of Songs 1:12).[600] *Reclining* — settling with the lower kingdom in the mystery of that intimacy of delight in Eden above,[601] by that hidden, concealed, unknown path by which He is filled, issuing in well-known streams.[602] *My spikenard spread its fragrance*—the lower king who created a world below resembling the one above.[603] A redolent, supreme fragrance ascends to preside and perform, enduring, prevailing, sparkling with transcendent light.[604]

The world was created in two modes, by the right and by the left, by six transcendent days.[605] Six days were fashioned to radiate, as is said: *Six days YHVH made, heaven and earth* (Exodus 31:17).[606] These dug pathways and drilled sixty holes into the immense abyss—hollows conducting the water of streams into the abyss.[607] So we have learned: "The hollows were formed from the six days of Creation,"[608] constituting peace for the world.

The earth was תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2)—dregs of an inkwell in seepage.[609] For at first it existed but did not endure: *was* already,[610] later enduring. In forty-two letters the world was engraved and endured, all of them crowning the holy name.[611] As they permutate, letters ascend [30b] and descend, crowning themselves in the four directions of the world, so the world may endure, while these endure through the doings of the world.[612] Scribal patterns of impress appear here by the seal of the signet.[613] They entered and emerged, letter by letter, and the world was created. They entered the seal, permutated, and the world endured by the cudgels of the mighty serpent.[614] They struck and penetrated chasms of dust 1500 cubits.[615] Then the immense abyss ascended in darkness, and darkness covered all, until light emanated, split the darkness, and radiated, as is written: *Revealing depths out of darkness, bringing pitch-blackness to light* (Job 12:22).[616] Water was measured by the handful,[617] 1500 by fingers dripping thrice into the balance,[618] half for sustenance, half entering below, these rising, these falling. Once they rise by the handful, the balance stands even, inclining neither right nor left, as is written: *Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand...?* (Isaiah 40:12).[619] All was within Earth, concealed and unrevealed.[620] Energy, power, and water congealed within Her, neither flowing nor expanding until a light from above shone upon Her. The light struck sponginess,[621] and Her energy was released, as is written: *God said, "Let there be light!" And there was light* (Genesis 1:3)—primordial, transcendent light, already existent.[622] From here issued all powers and forces, so Earth turned firm and fragrant,[623] generating Her potencies. As the light shone, its radiance blazed from one end of the universe to the other. When it gazed upon the wicked of the world, it hid itself away, emerging only by its paths, concealed, unrevealed.[624]

God saw that the light כי טוב (*ki tov*), *was good* (Genesis 1:4). We have learned: Every dream enjoying the status of כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that it was good*, fosters peace above and below.[625] One sees letters corresponding to his ways, every single one.[626] If he sees ט (*tet*)—טב (*tav*), *good* for him, *good* for his dream,[627] for the Torah inaugurated it with כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that it was good*,[628] radiating from one end of the universe to the other. ט (*Tet*)—טב (*tav*), *good*, consummate radiance. ט (*Tet*), ninth of all,[629] a letter radiating from Primordial One above, contained within,[630] coming to be in the secrecy of the point, mystery of י (*yod*), singular point.[631] From its energy emerged ו (*vav*), whereby heaven came into being.[632] When it culminated in a single point and was hidden within a letter, ב (*bet*) glowed.[633] From it emerged above and below—above, concealed; below, revealed

—in the mystery of two,[634] existing by the energy above. This is טוב (*tov*), *good*. These three letters, ט״ו ב (*tet, vav, bet*), later merged into the Righteous One of the world, who embraces all, above and below, as is said: *Say of the righteous one* כ ט״ו ב (*ki tov*), *that he is good* (Isaiah 3:10),[635] for a supernal radiance is contained within him,[636] as is written: *YHVH is* טוב (*tov*), *good, to all* (Psalms 145:9)—*to all*, unspecified, illuminating one day illumining all, supreme above all.[637] Until here, obscurity of words.[638]

בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning God created* (Genesis 1:1)—mystery of: ראשית (*Reshit*), *At the beginning of, your baking, offer a loaf as a gift* (Numbers 15:20).[639] ב (*Bet*) is ביתא (*beita*), house, of the world[640]—watered by that river entering it, the mystery written: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (Genesis 2:10).[641] This river gathers all from the high depth,[642] its waters never ceasing to saturate the garden. That high depth, initial ב (*bet*)—letters are sealed inside it by a single narrow path hidden within.[643] Out of that depth emerged two forces,[644] as is written: את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*), *the heavens* (Genesis 1:1). Not שמים (*shamayim*), *heavens*, but השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*, from that depth, a mystery utterly concealed.[645] *And the earth* (ibid.)—the concealed one generated this *earth*, but included with *heaven*, emerging together, cleaving side by side.[646] When the *beginning* of all was illumined, *heaven* carried Her and set Her in Her site,[647] as is written: ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and the earth*—ו (*vav*) and totality of letters.[648] When She turned to dwell in Her place, separating [31a] from His side, She was confounded and bewildered,[649] yearning to cleave to *heaven* as one, as before, for She saw *heaven* beaming and Herself darkened.[650] But then a transcendent light shone upon Her, illumining Her, and She returned to Her place, gazing at *heaven* face-to-face.[651] So *earth* was mended, rendered firm and fragrant.[652]

Light radiated on the right side, darkness on the left.[653] He then separated them, so they would merge, as is written: *God separated the light from the darkness* (Genesis 1:4). Now if you say an actual separation—no; rather, *Day* came from the side of light, which is right, and *Night* from the side of darkness, which is left,[654] and when they emerged as one, He separated them, dividing them along their sides, so they could gaze face-to-face, cleaving to one another, all becoming one. He is called *Day*—He named him *Day*[655]—and She is called *Night*, as is written: *and the darkness He called Night* (Genesis 1:5),[656] for *darkness* seizes Her; She has no light of Her own.[657] Though deriving from the side of fire, which is *darkness*, still She is dark until illumined from the side of *Day*.[658] *Day* illumines *Night*, but *Night* does not shine until the time of which is

written: *Night will shine as day; darkness and light will be the same* (Psalms 139:12).[659]

Rabbi El'azar jumped in first,[660] expounding: "*The voice of YHVH is over the waters: the God of glory thunders, YHVH over mighty waters* (Psalms 29:3). *The voice of YHVH*—the supernal *voice* appointed over *the waters* flowing from rung to rung until they gather at one site, in one throng.[661] That supernal *voice* conducts the *waters* in their courses, each in its own way, like a gardener appointed over water to conduct it to each site fittingly. So *the voice of YHVH* is appointed *over the waters*.

"*The God of glory thunders*, as is said: *Who can contemplate the thunder of His might?* (Job 26:14). This is the side extending from *Might*,[662] emerging therefrom.

"Alternatively, *The God of glory thunders*—the right, from which left emerges.[663]

"*YHVH over mighty waters*—transcendent Wisdom, who stands *over mighty waters*—over that concealed depth emerging therefrom, as is said: *Your path through mighty waters* (Psalms 77:20)."[664]

Rabbi Shim'on resolved the conflict,[665] opening with a verse: "It is written, *Next to the enclosure are the rings to be, as housings for the poles* (Exodus 25:27).[666] Who is that *enclosure*? A closed site, opened only by a single narrow path, intimated secretly.[667] Thereby it is filled, and traces gates to kindle lamps.[668] Because it is a site hidden and concealed, it is called *enclosure*; this is the world that is coming.[669]

"*Are the rings to be*—supernal rings linked to one another, water from air, air from fire, fire from water, all linked to each other, emerging from one another, like rings.[670] They all gaze at that *enclosure*, into which merges the supernal river to water them,[671] and they merge in it.

"*Housings for the poles*—these supernal rings are *housings* designated *for the poles*, the chariots below,[672] for one derives from the side of fire, one from the side of water, one from the side of air, and so with them all, constituting a chariot for the ark.[673] So whoever approaches should approach these *poles*, not what lies within.[674] As we say to the Nazarite, 'Go around, around! Do not come near the vineyard!'[675] Except for those worthy of serving within, privileged to enter and draw near. Of this is written: *An outsider who comes near shall be put to death* (Numbers 1:51)."

Rabbi Yose asked him, "These six days of Creation (בראשית [*Be-reshit*], *In the beginning*) that we study, who are they?"

He replied, "The same as is written: *The cedars of Lebanon that He planted* (Psalms 104:16). As these *cedars* emerge from *Lebanon*, so those six days emerge from בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning* (Genesis 1:1).[676] Scripture designates these six supernal days explicitly, as is written: *Yours, YHVH, are* גדולה (*gedullah*), *greatness*; גבורה (*gevurah*), *power*; [תפארת (*tif'eret*), *beauty*; נצח (*netsaḥ*), *victory*;הוד (*hod*), *splendor—yes, all...*] (1 Chronicles 29:11).[677] [31b] So בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*—ב ראשית (*Bet, reshit*), 'two, *beginning*,' for though second by count, it is called *beginning*. For the supernal, concealed Crown is first, but since it is not included in the count, the second is *beginning*. So: ב ראשית (*Bet, reshit*), 'two, *beginning*.'[678]

"ברא (*Bara*), *Created* (Genesis, ibid.)—as is written: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (ibid. 2:10), to water and maintain it, attending to all its needs.[679]

"אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (ibid. 1:1)—אלהים חיים (*Elohim ḥayyim*), *Living God*.[680] So the meaning of בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *In the beginning God created*, is certainly: By means of that river, generating, saturating all.[681]

"את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *heaven* (ibid.)—the expansion of the river, expanding and gushing after being generated by *beginning*.[682] Once this generated all, and all settled in its site as one, the last link became a *beginning*.[683] Through this *beginning* it channeled the river, pouring water to flow below.[684]

"So, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *By means of beginning*, indeed, *God created*—by it He created the lower world, by it He radiated lights, by it He energized everything."[685]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Concerning this is written: *Should the axe boast over him who hews with it?* (Isaiah 10:15). To whom does praise belong—not to the craftsman? Similarly, with this ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, the transcendent *God created heaven*. To whom does praise belong? To *God*."

Rabbi Yose said, "It is written: *To whom* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, are close* (Deuteronomy 4:7). *Are close?* The verse should read: *is close*. However, transcendent *Elohim, Elohim* of *the fear of Isaac*, final *Elohim*; therefore, *are close*.[686] Many powers emerge from one, all being one."

God said, "Let there be light!" (Genesis 1:3). This is the light that the blessed Holy One created at first.[687] It is the light of the eye.[688] This is the light that the blessed Holy One showed Adam, who gazed with it from one end of the universe to the other.[689] It is the light that the blessed Holy One showed David,

who praised it, declaring: *How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You!* (Psalms 31:20). This is the light that the blessed Holy One showed Moses; by it he saw from Gilead to Dan.[690]

When the blessed Holy One saw that three wicked generations would arise —the generation of Enosh, the generation of the Flood, and the generation of Dispersion—He hid it away to prevent them from using it.[691] The blessed Holy One gave it to Moses, who used it for the three remaining months of his gestation, as is said: *She hid him for three months* (Exodus 2:2).[692] When three months later he was brought before Pharaoh,[693] the blessed Holy One took it away from him, until he stood upon Mount Sinai to receive the Torah, when He restored that light to him. He wielded it[694] all his days, and the Children of Israel could not approach him until he placed a veil over his face, as is said: *They were afraid to come near him* (Exodus 34:30).[695] He enwrapped Himself in it as in a *tallit*, as is written: *He wraps in light as in a garment* (Psalms 104:2).[696]

"Let there be light!" And there was light (Genesis, ibid.). Every subject of the phrase *and there was* exists in this world and in the world that is coming.[697]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "The light created by the blessed Holy One in the act of Creation flared from one end of the universe to the other, and was hidden away. Why was it hidden away? So the wicked of the world would not enjoy it, nor the worlds enjoy it because of them.[698] It is preserved for the righteous— for the righteous, precisely, [32a] as is written: *Light is sown for the righteous, joy for the upright in heart* (Psalms 97:11).[699] Then the worlds will be fragrant and all will be one. But until the day when the world that is coming arrives, it is preserved, treasured away.

"That light radiated from the midst of darkness hewn by truncheons of the Concealed of All,[700] until a single secret path[701] was carved by the hidden light, leading to darkness below, where light dwells. Who is darkness below? The one called *Night*, of whom is written: *And the darkness He called Night* (Genesis 1:5).[702] So we have learned: *Revealing depths out of darkness* (Job 12:22)."[703]

Rabbi Yose said, "If you say they are revealed from sealed *darkness*,[704] we can see they are concealed—all those supernal crowns—[705] and we call them *depths*. Why, then, *revealing?*[706] Because all those supernal concealments are revealed only from the *darkness* abiding in the mystery of *Night*.[707]

"Come and see: All those concealed depths emerging from thought, conveyed by the voice, are not revealed until the word reveals them.[708] Who is the word? Speech. This speech is called Sabbath,[709] and because Sabbath is called Speech, mundane speech is forbidden on Sabbath, for this speech must prevail,

no other.[710] This speech deriving from the side of *darkness*[711] *reveals depths*."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "If so, what is the meaning of the verse: *God separated the light from the darkness* (Genesis 1:4)?"

He replied, "*Light* generated day, *darkness* generated night.[712] Afterward He joined them together and they became one, as is written: *There was evening, there was morning: day one* (ibid. 1:5), for night and day are called *one*.[713] As to what is written: *God separated the light from the darkness*, this pertains to the time of exile, when division prevails."[714]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Until now the male was in *light*; now the female is in *darkness*, reflecting its light.[715] Later they join together, becoming one. How are they differentiated, distinguishing light from dark? Rungs differentiate, yet both are as one, for there is no light without darkness, no darkness without light.[716] Though one, they diverge in color;[717] even so, they are one, as is written: *day one*."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Through a covenant the world was created and established, as is written: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth* (Jeremiah 33:25).[718] Who is *Covenant*? צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One.[719] So the world endures by *Covenant, day and night* together,[720] as is written: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth—the allowance of heaven and earth*, flowing forth from Eden."[721]

He opened, saying, "*From the voice of* מחצצים (*meḥatsatsim*), *dividers, between the water drawers—there they will chant the righteous acts of* YHVH, *His righteous deliverance of Israel. Then the people of* YHVH *descended to the gates* (Judges 5:11). *From the voice of* מחצצים (*meḥatsatsim*), *dividers*—the voice of Jacob. מחצצים (*Meḥatsatsim*), *Dividers*, as is said: *Man of the space between* (1 Samuel 17:4).[722] *Between the water drawers*, for He dwells between those drawing water from above and receives on two sides, blending them within Himself.[723]

"*There they will chant the righteous acts of* YHVH—there is the site of faith cleaving.[724] *There the righteous acts of* YHVH *will chant*—there *the righteous acts of* YHVH suck, imbibe.[725]

"*His righteous deliverance*—Righteous One of the world, Holy Covenant, drawing, conveying all, delivering, dispersing supernal water into the vast ocean.[726]

"*Of Israel*—for *Israel* inherited this covenant, the blessed Holy One conveying it to them eternally.[727] When Israel abandoned it by not פרעין (*pare'in*),

uncovering—cutting and not uncovering[728]—what is written? *Then the people of YHVH descended to the gates—gates of righteousness*. They sat by the gates but did not enter.[729] Of that time [32b] is written: *The Children of Israel forsook YHVH* (Judges 2:12),[730] until Deborah appeared, inspiring them to offer themselves for this, as is written: בפרוע פרעות (*Biphro'a pera'ot*), *When uncoverings are uncovered, in Israel; when the people willingly offer themselves* (ibid. 5:2).[731] So it is written: *Deliverance ceased, ceased in Israel* (ibid., 7). *Deliverance—His deliverance* (ibid., 11), of which we spoke. *Deliverance ceased*—the holy covenant, for they failed to uncover.[732] *Until I, Deborah, arose; I arose, mother in Israel* (ibid., 7). What is the meaning of *mother*? 'I channeled supernal water from above, sustaining worlds.'[733] *In Israel*—unspecified, above and below, showing that the world is erected only on this covenant.[734] Mystery of all: *The righteous one is the foundation of the world* (Proverbs 10:25).[735]

"Three emerge from one; one stands in three, enters between two; two suckle one, one suckles many sides,[736] so all is one, as is written: *There was evening, there was morning: day one* (Genesis 1:5), a *day* embracing *evening* and *morning* as *one*, namely, the mystery of *covenant with day and night*, in which all is one."[737]

God said, "Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it separate water from water" (Genesis 1:6). Rabbi Yehudah said, "There are seven expanses above, all abiding in supernal holiness,[738] and through them the holy name is consummated.[739] This *expanse* lies in the middle of the waters,[740] above other creatures,[741] separating upper waters from lower waters. The lower waters call to the upper and imbibe them through this *expanse* separating them,[742] for all those waters merge in it, and then it sheds them upon these creatures, drawing from there.

"It is written: *A locked garden is my sister, bride; a locked fountain, a sealed spring* (Song of Songs 4:12). *A locked garden*, for within all is enclosed, all is embraced.[743] *A locked fountain*, for that river gushes, flows, and enters it, and it absorbs without releasing, the water congealing within.[744] Why is this? Because the north wind blows on those waters and they congeal, unable to flow out, eventually turning into ice.[745] Were it not for the wind from the side of the South whose power smashes this ice,[746] the waters would never flow. The appearance of that supernal *expanse* is like this ice congealing, gathering all those waters within.[747] Similarly, that supernal one above gathers all those waters and separates upper from lower.

"As to what we said: *Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters*,

meaning ‘in the middle,’ it is not so! Rather, it is written: *Let there be*—the one emerging from it lies in the middle of the waters, while it lies above, resting on the heads of the creatures.”[748]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, “There is a membrane in the midst of the innards of the human body, partitioning below and above, drawing from above, issuing below.[749] Similarly the *expanse* is in the middle, resting upon those creatures below, separating upper from lower waters.

“Come and see: Those waters conceived and bore darkness.[750] Concerning this mystery it is written: *The curtain will serve you as a partition between the Holy and the Holy of Holies* (Exodus 26:33).”[751]

Rabbi Abba opened, “*Setting the rafters of His lofts in the waters, making the clouds His chariot, walking on the wings of the wind* (Psalms 104:3). *In the waters*—the uppermost waters, by which He established the house, as is said: *By wisdom a house is built, by understanding established* (Proverbs 24:3).[752]

“*Making* עבים (*avim*), *the clouds, His chariot*. Rabbi Yeisa Sava divides עבים (*avim*) into עב ים (*av yam*), cloud, sea—a cloud that is darkness on the left abiding above this sea.[753]

“*Walking on the wings of the wind*—spirit of the supernal sanctuary,[754] mystery of *two cherubim of gold* (Exodus 25:18).[755] It is written: *He rode upon a cherub and flew, gliding on the wings of the wind* (Psalms 18:11). *He rode upon a cherub*—one; afterward He manifested *on the wings of the wind*. Until this aroused, He did not manifest on that.”[756]

Rabbi Yose said, “It is written: *He meted the waters by measure* (Job 28:25) — literally, *in measure*,[757] arraying them as they arrived in Her for the harmony of the world, as they arrived from the side of *Gevurah*.”[758]

Rabbi Abba said, “When the ancients arrived at this site, they would say: ‘The lips of the wise move but they say nothing lest they be punished.’”[759]

Rabbi El’azar said, “First letter of all[760] flitted on the surface of pure vapor,[761] was crowned below and above, ascended [33a] and descended. Waters carved in carvings settle in their sites, merging in one another.[762] So all the letters combine with each other, crown one another until a structure is soundly constructed.[763] Once all were constructed and crowned, upper waters mingled with lower, generating the house of the world.[764] So ב (*bet*) appears at the beginning.[765] Waters ascend and descend until this *expanse* comes to be, separating them. Division occurred on the second, on which Hell was created,[766] a blazing fire—as is said: *He is a consuming fire* (Deuteronomy 4:24)—destined to rain upon the heads of the wicked.”

Rabbi Yehudah said, "From here we learn that every division of opinion for the sake of heaven is destined to endure,[767] for here is a division for the sake of heaven, and through it heaven endured, as is written: *God called the expanse Heaven* (Genesis 1:8).[768]

"In a waterskin of lofts they appear by the pint and endure.[769] For we have learned that it is written: *The curtain shall serve you as a partition between the Holy and the Holy of Holies* (Exodus 26:33), precisely, for this is an *expanse* dividing in the middle.[770]

"Come and see what is written next: *Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place* (Genesis 1:9)[771]—*under heaven*, literally![772] *To one place*—to a place called *One*, namely, the lower sea, completing *One*, without whom He is not called *One*.[773] *Let them be gathered* means that there all those waters converge, as is said: *All the rivers flow into the sea* (Ecclesiastes 1:7)."[774]

Rabbi Yeisa said, "*To one place*—the place of which is written: *My covenant of peace will not be shaken* (Isaiah 54:10), for He carries all and casts it into the sea.[775] By Him Earth is arrayed, as is written: *Let the dry land appear* (Genesis, ibid.)—Earth, as is said: *God called the dry land Earth* (ibid., 10).[776]

"Why is it called *dry land*?"[777]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "This corresponds to what is written: לחם עוני (*leḥem oni*), *bread of affliction* (Deuteronomy 16:3), spelled: לחם עני (*leḥem ani*), *impoverished bread*.[778] Since it is *impoverished bread*, it is called *dry land*, though it absorbs all the waters of the world. She remains *dry* until this *place* fills Her; then water streams through those springs.[779]

"*And the gathering of waters He called Seas* (Genesis, ibid.)—house of convergence above, where all waters converge, whence they flow and gush."[780]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "*The gathering of waters* is the Righteous One,[781] for when the text reaches *the gathering of waters*, it is written: *God saw that it was good* (ibid.), and it is similarly written: *Say of the righteous one that he is good* (Isaiah 3:10).[782] So, too, the primordial light is called *good*,[783] and on all of them is written: *that it was good*, except for the second day, of which *good* is not written.[784]

Rabbi Yose said, "This מקוה (*miqveh*), *gathering*, is Israel, as is written: מקוה ישראל (*Miqveh Yisra'el*), *Hope of Israel—YHVH* (Jeremiah 17:13)."[785]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "It is the Righteous One, corresponding to what is written: *He called Seas* (Genesis, ibid.), for He conveys all springs, streams, and rivers;[786] He is the source of all, conveying all. So, *Seas*, and therefore: *God saw that it was good* (ibid.), and similarly: *Say of the righteous one that he is good* (Isaiah, ibid.). Since He is distinguished, the first day is separated from the third, and between them *that it was good* is not declared.[787] For on the third day Earth

generated verdure from the power of this Righteous One, as is written: *God said, 'Let the earth sprout vegetation, seed-bearing plant, fruit tree'* (Genesis 1:11).[788] What is *fruit tree?* The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, who generates fruit.[789] *Bearing fruit*—the Righteous One.[790] *Of its kind*—for every human being endowed with a holy spirit, fruit of that tree, is signed with an insignia *of its kind*.[791] What is that? Covenant of holiness, covenant of peace.[792] Scions of faith are found, each *of its kind*, on the tree, not parting from it.[793] The Righteous One *bears fruit*, and the tree conceives, generating fruit *of its kind*, of the kind of that one *bearing fruit*, resembling Him.[794] Happy is the share of the one who resembles his mother and father! Therefore the holy insignia on the eighth day, so that he resemble his mother, and when the insignia is uncovered and revealed, he resembles his father.[795] So *fruit tree* is mother; *bearing fruit*, his father; *of its kind*, resembling him, marked by him.

"*With its seed in it on earth* (ibid.). זרעו (*Zar'o*), *Its seed, in it*. The verse should read: זרע (*zera*), *seed, in it*.[796] Why זרעו (zar'o), *its seed, in it*? So that the word may be read זרע ו׳ (*zera vav*), *the seed of* ו (*vav*), *in it on earth*. So it is indeed, for He pours that seed on Earth.[797]

"Happy is the share of Israel, for they are holy, resembling holy ones. Certainly of this is written: *Your people, all of them righteous* (Isaiah 60:21)—*all of them righteous*, indeed, for they emerged from these and resemble them. Happy are they in this world and in the world that is coming!"[798]

[33b] Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "It is written: *He makes Earth by His power* (Jeremiah 10:12). Why *makes Earth*? The verse should read: *made Earth*. But indeed, *makes*, continuously! The blessed Holy One illumines and arrays this Earth.[799] *By His power*—the Righteous One.[800]

"*He establishes the world by His wisdom* (ibid.). *The world* is the earth below.[801] *By His wisdom*—Righteousness, as is written: *He will judge the world with righteousness* (Psalms 9:9).[802]

"*He makes Earth*—the blessed Holy One, who arrays Earth and its pathways. How? *By His power*, as we have explained."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "In *The Engraved Letters of Rabbi El'azar*[803] are clusters of letters, twenty-two clustered as one, two letters, one ascending, one descending—the descending, ascending; the ascending, descending—the sign being: אך בך אל (*Akh bakh el*), *Surely God is in you* (Isaiah 45:14)."[804]

Rabbi Yose said, "The lip of the balance stands in the middle.[805] The sign: *In measuring or* משקל (*mishqal*), *weighing* (Leviticus 19:35).[806] *Mishqal*, *Weighing*—tongue standing in the middle, mystery of שקל הקדש (*sheqel ha-qodesh*), *the weight of holiness* (Exodus 30:13), from which scales are suspended and balanced.[807] Who are the scales? As is said: *Scales of justice* (Leviticus, ibid.), all suspended

in the balance, *sheqel of holiness*."[808]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "*Sheqel of holiness*—spirit of holiness."[809]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "It is written: *By the word of YHVH the heavens were made, by the breath of His mouth all their host* (Psalms 33:6). *By the word of YHVH the heavens were made*—the heavens below, fashioned *by the word of* the heavens above through a breath generating a voice reaching that river flowing forth, whose waters never cease.[810] *By the breath of His mouth all their host*—all those below endure *by the breath*, namely, *the word*.

"*Watering mountains from His lofts; from the fruit of Your work, Earth is sated* (ibid. 104:13). This is well known. *Watering mountains from His lofts*. Who are *His lofts? As* we have explained, for it is written: *Setting the rafters of His lofts in the waters* (ibid., 3).[811] *From the fruit of Your work, Earth is sated*—mystery of that river flowing forth below, as is written: *bearing fruit with its seed in it...* (Genesis 1:11), as explained."[812]

Let there be מארת (*me'orot*), *lights, in the expanse of heaven....* (Genesis 1:14). *Let there be* מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, spelled deficiently.[813]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "מארת (*Me'erat*), *Curse*, for there abides the rigor of the seepage of judgment."[814]

Rabbi Yose said, "*Let there be* מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, below, for diphtheria in the world's children depends upon her,[815] and she depends upon this מארת (*me'orot*), smallest of all the lights, sometimes darkened, receiving no light.[816]

"*In the expanse of heaven*—the expanse that is the sum of them all, for it receives all lights and illumines the light that does not shine because that מארה (*me'erah*), curse, clung to it.[817] All those other species below depend upon it because of the diminution of the light."[818]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Even this expanse that does not shine is called *expanse of heaven*, and similarly Kingdom of Heaven, Land of Israel.[819] This expanse derives from Heaven. So, *Let there be* מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, missing the ו (*vav*).[820] Why? Because without ו (*vav*) death appears in the world.[821] *Let there be* מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*—everything depends upon this, including Lilith in the world.[822] It is written: *Small and great alike are there* (Job 3:19), and similarly: *There YHVH shall be majestic for us* (Isaiah 33:21), and so: *There Lilith shall repose and find herself a resting place* (ibid. 34:14)."[823]

Rabbi El'azar said, "*Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*)—a speculum that does not shine on its own[824] but like a lantern absorbing light and glowing.

"It is written: *Behold the ark of the covenant, Lord of all the earth* (Joshua 3:11). *Behold the ark*—מארת (*me'orot*);[825] *the ark*—the chest containing Written

Torah.[826] *The covenant*—the sun illumining Her, to illumine the world.[827] *The ark of the covenant*—precisely, *Lord of all the earth. The covenant* is *Lord of all the earth*, so this *ark* is *Lord* because of the sun illumining it, illumining the whole world.[828] [34a] From Him this *ark* takes its name, being called in the mystery of אל״ף, דל״ת, נו״ן, יו״ד (*alef, dalet, nun, yod*).[829] As we say: 'Righteous One and Righteousness,'[830] and similarly: אדון (*Adon*), *Lord*; אדני (*Adonai*), one dependent on the other.

"Come and see: Stars and constellations endure through a covenant, which is indeed *the expanse of heaven* (Genesis, ibid., 15), in which stars and constellations are traced and engraved, in which they are suspended to shine."[831]

Rabbi Yeisa Sava used to say: "*Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), suspended *in the expanse of heaven*—the moon.[832] Once it is written: *Let them be for* מאורת (*me'orot*), *lights* (ibid.)—behold, the sun....[833] *For seasons* (ibid., 14),[834] because times, festivals, months, and Sabbaths depend upon them. All through the supernal, primordial act, linked with His holy name.[835] He is all.

"There are seven planets corresponding to seven heavens, all of them conducting the world, and above them the upper world.[836] There are two worlds: the upper world and the lower world, lower resembling upper, for it is written: *From world to world* (Psalms 106:48), upper king and lower king.[837] It is written: '*YHVH* is king, *YHVH* was king, *YHVH* will be king for eternity.'[838] *YHVH* is king—above; *YHVH* was king—in the middle; *YHVH* will be king—below."

Rabbi Aḥa said, "*YHVH* is king—the upper world, the world that is coming.[839] *YHVH* was king—*Tif'eret Yisra'el*.[840] *YHVH* will be king—*the ark of the covenant*.[841] Another time David reversed them, from below to above, saying: *YHVH is king forever and ever* (Psalm 10:16). *YHVH is king* below; *forever*—in the middle; ועד (*va-ed*), *and ever*—above, site of ויעודא (*vi'uda*), convening, and enduring in the consummation of all.[842] *King* above; *king*, below."[843]

Rabbi Abba said, "All these lights join *in the expanse of heaven to shine upon earth* (Genesis 1:15), to illumine Earth. Who is the expanse illumining Earth? You must admit, this is the river flowing forth from Eden, as is written: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (Genesis 2:10).[844]

"Come and see: Once the moon prevails, illumined by that river flowing forth, all those heavens below and their hosts are augmented with light.[845] The stars empowered over the world prevail, raising plants and trees.[846] Earth grows in its entirety—even the waters and fish of the sea abound. Countless wardens of judgment roam the world, overjoyed and empowered.[847] When joy prevails in the king's palace, even the gatekeepers, even crag dwellers[848] all revel and roam the world, and children of the world must beware."

Rabbi Aḥa said, "*God placed them in the expanse of heaven* (Genesis

1:17).[849] When all of them are present there, joy prevails between one another.[850] Then the moon diminishes herself in the presence of the sun,[851] and whatever he conveys is designed to illumine her, as is written: *to shine upon earth* (ibid.)."[852]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "It is written: *The light of the moon shall be like the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, like the light of the seven days* (Isaiah 30:26). Who are *the seven days?* The seven days of Creation."[853]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "These are the seven days of מלואים (*millu'im*), investiture—*millu'im*, filling, indeed, for at that time the world is rendered firm and fragrant, restored to fullness.[854] The moon is not tainted by the evil serpent, of whom is written: *A whisperer separates an intimate* (Proverbs 16:28).[855] When is this? When *He will swallow up death forever* (Isaiah 25:8). Then this verse will be fulfilled: *On that day YHVH will be one and His name one* (Zechariah 14:9)."

Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls (Genesis 1:20).

Rabbi El'azar said, "These are the lower waters, teeming with species as above, those higher, these lower."[856]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "The higher generated *a living soul*. What is that? The soul of Adam, as is said: האדם (*Ha-adam*), *The human, became a living soul* (Genesis 2:7).[857]

"*And let birds fly upon the earth* (ibid. 1:20)—messengers from above appearing to humans in human appearance, as implied by the wording *fly upon the earth*.[858] For there are others who appear only in genuine spirit, according to human awareness.[859] [34b] So of these is not written: *after its kind*, as with those others, of whom is written: *every winged bird after its kind* (ibid., 21), for these never change their kind, like these others, of whom is not written: *after its kind*.[860]

"Now if you say, 'Some of them differ from one another'—certainly so, some of them do differ, and so it is written: *From there it divides* (ibid. 2:10).[861]

"*God created the great sea serpents* (ibid. 1:21)[862]—Leviathan and his mate.[863]

"*And every* נפש החיה (*nefesh ha-ḥayyah*), *soul of the living being, who glides*—the soul of that *living being* gliding in all four directions of the world. Who is She? Night.[864]

"*With which the waters swarmed, after their kind*—for waters nourish them.[865] When South arrives, waters are released, flowing in all directions.[866] Ships of the sea sail away, plying, as is said: *There ships travel, Leviathan whom You formed to play with* (Psalms 104:26).[867]

"*And every winged bird after its kind*—as is said: *For a bird of heaven will*

carry the sound, a winged creature will report the word (Ecclesiastes 10:20)."[868]

Rabbi Yose said, "All of them are six-winged, never changing, so it is written: *after its kind*. What does this mean? After a supernal kind.[869] These sweep through the world in six,[870] observing the actions of human beings, conveying them above.[871] So, *even in your thoughts do not curse the king, even in your bedroom do not curse the rich, for a bird of heaven will carry the sound* (ibid.)."[872]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "הרומשת (*Ha-romeset*), *Who glides*—the verse should read: השורצת (*ha-shoretset*), *who swarms*.[873] But as we say: 'Night רמש (*remash*), dusked.'[874] So, *when all creatures of the forest* תרמוש (*tirmos*), *creep* (Psalms 104:20),[875] for when She reigns they all reign, opening with song in three watches, segments of the night, chanting without subsiding.[876] Of them is written: *O you, who call upon YHVH, be not silent!* (Isaiah 62:6)."[877]

Rabbi Shim'on rose and said, "I was gazing:[878] When the blessed Holy One was about to create Adam, above and below trembled.[879] The sixth day was ascending its rungs[880] as the supernal will arose[881] and the origin of all lights dawned,[882] opening the gate of the East, whence light issues.[883] South displayed the power of the light inherited from the head[884] and was empowered by the East. East empowered North; North aroused and expanded, calling potently to the West to draw near, to join him.[885] Then West rose to the North, bonding with him. Afterward South approached, embracing West, now encompassed by South and North, mystery of the hedges of the garden.[886] Then East draws near West,[887] and West abides in joy, inviting them all: *Let us make a human being in our image, according to our likeness* (Genesis 1:26), resembling this in four directions, above and below.[888] East cleaved to West, generating him, and so we have learned: Adam emerged from the site of the Temple.'[889]

"Further, *Let us make* אדם (*adam*), *a human being*—the blessed Holy One imparted to these lower beings, who emerged from the aspect above,[890] the secret of the name amounting to אדם (*adam*), from the sealed supernal mystery.[891] אדם, mystery of letters, for אדם embraces above and below: א (*alef*), beyond, beyond;[892] ם (final *mem*), who is לרבה (*le-marbeh*), *for the abundance of, dominion* (Isaiah 9:6);[893] lower ד (*dalet*), concealed in the West.[894] This is the entirety of above and below, arrayed above, arrayed below. When these letters descended, all was as one in consummation: male and female.[895] The female cleaved to his side until He cast sleep upon him and he slumbered, lying on the site of the Temple below.[896] The blessed Holy One sawed him, adorned her as one adorns a bride, and brought her to him, as is written: *He took one of his sides and closed up the flesh*

in its place (Genesis 2:21).[897] *He took one*—precisely! In the books of the ancients I have discovered: This is the original Lilith, who accompanied him, was impregnated by him, and taken away from him.[898] She was no *fitting helper* for him[899]—What is a *helper?* סמך (*Semakh*), A support.[900] Till finally it is written: *It is not good for Adam to be alone. I will make him a fitting helper* (ibid., 18).[901]

"Come and see: Adam was last of all, fittingly, so as to arrive in a consummate world."[902]

Rabbi Shim'on said further, "It is written: *No bush of the field was yet on earth, no plant of the field had yet sprouted, for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth...* (ibid. 2:5).[903] *No bush of the field*—[35a] magnificent trees planted later, still tiny.[904]

"Come and see: Adam and Eve were created side by side.[905] Why not face-to-face? Because, as is written, *YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth*, and the coupling was not yet fittingly arrayed.[906] When the one below was arrayed, and they turned face-to-face, then so it was above.[907] How do we know?[908] From the *Dwelling*, as is written: *The Dwelling was erected* (Exodus 40:17), from which we learn that another *Dwelling* was erected along with it, and until erected below, it was not erected above.[909] Similarly here, once arrayed below, it was arrayed above. Since until now it had not been arrayed above, they were not created face-to-face, as proven by Scripture: *for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth*. Consequently, *there was no human*, for he was not arrayed.[910]

"This secret is implied by the fact that up to this point in the portion the letter ס (*samekh*) does not appear. Although the Companions have commented, still ס (*samekh*) is *a helper*, namely, *a helper* above, for above turned face-to-face, male and female supported by each other, indeed, *supported eternally, fashioned in truth and integrity* (Psalms 111:8).[911] *Supported*—male and female, supported as one. The world of which we have spoken depends upon the world below, for as long as the world below was not arrayed, neither was the world of which we have spoken.[912]

"*YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth*, for one supports the other. This lower world, once arrayed—once turned and arrayed face-to-face—became a support above, for previously the work was in disarray. Each depends on the other.

"What is written next? *A flow welled up from earth* (Genesis 2:6). This is the arrayal below, afterward *watering the whole face of the ground* (ibid.). This is the desire of female for male.[913]

"Alternatively, why *had* He *not rained?* Because no arrayal *welled up from earth*. So from earth below action is aroused above.[914] Come and see: Vapor ascends from earth at first, a cloud is aroused, and then all conjoins. Similarly,

smoke of sacrifice is aroused below, consummates above, and all conjoins in consummation.[915] Similarly above, arousal begins from below, then all is consummated.[916] If Assembly of Israel did not initiate arousal, the one above would not be aroused toward Her.[917] By desire below, all is consummated."

Rabbi Abba said, "It is written: *the tree of life in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil* (Genesis 2:9). *The tree of life*—we have learned that it extends over a journey of five hundred years, and all the waters of Creation branch off below.[918] *The tree of life* is precisely in the middle of the garden, conveying all waters of Creation, branching below, for that flowing, gushing river spreads into the garden, whence waters branch in many directions. Receiving them all is the ocean, from which they emerge in numerous streams below, as is said: *watering all beasts of the field* (Psalms 104:11).[919] Just as they emerge from that world above, watering those towering mountains of pure balsam,[920] subsequently upon reaching *the tree of life*, they branch below by paths in every direction.

"*And the tree of knowledge of good and evil*. Why is it called so? It is not in the middle.[921] But what does *knowledge of good and evil* mean? Since it suckles on two sides and knows them as one suckling sweet and bitter, since it suckles on two sides, knowing them and dwelling among them, it is called so.[922] All those plants dwell above it,[923] while within it dwell other plants, supernal plants called *cedars of Lebanon*. Who are those *cedars of Lebanon*? The six days of Creation of which we have spoken, *the cedars of Lebanon that He planted* (Psalms 104:16), certainly saplings, later firmly implanted.[924]

"From here on, ס (*samekh*). What is it? ויסגור (*Va-yisgor*), *He closed up, the flesh at that place* (Genesis 2:21). She was attached to his side, one to the side of the other. Indeed the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting [35b] them elsewhere, where they turned face-to-face for endurance.[925] Similarly, the worlds were adjoined; the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them elsewhere, where they endured."[926]

Rabbi Abba said, "How do we know that Adam and Eve were saplings? For it is written: *sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may he glorified* (Isaiah 60:21)[927]—*work of My hands*, precisely, for no other creature engaged in them.[928] Similarly it is written: *On the day of your planting, you become debased* (ibid. 17:11), for the very day they were planted in the world, they united and decayed.[929] We have learned: 'They resembled antennae of grasshoppers,' for their light was tenuous and they did not shine. Once planted firmly, their light increased and they were called *cedars of Lebanon*.[930] Adam and Eve, as well, did

not grow until planted, gave forth no fragrance; indeed they were uprooted, transplanted, fittingly arrayed."[931]

YHVH Elohim commanded [*the human*, *saying*...] (Genesis 2:16).[932] We have learned: "*Command* means idolatry; *saying*—this is woman...[933] That is fine. *From every tree of the garden you are free to eat*—everything was permitted to him if eaten in oneness.[934] For we see that Abraham ate, Isaac, and Jacob—they all ate and endured.[935] But this tree is a tree of death; whoever takes it alone dies, for he has taken deadly poison.[936] So, *on the day you eat from it*, *you will surely die* (ibid., 17), for he separates saplings.[937]

Rabbi Yehudah asked Rabbi Shim'on, "We have learned: 'Adam stretched his foreskin.'[938] What does this mean?"

He replied, "That he separated the holy covenant from its site.[939] He certainly stretched the foreskin, for he abandoned the holy covenant, cleaved to the foreskin, was seduced by the word of the serpent."[940]

But from the fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden (ibid. 3:3)[941]—this is woman.[942]

Do not eat from it (ibid.), for it is written: *Her feet descend to death*... (Proverbs 5:5).[943] On this one there is fruit, on the other there is not.[944]

For on the day you eat from it, *you will surely die* (ibid. 2:17), for it is a tree of death, as we have said: *Her feet descend to death*.

Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field (ibid. 3:1).

Rabbi Yose said, "The tree of which we have spoken was watered, flourished, and rejoiced, as is said: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (Genesis 2:10). *The garden*—this is woman, the *river* entering Her, watering Her, and all was one, while from there below is division, as is written: *From there it divides* (ibid.)."[945]

Now the serpent. Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "This is the evil impulse."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "An actual *serpent*."

They came before Rabbi Shim'on, who said to them, "Indeed, all is one. It was Samael appearing on a *serpent*, and the form of *the serpent* is Satan; all is one.[946]

"We have learned: At that moment Samael descended from heaven, riding on this *serpent*, and when all creatures saw his form they fled from him.[947] They got to the woman with words, inflicting death upon the world. Indeed through wisdom Samael brought curses on the world, destroying the primordial tree created in the world by the blessed Holy One.[948]

"This matter loomed over Samael until another holy tree arrived—namely,

Jacob—who wrested blessings from him, so that he would not be blessed above, nor Esau below.[949] For Jacob was patterned on Adam; the beauty of Jacob was the beauty of Adam.[950] Just as Samael withheld blessings from the primordial tree, so Jacob, a tree patterned on Adam, withheld blessings from Samael above and below. Jacob took what was his entirely. So, *a man wrestled with him* (Genesis 32:25).[951]

"*The serpent was slier*—evil impulse, Angel of Death.[952] Being the Angel of Death, he inflicted death upon the whole world. This is the mystery written: *End of all flesh has come before Me* (ibid. 6:13)—*End of all flesh* who takes the soul of all flesh and is so named."[953]

He said to the woman, "אף (*Af*), *Really...*" (ibid. 3:1).[954]

Rabbi Yose said, "He opened with אף (*af*), *really*, and cast אף (*af*), wrath, into the world.[955] He said to her, [36a] 'With this tree the blessed Holy One created the world. Eat from it and you will really *be like* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, knowing good and evil!* (ibid., 5).' For so it is: *Elohim* is its name, *the tree of knowledge of good and evil*.[956] So, *You will be like Elohim, knowing good and evil*."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "That is not what he said. For if he had said: 'With this tree the blessed Holy One created the world,' it would have been correct.[957] What he said was, rather: 'The blessed Holy One ate from this tree and then created the world, and every artisan hates his fellow. Eat from it and you will be creating worlds! So, *God knows that on the day you eat from it* [*your eyes will be opened and you will become like God...*] (ibid., 5). Because He knew this, He commanded you concerning it.'"[958]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "He spoke lies entirely. The very first thing he said was a lie, as is written: *Even though God said, 'Do not eat from any of the trees in the garden*' (ibid., 1).[959] It was not so, for it is written: *From every tree of the garden you are free to eat* (ibid. 2:16)[960]—He permitted him all of them."[961]

Rabbi Yose said, "We have learned: 'The blessed Holy One commanded him concerning idolatry, as is written: *commanded* (ibid.); *YHVH*, concerning blasphemy; *Elohim*, concerning judges; *the human*, concerning murder; *saying*, concerning the woman, concerning exposing nudity.'[962] Now, how many people existed in the world, necessitating this?[963] But certainly all touched upon this tree, by which they are embraced.[964] Whoever takes it by itself, takes it together with hordes below embraced by it, takes idolatry, murder, and exposing nudity.[965] Idolatry toward those empowered princes.[966] Murder engendered by this tree, which is *Gevurah*; Samael is appointed over this.[967] Exposing nudity— She is Woman, so named, and it is forbidden to invite a woman by herself, only with her husband, that one not be suspected of exposing nudity.[968] So in them all he

was commanded concerning this tree. When he ate from it, he violated them all, for it embraces all."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Indeed this is so, for it is forbidden to be alone with a woman, only together with her husband.[969] What did that wicked one do? He said, 'Look, I touched this tree and did not die. You, too, come and touch it with your hand; you won't die.' This he added for her on his own.[970]

"Immediately, *The woman saw that the tree was good* (ibid. 3:6).[971] What did she see?"

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "That tree gave forth an aroma, as is said: *like the fragrance of a field blessed by YHVH* (ibid. 27:27).[972] Because of that aroma ascending, she desired eating of it."

Rabbi Yose said, "It was vision."

Rabbi Yehudah said to him, "But it is written: *The eyes of both of them were opened* (ibid. 3:7)!"[973]

He replied, "The vision she beheld was the measure of the tree, as is written: ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *She saw the Woman*, precisely![974]

"*The woman saw that it was good* (ibid., 6). She saw and did not see. She saw *that it was good*, but she was unsettled. What is written next? *She took of its fruit* (ibid.), not *She took of it*. She cleaved to the site of death, inflicting death upon the whole world, separating life from death, which are not to be separated.[975] For voice is never separate from speech, and whoever separates voice from speech turns dumb, speechless.[976] Deprived of speech, he turns to dust."[977]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "It is written: *I was dumb with silence, stilled, bereft of goodness, my pain aroused* (Psalms 39:3). This verse was spoken by Assembly of Israel, who is in exile.[978] Why? Because voice conducts speech.[979] When She is in exile, voice separates from Her, no word is heard, and so: *I was dumb with silence*. Why? Because *I was stilled, bereft of goodness*—for voice no longer accompanies Her, and Israel declares: *To You, praise is silent* (ibid. 65:2). Who is *silent? Praise, praise of David* (Psalms 145:1), who turns *silent* in exile, voiceless."[980]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "What does *to you* mean? Because of You, She is *silent*, for You abandoned Her."[981]

She took of its fruit and ate.[982] We have learned: She squeezed grapes and offered them to him,[983] and they inflicted death upon the whole world, for death abides in this tree, a tree ruling by night.[984] [36b] When She rules, all creatures of the world taste a taste of death,[985] but those scions of faith first pledge their souls to Him, and since pledged, the souls return to their sites. So, *Your faithfulness every night* (Psalms 92:3).[986]

The eyes of both of them were opened (Genesis 3:7).[987]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "Opened to perceive the evil of the world, unknown to them till now.[988] Once they knew and were open to knowing evil, then *they knew that they were naked* (ibid.), for they had lost the supernal radiance enveloping them, which disappeared, leaving them *naked*.[989]

"*They sewed together fig leaves* (ibid.). They knew to be covered by the shade of that tree from which they had eaten, called 'leaves of the tree.'"[990]

And made themselves loincloths (ibid.). Rabbi Yose said, "Once they knew of this world and clung to it, they saw that this world is conducted by those leaves of the tree. So they built themselves a stronghold, fortifying themselves with them in this world, discovering every kind of magic. They sought to gird themselves with the weapons of those leaves of the tree for protection."[991]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Then three were brought to justice and convicted, and the lower world was cursed[992] and could not firmly endure due to the slime of the serpent until Israel stood at Mount Sinai.[993] Afterward the blessed Holy One clothed them in garments soothing to the skin, as is written: כתנות עור (*kotnot or*), *garments of skin* (ibid., 21).[994] At first they wore כתנות אור (*kotnot or*), *garments of light*, and he was waited upon by the highest beings, for the angels on high came to bask in that light, as is written: *You made him little less than God, adorned him with glory and majesty!* (Psalms 8:6).[995] Now that they sinned, כתנות עור (*kotnot or*), *garments of skin*, soothing the skin, not the soul.[996]

"Afterward they bore their first son, son of slime. Two copulated with her; she conceived and bore two.[997] Each emerged according to his kind; by their spirit they separated, one to this side, one to the other, each resembling its side. From the side of Cain emerge all the haunts of maleficent species, spirits, demons, and sorcerers.[998] From the side of Abel, a side of greater compassion, yet incomplete—good wine adulterated with bad, immature until Seth appeared, from whom descended all righteous generations, by whom the world was sown.[999] From Cain descended all those insolent, wicked sinners of the world."

Rabbi El'azar said, "When Cain sinned he was terrified, for he saw several armed camps confronting him, coming to kill him. When he returned to God,[1000] what did he say? *Behold, You have banished me today from the face of the soil, and from Your face I will be hidden* (Genesis 4:14). What is the meaning of: *from Your face* אסתר (*essater*), *I will be hidden*? His structure סתיר (*setir*), destroyed."

Rabbi Abba said, "As is written: *He will hide His face from them* (Micah 3:4).[1001] So, *From Your face I will be hidden*—it will not watch over me, *and whoever finds me will kill me* (Genesis, ibid.).

"*YHVH put* אות (*ot*), *a mark, on Cain* (ibid., 15). What is אות (*ot*), *a mark*? He

placed upon him one אות (*ot*), letter, of the twenty-two letters of Torah to protect him."[1002]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Why is it written: *When they were in the field* (ibid., 8)? This is a woman. Because of this he killed him, for from this side he inherited killing, the side of Samael, who inflicted death upon the whole world. Cain was jealous of Abel because of his female."[1003]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "But we have seen it written: *Cain was very angry and his face fell* (ibid., 5) because his offering was not accepted."

He replied, "So it is! All this confronted him."[1004]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Why is it written: *Surely if you do well, there is dignity. But if you do not do well, sin crouches at the opening* (ibid., 7)? Because the verse declares this: *If you do well, there is dignity*. What is *dignity*? As is written: *surpassing in dignity* (ibid. 49:3), for the firstborn is entirely praiseworthy, depending on his deeds.[1005] So, *if you do well, there is dignity. But if you do not do well, sin crouches at the opening*. What is *the opening?* The opening [37a] above, from whom judgments issue for evil deeds of the world. *Opening*, as is said: *Open for me the gates of justice* (Psalms 118:19).[1006] At that *opening, sin crouches*, namely, the Angel of Death, poised to punish you.

"Come and see: On Rosh Hashanah Adam was born.[1007] On Rosh Hashanah, indeed, mystery above and below: Rosh Hashanah above, Rosh Hashanah below.[1008] On Rosh Hashanah barren women are attended.[1009] How do we know this happens on Rosh Hashanah? As is written: ויהוה (*Va-YHVH*), *And YHVH, attended to Sarah* (Genesis 21:1)—ויהוה (*Va-YHVH*), *And YHVH*, precisely: this is Rosh Hashanah.[1010] Since Adam emerged from Rosh Hashanah, he emerged through judgment, and the world endures through judgment.[1011] So, *at the opening*, indeed, *sin crouches* to punish you. *His desire is toward you* (ibid. 4:7), till you are destroyed. ואתה (*Ve-attah*), *And you, will rule over him* (ibid.)—a mystery, as is written: ואתה (*Ve-Attah*), *And You, enliven them all* (Nehemiah 9:6).[1012] From here they have concluded that the blessed Holy One reigns only when the wicked of the world are destroyed.[1013] So, once the Angel of Death destroys them, He rules over him, preventing him from putrefying the world, as is written: ואתה (*Ve-attah*), *And you, will rule over him*—ואתה (*Ve-Attah*), *And You*, precisely!"[1014]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "In a grapple of strife a potentate appears."[1015]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "*And you will rule over him*, by returning to God."

Rabbi Yose said, "The generations of Cain resembled beings above and below: walking upon the earth, they pulverized the ground."[1016]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "When Uzza and Azael fell from their holy site above, they saw the daughters of human beings, sinned, and engendered sons.[1017] These

were נפילים (*nefilim*), *fallen beings*, as is written: *The* נפילים (*nefilim*), *fallen beings, were on earth* (Genesis 6:4)."[1018]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "The sons of Cain were *the sons of* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (ibid., 2). For when Samael copulated with Eve, injecting her with slime, she conceived and bore Cain.[1019] His features differed from other humans,[1020] and all those issuing from his aspect are called *sons of Elohim*."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Even the sons of those *nefilim* are so called.

"*They were the mighty men* (ibid., 4).[1021] There were sixty on earth, corresponding to the number above. Here is written: *They were the mighty men* מעולם (*me-olam*), *of old*, and there is written: *sixty mighty men encircling her* (Song of Songs 3:7)."[1022]

Rabbi Yose said, "*They were the mighty men* מעולם (*me-olam*), *from the world*, literally, *from the world*, precisely![1023]

"*The men of name* (Genesis, ibid.). What does *name* mean? This is *the world* of which we have spoken, *men of the name*, precisely![1024] Here is written: *men of the name*, and there is written: *when he blasphemes the name* (Leviticus 24:16), and similarly: *The son of the Israelite woman blasphemed the name* (ibid., 11)."[1025]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "They were מעולם (*me-olam*), *from the world*, literally! *From the world* below, the blessed Holy One took them, as is said: *Remember Your compassion, YHVH, and Your love, for they are* מעולם (*me-olam*), *from the world*—really *from the world* the blessed Holy One took them to become a holy chariot above.[1026] Similarly here, *They were the mighty men from the world*—really *from the world*."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "מעולם (*Me-olam*), *From the world*—this is *the bed of Solomon* (Song of Songs 3:7), as is written: *sixty mighty men encircling her* (ibid.)."[1027]

Rabbi Aḥa said, "They are all called *sons of Elohim*, for *the world* was not yet firm and fragrant.[1028]

"Come and see: All those saplings were concealed, tenuously traced in a certain site. Afterward the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them elsewhere, and they endured."[1029]

Rabbi Yeisa asked, "Concerning what is written: *This is the book of the generations of Adam...* (Genesis 5:1)—"

"This is a supernal mystery," said Rabbi Abba. "We have learned: 'Three books are opened on Rosh Hashanah: one, of the completely righteous....'[1030] [37b] A supernal book whence all emerges, whence emerges writing.[1031] A middle

book comprising above and below, embracing all sides, mystery of Written Torah, Primordial Adam.[1032] A book called *Generations of Adam*. Which is that? The one of the completely righteous, as is written: *This is the book*, really! Righteous One engendering generations.[1033]

"*On the day God created Adam in the likeness of God* (ibid.),[1034] for really then was all arrayed above and below, stabilized in a single paradigm.[1035]

"*Male and female He created them* (ibid., 2)—unidentifiable, one merging in the other."[1036]

Our Mishnah.[1037] It is written: *The name of YHVH is a tower of strength, into which the righteous one runs and is safe* (Proverbs 18:10). This is *the book of the generations of Adam*, who runs into that *tower*.[1038] This *tower*—what is its nature? This is the Tower of David.[1039] This is: מגדל עוז שם יהוה בו ירוץ צדיק ונשגב (*Migdal oz shem YHVH, bo yaruts tsaddiq ve-nisgav*), *The name of YHVH is a tower of strength, into which the righteous one runs and is safe*. All is one. Here is a cipher for scions of faith:[1040]

מבש עוי מיץ
גרג ווה יצד
דצב זדו היי
לקה שוה ונק

This is really *the book of the generations of Adam* for scions of faith.

Rabbi Abba said, "An actual book was brought down to Adam, from which he discovered supernal wisdom.[1041] This book reached *the sons of Elohim*, who contemplate and know it.[1042] This book was brought down by the master of mysteries, preceded by three envoys.[1043] When Adam departed the Garden of Eden he grasped that book, but as he was leaving it flew away from him to the gate. He prayed and cried before his Lord, and it was restored to him as before, so wisdom would not be forgotten by humanity and they would strive to know their Lord.

"Similarly we have learned: חנוך (*Ḥanokh*), Enoch, had a book—a book from the site of *the book of the generations of Adam*, mystery of wisdom—for he was taken from Earth, as is written: *He was no more, for God took him* (Genesis 5:24).[1044] He is the Lad, as is written: חנוך (*Ḥanokh*), *Train, the lad* (Proverbs 22:6).[1045] All hidden treasures above were entrusted to him, and he transmits,

carrying out the mission. A thousand keys were handed to him; he conveys one hundred blessings every day, wreathing wreaths for his Lord.[1046] The blessed Holy One took him from the world to serve Him, as is written: *for God took him*. By him a book was transmitted, a book was conveyed called *The Book of Enoch*.[1047] When the blessed Holy One grasped him, He showed him all the treasures above, the Tree of Life in the middle of the garden, including its leaves and branches.[1048] All this we see in his book. Happy are the devout of the world, to whom supernal wisdom is revealed, never to be forgotten, as is said: *The secret of YHVH is for those in awe of Him; to them He reveals His covenant* (Psalms 25:14)."[1049]

YHVH said, "My spirit shall not abide in humanity forever, since they, too, are flesh" (Genesis 6:3).[1050] Rabbi Aḥa said, "At that time the flowing, gushing river was gushing a supernal spirit from the Tree of Life, pouring into the tree where death abides,[1051] so spirits were drawn into human beings recurrently, until maleficent species ascended, presenting themselves at the opening. Then, as human souls were flying off, the supernal spirit departed from that tree, as is written: *My spirit shall not abide in humanity* לעולם (*le-olam*), *forever*, given לעולם (*la-olam*), to the world."[1052]

Since they, too, are flesh. Members of the academy of Rabbi El'azar said, "בשגם (*Be-shaggam*), *Since too*—this is משה (*Mosheh*), Moses, who illumines the moon, by whose energy humanity endures for many days in the world.[1053]

"*Let his days be a hundred and twenty years* (ibid.), alluding to Moses, through whom Torah was given and who thereby poured life lavishly for humanity from that Tree of Life.[1054] So it would have been, had Israel not sinned, as is written: חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved, on the tablets* (Exodus 32:16)—חרות (*ḥerut*), freedom, from the Angel of Death, for the Tree of Life extended to those below.[1055] So, בשגם (*be-shaggam*), *since* [*he*,] *too, is flesh*, the event transpires: the spirit of life is lavishly poured.[1056] בשגם (*Be-shaggam*), *Since too*— embraced below and above. So we have learned: 'Moses did not die, but was rather gathered [38a] from the world and illumines the moon.'[1057] For even when the sun is gathered from the world, it does not die but illumines the moon. So too, Moses."

Alternatively, *since it, too, is flesh*—when the spirit extends long within human beings, it turns into *flesh*, being drawn after the body.[1058]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "All the generations perfected by Seth were entirely righteous and devout.[1059] Subsequently spreading and multiplying, they learned the art of annihilation: spears and swords.[1060] Finally Noah appeared and rearranged the world for them, preparing and cultivating the soil. For at first they

neither sowed nor reaped, which afterward they found essential, as is written: *So long as the earth endures*, [*sowing and harvest... shall not cease*] (Genesis 8:22)."[1061]

Rabbi El'azar said, "God will one day mend the world and ripen the spirit within human beings so they prolong their days forever, as is written: *For as the days of a tree shall the days of My people be* (Isaiah 65:22), and similarly: *He will swallow up death forever...* (ibid. 25:8)."

[45b] [1062] *God said, "Let there be light!" And there was light* (Genesis 1:3).

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "From here we learn that the blessed Holy One uprooted these saplings and transplanted them, as indicated by the expression: *And there was*."[1063]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "A light that already was. We have learned that it is written: ויהי (*Vayhi*), *And there was, light*. Not והיה (*ve-hayah*), but rather *vayhi*.[1064] When the blessed Holy One contemplated the generations of the wicked, who would prove unworthy of that light, He treasured it away, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous—the righteous, precisely, as is written: *Light is sown for the righteous, joy for the upright in heart* (Psalms 97:11).[1065]

"*God said, 'Let there be light!'* As is written: *Who aroused from the East...?* (Isaiah 41:2).[1066]

"*God saw that the light was good* (Genesis 1:4). What did He see?"

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "As we have said, He saw the acts of the wicked and treasured it away."

Rabbi Abba said, "*God saw the light*, its radiance flashing from one end of the universe to the other.[1067]

"*That it was good* [46a]—to hide it, so that the wicked of the world would not enjoy it."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "*God saw that the light was good*—without a trace of wrath. Here is written *that it was good*, and there is written: *that it was good in the eyes of YHVH to bless Israel* (Numbers 24:1).[1068] The end of the verse proves it: *God separated the light from the darkness* (Genesis, ibid.), so no wrath could be found, although the blessed Holy One joined them as one.[1069]

"Come and see: Supreme radiance, so this light would glow, and from that radiance, delight to all—the right, by which gravings of engravings are wreathed.[1070] This has been said, as is written: *How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You* (Psalms 31:20). This is the primordial light treasured away by the blessed Holy One for the righteous, as we have said.[1071]

"*There was evening* (Genesis, ibid., 5), from the side of darkness; *there was morning*, from the side of light. Since they join as one, it is written: *day of oneness*."[1072]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Why is it written of every single day: *There was evening, there was morning*? To reveal that there is no day without night, no night without day; they must not be parted."[1073]

Rabbi Yose said, “That day, on which primordial light radiated, extended through all those days, for on all of them is written: *day*.”[1074]

Rabbi El’azar said, “This is implied by the fact that on all of them is written *morning*, and *morning* is solely from the side of primordial light.”[1075]

Rabbi Shim’on said, “The first day accompanies all of them, and all inhabit it, showing there is no separation between them. All is one.

“*God said*, ‘*Let there be light*!’—an extension of this light below. These are angels created on the first day, abiding enduringly on the right side.[1076]

“*God saw* את האור (*et ha-or*), *the light* את (*Et*), including the speculum that does not shine together with the speculum that shines, of which is written: *that it was good*.”[1077]

Rabbi El’azar said, “את (*Et*)—amplifying, including all those angels issuing from the side of this light, all radiant as at first, enduringly.”

Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters (Genesis 1:6).[1078]

Rabbi Yehudah said, “By this, upper waters were separated from lower waters. *An expanse*—an expansion of the waters, as has been explained. *That it may separate water from water*, upper waters from lower waters.[1079]

“*God fashioned the expanse* (Genesis 1:7), fashioning it lavishly. The verse does not read: *There was an expanse*, but rather: *God fashioned*, expanding it immensely.”

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, “On the second day Hell was created for the wicked of the world. On the second, conflict was created. On the second, work was not completed, so *that it was good* is not written of it, until the third day arrived, when work was completed, so *that it was good* is written twice, once for the completion of the second day’s work and once for itself. On the third day, the second day was mended, the conflict mediated.[1080] Then compassion ripened for the wicked in Hell. On the third day sparks of Hell subside, so by it the second day is embraced, consummated.”[1081]

Rabbi Ḥiyya was sitting in the presence of Rabbi Shim’on. He said to him, “This light on the first day, and darkness on the second, when waters were separated and conflict arose—why was it not consummated on the first day, since right embraces left?”[1082]

He replied, “This was precisely the conflict, so the third had to intervene, harmonizing, extending peace between them.”[1083]

God said, “*Let the earth sprout vegetation*” (ibid., 11)[1084]—upper waters joined

with lower, yielding fruit. Upper waters swell and generate; lower call to upper, as female to male, for upper waters are male, and lower, female.[1085]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "All this transpires both above and below."[1086]

Rabbi Yose said, "If so, אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, mentioned here—who is *Elohim*?"[1087]

He replied, "*Elohim* unspecified is אלהים חיים (*Elohim Ḥayyim*), Living God, above.[1088] If you say 'below,' not so;[1089] rather, below is generation, [46b] as is said: *These are the generations of heaven and earth* בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created* (Genesis 2:4), and we have explained: בה׳ בראם (*be-he bera'am*), with *he* He created them,[1090] while the one above is Patriarchs Supreme.[1091] She is activity, so earth activated *generations*, for She conceives, like female from male."[1092]

Rabbi El'azar said, "All forces were in earth, though she did not issue her forces, namely *generations*, until the sixth day, as is written: *Let the earth bring forth living beings* (ibid. 1:24).[1093] If you say, 'But it is written: *The earth brought forth vegetation* (ibid., 12),' this means she arrayed her forces so they would be fittingly deployed, all hidden away within her until necessary.[1094] For at first is written: *desolate and void* (ibid., 2), as translated.[1095] Afterward she was arrayed and inhabited, receiving seed, grass, vegetation, and trees fittingly, generating them afterward.[1096] Similarly with *the lights*, not functioning until necessary.[1097]

"*Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights, in the expanse of heaven* (ibid., 14)—spelled deficiently: מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*,[1098] to include the evil serpent who injected slime, causing separation, for the sun does not perform with the moon.[1099] מארת (*Me'erot*), *Curses*, causing earth to be cursed, as is written: *Cursed is the ground* (ibid. 3:17). So it is spelled: מארת (*me'erat*).

"*Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*—the moon.[1100] *In the expanse of heaven*—the sun.[1101] Both in a single entity, coupling, illumining worlds above and below, as indicated by the expression על הארץ (*al ha-arets*), *above the earth*, rather than בארץ (*ba'arets*), *on the earth*, implying above and below. Calculation of all is by the moon."[1102]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Numerologies and calculations of equinoxes, solstices, and intercalations derive entirely from the mystery of the moon, no higher."[1103]

Rabbi El'azar said to him, "No? But the Companions perform numerous calculations and measurements."[1104]

He replied, "Not so! Calculation abides in the moon, whence one enters to discover above."[1105]

He said to him, "But it is written: *that they may be for signs and for seasons*."[1106]

He replied, “Spelled deficiently: לאתת (*le-otot*), *for signs*.”[1107]

He said to him, “But it is written: *that they may be*.”[1108]

He replied, “All those essences that will inhabit Her, like a treasure ship filled with all,[1109] but calculation of all is by the moon.

“Come and see: There is a single point, origin of counting, for what lies within that point is unknown, uncountable.[1110] There is a point above, concealed, totally unrevealed and unknown, origin of constructing everything concealed and profound.[1111] Similarly there is a point below, revealed, origin of every calculation and reckoning.[1112] So here is the site of all equinoxes and solstices, numerologies, intercalations, festivals, holidays, and Sabbaths. Israel, cleaving to the blessed Holy One, calculate by the moon, cleaving to Her and raising Her, as is written: *You, cleaving to YHVH your God* (Deuteronomy 4:4).”[1113]

Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living creatures (Genesis, ibid., 20).[1114]

Rabbi El’azar said, “They have established that those waters teemed and generated as above. This has already been said.[1115]

“*And let birds fly above the earth* (ibid.). The verse should read: יעוף (*ya’uf*), *let fly*. Why יעופף (*ye’ofef*)?”[1116]

Rabbi Shim’on said, “It is a mystery. ועוף (*Ve-of*), *And a bird*—Michael, as is written: *One of the serafim* ויעף (*va-ya’af*), *flew, to me* (Isaiah 6:6). יעופף (*Ye’ofef*), *Let fly*—Gabriel, as is written: *The man Gabriel whom I had previously seen in the vision* מועף ביעף (*mu’af bi’af*), *was flown in flight* (Daniel 9:21).[1117]

“על הארץ (*Al ha-arets*), *Upon the earth*[1118]—Elijah, appearing continually on earth, not from the aspect of father and mother,[1119] arriving in four glides,[1120] as is written: *The spirit of YHVH will carry you off I know not where* (1 Kings 18:12).[1121] *The spirit of YHVH*—one; *will carry you off*—two; *where*—three; *I know not*—four.

“*Across the face of* (Genesis, ibid.)—Angel of Death, who darkens the face of the world and of whom is written: *darkness over the face of the abyss* (ibid., 2).[1122]

“*The expanse of heaven* (ibid.), as we have said: ‘He ascends and accuses...’”[1123]

Rabbi Abba said, “But the Angel of Death was created on the second day![1124] Rather, *upon the earth*—Raphael, empowered to heal the earth,[1125] thanks to whom earth is restored to health along with all her forces and the human being endures thereon.

“*Across the face of the expanse of heaven*—Uriel. All is contained within the text.[1126] So afterward is written: *God created the great sea serpents* (ibid.,

21).”[1127]

Rabbi El’azar said, “These are Leviathan and his mate.[1128] Alternatively, these are seventy princes appointed over the seventy nations, all created to rule over earth.[1129]

“*And every* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *soul of the living being, that moves* (ibid.)[1130]—Israel, who are [47a] the actual *soul* of that *living being*[1131] and are called *a nation unique on earth* (2 Samuel 7:23).[1132]

“*Which the waters brought forth in swarms, according to its kind* (ibid.), for they engage in Torah.[1133]

“*And every winged bird*—the righteous among them, who are therefore חיה נפש (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *living souls*.[1134] Alternatively, *and every winged bird*, as has been explained: messengers of the world.”[1135]

Rabbi Abba said, “נפש חיה (*Nefesh ḥayyah*), *Soul of the living being*, namely, Israel, for they are scions of the blessed Holy One and their holy souls derive from Him.[1136] The soul of other nations—whence does it come?”

Rabbi El’azar said, “From those impure aspects of the left, defiling them and anyone approaching them.[1137]

“*God said, ‘Let the earth bring forth* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *living beings, according to their kind*’ (ibid., 24)—all the other creatures, each according to its kind.”[1138]

Rabbi El’azar added, “This supports what we have said: נפש חיה (*Nefesh ḥayyah*), *Souls of the living being*—Israel, who are *souls of the* supernal, holy *living being*.[1139]

“*Cattle, crawling things, and living creatures of the earth* (ibid.)[1140]—other nations, who are not *souls of the living being*, but rather foreskin, as we have said.”[1141]

Let us make a human being in our image, according to our likeness (ibid., 26), embracing six aspects comprising all, as above,[1142] with smooth members[1143] arrayed fittingly in the mystery of wisdom, an entirely supernal array. *Let us make a human being*—mystery of male and female, entirely in supernal, holy wisdom.[1144] *In our image, according to our likeness*—to be consummated by one another, so that he will be unique in the world, ruling over all.[1145]

God saw all that He had made, and behold it was very good (ibid., 31). Here was restored the omission of *it was good* on the second day, omitted because death was created then. Here is stated: *and behold, it was* טוב מאד (*tov me’od*), *very*

good.[1146] This parallels what the Companions say: *And behold*, טוב מות (*tov mavet*), *death is good*.[1147]

God saw all that He had made. Had He not seen it before? The blessed Holy One had certainly seen everything, but the mention of את כל (*et kol*), *all*, amplifies the meaning to include all following generations, and all that would newly emerge in the world in every generation, before it actually existed.[1148]

That He had made—all the works of Creation, for there was created the elemental essence of all that would later emerge anew. So the blessed Holy One saw it before it existed, deploying all in the act of Creation.[1149]

יום הששי (*Yom ha-shishi*), *The sixth day* (ibid.). What is different about all the other days, lacking the letter ה (*he*)?[1150] Here, when the world was consummated, female united with male in single union, ה (*he*), with ששי (*shishi*), *sixth*, so that all would be one.[1151]

They were completed (ibid. 2:1)—all consummated as one, totally perfect and complete.[1152]

The heavens and the earth were completed (ibid.).

Rabbi El'azar opened, "*How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You...* (Psalms 31:20).[1153] Come and see: The blessed Holy One fashioned the human being in the world and prepared him to become perfect through his service, to mend his ways, so as attain the supernal light treasured away by the blessed Holy One for the righteous, as is written: *No eye has seen, O God, but You, what You will do for one who awaits You* (Isaiah 64:3).[1154] How does one attain that light? Through Torah, for whoever is engaged with Torah attains each day a share in the world that is coming.[1155] He is deemed a builder of worlds,[1156] for by Torah the world was built and consummated, as is written: *YHVH founded the earth by wisdom* (Proverbs 3:19), and similarly: *I was with Him as a nursling, I was a daily delight* (Proverbs 8:30).[1157] Whoever engages in her consummates and sustains the world.

"Come and see: By breath the blessed Holy One made the world,[1158] and by breath it is sustained[1159]—the breath of those studying Torah, especially the breath of schoolchildren.[1160]

"*How abundant is Your goodness*—the *goodness* hidden away *for those in awe of You*, those fearing sin.

"*That You made for those who take refuge in You* (Psalms, ibid.). What is the meaning of: *You made*? The act of Creation."

Rabbi Abba said, "This is the Garden of Eden, for the blessed Holy One fashioned it exquisitely on earth, resembling the one above, so that the righteous would be invigorated therein,[1161] [47b] as is written: *that You made for those who take refuge in You, in the presence of human beings* (ibid.)—for that one is *in the presence of human beings*, while the other is *in the presence of* holy celestial beings."[1162]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Even the other one is *in the presence of human beings*, so that the righteous who fulfill the will of their Lord will be gathered there."[1163]

They were completed (Genesis 2:1)[1164]—for acts above and below *were completed. The heavens and the earth*—above and below.[1165]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Act and artistry of Written Torah, act and artistry of Oral Torah.[1166]

"*With all their array* (ibid.)—the details of Torah, faces of Torah. 'Torah assumes seventy faces.'[1167]

"*They were completed*—sustained and consummated by one another.[1168]

"*Heaven and earth*—particular and general.[1169]

"*With all their array*—secrets of Torah, purities of Torah, impurities of Torah.[1170]

"*On the seventh day God completed* (ibid., 2).[1171] This is Oral Torah, for She is *the seventh day*. Through Her the world was consummated, for She sustains all.[1172]

"*The work that He had done*—not *all His work*, for Written Torah generated all through the potency of Writing, issuing from Wisdom.[1173]

"Three times here: *on the seventh day. On the seventh day God completed. He rested on the seventh day. God blessed the seventh day* (ibid., 2–3). Look, three![1174] *On the seventh day God completed*—Oral Torah, for with this *seventh day* the world was consummated, as we have said. *He rested on the seventh day*—Foundation of the world.[1175] In *The Book of Rav Yeiva Sava*:[1176] This is Jubilee,[1177] so here is written: *from all the work* (ibid., 2),[1178] for all issues therefrom. But as for us: This is Foundation, as we have said, for the rest thereon is best of all.[1179] *God blessed the seventh day*—the High Priest, who blesses all and receives first share.[1180] Blessing inheres in Him, begins blessing from Him,[1181] and He is called *seventh*.

"Rabbi Yeisa Sava said, 'These two refer respectively to Foundation and Central Pillar,[1182] but these three correspond to the entry of Sabbath at night, the day, and the world that is coming, namely Great Sabbath.'[1183]

"He *hallowed* אותו (*oto*), *it* (ibid., 3).[1184] Whom did He hallow? That site where את (*at*), sign, of the covenant abides, as is said: *He will show me* אותו (*oto*),

His sign, and His habitation (2 Samuel 15:25).[1185] At this site abides all holiness from above, issuing from there to Assembly of Israel[1186] to provide Her delectable pastry.[1187] This accords with what is written: *Out of Asher his bread is rich, he will yield delicacies of a king* (Genesis 49:20). *Out of Asher*— consummate covenant.[1188] *His bread is rich*—what had been *bread of affliction* (Deuteronomy 16:3) was transformed into pastry.[1189] *He will yield delicacies of a king*. Who is *king?* Assembly of Israel.[1190] He provides Her all the delights of the world.[1191] All holiness issuing from above issues from this site. So *He hallowed* אותו (*oto*), *His sign*.

"*For on it He rested* (ibid. 2:3).[1192] *On it*, repose of all, repose above and below. *On it* earth *rested* in repose.[1193]

"*That God created* (ibid.)—from the totality of *Remember* emerged *Observe*, arraying the works of the world.[1194]

"To *make* (ibid.)—Artisan of the world, fashioning the works of all."[1195] Rabbi Shim'on further elucidated the word, saying: "It is written: *Guarding the covenant and the love* (Deuteronomy 7:9). *Guarding*—Guardian of Israel;[1196] *the covenant*, as we have explained;[1197] *and the love*—Abraham.[1198] Assembly of Israel is *guarding the covenant and the love*. This one guards the gate of all; on it depend all works of the world.[1199] Indeed, *that God created to make*—perfecting and arraying all, every single one, every single day,[1200] generating spirits and souls, even demonic spirits. Now if you say that these[1201] do not enhance the world—yes they do, by whipping the wicked of the world, for they confront and chastise them. Whoever wends to the left is seized by them on the left side.[1202] So they came into being to mend the world.

"Come and see what is written of Solomon: *I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of Adam* (2 Samuel 7:14). What are *blows of the children of Adam*? These are demons.[1203]

"Come and see: As they were being created, the day was hallowed, and they were left spirit without body.[1204] These are creatures never [48a] completed, from the left side, dross of gold.[1205] Since they are incomplete and defective, the holy name does not abide in them nor do they cleave to it. Their terror is provoked by the holy name, before which they tremble and panic, for the holy name does not abide in a defective site.[1206]

"Come and see: A person flawed by not leaving a son in this world does not cleave to the holy name when he departs, nor is he admitted within the curtain because he is defective, incomplete.[1207] An uprooted, barren tree must be transplanted, for the holy name is consummate from every angle and no defect can cleave to it.[1208]

"Come and see: These creatures are defective from above and below, so

they cleave neither above nor below.[1209] These *God created to make* (Genesis 2:3), for they were completed neither above nor below.[1210] Now if you say, 'Look, they are spirits! Why not above?'[1211] Since they were not completed below, on earth, they were not completed above.[1212] All deriving from the left side, they are invisible to human beings, whom they menacingly confront.

"Three features they share with the ministering angels and three with human beings, as has been established.[1213] Having been created, those spirits were plunged behind the millstones of the chasm of the immense abyss for the duration of Sabbath eve and Sabbath day.[1214] Once the holiness of the day departed and they were not completed, they erupted into the world, roaming in every direction.[1215] The world must defend itself against them, for then the entire left side is aroused, fire of Hell flashes, and all denizens of the left roam the world, craving to clothe themselves in a body, but they cannot. We must protect ourselves against them, so a song against maleficent spirits has been prescribed for whenever their dread prevails in the world.[1216]

"Come and see: When the day is hallowed at the entrance of Sabbath, a canopy of peace hovers, spreading over the world. Who is Canopy of Peace? Sabbath, when all spirits, whirlwinds, demons, and the entire dimension of impurity are hidden away within the eye of the millstone of the chasm of the immense abyss.[1217] For as soon as holiness arouses over the world, the spirit of impurity cannot arouse; one flees the other. Then the world enjoys supernal shelter, and we need not pray for protection, for example: 'who guards His people Israel forever.' This has been prescribed for weekdays, when the world does need protection,[1218] but on Sabbath a canopy of peace spreads over the world, which is sheltered on every side. Even the wicked in Hell are protected;[1219] all bask in peace, those above and those below. So in hallowing the day, we bless: 'who spreads a canopy of peace over us, over His entire people Israel, and over Jerusalem.'[1220] Why 'over Jerusalem'? Because this is the abode of that canopy, and we should invite that canopy to spread over us, abide with us, and protect us, like a mother hovering over her children, who are thereby free of fear from any direction. So, 'who spreads a canopy of peace.'

"Come and see: When Israel blesses and invites this canopy of peace—holy guest—by reciting 'who spreads a canopy of peace,' supernal sanctity descends, spreading Her wings over Israel, covering them like a mother over her children. All maleficent species are rounded up from the world, and Israel dwells beneath the holiness of their Lord. Then this canopy of peace issues new souls to Her children.[1221] Why? Because then is the time of coupling, and She receives souls, abiding in Her, emerging from Her. As She hovers, spreading Her wings over Her children, She pours new souls upon every single one."

Rabbi Shim'on said further, "So we have learned: 'Sabbath is patterned on the world that is coming.'[1222] Certainly so! Sabbatical and Jubilee are paradigms of one another,[1223] as are Sabbath and the world that is coming.[1224] That supplement to the soul comes to this canopy of peace from the mystery of זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember* (Exodus 20:8), as received [48b] from the world that is coming.[1225] She bestows this supplement upon the holy people, who rejoice in it, and all fear, trouble, and sorrow sink into oblivion, as is said: *On the day that YHVH gives you rest from your sorrow and anxiety, and from the hard bondage imposed on you* (Isaiah 14:3).

"On Sabbath eve one should taste everything, to show that this canopy of peace encompasses all, provided one doesn't mar one course for the day— some say two, for the two other meals of the day, and this is fine.[1226]

"Kindling the lamp of Sabbath has been entrusted to the women of the holy people.[1227] The Companions have said that she extinguished the lamp of the world and darkened it....[1228] This is fine, but here is the mystery of the matter: This canopy of peace is the Consort of the world, and souls constituting the supernal lamp abide within Her.[1229] So the consort should kindle, for linked to her site, she performs the act.[1230] A woman should kindle the Sabbath lamp in joy to attain supernal honor and merit, to be worthy of holy sons who will become lamps of the world in Torah and reverence, spreading peace through the world.[1231] She also provides her husband long life; so she should be careful.[1232]

"Come and see: Sabbath, night and day, זכור (*zakhor*), *remember*, and שמור (*shamor*), *observe*, as one. So it is written: *Remember the Sabbath day, to hallow it* (Exodus 20:8), and: *Observe the Sabbath day* (Deuteronomy 5:12). זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember*, for דכורא (*dekhora*), male; and שמור (*shamor*), *observe*, for female—all is one.[1233]

"Happy are Israel, portion of the blessed Holy One, His share and heritage. Of them is written: *Happy the people who have it so; happy the people whose God is YHVH* (Psalms 144:15)."

YHVH Elohim fashioned הצלע (*ha-tsela*), *the side*,[1234] *that He had taken from the human into a woman, and He brought her to the human* (Genesis 2:22).

Rabbi Shim'on said, "It is written: *Elohim understands her way, He knows her site* (Job 28:23). This verse bears numerous nuances,[1235] but *Elohim* הבין (*hevin*), *understands, her way* corresponds to what is said: ויבן יהוה אלהים (*Va-yiven YHVH Elohim*), *YHVH Elohim fashioned, the side*—namely, Oral Torah, who contains a way, as is said: *who makes a way through the sea* (Isaiah 43:16).[1236] So, *Elohim understands her way*.

"*He knows her site*. Who is *her site*? Written Torah, containing knowledge.[1237]

"*YHVH Elohim*—a complete name, arraying Her with all, so it is called both Wisdom and Understanding, for it bore the complete name entirely—*YHVH Elohim*—consummating two names.[1238]

"הצלע (*Ha-tsela*), *The side*—the speculum that does not shine, as is said: ובצלעי (*Uv-tsal'i*), *At my stumbling, they rejoiced*... (Psalms 35:15).[1239]

"*That He had taken from* האדם (*ha-adam*), *the human*—for She issued from Written Torah.[1240]

"*Into a woman*—to be joined to the flame of the left side, for Torah was given from the side of Power.[1241] לאשה (*Le-ishshah*), *Into a woman*—to be אש ה׳ (*esh he*), fire of *he*, bound together as one.[1242]

"*And He brought her to* האדם (*ha-adam*), *the human*—for She should not be alone but rather embraced by, joined with Written Torah.[1243] Once She joins with Him, He will nourish and adorn Her, providing Her what She needs. From here we learn that when one offers his daughter in marriage, until she enters her husband's domain her parents prepare and provide all she needs, but once she joins her husband, he nourishes her and provides what she needs.[1244]

"Come and see: At first is written, *YHVH Elohim fashioned the side*, for Father and Mother array Her. Afterward *He brought her to the human*, so that all is bound as one, joined to one another, and He provides Her what She needs.[1245]

"Alternatively, *Elohim understands her way*. When the daughter resides in her mother's house, she watches out every day for everything her daughter needs, as is written: *Elohim understands her way*.[1246] Once she joins her husband, he provides her all she needs and arranges her affairs, as is written: *He knows her site*.

[49a] "Alternatively, this verse was spoken concerning supernal wisdom and linked to supernal secrets. The primordial point is totally unknown to anyone, but *Elohim understands her way*—this is the world that is coming.[1247] *He*—hidden of all hidden, concealed of all concealed, called *He*, unknown by any name.[1248]

"It is written: וייצר יהוה אלהים (*Va-yitser YHVH Elohim*), *YHVH Elohim formed, the human* (Genesis 2:7). Here he was perfected consummately, on the right and on the left. We have already established that he encompassed the good impulse and the evil impulse.[1249] Why? The good impulse, for himself; the evil impulse, to arouse toward his female.[1250] Arousal always arises from the left side toward the female, linking itself with her, so she is called אשה (*ishshah*), woman.[1251]

"Come and see the good impulse and the evil impulse, for the female is embraced by them, linked with them, though not until the evil impulse arouses

toward her and they join one another. Once they do, the good impulse, who is joy, arouses, drawing her close to him. Above, genuine North, who is joy without the filth of evil impulse, holds Her first, as is written: *His left hand beneath my head*, and afterward, *his right embracing me* (Song of Songs 2:6).[1252] She is positioned between right and left, to be nourished, so: *YHVH Elohim formed*—a complete name, corresponding to these two sides.[1253]

"*The human* (Genesis, ibid.). We have already established that this implies male and female as one, not separated to be face-to-face.[1254]

"What is written? *Dust of the earth* (ibid.),[1255] now poised to be arrayed.[1256]

"Come and see: When a woman is joined with her husband, she is called by his name: איש אשה (*ish ishshah*), man, woman; צדיק צדק (*tsaddiq tsedeq*), righteous, righteousness.[1257] He is עופר (*ofer*), fawn, and she is עפר (*afar*), dust. Then he is צבי (*tsevi*), hart, and she is צביה (*tseviyyah*), doe; צבי (*tsevi*), *fairest, of all lands* (Ezekiel 20:6).[1258]

"It is written: *Do not plant* אשרה (*asherah*)[1259] *or any tree-like object beside the altar that you make for YHVH your God* (Deuteronomy 16:21). *Beside the altar*—Is it permitted above the altar or anywhere else? Rather, we have established: אשר (*Asher*) is her husband, and she is named after him: אשרה (*Asherah*). So it is written: *For Baal and Asherah* (2 Kings 23:4).[1260] So, *Do not plant* אשרה (*Asherah*) *... beside the altar that you make for YHVH your God*—over against *the altar of YHVH*, for *the altar of YHVH* is based on this, so *do not plant* another *Asherah* over against Her.[1261]

"Come and see: All those sun-worshipers are always called worshipers of Baal, and those who worship the moon are called worshipers of Asherah, so *for Baal and Asherah*, Asherah being named after her husband, Asher. If so, why was this name displaced?[1262] Because Asherah derives from the verse באשרי (*Be-oshri*), *Happy am I! For daughters will deem me happy* (Genesis 30:13), while the other nations did not deem Her happy, substituting another in Her place.[1263] Further it is written: *All who honored her despise her* (Lamentations 1:8). So this name was displaced in order that those worshiped by other nations not be empowered.[1264] We call Her *altar* made of *earth*, as is written: *altar of earth ...* (Exodus 20:22). So, *dust of the earth*.[1265]

"*He blew into his nostrils the breath of life* (Genesis 2:7). The word is inclusive, but *He blew into his nostrils the breath of life*—into that *dust*, like a female impregnated by a male, for they join and this *dust* is filled with all.[1266] With whom? Spirits and souls.

"*And* האדם (*ha-adam*), *the human, became a living soul* (ibid.)—now *the human* was arrayed enduringly, to adorn and nourish the *living soul*.[1267]

"*YHVH Elohim fashioned* (ibid., 22).[1268] Here, too, with the complete name, for

Father and Mother adorned Her before She approached Her husband.[1269]

"*The side*, as is said: *I am black but beautiful* (Song of Songs 1:5), the speculum that does not shine,[1270] but Father and Mother adorned Her so that Her husband be pleased with Her.

"*And He brought her to the man* (ibid.). From here we learn that the father and mother of the bride should bring her into the domain of the groom, as is said: *I have given my daughter to this man* (Deuteronomy 22:16). From now on, her husband comes to her, for the house is hers, as is written: *He came in to her* (Genesis 29:23), *He came in to Rachel also* (ibid., 30).[1271] First, *He brought her to the man*, for up to this point the father and mother should act. Afterward, he should come to her, for the entire house is hers and he must obtain her permission.[1272]

"We have aroused our awareness of this, as is written: *He approached the place and stayed there for the night* (ibid. 28:11), first obtaining permission.[1273] From here we learn that one who joins [49b] his wife should entreat her and sweeten her with words, or otherwise not spend the night with her, so that their desire be as one, with no coercion.

"*He stayed there for the night, for the sun had set* (ibid.), showing that one is forbidden to engage in intercourse in the daytime.[1274]

"*He took one of the stones of the place and put it under his head* (ibid.). Here we learn that if a king has golden beds and precious spreads in which to spend the night, and his consort prepares him a bed arranged with stones, he should leave his own and sleep in the one that she prepares, as is written: *He lay down in that place* (ibid.).[1275]

"Come and see what is written here: *The man said, 'This one at last...'* (ibid. 2:23).[1276] Behold the fragrance of words, to draw love with her, draw her toward his desire, arouse passion together. See how sweet, how full of love: *Bone of my bones, flesh of flesh*, showing her they are one, inseparable.[1277]

"Now he begins praising her: *This one shall be called Woman* (ibid.). This one is unparalleled, glory of the house! All women compared with her are like an ape compared with humans.[1278] Certainly *this one shall be called Woman*, perfection of all, *this one* and no other, as is written: *Many daughters have done virtuously, but you surpass them all* (Proverbs 31:29).[1279]

"*Therefore a man leaves his father and mother and cleaves to his wife* [*and they become one flesh*] (Genesis 2:24)—all to draw her in love, to cleave to her.[1280] Once he had aroused her with all these words, what is written? *Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field...* (ibid. 3:1). The evil impulse aroused to seize her, binding her with bodily desire, arousing in her other things in which evil impulse delights, until eventually what is written? *The woman saw*

that the tree was good for eating and a delight to the eye,[1281] *and she took of its fruit and ate* (ibid., 6)—receiving it willingly[1282]—*and also gave to her husband beside her*, for now she aroused desirously toward him, offering passionate love. This shows human beings how the act corresponds above."[1283]

Rabbi El'azar said, "If so, how can we demonstrate the evil impulse above, seizing the female?"[1284]

He replied, "We have already aroused our awareness of the mystery of left and right, corresponding to the good impulse and the evil impulse—good impulse on the right, evil impulse on the left—these above and those below.[1285] The left above grasps the body to join with Her as one, as is said: *His left hand beneath my head...* (Song of Songs 2:6).[1286] So until here words are interpretable above and below. From here on, words with a residue of tar, interpretable by tiny children.[1287] By this the Companions have already been aroused."

Rabbi Shim'on was traveling to Tiberias, accompanied by Rabbi Yose, Rabbi Yehudah, and Rabbi Ḥiyya. On the way they saw Rabbi Pinḥas approaching. Upon joining as one, they dismounted and sat beneath the trees of the hillside.

Rabbi Pinḥas said, "Now that we are sitting, I am eager to hear some of those sublime words you convey every day!"[1288]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*He went on his journeys from the Negev as far as Bet-El* (Genesis 13:3).[1289] *He went on his journeys*. The verse should read: *his journey*. Why *his journeys*? Because there are two journeys: one, his; one, of *Shekhinah*. For every human being should manifest as male and female to fortify faith; then *Shekhinah* never separates from him.[1290]

"You might say: 'If one sets out on the road and is no longer male and female, *Shekhinah* separates from him.'[1291] Come and see: Whoever sets out on the road should offer his prayer to the blessed Holy One to draw upon himself *Shekhinah* of his Lord before he leaves, while still male and female.[1292] Once he has offered his prayer and *Shekhinah* rests upon him, he can leave, for *Shekhinah* has coupled with him so that he will be male and female: male and female in town, male and female in the countryside,[1293] as is written: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way* (Psalms 85:14).[1294]

"Come and see: As [50a] long as one lingers on the way, he must guard his conduct, so that supernal coupling will not separate from him, leaving him defective, lacking male and female.[1295] In town he must, when his female is with him; how much more so here, for supernal coupling is linked with him! Further, this coupling protects him on the way, not parting from him until he returns home.

"Upon entering his house he should delight the lady of his house, for she engendered that supernal coupling.[1296] As soon as he reaches her he should delight her anew, for two nuances. First, because the joy of this coupling is joy of *mitsvah*, and joy of *mitsvah* is joy of *Shekhinah*.[1297] Further, he increases peace below,[1298] as is written: *You will know that your tent is at peace, attend to your abode and not sin* (Job 5:24). Is it a sin if one does not attend to his wife? Certainly so, for he diminishes the splendor of supernal coupling coupled with him, engendered by the lady of his house.[1299] Second, if his wife conceives, supernal coupling pours into it a holy soul,[1300] for this covenant is called Covenant of the blessed Holy One.[1301] So one should focus on this joy as on the joy of Sabbath, coupling of the wise.[1302] So, *You will know that your tent is at peace*, for *Shekhinah* accompanies you and dwells in your house; therefore, *you will attend to your abode and not sin*. What is the meaning of *not sin*? Not fail to perform the joy of *mitsvah* in the presence of *Shekhinah*.[1303]

"Similarly, when disciples of the wise part from their wives all days of the week to engage in Torah, supernal coupling couples with them, not parting from them, so that they be male and female.[1304] Once Sabbath enters, disciples of the wise should delight their wives anew for the sake of the splendor of supernal coupling, focusing their hearts on the will of their Lord, as has been explained.

"Similarly, when a man's wife undergoes days of impurity and he waits for her fittingly,[1305] supernal coupling couples with him all those days, so he is male and female. Once his wife is purified, he should delight her anew—joy of *mitsvah*, supernal joy!

"All the reasons we have offered rise to a single rung.[1306] The gist of the word: All scions of faith should focus their heart and will on this.[1307]

"Now you might say, 'If so, it is more admirable for a person to set out on the road than to stay at home because of supernal coupling who couples with him.' Come and see: When a man is at home, the essence of the home is his wife, for on account of her, *Shekhinah* does not leave the house. So we have learned: *Isaac brought her into the tent of his mother Sarah* (Genesis 24:67), for the lamp was kindled. Why? Because *Shekhinah* entered the home.[1308]

"Mystery of the matter: Supernal Mother appears with the male only when the house is arrayed, when male and female join. She then pours blessings upon them.[1309] Similarly, Lower Mother appears with the male only when the house is arrayed, when the male approaches his female and they join as one. She then pours blessings upon them.[1310] So a man at home is adorned with two females, as above.[1311] This corresponds to the mystery written: *until the desire of hills of eternity* (ibid. 49:26). *The desire of hills of eternity* extends to this *until*: supernal female, to array, adorn, and bless Him; lower female, to unite with Him, be

nourished by Him.[1312]

"Similarly below, when a male is married, *the desire of hills of eternity* verges toward him, and he is adorned with two females, one above and one below: the upper to pour blessings upon him, the lower to be nourished by him, unite with him.[1313] A man at home is the focus of *the desire of hills of eternity*, with whom he is adorned. Not so when he sets out on the road: Supernal Mother unites with him, while the lower is left behind.[1314] Upon returning home he should adorn himself with two females, as we have said."

Rabbi Pinḥas said, "Even in a skein of scales and fins,[1315] no one [50b] dares challenge you."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Similarly Torah stands between two houses, as is written: *for the two houses of Israel* (Isaiah 8:14), one concealed on high, the other more revealed.[1316] The concealed one on high is the *mighty voice*, as is written: *a mighty voice unceasing* (Deuteronomy 5:19). This voice is inward, inaudible, and unrevealed, as the larynx wells, whispering ה (*he*), flowing incessantly, tenuous, internal, eternally unheard.[1317]

"From here emerges Torah, *voice of Jacob*, audible issuing from inaudible.[1318] Afterward speech merges in it, resounding from its potency.[1319] The voice of Jacob, Torah, is embraced by two females: this inner, inaudible one, and this outer one, audible.[1320]

"Two are inaudible, two audible. Of the two inaudible, this is supernal, concealed Wisdom abiding in Thought, unrevealed, unheard. Afterward it emerges, revealing itself slightly in a whisper unheard, called *mighty voice*, tenuous whispering.[1321]

"Two who are audible issue from here: voice of Jacob and speech merging in it. The *mighty voice* in a whisper unheard is בית (*bayit*), a house, for supernal Wisdom—every female is called 'house'—while final speech is a house for the voice of Jacob, mystery of Torah.[1322] Therefore Torah begins with בית (*bet*): בראשית (*Bet reshit*), *Two-house beginning* (Genesis 1:1)."[1323]

He opened, saying, "בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning, created* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (Genesis 1:1), corresponding to what is written: *YHVH Elohim fashioned the side* (ibid. 2:22).[1324] את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *Heaven*, corresponding to: *He brought her to the human* (ibid.). ואת הארץ (*Ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, as is written: *Bone of my bones* (ibid., 23)."[1325]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*YHVH declares to my Lord, 'Sit at My right hand*

until I make your enemies your footstool' (Psalms 110:1). *YHVH declares to my Lord*—the upper rung says to the lower rung:[1326] *Sit at My right hand*, so that West will be linked with South, left with right, to smash the power of other nations.[1327] *YHVH declares to my Lord. YHVH declares*—this is Jacob;[1328] *to my Lord—the ark of the covenant, Lord of all the earth* (Joshua 3:11).[1329]

"Alternatively, *YHVH declares*—this is Jubilee; *to my Lord*—Sabbatical,[1330] of whom is written: *I love my lord* (Exodus 21:5).[1331] *Sit at My right hand*, for right abides in Jubilee, and Sabbatical yearns to be linked with right.[1332]

"Come and see: Since the day She came to be, Sabbatical was never linked enduringly to right and left.[1333] When She yearned to be linked, He extended His left arm toward Her and created this world.[1334] Since it derived from the left side, it remains unstable till the seventh millennium, when it will be named One.[1335] Then She will be linked to the right, abide enduringly between right and left.[1336] *New heavens* and *new earth* will come to be;[1337] then She will never depart.

"If so, how can we establish the meaning of *Sit at My right hand*?[1338] This implies until a certain time, as is written: *until I make your enemies your footstool*, not permanently. But then You will never depart from there, as is written: *For you shall burst forth right and left* (Isaiah 54:3), all becoming one.[1339]

"Come and see: את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *Heaven* (Genesis 1:1) is upper *Shekhinah*; ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth* (ibid.) is lower *Shekhinah*, in a merging of male and female as one.[1340] This has been explained, as discussed arousingly by the Companions."

They rose and were about to leave, when Rabbi Shim'on said, "A word lingers here with us."

He opened, saying, "Two verses are written: *YHVH your God is a devouring fire* (Deuteronomy 4:24), and *You, cleaving to YHVH your God, are alive every one of you today* (ibid., 4). We have established these verses in various places, and the Companions have been aroused by them.[1341]

"Come and see: *For YHVH your God is a devouring fire*. The word has been discussed among the Companions: There is a fire devouring fire, devouring and consuming it, for there is fire fiercer than fire, as they have established.[1342] But come and see: Whoever desires to penetrate the wisdom of holy unification should contemplate the flame ascending from a glowing ember or a burning candle.[1343] For flame ascends only [51a] when grasped by coarse substance.

"Come and see! In a flame ascending are two lights: one, a white light, radiant; the other, a light tinged with black or blue.[1344] The white light is above, ascending unswervingly, while beneath it is the blue or black light, a throne for

the white, which rests upon it, each embracing the other, becoming one. This black light colored blue, below, is a throne of glory for the white— here lies the mystery of the thread of blue.[1345] This blue-black throne is grasped by another substance below, so it can flame, arousing it to embrace the white light.[1346] Sometimes this blue-black turns red,[1347] while the white light above never wavers, constantly white. This blue one, though, changes color: sometimes blue or black, sometimes red. This is grasped in two directions: above, by that white light; below, by what lies beneath, by which it is fueled, primed to glow. This constantly consumes and devours what is placed beneath it, for the blue light consumes anything cleaving below, anything it rests upon, since by nature it consumes and devours. On it depends destruction and death of all.[1348]

"So it consumes anything cleaving below, while that white light hovering over it never devours or consumes, nor does its light waver. Therefore Moses said, '*For YHVH your God is a devouring fire*'—really *devouring*, devouring and consuming anything found below. That is why he said *your God*, not *our God*, for Moses inhabited that white light above, which does not consume or devour.[1349]

"Come and see: The only arousal kindling this blue light, to be grasped by the white light, is Israel cleaving below.[1350]

"Come and see: Although by nature this blue-black light consumes anything cleaving below, Israel cleaves below and abides enduringly, as is written: *You, cleaving to YHVH your God, are alive. To YHVH your God*, not *our God; to YHVH your God*, to that blue-black light devouring, consuming whatever cleaves below—yet you cleave and endure, as is written: *alive every one of you today*.

"Above the white light hovers a concealed light, encompassing it.[1351] Here abides supernal mystery. You will discover all in the ascending flame, wisdoms of the highest."[1352]

Rabbi Pinḥas approached and kissed him, saying, "Blessed be the Compassionate One, that we happened to meet here."

They escorted Rabbi Pinḥas for three miles.[1353] When Rabbi Shim'on and the Companions returned, he said, "What we have discussed is a mystery of wisdom concerning holy unification, for the final ה (*he*) of the holy name is blue-black light, grasped by יה״ו (*yod, he, vav*), radiant white light.[1354]

"Come and see: Sometimes this blue light is ד (*dalet*), sometimes ה (*he*). When Israel does not cleave below, kindling it to be grasped by the white light, it is ד (*dalet*). When they arouse it to join the white light, it is called ה (*he*).[1355] How do we know? For it is written: *If there is* נערה (*na'arah*), *a girl, a virgin*

(Deuteronomy 22:23), spelled נער (*na'ara*), without a ה (*he*). Why? Because She has not joined a male, and wherever male and female are not found, ה (*he*) is not found but rather ascends, leaving ד (*dalet*).[1356] Whenever She is joined to the radiant white light, She is called ה (*he*), for all is as one: She cleaves to the white light, and Israel cleaves to Her, enduring beneath Her to kindle Her. Then all is one.

"This is the mystery of sacrifice. For the smoke ascending arouses this blue light to kindle, and when it kindles, it joins [51b] the white light, and the candle burns in oneness.[1357] Since this blue light by nature consumes and devours anything cleaving below, when favor prevails and the candle burns indivisibly, then this verse applies: *Fire descended from heaven and consumed the offering...* (1 Kings 18:38).[1358] Then it is known that the candle burns in a single union, a single bond: blue light cleaving to white light, and it is one. Below, it consumes fat and flesh of the offerings, though only when it ascends, joined to the white light. Then peace pervades all worlds, all linked inseparably.

"Once the blue light has finished consuming below, priests, Levites, and Israel cleave to it below, whether in joy of song, in heart's desire, or in prayer,[1359] while above them glows the candle, lights merging as one, worlds glimmering, above and below in bliss. Then, ואתם (*Ve-attem*), *And you, cleaving to YHVH your God, are alive every one of you today*. ואתם (*Ve-attem*), *And you*—the verse should read: אתם (*attem*), *you*. But ו (*vav*), *and*, surpasses the fat and flesh of the offerings: while they, cleaving to it, are devoured and consumed, you cleave to that blue-black devouring light and endure, as is written: *alive every one of you today*.[1360]

"'In a dream all colors bode well, except blue,'[1361] for it devours and consumes continuously. It is a tree of death spreading over the lower world, and since all abides beneath, it consumes and devours.[1362]

"Now you might say, 'It also prevails in heaven above, yet countless powers above endure.'[1363] Come and see: All those above are encompassed by the blue light,[1364] but those below, not so, for they constitute coarse substance upon which it alights, so it devours and consumes them. Nothing in the world escapes destruction, for the blue light consumes whatever it bestrides."

The universe diffracts into forty-five hues of colored light.[1365] Seven disperse into seven abysses, each one striking its own abyss, stones gyrating.[1366] The light penetrates those stones, piercing them, and water issues from them, each one sinking within an abyss, covering both sides.[1367] Water flows through those holes, light penetrates, striking all four sides of the abyss. Each light whirls around its

partner, converging as one, splitting the water. All seven seize seven abysses, delving their darkness, which mingles with them.[1368] Waters rise and fall, swirling amidst those lights. Light, darkness, and water blend as one, yielding darkened, invisible lights. Each strikes its partner, splaying into seventy-five abyssal channels, water streaming through. Every channel roars, abysses quake. As the roar sounds, each abyss calls to its partner: "Split your waters and I will enter you," as is written: *Abyss calls to abyss in the roar of Your channels* (Psalms 42:8).[1369]

Beneath these lie 365 sinews, some white, some black, some red, intertwining, turning into one color.[1370] These sinews interweave into seventeen webs, each one called a sinew web.[1371] Interwoven, they sink to the depths of the abysses. Beneath these abide two webs like iron and two others like copper. Upon them stand two thrones, one on the right and one on the left. All those webs join as one, and water pours down from the channels through the webs. Those two thrones—one is the throne of black expanse; the other, the throne of multicolored expanse. When they rise, they rise through the throne of black expanse; when they fall, they fall through the throne of multicolored expanse.[1372] These two thrones appear on the right and the left—of black expanse on the right, of multicolored expanse on the left. [52a] When they rise through the throne of black expanse, the throne of the expanse on the left sinks and through it they fall. Spinning around one another, the thrones catch all those webs, drawing them into the depths of the lowest abyss. One throne ascends above all the abysses, the other lies below, while in between all channels are inserted, all abysses swirl.

There are seventy-five channels: seven, highest of all; all the others connected to them. All are implanted in the wheels of the throne on this side and in the wheels of the throne on that. Through them waters rise and fall. Falling, they delve the abysses, splitting them. Rising, they penetrate the holes in the stones, filling seven seas. Till here, seven colors of light in supernal mystery.

Seven other lights disperse into seven seas, one sea encompassing them.[1373] That one sea is supernal, all seas merging within. These seven lights enter that sea, striking it on seven sides, each side splitting into seven torrents, as is written: *He will smite it into seven torrents...* (Isaiah 11:15). Each torrent splits into seven rivers, each river into seven channels, each channel into seven conduits, and all the waters of the sea entirely flow through.[1374]

Seven lights ascend and descend on seven sides. Seven supernal lights enter the sea—six radiating from one supreme.[1375] As the sea receives, so it disperses its waters to all those seas, all those rivers.

One monster below, on the left side, swims through all those rivers.[1376] He

approaches the side, all his scales iron-hard, stretches to suck, and defiles the site. All lights darken before him. His mouth and tongue flame with fire, his tongue sharp as a steely sword, till he penetrates the sanctuary within the sea.[1377] Then the sanctuary is desecrated, lights extinguished, supernal lights ascend from the sea.[1378] The waters of the sea split on the left side, and the sea congeals, its waters flowing no more.[1379]

So the mystery of the word is as written: *Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field that YHVH Elohim had made* (Genesis 3:1)—mystery of the evil serpent descending from above, skimming the surface of bitter waters, seducing below till they fall into his nets.[1380] This serpent is death of the world,[1381] penetrating a person's blind gut.[1382] He is on the left, while another, of life, is on the right, both accompanying each human, as they have established.[1383]

Than any creature of the field. For no other creature of the field is as cunning in perpetrating evil, for he is dross of gold.[1384] Woe to one drawn toward him, for he inflicts death upon him and upon all those following him! This they have established.[1385]

Adam was drawn down toward him, descending to know everything below.[1386] As he descended, his will and ways were drawn toward them,[1387] until they reached that serpent, discovering worldly desire, straying at that site.[1388] Then he rose,[1389] drawn toward Adam and his wife, clung to them, inflicted death upon them and upon all subsequent generations. Until Israel arrived at Mount Sinai, his slime never ceased infecting the world, as has been explained.[1390]

Once they sinned, clinging to the tree where death abides,[1391] what is written? *They heard the voice of YHVH Elohim moving about in the garden* (ibid. 3:8). The verse does not read: מהלך (*mehallekh*), *moving*, but rather: מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *moving about*.[1392]

Come and see: Until Adam sinned, he ascended and abode in supernal, radiant wisdom, never parting from the Tree of Life.[1393] Once he indulged in desire to descend and know below, he was drawn toward them until he parted from the Tree of Life, knowing evil, abandoning good.[1394] So it is written: *You are not a God who delights in wickedness; evil cannot abide with You* (Psalms 5:5). [52b] Whoever is drawn toward evil cannot abide with the Tree of Life. Until they sinned, they used to hear a voice from above, perceive supernal wisdom, endure supernal radiance fearlessly. Once they sinned, even a voice below they could neither understand nor withstand.[1395]

Similarly, when Israel stood at Mount Sinai, before sinning, the slime of this serpent was eliminated from them, for the evil impulse was repulsed by them, universally abolished.[1396] So they grafted to the Tree of Life, ascending, not descending; knowing, seeing supernal specula;[1397] eyes glistening, delighting in

discovery, in listening. Then the blessed Holy One girded them with belts of letters of the holy name, so the serpent could not dominate or defile them as before. Once they sinned, all those supernal lights and rungs were removed from them, along with the belts bristling with crowns of the supreme name. Attracting the evil serpent as before, they inflicted death upon the whole world.[1398]

What is written next? *The Children of Israel saw the face of Moses, and behold, the skin of his face was radiant! They were afraid to come near him* (Exodus 34:30).[1399] Come and see what is written previously: *Israel saw the great hand* (ibid. 14:31).[1400] All were seeing supernal radiancies, being enlightened by the resplendent speculum, as is written: *All the people were seeing the voices* (ibid. 20:15).[1401] By the sea they were gazing fearlessly, as is written: *This is my God and I will adorn Him* (ibid. 15:2).[1402] After they sinned, what is written? *They were afraid to come near him*.[1403]

Come and see what is written of them: *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments from Mount Horeb on* (ibid. 33:6), for they were divested of the weapons girded on them at Mount Sinai, preventing the evil serpent from dominating them. Once they were deprived of these, what is written? *Moses took the Tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp* (ibid. 33:7).

Rabbi El'azar said, "What is this verse doing next to that?[1404] Since Moses knew that those supernal weapons had been removed, he thought, 'Certainly from now on, the evil serpent will come dwell among them. If the sanctuary remains standing here among them, it will be defiled.[1405] Immediately, *Moses took the Tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp*, for he saw that, unlike before, the evil serpent was poised to prevail."

He called it Tent of Meeting (ibid.). Was it not so previously? At first, it was simply *Tent*, now, *Tent of Meeting*. Why מועד (*mo'ed*), meeting? Rabbi El'azar explained it positively; Rabbi Abba, negatively.

Rabbi El'azar explained positively, "Just as מועד (mo'ed), festival, is a day of joy for the moon, when her holiness waxes and she is free of defect,[1406] so now he called Her by this name, showing She had been removed far from them and not been tainted.[1407] So it is written: *He called it Tent of Mo'ed, Festival*."

Rabbi Abba explained negatively, "At first, it was simply *Tent*, as is said: *a tent not to be moved, whose pegs will never be pulled up* (Isaiah 33:20). Now, *Tent of Mo'ed, Slated Time*.[1408] At first, extending long life eternally, so death would not prevail.[1409] From now on, *Tent of Mo'ed*, as is said: *the house mo'ed, slated, for all living* (Job 30:23).[1410] Now time is allotted, life rationed to the world. At first, untainted; now tainted. At first, joining and coupling of the moon with the sun unceasingly.[1411] Now, *Tent of Mo'ed, Slated Time*, coupling from time to time. So unlike before, *He called it Tent of Mo'ed*."

One night Rabbi Shim'on was sitting, plying Torah. Sitting in front of him were Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Yitsḥak, and Rabbi Yose.

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Look at what is written: *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments from Mount Horeb on* (Exodus 33:6)! We assert that from that moment on they inflicted death upon themselves; that evil serpent they had just thrown off now dominated them.[1412] This may be true of the Israelites, but what of Joshua, who did not sin?[1413] Was he, too, divested of that supernal weapon he received with them at Mount Sinai or not? [53a] If you say not, then why did he die like all other human beings? If you say he was, why, seeing that he had not sinned, for he was with Moses when Israel was sinning? And if you say he did not receive the same crown received by Israel at Mount Sinai, why not?"

He opened, saying,[1414] "*For YHVH is righteous, loving righteousness; the upright shall behold His face* (Psalms 11:7). The Companions have discussed this verse,[1415] but: *For YHVH is righteous*—He is righteous and His name is Righteous, so: *loving righteousness*.[1416] *Upright*—He is *upright*, as is said: *Righteous and upright is He* (Deuteronomy 32:4). So all inhabitants of the world *shall behold His face*, mending their ways to follow the straight path fittingly.[1417]

"Come and see: When the blessed Holy One judges the world, He does so according to the majority of human beings.[1418]

"Come and see: When Adam sinned by eating from the tree, he transmogrified that tree into a universal source of death; he caused a defect, separating the Woman from Her Husband.[1419] The fault of this defect stood out in the moon, until Israel stood at Mount Sinai, when that defect disappeared from the moon, enabling Her to constantly shine.[1420] Once Israel sinned with the calf, She relapsed into defectiveness; the evil serpent prevailed and seized Her, dragging Her to him.[1421] When Moses discovered that Israel had sinned and been divested of their supernal, sacred weapons, he knew for sure that the serpent had seized the moon to drag Her to him, that She had been tainted. So he brought Her outside.[1422] Even though Joshua maintained his armored crown, since She was susceptible to turning defective and defect abode in Her and She slipped back into the defectiveness caused by Adam's sin, no human being can perdure except for Moses, who controlled Her and whose death ensued from another aspect.[1423] So She was not empowered to sustain Joshua forever, nor anyone else. Therefore he called Her *Tent* of מועד (*Mo'ed*), *Slated Time* (Exodus 33:7), a tent housing allotted time for the entire world.[1424]

"So the mystery of the word: There is right above, there is right below. There is left above, there is left below.[1425] Right above in supernal sanctity; right below on the other side. Left above in supernal sanctity, arousing love, linking

the moon with a sacred site to shine.[1426] Left below, blocking love from above, preventing Her from reflecting the sun and drawing near. This is the side of the evil serpent, for when this lower left arouses, it pulls the moon, separating Her from above, so Her light darkens and She cleaves to the serpent. Then She draws death for all, distancing Herself from the Tree of Life,[1427] inflicting death upon the whole world. Consequently the sanctuary is defiled for a fixed time till the moon is restored and resumes shining; therefore, *Tent* of מועד (*Mo'ed*), *Slated Time*.[1428] So Joshua died only through the incitement of the serpent, who approached and tainted the Dwelling as at first.[1429] This is the mystery written: *Joshua son of Nun, a lad*—although he was *a lad* below, absorbing light, *he would not depart from the Tent* (Exodus 33:11): as one was defective, so was the other.[1430] Even though he possessed the sacred weapon, since he was tainted he was certainly not singularly saved from that very stain.

"Come and see: Similarly, once Adam sinned, the blessed Holy One deprived him of those weapons of sacred sparkling letters with which he was arrayed. Then they were frightened, knowing they had been stripped of them, as is written: *They knew that they were naked* (Genesis 3:7).[1431] At first they were adorned with those precious studded crowns—absolute freedom.[1432] Once they sinned, they were stripped of them; then they knew that death was calling them, that they were stripped of absolute freedom, that they had inflicted death upon themselves and upon the whole world. [53b]

"*They sewed together fig leaves* (ibid.). We have already established that they discovered every kind of sorcery and magic, grasping the one below, as has been said.[1433] At that moment the erect stature of Adam diminished by one hundred cubits.[1434] Separation ensued, Adam was arraigned, earth was cursed, as we have established."

He drove out את האדם (*et ha-adam*), *Adam* (ibid., 24).[1435]

Rabbi El'azar said, "We do not know who divorced whom: if the blessed Holy One divorced Adam, or not.[1436] But the word is transposed: *He drove out* את (*Et*)—precisely![1437] Who drove out *Et*? *Adam. Adam* actually drove out *Et*![1438] Consequently it is written: *YHVH Elohim expelled him from the Garden of Eden* (ibid., 23). Why did He expel him? Because Adam drove out *Et*, as we have explained.[1439]

"*He placed* [... *the cherubim*] (ibid., 24).[1440] He installed them in this site; he was the cause, closing pathways, inflicting punishment on the world, extending curses from that day on.[1441]

"*And a blazing, ever-turning sword* (ibid.)—all those projectiles of

judgment deployed against the world in the hollow of a sling,[1442] turning countless shades to chastise the world,[1443] sometimes male, sometimes female,[1444] flashing fire, winds—unbearable, unfathomable. All this *to guard the way to the Tree of Life* (ibid.), so they would commit no further wrong, as before.

"*A blazing sword*—flashing fiery torment[1445] upon the heads of sinners, turning various shades according to human conduct. So, *blazing*, as is said: *The day that is coming shall set them ablaze...* (Malachi 3:19), as has been explained.

"*Sword—the sword of YHVH*, as is said: *the sword of YHVH filled with blood...* (Isaiah 34:6)."[1446]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "*A blazing sword*. Even all those quaestors below, constantly transforming, are empowered over the world to harass and accuse sinners violating their Lord's commands.[1447]

"Come and see: When Adam sinned, he drew upon himself countless maleficent species and wardens of judgment,[1448] before all of whom he trembled, overwhelmed. Solomon knew supernal wisdom, was crowned with royalty by the blessed Holy One, feared by the entire world. Yet once he sinned, he drew upon himself countless maleficent species and wardens of judgment, before all of whom he trembled, so they were able to torment him, snatching his possessions.[1449]

"So as a person tends, according to his pursued path, he draws upon himself an appointed power encountering him.[1450] Thus Adam attracted another, impure power defiling him and all humanity.

"Come and see: When Adam sinned he drew upon himself an impure power, defiling him and all humanity. This is the evil serpent, impure, defiling the world. For we have learned: When he plucks out souls from human beings, the body is left impure, defiling the house and anyone coming near, as is written: *Whoever touches a corpse...* (Numbers 19:11).[1451] Once he seizes the soul and defiles the body, permission is granted to all those impure aspects to hover over it, for that body has been defiled by the aspect of the evil serpent settling upon it. So wherever that serpent prevails, he defiles.

"Come and see: When night spreads her wings and all inhabitants of the world lie asleep in bed, they taste a taste of death.[1452] Due to this taste, the impure spirit roams the world, defiling the world with its whirlwind,[1453] alighting on the hands of a human being, now contaminated.[1454] Upon awakening, his soul restored, he defiles whatever his hands draw near because the impure spirit settles upon them. So when dressing, one should not take his clothes from anyone who has not washed his hands, for he thereby draws upon himself that impure spirit and is contaminated. This impure spirit is empowered to settle anywhere it detects a trace of its side. So one should not let his hands be washed

by anyone who has not washed his hands, for he draws upon him that impure spirit, received by the one whose hands are being washed, empowered to settle upon him.[1455] [54a]

"So one should guard every side against the side of this evil serpent, lest it dominate him. In the world to come the blessed Holy One intends to exterminate him from the world, as is written: *I will eliminate the spirit of impurity from earth* (Zechariah 13:2). Then *He will swallow up death forever*... (Isaiah 25:8)."

The man knew Eve his wife... (Genesis 4:1).[1456]

Rabbi Abba opened, "*Who knows if the spirit of the sons of men ascends on high and the spirit of a beast descends into earth?* (Ecclesiastes 3:21). This verse bears numerous nuances,[1457] as does every word of Torah, each and every one including countless colors, all fitting. So they are, the entire Torah assuming seventy aspects, seventy faces.[1458] So it is with every single word of Torah, and whatever emerges from each and every word diverges into numerous nuances in countless directions.

"Come and see: When one follows the path of truth, he tends toward the right, drawing upon himself a supernal holy spirit from above.[1459] This spirit ascends in holy desire to unite above, cleaving to supernal holiness irremovably. But when one follows the path of evil and strays, he draws upon himself an impure spirit of the left side, defiling him, so he becomes defiled,[1460] as is said: *Do not defile yourselves with them, and thus become defiled* (Leviticus 11:43). If one turns toward defiling himself, he is defiled.[1461]

"Come and see: When one follows the path of truth, drawing upon himself a supernal, holy spirit, cleaving to it, he draws supernal holiness upon the son he engenders, who issues from him into the world, who is thereby endowed with the holiness of his Lord, as is written: *Hallow yourselves and you will be holy*... (ibid., 44).[1462] But when he follows the left side, drawing upon himself an impure spirit, cleaving to it, he draws an impure spirit upon the son who issues from him into the world, who is thereby defiled by the impurity of that side.

"So it is written: *Who knows if the spirit of the sons of men ascends on high?* When he cleaves to the right, she ascends, but when he cleaves to the left, that side of the left, spirit of impurity, descends and possesses him unyieldingly, so whatever son he engenders derives from that impure spirit.[1463]

"Adam cleaved to that impure spirit,[1464] while his wife cleaved to it first, receiving, absorbing its slime, from which a son was engendered—son of impure spirit. So there were two sons: one from that impure spirit and one when Adam returned to God;[1465] this from the impure side, this from the pure."[1466]

Rabbi El'azar said, "When the serpent injected that slime into Eve, she absorbed it, so when she copulated with Adam she bore two sons: one from that impure side and one from the side of Adam,[1467] Cain resembling both the higher image and the lower.[1468] So their paths diverged from one another. Cain was certainly son of the impure spirit, and deriving from the side of the Angel of Death, he killed his brother.[1469] Being from his side, from him emerged all evil haunts, goblins, spirits, and demons."[1470]

Rabbi Yose said, "קין (*Qayin*), Cain—קינא (*qina*), nest, of evil lairs materializing from the side of impurity.[1471] Afterward they brought an offering, each from his own side, as is written: *It came to pass at the end of days that Cain brought an offering to YHVH from the fruit of the soil* [*and as for Abel, he, too, brought— from the firstlings of his flock, from their fat portions*] (Genesis 4:3–4)."[1472]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "ויהי מקץ ימים (*Vayhi mi-qets yamim*), *It came to pass at the end of days*.[1473] What is מקץ ימים (*mi-qets yamim*), *at the end of days*? This is *end of all flesh* (ibid. 6:13). Who is that? Angel of Death.[1474] Cain brought an offering precisely from that *end of days*, for it says: מקץ ימים (*mi-qets yamim*), *from the end of days*, and not מקץ ימין (*mi-qets yamin*), *from the end of the right*.[1475] So of Daniel it is written: *As for you, go till the end and take your rest; you will rise for your reward* לקץ הימין (*le-qets ha-yamin*) (Daniel 12:13). He asked, 'לקץ הימים (*Le-qets ha-yamim*), *At the end of days*, or לקץ הימין (*le-qets ha-yamin*), *at the end of the right*?' He responded, 'לקץ הימין (*Le-qets ha-yamin*), *At the end of the right*.'[1476] [54b] Whereas Cain brought (*mi-qets ha-yamim*), *from the end of days*.

"*Cain brought from the fruit of the soil*, as is said: *from the fruit of the tree* (Genesis 3:3)."[1477]

Rabbi El'azar said, "*From the fruit of the soil*, as is said: *Woe to the wicked! Disaster! What his hands have done shall be done to him. For they shall eat the fruit of their deeds* (Isaiah 3:10–11). *For they shall eat the fruit of their deeds*—Angel of Death.[1478] *They shall eat*—for he is drawn to them, clings to them, to kill and defile them. So Cain offered from his side.

"*As for Abel, he brought* גם הוא (*gam hu*), *Him, too*—amplifying the meaning to include the supernal side deriving from the side of holiness.[1479] So *YHVH gazed upon Abel and his offering with favor, but upon Cain and his offering He gazed not*, not accepting them, so *Cain was very angry and his face fell* (Genesis 4:4–5), for *his face*, the facet of his side, was not accepted,[1480] whereas Abel was. Consequently it is written: *And when they were out in the field* (ibid., 8)[1481]—this is a woman, as has been said.[1482]

"*If you do right, is there not* שאת (*se'et*), *uplift?* (ibid., 7), as has been explained,[1483] but according to Rabbi Abba, שאת (*se'et*), *uplift* means: You will

ascend, not descend."

Rabbi Yose said, "This word has now been said and is fitting, but I have heard as follows: שאת (*Se'et*)—He will remove from you, forgive you this clinging of impure spirit.[1484] If not, *sin crouches at the opening* (ibid.). What is the meaning of *at the opening?* Supernal judgment, opening of all, as is said: *Open for me the gates of justice* (Psalms 118:19).[1485] *Sin crouches*—that side to which you clung, extending toward you, lies in wait for you to punish you, as translated."[1486]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Come and see: As Cain was killing Abel, he did not know how his soul would expire, as the Companions have established.[1487] At that moment the blessed Holy One cursed him, and he wandered the world, everywhere rejected, till finally he slapped himself on the head and returned to the presence of his Lord.[1488] Then Earth admitted him to a stratum below."[1489]

Rabbi Yose said, "Earth permitted him to walk on her surface, as is written: *YHVH put a mark on Cain* (Genesis, ibid., 15)."[1490]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Not so! Rather, a certain stratum below her, as is written: *For You have banished me today from the face of the earth* (ibid., 14). He was banished *from the face of the earth*, but not below. Where did Earth admit him? To *Arqa*, concerning all of whose denizens is written: *They shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens* (Jeremiah 10:11).[1491] There he resided, as is written: *He settled in the land of Nod, east of Eden* (Genesis, ibid., 16)."[1492]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said further, "From that time on, Adam separated from his wife and bore spirits and demons who roam the world.[1493] This should not seem strange to you, for when a man abides in his dream, female spirits approach and titillate him, are inflamed by him, and subsequently give birth to those called *blows of the children of Adam* (2 Samuel 7:14).[1494] These transform solely into the image of human beings[1495] and have no hair on their heads.[1496] So of Solomon is written: *I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of Adam*. Similarly male spirits approach women of the world, who are impregnated by them and bear spirits, all called *blows of the children of Adam*.

"After 130 years Adam wrapped himself [55a] in jealousy and united with his wife,[1497] engendering a son he called שת (*Shet*), Seth—mystery of consummation of letters engraved in clusters."[1498]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Mystery of vanished spirit, enveloped bodily in the world, as is written: *For God* שת (*shat*), *has granted, me another seed in place of Abel* (Genesis, ibid., 25)."[1499]

He said further, "It is written: *He engendered in his likeness, according to his image* (ibid. 5:3), implying that the other sons were not in his likeness or

image, which accords with what Rabbi Shim'on said in the name of Rabbi Yeisa Sava: 'The other sons derived from the clinging of the slime of the serpent to its rider, so they were not in the image of Adam.'[1500]

"If you object, 'But you stated that Abel derived from the other side!'[1501] So it is, but neither one was in the image below."[1502]

Rabbi Yose said, "Look at what is written: *Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bore Cain* (ibid. 4:1). Certainly so! It is not written: *and he engendered Cain*. Even of Abel, it is not written: *He engendered*, but rather: *She continued bearing—his brother, Abel* (ibid., 2). This is the mystery of the word. But of this one, what is written? *He engendered in his likeness, according to his image*."[1503]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "For 110 years Adam separated from Eve,[1504] and throughout that time he engendered spirits and demons in the world through the potency of the slime he had absorbed.[1505] Once that slime was eliminated, he returned jealously to his wife and engendered a son, as is written: *He engendered in his likeness, according to his image*.

"Come and see: When a human follows the left side, defiling his ways,[1506] he draws upon himself all sorts of impure spirits, clinging to him relentlessly, clinging to him alone, clinging only to those who cling to them. Happy are the righteous who follow the straight path! They are truly righteous, their children eternally righteous."

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "Why is it written: *The sister of Tuval-Cain was* נעמה (*Na'amah*), *Na'amah* (ibid., 22)? What is the point of Scripture specifying her name?[1507] Because human beings stray after her, even spirits and demons."[1508]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Those *sons of Elohim* (ibid. 6:4), Uzza and Azael, strayed after her."[1509]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "She was the mother of demons, having issued from the side of Cain,[1510] and was appointed together with Lilith over children's diphtheria."[1511]

Rabbi Abba objected, "But Master has said she was appointed to titillate humans."[1512]

He replied, "Certainly so! She approaches and titillates them, sometimes bearing them spirits in the world. Still now she persists, toying with humans."

Rabbi Abba said, "But they die like human beings! How can she have survived till now?"[1513]

He replied, "So it is, but Lilith, Na'amah, and Agrat daughter of Maḥalat—who issued from their side[1514]—all endure until the blessed Holy One

exterminates the impure spirit from the world, as is written: *I will eliminate the spirit of impurity from earth* (Zechariah 13:2)."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Woe to human beings who do not know, consider, or see![1515] They are all obtuse, unaware how full the world is of strange, invisible creatures, of hidden things. If the eye were empowered to see, humans would be amazed how they themselves can endure.[1516]

"Come and see: This Na'amah was mother of demons. From her side issue all those inflamed by human beings, absorbing their spirit of lust, titillating them, turning them into casualties of ejaculation.[1517] Since such a casualty derives from the side of impure spirit, he must bathe to purify himself, as established by the Companions."[1518]

This is the book of the generations of Adam... (Genesis 5:1).

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "The blessed Holy One showed Adam images of every generation that would arise in the world, all the wise of the world, and kings of the world destined to dominate Israel.[1519] When he caught sight of David, king of Israel, who died at birth, he said, 'I will lend him some of my own years.' So these were deducted from Adam and reserved by the blessed Holy One for David, who sang praise for this: '*For You have gladdened me* [55b] *by Your deed, YHVH; I sing for joy at Your handiwork* (Psalms 92:5).[1520] Who brought me joy in this world? *Your deed*—Adam, deed of the blessed Holy One, not of flesh-and-blood, *handiwork* of the blessed Holy One, not of human beings.[1521] So those seventy years were deducted from Adam, from the thousand that were his to endure.[1522]

"The blessed Holy One showed him the wise of every single generation until he reached the generation of Rabbi Akiva. Seeing his Torah, he rejoiced; seeing his death, he grieved. He opened, saying, '*How precious to me are Your companions, O God! How mighty their chiefs!* (ibid. 139:17).'[1523]

"*This is the book*—an actual book, as we have established. When Adam was in the Garden of Eden, the blessed Holy One brought down a book for him by the hand of Raziel, the holy angel appointed over supernal, sacred mysteries.[1524] In it were engraved supernal engravings, sacred wisdom. Seventy-two species of wisdom expanded, were expounded into 670 engravings of supernal secrets.[1525] In the middle of the book, an engraving of wisdom revealing 1500 keys not transmitted to sacred celestial beings, all concealed in the book until it reached Adam.[1526] As soon as it did, supernal angels thronged to discover and listen; then they declared: *Be exalted above the heavens, O God! Let Your glory manifest over all the earth!* (ibid. 57:12).

"Just then the holy angel Hadraniel[1527] encountered him and exclaimed: 'Adam, Adam, treasure away the precious glory of your Lord, for permission has not been granted to supernal beings to know it, only to you!' So he kept it hidden until he left the Garden of Eden, daily wielding treasures of his Lord,[1528] discovering supernal mysteries of which supernal ministers are unaware.

"As soon as he sinned, violating his Lord's command, that book flew away from him. Adam slapped himself on the head and wept. He entered the waters of Gihon up to his nape, till the water moldered his skin and his luster faded.[1529]

"At that moment the blessed Holy One signaled to Raphael, who returned the book to him.[1530] Adam engaged in it and left it to his son Seth, and so to all those generations until it reached Abraham, who thereby discovered how to contemplate the glory of his Lord, as has been said. Similarly a book was given to Enoch, and he contemplated supernal glory."[1531]

Male and female
He created them (Genesis 5:2).

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Supernal secrets are revealed in these two verses.[1532] *Male and female He created them*—revealing supernal glory, mystery of faith, for out of this mystery Adam was created.[1533]

"Come and see: With the secret by which heaven and earth were created, Adam was created. Of them is written: *These are the generations of heaven and earth* (ibid. 2:4). Of Adam is written: *This is the book of the generations of Adam* (ibid. 5:1). Of them is written: *when they were created* (ibid. 2:4). Of Adam is written: *on the day they were created* (ibid. 5:2).[1534]

"*Male and female He created them*. From here we learn: Any image not embracing male and female is not fittingly supernal. So we have established in the mystery of our Mishnah.[1535]

"Come and see: Anywhere male and female are not found as one, the blessed Holy One does not place His abode. Blessings are found solely where male and female are found,[1536] as is written: *He blessed them and named them Adam* (ibid.). It is not written: *He blessed him and named him Adam*. One is not even called אדם (*adam*), human, unless male and female are as one."[1537]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed, blessings are found nowhere in the world;[1538] they are lost every day, as is written: *The righteous one loses* (Isaiah 57:1). What does *loses* mean? He loses the blessings found within Him, as is written: *blessings upon the head of the righteous* (Proverbs 10:6). It is written as well: *Faith has lost* (Jeremiah 7:28).[1539] Similarly, *He blessed them* (Genesis, ibid.), and *God blessed them* (ibid. 1:28).[1540]

"Back to שת (*Shet*), Seth, all generations trace, all truly righteous of the world."[1541]

Rabbi Yose said, "These are the final letters found in Torah.[1542] For Adam violated all the letters of Torah, [56a] and when he returned to the presence of his Lord[1543] he grasped these two, whereupon the letters were restored, though not fully arrayed until Israel stood at Mount Sinai. Then they were restored consummately as on the day heaven and earth were created, and the world turned fragrant and firm, erected enduringly."[1544]

Rabbi Abba said, "On the day Adam violated the command of his Lord, heaven and earth sought to uproot themselves. Why? Because they were based solely on the covenant, as is written: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth* (Jeremiah 33:25),[1545] and Adam violated the covenant, as is said: *Like Adam, they violated the covenant* (Hosea 6:7).[1546] If it had not been revealed to the blessed Holy One that Israel was destined to stand firm at Mount Sinai, affirming this covenant, this world would not have endured."

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "Whoever confesses his sin is forgiven and pardoned by the blessed Holy One. Come and see: When the blessed Holy One created the world, He fashioned this covenant, upon which the world was established. How do we know? As it is written: בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning* (Genesis 1:1): ברא שית (*bara shit*), *created foundation*. This is the covenant upon which the world stood firm, a conduit through which blessings flow and gush to the world.[1547] Adam violated this covenant, wrenching it from its site.[1548]

"This covenant is intimated by the letter י (*yod*), a tiny letter, root and foundation of the world.[1549] When he engendered a son he confessed his sin, naming him שת (*Shet*), Seth, not enunciating י (*yod*) and thereby forming שית (*shit*), foundation, for this he had violated.[1550] So from here the blessed Holy One sowed the world; to here all generations of the righteous trace.[1551]

"Come and see: When Israel stood at Mount Sinai, between these two letters entered the mystery of covenant.[1552] Who is that? ב (*Bet*), entering between the two surviving letters and transmitted to Israel.[1553] When ב (*bet*)—mystery of covenant—entered between these two letters, שבת (*shabbat*), Sabbath, entered into being, as is said: *The Children of Israel shall observe the Sabbath, celebrating the Sabbath throughout their generations as an eternal covenant* (Exodus 31:16).[1554] As at the beginning of the world all generations stood poised to descend from the two letters, ש״ת (*shin, tav*), so these two remained suspended until the world was perfected and the holy covenant entered between them, consummating, becoming שבת (*shabbat*), Sabbath."[1555]

Rabbi Yose said, "These two letters were consummated by the letter ב (*bet*).

When the letters were reversed, from the day Seth was born letters were restored in every single generation until Israel reached Mount Sinai and they were perfectly arrayed."[1556]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "They were restored below, and in every single generation the world was embraced by letters, but they did not settle in their sites. When Torah was transmitted to Israel, all was arrayed."

Rabbi El'azar said, "In the days of Enosh humans became skilled in the wisdom of sorcery and magic, in the art of blocking heavenly powers.[1557] Ever since Adam left the Garden of Eden, taking with him the wisdom of the leaves of the tree,[1558] no human had engaged in it, for Adam, his wife, and his descendants until Enosh abandoned it. When Enosh appeared he saw them,[1559] saw their wisdom transforming upper beings. They engaged, achieving effects, performing sorcery and magic, till that wisdom spread through the generation of the Flood, all of whom enacted their acts wickedly. Defying Noah with those forms of wisdom, they asserted that universal justice could not prevail against them, for they were actualizing wisdom to repel all those masters of judgment.[1560] So from the time of Enosh they all began to engage in these forms of wisdom, as is written: *Then the name of YHVH was invoked profanely* (Genesis 4:26)."[1561]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "All the righteous who appeared later among that generation—such as Jered, Methuselah, and Enoch[1562]—tried to thwart them but failed, so the wicked proliferated, rebelling against their Lord, exclaiming: *What is Shaddai that we should serve Him?* (Job 21:15).[1563] Did they really speak such stupidity? Rather, since they knew all those modes of wisdom and all the officials of the world appointed over them, they relied upon them,[1564] till finally the blessed Holy One turned the world back into what it had been. For [56b] originally it was water intermingled with water,[1565] and afterward He returned the world to its original state, though not completely devastated, since He gazed upon it compassionately, as is written: *YHVH sat enthroned at the Flood* (Psalms 29:10), not *Elohim*.[1566]

"In the days of Enosh even children of those days all gazed upon supernal modes of wisdom, contemplating them."

Rabbi Yeisa said, "If so, they were stupid, since they did not know that the blessed Holy One intended to inundate them with waters of the Flood, in which they would perish!"

Rabbi Yitsḥak replied, "They certainly did know, yet their minds embraced stupidity, for they knew the angel empowered over fire and the one empowered over water, and they knew how to block them, preventing them from executing judgment upon them. But they did not know that the blessed Holy One rules over earth, that from Him issues judgment upon the world.[1567] Rather, they saw

that the world was entrusted to those officials, who controlled all mundane matters, so they failed to contemplate the blessed Holy One or consider His exploits until the earth was destroyed and Holy Spirit proclaimed daily: *Let sinners be consumed from the earth, and the wicked be no more* (Psalms 104:35). The blessed Holy One delayed patiently as long as those righteous ones endured in the world.[1568] As soon as they departed from the world, He brought judgment upon them and they perished, as is said: *They were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis 7:23)."

Enoch walked with God;
then he was no more,
for God took him (Genesis 5:24).

Rabbi Yose opened, "*While the king was on his couch, my spikenard spread its fragrance* (Song of Songs 1:12). This verse has been discussed,[1569] but come and see! Such are the ways of the blessed Holy One: When a person cleaves to Him, so He plants His abode upon him, yet knowing that one day he will decay, He culls his fragrance ahead of time, plucking him from the world,[1570] as is written: *While the king was on his couch, my spikenard spread its fragrance. While the king*—the blessed Holy One. במסבו (*Bimsibbo*), *On his couch*—a person cleaving to Him, walking in His ways.[1571] *My spikenard spread its fragrance*—good deeds, on account of which he is plucked from the world prematurely.

"Concerning this King Solomon said, *There is futility befalling earth: there are righteous people* [*treated according to the conduct of the wicked, and there are wicked people treated according to the conduct of the righteous*] (Ecclesiastes 8:14). *There are righteous people treated according to the conduct of the wicked*, as we have established: because of their good deeds, the blessed Holy One removes them from the world prematurely, executing judgment upon them. *And there are wicked people treated according to the conduct of the righteous*, for the blessed Holy One prolongs their days and postpones His anger, as has all been explained: these, so that they not decay; those, so they turn back to Him, or so virtuous children issue from them.[1572]

"Come and see: Enoch was pure, but the blessed Holy One saw that he would eventually decay, so He gathered him in beforehand, as is written: *to gather lilies* (Song of Songs 6:2)—because of their fragrance the blessed Holy One gathers them before they decay.[1573] *Then he was no more, for God took him. Then he was no more*—not living as long as other humans. Why? Because the blessed Holy One *took him* before his time."

Rabbi El'azar said, "He *took him* from the earth, raised him to the highest

heavens, and transmitted to him all supernal treasures, along with forty-five secret engraved keys, wielded by highest angels. All these were handed to him, as we have established."[1574]

YHVH saw that human evil on earth was immense, and every thought devised by their mind [*was nothing but evil all day*] (Genesis 6:5).

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*You are not a God who delights in wickedness; evil cannot abide with You* (Psalms 5:5). This verse has been discussed and established,[1575] but come and see! Whoever clings to the evil impulse and is drawn after it, defiles himself and is defiled, as has been said.[1576] *That human evil on earth was immense*—they committed all sorts of evil, but their guilt was incomplete until they spilled blood upon the earth fruitlessly.[1577] Who wasted their ways upon earth?[1578] As is written: *nothing but evil all day*. Here is written: *nothing but evil*, [57a] and there is written: *Evil cannot abide with You*, and similarly: *Er, firstborn of Judah, was evil in the eyes of YHVH* (Genesis 38:7)."[1579]

Rabbi Yose said, "Isn't *evil* the same as *wicked*?

He replied, "No. One is called *wicked* even if he merely raises his hand against his fellow without harming him at all,[1580] but one is only called *evil* if he wastes his way, defiling himself, defiling the earth, empowering the impure spirit called *evil*, as is written: *nothing but evil all day*.[1581] He never enters the palace nor gazes upon the face of *Shekhinah*, for on account of this *Shekhinah* withdraws from the world.[1582]

"How do we know? From Jacob, for when *Shekhinah* departed from him, he thought there was a blemish in his sons,[1583] on account of whom the impure spirit was empowered in the world, the light of the moon diminished, the moon tainted.[1584]

"If you ask, 'Why?' Because this defiles the sanctuary, so She withdrew from Jacob.[1585] All the more so, one defiling his way and defiling himself empowers the impure spirit; so in becoming defiled he is called *evil*.

"Come and see: When a person defiles himself, he is not visited favorably by the blessed Holy One, but rather visited continually, malevolently by that one called *evil*,[1586] as is written: *Passing the night in contentment, he will not be visited by evil* (Proverbs 19:23)—when he walks on the straight path, *he will not be visited by evil*.[1587] Concerning this is written: *nothing but evil all day*, and similarly: *Evil cannot abide with You*. Such a one is called *evil*, not *wicked*. So, too, is written: *Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me* (Psalms 23:4)."

וינחם יהוה (*Va-yinnaḥem YHVH*),

YHVH was sorry, that He had made humankind on earth, and His heart was saddened (Genesis 6:6).

Rabbi Yose opened, "*Woe unto them who haul iniquity with cords of* שוא (*shav*), *falsehood, and sin as with a cart rope* (Isaiah 5:18). *Woe unto them who haul iniquity*—people who sin in the presence of their Lord every day, and in whose eyes those sins appear like *cords of* שוא (*shav*), *nothingness*, the sin they commit like nothing at all, unnoticed by the blessed Holy One, till eventually they make that sin as thick and strong *as a cart rope*, so strong as to be indestructible.[1588]

"Come and see: When the blessed Holy One executes judgment upon the wicked, even though they have sinned in His presence, provoking Him daily, He does not want to exterminate them from the world. Observing their works, He feels *sorry* for them, work of His hands, and prolongs them in the world. Since they are the work of His hands, He takes compassion upon them, feels *sorry* for them, pities them. On the verge of executing judgment upon them, He is *saddened*, as it were, as is said: *No entertainment was brought before him* (Daniel 6:19),[1589] for since they are the work of His hands, He feels sad for them."[1590]

"But it is written: *Splendor and majesty are before Him, power and joy in His place* (1 Chronicles 16:27)."[1591]

Rabbi Yose said, "Come and see! It is written: *His heart was saddened—His heart*, no other place; *His heart*, as is said: *who will act according to what is in My heart and in My soul* (1 Samuel 2:35)."[1592]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "וינחם יהוה (*Va-yinnaḥem YHVH*), *YHVH renounced*, as is said: וינחם יהוה (*Va-yinnaḥem YHVH*), *YHVH renounced, the evil He had intended to bring upon His people* (Exodus 32:14)."[1593]

Rabbi Yeisa explained it positively; Rabbi Ḥizkiyah, negatively.

Rabbi Yeisa explained it positively, as has been said, that the blessed Holy One feels *sorry* for those works of His hands, feels compassion for them. He is *saddened* because they sin in His presence.

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah explained it negatively, for when the blessed Holy One wants to exterminate the wicked from the world, He is consoled over them, as it were, like one reconciled to a loss. Once He has been consoled, judgment is certainly executed, independent of returning to God.[1594] When does it depend on returning? Until He is consoled over them. Once He is, it does not depend on returning at all, and judgment is executed. Then judgment is added to judgment, intensifying that site of judgment, and He exterminates the wicked from the

world.[1595] All in the text, as is written: וינחם יהוה (*Va-yinnaḥem YHVH*), *YHVH was comforted*—He was consoled. Afterward, ויתעצב אל לבו (*Va-yit'atstsev el libbo*), *His heart was embittered*—He empowered Judgment to execute judgment.[1596]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "*YHVH was comforted when He had made Adam on earth*. The blessed Holy One was comforted and overjoyed *when He had made Adam on earth*, for he resembled the supernal, and upon seeing his supernal image, all the supernal angels praised the blessed Holy One, saying: [57b] *You made him little less than God, adorned him with glory and majesty!* (Psalms 8:6). Afterward when Adam sinned, He *was saddened*, for he provided a rationale to the supernal angels who had exclaimed before Him: *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?* (Psalms 8:5)."[1597]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "*His heart was saddened* because He had to execute judgment upon them, as is said: *going forth before the warriors*, [*exclaiming*:] '*Praise YHVH, for His love endures forever*' (2 Chronicles 20:21), and Rabbi Yitsḥak has said, 'Why is it not written here: *for it is good*? Because He was about to destroy the work of His hands in the presence of Israel.' Correspondingly when Israel was crossing the sea, the celestial angels came that night to sing before Him, but the blessed Holy One said to them, 'The work of My hands is drowning in the sea, and you are singing?' So, *one did not approach the other all night long* (Exodus 14:20).[1598] Similarly whenever the wicked are being eliminated, sadness hovers over them."

Rabbi Abba said, "When Adam sinned in the presence of the blessed Holy One, violating His commands, sadness appeared before Him. The blessed Holy One said to him, 'Woe to you, Adam! You have weakened supernal power!'[1599] That moment one light darkened.[1600] He immediately drove him out of the Garden of Eden, saying, 'I brought you into the Garden of Eden to bring an offering, but you impaired the altar, so no offering can be brought.[1601] From now on, *to till the ground* (Genesis 3:23).'[1602] He decreed death upon him. Yet taking pity upon him, as he was about to die the blessed Holy One treasured him away close to the Garden. What did Adam do? He dug a cave and hid himself inside together with his wife. How did he know? He saw a ray of light glinting on that spot, gleaming from the Garden of Eden, and desired a desire for his grave. Right there is a site bordering the gate of the Garden of Eden.[1603]

"Come and see: No one departs from the world without first seeing Adam, who asks him why he is leaving the world and how he is exiting. He replies, 'Woe to you! On account of you, I am leaving the world.'[1604] He responds, 'My son, I violated one command and was punished for it. Look at all your sins! Look how many of your Lord's commands you have violated!'"[1605]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "To this day Adam endures, gazing at the patriarchs

twice a day, confessing his sins, showing them the site where he dwelled in supernal splendor.[1606] He goes to see all the righteous and devout who issued from him, who inherited that supernal splendor in the Garden of Eden. All the patriarchs offer praise, saying: *How precious is Your love, O God! The children of Adam shelter in the shadow of Your wings* (Psalms 36:8)."

Rabbi Yeisa said, "At the moment he departs from the world, every inhabitant of the world sees Adam to bear witness that due to his own sins he is departing, not because of Adam[1607]—except for those three who departed due to the incitement of the primordial serpent, namely, Amram, Levi, and Benjamin; some say: also Jesse.[1608] They never sinned; no trace of sin could be found upon them to warrant their death, but that incitement of the serpent was brought to bear upon them, as we have said.

"Come and see: All generations in the days of Noah exposed their sins to the world brazenly, in sight of all.[1609] One day Rabbi Shim'on was walking through the gates of Tiberias when he saw some men drawing the bow taut with the shaft of a centaur.[1610] He exclaimed, 'What! Such brazen sin, provoking their Lord?' He cast his eyes upon them; they were hurled into the sea and drowned.[1611]

"Come and see: Every sin committed openly repels *Shekhinah* from earth, so She removes Her abode from the world.[1612] These walked haughtily, with head erect, perpetrating their sins brazenly, thrusting *Shekhinah* from the world,[1613] till finally the blessed Holy One thrust them away. Concerning this is written: *Remove the wicked from the presence of the king.... Remove the dross from silver* (Proverbs 25:5, 4)."[1614]

YHVH said, "My spirit shall not abide in humanity לעלם (*le-olam*), *forever, since they, too, are flesh...* (Genesis 6:3).[1615]

Rabbi El'azar said, "Come and see: When the blessed Holy One created the world, He fashioned this world to perform [58a] as above.[1616] When the inhabitants of the world are virtuous, walking the straight path, the blessed Holy One arouses the spirit of life above until that life reaches the site where Jacob abides.[1617] From there life flows until the spirit is drawn to this world in which King David abides.[1618] From there blessings flow to all those below. Since that supernal spirit is drawn and conducted below, they are able to endure in the world. So, לעלם (*le-olam*), *forever*, without a ו (*vav*)—עולם (*olam*), world, of King David, spelled without a ו (*vav*).[1619] For when that spirit flows into this world, from there blessings and life issue to all, to be sustained. Now that humans sinned, all was withdrawn to prevent the spirit of life from reaching this world, benefiting, sustaining those below.[1620]

"*Since he, too, is flesh*—so spirit would not be poured into this world. Why? Amplifying the meaning to include the serpent, lowest of rungs, who would thereby be empowered—so that holy spirit not mingle with impure spirit.[1621]

"*Since he, too, is flesh*—primordial serpent, who would be blessed. So, *he is flesh*, as is said: *End of all flesh has come before Me* (ibid. 6:13), concerning which Rabbi Shim'on has said: 'This is the Angel of Death.'[1622]

"*Let his days be a hundred and twenty years* (ibid., 3)—duration of banded diadem."[1623]

The נפילים (*nefilim*), *fallen beings, were on earth in those days* (Genesis 6:4).

Rabbi Yose teaches: "These are Uzza and Azael, as has been stated, cast down by the blessed Holy One from supernal sanctity."[1624]

But how could they survive in this world? Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "They were among those of whom is written: *Let birds fly upon the earth* (ibid. 1:20), and as explained, these appear to humans in human appearance.[1625] If you ask: 'How can they transform?'—it has been stated: 'They turn countless shades,'[1626] and as they descend they materialize in the atmosphere, appearing as human beings. These are Uzza and Azael, who rebelled above, were cast down by the blessed Holy One, and materialized on earth, abiding on it, unable to strip themselves of it.[1627] Subsequently they strayed after earthly women, and to this day they endure, teaching sorcery to human beings. They engendered children, whom they called Mighty Giants,[1628] while the *nefilim* themselves are called *sons of Elohim*, as has been explained."[1629]

YHVH said, "I will exterminate humankind, whom I have created, from the face of the earth" (ibid. 6:7).

Rabbi Yose opened, "*For My thoughts are not your thoughts* [*nor are your ways My ways, says YHVH*] (Isaiah 55:8). Come and see: When a person seeks vengeance on another, he keeps silent, saying nothing, for if he lets him know, he will be on guard, invulnerable. Not so the blessed Holy One. He does not execute judgment upon the world until He proclaims to them once, twice, thrice,[1630] for *there is no one who can stay His hand or say to Him, 'What are You doing?'* (Daniel 4:32), nor can one guard against Him nor withstand Him.

"Come and see: *YHVH said, 'I will exterminate humankind, whom I have created, from the face of the earth.'* He announced it to them through Noah, warning them several times, but they would not listen.[1631] After they failed to

listen He brought judgment upon them, eliminating them from the face of the earth.

"Come and see: What is written of Noah? *He named him* נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah, saying: This one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *will provide us relief, from our labor* (Genesis 5:29).[1632] How did he know? When [58b] he was born, he saw that he was circumcised, inscribed with the sign of *Shekhinah*; he saw *Shekhinah* cleaving to him.[1633] So *he named him* for what he would later do. At first they did not know how to sow, reap, or plow. Once Noah appeared, he innovated techniques for them along with all the implements required to cultivate the soil to yield fruit.[1634]

"*From our labor and from the painful toil of our hands caused by the soil* [*that YHVH cursed*]. For he liberated the earth from her curse and was therefore called איש האדמה (*ish ha-adamah*), *man of the soil* (ibid. 9:20)."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "איש האדמה (*Ish ha-adamah*), *Husband of the soil*, as is said: איש נעמי (*ish no'omi*), *husband of Naomi* (Ruth 1:3), for he was called Righteous, and by bringing an offering he liberated her from her curse,[1635] as is written: *Never again will I curse the soil because of humankind* (Genesis 8:21). He was therefore called *husband of the soil* and named for the future."

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*Come, gaze upon the works of Elohim, how He has brought* שמות (*shammot*), *desolation, on earth* (Psalms 46:9).[1636] If it had been *the works of* יו״ד ה״א וא״ו ה״א (*yod he vav he*), *YHVH*, He would have *brought existence to earth*, but being *the works* of this name, *He brought desolation on earth*."[1637]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "Now this I would not say, for whether it be one name or the other, all is praise, but I say as the Companions have aroused: He brought names—actual שמות (*shemot*), *names, He brought to earth*. Why? So the world would wield them, be sustained by them."[1638]

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Even what Rabbi Yehudah said is fine! For if the world were conducted by the name of compassion, it would endure, but since it was founded on justice and abides by justice, *He has brought desolation on earth*. This is fine, for otherwise the world could not endure human sin.[1639]

"Come and see: When נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, was born, he was named for נחמה (*neḥamah*), comfort, so that the name would determine his destiny.[1640] Not so, the blessed Holy One: נח (*Noaḥ*), is the reverse of חן (*ḥen*), favor, as is said: ונח (*Ve-Noaḥ*), *But Noah, found* חן (*ḥen*), *favor* [*in the eyes of YHVH*] (Genesis 6:8)."[1641]

Rabbi Yose said, "חן (*Ḥen*), *Favor*, is נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah*. Names of the righteous are auspicious; names of the wicked, ominous. Of Noah is written: ונח (*Ve-Noaḥ*), *But Noah, found* חן (*ḥen*), *favor, in the eyes of YHVH*, while the letters of ער (*Er*), Er, firstborn of Judah, were reversed for evil: ער (*Er*), Er—רע (*ra*), evil;

ra, evil, in the eyes of YHVH (ibid. 38:7).[1642]

"Come and see: When Noah was born he saw the deeds of human beings, sinning in the presence of the blessed Holy One, so he hid himself away, engaging in devotion to his Lord, so as not to follow in their paths. If you ask, 'In what did he engage?'—that *Book of Adam* and *The Book of Enoch*, engaging in them to worship his Lord.[1643]

"Come and see: So it was, for how did he know to bring an offering to his Lord? He discovered the wisdom of how the world is sustained and realized it is sustained by offering. Without offering, those above and those below would not endure."[1644]

Rabbi Shim'on was walking on the way together with his son Rabbi El'azar, Rabbi Yose, and Rabbi Ḥiyya. While they were walking, Rabbi El'azar said to his father, "The way before us is smooth. We want to hear words of Torah!"[1645]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, saying, "*Even when a fool walks on the way,* לבו (*libbo*), *his mind, is lacking, and he reveals to everyone that he is a fool* (Ecclesiastes 10:3). When a person wants to smooth his way before the blessed Holy One, before setting out on the way he should consult Him and pray for his way before Him, as we have learned, for it is written: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way* (Psalms 85:14). Then *Shekhinah* does not part from him.[1646]

"Concerning one who does not trust His Lord, what is written? [59a] *Even when a fool walks on the way,* לבו (*libbo*), *his heart, is lacking*.[1647] Who is *his heart*? The blessed Holy One, who will not accompany him on the way.[1648] So that person lacks his escort since, not trusting His Lord, he failed to seek His companionship and support before setting out. Even while walking on the way he does not engage in words of Torah, so *his heart is lacking*, for his Lord does not walk along with him, is absent from his way.

"*And he says to everyone*: סכל הוא (*Sakhal hu*), *It is foolish*. Even when he hears a word of faith in his Lord, he says *it is foolish* to engage in it. Like the time someone was asked about the sign of covenant engraved in a man's flesh, and he replied, 'That's irrelevant to belief!'[1649] Rabbi Yeisa Sava heard, stared at him, and he turned into a heap of bones.[1650]

"As for us, look, we are being accompanied on the way by the blessed Holy One, so we should speak words of Torah!"

He opened, saying, "*Teach me Your way, O* YHVH, *that I may walk in Your truth; unify my heart to be in awe of Your name* (Psalms 86:11). This verse presents a difficulty, for we have learned: 'All is in the hand of the blessed Holy

One except being virtuous or wicked.'[1651] So how could David ask this of the blessed Holy One?[1652] Rather, this is what David declared: *Teach me Your way, O YHVH*—that straight, smooth way, opening my eyes so I can know it. Then, *I will walk in Your truth*—I will walk the true way, not deviating right or left. *Unify my heart*. Who is *my heart*? As is said: *Rock of my heart and my portion* (ibid. 73:26).[1653] All this I request *to be in awe of Your name*—cleaving to *awe*,[1654] guarding my way fittingly. *To be in awe of Your name*—my allotted site, where awe strikes awe.[1655]

"Come and see: Faith abides fittingly with every human being in awe of the blessed Holy One,[1656] for such a human consummates the service of his Lord. Faith does not abide with anyone devoid of the awe of his Lord; he is unworthy of sharing the world that is coming."[1657]

He opened further, saying, "*The path of the righteous is like gleaming light, shining ever brighter until full day* (Proverbs 4:18). Happy are the righteous in this world and in the world that is coming, for the blessed Holy One desires to glorify them! Come and see what is written: *The path of the righteous is like gleaming light*. What does this mean: *like gleaming light*? Like that radiant light created by the blessed Holy One in the act of Creation, treasured away for the righteous in the world that is coming.[1658] *Shining ever brighter*, for it constantly intensifies, never fading. But of the wicked, what is written? *The way of the wicked is like deep darkness; they do not know what will make them stumble* (ibid., 19). *They do not know*—Don't they know? Rather, the wicked walk this world on a crooked path, not caring to contemplate that the blessed Holy One intends to judge them in that world and cast them into the chastisements of Hell, where they scream: 'Woe to us that we did not stretch our ears and listen in that world!'[1659] Every day, this 'Woe'!

"Come and see: The blessed Holy One intends to enlighten the righteous in the world that is coming, providing them their due reward, penetrated, perceived by no eye, as is said: *No eye has seen, O God, but You, what You will do for one who awaits You* (Isaiah 64:3).[1660] Whereas it is written: *They will go out and stare at the corpses of the people who rebelled against Me* (ibid. 66:24). Similarly, *You will trample the wicked, for they will be ashes under the soles of your feet* (Malachi 3:21). Happy are the righteous in this world and in the world that is coming! Of them is written: *The righteous will inherit the land forever* (Isaiah 60:21), and similarly: *Surely the righteous will praise Your name; the upright will dwell in Your presence* (Psalms 140:14).[1661] *Blessed be YHVH forever! Amen and Amen* (ibid. 89:53)." [59b]

פרשת נח

Parashat Noaḥ

"NOAH" (GENESIS 6:9–11:32)

These are the offspring of Noah (Genesis 6:9).

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "*Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever*... (Isaiah 60:21). Happy are Israel who engage in Torah and know her ways, for on account of her they will attain the world that is coming![1]

"Come and see: All of Israel have a share in the world that is coming.[2] Why? Because they uphold the covenant upon which the world is erected, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth* (Jeremiah 33:25).[3] So Israel, who embraced the covenant and uphold it, have a share in the world that is coming. Moreover, they are therefore called *righteous*. From here we learn that anyone upholding this covenant, upon which the world is erected, is called *righteous*. How do we know? From Joseph. Because he upheld the covenant of the world, he attained the title Righteous. So, *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever*."[4]

Rabbi El'azar said, "We have learned that *these are* always invalidates the preceding.[5] Come and see: What is written above? *A river issues from Eden to water the garden* (Genesis 2:10). That *river* gushes and flows, entering *the garden*, drenching it with supernal saturation, satisfying it, generating fruit and seed.[6] Then, satisfaction for all: satisfaction for *the garden*, who satisfies Him, as is said: *for* בו (*vo*), *on it, He rested*,[7] and: *He rested on the seventh day* (ibid., 2–3).[8] This is the mystery of the word: this generated *offspring*, no other.[9]

"Come and see: Noah below embodied the covenant, modeled on above,[10] so he was called איש האדמה (*ish ha-adamah*), *husband of earth* (ibid. 9:20).[11] We have learned a secret: Noah needed the ark—to unite with it, to sustain the seed of all, as is written: *to keep seed alive* (ibid. 7:3). Who is the ark? *Ark of the covenant* (Joshua 3:11).[12] Noah and the ark followed this paradigm.[13] Of Noah, *covenant* is written: *I will erect My covenant with you* (Genesis 6:18).[14] Until the

covenant was erected with him, he did not enter the ark, as is written: *I will erect My covenant with you, and you will enter the ark*. Then the ark was *ark of the covenant*, ark of Noah, corresponding consummately above. Since this covenant above generates offspring, similarly Noah generates offspring. So, *these are the offspring of Noah*.

"*Noah was a righteous man* (ibid. 6:9). Certainly so, corresponding above, and so it is written: *The righteous one is the foundation of the world* (Proverbs 10:25). Upon this, earth is established, for it is the pillar on which the world stands. Who is He? Righteous One, and Noah is called *righteous* below.[15] Mystery of all: *Noah walked with* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (Genesis, ibid.), existing on earth as above.[16]

"*A righteous man*, foundation of the world, *covenant of peace* (Ezekiel 34:25), peace of the world, *husband of earth*, indeed![17] So, *Noah found favor in the eyes of YHVH* (Genesis, ibid., 8).

"*Perfect in his generations* (ibid., 9). What does this mean: *in his generations*? Those issuing from him: perfecting them all, he was more perfect than all of them.

"*Perfect*, for he was born circumcised, as is written: *Walk before Me and be perfect* (ibid. 17:1).[18]

"*In his generations*, not the generations of the world, for from him issued offspring to the world.[19]

"Come and see: Since the day the world was created, Noah was destined to be united with the ark, to enter her. Until they joined as one, the world was unfit. Afterward what is written? *From these the whole earth dispersed* (ibid. 9:19). What does *dispersed* mean? As is said: *from there it divides* (ibid. 2:10).[20] From there division appeared, offspring scattered in every direction. All is as one, according to a single paradigm. So, *these are the offspring of Noah. These*, indeed! For Foundation of the World is the one who generates [60a] offspring enduring on earth."[21]

Rabbi Abba came and kissed him, saying, "A lion in his potency pierces, pulverizes rock![22] So, indeed! Come and see: So, too, from the measurement of the ark."[23]

Rabbi El'azar opened, saying, "*Come, gaze upon the works of Elohim, how He has brought desolation on earth* (Psalms 46:9).[24] *Come, gaze*. What does חזו (*ḥazu*), *gaze*, mean? As is said, *A harsh* חזות (*ḥazut*), *vision, has been conveyed to me* (Isaiah 21:2). Through the acts of the blessed Holy One, supernal prophecy is revealed to human beings.[25]

"*How He has brought* שַׁמּוֹת (*shammot*), *desolation*—שֵׁמוֹת (*shemot*), *names*, indeed, for the name determines destiny entirely.[26]

"It is written: *He named him Noah, saying: This* (Genesis 5:29).[27] Why *saying*? Why *this*? *Saying* implies Woman;[28] *this*, Righteous One,[29] as the blessed Holy One named him: נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, נייחא (*neyaḥa*), satisfaction, of the earth.[30] What does *saying* mean? This site named him Noah.[31] Who is that? Holy Land,[32] who said: *This one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *will provide us relief*. The blessed Holy One fashioned him below corresponding above.

"Here is written: *This*, and there is written: *This is YHVH for whom we have waited* (Isaiah 25:9).[33] Happy are the righteous, inscribed with the inscription of the royal signet, inscribed with His name.[34] He has brought names to earth fittingly.

"It is written: *He called* את שמו (*et shemo*), *his name, Noah*. Yet it is written: *He called* שמו (*shemo*), *his name, Jacob* (Genesis 25:26). Why is את (*et*) not written?[35] There, another rung; here, another rung, as is written: *I saw* את (*et*) *YHVH* (Isaiah 6:1)—not *I saw YHVH*, but את (*et*) *YHVH*. Similarly here: *He called his name Jacob*—his rung, the blessed Holy One Himself, named him Jacob. But here: את (*et*), encompassing *Shekhinah*.[36]

These are the offspring of Noah.

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*A good man lends graciously and conducts his affairs with justice* (Psalms 112:5). *A good man*— the blessed Holy One, who is called *good*, as is written: *YHVH is good to all* (ibid. 145:9).[37] *Lends graciously*—to the site possessing nothing of its own, nourished by Him.[38] *Conducts his affairs with justice*—for that *affair* is nourished only *with justice*, as is said: *Righteousness and justice are the foundation of Your throne* (ibid. 89:15).[39]

"Alternatively, *a good man*—this is Righteous One, as is written: *Say of the righteous one that he is good* (Isaiah 3:10)."[40]

Rabbi Yose said, "This is Noah, as is written: *a righteous man* (Genesis 6:9)."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "This is Sabbath who opened with *good*, as is written: *It is good to praise YHVH* (Psalms 92:1)."[41]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "All is one! All have spoken one word.[42] This generates offspring in the world.[43] Who are the offspring of the world? Souls of the righteous, fruit of the handiwork of the blessed Holy One."[44]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "When the blessed Holy One adorns Himself in His crowns, He crowns Himself above and below.[45] Above, from the site deepest of all;[46] below, with what? With souls of the righteous. Then vitality is lavished above and below, embracing the site of the sanctuary on all sides.[47] The cistern is filled, the ocean consummated, providing for all.[48]

"It is written: *Drink water from your cistern, flowing water from your well* (Proverbs 5:15). Why first *your cistern*, then *your well*? A *cistern* is empty, unflowing, while a *well* bubbles with water.[49] Yet all is one site. The site embracing the poor is called *cistern*, possessing nothing of its own, only what is deposited there.[50] Who is that? ד (*Dalet*). Subsequently it becomes a well, filled from all directions. Who is that? ה (*He*), filled from above, [60b] bubbling from below. Filled from above, as we have explained; bubbling from below, from souls of the righteous.[51]

"Alternatively, *Drink water from your cistern*—this is King David, of whom is written: *Who will get me a drink of water from the cistern of Bethlehem?* (2 Samuel 23:15).[52] *Flowing water*—this is Abraham.[53] *From the midst of*—this is Jacob, in the middle.[54] *Your well*—this is Isaac, called *well of living water* (Genesis 26:19).[55] Look, in this verse appears the supernal holy chariot, composed of the patriarchs joined by King David![56]

"Desire of the female toward the male arouses only when a spirit enters her and she gushes water toward upper, masculine waters.[57] Similarly Assembly of Israel arouses desire toward the blessed Holy One only by the spirit of the righteous entering Her.[58] Then waters flow from within Her toward waters of the male, all becoming one desire, one cluster, one nexus. Rapture, total rapture! An amble ambled by the blessed Holy One with souls of the righteous.[59]

"Come and see: All those offspring of the Garden of Eden issue from Righteous One only when He enters this ark in a single bond.[60] All are treasured away in Her, afterward issuing. Similarly here, Noah, *righteous man* (ibid. 6:9), did not generate offspring, becoming fruitful in the world, until he entered the ark, in which all was gathered and treasured, afterward issuing, becoming fruitful in the world, enduring on earth.[61] Had they not issued from the ark, they would not have endured in the world. All corresponding above: issuing from the ark above, issuing from the ark below, corresponding to one other. From here the world was firmly established, not previously, and so it is written: *The earth was corrupt before God* (ibid. 6:11)."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Since it is written: *The earth was corrupt*, why *before God*? Because they perpetrated their sins brazenly, in the eyes of all, it is written: *before God*."[62]

Rabbi Yose said, "I say the opposite. *The earth was corrupt before God*. At first, *before God*, for they did not act openly: they acted *before God*, not before human beings. Eventually they acted brazenly, as is written: *and the earth was filled with violence* (ibid.), for nowhere on earth was it unexposed. So the verse conveys two modes."[63]

These are the offspring of Noah.

Rabbi Abba said, “From the day Adam violated the command of his Lord, all children of the world born thereafter are called ‘children of Adam’[64]—not admiringly, but as if to say: ‘the children of that one who violated his Lord’s command.’ Once Noah appeared, children of the world are named after him: *offspring of Noah*, for he actualized their existence in the world,[65] not *offspring of Adam*, who removed them from the world, inflicting death upon them all.”[66]

Rabbi Yose said, “If so, look at what is written later: *YHVH came down to see the city and tower that the children of Adam had built* (ibid. 11:5)—*the children of Adam*, not *the children of Noah*!”[67]

He replied, “Because of Adam, who sinned in the presence of his Lord. Better for him had he never been created, so that this verse would not have been written. But come and see what is written: *A wise son delights a father* (Proverbs 10:1).[68] When a son is good, all the inhabitants of the world speak well of his father, but when he is bad, all speak ill of his father. Since Adam sinned, violating the command of his Lord, when rebels arose against their Lord, what is written? *That the children of Adam had built*—children of Adam who rebelled against his Lord, violating the command.[69] So *these are the offspring—these*, not the earlier ones. *These*, who emerged from the ark and generated offspring for the world, not *the offspring of Adam*, who emerged from the Garden of Eden without generating them from there.[70]

“Come and see: If Adam had generated offspring from the Garden of Eden, they would never have been destroyed[71] and the light of the moon would never have darkened.[72] They all would have lived forever, and even the supernal angels could not have withstood their radiant luster and wisdom. But since [61a] sin compelled him to leave the Garden of Eden and he generated offspring outside, they did not endure in the world and were imperfect.”

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, “How could they have generated offspring there? For if the evil impulse had not been drawn toward him, enticing him to sin, he would have existed alone in the world, generating no offspring.[73] Similarly if Israel had not sinned, drawing to themselves the evil impulse, they would never have generated offspring and no other generations would have come into the world.”[74]

He replied, “If Adam had not sinned, he would not have generated offspring like this. For now he generates only from the side of the evil impulse, and since all human offspring derive from that side, they do not endure and are incapable of the other side.[75] But if Adam had not sinned and not been banished from the Garden of Eden, he would have generated offspring from the side of Holy Spirit, holy as supernal angels, enduring forever, corresponding above. Since he sinned and engendered children outside the Garden, and was unworthy of generating them from the Garden, they did not endure even long enough to take root in the

world, until Noah appeared and entered the ark. From the ark issued all generations of the world, dispersing from there to all four directions of the world."[76]

God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt (Genesis 6:12). Why was it corrupt? *For all flesh had corrupted their way* (ibid.), as has been explained.[77]

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened with a verse, saying, "*God saw their deeds, how they turned from their evil ways* (Jonah 3:10). Come and see: When human beings are virtuous, observing the commandments of Torah, earth is invigorated, pervaded with joy. Why? Because *Shekhinah* hovers over earth, so all delight, above and below. But when human beings corrupt their ways, failing to observe the commandments of Torah, sinning in the presence of their Lord, then, as it were, they thrust *Shekhinah* out of the world, and earth is left ruined.[78] For *Shekhinah* no longer hovers over her, so she is ruined. Why? Because another spirit hovers over her, ruining the world.[79]

"You might think this applies even to the land of Israel, yet we have learned that no other spirit or official hovers over the land of Israel, only the blessed Holy One.[80] Come and see! So it is in the land of Israel: no official or emissary hovers over her, only the blessed Holy One. But for a moment it does hover to destroy human beings.[81] How do we know? From David, for it is written: *David saw the angel of YHVH* [*standing between earth and heaven*], *with a drawn sword in his hand extended over Jerusalem* (1 Chronicles 21:16), so the land was ruined."

Rabbi El'azar said, "Even that time, it was the blessed Holy One. Here is written: *angel*, and there is written: *the angel who redeems me* (Genesis 48:16), and similarly: *The angel of YHVH moved* (Exodus 14:19).[82] Whether for good or for ill, the blessed Holy One reigns over her. For good, so that other officials and all inhabitants of earth will be ashamed of their deeds.[83] For ill, so that they will not rejoice in ruling over her.[84]

"Now you might say, 'No? Look at what is written: *For she has seen heathens invade her sanctuary* (Lamentations 1:10) and destroy the House.[85] If those officials were not in charge, the Temple would not have been destroyed!' Come and see! It is written: *For You have done it* (ibid. 1:21), and similarly: *YHVH has done what He devised* (ibid. 2:17).

"Come and see! It is written: *God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt. Corrupt*, indeed, as has been explained.[86] Correspondingly, *God saw their deeds, how they turned from their evil ways*. For then, earth called above, adorning her face like a woman for a man.[87] So, *God saw the earth, and behold, it was*

corrupt, like a woman rendered impure, hiding her face from her husband. When the sins of humanity abounded brazenly, the face of earth transmogrified into that of a woman totally shameless, as is said: *Earth was defiled under her inhabitants* (Isaiah 24:5). So, *it was corrupt*, indeed! Why? *For all flesh had corrupted* [61b] *their way upon earth*."[88]

Rabbi El'azar went to visit Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lekonya, his father-in-law.[89] As soon as he saw him, he set up a canopied carpet with wooden poles,[90] and they sat.

His father-in-law asked him, "Did you happen to hear from your father anything about this verse: *YHVH has done what He devised; He has executed His utterance that He ordained in days of old* (Lamentations 2:17)?"

He replied, "The Companions have already established it: *He has executed His utterance*—He rent His purple raiment.[91] *That he ordained in days of old*, for He ordained that purple from those supernal, primordial days;[92] and on the day the Temple was destroyed, He rent it because this purple robe is His glory and adornment—so He rent it."[93]

He said to him, "*YHVH has done what He devised*. Does a king devise evil against his children before they sin?"

He replied, "This can be compared to a king who possessed a precious vessel.[94] Every day he feared it might be broken, so he gazed upon it constantly, eyeing its perfection. One day the king's son provoked him. The king took that precious vessel and smashed it, as is written: *YHVH has done what He apprehended*.[95]

"Come and see: From the day the Temple was built, the blessed Holy One would gaze upon it, so precious was it to Him. He feared Israel might sin and the Temple be destroyed. Whenever He entered, He would don that purple robe.[96] Afterward, when sins prevailed, provoking the King, the Temple was destroyed and He rent that purple raiment, as is written: *YHVH has done what He apprehended, He has executed His utterance*.

"This applies to the time when the Temple was destroyed; but at other times, nothing delights the blessed Holy One as much as the elimination of the wicked of the world and those who have provoked Him, as is written: *When the wicked perish, jubilation!* (Proverbs 11:10). So in every generation that He punishes the wicked of the world, joyous song resounds in the presence of the blessed Holy One.

"Now you might say, 'But we have learned that joy vanishes from the presence of the blessed Holy One when He punishes the wicked!'[97] Come and

see: When judgment is executed upon the wicked, joyous song does resound in His presence over their elimination from the world—but only when the extension He patiently granted them has expired and they have still not turned back to Him from sinning.[98] If, however, they are punished prematurely—with incomplete guilt, as is said: *for the guilt of the Amorites is not yet complete* (Genesis 15:16)—then joy vanishes from His presence due to their perishing.[99]

"You might ask, 'If their time has not yet come, why does He punish them?' But the blessed Holy One punishes them prematurely only because they interfere with Israel, harassing them. So He punishes them prematurely, eliminating them from the world. This is why He was distressed when He drowned the Egyptians in the sea and when he destroyed the enemies of Israel in the days of Jehoshaphat,[100] and so with all of them, for they were eliminated prematurely on account of Israel.

"But when the extension He has granted them expires without their having returned to God, then joyous song resounds in His presence over their elimination from the world. Except for the time when the Temple was destroyed, for even though their time was up—for they had provoked Him[101]—joy vanished from His presence, and ever since that time, there has been no joy above or below."[102]

For in another seven days I will make it rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights... (Genesis 7:4).

Rabbi Yehudah said, "What is the nature of these forty days and forty nights? Forty, to lash sinners, as is written: *Forty he is to be struck, no more* (Deuteronomy 25:3),[103] corresponding to the four directions of the world, ten in each, because the human being was created from these four.[104] So, *I will obliterate all existing things* (Genesis, ibid.).[105] Forty were required for lashing, for the world to be obliterated."

Rabbi Yitsḥak was in the presence of Rabbi Shim'on. He asked him, "This verse: *The earth was corrupt* [62a] *before God* (ibid. 6:11)—given that humans sinned, but how did earth?"

He replied, "Since it is written: *for all flesh had corrupted their way* [*upon earth*] (ibid., 12), as has been said.[106] Similarly, *The earth was defiled, and I inflicted her punishment upon her* (Leviticus 18:25). It was human beings who sinned. If you ask 'How did earth?' the answer is: Human beings constitute the essence of earth—they ruin earth and she is ruined. The verse proves it, as is

written: *God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth* (Genesis, ibid.).

"Come and see: All sins of a human being are entirely his ruination, yet are susceptible to return;[107] but the sin of spilling seed, wasting his way, emitting seed upon earth,[108] ruining both himself and earth—of this is written: *Stained is your iniquity before Me* (Jeremiah 2:22). Similarly, *You are not a God who delights in wickedness; evil cannot abide with You* (Psalms 5:5).[109] Similarly, *Er, firstborn of Judah, was evil in the eyes of YHVH...* (Genesis 38:7).[110] This has already been explained."

He asked, "Why did the blessed Holy One punish the world with water, and not with fire or some other element?"

He replied, "It is a mystery! For they wasted their ways, so that the upper waters and lower waters failed to unite fittingly.[111] Who has ever ruined like this: male and female waters? So they were punished with water, just like they sinned. The water was boiling, peeling off their skin, just as they wasted their ways with boiling water.[112] A fitting punishment, as is written: *All the springs of the great abyss burst forth* (ibid. 8:2)—lower waters; *and the sluices of heaven opened* (ibid.)—upper waters. Upper and lower waters."

Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yehudah were walking on the way and reached some huge mountains, in whose ravines they discovered human bones from victims of the Flood. They paced three hundred paces along one bone.[113] Amazed, they exclaimed, "Just as our companions have said: They did not fear the judgment of the blessed Holy One, as is written: *They say to God, 'Leave us alone! We have no desire to know Your ways* (Job 21:14). What did they do? With their feet they dammed up the springs of the abyss, but the waters bubbled up boiling and they could not endure, finally slipping, falling to the ground, and dying."[114]

Noah engendered three sons... (Genesis 6:10).[115]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said to Rabbi Yehudah, "Come and I'll tell you a word I heard regarding this. It can be compared to a man who implants in a female the fruit of her womb simultaneously, two or three children, diverging from one another in character and conduct: this one virtuous, that one wicked.[116] Here, too, three clusters of spirit roaming, embraced by three worlds.[117]

"Come and see: The soul emerges, navigating the mountains of separation,[118] and spirit is joined to soul.[119] As it descends, vitality joins spirit,[120] all of them descending, joining one another."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Vitality and spirit intertwine, while soul abides in one's ways—a hidden abode, her site unknown.[121] If one strives to purify himself, then he is assisted by a holy soul, purified, sanctified, called 'holy.' If he is unvirtuous, not trying to purify himself, then he has two openings—vitality and spirit—but is devoid of the holy soul—supernal boost—suiting his way."[122]

Tosefta[123] Incredible clusters![124] Impregnable castles! Quaestors of quaestory![125] Those of open eyes, open ears! A voice—voice of voices—descends from above, pulverizing mountains and boulders:[126]

"Who are those who see without seeing,[127] ears blocked, eyes shut? Neither seeing, nor hearing, nor knowing through contemplation the one encompassed by two within them, cast away by them.[128] They cling to those two, while one, artisan of artisans, does not abide within them.[129] [62b] They are not inscribed in the Books of Memory,[130] are erased from the Book of Life, as is said: *May they be erased from the Book of Life, and not be inscribed among the righteous* (Psalms 69:29).

"Woe to them when they leave this world! Woe to their lives! Who will plead for them? They are to be handed over to Dumah,[131] burned in blazing fire from which they cannot escape—except on new moons and Sabbaths, as is said: *From new moon to new moon and from Sabbath to Sabbath, all flesh shall come to bow down before Me, says YHVH* (Isaiah 66:23).[132] Afterward[133] a herald in the North proclaims: *Let the wicked return to Sheol!* (Psalms 9:18).[134] How many ravaging bands of truculent stingers[135] gather against them! In four directions fire flames in the Valley of Ben Hinnom;[136] three times a day they are burned.

"Moreover, when Israel responds aloud: 'Amen! May His great name be blessed!' the blessed Holy One is filled with compassion and takes pity upon all.[137] He signals to the angel appointed over the gates of Hell—Samriel is his name.[138] Three keys are in his hand; he opens three gates on the side of the wilderness,[139] and they see the light of this world. Fiery smoke emerges, choking the ways. Then three deputies under his command fan with three spades in their hands, chasing the smoke back to its site, providing them relief for an hour-and-a-half,[140] following which they return to their fire. So it is three times a day and whenever Israel recites: 'Amen! May His great name be blessed...!'[141]

"Happy are the righteous, whose paths in that world radiate in every direction,[142] as is said: *The path of the righteous is like gleaming light, shining ever brighter until full day* (Proverbs 4:18)."

Rabbi Abba said, "In Hell there are abodes upon abodes: second, third, until seven, as the Companions have established.[143] Happy are the righteous who steel themselves against the sins of the wicked, neither following their paths nor becoming defiled through them. Upon reaching that world, whoever has defiled himself descends to Hell, where he is sunk to the lowest abode. There are two abodes adjacent to one another: Sheol and Avadon.[144] One who descends to Sheol is judged there, receives his punishment, and is raised to another, higher abode; and so on—level after level—till they elevate him. But one who descends to Avadon is never raised,[145] which is why it is called Avadon, for he is totally אביד (*avid*), lost.[146]

"Come and see: Noah warned his contemporaries, but they would not listen,[147] until finally the blessed Holy One inflicted upon them the punishment of Hell. What is that? Fire and snow, water and fire—one freezing, one boiling.[148] All of them were sentenced to the punishment of Hell and eliminated from the world, following which the world fittingly endured.

"Noah entered the ark, bringing with him every species of the creatures of the world. Truly Noah was a *tree bearing fruit* (Genesis 1:11), and all species of the world sprang from the ark, corresponding to the manner above.[149]

"Come and see when this *tree bearing fruit* joins the *fruit tree*:[150] all those supernal species! Living things great and small; countless species, each one unique, as is said: *Living things small and great* (Psalms 104:25).[151] Similarly, Noah in the ark, all of them issuing from the ark, and the world was established, corresponding above.[152] So he is called *Noah, husband of earth* (Genesis 9:20),[153] *Noah, righteous man* (ibid. 6:9), as they have already established."[154]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "For 300 years before the onslaught of the Flood, Noah warned them concerning their deeds, but they would not listen to him,[155] till finally the blessed Holy One completed the span of time He had patiently extended for them, and they were eliminated from the world.[156]

"Come and see: What is written above? *When humans began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born to them* (ibid. 6:1). They walked around naked in sight of all. What is written? *The sons of Elohim saw the human daughters...* (ibid., 2).[157] This was the foundation, the root of their persistent sinning, leading finally to their extermination from the world. So they were drawn after the evil impulse, its stem and roots, rejecting holy faith, defiling themselves, as has been explained."[158]

God said to Noah, "End of all flesh has come before Me" (Genesis 6:13). We return to the previous matter.[159] *End of all flesh has come before Me—come*

before Me, indeed, as caused by them.[160]

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*YHVH, let me know my end, what is the measure of my days, that I may know how ephemeral I am* (Psalms 39:5). David said in the presence of the blessed Holy One, 'There are two ends, one on the right and one on the left, these being two paths humans walk to that world.[161]

"An end on the right, as is written: לקץ הימין (*le-qets ha-yamin*), *at the end of the right* (Daniel 12:13).[162] An end on the left, as is written: *He puts an end to darkness, the furthest reaches he explores—earth of pitch-black darkness* (Job 28:3).[163] *He puts an end to darkness. End*—Angel of Death, Serpent, *End of all flesh*.[164] *Puts to darkness*—for he derives from the side of the smelting of gold.[165] *The furthest reaches he explores*—When judgment looms over the world,[166] *he explores*, becoming Accuser of the world,[167] besmirching creatures' faces. [63a]

"An end on the right, as we have said, for it is written: *at the end of the right*. The blessed Holy One said to Daniel, '*As for you, go on till the end; you will rest, and arise*' (Daniel, ibid.).[168]

"He asked, 'Where? I don't know what will happen to me in that world.'

"He replied, '*You will rest*.'[169]

"He asked, 'When they rise from the dust, will I rise among them or not?'

"He replied, '*You will arise*.'

"He said, 'I know they will rise in various groups—some genuinely righteous, some the wicked of the world[170]—and I don't know with which of them I will rise.'

"He replied, '*For your share*' (ibid.).

"He said, 'You told me: *As for you, go on till the end*. There is an *end* on the right and an *end* on the left; I don't know to which: to קץ הימין (*qets ha-yamin*), *the end of the right*, or קץ הימים (*qets ha-yamim*), *the end of days*.'[171]

"He replied, 'לקץ הימין (*Le-qets ha-yamin*), *At the end of the right* (ibid.).'

"Similarly here, David said to the blessed Holy One, '*YHVH, let me know my end*. What is my allotted share?' He remained uneasy until he was assured that he would be on the right, as is written: *Sit on My right* (Psalms 110:1).

"Come and see: Similarly, the blessed Holy One said to Noah, '*End of all flesh has come before Me*.' Who is that? The *end* who besmirches creatures' faces: *End of all flesh*.

"*Has come before Me*. From here we learn that the wicked of the world anticipate him, attracting him to themselves to besmirch them.[172] As soon as he is authorized, he seizes the soul, yet not until then.[173] So he *has come before Me* to obtain permission to besmirch faces of the inhabitants of the world. Therefore, *I am about to destroy them along with the earth* (Genesis, ibid.).[174] So, *Make yourself an ark of gopher wood* (ibid., 14) to save yourself, preventing him from

overpowering you.

"Come and see: We have learned that when death appears in town or anywhere in the world, one should not show himself on the street because the Destroyer is empowered to destroy everything.[175] So the blessed Holy One said to him, 'You must hide yourself away! Do not show yourself in the presence of the Destroyer, so that he will not overpower you.'

"Now you might say, 'Who deployed the Destroyer here? It was simply water overwhelming.' Come and see: Judgment never manifests in the world, nor is the world obliterated, without that Destroyer surging through the punishments executed upon the world. Similarly here, there was a flood, the Destroyer surging through that flood, called by that name.[176] So the blessed Holy One told Noah to hide himself, not expose himself openly.

"Now you might say, 'The ark was exposed in this world, and the Destroyer was surging.' However, as long as one's face is not visible to the Destroyer, he has no power over him.[177] How do we know? From Egypt, as is written: *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22). Why? Because the Destroyer loomed, ready to destroy, and one must not expose himself in his presence. So Noah together with all his companions were hidden away in the ark, and the Destroyer had no power over them."

Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose were walking on the way. They encountered the mountains of Kurdistan,[178] where they saw traces of crevices in the earth dating from the time of the Flood.[179]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said to Rabbi Yose, "These crevices are vestiges of the Flood, preserved by the blessed Holy One ever since, throughout the generations, so that the sins of the wicked not be obliterated from His sight. For such is the way of the blessed Holy One: He wants the virtuous who do His will to be remembered above and below, their blessed memory unforgotten generation to generation. Similarly He wants the sins of the wicked, who fail to do His will, not to be forgotten, their punishment and evil memory remembered generation to generation, as is written: *Stained is your iniquity before Me* (Jeremiah 2:22)."[180]

Rabbi Yose opened, saying, "*Cry shrilly, O Daughter of Gallim! Listen, Laishah! O poor Anathoth!* (Isaiah 10:30).[181] This verse has been established by the Companions, but it was declared for Assembly of Israel.[182] *Cry shrilly, O Daughter of Gallim!* Daughter of Abraham; so they have established.[183]

"*Daughter of Gallim*, as is written: *a sealed* גל (*gal*), *spring* (Song of Songs 4:12). *Gallim—waves*, streams merging, flowing into Her, filling Her, as is written: *Your branches are an orchard of pomegranates* (ibid., 13).[184]

"*Listen, Laishah*, as is written: ליש (*Layish*), *The lion, perishes for lack of prey* (Job 4:11). *Layish* is male; *Laishah*, female. Why is She called *Layish*?[185] Either because of the verse: *Layish, Lion, mighty among beasts* (Proverbs 30:30), or because of: *Layish, The lion, perishes for lack of prey*. But She is all: *Mighty lion*, deriving from upper Might;[186] *The lion perishes for lack of prey*, when those streams disappear, no longer entering Her. Then She is called *Poor Laishah, lioness* (Isaiah, ibid.), perishing for lack of prey, as is written: *The lion perishes for lack of* [63b] *prey, and the cubs of the lioness are scattered*.[187]

"*Anathoth*, poorest of the poor, as is said: *of the priests who were in Anathoth* (Jeremiah 1:1),[188] and similarly: *Anathoth, go to your field*! (1 Kings 2:26).[189] What is the point?[190] As long as King David was alive, Abiathar rose in wealth and in all ways. Afterward Solomon said to him, *Anathoth, go to your field*! Why did Solomon call him this? Because he was telling him, 'In your days father was poor; now, *go to your field*!'[191]

"Now still the question may be posed: Why was Abiathar called *Anathoth*? If you say he came from Anathoth, look at what is written: *One son of Ahimelech son of Ahitub escaped—his name was Abiathar* (1 Samuel 22:20),[192] so he must have been from Nob, since Nob was the city of the priests.[193] Even though it is claimed that Nob and Anathoth are one and the same—it being called 'Anathoth' only because the city was reduced to poverty and destroyed by Saul, and the priests eliminated—still Anathoth was a village, not identical with Nob.[194] The real reason he called Abiathar *Anathoth* was as he said: *Because* התענית (*hit'anneita*), *you were afflicted, with all the hardships my father endured* (1 Kings, ibid.).[195] He came from the city of Nob, but because the poverty of David transpired during his lifetime, he was called otherwise."

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "The world was impoverished ever since the day Adam violated the commands of the blessed Holy One until Noah arrived and offered an offering, and the world was settled."[196]

Rabbi Yose said, "The world remained unsettled and earth did not escape the slime of the serpent until Israel stood at Mount Sinai, embracing the Tree of Life;[197] then the world was settled. Had Israel not relapsed, sinning before the blessed Holy One, they would have never died, for they had been purged of the slime of the serpent. Then the original tablets were smashed—tablets comprising total freedom, freedom from that serpent: *End of all flesh*.[198] When the Levites rose to deal death,[199] the evil serpent aroused, slithering in front of them, but he could not overpower Israel for they were all girded with armored belts. Once Moses said *Now take off your ornaments* (Exodus 33:5), the serpent was empowered to dominate them.[200]

"Come and see what is written: *The Children of Israel were stripped of*

their ornaments from Mount Horeb on (ibid., 6). ויתנצלו (*Va-yitnatstselu*), *They were stripped*—the verse should read וינצלו (*Vaynatstselu*), *They stripped*.[201] But, *they were stripped*, by someone else, for the serpent was empowered to rule. *Their ornaments from Mount Horeb*—that they received *from Mount Horeb* when Torah was given to Israel."[202]

Rabbi Ḥiyya asked, "Since Noah was *a righteous man* (Genesis 6:9), why didn't he abolish death throughout the world?"[203]

Rabbi Yose replied, "Because the slime of the world had not yet disappeared. Furthermore, they did not believe in the blessed Holy One; all of them were grasping the leaves of the tree below and dressing themselves in impure spirit.[204] Further, they later persisted in sinning, clinging to the evil impulse as before, and Torah, Tree of Life, had not yet been brought down to earth by the blessed Holy One."[205]

As they were walking, they saw a Jew approaching.

Rabbi Yose said, "This person is a Jew—he looks so!"[206]

When he reached them, they asked him.

He said, "I am an envoy for a *mitsvah*![207] For we live in the village of Ramin,[208] and the time of the Festival[209] nears, so we need a *lulav* and its fellow species.[210] I'm on my way to pluck them for the *mitsvah*."

They walked on as one.

The Jew said to them, "These four species of the *lulav*, all of which propitiate for water[211]—have you heard why we need them on the Festival?"[212]

They replied, "The Companions have already been aroused by this,[213] but if you possess a new word, say it!"

He said to them, "True, the place we live in is small, but everyone there engages in Torah under the guidance of one inflamed by the rabbis:[214] Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Yose from Maḥoza,[215] who each day tells us new words. He said that the Festival is the time when all those princes appointed over other nations prevail, blessed from the side of Israel,[216] called by us *raging waters*, as is said: *the raging waters* (Psalms 124:5).[217] In order to overpower them, we approach with the mystery of the holy name—with those four species of the *lulav*[218]—in order to propitiate the blessed Holy One to prevail [64a] against them through the mystery of the holy name, and to arouse holy water upon us, to pour upon the altar.[219]

"He further told us that on Rosh Hashanah the first arousal arises in the world. What is the first arousal? Lower Court of Justice, aroused to judge the world, with the blessed Holy One sitting in judgment over the world.[220] This court remains in session until Yom Kippur, when Her face beams,[221] while the serpent—cosmic informer—is nowhere to be found, being engrossed in that goat they

offer to him, deriving from the side of impure spirit, befitting him.[222] Occupied with that goat, he does not approach the sanctuary.[223] This goat resembles the goat of the new moon, in which he is engrossed,[224] so the face of the sanctuary shines and all of Israel find compassion in the presence of the blessed Holy One, their guilt eliminated.

"One secret he told us, but permission has not been granted to reveal it, except to holy, wise devotees."

Rabbi Yose asked, "What is it?"

He replied, "I haven't examined you yet."[225]

They walked on. After a while he said to them, "When the moon approaches the sun,[226] the blessed Holy One arouses the side of North, who grasps Her lovingly, drawing Her close.[227] South arouses from the other side, and the moon ascends, uniting with East.[228] Then She suckles from two sides, drawing blessing secretly, until the moon is blessed and filled. Here Woman approaches Her Husband.[229] Corresponding to the mysterious image of the smooth members of Adam is the mysterious arrayal of the Female.[230] All is elucidated among us.

"Similarly, below: mysterious arrayal of another, lower Adam beneath the moon.[231] Just as the left arm above[232] grasps Her, arousing toward Her in love, so too, below. This serpent is the left arm, impure spirit; her rider grasps her,[233] approaches the moon and draws Her,[234] sucking from the trough, and She is defiled.[235]

"Then Israel below offer up a goat, to which the serpent is drawn,[236] and the moon is purified, ascending, bound above to be blessed. Her face, darkened below, now shines.

"Similarly here, on Yom Kippur, since that evil serpent is engaged with that goat, the moon breaks away from him, engaging with Israel, and the blessed Holy One blesses them above, forgiving them. Afterward, when Israel arrive at the Festival,[237] they arouse the right side above,[238] so that the moon will bind herself there and her face shine fittingly. Then they distribute a share of blessings to all those deputies below,[239] so that they will occupy themselves with their portion and not approach to suck from the side of Israel's share.[240]

"Similarly below, when the other nations are blessed, they all engage in their inherited share, not meddling with Israel or coveting their share. They therefore convey blessing[241] to all those deputies, so that they will be absorbed with their portion and not interfere with them.

"When the moon is fittingly filled with blessings above, Israel come and suckle from her all by themselves. Of this is written: *On the eighth day you shall have an assembly* (Numbers 29:35).[242] What is *an assembly*? As translated: 'a gathering.'[243] Everything gathered from those supernal blessings is imbibed by no

one except Israel. So it is written: *You shall hold an assembly; you*—no other nation; *you*—no other deputy. Therefore they propitiate for water,[244] to provide them a portion of blessings to keep them occupied, so that later they will not interfere in Israel's joy as they suck supernal blessings. Of that day is written: *My beloved is mine and I am his* (Song of Songs 2:16), for no other interferes with us.

"This may be compared to a king who invited his beloved to a sublime feast he was preparing for him on a designated day.[245] Now the king's beloved knows that the king [64b] delights in him.

"The king said, 'I now want to rejoice with my beloved, but I fear that as we are feasting together, all those appointed quaestors[246] will come in and sit down with us at the table, feasting from the feast of joy with my beloved.'

"What did he do? Anticipating, his beloved brought wickered baskets[247] of greens and meat of oxen, offering them these. Afterward the king sits down with his beloved to that feast more sublime than all delicacies of the world. The king rejoices with his beloved alone, with no others interfering between them.

"Similarly, Israel with the blessed Holy One. So: *On the eighth day you shall have an assembly*."[248]

Rabbi Yose and Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "The blessed Holy One has paved the way for us. Happy are they who engage in Torah!"

They came up and kissed him.

Rabbi Yose proclaimed for him, "*All your children will be taught by* YHVH... (Isaiah 54:13)."[249]

When they reached the site of a certain field they sat down. That man asked, "Why is it written: *And* YHVH *rained brimstone and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah* (Genesis 19:24), whereas in the Flood it is everywhere written: *Elohim, Elohim*?[250] Because we have learned: 'Everywhere it is written: *And* YHVH—this means "He and His Court." *Elohim*, unspecified, means Judgment alone.'[251] Now, at Sodom judgment was executed, yet not destroying the world, so He intermingled with Judgment;[252] but in the Flood It[253] destroyed the whole world and all those present in the world.

"Now you might say, 'But look, Noah and his companions were saved!' Come and see: Noah was hidden from sight, invisible! So everything present in the world It destroyed.[254]

"Therefore: *And* YHVH—in the open, not destroying all. *Elohim*—one needs concealment and must seek protection, for It destroys all. So *Elohim* was alone.[255]

"The secret is: YHVH *sat at the Flood* (Psalms 29:10). What does *sat* mean? If the verse were not written, we could not say it:[256] He sat by, alone, not accompanying Judgment. Here is written: *sat*, and there is written: *Alone he will*

sit (Leviticus 13:46)—all alone.[257]

"Since Noah was hidden from view, afterward when judgment had been executed, destroying the world, and His rage subsided, what is written? *Elohim remembered Noah* (Genesis 8:1). For when He destroyed the world, he was not remembered, since he was hidden from sight.

"I have learned a secret: The blessed Holy One—concealed and revealed. 'Revealed'—Lower Court of Justice. 'Concealed'—site from which all blessings flow.[258] So blessings settle upon everything kept concealed,[259] whereas everything revealed is occupied by that site of the Court, it being a site revealed. All within supernal mystery, corresponding above."

Rabbi Yose wept, and said, "Happy is the generation in which Rabbi Shim'on dwells,[260] for here in the mountains his virtue evoked for us words as high as these!"

Rabbi Yose said, "This person appeared in order to reveal these words to us. The blessed Holy One sent him to us!"

When they reached Rabbi Shim'on and arrayed words before him, he said, "He spoke well indeed!"

Rabbi El'azar was sitting one day in the presence of his father, Rabbi Shim'on. He asked him, "Did that *End of all flesh* enjoy those offerings offered by Israel on the altar?"[261]

He replied, "All were satisfied as one, above and below. Come and see: Priests, Levites, and Israel are called אדם (*adam*), human,[262] through the union of those sacred aspirations[263] ascending from within them. That sheep or lamb or beast that they offer[264]—before it is offered upon the altar, one must specify over it all one's sins and evil desires, confessing over it. Then it is called entirely 'beast,' within those sins, wrongs, and fantasies. As with the offering of Azazel, of which is written: *He shall confess over it all the iniquities of the Children of Israel* (Leviticus 16:21), so too, here. As it ascends upon the altar, a burden of two on one.[265] So this one ascends to its site, and that one to its site; this in the mystery of human, that in the mystery of beast, as is said: *Human and beast You deliver, O YHVH* (Psalms 36:7).[266]

"Pancakes and all other meal-offerings,[267] to arouse Holy Spirit[268] through the aspiration of priests, the song of Levites, and the prayer of Israel. By that smoke, oil, and flour ascending, all other masters of judgment are saturated and satisfied, [65a] unable to execute the judgment delivered to them. All simultaneously.[269]

"Come and see: All transpires in the mystery of faith, so that one is satisfied

by the other,[270] so that the one who must, ascends to *Ein Sof*, Endless."[271]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "I raise my hands above in prayer![272] When supernal Will, above, above,[273] abides upon the Will unknown, totally ungrasped forever, the head concealed extremely above[274] (and that head generated what it generated, unknown—radiated what it radiated, all in concealment), the desire of supernal Thought is to pursue it, be illumined by it.[275] A single curtain is spread,[276] and from within this curtain, through the pursuit of supernal Thought, it touches and does not touch,[277] until that curtain radiates what it radiates. Then Thought radiates with nameless radiance unknown—unknown even by Thought![278]

"Then this radiance of unknown Thought strikes the radiance of the extended curtain, radiating with that which is unknown, unknowable, unrevealed. So this radiance of unknown Thought strikes the radiance of the curtain, and they radiate as one, forming nine palaces of palaces—neither lights nor spirits nor souls; no one can fathom them.[279] The desire of all nine lights,[280] all existing in Thought—the latter numerically one of them[281]—is to pursue them while existing in Thought,[282] but they remain unapprehended, unknown. These fathom neither Will nor supernal Thought, grasping yet not grasping. In these abide all mysteries of faith, and all those lights from the mystery of supernal Thought downward are called *Ein Sof*, Endless.[283] Until here lights extend and do not extend and are unknown. No will here, no thought.[284]

"When Thought illumines—from whom is unknown—it is clothed and enveloped in *Binah*, Understanding, illumining whom it illumines, one entering the other, till all merge as one.[285]

"Through the mystery of the offering, as it ascends, all are bound together, illumining one another. Then all engage in ascent, and Thought is crowned in *Ein Sof*.[286] The radiance from which supernal Thought shines, of which it is totally unaware, is called *Ayin*, Nothingness,[287] whence it comes into being, upon which it stands, illumining whom it illumines. Happy is the share of the righteous in this world and in the world that is coming!

"Come and see this *End of all flesh*:[288] Just as a bond is found above in joy, so too, below, in joyous desire, satisfying all, above and below, with Mother over Israel fittingly.[289]

"Come and see: Every single new moon, as the moon is renewed, this *End of all flesh* is given one portion over and above the offerings,[290] to keep him occupied handling his portion, so that the aspect of Israel is alone to delight with their King. This is the שעיר (*sa'ir*), goat,[291] being the portion of Esau, of whom is written: *Look, my brother Esau is* איש שעיר (*ish sa'ir*), *a hairy man!* (Genesis 27:11).[292] So he handles his portion, and Israel theirs. Hence it is written: *For Yah has chosen Jacob for Himself, Israel as His own treasure* (Psalms 135:4).

"Come and see: This *End of all flesh* desires nothing but flesh constantly, so flesh is arrayed for him constantly[293] and He is called *End of all flesh*. When he rules, he rules over body, not over soul.[294] Soul ascends to her site, while flesh is given to this site. Similarly with an offering: aspiration ascends to one site, flesh to another.[295] A virtuous human being is an actual offering of atonement,[296] while another is not,[297] for he is defective, as is written: *not acceptable* (Leviticus 22:20).[298] So the righteous are an atonement for the world, an offering."

[65b] Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose were walking on the way. One said,[299] "It is written: *Noah did everything YHVH commanded him* (Genesis 7:5). Come and see what is written: *Noah was 600 years old...* (ibid., 6).[300] Why is this calculation reckoned? Because if Noah had not been 600 years old, he would not have entered the ark nor united with her. Once completed by 600 years, he joined her.[301] So from the day that the guilt of the world's inhabitants was complete, the blessed Holy One waited patiently for them until Noah was completed by 600 years, his rung fittingly complete, and he became completely righteous.[302] Then he entered the ark, corresponding entirely to the pattern above. *Noah was 600 years old*, as we have said, so the verse does not read *about 600 years old*."[303]

He opened again,[304] saying, "ואני (*Va-Ani*), *And I, I am about to bring the Flood, waters* (ibid. 6:17).[305] Why *I am about to*, if He already said *Va-Ani*, *And I?* Because *I* and *I am about to* are one and the same.[306] Come and see: Everywhere *Ani* becomes a body for the soul, receiving what is above,[307] so it is intimated by the sign of the covenant, as is written: *Behold, Ani, I, am My covenant with you* (ibid. 17:4)[308]—*Ani, I*, standing revealed, verging on being known; *Ani, I*, throne to what is above;[309] *Ani, I*, avenging from generation to generation.[310] *Va-Ani, And I*, encompassing male and female as one;[311] afterward designated alone, poised to execute judgment: *I am about to bring the Flood, waters*.[312]

"Since He said *bring the Flood*, don't we know that it's water? However, את (*et*) *the Flood*, amplifying the meaning to include the Angel of Death,[313] for even though there were waters, the Destroyer was coursing through the world, devastating with those waters.

"אני יהוה (*Ani YHVH*), *I, YHVH* (Leviticus 18:2). We have learned: 'I will faithfully reward the righteous and punish the wicked.'[314] So with *Ani* He promised the righteous their reward, and with *Ani* He threatened the wicked with punishment in the world that is coming.

"*To destroy all flesh* (Genesis 6:17), as we have established, for this is the Destroyer of the world, of whom is written: *He will not allow the Destroyer to enter your homes to strike* (Exodus 12:23).[315] This is: *to destroy all flesh*, from

the aspect of *End of all flesh has come before Me* (Genesis, ibid., 13),[316] for as soon as the time extended for them by the blessed Holy One had expired—until Noah completed 600 years[317]—then: *to destroy all flesh*."

He said, "So we have learned in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak, who told us."[318]

He opened, saying, "*I said, 'I will not see Yah, Yah in the land of the living. I will never see* אדם (*adam*), *a human, again among the inhabitants of cessation*' (Isaiah 38:11).[319]

"*I said, 'I will not see Yah.'* How obtuse are human beings who neither know nor consider words of Torah nor contemplate matters of that world,[320] so the spirit of wisdom fades from their mind! For when a human departs from this world and renders an account to his Lord of all he did in this world while still existing as spirit and body united,[321] he sees what he sees, finally reaching that world, where he meets Adam, sitting by the gate of the Garden of Eden, gazing upon all those who have observed the commands of their Lord, delighting in them.[322] Around Adam stand many of the righteous, those who have refrained from the path of Hell and inclined toward the path of the Garden of Eden. These are called *inhabitants* of חדל (*ḥadel*), *cessation*, not written: *inhabitants of* חלד (*ḥaled*), *the world*,[323] but rather: *inhabitants of cessation*, for they desisted from the path of Hell and overpowered themselves to enter the Garden of Eden.

"Alternatively, *inhabitants of cessation*—masters of return[324] who have refrained from sins of the wicked. Since Adam returned to the presence of his Lord,[325] he presides over those who have refrained from their sins, who are children of *ḥadel*, cessation, as is said: *that I may know how ḥadel, ephemeral, I am* (Psalms 39:5).[326] So he sits at the gate of the Garden of Eden, delighting in the righteous who come on that path.

"Come and see what is written: *I said, 'I will not see Yah.'* Now, who can see *Yah*? But the conclusion of the verse demonstrates the meaning: *Yah in the land of the living*. Come and see: When souls ascend to the site of the bundle of life,[327] there they bask in radiance of the resplendent speculum,[328] shining [66a] from the highest site of all.[329] If the soul did not garb herself in the radiance of another garment, then she could not draw near to view that light. The mystery of the matter: Just as the soul is given a garment in which to be garbed, to exist in this world,[330] so she is given a garment of supernal radiance in which to exist in that world,[331] to gaze into the speculum that shines from within *the land of the living*.[332]

"Come and see: Moses could not draw near to gaze upon what he gazed until he was garbed in another garment, as is said: *Moses entered the cloud and ascended the mountain* (Exodus 24:18)—into the midst of the cloud.[333] He clothed himself in it, as one clothes himself in a garment, and therefore, *Moses*

approached the thick darkness where God was (ibid. 20:18), and *Moses was on the mountain forty days and forty nights* (ibid. 24:18), able to gaze upon what he gazed.

"Similarly, souls of the righteous garb themselves in that world in a garment suiting that world, so they stand gazing at the light radiating into *the land of the living*.

"*I will never see* אדם (*adam*), *a human, again*—this is Adam, as has been explained.[334] Why all this? Because he did not generate children,[335] for anyone who does not generate children in this world is banished, when he leaves, from all that we have mentioned and is not allowed to view that radiant light.[336] If this was the case with Hezekiah, who possessed ancestral merit[337] and was himself virtuous, righteous, and devout, all the more so with one who lacks ancestral merit and has sinned in the presence of his Lord!

"This garment of which we have spoken is what the Companions call the 'shirt' worn in that world.[338] Happy is the share of the righteous, for whom the blessed Holy One has treasured away such goodness in that world! Of them is written: *No eye has seen, O God, but You, what You will do for one who awaits You* (Isaiah 64:3)."[339]

And I, I am about to bring the Flood, waters upon the earth (Genesis 6:17).[340]

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "*These are the Waters of Quarrel, where the Children of Israel quarreled with YHVH, and through which He was hallowed* (Numbers 20:13). Didn't *the Children of Israel quarrel with YHVH* anywhere else?[341] What's different here, that the verse should state: *These are the Waters of Quarrel*, and no others? But these were really *Waters of Quarrel*, potently empowering the masters of judgment.[342] For there are sweet waters and bitter waters, clear waters and turbid waters, waters of peace and waters of strife.[343] So *these are the Waters of Quarrel, where the Children of Israel quarreled with YHVH*, attracting to themselves the one they must not,[344] through whom they became defiled, as is written: ויקדש בם (*va-yiqqadesh bam*), *through which he was tabooed*."[345]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah asked, "If so, why ויקדש (*va-yiqqadesh*), *he was tabooed*? The verse should read ויקדשו (*va-yiqqadeshu*), *they were tabooed*."[346]

He replied, "The word transcends:[347] *va-yiqqadesh*—the one who must not be tainted was, for the moon was tainted, as it were;[348] *va-yiqqadesh*—here implying no praise.[349] *And I, I am about to bring the Flood*, as we have established: to unleash the Destroyer upon them, since through him they had defiled themselves."[350]

Rabbi Yose said, "Woe to the wicked who, having sinned, refuse to return to the blessed Holy One[351] while still in the world! For when a person returns,

regretting his sins, the blessed Holy One forgives him, but all those who cling to their sins, refusing to return to the blessed Holy One, will eventually fall into Hell, never to be raised.

"Come and see: Since the entire generation of Noah hardened their hearts, desiring to flaunt their sins, the blessed Holy One executed judgment upon them in a similar manner."[352]

"Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Even when someone sins in secret, the blessed Holy One exposes him in sight of all.[353] How do we know? From the straying wife.[354] Similarly these wicked ones were obliterated from earth. Obliterated? How? Waters gushed boiling from the abyss, rising and peeling off their skin, then their flesh,[355] leaving nothing but bones, fulfilling the verse: *They were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis 7:23). All those bones disjointed from one another, no longer together,[356] so they were totally eradicated from the world." [66b]

I will establish My covenant with you (Genesis 6:18).[357]

Rabbi El'azar said, "From here we learn that when the righteous appear in the world, the world is established firmly above and below."[358] Rabbi Shim'on said, "It is a concealed matter, concerning the arousal of a male toward his female when he jealously suspects her.[359] Come and see the mystery of the matter: The moment a righteous man appears in the world, *Shekhinah* never leaves him, Her desire drawn toward him. Then supernal desire toward Her in love, like desire of a male for his female when he jealously suspects her.[360] So, *I will erect My covenant with you*—desire arouses because of you.[361] Similarly, *My covenant I will erect with Isaac* (ibid. 17:21).[362]

"*I will erect My covenant with you*—so that you signify My covenant in the world; then *you will enter the ark*. If he had not embodied the covenant, he would not have entered the ark, for only the righteous one unites with the ark. So, *enter the ark*, as has been explained."[363]

Rabbi El'azar said, "As long as people hold fast to the covenant, not abandoning it,[364] no nation or language in the world can harm them. Noah held firmly to this covenant, preserving it,[365] so the blessed Holy One preserved him; but all his contemporaries failed to preserve it, so the blessed Holy One eliminated them from the world. As already explained, they were obliterated from the world in the very same manner as the sin they sinned."[366]

Rabbi Yehudah was in the presence of Rabbi Shim'on, engaging together in this

verse: וירפא (*Vayrappe*), *He healed, the wrecked altar of* YHVH (1 Kings 18:30).[367]

"What does *healed* mean? Come and see: All Israel had abandoned the blessed Holy One and abandoned their sealed covenant.[368] When Elijah appeared, he saw that the Israel had abandoned the holy covenant, removing it.[369] Seeing this, he set about repairing the matter. Once he drew the entity to its site,[370] what is written? *He healed the wrecked altar of* YHVH—the sealed covenant coming to repair *the wrecked altar of* YHVH; the sealed covenant, abandoned by the world.[371]

"It is written: *Elijah took twelve stones, corresponding to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob* (ibid., 31)—this is the repair of *the altar of* YHVH.[372]

"*To whom the word of* YHVH *came, saying, 'Israel shall be your name'* (ibid.).[373] Indeed, *Israel shall be your name*, ascending on high, restoring the sealed covenant to its site,[374] corresponding to what is written: *For the Children of Israel have abandoned Your covenant*, and thereby *torn down Your altars* (ibid. 19:10).

"Come and see: As long as Israel preserve the holy covenant, they erect existence above and below.[375] When they abandon this covenant, existence sags above and below, as is written: *Were it not for My covenant day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth* (Jeremiah 33:25).[376] So, *He healed the wrecked altar of* YHVH. Now, is that healing? Certainly so! For he sustains the site on which faith depends.[377]

"Come and see, similarly, Phinehas: When he filled with zeal over the act of Zimri, he repaired this covenant in its site, and therefore it is written: *I hereby grant him My covenant of peace* (Numbers 25:12).[378]

"Now, do you think it was for Phinehas? What quarrel did Phinehas have with this covenant?[379] Rather, here an entity was linked with its place.[380] *I hereby grant Him, My covenant*. What will I grant Him? *Peace*, so that each will join its place, so that covenant will join its site.[381] So, *I hereby grant Him, My covenant*. What? *Peace*, its site to join. What had been separated from it by their sins, because of him rejoined.[382] So since he arrayed the entity in its place, from now on: *It shall be for him and for his seed after him a covenant of perpetual* priesthood, because he was zealous for his God (ibid., 13)."[383]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Nothing in the world so provokes the jealousy of the blessed Holy One as the sin of the covenant,[384] as is said: *A sword avenging with vengeance of the covenant* (Leviticus 26:25). Come and see: The guilt of the generation of the Flood remained incomplete until they sinned by ruining their ways upon earth,[385] even though they robbed one another, as is written: *The earth was filled with violence* (Genesis 6:11).[386] [67a]

"Come and see how many deputies on high are appointed over the voices of those invoking heavenly judgment against their fellows for what was done to

them. So it is written: *For the earth is filled with violence because of them*, and therefore, *Here, I am about to destroy them along with the earth* (ibid., 13)."[387]

YHVH said to Noah, "Come, you and all your household, into the ark!" (ibid. 7:1).

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Throughout, *Elohim*, while here, *YHVH*. What is different here that it should say *YHVH*, supernal name of compassion?[388] It is a mystery, for we have learned: It is not proper for a woman to receive a guest without her husband's permission.[389] Similarly, here: Noah wanted to enter the ark, to unite with Her,[390] but it was unseemly until the husband of the ark gave him permission,[391] as is written: *Come, you and all your household, into the ark!* So here He is called *YHVH*, husband of the ark. Only then did Noah enter, uniting with Her.

"Similarly, we have learned that a guest is not permitted to enter the house without the consent of the woman's husband, master of the house,[392] as is subsequently written: *Noah entered...* (ibid., 7).[393]

"Come and see what is written: *For you have I seen as righteous before Me in this generation* (ibid., 1). From here we learn that one should not receive a guest into his home if he seems suspicious, but only if he appears virtuous, beyond all suspicion, as is written: *Come, you and all your household, into the ark!* Why? *For you have I seen as righteous before Me....*[394]

"We also learn that if he grants permission to him alone, and not to all those accompanying him, he should not bring them into the house, as is written: *Come, you and all your household, into the ark*—permitting them all to enter. From this verse we learn the mystery of manners."

Come, you and all your household, into the ark!

Rabbi Yehudah opened, "לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *Of David, a psalm. The earth and her fullness are YHVH's, the world and her inhabitants* (Psalms 24:1). We have learned: לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *Of David, a psalm*—he exclaimed a song, then Holy Spirit dwelled upon him. מזמור לדוד (*Mizmor le-David*), *A psalm of David*—Holy Spirit dwelled upon him, then he exclaimed a song.[395]

"*The earth and her fullness are YHVH's*. This verse was uttered for the land of Israel, the Holy Land. *Her fullness* is *Shekhinah*, as is said: *For the Presence of YHVH* מלא (*male*), *filled, the house of YHVH* (1 Kings 8:11), and similarly: *The Presence of YHVH* מלא (*male*), *filled, the Dwelling* (Exodus 40:35).[396] Why מָלֵא (*male*), full, and not מִלֵּא (*mille*), *filled*?[397] But full, indeed! Filled with everything,

filled by the sun, a moon complete on every side,[398] *male*, full, of supernal substance, like a treasure ship filled with all the best of the world.[399] So, *The earth and her fullness are YHVH's*.[400] *The world and her inhabitants*—the rest of the world.

"Alternatively, *The earth is YHVH's*—the supernal Holy Land, in which the blessed Holy One delights.[401] *And her fullness*—souls of the righteous, all of whom fill Her, by whom She is filled, through the potency of a single pillar upon which the world stands.[402]

"Now if you say, 'It stands upon one,' come and see what is written: *For He founded it upon seas* (Psalms, ibid., 2).[403] *For He*. Who is *He*? The blessed Holy One, as is said: *He made us* (ibid. 100:2), and similarly: *He looks to the ends of earth* (Job 28:24).[404]

"*He founded it upon seas and established it upon rivers* (Psalms 24:2)—seven pillars upon which She stands.[405] They fill Her, She is filled by them. How? When the virtuous abound in the world, this *earth* yields fruit and is filled with all.[406] When the wicked abound in the world, it is written: *Waters vanish from the sea; a river dries up and is parched* (Job 14:11). *Waters vanish from the sea*—the Holy Land we have mentioned, drenched by supernal saturation.[407] *A river dries up and is parched*—that single pillar standing above Her, by whom She is illumined.[408] *A river dries up and is parched*, as is said: *The righteous one perishes* (Isaiah 57:1)."[409]

Rabbi Yehudah said further, "When the wicked were annihilated from the world, the blessed Holy One was saddened, seeing no one upon whom it could stand.[410] Now if you say, 'What about Noah?' It was plenty for him to protect himself and to engender generations for the world, as is written: *For you have I seen as righteous before Me in this generation* (Genesis 7:1)—*in this generation*, precisely!"[411]

Rabbi Yose [67b] said, "*In this generation*—a tribute to him, for though living in that wicked generation, he became all this: *a completely righteous man* (ibid. 6:9)—even in the generation of Moses![412] But he could not protect the world, because ten could not be found in the world—as is said: *if I find ten there* (ibid. 18:32), and they could not be found; here, too, ten could not be found: just he and his three sons and their wives, not totaling ten."[413]

Rabbi El'azar asked his father, Rabbi Shim'on, "We have learned that when the world is pervaded by the sins of humanity, and judgment breaks out, woe to the virtuous one found in the world, for he is snared first for the sins of the wicked.[414] How was Noah saved, not seized for their sins?"

He replied, "The blessed Holy One desired to engender from him generations for the world, from out of the ark. Further, judgment could not overpower him because he was hidden away in the ark, concealed from sight.[415]

"Come and see what is written: *Seek righteousness, seek humility; perhaps you will be hidden on the day of YHVH's wrath* (Zephaniah 2:3). Noah sought righteousness and entered Her,[416] becoming *hidden on the day of YHVH's wrath*, so judgment could not overpower or denounce him.

"Here is a hint for holy ones of the Most High,[417] to discover the mystery of supernal letters—reversal of letters, twenty-two—to obliterate the wicked.[418] Therefore it is written: *They were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis 7:23), and: בא (*Bo*), *Come... into the ark!* (ibid., 1)."[419]

Rabbi Yitsḥak opened, "*Who sent His glorious arm to be at Moses' right hand, splitting the waters before them to make Himself an everlasting name* (Isaiah 63:12). Come and see the difference between Moses and other inhabitants of the world![420] When the blessed Holy One said to Moses, *Now, leave Me alone, that My wrath may blaze against them and I may consume them, and I will make of you a great nation* (Exodus 32:10),[421] Moses immediately said, 'Should I abandon Israel's cause simply for my own advantage? Now all inhabitants of the world will claim that I killed Israel, as Noah did.'

"For when the blessed Holy One told him to save himself in the ark, as is written: *As for Me, I am about to bring the Flood, waters upon the earth.... And I will obliterate all existing things that I have made.... But with you I will establish My covenant, and you will enter the ark* (Genesis 6:17–18; 7:4)—when He told him that he and his sons would be saved, he did not plead for compassion for the world and it perished. Because of this the waters of the Flood are named after him, as is said: *For this is like the waters of Noah to Me: As I swore that the waters of Noah would never again cover* [*the earth*] (Isaiah 54:9).[422]

"Moses said, 'Now the inhabitants of the world will claim that I killed them because He told me, *I will make of you a great nation*. Better, then, that I die and Israel not be destroyed. Immediately, *Moses sweetened the face of YHVH his God* (Exodus 32:11)—pleading for compassion for them, arousing compassion for the world."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said further, "How did he begin pleading for compassion? *Why, YHVH, should Your wrath blaze against Your people?* (ibid.). How could Moses speak this word: *Why?* They had worshiped strange gods, as is said: *They have made themselves a molten calf, bowed to it, and sacrificed to it* (ibid., 8)—and Moses said *Why?!* But so we have learned: One who appeases another[423]

should not magnify the wrong, but rather minimize it before him. Afterward he should maximize it before the other,[424] as is written: *You have sinned a great sin!* (ibid., 30).[425]

"He did not leave the blessed Holy One alone until offering to die, as is written: *Now, if You would only bear their sin! If not, please obliterate me from Your book!* (ibid., 32).[426] Then the blessed Holy One forgave them, as is written: *YHVH renounced the evil* (ibid., 14).[427] But Noah did not act so: he just wanted to save himself, abandoning the entire world.

"Whenever judgment looms over the world, Holy Spirit exclaims, 'Alas, there is no one like Moses to be found! *Where is he who brought them up from the sea?* (Isaiah 63:11).'[428] As is written: *YHVH said to Moses, 'Why are you crying out to Me*?' (Exodus 14:15), which shows that by prayer he raised them from the sea.[429]

"*Where is he who placed within them his holy spirit* (Isaiah, ibid.)—this is Moses, who ensconced [68a] *Shekhinah* among Israel.[430]

"*Who led them through the depths* (ibid., 13), when the waters were split, and they walked through the depths on dry land, the water having congealed. All this is ascribed to Moses because he risked his life for Israel."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Although Noah was virtuous, he was not worthy enough for the blessed Holy One to protect the world for his sake.[431] Come and see: Moses did not depend on his own merit, but rather on the merit of the ancient patriarchs.[432] Noah, however, had no one upon whose merit he could depend."

Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "Even so, once the blessed Holy One said to him, *I will erect My covenant with you* (Genesis 6:18), he should have pleaded for compassion; and the sacrifice he offered afterward[433] he should have offered before, so that the wrath threatening the world would abate."

Rabbi Yehudah said, "The wicked of the world were provoking Him, and he should offer a sacrifice? He must have feared for his life, lest death befall him among the wicked of the world, whose deeds he witnessed every day, their provocation of the blessed Holy One."

Rabbi El'azar said, "Whenever wicked of the world abound, a righteous one found among them is seized first,[434] as is written: *Begin* ממקדשי (*mi-miqdashi*), *at My sanctuary* (Ezekiel 9:6). Do not read ממקדשי (*mi-miqdashi*), *at My sanctuary*, but rather ממקודשי (*mi-mequddashai*), *with My saintly ones*.[435] So here, how was he saved by the blessed Holy One among all those wicked? It was in order for the blessed Holy One to engender generations through him for the world, since he was fittingly righteous.

"Furthermore, he warned them every single day, but they disregarded him.[436]

So he himself fulfilled the verse that is written: *Yet if you warn the wicked... you will have saved your life* (ibid. 3:19).[437] From here we learn that whoever warns a sinner—even though his warning is rejected—saves himself, while that sinner is snared in his sin. For how long? This has been established by the Companions."[438]

Rabbi Yose frequented the presence of Rabbi Shim'on. One day he asked him, "Why did the blessed Holy One see fit to annihilate all the beasts of the field and the birds of heaven along with the wicked? If humans sinned, how did animals, birds, and other creatures?"

He replied, "Because it is written: *For all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth* (Genesis 6:12). All of them ruined their ways, abandoning their species, cleaving to another species.[439]

"Come and see: The wicked of the world brought this upon all creatures, seeking to contravene the act of Creation,[440] causing all creatures to ruin their ways, as they did themselves.[441] The blessed Holy One said, 'Do you seek to deny the work of My hands? I will fulfill your desire: *I will obliterate all existing things that I have made* (ibid. 7:4). I will return the world to water, as it originally was—water intermingled with water, as has been said.[442] From now on, I will form other, more fitting creatures in the world.'"

Noah entered, with his sons, his wife, and his sons' wives, [*into the ark*] (Genesis 7:7).

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "'*If a man hides in secret places, do I not see him?' says YHVH* (Jeremiah 23:24). How obtuse are human beings, totally unaware of the glory of their Lord, of whom is written: *Do I not fill heaven and earth?* (ibid.). How can humans seek to hide from their sins, saying: *Who sees us? Who knows us?* (Isaiah 29:15). It is written: *Their deeds are in darkness* (ibid.), but where can they hide from His presence?

"This may be compared to a king who built a palace, constructing secret subterranean tunnels.[443] Subsequently the courtiers rebelled against the king. He stormed[444] them with his troops. What did they do? They hid themselves within the recesses of those tunnels. The king said, 'I constructed them, and you want to hide from me?' As is written: '*If a man hides in secret places, do I not see him?' says YHVH*. 'It is I who made those hollow tunnels, who fashioned darkness and light—and you can hide from Me?'[445]

"Come and see: When a person sins in the presence of his Lord and

obscures himself, concealing himself, the blessed Holy One executes judgment upon him openly.[446] But when a person purifies himself, the blessed Holy One wants to hide him so that he will be invisible on the day of the wrath of *YHVH*. For one should certainly [68b] not be visible to the Destroyer looming over the world, lest he gaze at him, since he is authorized to destroy all those visible to him.[447]

"This accords with the remark of Rabbi Shim'on: Whoever possesses an evil eye[448] comes under the spell of the Destroyer's eye and is called Destroyer of the world. One must be on guard against him, not come near him, so as not to be injured by him; it is forbidden to approach him in the open. So what is written of Balaam? *Oracle of the man whose eye is open* (Numbers 24:3),[449] for he possessed an evil eye and everywhere he gazed he channeled the spirit of the Destroyer.[450] So he sought to gaze upon Israel in order to destroy wherever his eye gazed. What is written? *Balaam lifted up his eyes* (ibid., 2),[451] raising one eye and lowering one eye,[452] to gaze upon Israel with an evil eye.

"Come and see what is written: *He saw Israel* שוכן (*shokhen*), *encamped, tribe by tribe* (ibid.)—he saw *Shekhinah* sheltering them, brooding them, adorned by twelve tribes beneath Her,[453] and his eye could not overpower them. He said, 'How can I prevail against them? For look, supernal Holy Spirit broods them, sheltering them with Her wings!' As is written: *He crouches, lies down like a lion, like a lioness—who can rouse him?* (ibid., 9).[454] Who can raise Him from them, so that they will be exposed and the eye will overpower them?

"Therefore the blessed Holy One sought to shield Noah—to hide him from the eye, so that the impure spirit would not overpower him, destroying him, as has already been said."

Noah entered (Genesis 7:7), as has been said, to hide himself from the eye. *Because of the waters of the Flood* (ibid.), for the waters forced him.[455]

Rabbi Yose said, "He saw the Angel of Death coming, so he entered the ark and hid himself there for twelve months. Why twelve months? Because that is the punishment of the wicked."[456]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "For six months they are suspended in water, and for six in fire, but here there was only water, so why twelve months?"[457]

Rabbi Yose replied, "They were inflicted with both punishments of Hell: with water and fire. With water—water from above; with fire—water gushing from below, boiling hot as fire.[458] So they were inflicted with the punishment of Hell—with fire and water—for twelve months, as Rabbi El'azar said, 'The punishment of the wicked in Hell lasts for twelve months,' as has been

established. So all those wicked of the world were inflicted with both these punishments, water and fire, until they were exterminated from the world.

"Meanwhile, Noah hid himself in the ark, concealing himself from the eye, so the Destroyer could not come near him; and it floated on the face of the waters, as is said: [*The waters increased*] *and lifted the ark, and it rose above the earth* (ibid. 7:17). For forty days they were lashed, as is written: *The Flood continued forty days upon the earth* (ibid.), and for the rest of the time[459] they were obliterated from the world, as is written: *They were obliterated from the earth* (ibid., 23). Woe to those wicked ones, for they will not rise from the dead to stand at Judgment, as is written: *They were obliterated*, and similarly: *You have obliterated their name forever and ever* (Psalms 9:6), for they will not rise even to stand at Judgment."[460]

They lifted the ark, and it rose above the earth (Genesis 7:17).[461]

Rabbi Abba opened, "*Rise, O God, above the heavens! Let Your glory be above all the earth!* (Psalms 57:6).[462] Woe to the wicked who sin and provoke their Lord every day, who through their sins repel *Shekhinah* from earth, making Her disappear from the world.[463]

"Come and see what is written: *They lifted the ark*, for they thrust Her out.[464] *And she rose above the earth*, for She no longer abides on earth but ascends. When She withdraws from the world, there is no one to watch over the world, and Judgment dominates it.[465] Then the wicked of the world are removed, obliterated, and *Shekhinah* restores Her abode to the world."

Rabbi Yeisa asked him, "If so, then what about the land of Israel? The wicked living at that time[466] were obliterated, so why didn't *Shekhinah* return to Her site, as before?"

He replied, "Because the remnant of the righteous of the world did not remain there.[467] But wherever they went She descended, placing [69a] Her abode among them.[468] If She did not part from them in another, foreign land, all the more so if they had remained in the Holy Land.

"As has been said, by all sins of sinners of the world, *Shekhinah* is repelled. One of them is wasting one's way on earth, as we have explained,[469] because of which one does not see the face of *Shekhinah* nor enter the palace.[470] So of these is written: *They were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis 7:23), obliterated entirely.

"Come and see: When the time comes for the blessed Holy One to revive the dead, He will create suitable bodies for all those located outside in other, foreign lands.[471] For a single bone surviving in a human being underground will

become like leaven in dough, upon which the blessed Holy One will build an entire body.[472] But He will provide them with souls only in the land of Israel, as is written: *when I open your graves and raise you from your graves, O My people, and bring you to your land* (Ezekiel 37:12–13),[473] for they will roll underground.[474] What is written next? *I will put My spirit within you and you shall live* (ibid., 14). Look, only in the land of Israel will all inhabitants of the world receive souls, excluding those who defiled themselves and defiled the earth, of whom is written: *They were obliterated from the earth—from the earth*, precisely,[475] although the ancients disputed this and differed.[476] *They were obliterated*, as is said: *May they be obliterated from the Book of Life* (Psalms 69:29)."[477]

Rabbi Shim'on said to him, "They certainly have no share in the world to come, as is written: *They were obliterated from the earth*, and conversely: *They will inherit the earth forever* (Isaiah 60:21).[478] However, they will rise for Judgment, and of them is written: *Many of those who sleep in the dust of earth will awake, some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting contempt* (Daniel 12:2)."

He obliterated את כל (*et kol*), *all, existing things over the face of the earth* (Genesis 7:23).

Rabbi Abba said, "Encompassing all those empowered rulers, appointed over earth.[479] This is *existing things over the face of the earth*.[480] For when the blessed Holy One executes judgment upon the world, He first removes those rulers appointed over them, and afterward those abiding beneath their wings, as is written: *YHVH will punish the host of the high heavens on high*, and afterward: *the kings of the earth upon the earth* (Isaiah 24:21).[481] How are they removed from His presence? He removes them with blazing fire, as is written: *For YHVH your God is a consuming fire*—a fire consuming fire.[482] Those *existing* above them[483]—with fire; those dwelling beneath them[484]—with water. So, *He obliterated all existing things over the face of the earth*,[485] and afterward: *both humans and animals, crawling things and birds of the sky; they were obliterated from the earth* (Genesis, ibid.)—all those below.

"אך (*Akh*), *Only, Noah remained* (ibid.)[486]—limiting,[487] for nothing was left in the world except for Noah and those with him in the ark."

Rabbi Yose said, "He was lame, for a lion bit him, as they have established."[488]

God remembered Noah and all the beasts and all the cattle that were with him in the ark (ibid. 8:1).

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "*A prudent person sees evil and hides* (Proverbs 22:3). This verse was spoken for Noah, who entered the ark, hiding himself inside, entering the ark when the waters forced him.[489] As has been said, before entering the ark he saw the Angel of Death walking among them, encircling them.[490] As soon as he saw him, he entered, hiding himself within, as is written: *A prudent person sees evil and hides. Evil*—the Angel of Death. *And hides* from his presence, as is written: *because of the waters of the Flood* (Genesis 7:7)."[491]

Rabbi Yose said, "*A prudent person sees evil* ונסתר (*ve-nistar*), *and is hidden*. It is written: ויסתר (*va-yissater*), *and hides himself*,[492] referring back to what has been said: When death looms over the world, a wise person hides himself, not standing outside, not making himself visible to the Destroyer, who, having been empowered, will destroy anyone found in his presence, anyone passing before him openly.[493] The verse concludes: *But the simple pass and are punished* (Proverbs, ibid.)—they pass before him, are seen by him, *and are punished*.

"Alternatively, [*they*] *pass*—they transgressed this command and were punished.[494]

"Alternatively, A *prudent person sees evil and hides*—this is Noah. *But the simple pass and are punished*—these are his contemporaries.

"When he had hidden himself and stayed there all that time, [69b] finally, *God remembered Noah*."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "*God remembered Noah*. Come and see: When judgment is being executed, זכירה (*zekhirah*), remembering, is not recorded. Once judgment has been executed and the wicked of the world have been removed, then remembering is recorded. For when judgment looms over the world, unification vanishes and the Destroyer prevails.[495] Once judgment has been executed and wrath subsides, all returns to its site.[496] So here is written: *God remembered Noah*, for זכור (*zakhor*), remember, inheres in him, as is written: *Noah was a righteous man* (Genesis 6:9).[497]

"It is written: *You rule the raging of the sea. When its waves surge, You still them* (Psalms 89:10). When the sea leaps with its rollers, abysses billowing and plunging,[498] the blessed Holy One transmits a single ray, pulling its waves, assuaging its rage, unknown to anyone.[499]

"Jonah descended into the sea and encountered that destined fish,[500] who swallowed him. Why did his soul not depart and immediately fly away? Because the blessed Holy One *rules the raging of the sea*, and that raging is a single ray swelling the sea, by which it swells. Were it not for the ray reaching it from the right side,[501] it would never swell, for as soon as the ray descends to the sea,

grasping it, rollers arouse, roaring to tear prey, until the blessed Holy One turns them back and they return to their place, as is written: *When its waves surge*, תשבחם (*Teshabbeḥem*), *You still them—You still* those waves of the sea. *You still them*—breaking them, restoring them to their place.

"Alternatively, תשבחם (*Teshabbeḥem*), *You praise them*, literally![502] It is their praise, since they ascend in desire to see. From here we learn that whoever yearns to gaze and know, even if incapable, is to be praised. All praise him!"

Rabbi Yehudah said, "When Noah was in the ark, he feared that the blessed Holy One would never remember him. Once judgment had been executed and the wicked of the world removed, what is written? *God remembered Noah*."

Rabbi El'azar said, "Come and see: When judgment looms over the world, one's name should not be mentioned on high, for if it is, his sins will be mentioned and he will be scrutinized. How do we know? From the Shunammite,[503] for that day was the festival of Rosh Hashanah, when the blessed Holy One judges the world.[504] Then Elisha asked her, *Can we speak on your behalf to the king?* (2 Kings 4:13)—this is the blessed Holy One, who is then called King, Holy King, King of Judgment.[505] *She replied, 'I dwell among my own people'* (ibid.)—'I do not want to be mentioned or observed except *among my own people*.' Whoever yokes with his own people will not be scrutinized and judged harshly by anyone. So she said: *Among my own people*.

"Come and see: When wrath prevailed in the world, Noah was not recalled.[506] As soon as judgment had been executed, what is written? *God remembered Noah*. Now his name was recalled.

"Alternatively, *God remembered Noah*, corresponding to what is said: *I have remembered My covenant* (Exodus 6:5)."[507]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah was walking from Cappadocia to Lydda.[508] He met Rabbi Yeisa, who said to him, "I am surprised that you are all alone, for we have learned that one should not set out alone on a journey."[509]

He replied, "A child is walking with me; he's following behind."

He said, "I am surprised by that! How can you be accompanied by someone with whom you cannot discuss words of Torah? For whoever walks on the way unaccompanied by words of Torah endangers his life."[510]

He replied, "Certainly so!"

Meanwhile the child arrived. Rabbi Yeisa asked him, "My son, where are you from?"

He answered, "From the town of Lydda. When I heard that this wise man was going there, I offered to serve and accompany him."

He asked, “Do you know any Torah?”

He answered, “I do, because father used to teach me the section of sacrifices, and I inclined my ear when he spoke with my brother, who is older than me.”

Rabbi Yeisa said to him, “My son, tell me.”

He opened, saying, “*Noah built an altar to YHVH, and took of every pure animal and of every pure bird, and offered ascent-offerings on the altar* (Genesis 8:20).

“*Noah built an altar*—the same altar on which Adam sacrificed.[511] [70a] Why did he bring an ascent-offering, since that is offered only for sinful imagining?[512] How did Noah sin? By imagining, ‘Look, the blessed Holy One decreed the destruction of the world! Perhaps because He saved me, all my merit has been expended and none is left.’[513] Immediately, *Noah built an altar to YHVH*—the same one on which Adam sacrificed. If it was the same, why *built*?[514] Because the wicked of the world dislodged it from its site.[515] When Noah appeared, of him is written: *built*.[516]

“*And offered up* עולות (*olot*), *ascent-offerings*—spelled עלת (*olat*), *ascent-offering*, one.[517] It is written: *He is* עולה (*olah*), *an ascent-offering, a fire-offering, an aroma pleasing to YHVH* (Leviticus 1:17).[518] Ascent-offering always ascends as male, not female, as is written: *Let him offer it male, unblemished* (ibid., 3). Why is it written: אשה (*ishsheh*), *fire-offering*, since אש (*esh*), fire, must be present there?[519] Because even though ascent-offering is offered as male, offered to his site,[520] female must not part from him.[521] Rather he is offered together with her, uniting one with the other, so female ascends toward male, uniting as one—even though ‘אשה (*ishsheh*), *fire-offering*, is intended for אישים (*ishim*), angelic personages.’[522]

“Noah had to offer an ascent-offering, for the blessed Holy One cast him in the sphere of the male, to join and enter the ark, so he offered an ascent-offering.[523]

“*He is an ascent-offering*, אשה (*ishsheh*), *a fire-offering*—אש ה (*esh he*), fire, *he*, for left unites with female[524]—every female deriving from the left side[525]—cleaving to one another. So female is called אשה (*ishshah*), woman: אשה (*ishshah*)—cluster of love, grasped by the left to raise Her above, to be bound as one.[526] So, *He is an ascent-offering*, *ishsheh*—nexus of male and female intertwined.

“*YHVH smelled the pleasing aroma* (Genesis, ibid., 21). And it is written: *a fire-offering, a pleasing aroma* (Leviticus, ibid., 17). *A fire offering*—so I have heard: Smoke and fire, joined as one, for there is no smoke without fire, as is written: *Mount Sinai was all in smoke, for YHVH had descended upon it in fire* (Exodus 19:18).

“Come and see: Fire issues from within, and is tenuous, grasped by another

substance, without, less tenuous; they are grasped by one another. Then smoke ascends. Why? Because fire is grasped by sensate substance.[527] Your symbol for this is the nose, through which issues smoke out of fire.[528] Of this is written: *They shall place incense in Your nostril* (Deuteronomy 33:10), for fire returns to its site, and through that aroma the nose contracts inward, inward—till all is embraced, returning to its site, all drawn in toward thought, becoming a single desire.[529] Then, ריח ניחח (*reiaḥ niḥoaḥ*), *a pleasing aroma*, for wrath נח (*naḥ*), subsides, yielding נייחא (*neyaḥa*), tranquility[530]—for smoke is absorbed, condensed in fire, fire grasping smoke, both entering within, within, until wrath subsides. When all intermingles and wrath subsides, then tranquility, a single nexus named 'tranquility'—tranquility of spirit, joy of all as one, radiance of sparkling lamps,[531] radiance of faces. So it is written: *YHVH smelled* [*the pleasing aroma*], like one inhaling, drawing everything in to its site."

Rabbi Yeisa came and kissed him, saying, "All this goodness in your hand, and I was unaware! I will turn around so we can join as one."

They went on.

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "Let us walk on this way together with *Shekhinah*, for it is paved for us."[532]

They grasped the child's hands, and they went on.

They said to him, "Tell us one of those verses your father told you."

He opened, saying, "*O that he would kiss me with the kisses of his mouth* (Song of Songs 1:2).[533] This is supernal desire, for passion issues from the mouth, not from the nose, as does fire. For look, when a mouth merges by kissing, fire issues passionately,[534] in radiant faces, total joy, blissful cleaving. So, *for your caresses are fine, deriving from wine* (ibid.)[535]—from the wine that delights and brightens the face, sparkling the eyes, arousing passion;[536] not from the wine that intoxicates, arousing rage, darkening the face, inflaming the eyes —wine of rage.[537] So, because this good wine brightens the face, delights the eyes, and arouses passionate love, it is offered every day upon the altar [70b] in a quantity satiating and delighting one who drinks it, as is written: *Its wine libation is a quarter of a hin* (Numbers 28:7).[538] So, *for your caresses are fine, de*riving from wine—from that wine arousing love and desire.

"Entirely as below, love arouses above. Two lamps, the light of the upper one extinguished: by the smoke ascending from the one below, the one above is rekindled."[539]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, "Certainly so! For the upper world depends upon the lower,[540] and the lower upon the upper. Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed, blessings are not to be found above or below,[541] demonstrating that each depends on the other."

Rabbi Yeisa said, “Blessings are not to be found, curses are! For the sucking of all issues to the world from that side,[542] and blessings do not issue. Why? Because Israel does not dwell in the land and does not perform the vital service: kindling sparkling lamps so that blessings appear.[543] So they disappear above and below, and the worlds remain unfulfilled, unstable.”

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, “What is the meaning of: לא אוסיף (*Lo osif*), *I will never, again curse the earth because* of האדם (*ha-adam*), *humankind* (Genesis 8:21)?”

Rabbi Yeisa replied, “I have heard as follows from Rabbi Shim’on: As long as fire above אוסיף (*osif*), continues, blazing, smoke—judgment below—rages fiercely, consuming all.[544] For when fire issues, it does not cease until judgment has been completed. When judgment below לא אוסיף (*lo osif*), is no longer, intensified by judgment above,[545] it executes judgment intermittently, consuming incompletely. So it is written: לא אוסיף (*Lo osif*), *I will never*, give תוספת (*tosefet*), an increase, intensifying judgment below.”[546]

The child said, “I have heard that it derives from the verse: *Cursed is the earth because of you* (Genesis 3:17).[547] For when the earth was cursed through Adam’s sin, she was subjugated to that evil serpent—cosmic destroyer, exterminator of humanity.[548] From the day that Noah offered a sacrifice and the blessed Holy One smelled it,[549] earth was empowered to escape that serpent, escape defilement. So Israel offers a sacrifice to the blessed Holy One to brighten the face of the earth.”

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, “Correct, but this remained suspended until Israel stood at Mount Sinai.”[550]

Rabbi Yeisa said, “The blessed Holy One had diminished the moon and that serpent prevailed,[551] but because of Adam’s sin she[552] was cursed, to curse the world. Ever since that day,[553] earth has escaped the curse, while the moon remains defective—except when an offering appears in the world and Israel dwells in their land.”[554]

Rabbi Yeisa asked that child, “What is your name?”

He replied, “אבא (*Abba*).”[555]

He said, “You will be אבא (*abba*), father, in everything: in wisdom and in years.”[556]

He proclaimed this verse for him: *Your father and mother will be glad; she who bore you will rejoice* (Proverbs 23:25).[557]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah said, “One day the blessed Holy One will eliminate the impure spirit from the world, as has been said, for it is written: *I will eliminate the spirit of impurity from earth* (Zechariah 13:2). Similarly it is written: *He will swallow up death forever. YHVH Elohim will wipe away tears from all faces and*

remove the disgrace of His people... (Isaiah 25:8).

"One day the blessed Holy One will illumine the moon, delivering her from the darkness caused by that evil serpent, as is written: *The light of the moon shall be like the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, like the light of the seven days* (Isaiah 30:26). Which light? The light hidden by the blessed Holy One in the act of Creation."[558]

Elohim blessed Noah and his sons... (Genesis 9:1).[559]

Rabbi Abba opened, "*The blessing of YHVH— she enriches, and He adds no pain to her* (Proverbs 10:22). *The blessing of YHVH* is *Shekhinah*, appointed over blessings of the world, from whom blessings issue for all.[560]

"Come and see what is written at first: *YHVH said to Noah, 'Come, you and all your household, into the ark!'* (Genesis 7:1). As has been said, the Master of the house gave him permission to enter, while afterward the Woman told him to leave.[561] Initially, he entered with the permission of Her Husband; finally, he emerged with the permission of the Wife. From here we learn that the master [71a] of the house should bring in and the woman send out, as is written: *Elohim said to Noah, 'Go out of the ark!'* (ibid. 8:15–16), for She was empowered to send him out, though not to bring him in.

"Having emerged, he gave Her presents,[562] for She is the house, and the house is in Her hands.[563] Those presents he gave Her were intended to intensify Her Husband's love for Her.[564] From here we learn how a guest should behave.

"So once he had given Her presents, She blessed him, as is written: *Elohim blessed Noah*. Therefore, *The blessing of YHVH—she enriches*, indeed, as has been said. *And He adds no pain to her*—mystery of what is written: *By painful toil you will eat of it* (ibid. 3:17).[565] *Painful toil*—pain and anguish, a face lacking radiance, when the moon darkens and blessings are nowhere to be found.[566] *By painful toil*—side of the other spirit,[567] depriving the world of blessings. So, ולא יוסיף (*Ve-lo yosif*), *He adds no, pain to her*—mystery of what is written: לא אוסיף (*Lo osif*), *I will never, again curse the earth* (ibid. 8:21)."[568]

"*Fear and dread of you shall be* [*upon every beast of the earth...*] (ibid. 9:2). From now on, human images, for at first, there were no human images.[569] Come and see: At first, it is written: *In the image of God He made the human being* (ibid. 9:6),[570] and similarly: *He created him in the image of God* (ibid. 5:1).[571] As soon as they sinned, their image mutated from that supernal image and they turned into being frightened by the beasts of the field. At first, all creatures of the world would raise their eyes, see the supernal, sacred image, and be overcome by fear and trembling.[572] Once they sinned, their image transformed in

their eyes into another image,[573] and on the contrary, human beings fear and tremble in the presence of other creatures.

"Come and see: All humans who do not sin in the presence of their Lord and do not transgress the words of Torah—their image never wavers from the appearance of the supernal image, so every creature of the world fears and trembles before them. But when humans transgress the words of Torah, their image changes, so they all fear and tremble before other creatures because the supernal image has been exchanged, removed from them. Then beasts of the field dominate them, since they no longer see that worthy image.[574]

"So now that the world was renewed, as originally, He bestowed this blessing upon them, granting them dominion over all, as is said: *and all the fish of the sea are given into your hand* (ibid. 9:2)[575]—even the fish of the sea."[576]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, "*Were given into your hand*, previously,[577] for when the blessed Holy One created the world, He delivered everything into their hands, as is written: *Have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky...* (ibid. 1:28)."[578]

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah opened, "Of *David*. משכיל (*Maskil*).[579] *Happy is one whose transgression is lifted*,[580] *whose sin is covered* (Psalms 32:1). This verse has been established,[581] yet it was spoken in the mystery of wisdom. For we have learned: 'With ten varieties of praise, David praised the blessed Holy One,' one of which is משכיל (*maskil*), one of those ten rungs.[582] David attuned himself before this rung settled upon him.[583]

"*Happy is one whose transgression is lifted*. For when the blessed Holy One weighs the sins and merits of human beings, the scale on the side of sins ascends, while in the other, merits tip the scale. This is: *whose transgression is lifted*.[584]

"*Whose sin is covered*, when judgment prevails in the world, so that he will be protected, so the Destroyer will not overpower him.[585] As with Noah, concealed by the blessed Holy One from that sin Adam channeled to him and to the world.[586] For since Adam conveyed this sin to the world, other creatures dominate, humans fear them, and the world lies in disarray. So when Noah emerged from the ark, the blessed Holy One blessed him, as is written: *God blessed Noah and his sons....* (Genesis 9:1–2).[587]

"*And as for you, be fruitful and multiply* (ibid., 7). In these blessings females are not to be found, just Noah and his sons; the verse does not mention females."[588]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "ואתם (*Ve-attem*), *And as for you*—entirety of males

[71b] and females as one.[589] So, *And as for you, be fruitful and multiply*, generating offspring. From here on, *teem on earth* (ibid.).[590] Here the blessed Holy One gave them seven commandments of Torah, for them and all succeeding them, until Israel stood at Mount Sinai and were given all the commandments of Torah as one."[591]

God said to Noah.... This is the sign of the covenant I set between Me and you....I have set My bow in the cloud (Genesis 9:8, 12–13). *I have set*—previously.[592]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "*Above the expanse over their heads—appearance of sapphire, semblance of a throne* (Ezekiel 1:26).[593] What is written above? *I heard the sound of their wings like the sound of mighty waters, like the sound of Shaddai, as they moved* (ibid., 24). These are four magnificent, supernal, sacred creatures,[594] above whom that *expanse* is arrayed,[595] all their wings spread, joined to one another, to cover their bodies.[596] As they spread their wings, the sound of all those wings is heard—singing a song, as is written: *like the sound of Shaddai*, never subsiding, as is written: *so that glory may sing to You and not be silent* (Psalms 30:13).[597] What do they exclaim? *YHVH has manifested His salvation; He has revealed His righteousness in the sight of the nations* (ibid. 98:2).[598]

"*A sound of tumult like the sound of an army camp* (Ezekiel, ibid.), like the sound of a holy camp, all supernal hosts gathering above.[599] What do they exclaim? *Holy, holy, holy is YHVH of hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory!* (Isaiah 6:3).[600] Turning south, they sing *holy*; turning north, they sing *holy*; turning east, they sing *holy*; turning west, they sing *blessed*.[601]

"The *expanse* lies above their heads; wherever it moves, it turns faces in that direction, faces encompassed in it.[602] Faces turn to four corners, each revolving within its square, engraved with four faces:[603] face of a lion, face of an eagle, face of an ox, face of a human engraved with them all. Human—face of a lion; human—face of an eagle; human—face of an ox; all coalescing in him. So it is written: *Semblance of their face: a human face* (Ezekiel 1:10).[604]

"In this quadrisected *expanse*, all colors are included, four colors seen within, engraved quadruply,[605] higher and lower secrecies inscribed in four engravings.[606] When the colors of these four scatter, they total twelve: green, red, white, and a color blended of all colors,[607] as is written: *Like the appearance of the bow in the cloud on a rainy day, so was the appearance of the surrounding radiance—the appearance of the semblance of the glory of YHVH* (ibid., 28)—appearance of the colors of all. So, *I have set My bow in the cloud*.[608]

"What is *My bow*? As is said of Joseph: *His bow remained firm* (Genesis 49:24),[609] for Joseph is called Righteous, so *his bow* is covenant of the bow,

contained in Righteous One, covenant linking one with the other.[610] Since Noah was righteous, his covenant was a *bow*.[611]

"[*The arms of his hands*] ויפוזו (*va-yaphozu*), *stayed agile* (ibid.). What is *va-yaphozu*? They sparkled most desirably of all, as is said: *More desirable than gold, even much* פז (*paz*), *pure gold* (Psalms 19:11). They sparkled in supernal radiance when he kept the covenant,[612] so he was called Joseph the Righteous. Therefore the rainbow is called 'covenant,' embracing one another.

"Luster of supernal glory, vision of all visions, vision resembling hidden vision, hidden colors, revealed colors.[613] It is forbidden to gaze at the rainbow appearing in the world, lest shame be exposed in *Shekhinah*.[614] Furthermore, colors of the rainbow appear as dross[615] clinging to the appearance of supernal glory—not to gaze!

"Once earth sees this rainbow, the holy covenant is firmly erected.[616] So, *it will be a sign of the covenant between God* [*and the earth*] (Genesis 9:13).[617]

"As to what we have said concerning these colors—three colors and one blended of them—all comprise one mystery, within the cloud ascending to manifest.[618]

"*Above the expanse over their heads—an appearance of sapphire stone* (Ezekiel, ibid., 26). This is the Foundation Stone, centric point of the entire universe, upon which stands the Holy of Holies.[619] This is the supernal sacred throne, appointed over these four.[620] *Semblance of a throne* (ibid.), with four legs—Oral Torah.[621] *Upon the semblance of a throne—semblance of the appearance of a man* (ibid.)—Written Torah.[622] From here we learn that Written Torah is placed [72a] upon Oral Torah,[623] for one is the throne of the other. *Appearance of a man*—image of Jacob, enthroned upon Her."[624]

Rabbi Yehudah rose one night to ply Torah at an inn in the town of Meḥasya.[625] There in the house was a certain Jew who arrived with two ragged saddlebags.[626]

Rabbi Yehudah opened, saying, "*This stone that I have set up as a pillar will become the house of God* (Genesis 28:22). This is the Foundation Stone, upon which the world was planted, upon which the Temple was built."[627]

That Jew raised his head[628] and said, "How can that be? The Foundation Stone existed before the world was created; from it the world was sown. Yet you cite: *This stone that I have set up as a pillar*, which implies that Jacob set it up now, as is written: *He took the stone that he had placed under his head* (ibid., 18).[629] Furthermore, Jacob was in Bethel,[630] while this stone was in Jerusalem!"

Without turning his head toward him, Rabbi Yehudah opened, saying, "*Prepare to meet your God, O Israel!* (Amos 4:12). Similarly, *Be silent and*

listen, O Israel! (Deuteronomy 27:9). Words of Torah require intention;[631] words of Torah must be arranged with body and will as one."[632]

The Jew arose and dressed himself. He sat beside Rabbi Yehudah and said, "Happy are you righteous, engaging in Torah day and night!"

Rabbi Yehudah replied, "Now that you have prepared yourself, say your word, so that we may join as one, for words of Torah require arraying the body and arraying the mind. Otherwise, I would have lain in bed, expressing words in my mind. But we have learned that even a single person sitting and studying Torah is joined by *Shekhinah*.[633] Now, if *Shekhinah* is here, how can I lie in bed? Furthermore, they require thirsting clarity.[634]

"Moreover, when anyone rises to ply Torah at midnight, as the north wind arouses, the blessed Holy One comes to delight in the righteous in the Garden of Eden, and He together with all the righteous in the Garden listen to him, listening to those words issuing from his mouth.[635] Now, if the blessed Holy One and all the righteous revel in hearing words of Torah at this moment, how can I lie in my bed?"

He said to him,[636] "Now say your word!"

He said, "I asked about what you said concerning the verse *This stone that I have set up as a pillar will become the house of God*: 'This is the Foundation Stone.' How can that be? The Foundation Stone existed before the world was created; from it the whole world was sown. Yet you cite: *that I have set up*, which implies that Jacob set it up now, as is written: *He took the stone that he had placed under his head*.[637] Furthermore, Jacob was in Bethel, while this stone was in Jerusalem!"

He replied, "He rolled up the whole land of Israel beneath him, so that stone lay underneath him."[638]

He said to him, "It is written: *that he had placed*, and similarly: *this stone that I have placed*."[639]

He replied, "If you know something, say it."

He opened, saying,[640] "*As for me, I will behold Your face in righteousness; I will be satisfied, when I awake, with Your likeness* (Psalms 17:15). King David loved and cleaved to this stone, of which he said *The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone* (ibid. 118:22).[641] When he desired to gaze at the sight of the glory of his Lord, he first took this stone in his hand and then entered, for whoever desires to appear before his Lord can enter only through this, as is written: *Through this shall Aaron enter the sanctuary* (Leviticus 16:3).[642] David praises himself, saying: *As for me, I will behold Your face in righteousness*.[643] All David's striving focused on appearing fittingly in this stone, facing above.[644]

"Come and see: Abraham innovated morning prayer, revealing the goodness of his Lord to the world, arraying that hour fittingly, as is written: *Abraham arose early in the morning* (Genesis 22:3). Isaac innovated afternoon prayer, revealing to the world that there is judgment and a Judge, capable of saving or condemning the world. Jacob innovated evening prayer, and having arrayed through this prayer what no human had ever fittingly arrayed, he praised himself, saying: [72b] *This stone that I have set up as a pillar*, for until then no one else had set Her as he had.[645] So, *He took the stone that he had placed under his head and set her up as a pillar* (ibid. 28:18). What does *pillar* mean? That She was fallen and he raised Her. *And he poured oil upon her head* (ibid.), for it depended on Jacob to accomplish more than anyone in the world."[646]

Rabbi Yehudah came and kissed him, saying, "All this you know? Then why do you exert yourself in trade, neglecting eternal life?"[647]

He replied, "Times are stressful, and I have two sons attending school every day. I am exerting myself to provide them food and tuition, so that they can exert themselves in Torah."[648]

He opened, saying,[649] "*Solomon sat upon the throne of his father David, and his kingdom was firmly established* (1 Kings 2:12). What is so great about that? It implies, however, that he arrayed the Foundation Stone, setting upon it the Holy of Holies, so then *his kingdom was firmly established*.[650]

"It is written: *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant* (Genesis 9:16).[651] For the desire of the blessed Holy One focuses constantly on Her,[652] and whoever does not appear in Her does not enter the presence of his Lord.[653] So it is written: *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*. What does *I will see her* mean? It is a mystery, as is written: *Make a mark* (Ezekiel 9:4),[654] clearly visible. Some say this is the impress of the sacred insignia in the flesh."[655]

Rabbi Yehudah said, "Certainly it is all![656] However, the rainbow appearing in the world abides in supernal mystery.[657] When Israel emerges from exile, this rainbow is destined to be adorned in its colors, like a bride adorning herself for her husband."[658]

The Jew said to him, "This is what my father told me as he was departing the world: 'Do not expect the footsteps of Messiah until this rainbow appears in the world, adorned in radiant colors, the world resplendent. Then expect Messiah!'[659]

"How do we know? For it is written: *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*.[660] Now when she appears, she appears in dim colors, and *to remember* means: so that the Flood will not return.[661] But at that time she will appear in radiant colors, adorned in her finery. Then, *to remember the everlasting covenant*—the blessed Holy One will remember this *covenant* who

lies in exile[662] and raise Her from the dust, as is written: *They will seek YHVH their God and David their king* (Hosea 3:5),[663] and similarly: *They will serve YHVH their God and David their king whom I will raise for them* (Jeremiah 30:9)—whom I will raise from the dust, as is said: *I will raise the fallen tabernacle of David* (Amos 9:11).[664] So, *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*, to raise Her from the dust.

"And Father said this: 'Therefore the redemption of Israel and her remembrance are mentioned here in the Torah,[665] as is written: *As I swore that the waters of Noah would never again cover the earth, so I swear not to be angry with you or rebuke you* (Isaiah 54:9)."[666]

The sons of Noah coming out of the ark were [*Shem, Ham, and Japheth*] (Genesis 9:18).

Rabbi El'azar said, "Since it is written: *The sons of Noah*, why: *coming out of the ark*? Did he have other sons who didn't come out of the ark?"

Rabbi Abba replied, "Yes! For later his sons engendered sons, as is written: *These are the generations of Shem* (ibid. 11:10), and they did not come out of the ark. So it is written: *coming out of the ark: Shem, Ham, and Japheth*."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "If I had been present in the world[667] when the blessed Holy One issued *The Book of Enoch* to the world and *The Book of Adam*,[668] I would have objected to the presence of human beings, because all the wise did not contemplate them carefully and strayed in strange words, abandoning the supernal domain for the other domain.[669] But now the wise of the world know words and conceal them, invigorating themselves in the service of their Lord.[670]

"I have found this verse[671] in Mystery of Mysteries:[672] When Delight of all Delights[673] arouses—concealed, sealed, Cause of Causes[674]—a tenuous radiance radiates, delight of all delights, lustering right in supernal anointing oil, lustering left in delightfully fine wine, lustering medially in delightful purple.[675] Spirit arouses, spirit rises, rendered to spirit, cleaving to one another.[676] Three enter three,[677] out of three issues one covenant cleaving to covenant.[678] Spirit ascending conceives, conceiving from Him.[679] When She is placed between two sides, spirit cleaves to spirit, [73a] and She conceives three sons.[680] From Noah and the ark issued three, corresponding to the supernal three, namely, those emerging from the ark: *Shem, Ham, and Japheth—Shem* on the right; *Ham* on the left; *Japheth*, purple, blending both.[681]

"*Ham is father of Canaan* (ibid. 9:18)—scoria of gold underneath slag,[682] arousal of impure spirit, primordial serpent. So the verse designates: *Ham is father of Canaan*, who brought curses upon the world, that *Canaan* who was

cursed, that *Canaan* who besmirched creatures' faces.[683] So of them all, only this one diverges from them all, as is written: *Ham is father of Canaan*—the one who besmirched the world—whereas of the others is not written: *Shem is father of so-and-so*, or *Japheth is father of so-and-so*. Rather, the verse suddenly skips: *Ham is father of Canaan*, indeed!

"So when Abraham arrived, what is written? *Abram passed through the land* [... *and the Canaanite was then in the land*] (ibid. 12:6), for the patriarchs were still unfulfilled and the seed of Israel had not issued into the world, so that this name leave and the supernal name enter.[684] When Israel proved virtuous, the land was called by this name: land of Israel. When they did not, the land was called by another name: land of Canaan. So it is written: *Cursed be Canaan* (ibid. 9:25), for he brought curses upon the world. What is written of the serpent? *Cursed are you among all animals*... (ibid. 3:14), corresponding to what is written: *slave of slaves* (ibid. 9:25).[685]

"Therefore it is written, *Shem, Ham, and Japheth*—these are the three *sons of Noah coming out of the ark*, as we have explained.

"*These three are the sons of Noah* (ibid., 19)—establishing the world, establishing supernal mystery.

"*From these the whole world dispersed* (ibid.)—mystery of three supernal colors. For when that flowing, gushing river waters the garden through the potency of these three supernal ones[686]—from there colors scattering below—each absorbs its companion,[687] showing how the glory of the blessed Holy One extends above and below, how He is one above and below."

Rabbi El'azar said, "These three colors pervade all that derives from the side of holiness, and through reflection they disperse to all those deriving from the side of the other spirit.[688] When you contemplate the mystery of rungs,[689] you will discover how colors scatter in every direction, finally filtering below through the mystery of twenty-seven conduits, sockets of doors covering the abysses.[690]

"All is known to the supernal wise. Happy is the share of the righteous whom the blessed Holy One delights to honor, to whom He reveals supernal secrets of wisdom! Of them is written: *The secret of YHVH is for those in awe of Him* (Psalms 25:14)."

Rabbi El'azar opened, saying, "*YHVH, You are my God; I will exalt You, I will praise Your name. For You have done wonders, plans of long ago, faithful and true* (Isaiah 25:1). How intensely human beings should contemplate the glory of the blessed Holy One, praising His glory! For if one knows how to praise his

Lord fittingly,[691] the blessed Holy One fulfills his desire. Further, he multiplies blessings above and below.[692]

"So one who knows how to praise his Lord and unify His name[693] is beloved above and desirable below.[694] The blessed Holy One prides Himself on him. Of him is written: *He said to me, 'You are My servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified*' (Isaiah 49:3)."

Noah, a man of the soil, was the first to plant a vineyard (Genesis 9:20).

Rabbi Yehudah and Rabbi Yose. One said, "It was banished from the Garden of Eden, and he planted it here." The other said, "It was in the earth and he uprooted it, then transplanted it. That same day it yielded fruit, blossoming into grapes; he squeezed them, drank of the wine and became drunk."[695]

Rabbi Shim'on said, "There is a mystery here in this verse. When he sought to probe the sin probed by Adam—not to cling but to know, to mend the world—he was incapable.[696] He squeezed grapes to probe that vineyard,[697] but as soon as he arrived, *he became drunk and exposed himself* (ibid., 21),[698] and was powerless to rise. So, *he exposed himself*, exposing the breach of the world that had been closed.[699] *Inside* אהלה (*oholoh*), *his tent* (ibid.)—spelled with a ה (*he*): *inside* [73b] *oholah*, *her tent*, the tent of that vineyard.[700]

"Similarly, the sons of Aaron, for we have learned that they were drunk on wine.[701] Now, who would give them wine to drink at that site? Can you conceive of them being so impudent as to quaff wine like this? Rather, they were actually saturated with that other wine,[702] as is written: *They offered strange fire in the presence of YHVH* (Leviticus 10:1). Here is written: *strange fire*, and there is written: *to protect you from a strange woman* (Proverbs 7:5)—all one and the same.[703]

"Similarly, *He drank of the wine and became drunk, and exposed himself*. So Ham, father of Canaan, aroused, as has been explained, and scope was provided to Canaan to prevail.[704] Whereas he had been righteous, in the mystery of covenant,[705] he castrated him, for we have learned that he removed that covenant from him.[706] Therefore, *He said, 'Cursed be Canaan*' (Genesis 9:25), for curses aroused, as at first.[707] *Slave of slaves he shall be* (ibid.), as is said: *Cursed are you among all animals and among all beasts of the field* (ibid. 3:14).[708] All will be restored in the time to come, but he will not; all will be liberated, but he will not.[709] This is a mystery intended for those who know the ways and paths of Torah."

He opened, saying, "*For I know my transgressions; my sin confronts me constantly* (Psalms 51:5). How carefully humans should guard themselves from sinning in the presence of the blessed Holy One! For once one has sinned, his sin is inscribed above, inexpungible except through extreme exertion, as is said: *Though you wash yourself with natron and use an abundance of lye, your iniquity is stained before Me* (Jeremiah 2:22).

"Come and see: When a human being sins once in the presence of the blessed Holy One, it leaves a mark. If he repeats, that mark is deepened. If he repeats again, that stain spreads from one side to the other; then, *your iniquity is stained before Me*.

"Come and see: When King David sinned in the presence of the blessed Holy One in the affair of Bathsheba,[710] he thought the sin was marked on him forever. What is written? *YHVH has removed your sin; you shall not die* (2 Samuel 12:13)—He removed that mark from His presence."

Rabbi Abba said to him, "Look, we have learned that Bathsheba was destined for King David since the day the world was created![711] So why did the blessed Holy One give her first to Uriah the Hittite?"

He replied, "Such are the ways of the blessed Holy One. Even though a woman is destined for a certain man, another—anticipating—marries her before the time of this other one arrives.[712] As soon as his time arrives, the one who had married her is thrust away in favor of this other one coming later, and he departs the world.[713] It is difficult for the blessed Holy One to remove him from the world before his time arrives, in favor of this other one.[714]

"This mystery of Bathsheba who was given first to Uriah the Hittite—go search and you will discover why the Holy Land was given to Canaan before Israel arrived. You will discover it is all one mystery.[715]

"Come and see: Even though David confessed his sin and returned,[716] his heart and mind did not depart from those sins he sinned or from that sin regarding Bathsheba, for he feared them constantly, lest one of them prevail and accuse him in time of danger.[717] So he did not obliterate them from his mind.

"Alternatively, *For I know my transgressions*—I know all those rungs from which human sins suspend.[718] *My sin confronts me constantly*—defect of the moon,[719] who did not escape impurity until Solomon appeared and she lustered in fullness.[720] Then the world turned firm and fragrant,[721] so Israel dwelled securely, as is written: *Everyone in Israel dwelled under his vine and under his fig tree* (1 Kings 5:5).[722] Nevertheless, *my sin confronts me constantly* and will not be eradicated from the world until King Messiah arrives in the time to come, as is said: *I will eliminate the spirit of impurity from earth* (Zechariah 13:2)."

He was a mighty hunter before YHVH; hence the saying: Like Nimrod, a

mighty hunter before YHVH (Genesis 10:9).[723]

Come and see: He was a mighty man, garbed in the garments of Adam, through which he discovered how to hunt creatures.[724] Rabbi El'azar said, "Nimrod used to entice creatures into worshiping idols. In those garments he prevailed, conquering the inhabitants of the world. He proclaimed himself Ruler of the World, and humanity worshiped him. Why was he called נמרוד (*Nimrod*), Nimrod? Because he מרד (*marad*), rebelled, against the supernal King on high, rebelling against those on high, rebelling against those below.[725]

"In those [74a] garments he ruled all inhabitants of the world, reigning over them, rebelling against his Lord, proclaiming himself Ruler of the World. He enticed creatures, finally luring humans to abandon the worship of the Lord of the world."

Rabbi Shim'on said, "Concerning these garments, the Companions know a supernal mystery!"[726]

Our Mishnah. [727] *The whole earth was of one language and of identical words* (Genesis 11:1).

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "*The House, in its being built, was built of stone dressed at the quarry, so no hammer, ax, or any iron tool was heard...* (1 Kings 6:7).

"*The House, in its being built*. Didn't Solomon build it along with all those artisans who were there? Why, *in its being built*?[728] But so it was, as is written: *Of hammered work shall the lampstand be made* (Exodus 25:31). If it was *hammered work*, then why *shall it be made*? But indeed, entirely by miracle, made by itself.[729] As soon as they began working, the work taught them how to create what they never knew before. Why? Because the blessing of the blessed Holy One inhabited their hands. So it is written: *in its being built*—it was built by itself,[730] for it taught the artisans how to commence creating, and the actual design of that creation did not vanish from their sight. Contemplating it, they kept working till the entire House was built.

"*Was built* אבן שלמה (*even shelemah*), *of stone dressed, at the quarry*—spelled שלמה (*shelemah*), missing the י (*yod*), *stone of* שלמה (*Shelomoh*), *Solomon*, indeed![731]

"מסע (*Massa*), *Quarry*, Journey[732]—transported, coming and resting upon them, so the work was accomplished.[733] *Massa*—moving their hands to create unconsciously. Here is written: מסע (*massa*), and there is written: *And for* מסע (*massa*), *journeying, the camps* (Numbers 10:2).[734]

"*So no hammer, ax, or any iron tool was heard*—for *shamir*[735] split all

soundlessly, so they needed no other tools to work, all miraculously!”

Rabbi Shim’on said, “How beloved are words of Torah! Happy is the share of one engaged in them, knowing how to walk the path of truth! *The House, in its being built*. When it arose in the will of the blessed Holy One to fashion glory for Its glory,[736] from the midst of thought a desire arose to expand— expanding from the site of concealed thought, unknown, expanding and settling in the larynx,[737] a site continuously gushing in the mystery of the spirit of life. When thought expanded and settled in this site, that thought was called אלהים חיים (*Elohim Ḥayyim*), Living God: *He is Living God* (Jeremiah 10:10).

“It sought to expand and reveal Itself further; thence issued fire, air, and water,[738] merging as one. Jacob emerged, Consummate Man,[739] a single voice issuing audibly. Hence, thought, having been concealed in silence, was heard revealing itself.[740]

“Thought expanded further revealing itself, and this voice struck against lips. Then speech issued, consummating all, revealing all.[741] It is perceived that all is concealed thought, having been within, and all is one.[742]

“Once this expansion ripened, generating speech through the potency of that voice, then *The House, in its being built*. The verse does not read *when it was built*, but rather *in its being built*, every single time.[743]

“*Of stone dressed*—as has been said.[744] And it is written: *the crown with which his mother crowned him* (Song of Songs 3:11).[745]

“מסע (*Massa*), *Quarry*, Journey—issuing from within, dwelling, journeying outside; issuing from above, dwelling, journeying below.

“*No hammer, ax, or any iron tool was heard*—other, lower rungs, all dependent upon it, neither heard nor admitted within when She ascends to unite above, to suckle from there.[746]

“This is *in its being built*. Then as She suckles, they all abide in joy, suckling, being filled with blessings. Then all worlds abide in single mystery, in single union, with no division. After each and every one receives his share, they all disperse in their directions, to their appointments.

“Come and see: *The whole earth was of one language and of identical words*. [74b] What is written next? *When they journeyed from* קדם (*qedem*), *the east* (Genesis 11:2)[747]—from קדמאה (*Qadma’ah*), Primordial One, of the world.[748] *They found* בקעה (*biq’ah*), *a valley, in the land of Shinar*, for from there they disperse in all directions, it being the first kingdom to scatter.[749]

“Now if you say, ‘Look at what is written: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides* (Genesis 2:10),’ certainly so, for once they journey from there, division ensues.[750] When they gather there to suckle, no division; when they journey, division, as is written: *When they*

journeyed from qedem, they found a valley, as has been said.

"*The whole earth was of one language and of identical words*. For then the world shared a single essential root, a united faith in the blessed Holy One. What is written? *When they journeyed from qedem*—from *Qadma'ah*, Primordial One, root of the world, faith of all. *They found a valley*—they found a find by which they forsook supernal faith.

"Come and see: What is written of Nimrod? *The beginning of his kingdom was Babylon* (ibid. 10:10). From there he journeyed to embrace the other dominion.[751] Similarly here, *They found a valley in the land of Shinar*.[752] From there they drifted in their hearts, abandoning supernal dominion for the other."

They said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves" (Genesis 11:4).

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, "*The wicked are like the banished sea that cannot be still...* (Isaiah 57:20).[753] Now is there such a thing as a *banished sea*? Yes, for when the sea escapes its normal array, surging out of control, then it is banished, expelled from its site. Like one who is drunk on wine, agitated, heaving up and down. Why? Because *it cannot be still, and its waters toss up mire and mud* (ibid.)—casting up all that mud of the sea, all the muck, onto the shore.[754] Similarly, those wicked who abandon the paved path, staggering like incoherent drunkards, abandoning the straight path for the crooked. Why? Because they *cannot be still*—the crookedness of their path causes them to walk aimlessly, restlessly. Furthermore, all their rage as they snarl words from their mouths—each word *mire and mud*—all spewing abhorrent filth from their mouths until they defile themselves [75a] and are defiled.[755]

"Come and see: *They said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city....*" The expression *Come* denotes mere preparation.[756]

"*Let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens*. They all followed bad advice, rebelling against the blessed Holy One. They proceeded foolishly, stupidly."

Rabbi Abba said, "They admitted stupidity into their minds but proceeded with evil wisdom, abandoning supernal dominion for the other,[757] exchanging His glory for alien glory. Everywhere lies a mystery of supernal wisdom.[758]

"*Come, let us build ourselves a city and a tower*. Come and see: When they reached this valley, the alien domain, and the site of its dominion was revealed to them—plunged in the midst of the fish of the sea[759]—they said, 'Here is a place to settle, to harden the heart, and for lower beings to indulge.' Immediately, *Come, let us build ourselves a city*—'let us establish on this site *a*

city and a tower.'

"*And let us make a name for ourselves*. 'This site will be our deity, no other;[760] for this site *let us build a city and a tower*. Why ascend any higher, whence we cannot derive pleasure? Here is a perfect place. *Let us make a name for ourselves*—a deity to worship. *Lest we be scattered* (Genesis, ibid.)—to other rungs, in all directions.'

"*YHVH came down to see the city and the tower* (ibid., 5). This is one of the ten times that *Shekhinah* descended to earth.[761] Why *to see?* Didn't He already know?[762] Rather, *to see*, 'to scrutinize in judgment,' as is said: *May YHVH see you and judge!* (Exodus 5:21).

"*The city and the tower*. Here one should contemplate, for the verse does not read *to see the human beings*, but rather *to see the city and the tower*. Why? Because when the blessed Holy One gazes in judgment, at first He gazes at the rung above, then at the rung below; at first at those above, then at those below.[763] Since this matter impinged above, gazing above preceded, as is written: *the city and the tower that* בני האדם (*benei ha-adam*), *the humans, had built* (ibid.). What is the meaning of *benei ha-adam*? 'The children of Adam,' who rebelled against his Lord, inflicting death upon the world.[764] *That the humans had built*—producing an actual building, striving to build above."[765]

Rabbi Shim'on opened, "*Thus says YHVH: The gate of* [75b] *the inner court facing east shall be shut on the six working days, but on the Sabbath it shall be opened, and on the day of the new moon it shall be opened* (Ezekiel 46:1).[766] This verse calls for contemplation, for it is a mystery, as has been explained.

"*It shall be shut on the six working days*. Why *shall it be shut* all those *six working days*? Because these are secular days when this gate should be shut so secular not exploit sacred.[767] *But on the Sabbath it shall be opened, and on the day of the new moon it shall be opened*, for then performance of sacred with sacred; then the moon is illumined to unite with the sun.[768]

"Come and see: This gate is not opened on those six secular days because on those days the lower world is nourished and those six secular days rule the world, except for the land of Israel.[769] They rule because this gate is shut, but *on the Sabbath... and on the day of the new moon* they are all removed and rule no more, for this gate is open and the world is joyous—nourished from there, not handed over to the other dominion.

"Now if you say those six days rule entirely on their own, come and see: *facing* קדים (*qadim*), *east*—before they rise to rule, it gazes constantly upon the world,[770] though it is not opened for the world to be nourished from the sacred

except on Sabbath and the new moon. All those days cleave to Sabbath, whence they are nourished;[771] for on Sabbath all those gates are opened and tranquility manifests for all, those above and those below.

"Come and see: וירד יהוה (*Va-yered YHVH*), *YHVH came down, to see*, descending from sacred to secular, with רדיד (*redid*), a veil, spread,[772] to inspect what they had built, the edifice they had erected to provoke the world to worship them."

Rabbi Yitsḥak was sitting in the presence of Rabbi Shim'on and asked him, "How could these people have been so foolish to rebel against the blessed Holy One, unanimously adopting the same plan?"

He replied, "This has already been explained: *When they journeyed from the east*—journeying from above to below, journeying from the land of Israel and descending to Babel.[773] They said, 'Here is a site to embrace. *Let us make a name for ourselves*; then sustenance from below will adhere to this site.[774] For when judgment looms over the world, this site will resist; from here the world will derive pleasure and nourishment, since above is too remote. Further, we will ascend to heaven and wage battle,[775] so that no flood will pour down upon the world as before.'

"*YHVH said, 'Look, they are one people with one language for them all'* (Genesis 11:6). 'Since they are all united as one, they will succeed in their project. Let all rungs disperse, each in its own direction, so that all these below disperse.'[776] What is written? *YHVH scattered them from there* (ibid., 8).[777]

"If you ask, 'Why was their language scattered and scrambled?'—it is because they were all speaking the holy tongue,[778] and that language aided them, for the act of enunciation is essential to attaining one's intention.[779] Thereby they supported the place they sought to erect. So their language was confounded to prevent them from empowering their desire in the holy tongue. As soon as their language mutated, they failed in the project, since the powers above know and recognize only the holy tongue.[780] Once language was scrambled, their power weakened and fractured.

"Come and see: A word spoken by lower creatures in the holy tongue is comprehended by all the powers of heaven, who are thereby invigorated, but any other language they neither comprehend nor recognize. So as soon as their language was scrambled, *they stopped building the city* (ibid.), for their power fractured and despite their desire they could not accomplish anything.

"*Blessed be the name of the blessed Holy One forever and ever, for wisdom and power are His* (Daniel 2:20).[781] Because the blessed Holy One brought

secrets of wisdom down to the world, humanity was corrupted by it and sought to attack Him.[782] He gave supernal wisdom to Adam, and through that revealed wisdom [76a] he discovered rungs[783] and clung to the evil impulse until the springs of wisdom vanished. Afterward he returned to the presence of his Lord,[784] and some was revealed, though not as before. Later, through that book of his,[785] he discovered wisdoms; but then people appeared and provoked Him.[786]

"He gave wisdom to Noah, who thereby served the blessed Holy One. Afterward what is written? *He drank of the wine and became drunk, and exposed himself* (Genesis 9:21), as has been explained.[787]

"He gave wisdom to Abraham, who thereby served the blessed Holy One. Afterward Ishmael issued from him, who provoked the blessed Holy One. Similarly Isaac, from whom issued Esau.[788] Jacob married two sisters.[789]

"He gave wisdom to Moses. What is written of him? *Throughout My house he is faithful* (Numbers 12:7). There was none as faithful as Moses: he performed on all those rungs, yet his heart did not stray into desiring any of them;[790] rather, he stood firm in supernal faith fittingly.

"He gave supernal wisdom to King Solomon. Afterward what is written of him? *Proverbs of Solomon* (Proverbs 1:1). *An oracle. The man spoke*: '*לאיתיאל* (*Le-Iti'el*), *To Ithiel, to Ithiel* *ואוכל* (*ve-Ukhal*), *and Ucal*' (ibid. 30:1). Solomon said, '*אתי אל* (*Itti El*), *God is with me*. Wisdom is His. *ואוכל* (*Ve-ukhal*), *And I can*, do what I desire!' Later, *YHVH stirred up* *שטן* (*satan*), *an adversary, against Solomon* (1 Kings 11:14).[791]

"Come and see: With fragments of wisdom discovered by these people from wisdom of the ancients, they antagonized the blessed Holy One, built a tower, and perpetrated all they did—until they were scattered over the face of the earth, lacking the wisdom to accomplish anything. But in the time to come the blessed Holy One will arouse wisdom in the world, with which He will be served, as is written: *I will put My spirit within you and cause you*—not like the ancients who ruined the world with it, but rather: *cause you to follow My laws and carefully observe My rules* (Ezekiel 36:27)."

Rabbi Yose and Rabbi Ḥiyya were walking on the way. Rabbi Yose said to Rabbi Ḥiyya, "Let us open with Torah and say a word!"[792]

Rabbi Yose opened, saying, "*For YHVH your God walks about amid your camp to save you and deliver your enemies to you. Your camps are to be holy, so that He not see among you anything indecent and turn away from you* (Deuteronomy 23:15). *For YHVH your God* *מתהלך* (*mithallekh*), *walks about*. The verse should read *מהלך* (*mehallekh*), *walks*. But as is said: *walking about in the*

garden in the breeze of the day (Genesis 3:8).[793] This is the tree from which Adam ate.[794] *Mithallekh*—female; *mehallekh*—male.[795] This is who walked in front of Israel when they were walking in the desert, as is written: *And YHVH walks before them by day* (Exodus 13:21).[796] This is who walks in front of a person when he is walking on the way, as is written: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way* (Psalms 85:14).[797] This is who walks in front of a person when he is virtuous. Why? *To save you and deliver your enemies to you*—so that one is saved on the way, not overpowered by the other.[798] So one should guard himself against his sins and purify himself. What is written? *Your camps are to be holy*. Why קדוש (*qadosh*), *holy*? The verse should read קדושים (*qedoshim*), *holy*.[799] However, *Your camps are to be qadosh, holy*— smooth members of the body, composing, arraying the body. So, *Your camps are to be qadosh*.[800]

"*So that He not see among you anything indecent*. What is *anything indecent*? Indecency of indecencies, despised by the blessed Holy One more than anything.[801] Since the verse states: *So that He not see among you* ערות (*ervat*), *indecent*, why דבר (*davar*), *anything*? Because this signifies the wicked of the world who befoul and defile themselves with the word issuing from their mouths. This is *ervat davar*, *indecency of word*.[802] Why to such an extreme?[803] Because He is walking in front of you, and if you act like this, He will immediately *turn away from you*, no longer walking with you but turning away. As for us, look, we are walking on the way, so let us engage in words of Torah! For Torah crowns a person's head, so *Shekhinah* never departs from him."[804]

Rabbi Ḥiyya opened, saying, "*YHVH said, 'Look, they are one people with one language for them all...* (Genesis 11:6). Come and see what is written: *When they journeyed* מקדם (*mi-qedem*), *from the east* (ibid., 2). What is *mi-qedem*? מקדמונו (*Mi-Qadmono*) From Primordial One, of the world.[805] *They found* [*a valley in the land of Shinar*] (ibid.). The verse should read *They saw*. Why *they found*?[806] They found a find there from mysteries of wisdom of the ancients, deposited there by victims of the Flood,[807] with which they tried to perpetrate their deed, rebelling against the blessed Holy One. They vocalized and perpetrated [76b] the act.[808]

"See what is written: *Look, they are one people with one language for them all*. 'Since they share a single mind, a single will, and speak the holy tongue, *now nothing that they scheme to do will be barred to them!* (ibid., 6). No one can thwart their act! What will I do? I will derange the rungs above[809] and their language below, so their action will be thwarted.' Now since they shared a single will and mind, and spoke the holy tongue, it is written: *Nothing that they scheme to do will be barred to them*—supernal Judgment is powerless against them. All the more so, we Companions who engage in Torah, sharing a single mind and will!"[810]

Rabbi Yose said, “From here we learn that quarrelers do not endure. For as long as these inhabitants of the world shared a single will and mind, even though they rebelled against the blessed Holy One, supernal Judgment could not prevail against them. As soon as they differed, immediately *YHVH scattered them from there over the face of all the earth* (ibid., 8).”[811]

Rabbi Ḥiyya said, “By implication, all depends on the word of the mouth.[812] For as soon as it was scrambled, immediately *YHVH scattered them from there*. But of the time to come, what is written? *Then I will transform the language of the peoples into a pure one, so they may all call upon the name of YHVH and serve Him shoulder to shoulder* (Zephaniah 3:9). Similarly, *YHVH will be king over all the earth. On that day YHVH will be one and His name one* (Zechariah 14:9).”[813]

REFERENCE MATTER

Abbreviations

add.	addendum
Add.	Additional
Arukh	Nathan ben Yehiel of Rome, *Sefer he-Arukh*
Battei Midrashot	Shlomo Aharon Wertheimer, ed., *Battei Midrashot*
B.C.E.	before the Common Era
Beit ha-Midrash	Adolph Jellinek, ed., *Beit ha-Midrash*
BT	Babylonian Talmud
C9	MS Add. 1023, University Library, Cambridge
C12	MS Dd. 4.2, 1, University Library, Cambridge
C13	MS Dd. 10.14, 4, University Library, Cambridge
ca.	*circa*, approximately
C.E.	Common Era
chap.	chapter
Cr	Cremona edition of *Sefer ha-Zohar*
ed.	editor (pl. eds.); edition; edited by
esp.	especially
DE	*Derekh Emet*, in *Sefer ha-Zohar*, ed. Reuven Margaliot
DE (emendations)	Joseph Ḥamiẓ, ed., *Derekh Emet*
diss.	dissertation
frag.	fragmentary
Galante	Abraham Galante, in *Or ha-Ḥammah*, ed. Abraham Azulai
Hash	*Hashmatot*

Ḥayyat	Judah Ḥayyat, *Minḥat Yehudah*
Heikh	*Heikhalot*
intro	introduction
IR	*Idra Rabba*
IZ	*Idra Zuta*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JT	Jerusalem Talmud
KP	Shim'on Lavi, *Ketem Paz*
L2	MS 762, British Museum, London
L27	MS Gaster 747, British Museum, London
L32	MS Gaster 773, British Museum, London
M	Mishnah; Mantua edition of *Sefer ha-Zohar*
M7	MS Hebr. 217, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
Ma'arikh	Menaḥem ben Judah de Lonzano, *Sefer ha-Ma'arikh*
Mat	*Matnitin*
Matt, *Zohar*	Daniel Chanan Matt, trans. and ed., *Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment*
MhN	*Midrash ha-Ne'lam*
MM	Shalom Buzaglo, *Miqdash Melekh*
MmD	Daniel Frisch, *Peirush Matoq mi-Devash*
Mopsik	Charles Mopsik, trans. and ed., *Le Zohar*
MS (pl. MSS)	(manuscripts)
Ms1	MS Guenzburg 83, Russian State Library, Moscow
Ms3	MS Guenzburg 487, Russian State Library, Moscow
n. (pl. nn.)	note(s)
N23	MS 1761, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York
n.d.	no date
Nefesh David	David Luria, *Nefesh David*
NJV	New Jewish Version: *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh*
NO	Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai, *Nitsotsei Orot*
n.p.	no publisher
NZ	Reuven Margaliot, *Nitsotsei Zohar*
O2	MS 1564, Bodleian Library, Oxford
O16	MS 2433, Bodleian Library, Oxford

O16	MS 2455, Bodleian Library, Oxford
OḤ	Abraham Azulai, ed., *Or ha-Ḥammah*
OL	Abraham Azulai, *Or ha-Levanah*
OY	Moses Cordovero, *Or Yaqar*
P1	MS héb. 778, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
P2	MS héb. 779, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
P4	MS héb. 781, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
par.	paragraph
Pereq Shirah	Malachi Beit-Arié, ed., *Pereq Shirah*
Piq	*Piqqudin*
pl.	plural
Pr6	MS Perreau 15/A, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma
QhM	*Qav ha-Middah*
R1	MS 2971, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome
RM	*Ra'aya Meheimna*
RR	*Raza de-Razin*
Scholem	Gershom Scholem, *Sefer ha-Zohar shel Gershom Scholem*
SdTs	*Sifra di-Tsni'uta*
ShS	*Shir ha-Shirim*
SO	*Sitrei Otiyyot*
Soncino	Harry Sperling et al., trans., *The Zohar* (Soncino Press)
ST	*Sitrei Torah*
Sullam	Yehudah Ashlag, *Sefer ha-Zohar... im... ha-Sullam*
T1	MS Friedberg 5–015, University of Toronto Library
Tiq	*Tiqqunim* (in *Zohar Ḥadash*)
Tos	*Tosefta*
trans.	(translator(s)); translated by
TZ	*Tiqqunei ha-Zohar*
V5	MS ebr. 206, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
V6	MS ebr. 207, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
V7	MS ebr. 208, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
V16	MS Neofiti 23, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
Vital	Ḥayyim Vital, in *Or ha-Ḥammah*, ed. Abraham Azulai

YN	Yechiel Bar-Lev, *Bei'ur Yedid Nefesh*
ZḤ	*Zohar Ḥadash*
Zohorei Ya'bets	Jacob Emden, *Zohorei Ya'bets*

Transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic

א	*alef*	’ [1]	ל	*lamed*	*l*
בּ	*bet*	*b*	מ	*mem*	*m*
ב	*vet*	*v*	נ	*nun*	*n*
ג	*gimel*	*g*	ס	*samekh*	*s*
ד	*dalet*	*d*	ע	*ayin*	’ [2]
ה	*he*	*h*	פּ	*pe*	*p*
ו	*vav*	*v*	פ	*phe*	*f* [3]
ז	*zayin*	*z*	צ	*tsadi*	*ts*
ח	*ḥet*	*ḥ*	ק	*qof*	*q*
ט	*tet*	*t*	ר	*resh*	*r*
י	*yod*	*y, i*	שׁ	*shin*	*sh*
כּ	*kaf*	*k*	שׂ	*sin*	*s*
כ	*khaf*	*kh*	ת	*tav*	*t*

The English equivalent letter is doubled when a strong *dagesh* in Hebrew or Aramaic characterizes a verbal conjugation or indicates an assimilated letter, e.g., *dibber*, *yitten*. The English letter is not doubled when preceded by a hyphenated prefix, e.g., *ha-sefer*, *la-melekh*, *mi-tokh*.

Proper names that appear in roman type do not follow the above schema. Biblical names are rendered according to the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh*. Rabbinic names are rendered according to common convention, e.g., Akiva, Resh Lakish. Medieval names are Anglicized, e.g., Moses de León, Joseph Gikatilla. Authors’ names in the Bibliography follow library listings or the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

1. *Alef* is not transliterated at the beginning or end of a word nor after a hyphenated prefix. Elsewhere it is transliterated only when accompanied by a vowel, e.g., *Shemu'el*.

2. *Ayin* is not transliterated at the beginning of a word, nor after a hyphenated prefix, nor, unless accompanied by a vowel, at the end of a word.

3. Occasionally transliterated as *ph* to compare or contrast it to the letter *pe*.

Glossary

alef The first letter of the Hebrew alphabet; the beginning of divine and human speech.

amidah "Standing"; the central prayer, recited three times daily.

amora, pl. ***amora'im*** "Speaker, interpreter"; a teacher living in the centuries following the compilation of the Mishnah (ca. 200 C.E.) and whose opinions are recorded in subsequent rabbinic literature.

apophatic Referring to knowledge of God obtained by way of negation.

Ashkenaz Germany (mainly the Rhineland) and northern France.

Ayin "Nothingness"; the creative "no-thingness" of God, out of which all being emanates.

Binah "Understanding"; the third *sefirah*; the Divine Mother who gives birth to the seven lower *sefirot*.

blessed Holy One Common rabbinic name for God. In the *Zohar* it often designates *Tif'eret*.

Din "Judgment"; the fifth *sefirah*; the left arm of the divine body, balancing *Ḥesed*. The roots of evil lie here; also called *Gevurah*.

Eikhah The Book of Lamentations.

Ein Sof "There is no end"; that which is boundless; the Infinite. The ultimate reality of God beyond all specific qualities of the *sefirot*; the God beyond God.

Elohim "God, gods"; a biblical name for God. In the *Zohar* it has various sefirotic associations: *Binah*, *Gevurah*, *Shekhinah*.

Gedullah "Greatness"; the fourth *sefirah*; the outpouring of God's great goodness; also called *Ḥesed*.

Geihinnom "Valley of Hinnom"; Hell.

Gevurah "Power"; the fifth *sefirah*; also called *Din*.

gimatriyya Derived from the Greek *geometria* ("measuring the earth"); a method of interpretation based on the numerical value of Hebrew letters.

halakhah "Practice, law," from the root הלך (*hlkh*), "to walk": the way that one should follow.

Haqdamat Sefer ha-Zohar “Introduction to the *Zohar*”; not an introduction per se but a typical collection of passages, apparently intended to introduce the reader to the atmosphere of the book. *Zohar* 1:1a–14b.

Hashmatot “Omissions”; additions printed at the end of each of the three standard Aramaic volumes of the *Zohar*, drawn from the Cremona edition and *Zohar Ḥadash*.

ḥasid, pl. ***ḥasidim*** “Pious one,” devotee, saint, lover of God.

Heikhalot “Palaces”; descriptions of the heavenly palaces in *Zohar* 1:38a–45b; 2:244b–268b.

Ḥesed “Loving-kindness, love, grace”; the fourth *sefirah*; the right arm of the divine body, balancing *Din*; also called *Gedullah*.

Hod “Splendor”; the eighth *sefirah*; the left leg of the divine body; source of prophecy along with *Netsaḥ*.

Ḥokhmah “Wisdom”; the second *sefirah*; the primordial point of emanation.

Holy Ancient One The most ancient manifestation of *Ein Sof* through *Keter*, Its crown.

idra “Threshing place,” assembly.

Idra Rabba “The Great Assembly”; a description of the gathering of Rabbi Shim’on and the Companions at the threshing house, where profound mysteries of divine being are expounded. *Zohar* 3:127b–145a.

Idra Zuta “The Small Assembly”; a description of the last gathering of Rabbi Shim’on and the Companions, the master’s final teachings, and his ecstatic death. *Zohar* 3:287b–296b.

Israel Often, the people of Israel.

Kabbalah Hebrew, קבלה (*qabbalah*), “receiving, that which is received, tradition”; originally referring to tradition in general (or to post-Mosaic Scripture), but from the thirteenth century onward, specifically to the esoteric teachings of Judaism.

Keter “Crown”; the first sefirah; coeternal with *Ein Sof*; also called *Ratson* (“Will”) and *Ayin* (“Nothingness”).

Lilith A demoness who harms babies and seduces men; married to Samael.

Malkhut “Kingdom”; the tenth *sefirah*, ruling the lower worlds; also called *Shekhinah*.

Matnitin “Our Mishnah”; short pieces scattered throughout the *Zohar*, most of which appear as utterances of a heavenly voice urging the Companions to arouse themselves and open their hearts to the mysteries. Some of them contain principles of kabbalistic teaching in a condensed form, constituting a kind of mystical Mishnah, expounded in the main section of the *Zohar*.

menorah Candelabrum of seven branches; a feature of the wilderness Tabernacle and of the Temple in Jerusalem.

midrash, pl. **midrashim** Homiletical or legal interpretation of the Bible.

Midrash ha-Ne'lam "The Concealed Midrash, the Esoteric Midrash"; an early stratum of the *Zohar*. Its language is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* on the Torah pertains to several portions of Genesis, the beginning of Exodus, and several other portions; it is printed partly alongside the main text of the *Zohar* and partly in *Zohar Ḥadash*. *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* on Song of Songs, Ruth, and Lamentations is printed in *Zohar Ḥadash*. The subject matter of *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* is mostly Creation, the soul, and the world to come; its style is often allegorical.

mishkan "Dwelling"; God's dwelling place during Israel's forty years in the wilderness; the tabernacle constructed by Moses and the Children of Israel.

Mishnah Collection of oral teachings compiled near the beginning of the third century by Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi; the earliest codification of Jewish Oral Law; the core of the Talmud.

mitsvah, pl. ***mitsvot*** "Commandment"; one of the 613 commandments of the Torah or one of various rabbinic precepts; religious duty; by extension, good deed.

Mizraḥi "Eastern"; referring to Jews of Middle Eastern or North African origin.

Netsaḥ "Endurance"; the seventh *sefirah*; the right leg of the divine body; source of prophecy along with *Hod*.

Oral Torah The rabbinic interpretation of the Written Torah (the Five Books of Moses); in Kabbalah, a symbol of *Shekhinah*.

Other Side Aramaic, סטרא אחרא (*Sitra Aḥra*); the demonic realm, shadow of the divine.

parashah "Portion"; portion of the Torah read on a particular Sabbath, named after its opening word (or phrase) or a key word (or phrase) in the opening sentence.

Piqqudin "Commandments"; kabbalistic interpretations of the commandments scattered throughout the *Zohar* (to be distinguished from *Ra'aya Meheimna*).

Qav ha-Middah "The Standard of Measure"; a detailed description of the process of emanation delivered by Rabbi Shim'on. *Zohar Ḥadash* 56d–58d.

Ra'aya Meheimna "The Faithful Shepherd"; a separate composition on the kabbalistic meaning of the commandments, printed piecemeal in the *Zohar*. Here Moses, the Faithful Shepherd, appears to Rabbi Shim'on and the Companions, revealing secrets.

Raḥamim "Compassion"; the sixth *sefirah*, harmonizing the polar opposites, *Ḥesed* and *Din*; also called *Tif'eret*.

Rav Metivta "Head of the Academy"; an account of a visionary journey of Rabbi Shim'on and the Companions to the Garden of Eden, where they hear mysteries concerning the life to come from one of the heads of the heavenly academy. *Zohar* 3:161b–174a.

Raza de-Razin "The Secret of Secrets"; a separate section dealing with physiognomy and chiromancy (*Zohar* 2:70a–75a, *Zohar Ḥadash* 35b–37c). A second version is incorporated into the main body of the *Zohar* (2:70a–78a).

Rosh Hashanah The Jewish New Year, celebrated on the first two days of the Hebrew month Tishrei.

Rut The Book of Ruth.

Samael Prince of demons, married to Lilith; identical with Satan.

Sava "The Elder."

Sava de-Mishpatim "The Old Man of [Torah portion] *Mishpatim*"; an account of the Companions' encounter with a donkey-driver who turns out to be a master of wisdom. *Zohar* 2:94b–114a.

Sefer ha-Zohar "The Book of Radiance."

sefirah, pl. ***sefirot*** Literally, "counting," number, numerical entity; in Kabbalah, one of the ten aspects of divine personality, nine of which emanate from *Ein Sof* and the first *sefirah, Keter*. See the diagram on page xi.

Shaddai An obscure divine name, which may originally have meant "[God] of the mountain." In Kabbalah it often denotes *Shekhinah*.

Shekhinah "Presence," divine immanence; the tenth and last *sefirah*; female partner of *Tif'eret*; also called *Malkhut*.

Shema Literally, "hear"; central prayer recited morning and evening, comprising Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21; and Numbers 15:37–41. The opening verse is: *Hear O Israel! YHVH our God, YHVH is one!*

Shir ha-Shirim The Book of Song of Songs.

Sifra di-Tsni'uta "Book of Concealment"; an anonymous, highly condensed commentary on the beginning of the Torah in short, obscure sentences, divided into five chapters. Its subject is the mysteries of divine being. *Zohar* 2:176b–179a.

Sitrei Otiyyot "Secrets of the Letters"; a discourse by Rabbi Shim'on focusing on the letters of the divine name *YHVH* and how they symbolize the process of emanation. *Zohar Ḥadash* 1b–7b.

Sitrei Torah "Secrets of Torah"; interpretations of certain verses of Genesis, printed in separate columns parallel to the main body of the *Zohar*, and in *Zohar Ḥadash*. It includes allegorical explanations of the mysteries of the

soul.

Talmud Each of the two compilations of Jewish law, legend, ethics, and theology comprising the Mishnah and its vast commentary (the Gemara) by rabbis of the third through fifth centuries. The Jerusalem Talmud was compiled ca. 400 C.E.; the Babylonian Talmud, about one hundred years later.

tanna, pl. ***tanna'im*** "One who repeats, teacher"; an authority cited in the Mishnah or belonging to the Mishnaic period (first two centuries of the Common Era); an Amoraic scholar whose task was to memorize and recite tannaitic texts.

Targum "Translation"; an Aramaic translation of the Torah or the Bible.

tav The last letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

tefillin "Phylacteries"; two black leather boxes containing passages from the Torah (Exodus 13:1–10, 11–16; Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21) written on parchment.

They are bound by black leather straps on the left arm and on the head, and are prescribed for men to wear during weekday morning prayer. Each of the biblical passages indicates that the Children of Israel should place a sign upon their hand and a frontlet (or reminder) between their eyes.

teshuvah "Returning," returning to God, repentance.

Tif'eret "Beauty, glory"; the sixth *sefirah*, harmonizing the polar opposites,

Ḥesed and ***Din***; male partner of *Shekhinah*; the torso of the divine body; also called *Raḥamim*.

Tiqqunei ha-Zohar "Embellishments on the *Zohar*"; an independent book whose setting is similar to *Ra'aya Meheimna*. It comprises a commentary on the beginning of Genesis, each *tiqqun* opening with a new interpretation of the word בראשית (*be-reshit*), "in the beginning."

Tiqqunim "Embellishments"; additional material in the genre of *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar*, printed in *Zohar Ḥadash* 93c–122b.

Torah "Instruction, teaching"; the Five Books of Moses (Genesis through Deuteronomy); by extension, the entire corpus of Jewish religious literature.

Tosefta "Addenda"; in rabbinic literature, a collection of laws parallel to and contemporary with the Mishnah. In the *Zohar*, *Tosefta* is similar to *Matnitin*.

Tsaddiq "Righteous One"; a name for *Yesod*, the ninth *sefirah*.

Written Torah The Five Books of Moses (Genesis through Deuteronomy); in Kabbalah, a symbol of *Tif'eret*.

Yah A contracted form of the divine name *YHVH*.

Yanuqa "The Child"; the story of a wonder child who confounds and amazes the Companions. *Zohar* 3:186a–192a.

Yesod "Foundation"; the ninth *sefirah*, who channels the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*; the phallus of the divine body, also called *Tsaddiq*.

YHVH The ineffable name of God, deriving from the root הוה (*hvh*), "to be." In the *Zohar* it often symbolizes *Tif'eret*.

Yom Kippur The Day of Atonement, observed on the tenth of the Hebrew month Tishrei.

zohar "Radiance, splendor."

Zohar Ḥadash "New Zohar"; a collection of Zoharic texts not included in the early editions of the *Zohar*. It was first printed in Salonika in 1597. The title is misleading since *Zohar Ḥadash* contains much of *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, an early stratum of the *Zohar*.

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1. For a list of eighty-four *Zohar* manuscripts, see Rubin, “Mif’al ha-Zohar,” 172–73.

2. References to *Alfa Beita de-Ven Sira* are cited according to Yassif, *Sippurei Ben Sira bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim*.

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NOTES

1. The title derives from the word זהר (*zohar*) in Daniel 12:3: *The enlightened will shine like the zohar, radiance* [or: *splendor*], *of the sky*.

2. On the various sections of the *Zohar*, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 214–19; Isaiah Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:1–7. All of these sections are written in Aramaic, except for *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, which is written in Hebrew and Aramaic.

The following sections are scheduled to be translated as part of the running commentary on the Torah, as in the standard editions of the *Zohar: Raza de-Razin*, *Sava de-Mishpatim*, *Sifra di-Tsni'uta*, *Idra Rabba*, *Idra Zuta*, *Rav Metivta*, and *Yanuqa*. The two subsequent volumes will include *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, *Matnitin*, *Tosefta*, *Sitrei Torah*, *Heikhalot*, *Sitrei Otiyyot*, "Vision of Ezekiel," *Qav ha-Middah*, and *Zohar* to Song of Songs. Two sections identified as imitations written by a later kabbalist, *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* and *Ra'aya Meheimna*, are not planned to be included.

3. See Ernst Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and Their First Appearance in Print*; Malachi Beit-Arié, "Transmission of Texts by Scribes and Copyists: Unconscious and Critical Interferences"; Israel Ta-Shma, "The 'Open' Book in Medieval Hebrew Literature: The Problem of Authorized Editions"; Daniel Abrams, introduction to *Sefer ha-Bahir*, edited by idem, 8–14; idem, "Critical and Post-Critical Textual Scholarship of Jewish Mystical Literature."

4. Among the manuscripts reflecting an earlier version are the following: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 1023; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 217; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, MS 1761; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 1564; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, heb. 779; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2971; Toronto, University of Toronto, MS Friedberg 5–015; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, ebr. 206, 208. Manuscripts resembling (and perhaps underlying) the Mantua edition include: London, British Museum, MS 762; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, heb. 781; Parma, Perreau 15/A.

A list of eighty-four *Zohar* manuscripts (assembled by a team working under Rivka Schatz-Uffenheimer) was published by Zvia Rubin in "Mif'al ha-Zohar: Mattarot ve-Hessegim," 172–73. Ronit Meroz of Tel Aviv University is conducting a systematic analysis of over six hundred extant manuscripts and fragments of the *Zohar*. In her extensive research she has identified numerous examples of editing and revision. While the discovery noted here of earlier and later versions of the *Zohar* is my own, I have benefited from discussions with her and wish to thank her for sharing her insights with me. See her article "Zoharic Narratives and Their Adaptations" and her other studies listed in the Bibliography.

For further information on the manuscripts of the *Zohar*, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:99–101; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 236–37; and the comments of Malachi Beit-Arié, cited by Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 103–4.

5. See Abrams, "Eimatai Ḥubberah ha-Haqdamah le-Sefer ha-Zohar?"; idem, "Critical and Post-Critical Textual Scholarship of Jewish Mystical Literature," 61.

6. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:98. For an enlightening comparison of diplomatic and critical editing, see Chaim Milikowsky, "Further on Editing Rabbinic Texts."

7. See the list of *Zohar* manuscripts in the Bibliography, and above, note 4. Bound copies of nearly all of these manuscripts are housed in the Gershom Scholem Collection, Jewish National and University Library.

8. I also check readings in other sources including: Menaḥem Recanati, *Peirush al ha-Torah*; Joseph Angelet, *Livnat ha-Sappir*; Abraham Galante, in *Or ha-Ḥammah*; Shim'on Lavi, *Ketem Paz*; Abraham Azulai, *Or ha-Levanah*; Joseph Ḥamiẓ, ed., *Derekh Emet* (a list of emendations to the Mantua edition); Shalom Buzaglo, *Miqdash Melekh*; Yehudah Ashlag, *Peirush ha-Sullam*; and *Gershom Scholem's Annotated Zohar*. See the Bibliography.

9. *Sefer ha-Zohar*, ed. Reuven Margaliot.

10. See above, note 8.

11. At the website of Stanford University Press: www.sup.org/zohar.

12. BT *Qiddushin* 49a.

13. On the *Zohar*'s Aramaic, see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 226–29; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:64–68.

14. *Zohar* 1:15a. Citations of the *Zohar* refer to the standard Aramaic pagination (based on the Mantua edition of 1558–60), which in *The Zohar: Pritzker Edition* is indicated in the running head on each page.

15. See Daniel Matt, "'New-Ancient Words': The Aura of Secrecy in the *Zohar*."

16. *Zohar* 1:15a.

17. Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, in his preface to *Qelaḥ Pitḥei Ḥokhmah*, cited by Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:29.

18. This five-volume edition is entitled *The Zohar* (see Bibliography). Scholem remarks (*Kabbalah*, 241) that it "suffers from incomplete or erroneous understanding of many parts of the kabbalistic exposition."

19. I have also consulted four different Hebrew translations, by Yehudah Ashlag, Daniel Frisch, Yehudah Edri, and Yechiel Bar-Lev; Charles Mopsik's French translation, *Le Zohar*; the Hebrew anthology by Fischel Lachower and Isaiah Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, and its English version, *The Wisdom of the*

Zohar, trans. David Goldstein; and the recent English translation edited by Michael Berg, *The Zohar by Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai*, which, however, is based not on the original Aramaic but on Ashlag's Hebrew translation. For details on all of these, see the Bibliography.

20. *The Zohar*, trans. Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, 1:277.

21. Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, trans. Goldstein, 2:818.

22. Idem, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, 2:134. He concludes by saying that the phrase may mean: "delusive lights."

23. *The Zohar*, trans. Sperling and Simon, 2:19.

24. Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, trans. Goldstein, 2:813.

25. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:66–67.

26. See Yehuda Liebes, *Peraqim be-Millon Sefer ha-Zohar*, 349–54.

27. See *Zohar* 1:92b and my commentary.

28. After wrestling with Zoharic neologisms for years, I no longer share Tishby's view (*Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:66) that "only rarely is it possible to determine their meaning from the context, while for the most part it is difficult even to guess what the author had in mind." Still, I can appreciate the confession of David Goldstein (translator of *Wisdom of the Zohar*), who, after rendering several obscure lines directly from the Aramaic, writes (ibid., 106, n. 16): "The English translations given are purely hypothetical."

29. Translations I have consulted include the King James Version, New International Version, New Revised Standard Version, the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh*, Everett Fox's *The Five Books of Moses*, and Richard Elliott Friedman's *Commentary on the Torah with a New English Translation*.

30. I have tried to follow the sage advice of Samuel Sandmel, who years ago warned scholars about the dangers of "parallelomania." See his presidential address of that title delivered to the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and published in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962): 1–13.

31. See the Bibliography.

32. *Zohar* 1:56b, 112a, 136a, and frequently.

33. Ibid., 155b.

34. Ibid., 155a.

35. Abraham Galante, in *Or ha-Ḥammah*, ad loc. On questioning in the *Zohar*, see Matt, "New-Ancient Words," 198–99.

36. Genesis 3:24. Literally, *He drove out the human*.

37. *Zohar* 1:53b.

38. Ibid., 78a.

39. Ibid., 15a.

40. *Zohar* 2:176a–b. The wheat and its products (kernels, bread, cake, and

pastry) may symbolize four levels of meaning in Torah: simple, homiletical, allegorical, and mystical. See Matt, *The Essential Kabbalah*, 207.

1. A much expanded version of this introduction to the *Zohar* is to be found in my *Guide to the Zohar*, also available from Stanford University Press. There the symbolic language of Kabbalah (i.e., the sefirotic system) is more fully outlined and discussed. The most comprehensive introduction to the subject is the three-volume *Wisdom of the Zohar* by Isaiah Tishby, originally written in Hebrew. The English translation by David Goldstein offers a thorough historical analysis of many topics covered by the *Zohar*, followed by selected passages. Although the Hebrew version was published in 1949–61 and thus predates much of current *Zohar* scholarship, Tishby's work remains an invaluable source of knowledge.

2. The emergence of kabbalistic teaching is more complex and obscure than has been described in the preceding paragraphs. The relationship between Kabbalah and certain late forms of midrashic writing is still not entirely clear. The nature and degree of contact between early kabbalists and the German Hasidic circles, especially as reflected in the writings of Rabbi Eleazar of Worms (ca. 1165–ca. 1230), continues to puzzle scholars. The group of abstract mystical writings known as *Sifrei ha-Iyyun*, or *Books of Contemplation*, fits somewhere into this puzzle, but its precise date and relationship to other parts of the pre-Zoharic corpus is still debated by scholars. The sources of the highly distinctive school of "prophetic" or "ecstatic" Kabbalah taught by Rabbi Abraham Abulafia (1240–after 1292), while having little connection to the *Zohar*, also would require treatment in a full picture of the emergence of kabbalistic thought. But this very brief treatment of major schools and themes should suffice to set forth the context out of which the *Zohar* emerged.

3. For a discussion of how these special sections of the *Zohar* have been handled in this translation, see the Translator's Introduction.

4. Melila Hellner-Eshed, "The Language of Mystical Experience in the Zohar: The Zohar through Its Own Eyes" (in Hebrew) (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 2000), 19.

1. ***rose*** שושנה (*Shoshanah*) probably means “lily” or “lotus” in Song of Songs, but here Rabbi Ḥizkiyah has in mind a rose.

See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:3; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:2; *Zohar* 1:137a, 221a; 2:20a (*MhN*), 189b; 3:107a, 180b, 233b, 286b; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489 (lily); Joseph ibn Akhnin, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 63–65 (rose); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 183–84; *Zohorei Ya’bets*.

A Ladino translation of the verse (*The Ladino Five Scrolls*, ed. Lazar, 4–5) reads: “Commo la roza entre los espinos, ansi mi conpañera entre las dueñas.”

2. **Assembly of Israel** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra’el*). In rabbinic Hebrew, this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes an allegorical love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:1. In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra’el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif’eret* and *Shekhinah*.

3. **colored red and white** As is *Rosa gallica versicolor* (also known as *Rosa mundi*), one of the oldest of the striped roses, whose flowers are crimson splashed on a white background. The striping varies and occasionally flowers revert to the solid pink of their parent, *Rosa gallica*. The parent was introduced to Europe in the twelfth or thirteenth century by Crusaders returning from Palestine. Both parent and sport were famous for their aromatic and medicinal qualities. Elsewhere (2:20a–b) the *Zohar* alludes to the process of distilling oil from the petals of the flower to produce rose water, a popular remedy. During this process the color gradually changes from red to white.

4. **thirteen petals... thirteen qualities of compassion...** A rose blossom can have thirteen petals in its second tier. In rabbinic tradition, God’s thirteen attributes of compassion are derived from Exodus 34:6–7. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 17b. According to Kabbalah, these qualities originate in *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, the realm of total compassion untainted by judgment.

5. אלהים (***Elohim***), ***God*, is mentioned...** The divine name אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, refers here to *Binah*, the Divine Mother. Between its first and second occurrences in the opening verses of Genesis there are thirteen words, which allude to the thirteen qualities of compassion originating in *Keter*, emanating from *Binah* and surrounding the rose of *Shekhinah*.

6. **five sturdy leaves...** The leaves of rose plants grow in clusters of five, nine, or thirteen leaves. And between the second and third occurrences of אלהים (*Elohim*) in Genesis are five words, alluding to five divine leaves: the five *sefirot* emanating from *Binah* and transmitting the flow to *Shekhinah*. These *sefirot* are

Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret (including *Yesod*), *Netsaḥ*, and *Hod*.

7. **Salvation** The flow of emanation saves the rose of *Shekhinah* from the demonic thorns surrounding Her.

8. **five gates** By which one enters the divine realm.

9. **cup of blessing... on five fingers...** According to the Talmud, the cup of wine is held in the right hand during the blessing after food. See BT *Berakhot* 51a: "One takes it with both hands and places it on the right hand." Cf. *Zohar* 1:156a (*ST*), 250a; 2:138b, 143b, 157b.

10. **light—created, concealed...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

Elsewhere, the Midrash links the hidden light with Psalms 97:11: *Light is sown for the righteous*. See *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Midrash Tehillim* 27:1.

Rabbi Ḥizkiyah now specifies *where* the primordial light was concealed: in the covenant, which is a name for the *sefirah* of *Yesod*—the divine phallus, site of the covenant of circumcision. *Yesod* is also known as Righteous. See *Zohar* 1:21a, 31b–32a, 45b; 2:35a, 148b–149a; 166b–167a, 230a.

11. ***tree bearing fruit...*** The tree symbolizes male divinity.

12. **explicit name** The Ineffable Name, *YHVH*. See *Devarim Rabbah* 3:8; *Midrash Tehillim* 114:9; *Zohar* 2:48a.

13. **forty-two couplings... forty-two letters of the act of Creation** The forty-two-letter name is mentioned in the name of Rav, though not recorded, in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. According to one later view, it consists of the first forty-two letters of the Torah, from the ב (bet) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*) through the ב (*bet*) of בהו (*bohu*), *void* (Genesis 1:2).

See *Tosafot, Ḥagigah* 11b, s.v. *ein doreshin; KP* 1:46c–d; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 94–95; cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:62. Cordovero (*OY*) describes how the name *YHVH* ("the engraved, explicit name") can be permuted into a forty-two-letter name; cf. *Zohar* 2:260a. In *Zohar* 1:9a, Moses' staff is described as "radiating the engraved name in every direction with the radiance of the wise who engraved the explicit name in forty-two colors." Cf. *Zohar* 1:15b, 30a; 2:130b, and 175b: "... the forty-two holy letters of the holy name, by which heaven and earth were created."

14. ***pruning of tyrants...*** זמיר (*Zemir*) is usually translated "singing of" in

this verse, but Rabbi Shim'on understands it as "pruning of," i.e., the pruning of the demonic powers, the *tyrants* (*KP*; cf. *Zohar* 3:4b), or the pruning of humans by the demonic tyrants (*OY*).

15. **מארת** (***Me'orot***), ***Lights*, spelled deficiently** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without vavs, the vowel letters. (Such variant spelling is common in the Torah and affects neither pronunciation nor the plain meaning of the words.) This deficient spelling implies that something was missing on the fourth day of Creation, a lack representing the potential for evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

See Proverbs 3:33; JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:12a, 19b, 33b.

16. ***We will do, and we will listen*** Spoken by the people of Israel at Mount Sinai. With these words, Israel demonstrated true faith by committing themselves to fulfill and enact God's word even before hearing the details. See BT *Shabbat* 88a.

17. **paradigm of the land...** According to BT *Berakhot* 57b, the Sabbath is "a reflection of the world to come."

18. **patriarchs, who entered...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:4: "Six things preceded Creation.... The patriarchs arose in thought [i.e., were intended] to be created." In the Kabbalah, the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) represent the triad of *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret.* Cf. *Zohar* 1:39b, 97a–b; 3:4b.

19. **the world that is coming עלמא דאתי** (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma, Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends."

In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation, who gives birth to the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

20. **prophets of truth** The *sefirot* of *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, the source of prophecy.

21. **Joseph...** Joseph symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, the divine phallus, since

he withstood the test of sexual temptation in Egypt (Genesis 39). The upper triad of *sefirot* (*Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*) flows into him, and when *Yesod* enters *Shekhinah* ("the Holy Land," "earth"), the sefirotic triad is planted there and revealed. Though Joseph never returned to the land of Israel, his bones did. See Joshua 24:32.

22. **When the rainbow is revealed...** The rainbow symbolizes both *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, in whose union *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret* are revealed in their respective colors: white, red, and green.

23. **they would not remain...** The wicked would not remain.

24. **voice of children...** See BT *Shabbat* 119b: "Resh Lakish said in the name of Rabbi Yehudah the Prince, 'The world endures only for the sake of the breath of children in the house of study.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:146b; 3:17b.

25. ***Make two cherubim...*** In BT *Sukkah* 5b, Rabbi Abbahu interprets the word כרוב (*keruv*), "cherub," as כרביא (*ke-ravya*), "like a child." The plump childlike angels of Christian art derive either from this tradition or from the Greco-Roman *Erotes*, "loves." Here Rabbi Shim'on relates the golden cherubim to the golden wreaths of the Song of Songs, concluding that both images allude to children.

26. ***Opening of the eyes*** פתח עינים (*Petaḥ einayim*). The phrase originates in Genesis 38:14, where it means "the entrance to Einayim," a village where Tamar seduced her father-in-law, Judah. The midrash on Genesis (*Bereshit Rabbah* 85:7) discovers a deeper meaning: "Rabbi [Yehudah the Prince] said, 'We have searched through the entire Bible and have not found a place called *Petaḥ Einayim*. What is *Petaḥ Einayim*? This indicates that she [Tamar] gazed at the opening toward which all eyes gaze and said, 'May it be the divine will that I not leave this house empty.'" In the *Zohar*, this opening is identified with *Shekhinah*, gateway to the divine. See 3:71b–72a.

27. ***Who*** מי (*Mi*). *Binah*, the Divine Mother, is called *Who*. A spiritual seeker may inquire about Her, but such questions do not yield ordinary answers. The identity of the divine is discovered only in a realm beyond words. The mystical name *Who* becomes a focus of meditation, as question turns into quest. See Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 1:91a: "Concerning everything that cannot be grasped, its question constitutes its answer."

See *Zohar* 1:29b–30a, 45b, 85b–86a, 237b; 2:126b–127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

28. **End of Heaven above** See Deuteronomy 4:32: *For ask now of primal days, which were before you: from the day that God created humankind on earth, and from one end of heaven to the other*. In BT *Ḥagigah* 11b, this verse is interpreted as imposing a limit on cosmological speculation: "You may inquire

concerning *from one end of heaven to the other*, but you may not inquire concerning what is above, what is below, what came before, what will come after." See M *Ḥagigah* 2:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:10.

These restrictions on cosmological speculation recall the Gnostic striving after "the knowledge of who we were, what we have become, where we were, where we have been thrown, where we hasten, from what we are redeemed, what birth is and what rebirth" (Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpts from Theodotus* 78:2). See *Zohar* 1:30a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 31; idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 20, 375; idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 371.

29. **Beyond...** The realms beyond *Binah*, namely, *Ḥokhmah, Keter*, and *Ein Sof*, are so unknowable that no question concerning them can even be formulated.

30. ***What*** מה (*Mah*), a name for *Shekhinah*, last of the ten *sefirot*, daughter of *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:127a. *Binah* and *Shekhinah* comprise the two ends of heaven, above and below *Tif'eret*, who is called Heaven.

31. **and searches** ומפשפש, *Umphashpesh*. Cr reads here: ומתפשט, *u-mitpashshet*, "and expands." See *Bahir* 134 (194); and Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 39: "Thought expands (מתפשטת, *mitpashshetet*) and ascends to its source. When it reaches there, it is stopped and can ascend no further."

32. ***I call heaven and earth...*** Earth symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

33. **I compare you to *What*, precisely!** Israel resembles *Shekhinah* perfectly.

34. ***What can I liken...*** Again, Israel and *Shekhinah* (*What*) are compared.

35. **I Myself will not enter...** The blessed Holy One promises not to enter the heavenly Jerusalem, *Shekhinah*, until the earthly Jerusalem is restored. See *Tanḥuma, Pequdei* 1: "There is a Jerusalem above aligned with Jerusalem below. Out of His love for the one below, He fashioned another above.... He has sworn that His presence will not enter the heavenly Jerusalem until the earthly Jerusalem is rebuilt."

See Revelation 21:2; *Targum Yonatan*, Psalms 122:3; BT *Ta'anit* 5a; *Zohar* 1:80b (*ST*), 128b, 183b, 231a; 3:15b, 68b, 147b.

36. **this rung...** *Shekhinah*.

37. **But now that you are here, *your ruin is vast...*** Now that Israel has fallen to the low state of exile, her *ruin is vast as the ocean*, another name for *Shekhinah*, who shares Israel's exile.

38. ***running from end to end*** A description of the central wooden beam of the Tabernacle in the desert. The *Zohar* applies this description to *Tif'eret*, the central *sefirah*, symbolized by Jacob, who spans the *sefirot* from *Binah* (*Who*) to *Shekhinah* (*What*). See *Zohar* 1:148b (*ST*).

39. **cease your words** פסוק מליך, *Pesoq millaikh*. The phrase could also be translated: "utter your words." See BT *Ḥagigah* 15a–b: פסוק לי פסוקך, *pesoq li*

pesuqekha, “Recite for me your verse”; cf. *Zohar* 1:238b. “Cease” fits the context of our passage, but the ambiguity may be intentional, in which case a better rendering would be: “Complete your words,” or “Cut your words.”

40. ***these*** In the verse from Isaiah 40:26: *Lift up your eyes and see: Who created these?* Now that the mystical meaning of *Who* has been established, Rabbi Shim’on explores the meaning of *these*.

41. **they are always visible there** So why would the verse say, *Lift up your eyes and see*, implying that there is something new to see?

42. ***By the word of YHVH...*** *The word of YHVH* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who conveys the divine essence. Thus the heavens were made by Her (also known as *What*), not by *Binah* (*Who*).

See *Zohar* 1:119b; 3:191a, 193b.

43. **Elijah** According to the Bible (2 Kings 11:12), the prophet Elijah did not die a normal death but was carried off to heaven in a chariot of fire. He became associated with the Messianic age (Malachi 3:23–24) and in rabbinic tradition is described as “still existing” (BT *Bava Batra* 121b) and revealing divine secrets to righteous humans (BT *Bava Metsi’a* 59b).

In Kabbalah mystical experiences are known as revelations of Elijah. See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 19–21; *Zohar* 1:151a; 3:221a, 231a; *ZḤ* 59d. In *Zohar* 3:241b Elijah turns to Rabbi Shim’on for instruction! Elsewhere (*ZḤ* 63d, 70d, 73c [*ShS*]) Elijah encourages him to reveal the secrets and says (62c), “My words will be written by you.”

44. **Academy on High** The Heavenly Academy, where souls of the righteous study Torah with God.

45. **Concealed of all Concealed** *Ein Sof* or *Keter*, the most hidden recesses of divinity.

46. **single point** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* (“Wisdom”), the first emanation.

47. **it drew all drawings...** The *sefirot* were prefigured within divine thought before they emerged in the process of emanation.

48. **concealed holy lamp** *Ḥokhmah*.

49. **graving of one hidden design...** *Binah*, the origin of the structure of the seven lower *sefirot*.

50. **created אלה (*elleh*), *these*** *Binah* emanated the seven lower *sefirot*, which are less hidden than *Binah* and therefore referred to as *these*.

51. **these letters joined... אלהים (*Elohim*)** The letters אלה (*elleh*) (*these*) joined with the letters מי (*mi*) (*who*) to form the divine name אלהים (*Elohim*). See *Zohar* 2:105a.

52. **Until it created...** *Binah* was not called אלהים (*Elohim*) until She emanated

the seven lower *sefirot*.

53. **"אלה (*Elleh*), *These, are your gods...*"** Their sin was that they separated the lower, more concrete *sefirot* (אלה [*elleh*], *these*) from their mysterious source, *Binah* (מי [Mi], *Who*), and worshiped *these* alone.

54. **constantly polysemous** The name *Elohim* refers not only to *Binah*, but also to *Gevurah* and *Shekhinah*, as well as to angels and human judges. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 42–43.

55. **"If we have come..."** Similar exclamations appear in rabbinic literature and often in the *Zohar*. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Ka-hana* 1:3; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:11; *Qohelet Rabbah* on 6:2; *Qohelet Zuta* 5:17; BT *Berakhot* 16a, 24b; *Shabbat* 41a; *Zohar* 1:148b, 164b, 240a; 2:99a, 121b, 122a, 193b; 3:26a; *KP* 1:20d.

56. מה (*Mah*), ***What*** *Shekhinah*.

57. ***Above heaven*** Heaven refers to *Tif'eret*, above which lies *Binah*.

58. ***In the beginning* אלהים (*Elohim*) *created...*** By emanating the lower *sefirot*, "a light for its light," *Binah* attained the name *Elohim*.

59. מה (*Mah*) **was not so...** *Shekhinah* does not emerge until *Binah* emanates the seven lower *sefirot*. Only then can *Binah*, the Divine Mother, lend Her garments, the lower *sefirot*, to Her daughter, *Shekhinah*.

60. ***All your males...*** All Israelite males are commanded to appear in God's Temple in Jerusalem three times a year on the pilgrimage festivals: *Pesaḥ* ("Passover"), *Shavu'ot* (Festival of "Weeks"), and *Sukkot* (Festival of "Booths"). Here the command implies that the masculine power of the *sefirot* must be drawn down to *Shekhinah*, the Sovereign. Through the ritual of pilgrimage, *Shekhinah* is adorned.

61. ***Behold, the ark...*** *Shekhinah* is *the ark* housing the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, *the covenant*. See *Zohar* 1:33b, 59b, 228b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 75 (95).

62. **letter ה (*he*)...** The letter ה (*he*) signifies the feminine; the letter י (*yod*), the masculine. When the masculine powers of the *sefirot* reach *Shekhinah*, She is transformed from feminine to masculine, from מה (*Mah*) to מי (*Mi*). Then She rules the world.

63. אלה (*Elleh*), ***These, I remember*** The verse continues: *and pour out my soul: how I walked with the crowd, conducting them to the house of Elohim with joyous shouts of praise, the festive throng*. With the arrival of these letters, *Shekhinah* also attains the name of אלהים (*Elohim*): מי (*mi*) plus אלה (*elleh*). Here the verse describes both the earthly pilgrimage to the Temple and the divine procession of emanation to *Shekhinah*. The two meanings are linked because the human ritual below stimulates the *sefirot* above.

64. **to be *Elohim*, like Him** So *Shekhinah* will be *Elohim*, like *Binah*. On the masculine nature of *Binah*, see *Zohar* 1:5b, 17b, 96a; 2:127b; *ZḤ* 72b (*ShS*).

65. **temple above... below** The temple above is *Binah*; the one below, *Shekhinah*. See BT *Sanhedrin* 99b: "Rav said, '[Whoever engages in Torah for its own sake,] it is as if he built the heavenly and earthly palaces.'"

On the heavenly and earthly temples, see *Mekhilta, Shirata* 10; JT *Berakhot* 4:5, 8c; *Tanḥuma, Vayaqhel* 7; *Pequdei* 1–3; *Shemot Rabbah* 33:4; *Midrash Tehillim* 30:1.

Rabbi El'azar's silence stimulated his father, Rabbi Shim'on, to reveal mysteries of two realms.

66. **a word is worth...** A proverb cited by Rav Dimi in BT *Megillah* 18a.

67. **completion of the verse...** The verse that Rabbi Shim'on and his son have been expounding continues: *Who brings forth their array by number and calls them each by name: because of His great might and vast power, not one is missing*.

68. **the one who is known, beyond compare** *Binah*. Rabbi Shim'on interprets the opening letter ה (*he*) of המוציא (*ha-motsi*), *who brings forth*, as a definite article ("the one who") rather than simply a relative pronoun ("who").

69. **'The one who brings forth bread...** The traditional blessing over bread, derived from Psalms 104:14. Again, the ה (he) is interpreted as a definite article.

70. **the one who is known, the lower rung, and all is one** *Shekhinah* is modeled on *Binah*, shares Her name (*Elohim*), and is also known as *Earth*.

71. **600,000... beyond number** The number represents the six *sefirot* between *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, which generate innumerable offspring. See *Zohar* 1:21b–22a.

72. ***See, I have called by name Bezalel*** Referring to the chief artisan of the Tabernacle in the Sinai Desert.

73. ***His great might*** This is the continuation of the verse from Isaiah: *Because of His great might and vast power, not one is missing*; cited above, note 67.

74. **First of rungs...** Either *Keter*, also known as *Ratson* ("Will, Desire"), or *Ḥokhmah*, the first *sefirah* that can be identified. See *Zohar* 2:231b.

75. **the upper world** *Binah*.

76. **Children of Israel... 600,000...** The total number of male Israelites above the age of twenty who left Egypt was approximately 600,000. See Exodus 12:37; Numbers 11:21. The precise total of the first census taken in the Sinai Desert was 603,550 (Exodus 38:26; Numbers 1:46; cf. Numbers 26:51; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Numbers 1:46). The 600,000 Israelites parallel the 600,000 divine forces.

See *Mekhilta, Baḥodesh* 3: “If even one of them had been missing [at Mount Sinai], they would not have been worthy of receiving [the Torah].” Cf. *Mekhilta de-Rasbhi*, on Exodus 19:11; *Devarim Rabbah* 7:8.

77. **We find the letters backward** The first two words of the Torah begin with the second letter of the alphabet, ב (*bet*); the next two words of the Torah begin with the first letter, א (*alef*).

78. **hidden away** Before Creation, the letters were concealed within the divine mind and arranged in reverse order.

79. **For two thousand years...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:2: “Rabbi Shim’on son of Lakish said, ‘The Torah preceded the creation of the world by two thousand years.’”

80. **all the letters presented themselves before Him...** A similar story appears in *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*, Version 2 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:396–404); *Midrash Aseret ha-Dibberot* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:62–63); *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim* (ed. L. Greenhut) 5:11; *Zohar* 1:205b; *ZḤ* 88c–d (*MhN, Rut*); *TZ, Haqdamah*, 16a. The *Zohar* draws primarily on *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*. See Michal Oron, in *Meḥqerei Yerushalayim be-Maḥashevet Yisra’el* 3 (1984): 97–109.

81. **Your seal: אמת (*emet*), truth** According to Rabbi Ḥanina (BT *Shabbat* 55a), God’s seal is אמת (*emet*), “truth,” the final letter of which is ת (*tav*).

82. **You are called Truth** See Jeremiah 10:10: יהוה (*YHVH*) *is the God of truth*.

83. **destined to be marked...** See Ezekiel 9:3–4: *He* [יהוה (*YHVH*)] *called to the man dressed in linen with the scribe’s kit at his waist, and* יהוה (*YHVH*) *said to him, “Pass through the city, through Jerusalem, and put a mark* [תו (*tav*)] *on the foreheads of those who moan and groan over all the abominations being committed in it*.” See Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 177. In the old Hebrew script, the ת (*tav*) was shaped like an X, the simplest mark. Its purpose in Ezekiel was to distinguish the righteous from the rest of the population, but according to Rabbi Aḥa son of Rabbi Ḥanina (BT *Shabbat* 55a), even those marked were killed, since their silence in the face of the wicked implicated them.

84. **seal of מות (*mavet*), death** The word מות (*mavet*), “death,” ends with the letter ת (*tav*).

85. **letters of deceit...ק״ר (*qof-resh*)...** The word שקר (*sheqer*), “lie,” begins with ש (*shin*) and continues: קר (*qof, resh*). See BT *Shabbat* 104a; Judah ben Barzillai, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 146.

86. **whoever wants to tell a lie...** See Rashi on Numbers 13:27, who paraphrases BT *Sotah* 35a; *Zohar* 2:215b, 264a; 3:161a.

87. **ש (*shin*) is a letter of truth...** The three prongs of the ש (*shin*) stand for

the three patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who symbolize the triad of *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah,* and *Tif'eret.* See *Zohar* 1:25b (*TZ*); 2:204a.

88. **appear on the evil side** Perhaps because they stand for קליפה (*qelippah*), "husk," and רע (*ra*), "evil." See *Zohar* 2:180b; *ZḤ* 8c (*SO*).

89. **She is נ (*nun*)...** The letter צ (*tsadi*) consists of a נ (*nun*) and a י (*yod*). See *Bahir* 42 (61); *Sefer ha-Temunah*, 2, 21a. The נ (*nun*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the feminine (נקבה [neqevah]). The י (*yod*) symbolizes *Yesod*, the divine phallus, who is called "covenant." The mark of the covenant of circumcision is pictured as the smallest of the Hebrew letters. In *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 14, *Shemini* 8, this mark is identified with the י (*yod*) of the divine name שדי (*Shaddai*). A German Hasidic tradition identifies the mark with the *yod* of יהוה (*YHVH*).

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 56a, 95a–b; 2:36a, 216b; 3:142a (*IR*), 215b, 220a, 256a (*RM*); Wolfson, in *JQR* 78 (1987): 77–112; idem, *Circle in the Square*, 29–48. Liebes (*Studies*, 154–58) suggests that the צ (*tsadi*) alludes to Jesus.

90. **two faces** דו פרצופין (*Du partsufin*). See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥamani said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:13b, 47a; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

91. **י (*yod*) faces backward...** This reflects the Sephardic practice of writing the צ (*tsadi*). See Scholem; Friedman, *Tsidqat ha-Tsaddiq*, 41–55; Meshi-Zahav, *Qovets Sifrei Setam*, intro, 36; 8, 149–52, 239–40; Havlin, in *Alei Sefer* 12 (1986): 13–19; Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 65, 139, nn. 163–66.

92. **not turned face-to-face...** Initially the union between the masculine and feminine aspects of God was back-to-back and thus incomplete. See *Zohar* 2:176b (*SdTs*); 3:292b (*IZ*); BT *Bava Batra* 99a. This incomplete union is symbolized by the configuration of the צ (*tsadi*). The צ (*tsadi*) must remain hidden so that this secret will not become widely known and "provide the world a pretext" to impugn the divine union.

93. **It looked upward... downward...** Trying to face its partner. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:564.

94. **you will arise elsewhere** The י (*yod*) and the נ (*nun*) will face one another not here but in another letter: ט (*tet*). See *KP*.

95. **hidden transgression...** The form of the letter פ (*pe*) resembles someone trying to hide his head. See *Zohar* 3:119b.

96. **because of you...** נ (*Nun*) stands for נופלים (*nofelim*), the "fallen."

97. ל (***lamed***) **and** ך (***khaf***) The other two letters in the word מלך (*melekh*), "king," which precede the letter מ (*mem*) in the alphabet.

98. **letter** כ (***kaf***) **descended...** The final ך (*khaf*) in the word מלך (*melekh*) was eliminated, but now the regular כ (*kaf*) approaches God.

99. **beginning...** The first letter of יהוה (*YHVH*).

100. **hidden within you** The point at the upper right of the ט (*tet*) is turned inward. See *Zohar* 1:30b.

101. **rather in the world to come** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a (cited above, note 10); *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

102. **facing you is** ח (***ḥet***) The letter preceding ט (tet) in the alphabet.

103. חטא (***ḥet***), **sin** Which ends with a quiescent א (*alef*). See *Zohar* 1:204a.

104. **these two letters are not inscribed...** The letters ח (*ḥet*) and ט (*tet*) do not appear in the names of the twelve tribes, which were engraved on the jewels of the breastplate worn by the high priest. See BT *Yoma* 73b; JT *Yoma* 7:7, 44c; *Zohar* 2:152a, 230a; 3:188b.

105. **like a** ן (***nun***) Like the straight line of a ן (final *nun*). The word זין (*zayin*) means "weapon."

106. **letter of Your name** The third letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

107. **poor will never cease...** See Deuteronomy 15:11.

108. ד (***Dalet***) **is poor...** The letter ד (*dalet*) signifies דל (*dal*), "poor." See BT *Shabbat* 104a: "גמול גימ״ל — דלים דל״ת (*Gimel dalet: gemol dallim*), Render kindness to the poor."

109. **by me You are blessed...** ב (*Bet*) stands for ברכה (*berakhah*), "blessing." See JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77c; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:10; *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 1:1, 10.

110. **Only through you do I become one** The א (*alef*) stands for the number one and also for *Keter*, the first *sefirah*. The word אחד (*eḥad*), "one," begins with א (*alef*).

111. **high, large letters and low, small letters** The initial letters of the first four words of the Torah are ב, ב (*bet, bet*), then א, א (*alef, alef*). Although the first word, בראשית (*be-reshit*), does open with a large ב (*bet*), the emphasis here is not on the size of the letters but rather their origin. The first of each pair derives from *Binah*, the higher world; the second of each from *Shekhinah*, the lower world.

See *Zohar* 1:159b; 2:132a, 174a, 180b; 3:2a, 220a; *ZḤ* 66c (*ShS*), 74c (*ShS*).

112. בראשית (***Be-reshit***)? **With Wisdom** See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.), Genesis 1:1: "With wisdom God created." Wisdom (*Ḥokhmah*) is the second *sefirah*, the primordial point of emanation.

The identification of ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, with Wisdom appears widely. See Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:242–45, 266–69; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81; Naḥmanides on Genesis 1:1; *Zohar* 1:2a, 15a, 16b, 20a, 145a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 21–22 (25–26); Scholem, *Major Trends*, 391, n. 80.

113. **six vast, supernal dimensions...** Within *Ḥokhmah*, the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod* are etched, subsequently emerging and flowing to the ocean of *Shekhinah*. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:13.

114. **ברא שית** (***bara shit***)... The word בראשית (*Be-reshit*) is divided in two and read as ברא שית (*bara shit*), "created six." See *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 1:1, 11–12; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:19), where it is said that the world was created by six letters (the divine names יה [*YH*] and יהוה [*YHVH*]); BT *Sukkah* 49a; *Zohar* 1:15b, 39b.

115. **The unmentioned, the hidden unknown** The hidden source of emanation, *Ein Sof* or *Keter*; the unnamed subject of the verb ברא (*bara*), "created."

116. **six supernal days... the others...** The mystical Torah, *Tif'eret*, includes the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, the six primordial days of Creation, whereas the higher *sefirot* are concealed.

117. **holy hidden one** Apparently *Keter*. See *Zohar* 1:10a; 3:66b.

118. **recess... thrust point** *Binah* is the recess, or womb, penetrated by the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*.

119. **a single key... a single palace** The key of *Ḥokhmah* opens and closes the palace of *Binah*.

120. **Carved into four sides... forty-nine...** Forty-nine gates of *Binah* are revealed in four lower *sefirot*, corresponding to the four directions: *Ḥesed* (south), *Gevurah* (north), *Tif'eret* (east), and *Shekhinah* (west). The fiftieth gate remains hidden; it "has no side" and "is shut."

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b: "Rav and Shemu'el both said, 'Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6).'"

Instead of "forty-nine" (preferred by *OY* and *OL*), several witnesses (C12, Ms3, M, Cr) read "forty." *KP* suggests that the original reading was מי (*Mi*), "Who," indicating *Binah* and Her fifty (the *gimatriyya* of מי) gates, and that this word was misread as מ׳ (*mem*), "forty."

121. **one lock...** The opening within *Binah*. The "precise place" is the subtle link between the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* and the womb of the Divine Mother, *Binah*. Elsewhere in the *Zohar* this site is identified as *a path unknown to any vulture* (Job 28:7). See 1:29a–b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b.

122. **Six gates...** The six *sefirot* hidden within *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 2:177a (*SdTs*).

123. **revealed word... concealed word...** The word בראשית (*Be-reshit*) contains two words: ברא (*bara*), "created," referring to the hidden mystery of creation, and שית (*shit*), "six," referring to the revelation of the six *sefirot*.

Yehuda Liebes argues that the insistence on the concealed nature of ברא (*bara*) alludes to a different pronunciation and meaning: ברא (*bera*), "son," the Divine Son. See *Zohar* 2:178b (*SdTs*); and Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 146–52.

124. **Holy Lamp** בוצינא קדישא (*Botsina Qaddisha*), the Zoharic title of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. See *Zohar* 1:4a, 156a, 197b; 3:171a; *ZḤ 85d* (*MhN, Rut*).

See 2 Samuel 21:17; *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4; BT *Ketubbot* 17a, where Rabbi Abbahu is called: בוצינא דנהורא (*Botsina di-Nhora*), "Lamp of Light"; and *Berakhot* 28b, where Rabban Yoḥanan son of Zakkai is called נר ישראל (*Ner Yisra'el*), "Lamp of Israel."

125. **world** The lower *sefirot*, which constitute the pattern of all the worlds.

126. תהו (***tohu***), ***chaos*** *Ḥokhmah*, the primordial divine substance representing pure potential, corresponding to the Greek philosophical concept of *hyle*, primordial matter.

127. **When Abraham arrived** Abraham symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, first of the lower *sefirot* emanating from *Binah*.

128. **באברהם (*be-Avraham*)...** According to Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Korḥah (*Bereshit Rabbah* 12:9), בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created*, is an anagram of באברהם (*be-Avraham*), "through Abraham," indicating that the world was created for his sake.

See *Zohar* 1:86b, 91b, 93a, 105b, 128b, 154b, 230b; 3:117a.

129. **Whereas everything was concealed ...אבר (*ever*)...** The letters of the word ברא (*bara*) were rearranged into אבר (*ever*), which not only forms the beginning of אברהם (*Avraham*) but also signifies the male "organ," *Yesod* ("Foundation"), the divine phallus and cosmic pillar.

130. **מי ברא אלה (*Mi vara elleh*)...** *Binah*, known as מי (*Mi*), *Who* (see above, pages 5–9), emanated *elleh* (*these*), the lower *sefirot*. The transition from מי (*mi*) to אלה (*elleh*) corresponds to the transposition of ברא (*bara*) into אבר (*ever*).

131. **מה (*Mah*), *What...*** *Shekhinah* is known as מה (*mah*), *What* (see above, pages 6–9). When מה (*mah*) was added to אבר (*ever*), the name אברהם (*Avraham*) was formed.

132. **אלה (*elleh*) at one end and אבר (*ever*) at the other** The verse *These are the generations of heaven and earth, when they were created* contains אלה (*elleh*), *these*, at one end and אבר (*ever*) (included in the word בהבראם [*be-hibbare'am*],

when they were created) at the other.

133. **As one was completed...** The letters ה (*he*) and מ (*mem*) were added to אבר (*ever*) to complete the name אברהם (*Avraham*); the letters י (*yod*) and מ (*mem*) were added to אלה (*elleh*) to complete the name אלהים (*Elohim*).

134. **until the name of Abraham...** See the remark by Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Korḥah (*Bereshit Rabbah* 12:9) referred to above: בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*) is an anagram of באברהם (*be-Avraham*).

135. ***on the day...*יהוה אלהים** (***YHVH Elohim***)... In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice.

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:35 and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name." Cf. *Zohar* 1:20a, 48b; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

136. **Holy Lamp** Rabbi Shim'on, who had recently died; see above, note 124. On the following passage see Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 19–32.

137. **yet you subsist...** The soul of Rabbi Shim'on endures in the Garden of Eden, and his spiritual power still guides the world.

138. **has not decayed...** The bodies of the righteous do not decay. See BT *Bava Metsi'a* 84b, concerning Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on.

139. **he fasted forty days to envision Rabbi Shim'on** See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 9:10: "Resh Lakish (according to another version: Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi) was longing to see Rabbi Ḥiyya Rabbah [in a dream]. He was told, 'You are not worthy.' 'Why?' he asked. 'Didn't I study Torah as he did?' They replied, 'You did not teach Torah as he did; and not only that, he exiled himself [wandering for the sake of Torah].' He said to them, 'Didn't I exile myself?' They replied, 'You exiled yourself to learn; he exiled himself to teach.' He sat for 300 fasts, and then he [Rabbi Ḥiyya] appeared to him in a dream, saying, 'If someone is a nobody but speaks of himself as though he were somebody—better for him if he had never been created.' Rabbi Assi fasted for thirty days to envision Rabbi Ḥiyya Rabbah but did not see him. He was told, 'You are not worthy.' He said to them, 'Show him to me, and let happen what happens!' He saw his steps [the steps of Rabbi Ḥiyya's throne in heaven], and his eyes grew dim." See JT *Kil'ayim* 9:4, 32b; Lerner, in *Sinai* 59 (1966): 20–21.

In the *Zohar* Rabbi Ḥiyya is no longer the saint whose appearance is sought by fasting, but rather the devotee who seeks. Rabbi Shim'on, who has replaced him as the spiritual hero, welcomes him to heaven.

On Mount Sinai Moses fasted for forty days (Exodus 34:28). According to Rabbi Tanḥum son of Ḥanilai (*Midrash Mishlei* 1:1), Solomon did the same "so that God would give him a spirit of wisdom and understanding." See BT *Bava*

Metsi'a 85a, where Rabbi Yosef is said to have fasted forty fasts, then forty more, then forty more, in order to ensure that Torah not depart from him. On the following page (85b) we read of Rabbi Ḥiyya's glorious state in heaven, a passage that influences the *Zohar*'s description here of Rabbi Shim'on and Rabbi El'azar: "Rabbi Ḥaviva said, 'Rabbi Ḥaviva son of Surmaki told me: "I saw one of the rabbis whom Elijah used to frequent. In the morning his eyes were lovely, but in the evening they looked as if they had been burnt by fire. I asked him, 'What is this?' He told me that he had asked Elijah, 'Show me the [departed] rabbis as they ascend to the Heavenly Academy.' He [Elijah] replied: 'You can gaze at all of them except for the carriage of Rabbi Ḥiyya, at which you cannot gaze.' 'What is their sign? [How can I distinguish between them?]' 'All are accompanied by angels as they ascend and descend, except for Rabbi Ḥiyya's carriage, which ascends and descends on its own.' 'Unable to restrain myself, I gazed at it. Two sparks of fire shot forth and struck that man [i.e., me], blinding him. The next day I went and prostrated myself upon his [Rabbi Ḥiyya's] grave, crying, "Your mishnah is my mishnah," and I was healed.'"'"

On the special relationship between Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Shim'on, see *Zohar* 2:14a (*MhN*). On weeping as a technique for attaining a vision, see Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, 75–88.

140. **the word that Rabbi Yose had spoken** Rabbi Yose had transmitted a teaching of Rabbi Shim'on's concerning בראשית ברא (*Be-reshit bara*). See above, pages 18–20.

141. **wings** Of angels, or "winged beings."

142. **rejuvenate the faces...** See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 1:7: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of Rabbi El'azar said, 'In the time to come, the blessed Holy One will rejuvenate the light of the faces of the righteous, as is said: *But may those that love him be as the sun going forth in its might* (Judges 5:31).'"

143. **in that world** On earth.

144. **O high, hidden, concealed ones...** Referring to the angels or perhaps the souls of the righteous. See *ZḤ 76d* (*MhN, Rut*); and Zechariah 4:10: *the eyes of YHVH roaming the whole earth*.

145. **O low, sleeping ones...** Human beings.

146. **darkness into light...** By acting righteously on earth.

147. **visits the doe** Joins *Shekhinah* and redeems Her from exile. The *Zohar* identifies *Shekhinah* with the *doe of love* (Proverbs 5:19) and *the doe of dawn* (Psalms 22:1). See *Zohar* 2:7b; 3:21b, 25b; JT *Berakhot* 1:1, 2c.

148. **Whoever does not await...** See BT *Shabbat* 31a: "Rava said, 'When a human is led in for judgment, he is asked, "Were you honest in your business dealings, did you set aside time for Torah, did you generate new life, did you

await salvation, did you engage in the dialectics of wisdom, did you understand one thing from another?”’”

149. **saw them being raised to the Academy...** See the passage from BT *Bava Metsi’a* 85b, cited above, note 139. Again, what is said in rabbinic literature about Rabbi Ḥiyya is transferred here to Rabbi Shim’on.

150. **Master of Wings** מארי דגדפי (*Marei de-gadpei*). Apparently Metatron, the chief angel. Cf. Proverbs 1:17; Ecclesiastes 10:20 (in both of which the corresponding Hebrew expression means simply “a winged creature,” “a bird”); BT *Shabbat* 49a (where the title is applied to Elisha, who wore *tefillin* despite a Roman prohibition). Elsewhere in the *Zohar*, the expression means simply “angel.” See 1:44a, 92a, 152a; 2:13a, 122b; 3:80b. At times (e.g., above; 2:171a), גדפין (*gadpin*), “wings,” itself means “angels”; so “the Master of wings” would be the chief angel.

Metatron is often associated with the Heavenly Academy. See BT *Avodah Zarah* 3b; *Bereshit Rabbati* 5:24; *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:115–16); *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:134–35); *Zohar* 2:169b; *ZḤ* 36b (*ST*).

In *Targum Qohelet* 10:20 and *Ma’yan Ḥokhmah* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:60), Elijah is identified as “Master of Wings.” See BT *Bava Metsi’a* 85b, a passage which influences the *Zohar* here (cited above, note 139): “He [Rabbi Ḥaviva] had asked Elijah, ‘Show me the [departed] rabbis as they ascend to the Heavenly Academy.’”

151. **behind the curtain** The curtain concealing God from the world. See BT *Ḥagigah* 15a; *Ma’yan Ḥokhmah* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:60).

152. **He kicks the 390 firmaments** See *Derekh Erets Rabbah*, 2, 56a: “He is one and dwells in 390 firmaments.” The *gimatriyya* of שמים (*shamayim*), “heaven,” is 390.

On kicking the firmament, see BT *Berakhot* 59a; *Zohar* 1:231a; 2:195b–196a; *ZḤ* 53b.

153. **sheds tears over this** Over the exile of *Shekhinah*. See BT *Berakhot* 59a: “When the blessed Holy One remembers His children, who are plunged in suffering among the nations of the world, He sheds two tears into the Great Sea, and His voice resounds from one end of the world to the other.”

See *Zohar* 2:9a, 19a–b (*MhN*), 195b; 3:172a–b; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:133).

154. **Prince of the Ocean** Apparently Leviathan, mentioned below, page 24.

155. **to swallow up all the waters...** See *Tanḥuma*, *Ḥuqqat* 1, and BT *Bava Batra* 74b (in the name of Rav), where God commands the Prince of the Ocean to swallow the chaotic waters of creation. When he refuses, God kicks

and slays him. Here, the prince obeys the divine command.

On the parallel between the waters and the nations, see *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 35, where both gatherings (of the water and of the nations) are peaceful. Cf. *Zohar* 1:119a; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 30–31.

156. **pass through on dry land** Recalling the crossing of the Red Sea. See Micah 7:15: *As in the days when You went forth from the land of Egypt, I will show him wonders*. Cf. Exodus 14:21–22; Isaiah 11:15–16; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 27:4.

157. **he** Rabbi Ḥiyya.

158. **the Academy here** In the Garden of Eden.

159. **setting his seal...** Endorsing their teachings. See *Zohar* 3:173a; *ZḤ* 80b (*MhN, Rut*); BT *Ḥagigah* 15b. The image of sealing Torah originates in Isaiah 8:16: *Bind up the testimony, seal Torah among my disciples*.

160. **He said to him** The Messiah said to Rabbi Shim'on.

161. **370 lights** Apparently the number 300 signifies the three highest *sefirot*, while the number 70 represents the seven lower *sefirot* emanating from them. See *OY; Zohar* 2:14a–b (*MhN*); 3:128b (*IR*). *KP* reads: 390, corresponding to the 390 firmaments.

162. **613 senses** Corresponding to the 613 *mitsvot* of the Torah. See *Zohar* 3:128a (*IR*).

163. **pure balsam** Thirteen rivers of balsam await the righteous in the world that is coming. See BT *Ta'anit* 25a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 62:2. In the *Zohar* (2:127a; 3:181a), the rivers of balsam are the fragrant flow of emanation from *Binah* to *Shekhinah*.

164. **Hezekiah...** King of Judah toward the end of the eighth century B.C.E. According to rabbinic tradition, Hezekiah was extremely devoted to the study and teaching of Torah. See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:8; BT *Sanhedrin* 94b. According to Rabbi Ḥizkiyah (*Bereshit Rabbah* 35:2), there was no need of the covenantal sign of the rainbow in the generations of Hezekiah and of Rabbi Shim'on because of the righteousness of those two figures.

165. **Ahiyah of Shiloh** Ahiyah was the prophet who revealed to King Jeroboam that Solomon's kingdom would be divided (1 Kings 11:29–39). According to rabbinic tradition, he was a master of the secrets of Torah (BT *Sanhedrin* 102a; *Midrash Tehillim* 5:8) and the teacher of Elijah (JT *Eruvin* 5:1, 22b).

Rabbi Shim'on associates himself with Ahiyah in *Bereshit Rabbah* 35:2; *Zohar* 3:287b (*IZ*); *ZḤ* 19a (*MhN*). Hasidic legend portrays Ahiyah as the mentor of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, founder of Hasidism.

166. **I have not come...** Your teachings do not need my confirmation, as

your teachings have been confirmed by God. Rather, I have come to hear the words of Metatron.

167. **told him** Told the Messiah.

168. **clothed in the garb of that world** In a physical body. See the reaction of the angels when Moses ascends to receive the Torah (BT *Shabbat* 88b): "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'When Moses ascended on high, the ministering angels said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! What is one born of woman doing here among us?"'"

169. **"Let him be gathered in"** Let his life on earth come to an end. Cf. the biblical idiom "to be gathered to one's people" (Genesis 25:8; 35:29; 49:29).

170. **together with his sons** The *amo-ra'im* Rabbi Ḥizkiyah and Rabbi Yehudah. In BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b (which, as already noted, influences the *Zohar* here), Elijah compares Rabbi Ḥiyya and his sons with the patriarchs. See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 9:10 (which also influences this *Zohar* passage).

171. **"Let him be granted time"** Let Rabbi Ḥiyya remain alive on earth a while longer. See *ZḤ* 80c (*MhN, Rut*); and *Zohar* 1:217b–218b, where Rabbi Shim'on intercedes with God to spare the life of Rabbi Yitsḥak when it was decreed that he was to die.

The theme of a holy person remaining on earth appears in a contemporary thirteenth-century Spanish hagiography, *Vida de Santa Oria*, composed by Gonzola de Berceo. There St. Orea ascends to heaven and sees her reward as a throne but is told that for now she must return to earth and continue her spiritual practice. See Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 28–29.

172. ***So that I may endow those who love Me with substance...*** According to rabbinic tradition, this verse describes the reward of the righteous in the afterlife. See M *Avot* 5:19; *Uqtsin* 3:12; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana*, *nispaḥim*, *Vezot Haberakhah*, 451; BT *Sanhedrin* 100a; *Zohar* 1:158a, 206a, 242b; 2:166b.

173. **the blessed Holy One** *Tif'eret*.

174. **seventy crowns...** The number seventy appears in the context of revelation in BT *Shabbat* 88b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '... Every utterance emerging from the mouth of Power branched into seventy languages.'" See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 13:16, where Torah is compared to wine: "Just as יין (*yayin*), wine, is numerically equivalent to seventy, so Torah assumes seventy faces."

See *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:116); Ibn Ezra, introduction to Commentary on the Torah; *Zohar* 1:26a (*TZ*), 47b, 54a.

175. **innovated word of wisdom** A new mystical insight, which rises higher than other new interpretations. Cf. *OY*: "One is able to innovate in Torah matters that Moses himself was not permitted to reveal."

176. צדיק (***Tsaddiq***), **Righteous One—Vitality of the Worlds** *Yesod*, who

channels the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah* and the worlds below.

On various senses of the title "Vitality of the Worlds," see Daniel 12:7; *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 16; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:5; Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, § 275; *Zohar* 1:132a, 135b, 167b.

177. **70,000 worlds** Corresponding to the seven lower *sefirot*.

178. **Ancient of Days** עתיק יומין (*Attiq yomin*). See Daniel 7:9: *The Ancient of Days sits, the hair on His head like clean fleece, His throne—flames of fire*. In the *Zohar* this name designates the primordial *sefirah* of *Keter*.

179. **words of the Ancient of Days...** In BT *Pesaḥim* 119a, secrets of Torah are referred to as "things hidden by the Ancient of Days." See the rabbinic blessing in BT *Berakhot* 17a: "May your steps run to hear words of the Ancient of Days."

See BT *Bava Batra* 91b; *Zohar* 1:9a; 2:168a; 3:105b, 138b (*IR*), 232b; and 3:20a: "Rabbi Yose said to Rabbi Ḥiyya, 'Let us engage in words of Torah, in words of the Ancient of Days.'"

180. **eighteen hidden worlds...** Recalling the phrase above, חי עלמין (*ḥei almin*), "vitality of the worlds," describing *Yesod*; the word חי (*ḥei*) has a numerical value of eighteen. See BT *Avodah Zarah* 3b: "Rabbi Abba said to Rabbi Naḥman son of Yitsḥak, '...What does [God] do at night?... He rides his light cherub and sails through 18,000 worlds.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You will do for one who awaits You*]... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [those who succeed in turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

181. **370,000...** An allusion to the three higher *sefirot* (3 × 100,000) and seven lower *sefirot* (7 × 10,000). See *Zohar* 1:4b; 2:14a–b (*MhN*); 3:128b (*IR*).

182. **all other innovated words of Torah** Nonmystical insights.

183. ***earths of the living...* one earth** *Shekhinah* is the singular "earth of the living," who is adorned and renewed by human insights of Torah, which have been transformed into planetoids, miniature *earths of the living* orbiting Her.

184. **The verse does not read *I have made*** In the past tense, referring to the original creation of heaven and earth.

185. **The verse does not read *the heavens*...** The reference is not to the existing heavens, but to new heavens. See BT *Sanhedrin* 99b: "Rav said, '[Concerning one who studies Torah for her own sake,] it is as though he built heavenly and earthly palaces, as is written: *I have put My words in your mouth and covered you with the shadow of My hand, to plant heavens and establish*

earth.'" Rabbi Shim'on amplifies this teaching and radicalizes it; note how the phrase "it is as though" has disappeared.

186. **angels came to scorch him...** Jealous that a mere mortal dared to enter the celestial realm. See *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20: "When Moses ascended on high... a band of angels of destruction... sought to scorch him with the breath of their mouths. What did the blessed Holy One do? He spread over him some of His splendor."

See *Ma'yan Ḥokhmah* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:58–60); and BT *Shabbat* 88b: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'When Moses ascended on high, the ministering angels said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! What is one born of woman doing here among us?" He answered, "He has come to receive Torah." They said, "That precious treasure hidden by You for 974 generations before the world was created, You desire to give to flesh and blood! *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?*" (Psalms 8:5). "Answer them," said the blessed Holy One to Moses. "Master of the Universe," he replied, "I fear they could scorch me with the breath of their mouths." He said, "Grasp My throne of Glory, and answer them.... Rabbi Naḥman observed, 'This teaches that the Almighty spread some of the luster of His *Shekhinah* and His cloud over him.'" See *Zohar* 2:58a, 156b.

187. **every word concealed...** See BT *Ta'anit* 8b: "Blessing is not found in anything weighed, measured, or counted, but only in that which is hidden from the eye." Cf. *Zohar* 1:64b, 202a.

188. ***Zion*... gates... distinguished words** In BT *Berakhot* 8a, the phrase *gates of* ציון (*Tsiyyon*), *Zion* (Psalms 87:2) is interpreted in the name of Rav Ḥisda as "gates מצויינים (*metsuyyanim*), distinguished, by *halakhah*." Based on this passage, Rabbi Shim'on identifies original interpretations of Torah as Zion.

189. ***man of perversity...*** Samael, the male demon who schemes and accuses falsely.

190. **chasm of the immense abyss** The abode of demons.

191. **parasangs** The Greek parasang equals about 3.5 miles.

192. **in one glide** The distorted heaven empowers Samael, providing him a fast celestial highway.

193. ***woman of whoredom*** Lilith, the female demon, wife of Samael. Together they comprise *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side." See *Zohar* 1:148a (*ST*); 2:245a; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

194. **in a single moment** See BT *Berakhot* 4b: "A *tanna* taught: 'Michael [reaches his destination] in one [glide], Gabriel in two, Elijah in four, and the Angel of Death in eight—in time of plague, however, in one.'"

195. ***Woe unto them...*** See BT *Sukkah* 52a: "Rabbi Assi said, 'The evil

impulse at first resembles the thread of a spider but ultimately it resembles cart ropes, as is said: *Woe unto them who haul iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as with a cart rope*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a.

196. **He** The sinner or the distorted heaven.

197. **A disciple unqualified...** See BT *Sotah* 22a: "Rav said, 'What is the meaning of the verse *Many are those she has struck dead, numerous are her slain? Many are those she has struck dead*—this refers to a disciple unqualified to teach [to decide questions of law] who teaches. *Numerous are her slain*—this refers to a disciple qualified to teach who does not.'"

198. **from a lofty tree** From a recognized authority. See the similar expression: "from high tamarisks" (BT *Beitsah* 27a). One of the five things that the imprisoned Rabbi Akiva taught Rabbi Shim'on (BT *Pesaḥim* 112a) was: "If you want to be strangled, then be hanged on a large tree," which according to Rashi (ad loc.) means: If you must depend on an authority, see that it is a great one.

See *Kallah Rabbati*, 2; *Zohar* 2:87a; 3:76a–b; and BT *Berakhot* 27b: "Rabbi Eli'ezer says, '... One who says something that he has not heard from his teacher causes *Shekhinah* to depart from Israel.'"

The conservative attitude here contrasts with the preceding encouragement to innovate. See *OY* and *KP*.

199. **slay multitudes without cause** Righteous and sinful die together in the plagues and disease brought by Lilith.

200. **With Torah... This has been established...** According to M *Avot* 3:14, Torah is the "precious instrument by which the world was created." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1: "Rabbi Osha'ya opened, '*I was with Him as* אמון (*amon*), *a nursling*...אמון (*amon*)—אומן (*umman*), *an artisan*. Torah says, "I was the artistic tool of the blessed Holy One."... The blessed Holy One gazed into Torah and created the world.'"

See *Zohar* 1:47a, 134a–b; 2:161a–b; 3:35b; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:243–45.

201. **then spoke...** Only after perusing Torah did God proclaim her words, thereby creating the world.

202. **not to err...** But rather to imitate God and study Torah thoroughly. Cf. BT *Eruvin* 54b: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'One must teach his student four times.'"

203. ***Then He saw... declared... arranged... probed...*** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:5. The four verbs correspond to the four times that God gazed into Torah, perhaps also to the four methods of interpretation: literal, allegorical, midrashic, and mystical. After creating the world, God *told humanity* to imitate Him by studying Torah intensively.

204. **corresponding to those four times...** Apparently a reference to the

four worlds, containing respectively the *sefirot*, the Chariot, the angels, and the physical world.

205. **Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lekonya, his father-in-law** See the similar setting in *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 11:20: "Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on was going to Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yose son of Lekonya, his father-in-law...." According to this rabbinic tradition, El'azar's father-in-law was named Shim'on son of Yose.

See JT *Ma'aserot* 3:8, 50d; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:11; *Devarim Rabbah* 7:11; *Seder ha-Dorot*, s.v. Shim'on ben Yose ben Lekonya. (In BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85a the name of Rabbi El'azar's brother-in-law is given as Rabbi Shim'on son of Issi [Yose] son of Lekonya, which would make Yose his father-in-law, as here in the *Zohar*, but nowhere in rabbinic literature is he named Yose son of Shim'on.)

The author(s) of the *Zohar* consistently switches father and son, transforming Shim'on son of Yose into Yose son of Shim'on. See 1:61b, 143b; 3:84b, 188a, 193a; *ZḤ* 10d, 14a (*MhN*), 22c (*MhN*). El'azar's own father, of course, is Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. Note who accompanies Rabbi El'azar: Rabbi Abba ("father"). Soon another father and son appear.

206. **In six days...** The six days of Creation correspond to six primordial days, the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, through which God fashioned the world. Each sefirotic day displayed its creative power on the corresponding day of the week.

207. **On the fourth day** Corresponding to *Shekhinah*. Although usually pictured as seventh of the lower *sefirot*, She can also be characterized as the fourth primordial day (the middle of the cosmic week), completing the triad of *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. *Shekhinah* actualizes the potential of the other *sefirot*.

208. **three ethereal elements** According to Empedocles and later Greek and medieval thought, the four elements—water, fire, air, and earth—are the ultimate root of all things. By their combination and separation, everything in nature comes into being and passes away.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 3:3; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 4:1. In the *Zohar*, the four elements symbolize the quartet of *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret,* and *Shekhinah.*

209. **included in the third...** The third primordial day is *Tif'eret*, the male *sefirah*. The activity of the female, *Shekhinah*, symbolized by earth, took place on the fourth day but is included in His day to ensure and demonstrate their union.

210. **From the fourth day on... an artisan...** Beginning on the fourth day, the lower triad of *sefirot* emerged: *Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*. These three artisans completed the work of the preceding skilled trio: *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. See

OY.

211. **fourth leg...** The four *sefirot* (*Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, *Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*), the four elements, also constitute the four legs of the divine throne upon which sits *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:20a.

212. **earlier and later days... Sabbath** *Shekhinah* completes the triad of *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, as well as the next triad: *Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*. She is the Sabbath, culmination of the primordial week of Creation.

213. ***included*** ויכל (*Vaykhal*), "And He completed," from the root כלה (*klh*). Rabbi El'azar understands this word in light of the related root כלל (*kll*), "include, comprise, gather."

214. **Sabbath of Sabbath eve...** There are two aspects of the Sabbath: the feminine Sabbath eve, symbolized by *Shekhinah*, and the masculine Sabbath day, symbolized by *Tif'eret* or *Yesod*. Cf. Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 110.

215. **rambling donkey-driver** טייעא (*Tayya'a*), "Arab," Arabian caravanner, derived from the name of the Arabian tribe *Ṭayyi'*. The prophet Elijah returns to earth to appear as a *tayya'a* in BT *Berakhot* 6b, and as an ערבי (*aravi*), "Arab" in *Rut Zuta* 1:20; 4:11. See *Rosh ha-Shanah* 26b; *Yevamot* 120b; *Bava Batra* 73b; *Sanhedrin* 110a; *Ḥullin* 7a.

In the *Zohar*, *tayya'a* indicates one of several wandering donkey-drivers who annoy, perplex, and enlighten the Companions on the road. See 2:45b, 94b–114a, 145b, 155b–157a; 3:21a–23a, 186b; *ZḤ* 83a–d (*MhN, Rut*); *TZ* 23, 69a. Cf. *Tosefta, Ḥagigah* 2:1 (BT *Ḥagigah* 14b; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a); BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 25a–b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:10; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:3; Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 248–54; Pushinski, in *Yavneh* 2 (1940): 140–47; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 46; idem, *Kabbalah*, 227.

216. ***My sanctuary...*** The continuation of the verse with which Rabbi El'azar opened: *My Sabbaths you are to observe...* (Leviticus 19:30).

217. **את** (***Et***) Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a–b; *Zohar* 1:79b, 247a; 2:90a, 135b.

218. **amplifies the meaning to include** לאסגאה (*Le-asga'ah*), "To increase," a Zoharic rendering of the rabbinic Hebrew לרבות (*le-rabbot*), "to increase"—that is, to include, amplify, or widen the scope of meaning.

219. **2000 cubits...** The traditional limitation on how far one may walk beyond the city limits on the Sabbath. See *Mekhilta, Vayassa 6*; cf. *Zohar* 2:207a. Here it refers to the range of holiness beyond the realm of the *sefirot*;

according to *KP*, the feet of the divine chariot.

220. **the higher Sabbath... the lower Sabbath** The higher Sabbath is *Binah*, the seventh *sefirah* counting up from *Yesod*. The lower Sabbath is *Yesod*, the seventh *sefirah* counting down from *Binah*.

221. **Another Sabbath** Sabbath eve, symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

222. **there can be no day...** The sefirotic day of *Yesod* needs the night of *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 11:8, where according to Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai, the Sabbath complains to God that she has no partner among the days of the week, and she is told: "The Assembly of Israel is your partner." See BT *Ḥullin* 60b.

223. **who is awe...** The "Sabbath of Sabbath eve" (Friday night) is *Shekhinah*, who conveys the attribute of Judgment, inspiring awe and fear. The *sefirah* of *Ḥokhmah*, the father of *Shekhinah*, is also called "awe" and is reflected in His daughter, who is lower *Ḥokhmah*.

224. ***I am YHVH*** The full verse reads: *My Sabbaths you are to observe, My sanctuary you are to hold in awe, I am YHVH* (Leviticus 19:30). Through *Shekhinah*, God reveals the full spectrum of divine personality and is thus called *I*. In this phrase, *I* is joined with *YHVH* (*Tif'eret*). *Shekhinah* manifests in both sacred time (*Sabbath*) and sacred space (*sanctuary*).

225. **circle with a square inscribed within** The phrase derives from BT *Eruvin* 76b; cf. *Bahir* 83 (114–16). Here the reference is to the higher *sefirot* (beginning with *Binah* and culminating in *Yesod*) and *Shekhinah*.

See *KP*; Scholem. Cf. *Zohar* 2:127a, where the circle of the letter ס (*samekh*) symbolizes *Binah*, while the square of the letter ם (final *mem*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

226. ויכלו (***Vaykhullu***)... The opening lines of the *qiddush* ("hallowing, sanctification"), the prayer recited over wine Friday evening to hallow the Sabbath.

227. קדוש (***qiddush***)... The rest of the prayer, which includes the blessing over wine and the blessing of hallowing the Sabbath.

228. **in the *qiddush* that we recite... thirty-five words** This total requires the omission of the following ten words from the *qiddush*: כי הוא יום (*ki hu yom*), "for it is the day," and כי בנו בחרת ואותנו קדשת מכל העמים (*ki vanu vaḥarta ve-otanu qiddashta mi-kol ha-ammim*), "for You have chosen us and hallowed us from among all nations."

See Scholem, 493 (unnumbered); Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 63, 138–39, n. 159. The *Zohar*'s phrase "that we recite" indicates a particular custom, which differs from the standard *qiddush*.

229. **seventy names...** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12; Naḥmanides, *Kitvei Ramban*, 1:135; cf. *Zohar* 2:207b. For various lists of these names, see *Alfa*

Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:350–51); *Shir ha-Shirim Zuta* 1:1; *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 46:8; and *Ba'al ha-Turim*, Numbers 11:16.

230. **Assembly of Israel...** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:1. In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

231. **they are both included...** Both aspects of the Sabbath, the masculine *Yesod* and the feminine *Shekhinah*, are included in the feminine, which is signified by the opening word of the fourth of the Ten Commandments: שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe, the Sabbath day to keep it holy*. This word signifies the feminine because the other version of the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:8) reads: זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember, the Sabbath day*, and זכור (*zakhor*) suggests זכר (*zakhar*), "male." In the verse in Leviticus 19, the plural verb תשמורו (*tishmoru*), *you are to observe*, indicates the union of male and female.

See BT *Berakhot* 20b; *Bahir* 124 (182); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 496–97; Naḥmanides on Exodus 20:8; *Zohar* 1:47b, 48b, 164b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 118.

232. **completed by זכור** (***zakhor***) *Binah*, the supreme King and higher Sabbath, finds its completion in the masculine *sefirah* of *Yesod*, signified by זכור (*zakhor*), which implies זכר (*zakhar*), "male." Although often depicted as the Divine Mother, *Binah* is also described as "World of the Male," encompassing the entire configuration of *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. Together they constitute a masculine entity ready to join *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:96a, 147a, 149a, 160b, 246a, 248b; 2:127b; *ZḤ* 72b (*ShS*). Cf. 1:17b, 46b, 163a; 2:4a.

233. **'the King who possesses peace'...** In midrashic literature this phrase is applied to God. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 1:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:2. Here it designates *Binah*, who contains *Yesod*, who is called "peace" either because He mediates between the right and left poles of the *sefirot*, or because He unites *Tif'eret* with *Shekhinah*. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home."

234. **two peaces below...** Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*; Joseph symbolizes *Yesod*, the divine phallus, since he withstood the test of sexual temptation in Egypt (Genesis 39). See *TZ* 21, 43b, 45b. Both of these mediate between right and left, and unite with *Shekhinah*, insuring peace in the sefirotic realm.

235. ***From afar, YHVH appeared...*** *Tif'eret*, who is called *YHVH*, appeared *from afar*. See Rashi, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:120a.

236. ***His sister stood far off*** Miriam, the subject of the sentence, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who faces *Tif'eret*. See BT *Sotah* 11a.

237. ***from nearby*** Idiomatic for "recently." Joseph, *Yesod*, represents a more recent emanation than Jacob, *Tif'eret*. This citation is striking, since the verse in Deuteronomy refers to false gods.

238. ***From afar* is the highest point...** *Ḥokhmah*, the primordial point of emanation, is situated in the palace of *Binah*. *Tif'eret* issues from them, *from afar*.

239. **So it is written...שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe*** Referring back to the two Sabbaths, *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, who are indicated together by the plural verb תשמורו (*Tishmoru*), *You are to observe*.

240. **point standing in the center** The central point of *Shekhinah* inside the square inscribed within the circle.

See *Zohar* 2:204a–b; 3:250a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 110; Joseph Gikatilla, cited in Elijah de Vidas, *Reshit Ḥokhmah, Sha'ar ha-Qedushah*, 2. On the Sabbath as sacred center, see Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 85–92.

241. **Whoever enters... damages it** Profaning the Sabbath damages the core of *Shekhinah*. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 332–35; idem, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 111.

242. **called** *I* *Shekhinah*, who fully expresses the personality of God, is called *I*.

243. **that high concealed one...** *Tif'eret*, more concealed than *Shekhinah*.

244. **all is one** The conclusion of the verse, *I am YHVH*, indicates that *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* are united.

245. **dismounted** Out of respect for the sanctity of Torah. See *Tosefta*, *Ḥagigah* 2:1, where Yoḥanan son of Zakkai dismounts from his donkey to hear an exposition of *ma'aseh merkavah*, "the account of the chariot," from El'azar son of Arakh, who had been driving the donkey from behind.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 14b; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; *Zohar* 1:160a.

246. **to be bound together...** These three letters spell the word כיס (*kis*), "pocket." If all three had joined together, then the wandering donkey-driver would have been wealthy, but such was not the case.

247. **כף (*Kaf*) did not want...** כף (*Kaf*) wanted to remain at the head of the word כסא (*kisse*), the divine "throne." See above, pages 14–15 (transmitted in the name of Rav Hamnuna Sava), where the throne begins to tremble when כף (*kaf*) descends from it.

248. **סמך (*Samekh*) did not want...** The letter סמך (*samekh*) stands for the word

סומך (*somekh*), "supporting." See above, page 14, where God tells her: "You are needed where you are; do not move! If you leave, what would happen to the fallen, who depend on you?"

249. **יש** (***yesh***), **substance...** Composed of the two letters יוד (*yod*) and שין (*shin*). יש (*Yesh*) designates the flow of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") and *Binah* ("Understanding"), which is the ultimate substance, more valuable than wealth.

The *gimatriyya* of יש (*yesh*) is 310, and according to Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi (M *Uqtsin* 3:12), "In the world to come, the blessed Holy One will endow every righteous person with 310 worlds, as is written: *So that I may endow those who love Me with* יש (*yesh*), *substance, and fill their treasuries* (Proverbs 8:21)." See Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 93a–b.

250. **until the one driving...** Until the Messiah arrives riding on a donkey. See Zechariah 9:9: *Behold, your king is coming to you. He is righteous and triumphant, humble* [or: *poor*] *and riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of an ass*.

251. **tower soaring in the air...** The expression originates in the Talmud (BT *Ḥagigah* 15b; *Sanhedrin* 106b), where the phrase *counter of the towers* (Isaiah 33:18) is interpreted as: "one who counted 300 fixed laws concerning a tower soaring in the air." The laws are apparently laws of defilement (see M *Oholot* 4:1). Rashi (on both Talmudic passages) offers several interpretations, including one from his teacher that the tower refers to the letter ל (*lamed*), highest letter of the alphabet. Todros Abulafia, in *Otsar ha-Kavod*, discusses this interpretation of the *Ḥagigah* passage (ad loc.); cf. *Shoshan Sodot*, 108. In several Qumran texts the ל (*lamed*) is written above the normal line of letters. See Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts*, 1:127, 143.

In the *Zohar*, the tower is *Binah*, towering over the lower *sefirot*. See 2:91a, 102a; *ZḤ* 58a, 70a (*ShS*), and 66a–b (*ShS*), where the connection between ל (*lamed*) and the tower is cited from the Book of Rav Hamnuna Sava. Cf. Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 89–90 (112–14); *Zohar* 1:9a, 37b, 96b; 3:164a–b.

252. **the blessed Holy One and a certain poor person** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who is poor in the sense that She has no emanation of Her own but receives emanation from the other *sefirot*. These two *sefirot* are joined in the tower of *Binah*, the ל (*lamed*). According to Todros Abulafia, *Otsar ha-Kavod*, *Ḥagigah* 15b, the ל (*lamed*) is composed of the two letters ד (*dalet*) and ו (*vav*). In Kabbalah ד (*dalet*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is דלה (*dallah*), "poor," while ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who joins with the five *sefirot* around Him (*Ḥesed, Gevurah, Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*) to form the sixfold sefirotic torso. The three letters joined together spell לוד (*Lod*), the city of Lydda (cf. *KP*), and the donkey-driver

is apparently hinting that on the material plane he resides there. On the messianic implication of "poor," see Zechariah 9:9, cited above, note 250.

253. **It is not my habit to boast...** See *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 1945 (ed. Margaliot, par. 522): "A person whose father is called 'Rabbi,' e.g., 'Rabbi Ya'akov,' and his son [i.e., he himself] is called 'Reu'ven,' should not sign his name 'Reu'ven son of Rabbi Ya'akov,' but rather simply 'Reu'ven.'"

254. **fish** נונא (*Nuna*), swimming in the ocean of Torah. Sefirotically, the fish is *Yesod*, swimming the ocean of divinity.

255. **like an arrow...** See Psalms 127:4: *Like arrows in the hand of a warrior, so are the children of one's youth*. Cf. BT *Ḥagigah* 15a: "Shemu'el said, 'Any emission of semen that does not shoot forth like an arrow does not fructify.'"

256. **Holy Lamp** בוצינא קדישא (*Botsina Qaddisha*), the title usually reserved by the *Zohar* for Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. See above, note 124.

257. **Rav Hamnuna Sava** Rav Hamnuna the Elder, a Babylonian teacher who lived in the third century, though the *Zohar* assumes that he died in the lifetime of Rabbi Shim'on, before the story related here. The donkey-driver had hinted at the name Hamnuna by saying that his father was a נונא (*nuna*), "fish."

See *Zohar* 3:187a; *Tosafot*, *Qiddushin* 25a, s.v. *hamnuna karnuna; Bereshit Rabbah* 97:3. The fish carries messianic overtones in both Judaism and Christianity; see Stroumsa, "The Early Christian Fish Symbol Reconsidered."

In the Talmud Rav Hamnuna occasionally transmits teachings of Rabbi Shim'on (e.g., BT *Ḥullin* 21a; *Temurah* 15a), and several prayers are attributed to him (BT *Berakhot* 11b, 17a, 58a). Cf. BT *Gittin* 39b. In the *Zohar* roles are reversed and Rabbi Shim'on cites Rav Hamnuna (e.g., 1:8a–b). Throughout the *Zohar* Hamnuna is greatly revered, and several original ritual acts are attributed to him.

See 1:240a, 250a; 2:88a, 124a, 136b; 3:87b, 103b, 145b (*IR*), 188a; Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, 68; idem, *Major Trends*, 368, n. 134; Liebes, in *Eshel Be'er Sheva* 4 (1996): 198–201; Goldreich, in *Massu'ot*, 486–91.

258. ***Benayahu son of Yehoyada*** The verse continues: *son of a living man, abounding in deeds, from Qavtse'el. He smote the two Ariel of Moab. He went down and slew the lion within the pit on a snowy day*. The donkey-driver begins to answer the question of his identity with a verse about Benayahu, a loyal follower of King David, one of the heroes mentioned in 2 Samuel 23.

259. **This verse has been established** See BT *Berakhot* 18a–b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya said..., '*Son of a living man*. Are all other people then sons of dead men? Rather, *son of a living man*, for even in his death he was called *living*...'"

Cf. Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Tsedeq*, 7a; *Zohar* 1:132a, 136a.

260. **the name prevails...צדיק** (***Tsaddiq***), **Righteous One...** The name בניהו (*Bena-yahu*) indicates *Yesod*, who is בן (*ben*), "son of," יהו (*yod, he, vav*), three letters symbolizing *Ḥokhmah, Binah*, and *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 1:136a, 164a.

Yesod, "Vitality of the Worlds," animates all of existence. On various senses of this title see above, note 176. On the notion that "the name prevails," see BT *Berakhot* 7b; *Zohar* 1:58b; 2:179b.

261. ***Master of deeds*** The donkey-driver interprets the biblical word רב (*rav*), *abounding*, according to its alternate meaning: "master."

262. **insignia of all His hosts** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a, in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan: "He is the insignia among His myriad." Cf. *Zohar* 2:232a.

263. **this grand and dignified tree...** *Yesod*, often identified with the Tree of Life.

264. ***Qavtse'el*** The root קבץ (*qvts*) means "to gather," and *Qavtse'el* refers to *Binah*, who gathers in the upper light of *Ḥokhmah*.

265. ***no eye has seen*** The verse continues: O *God, but You, what You will do for one who awaits You*. See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You will do for one who awaits You*]... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [those who succeed in turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

In the *Zohar* this verse often refers to *Binah*, who is identified with "the world that is coming." See 1:4b; 2:97b, 163a; above, note 19.

266. **holy, hidden palace...** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, contains within Herself— and then gives birth to—all the lower *sefirot*.

267. ***two Ariel...*** **Two sanctuaries...** The meaning of the word *Ariel* in the verse in Samuel is unclear. In Ezekiel 43:15–16 it apparently means "hearth" of an altar; in Isaiah 29:1 the name is applied to Jerusalem. In rabbinic sources *Ariel of Moab* refers to the Temple, since King David was descended from Ruth the Moabite. See M *Middot* 4:7; and BT *Berakhot* 18a–b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya said..., '*He smote the two Ariel of Moab*, for he did not leave his like in either the First Temple or the Second.'"

268. **Holy Throne fell** *Shekhinah* fell into exile.

269. **that rung called *I*** *Shekhinah*, who reveals the full spectrum of divine personality.

270. ***River Kevar...*** **River of Already** The prophet Ezekiel experienced his vision by the River Kevar, a stream near Nippur in Babylon. In Hebrew, though, the word כבר (*kevar*) means "already," "long ago." The point here is that the river

of *Yesod* was of the past and had ceased to flow, causing the destruction of the Temple and the exile of *Shekhinah*.

See *Re'uyyot Yeḥhezqel*, ed. Gruenwald, in *Temirin* 1 (1972): 111–14; Matt, *Essential Kabbalah*, 126, 205; *Zohar* 1:85a, 149a–b.

271. ***A river dries up and is parched*** See *Zohar* 1:26a (*TZ*), 67a; 2:166b; 3:150b.

272. **originated... were destroyed...** The two Temples came into being through the flow of divine emanation, and when that flow ceased they were destroyed.

273. ***He went down and slew the lion*** The verse continues: *within the pit on a snowy day*.

274. **image of a lion...** See BT *Yoma* 21b: "Five things were reported about the fire of the pile of wood on the Temple altar: it crouched like a lion, it was as clear as sunlight, its flame was of substance, it devoured wet wood like dry wood, and it caused no smoke to rise." Cf. *Zohar* 3:32b, 211a, 241a; Todros Abulafia, *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, 90.

275. **dogs** The demonic powers.

276. **He descended...** Sin severed the connection between *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, and the flow of emanation became available to "the rungs below," the demonic forces. The holy lion no longer received its prey and was thus killed, as it were, by *Yesod*.

277. **evil Other Side** סטרא אחרא בישא (*Sitra aḥra bisha*), the demonic realm, which represents the shadow of the divine.

278. **אוריאל** (***Uri'el***)... Literally, "God is my light," though here connected by the *Zohar* with the similar-sounding אריה (*aryeh*), "lion" and with אריאל (Ariel), symbol of the Temple. Uriel is one of the four angels of the Presence (along with Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael), who surround the divine throne. In Kabbalah these angels of the Presence are identified with the four holy creatures seen by Ezekiel. Uriel appears sometimes as the figure of the eagle, sometimes as the lion.

See 1 Enoch 9:1; 2 Esdras 4:1; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 46; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 2:10; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:39); cf. *Zohar* 3:32b, 211a.

279. **name of that dog? בלאדן** (***Bal'adan***)... The name derives from Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon (722–710 B.C.E.), with whom King Hezekiah of Judea had contact. See 2 Kings 20:12–13; Isaiah 39:1–2, where he is named Merodach Baladan son of Baladan. On this the Talmud (BT *Sanhedrin* 96a) comments: "Why was he called [Merodach-]Baladan the son of Baladan? It has been told: Baladan was a king whose face turned into that of a dog, so his son sat upon his throne instead. In his documents he wrote his own name and the name

of his father, King Baladan." Baladan's dog-face is probably a rabbinic explanation of the dogs seen on Assyrian-Babylonian monuments (Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:368, n. 82).

Here בלאדן (*Bal'adan*) is a demonic figure whose name is taken to mean: אדם בל (*bal adam*), "not human." *KP* refers to non-Jewish magical traditions concerning בילאד (*Bil'ad*), prince of the demons. See *OY; Shoshan Sodot*, 104; Scholem, in *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* 1 (1926): 112–27. In the continuation of the passage cited above (note 274), BT *Yoma* 21b observes that in the First Temple the fire on the altar appeared crouching like a lion, while in the Second Temple it crouched like a dog. See *Zohar* 3:32b, 211a.

Here the donkey-driver blends several of these traditions to describe a demonic figure with the face of a dog who is empowered to devour the sacrifices.

280. ***On a snowy day...* sins... judgment...** Water symbolizes *Ḥesed*, but snow symbolizes *Gevurah* and *Din* ("Judgment"), the congealing and hardening of water. See *Zohar* 1:16a; and *Aggadat Olam Qatan* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 5:58): "Snow is human sin." According to rabbinic literature, the yearlong punishment of the wicked in Hell is equally divided between fire and snow. See JT *Sanhedrin* 10:3, 29b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 10:4; *Zohar* 1:62b, 68b, 107b, 238b.

In *Zohar* 2:97b, 104a, 109a, the donkey-driver who confounds the rabbis refers cryptically to a snowy day on which he and Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai "sowed beans in fifty-two colors," alluding to the fifty-two-letter name of God and to the word בן (*ben*), "son," whose *gimatriyya* is fifty-two. See Liebes, in *Eshel Be'er Sheva* 4 (1996): 200.

281. ***She is not afraid...*** The *She* of Proverbs 31 is understood as *Shekhinah*, who does not fear the power of *Din* ("Judgment").

282. ***clothed in crimson...*** *Shekhinah* has an affinity with *Gevurah* and *Din*, symbolized by the color red, and She executes the decrees of Judgment, so She does not fear Judgment's fire or snow. See *Zohar* 1:238b.

283. **He** *Yesod*.

284. **the light of that light... Moses** Moses attained the *sefirah* of *Tif'eret* and transmitted some of its light.

285. ***'An Egyptian man...'*** A description of Moses given by Jethro's daughters to their father after Moses rescued them from aggressive shepherds.

286. **There ... there ... there ...** In Egypt. See *Zohar* 2:34a.

287. ומראה (***u-mar'eh***), ***in appearance...*** In plain sight. God appears to Moses directly, unlike the experience of other prophets.

288. ***Man of Elohim*—husband, as it were, of that** מראה (***mar'eh***)...

Shekhinah is the מראה (*mar'eh*), *appearance of the Presence of* *YHVH*, the site of divine manifestation. She is also known as *Elohim*. Moses is on such intimate terms with *Shekhinah* that he is called Her husband, as indicated by his title: *Man of* *Elohim* (Deuteronomy 33:1; Psalms 90:1).

See *Midrash Tehillim* 90:5; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim, Vezot Haberakhah*, 443–44, 448 (variants); *Tanḥuma, Vezot Haberakhah* 2 (*Ets Yosef*, ad loc.); *Devarim Rabbah* (Lieberman), on 33:1; *Zohar* 1:21b–22a, 148a, 152a–b, 236b, 239a; 2:22b, 235b, 238b, 244b (*Heikh*).

According to rabbinic tradition, after encountering God on Mount Sinai, Moses abstained from sexual contact with his wife and maintained union with *Shekhinah*.

See *Sifrei*, Numbers 99; BT *Shabbat* 87a; *Tanḥuma, Tsav* 13; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 7:6; *Zohar* 1:22a, 152b, 234b; 2:222a; 3:148a, 180a.

289. **staff of God, handed down to him** The staff with which Moses performed miracles before Pharaoh, split the Red Sea, and struck the rock to produce water. According to *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 40, the rod had previously been in the possession of Adam, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Jethro. See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 2:21; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:106, n. 600.

290. **staff created on the eve of Sabbath...** One of the ten things created in the last moments of the week of Creation, just before the first Sabbath began. See M *Avot* 5:6.

291. **engraved with the holy name** The Ineffable Name, *YHVH*. See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 2:21; *Devarim Rabbah* 3:8; *Midrash Tehillim* 114:9; *Sefer ha-Yashar, Shemot*, 307; *Zohar* 2:28a, 48a.

292. ***He went down to him with a club*** The verse continues: *and wrenched the spear out of the Egyptian's hand and killed him with his own spear*. As the donkey-driver interprets the verse, the subject, Benayahu, is really *Yesod*, who confronts Moses the Egyptian. See *Zohar* 2:114b (*RM*).

293. ***And killed him with his own spear* ...that staff** Benayahu killed Moses the Egyptian *with* Moses' own staff, i.e., because of Moses' own misuse of the staff. The notion that Moses was an Egyptian who was killed by an Israelite foreshadows Freud's thesis. See Amado Lévy-Valensi, *Le Moïse de Freud*; Goldreich, in *Massu'ot*, 486–87.

294. ***From the thirty, he was most honored*** The verse continues: *but the three he did not attain. David set him over his guard*. The actual biblical verse does not include the word *most* (הכי [*ha-khi*]). Apparently the *Zohar*'s author or a later scribe replaced this phrase with a different one, several verses earlier,

describing another of King David's warriors, Avishai: *Of the three, he was most honored* (2 Samuel 23:19). See *Zohar* 1:105b.

295. **thirty celestial years** The three *sefirot Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret* each reflect the full decade of the *sefirot*; so together They form a total of thirty, which flow into and through *Yesod*. See Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 48a.

296. **They approached Him...** The highest triad of *sefirot, Keter, Ḥokhmah,* and *Binah,* emanate to *Yesod*, but He has no direct contact with Them.

297. ***David set him... bodyguard...*** King David, who symbolizes *Shekhinah*, yearns to unite with *Yesod*. *Bodyguard* renders the Hebrew משמעתו (*mishma'ato*), "his obedient band," from the root שמע (*shm'*), "to hear."

Liebes (oral communication) suggests that the use of the word in this passage is influenced by the Arabic Sufi term *sama*, "hearing," the ecstatic song and dance of the Dervishes. Note the following reference to "songs and love." One Sufi defense of *sama* invokes the Koranic tradition (34:10) that David sang praises to God (*Encyclopedia of Religion*, 13:30–31). See Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 178–86.

298. **moon... sun** *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Yesod*.

299. **On whatever path... with words of Torah...** See M *Avot* 3:2: "Rabbi Ḥananya son of Teradyon said, '... If two are sitting engaged in words of Torah, *Shekhinah* dwells between them.'" Here the seekers are walking, not sitting, and they are visited not by *Shekhinah*, but by a righteous soul who has reincarnated and comes to puzzle and enlighten them.

On the importance of engaging in Torah while on a journey, see Deuteronomy 6:7; BT *Eruvin* 54a; *Ta'anit* 10b; *Zohar* 1:58b, 69b–70a, 76a, 87a, 115b.

300. **Rav Hamnuna Sava** Earlier, the donkey-driver had hinted at the name Hamnuna when he said that his father was a נונא (*nuna*), "fish" (above, page 37). The rabbis concluded that he was the son of the late Hamnuna, but now they realize that he was really Hamnuna himself, reincarnated as a lowly donkey-driver. Father and son are one and the same. Hamnuna's reincarnation is referred to (by his son) in *Zohar* 3:186a–88a; cf. *Zohar* 2:94b–95a; *ZḤ* 97b–c (*Tiq*).

According to BT *Berakhot* 18a–b, the phrase *son of a living man* (2 Samuel 23:20) describing Benayahu refers to the fact that Benayahu (or the righteous in general) are called *living* even in death. In the *Zohar*, Rav Hamnuna, the donkey-driver, embodies Benayahu anew.

301. ***memory...*** זכר (*Zekher*), connected by Rabbi El'azar with זכר (*zakhar*), "male," denoting *Yesod*, the divine male who transmits the flow of emanation from the upper *sefirot* to *Shekhinah*. The cited verse is fitting because *Yesod* is also known as "good."

302. **world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends."

In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

303. **Vitality of the Worlds** *Yesod*, who channels the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah* and the worlds below. On this title, see above, note 176.

304. ***house of Israel*** *Shekhinah*, also known as Assembly of Israel. See above, note 230.

305. מה (***Mah***), ***How,* as has been explained** Earlier (above, page 6) Rabbi El'azar had explained that מה (*mah*), "what" or "how," is a name for *Shekhinah*.

306. ***immense* and mighty tree** *Tifer'et*, trunk of the cosmic tree. See Daniel 4:8.

307. **another, smaller tree** *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 2:99b; 3:170a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:696.

308. **light created on the first day** *Ḥesed*, the first of the lower seven *sefirot*, the seven primordial days. In the Torah, the word "good" appears for the first time in the verse describing this light: *God saw that the light was good* (Genesis 1:4).

309. **He concealed it...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–

b; 3:88a, 173b.

310. ***That You made*** The verse continues: *for those who take refuge in You, in the presence of human beings*. Rabbi El'azar now concludes the verse that he began.

311. **upper Garden of Eden** *Shekhinah*, the divine presence and dwelling, the culmination of the emanation that was *made*. *Shekhinah* actualizes the various divine qualities.

312. **all the righteous abide...** Righteous souls who have departed this world abide in the Garden of Eden clothed in an ethereal body resembling their previous human form. The soul is clothed in this garment before descending to earth, retains it while in the physical body until shortly before death, and then regains it upon ascending.

See *Zohar* 1:38b (*Heikh*), 81a (*ST*), 90b–91a, 131a, 219a, 220a, 227b; 2:96b, 150a, 161b; 3:43a–b, 104a–b; Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 24 (1955): 293–95; idem, *Kabbalah*, 158–59; idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 251–73; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:770–73. Cf. Rashi on BT *Ḥagigah* 12b, s.v. *ve-ruḥot unshamot*.

313. נגד (*neged*), ***in the presence of...*** **in the image of...** The Hebrew word means both "in the presence of" and "corresponding to."

314. **Academy of Heaven...** Where the souls of the righteous study Torah with God.

315. **dew of rivers of pure balsam** Thirteen rivers of pure balsam await the righteous in the world that is coming. See BT *Ta'anit* 25a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 62:2.

In the *Zohar* the rivers of balsam are the fragrant flow of emanation from *Binah*, who is known as "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing" (*Zohar* 3:290b [*IZ*]; see 2:127a; 3:181a.

The reference to dew recalls the rabbinic notion that God will resurrect the dead with dew. See BT *Shabbat* 88b; JT *Berakhot* 5:2, 9b.

316. **Sometimes they appear...** See Naḥmanides on Genesis 49:33.

317. **High Lamp** Rav Hamnuna Sava.

318. **its nature** The divine nature of the angel, as indicated in Judges 13:16: *Manoah did not know that he was an angel of YHVH*. See BT *Berakhot* 61a; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 36b.

319. **this light...** Rav Hamnuna Sava.

320. **Holy sons of God...** Souls of the righteous, such as Rav Hamnuna, who circulate among humanity, spreading wisdom.

321. **towering hammers** See BT *Berakhot* 28b, where Yoḥanan son of Zakkai is addressed by his students as "Mighty Hammer." Cf. *Zohar* 3:206a, and

187a: “Rabbi Yehudah wept and said, ‘Rabbi Shim’on, happy is your share! Happy is the generation! On account of you, even schoolchildren are towering, mighty hammers!’”

322. **Master of Colors** Apparently Metatron (see *KP*). According to *TZ*, intro, 7a; 70, 119b, Metatron has *the appearance of the rainbow* (Ezekiel 1:28). He is often associated with the Heavenly Academy.

See BT *Avodah Zarah* 3b; *Bereshit Rabbati* 5:24; *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:115–16); *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:134–35); *Zohar* 2:169b; *ZḤ* 36b (*ST*).

323. **a dais אצטוונא** (*Itstevana*). See Targum to 2 Kings 11:14; Radak, ad loc.

324. **branches of the trees...** In *Pereq Shirah* (2:80), an early mystical text according to which every created thing sings a biblical verse to God, the trees of the field sing differently: *Then all the trees of the forest will sing before YHVH because He is coming to judge the earth* (Psalms 96:12–13; 1 Chronicles 16:33).

Elsewhere too the trees exult in song at the revelation of secrets of Torah. See JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; BT *Ḥagigah* 14b; *Zohar* 1:77a; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:138).

325. **Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim’on son of Lekonya** See the beginning of this story, above, page 30. As noted there, the *Zohar* changes Shim’on son of Yose into Yose son of Shim’on, transposing father and son. Similarly, the apparent son of Rav Hamnuna turned out to be Hamnuna himself.

326. **two crowns** Two new words of Torah, each of which becomes a crown. The donkey-driver presented the rabbis with new interpretations of two biblical passages, one concerning the Sabbath, the other concerning Benayahu son of Yehoyada. See BT *Shabbat* 88a; *Zohar* 1:4b; 3:291a (*IZ*).

327. **A sage is preferable to a prophet** See BT *Bava Batra* 12a, in the name of Amemar; *Zohar* 1:183b; 2:6b; 3:35a. Rabbi Shim’on’s visionary power is unrivaled.

328. **placed his head...** Placing one’s head between one’s own knees was a meditative posture in early rabbinic mysticism. See 1 Kings 18:42; *Zohar* 3:166b. Here Rabbi El’azar places his head between his father’s knees before relating what has happened to them on the road.

329. **spoken by Habakkuk when he saw his death...** The son of the Shunammite, who was born miraculously, died suddenly, and was restored to life by the prophet Elisha (2 Kings 4), is identified by the *Zohar* with the prophet Habakkuk. See 2:44b–45a; 3:195a; and El’azar of Worms, *Rimzei Haftarot* for *Shavu’ot* (Scholem).

Habakkuk’s desire to know secrets and his special intimacy with God are noted in *Midrash Tehillim* 7:17; 77:1; cf. BT *Ta’anit* 23a. He appears as a

paradigmatic mystic in *Bahir* 46–47 (68–69). This particular verse, which opens Habakkuk's theophany, appears again in *Zohar* 2:45a; 3:128a, 138b (*IR*). See Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 34–35.

330. **He** Habakkuk.

331. **two embracings** חבוקין (*Ḥibbuqin*), which explains the doubling in the name חבקוק (*Ḥavaqquq*).

332. ***The Book of King Solomon*** One of the many volumes housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*. See 1:13b, 33b, 225b; Matt, *Zohar*, 25; and the comment on this passage by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*... have been lost in the wanderings of exile.... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

333. **He inscribed on him** Elisha inscribed on Habakkuk, the son of the Shunammite woman.

334. **engraved name of seventy-two names** The divine name derived from the description of the splitting of the Red Sea: Exodus 14:19–21. Each of these three verses contains seventy-two letters. The name is composed of seventy-two triads (or "words"), according to the following pattern: the first letter of the first verse, the last letter of the second verse, the first letter of the third verse (forming the first triad); the second letter of the first verse, the penultimate letter of the second verse, the second letter of the third verse (the second triad); etc.

Revival by means of a divine name recalls the legend of the Golem, according to which dust could be animated by the recitation of magical names, and in fact Abraham Abulafia notes that the seventy-two-letter name animates the Golem. See Idel, *Golem*, 98–101; Liebes, in *Kiryat Sefer* 63 (1991): 1318–21. According to a magical text (British Museum MS 752:17, 107a), Elisha used the forty-two-letter name of God to revive the son of the Shunammite (see Scholem). *Sefer Ḥasidim* (ed. Wistinetzki, par. 219) states that Elisha was punished with illness for using the forty-two-letter name of God to curse a group of children who had insulted him by calling him "Baldhead" (2 Kings 2:23–24). As a result of his curse, forty-two of the children were killed by two she-bears.

On the seventy-two-letter name, see *Leqaḥ Tov*, Exodus 14:21; *Bereshit Rabbah* 44:19; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:2; Hai Gaon, *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah*, 23; Rashi on BT *Sukkah* 45a, s.v. *ani*; Ibn Ezra on Exodus 14:19; *Bahir* 79 (110); *Zohar* 1:17a; 2:51b, 132b, 270a; 3:150b–151a; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 95–97; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, 14:67, 284–86.

335. **letters... that his father...** Habakkuk, the son of the Shunammite, was born through the power of the letters of the alphabet, but not the particular combination of seventy-two triads of letters that Elisha employed.

336. **216 letters** The total number of letters in the seventy-two triads derived from the three verses (Exodus 14:19–21).

337. חבקוק (*Ḥavaqquq*)... **216 letters...** The name חבקוק has a numerical value of 216.

338. **with words** The seventy-two triads, whose greater spiritual potency is required for the restoration of the spirit.

339. **with letters** The 216 individual letters, whose potency suffices to restore the body.

340. **my tasting of that world** My brief experience of death.

341. ***Your action ...in the midst of years ...*** The verse concludes: חייהו (*ḥayyehu*), *revive it*. Rabbi Shim'on reads this last word not as a verb but as a noun: *its life*.

342. **those primordial years** See Malachi 3:4. Here the phrase refers to the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, flowing into *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:238b; 2:105b; 3:134b, 138b (*IR*). They are also the six primordial days of the week culminating in the Sabbath of *Shekhinah*.

343. **that level that has no life at all** *Shekhinah*, who has nothing of Her own and is dependent on the flow from above.

344. **him** Rav Hamnuna Sava.

345. **uprooting mountains** In BT *Berakhot* 64a, Rabbah son of Naḥmani is called "Uprooter of Mountains," based on his sharp mind.

346. **palace of King Messiah** Also known in the Zohar as "the bird's nest" (2:7b–8b). Cf. 3:164b; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:132).

347. **He said to him** Rav Hamnuna said to Rabbi Shim'on.

348. ***For I have seen God face-to-face*** The verse continues: *and my life has been saved*. After surviving his wrestling match with the angel, Jacob names the site *Peni'el*. Perhaps here the name is understood in the plural: *Penei El*, *Faces of God*, referring to both rabbis.

349. ***awe of YHVH* is really the end of Wisdom** *Shekhinah* is called *awe of YHVH* because She is characterized by the power of Judgment and inspires awe. See above, page 32. She is also lower Wisdom, culmination of the process of emanation that begins at upper Wisdom.

350. ***gates of righteousness. This is the gate...*** *Shekhinah* is called Righteousness. Through Her one enters the realm of *sefirot* and can eventually ascend to Wisdom. See *Zohar* 1:11b, 36b–37a, 141b; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 4b.

351. **Similarly...** The king in the parable symbolizes supernal Wisdom, who has fashioned the various gates (*sefirot*). The last gate, first to be encountered, is *Shekhinah*, but even before reaching Her, one must pass through several levels of

camps of angels, chariots, and palaces. See BT *Shabbat* 31a–b.

352. **This is ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*; ב (*bet*)—two...** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, alludes to both Wisdom (*Ḥokhmah*) and *Shekhinah*. The letter ב (*bet*), the second letter of the alphabet, signifies "two," and both of these *sefirot* are called ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*: Wisdom is the beginning of emanation, while *Shekhinah* is the first gate on the spiritual path.

353. **two points...** *Ḥokhmah* and *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 34–35.

354. **Whoever attains one...** Upon entering *Shekhinah*, lower Wisdom, one encounters higher Wisdom, reflected in Her.

355. **He and His name are one** *Shekhinah* reveals the *sefirot*, the various divine qualities, and is therefore called the name of God. See *Zohar* 1:18a; 2:134a, 161b.

356. **Tree of Good and Evil** The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, whose fruit was eaten by Adam and Eve. In Kabbalah this Tree symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who transmits either reward or punishment, depending on human behavior.

357. **two gates as one** *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, the union of male and female. *Yesod* is often called "good," and *Shekhinah* is lower Wisdom or, in this verse, *insight* (שכל [*sekhel*]).

358. **Tree of Life** The other tree mentioned in the Garden story, identified by the rabbis with Torah, based on the description of wisdom in Proverbs 3:18: *She is a tree of life to those who grasp her*. See BT *Berakhot* 32b, 61b. In Kabbalah this tree symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who is known as Written Torah. Here Rabbi Yose contrasts *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, with *Shekhinah*, Tree of Good and Evil.

359. ***good insight* with no evil at all** Rabbi Yose interprets שכל טוב (*sekhel tov*), *good insight*, as שכלו טוב (*she-kullo tov*), "entirely good."

360. ***David's loyal acts of love...*** *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, representing the legs (or genitals) of the sefirotic body. They transmit love to *Shekhinah*, known as David, while above they support and strengthen *Tif'eret*, Written Torah. See *Zohar* 1:219a; 2:169a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 48 (59).

361. **Those supporting Torah... actualize** Those who support the study of Torah on earth actualize (עבדין [*avedin*], "make, do") their divine archetypes, the supports of *Tif'eret*, Written Torah: *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*. On actualizing the divine, see BT *Sanhedrin*, 99b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 35:7; Idel, *Kabbalah*, 187–91.

362. ***His praise...* the throne...** *Shekhinah*, known as both Praise and the throne of *Tif'eret*, is sustained by those who support Torah. Thereby divine union is stimulated.

363. **on the night when the Bride...** On the eve of *Shavu'ot* (Festival of

"Weeks"), the celebration of the revelation of Torah, *Shekhinah* prepares to join Her groom, *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 3:97b–98b; Moses de León, *Sod Ḥag ha-Shavu'ot*, 87a–b.

364. **Companions initiated...** The חבריא (*ḥavrayya*) who accompany *Shekhinah*.

365. **next day...** The marriage between the masculine and feminine takes place on the day of *Shavu'ot*, when the Torah was actually given at Mt. Sinai. *Tif'eret* is symbolized by the Written Torah, while *Shekhinah* is alluded to by the Oral Torah, and together they convey revelation.

366. **all night...** On other nights, the Companions rise at midnight and study Torah until dawn, chanting to *Shekhinah*. On this night of *Shavu'ot*, they adorn Her all night long. This all-night study ritual became known as *tiqqun leil Shavu'ot*, "the *tiqqun* of the eve of *Shavu'ot*." See Wilhelm, "Sidrei Tiqqunim," 125–30.

The root תקן (*tqn*) appears throughout the *Zohar*, ranging widely in meaning: "mend, restore, correct, perfect, prepare, arrange, array, adorn, establish, institute."

Philo (*On the Contemplative Life*, 10:75–90) describes a similar night vigil of study and song practiced by the Therapeutae. Cf. the account of revelation through the Holy Spirit at Pentecost in Acts 2, and Revelation 21:2: "I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." See Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 74–82.

367. **from Torah to Prophets...** The three divisions of the Bible. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 16:4: "Ben Azzai was sitting and expounding, and fire was blazing around him. They [his disciples] came and told Rabbi Akiva.... He went to him and said, 'Perhaps you are engaged in the chambers of the Chariot [the secrets of Ezekiel's vision of the Chariot].' He replied, 'No, I am stringing words of Torah to the Prophets, and words of the Prophets to the Writings, and the words of Torah are as joyous as on the day they were given from Sinai.'"

368. **Her adornments and finery** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:11, in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: "Just as a bride is adorned with twenty-four ornaments [see Isaiah 3:18–24] and lacking one of them, she is considered worthless, so a disciple must be fluent in twenty-four books [of the Bible]—lacking in one of them, he is worthless."

See *Tanḥuma*, *Ki Tissa* 18; *Zohar* 1:4b–5a; *ZḤ* 63d–64a (*ShS*); *OY*, where Cordovero lists the biblical and rabbinic passages read on the eve of *Shavu'ot*; and Vital's list in *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot*, 2:202a–203b. It became customary to read this passage from the *Zohar* ("Rabbi Shim'on was sitting...sealed in a man's flesh") as part of the *tiqqun*.

369. **She enters...** *Shekhinah* enters the Companions' house of study with Her

attending angels.

370. **members of the canopy** A rabbinic phrase meaning "members of the wedding party." The Companions participate in the divine union.

371. **inquires about them** See *Zohar* 3:98a: "Happy is the share of the Companions when the King asks the Consort who adorned Her in jewelry, polished Her crown, and arrayed Her adornments."

372. **singing the song of Torah** Torah is referred to as song in BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Ḥagigah* 12b. Cf. BT *Megillah* 32a; Targum to Lamentations 2:19; *Zohar* 3:23b; *KP*.

373. **Book of Memory** The celestial book in which all human actions are recorded. Later in this passage, it is identified with *Yesod*. See Ezra 4:15; Targum to Esther 6:1; *Zohar* 1:62b; 2:70a, 200a, 217a, 246a.

374. **seventy blessings** Corresponding to the seven *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Shekhinah*.

375. ***Heaven declares the glory of God*** The verse continues in parallelism: *the sky proclaims the work of His hands*.

376. **We have already established this verse** The verse is cited frequently in rabbinic literature. See BT *Ketubbot* 5a; *Zohar* 2:136b.

377. **troops, soldiers, and camps** Countless angels.

378. **She waits... for each...** For each Companion who adorned Her with a gem of Torah.

379. **Groom...** *Tif'eret*, who is called *Heaven*. See *Bahir* 68 (100), citing 1 Kings 8:32; *Zohar* 2:85a–b. Several verses later in this psalm, the sun is identified as a groom: *He* [*the sun*] *is like a groom coming forth from his chamber* [or: *canopy*] (Psalms 19:6).

380. ***God rages every day*** אל (*El*), "God," is a name of *Shekhinah*, who manifests the power of judgment and is angered daily by the evil of humanity. See *Zohar* 1:91a; 3:119b, 176b.

381. **illumine Her** The verse is taken to mean: *Heaven* (*Tif'eret*) illumines *the glory of God* (*Shekhinah*).

382. **masters of the covenant... Her partners** Literally, "masters of the oath of covenant with the Bride." The expression מארי קיימא דברית (*marei qeyama divrit*), "masters of the oath of covenant," reflects the Hebrew בעל ברית (*ba'al berit*), "master of the covenant," or "partner." The covenant is that of circumcision, and the masters of this covenant are those who have mastered the sexual urge, leading holy sexual lives. Since they embody the quality of *Yesod*, the divine phallus, their virtue is proclaimed by *Yesod*, symbolized by *the sky*. These Companions are invited to participate in the union with *Shekhinah*.

See *Tanḥuma*, *Lekh Lekha* 17, where Abraham's circumcision is compared

to marrying the king's daughter.

383. ***The work... establish it...*** The mark of circumcision, made by hand, is called *the work of our hands*. The interpretation of the verse is: May God *establish* (help us control and purify) *the work of our hands* (our sexual conduct). A similar phrase, *the work of your hands* (Ecclesiastes 5:5, cited later in this passage) is linked to sexuality in BT *Shabbat* 32b: "Rabbi says, '... What is the work of one's hands? You must conclude: one's sons and daughters.'"

384. **Rav Hamnuna Sava...** Rabbi Shim'on now cites Rav Hamnuna at length to support his interpretation of *the work of His hands*. In the Talmud their roles are reversed: it is Rav Hamnuna who cites Rabbi Shim'on.

385. **reach evil fantasies** One should not speak of things that can incite lust.

386. **that holy flesh...** Sexual misconduct defaces the sign of covenant sealed in the flesh. See *Zohar* 2:87a–b. Cf. *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:3, where covenant is linked to both tongue and phallus.

387. **Dumah** Literally, "silence," a name for the netherworld in the Bible, e.g., Psalms 94:17: *Unless YHVH had been my help, my soul would soon have dwelt in dumah* (cited later in this passage). Cf. Psalms 115:17.

In rabbinic literature Dumah is the angel in charge of souls of the dead (BT *Berakhot* 18b, *Shabbat* 152b, *Sanhedrin* 94a). In the *Zohar* he retains this role but also oversees Hell. See 1:94a, 102a, 124a (*MhN*), 237b.

388. **any of those who guarded...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 48:8: "Rabbi Levi said, 'In the time to come, Abraham [who initiated circumcision] will be sitting at the door to Hell, and he will not let any circumcised Israelite descend there.'" Cf. BT *Eruvin* 19a; *Zohar* 1:93a, 94a, 95b.

389. **that incident...** With Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite (2 Samuel 11–12). Seeing her bathing, David was attracted to her and slept with her. He then arranged for her husband, Uriah, to die in battle, after which he married her.

390. *A* ***man who commits adultery with a man's wife*** The verse continues: *—who commits adultery with his neighbor's wife—is surely to be put to death, the adulterer and the adulteress*.

391. ***To your neighbor's wife*** The verse continues: *you are not to give your emission of seed, defiling yourself through her*.

392. **Bathsheba was destined...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 107a: "Rava expounded, '...Ever since the six days of Creation, Bathsheba, daughter of Eliam, was designated for David, but she came to him with suffering.' The school of Rabbi Yishma'el taught likewise: 'She was designated for David, but he ate her unripe [prematurely, while she was still married to Uriah].'" See *Zohar* 1:73b; 2:107a; 3:78b.

393. **of all those entering battle...** See BT *Shabbat* 56a: "Rav said, 'Rabbi [Yehudah the Prince], who is descended from David, seeks to defend him, and expounds [the verse] in David's favor: *You have taken his wife to be your wife* (2 Samuel 12:9) implies that you have marriage rights to her [since the verb *to take* denotes marriage, as in Deuteronomy 24:1], for Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥmani said in the name of Rabbi Yonatan: "Everyone who went to war in the dynasty of David would first write a writ of divorce for his wife."'"

394. **waited three months** To determine whether Bathsheba was pregnant or not. Otherwise, if a baby were born seven months after the new marriage, it would be unclear whether the newborn's father was David or Uriah. See M *Yevamot* 4:10; BT *Yevamot* 42a.

395. **spelled both אוריה (*Uriyyah*) and אוריהו (*Uriyyahu*)** The first spelling ends with the divine name יה (*yah*), the second with יהו (*yahu*), three of the four letters of יהוה (*YHVH*). The sacredness of Uriah's name indicates his chaste

character (see *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:10). Note how the prophet Nathan describes the relationship between Uriah and Bathsheba (2 Samuel 12:3): *she was like a daughter to him*. In the Bible, the spelling אוריהו (*Uriyyahu*) is never applied to Uriah the Hittite; it is the name of an entirely different figure, a prophet contemporary with Jeremiah who was executed by King Jehoiakim (Jeremiah 26:20–23). Rabbinic sources identify this prophet Uriahu with Uriah the priest, mentioned in Isaiah 8:2 (*Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 7; BT *Makkot* 24b), but Rav Hamnuna is apparently the first to blend the identity of Uriahu the prophet with David's victim, Uriah the Hittite.

396. **to him** To David.

397. **if he knew** If David knew.

398. **that he** That Uriah.

399. ***Go down to your house and bathe your feet*** Understood as a euphemism for intercourse. See 2 Samuel 11:11; Ruth 3:7; *Tosafot*, *Eruvin* 63b, s.v. *kol zeman*.

Similarly, God's command to Moses, *Remove your sandals from your feet* (Exodus 3:5), is interpreted to mean: "Refrain from intercourse with your wife." See *Zohar* 2:222a; 3:148a, 180a; *ZḤ* 59b. Cf. 1:112b.

400. **He certainly did not know** David certainly did not know.

401. **Nisan** The first month of spring, followed by Iyyar, Sivan, Tammuz, Av, Elul, and Tishrei. Yom Kippur is the tenth of Tishrei. According to this chronology, Uriah died in battle at the beginning of the month of Sivan, and David had intercourse with Bathsheba nearly four months later, at the end of Elul. The Bible mentions simply that David sent Israel out to war *at the time when kings go out* [to battle] (2 Samuel 11:1), in springtime.

402. **issued a proclamation...** Calling the people to assemble for war.

403. **Adar** The month preceding Nisan. According to this chronology, David waited four full months, from the middle of Iyyar to the middle of Elul.

404. **he opened his mouth...** Recalling the saying attributed to Rabbi Yose (BT *Berakhot* 19a): "One should not open his mouth to Satan," i.e., speak in such a way as to give him an opening.

405. ***the man who did this...*** David's incriminating response to the parable told him by Nathan the prophet. Nathan replies, *You are the man!* (2 Samuel 12:7).

406. **his sin against Uriah** Arranging for Uriah's death in battle.

407. **punishment...** As Nathan prophesies, David's dynasty is wracked by war, his wives are violated, and the child born of David's union with Bathsheba dies (ibid., 9–23).

408. **separating me from the Other Side** In Kabbalah David symbolizes

Shekhinah, whose realm borders the demonic realm of *Sitra Aḥra* ("the Other Side"). According to *Qohelet Rabbah* on 7:22, the separation between Heaven and Hell is slight: "*This opposite that* (Ecclesiastes 7:14)—Hell and the Garden of Eden. What is the distance between them? A handbreadth. Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'A wall.' The Rabbis say, 'They are parallel, so that they will gaze at one another.'"

409. **not to speak as David did** Apparently the words with which David condemned himself, cited above: *As YHVH lives, the man who did this deserves to die*. Or perhaps a reference to Psalms 26:2: *Probe me, YHVH, and test me*. With his confident words, David tempted Satan, providing him an opening. (The entire phrase is missing in C12, Ms3, Cr, and *OY*.)

410. ***that it was an error*** From the conclusion of the verse with which Rav Hamnuna opened (above, page 54): *Do not let your mouth induce your flesh to sin, and do not plead before the messenger that it was an error. Why should God be angry at your voice and destroy the work of your hands?*

411. **defeated him legally** Defeated Dumah with valid arguments.

412. **voice in which one speaks** The suggestive words that a person might utter, inducing him to sin.

413. **holy flesh... that he damages** Apparently "he" refers to the person who damages the covenant through immoral speech and behavior. Galante and *OY* interpret the subject as Dumah, who damages the sign of covenant and thereby condemns the sinner to Hell. See above, pages 53–54: "*The work of His hands*—masters of the covenant with the Bride, Her partners. Those masters of the covenant are called *the work of His hands*, as is said: *The work of our hands, establish it* (Psalms 90:17). This is the covenant sealed in a man's flesh.... He [Dumah, standing at the door of Hell] is not permitted to approach any of those who guarded the holy covenant in this world."

414. **So** Rabbi Shim'on resumes his interpretation of Psalm 19 after transmitting this long teaching from Rav Hamnuna, which was cited to demonstrate that the phrase *the work of His hands* refers to the covenant in the flesh. See Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 57–60.

415. **masters of Her covenant, Her partners** This renders two senses of one term, מארי קיימא דילה (*marei qeyama dilah*), "masters of Her covenant." The expression reflects the Hebrew בעל ברית (*ba'al berit*), "master of the covenant," i.e., "partner." See above, page 53.

416. **sky embracing...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Resh Lakish said, 'There are seven heavens.... In the one called רקיע (*raqi'a*), "sky," sun, moon, stars, and constellations are set.'" Here the sky symbolizes *Yesod*, through which the divine male and female, symbolized by sun and moon, unite. Cf. *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 34a; 2:2a, 246a.

417. **Book of Memory** *Yesod*. See above, pages 52–53.

418. ***Day to day pours forth speech*** The verse continues in parallelism: *night to night declares knowledge*.

419. **those supernal days of the King** The *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, which surround *Tif'eret*.

420. **word** The interpretation offered as an adornment to *Shekhinah* during the allnight study session.

421. **every rung ruling the night...** *Shekhinah* and the forces under Her command exchange the past day's innovations of Torah. See *Zohar* 2:137a.

422. **ecstatically becoming...** *Shekhinah* and those under Her become companions of the Companions.

423. ***There is no speech, there are no words*** The verse continues in parallelism: *their sound is not heard*.

424. **cord** משיחא (*Meshiḥa*), identified by the *Zohar* with "the line of measure," which maps out the paths and stages of emanation. See *ZḤ* 56d–58d; *Zohar* 1:15a.

425. **skies are made... earth...** See above, page 26, where it is said that new kabbalistic interpretations of Torah are transformed into *new heavens*, while other new interpretations are transformed into *earths of the living*. Here Rabbi Shim'on adds that the praise offered by the *sefirot* to these interpretations serves as the catalyst.

426. **that sacred sun...** The divine male, *Yesod*, abides in mystical innovations. See *Zohar* 1:33b; 2:136b–137b, 205b, 224b; 3:12a, 225b; Moses de León, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 381; idem, *Shushan Edut*, 338; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 50 (61).

427. ***he is like a groom coming forth from his chamber*** The verse continues in parallelism: *rejoicing like a hero to run his course*.

428. **a certain other tower at another site** *Shekhinah*, who is referred to as a *tower of strength* (Proverbs 18:10; *Zohar* 1:37b, 96b; 3:164a–b), as distinguished from the "tower soaring in the air" (above, page 36), symbolizing *Binah*.

Here the divine bridegroom runs through the tower, uniting with *Shekhinah*. See Galante; Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 59–60. For other interpretations, see *OY*; the fragment in *OḤ* 12b; and Scholem.

429. ***His going forth is at one end of the heaven*** The verse continues in parallelism: *and his circuit reaches the other; nothing is hidden from his heat*.

430. ***the end of heaven*** **above** *Binah*. She and *Shekhinah* comprise the two ends of heaven, above and below *Tif'eret*, known as Heaven. See *Zohar* 1:1b; 2:137a.

431. ***the end of heaven*** **below** ***...the circuit of the year...*** *Shekhinah*, who includes all the *sefirot* and unites with *Tif'eret* and *Yesod*.

432. **this *circuit* and the *circuit* of the sun** The divine female and male.

433. **supernal rungs** The *sefirot*.

434. **All this praise and exaltation...** New readings of Torah here on earth garner sefirotic praise, which, in turn, stimulates the divine union.

435. **Six times *YHVH*...** This divine name appears six times in the following three verses (Psalms 19:8–10). See *Zohar* 2:137b.

436. **six letters** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, contains six letters.

437. **While they were sitting** Adorning *Shekhinah* with new insights of Torah on the night of *Shavu'ot* (Festival of "Weeks").

438. **face of *Shekhinah* has indeed arrived** See *Mekhilta, Amaleq* (*Yitro*) 1: "Whoever receives the face of [i.e., welcomes] the wise, it is as if he receives the face of *Shekhinah*." Cf. JT *Eruvin* 5:1, 22b: "Rabbi Shemu'el said in the name of Rabbi Ze'eira, '... Whoever receives the face of his teacher, it is as if he receives the face of *Shekhinah*.'... Rabbi Yishma'el taught... 'One who receives the face of his friend, it is as if he receives the face of *Shekhinah*.'" Cf. Genesis 33:10; *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 27; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:5.

The *Zohar* transforms the rabbinic simile into an actual description of the *Ḥavrayya*, the Companions, who "are called the face of *Shekhinah* because *Shekhinah* is hidden within them. She is concealed, they are revealed" (*Zohar* 2:163b). See 1:94b; 2:5a, 50a; 3:6b, 148a, 298a; *ZḤ* 11c (*MhN*).

439. **פניאל (*Peni'el*), Face of God...** Earlier, Rabbi Shim'on gave this name because in meeting Rav Hamnuna they had encountered the Divine Presence. See above, page 49: "From that day on, he called Rabbi El'azar, his son, and Rabbi Abba פניאל (*Peni'el*), Face of God, as is said: *For I have seen God face-to-face* [*and my life has been saved*] (Genesis 32:31)."

440. **he** Rav Hamnuna Sava. See above, pages 38–44.

441. **word of the Holy Ancient One** *Keter*, the first *sefirah*. New revelations of kabbalistic wisdom are called "words of the Ancient of Days" (above, pages 25–26). In BT *Pesaḥim* 119a, the secrets of Torah are referred to as "things hidden by the Ancient of Days." Cf. the rabbinic blessing in BT *Berakhot* 17a: "May your steps run to hear words of the Ancient of Days."

See BT *Bava Batra* 91b; *Zohar* 2:168a; 3:105b, 138b (*IR*), 232b; and 3:20a: "Rabbi Yose said to Rabbi Ḥiyya, 'Let us engage in words of Torah, in words of the Ancient of Days.'"

442. **The concealed one of all...** *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, also known as the Holy Ancient One.

443. **this verse appears similarly elsewhere** The verse that follows (1 Chronicles 11:23) is a variant of 2 Samuel 23:21, which Rav Hamnuna

interpreted above, pages 41–42. Here Rabbi Shim'on expounds on the slight differences between the two verses.

444. ***a man of measure*** Meaning *a man of stature*.

445. ***the Egyptian...*** In Samuel the verse reads *an Egyptian*. The definite article in Chronicles is intentional and significant.

446. ***very great in the land of Egypt*** The full verse reads: *The man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the eyes of Pharaoh's servants and in the eyes of the people*. Thus, the definite article in the phrase *the Egyptian* refers to Moses.

447. **Academy on High** The Heavenly Academy, where the souls of the righteous study Torah with God.

448. ***A man of good appearance...* Why *measure*?** What is the significance of this difference between the two verses?

449. **the Sabbath and her range...** ***You are to measure outside the city*** The verse continues: *two thousand cubits on the east side, two thousand on the south side, two thousand on the west side, and two thousand on the north side, with the town in the center. That shall be the pasture for their towns*. The measure of two thousand cubits for the pasture lands of the Levitical cities served as the basis for the "range of Sabbath," the maximum distance one may walk beyond the city on the Sabbath. See *Mekhilta*, *Vayassa* 6; cf. *Zohar* 1:5b; 2:207a.

Earlier (above, page 41), Rav Hamnuna had interpreted *a man of good appearance* as meaning "husband of *Shekhinah*"; Rabbi Shim'on now applies the same interpretation to the variant in Chronicles: *a man of measure*. *Shekhinah* is the Sabbath, whose holiness extends beyond the realm of the *sefirot*.

450. ***in justice—in measure*** The full concluding phrase reads: *in measure, weight, or capacity*. *Tif'eret* is called *justice*, and *Shekhinah* is *measure*.

451. **from one end of the universe to the other, as with Adam** Moses symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who spans the *sefirot* from *Binah*, at one end of the divine realm, to *Shekhinah* at the other.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 14:1; and BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Adam extended from one end of the universe to the other.'"

452. **those *five cubits* extended...** The five cubits symbolize the realm of five *sefirot* surrounding *Tif'eret: Ḥesed, Gevurah, Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*. Alternatively, this group of six can be pictured as five, since *Yesod* and *Tif'eret* are often counted together as one.

453. **as he said** As Rav Hamnuna explained. See above, page 42.

454. **staff of God...** The staff with which Moses performed miracles before

Pharaoh, split the Red Sea, and struck the rock to produce water.

455. **explicit name** The Ineffable Name, *YHVH*. See *Devarim Rabbah* 3:8; *Midrash Tehillim* 114:9; *Zohar* 2:48a.

456. **radiance** נהירו (*Nehiru*). Apparently Rabbi Shim'on interprets the Hebrew word מנור (*menor*), "beam," as מנורה (*menorah*), "lamp," or as מנור (*mi-nur*), "from fire."

457. **permutations of letters... Bezalel...** See BT *Berakhot* 55a: "Rabbi Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Bezalel knew how to permute the letters by which heaven and earth were created.'" By weaving together various combinations of letters, Bezalel was able to fashion the vessels of the Tabernacle in the desert. Similarly, permutations of the name *YHVH* flashed from the staff of Moses.

458. ***the engraver, the designer, the embroiderer*** The verse continues: *in blue, purple, crimson yams and in fine linen, and the weaver....*

459. **radiance of the wise... in forty-two colors** The name *YHVH* was permuted on the staff in forty-two ways. See *Zohar* 2:260a. On the forty-two-letter name of God, see above, page 2: "the engraved, explicit name is sown in forty-two letters of the act of Creation." Cf. *Zohar* 2:175b: "the forty-two holy letters of the holy name, by which heaven and earth were created."

The forty-two-letter name is mentioned in the name of Rav, though not recorded, in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. According to one later view, it consists of the first forty-two letters of the Torah, from the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*) through the ב (*bet*) of בהו (*bohu*), *void* (Genesis 1:2).

See *Tosafot*, *Ḥagigah* 11b, s.v. *ein doreshin; KP* 1:46c–d; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 94–95; cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:62. Cordovero (*OY*) on the passage in 1:1a describes how the name *YHVH* can be permuted into a forty-two-letter name. In his commentary here, Cordovero describes permutations of the forty-two-letter name itself. In *Zohar* 2:97b, 104a, 109a, the donkey-driver who confounds the rabbis refers cryptically to a snowy day on which he and Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai "sowed beans in fifty-two colors," alluding to the fifty-two-letter name of God.

460. **with what he said** With what Rav Hamnuna said. See above, pages 42–43.

461. **tonight** The night of *Shavu'ot*, when *Shekhinah*, the Bride, is adorned by the Companions' new words of Torah.

462. **there is another god** As could be heretically inferred from the apparently plural form of the word אלהים (*Elohim*), *gods*, in the opening verse of the Torah.

463. **in Aramaic** Hebrew, תרגום (*targum*), "translation," often referring to an

Aramaic translation of the Bible. By referring to Aramaic as *targum*, the *Zohar* betrays the fact that its author(s) lived at a time when Aramaic was no longer spoken. See *Zohar* 1:88b–89a (*ST*); 2:129b, 132b–133a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:75.

464. **the word ending the verse** Namely, the Hebrew word אלה (*elleh*), *these*.

465. **do not attend to Aramaic...** See BT *Shabbat* 12b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'If one petitions for his needs in Aramaic, the ministering angels do not attend to him, for they do not know Aramaic.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:74b (*ST*), 88b–89a (*ST*).

466. **this word** This verse.

467. **become jealous...** See *Tosafot*, *Berakhot* 3a, s.v. *ve-onin*.

468. **they are called אלהים (*Elohim*), *gods*** See Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:2: "Every Hebrew knew that the term *Elohim* is equivocal, designating the deity, the angels, and the rulers governing the cities." Cf. *Zohar* 1:111b; 3:113a; *ZḤ* 4a (*MhN*).

469. **the verse should read וארעא (*ve-ar'a*)** The common Aramaic word for "earth."

470. **those seven earths below** Corresponding to the seven heavens. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:11; *Sefer Yetsirah* 4:12; *Zohar* 1:39b–40a, 54b, 157a; 3:9b–10a; *ZḤ* 8c–9b (*SO*); 87b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

471. **banished from the face of the earth** See Cain's statement in Genesis 4:14: *Behold, You have banished me today from the face of the earth*.

472. **generating offspring** On the demonic descendants of Cain, see El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 26c; *Zohar* 1:36b, 54a, 178a–b; 3:76b, 122a.

473. **dual earth, dualized by darkness and light** Both manifesting in confusion. See *KP*. Cf. *Zohar* 3:285b.

474. **two heads** On the two-headed descendants of Cain, see *Beit ha-Midrash*, 4:151–52; Judah ben Barzillai, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 173; *Tosafot*, *Menaḥot* 37a, s.v. *o qum gelei; Zohar* 1:157a; 2:80a; *ZḤ* 9b (*ST*); Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:143 n. 34; Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 125, n. 84.

475. **Afrira and Kastimon** Ruling darkness and light, respectively. Afrira's name derives from עפר (*afar*), "dust," and, as noted below, his earth is not fruitful (see *Zohar* 2:266b). For the second name, *KP* reads: Kastiron, who also appears in *Sefer Razi'el*, 41a. Cf. קוסטור (*qustor*), "quaestor," a Roman prosecutor (e.g., JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b).

In *Zohar* 1:151a the word קסטוטירא (*qastutira*) apparently means "luster" and seems to derive from the Greek *kassiteros*, "tin." See *Targum Yerushalmi* and

Targum Yerushalmi (frag.), Numbers 31:22; *Zohar* 1:125a; 2:24b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 188.

476. **ox... eagle... human being** In his vision, Ezekiel sees four creatures, each of whom has four faces: the face of a human being in front, the face of a lion on the right, the face of an ox on the left, and the face of an eagle at the back (Ezekiel 1:10). Here the demonic officials Afrira and Kastimon resemble the creatures who appear on the left and the back before combining into a human image.

477. **abyss** Home of all demons.

478. **Uzza and Azael** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2). They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:23a (*TZ*), 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN, Rut*).

479. **call them to judgment** For their deeds of lust.

480. **Na'amah, mother of demons...** Na'amah, whose name means "lovely," was the sister of Tuval-Cain and the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Cain (Genesis 4:22). According to rabbinic tradition, the fallen angels were attracted by her beauty. See ibid. 6:1–4; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat*, add. 1; *Midrash Aggadah* and *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 4:22.

In the *Zohar*, Na'amah is the mother of Ashmedai, king of the demons, and she generates demons by seducing men in their sleep. See Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:19b, 55a; 3:76b–77a; *ZḤ* 19d (*MhN*).

481. **by the spirit of evil impulses** Through lustful desire, in the style of Na'amah.

482. **these** The heavens above our earth.

483. **seed and harvest...** Which depend on the influence of heaven. Only on our earth ("this") do the various species of grain grow. See *Zohar* 1:157a; *ZḤ* 9b (*ST*), 87b (*MhN, Rut*).

484. **they only cycle...** The heavenly spheres of that lower earth revolve slowly. Alternatively, the reference is to vegetation, which fails to sprout annually.

485. **world** Hebrew, תבל (*tevel*), referring to our earth, the most desirable of all. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:11.

486. **nocturnal mishap** A nocturnal emission, an involuntary emission of

semen. See Deuteronomy 23:11. According to the *Zohar*, such semen impregnates Na'amah, producing a new generation of demons.

See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11; BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:34b, 54b–55a, 2:231b, 3:76b.

487. **as explained** See above, pages 8–10, 19–20.

488. **to him** To his father, Rabbi Shim'on.

489. ***Who would not be in awe of You...*** This verse appears shortly before the verse that Rabbi Shim'on has just interpreted.

490. **what kind of praise is that?** God is not merely *King of the nations*; He rules the entire cosmos.

491. **discussed in various places** See *Shemot Rabbah* 29:9; *Midrash Tehillim* 93:1; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Avodat Kokhavim* 1:1; *Zohar* 2:38a, 95b–96a.

492. **pretext for sinners...** Apparently, since the verse compares God with *the wise of the nations* (although contrasting the two), sinners could conclude that just as those wise ones cannot conceive the thoughts of other humans, neither can God.

See *KP; OY; MmD*. For other interpretations, see Galante; Scholem.

493. **camps** Camps of angels.

494. **cannot grasp or know His site** See BT *Ḥagigah* 13b: "It is written [that the angels exclaimed]: *Blessed be the Presence of* YHVH *in His place* (Ezekiel 3:12)—because no one knows His place."

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 4; Bahir* 90 (131); *Zohar* 1:103a; 3:159a.

495. **but among the nations... one did** See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 357: "*Never again did there arise in Israel a prophet like Moses* —In Israel none arose, but among the nations of the world one did! Who is this? Balaam son of Beor."

See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:20; *Zohar* 2:21b (*MhN*); 3:193b.

496. **Who revives the dead?... Who makes the rain fall?...** See 1 Kings 17:1, 7, 17–24; 18:41–45; 2 Kings 4:8–37; *Bereshit Rabbah* 77:1.

497. **Abraham came...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:9; above, page 19.

498. **righteous of Israel abolish them...** See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 16b: "*The righteous one rules the awe of God....* Rabbi Abbahu said, '... I rule over humanity. Who rules over Me? The righteous one. For I issue a decree and he abolishes it.'"

See *Zohar* 1:45b; 2:15a (*MhN*), 262a; 3:15a.

499. **to walk in His ways...** See Deuteronomy 8:6; 11:22; 13:5; 28:9; 30:16. In rabbinic literature (*Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 49; BT *Sotah* 14a) this biblical idiom is understood as *imitatio dei*. Here Rabbi Shim'on implies that such imitation

includes the exercise of Godlike powers.

500. **Shiḥlayim** Mentioned in BT *Gittin* 57a, as one of three cities with a population twice the size of the total number of Israelites who left Egypt. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:4. Its name is said to derive from its major business: *shiḥlayim*, "watercress."

501. **Yose the Small** יוסי קטינאה (*Yose Qattina'ah*). See the reference in M *Sotah* 9:15 to יוסי קטנותא (*Yose Qatnuta*), so called because he was the last, or tail end, of the *ḥasidim*. A story with a similar ending appears in *Pesiqta Rabbati* 14.

502. **mighty rulers appointed...** According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God.

See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 61a, 108b; 2:33a, 151b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

503. ***And among all their kingdoms*** The verse continues: *there is none like You*.

504. **four kingdoms...** The book of Daniel (chapters 2 and 7) suggests a framework of four world-kingdoms: Babylonians, Medes, Persians, and Greeks, to be succeeded by the everlasting kingdom of God.

505. **camps** Camps of angels.

506. מאין כמוך (***mi ayin kamokha***), ***who is Ayin like You*** The final two words of the verse are read not as מאין כמוך (*me-ein kamokha*), *there is none like You*, but rather as מי אין כמוך (*mi ayin kamokha*), *who is Ayin like You? Ayin*, "nothingness," is a name for *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*. This ultimate stage of divinity is inconceivable, the divine nothingness, also called "the holy concealed one." See *OY*.

507. **This is מאין כמוך יהוה** (***Mi ayin kamokha YHVH***)... This verse immediately precedes the verse being discussed (Jeremiah 10:7). Here, too, Rabbi Shim'on reads מאין (*me-ein*), *there is none*, as מי אין (*mi ayin*), *who is Ayin?*

508. ***chaos, and what they desire...*** The subject of the biblical verse is *the makers of idols*.

509. **of *their kingdoms... chaos...*** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 2:4, where Genesis 1:2 is similarly applied to the four kingdoms.

510. **Members of this wedding party...** On the eve of *Shavu'ot* (Festival of "Weeks"), the Companions are invited to adorn *Shekhinah* with new interpretations of Torah, preparing Her for Her union with *Tif'eret*. See above, pages 51–52.

511. **when He enters...** When *Tif'eret* enters the canopy to be united with *Shekhinah*.

512. ***Who is this?*—sum of two...** *Who* is a name of *Binah*, the Divine Mother, whose nature can be questioned and explored, though She remains a mystery. See above, page 5. *This* is a name of *Shekhinah*, who is more revealed. See *Zohar* 1:176b; 2:37b (*MhN*); 3:145b.

513. ***Ascends*, literally...** עולה (*Olah*) is also the name for the offering on the altar that is totally consumed by fire—that "ascends" to God. In M *Zevahim* 5:4, the *olah* offering is classified as one of the קדשי קדשים (*qodshei qodashim*), "holies of holies," i.e., the most sacred offerings. Here Rabbi El'azar indicates that *Shekhinah* ascends to *Binah*, the "holy of holies," and is united with Her. See *Zohar* 2:239a; 3:26a–b.

514. **She** *This*, that is, *Shekhinah*.

515. **in the desert She inherited...** *Shekhinah* is also called *Keneset Yisra'el*, "Assembly of Israel," since She is the divine counterpart of the people, that aspect of God most intimately connected with them. At Mount Sinai on *Shavu'ot*, when the Torah was given to Israel, *Keneset Yisra'el* was wedded to *Tif'eret*, the blessed Holy One.

516. **by the whispering of lips...** Through fervent, meditative prayer or study, *Shekhinah* ascends to *Binah*.

517. ***These mighty gods...*** This verse records the frightened reaction of the Philistines when the ark of the covenant was brought into the Israelite camp in the midst of battle.

518. **Rather, במדבר (*ba-midbar*) means בדבורא (*be-dibbura*), *by speech...*** See *Shemot Rabbah* 2:4; Radak on 1 Samuel 4:8.

519. **ממדבר הרים (*mi-midbar harim*), *from wilderness mountains...*** In *Bemidbar Rabbah* 22:8 the word הרים (*harim*) is interpreted by Rabbi Abba as הרים (*herim*), "he raised." See *Tanḥuma, Mattot* 6; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Mattot* 9; *Midrash Tehillim* 75:3.

Here Rabbi El'azar combines this interpretation with the midrashic rendering of מדבר (*midbar*).

520. **By that word of the mouth...** Through the power of prayer and study, *Shekhinah* ascends to the realm of *Binah*.

521. **Afterward through speech...** Holy speech also draws down emanation.

522. **bless...the moment he opens his eyes** See BT *Berakhot* 60b: "Upon opening his eyes, one should say: 'Blessed is He who opens the eyes of the blind.'"

523. **How can he bless?** Seeing that he has not yet washed his hands.

524. **ancient *ḥasidim*...** This group is referred to in rabbinic literature, but here Rabbi El'azar may be alluding to the German *ḥasidim* of the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries. See Scholem, who cites *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 798 (ed. Margaliot, par. 992), where a rabbi instructs young men to sleep with "a vessel filled with [cold] water by their beds" and to immerse themselves in the water in order to overcome the evil impulse. Cf. par. 1066 (Margaliot, par. 371), where advice is given that "at night one place next to him water in a cup" to purify oneself from nocturnal emission. See *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 10: "Be careful to have a cup of water next to your bed, and when you rise in the morning do not put on your garment without first washing your hands."

525. **blessing over the crowing of the rooster** See BT *Berakhot* 60b: "When one hears the rooster crowing he should say: 'Blessed is He who has given the rooster understanding to distinguish between day and night.'" Here the rooster marks the moment of midnight, the beginning of the union of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. See Rashi on BT *Eruvin* 53b, s.v. *maggidei ba-alatah*, according to whom the rooster's crows mark the various divisions of the night. See *Pereq Shirah*, 2:57 (s.v. *tarnegol*): "When the blessed Holy One comes to the righteous in the Garden of Eden, all the trees of the Garden sprinkle spices before Him. Then he [the rooster] praises."

See Naḥmanides on Job 38:36; *Zohar* 1:77b, 218b; 2:196a; 3:22b–23b, 171b; *ZḤ* 88a (*MhN*, *Rut*).

526. **midnight...** See Psalms 119:62; and BT *Berakhot* 3b: "Rabbi Shim'on the Ḥasid said, 'There was a harp suspended above [King] David's bed. As soon as midnight arrived, a north wind came and blew upon it, and it played by itself. He immediately arose and engaged in Torah until the break of dawn.'"

In the *Zohar*, this legendary custom is expanded into a ritual: all kabbalists are expected to rise at midnight and adorn *Shekhinah* with words of Torah and song in preparation for Her union with *Tif'eret*. See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 146–50. This parallels the midnight vigil, common among Christian monks from early medieval times. In *Zohar* 3:119a Rabbi Yehudah alludes to the Christian practice: "I have seen something similar among the nations of the world." At midnight God delights in the souls of the righteous in the Garden of Eden, and those who study Torah here below partake of the celestial joy.

See *Sifra*, *Beḥuqqotai* 3:3, 111b; *Aggadat Bereshit* 23:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 102a; 2 Enoch 8:3; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:138); *Zohar* 1:72a, 77a, 82b, 92a–b, 136b, 178b, 231b; 2:46a, 130a–b, 136a, 173b, 195b–196a; 3:21b–22b, 52b, 193a; *ZḤ* 13c (*MhN*). Cf. Matthew 25:6.

527. **forbidden to bless with impure, filthy hands** See BT *Berakhot* 53b: "R. Zuhamai said, 'Just as a filthy [person or animal] is unfit for the Temple service, so filthy hands render one unfit for reciting a blessing [after eating].'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:184b; 3:186a; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 12.

528. **at all times** When a person rises from sleep, even during the day.

529. **his spirit flies away... an impure spirit...** During sleep one's spirit soars upward and an impure spirit arrives. See BT *Shabbat* 109a; *Ḥullin* 107b; *Zohar* 1:53b, 169b, 184b; 3:67a; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 10.

Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 14:9: "It was said in the name of Rabbi Me'ir: 'This soul fills the body, and when a person sleeps she ascends, drawing down life from above.'"

530. **one spirit in every bathroom...** See "the demons of the bathroom" mentioned in BT *Qiddushin* 72a; cf. *Berakhot* 62b.

531. **on the fingers of one's hands** The passage is apparently incomplete. See *KP*; Scholem.

532. **removes him from the world** Satan and the Angel of Death are two manifestations of *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side," the demonic. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

See the description of Satan's itinerary in *Bava Batra*, loc cit.: "He descends and seduces, ascends and arouses wrath, obtains authorization, and seizes the soul." Cf. Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 89a, s.v. *ba ha-satan; Zohar* 1:46b, 125a, 148a (*ST*), 152b; 2:33b, 268b.

533. **gladdening the poor...** See *ZḤ* 87b (*MhN, Rut*): "The blessed Holy One enjoys the food that one gives to a poor person because that food satisfies the poor person and makes him happy." Cf. *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 65; *Zohar* 2:88b; 3:103b–104a; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yom Tov* 6:18.

534. **those broken vessels of His** See Psalms 34:19: *YHVH is close to the broken-hearted*. According to midrashic sources, Rabbi Alexandri, referring to such supplicants, says, "All of God's vessels are broken" (*Vayiqra Rabbah* 7:2; cf. *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 24:5).

In the *Zohar* God's broken vessels are the poor, who are compared to *Shekhinah* because, like Her, they have nothing at all of their own (3:113b). As She is provided for by the other *sefirot*, so other humans must provide for the poor, and "anyone who mistreats a poor person mistreats *Shekhinah*" (2:86b). See 2:218a; *ZḤ* 77c (*MhN, Rut*).

535. **Many members of the Academy** The souls of the righteous reside in heaven, imbibing the deepest secrets of Torah.

536. **Compassionate and Gracious** See Exodus 34:6: *YHVH, YHVH, a God compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, abounding in love and faithfulness*.

537. **By this the world endures** Without deeds of love, the world will collapse.

538. **The Accuser...** Satan, who claims permission to punish the selfish person.

539. **Abraham... acted kindly...** On Abraham's hospitality, see *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 7; *Bereshit Rabbah* 54:6; BT *Sotah* 10a–b. According to the *Zohar* (1:83a; 3:104a, 267a), Abraham's devotion to God and love of his fellow creatures elevated him to the rung of *Ḥesed* ("Love").

540. **inviting all the dignitaries...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 53:10: "Rabbi Yehudah said, 'A *great feast* means a feast of the great. Og [king of Bashan, who was a giant (Deut. 3:11)] and all the great ones were there.'"

541. **We have learned...** The following teaching has no known source in rabbinic literature.

542. **chaos of revelry** On this expression, see *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:10; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 64 (79).

543. **they did not believe...** That Sarah, aged ninety, had really given birth to Isaac.

544. ***Children,* literally!** In the plural. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 52; *Bereshit Rabbah* 53:9; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 22:1; and BT *Bava Metsi'a* 87a: "*She* [Sarah] *said, Who would have said to Abraham: Sarah will suckle children?* How many children did Sarah suckle? Rabbi Levi said, 'On the day that Abraham weaned his son Isaac, he held a great feast. All the nations of the world mocked him, saying, "Have you seen that old man and woman, who brought a foundling from off the streets, and now claim him as their son! Furthermore they hold a great feast to establish their claim!" What did Abraham our father do? He invited all the dignitaries of his generation, and Sarah our mother invited their wives. Each one brought her baby with her, but not her wetnurse, and a miracle happened to Sarah our mother: her breasts opened like two fountains, and she suckled them all.'"

545. **She** That is, Sarah.

546. **gave me nothing** Elsewhere the *Zohar* indicates that the demonic powers should be assuaged by giving them their share, as a bone is thrown to a dog. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 46: "They gave him [Satan] a bribe on Yom Kippur [i.e., the scapegoat] so that he would not nullify Israel's sacrifice."

According to Leviticus 16, a goat bearing the sins of Israel is designated for Azazel, a wilderness demon. Similarly, in the Babylonian Akitu ritual a goat, substituted for a human being, is offered to Ereshkigal, goddess of the Abyss.

See Naḥmanides on Leviticus 16:8; *Zohar* 1:64a, 65a, 113b–114b, 138b, 174b, 190a, 210b; 2:154b, 237b; 266b; 3:63a (*Piq*), 102a, 202b–203a, 258b; *ZḤ* 87b–c (*MhN, Rut*); Moses de León, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 49; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:890–95.

547. **even a single dove** See BT *Sanhedrin* 89b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Yose son of Zimra, '... Satan said in the presence of the blessed Holy One, "Master of the universe! You bestowed upon this old man the fruit of the womb at the age of one hundred! From his entire feast could he not offer a single dove or pigeon to You?"'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 55:4. Leviticus 5:7 specifies doves or pigeons as the offering that a poor person may bring if he cannot afford a sheep.

548. **Who in the world is like Abraham?** See *Sefer ha-Yashar*, *Vayera*, 117; Job 1:8.

549. **he held his ground** Satan, the Accuser, would not leave God's presence or relent.

550. **that Isaac be offered as a sacrifice** According to BT *Sanhedrin* 89b (the continuation of the passage cited above), God commanded Abraham to offer up Isaac in order to prove to Satan that Abraham was a loyal servant. Here in the *Zohar*, the tone is different: the binding of Isaac is a punishment for Abraham's selfishness and neglect of the poor, a substitute offering to God.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 55:4–5, where Rabbi Yehoshu'a in the name of Rabbi Levi cites Micah 6:7: *Shall I offer my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for my own sin?* See *Zohar* 1:119b.

551. **that Sarah die in anguish...** When she heard the details of the binding of Isaac. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:2; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 26:3; *Tanḥuma*, *Vayera* 23; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 32.

552. **he** Abraham.

553. ***Hezekiah turned his face to the wall and prayed...*** When King Hezekiah of Judah fell dangerously ill, Isaiah prophesied to him that he would die (Isaiah 38:1). See *Zohar* 1:132a, 228a–b; 2:44a, 133a; 3:260a–b.

554. **learns from it every day** In *Zohar* 3:260a the reading is: "eats from it every day."

555. **that decree** Whatever has been decreed against him, as the decree against King Hezekiah was nullified when he turned back to God in sincere prayer (Isaiah 38:4–8).

556. **Tree of Life** Torah is identified with the Tree of Life, based on the description of wisdom in Proverbs 3:18: *She is a tree of life to those who grasp her*. See BT *Berakhot* 32b, 61b.

557. **accept... the Kingdom on high** Before going to sleep, one should recite the *Shema* (*Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one* [Deuteronomy 6:4]), thereby accepting upon oneself "the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven."

See BT *Berakhot* 4b: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'Even if one has recited the *Shema* in the synagogue, it is a *mitsvah* to recite it upon his bed.'" Cf.

Zohar 1:183a; 3:211a; and on the phrase "the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven," see M *Berakhot* 2:2.

558. **in advance deliver to Him the pledge...** During sleep the soul ascends to heaven. On account of one's daily sins, the soul should not be restored in the morning, but by consciously delivering the soul as a pledge to God before sleep, one ensures that God will return the pledge. See *Zohar* 1:36b; 3:119a, 260a; *ZḤ* 18b–c (*MhN*), 89a (*MhN, Rut*).

The nightly delivery of the pledge is announced by reciting Psalms 31:6: *Into Your hand I entrust* [or: *deposit*] *my spirit; You redeem me, YHVH, faithful God*. See BT *Berakhot* 5a, where this verse is recommended by Abbaye.

559. **any grave illness** As with Hezekiah, sincere prayer wards off illness.

560. **His house... His sanctuary** The synagogue and the ark.

561. **He should seek advice from those holy Patriarchs** One should meditate on the sefirotic triad symbolized by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*.

562. **So they have established** In the *Zohar*, this formula often refers to Talmudic traditions, but here it refers to the Spanish custom of reciting this verse from Psalms upon entering the synagogue. See *Abudarham*, 349; Scholem; *Zohar* 3:8b.

563. **they innovated prayer...** See BT *Berakhot* 26b: "Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'The patriarchs instituted the prayers'.... Abraham instituted the morning prayer,... Isaac, the afternoon prayer,... Jacob, the evening prayer." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9.

564. **Abraham... Isaac... Jacob** The verse is applied to all three patriarchs. Abraham is often identified with *Ḥesed* ("Love"). The correlation of the next part of the verse with Isaac is not clear. Jacob and awe are linked in Genesis 28:17, where the third patriarch declares: *How awesome is this place!* (cf. Genesis 32:8). The *Zohar* links the divine name נורא (*Nora*), *Awesome* (Deuteronomy 10:17; Nehemiah 9:32), with Jacob and *Tif'eret* (see *Zohar* 1:19a; 2:78b–79a, 261a).

There are various alternate readings in the manuscripts and commentaries. See Vital and Galante; *KP*; Scholem; Meir ibn Gabbai, *Tola'at Ya'aqov, sod ha-tefillin*, 9a; cf. *Zohar* 3:8b.

565. ***Israel, in whom I will be glorified*** Through contemplative prayer, the Jew (*Israel*) unites the triad of *sefirot*, imitating *Tif'eret* ("Glory"), who synthesizes *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*.

566. **Rabbi Pinḥas** Son of Ya'ir, a second-century rabbi who lived in Palestine, renowned for his saintliness and ability to work miracles. See BT *Ḥullin* 7a; JT *Demai* 1:3, 22a. In the *Zohar*, he is accorded special status. In

recognition of his *ḥasidut* ("saintliness, piety, love of God"), Rabbi Shim'on affirms that Pinḥas has attained the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed* (3:62a; cf. 201a, 240b). Generally he is in a class by himself among the Companions. See 3:59b–60b, 62a–b, 200b–202a, 203a, 225b, 288a, 296b (*IZ*); *ZḤ* 12b, 19a (*MhN*).

Such special treatment is to be expected given that, according to BT *Shabbat* 33b (a passage on which the following story is based), Rabbi Pinḥas was the son-in-law of Rabbi Shim'on. However, the *Zohar* elevates Pinḥas further by transforming him into Rabbi Shim'on's father-in-law. This new role could be the result of a simple mistake: confusing חתן (*ḥatan*), "son-in-law," and חותן (*ḥoten*), "father-in-law." However, the switch may also be deliberate, another instance of interchanging father and son (see above, notes 300 and 325). The fantastic or contrived contexts in which the son-in-law appears as the father-in-law support this possibility. In the following lines, Rabbi Reḥumai alludes cryptically to the relationship; Rabbi El'azar meets Pinḥas on the road and quotes an appropriate verse (3:36a); Rabbi Shim'on quotes another verse to his son, El'azar, and interprets it as referring to El'azar's mother, Pinḥas's daughter (3:240b, on the Torah portion *Pinḥas*); the prophet Elijah appears and tells Rabbi Shim'on: "Today for your sake, your father-in-law, Rabbi Pinḥas son of Ya'ir, has been crowned with fifty crowns!" (3:144b [*IR*]). In 3:200b–202a, the relationship is given narrative substance: Rabbi Pinḥas is on his way to see his sick daughter, the wife of Rabbi Shim'on (cf. 3:64a). Yet this setting is provided only to highlight the fabricated relationship and set the tone for a fantastic tale. Pinḥas's daughter never appears in the story.

567. **Rabbi Reḥumai** One of the main characters in *Sefer ha-Bahir*.

568. **Lake Ginnosar** The Sea of Galilee, Lake Kinneret.

569. **He** Rabbi Reḥumai.

570. **transcended...** אסתלקו (*Istallaqu*), "had ascended, departed, withdrawn." His eyes had ceased seeing in the normal way.

571. **a pearl, a precious stone** The son of Yoḥai: Rabbi Shim'on. Together with his son, Rabbi El'azar, Rabbi Shim'on hid from the Roman authorities in a cave for thirteen years.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6; *Qohelet Rabbah* on 10:9; BT *Shabbat* 33b; JT *Shevi'it* 9:1, 38d; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 11:16; *Midrash Tehillim* 17:13; *ZḤ* 59c–60a; *Zohar* 1:216b.

On the tradition that the *Zohar* was composed in this cave, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:13; Huss, "Hofa'ato shel Sefer ha-Zohar," 528.

572. **issuing...** Alluding to Rabbi Shim'on's emergence from the cave.

573. **Ancient of Days** עתיק יומין (*Attiq yomin*). See Daniel 7:9: *The Ancient of Days sits, the hair on His head like clean fleece, His throne—flames of fire*. In

the *Zohar*, this name designates *Keter*, the first, primordial *sefirah*.

574. **throne** The *sefirot* below *Keter*. Until then, the light of Rabbi Shim'on unifies the *sefirot*.

575. **contained totally in your house** According to the *Zohar*, Rabbi Shim'on is married to the daughter of Rabbi Pinḥas and thus contained in his house. See above, note 566; below, page 81.

576. **a fine, threadlike ray, radiating...** Rabbi El'azar, son of Rabbi Shim'on, is now "radiating" (נפיק לבר [*nafeiq le-var*], "coming out" of the cave).

577. **He left him** Rabbi Pinḥas left Rabbi Reḥumai.

578. **two birds...** See *ZḤ* 59c–60a, where a dove transmits a message from the Companions to Rabbi Shim'on in the cave and brings back his response to them. Cf. *Zohar* 2:6b; 3:201a–b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6.

579. **They embarked...** Rabbi Pinḥas and his two companions.

580. **emerged from the cave...** The cave in which Rabbi Shim'on and his son hid themselves for thirteen years. See above, note 571.

581. **full of moldy sores** From living in the cave. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6. According to BT *Shabbat* 33b, "A miracle occurred: A carob tree and a spring of water were created for them [Rabbi Shim'on and Rabbi El'azar], They took off their clothes and sat up to their necks in the sand. All day long they studied; when it was time to pray they put on their clothes, prayed, and then took them off again, so as not to wear them out."

582. **I would not be so** I would not have attained the high level that I attained in the cave. See BT *Shabbat* 33b. According to *ZḤ* 59c, Elijah taught Rabbi Shim'on and Rabbi El'azar in the cave twice daily.

583. **in general terms** The commandments are alluded to in the opening verses of Genesis and spelled out later in the Torah. On the following list of fourteen commandments, see Gottlieb, *Meḥqarim*, 215, n. 1; Wolfson, introduction to *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, by Moses de León, 32–33.

584. **gate...** *Shekhinah* is the gate through which one enters the divine realm of faith. She is also called *awe*, since She is associated with the *sefirah* of *Din*, Judgment. See *Zohar* 1:7b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 24–32.

585. **The entire world is based...** The letter ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, means not only "in," but also "with." Rabbi Shim'on reads the verse: *With beginning* (awe), *God created the heavens and the earth*.

586. **essence** עקרא (*Iqqara*), "Root, essence." On the distinction between different types of awe, see Baḥya ibn Paquda, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* 10:6; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:975–989.

587. **his awe is not focused...** See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 31; *TZ* 33, 77a; *Zohar* 2:33b.

588. **site called Awe** *Shekhinah*, the focus of genuine devotion.

589. **Woe is me if I speak!...** See BT *Bava Batra* 89b, where Rabbi Yoḥanan son of Zakkai says, concerning the details of illegal practices, "Woe is me if I say it! Woe is me if I do not say it! If I say it, the deceivers will learn. If I do not say it, the deceivers will say, 'Scholars are not expert in our practices.'"

See M *Kelim* 17:16; *Tosefta, Kelim* (*Bava Metsi'a*) 7:9; *Zohar* 2:100b, 257b (*Heikh*); and *Zohar* 3:74b: "Rabbi Shim'on clapped his hands and wept. He exclaimed, 'Woe is me if I speak and reveal the secret! Woe is me if I do not speak, for the Companions will be deprived of the word.'" See 3:127b (*IR*): "Rabbi Shim'on sat down. He wept and exclaimed, 'Woe is me if I reveal! Woe is me if I do not reveal!'"

Given the rabbinic and kabbalistic emphasis on repentance, it seems startling that Rabbi Shim'on would not want the wicked to learn how to serve God, but apparently he feels that in certain cases they are irredeemable and must be punished; cf. Isaiah 6:9–10. *OY* and Galante suggest that Rabbi Shim'on doesn't want the wicked to discover this secret because if they then persist in sinning willfully, they would be even more evil. According to *KP*, Rabbi Shim'on fears that revealing the secret to the wicked would lead them to serve the demonic, "their lord."

See also *Nefesh David*; Zeitlin, "*Haqdamat Sefer ha-Zohar*"; *Sullam*; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1065; *YN; MmD*.

590. **below is evil awe...** Below *Shekhinah*, holy awe, lies the demonic realm, *Sitra Aḥra* ("the Other Side"), who accuses human sinners and is then empowered to punish them. See *TZ* 30, 73a; 33, 76b–77a.

591. **that awe called *awe of YHVH*...** *Shekhinah*, who dwells only with those whose awe is genuine.

592. **Who then hovers over him?...** By fearing punishment, one attracts the demonic lash.

593. **this commandment is included here** The commandment of awe is indicated in the opening word of the Torah.

594. בראשית (*Be-reshit*), ***Because of beginning*, which is awe...** The letter ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), usually translated "in," can also mean "because of."

595. **four types of punishment...** According to M *Sanhedrin* 7:1, there are four types of capital punishment: stoning, burning, beheading, and strangulation.

596. ***line of chaos*** The verse reads: *He will stretch over it a line of chaos and plummet-stones of void*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "*Chaos* is a green line encompassing the whole world, from which darkness issued." Cf. Moses de León, *Or Zaru'a*, 268.

597. ***measuring rope*** The full verse reads: *I raised my eyes and looked, and*

behold: a man with a measuring rope in his hand. Together, the two prophetic verses indicate that *chaos* is a line, which is a rope—implying strangulation.

598. ***Void* is stoning, stones sunk...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "*Void*—the slimy stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues, as is said: *He will stretch over it a line of chaos and plummet-stones of void*." The immense abyss is the home of demonic powers.

599. ***When you heard the voice from the midst of the darkness*** The verse continues: *while the mountain was ablaze with fire*.

600. ***the mountain was ablaze... heaven...*** The verse concludes: *darkness, cloud, and fog*.

601. **fierce fire...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 13b: "Where does the river of fire pour forth? Rabbi Zutra son of Toviah said in the name of Rav, 'Upon the heads of the wicked in Hell.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:16a; and Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 2:30: "The elemental fire was designated by this term [*darkness*] because it is not luminous, but only transparent."

602. **called *wind*** The sword of punishment swishes through the air.

603. **It is written after awe, *beginning*...** The verse alluding to the various types of punishment (Genesis 1:2) follows the verse *In the beginning*..., which alludes to awe, the all-inclusive commandment.

604. **loving one's Lord consummately** See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 44–45.

605. **Abounding love** Hebrew, אהבה רבה (*ahavah rabbah*), "great love," a designation of *Ḥesed*, while *Shekhinah* is אהבה זוטא (*ahavah zuta*), "small love." See *Zohar* 2:254b; *ZḤ* 52b.

606. ***be wholehearted*—consummate in love** By fulfilling this command, Abraham attained the rung of *Ḥesed* ("Love").

607. ***Let there be light*...** The primordial light of Creation is *Ḥesed* (*Zohar* 1:16b), so the commandment of love is alluded to in the phrase *Let there be light*, following the allusion to the commandment of awe in the first verse (see above, page 77).

608. **Pinḥas... stands on this rung** Rabbi Pinḥas has attained the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed* ("Love"). See *Zohar* 3:62a, where Rabbi Shim'on describes him as "crown of *Ḥesed*, supernal head." Cf. 3:201a, 240b, where he is called חסידא (*ḥasida*), "devotee, saint, pious one, lover of God."

Mishnah *Sotah* 9:15 attributes to Rabbi Pinḥas the following teaching: "Zeal leads to cleanliness, cleanliness leads to purity, purity leads to restraint, restraint leads to holiness, holiness leads to humility, humility leads to fear of sin, fear of sin leads to *ḥasidut* ("love, devotion"), *ḥasidut* leads to Holy Spirit, Holy Spirit leads to resurrection of the dead, and resurrection of the dead comes

through Elijah, remembered for good."

The order of stages varies; see JT *Shabbat* 1:3, 3c; *Sheqalim* 3:3, 47c; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:9 (on 1:1); and BT *Avodah Zarah* 20b, where Rabbi Pinḥas concludes that "*ḥasidut* is greater than any of these."

609. **love of the blessed Holy One— branches in two directions** On the various types of love of God, see Baḥya ibn Paquda, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* 10:2.

610. **this love is not rooted** The line can also be rendered: "this love is not love, for it is based on something." See M *Avot* 5:16: "Any love dependent on something—if that thing ceases, love ceases. Love not dependent on anything never ceases." Cf. Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 44.

611. **whether judgment or favor** Consummate love of God endures whatever comes.

612. **'even if He plucks your soul'** See BT *Berakhot* 61b: "Rabbi Akiva said, '[*You shall love YHVH your God*] *with all your soul* (Deuteronomy 6:5)—even if He plucks your soul.'... When Rabbi Akiva was brought out to be executed [by the Romans], it was the time for reciting the *Shema*. While they were combing his flesh with iron combs, he accepted upon himself the Kingdom of Heaven [by reciting the *Shema*]. His disciples asked him, 'Our teacher, even this far?' He replied, 'All my days I have been troubled by this verse: *with all your soul*, [which I interpret] "even if He plucks your soul." I said, "When will I have the opportunity to fulfill this?" Now that I have the opportunity, shall I not fulfill it?' He prolonged the word אחד (*eḥad*), *one* [in the verse: *Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one* (Deuteronomy 6:4)] until his soul departed with *one*. A voice echoed from heaven: 'Happy are you, Akiva, whose soul has departed with *one*!'"

See M *Berakhot* 9:5; *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 32; *Zohar* 3:68a; *TZ, Haqdamah*, 10b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 43–44.

613. **light... radiated and was then hidden away** The primordial light of the first day of Creation was hidden away. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

614. **severe Judgment flashed** The primordial light symbolizes *Ḥesed*,

while its concealment symbolizes the next stage of emanation, *Gevurah*, or *Din* ("Judgment").

615. **two aspects merged...** The *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, also known as רחמים (*Raḥamim*), Compassion, represents the blending of *Ḥesed* and *Din*. Complete love must include both extremes: grace and judgment.

616. **This is the fine ray of light I was told...** Rabbi Reḥumai had told Rabbi Pinḥas about this ray of light, which he now realizes is his grandson, Rabbi El'azar, who emerged from the cave with Rabbi Shim'on (see above, pages 75–76).

617. **on the other side—of severe Judgment** The other aspect of love, mediated by Judgment. "The other side" (סטרא אחרא [*sitra aḥra*]) alludes to the demonic realm, mentioned several lines later. The *Zohar* plays with various senses of this phrase.

618. **that other side...** The other side is the realm of evil. To avoid falling into its clutches, one should arouse awe when harsh Judgment arrives.

619. **both aspects** Both aspects of love: grace (good fortune) and judgment (suffering). Awe is essential in either case to consummate love.

620. **third commandment** Rabbi Shim'on continues, linking the third commandment with the third day of Creation, on which God said: *Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place* (Genesis 1:9).

621. **to realize that God exists** See Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 1:1: "The ultimate foundation and pillar of wisdom is to realize that there is a first existent who brings every existent into existence. Every existent in heaven and earth and what is between has come into existence solely out of His genuine existence."

While for Maimonides, the primal commandment is to realize that God exists, for the *Zohar*, awe and love of God take precedence.

622. **six supernal directions** See BT *Berakhot* 13b, in the name of Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba: "Once you have enthroned Him above and below and in the four directions of heaven, you need do nothing more." These six directions (above, below, north, south, east, and west) symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, which join in preparation for the union with *Shekhinah*.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:13; *Zohar* 1:158a; 2:216b; *Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 61:6.

623. **through the six words...** The first line of the *Shema* contains six words in Hebrew: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד (*Shema Yisra'el YHVH Eloheinu YHVH eḥad*), *Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*. By reciting these words with כונה (*kavvanah*), "intention," one unifies the corresponding six *sefirot*.

See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:971–74. Cf. BT *Berakhot* 13b: "Our

Rabbis taught: '*Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*. Until here *kavvanah* is required.'"

624. **directing one's desire above along with them** While reciting the first six words, one should focus on the six corresponding *sefirot*, but one should then aim toward the three highest *sefirot* (*Keter*, *Ḥokhmah*, and *Binah*) and ultimately to that which is beyond all words: *Ein Sof*. Here lies the source and goal of the lower *sefirot*, and so one's desire ascends "along with them." See *Zohar* 2:216b.

625. **one should prolong אחד (*eḥad*), *one*... to be fittingly complete...** The word אחד (*eḥad*), *one*, completes the first line of the *Shema*. See BT *Berakhot* 13b: "It has been taught: Symmachus says, 'Whoever prolongs the word אחד (*eḥad*), *one*, has his days and years prolonged.'... Rabbi Yirmeyah was sitting in the presence of Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba. [Rabbi Ḥiyya] saw that he was prolonging [the word *eḥad*] greatly. He said to him, 'Once you have declared Him king over what is above and below and in the four directions of heaven, you need do nothing more.'"

Here Rabbi Shim'on teaches that by prolonging *eḥad* to the length of all six words of the first line of the *Shema*, one fulfills the mystical meaning of Genesis 1:9: *Let the waters* (the *sefirot*) *under heaven* (around *Tif'eret*) *be gathered to one place* (*Yesod*), thus forming a union of six directions. Cf. *Zohar* 1:18a–b.

626. **awe** *Shekhinah*. See above, page 77.

627. **prolonging the ד (*dalet*) of אחד (*eḥad*), *one*...** The ד (*dalet*) is the final letter of אחד (*eḥad*). According to Rabbi Aḥa son of Ya'akov (BT *Berakhot* 13b), one should prolong this letter specifically, and in the Torah scroll it is written large. See *Zohar* 2:160b; 3:236b.

In the *Zohar*, ד (*dalet*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is called both דלה (*dallah*), "poor," and *dry land* before She receives the flow of emanation from the higher *sefirot*.

628. **with Her forces, in six other directions...** *Shekhinah* should be united with Her retinue of angels, who parallel the six *sefirot* above. The six Hebrew words of the second line of the *Shema*, ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד (*Barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-olam va-ed*), "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever," allude to these angels, the six other directions below, accompanying *Shekhinah*, who is known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

See BT *Pesaḥim* 56a; *Zohar* 1:18b; 2:139b; 3:264a.

629. ***dry land* is transformed into *earth*...** *Shekhinah* becomes fertile, engendering new life.

630. **ארעא (*ar'a*), *Earth* fittingly consummates רעוא (*ra'ava*), desire** Literally, "*Earth* is fittingly consummate favor [or: will, desire]." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 5:8: "*God called the dry land Earth*. Why ארץ (*erets*), *Earth*? Because

she wanted to fulfill רצונו (*retsono*), His will." The Aramaic רעוא (*ra'ava*) and Hebrew רצון (*ratson*) both mean "will, favor, desire."

631. ***it was good, it was good,* twice** The phrase *God saw that it was good* appears twice in the account of the third day of Creation.

632. **It** *Shekhinah*.

633. ***Let the earth sprout vegetation*** The verse continues: —*seed-bearing plants, fruit trees of every kind on earth bearing fruit with the seed in it*.

634. **fourth commandment** Linked with the fourth day of Creation, on which God said *Let there be lights in the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:14).

635. **יהוה (*YHVH*) is האלהים (*ha-Elohim*), God** Rabbi Shim'on is alluding to the first line of the *Shema*, discussed above, which contains both these names and concludes with the word *one*. In rabbinic literature the two names represent the divine qualities of compassion and justice, respectively. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*) is called "a complete name."

In Kabbalah the two names often designate *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who are essentially one and should not be separated. See *Zohar* 1:4a, 20a, 48b, 91a; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

636. **מארת (*me'orot*)... deficiently...** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vavs*, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling is interpreted as alluding to *Shekhinah*, the moon, who is incomplete without Her partner, *Tif'eret*, sun or heaven.

See Proverbs 3:33; JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:1a, 19b, 33b.

On the diminution of the moon, see BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written: *the greater light... and the lesser light* (ibid.). The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!"...'"

637. **black light with white light** *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*, also known, respectively, as "the speculum that does not shine" and "the speculum that shines." See *Zohar* 1:51a, 77b, 83b. On "speculum," see below, p. 209, n. 824.

638. **white cloud of day...** See Exodus 13:21: *YHVH walks before them in a pillar of cloud by day, to guide them along the way, and in a pillar of fire by night, to give them light*. The white cloud symbolizes *Tif'eret*, often associated with the day; the cloud of fire, *Shekhinah*, associated with the night.

639. **Quality of day... of night** In BT *Berakhot* 11b, Rava and Abbaye indicate that light is mentioned in the evening prayers, and darkness in the morning prayers, "in order to mention the quality of day during the night and the

quality of night during the day."

See *Zohar* 1:120b, 259a (*Hash*); 2:162a; 3:260b, 264a.

640. **he joined below...** The serpent united the demonic powers below, thereby ruining the divine harmony above. Alternatively, he united *Shekhinah* with the demonic powers. On the nature of the sin in the Garden of Eden, see *Zohar* 1:35b–36b, 51a–53b, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373–76.

641. **Her forces of unification** The angels beneath *Shekhinah* with whom She is joined through the unification of the second line of the *Shema*. See above, page 83.

642. **that Other Side...** *Sitra Aḥra*, "The Other Side," the demonic realm.

643. **The shell rises in the wake of the kernel** The demonic follows the lead of the holy.

644. **אור (*Or*) in letters joined together, מות (*mavet*) in separation** The word מאורות (*me'orot*), *lights*, contains the letters of the word אור (*or*), "light," in proper sequence, while the letters of the word מות (*mavet*), "death," are interrupted. Whereas in Genesis 1:14 מארת (*me'orot*) is written without either ו (*vav*), in this next verse it is spelled מאורת, with one ו (*vav*), and Rabbi Shim'on reads it as if it contained two *vavs*.

645. **letters of separation...** The letters of the word מות (*mavet*), "death," which until now had been separated. The command *Let them be* מאורות (*me'orot*), *lights*, was intended to ensure that the letters of death remain apart.

646. **ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *The woman saw*** The verse continues: *that the tree was good for eating and a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was desirable to contemplate. She took of its fruit and ate, and also gave to her husband beside her, and he ate*.

647. **reversing the letters...** The verse describing Eve's sin opens with the word ותרא (*va-tere*), *she saw*. This word contains the letters of the word אור (*or*), but now out of order and interrupted by the ת (*tav*), whereas in the word מאורות (*me'orot*) they appeared in correct sequence. Through her sin, Eve reversed the letters. Furthermore she removed the letters of the word ותרא (*va-tere*) from the word מאורות (*me'orot*), which was left with only two letters: מ״ו (*mem, vav*). These two letters joined together with the letter ת (*tav*) of ותרא (*va-tere*), which interrupts the disordered letters of the word אור (*or*). The combination of מ״ו (*mem, vav*) and ת (*tav*) formed the word מות (*mavet*), "death." See Genesis 2:17.

648. **מ (*mem*) was left alone** Rabbi El'azar insists on reading the word מאורת (*me'orot*) exactly as it is spelled in Genesis 1:15, with one ו (*vav*). Without the letters of the word ותרא (*va-tere*), *She saw*, only the מ (*mem*) is left.

649. **ו (*Vav*), who is always life, was transformed** The letter ו (*vav*), whose

numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). See *Zohar* 1:33b, 241b; 2:137a; 3:176b. Sin changes this letter from a symbol of life to a component of death, as Rabbi El'azar goes on to explain. The word "transformed" (אתהפבת [*ithappakhat*]) may allude to the grammatical term ו׳ המהפבת (*vav ha-mehappekhet*), "the conversive [or: transformative] *vav*," which transforms the imperfect tense to the perfect, as in the two examples that follow.

650. **went and took ת** (***tav***)... ***She took ... and she gave*** The verse reads: *She took of its fruit and ate, and she gave also to her husband beside her, and he ate*. Rabbi El'azar indicates that the first two letters of the verbs ותקח (*va-tiqqaḥ*), *she took*, and ותתן (*va-titten*), *she gave*, are ו (*vav*) and ת (*tav*). Once these two letters joined, they needed only the letter מ (*mem*) to produce מות (*mavet*), "death." See *Zohar* 3:237a.

651. **This word** The word מות (*mavet*), "death."

652. **fifth commandment... *Let the waters swarm...*** The verse continues: *and let birds fly above the earth*. The fifth commandment is linked with the fifth day of Creation, on which God gave the command recorded here.

653. **on the eighth day...** A male infant is circumcised normally on the eighth day.

654. **expanding her...** Expanding one's understanding of Torah and thereby expanding Torah herself.

655. ***Let the waters swarm*—Torah** Torah is often compared to water. See BT *Bava Qamma* 82a: "Those who interpret metaphorically said, 'Water means solely Torah, as is said: *Ho, all who thirst, come for water* (Isaiah 55:1).'" Cf. *Ta'anit* 7a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 54:1; *Zohar* 2:60a.

656. **another holy soul** If one engages in Torah and purifies oneself, then this higher soul (נשמתא [*nishmeta*], "soul") is added to the two lower levels: נפשא (*nafsha*), "soul," and רוחא (*ruḥa*), "spirit."

See *Zohar* 1:62a; 3:70b; *TZ* 45, 82b. On the various levels of soul, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:677–722.

657. **that holy חיה** (***ḥayyah***), ***living being*** *Shekhinah*, who gives birth to the highest level of soul. See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 508–9; *Zohar* 1:46b–47a, 242a; 2:48b, 177b–178a (*SdTs*); 3:46b.

Shekhinah, the *ḥayyah*, controls and sustains the holy *ḥayyot* ("living creatures, animals") who support the Chariot, the divine throne.

658. **no holy soul** The highest level.

659. **his murmuring** רחישו דרחיש (*Reḥishu de-raḥeish*). The root means "to move," here, to move the lips, whisper. *Targum Onqelos* employs the same root to translate *swarm* in Genesis 1:20; see *Zohar* 2:177b (*SdTs*).

660. **those engaged in Torah, called *His angels*...** The sages are compared to, or described as, angels in BT *Nedarim* 20b; *Qiddushin* 72a.

661. ***and let birds fly*...** This verse is applied to the angels in *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3. See *Devarim Rabbah* 8:2.

662. **referring to this world** To their reward in this world.

663. **to provide them wings...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 92a–b: "It was taught in the school of Elijah: The righteous whom the blessed Holy One will resurrect will... endure forever.... The blessed Holy One will provide them wings like eagles, and they will fly above the water, as is written, *They who await YHVH shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not grow weary; and they shall walk and not grow faint*." See *Zohar* 3:163a.

664. **Torah, called water** See above, note 655.

665. ***renew in me a steadfast spirit*** Through the study of Torah, one attains a new soul.

666. **causes that river...** By fulfilling the commandment *Be fruitful and multiply* (Genesis 1:28), one stimulates *Yesod*, the divine river and phallus, and ensures that it will flow into *Shekhinah*, the sea, transmitting to Her the emanation from the higher *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:186b; *TZ* 43, 82b.

667. **New souls...** The flow of emanation from *Yesod* to *Shekhinah* consummates the union of the divine male and female, engendering new souls, which emerge from the tree (*Tif'eret* or *Yesod*).

668. **powers** Angels, soon described also as birds.

669. **holy sealed covenant, a river** streaming forth *Yesod*, the divine phallus, is referred to as "the sign of covenant," site of circumcision. The flow of *Yesod* is symbolized by *the waters* of Genesis 1:20. The phrase "a river streaming forth" derives from Daniel 7:10: *A river of fire streams forth before Him*.

670. **that living being** *Shekhinah*.

671. **many birds** Angels. See *Zohar* 1:34a, 46b. The verse is interpreted: *Let the waters* (*Yesod*) *swarm with a swarm of souls* (for the) *living being* (*Shekhinah*), *and let birds* (angels) *fly above the earth*.

672. **on the right... on the left...** Corresponding to *Ḥesed* ("Love") and *Din* ("Judgment"). Though the angels stem from opposite sides, they act in concert, according to each person's conduct.

See BT *Shabbat* 119b; *Ta'anit* 11a; *Zohar* 1:144b, 165b; 2:106b, 239a; *ZḤ* 47a; *ZḤ* 84d (*MhN*, *Rut*).

673. **has the authority** To grant a pardon. See *Zohar* 2:252a.

674. **Whoever avoids... diminishes...** Whoever fails to fulfill the commandment *Be fruitful and multiply* disrupts the union of the divine couple

and thereby diminishes *Shekhinah*, who ideally comprises all the higher *sefirot* and reflects those images.

See *Zohar* 1:186b; *ZḤ* 59a (*MhN*), 89b (*MhN, Rut*); and BT *Yevamot* 63b: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'Whoever does not engage in procreation is as though he sheds blood....' Rabbi Ya'akov said, 'As though he diminishes the [divine] image."' Because human beings are created in the image of God, by failing to bring new life into the world, one diminishes the manifestation of that divine image.

675. **that river... the holy covenant...** The flow of emanation culminating in *Yesod*, the divine phallus, symbolized by the covenant of circumcision.

676. ***against Me,* indeed!** Failure to fulfill this vital commandment renders the body a mere corpse and damages the *sefirot*.

677. **This is for the body** The conclusion of the verse in Isaiah describes the punishment: *their worms shall not die, nor their fire be quenched; they shall be a horror to all flesh*. Cf. *ZḤ* 59a (*MhN*), 89b (*MhN, Rut*).

678. **does not pass through the curtain...** The soul of such a person is not allowed to enter the divine realm and must transmigrate into a different body, where it is given another opportunity to fulfill this vital commandment.

See BT *Bava Batra* 116a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai, 'Whoever does not leave a son to succeed him incurs the full wrath of the blessed Holy One.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:48a, 90a, 115a, 186b, 228b; *ZḤ* 89b (*MhN, Rut*); Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 16 (1945): 146-47.

679. **filth of the foreskin** Symbolizing the demonic. See below; and Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (68).

680. **the living being is the eighth...** *Shekhinah* is the eighth *sefirah*, counting from *Binah*, who is the first *sefirah* about whom one can inquire (see above, page 5). Elsewhere the *Zohar* identifies *Yesod* as the eighth *sefirah*, counting from *Ḥokhmah*, called "Beginning." See 3:11a and, in the context of circumcision, 43b (*Piq*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 228.

681. **soul that has flown from Her... eighth day...** The soul that has emerged from *Shekhinah* into the world should appear before Her.

See *Zohar* 1:12b, 33a; cf. *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 9:10; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 228.

682. **Other Side** The demonic realm.

683. ***Let the waters swarm** with a swarm of* נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *living souls* [or: *a soul of the living being*].

684. ***The Book of Enoch*** Concerning Enoch, Genesis 5:24 states: *He was no more, for God took him*. In postbiblical literature this verse is taken to mean

that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded extensively in the Enoch literature. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by this literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes. It comprises one of the many books housed in the real or imaginary Zoharic library.

See 1:37b, 72b; 2:55a, 100a, 105b, 180b, 192b, 217a; 3:10b, 236b, 240a, 248b, 253b, 307a; *ZḤ* 2c (*SO*). See Matt, *Zohar*, 25; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:158, 163, nn. 60, 61; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 80–83; and *KP*, 22d: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*... have been lost in the wanderings of exile... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

685. **Let the water of the holy seed...** Let the phallus of the holy people, which symbolizes the flowing river of *Yesod*, be inscribed with the mark of circumcision and thereby distinguished as *a soul of Shekhinah, the living being*. The biblical command ישרצו (*yishretsu*), *Let* [*the waters*] *swarm*, is interpreted freely as יתרשמון (*yitrashshemun*), "Let [the water] be inscribed."

686. **mark of the letter י (*yod*)** The mark of circumcision is pictured as the smallest of the Hebrew letters. In *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 14, *Shemini* 8, this mark is identified with the י (*yod*) of the divine name שדי (*Shaddai*). A German Hasidic tradition identifies the mark with the *yod* of יהוה (*YHVH*). In the *Zohar*, it signifies the divine name as well as *Yesod* (and occasionally *Shekhinah*).

See *Zohar* 1:2b, 56a, 95a–b; 2:36a, 216b; 3:142a (*IR*), 215b, 220a, 256a (*RM*); Wolfson, in *JQR* 78 (1987): 77–112; idem, *Circle in the Square*, 29–48.

687. **Elijah... in four glides...** According to 2 Kings 11:12, the prophet Elijah did not die a normal death but was carried off to heaven in a chariot of fire. See *Midrash Tehillim* 8:7: "*The bird of heaven* (Psalms 8:9)—this is Elijah, who flies through the world as a bird." Cf. *Targum Qohelet* 10:20; *Zohar* 1:46b. See BT *Berakhot* 4b: "A *tanna* taught: 'Michael [reaches his destination] in one [glide], Gabriel in two, Elijah in four, and the Angel of Death in eight—in time of plague, however, in one.'"

According to *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 29, when the Israelites neglected the commandment of circumcision, "Elijah, may his memory be a blessing, was passionately zealous and adjured the heavens not to send down dew or rain upon the earth. [Queen] Jezebel heard and sought to kill him. Elijah immediately prayed before the blessed Holy One. The blessed Holy One said to him, 'Are you better than your ancestors? Jacob fled [from Esau] and escaped.... Moses fled [from Pharaoh] and escaped.... David fled [from Saul] and escaped....' Elijah immediately fled from the land of Israel and escaped [to Horeb].... The blessed Holy One appeared to him and said, '*What are you doing here, Elijah?*' (1 Kings 19:9). He answered, '*I have been very zealous* [*for YHVH, the God of Hosts, for the Children of Israel have abandoned Your covenant*]' (ibid., 10).

The blessed Holy One said, 'You are always zealous! You were zealous in Shittim on account of sexual immorality [Numbers 25; Elijah is identified with Phinehas]..., and here, too, you are zealous. By your life! Israel will not enact the covenant of circumcision until you see it with your own eyes.' Because of this the sages ordained that a seat of honor be arranged for the Angel of the Covenant [Elijah; see Malachi 3:1]."

Traditionally, at a circumcision the chair of Elijah is placed at the right of the *sandaq* ("godfather") and left unoccupied. The *mohel* ("circumciser") declares in the opening prayer: "This is the chair of Elijah, may his memory be a blessing."

See *Halakhot Gedolot* (according to *Shibbolei ha-Leqet* 376:6); *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 585; *Zohar* 1:93a, 209b; 2:190a; *Shulḥan Arukh, Yoreh De'ah* 265:11; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:338, n. 103.

688. **foreskin and uncovering... male and female** In the ritual of circumcision, first the foreskin is cut and removed, disclosing the mucous membrane, which is then torn down the center and pulled back, revealing the corona. The act of tearing and pulling back the membrane is called פריעה (*peri'ah*), "uncovering" the corona. See M *Shabbat* 19:6: "If one circumcises but does not uncover the circumcision, it is as if he has not circumcised." See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (67).

Here the two acts designate the two monsters, the demonic couple Samael and Lilith. See *Zohar* 1:34b; 2:34a–b. Through the double ritual of circumcision, one overcomes them. Elsewhere the two acts symbolize the sefirotic couple of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*. Through the double procedure, one unites, and communes with, both of these *sefirot*. See 1:32a (*Tos*), 96b; 3:91b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 133.

Although the wording here implies that the foreskin symbolizes the male, and the uncovering symbolizes the female, the reverse is maintained in *Zohar* 2:40a, 125b; 3:91b, 95b; *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, loc. cit.

689. ***every soul...*** The verse continues: *which the waters brought forth in swarms*.

690. **inscription...** The words ואת כל (*ve-et kol*), *and every*, are interpreted as referring to *Yesod*, who is referred to both as את (*at*), "sign, letter"—the sign of covenant and the letter י (*yod*)—and כל (*kol*), "everything," since He includes the entire flow of the upper *sefirot*. There is also a play on the words רומשת (*romeset*), *moves*, and רשימו (*reshimu*), "inscription."

691. **upper waters were drawn...** The flow of emanation from the higher *sefirot* descended to the את (*at*), "sign," or "letter," of *Yesod*.

692. **Just as they are inscribed...** As the *sefirot* themselves are inscribed.

See *Zohar* 3:44a (*Piq*): "When the holy people gather to remove that foreskin from the covenant, the blessed Holy One gathers His entire household and openly reveals Himself in order to remove that foreskin above from the covenant of the holy oath [*Yesod*]. For behold, every action that Israel enacts below arouses an action above."

693. **so He marks off their animals...** Through the signs distinguishing permitted and forbidden animals, birds, and fish. See Leviticus 11; Deuteronomy 14; *Zohar* 1:20b; and the continuation of the verse interpreted here (Genesis 1:21): *and every living creature that moves, according to its kind, which the waters brought forth in swarms, and every winged bird, according to its kind*.

694. **convert** גיורא (*Giyyora*), "Stranger, convert"; cf. Deuteronomy 10:19: *Love the* גר (*ger*), *stranger, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt*

695. **to enter beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*** See Ruth 2:11–12, where Boaz says to Ruth: *I have been told of all that you did for your mother-in-law after the death of your husband, how you left your father and mother and the land of your birth and came to a people you had not known before. May YHVH reward your deed, and may you have a full recompense from YHVH, the God of Israel, under whose wings you have sought refuge*. Based on this verse, the metaphor of coming under the divine wings is used in rabbinic literature to describe conversion. See BT *Shabbat* 31a; *Mekhilta de-Rashbi*, Exodus 18:6; and *Vayiqra Rabbah* 2:9: "Thus have the sages taught in the Mishnah: If a convert comes to convert, one should extend a hand to him to bring him beneath the wings of *Shekhinah*."

See *Zohar* 2:70a; 3:168a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 16, 212–13; Wijnhoven, "The *Zohar* and the Proselyte," 123–25.

696. **Other Side** *Sitra Aḥra*, "The Other Side," the demonic realm.

697. ***souls of the living being*** Souls deriving from *Shekhinah*.

698. **this *earth*** *Shekhinah*.

699. **closely related to Israel** Apparently referring to the descendants of Ishmael (son of Abraham and Hagar), and Edom, descended from Esau (son of Isaac and Rebecca). See Vital. Cordovero interprets "closely related" as referring to those who *may be admitted to the Assembly of YHVH in the third generation* (Deuteronomy 23:9), namely, Edom and Egypt.

In medieval Jewish literature Edom symbolizes Christianity, while both Ishmael and Egypt represent Islam (see Scholem; *Zohar* 2:87a). Cryptically, Rabbi Shim'on teaches that Christians and Muslims are closely related to Israel, and *Shekhinah* prepares a special place for them, inviting them to convert. The *Zohar*'s reluctance to explicitly name the two sister religions is understandable, given the strict prohibition against conversion to Judaism in thirteenth-century

Spain.

The manuscripts C12 and Ms3, as well as *OY*, *OL*, and *KP*, support the reading קריבין ביחוסא לישראל (*qerivin be-yiḥusa le-yisra'el*), "closely related to Israel," while M and Cr read קריבין ביחודא לישראל (*qerivin be-yiḥuda le-yisra'el*), "[who] approach Israel in unity," i.e., in monotheism, also implying Christianity and Islam.

See *Zohorei Ya'bets*; Naḥmanides on Genesis 2:3 (end); *Zohar* 2:237a; *ZḤ* 38b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 62–63.

700. **Ammon and Moab** According to Deuteronomy 23:4–5, *No Ammonite or Moabite shall be admitted into the Assembly of YHVH; none of their descendants, even in the tenth generation, shall ever be admitted... because they did not meet you with food and water on your journey after you left Egypt, and because they hired Balaam ...to curse you*. According to later Jewish law, however, any foreigner may convert.

701. **no further** Such souls ascend no higher. See Judah Halevi, *Kuzari* 1:27; *Zohar* 1:96a; 2:87a; 3:14a–b.

702. **from the trunk of that tree** *Tif'eret*. C12 and C13 read here: נופא (*nofa*), "boughs, crown," instead of גופא (*gufa*), "trunk." See *Bahir* 67 (98); Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, 71, n. 3.

703. ***an earth of delight*** *Shekhinah*, who unites with *Tif'eret* in joy and gives birth to the soul. See *Zohar* 2:275b.

704. ***precious son...*** See Jeremiah 31:20: *Truly Ephraim is a precious son to Me, a child that is dandled! Whenever I speak against him, My thoughts still dwell on him. That is why My innards yearn for him. I will surely love him, says YHVH*.

705. **the celestial tree...its trunk** The body of the *sefirot... Tif'eret*.

706. **converts of Righteousness** In rabbinic literature the term גר צדק (*ger tsedeq*), "convert of righteousness, righteous convert," denotes a full convert; here it indicates that the convert has an intimate connection with *Shekhinah*, who is called צדק (*tsedeq*), "righteousness." See *Zohar* 1:96a; 2:87a; 3:14a–b, 168a.

707. ***Cattle, crawling things, and living creatures...*** The continuation of the verse—which, according to Rabbi Shim'on, specifies various kinds of souls. See *Zohar* 1:47a.

708. **jointly...** The original human being was androgynous, engendered by the masculine and feminine aspects of the *sefirot*, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who together constitute the *image* and *likeness* of God.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥmani

said, ‘When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.”

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:47a; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

709. ***in our image*—the wealthy...** *Our image* indicates *Tif’eret*, who transmits the rich flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*, *our likeness*, who “has nothing at all of Her own” (*Zohar* 1:181a). See 3:35b.

710. **Just as they...** As *Tif’eret* and *Shekhinah*.

711. ***The Book of King Solomon*** One of the many volumes housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*. See above, note 684.

712. **his image... that of Adam** By fulfilling the *mitsvah* of caring for the poor, one imitates God and regains the pristine divine image in which Adam was created. See BT *Bava Batra* 58a; *Zohar* 1:71a.

713. **since the image of Adam...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 11: “[Adam] stood on his feet and was adorned with the divine image. The creatures saw him and were frightened, thinking that he was their Creator, and they all approached to bow down to him.”

See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:7: “It was taught: Before a person sins, he inspires awe and fear, and creatures are afraid of him. Once he sins, he is filled with awe and fear, and he is afraid of others.” Cf. *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 50; and BT *Shabbat* 151b: “Rami son of Abba said, ‘A wild beast has no power over a person until he appears to it as an animal.’”

See *Zohar* 1:38a, 71a, 191a, 221b; 2:55a, 125b; 3:107b; *ZḤ* 38c; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 337–38; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:119–20, n. 113.

714. **this** The commandment to care for the poor.

715. **dreamed that dream** According to Daniel 4, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon dreamed of a huge tree reaching to the sky, providing food for all creatures. A heavenly messenger then decrees that the tree be cut down and that Nebuchadnezzar share the grass of the earth with the beasts. The messenger adds: *Let his heart be changed from that of a human, and let him be given the heart of a beast* (4:13).

716. **as long as he was generous...** Daniel interpreted the dream to the king: *You will be driven away from human beings and have your habitation with the beasts of the field* (ibid., 22). He then advised him: *Redeem your sins by charity and your iniquities by generosity to the poor; then your serenity may be extended* (24). According to rabbinic tradition, the king followed Daniel’s advice for one year.

See *Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim*, 25; *Tanḥuma*, *Mishpatim* 4; *Shemot Rabbah* 30:24; BT *Bava Batra* 4a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:423–24, n. 104.

717. **As soon as he cast a stingy, evil eye...** One year later King Nebuchadnezzar bragged *as he was walking on the roof of the royal palace...: "Is this not great Babylon, which I have built by my vast power to be a royal residence for the glory of my majesty!*" (Daniel 4:26–27). He decided against spending any more of his resources on the poor, and this selfish refusal ensured the fulfillment of his tragic dream.

718. ***with whom* עשיתי (*asiti*), *I worked...*** See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 34:8. The appearance of the verb עשה (*asah*), "to make, work," in both biblical verses implies a parallel: just as in the story of Ruth the verb indicates an act of generosity toward the poor, so, too, in the story of Creation. By accepting Boaz's generosity, Ruth "made" him a complete *man*. Generosity is inherent in the makeup of humanity, the clearest sign of our original divine nature.

719. תפילין (*tefillin*) Phylacteries, two black leather boxes containing passages from the Torah (Exodus 13:1–10, 11–16; Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21) written on parchment. The *tefillin* (singular, *tefillah*) are bound by black leather straps on the left arm and on the head and are worn during weekday morning services. Each of the biblical passages indicates that the Israelites should place a sign upon their hand and a frontlet (or reminder) between their eyes. In the *tefillah* of the hand, all four passages are written on one piece of parchment in the order of their occurrence in the Torah. The *tefillah* of the head, however, is divided into four compartments, and each of the four passages, written on a separate piece of parchment, is inserted in one compartment. The exact order of the biblical passages in the *tefillah* of the head was a matter of dispute in the time of the Second Temple, and in the twelfth century this dispute was renewed. According to Rashi, they are inserted in the order of their occurrence in the Torah, while according to his grandson, Rabbeinu Tam, the passage from Deuteronomy 11:13–21 precedes that of Deuteronomy 6:4–9. See BT *Menaḥot* 34b; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Tefillin* 3:5.

The commandment of *tefillin* was widely disregarded in France and Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The *Zohar*, seeking to reinforce the commitment to this *mitsvah*, emphasizes its mystical significance. See *Tosafot, Shabbat* 49a, s.v. *ke-elisha ba'al kenafayim*; Baer, *History* 1:250; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1161–65.

720. **perfecting oneself in the image on high...** By wearing *tefillin*, one imitates God. See BT *Berakhot* 6a: "Rabbi Avin son of Rabbi Adda said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak, 'How do we know that the blessed Holy One puts on *tefillin*? For it is said: *YHVH has sworn by His right hand and by the arm of His strength* (Isaiah 62:8). *By His right hand*—this is Torah, as is said: *At His right hand was a fiery law unto them* (Deuteronomy 33:2). *And by the arm of His*

strength—this is *tefillin*, as is said: *YHVH will give strength unto His people* (Psalms 29:11). How do we know that *tefillin* are a strength to Israel? For it is written: *All the peoples of the earth shall see that the name of YHVH is proclaimed upon you, and they shall be in awe of you* (Deuteronomy 28:10), and it has been taught: Rabbi Eli'ezer the Great says, "This refers to the *tefillin* of the head."' Rabbi Naḥman son of Yitsḥak asked Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Avin, 'These *tefillin* of the Master of the Universe—what is written in them?' He replied, '*Who is like Your people Israel, a unique nation on earth?* (1 Chronicles 17:21).'"

See Isaac the Blind, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 4; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 525; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 4; Todros Abulafia, *Otsar ha-Kavod*, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:141a; 3:81a, 140a (*IR*), 262a–263a, 264a, 269a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 235–39; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1161–65.

721. **He opened, saying, *"Your head upon you is like Carmel*** Rabbi Shim'on continues his mystical explanation of the commandments. The verse concludes: *the locks of your head are like purple; a king is held captive in the tresses*.

722. **We have established...** See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 31:5; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 7:6; *Tanḥuma, Tetsavveh* 6; *Zohar* 1:113a–b (*MhN*).

723. **head on high...** The divine head, which also wears *tefillin*. See Rashi on Song of Songs 7:6, who interprets *Your head upon you is like Carmel* as referring to the *tefillin* on the head of Israel.

724. **Each and every letter...** Each letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*) corresponds to one of the four portions in the *tefillin* (Exodus 13:1–10, 11–16; Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21), as Rabbi Shim'on goes on to explain. He follows the view of Rashi, according to whom the order of these passages in the *tefillah* of the head follows their order in the Torah. See above, note 719; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 15.

725. **We have learned...** See BT *Berakhot* 6a: "Rabbi Avin son of Rabbi Adda said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak, '... It is written: *All the peoples of the earth shall see that the name of YHVH is proclaimed upon you, and they shall be in awe of you* (Deuteronomy 28:10), and it has been taught: Rabbi Eli'ezer the Great says, "This refers to the *tefillin* of the head."'"

726. ***Hallow to Me every firstborn*** The verse continues: *—breacher of every womb among the Children of Israel, of human or beast—it is Mine*.

727. **י** (***yod***)... The first portion of the *tefillin* symbolizes *Ḥokhmah*, the first *sefirah* (excluding *Keter*, so concealed that it cannot be counted). *Ḥokhmah* is the primordial point of holiness, indicated by the letter י (*yod*), first letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*). See *Zohar* 2:43a–b.

728. **that narrow path...** The thin stroke that tapers off at the bottom of the י (*yod*) symbolizes the subtle connection between the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* and the womb of the Divine Mother, *Binah*. Elsewhere in the *Zohar* (1:29a–b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b), this path is identified as *a path unknown to any vulture* (Job 28:7).

729. **ה (*he*)...** The second portion symbolizes *Binah*, whose identifying letter is the feminine marker ה (*he*), second letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*). According to BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, Rav and Shemu'el taught: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." The fifty gates of *Binah* figure prominently in Kabbalah; here the number constitutes the product of the numerical equivalent of the י (*yod*) of *Ḥokhmah* (10) times the numerical equivalent of the ה (*he*) of *Binah* (5).

730. **the shofar** *Binah*, who expresses the raw power of revelation. See *Zohar* 1:114a–b; 2:81b.

731. **to bring forth slaves...** *Binah* is also symbolized by the Jubilee, celebrated every fifty years, when slaves were released and land reverted to its original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). The Jubilee was proclaimed by the blast of the shofar.

732. **at the end of days** See Isaiah 27:13: *On that day a great shofar shall he sounded*. Cf. the daily a*midah*: "Sound the great shofar for our redemption."

733. **the Exodus from Egypt is included...** See Exodus 13:14–15: *When, in the time to come, your son asks you, "What is this?"* [i.e., "Why are you setting apart to God the firstborn?"], *you shall say to him, "By strength of hand YHVH brought us out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage...."* See *Zohar* 1:21b; 2:83a–b, 85b.

734. **mystery of unification... This is ו (*vav*)...** The first line of the *Shema* contains six words in Hebrew: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד (*Shema Yisra'el YHVH Eloheinu YHVH eḥad*), *Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*. By reciting these words with כונה (*kavvanah*), "intention," one unifies *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). *Tif'eret* then channels the entire flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*, consummating the union. See above, page 82; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:971–74.

The letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret* and constitutes the third letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*). *Tif'eret* is also symbolized by Jacob, who is called Israel. See *Zohar* 2:43a, 160b; BT *Pesaḥim* 56a.

735. ***If you listen** closely to My commandments that I command you this day, to love YHVH your God and to serve Him with all your heart and with all your being....*

736. **totality of two sides... Assembly of Israel, Power below...** The two sides are *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, divine love and power, which both flow into *Shekhinah*, Assembly of Israel (the divine counterpart of the people Israel, that aspect of God most intimately connected with them). *Shekhinah* is also called "*Gevurah* below" because She manifests, in a more mild way, the rigor of *Gevurah*. The fourth portion of the *tefillin* contains both grace and rigor, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*: if Israel obeys God's commands, they will be blessed with rain and abundance (Deuteronomy 11:13–15), but they are threatened with drought and famine if they worship false gods (ibid., 16–17).

737. **final ה** (***he***) As *Binah*, the Divine Mother, is symbolized by the initial ה (*he*) of the name יהוה (*YHVH*), so *Shekhinah*, daughter of *Binah*, is symbolized by the final ה (*he*).

738. **ודלת** (***Ve-dallat***)... **poor...** Rabbi Shim'on interprets דלה (*dallah*), *lock*, according to its homonym, דלה (*dallah*), "poor." *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the *tefillah* of the hand, is poor in relation to the upper *sefirot*, who provide Her with the flow of emanation. See *Zohar* 1:168b; 2:43a.

739. **He is bound... within those compartments** *Tif'eret* is bound by the *tefillin*, held within the four compartments of the *tefillah* of the head. By wearing *tefillin*, one "captures" God. Rabbi Shim'on is playing with the two meanings of רהטים (*rehatim*): "tresses" and "troughs."

See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 31:4; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 7:6; *Tanḥuma, Tetsavveh* 6; *Zohar* 1:161a–b; 162a (*ST*), 3:140a (*IR*), 269b; *TZ* 6, 21b; *TZ* (2) 6, 144b. Cf. the phrase רהיטי מוחא (*rehitei moḥa*), "channels (or cavities) of the brain," in the last two citations (from *TZ*) and *Zohar* 3:136a (*IR*), 293a–b (*IZ*).

740. ***in the image of God*** From the verse with which Rabbi Shim'on began his discussion of this commandment: *God created the human being in His image; in the image of God He created him, male and female He created them*.

741. ***Male and female... tefillin* of the head... of the hand** Symbolizing *Tif'eret* with the *sefirot* surrounding Him, and *Shekhinah*. By wearing both *tefillin*, one imitates and unites the divine couple.

742. **to tithe...** The Torah commands that all produce be tithed. The first tithe is given to the Levite. The second tithe is eaten by the owner himself at the site of the sanctuary or exchanged for its value, which is then taken to the site of the sanctuary together with an additional fifth and spent there. In the third and sixth years of each seven-year cycle, instead of eating this second tithe, it is given to the poor. See Leviticus 27:30–31; Numbers 18:21–24; Deuteronomy 14:22–29.

The eleventh and twelfth commandments differ from the others listed by Rabbi Shim'on in that they did not apply in medieval times nor were they

required outside the land of Israel. Neither is interpreted here mystically.

743. **first fruits...** The first ripe fruits are to be brought to the Temple (Exodus 23:19; Deuteronomy 26:1–11).

744. ***See, I have given the Levites every tithe in Israel*** The verse continues: *as an inheritance in return for the services that they perform, the services of the Tent of Meeting*. Both verses contain the phrase *See, I have given*. By applying the hermeneutical principle of analogy, Rabbi Shim'on concludes that they refer to the same topic: tithes.

745. **Everything designated for Me...** The tithes and first fruits belong to God, and according to the Torah, Israel is forbidden to eat them, but in the Garden of Eden, before the Torah was revealed, God gave them to Adam and Eve.

746. **redeem one's son** During the night of the Exodus, when the Egyptian firstborn were slain, the Israelite firstborn were spared. In return for their deliverance, they were originally to be consecrated to God, forming a priesthood. Instead, the tribe of Levi was selected to serve God. Among the other tribes, each father is commanded to redeem the firstborn son on the mother's side by paying five shekels or its equivalent to the priest when the infant is thirty days old.

See Exodus 13:1–16; Numbers 3:11–13; *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim, Sha'arei Teshuvah*, 47; Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon*, 336-42.

747. **two appointees...** Two angels accompany each human being. See BT *Shabbat* 119b; *Ta'anit* 11a; *Zohar* 1:12b, 52a, 144b, 165b; 2:106b, 239a.

748. ***good*—Angel of Life; *very*—Angel of Death** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:10 (according to Oxford MS 147; cf. Paris MS 149 and *Yalqut Shim'oni* [in the variants in Theodor-Albeck's edition]): "Rabbi Shemu'el son of Rav Yitsḥak said, '*Behold, it was good*—this is the Angel of Life; *very*—this is the Angel of Death.'"

According to Rabbi Shemu'el, the Angel of Death is *very good* because he kills those who fail to accumulate good deeds. According to *Zohar* 2:149b, he is *very good* because the awareness of mortality stimulates a person to return to God. See 1:47a, 144b; 2:68b, 103a, 149b, 163a, 249a.

749. **acquires...** קני (*Qanei*), "Buys, purchases, acquires." With the ransom of the five shekels (see above, note 746), the father purchases life for his son.

750. **to observe the Sabbath day...** For this commandment, unlike the preceding ones, Rabbi Shim'on cites no verse from the opening section of Genesis, apparently because the connection is obvious: *On the seventh day God completed the work that He had done, and He ceased on the seventh day from all the work that He had done. God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, for on*

it He ceased from all His work that God created to make (Genesis 2:2–3).

751. **for the worlds** לעלמין (*Le-almin*), "For the worlds" or "forever, eternally." The worlds above and below share the tranquility of the Sabbath.

752. **for them no body had been created** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17: "It is not written here: [*He ceased from all His work*] *that* [*God*] *created and made*, but rather [*that God created*] *to make* (Genesis 2:3), for the Sabbath came first, with the work not yet completed. Rabbi Benaya said, 'This refers to the demons, for He created their souls, and as He was creating their bodies, the Sabbath day was hallowed. He left them, and they remained soul without body.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; 11:9; *Zohar* 1:20b, 47b–48a, 178a; 2:155b; 3:142b (*IR*); and M *Avot* 5:6: "Ten things were created on Sabbath eve at twilight:... Some say, 'Also the demons.'"

753. **Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil** Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit of this tree. In Kabbalah it symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who transmits either reward or punishment, depending on human behavior (see above, page 50). By eating its fruit, Adam and Eve stimulated the power of evil.

754. **that other, evil side** The demonic realm, known as *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side."

755. **Tree of Life** The other tree mentioned in the Garden story. In Kabbalah it symbolizes *Tif'eret*, husband of *Shekhinah*.

756. **another tree** *Shekhinah*, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. See *Zohar* 2:95b.

757. **on this night** On Sabbath eve.

758. **could not have withstood them...** The embodied maleficent spirits.

759. **remedy... the hallowing of the day skipped ahead** The Sabbath began ahead of time, before sunset. See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:5: "Rava said in the name of Rabbi Shim'on, 'A human being does not prepare a compress until he sees the wound. Not so the One by whose word the world came into being: He first prepares the compress and then strikes.'"

See BT *Megillah* 13b: "Resh Lakish said, 'The blessed Holy One does not strike Israel unless He has created healing for them beforehand.'"

760. **conjugal interval of the wise...** The Mishnah (*Ketubbot* 5:6) discusses how often husbands of various professions are required to fulfill the commandment of עונה (*onah*), "conjugal rights," i.e., to satisfy their wives sexually. According to Rabbi Eli'ezer, "The *onah* mentioned in the Torah [applies as follows]: Those who are unoccupied, every day; laborers, twice a week; donkey-drivers, once a week; camel-drivers, once every thirty days; sailors, once every six months."

The Talmud (BT *Ketubbot* 62b) adds: "When is the *onah* of the disciples of the wise? [I.e., What is the proper interval between two successive times of fulfilling this *mitsvah?*] Rav Yehudah said in the name of Shemu'el, 'From one Sabbath eve to the next.'"

In the *Zohar*, the union of the devotee of Torah with his wife on the eve of Sabbath symbolizes and stimulates the union of the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The sacred human act engenders a holy body and draws down a holy soul. See *Zohar* 1:50a, 112a (*MhN*); 2:63b, 89a–b; 3:49b, 78a.

761. **she** Lilith, the demonic feminine, married to Samael. See *Zohar* 1:148a (*ST*); 2:96a–b, 245a; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

762. **intercourse in the nude... epileptic... possessed...** See BT *Pesaḥim* 112b: "It has been taught: 'One who stands naked in front of a lamp will become an epileptic. One who engages in sexual intercourse by the light of a lamp will have epileptic children.'" The *Zohar* combines both motifs.

The rabbinic Hebrew word for epileptic, נכפה (*nikhpeh*), means "forced, overtaken," hence, overtaken and possessed by demons, epileptic. Similarly, the Greek word for epilepsy derives from *lambanein*, "to seize."

According to *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 34 (see the version in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Isaiah, 429), the souls of the generation of the Flood will not arise at the resurrection of the dead; rather, they turn into bodiless spirits harming human beings. According to the *Zohar*, souls of the wicked in general turn into bodiless demons who roam in search of vulnerable bodies.

See 1:28b–29a (*TZ*), 48a, 100a, 129b; 2:99b, 118a (*RM*); 3:25a, 70a, 143a–b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 11a (*MhN*); *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Margaliot, par. 770.

763. **Asimon** Hebrew, אסימון (*asimon*), derived from the Greek *asemon*, "without mark, uncoined, shapeless, formless, unperceived." In rabbinic literature (e.g., M *Bava Metsi'a* 4:1) the term refers to uncoined metal and unmarked coin. Here Asimon designates an amorphous, unperceived demon. In *Zohar* 2:249b Asimon appears in holy form as one of the four multicolored, eight-winged angels (*ofanim*).

764. **chasm of the immense abyss...** The demonic abode. According to *Midrash Tehillim* 92:5, on the first Sabbath, "demons ceased from the world."

765. **song against maleficent spirits** Psalms 91:1–9, traditionally recited to ward off demons and maleficent spirits. Since Gaonic times, this psalm has been recited at the conclusion of the Sabbath, following the *amidah* prayer of the evening service.

See BT *Shevu'ot* 15b; JT *Shabbat* 6:2, 8b; *Midrash Tehillim* 91:1, and Buber's nn. 12–13; Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 50 (1982): 248, 251; *Zohar* 1:48a.

766. **enacting *havdalah*...** The *havdalah* ("separation") is the ritual marking the

end of Sabbath (and in an abbreviated form, the end of festivals). The *havdalah* at the conclusion of the Sabbath is first recited in the fourth blessing of the *amidah* prayer of the evening service and then over a cup of wine. This second, longer ritual consists of blessings over wine, spices, and the light of a candle (or here, a lamp).

See Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 256–84; idem, in *Meḥqerei Yerushalayim be-Maḥashevet Yisra'el* 8 (1989): 189–90, n. 19.

767. **desert** Abode of the demons. See *Zohar* 1:126a, 169b, 178b; 2:157a, 184a, 236b–237a; 3:63b.

768. **whoever curses himself** According to M *Shevu'ot* 4:13, "One who curses himself or his neighbor by any of them [any of the divine names] violates a negative commandment." Further, BT *Shevu'ot* 36a adds the verse *But take care, take exceeding care for yourself* (Deuteronomy 4:9), implying that such a curse is dangerous.

See *Zohar* 2:266a; 3:155b, 246a (*RM*).

769. **whoever throws out bread...** See BT *Berakhot* 52b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'One may willfully [literally: with the hand] destroy crumbs smaller than an olive.'"

Cf. *Tosafot*, ad loc., s.v. *peirurin; Pesaḥim* 111b; *Ḥullin* 105b.

770. **hallowing of the portion** קדושא דסדרא (*Qiddusha de-sidra*), a version of the *qedushah* in Hebrew and Aramaic usually included in the prayer ובא לציון גואל (*U-va le-tsiyyon go'el*), *A redeemer will come to Zion* (Isaiah 59:20), and originally recited after studying passages from the Prophets following daily prayer. This *qedushah* appears in the liturgy near the end of the morning service, on Sabbath afternoon, and at the close of Sabbath, following the evening prayer. See BT *Sotah* 49a, and Rashi, ad loc.

Rabbi Shim'on here goes beyond the Talmud (BT *Shabbat* 150b), according to which one is allowed to engage in work after reciting *havdalah* in the evening prayer before reciting it again over the cup of wine.

See *Zohorei Ya'bets*; Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon*, 217–20.

771. **prematurely kindles the fire of Hell... a place reserved...** According to *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 33, one of the dwellers in Hell reports: "Whoever does not observe the Sabbath properly [*Bereshit Rabbah* 11:5: "willingly"] in your world comes here and observes it against his will.... All week long we are punished and on the Sabbath we rest, and [we continue resting] as Sabbath departs until the portions [i.e., *qiddusha de-sidra*, "the hallowing of the portion" (see previous note)] have been completed. Once they are completed, an angel named Dumah, appointed over souls, comes and takes the souls of those people [i.e., our souls] and slings them...."

By lighting a lamp before the completion of *qiddusha de-sidra*, one cuts short the Sabbath rest of the sinners in Hell and returns them to their suffering prematurely.

See *Zohar* 1:197b; 2:31b, 88b, 150b–151a, 203b, 207a; 3:94b; *ZḤ* 17a–b (*MhN*).

772. ***YHVH is going to hurl you ... off to a vast land*** The person who lights a lamp too soon will himself be cast into Hell. See BT *Menaḥot* 99b–100a; *Aggadat Bereshit* 61:1.

773. **Blessed are You...** The main blessing of *havdalah*, recited over the cup of wine. See BT *Pesaḥim* 103b.

774. **lights of the fire... elemental fire** The blessing over the flame in *havdalah* concludes: "... who creates the lights of the fire." The forces that dominate the week are beneath *Shekhinah*, symbolized by fire, while She herself derives from the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, elemental fire. See *Zohar* 1:20b–21a; 2:207b–208b.

775. ***May God give you...*** These verses are recited at the conclusion of the evening service as Sabbath departs.

1. **potency of the King** הורמנותא דמלבא (*Hurmanuta de-malka*), "Authority [or: decree] of the king." The phrase הרמנא דמלכא (*harmana de-malka*), "authority [or: decree] of the king," appears in BT *Berakhot* 58a, *Gittin* 57b, *Bava Metsi'a* 83b–84a, *Ḥullin* 57b.

See *Zohar* 1:76b, 97a, 108a, 109b (all *ST*), 147a (*Tos*); 2:123a; *ZḤ* 67c (*ShS*), 121d. Here the King is *Ein Sof*, arousing Itself to manifest through the process of emanation.

2. **engraved engravings** These engravings eventually manifest as the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 38a; 2:126b; 3:128a (IR).

3. **luster on high** The brilliance of the first *sefirah, Keter*, represented in the *Zohar* as coeternal with *Ein Sof*.

4. **spark of impenetrable darkness** בוצינא דקרדינותא (*Botsina de-qardinuta*), "A lamp of impenetrability." Though בוצינא (*botsina*) usually means "lamp," here "spark" is likely. See the wealth of material collected and analyzed by Liebes, *Peraqim*, 145–51, 161–64. *OY* and *OL* record the variant בוציצא (*botsitsa*), "spark." Cf. *Zohar* 3:139a (*IR*), 295a (*IZ*); and the phrase בוציצא דקרדינותא (*botsitsa de-qardinuta*), which appears several times in *ZḤ* 56d–58d (*QhM*). קרדינותא (*Qardinuta*) recalls a phrase in BT *Pesaḥim* 7a: חיטי קורדניתא (*ḥittei qurdanaita*), "wheat from Kurdistan," which, according to Rashi, is very hard. *OY*, *OL*, and *DE* record the variants קדרינותא (*qadrinuta*) or קדרוניתא (*qadrunita*), "darkness." See *ZḤ* 2a, where קרדנותא דסיהרא (*qardenuta de-sihara*) means "eclipse of the moon," corresponding to the Hebrew קדרות הירח (*qadrut ha-yareaḥ*), "darkening of the moon." Shim'on Lavi (*KP*) retains the reading בוצינא דקרדינותא (*botsina de-qardinuta*) but renders it שביב הקדרות (*sheviv ha-qadrut*), "the spark of darkness." Cf. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, 1:163: שביב של קדרות (*shaviv shel qadrut*), "a spark of darkness"; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, tr. Goldstein, 1:309: "a spark of blackness." See *Tanḥuma, Shemot* 15.

The spark is so potently brilliant that it overwhelms comprehension. Many mystics convey similar paradoxical images: "a ray of divine darkness" (Dionysius, *Mystical Theology* 1:1); "the luminous darkness" (Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses* 2:163); "the black light" (Iranian Sufism; see Corbin, *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism*, 99–120). Prior to the *Zohar*, Azriel of Gerona and the author of *Ma'yan ha-Ḥokhmah* mention "the light darkened from shining." See Verman, *The Books of Contemplation*, 59–60, 158–59; Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 336. Cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:59: "We are dazzled by His beauty, and He is hidden from us because of the intensity with which He becomes manifest, just as the sun is hidden to eyes too weak to apprehend it."

Here the blinding spark is the first impulse of emanation flashing from *Ein Sof* through *Keter* and proceeding to delineate the various *sefirot*. (On the connection

between *qardinuta* and measurement, see Liebes, *Peraqim*, 146–49, 162–63.) The goal of meditation is to attain this spark and participate in the primal flow of being. See *ZḤ* 57d–58a (*QhM*); cf. *Zohar* 1:18b, 86b, 172a; 2:133b, 177a, 233a, 254b, 260a; 3:48b–49a, 135b, 139a (*IR*), 292b, 295a–b (*IZ*).

Other renderings of the phrase include: מנורה חשוכה (*menorah ḥashukhah*), "a dark lamp" (Galante); ניצוץ חזק (*nitsots ḥazaq*), "powerful spark" (*DE*); נר של חשך (*ner shel ḥoshekh*), "a lamp of darkness" (Elijah of Vilna, *Yahel Or*); "a dark flame" (Scholem, *Zohar*, 27); "a very powerful light" (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 228); "a lamp of scintillation [or: darkness, measurement]" (Sperling and Simon, *The Zohar*); "a blinding spark" (Matt, *Zohar*, 49); *une flamme obscure* (Mopsik, *Le Zohar*); "the hardened spark" (Wolfson, "Woman—The Feminine as Other in Theosophic Kabbalah," 178–82). On the phallic connotations of the phrase, see Wolfson's discussion there and in his *Circle in the Square*, 60–62, and index, s.v. "hardened spark"; Liebes, "*Zohar ve-Eros*," 73–80.

5. **concealed of the concealed** The luster on high, the first and most hidden *sefirah, Keter*.

6. **Infinity** Hebrew, אין סוף (*Ein Sof*), "there is no end," the ultimate divine reality. On the evolution of this term, see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 88–89.

7. **cluster of vapor forming in formlessness...** קוטרא בגולמא (*Qutra be-gulma*). *Qutra* means both "knot" and "smoke" in the *Zohar*. See 1:172a, and 30a, 33b, 94b, 106a, 161b; 2:80a, 124a; 3:45b, 51a–b, 107a, 289b, 295b (*IZ*).

Some commentators (Galante, *OY*, *Sullam*) suggest translating *qutra* as "form." Cf. קטורין (*qeturin*) in *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:12; *Arukh*, s.v. *qtr*. The phrase would then mean: "a form in formlessness," which resonates with "a spark of darkness." The ring is *Keter*, the "Crown."

8. **not white, not black...** These four colors are associated with four *sefirot: Ḥesed, Shekhinah, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, none of which appears until a later stage of emanation. See *ZḤ* 57a (*QhM*); Liebes, *Studies in Jewish Myth*, 84.

9. **As a cord surveyed** The spark that is a vapor is also a cord (משיחא [*meshiḥa*]), referred to elsewhere in the *Zohar* as קו המדה (*qav ha-middah*), "the line of measure," based on Jeremiah 31:38.

See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 89–90; Jacob ben Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 113; *Zohar* 1:18b; 2:233a–b, 258a; *ZḤ* 56d–58d (*QhM*); *TZ* 18, 37b.

The cord, or measuring line, maps out the paths and stages of emanation, the spectrum of divine colors, each with its own wavelength.

10. **concealed within the concealed...** The flow of emanation has just begun; everything is still hidden within the mystery of *Ein Sof*.

11. **It split and did not split...** בקע ולא בקע (*Beqa ve-la beqa*). The flow

somehow broke through, but the nature of the breakthrough is impossible to describe, so the act is stated and immediately denied. See Scholem's remarks on expressions of this kind in *Major Trends*, 166–67.

The aura (אויראָ [*avira*], "air, space, ether, aura") is *Keter*. See *Zohar* 1:16b; 3:135b (*IR*); Altmann, *Studies*, 174; Scholem, "*Iqvotav shel Gevirol be-Qabbalah*," 167–68; idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 331–47 (especially 342); Pines, in *Tarbiz* 50 (1981): 339–47; Liebes, in *Meḥqerei Yerushalyim be-Maḥashevet Yisra'el* 6:3–4 (1987): 80–86; Verman, *The Books of Contemplation*, 153–56.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:6: "Out of chaos He formed substance, making what is not into what is. He hewed enormous pillars out of ether that cannot be grasped."

See Solomon ibn Gabirol, *Keter Malkhut* 9:101: "He called to אין (*ayin*), nothingness, ונבקע (*ve-nivqa*), and it was split, to יש (*yesh*), something, and it was thrust." On the parallel between the *Zohar*'s description and the Orphic myth of the hatching of the cosmic egg, see Liebes, *Studies in Jewish Myth*, 79–84.

12. **a single, concealed, supernal point... *Beginning*** The flow of emanation manifests as a point of light. This is the second *sefirah: Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), which is called *Beginning* because it is the first ray of divine light to appear outside of *Keter*, the first aspect of God that can be known.

The identification of ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, with Wisdom appears widely. See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.), Genesis 1:1; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:242–45, 266–69; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81; Naḥmanides on Genesis 1:1; *Zohar* 1:2a, 3b, 16b, 20a, 145a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 21–22 (25–26); Scholem, *Major Trends*, 391, n. 80.

13. **first command of all** According to M *Avot* 5:1, "The world was created through ten commands." Only nine explicit commands appear in Genesis 1, but the decade is completed by counting the phrase *In the beginning*.

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 32a, *Megillah* 21b; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:16b, 30a; *TZ* 32, 76a. In Kabbalah the ten commands symbolize the ten *sefirot*, the first of which establishes the basis for the other nine.

14. ***The enlightened*** המשכילים (*Ha-maskilim*). Both philosophers and kabbalists described themselves by this term, which originally may have designated the community of those who shared Daniel's vision. See Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 224. On the following pages of the *Zohar* (15b–16a), the term is applied to the letters and vowels, as well as to the *sefirot*. The *Zohar* on Exodus opens with the same verse and applies it to the kabbalists: "*The enlightened* are those who contemplate the secret of wisdom" (2:2a).

See *Bahir* 95 (139); *Zohar* 2:23a; *ZḤ* 58c (*QhM*), 93d–94b (*Tiq*); Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 383–84; Liebes, "*Zohar ve-Eros*," 73–75.

15. זהר (*zohar*), ***radiance*** The word designates the hidden power of emanation and provides the title of the book. See below, and *Zohar* 1:100a (*ST*); 3:124b, 153b (*RM*); Liebes, "*Zohar ve-Eros*," 73–86.

16. זהר (*Zohar*), ***Radiance!...* this point** The spark of emanation flashes again, and *Keter*, the aura, subtly transmits the impulse to *Ḥokhmah*, the point of Wisdom. See *Zohar* 1:16b, 65a; 2:268b.

17. **palace worthy of glorious praise.... sowed seed...** The purpose of emanation is to display the glory of the hidden God, which is achieved through a rhythm of revelation and concealment: only by concealing itself can the overwhelming light be revealed. The point expands into a circle, a palace—the third *sefirah: Binah* ("Understanding"). She is the divine womb, where the seed of *Ḥokhmah*, the divine father, is sown. *Binah* gives birth to the seven lower *sefirot*, which engender the rest of creation. See *Zohar* 2:68b (*Tos*). The idea that the sperm originates in the brain is based on the theory of the second-century Greek physician Galen, common in medieval literature.

18. ***Her stock is seed of holiness*** The prophet Isaiah refers to one-tenth of the people of Israel, who will be saved. The *Zohar* cites the verse as an allusion either to *Binah* or *Shekhinah*, the mystical Assembly of Israel, the tenth *sefirah*, whose origin is the seed of *Ḥokhmah* (known as "Holiness") sown in *Binah*. See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 20; *Zohar* 2:121a.

19. **fine purple silk wrapping itself within...** As the silkworm spins a cocoon out of its own substance, so *Ḥokhmah*, the point of *beginning*, expands into the palace of *Binah*. (The silk industry was extensive in Andalusia, south of Castile, where the *Zohar* emerged.)

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:5: "like the locust whose garment is of itself." Cf. Shneur Zalman of Lyady, *Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Emunah*, chap. 7; and the spider simile in the Upanishads (Hume, ed., *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, 95, 367).

20. **the unknown concealed one** The hidden source of emanation, *Ein Sof* or *Keter*.

21. אלהים (*Elohim*), ***God*** Here the name signifies *Binah*, the Divine Mother who gives birth to the seven lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 15b.

22. **The secret is...** The *Zohar* offers its mystical reading of the opening words of Genesis. It translates the first word, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), as *With beginning* rather than *In the beginning*, relying on an alternative meaning of the preposition ב (*be*). See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.) and Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81.

The subject of the verse, אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, follows the verb ברא (*bara*), *created*. In its typical hyperliteral fashion, the author(s) of the *Zohar* insists on

reading the words in the exact order in which they appear, thereby transforming *God* into the object! This means that the subject is now unnamed, but that is perfectly appropriate because the true subject of emanation is unnamable. The opening words of the Bible no longer mean: *In the beginning God created*, but rather: *With beginning* [by means of the point of *Ḥokhmah*], the ineffable source *created Elohim* [the palace of *Binah*].

The rabbis of the Talmud were aware of the danger of misinterpreting *Elohim* as the object of the sentence, which could promote Gnostic dualism (see BT *Megillah* 9a; Rashi and Tosafot, ad loc.). Various early kabbalists also adopt such a reading. See *Kiryat Sefer* 6 (1929–30): 415; Verman, *The Books of Contemplation*, 139–41; Isaac ibn Latif, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* 2:10; *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, 82b–83a; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 402, n. 55; Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 152–54. For Gnostic parallels, see Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library*, index, s.v. Autogenes, Self-begotten One.

23. **If *created*... no wonder...** The verb ברא (*bara*), *created*, thought to be reserved for creation *ex nihilo*, refers in the opening verse of Genesis to an act of emanation, the emanation of *Binah* (*Elohim*) from the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* (*Reshit*). See below, page 113: "*Bara*—concealed mystery, from which all expands." If so, no wonder the same verb is employed to describe the creation of Adam and Eve, a further stage of divine unfolding.

For alternative interpretations, see Scholem; *KP; OY*; Galante; *MM*; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:310. Liebes ("*Zohar ve-Eros*," 75) suggests: If, by means of זהר (*zohar*), *radiance*, God created heaven and earth, no wonder that it is written: *God created the human being in His image*, a verse that perplexed those medieval interpreters who denied anthropomorphism. The verse is not comparing the human and divine forms, but rather the creative power called *zohar*, common to both God and humans. In creating the human being, God emanated and imparted this creative potential.

24. **אהיה (*Ehyeh*), *I will be*...** A name of *Keter*. At the burning bush, God reveals His name to Moses: אהיה אשר אהיה (*Ehyeh asher ehyeh*), *I will be who I will be* [or: *I am who I am*]. Here the first two of the three Hebrew words are applied to *Keter* and *Binah* respectively. See *Zohar* 3:11a, 65a–b.

25. **אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*...** As noted above, this name applies to *Binah*, but it also alludes to *Shekhinah*, known as עטרה (*atarah*), "crown."

26. **אשר (*Asher*), *Who*...** Referring to *Binah*, the palace, the first *sefirah* to emanate from *Ḥokhmah*, known as ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*. On *Asher* as a name of *Binah*, see *Zohar* 1:158a, 246a.

27. **אשר (*Asher*)—ראש (*rosh*), head...** אשר (*Asher*), signifying *Binah*, is an anagram of ראש (*rosh*), the initial letters of ראשית (*reshit*), signifying *Ḥokhmah. Binah*

emerges from *Ḥokhmah*.

28. **then בראשית (*Be-reshit*)... in wisdom** The opening word of the Torah indicates both the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* (*reshit*) and the palace of *Binah* (*be*).

29. **the color... transformed...** *Binah* develops further and is no longer called by the single letter ב (*bet*) (i.e., the preposition *be*, "in" or "with"), but by the word בית (*bayit*), "house," though it is still joined with the point of *Ḥokhmah*, called ראש (*rosh*), "head," and together they comprise בראשית (*Be-reshit*). At this stage, the house of *Binah* is still uninhabited by the primordial seed or by any of the lower *sefirot*. See *ZḤ* 5a (*MhN*).

30. **Once it was sown...אלהים (*Elohim*)...** Once the seed of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* flows into Her, *Binah* attains the independent name *Elohim*. "Hidden, concealed" may refer to the lower *sefirot* gestating within *Binah* or to the fact that *Binah* is assigned the letters of the name יהוה (*YHVH*) with the vowels of the name אלהים (*Elohim*). See *Zohar* 3:65a; *OY*; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:311.

31. **while offspring...** The lower *sefirot* exist potentially within the primordial seed of *Ḥokhmah*, which has not yet impregnated *Binah*, though the primordial point has already expanded into a circle, the house of *Binah*, and begun to enter Her.

32. **Those engraved letters...** The emanation is depicted as a stream of the letters of the alphabet flowing from *Ḥokhmah*, who is known as primordial Torah.

33. **the seed of three points—חולם (*ḥolem*), שורק (*shuruq*), חירק (*ḥireq*)** These three vowels appear, respectively, as points placed above, within, and beneath the letter. Here they apparently represent the three lines of emanation: right, left, and center.

See Isaac ha-Kohen, *Ta'amei ha-Nequddot*, ed. Scholem, *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 265–68; *Zohar* 1:17a; Judah Ḥayyat, *Ma'are-khet ha-Elohut*, 136a. According to Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 328–30 (see Wolfson's note, 329:2), the three points symbolize *Ḥokhmah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*.

34. **a voice...** The *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, known as Written Torah.

35. **its consort emerged with it...** The partner of *Tif'eret* is *Shekhinah*, who is called את (*Et*), comprising the entire alphabet of divine speech, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

Grammatically, the accusative particle *et* has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a–b; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

את (*Et*), the range of the alphabet, is an appropriate name for *Shekhinah*, who is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. In the opening

verse of Genesis, the phrase את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*) refers to *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret*, the voice, also known as *shamayim*, *heaven*.

36. **the final אהיה (*ehyeh*), *I will be*** In the name revealed by God to Moses, אהיה אשר אהיה (*Ehyeh asher ehyeh*), *I will be who I will be* [or: *I am who I am*] (Exodus 3:14), the first *ehyeh* refers to *Keter, asher* refers to *Binah*, and the second *ehyeh* refers to *Tif'eret*. See above, page 111.

37. **יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), *YHVH, our God, YHVH*...** This triad of divine names from the opening line of the *Shema* corresponds to the triad interpreted above, אהיה אשר אהיה (*Ehyeh asher ehyeh*), *I am who I am*. Both triads symbolize *Keter* (or *Ḥokhmah*), *Binah*, and *Tif'eret*. The triad immediately following, בראשית ברא אלהים (*Be-reshit bara Elohim*), *In the beginning God created* (along with the continuation of the verse), conveys a similar meaning. On the possibility of trinitarian influence on the *Zohar*'s interpretation of triads such as these, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:973; Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 140–45.

38. **primordial mystery** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*.

39. **concealed mystery...** The hidden source of emanation, *Keter* or *Ein Sof*.

40. **mystery sustaining all below** *Binah*, who gives birth to the lower seven *sefirot*.

41. **male and female...** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, whose union is vital to the cosmos.

42. **ה (*he*) was added...** The final ה (*he*) in the name יהוה (*YHVH*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*. When this letter is added to Her name את (*Et*), She attains an expanded name: אתה (*Attah*), *You*.

See *Zohar* 1:37a, 154b, 158b; 2:138b, 261a (*Heikh*).

43. **mystery of אדני (*Adonai*), Lord, and so it is called** *Shekhinah* is also called אדני (*Adonai*), which is pronounced as it is written, unlike the more concealed name יהוה (*YHVH*), which is also pronounced *Adonai*, differently than it is written.

44. **supernal mystery** *Tif'eret*.

45. **ואת (*Ve-et*)—array of male and female** The word ואת (*ve-et*) immediately precedes הארץ (*ha-arets*), *the earth*, in the opening verse of Genesis. While את (*et*) signifies *Shekhinah*, the prefix ו (*ve*), *and*, signifies *Tif'eret*, since the numerical value of the letter ו (*vav*) is six, and *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* associated with Him (*Ḥesed, Gevurah, Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*) constitute a sixfold entity. See *Zohar* 1:29b.

46. **mystery of ויהוה (*va-YHVH*), *and YHVH*...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 51:2: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Wherever it is said: *and YHVH*, this implies: He and His Court.'" In Kabbalah this court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment") and pronounces the divine decree, so the phrase *and YHVH* encompasses "He [*Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*] and His Court [*Shekhinah*]." Whereas

the ו (*vav*) of the word ואת (*ve-et*) refers to *Tif'eret*, the ו (*vav*) of ויהוה (*va-YHVH*) refers to *Shekhinah*, but "all is one."

See JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b; Rashi on Exodus 12:29; *Zohar* 1:64b, 107b; 2:37b, 44b; 3:149a. The hermeneutical significance of *and* was championed by Rabbi Akiva. See BT *Yevamot* 68b; *Sanhedrin* 51b.

47. **fruit and verdure** Souls. See *Bahir* 14 (22); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489, 504; *Zohar* 1:19a, 33a, 59b–60a, 82b, 85b, 115a–b; 2:223b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 51; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69). Cf. Ibn Ezra on Psalms 1:3.

48. **הארץ (*Ha-arets*), *The earth—Elohim*, as above... at three sites...** *Shekhinah* is called Earth, and She shares the name *Elohim* with *Binah* ("as above"). As *Binah* reigns over the lower *sefirot*, *Shekhinah* reigns over the lower worlds. The name *Elohim* is also applied to *Gevurah* (thus to three *sefirot* in all) and—outside of the *sefirot*—to angels, false gods, and human judges.

49. **which He engraved, fashioned, vivified...** The opening verse of the Torah discloses the most secret divine activities: the initial engraving within the luster of *Keter*, fashioning the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* into the palace of *Binah*, and the gestation of the lower *sefirot*.

50. **From here on** Now the opening word of the Torah is interpreted as referring directly to the lower *sefirot*.

51. **ברא בראשית — שית (*Be-reshit—bara shit*)...** The word בראשית (*Be-reshit*) is divided in two and read as ברא שית (*bara shit*), "created six." See *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 1:1, 11–12; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:19), where it is said that the world was created by six letters (the divine names יה [*YH*] and יהוה [*YHVH*]); BT *Sukkah* 49a; *Zohar* 1:3b, 39b.

The six directions are north, south, east, west, up, and down (see *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:13), which symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, emanating from the hidden source. At the center stands *Tif'eret*, *Heaven*, so all six extend *from one end of heaven to the other*.

52. **the mystery of the name of forty-two letters** The forty-two-letter name is mentioned in the name of Rav, though not recorded, in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. According to one later view, it consists of the first forty-two letters of the Torah, from the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*) through the ב (*bet*) of בהו (*bohu*), *void* (Genesis 1:2).

See *Tosafot*, *Ḥagigah* 11b, s.v. *ein doreshin; KP* 1:46c–d; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 94–95. Cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:62; *Zohar* 1:1a, 30a; 2:130b, and 175b: "... the forty-two holy letters of the holy name, by which heaven and earth were created."

53. ***The enlightened will shine like the* זהר (*zohar*), *radiance, of the sky*** The

verse continues: *and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever*.

54. **musical intonations** The cantillation signs in the biblical text impart meaning to the words of each verse, thereby illuminating the letters and vowels, which are soon identified as *the enlightened*. The word משכילים (*maskilim*), *enlightened*, is perhaps associated here with the biblical word משכיל (*maskil*), an obscure musical term appearing in the title of various psalms. See *TZ* 21, 48b–49a; Wolfson, "Biblical Accentuation in a Mystical Key."

55. **The letters are body; the vowels, spirit** See *Bahir* 83 (115): "[The vowels] in the letters resemble the breath of life in the human body."

See Judah Halevi, *Kuzari* 4:3; Ibn Ezra on Exodus 20:1; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 487; Todros Abulafia, *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, 73–76; Gikatilla, *Ginnat Egoz*, 413–16; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 328; Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, 87–89, n. 5; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 174–76; *ZḤ* 73c (*ShS*), 84b, 104a–b (*TZ*), 107d (*TZ*)*; TZ* 5, 20b.

56. **those extending, prolonging...** The cantillation signs that extend the melody are compared to *the sky*, stretched out above the earth.

57. **pausal notes, halting their movement...** Cantillation signs that bring the melody to a halt. By indicating the appropriate pauses, they *lead many* letters and words to the correct syntax and phrasing. See BT *Megillah* 3a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 36:8.

58. **all expands** The flow of letters and vowels, guided by musical intonation, symbolizes the expansion of the primordial point of emanation. The divine manifests through speech.

59. **We have learned...** This paragraph appears here in several manuscripts (L2, P1, P4, V5) and witnesses (*OY*, Cr), while in other manuscripts and in M it appears in 1:29a with slight variations.

See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:11 (on 1:1): "Rabbi Yudan and Rabbi Levi said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Wherever in this scroll [the Song of Songs] the expression *King Solomon* appears, the text speaks of King Solomon, while *the king*, anonymous, connotes the blessed Holy One.' The Rabbis say, "Wherever *King Solomon* appears, the text speaks of the King to whom peace belongs [deriving שלמה (*Shelomoh*), *Solomon*, from שלום (*shalom*), peace], while *the king*, anonymous, connotes the Assembly of Israel.'"

In rabbinic Hebrew the phrase כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*), "Assembly of Israel," denotes the people of Israel, and the Song of Songs is read as a love poem between them and God. In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* refers to *Shekhinah*, described here as נוקבא (*nuqba*), "female." She is the divine counterpart of the people, that aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers

depicted in the Song of Songs symbolize *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret. Shekhinah* is described there as *King*, reflecting Her name *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). See *Zohar* 1:47a, 84a. Here, apparently, King Solomon denotes *Binah*, "to whom peace belongs," namely, *Yesod*, who conveys the flow of *Binah* and thereby links the two lovers. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home." Cf. *Zohar* 1:5b; 2:127b. The lower (plain, earthly) meaning of the text connotes the upper, divine sense. See below, page 170.

60. **lower inherits upper...** Through Her union with *Tif'eret, Shekhinah* absorbs the flow of emanation from Her mother above, *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:215a: " ... for Daughter inherits Mother," and above, page 9: "Mother lends Daughter Her garments."

61. **This is ב (*bet*)...** The opening letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, stands for בית (*bayit*), *house*. The letter *bet*, the second letter of the alphabet, is equivalent to two, and here indicates two sefirotic structures: *Binah*, fashioned from the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, divine wisdom; and *Shekhinah*, comprising the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*.

62. ***a pavilion...*** אפריון (*Appiryon*), a biblical hapax legomenon, often translated "palanquin" but apparently referring to a stationary structure. In the Midrash, it is interpreted as referring to the Tabernacle and to the Temple in Jerusalem (*Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 1:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* and *Targum*, ad loc.).

In the *Zohar*, the *appiryon* is *Shekhinah*, the divine palace (1:29a; 2:127a). This *pavilion* is constructed of the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, known as *the trees of Lebanon*, namely, of *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:31a, 35a–b; 2:127b.

63. **adorning of the lower world by the upper world** *Shekhinah* is adorned by the light radiating from *Binah*.

64. **before the blessed Holy One ereated...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3: "Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Hyrcanus [said], '... Before the world was created, there existed only the blessed Holy One and His great name. The thought of creating the world arose in His mind. He traced the world, but it did not endure. They told a parable. To what can this be compared? To a king who wishes to build his palace. If he does not trace in the earth its foundations, exits, and entrances, he cannot begin to build. Similarly, the blessed Holy One traced the world in front of Himself, but it did not endure until He created *teshuvah* ("returning, turning back" to God).'" Cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:61; *ZḤ* 2d (*MhN*).

In Kabbalah the *sefirot* are considered God's names since they reveal the divine identity. In particular, *Shekhinah*, the culminating expression of the *sefirot*, is called "the name" of God. Before the process of emanation, all of the *sefirot*

existed potentially within *Ein Sof*.

65. **the will of thought** *Keter*, the impulse within the divine mind. See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 92, 94, 107; *Zohar* 1:45b; 2:259b, 268b; *ZḤ* 1b, 6c (*ST*).

66. **the signet** סמיטרא (*Samitra*), apparently based on סימנטיר (*simanteir*), derived from the Greek *semanterion*, "seal, signet, stamp." *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182, defines *samitra* as "turban," based on the *Arukh*; see *KP*, *OY*.

The process of emanation begins with a gesture of royal authority. See above, note 1.

67. **but it did not endure** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:2: "*He fashioned everything at its appropriate time* (Ecdesiastes 3:11).... Rabbi Abbahu said, 'From here [we learn] that the blessed Holy One kept creating worlds and destroying them until He created these [i.e., heaven and earth]. Then He declared, "These please Me, those do not."'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:7; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3, cited above. The theme of previous worlds that did not endure appears in the *Idrot* (*Zohar* 3:128a [*IR*], 292b [*IZ*]) and inspired Isaac Luria's theory of "the breaking of the vessels."

68. **wrapping of radiance...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Vayaqhel* 7: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yehotsadak asked Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman, 'Since you are a master of Aggadah, tell me how the blessed Holy One created the world.' He replied, 'When the blessed Holy One wished to create the world, He enwrapped Himself in light and created the world, as is said: *He wraps in light as in a garment* (Psalms 104:2), and afterward: *He spreads out the heavens like a curtain*.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3. The image of God wrapping Himself in a garment of light appears in Greek, Iranian, Gnostic, and kabbalistic sources. See Matt, *Zohar*, 212; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 493–94; Ezra's letter, ed. Scholem, in *Sefer Bialik*, 157–58; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 110–11; *Zohar* 1:2a, 29a, 90a (*ST*), 245a; 2:39b, 164b; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 5a.

Here the garment of light is the *sefirah* of *Ḥokhmah*, located on the upper right side of the sefirotic tree. Divinity clothes itself in this radiant wrapping, thereby mediating the intense primordial energy and generating *Tif'eret*, known as *heaven*.

69. ***With beginning...*** See above, note 22.

70. **pillars and sockets of that *pavilion*** The pillars and sockets allude to the *sefirot* (as well as to the kabbalists) who sustain *Shekhinah* (the *pavilion*). See above, note 14.

71. ***Happy is*** משכיל (***maskil***) ... ***the poor*** This verse alludes to the *sefirot* as

well as to the kabbalists, both of whom sustain *Shekhinah*. She is called *poor*, having nothing at all of Her own. See BT *Bava Batra* 8b.

72. **standing above *the enlightened*, of whom is written...** The *sky* is *Tif'eret*, who stands above *the enlightened*, specifically *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, also called *the heads*. The *living being* (חיה [*ḥayyah*]) is *Shekhinah*, who controls and sustains the holy *ḥayyot* ("living creatures, animals"), who support the Chariot, the divine throne.

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 508–9; *Zohar* 1:12b, 242a; 2:48b, 177b–178a (*SdTs*); 3:46b.

73. **illumining Torah** The radiance illumines *Tif'eret*, called Written Torah, and through Him, the lower *sefirot*.

74. ***The earth was* תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void*** The verse continues: *with darkness over the face of the abyss, and the wind of God hovering over the face of the waters*.

75. ***Was*, precisely: previously** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:15: "Rabbi Ḥanin said, '... *The earth was*—it already had been [i.e., it preceded the creation of heaven].'" In the *Bahir* 2 (2), the midrashic interpretation of *was* is applied specifically to *tohu*: the earth was originally in a state of תהו (*tohu*) and then changed to בהו (*bohu*), which is interpreted as בו הוא (*bo hu*), "in it is something," i.e., something with substance, as opposed to chaos.

The early kabbalists, drawing on Jewish Neoplatonism, understood *tohu* and *bohu* as referring to primordial matter and form, respectively. *Tohu*, primordial matter, was seen as the root of evil (a Platonic notion developed in Gnosticism and Neoplatonism), while *bohu*, form, was the origin of good.

See *Bahir* 9 (11), 109 (163); Abraham bar Ḥiyya, *Hegyon ha-Nefesh*, 2a; Isaac the Blind, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 2:6; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 1:11; 2:6; idem, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 89, 102–5; Jacob ben Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 118–21; Naḥmanides on Genesis 1:2.

Here the *Zohar* indicates that *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*, was originally in a chaotic state before *tohu* (matter) and *bohu* (form) emerged from Her. This process, described in the following lines, produces the demonic realm.

See *Zohar* 1:11b, 30a, 39b, 262b–263a (*Hash*); Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:460–64. In several passages (e.g., 1:39b; *ZḤ* 6d [*MhN*]), *tohu, bohu*, *darkness*, and *wind* symbolize the four elements: fire, water, earth, and air.

76. **Snow in water...** Water symbolizes *Ḥesed*, while snow symbolizes *Gevurah* and *Din* ("Judgment"), the congealing and hardening of water. The two were mingled in *Shekhinah*, yielding a slime. See *Zohar* 1:6b; and *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3: "From where was the earth created? From the snow beneath the Throne of Glory. He took it and threw it upon the waters, and the waters

congealed and dust was made."

77. **Blazing fire...** The fire of *Gevurah* struck *Shekhinah*, and the slime turned into refuse and then *tohu*, primordial matter, the domain of evil. On the dregs of primordial matter, see Jacob ben Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 120.

78. **sifting sifted from refuse...** *Bohu*, form, was sifted out of the refuse and then joined to matter.

79. חשך (***Ḥoshekh***), ***Darkness*** The verse continues: *over the face of the abyss and the wind of God hovering over the face of the waters*.

80. **mystery of blazing fire** The fire of *Gevurah*, called *Darkness*. This designation apparently derives from Maimonides (*Guide of the Perplexed* 2:30), who identifies the *darkness* of Genesis 1:2 with "elemental fire": "The elemental fire was designated by this term [*darkness*] because it is not luminous, but only transparent." The other three elements (earth, air [*ruaḥ*], and water) are mentioned explicitly in Genesis 1:2.

See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 111; Jacob ben Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 124.

81. **it is empowered** *Tohu*, matter, is empowered by *Gevurah*.

82. **Holy Spirit...** *Tif'eret*, emanating from *Binah*, "the living God." רוח (*Ruaḥ*) means both "wind" and "spirit." The *ruaḥ* of Genesis 1:2 is identified with Holy Spirit in *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:24).

83. **one fine film...** The *wind*, or Holy Spirit, of *Tif'eret* refines the refuse, yielding *bohu*, form. The process is described as the smelting of dross off molten metal.

84. ***a great, mighty wind*...seen by Elijah** The passage reads (1 Kings 19:11–12): [*God*] *said* [*to Elijah*]: "*Go out and stand on the mountain before YHVH*." *Behold, YHVH was passing by. A great, mighty wind, splitting mountains and shattering rocks before YHVH; YHVH was not in the wind After the wind—an earthquake; YHVH was not in the earthquake. After the earthquake—fire; YHVH was not in the fire. After the fire—the sound of sheer silence*. The four elements referred to in Genesis 1:2 (*tohu, bohu*, *darkness*, and *wind*) are each clarified, and from them emerge the four refined manifestations experienced by Elijah: *a great, mighty wind, an earthquake, fire*, and *the sound of sheer silence*.

On the demonic aspect of Elijah's vision, see *Zohar* 2:203a; *ZḤ* 38a; cf. 3:30a. Similarly, the four phenomena of Ezekiel's vision (1:4: *a stormy wind, a huge cloud, flashing fire*, and *a radiance*) are described as four demonic shells enclosing a kernel. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:463–64.

85. ***Tohu*—... no form at all** Primordial matter is formless, despite transient appearances. See *Zohar* 1:40a.

86. **Everything has a garment...** All things comprise matter and form, the

latter pictured as a garment, but primordial matter is formless and naked.

87. **stones sunk within the shell of *tohu*** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "*Bohu*—these are the slimy stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues." The potential forms of *bohu* are sunk in the abyss, or shell, of *tohu* before they are clarified and emerge. On the shell of *tohu*, see *Zohar* 3:227a (*RM*); *ZḤ* 32c, 55b.

88. **conveying benefit...** Once the forms of *bohu* emerge from *tohu*, they clothe matter and enable the things of the world to exist. They transmit the stream of emanation from the *sefirot* above to the world below.

89. **hollow and moist** Channeling the flow of emanation.

90. **suspended in the air** Linking the *sefirot* with the physical world.

91. **on a cloudy day...** When human sin evokes harsh judgment, the flow of emanation is blocked and the forms descend to the abyss, nourishing the demonic powers of *tohu*. See *Zohar* 3:32a; and BT *Ta'anit* 8b: "Rabbah son of Shila said, 'A day of rain is as harsh as a day of judgment.'" The *Zohar* understands תהום (*tehom*), *abyss*, as equivalent to תהו (*tohu*), *chaos*.

92. ***Darkness* is black fire...** *Gevurah* includes several aspects, pictured as various colors of fire. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 1:3. Cf. *Tanḥuma, Shemot* 15.

93. ***Darkness...* dark fire... empowers *tohu*** *Gevurah* manifests as dark fire when it strengthens the demonic.

94. ***His eyes...*** The verse describes the aged Isaac preparing to bless his firstborn son, Esau. Isaac symbolizes *Gevurah*, while Esau symbolizes the demonic. Because Isaac greeted Esau with a friendly face, his eyes grew dim. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:6; *Zohar* 2:46b. As *Gevurah* empowers evil, it grows dark or *dim*.

95. **upon it** Upon evil.

96. ***face of the abyss... face of the waters* ... each one receiving...** *Darkness* empowers *tohu*, *the face of the abyss*, while *wind* empowers *bohu*, which is equated with *the face of the waters*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "*Bohu*—these are the slimy stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues." *Wind* is a name for *Tif'eret*, also known as *voice* and *YHVH*.

97. שדי (***Shaddai***) An obscure divine name, which may mean "of the mountain." The traditional rendering "Almighty" is unjustified. Here *Shaddai* designates the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, limiting the destructive power of *tohu*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a, where Resh Lakish interprets *Shaddai* as a reference to God's command to limit the universe at creation: "I am the one ש (*she*), who, said to the world: 'די (*dai*), Enough!'"

98. צבאות (***Tseva'ot***), **Hosts** This divine name, associated with the *sefirot* of *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, refers here to the hosts of forms emerging from *bohu*.

99. אלהים (***Elohim***) This name designates *Gevurah*, known as *Darkness*.

100. יהוה (***YHVH***) This name designates *Tif'eret*, known as *Ruaḥ*, *Wind* (or: *Spirit*).

101. **This name was not in it... here is found the name *YHVH*** The name *YHVH* is not associated with the *mighty wind*, *earthquake*, or *fire*, each of which has its own distinct divine name, corresponding to its primordial element: *tohu, bohu*, and *darkness*, respectively. *YHVH* is reserved for *the sound of sheer silence*, corresponding to *ruaḥ*. *Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH* and *Ruaḥ*, is also called *Qol* (*voice* or *sound*). See *ZḤ* 38a; *Zohar* 3:227a (*RM*).

102. **four sections... sections of the limbs...** The four parts of Elijah's vision correspond to four parts of the body of the *sefirot*: the trunk (*Tif'eret*), the left arm (*Gevurah*), the thighs (*Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, taken together), and the phallus (*Yesod*).

103. **numbering twelve** Each of the four limbs apparently comprises three parts. See the passage from *Bahir* cited below.

104. **name of twelve letters...** Perhaps referring to the fact that the four-letter name *YHVH* appears three times in the phrases: *YHVH was not in the wind... YHVH was not in the earthquake... YHVH was not in the fire* (1 Kings 19:11–12). Taken together, the letters of these three occurrences total twelve. The name of twelve letters is mentioned but not identified in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. It was later associated with the three occurrences of *YHVH* in the priestly blessing (Numbers 6:24–26). See *Bahir* 80 (111): "... numbering three, numbering twelve."

Cf. *Zohar* 1:19b; 2:58a; 3:78a–b, 172b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 92, 290, n. 32. *Zohar* 2:201b refers to "the holy name of twelve letters... ruling the air. This is the name with which Elijah flew, ascending to heaven." See 2 Kings 2:11.

105. **general-particular-general** בלל ופרט וכלל (*Kelal ufrat ukhlal*), "Generality, particularity, and generality." According to one of Rabbi Yishma'el's thirteen hermeneutical rules (*Sifra*, intro, 1a–b), if a biblical law is stated in general terms, followed by particular instances and then followed by another generality, one may derive only things similar to those specified. For example, Deuteronomy 14:26 states: *You may spend the money on anything that your appetite desires* (generality), *cattle, sheep, wine, or intoxicant* (particularity), *or anything that your appetite seeks* (generality). According to the principle of *kelal ufrat ukhlal*, one may purchase things other than those specified, but only if they are food or drink similar to those specified.

Here the *Zohar* indicates that the opening verse of Genesis describes the emergence of *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* out of *Keter*. These three *sefirot* contain the entirety of emanation (generality). Then, beginning with *Let there be light!*, the emanation of the seven lower *sefirot* is spelled out in detail (particularity). Finally, generality returns in Genesis 2:4: *This is the story of heaven and earth when they*

were created, on the day when YHVH Elohim made earth and heaven. Applying the hermeneutical principle of *kelal ufrat ukhlal*, one should understand the emanation of the initial *sefirot* in light of the detailed account of the further emanation.

106. **space אוירא** (*Avira*), "Air, space, ether, aura." The *avira* is *Keter*, the original *sefirah*. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:6: "Out of chaos He formed substance, making what is not into what is. He hewed enormous pillars out of אויר (*avir*), ether, that cannot be grasped."

See *Zohar* 1:15a; 3:135b (*IR*); Altmann, *Studies*, 174; Scholem, "*Iqvotav shel Gevirol be-Qabbalah*," 167–68; idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 331–47 (especially 342); Pines, in *Tarbiz* 50 (1981): 339–47; Liebes, in *Meḥqerei Yerushalyim be-Maḥashevet Yisra'el* 6:3–4 (1987): 80–86; Verman, *The Books of Contemplation*, 153–56.

107. **Once the force spread...** Once the primordial seed of *Ḥokhmah* impregnated the divine womb of *Binah*, known as *Elohim*, the subsequent process of emanation can be described in terms of speech. Until that stage, the appropriate metaphor is not speech but thought.

108. **Although בראשית** (***Be-reshit***)... According to M *Avot 5:1*, "The world was created through ten utterances [or: sayings, commands]." Only nine explicit commands appear in Genesis 1, but the decade is completed by counting the phrase *In the beginning*.

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 32a, *Megillah* 21b; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:15a, 30a; *TZ* 32, 76a. In Kabbalah the ten commands symbolize the ten *sefirot*, the first of which establishes the basis for the other nine.

109. **This *said* is susceptible to questioning...** Only beginning with the rung of *Binah* does speech manifest, so She is characterized by the verb *said*. She is also known as the primordial question, Who. A spiritual seeker may inquire about Her, but such questions do not yield ordinary answers. The identity of the divine is discovered only in a realm beyond words. The mystical name "Who" becomes a focus of meditation, as question turns into quest. See Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 1:91a: "Concerning everything that cannot be grasped, its question constitutes its answer."

See *Zohar* 1:1b, 29b–30a, 45b, 85b–86a, 237b; 2:126b–127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

110. **a power raised...** *Binah* represents the subtle beginnings of speech, the inner voice emerging silently through thought, *Ḥokhmah*. ויאמר (*Va-yomer*), *Said*, is interpreted here as ארמותא (*armuta*), "rising." On the subtle nature of the verb אמר (*amr*), "to say," see *Zohar* 1:234b; 2:17a (*MhN*), 25b; 3:132b–133a (*IR*).

111. **while outside the newborn was heard** *Tif'eret*, the son born to *Binah*, is

known as Voice and was now heard.

See *Zohar* 1:50b, 74a, 141b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 89 (113). Cf. BT *Berakhot* 15b: "The womb, which takes in silently, gives forth loudly."

112. **Father and Mother...** *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, symbolized by the first two letters of יהוה (*YHVH*), which are also the first two letters of יהי (*yehi*), *let there be*. See *Zohar* 2:22a.

113. **afterward turning back...** The final letter of יהי (*yehi*), *let there be*, is once again י (*yod*), symbolizing the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, from which emerges the first of the lower seven *sefirot: Ḥesed*, known as *light*.

114. **light that already was** The primordial light emerging from the depths of the first *sefirah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:2: "It is not written here והיה אור (*Ve-hayah or*) [which could mean either *And there will be light* or *And there was light*], but rather ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*) [which can mean only] *And there was light*—it already was." Theodor (ad loc.) regards this as a scribal gloss. In any case, the point in the Midrash is that the creation of light was instantaneous and effortless, whereas here the *Zohar* emphasizes that the light preexisted—it already *was*.

See *Bahir* 17 (25), elaborating on *Bereshit Rabbah*: "Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Why is it written: *God said, "Let there be light!"* ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*), *And there was light*, and not: והיה (*Ve-hayah*) [which could mean either *And there will be* or *And there was*]? This can be compared to a king who had a beautiful object and set it aside until he had prepared a place for it; then he placed it there. As is written: "*Let there be light!*" *And there was light*. For it already was.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 494; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 109; *Zohar* 1:45b; 3:245b (*RM*); *ZḤ* 1a, 37d; Recanati on Genesis 1:3, 3c.

115. **the hidden supernal aura** *Keter*. See above, note 106.

116. **single concealed point** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, which broke through the aura of *Keter*. See above, page 109.

117. **what remained...** Once the י (*yod*) left אויר (*avir*), "aura," what remained was אור (*or*), "light." See *Zohar* 3:245b (*RM*).

118. **it manifested upon it...** The light remaining from the aura of *Keter* shone subtly upon the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:15a, 65a.

119. **emerged, ascended... a single point remained...** After emerging, the light returns to its source within *Keter*. A single point, the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, now stands revealed, and the light beyond maintains contact with the point of *Ḥesed* through the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*.

120. **illumining this and that** The light hidden away within *Keter* illumines both points: *Ḥokhmah* and *Ḥesed*.

121. **all ascend, merging in it** As the light ascends, all the *sefirot* follow and

merge into it.

122. **That point of light is *light*** The point is *Ḥesed*, revealed when most of the light withdrew to its hidden source in *Keter*.

123. **seven letters...** Emanation continues to unfold, manifesting as divine speech.

124. ***darkness* emerged, and seven other letters...** The *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, symbolized by *darkness*, emanates, generating the next set of letters.

125. **An *expanse* emerged... twenty-two** *Tif'eret*, the *expanse* (רקיע [*raqi'a*], "firmament, expanse, sky" [Genesis 1:6]), is also known as רחמים (*Raḥamim*), Compassion, and this central *sefirah* balances the contending forces of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, Love and Judgment. Its accompanying eight letters bring the total to twenty-two, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet.

126. **The *expanse* congealed...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:2: "Rav said, 'The works of Creation [i.e., the heavens] were fluid, and on the second day they congealed. *Let there be an expanse [in the midst of the waters]!* (Genesis 1:6), Let the expanse be firm!'"

See *Zohar* 2:167b; *ZḤ* 68d (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 88 (111).

127. **Torah was engraved there...** The twenty-two letters of Creation, now fully formed, spell out the text of Torah within *Tif'eret*, who is known as Written Torah.

128. אל גדול (***El gadol***), **great God** *Ḥesed*, who is known both as אל (*El*), God, and גדולה (*Gedullah*), Greatness.

129. ויהי (***Vayhi***), ***And there was*—mystery of *darkness*...** See BT *Megillah* 10b: "Rabbi Levi, or some say Rabbi Yonatan, said, 'This matter is a tradition handed down to us from the Men of the Great Assembly: Wherever it is said ויהי (*vayhi*), *and there was* [or: *and it came to* pass], this denotes distress.'" The word ויהי (*vayhi*), *it came to pass*, is split into וי היה (*vai hayah*), "there was woe," or וי הי (*vai, hi*), "woe, wailing."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 41(42):3 (on Genesis 14:1); *Vayiqra Rabbah* 11:7; BT *Megillah* 11a; *Zohar* 1:119b; 2:140b, 167a; 3:231a; *ZḤ* 77a (*MhN, Rut*).

Here the distress is the *darkness* and judgment of the left side, also known as *Elohim*.

130. ***Light*—left merging in right...** The repetition of the word *light* indicates the resolution of the conflict between light and darkness, right and left. The mingling of the two forces is also indicated by the fact that אל (*El*) is included in אלהים (*Elohim*).

131. **the central pillar** *Tif'eret*, who mediates between the polar opposites, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*. See *Zohar* 2:167a.

132. **illumining** אנהיר (*Anhir*). Recanati on Genesis 1:4, 4c reads: אדליק (*adliq*), "kindling," based on an Aramaic rendering of בהיטיבו (*be-heitivo*), *as he tends* [or: *trims*] (Exodus 30:7): באדלקותיה (*be-adlequteih*), *as he kindles*.

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 485; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 89.

133. **all other directions...** All of the lower *sefirot* surrounding *Tif'eret*, who is symbolized by the name *YHVH*.

134. **to emit a radiance...** *Tif'eret* is summoned to emanate *Yesod*, "foundation" of the world, also known as *Day*, with the help of *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of the right side. *Yesod* channels the vivifying flow of emanation to *Shekhinah* and the worlds below.

135. **generated from the side of *darkness*...** From the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, known as *darkness*, emanates *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon and called *Night*. One of Her other many names is אדני (*Adonai*), *Lord*. See *Zohar* 1:228b.

136. **embracing the mystery of the left** *Tif'eret*, the central pillar, balances right and left.

137. **three points: חולם (*ḥolem*), שורק (*shuruq*), חירק (*ḥireq*)...** These three vowels appear, respectively, as points above, within, and beneath the letter. Here they apparently represent three lines of emanation (right, left, and center) extending from the primordial point (or seed) of *Ḥokhmah*.

See Isaac ha-Kohen, *Ta'amei ha-Nequddot*, ed. Scholem, *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 265–68; *Zohar* 1:15b; Judah Ḥayyat, in *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, 136a. According to Moses de León, the three points symbolize *Ḥokhmah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*. See his *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 328–30, and Wolfson's note, 329:2.

138. **generating the foundation of the world...** *Ḥesed* transmits the seed of holiness, *Ḥokhmah*, through the central pillar, thereby generating *Yesod*, who embodies all of the *sefirot* as He streams joyously toward union with *Shekhinah*. On *Yesod* as כל (*Kol*), All, see *Zohar* 1:130b, 195b; 2:157a.

139. **The left blazed...** *Gevurah*, drawing power from the various *sefirot*, generates *Shekhinah*.

140. **These two sides...** The right and left sides generate *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, respectively.

141. **Increase** מוסף (*Musaf*), "Additional," the additional service for Sabbaths, festivals, and fast days. The word is a cognate of the name יוסף (*Yosef*), Joseph—the biblical hero who symbolizes *Yesod*, the divine phallus, since he withstood the test of sexual temptation in Egypt (Genesis 39). See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 10 (12–13).

142. **forces** Angels.

143. **יהוה צבאות (*YHVH Tseva'ot*)...אל אלהי הרוחות (*El Elohei ha-ruḥot*)...** Both of these names are associated with *Yesod*, who by uniting with *Shekhinah* generates human souls.

144. **Since *darkness* yearns...** As *Gevurah* approaches *Ḥesed*, its harshness weakens, and *Shekhinah*, known as Lenient Judgment, emerges.

145. **before being completed** Instead of אסתיים (*istayyam*), "it was completed," *OY* reads here: אתבסים (*itbesim*), "it was sweetened," i.e., sweetened by the light of *Ḥesed*.

146. ***night* was left wanting** *Shekhinah* lacks the full power of *Gevurah*, now softened by *Ḥesed*. Emanating from *darkness*, She also lacks light.

147. **Increase comprised mystery of the primordial point...** *Yesod* includes the emanation of *Ḥokhmah* and *Tif'eret*.

148. **two letters were added... subtracted...** The word ויקרא (*va-yiqra*), *and He called*, describing the emergence of *day* (*Yesod*), contains two more letters than קרא (*qara*), *He called*, describing the emergence of *night* (*Shekhinah*). These two extra letters, ו, י (*vav, yod*), symbolize *Tif'eret* and *Ḥokhmah*, which constitute the increase of *Yesod*.

149. **the name of seventy-two engraved letters** The divine name derived from the description of the splitting of the Red Sea: Exodus 14:19–21. Each of these three verses begins with the letters ו, י (*vav, yod*) and contains seventy-two letters. The name is actually composed of seventy-two triads of letters, according to the following pattern: the first letter of the first verse, the last letter of the second verse, the first letter of the third verse (forming the first triad); the second letter of the first verse, the penultimate letter of the second verse, the second letter of the third verse (the second triad); etc.

See *Leqaḥ Tov*, Exodus 14:21; *Bereshit Rabbah* 44:19; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:2; Rashi on BT *Sukkah* 45a, s.v. *ani*; Hai Gaon, *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah* 23; *Bahir* 79 (110); *Zohar* 1:7b; 2:51b, 132b, 270a; 3:150b–151a; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 95–97; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, 14:67, 284–86. The *Zohar* associates the seventy-two-letter name with *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, whose emanation is alluded to in the verses discussed here. See *Zohar* 2:132b; 3:150b–151a.

150. ***"Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters...** that it may separate water from water*."

151. **in detail** See above, page 122: "*God said, 'Let there be light!' And there was light* (Genesis 1:3). Here begins the discovery of hidden treasures: how the world was created in detail. For until here was general...." The opening verse of Genesis describes the emergence of *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* out of *Keter*. These three *sefirot* contain the entirety of emanation. Then, beginning with *Let there be*

light!, the emanation of the seven lower *sefirot* is spelled out in detail. Now the *Zohar* proceeds with the second day of creation, on which conflict arose. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6.

152. **separating upper waters from lower...** Separating *Binah* from *Shekhinah* through the mystery of *Gevurah*, the *sefirah* of the left side, manifesting on the second day. See *Zohar* 1:46a, 2:149b.

153. **mystery of the right** *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of the right side, manifesting in the light of the first day.

154. **all is written by the right** The act of writing is usually performed with the right hand.

155. **blazed the fire of wrath** The harsh power of the left side was aroused.

156. **emerged Hell...** See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a, "Rabbi Bana'ah son of Rabbi Ulla said, 'Why was the expression *that it was good* not said concerning the second day of Creation? Because on that day the fire of Hell was created.'"

Here the *Zohar* indicates that Hell was generated by the fiery wrath of the left side and remained attached there. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 4*; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:33a, 46a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

157. **The central pillar...** *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the third day of Creation, who mediates between the polar opposites, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*.

158. **Hell descended...** The extreme manifestation of harsh Judgment separated from the left side and descended, while the left side itself was harmonized.

159. **Korah and Aaron...** Aaron the high priest symbolizes *Ḥesed*, the right side, while the rebel Korah, who was a Levite, symbolizes the left side, *Gevurah*. See Numbers 16; *Zohar* 3:176a.

160. **It is fitting that I mediate...** Moses, who symbolizes the harmonizing *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, can mediate the conflict.

161. **but the left was unwilling...** According to *Zohar* 3:176a, Korah "sought to reverse right and left."

162. **He** Moses.

163. **Hell must certainly join...** As in the second day of Creation.

164. **he** Korah.

165. **not for the sake of heaven** See M *Avot* 5:17: "Every conflict that is for the sake of heaven is destined to endure, while every conflict not for the sake of heaven is not destined to endure. Which conflict is for the sake of heaven? The conflict between Hillel and Shammai. Which conflict is not for the sake of heaven? The conflict of Ko-rah and his entire band." See *Zohar* 1:33a.

166. **denied the act of Creation** By refusing to harmonize with the right side, he denied the process of Creation.

167. **been thrust outside** Korah was now beyond the pale.

168. **below and above** Korah rebelled against Moses and Aaron, the human leaders of Israel, as well as against the divine creative process.

169. **what befitted him** Hell, or Sheol, to which Korah descended. See Numbers 16:33, cited below: *They and all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol.*

170. **the conflict of Shammai and Hillel** See M *Avot* 5:17: "Every conflict that is for the sake of heaven is destined to endure, while every conflict not for the sake of heaven is not destined to endure. Which conflict is for the sake of heaven? The conflict between Hillel and Shammai. Which conflict is not for the sake of heaven? The conflict of Korah and his entire band."

Numerous disputes between the disciples of Hillel and Shammai are recorded in rabbinic literature. One of these (*Bereshit Rabbah* 1:15; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 18) concerns the order of Creation, the school of Shammai insisting that the heavens were created before the earth, the school of Hillel the reverse. Another dispute between them continued for years, according to BT *Eruvin* 13b: "Rabbi Abba said in the name of Shemu'el: 'For three years the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel disputed, the former contending: "The *halakhah* accords with our view," the latter contending: "The *halakhah* accords with our view." A heavenly voice came forth, saying: "Both these and those are the words of the living God, but the *halakhah* accords with the school of Hillel."'" According to Isaac Luria (*MM*), in messianic times Shammai's views will prevail.

171. **harmonizing them** אסכים לון (*Askim lon*). See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 18: "The school of Shammai said, 'The heavens were created first, and the earth afterward....' The school of Hillel said, 'The earth was created first....' Contention arose between them over this matter, until *Shekhinah* rested between them and they agreed (הסכימו [*hiskimu*]) with one another that both were created simultaneously." See *Zohar* 1:29b.

172. **for the sake of heaven, so Heaven...** As noted above, M *Avot* 5:17 cites the dispute between Hillel and Shammai as the prototypical "conflict for the sake of heaven," destined להתקיים (*le-hitqayyem*), "to endure." Appropriately, the *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, known as Heaven, mediates this conflict, and thus "the world אתקיים (*itqayyam*), was established." See the reference to the heavenly voice, above, note 170. Cf. *Zohar* 1:33a, 252b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 113–14.

173. **deny the words of Torah** According to which, Aaron was designated

to be the priest; or according to which, the process of Creation involved the harmonizing of left and right.

174. **so there he clung** Descending to Sheol: *They and all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol* (Numbers 16:33).

175. ***The Book of Adam*** One of the many volumes housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*. According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See Genesis 5:1; *Be-reshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. This book is not to be confused with the Apocryphal *Book of Adam*, known in various versions, though the Apocryphal book may have influenced the *Zohar*'s depiction of the *Book of Adam*. According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam. Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.

See *Zohar* 1:37b, 55a–b, 58b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a–b, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Matt, *Zohar*, 25; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54. Note the comment by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, on *Zohar* 1:7a: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*...have been lost in the wanderings of exile... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

176. ***darkness*** The *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, on the left.

177. **a conflict of love** The tension between left and right, when resolved, yields the harmony of *Tif'eret*, also known as רחמים (*Raḥamim*), Compassion, who eventually unites with *Shekhinah*.

178. **the way of the righteous...** See BT *Qiddushin* 30b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said, 'Even father and son, master and disciple, who are engaged in Torah at the same gate become each other's enemies. Yet, they do not stir from there until they come to love one another.'" See *Zohar* 1:174; 2:56a; 3:42a (*RM*).

179. **He** God.

180. ***God fashioned the expanse...*** The *expanse* of *Tif'eret*.

181. **a conflict of... love, endurance of the world** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6: "... a conflict that promoted the ordering of the world and civilization."

182. **Oral Torah... Written Torah...** *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*.

183. ***has separated you from the community of Israel*** The verse continues: *to bring you near to Him, to perform the duties of the Dwelling of YHVH, to stand before the community and serve them?* These are Moses' words to the rebellious Korah, who was privileged to be a Levite.

184. ***At that time YHVH separated the tribe of Levi*** The verse continues: *to*

carry the ark of the covenant of YHVH, to stand before YHVH to serve Him, and to bless in His name.

185. **on the second, on the left** Separation occurred on the second day of Creation, symbolizing the *sefirah* of the left side, *Gevurah*, which is also symbolized by the tribe of Levi.

186. **Levi, who is third... Simeon, who is second** The birth order of the eldest sons of Jacob was: Reuben, Simeon, and Levi.

187. **in Jacob's mind he was second** When Jacob had sexual relations with Leah, he thought she was Rachel (Genesis 29:23, 25), so the child who was conceived (Reuben) was in his mind Rachel's. Simeon was therefore considered Leah's firstborn, and Levi was the second. Furthermore, Reuben's primogeniture was disavowed by Jacob following the incident of the mandrakes (ibid. 30:14–17) or after Reuben slept with his father's concubine, Bilhah (ibid. 35:22).

See ibid. 49:4; 1 Chronicles 5:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 98:4; *Zohar* 1:155a (*ST*), 176b, 222b, 236a.

188. הבדלה (***Havdalah***)... *Havdalah* ("separation") is the ritual marking the end of Sabbath (and, in an abbreviated form, the end of festivals). The *havdalah* at the conclusion of the Sabbath is first recited in the fourth blessing of the *amidah* prayer of the evening service and then over a cup of wine. This second, longer ritual consists of blessings over wine, spices, and the light of a candle. For the kabbalist, the end of Sabbath is fraught with danger, for now the harsh powers of judgment, banished for the duration of the Sabbath, are aroused and stand poised to dominate the weekdays. The wicked, who enjoyed a day's respite from their torment in Hell, resume their suffering.

See *Tanḥuma*, *Ki Tissa* 33; *Zohar* 1:14b, 21a; 2:207a; Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 256–84.

189. **specter** טסירא (*Tesira*), a neologism appearing several times in the *Zohar* (1:20b, 178a ["*tesirin* without a body"]; 2:29a). See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17: "It is not written here: [*He ceased from all His work*] *that* [*God*] *created and made*, but rather [*that God created*] *to make* (Genesis 2:3), for the Sabbath came first and their work was not completed. Rabbi Benaya said, 'This refers to the demons, for He created their souls, and as He was creating their bodies, the Sabbath day was hallowed. He left them, and they remained soul without body.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; 11:9; *Zohar* 1:14a, 47b–48a, 178a; 2:155b; 3:142b (*IR*); and M *Avot* 5:6: "Ten things were created on Friday eve at twilight:.... Some say, 'Also the demons.'"

An alternative rendering here is "warden"; cf. טסורא (*tesora*) in JT *Ketubbot* 11:3, 34b, a corruption of סנטירא (*santeira*), "guardsman." See *Zohar* 1:14b.

190. ***Let the work of our hands prosper*** This verse, recited as Sabbath departs, is intended to ward off demonic forces, but it also signals their return. See *Zohar* 1:197b.

191. **Sheol** The biblical term for the abode of the dead, later identified with גיהנם (*geihinnom*), "Hell."

192. **myrtle and wine** Used in the ritual of *havdalah*. See *Zohar* 2:20a (*MhN*), 208b–209a; 3:35a–b; J. Lauterbach, in *Hebrew Union College Annual* 15 (1940): 367–86; Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 259–67; Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 125, n. 84; Hallamish, *Ha-Qabbalah*, 323.

193. ***Separate yourselves from the midst of this community*** The verse continues: *that I may annihilate them in an instant!* The command is actually spoken to Moses and Aaron, not the entire people.

194. **on the second, which is the left** On the second day of Creation, symbolizing the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*.

195. **Hell was created** As noted above, page 128.

196. **all those angels who denounce...** Apparently referring to the angels who opposed the creation of the human being. See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav: 'When the blessed Holy One sought to create the human being, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and asked them, "Is it your desire that we make the human being in our image?" They responded, "Master of the Universe, what are his deeds?" He replied, "Such and such are his deeds." They exclaimed, "Master of the Universe, *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?* (Psalms 8:5)." He stretched out His little finger among them and burned them. The same thing happened with a second company. The third company said to Him, "Master of the Universe, the former ones who spoke in Your presence—what did they accomplish? The entire world is Yours! Whatever You wish to do in Your world, do it." When He reached the members of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the Tower of Babel], whose deeds were corrupt, they [the angels] said to Him, "Master of the Universe, didn't the first ones speak well?" He responded, "*Till* [*your*] *old age, I am He; till* [*you turn*] *grey, I will carry you*. [*I have made and I will bear* (*your sins*)*; I will carry and deliver*] (Isaiah 46:4)."'"

197. **all those others...** According to Rabbi Yoḥanan (*Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3), all the angels were created on the second day. In the *Zohar*, those angels created on the second day are angels of Judgment, deriving from the side of *Gevurah*. Consisting solely of strict Judgment, they cannot survive.

On the notion of angels vanishing, see BT *Ḥagigah* 14a: "Shemu'el said to Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Rav, 'O son of a lion! Come, I will tell you one of those fine

words said by your father: Every single day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream, chant a song, then cease to be, as is said: *New every morning, immense is Your faithfulness!'* (Lamentations 3:23)."

See *Zohar* 1:18b; 2:213b–214a, 247a; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 507, 510; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 65; idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 205; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:624–25.

198. **Similarly Korah below** He was descended from Levi, considered the second son (see above, page 131), and he embodied the left side.

199. **Let an expanse expand...** Let the *sefirot* emanate from *Binah*. See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506.

200. **אל (*El*), God, cluster...** *Ḥesed* is known as both אל (*El*) and גדולה (*Gedullah*), Greatness, and therefore אל גדול (*El gadol*). See *Zohar* 1:16b; 2:253a.

"Cluster" renders קטפא (*qitpa*). See BT *Ketubbot* 112a, *Avodah Zarah* 72b: קטופי (*qeto-phei*), "clusters, fruit ready to be plucked"; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 190.

201. **From the midst of the waters...** From *Binah*, the upper waters, the letters הי״ם (*he, yod, mem*) emanated and thus אל (*El*), *Ḥesed*, expanded into אלהים (*Elohim*), the next *sefirah: Gevurah*.

202. **transposed into lower waters...** The letters הי״ם (*he, yod, mem*) emanate from *Binah*, who is known as upper waters and as הים (*ha-yam*), "the sea." As this alphabetic flow proceeds, it is gradually transposed into ימ״ה (*yod, mem, he*), which spell ימה (*yammah*), "sea," indicating the lower waters of *Shekhinah*. (The homonym ימה [*yammah*], "west," also refers to *Shekhinah*.)

203. **this name extending...** The name אלהים (*Elohim*) refers not only to *Binah* and *Gevurah*, but now also to *Shekhinah*, angels, and even "other gods."

204. **upper waters are male...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep...* (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta*, *Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

Although often depicted as the Divine Mother, *Binah* is also described as "World of the Male," encompassing the entire configuration of *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. Together they constitute a masculine entity ready to join *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:96a, 147a, 149a, 160b, 246a, 248b; 2:127b; *ZḤ* 72b (*ShS*). Cf. 1:17b, 46b, 163a; 2:4a.

205. **water intermingled with water** Aramaic and Hebrew, הוו מים במים (*havo mayim be-mayim*). See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayaqhel* 6: "When the blessed Holy One created His world, היה העולם בלו מים במים (*hayah ha-olam kullo mayim be-mayim*), it was entirely water intermingled with water."

See JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 1; *Shemot Rabbah* 50:1; *Zohar* 1:56b, 68a.

206. **these are אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, and these are אדני (*Adonai*), Lord...** *Binah* is *Elohim* and the first ה (*he*) of יהוה (*YHVH*); *Shekhinah* is *Adonai* and the second ה (*he*).

See *Bahir* 20 (29); *Zohar* 1:62a; 2:177a (*SdTs*); 3:74b, 89b; *ZḤ* 82c (*MhN*, *Rut*).

207. **this expansion took this name...** The emanation proceeded from *Binah*, first to *Ḥesed* and then to *Gevurah*, which took the name *Elohim*, previously associated with *Binah*, the upper waters.

208. **the name *Elohim* extended over all** Once *Shekhinah* completed the array of *sefirot*, the name *Elohim* was extended to Her as well.

209. **the third day** *Tif'eret*.

210. ***that it was good* is not written of the second day...** In the biblical account of Creation, the statement *God saw that it was good* (or a variant) is included in the description of each of the six days except for the second. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6: "Why is *that it was good* not written concerning the second day? Rabbi Yoḥanan said..., 'Because on that day Hell was created....' Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'Because on that day conflict was created: *that it may separate water from water.'*.... Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'Because the work of the water was not completed. Therefore *that it was good* is written twice on the third day: once for the work of the water [see Genesis 1:9–10] and once for the work of the [third] day [ibid., 11].'"

In the *Zohar*, the second day marks the emergence of *Gevurah*, characterized by strict justice, which conflicts with *Ḥesed*, divine love. On the third day, these polar opposites were balanced and synthesized.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 4; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 33a; 46a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

211. **the name engraved with the engravings...** In the name יהוה (*YHVH*), the letter ו (*vav*)—whose numerical value is six— symbolizes *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). *Tif'eret* harmonizes *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, the upper and lower waters, symbolized by the first and second ה (*he*),

respectively.

212. **This is the sign...** See Joshua 3:16, describing Israel's crossing the Jordan: *The waters coming down from above* [upstream] *rose in one heap a great way off, at Adam, the town next to Zarethan; and those flowing down* [downstream] *toward the Sea of the Aravah, the Dead Sea, ran out completely. So the people crossed near Jericho*. Here *the waters from above* symbolize *Binah*, *those flowing down toward the Sea* symbolize *Shekhinah*, and *the people* (of Israel) symbolize *Tif'eret*.

213. **Five *expanses*...** The word רקיע (*raqi'a*), *expanse*, appears five times in the description of the second day (Genesis 1:6–8), alluding to the five *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Hod*. See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 11 (14).

214. **Vitality of the Worlds...** *Yesod*, the river of emanation, flows through these five *sefirot* and, drawing on them, conducts the lower worlds by means of *Shekhinah*.

On various senses of the title "Vitality of the Worlds," see Daniel 12:7; *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 16; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:5; Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, §275; *Zohar* 1:4b, 132a, 135b, 167b.

215. **all comprising...** Each *sefirah* reflects the entire array of *sefirot*.

216. **There are five hundred years...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:6: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Il'ai said, 'The Tree of Life extends over a journey of five hundred years, and all the waters of Creation branch off beneath it.'"

The five hundred years symbolize the five *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Hod*, which channel the emanation from *Ḥokhmah* (known as ראשית [*Reshit*], "Beginning" or "Creation") and nourish *Yesod*, the Tree of Life.

See *Zohar* 1:35a, 78b (*ST*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69).

217. **King David...** David, the ideal king, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is often called *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). *Shekhinah* receives the flow of emanation from *Yesod* and distributes it to the lower worlds.

218. ***He distributed among all the people...*** After defeating the Philistines.

219. **Colonel Ember הורפילא דטיפסא** (*Hurpila de-tifsa*). *Hurpila* derives from the Aramaic רופילא (*rufila*) and Latin *rufulus*, a military tribune appointed by the general. See BT *Bava Metsi'a* 49b, 107b; *Shevu'ot* 6b; *Avodah Zarah* 33b, 61b. *Tifsa* means "ember" in *Zohar* 1:242a; 3:111a. See *DE; Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 176, 178–79.

Here the demonic Colonel Ember is empowered and enflamed by the harsh conflict.

220. **congealing...** The male and female demonic forces unite. Congealing typifies the second day, according to *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:2: "Rav said, 'The works of Creation [i.e., the heavens] were fluid, and on the second day they

congealed. *Let there be an expanse* [*in the midst of the waters*]! (Genesis 1:6), Let the expanse be firm!'" See above, page 124.

221. **mystery of foreskin** The foreskin, removed in the ritual of circumcision, symbolizes the demonic. See *Zohar* 1:13a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (68).

222. **viper and serpent...** See BT *Bekhorot* 8a: "A viper bears at seventy years;... a serpent at seven years." Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:4; *Zohar* 2:220a. The gestation period of snakes is actually several months.

223. **Hell, called by seven names** See BT *Eruvin* 19a: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'Hell has seven names: Sheol, Ruin, Pit of Destruction, Tumultuous Pit, Miry Clay, Shadow of Death, and Netherworld.'" Cf. *Zohar* 2:150b.

224. **The evil impulse... seven names** See BT *Sukkah* 52a: "Rabbi Avira, or some say Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi, expounded, 'The evil impulse has seven names. The blessed Holy One called it Evil...; Moses called it Uncircumcised...; David called it Impure...; Solomon called it Enemy...; Isaiah called it Stumbling Block...; Ezekiel called it Stone...; Joel called it Hidden One.'" See *Zohar* 2:262b–263a.

225. **cultivation of the world** The world is maintained through a rhythm of light and darkness, good and evil. Human choice and action determine which power will manifest on earth: the divine or the demonic. The demonic forces, too, serve a sacred function by punishing human evil.

226. **engraved name of eighteen letters** Apparently referring to the six different permutations of the three letters יה״ו (*yod, he, vav*), which compose the name יהוה (*YHVH*): יה״ו, יו״ה, הי״ו, הו״י, וי״ה, וה״י.

227. ***Let the waters under heaven be gathered to one place*** The verse continues: *and let the dry land appear! And it was so*.

228. קו (*qav*), **a line...** The flow of emanation, proceeding in a line, referred to elsewhere in the *Zohar* as קו המדה (*qav ha-middah*), "the line of measure."

See Jeremiah 31:38; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 89–90; Jacob ben She-shet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 113; *Zohar* 1:15a; 2:233a–b, 258a; *ZḤ* 56d–58d (*QhM*)*; TZ* 18, 37b.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 5:1: "יקוו המים (*Yiqqavu ha-mayim*). Rabbi Berekhiah said in the name of Rabbi Abba son of Yama, 'Let a measure be made for the waters, as is said: וקו (*Ve-qav*), *And a line, will be stretched out over Jerusalem* (Zechariah 1:16).'"

229. **the primordial point** *Ḥokhmah*, the point of light issuing from *Keter*.

230. **the supernal palace** *Binah*, the divine womb.

231. **Vitality of the Worlds** *Yesod*, who channels the entire flow of

emanation to *Shekhinah*, thereby uniting male and female. See above, note 214.

232. **upper ה (*he*)** *Binah*, symbolized by the first ה (*he*) in the name יהוה (*YHVH*), and perhaps alluded to by the ה (*he*) of המים (*ha-mayim*), *the waters*.

233. **small ו (*vav*)...** *Yesod*, which emerges from, yet remains joined to, *Tif'eret*. Whereas *Tif'eret* is known as *heaven* and is symbolized by the large ו (*vav*), *Yesod* is *under heaven* and symbolized by the small ו (*vav*). Together they spell out the name of the letter, וו (*vav*), as well as the double ו (*vav*) in the word יקוו (*yiqqavu*), *let* [*the waters*] *be gathered*.

See *Zohar* 1:119a; 2:9b; 3:11a, 53b, 74b. On the question of the small ו (*vav*), see *Minḥat Shai* on Psalms 24:4.

234. **lower ה (*he*)** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the second ה (*he*) of the name יהוה (*YHVH*), and perhaps alluded to by the ה (*he*) of היבשה (*ha-yabbashah*), *the dry land*. Without the *waters* of emanation, *Shekhinah* is *dry land*. Of all the *sefirot*, She is the one revealed, the one who reveals the others.

235. **mystery of blessings revealed and concealed** The Hebrew formula of blessing begins by addressing God directly in the second person (revealed): "Blessed are You, *YHVH*," but then it switches to the third person (concealed): "... who has hallowed us by His commandments...."

See *Bahir* 125 (184); Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, 134–35; Naḥmanides on Exodus 15:26; Todros Abulafia, *Otsar ha-Kavod*, *Berakhot* 12a; *Zohar* 1:158a–b; 3:271b, 289a (*IZ*) (*NZ*, n. 6); *TZ* 39, 79b; *Kolbo* 1.

236. **From this one, *let it appear!*...** By contemplating the revealed *sefirah* of *Shekhinah*, one is able to perceive concealed realms.

237. **the nexus of unity...** In *Yesod* all the higher *sefirot* are united in preparation for joining *Shekhinah*.

238. **one of the upper world...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, centering on *Tif'eret*, who is symbolized by the name *YHVH*.

239. **one of the lower world...** *Shekhinah* and the powers accompanying Her. She is called *His name* because through Her revealed nature *YHVH* becomes known and recognized. See *Zohar* 2:133b–134b.

240. **till here** To *Yesod*.

241. **limbs** שייפין (*Shaifin*), from a root meaning "to smooth, rub, slip." In the *Zohar*, the word signifies "limbs," perhaps based on the Talmudic expression (BT *Sotah* 7b) על איבריה לשפא (*al eivreih le-shafa*), "each limb entered its socket"—"slipping" into place—or "... the chest."

See *Arukh*, s.v. *shaf*; Rashi, ad loc., and on Job 33:21, citing BT *Ḥullin* 42b; *Zohar* 3:170a.

242. **in a single desire** As *Yesod* verges on union with *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 2:128b, 133b.

243. **the revealed world joins the concealed** *Shekhinah* joins the more hidden *sefirot*.

244. ***I saw YHVH*** The verse actually reads *I saw* אדני (*Adonai*). See *Zohar* 1:60a; 2:81b. The key root in each of the following verses is ראה (*r'h*), "to see," or, in its passive conjugation, "to appear." All these theophanies are linked by the *Zohar* with the command of Genesis: תראה (*Tera'eh*), *Let it appear!*, which is taken to mean: "Let the divine appear through *Shekhinah*!" *Shekhinah* is often referred to as אדני (*Adonai*), "Lord," and כבוד (*kavod*), *presence*.

245. ***I have set My bow in the cloud...*** God's declaration to Noah after the Flood, assuring him of the divine covenant with humanity. According to M *Avot* 5:6, the rainbow was one of the ten things created at the end of the week of Creation, "at twilight on Sabbath eve."

See Ibn Ezra and Radak on Genesis 9:13; Naḥmanides on 9:12; Judah ben Barzillai, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 139; *Zohar* 1:71b; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 9:13, n. 81.

In the *Zohar*, the *bow* often symbolizes *Yesod*, the divine phallus and site of the covenant (the sign of circumcision). *Yesod* comprises the various colors of the *sefirot*, set in *the cloud* of *Shekhinah* since the beginning of time. *Bow* is a euphemism for phallus in rabbinic literature (e.g., *Bereshit Rabbah* 87:7; BT *Sanhedrin* 92a) and also refers to the Divine Presence. See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "'Whoever shows no concern for the glory of his Maker, it were better for him if he had not come into the world' (M *Ḥagigah* 2:1). What does this mean? Rabbi Abba said: 'It refers to one who gazes at the rainbow,'... for it is written: *Like the appearance of the bow in the cloud on a rainy day, so was the appearance of the surrounding radiance—the appearance of the image of the presence of YHVH* (Ezekiel 1:28)."

See BT *Berakhot* 59a; Isaac ben Jacob ha-Kohen, *Commentary on the Merkavah*, ed. Scholem, *Tarbiz* 2 (1931): 200; Naḥmanides on Genesis 9:12; *Zohar* 1:71b; 2:51b, 66b, 99a; 3:84a, 215a; *TZ* 30, 74b; Scholem, "Colours and Their Symbolism," 69–71; Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 336–40.

246. **On a cloudy day...** On a day when judgment prevails. See Naḥmanides on Genesis 9:12; he identifies the rainbow (קשת [*qeshet*]) as the quality of Judgment (*Din*) or *Gevurah*—which is harsh (קשה [*qasheh*]). Cf. Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 9:13. According to BT *Ketubbot* 77b, the rainbow appears when no righteous human is present. See *Zohar* 1:225a; 3:15a, 36a, 215a.

247. ***and she had hard labor*** The full verse reads: *They set out from Bethel; but when they were still some distance short of Efrat, Rachel went into childbirth, and she had hard labor*. Rachel dies giving birth to Benjamin. The word ותקש (*va-teqash*), *and she had hard* [*labor*], indicates harsh judgment, and it

also contains the letters of the word קשת (*qeshet*), "rainbow" (cf. *TZ* 69, 99b). *Shekhinah*, symbolized by Rachel, transmits divine judgment; She shares the symbol of the rainbow with *Yesod*, displaying the colors of the *sefirot*.

248. **Michael... Gabriel... Raphael...** These angels (together with Uriel) are the angels of the Presence, surrounding the divine throne. In Kabbalah these angels of the Presence are identified with the four holy creatures seen by Ezekiel (1:5–14). Here the *Zohar* indicates that they accompany *Shekhinah*, displaying the spectrum of colors: white (associated with the right side), red (the left), and green (the middle). See *Zohar* 1:98b–99a (*ST*).

249. **revolving the vision of the eye** An allusion to a technique for seeing the concealed colors of the *sefirot*. By closing one's eye and pressing a finger on the eyeball until it is moved to one side, one gains a vision of colors (white, red, and green), symbolizing *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 2:23b: "The secret is: close your eye and roll your eyeball. Those colors that shine and sparkle will be revealed."

See 1:42a, 43a, 97a–b (*ST*); 2:43b, 247a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 96–97 (123–24); *KP* on *Zohar* 1:18b; Scholem, "Colours and Their Symbolism," 66–67; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 291–93; Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 380–83.

250. **the lower unity...the unity above** The unity of *Shekhinah* (*presence*) with Her powers, and the unity of *Tif'eret* with the *sefirot* surrounding Him.

251. **יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*)...** The opening line of the *Shema* (*Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*) contains these three divine names, symbolizing the colors of the triad of *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, which band together in *Yesod*. See *Zohar* 2:43b.

252. **The colors of the rainbow...** On the rainbow's colors, see *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 1445 (ed. Margaliot, par. 484); Moses of Burgos, *Commentary on the Merkavah*, ed. Scholem, *Tarbiz* 5 (1934): 183; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 9:13; *Zohar* 1:71b, 98b (*ST*), 136b; 3:215a.

253. **another unity, mystery of *His name is one*...** The unity of *Shekhinah*, who "names" or reveals the divine. She is often called *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

254. **six words here, six words there** The first line of the *Shema* contains six words in Hebrew: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד (*Shema Yisra'el YHVH Eloheinu YHVH eḥad*), *Hear O Israel! YHVH is our God, YHVH is one*. These six words symbolize the unity above: *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). The second line of the *She-ma* (a nonbiblical response) also contains six words:ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד (*Barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-olam va-ed*), "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever." These six words symbolize *Shekhinah* (known as *Malkhut* ["Kingdom"]) and Her

accompanying powers. The two realms correspond and eventually unite.

See *Zohar* 1:12a; 2:133b–134a; 3:264a.

255. **surveying by קו (*qav*)...** As the waters of emanation flow, the various *sefirot* take shape, assuming size and dimension. See above, page 137: "יקוו (*Yiqqavu*), *Let* [*the waters*] *be gathered*—in קו (*qav*), a line, following a straight path," and note 228.

256. **plumb of dark brilliance בוצינא דקרדינותא** (*Botsina de-qardinuta*), "Lamp of impenetrability." See above, page 107: "a spark of impenetrable darkness," and note 4; *ZḤ* 56d–58d (*QhM*). Liebes (*Peraqim*, 146–49, 162–63) notes the connection between *qardinuta* and measurement and, citing an early *Zohar* dictionary, suggests the translation: "a plumb of darkened light."

257. ***Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand*** The verse continues: *gauged the skies with a span, meted the dust of the earth with a measure, and weighed the mountains with a scale and the hills with a balance?*

258. **the measure of the Creator of the worlds...** The *sefirot* constitute the limbs of the divine body and represent the full articulation of the divine name. The *Zohar* sees the divine anatomy alluded to in both Genesis 1:9 and Isaiah 6:3.

שעורא (*Shi'ura*), "Measure," recalls שעור קומה (*shi'ur qomah*), "the measure of the stature," a term describing the vision of the divine form in early Jewish mysticism. יוצר עלמין (*Yotser almin*), "Creator of the worlds," recalls the early mystical term יוצר בראשית (*Yotser Bereshit*), "Creator of the Beginning." See Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, index, s.v. *shi'ur, yotser*; 3 Enoch 11:1; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 17 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:28); *Sefer ha-Temunah*, 71b; *Zohar* 2:175b–176a; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 65.

259. ***Holy, holy, holy!... Let the waters...*** The beginning of the verse in Isaiah refers to the emanation flowing from *Binah* through the triad of *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*.

260. ***YHVH of Hosts—to one place...*** *Yesod* is called יהוה צבאות (*YHVH Tseva'ot*), *YHVH of Hosts* (see above, page 126), and as noted above, page 137, *one place*—the place where the entire flow of emanation gathers before streaming into *Shekhinah*.

261. ***The whole earth is full of His presence*** *Shekhinah* is known as the Divine *Presence* (כבוד [*kavod*]), as well as *earth* and *dry land*. Her more mysterious name is כוזו במוכסז כוזו (*Kuzu be-mukhsaz kuzu*), an encoded version of יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*), formed by replacing each letter of this triple divine name with the following letter in the alphabet. Whereas אלהינו יהוה יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*) denotes the triad of *sefirot* culminating in *Tif'eret*, כוזו כוזו במוכסז (*Kuzu be-mukhsaz kuzu*) denotes *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:23a (*TZ*). As noted in *Zohar* 2:134a, "the letters of the female are transposed."

The formula כוזו במוכסז כוזו (*Kuzu be-mukhsaz kuzu*) is written on the back of the parchment in the *mezuzah*, opposite the words on the front: יהוה אלהינו יהוה (*YHVH Eloheinu YHVH*). See Asher ben Yeḥiel, on Alfasi, *Hilkhot Mezuzah* (end); *Tur, Yoreh De'ah* 288; Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nis-tar*, 31, 121, n. 58.

262. ***Let the earth sprout vegetation— seed-bearing plants*** The verse continues: *fruit trees of every kind on earth bearing fruit with the seed in it*.

263. **Now *Earth* generates...** *Shekhinah* receives the flow of emanation from *Yesod* (*one place*) and transmits it in the form of angels who accompany Her. See above, page 138.

264. **arrayed in an array...** The angels are arrayed and adorned through the human act of prayer, as performed by the kabbalists—the "scions of faith," Aramaic בני מהימנותא (*benei meheimanuta*).

265. **behemoth crouching on a thousand mountains...** See *Vayiqra Rabba* 22:10: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'It is one beast [interpreting the apparent plural, בהמות (*behemot*), *beast*, in Psalms 50:10], crouching on a thousand mountains—and a thousand mountains grow all kinds of herbs for her and she eats.'"

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11; BT *Bava Batra* 74b; *Zohar* 1:223a; 3:189a, 217a, 240b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 201. Here the *beast* symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

266. **created on the second day** The angels created on the second day of Creation are angels of Judgment, deriving from the side of *Gevurah*. Consisting solely of strict Judgment, they cannot survive. See above, page 133.

267. **fire consuming fire** See BT *Yoma* 21b, where *Shekhinah* is called "fire consuming fire" because of God's burning the angels who opposed human creation (as related in *Sanhedrin* 38b). Here the fire of *Shekhinah* consumes the angels created on the second day, who consist of "flashing fire" (*Zohar* 3:217a) and derive from the fire of *Gevurah*.

See Psalms 104:4; BT *Ḥagigah* 14a; *Zohar* 1:50b, 69a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 65.

268. **אופנים (*ofanim*), whirling angels...** Various families of angels. The term אופנים (*ofanim*), "wheels," derives from Ezekiel's vision of the throne-chariot (Ezekiel 1:15–21), where it refers to "wheels" rimmed with eyes, moving in perfect unison with the חיות (*ḥayyot*), "living creatures, animals" (1:5–26) and together transporting the throne, turning it into a chariot.

The ברובים (*keruvim*), "cherubs," modeled on human-animal-bird figures of the Fertile Crescent, are the only pictorial representation permitted in biblical religion. They guard the path to the Tree of Life (Genesis 3:24). Two golden *keruvim* with outstretched wings covered the ark in the Tabernacle in the

wilderness (Exodus 25:18–22), and from between them issued the divine voice speaking to Moses (Numbers 7:8–9). Ezekiel identifies them with the *ḥayyot* (Ezekiel 10:20). In the *Zohar*, all three types of angels emanate from *Shekhinah* and are here symbolized by *plants*.

269. **to be arrayed...** Through human prayer, the angels are arrayed and adorned.

270. ***the work...*** עבודה (*Avodah*) means both "work" and "worship."

271. ***from the earth*** From *Shekhinah*.

272. **the holy fire** *Shekhinah*, the "fire consuming fire." See *OY*.

273. **All the tending...** Human worship ensures the continued flow of divine sustenance and blessing.

274. **male and female** *Shekhinah* is the *fruit tree*, conveying the fructifying power of *Yesod*, known as *bearing fruit*. See *Zohar* 1:33a, 238a.

275. **Those ascending in the smoke...** Angels accompanying the offering in the Temple. See *Zohar* 3:307a.

276. **through *the work of humanity*** The act of human worship adorns the angelic *columns of smoke*.

277. **male and female** *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*.

278. ***The image of their face was a human face*** The opening of Ezekiel's description of the faces of the *ḥayyot*, which include also the faces of lion, ox, and eagle. Here the *human face* alludes to the divine couple. See Liebes, *Studies in Jewish Myth*, 76–77.

279. **differ from those cherubs... large faces... small faces...** See BT *Sukkah* 5b: "Rabbi Aḥa son of Ya'akov said, 'We have learned that the face of the cherubim was no less than a handbreadth....' What is a כרוב (*keruv*), cherub? Rabbi Abbahu said, 'כרביא (*Ke-ravya*), Like a child, for in Babylon they call a child רביא (ravya).' Abbaye said to him, 'If so, how do you explain the verse: *The face of one was the face of a cherub, and the face of the second the face of a human* (Ezekiel 10:14), seeing that [the faces of] a cherub and a human are the same?'—'A large face and a small face [i.e., *The face of a human* is large, while *the face of a cherub* is small].'"

See *Zohar* 1:228b; 3:60b, 217b. Cf. 3:201a, where Rabbi Shim'on and his son Rabbi El'azar are called "the large face and the small face."

According to BT *Yoma* 54a, the cherubs in the Temple were depicted in sexual embrace: "Rabbi Katina said, 'When Israel ascended [to Jerusalem] for the Festival, the curtain would be rolled open for them and the cherubs revealed, their bodies intertwined. They [the people] would be addressed: "Look! You are beloved by God [as intensely] as man loves woman."'"

280. **All images are comprised...** Identical language appears in the *Zohar*'s

section on physiognomy. See 2:73a (*RR*); cf. 74a.

281. **the explicit name** The Ineffable Name, *YHVH*. See *Devarim Rabbah* 3:8; *Midrash Tehillim* 114:9; *Zohar* 2:48a.

282. **Michael... the South** Michael, one of the *ḥayyot*, is associated with the South, the side of *Ḥesed*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Zohar* 2:254a; 3:118b.

283. ***A human* is male and female...** The human face seen by Ezekiel was complete, combining male and female characteristics, reflecting the union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*. See BT *Yevamot* 63b: "Rabbi El'azar said, Any אדם (*adam*), man, without a woman is not an *adam*, as is said: *Male and female He created them... and He named them adam* (Genesis 5:2).'"

284. **שנאן (*Shin'an*)...** This word from Psalms 68:18, of uncertain origin and meaning, is interpreted here as an acronym alluding to the four faces of the *ḥayyot*: שור (*shor*), *ox*; נשר (*nesher*), *eagle*; אריה (*aryeh*), *lion*; and finally אדם (*adam*), *human*, symbolized by the last letter, ן (final *nun*), whose extended length implies the fullness of male and female.

See *Bahir* 56 (83); *Zohar* 1:147a–b (*Tos*), 149b (*ST*); 2:118a (*RM*); 3:66b, 155a, 156b, 285b.

285. **All those thousands and myriads** Of angels.

286. **included in one another** The *ḥayyot* have four faces each. See Ezekiel 1:5–11.

287. ***Ox* ascends... A name ascends...** The *ox* symbolizes *Gevurah*, the left side (see Ezekiel 1:10), yet its name is אל (*El*), symbolizing *Ḥesed*, the right. As the *ox* ascends to gaze, the two opposite forces harmonize in a pattern of two colors: white (symbolizing the right side) and red (symbolizing the left).

288. **Then it turns back...** After gazing at the *human face*, the ox returns and is engraved on the throne, *Shekhinah*. Thereafter it is guided by the name אל (*El*), "God."

289. ***Eagle* ascends... Another name ascends...** The *eagle* symbolizes the middle (see *Zohar* 2:80b), and its name is גדול (*Gadol*), *Great*, symbolizing *Ḥesed*, the right. The colors are white (symbolizing the right side) and green (symbolizing the middle).

290. ***Lion* ascends... Another name ascends...** The *lion* symbolizes the right side (see Ezekiel 1:10); its name is גבור (*Gibbor*), *Mighty*, symbolizing *Gevurah*, the left. The two colors are white and red. For "aligned in power" (ולאתישרא בתוקפא [*ul-ityashshara be-tuqpa*]), the parallel in *Zohar* 3:274a (as well as Recanati) reads: ולאתקשרא בתוקפיה [*ul-itqashshara be-tuqpeih*], "to be bound in its power."

291. **נורא (*Nora*), *Awesome*** Associated with *Tif'eret*, who is symbolized by the humanlike figure seated on the throne of *Shekhinah*. See Ezekiel 1:26; *Zohar*

2:78b–79a, 261a.

292. ***The image of their face...*** The *ḥayyot* all combine into the *human face*.

293. ***the great, mighty, and awesome God*** Designating *Tif'eret* (the blessed Holy One, *awesome*), who harmonizes the qualities of right (*great*) and left (*mighty*).

294. **the supernal chariot...** The *sefirot*, specifically *Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*, which constitute a throne for *Binah*. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:588–89. The name יהוה (*YHVH*) represents both *Tif'eret* and the entirety of the *sefirot*: י (*yod*) symbolizing the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*; the feminine marker ה (*he*) symbolizing *Binah*, the Divine Mother; ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizing the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*; and the final ה (*he*) symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

295. **These images...** The images of the *ḥayyot* are engraved in the throne of *Shekhinah*.

296. **The throne, ascending...** To unite with *Tif'eret*.

297. **These four supernal names** אל, גדול, גבור, נורא (*El, Gadol, Gibbor, Nora*), *God, Great, Mighty, Awesome*.

298. **as it grasps and gathers souls...** As *Shekhinah* unites with Her partner (*Tif'eret* or *Yesod*), She gathers in the ecstatic flow of new souls.

299. **it descends...** *Shekhinah* descends, now filled with the fruit of new souls.

On souls as fruit, see *Bahir* 14 (22); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489, 504; *Zohar* 1:15b, 33a, 59b–60a, 82b, 85b, 115a–b; 2:223b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 51; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69). Cf. Ibn Ezra on Psalms 1:3.

300. **embracing all images** See *Zohar* 1:44a; 2:73a (*RR*), 74a; 3:241b; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 50–51.

301. **It emits seed...** *Yesod* channels its flow to *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*, in order to engender new life.

302. **Precisely!...** The wording of Genesis (*in it*) implies that *Yesod* retains its flow, channeling it only *on earth*, i.e., to *Shekhinah*. Similarly, human seed should remain within the male except when fulfilling the *mitsvah* of procreation. According to the *Zohar*, masturbation is a heinous sin.

See *Kallah Rabbati* 2; BT *Niddah* 13a; *Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 188a, 219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66.

303. **The *vegetation* here** The angels created on the second day, who rule momentarily and are then consumed by *Shekhinah*. Above, page 142, they are referred to as *grass*.

304. **and so on every day** See BT *Ḥagigah* 14a: "Shemu'el said to Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Rav, 'O son of a lion! Come, I will tell you one of those fine words

said by your father: Every single day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream, chant a song, then cease to be, as is said: *New every morning, immense is Your faithfulness!* (Lamentations 3:23).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 78:1; above, pages 133, 142.

305. **an image and figure** A soul.

306. **The figure and image above** Of the angels who endure.

307. **in a garment** In a body.

308. **the spirit strips itself...** The spirit divests itself of the body and ascends to *Shekhinah*. See El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 4b.

309. ***New every morning...*** In BT *Ḥagigah* 14a, this verse is applied to the angels. See above, note 304; *Zohar* 2:213b–214a, 247a; *ZḤ* 18b (*MhN*). Here the reference is to the daily miracle of human rebirth.

310. ***faithfulness...*** One of the many names of *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 2:214a; 3:35b.

311. ***All the rivers...*** Each night souls stream into the sea of *Shekhinah*, each morning they reemerge. See *Zohar* 1:235a.

312. **Of this day is written...** The phrase *God saw that it was good* appears twice in the account of the third day of Creation.

313. **this day united two sides...** The third day symbolizes *Tif'eret*, third of the lower *sefirot*, who mediates the extremes of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*. See above, page 128.

314. **So it includes...** God gives two commands (*He said*) on the third day (Genesis 1:9, 11), each of which is followed by the phrase *God saw that it was good*.

315. **the four-letter name** יהוה (*YHVH*), the divine name associated with *Tif'eret*.

316. **ascending to twelve...** Formed into twelve letters. A name of twelve letters is mentioned but not identified in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. It was later associated with the three occurrences of *YHVH* in the priestly blessing (Numbers 6:24–26). See *Bahir* 80 (111): "...numbering three, numbering twelve."

Cf. *Zohar* 1:16a; 2:58a; 3:78a–b, 172b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 92, 290, n. 32. *Zohar* 2:201b refers to "the holy name of twelve letters that... rules the air. This is the name with which Elijah flew, ascending to heaven [see 2 Kings 2:11]."

KP interprets the twelve-letter name as the full spelling of אדני (*Adonai*): אלף, דלת, נון, יוד (*alef, dalet, nun, yod*). *Adonai* ("My Lord") is the traditional, circumlocutional pronunciation of יהוה (*YHVH*) and a name of *Shekhinah*, the throne. Scholem provides a conceivable diagram of יהוה (*YHVH*) written four times in a square using twelve letters.

317. **spelled deficiently: מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*...** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vavs*, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling is interpreted to mean that something was missing on the fourth day of Creation: the light of *Shekhinah*—symbolized by the moon—diminished; and this lack represents the potential for evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

See JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b: "On the fourth day [of the week, Wednesday] they would fast for infants, so that diphtheria not enter their mouths. *God said, 'Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*'—spelled מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*."

Cf. Proverbs 3:33; BT *Ta'anit* 27b, *Ḥullin* 60b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:1a, 12a, 33b; 2:167b, 205a.

Diphtheria here alludes to Lilith, the female demon who strikes children with this dread disease. See BT *Berakhot* 8a; *Zohar* 2:264b. In *Zohar* 2:267b Lilith and diphtheria appear as two distinct but kindred spirits.

318. **After the radiance of primordial light...** The primordial light of the first day of Creation was hidden away. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:12a, 31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

319. **a shell was created...** Surrounding, concealing, and protecting the kernel of light. This shell is the demonic realm of *Sitra Aḥra*—or, according to *KP*, *Shekhinah*.

320. **another shell** Lilith, the female demon, wife of Samael. See *Zohar* 1:34b; 3:19a; *ZḤ* 16c (*MhN*); Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

321. **the small faces** The cherubim, guarding the heavenly gates. See above, page 142; *Zohar* 1:228b; 3:60b, 217b; and BT *Sukkah* 5b: "Rabbi Aḥa son of Ya'akov said, 'We have learned that the face of the cherubim was not less than a handbreadth'.... What is a כרוב (*keruv*), cherub? Rabbi Abbahu said, 'כרבייא (*Ke-ravya*), Like a child, for in Babylon they call a child רביא (*ravya*).' Abbaye said to him, 'If so, how do you explain the verse: *The face of one was the face of a cherub, and the face of the second the face of a human* (Ezekiel 10:14), seeing that [the faces of] a cherub and a human are the same?'— 'A large face and a small face [i.e., *The face of a human* is large, while *the face of a*

cherub is small].'"

322. **She desired...** The demonic seeks to assume higher form. See above, pages 144–45, where the four faces of the *ḥayyot* are engraved on the divine throne.

323. **so that this would be perfected in this world** Through overcoming evil, Lilith herself is perfected (see *OY*, *Sullam*, *YN*). Alternatively, Adam is perfected (Scholem, *MmD*), or the world is perfected by Adam (*KP*; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:540). See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 157.

324. **As soon as she saw Eve...** According to *Alfa Beita de-Ven Sira*, 232–34, Lilith was Adam's first wife, created from the earth. Insisting on her equality, she refused to lie beneath Adam; uttering the name *YHVH*, she flew away. Here Lilith flees once she sees Eve. Adam's beauty reflects that of the *sefirot*, Primordial Adam. Together, he and Eve constitute an image of the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

325. **children... who deserve...** See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 4:1: "*I further observed all the oppression that goes on under the sun....* Rabbi Yehudah says, 'These are the children who are hidden away [taken away early] in life through the sins of their fathers in this world....'" Adam and Eve's sin empowers Lilith to kill.

326. **cherubs...** These cherubs are lower than the ones mentioned above. According to Genesis 3:24, cherubs along with *the flaming, ever-turning sword* guard the Garden of Eden and its path to the Tree of Life. See *Zohar* 3:167a.

327. **she emerged from the side of that *flame*** Lilith emerged from the left side, Judgment, symbolized by fire. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:9: "*Ever-turning*—changing: sometimes male, sometimes female; sometimes spirits, sometimes angels."

328. **As the flame revolves...** As the *flaming sword* revolves, Judgment and Love manifest alternately. When Judgment prevails, Lilith strikes. Or, according to *MM*, when Judgment prevails, Lilith abides by the flame; when Love prevails, she flees. See *Zohar* 1:221b.

329. **in the waning of the moon...** When *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, is weakened, the power of the demonic grows dominant. See *Zohar* 1:70b, 146a.

330. **מארת** (***me'orot***), ***lights*, deficient** See above, page 148.

331. **Until Cain was born...** Until then, Lilith could not cling to Adam, who was united with Eve. Once Cain killed Abel, Adam saw no reason to have any more children, so he separated from Eve, whereupon maleficent spirits copulated with him.

See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11; BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:34b, 54b–55a; 2:231b; 3:76b.

According to various sources, Cain himself was engendered by the union of Eve and the serpent. See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 54a; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

332. **Later she drew close to him...** to Adam.

333. **For 130 years...** Referring to Genesis 5:3: *Adam lived 130 years and engendered a son in his likeness, after his own image*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11: "Rabbi Simon said, 'Throughout all 130 years that Adam separated himself from Eve, male spirits heated themselves from her and she gave birth, while female spirits heated themselves from Adam and gave birth.'"

See BT *Eruvin* 18b: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'During all those [130] years that Adam was under the ban [for having eaten from the Tree of Knowledge], he engendered spirits, demons, and לילין (*lilin*), female demons, as is said: *Adam lived 130 years and engendered a son in his likeness, after his own image* (Genesis 5:3), from which it follows that until that time he did not engender after his own image'.... That statement refers to semen that he emitted accidentally."

See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26; *Zohar* 1:34b, 54a–55a; 2:231b; 3:76b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51–54.

334. **Na'amah** Na'amah, whose name means "lovely," was the sister of Tuval-Cain and the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Cain (Genesis 4:22). According to rabbinic tradition, the fallen angels were attracted by her beauty. See ibid. 6:1–4; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat*, add. 1; *Midrash Aggadah* and *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 4:22.

According to the *Zohar*, she is the mother of Ashmedai, king of the demons, and she generates demons by seducing men in their sleep. See Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:9b, 55a; 3:76b–77a; *ZḤ* 19d (*MhN*).

335. **Uzza and Azael** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2), here specifically Na'amah. They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:9b, 23a, 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

336. **they** Na'amah and her demonic offspring.

337. **sleeping alone in a house... seize desire from them...** The spirits and demons are succubi, who were created without bodies and are eager to be impregnated by the seminal emission of males sleeping alone.

See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17; *Zohar* 1:55a; 2:264a; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51–54; Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 154–57; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1366–67. See BT *Shabbat* 151b: "Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'One may not sleep alone in a house [or: in an isolated house], and whoever sleeps alone in a house is seized by Lilith.'" Cf. *Zohar* 3:45a; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 60.

338. **the waning of the moon** As the light of *Shekhinah* diminishes.

339. **letters were rearranged...** When the light returned, *Shekhinah* regained Her fullness, manifesting as the divine *word*.

340. **quaestors** קסטירין (*Qastirin*). The rabbinic term קוסטור (*qustor*) derives from Latin *quaestor*, a Roman official or prosecutor. See JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b; *Zohar* 1:53b; 2:58b, 208b; 3:13a. *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 188 relates the Zoharic term to the rabbinic קוסטינר (*qustinar*), which derives from the Latin *quaestionarius*, "torturer, executioner." Cf. קלסטור (*qalastor*), from the Greek *kolaster*, "torturer, executioner."

341. **descended to the depth of the nut** Solomon explored the nature of reality by examining the structure of the nut, which is composed of a kernel symbolizing divinity surrounded by layers of shells (קליפין [*qelippin*]), symbolizing demonic forces. In the writings of El'azar of Worms, the nut symbolizes the *merkavah* (the divine chariot-throne).

See Scholem, *Major Trends*, 239; Altmann, *Studies*, 172–79; Pope, *Song of Songs*, 574–79. Cf. Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 156–60; *Zohar* 1:44b; 2:15b (*MhN*), 140b, and 233b: "Just as a nut has a shell surrounding and covering the kernel, the kernel resting within, so, too, with everything holy: holiness within, the other side without." The nut also appears as a cosmic symbol in the Orphic mysteries. See Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 2:521–25.

342. ***The delights of the sons of men...*** Interpreting the verse to mean: The delights of demons are the sons of men.

343. **Further...** Interpreting the verse hyperliterally: *The delights of the sons of men* (i.e., their seminal emissions) impregnate the succubi, thereby generating *demon after demon*.

344. **had to create everything...** Both the shells and the kernel play a role in existence. The ultimate kernel is *Ein Sof*, surrounded, as it were, by the shells of the *sefirot*, which clothe and filter the intense light emanating out. See *Zohar* 2:131a.

345. **the head of the mystery...** *Ḥokhmah*, the first ray of emanation.

346. **all is this within that...** Each layer of existence is simultaneously the kernel of the shell surrounding it and the shell of the kernel within it. See

Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 3:2, who describes the many spheres within the eight celestial spheres as arranged "like the skins of an onion."

347. **until an expanse...** Until the circle of *Binah* expanded from the point of *Ḥokhmah*. See above, pages 109–12.

348. **radiance unknowable...** Apparently the radiance of the point of *Ḥokhmah*, though some commentators specify the palace of *Binah*, also unknowable.

349. **primordial light** *Ḥesed*, symbolized by the light of the first day of Creation.

350. **kernel and shell, spirit and body** The human being, fashioned *in the image of God* (Genesis 1:27), manifests the structure of kernel and shell. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 159.

351. **When the moon shared...** When *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret* were united, She was radiant. Originally the moon and the sun were equally radiant. See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!"....'"

352. **Shells upon shells...** The shells conceal the kernel of light, yet also filter it. Even the outermost shells, the demonic forces, serve this function by testing and punishing humanity.

353. **מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, is spelled deficiently** As noted above (page 148), in Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vavs*, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling alludes to the diminished light of *Shekhinah*, the moon, now surrounded by shells, which culminate in evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

354. ***to shine upon earth*** The arrayal of the kernel within a series of shells actually benefits the world; now the light is filtered, shining with a bearable intensity.

355. ***The two great lights...*** Originally, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the sun and moon, were united. Their union is indicated by the full name: אלהים יהוה (*YHVH Elohim*). In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name."

In Kabbalah the two names often designate *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who were originally one and whose reunion represents the goal of religious life. See *Zohar*

1:4a, 20a, 48b; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

356. **in a manner concealed** Concealed within divine thought prior to emanation (*KP*), or concealed by not appearing in this verse in its full form but only as אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*. An encoded form of the other half of the name follows.

357. **מצטץ מצפץ** (***MTsPTs, MTsPTs***)... An encoded form of the name יהוה יהוה (*YHVH YHVH*), according to the system of letter substitution known as א״ת ב״ש (*at bash*), in which the last letter of the alphabet is substituted for the first, the penultimate for the second, etc. See *Zohar* 2:132a–b. The double name יהוה יהוה (*YHVH YHVH*) appears at the beginning of the thirteen qualities of compassion, derived from Exodus 34:6–7. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 17b; *Zohar* 1:1a. According to Kabbalah these qualities originate in *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, the realm of total compassion untainted by judgment.

358. **these were enhanced...** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* return to their source in *Keter*, the mystery on high, and draw down a flow of emanation to the worlds.

359. **The moon was uneasy...** See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!" She said before Him, "Master of the Universe! Because I have suggested something proper I should make myself smaller?" He replied, "Go and rule by day and night." She said, "But what is the value of this? What good is a lamp at noon?"... Seeing that her mind was uneasy [that she could not be consoled], the blessed Holy One said, "Bring an atonement for Me for making the moon smaller."' As was said by Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: 'Why is the goat offered on the new moon distinguished by the phrase *to* [or: *for*] *YHVH* (Numbers 28:15)? The blessed Holy One said, "Let this goat be an atonement for My having made the moon smaller."'"

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 23b; *Zohar* 1:146a; *ZḤ* 70d–71a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 189; idem, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 35b.

360. ***Where do you pasture... Where do you let them rest...*** *OY* suggests the rendering: *Where will she pasture... Where will she let them rest...*, referring to the moon herself (the pronominal prefix ת [*tav*] denotes either *you* or *she*). See *MM*; and *ZḤ* 71a (*ShS*), where the verse is addressed by the moon to the blessed Holy One.

361. **How can a little lamp shine at noon?** The moon is ashamed to reveal its own meager light in the face of the sun's light. See the moon's complaint cited above, note 359: "What good is a lamp at noon?" Cf. *ZḤ* 71a (*ShS*).

362. **head of those below** Of the angelic forces beneath her and of the lower worlds.

363. **she has light only from the sun** Reflecting its light. Similarly, *Shekhinah* reflects the light of *Tif'eret*, lacking light of Her own. The expression derives from a medieval astronomic description of the moon.

See Radak on Genesis 1:16; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 338; idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 381; *Zohar* 1:31a, 132b, 181a, 238a; 2:43a, 142a, 218b.

364. ***The greater light... and the smaller light...*** *Tif'eret*, whose name is *YHVH*, and *Shekhinah*, known as *Elohim*. As the final *sefirah*, She is the culmination of divine thought.

365. **inscribed above among the letters...** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by the final letter in the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

366. **Nevertheless she ascended...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the letter ה (*he*), regained union with the higher *sefirot*, symbolized by the first three letters of the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

367. **Rungs expanding...** Both *Tif'eret*, who rules the day, and *Shekhinah*, ruling the night, generate angelic forces.

368. **other forces and camps...** Of angels.

369. **that *expanse of heaven*...** *Yesod*, who encompasses the angels. He is also known as "Vitality of the Worlds," since He channels the flow of emanation, animating all of existence. See above, note 214.

370. **On this day the kingdom of David...** *Shekhinah*, who is known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"), is symbolized by the ideal kingdom of David and by the fourth day of Creation, on which the sun and moon were fashioned. She together with the sefirotic triad of *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret* (symbolized by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) constitute the four legs of the divine throne upon which sits *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:5b, 82a, 89b (*ST*), 154b.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 47:6: "Resh Lakish said, 'The patriarchs themselves constitute the [divine] Chariot.'" Cf. Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 57; *Zohar* 1:60b, 99a, 150a, 173b, 248b; 2:144a; 3:38a, 99a.

On the relation between David and the patriarchs, see Acts 2:29; *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 1; BT *Berakhot* 16b; *Pesaḥim* 117b; *Sanhedrin* 107a; *Midrash Tehillim* 18:8, 25; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 45 (54); Jacob ben Sheshet, *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon*, 396; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 32:10; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:265, 94. Cf. *Zohar* 1:82a and note 164 there.

371. **The letters were arrayed...** The letters of the name יהוה (*YHVH*) were arranged, no longer encoded, with the final ה (*he*) symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

372. **until the sixth day...** The creation of the human being on the sixth day symbolizes the full emanation of the *sefirot*, envisioned as the limbs of Primordial

Adam. Only at this point did *Shekhinah* stabilize.

373. **the upper throne and the lower throne...** Here the upper throne symbolizes *Tif'eret* and the *sefirot* around Him, enthroning *Binah*, while the lower throne symbolizes *Shekhinah*, enthroning *Tif'eret*.

374. **arrayed in their wheels** The letters of the alphabet, by which the world was created, were arrayed in correct order. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:4: "Twenty-two elemental letters. God set them in a wheel with 231 gates, turning forward and backward." Cf. Liebes, *Peraqim*, 293.

375. **scribal matrix of the nexus** טופסירא דקוטרא (*Tufsira de-qutra*). In the *Zohar*, *tufsira* (or *tufsera*) means either "mold, form, configuration" (based on טופסא [*tufsa*], derived from the Greek *tupos*), or "royal dignitary" (based on טפסרא [*tafsera*], derived from biblical טפסר [*tifsar*], "marshal, scribe").

See Jeremiah 51:27; Nahum 3:17; *Zohar* 1:30b, 96b, 157a, 241b, 242b, 243b; 2:235b (*Tos*); 3:120a, 270b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 178–80, 185; *KP*; Scholem. Here the letters are linked in a creative pattern.

376. **a day rejected...** When *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the fourth day of Creation, diminished Her light, She excluded Herself from the brilliance of *the builders*, the triad of *sefirot* (*Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*) symbolized by the first three days of Creation who together construct the pattern of the *sefirot*. See *Bahir* 131 (190); *Zohar* 1:89b (*ST*). *Shekhinah* refers to them as *My mother's sons*, the offspring of *Binah*, the Divine Mother.

377. **shells were arrayed...** Concealing the light. See above, pages 151–52.

378. **All those radiant lights...** The lights of the *sefirot* (from *Ḥesed* through *Hod*) converge in *Yesod* in order to adorn *Shekhinah*, the throne of David.

379. **all those included in the category *human*...** Those creatures (ox, lion, eagle) comprised in the *human* face of the *ḥayyot*. See above, page 145: "*The image of their face was a human face* (Ezekiel 1:10). They are all comprised in this image, an image comprising them."

380. ***You are human...*** See BT *Yevamot* 60b–61a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'The graves of Gentiles do not impart impurity by a tent [i.e., one who stands on or bends over such a grave, thereby constituting a tent with his body, is not rendered impure], as is said: *You, My sheep, sheep of My pasture, are human* [*and I am Your God*] (Ezekiel 34:31). You are called *human*; Gentiles are not called *human*.'"

Rabbi Shim'on assumes a connection between *human* and "impurity by a tent," based on the wording of Numbers 19:14: *When a human dies in a tent, whoever enters the tent and whoever is in the tent shall be impure seven days*.

See *Zohar* 1:131a, 220a; 2:25b, 86a.

381. **the spirit of the holy side** Emanating from the world of the *sefirot*.

382. **body... is a garment...** The body clothes the soul. See *Zohar* 2:75b–76a; *ZḤ* 78c (*MhN*, *Rut*). The identical teaching appears in Moses de León's *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 44: "They have said in *Secrets of the Torah* " Cf. ibid., 159.

383. **Specters** טסירין (*Tesirin*), a neologism appearing several times in the *Zohar* (1:17b, 178a ["*tesirin* without a body"]; 2:29a). See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17: "It is not written here: [*He ceased from all His work*] *that* [*God*] *created and made*, but rather [*that God created*] *to make* (Genesis 2:3), for the Sabbath came first and their work was not completed. Rabbi Benaya said, 'This refers to the demons, for He created their souls, and as He was creating their bodies, the Sabbath day was hallowed. He left them, and they remained soul without body.'"

Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; 11:9; *Zohar* 1:14a, 47b–48a, 178a; 2:155b; 3:142b (*IR*); and M *Avot* 5:6: "Ten things were created on Friday eve at twilight.... Some say, 'Also the demons.'"

384. **melted in the smelting of this spirit** As the spirit (called *human*) is refined, lower spirits ("specters") are produced, which are then clothed in the form of ten pure animals, permitted to be eaten.

385. **who desire to be interwoven...** To be included in the category of *human*.

386. **the other side...** The demonic realm, source of other nations' souls. The claim that the souls of the nations derive from the demonic is supposedly based on the rabbinic source cited above (note 380), but is amplified far beyond its original context. For parallel medieval Christian views of the demonic nature of the Jews, see Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*. Cf. *Zohar* 1:47a, 131a; *ZḤ* 10c (*MhN*).

387. **it is called Impure** The body shares the impurity of the spirit.

388. **Once the spirit emerges...** Once that person dies, the garment ("it"), that is, the body, is no longer called Impure, which explains why "the graves of Gentiles do not impart impurity" (BT *Yevamot* 61a, cited above, note 380).

See *Zohar* 1:131a, 220a; *ZḤ* 78d (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 48a.

389. **Specters** טסירין (*Tesirin*). See above, note 383.

390. **this spirit** The spirit of impurity.

391. **that side** The side of impurity.

392. **Each kind follows its own...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 92b: "It was taught in the Mishnah: 'Anything attached to something subject to impurity is itself subject to impurity. Anything attached to something that remains pure will itself remain pure.' It was taught in a *baraita* [a tannaitic tradition]: Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'Not for nothing did the starling follow the raven, but because it is of its kind.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:3; *Zohar* 1:137b, 167b.

393. **The radiant lights above shine...** The *sefirot* emanate through *Yesod*.

394. ***greater light... smaller light...*** *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the sun, and *Shekhinah*, by the moon.

395. **The rule of the male...** The *sefirot* function as a traditional household: the male, *Tif'eret*, gathers the flow of emanation from left and right, while the female, *Shekhinah*, channels this flow, thereby nourishing the world.

396. **commands Her household...** Once *Shekhinah* arranges the powers under Her and retires with *Tif'eret*.

397. **the maidens who remain...** Angels serving *Shekhinah*.

398. ***God made the two great lights...*** The verse is taken to mean: *Binah*, known as אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, gave birth to *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, *the two great lights*. See above, page 153.

399. **"luminaries of light"** A phrase appearing in the morning liturgy: "May You be blessed, *YHVH* our God, for the exquisite work of Your hands, for the luminaries of light You fashioned; they glorify You." See Ezekiel 32:8. Here the phrase refers to the emanation flowing between *Ḥesed* and *Shekhinah*.

400. **"luminaries of fire"...** The ritual of *havdalah*, marking the end of Sabbath, consists of blessings over wine, spices, and the light of a candle (here, a lamp). The blessing over the flame concludes: "... who creates the lights of the fire." Here "luminaries of fire" are the forces dominating the weekdays and sustained by *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by fire. See *Zohar* 1:14b; 2:207b–208b.

401. **for they have been granted...** The weekday forces have been empowered by *Shekhinah*, the divine lamp. The ceremony of *havdalah* symbolizes and actualizes this transition of authority.

402. **fingers of a human being...** The ten fingers of the human hand symbolize the ten *sefirot*.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:3; *Midrash Tadshe* 10 (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:174); *Bahir* (87) 124; Naḥmanides on Exodus 30:19; *Zohar* 2:67a, 208a; 3:143a (*IR*), 186a, 195b.

403. **front and back** The fronts of the fingers (adjoining the palm) symbolize the *sefirot*, while the backs of the fingers symbolize the forces beneath *Shekhinah* who rule the weekdays.

404. **permitted to gaze at the fingernails...** As one recites the blessing over the flame, one bends the fingers in toward the palm and gazes at the light reflected off the fingernails, which symbolize the weekday forces illumined and empowered by the fire of *Shekhinah*.

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 20, and David Luria, ad loc., n. 20; *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, *Sha'arei Teshuvah*, 104; *Zohar* 2:208a–b; S. Finesinger, in *Hebrew*

Union College Annual 12–13 (1937–38): 347–65; D. Noy, in *Maḥa nayim* 85–86 (1963): 166–73; Ginsburg, *The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah*, 272–74; Hallamish, *Ha-Qabbalah*, 322–23.

405. **the inside of the fingers may not be viewed...** The fronts of the fingers, symbolizing the *sefirot*, should be concealed.

406. **This rules on Sabbath...** On Sabbath the *sefirot* rule through *Shekhinah*, while the rest of the week is dominated by the forces beneath *Shekhinah*.

407. **the blessed Holy One... His throne of glory** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

408. **"a people unique on earth"** See 2 Samuel 7:23: *Who is like Your people, like Israel, a nation unique on earth...?*

409. **the side of the right** The side of *Ḥesed*.

410. **primordial light...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:12b, 31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b. According to *Zohar* 1:1a, this primordial light was concealed in the covenant, a name for *Yesod*, also known as the Sabbath day.

411. **From the departure of Sabbath...** All week long.

412. **by that lamp** *Shekhinah*.

413. ***The creatures darting to and fro*** The verse continues: *with the appearance of sparks*. This is from Ezekiel's vision of the חיות (*ḥayyot*), "living creatures, animals," who carry the divine throne. The long passage that follows soon refers to *the expanse of heaven* (Genesis 1:15) encompassing the *ḥayyot* and concludes with the same verse.

414. ***wheel*** אופן (*Ofan*), one of the אופנים (*ofanim*) described by Ezekiel (1:15–21). There the wheels are rimmed with eyes and move in perfect unison with the *ḥayyot*, transporting the throne together with them. Here the *ofan* is identified with Metatron.

415. **Metatron** The chief angel, variously described as Prince of the World, Prince of the Presence, celestial scribe, and even יהוה קטן (*YHVH Qatan*), "Lesser *YHVH*" (3 Enoch 12:5, based on Exodus 23:21). In Heikhalot literature Metatron is also identified with Enoch, who ascended to heaven (based on Genesis 5:24). See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 377–81; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 73–108.

416. **500 parasangs higher** The Greek parasang equals about 3.5 miles. See BT *Ḥagigah* 13b, on Ezekiel 1:15: "As *I beheld the creatures, behold, one wheel on the ground alongside the creatures*. Rabbi Eleazar said, 'This is a certain angel who stands on earth and whose head extends close to the living creatures.' In a *matnita* [tannaitic tradition] it is taught: His name is Sandalfon, who is taller than his companion [Munich MS: companions] by a journeying distance of five hundred years. He stands behind the Chariot, binding crowns for his Lord." Here in the *Zohar*, Metatron replaces Sandalfon. Cf. 3 Enoch 9:1–2: "Rabbi Yishma'el said, 'Metatron, Prince of the Presence, said to me: ".... I was enlarged and increased in size till I matched the world in length and breadth."'"

417. **The hidden creatures** *Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*.

418. **beneath two supernal letters...** The quartet of *sefirot* lies beneath the divine parents, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, symbolized by the first two letters of יהוה (*YHVH*), who rule over the lower *sefirot*, symbolized by the last two letters. The highest *sefirah, Keter*, is alluded to by the tip of the initial letter, י (*yod*).

419. **Concealed of all Concealed** *Ein Sof*.

420. ***the expanse of heaven*** *Yesod*. See above, page 154.

421. **above the creatures** Above the hidden creatures, the quartet of *sefirot*.

422. **primordial ה (*he*)...** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, symbolized by the second letter of יהוה (*YHVH*). See *Zohar* 2:22a. She is also known as מי (*Mi*), "Who." See above, pages 5–9. A spiritual seeker inquires about Her, but such questions do not lead to ordinary verbal answers.

423. **it is enclosed in thought** *Binah* is concealed within the realm of divine thought, which is impenetrable.

424. **The thought of the blessed Holy One... א (*alef*)** Divine thought is identified with the open-ended א (*alef*) in *Bahir* 48 (70).

425. **what is suspended...** The lower *sefirot*.

426. **no trace at all** Similar language appears in *Zohar* 3:289b (*IZ*).

427. **the initial descent of *Ein Sof*** *Keter*, out of which all emanation proceeds.

428. **a tenuous radiance...** *Ḥokhmah*, the primordial point of light. See above, page 109; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 21–22 (25–26).

429. **a realm containing tracings of all letters...** *Binah*, who generates the letters of the alphabet.

430. **first and last of all the rungs...** The graphic shape of the letter א (*alef*) encompasses the entire range of *sefirot*: on the top right is a י (*yod*), symbolizing the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* (along with *Keter* and *Binah*); the central shaft of the א (*alef*) is a ו (*vav*), whose numerical value of six symbolizes *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*); and finally the י (*yod*) on the bottom left of the א (*alef*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, (lower *Ḥokhmah*), also pictured as a point.

See *Zohar* 3:73a, 193b; *ZḤ* 5c (*ST*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 87–89 (111–12).

431. **a single secrecy...** The primordial point represented by the י (*yod*) on the top right of the א (*alef*).

432. **six rungs...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* suspended in the divine mind (*Keter, Ḥokhmah*, and *Binah*).

433. **the radiance that shone...** *Ḥesed*, first of the six rungs, identified with the primordial light of the first day of Creation. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a, cited above, note 410.

434. **the letter ט (*tet*) of Creation** The first appearance of the letter ט (*tet*) in the Creation story is in Genesis 1:4: *God saw that the light was* טוב (*tov*), *good*. The primordial light of *Ḥesed* was hidden away in *Yesod*, the ninth *sefirah* (matching the numerical value of *tet*), who is also called *tov*. Thus *tet* indicates the light of *Ḥesed* concealed within *Yesod*.

See BT *Bava Qamma* 55a; *Zohar* 1:3a, 30b; 2:152a, 230a; *ZḤ* 63b (*ShS*).

435. ***the heat of the day... at the opening of the tent...*** From the description of Abraham's theophany: *YHVH appeared to him by the oaks of Mamre; he was sitting at the opening of the tent in the heat of the day*. In the *Zohar*, Abraham symbolizes *Ḥesed*, who shines on *Shekhinah*, *the opening of the tent*, the opening of the divine realm. *The heat of the day* alludes to *Ḥesed*, Abraham's day within the cosmic week, and *Yesod*, through whose passion *Ḥesed* joins *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:97b–98b (*ST*), 98a–b, 103b; 2:36a; 3:14a.

436. **a radiance that darkens away...** *Gevurah*, second of the six rungs, on the left side, which tends toward judgment and severity.

437. **the prayer of Isaac to mend this rung...** See BT *Berakhot* 26b: "Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'The patriarchs instituted the prayers'.... Abraham instituted the morning prayer..., Isaac instituted the afternoon prayer, as is said: *Isaac went out to meditate in the field as evening turned. ...* Jacob instituted the evening prayer." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9.

The three patriarchs each symbolize one of the sefirotic triad: *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. Isaac embodies *Gevurah*, also known as *the turning of the evening*. His prayer focused on restoring this darkened radiance and sweetening its harsh judgment.

438. **the Prince of Esau** The story of Jacob wrestling with *a man* (Genesis 32:25) is interpreted by Rabbi Ḥama son of Rabbi Ḥanina (*Bereshit Rabbah* 77:3) as a wrestling match with "the Prince of Esau," Esau's guardian angel. *Tanḥuma, Vayishlaḥ* 8 identifies this figure as Samael. Both Esau and Samael are empowered by *Gevurah* on the left side.

439. **a radiance combining both of these** The third rung is *Tif'eret*, who

balances the *sefirot* of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*. He is symbolized by both Jacob and the sun.

440. ***The sun rose upon him as he passed Penu'el,*** *limping on his thigh*, following his wrestling ordeal. On the healing power of the sun, see Malachi 3:20; BT *Bava Batra* 16b.

441. **once he had merged...** Jacob wrestled with the power of the left, the *turning of the evening*, and integrated it with the right. Thereby he attained the rung of *Tif'eret*, the sun. The *Zohar* relates פנות ערב (*penot erev*), *turning of the evening*, to פנואל (*Penu'el*).

442. **נצח ישראל (*Netsaḥ Yisra'el*), *Eternity of Israel...*** The verse reads: *Moreover, the Eternal One of Israel does not lie or change His mind, for He is not human that He should change His mind.* *Netsaḥ* is symbolized as one thigh of Primordial Adam, paired with *Hod*, the other thigh. Together these two *sefirot* constitute the source of prophecy.

443. **the fourth rung, from which no human prophesied...** When Jacob was wounded in his thigh, *Netsaḥ* (one of the two rungs of prophecy) was weakened and therefore such prophecy was suspended until the time of Samuel, who restored the *sefirah* of *Netsaḥ* and referred to it in the verse cited here. See 1 Samuel 3:1: *In those days the word of YHVH was rare; vision was not widespread*.

See *Zohar* 1:170b–171a; 2:111b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 10–12 (13–14); idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 82–83.

444. ***He touched the socket of his thigh*** The full verse reads: *When he saw that he could not prevail against him* [Jacob], *he touched the socket of his thigh, so the socket of Jacob's thigh was wrenched as he wrestled with him*.

445. **from that *turning of the evening...*** The Prince of Esau was empowered by *Din* ("Judgment"), the *sefirah* of the left side.

446. **had merged with it...** Jacob had balanced left and right.

447. **from there, for the thigh...** The Prince of Esau could not overpower Jacob, who symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the harmony of left and right, but he succeeded in wounding Jacob's thigh, symbolizing *Netsaḥ*, which is outside the torso of the body, and from there he derived power. See *Zohar* 1:146a, 166a; 2:227a.

448. **the torso** *Tif'eret*, torso of the sefirotic body.

449. **mystery of two rungs, mystery called אדם (*adam*), *human*** *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, the *sefirot* of the right and the left, are balanced in *Tif'eret*, the torso of the body of Primordial Adam. *Tif'eret* is symbolized by Jacob, of whom it is said (BT *Bava Me-tsi'a* 84b): "Jacob's beauty was a reflection of Adam's."

450. ***He is not human*** The full verse reads: *Moreover, the Eternal One of Israel does not lie or change His mind, for He is not human that He should*

change His mind. The *sefirah* of *Netsaḥ*, being outside the torso of the body, lacks the balance of *Tif'eret* ("the mystery called *human*") and is therefore vulnerable to the Prince of Esau. See above, page 163; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 11 (14).

By wounding Jacob's thigh, this demonic power damages the source of prophecy in the sefirotic thigh, *Netsaḥ*, and thereby prophecy is delayed until the arrival of Samuel. See *Zohar* 3:136b (*IR*).

451. ***Confer*** **מהודך** (***me-hodekha***), ***of your splendor, upon him*** The verse continues: *so that the entire community of the Children of Israel hearken*. In the biblical passage, God instructs Moses to impart his charisma to Joshua. Here in the *Zohar*, הודך (*hodekha*), *your splendor*, indicates the *sefirah* of *Hod*, companion of *Netsaḥ*, who together inspire prophecy. Joshua, living before Samuel, did not have access to *Netsaḥ*.

452. **the fifth rung, נצח** (***Netsaḥ***), ***Eternity*, left thigh...** M7 deletes the word נצח (*Netsaḥ*), *Eternity*, which simplifies the line, since in Kabbalah *Hod* is usually described as the fifth lower *sefirah* and the left thigh, while *Netsaḥ* is the fourth, the right thigh. The commentators wrestle with this inconsistency and attempt various solutions; see *OY*, *KP*, *MM*, *Sullam*. Apparently, here the *Zohar* adopts the view that *Netsaḥ* is on the left, and *Hod* on the right.

See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 10–11, 47–48 (13–14, 57, 59); idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 82–83, and Wolfson's note on 82:17.

453. **David came and combined it with the right... *in Your right hand*...** David combined left with right, so that *Netsaḥ* was included *in Your right hand*, on the right side.

See *Zohar* 2:168b–169a; *ZḤ* 44a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 11 (13): "But I have seen in the Midrash...."

454. **the side of impurity** The demonic power embodied by the Prince of Esau.

455. **So he** Samuel.

456. **all his words were stern...** Samuel devoted himself to restoring the *sefirah* of *Netsaḥ*, which had been attacked by the Prince of Esau on the left side, so his prophecy was characterized by the severe quality of the left side. Samuel's career began with the condemnation of the house of the high priest Eli, delivered by *a man of God* (1 Samuel 2:27–36), who is identified in rabbinic sources as Elkanah, Samuel's father.

See *Midrash Tanna'im*, 208; *Seder Olam Rabbah* 20:6; *Battei Midrashot*, 2:121; Rashi on BT *Eruvin* 18b, s.v. *Elqanah*; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:222, n. 28.

Samuel's final prophecy was a condemnation of King Saul. See 1 Samuel 15:10–34; 28:15–19.

457. **anointed kings** Saul and David.

458. **two sides above** *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, on the left and the right, symbolized by Aaron the priest and Moses the Levite.

459. ***Netsaḥ* and *Hod*** The source of prophecy, situated beneath *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, and actualized by the prophet Samuel.

460. **Samuel is equivalent...** See BT *Berakhot* 31b, where Hannah's prayer, *Give your handmaid the seed of men* [i.e., offspring], is interpreted by Rabbi Yoḥanan as referring to: "Seed equivalent to two men. Who are they? Moses and Aaron, as is said: *Moses and Aaron among His priests, Samuel among those invoking His name*."

Cf. *Zohar* 2:148a; 3:19b; *ZḤ* 43c.

461. **six aspects...** All six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* are encompassed by the six named figures. Moses, Aaron, and Samuel symbolize *Ḥesed, Gevurah, Netsaḥ*, and *Hod* (see above), while Jacob as well as Moses symbolize *Tif'eret*, and Joseph symbolizes *Yesod*.

462. **master of the house** Jacob, symbolizing *Tif'eret*, is the husband of *Shekhinah*, known as "house." In the *Zohar*, the phrase "master of the house" is applied to both Jacob and Moses (1:138b, 152b, 236b, 239a; 2:22b, 235b, 238b, 244b [*Heikh*]) as well as to the mystic who masters the secrets of Torah (2:99b). See Numbers 12:7: *Throughout My house he* [Moses] *is trusted*.

On Jacob and Moses in the *Zohar*, see Liebes, in *Eshel Be'er Sheva* 4 (1996): 193–98.

463. **Moses took over...** During his lifetime Moses united with *Shekhinah*, thereby becoming "master of the house" while still in the body, whereas Jacob atttained this state only at death. See *Zohar* 1:152b, 236b; 3:187b.

According to rabbinic tradition, after encountering God on Mount Sinai, Moses abstained from sexual contact with his wife and maintained union with *Shekhinah*.

See *Sifrei*, Numbers 99; BT *Shabbat* 87a; *Tanḥuma, Tsav* 13; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 7:6; *Zohar* 1:152b, 234b; 2:222a; 3:148a, 180a.

On the theme of Moses the husband commanding God, see *Midrash Tehillim* 90:5, in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: "Why was he [Moses] called איש האלהים (*ish ha-elohim*), *man* [or: *husband*] *of God* (Psalms 90:1)? Just as a husband can, if he wishes, either nullify his wife's vow or confirm it, as is said: אישה (*Ishah*), *Her husband may confirm it, her husband may nullify it* (Numbers 30:14), so, as it were, Moses said to the blessed Holy One, *Arise, O YHVH!... Return, O YHVH!* (ibid. 10:35–36)."

See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim, Vezot Haberakhah*, 443–44, 448

(variants); *Tanḥuma, Vezot Haberakhah* 2 (*Ets Yosef*, ad loc.); *Devarim Rabbah* (Lieberman), on 33:1; *Zohar* 1:6b, 21b–22a, 148a, 152a–b, 236b; 239a; 2:22b, 235b, 238b, 244b (*Heikh*).

464. **performed in the house** שמשו בביתא (*Shimmeshu be-veita*), "Served in the house," based on the rabbinic euphemism for sexual intercourse: "performed [the function of] the house," "house" itself being a euphemism for "vulva." See M *Miqva'ot* 8:4; *Niddah* 1:7; 10:8.

Here "the house" is *Shekhinah*, with whom both Jacob and Moses unite. See *Zohar* 1:133a.

465. **he was righteous** Since Joseph resisted the sexual advances of Potiphar's wife, he is called "righteous" in rabbinic literature. See BT *Yoma* 35b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 93:7; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim*, 460. Cf. *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 5; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 38, which cite Amos 2:6.

In Kabbalah Joseph symbolizes the divine phallus, *Yesod* ("Foundation"), also known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

The point here is that both Jacob and Moses could unite with *Shekhinah* only through the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, symbolized by Joseph. See *Zohar* 1:180a.

466. ***These are the generations of Jacob: Joseph*** The *Zohar* conveniently breaks off the citation here with the mention of the two males, so that the verse now implies that they must be together. By means of *Yesod* (Joseph), Jacob united with *Shekhinah* and generated new life. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 84:6.

467. **emerged from exile** From the exile of Egyptian slavery, which She shared with the Children of Israel.

468. ***Moses took the bones of Joseph...*** Joseph, at his death, had made his brothers promise to eventually take his bones out of Egypt (Genesis 50:25), a promise fulfilled by Moses at the Exodus. Joseph's bones were reinterred in Canaan at the end of the conquest (Joshua 24:32).

469. **the body...with the covenant** As a male body unites with a female through the phallus, which is marked with the sign of the covenant of circumcision, so Moses, symbolizing *Tif'eret*, the torso of the body of the *sefirot*, unites with the divine female, *Shekhinah*, only by means of the divine phallus, *Yesod*, known as Covenant. See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 10 (12–13).

470. **Jacob, Moses, and Joseph...** Jacob and Moses both symbolize *Tif'eret*, while Joseph symbolizes *Yesod*.

471. **When Jacob died...** See Genesis 50:13. Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the

torso of the sefirotic body, so when he died his body entered the Holy Land, symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

472. **When Joseph died...** Joseph symbolizes *Yesod*, the phallus protruding from the torso of the body, so his body did not enter the land; rather, it was his bones (whose symbolism is clarified below). See *Zohar* 2:141b.

473. **Moses, neither one** Moses died just outside the land of Israel on Mt. Nebo and was buried in the valley below. See Deuteronomy 34:1–6.

474. **first husband of the Consort** Jacob was the first to wed *Shekhinah*, who is called מטרוניתא (*Matronita*), an aramaized form of the Latin *matrona*, "matron, married woman, noble lady."

475. **he is the body** Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*, torso of the divine body.

476. **bones are soldiers...** The bones symbolize camps of angels emerging from *Yesod*, who is known both as צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), "Righteous One" (see above, note 465) and צבאות (*Tseva'ot*), "Hosts," referring to these hosts of angels. See *Zohar* 3:296a (*IZ*).

477. **a female married to two...** If a woman marries two men, in the future world when all are resurrected, she will be reunited with her first husband.

See Matthew 22:28; Mark 12:23; *Zohar* 2:102a–b; Moses de León, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 59; *NZ*, here, n. 9, and *millu'im*, 15; Mordechai Shpielman, *Tif'eret Tsevi*, 1:248a–249a.

478. **this shows Moses' inferiority...** The fact that he did not enter the land and maintain his union with *Shekhinah* apparently indicates failure.

479. **the aspect of Jubilee** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, is symbolized by the Jubilee, proclaimed every fifty years, when slaves were released and land reverted to its original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). In general She is characterized by the number fifty, based on BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, where Rav and Shemu'el teach: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." *Binah* is the source of redemption and liberation, specifically the Exodus from Egypt.

See *Zohar* 1:47b; 2:46a, 83b, 85b; 3:262a.

480. **All those 600,000...** According to the Torah, the total number of male Israelites above the age of twenty who left Egypt was approximately 600,000. See Exodus 12:37; Numbers 11:21. The precise total of the first census taken in the Sinai Desert was 603,550. See Exodus 38:26; Numbers 1:46; cf. Numbers 26:51; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Numbers 1:46.

The 600,000 Israelites redeemed from Egypt derive from *Binah*, the upper world, and symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* generated by *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:2a–b.

481. **Not one of them entered...** The generation redeemed from Egypt was condemned to die in the desert because of their faithlessness, except for Caleb and Joshua. See Numbers 14:26–35. The offspring who do enter the Holy Land thereby restore *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by both the land and the moon.

482. **All the cultivation of earth...** *Shekhinah* was restored and arrayed by the labor of those who entered the land and cultivated it, whereas the generation of the Exodus who died in the desert derived from *Binah* and were sustained effortlessly by the manna, known as *bread from heaven* (Exodus 16:4); they were not meant to enter the land. What appears to be a tragic punishment is actually a cosmic necessity.

483. **through his holy spirit** Through his soul, or through *Shekhinah*, known as Holy Spirit.

484. **those 600,000...** When the generation of the Exodus, who derived from *Binah* (Jubilee), died in the desert, their souls returned to Her. There they united with Moses, whose soul also derives from *Binah*. They symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, while Moses symbolizes the core of those six, *Tif'eret*, also designated by the letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six. Moses did not need to enter the land (symbolizing *Shekhinah*). Having already united with Her during his lifetime, he was now destined to return directly to *Binah*, the Divine Mother.

485. **Sabbatical** שמטה (*Shemittah*), "Release." Every seventh year is a year of *shemittah*, during which the land must lie fallow and at the end of which all debts are remitted. See Leviticus 25:1–24; Deuteronomy 15:1–3. In Kabbalah *shemittah* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the seventh of the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:153b.

486. **another house** As the *Zohar* indicates below, Jacob was married to earthly partners, namely Leah, Rachel, and their two handmaids, Bilhah and Zilpah, so he could not unite with *Shekhinah*. Moses, on the other hand, is said to have abstained from sexual contact with his wife after encountering the divine on Mount Sinai. See BT *Shabbat* 87a; and below. Maintaining intimacy with *Shekhinah* throughout his life, he became master of the house while still in the body; at death his spirit joined with *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:23a.

487. **The Holy Land was restored below through the power above** *Shekhinah* was restored by the generation entering and working the land who derived power from their parents, whose souls had returned to *Binah*.

488. **not fitting for them all to be...** It was inappropriate for both generations to enter the land. Rather, the generation that wandered in the desert rose in spirit to *Binah*, the upper world, whereas the next generation physically entered the land, symbolizing *Shekhinah*. Similarly, with Moses and Jacob: one rose to *Binah*, remaining outside the land, whereas the other was buried in the land

and joined *Shekhinah*.

489. **these within the moon and those outside...** The younger generation entered the land, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, also identified with the moon. The generation of the Exodus were "outside": having risen in spirit to *Binah*, they could illumine their descendants below.

490. **the originals** The generation of the Exodus.

491. **For there will never be...** Despite the failures and faithlessness of the generation of the Exodus, they are later described in glowing terms. See *Mekhilta de-Rashbi*, Exodus 19:11: "There never arose, nor will there ever arise, a generation as worthy to receive the Torah as these." Cf. Jeremiah 2:2; and *Mekhilta, Shirata* 3: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, '... A handmaiden at the [Red] Sea saw what Isaiah, Ezekiel, and all the other prophets never saw.'"

See *Zohar* 2:60a, 64b, 82a, 93b–94a; 3:22b, 287a; and Isaac ibn Latif, *Iggeret ha-Teshuvah*, 25: "The generation of the desert comprehended the intellectual forms while still in the body... Their world was the world to come." The phrase "face-to-face" derives from the description of the revelation at Mount Sinai (Deuteronomy 5:4): *Face-to-face YHVH spoke to you on the mountain out of the fire*.

492. **spirit to spirit** His soul united with *Shekhinah*, Holy Spirit.

493. **Moses separated himself from his wife...** See above, note 463.

494. **a high, hidden spirit above** *Binah*.

495. **All those upper lights...** Various *sefirot* are reflected and embodied by the biblical heroes mentioned above: Jacob (*Tif'eret*), Joseph (*Yesod*), Moses (*Gevurah, Tif'eret*), Aaron (*Ḥesed*), Samuel (*Netsaḥ, Hod*). These *sefirot* gather in *Yesod*, known as *the expanse of heaven*, from which they illumine *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 154, 156–57, 159.

496. **Mystery of two names...** Apparently יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*). In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name."

In Kabbalah the two names often designate *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who were originally one and whose reunion represents the goal of religious life. See *Zohar* 1:4a, 20a, 48b; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (IR); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*). *OY* suggests two other possibilities: יהוה (*YHVH*) and אדני (*Adonai*) merged into one name, יאהדונהי (*YAHDVNHY*); or יהוה (*YHVH*) and אהיה (*Ehyeh*) merged into יאהויהה (*YAHHVYHH*).

497. **their perfection three...** Apparently אהיה יהוה אדני (*Ehyeh, YHVH, Adonai*), names of *Keter, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*, respectively, all three of which are aligned in the middle column of the *sefirot*. The *gimatriyya* of יהוה אלהים (*YHVH Elohim*), 112, is equivalent to that of אהיה יהוה אדני (*Ehyeh, YHVH, Adonai*). See *KP*;

Scholem; cf. *OY*.

498. **the mystery of faith** The mystery of the union of the *sefirot*, symbolized by the unification of the divine names. See *Zohar* 2:9a; 3:65b.

499. **[29a] בראשית** (***Be-reshit***), ***In the beginning*** The section comprising 1:22a–29a belongs to *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar*, a later stratum of Zoharic literature, so it is not included in this translation. See Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 218–19.

500. **We have learned...** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* 1:11 (on 1:1): "Rabbi Yudan and Rabbi Levi said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Wherever in this scroll [the Song of Songs] the expression *King Solomon* appears, the text speaks of King Solomon, whereas *the king*, anonymous, connotes the blessed Holy One.' The Rabbis say, 'Wherever *King Solomon* appears, the text speaks of the King to whom peace belongs [deriving שלמה (*Shelomoh*), *Solomon*, from שלום (*shalom*), "peace"], whereas *the king*, anonymous, connotes the Assembly of Israel.'"

In rabbinic Hebrew, the phrase כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*), "Assembly of Israel," denotes the people of Israel, and the Song of Songs is read as a love poem between them and God. In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* refers to *Shekhinah*, described here as נוקבא (*nuqba*), "female." She is the divine counterpart of the people, that aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers depicted in the Song of Songs symbolize *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret. Shekhinah* is described there as *King*, reflecting Her name *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). See *Zohar* 1:47a, 84a. Here, apparently, King Solomon denotes *Binah*, "to whom peace belongs," namely, *Yesod*, who conveys the flow of *Binah* and thereby links the two lovers. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home." Cf. *Zohar* 1:5b; 2:127b. The lower (plain, earthly) meaning of the text connotes the upper, divine sense. See above, page 115.

501. **lower inherits upper...** Through Her union with *Tif'eret, Shekhinah* absorbs the flow of emanation from Her mother above, *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:215a: "... for Daughter inherits Mother." Cf. above, page 9: "Mother lends Daughter Her garments."

502. **This is בית** (***bayit***), ***house...*** The opening letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, stands for בית (*bayit*), *house*. The letter *bet*, second letter of the alphabet, is equivalent to two, and here indicates two sefirotic structures: *Binah*, fashioned from the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), and *Shekhinah*, comprising the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*.

503. ***pavilion...*** אפריון (*Appiryon*), a biblical hapax legomenon of uncertain meaning, often translated "palanquin," but apparently referring to a stationary structure. In the Midrash it is interpreted as referring to the Tabernacle and to the

Temple in Jerusalem. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 1:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* and *Targum*, ad loc.

In the *Zohar* the *appiryon* is *Shekhinah*, the divine palace (2:127a). This *pavilion* is constructed out of the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, known as *the trees of Lebanon*, namely, of *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:31a, 35a–b; 2:127b.

504. **the adorning of the lower world by the upper world** *Shekhinah* is adorned by the light radiating from *Binah*.

505. **before the blessed Holy One created...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3: "Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Hyrcanus opened, '... Before the world was created, there existed only the blessed Holy One and His great name. The thought of creating the world arose in His mind. He traced the world, but it did not endure. They told a parable. To what can this be compared? To a king who wishes to build his palace. If he does not trace in the earth its foundations, exits, and entrances, he cannot begin to build. Similarly the blessed Holy One traced the world in front of Himself, but it did not endure until He created *teshuvah* ("returning, turning back" to God).'" Cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:61; *ZḤ* 2d (*MhN*).

In Kabbalah the *sefirot* are considered God's names since they reveal the divine identity. In particular, the final *sefirah, Shekhinah*, is called "the name" of God. Before the process of emanation, all of the *sefirot* existed potentially within *Ein Sof*.

506. **the will of thought** *Keter*, the impulse within the divine mind. See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 92, 94, 107; *Zohar* 1:45b; 2:259b, 268b; *ZḤ* 1b, 6c (*ST*).

507. **the signet** סמיטרא (*Samitra*), apparently based on סימנטיר (*simanteir*), derived from the Greek *semanterion*, "seal, signet, stamp." *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182, defines *samitra* as "turban," based on the *Arukh*; see *KP*, *OY*.

The process of emanation begins with a gesture of royal authority. Cf. above, page 107: "At the head of potency ["authority, decree"] of the King, He engraved engravings in luster on high."

508. **but it did not endure** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:2: "*He fashioned everything at its appropriate time* (Ecclesiastes 3:11).... Rabbi Abbahu said, 'From here [we learn] that the blessed Holy One kept creating worlds and destroying them until He created these [i.e., heaven and earth]. Then He declared, "These please Me, those do not."'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:7; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 3*, cited above (note 505). The theme of previous worlds that did not endure appears in the *Idrot* (*Zohar* 3:128a [*IR*], 292b [*IZ*]) and inspired Isaac Luria's theory of "the breaking of the vessels."

509. **wrapping of contemplative radiance** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Vayaqhel* 7: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yehotsadak asked Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman, 'Since you are a master of Aggadah, tell me how the blessed Holy One created the world.' He replied, 'When the blessed Holy One wished to create the world, He enwrapped Himself in light and created the world, as is said: *He wraps in light as in a garment* (Psalms 104:2), and afterward: *He spreads out the heavens like a curtain*.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3. The image of God wrapping Himself in a garment of light appears in Greek, Iranian, Gnostic, and kabbalistic sources. See Matt, *Zohar*, 212; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 493–94; Ezra's letter, ed. Scholem, in *Sefer Bialik*, 157–58; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 110–11; *Zohar* 1:2a, 15b, 90a (*ST*), 245a; 2:39b, 164b; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 5a. Here the wrapping of radiance filters the intense primordial energy.

510. **generating trees, supernal, grand cedars** The *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, generated by the union of *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1; *Zohar* 1:35b.

511. **twenty-two engraved letters, carved in ten utterances...** The twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet spell out the ten utterances by which the world was created (according to M *Avot* 5:1). The ten utterances parallel both the ten *sefirot* and the Ten Commandments, which contain all twenty-two letters (in the version of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy 5:6–18). According to *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:1–2, God created the world by means of "thirty-two wondrous paths of wisdom," namely, the twenty-two letters and the ten *sefirot*.

See Naḥmanides, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 401; *Zohar* 1:109a (*ST*); 3:290a (*IZ*).

512. ***himself*—for His arrayal...** The divine King is arrayed in the *pavilion*, *Shekhinah*, who reveals the royal glory and is known as "the name" of God.

513. **His truncheons** קלפוי (*Qulpoi*), "His clubs." The flow of emanation is stimulated by a divine blow.

514. **ramparts** קסטורין (*Qastorin*), derived from the Latin *castra*, "fortifications," referring here to the sefirotic structures beginning to emerge.

515. **Trickling...** Emanation begins to trickle down the sefirotic tree. See *Zohar* 1:245a.

516. **above, below...** The six directions correspond to the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:13.

517. **a vast sea** *Shekhinah*, who gathers the stream of emanation.

518. ***Sharon*... the site drawing all waters of the world** The Sharon is the coastal plain from Jaffa to Mount Carmel.

519. **So this brings forth and that draws in...** *Binah* generates the stream of emanation, which pours into *Shekhinah* through sefirotic channels.

520. ***By wisdom a house is built...*** **ב** (***bet***)... The opening letter of the Torah, ב (*bet*), indicates בית (*bayit*), "house," and the number two. The two houses are: *Binah*, built out of the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, and *Shekhinah*, constructed by the *sefirot* emerging from *Binah*.

521. **When supernal גבורה** (***Gevurah***), **Power, is aroused...** *Shekhinah* is embraced by *Gevurah*, as indicated by the verse: *The king* (*Shekhinah*) *will rejoice in Elohim* (which denotes both *Binah* and *Gevurah*). The phrase "beneath His head" derives from Song of Songs 2:6: *His left hand beneath my head, his right embracing me*, a verse applied in the *Zohar* to sefirotic embrace.

522. **a single secret, hidden channel** *Yesod*, who conveys the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*.

523. **the lower world rejoicing in the upper...** *Shekhinah* rejoicing in *Binah*.

524. **In Him, He rejoices...** In *Binah, Shekhinah* rejoices.

525. **"life of the king"** *Binah* is called by this epithet because it is the source of life for *Shekhinah*, "the king."

See *Zohar* 2:115b; 3:58a; cf. *Sifrei*, Numbers 153; Naḥmanides on Genesis 2:7 and Numbers 30:3.

526. **the essence of the house** *Binah* animates the entire divine realm as well as the world below.

On this phrase, see Psalms 113:9; *Bereshit Rabbah* 71:2; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 20:2; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Vayetse* 15; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:8; *Zohar* 1:50a, 149b, 154a, 157b.

527. **This house built the house of the world, built the world** *Binah*, the primordial house, generated *Shekhinah*, "the house of the world," and through Her, the world. See *Zohar* 1:33a.

528. **ב ראשית** (***bet reshit***)... The letter ב (*bet*) indicates the number two and בית (*bayit*), "house." The two houses, *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, originate in the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), known as ראשית (*reshit*), *Beginning*, while *Shekhinah* is known as *beginning of wisdom* (Psalms 111:10), the starting point of the search for *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:7b, 31b.

529. **Then it gathers...** *Shekhinah* gathers the flow of emanation.

530. ***From the womb of*** **מי** (***mi***), ***whom, emerged the ice*** *Shekhinah* emerged from the womb of *Binah*, known as מי (*Mi*), "Who" (or "Whom"). A spiritual seeker may inquire about Her, but such questions do not yield ordinary answers. The identity of the divine is discovered only in a realm beyond words. The mystical name "Who" becomes a focus of meditation, as question turns into quest. See Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 1:91a: "Concerning everything that cannot be

grasped, its question constitutes its answer."

See *Zohar* 1:1b, 45b, 85b–86a, 237b; 2:126b–127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

531. **its waters flow only...** The frozen sea of *Shekhinah* thaws only through the warmth of *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of flowing love, associated with the warm South. See *Zohar* 1:152a, 161b; 2:30a; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 341.

532. **on the side of the North** Due to the influence of *Gevurah*, or *Din* (severe "Judgment"), associated with the North.

533. **all those beasts of the field...** The forces, including the *ḥayyot* ("living creatures, animals, beasts") beneath *Shekhinah*, who is known as "field" or Holy Apple Orchard.

See *Zohar* 1:107a, 122a, 128b, 142b, 224b; 2:61b; 3:84a. Cf. BT *Ta'anit* 29b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:22; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 35–37.

534. ***cleft mountains...*** הרי בתר (*Harei vater*). The word בתר (*vater*) in Song of Songs is interpreted variously and is probably derived from the root meaning "to cut, divide," thus denoting "jagged, craggy" mountains. In the *Zohar*, *cleft mountains* refers to the forces outside *Shekhinah* that are not included in the unified realm of the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:62a, 158a; 2:234a–b.

535. **near it** Near *Shekhinah*, the frozen sea.

536. **When thought arises...** When *Ḥokhmah* emerges from *Keter*, known as Desire.

537. **Concealed of all Concealed** *Ein Sof* or *Keter*, the most hidden recesses of divinity. See *Zohar* 2:234b.

538. **concealed river...** *Binah* emanates from *Ḥokhmah*.

539. **They approach one another...** *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* meet on a secret path described below.

540. ב (***Bet***), **anonymous *king*...** The opening letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, stands for בית (*bayit*), *house*, and here indicates *Shekhinah*, who is also known as the anonymous *king*. See above, note 500. *Shekhinah* is emanated (or "consummated") through the union of *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*. So the opening word of the Torah spans the range of *sefirot*, from *Shekhinah* (ב [*bet*]) to *Ḥokhmah*, known as ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*. Alternatively, *king* here refers to *Binah*.

541. **With this energy** With the energy of *Ḥokhmah*. See above, page 110.

542. **the hidden one...** *Binah*, known as אלהים (*Elohim*), generated *Tif'eret* (*heaven*), who emerges from Her as a blast from the shofar.

543. ***Heaven* rules over *earth* by the life...** *Tif'eret* rules over *Shekhinah* by the vivifying energy that flows from *Binah* to *Yesod*, who is known as *the son of Jesse* and "Vitality of the Worlds." See above, note 214; *Zohar* 1:29a; 2:175b.

544. **He** *Tif'eret*.

545. **the ו (*vav*) added...** The ו (*vav*), meaning *and*, has a numerical value of six, alluding to *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). The appearance of the letter here in the phrase ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, indicates that *Tif'eret* conducts nourishment to *Shekhinah*, known as both את (*et*) and *earth*. See above, pages 112–14.

546. **את (*et*) above, the lower power...** Grammatically, the accusative particle *et* has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

את (*Et*) comprises the entire alphabet, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), and is therefore an appropriate name for *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, who is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

Here the *Zohar* indicates that the letters were generated by *Binah*, the Divine Mother, for the wedding of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who is also known as *Atarah* ("Crown"). The word "above" (in "את [*et*] above") may refer to the preceding occurrence of את (*et*) in the phrase את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*), *heaven*.

547. **את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*), *heaven*...** The words imply the union of *Shekhinah*, known as את (*et*), and *Tif'eret*, *heaven*.

548. **life of the king, the anonymous king** The flow of emanation from *Binah* is called "life of the king" because it animates *Shekhinah*, the anonymous king.

See above, pages 170 and 173 (and note 500); *Zohar* 3:58a; Naḥmanides on Genesis 2:7; Numbers 30:3. Alternatively, *king* here refers to *Binah*.

549. **ואת הארץ (*Ve-et ha-arets*), *And earth*...** Here, too, the wording implies the union of *Tif'eret*, known as ו (*vav*), and *Shekhinah*, known as both את (*et*) and *earth*. See above, notes 545–46.

550. **the world above... *heaven*... *earth*...** *Binah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*.

551. **The mystery of supreme אלהים (*Elohim*)** *Binah*.

552. **beginning of all** An allusion to *Ḥokhmah, Binah's* origin and partner.

553. **the supernal mystery descended...** The process of emanation continued until *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, who generated the physical *heaven* and *earth*.

554. **Both of them are worlds** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:10: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Pazzi expounded on the act of Creation together with Bar Kappara. 'Why was the world created with ב (*bet*)? To inform you that there are two worlds: this world and the world that is coming.'" Here the *Zohar* alludes to two sefirotic realms: *Binah* and *Shekhinah*.

555. **which created worlds...** *Binah* and *Shekhinah* each yield a world comprising *heaven* and *earth*. *Binah* emanates *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, while *Shekhinah* generates *heaven* and *earth* below.

See *Zohar* 1:240b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 192.

556. **supernal** ראשית (***reshit***), ***beginning*** *Ḥokhmah*, the primordial point of emanation. See above, page 109.

557. **Above descended below** *Tif'eret* joined *Shekhinah*.

558. **certain rung...** *Yesod*, who channels the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*.

559. **that secret, hidden path...** The subtle link between the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* and the womb of the Divine Mother, *Binah*.

See *Zohar* 1:3b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b.

560. ***The way of the righteous...*** The verse associates *way* with *righteous*, a name of *Yesod*.

561. ***who makes a way...*** Both verses connect *way* (symbolizing *Yesod*) with the *sea* (*Shekhinah*), and *path* (the subtle link) with powerful *waters* (*Binah*).

562. **When the world above...** After *Binah* was impregnated by Her partner, *Ḥokhmah*, She gave birth to *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, known as *heaven* and *earth*, who resembled their parents. See *Zohar* 2:85b–86a.

563. ***Earth* is nourished by the waters of *heaven*** *Shekhinah* is fed the flow of emanation from *Tif'eret*.

564. **the upper are male and the lower female** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep...* (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta*, *Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:17b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b. Here the upper and lower waters symbolize *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

565. **pouring out water...** *Shekhinah* stimulates the flow from *Tif'eret*. According to the second-century Greek physician Galen, sperm is generated by both male and female. See Leviticus 12:2: *When a woman yields seed*. Cf. Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides, Baḥya ben Asher, and Sforno, ad loc.; BT *Berakhot* 60a; *Niddah* 31a.

566. **with the additional** ו (***vav***)... Indicating *Tif'eret*, who nourishes *Shekhinah*, known as both את (*et*) and *earth*. See above, note 545.

567. **Letters were engraved...** The process of emanation above and

physical creation below unfolded through the medium of language, conveyed by the letters of the alphabet. According to *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:1–2, God created the world by means of "thirty-two wondrous paths of wisdom," namely, the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the ten *sefirot*.

568. **ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*; א (*alef*): את (*et*)** The first two letters of the Hebrew alphabet appear as the initial letters of the first four words of the Torah. The first two words, בראשית ברא (*Be-reshit bara*), *In the beginning created*, begin with the letter ב (*bet*); the next two words, אלהים את (*Elohim et*), *God*, begin with א (*alef*). Some manuscripts and witnesses include all four words, but apparently the focus is on these two.

569. **ב (*Bet*): ברא (*bara*), *created*, indeed...** The letter ב (*bet*) symbolizes *Binah* (above, pages 173–76), who emanated the lower *sefirot*. The rest of this paragraph appears with slight variation in *Zohar* 2:234b.

570. **by supreme energy** By the power of *Ḥokhmah*.

571. **ב (*Bet*), female; א (*alef*), male** The two letters symbolize *Binah* and *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:200a; 2:228a; *ZḤ* 74c (*ShS*).

572. **so א (*alef*) generated letters...** From *Ḥokhmah* emanation streamed in the form of letters to *Binah* and below.

573. **ה (*He*) generated... *heaven*...** The fifth word of the Torah, השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heaven*, consists of the letter ה (*he*), the second letter of יהוה (*YHVH*), alluding to *Binah*, and שמים (*shamayim*), *heaven*, signifying *Tif'eret*, who emanated from *Binah*.

See *Zohar* 1:12b, 33b, 241b; 2:137a; 3:176; and the parallel in 2:234b.

574. **ו (*Vav*) generated הארץ (*ha-arets*), *earth*...** The letter ו (*vav*), the third letter of יהוה (*YHVH*), has a numerical value of six and symbolizes *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him. *Tif'eret* emanated *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*.

575. **for ו (*vav*) takes את (*et*)...** The word ואת (*ve-et*), *and*, consists of ו (*vav*), *and*, symbolizing *Tif'eret* (see above, note 574), and את (*et*), representing all twenty-two letters of the alphabet, from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), the entire flow of emanation (see above, note 546). *Tif'eret* conveys this flow to *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by both *earth* and *sea*. She is the sea into which stream all the rivers, the lower *sefirot*.

576. **male and female** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

577. **a word** מלה (*Millah*), "Word" or "thing."

578. **its cudgels** קולפוי (*Qulpoi*), "Its clubs." See above, note 513.

579. **The fortress of vapor...** קוסטרא דקוטרא (*Qustera de-qutra*). *Qustera* derives from the Latin *castrum* (pl. *castra*), "fortress, castle." See above, note 514. The phrase here alludes to *Shekhinah*; see immediately below.

580. **When flashing fire flows...** When the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, symbolized by fire, is aroused, it stimulates *Shekhinah*, symbolized by smoke. See *Zohar* 1:70a–b.

581. **So all endures on the side of the left** By stimulating *Shekhinah* to join *Tif'eret*, the fire of *Gevurah* ensures the continued flow of emanation and the generation of the lower worlds.

582. ***My own hand founded earth...*** Since both *hand* and *right hand* are mentioned in the verse, it is assumed that *hand* denotes the left hand (symbolizing *Gevurah*), who *founded earth* (symbolizing *Shekhinah*). *Tif'eret*, on the other hand, emanated from *Ḥesed*, the divine *right hand*.

583. **the male emerges from the side of the right...** The male is associated with *Ḥesed*, the female with *Gevurah*.

584. **Words extend till here...** Concerning *Binah*, known as *Who*, one can speak, or at least pose a question. Beyond this realm, the divine mind is impenetrable.

585. **For Wisdom was consummated by Nothingness** The *sefirah* of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") emerged from *Keter*, who is known as אין (*Ayin*), "Nothingness," because this ultimate stage of divinity is inconceivable, the divine no-thingness. Wisdom shares in the incomprehensibility of *Ayin*.

586. **Once a deep river emanates** Once *Binah* emanates from the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*.

587. **concealed from everything below** Even from the *sefirot* emerging from Her. According to the Gnostic *Gospel of Truth* (22:27–29), the aeons (divine emanations) below *Nous* ("Intellect") are unaware of hidden divinity: "It was quite amazing that they were in the Father without knowing Him." The phrase here can also be rendered: "concealed more than anything below."

588. **it is called מי (*Mi*), Who** Or, "they [namely, the lower *sefirot*] call it Who." *Binah* is known as מי (*Mi*), Who, because when a spiritual seeker inquires about Her, the questions do not yield ordinary answers. The identity of the divine is discovered only in a realm beyond words. The mystical name Who becomes a focus of meditation, as question turns into quest. See Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 1:91a: "Concerning everything that cannot be grasped, its question constitutes its answer."

See *Zohar* 1:1b, 45b, 85b-86a, 237b; 2:126b–127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

589. **מי (*Mi*), *Who, created these*** The question is transformed into a declaration: *Binah* emanated the lower seven *sefirot*, known as *these*. See above, pages 5–9.

590. ***From the womb of* מי (*mi*), *whom, emerged the ice...*** *Shekhinah*, the sea whose waters congeal and thaw, emerged from the womb of *Binah*. See above, page 174.

591. **“What is above?” “What is below?”** See M *Ḥagigah* 2:1: “Whoever contemplates four things, it would be better for him if he had not come into the world: what is above, what is below, what before, and what after.” These Mishnaic restrictions on cosmological speculation recall the Gnostic striving after “the knowledge of who we were, what we have become, where we were, where we have been thrown, where we hasten, from what we are redeemed, what birth is, and what is rebirth” (Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpts from Theodotus* 78:2). Here the restriction is applied to probing the origin and essence of *Binah*.

592. **the site of their issuance** Where the lower *sefirot* emerge from *Binah*.

593. **yet not knowing it** Not knowing the essence of *Binah* Herself.

594. **ב׳ בראשית: ראשית (*Be-reshit: bet reshit*), *bet, beginning*** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, is divided into the letter ב (*bet*), and ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*. In *KP* this paragraph appears several paragraphs below, following the phrase “constituting peace for the world.”

595. **Is ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, an utterance...** According to M *Avot* 5:1, “The world was created through ten utterances [or: sayings, commands].” Only nine explicit commands appear in Genesis 1, but the decade is completed by counting the phrase *In the beginning*. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 32a, *Megillah* 21b; cf. *Zohar* 1:15a, 16b; *TZ* 32, 76a.

Here the *Zohar* asks whether the tenth command is represented by the entire word בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, or just by ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*.

596. **As long as its energy...** As long as the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* has not expanded, it is called בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, which signifies that *Ḥokhmah*, known as ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, includes what will emerge as *Binah*, symbolized by the initial ב (*bet*). See above, page 111.

597. **אלה (*elleh*), *these*** The lower seven *sefirot*, who emerge from *Binah*.

598. **ים (*yam*), ocean** *Shekhinah*, who collects all the rivers, the *sefirot*. The letters of מי (*mi*) and ים (*yam*) are identical; *Shekhinah* consummates *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:86a.

599. **fashioning everything exactly as above...** *Shekhinah* creates the world below, which corresponds to the world of the *sefirot*, emanated by *Binah*. Both creative forces are indicated by the letter ב (*bet*), whose numerical value is two. See above, pages 173–76.

600. ***While the king was reclining*** The verse continues: *my spikenard spread its fragrance*.

601. **settling with the lower kingdom...** *Binah*, the supreme *king*, joins *Shekhinah*, who is often called *Malkhut* (“Kingdom”). Their union reflects that between *Ḥokhmah*—known as Eden—and *Binah*. See *Zohar* 2:227b.

602. **by that hidden, concealed, unknown path...** The subtle link between

Ḥokhmah and *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 29a; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b. Once filled by this path, *Binah* emanates the lower *sefirot*, the "well-known streams."

603. **lower king...** *Shekhinah*.

604. **A redolent, supreme fragrance ascends...** The arousal of *Shekhinah* stimulates the forces above.

605. **by the right and by the left...** By *sefirot* on the right side, characterized by *Ḥesed*, and on the left, characterized by *Gevurah*. The *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod* are symbolized by the six days of Creation.

606. **Six days were fashioned to radiate...** The six cosmic days, the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, emanated from *Binah*, culminating in *Shekhinah* and the creation below. The plain meaning of the verse, *For in six days YHVH made heaven and earth*, is abandoned in favor of a hyperliteral reading, which emphasizes the lack of the preposition ב (*be*), *in*, before *six days*, thereby turning the *six days* into the object of *YHVH*'s creative power: the *six days* were themselves fashioned, or emanated. The phrase *heaven and earth* refers to *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, whose union marks the consummation of the cosmic week. See *Bahir* 55 (82).

607. **These dug pathways...** These six *sefirot* channeled the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*, "the immense abyss," through sixty openings. The *Zohar* is playing on the homonyms שיתין (*shittin*), "sixty," and שיתין (*shitin*), "hollows, pits."

608. **So we have learned...** See BT *Sukkah* 49a: "Rabbah son of Bar Ḥana said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'The hollows [under the Temple altar into which the wine and water of libation flowed] were formed during the six days of Creation.'" The *Zohar* indicates that the openings into *Shekhinah* were formed not just *during* the six days of Creation but *by* "the six days of Creation," by the six *sefirot*.

According to Rabbi Yose (*Tosefta*, *Sukkah* 3:15), the hollows penetrated to the abyss. Cf. *Zohar* 1:56a; *ZḤ* 62d–63a (*ShS*).

609. **dregs of an inkwell in seepage** סוספיתא דקמרי גו קולטוי (*Suspita de-qamrei go qultoi*), one of the *Zohar*'s typical mystifying phrases constructed out of rare or invented words.

סוספיתא (*Suspita*) is a neologism apparently based on Aramaic כוספא (*kuspa*), "pomace, husk, residue." See *Zohar* 1:71b, 118b, 228a; 2:24b, 203a, 224b, 236b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182; *KP*; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 389, n. 54; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 336–38.

קמרי (*Qamrei*) is a variation on קלמרין (*qalmarin*), "inkwell," and the Greek *qalamarion*; see *Arukh*, s.v. *qamrin*. *As* for קולטוי (*qultoi*), rendered here "seepage," the root קלט (*qlt*) means "to absorb, receive."

The dregs are the forces of evil left over after the refining process of

emanation, the residue of ink remaining after the divine writer has sketched the *sefirot*. Here the *Zohar* indicates that *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*, was still in a chaotic state, since the dregs had not been completely separated from the sefirotic realm of holiness.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 10:2: "*Remove the dross from the silver*... [*and a vessel emerges for the refiner*] (Proverbs 25:4). Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'This can be compared to a bath full of water, in which were two beautiful sculptured disks. As long as it was full of water, the artistry of the disks could not be seen, but as soon as it was unplugged and the water emptied, the artistry could be seen. Similarly, as long as תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void*, was in the world, the artistry of heaven and earth could not be seen, but as soon as *tohu va-vohu* was eradicated from the world, the artistry of heaven could be seen: *A vessel emerges for the refiner*.'" See Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 104–5.

610. ***was* already** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:15: "Rabbi Ḥanin said, '... *The earth was* —it already had been [i.e., it preceded the creation of heaven].'"

Here the point is that before She attained enduring existence, *Shekhinah* (the *earth*) was in chaos. Cf. above, page 118 (and note 75), *Zohar* 1:39b, 262b–263a (*Hash*); Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:460–64.

611. **In forty-two letters...** The forty-two-letter name is mentioned in the name of Rav, though not recorded, in BT *Qiddushin* 71a. According to one later view, it consists of the first forty-two letters of the Torah, from the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*) through the ב (*bet*) of בהו (*bohu*), *void* (Genesis 1:2).

See *Tosafot*, *Ḥagigah* 11b, s.v. *ein doreshin; KP* 1:46c–d; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 94–95; cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:62; *Zohar* 1:1a, 15b; 2:130b, 132b, 175b, 234a–b.

The forty-two letters crown the name יהוה (*YHVH*) or *Shekhinah*, known as "the name" of God. See *MM; Sullam; Zohar* 2:132b.

612. **while these endure through the doings...** The permutations of letters animate the world, while they themselves are sustained by righteous action below.

613. **Scribal patterns of impress...** טופסרא דקילטא (*Tufsera de-qilta*). In the *Zohar*, *tufsera* (or *tufsira*) means either "mold, form, configuration" (based on טופסא [*tufsa*], derived from the Greek *tupos*), or "royal dignitary" (based on טפסרא [*tafsera*], derived from biblical טפסר [*tifsar*], "marshal, scribe"). See above, page 155: "All the letters were arrayed in their wheels by the expanding דקוטרא טופסירא (*tufsira de-qutra*), scribal matrix of the nexus."

See Jeremiah 51:27; Nahum 3:17; *Zohar* 1:96b, 157a, 241b, 242b, 243b; 3:120a, 270b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 178–80, 185.

As mentioned previously (note 609), the root קלט (*qlt*) means "to absorb,

receive." Cf. *Zohar* 2:235b (*Tos*): טיפסרא דקולטא (*tifsera de-qulta*). Here letters of creation are being stamped by the divine seal.

614. **by the cudgels of the mighty serpent** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 9, where it is said of Leviathan: "Between his fins stands the axis of Earth." Cf. *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 17 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:28): "The entire world stands on one fin of Leviathan." See *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:26); *Zohar* 2:34b, 108b; 3:279a (*RM*).

615. **1500 cubits** The letters penetrate 1500 cubits beneath the surface of the earth. The number appears in rabbinic discussions of the abyss. According to JT *Sanhedrin* 10:2 (29a), "When [King] David began digging the foundations of the Temple, he dug 1500 cubits without finding the abyss." When he finally penetrated the abyss, "it rose and threatened to drown the world." David's adviser, Ahitophel, managed to subdue the abyss by reciting a divine name, upon which David sang the fifteen Psalms of Ascent (Psalms 120–134), one psalm for each 100 cubits.

See the tradition reported in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan (BT *Sukkah* 53a–b): "When David dug the hollows [beneath the site of the Temple], the abyss arose and threatened to drown the world.... [David] inscribed the [divine] Name on a shard and cast it into the abyss, and it subsided 16,000 cubits. When he saw that it had subsided so far, he said, 'The higher it is raised, the more the earth will be watered.' So he sang the fifteen Ascents and raised it 15,000 cubits, leaving it 1000 cubits [below the surface]." Cf. *Zohar* 3:198b.

616. **split the darkness, and radiated...** See the *Zohar*'s description of the beginning of emanation (1:15a): "It split and did not split its aura."

617. **the handful** תיקלא (*Tiqla*), a Zoharic neologism derived from the root תקל (*tql*), "weigh." The word has a wide range of meaning: "hollow of the hand, fist, water clock (1:92b), potter's wheel, scale." See *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 178; Baer, *History*, 1:437, n. 24; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 331; and Isaiah 40:12, cited several lines below.

618. **1500 by fingers dripping thrice...** Three handfuls of water, each including five fingers, drip into the balance, thereby conveying a total of fifteen (hundred) units. See Rashi on BT *Menaḥot* 29b, s.v. *aḥat be-he va-aḥat be-yod*.

619. ***Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand*** The verse continues in parallelism: *gauged the skies with a span, meted the dust of the earth with a measure, and weighed the mountains with a scale and the hills with a balance?*

620. **All was within Earth...** Concealed within *Shekhinah*.

621. **sponginess** קולטוי (*Qultoi*), "Its absorption," the congealed substance within *Shekhinah*. See above, page 181: "dregs of an inkwell in seepage," and note

609 there.

622. **primordial, transcendent light, already existent** The light of *Ḥesed*, which manifested on the first day of Creation but existed primordially. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:2: "It is not written here והיה אור (*Ve-hayah or*) [which could mean either *And there will be light* or *And there was light*], but rather ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*) [which can mean only] *And there was light*—it already was." Theodor (ad loc.) regards this as a scribal gloss. In any case, the point in the Midrash is that the creation of light was instantaneous and effortless, whereas here the *Zohar* emphasizes that the light preexisted—it already *was*.

See *Bahir* 17 (25), elaborating on *Bereshit Rabbah*: "Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Why is it written *God said, "Let there be light!"* ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*), *And there was light*, and not והיה (*Ve-hayah*) [which could mean either *And there will be* or *And there was*]? This can be compared to a king who had a beautiful object and set it aside until he had prepared a place for it; then he placed it there. As is written: "*Let there be light*!" *And there was light*. For it already was.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 494; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 109; *Zohar* 1:16b, 45b; 3:245b (*RM*); *ZḤ* 1a, 37d; Recanati on Genesis 1:3, 3c.

623. **turned firm and fragrant** אתבסמת (*Itbassamat*), "Was sweetened" or "was firmly established." The root *bsm* conveys both senses.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 66:2; *Midrash Shemu'el* 26:4; *Zohar* 1:31a, 34a, 37a, 56a, 137a; 2:143a, 168a, 227a; 3:18a; N. Bronsnick, in *Sinai* 63 (1968): 81–85; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 44; idem, *Kabbalah*, 228.

624. **its radiance blazed...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

625. **Every dream...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 55a: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a said, 'One who sees [the letter] ט (*tet*) in a dream should regard it as a good omen. Why so?... Because Scripture inaugurated it with goodness, for from בראשית (*Bereshit*), *In the beginning*, up to *God saw the light*, no ט (*tet*) occurs.'" Since the first ט (*tet*) in Scripture begins the word טוב (*tov*), *good*, it is a good omen to see ט (*tet*) in a dream.

See *Zohar* 2:152a, 230a; *ZḤ* 63b (*ShS*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 366.

626. **One sees letters...** One's daily conduct determines the contents of the dream.

627. **good for his dream** A dream is vulnerable to various interpretations, which affect its outcome. See *Zohar* 1:183a–b.

628. **for the Torah inaugurated it...** See above, note 625.

629. **ninth of all** The letter ט (*tet*) is the ninth letter of the Hebrew alphabet and symbolizes the ninth *sefirah, Yesod*. In this *sefirah* the primordial light of *Ḥesed* was hidden away. See *Zohar* 1:3a, 21a; 2:230a. On the primordial light, see above, note 624.

630. **Primordial One above...** *Ḥokhmah*, known as Beginning, since it is the first *sefirah* that can be even faintly known. For a different rendering and interpretation of the phrase "contained within," see *KP*, *OY*.

631. **the secrecy of the point...** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, symbolized by the letter י (*yod*). See above, page 109.

632. **From its energy emerged ו (*vav*)...** From the point represented by the letter י (*yod*) extended the line of the letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizing *Tif'eret* (known as Heaven) and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him.

633. **When it culminated...** When the point of *Ḥokhmah* was implanted within the womb of *Binah*, symbolized by the letter ב (*bet*), She glowed.

634. **From it emerged above and below...** From *Ḥokhmah* emerged the Divine Mother, *Binah*, and Her daughter, *Shekhinah*, both alluded to by the letter ב (*bet*), whose numerical value is two. See above, pages 173–76.

635. **These three letters...** As noted above, these letters stand for different stages of emanation: ט (*tet*) for *Yesod*, ו (*vav*) for *Tif'eret*, and ב (*bet*) for *Binah*. The entire flow of emanation gathers in *Yesod*, also known as Righteous One, who then unites with *Shekhinah*. See BT *Yoma* 38b.

636. **supernal radiance...** The primordial light of *Ḥesed* is concealed within *Yesod*.

637. ***to all,* unspecified...** *Yesod*, who contains and conveys the totality of emanation, is called All. He is the sixth cosmic day of Creation, animating the universe.

638. **obscurity of words** The mysteries of the process of emanation hidden within Scripture.

639. ***At the beginning of, your baking, offer a loaf...*** The loaf (חלה [*ḥallah*]) was offered as the first fruits of baking. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:4: "Rav Huna said in the name of Rav Mattanah, 'The world was created for the sake of three things: for the sake of *ḥallah*, tithes, and first fruits. For it is said: בראשית (*Bereshit*), *In the beginning* [taken to mean: *For the sake of beginning*], and

beginning is *ḥallah*, as is written: *At the beginning of your baking* [*offer* חלה (*ḥallah*), *a loaf, as a gift*]....'"

Here ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, symbolizes the second *sefirah*, *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), which is the first aspect of God that can be known, since the initial *sefirah*, *Keter*, is transcendently unknowable.

The identification of *beginning* with Wisdom appears widely. See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.), Genesis 1:1; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:242–45, 266–69; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81; Naḥmanides on Genesis 1:1; *Zohar* 1:2a, 3b, 15a, 16b, 20a, 145a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 21–22 (25–26).

640. **ב (*Bet*) is ביתא (*beita*), house, of the world** The opening letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence encompassing the world. See *Zohar* 1:29b, 33a, 172a.

641. **that river entering it...** The flow of emanation channeled by *Yesod* to *Shekhinah*, *the garden*. This proof text from Genesis appears approximately fifty times in the *Zohar*.

642. **the high depth** *Binah*, source of emanation for the lower *sefirot*. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:5: "... depth of above, depth of below...."

643. **That high depth, initial ב (*bet*)...** The ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, alludes also to *Binah*, who unites with *Ḥokhmah*, known as ראשית (*Reshit*), *Beginning*, and receives from Him the stream of emanation in the form of letters. The narrow path is the subtle link between *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 29a–b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b.

644. **two forces** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, known as *heaven* and *earth*.

645. **Not שמים (*shamayim*), *heavens*, but השמים (*ha-shamayim*), *the heavens*...** The definite article ה (*ha*) in השמים (*ha-shamayim*) symbolizes *Binah*, who is often identified with the first ה (*he*) in the divine name יהוה (*YHVH*).

646. ***And the earth...*** *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*, also emanated from *Binah*, not as a separate entity but joined together with *Tif'eret* (*heaven*), side by side, or back-to-back. See the description of the original androgynous nature of the human being in *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:2b, 13b, 47a; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

647. **When the *beginning* of all...** When *Ḥokhmah* received further

emanation from *Keter*, the flow extended to *Tif'eret* (*heaven*), empowering Him to install *Shekhinah* in Her position as the culmination of the *sefirot*.

648. ו (*vav*) **and totality of letters** The word ואת (*ve-et*) is divided into ו (*vav*) and את (*et*). *Vav*, the third letter of יהוה (*YHVH*), is numerically equivalent to six and symbolizes *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). את (*Et*) represents the totality of emanation from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), which is transmitted by *Tif'eret* to *Shekhinah* (*earth*), enabling Her to attain independent existence. See above, pages 112, 175, 178.

649. **confounded and bewildered** תוהה ובוהה (*Tohah u-vohah*), playing on תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), [*The earth was*] *chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2). The pun derives from *Bereshit Rabbah* 2:2, where *earth* is said to be "confounded and bewildered" by the inferior position of earthly creatures relative to heavenly creatures. See *Zohar* 1:24b (*TZ*).

On the Gnostic connotation of this phrase, see Van Winden, in *Studies in Gnosticism*, 458–66.

650. **for She saw *heaven* beaming and Herself darkened** On the diminution of *Shekhinah*, see BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!" She said before Him, "Master of the Universe! Because I have suggested something proper I should make myself smaller?" He replied, "Go and rule by day and night." She said, "But what is the value of this? What good is a lamp at noon?"'"

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b–20a; *ZḤ* 70d-71a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 35b.

651. **gazing at *heaven* face-to-face** *Shekhinah* achieves reunion with *Tif'eret*, but now face-to-face, rather than back-to-back. See the description of the original nature of the human being from *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1, cited above (note 646): "Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See *Zohar* 3:296a (*IZ*); BT *Bava Batra* 99a.

652. **rendered firm and fragrant** See above, note 623.

653. **Light radiated...** As *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* emerge from *Binah*, *Tif'eret* derives from *Ḥesed* on the right side (identified with light), while *Shekhinah* derives from *Gevurah* on the left side (identified with darkness). See above, page 125.

654. ***Day... Night...*** *Tif'eret, Shekhinah*.

655. **He is called *Day*...** *Tif'eret* is called *Day*.

656. ***and the darkness He called Night*** The verse reads: *God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night*.

657. ***darkness* seizes Her...** *Gevurah* seizes *Shekhinah*, who reflects the light of the other *sefirot* but has none of Her own. The expression "She has no light of Her own" derives from a medieval astronomic description of the moon.

See Radak on Genesis 1:16; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 338; idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 381; *Zohar* 1:20a, 132b, 181a, 238a; 2:43a, 142a, 218b.

658. **Though deriving from the side of fire, which is *darkness*...** Though *Shekhinah* derives from *Gevurah*, symbolized by both fire and *darkness*, She receives no light from this fire but rather remains dark until illumined by *Tif'eret*.

On the combination of fire and *darkness*, see Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 2:30, where the *darkness* of Genesis 1:2 is identified with "elemental fire": "The elemental fire was designated by this term [*darkness*] because it is not luminous, but only transparent."

659. **until the time of which is written...** Until Messianic time, when *Shekhinah* will shine on Her own.

660. **Rabbi El'azar jumped in first** The beginning of this passage appears to be missing. See *KP*. This is the first occurrence of the name of one of the *Ḥavrayya* ("Companions") in "Parashat Be-Reshit" of the *Zohar*.

661. **the supernal *voice*...** The transcendent voice of *Binah* regulates the flow of emanation through the lower *sefirot* until they collect in *Yesod*.

662. **the side extending from *Might*** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence is also known as כבוד (*kavod*), *glory*. She emanates via *Gevurah* ("might, power"), located on the left side of the sefirotic tree.

663. **the right...** *Ḥesed*, also known as אל (*El*), *God* (*Zohar* 3:30b), and located on the right side. From here *Gevurah* emerges on the left as thunder.

664. **that concealed depth...** *Binah*, who emerges from *Ḥokhmah* and remains linked to Him by a narrow path.

665. **resolved the conflict** The conflict between *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, right and left sides of the sefirotic tree symbolizing light and darkness, or the conflict between the waters of Creation. See above, pages 124–36.

666. ***Next to the enclosure are the rings to be, as housings for the poles** to carry the table*. In the desert Tabernacle, each week twelve loaves of bread were placed on a portable table, which was fitted with rings and poles and topped with a rim (*enclosure*).

667. **A closed site...** *Binah*, joined intimately to *Ḥokhmah*. See *Zohar* 1:3b, 29a–b, 30b; 2:122b–123a; 3:61b.

668. **traces gates...** *Binah*, filled by the flow from *Ḥokhmah*, begins to emanate the lights of the lower *sefirot* ("gates").

669. **the world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, *26* (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

670. **supernal rings...** The triad of *sefirot* emerging from *Binah: Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, symbolized respectively by water, fire, and air. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:9–12; *Zohar* 1:110a, 118b. The *sefirot* are links in the cosmic chain of being. See Matt, intro to *Mar'ot ha-Ẕove'ot*, by David ben Judah he-Ḥasid, 34, n. 238.

671. **the supernal river...** The flow of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* to *Binah*.

672. **the chariots below** As the *poles* in the Tabernacle carried the table (and the ark), so the chariots beneath *Shekhinah* carry Her. Each of these lower forces derives from one of the *housings: Ḥesed, Gevurah*, or *Tif'eret*.

673. **the ark** *Shekhinah*. According to Exodus 25:12–15, *the ark of the covenant* in the Tabernacle was also fitted with rings and poles.

674. **not what lies within** *Shekhinah* and the entire sefirotic realm.

675. **As we say to the Nazarite...** See BT *Shabbat* 13a; cf. *Zohar* 2:125b; 3:127b. A Nazarite vows not to eat grapes or drink wine (Numbers 6:1–3). As a precaution, he is forbidden even to approach a vineyard. Here, the unproven spiritual seeker is directed toward the chariot but not its occupant, *Shekhinah*, who is known as "vineyard."

676. **As these *cedars* emerge from *Lebanon*...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* are symbolized by *cedars* rooted in *Lebanon* (*Ḥokhmah*). See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1; above, pages 170–72. Alternatively, they are the six cosmic days of Creation, emerging from *Ḥokhmah*, known as בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*.

677. ***Yours, YHVH, are*** גדולה (***gedullah***), ***greatness...*** הוד (***hod***), ***splendor—yes, all...*** The verse continues: *that is in heaven and on earth....* This verse appears

often in kabbalistic literature as a designation of the lower *sefirot: Ḥesed* (also called *Gedullah*), *Gevurah, Tif'eret, Netsaḥ, Hod, Yesod* (known as *all*), and *Shekhinah* (symbolized by *earth*), who is joined with *Tif'eret* (symbolized by *heaven*).

678. ב ראשית (***Bet, reshit***), **'two, *beginning'*...** *Ḥokhmah*, the second *sefirah*, is the first that can be known at all, since *Keter*, the first *sefirah*, shares the unknowable infinity of *Ein Sof* and is therefore "not included in the count." See *Zohar* 3:269a.

679. ***A river issues from Eden...*** The act of Creation described in the opening verse of Genesis is the flow of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* (known as *Eden*) through *Binah* and the *sefirot* below Her to *Shekhinah*, *the garden*. The *Zohar* may be associating the Hebrew word יוצא (*yotse*), *issues*, "goes out," with the Aramaic word ברא (*bara*), "outside."

680. אלהים חיים (***Elohim ḥayyim***), ***Living God*** The phrase appears in Deuteronomy 5:23; Jeremiah 10:10. Here it is a name of *Binah*, source of life and emanation. See *Zohar* 1:74a; 2:140a.

681. **By means of that river...** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Be-reshit*), is understood as meaning not *In the beginning*, but *With beginning*, "by means of the primordial river emanating from *Ḥokhmah*, known as *beginning*." This interpretation relies on the fact that the Hebrew preposition ב (*be*) means "with" as well as "in."

See *Targum Yerushalmi* (frag.) and Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 81; above, page 110.

682. **the expansion of the river...** The river, generated by *Ḥokhmah*, emerges from *Binah* and emanates *Tif'eret*, known as *heaven*.

683. **the last link...** *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, is the *beginning* of the creation of the world below.

684. **it channeled the river...** *Binah* channeled the flow of emanation.

685. **by it He created the lower world...** By means of *Shekhinah*, the lower *beginning*, *Binah* (known as אלהים [*Elohim*], *God*) created the world below.

686. **However, transcendent *Elohim*...** The name אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*, applies to several *sefirot: Binah* (transcendent *Elohim*), *Gevurah* (associated with Isaac and known as *the fear of Isaac*; see Genesis 31:42), and *Shekhinah* (final *Elohim*). So, the plural is justified. See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Devarim Rabbah* 2:13.

687. **the light... created at first** The primordial light of the first day of Creation, identified with the *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, the first to emerge from *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:20a; 2:137a, 166b.

688. **the light of the eye** Vision derives from the primordial light and was originally boundless. According to rabbinic tradition, the primordial light was overwhelming. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6: "The light created during the six days

of Creation cannot shine during the day because it dims [i.e., overwhelms] the globe of the sun."

See Isaiah 30:26; and *Bahir* 97 (147): "No creature could look at the primordial light." Cf. *ZḤ* 15b (*MhN*); Philo, *On the Creation of the World*, 29–31. An alternate view appears in *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1: "Its light was pleasant for the world and did not cause harm like the sun."

Elsewhere the *Zohar* refers to a technique for seeing the concealed colors of the *sefirot*. By closing one's eye and pressing a finger on the eyeball until it is moved to one side, one gains a vision of colors (white, red, and green), symbolizing *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 2:23b: "The secret is: close your eye and roll your eyeball. Those colors that shine and sparkle will be revealed."

Cf. 1:18b, 42a, 43a, 97a–b (*ST*); 2:43b, 247a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 96–97 (123–24); *KP* on *Zohar* 1:18b; Scholem, "Colours and Their Symbolism," 66–67; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 291–93; Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 380–83.

689. **who gazed with it from one end of the universe to the other** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one [or "Adam"] could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:30b, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

690. **from Gilead to Dan** When he was about to die, Moses ascended Mt. Nebo in Moab and was shown the entire land of Israel from a distance. See Deuteronomy 34:1–5, where *Gilead as far as Dan* refers to just one part of the entire landscape.

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 338, where Rabbi Yehoshu'a says that Moses was able to view the entire land because God "placed power in Moses' eyes and he saw from one end of the world to the other." According to the *Zohar*, this power derives from the primordial light.

691. **three wicked generations...** Concerning the generation of Enosh, Genesis 4:26 states: *Then for the first time the name YHVH was invoked*. In the Midrash this is taken to mean that Enosh's generation was the first to worship idols and address them by the name *YHVH*.

See *Mekhilta, Baḥodesh* 6; *Bereshit Rabbah* 23:7; *Targum Yerushalmi* and

Rashi, ad loc.; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Avodah Zarah* 1:1; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:151, n. 54.

The generation of the Flood was notoriously corrupt (Genesis 6:5–13). "The generation of Dispersion" refers to the generation of the Tower of Babel who attempted to assault heaven and were punished by being dispersed and by their having their common language divided into many tongues (ibid. 11:1–9; cf. 10:25). All three generations are mentioned in *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1 and *Pesiqta Rabbati* 23.

692. **the three remaining months...** According to one midrashic tradition, Moses was born three months premature in order to deceive the Egyptians, who were planning to kill him; the wording in Exodus 2:2, *She hid him for three months*, refers to the last three months of the normal period of pregnancy, which were the first three months of Moses' life. The Midrash also connects the preceding phrase, *She saw that he was good*, with Genesis 1:3: *God saw that the light was good*, implying that Moses radiated supernal light.

See *Mekhilta de-Rashbi*, Exodus 6:2; *Targum Yerushalmi* and *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Exodus 2:2; Rashi on Exodus 2:3; as well as BT *Sotah* 12a; *Shemot Rabbah* 1:20; *Zohar* 2:11b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:397, nn. 42, 44.

The *Zohar* may also have in mind the teaching of Rabbi Simlai (BT *Niddah* 30b) that a fetus in the womb has "a lamp kindled above its head, and it gazes from one end of the world to the other."

693. **he was brought before Pharaoh** By Pharaoh's daughter, who found him in the Nile. See Exodus 2:3–10.

694. **He wielded it** אשתמש ביה (*Ishtammash beih*), "He used it." The verb has theurgic connotations.

See M *Avot* 1:13; *Zohar* 1:55b; Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 54, n. 36; idem, *Major Trends*, 358, n. 17.

695. ***They were afraid to come near him*** The full verse reads: *Aaron and all the Children of Israel saw Moses, and behold, the skin of his face was radiant! They were afraid to come near him*.

696. **He enwrapped Himself in it as in a *tallit*...** *Tallit* originally meant a "gown, cloak" worn by distinguished scholars and the wealthy. Later it came to mean "prayer shawl." The image applied here to Moses derives from an esoteric rabbinic description of God. See *Midrash Tehillim* 104:4: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yehotsadak asked Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman, 'How did the blessed Holy One create the light?' He replied, 'He enwrapped Himself in a white *tallit*, and the world shone from His light.' He said this to him in a whisper. [Rabbi Shim'on] said, 'Is this not stated explicitly in Scripture: *He wraps in light as in a garment* (Psalms 104:2)?' He replied, 'As I received it in a whisper, so I told it

to you in a whisper.'"

Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3. The image of God wrapping Himself in a garment of light appears in Greek, Iranian, Gnostic, and kabbalistic sources.

See Matt, *Zohar*, 212; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 493–94; Ezra's letter, ed. Scholem, in *Sefer Bialik*, 157–58; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 110–11; *Zohar* 1:2a, 29a, 90a (*ST*), 245a; 2:39b, 164b; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 5a.

697. **Every subject of the phrase...** This exegetical principle derives from older rabbinic models. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Naso* 24: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'Wherever the phrase *and there was* appears, it refers to something that was and ceased for many days and returned to its original state.'" Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 41:3: "Rabbi Shim'on said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Wherever the phrase *and there was* appears, it serves for sorrow and for joy. If sorrow, there is none like it; if joy, there is none like it.' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman came and made a distinction: 'Wherever it says, *and there was*, there is sorrow; wherever it says, *and there will be*, there is joy.' It was objected: 'But it is written: *God said, "Let there be light!" And there was light*.' He responded, 'There is no longer any joy, for the world was not worthy to use that light.'" Cf. BT *Megillah* 10b.

The *Zohar* alludes here to the primordial light, which appeared briefly in this world and was hidden away for the righteous in the hereafter. *Bahir* 106 (160) identifies the hidden light with the world that is coming, which it takes to mean "the world that already came." The phrase *And there was light* is similarly taken to mean "There already was light," i.e., the primordial light.

See *Bahir* 17 (25); *Zohar* 1:16b, 30b, 45b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:2, along with the variant readings and Theodor, ad loc.

698. **nor the worlds enjoy it because of them** The wicked deprive the world of the primordial light.

699. **for the righteous, precisely...** The word "righteous" alludes to the *sefirah* of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

The primordial light is hidden in *Yesod*, the procreative power of God. See *Zohar* 1:3a, 21a, 45b; 2:35a, 148b–149a; 166b–167a, 230a.

The Midrash links the verse *Light is sown for the righteous* with the hidden light. See *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Midrash Tehillim* 27:1.

700. **by truncheons...** בקלפוי (*Be-qulpoi*), "By His clubs." The darkness is carved by divine blows. See above, note 513.

701. **a single secret path...** The path of emanation or, specifically, *Yesod*, who conveys the emanation to *Shekhinah*.

702. **The one called *Night*...** *Shekhinah*, who is called "darkness below" because She has no light of Her own but simply reflects the light of the other *sefirot*.

703. ***Revealing depths*...** See above, page 183: "Then the immense abyss ascended in darkness, and darkness covered all, until light emanated, split the darkness, and radiated, as is written: *Revealing depths out of darkness, bringing pitch-blackness to light*."

704. **from sealed *darkness*** From the source of emanation.

705. **all those supernal crowns** The *sefirot*.

706. **Why, then, *revealing?*** Such an explicit description is incompatible with the hidden nature of the emanation.

707. **from the *darkness* abiding...**

From *Shekhinah*, the "darkness below."

708. **All those concealed depths...** The *sefirot* emerge from within the recesses of the divine mind and are conveyed by the "voice," the central *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*, until fully articulated in the divine word, *Shekhinah*.

709. **This speech is called Sabbath** *Shekhinah*, the divine word, is the last of the seven lower *sefirot* and is symbolized by the Sabbath, the seventh day of the week.

710. **mundane speech is forbidden on Sabbath...** See BT *Shabbat* 113b: "Your speech on the Sabbath should not resemble your speech on weekdays." Mundane speech mars the holiness of Sabbath and arouses demonic powers.

See *Zohar* 2:47b, 63b–64a; 3:105a–b.

711. **from the side of *darkness*** From the left side.

712. ***Light* generated day...** The *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, symbolized by light, emanated *Tif'eret*, whereas *Gevurah*, symbolized by darkness, emanated *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 125–26.

713. **for night and day are called *one*** *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret* are intended to unite. See *Zohar* 1:31a, 46a.

714. **the time of exile...** When the divine couple is separated.

715. **Until now...** First, *Tif'eret* emerged from *Ḥesed*. Then *Shekhinah* emerged from *Gevurah* and had no light of Her own, only what She reflected.

716. **Rungs differentiate...** The *sefirot* are differentiated, yet still unified. On the interdependence of light and darkness, see *Zohar* 2:187a; 3:47b.

717. **they diverge in color** As different frequencies of the wavelengths of

light yield different colors.

718. ***Were it not for My covenant...*** See BT *Shabbat* 137b, where this verse is applied to the covenant of circumcision: "Were it not for the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth would not endure, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*."

See *Zohar* 1:56a, 59b, 66b, 89a, 93b.

719. **Who is *Covenant*? צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), Righteous One** *Covenant* alludes to *Yesod*, the divine phallus, site of the covenant of circumcision. On his title *Tsaddiq*, see above, note 699.

720. ***day and night* together** Symbolizing *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who unite by means of *Yesod*, the *Covenant*.

721. ***the allowance of heaven and earth*, flowing forth from Eden** The word חקות (*ḥuqqot*), *laws*, is understood to mean "prescribed portion, allowance," i.e., the emanation intended for *Tif'eret* (*heaven*) and *Shekhinah* (*earth*), which emerges from *Ḥokhmah* (Eden).

722. ***From the voice of* מחצצים (*meḥatsatsim*)... the voice of Jacob...** In Deborah's song (Judges 5), the rare word מחצצים (*meḥatsatsim*) may mean "archers," "singers," "musicians," or "thunder peals." Here Rabbi Shim'on understands it hyperliterally as *dividers*, alluding to *Tif'eret*, symbolized by Jacob, who mediates between right and left, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*.

The phrase "the voice of Jacob" originates in Genesis 27:22. The verse in Samuel refers to Goliath, who stood *between* the Israelites and Philistines.

723. **He dwells between those drawing water...** *Tif'eret* stands between *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, who draw the emanation from above.

724. **the site of faith cleaving...** *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the name יהוה (*YHVH*), is the focus of human belief and also the partner of *Shekhinah*, known as Faith (מהימנותא [*Meheimanuta*]).

725. **there *the righteous acts*...** From *Tif'eret* the next two *sefirot, Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, draw their sustenance. Now the verse is being read: *There* (at *Tif'eret*) *the righteous acts of YHVH* (*Netsaḥ* and *Hod*) *will chant*.

726. **Righteous One...** *Yesod* (see above, notes 699, 719), who channels the rivers of emanation to the ocean of *Shekhinah*.

727. **for *Israel* inherited this covenant...** The covenant between God and Israel is embodied in the rite of circumcision.

728. **cutting and not uncovering** In the ritual of circumcision, first the foreskin is cut and removed, disclosing the mucous membrane, which is then torn down the center and pulled back, revealing the corona. The act of tearing and pulling back the membrane is called פריעה (*peri'ah*), "uncovering" the

corona. See M *Shabbat* 19:6: "If one circumcises but does not uncover the circumcision, it is as if he has not circumcised."

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 32a (*Tos*), 93b, 96b, 98b (*ST*); 2:3b, 40a, 125b; 3:91b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 133; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (67).

729. ***gates of righteousness...*** *Shekhinah*, who is known as *righteousness*. Those who fail to complete the act of circumcision remain outside the divine realm. The phrase *gates of righteousness* derives from Psalms 118:19.

730. ***The Children of Israel forsook YHVH*** The verse actually reads: *They forsook YHVH*. See *Zohar* 1:93b; 3:42b.

731. **until Deborah appeared...** Deborah renewed Israel's commitment to complete the rite of circumcision by uncovering the corona. Literally, the opening words of the verse (בפרוע פרעות [*Biphro'a pera'ot*]) apparently mean *When locks go untrimmed*, an expression of dedication (see Numbers 6:5). Here, though, Rabbi Shim'on intends another meaning of the root: "uncover," alluding to the act of פריעה (*peri'ah*), "uncovering." See *Zohar* 1:93b.

732. ***His deliverance...*** *Deliverance* alludes to *Yesod*, who delivers the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*. By failing to uncover the corona, one interrupts their union.

733. **What is the meaning of *mother?*...** By inspiring Israel, Deborah stimulated *Binah*, the Divine Mother, to channel life and sustenance.

734. ***In Israel*—unspecified...** *Israel* refers to both the earthly people and the central *sefirah* named *Tif'eret Yisra'el* ("Beauty of Israel"), both of whom are included in the covenant of circumcision and dependent upon it.

735. ***The righteous one is the foundation of the world*** The verse applies below and above. The righteous human who fulfills the commandments maintains the world, just as *Yesod* constitutes the cosmic pillar. *Yesod* ("Foundation") is known as Righteous One, based on this verse: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*), which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

736. **Three emerge from one...** A multivalent riddle, one of whose meanings may be: *Keter, Ḥokhmah*, and *Binah* emerge from *Ein Sof; Tif'eret* stands in the next triad, which includes *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*. The flow continues to *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*, who suckle *Yesod*, who disperses the flow through *Shekhinah* to many sides.

For other interpretations see *OY; KP*; Scholem; and *MM*, who after listing many meanings, writes: "Perhaps Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai intended all of these interpretations." Similar numerical riddles appear in *Zohar* 1:72b, 77a, 151b (*Tos*); 2:12b, 95a; 3:162a.

737. **a *day* embracing *evening* and *morning*...** *Yesod* binds *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*.

738. **seven expanses above...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Resh Lakish said, 'There are seven heavens [רקיעים (*reqi'im*), expanses or firmaments].'" Here the expanses are the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:85b; 2:56b.

739. **the holy name is consummated** In Kabbalah the name יהוה (*YHVH*) represents the entirety of the *sefirot*: י (*yod*) symbolizes the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*; the feminine marker ה (*he*) symbolizes *Binah*, the Divine Mother; ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*; and the final ה (*he*) symbolizes *Shekhinah. Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* by themselves spell out the name יה (*Yah*), while the final seven *sefirot*, "the seven expanses," complete the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

740. **This *expanse* lies in the middle...** *Yesod*, the *expanse*, separates the upper *sefirot* from *Shekhinah*, through whom the flow extends to the worlds below.

See *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 1:6; *Zohar* 1:20a, 21a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 198.

741. **other creatures** The *ḥayyot* ("living creatures, animals") who transport the divine throne (*Shekhinah*). See Ezekiel 1:22: *There was a shape above the heads of the creature, of an expanse that looked like awesome ice, stretched above their heads*. Here the *ḥayyot* are called "other creatures" in contradistinction to the "creatures" within the world of the *sefirot: Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*. See above, page 160.

742. **The lower waters call to the upper...** The lower powers seek the streaming energy of the *sefirot*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep*... (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta, Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

743. **for within all is enclosed...** *Shekhinah* contains the entire flow of emanation.

744. **that river gushes, flows...** The river of emanation empties into *Shekhinah*, which absorbs the waters but does not release them.

745. **Because the north wind blows...** The harsh power of *Gevurah* freezes

the waters that have gathered in *Shekhinah*, preventing them from streaming on to the worlds below.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:2: "Rav said, 'The works of Creation [i.e., the heavens] were fluid, and on the second day they congealed. *Let there be an expanse* [*in the midst of the waters*]*!* (Genesis 1:6), Let the expanse be firm!'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:29b; 2:167b.

746. **wind from the side of the South...** The warmth of *Ḥesed*, which thaws the frozen sea of *Shekhinah*.

747. **The appearance of that supernal *expanse*...** *Yesod*. See Ezekiel 1:22: *There was a shape above the heads of the creature, of an expanse that looked like awesome ice, stretched above their heads*.

748. **it is not so!...** The *expanse*, *Yesod*, does not divide between the upper and lower waters; rather, it contains the upper waters—whereas *Shekhinah*, who emerges from *Yesod*, separates the two realms.

749. **There is a membrane...** The diaphragm, permeable only from above to below. The phrase "partitioning below and above" can also be rendered "impermeable below to above." According to medieval physiology, the diaphragm transmits moisture from the lungs to the lower parts of the body. Similarly, within the sefirotic body, *Yesod*, the *expanse*, separates the waters and channels emanation from above to below.

750. **Those waters conceived...** See *Shemot Rabbah* 15:22: "Water conceived and bore darkness." Here apparently the lower waters give birth to darkness. Cf. *Zohar* 1:103b, where the waters of *Ḥesed* give birth to the darkness of *Gevurah*.

751. ***The curtain will serve you as a partition...*** The curtain in the Tabernacle parallels the diaphragm in the human body and the *expanse* in the cosmos. Here *the curtain* symbolizes *Yesod*, who separates *Shekhinah* and *Binah*, symbolized respectively by *the Holy* and *the Holy of Holies*. See *Zohar* 2:178b (*SdTs*).

752. **the uppermost waters ... the house...** The emanation emerging from *Ḥokhmah* (*wisdom*) and *Binah* (*understanding*) culminates in *Shekhinah*, the *house*.

753. **a cloud that is darkness...** *Gevurah*, on the left side of the sefirotic tree, hovering above the sea of *Shekhinah*.

754. **spirit of the supernal sanctuary** *Tif'eret*, known as רוח (*ruaḥ*), "spirit, wind," who emanates from *Binah*, the sanctuary above.

755. ***two cherubim...*** *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, the divine couple. According to BT *Yoma* 54a, the cherubs in the Temple were depicted in sexual embrace: "Rabbi Katina said, 'When Israel ascended [to Jerusalem] for the Festival, the curtain would be rolled open for them and the cherubs revealed, their bodies

intertwined. They [the people] would be addressed: "Look! You are beloved by God as intensely as the love between man and woman."""

756. **Until this aroused...** Until *Shekhinah*, the *cherub*, was aroused, *Tif'eret* did not fully reveal Himself.

757. **literally, *in measure*...** In *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, through which the Infinite becomes finite.

758. **from the side of *Gevurah*** *Shekhinah* is influenced by this *sefirah*, located on the left.

759. **When the ancients arrived at this site...** At the stage of mystical ascent described in BT *Ḥagigah* 14b: "Rabbi Akiva said to them [his companions on the mystical journey: Ben Azzai, Ben Zoma, and Elisha son of Avuyah], 'When you arrive at the stones of pure marble, do not say, "Water, water!" For it is said, *One who speaks falsehood shall not remain in My sight* (Psalms 101:7).'"

"This site" may also allude to the verse: *God said, "Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it separate water from water*" (Genesis 1:6). This verse served as a focus of speculation and contemplation. See the various estimates of the size of the separation in *Ḥagigah* 15a, including that of Ben Zoma: "I was gazing between the upper and lower waters, and there is merely three fingers' breadth between them."

760. **First letter of all** The letter א (*alef*), which symbolizes the first *sefirah*, *Keter*. See *Bahir* 48 (70). Its shape (a line separating two points) symbolizes the *expanse* separating the upper and lower waters.

761. **pure vapor** קיטרא דכיא (*Qitra dakhya*), referring to *Keter*, the first *sefirah*, also known as אוירא דכיא (*avira dakhya*), "pure ether, air."

See above, page 108: "a cluster of vapor forming in formlessness." Cf. 3:135b (*IR*), 292b (*IZ*); Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 331–47; and *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:6: "Out of chaos He formed substance, making what is not into what is. He hewed enormous pillars out of ether that cannot be grasped."

762. **Waters carved...** Emanation assumes the form of the *sefirot*.

763. **So all the letters...** The letters of the alphabet permutate and spell out words, thereby constituting spiritual entities. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 4:12: "Two stones [letters] build two houses...."

764. **the house of the world** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence who includes all of creation. See above, page 173.

765. **So ב (*bet*) appears at the beginning** The initial letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, symbolizes the בית (*bayit*), "house," of the world.

766. **Division occurred on the second...** The upper waters were separated

from the lower waters on the second day of Creation, corresponding to the second of the seven lower *sefirot, Gevurah*, who administers strict justice and conflicts with divine love, *Ḥesed*. Hell and conflict emerged on the second day, according to *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6: "Why is *that it was good* not written concerning the second day? Rabbi Yoḥanan said..., 'Because on that day Hell was created....' Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'Because on that day conflict was created: *that it may separate water from water.'*... Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'Because the work of the water was not completed. Therefore *that it was good* is written twice on the third day: once for the work of the water [see Genesis 1:9–10] and once for the work of the [third] day [ibid., 11].'"

See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 4; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 18a, 46a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

767. **every division of opinion for the sake of heaven...** See M *Avot* 5:17: "Every conflict that is for the sake of heaven is destined to endure, while every conflict not for the sake of heaven is not destined to endure. Which conflict is for the sake of heaven? The conflict between Hillel and Shammai. Which is not for the sake of heaven? The conflict of Korah and his entire band."

768. **through it heaven endured...** *Tif'eret*, known as *Heaven*, endured as a result of the conflict between the *sefirot* on the right and left, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah. Yesod*, *the expanse*, is an extension of *Tif'eret* and shares His name. See above, pages 127–31.

769. **In a waterskin of lofts...** One of the *Zohar*'s neologistic gnomes, apparently alluding to the waters measured in heaven. See Liebes, *Peraqim*, 349. קטפירא (*Qatpira*)—perhaps an expansion of קטרא (*qitra*), "knot, bond, connection"—carries several meanings in the *Zohar*, including "waterskin," which here refers to the waters above. See Psalms 119:83; and Job 38:37: *Who can tilt the waterskins of the sky?*

The "lofts" are the heavens, as in Psalms 104:3, cited above (page 200): *Setting the rafters of His lofts in the waters*.

"By the pint" renders בקסטייהו (*be-qistaihu*), "in their pints." The singular, קסטא (*qista*), derives from the Greek *xestes*, a measure about the size of a pint. See Job 28:25, also cited above: *He meted the waters by measure*. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:5: "Ben Pazzi said, 'The upper waters exceed the lower waters by about thirty *xestes*.'"

770. ***The curtain shall serve you...*** *As the curtain* divides *between the Holy and the Holy of Holies*, so *Yesod, the expanse*, separates the upper and lower waters. See above, page 200; cf. *Zohar* 2:178b (*SdTs*).

771. **what is written next...** In the account of the third day of Creation.

772. ***under heaven*, literally!** In the *Zohar*, the term ממש (*mammash*), "really, literally," often implies one of the *sefirot*, the realm of ultimate reality. Here the allusion is to *Tif'eret*, known as *heaven*, beneath whom streams of emanation gather.

773. **to a place called *One*...** To *Shekhinah*, the lower sea, who joins Her partner, *Tif'eret*, thereby completing the unity of the *sefirot*.

774. ***All the rivers flow into the sea*** The streams of emanation flow into the sea of *Shekhinah*.

775. **the place of which is written: *My covenant*...** Rabbi Yeisa offers a different interpretation: *One place* implies *Yesod*, the divine phallus—symbolized by the covenant of circumcision, who pours into the sea of *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 137–41.

776. **Earth...** *Shekhinah*.

777. **Why is it called *dry land?*** How can *Shekhinah*, who is called Sea, also be *dry land*?

778. לחם עוני (***leḥem oni***), ***bread of affliction*...** Referring to *matstsah*, unleavened bread eaten on Passover.

779. **Since it is *impoverished bread*...** *Shekhinah* on Her own lacks the waters of emanation, so She is impoverished and dry until filled by the flow of *Yesod*.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 36a–b, 115b–116a; *Zohar* 1:157a; 2:40a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 112, 133.

780. **house of convergence above...** *Shekhinah*.

781. **the Righteous One** *Yesod* ("Foundation"), who channels the waters from above. He is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: יסוד עולם וצדיק (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*), which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

782. ***Say of the righteous one that he is good*** This verse links *righteous one* with the phrase כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that he is good*; so by analogy the same phrase in Genesis, כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that it was good*, also implies the *righteous one*, namely, *Yesod*. See BT *Yoma* 38b.

783. **the primordial light is called *good*** See Genesis 1:4: *God saw that the light was good*.

784. **on all of them is written...** In the biblical account of Creation, the statement *God saw that it was good* (or a variant) is included in the description of each of the six days except for the second. See above, note 766.

785. **This מקוה (*miqveh*), *gathering*, is Israel...** Rabbi Yose contends that the

word מקוה (*miqveh*) alludes to the central *sefirah*, *Tif'eret Yisra'el*, who is the third of the lower *sefirot* and associated with the third day of Creation.

786. ***He called Seas...*** *And the gathering of waters He called Seas*. This name fits *Yesod* since He includes the entire flow.

787. **Since He is distinguished...** Since *Yesod* is so full, the text highlights its creation on the third day by separating it from the first day with the account of the second day, in which the phrase כי טוב (*ki tov*), *that it was good*, does not appear. The third day is further distinguished by a double mention of *ki tov*.

788. **For on the third day...** *Shekhinah*, known as Earth, sprouted with life. The verse reads literally: *Let the earth sprout vegetation, seed-bearing plant, fruit tree bearing fruit of its kind with its seed in it on earth*.

789. **the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil...** Adam and Eve ate from this tree. In Kabbalah it symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who transmits either reward or punishment, depending on human behavior.

790. ***Bearing fruit*—the Righteous One** *Yesod*, the divine phallus. See *Zohar* 1:18b, 238a.

791. ***Of its kind...*** Souls are generated by *Yesod*. When a male infant is circumcised, he is linked with the source of his soul, the divine phallus.

On souls as fruit, see *Bahir* 14 (22); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489, 504; *Zohar* 1:15b, 19a, 59b–60a, 82b, 85b, 115a–b; 2:223b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 51; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69). Cf. Ibn Ezra on Psalms 1:3.

792. **Covenant of holiness...** *Yesod*, symbolized by the covenant of circumcision.

793. **Scions of faith...** בני מהימנותא (*Benei meheimanuta*). The faithful ripen on the tree of *Shekhinah*, each fruit still linked with its source, *Yesod*.

794. **the tree conceives...** *Shekhinah* gives birth to humans who resemble *Yesod*.

795. **the one who resembles his mother and father...** When a male infant is circumcised on the eighth day, he resembles the divine couple: *Shekhinah* (the eighth *sefirah* counting from *Binah*) and *Yesod* (the divine phallus). The ritual of circumcision involves two stages. First, in מילה (*milah*), "cutting," the foreskin is cut and removed, disclosing the mucous membrane, which is then torn down the center and pulled back, revealing the corona. The act of tearing and pulling back the membrane is called פריעה (*peri'ah*), "uncovering" the corona. See M *Shabbat* 19:6: "If one circumcises but does not uncover the circumcision, it is as if he has not circumcised." The removal of the foreskin links the infant with *Shekhinah*, while the act of *peri'ah* binds him with *Yesod*.

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 32a (*Tos*), 93b, 96b, 98b (*ST*); 2:3b, 40a, 125b; 3:91b;

Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 133; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (67).

796. **The verse should read...** The pronominal suffix ו (*vav*), indicating *its*, in the word זרעו (*zar'o*), *its seed*, appears superfluous.

797. **So that the word may be read...** The letter ו (*vav*) has a numerical value of six and indicates *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). This entire flow of emanation pours into *Shekhinah*, the Earth. See above, page 146.

798. ***all of them righteous,* indeed...** They resemble the divine couple, *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, known individually as צדיק (*Tsaddiq*), "Righteous One," and צדק (*Tsedeq*), "Righteousness," and together as צדיקים (*Tsaddiqim*), *Righteous*.

The verse from Isaiah, appearing frequently in the *Zohar*, reads in full: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever—sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*. In M *Sanhedrin* 10:1, it is cited to demonstrate that "all of Israel have a share in the world that is coming."

799. **The blessed Holy One illumines...** *Tif'eret* shines upon *Shekhinah*.

800. **the Righteous One** *Yesod*.

801. **the earth below** The physical universe.

802. **Righteousness...** *Shekhinah*, partner of *Yesod*, the Righteous One. She is also known as Lower Wisdom, daughter of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom").

803. ***The Engraved Letters of Rabbi El'azar*** A manual of letter permutations attributed to the son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai. This book, one of many housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*, is cited again in *Zohar* 3:175b, 285a, 286b; cf. 1:224a; 2:139b; 3:180b.

See Matt, *Zohar*, 25; and the comment by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, on *Zohar* 1:7a: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*... have been lost in the wanderings of exile... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

804. **clusters of letters, twenty-two clustered as one...** A veiled description of the permutation of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, one of the primary methods of kabbalistic contemplation. According to *Sefer Yetsirah* (2:2, 4–5), the world was created by a divine act of permutation: "Twenty-two elemental letters. He engraved them, carved them, weighed them, permuted them, and transposed them—forming with them everything formed and everything destined to be formed.... Twenty-two elemental letters. He set them in a wheel with 231 gates, turning forward and backward.... How did He permute them? א (*Alef*) with them all, all of them with א (*alef*); ב (*bet*) with them all, all of them with ב (*bet*); and so with all the letters, turning round and round, within 231 gates."

The "231 gates" represent the number of two-letter combinations that can be formed from the twenty-two letters, provided that the same letter is not

repeated. The permutations are often arranged in a table consisting of twenty-one rows, each containing eleven two-letter combinations (21 × 11 = 231). The biblical phrase cited here by the *Zohar* apparently indicates such a table: the word אך (*akh*) is numerically equivalent to twenty-one, the number of rows; the next word, בך (*bakh*), equals twenty-two, the number of letters in the alphabet; the final word, אל (*el*), is the opening combination of the middle row, according to a particular scheme of permutation (see the chart printed in *KP*). In this permutation the opening letters of the two-letter combinations "ascend" from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), while the second letters "descend" in reverse order.

See *OY; MM; Zohar* 2:9a–b, 132b; Isaac of Acre, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 385; Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah*, 108–24.

805. **The lip...** סיפתא (Sifta), apparently a playful reference to the tongue in the middle of the balance. The verse cited in the preceding line may refer to the middle row of a particular scheme of permutation (see previous note).

806. ***In measuring...*** The full verse reads: *You are not to commit corruption in justice—in measure, weight, or capacity*.

807. **mystery of שקל הקדש (*sheqel ha-qodesh*), *the weight of holiness...*** Referring to a cosmic scale or to *Shekhinah*. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 169.

808. ***Scales of justice...*** Referring to scales in the celestial palaces or to *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*. See *Zohar* 2:95b, 175b, 252a; *TZ*, *Haqdamah*, 17b; 5, 19b.

809. **spirit of holiness** Holy Spirit, often identified with *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:67a; 2:97b, 238b; 3:61a.

810. **fashioned *by the word of* the heavens above...** The heavens below were generated by the power of *Tif'eret*, "the heavens above," channeled through the river of *Yesod*. On breath, voice, and word, see *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:9.

811. **As we have explained...** See above, page 200. Cf. *Zohar* 2:98b, where *His lofts* refers to *Netsaḥ* and *Hod*.

812. **mystery of that river flowing forth...** *Yesod*, who is indicated by the phrase *bearing fruit*. See above, page 204. He flows into *Shekhinah*, the Earth, who is referred to in the conclusion of the verse from Genesis: *bearing fruit with its seed in it of its kind on earth*.

813. **מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*, spelled deficiently** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vav*s, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling is interpreted to mean that something was missing on the fourth day of Creation: the light of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, diminished, and this lack represents the potential for evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

See JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b: "On the fourth day [of the week, Wednesday] they would fast for infants, so that diphtheria not enter their mouths. *God said, 'Let*

there be מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*'—spelled מארת (*me'erat*), curse."

See Proverbs 3:33; BT *Ta'anit* 27b, *Ḥullin* 60b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:1a, 12a, 19b; 2:167b, 205a.

814. **the rigor of the seepage of judgment** *Shekhinah* is influenced by the left side of the *sefirot*, dominated by *Gevurah*, the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment"). On קילטא (*qilta*), "absorbing, seepage," see above, page 181: "dregs of an inkwell in seepage," and note 609.

815. **diphtheria...** This dread disease originates in Lilith, the demoness below the divine realm, who strikes children.

See *Zohar* 1:19b; 2:264b, 267b; and above, note 813.

816. **she depends upon...** Lilith depends on *Shekhinah*, last of the *sefirot*, who inclines toward Judgment.

817. **the expanse that is the sum...** *Yesod*, *the expanse of heaven*, includes the light of all the *sefirot* above Him and illumines *Shekhinah*, the light that does not shine.

818. **All those other species...** External powers are nourished by the dimmed light of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon. See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!"'"

819. **this expanse that does not shine...** *Shekhinah* does not shine with light of Her own and is dependent on *Tif'eret*. Her link to this source of light is indicated by Her names *expanse of heaven*, Kingdom of Heaven, and Land of Israel—since *Tif'eret* is known as both Heaven and Israel.

820. **missing the** ו (***vav***) See above, note 813.

821. **without** ו (***vav***)... The letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). Without the vivifying *vav*, the life force no longer flows through *Shekhinah* to the world.

See *Zohar* 1:12b, 241b; 2:137a; 3:176b.

822. **Lilith in the world** The demoness Lilith is the wife of Samael, and together they oversee *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side." See *Zohar* 1:148a (*ST*); 2:245a; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

823. ***Small and great alike are there... There ... There Lilith...*** The biblical word *there* signifies *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence. The deficient spelling of מארת (*me'orot*) indicates the potential for evil, symbolized by Lilith, who dwells

in the vicinity of *Shekhinah*.

824. **speculum... אספקלריא** (*Ispaqlarya*), "Glass, mirror, lens, speculum." See BT *Yevamot* 49b: "All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines]." Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face."

Shekhinah is the "speculum [or: mirror] that does not shine on its own" but rather reflects the other *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:183a; 2:23b. The deficient spelling of מארת (*me'orot*) indicates the lack of independent light.

825. **מארת** (***me'orot***) *Shekhinah*. See above, note 813.

826. **Written Torah** *Tif'eret*.

827. **the sun...** *Yesod*, *the covenant*, illumines *Shekhinah*.

On *Yesod* as sun, see *Zohar* 1:9a; 2:3b, 136b–137b; 3:12a, 225b; Moses de León, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 381; idem, *Shushan Edut*, 338; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 50 (61).

828. ***The ark of the covenant*—precisely...** *Shekhinah* is *the ark* housing *the covenant*, *Yesod*, and She thereby inherits His name: אדון (*Adon*), *Lord*.

See *Zohar* 1:2a, 59b, 228b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 75 (95).

829. **the mystery of אל״ף, דל״ת, נו״ן, יו״ד** (***alef, dalet, nun, yod***) *Shekhinah* is called אדני (*Adonai*), "My Lord," because of Her link with *Yesod*, called אדון (*Adon*), *Lord*. See *Zohar* 2:235b.

830. **Righteous One and Righteousness** *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:32a (*Tos*), 49a; 3:287a.

Yesod ("Foundation") is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*), which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

Shekhinah, partner of Righteous One, is called Righteousness.

831. **Stars and constellations...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Resh Lakish said, 'There are seven heavens.... The one called רקיע (*raqi'a*), expanse, is that in which the sun, moon, stars, and constellations are set.'"

Here *the expanse* symbolizes *Yesod*, known as Covenant. See *Zohar* 1:8b, 17a–b; 2:2a, 246a.

832. ***Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), suspended...** The deficient spelling of מארת (*me'orot*) indicates a lack, as in the diminution of the moon. See above, notes 813 and 818.

833. **Once it is written...** In the following verse, the word is spelled out more completely (מאורת [*me'orot*], with a *vav*), thus indicating the fuller light of the sun, symbolizing *Tif'eret* and *Yesod*. See *Minḥat Shai*, ad loc. The ellipsis points at the end of this sentence indicate a lacuna in the text, as attested by several of the manuscripts (C9, V7, 02).

834. ***For seasons...*** The full verse reads: *God said, "Let there be lights in the expanse of heaven to separate the day from the night, that they may be for signs and for seasons, for days and years*."

835. **linked with His holy name** Creation was enacted through the power of the divine name.

836. **seven planets...** The seven planets correspond to the seven lower *sefirot*, known as רקיעין (*reqi'in*), "heavens, expanses."

837. **two worlds...** Though the statement could refer to the physical world and the spiritual world (see *Zohar* 1:38a), the continuation of the passage concerns the two worlds within the *sefirot: Binah* and *Shekhinah*, known as upper and lower kings (above, pages 170–73).

See *Zohar* 1:153b, 158b, 248b; 2:22a, 53b; 3:145b, 285b, 297b.

838. **It is written...** This is not a biblical verse but rather a liturgical formula. See *Bahir* 80 (111), 88 (127).

839. **the world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however,

"the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

840. ***Tif'eret Yisra'el*** "Beauty of Israel," the central *sefirah*.

841. ***the ark of the covenant*** *Shekhinah*, the last *sefirah*, who houses *Yesod*, *the covenant*.

842. **site of ויעודא** (***vi'uda***), **convening...** *Binah*, source and perfection of all.

843. ***King*, above; *king*, below** *Binah* and *Shekhinah*.

844. **the river flowing forth from Eden...** *Yesod*, who conveys the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah*, known as Earth.

845. **the moon...** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

846. **raising plants and trees** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 10:6: "Rabbi Simon said, 'You cannot find a single blade of grass [Oxford MS 147 adds: 'below'] that does not have a constellation in the sky, striking it and telling it: "Grow!"'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:251a (*Hash*); 2:171b; 3:86a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 181, 294; idem, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 135; Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 2:10.

847. **wardens of judgment...** Harsh powers. The Zoharic term גרדיני (*gardinei*), "wardens, guardians," derives from the Castilian *guardián*. See Corominas, *Diccionario*, 3:246–48.

848. **crag dwellers** מדבי טרטשי (*Mi-devei tarteshei*). *Tarteshei* may derive from טרש (*teresh*), "crag, stony ground," here the hiding place of the demons. Alternatively, it could be a corruption of תיאטראות (*ti'at-ra'ot*), "theaters, spectacles" (see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 552a, 1663a), in which case the phrase would mean: "crowds from the stadium," "those of the theaters."

The point of the saying is that the overflow from *Shekhinah* ("the king's palace") also energizes demonic powers, who run rampant, threatening innocent children. At any moment, Lilith, Mother of the Demons, may strike with diphtheria.

849. ***God placed them in the expanse of heaven*** *to shine upon earth*.

850. **When all of them are present...** When the *sefirot* gather in *Yesod*.

851. **Then the moon diminishes herself...** See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself."'" Cf. *Zohar* 3:191a.

852. **whatever he conveys...** Whatever *Tif'eret* receives from above is intended for *Shekhinah*.

853. **seven days of Creation** The seven *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Shekhinah*, each of which manifests on one day of the primal week of Creation. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 11:1.

854. **seven days of מלואים (*millu'im*), investiture...** The weeklong ceremony of installing the priests described in Leviticus 8. The literal meaning of the word מלואים (*millu'im*), "filling," alludes to the restoration of the full brightness of the moon (and of *Shekhinah*). See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 11:4.

On the phrase "rendered firm and fragrant," see above, note 623.

855. **not tainted by the evil serpent...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:2: "*A whisperer separates an intimate.... A whisperer*—[this is the serpent] for he whispered rebelliously against his Creator, saying: *You surely will not die* (Genesis 3:4). *Separates an* אלוף (*aluf*), *intimate*—for he separated the אלוף (*Aluf*), Chief, of the world [he caused *Shekhinah* to depart] and was immediately cursed." Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:7.

The serpent's advice led to the eating of the Tree of Knowledge and the separation of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the diminution of the moon.

856. **These are the lower waters...** The waters emerging from the *sefirot* are a continuation of the upper waters within the world of the *sefirot*. Both generate souls. See *Zohar* 1:46b.

857. **The soul of Adam...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Tazri'a* 2: "Rabbi El'azar son of Pedat says, '... [Of the six things created on the sixth day,] the soul of Adam was created first, as is said: *Let earth bring forth a living soul* (Genesis 1:24). *A living soul* means the soul of Adam, as is said: *The human became a living soul*."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; *Zohar* 3:39b.

858. **messengers...** Angels, symbolized by birds, who manifest in human form, that is, *upon the earth*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Devarim Rabbah* 8:2; *Zohar* 1:13a, 46b; 3:39b.

859. **only in genuine spirit...** Without assuming bodily form.

860. **So of these is not written: *after its kind*...** Of those angels who *fly*

upon earth, i.e., who appear in human form on earth, the biblical text does not say: *after its kind*, since by appearing on earth, they change their *kind*. The phrase *after its kind* is reserved for angels of genuine spirit, who never appear in physical form and so never change their *kind*.

861. ***From there it divide***s The full verse reads: *A river issues from Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides and becomes four stream-heads*. Once the flow of emanation reaches *Shekhinah*, *the garden*, it branches off into various kinds of angels.

See *Zohar* 3:40a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:556–57.

862. ***God created the great sea serpents*** The verse continues: *and every soul of the living being who glides, with which the waters swarmed after their kind, and every winged bird after its kind*.

863. **Leviathan and his mate** See BT *Bava Batra* 74b: "*God created the great sea serpents*.... Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'This is Leviathan the elusive serpent and Leviathan the twisting serpent [see Isaiah 27:1].... Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Everything that the blessed Holy One created in His world, He created male and female. Even Leviathan the elusive serpent and Leviathan the twisting serpent He created male and female, and if they mated with another, they would destroy the entire world. What did the blessed Holy One do? He castrated the male and killed the female, salting her for the righteous in the world to come, as is written: *He will slay the dragon of the sea* (ibid.).'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 510; *Zohar* 1:46b.

864. **that *living being* gliding... Night** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence who spreads over the entire world. The word רומשת (*romeset*), *glides*, is here identified with רמש (*remesh*), "evening."

On *Shekhinah* as *ḥayyah*, see Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 508–9; *Zohar* 1:12b, 242a; 2:48b, 177b–178a (*SdTs*); 3:46b.

865. **for waters nourish them** Emanation flowing from the *sefirot* nourishes the souls emerging from *Shekhinah*.

866. **When South arrives...** The waters within *Shekhinah* tend to congeal due to the influence of *Gevurah*, or *Din* (severe "Judgment"), associated with the North. These waters are released through the warmth of *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of flowing love, associated with the South.

See *Zohar* 1:29b, 152a, 161b; 2:30a; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 341.

867. **Ships of the sea...** Powers extending from *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:40b.

868. ***For a bird of heaven will carry the sound...*** The verse is understood as alluding to angels in *Devarim Rabbah* 6:10; *Zohar* 1:92a; 3:138a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 203. Cf. above, page 213.

869. **All of them are six-winged...** All the angels have six wings (see Isaiah

6:2), corresponding to the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, who together constitute the supernal paradigm, known as *Ze'eir Anpin*, the Impatient One.

870. **in six** In six glides, playing on BT *Berakhot* 4b: "A *tanna* taught: 'Michael [reaches his destination] in one [glide], Gabriel in two, Elijah in four, and the Angel of Death in eight—in time of plague, however, in one.'"

871. **conveying them above** Where they are recorded and weighed.

872. ***for a bird of heaven will carry the sound*** *a winged creature will report the word* (cited above).

873. **the verse should read: השורצת (*ha-shoretset*), *who swarms...*** Matching the wording in the preceding verse (Genesis 1:20): *Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls*.

874. **But as we say: 'Night רמש (*remash*), dusked'** Rabbi Ḥizkiyah refers to the idiom of the *Zohar*. See 2:36b, 171a, 173a, 188a; 3:21a, 149b, 166b; cf. above, note 864.

875. ***when all creatures...*** The full verse reads: *You make darkness and it is night, when all creatures of the forest creep*. Here in the *Zohar*, the *creatures of the forest* are the angels singing at night while *Shekhinah* reigns.

876. **opening with song in three watches...** The night is divided into three watches, during each of which a different choir of angels sings.

See BT *Berakhot* 3b; *Zohar* 1:230b; 2:195b–196a; *ZḤ 17d* (*MhN*), 88a (*MhN*, *Rut*).

877. ***O you, who call upon YHVH, be not silent!*** The verse begins: *Upon your walls, O Jerusalem, I have set watchmen, who shall never be silent day or night*.

878. **I was gazing** Upon the secrets of Creation. See the testimony of Shim'on son of Zoma (*Tosefta*, *Ḥagigah* 2:6): "I was gazing upon the act of Creation, and not even a handbreadth separates the upper waters from the lower waters."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 2:4; BT *Ḥagigah* 15a; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a–b.

879. **above and below trembled** On heavenly opposition to human creation, see BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav: 'When the blessed Holy One sought to create the human being, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and asked them, "Is it your desire that we make the human being in our image?" They responded, "Master of the Universe, what are his deeds?" He replied, "Such and such are his deeds." They exclaimed, "Master of the Universe, *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?* (Psalms 8:5)." He stretched out His little finger among them and burned them. The same thing happened with a second company. The third company said to Him, "Master of the Universe, the former

ones who spoke in Your presence—what did they accomplish? The entire world is Yours! Whatever You wish to do in Your world, do it." When He reached the members of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the Tower of Babel], whose deeds were corrupt, they [the angels] said to Him, "Master of the Universe, didn't the first ones speak well?" He responded, "*Till your old age, I am He; till you turn grey, I will carry you* [*I have made and I will bear; I will carry and deliver*] (Isaiah 46:4)."""

See *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*, Version 2 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:412): "At first, Adam was created extending from earth to heaven. When the ministering angels saw him, they trembled and recoiled from him. Immediately they presented themselves before the blessed Holy One and said, 'Master of the world! There are two powers in the world: one in heaven and one on earth.' What did the blessed Holy One do at that moment? He placed His hand on him and reduced him to one thousand cubits."

880. **The sixth day...** The *sefirah* of *Yesod*, sixth of the lower seven *sefirot*, the cosmic week of Creation.

881. **the supernal will...** *Keter*, the first *sefirah*.

882. **the origin of all lights...** *Ḥokhmah*, first *sefirah* to emerge from *Keter*.

883. **the gate of the East...** The four directions (east, south, north, west) symbolize *Tif'eret, Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Shekhinah*, respectively. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 3.

884. **from the head** From the highest *sefirot*.

885. **North aroused and expanded...** *Gevurah*, stimulated by *Tif'eret*, seeks to join *Shekhinah*, the West.

886. **Afterward South approached...** Once *Gevurah* joins *Shekhinah*, so does *Ḥesed*. Thus South and North (*Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*) surround Her, hedging the garden of *Shekhinah*.

887. **East draws near West** *Tif'eret* approaches *Shekhinah*.

888. ***Let us make a human being...*** *Shekhinah* invites the other *sefirot* to join in creating the human being, who will reflect all dimensions of the divine realm. See *Zohar* 1:38a. Rabbi Shim'on thus explains the plural construction *Let us make*, which perplexed many biblical readers. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:3, where various answers are offered to the question: "Whom did He consult?"

889. **Adam emerged from the site of the Temple** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 12: "He created him from a pure, holy site. From where did He take him? From the site of the Temple."

See 2 Enoch 30:13; *Bereshit Rabbah* 14:8 (and Theodor, ad loc.); JT *Nazir* 7:2, 56b; *Tanḥuma, Pequdei* 3; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 2:7; *Zohar* 1:130b, 205b; 2:23b, 24b; 3:83a.

Here the Temple symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence dwelling there.

890. **these lower beings...** The angels who emerged from the divine realm.

891. **the secret of the name amounting to אדם (*adam*)...** The divine name יהוה (*YHVH*) spelled out according to its letters— יוד (*yod*), הא (*he*), ואו (*vav*), הא (*he*)—whose *gimatriyya* is forty-five, equal to אדם (*adam*).

892. **א (*alef*), beyond, beyond** א (*Alef*) symbolizes *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*.

893. **ם (final *mem*), who is למרבה (*le-marbeh*), *for the abundance of, dominion*** This is the only time in the entire Bible that a final ם (*mem*) appears out of place, before the end of the word—a peculiarity that stimulated the rabbinic mind. See BT *Sanhedrin* 94a; *Soferim* 7:3; *Midrash Ḥaserot Vi-Yterot* 185 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:302); *Minḥat Shai*, ad loc.

Here the ם (*mem*), shaped like a house, signifies *Binah*, who houses the lower *sefirot*. See *ZḤ* 5c (*SO*); cf. *Zohar* 2:127a–b; 3:156b, 285b.

On the esoteric nature of the ם (final *mem*), see BT *Shabbat* 104a: "The Rabbis told Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi: 'Children have now come to the house of study and said things unparalleled even in the days of Joshua son of Nun:... Open מ (*mem*) and closed ם (*mem*): open saying and sealed saying.'"

894. **lower ד (*dalet*), concealed in the West** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*, who is דלה (*dallah*), "poor," before She receives the rich flow of emanation from the higher *sefirot*. See BT *Bava Batra* 25a: "Rabbi Abbahu said, '*Shekhinah* is in the West.'"

895. **When these letters descended...** Through the creative power of the letters אדם (*adam*), an androgynous being emerged, reflecting the male and female aspects of the *sefirot*.

896. **until He cast sleep upon him...** See Genesis 2:21: *YHVH Elohim cast a deep sleep upon the human and he slept*. On the Temple, see above, note 889.

897. **The blessed Holy One sawed him...** God split the original androgynous human into two: Adam and Eve. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'" The word צלע (*tsela*) in Genesis 2:21, often translated as "rib," also means "side."

See Exodus 26:20; BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:2b, 47a, 48b; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

On the adorning of Eve, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 18:1: "*YHVH Elohim fashioned the rib* (Genesis 2:22).... It was taught in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai: 'He adorned her like a bride and brought her to him.'"

Cf. BT *Berakhot* 61a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Menasia expounded, 'Why is it written: *YHVH Elohim fashioned the rib* (Genesis 2:22)? This teaches that the blessed Holy One braided Eve's hair and brought her to Adam.'"

898. **In the books of the ancients...** Alluding to the tenth-century text *Alfa Beita de-Ven Sira*, 232–34, according to which Lilith was Adam's original wife. Insisting on her equality, Lilith refused to lie beneath Adam and flew away.

See *Zohar* 1:19b; 3:19a; *ZḤ* 16c (*MhN*); Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 356–61.

אתעברת (*It'abbarat*) is rendered here "was impregnated... and taken away," since the Aramaic word conveys both meanings. According to *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26, after Cain killed Abel, Adam saw no reason to have any more children, so he separated from Eve, whereupon maleficent spirits copulated with him.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11; BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:54b, 2:231b, 3:76b.

899. ***fitting helper...*** See Genesis 2:20: *But for Adam no fitting helper was found*.

900. **What is *a helper*? סמך (*Semakh*), A support** *Targum Onqelos* renders עזר (*ezer*) *a helper* (Genesis 2:18, 20) by the Aramaic סמך (*semakh*), "support, help."

901. **Till finally...** Until Eve was created to replace Lilith.

902. **Adam was last of all...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 38a: "Our Rabbis taught: 'Adam was created on the eve of Sabbath. Why? ... So he could immediately go to the banquet. A parable: A king of flesh and blood built palaces and decorated them, prepared a banquet, and only then brought in the guests.'"

903. ***for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth...*** *and there was no human to till the soil*.

904. **magnificent trees planted later, still tiny** The nascent *sefirot*, seedlings in the divine mind, planted later in the field of *Shekhinah*.

905. **created side by side** As an androgynous being with two faces in opposite directions. See above, note 897.

906. ***YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth...*** The upper *sefirot* had not flowed into *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*, so the union was incomplete.

907. **When the one below...** When the androgynous human was split in two (Adam and Eve), and they turned face-to-face, then the union above was actualized.

908. **How do we know?** How do we know that actions on earth affect the divine realm?

909. **From the *Dwelling...*** The Tabernacle in the desert. The passive construction, *The Dwelling was erected* (instead of the active, *Moses erected the Dwelling*), alludes to the erection of a heavenly Dwelling, *Shekhinah*.

See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 12:12: "Rabbi Simon said, 'When the blessed Holy One told Israel to erect the Dwelling, he hinted to the angels that they, too, construct a Dwelling. When it was erected below, it was erected above.'" See *Tanḥuma, Naso* 18; *Zohar* 2:143a, 159a; 3:3b.

910. ***there was no human...*** The verse concludes: *for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth, and there was no human to till the soil*. Since Adam and Eve could not face each other, the human being was incomplete.

911. **up to this point in the portion... the Companions have commented...** The ס (*samekh*) under discussion appears in Genesis 2:21: *He took one of his sides*, ויסגר (*va-yisgor*), *and He closed up, the flesh in its place*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 17:6: "Rabbi Ḥanina son of Rav Adda said, 'From the beginning of the book until here, no ס (*samekh*) appears. Once she was created, סטן (*Satan*), Satan, was created with her. Now, if someone cites for you: "הסובב (*Ha-sovev*), *Circling* (Genesis 2:11, 13, an earlier occurrence of the letter ס [*samekh*])," answer him: "The text refers there to rivers [and not the creation of the human being]."'"

In contrast to this demonic interpretation, Rabbi Shim'on claims that the ס (*samekh*) signifies help. The root סמך (*smkh*) means "to support," and *Targum Onqelos* renders עזר (*ezer*) *a helper* (Genesis 2:18) by the Aramaic סמך (*semakh*). With Eve's help, the human couple united face-to-face, thereby stimulating a similar union above between the divine couple *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

912. **The world of which we have spoken...** The divine realm depends upon the human realm.

913. ***A flow welled up*...the desire of female...** *Shekhinah* is stimulated by humans below and in turn stimulates *Tif'eret*.

914. **from earth below action is aroused above** A general principle of Kabbalah. See *Zohar* 1:77b, 82b, 86b, 88a, 164a, 244a; 2:31b, 265a; 3:92a, 110b.

915. **Similarly, smoke of sacrifice...** The ritual of sacrifice unites the *sefirot*.

916. **Similarly above...** In the divine realm *Shekhinah* arouses the passion of *Tif'eret*.

917. **Assembly of Israel...** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

918. ***The tree of life...*** **five hundred years...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:6: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Il'ai said, 'The Tree of Life extends over a journey of five hundred years, and all the waters of Creation branch off beneath it.'"

For Rabbi Abba, the five hundred years symbolize the five *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Hod*, which channel the emanation to *Yesod*, *the tree of life*. See *Zohar* 1:18a, 78b (*ST*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69).

919. **precisely in the middle of the garden...** *Yesod*, *the tree of life*, is planted in the middle of the garden, *Shekhinah*. Similarly, *Yesod* is the river of emanation flowing into the ocean of *Shekhinah*, from whom water streams to the powers beneath Her.

920. **Just as they emerge...** The waters emanate from *Binah*, the Divine Mother, and flow through the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, the mountains of pure balsam. In rabbinic tradition thirteen rivers of balsam await the righteous in the world that is coming.

See BT *Ta'anit* 25a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 62:2; cf. *Zohar* 1:4b; 2:87b, 127a; 3:91a, 181a.

921. **It is not in the middle** According to Genesis 3:3, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil was planted in the middle of the Garden of Eden. However, as we have seen, the Tree of Life was planted precisely in the middle of the garden. Furthermore, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is not precisely in the middle but rather tends toward the left side of the *sefirot*. If She is not in the middle, how can She know the two extremes?

922. **Since it suckles...** *Shekhinah* is called *the tree of knowledge of good and evil* because She imbibes from both sides of the *sefirot*, the sweet right side and the bitter left side.

923. **All those plants...** Apparently offshoots of the right and left sides.

924. ***cedars of Lebanon...*** **The six days of Creation...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, which began as saplings in the higher sefirotic realm and were later transplanted into *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1: "*YHVH Elohim planted a garden in Eden* (Genesis 2:8).... As is written: *The trees of YHVH drink their fill, the cedars of Lebanon that He planted*. Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'They resembled antennae of grasshoppers, and the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them in the Garden of Eden.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 504; *Zohar* 1:31a, 37a; 2:127b; 3:4b, 217b; and below.

925. **From here on, ס (*samekh*)...** See above, notes 897 and 911. Eve and Adam were attached side to side, or back-to-back, until God split them, enabling them to unite face-to-face.

926. **Similarly, the worlds were adjoined...** The *sefirot* were originally united in their source. Alternatively, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* were united as an androgyne, back-to-back. Once the *sefirot* emerged individually, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* reunited face-to-face. See above, note 924.

927. ***sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*** The verse opens: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever*.

928. **no other creature engaged...** Adam and Eve had no human parents.

929. ***On the day of your planting, you become debased...*** The word תשגשגי (*te-sagsegi*), *you make it grow*, is interpreted as if deriving from the root סיג (*sig*), "dross." Cf. *Vayiqra Rabbah* 18:3; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 7:4.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:2: "Rabbi El'azar son of Azariah said, 'Three wonders were performed on that day: On that very day they were created; on that very day they engaged in sexual union; on that very day they generated offspring.'" According to BT *Sanhedrin* 38b, "In the seventh hour [of the first day] Eve was joined with him... In the tenth hour he decayed [i.e., sinned]."

See Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 63b: "Because Adam did not want to wait until Sabbath eve [to unite with Eve]... evil and death came upon his descendants." According to BT *Ketubbot* 62b (in the name of Shemu'el), Sabbath eve is the appropriate time for scholars to engage in sexual union. In the *Zohar*, the union of the devotee of Torah with his wife on the eve of Sabbath symbolizes and stimulates the union of the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The human couple thereby engenders a holy body and draws down a holy soul.

See *Zohar* 1:50a, 112a (*MhN*); 2:63b, 89a–b; 3:49b, 78a.

930. **We have learned...** See above, note 924.

931. **uprooted, transplanted, fittingly arrayed** Split apart and then reunited face-to-face.

932. ***YHVH Elohim commanded*** [***the human, saying...***] The passage continues: "*From every tree of the garden you are free to eat; but as for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, do not eat from it, for on the day you eat from it, you will surely die*" (Genesis 2:16–17).

933. ***"Command* means idolatry; *saying*—this is woman...** A Zoharic revision of a midrashic interpretation found in *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:6: "*YHVH Elohim commanded the human, saying, 'From every tree of the garden you are free to eat.'* Rabbi Levi said, 'He issued him six commands. *He commanded*, concerning idolatry...; *YHVH*, concerning blasphemy...; *Elohim*, these are the judges...; *the human*, this is murder...; *saying*, concerning גלוי עריות (*gillui arayot*), exposing nudity (fornication)— *Saying: If a man divorces his wife* (Jeremiah 3:1); *From every tree of the garden you are free to eat*, commanding him concerning theft.'"

In this midrash the word *saying* connotes "adultery" (based on the verse *Saying: If a man divorces his wife* [literally: *woman*]), while for the *Zohar*, *saying* alludes to the divine woman, *Shekhinah*.

See BT *Sanhedrin* 56a–b; *Zohar* 2:83b, 239b; 3:27a.

934. **everything was permitted...** Adam could partake of anything in the garden as long as he preserved its unity with all.

935. **Abraham ate, Isaac...** All of the patriarchs partook of *Shekhinah*, the Tree of Knowledge, without separating Her from the other *sefirot*. See the expression "feasted their eyes on *Shekhinah*" (*Pesiqta de-Rav Ka-hana* 26:9).

936. **a tree of death...** See Genesis 2:17. According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is called the Tree of Death because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued. Here *Shekhinah* is given this name because anyone who partakes of Her alone separates Her from the other *sefirot*, thereby cutting off the vivifying flow of emanation, which is replaced by a deadly potion.

On the nature of Adam and Eve's sin, see *Zohar* 1:12b, 51a–53b, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373–76. On the relation between *Shekhinah* and the demonic, see Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 189–92; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:376–79.

937. **separates saplings** פריש נטיעין (*Pareish neti'in*). See BT *Ḥagigah* 14b, the famous account of the four rabbis who engaged in mystical search: "Four entered פרדס (*pardes*), an orchard [whence: paradise]: Ben Azzai, Ben Zoma, Aḥer, and Rabbi Akiva.... Ben Azzai glimpsed and died.... Ben Zoma glimpsed and went mad.... Aḥer קיצץ בנטיעות (*qitstsets ba-neti'ot*), severed the saplings. Rabbi Akiva emerged in peace."

See *Tosefta*, *Ḥagigah* 2:2; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77c; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:4; *Devarim Rabbah* 7:4.

Aḥer, "the other," is the nickname of Elisha son of Avuyah, the most famous heretic in rabbinic literature. The metaphor of "severing the saplings" may allude to his conversion to Gnostic dualism. In Kabbalah "severing the saplings" refers to splitting the unity of the *sefirot*, specifically separating *Shekhinah* from the others.

938. **'Adam stretched his foreskin'** See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'He [Adam] stretched his foreskin.'" The phrase refers to epispasm, an attempt to disguise circumcision by cutting and pulling forward the loose skin of the penis to form a partial foreskin. According to rabbinic tradition, Adam was one of those rare individuals born circumcised. See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 2; *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5.

939. **he separated the holy covenant...** Adam separated *Yesod*—the divine phallus, symbolized by the covenant of circumcision—from *Shekhinah*.

940. **the foreskin...** Symbolizing the demonic. See *Zohar* 1:13a, 18a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (68).

941. ***But from the fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden*** The verse continues: *God said: "Do not eat from it and do not touch it, lest you die*." Cf. Genesis 2:17.

942. **this is woman** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "*But from the fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden*. It has been taught: Rabbi Ze'eira said, '*But from the fruit of the tree*—this *tree* means man, who is compared to a tree, as is said: *Man is a tree of the field* (Deuteronomy 20:19). *In the middle of the garden—the middle of the garden* is a euphemism for what lies in the middle of the body. *In the middle of the garden*—in the middle of the woman, for *garden* means woman, who is compared to a garden, as is said: *A locked garden is my sister, bride* (Song of Songs 4:12).'"

Here *woman* alludes to the divine woman, *Shekhinah*. See above, note 933.

943. ***Her feet descend to death*** The verse alludes to the fatal aspect of *Shekhinah* and the demonic realm that lies below Her. See *Zohar* 1:221b; 2:48b.

944. **On this one there is fruit...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the Tree of Knowledge, yields fruit, unlike the demonic realm, which is barren. See *Zohar* 2:103a.

945. ***A river issues from Eden...*** The flow of emanation proceeds from the highest *sefirot* to *Shekhinah*, *the garden*. Below Her, the unity of the divine yields multiplicity.

946. **all is one...** Both interpretations are valid, since the demonic power, which activates the evil impulse, appeared on an actual *serpent*. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

947. **At that moment Samael descended...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 13: "Samael... took his band and descended and saw all the creatures created by the blessed Holy One. He determined that the most cunningly evil was the serpent, as is said: *Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field that YHVH Elohim had made*. He [the serpent] looked like a camel, and he [Samael] mounted and rode him."

See *Zohar* 1:64a, 137b, 146a, 153a.

948. **through wisdom...** Through shrewdness. See *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 3:1. The primordial tree symbolizes Adam and Eve, who are modeled

on the sefirotic tree.

949. **until another holy tree arrived...** Jacob, who symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, took blessings away from his brother, Esau, thereby depriving Samael, Esau's heavenly guardian, of blessing above.

See *Zohar* 1:145b; Moses de León, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 45–46.

950. **For Jacob was patterned on Adam...** See BT *Bava Metsi'a* 84a: "The beauty of our father Jacob resembled the beauty of Adam." The *Zohar* transforms the Talmudic comparison into an affirmation of identity. Jacob manifested Adam's beauty and by his bold act rectified the demonic flaw of Adam's sin.

See *Bava Batra* 58a; *Zohar* 1:142b, 145b–146a, 222a.

951. **Jacob took what was his...** The blessings that Jacob took from Esau belonged to Jacob, having originally been taken away from Adam (Jacob's paradigm) by Samael (Esau's heavenly guardian). Before Jacob's reunion with Esau, *Jacob was left alone, and a man wrestled with him until the rising of dawn*. This *man* is identified by Rabbi Ḥama son of Rabbi Ḥanina (*Bereshit Rabbah* 77:3) as "the Prince of Esau," and in *Tanḥuma, Vayishlaḥ* 8, he is explictly named Samael.

952. **evil impulse, Angel of Death** See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'" See above, note 946.

953. ***End of all flesh...*** Angel of Death. See *Zohar* 1:54a.

954. ***He said to the woman, "אף*** (*Af*), ***Really...*** The verse reads: *He said to the woman, "Did God really say: 'Do not eat from any of the trees in the garden'?"*

955. **He opened with אף** (*af*)... See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:2: "Rabbi Ḥanina son of Sansan said, 'Four opened with אף (*af*) [which has a range of meanings] and perished in אף (*af*), "wrath": the serpent, the chief baker [Genesis 40:16], Korah's band [Numbers 16:14], and Haman [Esther 5:12].'"

956. ***Elohim* is its name...** *The tree of knowledge*, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, is called *Elohim*.

957. **it would have been correct** *Shekhinah* channels the vivifying flow of emanation beyond the sefirotic realm, and so the world is brought into being.

958. **The blessed Holy One ate from this tree...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:4: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a of Sikhnin said in the name of Rabbi Levi: 'He [the serpent] began defaming his Creator, saying: "From this tree He ate and created the world. Then He said to you, '*Do not eat from it*,' so that you not create other worlds. Every person hates his fellow craftsman."'"

959. ***Even though God said...*** Usually translated: "*Did God really say: 'Do*

not eat from any of the trees in the garden'?" See above, page 225.

960. ***From every tree of the garden you are free to eat*** The passage reads: *YHVH Elohim commanded the human, saying "From every tree of the garden you are free to eat; but as for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, do not eat from it, for on the day you eat from it, you will surely die*" (Genesis 2:16–17).

961. **He permitted him all of them** If eaten in oneness. See above, page 222.

962. **We have learned...** See above, page 222; and *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:6: "*YHVH Elohim commanded the human, saying, 'From every tree of the garden you are free to eat.'* Rabbi Levi said, 'He issued him six commands. *He commanded*, concerning idolatry...; *YHVH*, concerning blasphemy...; *Elohim*, these are the judges...; *the human*, this is murder...; *saying*, concerning גלוי עריות (*gillui arayot*), exposing nudity (fornication)—*Saying: If a man divorces his wife* (Jeremiah 3:1); *From every tree of the garden you are free to eat*, commanding him concerning theft.'"

See BT *Sanhedrin* 56a–b; *Zohar* 2:239b; 3:27a.

963. **Now, how many people...** Since Adam and Eve were the only inhabitants of the earth, what need was there for these laws?

964. **all touched upon this tree...** All the various commands implied by the verse concerned *the tree of knowledge*, namely *Shekhinah*.

965. **Whoever takes it by itself...** Whoever separates *Shekhinah* from the other *sefirot* becomes prey to powers of judgment beneath Her. The phrase "exposing nudity" is the literal rendering of the Hebrew term גלוי עריות (*gillui arayot*), fornication.

966. **Idolatry toward those empowered princes** In separating *Shekhinah* from the other *sefirot*, one becomes fixated on Her and the powers beneath Her, thus committing idolatry.

967. **Murder engendered by this tree...** Murder has its roots in *Shekhinah*, who is known as the Tree of Death and derives from *Gevurah*, the *sefirah* of harshness on the left side. See Genesis 2:17; above, page 222.

According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is called the Tree of Death, because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued.

968. **She is Woman...** *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine. See BT *Qiddushin* 70b: "So said Shemu'el: 'One should greet a woman only via her husband.'" By invoking *Shekhinah* alone, without Her husband, *Tif'eret*, one commits sexual sin in the sefirotic world.

969. **it is forbidden to be alone with a woman...** See M *Qiddushin* 4:12; BT *Qiddushin* 81a; *Sanhedrin* 21a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 232–

33. Cf. *Zohar* 1:67a.

970. **Look, I touched this tree...** Based on the account in *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 13 and *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 1. Although the last sentence here describes the serpent's action, it derives from the tradition in *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* that when Adam informed Eve of the divine command not to eat from the tree, he added the restriction against touching it.

971. ***The woman saw that the tree was good*** The verse continues: *for eating and a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was desirable to contemplate. She took of its fruit and ate, and also gave to her husband beside her, and he ate*.

972. **as is said: *like the fragrance of a field blessed by* YHVH** The field of *Shekhinah*, also known as the Holy Apple Orchard.

See BT *Ta'anit* 29b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:22; *Tanḥuma, Toledot* 11; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 35–37; *Zohar* 1:85a–b, 122a, 128b, 142b, 143b, 224b, 249b; 2:60b, 61b; 3:74a, 84a, 133b (*IR*), 135b (*IR*), 286b–287a, 288a (*IZ*); Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 365.

973. ***The eyes of both of them were opened*** *and they knew that they were naked*. Rabbi Yehudah's point is that only after eating from the tree could they see. How could Eve see before eating?

974. **the measure of the tree... *She saw the Woman*, precisely!** Eve beheld a vision of *Shekhinah*. שיעורא (*Shi'ura*), "Measure," recalls שיעור קומה (*shi'ur qomah*), "the measure of the stature," a term describing the mystical vision of the divine form, also known as גוף השכינה (*guf ha-shekhinah*), "the body of *Shekhinah*."

Here the biblical phrase, ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *The woman saw*, is read hyperliterally, according to the exact word order: ותרא האשה (*Va-tere ha-ishshah*), *She saw the woman*, transforming *the woman* from the subject of the sentence (Eve) into its object (*Shekhinah*).

975. ***She took of its fruit*, not *She took of it*...** In separating the fruit from its source, Eve caused separation above. Deprived of the flow of emanation, *Shekhinah* generates death.

See *ZḤ* 18c (*MhN*); cf. Genesis 2:17.

976. **For voice is never separate from speech...** The flow of emanation is described in terms of divine speech. *Tif'eret*, the primal voice, should never be separate from *Shekhinah*, articulated speech.

See *Zohar* 1:145a–b, 246b; 2:3a, 25b.

977. **he turns to dust** As in the divine decree to Adam: *For dust you are, and to dust you shall return* (Genesis 3:19). The wording here recalls the Talmudic legend of the Golem animated by permutating letters of the alphabet (BT *Sanhedrin* 65b): "Rava created a man and sent him to Rabbi Zeira. He [Rabbi Zeira] conversed with him, but he did not respond. He said to him, 'You

are from the Companions. Return to your dust!'"

978. **Assembly of Israel...** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. Here Assembly of Israel, suffering in exile, yearns for Her partner, *Tif'eret*. See Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 336.

979. **voice conducts speech** *Tif'eret* conducts *Shekhinah*.

980. ***To You, praise is silent...*** Literally, the verse may mean: *To You, silence is praise*. Here Rabbi Shim'on interprets it to mean that *Shekhinah*, known as *praise of David*, turns *silent* in exile without the resounding voice of *Tif'eret*.

981. **Because of You...** *Tif'eret* is responsible for the silencing of *Shekhinah*.

982. ***She took of its fruit and ate*** The verse continues: *and also gave to her husband beside her, and he ate*.

983. **She squeezed grapes...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:5: "Rabbi Aivu said, 'She squeezed grapes and offered them to him.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:192a; 2:267b.

984. **for death abides in this tree...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by night and the Tree of Knowledge, is also known as the Tree of Death. See Genesis 2:17; above, pages 222–26.

985. **a taste of death** See BT *Berakhot* 57b: "Sleep is one-sixtieth of death."

986. **scions of faith...** בני מהימנותא (*Benei meheimanuta*). They entrust their souls to *Shekhinah*, confident that She will restore each soul to its body the next morning, even if the person be undeserving.

See *Zohar* 1:11a, 92a, 183a; 3:119a, 120b; *ZḤ* 18b–c (*MhN*), 89a (*MhN*, *Rut*); and BT *Berakhot* 5a: "Abaye said, 'Even a disciple of the wise should recite one verse of compassion [before going to bed], such as: *Into Your hand I entrust my spirit; You redeem me, YHVH, God of truth* (Psalms 31:6).'"

987. ***The eyes of both of them were opened*** The verse continues: *and they knew that they were naked. They sewed together fig leaves and made themselves loincloths*.

988. **Opened to perceive the evil of the world...** See Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 1:2; *Zohar* 3:261b.

989. **they had lost the supernal radiance...** Their original aura.

See *Zohar* 1:52a–b, 224a; cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:6 (and Theodor, ad loc.); 19:6; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 3:7; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 14; *Bahir* 141 (200).

990. **that tree from which they had eaten...** According to Rabbi Neḥemiah (BT *Berakhot* 40a), Adam and Eve sinned by eating from the fruit of a fig tree. The leaves of this Tree of Knowledge convey the knowledge of magic.

See *Zohar* 1:53b, 56a, 63b. Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

991. **They sought to gird themselves...** Adam and Eve sought the protection of magical knowledge.

992. **Then three were brought...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 5:9: "It was taught in the name of Rabbi Natan: 'Three were brought to justice and four were convicted: Adam, Eve, and the serpent were brought to justice, and the earth was cursed along with them: *Cursed is the ground* (Genesis 3:17).'"

993. **the slime of the serpent...** זוהמא דנחש (*Zohama de-naḥash*), "The filth of the serpent." See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:37a, 52a, 54a, 122b.

994. **garments soothing to the skin...** The verse reads: *YHVH Elohim made garments of skin for Adam and his wife, and clothed them*. See BT *Sotah* 14a: "*Garments of skin*. Rav and Shemu'el. One said: 'Deriving from skin.' The other said: 'Soothing to the skin.'"

995. **and he was waited upon...** Adam's brilliance attracted the angels. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:10: "Rabbi Hosha'ya said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, the ministering angels mistook him and sought to recite in his presence: *Holy!*'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:55b.

996. **כתנות אור (*kotnot or*), *garments of light*...כתנות עור (*kotnot or*), *garments of skin*...** The verse in Genesis reads: כתנות עור (*kotnot or*), *garments of skin*, but a variant reading is: כתנות אור (*kotnot or*), *garments of light*, suggesting the original aura. See above, note 989. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:12: "In the Torah [scroll] of Rabbi Me'ir, it was found written: 'כתנות אור (*kotnot or*), *garments of light*.' These are the clothes of Adam...."

As a result of eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, thereby splitting the divine, Adam and Eve lost their luster and were clothed in skin.

See *Zohar* 1:224a; 2:229b; 3:261b; cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 4:40; *Apocryphon of John* 23:31–32; *Hypostasis of the Archons* 90:16; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1:5:5; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 404, n. 87.

997. **son of slime...** Cain, born from the union of the serpent and Eve. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "The serpent-rider [Samael] copulated with her and she conceived Cain. Afterward Adam copulated with her and she conceived

Abel."

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Zohar* 1:37a, 52a, 54a; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

998. **From the side of Cain...** On the demonic descendants of Cain, see El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 26c; *Zohar* 1:9b, 54a, 178a–b; 3:76b, 122a.

999. **until Seth appeared...** Even Abel was not fully refined, since he was still tainted by the demonic. Seth, the third child of Adam and Eve, generated the righteous.

See BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:54a, 55a; 3:77a, 143b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 8c (*SO*). Cf. *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12: "*He named him* שת (*Shet*), *Seth* (Genesis 5:3), because on him the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded."

See *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 37; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:148, n. 50; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 372–73; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 74.

1000. **returned to God** Repenting sincerely.

1001. ***He will hide His face from them*** The full verse reads: *Then they will cry out to YHVH, but He will not answer them; He will hide His face from them at that time, in accordance with the wrongs they have committed*.

1002. **He placed upon him one אות (*ot*), letter...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "Cain said in the presence of the blessed Holy One, 'Now some righteous person will arise and recite Your name and kill me!' What did the blessed Holy One do? He took one of the twenty-two letters and placed it on Cain's arm, so that he would not be killed.'"

See *Yalqut Re'uveni*, Genesis 4:15; *TZ* 69 (118b–119a).

1003. ***When they were in the field*? This is a woman...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "Rabbi Tsadok said, 'Envy and hatred toward his brother Abel entered Cain's heart because his [Abel's] offering had been accepted. Further, Abel's wife and twin sister was the most beautiful of women. He said, "I will kill my brother Abel and take his woman," as is said: *When they were in the field...*, and *in the field* means "woman," who is compared to a field, as is said: *Man is a tree of the field* (Deuteronomy 20:19).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:7; 63:12; BT *Bava Batra* 16b; *Zohar* 1:35b, 54b; 3:202a–b.

1004. **All this confronted him** He was angry both because of the offering and because of a woman.

1005. ***surpassing in dignity...*** From the blessing given by Jacob to Reuben, his firstborn: *Reuben, you are my firstborn, my strength and first fruit of my vigor! Surpassing in dignity, surpassing in power!* Cain, the firstborn of Adam and Eve, can also attain such *dignity* if he behaves well.

See Naḥmanides on Genesis 4:7; *Zohar* 1:54b; *ZḤ* 19c–d (*MhN*); Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 4:7, n. 68.

1006. **The opening above...** *Shekhinah*, known as Justice, through whom divine punishment is delivered.

1007. **On Rosh Hashanah Adam was born** See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 23:1: "Rabbi Eli'ezer taught, 'The world was created on the twenty-fifth of Elul.'... Consequently Adam was created on Rosh Hashanah."

See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:1; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 8, and David Luria, ad loc., n. 1; BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 10b; Asher ben Yeḥiel, on *Rosh ha-Shanah* 8a; *Ḥiddushei ha-Ran* on *Rosh ha-Shanah* 16a; *Tosefot Yom Tov*, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 1:2.

1008. **Rosh Hashanah above... below** Rosh Hashanah is both the beginning of the year and the Day of Judgment. It symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who administers justice and constitutes the beginning of the *sefirot* from a human perspective.

1009. **barren women are attended** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 73:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Vayera* 17; and BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 11a: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a says, '... On Rosh Hashanah Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah were attended.'" All barren until then, they miraculously conceived on Rosh Hashanah.

1010. **How do we know...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 51:2: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Wherever it is said: *And YHVH*, this implies: He and His Court.'" In Kabbalah this court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment") and pronounces the divine decree, so the phrase *And YHVH* encompasses "He [*Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*] and His Court [*Shekhinah*]."

See JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b; Rashi on Exodus 12:29; *Zohar* 1:15b, 64b, 107b; 2:37b, 44b; 3:149a. The hermeneutical significance of *and* was championed by Rabbi Akiva. See BT *Yevamot* 68b; *Sanhedrin* 51b.

On Rosh Hashanah, the Day of Judgment, *YHVH* is accompanied by His Court, *Shekhinah*, also known as Rosh Hashanah. Thus the opening word of the verse in Genesis, ויהוה (*Va-YHVH*), *And YHVH*, alludes to Rosh Hashanah. Further, the verse opens the Torah portion read on the first day of Rosh Hashanah.

1011. **Since Adam emerged...** Adam's origin, *Shekhinah*, is characterized by judgment, essential to the world.

1012. ואתה (***Ve-Attah***), ***And You, enliven them all*** *Shekhinah* is often called את (*Et*) and is also symbolized by the final ה (*he*) in the name יהוה (*YHVH*). Together these letters spell an expanded name of *Shekhinah*: אתה (*Attah*), *You*. See *Zohar* 1:15b, 154b, 158b; 2:138b, 261a (*Heikh*).

As for the accusative particle *et*, grammatically it has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught

that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

את (*Et*) comprises the entire alphabet, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), and is therefore an appropriate name for *Shekhinah*, who is known in the *Zohar* as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

1013. **the blessed Holy One reigns only when...** See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 24:1: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'When is the name of the blessed Holy One exalted in His world? When He executes the quality of judgment upon the wicked. This is demonstrated by many verses....'" Cf. *Zohar* 3:297b.

1014. **ואתה** (***Ve-Attah***), ***And You*, precisely!** *Shekhinah*, who is known by this name. See above, note 1012.

1015. **In a grapple of strife...** One of the *Zohar*'s neologistic gnomes. On the simple level, it means apparently that an officer comes to break up a quarrel. The implication may be that in the struggle with the sinful urge, a divine power appears to help, or in the struggle with the Angel of Death, *Shekhinah* appears, restraining him.

The Aramaic neologism קפסירא (*qafsira*) means "ruler, potentate" in *Zohar* 1:177a; 3:152a. Cf. 1:243a; 3:36b.

1016. **pulverized...** מטרטשי (*Metarteshei*), "Crumbled," based on מטרשי (*metareshei*), "make brittle," and טרש (*teresh*), "stony ground." See *Zohar* 1:239b; 2:30a; cf. above, note 848: מדבי טרטשי (*mi-devei tarteshei*), "crag dwellers."

1017. **Uzza and Azael...** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2). They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 22; Zohar* 1:9b, 23a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1018. **These were נפילים** (***nefilim***), ***fallen beings...*** Uzza and Azael, referred to also as *the sons of* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God* (Genesis 6:2). See *Zohar* 1:58a; 3:144a (*IR*).

1019. **For when Samael copulated with Eve...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "The serpent-rider [Samael] copulated with her and she conceived Cain. Afterward Adam copulated with her and she conceived Abel."

Cf. BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime,

lewdness].'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Zohar* 1:36b, 52a, 54a, 122b; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1020. **His features differed...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22: "*When Adam had lived a hundred and thirty years, he engendered in his likeness, according to his image*, [*and named him Seth*] (Genesis 5:3). From here you learn that Cain was not from his seed, nor *in his likeness*, nor *according to his image*. Finally Seth was born, who was *in his likeness* and *according to his image*." See above, page 63.

1021. ***They were the mighty men*** The verse continues: *of old, men of name*.

1022. ***sixty mighty men encircling her*** The female figure in the Song of Songs is identified with *Shekhinah*, who is surrounded by sixty angelic powers. See *Zohar* 2:5a, 51a; 3:60a.

1023. **מעולם (*me-olam*), *from the world*, literally, *from the world*, precisely!** The word עולם (*olam*) means both "eternity" and "world." Rabbi Yose picks the second meaning, which is also one of the names of *Shekhinah*, the culmination of the upper world. From Her *the mighty men* derived. See *Zohar* 2:179a (*SdTs*); 3:144a (*IR*).

1024. **What does *name* mean?...** *Shekhinah*, known as *the world*, is also the divine name, the full expression of divine being.

1025. ***when he blasphemes the name...*** Here, too, *the name* is *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 3:176b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 360.

1026. **the blessed Holy One took them...** God removed *the sons of Elohim* from the world because of their destructiveness. See above, note 1017. A different removal took place with the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob), who were transformed into a divine chariot, having attained respectively the rungs of *Ḥesed* (*love*), *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, also known as *Raḥamim* (*compassion*).

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 47:6: "Resh Lakish said, 'The patriarchs themselves constitute the [divine] Chariot.'"

Cf. Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 57; *Zohar* 1:60b, 99a, 150a, 154b, 173b, 248b; 2:144a; 3:38a, 99a.

1027. **this is *the bed of Solomon*...** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*, surrounded by angels and married to *Tif'eret*, known as Solomon.

1028. **for *the world* was not yet firm and fragrant** *Shekhinah*, *the world*, was not yet filled with the flow of emanation, and tended toward severe judgment, symbolized by the name אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*.

"Firm and fragrant" renders both senses of אתבסמת (*itbassamat*), "was sweetened" or "was firmly established."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 66:2; *Midrash Shemu'el* 26:4; *Zohar* 1:30b, 31a, 34a,

56a, 137a; 2:143a, 168a, 227a; 3:18a; N. Bronsnick, in *Sinai* 63 (1968): 81–85; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 44; idem, *Kabbalah*, 228.

1029. **All those saplings were concealed...** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod* began as saplings in the higher sefirotic realm and were later transplanted into *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1: "*YHVH Elohim planted a garden in Eden* (Genesis 2:8).... As is written: *The trees of YHVH drink their fill, the cedars of Lebanon that He planted*. Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'They resembled antennae of grasshoppers, and the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them in the Garden of Eden.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 504; *Zohar* 1:31a, 35b; 2:127b; 3:4b, 217b.

1030. **Three books are opened...** See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 16b: "Rabbi Keruspedai said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Three books are opened on Rosh Hashanah: one of the completely wicked, one of the completely righteous, and one of those in between. The completely righteous are immediately inscribed and sealed for life. The completely wicked are immediately inscribed and sealed for death. Those in between remain pending from Rosh Hashanah until Yom Kippur. If they prove worthy, they are inscribed for life; if not, for death.'"

For Rabbi Abba, the "three books" (ספרים [sefarim]) are three *sefirot*. See the play on *sefer* and *sefirot* at the opening of *Sefer Yetsirah*.

1031. **A supernal book...** *Binah*, Divine Mother and source of the linguistic stream of emanation. See *Zohar* 2:200a.

1032. **A middle book...** *Tif'eret*, torso of the sefirotic body of Primordial Adam, including the right and left sides (*Ḥesed and Gevurah*). In Him the stream of divine language takes shape as the Written Torah.

1033. **The one of the completely righteous...** The third ספר (*sefer*), "book," is the *sefirah* of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), the procreative force. He is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*), which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

Yesod is also called זה (*Zeh*), "This" (masculine), partner of *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence, known as זאת (*Zot*), "This" (feminine).

On *the book of the generations*, see BT *Avodah Zarah* 5a: "Did not Resh Lakish say: 'What is the meaning of the verse *This is the book of the generations of Adam*...? Did Adam possess a book? Rather, this teaches that the blessed Holy One showed Adam every generation with its expounders, every generation with

its sages, every generation with its leaders. When he reached the generation of Rabbi Akiva [martyred by the Romans], he rejoiced over his Torah and grieved over his death, saying: *How precious to me are Your companions, O God!* [*How mighty their chiefs!*] (Psalms 139:17).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:2; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Zohar* 1:55a–b, 90b, 227b; 2:70a; *ZḤ* 16d (*MhN*).

1034. ***On the day God created Adam in the likeness of God*** The verse concludes: *He made him*.

1035. **all was arrayed above and below...** The human being embodies the sefirotic paradigm.

1036. **unidentifiable, one merging in the other** Adam and Eve were not yet differentiated as male and female, having been created as one androgynous entity. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:47b; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

1037. **Our Mishnah** The *Zohar* often cites teachings from a secret, mystical Mishnah known only to its own circle.

See 1:55b, 74a, 91b, 93a, 95b, 96a, 224a, 252a (*Hash*); 3:57b, 61b, 78a, 284b, 285a. This is to be distinguished from the *Matnitin* of the *Zohar*, on which see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 216.

1038. **This is *the book of the generations of Adam...*** *The righteous one* is *Yesod*, the generative power of the *sefirot*, who unites with *Shekhinah*, the divine name—symbolized by the *tower*. See *Zohar* 1:9a, 96b; 3:164a–b.

1039. **the Tower of David** *Shekhinah*, known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom") and symbolized by the ideal king, David.

1040. **Here is a cipher for scions of faith** A lexical labyrinth, a kabbalistic permutation of letters consisting of twelve triads, encoding the verse from Proverbs. Begin at the top right and read down the first column of letters: מגדל. Proceed to the middle column of triads and read down the first column of letters and continue likewise with the final column of triads on the left: עוז שם יהו. The final ה (*he*) of יהוה appears at the end of the last triad of the first column of triads on the right. Now return to the starting point and read the second letter of each triad from right to left: בו ירוץ צדיק ונ. To complete the verse, return to the starting point and read the final letter of each triad from top to bottom: שגב. Skip

the final letter of the last triad of the first column of triads (ה [*he*], since this already completed the name יהוה), and continue with the second and third columns of triads, reading the final letters from top to bottom, which encapsulate the verse: יהוה צדיק.

1041. **An actual book was brought down to Adam...** According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam, though after his departure from the Garden of Eden. Here the book preserves the primordial wisdom of paradise for Adam and his generations. (Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.)

According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:2. This is not to be confused with the Apocryphal *Book of Adam*, known in various versions, though the Apocryphal book may have influenced the *Zohar*'s *Book of Adam*. The book is referred to frequently, sometimes in the context of physiognomy and chiromancy.

See 1:17b, 55a–b, 58b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a–b, 70a–b (*RR*), 77a, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54. Cf. *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah* 11b; Naḥmanides on Genesis 5:2.

1042. ***the sons of Elohim*, who contemplate and know it** On *sons of Elohim*, see above, pages 234–35. Several manuscripts and the printed editions read here: "*the sons of Elohim*, wise of the generation, and whoever are privileged to contemplate it discover higher wisdom."

1043. **the master of mysteries...** The angel Raziel, whose name means "mystery of God." See *Zohar* 1:55b.

1044. חנוך (***Ḥanokh***), **Enoch, had a book...** In postbiblical literature the phrase *for God took him* was taken to mean that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in his book, *The Book of Enoch*. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by the Enoch literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes.

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 55b, 72b; 2:55a, 100a, 105b, 180b, 192b, 217a; 3:10b, 236b, 240a, 248b, 253b, 307a; *ZḤ* 2c (*SO*). Cf. *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 38; *Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 5:24; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:156–64, nn. 58–61; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 80–83.

1045. **He is the Lad...** Through his heavenly journey, Enoch was transformed into the chief angel, Metatron, also known as the Lad (heavenly servant). Rabbi Abba proves the identification of Enoch with the Lad by citing

the phrase from Proverbs: חנוך לנער (*ḥanokh la-na'ar*), *train the lad*, which is understood to mean that *Ḥanokh* (Enoch) was transformed into *the lad*.

See 3 Enoch 4:1–10; BT *Yevamot* 16b, and *Tosafot*, s.v. *pasuq zeh; Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 5:24; *Zohar* 1:223b; 2:179a (*SdTs*), Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:162–63, n. 61; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 378–79; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei El-yon*, 89–90.

1046. **he conveys one hundred blessings...** See *Shemot Rabbah* 21:4: "Rabbi Pinḥas said in the name of Rabbi Me'ir and Rabbi Yirmeyah said in the name of Rabbi Abba, 'When Israel prays, you do not find them all praying as one, but rather each assembly prays on its own, one after the other. When they have all finished, the angel appointed over prayers gathers all the prayers offered in all the synagogues and weaves them into wreaths, which he places on the head of the blessed Holy One.'"

In BT *Ḥagigah* 13b, it is reported that the angel Sandalfon "stands behind the Chariot, binding crowns for his Lord." See *Pesqita Rabbati* 20; *Midrash Tehillim* 88:2; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 495; *Zohar* 1:37b, 167b; 2:58a, 146b, 202b, 209a, 245b–246a (*Heikh*); Green, *Keter*, 37–38.

Here Metatron weaves wreaths out of the one hundred blessings recited each day by Israel. See BT *Menaḥot* 43b: "Rabbi Me'ir used to say: 'One should offer one hundred blessings each day.'"

1047. ***The Book of Enoch*** See above, note 1044.

1048. **the Tree of Life in the middle of the garden...** As described in Genesis 2:9. The leaves of the Tree of Knowledge convey the knowledge of magic.

See *Zohar* 1:36b, 56a, 63b. Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

1049. **Happy are the devout of the world...** Alluding to those who discover wisdom, including the Companions.

1050. ***My spirit shall not abide in humanity forever, since they, too, are flesh*** *Let his days be a hundred and twenty years*.

1051. **the flowing, gushing river...** In antediluvian history *Yesod* conveyed the supernal spirit from *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life, to *Shekhinah*, from whom human souls emerge. She is characterized by judgment and associated with death. See Genesis 2:17; above, pages 222–23, 228–29.

According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is called the Tree of Death, because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued.

1052. **maleficent species ascended... the supernal spirit departed...** Human wickedness activated demonic powers who blocked the opening, *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 58a. Consequently the supernal spirit departed

from Her as souls were beginning to emanate, thereby diluting each soul and reducing human longevity, as the verse concludes: *Let his days be a hundred and twenty years*.

1053. **בשגם (*Be-shaggam*), *Since too*—this is משה (*Mosheh*), Moses...** The word בשגם (*be-shaggam*) in the verse in Genesis is numerically equivalent to the word משה (*Mosheh*), Moses, and alludes to Moses' life span, specified in the continuation of the verse: 120 years. The wordplay appears in BT *Ḥullin* 139b, in the name of Rabbi Mattanah. Here Moses, symbolizing the sun and *Tif'eret*, illumines the moon (*Shekhinah*), thereby ensuring longevity on earth.

1054. **alluding to Moses...** Who lived for 120 years (see Deuteronomy 34:7).

Torah is identified with the Tree of Life, based on the description of wisdom in Proverbs 3:18: *She is a tree of life to those who grasp her*. See BT *Berakhot* 32b, 61b. Here the tree symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who is both Written Torah and source of the spirit.

1055. **had Israel not sinned...** If Israel had not sinned at Sinai with the Golden Calf (Exodus 32), they would have become immortal. See *Tanḥuma*, *Ki Tissa* 16; and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 8:6: "חרות (*Ḥarut*), *Engraved, on the tablets* [describing the divine writing on the tablets of stone, spelling out the Ten Commandments]. Do not read חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved*, but rather חירות (*ḥeirut*), freedom. Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Neḥemiah, and the Rabbis: Rabbi Yehudah says, 'Freedom from the Angel of Death.' Rabbi Neḥemiah says, 'Freedom from foreign rulers.' The Rabbis say, 'Freedom from suffering.'"

1056. **So, בשגם (*be-shaggam*), *since* [*he,*] *too, is flesh...*** As noted above, Moses' name is equivalent to בשגם (*be-shaggam*). When he appears in bodily form on earth and transmits Torah, spirit pours into the world.

1057. **Moses did not die...** See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 357: "Some say: Moses did not die, but rather stands ministering above."

See BT *Sotah* 13b; *Zohar* 1:21b–22a; 3:284a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:161–62, n. 951.

1058. **when the spirit extends long...** When humans live long, the spirit is gradually transformed into matter and inured to material pursuits.

1059. **All the generations perfected by Seth...** Seth, the third child of Adam and Eve, generated the righteous. See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12: "*He named him* שת (*Shet*), *Seth* (Genesis 5:3), because on him the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded."

See BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:36b, 54a, 55a; 3:77a, 143b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 8c (*SO*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 372–73.

1060. **the art of annihilation: spears and swords** According to Genesis

4:22, Tuval-Cain, a descendant of Cain, *forged every blade of copper and iron*. According to *Bereshit Rabbah* 23:3, "Rabbi Yehoshu'a said in the name of Rabbi Levi, 'This one [Tuval-Cain] refined the sin of Cain. Cain killed without any instrument, whereas this one *forged every blade....*'" See Rashi, ad loc.

1061. **Finally Noah appeared...** See Genesis 5:29: *He* [Lamech] *named him* נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah, saying: "May this one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *provide us relief, from our labor and from the painful toil of our hands caused by the soil that YHVH cursed*." Commenting on this verse, *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 11 relates: "Before Noah was born, people did not reap what they sowed. If they sowed wheat, they reaped thorns and thistles. Once Noah was born, the world became arable once again. They reaped what they sowed, sowing wheat and reaping wheat, sowing barley and reaping barley. Furthermore, until Noah was born, they worked by hand.... Once Noah was born, he invented plows, scythes, spades, and all kinds of tools." See *Zohar* 1:58b, 97b.

1062. **[45b]** The folios 1:38a–45b comprise one of two Zoharic sections entitled *Heikhalot*, descriptions of the heavenly "Palaces." This section, not connected exegetically with Torah portion *Be-Reshit*, does not appear here in manuscripts representing an earlier recension of the *Zohar*. Therefore the *Heikhalot* have not been translated here and are scheduled to appear in a subsequent volume.

1063. **the blessed Holy One uprooted these saplings...** The image derives from *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:1: "*YHVH Elohim planted a garden in Eden* (Genesis 2:8).... As is written: *The trees of YHVH drink their fill, the cedars of Lebanon that He planted*. Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'They resembled antennae of grasshoppers, and the blessed Holy One uprooted them, transplanting them in the Garden of Eden.'"

Here the saplings symbolize the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, which sprouted in the higher sefirotic realm and were later transplanted into *Shekhinah*. See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 504; *Zohar* 1:31a, 35b, 37a; 2:127b; 3:4b, 217b.

Rabbi Yitsḥak reads the phrase *and there was* as alluding to the initial stage of the emanation of the *light*.

1064. **A light that already was...** The primordial light emerging from the depths of the highest *sefirot*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:2: "It is not written here והיה אור (*Ve-hayah or*) [which could mean either *And there will be light* or *And there was light*], but rather ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*) [which can mean only] *And there was light*—it already was." Theodor (ad loc.) regards this as a scribal gloss. In any case, the point in *Bereshit Rabbah* is that the creation of light was instantaneous and effortless, whereas here Rabbi Yehudah emphasizes that the light preexisted —it already *was*.

See *Bahir* 17 (25), elaborating on *Bereshit Rabbah*: "Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Why is it written: *God said, "Let there be light!"* ויהי אור (*Vayhi or*), *And there was light*, and not והיה (*Ve-hayah*) [which could mean either *And there will be* or *And there was*]? This can be compared to a king who had a beautiful object and set it aside until he had prepared a place for it; then he placed it there. As is written: *"Let there be light!" And there was light*. For it already was.'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 494; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 109; *Zohar* 1:16b, 45b; 3:245b (*RM*); *ZḤ* 1a, 37d; Recanati on Genesis 1:3, 3c.

1065. **When the blessed Holy One contemplated...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

In the *Zohar*, the word *righteous* indicates the *sefirah* of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

The primordial light is hidden in *Yesod*, the procreative power of God (*Zohar* 1:3a, 21a; 2:35a, 148b–149a, 166b–167a, 230a). Righteous humans are linked with this *sefirah* and thereby experience the light.

1066. ***God said... Who aroused from the East...?*** Alluding to the process of emanation from *Binah*, the Divine Mother, who is called *Elohim*, *God*, as well as *Who*, since She can be questioned and sought.

See *Zohar* 1:1b, 30a, 85b–86a; 2:127a, 138a, 139b, 226a, 231b.

1067. **its radiance flashing...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a (cited above): "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other....'"

1068. **without a trace of wrath...** The primordial light of *Ḥesed* was untainted by the harshness of the left side. The verse from Numbers indicates that *good* connotes blessing, the opposite of wrath.

1069. **although the blessed Holy One joined them as one** The polar

opposites *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* merged.

1070. **the right, by which gravings...** *Ḥesed*, on the right, conveying emanation to entities below.

1071. ***How abundant is Your goodness...*** The primordial light of *Ḥesed* was hidden away. See above, page 242.

1072. ***day of oneness*** The verse reads literally: *There was evening, there was morning: one day*. Here the last two words are taken to mean "day of oneness," referring to the union of the opposites: dark and light, left and right.

1073. **there is no day without night...** The opposites are interdependent. See *Zohar* 1:93a–b.

1074. **That day... extended...** The primordial light of *Ḥesed*, the first day, radiated through all the lower *sefirot*, symbolized by the other six days of the week of Creation. See *Zohar* 1:141b–142a.

1075. ***morning* is solely from the side of primordial light** Morning derives from the light of *Ḥesed*.

1076. **These are angels...** In the world of the *Zohar* most of the angels were created on the fifth day, but angels of Judgment emerged on the second day from *Gevurah*, while angels of Love emerged on the first day from *Ḥesed*.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; Jubilees 2; *Zohar* 1:17b, 18b, 34a, 46b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:623–24.

1077. **את (*Et*), including the speculum that does not shine...** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse it amplies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a.

את (*Et*) comprises the entire alphabet, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). In the *Zohar*, it becomes a name for *Shekhinah*, who is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah.

See *Zohar* 1:29b, 247a; 2:90a, 135b; and the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

Shekhinah is also known as the "speculum (אספקלריא [*ispaqlarya*]) [or: glass, mirror, lens] that does not shine." She does not shine on Her own but rather reflects the other *sefirot*, who are centered in *Tif'eret*, the speculum that shines. See *Zohar* 1:33b, 48b, 183a; 2:23b.

See BT Yevamot 49b: "All the prophets gazed through an opaque glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a translucent glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines]." Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face."

1078. ***Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters*** The verse

continues: *that it may separate water from water*.

1079. **upper waters were separated from lower waters...** On the second day of Creation, *Gevurah* emerged, separating the upper flow of emanation (channeled through *Binah* to *Ḥesed*) from the *sefirot* below. Alternatively, the *expanse* of *Yesod* separated the upper flow of emanation (channeled through *Binah* to *Yesod*) from *Shekhinah* and Her lower waters. The comment that follows (on *God fashioned...*) apparently relates to *Yesod*. See *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 32b; 2:149b.

1080. **On the second day... On the third day...** In the biblical account of Creation, the statement *God saw that it was good* (or a variant) is included in the description of each of the six days except for the second. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 4:6: "Why is *that it was good* not written concerning the second day? Rabbi Yoḥanan said..., 'Because on that day Hell was created....' Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'Because on that day conflict was created: *that it may separate water from water*.'.... Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'Because the work of the water was not completed. Therefore *that it was good* is written twice on the third day: once for the work of the water [see Genesis 1:9–10] and once for the work of the [third] day [ibid., 11].'"

In the *Zohar*, the second day marks the emergence of *Gevurah*, characterized by strict justice, which conflicts with *Ḥesed*, divine love. On the third day, these polar opposites were balanced and synthesized.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 4; Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:17a–b, 18a, 33a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

1081. **compassion ripened...** On the third day emerged *Tif'eret*, also known as *Raḥamim* (Compassion), who mitigates the harsh judgment of Hell, stemming from *Gevurah*.

1082. **why was it not consummated on the first day...** Since *Ḥesed*, the first cosmic day, includes within itself the following *sefirot*, why was the work not completed then?

1083. **This was precisely the conflict...** *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* manifested two extremes, which were harmonized only by the appearance of the third day.

1084. ***Let the earth sprout vegetation*** The verse continues: —*seed-bearing plants, fruit trees of every kind on earth bearing fruit with the seed in it*.

1085. **upper waters joined with lower...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep...* (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They

immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta*, *Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:17b, 29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

According to the second-century Greek physician Galen, sperm is generated by both male and female. See Leviticus 12:2: *When a woman yields seed*. Cf. Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides, Baḥya ben Asher and Sforno, ad loc.; BT *Berakhot* 60a; *Niddah* 31a.

1086. **both above and below** In both the sefirotic realm and the physical universe. Above, *Binah* and the six *sefirot* beneath Her (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*) constitute the upper waters, which join the lower waters flowing from *Shekhinah*. On the masculine aspect of *Binah*, see below.

1087. **who is *Elohim*?** To whom does the word *Elohim*, the subject of this verse, refer? *Elohim* is the name of several *sefirot: Binah, Gevurah*, and *Shekhinah*.

1088. ***Elohim* unspecified...** The most general, inclusive *Elohim* is the Divine Mother, *Binah*, also known as *Elohim Ḥayyim*.

1089. **If you say 'below,' not so** *Elohim* does not refer here to the lower *sefirah, Shekhinah*.

1090. **rather, below is generation...** *Shekhinah* generates the worlds beneath Her including the physical universe. See BT *Menaḥot* 29b: "As Rabbi Yehudah son of Il'ai expounded...: '*These are the generations of heaven and earth* בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created*. Do not read בהבראם (*be-hibbare'am*), *when they were created*, but rather בה׳ בראם (*be-he bera'am*), "With ה (*he*) He created them."'"

Here *he* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, often identified with the final letter of יהוה (*YHVH*). See *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:10; JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77c; *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*, Version 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:363); *Zohar* 1:91b.

1091. **Patriarchs Supreme** From *Binah* emerge *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, identified with the three patriarchs, so *Binah* assumes their title. Although often depicted as the Divine Mother, *Binah* is also described as "World of the Male," encompassing the entire configuration of *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. Together they constitute a masculine entity ready to join *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:96a, 147a, 149a, 160b, 246a, 248b; 2:127b; *ZḤ* 72b (*ShS*). Cf. 1:17b, 46b, 163a; 2:4a.

1092. **She is activity...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*, conceives by the patriarchal power above Her and generates life, thus actualizing the emanation of *Binah*.

1093. **All forces were in earth...** The living beings latent in earth were

brought forth on the sixth day of Creation.

1094. **But it is written: *The earth brought forth vegetation...*** Already on the third day. See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Assi pointed out a contradiction: It is written: *The earth brought forth vegetation*, on the third day, but it is written: *No bush of the field was yet on earth* [*and no plant of the field had yet sprouted, for YHVH Elohim had not rained upon earth and there was no human to till the soil*] (ibid. 2:5), on the eve of Sabbath. This teaches that plants began to grow but stopped as they verged on breaking through the soil, until Adam came and prayed for them; then rain fell and they sprouted. This teaches you that the blessed Holy One yearns for the prayers of the righteous." See *Zohar* 1:97a.

1095. ***desolate and void...*** צדיא וריקניא (*Tsadeya ve-reiqanya*), from *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc., rendering the Hebrew תהו ובהו (*tohu va-vohu*), *chaos and void*. The full verse reads: *The earth was chaos and void, with darkness over the face of the abyss, and the wind of God hovering over the face of the waters*.

1096. **Afterward she was arrayed... generating them afterward** On the third day, earth was arrayed with seed and vegetation, though these emerged only on the sixth day.

1097. **Similarly with *the lights...*** Though fashioned on the fourth day, they began to function only as Creation culminated on the sixth day.

1098. **spelled deficiently: מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*** In Genesis 1:14, the word מארת (*me'orot*) is written without *vav*s, the vowel letters. This deficient spelling is interpreted to mean that something was missing on the fourth day of Creation: the light of the moon, diminished, and this lack represents the potential for evil or "curse": מארה (*me'erah*).

See JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b: "On the fourth day [of the week, Wednesday] they would fast for infants, so that diphtheria not enter their mouths. *God said, 'Let there be* מארת (*me'orot*), *light*s'—spelled מארת (*me'erat*), *curse*."

See Proverbs 3:33; BT *Ta'anit* 27b, *Ḥullin* 60b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:1; *Soferim* 17:4; Rashi and *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 1:14; *Zohar* 1:1a, 12a, 19b, 33b; 2:167b, 205a.

1099. **to include the evil serpent who injected slime...** The unusual spelling of the word alludes to the cursed serpent. See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness].'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a, 54a, 122b; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

The serpent's act ruined the union of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, the sun and the moon.

1100. **the moon** The singular imperative יהי (*yehi*), *let there be*, as well as

the deficient spelling of מארת (*me'orot*), *lights*, imply only one light, namely, the moon, symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

1101. **the sun** Symbolizing *Yesod*, who unites with *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:19b–20a.

1102. **Calculation of all is by the moon** The Jewish calendar is lunar and derives from *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon. See BT *Sukkah* 29a: "Our Rabbis taught:... 'Israel counts by the moon.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:239a.

1103. **Numerologies...** These various numerical operations derive from the tenth *sefirah*, *Shekhinah*, mother of the bounded world, not from the higher *sefirot*, where unity prevails and the numerical multiplicity is irrelevant. "Numerologies" (גימטריאות [*gimatriyya'ot*]) refers to the numerical values of the letters of the alphabet. "Intercalation" refers to the insertion of an additional day in a lunar month (to harmonize the month with the lunar cycle) or an additional month in a lunar year (to harmonize the lunar and solar years).

See M *Avot* 3:18: "Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Ḥisma said, '[Laws concerning] bird offerings and commencements of the menstrual cycle are essential laws. Determining equinoxes and solstices, and mathematical calculations (גימטריאות [*gimatriyya'ot*]) are wisdom's dessert.'" Cf. *Zohar* 3:220b.

1104. **But the Companions perform numerous calculations and measurements** The kabbalists engage in numerology concerning the higher *sefirot* as well. Furthermore, they measure the divine body, as recorded in *Shi'ur Qomah* (Measure of the Stature) and the *Idrot* of the *Zohar*.

1105. **Not so!...** All calculations derive from *Shekhinah*, whence one can enter more deeply into the divine. The various divine measurements are perceived through the lens of *Shekhinah*, and "the measure of the stature" concerns גוף השכינה (*guf ha-shekhinah*), "the body of *Shekhinah*." See above, page 227.

1106. ***that they may be for signs and for seasons*** The full verse reads: *God said, "Let there be lights in the expanse of heaven to separate the day from the night, that they may be for signs and for seasons, for days and years*." The plural, *signs*, indicates not only the moon (*Shekhinah*) but also the sun (*Tif'eret*).

1107. **Spelled deficiently: לאתת (*le-otot*), *for signs*** The word לאתת (*le-otot*), *for signs*, is spelled without a ו (*vav*), and this deficiency implies just one *sign*.

1108. **But it is written: *that they may be*** The plural is explicit.

1109. **All those essences... like a treasure ship...** All the *sefirot* who will pour into *Shekhinah*. "Treasure ship" renders אסקופא (*isquppa*), which may mean both "yard of a ship" and "threshold." Cf. Greek *skaphe* and אסקפא (*isqapha*), "skiff, light boat." The image here apparently derives from *Midrash Mishlei* 31:14, where Joseph is compared to "a ship filled with all the best of the world."

In *ZḤ* 3a (*MhN*), *isquppa* refers to the "threshold" beneath which household

valuables were buried. See BT *Berakhot* 18b; Rashi on BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 11a, s.v. *tsinnor*; idem on Joshua 24:26.

See *Zohar* 1:67a; 2:83b; 3:69a; *ZḤ* 88c (*MhN, Rut*); *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 173; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 47.

1110. **There is a single point, origin of counting...** Apparently *Ḥesed*, first of the seven lower *sefirot*, beyond whom lie unfathomable divine qualities. See *Zohar* 1:16b. Other commentators understand this phrase as referring to *Shekhinah* (*OY*) or *Ḥokhmah* (*KP*).

1111. **There is a point above, concealed...** The primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*, from which the sefirotic world is constructed.

1112. **Similarly there is a point below, revealed...** *Shekhinah*.

1113. **Israel, cleaving...** By following the moon, Israel cleaves to *Shekhinah*, stimulating Her union with *YHVH*.

1114. ***Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living creatures*** *and let birds fly above the earth, across the face of the expanse of heaven*.

1115. **They have established that those waters teemed...** The waters of *Shekhinah* generated life below. See above, page 212.

1116. **Why יעופף** (*ye'ofef*)? With a double פ (*fe*).

1117. **Michael... Gabriel...** Two of the four angels of the Presence (along with Raphael and Uriel), who surround the divine throne. The phrase ועוף יעופף (*ve-of ye'ofef*), *and let birds fly*, alludes to these two archangels. Michael is identified as *one of the* birdlike *serafim* in BT *Berakhot* 4b, while the double פ (*fe*) of יעופף (*ye'ofef*) suggests the doublet describing Gabriel in the book of Daniel: מועף ביעף (*mu'af bi'af*), *was flown in flight*. Furthermore, the *gimatriyya* of גבריאל (*Gavri'el*), Gabriel, is equal to יעופף (*ye'ofef*), *let fly*.

See *Zohar* 2:239a; 3:26b; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 1:20; cf. *Devarim Rabbah* 8:2.

1118. **על הארץ** (***Al ha-arets***), ***Upon the earth*** In the verse this phrase means *above the earth*, but the word על (*al*) also means "on, upon," as in the interpretation that follows.

1119. **Elijah, appearing continually...** According to the Bible (2 Kings 2:11–12), the prophet Elijah did not die a normal death but was carried off to heaven in a chariot of fire. He became associated with the Messianic age (Malachi 3:23–24) and in rabbinic tradition is described as "still existing" (BT *Bava Batra* 121b) and revealing divine secrets to righteous humans (*Bava Metsi'a* 59b).

See *Midrash Tehillim* 8:7: "*The bird of heaven* (Psalms 8:9)—this is Elijah, who flies through the world as a bird." He is identified as "Master of Wings" in *Targum Qohelet* 10:20 and *Ma'yan Ḥokhmah* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:60). See BT

Berakhot 4b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 29, and David Luria, ad loc., nn. 66–67.

In Kabbalah Elijah appears in various guises, e.g., a guest at each rite of circumcision, or a wanderer encountered on the road by the Companions. Mystical experiences are known as revelations of Elijah. See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 19–21; *Zohar* 1:13a; 3:221a, 231a; *ZḤ* 59d.

In the passage here, Elijah is described as an angel, "not from the aspect of father and mother." This accords with the view of Moses de León, according to whom the angel Elijah assumed bodily form in descending to earth. See his *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 63, 68–71. Cf. *Zohar* 1:151b, 209a, 245b (*NZ*, n. 2); 2:197a; 3:88b; *ZḤ* 84c–d (*MhN*, *Rut*). Moses de León's view is criticized by Moses Cordovero (*Pardes Rimmonim* 24:14).

1120. **in four glides** See BT *Berakhot* 4b: "A *tanna* taught: 'Michael [reaches his destination] in one [glide], Gabriel in two, Elijah in four, and the Angel of Death in eight—in time of plague, however, in one.'" See *Zohar* 1:13a, 93a.

1121. ***The spirit of YHVH will carry you off...*** Spoken to Elijah by Obadiah, steward of King Ahab.

1122. **Angel of Death, who darkens the face of the world...** See *Tanḥuma*, *Shemot* 17.

1123. **He ascends and accuses...** See the description of Satan's itinerary in BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "He descends and seduces, ascends and arouses wrath, obtains authorization, and seizes the soul." On the same page, Satan is identified with the Angel of Death: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

See Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 89a, s.v. *ba ha-satan; Zohar* 1:10b, 125a, 148a (*ST*), 152b; 2:33b, 268b.

1124. **the Angel of Death was created on the second day** Along with all the angels of Judgment, not on the fifth day, which is the context of the verse under discussion.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Zohar* 1:17b, 46a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:623–24.

1125. **Raphael...** Whose name derives from a root meaning "to heal."

1126. **All is contained within the text** The verse alludes to all these angels.

1127. **So afterward is written...** The *sea serpents* allude to other angelic forces.

1128. **Leviathan and his mate** See BT *Bava Batra* 74b: "*God created the great sea serpents*.... Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'This is Leviathan the elusive serpent and Leviathan the twisting serpent [see Isaiah 27:1]....' Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Everything that the blessed Holy One created in His world, He

created male and female. Even Leviathan the elusive serpent and Leviathan the twisting serpent He created male and female, and if they mated with another, they would destroy the entire world. What did the blessed Holy One do? He castrated the male and killed the female, salting her for the righteous in the world to come, as is written: *He will slay the dragon of the sea* (ibid.).'"

See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 510; above, 34b.

1129. **seventy princes...** According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God.

See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:61a, 108b; 2:33a, 151b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

1130. ***And every soul of the living being that moves*** The verse continues: *which the waters brought forth in swarms, according to its kind, and every winged bird, according to its kind*.

1131. **the actual *soul* of that *living being*** The souls of Israel derive from *Shekhinah*, who is known as *ḥayyah*, *living being*. On *Shekhinah* as *ḥayyah*, see Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 508–9; *Zohar* 1:12b, 242a; 2:48b, 177b–178a (*SdTs*); 3:46b.

1132. ***a nation unique on earth*** The verse begins: *Who is like Your people, like Israel, a nation unique on earth...?* The phrase can also be translated *a single nation* [or: *a nation of oneness*] *on earth*, perhaps connected here to the singular *soul*.

1133. **for they engage in Torah** Often compared to water. See BT *Bava Qamma* 82a: "Those who interpret metaphorically said, 'Water means solely Torah, as is said: *Ho, all who thirst, come for water* (Isaiah 55:1).'"

See *Ta'anit* 7a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 54:1; *Zohar* 2:12b, 60a.

1134. **who are therefore נפש חיה (*nefesh ḥayyah*), *living souls*** The righteous, who resemble the winged angels, attain the status of *living souls*, or they are linked by their souls to *Shekhinah*, the חיה (*ḥayyah*), *living being*.

1135. **as has been explained: messengers of the world** Angels. See above, notes 858 and 1117.

1136. **Israel, for they are scions...** The souls of Israel derive from the union of the blessed Holy One and *Shekhinah*.

1137. **From those impure aspects of the left...** From demonic powers stemming from the left side of the *sefirot*. For parallel medieval Christian views of the Jewish soul, see Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*. Cf. *Zohar* 1:20b, 131a; *ZḤ* 10c (*MhN*).

1138. **all the other creatures...** All the other creatures on earth created on the sixth day, or all the other angelic powers, who derive from *Shekhinah*.

1139. **This supports what we have said...** See above, page 251.

1140. ***Cattle, crawling things, and living creatures of the earth*** *according to their kind*. See *Zohar* 1:13b, where Rabbi Shim'on applies this verse to various kinds of souls.

1141. **other nations...** Who derive from the demonic aspect, known as (uncircumcised) "foreskin." See *Zohar* 1:13a, 18a, 35b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 55 (68).

1142. **embracing six aspects...** Reflecting the structure of the cosmos. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 4:3, where six directions are specified: above, below, east, west, north, and south. Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11.

The six aspects also represent the core of the *sefirot*, composed of *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. The limbs of the human body are modeled on those of the divine body.

1143. **smooth members** Rendering two senses of one term, שייפי (*shaifei*). Deriving from a root meaning "to smooth, rub, slip," the word signifies "limbs" in the *Zohar*, perhaps based on the Talmudic expression (BT *Sotah* 7b): לשפא על איבריה (*al eivreih le-shafa*), "each limb entered its socket"—"slipping" into place —or "... the chest."

See *Arukh*, s.v. *shaf*; Rashi, ad loc., and on Job 33:21, citing BT *Ḥullin* 42b; *Zohar* 3:170a.

1144. **mystery of male and female...** The original human being was androgynous, reflecting the masculine and feminine aspects of the *sefirot, Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, who together constitute the *image* and *likeness* of God. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs—one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:2b, 13b, 48b; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

1145. **ruling over all** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), intro, 77b: "What is the meaning of: *In our image, according to our likeness*? Similar to us, that he will rule below as I do above."

1146. **Here was restored the omission...** In the biblical account of Creation, the statement *God saw that it was good* (or a variant) is included in the description of each of the six days except for the second. See *Bereshit Rabbah*

4:6: “Why is *that it was good* not written concerning the second day? Rabbi Yoḥanan said..., ‘Because on that day Hell was created.... Rabbi Ḥanina said, ‘Because on that day conflict was created: *that it may separate water from water.’*... Rabbi Shemu’el son of Naḥman said, ‘Because the work of the water was not completed. Therefore *that it was good* is written twice on the third day: once for the work of the water [see Genesis 1:9–10] and once for the work of the [third] day [ibid., 11].’”

See BT *Pesaḥim* 54a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 4; *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:25); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 506; *Zohar* 1:18a, 46a; 2:149b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 41 (49).

According to *Zohar* 1:46b, the Angel of Death was created on the second day along with all the angels of Judgment. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Zohar* 1:17b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:623–24.

Here the *Zohar* suggests that the omission of *that it was good* was restored not on the third day but on the sixth, by the phrase *very good*.

1147. ***And behold,* טוב מות (*tov mavet*), *death is good*** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:5: “In the Torah of Rabbi Me’ir it was found written: ‘*And behold it was* מאד טוב (*tov me’od*), *very good: And behold* טוב מות (*tov mavet*), *death is good*.’”

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:10: “Rabbi Shemu’el son of Rav Yitsḥak said, ‘*Behold, it was very good*—this is the Angel of Life; *And behold, it was very good*—this is the Angel of Death.’”

According to Rabbi Shemu’el, the Angel of Death is *very good* because he kills those who fail to accumulate good deeds. According to *Zohar* 2:149b, he is *very good* because the awareness of mortality stimulates a person to return to God. See 1:14a, 144b; 2:68b, 103a, 163a, 249a.

1148. **the mention of את כל (*et kol*), *all*, amplifies the meaning...** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when et appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

Here the word *et* expands the meaning of *all* to include all future generations and events. See *Zohar* 2:198b–199a.

1149. ***That He had made*—all the works of Creation...** God not only foresaw everything; through the power of the divine gaze, He included everything potentially in the primal act of Creation.

1150. **What is different about all the other days...** The definite article ה (*ha*), *the*, appears only in the phrase יום הששי (*yom ha-shishi*), *the sixth day*, not in any of the corresponding phrases describing the other five days of Creation. See BT *Shabbat* 88a: “Resh Lakish said, ‘Why is it written: *There was evening and*

there was morning: יום הששי (*yom ha-shishi*), *the sixth day?* Why the extra letter ה (*ha*), *the*? This teaches that the blessed Holy One stipulated a condition with the works of Creation, saying to them: "If Israel accepts the Torah [given at Mount Sinai on the sixth day of the month Sivan], you will endure. If not, I will return you to *chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2).""" See *Zohar* 2:63b.

1151. **female united with male...** With the completion of Creation, *Shekhinah* united with *Yesod*. *Shekhinah* is symbolized by the feminine marker ה (*he*), which is also the final letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*), while *Yesod* is the sixth of the lower seven *sefirot*.

1152. ***They were completed...*** The full verse reads: *The heavens and the earth were completed, with all their array*. See *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 2:1; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 8a.

1153. ***How abundant is Your goodness that You have hidden away for those in awe of You*** The verse continues: *that You made for those who take refuge in You, in the presence of human beings*.

1154. **the supernal light treasured away...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, "With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:7a, 31b–32a, 45b–46a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You will do for one who awaits You*].... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [those who succeed in turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

1155. **whoever is engaged with Torah...** On the link between Torah and the primordial light, see *Bahir* 97–99 (147–49); *Zohar* 2:149a, 167a.

See BT *Niddah* 73a: "It was taught in the school of Elijah: 'Whoever studies laws each day is guaranteed admission into the world that is coming.'" Rabbi El'azar introduces a significant variation: by studying Torah, one attains here and now a share in the world that is coming.

"The world that is coming" (Aramaic, עלמא דאתי [*alma de-atei*]; Hebrew, הבא העולם [*ha-olam ha-ba*]) is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is

usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma, Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation, who gives birth to the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

1156. **He is deemed a builder of worlds** By engaging in Torah, one creates entire worlds. See BT *Shabbat* 114a: "What does 'builders' mean? Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'These are the disciples of the wise, who are engaged all their days in building the world.'" See *Zohar* 1:4b–5a.

1157. **by Torah the world was built...** According to M *Avot* 3:14, Torah is the "precious instrument by which the world was created." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1: "Rabbi Osha'ya opened, '*I was with Him as* אמון (*amon*), *a nursling...* אמון (*amon*)—אומן (*umman*), *an artisan*. Torah says, "I was the artistic tool of the blessed Holy One."... The blessed Holy One gazed into Torah and created the world.'"

See *Zohar* 1:5a, 134a–b; 2:161a–b; 3:35b; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:242–45, 266–69.

1158. **By breath the blessed Holy One made the world** See Psalms 33:6: *By the word of YHVH the heavens were made, by the breath of His mouth all their host*.

See *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:9; and Shabbetai Donnolo, *Sefer Ḥakhmoni*, on *Sefer Yetsirah* 1:10 (in Matt, *Essential Kabbalah*, 92, 194): "God, great, mighty, and awesome, powerfully breathed out a breath, and cosmic space expanded to the boundary determined by divine wisdom, until God said, 'Enough!'"

1159. **by breath it is sustained** See *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 5; *Midrash Temurah*, 2 (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:109); *Zohar* 1:148a.

1160. **the breath of schoolchildren** See BT *Shabbat* 119b: "Resh Lakish said in the name of Rabbi Yehudah the Prince, 'The world endures only for the sake of the breath of schoolchildren.'"

1161. **resembling the one above, so that the righteous would be invigorated therein** The earthly Garden of Eden is modeled on the one above

and invigorates the souls of the righteous. See *Zohar* 1:106b (*MhN*).

1162. **that one is *in the presence of human beings...*** The earthly Garden of Eden is in the human realm, whereas the heavenly Garden of Eden is in the angelic realm.

1163. **Even the other one...** Even the heavenly Garden of Eden is accessible to souls of the righteous.

1164. ***They were completed*** The full verse reads: *The heavens and the earth were completed, with all their array*.

1165. **for acts above and below *were completed...*** The emanation of the *sefirot* and the creation of the world were both completed.

1166. **Act and artistry of Written Torah... Oral Torah** The emergence of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, each of whom conveys more explicitly the unwritten, unspoken Primordial Torah of *Ḥokhmah*, divine Wisdom.

1167. **Torah assumes seventy faces** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 13:16, where Torah is compared to wine: "Just as יין (*yayin*), wine, is numerically equivalent to seventy, so Torah assumes seventy faces."

See *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:116); Ibn Ezra, introduction to Commentary on the Torah; *Zohar* 1:4b, 26a (*TZ*), 54a. Cf. the description of the revelation at Mount Sinai in BT *Shabbat* 88b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '... Every utterance emerging from the mouth of Power branched into seventy languages.'"

1168. **sustained and consummated by one another** At the climax of Creation, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* (*heaven* and *earth*) unite. See *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 2:1; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 8a.

1169. **particular and general** פרט וכלל (*Perat ukhlal*), a halakhic term referring to legal details and their general formulations, included in Rabbi Yishma'el's thirteen hermeneutical rules (*Sifra*, intro, 1a–b). Cf. *Zohar* 1:16b.

Here the term is applied to *heaven* and *earth*, symbolizing the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The former includes various individual *sefirot*, which culminate and coalesce in *Shekhinah*. Alternatively, the Written Torah (*Ti'feret*) conveys generalities, which unfold into the endless particularities of Oral Torah (*Shekhinah*).

1170. **purities of Torah, impurities of Torah** The various detailed laws of ritual purity and impurity. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 4:4: "[Israel] knows how to expound Torah according to forty-nine aspects [literally, "faces"] of purity and forty-nine aspects of impurity."

See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:4; BT *Eruvin* 13b.

1171. ***On the seventh day God completed*** The verse continues: *the work that He had done, and He ceased on the seventh day from all the work that He had done*.

1172. **This is Oral Torah ...*the seventh day*...** *Shekhinah*, seventh of the lower *sefirot*, seventh day of the cosmic week of Creation.

1173. **not *all His work*...** As phrased later in the same verse. *Shekhinah*, Oral Torah, derives from *Tif'eret*, Written Torah, who derives from the Divine Mother, *Binah*, known as Writing, who Herself emerges from the Primordial Torah of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom").

See *Zohar* 2:85a, 200a. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 17:5: "Rabbi Avin [said]..., 'Torah is an unripe fruit of supernal Wisdom.'"

1174. **Three times here...** A different interpretation of the tripled phrase appears in Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 111.

1175. **Foundation of the world** יסודא דעלמא (*Yesoda de-alma*), referring to the ninth *sefirah, Yesod* ("Foundation"), also known as Righteous, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

Yesod is the seventh *sefirah* counting from the Divine Mother, *Binah*.

1176. ***The Book of Rav Yeiva Sava*** One of the many volumes housed in the real or imaginary library of the author(s) of the *Zohar*. It is cited frequently: 1:79b, 117b; 2:6a, 60b, 206b; 3:7b, 155b, 289b, 290a, 295a (*IZ*).

See Matt, *Zohar*, 25; and the comment by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 22d: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*... have been lost in the wanderings of exile... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

1177. **This is Jubilee** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, giving birth to all. She is symbolized by the Jubilee, proclaimed every fifty years, when slaves were released and land reverted to the original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). Here fifty (seven squared plus one) is linked to the phrase *on the seventh day*. *Binah* is often characterized by the number fifty, based on BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, where Rav and Shemu'el teach: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." *Binah* is the source of redemption and liberation, specifically the Exodus from Egypt.

See *Zohar* 1:21b; 2:46a, 83b, 85b; 3:262a. Cf. Solomon ibn Adret, *She'elot u-Tshuvot* 1:9.

1178. ***from all the work*** The verse reads: *He ceased on the seventh day from all the work that He had done*.

1179. **the rest thereon is best of all** *Yesod* represents the culmination of the process of emanation, when all is released into *Shekhinah*.

1180. **the High Priest...** *Ḥesed*, the first *sefirah* to emerge from *Binah*, conveys emanation to those below Him. Counting upward from *Shekhinah*, He is the seventh.

According to M *Yoma* 1:2, the high priest chooses his sacrificial portion first. See the formulation attributed to Rava in BT *Nedarim* 62a: "A priest receives first," which is included here in most printed versions but not in the manuscripts.

See *Zohar* 1:147a; 2:225a; *ZḤ* 43a.

1181. **inheres in... begins...** שריין (*Shareyan*) conveys both these meanings.

1182. **These two refer respectively to...** Apparently the two phrases, *He rested on the seventh day* and *God blessed the seventh day*, refer respectively to *Yesod* (as just indicated by Rabbi Shim'on) and *Tif'eret* (the seventh *sefirah* from *Keter*), who constitutes the Central Pillar of the sefirotic structure and conveys the blessings of emanation. For other interpretations, see *OY; KP*.

1183. **but these three correspond to...** Rabbi Yeisa Sava offers an alternative interpretation, based on the triplicate phrase *the seventh day*. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 111. (Some commentators suggest that "these three" refers to the three occurrences of the word אלהים [*Elohim*], *God*, in Genesis 2:2–3; see *OY*.) The three phases of the Sabbath (Sabbath Eve, Sabbath Day, and Great Sabbath) symbolize respectively *Shekhinah* (the Sabbath Bride arriving with sunset on Friday evening), *Tif'eret* or *Yesod* (the masculine Day), and *Binah*, the Divine Mother, known as שבת הגדול (*Shabbat ha-Gadol*). This name, traditionally designating the last Sabbath before Passover, means literally "Sabbath of *the great*," referring to the phrase *the great day of YHVH* (Malachi 3:23), the climax of the prophetic portion read on that Sabbath. On the various sefirotic aspects of the Sabbath, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1223–26.

1184. ***He hallowed* אותו (*oto*), *it*** The full verse reads: אלהים (*Elohim*), *God, blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, for on it He rested from all His work that God created to make*.

1185. **That site where את (*at*), sign, of the covenant abides...** *Yesod*, the phallus in the sefirotic body, is the site of circumcision, sign of the covenant. The phrase *He* (namely, *Elohim*) *hallowed it* implies that *Binah*, known as *Elohim*, emanated holiness to *Yesod*. The word אותו (*oto*), *it*, is identified with Hebrew אות (*ot*) and Aramaic את (*at*), "sign." So the verse now reads: *He hallowed His sign*, meaning: *Binah hallowed Yesod*. Similarly, in the verse in Samuel, the word אותו (*oto*), *it*, is understood to mean *His sign*, namely *Yesod*, while *His habitation* refers to *Shekhinah*.

A similar midrashic reading appears in *Shemot Rabbah* 1:20. See *Zohar* 1:94a, 112b; 3:184a.

1186. **Assembly of Israel** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

1187. **pastry** לחם פנג (*Leḥem pannag*), "Bread of *pannag*," a biblical hapax legomenon (Ezekiel 27:17) apparently meaning "meal, ground seeds of grain."

1188. ***Out of Asher*—consummate covenant** *Asher* derives from אושר (*osher*), "happiness," and symbolizes *Yesod*, site of the sign of covenant of circumcision, who delights *Shekhinah*. She is named similarly Asherah.

See *Zohar* 1:49a, 245b; Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, 39, 296–97, n. 15.

1189. ***bread of affliction* was transformed into pastry** *Bread of affliction* refers to *matstsah*, the unleavened bread eaten on Passover. *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *matstsah*, had been in a state of affliction or impoverishment until She was filled by the riches of *Yesod*.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 36a–b, 115b; *Zohar* 1:33a, 157a, 235b, 245b–246a; 2:40a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 112, 133.

1190. **Who is *king*? Assembly of Israel** *Shekhinah* reigns over the lower worlds and is known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). See *Zohar* 1:122a.

1191. **He provides Her...** *Yesod* provides *Shekhinah*, known as *king*, with delights.

1192. ***For on it He rested*** The verse continues: *from all His work that God created to make*.

1193. ***On it*, repose of all...** At the stage of *Yesod*, all the *sefirot* culminated, emptying into *Shekhinah*, symbolized by earth.

1194. **from the totality of *Remember* emerged *Observe*...** The command to observe the Sabbath appears differently in the two versions of the Ten Commandments in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Exodus 20:8 reads: זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember, the Sabbath Day*, while Deuteronomy 5:12 reads: שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe, the Sabbath Day*. To the kabbalists, זכור (*zakhor*) suggests זכר (*zakhar*), "male," and is identified with *Yesod*, while שמור (*shamor*) is identified with the female, *Shekhinah*.

See BT *Berakhot* 20b; *Bahir* 124 (182); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 496–97; Naḥmanides on Exodus 20:8; *Zohar* 1:5b; 48b, 164b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 118.

Here Rabbi Shim'on indicates that *Shekhinah* emerged from *Yesod*. The phrase

אשר ברא אלהים (*asher bara Elohim*), *that God created*, is read: *Asher*, *That* (namely, *Yesod*, known as *Asher* [see above, note 1188]) *created Elohim* (namely, *Shekhinah*).

1195. **Artisan of the world...** *Shekhinah*, who actualizes the potential of the *sefirot* and fashions the world.

1196. ***Guarding*—Guardian of Israel** The first word of the biblical phrase denotes *Shekhinah*, who protects the people of Israel. See *Zohar* 3:239b. The phrase "Guardian of Israel" originates in Psalms 121:4.

1197. ***the covenant*, as we have explained** Symbolizing *Yesod*, the phallus in the sefirotic body, which is the site of circumcision, sign of the covenant. See above, page 259.

1198. ***and the love*—Abraham** Referring to *Ḥesed* ("Love"), first of the seven lower *sefirot*, symbolized by Abraham, who manifested love on earth.

1199. **Assembly of Israel is *guarding*...** *Shekhinah* (known as Assembly of Israel; see above, note 1186) constitutes the gateway to the realm of the *sefirot*. By entering Her, one encounters the various aspects of the divine—in particular, the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. She actualizes the other *sefirot* and brings about Creation.

1200. **every single one, every single day** Each of the cosmic days, the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, manifests in *Shekhinah* and subsequently in Creation. See *Zohar* 2:127b.

1201. **these** The demonic spirits.

1202. **Whoever wends to the left...** Whoever sins, succumbing to the demonic, is attacked and punished by demonic spirits.

1203. **What are *blows of the children of Adam*? These are demons** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26: "Rabbi Simon said, 'For 130 years Adam separated from his wife, Eve, for once Cain was killed, Adam said, "Why should I engender children if they become cursed?" What did he do?... Female spirits approached him and heated themselves from him. As the blessed Holy One said to David, "... *When he* [*Solomon*] *does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of Adam*" (2 Samuel 7:14)..., namely, the demons.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11: "Rabbi Simon said, 'Throughout all 130 years that Adam separated himself from Eve, male spirits heated themselves from her and she gave birth, while female spirits heated themselves from Adam and gave birth, as is written: *When he does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of* אדם (*adam*), namely, children of Adam.'"

See BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:19b, 34b, 54a–55a; 2:231b, 3:76b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51–54.

1204. **As they were being created...** At twilight on the eve of the first

Sabbath, as the six days of Creation drew to a close. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17: "It is not written here: [*He ceased from all His work*] *that* [*God*] *created and made*, but rather [*that God created*] *to make* (Genesis 2:3), for the Sabbath came first and their work was not completed. Rabbi Benaya said, 'This refers to the demons, for He created their souls, and as He was creating their bodies, the Sabbath day was hallowed. He left them, and they remained soul without body.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 7:5; 11:9; *Zohar* 1:14a, 178a; 2:155b; 3:142b (*IR*); and M *Avot* 5:6: "Ten things were created on Friday eve at twilight:....Some say, 'Also the demons.'"

1205. **from the left side, dross of gold** The demonic derives from the dregs of *Gevurah* or *Din* (strict Judgment), located on the left side of the sefirotic tree and symbolized by gold.

See *Zohar* 1:52a, 73a, 193a; 2:236b.

1206. **Their terror is provoked by the holy name...** If adjured by the divine name, demons flee in terror. See BT *Gittin* 68a.

1207. **A person flawed...** One who fails to fulfill the first command of the Torah, *Be fruitful and multiply* (Genesis 1:28), is flawed. Consequently, at death his soul is excluded from the divine realm.

See BT *Bava Batra* 116a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai, 'Whoever does not leave a son to succeed him incurs the full wrath of the blessed Holy One.'"

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 90a, 115a, 186b, 228b; *ZḤ* 89b (*MhN, Rut*); Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 16 (1945): 146–47.

1208. **An uprooted, barren tree must be transplanted...** The soul of such a person must transmigrate into another body, where it is given another opportunity to fulfill this vital commandment. See *ZḤ* 89b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1209. **These creatures...** The demons.

1210. **These *God created to make...*** According to Rabbi Shim'on, the unusual wording implies that the creation of the demons was incomplete. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 17, cited above, note 1204.

1211. **Why not above?** In the spiritual realm.

1212. **Since they were not completed below, on earth...** Even a spiritual entity is incomplete unless actualized in the physical realm.

1213. **Three features...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Our Rabbis taught: 'Six things have been said concerning the demons, three of which correspond to the ministering angels and three to human beings. Three correspond to the ministering angels: they have wings, they fly from one end of the world to the other, and they know what will happen in the future.... Three correspond to

human beings: they eat and drink, they are fruitful and multiply, and they die.'"

1214. **plunged behind the millstones of the chasm of the immense abyss...** The chasm of the immense abyss is the abode of the demons, where they are confined throughout each Sabbath. According to *Midrash Tehillim* 92:5, on the first Sabbath, "demons ceased from the world." See *Zohar* 1:14b.

The phrase "behind the millstones" derives from Exodus 11:5: *the slave girl who is behind the millstones*. See *Zohar* 1:118a, 177a, 223b; 2:28a, 37b, 80a, 191b.

1215. **and they were not completed...** They were still not furnished with bodies.

1216. **a song against maleficent spirits has been prescribed...** Psalms 91:1–9, traditionally recited to ward off demons and maleficent spirits. Since Gaonic times this psalm has been recited at the conclusion of the Sabbath, following the *amidah* prayer of the evening service.

See BT *Shevu'ot* 15b; JT *Shabbat* 6:2, 8b; *Midrash Tehillim* 91:1, and Buber's nn. 12–13; Scholem, in *Tarbiz* 50 (1982): 248, 251; *Zohar* 1:14b.

1217. **Who is Canopy of Peace? Sabbath...** *Shekhinah*, identified with Sabbath eve, when peace reigns and the demonic dimension disappears.

See *Zohar* 2:135a–b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 111–12.

1218. **'who guards His people Israel forever'...** The conclusion of the second blessing following the *Shema* in the weekday evening liturgy.

1219. **Even the wicked in Hell are protected** According to *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 33, one of the dwellers in Hell reports: "Whoever does not observe the Sabbath properly in your world comes here and observes it against his will.... All week long we are punished and on the Sabbath we rest."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 11:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 65b; *Zohar* 1:14b, 197b; 2:31b, 88b, 150b–151a, 203b, 207a; 3:94b; *ZḤ* 17a–b.

1220. **'who spreads a canopy of peace over us...'** According to an Ashkenazic custom promoted by the *Zohar*, on Sabbath eve the wording of the second blessing following the *Shema* changes.

See *Zohar* 2:205a; *ZḤ* 79b–c (*MhN, Rut*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 112–13; *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim, Sha'arei Teshuvah*, 80; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1266, n. 139; Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon*, 142–56.

1221. **this canopy of peace issues new souls...** See BT *Beitsah* 16a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish said, 'On Sabbath eve, the blessed Holy One imparts an extra soul to a human being. When Sabbath departs, it is taken from him.'" Medieval Jewish philosophers disregarded this teaching or reinterpreted it rationalistically, while the *Zohar* revels in the literalness of the image and

embellishes it.

See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1230–33; *Zohar* 2:135b, 204a; 3:173a; and 2:136b: "Every Sabbath eve, a human being sits in the world of souls."

1222. **'Sabbath is patterned on the world that is coming'** See BT *Berakhot* 57b: "Three [things] reflect the world to come: Sabbath, sunshine, and sexual union."

1223. **Sabbatical and Jubilee...** Symbolizing *Shekhinah* and *Binah*, divine daughter and mother, who reflect one another.

According to the Bible, every seventh year is a Sabbatical (שמטה [*shemittah*], "release"), during which the land must lie fallow and at the end of which all debts are remitted (Leviticus 25:1–24; Deuteronomy 15:1–3). In Kabbalah the Sabbatical symbolizes *Shekhinah*, seventh of the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:153b.

In the biblical cycle, after seven Sabbaticals comes the Jubilee, proclaimed every fifty years, when slaves are released and land reverts to its original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). In Kabbalah the Jubilee symbolizes *Binah* —the Divine Mother—who is characterized by the number fifty, based on BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, where Rav and Shemu'el teach: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." *Binah* is the source of redemption and liberation, specifically the Exodus from Egypt. See *Zohar* 1:21b, 47b; 2:46a, 83b, 85b; 3:262a.

1224. **as are Sabbath and the world that is coming** Symbolizing, respectively, *Shekhinah* and *Binah*. The rabbinic concept of העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming" (Aramaic, עלמא דאתי [*alma de-atei*]), is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends."

In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

1225. **from the mystery of זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember...*** From *Yesod*, who

receives the additional soul from *Binah*, "the world that is coming." *Yesod*, the masculine potency, is called זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember*, because of the association with זכר (*zakhar*), 'male.'

1226. **one should taste everything...** By tasting many foods on Sabbath eve, one demonstrates that the divine Sabbath, *Shekhinah*, includes all. Yet one course (or two) should remain untouched until the Sabbath day. See *TZ* 24 (69b).

On the significance of the three Sabbath meals, see BT *Shabbat* 118b; *Zohar* 2:88a–b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1234–36.

1227. **Kindling the lamp of Sabbath...** See M *Shabbat* 2:6; *Zohar* 2:166a.

1228. **she extinguished the lamp of the world...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Metsora* 17: "Why were [the commandments of kindling the Sabbath lights, separating a portion of dough before baking, and menstrual purity] given to the woman? The blessed Holy One said, 'She [i.e., Eve] extinguished the lamp of the world [i.e., the soul of Adam]..., so she [the woman of the house] should keep the commandment of the lamp.'"

See JT *Shabbat* 2:4, 5b; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ* 1 (and n. 15); *Bereshit Rabbah* 17:8 (and Theodor, ad loc.).

1229. **the Consort...** מטרוניתא (*Matronita*), an aramaized form of the Latin *matrona* ("matron, married woman, noble lady"). *Matronita* is one of the many names of *Shekhinah*, the feminine partner of *Tif'eret*. She transmits souls deriving from the lamp of the higher *sefirot*ic realms.

1230. **So the consort should kindle...** By kindling the Sabbath lights, the woman of the house, who corresponds to *Shekhinah*, stimulates the transmission of souls.

1231. **to be worthy of holy sons...** Rabbi Shim'on blends two Talmudic traditions (BT *Shabbat* 23b, *Berakhot* 64a): "Rav Huna said, 'One who regularly lights the lamp will have sons who are disciples of the wise.'" "Rabbi El'azar said in the name of Rabbi Ḥanina, 'Disciples of the wise spread peace through the world.'"

1232. **she should be careful** In fulfilling this commandment.

1233. **night and day, זכור (*zakhor*), *remember*, and שמור (*shamor*), *observe*...** Sabbath eve (when light is kindled by the woman of the house) and Sabbath day symbolize, respectively, the feminine and masculine *sefirot*: *Shekhinah* and *Yesod*, who unite on the Sabbath. Each of the two aspects of Sabbath is alluded to by one version of the opening word of the fourth of the Ten Commandments. The version in Exodus 20:8 reads זכור (*Zakhor*), *Remember, the Sabbath day*, which suggests the Hebrew זכר (*zakhar*) and Aramaic דכורא (*dekhora*), "male." The version in Deuteronomy 5:12 reads שמור (*Shamor*), *Observe, the Sabbath day*, and this alternate formulation suggests the other, feminine aspect of Sabbath.

According to *Mekhilta, Baḥodesh* 7, both versions of the fourth Commandment were spoken by God simultaneously.

See BT *Berakhot* 20b; *Bahir* 124 (182); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 496–97; Naḥmanides on Exodus 20:8; *Zohar* 1:5b, 47b, 164b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 118.

1234. **הצלע** (***ha-tsela***), ***the side*** The word צלע (*tsela*) is often translated "rib," but it also means "side," which is the meaning adopted here by Rabbi Shim'on.

See Exodus 26:20; *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1 (cited in note 1236, below); *Zohar* 1:34b.

1235. **This verse bears numerous nuances** A similar expression appears in *Zohar* 1:54a, 81b, 197b.

1236. **namely, Oral Torah...** *Shekhinah* is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. She represents one *side* of the primordial androgynous figure of Primordial Adam, the other side being *Tif'eret*. The image derives from *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:13b, 34b, 47a; 2:55a; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

The *way through the sea* symbolizes *Yesod*, coursing into the sea of *Shekhinah* (*Zohar* 1:29b). *Elohim* symbolizes *Binah* ("Understanding"), mother of both *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, intimate with both of them.

1237. **Written Torah...** *Tif'eret*, who together with *Shekhinah* (Oral Torah) emerges from *Ḥokhmah* (Primordial Torah). The hidden *sefirah* of *Da'at* ("Knowledge") is enclosed within *Tif'eret*.

1238. ***YHVH Elohim*—a complete name...** In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name."

Here the complete name *YHVH Elohim* indicates the divine parents, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* ("Wisdom" and "Understanding"), who transmit their qualities to their daughter, *Shekhinah*.

See *Zohar* 1:49a; 3:296a (*IZ*). Cf. *Zohar* 1:4a, 20a; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

1239. **speculum...** אספקלריא (*Ispaqlarya*), "Glass, mirror, lens, speculum." See BT Yevamot 49b: "All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear

glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines].” Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: “For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face.”

Shekhinah is the “speculum [or: mirror] that does not shine on its own” but rather reflects the other *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:33b, 183a; 2:23b. Her incomplete state is implied here by another meaning of the root צלע (*tsl’*), “to stumble.”

1240. **for She issued from Written Torah** *Shekhinah* (Oral Torah) emanates from *Tif’eret*, symbolized by Written Torah and Primordial Adam.

1241. **the flame of the left side...** *Shekhinah* is associated with *Gevurah* (“Power”), on the left side of the sefirotic tree. For the connection between revelation and the divine name *Gevurah*, see BT *Shabbat* 88b: “Rabbi Yoḥanan said, ‘... Every utterance [at Sinai] emerging from the mouth of Power branched into seventy languages.’”

See *Tanḥuma*, *Yitro* 11; BT *Makkot* 24a; *Zohar* 2:81a, 84a.

1242. **to be אש ה׳ (*esh he*), fire of *he*...** The word אשה (*ishshah*), *woman*, is divided into two elements linked together: the fire of *Gevurah*, and *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by the second ה (*he*) of the name יהוה (*YHVH*).

1243. **She should not be alone...** *Shekhinah* (Oral Torah) should be joined with Her partner, *Tif’eret*, who is known as Primordial Adam and Written Torah.

1244. **when one offers his daughter in marriage...** See the husband’s declaration to his wife in M *Ketubbot* 4:11: “The female children born from our marriage will dwell in my house and be maintained out of my estate until they are married.”

1245. **for Father and Mother array Her...** The complete name *YHVH Elohim* indicates the divine parents, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, who sustain and adorn their daughter, *Shekhinah*. Once She is wed to *Tif'eret*, He sustains Her.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 18:1: "*YHVH Elohim fashioned the rib* [or: *side*] It was taught in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai: 'He adorned her like a bride and brought her to him.'"

Cf. BT *Berakhot* 61a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Menasia expounded, 'Why is it written: *YHVH Elohim fashioned the rib?* This teaches that the blessed Holy One braided Eve's hair and brought her to Adam.'"

1246. **she watches out every day...** The name *Elohim* indicates the Divine Mother, *Binah*, who provides for Her daughter, *Shekhinah*, until She is wed to *Tif'eret*. The same pattern is followed on earth.

1247. **The primordial point is totally unknown...** The point of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") is incomprehensible even to the *sefirot* emerging from it, except for *Binah* ("Understanding"), known as "the world that is coming." According to the Gnostic *Gospel of Truth* (22:27–29), the aeons (divine emanations) below *Nous* ("Intellect") are unaware of the hidden divinity: "It was quite amazing that they were in the Father without knowing Him."

On the rabbinic concept of העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming," see above, note 1224.

1248. ***He*—hidden of all hidden...** *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, cannot be identified precisely, only by the vague term *He*. See *Zohar* 3:129b (*IR*), 290a (*IZ*).

1249. **he encompassed the good impulse and the evil impulse** See BT *Berakhot* 61a: "Rav Naḥman son of Rav Ḥisda expounded, 'Why is it written: וייצר (*Va-yitser*), [*YHVH Elohim*] *formed...*, spelled with two yods? Because the blessed Holy One created two impulses, one good and the other evil.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 14:4; *Targum Yerushalmi*, ad loc.

The good impulse derives from *Ḥesed* ("Love") on the right side of the sefirotic tree, while the evil impulse derives from *Gevurah* ("Power"), also known as *Din* ("Judgment") on the left.

1250. **to arouse toward his female** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:7: "Naḥman said in the name of Rabbi Shemu'el: '*Behold, it was very good*—this is the good impulse; *And behold, it was very good* (Genesis 1:31)—this is the evil impulse. Is the evil impulse *very good*? How astonishing! Yet were it not for the evil impulse, no man would ever build a house, marry a woman, or engender children.'"

1251. **so she is called אשה (*ishshah*), woman** See above, page 268.

1252. **Above, genuine North...** In the realm of the *sefirot*, *Gevurah*,

symbolized by the direction north and the left hand, arouses toward *Shekhinah*. Then *Ḥesed*, the right hand, embraces Her.

1253. ***YHVH Elohim formed*—a complete name...** In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and judgment. Here they correspond to *Ḥesed* ("Love") and *Gevurah*, also known as *Din* ("Judgment"). Cf. above, note 1238.

1254. **this implies male and female as one...** The original human was an androgynous being. Similarly, the sefirotic couple *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* were originally joined. See above, note 1236.

1255. ***Dust of the earth*** The verse reads: *YHVH Elohim formed the human from the dust of the earth*.

1256. **now poised to be arrayed** *Dust* alludes to *Shekhinah*, as Rabbi Shim'on goes on to explain. Originally part of the androgynous being, She was now about to manifest as a separate entity.

1257. צדיק צדק (***tsaddiq tsedeq***), **righteous, righteousness** Symbolizing *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, respectively (see *Zohar* 1:132b). *Yesod* ("Foundation") is called Righteous, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

1258. צבי (***tsevi***), ***fairest, of all lands*** Alluding to *Shekhinah*, often identified with the land of Israel.

1259. אשרה (***asherah***) This term denotes a standing wooden object apparently symbolizing the Canaanite goddess Asherah. The following, remarkable passage (until "So, *dust of the earth*") is missing in many manuscripts.

1260. אשר (***Asher***) **is her husband...** ***For Baal and Asherah*** Baal was the most prominent Canaanite god, often paired in the Bible with Asherah. Here Rabbi Shim'on plays on the literal meaning of the word בעל (*ba'al*), "husband." Elsewhere in the *Zohar* (1:47b, 245b), the name Asher is associated with the male sefirotic potency, *Yesod*; so *Shekhinah*, wife of *Yesod*, is named after Him: Asherah. This startling name of *Shekhinah* and Her intimacy with the masculine divinity mirror the ancient Israelite worship of *YHVH* and *Asherah*. An inscription from the eighth century B.C.E. found in Khirbet el-Qom (Northern Israel) reads: "To *YHVH*, my Protector and to His *Asherah*." Another in Kuntillet Arjud (Sinai) reads: "*YHVH* of Yemen and His *Asherah*."

See Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, 39, 296–97, n. 15; *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. "Kom, Khirbet el-," "Kuntillet Arjud."

1261. **over against *the altar of YHVH*...** The verse is understood to mean: Do not substitute the false goddess Asherah ("another *Asherah*") for *Shekhinah*, the original Asherah, who is the genuine *altar of YHVH*.

1262. **why was this name displaced?** Why was the name Asherah, which originally designated *Shekhinah*, removed from Her and applied only to the Canaanite goddess?

1263. **the other nations did not deem Her happy...** The other nations did not recognize *Shekhinah* and in Her place worshiped the Canaanite goddess.

1264. **So this name was displaced...** The name Asherah was removed from *Shekhinah* so that the false goddess would not be empowered by the invocation of that name.

1265. **We call Her *altar* made of *earth*... *dust of the earth*** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by earth.

1266. **The word is inclusive...** *Nostrils* is plural, but the object here is specifically *Shekhinah*, known as *dust*, into whom *Tif'eret* blows *the breath of life*.

1267. **now *the human* was arrayed enduringly...** Now *Tif'eret*, Primordial Adam, was prepared to emanate to *Shekhinah*, known as *living soul*.

1268. ***YHVH Elohim* *fashioned*** The verse continues: *the side that He had taken from the human into a woman, and He brought her to the human*.

1269. **Here, too, with the complete name...** As in Genesis 2:7 (see above, page 270). In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. Here the complete name *YHVH Elohim* indicates the divine parents, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, who sustain and adorn their daughter *Shekhinah*. Once She is wedded to *Tif'eret*, He sustains Her.

See above, note 1238; and *Bereshit Rabbah* 18:1 and BT *Berakhot* 61a, cited above, note 1245.

1270. **speculum...** אספקלריא (*Ispaqlarya*), "Glass, mirror, lens, speculum." See BT Yevamot 49b: "All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines]." Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face."

Shekhinah is the "speculum [or: mirror] that does not shine on its own" but rather reflects the other *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:33b, 183a; 2:23b. Her incomplete state is indicated by the root צלע (*tsl'*), which in addition to "side" or "rib," also means "to stumble." See above, page 268: "הצלע (*Ha-tsela*), *The side*— the speculum that does not shine, as is said: ובצלעי (*Uv-tsal'i*), *At my stumbling, they rejoiced*... (Psalms 35:15)." Once adorned, She turns *beautiful*

1271. ***He came in to her... He came in to Rachel also*** Jacob united with Leah and later with Rachel.

1272. **he must obtain her permission** The husband must not force himself on the wife.

1273. ***He approached...*** ויפגע (*Va-yifga*), *He encountered* (or: *reached*), understood here according to another sense of the root, *entreated*. Jacob's journey to *the place* symbolizes the union of *Tif'eret* with *Shekhinah*. Proper union requires a gentle approach.

See *Mekhilta, Beshallaḥ* 2; *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9; BT *Berakhot* 26b; *Zohar* 1:148b, 165a.

In rabbinic literature, מקום (*maqom*), "place," is a name of God, emphasizing divine immanence and omnipresence. Here it designates *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9; Urbach, *Sages*, 1:66–79.

1274. **one is forbidden to engage in intercourse in the daytime** See BT *Niddah* 17a: "Rav Ḥisda said, 'One is forbidden to engage in intercourse in the daytime.'"

1275. **if a king has golden beds...** See *Zohar* 1:148b; 3:242a.

1276. ***This one at last*** In the verse, the man continues: *is bone of my bones, flesh of flesh! This one shall be called Woman, for from Man was she taken*.

1277. **Behold the fragrance of words...** According to Rabbi Shim'on, Adam spoke these words romantically to Eve.

1278. **like an ape compared with humans** See BT *Bava Batra* 58a: "Rabbi Bana'ah said, '... Compared with Sarah, all others are like an ape compared with a human. Compared with Eve, Sarah was like an ape compared with a human. Compared with Adam, Eve was like an ape compared with a human. Compared with *Shekhinah*, Adam was like an ape compared with a human.'"

1279. ***this one...*** Referring to Eve, and alluding to *Shekhinah* (the Divine Presence), who is known as זאת (*zot*), "this." The hymn to the virtuous woman in Proverbs 31:10–31 is interpreted in the *Zohar* as applying to *Shekhinah*.

1280. **all to draw her in love...** This verse, too, is understood as part of Adam's approach to Eve.

1281. ***and a delight to the eye*** Rabbi Shim'on omits the phrase: *and that the tree was desirable to contemplate*.

1282. **receiving it willingly** Seduced by the evil impulse, Eve indulged in physical desire.

1283. **how the act corresponds above** In the realm of the *sefirot*, male and female interact similarly.

1284. **how can we demonstrate the evil impulse above...** How can an evil component appear in the realm of the *sefirot*?

1285. **the mystery of left and right...** The good and evil impulses derive,

respectively, from the *sefirot* of *Ḥesed* on the right and *Gevurah* on the left.

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Zohar* 1:144b, 155b, 165b, 174b; 3:263b.

1286. ***His left hand beneath my head*** The verse continues: *his right embracing me*. In the divine romance, the left hand (*Gevurah*) arouses the body of *Shekhinah*, then the right hand (*Ḥesed*) completes the embrace, uniting Her with *Tif'eret*. See above, page 270.

1287. **So until here...** Perhaps meaning: until this point in Genesis (3:6), the verses apply both on the earthly plane and the sefirotic plane. From here on, they apply primarily on the corporeal level (as indicated by "a residue of tar") and their interpretation requires no profound insight.

See *KP; Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 176–77; Scholem; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1390.

1288. **I am eager to hear some of those sublime words...** The expression derives from the Talmud and appears often in the *Zohar*. See BT *Berakhot* 8a; *Ta'anit* 20b; *Ḥa-gigah* 14a; *Zohar* 1:87a, 96b, 197b; 2:31a; 3:148a, 209b, 231a.

1289. ***He went on his journeys...*** Describing the journeyings of Abraham on his way back to Canaan from Egypt. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 40:3 (on Genesis 13:3); *Zohar* 1:83b.

1290. **every human being should manifest as male and female...** When a human couple unites, they stimulate the union of *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret*, thereby strengthening the entirety of the *sefirot*, the realm of faith. A married man is constantly accompanied by *Shekhinah* (*Zohar* 1:228b).

See BT *Sotah* 17a: "Rabbi Akiva expounded: 'איש ואשה (*Ish ve-ishshah*), Man and woman: If they are worthy, *Shekhinah* abides between them; if not, fire consumes them.'" As indicated by Rashi (ad loc.), the two Hebrew words ואשה איש (*ish ve-ishshah*), "man and woman," share the letters א (*alef*) and ש (*shin*), which spell אש (*esh*), "fire"; in addition each contains one of the two letters of the divine name יה (*Yah*). Without divinity between them, only fire remains.

1291. **no longer male and female...** If he travels without his wife, *Shekhinah* would apparently desert him.

1292. **should offer his prayer... before he leaves...** Before setting out on a journey, one should pray, including (or specifically) *tefillat ha-derekh* ("the prayer for the way"). See BT *Berakhot* 29b: "Elijah said to Rav Yehudah the brother of Rabbi Sala the Ḥasid, 'Do not let your anger boil and you will not sin; do not get drunk and you will not sin; and when you set out on the way, consult your Creator and then set out.' What is meant by 'consult your Creator and then set out'? Rabbi Ya'akov said in the name of Rav Ḥisda, 'This is *tefillat ha-derekh*.'"

By praying before leaving home and while still with his wife, the husband ensures that *Shekhinah* will abide with him throughout his journey.

See BT *Berakhot* 14a (cited in the note after next), 30a; *Zohar* 1:58b, 121a (*MhN*), 178a, 230a–b, 240b; 2:130b; *Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 110:7; David ben Samuel ha-Levi, *Turei Zahav*, ad loc.; Issachar Ber Eilenburg, *Be'er Sheva*, 45; Mordechai Shpielman, *Tif'eret Tsevi*, 1:351–53.

1293. **in town...in the countryside** In town with his wife, in the countryside with *Shekhinah*.

1294. ***Righteousness...*** See BT *Berakhot* 14a: "Rav Idi son of Avin said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Ishyan, 'Whoever prays and then sets out on the way, the blessed Holy One fulfills his desires, as is said: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way*.'"

In this Talmudic passage, *righteousness* (or: *justice*) implies justification by prayer, which guarantees a successful journey. Here in the *Zohar*, *Righteousness* is a name of *Shekhinah*, who symbolizes divine justice. By praying, one secures Her accompanying presence. See *Zohar* 1:49a, 58b.

1295. **supernal coupling...** *Shekhinah*, his partner on the road.

1296. **he should delight the lady of his house...** Upon returning home, he should unite with his wife, thanks to whom *Shekhinah* accompanied him. See the question posed by King David to Uriah in 2 Samuel 11:10: *You just returned from a journey; why didn't you go down to your house*?

See BT *Yevamot* 62b: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'A man must attend to his wife when he is about to set out on the road, as is said: *You will know that your tent is at peace...* [*you will attend to your abode and not sin*].'"

1297. **the joy of this coupling is joy of *mitsvah*...** Uniting with one's wife upon returning from a journey is a religious obligation and stimulates the union of *Shekhinah* with Her partner, *Tif'eret*. See BT *Shabbat* 30b: "*Shekhinah* abides neither through gloom nor laziness nor frivolity nor levity nor talk nor idle chatter [or: vain pursuits], but only through the joy of *mitsvah*."

1298. **he increases peace below** He guarantees peace and harmony in his house. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home."

1299. **he diminishes the splendor...** If on returning home, the husband fails to unite with his wife, he dishonors *Shekhinah*, who united with him because of his wife, and he hinders Her union with *Tif'eret*.

1300. **supernal coupling pours into it...** *Shekhinah* emanates to the fetus a holy soul generated from Her union with *Tif'eret* (through *Yesod*).

1301. **this covenant is called Covenant of the blessed Holy One** The human phallus, inscribed with the covenant of circumcision, symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, the divine phallus. Human sexual union stimulates the divine union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, which generates the soul.

1302. **the joy of Sabbath, coupling of the wise** The Mishnah (*Ketubbot* 5:6) discusses how often husbands of various professions are required to fulfill the commandment of עונה (*onah*), "conjugal rights," i.e., to satisfy their wives sexually. According to Rabbi Eli'ezer, "The *onah* mentioned in the Torah [applies as follows]: Those who are unoccupied, every day; laborers, twice a week; donkey-drivers, once a week; camel-drivers, once every thirty days; sailors, once every six months."

The Talmud (BT *Ketubbot* 62b) adds: "When is the *onah* of the disciples of the wise? [i.e., What is the proper interval between two successive times of fulfilling this *mitsvah*?] Rav Yehudah said in the name of Shemu'el, 'From one Sabbath eve to the next.'"

See *Zohar* 1:112a (*MhN*); 2:63b, 89a–b; 3:49b, 78a.

1303. **What is the meaning of *not sin?* Not fail...** The Hebrew verb חטא (*ḥt'*) means both "to sin" and "to fail, miss."

1304. **when disciples of the wise part from their wives...** See above, note 1302. All week long *Shekhinah* joins the solitary male devotees of Torah.

1305. **undergoes days of impurity...** During and immediately following menstruation, when the husband must avoid contact with her.

1306. **All the reasons we have offered rise to a single rung** The reasons for delighting one's wife upon returning from a journey apply as well to sexual union on Sabbath eve and following the wife's purification. All pertain to *Shekhinah*.

1307. **All scions of faith...** Those who believe in the reality of the *sefirotic* realm are called בני מהימנותא (*benei meheimanuta*), "children of faith."

1308. **the lamp was kindled...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 60:16: "*Isaac brought her* [*Rebekah*] *into the tent of his mother Sarah* ... As long as Sarah existed... the lamp would burn in her tent from one Sabbath eve until the next. As soon as she died, it went out. As soon as Rebekah arrived, it returned."

Rabbi Shim'on alludes to this midrash to demonstrate that the presence of the light of *Shekhinah* in the home depends upon the presence of the essence of the home (the wife): first Sarah, and upon her death, Rebekah. See *Zohar* 1:133a.

On the phrase "essence of the home," see Psalms 113:9; *Bereshit Rabbah* 71:2; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 20:2; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Vayetse* 15; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:8; *Zohar* 1:29a–b, 149b, 154a, 157b.

1309. **Supernal Mother appears...** *Binah*, the Divine Mother, manifests only when *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah* join.

1310. **Lower Mother appears...** *Shekhinah* manifests only when husband and wife establish a home and join together.

1311. **adorned with two females, as above** Adorned with both his wife

and *Shekhinah*, as in the sefirotic realm *Tif'eret* is adorned both with His partner, *Shekhinah*, and the Divine Mother, *Binah*. See *Zohar* 1:66b, 153b.

1312. ***The desire of hills of eternity* extends to this *until*...** *Binah* and *Shekhinah* are the *hills of eternity*, towering, respectively, over the lower *sefirot* and the lower worlds. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 11a; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 49:26; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 48, and David Luria, ad loc., n. 20; *Zohar* 2:112b.

Both of these female divine entities desire the male divine potency (*Tif'eret* or *Yesod*), who is known as עד (*ad*), *until*. See *Zohar* 1:150b, 247b; 2:22a.

1313. **he is adorned with two females...** The human husband is adorned by both *Shekhinah* and his wife.

1314. **Supernal Mother unites...** On the road, *Shekhinah* joins him, while his wife remains at home.

1315. **in a skein of scales and fins...** בקילפי סנפירי קטרא (*Be-qilpei senappirei qitra*). According to Leviticus 11:9 (see *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc.), fins and scales are the distinguishing features of kosher seafood. Perhaps Rabbi Pinḥas's point is that in all realms, ranging from mystical truth to the fine points of dietary law, Rabbi Shim'on's wisdom is unchallenged. More likely, the phrase is metaphorical: Rabbi Shim'on has mastered not only the holy but also the demonic realm. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 9, where it is said of the monstrous Leviathan: "Between his fins stands the axis of Earth."

Cf. *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 17 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:28): "The entire world stands on one fin of Leviathan." See *Midrash Konen* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:26); *Zohar* 2:34b, 108b; 3:279a (*RM*).

1316. **Torah stands between two houses...** Torah symbolizes *Tif'eret Yisra'el*, the core of the *sefirot*, God's self-revelation. *Tif'eret* is situated between *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, the two feminine houses.

1317. **the *mighty voice*...** *Binah* is *mighty*, powerful in Her silence. Through Her, the divine voice begins to emerge as the whispered letter ה (*he*), the second letter of the name יהוה (*YHVH*). This ה (*he*) expands from the primordial point of Wisdom, the initial letter י (*yod*).

See *Zohar* 2:226b; 3:261a; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 89 (113).

1318. **Torah, *voice of Jacob*...** See Genesis 27:22. *Tif'eret*, identified with the third patriarch, Jacob, harmonizes the qualities of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, symbolized by Abraham and Isaac. With the emergence of *Tif'eret*, silent revelation becomes audible.

See *Zohar* 1:16b, 74a, 97b–98a, 141b; 2:226b. Cf. BT *Berakhot* 15b: "The womb, which takes in silently, gives forth loudly."

1319. **speech merges in it...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by speech, resounds from

the power of the voice.

1320. **two females...** *Binah* and *Shekhinah*.

1321. **Two are inaudible...** *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*.

1322. **every female is called 'house'...** As indicated in BT *Shabbat* 118b; *Yoma* 2a; *Sotah* 44a; cf. 2 Samuel 11:10. In the sefirotic realm, *Binah* houses *Ḥokhmah*, while *Shekhinah* houses *Tif'eret*.

1323. **Therefore Torah begins with בית (*bet*)...** The initial letter of the Torah, the ב (*bet*) of בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning*, is numerically equivalent to two and suggests the word בית (*bayit*), "house." Thus the Torah opens with an allusion to two houses: *Binah* and *Shekhinah*. The word ראשית (*reshit*), *beginning*, signifies the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah* as well as Torah, symbol of *Tif'eret*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1; cf. *Zohar* 1:29b.

1324. **בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning, created* אלהים (*Elohim*), *God*...** Rabbi Shim'on understands the phrase to mean that *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* (implied by the word בראשית [*Be-reshit*]; see previous note) emanated *Shekhinah*, who is called *Elohim*. The verse thus corresponds to the account of the creation of Eve, where *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* (*YHVH Elohim*) fashion *Shekhinah* (*the side*). See *Zohar* 1:15a, 48b–49a.

1325. **את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *Heaven*, corresponding to...** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

את (*Et*) comprises the entire alphabet, the letters from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*), and serves as an appropriate name for *Shekhinah*, who is known as both the mystical realm of speech and Oral Torah. See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

According to Rabbi Shim'on, the phrase את השמים (*et ha-shamayim*) refers to *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret*, who is also called *shamayim*, *heaven*. This corresponds to the phrase *He brought her to the human*, which is interpreted as meaning that *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* (*YHVH Elohim*) brought *Shekhinah* to *Tif'eret* (האדם [*ha-adam*], *the man* [or: *human*], i.e., primordial Adam). See above, page 268.

The conclusion of the first verse of the Torah, ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, also refers to the union of *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, denotes *Tif'eret*, along with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*). את (*Et*) here symbolizes either *Shekhinah* or the flow of emanation conveyed by *Tif'eret* to *Shekhinah*, who is called *earth*. The phrase ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, thus corresponds to *bone of my bones*, which similarly expresses the intimacy of the divine couple.

1326. **the upper rung says to the lower rung** *Tif'eret* (*YHVH*) says to *Shekhinah* (אדני [*Adoni*], *my Lord*, identified here with the divine name אדני [*Adonai*], "my Lord").

1327. **so that West will be linked with South...** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by West, based on BT *Bava Batra* 25a: "Rabbi Abbahu said, '*Shekhinah* is in the West.'" *Ḥesed*, the warm love of God, is symbolized by South and located on the right side of the sefirotic tree. Here *Shekhinah*, who is influenced by the left side, is invited by *Tif'eret* to join the right.

1328. **Jacob** Symbolizing *Tif'eret*, who harmonizes the qualities of *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, symbolized by Abraham and Isaac.

1329. ***the ark of the covenant...*** *Shekhinah* is the ark housing the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, the covenant. See *Zohar* 1:2a, 33b, 59b, 228b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 75 (95).

1330. **Jubilee... Sabbatical** Symbolizing *Binah* and *Shekhinah*, Divine Mother and Daughter.

According to the Bible, every seventh year is a Sabbatical (שמטה [*shemittah*], "release"), during which the land must lie fallow and at the end of which all debts are remitted (Leviticus 25:1–24; Deuteronomy 15:1–3). In Kabbalah the Sabbatical symbolizes *Shekhinah*, seventh of the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:153b.

In the biblical cycle, after seven Sabbaticals comes the Jubilee, proclaimed every fifty years, when slaves are released and land reverts to its original owner (Leviticus 25:8–55). In Kabbalah the Jubilee symbolizes *Binah*—the Divine Mother—who is characterized by the number fifty, based on BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 21b, where Rav and Shemu'el teach: "Fifty gates of בינה (*binah*), understanding, were created in the world, all of which were given to Moses except for one, as is said: *You made him little less than God* (Psalms 8:6)." *Binah* is the source of redemption and liberation, specifically the Exodus from Egypt. See *Zohar* 1:21b, 47b; 2:46a, 83b, 85b; 3:262a.

1331. ***I love my lord*** According to the Torah, at the start of the Sabbatical Hebrew slaves were to be set free, though they could refuse by declaring these words.

1332. **right abides in Jubilee...** *Ḥesed*, on the right, is the first *sefirah* to emerge from *Binah*. *Shekhinah*, influenced by the left, yearns to complete Herself by linking with the right.

1333. **Since the day She came to be...** *Shekhinah* was unable to join *Tif'eret* and be embraced by both *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, His right and left arms, without an arousal from the world below, which had not yet been created.

1334. **He extended His left arm...** The world was created through the power of *Gevurah*, the left arm of God.

1335. **it remains unstable till the seventh millennium...** At the end of the seventh millennium, the world will be perfected and renewed, with right balancing left. Then *Shekhinah* will attain complete union with *Tif'eret*, and oneness will prevail. See BT *Sanhedrin* 97a: "Rabbi Katina said, 'The word will exist for six thousand years and for one thousand he desolate.'"

1336. **Then She will be linked...** Then *Shekhinah* will be perfectly balanced between right and left, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*, and united with *Tif'eret*.

1337. ***New heavens* and *new earth*...** See Isaiah 66:22: *As the new heavens and the new earth, which I am making, rise before Me.... Heavens* and *earth* symbolize, respectively, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

1338. **If so, how can we establish the meaning...** If *Shekhinah* will remain imbalanced until the next eon, how does this verse apply in the present eon?

1339. **But then...** When the world is perfected and renewed.

1340. **את השמים** (***Et ha-shamayim***), ***Heaven*...ואת הארץ** (***ve-et ha-arets***), ***and earth*...** On the word את (*et*), see above, note 1325. Here, apparently, את (*et*) refers not to a specific *sefirah*, but to the flow of emanation from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). את השמים (*Et ha-shamayim*), *Heaven*, refers to *Binah* (upper *Shekhinah*), from whom emanation flows to *Tif'eret* (*heaven*). The following words, ואת הארץ (*ve-et ha-arets*), *and earth*, refer to *Shekhinah* (lower *Shekhinah*), known as *earth*, who, by uniting with *Tif'eret*, receives the flow. The letter ו (*vav*) in the word ואת (*ve-et*), whose numerical value is six, may symbolize *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* through *Yesod*).

1341. **We have established these verses...** The apparent contradiction between the two verses is discussed in BT *Ketubbot* 111b: "Rabbi El'azar said,... '*You, cleaving to YHVH your God, are alive every one of you today*. Now is it possible to cleave to *Shekhinah*, of whom is written: *YHVH your God is a devouring fire*? Rather the meaning is: Whoever marries his daughter to a disciple of the wise, conducts business on their behalf, or benefits them from his assets is regarded by Scripture as if he cleaves to *Shekhinah*.'"

In BT *Sotah* 14a, Rabbi Ḥama son of Ḥanina explains that one can approach and withstand the consuming fire of *Shekhinah* by imitating the divine, e.g., by clothing the naked, visiting the sick, comforting mourners, and burying the dead. See the discussion by Heschel, *Torah min ha-Shamayim*, 1:153-55.

A mystical response to this dilemma is offered by Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 166: "As to what the rabbis have said: 'Now is it possible for one to cleave to *Shekhinah*?'—it certainly is!"

1342. **There is a fire devouring fire...** See BT *Yoma* 21b, where the fire of *Shekhinah* is identified as "a fire devouring fire," i.e., consuming the fiery angels.

Cf. *Zohar* 3:27b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 63–65.

1343. **candle** בוצינא (*Botsina*), "Lamp," employed by *Targum Onqelos* (e.g., Exodus 27:20; 30:7–8) to render the Hebrew word נר (*ner*), "lamp" and later "candle."

Wax candles are discussed in a thirteenth-century treatise commissioned by Alfonso X of Castile (1252–1284); see *Libro del saber de astrologia* (University of Madrid MS 156), fol. 194r. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4; *Tosafot*, *Shabbat* 20b, s.v. *ad kan*; *Zohar* 1:83b.

1344. **a white light... a light tinged with black or blue** Symbolizing, respectively, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. The last *sefirah* has no light of Her own but reflects the light of the other *sefirot*.

See *Zohar* 1:12a, 77b, 83b. On *Shekhinah* and the color blue, see the next note; *Zohar* 2:139a, 152a–b.

1345. **the mystery of the thread of blue** The blue thread woven into the tassels of one's garment, according to Numbers 15:38. See *Sifrei*, Numbers 115: "Rabbi Me'ir says, '... Whoever fulfills the *mitsvah* of *tsitsit* (the "tassel") is considered to have greeted the face of *Shekhinah*, as it were; for blue resembles the sea, and the sea resembles the sky, and the sky resembles the Throne of Glory.'"

1346. **another substance below...** The flame of the candle (or lamp) feeds on the wick and wax (or oil). Similarly, *Shekhinah* feeds on the realms beneath Her and is thereby enabled to flame and unite with *Tif'eret*.

1347. **Sometimes this blue-black turns red** When *Shekhinah* is influenced by *Gevurah*, the attribute of strict judgment, She is tinged with its color: red.

1348. **destruction and death of all** *Shekhinah* is identified with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, which—according to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5—is called the Tree of Death, because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued. See Genesis 2:17; *Zohar* 1:35b.

1349. ***your God*, not *our God*...** Moses specified *your God*, indicating the *sefirah* pertaining to Israel, namely, *Shekhinah*, who devours and consumes. Moses, himself, attained the rung of *Tif'eret*, the white light, who does not consume.

See *Zohar* 2:79b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 67.

1350. **Israel cleaving below** Their devotion fuels the passion of the divine couple.

1351. **Above the white light hovers a concealed light...** The encompassing light of *Binah*, the Divine Mother.

1352. **You will discover all in the ascending flame...** See the remark of the nineteenth-century physicist Michael Faraday at the beginning of his *Chemical History of a Candle*: "There is not a law under which any part of this universe is governed which does not come into play and is touched upon in these phenomena. There is no better, there is no more open door by which you can

enter into the study of natural philosophy, than by considering the physical phenomena of a candle."

1353. **for three miles** According to Rav Sheshet (BT *Sotah* 46b), one should escort his teacher a distance of a parasang. A distinguished teacher, however, is to be escorted for three parasangs. (The Greek parasang equals about 3.5 miles.)

See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 18:5; *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:10; *Zohar* 1:87a, 96b, 150b; 2:14a, 164a, 187a; 3:8b.

1354. **the final ה (*he*) of the holy name...** The name יהוה (*YHVH*) represents the entirety of the *sefirot*: י (*yod*) symbolizing the primordial point of *Ḥokhmah*; the feminine marker ה (*he*) symbolizing *Binah*, the Divine Mother; ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizing *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*); and the final ה (*he*) symbolizing *Shekhinah*. Here Rabbi Shim'on focuses on the final ה (*he*), symbolizing the blue-black light of *Shekhinah*, and the first three letters, combining in the white light of *Tif'eret*.

1355. **Sometimes this blue light is ד (*dalet*), sometimes ה (*he*)...** When *Shekhinah* is not aroused by the devotion of Israel below, She cannot join the white light of *Tif'eret* and is symbolized by the letter ד (*dalet*), signifying that She is דלה (*dallah*), "poor," lacking the rich flow of emanation from above. When the human arousal from below stimulates Her union with *Tif'eret*, the ד (*dalet*) is enhanced by the straight line of the letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value of six symbolizes *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him. Thereby the ד (*dalet*) is transformed into ה (*he*).

See *Zohar* 1:60a; 2:104a, 123b, 188b (*SdTs*).

1356. **spelled נער (*na'ara*), without a ה (*he*)...** The lack of the final letter indicates the incomplete status of *Shekhinah*.

See BT *Ketubbot* 40b; *Zohar* 2:38b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 115.

1357. **the candle... שרגא** (*Sheraga*), "Lamp." See above, note 1343.

1358. ***Fire descended from heaven...*** The verse reads: *The fire of YHVH descended and consumed the offering*, which is adopted by Cr. The ritual offering stimulates the union of the divine couple, symbolized by the blue and white lights. Their passionate embrace ignites the fire that consumes the sacrifice.

1359. **priests, Levites, and Israel cleave to it...** The ritual devotion of the priests is accompanied by the singing of the Levites and the prayers of Israel. See *Zohar* 2:238b.

1360. **But ו (*vav*), *and*, surpasses...** The apparently superfluous conjunction here connotes *hut*. As opposed to the sacrifice, which is consumed by the fire of *Shekhinah*, *you* (Israel) endure.

1361. **In a dream all colors bode well, except blue** See BT *Berakhot* 57b: "In a dream all kinds of color bode well, except blue." Cf. *Zohar* 2:135a, 152a.

1362. **It is a tree of death...** *Shekhinah* is identified with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, which according to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5 is called the Tree of Death, because when Adam and Eve ate its fruit, death ensued. See Genesis 2:17; above, page 283. *Shekhinah* governs this world, and everything is eventually consumed by Her.

1363. **countless powers above endure** The heavenly hosts and angels are not consumed by *Shekhinah*. According to another tradition, certain angels are consumed daily by *Shekhinah*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 14a: "Shemu'el said to Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Rav, 'O son of a lion! Come, I will tell you one of those fine words said by your father: Every single day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream, chant a song, then cease to be, as is said: *New every morning, immense is Your faithfulness!* (Lamentations 3:23).'"

See *Zohar* 1:17b, 18b; 2:213b–214a, 247a; Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 507, 510; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 65; idem, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 205; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:624–25.

1364. **encompassed by the blue light** The heavenly powers are included within *Shekhinah*, thereby escaping destruction.

1365. **The universe diffracts...** In the following cryptic passage (which reappears in *Zohar* 2:228b–229a), I have chosen not to impose any sefirotic interpretation, but rather to let the reader encounter the imagery in its raw, pristine form. The number forty-five may allude to the *gimatriyya* of the divine name יהוה (*YHVH*), spelled out according to its letters: יוד (*yod*), הא (*he*), ואו (*vav*), הא (*he*), which is equal to the *gimatriyya* of אדם (*adam*). See *Zohar* 1:34b.

1366. **seven abysses...** The seven abysses are mentioned in *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 9 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:24–25).

1367. **water issues from them...** On the connection between abyss, stones, and water, see BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "תהו ובהו (*Tohu va-vohu*), *Chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2)... *Void*—the slimy stones sunk in the abyss, from which water issues, as is said: *He will stretch over it a line of chaos and plummet-stones of void* (Isaiah 34:11)."

1368. **All seven...** All seven lights.

1369. **each abyss calls to its partner...** See BT *Ta'anit* 25b: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, 'When water libations are poured [on the Temple altar] on *Sukkot* [Festival of "Booths"], one abyss calls to its partner, "Let your waters gush, I hear the voice of two friends [the two vessels used for libation]," as is said: *Abyss calls to abyss in the roar of Your channels.*'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every

single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Abyss calls to abyss....*' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta, Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit* 10 (*Battei Midrashot* 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:17b, 29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

1370. **365 sinews...** Corresponding to the number of sinews in the human body, according to rabbinic tradition. See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 1:27; *Zohar* 1:170b. Cf. BT *Makkot* 23b. The human body is a microcosm.

1371. **seventeen webs...** The *gimatriyya* of the word גיד (*gid*), "sinew," is seventeen.

1372. **When they rise...** When the waters rise.

1373. **Seven other lights...** Apparently the seven *sefirot* from *Binah* through *Yesod*, which flow into the sea of *Shekhinah*.

1374. **all the waters of the sea...** The emanation gathered in the sea of *Shekhinah* flows through a multitude of channels to the worlds below.

1375. **six radiating from one supreme** The six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod* radiate from the Divine Mother, *Binah*.

1376. **One monster below...** The chief demonic power, who approaches *Shekhinah* from his domain below on the left side. See *Zohar* 2:27b, 34a–35b.

1377. **the sanctuary within the sea** The sacred space of *Shekhinah*.

1378. **supernal lights ascend from the sea** The lower *sefirot* abandon *Shekhinah*.

1379. **The waters of the sea split on the left side...** Abandoned by the other *sefirot*, *Shekhinah* provides sustenance to the demonic serpent and then congeals. See *Zohar* 1:32b.

1380. **till they fall into his nets** Until human beings fall into his trap.

1381. **This serpent is death of the world** The demonic power and the Angel of Death are both manifestations of *Sitra Aḥra*, "the Other Side." See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

See *Zohar* 1:35b, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

1382. **blind gut** מעוי דסתים (*Me'oi distim*), "His hidden intestine," the cecum, beginning of the large intestine; corresponding to the Latin *intestinum caecum*, "blind gut," so called because it is prolonged behind the opening of the ilium

into a cul-de-sac.

See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 16: "... the evil impulse in his intestines." Cf. *Zohar* 1:190b.

1383. **while another, of life, is on the right...** The demonic serpent (corresponding to the evil impulse) is balanced by the holy serpent (corresponding to the good impulse). See *TZ* 21 (43a).

According to rabbinic tradition, two angels—one good and one bad—accompany each person. See BT *Shabbat* 119b; cf. *Ta'anit* 11a; *Zohar* 1:12b, 14a, 144b, 165b; 2:106b, 239a.

1384. **dross of gold** The demonic derives from the dregs of *Gevurah* or *Din* (strict Judgment), located on the left side of the sefirotic tree and symbolized by gold.

See *Zohar* 1:48a, 73a, 193a; 2:236b.

1385. **he inflicts death upon him...** The serpent inflicts death upon anyone drawn toward him. See *Zohar* 1:35b.

1386. **descending to know everything below** Adam explored the demonic realm.

1387. **drawn toward them** Toward the demonic powers.

1388. **until they reached...** Until Adam and Eve reached.

1389. **Then he rose** The serpent rose, aroused by Adam.

1390. **Until Israel arrived at Mount Sinai...** See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a, 54a, 122b; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1391. **Once they sinned, dinging to the tree where death abides** Adam and Eve sinned by eating from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, this tree is called the Tree of Death, because as a result of their sin, death ensued. In Kabbalah the tree is identified with *Shekhinah*, and the sin consists in separating Her from the other *sefirot*, thereby cutting off the vivifying flow of emanation.

See Genesis 2:17; *Zohar* 1:12b, 35b–36a, 51a–b, 53b, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373–76.

1392. **but rather: מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *moving about*** This form of the verb includes the additional letter ת (*tav*), often a feminine marker, which in the *Zohar* implies the divine feminine, *Shekhinah*, identified with the Tree of Death. With the

added letter, the word now begins: מת (*met*), "dead."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:7: "Rabbi Abba son of Kahana said, 'The verse does not read: מהלך (*mehallekh*), *moving*, but rather: מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *moving about*, leaping up. The essence of *Shekhinah* was in the lower realms. As soon as Adam sinned, it withdrew to the first heaven.'"

See Naḥmanides on Genesis 3:8; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 15–17; *Zohar* 1:76a; *ZḤ* 18d (*MhN*).

1393. **the Tree of Life** Symbolizing *Tif'eret*, trunk of the sefirotic tree.

1394. **he was drawn toward them...** Toward the demonic powers. Splitting the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, Adam abandoned good and clung to evil.

1395. **Until they sinned...** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:8: "It was taught: Until a person sins, he inspires awe and fear; creatures are terrified of him. Once he has sinned, he himself is filled with awe and fear; he is terrified of others. The proof of this was offered by Rabbi [Yehudah the Prince], who said, 'Until Adam sinned, he could listen to the divine voice while standing upright, fearlessly. Once he sinned, when he heard the divine voice he was frightened and hid himself, as is said: *I heard Your voice...* [*and I was afraid*] (Genesis 3:10); *The man* [*and his wife*] *hid* (ibid., 8).'" Cf. *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:3; *Zohar* 1:36b.

Here the "voice from above" alludes to *Tif'eret*, who is known as Voice, while the "voice below" apparently refers to *Shekhinah*, subject of the verb מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *moving about*. See above, note 1392.

1396. **the slime of this serpent was eliminated from them...** See above, note 1390.

1397. **specula** אספקלריאן (*Ispaqlaryan*), "Specula [or: glasses, mirrors, lenses]." Here the word implies *sefirot*.

1398. **the blessed Holy One girded them with belts of letters...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Shelaḥ*, add. 1: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'He adorned them with weapons engraved with the Ineffable Name [*YHVH*], and as long as they possessed these, no evil could touch them, neither the Angel of Death nor anything else. As soon as they sinned [with the Golden Calf], Moses said to them: *Now take off your ornaments, and I will decide what to do to you* (Exodus 33:5). At that moment, *When the people heard this evil word, they mourned*, [*and no one put on his ornaments*] (ibid., 4). What is written? *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments....*'"

See *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 33:4, 6; *Targum Shir ha-Shirim* 2:17; *Eikhah Rabbah, Petiḥta* 24; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:4; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 47; BT *Shabbat* 88a; *Avodah Zarah* 5a; Naḥmanides on

Exodus 33:6; *Zohar* 1:63b, 126b; Green, *Keter*, 70–71.

1399. ***The Children of Israel saw the face of Moses*** The verse actually reads: *Aaron and all the Children of Israel saw Moses...*, which is adopted in later printed editions of the *Zohar*.

1400. ***Israel saw the great hand*** The verse continues: *that YHVH had wielded against Egypt* (at the Red Sea).

1401. **the resplendent speculum... אספקלריא דנהרא** (*Ispaqlarya de-nahara*), "Glass [or: mirror, speculum] that shines," symbolizing *Tif'eret*, who is also known as Voice. See BT Yevamot 49b: "All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine], whereas Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear glass [literally: an *ispaqlarya* that shines]." Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face."

1402. **By the sea they were gazing fearlessly...** See *Mekhilta, Shirata* 3: "*This is my God and I will adorn Him*. Rabbi Eli'ezer says, '...A maidservant by the [Red] Sea saw that which Ezekiel and all the other prophets did not see.'"

1403. **After they sinned, what is written?...** See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:3: "Rabbi Abba son of Kahana said, '[At Mount Sinai] seven realms of fire were devouring one another, yet Israel gazed fearlessly. Once they sinned, they could not even look at the face of the intermediary, as is written: *Aaron and all the Children of Israel saw Moses* [*and behold, the skin of his face was radiant! They were afraid to come near him*].'"

See Deuteronomy 5:5; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:8.

1404. **What is this verse doing next to that?** What is the connection between Israel being *stripped of their ornaments* and Moses pitching the tent *outside the camp*? See *Shemot Rabbah* 45:3; BT *Shabbat* 88a; *Zohar* 2:236a; 3:114a.

1405. **it will be defiled** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the sanctuary in the tent, will be defiled by the serpent.

1406. **Just as מועד (*mo'ed*), festival, is a day of joy for the moon...** One of the meanings of the word מועד (*mo'ed*) is "festival," and many festivals begin on the full moon.

1407. **he called Her by this name...** Moses called *Shekhinah Tent of* מועד (*Mo'ed*), indicating that She was full and free of any defect.

1408. ***Mo'ed, Slated Time*** The word מועד (*mo'ed*) can also mean "appointed time."

1409. **At first, extending long life eternally...** At Sinai, the serpent's slime was eliminated from Israel, so they could have lived forever, nourished by the vivifying flow from *Shekhinah*. Unfortunately, they committed the sin of the Golden Calf and forfeited the gift of immortality.

See *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 16; and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 8:6: "חרות (*Ḥarut*), *Engraved, on the tablets* (Exodus 32:16) [describing the divine writing on the tablets of stone, spelling out the Ten Commandments]. Do not read: חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved*, but rather: חירות (*ḥeirut*), freedom. Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Neḥemiah, and the Rabbis: Rabbi Yehudah says, 'Freedom from the Angel of Death.' Rabbi Neḥemiah says, 'Freedom from foreign rulers.' The Rabbis say, 'Freedom from suffering.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:37b.

1410. ***the house mo'ed, slated, for all living*** The verse begins: *I know You will bring me to death...*

1411. **joining and coupling of the moon with the sun...** The union of *Shekhinah* and Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

1412. **from that moment on they inflicted death upon themselves...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Shelaḥ*, add. 1: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'He adorned them with weapons engraved with the Ineffable Name [*YHVH*], and as long as they possessed these, no evil could touch them, neither the Angel of Death nor anything else. As soon as they sinned [with the Golden Calf], Moses said to them: *Now take off your ornaments, and I will decide what to do to you* (Exodus 33:5). At that moment, *When the people heard this evil word, they mourned*, [*and no one put on his ornaments*] (ibid., 4). What is written? *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments....*'"

See above, note 1398.

1413. **what of Joshua, who did not sin?** Joshua was outside of the camp during the sin of the Golden Calf, waiting for Moses to descend from Mount Sinai. See Exodus 24:13; 32:17.

1414. **He opened...** The subject could be Rabbi Yehudah, answering his own questions, though the parallel passage in *Zohar* 2:194a reads: "Rabbi Shim'on opened," which accords with the style of the *Zohar* and with the interpretation of *MmD* and Soncino. See 3:15a.

1415. **The Companions have discussed this verse** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:2: "*For YHVH is righteous, loving righteousness; the upright shall behold His face*. Rabbi *Tanḥuma* said in the name of Rabbi Yehudah, and Rabbi Menaḥem said in the name of Rabbi El'azar, 'No one loves his fellow artisan. A sage, however, loves his fellow artisan; for example, Rabbi Ḥiyya loves his colleagues, and Rabbi Hosha'ya his. The blessed Holy One loves His fellow artisan: *For YHVH is righteous, loving righteousness....*'"

See *Midrash Tehillim* 11:6; *Zohar* 1:241b; 3:15a.

1416. **He is righteous... *loving righteousness*** The *sefirah* of *Yesod* ("Foundation") is called Righteous, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting*

foundation but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

The phrase *loving* צדקות (*tsedaqot*), *righteousness*, may allude to *Shekhinah*, known as צדק (*Tsedeq*), "Righteousness," or (reflecting the plural form *tsedaqot*) to both *Shekhinah* and *Binah*.

1417. ***Upright*—He is *upright*...** The word *upright* refers primarily to God, not to human beings. Humans who succeed in imitating God *shall behold His face*. See *Shir ha-Shirim Zuta* 1:13.

1418. **according to the majority of human beings** See BT *Qiddushin* 40b: "Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on said, '... The world is judged by its majority, and similarly an individual is judged by his majority [of deeds, good or bad].'" So although Joshua did not sin in the incident of the Golden Calf, he was still punished along with the majority.

1419. **he transmogrified that tree...** Adam sinned by separating *Shekhinah* from the other *sefirot*—in particular, from Her partner, *Tif'eret*. Divorced from the vivifying flow of emanation, *Shekhinah* was transformed from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil into the Tree of Death. See Genesis 2:17. According to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 5, the Tree of Knowledge is called the Tree of Death, because as a result of Adam and Eve's sin, death ensued.

See *Zohar* 1:12b, 35b–36a, 51a–b, 52a, 53b, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373-76.

1420. **The fault of this defect stood out in the moon...** The moon symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who waxes and wanes according to the conduct of Israel.

See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a–b, 54a, 122b; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1421. **the evil serpent prevailed and seized Her...** The demonic, empowered and emboldened by human sin, seized *Shekhinah*.

1422. **So he brought Her outside** Moses brought the Tent of Meeting, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, outside of the camp, so that it would not be tainted any further by Israel's impurity and the demonic power. See Exodus 33:7 (discussed above, page 292): *Moses took the Tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp*.

1423. **Moses, who controlled Her and whose death ensued...** Moses attained the rung of *Tif'eret* and became the master, or husband, of *Shekhinah*, as

indicated by his title איש האלהים (*Ish ha-Elohim*), *Man of Elohim* (Deuteronomy 33:1; Psalms 90:1).

See *Midrash Tehillim* 90:5; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim, Vezot Haberakhah*, 443–44, 448 (variants); *Tanḥuma, Vezot Haberakhah* 2 (*Ets Yosef*, ad loc.); *Devarim Rabbah* (Lieberman), on 33:1; *Zohar* 1:6b, 21b, 148a, 236b; 239a; 2:22b.

Having mastered *Shekhinah*, Moses was invulnerable to Her. His death ensued from striking the rock to bring forth water (Numbers 20:11–12) and derived from a higher *sefirah*: the Divine Mother, *Binah* (*Zohar* 1:21b–22a).

According to rabbinic tradition, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam died by a kiss of God. See BT *Bava Batra* 17a; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:2; *Tanḥuma, Va'ethannan* 6.

1424. **Therefore he called Her *Tent of* מועד (*Mo'ed*), *Slated Time*...** See Exodus 33:7: *Moses took the Tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp. He called it Tent of* מועד (*Mo'ed*), *Meeting* [understood here as *Slated Time*]. *Shekhinah* rations the lifetime of every human being. See above, page 292.

1425. **There is right above...below... There is left above... below** In the sefirotic realm, *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah* represent the right and left sides, respectively. In the demonic realm below, powers are also arrayed right and left.

1426. **arousing love, linking the moon with a sacred site...** *Gevurah* arouses *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, and links Her with Her partner, *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the sun.

1427. **the Tree of Life** Symbolizing *Tif'eret*.

1428. **the sanctuary is defiled...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the sanctuary in Jerusalem and the Dwelling in the desert, is defiled by the demonic serpent. See above, page 292.

1429. **Joshua died only through the incitement of the serpent...** See BT *Shabbat* 55b: "Four died through the incitement of the serpent, namely: Benjamin the son of Jacob, Amram the father of Moses, Jesse the father of David, and Chileab the son of David." According to this view, these four individuals did not sin on their own but died only because of the sin of Adam and Eve, who were enticed by the serpent. Here the *Zohar* specifies Joshua, who did not participate in the sin of the Golden Calf. See *Zohar* 1:57b, where Levi is substituted for Chileab.

1430. **although he was *a lad* below...** Joshua's description, נער (*na'ar*), *lad*, suggests the chief angel, Metatron—known as the Lad who serves beneath *Shekhinah*, receiving Her light. Joshua displayed the qualities of Metatron, yet he also reflected the defective nature of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *the Tent*.

See BT *Yevamot* 16b, and *Tosafot*, s.v. *pasuq zeh*; above, note 1045; *Zohar*

1:223b; 2:179a (*SdTs*), Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 378–79; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 89–90.

1431. **the blessed Holy One deprived him of those weapons...** Adam and Eve were stripped of their original potent splendor, here identified with the weapons bestowed upon Israel at Sinai.

See *Zohar* 1:36b, 52a–b, 224a. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:6; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 3:7; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 14; *Bahir* 141 (200).

1432. **absolute freedom** Another motif from midrashic tradition concerning Israel at Sinai, here applied to Adam and Eve. See *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 16; and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 8:6: "חרות (*Ḥarut*), *Engraved, on the tablets* (Exodus 32:16) [describing the divine writing on the tablets of stone, spelling out the Ten Commandments]. Do not read: חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved*, but rather: חירות (*ḥeirut*), freedom. Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Neḥemiah, and the Rabbis: Rabbi Yehudah says, 'Freedom from the Angel of Death.' Rabbi Neḥemiah says, 'Freedom from foreign rulers.' The Rabbis say, 'Freedom from suffering.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:37b, 52b.

1433. ***fig leaves...* they discovered every kind of sorcery...** According to Rabbi Neḥemiah (BT *Berakhot* 40a), Adam and Eve sinned by eating from the fruit of a fig tree. The leaves of this Tree of Knowledge convey the knowledge of magic. See *Zohar* 1:56a, 63b, and 36b: "Once they knew of this world and clung to it, they saw that this world is conducted by those leaves of the tree. So they built themselves a stronghold, fortifying themselves with them in this world, discovering every kind of magic. They sought to gird themselves with the weapons of those leaves of the tree for protection." Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

"The one below" apparently refers to the demonic realm, though perhaps to *Shekhinah*, identified with the Tree of Knowledge and split off from the other *sefirot* by Adam's sinful act. See *Zohar* 1:35b–36a, 52a, and below.

1434. **the erect stature of Adam diminished...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Adam extended from earth to heaven.... As soon as he sinned, the blessed Holy One placed His hands upon him and diminished him.... Rabbi Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Adam extended from one end of the world to the other.... As soon as he sinned, the blessed Holy One placed His hand upon him and diminished him.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:6: "Rabbi Aivu said, 'His stature was reduced to one hundred cubits.... Rabbi Shim'on said, '[His stature was originally] two hundred cubits.'" Cf. *Sifra, Beḥuqqotai* 3:3, 111b; BT *Bava Batra* 75a; *Sanhedrin* 100a; *Araqim* 6 (*Otsar Midrashim* 1:70–71); *Zohar* 1:142b; and Rashbam, *Bava Batra* 75a, who suggests, matching the view here, that his original stature was two hundred cubits and was reduced by half.

For Iranian and Gnostic parallels, see Altmann, “The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends”; Urbach, *The Sages*, 227–32.

1435. ***He drove out*** **את האדם** (***et ha-adam***), ***Adam*** Literally, *He drove out the human*. The preceding verse reads similarly: *YHVH Elohim expelled him from the Garden of Eden*. The apparent redundancy stimulates the following mystical midrash.

1436. **We do not know who divorced whom...** Several midrashim interpret the biblical word ויגרש (*vaygaresh*), *He drove out*, in the sense of גירושין (*geirushin*), “divorce.” See *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:8; *Midrash Avkir*, in *Yalqut Shim’oni*, Genesis, 34; and *Seder Eliy-yahu Rabbah* 1: “*He drove out Adam*. This teaches that the blessed Holy One divorced him like a wife.” Cf. *Ziqquqin de-Nura*, ad loc.; and *Midrash ha-Gadol* on this verse: “This teaches that he was divorced like a wife divorced from her husband because of some indecency.”

Adam’s harmonious and intimate relationship with God is ruined by sin. Rabbi El’azar adopts this midrashic view but reassigns the roles.

1437. **את** (***Et***)**—precisely!** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense, but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a.

Here, as often in the *Zohar*, את (*et*) becomes a name of *Shekhinah*, who comprises the totality of divine speech, the entire alphabet from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). See *Zohar* 1:29b, 247a; 2:90a, 135b; and the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: “I am *alpha* and *omega*.”

1438. ***Adam*** **actually drove out** ***Et***! By dividing the biblical sentence, *He drove out* את (*et*) *Adam*, into two units, Rabbi El’azar transforms its meaning. The first unit consists of: *He drove out* את (*et*). The second unit identifies the subject of the sentence, which is shockingly not God, but *Adam*. His sin consists in divorcing *Shekhinah*.

In the *Zohar*, the exact nature of Adam’s sin is a tightly guarded secret; the biblical account of the Garden story is seen as hiding the true meaning. See *ZḤ* 19a (*MhN*), where Rabbi Shim’on recounts a conversation he had with Adam while selecting his future site in Paradise: “Adam... was sitting next to me, speaking with me, and he asked that his sin not be revealed to the whole world beyond what the Torah had recounted. It is concealed in that tree in the Garden of Eden.” The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil symbolizes *Shekhinah*. Adam’s sin was that he worshiped and partook of *Shekhinah* alone, splitting Her off from the other *sefirot* and divorcing Her from Her husband, *Tif’eret*, the Tree of Life. See *Zohar* 1:12b, 35b–36a, 221a–b; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 231–32, 236, 404–5, n. 105; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:373–76.

On the psychological plane, the sin corresponds to the splitting off of consciousness from the unconscious. See Jung, *Collected Works*, 8:157; Neumann, *Origins and History of Consciousness*, 102–27; Jaynes, *Origin of Consciousness*, 299; cf. Scholem, *Major Trends*, 216, 236–37.

By his midrashic transposition, Rabbi El'azar teaches that Adam divorced *Shekhinah*, divorcing Her from *Tif'eret* and consequently also from himself. See above, page 294: "When Adam sinned by eating from the tree,... he caused a defect, separating the Woman from Her Husband." Cf. Isaiah 50:1: *Because of your transgressions your mother was divorced*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:7: "Rabbi Abba son of Kahana said, 'The essence of *Shekhinah* was in the lower realms. As soon as Adam sinned, it withdrew to the first heaven.'" Cf. Naḥmanides on Genesis 3:8; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 15–17.

Adam's sin has driven *Shekhinah* from the Garden and dissolved Her union with *Tif'eret*, so She finds Herself abandoned in a no-man's-land. Meanwhile, as a result of his sin, Adam is banished from the Garden. Wandering outside, he finds *Shekhinah*, and together they go into exile. See *Zohar* 3:114a–115b, and 1:237a: "Come and see the secret of the word: Adam was caught in his own sin, inflicting death upon himself and the whole world, causing that tree with which he sinned to be divorced, driven away with him, driven away with his children forever, as is written: *He drove out* את (*et*) *Adam*."

1439. **Consequently it is written...** The apparent redundancy is eliminated. Adam was expelled because he divorced *Shekhinah*.

1440. ***He placed...*** The verse continues: *east of the Garden of Eden the cherubim and a blazing ever-turning sword to guard the way to the Tree of Life*.

1441. **He installed them...** As in the beginning of the verse, the subject is not God but Adam, who by his divisive act installed *the cherubim*. Here *the cherubim* represent harsh powers.

See Rashi and Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 3:24; Theodor's note on *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:9.

1442. **projectiles... the hollow of a sling** קוזפי (*Quzpei*), a Zoharic neologism perhaps deriving from the Arabic root *qdph*, "to throw." Cf. the neologism קוספיתא (*quspita*), "hollow of a sling"; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 347; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 189; and the similar forms קזטיפי (*qaztiphei*) (*Zohar* 1:167a), קיזפא (*qizpa*) (2:175b), and קסטיפא דשמשא (*qastipha de-shimsha*), "ray of the sun" (3:283b).

1443. **turning countless shades...** See BT *Yoma* 75a, where demons are said to "turn many colors."

1444. **sometimes male, sometimes female** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:9: "*Ever-turning*— changing: sometimes male, sometimes female; sometimes

spirits, sometimes angels."

See *Zohar* 1:44a, 165a (*ST*), 237a; 3:19b.

1445. **torment** קוסטירי (*Qustirei*). Cf. the rabbinic term קוסטור (*qustor*) from Latin *quaestor*, a Roman official or prosecutor. See JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b; 2:19b, 58b, 208b; 3:13a. *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 188 relates the Zoharic term to the rabbinic קוסטינר (*qustinar*), deriving from Latin *quaestionarius*, "torturer, executioner."

1446. ***the sword of YHVH...*** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*, who executes the divine judgment of *Gevurah*. See *Zohar* 2:28b.

1447. **quaestors...** קסטרין (*Qisterin*). See above, note 1445.

1448. **wardens of judgment** Harsh powers. The Zoharic term גרדיני (*gardinei*), "wardens, guardians" derives from the Castilian *guardián*. See Corominas, *Diccionario*, 3:246–48.

1449. **Yet once he sinned...** According to midrashic tradition, when Solomon sinned by marrying many foreign wives and worshiping false gods (1 Kings 11:1–13), he was replaced on the throne by the demon Ashmedai and forced to wander as a commoner for years.

See *Midrash Tehillim* 78:12; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 11:3; *Beit ha-Midrash*, 6:106–7; BT *Gittin* 68a–b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:299–300, n. 86.

1450. **So as a person tends...** See BT *Shabbat* 104a: "Resh Lakish said, '... If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening; if one comes to purify himself, he is assisted.'"

Cf. *Makkot* 10b: "Rabbah son of Bar Ḥana said in the name of Rabbi Huna (some say, Rabbi Huna said in the name of Rabbi El'azar), 'From the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings it can be demonstrated that one is led on the path one wishes to take.'"

See *Zohar* 1:54a, 125b, 169b, 198b; 2:50a; 3:47a.

1451. ***Whoever touches a corpse...*** The verse continues: *of any human being shall be impure for seven days*. See *Zohar* 3:88a–b.

1452. **they taste a taste of death** See BT *Berakhot* 57b: "Sleep is one-sixtieth of death." Cf. *Zohar* 1:36b.

1453. **whirlwind** קפטירא (*Qaftira*), a Zoharic neologism. See *Zohar* 2:178a (*SdTs*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 351.

1454. **the hands of a human being, now contaminated** During sleep one's spirit soars upward and an impure spirit arrives.

See BT *Shabbat* 109a; *Ḥullin* 107b; *Zohar* 1:10b, 169b, 184b; 3:67a; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 10. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 14:9: "It was said in the name of Rabbi Me'ir: 'This soul fills the body, and when a person sleeps she ascends and draws down life from above.'"

1455. **one should not take his clothes from anyone...** See BT *Berakhot* 51a: "Rabbi Yishma'el son of Elisha said, 'Three things were told to me by Suriel, Prince of the [Divine] Countenance: Do not take your shirt from the hand of the attendant when dressing in the morning, do not let your hands be washed by anyone who has not washed his hands, and do not return a cup of asparagus to anyone other than the one who has handed it to you. For a band of demons (some say: a cluster of angels of destruction) lies in wait, saying: "When will a human do one of these things, so we can capture him!"'"

Cf. *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 10; *Zohar* 1:198b.

1456. ***The man knew Eve his wife*** The verse continues: *and she conceived and bore* קין (*Qayin*), *Cain, saying* "קניתי (*Qaniti*), *I have created, a male along with YHVH*."

1457. **This verse bears numerous nuances** A similar expression appears in *Zohar* 1:48b, 81b, 197b.

1458. **seventy aspects, seventy faces** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 13:16, where Torah is compared to wine: "Just as יין (*yayin*), wine, is numerically equivalent to seventy, so Torah assumes seventy faces."

See *Sefer Ḥanokh* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:116); Ibn Ezra, introduction to Commentary on the Torah; *Zohar* 1:4b, 26a (*TZ*), 47b.

See the description of the revelation at Mount Sinai in BT *Shabbat* 88b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '... Every utterance emerging from the mouth of Power branched into seventy languages.'"

1459. **toward the right...** The right side is characterized by *Ḥesed* ("Love").

1460. **the left side...** The left side is characterized by harshness and generates the demonic realm.

1461. **If one turns toward defiling himself...** See BT *Shabbat* 104a: "Resh Lakish said, '... If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening; if one comes to purify himself, he is assisted.'"

Cf. *Yoma* 39a: "Our Rabbis taught: '*Do not defile yourselves with them, and thus become defiled*. If one defiles himself slightly, he is defiled greatly; below, he is defiled from above; in this world, he is defiled in the world to come.'"

See *Zohar* 1:53b, 125b, 169b, 198b; 2:50a; 3:47a; and *Makkot* 10b: "Rabbah son of Bar Ḥana said in the name of Rabbi Huna (some say, Rabbi Huna said in the name of Rabbi El'azar), 'From the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings it can be demonstrated that one is led on the path one wishes to take.'"

1462. ***Hallow yourselves and you will be holy*** The verse continues: *for I am holy*. See BT *Yoma* 39a: "Our Rabbis taught: '*Hallow yourselves and you will be holy*. If one sanctifies himself slightly, he is sanctified greatly; below, he is sanctified from above; in this world, he is sanctified in the world to come.'"

Here Rabbi Abba applies the verse specifically to the act of sexual union, which should be fulfilled in purity to ensure a holy soul for the fetus. Cf. BT *Shevu'ot* 18b; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 9:7.

1463. **when he cleaves to the left...** If he engages in sexual union impurely, acting like *a beast* (Ecclesiastes, ibid.), then his son's soul will be tainted.

1464. **Adam cleaved to that impure spirit** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26: "Rabbi Simon said, 'For 130 years Adam separated from his wife Eve, for once Cain was killed, Adam said, "Why should I engender children if they become cursed?" What did he do?... Female spirits approached him and heated themselves from him. As the blessed Holy One said to David, "... *When he* [*Solomon*] *does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of* אדם (*adam*)" (2 Samuel 7:14)..., namely, the demons.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11: "Rabbi Simon said, 'Throughout all 130 years that Adam separated himself from Eve, male spirits heated themselves from her and she gave birth, while female spirits heated themselves from Adam and gave birth, as is written: *When he does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children* of אדם (*adam*), namely, children of Adam.'"

See BT *Eruvin* 18b: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'During all those [130] years that Adam was under the ban [for having eaten from the Tree of Knowledge], he engendered spirits, demons, and female demons.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:19b, 34b, 55a; 2:231b; 3:76b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51-54.

1465. **returned to God** Repenting sincerely.

1466. **while his wife cleaved to it first...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "The serpent-rider [Samael] copulated with her and she conceived Cain. Afterward Adam copulated with her and she conceived Abel."

Cf. BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness].'"

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a; *KP* on this passage; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1467. **so when she copulated with Adam...** According to Rabbi El'azar, both sons were engendered by Adam, though Cain inherited the slime of the serpent. See *ZḤ* 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1468. **Cain resembling both the higher image and the lower** Through the fallen angel Samael, Cain inherited traits of the upper world; through Adam, he inherited traits of the lower world. Alternatively, the lower image derived from the slime of the serpent; the higher, from Adam, created in the divine image. See *Zohar* 2:231a; *ZḤ* 63c (*ShS*).

1469. **the side of the Angel of Death...** The Angel of Death is a demonic manifestation. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

1470. **from him emerged all evil haunts...** On the demonic descendants of Cain, see El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 26c; *Zohar* 1:9b, 36b, 178a–b; 3:76b, 122a.

1471. קין (*Qayin*), **Cain—קינא** (*qina*), **nest...** The same play on words appears in *Zohar* 2:178a (*SdTs*).

1472. **each from his own side...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:5: "*Cain brought* [*an offering to YHVH*] *from the fruit of the soil*— from the inferior crops." In this midrash the phrase *from the fruit* is taken to mean: "not from the first fruit."

Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Bereshit* 9; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21.

1473. ויהי מקץ ימים (*Vayhi mi-qets yamim*), ***It came to pass at the end of days*** The phrase מקץ ימים (*mi-qets yamim*) is usually taken to mean *in the course of time*, but here Rabbi Shim'on focuses on the literal meaning.

1474. ***end of all flesh...*** **Angel of Death** A manifestation of the demonic. See BT *Ba-va Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

See *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95. On the phrase *end of all flesh*, see *Zohar* 1:58a, 62b.

1475. **not מקץ ימין** (*mi-qets yamin*), ***from the end of the right*** Whereas *the end of days* symbolizes the demonic power of death, *the end of the right* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the culmination of the flow of emanation, characterized by the divine grace of the right side. See *Zohar* 1:75a (*ST*), 152b; 2:134a–b.

1476. **He asked...** Daniel asked God which *end* He intended, the demonic or the divine. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:6; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 17:5; *Zohar* 1:63a, 210b; 2:34a, 181b.

1477. ***from the fruit of the tree*** The verse continues: *in the middle of the garden, God said: "Do not eat from it and do not touch it, lest you die*." See Genesis 2:17: *As for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, do not eat from it, for on the day you eat from it, you will surely die*.

In Kabbalah the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil symbolizes *Shekhinah*. Adam's sin was that he worshiped and partook of *Shekhinah* alone, splitting Her off from the other *sefirot* and divorcing Her from Her husband, *Tif'eret*, the Tree of Life. See above, note 1438. Here Rabbi Shim'on compares Cain's sin to that of Adam: Cain, too, separated *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the soil, from the other *sefirot*.

1478. ***For they shall eat the fruit of their deeds...*** This phrase, addressed by

Isaiah to the righteous, is here applied to the wicked Cain and paired with the phrase *the fruit of the soil*. See Genesis 4:10: *Your brother's blood cries out to Me from the soil*. Cain's murderous act arouses the Angel of Death to avenge his brother.

1479. **amplifying the meaning to include...** לאסגאה (*Le-asga'ah*), "To increase," a Zoharic rendering of the rabbinic Hebrew לרבות (*le-rabbot*), "to increase"— that is, to include, amplify, or widen the scope of meaning. In rabbinic hermeneutics the word גם (*gam*), "also, too," amplifies the literal meaning of a biblical word or phrase. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:14; JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b.

Here the phrase גם הוא (*gam hu*), referring to Abel and usually translated *he, too*, is apparently understood as the object of the sentence: *Him, too*, referring to the divine male. Whereas Cain's demonic offering split *Shekhinah* from Her partner (*Tif'eret*), Abel united Her with Him. See *Zohar* 2:34a, 181b.

1480. **the facet of his side...** The demonic side.

1481. ***And when they were out in the field*** The verse continues: *Cain set upon his brother Abel and killed him*.

1482. **this is a woman, as has been said** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "Rabbi Tsadok said, 'Envy and hatred toward his brother Abel entered Cain's heart because his [Abel's] offering had been accepted. Further, Abel's wife and twin sister was the most beautiful of women. He said, "I will kill my brother Abel and take his woman," as is said: *When they were in the field...*, and *in the field* means "woman," who is compared to a field, as is said: *Man is a tree of the field* (Deuteronomy 20:19).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:7; 63:12; BT *Bava Batra* 16b; *Zohar* 1:35b, 36b; 3:202a–b.

In Kabbalah, *field* symbolizes *Shekhinah*, whom Abel, unlike Cain, successfully united with *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 1:142b; 2:61b. Cf. BT *Ta'anit* 29b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:22; Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 35–37.

1483. **as has been explained** The root נשא (*ns'*) has a range of meaning, including: "lift, remove, forgive." The reference here may be to the interpretation offered by *Targum Onqelos* and adopted by Rashi: "You will be forgiven." Cf. the views of Naḥmanides and Ibn Ezra, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:36b; *ZḤ* 19c–d (*MhN*); Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 4:7, n. 68.

1484. **He will remove from you, forgive you...** God will remove and forgive. Here שאת (*se'et*) is interpreted according to two of its root meanings: "remove" and "forgive."

1485. **Supernal judgment...** ***the gates of justice*** *Shekhinah* is called Justice (or: Righteousness); through Her gate one enters the realm of the *sefirot*. See

Zohar 1:7b, 11b, 36b–37a; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 4b.

1486. **as translated** See *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc.

1487. **as the Companions have established** See BT *Sanhedrin* 37b: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Ḥiyya said, '... Cain inflicted many blows and wounds upon his brother Abel because he did not know whence the soul departs, until he reached his neck.'"

Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Bereshit* 9; and *Zohar* 2:231a–b: "We have found in ancient books that when Cain killed Abel he bit him with bites like a snake till he plucked out his soul and killed him." See Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:139–40, n. 20.

1488. **returned to the presence of his Lord** Repenting sincerely.

1489. **Earth admitted him to a stratum below** To one of the levels beneath the surface of the earth. See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:11; *Sefer Yetsirah* 4:12; *Zohar* 1:9b, 39b–40a, 157a; 3:9b–10a; *ZḤ* 8c–9b (*SO*); 87b (*MhN, Rut*).

1490. ***YHVH put a mark on Cain*** The verse continues: *so that whoever came upon him would not strike him*.

1491. ***Arqa... They shall perish from the earth...*** *Arqa* is one of the levels below Earth, alluded to in the Aramaic verse from Jeremiah: *Thus shall you say to them: "The gods who did not make heaven* וארקא (*ve-arqa*), *and earth, shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens*."

See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 29:10; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 37; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit* 9 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:24); *Zohar* 1:9a–b, 39b.

1492. ***the land of Nod...*** This region, whose name derives from the root "to wander," is here identified with *Arqa*.

1493. **Adam separated from his wife...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26: "Rabbi Simon said, 'For 130 years Adam separated from his wife Eve, for once Cain was killed, Adam said, "Why should I engender children if they become cursed?" What did he do?... Female spirits approached him and heated themselves from him. As the blessed Holy One said to David, "... *When he* [*Solomon*] *does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of* אדם (*adam*)" (2 Samuel 7:14)..., namely, the demons.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11: "Rabbi Simon said, 'Throughout all 130 years that Adam separated himself from Eve, male spirits heated themselves from her and she gave birth, while female spirits heated themselves from Adam and gave birth, as is written: *When he does wrong, I will chastise him with a human rod, with blows of the children of* אדם (*adam*), namely, children of Adam.'"

See BT *Eruvin* 18b; *Zohar* 1:19b, 34b, 54a, 55a; 2:231b, 3:76b; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 51–54.

1494. **female spirits approach and titillate him...** These female demons desire to be impregnated by human semen. See *Zohar* 1:9b, 19b, 47b, 169b; and

the citation of the verse from Samuel in *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 26 and *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:11 (in the previous note).

1495. **solely into the image of human beings** Other demons assume the form of various creatures.

1496. **have no hair on their heads** According to *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bo* 16, "Demons have no hair." See *Rut Rabbah* 6:1; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* 275–76, n. 18; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:192, n. 58. Cf. *Zohar* 3:48b: "Holiness depends on the hair," based on the description of the Nazirite in Numbers 6:5: *He shall be holy, letting the locks of the hair on his head grow untrimmed*.

1497. **After 130 years...** See Genesis 5:3: *When Adam had lived 130 years, he engendered in his likeness, according to his image, and named him Seth*. Cf. above, note 1493. Adam was jealous of Eve's illicit partner, the serpent.

On the phrase "wrapped himself in jealousy," see Isaiah 59:17; *Zohar* 2:231b.

1498. שת (*Shet*), **Seth—mystery of consummation of letters...** This name is composed of the final two letters of the alphabet, all of which were engraved in the process of creation. See *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:2, 4–5: "Twenty-two elemental letters. He engraved them, carved them, weighed them, permuted them, and transposed them— forming with them everything formed and everything destined to be formed.... Twenty-two elemental letters. He set them in a wheel with 231 gates, turning forward and backward.... How did He permute them? א (*Alef*) with them all, all of them with א (*alef*); ב (*bet*) with them all, all of them with ב (*bet*); and so with all the letters, turning round and round, within 231 gates."

The "231 gates" represent the number of two-letter combinations that can be formed from the twenty-two letters, provided that the same letter is not repeated. Cf. *Zohar* 1:33b; *ZḤ* 8c–9a (*SO*); 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1499. **Mystery of vanished spirit, enveloped bodily...** According to Rabbi Yehudah, the soul of Abel disappeared and was then reincarnated in his newborn brother, Seth. On reincarnation in Kabbalah, see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 344–50.

1500. **the other sons derived...** See BT *Eruvin* 18b: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'During all those [130] years that Adam was under the ban [for having eaten from the Tree of Knowledge], he engendered spirits, demons, and female demons, as is said: *Adam lived 130 years and engendered a son in his likeness, after his own image* (Genesis 5:3), from which it follows that until that time he did not engender after his own image'.... That statement refers to semen that he emitted accidentally."

According to BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: "Rav Yosef taught: '... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zoha-ma*), filth [or: slime,

lewdness].'"

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21: "The serpent-rider [Samael] copulated with her and she conceived Cain. Afterward Adam copulated with her and she conceived Abel." Here Rabbi Yehudah and Rabbi Shim'on contend that even Abel was tainted by the serpent's slime.

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1 (variants); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:19b, 34b, 36b–37a, 52a, 54a; 2:231b; 3:76b; *ZḤ* 8c (*SO*); Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 38–53.

1501. **Abel derived from the other side** From the side of holiness. See above, page 303.

1502. **in the image below** In the image of Adam.

1503. **It is not written: *and he engendered...*** Adam's name is linked with neither Cain nor Abel, only with Seth, who was born *in his likeness, according to his image*. See *Zohar* 2:167b–168a.

1504. **For 110 years...** Both the midrashic tradition and the preceding passage in the *Zohar* (above, pages 302–7) specify 130 years, based on Genesis 5:3: *Adam lived 130 years and engendered in his likeness, according to his image*. However, nearly all of the witnesses on this passage (manuscripts and printed editions) read "110 years." *KP* suggests that Abel was killed at age twenty, following which Adam separated from Eve for 110 years.

1505. **the slime he had absorbed** When Adam united with Eve, he was contaminated by the slime previously injected into her by the serpent.

1506. **When a human follows the left side...** When he is seduced by evil.

1507. **What is the point of Scripture specifying her name?** Nothing further is said of her, so why is she mentioned?

1508. **Because human beings stray after her...** Na'amah, whose name means "lovely," was the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Cain. According to rabbinic tradition, the fallen angels were attracted by her beauty.

See Genesis 6:1–4; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat*, add. 1; *Midrash Aggadah* and *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 4:22; and the next note. According to the *Zohar* (1:9b, 19b; 3:76b–77a), Na'amah generates demons by seducing men in their sleep.

1509. **Those *sons of Elohim*, Uzza and Azael...** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2). They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi*

Eli'ezer 22; Zohar 1:23a (*TZ*), 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN, Rut*).

1510. **She was the mother of demons...** In the *Zohar*, Na'amah is the mother of Ashmedai, king of the demons.

See Naḥmanides, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:9b, 19b; 3:76b–77a; *ZḤ* 19d (*MhN*).

1511. **appointed together with Lilith over children's diphtheria** This dread disease originates in Lilith, the demoness who attacks children.

See *Zohar* 1:19b, 33b; 2:264b, 267b; cf. JT *Ta'anit* 4:4, 68b: BT *Berakhot* 8a.

1512. **she was appointed to titillate humans** See above, page 150: "From her [Na'amah], maleficent spirits and demons spread through the world. In the night she roams; they [Na'amah and her offspring] roam the world and titillate humans, causing them to spill seed accidentally. Wherever they find people sleeping alone in a house, they hover above them, grab hold of them, cling to them, seize desire from them, and bear offspring."

1513. **But they die like human beings...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Our Rabbis taught: 'Six things have been said concerning the demons, three of which correspond to the ministering angels and three to human beings. Three correspond to the ministering angels: they have wings, they fly from one end of the world to the other, and they know what will happen in the future.... Three correspond to human beings: they eat and drink, they are fruitful and multiply, and they die.'"

1514. **Agrat daughter of Maḥalat...** Maḥalat was the daughter of Ishmael and wife of Esau (Genesis 28:9). According to rabbinic tradition, her daughter Agrat rules over myriads of demonic powers. See BT *Pesaḥim* 112b: "One should not go out alone at night, neither on the eve of Wednesday nor of Sabbath, for Agrat daughter of Maḥalat along with 180,000 thousand angels of destruction emerge, each independently empowered."

Cf. *Bemidbar Rabbah* 12:3; *Zohar* 3:113b–114a; Baḥya ben Asher, on Genesis 4:22.

1515. **Woe to human beings who do not know, consider, or see!** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Rabbi Yose said, 'Woe to creatures, for they see but do not know what they see, they stand but do not know on what they stand.'"

1516. **If the eye were empowered to see...** See BT *Berakhot* 6a: "Abba Binyamin says, 'If the eye were empowered to see, no creature could endure the demons.'" Cf. *Zohar* 2:142a; 3:104b.

1517. **all those inflamed by human beings...** The demons issuing from Na'amah seduce human beings, inciting them to spill semen (see above, note 1512). The phrase בעלי קריין (*ba'alei qerayin*), "casualties of ejaculation," means

literally "masters [owners] of mishaps," those to whom mishaps happen, those who succumb to nocturnal emission.

1518. **he must bathe to purify himself...** See the law concerning nocturnal emission in Deuteronomy 23:11: *If any man among you becomes impure due to nocturnal mishap, he must go outside the camp; he must not enter the midst of the camp. Toward evening he shall bathe in water, and when the sun sets he may come inside the camp*.

1519. **The blessed Holy One showed Adam...** See BT *Avodah Zarah* 5a: "Did not Resh Lakish say: 'What is the meaning of the verse *This is the book of the generations of Adam*...? Did Adam possess a book? Rather, this teaches that the blessed Holy One showed Adam every generation with its expounders, every generation with its sages, every generation with its leaders. When he reached the generation of Rabbi Akiva [martyred by the Romans], he rejoiced over his [vast knowledge of] Torah and grieved over his death, saying: *How precious to me are Your companions, O God!* [*How mighty their chiefs!*] (Psalms 139:17).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:2; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Zohar* 1:37a–b, 90b, 227b; 2:70a; *ZḤ* 16d (*MhN*).

1520. **David, king of Israel, who died at birth...** According to a midrashic tradition, King David was destined to die at childbirth, but Adam offered him 70 of his own 1000 allotted years, so David lived for 70 years and Adam for 930.

See Genesis 5:5; Jubilees 4:30; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 19, and David Luria, ad loc., n. 31; *Midrash Tehillim* 92:10; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12; *Bereshit Rabbati* 5:5; *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 41; *Zohar* 1:91b, 140a, 168a, 233b, 248b; 2:103b, 235a; *ZḤ* 67d (*ShS*), 81a (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 68 (85); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 383.

1521. **Adam, deed of the blessed Holy One...** Adam, unlike all his descendants, was fashioned solely by God without the participation of human parents.

1522. **the thousand that were his to endure** According to *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12, this was Adam's intended life span, "as is said: *On the day you eat from it, you will surely die* (Genesis 2:17), and a day of the blessed Holy One is a thousand years, as is said: *For a thousand years in Your eyes are like a day just gone by* (Psalms 90:4)."

1523. **Seeing his Torah, he rejoiced; seeing his death, he grieved...** See above, note 1519. According to BT *Menaḥot* 29b, Moses also saw Akiva's Torah and his death.

1524. ***This is the book*—an actual book...** According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel (whose name derives from ר [*raz*], "secret") transmitted a magical book to Adam, though after his departure from the Garden

of Eden.

According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. *The Book of Adam* figures prominently in the *Zohar*, sometimes in the context of physiognomy and chiromancy.

See 1:17b, 37b, 58b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a-b, 70a–b (*RR*), 77a, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54. Cf. *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah* 11b; Naḥmanides on Genesis 5:2.

1525. **Seventy-two species of wisdom...** Corresponding to the seventy-two names of God, a complex divine name derived from the description of the splitting of the Red Sea: Exodus 14:19–21. Each of these three verses contains seventy-two letters. The name is composed of seventy-two triads (or "words"), according to the following pattern: the first letter of the first verse, the last letter of the second verse, the first letter of the third verse (forming the first triad); the second letter of the first verse, the penultimate letter of the second verse, the second letter of the third verse (the second triad); etc.

See *Leqaḥ Tov*, Exodus 14:21; *Bereshit Rabbah* 44:19; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:2; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 2:2; Rashi on BT *Sukkah* 45a, s.v. אני (*ani*); Hai Gaon, *Otsar ha-Ge'onim*, *Ḥagigah* 23; *Bahir* 79 (110); *Zohar* 1:7b, 17a; 2:51b, 132b, 270a; 3:150b–151a; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 95–97; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, 14:67, 284–86.

The 670 engravings may symbolize the seven lower *sefirot*: 600 corresponding to the first six of them, 70 corresponding to the seventh, *Shekhinah*.

1526. **1500 keys...** See *Zohar* 1:37b, where Enoch, also possessing a heavenly book, is said to have one thousand keys. Cf. 1:56b, 92a, 223b.

1527. **Hadraniel** According to *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20, Hadraniel blocked Moses' ascent up Mount Sinai until he was rebuked by God, whereupon he became Moses' guide. See *Zohar* 2:58a, 247a.

1528. **wielding...** משתמש (*Mishtammash*), "Using." The verb has theurgic connotations. See M *Avot* 1:13; *Zohar* 1:31b; Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 54, n. 36; idem, *Major Trends*, 358, n. 17.

1529. **He entered the waters of Gihon...** On Adam's repentance, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:13; BT *Avodah Zarah* 8a; and *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 20: "On the first day of the week, Adam entered the waters of the upper Gihon until the waters reached his neck, and he fasted seven weeks until his body became like a sieve." Gihon is the name of one of the four rivers of the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:13) as well as the spring providing water for Jerusalem. See David

Luria on *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 20, n. 30; *Zohar* 2:35a.

The phrase "moldered his skin" derives from the story of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai and his son, Rabbi El'azar, who hid from the Roman authorities in a cave for thirteen years "until their bodies were afflicted with moldy sores" (*Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6). See *Zohar* 1:11a. On Adam's luster, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:6 (and Theodor, ad loc.).

1530. **Raphael...** The angel of healing.

1531. **Similarly a book was given to Enoch...** Concerning Enoch, Genesis 5:24 states: *He was no more, for God took him*. In postbiblical literature this verse is taken to mean that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in the Enoch literature. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by this literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes.

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 37b, 72b; 2:55a, 100a, 105b, 180b, 192b, 217a; 3:10b, 236b, 240a, 248b, 253b, 307a; *ZḤ* 2c (*SO*). Cf. *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 38; *Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 5:24; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:156–64, nn. 58–61; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 80–83.

1532. **Supernal secrets are revealed...** These two verses (Genesis 5:1–2) are cited elsewhere as biblical indications of the secret arts of physiognomy and chiromancy. See above, note 1524; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 317–19.

Such techniques were employed by the Merkavah mystics to ascertain whether a potential initiate was fit to receive esoteric teachings. *The book of the generations of Adam* was taken to mean "the book of human character and fate." *Male and female He created them* implied that chiromantic prediction varied according to sex, the right hand being the determining factor for the male, the left hand for the female.

1533. **revealing supernal glory, mystery of faith...** The human being mirrors the structure of divinity, the ten *sefirot*, in which masculine and feminine are balanced. The union of the divine couple engenders all human souls and constitutes רזא דמהימנותא (*raza dimheimanuta*), "the mystery of faith," the belief system of Kabbalah.

See *Bahir* 55 (82); *Zohar* 1:101b, 160a; 3:117a, 141b (*IR*).

1534. **heaven and earth... Adam...** Rabbi Shim'on proves the correspondence between Adam's creation and the creation of heaven and earth by verbal analogy (*ge-zerah shavah*, "equal category"), a common rabbinic technique of interpretation. The human being is a microcosm.

See *Tanḥuma*, *Pequdei* 3; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 31; *Qohelet Rabbah* on 1:4; *Zohar* 1:90b, 134b, 186b.

1535. **mystery of our Mishnah** This formulation appears nowhere in the Mishnah. Rabbi Shim'on is apparently alluding to a secret, mystical Mishnah

known only to his circle. See *Zohar* 1:37b, 91b, 93a, 95b, 96a, 224a, 252a (*Hash*); 3:57b, 61b, 78a, 284b, 285a. (This is to be distinguished from the *Matnitin* of the *Zohar*, on which see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 216).

See BT *Bava Batra* 74b: "Rabbi Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'Everything that the blessed Holy One created in His world He created male and female.'" See *Zohar* 1:157b; 2:144b.

1536. **Blessings are found solely...** See BT *Yevamot* 62b: "Rabbi Tanḥum said in the name of Rabbi Ḥanilai, 'Any man without a wife is without joy, without blessing, without goodness."

See *Zohar* 1:165a, 182a; 3:74b; 296a (*IZ*).

1537. **One is not even called אדם (*adam*), human...** See BT *Yevamot* 63b: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Any אדם (*adam*), man, without a wife is not an *adam*, as is said: *Male and female He created them... and He named them adam*.'" See *Bereshit Rabbah* 17:2.

Rabbi Shim'on is also alluding to the original androgynous nature of Adam, reflecting the divine union of male and female, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:1: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him androgynous, as is said: *Male and female He created them* (Genesis 1:27).' Rabbi Shemu'el son of Naḥman said, 'When the blessed Holy One created Adam, He created him with two faces. Then He sawed him and gave him two backs, one on this side and one on that.'"

See BT *Berakhot* 61a; *Eruvin* 18a; Plato, *Symposium* 189d–191d; *Zohar* 1:2b, 13b, 47a; 2:55a, 144b; 3:5a, 44b; Matt, *Zohar*, 217.

1538. **Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed...** See M *Sotah* 9:12: "Rabban Shim'on son of Gamli'el says in the name of Rabbi Yehoshu'a, 'Ever since the day that the Temple was destroyed, there is no day without a curse, dew has not descended as a blessing, and flavor has departed from fruit.'"

In Kabbalah the destruction of the Temple symbolizes the separation of the divine couple. See *Zohar* 1:70b, 134a; 3:74b.

1539. ***The righteous one loses...*** Usually translated: *The righteous one perishes*. Rabbi Yehudah understands the verse to mean that *Yesod* ("Foundation"), known as *Righteous One*, loses the flow of emanation intended for *Shekhinah*, known as *Faith*. See *Zohar* 1:182a; 3:16b. *Yesod*'s title, *Righteous One*, is based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation* but is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

1540. **Similarly, *He blessed them...*** Both passages specify that the human

being was created *male and female*, a condition essential to receiving blessing.

1541. **Back to שת (*Shet*), Seth, all generations trace...** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12: "*He named him* שת (*Shet*), *Seth* (Genesis 5:3), because on him the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded."

On the righteous descending from Seth, see *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:36b, 38a, 54a, 55a; 3:77a.

1542. **These are the final letters...** The letters ש (*shin*) and ת (*tav*), which spell שת (*Shet*), Seth, are the final letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

1543. **when he returned to the presence of his Lord** Repenting sincerely.

1544. **Adam violated all the letters of Torah...** By his sin, Adam ruined the creative flow of emanation, pictured as a linguistic stream. So the letters of the alphabet were reversed. By turning back to God, he began to restore the letters to their proper order; the first two to be restored were ש (*shin*) and ת (*tav*), which Adam employed to name his son שת (*Shet*), Seth. The process of alphabetic restoration was completed at Mount Sinai, when language manifested perfectly through the revelation of Torah, a renewal of the act of Creation.

See *Zohar* 1:67b; 2:51b; *ZḤ* 66c–d (*ShS*), 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*). On the letters appearing in reverse order at Creation, see *Zohar* 1:2b, 205b; *ZḤ* 88c–d (*MhN*, *Rut*).

The phrase "turned fragrant and firm" renders both senses of אתבסם (*itbassam*), "was sweetened" or "was firmly established."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 66:2; *Midrash Shemu'el* 26:4; *Zohar* 1:30b, 31a, 34a, 37a, 137a; 2:143a, 168a, 227a; 3:18a; N. Bronsnick, in *Sinai* 63 (1968): 81–85; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 44; idem, *Kabbalah*, 228.

1545. **heaven and earth sought to uproot themselves...** See *Shemot Rabbah* 47:4: "[God said to Israel,] 'Had you not accepted My Torah, I would have returned the world to *chaos and void* (Genesis 1:2), as is said: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night*, [*I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*]. Why? Because with Torah I created heaven and earth.... If you annul the covenant [of Torah], you cause Me to return the upper and lower realms to *chaos and void*.'"

See BT *Shabbat* 33a, 88a, and 137b, where the verse from Jeremiah is applied to the covenant of circumcision: "Were it not for the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth would not endure, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant with day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*."

Cf. *Zohar* 1:32a, 59b, 66b, 89a, 93b.

1546. **Adam violated the covenant...** Adam's sin is related specifically to the covenant of circumcision. See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'He

[Adam] stretched his foreskin. Here is written: *Like Adam, they violated the covenant*, and there is written: *He has broken My covenant* [by not fulfilling the command of circumcision] (Genesis 17:14).'" The phrase "stretched his foreskin" refers to epispasm, an attempt to disguise circumcision by cutting and pulling forward the loose skin of the penis to form a partial foreskin.

In the *Zohar*, Adam's sin is understood as ruining the union of *Shekhinah* and *Yesod*, the divine phallus, site of the covenant. See *Zohar* 1:35b, 53b.

1547. **בראשית (*Be-reshit*), *In the beginning:* ברא שית (*bara shit*), *created foundation*** The opening word of the Torah, בראשית (*Bereshit*), is divided in two. See BT *Sukkah* 49a: "It was taught in the school of Rabbi Yishma'el: '*Be-reshit*... Do not read בראשית (*Be-reshit*) but rather ברא שית (*bara shit*),'" referring to the שיתין (*shitin*), "hollows, pits," beneath the main Temple altar, into which the wine and water of libation flowed.

Here Rabbi Ḥizkiyah alludes to the covenant of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), upon which the world is based and through which it receives the flow of emanation. Elsewhere the phrase ברא שית (*bara shit*) means "created six," which also applies to *Yesod*, sixth of the seven lower *sefirot*.

See *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:19); *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 1:1, 11–12; *Zohar* 1:3b, 15b, 30a, 39b.

1548. **wrenching it from its site** Disrupting the union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*.

1549. **This covenant is intimated by the letter י (*yod*)...** The mark of circumcision is pictured as the smallest of the Hebrew letters. In *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 14, *Shemini* 8, this mark is identified with the י (*yod*) of the divine name שדי (*Shaddai*). A German Hasidic tradition identifies the mark with the *yod* of יהוה (*YHVH*). Here the י (*yod*) signifies *Yesod* ("Foundation").

See *Zohar* 1:2b, 13a, 95a–b; 2:36a, 216b; 3:142a (*IR*), 215b, 220a, 256a (*RM*); Wolfson, in *JQR* 78 (1987): 77–112; idem, *Circle in the Square*, 29–48.

1550. **When he engendered a son...** When Adam engendered his third son, he named him שת (*shet*), Seth, and not שית (*shit*), "foundation," which contains the letter י (*yod*). The missing letter implied that he had impaired *Yesod* ("Foundation"). See *TZ* 69 (110a, 119a).

1551. **So from here the blessed Holy One sowed the world...** Since Adam repented. אשתיל (*Ashtil*), "Sowed, planted" is a play on the midrashic wording (*Bemidbar Rabbah* 14:12): "*He named him* שת (*Shet*), *Seth* (Genesis 5:3), because on him the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded."

See *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 37; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:36b, 38a, 54a, 55a–b; 3:77a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:148, n. 50; Liebes, *Peraqim, 372–73*; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 74.

1552. **between these two letters...** Between the letters ש (*shin*) and ת (*tav*).

1553. ב (*Bet*), **entering between the two surviving letters...** The letter ב (*bet*) symbolizes ברית (*berit*), "covenant." ש (*Shin*) and ת (*tav*), the final letters of the alphabet, were the first to be restored to their proper order after Adam violated all the letters of Torah (see above, page 315).

1554. שבת (*shabbat*), **Sabbath...** Composed of all three letters and identified as the *covenant* of *Yesod*.

1555. **As at the beginning of the world...** Following the tragedy of Cain and Abel, שת (*Shet*), Seth, represented a new beginning of humanity. Similarly at Mount Sinai, the letters ש (*shin*) and ת (*tav*) symbolized a new beginning, which unfolded when they were joined by the letter ב (*bet*).

1556. **When the letters were reversed...** See above, note 1544.

1557. **In the days of Enosh...** According to rabbinic tradition, the generation of Enosh was the first to commit idolatry by worshiping the heavenly bodies.

See *Mekhilta*, *Baḥodesh* 6; *Bereshit Rabbah* 23:7; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:26; Rashi on Genesis, ibid.; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Avodah Zarah* 1:1; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:151, n. 54.

Here the sin is sorcery and specifically interfering with heavenly powers.

1558. **the wisdom of the leaves of the tree** The leaves of the Tree of Knowledge convey the knowledge of magic. See *Zohar* 1:36b, 53b, 63b. Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

1559. **saw them** Saw the leaves of the tree.

1560. **Defying Noah...** According to a rabbinic tradition, Noah attempted to warn his contemporaries and induce them to repent, but he was unsuccessful. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7; *Tanḥuma, Noaḥ* 5; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a–b. Armed with magical knowledge, the sinners of Noah's generation were confident that they could repel the powers of judgment.

1561. ***Then the name of YHVH was invoked profanely*** The verse means literally: *Then* הוחל (*huḥal*), *it was begun, to invoke the name YHVH*. Here, following midrashic tradition, the word הוחל (*huḥal*) is derived from the root meaning "profane" and applied to the practice of sorcery. See above, note 1557.

1562. **Jered, Methuselah, and Enoch** See Genesis 5:15–27; *Sefer ha-Yashar, Noaḥ*, 56.

1563. ***What is Shaddai that we should serve Him?*** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:6.

1564. **since they knew all those modes of wisdom...** They thought that with their magical knowledge they could block any form of heavenly punishment.

1565. **it was water intermingled with water** הוה מים במים (*Havah mayim be-*

mayim). See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayaqhel* 6: "When the blessed Holy One created His world, היה העולם כלו מים במים (*hayah ha-olam kullo mayim be-mayim*), it was entirely water intermingled with water."

Cf. JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 1; *Shemot Rabbah* 50:1; *Zohar* 1:17b. Only on the second day of Creation were the waters separated (see Genesis 1:6–7).

1566. ***YHVH* sat enthroned at the Flood, not *Elohim*** In rabbinic literature these two names represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice.

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; *Zohar* 1:64b; 2:187a, 227b.

1567. **they knew the angel empowered over fire...** See *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:5, describing the scene in Jerusalem on the eve of the Babylonian attack: "Before the vicious enemy came, Jeremiah kept calling to them, 'Turn back to God so that you will not go into exile.' They retorted, 'If the enemy comes, what can they do to us?' One said, '[By invoking the aid of the appropriate heavenly prince] I will surround the city with a wall of water.' Another said, 'I will surround it with a wall of fire.' Another said, 'I will surround it with a wall of iron.' The blessed Holy One replied, 'You are exploiting what is Mine!' He immediately changed the names of the angels, empowering the angel in charge of water over fire, and the one in charge of fire over iron, so when they invoked their names below, they did not respond."

Here Rabbi Yitsḥak adapts the midrashic account to the eve of the Flood. See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 281–82; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Avodah Zarah* 1:1–2.

1568. **as long as those righteous ones...** Such as Jered, Methuselah, and Enoch (see above, page 318).

1569. **This verse has been discussed** See BT *Shabbat* 88b, where the verse is applied to the Children of Israel at Sinai. Cf. *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:12.

1570. **one day he will decay...** Since God knows that the person will degenerate morally, He plucks him prematurely from the world. See *Qohelet Rabbah* on 7:23, and below.

1571. **במסבו** (***Bimsibbo***), ***On his couch*—a person cleaving to Him...** The human devotee has transformed himself into a dwelling place for God.

1572. **those, so they turn back to Him...** The days of the wicked are prolonged to enable them to turn back to God or to engender worthy children.

See BT *Bava Qamma* 38b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 32:4; *Zohar* 1:118a (*MhN*), 140a, 227a.

1573. **Enoch was pure...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 25:1: "*Enoch walked with*

God; then he was no more, for God took him.... Rabbi Aivu said, ‘Enoch was a hypocrite, sometimes righteous, sometimes wicked. The blessed Holy One said, “While he is righteous I will remove him.”’”

See Theodor, ad loc.; *Wisdom of Solomon* 4:10–11; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 6:2; *Zohar* 2:10b, 96a; *ZḤ* 20a–b (*MhN*), 36b (*ST*); cf. M *Sanhedrin* 8:5; *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 218.

1574. **He *took him* from the earth, raised him to the highest heavens...** God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in *The Book of Enoch*.

See *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 38; *Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 5:24; *Zohar* 1:37b, 55b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:156–64, nn. 58–61; Margaliot, *Mal’akhei Elyon*, 80–83.

The number forty-five may allude to the numerical value of the divine name יהוה (*YHVH*) spelled out according to its letters: יוד (*yod*), הא (*he*), ואו (*vav*), הא (*he*), which equals the value of the word אדם (*adam*). See *Zohar* 1:34b.

In Heikhalot literature Enoch is identified with the chief angel, Metatron, sometimes described as יהוה קטן (*YHVH Qatan*), “Lesser *YHVH*.” See BT *Yevamot* 16b, and *Tosafot*, s.v. *pasuq zeh; Sanhedrin* 38b; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 5:24; *Zohar* 1:21a, 37b, 223b; 2:179a (*SdTs*), Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 378–79; Margaliot, *Mal’akhei Elyon*, 89–90.

1575. **This verse has been discussed...** See BT *Sotah* 42a; *Niddah* 13b.

1576. **defiles himself and is defiled...** See BT *Shabbat* 104a: “Resh Lakish said, ‘... If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening; if one comes to purify himself, he is assisted.’”

See *Yoma* 39a: “Our Rabbis taught: ‘*Do not defile yourselves with them, and thus become defiled* (Leviticus 11:43). If one defiles himself slightly, he is defiled greatly; below, he is defiled from above; in this world, he is defiled in the world to come.’”

Cf. *Zohar* 1:53b–54a, 169b, 198b; 2:50a; 3:47a.

1577. **spilled blood upon the earth fruitlessly** An allusion to masturbation. See BT *Niddah* 13a: “Rabbi Yitsḥak and Rabbi Ammi said, ‘[Whoever emits semen fruitlessly] is as though he sheds blood.’”

See *Zohar* 1:188a, 219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66.

1578. **Who wasted their ways upon earth?** See Genesis 6:12: *God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth*. The expression *corrupted their way* is interpreted as referring to masturbation in *Kallah Rabbati* 2, which cites Genesis 38:9: שחת ארצה [*Shiḥet artsah*], *He* [Onan] *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground*.

See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:62a, 69a.

1579. ***Er, firstborn of Judah, was evil...*** Genesis does not specify the nature of Er's sin, but rabbinic tradition maintains that it was the same as that of his younger brother, Onan, who let his seed *waste on the ground* (Genesis 38:9).

See BT *Yevamot* 34b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 38:7.

1580. **One is called *wicked...*** רשע (*Rasha*) means both "wicked" and "guilty." See BT *Sanhedrin* 58b: "Resh Lakish said, 'One who raises his hand against his fellow, even if he does not strike him, is called *rasha*, wicked, as is written: *He* [Moses] *said to the rasha, guilty one: Why will you strike your fellow?* (Exodus 2:13). It is not written *Why did you strike?* but rather *Why will you strike?* Even though he had not yet struck him, he was called *rasha*.'"

1581. **one is only called *evil* if he wastes his way...** The act of masturbation nourishes the demonic.

See *Zohar* 1:19a, 188a, 219b; 3:90a, 158a; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66. Above (pages 309–10) it is said that Na'amah, mother of demons, titillates men in their sleep, causing nocturnal emissions.

1582. **He never enters the palace...** See BT *Niddah* 13b: "Rabbi Ammi said, 'Whoever excites himself lustfully is not allowed to enter the domain of the blessed Holy One.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:69a; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 23b.

Sexual purity is a prerequisite for encountering *Shekhinah*, who in general flees from sin. See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'Whoever sins secretly, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*.'"

1583. **he thought there was a blemish in his sons** See BT *Pesaḥim* 56a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish said, '... [Upon his death bed] Jacob wished to reveal to his sons the end of days, but *Shekhinah* departed from him. He said, "Perhaps, Heaven forbid, there is someone unfit in my bed [i.e., among my children], like Abraham, from whom issued Ishmael, or like my father Isaac, from whom issued Esau." His sons answered him, "*Hear, O Israel!* [i.e., Jacob]. *YHVH is our God, YHVH is one* (Deuteronomy 6:4): just as there is only *one* in your heart, so there is only *one* in ours." At that moment our father Jacob opened and exclaimed, "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever."'"

1584. **impure spirit was empowered... light of the moon diminished...** Human misconduct diminishes the light of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, and empowers the demonic.

See BT *Ḥullin* 60b; *Zohar* 1:19b–20a, 146a.

1585. **this defiles the sanctuary...** Sin, especially sexual sin, defiles

Shekhinah, symbolized by the sanctuary.

1586. **by that one called *evil*** By the demonic, which manifests as the evil impulse. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:35b, 52a, 198a–b, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394-95.

1587. ***Passing the night in contentment...*** Not being seduced by lust. See BT *Sukkah* 52b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'Man has a small organ. If he starves it, it is satisfied; if he satisfies it, it is hungry.'"

1588. **till eventually they make that sin as thick and strong as *a cart rope...*** See BT *Sukkah* 52a: "Rabbi Assi said, 'The evil impulse at first resembles the thread of a spider but ultimately it resembles cart ropes, as is said: *Woe unto them who haul iniquity with cords of nothingness, and sin as with a cart rope*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:5a.

1589. ***No entertainment was brought before him*** Describing the scene in the palace of King Darius, after he sent Daniel to the lions' den. Here the verse is applied to God.

1590. **since they are the work of His hands...** See BT *Megillah* 10b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '[At the Red Sea] the ministering angels wanted to sing, but the blessed Holy One said, "The work of My hands is drowning in the sea, and you are singing?"'" Rabbi Yose understands the verse in Genesis to mean: *YHVH was sorry* [about punishing them] *because He had made humankind on earth, and His heart was saddened*.

1591. **But it is written...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 5b: "*If you will not listen, My soul will weep in secret because of the arrogance* (Jeremiah 13:17).... But is there weeping in the presence of [i.e., on the part of] the blessed Holy One? Look, Rabbi Papa has said: 'There is no sadness in the presence of the blessed Holy One, as is said: *Splendor and majesty are before Him, power and joy in His place*.' There is no contradiction: this refers to the inner chambers; that refers to the outer chambers." The last sentence is usually taken to mean: "This [the weeping] refers to the inner chambers; that [the joy] refers to the outer chambers."

1592. ***His heart,* no other place...** The divine sadness is confined to *Shekhinah*, the last *sefirah*, known as *heart* and *soul*, while in the higher realms joy prevails. This view accords with Ḥanan'el ben Ḥushi'el's interpretation of the passage cited from *Ḥagigah* in the previous note: "This [the joy] refers to the inner chambers; that [the weeping] refers to the outer chambers."

See *Zohar* 1:163a (and *KP*, ad loc.); 2:17b–18a; 3:15b; Margaliot, *Sha'arei Zohar*, *Ḥagigah* 5b.

1593. ***YHVH* renounced, the evil...** In this verse, the word וינחם (*va-yinnaḥem*) can be rendered variously: "changed His mind, retracted, renounced, relented, repented, regretted, was sorry." Rabbi Yitsḥak apparently understands the word in the sense of "renounced," and similarly in Genesis 6:6: *YHVH renounced having made humankind on earth*.

1594. **returning to God** Repenting sincerely.

1595. **that site of judgment...** *Shekhinah*, who receives the power of judgment from *Gevurah* and executes it upon humans. See *Zohar* 1:70b.

1596. ויתעצב אל לבו (***Va-yit'atstsev el libbo***), *His heart was embittered...* *Shekhinah*, known as both *heart* and Judgment, was empowered by the harshness of *Gevurah*.

1597. ***What is a human that You are mindful of him...*** See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b: "Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav: 'When the blessed Holy One sought to create the human being, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and asked them, "Is it your desire that we make the human being in our image?" They responded, "Master of the Universe, what are his deeds?" He replied, "Such and such are his deeds." They exclaimed, "Master of the Universe, *What is a human that You are mindful of him, a human being that You take note of him?*" He stretched out His little finger among them and burned them. The same thing happened with a second company. The third company said to Him, "Master of the Universe, the former ones who spoke in Your presence—what did they accomplish? The entire world is Yours! Whatever You wish to do in Your world, do it." When He reached the members of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the Tower of Babel], whose deeds were corrupt, they [the angels] said to Him, "Master of the Universe, didn't the first ones speak well?" He responded, "*Till your old age, I am He; till you turn grey, I will carry you* [*I have made and I will bear; I will carry and deliver*] (Isaiah 46:4)."'" Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:6; 31:12.

1598. **as is said: *going forth before the warriors...*** When King Jehoshaphat of Judah was attacking Moab and Ammon, he stationed singers ahead of the troops. See BT *Megillah* 10b: "Does the blessed Holy One rejoice in the downfall of the wicked? Look at what is written: *going forth before the warriors, exclaiming: 'Praise YHVH, for His love endures forever,'* and Rabbi Yoḥanan has said, 'Why isn't the phrase *for He is good* [which usually follows *Praise YHVH* and is here interpreted as *for it is good*] omitted from this praise? Because the blessed Holy One does not rejoice in the downfall of the wicked.' And Rabbi Yoḥanan said further, 'What is the meaning of the verse: *One did not approach the other all night long?* [In its literal sense, this verse refers to the Israelites and the Egyptians.] The ministering angels [referred to as *one* and *the other* in Isaiah

6:3] wanted to sing, but the blessed Holy One said, "The work of My hands is drowning in the sea, and you are singing?"'"

This midrash is sometimes cited to explain the reduced version of the *Hallel* prayer on the latter days of Passover, commemorating the crossing of the Red Sea.

1599. **You have weakened supernal power!** Human sin impairs the divine. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 1:33: "Rabbi Azariah said in the name of Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Simon, 'When Israel enact the will of the Omnipresent, they strengthen heavenly power, as is said: *In God we generate strength* (Psalms 60:14). When Israel do not enact the will of the Omnipresent, they weaken, as it were, the great power of the One above, as is written: *You weakened the Rock that engendered you* (Deuteronomy 32:18).'"

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 319; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:12; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 25:1; *Zohar* 2:32b, 64a, 65b.

In the *Zohar*, Adam's sin is understood as ruining the union of the divine couple, *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 1:35b, 53b.

1600. **one light...** The light of *Shekhinah*, now separated from Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

1601. **I brought you into the Garden of Eden to bring an offering...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:5: "[*YHVH Elohim took the human and placed him in the Garden of Eden*] *to work it and tend it* (Genesis 2:15)—these are the offerings." *Zohar* 1:141b, 199b; 2:165b; 3:263a.

Here, "to bring an offering" means to bring the *sefirot* together by uniting *Shekhinah* and *Tif'eret*. *Shekhinah* is symbolized by both the altar and the Garden.

1602. ***to till the ground*** Having failed to serve *Shekhinah*, symbolized by earth, Adam is banished from the Garden and condemned to till the earth.

1603. **the blessed Holy One treasured him away close to the Garden...** Guided by a ray of light emanating from the Garden, Adam dug a cave close by, a cave later known as the Cave of Machpelah (Genesis 23), where all the patriarchs and matriarchs (except for Rachel) were buried. According to rabbinic tradition, Adam and Eve were buried there as well.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 58:8; BT *Eruvin* 53a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 20, 36; *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 23:9; *Zohar* 1:81a (*ST*), 127a–128b, 248b; 3:164a; *ZḤ* 21a (*MhN*), 79d (*MhN*).

1604. **On account of you, I am leaving the world** Because of Adam's sin, death was decreed upon humanity.

1605. **No one departs from the world without first seeing Adam...** See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 19:18: "Death is decreed upon all the righteous who spring from him [Adam], They do not depart this life without first gazing upon the face

of *Shekhinah* and reproving Adam, saying: 'You inflicted death upon us!' Adam responds: 'As for me, I possess only one sin, while in your case, every single one of you possesses more than four.'" See *Tanḥuma, Ḥuqqat* 16; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat* 39; *Zohar* 1:65b, 81a (*ST*), 127a.

1606. **Adam endures, gazing at the patriarchs...** Adam points out to them his former site in the Garden.

1607. **due to his own sins...** As opposed to the doctrine of original sin. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 29; and BT *Shabbat* 55a: "Rabbi Ammi said, 'There is no death without sin; there is no suffering without iniquity. There is no death without sin, for it is written: *The soul who sins is the one who will die. The son will not share the guilt of the father, nor the father the guilt of the son....* (Ezekiel 18:20).'"

1608. **except for those three...** See BT *Shabbat* 55b: "Four died through the incitement of the serpent, namely: Benjamin the son of Jacob, Amram the father of Moses, Jesse the father of David, and Chileab the son of David." According to this view, these four individuals did not sin on their own but died only because of the sin of Adam and Eve, who were enticed by the serpent.

Here the *Zohar* substitutes Levi for Chileab; see Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar* (1st ed.), 115. Cf. above, page 296, where only Joshua (who did not participate in the sin of the Golden Calf) is specified.

1609. **brazenly, in sight of all** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:60b.

1610. **drawing the bow taut with the shaft of a centaur** A cryptic reference to masturbation. On the phallic association of the bow, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 87:7; BT *Sanhedrin* 92a. Cf. BT *Ḥagigah* 15a: "Shemu'el said, 'Any emission of semen that does not shoot forth like an arrow does not fructify.'"

קולפא (*Qulpa*) means "pole, lance, shaft, club, strap" (see *Zohar* 1:29a, 32a). קנטיר (*Qantir*), is "centaur," the mythical creature who is half-human, half-horse. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 23:6; *Ma'arikh*, s.v. *qtr*.

1611. **He cast his eyes upon them...** On the destructive power of Rabbi Shim'on's gaze, see BT *Shabbat* 33b–34a; JT *Shevi'it* 9:1, 38d; *Bereshit Rabbah* 79:6; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 11:16; *Qohelet Rabbah* on 10:9; *Midrash Tehillim* 17:13; *Eikhah Zuta* 1:43. In all of these sources (except the last), the context is the purification of Tiberias. The sea mentioned here is the Sea of Galilee.

1612. **Every sin committed openly repels *Shekhinah*...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'Whoever sins secretly, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a, 61a, 68b–69a.

1613. **haughtily, with head erect...** ברישא זקיף (*Be-reisha zeqif*), "With head erect." See BT *Berakhot* 43b: "Whoever walks with a haughty [literally, "erect"]

stature even for four cubits, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*."

1614. ***Remove the wicked from the presence of the king...*** The first of the cited verses continues: *and his throne will be established in justice*. The second verse reads: *Remove the dross from silver, and a vessel emerges for the smith*.

1615. ***My spirit shall not abide in humanity forever, since they, too, are flesh*** The verse continues: *Let his days be a hundred and twenty years*.

1616. **to perform as above** The world below is modeled on the divine realm and sustained by the stream of emanation.

See *Zohar* 1:38a, 129a, 145b, 156b, 158b, 205b; 2:15b (*MhN*), 20a (*MhN*), 48b, 82b, 251a (*Heikh*); 3:40b, 65b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:273.

1617. **the spirit of life above...** The flow of emanation, which emerges from the highest realms of the *sefirot* and proceeds to *Tif'eret*, symbolized by Jacob.

1618. **this world in which King David abides** *Shekhinah*, also known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"), symbolized by the ideal king, David.

1619. **לעלם (*le-olam*), *forever*, without a ו (*vav*)...** In the verse in Genesis (*My spirit shall not abide in humanity* לעלם [*le-olam*], *forever*), the word לעלם (*le-olam*) is written without the letter ו (*vav*), a spelling that alludes to *Shekhinah* without Her partner, *Tif'eret*. He together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* to *Yesod*) is symbolized by this letter whose numerical value is six.

See *Minḥat Shai* on Genesis 6:3; Exodus 3:15; 31:17; BT *Pesaḥim* 50a.

1620. **Now that humans sinned...** In the generation of the Flood.

1621. **Amplifying the meaning to include...** לאסגאה (*Le-asga'ah*), "To increase," a Zoharic rendering of the rabbinic Hebrew לרבות (*le-rabbot*), "to increase"— that is, to include, amplify, or widen the scope of meaning. In rabbinic hermeneutics the word גם (*gam*), "also, too," amplifies the literal meaning of a biblical word or phrase. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:14; JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b.

Here the word *too* amplifies the meaning to include the serpent, who lurks beneath *Shekhinah*, craving the rich nourishment of emanation.

1622. ***he is flesh*, as is said: *End of all flesh*...** The demonic primordial serpent is known as *End of all flesh* (see *Zohar* 1:35b, 54a, 62b) and identified with the Angel of Death. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:52a, 202a; 2:262b–263a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 394–95.

Rabbi El'azar apparently reads the verse: *My spirit shall not abide in* אדם (*adam*) [namely, *Tif'eret*, known as Primordial Adam, so that the flow of emanation will not continue] לעלם (*le-olam*), *to the world* [of *Shekhinah*], *since he, too* [the serpent, lurking beneath *Shekhinah*], *is flesh* [and would be nourished]. Alternatively, *My spirit shall not abide in humanity* לעלם (*le-olam*) [because

Shekhinah is lacking ו (*vav*) due to Adam's sin], *since he, too* [the serpent, lurking beneath *Shekhinah*], *is flesh* [and would be nourished].

1623. **duration of banded diadem** One of the *Zohar*'s neologistic phrases, apparently alluding to the splendid bond of body and soul. On קוזפירא (*quzpira*), "diadem," see *Zohar* 2:175a; 3:154a.

1624. **These are Uzza and Azael...** These two angels opposed the creation of Adam and Eve, fell from heaven, and were attracted by *the daughters of men* (Genesis 6:2). They were punished by being bound in chains of iron in the mountains of darkness, from where they still manage to wreak havoc, teaching sorcery to humans.

See 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:9b, 23a, 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1625. ***Let birds fly upon the earth...*** Certain angels, symbolized by birds, manifest in human form *upon the earth*.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:3; *Devarim Rabbah* 8:2; *Zohar* 1:13a, 34a–b, 46b, 101a, 144a; 3:39b.

1626. **'They turn countless shades'** See BT *Yoma* 75a, where demons are said to "turn many colors." Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 21:9, commenting on a *blazing, ever-turning sword* (Genesis 3:24): "*Ever-turning*—changing: sometimes male, sometimes female; sometimes spirits, sometimes angels."

See *Zohar* 1:44a, 53b, 165a (*ST*), 237a; 3:19b.

1627. **abiding on it, unable to strip themselves of it** They had materialized so fully that they could not escape the physical realm. See *ZḤ* 81a (*MhN*, *Rut*).

1628. **Mighty Giants** See *Zohar* 3:160b.

1629. **the *nefilim* themselves are called *sons of Elohim*...** See Genesis 6:2–4; *Zohar* 1:19b, 37a, 55a; 3:144a (*IR*).

1630. **When a person seeks vengeance...** See *Tanḥuma*, *Va'era* 14: "The way the world operates, if a person wants to do something evil to his enemy, he does it suddenly to catch him unawares. But the blessed Holy One warned Pharaoh before every single plague [so that he might turn back to God]."

Cf. BT *Yoma* 86b, citing Job 33:29.

1631. **He announced it to them through Noah, warning them...** Noah attempted to warn his contemporaries and induce them to repent, but he was unsuccessful. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7; *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a–b.

1632. ***He named him* נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah, saying...*** The full verse reads: *He*

named him נח (*Noaḥ*), *Noah, saying: This one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *will provide us relief, from our labor and from the painful toil of our hands caused by the soil that* YHVH *cursed*. Here Noah is named by his father Lamech.

1633. **How did he know?...** How did Lamech, Noah's father, know that his son would *provide relief*? See *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 11: "How did he know to say, *This one will provide us relief from our labor*...? Was he a prophet? Rabbi Shim'on son of Yehotsadak said, 'They had been taught that when the blessed Holy One said to Adam, *Cursed is the ground because of you; by painful toil will you eat of it all the days of your life* (Genesis 3:17), Adam asked, "Master of the world, for how long?" He replied, "Until a human is born circumcised." When Noah was born circumcised, Lamech immediately knew and said, "Indeed, *this one will provide us relief*...!"'"

See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 2; *Tanḥuma, Noaḥ* 5; *Zohar* 1:59b. According to the *Zohar*, the mark of circumcision signifies union with *Shekhinah*; see *Zohar* 1:2b, 13a.

1634. **At first they did not know how to sow...** See *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* 11: "Before Noah was born, people did not reap what they sowed. If they sowed wheat, they reaped thorns and thistles. Once Noah was born, the world became arable once again. They reaped what they sowed, sowing wheat and reaping wheat, sowing barley and reaping barley. Furthermore, until Noah was born, they worked by hand... Once Noah was born, he invented plows, scythes, spades, and all kinds of tools." Cf. *Zohar* 1:38a, 97b.

1635. **as is said: איש נעמי** (***ish no'omi***), ***husband of Naomi...*** This verse demonstrates that איש (*ish*) can mean "husband." Noah was not simply *man of the soil*, but *husband of Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by earth. He fulfilled the role of *Yesod*, known as Righteous, uniting with the divine feminine. Similarly, Moses is called איש האלהים (*ish ha-Elohim*), *husband of Elohim*. See above, pp. 41–42, n. 288. Cf. 1:59b, 62b.

The mystical purpose of an offering is to redeem *Shekhinah* by uniting Her with Her partner.

1636. ***the works of Elohim...*** The Masoretic text reads: *the works of YHVH*. See Psalms 66:5: *Come, see the works of Elohim*. The entire discussion here is based on the assumption that Psalms 46:9 reads *Elohim* rather than *YHVH*; cf. *ZḤ* 12a (*MhN*). Such a reading is attested in biblical manuscripts as well as the Septuagint (codex Alexandrinus), and the Zoharic rabbis are aware of both variants. Note the comment by Rabbi Ḥiyya in the following lines: "Whether it be one name or the other, all is praise."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 84:8; 88:3 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Tanḥuma, Vayelekh* 1; Radak on Psalms 46:9; *Zohar* 1:60a, 157b (*ST*); 2:5a; *ZḤ* 73a (*ShS*); Moses de

León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 288; *OY*, *KP*, *MM*, and *Zohorei Ya'bets* on this passage; *Minḥat Shai* on Numbers 23:9; Psalms 46:9; 66:5; Menaḥem Azariah of Fano, *Yonat Elem*, 99; Margaliot, *Sha'arei Zohar*, *Berakhot* 7b.

1637. ***works of*** **יו״ד ה״א וא״ו ה״א** (***yod he vav he***), ***YHVH*...** ***works of*** **this name...** In rabbinic literature the names *YHVH* and *Elohim* represent, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; *Zohar* 1:64b; 2:187a, 227b.

Strict justice demands punishment, namely, *desolation*.

1638. **He brought names...** God imparted divine names to the world so that human beings could wield them theurgically, drawing down the rich flow of emanation. See BT *Berakhot* 7b: "How do we know that a name determines destiny? Rabbi El'azar said, 'For Scripture states: *Come, gaze upon the works of YHVH, how He has brought* שמות (*shammot*), *desolation, on earth*. Do not read שמות (*shammot*), *desolation*, but rather שֵׁמוֹת (*shemot*), *names*.'"

1639. **For if the world were conducted by the name of compassion...** As noted above, the two divine names, *YHVH* and *Elohim*, symbolize, respectively, compassion and justice. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15, explaining the appearance of both names in Genesis 2:4, *On the day YHVH Elohim created heaven and earth*: "The blessed Holy One said, 'If I create the world by the quality of compassion, its sins will abound; by the quality of justice, the world will not endure. Rather, I will create it by both the quality of justice and the quality of compassion. Oh that it may endure!' So, *YHVH Elohim*."

Here Rabbi Yitsḥak's point is that the name *Elohim* in Psalms 46:9 denotes justice (or: judgment) and the consequent punishment of *desolation*, whose purging power ensures the continued existence of the world.

1640. **so that the name would determine his destiny** So that Noah would succeed in providing comfort and relief to the world. See BT *Berakhot* 7b (cited above, note 1638); *Zohar* 1:6a; 2:179b.

1641. **Not so, the blessed Holy One...** God favored a different etymology of Noah's name.

1642. **Of Noah is written... while the letters of עֵר** (***Er***), **Er...** See *Kallah Rabbati* 2: "It was taught: [ער (*Er*), Er] spelled backward is רע (*ra*), evil. Similarly, נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, spelled backward is חן (*ḥen*), favor." Genesis does not specify the nature of Er's sin, but rabbinic tradition maintains that it was the same as that of his younger brother, Onan, who spilled his semen on the ground (38:9).

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); BT *Yevamot* 34b; *Kallah Rabbati*, ibid.; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 38:7; *Zohar* 1:56b–57a.

1643. **That *Book of Adam* and *The Book of Enoch*...** See *Sefer Noaḥ* (*Beit*

ha-Midrash, 3:158–60). Both of these books are referred to frequently in the *Zohar*. According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See Genesis 5:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam. Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.

See *Zohar* 1:17b, 37b, 55a–b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a–b, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54.

Concerning Enoch, Genesis 5:24 states: *He was no more, for God took him*. In postbiblical literature this verse is taken to mean that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in the Enoch literature. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by this literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes. It comprises one of the many books housed in the real or imaginary Zoharic library.

See *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 38; *Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 5:24; *Zohar* 1:13a, 37b, 55b, 72b; 2:55a, 100a, 105b, 180b, 192b, 217a; 3:10b, 236b, 240a, 248b, 253b, 307a; *ZḤ* 2c (*SO*); Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:156–64, nn. 58–61; Margaliot, *Mal'akhei Elyon*, 80–83.

1644. **how did he know to bring an offering...** When the waters of the Flood receded, Noah emerged from the ark and offered sacrifices (Genesis 8:20). According to the *Zohar*, the purpose of such offerings is to unite the *sefirot* and ensure the flow of blessing and sustenance to the world. Noah discovered this mystical truth by studying the books of Adam and Enoch.

See BT *Ta'anit* 27b: "Rabbi Ya'akov son of Aḥa said in the name of Rabbi Assi: 'Were it not for the *ma'amadot* [representatives accompanying the Temple sacrifices], heaven and earth would not endure.'" Cf. Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:878–90.

1645. **The way before us is smooth. We want to hear words of Torah!** Since the road is clear, let us focus on Torah. On the importance of engaging in Torah while on a journey, see Deuteronomy 6:7; BT *Eruvin* 54a; *Ta'anit* 10b; *Zohar* 1:7a, 69b–70a, 87a, 115b.

1646. **before setting out on the way...** Before setting out on a journey, one should pray, including (or specifically) *tefillat ha-derekh* ("the prayer for the way"). See BT *Berakhot* 29b: "Elijah said to Rav Yehudah the brother of Rabbi Sala the Ḥasid, 'Do not let your anger boil and you will not sin; do not get drunk and you will not sin; and when you set out on the way, consult your Creator and then set out.' What is meant by 'consult your Creator and then set out'? Rabbi Ya'akov

said in the name of Rav Ḥisda, 'This is *tefillat ha-derekh*.'"

See *Berakhot* 14a: "Rav Idi son of Avin said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Ishyan, 'Whoever prays and then sets out on the way, the blessed Holy One fulfills his desires, as is said: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way*.'" In this Talmudic passage, *righteousness* (or: *justice*) implies justification by prayer, which guarantees a successful journey. Here, for Rabbi Shim'on, *Righteousness* is a name of *Shekhinah*, who symbolizes divine justice. By praying, one secures Her accompanying presence. See above, note 1292.

1647. לבו (***libbo***), ***his heart...*** לב (*Lev*) means both "heart" and "mind."

1648. **Who is *his heart*? The blessed Holy One...** God is identified as "heart" in *Eikhah Rabbah, Petiḥta* 16; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 5:2; and *Shemot Rabbah* 33:3.

1649. **the sign of covenant engraved in a man's flesh...** The mark of circumcision. Some radical critics of tradition contended that belief in God did not require fulfilling the commandments; the *Zohar* insists on integrating belief and observance.

1650. **he turned into a heap of bones** On the destructive power of the rabbinic gaze, see BT *Berakhot* 58a; *Shabbat* 33b–34a; *Bava Batra* 75a; cf. above, page 328; *Zohar* 3:221a.

1651. **'All is in the hand of the blessed Holy One except being virtuous or wicked'** See BT *Berakhot* 33b: "Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'All is in the hands of heaven except the awe of heaven, as is said: *Now, Israel, what does YHVH your God ask of you but to be in awe?* (Deuteronomy 10:12).'" Cf. *Niddah* 16b.

1652. **So how could David...** How could David (traditionally, the author of Psalms) ask God to make him virtuous, since this is dependent on free will?

1653. **Who is *my heart*?...** As noted above, God is identified as "heart" in *Eikhah Rabbah, Petiḥta 16; Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 5:2; and *Shemot Rabbah* 33:3, all of which cite Psalms 73:26. Here the reference is specifically to *Shekhinah*, associated with David; see below.

1654. **cleaving to *awe*** Cleaving to *Shekhinah*, known as *awe*.

1655. **my allotted site...** David, the ideal king, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, the divine name, who is also known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

1656. **Faith abides fittingly...** *Shekhinah*, known as Faith, accompanies one who lives in awe of God.

1657. **the world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See

Tanḥuma, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation, who gives birth to the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

1658. **treasured away for the righteous...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini* 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:7a, 31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

1659. **listen in that world** While on earth.

1660. ***No eye has seen, O God, but You...*** See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You will do for one who awaits You*]... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [those who succeed in turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

In the *Zohar*, this verse often refers to *Binah*, who is identified with "the world that is coming." See 1:4b, 6b; 2:97b, 163a.

1661. ***The righteous will inherit the land forever...*** This verse, appearing frequently in the *Zohar*, reads in full: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever— sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*. In M *Sanhedrin* 10:1, it is cited to demonstrate that "all of Israel have a share in the world that is coming."

1. **world that is coming** עלמא דאתי (*Alma de-atei*), the Aramaic equivalent of the rabbinic Hebrew העולם הבא (*ha-olam ha-ba*), "the world that is coming." This concept is often understood as referring to the hereafter and is usually translated as "the world to come." From another point of view, however, "the world that is coming" already exists, occupying another dimension. See *Tanḥuma*, *Vayiqra* 8: "The wise call it *ha-olam ha-ba* not because it does not exist now, but for us today in this world it is still to come." Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Teshuvah* 8:8; and Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 37: "'The world to come' does not succeed 'this world' in time, but exists from eternity as a reality outside and above time, to which the soul ascends." In Kabbalah "the world that is coming" often refers to *Binah*, the continuous source of emanation, who gives birth to the lower *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:290b (*IZ*): "the world that is coming, constantly coming, never ceasing."

Cf. *Bahir* 106 (160); Asher ben David, *Peirush Shelosh Esreh Middot*, in *Kabbalah* 2 (1997): 293; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 26 (30); idem, *Sod Eser Sefirot*, 375; *Zohar* 1:83a, 92a.

Here "the world that is coming" is identified with *the land* mentioned in Isaiah.

2. **All of Israel have a share...** See M *Sanhedrin* 10:1: "All of Israel have a share in the world that is coming, as is said: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever—sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*."

3. **Because they uphold the covenant...** The covenant of circumcision, which is upheld by living in sexual purity. See BT *Shabbat* 137b: "Were it not for the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth would not endure, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*."

Cf. *Zohar* 1:32a, 56a, 66b, 89a, 93b. See BT *Sanhedrin* 110b: "An infant—from when may he enter the world that is coming?... Rabbi Naḥman son of Yitsḥak said, 'From the moment he is circumcised.'"

Rabbi Ḥiyya's concern with sexual purity reflects the promiscuity prevalent in the Jewish community in thirteenth-century Castile. On this issue, see Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 51–54 (63–67); Baer, in *Zion* 2 (1937): 31–33, 36–44; idem, *History*, 1:250–63; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1371–72; Assis, "Sexual Behavior in Mediaeval Hispano-Jewish Society."

4. **From Joseph...** Joseph upheld the covenant by resisting the sexual advances of Potiphar's wife, and he is therefore called "righteous" in rabbinic literature. See Genesis 39; BT *Yoma* 35b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 93:7; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana*, *nispaḥim*, 460. Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Bereshit* 5 and *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer*

38, which cite Amos 2:6.

According to Kabbalah, because of his sexual purity Joseph attained the level of *Yesod* ("Foundation"), the divine phallus and site of the covenant. *Yesod* is known as Righteous, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34. The righteous who follow the example of Joseph participate in *Yesod* and attain the world that is coming.

5. ***these are* always invalidates...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:3: "Rabbi Abbahu said, 'Wherever *these are* is written, it invalidates the preceding, whereas *and these are* adds to the preceding. Here [namely, *These are the offspring of Noah*], the wording *these are* invalidates the preceding. What is invalidated? The generation of the Flood.'"

Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:3 (based on Genesis 2:4); *Zohar* 2:223a.

6. **That *river* gushes and flows...** The stream of emanation flows from *Ḥokhmah* (known as *Eden*) through *Binah* and the *sefirot* below Her, and via *Yesod* enters *Shekhinah*, *the garden*, who yields souls.

On souls as fruit, see *Bahir* 14 (22); Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 489, 504; *Zohar* 1:15b, 19a, 33a, 60a, 82b, 85b, 115a–b; 2:223b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 51; idem, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 56 (69). Cf. Ibn Ezra on Psalms 1:3.

7. ***for* בו (*vo*), *on it, He rested*** On *Yesod*, *Shekhinah* rested. See *Zohar* 1:47b.

8. ***He rested on the seventh day*** *Yesod* rested on *Shekhinah*, seventh of the lower *sefirot*. Rabbi El'azar is playing with the various meanings of נייחא (*neyaḥa*): "satisfaction, pleasure, rest" and alluding to נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, who symbolizes *Yesod*.

9. **this generated *offspring*, no other** *Yesod* alone engenders new life, as implied by the wording: *These are the offspring of Noah*.

10. **Noah below embodied the covenant...** Noah lived in sexual purity, unlike the rest of the generation of the Flood (see above, pages 321–23), so he attained the level of *Yesod*, the divine phallus and site of the covenant. According to rabbinic tradition (see below, note 18), Noah was born circumcised, already embodying the covenant.

11. **איש האדמה (*ish ha-adamah*), *husband of earth*** The phrase is normally rendered *man of the soil*, but Rabbi El'azar understands it as *husband of earth*. Having embodied *Yesod*, Noah unites with *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*. See 1:58b, 62b.

Similarly, Moses is called איש האלהים (*ish ha-Elohim*), *husband of Elohim*. See

Deuteronomy 33:1; Psalms 90:1; *Midrash Tehillim* 90:5; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, nispaḥim*, *Vezot Haberakhah*, 443–44, 448 (variants); *Tanḥuma*, *Vezot Haberakhah* 2 (*Ets Yosef*, ad loc.); *Devarim Rabbah* (Lieberman), on 33:1; *Zohar* 1:6b, 21b–22a, 148a, 152a–b, 236b; 239a; 2:22b, 235b, 238b, 244b (*Heikh*).

12. ***Ark of the covenant*** *Shekhinah*, who houses *the covenant* of *Yesod*. See *Zohar* 1:2a, 33b, 228b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 75 (95).

13. **Noah and the ark followed this paradigm** Noah, embodying *Yesod*, enters the ark, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, thereby ensuring the continuity of life.

14. ***I will erect...*** והקימותי (*Va-haqimoti*), *I will establish*. Rabbi El'azar focuses on the literal meaning: "raise up, erect."

See *Zohar* 1:66b; Moses de León, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 381–82; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 378–79; idem, in *Da'at* 1 (1978), 107.

15. **Righteous One...** As explained above in note 4, *Yesod* ("Foundation") is known as Righteous One, based on this verse in Proverbs.

16. ***Noah walked with*** אלהים (***Elohim***), ***God...*** He accompanied *Shekhinah*, known as *Elohim*.

17. ***covenant of peace*** (**Ezekiel 34:25**), **peace of the world...** *Yesod*, the divine phallus and site of the covenant, brings peace by uniting *Tif'eret* with *Shekhinah*. See BT *Shabbat* 152a, where Rabbi Shim'on son of Ḥalafta refers to the phallus as "peacemaker of the home."

18. ***Perfect,*** **for he was born circumcised...** According to rabbinic tradition, Noah was one of those rare individuals born circumcised. See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 2; *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5; *Zohar* 1:58a–b. The verse in Genesis 17 is addressed by God to Abraham immediately preceding the command of circumcision; see *Bereshit Rabbah* 46:1, 4.

19. ***In his generations,*** **not the generations of the world...** The wording implies that all future generations are considered Noah's generations, but Rabbi El'azar is apparently also alluding to the tradition that Noah was only relatively righteous: "*In his generations*, not in other generations" (*Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5, according to the view of Rabbi Yehudah).

20. ***from there it divides*** The full verse reads: A *river issues from Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides and becomes four stream-heads*. In Kabbalah this verse is interpreted as a description of the flow of emanation from *Ḥokhmah* (*Eden*) to *Shekhinah* (*the garden*), below whom *it divides*, generating the lower worlds. Noah's entrance into the ark symbolizes the union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, which ensures proliferation. See *Zohar* 1:60b–61a.

21. **Foundation of the World...** *Yesod*, embodied by Noah.

22. **A lion in his potency pierces, pulverizes rock!** The mighty Rabbi

El'azar penetrates even the hardest passage.

23. **So, too, from the measurement of the ark** Perhaps, as follows: The ark was 300 cubits long, 50 cubits wide and 30 cubits high, totaling 380, which is the *gimatriyya* (numerical value) of two divine names symbolizing *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*: שדי (*Shaddai*) and אדני (*Adonai*), with the addition of one indicating their unification.

24. ***works of Elohim...*** The Masoretic text reads: *the works of YHVH*. Cf. Psalms 66:5: *Come, see the works of Elohim*. The reading *Elohim* in Psalms 46:9 is attested in many manuscripts and the Septuagint (codex Alexandrinus), and the Zoharic rabbis are aware of both variants. Note the comment by Rabbi Ḥiyya, above, page 332: "Whether it be one name or the other, all is praise."

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 84:8; 88:3 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Tanḥuma*, *Vayelekh* 1; Radak on Psalms 46:9; *Zohar* 1:157b (*ST*); 2:5a; *ZḤ* 12a (*MhN*), 73a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 288; *OY*, *KP*, *MM*, and *Zohorei Ya'bets* on 1:58b; *Minḥat Shai* on Numbers 23:9; Psalms 46:9, 66:5; Menaḥem Azariah of Fano, *Yonat Elem*, 99; Margaliot, *Sha'arei Zohar*, *Berakhot* 7b.

25. ***A harsh* חזות (*ḥazut*), *vision...*** Rabbi El'azar explains the word חזו (*ḥazu*), *gaze*, by relating it to the word חזות (*ḥazut*), prophetic *vision*.

26. **name determines destiny entirely** See BT *Berakhot* 7b: "How do we know that a name determines destiny? Rabbi El'azar said, 'For Scripture states: *Come, gaze upon the works of YHVH, how He has brought* שמות (*shammot*), *desolation, on earth*. Do not read שַׁמּוֹת (*shammot*), *desolation*, but rather: שֵׁמוֹת (*shemot*), *names*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:6a, 58b; 2:179b.

Here the point is that the name given to a child determines and predicts his future character.

27. ***saying; This*** The full verse reads: *He named him Noah, saying: This one* ינחמנו (*yenaḥamenu*), *will provide us relief, from our labor and from the painful toil of our hands caused by the ground that YHVH cursed*.

28. ***Saying* implies Woman** Literally, "*Saying*: this is woman." A Zoharic revision of a midrashic interpretation found in *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:6: "*YHVH Elohim commanded the human, saying, 'From every tree of the garden you are free to eat.'* Rabbi Levi said, 'He issued him six commands..., [one of which was implied by] *saying*, concerning גלוי עריות (*gillui arayot*), exposing nudity (fornication) [as shown by analogy from this proof text]: *Saying: If a man divorces his wife* (Jeremiah 3:1).'"

See BT *Sanhedrin* 56a–b; *Zohar* 1:35b; 2:83b, 239b; 3:27a. Here Rabbi El'azar alters the interpretation of the word *saying* from "concerning adultery" (based on the verse *Saying: If a man divorces his wife* [literally: *woman*]) to "this is Woman," alluding to the divine woman, *Shekhinah*.

29. ***this*, Righteous One** The biblical word זה (*zeh*), *this*, refers to *Yesod*, known as Righteous One, while the feminine form, זאת (*zot*), *this*, refers to his partner, *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence.

30. **נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah, נייחא (*neyaḥa*), satisfaction, of the earth** Noah's name implies that by embodying *Yesod* he satisfied *Shekhinah*, symbolized by earth.

31. **This site...** *Shekhinah*, implied by the word *saying*. Rabbi El'azar reads the verse: *He named him Noah*. [Who named him Noah?] *Saying* [i.e., *Shekhinah*].

32. **Holy Land** *Shekhinah*.

33. **Here is written: *This*, and there is written: *This is YHVH*...** The second verse specifies the divine male, *YHVH*, thereby demonstrating that *this* conveys that meaning.

34. **inscribed with the inscription of the royal signet, inscribed with His name** In *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 14, *Shemini* 8, the mark of circumcision is identified with the י (*yod*) of the divine name שדי (*Shaddai*). A German Hasidic tradition identifies the mark with the *yod* of יהוה (*YHVH*). In the *Zohar*, it signifies the divine name as well as *Yesod* (and occasionally *Shekhinah*).

See *Zohar* 1:2b, 13a, 56a, 95a–b; 2:36a, 216b; 3:142a (*IR*), 215b, 220a, 256a (*RM*); Wolfson, in *JQR* 78 (1987): 77–112; idem, *Circle in the Square*, 29–48.

35. **Why is את (*et*) not written?** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense; but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

36. **There, another rung; here, another rung...** In the *Zohar*, the word את (*et*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who comprises the entire alphabet of divine speech, from א (*alef*) to ת (*tav*). She is also known as Oral Torah. See the Christian parallel in Revelation 1:8: "I am *alpha* and *omega*."

Here Rabbi El'azar's point is that *Shekhinah* named Noah; he reads the verse: את (*Et*) [*Shekhinah*] *called his name Noah*. Jacob, on the other hand, was named by his *sefirah*, *Tif'eret*, known as the blessed Holy One, so in that verse the word את (*et*) does not appear. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 63:8; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemot 4; Midrash Aggadah*, Genesis 25:26; Rashi, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:138a, 186a–b.

The verse from Isaiah is cited to show that את (*et*) symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is paired with יהוה (*YHVH*), symbolizing *Tif'eret*, though actually in that verse the divine name is written: אדני (*Adonai*). See *Zohar* 1:18a, 247a; 2:81b.

37. **the blessed Holy One...** *Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*.

38. **site possessing nothing of its own...** *Shekhinah*, who receives emanation from Her partner.

39. **that *affair* is nourished only *with justice*...** *Shekhinah* is known as דבר (*davar*), "affair" or "word," since She is the realm of divine speech. She is nourished by *Tif'eret*, known as *justice*. *Shekhinah* is also known as *righteousness*, and together with *Tif'eret* constitutes the foundation of the divinity.

40. **Righteous One** *Yesod* ("Foundation"), who is called Righteous One based on Proverbs 10:25; see above, note 4.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

41. **Sabbath who opened with *good*** According to *Midrash Tehillim* 92:3, the Sabbath Day herself recited this psalm together with Adam. Cf. the Sabbath morning liturgy: "The Sabbath Day exclaims in praise: *A psalm, a song for the Sabbath Day. It is good to praise YHVH*."

42. **All is one! All have spoken one word** All these different interpretations harmonize. *Tif'eret* and *Yesod* represent two aspects of the divine masculine potency, while Noah embodies *Yesod*, who is also symbolized by the Sabbath day.

43. **This generates offspring...** *Yesod* generates life.

44. **Souls of the righteous...** Souls are engendered by the union of *Tif'eret* (or *Yesod*) and *Shekhinah*. On souls as fruit, see above, note 6.

45. **adorns Himself in His crowns...** Divinity is adorned both by the *sefirot* and by righteous human souls. See *Zohar* 3:291a (*IZ*).

46. **site deepest of all** The highest sefirotic realm is also the deepest.

47. **site of the sanctuary...** *Shekhinah*.

48. **cistern... ocean...** Other names of *Shekhinah*, who receives the divine flow and channels it to the lower worlds.

49. **Why first *your cistern*, then *your well*?...** The words בור (*bor*), *cistern*, and באר (*be'er*), *well*, are nearly identical. See BT *Avodah Zarah* 19a.

50. **site embracing the poor is called *cistern*...** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by poverty and by the empty cistern, since She possesses nothing of Her own and is dependent on the higher *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:235a.

51. **Who is that? ד (*Dalet*)... ה (*He*)...** When *Shekhinah* is empty, She is symbolized by the letter ד (*dalet*), signifying that She is דלה (*dallah*), "poor," lacking the flow of emanation from above. Once the human arousal from below stimulates Her union with *Tif'eret*, the ד (*dalet*) is enhanced by the straight line of the letter ו (*vav*), the third letter of יהוה (*YHVH*) whose numerical value of six symbolizes *Tif'eret* and the five *sefirot* surrounding Him. Thereby *Shekhinah* is enriched, and ד (*dalet*) is transformed into ה (*he*), the final letter of יהוה (*YHVH*). See *Zohar* 2:51a, 104a, 123b, 188b (*SdTs*).

52. **King David...** David, the ideal king, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who is also

known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

53. **Abraham** Symbolizing the free-flowing love of *Ḥesed*.

54. **Jacob, in the middle** Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*, the central pillar and core of the *sefirot*, who mediates between *Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*.

55. **Isaac...** Whose servants discovered *a well of living water*. See *Zohar* 1:135b.

56. **supernal holy chariot, composed of the patriarchs...** The three patriarchs symbolize the sefirotic triad *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, which is completed by *Shekhinah*, symbolized by King David.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 47:6: "Resh Lakish said, 'The patriarchs themselves constitute the [divine] Chariot.'" Cf. Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 57; Jacob ben Sheshet, *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon*, 396; *Zohar* 1:5b, 20a, 89b (*ST*), 99a, 150a, 154b, 173b, 248b; 2:144a; 3:38a, 99a; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 32:10.

57. **Desire of the female toward the male arouses...** On the spirit entering the female, cf. *Zohar* 2:102a. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep*... (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)— like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta*, *Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23; *Zohar* 1:17b, 29b, 35a, 46a, 85b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

According to the second-century Greek physician Galen, sperm is generated by both male and female. See Leviticus 12:2; Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides, Baḥya ben Asher, and Sforno, ad loc.; BT *Berakhot* 60a; *Niddah* 31a.

58. **Assembly of Israel...** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

Here Rabbi Shim'on teaches that *Shekhinah*'s passion for *Tif'eret* is stimulated by righteous souls of Israel "assembled" within Her. See *Zohar* 1:235a, 244a–b,

245b. This ascent of "female waters" is emphasized by Isaac Luria.

59. **amble ambled by the blessed Holy One...** See *Sifra*, *Beḥuqqotai* 3:3, 111b: "*I will walk among you* (Leviticus 26:12).... In the time to come the blessed Holy One will stroll with the righteous in the Garden of Eden."

See Genesis 3:8; *Aggadat Bereshit* 23:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 102a; 2 Enoch 8:3; *Pereq Shirah*, 2:57 (s.v. *tarnegol*); *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:138).

According to the *Zohar*, at midnight God delights in the souls of the righteous in the Garden of Eden, and those who study Torah here below partake of the celestial joy.

See *Zohar* 1:10b, 72a, 77a–b, 82b, 92a–b, 132b, 136b, 178b, 231b; 2:46a, 130a–b, 136a, 173b, 195b–196a; 3:21b–22b, 52b, 193a; *ZḤ* 13c (*MhN*). Cf. BT *Berakhot* 3b; Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 146–50.

60. **All those offspring of the Garden of Eden...** Souls emerge only from the union of *Yesod*, known as Righteous One, with *Shekhinah* (known as both "Garden of Eden" and "ark").

61. **Similarly here, Noah, *righteous man*...** Noah, embodying *Yesod*, had to enter the ark, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, in order to generate offspring.

62. **Because they perpetrated their sins brazenly...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:57b.

63. **verse conveys two modes** The first half of the verse (*The earth was corrupt before God*) conveys hidden sin, known only to God, while the second half (*and the earth was filled with violence*) denotes brazen sin. Both interpretations of *before God* presented here by Rabbi Yehudah and Rabbi Yose derive from Ibn Ezra, ad loc., who prefers a different interpretation. See BT *Keritot* 25b; *Leqaḥ Tov*, ad loc.

64. **'children of Adam'** בני האדם (*Benei ha-adam*), "The children of the human," i.e., human beings. Rabbi Abba understands the phrase as "children of Adam."

65. **he actualized their existence in the world** By entering the ark, he saved humanity.

66. **inflicting death upon them all** By eating the forbidden fruit, he brought death into the world. See Genesis 2:17; *Zohar* 1:36a.

67. ***the children of Adam*, not *the children of Noah*** Even though the account of the Tower of Babel appears after Noah, it still includes the phrase: *the children of Adam*. Why?

68. ***A wise son delights a father*** The verse continues in parallelism: *but a foolish son is his mother's grief.*

69. **when rebels arose against their Lord...** By building the Tower of Babel. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:9, which compares the sinful ingratitude of

Adam and the generation of the Tower of Babel: "*That* בני האדם (*benei ha-adam*), *the children of the human, had built*. Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Would we have thought it was built by the children of donkeys or camels? Rather, it means *the children of Adam*. "Just as Adam, after all the good that I bestowed upon him, said *The woman whom You gave to be beside me* [*she gave me of the tree, and I ate*] (Genesis 3:12), so although the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel] followed the generation of the Flood by only two years [as is said:] *two years after the Flood* (ibid. 11:10), yet [they rebelled, displaying gross ingratitude]."'" See *Zohar* 1:74b (*ST*), 75a.

70. ***these*, not the earlier ones...** See above, p. 340 and n. 5. Here Noah's offspring are contrasted with Adam's, who were generated only after he was banished from the Garden.

71. **If Adam had generated offspring from the Garden...** If he had engendered children while still in the Garden, they would have lived forever. Actually, according to various rabbinic sources, Adam did engender children in the Garden.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:2; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 1; Rashi on Genesis 4:1.

72. **light of the moon would never have darkened** The light of *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, would not have diminished. See *Zohar* 1:1a, 12a, 19b, 33b.

73. **How could they have generated offspring there?...** Procreation is linked with the evil impulse, so if Adam had not sinned, he would have remained childless. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 9:7: "Naḥman said in the name of Rabbi Shemu'el: '*Behold, it was very good*—this is the good impulse; *And behold, it was very good* (Genesis 1:31)—this is the evil impulse. Is the evil impulse *very good*? How astonishing! Yet were it not for the evil impulse, no man would ever build a house, marry a woman, or engender children.'"

See *Yoma* 69b; *Zohar* 1:49a; 3:189a.

74. **Similarly if Israel had not sinned...** At Sinai with the Golden Calf. See BT *Avodah Zarah* 5a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Let us be grateful to our ancestors, for if they had not sinned [with the Golden Calf], we would never have come into the world!'"

75. **incapable of the other side** They cannot endure on the other, holy side. Alternatively, they are incapable of enduring on "the other side," the side of evil, which is barren.

76. **From the ark issued...** See Genesis 9:18–19.

77. ***For all flesh had corrupted their way...*** The verse concludes: *upon earth*. Immorality, especially sexual sin, contaminates the earth. The phrase

corrupted their way upon earth is elsewhere interpreted as referring to masturbation (spilling seed on earth) or crossbreeding.

See BT *Sanhedrin* 108a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 28:8; *Kallah Rabbati* 2; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 61b–62a, 69a. Cf. *Sanhedrin* 57a; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4.

78. **they thrust *Shekhinah* out of the world...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'Whoever sins secretly, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a–b, 69a, 84b.

79. **another spirit hovers over her...** A demonic spirit fills the vacuum left by *Shekhinah*.

80. **no other spirit or official hovers over the land of Israel...** See BT *Ta'anit* 10a: "The land of Israel is watered by the blessed Holy One Himself, whereas the rest of the world is watered by an emissary."

Cf. *Tanḥuma, Re'eh* 8; BT *Ketubbot* 110b; *Zohar* 1:84b, 108b; 2:33a, 151b. According to *Bereshit Rabbah* 33:6, "Rabbi Levi said, '... The land of Israel was not inundated by the Flood.'"

According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God. See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma, Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 84b, 108b; 2:33a, 151b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

81. **But for a moment it does hover...** A destructive power hovers even over the land of Israel.

82. **Here is written: *angel*...** In all these passages *angel* refers to *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:113a, 120b, 166a, 230a; 3:187a. Cf. *Mekhilta, Shirata* 3.

83. **For good, so that other officials...** In good times, when Israel acts virtuously, God rules over the land of Israel directly, lavishing blessing, so that all others will witness His intimacy with Israel and be ashamed of their own failings.

84. **For ill, so that they will not rejoice...** When Israel sins, God Himself administers the punishment, so as not to give her enemies the satisfaction of dominating her. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 1:41; BT *Sanhedrin* 96b.

85. **the House** The Temple.

86. ***Corrupt,* indeed, as has been explained** See above, note 77. The word נשחתה (*nishḥatah*), *corrupt*, can also mean "destroyed," alluding to the destruction of the Temple described above.

87. **earth called above...** Earth symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who, stimulated by

human repentance, adorns Herself for Her partner, *Tif'eret*. See *Zohar* 1:72b; 2:232b.

88. **So, *it was corrupt,* indeed!...** Immorality defiles both the earth and *Shekhinah*.

89. **Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Shim'on son of Lekonya, his father-in-law** See the similar setting in *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 11:20: "Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on was going to Rabbi Shim'on son of Rabbi Yose son of Lekonya, his father-in-law... According to this rabbinic tradition, El'azar's father-in-law was named Shim'on son of Yose.

See JT *Ma'aserot* 3:8, 50d; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:11; *Devarim Rabbah* 7:11; *Seder ha-Dorot*, s.v. Shim'on ben Yose ben Lekonya. (In BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85a, the name of Rabbi El'azar's brother-in-law is given as Rabbi Shim'on son of Issi [Yose] son of Lekonya, which would make Yose his father-in-law, as here in the *Zohar*; but nowhere in rabbinic literature is he named Yose son of Shim'on.)

The author(s) of the *Zohar* consistently switches father and son, transforming Shim'on son of Yose into Yose son of Shim'on. See 1:5a–b, 143b; 3:84b, 188a, 193a; *ZḤ* 10d, 14a (*MhN*), 22c (*MhN*). El'azar's own father, of course, is Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai.

90. **canopied carpet with wooden poles** טופסיסא דקומרא במטון דקולפא (*Tufsisa de-qumra be-matun de-qulpa*). One of the *Zohar*'s neologistic phrases, describing the gracious welcome given Rabbi El'azar by his father-in-law. *Tufsisa* derives from the Greek *tapes*, "carpet, rug." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 33:1; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 178.

Qumra derives from the Greek *qamara*, "arched cover." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 31:11 (describing Noah's ark); M *Eruvin* 8:9–10; *Arukh*, s.v. *qmr*.

The word *qulpa* means "pole, lance." See *Zohar* 1:29a, 32a, 57b.

91. **Companions have already established...** This interpretation appears in *Vayiqra Rabbah* 6:5 (and parallels) in the name of Rabbi Ya'akov of Kefar Ḥanin, who interprets אמרתו (*emrato*), *His utterance*, as *imrato*, "His hemmed garment," the royal purple torn by God in mourning over the destruction of the Temple. According to rabbinic tradition, the Temple curtain was slashed by the Roman general Titus.

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 328; *Bereshit Rabbah* 10:7; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:5; BT *Gittin* 56b. Cf. *Midrash Tehillim* 9:13; *Ester Rabbah* 7:10; *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Numbers, 785; *Zohar* 1:39a, 41a (*Heikh*), 224b; 2:8b; 3:140b (*IR*).

92. **He ordained that purple...** The royal purple symbolizes *Shekhinah*, known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"). She culminates the emanation of the "primordial days," the six *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*.

93. **on the day the Temple was destroyed, He rent it...** *Shekhinah*, corresponding to the Temple, was torn from Her partner, *Tif'eret*, and thrown into exile along with Israel.

94. **This can be compared to a king...** See the similar parable in *Bahir* 23 (33).

95. *He apprehended* זמם (*Zamam*), which means both "devise" and "consider." Rabbi El'azar adopts the latter meaning, in the sense of "being apprehensive."

96. **Whenever He entered, He would don...** Whenever the blessed Holy One manifested in the Temple, for example, during the three pilgrimage festivals, He would be robed in *Shekhinah*, uniting with Her.

97. **But we have learned that joy vanishes...** See BT *Megillah* 10b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan has said, '... The blessed Holy One does not rejoice in the downfall of the wicked.' And Rabbi Yoḥanan said further, 'What is the meaning of the verse *One did not approach the other all night long* (Exodus 14:20)? [In its literal sense, this verse refers to the Israelites and the Egyptians encamped at the Red Sea.] The ministering angels [referred to as *one* and *the other* in Isaiah 6:3] wanted to sing, but the blessed Holy One said, "The work of My hands is drowning in the sea, and you are singing?"'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a–b.

98. **extension He patiently granted them...** The days of the wicked are prolonged to enable them to turn back to God or to engender worthy children.

See BT *Bava Qamma* 38b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 32:4; *Zohar* 1:56b, 62b, 65b, 118a (*MhN*), 227a; 2:12b.

99. **punished prematurely—with incomplete guilt...** See BT *Sotah* 9a: "Rav Hamnuna said: 'The blessed Holy One does not punish a person until his peck is full.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:113b, 121b. The verse from Genesis explains why Abraham's descendants can inherit the Promised Land only in the distant future.

100. **Egyptians in the sea... enemies of Israel...** On the drowning of the Egyptians, see above, note 97, citing BT *Megillah* 10b. Earlier in the same Talmudic passage, reference is made to the sad fate of the soldiers of Moab and Ammon who died in battle against King Jehoshaphat of Judah. See *Zohar* 1:57b.

101. **even though their time was up...** Even though Israel had sinned and deserved punishment.

102. **there has been no joy...** See M *Sotah* 9:12: "Rabban Shim'on son of Gamli'el says in the name of Rabbi Yehoshu'a: 'Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed, there is no day without a curse, dew has not descended as a blessing, and the flavor of fruit has been eliminated.'"

See *Zohar* 1:70b, 177a, 181a–b, 203a; 3:15b, 74b.

103. **Forty, to lash sinners...** This interpretation by Rabbi Yehudah accords with the view attributed to him in the Mishnah (M *Makkot* 3:10) that forty full lashes should be administered by the court, not thirty-nine, as ruled by the majority of rabbis.

See *Tanḥuma, Qoraḥ* 12; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Sanhedrin* 17:1; *Zohar* 2:184a, 249b (*Heikh*). For other associations of the forty days and nights of the Flood, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:5.

104. **the human being was created from these four** See *Tanḥuma, Pequdei* 3: "He began assembling the body of Adam from the four directions of the world."

See 2 Enoch 30:13; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 2:7; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11; *Zohar* 1:130b, 205b; 2:23b, 24b; 3:83a.

105. ***I will obliterate all existing things*** The verse continues: *that I have made, from the face of the earth*. Rabbi Yehudah is playing with two senses of מחה (*mḥh*): "wipe out" and "strike."

106. ***for all flesh had corrupted their way...*** Human immorality, especially sexual sin, contaminates earth. Rabbi Shim'on understands the expression דרכו השחית (*hishḥit darko*), *corrupted their way*, as an allusion to masturbation.

See *Kallah Rabbati* 2, citing Genesis 38:9: שחת ארצה (*shiḥet artsah*), *he* [Onan] *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground* (or: *let it go to ruin*). Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4, 31:7; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 69a.

In the world of the *Zohar*, masturbation is a heinous sin. See 1:188a, 219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66. Cf. BT *Niddah* 13a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak and Rabbi Ammi said, '[Whoever emits semen fruitlessly] is as though he sheds blood.'"

107. **return** Turning back to God in sincere repentance.

108. **emitting seed upon earth** Instead of על ארעא (*al ar'a*), "upon earth," several manuscripts read על זרעא (*al zar'a*), "upon seed."

109. ***evil cannot abide with You*** See *Zohar* 1:56b–57a; cf. BT *Niddah* 13b. Later editions include a qualifying gloss here: "except through great returning [repentance]." See *Zohar* 1:219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353.

110. ***Er, firstborn of Judah, was evil...*** The verse concludes: *and YHVH put him to death*. As noted in *Kallah Rabbati* 2, "[ער (*Er*), Er] spelled backward is רע (*ra*), evil." Genesis does not specify the nature of Er's sin, but rabbinic tradition maintains that it was the same as that of his younger brother, Onan, who *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground* (Genesis 38:9).

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 38:7; BT *Yevamot* 34b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 85:4 (and Theodor, ad loc.); *Zohar* 1:56b–57a.

111. **upper waters and lower waters failed to unite fittingly** Human immorality ruins the union of the divine couple, *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the upper and lower waters. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 23: "Rabbi Tsadok said, '...The waters of the Flood came down upon the earth—namely, the male waters—and they rose from the depths—namely, the female waters. Joining one another, they prevailed and destroyed the world.'" Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:7.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 13:13: "Rabbi Shim'on son of El'azar said, 'Every single handbreadth [of water] descending from above is met by two handbreadths emitted by the earth. What is the reason? *Deep calls to deep...* (Psalms 42:8).' Rabbi Levi said, 'The upper waters are male; the lower, female. The former cry to the latter, "Receive us! You are creatures of the blessed Holy One and we are His messengers." They immediately receive them, as is written: *Let the earth open* (Isaiah 45:8)—like a female opening to a male.'"

See *Tosefta, Ta'anit* 1:4; 1 Enoch 54:8; *Seder Rabbah di-Vreshit*, 10 (*Battei Midrashot*, 1:25); *Zohar* 1:17b, 29b, 46a, 60b, 244a–b, 245b; 3:223b.

According to the second-century Greek physician Galen, sperm is generated by both male and female. See Leviticus 12:2; Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides, Baḥya ben Asher, and Sforno, ad loc.; BT *Berakhot* 60a; *Niddah* 31a.

112. **The water was boiling... just as they wasted their ways...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 108b: "It has been taught: The waters of the Flood were as thick as semen.... Rav Ḥisda said: 'With boiling [passion] they sinned, and with boiling [water] they were punished.'"

See *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Job, 906; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 7:10; *Zohar* 1:66a.

113. **bones from victims of the Flood... three hundred paces...** According to rabbinic tradition, the generation of the Flood were giants, of whom only Og, King of Bashan, survived. See *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Genesis 7:20: "Each of them was fifteen cubits [approximately twenty-two feet] high, and they said, 'Let's climb to the top of the mountains!' Therefore the waters swelled fifteen cubits above the mountains."

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Deuteronomy 3:11; *Bereshit Rabbah* 31:12; BT *Niddah* 61a; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22–23, 34.

The immense size of the bone recorded here derives from (and is dwarfed by) the description in BT *Niddah* 24b: "Abba Sha'ul (or, as some say, Rabbi Yoḥanan) stated: 'I used to be a grave digger. Once while chasing a deer, I entered the thighbone of a corpse. I pursued it for three parasangs [about ten miles] but did not catch the deer and the thighbone did not end. When I returned I was told that the bone belonged to Og, King of Bashan.'"

114. **With their feet they dammed up the springs...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi*

Eli'ezer 22: "They said, 'If He brings the waters of the Flood upon us, behold, we are of high stature, and the waters will not reach our necks. If He brings up the waters of the depths against us, behold, the soles of our feet can dam up the depths.' What did they do? They spread the soles of their feet and dammed up all the depths. What did the blessed Holy One do? He boiled the waters of the depths, which seethed their flesh and peeled off their skin."

115. ***Noah engendered three sons*** The verse continues: —*Shem, Ham, and Japheth*.

116. **this one virtuous, that one wicked** A gloss preserved in M and several other witnesses adds: "this one average." See Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, 1:88, where Shem symbolizes good; Ham, evil; and Japheth, indifference.

117. **Here, too, three clusters of spirit roaming...** Noah, symbolizing divine potency, generates the soul in her three aspects: נשמה (*neshamah*), "soul, breath," the highest aspect, followed by רוח (*ruaḥ*), "spirit, wind," and נפש (*nefesh*), "vitality, being." These three dimensions of soul correspond to three worlds. In *ZḤ* 6d (*MhN*) the three aspects of the soul correspond to the upper, middle, and lower worlds. In *Maskiyyot Kesef*, 9–11, Moses de León writes that the soul partakes of three worlds: the World of Creation, the World of Formation, and the World of Action. In later Kabbalah these three worlds contain, respectively, the divine throne, the angels, and the physical cosmos. Here the worlds may symbolize the sefirotic triad of *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*.

See *Zohar* 2:155a; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 39–40. On the variety of worlds in the *Zohar*, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:555–60; on the soul, 2:677–722, especially 687–89.

Noah's middle son, Ham, *saw... the nakedness of his father* (Genesis 9:22), for which he was cursed. In the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* (*ZḤ* 21c) he symbolizes the evil impulse, while here he symbolizes the lowest level of soul, *nefesh* ("vitality"), which originates, according to the *Zohar*, outside the divine realm and on its own is prone to evil.

See 1:81a (*ST*); 3:25a–b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh* 29 (35).

118. **mountains of separation** Angels or the forces surrounding the divine throne who are situated outside the unified realm of the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:29b, 158a; 2:234a–b (which all cite Song of Songs 2:17); Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2:556.

119. **spirit is joined to soul** The soul (*neshamah*) is clothed in spirit (*ruaḥ*).

120. **vitality joins spirit** The spirit (*ruaḥ*) is clothed in vitality (*nefesh*).

121. **while soul abides in one's ways...** The lower two aspects of the soul, vitality (*nefesh*) and spirit (*ruaḥ*), appear simultaneously at the beginning of life,

but the highest aspect, *neshamah*, manifests only if one lives virtuously. Until then she remains hidden within the deepest recesses of divinity.

122. **If one strives to purify himself...** See BT *Shabbat* 104a: "Resh Lakish said, '...If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening; if one comes to purify himself, he is assisted.'"

Cf. *Yoma* 39a: "Our Rabbis taught: '*Do not defile yourselves with them and thus become defiled* (Leviticus 11:43). If one defiles himself slightly, he is defiled greatly; below, he is defiled from above; in this world, he is defiled in the world to come.' Our Rabbis taught: '*Hallow yourselves and you will be holy* (ibid., 44). If one sanctifies himself slightly, he is sanctified greatly; below, he is sanctified from above; in this world, he is sanctified in the world to come.'"

See *Makkot* 10b: "Rabbah son of Bar Ḥana said in the name of Rabbi Huna (some say, Rabbi Huna said in the name of Rabbi El'azar), 'From the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings it can be demonstrated that one is led on the path one wishes to take.'"

Cf. *Zohar* 1:54a, 56b, 169b, 198b; 2:50a; 3:47a. The reference to "two openings" plays on the wording in BT *Shabbat* 104a, cited above: "If one comes to defile himself, he is provided an opening."

123. **T**osefta "Addenda." The *Matnitin* and *Tosefta* of the *Zohar*, strewn throughout the text, consist mostly of anonymous enigmatic revelations addressed to the Companions, urging them to open their hearts to the mysteries. The terseness of these passages recalls the style of the Mishnah. See Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 216.

The *Matnitin* and *Tosefta* are not formally part of the *Zohar*'s running commentary on the Torah and will consequently be translated separately in a subsequent volume. I have included this passage of *Tosefta* here because it appears here in nearly all of the manuscripts.

124. **Incredible clusters!** קטורי רמאי (*Qeturei rama'ei*), "Exalted bonds," referring to the kabbalists, whose souls link up with divinity. In the preceding passage, the three aspects of soul are referred to as "three clusters of spirit."

The phrase *qeturei rama'ei*, reappearing in *Zohar* 1:107b (*ST*), 251a (*Hash*), could conceivably be rendered "Conspiratorial impostors!" The Hebrew cognate קשר (*qesher*) means "knot, band, conspiracy," while the root *rmy* means "deceive," as in *Zohar* 1:137a (*MhN*), 204b; 2:71a, 72b, 71b–72a (*RR*); *ZḤ* 32a. (See also note 208, below.) The phrase would then refer to the pseudepigraphic circle of the *Zohar* who present their teachings in the guise of ancient Mishnaic rabbis.

125. **Impregnable castles! Quaestors of quaestory!** קסטורי דקוסטרי (*Qastorei de-qusterei*). The root *qstr* appears in two senses in the *Zohar*: one deriving from Latin *castrum* (pl. *castra*), "castle, fortress" (as in *Zohar* 1:29a, 30a); the

other from Latin *quaestor*, a Roman official (JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b, 53b; 2:19b, 58b, 208b; 3:13a). Either sense applies here to the kabbalists, impregnable in their faith, appointed from above.

126. **A voice—voice of voices—descends...** A heavenly voice manifests. See *Zohar* 1:77a, 161b (*Mat*); 2:81a.

127. **who see without seeing** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Rabbi Yose said, 'Woe to creatures, for they see but do not know what they see, they stand but do not know on what they stand.'"

128. **the one encompassed by two within them...** As indicated above (in the passage immediately preceding this *tosefta*), the deepest aspect of soul (*neshamah*) is clothed in spirit (*ruaḥ*), which is itself clothed in vitality (*nefesh*). So the *neshamah* is "the one encompassed by two [dwelling] within them," yet rejected by them through their conduct.

129. **They cling to those two, while one...** They desire only to stay alive through the power of the lower aspects of the soul, *nefesh* and *ruaḥ*, making no effort to attain the deeper spirituality of *neshamah*, who consequently flees from them.

The *neshamah* is "artisan of artisans," the source of creativity, emanating from *Shekhinah*, who is called "Artisan of the world" (*Zohar* 1:47b) and derives from *Binah*, also called Artisan (2:167b; 3:219b; 1:22a [*TZ*]). See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:1: "Rabbi Osha'ya opened, '*I was with Him as an artisan, I was a daily delight* (Proverbs 8:30).... Torah says, "I was the instrument of the blessed Holy One."... The blessed Holy One gazed into Torah and created the world.'" Cf. *Zohar* 2:161a–b.

130. **Books of Memory** The celestial books in which all human actions are recorded. Elsewhere in the *Zohar*, the Book of Memory is identified with *Yesod*. See Ezra 4:15; Targum to Esther 6:1; *Zohar* 1:8a–b; 2:70a, 200a, 217a, 246a.

131. **Dumah** Literally, "silence," a name for the netherworld in the Bible. See Psalms 94:17: *Unless YHVH had been my help, my soul would have nearly dwelt in dumah*. Cf. Psalms 115:17.

In rabbinic literature Dumah is the angel in charge of souls of the dead (BT *Berakhot* 18b, *Shabbat* 152b, *Sanhedrin* 94a). In the *Zohar*, he retains this role but also oversees Hell. See 1:8a–b, 94a, 102a, 124a (*MhN*), 237b.

132. **except on new moons and Sabbaths...** According to *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 33, one of the dwellers in Hell reports: "Whoever does not observe the Sabbath properly [*Bereshit Rabbah* 11:5: "willingly"] in your world comes here and observes it against his will.... All week long we are punished and on the Sabbath we rest."

See BT *Sanhedrin* 65b; *Zohar* 1:14b, 41a (*Heikh*), 48a, 197b; 2:31b, 88b,

150b–151a, 203b, 207a; 3:94b; *ZḤ* 17a–b.

The notion that the suffering of the wicked in Hell also abates on new moons derives from Ashkenazic sources. See Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh she-ba-Nistar*, 40.

133. **Afterward** At the close of each Sabbath or new moon.

134. **herald in the North...** Associated with the left side and characterized by harsh judgment.

135. **ravaging bands of truculent stingers** חבילי טריקין (*Ḥavilei teriqin*). The first word derives from either חבל (*ḥevel*), "band, group," or the verb חבל (*ḥvl*), "to injure, destroy." The second word derives from the root טרק (*trq*), "to sting, bite."

See *Zohar* 1:130a, 237b, 243b–244a; 3:52b, 62b, 154b, 181a, 291b (*IZ*).

136. **Valley of Ben Hinnom** גי בן הנם (*Gei Ven Hinnom*). Originally, the valley outside the western wall of Jerusalem where the god Molech was worshiped, perhaps through child sacrifice. See 2 Kings 23:10; Jeremiah 7:31–32. Jeremiah prophesied that it would be known as *the Valley of Slaughter* and serve as a burial site. In postbiblical literature *Geihinnom* became the name of Hell.

137. **when Israel responds aloud: 'Amen! May His great name be blessed!'...** The response of the congregation in the middle of the Kaddish prayer. See BT *Shabbat* 119b: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'Whoever responds with all his strength: "Amen! May His great name be blessed!"—his decreed sentence is torn up.'"

See *Tosafot*, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:38b (*Heikh*); 3:285b; *ZḤ* 49a–b, 84c (*MhN*, *Rut*); *Alfa Beita de-Rabbi Aqiva*, Version 1 (*Battei Midrashot*, 2:368); *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Isaiah, 429; *Seder Eliyyahu Zuta* 17 (22–23); Nissim of Kairouan, *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshu'ah*, 104–5; *Maḥazor Vitri* 144 (112–13); Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Qadmon*, 299–302; Lerner, in *Asufot* 2 (1988): 29–70.

138. **Samriel is his name** Based on the root סמר (*smr*), "to bristle," in Psalm 119:120: *My flesh bristles in fear of You*. See *Midrash Tehillim*, ad loc.: "*My flesh bristles in fear of You*—in fear of *Geihinnom*."

139. **three gates on the side of the wilderness** A somewhat different layout appears in BT *Eruvin* 19a: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of El'azar said, '*Geihinnom* has three gates: one in the wilderness, one in the ocean, and one in Jerusalem.'"

On the demonic nature of the wilderness, see *Zohar* 1:14b, 169b, 178b; 2:157a, 184a.

140. **hour-and-a-half** See *Zohar* 3:167a, where a person is punished in Hell for an hour-and-a-half.

141. **three times a day and whenever Israel recites: 'Amen!...'** During

the three daily services, which include the Kaddish prayer, and upon completing a session of Torah study, when the prayer is also recited.

142. **in every direction** Even to Hell, bringing relief to the wicked.

143. **In Hell there are abodes upon abodes...** On the seven divisions of Hell, see BT *Sotah* 10b; *Midrash Tehillim* 11:6; *Zohar* 1:40a (*Heikh*), 237b; 2:150b, 263a–68b (*Heikh*); 3:178a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:20, n. 56.

144. **Sheol and Avadon** In the Bible, שאול (*she'ol*) is the underworld, abode of the dead, sometimes paired with אבדון (*avaddon*), "destruction, ruin," which may refer to a distinct area of the underworld reserved for the wicked. See Proverbs 15:11; Job 26:6; and Revelation 9:11, where Avadon is the name of *the angel of the bottomless pit*. Cf. *Zohar* 3:54b, 178a, 285b–86a.

145. **receives his punishment, and is raised... is never raised...** According to M *Eduyyot* 2:10, the wicked are punished in *Geihinnom* for twelve months. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 17a: "Transgressors of Israel who sin with their body and transgressors of the Gentiles who sin with their body descend to *Geihinnom* and are punished there for twelve months. After twelve months their body is consumed, their soul burned, and the wind scatters them under the soles of the feet of the righteous.... But as for the heretics, informers, apostates, skeptics, those who rejected Torah and denied the resurrection of the dead, those who abandoned the ways of the community, those who *spread* their *terror in the land of the living* (Ezekiel 32:23), and those who sinned and made the masses sin..., these descend to *Geihinnom* and are punished there for generation after generation.... *Geihinnom* will be consumed, but they will not be consumed."

146. **totally... lost** Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, 3: "Abandon hope, all you who enter here."

147. **Noah warned his contemporaries...** According to a rabbinic tradition, Noah attempted to warn his contemporaries and induce them to turn back to God, but he was unsuccessful. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7; *Tanḥuma, Noaḥ* 5; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a–b.

148. **Fire and snow...** According to rabbinic literature, the year-long punishment of the sinners in Hell is equally divided between fire and snow. See JT *Sanhedrin* 10:3, 29b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 10:4; *Zohar* 1:68b, 107b, 238b. Similarly, the generation of the Flood was punished with freezing water raining down from the sky and boiling water surging up from the depths. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 33; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; above, page 356.

149. **Noah was a *tree bearing fruit*...** Noah symbolizes *Yesod*, the fructiferous phallus, identified with this tree. See *Zohar* 1:1a, 18b, 33a, 238a.

150. **when this *tree bearing fruit* joins the *fruit tree*** When *Yesod* joins with *Shekhinah*, who receives His fruit and is called *fruit tree*.

151. **all those supernal species...** Various heavenly and angelic powers.

152. **Similarly, Noah in the ark...** In entering the ark, Noah both imitated and stimulated the union of *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*.

153. ***Noah, husband of earth*** The phrase איש האדמה (*ish ha-adamah*) is normally rendered as *man of the soil*, but Rabbi Abba understands it as *husband of earth*. Having embodied *Yesod*, Noah unites with *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *earth*. See above, note 11.

154. ***Noah, righteous man...*** Noah symbolizes *Yesod*, who is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34; *Zohar* 1:59b.

155. **300 years...** Rabbinic tradition records 120 years. See *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 6:3; *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7.

156. **completed the span of time He had patiently extended for them...** The days of the wicked were prolonged to enable them to turn back to God. See BT *Bava Qamma* 38b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 32:4; *Zohar* 1:56b, 61b, 65b, 118a (*MhN*), 227a; 2:12b.

157. ***The sons of Elohim saw the human daughters...*** The verse reads: *The sons of Elohim saw how beautiful the human daughters were, and they took themselves wives, whomever they chose*. The myth behind this fragment in Genesis appears in postbiblical sources describing angels who rebelled against God and descended from heaven to earth, where they were attracted by mortal women.

See Isaiah 14:12; 1 Enoch 6–8; Jubilees 5; BT *Yoma* 67b; *Aggadat Bereshit*, intro, 39; *Midrash Avkir*, 7 (cited in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Genesis, 44); *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Zohar* 1:23a (*TZ*), 37a, 37a (*Tos*), 58a, 126a; 3:208a–b, 212a–b; *ZḤ* 81a–b (*MhN, Rut*); *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 6:2; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:153-56, n. 57.

158. **This was the foundation, the root of their persistent sinning...** The generation of the Flood, descended from the lustful union of angels with mortal women, persisted in the ancestral sin. Thereby they rejected *Shekhinah*, known as מהימנותא קדישא (*meheima-nuta qaddisha*), the realm of "holy faith."

159. **We return to the previous matter** Previously the discussion had focused on Genesis 6:12, then on 6:10, following which there appear a passage from the Zoharic *Tosefta* and a discussion of Noah warning his generation. Now the text returns to Genesis 6:13.

160. ***End of all flesh has come before Me...* caused by them** Human

wickedness empowers the Angel of Death, known as *End of all flesh*. See *Zohar* 1:35b, 54a, 58a.

161. **to that world** To the afterlife. See BT *Berakhot* 28b: "When Rabban Yoḥanan son of Zakkai fell ill, his disciples came in to visit him. As soon as he saw them, he began to weep. They exclaimed, 'Lamp of Israel! Right-hand Pillar! Mighty Hammer! Why do you weep?' He replied, '... There are two paths before me—one leading to Paradise, the other to Hell—and I do not know on which one I will be led. Should I not weep?'"

162. לקץ הימין (***le-qets ha-yamin***), ***at the end of the right*** The phrase means literally *at the end of days*, the word ימין (*yamin*) being an aramaized form of the Hebrew ימים (*yamim*), "days." Rabbi Yehudah, however, understands the word as the Hebrew ימין (*yamin*), "right."

163. ***earth of pitch-black darkness*** The verse actually reads: *rock of pitch-black gloom*. See *Zohar* 1:193a.

164. **Angel of Death, Serpent, *End of all flesh*** The demonic manifests as the Angel of Death. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "Resh Lakish said, 'Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:58a.

165. **he derives from the side of the smelting of gold** The Angel of Death and the entire demonic realm represent the dark dross of the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, who is situated on the left side of the sefirotic tree and symbolized by gold.

166. ***The furthest reaches...* When judgment looms...** Perhaps understanding the biblical word תכלית (*takhlit*), "end, *reaches*," according to the intensive form of the root בלה (*klh*), "to destroy."

167. **Accuser of the world** See the description of Satan's itinerary in BT *Bava Batra* 16a: "He descends and seduces, ascends and arouses wrath, obtains authorization, and seizes the soul."

See Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 89a, s.v. *ba ha-satan; Zohar* 1:10b, 46b, 125a, 148a (*ST*), 152b; 2:33b, 268b.

168. ***As for you, go on till the end; you will rest, and arise*** The verse continues: *for your share at the end of days*. See *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:6; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 17:5.

169. **He asked, 'Where?... *You will rest*'** Several manuscripts read here: "He asked, 'Rest in this world or in that world?' He replied, 'In that world, as is said: *They will rest on their couches* (Isaiah 57:2).'"

170. **they will rise in various groups...** See Daniel 12:2; BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 16b.

171. **I don't know to which...** Daniel asks God which *end* He intends. Whereas *the end of days* symbolizes the demonic power of death, *the end of the right* symbolizes the culmination of emanation, characterized by the grace and

bliss of the right side. See *Zohar* 1:54a–b, 152b, 210b; 2:33a–34a, 134a–b, 181b. Cf. BT *Berakhot* 28b (cited above, note 161).

172. **wicked of the world anticipate him...** Those who indulge in immorality stimulate the *End of all flesh*, paving the way for him to approach the divine, ushering him in to seek authorization to strike.

173. **As soon as he is authorized, he seizes the soul...** See above, note 167.

174. ***I am about to destroy...*** By empowering the Destroyer.

175. **when death appears in town...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b: "Rabbi Yosef taught: 'What is the meaning of the verse *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22)? Once permission has been granted to the Destroyer, he does not distinguish between righteous and wicked.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? Keep your feet indoors.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? One should not walk in the middle of the road, because the Angel of Death walks there—for as soon as permission has been granted him, he strides brazenly.'"

See *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 11; *Zohar* 1:68a–b, 69a, 101b–102a, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b, 204b; 2:36a (*MhN*), 196a, 227a; 3:54a–b.

176. **called by that name** Called "Flood."

177. **as long as one's face is not visible...** See *Devarim Rabbah* 4:4; *Zohar* 1:68b, 108b.

178. **mountains of Kurdistan** טורי קרדו (*Turei qardu*), namely, the mountains of Ararat, upon which the ark settled as the waters of the Flood subsided. See Genesis 8:4, and *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc., from whom the *Zohar* borrows this Aramaic expression. Cf. *Zohar* 3:149a; *ZḤ* 11b (*MhN*), 49a. The neologistic phrase in 1:15a: בוצינא דקרדינותא (*botsina de-qardinuta*), "a spark of impenetrable darkness," may allude to Kurdistan (see above, p. 107, n. 4).

179. **crevices... from the time of the Flood** See Genesis 7:11: *All the springs of the great abyss burst*.

180. ***Stained is your iniquity before Me*** See above, page 355.

181. ***Cry shrilly, O Daughter of Gallim! Listen, Laishah! O poor Anathoth!*** Isaiah calls on the inhabitants of the city of Bat Gallim (literally, *Daughter of Gallim*) to warn the nation (specifically, the residents of Laishah and Anathoth) of the impending Assyrian invasion.

182. **Assembly of Israel** כנסת ישראל (*Keneset Yisra'el*). In rabbinic Hebrew this phrase denotes the people of Israel. The midrash on the Song of Songs describes the love affair between the maiden (the earthly community of Israel) and her lover (the Holy One, blessed be He). In the *Zohar*, *Keneset Yisra'el* can refer to the earthly community but also (often primarily) to *Shekhinah*, the divine feminine counterpart of the people, the aspect of God most intimately connected

with them. The lovers in the Song of Songs are pictured as the divine couple: *Tif'eret* and *Shekhinah*.

Here Rabbi Yose cites a verse from Isaiah addressed to the people of Israel and applies it to *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:249a–b.

183. **O *Daughter of Gallim!* Daughter of Abraham...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 94b: "Rav Huna said, '... *Cry shrilly, O Daughter of Gallim!* Daughter of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who enacted *mitsvot* as profusely as גלי הים (*gallei ha-yam*), the waves of the sea.'" Cf. *Eikhah Rabbah*, *Petiḥta* 1; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 13:1.

Here Rabbi Yose focuses on Abraham, who according to rabbinic tradition was blessed with a daughter in his old age. In Kabbalah this daughter symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from *Ḥesed*, symbolized by Abraham and by flowing water. See *Tosefta*, *Qiddushin* 5:17; BT *Bava Batra* 16b; *Bahir* 52 (78); Naḥmanides on Genesis 24:1.

184. ***sealed*** גל (***gal***), ***spring...*** **streams merging...** In the midrashic interpretation of Song of Songs, the beloved described as *a sealed spring* symbolizes the people of Israel (*Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 4:12; *Shemot Rabbah* 20:5). Here the *spring* is *Shekhinah*, Assembly of Israel, filled by the flow of the *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod*, who are known as *Gallim*, "waves" of emanation.

185. ***Layish*** **is male; *Laishah*, female...** The word לישה (*laishah*) means "lioness," while its homonym, *Laishah*, is the name of the city addressed by Isaiah. Usually male and female symbolize the divine couple, *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, though here, as we soon see, both genders characterize *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:249b–250a and, on the masculine aspect of *Shekhinah*, 1:232a.

186. **deriving from upper Might** *Shekhinah*, the lioness, derives from *Gevurah* (Might).

187. **when those streams disappear... *Poor Laishah...*** When She is not nourished by the flow of emanation, *Shekhinah* is impoverished and unable to transmit blessing. See *Zohar* 1:250a.

188. ***Anathoth*, poorest of the poor...** Rabbi Yose interprets the name of the priestly village, ענתות (*Anatot*), in the sense of עני (*ani*), "poor," referring to the priests' lack of inheritance (Deuteronomy 18:1–2). The plural form suggests intense poverty. See *Zohar* 1:249b.

189. ***Anathoth, go to your field!*** The expression means literally: *Go to Anathoth, to your field*, a command given by King Solomon to Abiathar. Abiathar had been a loyal follower of Solomon's father, King David, and was appointed high priest. However, as a result of his support for the succession of Adonijah (another of David's sons), King Solomon banished him to Anathoth. See 1 Samuel 22–23; 1 Kings 1:7; 2:26–27.

190. **What is the point?** Why did Solomon call Abiathar by the name Anathoth?

191. **‘In your days father was poor; now, *go to your field!’*** Abiathar initially served David in a period of poverty, as indicated by the name Anathoth. *Shekhinah*, symbolized by David, was then also incomplete. Now in the affluent reign of Solomon, with *Shekhinah* fulfilled, Abiathar is out of place and must return to his humble home.

According to the Midrash, just as the moon does not become full until the fifteenth day of its cycle, so it remained incomplete until the glorious reign of Solomon in the fifteenth generation from Abraham. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:12; and *Shemot Rabbah* 15:26: “When Solomon appeared, the disk of the moon became full.”

See *Zohar* 1:73b, 74a, 150a, 223a, 225b, 249b; 2:85a; 3:61a; *ZḤ* 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 342. In Kabbalah the moon symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

192. ***One son... his name was Abiathar*** The verse concludes: *and he fled to David*.

193. **he must have been from Nob...** When David fled from King Saul, he was assisted by Ahimelech, priest of Nob. Saul then destroyed Nob, killing all its inhabitants—except for Abiathar, Ahimelech’s son, who escaped. See 1 Samuel 21–22; *Zohar* 1:224a.

194. **Anathoth was a village, not identical with Nob** The village of Anathoth was located on the outskirts of the city of Nob. See Nehemiah 11:32; *Zohar* 1:249b.

195. ***all the hardships my father endured*** Abiathar shared the hardships of Solomon’s father, David, as he fled from King Saul.

196. **The world was impoverished... until Noah arrived and offered an offering...** Adam’s sin ruined the union of the *sefirot*, thereby depriving the world of the rich divine flow. When Noah emerged safely from the ark following the Flood, he offered sacrifices (Genesis 8:20–22), which stimulated the union of the *sefirot*, ensuring blessing and harmony for the world.

197. **slime of the serpent...** זוהמא דנחש (*Zohama de-naḥash*), “The filth of the serpent.”

See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: “Rav Yosef taught: ‘... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.’” Israel’s acceptance of the Torah, symbolized by the Tree of Life, inoculated them against the venomous slime and restored them to a paradisiacal state.

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a, 54a, 122b.

198. **original tablets were smashed...** When Moses saw the Children of Israel worshiping the Golden Calf, he smashed the stone tablets inscribed with the Ten Commandments. Later Moses carved a second set, which were again inscribed by God. See Exodus 32:19; 34:1.

According to rabbinic tradition, the first tablets offered immortality. See *Tanḥuma*, *Ki Tissa* 16; and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 8:6: "חרות (*Ḥarut*), *Engraved, on the tablets* [describing the divine writing]. Do not read חרות (*ḥarut*), *engraved*, but rather חירות (*ḥeirut*), freedom. Rabbi Yehudah, Rabbi Neḥemiah, and the Rabbis: Rabbi Yehudah says, 'Freedom from the Angel of Death.' Rabbi Neḥemiah says, 'Freedom from foreign rulers.' The Rabbis say, 'Freedom from suffering.'" See *Zohar* 1:37b, 52a–b.

Here the serpent is identified with the Angel of Death, known as *End of all flesh* (see above, pages 363–65). On the distinction between the original tablets and their copy, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1103–06.

199. **When the Levites rose to deal death** To kill those who had sinned with the Golden Calf. See Exodus 32:26–28.

200. **they were all girded with armored belts...** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Shelaḥ*, add. 1: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai said, 'He adorned them with weapons engraved with the Ineffable Name [*YHVH*], and as long as they possessed these, no evil could touch them, neither the Angel of Death nor anything else. As soon as they sinned [with the Golden Calf], Moses said to them: *Now take off your ornaments, and I will decide what to do to you* (Exodus 33:5). At that moment, *When the people heard this evil word, they mourned*, [*and no one put on his ornaments*] (ibid., 4). What is written? *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments....* (ibid., 6).'"

Cf. *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 33:4, 6; *Targum Shir ha-Shirim* 2:17; *Eikhah Rabbah, Petiḥta* 24; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:4; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 47; BT *Shabbat* 88a; *Avodah Zarah* 5a; Naḥmanides on Exodus 33:6; *Zohar* 1:52b, 126b; 2:227a.

201. **the verse should read וינעלו (*Vay-natstselu*), *They stripped*** Since the Children of Israel stripped off their ornaments, why the construably passive conjugation?

202. **But, *they were stripped*, by someone else...** See BT *Shabbat* 88a: "Rabbi Simai expounded: 'When Israel said *We will do* before *We will listen* (Exodus 24:7) [thereby demonstrating true faith by committing themselves to fulfill God's word before hearing the details], 600,000 ministering angels came to each and every Israelite, setting two crowns upon him, one for *We will do*, and

one for *We will listen*. As soon as Israel sinned, 1,200,000 angels of destruction descended and removed them, as is said: *The Children of Israel were stripped of their ornaments from Mount Horeb*.'"

According to the simple sense of the verse, the phrase *from Mount Horeb* means "from Mount Horeb on," "from when they stood at Mount Sinai," but Rabbi Simai (in the Talmud) and, following him, Rabbi Yose (in the *Zohar*), interpret it differently.

203. **why didn't he abolish death...?** Since, as Rabbi Ḥiyya taught above, Noah repaired the cosmic damage caused by Adam's sin, why could he not also abolish death, which was decreed as a result of that sin? In rabbinic tradition, the righteous are empowered to abolish the divine decree. See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 16b: "*The righteous one rules the awe of God*.... Rabbi Abbahu said, '... I [God] rule over humanity. Who rules over Me? The righteous one. For I issue a decree and he abolishes it.'"

204. **all of them were grasping the leaves of the tree below...** Noah's generation grasped the leaves of the Tree of Knowledge, which convey the knowledge of magic.

See *Zohar* 1:36b, 53b, 56a. Cf. BT *Bava Metsi'a* 114b.

205. **Torah, Tree of Life, had not yet been brought down to earth...** Torah, the source of life, could have guided and protected them.

Torah is identified with the Tree of Life, based on the description of wisdom in Proverbs 3:18: *She is a tree of life to those who grasp her*. See BT *Berakhot* 32b, 61b.

206. **This person is a Jew—he looks so!** See *Zohar* 1:164a: "While they were walking, they saw a man approaching, accompanied by a child riding on his shoulders. Rabbi Yitsḥak said, "This man is certainly a Jew!"

207. **I am an envoy for a *mitsvah!*** The anonymous Jew is on a spiritual errand, having been sent to fulfill a commandment. See BT *Sukkah* 10b, 26a.

208. **village of Ramin** The name means "high, exalted," though see above, note 124. The village is not mentioned in rabbinic literature, but it reappears in *Zohar* 3:39b.

209. **Festival** The week-long harvest festival of *Sukkot*, celebrated at the end of summer.

210. ***lulav* and its fellow species** Four plants taken and waved during the festival of *Sukkot*: a palm branch (*lulav*), a citron, three sprigs of myrtle, and two willow twigs. See Leviticus 23:40.

211. **all of which propitiate for water** Originally the four species were waved as part of a ritual prayer for rain. Similarly, in the Temple in Jerusalem on the last six days of *Sukkot*, as the rainy season approached, water was drawn and

poured as a libation on the altar. The additional service for *Shemini Atseret* (the day following *Sukkot*) opens with a prayer for rain.

212. **why we need them on the Festival** In his Hebrew writings, Moses de León attacks assimilated Jews who used rationalistic ideology to justify their neglect of *mitsvot*, specifically this *mitsvah*. See his *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 391–92; Matt, *Zohar*, 5–6.

213. **Companions have already been aroused by this** The symbolic meaning of the four species is discussed in *Zohar* 1:220a–221a; 2:186b; 3:24a, 31b, 104a. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1249–51.

214. **one inflamed by the rabbis** צורבא מרבנן (*Tsurba me-rabbanan*), a phrase referring to a scholar, perhaps meaning "scorched by the rabbis." See BT *Ta'anit* 4a; and M *Avot* 2:10: "Rabbi Eli'ezer says, '... Warm yourself by the fire of the wise—and beware their glowing coals, so that you'll not be burned. For their bite is the bite of a fox; their sting, the sting of a scorpion; their hiss, the hiss of a serpent; and all their words like coals of fire.'"

215. **Maḥoza** A large trading town on the Tigris River.

216. **all those princes appointed over other nations...** According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God.

See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 108b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy bullocks offered by Israel on *Sukkot* (Numbers 29:12–34) benefit the seventy nations. See BT *Sukkah* 55b; *Eikhah Rabbah* 1:23; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 28:9; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1251–53.

217. ***the raging waters*** The full verse reads: *Then over us would have swept the raging waters*. See *Zohar* 2:64b.

218. **In order to overpower them... the holy name...** The four species symbolize the four letters of the name יהוה (*YHVH*), perhaps as follows: myrtle, י; willow, ה; *lulav*, ו; citron, ה. See *OY; MM; Zohar* 1:220b. Brandishing these species, Israel vanquishes the seventy princes. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 27:2.

219. **to arouse holy water upon us, to pour upon the altar** As mentioned above (note 211), in the Temple on the last six days of *Sukkot*, water was drawn and poured as a libation on the altar. Here the water symbolizes the flow of emanation stimulated by Israel's ritual of the four species. This flow pours down upon *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the altar.

220. **Lower Court of Justice...** According to the rabbinic view, "All are

judged on Rosh Hashanah" (BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 16a). Here the court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment, Justice") and conveys it to the world. See *Zohar* 2:186b, 237b–238a.

221. **when Her face beams** By Yom Kippur, on the tenth of the lunar month, Israel has engaged deeply in turning back to God, and the moon, symbolizing *Shekhinah*, has brightened. See *Zohar* 3:100b.

222. **serpent—cosmic informer—is nowhere... engrossed in that goat...** On Yom Kippur, a scapegoat bearing the sins of Israel is offered to the wilderness demon Azazel (Leviticus 16:10). Similarly, in the Babylonian Akitu ritual a goat, substituted for a human being, is offered to Ereshkigal, goddess of the Abyss. According to *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 46, the goat is intended to preoccupy Satan: "They gave him [Satan] a bribe on Yom Kippur so that he would not nullify Israel's sacrifice."

See BT *Yoma* 20a: "On Yom Kippur, Satan has no permission to accuse. How do we know? Rami son of Ḥama said, 'השטן (*Ha-satan*), Satan, equals 364 in numerical value, implying that on 364 days he has permission to accuse, while on Yom Kippur he does not.'"

See Naḥmanides on Leviticus 16:8; *Zohar* 1:11a, 113b–114b, 138b, 174b, 190a, 210b; 2:154b, 237b; 266b; 3:63a (*Piq*), 102a, 202b–203a, 258b; *ZḤ* 87b–c (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 49; Cordovero, *OY*, 4:51b; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:890–95.

223. **sanctuary** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

224. **goat of the new moon...** According to Numbers 28:15, on each new moon a goat must be brought as a sin-offering. Here, this goat too is intended to preoccupy Satan, leaving Israel and *Shekhinah* (both symbolized by the moon) alone with the blessed Holy One.

See *Zohar* 1:65a, 122b, 138b; 2:33a, 185a, 238a, 269a. Cf. BT *Ḥullin* 60b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 6:3. The sixteenth-century kabbalists of Safed observed the day preceding the new moon as *Yom Kippur Qatan* ("Minor Day of Atonement").

225. **I haven't examined you yet** See *Zohar* 3:186b.

226. **When the moon approaches the sun** At the time of the new moon, *Shekhinah* approaches *Tif'eret* and begins to receive His light.

227. **the blessed Holy One arouses the side of North...** *Gevurah*, symbolized by North, is aroused and embraces *Shekhinah*.

228. **South... East** Symbolizing *Ḥesed* and *Tif'eret*.

229. **Here Woman approaches Her Husband** At the new moon, *Shekhinah* begins to approach Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

230. **smooth members of Adam... arrayal of the Female** The masculine figure of divinity, symbolized by Adam, includes various sefirotic limbs, to

which correspond different aspects of *Shekhinah*.

"Smooth members" renders two senses of one term, שייפי (*shaifei*). From a root meaning "to smooth, rub, slip," the word signifies "limbs" in the *Zohar*, perhaps based on the Talmudic expression (BT *Sotah* 7b) על איבריה לשפא (*al eivreih le-shafa*), "each limb entered its socket"—"slipping" into place— or "... the chest."

See *Arukh*, s.v. *shaf*; Rashi, ad loc., and on Job 33:21, citing *Ḥullin* 42b; *Zohar* 3:170a.

231. **Similarly, below... another, lower Adam beneath the moon** The demonic male attempts to seduce *Shekhinah* in Her time of darkness at the new moon. See *Zohar* 2:194b.

232. **left arm above** *Gevurah*, located on the left side of the divine body.

233. **her rider grasps her** The serpent's rider, Samael, grasps the serpent. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 13*: "Samael... took his band and descended and saw all the creatures created by the blessed Holy One. He determined that the most cunningly evil was the serpent, as is said: *Now the serpent was slier than any creature of the field that YHVH Elohim had made*. He [the serpent] looked like a camel, and he [Samael] mounted and rode him."

See *Zohar* 1:35b, 137b, 146a, 153a.

234. **draws Her** Draws *Shekhinah*.

235. **sucking from the trough... ביניקו דקופטא** (*Biyniqu de-qufta*). *Qufta* means "trough, crib" in *Zohar* 1:236a, perhaps derived from קופסא (*qufsa*), "box." Cf. *Zohar* 1:33a: קופטרא (*quftera*), "waterskin"; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 349–50. In *Tosefta*, *Avodah Zarah* 4:11, קפטא (*qafta*) apparently means "leeks." Alternatively, several witnesses read here: קוטפא (*qutpa*), which could mean either "resin" or "cluster." See BT *Ketubbot* 112a, *Avodah Zarah* 72b: קטופי (*qetofei*), "clusters, fruit ready to be plucked"; *Zohar* 1:17b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 190.

In either case, the point is that the demonic draws sustenance from *Shekhinah* and in the process defiles Her.

236. **Then Israel below offer up a goat...** The new-moon offering (see above, note 224) distracts the demonic from *Shekhinah*, enabling Her to join Her divine partner.

237. **Festival** Of *Sukkot*, which begins on the full moon.

238. **right side above** The *sefirah* of *Ḥesed*, flowing love of God.

239. **all those deputies below** The seventy heavenly princes below *Shekhinah* appointed over the seventy nations of the world.

240. **from the side of Israel's share** Directly from *Shekhinah*.

241. **They... convey blessing** The people of Israel convey blessing.

242. **When the moon is fittingly filled... *an assembly*** The seven-day

festival of *Sukkot*, which begins on the full moon, is immediately followed by an additional holy day known as *Shemini Atseret* ("Eighth Day of Assembly"). Now the people Israel rests alone with *Shekhinah*.

243. **As translated...** From Hebrew into the Aramaic כנישו (*kenishu*). See *Targum Onqelos*, Leviticus 23:36; Numbers 29:35; Deuteronomy 16:8; *Zohar* 3:96b, 259b.

244. **they propitiate for water** As mentioned above in note 211, during *Sukkot* Israel prays for rain by waving the four species and offering water libations.

245. **This may be compared to a king...** A similar parable appears in *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 28:9. See BT *Sukkah* 55b; *Zohar* 3:104b.

246. **quaestors** קסטורי (*Qastorei*), from Latin *quaestor*, a Roman official, referring here to the heavenly princes. See JT *Eruvin* 6:2, 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b, 53b, 62a (*Tos*); 2:19b, 58b, 208b; 3:13a.

247. **wickered baskets** קוסטורין (*Qustorin*), perhaps derived from קלוסטוד (*qelustor*), an Aramaic corruption of the Greek *kartallos*, "basket."

248. **Similarly, Israel with the blessed Holy One...** By offering seventy bullocks on *Sukkot*, Israel assures that the seventy heavenly princes and their earthly nations will be sustained (see above, note 216). Then on the eighth day, Israel feasts alone with God.

249. ***All your children will be taught by YHVH*** The verse continues in parallelism: *and great will be the peace of your children*.

250. **Why is it written: *And YHVH... Elohim, Elohim*?** In rabbinic literature the divine names יהוה (*YHVH*) and אלהים (*Elohim*) indicate, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and judgment. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name." Cf. *Zohar* 1:20a, 48b, 56b, 67a; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*). The following passage reappears in *Zohar* 2:227b.

The name *Elohim* (denoting judgment) appropriately dominates the account of the Flood, though, in fact, the name *YHVH* appears too (Genesis 6:5–8; 7:1, 5, 16). But why does the name *YHVH* (denoting compassion) figure in the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah?

251. **'Everywhere it is written: *And YHVH... Elohim...*'** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 51:2: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Wherever it is said: *And YHVH*, this implies: He and His Court.'" In Kabbalah this court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment") and pronounces the divine decree, so the phrase *And YHVH* encompasses "He [*Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*] and His Court [*Shekhinah*]."

See JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b; Rashi on Exodus 12:29; *Zohar* 1:15b, 107b; 2:37b, 44b; 3:149a. The hermeneutical significance of *and* was championed by

Rabbi Akiva. See BT *Yevamot* 68b; *Sanhedrin* 51b.

The Jew from Ramin adds to this rabbinic rubric: "*Elohim*, unspecified, means Judgment alone." The name *Elohim* can refer to various *sefirot* (*Binah, Din, Shekhinah*); without further identification it refers to דינא (*dina*), Judgment alone, without the compassion of *YHVH*. See *Zohar* 1:46a; 2:140a.

252. **He intermingled with Judgment** *YHVH*, denoting compassion, mitigated the harsh judgment.

253. **It** Judgment alone. The word can also be rendered "He."

254. **Noah was hidden from sight...** The demonic only attacks what is visible. See *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 11; BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b; *Zohar* 1:63a, 68a–b, 69a, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b; 2:196a, 227a.

255. ***And YHVH*—in the open... *Elohim*—one needs concealment...** When compassion mingles with judgment, one can venture outside; but if judgment manifests alone—as in the Flood—one must remain hidden.

256. **If the verse were not written, we could not say it** A rabbinic saying highlighting a radical formulation either in the biblical text or its midrashic interpretation. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 1:5.

257. **He sat by, alone...** *YHVH*, symbolizing Compassion, sat alone, uninvolved in the Flood, while Judgment, symbolized by the name *Elohim*, wrought the catastrophe.

258. **The blessed Holy One—concealed and revealed...** God is revealed through *Shekhinah*, the divine court, yet remains concealed above. The phrase "site from which all blessings flow" refers apparently to *Binah* or *Yesod*. See *Zohar* 1:130b; 3:36a.

259. **blessings settle upon everything kept concealed** See BT *Ta'anit* 8b: "Blessing is not found in anything weighed, measured, or counted, but only in that which is hidden from the eye." Cf. *Zohar* 1:5a, 202a. The success of the *Zohar* itself depends on concealment: the concealment of the medievai author's (or authors') identity behind the pseudepigraphic veil of Rabbi Shim'on.

260. **Happy is the generation in which Rabbi Shim'on dwells** Rabbi Shim'on's potent wisdom enriches his entire generation. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 35:2; *Zohar* 2:156a; 3:79a; Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 28–34.

261. **Did that *End of all flesh* enjoy those offerings...?** As discussed above (pages 372–73), the goats offered on Yom Kippur and the new moon were intended to occupy the demonic and prevent him from accusing Israel in heaven.

262. **Priests, Levites, and Israel are called אדם (*adam*), human** Rabbi Shim'on's declaration derives from BT *Yevamot* 60b–61a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai says, 'The graves of Gentiles do not impart impurity by a tent [i.e., one who stands on or bends over such a grave, thereby constituting a tent with his

body, is not rendered impure], as is said: *You, My sheep, sheep of My pasture, are* אדם (*adam*), *human* [*and I am Your God*] (Ezekiel 34:31). You are called *adam*; Gentiles are not called *adam*.'" Rabbi Shim'on assumes a connection between *adam* and "impurity by a tent," based on the wording of Numbers 19:14: *When an adam dies in a tent, whoever enters the tent and whoever is in the tent shall be impure seven days*.

Here *adam* alludes to the *sefirot*, configured as a human body. The priests symbolize the right arm (*Ḥesed*); the Levites, the left arm (*Gevurah*); Israel, the trunk of the body (*Tif'eret*). See *Zohar* 1:20b, 131a, 220a; 2:25b, 86a; 3:219a.

263. **aspirations** רעותין (*Re'utin*), "Desires, wills," referring to the intention of those worshiping and praying.

264. **That sheep or lamb or beast that they offer** An offering brought by an individual Israelite. See Leviticus 5:5.

265. **burden of two on one** The animal bears a double burden: the aspirations of the worshipers and their confessions.

266. **this one ascends to its site, and that one to its site...** Human aspirations stimulate the union of the *sefirot*, which constitute the divine paradigm of the human being, while confessions and the animal's flesh satisfy the beastly demonic. The verse from Psalms is taken to imply that both the *sefirot* and the demonic are nourished by the divine flow. See *Zohar* 2:238b–239a.

267. **Pancakes and all other meal-offerings** Various meal-offerings, consisting of flour, oil, and frankincense, are specified in Leviticus 2.

268. **Holy Spirit** Often a designation of *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:67a; 2:238b; 3:61a.

269. **All simultaneously** Both holy and demonic powers are sustained by the offerings.

270. **so that one is satisfied by the other** So that the lower is satisfied by the higher, and vice versa.

271. **so that the one who must, ascends to *Ein Sof*, Endless** So that *Shekhinah* (alternatively, human intention) ascends through and beyond all the *sefirot* to *Ein Sof*, Divine Infinity. The phrase "to *Ein Sof*" can also be understood adverbially: "endlessly, infinitely."

272. **I raise my hands above in prayer!** Rabbi Shim'on invokes the divine as he prepares to describe the primal origins of emanation. The formula derives from *Targum Onqelos*, Genesis 14:22, and recurs in *Zohar* 2:9a, 70a (*RR*), 268b; 3:195b, 258b, 287a.

273. **supernal Will, above, above** *Ein Sof*, unbounded by the *sefirot*—specifically beyond *Keter*, the first *sefirah*, which itself is known as Will. See *Zohar* 2:268b (*Heikh*).

274. **Will unknown... the head...** *Keter* ("Crown"), head of the *sefirot*.

275. **desire of supernal Thought...** Divine thought, *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), generated by *Keter*, yearns to return to its source. See Plotinus, *Enneads* 6:7:16. According to *KP*, "supernal Thought" refers to *Keter*, who yearns to rejoin *Ein Sof*.

276. **A single curtain is spread** Between *Keter* and *Ḥokhmah*, Will and Thought. See *Zohar* 2:165b, 259a (*Heikh*); 3:128a (*IR*).

277. **touches and does not touch** The light of *Keter* shines faintly, subtly through the curtain. See *Zohar* 1:15a.

278. **unknown even by Thought!** Even Thought itself remains unaware of the nature of this radiance. According to the Gnostic *Gospel of Truth* (22:27–29), the aeons (divine emanations) below *Nous* ("Intellect") are unaware of the hidden divinity: "It was quite amazing that they were in the Father without knowing Him." See *Zohar* 1:30a, 49a.

279. **nine palaces of palaces—neither lights...** These entities are the hidden essences of the nine *sefirot* from *Ḥokhmah* downward, so they are not to be identified as "lights," a term designating the *sefirot*, nor as "spirits" or "souls."

280. **all nine lights** Paradoxically, immediately after denying this name to the palaces, Rabbi Shim'on applies it to them. See *Zohar* 3:288a (*IR*).

281. **numerically one of them** *Ḥokhmah*, divine thought, is first of the nine lower *sefirot*, whose essences (the palaces of palaces) are contained within *Ḥokhmah* itself.

282. **pursue them...** The palaces pursue their origin, namely, Will and Thought, but these two cannot be apprehended.

283. **all those lights... are called *Ein Sof*, Endless** The totality of hidden lights, yearning to return to their source, share in the designation *Ein Sof*. See *ZḤ* 1b (*SO*), 104c (*Tiq*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 174–75.

284. **Until here lights extend and do not extend...** Up to this point in the process of emanation, the light cannot be clearly perceived. No will or thought can venture there. Alternatively, these lights are not to be identified with either *Keter* (known as Will) or *Ḥokhmah* (known as Thought).

285. **When Thought illumines...** When *Ḥokhmah* emanates, it fashions the palace of *Binah*, into which it enters.

286. **Through the mystery of the offering...** The sacrificial offering unites the *sefirot*, which then together ascend to the Beyond. Maimonides had relativized the importance of the sacrificial offerings, explaining them away as a concession to the primitive nature of ancient Israel. The *Zohar* counters by emphasizing their vital role in unifying and sustaining the cosmos. See Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed* 3:32; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:878–90.

287. ***Ayin*, Nothingness** A name for the primal, unknowable *sefirah*, source of

Thought and of all existence, yet not to be identified with any particular "thing," thus best called Nothingness (No-thingness).

288. **this *End of all flesh*** The demonic. See above, pages 377–78.

289. **Just as a bond is found above in joy, so too, below...** The *sefirot* *are* united through the sacrificial offering, while the powers below revel in their share, not disturbing Israel's intimacy with *Shekhinah*.

290. **over and above the offerings** In addition to his regular share of other offerings, namely, the flesh.

291. **This is the שעיר (*sa'ir*), goat** According to Numbers 28:15, on each new moon a goat must be brought as a sin-offering. Here, this goat is intended to preoccupy Satan, leaving Israel alone with God. See above, note 224.

292. **portion of Esau...איש שעיר (*ish sa'ir*), *a hairy man*** Esau, Jacob's twin and nemesis, symbolizes the demonic. The word שעיר (*sa'ir*) also means "goat, demon, satyr." Further, Esau and his descendants inhabited שעיר (*Se'ir*), *Seir* (see Genesis 32:4; 36:8–9).

See Genesis 25:25; *Bereshit Rabbah* 65:15; *Zohar* 1:138b, 145b, 153a; 3:64a.

293. **flesh is arrayed for him constantly** The flesh of sacrificial offerings is intended for him.

294. **When he rules, he rules over body...** At death, the demonic power rules over the body, while the soul ascends. See *Zohar* 3:170a, 172b.

295. **aspiration ascends to one site, flesh to another** The intention of the one offering the sacrifice ascends to the *sefirot*, unifying them, while the animal's flesh satisfies the demonic.

296. **A virtuous human being is an actual offering of atonement** See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 28a: "Rabbi Ammi said, 'Just as the red heifer atones [by the ritual use of its ashes], so does the death of the righteous atone.'" Cf. *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:12; BT *Shabbat* 33b; *Zohar* 2:36b, 38b, 269a; 3:9b, 218a–b; *ZḤ* 12c–d (*MhN*).

According to one tradition, souls of the righteous are offered by the archangel Michael on a heavenly altar. See *Tosafot*, *Menaḥot* 110a, s.v. *u-mikha'el*; *Zohar* 1:80a (*ST*); *ZḤ* 21a (*MhN*).

297. **while another is not** One unvirtuous is not.

298. ***not acceptable*** The full verse reads: *Whatever has a defect you are not to offer, for it will not be acceptable on your behalf.*

299. **Rabbi Ḥiyya and Rabbi Yose... One said** In an earlier version of the *Zohar* (preserved in manuscripts V5 and R1, *OY*, and 1:254b [*Hash*]), the speaker here is neither Rabbi Ḥiyya nor Rabbi Yose, but rather the anonymous Jew encountered earlier by the two rabbis (above, pages 371–77).

300. ***Noah was 600 years old*** The verse continues: *when the Flood came, waters upon the earth*.

301. **Because if Noah had not been 600 years old...** Noah's ripe age reflects the full sextet of *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*. Through living a long, righteous life, Noah embodied *Yesod*, known as Righteous One, and therefore entered the ark, symbolizing *Shekhinah*. See above, page 341.

302. **from the day that the guilt of the world's inhabitants was complete ...** Noah's generation was so wicked that they deserved to be annihilated long before the Flood, but God waited for them to turn back to Him until Noah reached spiritual maturity.

See BT *Bava Qamma* 38b; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 32:4; *Zohar* 1:56b, 61b, 62b, 118a (*MhN*), 227a; 2:12b.

303. **so the verse does not read *about 600 years old*** Noah's precise age corresponds to the six *sefirot* that culminate in *Yesod*, Righteous One.

304. **He opened again** See above, note 299.

305. ***And I, I am about to bring the Flood, waters*** The verse continues: *upon the earth to destroy all flesh*.

306. **Because *I* and *I am about to* are one and the same** Both refer to *Shekhinah*, through whom the divine manifests, declaring "I am."

307. **Everywhere *Ani* becomes a body for the soul...** Wherever this word appears in Scripture, it alludes to *Shekhinah*, who receives *Tif'eret* as the body receives the soul.

308. **it is intimated by the sign of the covenant...** *Shekhinah* is linked with the covenant of circumcision, a symbol of *Yesod*, the divine phallus.

309. **throne to what is above** Throne to *Tif'eret*.

310. **avenging from generation to generation** *Shekhinah* executes severe judgment.

311. ***Va-Ani, And I,* encompassing male and female as one** The letter ו (*vav*), whose numerical value is six, symbolizes *Tif'eret* together with the five *sefirot* surrounding Him (*Ḥesed* through *Yesod*).

312. **afterward designated alone...** The wording *I am about to* refers to *Shekhinah* alone. See above, note 306.

313. **את (*et*) *the Flood,* amplifying the meaning to include...** Grammatically, the accusative particle את (*et*) has no ascertainable independent sense; but Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

314. **'I will faithfully reward the righteous and punish the wicked'** See *Sifra, Aḥarei Mot* 9:1, 85c; *Sifrei*, Numbers 115; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 23:9.

315. ***He will not allow the Destroyer to enter your homes...*** During the last of the ten plagues in Egypt: the slaying of the firstborn.

316. **aspect of *End of all flesh*...** The demonic. See above, pages 363–65.

317. **time extended for them...** See above, note 302.

318. **He said... Rabbi Yitsḥak...** See above, note 299. On page 371, the anonymous Jew tells the rabbis: "True, the place we live in is small, but everyone there engages in Torah under the guidance of one inflamed by the rabbis: Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Yose from Maḥoza, who each day tells us new words."

319. ***I said, 'I will not see Yah...'*** According to Scripture, the verse was sung by King Hezekiah of Judah upon recovering from mortal illness. *Yah* is a divine name, an abbreviated form of *YHVH*. The final word, חדל (*ḥadel*), *cessation*, is usually understood as a metathesis of חלד (*ḥaled*), *world*, but here the anonymous speaker insists on the meaning "cessation."

320. **that world** The spiritual realm.

321. **while still existing as spirit and body united** The phrase applies both to his condition when he acted in this world and to his condition now as he renders his account. See the parable concerning the joint responsibility of body and soul in *Mekhilta de-Rashbi*, Exodus 15:1; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 4:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 91a–b; *Zohar* 1:79a, 130b; 2:199b; 3:126b.

322. **he sees what he sees ... meets Adam...** He sees *Shekhinah* and then meets Adam, who is evoked by the verse in Isaiah. See *Sifra, Vayiqra, dibbura dindavah* 2:12, 4a: "Rabbi Dosa says, 'Scripture states: *No human can see Me and live* (Exodus 33:20). In their lifetime they do not see, but in their death they do!'"

See *Bemidbar Rabbah* 19:18: "Death is decreed upon all the righteous who spring from him [Adam]. They do not depart this life without first gazing upon the face of *Shekhinah* and reproving Adam, saying: 'You inflicted death upon us!' Adam responds: 'As for me, I possess only one sin, while in your case, every single one of you possesses more than four.'"

Cf. *Tanḥuma, Ḥuqqat* 16; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Ḥuqqat* 39; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 34; *Zohar* 1:57b, 81a (*ST*), 98a (*MhN*), 99a (*ST*), 127a, 218b, 226a; 3:88a.

323. **not written: *inhabitants of* חלד (*ḥaled*), *the world*** As in Psalms 49:2. The rare form חדל (*ḥadel*) in Isaiah is usually understood as a metathesis of חלד (*ḥaled*).

324. **masters of return** Those who succeed in turning back to God.

325. **Adam returned to the presence of his Lord** On Adam's repentance, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:13; BT *Avodah Zarah* 8a; and *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer*

20: “On the first day of the week, Adam entered the waters of the upper Gihon until the waters reached his neck, and he fasted seven weeks until his body became like a sieve.” Cf. *Zohar* 1:55b.

326. ***that I may know how ḥadel, ephemeral, I am*** The full verse reads: *YHVH, let me know my end, what is the measure of my days, that I may know how ephemeral I am* (Psalms 39:5).

327. **bundle of life** See 1 Samuel 25:29: *The soul of my lord will be bound in the bundle of life*. Here the phrase describes *Shekhinah*, destination of the soul. See *Zohar* 1:224b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 60–61 (75).

328. **resplendent speculum... אספקלריא דנהרא** (*Ispaqlarya de-nahara*), “Speculum [or: glass, mirror, lens] that shines,” symbolizing *Tif’eret*. See BT Yevamot 49b: “All the prophets gazed through a dim glass [“an *ispaqlarya* that does not shine”], while Moses our Rabbi gazed through a clear glass [“an *ispaqlarya* that shines”].” Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12: “For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face-to-face.”

329. **highest site of all** The upper reaches of the *sefirot*, *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, who are named *Yah*.

330. **garment in which to be garbed, to exist in this world** The body.

331. **garment of supernal radiance... in that world** To enter and experience higher dimensions, the soul is enveloped in a radiant garment. According to *Zohar* 1:224a–b, this garment is woven out of one’s virtuous days. Parallels appear in Islamic and Iranian eschatology—and in Mahayana Buddhism, according to which the Buddha enjoys *sambhogakaya* (“a body of bliss”), generated by merit accrued over aeons.

See *Zohar* 1:7a, 82b, 91a; 2:11a, 150a, 210a–b, 229b, 247a (*Heikh*); 3:70b, 101a, 174b; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:133); Scholem, *Major Trends*, 77–78; idem, in *Tarbiz* 24 (1955): 290–306; idem, *Kabbalah*, 158–59; idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 264–65; Nakamura Hajime, in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2:458.

Cf. *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 36; *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:6; *Shemot Rabbah* 1:35; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 14; Matthew 22:1–14.

332. ***the land of the living*** *Shekhinah*, abode of the soul, from where the soul gazes upon *Tif’eret*, the “speculum that shines.” See *Zohar* 1:95b, 115a, 124b, 143b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 62 (77).

333. **Moses could not draw near... until he was garbed in another garment...** See BT *Yoma* 4a: “Moses ascended in the cloud, was enveloped by the cloud, and was sanctified within the cloud—so as to receive Torah for Israel in holiness.” Cf. *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20; *Zohar* 2:99a, 197a, 229a.

334. **this is Adam, as has been explained** As noted above, page 383,

Adam greets those who arrive at the Garden of Eden.

335. **he did not generate children** The subject is King Hezekiah, who sang these lines upon recovering from his illness. See Isaiah 38:9. According to BT *Berakhot* 10a (in the name of Rav Hamnuna), Hezekiah's illness was a punishment for his failure to *be fruitful and multiply* (Genesis 1:28).

336. **anyone who does not generate children in this world...** See BT *Bava Batra* 116a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai, 'Whoever does not leave a son to succeed him incurs the full wrath of the blessed Holy One.'" Cf. BT *Yevamot* 63b; *Zohar* 1:13a, 48a, 90a, 115a, 228b; *ZḤ* 89b (*MhN, Rut*).

337. **ancestral merit** Rabbinic Hebrew, זבות אבות (*zekhut avot*), "merit of the fathers," the protecting influence of distinguished ancestry. Hezekiah was descended from King David. See Isaiah 37:35; and BT *Shabbat* 55a: "Since when has ancestral merit ceased?... Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'Since the days of Hezekiah.'"

338. '**shirt'...** חלוקא (*ḥaluqa*). See above, note 331. The Hebrew term חלוק (*ḥaluq*) appears in Heikhalot literature describing divine or angelic garments. See *Heikhalot Rabbati*, 3–4 (in *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:86); Schäfer, *Synopse*, 48–51, §§102, 105; 178, §420.

The printed editions and *DE* (emendations) read חלוקא דרבנן (*ḥaluqa de-rabbanan*), "shirt of the rabbis." See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal*, 56. Cf. the later Hebrew phrase איצטלא דרבנן (*itstela de-rabbanan*), "robe of the rabbis." See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 28b; and *Shabbat* 128a: "It was taught in the name of Rabbi Yishma'el and in the name of Rabbi Akiva: 'All of Israel are worthy of that איצטלא (*itstela*), [royal] robe.'"

339. **for whom the blessed Holy One has treasured away...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma, Shemini*, 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:7a, 31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a, 59a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

See BT *Berakhot* 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah, but as for the world that is coming, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*, [*what You*

will do for one who awaits You]... All the prophets prophesied only concerning masters of return [turning back to God], but as for the completely righteous, *No eye has seen, O God, but You*.'"

340. ***And I, I am about to bring the Flood, waters upon the earth*** The verse continues: *to destroy all flesh*.

341. **Didn't *the Children of Israel quarrel*...anywhere else?** The wandering Israelites complained frequently; see Exodus 17:1–7; Numbers 11; 21:4–9.

342. **potently empowering the masters of judgment** Nourishing the powers of harsh judgment. As indicated by the preceding verse (Numbers 20:12), this incident led to the death of Moses and Aaron.

343. **sweet waters and bitter waters...** See *Zohar* 1:80a (*ST*); 3:12b; *ZḤ* 30c (*MhN*); Numbers 5:17–27 (alluded to below).

344. **the one they must not** The demonic who manifests in bitter, turbid waters of strife.

345. ויקדש בם (***va-yiqqadesh bam***), ***through which he was tabooed*** The root קדש (*qdsh*) means "to be set apart, consecrated, hallowed" but also "forfeited, tabooed." See Deuteronomy 22:9; *Targum Onqelos*, ad loc. Cf. Genesis 38:21–22; Deuteronomy 23:18; Isaiah 65:5; Haggai 2:12.

The phrase here is normally construed as *through which He was hallowed*, the subject *He* indicating God, who *was hallowed* through the *Waters of Quarrel* or through the subsequent death of Moses and Aaron. Here Rabbi Yehudah identifies the subject as Israel, who was defiled and tabooed by the waters.

346. **The verse should read ויקדשו (*va-yiqqadeshu*), *they were tabooed*** If the subject is the Children of Israel, the verb should be plural.

347. **The word transcends** The word applies not to Israel but to a higher realm.

348. **the moon was tainted, as it were** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, was tainted by bitter waters.

349. **here implying no praise** The word does not convey holiness but rather defilement. See Rashi on Deuteronomy 22:9; Ibn Ezra on Numbers 11:18.

350. ***And I, I am about to bring the Flood... the* Destroyer...** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence known as *I*, conveys the attribute of Judgment and here unleashes the waters of the Flood, pervaded by the demonic. The wicked generation of the Flood brought this destruction upon themselves through the defilement of sin. See above, page 382.

351. **to return to the blessed Holy One** Repenting sincerely.

352. **in a similar manner** Openly and boldly. See above, pages 347–48.

353. **Even when someone sins in secret...** See M *Avot* 4:4: "Rabbi

Yoḥanan son of Beroka says, ‘Whoever profanes the name of Heaven secretly is punished openly.’”

354. **straying wife** According to the Bible, a wife suspected of infidelity must undergo an ordeal of drinking bitter water. If she is guilty, the water causes her public suffering and disgrace. See Numbers 5:11–31.

355. **Waters gushed boiling from the abyss...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 22: “[The giants of the generation of the Flood] said, ‘If He brings the waters of the Flood upon us, behold, we are of high stature, and the waters will not reach our necks. If He brings up the waters of the depths against us, behold, the soles of our feet can dam up the depths.’ What did they do? They spread the soles of their feet and dammed up all the depths. What did the blessed Holy One do? He boiled the waters of the depths, which seethed their flesh and peeled off their skin.” Cf. above, pages 356–57.

356. **All those bones disjointed from one another...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 28:3.

357. ***I will establish My covenant with you*** The verse continues: *and you will enter the ark—you, your sons, your wife, and your sons’ wives with you*.

358. **when the righteous appear in the world...** The verse is addressed to Noah the Righteous but applies to all the righteous. The wording *with you* implies their active participation in stabilizing both this world and the sefirotic world. These virtuous humans embody the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, who is known as Righteous One and symbolized by the *covenant*. Through their virtuous living, they unite the divine couple, *Tif’eret* and *Shekhinah*.

359. **arousal of a male toward his female when he jealously suspects her** See above, note 354. On the visceral link between love and jealousy, see Song of Songs 8:6; *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah*, ad loc.; *Zohar* 1:245a; 3:54b.

360. **supernal desire toward Her in love...** The desire of the divine male (*Tif’eret* or *Yesod*) is aroused toward *Shekhinah*, who was intimate with a righteous man. See *Zohar* 1:49b–50a, 153b.

361. ***I will erect...*** והקימותי (*Va-haqimoti*), *I will establish*. Rabbi Shim’on focuses on the literal meaning “raise, erect,” suggesting that *Yesod*, the divine phallus bearing the covenant, is stimulated and aroused by righteous humans.

See above, page 341; Moses de León, *Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah*, 381–82; *OY*; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 378–79; idem, in *Da’at* 1 (1978): 107.

362. ***My covenant I will erect with Isaac*** Isaac symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, through whose passion *Yesod* is aroused.

363. **If he had not embodied the covenant...** If Noah had not embodied *Yesod*, he could not have entered the ark, symbolizing *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:59b, 65b.

364. **As long as people hold fast to the covenant, not abandoning it** As long as they observe the ritual of circumcision (sign of the covenant) and live in sexual purity.

365. **Noah held firmly to this covenant...** Not only did Noah live purely, but according to rabbinic tradition he was one of those rare individuals born circumcised. See *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 2; *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 5; *Zohar* 1:58a–b, 59b.

366. **all his contemporaries failed to preserve it...** On the sexual nature of the sins of Noah's generation, see BT *Sanhedrin* 108b: "It has been taught: The waters of the Flood were as thick as semen.... Rav Ḥisda said: 'With boiling [passion] they sinned, and with boiling [water] they were punished.'"

See *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Job, 906; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 7:10; above, page 356.

Rabbi El'azar's condemnation of sexual promiscuity reflects the promiscuity prevalent in the Jewish community in thirteenth-century Castile. On this issue, see Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 51–54 (63–67); Baer, in *Zion* 2 (1937): 31–33, 36–44; idem, *History*, 1:250–63; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1371–72; Assis, "Sexual Behavior in Mediaeval Hispano-Jewish Society."

367. **וירפא** (***Vayrappe***), ***He healed, the wrecked altar...*** The subject is the prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel engaged in a contest with the priests of Ba'al. The word **וירפא** (*vayrappe*) means, literally, "he healed," and in this verse, "he repaired."

368. **abandoned their sealed covenant** By neglecting the command of circumcision or indulging in sexual sin. See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 29.

369. **abandoned the holy covenant, removing it** Their sinful rejection of the covenant caused the divine covenant, *Yesod*, to abandon *Shekhinah*. The phrase "removing it" may refer to epispasm, the attempt to disguise circumcision by cutting and pulling forward the loose skin of the penis to form a partial foreskin. See BT *Sanhedrin* 38b; JT *Pe'ah* 1:1, 16b; *Zohar* 1:35b.

370. **Once he drew the entity to its site** Once Elijah succeeded in reuniting *Yesod* with *Shekhinah*.

371. **sealed covenant coming to repair *the wrecked altar of YHVH...*** *Yesod* reuniting with *Shekhinah*, who is symbolized by the altar.

372. ***twelve stones...* this is the repair of *the altar of YHVH*** The twelve stones of the altar symbolize twelve powers surrounding and adorning *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 1:80a (*ST*), 149a–b (*ST*), 241a.

373. ***To whom the word of YHVH came, saying, 'Israel shall be your name'*** After Jacob wrestled with the angel, he was renamed Israel. See Genesis 32:29; 35:10.

374. **ascending on high...** Ascending to the level of *Tif'eret Yisra'el* ("Beauty of Israel") and reuniting *Yesod* with *Shekhinah*.

375. **erect existence...** עבדי קיומא (*Ave-dei qiyyuma*). *Qiyyuma* means here both "existence" and "erection." Sexual purity stimulates *Yesod*, unites the divine couple, and ensures a continued flow of sustenance to earth.

376. **When they abandon this covenant...** Sexual sin ruins the divine union, interrupting the vital flow. See BT *Shabbat* 137b: "Were it not for the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth would not endure, as is said: *Were it not for My covenant day and night, I would not have established the laws of heaven and earth*." Cf. *Zohar* 1:32a, 56a, 59b, 89a, 93b.

377. **site on which faith depends** *Shekhinah*, the link between humans and all aspects of the divine.

378. **similarly, Phinehas...** In his zeal, Phinehas killed Zimri together with his forbidden Midianite sexual partner (Numbers 25:1–9). His zeal prefigures that of Elijah, with whom he is often identified.

See Pseudo-Philo 48:1–2; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Exodus 6:18; Numbers 25:12; *Tanḥuma, Pinḥas* 1; *Bemidbar Rabbah* 21:3; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 47; *Zohar* 2:190a; 3:214a, 215a (*RM*); Origen on John 6:7; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:316–17, n. 3. In Matthew 11:14, John the Baptist is identified with Elijah.

379. **Now, do you think it was for Phinehas?...** Was he in need of a covenant of peace? It was not Phinehas but rather Israel who had rejected the covenant and aroused divine wrath.

380. **an entity was linked with its place** Through his zeal, Phinehas stimulated the union of the divine covenant (*Yesod*) with its abode (*Shekhinah*), yielding harmony and peace.

381. ***I hereby grant Him, My covenant.* What will I grant Him? *Peace...*** The object of the verse is not Phinehas, but *Yesod*, the covenant, whose union with *Shekhinah* brings peace.

382. **What had been separated from it by their sins...** Through their sexual contact with the daughters of Moab (Numbers 25:1–9), Israel had separated *Shekhinah* from *Yesod*. Through the zeal of Phinehas, the divine couple reunited.

383. ***because he was zealous for his God*** The verse continues: *and made atonement for the Children of Israel*.

384. **sin of the covenant** Sexual sin, which betrays the covenant, provoking divine jealousy.

385. **ruining their ways upon earth** The phrase *ruined their way upon earth* (Genesis 6:11) is elsewhere interpreted as referring to masturbation (spilling seed on earth) or crossbreeding. See BT *Sanhedrin* 108a; *Bereshit*

Rabbah 28:8; *Kallah Rabbati* 2; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 61a–62a, 68a.

386. **even though they robbed one another...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 108a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'Come and see how great is the power of robbery! For the generation of the Flood violated everything, yet their decree of punishment was sealed only when they stretched out their hands to rob, as is written: *For the earth is filled with violence because of them; here, I am about to destroy them along with the earth* (Genesis 6:13).'"

387. **those invoking heavenly judgment against their fellows...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 93a: "Rabbi Ḥanan said, 'One who invokes [heavenly] judgment against his fellow is punished first.'" The proof-text cited there (Genesis 16:5) contains the word *violence*, as does the verse here.

388. **Throughout, *Elohim*, while here, *YHVH*... name of compassion** In rabbinic literature the divine names יהוה (*YHVH*) and אלהים (*Elohim*) indicate, respectively, the divine qualities of compassion and justice. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 26; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:15; 33:3; and 13:3, where *YHVH Elohim* is called "a complete name." Cf. *Zohar* 1:20a, 48b, 56b, 64b; 2:161a, 229a; 3:138b (*IR*); *ZḤ* 70d (*ShS*).

The name *Elohim* dominates the account of the Flood, though the name *YHVH* appears too (Genesis 6:5–8; 7:1, 5, 16). Rabbi Shim'on's point is: The name *Elohim* (denoting judgment) is appropriate to the Flood, so why does the name *YHVH* (denoting compassion) appear here?

389. **It is not proper...** See *Zohar* 1:70b–71a; and above, p. 227 and n. 969 there.

390. **to enter the ark, to unite with Her** To unite with *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the ark.

391. **until the husband of the ark gave him permission** Until Her husband, *Tif'eret* (symbolized by the name *YHVH*), permitted Noah to enter.

392. **not permitted to enter...** See *Zohar* 1:70b–71a.

393. ***Noah entered*** The verse continues: *with his sons, his wife, and his sons' wives, into the ark*, after receiving permission.

394. ***For you have I seen as righteous before Me*** The verse continues: *in this generation*.

395. **We have learned: לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *Of David, a psalm...A psalm of David...*** These titles, whose precise meaning is unclear, alternate in Psalms. The interpretation formulated here reverses the rabbinic version in BT *Pesaḥim* 117a: "לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *To David, a psalm*, indicates that *Shekhinah* dwelled upon him and then he exclaimed a song. מזמור לדוד (*Mizmor le-David*), *A psalm, to David*, indicates that he exclaimed a song and then *Shekhinah*

dwelled upon him." (The preposition ל [*le*] can mean either "of" or "to".) In Rabbi Yehudah's revision, *psalm* becomes a name of *Shekhinah*, who is adorned by human song, so the wording *Le-David mizmor* (*Of David, a psalm*) refers first to David and then to *Shekhinah* (Holy Spirit), known as *psalm*.

See *Midrash Tehillim* 24:1; Rashi on Psalms 23:1; Jacob bar Sheshet, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, 92; Todros Abulafia, *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, 48; *Zohar* 1:39b; 2:50a, 140a, 170a.

396. ***Her fullness* is *Shekhinah*, as is said: *For the Presence...*** *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence, filled the Tabernacle in the Desert (*the Dwelling*) and the Temple in Jerusalem (*the house of YHVH*).

397. **Why מָלֵא (*male*), full, and not מִלֵּא (*mille*), *filled*?** Why does Scripture employ the participle and not the intensive verb?

398. **full, indeed!... filled by the sun...** *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, is filled by the flow of emanation from *Tif'eret*, the sun.

399. **treasure ship...** אסקופא (*Isquppa*), which may mean both "yard of a ship" and "threshold." Cf. Greek *skaphe* and אסקפא (*isqapha*), "skiff, light boat." The image here apparently derives from *Midrash Mishlei* 31:14, where Joseph is compared to "a ship filled with all the best of the world."

In *ZḤ* 3a (*MhN*), *isquppa* refers to the "threshold" beneath which household valuables were buried. See BT *Berakhot* 18b; Rashi on BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 11a, s.v. *tsinnor*; idem on Joshua 24:26.

See *Zohar* 1:46b; 2:83b; 3:69a; *ZḤ* 88c (*MhN, Rut*); *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 173; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 47.

400. **So, *The earth and her fullness are YHVH's*** Both the Holy Land and her fullness, *Shekhinah*, derive from *Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*.

401. **supernal Holy Land...** *Shekhinah*, in whom *Tif'eret* delights. Rabbi Yehudah is playing with the similar-sounding ארעא (*ar'a*), "land," and אתרעי (*itra'ei*), "delights." See *Zohar* 3:22b.

402. **souls of the righteous... potency of a single pillar...** Righteous souls are conveyed by the flow of emanation from *Yesod*, the cosmic pillar, to *Shekhinah*. *Yesod* Himself is known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: יסוד עולם וצדיק (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The phrase, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b: "Rabbi El'azar son of Shamu'a says, '[The world stands] upon a single pillar named Righteous One, as is said: *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.'"

Cf. *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34; *Zohar* 3:45b.

403. ***For He founded it upon seas*** The plural *seas* refers to all of the *sefirot*

from *Ḥesed* through *Yesod*, which flow into *Shekhinah*.

404. **Who is *He?* The blessed Holy One...** Here apparently referring to *Binah*, from whom the *seas* proceed to *Shekhinah*, known as *earth*. See *Zohar* 1:156b, 158b, 171b; 3:171a, 183b.

405. **seven pillars...** The *sefirot* from *Ḥesed* through *Shekhinah* Herself. See *Zohar* 2:23a.

406. **When the virtuous abound in the world...** The righteous stimulate the union between *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*.

407. **Holy Land we have mentioned...** *Shekhinah*, watered by the flow of emanation.

408. **single pillar standing above Her...** *Yesod*.

409. ***The righteous one perishes*** The flow channeled through *Yesod* dries up. See *Zohar* 1:55b.

410. **no one upon whom it could stand** No righteous human upon whom the world could stand.

411. **It was plenty for him to protect himself... *in this generation,* precisely!** Noah's virtue extended sufficiently to save himself, but he was not righteous enough to redeem his entire generation. See *Devarim Rabbah* 11:3. Rabbi Yehudah's statement matches the one attributed to him in *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:9: "*In his generations* (Genesis 6:9). Rabbi Yehudah and Rabbi Neḥemiah. Rabbi Yehudah said, '*In his generations* he was righteous, but if he had lived in the generations of Moses or Samuel, he would not have been righteous....' Rabbi Neḥemiah said, 'If he was righteous *in his generations* [despite the corrupt environment], all the more so if he had lived in the generations of Moses or Samuel.'"

412. ***In this generation*—a tribute to him...** Rabbi Yose's view matches the one attributed to Rabbi Neḥemiah. See the preceding note.

413. **ten could not be found in the world...** Ten righteous people would have sufficed to save the generation of Noah, as when Abraham argued with God over the fate of the wicked city of Sodom, convincing Him that even ten innocent Sodomites should suffice to save their city.

The citation *if I find ten there* is a conflation of Genesis 18:30, 32.

414. **he is snared first for the sins of the wicked** See BT *Shabbat* 33b: "Rabbi Gorion (according to others, Rabbi Yosef son of Rabbi Shema'yah) said, 'When there are righteous ones in the generation, the righteous are seized [killed] for the generation. When there are no righteous in the generation, schoolchildren are seized for the generation.'"

415. **judgment could not overpower him because he was hidden away...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b: "Rabbi Yosef taught: 'What is the meaning of the verse *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22)? Once permission has been granted to the Destroyer, he does not distinguish between righteous and wicked.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? Keep your feet indoors.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? One should not walk in the middle of the road, because the Angel of Death walks there—for as soon as permission has been granted him, he strides brazenly.'"

See *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 11; *Zohar* 1:63a, 68a–b, 69a, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b; 2:196a, 227a.

416. **Noah sought righteousness and entered Her** *Shekhinah* is known as Righteousness, partner of *Yesod* (Righteous One) and of righteous humans such as Noah.

417. **holy ones of the Most High** In Daniel 7:18, the phrase refers to Israel; here, to the kabbalists. See *Zohar* 1:77a, 95b.

418. **mystery of supernal letters—reversal of letters, twenty-two...** According to *Sefer Yetsirah* 2:2, God created the world by permutating the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet: "Twenty-two elemental letters. He engraved them, carved them, weighed them, permuted them, and transposed them, forming with them everything formed and everything destined to be formed." See BT *Berakhot* 55a; BT *Sanhedrin* 65b; *Zohar* 1:33b. Numerous two-letter combinations bring about creation, while the reversal of letters leads to obliteration. See *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, 51d. The citation from Genesis 7:1 opens with the word בא (*bo*), *come*, a reversal of the first two letters of the alphabet.

419. ***Come... into the ark!*** The verse reads: "*Come, you and all your household, into the ark!*"

420. **Come and see the difference...** Moses is contrasted with Noah and others in *Vayiqra Rabbah* 1:14; *Devarim Rabbah* 11:3; *Zohar* 1:106a; 3:14b–15a; *ZḤ* 23a (*MhN*).

421. **When the blessed Holy One said to Moses...** When Israel sinned by worshiping the Golden Calf. See BT *Berakhot* 32a; *Shemot Rabbah* 42:9.

422. **waters of the Flood are named after him...** See *Zohar* 3:15a.

423. **One who appeases another** On behalf of someone else who had harmed him.

424. **the othe**r The one responsible for the wrong.

425. ***You have sinned a great sin!*** After Moses convinces God not to annihilate Israel, he descends from the mountain and the next day accuses the people in these words.

426. **He did not leave... until offering to die...** See BT *Berakhot* 32a: "Shemu'el said, '... He offered to die for them, as is written: *If not, please obliterate me from Your book!*'"

427. ***YHVH* renounced the evil** The verse continues: *that He had intended to bring upon His people*.

428. ***Where is he who brought them up from the sea?*** In Isaiah the subject *he* refers to God, but here Rabbi Yitsḥak understands it as referring to Moses.

429. ***Why are you crying out to Me?...*** The verse continues: *Tell the Children of Israel to go forward!*

430. **this is Moses...** The subject *he* refers to Moses, who caused *Shekhinah*, Holy Spirit, to dwell among Israel.

431. **not worthy enough...** See *Devarim Rabbah* 11:3; above, page 395.

432. **Moses did not depend on his own merit...** See BT *Berakhot* 10b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Yose son of Zimra, '... Whoever depends on the merit of others, is made dependent on his own merit. Moses depended on the merit of others, as is said: *Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, Your servants!* (Exodus 32:13), and he was made dependent on his own merit, as is said: *He threatened to destroy them, had not Moses His chosen confronted Him in the breach to turn away His wrath from destroying* (Psalms 106:23).

433. **afterward** After the Flood. See Genesis 8:20–22.

434. **a righteous one found among them is seized first** See above, p. 395 and n. 414.

435. **Do not read ממקדשי (*mi-miqdashi*), *at My sanctuary...*** See BT *Avodah Zarah* 4a, in the name of Rabbi Yose. The Talmud goes on to explain: "Since it was in their power to protest [the wickedness being perpetrated] and they did not protest, they are considered incompletely righteous." Cf. *Ba-va Qamma* 60a; *Zohar* 1:205b.

436. **he warned them every single day...** According to a rabbinic tradition, Noah attempted to warn his contemporaries and induce them to turn back to God, but he was unsuccessful. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:7; *Tanḥuma, Noaḥ* 5; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a–b; above, page 362.

437. ***Yet if you warn the wicked...*** The verse continues: *and he does not turn from his wickedness or from his wicked way, he shall die for his iniquity, but you will have saved your life*.

438. **For how long? This has been established...** How long should one keep warning the sinner? Until the sinner strikes the warner. See BT *Arakhin* 16b: "How long reproof? Rav said, 'Until striking.'" Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot De'ot* 6:7.

439. **ruined their ways, abandoning their species, cleaving to another species** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ* 18: "Why were the animals annihilated, too?... Because even the animals acted corruptly and copulated with species not their own: the horse with the donkey, the lion with the ox, the serpent with the lizard, as is said: *God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt* [*for all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth*]. It does not say: *all humans*, but rather: *all flesh*, even animals, beasts, and birds. Therefore they were obliterated as well."

See BT *Sanhedrin* 108a: "*For all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth*. Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'This teaches that they mated beasts with animals, animals with beasts— all of them with humans, and humans with all of them.'"

Rabbi Shim'on understands the biblical expression השחית דרכו (*hishḥit*

darko), *corrupted their way*, as an allusion to sexual sin. See *Kallah Rabbati 2*, citing Genesis 38:9: שחת ארצה [*shiḥet artsah*], *he* [Onan] *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground* (or: *let it go to ruin*). Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4, 31:7; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam; Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 62a, 69a.

440. **seeking to contravene the act of Creation** By intermingling species that had been created distinctly.

441. **to ruin their ways, as they did themselves** See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ* 5: "Rabbi Aḥa son of Ze'eira said, '... Just as a man copulated with a woman who was not his, so an animal copulated with another species not his own.'"

442. **I will return the world to water, as it originally was...** See *Tanḥuma, Vayaqhel* 6: "When the blessed Holy One created His world, it was entirely water intermingled with water." Cf. JT *Ḥagigah* 2:1, 77a; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 1; *Shemot Rabbah* 50:1; *Zohar* 1:17b, 56b.

443. **tunnels** פצירין (*Petsirin*), apparently based on פצידא (*patsida*), "trench, ditch." See *Targum Yonatan* and Radak on 2 Kings 3:16.

444. **stormed** אסער (*As'ar*). Certain witnesses (*KP* and *DE* [emendations]) preserve an alternative reading: אסחר (*asḥar*), "surrounded," besieged.

445. **This may be compared to a king...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1: "It is written: *Woe to those who go to great depths to hide their plan from YHVH, who perpetrate their deeds in darkness and say, 'Who sees us? Who knows us?'* (Isaiah 29:15). Rabbi Levi said, 'This may be compared to a master builder who constructed a city with chambers, underground conduits, and caves. Subsequently he became a tax-collector, and the inhabitants of the city hid from him in those chambers and caves. He said to them, "It is I who built all these chambers and caves. Why are you hiding?" Similarly, *Woe to those who go to great depths,... who perpetrate their deeds in darkness!*'"

446. **When a person sins...** See M *Avot* 4:4: "Rabbi Yoḥanan son of Beroka says, 'Whoever profanes the name of Heaven secretly is punished openly.'"

447. **lest he gaze at him...** See *Devarim Rabbah* 4:4; *Zohar* 1:63a, 108b.

448. **Whoever possesses an evil eye** In biblical Hebrew this idiom means "one who is stingy" (Proverbs 23:6; Deuteronomy 15:9). Later, the envious evil eye was thought to exert harmful influence. See *Zohar* 3:63b.

449. ***whose eye is open*** שתום העין (*Shetum ha-ayin*), a phrase whose meaning is unclear. Elsewhere the *Zohar* interprets שתום (*shetum*) as equivalent to סתום (*setum*), "closed" (see 2:69a, 237a; 3:147b), but here the sense is "open." See BT *Sanhedrin* 105a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'Balaam was blind in one eye, as is said:

shetum ha-ayin, *whose eye is open* [i.e., only one of his eyes was open and capable of vision].'"

450. **he possessed an evil eye...** See M *Avot* 5:19; *Tanḥuma, Balaq* 6; *Zohar* 3:63b, 206b, 211b.

451. ***Balaam lifted up his eyes*** The verse continues: *and saw Israel encamped tribe by tribe*.

452. **raising one eye and lowering one eye** The verse reads עיניו (*einav*), *his eyes*, but elsewhere the *Zohar* insists on the reading עינו (eino), *his eye*. See 3:202b; *Minḥat Shai* on Numbers 24:2.

453. ***He saw Israel... encamped, tribe by tribe*—he saw *Shekhinah*...** See BT *Bava Batra* 60a: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, '... Scripture reads: *Balaam lifted up his eyes and saw Israel encamped tribe by tribe*. What did he see? He saw that the openings of their tents did not face one another, so he exclaimed: "These are worthy of having *Shekhinah* rest upon them!"'"

454. ***He crouches, lies down like a lion, like a lioness...*** The verse, sung by Balaam, refers to Israel, but Rabbi Ḥiyya applies it to *Shekhinah*.

455. ***Because of the waters of the Flood,* for the waters forced him** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:6: "*Noah entered, with his sons*, [*his wife, and his sons' wives, into the ark because of the waters of the Flood*]. Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'He was lacking in faith: if the waters had not reached his ankles, he would not have entered the ark.'"

456. **twelve months... the punishment of the wicked** The Flood lasted a full year. See Genesis 7:11; 8:14; and M *Eduyyot* 2:10: "[Rabbi Akiva] said, 'The judgment of the generation of the Flood lasted twelve months.... The judgment of the wicked in Hell lasts twelve months.'" Cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* 33:7; *Seder Olam Rabbah* 4; *Zohar* 1:107b.

457. **For six months they are suspended in water, and for six in fire...** According to rabbinic literature, the yearlong punishment of the sinners in Hell is equally divided between fire and snow. See JT *Sanhedrin* 10:3, 29b; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 10:4; *Zohar* 1:62b, 107b, 238b. Since the Flood consisted only of water, Rabbi Yehudah wonders why it lasted twelve months and not just six.

458. **With water—water from above; with fire... gushing from below** The Flood consisted of freezing water raining down from the sky and boiling water surging up from the depths. See *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Bereshit* 33; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; above, pages 356–57.

459. **for the rest of the time** For the rest of the year.

460. **they will not rise from the dead to stand at Judgment...** See M *Sanhedrin* 10:3: "The generation of the Flood has no share in the world to come, nor will they stand at the [Last] Judgment."

461. ***They lifted the ark...*** The verse opens: *The waters increased and they lifted the ark*.

462. ***Rise, O God...*** Usually rendered *Be exalted, O God...*, but here the verse is interpreted in a radically different way.

463. **who through their sins repel *Shekhinah* from earth...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'Whoever sins secretly, it is as if he thrusts away the feet of *Shekhinah*.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a–b, 61a, 69a.

464. ***They lifted the ark*, for they thrust Her out** For Rabbi Abba, the subject of the verse is no longer *the waters*, but rather, the wicked, who repel *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the ark.

465. **When She withdraws... Judgment dominates it** Without the protection of *Shekhinah*, the world becomes vulnerable to harsh judgment.

466. **at that time** At the time of the destruction of the Temple, the site of *Shekhinah*.

467. **remnant of the righteous of the world did not remain there** All of Israel, including the righteous, were exiled from the land.

468. **wherever they went She descended...** See BT *Megillah* 29a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai says, 'Come and see how beloved are Israel in the sight of the blessed Holy One! Wherever they went in exile, *Shekhinah* accompanied them. When they were exiled to Egypt, *Shekhinah* was with them.... When they were exiled to Babylon, *Shekhinah* was with them.... And even when they are destined to be redeemed, *Shekhinah* will be with them.'" See *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 14.

469. **wasting one's way on earth...** The biblical expression השחית דרכו (*hishḥit darko*), *corrupted their way*, is interpreted as an allusion to masturbation. See *Kallah Rabbati* 2, citing Genesis 38:9: שחת ארצה [*shiḥet artsah*], *he* [Onan] *wasted* [his seed] *on the ground*. Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 22; *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:4, 31:7; Rashi on BT *Shabbat* 41a, s.v. *ke-illu mevi mabbul la-olam*; *Zohar* 1:56b–57a, 62a.

In the world of the *Zohar*, masturbation is a heinous sin. See 1:188a, 219b; Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 353; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 3:1365–66. Cf. BT *Niddah* 13a: "Rabbi Yitsḥak and Rabbi Ammi said, '[Whoever emits semen fruitlessly] is as though he sheds blood.'"

470. **one does not see the face of *Shekhinah* nor enter the palace** Sexual purity is a prerequisite for encountering *Shekhinah*. See BT *Niddah* 13b: "Rabbi Ammi said, 'Whoever excites himself lustfully is not allowed to enter the domain of the blessed Holy One.'" Cf. *Zohar* 1:57a; Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 23b.

471. **all those located outside in other, foreign lands** All those buried outside the land of Israel.

472. **single bone surviving... like leaven in dough...** According to Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Ḥananya (*Vayiqra Rabbah* 18:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 28:3), God will resurrect humans from the vertebra at the base of the spinal column, which does not decompose in the grave. Here Rabbi Abba combines this motif with the tradition in *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 34: "Rabbi Shim'on says, 'All bodies crumble into the dust of the earth until nothing remains except a spoonful of decayed matter. This mingles with the dust like leaven mixed with dough. In the time to come... it resurrects the entire body.'" See *Zohar* 1:137a (*MhN*); 2:28b; 3:222a, 270b.

473. ***when I open your graves...*** The citation is actually a conflation of verses 12–14.

474. **roll underground** The resurrected bodies will roll underground until they reach the land of Israel. See BT *Ketubbot* 111a: "Rabbi Yirmeyah son of Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan, 'Whoever walks four cubits in the land of Israel is assured membership in the world to come.' Now,... aren't the righteous outside the Land going to be revived? Rabbi Il'a replied, 'By rolling [underground to the land of Israel].' Rabbi Abba Sala the Great objected, 'Rolling will be painful to the righteous!' Abbaye replied, 'Tunnels will be made for them underground.'"

See *Zohar* 1:113b–114b (*MhN*), 131a.

475. ***from the earth,* precisely** Even their one surviving vertebra decomposed in the earth. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 28:3. Alternatively, *the earth* (or: *the land*) refers to the land of Israel, which these wicked will never reach.

476. **although the ancients disputed this and differed** According to M *Sanhedrin* 10:3, "The generation of the Flood has no share in the world to come, nor will they stand at the [Last] Judgment." In *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 32, opinions differ as to whether or not this generation will be judged in the hereafter. See *Tosefta*, *Sanhedrin* 13:6; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a; *Zohar* 1:68b, 108a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:184, n. 44.

477. ***May they be obliterated from the Book of Life*** They will never be resurrected.

478. ***They will inherit the earth forever*** This verse, appearing frequently in the *Zohar*, reads in full: *Your people, all of them righteous, will inherit the land forever—sprout of My planting, work of My hands, that I may be glorified*. In M *Sanhedrin* 10:1, it is cited to demonstrate that "all of Israel have a share in the world to come." Conversely, according to Rabbi Shim'on, the verse in Genesis indicates that the generation of the Flood has no share in that world.

479. **Encompassing all those empowered rulers...** Rabbi Abba focuses on the word אֵת (*et*), an accusative particle. Though grammatically it has no

ascertainable independent sense, Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when *et* appears in a biblical verse, it amplifies the original meaning. See BT *Pesaḥim* 22b; *Ḥagigah* 12a; *Zohar* 1:247a; 2:90a, 135b.

Here the word is understood to imply the heavenly powers appointed over individual nations of the world. See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 108b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

480. **This is *existing things over the face of the earth*** The biblical word יקום (*ye-qum*), *existing things*, is interpreted to mean the powers who "exist" (קיימים [*qayyamim*]) or "stand" (קמים [*qamim*]) in heaven *over* [i.e., above] *the face of the earth*.

481. **He first removes those rulers appointed over them...** See *Shemot Rabbah* 21:5: "Rabbi El'azar son of Pedat said, '... The blessed Holy One does not cast down a nation before He first casts down their prince [guardian angel].'" Cf. *Midrash Tehillim* 82:3; *Zohar* 2:6b, 49a.

482. **fire consuming fire** A divine fire consuming the guardian angels, who are themselves composed of fire. In BT *Yoma* 21b, *Shekhinah* is called "a fire consuming fire" because of God's burning the angels who opposed human creation (as related in *Sanhedrin* 38b). See Psalms 104:4; BT *Ḥagigah* 14a; *Zohar* 1:18b, 50b; 2:6b; 3:217a.

483. **Those *existing* above them** The guardian angels.

484. **those dwelling beneath them** The wicked generation of the Flood.

485. ***all existing things over the face of the earth*** The guardian angels.

486. **אך** (***Akh***), ***Only, Noah remained*** The verse continues: *and those with him in the ark*.

487. **limiting** Naḥum of Gimzo and his disciple Rabbi Akiva taught that when the word אך (*akh*), *only*, appears in a biblical verse, it limits or qualifies the original meaning. See JT *Berakhot* 9, 14b. Here Rabbi Abba does not note any limitation but rather an emphasis.

488. **He was lame, for a lion bit him**... Rabbi Yose insists that the word *akh* implies a limitation. See *Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 9: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Rabbi Yose the Galilean, 'Once Noah delayed feeding the lion, so the lion bit him, and he came out [of the ark] limping, as is said: אך (*Akh*), *Only, Noah remained—akh*, for he was not intact.'"

489. **entering the ark when the waters forced him** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:6: "*Noah entered, with his sons*, [*his wife, and his sons' wives, into the ark because of the waters of the Flood*]. Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'He was lacking in faith: if the waters had not reached his ankles, he would not have entered the

ark.'" See above, page 402.

490. **he saw the Angel of Death walking among them...** Among his contemporaries. The Angel of Death manifested in the waters of the Flood. See above, pages 382, 402.

491. ***because of the waters of the Flood*** The full verse reads: *Noah entered, with his sons, his wife, and his sons' wives, into the ark because of the waters of the Fbod*.

492. **It is written: ויסתר** (***va-yissater***), ***and hides himself*** The word in this verse is traditionally written as ויסתר (*va-yissater*), *and hides himself*, although it is read as ונסתר (*ve-nistar*), which can be rendered *and is hidden*.

493. **referring back to what has been said: When death...** See BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b: "Rabbi Yosef taught: 'What is the meaning of the verse *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22)? Once permission has been granted to the Destroyer, he does not distinguish between righteous and wicked.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? Keep your feet indoors.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? One should not walk in the middle of the road, because the Angel of Death walks there—for as soon as permission has been granted him, he strides brazenly.'"

See *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 11; *Zohar* 1:63a, 68a–b, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b; 2:196a, 227a.

494. [***they***] ***pass*—they transgressed...** The verb עבר (*avar*) means both "to pass" and "to transgress." By not hiding themselves, Noah's contemporaries transgressed a command.

495. **זכירה** (***zekhirah***), **remembering, is not recorded... unification vanishes...** During harsh judgment, the unification of the divine masculine and feminine is interrupted, so there is no mention of זכירה (*zekhirah*), "remembering," alluding to זכר (*zakhar*), "male." The absence of divine masculine mindfulness creates a vacuum filled by the demonic.

496. **all returns to its site** The divine male and female reunite.

497. **זכור** (***zakhor***), **remember, inheres in him...** Again, a play on the root זכר (*zkhr*), which encompasses two meanings: "remember" and "male." Noah the righteous is appropriately remembered, since he symbolizes the divine male, *Yesod* ("Foundation"), also known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*.

See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34.

498. **When the sea leaps...** See *Zohar* 2:48b, 50b, 56a. The sea often

symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

499. **single ray...** A ray of divine grace.

500. **that destined fish** See *Tanḥuma, Vayiqra* 8: "Rabbi Tarfon said, 'Ever since the six days of Creation, that fish was designated to swallow up Jonah, as is said: *YHVH had prepared a huge fish* [*to swallow up Jonah*] (Jonah 2:1).'" Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 10; *Bereshit Rabbah* 5:5; BT *Bekhorot* 8a; *Zohar* 2:198b.

501. **from the right side** The side of *Ḥesed*. The ray both arouses and calms the sea. See BT *Bava Batra* 73a; *MM*.

502. **Alternatively, תשבחם (*Teshabbeḥem*), *You praise them*, literally!** The root שבח (*shvḥ*) can mean "to still," but its more common meaning is "to praise."

503. **Shunammite** The wealthy woman from the town of Shunem who fed and housed the prophet Elisha. She was rewarded with a son, who later died but was resuscitated by Elisha. See 2 Kings 4:8–36; *Zohar* 1:160b; 2:33b, 44b.

504. **that day was the festival of Rosh Hashanah...** The day referred to in 2 Kings 4:8: *One day Elisha was passing through Shunem, where a wealthy woman lived, and she urged him to have a meal*. Similarly, according to a midrashic tradition, the phrase *one day* in Job 1:6 refers to Rosh Hashanah, the Day of Judgment.

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, *Midrash Iyyov*, Rashi, and Ibn Ezra on Job 1:6; *Battei Midrashot*, 2:158; *Zohar* 3:231a.

505. **who is then called King, Holy King...** Between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, God is addressed in the liturgy as "Holy King" and "King of Judgment." See BT *Berakhot* 12b.

506. **Noah was not recalled** So he would not be vulnerable to harsh judgment.

507. ***God remembered Noah ...I have remembered My covenant*** Noah symbolizes and embodies *Yesod*, the divine phallus, which is also symbolized by the covenant of circumcision.

508. **from Cappadocia to Lydda** This improbable journey from eastern Asia Minor to a city in Palestine recurs frequently in the *Zohar* and usually includes an encounter with some surprising character. See 1:132a, 138a (*MhN*), 160a, 197b, 223a; 2:31a, 38b, 80b, 86a; 3:35a, 75b, 221b; *ZḤ* 22a (*MhN*).

The itinerary seems to be intentionally fantastic, though perhaps the author(s) imagined that Cappadocia was a Galilean village near Sepphoris, based on the phrase "Cappadocians of Sepphoris" in JT *Shevi'it* 9:5, 39a. According to a dream interpretation in *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:12, Cappadocia is not far at all from Palestine. Cappadocia figures prominently in M *Ketubbot* 13:11 and BT *Ketubbot* 110b, while Cappadocia and Lydda are linked in *Tosefta*, *Yevamot* 4:5

and BT *Yevamot* 25b.

See Scholem, in *Zion* (*Me'assef*) 1 (1926): 40–46 (and the appended note by S. Klein, 56); idem, *Major Trends*, 169; idem, *Kabbalah*, 222; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:63–64.

509. **one should not set out alone on a journey** See *Tanḥuma, Vayishlaḥ* 8: "Our Rabbis have taught: 'In three situations a person's account book is opened [i.e., his sins will be punished]: One who sets out alone on a journey, one who dwells in a tottering house, and one who vows and does not pay.'" Cf. M *Avot* 3:4: "Rabbi Ḥanina son of Ḥakhinai says, 'One who stays awake at night and one who walks on the way alone and one who makes room in his heart for that which is futile—such a person deserves to die.'" Cf. JT *Shabbat* 2:6, 5b; *Zohar* 1:169b; 2:264b; *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, par. 46.

510. **whoever walks on the way unaccompanied by words of Torah...** See BT *Ta'anit* 10b: "Rabbi Il'ai son of Berekhiah said, 'Two disciples of the wise who are walking on the way and are not engaged in words of Torah deserve to be burned.'"

See Deuteronomy 6:7; BT *Eruvin* 54a; *Zohar* 1:58b, 70a, 76a, 87a, 115b.

511. **altar on which Adam sacrificed** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 34:9: "*Noah built an altar to YHVH... and offered ascent-offerings on the altar*. Rabbi Eli'ezer son of Ya'akov said, 'On the great altar in Jerusalem, where Adam sacrificed.'" According to BT *Avodah Zarah* 8a, "On the day Adam was created, when the sun set, he said, 'Woe is me! Because I have sinned, the world is turning dark and will now revert to chaos and void. This is the death decreed against me from Heaven!' He sat up all night fasting and weeping, and Eve wept facing him. As soon as dawn broke, he said: 'This is the normal course of the world!' He rose and offered up an ox." See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 8:20.

512. **that is offered only for sinful imagining** See *Vayiqra Rabbah* 7:3: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai taught, 'An ascent-offering is due only for sinful imagining.'" Cf. *Tanḥuma, Lekh Lekha* 10. Having survived the Flood, it would have been more appropriate for Noah to bring a thanksgiving-offering, as Adam did when he survived the darkness.

513. **By imagining...** Noah sinned by lacking faith, by imagining that God would not continue to protect him.

514. **If it was the same, why *built*?** The altar had already been built by Adam.

515. **wicked of the world dislodged it from its site** The altar symbolizes *Shekhinah*, whose union with *Tif'eret* is ruined by human wickedness.

516. **When Noah appeared ... *built*** Noah's righteousness restored *Shekhinah*, reuniting Her with Her partner. See above, pages 388–91.

517. **spelled עלת (*olat*), *ascent-offering,* one** The word עולות (*olot*), *ascent-offerings*, is spelled here without either ו (*vav*): עלת, and so can be read *olat*, *ascent-offering*, in the singular. See *Minḥat Shai*, ad loc. From this spelling, the child concludes that Noah's offering consisted of only one gender.

518. ***He is* עולה (*olah*), *an ascent-offering...*** The verse would normally be translated: *It is an ascent-offering...*, but here the child emphasizes the masculine sense of the pronoun הוא (*hu*), which means both "it" and "he."

519. **Why is it written: אשה (*ishsheh*), *fire-offering...*** Why the extra letter ה (*he*), indicating the feminine and suggesting the word אשה (*ishshah*), "woman"? (Actually, the literal meaning of *ishsheh* is probably "gift"; see Milgrom, *Leviticus* 1:161–62.)

520. **his site** The masculine *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*.

521. **female must not part from him** The offering must be intended also for the feminine realm, *Shekhinah*.

522. **even though 'אשה (*ishsheh*)... is intended for אישים (*ishim*)...** See *Sifra, Vayiqra, dibbura dindavah* 6:9, 7c: "אשה (*Ishsheh*): for the sake of אישים (*ishshim*), fire-offerings [i.e., not for the sake of charring the flesh]." See M *Zevaḥim* 4:6; BT *Zevaḥim* 46b.

Here the child understands אישים as *ishim*, "angelic personages," who also benefit from the sacrifice. See *Sifrei Zuta*, Numbers 28:2; *Midrash Zuta*, Song of Songs 1:15; *Zohar* 1:81a (*ST*), 164a–b; 2:43a; 3:110a (*RM*), 258b. (On this class of angels, see Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* 2:7.) The child's point is that even though the word *ishsheh* has been interpreted in earlier sources, his new reading is also valid.

523. **the blessed Holy One cast him in the sphere of the male...** God modeled the righteous Noah on the masculine *sefirah* of *Yesod* (known as Righteous One), so the offering that Noah brought had to be male: an ascent-offering.

524. **אש ה (*esh he*), fire, *he,* for left unites with female** The word אשה (*ishsheh*), *fire-offering*, is divided into אש ה (*esh he*), "fire, *he*," indicating the fire of the *sefirah* of *Gevurah*, on the left side, and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the feminine marker ה (*he*).

525. **every female deriving from the left sid**e The left side of the sefirotic tree is associated with the feminine.

526. **to raise Her above...** To raise *Shekhinah* to Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

527. **Fire issues from within...** The fire of *Gevurah* issues from *Binah* and is grasped by *Shekhinah*, less rarified and more sensate, also symbolized by smoke. See *Zohar* 1:30a, 50b–51b.

528. **nose, through which issues smoke out of fire** When the nostrils flare in anger.

529. ***They shall place incense in Your nostril...*** Divine wrath, symbolized by the fire of *Gevurah*, is assuaged by the offering of incense, and the fire returns to its source in the divine mind. On the divine nose, see *Zohar* 2:122b; 3:130a–b (*IR*), 137b–138a (*IR*), 289a (*IZ*), 294a (*IZ*).

530. ריח ניחח (***reiaḥ niḥoaḥ***)... נח (***naḥ***)...נייחא (***neyaḥa***)... The alliteration extends implicitly to נח (*Noaḥ*), Noah.

531. **sparkling lamps** בוסינין (*Bosinin*), "Lamps." In the *Zohar*, *bosina or botsina* may also imply "spark." See above, page 107: בוצינא דקרדינותא (*botsina de-qardinuta*), "lamp of impenetrability," "spark of impenetrable darkness"; and note 4 there.

532. **Let us walk on this way together with *Shekhinah*...** *Shekhinah* accompanies those engaged in Torah. See M *Avot* 3:2: "Rabbi Ḥananya son of Teradyon said, '... If two are sitting engaged in words of Torah, *Shekhinah* dwells between them.'"

On the importance of engaging in Torah while on a journey, see above, page 410 and note 510.

533. **O *that he would kiss me...*** Having been kissed by Rabbi Yeisa, the child cites an appropriate verse. On the spiritual significance of a kiss, see *Zohar* 2:124b, 146a–147a, 256b (*Heikh*); *ZḤ* 60c (*MhN*, *ShS*).

534. **fire issues passionately** The fire of love, not the fire of anger.

535. ***for your caresses are fine, deriving from wine*** The verse would normally be rendered *for your caresses are better than wine*, but here the child understands מיין (*mi-yayin*) not as *than wine*, but rather *from wine*. See Ezra of Gerona, *Peirush Shir ha-Shirim*, 485.

536. **wine that delights and brightens the face...** This wine symbolizes the sweet emanation flowing from *Binah*.

537. **wine that intoxicates... wine of rage** Symbolizing harsh, concentrated judgment.

538. ***a quarter of a hin*** The quantity of the libation accompanying the daily *olah*, approximately one quart. The word *wine* does not appear in this verse and apparently derives from Leviticus 23:13.

539. **Two lamps, the light of the upper one extinguished...** Similarly, the divine realm—even if temporarily darkened—can be rekindled by human arousal below. See *Sefer ha-Atsamim*, 20; El'azar of Worms, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 15c; *Zohar* 3:35b.

540. **the upper world depends upon the lower** A general principle of Kabbalah. See *Zohar* 1:35a, 77b, 82b, 86b, 88a, 164a, 244a; 2:31b, 265a; 3:92a, 110b.

541. **Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed...** See M *Sotah* 9:12:

“Rabban Shim’on son of Gamli’el says in the name of Rabbi Yehoshu’a: ‘Ever since the day the Temple was destroyed, there is no day without a curse, dew has not descended as a blessing, and the flavor of fruit has been eliminated.’” Cf. *Zohar* 1:61b, 177a, 181a–b, 203a; 3:15b, 74b.

542. **from that side** From the demonic side.

543. **vital service: kindling sparkling lamps...** Israel’s worship in the Temple stimulates the divine realm.

544. **fire above... smoke—judgment below...** The fire of *Gevurah* activates the judgment of *Shekhinah*.

545. **judgment below... judgment above** *Shekhinah* and *Gevurah*.

546. תוספת (***tosefet***), an increase See *Zohar* 3:54a, 115a.

547. **I have heard that it derives from the verse...** The child offers an alternative to the interpretation of Rabbi Shim’on. God’s promise to Noah—*I will never again curse the earth because of* האדם (*ha-adam*), *humankind*—corresponds to God’s decree to Adam: *Cursed is the earth because of you*.

548. **evil serpent—cosmic destroyer, exterminator of humanity** The serpent is identified with the Angel of Death. See BT *Bava Batra* 16a: “Resh Lakish said, ‘Satan, the evil impulse, and the Angel of Death are one and the same.’”

549. **Noah offered a sacrifice...** See Genesis 8:20–21; above, pages 410–12.

550. **this remained suspended until Israel stood at Mount Sinai** The venom of the serpent was not remedied until Israel accepted the Torah at Sinai. See BT *Shabbat* 145b–146a: “Rav Yosef taught: ‘... When the serpent copulated with Eve, he injected her with זוהמא (*zohama*), filth [or: slime, lewdness]. Israel, who stood at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* ceased. Star-worshipers, who did not stand at Mount Sinai—their *zohama* did not cease.’”

See *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 4:1; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli’ezer* 21; *Zohar* 1:36b–37a, 52a, 54a, 63b, 122b.

551. **The blessed Holy One had diminished the moon and that serpent prevailed** See BT *Ḥullin* 60b: “Rabbi Shim’on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. ‘It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, “Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?” He answered, “Go, diminish yourself!” She said before Him, “Master of the Universe! Because I have suggested something proper I should make myself smaller?” He replied, “Go and rule by day and night.” She said, “But what is the value of this? What good is a lamp at noon?”... Seeing that her mind was uneasy [that she could not be consoled], the blessed

Holy One said, "Bring an atonement for Me for making the moon smaller."' As was said by Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: 'Why is the goat offered on the new moon distinguished by the phrase *to* [or: *for*] *YHVH* (Numbers 28:15)? The blessed Holy One said, "Let this goat be an atonement for My having made the moon smaller."'"

In Kabbalah the moon symbolizes *Shekhinah*. Here Her diminution entails the empowerment of the demonic. See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b–20a, 146a; *ZḤ* 70d–71a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 189; idem, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 35b.

552. **she** Apparently, the moon. See 3 Baruch 9:7; *Bereshit Rabbah* 12:6. According to some commentators, the earth.

553. **that day** When Noah offered his sacrifice.

554. **except when an offering appears...** A sacrificial offering restores the moon to her fullness, reuniting *Shekhinah* with *Tif'eret*.

555. **אבא** (***Abba***) "Father," an honorary title conferred upon several Talmudic rabbis.

556. **אבא** (***abba***), **father, in everything: in wisdom and in years** You will be wise and live long. Rabbi Yeisa is playing on the saying of Rabbi Yehudah (*Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 1): "Father in wisdom, tender in years."

557. **He proclaimed this verse for him...** See BT *Berakhot* 19a, where Shim'on son of Shetaḥ applies this verse to the miracle-worker Ḥoni.

558. **The light hidden by the blessed Holy One...** The primordial light of the first day of Creation was hidden away and reserved for the righteous in the hereafter. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12a: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'With the light created by the blessed Holy One on the first day, one could gaze and see from one end of the universe to the other. When the blessed Holy One foresaw the corrupt deeds of the generation of the Flood and the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel], He immediately hid it from them, as is written: *The light of the wicked is withheld* (Job 38:15). For whom did He hide it? For the righteous in the time to come.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 3:6; 41:3; *Shemot Rabbah* 35:1; *Tanḥuma*, *Shemini*, 9; *Bahir* 97–98 (147); *Zohar* 1:31b–32a, 45b–46a, 47a; 2:127a, 148b–149a, 220a–b; 3:88a, 173b.

559. ***Elohim blessed Noah and his sons*** The verse continues: *saying to them*, "*Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth*."

560. ***Shekhinah*, appointed over blessings...** Receiving the flow of emanation from above, *Shekhinah* transmits it to those below.

561. **Master of the house... Woman...** *YHVH* (the masculine *sefirah* of *Tif'eret*) invited Noah into the ark, while *Elohim* (the feminine *sefirah* of *Shekhinah*) told him to

leave. See above, page 392.

562. **he gave Her presents** Noah offered sacrifices. See Genesis 8:20.

563. **She is the house...** *Shekhinah* is symbolized by the house and the ark. While Noah was inside, She provided for him.

564. **to intensify Her Husband's love for Her** By showing Him how much She was appreciated.

565. ***By painful toil you will eat of it*** The curse decreed by God upon Adam: *Cursed is the earth because of you; by painful toil you will eat of it all the days of your life*.

566. **when the moon darkens...** When *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon, lacks illumination. See *Zohar* 1:180b; *ZḤ* 61b (*MhN*, *ShS*).

567. **side of the other spirit** The demonic realm.

568. **לא אוסיף** (***Lo osif***), ***I will never, again curse the earth*** Earth symbolizes *Shekhinah*. See above, pages 414–15.

569. **at first, there were no human images** Before the Flood.

570. ***In the image of God He made the human being*** See Genesis 1:27.

571. ***He created him...*** The verse reads: *He made him*.

572. **all creatures of the world...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 11: "[Adam] stood on his feet and was adorned with the divine image. The creatures saw him and were frightened, thinking that he was their Creator, and they all approached to bow down to him."

See *Zohar* 1:13b, 38a, 191a, 221b; 2:55a, 125b; 3:107b; *ZḤ* 38c; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 337–38; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:119–20, n. 113.

573. **their image transformed in their eyes...** The human image transformed in the eyes of other creatures.

574. **All humans who do not sin...** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 3:7: "It was taught: Before a person sins, he inspires awe and fear, and creatures are afraid of him. Once he sins, he is filled with awe and fear, and he is afraid of others."

See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 50; and BT *Shabbat* 151b: "Rami son of Abba said, 'A wild beast has no power over a person until he appears to it as an animal.'"

575. ***and all the fish of the sea are given into your hand*** The full verse reads: *Fear and dread of you shall be upon all the beasts of the earth and upon all the birds of the sky, everything with which the earth teems and all the fish of the sea—into your hand they are given*. See above, page 417.

576. **even the fish of the sea** Which, according to one view, were not condemned to die in the Flood and were thus not saved by Noah's merit. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:11; BT *Sanhedrin* 108a, *Zevaḥim* 113b; Ginzberg, *Legends*,

5:183, n. 42; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 7:22, n. 94.

577. ***Were given into your hand,* previously** The word נתנו (*nittanu*), though usually rendered *are given*, is actually in the past tense: *were given, have been given*.

578. ***Have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky*** The verse continues: *and every living creature that crawls upon the earth*.

579. **משכיל** (***Maskil***) A literary or musical term whose precise meaning is unclear.

580. ***lifted*** נשוי (*Nesui*), "Lifted, carried off, taken away, forgiven."

581. **This verse has been established** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 22:6; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 45.

582. **'With ten varieties of praise, David praised the blessed Holy One'...** See BT *Pesaḥim* 117a: "Rabbi Yehoshu'a son of Levi said, 'The Book of Psalms was uttered with ten utterances of praise.... These ten utterances symbolize the ten *sefirot*, משכיל (*maskil*) symbolizing *Yesod*. Cf. *Zohar* 2:110a–b; 3:101a.

583. **David attuned himself...** King David, the ideal ruler, symbolizes the *sefirah* of *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"), also known as *Shekhinah*. The wording לדוד משכיל (*le-David maskil*), "*Of David. Maskil*," indicates that David prepared himself to receive *Yesod* (*Maskil*), partner of *Shekhinah*.

See BT *Pesaḥim* 117a: "לדוד מזמור (*Le-David mizmor*), *To David, a psalm*, indicates that *Shekhinah* dwelled upon him and then he exclaimed a song. לדוד מזמור (*Mizmor le-David*), *A psalm, to David*, indicates that he exclaimed a song and then *Shekhinah* dwelled upon him." See above, page 393, where this rabbinic exegesis is reversed.

584. **when the blessed Holy One weighs the sins and merits...** See *Midrash Tehillim* 30:4: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'If the scale is evenly balanced—sins on this side, merits on that—what does the blessed Holy One do? He tips it toward love, as is said: *Love is Yours, O YHVH* (Psalms 62:13).' Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'What does the blessed Holy One do? He snatches one bond of debt from the sins, and instantly the merits tip the scales, as is said: *He lifts iniquity and passes over transgression* (Micah 7:18).'"

See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 25:2; JT *Pe'ah* 1:1, 16b; BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 17a.

585. **so that he will be protected...** If one's sin is concealed, then the Destroyer cannot harm him. On concealment and the Destroyer, see BT *Bava Qamma* 60a–b: "Rabbi Yosef taught: 'What is the meaning of the verse *None of you shall go out the door of his house until morning* (Exodus 12:22). Once permission has been granted to the Destroyer, he does not distinguish between

righteous and wicked.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? Keep your feet indoors.'... Our Rabbis taught: 'A plague in town? One should not walk in the middle of the road, because the Angel of Death walks there—for as soon as permission has been granted him, he strides brazenly.'"

See *Mekhilta, Pisḥa* 11; *Zohar* 1:63a, 68a–b, 69a, 107b, 113a, 182b, 197b; 2:196a, 227a.

586. **that sin Adam channeled to him...** Adam's sin of eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge affected all future generations.

587. ***God blessed Noah and his sons*** The passage continues: *saying to them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth. Fear and dread of you shall be upon all the beasts of the earth and upon all the birds of the sky, everything with which the earth teems and all the fish of the sea—into your hand they are given*." This divine blessing restored the human dominion over creatures, which had been lost due to Adam's sin. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 34:12.

588. **the verse does not mention females** See Genesis 9:1, cited above: *God blessed Noah and his sons....*

589. ואתם (***Ve-attem***), ***And as for you*— entirety of males and females...** Rabbi Shim'on interprets the ו (*vav*), *and*, preceding the word אתם (*attem*), *you*, as including females. The disagreement between Rabbi Ḥizkiyah and Rabbi Shim'on reflects the rabbinic debate over the question of whether women as well as men are commanded to *be fruitful and multiply*. See M *Yevamot* 6:6; BT *Yevamot* 65b.

590. ***teem on earth*** The verse concludes: *and multiply on it*.

591. **Here the blessed Holy One gave them seven commandments...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 56a: "Our rabbis taught: The sons of Noah were commanded seven commandments: Courts of justice, [not to commit] blaspheming the divine name, idolatry, sexual immorality, bloodshed, robbery, and eating a limb from a living animal." Traditionally, these basic laws of morality apply to all humankind, whereas Israel received 613 commandments. *KP* explains how the seven Noahide commandments emerge from Genesis 9:1–8. See BT *Sanhedrin* 56b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 16:6; *Zohar* 1:36a.

592. ***I have set*—previously** At the beginning of Creation. According to M *Avot* 5:6, the rainbow was one of the ten things created at the end of the week of Creation, "at twilight on Sabbath eve." See Ibn Ezra and Radak on Genesis 9:13; Naḥmanides on 9:12; Judah ben Barzillai, *Peirush Sefer Yetsirah*, 139; *Zohar* 1:18a; Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, Genesis 9:13, n. 81.

593. **Rabbi Shim'on opened...** Rabbi Shim'on begins to draw a parallel between the heavenly sign given to Noah and the heavenly vision of Ezekiel, which constitutes the basis for much of Jewish mysticism.

594. **four magnificent, supernal, sacred creatures** The חיות (*ḥayyot*), "living creatures, animals," who, according to Ezekiel's vision, carry the divine throne.

595. **that *expanse*...** Instead of "*expanse*," several witnesses read "Creature," alluding to *Shekhinah*.

596. **cover their bodies** See Ezekiel 1:11, 23.

597. ***Shaddai*... *glory*...** Two names of *Shekhinah*, who sings to Her partner, *Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*.

598. ***YHVH* has manifested His salvation...** According to Shim'on son of Lakish (BT *Avodah Zarah* 24b), this psalm was chanted by the two cows pulling the cart with the ark of *YHVH* (1 Samuel 6:10–12). See *Zohar* 1:123a; 2:137b–138a. *Righteousness* symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

599. **holy camp...** A camp of angels.

600. ***Holy, holy, holy is YHVH of hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory!*** Rabbi Shim'on interweaves the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, as does early Jewish mysticism and the *qedushah*, the daily prayer of "sanctification."

601. ***blessed*** See Ezekiel 3:12: *Blessed be the glory of YHVH from His place!*

602. **wherever it moves, it turns faces...** The faces of the four creatures are engraved in the expanse, so they turn in whichever direction it moves. Alternatively, the subject "it" refers to any one of the creatures. See Ezekiel 1:12.

603. **engraved with four faces** Each creature has four faces. See Ezekiel 1:5–11.

604. **face of a human engraved with them all... all coalescing in him...** The human face comprises all the others. See *Zohar* 1:19a.

605. **engraved quadruply** Apparently implying that the four colors of the expanse convey the corresponding radiance of the *sefirot*: green—*Tif'eret*; red —*Gevurah*; white —*Ḥesed*; all colors—*Shekhinah*.

606. **higher and lower secrecies...** Of the *sefirot* and of the expanse.

607. **they total twelve...** Each color reflects all the others, but since the fourth is not a specific color, three radiate from each of the four, totaling twelve. As noted above, green, red, and white symbolize, respectively, *Tif'eret, Gevurah*, and *Ḥesed*.

608. **appearance of the colors of all...** *Shekhinah*, *the glory of YHVH*, includes all the other *sefirot*, reflecting their colors. She is *the cloud*, in which appears the divine rainbow, the full sefirotic spectrum.

On the rainbow's colors, see *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 1445 (ed. Margaliot, par. 484); Moses of Burgos, *Commentary on the Merkavah*, ed. Scholem, *Tarbiz* 5 (1934): 183; Baḥya ben Asher on Genesis 9:13; *Zohar* 1:18b,

98b (*ST*), 136b; 3:215a; Scholem, "Colours and Their Symbolism," 69–71.

609. **Joseph: *His bow remained firm*** This verse is applied to the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 87:7: "Rabbi Samuel said, 'The bow was stretched [i.e., Joseph's phallus became erect] and then returned [to its flaccid state, reading ותשב (*va-teshev*), *remained*, as *va-tashov*, "returned (from its firmness)"].'" See BT *Sotah* 36b; *Zohar* 1:247a; 3:66b.

610. **Joseph is called Righteous...** Because Joseph resisted the sexual advances of Potiphar's wife, he is called "righteous" in rabbinic literature. See BT *Yoma* 35b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 93:7; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana*, *nispaḥim*, 460. Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Bereshit* 5; *Pir-qei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 38, which cite Amos 2:6.

In Kabbalah Joseph symbolizes the divine phallus, *Yesod* ("Foundation"), also known as Righteous One, based on Proverbs 10:25: וצדיק יסוד עולם (*Ve-tsaddiq yesod olam*). The verse, which literally means *The righteous one is an everlasting foundation*, is understood as *The righteous one is the foundation of the world*. See BT *Ḥagigah* 12b; *Bahir* 71 (102); Azriel of Gerona, *Peirush ha-Aggadot*, 34; *Zohar* 1:21b.

The phallus of *Yesod* is often symbolized by the *bow* and is also the site of the covenant (the sign of circumcision). Here, though, both *bow* and "covenant" include *Shekhinah*, who is linked to *Yesod*, "contained in Righteous One." See *Zohar* 1:247a; 3:243b (*RM*); Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, index, s.v. "rainbow."

611. **Since Noah was righteous...** Noah the Righteous symbolizes *Yesod*, Righteous One.

612. **when he kept the covenant** When Joseph withstood the temptation of being seduced.

613. **Luster of supernal glory... hidden colors, revealed colors** The revealed colors of the rainbow symbolize *Shekhinah*, "vision of all visions," who reflects the more hidden colors of the higher *sefirot*.

614. **It is forbidden to gaze at the rainbow...** See BT *Ḥagigah* 16a: "'Whoever shows no concern for the glory of his Maker, it were better for him if he had not come into the world' (M *Ḥagigah* 2:1). What does this mean? Rabbi Abba said: 'It refers to one who gazes at the rainbow,'... for it is written: *Like the appearance of the bow in the cloud on a rainy day, so was the appearance of the surrounding radiance—the appearance of the semblance of the glory of YHVH* (Ezekiel 1:28)." See *Zohar* 2:66b, 99a; 3:84a.

Here, gazing at the rainbow implies gazing at the divine phallus uniting with *Shekhinah*. See Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines*, 336–40.

615. **dross** סוספיתא (*Suspita*), apparently a deformation of כוספא (*kuspa*), "pomace, husk." Dross symbolizes the demonic, the residue of *Gevurah* or *Din*

(strict Judgment), which is located on the left side of the sefirotic tree and symbolized by gold. The colors of the rainbow are inferior to divine colors.

See *Zohar* 1:30a, 118b, 228a; 2:24b, 203a, 224b, 236b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 389, n. 54; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 336–38.

616. **Once earth sees this rainbow...** See Genesis 9:8–17.

617. ***between God*** [***and the earth***] The verse reads: *between Me and the earth*. See Genesis 9:16.

618. **all comprise one mystery...** The colors of the rainbow symbolize the divine spectrum manifesting within the cloud of *Shekhinah*.

619. **Foundation Stone...** אבן שתיה (*Even Shetiyyah*), "Rock of Foundation" (upon which the world was founded) or "Rock of Weaving" (from which the world was woven). According to midrashic tradition, the world was created from this rock, located in the Holy of Holies. Here, this stone symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

See M *Yoma* 5:2; *Tosefta*, *Yoma* 3:6; BT *Yoma* 54b; JT *Yoma* 5:4, 42c; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 20:4; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 35; *Zohar* 1:231a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:14–15, n. 39; Tur-Sinai, *Ha-Lashon ve-ha-Sefer*, 3:272; Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Fshutah*, 4:772–73.

On the phrase "centric point" (נקודה חדא [*nequddah ḥada*], "one point"), see *Zohar* 1:231a; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 391, n. 80.

620. **supernal sacred throne...** *Shekhinah*, carried by the four creatures.

621. **Oral Torah** Symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

622. **Written Torah** Symbolizing Her male partner, *Tif'eret*.

623. **Written Torah is placed upon Oral Torah** See BT *Megillah* 27a: "... One of the Five Books [of Moses may be placed] on the Prophets and Writings, but the Prophets and Writings may not be placed on one of the Five Books." Rabbi Shim'on's formulation here corresponds with the judgment of Joseph ibn Migash, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 92.

624. **image of Jacob, enthroned upon Her** According to Genesis 28:12, Jacob dreamed of *a ladder set on earth, its top reaching the heavens, and behold: angels of God were ascending and descending* בו (*bo*), *on it* [or: *on him*], *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:12 records a dispute between Rabbi Ḥiyya the Elder and Rabbi Yannai concerning this verse: "One said, '*Ascending and descending* the ladder,' while the other said, '*Ascending and descending* Jacob'... whose image is engraved on high."

See Theodor's note, ad loc.; *Bereshit Rabbah* 82:2 ("engraved on My throne"); *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:1; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 28:12; BT *Ḥullin* 91b; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 35; Moses de León, Munich MS 47, 338b; Wolfson, *Along the Path*, 1–62.

Based on the midrashic motif of Jacob's image being engraved on the

divine throne, Rabbi Shim'on identifies Jacob with the *appearance of a man* seated on the throne, symbolizing *Tif'eret* enthroned upon *Shekhinah*.

625. **Meḥasya** A suburb of Sura on the Euphrates and site of a rabbinic academy. See *Zohar* 1:92b, 101a–b (*MhN*).

626. **ragged saddlebags** קסירי דקטפירא (*Qesirei de-qatpira*), one of the *Zohar*'s neologistic phrases. *Qesirei* apparently derives from קיסר (*qeisar*), "Caesar," whose Latin root was considered related to the stem *caes*, "cut." See *Tosafot*, *Avodah Zarah* 10b, s.v. *hakhi garsinan kol nesi'eha*.

Qatpira, perhaps an expansion of קטרא (*qitra*), "knot, bond, connection," carries several meanings in the *Zohar*, including "bag, sack, waterskin." See Psalms 119:83; *Zohar* 1:33a, 64a; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 353.

The Jew at the inn is an itinerant merchant transporting his wares.

627. **This is the Foundation Stone, upon which the world was planted...** According to midrashic tradition, the world was created from this rock, located in the Holy of Holies in the Temple in Jerusalem.

אשתיל (*Ishshetil*), "Was planted," is a play on the rabbinic wording: "from which the world הושתת (*hushtat*), was founded." See the sources cited above, note 619; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 74–75 (95); *Zohar* 1:78a, 82a, 231a; 2:48b, 222a; *ZḤ* 28a (*MhN*); Liebes, *Peraqim*, 372–73.

628. **That Jew raised his head** While still in bed.

629. ***He took the stone that he had placed under his head*** The verse continues: *and set it up as a pillar*.

630. **Jacob was in Bethel** See Genesis 28:19.

631. **Words of Torah require intention** Directing and preparing one's mind. See BT *Berakhot* 13a, 15b–16a.

632. **with body and will as one** With physical and mental preparation. Rabbi Yehudah is telling the Jew, still lying in bed, that he should prepare himself properly before engaging in Torah.

633. **even a single person sitting and studying Torah...** See M *Avot* 3:6: "Rabbi Ḥalafta of Kefar Ḥananya says, 'Ten who are sitting engaged in Torah, *Shekhinah* abides among them.... Even five...; even three...; even two...; even one....'" See *Zohar* 1:58b, 70a, 87a, 115b, 135b.

634. **they require thirsting clarity** Words of Torah require mental clarity, which is difficult while lying in bed. "Thirsting clarity" renders צחותא (*tsaḥuta*), for Rabbi Yehudah is using this Aramaic word meaning "thirst" to play on the Hebrew צחות (*tsaḥut*), "clarity." He has in mind the rabbinic Aramaic saying (BT *Megillah* 28b): "A legal decision requires as much צילותא (*tsiluta*), clarity, as a day of the north wind."

See BT *Eruvin* 65a; *Megillah* 28b; *Targum* on Song of Songs 6:7; *Zohar*

2:89a; 3:23a, 46a, 207b, 221b, 266b; *ZḤ* 13d (*MhN*); Scholem, *Major Trends*, 389, n. 49.

635. **when anyone rises to ply Torah at midnight...** See Psalms 119:62; and BT *Berakhot* 3b: "Rabbi Shim'on the Ḥasid said, 'There was a harp suspended above [King] David's bed. As soon as midnight arrived, a north wind came and blew upon it, and it played by itself. He immediately arose and engaged in Torah until the break of dawn.'"

In the *Zohar*, this legendary custom is expanded into a ritual: all kabbalists are expected to rise at midnight and adorn *Shekhinah* with words of Torah and song in preparation for Her union with *Tif'eret*. See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 146–50. This parallels the midnight vigil, common among Christian monks from early medieval times. In *Zohar* 3:119a Rabbi Yehudah alludes to the Christian practice: "I have seen something similar among the nations of the world." At midnight God delights in the souls of the righteous in the Garden of Eden, and both He and they listen attentively to anyone studying here below.

See *Sifra*, *Beḥuqqotai* 3:3, 111b; *Aggadat Bereshit* 23:5; BT *Sanhedrin* 102a; 2 Enoch 8:3; *Seder Gan Eden* (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:138); *Zohar* 1:10b, 77a–b, 82b, 92a–b, 136b, 178b, 231b; 2:46a, 130a–b, 136a, 173b, 195b–196a; 3:21b–22b, 52b, 193a; *ZḤ* 13c (*MhN*). Cf. Matthew 25:6.

636. **He said to him** Rabbi Yehudah said to the Jew.

637. ***He took the stone that he had placed under his head*** The verse continues: *and set it up as a pillar*.

638. **He rolled up the whole land of Israel beneath him...** See BT *Ḥullin* 91b: "*The land upon which you lie* [*I will give to you and to your seed*] (Genesis 28:13). What is so great about that? [The actual area of land occupied by Jacob's body was minuscule.] Rabbi Yitsḥak said, 'This teaches that the blessed Holy One rolled up the whole land of Israel and placed it beneath our father Jacob, so that it would be easily conquered by his descendants.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 69:4; *Zohar* 1:156a; 3:84a. Here Rabbi Yehudah's point is that by rolling up the entire land of Israel, God brought the Foundation Stone, located in the Temple in Jerusalem, to Bethel.

639. **It is written: *that he had placed...*** Jacob placed the stone when he was at Bethel, so how could it be identical with the Foundation Stone, set in place by God before Creation?

640. **He opened, saying** The Jew opened.

641. **this stone... *that the builders rejected...*** Rabbinic tradition applies this verse to David, youngest of Jesse's sons, relegated to tending the flock. See 1 Samuel 16:11; BT *Pesaḥim* 119a; *Midrash Shemu'el* 19:7; *Yalqut ha-Makhiri*, Psalms 118:22, par. 28.

David identifies with *Shekhinah*, the rejected stone, whose diminished light excluded Her from the brilliance of *the builders*, the triad of *sefirot* (*Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*). Eventually he became a triumphant king, while She completed the quartet of *sefirot* (*Ḥesed, Gevurah*, *Tif'eret*, and *Shekhinah*). See *Bahir* 131 (190); *Zohar* 1:20b, 89b (*ST*).

642. **through this...** One who enters the divine realm must begin with *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence, known as זאת (*zot*), *this*. See *Zohar* 2:51a, 57a; 3:31a.

643. ***I will behold Your face in righteousness*** I will encounter the divine through *Shekhinah*, known as *righteousness*.

644. **All David's striving focused on appearing fittingly...** David strove to enter *Shekhinah*, identify with Her, and thereby ascend higher.

645. **Abraham innovated morning prayer...** See BT *Berakhot* 26b: "Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Ḥanina said, 'The patriarchs instituted the prayers.'... Abraham instituted the morning prayer,... Isaac, the afternoon prayer,... Jacob, the evening prayer." See *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:9.

Abraham symbolizes *Ḥesed*, the *sefirah* of light and goodness. Isaac symbolizes *Gevurah* or *Din* ("Judgment"). Jacob symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who unites with *Shekhinah*. Each patriarch adorned *Shekhinah* with the quality of his particular *sefirah*, but Jacob was the first to array *Shekhinah* fittingly, to set up the primordial Foundation Stone as a pillar.

On *the stone* in this verse as *Shekhinah*, see *Zohar* 1:146b, 151a, 231a; 2:229b–230a.

On the expression "There is judgment and a Judge," see *Bereshit Rabbah* 26:6; JT *Sanhedrin* 10:2, 28d; *Zohar* 1:87b.

646. ***And he poured oil upon her head...*** Jacob stimulated the flow of emanation from the highest *sefirot* to *Shekhinah*.

647. **why do you exert yourself in trade, neglecting eternal life?** Eternal life is guaranteed only by the study of Torah. See BT *Shabbat* 10a, 33b; *Beitsah* 15b; *Ta'anit* 21a.

648. **so that they can exert themselves in Torah** The identical motivation appears in *Zohar* 2:95a.

649. **He opened, saying** The Jew opened.

650. **he arrayed the Foundation Stone...** Solomon arrayed *Shekhinah* with the Holy of Holies (apparently, *Binah* or *Yesod*), so that *Shekhinah*, known as *Malkhut* (*kingdom*), was *firmly established*. Thereby Solomon's own *kingdom was firmly established*.

According to the Midrash, just as the moon does not become full until the fifteenth day of its cycle, so it remained incomplete until the glorious reign of

Solomon in the fifteenth generation from Abraham. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:12; and *Shemot Rabbah* 15:26: "When Solomon appeared, the disk of the moon became full."

See *Zohar* 1:73b, 74a, 150a, 223a, 225b, 249b; 2:85a; 3:61a; *ZḤ* 83b (*MhN*, *Rut*); Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 342. In Kabbalah the moon symbolizes *Shekhinah*.

651. ***I will see her...*** The verse reads: *When the bow is in the clouds, I will see it* (or: *her*), *to remember the everlasting covenant...* (Genesis 9:16).

652. **on Her** On *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the rainbow. She displays the full sefirotic spectrum. See above, page 421.

653. **whoever does not appear in Her...** Whoever does not attain the rung of *Shekhinah* cannot enter further into the divine realm. See Exodus 23:17: *Three times a year all your males shall appear before the presence of the Lord, YHVH*.

654. ***Make a mark*** The verse reads: *Pass through the city, through Jerusalem, and make a mark upon the foreheads of the people who moan and groan over all the abominations committed in it*. Only those bearing the mark escape death (ibid. 9:6). Here the Jew's point is that those who appear within *Shekhinah* are designated for life.

655. **Some say this is the impress...** Alternatively, when God sees the covenantal sign of circumcision, He remembers the covenant.

656. **Certainly it is all!** The wording *I will see it* (or: *her*) implies both interpretations, since one who is circumcised attains *Shekhinah*.

657. **rainbow appearing in the world...** The colors of the rainbow in the sky allude to the colors of the *sefirot*. Specifically, white, red, and green symbolize *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, respectively. See above, page 421.

658. **this rainbow is destined to be adorned in its colors...** The rainbow in the sky will display the brilliant colors of the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 1:1b, 117a.

659. **Do not expect the footsteps of Messiah...** See *TZ* 18, 36b.

660. ***I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*** Upon seeing the resplendent rainbow, God will fulfill His promise to redeem Israel.

661. ***to remember* means: so that the Flood will not return** The dim colors of the rainbow ensure the preservation of the world but not its redemption.

662. **this *covenant* who lies in exile** *Shekhinah*, who participates in Israel's exile. See BT *Megillah* 29a: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai says, 'Come and see how beloved are Israel in the sight of the blessed Holy One! Wherever they went in exile, *Shekhinah* accompanied them. When they were exiled to Egypt, *Shekhinah* was with them.... When they were exiled to Babylon, *Shekhinah* was with them.... And even when they are destined to be redeemed, *Shekhinah* will be with them.'" See *Mekhilta*, *Pisḥa* 14.

663. ***David their king*** David, the ideal king, symbolizes *Shekhinah*, known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom").

664. ***the fallen tabernacle of David*** *Shekhinah*. See *Zohar* 2:239b–240a.

665. **here in the Torah** In the verse *I will see her, to remember the everlasting covenant*.

666. ***not to be angry with you or rebuke you*** But rather, to redeem you. See the following verse.

667. **If I had been present in the world** Similar expressions appear in JT *Berakhot* 1:2, 3b (in the name of Rabbi Shim'on son of Yoḥai) and in *ZḤ* 78b (*MhN, Rut*).

668. ***The Book of Enoch... The Book of Adam*** Two volumes of esoteric knowledge housed in the real or imaginary Zoharic library. Concerning Enoch, Genesis 5:24 states: *He was no more, for God took him*. In postbiblical literature this verse is taken to mean that God transported Enoch through the heavens, a journey recorded in the Enoch literature. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Enoch*, though influenced by this literature, is not identical with any of its particular volumes.

According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See Genesis 5:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. The *Zohar*'s *Book of Adam* is not to be confused with the Apocryphal *Book of Adam*. According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam. Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.

See *Zohar* 1:13a, 17b, 37b, 55a–b, 90b; 2:55a, 70a–b, 100a, 180a–181a, 197a; 3:10a–b, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; 158, 163, nn. 60–61; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87. Note the comment by Shim'on Lavi, *KP*, 22d: "All such books mentioned in the *Zohar*...have been lost in the wanderings of exile.... Nothing is left of them except what is mentioned in the *Zohar*."

669. **strayed in strange words...** They delved into magic, abandoning the divine realm for the realm of the demonic. See *Zohar* 1:74b.

670. **But now the wise of the world know words and conceal them...** The mystics are careful not to reveal their secret knowledge. The reference to concealment may allude to the pseudepigraphic style of the *Zohar*. See *Zohar* 1:243a; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 202, 396–97, nn. 151–52; Matt, *Zohar*, 22.

671. **this verse** Namely: *The sons of Noah coming out of the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth*.

672. **Mystery of Mysteries** Another volume in the Zoharic library. See *Zohar* 2:70a–78a, 122b; 3:70b; *ZḤ* 35b–37c; Glossary, s.v. *Raza de-Razin*.

673. **Delight of all Delights** Alluding to *Keter*, the highest *sefirah*, known as *Ratson* ("Will, Desire").

674. **Cause of Causes** סיבתא דסיבתין (*Sibbeta de-sibbatin*), reflecting the medieval Hebrew סבת הסבות (*sibbat ha-sibbot*), based on Latin *causa causarum*, "cause of causes," the ultimate ground of being. See *Zohar* 3:288b (*IZ*); *ZḤ* 48b–c; Moses de León, *She-qel ha-Qodesh*, 4 (6–7); Scholem, *Über einige Grundbegriffe des Judentums*, 50.

675. **lustering right... left... medially...** The flow of emanation spreads on the right, proceeding from *Ḥokhmah* to *Ḥesed*, and on the left, from *Binah* to *Gevurah*. Right and left are balanced in *Tif'eret*, symbolized by royal purple. On oil and wine, see *Zohar* 1:88a, 96a; 3:7b, 88b.

676. **spirit rises...** *Shekhinah* rises toward Her partner, *Tif'eret*.

677. **Three enter three** The triad of *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret* enter the following triad: *Netsaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod*.

678. **one covenant cleaving to covenant** *Yesod*, the divine phallus, symbolized by the covenant of circumcision, unites with *Shekhinah*, who shares the symbol of covenant.

679. **Spirit ascending...** *Shekhinah* ascends toward Her partner.

680. **When She is placed between two sides...** Once *Shekhinah* is embraced by the right and left arms (*Ḥesed* and *Gevurah*), Her union is consummated and She conceives three spiritual entities or souls.

681. ***Shem* on the right; *Ham* on the left; *Japheth*, purple, blending both** Noah's three sons embody the souls deriving from the triad of *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. These souls issue from *Shekhinah* (symbolized by the ark) through the power of *Yesod* (symbolized by Noah).

682. **scoria of gold underneath slag** Ham, Noah's second son, corresponds to the *sefirah* of *Gevurah* or *Din* (strict Judgment), symbolized by gold and located on the left side of the sefirotic tree. Ham's son, Canaan, symbolizes the demonic, the dross of *Din*. See *Zohar* 1:48a, 52a, 193a; 2:236b.

"Scoria" renders זוהמא (*zohama*), "filth, slime." "Slag" renders the Zoharic neologism קספיטין (*qaspitin*), apparently a deformation of כוספא (*kuspa*), "pomace, husk, residue." See the similar neologism סוספיתא (*suspita*), meaning "dross," in *Zohar* 1:30a, 71b, 118b, 228a; 2:24b, 203a, 224b, 236b; *Bei'ur ha-Millim ha-Zarot*, 182; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 389, n. 54; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 336–38.

Canaan is dross of dross, "scoria of gold underneath slag."

683. ***Ham is father of Canaan*, who brought curses upon the world...** Ham *saw his father's nakedness* (Genesis 9:22) and consequently his son Canaan was cursed by Noah (ibid., 25). Here Canaan is identified with the demonic, specifically the Angel of Death, who "besmirches creatures' faces."

684. **the patriarchs were still unfulfilled...** Only Abraham had appeared. Until the triad of patriarchs was complete and the people of Israel established, the demonic could not be uprooted from the land.

685. ***slave of slaves*** The verse continues: *shall he be to his brothers*. This curse uttered against Canaan parallels the curse pronounced upon the serpent. As the serpent is more cursed than all other animals, who are themselves enslaved to humanity, so Canaan is doomed to be *slave of slaves*.

686. **when that flowing, gushing river waters the garden...** The flow of emanation reaches *Shekhinah*, the garden, through the potency of the sefirotic triad of *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*. This triad is characterized by the colors white, red, and green.

687. **each absorbs its companion** Each aspect reflects and includes the others.

688. **through reflection they disperse...** Indirectly, the sefirotic colors illumine the demonic realm as well.

689. **mystery of rungs** The mystery of emanation extending from the divine to the realms below.

690. **twenty-seven conduits, sockets of doors covering the abysses** The abyss is the domain of the demonic. The number twenty-seven matches the twenty-seven forces of impurity mentioned in *Zohar* 3:79a. *KP* and *OY* understand the number as referring to the twenty-seven letters of the Hebrew alphabet (including the five final letters), grouped in nine triads. As the world was created through combinations of letters, so certain other combinations obstruct the ever threatening chaos while allowing a measure of divine light to filter through to the demonic realm.

691. **if one knows how to praise his Lord fittingly** According to the various qualities of the *sefirot*. See *Zohar* 3:193b, where Rabbi El'azar interprets this verse sefirotically.

692. **multiplies blessings...** The human worshiper multiplies blessings, drawing them down from above, while stimulating divine union from below.

693. **unify His name** Unify the *sefirot* through contemplation.

694. **beloved above and desirable below** This blessing is linked with knowledge of the divine name in BT *Qiddushin* 71a: "Rav Yehudah said in the name of Rav, 'The forty-two-letter name [of God] is transmitted only to one who is modest, humble, middle-aged, free from anger, sober, and not insistent on retaliating. Whoever knows it, is careful with it, and guards it in purity is beloved above and desirable below, feared by creatures, and endowed with two worlds: this world and the world to come.'" See *Bahir* 80 (111).

695. **One said... the other said...** Both views derive from *Pirqei de-Rabbi*

Eli'ezer 23: "Noah found a vine that had been banished from the Garden of Eden along with its clusters. He took of its fruit and ate and desired them in his heart. He planted a vineyard with it. That same day its fruit flourished... He drank of its wine and was exposed in the tent...."

See 3 Baruch 4:8–17; Origen, *Selecta*, Genesis 9:20–21; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 9:20; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ 20; Zohar* 1:140b; *ZḤ* 22c (*MhN*).

Noah's sin resembles the sin of Adam, who, according to Rabbi Yehudah son of Il'ai and Rabbi Me'ir, ate from a vine. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 15:7; BT *Sanhedrin* 70a; Apocalypse of Abraham 23:6.

696. **When he sought to probe the sin probed by Adam...** Noah attempted to explore the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in order to repair the damage done by Adam. In Kabbalah this tree symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who should be unified with the other *sefirot*, especially with Her partner, *Tif'eret*, symbolized by the Tree of Life. Adam's sin was that he separated Her from Her partner—in effect, banishing Her from the Garden and exposing Her and the world to demonic forces. Noah repeated this sin.

See *Zohar* 1:53b; Recanati on Genesis 9:20–21, 20b. On the relation between *Shekhinah* and the demonic, see Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 189–92; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1:376–79.

697. **that vineyard** *Shekhinah*.

698. ***he became drunk and exposed himself*** The full verse reads: *He drank of the wine and became drunk, and exposed himself inside his tent*.

699. **breach of the world...** The gap between *Shekhinah* and the other *sefirot*, which had been opened by Adam's sin and then closed when he turned back to God.

700. **אהלה (*oholoh*), *his tent*—spelled with a ה (*he*)... *her tent*...** In the biblical text the final letter of אהלה (*oholoh*), *his tent*, is a ה (*he*), rather than the normal masculine possessive suffix ו (*vav*). The suffix ה (*he*) usually denotes the feminine possessive, *her*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 36:4: "Rabbi Yehudah son of Rabbi Simon and Rabbi Ḥanan said in the name of Rabbi Shemu'el son of Rav Yitsḥak, '... It is spelled אהלה (*oholah*), *her tent*: inside the tent of his wife.'" In other words, Noah shamed himself in his wife's tent. See Theodor's note, ad loc.

Here similarly, Rabbi Shim'on reads the word as *oholah*, *her tent*, but he takes this to mean: "the tent of that vineyard," namely, the tent of *Shekhinah*, site of Noah's sin. See *Zohar* 1:83a.

Instead of "*inside* אהלה (*oholah*), *her tent*, the tent of that vineyard," several manuscripts (V5, R1) read "corresponding to what is written: *Do not come near the door of her house* (Proverbs 5:8)," namely, the house of the strange woman,

symbolizing the demonic. See *Zohar* 2:245a (*Heikh*), 267b (*Heikh*).

701. **Similarly, the sons of Aaron...** Aaron's two eldest sons, Nadab and Abihu, were killed when *they offered strange fire in the presence of YHVH* (Leviticus 10:1–2). According to Rabbi Yishma'el (*Vayiqra Rabbah* 12:1), they died because they "entered while drunk with wine."

702. **that other wine** Of the demonic realm.

703. ***strange fire... a strange woman...*** The *strange fire* symbolizes the demonic feminine. See Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 37 (44).

704. **Ham, father of Canaan, aroused...** Ham, Noah's second son, who saw his father's nakedness, corresponds to the *sefirah* of *Gevurah* or *Din* ("Judgment"), located on the left side of the sefirotic tree. Ham's sin empowered his son Canaan, who symbolizes the demonic refuse of *Din*. See above, page 431.

705. **Whereas he had been righteous...** Noah had been righteous, symbolizing the *sefirah* of *Yesod*, known as Righteous One. *Yesod* is the divine phallus and site of the covenant of circumcision.

706. **he castrated him...** According to Rav (BT *Sanhedrin* 70a), Ham castrated his father, thereby eliminating the covenantal sign of circumcision.

707. **as at first** Following Adam's sin.

708. ***Slave of slaves... Cursed are you among all animals...*** The curse uttered against Canaan parallels the curse pronounced upon the serpent in the Garden. As the serpent is more cursed than all other animals, who are themselves enslaved to humanity, so Canaan is doomed to be *slave of slaves*. See above, page 431.

709. **All will be restored...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 20:5: "Rabbi Levi said, 'In the time to come, all will be healed except for the serpent and the Gibeonites [see Joshua 9:23].'" Here Canaan, symbolizing the demonic, shares the eternal curse of the serpent.

710. **When King David sinned...in the affair of Bathsheba** Seeing her bathing, David was attracted to her and slept with her. He then arranged for her husband, Uriah the Hittite, to die in battle, after which he married her. See 2 Samuel 11–12.

711. **Bathsheba was destined for King David...** See BT *Sanhedrin* 107a: "Rava expounded, '... Ever since the six days of Creation, Bathsheba daughter of Eliam was designated for David, but she came to him with suffering.' The school of Rabbi Yishma'el taught likewise: 'She was designated for David, but he ate her unripe [prematurely, while she was still married to Uriah].'" See *Zohar* 1:8b; 2:107a; 3:78b.

712. **another—anticipating—marries her...** See BT *Mo'ed Qatan* 18b: "Shemu'el said, 'One is allowed to betroth a woman during the intermediate

days of a festival, lest another [rival suitor] anticipate him.' ... But could Shemu'el have said, 'Lest another anticipate him'? Surely Rav Yehudah said in the name of Shemu'el, 'Every single day a heavenly echo issues, announcing: "The daughter of so-and-so for so-and-so...."' Rather, 'lest another anticipate him through supplication.'" See *Zohar* 1:91b; 2:101a; 3:78b, 283b.

713. **he departs the world** The first husband dies.

714. **It is difficult for the blessed Holy One...** On God's difficulty in matching couples, see *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:4.

715. **the Holy Land was given to Canaan before Israel arrived... all one mystery** The land was refined through Canaan's prior occupation. Similarly, Bathsheba was prepared for David by her prior marriage to Uriah. See *Zohar* 1:83a.

716. **David confessed his sin and returned** Repenting sincerely. See 2 Samuel 12:13: *David said to Nathan*, "I *have sinned against YHVH!*"

717. **accuse him in time of danger** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 91:9: "Rabbi Eli'ezer said, '... Satan accuses only in time of danger.'"

718. **all those rungs from which human sins suspend** The various *sefirot*, each of which is impaired by particular human sins.

719. ***My sin confronts me constantly*—defect of the moon** The Hebrew root חטא (*ḥt'*) includes the meanings "to miss" and "to sin." Here the word implies "something missing," a defect in *Shekhinah*, symbolized by the moon. This *sefirah*, known as *Malkhut* ("Kingdom"), corresponds to King David.

On the defect of the moon, see BT *Ḥullin* 60b: "Rabbi Shim'on son of Pazzi pointed out a contradiction. 'It is written: *God made the two great lights* (Genesis 1:16), and it is written [in the same verse]: *the greater light... and the lesser light*. The moon said before the blessed Holy One, "Master of the Universe! Can two kings possibly wear one crown?" He answered, "Go, diminish yourself!" She said before Him, "Master of the Universe! Because I have suggested something proper I should make myself smaller?" He replied, "Go and rule by day and night." She said, "But what is the value of this? What good is a lamp at noon?"... Seeing that her mind was uneasy [that she could not be consoled], the blessed Holy One said, "Bring an atonement for Me for making the moon smaller."' As was said by Rabbi Shim'on son of Lakish: 'Why is the goat offered on the new moon distinguished by the phrase *to* [or: *for*] *YHVH* (Numbers 28:15)? The blessed Holy One said, "Let this goat be an atonement for My having made the moon smaller."'"

See BT *Rosh ha-Shanah* 23b; *Zohar* 1:19b–20a, 146a; *ZḤ* 70d–71a (*ShS*); Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 189; idem, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 35b.

720. **until Solomon appeared...** During the triumphant reign of Solomon,

Shekhinah regained Her full splendor.

According to the Midrash, just as the moon does not become full until the fifteenth day of its cycle, so it remained incomplete until the glorious reign of Solomon in the fifteenth generation from Abraham. See *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5:12; and *Shemot Rabbah* 15:26: "When Solomon appeared, the disk of the moon became full."

See *Zohar* 1:74a, 150a, 223a, 225b, 249b; 2:85a; 3:61a; *ZḤ* 83b (*MhN, Rut*); Moses de León, *Shushan Edut*, 342.

721. **turned firm and fragrant** אתבסם (*Itbassam*), "Was sweetened" or "was firmly established." The root *bsm* conveys both senses.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 66:2; *Midrash Shemu'el* 26:4; *Zohar* 1:30b, 31a, 34a, 37a, 56a, 137a; 2:143a, 168a, 227a; 3:18a; Bronsnick, in *Sinai* 63 (1968): 81–85; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 165, 388, n. 44; idem, *Kabbalah*, 228.

722. ***Everyone in Israel...*** The full verse reads: *Judah and Israel dwelled securely, everyone under his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan to Beer-sheba, all the days of Solomon*.

723. ***Nimrod...*** King of Babylonia and Assyria. See Genesis 10:8–12.

724. **garbed in the garments of Adam...** See *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24: "Rabbi Yehudah said, 'The coat made by the blessed Holy One for Adam and his wife [see Genesis 3:21] was with them in the ark. When they emerged from the ark, Ham son of Noah took it out with him and gave it as an inheritance to Nimrod [his grandson]. When he wore it, every animal, beast, and bird came and prostrated itself before him. They [his contemporaries] thought this was due to his own power, so they made him king.'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 63:13; 65:16; *Zohar* 1:142b; 2:39a–b; *ZḤ* 65a (*ShS*).

725. **Why was he called** נמרוד (***Nimrod***), **Nimrod?...** See BT *Pesaḥim* 94a–b. According to rabbinic tradition, Nimrod instigated the building of the Tower of Babel. See *Avodah Zarah* 53b; *Ḥullin* 89a.

726. **Concerning these garments, the Companions know a supernal mystery!** See the Zoharic passages cited above, note 724. In 2:39a–b, Rabbi Shim'on maintains that the garments of Adam and Eve were never worn again by anyone else.

727. **Our Mishnah** The *Zohar* often cites teachings from a secret, mystical Mishnah known only to its own circle. See 1:37b, 55b, 91b, 93a, 95b, 96a, 224a, 252a (*Hash*); 3:57b, 61b, 78a, 284b, 285a. This is to be distinguished from the *Matnitin* of the *Zohar*, on which see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 216.

728. **Didn't Solomon build it...** Didn't Solomon and his artisans build the Temple? Why, then, the wording *in its being built*, which implies that the work was accomplished effortlessly and miraculously?

729. **entirely by miracle, made by itself** Similarly, the lampstand in the Tabernacle took shape miraculously. See *Tanḥuma, Be-ha'alotekha* 3.

730. ***in its being built*—it was built by itself** See *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* on 1:1 (5): "Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'It is not written here: *The House that they were building*, but rather: *The House, in its being built*. It was built by itself!'"

731. **spelled שלמה (*shelemah*), missing the י (*yod*)...** The defective spelling of the word enables it to be read *Shelomoh, Solomon*. During Solomon's triumphant reign, *Shekhinah* (symbolized by the stone) was complete, and She inspired the construction of the Temple.

See *Zohar* 1:83b, and above, note 720.

732. **מסע (*Massa*), *Quarry*, Journey** The Hebrew word bears both meanings.

733. **transported, coming and resting upon them...** The presence of *Shekhinah* came upon them.

734. ***And for* מסע (*massa*), *journeying, the camps*** Just as *Shekhinah* directed Israel's journey through the desert, so too She guided the building of the Temple. See *Ba-raita di-Mlekhet ha-Mishkan*, 13.

735. ***shamir*** A fabulous worm that could cut through the sharpest stone. According to rabbinic tradition, Solomon employed it in building the Temple. See BT *Gittin* 68a; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:53, n. 165.

736. **When it arose in the will of the blessed Holy One...** As the infinite divinity verged on manifesting Itself, fashioning *the House*, the sefirotic structure. See *Zohar* 1:246b.

737. **larynx** *Binah*, source of the divine voice. See *Zohar* 1:50b.

738. **fire, air, and water** *Ḥesed, Gevurah*, and *Tif'eret*, the central triad of *sefirot*, emanating from *Binah*.

739. **Jacob emerged, Consummate Man** Jacob, consummation of the patriarchs, symbolizes *Tif'eret*, who balances left and right, expressing the emanation from *Binah*. The phrase גבר שלים (*gevar shelim*), "Consummate Man," derives from *Targum Onqelos*, on Genesis 25:27, where Jacob, in contrast to Esau the hunter, is described as איש תם (*ish tam*), rendered variously: "a simple (or: innocent, plain, mild, quiet, sound, wholesome) man."

740. **single voice issuing audibly... concealed in silence...** See *Zohar* 1:16b, 50b, 141b; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, 89 (113). Cf. BT *Berakhot* 15b: "The womb, which takes in silently, gives forth loudly."

741. **Then speech issued...** *Shekhinah* articulates divine revelation.

742. **all is concealed thought...** The entire sefirotic realm evolves from divine thought.

743. **every single time** The process unfolds gradually and continuously.

744. ***Of stone dressed...*** The phrase אבן שלמה (*even shelemah*), *stone dressed*,

is read as *even Shelomoh*, *stone of Solomon*, referring to *Shekhinah*. See above, note 731.

745. ***the crown with which his mother crowned him*** In Song of Songs this verse applies to King Solomon. Here he symbolizes the male divinity, who is adorned by the Divine Mother (*Binah*) with *Shekhinah*, also known as *Atarah* ("Crown").

746. **other, lower rungs...** The forces and realms below *Shekhinah*, who are nourished by Her. They do not join in Her union with the higher *sefirot*.

747. ***When they journeyed from*** קדם (***qedem***), ***the east*** The verse continues: *they found a valley in the land of Shinar and settled there*. The following verses describe the construction of the Tower of Babel.

748. קדמאה (***Qadma'ah***), **Primordial One, of the world** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:7: "*When they journeyed from* קדם (*qedem*), *the east*.... Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on said, 'They removed themselves from קדמונו (*Qadmono*), Primordial One, of the world, saying, "We desire neither Him nor His divinity."'"

749. **for from there they disperse...** Rabbi Shim'on interprets בקעה (*biq'ah*), *valley*, according to its root, "to cleave, split." Those who built the Tower of Babel attempted to split the divine unity and were punished by being scattered (Genesis 11:8–9). See Baḥya ben Asher, Genesis 11:4. Similarly, the realms beneath *Shekhinah* are characterized by multiplicity and division.

750. **Now if you say, 'Look at what is written: *A river issues*...** This verse is understood to refer to the flow of emanation to *Shekhinah* (*the garden*) and the division beneath Her. Though it appears that the split begins at the stage of *Shekhinah*, Rabbi Shim'on explains that it takes effect only beneath Her, as a result of the journey away from *the garden*.

751. **other dominion** The demonic realm.

752. ***land of Shinar*** Identical with Babylon.

753. ***the banished sea...*** ים נגרש (*Yam nigrash*), usually rendered as *the tossing sea* or *the troubled sea*, but Rabbi Ḥiyya focuses on the literal meaning.

754. **casting up all that mud of the sea...** See Radak's explanation of *banished sea*, ad loc.

755. **defiled** By the demonic powers.

756. **The expression *Come* denotes mere preparation** See Rashi, ad loc.; *Zohar* 2:18a (*MhN*).

757. **proceeded with evil wisdom...** Consciously seeking the demonic realm. See above, pages 440–41.

758. **Everywhere...** Even in a sinful act.

759. **plunged in the midst of the fish of the sea** The sea apparently

symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who nourishes many powers, including the demonic.

760. **This site will be our deity...** They sought to worship the demonic in place of *Shekhinah*, the divine *name*. Or, they focused on *Shekhinah* alone, thereby splitting Her off from the other *sefirot* and ruining the divine union. The two explanations are related, since the demonic thrives on this cosmic split.

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:8: "*And let us make a name for ourselves*. It was taught in the school of Rabbi Yishma'el: '*Name* means nothing but an idol.'" Cf. *Mekhilta*, *Mishpatim* 20; Naḥmanides on Genesis 11:2.

761. **one of the ten times that *Shekhinah* descended to earth** These divine manifestations are referred to in various sources, including: *Mekhilta*, *Baḥodesh* 3; *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:8; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* A, 34; B, 37; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 14.

762. **Didn't He already know?** Since God is omniscient, why should He have to come down *to see?*

763. **at the rung above, then at the rung below...** The sin of the rebels ruined the union of the divine couple, *Yesod* and *Shekhinah*, symbolized by *the city and the tower*. God first inspected the damage above, then gazed below. See *Zohar* 1:74b (*ST*).

764. **'The children of Adam'...** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:9, which compares the sinful ingratitude of Adam and the generation of the Tower of Babel: "*That* בני האדם (*benei ha-adam*), *the children of the human, had built*. Rabbi Berekhiah said, 'Would we have thought it was built by the children of donkeys or camels? Rather, it means *the children of Adam*, [by which God implied:] "Just as Adam, after all the good that I bestowed upon him, said *The woman whom You gave to be beside me* [*she gave me of the tree, and I ate*] (Genesis 3:12), so although the generation of the Dispersion [the generation of the Tower of Babel] followed the generation of the Flood by only two years [as is said:] *two years after the Flood* (ibid. 11:10), yet [they rebelled, displaying gross ingratitude]."'" See *Zohar* 1:60b, 74b (*ST*).

Adam's sin also ruined the union of the divine couple. See *Zohar* 1:35b–36a, 52a.

765. **striving to build above** Attempting to replace the sefirotic structure with a demonic one.

766. ***The gate of the inner court facing east...*** The verse is from Ezekiel's vision of the restored Temple in Jerusalem. See *Zohar* 2:248b (*Heikh*); *TZ* 21, 61a; 36, 78a.

767. **Because these are secular days...** The six weekdays symbolize demonic powers who rule the world on those days. During that time, *Shekhinah*, the gate of the upper world, must remain closed, so that the flow of emanation

not flow freely to them.

768. **performance of sacred with sacred...** On these holy days, *Shekhinah* (symbolized by the moon) unites with Her partner, *Tif'eret* (symbolized by the sun). Similarly, according to BT *Ketubbot* 62b (in the name of Shemu'el), scholars should unite with their wives each Sabbath eve. In the *Zohar*, this act symbolizes and stimulates the union of the divine couple, engendering a holy body and drawing down a holy soul.

See Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-Edut*, 63b; *Zohar* 1:14a, 50a, 112a (*MhN*); 2:63b, 89a–b; 3:49b, 78a.

Cf. *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 51: "Rabbi Yehudah says, 'On Sabbath and new moons, Israel stood there [in the court of the Temple] and saw the doors open by themselves, and they knew that Sabbath had arrived, and they sanctified it. Similarly on the new moons.... Because they stood there and saw the doors open by themselves, they knew that the *Shekhinah* of the blessed Holy One dwelled within.'"

769. **except for the land of Israel** Ruled and nourished directly by the divine. See BT *Ta'anit* 10a: "The land of Israel is watered by the blessed Holy One Himself, while the rest of the world is watered by an emissary."

Cf. *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; BT *Ketubbot* 110b; *Zohar* 1:61a, 84b, 108b; 2:33a, 151b.

770. ***facing* קדים (*qadim*), *east*—before they rise to rule...** Rabbi Shim'on connects the word קדים (*qadim*), *east*, with קודם (*qodem*), "before." The providential gaze of *Shekhinah* precedes and oversees the dominion of the demonic powers.

771. **All those days cleave to Sabbath...** The weekdays derive their nourishment from Sabbath.

772. **a veil, spread** The veil separates the heavenly and earthly realms.

773. **This has already been explained... journeying from above to below...** See above, pages 440–41; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24. Babel is the site of the demonic.

774. ***Let us make a name for ourselves...*** Let us replace the divine with the demonic, so that the worship of creatures below will be directed here, empowering the demonic. See above, page 442 and note 760.

775. **we will ascend to heaven and wage battle** See BT *Sanhedrin* 109a.

776. **Let all rungs disperse...** Let the heavenly powers disperse, so they will be unable to help the earthly rebels. (According to rabbinic tradition, the seventy nations of the world are governed by seventy angels or heavenly princes appointed by God.)

See Daniel 10:20; Septuagint, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; Jubilees 15:31–32;

Targum Yerushalmi, Genesis 11:8, Deuteronomy 32:8–9; *Tanḥuma*, *Re'eh* 8; *Leqaḥ Tov*, Genesis 9:19; *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* 24; *Zohar* 1:46b, 108b; 3:298b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:204–5, n. 91.

777. ***YHVH scattered them...*** Both the heavenly powers and the rebels below.

778. **they were all speaking the holy tongue** See JT *Megillah* 1:11, 71b; *Tanḥuma* (Buber), *Noaḥ* 28; *Targum Yerushalmi*, Genesis 11:1; Ibn Ezra, ad loc.

779. **enunciation is essential...** The pronunciation of Hebrew words stimulates heavenly powers to actualize the speaker's intention. See *Zohar* 3:112b.

780. **the powers above know and recognize only the holy tongue** See BT *Shabbat* 12b: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'If one petitions for his needs in Aramaic, the ministering angels do not attend to him, for they do not know Aramaic.'"

See *Zohar* 1:9b, 74b (*ST*), 88b–89a (*ST*).

781. ***Blessed be the name of the blessed Holy One...*** The verse actually reads: *Blessed be the name of God....*

782. **Because the blessed Holy One brought secrets...** Despite the fact that humanity would misuse the secrets, God still generously revealed them.

783. **rungs** Various levels of reality, including the demonic.

784. **he returned to the presence of his Lord** Repenting sincerely.

785. **that book of his** According to BT *Bava Metsi'a* 85b–86a, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince once saw *The Book of Adam*, which contained the genealogy of the entire human race. See Genesis 5:1; *Bereshit Rabbah* 24:1; BT *Sanhedrin* 38b. This book is not to be confused with the Apocryphal *Book of Adam*, known in various versions, though the Apocryphal book may have influenced the *Zohar*'s depiction of the *Book of Adam*. According to various medieval traditions, the angel Raziel transmitted a magical book to Adam. Later, probably in the seventeenth century, *Sefer Razi'el* was compiled in its present form, comprising ancient magical, mystical, and cosmological teachings.

Adam's book is referred to frequently in the *Zohar*. See 1:17b, 37b, 55a–b, 58b, 72b, 90b; 2:70a–b, 131a, 143b, 180a, 181a, 197a; 3:10a, 68b; *ZḤ* 37b; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:117–18, n. 110; Liebes, *Peraqim*, 85–87; Wineman, *Mystic Tales from the Zohar*, 35–54.

786. **then people appeared and provoked Him** They misused the wisdom contained in the book, employing it selfishly for magical purposes.

787. ***He drank of the wine and became drunk...*** See above, pages 433–34.

788. **Ishmael issued from him... Esau** Abraham and Isaac were tainted by engendering Ishmael and Esau. See *Sifrei*, Deuteronomy 31; *Bereshit Rabbah* 68:11.

789. **Jacob married two sisters** Leah and Rachel. Such an act is explicitly forbidden in Leviticus 18:18; see BT *Pesaḥim* 119b; *Zohar* 1:168a. Elsewhere the *Zohar* offers mystical justification for this act. See 1:153b; 2:126b; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Rimmon*, 351–55; idem, *She'elot u-Tshuvot*, 40–41.

790. **his heart did not stray...** Moses explored all aspects of both the divine and the demonic realms, yet he was not seduced by any evil power.

791. ***The man spoke:* 'לאיתיאל (*Le-Iti'el*), *To Ithiel...'*** In Deuteronomy 17:17, the king is commanded not to *have many wives lest his heart turn astray*. King Solomon disobeyed this command, offering the following rationalization, according to *Shemot Rabbah* 6:1: "*The man spoke*: 'לאיתיאל (*Le-Iti'el*), *To Ithiel*. The only reason that the blessed Holy One decreed *he shall not have many wives* was *lest his heart turn astray. Le-Iti'el!*' [Solomon] said, '*Itti El*, *God is with me*, *ve-ukhal*, *and I will be able* [to withstand the temptation].' But what is written of him? *In Solomon's old age, his wives turned away his heart* [*after other gods*] (1 Kings 11:4)."

792. **Let us open with Torah and say a word!** While walking on the way, one should be engaged in words of Torah. See BT *Ta'anit* 10b: "Rabbi Il'ai son of Berekhiah said, 'Two disciples of the wise who are walking on the way and are not engaged in words of Torah deserve to be burned.'"

On the importance of engaging in Torah while on a journey, see Deuteronomy 6:7; BT *Eruvin* 54a; *Zohar* 1:7a, 58b, 69b–70a, 87a, 115b.

793. **The verse should read מהלך (*mehallekh*), *walks...*** The reflexive form of the verb (*mithallekh*) is unusual in this context. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 19:7: "*They heard the sound of YHVH Elohim walking about in the garden in the breeze of the day*.... Rabbi Abba son of Kahana said, 'The verse does not read מהלך (*mehallekh*), *walking*, but rather מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *walking about*, leaping up. The essence of *Shekhinah* was in the lower realms. As soon as Adam sinned, it withdrew to the first heaven.'"

See Naḥmanides on Genesis 3:8; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*, 15–17; *Zohar* 1:52a; *ZḤ* 18d (*MhN*).

794. **tree from which Adam ate** The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, symbolizing *Shekhinah*.

795. ***Mithallekh*—female; *mehallekh*— male** Though grammatically both words are masculine, מתהלך (*mithallekh*), *walks about*, includes the letter ת (*tav*), often a feminine marker. For Rabbi Yose, apparently, this letter implies the divine feminine, *Shekhinah*. The simpler verbal form, מהלך (*mehallekh*), *walks*, lacks this letter and so implies the masculine, *Tif'eret*.

796. **This is who walked in front of Israel... *And YHVH...*** Implying *Shekhinah*. Though the name *YHVH* usually symbolizes *Tif'eret*, when *Shekhinah* is fully

united with Him, She shares this name. See *Zohar* 2:215a; 3:9b, 166a.

Alternatively, the conjunction *and* signifies *Shekhinah*. See *Bereshit Rabbah* 51:2: "Rabbi El'azar said, 'Wherever it is said: *And YHVH*, this implies: He and His Court.'" In Kabbalah this court symbolizes *Shekhinah*, who derives from the *sefirah* of *Din* ("Judgment") and pronounces the divine decree, so the phrase *And YHVH* encompasses "He [*Tif'eret*, known as *YHVH*] and His Court [*Shekhinah*]."

See JT *Berakhot* 9:5, 14b; Rashi on Exodus 12:29; *Zohar* 1:15b, 64b, 107b; 2:37b, 44b; 3:149a. The hermeneutical significance of *and* was championed by Rabbi Akiva. See BT *Yevamot* 68b; *Sanhedrin* 51b.

797. **This is who walks in front of a person... *Righteousness*...** See BT *Berakhot* 14a: "Rav Idi son of Avin said in the name of Rabbi Yitsḥak son of Ishyan, 'Whoever prays and then sets out on the way, the blessed Holy One fulfills his desires, as is said: *Righteousness goes before him, and he sets out on his way*.'" In the Talmudic passage, *righteousness* (or: *justice*) implies justification by prayer, which guarantees a successful journey. Here in the *Zohar*, *Righteousness* is a name of *Shekhinah*, who symbolizes divine justice and accompanies the worthy on the way. See *Zohar* 1:49a–50a, 58b.

798. **the other** The demonic, or another.

799. **Why קדוש (*qadosh*), *holy?* The verse should read קדושים (*qedoshim*), *holy*** Rabbi Yose reads the word מחניך (*maḥanekha*) as a plural, meaning *camps*, though it is normally understood as singular: *camp*. See *Minḥat Shai*, ad loc. The plural would require a plural adjective: *qedoshim*, rather than the singular: *qadosh*.

800. ***Your camps are to be qadosh, holy*— smooth members of the body...** The plural, *camps*, refers to the numerous limbs, which together comprise the single body, described by the singular adjective: *qadosh*. See *Zohar* 3:75b.

"Smooth members" renders two senses of one term, שייפי (*shaifei*). Deriving from a root meaning "to smooth, rub, slip," the word signifies "limbs" in the *Zohar*, perhaps based on the Talmudic expression (BT *Sotah* 7b) איבריה לשפא על (*al eivreih le-shafa*), "each limb entered its socket"—"slipping" into place—or "... the chest."

See *Arukh*, s.v. *shaf*; Rashi, ad loc., and on Job 33:21, citing *Ḥullin* 42b; *Zohar* 3:170a.

801. **Indecency of indecencies...** Illicit sexual behavior, or the verbal indecency described in the following lines.

802. ***ervat davar*...** Foul language. Because דבר (*davar*) means both "thing" and "word," this phrase can be rendered as *anything indecent* or *indecency of word*. See JT *Terumot* 1:5, 40d; *Vayiqra Rabbah* 24:7.

803. **Why to such an extreme?** Why is obscenity considered so repulsive?

804. ***Shekhinah* never departs from him** See M *Avot* 3:6: "Rabbi Ḥalafta of Kefar Ḥananya says, 'Ten who are sitting engaged in Torah, *Shekhinah* abides among them.... Even five...; even three...; even two...; even one....'"

805. מקדמונו (***Mi-Qadmono***), **From Primordial One, of the world** See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:7: "*When they journeyed* מקדם (*mi-qedem*), *from the east*.... Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi Shim'on said, 'They removed themselves מקדמונו (*mi-qadmono*), from the Primordial One, of the world, saying, "We desire neither Him nor His divinity."'" See above, page 440.

806. **Why *they found*?** One finds only something lost or abandoned.

807. **deposited there by victims of the Flood** Rabbi Ḥiyya is apparently playing with the words שנער (*shin'ar*) and אתנער (*itne'ar*), "deposited." See a similar play on words in *Eikhah Rabbah*, *Petiḥta* 23; BT *Shabbat* 113b. Cf. above, page 447: "With fragments of wisdom discovered by these people from wisdom of the ancients..."

808. **They vocalized and perpetrated the act** The power of their words, spoken in unison in Hebrew, effected the construction of the Tower. See above, page 445.

809. **rungs above** The heavenly powers invoked by their words. See above, page 445; *Eikhah Rabbah* 2:5.

810. **All the more so, we Companions...** By engaging intimately in Torah, we will be protected and can accomplish whatever we wish. See *Zohar* 2:190b.

811. **as long as these inhabitants of the world shared a single will...** See *Sifrei*, Numbers 42: "Rabbi El'azar son of Rabbi El'azar ha-Kappar says, 'Great is peace, for even idolators who live peacefully cannot be harmed by Satan, as it were...; but as soon as they differ,... *now they bear their guilt* (Hosea 10:2).'"

See *Bereshit Rabbah* 38:6; *Tanḥuma*, *Tsav* 7; *Zohar* 1:200b.

812. **all depends on the word of the mouth** See *Tanḥuma*, *Metsora* 2: "All depends upon the tongue."

813. ***Then I will transform the language...*** See *Yalqut Shim'oni*, Zephaniah, 567; Rashi and Ibn Ezra on Deuteronomy 6:4; Radak on Zephaniah 3:9.

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Prologue

ABOUT RABBI SHIMON BAR-YOCHAI[1]

In the second century CE, a single man was granted the spiritual knowledge that Kabbalists had accumulated for 3,000 years before his time. Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi) put it all on paper and then hid it, as humanity was not ready for it. Today, we are ready for the revelation of *The Book of Zohar*.

Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi), author of *The Book of Zohar* (*The Book of Radiance*) was a Tana—a great sage in the early Common Era centuries. Rashbi's name is tied to numerous legends, and he is mentioned constantly in the Talmud and in the Midrash, the sacred Hebrew texts of his time. He lived in Sidon and in Meron, and established a seminary in the Western Galilee.

Rashbi was born and raised in the Galilee (a mountainous region in today's Northern Israel). Even as a child, he was not like other children his age. Questions such as, "What is the purpose of my life?" "Who am I?" and "How is the world built?" plagued him and demanded answers.

In those days, life in Galilee was very harsh: the Romans persecuted Jews and continually invented new laws to make their lives more difficult. Among these laws was a decree that prohibited Jews from studying the Torah (then synonymous with Kabbalah).

1 The articles, "About Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai" and "About The Book of Zohar" are presented here courtesy of the paper *Kabbalah Today*.

However, despite the Romans' prohibition, Rashbi immersed himself in the Kabbalah and tried to understand its subtle teachings. He felt that beneath the Biblical stories was a profound and hidden truth, which held the answers to his persistent questions.

Gradually, Rabbi Shimon came to realize that he had to find a teacher who had already been through the spiritual path, gained experience, and could guide others up the spiritual ladder. He decided to join the group of the greatest Kabbalist of the time—Rabbi Akiva—a decision that turned out to be the turning point in Rashbi's life.

STUDYING WITH RABBI AKIVA

Rabbi Shimon was an avid, devoted student, burning with desire to discover the Higher realms of reality. Before long, he was one of Rabbi Akiva's prime students. He studied with Rabbi Akiva for thirteen years, and achieved the highest levels on the spiritual ladder.

The Bar-Kokheva revolt abruptly ended the great days of Rabbi Akiva's seminary. Almost all of his 24,000 students died in plagues, and in fierce battles against the Romans. Of the 24,000 students, only five survived, and Rashbi was among them.

Rashbi was among the leaders of the Bar-Kokheva revolt against the Roman rule in the land of Israel. His resistance became even more fierce and unyielding when he'd learned how his teacher, Rabbi Akiva, had been ruthlessly executed.

The Talmud writes that once, when Rashbi spoke against the Roman rule, a fellow Jew heard him and alerted the Roman authorities. In consequence, Rashbi was tried in absentia and was sentenced to death. The Roman emperor sent men in search of him, but to their disappointment, Rashbi seemed to have vanished into thin air.

THE CAVE AT PEQI'IN

Legends have it that Rashbi and his son fled to the Galilee, hid in a cave at Peqi'in, a village in the north of Israel, and remained there for thirteen years. During that time, they delved in the secrets of the wisdom of the hidden. Their efforts succeeded, and they discovered the entire system of creation.

After thirteen years in a cave, Rashbi heard that the Roman emperor had died. He could finally heave a sigh of relief. After leaving the cave, Rashbi gathered nine students and went with them to a small cave in Meron, known as

The Idra Raba (Great Assembly). With their help, he wrote *The Book of Zohar*, the most important book of Kabbalah.

Baal HaSulam described Rashbi and his students as the only beings who achieved perfection, the 125 spiritual degrees that complete the correction of one's soul. When he finished his commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, Baal HaSulam held a festive meal to celebrate its completion. At that celebration, he stated that "...prior to the days of the Messiah, it is impossible to be awarded all 125 degrees... except the Rashbi and his contemporaries, meaning the authors of *The Book of Zohar*. They were awarded all 125 degrees in completeness, even though they lived prior to the days of the Messiah. Hence, we often find in *The Zohar* that there will not be a generation such as the Rashbi's until the generation of the Messiah King. This is why his composition made such a strong impression in the world, since the secrets of the Torah in it occupy the level of all 125 degrees. This is also why it is said in *The Zohar* that *The Book of Zohar* will not be revealed except at the end of days, meaning in the days of the Messiah."

THE IDRA RABA (GREAT ASSEMBLY) AND *THE BOOK OF ZOHAR*

Idra Raba is a cave located in the north of Israel, between Meron and Zephath. Rashbi took his students to this cave, and there he wrote *The Book of Zohar*. It is almost impossible to understand how great Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai really was. He belongs, as Baal HaSulam puts it, to the highest Inner Light. This is why he had to use Rabbi Abba to put his words into writing. In *The Book of Zohar*, the Rashbi tells his students: "I am arranging you as follows: Rabbi Abba will write, Rabbi Elazar, my son, will study orally, and the rest of the friends will converse in their hearts" (*Zohar*, Haazinu).

The Book of Zohar was written in the second century CE, not long after the ruin of the Second Temple and the beginning of the last exile of the people of Israel from its land. But even prior to the exile, Rashbi predicted that *The Book of Zohar* would only be revealed at the end of the exile. He stated that its appearance to the masses would symbolize the end of the spiritual exile: "...in it, they will come out of the exile with mercy" (*Zohar*, Naso).

It is also written in *The Book of Zohar* that its wisdom would be revealed to all toward the end of the six thousand years, the period allotted to the correction of humanity: "And when it is near the days of the Messiah, even infants in the world are destined to find the secrets of the wisdom, and know in them the ends and the calculations of redemption, and at that time it will be revealed to all" (*Zohar*, VaYera).

THE REINCARNATION OF A UNIQUE SOUL

Rashbi is an incarnation of a unique soul, which coordinates and connects the Upper Force to every creation. This soul comes down into our world and incarnates in the patriarchs of Kabbalah. This is the order of its appearance: Abraham, Moses, Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, the ARI (Rabbi Isaac Luria), and Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam). Each incarnation of this soul promotes humanity to a new spiritual degree and leaves its mark in Kabbalah books, which serve the generations that follow.

An example of this process can be found in special sections of *The Zohar* called *Raia Meheimna* (The Loyal Shepherd). In these parts, Rashbi speaks from a state of clothing in Moses' soul. Another example of this is the book, *Shaar HaGilgulim (Gate of Reincarnations)*, where Rashbi speaks from a state of clothing in the soul of the ARI.

The Book of Zohar is undoubtedly unique and one of the world's most renowned compositions. Since its writing, thousands of stories have been linked to *The Zohar*, and the book is still shrouded in mystery today. The fascination around it is so great that even though the book is completely incomprehensible to our generation without proper interpretation, millions of people diligently read it.

RASHBI'S DEPARTURE

According to tradition, Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai passed away in the presence of his friends on *Lag BaOmer* (the 33rd day of the *Omer* count, which starts on the first day of Passover) of the year 160 CE, and was buried in Meron. With his death, the soul of a giant Kabbalist completed its task in our world.

Rashbi fulfilled his destination. Hundreds of thousands visit his gravesite yearly, trying to sense some of the Light that he had brought to the world. The greatest Kabbalists praise his composition and repeatedly claim that *The Book of Zohar* is destined to bring redemption to the world.

Rav Kook, the first Chief Rabbi of Israel, writes about the *Zohar* (*Ohr Yakar*): "This composition, called *The Book of Zohar*, is like Noah's Ark, where there were many kinds, but those kinds and families could not exist unless by entering the ark. ...**Thus the righteous will enter the secret of the Light of this composition to persist, and thus is the virtue of the composition, that immediately when engaging, with his desire for the love of God, it will draw him as a magnet draws the iron. And he will enter it to save his**

soul and spirit and his correction. And even if he is wicked, there is no fear should he enter."

We are living in a historic time. The soul of Rashbi is completing its mission in our generation, and thanks to this spiritual giant, who lived nearly 2,000 years ago, the wisdom of Kabbalah is emerging so we may all ascend to a life of eternity and wholeness.

ABOUT *THE BOOK OF ZOHAR*

***The Book of Zohar* is the most mysterious, and at the same time the most significant book of Kabbalah. In recent years, it has become increasingly clear that although *The Book of Zohar* was written eighteen centuries ago, it was actually written for our time. Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam) opened it to us and rekindled what has long been forgotten from our hearts.**

The depth of the wisdom in The Book of Zohar is locked behind a thousand doors.

–Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam), "Preface to the Book of Zohar"

Since the dawn of humanity, unique individuals climbed the spiritual ladder and achieved the highest level of bonding with the Upper Force, the Creator. We call those people "Kabbalists."

Through this bonding, they came to understand that the whole of reality, from the highest spiritual worlds down to our world, is founded on love and bestowal. They realized that there is nothing in the world except for this Force, and that everything that happens in reality was made only to bring humanity to permanent existence with this sensation.

Kabbalists have searched and found the answers to every question they asked—the purpose of our lives, the structure of the world, and how we can determine our destiny. They wrote about what they discovered in books such as *Raziel Hamalaach (The Angel Raziel), Sefer Yetzira (The Book of Creation), Etz Chaim (The Tree of Life)*, and others.

Of all the books, the most seminal, mysterious, and profound is *The Book of Zohar (The Book of Radiance). The Book of Zohar* describes the hidden system of the Upper Guidance. It depicts the worlds, the great powers that govern them, and how one who chooses to study Kabbalah affects his or her own fate and that of humanity.

The Zohar also explains how every event cascades from the Upper World to ours, and the dressings it acquires here. But what makes *The Zohar* unique is the fact that it was not written for its contemporaries; it was rather intended for a generation that would live two millennia later—our generation.

REMOVING THE COVERS

Our generation stands at the very threshold of redemption, if we only know how to spread the wisdom of the hidden in the masses.

–Baal HaSulam, "Messiah's Horn"

The twentieth century has brought unprecedented changes. These opened the door to a whole new phase, which the greatest Kabbalists have been describing for centuries in their writings. The greatest change of all is that in this century, Kabbalists state that studying Kabbalah is not only permitted, it is a must!

It is written in *The Book of Zohar* itself that the wisdom of Kabbalah would begin its spreading from the year 1840. The great 18th century Kabbalist, The Vilna Gaon (GRA), wrote in his book *Kol HaTor (Voice of the Turtledove)* that the process of the revelation of the Kabbalah would begin in 1990. In his book, *Even Shlemah (A Perfect and Just Weight),* Chapter 11, he even stated that redemption *depends primarily* on the study of Kabbalah.

Rav Kook explained that "the great spiritual questions that were once resolved only for the great and the excellent, must now be resolved to various degrees within the entire nation" (*Eder HaYaker ve Ikvey HaTzon*, p. 144).

But it was Baal HaSulam who turned the words of the Kabbalists from a vision to a tangible reality. He clearly saw that the time had come to allow everyone to study *The Book of Zohar.* He claimed that by studying *The Zohar*, the whole of humanity would rise and attain the spiritual world.

With this vision in mind, Baal HaSulam devoted himself to composing a comprehensive, accurate, and systematic interpretation of *The Book of Zohar.* His goal was to unveil the book to the public and make it suitable for the souls of our generation.

In the introduction to his commentary on *The Zohar*, he explained why he wrote it: "I have named the commentary *HaSulam* (The Ladder) to indicate that the function of my commentary is as the function of any ladder. If you have an attic filled with abundance, you need only a ladder to climb it, and all the bounty in the world will be in your hands."

ACCELERATING THE SPREAD OF THE WISDOM

All the Kabbalists dreamed of our generation, when the whole of humanity could discover the wondrous things they already had. They prayed that through reading the authentic sources they had left for us, we, too, would achieve bonding with the Upper Force, as did they. In his commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, Baal HaSulam threw us a rope, "a life buoy." In doing so, he paved our way to a future of abundance and prosperity.

Baal HaSulam called upon us to give greater weight to engagement in the wisdom of Kabbalah, and accelerate the spreading of the wisdom. He knew that only the wisdom of Kabbalah could elevate the world to the spiritual realm and into the eternity that Kabbalists had been experiencing throughout the generations.

Webster's Dictionary defines a generation as "a group of individuals born and living contemporaneously (at the same time)." In Kabbalah, however, a generation is a *spiritual* phase. According to great Kabbalists such as the Holy ARI, our generation—our spiritual phase—began in the sixteenth century.

The longer we wait with the spiritual ascension our generation is meant to achieve, the greater will be our discomfort. The spiritual realm, which determines what happens in our world, will increase its pressure on us until we decide to achieve this realm for ourselves.

In the words of the great Kabbalist Rabbi Avraham Azulai (in his introduction to the book, *Ohr ha Chama* (*Light of the Sun*)), "I have found it written that the above decree to not openly engage in the wisdom of truth was only for a time—until the end of the 1490. From then on … the sentence has been lifted, and permission was given to engage in *The Book of Zohar*. And from the year 1540 it has become praiseworthy to engage in great numbers since it is by virtue of this the Messiah King will come, and not by another virtue. It is inappropriate to be negligent."

"But the wise shall understand that their elevation comes from the Creator, the Tree of Life. And they who are righteous shall shine like the brightness of the firmament" (Daniel, 12:3).[2]

"By virtue of Rabbi Shimon's composition, *The Book of Zohar*, from the Supernal Force that brings all things back to the Creator, at the end of days, the children of Israel will taste from the Tree of Life, which is *The Book of Zohar*; and they will be redeemed from exile by the Creator's mercy" (Naso, 90).

2 To facilitate comprehension of the spiritual meaning of ancient Hebrew sources, quotes are not direct translations, but rather reflect the Kabbalistic meaning of the texts.

Introduction

The Book of Zohar narrates that Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi) and his son, Rabbi Aba, attained the level of Prophet Eliyahu (Elijah). Hence, it is said that Eliyahu himself visited their cave and taught them the Torah. (Incidentally, the cave in the village of Peqi'in still exists today.)

The author of *Divrey Yoel (The Words of Yoel)* wrote the following in the book *The Torah of Rashbi*: "Before Rabbi Shimon studied the secrets of the Torah, there was a rule in the cave—to settle disputes according to the opinion of Rabbi Yehuda, the author of the Talmud. However, after Rabbi Shimon left the cave, everything that he had written in *The Zohar* was considered to have exceeded all human attainments." Rashbi himself received the name *Butzina Kadisha* (Holy Candle), as he had attained the soul of Moshe (Moses).

Verdicts on legislative and procedural matters are rendered in accordance with the Talmud or *The Book of Zohar*, depending on where this matter is examined more strictly. If the matter is mentioned neither in the Talmud nor in *The Zohar*, then the decision is based on the source that best elucidates this matter. If the disputed matter is between the Talmud and the legislators, the decision is based on the assertion from *The Book of Zohar*. If the legislators themselves cannot come to an agreement on the matter in dispute, the decision is based on the opinion of *The Zohar* (*Mishna Brura*, 25, 42).

The great follower of Rashbi, an heir (next receiver) to his soul, Rabbi Isaac Luria (The Holy ARI) wrote that his soul was a return of the soul of Rabbi Shimon, and the soul of Rabbi Shimon was a return of the soul of Moshe (*Shaar HaGilgulim*, item 64). He also wrote that the soul of Moshe clothed in Rashbi to correct the soul of *Achiya HaShiloni* (Ahijah the Shilonite), who "corrupted" *Malchut* on account of the sin of King Yerav'am (Jeroboam), which prompted the transgression of all Israel. Hence, the soul of Rashbi appeared

to correct Israel's sins. The part of *The Zohar* titled *Raya Meheimna* (Loyal Shepherd) relates how Rashbi attained the soul of Moshe, merged with it, and attained the supernal wisdom.

In his works *Maranan ve Rabanan* and *Kli Yakar* (*Melachim*, 2, 12), the great HaChida also says that Rashbi's entire work lay in correction of the sin of *Achiya HaShiloni*.

As Rashbi says in the Talmud (*Sukkah*, 45, 2): "I can redeem the entire world from judgment from the day of my birth to the present day. And if my son is with me, from the day the world was created to the present day. And if Yotam Ben Uziyahu is with us, from the day the world was created to its end." The book of *Melachim* narrates about Yotam Ben Uziyahu (20, 15).

After the verdict was lifted, Rashbi founded his seminary in the settlement of Tekoa and in the village of Meron. There he taught his disciples Kabbalah and wrote *The Book of Zohar*, thereby revealing what was forbidden to reveal from the time of Israel's reception of the Torah (*Tikuney Zohar*, *Hakdamah*, p. 17).

However, to write down all the secrets of the Torah, Rabbi Shimon had to express them in a secret form. Rashbi's disciple, Rabbi Aba, had a unique quality to his soul. This quality enabled him to convey spiritual knowledge in a secret, concealed form. Hence, Rabbi Shimon asked his disciple to express his thoughts for him, that is, to commit Rashbi's thoughts to paper. The ARI explained it in the following way: "*The Book of Zohar* must remain concealed until the generation of the coming of the *Mashiach* (Messiah), as through the study of this book will humankind return from its spiritual exile" (The ARI, *Shaar HaHakdamot*, *Hakdamah*, p. 3). That is why Rabbi Aba wrote the teachings of Rabbi Shimon in Aramaic, as it is the reverse side of Hebrew.

The ARI wrote (*Maamarey Rashbi (Articles of Rashbi)*, p. 100) that the writing of *The Zohar* in a secret form was possible because the soul of Rabbi Aba originated from the Surrounding Light, and not from the Inner Light. For this reason, the ARI explained, he could express the most supernal wisdom in a secret form as simple stories.

(Rabbi Shimon lived approximately to the age of eighty and passed away on the holiday of *Lag BaOmer*, the eighteenth day in the month *Iyar*, surrounded by his disciples, and recognized by the entire nation. This day is celebrated as the holiday of Light. Rabbi Shimon's body was buried in a cave off Mount Meron, and the body of his son, Rabbi Elazar, is buried a few meters from him.)

Like the subsequent compositions of the ARI and other Kabbalists (evidently, such is the lot of all true spiritual books), *The Book of Zohar* was concealed for

some 1,100 years in a cave near Meron, since the day it was written, until an Arab man found it and sold it in the market as wrapping cloth.

Part of the torn sheets fell into the hands of a sage, who recognized and appreciated the value of the writings. After a long search, he recovered many sheets from refuse bins or bought them from spice vendors, who were selling their merchandise wrapped in the sheets of *The Zohar*. It was out of these recovered sheets that the book (as we know it today) was compiled.

For many centuries, since that time until today, *The Book of Zohar* has been the subject of controversy. Philosophers, scientists, and other "sages," still debate it today. Yet, the fact remains that only a Kabbalist, one who ascends to a particular spiritual degree, attains what this book conveys. To all other people, it seems like a collection of narratives, stories, and ancient philosophy. Only those who do not comprehend this book argue over it; but Kabbalists know for certain that Rashbi's book is the greatest source of spiritual attainment that the Creator imparted upon the people in this world.

Although *The Book of Zohar* was written in the second century, only Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag was able to provide a full commentary on it in the 1930s-40s. The reason for the concealment of *The Zohar* from the second century to thirteenth century and the lack of a complete commentary on it for eighteen centuries is explained in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar."

Rabbi Ashlag called his commentary *HaSulam* (The Ladder) because by studying it, one can ascend the spiritual degrees of attainment of the Upper Worlds as one would climb a ladder in our world. Following the publishing of the *Sulam* commentary, Rabbi Ashlag received the epithet *Baal HaSulam* (Owner of the Ladder), as it is customary among sages of the Torah to call a person not by his name, but according to his highest attainment.

THE BOOK OF ZOHAR CONTAINS:

1. ***Hakdamat Sefer HaZohar*** *(The Introduction of the Book of Zohar)*—containing several articles that fully reveal the inner meaning of the Torah.

2. ***Sefer HaZohar*** *(The Book of Zohar)*—divided into parts and chapters that correspond to the weekly portions of the Torah:

The Book of *Beresheet* *(Genesis)*: *Beresheet*, *Noach*, *Lech Lecha*, *Vayera*, *Chaiey Sarah*, *Toldot*, *Vayetze*, *Vayishlach*, *Vayeshev*, *Miketz*, *Vayigash*, *Vayichi*.

The Book of *Shemot* *(Exodus)*: *Shemot*, *Vayera*, *Bo*, *Beshalach*, *Yitro*, *Mishpatim*, *Terumah* (*Safra de Tzniuta*), *Tetzaveh*, *Ki Tissa*, *Veyikahel*, *Pekudey*.

The Book of *Vayikra* *(Leviticus)***:** *Vayikra*, *Tzav*, *Shmini*, *Tazria*, *Metzura*, *Acharey*, *Kedushim*, *Emor*, *BaHar*, *Vechukotay*.

The Book of *Bamidbar* *(Numbers)***:** *Bamidbar*, *Naso* (*Idra Raba*), *Baalotcha*, *Shlach Lecha*, *Korach*, *Chukat*, *Balak*, *Pinchas*, *Matot*.

The Book of *Devarim* *(Deuteronomy)***:** *VeEtchanen*, *Ekev*, *Shoftim*, *Titze*, *Vayelech*, *Haazinu* (*Idra Zuta*).

3. *Zohar Hadash* *(The New Zohar)*: additions to the weekly chapters:

Beresheet, *Noach*, *Lech Lecha*, *Vayera*, *Vayetze*, *Vayeshev*, *Bashalach*, *Yitro*, *Terumah*, *Ki Titze*, *Tzav*, *Acharey*, *BaHar*, *Naso*, *Chukat*, *Balak*, *Matot*, *VeEtchanen*, *Ki Titze*, *Ki Tavo*.

4. Additional books in *The Book of Zohar* that are not a direct commentary on the Torah:

Idra Raba, *Idra Zuta*, *Safra de Tzniuta*, *Raza de Razin*, *Tosefta*, *Raya Mi'emna*, *Ashmatot*, *Sitrey Torah*, *Sitrey Otiot*, and *Tikuney Zohar*.

5. *Midrash HaNe'elam* *(The Commentary on the Writings)*: *Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Eicha (Lamentations)*—and on the Torah (Pentateuch).

Baal HaSulam wrote the commentary on the portions of *The Zohar* that are known to us. His main commentaries in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar" and the chapter "Beresheet" are expressed in terms of man's spiritual work. The most valuable articles of *The Zohar* for the science of Kabbalah are *Idra Raba*, *Idra Zuta*, and *Safra de Tzniuta*. All of them are expressed in the language of Kabbalah. Besides these articles, the rest of *The Zohar* is written in the language of Midrash.

In its original form, *The Book of Zohar*—written by Rabbi Aba sixteen centuries ago—was not divided into weekly chapters. Its volume was several times larger than the text that reached us; it expounded not only the Torah, but also twenty-four other books of the Bible (Pentateuch, Prophets, and Writings).

Besides *The Book of Zohar* itself, Rabbi Shimon's book of *Tikkunim* (corrections) had reached us, as well. It comprises seventy commentaries on the first word of the Torah, *Beresheet* (in the beginning), since it includes everything.

This book offers a semantic translation of *The Zohar* itself, Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag's *The Sulam* commentary, and my own explanations. The book also contains the first part of *The Book of Zohar—Hakdamat Sefer HaZohar* (*Introduction of The Book of Zohar*).

At the beginning of the text, the semantic translation is given in bold script. *The Sulam* commentary and my explanations are in regular script or *italics* because it turned out to be extremely difficult to separate my explanations from Rabbi Ashlag's holy texts. The numbers at the beginning of the items correspond to the numbers of the items in *The Book of Zohar* with *The Sulam* commentary, vol. 1.

The reason for the interlacing of texts is the need to explain the meaning of *The Zohar* in several languages simultaneously: a) the language of Kabbalah (*Sefirot*, *Partzufim*, *Gematria,* and worlds), b) the language of spiritual work (emotions), c) the language of the Torah (narrative), and d) the language of the Talmud (judicial).

To comprehend the style of *The Book of Zohar*, I recommend the reader to return to the translation of the original text after reading and mastering the commentary.

The Book of Zohar, like the whole of the Torah, speaks exclusively of man (creation) and his relationship with the Creator. The Torah attaches worldly appellations to all of man's inner properties. Thus, the aspiration to the Creator is called "Israel," and the aspiration to selfish reception of pleasures is called "nations of the world." However, there is no connection whatsoever between these names in the Torah and the Jews and other nations in our world. Kabbalah appeals to *man*, to creation!

The book contains articles commented upon in the language of Kabbalah, and others commented upon in the language of emotions, which is easier to understand for the beginner. The reader can begin the study of the book with such articles as "Night of the Bride," and "Who rejoices on holidays." Nevertheless, a complete study of *The Zohar* entails systematic learning of the material. The more accustomed we are to Kabbalah, the more it permeates our hearts, and it can only be mastered by repeatedly reviewing the studied material.

Rav Michael Laitman

List of Abbreviations and Explanations

AA—*Arich Anpin*—the *Partzuf* of *Hochma*, the central, initial *Partzuf* in the world of *Atzilut*, from which all the other *Partzufim* originate.

Aba—Father —the *Partzuf* of *Hochma*.

Ima—Mother—the *Partzuf* of *Bina*.

ZA—*Zeir Anpin*—Son (with regard to *AVI*).

ZON—ZA and *Nukva*—*Malchut*.

Nukva, Malchut—a *Sefira* (singular for *Sefirot*) or *Partzuf* that receives from all the preceding *Partzufim* (plural for *Partzuf*). *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* is the sum of all the creatures, all human souls. For this reason it is called *Knesset Israel* (The Assembly of Israel).

Israel—the property of "bestowal," altruism. This is the property of the Creator, the property of *Bina*. *Israel* derives from the Hebrew words *Yashar*—straight, and *El*—the Creator. Thus, *Israel* is the property of aspiring to attain equivalence of form with the Creator. The "nations of the world" are the aspiration to selfish reception of pleasure. Naturally, these two properties are present in everyone, and Kabbalah is the method for the development of the property of Israel within man, with the purpose of attaining the Creator in this life.

Kli (vessel) egoistic desires and aspirations are not considered a *Kli*. A *Kli* is the corrected desires, suitable for reception of Light. These are altruistic desires with a screen that has transformed them from egoism into altruism.

The human heart that receives all sensations is called the *Kli* (vessel) of reception of sensations. The spiritual vessel, the only vessel that *The Zohar* speaks of, is the desire to bestow upon the Creator: to hand over all of man's desires to the Creator, as though saying that he agrees with all his heart to relinquish all of himself for His sake. Such a complete and true intention is called "*Lishma*" (for the Creator's sake).

SEFIROT	THE CREATOR'S NAMES
KETER	EKYEH=Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey
HOCHMA	YAH= Yod-Hey
BINA	HaVaYaH with Nikud Elokim
HESED	EL=Aleph-Lamed
GEVURA	ELOKIM= Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Hey
TIFFERET	HaVaYaH with Nikud of Shvah-Holam-Kamatz
NETZAH and HOD	TZEVAOT
YESOD	SHADDAY=Shin-Dalet-Yod or EL=Aleph-Lamed CHAI=Chet-Yod
MALCHUT	ADNI=Aleph-Dalet-Nun-Yod

Mittuk (sweetening/mitigation) of a restriction law. Restriction is a ban for *Malchut* to receive Light. This ban is lifted when *Malchut* is corrected by the properties of *Bina*.

Zivug—coupling—is translated as a sexual union between a man and a woman in this world. Since spiritual actions are *absolutely detached* from the way we would normally perceive them, I have chosen to use the Hebrew term *Zivug*, as it is more abstractedly perceived by people with no knowledge of Hebrew. This will help prevent confusions based on previously existing conceptions. The spiritual *Zivug* is an aspiration of the Upper One (ZA—male part) to pass the Light (pleasure) to the lower one (*Malchut*—female part). In doing so, both desires are completely selfless, as in the example of the guest and the host.

PBP—*Panim be Panim* (face to face). This state occurs when a *Zachar* (male *Sefira*), or *Aba* (father), passes *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) to the female *Sefira*, or *Ima* (mother), for the subsequent transfer to the children (ZON). The same relationships of *ABA* (see below) and *PBP* also transpire between their children, ZON (ZA and *Malchut*).

ABA – *Achor be Achor*, back to back (pronounced *Ach be Ach*). If *Partzuf Aba* (*Hochma)* has *Ohr Hochma*, but is unwilling to pass it on to *Partzuf Ima* (*Bina*), and if *Ima* also does not want to receive it, such a relationship between them is called back to back. The same relationship can exist between ZA and *Malchut*.

Hesed—mercy, compassion, altruism, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy, compassion, and altruism). It appears only within a *Kli* (desire) that wishes to

give selflessly and be similar to the Creator. This is the property of the *Sefira* or *Partzuf* of *Bina*. *Bina* of the world of *AK (Adam Kadmon)* is called *SAG*. *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* is called *Ima*, the Supernal Mother, *YESHSUT*, and *AVI*. The Light of *Bina* is the pleasure of being similar to the Creator's properties; hence, this Light (sensation) is the most reliable protection from the impure forces. And the *Kli* that possesses the properties of *Bina* is unable to transgress, as its desire is solely to bestow.

KHB—*Keter-Hochma-Bina* (pronounced *Kahab*). These are the first three *Sefirot* that form the *Rosh* (head) of the *Partzuf*. The *Rosh* decides how much pleasure the *Partzuf* can accept not for its own sake but for the sake of the Creator. This Light descends from the *Rosh* to the *Guf* (body).

HBD—*Hochma-Bina-Daat* (pronounced *Habad*). This is the same as *Keter-Hochma-Bina* (the *Rosh* of the *Partzuf*). *Sefira Daat* is not a *Sefira*, but the request (also known as *MAN*) of *ZON* (*Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva*). *Daat* is the appeal of *ZON* to *Bina* regarding their desire to receive *Ohr Hochma* from her. This prayer of *ZON* is called *MAN*, for it ascends to *Bina* and evokes in *Bina* (*Ima*—their mother) the desire to bestow upon her children—*ZON*. *MAN* in *Bina* is called *Sefira Daat*. This is not a *Sefira* like the other ten *Sefirot*; it is rather a request. However, to stress this state, we use the name *HBD* instead of *KHB*.

HGT—*Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* (pronounced *Hagat*). These are the *Sefirot* of the *Guf* (body), similar to the *Sefirot* of the *Rosh*: *Hesed* is tantamount to *Keter*, *Gevura* is tantamount to *Hochma*, and *Tifferet* is tantamount to *Bina*. They are called *GE* (see below) of the body.

NHYM—*Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut* (pronounced *Nehim*). These *Sefirot* receive from the *Sefirot HGT* (*GE*). Since they receive and have the will to receive, they are called *AHP* of the body.

GE—*Galgalta-Eynaim* (skull and eyes). *Sefirot Keter-Hochma*-and *GAR* of *Bina*. These *Sefirot* do not have the will to receive and wish only to bestow. Hence, they cannot become egoistic.

NRN—*Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama* (pronounced *Naran*). This is the Light that fills the small *Partzuf*. *Katnut* (small state) is when the *Partzuf* has the strength (a screen) only to bestow, but is unable to receive for the Creator's sake, despite its desire to do so. In this case, the *Partzuf* has only *Ohr Hassadim* (Light of Mercy), but not *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom). This is why it is considered a small *Partzuf*, without strength and reason, similar to a child in our world.

AHP—*Awzen-Hotem-Peh* (ear-nose-mouth), pronounced *Ahap*. These are *Sefirot ZAT* of *Bina-ZA-Malchut*, which possess a will to receive. Therefore, in the

absence of a proper screen (resistance to that desire), they become egoistic. A *Partzuf* without a screen on its *AHP* is called *Katan* (small) and its state is called *Katnut* (smallness, incompleteness). It is like a child in our world, as this *Partzuf*, too, has no strength (screen), and can therefore have only *Ohr Hassadim* without *Ohr Hochma*).

Gadlut—big state. A *Partzuf* with a screen (strength to resist its egoistic nature) to not only refrain from receiving for its own sake, but to receive not for its own sake (as in the example of the guest and the host. In this case, the *Partzuf* fills all of its desires (all ten *Sefirot*) with the Lights of *Hassadim* and *Hochma*.

First Big State—*Gadlut Aleph*, the attainment of the Light of *Neshama*.

Second Big State—*Gadlut Bet*, the attainment of the Light of *Haya*.

Ohr Hochma—Light of Wisdom. This Light fills the *Kelim* (vessels/desires) of reception. It comes only if there is a screen on altruistic reception.

Ateret Yesod—literarily "foreskin," the place of union between Israel and the Creator. After the second restriction, it is forbidden to make a *Zivug* (spiritual coupling) on *Malchut* herself due to the absence of the screen. However, a *Zivug* can be made on the properties that *Malchut* received from ZA, called *Ateret Yesod*. Just as the desires of *Malchut* herself are cut off, the foreskin is circumcised, and the desires that remain within her are those received from ZA, called *Ateret Yesod*. On these desires, *Malchut* can make a *Zivug* with ZA, and receive the Light of *Hochma*. Naturally, this is not the same Light of *Hochma* that *Malchut* would receive if she were able to make a *Zivug* on her desires, that is, on herself, on her own properties, called "the central point of creation," the truly egoistic desires. *Malchut* will be able to do that only after 6,000 years, at the end of correction. But before that happens, these desires are called the mark of union with the Creator, since a *Zivug* on *Ateret Yesod* brings her closer to the Creator.

Ateret Yesod is also *Malchut de Malchut* that remains after the circumcision, the removal of the *Orla* (foreskin). This is the corrected part of *Malchut*, her unification with *Sefira Yesod*, upon which a *Zivug* can be made while still during the 6,000 years, thus bringing *Malchut* to the end of correction.

NRNHY—*Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama-Haya-Yechida* (pronounced ***Naranhay***). This Light fills the big *Partzuf*, consisting of *GE* and *AHP*.

Ohr (Light)—pleasure, the sensation of the Creator. *Ohr* should always be interpreted as the same concept, for although the term is used in general, all of its synonyms are implied!

Kli (vessel)—desire, creature. Like *Ohr*, the word *Kli* is used in general, but all of its synonyms are implied!

Gematria—numerical value of a letter, or a combination of letters and words. This is a special way of recording spiritual information.

Parsa—firmament, the division between the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds *BYA*. The *Parsa* divides the ten *Sefirot* into two parts: the altruistic *Kelim* of bestowal (*GAR*, *KHB*, and *GE*) and the *Kelim* of reception (*ZON* or *Bina-ZA-Malchut*), for *Bina* deliberately fell into ZA (*AHP*) with the purpose of correcting him. *Malchut*, which ascends above *Bina* and stands below *Hochma*, is called *Parsa* or "firmament," and separates *GE* from *AHP*.

ZAT, ZAK—the seven *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, *Malchut* (*HGT NHYM*).

VAT, VAK—the six *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod* (*HGT NHY*, pronounced *Hagat Nehy*).

De – the preposition 'of' in a possessive meaning. For example, *Malchut* ***de*** *Atzilut* means *Malchut* **of** the world of *Atzilut*.

English translation—Whenever it says so in parenthesis, this refers to the books of the Torah (Pentateuch), *Nevi'im* (Prophets), and *Ketuvim* (Writings/ Hagiographa), published by Mosad HaRav Kook, in Hebrew with English translation. For example, (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9; English translation p. XXX, 9) means that if you open page XXX in the book of Prophets, what you are looking for will be in sentence number nine. When the original source is indicated, it is recommended to refer to it there and then to read at least the passage that the quoted saying is ascribed to. This will help you to see even more clearly that the Torah, using an allegorical, figurative language, speaks only of the spiritual world and man's ascension to it, and not at all about history or about our world.

Garments—attributes, desires, *Kelim*. Generally, the garments in question are those that *Malchut* receives from *Bina*.

Huppah—a wedding baldachin, a canopy under which a marriage ceremony takes place.

Nartik—the covering of ZA; same as the *Huppah*.

Adornments—the Light of *Hassadim*, Light of *Bina*, which she passes into *Malchut*. This corrects *Malchut*, and enables her to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the Light of *Hassadim*.

Orla—foreskin on the *Sefira Yesod*, the place of the *Zivug* between ZA and *Malchut*. The *Orla* must be removed, for during the 6,000 years, it is impossible to make

a *Zivug* (intention) on *Malchut* herself and receive for the Creator's sake. Only a *Zivug* on the union of *Malchut* with ZA can be made. This is called *Ateret Yesod*, the part of the *Sefira Yesod* that remains after the cutting off of the *Orla*. *Orla* is also *Malchut de Malchut*, or the impure forces.

Ima—Mother—*Bina* with regard to *Malchut*, who is the daughter.

Daughter—*Malchut* with regard to *Bina*, mother.

***Kodesh ha Kodashim*—Holy of Holies**—the Light of GAR—*Neshama-Haya-Yechida*.

Question—the sensation of lack of the Light of *Hochma* in *Malchut*.

Sela—rock or truth. The name of *Malchut*.

Shechina—Divinity—the sensation (appearance, vision) of the Creator to those who attain Him. *Malchut* in the state of reception of the Light (the Creator) is called *Shechina*. The sensation of the Creator, the place where one experiences the Creator is called *Shechina*.

Techum—zone—the distance beyond the bounds of which one is forbidden to go on *Shabbat* (the Sabbath). *Techum Shabbat* constitutes the maximal distance within which one can move about during Sabbath.

Sigim—dross—impure desires that exist within pure desires. Man's work is to separate the two, and to gradually correct the *Sigim*. The term *Sigim* comes from SAG, for they appeared as a result of the breaking of the *Kelim* of the world of *Nekudim*, which refer to the system of the *Partzufim* of *Partzuf* SAG. The term *Sigim* found its way from Kabbalah into spoken Hebrew.

SHACH—*Shin-Chaf*—300 + 20 = 320 fragments of the broken vessel.

RAPACH—*Reish-Peh-Chet*—200 + 80 + 8 = 288 fragments of the broken vessel, which one can and must be corrected during the 6,000 years, by climbing the 6,000 steps of the spiritual ladder.

Lev ha Even—Stony Heart—*Lev* = *Lamed-Bet* = 30 + 2 = 32 fragments into which *Malchut* had broken. These fragments of *Malchut* cannot be corrected and made altruistic; one can only refrain from using these desires. *Lev ha Even* is corrected only after the 6,000 years, that is, after the Creator Himself corrects the 288 fragments within man. It becomes completely altruistic and receives the name *Lev Basar* (heart of flesh).

Lo Lishma—not for the sake of the Creator. Since nothing exists in creation but the Creator and man, if something is not done "for the sake of the Creator," it is done "for one's own sake." Thus, *Lo Lishma* denotes man's egoistic intention.

Lishma—for the Creator's sake. Man's selfless intention to act only to please and bring joy to the Creator.

Four angels that participate in the creation of man—the four basic properties of nature: mercy—*Hesed*, justice—*Tzedek*, truth—*Emet*, and peace—*Shalom*.

Eretz Israel—Land of Israel—*Yetzira* of this world. *Yerushalaim* (Jerusalem) is *Ateret Yesod* in *Malchut*.

ORIGINAL NAMES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS ACCEPTED IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Aaron – Aaron
Amon – Ammon
Ana'el – Anahel
Anafiel – Anafiel
Ariel – Ariel
Avraham – Abraham
Bat Sheva – Bathsheba
Benayahu – Benaiah
Betzalel – Betzalel
Bil'am – Balaam
Chagai – Haggai
Chava – Eve
Eden – Eden
Eicha – Eichah
Elisha – Elisha
Eliyahu – Elijah
Esav – Esau
Ester – Esther
Ezra – Ezra
Gavri'el – Gabriel
Gazaria – Gazardiel
Hanoch – Eunuch
Havakuk – Habakkuk
Iyov – Job
Korach – Korach
Leah – Leah
Lilit – Lilith
Machaniel – Manhiel
Matat – Metatron
Micha – Micah
Moav – Moab
Moshe – Moses
Nachum – Nahum
Navuchadnetzar – Nebuchadnezzar
Nechemia – Nehemiah
Noach – Noah
Ovadia – Obadiah
Petachia – Petahyah
Pinchas – Pinchas
Pisgania – Pesagniyah
Rahel – Rachel
Rivka – Rebecca
Rut – Ruth
Sandalphon – Sandalphon
Shet – Seth
Shimon – Simeon
Shlomo – Solomon
Shmuel – Samuel
Tamar – Tamar
Tzefania – Zephaniah

Tzur – Tyre
Yaakov – Jacob
Yehoyada – Jehoiada
Yechezkel – Ezekiel
Yehoshua – Joshua
Yehudah – Judah
Yerushalaim – Jerusalem
Yeshayahu – Isaiah
Yirmiyahu – Jeremiah
Yishmael – Ishmael
Yitzchak – Isaac
Yosef – Joseph
Zachariah – Zechariah
Zvuliel – Zebuliel

ORIGINAL TITLES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS ACCEPTED IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Beresheet – Genesis
Shemot – Exodus
Vayikra – Leviticus
Bamidbar – Numbers
Devarim – Deuteronomy
Kohelet – Ecclesiastes
Shmuel 1 and 2 – Samuel 1 and 2
Melachim 1 and 2 – Kings 1 and 2
Divrey HaYamim – Chronicles
Mishley – Proverbs
Tehilim – Psalms
Shir HaShirim – Song of Songs
Shoftim – Judges

An Example of the Original Text of The Zohar

א) רבי חזקיה פתחת כתיב, כשושנה בין החוחים. מאן שושנה, דא כנסת ישראל. בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה, מה שושנה דאיהי בין החוחים אית בה סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי. מה שושנה אית בה תליסר עלין אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה תליסר מכילן דרחמי דסחרין לה מכל סטרהא.אוף אלקים דהכא, משעתא דאדכר, אפיק תליסר תיבין לסחרא לכנסת ישראל ולנטרא לה.

ב) ולבתר אדכר זמנא אחרא. אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא, בגין לאפקא חמש עלין תקיפין דסחרין לשושנה. ואינון חמש, אקרון ישועות.ואינון חמש תרעין.ועל רזא דא כתיב, כוס ישועות אשא, דא כוס של ברכה. כוס של ברכה אצטריך למהוי על חמש אצבען ולא יתיר, כנוונא דשושנה דיתבא על חמש עלין תקיפין דוגמא דחמש אצבען. ושושנה, דא איהו כוס של ברכה, מאלקים תניינא עד אלקים תליתאה חמש תיבין. מכאן ולהלאה, אור דאתברי ואתגניז, ואתכליל בברית ההוא דעאל בשושנה ואפיק בה זרעא. ודא אקרי עץ קיימא באות ברית ממש.

ג) וכמה דדיוקנא דברית אזדרע בארבעין ותרין זווגין ההואזרעא. כך אזדרע שמא גליפא מפרש, בארבעין וותריזאתוון דעובדא דבראשית.

ד) בראשית. רבי שמעון פתח הנצנים נראו בארץ, הנצנים דא עובדא דבראשית. נראו בארץ, אימתי, ביום השלישי, דכתיב ותוצא הארץ, כדין נראו בארץ. עת הזמיר הגיע, דא יום רביעי, דהוה ביה זמיר עריצים, מארת חסר. וקול התור, דא יום חמישי, דכתיב ישרצו המים וגו׳, למעבד תולדות. נשמע דא יום ששי, דכתיב נעשה אדם, דהוה עתיד למקדם עשיה לשמיעה דכתיב הכא נעשה אדם, וכתיב התם נעשה ונשמע. בארצנו, דא יום שבת, דאיהו דוגמת ארץ החיים.

ה) ד״א הנצנים אלין אינון אבהן,דעאלו במחשבה, ועאלו בעלמא דאתי ,ואתגניזו תמן. ומתן נפקו בגניזו ואטמירו גו נביאי קשוט, אתיליד יוסף, ואטמרו ביה. עאל יוסף בארעא קדישא ונציב לון תמן, וכדין נראו בארץ ואתגלו תמן. ואימתי אתחזן. בשעתא דאתגלי קשת
בעלמא, דהא בשעתא דקשת אתחזי כדין אתגליין אינון, ובהיא שעתא עת הזמיר הגיע עדן לקצץ חייבין מעלמא. אמאי אשתזיבו. בגין דהנצבים נראו בארץ, ואלמלא דנראו לא אשתארון בעלמא , ועלמא לא אתקיים.
ו) ומאן מקיים עלמא וגרים לאבהן דאתגליין, קל ינוקי דלעאן באורייתא, ובגין אינון רביין דעלמא, עלמא אשתזיב. לקבליהון, תורי זהב נעשה לך, אלין אינון ינוקי רביין עולמין, דכתיב ועשית שנים כרובים זהב.
ז) בראשית. ר׳ אלעזר פתח, שאו מרום עיניכם וראו מי ברא אלה. שאו מרום עיניכם. לאן אתר. לאתר דכל עיינין תליאן ליה, ומאן איהו. פתח עינים. ותמן תנדעון, דהאי סתים עתיקא דקיימא לשאלה, ברא אלה. ומאן איהו, מ״י. ההוא דאקרי מקצה השמים לעילא, דכלא קיימא ברשותיה. ועל דקיימא לשאלה, ואיהו בארח סתים ולא
אתגליא, אקרי מ״י דהא לעילא לית תמן שאלה. והאי קצה השמים אקרי מ״י.
ח) ואית אחרא לתתא ואקרי מ״ה, מה בין האי להאי, אלא קדמאה סתימאה דאקרי מ״י קיימא לשאלה, כיון דשאל בר נש ומפשפש לאסתכלא ולמנדע מדרגא לדרגא עד סוף כל דרגין, כיון דמטי תמן מ״ה, מה ידעת, מה אסתכלתא, מה פשפשתא, הא כלא סתים כדקדמיתא.
ט) ועל רזא דנא כתיב, מה אעידך מה אדמה לך. כד אתחריב בי מקדשא, נפיק קלא ואמר, מה אעידך ומה אדמה

לך, בההוא מ"ה אעידך, בכל יומא ויומא אסהידת בך מיומין קדמאין. דכתיב העדותי בכם היום את השמים ואת הארץ. ומה אדסה לך, בההוא גוונא ממש, עתרית לך בעטרין קדישין, עבדית לך שלטנו על עלמא, דכתיב הזאת העיר שיאמרו כלילת יפי וגו'. קרינא לך ירושלם הבנויה כעיר שחברה לה. מה אשוה לך, כגוונא דאנת יתבה, הכי הוא כביכול לעילא, כגוונא דלא עאלין השתא בך עמא קדישא בסדרא קדישין, הכי אומינא לך דלא איעול אנא לעילא עד דיעלון בך אוכלסך לתתא. ודא איהו נחמה דילך, הואיל דדרגא דא אשוה לך בכלא. והשתא דאנת הכא, גדול כים שברך. ואי תימא דלית לך קיימא ואסוותא, מ"י ירפא לך, ודאי ההוא דרגא סתימאה עלאה, דכלא קיימא ביה, ירפא לך ויוקים לך.

י) מ"י קצה השמים לעילא, מ"ה קצה השמים לתתא, ודא ירית יעקב דאיהו מבריח מן הקצה אל הקצה, מן הקצה קדמאה דאיהו מ"י, אל הקצה בתראה דאיהו מ"ה, בגין דקאים באמצעיתא. ועל דא, מי ברא אלה.

יא) אמר ר"ש אלעזר בני פסוק מילך, ויתגלי סתימא דרזא עלאה דבני עלמא לא ידעין. שתיק רבי אלעזר. בכה רבי שמעון, וקאים רגעא חדא. א"ר שמעון, אלעזר, מאי אלה. אי תימא ככביא ומזלי, הא אתחזן תמן תדיר. ובמ"ה אתבריאו, כד"א בדבר ה' שמים נעשו. אי על מלין סתימין, לא לכתוב אלה דהא אתגלייא איהו.

יב) אלא רזא דא לא אתגליא, בר יומא חד דהוינא על כיף ימא, ואתא אליהו ואמר לי, ר' ידעת מה הוא מי ברא אלה. אמינא ליה, אלין שמיא וחיליהון, עובדא דקב"ה דאית ליה לבר נש לאסתכלא בהו, ולברכא ליה, דכתיב כי אראה

שמיך מעשה אצבעותיך וגו׳ ה׳ אדונינו מה אדיר שמך בכל הארץ.

יג) א״ל, ר׳: מלה סתימה הוה קמי קב״ה, וגלי במתיבתא עלאה, ודא הוא. בשעתא דסתימא דכל סתימין בעא לאתגלייא, עבד ברישא נקודה חדא, ודא סליק למהוי מחשבה. צייר בה כל ציורין חקק בה כל גליפין.

יד) ואגליף גו בוצינא קדישא סתימא גליפו דחד ציורא סתימאה קדש קדישין בניינא עמיקא דנפיק מגו מחשבה, ואקרי מ״י שירותא לבנינא קיימא ולא קיימא. עמיק וסתים בשמא. לא אקרי אלא מ״י. בעא לאתגלייא ולאתקרי בשמא דא, ואתלבש בלבוש יקר דנהיר, וברא אל״ה, וסליק אל״ה בשמא. אתחברון אתוון אלין באלין ואשתלים בשמא אלהים. ועד לא ברא אלה לא סליק בשמא אלהים. ואינון דחבו בעגלא. על רזא דנא אמרו אלה אלהיך ישראל.

טו) וכמה דאשתתף מ״י באלה, הכי הוא שמא דאשתתף תדיר,

ברזא דא אתקיים עלמא. ופרח אליהו ולא חמינא ליה. ומניה ידענא מלה דאוקימנא על רזא וסתרא דילה. אתא רבי אלעזר וכלהו חברייא ואשתטחו קמיה, בכו ואמרו, אלמלא לא אתינא לעלמא אלא למשמע דא די.

א

רבי חזקיה

נ"א רבי אלעזר

בזהרי חמה ובנוסחת א"י

מאמר השושנה

א) פתח, כתיב א) א) א **כשושנה בין החוחים. מאן שושנה, דא** ב) ב) **כנסת ישראל.** ב **בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה,** ג **מה שושנה דאיהי בין** ג) **החוחים**

מסורת הזהר

א) (שיר ב) ב"א אות רצח תולדות יח ויחי רלד שמות שסד כי תשא לא שמיני לט אמור שלג חקת יח פנחס סח שצג שצח ואתחנן סו האזינו י יב ת"ז תכ"ה דף עא. תכ"ו שם תל"ח דף עח: ז"ח יתרו יב. ב) יתרו שסה.

חלופי גרסאות

א נ"א כשושנה בין החוחים מה שושנה דא דאיהי בין החוחים וכו' (אור הלבנה). ב נ"א בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה ל"ג. ג נ"א ד"א מה שושנה דאיהו בין החוחים וכו' (אה"ל).

דרך אמת א) רחל. ב) לאח כלת משה מלגאו. ג) רחל.

הסולם

מאמר

א) ר' חזקיה פתח וכו': ר' חזקיה **פתח**, כתוב, כשושנה בין החוחים. שואל מהי שושנה. ומשיב, זו היא כנסת ישראל. שהיא מלכות. משום שיש שושנה ויש שושנה. מה שושנה בין החוחים יש בה אדום ולבן אף כנסת ישראל יש בה דין ורחמים. מה שושנה יש בה י"ג עלים, כך כנסת ישראל יש בה י"ג מדות הרחמים המסבבות אותה מכל צדדיה. אף אלקים, שבמקרא שבכאן דהיינו בראשית ברא **אלקים**, משעה שנזכר, הוציא י"ג מלים לסבב את כנסת ישראל ולשמרה. שהן: את, השמים, ואת, הארץ, והארץ, היתה, תהו, ובהו, וחשך, על, פני, תהום, ורוח. דהיינו עד אלקים מרחפת וגו'.

ביאור הדברים, עשר ספירות הן, בתר, חכמה, בינה, חסד, גבורה, תפארת, נצח, הוד, יסוד ומלכות. ועיקרן הוא רק חמש, כתר,

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

השושנה

חכמה, בינה, תפארת ומלכות, משום שספירת התפארת כוללת בתוכה שש ספירות חג"ת נה"י. והן נעשו חמש פרצופין: א"א, ואו"א, וזו"ן. הכתר נק' בשם אריך אנפין. חכמה ובינה נק' בשם אבא ואמא. ת"ת ומלכות, נק' בשם זעיר אנפין ונוקבא. (ביאורן של עשר הספירות עי' בפתיחה לחכמת הקבלה אות ה').

ודע, שסוד ז' ימי בראשית ה"ס ב' הפרצופין ז"א ונוקבא דאצילות, שיש בהם ז' ספירות חג"ת נה"י ומלכות, כנ"ל. אשר באלו הכתובים דמעשה בראשית מתבאר, איך אבא ואמא, שהם חו"ב, האצילו אותם מתחילת התהוותם עד סוף הגדלות, שנוהג בהם בהמשך שתא אלפי שני. וענין זה מתבאר והולך כאן בזוהר בראשית.

ור' חזקיה פתח בביאור הנוקבא דז"א, לבאר סדר אצילותה מאמא, שהיא הבינה הנק' בשם

אית בה ג) **סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת** ד) **ישראל אית בה** ד) **דין** ה) **ורחמי. מה שושנה אית בה** ו) ה) **תליסר עלין, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה** ו) **תליסר מכילין דרחמי**

מסורת הזהר

ג) ב"א ע תולדות טו וישלח יא ויחי תקח ויקרא רכג אמור שלג האזינו קסב ת"ז תל"ו דף עז: עשה ולא תעשה תק"ח דף קיא: ד) ויחי רלו אמור שלג האזינו קעז. ה) פנחס שצד ת"ז תכ"ה דף עא. תכ"ו שם. ו) ב"א קיב קכו ויצא שטו יתרו תקיב תצוה כ ויקהל קנה אחרי קפד נשא צו שם קכא קסד שמא פנחס רפו שסז שצד תרמו כי תצא יז ת"ז תכ"ב דף סז. ז"ח בראשית מו תק"ח דף ק. קא. קיג.

דרך אמת ד) לאה. ה) ולא גוון. ו) י"ב דידיה וי"ב דידה והכוללים.

הסולם

מאמר — השושנה

בשם אלהים. וזהו שפתח בביאור השושנה, שהיא הנוקבא דז"א. והנוקבא דז"א בעת גדלותה נקראת בשם כנסת ישראל, במ"ש להלן, וזהו שאומר, **מאן שושנה, דא כנסת ישראל.**

ויש בשושנה זו ב' מצבים: מצב של קטנות, דהיינו של תחלת התהוותה, שאז אין בה אלא ספי' אחת כתר, שבתוכה מלובש אור הנפש שלה, וט' הספירות התחתונות שלה נבחנות כנופלות לבר מאצילות. והן בעולם הבריאה. ועוד בה מצב של גדלות, שאז מתעלות ט"ס התחתונות שלה מן עולם הבריאה אל עולם האצילות, והיא נבנית עמהן לפרצוף שלם בעשר ספירות. ואז עולה עם ז"א בעלה לקומה שוה עם או"א דאצילות ומלבישים אותם. ואז נק' ז"א, בשם ישראל. שהוא אותיות לי ראש, והנוקבא נק' בשם כנסת ישראל, על שם שכונסת בתוכה כל האורות של ישראל בעלה שהיא משפעת אותם אל התחתונים.

והמצב של הקטנות נק' בשם שושנה בין החוחים, משום שט"ס התחתונות שלה נתרוקנו מאור האצילות, ונשארו כחוחים. והמצב של הגדלות נק' בשם שושנה סתם, או כנסת ישראל. וזה אמרו **אית שושנה ואית שושנה.**

והנה גוון סומק מורה שיש שם אחיזה לחיצונים ולקליפות לינק ממנה, וזהו בזמן המצב של הקטנות, שט"ס התחתונות שלה הן בבריאה, ויש בה ג"כ בחינת חוור, דהיינו בכלי דכתר שלה, שאין שם אחיזה לחיצונים. **וז"ש מה שושנה דאיהי בין החוחים אית בה סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי** להורות כי גם בגדלותה בעת שנקראת כנסת ישראל, אע"פ שעולה אז ומלבישה את הבינה במצב גדלותה כנ"ל, מ"מ נשארת בה בחינת דין, כי היא נצרכת לסוד המסך המתוקן בה לצורך הזווג דהכאה, שמסבת הדין שבמסך, הוא מכה על האור העליון ומחזירו לאחוריו, ומעלה עי"ז ע"ס דאור חוזר הנקרא אור של דין, וממשיך בתוכן ע"ס דאור ישר, הנקרא אור של רחמים. (עי' בפתיחה לחכמת הקבלה אות י"ד) וע"כ גם בכנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי כנגד הסומק והחוור שיש לשושנה בין החוחים.

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

וז"ס הים שעשה שלמה, העומד על שני עשר בקר. כי אלו טה"ס התחתונות שלה שנפלו לבריאה, כנ"ל, נתתקנו שם בסוד שני עשר בקר, ונקודת הכתר שנשארה באצילות ה"ס הים העומד עליהם מלמעלה, וכללותם יחד נק' **תליסר עלין** דשושנה. וענין ההתחלקות הזו של עה"ס שלה לסוד י"ג מתבאר להלן במראות הסולם.

והנה המוחין דגדלות של הנוקבא, שיש בהם מהארת החכמה, הם נמשכים מסוד י"ג השמות הנק' י"ג מדות הרחמים. וז"ש **אוף כ"י אית בה י"ג מכילן דרחמי.** והעיקר מה שבא ר' חזקיה להורות בהשואה הזו משושנה דבין החוחים לכנסת ישראל, הוא ללמדנו, שכל שיש לנוקבא במצב גדלותה צריך להמצא בה כנגדן בחי' הכנה והכשר עוד בתחילת הויתה דהיינו במצב הקטנות. וז"ש, שכנגד חוור וסומק דקטנות יוצא בה דין ורחמי בגדלות, וכנגד י"ג עלין דקטנות יוצא בה י"ג מדות הרחמים בגדלות. והוא מביא זאת כאן, בכדי ללמדנו איך הכתובים שלפנינו מבארים אותם ב' הסדרים דקטנות וגדלות, הנוהגים באצילות הנוקבא, כמו שממשיך והולך, אוף אלהים דהכא וכו'.

וז"ש, **אוף אלהים וכו' אפיק י"ג תיבין:** מורה, שאלהים שבמקרא דהכא בראשית

דסחרין לה מכל סטרהא. אוף אלהים ז) **דהכא, משעתא דאדכר, אפיק** ז) **תליסר תיבין לסחרא לכנסת** ח) **ישראל** ד **ולנטרא לה.**

ב) ולבתר אדכר זמנא אחרא, אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא, בגין ט) **לאפקא** ח) **חמש עלין תקיפין דסחרין לשושנה. ואינון חמש, אקרון ישועות. ואינון**

מסורת הזהר

ז) פנחס שצז ת"ז תכ"ו דף עא. ח) פנחס שצז ת"ז תכ"ו דף עא. תל"ח דף עח. תק"ח קיז:

חלופי גרסאות

ד ולנטלא (אה"ל).

דרך אמת ז) פי' אימא. ח) לאה. ט) אימא אפיק ה' גבורות מנצפ"ך להושיעם מן הקליפות.

הסולם

מאמר

בראשית ברא אלהים, שה"ס הבינה המאצלת לנוקבא דז"א, אפיק י"ג מלים שהן: **את השמים ואת הארץ והארץ היתה תוהו ובוהו וחושך על פני תהום ורוח**, דהיינו עד אלהים תנינא, שאלו י"ג תיבין רומזים על אותם י"ג עלין של שושנה בין החוחים בסוד הים העומד על שני עשר בקר, כנ"ל, שהם הכנה והכשר לכנסת ישראל שתקבל י"ג מכילן דרחמי. וז"ש, **לסחרא לכנסת ישראל ולנטרא לה,** כי י"ג מדות הרחמים, שהן המוחין השלמים דנוקבא, נבחנות שהן מסבבות ומאירות אליה מכל הצדדים סביב סביב, ונשמרת על ידיהן ממגע החיצונים, כי כל זמן שאין בה המוחין הגדולים בהארת החכמה מי"ג מדות, יש בה יניקה לחיצונים.

ב) **ולבתר אדכר** וכו': ואח"כ נזכר שם אלקים פעם אחרת, דהיינו **אלקים** מרחפת וגו'. ולמה נזכר פעם אחרת. הוא כדי להוציא חמשה עלים קשים המסבבים את השושנה. ואלו חמשת העלים נקראים ישועות, והם חמשה שערים, ועל סוד זה כתוב, כוס ישועות אשא, זו היא כוס של ברכה. כוס של ברכה צריכה להיות על חמש אצבעות ולא יותר, כמו השושנה היושבת על חמשה עלים קשים, שהם כנגד חמש אצבעות. ושושנה זו היא כוס של ברכה. מהשם אלקים השני עד שם אלקים השלישי חמש מלים. שהן: מרחפת על פני המים ויאמר. שהן כנגד ה' עלים הנ"ל מכאן ולהלאה, שנאמר, אלקים יהי אור וגו', הוא האור שנברא ונגנז ונכלל בברית ההוא שנכנס בשושנה והוציא בה זרע, וזה נקרא עץ עושה פרי אשר זרעו בו. והזרע ההוא נמצא באות ברית ממש.

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

השושנה

ביאור הדברים, **חמש עלין תקיפין:** ה"ס ה"ג של הנוקבא, שהן ע"ס דאו"ח, שהנוקבא מעלה על ידי זווג דהכאה באור העליון, הנק' אור של דין, (כנ"ל ד"ה סומק) כי עה"ס דאור ישר נק' ה' חסדים חג"ת נ"ה, והן מתלבשות בה' גבורות חג"ת נ"ה דאו"ח, ואלו חמש עלין תקיפין הן, כחות הדין שבמסך, המעכב את האור העליון מהתלבש ממסך ולמטה. וע"כ נק' עתה רק ה' עלין תקיפין, כי עוד אינה ראויה לזווג עליהם. ובזמן הגדלות כשהמסך בא בזווג עם האור העליון הם נק' ה' גבורות. כנ"ל.

ואלו ה' עלין תקיפין ה"ס ה' תיבות שיש מאלקים תנינא עד אלהים תליתאה, שהן: מרחפת על פני המים ויאמר. וז"ש **אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא,** שמשמע שיש כאן פעולה חדשה, ואומר, שהוא כדי להוציא מהנוקבא ה' עלין תקיפין אלו, שהם הכנה לזווג בזמן הגדלות.

ומה שאלו ע"ס דאו"ח נקראות ה"ג שהן חג"ת נ"ה ואינן נקראות כח"ב תו"מ, כנ"ל. הענין הוא, מפני שאינן ממשיכות אלא אור חסדים לבד, ולכן ירדו כח"ב ממעלתם ונקראים חג"ת, ות"ת ומלכות נק' בשם נו"ה.

וז"ש, **חמש תרעין וכו' כוס ישועות:** היינו בעת הגדלות, שה' עלין תקיפין נעשו לה' גבורות, אז הם נבחנים לחמש תרעין, שהם שערים פתוחים לקבל ה' החסדים דאור ישר. וכן הם נקראים ישועות מטעם זה. ואז נק' הנוקבא **כוס ישועות** או **כוס של ברכה,** כי בסגולתן נעשית הנוקבא כלי מחזיק הברכה, שהיא ה"ח הנ"ל.

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE AFORECITED TEXT FROM ARAMAIC INTO ENGLISH[3]

1. Rabbi Hizkiyah opened, "It is written, as a rose among thorns." That a rose is the Assembly of Israel. Because there is a rose and there is a rose, just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, the Assembly of Israel consists of judgment and mercy. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, the Assembly of Israel is surrounded on all sides by the thirteen attributes of mercy. However, *Elokim*, that is here, thought to bring out the thirteen words that surround the Assembly of Israel and guard it.

2. Afterwards, this is mentioned another time. The reason it is mentioned another time is to bring out the five rigid leaves that surround the rose. And these five stand for salvation. These are also the five gates.

It is written of this secret, "I will raise the cup of salvation, it is the cup of blessing." The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, and no more, just as a rose rests on five rigid leaves that correspond to the five fingers. And this rose is the cup of blessing. From the second to the third mention of the name *Elokim*, there are five words. From here on, the Light was created and concealed, enclosed within that covenant, and entered the rose and fructified it. And this is referred to as a fructiferous tree, wherein is the seed thereof. And this seed truly exists in the letter of the covenant.

3. And just as the form of the covenant is sown in forty-two conceptions from that seed, so is the legislative, special name of creation sown.

4. In the beginning, Rabbi Shimon opened, the flower buds appeared on the earth. "The flower buds" refer to the act of creation. They appeared on the earth when, on the third day, as it is said, "And the earth shall pullulate." That was when they appeared on the earth. The time of singing has come, and this is the fourth day, when there was a reduction from the Light of *Hassadim*. The voice of the turtle dove refers to the fifth day, where it is written, "Let the waters swarm," so as to produce offspring. "It is heard" refers to the sixth day, where it is written, "Let us stand and create man," and there it is said, "We will do and we will hear." "In our land" refers to the day of *Shabbat*, which represents the Land of Life.

5. Another meaning is that these flower buds are the Patriarchs who entered the thoughts of the future world, and there they are concealed. They emerged from

3 The translation in the book is semantic and not literal

there in concealment, and concealed themselves in the true prophets. Yosef was born and they concealed themselves in him. When Yosef entered the Holy Land and founded them there, they appeared in the land (earth) and were revealed there. When are they seen? When a rainbow is seen in the world. It is when the rainbow is seen that they are revealed. As the time of pruning has come. The time has come to eradicate the wicked from the world. Why were the wicked saved? Because the flower buds can be seen in the earth. And if they could not be seen, they would not have remained in the world, and the world would not be able to exist.

6. Who animates the world and causes the Fathers to appear? It is the voice of the children, who study the Torah, meaning that these children of the world save the world. In deference to them, "We will make you pendants of gold." Those are the children, children of the world, as is it said, "You shall make two Cherubs of gold."

7. In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes above and see who has created this." Raise your eyes. To what place? To the place where all eyes depend on Him. And who is He? He is one who opens eyes. And you will know this. It is the concealed *Atik*, wherein lies the question, who has created this. And who is He? *MI* = who. He is called from the edge of Divine Heaven, where everything belongs to Him. As there is a question, He is along a concealed path, and does not reveal Himself. He is called *MI*, as there is no question Above, this edge of Heaven is called *MI*.

8. And there is another below, called *MA*. What is between this and that? The first one, called *MI*, is concealed. There is a question in him, because man asks, searches and looks, and beholds from degree to degree until the end of all the degrees. And after he arrives there, he is asked: *MA*? (What?). What have you learned? What have you seen? What have you investigated, since everything is still concealed, just as it was before.

9. It is written of this secret, "Who can I point out to you? Who can I compare you to?" After all, the Temple was destroyed, and a voice came forth and said, "What can I point out to you, and what can I compare you to?" The word *MA* = what, testimony, each day and the day of testimony to you from the days of past, as it is written: "I call to witness Heaven and earth," which is like unto you.

According to the same type, "I adorned you with holy ornaments," made you ruler over the world, as it is written: "Is this the city that was called the quintessence of beauty?" and so forth. I have called you, "Jerusalem, a city built by me." "What could be compared to you?" Just as you sit, so he is like Above,

just as now the holy nation does not enter into you to perform holy work, so I swear to you that I will not enter Above until I dwell down below. This is your consolation, as this degree is equal to you in all things. And now that I am here, "Your misery is great, like the sea." And if you claim that there is no existence or remedy for you, then *MI* (who) shall heal you? It shall be precisely that concealed Supernal Degree, which animates all things; it shall heal you, and exist within you.

10. *MI* is the upper edge of Heaven, *MA* is the lower edge of Heaven. This was inherited by Yaakov, that he shines from edge to edge, from the first edge, which is *MI*, until the last edge, which is *MA*, for he stands in the middle. Therefore, who has created this?

11. Rabbi Shimon said: Elazar, my son, stop talking and reveal to us the supernal secret, which the people of the world know nothing of. Rabbi Elazar was silent. Rabbi Shimon wept and said: One minute. Rabbi Shimon said: Elazar, what is *ELEH* (these)? If you say the stars and the signs of the zodiac, have they not always been seen? However, *MA* (what) were created, as it is said, by the word of the Creator were the Heavens made. If it is about concealed things, then it is not written *ELEH*, because they are revealed.

12. But this secret was never revealed, until one day when I was at the seashore, Eliyahu came and told me: "Rabbi, do you know what this is, WHO HAS CREATED THIS?" I told him: "These are the Heavens and their hosts, the works of the Creator, that man can look at them and bless them, as is written, 'When I behold Your Heavens, the work of Your hands, our Master, how glorious Your name is throughout all the earth'!"

13. He told me: "Rabbi, there was one thing concealed before the Creator, which He revealed to the Supernal Assembly, and it is this. When the concealed of all the concealed desired to reveal Himself, He first made one single point, and this point ascended and became a Thought. With it, He drew all the forms and with it engraved all the images."

14. He engraved inside a concealed, sacred candle an image of a concealed image of the holy of holies. A profound structure emerged from the depth of that thought, and it is called *MI* – who, which is the inception of the structure both standing and not standing, which is hidden deep inside the name. It is not called, but only *MI* – who. He desired to reveal Himself and to be called this name, so He clothed Himself in a precious, radiant garment and created *ELEH*, and *ELEH* ascended in name. These letters combined with these, and the name *Elokim* was completed. And until He created *ELEH* – this, *Elokim* did not ascend

to form the name *Elokim*. And these sinned in worshipping the golden calf. Of this secret it is said, *ELEH* is your Lord, Israel.

15. Just as the letters *MI* joined the letters *ELEH*, so does this name remain forever united, and on this secret stands the world. Eliyahu then flew away, and I could not see him. It is from him that I knew this, which stands on the secret, and its explanation. Rabbi Elazar has come, and all the disciples, too, and they bowed down before him, wept and said, if we had (not) come into this world but only to hear this secret, it would have been enough.

16. Rabbi Shimon said, "Onto these Heavens and their hosts were created in *MA*, as it is said, 'When I behold the Heavens, the works of Your hands,' and it is said, '*MA*, how glorious Your name is throughout all the earth, which You set Above the Heavens, it ascends in name.' That is why it created Light for Light, clothed this into this, and elevated in the Supernal Name, this the Creator created in the beginning. This is the Supernal Creator, for *MA* is not such and was not created."

The Rose

1. Rabbi Hizkiyah opened (began): "It is said, as a rose among thorns" (*Shir HaShirim*, 2:2). He asks, "What does a rose represent?" He answers, "It is the Assembly of Israel, meaning *Malchut*. For there is a rose, and there is a rose. Just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, so does the Assembly of Israel (*Malchut*) consist of judgment and mercy. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, so the Assembly of Israel consists of thirteen properties of mercy, surrounding it on all sides. After all, *Elokim* (the name of the Creator that alludes to His attitude towards the lower ones by the force of judgment), as it is said, 'In the beginning, *Elokim* created' (the first sentence in the Torah), In the beginning (initially) when He thought it, He created thirteen words to surround the Assembly of Israel and to protect it, and here they are: THE, HEAVEN, AND-THE, EARTH, AND-THE EARTH, WAS, EMPTY, AND-CHAOTIC, AND-THE DARKNESS, OVER, THE FACE, OF THE ABYSS, AND-THE SPIRIT, up to the word *Elokim*" (In Hebrew, "and" is written in conjunction with the word following it. Hence, it is considered as one word).

As its object of study, Kabbalah takes the only creation, the only thing that exists besides the Creator—man's self, or "I," and researches it. This science breaks down the self into parts, explains the structure and properties of each part, and the purpose of its creation. Kabbalah explains how every part of man's self, called "the soul," can be changed so that one would reach the goal of creation, the state desired by both the Creator and man himself, provided he realizes it.

There is not a science in the world that can describe, either graphically or analytically, through use of formulas, our sensations and desires, and how diverse and multifaceted they are. That is how fickle, unpredictable, and absolutely distinct they are in everyone. This is because our desires surface in our mind and sensations in a gradual order, in a certain sequence, so we may acknowledge and correct them.

Our self is our essence, the only thing that characterizes an individual. However, it is ever-changing, and what remains is merely an external, animate shell. This is why it is said that every moment man is born anew. Yet, if this is so, how should we regard one another, and how should we perceive ourselves? How can we possibly "stabilize" anything within and outside of us if we are constantly changing, and all that we perceive is a function of our inner state?

The Creator is the source of Light (pleasure). Those who draw near Him sense Him as such. Such people, who draw near the Creator and thereby sense Him, are called Kabbalists (from the word *Lekabel*—to receive the Creator's Light). One can draw near the Creator only through equivalence of desires. The Creator is incorporeal, and can only be sensed with our heart. Naturally, what is meant by "heart" is not the pump that mobilizes blood through our veins, but the center of man's every sensation.

However, one cannot sense the Creator with just his heart, but only with a small point in it. And to feel this point, man must develop it himself. When one develops and expands this point, the sensation of the Creator, His Light, can enter it.

Our heart is the sum of our egoistic desires, and the small point within it is part of the spiritual, altruistic desire implanted from Above by the Creator Himself. It is our task to nurture this embryo of a spiritual desire to such an extent that it (and not our egoistic nature) will determine all of our aspirations. At the same time, the egoistic desire of the heart will surrender, contract, wither, and diminish.

After being born in our world, one is obliged to change his heart from egoistic to altruistic, while living in this world. This is the purpose of his life, the reason behind his appearance in this world, and it is the goal of all creation. A complete replacement of egoistic desires with altruistic ones is called "the End of Correction." Every individual and all of humanity must attain it in this world together. Until one achieves this, he will continue to be born into this world. The Torah and all the prophets speak exclusively of this. The method of correction is called "Kabbalah."

One can change his desires only if one wishes to change them. Man is created an absolute egoist; he can neither adopt different desires from other people or from the surrounding world—as his surroundings are just like him—nor does he have any link to the spiritual worlds, since such a link is possible only through mutual properties. The spiritual can only be perceived in altruistic desires.

Hence, an individual in our world has no chance of transcending the boundaries of this world on his own. That is why we were given the Torah and its most effective part, Kabbalah—to help man acquire the desires of the spiritual worlds.

In order to create man in remoteness to Himself, so that man would realize his insignificance and would come independently to the desire to ascend, the Creator created all creation as degrees descending from Him. The Creator's Light descended along these degrees, and at the lowest degree, created our world and man in it. Having realized his insignificance and wishing to ascend to the Creator, man (to the extent that he wishes to approach the Creator) ascends along the same degrees by which his initial descent took place.

In all, there are ten degrees, called "ten *Sefirot*": *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, and *Malchut*. Like ten screens or curtains, these ten *Sefirot* conceal the Creator's Light from us or the Creator Himself (which is the same thing). These ten screens constitute the ten degrees of our remoteness from the Creator.

Therefore, in order to draw near the Creator by one degree, the lowest one above our own properties, we must acquire the properties of that (lowest) degree. This means that our properties become similar to the properties of that degree, rather than remaining inferior to it. To acquire similar properties means to have the same desires. As soon as our desires coincide with the desires of that degree, its concealment fades, and we seemingly exist on it, and only nine degrees separate us from the Creator.

However, the last, lowest degree differs from all the others: as soon as one ascends out of our world and onto the first degree, he already begins to see (sense) the Creator. And all the subsequent degrees are degrees of drawing closer to the Creator. Only the very last degree, at which we presently exist, conceals the Creator completely, whereas all of the Higher Degrees only distance Him.

Although we count ten degrees, there are in fact only five of them. This is because six degrees: *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Yesod* combine into one *Sefira*, called *Zeir Anpin* (ZA). ZA itself is sometimes referred to as *Tifferet*, for this *Sefira* reflects the common attributes of all of its six *Sefirot*.

So, there are five degrees of concealment from the Creator down to our world: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Every degree is alternatively called *Olam* (world), from the word *Haalamah* (concealment). Every degree has its sub-degrees, called *Partzufim* (plural for *Partzuf*), and every sub-degree has its own

sub-degrees, called *Sefirot* (plural for *Sefira*). Thus, in all, 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 degrees-*Sefirot* exist between us and the Creator.

Below is a table of the degrees from the Creator down to our world:

The Creator: an absolutely altruistic desire to create a soul (man) in order to fill it with delight.

The world of Infinity: the existence of souls in the ultimate, perfect state.

WORLDS	SEFIROT	PARTZUFIM	
1st World Adam Kadmon (AK)	Keter	Galgalta	(*)
	Hochma	AB	(*)
	Bina	SAG	(*)
	ZA	MA	(*)
	Malchut	BON	(*)
2nd World Atzilut	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
3rd World Beria	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
4th World Yetzira	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
5th World Assiya	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)

Our world: the five egoistic desires felt in the heart.

(*) – Consists of five *Sefirot*– *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*.

In all, there are 125 degrees from the Creator to our world.

THE GOAL OF CREATION

Since there is no notion of time in the spiritual, we already exist in our ultimate, perfect state in the world of Infinity (*Ein Sof*). Because desire in the spiritual designates action, desire itself acts, without a body. Therefore, when the desire to create souls (the will to enjoy) appeared in the Creator, when He wished to fill them with the most perfect delight—to sense Him and to delight in His perfection—to make creatures just as He is, His desire was immediately realized. Thus appeared the World of *Ein Sof*, in which we already exist in our final state.

However, we still need to attain this state in our sensations. This is reminiscent of a sleeping person: even though he is sleeping somewhere, he does not understand where he is until he wakes up. However, in order to achieve this perfect state, we must go through a gradual process of transformation of our inner properties (desires), which corresponds to the spiritual ascension from our world through all the worlds, to the World of *Ein Sof*.

To lead us to the final state, the Creator governs us from Above through all the worlds. Thus, there is nothing in our world that does not originate in the World of *Ein Sof*, where the final state of every soul determines the path that it is destined to travel **in general** and the changes that it has to undergo **in particular** at every moment (state) of its spiritual advancement towards the World of Infinity.

There is no way back: everything that happens is dictated by the necessity to bring every soul to its final state. Only this goal determines the state of our world at every second, what happens to it in general and to each of us in particular. The Creator created nothing for naught. Rather, everything serves His purpose.

However, the will that stems from Above does not exclude our active participation in our own advancement. Instead of being slaves that move under the compulsion of a beating stick called suffering, we can turn our path of suffering into the path of Torah—to actively and quickly travel this path from below upwards on our own by realizing that the Creator's purpose is indeed desirable.

This is possible via a request for spiritual elevation—raising *MAN*, a prayer. In response, we will receive spiritual strength from Above that will help us improve our qualities, i.e., to ascend. The entire Torah speaks only of this, and Kabbalah goes further still and provides a detailed explanation of the path itself. As if on a map, it depicts what we go through and where (in what state and at which degree) we are now.

Kabbalah studies the structure of the spiritual worlds. The purpose of these worlds is to weaken the Creator's signals (desires) so that we could understand them with our egoism and realize them with our mind. In Hebrew, the word for "world" is *Olam* (from the word *Haalamah*—meaning concealment), for these worlds conceal and weaken the Creator's Light to such an extent that we can feel it.

Depending on everyone's spiritual qualities, on the degree of one's attainment (complete egoism = our world, partial altruism = spiritual worlds), we perceive the Creator or His Light differently at each of the 125 degrees. These 125 degrees amount to just ten, called "the ten *Sefirot* between the Creator and us," where every lower *Sefira* transmits less of the Creator's Light, as perceived by those at that degree. The lower the *Sefira*, the less of the Creator's Light it lets through to those that are below it.

SEFIROT

These are the names of the *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, and *Malchut*. However, six of them are combined into one *Sefira*, called *Zeir Anpin*, so in all there are five *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Also, ZA himself (ZA is usually considered a male *Sefira*) is sometimes called *Tifferet*, since *Tifferet* is his main *Sefira*, absorbing within itself the properties of all six *Sefirot* of ZA. Thus, the Creator created only five *Sefirot*:

Keter—the Creator's desire to bestow delight upon us, *Malchut*;

Hochma—the pleasure itself, which the Creator wishes to bestow upon us;

Bina—passes the pleasure from *Hochma* to ZA;

ZA—accepts the pleasure from *Bina* and passes it to *Malchut*;

Malchut—receives the pleasure.

Bina consists of two parts: her upper part, called GAR or *AVI*, is unwilling to receive the Light from *Hochma*. However, since the Creator wishes to impart this Light to the lower ones, the lower part of *Bina*, called ZAT or *YESHSUT*, receives the Light from *Hochma* and passes it to ZA. ZA does not want to receive the Light, but *Malchut* (to the extent of her correction) evokes ZA to receive the Light from *Bina* and pass it on to her. Hence, we sometimes speak of the general reception of the Light by ZA and *Malchut*, which are together called ZON (ZA and *Nukva*).

The process is such that *Malchut*—to the extent that her desires are corrected from egoism to altruism—asks ZA to receive the Light "for the Creator's sake."

To this extent, *ZA* requests the Light from *Bina*. Subsequently, *Bina* turns to and receives the requested amount of Light from *Hochma*, then passes it to *ZA*. *Malchut* (to the extent of her corrected properties) merges with *ZA* via equivalence of form (desires), and receives this Light.

Keter, *Hochma*, and *GAR* of *Bina* do not want to receive the Light, but starting with *ZAT* of *Bina* (*YESHSUT*), the desire to receive the Light so as to pass it to the lower ones appears in the *Sefirot*.

Keter	Galgalta or Metzah - forehead	"bestowal"
Hochma	Eynaim - eyes	**GE**
Bina GAR of Bina	Nikvey Eynaim - pupils	
Bina ZAT of Bina	Awzen - ear	
ZA	Hotem - nose	**AHP**
Malchut	Peh - mouth	"reception"

Malchut herself is the creature—the egoistic will to receive pleasure, to enjoy the Creator's Light. This desire is to enjoy the Creator's Light or the Creator (which is the same thing) is the essence of *Malchut*. We are parts of *Malchut*. However, if we have only egoistic desires, we feel the Creator's Light as pleasures in our world. This is a micro dose of His Light. By correcting our desires (properties), we can ascend the spiritual degrees of the Upper Worlds, and there experience the Creator's true delight.

According to the Thought of Creation, *Malchut* must receive the Light from the four previous *Sefirot*, and delight in it. Hence, *Malchut* herself consists of five parts: she receives the Light from the preceding *Sefirot* in four parts, and senses it in the fifth.

All the *Sefirot* that precede *Malchut* (excluding *Malchut*) are similar to our sensory organs, and *Malchut* is like the heart that receives from all organs: brain, sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The heart is *Malchut*, and the sensory organs are the first nine *Sefirot* that precede *Malchut*. All of these parts of *Malchut* are egoistic—they wish to receive the Light (pleasure) so as to enjoy it. With such properties, *Malchut* cannot receive more than a micro dose of the Light of our world, sensing the Creator in a manner called "this world."

However, if *Malchut*, i.e., every one of us, were to receive desires (aspirations) from Above to *bestow* delight upon the Creator to the same extent that we feel the Creator bestowing upon us, with this property (desire), man would ascend spiritually to a degree above our world. He would sense the Creator as spiritual Light, altruistic pleasure and great knowledge, attainment of supernal thoughts and the essence of existence.

SCREEN

Malchut (man) can receive the Light only in anti-egoistic desires. If such desires appear in *Malchut* as a result of the realization that egoism is her enemy (with the help of Kabbalah), to the extent of her hatred for it, *Malchut* can repel the egoistic pleasures for the sake of spiritual perfection, i.e., similarity to the Creator in her desire to please Him and act for His sake.

This ability to repel selfish reception of pleasure is called "a screen," and the repelled pleasure is called "Returning Light," and the pleasure that comes to *Malchut* is called "Direct Light." It is precisely in the repelled pleasure, meaning in the desire to bestow whole-heartedly, selflessly, that man can sense the Creator's Light and Supreme Knowledge.

Since *Malchut* (man's egoism) has to repel pleasure from the five parts of her egoism, the reflecting screen must also consist of five parts. Hence, it creates five parts of the Returning Light. The five parts in *Malchut* are called by the names of the *Sefirot* from which they receive. The five kinds of Direct Light are called *NRNHY*: *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*. The Light that emanates from the Creator descends in the following order:

Yechida

Haya

Neshama

Ruach

Nefesh

PARTZUF

After *Malchut* reflects the Light (pleasure), she decides to receive it in order to delight the Creator, because He wants *Malchut* to receive pleasure and feel Him. The reflection of all the incoming pleasure is called *Rosh* (head). The partial reception of the Light to the extent of one's anti-egoistic powers is called *Toch*

(interior). The unfulfilled desires (due to the absence of a screen on them) are called *Sof* (end) (see below diagram).

This is the structure of the soul (*Kli*, vessel, corrected altruistic desire, *Partzuf* or spiritual body). We call the parts of the spiritual structure by the names of our physiological body: head, body, and limbs. There are five parts in the *Rosh* (head): skull—*Galgalta*, eyes—*Eynaim*, ears—*Awznaim*, nose—*Hotem*, and mouth—*Peh*. There are five parts in the *Guf* (body) from the mouth—*Peh* to the navel—*Tabur.* In the limbs, there are five parts from the navel to the toes (see below diagram).

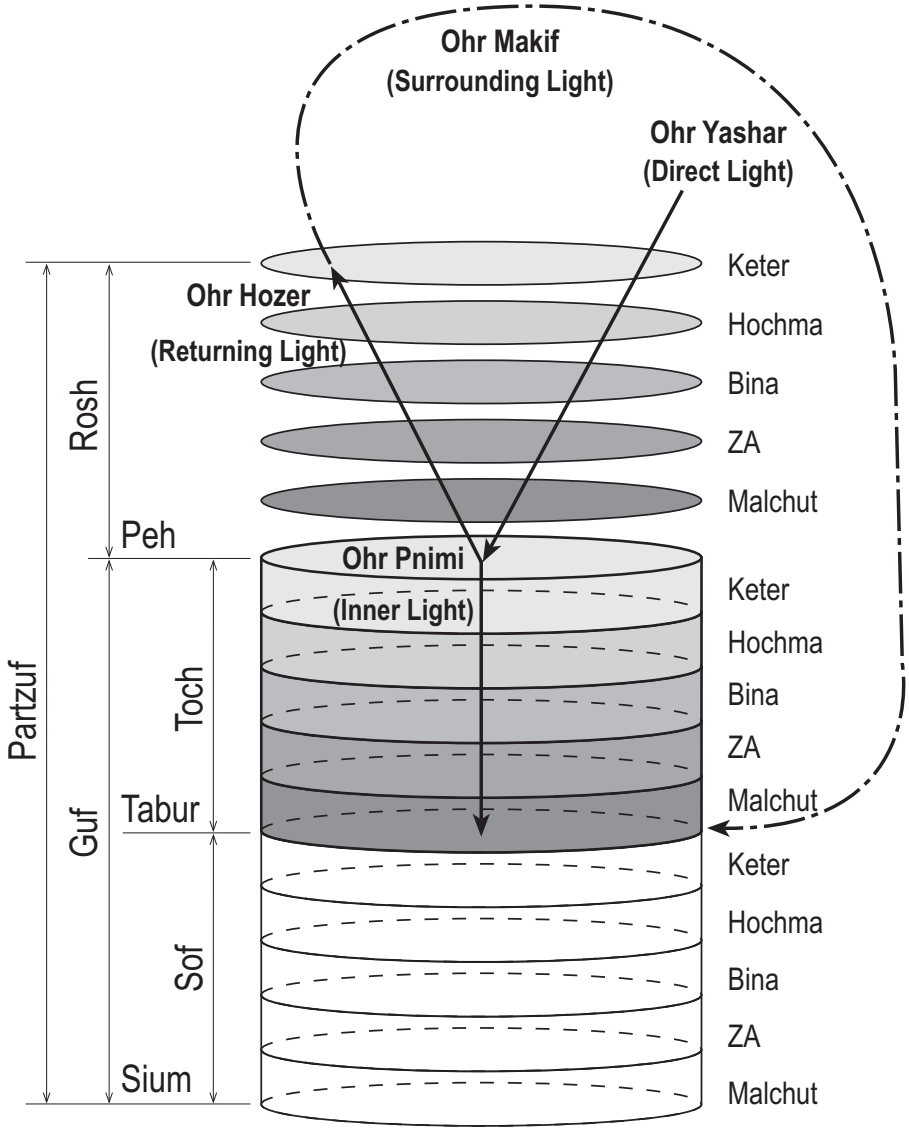

THE INVERSE PROPORTION BETWEEN THE VESSEL AND THE LIGHT

The more strength *Malchut* has to oppose egoism, the greater the Light that enters her. However, although one works on the correction of the vessel's coarser part, he receives the Light from his efforts in his subtler desires. In other words, there is an inverse proportion between the vessel and the Light: the coarser the desire (*Kli*) that is corrected, the greater the Light that enters *Malchut* (vessel); however, it enters her Upper *Kli* (desire).

Since *Malchut* (i.e., all that exists apart from the Creator) is absolutely egoistic, she can only be corrected by imparting onto herself the properties of *Bina*, the Creator—bestowal without reception. This is the property of absolute altruism, of selfless bestowal. To receive such a property (desire) is tantamount to ascending from the level of *Malchut* to the level of *Bina*.

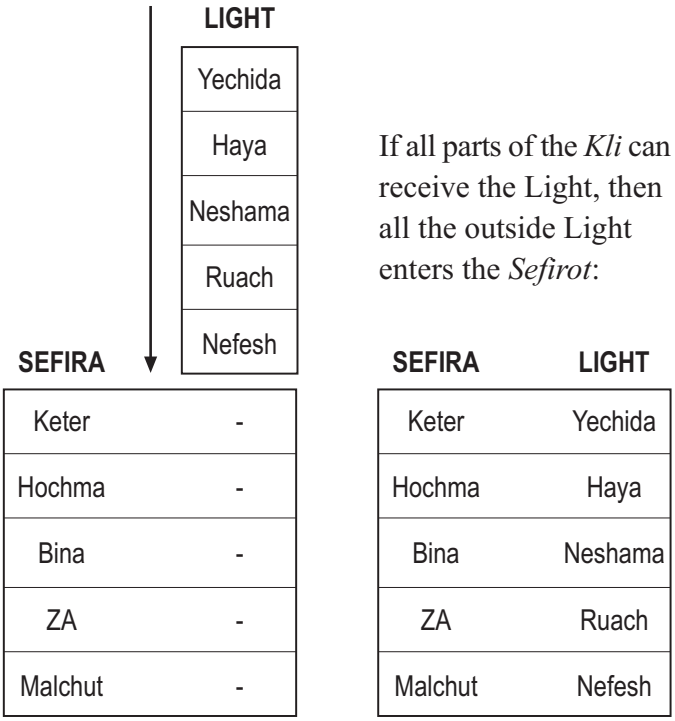

Malchut herself is the will to receive pleasure. The ban imposed on the reception of pleasure for oneself is called the **First Restriction** (*Tzimtzum Aleph*). Restriction is a ban on the reception of pleasure; however, if the receiver aspires to please the Creator and not himself, he is allowed to receive the pleasure.

Whether *Malchut* wants it or not, if she (soul, man) has egoistic desires, the Light will not enter her (be felt within her). Hence, we are utterly unable to feel the spiritual (the Creator).

THE STATE OF *KATNUT* (SMALLNESS)

Yet, *Malchut* is not the only *Sefira* that cannot receive the Light: from the world of *Atzilut* and below, *Sefirot Bina* and ZA cannot receive the Light either. This ban is called the **Second Restriction** (*Tzimtzum Bet*). In this restriction, *Malchut* seemingly ascends in her desires to *Sefira Bina*. Her desires of "reception" dominate three *Sefirot*: *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*, as *Sefirot Bina* and ZA also fall under the rule (desire) of the elevated *Malchut*.

If a *Partzuf* has no strength to oppose its egoistic desires of reception in *Sefirot Bina*, ZA and *Malchut* (*AHP*), its lower part is not entitled to receive the Creator's Light, as it will receive it selfishly, thereby causing great harm to itself. To avoid this, the upper part of the *Partzuf*—*Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* (*GE*)—separates from the lower part by *Parsa* (partition), through which the Light cannot pass downwards. Therefore, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, each degree was divided into two parts:

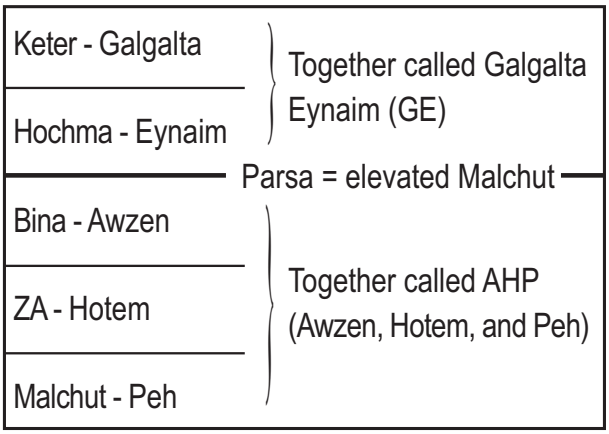

Malchut restricted the spreading of Light inside the *Partzuf*, and two parts were formed in her: *GE* receives the Light, i.e., *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* receive the Lights *Nefesh* and *Ruach*, while the other part of the *Partzuf* (*Sefirot Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*) is below the *Parsa*, and therefore does not receive the Light. Their corresponding Lights—*Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*—also remain outside of the *Partzuf*.

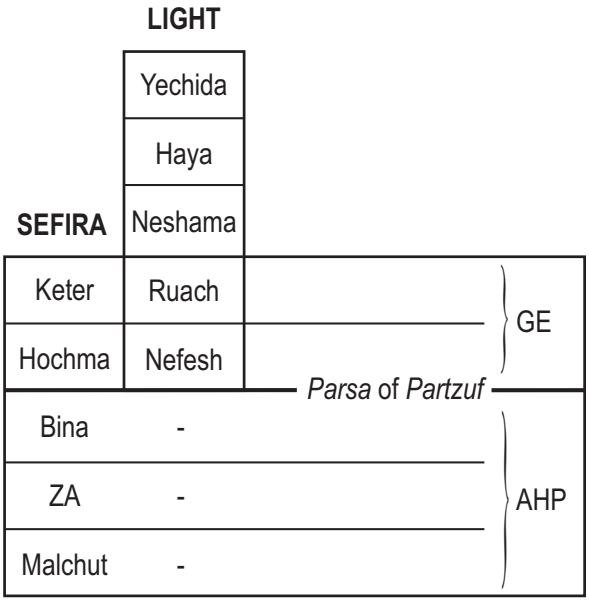

This degree (*Partzuf*) is deprived of the Light *Neshama-Haya-Yechida* and is left with just the Light *Nefesh-Ruach*, called "air." This is designated by the entry of the letter *Yod* into the word Light (*Ohr* = *Aleph-Vav-Reish*). Thus, the word Light (*Ohr*) turns into air (*Avir* = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*). This state of the vessel is called *Katnut* (small state). In other words, the ascent of *Malchut* to *Bina* is designated by the entry of the letter *Yod* into the word Light (*Ohr* = *Aleph-Vav-Reish* +*Yod* = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish* = *Avir*—air). This means that because of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, the *Partzuf* lost its Light and was left with air.

In such a state, the degree or *Partzuf* is called *Katnut* (smallness), where *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* have only the Light *Nefesh-Ruach*, as *Sefirot Bina*, ZA and *Malchut* are below the *Parsa*, and do not receive the Light. The *Parsa* prevents the Light from spreading below it. *Sefirot Keter-Hochma* and *Bina-ZA-Malchut* are designated by the following letters:

Keter	- Mem	- M
Hochma	- Yod	- I
Bina	- Hey	- H
ZA	- Lamed	- LO
Malchut	- Aleph	- E

In the reverse order, these letters form the Creator's name *Elokim*, where *GE* = letters *Mem* + *Yod* = *IM* (pronounced as *MI*), and *AHP* = letters *Aleph* + *Lamed* + *Hey* = *ELEH*. Since man attains the Creator from below upwards, the Creator's name *ELOKIM* is read from below upwards.

After the birth of all the worlds and the descent of the entire Creation to our world, all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds of *BYA* passed into the state of *Katnut*. Thus, the Light is present in *GE*, but absent in *AHP*. *AHP* of the Upper Degree fell into *GE* of the lower degree, thus forming the spiritual ladder between the Creator and man in our world, and the lowest part of the last spiritual degree of the world of *Assiya* fell into a point in man's heart. Consequently, all the intermediate degrees now exist one inside the other: *AHP* of the Upper Degree is inside *GE* of the lower one:

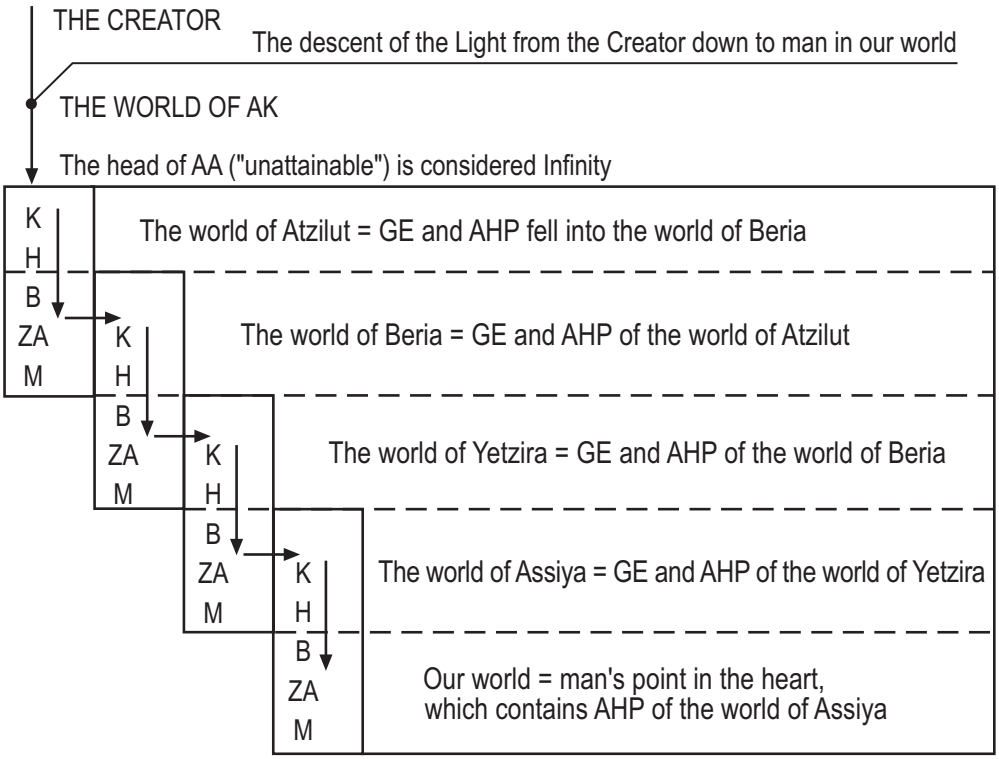

The sum of man's desires is referred to as his heart. Since the nature with which we are born is absolute egoism, man does not feel the spiritual point in his heart. However, at some point in one of his reincarnations, man begins to gradually strive towards attainment of the causes of life, its evaluation; he

yearns to attain himself, his source, just as you do right now. Man's aspiration to the Creator is precisely this aspiration to attain his origin. Man's discontent in life often helps him in this search, when there's nothing that appeals to him in his surroundings. Such circumstances are sent from Above in order for man to start feeling an empty point in his heart, and to stimulate in him the desire to fulfill it.

The Creator manifests as the altruistic property to bestow pleasure without any benefit for Himself. From this, we can understand the property of *Sefirot Keter*, *Hochma,* and *Bina* that share the Creator's property of bestowal. The only Creation is *Malchut*, the will to receive the Light (pleasure). All of us and our entire world are the lowest part of this egoistic *Malchut*.

THE STATE OF *GADLUT* (GREATNESS/ADULTHOOD)

However, if one (*Malchut*) raises *MAN*, the request for his spiritual ascent, by making efforts to free himself from egoism and by praying to the Creator for help, the Light *AB-SAG* descends from Above. It comes from the world of *AK*, brings *Malchut* altruistic strength and enables her to return from *Bina* back to her place. In other words, *Malchut*'s ability to refrain from selfish reception of pleasure is complemented with the strength to receive pleasure for the Creator's sake, to receive the Light of *Hochma* within *AHP*, for His sake.

Subsequently, *AHP*, or *Sefirot Bina*, *ZA* and *Malchut*, become reactivated, the *Partzuf* regains all five *Kelim* (parts), the letter *Yod* disappears from the word *Avir* (air), and it turns to being *Ohr* (Light). In that state, all five Lights *NRNHY* fill the *Partzuf*, the letters *MI* join the letters *ELEH*, forming the Creator's name—*Elokim*. This state is called *Gadlut* (greatness/adulthood).

ASCENT OF THE LOWER ONE TO THE UPPER ONE

As a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, the Upper *Partzuf* establishes contact with the lower one. As a result, the lower *Partzuf* can ascend to the level of the Upper One. This is the reason for the second restriction: to give the lower ones (man) the opportunity to ascend to the World of Infinity, up to the Creator Himself.

In order to establish this contact, the Upper *Partzuf* deliberately diminishes itself, descends to the level of the lower *Partzuf*, and becomes similar to the lower one in its properties. *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* willingly falls into *GE* of the lower one, as though it has no strength to receive the Light, and they become a single whole. This is similar to a scenario when a strong individual joins a society of criminals, imitating their behavior, so that after being admitted into

their circle and establishing contact with them, he will gradually influence and correct them.

How? The Upper Light (the so-called Light of *AB-SAG*) comes and provides *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* with the strength to ascend to their *GE*. And *GE* of the lower *Partzuf* ascend together with them: because they were a single whole and equivalent in their properties below, they receive the same strength to ascend.

Upon receiving the Light of *AB-SAG*, *GE* of the lower *Partzuf* become like Upper One. Therefore, we should not regard the second restriction as negative, but as help from the Upper *Partzuf*. It descends to the lower *Partzuf* by corrupting its own properties in order to equalize itself with the lower one, so as to subsequently ascend together with it to its previous level. This way, the lowest degree can ascend not only to the next Higher One, but also to the Highest Degree of the spiritual ladder.

THE LIGHT OF *ZON* IS THE LIGHT OF THE WORLDS *BYA*

Partzuf YESHSUT is *AHP* of *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, and all that it receives and passes to *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut* subsequently descends to the worlds of *BYA* and then to us.

In the small state (*Katnut*), *AHP* of *YESHSUT* falls into *ZON*. Then *YESHSUT* receives strength, and by elevating its *AHP*, it elevates *ZON*, too. By ascending to *YESHSUT*, *ZON* become similar to it and receive the Light at the level of *YESHSUT*. *ZON* can never receive the Light of *Hochma* in their own level; they can only receive the Light of *Hassadim*, the Light essential to their existence.

ZON of the world of *Atzilut* are called *Olam* (world), just as our world is also called *Olam*, for all that *ZON de Atzilut* receive can be received by man in this world. And vice versa—all that *ZON de Atzilut* cannot receive is unattainable to man, for we attain only up to the level of *ZON*, and not higher.

And since *ZON* cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* in their place, the Creator purposely initiated the second restriction, thereby lowering the *Sefirot* of *AHP* of *Partzuf YESHSUT* down to *ZON*, so that *ZON* would be able to ascend to *YESHSUT* and higher, up to the Highest Degree. Hence, it is said in the Torah (*Beresheet Barah*): "In the beginning the Creator created all in judgment (restriction), but after seeing that the world (*ZON*) cannot exist (receive all of the Light of *Hochma* prepared for it), added to judgment the property of mercy."

In the beginning, He elevated *Malchut* (the restriction of *YESHSUT*, for *Malchut* is restricted from receiving Light) to *Bina* (mercy of *YESHSUT*). As a result, *AHP* of *YESHSUT* fell into *ZON* and merged with them. However, the world (*ZON*) still cannot exist in this way. Hence, the Creator added mercy to judgment: He gave *YESHSUT* the strength to elevate its *AHP* together with *ZON* to the degree of *YESHSUT*. There, *ZON* receive the Light of *YESHSUT* and pass it down to all the worlds of *BYA* and to our world.

CORRECTION IN THREE LINES

Each of the ten *Sefirot* in turn consists of ten individual sub-*Sefirot*. *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* in each individual *Sefira*, i.e., to the full height of the ten *Sefirot*; in each particular *Sefira*, *Malchut* moves up from its place to the place of *Bina* in that *Sefira*:

(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - K
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - H
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - B
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - ZA
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - M

The sign | signifies a particular *Parsa* in a *Sefira*, the restriction imposed on the spreading of Light. *GE* that remain in each *Sefira* above the *Parsa* are called the **"right line,"** for there is Light in them. *Malchut* that ascends to *Bina* in each *Sefira* creates the **"left line"** with her restriction on the reception of Light. A *Zivug* made on the elevated *Malchut* (only on the free, unrestricted *Kelim KHB*) allows the Light of *Hassadim* to shine in *GE*, and this reception of the Light of *Hassadim* in *GE* is called the **"middle line."**

Now let us clarify what is written in *The Zohar*: There are ten *Sefirot*: *Keter* (*K*), *Hochma* (*H*), *Bina* (*B*), *Hesed* (*H*), *Gevura* (*G*), *Tifferet* (*T*), *Netzah* (*N*), *Hod* (*H*), *Yesod* (*Y*), and *Malchut* (M). However, there are actually only five of them: *Keter* (*K*), *Hochma* (*H*), *Bina* (*B*), *Tifferet* (*T*), and *Malchut* (M). This is because *Tifferet* (alternatively called *Zeir Anpin*—*ZA*) consists of six *Sefirot*, from *Hesed* to *Yesod*. Five *Sefirot KHB-ZA-M* created five *Partzufim* in each world. In the world of *Atzilut*, these *Partzufim* are *Arich Anpin* (*AA*), *Aba ve Ima* (*AVI*), and *Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva* (*ZON*). *Keter* is called *AA*; correspondingly, *Hochma* and *Bina* are called *AVI*; and *ZA* (*Tifferet*) and *Malchut* are called *ZON*.

The essence of the seven days of creation lies in *Partzufim ZA* and *Nukva* of the world of *Atzilut*, which consist of seven *Sefirot*: *HGT-NHYM*. And from the

description of creation it transpires how *AVI* (*Hochma* and *Bina*) beget *ZON* (all of creation, including us) and elevate them to their final state during the 6,000 years. This is what *The Book of Zohar* tells us.

Rabbi Hizkiyah began his explanation of *Nukva* of the world of *Atzilut* by clarifying the birth of *ZON* from *Ima* (*Bina*), called *Elokim*. That is why he began his explanation with a rose, *Nukva* of *ZA*. At the utmost completion of its development, *Nukva* of *ZA* is called *Knesset Israel*, the Assembly of Israel. For *Nukva* consists of all the souls called *Israel*; hence, it is said that a rose is *Knesset Israel.*

There are two states in a rose (*Malchut*). The lowest, initial, small state (*Katnut*) is when *Malchut* consists only of *Sefira Keter* filled with the Light *Nefesh*, while her other nine *Sefirot* are those that fell from the world of *Atzilut* to the world of *Beria*. The other state of *Nukva* is mature, big, complete (*Gadlut*), when her nine *Sefirot* ascend from the world of *Beria* back to the world of *Atzilut*, and complete the full ten *Sefirot* of her *Partzuf*. Then, being equal to her husband, *Malchut* ascends together with him to *AVI* and clothes them, i.e., receives their Light.

The clothing of the lower, outer *Partzuf* onto the Upper, Inner One means that the lower *Partzuf* attains a part of the Upper One, ascends to a Higher spiritual level, and becomes in some way similar to the Upper *Partzuf.*

In that state, *ZA* is called Israel, from the letters *LI* (to me) and *ROSH* (head), which signifies the state of *Gadlut*, while *Nukva* is called "the Assembly of Israel," for she accumulates all of the Light of her husband, *ZA*, and passes it to the lower ones—the souls in the worlds *BYA*.

Nukva's state of *Katnut* is called "a rose among thorns," for nine of her lower *Sefirot* in the *Katnut* state fell under the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*, thereby losing the Light of the world of *Atzilut*, and becoming as dry as thorns. And in her *Gadlut* state, *Nukva* is simply called "a rose" or "the Assembly of Israel." This is why it is written, "there is a rose, and there is a rose."

The color red designates the rose's connection with the outer, impure forces, which, because of this connection, can suck the strength (Light) from it. This is because nine of her *Sefirot* are in exile below the world of *Atzilut*, in the world of *Beria*, which may already contain impure forces. And the rose also has a color white in its *Sefira Keter*, for her *Sefira Keter* is in the world of *Atzilut*, above the *Parsa*, where there is no contact with the lower, impure forces. In other words, there are two opposite states: perfection and its absence, Light and darkness. They are felt by him who merits it.

It is therefore written that just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, so does the Assembly of Israel consist of judgment and mercy. This shows that in *Gadlut*, when *Malchut* is called *Knesset Israel*, even though she ascended to *Bina* and clothed her, she still retains the property of judgment, of restriction—an attitude that's tough and just, rather than compassionate. This is so because she needs a screen (a force of resistance to her egoistic desires), which, if available, enables *Malchut* to receive the Upper Light.

The law, judgment, or restriction does not allow for the reception of Light in egoistic desires. The screen, the aspiration to oppose one's egoistic desires, repels the Upper Light (pleasure) back to its source, the Creator. The Light that man sends back is called "Returning Light" or the "Light of Judgment." To the extent of the intensity of the reflective force (i.e., the force of resistance to one's will to receive), man is allowed to receive the ten *Sefirot* of the Upper Light (called the Direct Light or the Light of Mercy) for the Creator's sake, in precisely these altruistic desires. And that is why, even in its complete state, the Assembly of Israel consists of judgment and mercy, which corresponds to the red and white colors of a rose among thorns.

And this is the pool made by King Shlomo (Solomon). It is built on twelve bulls, for the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* that fell to the world of *Beria* were corrected there from twelve heads of bulls. One of their *Sefirot*, *Keter*, which remained in the world of *Atzilut*, is called the "pool" that is built on these bulls. Together, they are called thirteen rose petals. (The reason why the ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut* are divided by ten-*Hassadim* or thirteen-*Hochma* will be clarified later).

The Light of a complete *Nukva* is called *Hochma*, as it contains the Light of Wisdom, and originates from the thirteen names called "the thirteen attributes of mercy." However, the main thing that Rabbi Hizkiyah wants to tell us is that a rose among thorns is above the Assembly of Israel, because, as is well known, all that is present in *Nukva's* complete state must exist in her small state as well, albeit in diminished similarity.

Therefore, it is said that the properties of white and red in the small state correspond to the properties of mercy and judgment in the big state. And the thirteen petals of the small state, when corrected, create in *Nukva* the thirteen attributes of mercy in her big state. Later on, we will see how these thirteen attributes of *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* change her in both the small and big states.

It is written that, in the process of creation, "in the beginning *Elokim* (*Bina de Atzilut*) created" *Nukva* of ZA with thirteen words: *ET*, *SHAMAIM*, *VE'ET*,

ARETZ, *VEARETZ*, *HAITA*, *TOHU*, *VABOHU*, *VECHOSHECH*, *AL*, *PNEI*, *TEHOM*, *VERUACH* (from the word *Elokim* to the word *Elokim*). And these thirteen words signify the thirteen petals of a rose among thorns (her small state), like the pool built by the King Shlomo, which stands on thirteen (twelve) bulls (nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* without Light, as they are in the world of *Beria*, below the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*). These words are the preparation for the purification and correction of the Assembly of Israel in order to receive the thirteen attributes of mercy.

These thirteen attributes of mercy (the Light of a complete *Nukva*) surround her and shine upon her from all sides, and guard her from the touch of foreign (egoistic) desires. After all, until she is filled with all the Light of *Hochma* in her complete, big state, there's a potential for foreign, egoistic desires to cling to and feed off her.

2. Afterwards, the name *Elokim* is mentioned once more, "*Elokim* soars." Why is it mentioned in this sense? So as to bring out the five rigid leaves that surround the rose, which are called "salvation." And these are the five gates. And it is said of this secret, I will raise the "cup of salvation" (Psalms, 116:13). It is the cup of blessing. The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, just as a rose rests on five rigid leaves that correspond to the five fingers. And this rose is the cup of blessing, from the second to the third mention of the name *Elokim* (*Beresheet*, 1:2-3), there are five words: "soars," "over," "the surface," "of the waters," "and said"—in all, five words parallel the five leaves. And further, "The Creator said, 'Let there be Light'"—this Light was created. However, it was concealed and enclosed within that covenant that entered the rose and fructified it. And it is referred to as "A fructiferous tree, wherein is the seed thereof" (*Beresheet*, 1:12). And this seed exists in the mark of the covenant.

The five leaves are the five *Sefirot* of the Light reflected from *Malchut*, which she raises from the *Zivug de Hakaa.* The direct incoming Light is called five *Hassadim HGT-NH*, and it clothes into five parts (types of restrictions) of the Returning Light *HGT-NH*, called the five rigid leaves of a rose, which correspond to the text from the second (the spirit of God soared over the waters) to the third (and said) mention of the word *Elokim* in the Torah.

These words explain how the five rigid leaves (attributes) can be extracted from *Malchut* so that she will be fit for a *Zivug* and achieve the big state. And during the big state, when the five rigid leaves become five restrictions, they are defined as the five gates of reception of the Light of *Hassadim* of the Direct Light, and they are called salvation, and *Malchut* is called the cup of salvation or

the cup of blessing and good fortune, for, thanks to these leaves (restrictions), *Malchut* can receive the Light of *Hassadim*—a blessing.

The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, for *Malchut* can receive the Light of *Hochma* only if she is clothed in the Light of *Hassadim* beforehand. Therefore, first she has to make a blessing, which means to receive the five parts (*NRNHY*) of the Light of *Hassadim* with the help of five fingers (five restrictions), and only then to receive in them (i.e., in the corrected intentions) the Light of *Hochma*.

Hence, a cup of wine must be raised with two hands, as five fingers of the right hand symbolize mercy—*Hassadim*, and five fingers of the left hand symbolize restrictions. However, having started the blessing, the cup must only be held with the five fingers of the right hand (*Hassadim*, bestowing). Otherwise, the impure forces that take from the left (receiving) side become active, as such forces cling only to a place where there is reception of Light.

What follows is the big state of *Malchut*, which corresponds to the words of the Torah: "Let there be Light." These are the five lights, in which Adam saw the world from end to end, as it is written in the Talmud (*Hagigah*, 12). But the Creator saw that there would be transgressions in the generations of the Flood and the Tower of Babel, and concealed this Light. And the following generations will then need to attain it on their own.

Previously, these five *Hassadim* were in *Yesod* of ZA, and *Malchut* received from it, and not from *Bina*, called *Elokim*, as she does now. *Yesod de ZA* is called the mark of the covenant with the Creator (after the corrections, called circumcision, are made), and five *Hassadim* received on the five restrictions are called "seed." The main force of restrictions and the impact forces of the screen, with which it repels the Light, are in *Ateret Yesod* (the end of the *Sefira Yesod*). There occurs *Zivug de Hakaa*, from which *Malchut* receives the Light. Only at the end of correction will this *Zivug* pass on to *Malchut* herself.

Therefore, during the 6,000 years, the screen that is in *Yesod*, strikes at the incoming Light (pleasure) with its five restrictions (the forces that oppose egoistic reception of pleasure), thus creating five parts of the Returning Light, and receiving in them the five parts of the Light of *Hassadim*. Subsequently, ZA passes these five Lights of *Hassadim* from his *Yesod* to *Nukva*. And these five Lights of *Hassadim* are called "seed."

3. Just as the covenant is conceived from that seed in forty-two *Zivugim*, so the secret name fills and inseminates all forty-two letters of the initial act of creation.

The name "forty-two" = *MB* = *Mem* + *Bet* = 40 + 2 is composed of *HaVaYaH* (four letters), filled *HaVaYaH* (ten letters), and doubly filled *HaVaYaH* (twenty-eight letters). In all, 4 + 10 + 28 = 42, signifying the seed that exists in the mark of the covenant that is enclosed in five *Hassadim* and five *Gevurot*.

There are two aspects to *Nukva*: her body (*Partzuf*), which emerges from *Bina*, and her *Zivug*, called the secret of unity with ZA. *Nukva* can be in two states: small or big (*Katnut* or *Gadlut* respectively). The small state is an incomplete, insufficient state of *Malchut*, but it is necessary as preparation for the big state, called the revelation of the secret, of the concealed.

And since the big state reveals the small, and all that is concealed in the small state becomes clear in the big, he who is in a state of spiritual descent does not see the reasons for his state, but it all becomes clear to him when he attains the big state that follows.

As a result of the ascent of *Malchut* of *AVI* to their *Bina*, *Partzuf* of *Bina* (*AVI*) was divided into two parts: the upper part, *GE*, acquired the name *AVI*, while the lower part, *AHP*, became known as *YESHSUT*. *AVI* are filled with the Light of *Hassadim*, since they wish for no other, and *YESHSUT* receives it from them, for, although it desires the Light of *Hochma*, it cannot receive it in view of the fact that *Malchut* of *AVI* ascended above it.

However, although there is no Light of *Hochma* in *AVI*, they do not suffer without it whatsoever, and therefore exist in perfection called *GAR*, even in the absence of the Light of *Hochma*. And even when one raises *MAN* requesting strength (i.e., the Light of *Hochma*) so as to overcome his impure desires, *AVI* do not receive the Light of *Hochma*. *YESHSUT* receives this Light and passes it to ZA. Hence, although *AVI* are below the *Rosh* of AA, and there is no Light of *Hochma* in them, they do not suffer from it.

However, *YESHSUT* suffers from the absence of the Light of *Hochma*, wishing to pass it to ZA, so it waits for *MAN* from ZA in order to ascend to *AVI* in the form of *Sefira Daat*. For when the lower ones raise *MAN*, the whole of *Bina* ascends to the *Rosh* of AA; *YESHSUT* receives the Light of *Hochma* from AA and passes it to ZON. This corresponds to the disappearance of the letter *Yod* from the word *Avir* (air), and *Avir* turns into *Ohr*—Light (*Hochma*) once more.

However, for all that, even in the *Rosh* of AA, *AVI* remain only with the Light of *Hassadim* (air). Hence, the heads of both AA and *AVI* are called "Supreme Waters" or "Heaven." This is considering the fact that *AVI* can be beneath the *Rosh* of AA; however, since it does not affect their independence and perfection, it is as if they are in the *Rosh* of AA.

Under *AVI* there is a firmament (*Parsa*) of the world of *Atzilut*, which separates the *Kelim* of bestowal from the *Kelim* of reception of the world of *Atzilut*. *YESHSUT* and *ZON* (inferior waters) that need the Light of *Hochma* stand below the *Parsa*, which is in the chest of *AA*. It is therefore said that the inferior waters weep (i.e., their state is small), for they feel the lack of *Ohr Hochma* and wish to ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA*. In no way should one confuse the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* (located within the world of *Atzilut*) that divides it into *GE* and *AHP* with the *Parsa* below the world *Atzilut* that separates it from the worlds of *BYA*.

The Light that is received above the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* is called the Light of *Mem-Bet* (*MB*). However, the seven *Sefirot* of *ZON* (six *Sefirot* of *ZA* and one *Sefira* of *Malchut*) that designate the seven days of creation cannot receive this Light of *MB*, as they are located below the *Parsa* and receive only the Light of *Hassadim* (minimal sustenance) from *YESHSUT*.

However, when the lower ones (man) raise *MAN*, and *MAD* descends from *AB-SAG* (the Light that brings *Bina* back to the *Rosh* of *AA*), *YESHSUT* receives the Light of *Hochma* and passes it to *ZON*, allowing *ZON* to ascend above the *Parsa* that stands in the *Chazeh* (chest) of *AA*, and receive the Light of *MB*.

That is why the Light of *MB* in *ZON* is manifested in thirty-two *Elokim* and ten sayings, where thirty-two *Elokim* represent *YESHSUT* in the state of ascent, when *YESHSUT* receives thirty-two streams of wisdom (*Hochma*) that create in it the thirty-two names of *Elokim*, mentioned in the act of creation: "In the beginning the Creator created," and so on.

The ten sayings are five *Hassadim*. After *ZON* have already received the Light of *Hochma* from thirty-two *Elokim*, the five Lights of *Hassadim* that were received from *AVI* (signifying *MB*) are called "Supreme Waters." We see that the five *Hassadim* in *ZON* do not turn into the name *MB* before they receive from thirty-two *Elokim*. It is therefore said that thirty-two *Elokim* and ten sayings form the name *MB*, i.e., in the state of ascent.

Hence, Rabbi Hizkiyah said that the five Lights in the saying "Let there be Light" (signifying the five *Hassadim*) are called "seed" (abundance), which *Yesod* of *ZA* passes to *Malchut*. And it is called *MB*, although essentially it is merely five *Hassadim*; however, since it has the Light of *Hochma* that was received from thirty-two *Elokim* of *YESHSUT*, it refers to *MB*.

Flower Buds

4. In the Beginning, Rabbi Shimon opened, "The flower buds have appeared on the earth" (In Hebrew the words "land" and "earth" are designated by the same word, *Eretz*; Song of Songs, 2:12). "The flower buds" refer to the act of creation; "appeared on the earth." When? On the third day, as it is said, "And the earth brought forth grass" (*Beresheet*, 1:12). "The time of singing has come" refers to the fourth day, the time of strictness, judgment, restriction. Therefore, on the fourth day, the word "lights" is written with a missing letter, which hints at the strictness of judgment and a curse. "And the voice of the turtle dove is heard" refers to the fifth day, on which it is said, "Let the waters swarm," so that they can produce offspring. However, the words "is heard" already refer to the sixth day, on which it is said, "Let us make man," who, in the future, shall put action before understanding (we shall do and we shall hear, *Naaseh ve Nishmah*). For here it is said, "Let us make man," and there it is said, "We shall do and we shall hear." "In our land" refers to the day of *Shabbat*, which is like the Land of Life, the world to come.

It is completely incomprehensible to us how *The Zohar* compares the words from *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs, 2:12) with what is written in the Torah about the first days of creation. The six days of creation symbolize the six *Sefirot HGT-NHY* of ZA, onto which all ten *Sefirot* of *Nukva* are built. This is because *Nukva* is only the will to receive (pleasure), while her entire spiritual body (desires of bestowal) consists of her husband's *Sefirot*, ZA, the altruistic properties that ZA passes to *Nukva*.

Nukva herself (the created desire to receive pleasure) is an empty place unfilled with Light (the Creator). This is because the Light can only enter a desire (*Kli*) with similar properties to itself. Therefore, to the extent of her similarity to ZA, the properties that *Malchut* receives from ZA, those corrected properties of *Malchut* turn into a *Partzuf* and become filled with the Light that corresponds to their correction.

Thus, the greater the correction that is made in a particular part, the greater the Light (of the five Lights *NRNHY*) that enters that part. The corrected and fulfilled part of *Malchut* is referred to as a "world." Here and henceforth, *The Zohar* explains how *Nukva* is built out of ZA, i.e., how the world is created.

Nukva is called "earth." Flower buds are *Sefirot*—the properties of ZA that appear and grow within *Malchut* on the third day of creation, which corresponds to *Sefira Tifferet* (*Hesed*-1, *Gevura*-2, *Tifferet*-3). In the beginning, *Malchut* was created as ZA in height; two equally great celestial bodies, the Sun—ZA and the Moon—*Malchut*. This is why we see them as being equal in size when the Moon is full. After all, all that is said with regard to man. In the initial state following her creation, *Malchut* is a point at the feet of ZA, and subsequently grows along him.

That is to say, on the third day of creation, *Malchut* was equal in height (had the same properties) to *Tifferet* of ZA. However, *Malchut* was not able to receive the Light in such a state. Hence, it is said, STRICTNESS (judgment) APPEARED ON THE EARTH (in *Malchut*); the flower buds merely appeared.

And after that, THE TIME OF SINGING HAS COME already refers to the fourth day of creation, when *Malchut* was diminished, because she complained to the Creator: "Two angels cannot wear one crown"—if *Malchut* is equal to ZA in height, she cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* from him.

The reason for that being—not having received the Light of *Hassadim* from ZA beforehand, *Malchut* cannot receive the Light of *Hochma*, as the Light of *Hochma* can only be received within the Light of *Hassadim*, by clothing the Light of *Hochma* (pleasure) into the Light of *Hassadim* (the intention to enjoy "for the Creator's sake").

And the Creator answered *Malchut*: "Go and diminish yourself." In other words: if, owing to your egoistic properties, you cannot receive the Light independently, but only from ZA, then diminish your own properties, accept His, and gradually correct yourself. Then you will be able to receive all of the Light and be like Him (ZA—the Creator). All of this is described in the Talmud (*Hullin*, 60:2), but only with the explanation provided in *The Zohar* do we stop perceiving it as a fairytale.

Then *Malchut* descended below *Yesod* of ZA, and her nine lower *Sefirot* fell below *Parsa* into the worlds of BYA. And only her *Sefira Keter* remained in *Atzilut* as a point standing below *Yesod* of ZA. And from here on, *Malchut* is built not of her own *Sefirot* (properties) that exist in BYA, but of *Sefirot* (properties) *Netzah* and *Hod* of ZA.

Although *Malchut* was previously bigger, she was not able to receive the Light for lack of the Light of *Hassadim*; now she will be smaller, but she will have the Light of *Hassadim*, in which she will be able to receive the Light of *Hochma*. Even though *Malchut* will be at a lower degree, she will be able to utilize it, for the Light of *Hassadim* repels the impure forces that cling to *Nukva*. That is the meaning of the word *Zamir* (singing/pruning). However, there is another meaning to this word that is at use here—cutting off, or pruning the impure forces from *Malchut* (rose bud).

THE VOICE OF THE TURTLE DOVE: The turtle dove is a *Sefira*, the property of *Netzah de ZA*, and the voice of the turtle dove represents *Sefira Hod* of *ZA*, the fifth day of creation. And since *Malchut* receives from *Yesod* (which receives from *Hod* that is joined with *Netzah*), such reception by *Malchut* is referred to as "the voice of the turtle dove."

Therefore, the words "is heard" refer to the sixth day, since the voice of the turtle dove (*Malchut*) is heard only with the help of the sixth day, *Yesod* of *ZA*, which includes both *Netzah* and *Hod*, and passes their Light to *Malchut*. Hence, it is said that this voice is heard in *Malchut* only from *Yesod*, on the sixth day.

The reason for this is that *Malchut* can receive the Light only from the middle line of *ZA*: either from *Yesod* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *NHY*, *Ibur* – embryo) or from *Tifferet* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *HGT* = *VAK*, *Yenika* – nursing or *Katnut* – smallness) or from *Daat* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *HBD* = *GAR*, *Mochin* – brain or *Gadlut* – big).

LINES Left Middle Right	NAME OF DEGREE	THE LIGHT IN THE DEGREE
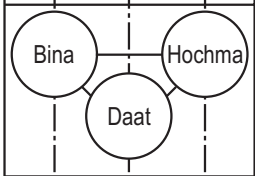	HBD (*HaBaD*)	The Light of Neshama = The light of HBD
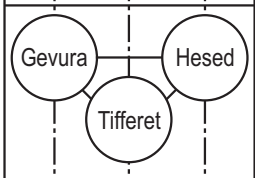	HGT (*HaGaT*)	The Light of Ruach = The light of HGT
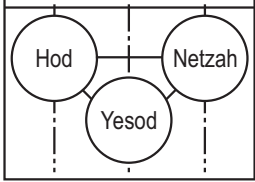	NHY (*NeHY*)	The Light of Nefesh = The light of NHY

LET US MAKE MAN, FOR IN THE FUTURE HE SHALL PUT ACTION BEFORE LISTENING: sight refers to *Sefira Hochma*, hearing refers to *Sefira Bina*. Action or deed is a property of *Malchut*. In order to correct *Malchut*, the Creator's only creation (other *Sefirot* are properties of the Creator Himself, with which He gradually created *Malchut*), a second restriction was made—*Malchut* ascended to *Bina* so as to combine her egoistic properties of reception with *Bina*'s altruistic properties of bestowal; *Malchut* ascended to *Aba-Hochma*, and *Ima-Bina* found herself below *Malchut* (*Parsa*), where she became similar in her properties to *Malchut*.

Eyes refer to *Sefira Hochma* or *Aba*. *Malchut* ascended to the level of eyes and stands at the level of pupils. *Malchut* is called *Nukva*; and *Malchut* that stands at the level of eyes is called *Nikvey Eynaim* (pupils) or *NE*. That is why there are only *Keter* and *Hochma* in the *Rosh* (head) of *AA*: *Bina* fell from the *Rosh* to the *Guf* (body) and *Malchut* is above *Bina*, that is, *Malchut* represents an action that is Above, i.e., precedes perception and understanding. This is what is meant by "we will do, and we will hear"—the act of the second restriction, limiting reception only to *GE*. Such a state is called the "return" (in one's properties to the Creator). The "complete return" occurs when *AHP* of *Malchut* gets corrected and joins *GE* at this degree.

As a result of *Malchut*'s ascent to *NE*, she changes her properties (every one of us needs only this—to ascend to the level of the Creator's properties, so that we can receive them and become like Him), and is now ready to ascend to *AVI* and receive the Light of *Haya*. The constant Light of this level is called the First Temple. That is why when receiving the Torah, Israel elected to act first and hear after. And for this reason they merited reception of the Torah (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 85:1), as the action (*Malchut*) ascended and clothed *AVI*, and thus the secret of the fifty gates of *Bina* was revealed.

Construction of the Temple does not pertain to it being built in this world, but rather to the attainment of the degree of the Temple, the degree of *AVI de Atzilut*, the Light of *Haya* (the First Temple) or the degree of *YESHSUT de Atzilut*, the Light of *Neshama* (the Second Temple).

Here *The Zohar* tells us: "it is heard" on the sixth day, for on this day (in this state) *Malchut* was corrected by means of her ascent above *Bina*, referred to as "placing action before listening," to do and to hear as during the reception of the Torah. *Malchut* in the state of ascension to *Bina* is called the Eternal Land or the Land of Life, for she inherits life from *Bina*.

"IN OUR LAND" REFERS TO *SHABBAT*, WHICH IS LIKE THE ETERNAL LAND OF LIFE: *Ima-Bina* is called the Land of Life or the Eternal Land. As a result of the act on the sixth day, meaning the Creator's action from Above (the factor of time is designated by an action of the Creator Himself, which has no causes in our world), *Malchut* ascended to *Ima* on the seventh day of creation (*Shabbat*) and became like *Ima*, for when the lower one ascends to the degree of the Upper One, they become equal (in properties). Hence, upon ascending to *Bina* and there receiving the Light of *Haya*, *Malchut* is called the Land of Eternal Life.

5. Another explanation: flower buds are the Patriarchs, who entered the mind and entered into the world to come, *Bina*, where they remain concealed. From there they emerge in concealment and conceal themselves in the true prophets. Yosef was born and they concealed themselves within him. When Yosef entered the Holy Land, he erected them there, and then "they appeared on the earth" and were revealed there. When did they appear? When a rainbow can be seen, they become revealed. At that moment, "the time of singing has come," meaning the time to eradicate all the wicked in the world. Why did they survive? Because the flower buds have appeared on (from) the earth. And if they were to be seen beforehand, they could not have remained in the world, and the world would not have been able to exist.

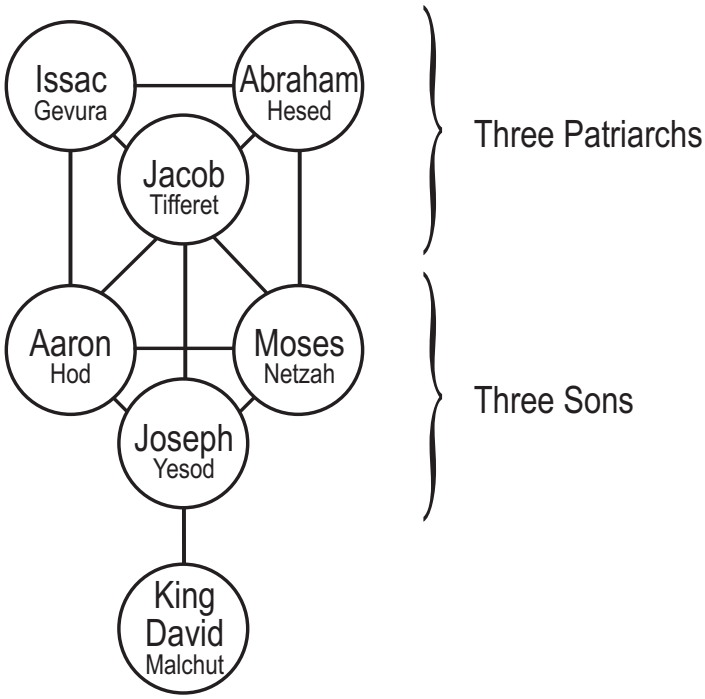

Here *The Zohar* explains the attainment of the Light of *Haya* by *ZA*. *NHY* of *ZA* are called "sons" and *HGT* of *ZA* are called "patriarchs," as well as the "turtle dove." *ZA* himself (seemingly) consists of two parts: above his *Chazeh*, his *Sefirot HGT* are called the big *ZON*; below his *Chazeh*, *Sefirot NHY* are called the small *ZON*. *Sefirot HGT* correspond to Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov, while *NHY* correspond to Moshe, Aaron and Yosef. *Malchut* corresponds to King David.

Sefirot NHY are called "prophets," and *Yesod* is called "the righteous one." Here *The Zohar* speaks of the buds that gradually grow from the small state to the big state of *ZON*: first *ZON* were small, consisting of *Sefirot NHY* with the Light of *Nefesh* and called *Ubar* (embryo). Then, with the help of *Yenika* (nursing), i.e., receiving Light from *Ima*, *ZON* grew. Accordingly, the properties of *Sefirot NHY* grew to equalize those of *Sefirot HGT*, and *Sefirot NHY* received the Light of *Ruach*.

Thus, the *Partzuf* now consists of parts of *HGT* and *NHY* with the Lights *Ruach* and *Nefesh*. Subsequently, by further reception of strength from the Upper One, and further growth, they've attained the state of *Gadlut Aleph*, the first big state. Accordingly, *Sefirot HGT* became *HBD* with the Light of *Neshama*, *Sefirot NHY* became *Sefirot HGT*, and received new *Sefirot NHY*.

Thus, the *Partzuf* grew to include three parts: *HBD*, *HGT*, and *NHY* with the Lights *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, and *Neshama*. And it is called *Gadol* (big—the first big state). Then, through further growth, they've attainted the state of maturity (*Gadlut Bet*, the second big state), and the Light of *Haya* entered *Sefirot HBD*.

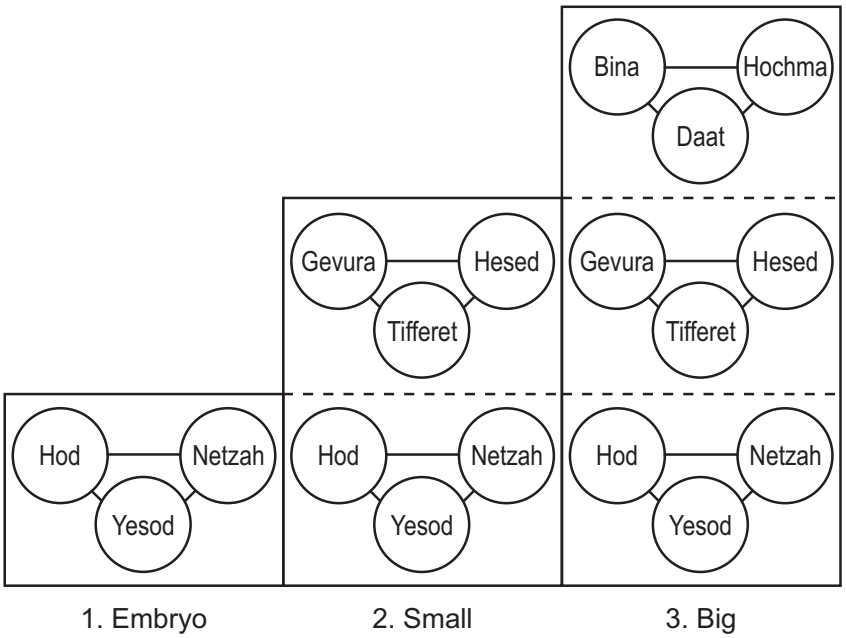

The word "growth" refers to the growth of a screen, of man's inner anti-egoistic forces and desires. This is the only difference between a big vessel and a small one, the only difference between the *Partzufim*. Their inner properties change depending on the change in the magnitude of the screen.

THESE FATHERS ENTERED THE SUPERNAL MIND AND ASCENDED INTO THE WORLD TO COME: this sentence speaks of the prenatal development of *ZA*, when he ascends to *AVI* (called "Supernal Mind" or "Supernal Thought"). *Aba-Hochma* is called "mind" or "thought," and *Ima-Bina* is called "the world to come." And together they are called "parents"—father and mother, *AVI*. It is there that creation begins—conception of *ZA* in the initial state of a spiritual embryo.

Just as an embryo in our world is completely dependent on the mother, having absolutely no desires or life of its own, and developing only thanks to her, so can every man become a spiritual embryo; if he completely relinquishes all of his desires and actions, and submits entirely to the will of the Upper *Partzuf*, he will turn himself into a spiritual embryo, just like a physiological one. The difference between a physiological embryo and a spiritual one lies in the fact that becoming a spiritual embryo requires tremendous personal desire and effort, whereas the conception of a physiological embryo depends on the parents.

As a result of its prenatal development within *Bina* (which means that one completely extinguishes all of his personal desires and thoughts, and, like an embryo, is ready to accept all that the mother gives: all of her thoughts and properties, regardless of how incomprehensible or unnatural they may seem to his essence), this embryo achieves the state of its spiritual birth.

However, this is a state of an even greater concealment of the Upper Light with regard to the embryo, for it does not yet have a screen for the reception of this Light. Hence, this state is called *Katnut*, CONCEALED IN THE TRUE PROPHETS, i.e., in *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod*, which *ZA* attains as a result of the process of nursing, reception of milk, the Light of *Hassadim* from *Ima* (mother) *Bina*.

The Light of nursing comes to the *NHY* of *ZA*, and *ZA* attains *VAK* (Light of *Nefesh-Ruach*), the state of *Katnut*. During nursing, *ZA* attains the *Sefira Yesod*, which is why it is said that Yosef is born. After the nursing period is over, *ZA* ascends to *AVI* so as to receive from them the Light of *Neshama*, and this constitutes the state of *Gadlut*, called "Yosef."

ZA consists of three parts: *HBD*, *HGT*, and *NHY*. The process of *Zeir Anpin's* growth, of acquiring a screen on his desires, begins with the purest, least egoistic part—*Sefirot HBD*, in which he first receives the Light of *Nefesh*.

Afterwards, *ZA* acquires a screen on coarser egoistic desires—*Sefirot HGT*; the Light of *Nefesh* passes from *HBD* to *HGT*, and the Light of *Ruach* enters the empty *HBD*.

Finally, *ZA* acquires a screen on the most egoistic *Kelim*—*Sefirot NHY*; the Light of *Nefesh* passes from *HGT* to *NHY*, the Light of *Ruach* moves from *HBD* to the empty *HGT*, and the Light of *Neshama* enters the empty *HBD*.

The attainment of the big state by *ZA* is called the birth of Yosef, for there emerge *Sefirot NHY*, of which the last *Sefira*, *Yesod*, is called "Yosef." However, since the Light of *Haya* is not yet present, this state is called "concealment." WHEN YOSEF ENTERED THE HOLY LAND AND ERECTED THEM THERE: that is, after the attainment of the first big state, the reception of the Light of *Neshama*, *ZA* continues to grow, cultivating his screen until the Light of *Haya* enters it.

In such a state, *Malchut* of *ZA* separates from him into an independent *Partzuf*, called THE HOLY LAND, as the Light of *Haya* is called holiness. It is therefore said that Yosef entered or, rather, ASCENDED TO THE HOLY LAND in the *Gadlut* state of *ZA*. *ZA* and *Nukva* became equally big in the state of *PBP* (*Panim be Panim*, face to face), which is the state that determines the *Zivug* between *ZON*.

AND YOSEF ERECTED THEM THERE: the Light of *Haya* or *Hochma* fills the *Partzuf* only during a *Zivug*, when *ZON* (*ZA* and *Nukva*) make a *Zivug* together. And this Light remains in *Malchut*, for only she (her screen) can reveal it. Just as *AVI* are *GAR de Bina*, *YESHSUT* is *ZAT de Bina* and the Light of *Hochma* is found only in *YESHSUT*, the relationship between *Malchut* and *ZA* works along the same principle, and the Light of *Hochma* is revealed only in *Malchut*. Therefore, only when the Light of *Hochma* fills *Nukva* can it be said that the Light has been revealed, and until that happens, it is considered to be concealed.

WHEN ARE THEY SEEN? WHEN A RAINBOW CAN BE SEEN IN THE WORLD: *ZA* is called a "rainbow," the world is *Malchut*, and their union is called a "rainbow within a cloud." THE TIME HAS COME TO ERADICATE ALL THE WICKED FROM THE WORLD—as the number of the wicked grows, as more impure forces cling to *ZON*. The impure forces can influence *ZON* so greatly that the entire world will be brought to ruin, as has happened in the

time of the Flood. If so, there is no salvation for man other than through the revelation of the Upper Light, the Light of *Haya*. That is why *The Zohar* tells us that the world is saved by the flower buds appearing from the earth, meaning that the Light of *Haya* eradicates man's impure forces from the earth (his desires, *Malchut*), and they cannot cling to her and hinder man.

AND HAD THEY NOT APPEARED, THERE WOULD BE NO SALVATION FOR THE WORLD—for initially *Nukva* is built as big as ZA. This is called the "two great celestial bodies," when *Malchut* is on the same degree as ZA, but stands behind him, back to back, unable to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the absence of the Light of *Hassadim*. This is why *Malchut* complains about lacking the Light of *Hassadim* and thus not being able to receive the Light of *Hochma*.

Even though the moon grows as big as the Sun, it cannot shine independently, but only if the Sun (ZA) gives it Light. And since *Malchut* lacks the Light of *Hochma*, such a state is called reversed (*Achor*-back). And a *Zivug* cannot take place in the position of back-to-back (*Achor be Achor*).

However, after *Nukva* is born and grows (receives the properties) from the *Guf* of ZA, as it is written in the Torah (*Beresheet* 2) that Chava (Eve) was born from the body of Adam, she becomes equal to ZA and enters into a *Zivug* face-to-face (*Panim be Panim*, *PBP)* with him.

Also, *Nukva* still retained the previous Light. Moreover, precisely because she felt the lack of the Light in her initial state, *Malchut* received the Light of *Haya* specifically into her previous sufferings. Similarly, man can feel pleasure only and precisely because of his previous suffering.

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us that had the flower buds not appeared in *Malchut* during her *Katnut*, when she was standing behind ZA, she would not have been able to receive the Light of *Haya* in her state of *Gadlut*, as she would not have the *Kelim* (desires) to receive this Light. Every new creation is founded on the sensation of darkness, as it is said: the Creator emanates the Light out of Himself, and creates darkness out of nothingness. Man's sensation of darkness signifies his readiness to receive the Light.

6. Who sustains the world and evokes the revelation of the Patriarchs? It is the voice of the children engaged in the Torah. The world exists thanks to these children. Hence, it is said: "We will make for you pendants of gold" (*Shir HaShirim*, 1:11). These are the children, youngsters of the world, as it is said: "Make two cherubs of gold" (*Shemot*, *25:18*).

The Light of *Ruach* is called "the children of the world," and the *Zivug* in this state (*PBA*—face to back) is referred to as THE VOICE OF THE CHILDREN ENGAGED IN THE TORAH. And it is also called "threads of gold" and "two cherubs of gold." Before *Nukva* grew, the impure forces had the power to destroy the world. However, precisely because *Nukva* grows from *ZA*, the right and left lines merge in her as one, the RAINBOW (right line) shines WITHIN A CLOUD (left line), and the Light of *Haya* can enter *Malchut*. Without this Light, the world can be destroyed as during (in the state of) the Flood.

SO WHO IS IT THAT SUSTAINS THE WORLD: who causes the appearance of the Light of *Haya*? They are precisely the children engaged in the Torah. The "children" designate the Light of the opposite side, the Light of *Ruach*, the sensation of deficiency of the Light of *Haya*, for a "child" alludes to the process of nursing. The children of the house of *Raban* (*Tinokot Shel Beit Raban*)—are the Light of *Haya*, as the word "*Raban*" derives from "*Rav*" (big, *Haya*). They did not transgress, i.e., did not use their *AHP* (egoistic and yet uncorrected desires, for the word "children" designates the small state), their will to receive.

Who Created These

7. In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes and you shall see, WHO HAS CREATED THESE" (*Yeshayahu*, 40:26). Raise your eyes where? To the place on which all eyes depend. Who is He? He is the One who opens eyes, *Malchut de Rosh de Arich Anpin*. And there you shall see that *Atik* is concealed and within it lies the answer to the question: WHO HAS CREATED THESE? WHO? *MI*, *ZAT de Bina*, the Highest Edge of Heaven, and everything depends on Him. And since the question lies in Him, and He is concealed, He is called *MI*. For *MI* is like when the question "Who?" is asked, as there are no questions above Him. The question is found only at the Highest Boundary of Heaven.

In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes on high and look at who has created these." Raise your eyes to what place? To the place, where all eyes depend on Him. And who is He? He is the One who opens eyes. And there you shall know. It is the concealed *Atik*, within which lies the question: who has created these? And who is He? *MI* = who. He is called by the edge of the Supernal Heaven, where everything belongs to him. Since there lies a question, and He is on a concealed path and does not reveal Himself, He is called *MI*. And because there is no question Above, this edge of Heaven is called *MI*.

In Hebrew, the word *MI* means the question "Who?" as well as the preposition "from." Since Kabbalah tells us about the property of our world's roots, one spiritual object can sometimes reveal an entire range of associations, properties, and categories. In the same way, here the word *MI* is a part of the word *ElokIM*, where the last two letters form the word *MI*. However, at the same time, they carry a variety of additional charges and meanings.

Rabbi Elazar wishes to explain how Heaven and earth were created. Naturally, just like the whole of the Torah, *The Zohar* refers only to spiritual degrees and categories, and does not deal with explanations of the physical

origin and development of our world. Moreover, it is impossible to understand the true origin and development of our world without attaining the spiritual world. However, whatever one does attain, he is unable to pass these attainments to others. Hence, even after he attains the full essence of our nature's origin and its actions, he will still be unable to describe it in a form that will be comprehensible to others.

Heaven and earth constitute the seven days of Creation—*ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*. However, if it is a part of *Atzilut*, then why is it described as *BARAH* (created, from the word *Beria*) and not *ATZIL* (emanated, from the word *Atzilut*)? Yet, precisely herein lies the opportunity to open our eyes to the process of creation.

Rosh (head) *de AA* has only *Keter* and *Hochma*. *Malchut* standing below the eyes, below *Sefira Hochma*, is called "the opening of the eyes." After all, only when she opens up does the Light of *Hochma* pass through her from *Rosh de AA* to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*.

It is therefore said that the eyes should be raised up TO THE PLACE ON WHICH ALL EYES DEPEND, for the Light of *Hochma* can fill all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* only when *Malchut* opens up in *Rosh de AA*. Hence, the entire secret of the opening lies in *Malchut*. The Light of *Hochma* (the Light of Wisdom) is the Light of the eyes. It comes out of the eyes, and only in this Light can one see.

The word *BARAH* signifies *BAR* (beyond), meaning outside the world of *Atzilut*. This is because *Bina* herself came out of the *Rosh* of *AA* and stood lower, outside the *Rosh* of *AA*, giving birth to, that is, precisely *BARAH* (creating) *ZON*.

In Hebrew, every notion has several possible names that determine the specific action that takes place. Here, the birth of *ZON* occurred by means of *Bina*'s exit and descent from her degree; hence, the birth of *ZON* is called *BARAH*, from the word *BAR* – outside (of one's degree).

The entire creation consists of only ten *Sefirot*. Yet, since every *Sefira* includes all the others, and since all of them are interconnected, every world, degree, or *Sefira* includes the properties of all the others, and consists of their parts. Therefore, every *Sefira* consists of *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*, each of which in turn consists of five. In all, 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 *Sefirot* or steps of the ladder that separate us (the lowest) from the Creator (the highest).

The property of *Bina* herself is not to receive the Light of *Hochma*. Yet, in order to pass the Light of *Hochma* to *ZA* and *Malchut*, who desire to receive it for

the Creator's sake, since receiving the Light of *Hochma* is the goal of creation, *Bina* allocates within herself a certain part called *ZAT de Bina* or *YESHSUT*, which receives the Light of *Hochma* from *Partzuf Hochma* and passes it to *ZON*. The main part, *Bina* herself, is called *GAR de Bina*. The part of *Bina* that receives the Light of *Hochma* is called *ZAT de Bina*.

Therefore, if *Bina* exits the *Rosh* and falls into the *Guf*, as it occurs in the second restriction, this has no effect on *Bina* herself, for she does not suffer from lack of the Light of *Hochma* whatsoever, as though she had never left the *Rosh*. This refers only to the Upper part of *Bina*, *GAR de Bina*, which has no desire for *Hochma*. This part is called *AVI*, and it spans from the *Peh* (mouth) down to the *Chazeh* (chest) of *AA*.

However, *ZAT de Bina*, which wants to receive *Hochma* for *ZON*, just as a mother who wants to receive for her children, feels the exit from the *Rosh* of *AA* to its *Guf*, for there it cannot receive the Light of *Hochma*, but only the Light of *Ruach-Nefesh*, *VAK* of the Light. This part of *Bina* is called *YESHSUT*, and it spans from the *Chazeh* down to *Tabur* of *AA*.

ZON of the world of *Atzilut*, which receive from *YESHSUT*, span from *Tabur* to the end of the feet of *AA*, on the *Parsa*. Thus, there are two *Parsaot* (plural for *Parsa*): one is in the world of *Atzilut*, separating the *Sefirot* of "bestowal" (*GE*) from the *Sefirot* of "reception" (*AHP*). This *Parsa* is located at the chest of *AA*. The second *Parsa* is located between *Atzilut* and *BYA*. However, we can also say that every *Partzuf* has its own *Parsa*, which separates the desires of bestowal from the desires of reception.

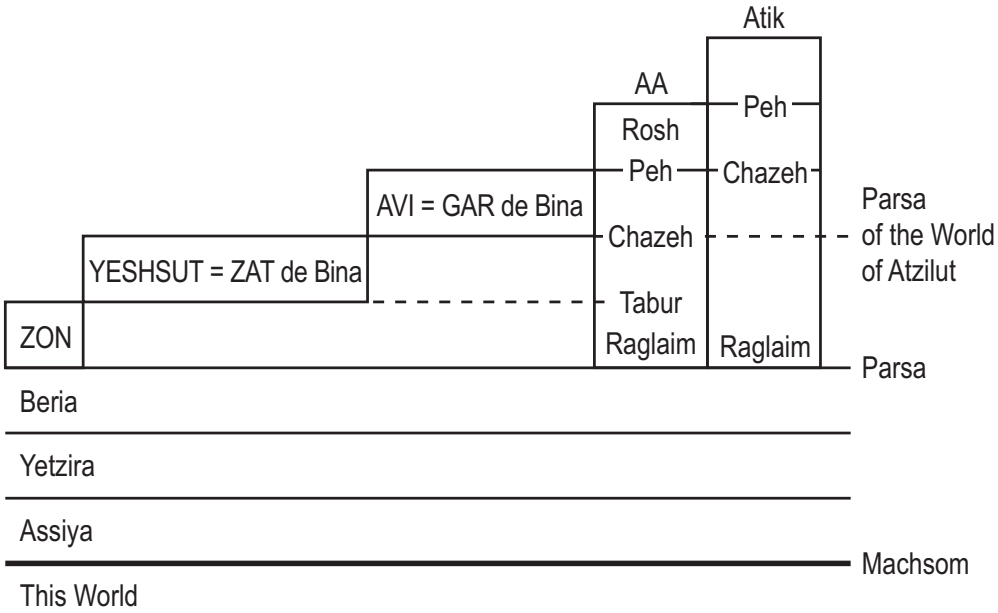

Although *GAR de Bina* are positioned below the *Rosh* of *AA*, they are considered not to have left it, as they do not feel it, that is, they do not want *Hochma*; they wish only to bestow, and he who wants only to bestow feels perfection wherever he is. All the *Partzufim* and their parts that have nothing to do with reception of *Hochma* (*Keter, Hochma,* and *GAR de Bina*) separate themselves with a *Parsa* from the remaining parts of the world of *Atzilut* that want *Hochma* (*ZAT de Bina* and *ZON*).

The "existence of the question" that *The Zohar* speaks of signifies the sensation of the lack of Light of *Hochma*, the desire for it. This is felt by *ZON*, which is why they raise *MAN*. *MAN* is a request of the lower one to receive the Light of *Hochma* from the Upper One for the Creator's sake. It is called a "question," for a question is similar to prayer or request. *The Zohar* tells us that the question exists only in *YESHSUT*, meaning that it receives *MAN* from below, from *ZON*.

And before that, it is said of *YESHSUT*: *BARAH* (from the word *Beria* = *BAR*), something that exists outside of its degree. What did it do? *BARAH* (created) *ELEH* (*AHP*, *ZON*). However, it created them as headless as itself. For the word *BARAH* (beyond) indicates the lack of a *Rosh* (*Kelim* of the world of *Atzilut*).

ZAT de Bina that wait for an "answer to their question," for the Light of *Hochma*, are called *MI*. It is said *BARAH* in regards to them because they exited and descended independently from the level of the *Rosh de AA* to below its *Chazeh*. These are *ZAT de Bina*, called *YESHSUT* or *MI*, the "Highest Edge of Heaven," for Heaven refers to *ZA*, who receives from *YESHSUT*. *Malchut* is called "earth."

ZAT de Bina is called "firmament."

ZA is called "Heaven."

Malchut is called "earth."

All that exists below *YESHSUT* (*ZON* and the worlds of *BYA*) receives from it. Hence, it is considered that *YESHSUT* revives the whole of creation: whatever it has, they will receive it, too. However, their *MAN* determines whether or not *YESHSUT* will have something to bestow upon them.

THERE LIES NO QUESTION in *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*). They do not receive *MAN* for the reception of *Hochma*, and they never feel any lack of *Hochma*, neither for themselves nor so as to give to others. Only *ZAT de Bina* or *YESHSUT* are created and exist for the question, for the reception of *MAN* (*ZON's* plea). *YESHSUT* raises *MAN* that is received from *ZON* to the *Rosh* of *AA* and receives

the Light of *Hochma* from there. *YESHSUT* is called the "Highest Edge of Heaven," for *ZA*, called "Heaven," receives from it.

8. But there is another one below, called MA. What is in common between this one and that one? The first one is concealed and is called MI. There exists a question in it for man to inquire and research in order to see and know all the degrees, down to the end of all degrees, which is *Malchut*. That is MA. What does MA mean? MA (what) do you know? What do you see? What do you research? After all, everything is initially concealed.

Being in a state of *Zivug PBP* with *ZA*, *Malchut* is also called *MA* (like *ZA*) and is considered the lowest edge of Heaven, for she concludes all the degrees and *Atzilut*. *ZA*, called "Heaven," stands between *Malchut* (lowest edge of Heaven) and *YESHSUT* (Highest Edge of Heaven).

MAN MUST INQUIRE, SEE, RESEARCH—only if one who is below *ZON* raises *MAN* (his prayer) to *ZON* will they raise this *MAN* higher. For *ZON* themselves are corrected by the Light of *Hassadim*, and do not want to receive the Light of *Hochma*. And only if a request comes from below, from man, will *ZON* ascend to *YESHSUT* and ask for the Light of *Hochma*. *YESHSUT* proceeds to raise *MAN* to *AVI*, and *AVI* raise *MAN* to *AA*: *AVI* ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA*, where there is the Light of *Hochma*, where they make a *Zivug* on this Light.

A *Zivug* of *AVI* is called "*Aba* and *Ima* looking at each other." To "look" means to receive the Light of *Hochma* (to "hear" means to receive the Light of *Hassadim*). As a result of *AVI's* ascent to the *Rosh* of *AA*, *Bina* starts receiving *Hochma* for *ZON*. All the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* are corrected by the Light of *Hassadim* in such a way that they do not want to receive the Light of *Hochma* for themselves.

He who is able to raise his request (*MAN*) to compel *ZON* to ascend to *YESHSUT*, whereupon *YESHSUT* and *AVI* will ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA* together so as to receive the Light for him—such a person is not simply considered a mere "person," but a "righteous"!

The request that one raises to *ZON* is called one's "soul," for a soul is a vessel, a desire filled with Light. However, the Light inside a vessel is determined by the desire. Hence, the spiritual desire, the intention to act for the Creator's sake is called "a soul." Naturally, if one does not yet have such an intention, he does not have a soul.

The spiritual world is a world of only desires without any corporeal shells. The reader must revise his ideas about the soul, body, connections

between worlds, etc., and correct himself continually so as to properly interpret these categories.

So then, man's corrected desires are called "the souls of the righteous." These souls of the righteous ascend to *ZON* in the form of *MAN* and compel *ZON* to ascend to *YESHSUT*. The presence of *ZON* creates in *YESHSUT* a desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*. This compels *YESHSUT* (*ZAT de Bina*) to ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA* and there join with *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) into one *Partzuf*. And then *AVI* (*AB* + *SAG* = *AA* + *AVI*) look at each other, exchange the Light *of Hochma* between them, and pass it down to *ZON*.

Without a request from below, *AVI* will be satisfied with the Light of *Hassadim* and will not "look" at one another. Only the request of their children (*ZON*) compels *AVI* to face each other (*Panim be Panim*) and make a *Zivug*. In this *Zivug*, *Ima-Bina* receives the Light of *Hochma* for the children, *ZON*, from *Aba-Hochma*.

However, this occurs BECAUSE MAN INQUIRED—man's question signifies the raising of *MAN* so as to make *AVI* look at each other, make a *Zivug* together, and let *Ima* receive *Hochma* from *Aba* for the man that is elevating his soul. The descending Light of *Hochma* is called knowledge or wisdom (*Daat*), for *ZON* ascend to *YESHSUT* + *AVI*, and there stimulate a *Zivug* on the Light of *Hochma*, called "knowledge." Hence, it is written in the Torah: "And Adam came to know his wife."

Thus, to COME TO KNOW means to receive the Light of *Hochma*. *ZON* that stand in *AVI* and compel *AVI* to receive the Light of *Hochma* are called *Daat* (knowledge) or the *Sefira Daat*.

Yet, *Daat* is not an additional *Sefira*. There are only ten *Sefirot*. However, in order to designate the fact that *ZON*'s request for the Light of *Hochma* is inside the ten *Sefirot* of *Partzuf AVI*, we say that *AVI* have a *Sefira* called *Daat*. In this case, instead of the regular count of *Sefirot*: *KHB-HGT-NHYM*, we count the *Sefirot*: *HBD-HGT-NHYM*. The *Sefira Keter* is omitted, and we only mention the *Sefira Daat* after *Hochma-Aba* and *Bina-Ima*. FROM ONE DEGREE TO ANOTHER signifies the passing of the Light of *Hochma* from the *Sefira Daat* of the degree of *AVI* to the degree of *ZA*. And TO THE END OF ALL DEGREES—from *ZA* to *Malchut*, which is called "the end of all degrees."

When the Light is present in *Nukva*, she is called *MA*, and the Light that she passes to the lower ones is called 100 blessings. There are several states in *Nukva*, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*. We need to know them, for all that we receive,

we receive from her alone. In addition to all stages of growth from a point to a full *Partzuf*, a grown *Malchut* has two big states.

Malchut attains the first big state when she receives the Light of *Neshama*. This occurs when, due to her *MAN*, *AVI* ascend one degree from their permanent place to the *Rosh* of *AA*. However, although *YESHSUT* ascends from its permanent place between the chest (*Chazeh*) and the navel (*Tabur*) of *AA* to where *AVI* used to be (between the mouth and the chest of *AA*), it still remains clothed onto the *Guf* of *AA*, even though it merges into one *Partzuf* with *AVI*.

And since *YESHSUT* now clothes the place from the mouth (*Peh*) to the *Chazeh* of *AA* from the outside, *YESHSUT* becomes like the *Rosh* of *AA*, as it merged with *AVI* in the *Rosh* of *AA* as one *Partzuf*. Also, *YESHSUT* ascends from under the *Parsa* of *Atzilut* in the *Chazeh* of *AA* and stands above it, where the *Rosh* of *AA* shines.

That is why *YESHSUT* passes the Light of *Hochma* to *ZA*, and *ZA* passes it on to *Malchut*, who fills herself with this Light, called "100 blessings," for, having received this Light, *ZON* can ascend to the permanent place of *YESHSUT* between the *Chazeh* and the *Tabur* of *AA*.

By ascending to this degree, *Malchut* becomes like *Ima*. In the spiritual world, the degree of a spiritual object determines all of its properties. Even in our world, the degree of man's inner development alone determines his properties, thoughts, and desires. And since *Ima* equals 100, *Malchut*, too, is called "100," so as to emphasize the fact that *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*.

Now *Malchut* is similar to *MI* just as *YESHSUT* was prior to raising *MAN* and passing the Light. This is because she now clothes the place of the small state of *YESHSUT* from the *Chazeh* to the *Tabur* of *AA*, and stands under the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*, below which the Light from the *Rosh de AA* cannot pass.

That is why *Malchut* gained no Light, for the sake of which she had raised *MAN*. Nevertheless, *Malchut* gains by receiving the properties of *Ima-Bina*, for she ascended to *YESHSUT*, called *Ima*.

Hence, the Light that *Malchut* received is only considered *VAK* of the *Gadlut* state, the first state of *Gadlut*. *Malchut* will not be able to receive the *GAR* of *Gadlut*, the second *Gadlut*, the Light of *Hochma* (*Haya*), as long as she is under the *Parsa* of *Atzilut* in the *Chazeh* of *AA*. (How *Malchut* receives *GAR* of the *Gadlut* is explained in items 11 through 15 in the next article).

The Zohar calls *Nukva* that ascended to *YESHSUT* by the word *MA* (from the word *Me'ah*—100), for by means of this ascent, *Malchut* gained the properties of *Bina*—100 blessings. And she gained the sensation of the question—she feels that it has only *VAK* (a half, a part of the big state). Put differently, she feels the desire for its second half, *GAR*. Nevertheless, she gained a part of the big state, *VAK* of *AVI*.

Thus, *Nukva* became like *YESHSUT* before it raised *MAN*, but gained the properties of *Bina*, 100 blessings. And since this is *VAK* of the Light of the big state, she feels a deficiency (a question), just as *YESHSUT* felt prior to raising *MAN*—at its place, when *YESHSUT* was in the *Katnut* state. When it ascended to *AVI*, *AVI* ascended to *AA*, and *ZON* ascended to the place of *YESHSUT*. *AVI* shine from the *Rosh* of *AA* on the place of *YESHSUT*. *ZON* that stand there now feel the Light that they receive from *AVI*, and realize that this is merely a part of the Light, which generates another question within them.

9. This is the secret defined by the word MA: WHAT do you testify and WHAT is equal to you? When the Temple was destroyed, a voice came forth and said, "What (MA) shall I indicate to you, and what (MA) shall I equate to you?" (*Eicha*, 2:13). However, here MA means, "What is the covenant, testimony, what (MA) is equal to you?" For every day testifies to you the days of past, as it is said: "This day I call onto Heaven and earth to witness for you" (*Devarim*, 30:19). WHAT is equal to you? It is said: "I adorned you with holy adornments and made you ruler of the world." And it is said: "Is this the city that men called the quintessence of beauty?" (*Eicha*, 2:15). I have called you, "Jerusalem, a city rebuilt by me" (*Tehilim*, 122:3). "What shall I equate to you?" (*Eicha*, 2:13). Just as you sit here, so He sits Above in Supernal Jerusalem. Just as the holy nation does not enter into you, so I swear to you that I will not enter Above until I enter you down below. And this is your consolation—that I will equate you with this degree, with Supernal Jerusalem, which is the Supernal *Malchut* (Hebrew – Kingdom) that rules over all. But for now you are here, and "Your misery is great, like the sea" (*Eicha, 2:13*). And if you say that there is no existence or salvation for you, then WHO (MI) shall heal you (not Who? with a question mark, but the Upper Force called WHO is what will heal you), that is, that same concealed Upper Degree, which is called MI, *Bina* that revives all, shall heal and revive you.

In other words, *MA* and *MI*, besides being translated as WHAT and WHO, also designate the names of spiritual objects that perform actions described in *The Zohar*. The destruction of the Temple was the consequence of Israel's

transgression of egoistic reception, because they did not want to raise *MAN* for the *Zivug* of *ZON*, and instead wished to receive the Light into the impure forces, their egoistic desires, called "other gods" (*Elokim Acherim*). There is only one Creator.

There is but one property for the Creator, and we know it—the property of bestowal. Drawing closer to this property is defined as working "for the Creator's sake." Any other desire can only mean distancing from this property and from the Creator, for except for this property or its opposite (rather, its absence), nothing else exists in creation. Hence, man's inner movement towards the property of "reception" pushes him away from the Creator, and is therefore called "worshipping other gods." As a result, *ZON* stopped their *Zivug*, the 100 blessings disappeared from *Nukva*, and the Temple was ruined.

The First Temple—*Malchut* ascended to *AVI* and there receives the Light of *Haya*. Its ruin is the fall of *Malchut* to the level of reception of the Light *GAR* de *Ruach*.

The Second Temple is *Malchut's* ascension to *YESHSUT* and the reception of the Light of *Neshama*. In its ruin, *Malchut* fell to the level of reception of the Light of *Nefesh* in her *Sefira Keter*, while the other nine *Sefirot* fall below the *Parsa*. Such a state is called *Galut*—exile from the spiritual, from the world of *Atzilut*. The single *Sefira Malchut* in the world of *Atzilut* remains as a point below the *Sefira Yesod* of *ZA*.

ZA is called "six days" and *Malchut* is called *Shabbat* (Saturday). Yet, is *Malchut* really bigger than *ZA*, as *Shabbat* is bigger (higher) than weekdays? The worlds of *BYA*, including our world, receive the Light, their life-force, from *Malchut*. The "six weekdays" are a state of *ZON* when *ZA* and *Malchut* are unconnected to one another. *Shabbat* is a state of *ZON* when *Malchut* joins with *ZA*, a *Zivug* takes place between them, and *Malchut* receives the Light from *ZA* and passes it on to the whole world.

Since the state of *Malchut* when she passes the Light received from *ZA* down to the world is important to us, by measuring our states in accordance with what we receive from *Malchut*, we define the extent of maximal reception as *Shabbat*. (Naturally, this has nothing to do with our calendar: weekdays and *Shabbat* are spiritual states that transcend time).

AND A VOICE CAME FORTH AND SAID: "EACH AND EVERY DAY MY COVENANT HAS BEEN IN YOU SINCE THE DAYS OF PAST"—here, *The Zohar* speaks of the Light of *VAK* that *ZON* receive in the state of *Gadlut*, which *Nukva* receives as *MA*. This Light is called "the past days" (*Yamim*

Kadmonim). Therefore, it is written in the Torah (*Devarim*, 4:32): "Ask now of the past days, which were before you, since the day the Creator created man, from one edge of Heaven unto the other, whether there has been any such thing as great as this?..."

The Light of *VAK* of the *Gadlut* state is called in *ZON* "the past days," for it is *VAK* of *AVI*. *YESHSUT* is *ZAT* of *AVI*. *ZAT* is an abbreviation of the words *Zayin* (7), and *Tachtonot* (lower, meaning the lower *Sefirot*). *ZAT* of *AVI*, meaning the seven *Sefirot* of *Partzuf AVI*, is *YESHSUT*. These *Zayin* are seven days, the seven primary *Sefirot* of *AVI* with regard to *Zayin,* the seven days or the seven *Sefirot* of *ZON*.

Hence, it is written, "MY COVENANT EACH AND EVERY DAY BY HEAVEN AND EARTH" (*Devarim*, 4:26). These words of the Torah speak of the *Zivug* of *ZON* called "Heaven" (*ZA*) and "earth" (*Nukva*). "The past days" or "Supernal Days" constitute *YESHSUT*, and "the low days" or "the present days" are *ZON*.

In this sentence, the Creator cautions that the *Zivug* of *ZON* needs to be constantly realized and maintained. Otherwise, the Creator warns that "you will disappear from the earth." And this is the meaning of the Creator's warning about the 100 blessings: they should be guarded and constantly created.

For these 100 blessings that *Nukva* receives from *ZA* every day in the *Zivug* of *MA* between them take place during the ascent of *ZON* to *YESHSUT*, when *ZA* becomes like *YeshS* (*Israel-Saba*) and *Nukva* becomes like *T* (*Tvunah*). *YESHSUT* stands for *Israel-Saba* and *Tvunah*. And then, the Light that *Nukva* receives from *ZA* becomes 100 blessings, like the Light in *Tvunah*.

It is said about it, "the city that united with her," for *Nukva*, called "city," merged with *Tvunah*, and *Nukva* became like *Tvunah*. And *Nukva* receives in *Tvunah* the Light of *Tvunah*, called "holy adornments," and then, like a crown of beauty, she surrounds the earth and receives power over the earth.

However, as a result of Israel's transgressions (the rise of impure desires over the pure ones), the Temple is ruined (the Light disappeared), and Israel is banished from its land (fell to lower degrees). This led to the distancing of *Nukva* (all creatures) from *ZA* (the Creator), for the lower nine *Sefirot* (desires) of *Nukva* fell to the impure forces (became egoistic). In other words, the nine pure, altruistic desires (forces) lost their screen and became egoistic, and *Nukva* herself turned into a point that stands below the *Sefira Yesod* of *ZA*.

Hence, it is written: "WHO SHALL REBUILD YOU AND HEAL YOU"—if the sons of Israel return in their aspirations to the Creator (to altruism), called

"the return," correct their deeds (desires), and raise their prayers (*MAN*) for help in their correction to the Creator in *ZON*, they will once more be able to receive the Upper Light in *ZON*, *Nukva* will rise again to *YESHSUT*, called *MI*, and will be healed thereby (the Upper Light will enter *Malchut*, the souls, and will impart its properties onto them).

10. *MI*—WHO sets the boundary of Heaven Above—*YESHSUT*. *MA*—WHAT sets the boundary of Heaven below—*ZA* and *Malchut*. And this is what Yaakov inherited, as he is *ZA* that shines from end to end. From one boundary, which is *MI*, to the other boundary, which is *MA*. For he, Yaakov, stands in the middle, between *YESHSUT* and *Malchut*. Hence, it is said, *MI BARAH ELEH*: *MI* is *YESHSUT*, *BARAH* means created, and *ELEH* stands for *ZA* and *Malchut*.

Actually, it should rather be written, "from the beginning, i.e., from the Height of Heaven down to its end (lowest point) below." Yet it says, "from the boundary of Heaven." *MI* is *YESHSUT* that upholds everything with its question, the desire to receive the Light for *ZON*. *MA* is *Nukva*. Before *Nukva* raises *MAN*, she is the very last degree, standing below the *Chazeh* of *ZA*. Between *YESHSUT* and *Nukva* stands Yaakov—*ZA* that clothes *AA* from *Tabur* to *Malchut* of *AA*.

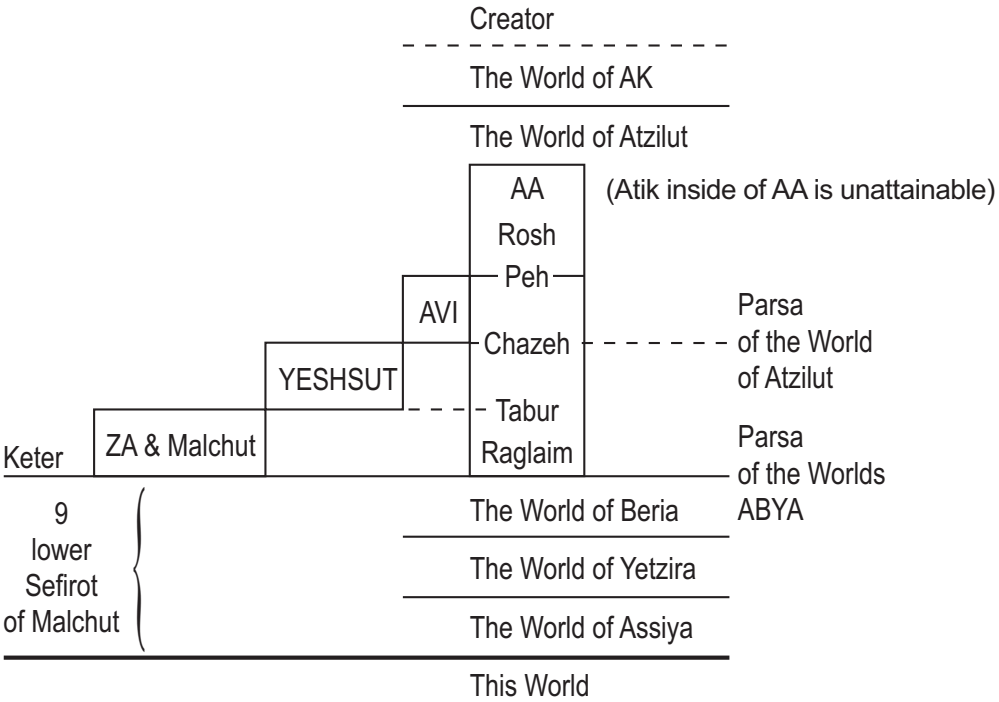

Arich Anpin is the central *Partzuf* in the world of *Atzilut*. Since *Atik* is unattainable, everything comes from *AA*, and all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* clothe it (receive from it): *Rosh de AA* towers over all, and no one can clothe it, meaning no one can attain its thoughts and reasons for its actions.

The next *Partzuf* is *AVI*. *AVI* clothe (attain) *AA* from *Peh* to *Chazeh*. Below *AVI* stands *Partzuf YESHSUT*, clothing *AA* from *Chazeh* to *Tabur*. *ZA* stands below *YESHSUT* and clothes *AA* from *Tabur* downwards. *Partzuf ZA* is incomplete, as he has only six *Sefirot HBD-HGT* or *VAK*; he is in the *Katnut* state, ending with his *Sefira Tifferet* (his *Chazeh*).

Nukva (*Malchut*) stands below *ZA*, or parallel to his last *Sefira Tifferet* (the *Chazeh* of *ZA*). She has only one *Sefira Keter*, whereas her nine other *Sefirot* fell below the *Parsa* to the worlds *BYA*. The entire world of *Atzilut* ends at the *Chazeh* of *ZA*, where the single *Sefira* of *Malchut* stands, who is therefore called a point.

In our world, there is desire and its physical manifestation—action. For example, one wants to receive something, but he does not allow himself to perform the physical act of taking. Meanwhile, his desire to take remains the same. In the spiritual world, there are no bodies, only bare desires. Therefore, the desire itself already constitutes action, like an already completed mental and physical action in our world. Therefore, the desire alone determines man's spiritual state.

Just imagine what it would be like if in our world we judged a person not by his actions, but by his desires! It is terrifying to think how distant we are from spiritual demands. However, our desires are determined by our spiritual degree. And *The Zohar* explains that only by raising *MAN* (the request for correction) can we attract onto us the flow of Upper Light, which will correct and elevate us to a Higher Degree. And we will immediately begin to think and desire whatever that degree will evoke within us.

Therefore, our task is to attain the desire for correction. To this end, we need a "question," perception of our state as intolerable. This is called the realization of evil, i.e., that our egoism is evil, that it brings me harm by severing me from the spiritual.

However, in order for this to happen, we need to come to sense at least a little bit of what the spiritual is and how good it is. Evil can only be realized in contrast with good. Yet, how can we sense the spiritual if we have yet to escape egoism? In what *Kelim* (desires) can we sense this? Even though we lack corrected desires, and therefore cannot sense the spiritual, as a result of studying Kabbalah,

one begins to sense the Surrounding Light, which bestows onto him the desire for the spiritual (See "Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," item 155).

The desire of one who physically exists in our world, but spiritually exists in the worlds of *BYA*—is a desire to enjoy the Light. However, opposite these desires one has an "anti-desire," a screen, which neutralizes his innate will to receive pleasure.

A screen is created (appears, emerges, born) within the *Kli* (desire, man) as a result of man's sensation of the spiritual Light (the Creator). Therefore, all our requests (prayers, *MAN*, "questions") should be about one thing only: for the Creator to grant us the strength necessary to ascend spiritually, to transform our desires or, as Kabbalah defines it, to acquire a screen. It is impossible to annul one's will to receive pleasure. The Creator created it, and it is His only creation. All we can do is acquire a screen (counterbalance) on it, thereby ascending above creation (egoism), and become similar to the Creator! And to the extent of this similarity, to merge with him.

Thus, *Partzuf* Yaakov stands from *MI* (*YESHSUT*) to *MA* (*Malchut*), from end to end. However, what is referred to here is the state of *ZON*, when they ascend to *YESHSUT* and receive the Light of its degree.

The entire spiritual distance from us to the Creator is divided into 125 invisible degrees, all of them named. These degrees differ from one another only by the magnitude of their screen on man's egoistic desires. Man receives the Light in his corrected, altruistic desires. The volume of the received Light depends on the screen's magnitude (the size of the desire's corrected part).

Every degree is characterized by a particular sensation of the Creator, and this sensation is called Light. Hence, we can designate the spiritual state of the *Kli* (man) in the spiritual world by the name of its degree or the name of the Light it receives, as every degree has its own particular Light. These gradations of the sensation of the Creator are precisely what we call spiritual degrees.

That is why, having ascended to a degree called *YESHSUT*, *ZON* receive the Light of *YESHSUT*, although *Partzuf YESHSUT* itself ascended, accordingly, to a Higher Degree, and there receives the Light of that degree, called *AVI*. In turn, *AVI* ascend to a degree called *AA*, where they receive the Light of *AA*. We call degrees by the names of the *Partzufim* that abide there in their usual, lowest state. Such a state is called permanent.

Even though by ascending to a Higher Degree, the lower *Partzuf* receives the Light of that degree, which changes its properties, the *Partzuf* remains itself nonetheless, just as a person who acquires new properties remains a person,

though now one of another level. Therefore, when it is said, "having ascended to the Upper One, the lower one becomes like him," it implies a change only in the inner properties of man (or *Partzuf*), but not in his identity.

Upon ascending to *YESHSUT*, *ZA* receives greater Light, for an ascent in the spiritual world signifies an increase in the magnitude of a screen, and, accordingly, reception of greater Light. That is to say, *ZA* himself grew, but did not turn into *YESHSUT*: previously, at his own place, he had only the Light *Ruach-Nefesh*, but upon ascending and acquiring a screen, he receives the Light of *Neshama* as well.

Therefore, all the places between us and the Creator are established, and the *Partzufim* that are there "stand" on them in their permanent place. However, all the *Partzufim* and the worlds can ascend relative to their permanent, lowest states by one, two, or three degrees. In its lowest state, a *Partzuf* has only *GE* and no *AHP*, and only the Light of *Nefesh-Ruach*.

By receiving the Light of correction from Above, the *Partzuf* can gradually correct its *AHP*: it corrects the *Sefira Bina* and receives the Light of *Neshama*, which designates an ascent of one degree. After that, the *Partzuf* corrects the *Sefira ZA*, and receives the Light of *Haya*, which designates an ascent to another degree, i.e., already two degrees. And after that, it corrects *Sefira Malchut* and receives the Light of *Yechida*, which designates an ascent to yet another degree, a third one.

Keter = Galgalta	GE - Katnut (small state)
Hochma = Eynaim	
Parsa, Nikvey Eynaim, Masach of Partzuf	
Bina = Awzen	(ascent of Bina to GE = ascent by 1 degree)
ZA = Hotem	(ascent of ZA to GE = ascent by 2 degrees)
Malchut = Peh	(ascent of Malchut to GE = ascent by 3 degrees)

However, the new Light does not enter the just corrected *Kli* (*Sefira*), but comes from Above and enters through the *Sefira Keter*.

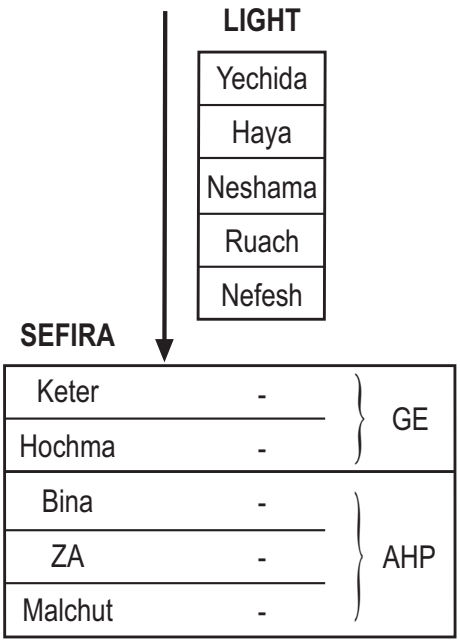

Man's spiritual ascent can be the consequence of two factors:

1. An awakening of a desire from Above, called "special days"—holidays, new moons, Sabbaths. This kind of an ascent is called "an awakening from Above," and leads to the general ascent of all the worlds *ABYA*, and, consequently, of all that inhabits them.
2. Man's efforts in his studies and inner work, his prayer to merit the Creator personally giving him the strength to ascend to a Higher Degree.

Moreover, such an ascent is not limited to only three degrees, but can elevate man along all 125 degrees to the Creator Himself. Ascension to the Highest Degree is precisely the purpose for which man was created. He must accomplish this task while still living in this world. And until he attains this goal, he will have to return to this world again and again.

Although *ZON* are called "the last days," upon ascending and receiving the Light of *YESHSUT*, they receive the name "the days past or first days." In this instance, one boundary of Heaven (*Malchut* or *MA*) ascends and clothes the other boundary of Heaven (*YESHSUT* or *MI*). *MA* and *MI* merge in one, and *The Zohar* emphasizes that fact. AND KNOW:

MI – WHO

BARAH – CREATED

ELEH – THIS

MI is *YESHSUT* that stands in the place of *Bina de AA*, from *Chazeh* to *Tabur de AA*. And although only *Kelim* of *GE* (vessels of bestowal) are present in the world of *Atzilut*, there are *Partzufim* among them that wish only to "bestow": *Atik*, *AA*, *AVI*, and those that want to receive for the sake of bestowal, so as to pass the Light on to *YESHSUT* and *ZON*.

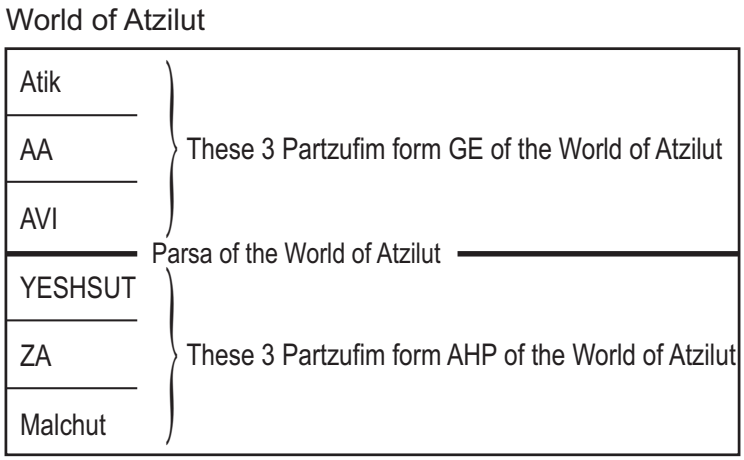

YESHSUT and *ZON* want to receive the Light so as to pass it to the souls of the righteous, the people who seek correction. Hence, within the world of *Atzilut* there is a division into two types of *Kelim*—*GE* and *AHP*. They are separated from each other by the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* that stands in the *Chazeh* of *AA*.

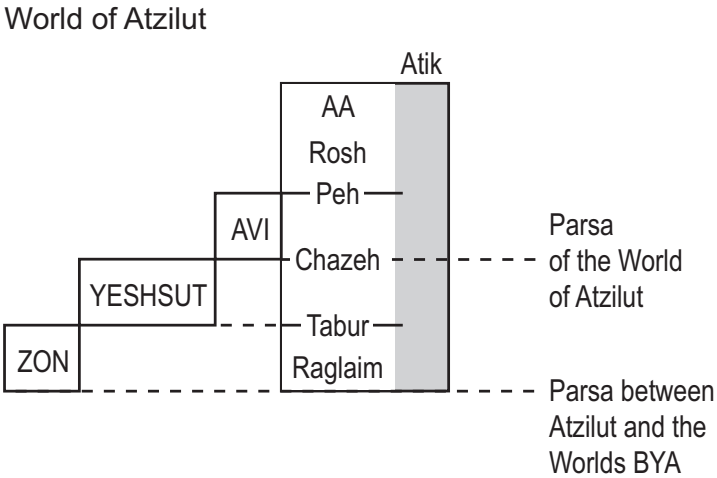

The Light from the *Rosh de AA* does not pass below the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*. Therefore, *YESHSUT* in its permanent state, or *ZON*, when they ascend

to *YESHSUT*, cannot receive the Light of *Rosh de AA*. This is why they have the desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*, called "question." The question (desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*) therefore amounts to *MI* (*YESHSUT*, the Light of *YESHSUT*), which is *BARAH* (beyond *ELEH—ZON*), and upon their ascent, *ZON* do not receive the Light of *Hochma*, as they are outside the *Rosh* of *AA*, outside of the Light of *Hochma*, but with a question (a desire for it). This enables them to continue their ascent.

Who Created These (by Eliyahu)

11. Rabbi Shimon said: "Elazar, my son, reveal the supernal secret, which the dwellers of this world know nothing about." Rabbi Elazar was silent. Rabbi Shimon wept and paused for a moment, and then said, "Elazar, what is *ELEH*?" If you say that they are like the stars and the signs of the zodiac (destiny), are they not always visible (unlike the changeable signs of destiny)? And in *MA*, that is in *Malchut*, they were created as it is written, "By the word of the Creator were the Heavens made" (*Tehilim*, 33:6), meaning that the Heavens were made by *Malchut*, called the Creator's word. And if *ELEH* speak of the hidden secrets, then there would be no need to write *ELEH*, as the stars and the signs of destinies are visible to all (the word *ELEH* (THIS) tells us that something is clear).

Rabbi Elazar did not reveal the reception of the Light of the first *Gadlut* state (*Ohr Neshama*), and Rabbi Shimon wished to reveal the way to receive the Light of the second *Gadlut* state (*Ohr Haya*). Therefore, he asked Rabbi Elazar to speak and to reveal the way to attain *Ohr Neshama*, which is concealed from people by a supernal secret, for this Light has not yet been revealed in the world, and Rabbi Shimon reveals it here.

The fact is that, although there were righteous who attained the Light of *Haya*, there was no one among them who could explain the path of its attainment in detail, no one who could reveal it to the entire world. This is so because to understand means to attain, to ascend to that degree, which depends only on man's efforts. While there were many people throughout the generations who attained the degree of *ELEH*, revealing it to the world requires an even greater degree, and a special permission by the Creator (See the article *The Conditions for Disclosing the Secrets of the Wisdom of Kabbalah*).

Rabbi Shimon asked him what *ELEH* means, what new things is the Torah telling us with the words, *MI BARAH ELEH* (WHO CREATED THESE), where

the word *ELEH* designates *ZON*? After all, if it speaks of the stars and the signs of the zodiac—luck, which signify the Light of *VAK* of the big state, then what is so special about it? After all, *ZON* can receive this Light even on weekdays. There is nothing so extraordinary in this to mention *MI* – WHO CREATED THIS separately.

(One might say that this Light is constant, for only the Light of *VAK* is constantly present in *ZON*, but not *GAR*. And only as a result of *MAN* does *ZON* receive the Light of *VAK* of the big state, the Light of *Neshama*. The answer lies in that this Light can be received at any time, even on weekdays during the morning prayer. However, he still does not understand why these were created in *MA*. After all, Light refers not to *Bina*, but to the *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *MA*, and exits them, as is written BY THE WORD OF THE CREATOR, where the Creator is *ZA* and His word is *Malchut*.)

12. However, this secret was revealed on another day, when I was on the seashore. The prophet Eliyahu came to me and said: "Rabbi, do you know the meaning of *MI BARAH ELEH* – WHO HAS CREATED THESE?" I answered: "These are the Heavens and its forces, the works of the Creator, looking at which, people should bless Him, as it is said, 'When I behold Your Heavens, the work of Your hands' (*Tehilim*, 8:4), and 'O LORD! Our Lord! How glorious is Your name throughout all the earth!'" (*Tehilim*, 8:10).

13. He replied to me: "Rabbi, the Creator took the concealed and revealed it to the Celestial Council. And here it is: When the most Concealed of all that are Concealed desired to reveal Himself, He first made a single point, which is *Malchut*, and it ascended to His Thought, that is, into *Bina*, meaning that *Malchut* ascended and merged with *Bina*. In her, He shaped all the creatures, and in her confirmed all the laws."

Atik is the first *Partzuf* and the *Rosh* of the world of *Atzilut*. And it is called the most concealed and secret of all the *Partzufim*, and its name—*Atik* (from the word *Ne'etak*—isolated, unattainable) testifies to that fact. No one can attain this *Partzuf* in itself, its properties, but we can attain it the way it appears to us: *Atik* deliberately diminishes and changes itself in such a way that the lower ones could attain the outer form (its properties) in which it appears to them, but not *Atik* itself.

In the words of *The Zohar*, when *Atik* wished to reveal itself to the worlds, although it is a *Partzuf* that acts according to the laws of the first restriction, it "clothed itself in the garments" (an external *Partzuf* that acts according to the

laws of the second restriction) with regard to the lower ones so as to enable them to perceive and attain it.

There is an enormous difference between the properties of the sensory organs that perceive sensations of the first and the second restrictions. Just as man in our world is born without sensory organs that can perceive spiritual worlds, which is why he cannot sense them, so is the *Partzuf* that is corrected for the conditions of spiritual work at the level of the second restriction unable to accept (perceive) the Light that descends according to the law of the first restriction. A similar distinction exists between *Partzuf Atik* and the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds of *BYA*.

To be connected to the lower ones, *Atik* elevated *Malchut de Rosh de AA* within the *Rosh* of the lower-standing *AA* up to the *Sefira Hochma*. As a result, *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON de Rosh de AA* fell from the *Rosh* of *AA* to its *Guf*. After all, *Malchut* ascended from the *Peh* to the *Eynaim* and stood in the *Rosh* at place of *Bina*, whereas *Bina* and *ZON* exited the *Rosh*. The *Guf* (body) begins after *Malchut de Rosh* (after the decision on how to act), wherever it may be.

Here is how one should understand this: the *Sefirot* of the *Rosh* are the thoughts and desires with regards to which the *Partzuf*, man's inner properties (man himself) makes the decisions as to how they can be used in order to advance as much as possible toward the goal of creation. The fact that *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON* exited the *Rosh* of *AA* means that *Partzuf AA* cannot make any decisions with regard to them for lack of a screen on them. This is why they fell into the *Guf*, outside the *Rosh*.

Hence, their remaining role is only to receive the Light from the *Rosh*, just as it is received by all the *Sefirot* of the *Guf*. In other words, they receive the Light that is accepted by the screen of *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* that remained in the *Rosh*. Man deliberately restricts the use of his desires, and uses only those desires with which he can work for the Creator's sake.

Therefore, when *Malchut* ascended and stood under the *Sefira Hochma*, *Hochma* became like the male part (bestowing, fulfilling), and *Malchut* became like the female (receiving) part of the *Rosh*. And since *Malchut* took the place of *Bina* (called "thought"), *Malchut* assumed the name "thought," since now it's *Malchut* that makes a *Zivug* and receives *Ohr Hochma*.

A *Partzuf* that receives from *Hochma* is defined as *Bina*, and not *Malchut*. Therefore, although *Malchut* herself is merely a black point (egoistic creature), as a result of her ascent, she becomes *Bina*, i.e., *Malchut* acquires *Bina*'s properties. Hence, *Malchut* is now called *Bina* or "thought."

The Zohar calls a "thought" either to *Hochma* or to *Bina*. The difference is that a thought is something that is received from *Hochma*. Hence, *Bina* is called a thought only if she is in the *Rosh* and receives the Light from *Hochma*. In the first restriction, *Bina* always receives from *Hochma*, and is called "thought." However, in the second restriction, *Malchut* ascended above *Bina* and started receiving from *Hochma*. That is why it is *Malchut* that is now called "thought," and not *Bina*.

All the *Partzufim* of the worlds of ABYA are created by this ascent of *Malchut* to *Bina*. Therefore, it is written: IN HER HE SHAPED ALL THE CREATURES, AND IN HER CONFIRMED ALL THE LAWS—*Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* remained in the *Rosh* of each *Partzuf*, and a *Zivug* was made on these two *Sefirot*. This is why the Light received in *Guf* of the *Partzuf* consists of only two Lights, *Nefesh* and *Ruach*.

Previously, *Malchut* stood in *Peh de Rosh* and the *Rosh* (the part of the *Partzuf* in which it calculated how much Light it can receive for the Creator's sake) ended there. Then, the *Partzuf* would receive that Light from the *Rosh* to the *Guf*, between the *Peh* and the *Tabur*.

But now *Malchut* ascended to *Eynaim de Rosh* and stands under them. This is known as the ascent of *Malchut* to *NE* (*Nikvey Eynaim* – pupils of the eyes), which are called *NE* precisely because *Nikvey Eynaim* means *Malchut* of the eyes. Prior to *Malchut*'s ascent to the *Eynaim*, it was as though there were no pupils (*NE*). It is worth noting that only in *Malchut* (desire) can we feel what surrounds us (the Creator, Light). This is why all of our sensory organs are designed as apertures: *Nekev* (orifice), *Nukva, Malchut* in the eyes, *Awznaim* (ears), *Hotem* (nose) and *Peh* (mouth).

Only he who can create desires that work according to the principle of the second restriction through his own strength and effort, and puts *Malchut* after *Keter-Hochma* (thinks in terms of bestowal), can start perceiving through this corrected spiritual sensory organ. Wherever there is a screen, it constitutes that sensory organ with which one can perceive the Upper Light.

Upon her ascent, *Malchut* stood under *Hochma* and made a *Zivug* on her own screen, on *Sefirot Keter-Hochma* (*GE*). *Sefirot Bina-ZA-Malchut* (*AHP*) are located below the *Rosh*, in the *Guf* of the *Partzuf*, and passively receive the Light from the *Rosh*. This leads to a division of the ten *Sefirot* of the *Guf*, *KHB-ZA-M*, in the same way the ten *Sefirot* of the *Rosh* were divided: *Sefirot K-H* of the *Guf* continue receiving from *K-H* of the *Rosh*, and *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Guf*, being unable to receive from the *Rosh*, start receiving from *K-H* of the *Guf*, like the *Sefirot* below the *Tabur* of the *Partzuf*.

As is well-known, every *Partzuf* consists of a *Rosh*, a *Guf*, and extremities. The *Rosh* decides how much Light the *Guf* can receive for the Creator's sake, in accordance with the magnitude of the screen that reflects the Light (pleasure). The decision to accept this Light causes the Light to descend through the screen, from the *Rosh* to the *Guf*, filling it from the *Peh* down to the *Tabur*. Each *Sefira* of the *Rosh* fills its corresponding *Sefira* in the *Guf*.

Partzuf in the 1st Restriction

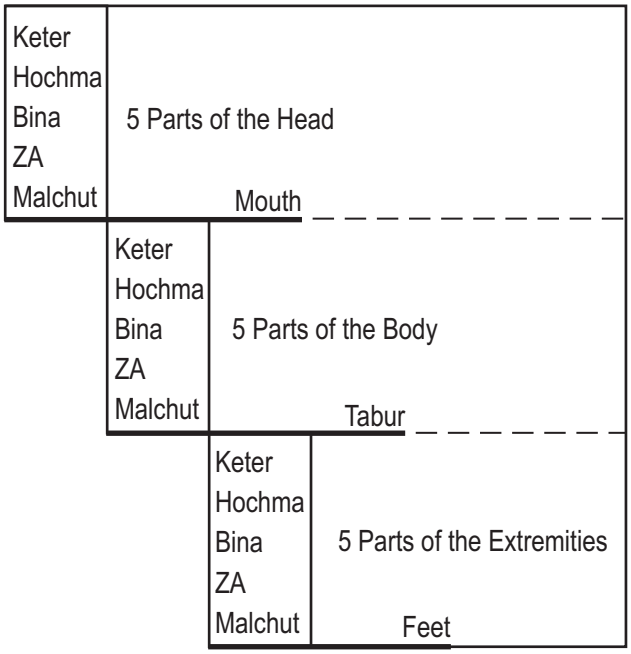

Partzuf in the 2nd Restriction

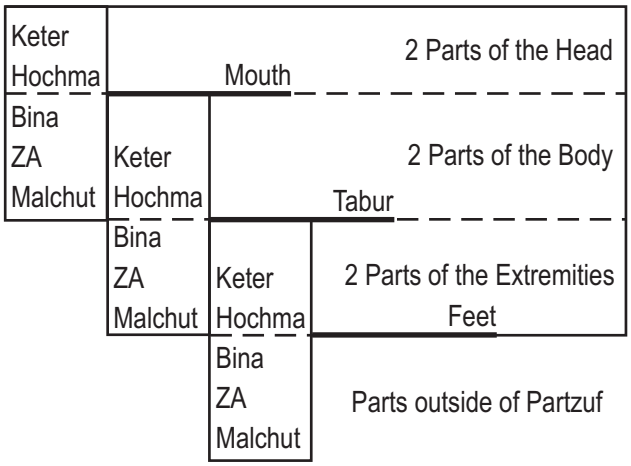

If there are only two *Sefirot K-H* in the *Rosh*, then only the two *Sefirot K-H* remain in the *Guf*. This is because only they can receive from the corresponding *Sefirot* in the *Rosh*. *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Rosh* receive the same Light as *Sefirot K-H* of the *Guf*, which means that they are located under the screen (*Malchut* that ascends and stands under *Hochma de Rosh*). Thus, the *Guf* contains *K-H* that receive, accordingly, the Lights *Ruach-Nefesh*, and *AHP* of the *Rosh* that receive these two Lights of *Ruach-Nefesh*, too.

B-ZA-M (*AHP*) of the *Guf* cannot receive the Light from the *Rosh*, as their corresponding *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Rosh* do not participate in a *Zivug*, since they lack the strength of the screen sufficient to reflect the egoistic desires of *AHP de Rosh* so as to receive for the Creator's sake. In other words, since there are no *AHP* in the *Rosh*, there are also no *AHP* in the *Guf*. And since *AHP de Guf* receive no Light from *AHP de Rosh*, they are like the extremities—the end of a *Partzuf*, below its *Tabur*. Hence, at the end of a *Partzuf*, below *Tabur*, there are *GE* of *Raglaim* (feet) and *AHP de Guf*, which fell there. And *AHP* of *Raglaim* are not parts of a *Partzuf* whatsoever, as they are located at a lower degree.

The Light that cannot be received by the *Partzuf* remains outside, surrounding it, and waits until the *Partzuf* acquires the strength to receive it. It is called "Surrounding Light," and it corresponds to the desires that do not take part in a *Zivug*, those desires that are still uncorrected and lack a screen.

If, previously, before the second restriction, *Malchut* (the last *Sefira* of the *Guf*) was in *Tabur*, now, when only two *Sefirot K-H* remain in the *Guf*, *Malchut de Guf*, too, ascends to *Bina de Guf*, called *Chazeh*. Therefore, when *Malchut* ascends to *Bina de Rosh*, the entire *Partzuf* "diminishes" in size: the *Rosh* reaches only up to the *Eynaim*, the *Guf* only to the *Chazeh*, and the *Raglaim* only to *Tabur*. And that is why this state of the *Partzuf* is called "the state of *Katnut*."

However, if the *Partzuf* receives new strength from Above, acquires a *Masach* (screen), it will be able to resolve to accept the Light for the Creator's sake in its *AHP*, then *AHP de Rosh* will rise again from the *Guf* to the *Rosh*, and complete the *Rosh* to ten *Sefirot*, while the *Sefirot* of *AHP de Guf* will ascend from the *Raglaim* back to their place in order to receive additional Light. And then *Rosh*, *Guf*, and *Raglaim* will all contain ten *Sefirot*. This state of the *Partzuf* is called "the state of *Gadlut*."

In the language of *The Zohar*, the restriction of a *Partzuf*, its transition from the *Gadlut* state to the *Katnut* state is described as a division of each part of the *Partzuf* (*Rosh*, *Guf*, and *Raglaim*) into *GE* (*MI*) and *AHP* (*ELEH*). All ten *Sefirot* are called by the Creator's name *Elokim*, which consists of the letters *ELEH-IM*, that are further divided into *MI – GE – K-H* and *ELEH – B-ZA-M*. When in *Katnut*, only *Sefirot ELEH* maintain their degree, whereas *Sefirot IM* fall to a

lower degree. The word *Elokim* is read from below upwards, the way they are attained by man.

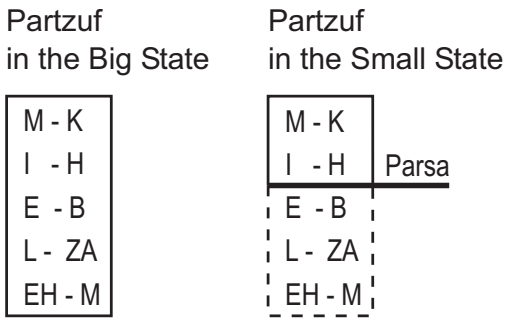

IN HER HE SHAPED ALL THE CREATURES, AND IN HER CONFIRMED ALL THE LAWS—alludes to the division of each degree into two parts; their new form signifies the division into *ELEH* and *MI*, the separation of the *Kelim* (desires) of "bestowal" and "reception," where, due to the lack of strength to oppose one's nature (egoism), part of the *Sefirot* (desires) remain unused, outside of their degree. Accordingly, their Light remains outside as *Ohr Makif* (Surrounding Light), and waits until the *Partzuf* acquires additional strength to become big and thus receive all the Light.

During the 6,000 years, our entire correction transpires only according to the laws of *Tzimtzum Bet* (second restriction). As soon as the *Partzuf* acquires new strength (*Masach*) to receive the Light selflessly in *Sefirot/Kelim B-ZA-M* (*ELEH*), it will immediately attach them to itself and receive in them the Lights *Neshama-Haya-Yechida*. And it will grow to become a big *Partzuf* consisting of five *Kelim* (ten *Sefirot*) with the five Lights of *NRNHY*.

14. He confirmed in the sacred and concealed candle (in *Malchut* that merged with *Bina*), a concealed image, the Holy of Holies, a secret structure that emerges from the thought, *GAR* that is called *MI*, which is the beginning of this structure. It stands and it does not stand; it is great and concealed in the name *Elokim* (*ELEH* and *IM*). It is called *MI* from the word *Elokim*, that is, it lacks the letters *ELEH* of the name *Elokim*. He desired to be revealed and called by the complete name *Elokim*, so He clothed Himself in a splendid shining garment, the Light of *Hassadim*. He created *ELEH*. The letters *ELEH* of the name *Elokim* ascended and combined with the letters *MI* and formed the complete name *Elokim*. And until He created *ELEH*, He did not rise (did not ascend) to the name *Elokim*. Hence, those who sinned by worshipping the Golden Calf alluded to this secret by saying, "*ELEH* (this is) your God, Israel!" (*Shemot*, 32:4).

"*ELEH* (this is) your God, Israel!"—that is, these egoistic desires (*ELEH*) are your deity, which you must worship until you correct yourself. The use of *ELEH* is the reason for all transgressions and ruin: the breaking of the vessels (*Kelim*), the sin of Adam and the shattering of his soul into 600,000 pieces, worshipping the Golden Calf and the breaking of the Tablets by Moshe, the ruin of the First and Second Temples, and so forth.

As a result of the lower ones raising *MAN*, meaning their request to receive the strength necessary to make a *Zivug* and receive *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake, there descends from Above the Light called *MAD* (*Mayin Dechurin*)–the force that enables the *Kli* to create a *Masach* capable of reflecting Light, thereby resisting its egoistic nature. This force comes in the form of Light, the sensation of the Creator's greatness, and is referred to as the Light of *AB-SAG*, as it descends from the *Partzufim Hochma* (*AB*) and *Bina* (*SAG*) of the world of *AK* (*Adam Kadmon*).

If one ascends from the degree called "our world" to the worlds *BYA*, then wherever he may be in those worlds, his request for spiritual correction will rise through all the worlds and degrees up to *Partzuf SAG*. *SAG* turns to *AB*, receives the Light of *Hochma* from it, and passes it down to all the *Partzufim* along which *MAN* had ascended.

Since the entire world of *AK* exists in the first restriction (*Tzimtzum Aleph*) and above the second restriction (*Tzimtzum Bet*), the Light that comes from it provides the *Kli* that receives this Light with the strength to pass from the small state to the big one. In other words, the Light of *AB-SAG* enables the *Kli* to create a *Masach*, reflect the Light of *Hochma*, and receive it for the Creator's sake. The *Gadlut* state is called "the holy of holies," for being filled with the Light of *GAR* (the holy of holies) is utterly perfect.

The Light of *AB-SAG* first descends to the *Rosh* of *Partzuf AA* and lowers the point (*Malchut*) from the thought (*Bina*) back to its place in the *Peh*, where it was prior to *Tzimtzum Bet*. In consequence, the three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* rejoin the two *Sefirot K-H* and become five *Sefirot* in the *Rosh*, *AHP* (*ELEH*) ascend and join with *GE* (*MI*), and the Creator's name *Elokim* is completed.

However, this does not mean that the *Partzuf* can be filled with the five Lights *NRNHY*; it merely acquires a *Masach*, the strength to receive the Light in all its ten *Sefirot*. Since only *Ohr Hochma* shines in *AA*, this Light cannot fill the elevated *Kelim* of *ELEH*, as they can only receive *Ohr Hochma* if it is clothed by *Ohr Hassadim*. Only the *GAR* of the *Partzuf* (*K-H-B*) can have pure *Ohr Hochma*; the *ZAT* of the *Partzuf* (*Sefirot ZA-M*) can only receive diminished

Ohr Hochma—half-mixed with *Ohr Hassadim*. This is called the reception of *Ohr Hochma* in the middle line (consisting of half *Hochma* and half *Hassadim*).

Therefore, says *The Zohar*, THIS STRUCTURE STANDS AND IT DOES NOT STAND—even though all the *Sefirot* are already present in the *Rosh*, they still need to be filled with Light, meaning that *Sefirot ELEH* are not yet revealed in the name *Elokim*. Only the letters *MI* have so far been revealed (filled with the Light).

Hence, first, the *Partzuf* makes a *Zivug* on its *Katnut* state and receives *Ohr Hassadim*. Then, it clothes *Ohr Hochma* into PRECIOUS GARMENT (*Ohr Hassadim*). Only afterwards can the mixed Light of *Hassadim* and *Hochma* fill *Sefirot ZAT* (*ELEH*), and all five *Sefirot* will shine in perfection.

However, before *MI* gives *Ohr Hassadim* to *ELEH* so as to enable *ELEH* to receive *Ohr Hochma* in it, *ELEH* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma*, and only the Light of *MI* shines in the entire name *Elokim*. Further, *The Zohar* tells us that neglect of *Ohr Hassadim* (the intention for the Creator's sake) is precisely what constitutes the entire transgression. And since they transgressed, i.e., neglected *Ohr Hassadim*, that is, since they did not wish to receive with the intention "for the Creator's sake," but desired only *Ohr Hochma*, they caused the separation of *MI* from *ELEH*. Hence, it is written, *ELEH* – THIS (the desires of reception and not *MI*, the desires of bestowal) IS YOUR LORD, ISRAEL—and the Light instantly passed to the impure forces.

The Torah does not tell us about the history of an ancient nation, but about the structure of the spiritual degrees that we must attain. To know the properties of these degrees (whose attainment is designated by the acquisition of their properties), Kabbalah explains to us how they were originally created by a gradual descent (spiritual coarsening) from the Creator Himself.

And in order to give us an opportunity to correct our egoism, the Creator mixed it with altruism at the very creation of the spiritual degrees. This kind of mixing of opposite properties is possible only through an "explosion," since opposite properties cannot be combined otherwise. There were several such mixtures that occurred as a result of explosions (breaking of properties).

One of them is mentioned in the Torah (*Shemot*, 32:4), when, by worshiping the Golden Calf, the sons of Israel (the altruistic desires of "bestowal") suddenly wished to receive the Light for themselves. Consequently, the *Sefirot* (*Kelim*) of *GE* and *AHP* mixed together, and the properties (desires) of *GE* penetrated *AHP*. Through these altruistic properties that are secretly concealed within a small, egoistic human being, it is possible to awaken him, to evoke in him an aspiration to ascend spiritually and to disregard this world.

Therefore, everything that is written in the Torah should not be perceived by us not as history, but as an instruction manual. All the actions described in the Torah are positive: all the devastations, including the ruin of the First and the Second Temples, wars, adultery and murder. We only need to realize what exactly the Torah is telling us. And one can understand it correctly only if he stops perceiving it as a collection of injunctions referring to the mechanical performance of commandments.

15. Just as *MI* join *ELEH* into one name *Elokim*, when *Hochma* clothes itself in *Hassadim*, so is the name combined by this precious shining garment. The world exists thanks to this secret, as is written, "The world was created by mercy." (*Tehilim*, 89:3). Then Eliyahu flew away, and I did not see him anymore. Yet, it is from him that I discovered that I stood upon the secret and its concealment. Rabbi Elazar approached with the others, and they bowed down before him. They wept and said, "If we have come into this world only to hear this—it is enough for us!"

Rabbi Shimon continues his explanation: There is only one law of reception of *Ohr Hochma*: *Ohr Hochma* can only be received if *Ohr Hassadim* clothes it beforehand. Just as this occurs in *Partzuf Bina*, called "the Upper World," so does it occur in *Partzuf Malchut* (MA, *Nukva* of ZA), called "the lower world." *Malchut* is typically referred to as *BON*, but when she joins ZA and receives the Light from him, she is called by his name—MA.

The Upper World, *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, desires only *Hassadim*, but the lower world, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, wants *Hochma*. However, Eliyahu the prophet spoke only of the order of Light and the structure of the name *Elokim* in *AVI* (*Bina de Atzilut*), whereas Rabbi Shimon continues his explanation in the next article and describes the structure and reception of Light in the name *Elokim* in *Malchut de Atzilut* herself.

The Mother Lends Her Clothes to Her Daughter

16. Heaven, Earth, and all that inhabit them were created by *MA*, which is *Malchut*, as it is said: "When I behold your Heavens, the work of your hands" (*Tehilim*, 8:4). And before this, it is said, "*MA* – WHAT (How) majestic Your name is throughout the earth, which You established above the Heavens" (*Tehilim*, 8:2). After all, the Heavens were created by the name (property) *MA* (*Malchut*). It is written "in the Heavens," which refers to *Bina*, called *MI*, the Heavens that are above *ZA*. The explanation for this lies in the name *Elokim*. *MA* (*Malchut*) ascends and enters with her properties into *Bina*, i.e., connects into *Bina*, and receives her properties. *Bina* is called *Elokim*. After He CREATED LIGHT FOR LIGHT, meaning *Ohr* (Light) *Hassadim* (called "precious adornments or garments") so as to clothe *Ohr Hochma*, *Ohr Hassadim* clothes *Ohr Hochma*, which signifies the creation of Light for Light; by the force of the Supernal Name *Elokim* (*Bina*), *Malchut* ascends, and, upon joining *Bina*, receives all of her properties, and includes herself in *Bina*. Therefore, *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (In the beginning the Creator created) refers to the Supernal *Elokim*, to *Bina* and not to *Malchut*. For *MA* (*Malchut*) is not created by the name *MI ELEH*.

The lower world (*Malchut*, *MA*) receives the Light (marked from Above by the name *Elokim*) from *Bina*. This Light brings *Malchut* strength, and the properties suitable for the creation of Heaven, earth, and posterity manifest within her. After all, there cannot be any posterity or birth of new generations without the Light of *Haya*.

And this is what *The Zohar* tells us: so does the lower world (*Malchut*, *MA*) exist by the name *Elokim*, by the name from the Upper World, which is why

there's strength in *Malchut* (*Ohr Hochma*) to create generations. And if *Malchut* has *Ohr Hochma*, then the world can be created by her.

(*Haya* is one type of *Ohr Hochma*. There is one Light that the Creator emanates, or rather, the sensation of the Creator we refer to as Light. This sensation depends on the desires-*Kelim* in which we feel Him. And since there are only two types of desires-*Kelim*, those of "bestowal" and those of "reception," there exist only two types of Light, *Hassadim* and *Hochma*. However, each of them includes several subtypes, and *Ohr Haya* constitutes a particular form of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because *Hochma* is the Light or pleasure that is felt by the will "to receive," whereas *Hassadim* is the pleasure that is felt by the will "to bestow." If only the *Kelim* of bestowal (*GE*) are present in the *Partzuf*, it is filled with *Ohr Hassadim*; and if it has the strength to receive for the Creator's sake, it is filled with *Ohr Hochma*.) (Do not confuse this with *MA*, which is used here, where *MA* = *Malchut* with *ZA* = *MA* in *Gematria*).

The Zohar explains that the Light descends from the name *Elokim* thanks to the merging of *MI* and *ELEH*. *ZA* is called "Heaven." *YESHSUT* is above Heaven (*ZA*). There is no *MI* in Heaven (*ZA*), only *MA*. However, after *Ohr Hassadim* clothes *Ohr Hochma* (the Light *ELEH* = *AHP* clothes the Light of *MA* = *GE*), all the letters combine and ascend by the name *Elokim* above Heaven = *ZA* = *MA* to *YESHSUT* = *Bina* = *MI*.

MI (*Bina*) is above the second restriction, above its ban, as her properties are higher, better than those to which the restriction extends: the property of *Bina* is "not to receive anything," which is why the ban of the second restriction—to not receive—simply does not apply to her, for in her essence, she has no desire to receive.

There remains only the ban of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, the restriction imposed on the reception of Light in *Malchut* herself (*Malchut de Malchut*), the central point of all creation, the only creating being. *Malchut* herself is egoistic, but if she has a *Masach* and only receives the Light by means of a *Zivug de Hakaa* (resistance to one's own desire, only for the Creator's sake) on the desires of bestowal, such reception does not occur in *Malchut*, but rather in the first nine *Sefirot*. Hence, *Malchut* can receive the Light in her first nine *Sefirot*.

In other words, if *Malchut* has the will (strength) to receive (enjoy) the Light (pleasure) not for herself, but only because the Creator so desires, then she receives only this amount of Light (pleasure). In order to receive the Light under such a condition, *Malchut* (man's inclination to pleasure and enjoyment) must first reject all incoming pleasure, which *Malchut* perceives to be right there before

her. This is referred to as the Light's (the pleasure's) impact against the screen and its reflection off the screen (the reflection of pleasure by force of will so as to not receive, in spite of the natural, primordial desire to receive pleasure).

The reflected pleasure is called *Ohr Hassadim*. Essentially, this is not a Light, but rather *Malchut*'s intention to receive only for the Creator's sake. However, this intention is that necessary and sufficient condition for the subsequent reception of *Ohr Hochma* from the Creator. For after *Malchut* repelled all the Light (expressed her intention to not receive for her own sake), she thereby met the condition of *Tzimtzum Aleph* (first restriction) to only receive the Light of *Hochma* in the intention for the Creator's sake, which is called *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light) or *Ohr Hassadim*. And now she can receive *Ohr Hochma*, the pleasure that the Creator wants to bestow upon her.

However, by receiving this Light, *Malchut* is no more a mere recipient-creature. Now, like the Creator, she bestows pleasure upon Him! In this manner, the creature attains the degree of the Creator, becomes equal to Him in properties, for it wants to bestow everything. This is called "being filled with *Ohr Hassadim*." Moreover, *Malchut* receives and enjoys, for if she does not feel pleasure, she will not please the Creator.

Therefore, *Malchut* receives, meaning she is filled with *Ohr Hochma*, full of wisdom and pleasure, from both bestowal and reception for the Creator's sake. And herein lies the perfection of the Creator's Creation: she becomes perfect and similar to the Creator. And this is the perfection of the Creator's works: His creation can ascend to His level independently!

One can imagine one's path from the lows of our world up to the ultimate spiritual peak—the Creator—as a passage through a suite of rooms. In all, between our state and the Creator there are 125 connected, walkthrough rooms. Each room has its own properties, and only those who possess the same properties can be there. If, regardless of reason, man changes his properties, he is automatically moved as though by an invisible current to a room that corresponds to his new properties.

This is how one can move between these rooms: an infinitesimal inner change of properties evokes influence of a spiritual force-field upon man, and he immediately moves to his new place of equilibrium, where his inner properties completely coincide with the external properties of the spiritual field. Hence, there are no guards at the rooms' entrances/exits; as soon as man changes himself so as to match the properties of the next, higher room, he is automatically transferred there by the spiritual current or field.

What properties must one change in order to move from one room to another within this spiritual field? He only needs to alter the type of pleasure to which he aspires. We cannot help receiving pleasure, for such is the entire material of creation, it is all that was created. However, we can change the object of our aspirations, what it is that we wish to enjoy: either coarse reception, reception of mere necessities, or the Creator being pleased with us that we bestow to Him, that we receive because such is His wish.

Our "I," the entity that feels pleasure is present in all of our desires, which change ceaselessly in terms of both magnitude and the desired object. This "I" never disappears. The only thing of which one should rid himself is the sensation that he does something to please this "I." One should aspire to sense the desires of the Creator, how He is pleased with him (just as a mother is pleased with her son's achievements).

After *Malchut* decides to receive only for the Creator's sake, i.e., according to the force of her *Masach* (the force of resistance to her egoistic will to receive pleasure), she receives *Ohr Hochma* only in accordance with the magnitude of the Returning Light. Or, conversely, one may say that the magnitude of the Returning Light determines man's willpower and his desire to act for the Creator's sake.

However, the first nine of *Malchut's* ten *Sefirot* are not egoistic, as they are the Creator's properties with which He wishes to correct *Malchut*. Only the last *Sefira* of *Malchut*, *Malchut* herself, the single creation, called *Malchut de Malchut*, is egoistic and remains under the ban of the first restriction: *Ohr Hochma* does not enter where the will to receive pleasure is present. Therefore, the first nine *Sefirot* can receive the Light of *Hochma*.

However, after the second restriction, in order to correct *Malchut* and impart the properties of mercy (*Hassadim*) onto her so she would be able to desire to "bestow," acquire the properties of *Bina*, and convert her initial, primordial egoism into altruism, *Malchut* ascended to *Partzuf Aba*, became *Malchut* in *Partzuf Aba* in *Bina's* place, while *Bina* found herself below *Malchut*. *Bina* herself can receive *Ohr Hochma* without any restrictions, even when below *Malchut*. However, *Bina* adopted the limitations of *Tzimtzum Bet* for the sole purpose of correcting *Malchut*.

Therefore, due to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, by man's requests for spiritual correction, the Light *AB-SAG* descends and lowers *Malchut* from the level of *Bina* back to her own place: *Malchut* descends from *Bina*, and the Light of attainment and wisdom is revealed.

As a result of *Malchut*'s descent, *Bina* purifies herself from all restrictions and limitations and returns to receiving *Ohr Hochma*. And after the *Ohr Hassadim* clothes the *Ohr Hochma*, *MI* shines in *ELEH* and the name *Elokim* is revealed, meaning that *Ohr Hochma* shines.

The structure of the name *Elokim* cannot be found in *MA*, for the lower boundary of Heaven (*Malchut* herself) is limited by *Tzimtzum Aleph*—the ban imposed on the reception of *Ohr Hochma*, and by *Tzimtzum Bet's* 6,000-year long prohibition on the usage of the desires of reception. Hence, *The Zohar* tells us that the name *Elokim* was created with *MI*, and not with *MA*, by the property received by *Malchut* upon her ascent to *Bina*.

17. But as the letters *ELEH* descend from Above, from *Bina* down to *Malchut*, for the mother temporarily lends her clothes to her daughter and adorns her with her own adornments, the name *Elokim* descends from *Bina* (mother) to *Malchut* (daughter). When does she adorn her with her own adornments? When she sees the male essence before her. It is then written of her, "Three times in the year shall all your males appear before the Lord Creator" (*Shemot*, 34:23). For *Malchut* is then called by the male name "Master." As it is written: "Behold the Ark of the Union, the Master of all the earth" (*Yehoshua*, 3:11). The Torah is the Union and the Ark is *Malchut*, called by the male name "Master." For she received the *Kelim* (properties, desires) called "clothes," and the Light called "adornments" from her mother, *Bina*. The letter *Hey* (A from MA) then leaves MA (*Mem* + *Hey*) and the letter *Yod* (I) enters in its stead, and just like *Bina*, *Malchut* assumes the name MI. And then she adorns herself with male clothes, with the clothes of *Bina*, to accept all the husbands of Israel.

As it is written (item 13), *Tzimtzum Bet* is in force from the *Rosh* of *AA* downwards, for *Malchut* of *AA* ascended to *Bina* and created all the lower *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* in the property of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Thus, each *Partzuf* of *AA*, *AVI* and *ZON* has only two *Sefirot K-H*, and three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* separated themselves (their properties) from that degree, and moved to a lower one (their properties became equal to it). This is how *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf AA*) fell to *Sefirot K-H* (*GE*) of *Partzuf AVI*, *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf AVI*) fell to *Sefirot K-H* (*GE*) of *Partzuf ZON*, and *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf ZON*) fell below *Parsa* to the worlds of *BYA*.

Sefirot K-H (*GE*) that remained in their degree in their *Partzuf* are called *MI*, and *Sefirot B-ZA-M* that separated (in their properties) and descended (by equivalence in properties) to a lower *Partzuf* are called *ELEH*.

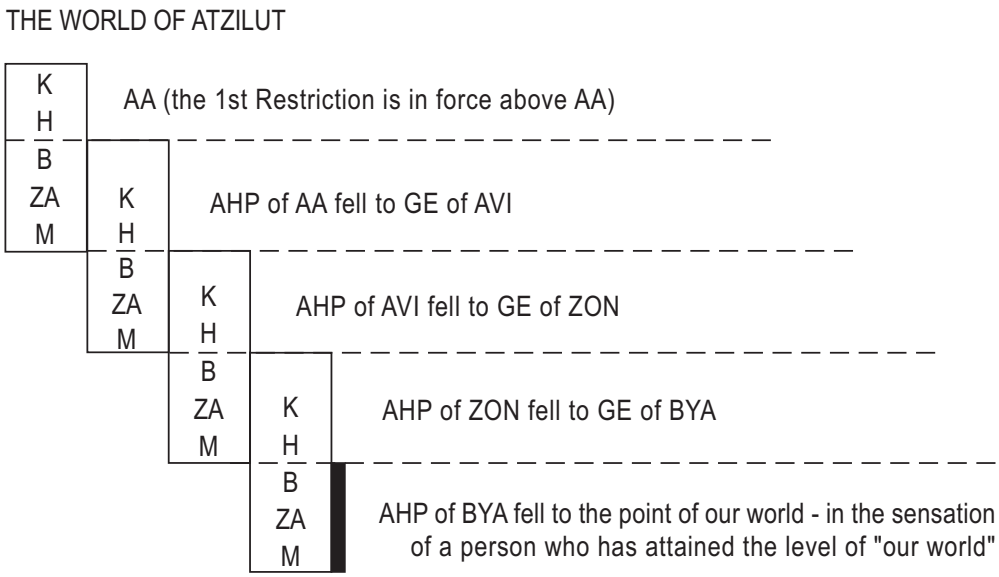

BUT AS THE LETTERS *ELEH* DESCEND FROM ABOVE—when *Malchut* is expelled from *Bina*, the letters *ELEH* get detached from *AVI* and fall to *ZON* (a lower degree), and clothe themselves in *ZON*: *ELEH* of *Aba* (*YESHS – Israel Saba*) clothe *ZA*, and *ELEH* of *Ima* (*Tvuna*) clothe *Malchut*. *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* is a complex *Partzuf*: her *GE* constitute *AVI* (two *Partzufim*), and her *AHP* have the name of a separate *Partzuf YESHSUT*, for they fulfill separate functions with regard to *ZON*: *Bina*: *GE* = *MI* = *GE* of *Aba* + *MI* = *GE* of *Ima*. *ELEH* = *AHP* of *Aba* = *YESHS* (*Israel Saba*) + *T* (*Tvuna*) = *ELEH* = *AHP* of *Ima*.

When *Ohr Haya* descends from Above (as a result of which *Malchut* descends from *Bina's* level back to her own place), three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* thereby return to their degree, and correspondingly, *Sefirot KHB* (called the "holy of holies") enter the now complete *Partzuf* consisting of five *Sefirot*. (Here, the Light is called by the name of the *Sefirot* it fills.) Previously, there was only *Ohr Ruach-Nefesh* in *K-H*, and now *Ohr Neshama-Haya-Yechida* was added to *KHB*, while *Ruach-Nefesh* descended to *ZA-M*.

However, when *AHP* of *Rosh de AA* (*B-ZA-M* of *Rosh de AA*) that fell to its *Guf* ascend (return from *Guf* to *Rosh de AA*), the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* ascend along with them to *Rosh de AA*. (These are the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* that were clothed in *AHP de AA* in their small state, when *AHP de AA* had fallen to *GE de AVI*.) Once there, the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* receive the Light called "holy of holies" that shines in *Rosh de AA*.

The reason for this is that when the Upper One descends to the lower one, it becomes like the lower one. And when the lower one ascends to the Upper One it becomes like the Upper One. This is because no space or motion exist in the spiritual, and only a change of properties instantly and automatically moves a *Partzuf* or its part in spiritual space, closer (higher) to the Creator or farther away (lower) from Him. Therefore, spiritual ascent itself implies a change of properties of the lower one to those of the Upper One, and a descent of the Upper One signifies that its properties became equal to the properties of the degree to which it descended.

Hence, in *Katnut*, when *Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP de Rosh* of *Partzuf AA* separate from its head and fall (move according to their now inferior properties) to its *Guf*, from *Peh* to *Chazeh*, where *Partzuf AVI* clothes *Partzuf AA*, they (*B-ZA-M = ZON = AHP de Rosh* of *AA*) become like *AVI* in their properties, without *Ohr Hochma*, and only with the Light of *Bina*, *Hassadim*.

That is why, in *Gadlut*, when *B-ZA-M = AHP de AA* return to the *Rosh* (the degree that is higher than *Guf*), they take with them *GE* of *AVI*, as they all became one degree while in *Katnut*. Therefore, in *Gadlut*, *GE* of *AVI* ascend from *AHP de Rosh* of *AA* to *Rosh de AA* and become equal to it (in their properties), where they receive the Light called "holy of holies" that shines in *Rosh de AA*.

ZON ascend to *AVI* in the same way: after *AVI* receive the Light in *Rosh de AA*, they acquire strength (screen), and lower *Malchut* from *Bina* back to her place in *Malchut*, thereby enabling their *Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP* to return to their degree, *AVI*, as in *AA*. However, when the *Kelim-Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP de Bina* that were inside *K-H = GE de ZON* ascend to *AVI*, they also take with them *Sefirot* of *ZON*, which they've clothed—*K-H = GE de ZON*. Thus, *K-H = GE de ZON* ascend to *AVI* and there receive the Light called "holy of holies," the Light of *Haya*.

Therefore, it is written that *Ima*-MOTHER DESCENDS TO HER DAUGHTER TO DRESS AND ADORN HER: the letters *ELEH* or *Ima* (*Bina*) in her small state descend to *Malchut*. This means that THE MOTHER DESCENDS TO HER DAUGHTER, for the three *Sefirot* of *Ima* assumed the property of *Malchut*, thereby separating from *Bina* and becoming a part of *Malchut*. This is akin to *Bina* giving part of her *Kelim* to *Malchut*. Yet, this gift is temporary, as though *Bina* LENDS, GIVES (these *Kelim*) FOR TEMPORARY USE, and thus, *Malchut* uses them temporarily.

And then, *Ima-Bina* (mother) ADORNS HER DAUGHTER WITH HER ADORNMENTS. This is so because in *Gadlut*, when the three *Sefirot ELEH*

return to *Bina*, *Malchut* ascends to the degree of *Bina* together with them, and there receives the Light of "holy of holies." And since an ascent to *Bina* implies becoming like *Bina* (in properties), she now has the right to receive the same Light as *Bina*.

It turns out that, as a result of the mother lowering her *Kelim* (properties) *ELEH* to her daughter by intentionally assuming the properties (desires) of *Malchut* instead of her own properties (desires), thereby entering the small state and willingly diminishing herself, upon receiving the properties of *Malchut* instead of properties of *Bina*, mother *Bina* adorned her daughter *Malchut* with her adornments, meaning the Light that subsequently comes in the state of *Gadlut*: the Light of *Bina* entered *Malchut*. This is described as "*Malchut* received her adornments."

There are two kinds of adornments that the daughter *Malchut* receives from her mother *Bina*: the first is *Ohr Hochma* (*Ohr Haya*, the Light of GAR), the Light of perfection, for it imparts the property of perfection to the *Kli* that it is filling, the Light that *Malchut* receives from *Ima* (Supernal Mother), who stands between *Peh* and *Chazeh* of *Partzuf* AA, above its *Parsa*. The second adornment is *Ohr Neshama*, which still designates imperfection, as it is received from the lower mother, *Partzuf* of *Tvuna* that stands between *Chazeh* and *Tabur de* AA, below its *Parsa*.

Naturally, to receive either Light, *Malchut* must ascend to the corresponding degree. In other words, she must change her properties so as to be able to receive, to merit that Light.

When *Malchut* ascends to *Tvuna* and receives her adornments from *Tvuna*, these adornments are still imperfect, for *Malchut* remains with a "question" (without the Light of *Hochma*), as *Tvuna* was before the raising of *MAN*. This means that to attain perfection, *Malchut* still needs to receive *MAN* from the lower ones, called the "husbands of Israel." In this state, the lower ones, called the righteous or "the husbands of Israel," receive the Light from ZA, which ascended to *YESHS* = *Israel-Saba*.

However, when *Malchut* ascends another degree, to the place of the Supernal Mother, *Bina*, above *Chazeh de* AA, and there receives her adornments from *Ima* and not from *Tvuna*, then these adornments are perfect, for they contain *Ohr Haya*; there is no more "question" in her, as she is considered a male, bestowing *Kli*, and the husbands of Israel receive from her.

And all the husbands of Israel appear before her and receive the Light from her. And *Malchut* is CALLED MASTER (Hebrew – *Adon*). The regular *Malchut*

is called by the Creator's female name *Adonay* (mistress) or *ADNI*, whereas in this state she is called by the male name *Adon* (master).

And this is because *Malchut* no longer has a question, for *MAN* is no longer raised within her, as she has reached perfection (Light of *Haya*) and is therefore called "husband" or master (*Adon*). Hence, the prophet said: BEHOLD THE ARK OF THE COVENANT, THE MASTER (*Adon*) OF ALL THE EARTH (*Yehoshua*, 3:11). *Malchut* is called the "Ark," for *ZA*, who bestows upon her, is called the "Covenant." *The Zohar* calls *Malchut* the "Master of all the earth" or "husband."

As a result of the letter *Hey* in the word *MA* (*Mem-Hey*), signifying the female essence, leaving *Malchut*, for the letter *Hey* signifies the presence of a question in *Malchut*, i.e., the absence of *Ohr Hochma*, whereas *Ohr Hochma* brings absolute knowledge, all questions disappear, and with them the letter *Hey*. The letter *Yod* ascends to the place of *Hey*, and *Malchut* assumes the name *MI* as *Ima*, which signifies *Malchut*'s reception of the name *Elokim*, as the name *Ima*.

18. Israel receives the last letters (*ELEH*) from Above, from *Bina* down to that place, i.e., to *Malchut*, who is now called *MI*, just like the name *Bina*. I pronounce the letters *ELEH* and my whole soul weeps so as to receive these letters *ELEH* from *Bina* into the house of *Elokim*, which is *Malchut*. So that *Malchut* would be called *Elokim*, just as *Bina* is called *Elokim*. How can I receive them? "With joyous songs of praise sung in the voice of the Torah, and festive throngs" (*Tehilim*, 42:4). Rabbi Elazar said, "My silence has erected the Temple Above, which is *Bina*, and the Temple below, which is *Malchut*. Of course, as people say, 'A word is worth a gold coin (Hebrew – *Sela*), but silence is worth two.' So the words 'a word is worth a gold coin' mean that I spoke and came to regret it. Silence, my silence, is worth twice as much, for the two worlds, *Bina* and *Malchut*, were created by this silence. For had I not kept silent (see item 11), I would not have attained the unity of both worlds."

After *Hey* has left *MA* and *Yod* ascended in her place, thereby forming *MI*, Israel elevates the LAST LETTERS *ELEH* to *Malchut* by raising *MAN*. As we've already explained, in *Katnut*, *ELEH* of the Upper One fell to *GE* of the lower one. Hence, they refer to the lower one in *Gadlut* as well. For when *B-ZA-M* = *ELEH* of the Upper One return to its *Rosh*, they thereby elevate *GE* of the lower one, too. The lower one thus acquires the *ELEH* of the Upper One and the Light with which they filled themselves in their present *Gadlut*.

To equalize with the lower one and enter the state of *Katnut*, the Upper One deliberately makes *Tzimtzum Bet* on its *AHP*. And upon connecting to the

lower one, the Upper One returns to the state of *Gadlut*, and passes the Light to that part of the lower one which they've both occupied in the state of *Katnut*.

This scenario is similar to one when a good, strong person joins a company of wicked men, and connects with them by pretending to be like them. And when such contact is established between them, he begins to correct them, little by little, precisely through this connection that has formed between them beforehand.

Each *Partzuf* in the small state is divided into two parts: *GE* and *AHP*. However, since there is a "column" of *Partzufim* between our world and the Creator, there is a connection between them via the common parts of the upper and the lower ones. Precisely because there is a part of an Upper One in each lower one, the lower one can receive strength from Above, through this common property, and ascend independently up to the Creator Himself.

Each Upper One that falls to the lower one completes its *Kelim* to ten *Sefirot*: *AHP* fall to *GE* of the lower one, and together they make up ten *Sefirot*, since they stand at the same level. In turn, *AHP* of the lower one falls into *GE* of the next lower one, and so on.

Afterwards, in *Gadlut*, when *GE* of the Upper One receive the strength to attach their *AHP* to themselves and elevate them, *GE* of the lower one ascend together with *AHP*, as they were joined below. Therefore, upon ascending, *GE* of the lower one continue to be joined with *AHP* of the Upper One, and together they form a *Partzuf* of ten *Sefirot*.

I PRONOUNCE THE LETTERS *ELEH*: Israel (one who wishes to receive the properties of the Creator) raises *MAN* (prayer for it) to receive in *Malchut* the Light of *Gadlut* (for self-correction) with the help of the letters *ELEH*, *Ima-Bina*. This is achieved by praying near the Gates of Tears, after which no one ever returns empty-handed, that is, after raising *MAN*, *ELEH* descend from *AVI* to *Malchut*, the house of *Elokim*. This is because after receiving *ELEH*, *Malchut* herself receives the name *Elokim*, just like *Ima*.

A WORD IS WORTH A GOLD COIN, BUT SILENCE IS WORTH TWO: the words (spiritual action) of Rabbi Elazar (the spiritual *Partzuf* of that name) elevated *Malchut* to *Tvuna*, below *Chazeh de AA*, where there is still no Light of *Hochma*, which designates the presence of a question in *Malchut*, a request for *Ohr Hochma*. And this is called "gold" (Hebrew – *Sela*, a gold coin), for that is the name of *Malchut*.

However, Rabbi Elazar's silence enabled Rabbi Shimon to reveal *Ohr Haya* by raising *Malchut* to the Supernal Mother, whereupon both worlds were

simultaneously created, for the lower world, *Malchut*, was created together with the Upper World, *Bina*, of which *The Zohar* speaks: SILENCE IS WORTH TWICE (two worlds) AS MUCH.

19. Rabbi Shimon said, "From here on the perfection of the written is said to bring forth their host by number." For these are two degrees, and each must be recorded, that is, noted: one is called *MA* and the other *MI*. *MI* is the Upper One, and *MA* is the lower one. The Upper Degree registers, speaks, and brings forth their hosts by number, where the letter *Hey* alludes to the one that is known and unequaled, namely *MI*. This is similar to the phrase, "*HaMotzi Lechem*"—He who brings forth bread from the earth (an appeal to the Creator), where the letter *Hey* refers to the knowledge of the known, lower degree, namely *MA*. And together they are one degree, *Malchut*. However, the Upper One is *MI de Malchut* and the lower one is *MA de Malchut*, the one that brings forth their host by number, for the number 600,000 refers to the number of stars that stand together, and they bring forth innumerable hosts.

The Zohar alludes to the words of the prophet (*Yeshayahu*, 40:26): "Raise your eyes to the height of Heavens and see: WHO HAS CREATED THESE (them) – *MI BARAH ELEH*? He that brings out their host by number, He calls them all by name; no one shall be hidden from the greatness of His might and the force of His power."

The word "recording" means "marked by the letter *Hey*," for two degrees must be recorded in *Malchut*: *MI* and *MA*. With the help of the Light that is received at the time of ascent above *Chazeh de AA* to the Upper World, *Malchut* becomes like the upper world and assumes the name *MI*, for the letter *Hey* exits *MA* (*Mem-Hey*), and the letter *Yod* ascends to its place. Thus, *Malchut* is called *MI*, like the Upper World, and is adorned with the male property.

Nevertheless, *MA*, the previous degree of *Malchut*, does not disappear. The reason for this is that the degree of *MI* is essential in order to pass the Light, the perfection of the "holy of holies" to the generations, the posterity of *Malchut*, *NRN* of the righteous, the lower ones. However, the birth and procreation of these generations (sons) depend on the name *MA*. Hence, if either (*MA* or *MI*) is missing in *Malchut*, she will not be able to beget future generations, to create new souls (lower *Partzufim* filled with Light).

Therefore, *Malchut* BRINGS OUT THEIR HOST BY NUMBER—this is the degree of *MI*, which *Malchut* inherits from the Supernal Mother, for the letter *Hey* before the words "brings out" (*Motzi* = *HaMotzi*) alludes to the fact that *Malchut* contains the perfect Light, called "adornments," which she

receives from *AVI*. This is the maximal Light that may fill *Malchut* during the 6,000 years.

The same letter, *Hey*, designates the presence of the Light of *YESHSUT*, the degree of *MA* within *Malchut*. For this degree must also be recorded, be present in *Malchut*. And these two degrees, *MI* and *MA*, are present in *Malchut*: *MI* above and *MA* below.

The Zohar calls *Malchut* the "world being revealed." That is to say, whatever *Malchut* reveals, the lower ones receive. Those individual attainments, individual sensations of the Light that descend from *Malchut* are what they call "their world." Similarly, whatever we feel in our sensory organs is what we call "our world." But this is nothing more than what we receive from *Malchut* of the lowest degree in the world of *Assiya*, *Malchut* of the previous degree.

However, we should know that the actual notion of "our world" indicates the true attainment of the degree called "our world," i.e., man's sensation of his ultimate disconnection from the Creator, total helplessness, and the realization of his absolute egoism. One can attain this sensation only if the spiritual Light shines on him from Above, in contrast to which he will see his true spiritual state. However, in order to reach such a state, one must make great efforts in the study of Kabbalah so as to draw upon himself the influence of the Surrounding Light ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155).

However, when man attains this state, he immediately raises such a request to the Creator that his *MAN* is not left unanswered, and he receives the strength to transcend "our world" and ascend with his properties to a Higher Degree—*Malchut* of the world of *Assiya*. And then it is she that becomes his world.

Here we are speaking about very high degrees. The *Malchut* that is being revealed is *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, *Nukva de ZA*. And the fact that *The Zohar* calls her "Supernal" indicates the state of *Malchut* when she attains the degree of *MI* during her ascent and clothing the Upper World, the Supernal Mother. Therefore, *Malchut* herself is then called "Supernal," and the degree of *MA* is, accordingly, called "lower."

KNOWS ALL THE HOSTS BY NUMBER: number designates perfection. Light without a number indicates that the Light is imperfect, whereas the Light with a number is perfect. The action of *ZA* with regard to passing the Light from *Bina* to *Malchut* is described in the phrase: THE HEAVENS TELL OF THE CREATOR'S GREATNESS. THE HEAVENS (*ZA*) TELL (Hebrew—*Mesaper*, from the word *Mispar*—number, the Light's perfection). *ZA* passes this Light from *AVI* to *Malchut*, called THE CREATOR'S GREATNESS.

This Light is called 600,000, for the degree of *Malchut* designates units, the degree of *ZA*—tens, the degree of *YESHSUT*—hundreds, the degree of *AVI*—thousands, the degree of *AA*—tens of thousands.

There are two parts in *AVI*: their own part, where they are regarded as thousands, and the part from *Ohr Hochma* that is received from *Rosh de AA*, where they are regarded as *AA*, that is, tens of thousands. However, they cannot be considered a complete degree of *AA*, but only as its *VAK*, for they clothe *AA* from the *Peh* down to the *Chazeh*. And since *VAK* = *Vav Ketzavot* = 6 *Sefirot* x 10 = 60, the degree of *VAK de AA* equals 60 x 10,000 = 600,000.

Therefore, when *Malchut* ascends to *AVI*, she receives a complete, perfect number—600,000, where 60 signifies that it is merely *VAK*, for *Malchut* has not yet reached *Rosh de AA* and that she still lacks this degree. And the degree of 10,000 refers to *AA*, the part that clothes in *AVI*, for *AVI* are *VAK de AA*. Therefore, *Malchut* contains the number 600,000.

Thus, two degrees are recorded in *Malchut*:

- *MI*, the degree of *AVI* that clothes in *Malchut*, through which *Malchut* receives the degree of the Upper World and is called accordingly, while the Light in it is called 600,000.
- *MA*, the degree of *YESHSUT* that clothes in *Malchut*, through which *Malchut* has a question, the sensation of lack of *Ohr Hochma*, and the request for its reception. *Malchut* is therefore called the "lower world."

These two degrees create one *Partzuf* within *Malchut*: her part that is above the *Chazeh* is clothed in *AVI*, and her part that is below the *Chazeh* is clothed in *YESHSUT*. Therefore, in the generations, in *Malchut*'s descendants, each *Partzuf* consists of two parts (degrees): from the Upper Part (*MI*) there is a Light of 600,000, and from the lower part (lower world, *MA*), there is an absence of number (perfection) in each descendant.

The phrase, THEY BRING FORTH INNUMERABLE HOSTS is not interpreted as infinitely big. Rather, "Innumerable" indicates the imperfection of the Light that is received in the lower part, as it comes from *YESHSUT*, the degree that is without a number.

Malchut's descendants are therefore defined as imperfect, as these two degrees exist in her as one, and are connected as one. Hence, there are two degrees in *Malchut*'s descendants: the Upper One—600,000, and the lower one—without a number. However, the lower one is defined as supplement to perfection and is not considered a flaw.

The reason for this is that the blessing of the seed, propagation depends only on the lower world, *MA*, without a number, as it is said in the Torah that Avraham complained that he is childless (*Beresheet*, 15:5), and the answer was: "Look now toward Heaven, and count the stars. Will you be able to count them? So shall be your descendants." From this we see that the blessing of the seed comes from the lack of a number, i.e., the name *MA*.

Hence, after all the perfection that *Malchut* attains from the Light of *AVI* (*MI*), *Malchut* has an additional blessing from *MA*, which is called the "lack of a number," and both these degrees are included in her descendants—the souls and generations.

20. All of these 600,000 and all their innumerable hosts, He calls the names. What does this mean: "calls the names?" If you say that He calls them by their names, it is not so, for then it would have said, "calls by name." However, when this degree does not ascend in the name *Elokim*, but is called *MI*, it does not beget and does not reveal those that are concealed within it. And although they were all concealed within it, meaning that even though the letters *ELEH* have already ascended, the "precious garment" of *Ohr Hassadim* is still concealed. And while it is concealed, it is not called by the name *Elokim*. For He created the letters *ELEH* and they ascended in His Name—clothed themselves in "precious garments" of *Ohr Hassadim*, as a result of which *ELEH* combine with *MI*, and are called *Elo-im*. Then, by the power of this name, He brought them forth in perfection, defined as CALLS THEIR NAMES, which means that He called by name and brought forth every type and species to exist in perfection. Hence, it is said: HE BROUGHT FORTH THEIR HOST BY NUMBER—called them all by name, that is, by the name *Elokim*.

It was already mentioned that the perfection of the Light, which is the Creator's name *Elo-im*, descends to the souls, generations, descendants, two degrees joined in one. This degree includes 600,000 from the Upper Degree, and innumerable hosts from the lower, and the Creator's name descends on both of them.

The blessing of the seed depends entirely on *MA*, for it is determined by *Ohr Hochma*, as this Light designates perfection. Whereas the Light without a number, *Ohr Hassadim*, comes precisely from the name *MA*. As is already known, *Ohr Hochma* is accepted only when clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. Until such clothing occurs, even though *ELEH* ascend to *MI*, the name *Elokim* (*ELO-IM* = *ELEH* + *IM*) does not act.

Hence, it is written that *MI* DOES NOT BEGET (ANY OFFSPRING), even though the point of *Malchut* left the thought (*Bina*) and descended back to her place, and all ten *Sefirot* and the Light returned to the *Partzuf*, THE NAME *ELEH* IS still CONCEALED, for she still cannot receive *Hochma* in the absence of *Hassadim*.

However, BECAUSE HE CREATED *ELEH*, meaning that after He added a *Zivug* to the screen of *MA* (lower world, *Malchut*), there appeared *Ohr Hassadim*, called WITHOUT A NUMBER. And *ELEH* were filled with *Ohr Hassadim*, which means *BARAH* = CREATED *ELEH*, as clothing in *Ohr Hassadim* is called *BARAH* (creation). Only after this are they called *ELOKIM*, for only after the reception of *Ohr Hassadim* can they receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "the Light of a number," the Light of 600,000, as a result of which, the letters combine and form the complete name *Elokim*.

The same perfection (clothing of *Hochma* in *Hassadim*) also extends to the souls and descendants that emerge from the name *Elokim*. AND HE IS CALLED BY THIS NAME: all that emerges is called by this name, with these properties He creates all descendants—*Partzufim* from His *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. THE NAME 600,000 is *Hochma*, TOGETHER WITH *HASSADIM*, so that they will have the perfection of the name, so that Light will clothe Light, as they are clothed in the NAME. It is therefore written: SEE, I CALL THEM BY NAME, for "to call" means to revive and bring to perfection.

21. He asks, "What is the meaning of 'by the greatness of His might and wealth?'" This is the head of the degree, where all desires ascend and remain concealed. The strong one that ascended in the name *Elokim*, as it is said, "This is the secret of the Upper World, called *MI*." No man is missing from the 600,000 that He created by the power of this name. And because no one is missing from these 600,000, it follows that wherever the sons of Israel perished and were punished for their transgressions, we subsequently find that not one from the 600,000 had disappeared, so that everything would remain the same Above and below. And just as no one had disappeared from the 600,000 Above, no one has disappeared from this number below.

FROM THE GREATNESS OF HIS MIGHT AND WEALTH signifies *Keter de AVI*, called the HEAD OF DEGREES. This is *Bina* of *AA*, which became *Keter de Partzuf AVI*, WHERE ALL DESIRES ASCEND (*MAN* of the lower ones), and receive all the degrees from there. This degree is filled with *Ohr Hassadim*, and exists in perfection even in the absence of *Ohr Hochma*, as its Light of *Hassadim* comes from *GAR de BINA* of *AA*. In other words, it has such

a powerful Light of *Hassadim* that although this degree emerged from *Rosh de AA*, it is not regarded as having left it, for it feels no need for *Ohr Hochma*. This degree, *Keter* of *AVI*, is the *Rosh* of all the degrees in the world of *Atzilut*, from where *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON* receive the Light.

THE STRONG ONE IS THE SECRET OF THE UPPER WORLD, the property of *MI* that is present in *Malchut*, from where the number 600,000 descends, for she clothes the Upper World, *AVI*. Therefore, it is written that NO ONE DISAPPEARS FROM THOSE 600,000 because there *Malchut* receives *Ohr Hochma*, called "600,000." Hence, it is said that AS NO ONE DISAPPEARED ABOVE, SO IT IS BELOW, for *Malchut* clothes *AVI*, described in the phrase: THE MOTHER ADORNS HER DAUGHTER WITH HER OWN ADORNMENTS, by which *Malchut* becomes completely similar to *AVI*. And just as the Light of *AVI* is perfect (which is why it is called "600,000" and NO ONE HAS DISAPPEARED, i.e., no lack of *Ohr Hochma* is felt), *Malchut* is perfect in this number, which means NO ONE HAS DISAPPEARED below.

The Letters of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba

22. Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba said: "In the first four words of the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED *Et – Beresheet Barah Elokim Et*, the first two words begin with the letter *Bet*, and the following two begin with *Aleph*" (The letter *Aleph* is pronounced both as "A" and "E"). It is said that when the Creator thought to create the world, all of the letters were still concealed, and even 2,000 years before the creation of the world, the Creator gazed into the letters and played with them.

In the language of Kabbalah, the same sentence appears in the following way: when the Creator (*Bina*) decided to create the world (*ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*), the *Kelim* of *ZON* (*Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva*) were still in *Bina*. *Hochma* and *Bina* (*Aba ve Ima – AVI*) are called 2,000 years. Before the creation of the world (the birth of *ZON*), all the letters (the *Kelim* of *ZON*) existed in *AVI* in the form of *MAN*, and *MAN* always stimulates a desire in the Upper One to attend to it.

With regard to the lower *Partzuf*, the Upper One is called the Creator, for it truly begets it, and whatever the lower one receives, comes directly from its Upper One. Moreover, one may say that this is all that the Upper One desires, its entire existence is meant exclusively for the lower one. Therefore, the Upper One always waits for the lower one's genuine request for the desire to ascend spiritually, which is called *MAN*. Provided this desire is sincere, the Upper One immediately responds and passes the powerful Light of correction to the lower one.

Since the lower one is *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, and all that is below this *Partzuf* (all the worlds of *ABYA* and our world) is considered a part of it, *AVI* of the world of *Atzilut* constitute the Upper *Partzuf*. The desires and properties of *ZON* are called "letters," and here *The Zohar* explains the properties that *ZON* (the spiritual worlds and our world, we ourselves) were

created with, which properties are desirable, which require correction, and how this correction is achieved.

Since the properties of the future Creature are determined by the Creator's purpose in creating it, it is said that even before the creation of the world, the Creator played with the letters. The word "played" suggests that the Creator's interaction with the Creature is like His game with the leviathan (the legendary sea monster), with the property that is opposite from Him. At the end of correction all the letters unite and combine into the one name of the Creator.

The order of the Hebrew alphabet indicates the descent of the Direct Light from Above, the Inner Light that fills the *Partzuf*. The reverse order of the letters from the end of the alphabet alludes to the ascent of the Returning Light. The direct order of the alphabet refers to mercy, whereas the reverse order—to the strict law and restrictions on using egoistic desires.

When Adam sinned, the letters detached themselves from him, and only the letters *Shin* and *Tav* (the *Kelim* for the Light of *VAK* of *Nefesh*) remained in him. The *Kelim* for the Light of *Neshama* are represented by the letters from *Aleph* to *Yod*; the letters from *Yod* to *Kuf* are the *Kelim* for the Light of *Ruach*, and the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*—the *Kelim* for *GAR* of *Nefesh*—disappeared from him.

This is why Adam gave his son, born after his sin, the name *SHeT* (Seth): *Shin-Tav*, according to the two last letters of the alphabet—the *Kelim* that remained in him. The *Kli Shin-Tav* are only fit for the Returning Light from below upwards, but not for the reception of the Upper Light from Above downwards. However, after it receives *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin* (the letter *Yod*), *Shin-Tav* turns into a combination *Shin-Yod-Tav*. And if the Creator creates the world by the letter *Bet*, it then enters between *Shin* and *Tav* and forms the word *Shabbat* (*Sh-B-T*), the state of spiritual perfection, the goal of creation. For this reason, the first word in the Torah—*Beresheet* consists of: *Bara* (created) *Sh(in)-Y(od)-T(av)*.

23. When the Creator thought to create the world, all the letters of the alphabet came to Him in reverse order from last (*Tav*) to first (*Aleph*). The letter *Tav* entered first and said, "Master of the world! It is good, and also seemly of You, to create the world with me, with my properties. For I am the seal on Your ring, called *EmeT* (truth), that ends with the letter *Tav*. And that is why You are called truth, and why it would befit the King to begin the universe with the letter *Tav*, and to create the world by her, by her properties."

The Creator answered: "You are beautiful and sincere, but do not merit the world that I conceived to be created by your properties, since you are

destined to be marked on the foreheads of the truly faithful who fulfill all of Torah from *Aleph* to *Tav* (from the first letter to the last), and perished because of you" (Talmud Bavli, *Shabbat*, 55)

What does a particular name of the Creator mean? The name of the spiritual object indicates the way one can receive the Light that fills it, the way one can attain its spiritual degree. Generally speaking, the twenty-two letters are the ten *Sefirot-Kelim* in the *Ibur* (embryonic phase) of the future *Partzuf* in the *Sefira Yesod*, for that is where the screen of the embryo of the new *Partzuf* is located. That is why *Yesod* is called a "number," as it measures the size of a new *Partzuf*.

Bearing in mind that each name determines specific spiritual properties and states of an object, one can understand what is meant by a change of name, place, or action.

HaVaYaH is the basis of all the letters, but the filling of each letter clarifies the letter itself. The filling of a letter is heard as the letter is pronounced. As we read the letter *Yod* in the word *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*), we actually pronounce three sounds (y-o-d); although we write only one letter, the sounds "o-*Vav*" and "d-*Dalet*" are heard together with the sound "y." When we say "*Hey*," the sound "ey"—*Yod* or "ey"—follows the sound "h." Therein lies the clarification of the name *HaVaYaH* in the process of its emergence.

The Creator's form-properties are revealed in His deeds; hence, the three lines in *Bina* (the Creator) are imprinted and act in His created beings (the lower worlds) as a seal and its imprint. Therefore, the name *MB* exists in *Bina*, as well as in *ZA* and *Malchut*. However, in *ZA*, this name is divided into the ten sayings and thirty-two forces of creation of *Elokim*, which create *Malchut*, the creature.

Bina is designated by the letter *Mem*, *Malchut*—by *Bet*; the name *MB* designates the creation of *Malchut* by *Bina*. The letter *Aleph* designates *ZA*, which passes all the twenty-two letters (from *Aleph* to *Tav*) to *Malchut* (*Bet*). This is why *Malchut* is called *ET* (*Aleph* pronounced as '*E*'-*Tav*).

Malchut is the central part of creation and its purpose. She is the only creation and includes all the worlds with all that inhabits them, us included. Depending on its states, parts of *Malchut* or *Malchut* herself (which is one and the same) have different properties designated by the different letter combinations. For this reason, *Malchut's* parts receive various "codes" (combinations) of letters (properties) or names.

All the words in the world originate here, in *Malchut*. There is not a single property in the world that is not included in *Malchut*. Each property of *Malchut*, each of the creatures (for all creatures are her parts) is designated by

the property that distinguishes it from the others, by the unique set of letters-properties that forms its name.

Malchut is called *Shechina* (Divinity), as she is filled with the Light, *Shochen* (Dweller—the Creator). The Creator is called *Shochen* when *Malchut* feels Him as such, within her. If man, being part of *Malchut*, purifies himself of egoism, either partially or completely, and thus fills his corrected desires with the Light (the Creator), he becomes part of the *Shechina*.

Malchut consists of four parts that are named by their properties (also called faces): face of a lion, face of an ox, face of an eagle, and face of a man. Alternately, *Malchut* is likened to a spiritual kernel, surrounded by four shells, which correspond to the four *Klipot* (impure forces): *Ruach Se'ara* (Stormy Wind), *Anan Gadol* (Great Cloud), *Esh Mitlakachat* (Blazing Flame), and *Noga* (Radiance).

Kabbalah can describe spiritual actions either as names of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim* or as names of *HaVaYaH*, *EKYEH*, and so forth, with their fillings and *Gematriot* (plural for *Gematria*—the numeric value). Although the most frequently used language is that of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*, sometimes the language of *HaVaYaH* with its fillings can also be applied, even in parallel or simultaneously with the former.

Most Kabbalistic terms are composite: *Maatzil* (the Creator) comes from the word *Tzel* (shadow), as the Creature emerges from the Creator's concealment, from His restrictions. Another name for the Creator is *Boreh* (combination of *Bo*—come and *Re'eh*—see).

A name denotes attainment. Upon attaining an object, man gives it a name. Similarly, man gives a name to the Creator according to the property that he attains, depending on how he feels the Creator. There are several kinds of names to the Creator, based on His properties. For example, the Creator's name *EMET*—"Truth" is based on the sensations of His Light within the *Partzuf*.

Below are the names of the Creator with the corresponding names of the *Sefirot*:

– ***Keter:*** *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey* (*EKYEH*)

– ***Hochma:*** *Yod-Hey* (*YA*)

– ***Bina:*** *HaVaYaH* with the punctuation *Segol-Holam-Hirik*, as *Elokim*: *Yod* (*Yod-Vav-Dalet*) - *Hey* (*Hey-Yod*) - *Vav* (*Vav-Aleph-Vav*) - *Hey* (*Hey-Yod*).

– ***Hesed:*** *Aleph-Lamed* = *EL* (pronounced *KEL*)

– ***Gevura:*** *Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Mem* (*ELOKIM*)

– ***Tifferet:*** *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey* (*HaVaYaH* without punctuation)

– ***Netzah:*** *HaVaYaH TZEVAOT*

– ***Hod:*** *ELOKIM TZEVAOT*

– ***Yesod:*** *Shin-Dalet-Yod = SHADDAY*

– ***Malchut:*** *ADONAY* (pronounced *ADNI*)

Merging the two worlds, the Upper and the lower, is designated by the words *HaVaYaH-ADNI*, implying the ascent of *Malchut-ADNI* to the level of *Bina-HaVaYaH* with the punctuation of *Elokim*.

The name ZA of *HaVaYaH* comes from the right line (*Hesed*), and the name *ADNI*, from the left line (*Gevura*). Joining of these two lines forms the middle line, where the Light of *Hochma* shines on account of the presence of the Light of *Hassadim* from the right line. Such state is designated by a combination of the two names *HaVaYaH-ADNI*:

YOD-Aleph-HEY-Dalet-VAV-Nun-HEY-Yod. The union (*Zivug*) of ZA and his *Nukva* is designated by mixing the two names.

HaVaYaH-ADNI: *Yod-Aleph-Hey-Dalet-Vav-Nun-Hey-Yod*. The opening *Yod* indicates the Light of *Hochma* in ZA, the *Yod* at the end refers to the passing of this Light to *Nukva*.

As a result of the second restriction, *Malchut* ascended to *Bina*, and governs *Bina* and ZA with her desire. Since it is impossible to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the three *Sefirot*—*Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*, which are governed by *Malchut's* egoistic desire, the Light of *Hochma* is absent in the *Partzuf*, and only the Light of *Hassadim* is present.

This is designated in the following way: the letter *Yod* enters the word Light (*Ohr* contains the letters *Aleph-Vav-Reish*, signifying the Light of *Hochma*), and forms the word *Avir* (air, containing the letters *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*), signifying the Light of *Hassadim*. If the *Partzuf* returns to the *Gadlut* state, the letter *Yod* exits it, and it is refilled with the Light of *Hochma*. Consequently, *Avir* (air) becomes *Ohr* (Light).

Unfilled *HaVaYaH* designates *Partzuf Keter*. *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *AB* (72) designates *Partzuf Hochma* (AA). *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *SAG* (63) designates *Partzuf Bina* (AVI). Together, these three *HaVaYaH* form *MB* (42) letters—the sacred name of the Light that corrects the souls by its influence on the *Kli*, the screen.

All that was created is the desire to receive pleasure, which we call "creature." Only this desire was created, and nothing else. All the worlds and all that inhabits

them, our world with everything within it, are but degrees of the desire to receive pleasure. The intensity of the desire determines its place in the spiritual realm, where all creation and our world—as its lowest point—are located. Man's actual location (the world, his spiritual degree) determines the particular kind of pleasure he desires, how he chooses to enjoy.

In order for the creature to emerge from the Creator, the Light emanating from Him must descend through four stages, whereas the fifth stage already perceives itself as a separate and independent (from the Creator) desire to enjoy precisely the Light emanating from the Creator.

Upon emerging from the Creator—a result of a sequential emanation of His Light—the desire to receive pleasure (*Kli*-vessel) also consists of five parts designated by the letters: the tip of the *Yod*, *Yod*, *Hey*, *Vav*, *Hey*. These five parts (four letters) are called the Creator's name *HaVaYaH*, because the *Kli* gives the Creator a name according to its sensation of Him, according to its sensation of the Light that fills it. The Light that fills the *Kli* is called "filling."

The *Kli* created by the Creator is divided into five parts, called "worlds." Each world is in turn divided into five more parts, called *Partzufim* (faces). Then, each *Partzuf* (singular for *Partzufim*) consists of five parts called *Sefirot*. In all, there are 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 spiritual objects or degrees from the lowest degree to the Creator Himself.

Each *Partzuf* consists of five parts (*Sefirot*), designated by a dot and four letters: *Keter*-dot + *Hochma*-*Yod* + *Bina*-*Hey* + ZA-*Vav* + *Malchut*-*Hey* = *HaVaYaH*. The difference between each of the 125 *Partzufim* lies in the type of Light that fills them, whereas the core of the *Kli*, the letters *HaVaYaH*, remain the same. A desire cannot appear unless the Creator's Light had previously passed through the five stages; only the fifth stage is considered a birth of a new creation (desire).

The whole universe (all the worlds) is nothing but the ten *Sefirot* or the Creator's name *HaVaYaH*.

SEFIRA	LETTER	PARTZUF	WORLD	LIGHT
Keter	A dot, the tip of the letter *Yod*	*Galgalta*	*AK*	*Yechida*
Hochma	*Yod*	*AB*	*Atzilut*	*Haya*
Bina	*Hey*	*SAG*	*Beria*	*Neshama*
ZA	*Vav*	*MA*	*Yetzira*	*Ruach*
Malchut	*Hey*	*BON*	*Assiya*	*Nefesh*

A filling of *HaVaYaH* with Light is referred to as its revelation. Thus, the letters emerge from the state of concealment when they are not filled. In all there are five *Partzufim*: *Keter* (*Galgalta*), *AB*, *SAG*, *MA* and *BON*. The first—*Partzuf Keter*—is the main one and the source of all the rest. Its ten *Sefirot* is plain (inner) *HaVaYaH*, for each of the four letters of its *HaVaYaH* comes outside, revealing a new *Partzuf* that clothes it.

So then, out of *Partzuf Keter-Galgalta*, from the letter *Yod* comes *Partzuf Hochma* (*AB*), from the letter *Hey*—*Partzuf Bina* (*SAG*), from the letter *Vav*—*Partzuf ZA* (*MA*), and from the letter *Hey*—*Partzuf Malchut* (*BON*). Thus *Partzuf Keter* is designated by plain *HaVaYaH*, and the *Partzufim* that clothe it are designated by filled *HaVaYaH*. The recording of *HaVaYaH* with the Light that fills it is called *Miluy* (filling). For the purposes of brevity when naming a *Partzuf*, the notion of *Gematria* was introduced. *Gematria* is the numerical value of the Light that fills the *Partzuf*.

Wisdom (*Hochma*) is called calculation (*Heshbon*), *Gematria*. A calculation is made only in a place where Light is received: (i) a preliminary calculation is made as to how much Light the *Partzuf* can receive for the Creator's sake; (ii) the Light is received in accordance with the calculation; (iii) calculation of the received amount, called *Miluy*, *Gematria*.

Malchut cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* without the Light of *Hassadim*, and in that event, *Hochma* cannot shine in her. Then *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and becomes like an embryo inside of her, by which she receives the right line—*Hassadim*. Upon joining the past and the present states, *Malchut* receives *Hochma* into *Hassadim*, and the Light of *Hochma* shines in her. All these actions of *Malchut* are accompanied by calculations, called *Gematriot*.

The *Gematria* (numerical value) of the *Partzuf* unfilled with the Light, the *Gematria* of the empty *HaVaYaH* is as follows:

HaVaYaH = *Yod* + *Hey* + *Vav* + *Hey* = 10 + 5 + 6 + 5 = 26. The *Gematria* of a filled *HaVaYaH* is formed by filling each letter; In Hebrew, each letter has a full name: A-*Aleph*, B-*Bet*, etc.. Hence, there are four kinds of fillings in *HaVaYaH*: 1) *AB*, 2) *SAG*, 3) *MA* and 4) *BON*.

1) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *AB*:
Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 10 + 6 + 4 = 20
Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15
Vav: *Vav* + *Yod* + *Vav* = 6 + 10 + 6 = 22
Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

In all: 20 + 15 + 22 + 15 = 72 = *AB*, where "A" designates the letter *Ayin* = 70, and not *Aleph* = 1. *HaVaYaH* filled with this Light is called *Partzuf AB* (*Partzuf Hochma*), for the letter *Yod* with its filling signifies the Light of Wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*. Such a filling is called "*HaVaYaH* with the filling of *Yod*."

2) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *SAG*: the *Partzuf* that is filled with Light of Mercy, *Ohr Hassadim*, is called *SAG*, for its *Gematria* is this:

SAG = *Samech* (60) + *Gimel* (3) = 63:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 10 + 6 + 4 = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

Vav: *Vav* + *Aleph* + *Vav* = 6 + 1 + 6 = 13

Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

In all: 20 + 15 + 13 + 15 = 63 = *Samech* + *Gimel* = *SAG*

If the *Kelim* and their filling originate from the first restriction, the letter *Yod* is present in the filling of *HaVaYaH*. And if the *Kelim* are filled with the Light of the second restriction, it is the letter *Aleph*, present in the filling of *HaVaYaH*. The difference between the *Gematriot* of *AB* and *SAG* lies in the filling of the letter *Vav*: *Gematria* of *Vav* in *Partzuf AB* is twenty-two (from the filling of *Ohr Hochma*), whereas *Gematria* of *Vav* in *Partzuf SAG* is thirteen (from the filling of *Ohr Hassadim*). From the aforesaid, it is clear that *Partzuf AB* originates from the first restriction, whereas the letter *Vav* (ZA) in *Partzuf SAG* originates from the second restriction.

3) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *MA*:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Aleph* = 6

Vav: *Vav* + *Aleph* + *Vav* = 13

Hey: *Hey* + *Aleph* = 6

Such a filling of *HaVaYaH* is called 20 + 6 + 13 + 6 = 45 = *Mem* (40) + *Hey* (5) = *MA* (the letter *Hey* is pronounced as "ah").

4) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *BON*:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Hey* = 10

Vav: *Vav* + *Vav* = 12

Hey: *Hey* + *Hey* = 10

Such a filling of *HaVaYaH* is called 20 + 10 + 12 + 10 = 52 = *Nun* (50) + *Bet* (2), pronounced as *BON* for easier articulation. This is the *Gematria* of

Partzuf Malchut, and it is equivalent to twice the value of the unfilled *HaVaYaH*: *HaVaYaH* = 26, and 26 x 2 = 52 = *MA*.

Partzuf Malchut cannot receive the Creator's Light due to the absence of a screen. Instead, it can only passively receive what *Partzuf ZA* gives it. Hence, the twofold twenty-six indicates that whatever *Malchut* has comes to her from *ZA*.

From the four kinds of *HaVaYaH*, it becomes clear that the root of creation is neither *Partzuf Hochma* nor *Bina*, but only *ZA*, as it is the first *Partzuf* built on the second restriction.

The primary ten *Sefirot* are located in *Partzuf Keter*, whereas *Partzufim AB*, *SAG*, *MA*, and *BON* are merely branches stemming from the first *Partzuf*. However, when the Light spreads within the *Partzuf*, it contains five inner Lights *NRNHY* and five outer Lights. The five outer Lights of *Bina* come out of the right ear, and the five inner Lights of *Bina* come out of the left. The five outer Lights of *ZA* come out of the right nostril, and the five inner Lights of *ZA* come out of the left.

Since the two *Malchuyot* (plural for *Malchut*) are remote from one another, as a branch in our world, man's ear holes are also separated and distanced. The two nostrils are separated by a smaller distance, whereas the five inner and outer Lights of the common Light of the *Peh* (mouth) come out of the same opening. Thus, as they exit the mouth, they collide and interweave, and as a result of their collisions, letters (*Kelim*) are born.

Since twenty-two letters originate from *Bina-SAG* = *Samech* + *Gimel* = 60 + 3 = 63, the opening through which they come out is called 63 + 22 = 85 = *Peh* + *Hey* = *PeH* (mouth). The letters come out of the *Peh* of *ZA*, for *Yesod* of *Ima* is located there.

We received our entire Torah, all of the knowledge about the spiritual worlds, from our Great Patriarchs, who ascended spiritually above our world, sensed the Upper Worlds, and described them to us. This is how we received the whole Torah—both the written and the oral parts.

We cannot imagine the spiritual world because our sensory organs cannot detect it. Thus, to describe the objects and concepts still unattainable by us, Kabbalists use several techniques, languages. The whole Torah speaks only of the creation, governing, and correction of the world; never about history, geography, or anything else. As it is said in the Torah itself, the Torah is the sacred names, that is, manifestations of the Creator, the degrees and methods of His attainment.

Kabbalists, those who ascend to the spiritual world and thus establish direct contact with the Creator, convey this information to us using four languages:

1. The language of the *TaNaKh* (**T**orah—Pentateuch, **N***evi'im*—Prophets, ***K****etuvim*—Writings/Hagiographa). This is the language of the written Torah.
2. The language of laws.
3. The language of legends.
4. The language of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*—the language of Kabbalah.

All the languages speak about the same thing—the attainment of the Creator by us, those living in this world. For this is the sole purpose of our creation, and according to the Creator's design, we must devote all of our physical, mental, and spiritual abilities only to it. And if we were to aspire only to this, we would naturally use our language only for this purpose. After all, everything that is given to us is only for the fulfillment of this exclusive goal—the attainment of the sensation of the Creator, while still in this life.

And this is why the first language mastered by humankind was Hebrew. However, as they distanced from fulfilling their mission, humankind conceived other languages. All the other languages in the world have their inner meaning, too, but since their alphabets were not revealed to us by Kabbalists, we study the spiritual forces depicted in the Hebrew alphabet, the source of all the others.

Every *Partzuf* is divided into two parts: right and left. The right part consists of *Ramach* = *Reish* – *Mem* – *Chet* = 248 parts (organs) filled with the Light of *Hassadim*; and the left part consists of *Shasah* = *Shin* – *Samech* – *Hey* = 365 parts (tendons) filled with the Light of *Hochma*. ZA is called a "voice"; he is generally the Light of *Hassadim*. But when he joins with *Malchut*, called "speech," *Malchut* receives the Light of *Hassadim* with *Hochma* from ZA, and thus "speech" is formed.

The seven primary *Sefirot* of ZA are called "Seven Heavens." The seventy names of ZA originate from the 70 (7 x 10) *Sefirot* of ZA. ZA himself is called "Heaven" and *Malchut* is called "earth." The *Sefirot* of ZA are also called *Ruach*, owing to the Light of *Ruach* within them, which ascends to *Bina* (ears) and transforms into sound: *Hochma* in the left ear and *Hassadim* in the right.

There is a difference between language and alphabet, as in our world there are people who can speak, but cannot read or write. The most ancient spoken language is that of the *TaNaKh*, which dates back to Adam. The language of laws originated from it, followed by the language of legends. All of these languages combined and each of them in particular are used in our holy scriptures.

The language of Kabbalah was the last to develop. It is the most difficult language, since proper understanding of it requires sensing the spiritual categories

that this language narrates. Kabbalah is also the most precise language of all. It is the only language that can accurately render all the spiritual information.

However, only through direct study with a Kabbalist-teacher can a student learn it and grasp its information. And since for many generations there were only a few Kabbalists, unconnected with one another, the language of Kabbalah was the last to evolve. Even today it can only be "learned" directly from a Kabbalist-teacher.

Initially, Kabbalists enciphered their knowledge of the spiritual world as letters, whose outlines reflected the interrelationships of spiritual forces. In other words, each spiritual degree is characterized by a unique interrelationship of spiritual forces. By assigning each spiritual property with a particular symbol, one can depict the interrelationship, as well as the general product of the union of spiritual forces of each degree, i.e., its essence.

Thus, Kabbalists created the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. *The Zohar* pays much attention to analyzing the connection between the letters, which helps a student to synthesize his knowledge and find new ways of discovering spiritual forces and their actions within.

As our forefather Avraham writes in his *Book of Creation* (*Sefer Yetzira*), letters represent the stones from which the building-word is constructed. As our sages tell us, the world was created with the letters of the "sacred language," each letter representing a certain holy, spiritual, altruistic force of creation.

The properties of this force are reflected in the letter's outline, its importance with regard to other letters, its potential combinations with the others, its potential punctuation marks, its crowns and notations, its numerical value (*Gematria*) and variations.

However, this only concerns separate letters and their combinations. There are also certain rules that enable us to determine the properties of spiritual forces not from letters, but from whole words. Moreover, quite often we can replace letters or even parts of a word with similar ones.

The language itself, the roots of its words, indicate the properties of the spiritual object they describe. For example, Adam originated from *Adama*—earth, which emphasizes his insignificance, and from the word *Adameh*—similar (to the Upper One), which emphasizes his eminence. The name Yaakov comes from the word *Ekev*—to get around (*Esau*). There are many such examples in the Torah, for everything is named after its root, as after the patronymic name of one's father.

Once we have established that certain combinations of letters (*Kelim*, language of letters) can be used instead of the language of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*

when describing spiritual actions, the entire description of the spiritual worlds amounts to portraying objects and actions in the form of letters and their combinations. This is how the whole of the Torah is written, in words. Thus,

a) The shape of each letter and the elements of its structure indicate all the properties and the general state of a spiritual object, *Sefira*, or *Partzuf*, which this particular letter depicts;

b) The order of letters in a word indicates the connection between spiritual objects, *Sefirot*, and their shared properties and actions. Attainment of a word's spiritual meaning signifies an ascent to the spiritual level of the object. When that happens, he who attains it becomes this very word, assumes its name. Man's name keeps changing as he ascends the spiritual degrees; it is determined by the degree he is on, as he assumes the name of that degree. It is therefore said that everyone can become like Moshe, i.e., attain the degree called "Moshe";

c) The word itself in its "corporeal" reading, its "corporeal" meaning indicates the spiritual root and its branch—consequence in our world;

d) A combination of words indicates an entire spiritual process, which, as a rule, has a corresponding action (commandment) in our world.

Names change depending on the aspect that requires clarification:

a) By elements of *Sefirot*:

Keter	-	has none
Hochma	-	fire
Bina	-	water
ZA	-	air
Malchut	-	earth

b) By colors:

Keter	-	has none
Hochma	-	white – the basis of all colors
Bina	-	red – most prominent
ZA	-	green – most perfect
Malchut	-	black – cannot be changed by any other color

Colors are present only in the *Guf* (body) of the *Partzuf*, but never in the *Rosh* (head). These colors are projected onto *Malchut* from Above, and she passes them on to all the lower ones.

c) By lines:

Hesed	-	right	-	white
Gevura	-	left	-	red
Tifferet	-	central, includes all the colors	-	green

Quite often, colors and elements are used instead of the names of *Sefirot* and their properties: fire, water, air, earth (*The Zohar*, *Vayera*, item 32). *Malchut* is called "earth," but *Malchut* that ascends with her properties to *Bina* is called "earth of the Temple." In the Temple, the four sides of the world—*Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet* and *Malchut* join the four elements of the world—fire, water, air and earth. Out of the two points of *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are joined together, the Creator made one *Partzuf* —Adam.

The four foundations of the world, or the four sides of the world:

Fire	North	*Shuruk*	Left Line	*Gevura*
Air	East	*Hirik*	Middle Line	*Tifferet*
Water	South	*Holam*	Right Line	*Hesed*
Earth	West	–	–	*Malchut* – receives from all

Four fundamental metals are created as a result of a *Zivug* of the four foundations with *Malchut*: gold, silver, copper and iron. All of these names, as well as many others, are used in the Torah instead of the names of the ten *Sefirot*. Therefore, although the languages of the Torah, legends, the Talmud, and the Scriptures are extraordinarily vivid, only the concise language of Kabbalah provides an accurate description of the spiritual worlds.

The four kinds of symbols used with letters:

Taamim—tone modulations used in pronouncing letters—signify the Direct Light, which spreads from Above downwards in the body of the *Partzuf*.

Nekudot—letter punctuation marks—signify the Light during its gradual exit from the body of the *Partzuf* from below upwards.

Tagin—crowns above the letters—represent *Reshimot* (reminiscences/records) of the previously present Light (*Taamim*). *Tagin* originate from *GAR de Bina*.

Otiot—letters—represent *Reshimot* of the Light's exit from the body of the *Partzuf* (*Nekudot*). Letters originate from *Zat de Bina*.

The ten *Sefirot* are divided into three primary parts—*Taamim*, *Nekudot*, and *Otiot*:

Taamim	-	Keter
Nekudot	-	Hochma
Otiot	-	ZAT de Bina and ZON

According to the Light in them, *Sefirot* are divided into:

Taamim	-	Hochma
Nekudot	-	Bina
Otiot	-	ZON

The letters were created in the following order: the letter *Aleph*, which was initially on the right side, begot the letter *Shin*, which emerged from it and moved to the left side. The letter *Shin* consists of three sides: the left, the middle, and the right. The letter *Vav* is thereby formed by three letters, and upon joining with *Aleph*, it formed the word ***A****leph*-***Sh****in* = *ESH* (fire) in the left side.

Out of the interaction of the right and the left sides these two letters came forth in contradiction between them, as the right line includes water, while the left line includes fire. Their collisions begot the letters *Reish*, *Vav,* and *Chet*, which formed the word *Ruach* (wind). This wind entered between the two sides (fire and water) and joined them together, thereby establishing the order of the first letters and their perfection.

At first, *The Zohar* offers a general description of the three lines in ZA, designated by the three names of the Creator: *El*, *Elokim* and *Elokeinu*, and then proceeds to clarify the descent of the degrees of filling ZA and *Malchut* with the Light of *Hochma* in the form of letter combinations, in the order of the degrees' descent from Above downwards. *Mayim* – water, *Esh* – fire, *Ruach* – wind constitute the three lines in ZA from *AVI*. This is why the first letters in ZA come from *AVI*.

Then the following combinations emerged: *Aleph* revealed *Mem* from its right side, so *Mem* stands to the left line of *Aleph*. *Mem* revealed *Shin* as the middle line, as *Mem* initially consists of the left line, for it exists in the form of a concealed letter *Mem* in the word *Elokim*, which pertains to the left line, and so forth. This is how all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet were born.

THE LETTERS OF THE HEBREW ALPHABET

LETTERS	NAME	PRONUNCIATION	GEMATRIA
א	*Aleph*	[a], [e]	1
ב	*Bet*	b, v	2
ג	*Gimel*	g	3
ד	*Dalet*	d	4
ה	*Hey*	[a], [e]	5
ו	*Vav*	v, [u], [o]	6
ז	*Zayin*	z	7
ח	*Chet*	h	8
ט	*Tet*	t	9
י	*Yod*	y, i	10
כ (ך)	*Chaf*	h, k	20
ל	*Lamed*	l	30
מ (ם)	*Mem*	m	40
נ (ן)	*Nun*	n	50
ס	*Samech*	s	60
ע	*Ayin*	[a], [e]	70
פ (ף)	*Peh*	p, ph	80
צ (ץ)	*Tzadik*	tz	90
ק	*Kuf*	k	100
ר	*Reish*	r	200
ש	*Shin*	sh, s	300
ת	*Tav*	t	400

The letters *Aleph* and *Ayin* do not have any particular sound, and only the accompanying punctuation mark determines their pronunciation.

The letters *Bet*, *Chaf* and *Peh* with a dot inside them are pronounced as "b," "k," and "p." The absence of a dot changes their pronunciation to "v," "ch" and "f."

The letter ***Hey*** is not pronounced, but rather aspirated.

The shapes of the letters *Mem*, *Nun*, *Tzadik*, *Peh*, *Chaf* (pronounced *MANTZEPACH*) change when placed at the end of a word, as seen in the table of letters.

The shape, external form of letters: the protruding element of a letter indicates that the Light in this part of the letter is greater than in the other. The filling (*Miluy*) indicates the height of the degree. A punctuation mark (*Nikud*) indicates the origin of each part of the *Partzuf*: whether it came from the Upper *Partzuf* (and constitutes its part in the present one), from the lower *Partzuf*, or from itself.

The *Kelim-Sefirot* themselves are called "letters," and their punctuation marks (*Nekudot*) indicate the Light that enters and exits them. The Light of *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* can enter the *Kelim*, but the Light of *Keter* or *Hochma* cannot. A dot above a letter (*Holam*) signifies the Lights *Keter* and *Hochma*, which never clothe the *Kli*, hence the location of the dot above the letter.

Two horizontally positioned dots (*Tzere*) allude to *Sefirot Hochma* and *Bina*, that *Bina* does not receive the Light of *Hochma*, and contains only the Light of *Hassadim*, the Light of Mercy (*AVI* back-to-back). *Bina* herself is also called *Tzere*, for ZA receives everything from her. If there is a third dot (*Segol*) between these two dots, it means that ZA raised his request for the Light of *Hochma* to *AVI*. Such a request of ZA in *AVI* is called *Daat*. *Daat* receives the Light of *Hochma* in order to pass it on to ZA. The punctuation mark *Kamatz* (a "T" shaped mark under the letter) indicates that ZA collects (*Mekabetz*) the Light of *Hochma*.

A dot indicates *Malchut* with a reflecting screen, but not a receiving one. Such a form testifies to the absence of Light in the *Kli*; it is merely a black dot, as the law of restriction rules over it.

The *Sefira Hod* is an inclusion of *Malchut's* properties into ZA, out of which ZA makes a whole *Partzuf Malchut*. The letter *Hey* in the word *Hod* signifies *Keter* in *Malchut*, and the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* are located among the impure forces that cling to them. This is designated by an elongated leg of the letter *Kuf* (dipping below the line), which indicates that the impure forces receive their strength from the spiritually pure forces through this element, the *Kuf*.

The white background is a plain, indistinguishable and thereby imperceptible Light (by us). Whatever we can distinguish may only be expressed by restricting the diffusion of this white color. The forms and degrees of its restriction are called letters. That is why we see black outlines on white background, and attain only the black restrictions.

We can describe the diffusion of Light in the worlds using attraction and restriction of the Light. And these two forces must act simultaneously. Similarly, when we perceive something in our sensory organs, we only sense it by way of restriction, as the object's surface or a light wave collides with our sensory organ, which restricts its expansion, and can thereby perceive it.

The spiritual roots of the forms are as follows: A circumference originates from the first restriction of the Light in the world of *Ein Sof* (Infinity), the first restriction on the diffusion of Light. Since this restriction was equal and uniform, it assumed the form of a circumference.

A vertical line, length without width, signifies that the notion is unattainable by us, and is therefore called a "thin line" of the diffusion of the Light of *Hochma*. The Light of *Hochma* can only be received with the help of the screen in *Malchut*, which creates Returning Light that clothes the Light of *Hochma*. Therefore, the Upper Light that comes to the *Kli* is called a line.

A horizontal line, width without height: when a vertical line—the diffusion of the Light of *Hochma* from Above downwards—collides with the screen, their collision (of desires) compels the vertical line to shift into the horizontal line (to the right), resulting in a shape of the English letter L. Its width is determined by the force of the Returning Light that ascends from the screen from below upwards.

A rectangle is formed by the interlacing of the descending Light of *Hochma* and the Returning Light: five vertical descending lines—five *Sefirot* of the Light of *Hochma* and five horizontal lines from right to left—five *Sefirot* of the Light of *Hassadim*. The size of the rectangle's side is called *Amah*, consisting of five parts—*Tefachim* (plural for *Tefach*). (Both *Amah* and *Tefach* are distance measuring units.) This is why we describe the *Kli* as a rectangle.

The two kinds of diffusion of Light, the Light of *Hochma* and the Returning Light, are called the right and the left cheeks, respectively, which turn into the upper and the lower lips. Since, after the first restriction, the Light may not be received in *Malchut*, the Returning Light is only received in four parts of the *Kli*, not in five. This is why there are 4 x 4 = 16 teeth on the lower jaw and 16 teeth on the upper jaw (The Returning Light stems from resistance, from "chewing" the Light before receiving it inside).

In the second restriction, a Triangle is formed, as *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and forms a slanted line. Thus the combination of the Direct Light with the Returning Light and restrictions beget various spiritual forms.

The Light of *Hassadim* is defined as "protruding," for a protrusion beyond the limits of a spiritual body means that:

1) The Light is so great that it comes out by elevating, protruding the limits;
2) It originates from the middle line, *Tifferet*.

A cavity in the body occurs due to the following reasons:

1) The Light is insufficient; the Light cannot shine there;
2) The Light of *Hochma* is present, but the lack of *Hassadim* prevents it from shining.

PUNCTUATION MARKS IN THE HEBREW ALPHABET *(NEKUDOT)*

Sefira	Punctuation Mark	Pronunciation
Keter	Kamatz	a
Hochma	Patach	a
Bina	Segol	e
Hesed	Tzere	e
Gevura	Shva	-
Tifferet	Holam	o
Netzah	Hirik	i
Hod	Kubutz	u
Yesod	Shuruk	u
Malchut	No Mark	-

Nekudot are defined by three lines:

IN THE ROSH (HEAD)

Kamatz - Keter - right line
Patach - Hochma - left line
Tzere - Bina - middle line
Holam - Tifferet - middle line

IN THE GUF (BODY)

Segol	-	Hesed	-	right line
Shva	-	Gevura	-	left line
Shuruk	-	Tifferet	-	middle line

IN THE EXTREMITIES

Hirik	-	Netzah	-	right line
Kubutz	-	Hod	-	left line
	-	Malchut	-	middle line (has no designation)

The levels of *Nekudot*:

Above the letters	-	Light of Neshama
In the letters	-	Light of Ruach
Under the letters	-	Light of Nefesh

Zivug de Nekudot is the *Zivug* between *Hochma de Aba* and *Hochma de Ima*.

Zivug de Otiot is the *Zivug* between *Bina de Aba* and *Bina de Ima*.

The letters combined together designate Returning Light during the screen's ascent from *Tabur* to *Peh*. They are combined, for they all ascend to their root, which unites everything, whereas the use of the will to receive, even for the Creator's sake, causes separation.

A state of separated letters occurs when the Light enters the *Kli* (vessel, the letters of *HaVaYaH*); the four letters thereby separate, since the Light makes a distinction between the *Sefirot*: depending on their different properties, it clothes in them in different ways.

HaVaYaH with filling *Aleph* comes on a screen with *Aviut Aleph* (thickness one), *HaVaYaH* with filling *Hey* comes on a screen with *Aviut Bet* (thickness two). A plain name refers to *Aviut Shoresh* (zero thickness) with the Light of *Nefesh*. Plain letters refer to a *Partzuf* with a screen of *Aviut Aleph*.

The truly faithful, who believe in the three fundamentals: the Creator, His Providence and the Torah, need the two lines to be in constant balance for their spiritual advancement. The left line is wisdom, the Light of *Hochma* that enters the desire to receive, which pertains to the left side, and the right line is faith, the Light of *Hassadim* (mercy), the altruistic desire to bestow.

Existing in knowledge only means that man is under the rule of the impure forces (*Klipa*) of the left side, which renders him totally unable to feel the spiritual, leaving him in spiritual darkness. Alternately, existing only in faith means that man is under the rule of the impure forces (*Klipa*) of the right side that convinces him that he has achieved perfection, that there is

nothing else to work on, nothing to correct within him. This, too, denies him the opportunity to advance.

The Zohar continues: And the Creator answered further (the letter *Tav*): "The word *MaveT* (death) ends with you. And since these are your properties, you are not suitable for Me to create the world with you." Immediately following, the letter *Tav* departed from Him.

The moment the Creator set about creating the world-*ZON* by selecting their properties, all twenty-two letters of *ZON* appeared before Him, starting from the last—*Tav*, and ending with the first, *Aleph*—the head of all letters. The reason for the letters coming in reverse order is that they constitute the *MAN* of *ZON*, the *Kelim* of *ZON*, which emerge from below upwards. The usual alphabetical order corresponds to the Light (*MAD*), which descends from Above downwards. But the order of *MAN* is opposite to that of *MAD*, for it ascends from below upwards.

Letters are none other than desires, properties, and thoughts that, in man's opinion, are suitable for the attainment of the spiritual, the Creator, of His Providence. Man skips from one thought to another: one moment he thinks that it is possible to attain the Upper Worlds with one property, next he believes he can enter the spiritual realms by mastering another property, then he begins to stubbornly observe all the commandments and pray zealously, or disregards all the actions and plunges into contemplation and reading. Sometimes he craves only knowledge, and sometimes only faith, right down to fanaticism.

Just as there are two extremes in our world—knowledge and faith, in the spiritual world, as man now consciously ascends the spiritual ladder to the Creator, there is spiritual work in the attainment of knowledge and faith. Hence, Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag's commentary on *The Zohar* is entitled *The Sulam* (The Ladder).

Each of the twenty-two Hebrew letters represents a certain property. At times it seems that the property of the letter *Tav* is suitable for the attainment of the spiritual; at times he believes that some other letter is more appropriate. This occurs because in the process of his spiritual ascent, man begins to increasingly understand the true Goal of creation and the Creator, which is exactly what is demanded of him.

Thus, he continues to sort through it all, until his search yields the truth: only with the help of the letter *Bet*, which stands at the beginning of the word *Berachah* (blessing)—contact with the Creator,—only with the help of this force can one achieve the goal.

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us how the letters—properties, forces, and desires—come to the Creator. By offering up his prayer (*MAN*), man asks for some property that seems like a real goal to him. And each letter tries to prove that it is best suited for the attainment of the sensation of the Creator and merging with Him. But the Creator shows that the best and the only letter is *Bet*, as only it can help man to establish contact with Him. This is why the Torah begins with this letter.

The description of the spiritual forces designated by each letter is incredibly deep, and in order to attain full clarity we need to bridge several other preliminary explanations: the creation of the world includes its existence and process of perfection so that the world could attain the goal for which it was created.

The Creator created the world consisting of two contrasting forces; against each pure, altruistic force, He created an impure, egoistic one, which is its equal and opposite. Just as there are four pure worlds *ABYA*, the Creator created opposite them four impure worlds *ABYA*.

Therefore, in our world—the last degree of the world of *Assiya*—a spiritually evolved person that senses the Creator and has entered with his properties into the spiritually pure world, looks no different from an egoistic and spiritually undeveloped person, who has not attained the spiritual realm. This means that one who does not perceive the spiritual is totally unable to differentiate between spiritual purity and impurity.

We see that in our world one cannot advance with the help of the pure forces. On the contrary, it is his egoistic aspirations that provide man with the strength to conquer everything in the world. How often do we see fervent fanatics immersed in their impure desires to capture for themselves both this world and the next, whereas one that aspires to the Creator has no strength for even a slightest spiritual movement! In our world there is no proof or confirmation that man advances on the right path. And under no circumstances should one draw conclusions based on one's life experience or "common sense."

So how can a person in this world exist and advance towards the Goal of creation if he is unable to tell good from bad, pure from impure? There is one sign by which one can distinguish purity from impurity: impure forces bear no spiritual fruit. Thus, those that advance through the impure worlds *ABYA* do not attain anything spiritual, whereas those who are connected to the pure forces reap spiritual fruit on their path.

As it is explained in the "Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot" (items 19-23), if man advances along the right path, he attains the secrets of the Torah in

three to five years. The Creator helps those who wish to acquire altruistic desires over and above their own requests, and thus one attains the desired goal. From below, man aspires to the Creator with his small desire (*MAN*), and from Above, the Creator pours onto him tremendous spiritual desires and strength (*MAD*).

This is the only opportunity to check whether or not the path that one is on is correct, whether it leads to altruism or to even bigger egoism. By no means can one consider his well-being, soaring elation, his happiness and success in life as proofs of correct advancement. It is precisely in those states of feeling perfection, well-being, and contentment that he must ask himself: "Have I attained the secrets of the Torah?" And until he has attained them, his "perfection" is impure.

Man should always strive for the middle line—a balance of faith and knowledge—in the following three notions: the Creator, His Providence, and the Torah. And under no circumstances should he advance by either faith or knowledge alone. If he only wants to attain the Creator, His Providence or the Torah, he enters spiritual darkness, for it is impossible to receive the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*) without the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*).

Such a state is referred to as the left impure force, "*Klipat Esau*." And if man strives to advance through faith alone, he enters the impure force of the right side, "*Klipat Yishmael*," which tells him he is in a state of perfection. In this case, he sees no point in his work and is thus unable to continue to advance.

In other words, even if one is full of joy, which is exactly what the Torah urges him to feel (to perceive the Creator's Providence with joy, for joy signifies justification of creation, understanding that His Providence is always just and kind), unless he has attained the secrets of the Torah, his path is considered erroneous, as he lacks the intention "for the Creator's sake," which reveals the secrets of the Torah.

This article explains the particular properties of the Hebrew letters—how all the letters come before the Creator, each asking Him to create the world with its property. Each of the twenty-two letters represents a spiritual degree in the worlds *ABYA*, and each believes that its pure spiritual properties are most suitable for the task, that by attaining its degree and acquiring its properties, the inhabitants of the world will be able to elevate the pure forces over the impure ones, so much so that they will reach the end of correction, the Goal of creation.

However, the Creator answers each letter that against it are the corresponding impure forces, and therefore man will be unable to properly separate the pure forces from the impure ones, and afterwards, utilize the pure forces to achieve

the goal. This occurrence repeats itself until the appearance of the letter *Bet*, which represents the degree called "the Creator's blessing," against which there are no impure forces of any kind.

And the Creator consented to create the world with the letter *Bet*, with its property; for it has no impure counterpart, only *Bet* presents an opportunity to carry out an analysis between good and evil, to determine when man works for himself and when he works for the Creator's sake. Therefore, only by its force, by its property can the world exist: so as to extract from the "mixture" of one's desires only what's pure, and elevate them above the impure, down to complete eradication of the latter, and the consequent attainment of complete correction of one's nature.

As it follows from *The Zohar,* only the Creator's help, called "a blessing," is the force of man's salvation, the only thing capable of freeing him from the rule of the impure forces. And this force, called "blessing," descends only upon those that advance along the right path.

The right path is a combination of three conditions: (i) one's efforts in studying (only!) genuine Kabbalistic sources; (ii) contact with a true Kabbalist, whom he accepts as his teacher; and (iii) contact with like-minded people, who seek spiritual elevation. A more detailed explanation will be provided to serious students only.

All twenty-two letters are divided into three degrees: *Bina*, *Zeir Anpin* (ZA), and *Malchut*, since there are no *Kelim* (letters) above *Bina*. Twenty-two letters in *Bina* are called "big," twenty-two letters in ZA are called "medium," and twenty-two letters in *Malchut* are called "small."

Each of the three *Sefirot* of *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* are further divided into three degrees: The twenty-two letters of *Bina* contain their own *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Likewise, ZA has his own ten *Sefirot*, in which his *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* also contain twenty-two letters. The same applies to *Malchut*.

The twenty-two letters of each degree are divided into three types. The letters from *Aleph* to *Tet* (1–9) are considered units; these are the nine *Sefirot* of *Bina*. The letters from *Yod* to *Tzadik* (10–90) are considered tens; these are the nine *Sefirot* of ZA. And finally, the four letters *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin* and *Tav* (100–400) are considered hundreds; and these are the four *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, since *Malchut* is located below and downwards of *Chazeh de* ZA, which corresponds in height to the four *Sefirot* of ZA.

Bina, units, big letters, nine letters: *Aleph*, *Bet*, *Gimel*, *Dalet*, *Hey*, *Vav*, *Zayin*, *Chet*, *Tet*.

ZA, tens, medium letters, nine letters: *Yod*, *Chaf*, *Lamed*, *Mem*, *Nun*, *Samech*, *Ayin*, *Peh*, *Tzadik*.

Malchut, hundreds, small letters, four letters: *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, *Tav*.

However, it is known that units are in *Malchut*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Bina*, which contradicts the aforesaid that units are in *Bina*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Malchut*. Such inverse dependence is caused by the inverse relationship between the Lights and the *Kelim*: the lowest Light enters the Highest *Kelim*. The Upper *Kelim* are the first to emerge, from *Keter* down to *Malchut* (*Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*), whereas the first to enter them is the smallest Light, *Nefesh*, followed by *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*.

Therefore, if there are only units in the *Kelim*, from *Aleph* to *Tet*, then only the Light of *Nefesh* is present. And if tens are added to the *Kelim*, the Light of *Ruach* appears, and if hundreds are added to the *Kelim*, the Light of *Neshama* fills them.

This is why hundreds are defined as *Bina*, tens as ZA, and units as *Malchut*. However, with regard to the *Kelim*, the order is inversed: units are in *Bina*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Malchut*.

Bina:	Light (100)	-	Kelim (1)
ZA:	Light (10)	-	Kelim (10)
Malchut:	Light (1)	-	Kelim (100)

The letters descend from *Bina* to ZA and from there to *Malchut*. When they descend from *Bina* to ZA, they descend as three lines: 22/3 = 7 letters in each, with the remaining letter being added to the middle line. These twenty-two letters descend in three lines to *Malchut*, which consists of five final letters *MANTZEPACH*, thereby bringing the total number in *Malchut* to 22 + 5 = 27 letters.

The middle line is called "Heaven," "firmament." Therefore, when *The Zohar* speaks of letters in the firmament, it means that the two middle lines, 7 + 7 = 14 = *Yod* + *Dalet* = *Yad* (hand) writes all the twenty-two letters in the firmament (ZA) through the middle line. That is how one should interpret the words of the Torah regarding the letters that appear in the sky or having seen the hand that writes the letters in the sky.

The twenty-two letters of the Torah are the *Kelim* to be filled by the Light of *NRN*. Units—from *Aleph* to *Yod*—are the *Kli* intended for the Light of *Bina* (*Neshama*). Tens—from *Yod* to *Kuf*—are the *Kli* meant for the Light of ZA (*Ruach*). Hundreds—from *Kuf* to *Tav*—are the *Kli* for the Light of *Malchut* (*Nefesh*).

Letters are the *Kelim*, into which the Light clothes; in all, there are twenty-two special properties, and thus twenty-two symbols of their description, called letters. Just as the combinations of the twenty-two letters suffice for the description of all existing knowledge, the various couplings, unions (*Zivugim* of *Sefirot*) of the twenty-two *Kelim*, properties, desires of the *Partzuf* are sufficient for receiving and bestowing Light, fulfilling all spiritual actions and bringing all the letters (man's desires) to correction.

Letters represent the various correlations of *ZON*:

a) ZA, consisting of six parts of his extremities, husband to *Malchut*, designated by the letter *Vav*, *Sefira Yesod*—level of an embryo;

b) ZA designated by the letter *Vav*, *Sefira Tifferet*, consisting of six parts of his hands—level of nursing;

c) ZA that stands between *AVI*, while *Nukva* must ascend to him, thereby reaching the level of reception of *Ohr Hochma*.

d) ZA, the letter *Vav*, above him are ten *Sefirot Keter-Hochma*, below him are ten *Sefirot Bina-Tifferet-Malchut*—and together they make up the letter *Aleph*. And the final corrected state will come when *Malchut* ascends to *Keter* of ZA (the Upper *Yod* in the letter *Aleph*) at the end of correction. When *Malchut* ascends above *Parsa* (*Vav*), she receives the Light herself, whereas when she descends below *Vav*, she receives from ZA. As *Malchut* ascends, she forms *Taamim* (tone marks), when she descends, she is called *Nekuda* (point), and when she merges with ZA, she is referred to as a point inside *Vav* (*Shuruk*).

The order of ***ATBaSH***: There is a special combination of letters, e.g. the first with the last ('A' through 'T'), the second with the second last ('B' through 'Sh'), etc., which designate the conditions for diffusion of the Upper Light from Above downwards.

MANTZEPACH: All the worlds and *Partzufim* were created with the twenty-two letters of *Malchut*. The screen is located in the head of the *Partzuf*, preventing the Light from entering. It repels the Light, calculates how much it can receive for the Creator's sake, and only then accepts it.

Each of the five levels of the will to receive that exist in *Malchut*, in the *Guf* of the *Partzuf*, has a corresponding restriction in the screen, located in the *Peh*, to prevent the Light from entering the body. Therefore, the screen in the *Peh* consists of five parts, forces.

These five restrictive forces of the screen, five exertions of the screen are designated by the five final letters of the alphabet: *Mem-Nun-Tzadik-Peh-Chaf* (abbreviated as *MANTZEPACH*). They are called "final letters" because they are written only at the end of words. These forces determine the reception of Light in the body of the *Partzuf*, and therefore beget the other twenty-two letters (*Kelim*, corrected desires, which receive the Light). Although the five letters *MANTZEPACH* are only found at the end of words, in oral speech they represent the five groups of pronunciation of the twenty-two letters. And the letters *MANTZEPACH* stand at the head of each group.

Out of the five letters *MANTZEPACH* originate five groups of sounds:

1. *Peh–Keter*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the throat; they are called *AChHA—Aleph-Chet-Hey-Ayin*. *Aleph* is the Light of *Partzuf Keter* of *Atzilut*, concealed from the lower ones and called *Atik*. *Chet* is the Light of *Partzuf Hochma* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *Arich Anpin* and also concealed from the lower ones. *Hey* is the Light of *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *Ima* (mother), who receives the Light of *Hochma* from *Aba* (father) in order to pass it on to her children (*ZON*). *Ayin* is the Light of *Zeir Anpin's* face. Since the Light of *ZA* that enters *Malchut* is called "the Torah," it is said that the Torah has *Ayin* (70) faces, that the Creator (*ZA*) has *Ayin* (70) names. After all, with regard to *Malchut*, *ZA* is the Creator. Therefore, seventy souls descended to Egypt, and so forth.

2. *Chaf–Hochma*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the palate; they are called *GIChiK—Gimel-Yod-Chaf-Kuf*. The letters *AChHA* transfer the Light to the letters *GIChiK*: *Aleph* passes the Light to *Gimel*, which carries reward (*Gemul—Gimel*) for the righteous. *Chet* passes the Light of *Hochma* to *Yod*, but this Light is concealed. *Hey* illuminates *Chaf* with the Light of *Bina*, which carries joy. *Ayin* illuminates *Kuf*. Just as *Ayin* = 70, as it consists of seven *Sefirot*, *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut*, each containing ten *Sefirot* of its own, *Kuf* = 100, as it consists of ten *Sefirot* from *Keter* to *Malchut*, each consisting of its own ten. Hence, the palate fully complements the throat.

3. *Nun–Bina*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the tongue, called *DaTLaT—Dalet-Tet-Lamed-Nun-Tav*.

4. *Mem–ZA*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the lips, called *BOMoCH—Bet-Vav-Mem-Chaf*.

5. *Tzadik–Malchut*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the teeth, called *ZaSSHRaTZ – Zayin-Samech-Shin-Reish-Tzadik*.

Voice and speech: Voice is formed in *ZA*, speech—in *Malchut*. If he who is righteous, and who exists in the worlds *BYA*, raises his prayers (*MAN*) to

Malchut of the world of *Atzilut*, he causes *ZON* to ascend to *AVI*, and unites them in a constant *Zivug* so as to assure the Light's descent to the lower ones. *ZON* receives the Light from *AVI*; this Light is called "voice" and "speech," and this is the power of the righteous—to create the pure and destroy the impure with their voice.

Man's speech is conceived in the lungs: as the air exits the lungs and reaches the mouth, it turns to voice, and as it leaves the mouth, it becomes speech. Two lips accept the voice from the two parts of the lungs (the left and the right) and turn it into speech. Each lung consists of five parts so as to pass to the five parts in the mouth: to the guttural letters *AChHA*, the labial letters *BOMoCH*, the palatal letters *GIChiK*, the lingual letters *DaTLaT* and the dental letters *ZaSSHRaTZ*.

The seven primary *Sefirot* of *ZA* are called "Seven Heavens." The seventy names of *ZA* originate from the seventy (7 x 10) *Sefirot* of *ZA*. *ZA* himself is called "Heaven," and *Malchut* is called "earth." The *Sefirot* of *ZA* are also known as *Ruach* (because of the Light of *Ruach* in them), which ascends to *Bina* (ears), where it turns to sound, with *Hochma* in the left ear and *Hassadim* in the right.

THE LETTER *TAV*

Each of the twenty-two letters corresponds to a particular spiritual degree, on which it acts. The letter itself is that spiritual degree. Hence, the letter *Tav* claims that its properties are the most suitable for the creation of the world, that its properties can bring the world to correction and to the goal of creation, for it defines the property of "truth," the Creator's seal.

The impure forces exist solely on account of the miniature Light received from the pure forces; this Light is called *Ner Dakik* (tiny candle). Without this Light, the impure forces would neither be able to exist nor to function—tempting man with the pleasures they received from the tiny spark of Light that fell from the pure *Sefirot*. Therefore, the last, lowest pure degree lets a little bit of the Upper Light down to the impure forces.

Without the support of the pure forces, the impure forces would instantly disappear. A question arises: who needs them to exist and what for? Obviously, the impure forces were created on a par with pure ones by the Creator Himself, for there is no other power in the entire universe besides Him.

It was necessary to create impure forces in order to concentrate them in the enormous desires to receive pleasure, in immense egoism. The system of

the impure worlds of *ABYA* serves as a kind of storehouse of desires to receive pleasure, from which, to the extent of his correction, man can take more and more new desires so as to correct them. Thus, by attaching uncorrected impure forces to himself and correcting them, man can gradually ascend higher and higher, up to the level of the Creator. For this purpose the Creator created impure forces and sustains them through the system of pure ones.

The impure system of the worlds *ABYA* exists on the same level, parallel to the pure one. Our world is located under these two spiritual systems. Our world is also called egoistic and impure, but its forces and desires are so insignificant that they are located below the worlds of the impure *ABYA*.

When, with the help of Kabbalah, one surmounts the level of our world's egoism, he enters the pure world of *Assiya*. And immediately after, the impure world of *Assiya* begins to influence him, tempting him with its false pleasures. By overcoming the temptations of the impure world of *Assiya*, one ascends spiritually. But until one surmounts the impure desires of his body, of our world, he will not begin to sense, or enter the spiritual worlds, for he would not be able to withstand the impure forces that act there.

Unlike the forces that act in the spiritual world, man in our world is only influenced by the small egoistic force called his "body," his ego. Man can struggle with this force, either winning or losing his battles. But even if he is defeated, man retains that tiny spark of Light (*Ner Dakik*), which sustains his existence.

Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag gives the following example: man's work in this world resembles writing on a school blackboard, where any mistake may be wiped off without harming the writer, where he can make corrections and write anew, until he learns to write correctly. Only when he learns to write correctly is he allowed to enter the spiritual realm.

Therefore, our world is the most insignificant of all. Everyone must begin here, and everyone is bound to return here, and be born again and again until he crosses the boundary between our world and the spiritual one. (There are many additional conditions required for the soul to not descend to this world anymore, and those who will merit, will understand).

Hence, the vertical line, the leg of the letter *Kuf*, descends below the writing line, which signifies the Light descending through this letter down to the impure forces. And no other letter descends below the writing line, like the *Kuf* does.

For the impure forces to exist (any creature, whether pure or impure, can only exist by receiving Light), the last, lowest degree of pure forces descends into the impure forces and gives them the Light necessary for their existence and

realization of their role: to entice man with their pleasures and convince him to act according to the law of the impure forces.

At first, the left leg of the letter *Tav* also descended below the writing line. But the Creator saw that the impure forces would then be too closely connected to pure ones, so He severed this connection and returned the left leg of the letter *Tav* back to the writing line, to the level of the pure forces.

As a result of this shortening, the left leg of the *Tav* doubled in thickness, as it folded in two, and no Light passes to the impure forces anymore. On the contrary, it even becomes the Creator's seal by holding the impure forces at bay and preventing them from stealing the Upper Light, for as soon as any impure forces touch it, they instantly die.

And all the life-force necessary for the sustenance of the impure forces is passed by the Creator through the letter *Kuf*, because, being the first letter of *Malchut*, it is remote from them; thus, there is no fear or risk that its connection to the impure forces would become too strong.

Malchut consists of only four letters from Above downwards: *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, and *Tav*. *Kuf* is the first, *Tav* is the last, and below it are the impure forces. Therefore, if they receive the Light they need according to the thought of creation from *Kuf*, the furthest letter from them, the impure forces have no way of "stealing" more Light than *Malchut*, who consists of four letters, is obliged to give them.

This is why this letter is called *Kuf*, to show that it gives strength to the impure system of *ABYA*—a fake (nonexistent) man, just as a monkey (*Kof* in Hebrew) resembles a human being.

And it misleads people by pretending to be the truth and claiming that its path leads to the attainment of spirituality, the Creator, *Lishma*, the sensation of the Creator. However, the pure forces maintain that only with the help of the Torah can man attain adequate correction of his properties so as to merge them with the Creator.

And this is what the letter *Tav* claimed: because it is the Creator's seal of truth, it stands at the end of the pure system and does not allow the impure forces to cling to pure ones, and pose as if they are pure. This is why its properties are worthy of becoming the basis for the creation of the world—so that via the analysis of good and evil, purity and impurity, inhabitants of this world may be sure that by acquiring its properties they will achieve the goal of their creation.

The four letters *Kuf-Reish-Shin-Tav* make up the four *Sefirot* of *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*: *Keter-Hochma-Bina-Tifferet*, where *Tifferet* consists of six *Sefirot*—*Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*. But when the letter *Kuf* is by itself, without *Reish-Shin-Tav*, the Torah, which spreads to the worlds *BYA*, also shines upon the impure forces, and the angel of death receives the strength to destroy all that lives. This state is designated by the letter *Kuf*. But when *Malchut* is corrected, she is designated by the letter *Hey*, whose difference from *Kuf* lies in the long leg of the *Kuf* (*Malchut de Malchut*).

This long left leg, which turns the *Hey* into *Kuf*, indicates that the Light descends from the pure forces (*Partzufim*) to the impure worlds of *BYA*, the impure forces referred to as death. And when *Malchut* joins with *Bina* and receives the strength from *Bina* to ascend and receive the Light, the other letters join *Malchut*, and she draws the Light of life from *Bina*.

In this state, the left leg of the *Kuf* is reduced in half, turning the *Kuf* into *Tav*, whose left leg is twice as thick, due to its shortening. The part of *Malchut* that passed Light to the impure forces now ascended out of them, hence there are two kinds of *Malchut*: *Miftacha* (key)—the part that joined with *Bina*, and *Man'ula* (lock)—the part that ascended out of the impure forces.

These two parts of *Malchut* manifest in different ways: *Miftacha*—openly and *Man'ula*—secretly. Two paths of bringing man to correction emerge from them: the good path of the Torah and the path of suffering.

However, after *Malchut* corrects her properties and joins with *Bina*, she no longer parts from *Bina*, but, upon receiving Light from her, *Malchut* pours it onto the worlds, and the impure forces lose their strength to sow death and rule over the world. And if a case arises where a sinner must be punished, the impure forces must first receive permission to punish him, for without permission they may not reveal the *Man'ula*.

Thus, after *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, thereby correcting her properties, the impure forces are no longer free to rule the world, unless they are permitted. The reason for this is the letter *Tet*, the last letter of *Bina*, which sends the Light of life to all with the help of the *Miftacha*. After *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, she becomes a *Miftacha*, and does not let go of this connection. Respectively, the impure forces, the leg of the letter *Kuf*, can no longer sow death.

Three places emerge from this: (i) where only the properties of the letter *Tet* rule by shining with the Light of life of this world; (ii) the entire world after *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, defined as *Miftacha*, when the letter *Tet* shines upon all, but permits the punishment of sinners according to the rule: "You advance

towards the goal either by the path of the Torah or by the path of suffering"; (iii) hell, the place of eternal punishment by the letter *Kuf*, in contrast with the first place, ruled by the letter *Tet*, where life is eternally prosperous.

All the letters with all their secret properties, described by those who understand them, are located in the Temple. All the Upper and lower worlds are created and function in the framework of their laws-properties, and the Supernal Name, the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* rules over all.

The *Mishkan* (tabernacle) in the Temple was also designed with the help of letters, for its builder, Betzalel, knew how to join the letters that made Heaven and earth. And since he was unique in possessing this wisdom, he was entrusted with the building of the sanctuary.

As the Creator chose Betzalel Above, so He wished him to be chosen below, as He said to Moshe Above: "Choose Betzalel." So Moshe said to his people below: "The Creator has chosen Betzalel." For such was Betzalel's name-property (*Be Tzel El*)—"In the Creator's shadow."

The Creator is called ZA or the *Sefira Tifferet* in *Partzuf* ZA, which shines upon the *Sefira Yesod*, called *Tzadik* (righteous one). Betzalel is called *Yesod*, which receives the Light of *VAK*—an incomplete Light—from *Tifferet*, which is hence called "sitting in the shadow," and, in turn, shining into *Malchut*. Thus, like *Tifferet*, the *Sefira Yesod* that passes this Light also consists of six *Sefirot*: *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*.

The name of the letter *Tav*, "truth," indicates that in order to reach its level, its degree, one must attain the property of truth. Therefore, the letter *Tav* claimed that with its properties man can fully analyze good and evil, renounce his impure desires as false, and to the degree that he renounces them, draw closer to the pure desires (forces), and thereby be certain that he will reach the goal of creation—correction of all his desires (*Gmar Tikkun*, end of correction).

This corresponds to the saying: "The Creator is close only to those who truly ask Him for help." For only with His help can one achieve correction and spiritual elevation. However, this help only comes to those who genuinely, "truly" demand it. As soon as man is able to cry out wholeheartedly for the Creator's help, he instantly receives it. And if he does not receive an answer from the Creator—it is a sign that his request is not yet complete, that he did not yet fully realize his egoistic nature and properties as worthless, has not yet fully felt his helplessness and inability to exit and correct his properties by himself. This is why letter *Tav* was certain that once man acquires its property of truth, he will be able to reach the goal.

But the Creator answered her that it is not worthy of becoming the basis of creation, for the forces of judgment that would arise from it would be so strong that even the complete righteous, who fulfilled the entire Torah from *Aleph* to *Tav* (A to Z) and reached the property of truth, will nevertheless be punished by it, for they have not destroyed all the sinners, as it is written in the Talmud (*Shabbat*, 55).

Furthermore, the Creator declines its request, for it is also the seal of death, as its power brought death to this world. For man is bound to die, as the serpent forged its seal and deceived Adam in his understanding of the Tree of Knowledge. This is why the world cannot exist with its properties.

THE LETTER *SHIN*

24. The letter *Shin* appeared before the Creator and said: "Maker of the world, it befits the world to be created with me, for Your own name *Shadday* begins with me." The Creator replied: "You are fine, handsome, and truthful, but since the letters (properties) of the word *Sheker* (falsehood) took you to be with them, I cannot create the world with your properties, for *SheKeR* (falsehood) exists only because the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* took you."

Malchut consists of ten *Sefirot* and has two endings:

1) If she has only her own properties, she contains all ten *Sefirot*, from *Keter de Malchut* to *Malchut de Malchut*. In this case she firmly restricts the diffusion of Light and is designated by the letter *Tav*;
2) If *Ima-Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* fills *Malchut* with her Light, *Partzuf Malchut* ends not in the *Sefira Malchut*, but in the *Sefira Yesod*, and is designated by the letter *Shin*.

The three tips of the letter *Shin* are called its crown and signify the Light of *Bina*, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy), which descends from *Partzuf Ima-Bina* into *Partzuf Malchut*. This Light of *Bina*, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy), creates new altruistic properties in *Malchut*, altruistic intentions to receive the Light for the Creator's sake, after which *Partzuf Malchut* can receive the *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) from ZA (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 22). When bonded so, ZA and *Malchut* are called "husband and wife," and the Light that *Malchut* receives from ZA is called "100 blessings."

This new ending of *Partzuf Malchut* in the *Sefira Yesod* instead of in the *Sefira Malchut* is therefore called *Yesod de Nukva* or "the central point of existence,"

for all that exists in the world originates from it and exists thanks to it. *Partzuf Malchut* is the sum of all the creatures, and we are all its parts. All the worlds and all that inhabit them constitute various parts of *Partzuf Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

Each Upper *Partzuf* is considered the Creator of its adjacent lower *Partzuf*, for the latter originates (born) from it. Therefore, in relation to all the creatures, *Zeir Anpin* of the world of *Atzilut* is considered and called "the Creator," our Creator.

And, like the *Tav*, the letter *Shin* is called "truth" and "the Creator's seal," for a seal signifies the end of a spiritual object—*Partzuf*, like a seal fixed at the end of a letter, written in the name of the Creator. The Creator's seal is similar to Himself; this is why the seal is called the mark of truth, for only the presence of a seal gives a letter the force of truth, and confirms the truthfulness of its content.

However, the significance of the letter *Shin* is greater than that of the letter *Tav*, for *Shin* is the first letter of the word *Shadday*, one of the Creator's names-properties, designating His power, by which He said "*Dai*" (enough) to creation—stop and do not descend further (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12)—do not descend below the letter *Shin*.

This reveals that the world and its inhabitants can only exist with the help of the letter *Shin*, thanks to its property that restricts the diffusion of Light. The Creator said: "Stop, Creature, at the letter *Shin*, and do not spread to the letter *Tav*," for if the Light had spread to *Tav*, the impure forces would have received such great strength that man would have no hope of escaping them and reaching altruistic properties. This is why the ending point of *Shin* is called "the central point of existence."

Therefore, after the letter *Shin* saw the Creator refuse the letter *Tav*, precisely because ending the diffusion of Light with *Tav* creates conditions for correction of the world that are too difficult for man to meet, the letter *Shin* claimed that its property of *Shadday* is suitable for the creation of the world, and was certain that the Creator would choose it—its properties—as the basis of creation, for it possesses all the advantages that *Tav* lacked, which was the reason for the Creator's refusal.

And it has *Tav's* advantage, as well: it is the Creator's seal—truth. Moreover, it has an additional advantage: it is called by the name *Shadday*, the new ending of *Malchut* for the inhabitants of the world, instead of the ending by the property

of the letter *Tav*. Based on all that, the letter *Shin* found the strength and courage to appear before the Creator with the proposition to create the world with it.

But the Creator answered that precisely because of *Shin*'s additional advantages compared to those of the letter *Tav*, the impure forces opposite it are strengthened. For opposite each letter (spiritually pure forces or properties) there is an opposing impure force (egoistic desire), as it is written: "The Creator had made one opposite the other" (*Kohelet*, 7:14).

The strengthening of the impure forces from the properties of the letter *Shin* occurred as a result of her properties joining the impure properties of falsehood, forging spiritual purity of the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*: falsehood would be unable to exist in the world, for it would be recognized at once, had the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* not put *Shin* at the head of the word *SheKeR* (falsehood). And when truth stands at the head of the word that designates the property of falsehood, man naturally tends to err.

There are two sources of impure forces: the first is a small luminescence (*Ner Dakik*), which the pure force itself (the Creator) sends to the impure forces (desires) so as to sustain them. This is done so they would not disappear until there is a need to "punish" the sinners with them. However, these are small forces—their height is not great, for they receive only a small luminescence, sufficient to sustain their life.

This small luminescence descends into the impure forces from the letter *Kuf*, which results in these impure forces becoming similar to man in the worlds *BYA*, as a monkey in comparison to a human being, as it is said: "The Creator had made one opposite the other" (*Kohelet*, 7:14).

The second source of impure forces arises from the lower ones' spiritual fall: as a result of people's evil, egoistic actions, the Light passes from the system of the pure forces into the impure. And the first transgression is Adam's sin, by which the system of the impure forces assumed an identical formation to that of the pure system, stationing itself opposite, parallel to it. As a result, the impure worlds *ABYA* emerged opposite the pure ones.

The second source of impure forces is the letter *Reish*, which indicates that the impure forces rise and attach themselves to the pure forces, right up to the level of *Bina* of *Malchut*, designated by the letter *Dalet*.

As was previously stated, the twenty-two letters of *Partzuf Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* are divided in three groups of letters: units in *Bina*, tens in *ZA*, and hundreds in *Malchut*.

PARTZUF	SEFIROT	LETTERS
BINA (IMA)	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*
ZA	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*
MALCHUT	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*

The letters *Aleph-Bet-Gimel* correspond to *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina*, called "the head" of a spiritual object (*Partzuf*). The letters from *Dalet* to *Tet* refer to the body of the *Partzuf*.

Aleph	-	Keter	**HEAD**
Bet	-	Hochma	
Gimel	-	Bina	
Dalet	-	Hesed	**BODY**
Hey	-	Gevura	
Vav	-	Tifferet	
Zayin	-	Netzah	
Chet	-	Hod	
Tet	-	Yesod	

The body only receives what descends to it from the head. Therefore, *Dalet*, the first letter of the body, through which the body receives Light from the head, is called *Dalah ve Aniyah* (poor and destitute). *Dalet* only receives what *Gimel* gives it. Since *Gimel* contains the Light of *Hassadim*, that is, what descends into *Dalet*.

And this is why the letter *Gimel* is called *Gomel Hassadim* (merciful One) (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 104), according to its action with regard to *Dalet*, which would otherwise be completely without Light. The protruding sharp angle on the right side of *Dalet* is the sign of *Dalet's* abundance of *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, opposite the pure (altruistic) *Malchut*, stands the impure *Malchut*, who is pride and does not wish to receive the Light from *Gimel* and rely on it. Instead, she rises up in the desire to be the head, and in so creates the sharp angle of the *Dalet*. That indicates that the presence of *Ohr Hassadim* disappears, transforming it into the letter *Reish*, which is written as it is pronounced—with two letters: *Reish* and *Shin*.

The true merging of the pure ZA and *Malchut* is called *ECHaD* (one), consists of the letters *Aleph*, *Chet* and *Dalet*, for the letters from *Aleph* to *Chet* are the nine *Sefirot* of ZA. He passes the Light from *Gimel* of *Bina* to *Gimel* of *Malchut*, resulting in *Malchut* being filled with the Light of *Hassadim*, thereby becoming *Dalet* with a protruding right angle. As a result of this, ZA and *Malchut* become one.

When the lower ones (people) sin in their actions (intentions), they give the impure *Malchut* the strength to cling to the pure one—*Dalet*, to erase the sharp angle of the Light of *Hassadim* and turn it into the letter *Reish*. Thus, the word *Echad* (one) becomes *Acher* (other, alien, foreign): *Aleph-Chet-Dalet* of the word *Echad* are transformed into *Aleph-Chet-Reish* of the word *Acher*, for instead of the connection with the Creator emerges a connection with other, impure forces, called "*Elokim Acherim*" (other gods), which cling to ZA and *Malchut* of the pure world of *Atzilut*.

This leads to the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* distorting the Creator's seal (*Shin*), the letter of truth. As a result, *Yesod* of *Malchut*, which receives from *Yesod de* ZA, becomes linked to the impure source instead of the pure, for a new *Yesod* of the impure *Malchut* was formed with the help of the letter *Shin*.

From here the impure forces develop up to ten *Sefirot* with a head and a body, whereas *Shin* becomes the source of all that desolates, for destruction of purity begets impurity. And from this emerged the system of the impure worlds *ABYA* of the impure man.

Thus, we have learned how the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* became the two sources of emergence and development of impure forces. And since the impure forces pose as pure, they are called false, counterfeit letters whose purpose is to annihilate the system of the pure forces and their unity with the Creator, so as to forge themselves out of the devastation of the pure forces.

The birth of the impure forces from the destruction of the pure ones is possible on account of the letter *Shin*, *Yesod* of *Malchut*, joining with the impure forces as a result of the forging of the letter *Reish* out of *Dalet*. Thereby,

Echad turns into *Acher*, and the system of the impure forces (*Elokim Acherim*, other gods) is created.

And had the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* not captured the letter *Shin*, such an enormous system of impure forces, so capable of lying and falsifying everything in the eyes of man, would not have come into being.

Therefore, the Creator answered the letter *Shin*: "Though you are good, you will stand at the head of the word *Sheker* (falsehood) together with the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*. Indeed, upon capturing you, with your power they will be able to create an entire system of impure forces of falsehood and forgery. Hence, I cannot create the world with your properties, for since there is an impure system opposite from you, it is impossible to achieve the goal of creation with you."

THE LETTERS *KUF* AND *REISH*

25. From the aforesaid, it follows that whoever wishes to tell a lie will succeed if he first tells the truth as a base on which the lie will then grow and start to act. And this is because the letter *Shin* is a letter of truth, in which the Patriarchs had been united, for the three lines in the writing of the letter *Shin* (ש) signify the three Patriarchs, who designate the *Sefirot*-properties *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet*.

The letters *Kuf* and *Reish* indicate the evil side, as they form the impure side, called *KaR* (cold), which lacks warmth and life, for it draws its sustenance from *Malchut* when she turns from living water into ice. However, to create an opportunity to exist, these letters attach the *Shin* to themselves, thus creating the combination *KeSHeR* (tie, knot), which embodies strength and survival.

For the Light of *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* of *Bina*, which she receives from *Yesod de ZA*, creates a new ending in *Malchut*, a new *Kli*-desire to receive the Light called "100 blessings" from *ZA*. And since *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* are called the Patriarchs, and the Light that passes to *Malchut* descends from them, the letter *Shin* that designates them is called "truth."

By eliminating the sharp angle of the letter *Dalet*, the impure forces turn it into the letter *Reish*. By this, they convert the word *ECHaD* into *ACHeR*, thereby stealing *Yesod* of the pure *Malchut*, designated by *Shin*. Also, with the letter *Shin* they build the *Yesod* of the impure *Malchut*, which leads to a very strong clinging of impure forces to pure ones. This clinging is called *KeSHeR*, the reciprocal tie joining pure and impure forces, a knot that is not easily severed.

From the aforesaid, we see that the reason for the letters wishing for the world to be created with them is that each of them believes that only its properties can correct the world. The letter *Shin* thinks that the Light of *Hassadim* will bring the souls to the goal of creation. However, the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*—*KaR* (cold)—do not desire this Light, for receiving the Light of Mercy for the sake of bestowal is pure, but receiving it for the sake of pleasure is impure.

THE LETTER *TZADIK*

26. Subsequently, the letter *Tzadik* appeared before the Creator and said: "Master of the world, You should create the world with me, for *Tzadikim* (the righteous) are marked by me. You, who is called a *Tzadik* (righteous one), are also recorded within me, for You are righteous and You love righteousness. Therefore, my properties are suitable to create the world by."

The Creator answered: "*Tzadik*, you are truly righteous, but you must remain concealed and not be revealed to the extent required were the world to be created by you, so as to not give the world an excuse." The concealment of the letter *Tzadik* is necessary, for first came the letter *Nun*, which was then joined by the letter *Yod* from the Creator's Holy Name *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey* (*HaVaYaH*), who stood above it as a mark of the bond between the Creator and His creations, mounted the letter *Nun* and joined it on its right hand side, thereby creating the letter *Tzadik*.

The reason for the necessity of concealing the letter *Tzadik*, which makes it unsuitable for the creation of the world with it, is that when the Creator created Adam, i.e., ZA, He created him as two *Partzufim*-objects—male and female, connected to each other back to back. This is why the letter *Yod* stands with its back to the back of the letter *Nun*, both facing opposite directions, just as the letter *Tzadik* is depicted: the face of *Yod* turned upwards, while the face of *Nun* is turned downwards.

And the Creator also said to *Tzadik*: "In the future I will revoke the relationship of back-to back, and will join them face-to-face. In another place shall you so rise as such, but not at the beginning of creation. For in the beginning of creation, you must be connected back-to-back by the letters *Nun* and *Yod*, for this form indicates that the Light in you is concealed. Therefore, the world cannot be created with you." The letter *Tzadik* then left.

Tzadik came to suggest that the world should be created with its properties, for when it saw that the *Tav*'s request was turned down by the Creator due to

its heavy laws, and the letter *Shin*—due to the impure forces clinging to it—it thought that its properties could be suitable for the creation of the world. After all, it, too, contains the Creator's seal, and no impure forces cling to it.

That is why *Tzadik* said to the Creator that the righteous are sealed by its name as a mark of their union with Him, by circumcision and turning up of the place of contact (*Zivug*) with the Creator, which, thanks to these corrections, repels all the impure forces.

The Creator, called *Bina*, is also marked by *Tzadik*, for He is righteous like ZA, since the Upper Part of *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* (*Aba ve Ima—AVI*) corresponds to the male and female parts, like ZA and *Malchut*. And *AVI* are forever joined so as to send down the Light of Mercy and thus sustain the existence of all that are below them. This is why *Tzadik* thought itself suitable for creating the world, for the world lives by the Light of Mercy, and can reach the goal with its help.

The letter *Tzadik* is called the *Sefira Yesod* of ZA. When *Yesod* joins with *Malchut*, it is defined as *Tzadik* (righteous), for the nine *Sefirot* of ZA are from *Yod* to *Tzadik*, and *Kuf* is the beginning of *Malchut*, which consists of four *Sefirot*—*Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, and *Tav*.

When *Malchut* is joined with *Yesod* of ZA, *Kuf* is joined with *Tzadik*, and *Yesod* is called *Tzadik* (righteous). And to this the Creator replied to *Tzadik* that it is *Tzadik* in *Yesod* of ZA: "And you are *Tzadik* in Me, for *AVI* are forever joined so as to pour down the Light of Mercy and sustain the existence of the lower ones. And you are righteous, for *Malchut* is also connected to you, just as in the alphabet, *Kuf* follows *Tzadik*. Yet, in spite of all that, you do not merit for your properties to become the basis of the world."

Yesod of ZA includes in itself *Malchut* in the form of the letter *Kuf* in the word *TzadiK*. And when *Malchut* is included in *Yesod* as *Tzadik*, it is designated by the letter *Nun*, for *Nun* is *Gevura* of ZA (*Yod-Keter*, *Chaf-Hochma*, *Lamed-Bina*, *Mem-Hesed*, *Nun-Gevura*).

When ZA grows and becomes big, his *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* become *Sefirot Hochma-Bina-Daat*. Thus, *Gevura* becomes *Bina*. And when ZA becomes small once again, *Bina*, too, returns to being *Gevura* (*Nun*). This fall is designated by *Nun*'s head looking down.

The letter *Tzadik* consists of the letters *Nun* and *Yod* connected back-to-back. The letter *Nun* designates *Malchut* with the properties of the *Sefira Yesod* included in her; *Yod* designates the actual *Yesod* of ZA. Their connection—back-to-back, facing out in opposite directions—indicates that impure forces cling to their backs.

They conceal their backs from strangers since there is a flaw in their backs—the desire to receive the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*). This flaw must be concealed so as to prevent the impure forces from clinging to their backs. Therefore, the letter *Tzadik* is unsuitable for the world to be created by its properties. Its very shape reveals an opportunity for the impure forces to cling to it; this is why Adam (created out of ZA and *Malchut* when they are joined as *Tzadik*) is also created consisting of two halves, male and female, joined at their backs.

And if the letter *Tzadik* were to argue that in the big state, in the presence of *Ohr Hochma*, ZA and *Malchut* unite face-to-face, it would be told that such connection is impossible at their place, but only during their ascent to *AVI*. For if such a connection were possible in their own place, the impure forces would immediately cling to them. For this reason, the letter *Tzadik* is unworthy of becoming the basis of the universe.

THE LETTER *PEH*

27. The letter *Peh* entered and said: "Master of the world, it would be good to create the world with me, for the future liberation of the world is inscribed in me, as the word *Pedut* (liberation, redemption) begins with me. That is, liberation is deliverance from all suffering. And it is therefore fitting to create the world with me."

The Creator answered her: "Though you are fine, the word *Peshah* (transgression) begins with you and is secretly denoted by you, like a serpent that strikes and hides its head in its body. So a sinner bows his head, hiding from others' eyes, but stretches out his hands to sin. So is the shape of the letter *Peh*, whose head is hidden inside it." And the Creator also said to the letter *Ayin* that it would be unfitting to create the world with its properties, for within it is the property of *Avon* (crime, sin). And though *Ayin* tried to object, saying that its properties are contained in the word *Anavah* (humility), the Creator refused it nonetheless.

Pedut (Liberation) begins with the letter *Peh*, meaning that the property of *Peh* is contained in future liberation. This is why the letter *Peh* claims that it is worthy of being the basis of the world. Indeed, both *Galut* (exile) and *Ge'ula* (redemption) depend on *Malchut*: when *Malchut* has no inner Light of *Hochma*, the people of Israel are exiled from the land of Israel. For in our world, the land of Israel corresponds to *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, the spiritual land of Israel.

Just as in the spiritual world, ZA (Israel) distances from *Malchut* (the land of Israel), the people of Israel separate and leave their land in our world. And when the children of Israel correct their actions, they cause ZA (Israel) to fill his *Malchut* (the land of Israel) with Light, build her with his Light and unite with her face-to-face. As a result, the children of Israel of our world merit redemption and return to their land.

The Light from ZA, which builds and fills *Malchut*, descends from *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod* in ZA. *Hochma* of *Malchut* clothes in *Netzah* and *Bina* of *Malchut* clothes in *Hod*. The letters *Ayin* and *Peh* are *Netzah* and *Hod* in ZA. This is why *Peh*, the *Sefira Hod* in ZA, claimed that it was suitable to be the basis of the world, for the Light of *Hochma* that brings redemption to the entire world stems from *Peh* to *Malchut*. Thus, if the world achieved its property, it would undoubtedly reach the end of correction—complete redemption.

The letter *Peh* thought that it was more suitable to become the basis of the world than *Ayin* because although *Ohr Hochma* enters *Netzah-Ayin* and *Hod-Peh*, and is mainly present in *Netzah-Ayin*, redemption depends on *Hod-Peh*, nonetheless. That is because initially, *Bina* liberates *Malchut* from her restrictions and thereby redeems her.

By receiving from *Bina* her properties of mercy, *Malchut* merits redemption. This is fulfilled in the following way: *Bina* transcends her own properties and joins with *Malchut*, as a result of which, upon receiving the Light of *Hassadim*, *Malchut* can now receive the Light of *Hochma*. The restrictions imposed on the reception of Light mostly affect the left side, i.e., *Hod-Peh* in ZA. And that is why the letter *Peh* thought that since the Light of *Bina* enters it, and not *Netzah-Ayin*, it is better suited to become the basis of the world.

However, all the individual corrections made during the 6,000 years of the world's existence until the end of correction are considered incomplete, for the Upper Light, which allows for the discovery and analysis of all the impure forces within oneself, is not present in its entirety. Therefore, the Light may not be received in the worlds of BYA, below *Parsa*, below the boundary that separates the world of *Atzilut* from the worlds of BYA.

Parsa is *Malchut* that ascended to *Bina* in order to restrict the diffusion and reception of Light into those parts of her that are located below *Bina*. And as a consequence of Adam's attempt to nevertheless receive the Light under the *Parsa*, impurity slipped into *Malchut*, of which it is said that the serpent appeared before Chava (Eve) and brought impurity upon her (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 146). This impurity will only be corrected at the end of correction.

The thing is that the absence of the Upper Light in the force capable of discerning good from evil in all of *Malchut's* thickness gives rise to a flaw called "tears"—two tears that fall into a vast sea from the two eyes of *Hochma* and *Bina* that are concealed from all.

The two eyes are *Hochma* and *Bina*, and the tears signify the flaw in them from the presence of the impure force that appeared in them as a result of Adam's sin. This led to the ruin of the two Temples. These tears in *Malchut's* eyes will only dry at the end of correction, when death disappears from the world and all the Light shines in *Hochma* and *Bina* (item 56).

So the letter *Peh* was told that although it brings the world *Pedut* (redemption) with its Light, and although all redemptions pass only through it, this Light is incomplete. All the individual corrections are imperfect, for they come and go, just as the two Temples.

For the properties of *Peshah* (transgression) and *Pedut* (redemption) in the letter *Peh* are not sufficiently perfect and complete so as to withstand the sin of Adam, for in the absence of the full Light of *Hochma*, there is clinging of impure forces. Hence, the letter *Peh* is unworthy of being the basis of the world.

And since the property of *Peshah* (transgression) is concealed, the force of the serpent is present therein, deceiving people and leading them to their death. And it is impossible to kill it, just as a snake bites and immediately hides its head in itself (similar to the head of the letter *Peh*), which makes it impossible to kill it, for one may only kill the serpent within oneself by striking the "head." This is why the letter *Peh* is unsuitable for the creation of the world.

THE LETTER *AYIN*

Bina of the world of *Atzilut* is called *Ima Ilaa* (Supernal Mother) and also *Anavah* (modesty, humility). (Here, the capital "A" designates the letter *Ayin*, not to be confused with *Aleph*). The *Sefira Netzah* of *Zeir Anpin* (designated by the letter *Ayin*) clothes into *Malchut* with all of its Light, and ascends to *Bina*, who adorns her with her own adornments: *Bina* clothes into *Netzah* of ZA. But since the letter *Peh*, signifying *Peshah* (transgression) is concealed in *Netzah*, the Creator refused to create the world with its properties, as it is written in item 27.

Two words render the meaning of the word "transgression" in Hebrew: *Peshah* and *Avon*. However, "transgression" is mainly concentrated in the letter *Peh*, for *Malchut* of ZA connects into the *Sefira Hod* of ZA.

As a result of Adam's sin, *Klipot* (shells, impure forces) cling to *Malchut* of ZA. But *Netzah* of ZA is a property of ZA himself, and impure forces cannot cling to it. Yet, as it is written in the Talmud (*Baba Kama*), even *Netzah* is subject to *Klipot* clinging to it.

This flaw—the ability of the impure forces to cling to *Netzah* of ZA—is called "transgression." However, the word *Avon* (not *Peshah*) indicates that *Netzah* is pure and direct, and that the transgression is caused by its connection with the *Sefira Hod*.

The reason the Creator turns to the letters *Peh* and *Ayin* at the same time is that *Netzah* and *Hod* are like two body parts—two legs. This is why they both appeared before Him with their requests. However, *The Zohar* clarifies each of them (their properties) one at a time.

THE LETTER *SAMECH*

28. The letter *Samech* appeared before the Creator and said: "Creator of the world, it would be good to create the world with my properties, for within me is *Smicha* (support) for the fallen, as it is written: 'The Creator supports (*Somech*) all who fall.'" The Creator replied: "That is why you are needed in your place; do not move from it. If you move from your place, contained in the word *Somech*, those who fall will lose your support, for they rely on you (your properties)." Having heard this, the letter *Samech* departed.

The letter *Samech* stands for *Sefira Tifferet* in ZA, i.e., *Bina* in the body of ZA. Since *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina* (*KHB*) were transformed into *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* (*HGT*) in ZA, they were emptied of the Light of *Hochma*, and were left with only the Light of *Hassadim*, thus changing their name from *KHB* to *HGT*.

As we know, *Bina* consists of two parts: the Upper Part, called GAR: *Gimel* (three) *Rishonot* (first ones)—the first three *Sefirot KHB*, and the lower part, called ZAT: *Zayin* (seven) *Tachtonot* (lower ones)—the seven lower *Sefirot* from *Hesed* to *Malchut*. The Upper Part of *Bina* is called *Aba ve Ima* (*AVI*). Being filled with the Light of Mercy, *Aba ve Ima* exist in a state of perfection—without any desire to receive, but only to bestow.

AVI are designated by *Samech* (numerical value – 60), for they include the first three *Sefirot KHB* and three *Sefirot* of ZA, which, in view of the absence of *Ohr Hochma* in ZA, are not called *KHB*, but rather *HGT*. Therefore *AVI* consist of six *Sefirot*, each consisting of ten, totaling 60 = *Samech*.

ZAT of *Bina* receive the Light from Above and pass it on to *ZA*. This part of *Bina* has the property of *ZA*, rather than of *Bina*, as it needs to receive exactly what *ZA* needs, and then pass it to him. Since, unlike *Bina*, who does not wish to receive anything, *ZAT* of *Bina* need to receive *Ohr Hochma* for *ZA*, they feels a lack for it, and thus separate from *Bina* and an independently existing object-*Partzuf* forms out of her lower part.

This *Partzuf* is called *YESHSUT*, and it is designated by the letter *Mem* (numerical value – 40), for it consists of four *Sefirot—Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* of *Partzuf AVI*. Owing to its shape (properties), the block-letter *Mem* is called *Mem Stumah* (closed).

However, this separation of *AVI* into two parts occurs only when they have no Light of *Hochma*, but only the Light of *Hassadim*. Consequently, the Upper Part of *Bina* remains in its perfection, whereas the lower part feels a flaw in its state by not receiving *Ohr Hochma*. And since spiritual objects are separated by the differences in their properties, the sensation of imperfection separates the lower part of *Bina* from the Upper.

However, if those below improve their "intentions" (called "actions" in the spiritual), and ask *ZA* for help in correcting their actions, overcoming the egoism of impure desires, and acquiring spiritually pure, altruistic desires, *ZA* then turns to the superior *YESHSUT*, which turns to *AVI*. *AVI* then send their request even higher, receive the Light of *Hochma* and pass it to *YESHSUT*.

Finally, *YESHSUT* and *AVI* unite into one *Partzuf*, for having received *Ohr Hochma*, *YESHSUT* becomes as perfect as *AVI* are perfect being filled with *Ohr Hassadim*. *YESHSUT* passes the Light of *Hochma* down to *ZA*, who then passes it to *Malchut*. The Light that *Malchut* receives from *ZA* is referred to as 100 blessings, for *Samech* = 60 joins with *Mem* = 40.

However, when man sins in his intentions (desires, actions), he does not turn to *Malchut* with a request for help, causing the Light of *Hochma* to disappear from *ZA*, and *ZA* returns from *Gadlut* (big state) back to *Katnut* (small state). (When *ZA* contains the Light of *Hochma*, he is called "big"; and when he is filled with only the Light of *Hassadim*, he is called "small"). And the united *Partzuf Bina* is once more divided into *AVI* and *YESHSUT*.

In this small state (*Katnut*), *ZA* and *Malchut* are in danger of impure forces (*Klipot*) clinging to them. To make certain this does not happen, for then they may fall from the world of *Atzilut* below the *Parsa* into the worlds *BYA*, *AVI* send them the property of *Samech* (the Light of Mercy). And although it is only the Light of *Hassadim* without the Light of Wisdom (Light of *Hochma*), it provides *ZA* and *Malchut* with the sensation of perfection in acts of bestowal, and thus

impure forces can no longer cling to them, for the sole intention of the impure forces is to receive the Light of Wisdom from a pure *Partzuf*.

And this is why the Light that fills ZA in *Katnut* is called *Samech*, which testifies to its action: *Samech* "supports" ZA and *Malchut* so that they wouldn't fall from the world of *Atzilut* below the *Parsa*.

That is why the letter *Samech* thought that if the world were created with its properties, it would be able to reach the goal of creation and merge with the Creator. Its Light could shine in ZA and *Malchut* even in their small state, and the *Klipa* (impure force) would not attempt to snatch the Light from them. On the contrary, the impure, egoistic forces would flee from its Light. *Samech* believed that if the world were to be created with its properties, it would be able to protect all creatures, even when their actions were corrupted, for even in such a state, the impure force would not be able to harm them.

But the Creator said to *Samech* that precisely because its role is to support those who fall and to protect the lower ones in times of their spiritual descent, it must stay in its place and not move from it. For if the world were created by it, its power would always prevail over all, ridding ZA and *Malchut* of the chance to grow out of their small state.

And if ZA and *Malchut* don't stimulate the lower ones (people) to raise MAN—request for help in achieving *Gadlut*, the Upper Light will not be able to descend to bring the creatures to the end of correction and redemption. Therefore, the letter *Samech* must support the lower ones until they merit more. But when they do merit, they will be able to receive the great Light called "100 blessings" into their entire *Partzuf*. So the Creator refused to create the world with the letter *Samech*.

"Because the lower ones need *Samech* only in their *Katnut*, in the absence of the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*), ZON need you and you can help them. However, they need you only in their *Katnut*. But you do not help to bring them to perfection, and so you cannot be the basis of the world."

THE LETTER *NUN*

29. The letter *Nun* entered and said to the Creator: "It would be good for You to create the world with me, for *Norah Tehilot* (great praises) is written with me, as well as 'Praising of the righteous.'"

The Creator replied: "Return to your place, for you are the reason that the letter *Samech* returned to its place. And rely on it for support. For the

letter *Nun* exists in the word *Nefilah* (fall), which must be corrected by the letter *Samech*. This is the reason why it needed to return to its place—so as to strengthen the lower ones." The letter *Nun* left Him at once.

When *Nun* saw that the Creator sent the letter *Samech* away (as its properties are only used in the state of *Katnut*, that is, only to support those who had fallen from the *Gadlut*), it thought that it was worthy of being the basis of the world. This is because not only does *Nun* have all the advantages of *Samech*, but it can also use *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *Gadlut*. Thus, the reason for the Creator's refusal to *Samech* does not apply to *Nun*.

The *Sefira Gevura* in ZA is called *Nun*, for it is entirely mitigated by *Bina's* property of mercy, called *Nun* = 50 gates of *Bina*. It is this property of *Gevura* that gives ZA the name *Norah Tehilot* (great praises). *Ima-Bina* is called *Tehilah* (praise), and since *Gevura* descends from *Bina*, it is referred to as *Norah Tehilot*, while *Nun* is used in the *Sefira Yesod*, in the *Gadlut* of ZA during his *Zivug* with *Nukva*. Like *Ima*, this is whence *Nukva* receives the name *Tehilah*, while ZA becomes one in both *Tehilot*—*Ima* and *Nukva*.

Therefore, the letter *Nun* said that, being in *Gevura*, the left line of ZA, it attracts the Light of Mercy emanated by *Samech* (*Bina*, *Ima*), which is also called the "Upper *Tehilah*," as a result of which ZA acquires its properties and the name *Norah Tehilot* to match them. This is why *Nun* has all the properties of *Samech*: the Light of Mercy that bestows perfection and repels the impure forces-desires.

The letter *Nun* added: "However, I have an additional advantage in that I am used during the big state of ZA in his *Yesod*, in the letter *Tzadik*, of which I am the left element." This *Nun* in the letter *Tzadik* is that same *Nun* that is defined as *Norah Tehilot* (praises of the righteous), for even when ZA achieves *Gadlut* during the ascent of ZON to *AVI*, *Nun* also acts in *Yesod* of ZA, connecting *Nukva* back-to-back with ZA, so that ZA receives the Light of Mercy from *AVI* (*Samech*).

And so *Nun* is called "praises of the righteous," for *Yod* (righteous one, the basis of the world) mounts it. *Nun* is called "great praises," for it attracts the Light of Wisdom to *Malchut* in the state of *Gadlut*.

Therefore, we find that *Malchut* receives all her beauty from *Nun*, which is located in *Yesod* of ZA. This is why the letter *Nun* claimed that it merits for the world to be created with its properties, for its luminescence adds to the Light of Wisdom that unites and revives ZON, and does not merely support them, like the letter *Samech*.

So the Creator answered it: "You are wrong in thinking that you merit leading the world to complete correction by your properties, without the clinging

of impure forces, for even your properties need to be supported by the letter *Samech*. Indeed, this is precisely why you are connected back-to-back with the letter *Yod*, and the Light of *Samech* guards you against the clinging of the impure forces onto you. And that is why your properties, which rely upon the strength of *Samech*, are merely ones of support. Hence, you are unworthy of becoming the basis of the world."

THE LETTERS *MEM* AND *LAMED*

30. The letter *Mem* entered and said: "Master of the world, it would be good for You to create the world by me, for *Melech* (King) is called by me." The Creator replied: "That is so, but I shall not create the world by you, for the world needs a King. Return to your place. Also, I shall not create the world with the letters *Lamed* and *Chaf* that form the word *MeLeCH* (King), as the world cannot exist without a King."

The letter *Mem* is the *Sefira Hesed* in ZA, which receives the Light from its corresponding *Sefira Hesed* in *Bina*. When, in addition to the Light of Mercy in his small state, ZA receives the Light of Wisdom and becomes big, his *Sefirot HGT* turn into *Sefirot Hochma-Bina-Daat* (*HBD*). In other words, *Hesed* in ZA ascends and becomes *Hochma*, thereby revealing a new Light, the Light of *Hochma*, the Light of the Creator's face.

This is why the letter *Mem* claimed that it was suitable for the world to be created by it, for it reveals the Creator's Light to the world, thereby eliminating any risk of impure forces clinging to it, and so the world is guaranteed complete correction.

But the Creator answered that it is forbidden to reveal this Light to the world, for the world needs for this great Light to first clothe itself in the three letters of the word *MeLeCH*. In other words, the great Light may be revealed in the world only if *Mem* joins with the letters *Lamed* and *Chaf*. So the Creator said, "Go and join with them."

Mem in the word *Melech* is *Hesed*. *Lamed* is *Bina*, which passes the Light to ZA. The letter *Chaf* is *Malchut*, *Nukva* of ZA, for there cannot be a *Melech* (*King*) without *Malchut* (Kingdom). Also, all of the Light becomes revealed only thanks to *Malchut*.

In this case, *Malchut* shines from ZA in three places:

1) *Malchut* becomes a *Kisseh* (throne) for a *King* (ZA). A *Kisseh* derives from *Kissui* (cover, concealment), so it is designated by the bent letter *Chaf*.

2) *Malchut* clothes ZA. Because the great Light is revealed only to Israel, *Malchut* clothes ZA, and when her kingdom is revealed, ZA frees himself from her garment and throws it over all the nations of the world, idolaters, and the Light of his face pours upon Israel. And all the righteous then point their finger at the Creator and say: "This is the Creator, to whom I aspired!" This diffusion of Light is designated by the letter *Chaf*.

3) *Malchut* becomes a crown on the head of ZA. And this is the property of the letter *Chaf*, of *Keter* (crown of ZA).

THE LETTER *CHAF*

31. At this time the letter *Chaf* descended from the *Kisseh* – the Creator's throne, and stood before the Creator. It trembled and said to Him: "Creator of the world, with my properties I merit to become the basis of the world, for I am *Kavod* – Your Glory." When the letter *Chaf* descended from the Creator's throne, all the worlds trembled, and the throne itself, verging on collapse. The Creator then answered: "*Chaf*, what are you doing here? I will not create the world by you. Return to your place, for you exist in the word *Kelayah* (destruction) and in the word *Kalah* (bride)."

The Creator's throne is the world of *Beria*. The appearance of the letter *Mem* before the Creator led to the letter *Chaf* falling from His throne. As a result, *Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *Beria* trembled, as well as all the lower worlds with all their inhabitants.

All the arguments that the letters raised in their wish for the world to be created with each of them is like raising *MAN*—a request for precise measure of help from Above in the form of Upper Light (called *MAD*), corresponding to that particular letter.

If so, *ZON* will rule the world, and this ruling is effected by the very Light descending from *ZON* in the exact quantity of *MAD* that each letter evoked and caused, for the *MAD* precisely corresponds to the *MAN* in both quantity and quality, whereas *MAN* is the actual property of the letter. Hence, each letter argues that it can draw the kind of Light from Above that will surely bring all creatures to the goal.

Similarly, the Creator's answers to each of the twenty-two letters of *ZON de Atzilut* constitute the descending *MAD* (the Upper Light, strength, help) that precisely corresponds to the *MAN* raised by that particular letter. And when the

Upper Light that descends from a particular letter begins to rule the world, this signifies the Creator's reply to that letter. Since the impure forces cling to one of the letter's properties, as the Creator created two precisely balanced, opposing systems of pure and impure forces, this reveals the letter's inability to rule the world. And thus, the Creator dismissed each letter's individual claim to build the world by its property in order to bring it to the goal of creation.

Herein lies the Creator's "game" with each of the twenty-two letters, giving each the opportunity to reveal its properties, power and forces, until it becomes clear from their aspirations and analysis, which of them truly merits the world being governed by it.

From this we see that when the letter *Mem* began to reveal its great Light in the world, in doing so, it caused the fall of the *Kisse* (throne). This is so because the *Kisse* has two properties: (i) it covers and conceals the Creator, where the word *Kisse* derives from the word *Kissui*; (ii) it reveals the Creator's greatness in the worlds with the help of the three letters *MeLeCH*. Then, *Malchut* that became a *Kissui*, the Creator's cover, ascends and turns to *Chaf*—the Creator's own garments—thus revealing the King (Creator), and it becomes a crown on His head.

But as soon as the letter *Mem*, which was not clothed in *Chaf*, began to reveal the Light of the Creator's face, the letter *Chaf* fell from the *Kisse* (the throne of His Glory), stopped concealing Him, and stated that from now on only the Creator's revealed glory would rule over it, without any kind of concealment, as desired by *Mem*.

Owing to *Chaf's* fall from the throne, two hundred thousand worlds that originate from *Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *Beria*, as well as the worlds below them, shook and trembled on the verge of collapse. For the entire connection between the lower degree or *Partzuf* and the one above it lies in the fact that *Malchut* of the Upper Degree becomes *Keter* of the lower. And the property of the letter *Chaf* consists in clothing *Malchut* of an Upper spiritual object in *Keter* of a lower one.

There are three distinctive features to the throne: (i) six steps leading to the throne, six *Sefirot—Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* of the lower one; (ii) four legs of the throne, the Light in *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the lower one; (iii) *Malchut* of the Upper One that descends to the lower one, clothes into it, and all the Light from the Upper One is passed through her to the lower one.

Thus, when *Chaf* fell from the throne of the Creator's glory, the connection between the world of *Atzilut* and the throne (world of *Beria*) was severed. This is so because *Chaf* (*Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*) that clothes in *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the world of *Beria* pours all the Light onto the world of

Beria, called the throne of His glory. But when *Chaf* fell from the throne, the connection between the world of *Atzilut* and the world of *Beria* was severed, *Chaf* trembled, for it lost the power to bestow upon the world of *Beria*, and two hundred thousand worlds (*Hochma* and *Bina* out of *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the world of *Beria*) trembled in fear of collapsing, for they lost all of their life-force, which they receive from the world of *Atzilut*.

Similarly, in the world of *Atzilut*, *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, the Creator, is connected with ZON. This is because *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* consists of ten *Sefirot*, and her last *Sefira*, *Malchut*, clothes in ZA of the world of *Atzilut* with the property of the letter *Chaf*. *Malchut* of the *Sefira Bina*, which clothes in ZA, is the letter *Chaf*. And this letter *Chaf* is the Creator's throne in ZA. For the Creator is *Bina*, *Sefira* above ZA. And ZA becomes a throne for *Bina*. And during the fall, the connection between *Bina* and ZA is severed, since *Chaf* is *Malchut* of *Bina*; it clothes into ZA and passes all the Light to him.

And it therefore trembled (lost its ability to bestow upon ZA), and so did two hundred thousand worlds, which are the Light for ZA, called *Hochma* and *Bina* or *KHBD*—the four legs of the throne—for all the Light departed from them. And the worlds trembled in fear of collapsing, that is, *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* in ZA that include all the worlds below them, for all the Light of *Bina* departed thence.

The Creator told the letter *Chaf* that because it fell from the throne of His glory, the first three *Sefirot* of ZA trembled, and all the other worlds are on the verge of total collapse and destruction without any hope of restoration; hence, *Chaf* must return to its place in the throne of glory.

Chaf's return to its place in the Creator's throne takes place just as He refuses to create the world with the letter *Mem*, for the world needs a King. That is, the trembling of the letter *Chaf* as it fell from the Creator's throne, which in turn, made the worlds tremble in fear of possible collapse, and the Creator's answer to the letter *Mem* transpire simultaneously.

THE LETTER *YOD*

32. The letter *Yod* entered and said: "Maker of the world! It would be good to create the world by me, for Your Holy name begins with me." The Creator replied: "It is sufficient that you are inscribed in My Name, in Me, and all of your aspirations are to Me, and you should not be uprooted from it all."

Since *Yod* is the first letter of the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*), the beginning of the Creator's revelation to creatures, the first degree of the Upper Light, the letter *Yod* argued for the world to be created with its properties, for the world would then be absolutely guaranteed complete correction. However, the Creator objects to it. As was already stated, the letters' questions and the Creator's answers signify the Creator playing with each letter, where the letters' questions are their *MAN*, and the Creator's answers are *MAD* in the form of the Upper Light.

So, by telling *Yod*, "It is sufficient," the Creator thus explained the creation of restriction—that the Light is only allowed to descend to its level, but no further. And this restriction is fixed in the Creator's name *Shadday* (*Shin-Dalet-Yod*). After *Yod* began to spread with the great Light, the Creator stopped it, forbidding it to spread to the letter *Tav*, but only to *Shin* (as was said above, in item 25). He said to it: "Enough, and do not spread further. Otherwise you will not be able to remain forever in My Name *HaVaYaH*."

As the sages said: "My Name is not pronounced as it is written. For it is written *HaVaYaH*, but pronounced *Adonay*" (Talmud, *Pesahim*, 50). Indeed, the name *HaVaYaH* is not subject to change, as it is written: "For I, the Lord (*HaVaYaH*), do not change" (*Malachi*, 3:6). For corruption and its correction emerge in the days of the world's existence, meaning that constant changes are coming. Therefore, until the end of correction, the Creator is called *Adonay*, for this name is subject to change, and not *HaVaYaH*, which can never be altered.

Yet, in the future, after the end of correction, *HaVaYaH* will be pronounced as it is written. Therefore, the Creator said, "If I see some fault or evil in you, by this you will be removed from My Name, for My Name, *HaVaYaH*, may not contain anything flawed or corrected—neither corruption nor correction. And this is why the world cannot be created by your properties." There are three degrees in the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*: in the *Sefira Hochma* of *ZA*, in *Hochma* of *AVI*, and in *Hochma* of *Arich Anpin*, called "concealed wisdom."

HaVaYaH begins with a dot, which then turns into *Yod*. Subsequently, *Yod* (*Ohr Hochma*) spreads to the sides and downward and turns into the letter *Dalet*, which consists of a horizontal roof-like line that indicates the property of *Bina-Ima* (mercy, *Hassadim*, width). When *Ohr Hassadim* stops spreading in width, *Ohr Hochma* begins to spread downward in the form of a vertical line. This is the leg of the letter *Dalet*, the property of *Hochma-Aba*.

The common property of *AVI* is designated by the letter *Dalet*. *AVI* beget *ZA*, designated by the letter *Vav* inside the *Dalet*, and eventually forms the shape

of the letter *Hey*. Thus, the request of *ZA* (*Vav*) to receive from *AVI* compels them to unite their properties of *Hochma* (vertical line) and *Hassadim* (horizontal line), with the help of the letter *Yod*. Consequently, *AVI* receive the Light from *Yod* and pass it on to *ZA*.

The screen with the desires of *Malchut* is called "a point," since the collision between the screen and the coming Light yields Returning Light. And since the received Light always consists of ten Lights, the screen is called "ten points."

Yod designates the spreading of *Nekudot* inside *Partzuf Keter*, from the Light of *Hochma* downwards, while *Vav* signifies the spreading of *Nekudot* inside *Partzuf Hochma*. However, there is no sign in *HaVaYaH* that indicates the diffusion of Light in *Keter*.

Entrance or exit of the letter *Yod* in a word signifies either presence or absence of the Light of *Hochma*. There are four kinds of correction:

1. The First *Ibur*—conception of the small state of *ZON*. This is an absolutely passive spiritual state, where the letter *Yod* enters the word *Ohr* (Light) and transforms it into *Avir* (air), becoming the *VAK* of the *Partzuf*.
2. The letter *Yod* exits the word *Avir*, which converts it back to *Ohr*: the Light of *Hochma* enters *VAK* of *Partzuf*;
3. The Second *Ibur*—conception of the *Gadlut* state of *ZON*: *AHP* of *Bina* ascend from *ZON* to *Bina*, and *GE de ZON* ascend with them, for they were together in the *Katnut* state, defined as conception of *GE de ZON*;
4. The diffusion of the Light of *Hochma*.

THE LETTER *TET*

33. The letter *Tet* entered and said: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world with me, for it is by me that You are called *Tov* (Good)." The Creator replied: "I will not create the world by you, for your goodness is concealed within you and is invisible. Therefore, it cannot take any part in the world that I wish to create, and will only be revealed in the world to come. And since your goodness is concealed within you, the gates of the palace will sink into the ground, for the letter *Chet* is opposite from you, and when you join together, the word *CHeT* (sin) will be formed. This is why these two letters are not recorded in the names of the holy tribes." The letter *Chet* immediately moved aside.

The letter *Tet*, whose numeric value of nine, is the inner property of the *Sefira Yesod* in ZA, while the outer property of *Yesod* in ZA is the letter *Tzadik*, whose numeric value of ninety, and it joins with *Nukva de* ZA, forming the notion of *Tzadik* (righteous one). Besides being the inner property of *Yesod* in ZA, *Tet* is also the ninth letter among the letters of *Bina* in ZA.

Also, *Tet* is called *Tov* (good). And since *Tov* is called *Tzadik*, for it is the inner Light of *Yesod*, called *Tzadik*, to whom no impure forces could cling, *Tet* calls on the above to justify its claim to become the basis of the world.

In the Talmud (*Hagiga*, 12), the sages wrote: "In the Light by which the Creator created the world, Adam saw from one end of the world to the other. But the Creator saw that the deeds of the generations of the Flood and the builders of the Tower of Babel are detrimental, and concealed that Light for the righteous in the future." Because the Creator saw that their actions will bring the threat of the clinging of the impure forces, He concealed this Light, Thus, the Light descended secretly from the Supernal Righteous (*AVI*) to the righteous one (*Yesod* in ZA), the letter *Tet*.

And so the Creator told *Tet* that because He must conceal it from the sinners and only the righteous will be worthy of it in the world to come, it cannot partake in the creation and correction of the world, for the world is ZON, and the letter *Tet* is constantly in danger of being clung to by impure forces.

And since this Light shines only secretly inside *Yesod* of ZA, and not openly, *Nukva* will not be able to receive this Light directly, but only through its concealment in her. Therefore, the gates of *Nukva* sink into her *Sefira Yesod*, which safeguards them against the clinging of the impure forces, and they are confident that the impure forces will not be able to rule over her gates. For even at the time of the ruin of the Temple, the impure forces could not rule over the gates of the Temple, and sank into the ground, that is, the ground consumed them. "But because you are in need of such protection, I cannot create the world with you," the Creator answered *Tet*.

There are two pipes (channels) in *Yesod de* ZA in the world of *Atzilut*: the right one serves for the birth of the souls, and the left one for throwing away waste to the impure forces. The letter *Chet* is *Hod*, whose property is *Malchut* in ZA, the left pipe in *Yesod* of ZA, for the properties of the letter *Chet* are the properties of *Kuf* included in *Yesod*, whereas *Kuf* emanates *Ner Dakik* (tiny Light) to the impure forces, from which they receive the strength to be similar to an image of a pure man, as a monkey compared to a man, for the Creator created purity parallel to impurity.

These two pipes are located very close to each other, separated only by a thin partition, called "a garlic husk." Consequently, the left pipe has the strength to rule over the right one, thereby forming *CHeT* (numerical value 8 + 9 = 17).

The numerical value of *CHeT* (17) equals that of the word *TOV* (9 + 6 + 2 = 17), which means that the impure force opposes the pure one. And if the right pipe (the letter *Tet*) prevails, the word *CHeT* (sin) will turn into *TOV* (good, goodness).

Since the left pipe (*CHeT*) has the strength to rule over the right one (*Tet*), the impure forces can suck the Upper Light for themselves. This would give power to the sinners of the world. This is why neither *Chet* nor *Tet* are present in the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, to show that they (the tribes) are above the letter *Chet*, the root of all the opposing impure forces.

When all the letters merited receiving a blessing through the letter *Bet*, they lined up in their alphabetical order, in which the letters *Tet* and *Reish* joined. The letter *Tet* ascended, but did not take its place until the Creator asked her: "*Tet*, why did you ascend, but do not take your place?" It replied: "You created me to begin the words *Tov* (goodness) and Torah, as it is written: 'And the Creator saw that the Light was good.' How then can I join and stand beside the letter *Reish*, when it begins the word *Rah* (evil)?"

The Creator answered: "Return to your place, for it is precisely you that needs the letter *Reish*. For man, whom I intend to create, combines all those properties—you as the right property, and *Reish* as the left." After that, both *Tet* and *Reish* returned to their places.

Three lines emerge in ZA of the world of *Atzilut*. However, they emerge from their source, *Bina*. (As a result of the second restriction, *Malchut* ascends to *Bina*, which leads to *Sefirot Bina-ZA-Malchut* falling into a lower *Partzuf*, into ZA.) *Bina* is called *Eloh-im* (*Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Mem*), and as a result of second restriction, her part *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (the *ELEH* of the word *Eloh-im*, *AHP*) fell into a lower *Partzuf*, to ZA. Only the letters *Yod-Mem* (the *IM* of *Eloh-im*) remained in *Bina*. This means that only half, (*VAK*, *GE*) remained in her from the previous level of *GAR*. Whatever is left is designated by a sign called *Holam—Vav* with a dot above it, as this is the right line, *Ohr Hassadim*.

Then, in the big state, the letters *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (*ELEH*) returned to *Bina* and joined with *Yod-Mem* (*IM*). Subsequently, the level of *GAR* returned, yet the Light of *Hochma* in *Bina* was incomplete, for the Light of *Hassadim* disappeared and the Light of *Hochma* cannot shine without the Light of *Hassadim*. The

returned letters A-L-H are *Shuruk—Vav* with a dot inside it, because, due to the restrictions in it, it constitutes the left line.

These restrictions are effective until *ZON*, upon ascending to *Bina*, begin to receive the Light, and the middle line emerges and reduces *GAR* of *Hochma* in the left line. As a result, the right line joins with the left: *Ohr Hochma* shines in the *Ohr Hassadim*. This middle line is called *Hirik—Vav* with a dot under it, or the screen of *Hirik*, for the Light enters the *Partzuf* because of it.

And since *Bina* regained *GAR* with *ZA's* help, *ZA*, now that he had acquired the three lines, begins to receive this Light from *Bina*, too. *Yod-Mem* (*IM*), *Tet* and *Holam* constitute the right line, *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (*ELEH*), *Reish* and *Shuruk* constitute the left.

Now let us translate this into the language of *Sefirot*. When *Bina* returned once more to the state of *Gadlut*, *ELEH* returned to *IM*, the left line merged with the right, and this drove *Tet* (right line, *Hassadim*) away from *Reish* (left line). This is because being opposite to each other, they cannot stand side by side until the Creator (*ZA*, middle line) reduces the *GAR* of both the left and right lines by the force of His screen, which is expressed by the words: "And the Creator commanded it to return to its place."

GAR de Hochma is called *Man'ula*—the lock that prevents the Light from entering a *Partzuf*, and its diminution is called *Miftacha*—the key that opens a passage for the Light, *VAK* of *Hochma*, to spread in the left line into a *Partzuf*. Then, *Tet*, the right line, receives *Ohr Hochma* from the left, joins with *Reish*, receiving from it the Light of *Hochma*. Otherwise it would have remained in *VAK*. Adam, too, is created from the union of these two lines.

But why was the letter *Tet* reluctant to join with the letter *Reish*, and had to be forced to do so by the Creator? In the spiritual world, a root rules over all its branches, and the branches submit to its rule. Therefore, *Tet* did not wish to join with *Reish*, as it was then bound to become a branch and submit to its root, *Reish*.

However, the Creator wanted *Tet* to receive the Light of *Hochma* from *Reish* so that this union would enable man to receive the Light of *GAR*. Thus, when *ELEH* return to *Bina*, He made it so *Bina*'s restrictions would be weakened so as to allow the *Reish* to join with the *Tet* and receive the Light of *Hassadim* from it. It follows that *Tet* becomes the root with regard to *Reish*, for without its *Hassadim*, *Reish* would be unable to shine, due to the restrictions placed on its Light.

THE LETTER *ZAYIN*

34. The letter *Zayin* entered and said: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world by me, as *Shabbat* is preserved with me, for it is written: 'Remember (*Zachor*) the day of *Shabbat*, so as to keep it.'" The Creator replied: "I will not create the world by you, for within you is a force of war, as sabers and swords, called *Klei Zayin* (weaponry), are made by you. And you are like the letter *Nun*, with which the world was not created, for within it is *Nefilah* (fall)" (item 29). Having heard that, the letter *Zayin* left Him.

The letter *Zayin* is depicted as a combination of *Vav* and *Yod*, as a head over it, which signifies the big state and the great Light in *Malchut*, ZA's wife, for *Malchut* includes herself into her husband, ZA (designated by *Vav*), and becomes a crown (*Yod*) on his head. Together, these two letters, *Vav* with *Yod* standing above it, form the letter *Zayin*.

Therefore, it is written: "Remember the day of *Shabbat*, so as to keep it holy." As a result of *Shabbat*'s elevation, that is, *Nukva's* ascent to the head of ZA, when she becomes his crown, she includes herself in the word *Zachor* (remember) and receives the name *Nukva Kedoshah* (holy *Nukva*). This is why the letter *Zayin* claimed that since this Light is so great and holy that it brings absolute rest on this day, for purity is completely separated from impurity in this state called *Shabbat*, it is worthy of becoming the basis for the creation of the world.

Zayin is the *Sefira Netzah* in ZA. When *Nukva* is included in *Netzah* and merges with its properties, she gains the strength to ascend along with ZA to *AVI*. There she becomes a crown on his head, by which he is adorned, which signifies the day of *Shabbat*. However, since this correction occurs solely as a result of her inclusion in the male essence and their ascent to *AVI*, and not in her regular place, where she normally abides with ZA, *Nukva* cannot be corrected completely during the 6,000 years.

The reason for this is that when *Nukva* returns to her place on weekdays, her connection with the letter *Zayin* is defined as a *Kli Zayin* (weapon), and all the wars with the impure forces emerge from her, like the weekdays that prepare *Shabbat*.

For every man must defeat the impure force within him on the weekdays, and thus merit the King's daughter—*Shabbat*. However, during the 6,000 years, the Light of *Shabbat* is insufficient for the neutralization of the impure forces, for weekdays return and surround the *Shabbat*. This continues until the end of correction, when there will be only *Shabbat* as the day of absolute perfection for all eternity.

This is also why the Creator replied to *Zayin*: "I will not create the world with you, for when you are in your place, your Light is not yet perfect. Only after you defeat the impure forces in war will man be able to attain you." And the shape of the letter *Vav* (ZA) resembles a spear, ready to strike and pierce through the impure forces. For *Gevurot* (courage) signifies the left line of *Bina*'s male part (*Nun*).

THE LETTERS *VAV* AND *HEY*

35. The letter *Vav* entered and said: "It would be good to create the world with me, for I am a letter from Your Name *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*)." The Creator replied: "*Vav*, both you and the letter *Hey* should just be glad to be contained within My Name. This is why I will not create the world with your properties."

Although the letter *Yod* expressed a similar request, *Vav* thought that *Yod* had been turned down because of its excessive size (spiritual force). This is why *Vav* claimed that it would be good to create the world with its properties, i.e., according to the letters *Vav-Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH*, with the Light of the Supernal *Bina* (*Ima*) of the world of *Atzilut*.

The Creator responded with the same answer he had given to the letter *Yod*—that He restricted it by saying to *DaY* (*Dalet-Yod*): "Stop at the letter *Shin* and spread no more, so that the impure forces would not cling to you." Hence, the letters *Vav* and *Hey* are not suitable for the world to be created with their properties, for even they need protection against the impure forces.

Sefira Tifferet is designated by the big letter *Vav* (*Vav* with a head), for it has all six (*Vav*) *Sefirot*: *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*. *Yesod* is the *Sefira* that is responsible for passing the Light from ZA to *Malchut*. This is why it has the same Light as in *Malchut*—*NHY* without *HGT*, and this is also why *Yesod* is called the small *Vav* (*Vav* without a head).

THE LETTERS *DALET* AND *GIMEL*

36. The letters *Dalet* and *Gimel* appeared before the Creator. However, the Creator told them right away: "It is enough that you are both together, so that as long as the poor exist on earth, there is someone to treat them with mercy (*LiGmol Hesed*)." The letter *Dalet* derives from *Dalut* (poverty), while *Gimel* renders mercy to it (*Gomelet Hassadim*). "Therefore, you cannot part, and it is enough for you to aid one another in this way."

It was already stated (item 24) that although *Dalet* receives the Light from *Gimel* and its sharp right angle protrudes from the Light of *Hassadim*, the impure forces are nonetheless strong enough to cling to it, separate it and make the sharp angle smooth, thus transforming it into the letter *Reish*.

This is why the letter *Dalet* requires special protection so as not to be corrupted and to be able to continue being fulfilled by *Gimel* so as to keep the needy ones (*Dalut*) in the world from disappearing. Thus, it is sufficient for these two forces to sustain and complement one another, to fulfill one another in reciprocal union so as to prevent the impure forces from ruling. And this role is enough from them. This is why the Creator did not want to create the world with them.

THE LETTER *BET*

37. The letter *Bet* entered and said to the Creator: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world by me, as by me You are blessed Above and below. For *Bet* is *Berachah* (blessing)." The Creator replied to *Bet*: "Of course, I will create the world by you, and you shall be the basis of the world!"

The letter *Bet* is the property of *Hochma* (wisdom), or rather *Hesed* in *Hochma*, a point in a palace, for *Ohr Hassadim* is a palace for *Ohr Hochma* and is called *Berachah* (blessing). Passing through all of the worlds from the Creator down to the lowest degree of the lowest world, this Light does not diminish in any way.

Rather, just as this Light is at the Highest Degree that receives it from the World of Infinity, it is just as great, magnificent, and mighty in the world of *Atzilut*, and likewise all the way down to the world of *Assiya*. And it does not get coarser or weaker as it passes through all the screens from Above downwards.

That is why the letter *Bet* vied for the world to be created with its properties, as the Light of blessing is the same both Above and below; no screen can weaken it and no coarse desires can harm it.

This is also why the property of mercy (*Hassadim*) is most suitable for the creation of the world, for no impure forces can cling to it. This is because the impure forces can only cling to a place where there is a deficiency. And since there is no deficiency of any kind in the property of mercy, there can never be any contact between *Bet* and the impure forces.

The Creator agreed with *Bet* that its property is perfect and suitable for the creation of the universe by Him. As it is said: "*Olam* (world) *Hesed* (mercy)

YiBaneh (will be built)," where *YiBaneh* means *Boneh* (building) and *HaVana* (understanding). (In Hebrew, the letters *Vav* and *Bet* are denoted by the letter *Bet*). This is because the Creator determined that this property is entirely sufficient for precisely evaluating and separating pure from impure.

And if man seeks an idol in the Creator's stead, a *Berachah* (blessing) does not descend upon him, for blessing stems from the Creator alone. Thus, it is possible to determine who is righteous and who is a sinner, who works for the Creator's sake and who works for himself, for the world is built by mercy.

Yet, the Creator did not order the Light of Mercy to rule the world. He merely intended it for a good beginning, sufficient to bring the world to perfection. This is because the Light of *Hassadim* is incomplete (*VAK*, and not *GAR*), insufficient for begetting new souls, for their union and multiplication, as no *Partzuf* (spiritual object) can beget until it attains the full Light of *Hochma*, termed *GAR* or head. Until then, the *Partzuf* remains in a state of imperfection.

Our normal (the lowest possible) state is determined by the property of the letter *Bet*. Hence, the Creator laid it as the basis for the creation of the world. In other words, the basis of a state is a state of a pure *Partzuf* (object), when nothing at all can diminish or impede it.

In such a state, an addition of *Ohr Hochma* to *Ohr Hassadim*, necessary for the birth of a new *Partzuf* is no longer considered basic and essential. Rather, it is defined as an addition, i.e., it depends solely on the good deeds of the lower ones. And the fundamental Light, *VAK*, will never be lacking.

THE LETTER *ALEPH*

38. The letter *Aleph* stood outside and did not enter to appear before the Creator. The Creator said to it: "Why do you not come to me like all the other letters?" *Aleph* replied: "Because I saw all the letters leaving your presence without the desired answer. And besides, I saw You presenting the letter *Bet* with this great gift. And, indeed, the King of the universe cannot take back his gift and give it to another!" The Creator replied: "Although I will create the world by the letter *Bet*, it is you who will stand at the head of all the letters, and there shall be no unity in Me, but through you alone; all accounts and deeds of this world shall always begin with you, and all of unity shall be in you alone."

As we already know, all the letters' questions are *Aliyat MAN*—their individual requests, prayers, desires to ascend to the Creator. And the Creator's answers

to them are called *Yeridat MAD*—the descent of the Light from Above, giving strength and abundance according to the letters' requests. The great perfection in the letter *Aleph* stems not from the lower ones' request for spiritual ascent and correction, but from a force (Light) descending from Above and elevating those that dwell below.

This is why from the beginning of correction to its end, *Aleph* (unlike the other letters, whose properties fuel the process of correction during the 6,000 years) is never stimulated to raise its request to the Creator. And only if the Light that bestows strength for spiritual ascent descends from Above and begins to shine upon *Aleph* will it be stimulated. However, this will only take place at the end of correction.

Aleph did not raise its plea (*MAN*) to the Creator, for it saw that all the other letters asked, but to no avail, for there was an opposite property in the system of the impure forces against each of their properties. Therefore, *Aleph* decided that it was no better than the rest, that there is a corresponding impure force against it as well.

Furthermore, it raised no requests (*MAN*) to the Creator because it saw that the Creator decided to create the world with the letter *Bet*, mercy. And since it had no doubt that His decision was irrevocable, it decided not to ask Him.

Although it is true that the world was already created with the property of *Bet*, and that the Creator will not turn His gift over to another letter, the *Partzuf* that was created by the property of *Bet* is incomplete, small, *VAK* without a head. And since a *Partzuf* needs a head in order to reach the state of *Gadlut*, which is possible only when the *Partzuf* is filled not only with the Light of Mercy (*Hassadim*), but also with the Light of Wisdom (*Hochma*), more letters are necessary for the connection, conception and birth of a new *Partzuf*, a new state.

A state of *Gadlut* can only be achieved with the help of the property of the letter *Aleph*. Only *Aleph* can bring a *Partzuf* to *Gadlut*, to supplement its body, *VAK*, with a head, *GAR*, *Mochin*—the Light of *Hochma*. The letter *Aleph* brings the union between *ZA* and *Malchut* in a face-to-face position, whereas previously, in *Katnut*, while being filled with only the Light of Mercy, *ZA* and *Malchut* were connected back-to-back. This is why *Aleph* creates a head for all the letters, and hence stands at the head of the alphabet.

The Creator said: "That is why My Unity in the world is expressed only through the property of the letter *Aleph*. Furthermore, all rewards and punishments, distancing and drawing nearer, as well as the aspiration for spiritual correction (*Teshuvah*), all of which lead to the achievement of the end of correction, will

only happen by the property of the *Aleph*. I have made *Bet* the basis of the *Partzuf* so that it would be in no way dependent on the deeds of the lower ones. Thus, even if they begin to sin, those above will remain unaffected."

He continued: "But the Light in you, *Aleph*, is directly related to the actions of the lower ones. So if they sin, the Light of Wisdom (the Light of *GAR* in you) will immediately disappear. But if they correct their actions (*Teshuvah*), the Light of *Hochma* will return. And My unity with all the creatures at the end of correction will only be realized through the letter *Aleph*."

Letters are *Kelim* (plural for *Kli*—vessel), desires. And this refers to both the individual letters of the alphabet and those that form words. In the names of spiritual objects, letters signify the force of their desire, which the Light can fill. Letters of a simple name, without filling, designate its basis without Light—*Kli* of *Aviut* zero with the Light of *Nefesh*. Letters of a fulfilled name designate the magnitude of desires that are filled by Light.

There are two sources of letters: *Yod* and *Aleph*. *Yod* is a genuine source, for when we write something, we begin with a dot (*Yod*), and then, as we proceed from the dot in one of the four directions, we get a line. Letters are *Kelim*, desires, in which the Light (pleasure) is received.

A desire for something specific may only emerge if: (i) the initial, still unconscious desire is filled with delight, and (ii) the delight exits the desire. It is the memories (*Reshimot*) of past pleasures that lead to the emergence of a true desire to receive it, to feel it once more. And this is the very desire that is called *Kli*.

A filled *Kli* cannot be called a desire, for it is satisfied. Therefore, expulsion of the Light and sensation of spiritual descent constitute the period of the creation of new *Kelim* for future receptions of Light, for new attainments. Because the first restriction is the reason for the disappearance of Light from all the vessels, its black dot, *Yod*, is the basis of all the letters-*Kelim*.

However, the second restriction is the only true root of all the worlds, because the first restriction was only made on a point, (Phase Four, *Malchut*, the fourth letter *Hey* in the Creator's name *HaVaYaH)*. The second restriction, however, was made on *Bina*, in whom the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, were joined. The union of the two points forms a line, either vertical or horizontal. If it is a horizontal line, it is called "firmament" or *Parsa*.

The sum of consequences of both the first and second restrictions forms a slanted line (\); *GE* (*Keter-Hochma*) is depicted to its right, and *AHP* (*Bina-ZA-Malchut*) to its left. *Keter-Hochma* remain on their previous level and are

designated by the letter *Yod*, the first root of the world, whereas, a result of the second restriction, designated by a slanted line (\), *Bina-ZA-Malchut* fell to a lower level. And since the letter *Yod* is the first, though a very remote root of the worlds, and all the worlds were created afterwards and in accordance with the law of the second restriction, the letter *Aleph* stands at the head of the alphabet.

The kind of Light that fills the spiritual *Kli* or *Partzuf* can also be seen from its designation: if it is filled with the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*), the filling is designated by the letter *Yod*; and if it is filled with the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), it is the letter *Aleph*.

39. The Creator made the Upper letters, which refer to the *Sefira Bina*, large, and the lower letters that refer to *Malchut*—small. Therefore it is said: "*Beresheet Barah*" (in the beginning He created)—two words that begin with *Bet*, and then *Elokim Et* (the Creator Himself)—two words that begin with *Aleph*. The first set of *Aleph* and *Bet* are letters of *Bina*, and the second set of *Aleph* and *Bet* are letters of *Malchut*. And they should mutually affect one another with their properties.

When the Upper One wishes to give Light to the lower one, it should clothe in the lower one, signified by the first two letters *Bet* and the two letters *Aleph* in the first four words of the Torah. For the first, Upper *Bet* is *Bina*, the second, lower *Bet* is ZA, and the first *Bet* clothes into the second one.

Similarly, the first *Aleph* refers to *Bina* and clothes into the second *Aleph* in ZA so as to fill it with Light. Therefore, the two letters *Bet* are like one letter *Bet* and the two letters *Aleph* are like one letter *Aleph*, since the lower letter merely constitutes the influence of the Upper One, which tells us that the Upper *Partzuf* fills the lower one.

The world cannot be created with *Aleph*, for the word *Arur* (cursed) begins with it, and had the world been created with *Aleph*, the impure forces, called "cursed," would have received great power from the pure forces, called *Baruch* (blessed). This is why the world (*Nukva* of ZA) is created with the letter *Bet*. Likewise, Adam in *Nukva* of ZA is also created by the power of *Bet*. Thus, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* constitutes the root of all creation, all the worlds, and all that inhabit them.

Supernal Wisdom

40. Rabbi Yudai asked, "What does the word *BERESHEET* mean?" It is the wisdom, upon which the world, *ZA*, is established to enter the concealed supernal secrets, namely the Light of *Bina*. Here are the six Supernal and great properties, *VAK de Bina*, from which everything emerges. The six river mouths, *VAK de ZA*, that flow into the Great Sea (*Malchut*) were formed from them. The word *BERESHEET* consists of the words *BARAH* (created) and *SHEET* (Aramaic: six), meaning that six properties were created. Who created them? He who is unmentioned, concealed, and unknown: *Arich Anpin*.

There are two types of *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) in the world of *Atzilut*:

1. The original Light, *Ohr Hochma* of *AA*, called "the concealed *Ohr Hochma*." This Light of *Hochma* is present only in *Partzuf AA* and does not spread to the lower *Partzufim*.
2. *Ohr Hochma* that descends via thirty-two paths from *Bina*, who ascended to *Rosh de AA* to receive *Ohr Hochma* and pass it to *ZA*. Hence, the word *Beresheet* means *Be-Resheet*, with-*Hochma*. However, this is not the true *Ohr Hochma* that is concealed in *AA*, but rather the Light that descends via thirty-two paths from *Bina* to *ZA* and sustains *ZON*.

It is written that the world is established on the "concealed supernal secrets," for when *ZON* (called "world") receive the Light of *Hochma* of thirty-two paths, they ascend to *AVI*, the concealed supernal secrets. Hence, it is said that *ZON* enter the concealed supernal secrets and attain the degree of *AVI*, as the lower one that ascends to the Upper One becomes equal to it in its properties.

The word *BERESHEET*, besides being divided into *BE-RESHEET*, is also divided into *BARAH-SHEET* (in Hebrew, both words are spelled the same), which translates as CREATED SIX—created six *Sefirot* (properties), called *VAK* (abbreviation of the words *Vav Ketzavot*, six extremities/properties of *ZA*, from which all creatures emerge).

The *Sefira Bina* fulfills the function of the *Sefira Hochma*, the source of *Ohr Hochma* for ZA. Because *Malchut* ascended to *Bina*, and *Bina* departed from *Rosh de AA* and became like its *Guf* (body), she cannot receive the *Ohr Hochma* of AA.

But then, thanks to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, human beings who are spiritually present in the worlds of *BYA*, *Bina* returns to *Rosh de AA*, receives *Ohr Hochma* from AA, passes it to *ZON*, and *ZON* pass it to all the worlds. It follows that all the worlds emerged from these six properties (extremities), into which *Bina* was divided.

It is therefore written that all six riverheads originate from *Bina*, and descend into the Great Sea. *Bina's* division into six properties, *VAK*, when she exits *Rosh de AA*, is called "six sources," for this is only a source of Light for ZA. But then, when *Bina* returns to *Rosh de AA*, they become *Ohr Hochma*, called the rivers that descend to *Partzuf* ZA.

And they are called "six rivers," as it is written: "He will drink off the brook in the way; therefore, will he lift up the head" (*Tehilim*, 110:7). Afterwards, ZA passes this Light into the Great Sea, to his *Nukva*. The rivers and brooks signify the Light of ZA. *VAK de Bina* is considered the sources of the Light of Wisdom, *Hochma*, for it emerged from *Bina* in the form of *VAK* with the sole purpose of creating a source of Light for *ZON*. And had *Bina* not emerged, *ZON* would have had no chance of receiving the Light.

The word *Beresheet* has several meanings: *Bere* = *Barah*—created six properties without *Ohr Hochma*, as the word *Barah* signifies concealment. Hence, the word *Beresheet* has two meanings:

1. *Hochma*, as the word *Resheet* means *Hochma*.
2. *Barah Sheet*, which shows how the *Sefira Hochma* was divided into six parts without a *Rosh*, without *Ohr Hochma*. These six parts are the source of Light for *ZON* (called the "world"), and these six parts of ZA together with *Malchut* are called the "seven days of creation."

However, since the word *Barah* is inside the word *Beresheet*, this means that it was created by "Him who is concealed and unknown," i.e., the concealed *Hochma* of *Arich Anpin*, for it expelled *Bina* from its *Rosh* and turned her into *VAK*. In other words, it created the six parts described in *Beresheet*.

Beresheet designates *Hochma*. The Light cannot descend to ZA until *Ima-Bina* comes outside, for because of *Tzimtzum Bet*, *ZAT de Bina* fell to *ZON*. Hence, when *Bina* is in *Gadlut*, ZA receives *Ohr Hochma* in his *Kelim*, the desires of *Bina*. The word *Barah* in *Beresheet* = *Barah Sheet* also means *Bar* (Hebrew, to exit, to transcend).

The Lock and the Key

41. Rabbi Chiya and Rabbi Yosi were walking along a road. As they reached a field, Rabbi Chiya said to Rabbi Yosi, "The words *BARAH SHEET* (created six) certainly allude to *BERESHEET*, for the six Supernal Days, *VAK de Bina*, shine on the Torah (*ZA*), while the others, *GAR de Bina*, are concealed."

ZA of the world of *Atzilut* is called the Torah. The six Supernal Days are *VAK de Bina* that are above *ZA*. Hence, the first word of the Torah, *BERESHEET* = *BARAH* (created) and *SHEET* (six) indicates that the *Sefira Bina* turns to the *Sefira Hochma* in order to receive *Ohr Hochma* and pass it to *ZA*. Since *ZA* is unable to receive all the *Ohr Hochma* (*GAR de Hochma*, the Light of the ten *Sefirot*) from *Bina*, but only *VAK de Hochma* (Light of six *Sefirot*), this is stressed in the word *BARAH SHEET*—CREATED SIX. This means that *ZA* receives from *Bina* the Light of only six *Sefirot*, *HGT NHY* or *VAK de Hochma*, whereas *GAR de Hochma*, the Light of *Sefirot KHB*, is concealed from him.

The reason for this is that although *Partzuf Atik* belongs to *Tzimtzum Aleph* (the first restriction), it is obliged to shine down on all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, and on all the worlds *BYA* with the Light of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Therefore, with regards to the lower *Partzufim*, it appears as a *Partzuf* that belongs to *Tzimtzum Bet*.

In other words, it deliberately imposed on itself an outward (with regards to others) restriction of its Light, to enable the lower *Partzufim* to receive from it. Hence, it elevated *Malchut* from the *Peh* to the *Eynaim* and made a *Zivug* on the screen that stands in *Nikvey Eynaim*, thus begetting *Partzuf AA*.

This is why *AA* is a *Partzuf* with properties of the second restriction, and acts as *Keter* of the entire world of *Atzilut* instead of *Atik*. This was designed so by *Partzuf Atik* itself, which split into two parts: *GE* remained in *Atik*, and *AHP* became part of the second *Partzuf*, *AA*. And since *Malchut* ascended to *NE*

(*Nikvey Eynaim*), *Partzuf AA* remained without *Malchut*, the *Sefira Ateret Yesod* was used in its stead, and *Malchut* became concealed in the *NE* of *Partzuf Atik*. Also, *GE de Atik* became concealed from the lower *Partzufim*, *Malchut* stood in *NE* of *Rosh de Atik*, *AHP de Atik* became *GE de AA*, and *Ateret Yesod* became *Malchut de AA*.

All the subsequent *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* emerged similar to these *Partzufim*. Thus, they all split into two parts, *GE* and *AHP*: *Partzuf Bina* was split into two *Partzufim*: *GE de Bina* formed *Partzuf AVI* and *AHP de Bina* formed *Partzuf YESHSUT*. *Malchut* ascended and remained in *AVI*, while *Partzuf YESHSUT* remained without *Malchut*.

The same applies to *ZON*: *GE* formed the big *ZON* and *AHP* formed the small *ZON*. *Malchut* remained in *NE* of the big *ZON*, while the small *ZON* have only nine *Sefirot* without *Malchut*, which is replaced in them by *Ateret Yesod*, as in *Partzuf Atik*. Therefore, just as *Keter* (*Atik*) split into two parts: *GAR* = *Atik* and *ZAT* = *AA*, so was *Bina* divided into *GAR* = *AVI* and *ZAT* = *YESHSUT*, and *ZON* into *GAR* = the big *ZON* and *ZAT* = the small *ZON*: *Malchut* remained in *GAR* and *Ateret Yesod* replaced it in *ZAT*.

As a result, the Upper Part of each degree remains concealed, just like *Partzuf Atik*, for *Malchut* does not descend from the place where she had ascended (*NE*) to her previous place in the *Peh*. And although in *Gadlut*, *AHP* return to their place or ascend to their own *GE* (which is one and the same), *GE* do not become filled with *Ohr Hochma* (the Light of *GAR*) as a result, since *Malchut* remains concealed in *GE*. Moreover, *Malchut* exists under the ban of *Tzimtzum Aleph* on the reception of *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, *GE* remain with *Ohr Hassadim*.

Only the lower part of each degree is filled with the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*) in *Gadlut*: there was *Avir* (air) = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*, then the letter *Yod* departed from this word, and only the letters *Aleph-Vav-Reish* remained to form the word *Ohr* (Light)—*Ohr Hochma* or *GAR*.

It follows that all *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* have *GE*, *GAR* of *Kelim*, *Sefirot KHB HGT* with *Ohr Hassadim*, the Light of *VAK*, whereas *AHP*, *Sefirot NHY*, *Vak de Kelim* in the *Gadlut* of the *Partzuf* are filled with *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *GAR*. *GE* (*GAR de Kelim*) are filled with the Light of *VAK* (*Ohr Hassadim*), and *AHP* (*VAK de Kelim*) are filled with the Light of *GAR* (*Ohr Hochma*). It is therefore said that there's no greater Light for *ZA* in the world of *Atzilut* than the Light of *VAK* = six days, while *GAR* are concealed even in the *Partzufim* above *ZA*.

42. However, it is said in the secrets of creation of *BERESHEET* that He who is Holy and Concealed established the laws in *Bina*, in the secret and concealed, meaning *Malchut* of *Partzuf Atik*, which is a *Partzuf* with *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, who ascended to *Bina* and removed *AHP de AA* below its *Rosh*. And the same law that He established in *Bina* He established and concealed within, and everything is locked under one key. And He hid this key in a hall. And although everything is hidden in that hall, the most important thing is in that key, for it locks and unlocks everything.

HE WHO IS HOLY AND CONCEALED is *AA*, for its *Hochma* is concealed. THE LAWS ARE ESTABLISHED IN IT, meaning in *Malchut de Atik*. The deficiency of the *Kelim de AHP* is confirmed. *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, called "the central point of all creation," is also the sole creation on which *Tzimtzum Aleph* was imposed. Contrary to her, if the screen stands not in *Malchut*, but in *Yesod* or, more precisely, in *Ateret Yesod*, the place of the covenant (circumcision), the place of the *Zivug* that was permitted after *Tzimtzum Bet*, this screen allows for the reception of Light. Hence, it is called the "point of population," and not the "central point."

– *Keter*

– *Hochma*

– *Bina*

– *ZA Yesod*

– *ZA—Malchut* that received *ZA's* properties to "bestow," the populated place

– *Malchut*—no *Zivug* can be made; the deserted place

The thing is that there is no *GAR* in *AA*, for the Supernal *Malchut* of *Atik*, within *AA*, is already corrected to the point of being in *NE* of her own *Partzuf*. In *Gadlut*, the screen descends from *NE* to *Peh*, which makes *AHP* return to their place, and a *Zivug* transpires on all ten *Sefirot*, which receive the *GAR* of the Light, *Ohr Hochma*.

Therefore, the screen in *NE* is called a "lock," for it blocks the entry of *GAR* of the Light into the *Partzuf*. The *GAR* of the Light are called *Ohr Hochma*. Yet, by descending from *NE* to *Peh*, the screen lets the Light into the *Partzuf*, and is therefore called *Nikvey Eynaim* (pupils of the eyes).

Although *Atik* itself is in *NE* together with *Malchut*, it affects *AA*, and not *Atik* itself, as *AA* was created by the screen, located not in *Malchut*, but in *Ateret Yesod* (or simply in *Yesod*), and there is no *Malchut* in it. This is why it is not

Malchut that rules in *NE de AA*, but *Ateret Yesod*. And this is why, unlike the Light of *Atik*, its Light can be attained, for *Malchut* in *Atik* is the central point, which does not make a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. Although with regards to *Atik*, *AA* is *AHP* of *Atik*, *AA* itself has its own *GE* and *AHP*.

Subsequently, *AA* created *AVI* and confirmed the absence of *Ohr Hochma* in them, due to the absence of *AHP de Kelim*. These *AHP* are the HALL in which the entire Light of *Hochma* is concealed (*GAR de Neshama*, *GAR de Haya*, and *GAR de Yechida*). This KEY IS KEPT HIDDEN IN A HALL: *Bina* is a hall for *Ohr Hochma*. *Malchut* ascends to *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) and rules there, but the absence of *Ohr Hochma* is not felt there, for the properties of *AVI* want only *Ohr Hassadim*; this is what is important to them, as it completely substitutes the *Ohr Hochma*. And *VAK de Bina* is ruled by the key, *Ateret Yesod*.

IN THAT KEY, FOR IT LOCKS AND UNLOCKS EVERYTHING—concealments and revelations are made by *Malchut* that stands in *NE*: when *Malchut* ascends to *NE* she conceals *Ohr Hochma*, since in such a case, the *Partzuf* remains without its *Kelim* of *AHP*—it cannot use its desires to "receive" for the Creator's sake. Consequently, it contains no *Ohr Hochma*, for *Ohr Hochma* can only be received in *Kelim de AHP*.

And when a *Partzuf* receives strength from Above to resist the egoistic desires of reception of its *Kelim de AHP*, and can receive for the Creator's sake, this means that it has acquired a screen against its desires, and can also work with them for the Creator. It then brings its *Malchut* back from the *NE* to the *Peh*. Put differently, it elevates its *Kelim* (desires of *AHP*) to the *Rosh* and begins to calculate how much Light it can receive within them for the Creator's sake. However, the received pleasure must not be too great, or it will make the *Partzuf* enjoy it egoistically. Afterwards, the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma* in its *Guf*.

Thus, only *Malchut* that stands in *NE* allows or forbids the Light from entering the *Partzuf*. And since she must let the Light into the *Partzuf* in *ZAT* (where the rule belongs not to *Malchut* that ascended to *NE*, but to *Ateret Yesod*, called "key"), whereas the *GAR* of each *Partzuf* remain with *Ohr Hassadim* (they desire only the Light of *Hassadim*), letting the Light in or preventing it from entering the *Partzuf* depends only on the key, and not on *Malchut* herself.

43. That hall conceals tremendous treasures piled one upon the other. And there are fifty tightly closed gates in that hall, which are meant to block access to the Light. They were divided into four sides and became forty-nine gates, for one gate has no side, and it is unknown whether it exists above or below. Hence, it remained closed.

There are many types of *GAR*: *GAR* of *Ohr Neshama*, *Haya,* or *Yechida*. Each of them contains countless individual degrees and details. Hence, it is written, ONE UPON THE OTHER. Yet, as long as *Malchut* stands in *NE*, all these degrees of Light remain concealed and unknown.

A gate signifies a vessel—a desire to receive the Light. In the spiritual world, there are no bodies, only desires. The desire itself is called "a body." If there is no desire, there is no body, as there is no vessel to receive the Light (pleasure). The bigger the desire, the "bigger" the body. However, all the bodies are similar in structure; just as a human body in our world consists of 613 parts, the spiritual body consists of 613 spiritual parts (desires).

If one is able to use one of the desires of his spiritual body for the Creator's sake, such action is referred to as a *Mitzva* (commandment, good deed). The received Light is called "Torah."

A spiritual *Partzuf* has a *Rosh* (head), the place where decisions are made. It contains only those desires that are known to be fit with a screen (resistance to the desires) to use them spiritually, altruistically, and to "reverse" them from "for one's own sake" to "for the sake of the Creator." If one has fulfilled all 613 commandments of the Torah and the seven *Mitzvot* (plural for *Mitzva*) of the nations of the world (620 *Mitzvot* in all), he thereby ascends 620 degrees and completely merges with the Creator.

To observe all the commandments means to completely fill one's spiritual *Partzuf* with the Light of the Torah by fulfilling observant commandments (*Mitzvot Aseh*—positive *Mitzvot*) and prohibitory commandments (*Mitzvot Lo Taaseh*—negative *Mitzvot*). The fulfillment of the later lies in the unwillingness to receive the pleasure that is found within them.

There are two types of desires or gates: when they are closed and receive nothing, and when they open and receive the Upper Light. When they are all closed, there are fifty of them. However, only forty-nine of the fifty can be opened. There are ten *Sefirot KHB HGT NHYM* or five *Sefirot KHB ZA-M* (as *ZA* consists of six *Sefirot HGT NHY*). However, *Malchut* also consists of these six, and hence includes all ten *Sefirot*. And since each of the five *Sefirot* consists of ten, in all they make up fifty.

However, since a *Zivug* is made not on *Malchut*, but on *Ateret Yesod*, *Malchut de Malchut* itself does not receive the Light. Instead, Light is received by the four *Sefirot KHB ZA* that precede *Malchut*. Each of them consists of ten, hence 4 x 10 = 40 plus nine *Sefirot* from *Keter* to *Yesod* in *Malchut* herself yields 40 + 9 = 49.

Only one *Sefira* (*Malchut de Malchut*) out of the fifty does not receive the Light. This is because until all the *Kelim* (desires) have been completely corrected, the Light cannot enter it, as it is known in advance that *Malchut de Malchut* has no strength to oppose such a powerful egoistic desire to receive pleasure.

Instead of being in *Malchut de Malchut*, the screen stands in *Yesod de Malchut*, and this place is called *Brith* (Covenant), the place where the *Mitzva* of circumcision must be kept, so as to make a *Zivug* not on *Malchut* herself (on the first restriction), but on *Yesod*, or rather, *Ateret Yesod* (on the second restriction). *Malchut de Malchut* itself is called "*Shaar Nun*" (the 50th gate). This refers to *Malchut* of each *Partzuf* in the worlds *ABYA*.

And although *Malchut* of *Partzuf AVI* descends from *NE de AVI* to her place in *Peh*, while *AHP* and *YESHSUT* that clothe them ascend to the degree of *AVI*, and *AVI* merges with *YESHSUT* into one *Partzuf*, as a result of which, *Ohr Hochma* descends to them from *AA*, *AVI* are unwilling and therefore do not receive anything from *Ohr Hochma*, and remain only with *Ohr Hassadim*, as though *Malchut* had never even descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh*.

Therefore, it is impossible to tell by the Light of *AVI* whether *Malchut* is located at the *NE* or at the *Peh*. On the contrary, by looking at *AVI*, it always seems to us that *Malchut* stands at *NE*. Only by the state of *YESHSUT* can we determine *Malchut's* location, for when she ascends to *AVI* in *Gadlut* (big state), *YESHSUT* receive *Ohr Hochma*.

Although *Malchut* herself can receive *Ohr Hochma* in *AVI*, since *AVI* receive no *Ohr Hochma* whatsoever, they do not utilize their own *Malchut*. Since *YESHSUT* already has *Ateret Yesod* instead of *Malchut*, it receives the Light or "opens up," whereas *AVI* remain closed.

However, the absence of the 50th gate, the *Zivug* on *Malchut* herself in *YESHSUT*, causes the absence of the corresponding Light of *Hochma* in all the *Partzufim*. It is written about it: "fifty gates of *Bina*, and all are given to Moshe, except for one, the last secret of the absence of the Upper Light." For this Upper Light can be received only within the *Kelim* (desires) of *Malchut* herself, of primordial egoism, which will occur at the end of all the corrections, at the completion of the 6,000 years.

44. Those gates have one lock with a narrow space inside for inserting the key. It is unmarked, and recognized only by the impress of the key, which is unknown in that narrow space, but only in the key itself. And it is written of this secret: *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED). "In the beginning" is the key, and all is concealed

within it, as it unlocks and locks. And six gates are contained in this key, which locks and unlocks. When it locks those gates, encloses them within itself, it is written IN THE BEGINNING (*BERESHEET*): a revealed word, though it is usually concealed. *BARAH* (CREATED) is a concealed word everywhere, implying that the key unlocks it and locks it up.

Malchut that stands in *NE* is called a "lock," for she prevents *Ohr Hochma* from entering the *Partzuf*. The entire *Partzuf* ends in *Hochma* (the Light can only be in *K-H*). Hence, it is merely *Nefesh-Ruach*. After all, in the absence of *Kelim-Sefirot B-ZA-M*, the Lights *Neshama-Haya-Yechida* are absent. *Yesod de Malchut* is the 49th gate, the maximum that can be before the end of correction, for *Malchut de Malchut* itself is the 50th gate.

If the key (*Ateret Yesod* of the Light) enters *Yesod de Malchut* (the 49th gate), then this Light lowers *Malchut* to her place, from *NE* to *Peh*. This Light opens the *Partzuf* and *Ohr Hochma* fills it. This is why *Ateret Yesod* is called a "key."

However, there is a special *Reshimo* that allows one to not use *Malchut de Malchut* as a place of *Zivug* before the final correction of all the others (except for *Malchut de Malchut*, *Kelim*-desires). This *Reshimo* is in *AVI*: since they never receive *Ohr Hochma* (they do not use this key), their real *AHP* do not ascend. Nevertheless, even their false *AHP* is sufficient to let *YESHSUT* receive *Ohr Hochma* and realize that knowledge signifies the presence of *Ohr Hochma*.

If the Light that corresponds to *Ateret Yesod* enters the corresponding *Sefira* in *Malchut* (in *Yesod de Malchut*, the 49th *Sefira*), then *Malchut* (the 50th gate) does not forbid this Light to fill the *Partzuf*, does not "lock up" the *Partzuf*, as she contains the *Reshimo* of prohibition only on that which enters *Malchut* herself. The reason for it is that the *Reshimo* (the key's memory) rules in *ZAT de Bina*, that is, in *YESHSUT*. Hence, this Light is called a "key."

And the word *BERESHEET*–IN THE BEGINNING–includes in itself only the key (*Ateret Yesod*, the 49th *Sefira*), excluding *Malchut de Malchut*, the 50th gate. However, none of the *Sefirot KHB* of all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* receive *Ohr Hochma*; *Ohr Hassadim* shines within them instead.

Therefore, the words IN THE BEGINNING CREATED (*BERESHEET BARAH*) mean CONCEALED *HOCHMA*, for the word *BARAH* (created) is derived from the notion of *BAR* (beyond), which signifies moving *Malchut de Malchut* beyond the reception of *Ohr Hochma*; hence, this part of the *Kelim* was locked up by the absence of Light.

Avraham

45. Rabbi Yosi said, "I heard from the great source of Light, i.e., from Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, that *BARAH* is a concealed word, the key to which locked it up and did not unlock it. And since the key locked up the word *BARAH*, there was no world and no possibility of its existence, and nothingness enveloped all. And when nothingness rules, there is no world, nor its existence."

46. So when did this key unlock those gates, and everything became ready for the existence and evolution of the generations? When Avraham appeared, as he is the property of *Hesed* (mercy), of which it is written, "These are the generations of Heaven and earth *Be-Hibar'am* (with which He built)." However, one should pronounce the word not as *Be-Hibar'am*, but as *Be-Avraham* (in Hebrew, these two words consist of the same letters, but in a slightly different order). Then, all that was concealed in the word *BARAH* was revealed as letters, meaning that the *Kelim* opened up to listen. And there appears the Pillar of Procreation, the sacred *Yesod*, upon which the world's existence is based, for the word *BARAH* consists of the same letters as the word *AVAR* (passed).

He asks: "When it is revealed, can one act and produce generations?" This question includes three questions:

1. When will it be revealed? When *Malchut* descends from the *Eynaim* (where she ascended as a result of *Tzimtzum Bet*) to her previous place in the *Peh*, which leads to the revelation of the forty-nine gates of *Hochma*;
2. When can it be used? When *Ohr Hochma* clothes in *Ohr Hassadim*, as a result of which *AHP* can receive *Ohr Hochma*, for unless it is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *MI* = *GE* cannot shine within *ELEH* = *AHP*, as the Light is not yet suitable for reception and use by the lower ones;

3. What does it mean to produce, multiply generations? Generations are the souls that exist in the worlds *BYA*, begotten by *ZA de Atzilut*. After *ZA* receives the Lights of *Hochma* and *Hassadim* (the Light of perfection), this Light enables him to make a *Zivug* with *Nukva* and beget the souls of the righteous.

WORLD OF AK

WORLD OF ATZILUT: AA of the world of Atzilut

AVI of the world of Atzilut

ZON of the world of Atzilut produce and feed the souls of the righteous

— Parsa -

WORLD OF BERIA
WORLD OF YETZIRA } the souls of the righteous in the worlds BYA
WORLD OR ASSIYA

— Machsom, the transition from egoism to altruism - - - - - - - - - - -

OUR EGOISTIC WORLD

Avraham is the property of the *Sefira Hesed* in *Partzuf ZA* during its *Gadlut* (big state), when *Hesed* ascends and becomes *Hochma*: *Sefirot HGT* become *HBD*:

PARTZUF ZA

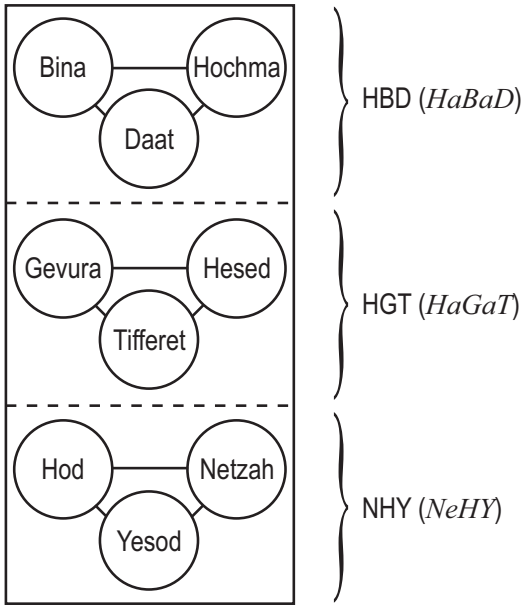

Before Avraham appeared, everything was concealed in the word *BARAH* and nothingness ruled over the world—there was neither *Ohr Hochma* nor *Ohr Hassadim* in *ZON*. However, when Avraham (the Light of *Hesed* that descends to *ZA*) appeared, the gates were opened for *Ohr Hochma*, for *Malchut* descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh*, and *YESHSUT* merged with *AVI* into one degree, which led to the descent of *Ohr Hochma* to *YESHSUT*, for *Ohr Hassadim* of Avraham's properties was already present in *ZA*.

Ohr Hochma then clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *MI* (*GE*) joined *ELEH* (*AHP*), the Creator's name *ELO-IM* was completed, and *Hochma* filled *ZA*. Then *Malchut* descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh* in *ZA*, and *ZA* received new *AHP* from *Bina*, thereby entering *Gadlut* and passing the Light through his *Yesod* into *Malchut*, called the "lower world." As a result, *Malchut* begets the souls of the righteous.

47. When *Yesod* of *ZA* joins the word *BARAH* (*Malchut*), there occurs a concealed and supernal division of the Creator's name and greatness, called *MI*, and *ELEH* comes into being. Also, the sacred name *MA* comes from *BARAH*. The sacred concealed *ELEH* exists just like *Yesod*. Yet, when *Yesod* attains its complete state, the *Partzuf* attains its complete state, the letter *Hey* corresponds to *Yesod* and the letter *Yod*—to *ELEH*.

Here, *The Zohar* clarifies which Light is present in *ZA*, depending on his states. In the *Sefira Yesod* of *Partzuf ZA* there is an end, meaning a place of contact with *Malchut*, the place of the covenant between the Creator (*ZA*) and the *Shechina* (the souls of the righteous), also called "Israel" or *Malchut*. This place of contact is called *Ateret Yesod* (encirclement of *Yesod*) or *Keter de ZA* (the crown of *ZA*).

The word *BARAH* signifies *Katnut* (small state), which comes as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *NE*. *AVI* never abandon the properties of *GAR de Bina* (properties of mercy); they do not desire to receive. Having ascended and standing in them, *Malchut* is called *Man'ula* (lock), which prevents the Light from spreading below her. *Ateret Yesod de ZA* is called *Miftacha* (key), for it is through its property that the Light can be received in the *Partzufim* located below *AVI*.

This is possible on condition that *ELEH* = *AHP* ascend to *MI* = *GE*. *Ohr Hochma* can be received in the *Kelim ELEH* that wish to receive it, but only upon their ascension above *Parsa*. However, until the properties of *Malchut* acquire the property of *Bina*, until they are "softened" by this property, there is no way to receive the Light, and *Malchut* is called "the 50th gate."

Hence, we see that the words *MI BARAH ELEH* signify not the question, "Who created these?" but the action: *MI* = *GE BARAH* (created) *ELEH* = *AHP* by

the descent of *Malchut* from *NE* back to *Peh*. As a result, *ELEH* = *AHP* ascended to the *Rosh* and there received the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*).

Upon descending to *Peh*, *Malchut* is called *MA*, as that is the name of the lower world. Her screen in the *Peh* makes a *Zivug*, onto which descends *Ohr Hassadim*, called "Light of blessing," for it abolishes the prohibition and the lock imposed on the diffusion of Light.

48. When the letters *Hey* and *Yod* wished to complement one another, the letter *Mem* emerged from them, and the word *ELO-HIM* = *ELE* + *Hey* + *Yod* + *Mem* was formed by the union of both sides. The word *AVAR* + *Hey* + *Mem* = Avraham originated from *ELEH*. However, one might say that the Creator took the words *ELEH* and *MI*, joined them and formed the word *ELOKIM*, whereas the words *MA* and *AVAR* formed the word Avraham, where the word *MI* designates the fifty gates of *Bina*, and the word *MA* refers to the numerical value of the holy name, for *HaVaYaH* with the filling of the letter *Aleph* forms the *Gematria* of MA—45.

Both this world and the world to come exist in these two letters, *Yod* and *Hey*. This world is in *Yod*, and the world to come is in *Hey*. Hence, the world to come was created with *MI*, and this world with *MA*.

It is therefore written: "These are the created (*Be-Hibar'am*) generations of Heaven and earth," where the letters *Be-Hibar'am* make up the word "Avraham," for there was no perfection until the letters formed this word. Therefore, the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* is first mentioned in the Torah only after the name Avraham.

Ohr Hassadim in *MA* and *Ohr Hochma* in *ELEH* wished to complement one another and be complemented within one another. As a result, *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, and *Malchut* receives from both *Hassadim* and *Hochma*. In so doing, *MA* and *MI* join and create MM, i.e., *Malchut* that receives *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* from Above.

The Vision of Rabbi Chiya

49. Rabbi Chiya prostrated himself on the ground and kissed it. He wept and said: "Dust, how hard and heartless you are, how many you have consumed, all the pillars of Light and all the great souls were consumed by you. And the greatest of all, Rabbi Shimon, the Light of the entire world, of all the worlds, who illuminates and governs over the descending Light, upon which our world exists, is also consumed by you, and yet you govern the world?" But then he collected himself at once and said: "Do not be proud, dust, for the pillars of the world will not be betrayed to you, and Rabbi Shimon will not be consumed by you!"

Malchut is the sole creation. And this sole creation is nothing but a desire to receive pleasure. It was made this way, and its essence cannot be changed. Yet, what can be changed is the intention—for which or whose sake to receive the pleasure.

As a result of *Malchut's* union with *Bina* with an altruistic will to bestow delight, give pleasure, *Malchut* acquires *Bina's* desire in addition to her own. That is, an additional desire appears in *Malchut*—to bestow, opposite to her nature.

Only this desire of *Bina* in *Malchut* can result in a *Zivug* and reception of Light. When *Malchut* receives all the desires that she possibly can from *Bina*, and fills them with Light, only her own initial egoistic property will remain uncorrected, but even that will be corrected from Above by the Creator Himself. The order of correction and reception of Light in *Bina's* properties inside of *Malchut* is referred to as the reception on the *Zivug* of *Yesod*, and it takes place sequentially along 6,000 degrees, called "6,000 years."

Malchut de Malchut of the world of *Atzilut* cannot receive any Light during the 6,000 years until all of its parts are completely corrected. All the *Zivugim* (plural for *Zivug*) throughout the 6,000 years are made not on *Malchut* herself, but on the properties she received from *Bina*. The place of such a *Zivug* is called *Yesod*

de Malchut or *Ateret Yesod*. Whereas *Malchut* herself (egoistic desires) remains closed to the Light, and is therefore called the "closed gates."

The reception of Light during the 6,000 years, correction of the *Partzufim*, and the gradual filling of *Malchut* with the Light, takes place with the help of *Bina's* desires in *Malchut*, which are called *Miftacha* (*Yesod de Malchut*), for the impure (egoistic) force has no power over this part of *Malchut*.

Yesod de Malchut means that *Malchut* only acts with the properties she received from a Higher *Sefira–Yesod*, which is free from the influence of the impure forces (*Klipot*). All the properties, except for those of *Malchut*, are altruistic, since they originate from *Bina*. However, since we wish to emphasize that a *Zivug* is made on an altruistic desire, above the egoistic desire of *Malchut*, we usually say *Yesod* instead of *Bina*. And since *Yesod* is the *Sefira* immediately above *Malchut*, we say that a *Zivug* is made not on the egoistic desires of *Malchut*, but on *Yesod*. And since, upon acquiring the properties of *Yesod*, *Malchut* can receive the Light, such reception of Light on *Yesod de Malchut* is called "*Miftacha*" (from the word *Mafte'ach*, key)—the key that opens the way for the Upper Light.

However, since *Malchut* herself, that is, *Malchut de Malchut* ("closed gates") remains inaccessible to the Light for 6,000 years, Rabbi Chiya (a particular spiritual degree) could not understand how Rabbi Shimon (the spiritual *Partzuf* called Rabbi Shimon) could achieve such complete perfection. Indeed, Rabbi Shimon is a *Partzuf* of such spiritual height that it receives the Light of *Yechida*. And it is impossible to receive this Light without utilizing a *Zivug* on *Malchut de Malchut* itself.

And yet, this part of *Malchut* remains uncorrected until the completion of the 6,000 years (the end of correction), and thus cannot be used. By defying these desires, it is as though one has already partially corrected it. And all the prohibitory commandments refer to *Malchut de Malchut*; hence, the ban imposed on its use is called "a restriction."

Yet, if it is impossible to fill the "stony heart" (*Lev HaEven*), i.e., *Malchut de Malchut* (the root of egoism, the basis of creation), with Light, how can even a single soul achieve complete correction? After all, complete correction implies the reception of Light in the entire *Malchut*. Each soul, each part of *Malchut* that man is destined to correct contains a part of all the other parts of *Malchut*, including a part of *Malchut de Malchut*, which he may not work with until the end of correction.

On the other hand, Rabbi Chiya sees Rabbi Shimon in a state of complete correction. So how could the latter have attained such state? This

contradiction roused Rabbi Chiya so greatly that he prostrated himself on the ground and cried out.

It is impossible to constantly "translate" the words of the Torah or *The Zohar* into a language we can understand, that "ground" signifies egoism and "dust" refers to the impure forces, that "crying out" implies raising *MAN*, and so forth. All the words and definitions in the text of *The Zohar* should be perceived sensuously rather than literally, as physical actions of our world. In other words, whatever *The Zohar* speaks of is related only to inner, spiritual sensations and experiences of one who perceives the spiritual realm.

All the worlds constitute the "environment," the spiritual sphere, within which the Creator made His only creation—man (Adam). Everything else was created only in order to help man to achieve his spiritual mission of becoming like his Creator.

Just as in our world, the world itself and all its inhabitants, except man, are robots operated by their animal nature, rather than creatures with free will, in the spiritual worlds, all the spiritual beings, except for the soul, are operated by their spiritual nature. Upon being born in our world, man, too, is an animal without freedom to act against his egoistic desire to receive pleasure. He usually stays that way throughout his existence on earth, being not at all different from the still, vegetative, and animate levels of nature, automatically following orders of his inner master, egoism.

Only with the help of Kabbalah can one gradually receive Upper, spiritual strength, and consequently acquire freedom of choice, that is, liberate himself from the influence of the impure, egoistic forces, and become free in his desires, like the Creator. However, such an opportunity is only given to one who can control his automatically-driven, egoistic nature: according to the strength of his screen, man ascends (moves inwardly, in his sensations) from this world to the spiritual.

After creating the spiritual worlds as a home for his future creation, the Creator created the creature (soul, Adam). The soul constitutes the desire to delight in the sensation of the Creator, of His Light. The sensation of the Creator is called "Light." There is nothing else in the entire universe besides the Light and the soul!

Although the soul itself is *Malchut de Malchut* (the only egoistic creation), the Creator imparted onto it the property of altruism, having created it mixed with the *Kelim* (desires) of *Bina*, thereby demonstrating how wonderful it would be to be like Him.

While performing altruistic actions, the soul (Adam) decided to use its natural egoism, *Malchut de Malchut* itself, to receive the Creator's Light with

altruistic intentions. Yet, when it began to let the tremendous Light of *Yechida* into *Malchut de Malchut*, it could not resist and wished to enjoy it egoistically. This change in the soul's desires is referred to as its fall.

As a result of the fall, Adam's soul split into myriad parts (600,000), all of which fell into captivity of impure, egoistic forces (acquired egoistic desires). After the fall, Adam corrected some of the souls (obtained an anti-egoistic screen), but only partially. And then, of the total number of souls, some were selected for correction, lowered into this world, and clothed into bodies, generation after generation.

The descent (distancing from the Creator) into our world (egoistic sensations of only one's own desires) occurs as a result of attaching an additional "makeweight" of egoism to the soul. In the spiritual world, movement (farther from the Creator or closer to Him) and distance (from Him) are determined by the correlation of egoistic and altruistic desires within the soul.

The purpose behind the souls' descent to our world is to transform one's egoistic desires with the help of Kabbalah, and to return to the Creator with one's intentions, by performing altruistic actions. The souls' descent continues until each of them and all of them together achieve complete correction.

And the most exalted souls that refer to the degrees of *Yechida* and *GAR* of *Haya* depend on the correction of *Malchut* herself in *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* ("closed gates"). These will only be corrected at the completion of the 6,000 years, after the correction of all the rest. This is due to the inverse relationship between the souls and the Light that fills them: the more egoistic the soul is, and the lower it is located, the greater the Light that enters the general *Partzuf* (the common soul) at the time of its correction.

THE LIGHT OF SOULS	Yechida	Haya	Neshama	Ruach	Nefesh
MALCHUT (types of souls)	Keter	Hochma	Bina	ZA	Malchut

This is why these exalted souls are consumed by dust (impure force), i.e., the impure force rules over them with its enormous and insolent power, for it is certain that no one and nothing can save these souls from captivity.

This is why Rabbi Chiya wept: "Dust, how cruel you are!" That the most exalted souls are "consumed by you without any hope of escaping you!" In other words, the actual root of creation, the primordial egoism cannot be corrected.

It turns out that as a result of the exalted souls' captivity by the rule of the impure forces, all the righteous that bring Light to the entire world cannot achieve perfection themselves. Since all the souls are interconnected, not a

single individual soul can arrive at the end of correction until all the souls are corrected. This is why they are susceptible to the ruthless rule of the dust.

At first, Rabbi Chiya wanted to say that Rabbi Shimon himself was also consumed by dust, i.e., did not achieve complete correction. He had heard that Rabbi Yosi also reasons that the closed gates are closed for all. Yet, after some contemplation, he inquired: "If Rabbi Shimon revives all the worlds and governs them, how can it possibly be that he has not reached perfection?"

Therefore, he concludes that Rabbi Shimon was not consumed by the dust, that he did achieve complete correction and is probably in a state of absolute perfection. The thing that Rabbi Chiya could not understand, however, is how any individual soul could achieve the end of correction prior to (without) the complete correction of all the others. This, Rabbi Chiya could not explain to himself.

50. Rabbi Chiya stood up and started to walk and weep. Rabbi Yosi joined him. He fasted for forty days so that he might see Rabbi Shimon. He was told he still was not worthy of seeing him. He wept and fasted for another forty days. He was then shown a vision: Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar were discussing him, Rabbi Chiya, the words he said to Rabbi Yosi, and thousands are listening in on their discussion.

Although the fasting that *The Zohar* speaks of is a spiritual act, in our world such a description is a good example of how strong a desire should be in order to be answered from Above. Other spiritual actions include weeping, tears—the small state (*Katnut*) of a spiritual *Partzuf*, in this case referred to as "Rabbi Chiya." Naturally, Rabbi Shimon and all the other characters of *The Zohar* are spiritual *Partzufim*, rather than people of our world.

Truth be told, the spiritual level of a person known by a certain name in our world may coincide with his spiritual root described in the Torah. However, elucidation of this matter exceeds the scope of this particular article. It is nonetheless essential to note that Pharaoh in the corporeal Egypt, naturally, was not a spiritual Pharaoh, the way he is described in *The Zohar* (the *Partzuf* that includes all of *Malchut*), and Laban, portrayed in the Torah as a villain, is in fact the Supernal Spiritual Light of *Partzuf AB*, the Supernal Light of *Hochma*. This will be explained later on.

The strong desire to attain the degree of Rabbi Shimon allowed Rabbi Chiya to see him, for he was certain that Rabbi Shimon had not been consumed by the dust. He came to this conclusion precisely because of his conversation with Rabbi Yosi, and hence passionately desired to see Rabbi Shimon.

51. In that same vision, Rabbi Chiya saw several great celestial wings: how Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar mounted them and soared to the Assembly of Heaven, while the wings waited for them. Afterwards, they both returned to their place and shone brighter than ever before, brighter than the light of the sun.

The Heavenly Assembly refers to the Assembly of the angel Matatron. However, his full name is not pronounced, and the name Matat is used instead, for pronouncing a name is equivalent to an action, which is not always desirable. The term Supernal Assembly refers to the Assembly of the Creator Himself, while the Heavenly Assembly refers to the Assembly of Matat.

The wings that were waiting for Rabbi Shimon and his son Elazar are angels (spiritual forces, similar to robots or draft animals in our world), whose task is to help the souls to ascend from one spiritual degree to another. And just as these wings must assist the souls in their ascent, they must assist them to descend to their places. Therefore, it is said that the wings were waiting for Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar to bring them back down.

And when Rabbi Chiya saw them returning from the Heavenly Assembly back to their place (to Rabbi Shimon's Assembly), he noticed a new light on their faces, and radiance surrounded them that was brighter than the sun.

52. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "Let Rabbi Chiya enter and see how much the Creator renews the faces of the righteous in the world to come. Happy is he who comes here without shame. Happy is he who stands in the other world as a rigid pillar opposite all." And Rabbi Chiya saw himself entering, and Rabbi Elazar and all the other pillars of the world that were there stood up before Rabbi Chiya. And he, Rabbi Chiya, was ashamed; he entered, bending, and sat at the feet of Rabbi Shimon.

Rabbi Shimon opened (opened the way for the Light) and said: "Happy is he who enters without shame." And all that were present there felt no shame. Only Rabbi Chiya was ashamed. This is because they had the strength to withstand the power of the dust, and Rabbi Chiya did not. They were all perfect, whereas Rabbi Chiya had a flaw—the desire to attain. And this is what he was ashamed of.

53. A voice sounded: "Lower your eyes, do not raise your head, and do not look." He lowered his eyes and saw Light that shone from afar. The voice returned and said: "The Supernal Ones, concealed and enclosed, who have eyes that watch over the entire world, look and see: the lower ones are sleeping, and the Light of their eyes is concealed in their pupils. Wake them!"

After he followed the instruction to lower his eyes and not raise his head (not use his desire to receive Light, but only desires to bestow), he merited hearing

(Light of *Hassadim*) the appeal, with the help of which he attained everything he wished. The voice divides all souls into two groups: the first is a group of Supernal Holy Ones that are concealed, who merited their eyes to be opened to behold the entire world, and the second group of souls have the Light of their eyes concealed in their eye-sockets, which is what blinded them. This is why the voice called upon the souls of the first group to behold, i.e., to use the reception of the Upper Light, to draw the Upper Light together with the second group.

54. Who among you turns darkness into Light and savors bitter as sweet even before he came here, that is, while still living in the other world? Who among you hopes and waits each day for the Light that shines when the Lord distances, when His greatness grows and He is called the King of all kings of the world? For he who does not wait for this each day while living in this world, has no place in the other world either.

The Creator's goal is for man to fully attain Him while still living in this world, to feel Him as he did prior to descending into this world, prior to incarnating in a physical body. From this the division of people of our world into two groups is clearly evident, and the voice appeals to them.

The voice emphasizes to each group their main advantage. To the souls of the first group, it says that they turned darkness into Light. These are the souls of the world of *Atzilut*, for the Creator created two opposite systems in the worlds *BYA*: the system of darkness and bitterness opposite the system of Light and sweetness. Therefore, in the Torah of the worlds *BYA* there is a division into suitable and unsuitable, pure and impure, permitted and forbidden, holy and unholy, whereas the Torah of the world of *Atzilut*, which consists wholly of the Creator's names, contains nothing impure whatsoever.

And the sinner Laban is regarded as a holy name in the world of *Atzilut*, as well as the Pharaoh. And all the names that represent impure forces in the worlds *BYA* become corrected in the world of *Atzilut*, exalted and pure spiritual objects and forces with corresponding holy names. Therefore, the souls that have attained the Light of the world of *Atzilut* transform all darkness into Light and all bitterness into sweetness. In other words, the whole difference between the holy, pure, and good, and their opposites lies in the correction of the desire and in acquiring an anti-egoistic screen over the will to receive.

And to the second group the voice said that they're waiting for the Creator's help, and He will rise (*Shechina*, His manifestation to the lower ones) from the dust (in their sensations). But those who do not wait for Him, being preoccupied with other aspirations, will not rise from the dust, and the sensation of the Creator will remain concealed from them.

55. In his vision, Rabbi Chiya saw many of his friends gathering around the standing pillars. And he saw them being elevated to the Heavenly Assembly, some are elevated, while others are lowered. And above them all, he saw Matat, the owner of wings, approaching.

As the voice was calling, Rabbi Chiya saw several souls of the righteous, belonging to the two groups, standing around the two pillars that were already present in Rabbi Shimon's assembly, and whom he had already seen ascending to the Heavenly Assembly. Some were ascending, and some were descending; moreover, this motion ensued in mutually opposite directions.

This way the two groups help one another according to the calling voice, which instructs the first group to descend and the second to ascend. Rabbi Chiya saw also that due to the excitement of all these souls over their aspirations, i.e., the power of the two groups, Matat descended from the Heavenly Assembly to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon and swore an oath.

56. The angel Matat swore that he heard from behind the curtain how each day the Creator remembers and grieves over *Malchut*, cast into the dust. And when He remembers her, He strikes 390 firmaments, and they all tremble with terrible fear before Him. And the Creator sheds tears for the *Shechina* (Divinity), *Malchut* that has fallen to the dust. And those tears simmer like fire, and fall into the Great Sea. And by the power of these tears, the Ruler of the Sea, called Rachav, is revived, blesses the Creator's holy name, and vows to swallow up everything, from the first days of creation, and to absorb all within himself, when all the nations gather against the holy nation, and the waters will dry, and Israel will walk through dry land.

This vow signifies that the Creator never forgets, but remembers each day that the *Shechina* lies in the dust. However, this does not refer to the entire Holy *Shechina*: this, the Creator need not vow, for it is revealed and seen by all who dwell in the Upper Worlds that everything He does is for the *Shechina* (*Malchut*) alone.

But this refers only to *Malchut de Malchut*. She is the one Rabbi Chiya thinks about being held captive by the impure forces, completely abandoned. Hence, he wept: "Oh dust that consumes all!" And here, the angel Matat, who has come to the Assembly of Rabbi Shimon, revealed to Rabbi Chiya a great secret—that the Creator's rule is absolute, and He remembers *Malchut de Malchut* each day.

A *Zivug* (union of the *Masach*-screen and the Light-pleasure) is defined as a stroke of Light onto the screen, a result of the desire to enter and cross the screen's barrier, while the screen restricts and repels it. This act of repelling is called the Returning (reversed) Light, as it rises from the screen from below upwards and clothes the coming Light.

This may be compared to the example of the host (Creator) offering delicious food (Light) to his guest (*Kli*), who wishes to enjoy the delicacies. However, as a result of the shame from being the receiver, the guest refuses to receive, and the screen repels the food (Light). It is as though the guest (*Kli*) says to the host (Creator) that he refuses to receive the pleasure (Light) for himself, for his own enjoyment. This repelling of the food (Light) forms the Returning Light, for it stems not just from not wanting to feel shame, as it is in our world, but from the spiritual *Kli's* desire to be like the Creator.

The Returning Light is that altruistic intention, desire. This is also the spiritual *Kli*, and only within it can the Light be received; only in this intention can one feel the Creator.

After the *Kli* was able to repel all the pleasure coming to it, and demonstrated that it could meet the condition of the first restriction (to refrain from egoistic reception), it began to calculate how much Light it could receive for the Creator's sake. The *Kli* receives only the amount of pleasure that it is certain it can receive for the Creator's sake.

The delight that was received inside the *Kli* is referred to as the Inner Light. The amount of Light received inside the vessel determines the degree of similarity to the Creator; the *Kli* acts like the Creator: just as He desires to bestow pleasure upon the *Kli*, so the *Kli* wishes to bestow upon Him, to the extent of the Inner Light received. Therefore, the size of the *Kli*, (from *Peh* to *Tabur*, where it receives the Light) determines the degree of merging with the Creator. In this place, the *Kli* is merged with Him in properties and intentions.

If the *Kli*'s powers of resistance are not sufficient to receive for the Creator's sake, and it can only refrain from reception, the *Kli* is considered to be in the "small" state, *Katnut*. The *Kli* that was created by the Creator is the strongest. However, afterwards, as it begins to descend, its screen gradually weakens until the *Kli* can no longer receive for the Creator's sake. It is left with just enough strength to not receive for itself. This is why from this state onward there is a ban on reception of Light into the *Kli's* desires "to receive." The *Kli* may only use its *GE*, but not its *AHP*. And the boundary beyond which the Light cannot spread is called *Parsa*, the firmament. This barrier is built from Above; thus, even if the *Kli* suddenly wishes to receive the Light for itself, it will not be able to do so.

The screen divides the firmament and consists of four parts: *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut* (*HBTM*), the four letters of *HaVaYaH*. Because *Malchut* joined with *Bina* and thereby corrected her egoistic properties into altruistic ones, the screen is located not in *Malchut*, but in *Bina*. *Bina* is counted as hundreds; therefore, the four parts *HBTM* equal 400. However, there is no *Zivug*

(reception of Light) on *Malchut de Malchut* itself (after all, it is called the "closed gates"). This means that *Malchut* contains ninety *Sefirot*, and not 100: 9 *Sefirot*, each consisting of ten.

Therefore, the screen that is called "the firmament" and that makes a *Zivug* with the Upper Light by reflecting it consists of 390 parts, for the part of *Malchut de Malchut* is lacking. The firmament is therefore said to consist of 390 firmaments, and on it a daily *Zivug* with the *Shechina* is made, whereas a *Zivug* on the dust, which signifies the ten parts of *Malchut de Malchut*, is forbidden. The impact between the screen and the incoming Light resembles shuddering from fear to receive the Light inside of oneself, beyond the limits of one's restrictions.

There are five *Sefirot* in the *Rosh* (head) of a *Partzuf*:

Keter	- *Galgalta* (or *Metzach*)	- forehead
Hochma	- *Eynaim*	- eyes
Bina	- *Awznayim*	- ears
ZA	- *Hotem*	- nose
Malchut	- *Peh*	- mouth

Just as the secretion from one's physiological eyes is called tears, the secretion of the Light of *Hochma* from the part of the spiritual *Kli* called "eyes" is referred to as "tears." Tears constitute the part of the Light that is rejected by the *Partzuf* due to the absence of a screen on *Malchut de Malchut*. All the Light that comes to a *Partzuf* wishes to enter and fill it with its pleasure, even the part of the *Partzuf* that has no screen to receive with altruistic intentions. Therefore, the screen immediately repels this portion of the Light.

But between the strike of the Light from Above and the resistance of the screen from below, tiny drops of Light seep through the screen, which, due to its hurry, is unable to repel them. These drops have nothing to do with the level of *Hochma* of the *Partzuf*, as they lack the clothing of the Returning Light. They exit the *Partzuf Hochma* and receive the name "tears." But it is nonetheless Light!

This is similar to a state where we are filled with tears of compassion for another person. Indeed, all that exists in our world exists because it derives from its spiritual prototype, and all that transpires in this world, transpires only because it stems from its Upper, spiritual root.

After all, the fact that the Upper Light strikes the screen, trying to break through its restriction, stems from its origin in the Highest Place, the Creator Himself, and is unrelated to the creature's desire to receive this Light within

the bounds of its altruistic capabilities. The Light stems from the world of Infinity, from the Creator Himself, long before the *Kli* appeared and wished to restrict itself.

The Upper Light wishes to fill the desire to enjoy that it created, as it is said, "the Creator wishes to dwell in His creatures below." The Light and the Creator are one and the same; after all, man defines the sensation of the Creator as spiritual Light. And this Upper Light strives to force its way through the screen and enter man's desires, but the screen hurls it back. Thus, this repelled Upper Light becomes Returning Light, which designates man's altruistic intentions to bestow delight upon the Creator.

As a result of the collision with the screen, portions of the Light fall outside, for these tears originate from the Creator's love and compassion for His creation. In our world, this spiritual action results in an emission of tears in an individual overwhelmed with suffering and love. However, spiritual tears do not disappear.

This is described in *Song of Songs* (8:6): "For love is as strong as death, jealousy is as cruel as hell; the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, the very flame of the Lord!" This is because these tears stem from the Upper One's love and compassion for the lower one. And just as flaming tears shed by someone in our world burn, so do the boiling and burning Upper tears burn like fire, like the very flame of the Lord!

Being related to the property of *Hochma*, *Malchut* is called "sea." It is therefore said that the tears (Light of *Hochma* without first being clothed in Light of *Hassadim*) fall into the sea, *Malchut*. And it is written that the many sea waters will not extinguish the Creator's love for His creatures, expressed in these tears.

It was said during the creation of the world: "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place" (*Beresheet*, 1:9). But the angel that governed the sea did not wish to swallow these waters, and was hence killed (was emptied of Light). Now, as the tears fall, he is revived.

The reason for this is that during the creation of the world, *Malchut de Malchut* itself had not undergone any kind of correction, as the Creator created the worlds *ABYA* in a special correction, called *MAN de Bina* or *Ateret Yesod*, and not *MAN de Malchut* or *Malchut de Malchut*. In other words, correction is possible only if man corrects not *Malchut de Malchut* itself (his essence), but, while completely refraining from its use (use of egoism), he acquires higher, altruistic desires from *Bina* and receives the Creator's Light in them (in *Sefirot KHB-ZA de Malchut*, in 390 *Sefirot*).

These higher, altruistic desires are referred to as desires of *Bina* or as *MAN de Bina*, and the reception of Light in them (*Zivug*) is made not on egoism (*Malchut* herself), but on the will to bestow, called *Ateret Yesod*. This *Zivug* is therefore sufficient to fill only the first nine *Sefirot* in *Malchut*, but does not fill *Malchut* herself.

Prophet Yeshayahu (Isaiah) writes in this regard: "Who are you with, partners? I started the worlds, and you are to complete them!" The correction of *Malchut de Malchut* is incumbent solely upon the creatures. Hence, when the sea ruler was told: "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place," he objected and did not wish to swallow up the created waters, for due to the uncorrected state of *Malchut de Malchut*, the impure forces prevailed and ruled over him. And that is why he was killed.

However, these tears correct *Malchut de Malchut*, and thus revive the sea ruler so that he would rise from the dead, sanctify the name of the Lord, fulfill the Creator's will, and swallow up the primeval waters. For then, all the impure forces, all the evil in the world will disappear and all (desires) will gather in one place (property), whose name is *Atzilut*. This is because the world of *Atzilut* will spread from the end of the world of *AK* down to our world, and there will come the end of correction, for the worlds of *BYA* will return in their properties to the world of *Atzilut*.

In the future, at the end of correction, after the correction of the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, when only *Malchut de Malchut*, the last, tenth *Sefira*, remains to be corrected, when all the nations of the world (*Malchut de Malchut*) unite to destroy Israel (the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, the desire to correct all the ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut*), the act of the sea ruler will be revealed in that he will swallow up all the primeval, evil waters, and the waters (severe restrictions) will dry up, and the sons of Israel (those who aspire for the Creator) will walk through dry land.

The prophet Micha (Micah) says of this: "As we fled the land of Egypt, we saw wonders." However, this was only the beginning, for it was only in the End Sea (the Red Sea; the Hebrew name signifies the end of *Malchut*, or *Malchut de Malchut*), and only for a limited time. But, at the end of correction, death will disappear forever.

This is how Matat explained his oath: the Creator never forgets *Malchut*, which is cast in the dust. For even though a daily *Zivug* with the *Shechina* is made on only 390 firmaments, on the nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut* and not on *Malchut de Malchut* itself, which remains lying in the dust, and, as it seems to us, completely forgotten by the Creator, nothing could be further from the truth. In truth, He corrects it with each *Zivug*, because with each *Zivug*, as a result of the 390

firmaments being struck, the tears fall outside. And these tears are not lost, but fall into the Great Sea (*Malchut de Malchut*), which receives from them slow, yet gradual corrections, even if it is the Light of *Hochma* without the clothing of the Light of *Hassadim*. As it becomes more and more corrected, the sea ruler is revived until the tears accumulate to the necessary amount for the correction of the entire *Malchut*, so that all of her intentions would be for the Creator's sake.

This will occur when all the nations of the world unite to attack Israel. Then, the sea ruler will rise back to life and swallow up all the primeval waters, for *Malchut de Malchut* will receive the lacking correction, for each day the Creator cares for her until she, His only creation, reaches her final correction.

And here Rabbi Chiya's delusion was revealed to him: he understood that nothing disappears in the dust, but, on the contrary, each day *Malchut* undergoes corrections, just as Matat swore.

57. Through all this, he heard a voice: "Clear this place, clear this place! The *Mashiach* (Messiah), the King-Redeemer is coming to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon," for all the righteous gathered there are the heads of groups and assemblies, whereas all of the assembly members ascend from this assembly to the Assembly of Heaven. And the *Mashiach* visits all these assemblies and seals the Torah that stems from the mouths of the righteous. And at that moment, the *Mashiach* comes to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon, surrounded by the heads of all the Supernal assemblies.

As a result of the great revelation—the end of correction—concealed in the oath of Matat, all of the righteous present at Rabbi Shimon's Assembly were elevated, especially the two groups of the righteous that caused Matat to appear and take his oath. As a result, all of them attained Upper Degrees and reached the levels of "heads of assemblies," for each assembly has members and a head, and the difference between them is similar to the difference between *VAK*, *GE* of the degree or *Partzuf*, from *GAR*, the complete *Partzuf*.

Hence, it is written that the place should be cleared for the *Mashiach*. After all, when Matat revealed the secret of the end (of correction), and specifically how creation will be delivered from egoism, a voice appeared and commanded to prepare a place for the *Mashiach*, the King-Redeemer, for the end of correction is connected to the King-*Mashiach*.

However, only the righteous of Rabbi Shimon's assembly, who are above all the heads of assemblies, merit his coming, for only those who are on the same spiritual level as the King-*Mashiach* (all those who have already corrected all of their other properties—the first nine *Sefirot* in their part of desires-*Malchut*—all

of the properties except for the original egoism, *Malchut de Malchut*) can merit the revelation of his face.

The level of the *Mashiach* is the Light of *Yechida*. And if all the members had not reached the level of the heads of the assemblies, the *GAR* of the degrees, i.e., corrected all that they could, they would not have merited the revelation of the *Mashiach's* face. But the heads of the Assemblies are not *GAR* of the low degrees. Rather, they represent a level so high that all the members have merited reaching the Heavenly Assembly of Matat.

And now all the members merited becoming the heads of the Assemblies, wherefrom they merited an ascent to the Heavenly Assembly. Moreover, thanks to their corrections, they merited the *Mashiach* himself coming to all these assemblies to be adorned with their deeds in the Torah. And now all the members have merited reaching the level of the assemblies' heads. This is why the *Mashiach* is adorned with the Torah of the assemblies' heads. Thus, thanks to them, the *Mashiach* himself ascends to a Higher Degree.

58. At that time, all the members stood up. Rabbi Shimon stood up, too, and his Light rose to the firmament. The *Mashiach* said unto him: "Happy are you, Rabbi, for your Torah has risen in 370 beams of Light, and each beam divides into 613 beams (properties) that ascend and bathe in the rivers of the holy *Apharsemon* (persimmon). And the Creator confirms and signs the Torah of your assembly, of the assembly of Chizkiyah (Hezekiah), the King of Judah, and the assembly of Achiyah ha Shiloni (Ahijah the Shilonite)."

When the *Mashiach* revealed himself to them and came to Rabbi Shimon's Assembly, all the members stood up (ascended from the level of *VAK* to *GAR*), and Rabbi Shimon stood on the same degree as the *Mashiach*. And the Light rose to the height of the firmament. This indicates that Rabbi Shimon has attained the Light of the ten firmaments, the previously missing tenth firmament on account of the closed gates of *Malchut de Malchut*, and has attained the Light of *Yechida*, which he now was able to receive, as he could make a *Zivug* on *Malchut de Malchut*. And the Light of *Yechida* that shines from this *Zivug* is called *Mashiach*. The "sitting" level is 390, or *VAK*; the "standing" level is 400, or *GAR*.

The *Mashiach* said to Rabbi Shimon that his Torah gave rise to the Light of *Yechida* in *Partzuf Atik*, because:

Units (0 – 9) are in *Malchut*;
Tens (10 – 90) are in *ZA*;
Hundreds (100 – 900) are in *Ima*;
Thousands (1,000 – 9,000) are in *Aba*;

Tens of thousands (10,000 – 90,000) are in *Arich Anpin*;
And hundreds of thousands (100,000 – 900,000) are in *Atik*.

Since each *Sefira* of *Atik* equals 100,000, the four *Sefirot* of *HaVaYaH* (*HBTM* of *Atik*) total 400,000.

However, in this case, he should have said that the Torah performed the deed in 400,000; yet, he said that the Light emanated by *Ima* is not used on 400, but only on 370, for although the Torah had reached the zenith of the firmament, it still could not reach *GAR* of the last, Supernal Hundred. Hence, there are only 370, while the Upper Thirty are absent in *Ima*.

The same applies with regard to thousands—the Light of *Aba* does not use *GAR* of each thousand, but only *VAK*, i.e., 600 instead of 1,000. Instead of the *GAR* of each thousand, it uses thirteen (*Hochma* of the "thirty-two *Netivot* (paths of) *Hochma*"). The number thirteen signifies *Hochma* of the "thirty-two *Netivot Hochma*," the weak Light of *Hochma*, called the holy *Apharsemon*.

It is therefore said that the Torah attained 370 Lights, and each of them divides into 613 beams; thus, in the 400 of *Ima*, thirty of the Upper Light of *Hochma* are absent, which leaves it with only 370. And each thousand lacks the Upper 400 (*GAR of Hochma*). Instead of using the thirteen paths of the holy *Apharsemon*, each thousand contains no more than 613, for all the supernal secrets are concealed in Rabbi Shimon's assembly. And the Creator Himself sealed them, for He ascends and becomes adorned with the achievements of all the righteous in the Torah.

We know from the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 99:1) that everything the prophets ever said refers only to the days of the *Mashiach*'s coming, but in the future (Yeshayahu, 64), everyone will behold the Creator themselves. For all the degrees and levels that refer to the days of the *Mashiach* will then be corrected, and all the secrets of the Torah will be revealed, everyone will attain complete revelation of the Light, of the Creator, as it is said, everyone will see with their own eyes (sight implies *GAR de Hochma*).

From the aforesaid, it becomes clear that there exists an opportunity to correct one's individual *Malchut de Malchut* even before all the souls achieve it in the future. In such a case, man reaches his *individual* level of attainment of 400, although his *general* level cannot be higher than 370, as in the case of everybody else. This is the degree that Rabbi Shimon, Rabbi Chizkiyah, and Achiyah ha Shiloni had reached.

59. The *Mashiach* said: "I have come here not to confirm the Torah of your assembly, but only because the 'owner of wings' is on his way here. For I know that he shall not enter any other assembly, but only yours." Meanwhile, Rabbi

Shimon told him of the oath taken by the "owner of wings." Right then the *Mashiach* trembled in awe and raised his voice, and the Heavens shook, and the Great Sea boiled, and the Leviathan stirred, and the entire world threatened to overturn.

At that moment, he saw Rabbi Chiya in Rabbi Shimon's adornments. He asked, "Who gave man in this world the adornments, garment of the other world?" (garment of the other world onto the body of this world). Rabbi Shimon answered, "This is Rabbi Chiya, the cresset of the Torah!" He said to him, "Gather him and his sons (those who have left this world), and they shall join your Assembly." Rabbi Shimon said, "Time was granted to him, he was granted time" (Rabbi Chiya's time has not yet come).

The *Mashiach* said to Rabbi Shimon that he came not for the sake of the Torah, but because the "owner of wings" has come to the assembly, wishing to know what Matat had said. For Matat had revealed that the end of correction would be preceded by terrible suffering for Israel—the Heavens and the Great Sea would tremble, and the world would be on the verge of collapse, as predicted in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 97): "All is broken." Hence, he raised his voice, wishing to mitigate all this upheaval.

The *Mashiach* was surprised to see Rabbi Chiya's garment (that Rabbi Chiya exists in a physical body of our world, in the property of this world), for if he had merited the appearance of Matat and his oath, he had attained the degree of complete correction of all his evil. And since he merited seeing the *Mashiach's* face, to receive the Light of *Yechida*, he had obviously completed his work in this world, and there is nothing left for him to do here. Hence, he should leave it and enter Rabbi Shimon's assembly in the Garden of Eden.

But Rabbi Shimon persuaded Rabbi Chiya that he needs to continue performing new, additional corrections in this world. And both the *Mashiach* and Rabbi Shimon explained to Rabbi Chiya what else specifically he still needed to do in this world.

60. Rabbi Chiya trembled in awe when the *Mashiach* left, and his eyes fulfilled with tears. For the *Mashiach* left Rabbi Shimon's Assembly weeping from the great desire for the final correction and redemption. And Rabbi Chiya was also anguished from the fervent desire to reach the end of correction. Rabbi Chiya cried and said: "Happy is the lot of the righteous in the other world, and happy is the lot of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, who has merited all of this."

Who Is Your Partner?

61. *Beresheet*: Rabbi Shimon opened: "Put my words in your mouth. How much effort should man exert in the Torah day and night, for the Creator is attentive to those who study it. And with every word that man attains by his efforts in the Torah, he builds a firmament."

The Creator gave the righteous the power of His speech. And just as the Creator creates the creature by the power of His word, so the righteous create new Heavens by its power. This is why Rabbi Shimon opened his speech by explaining the words, "In the beginning, the Creator created Heaven and earth," as the word *Barah* (created) also means "closing" and "limiting." And we must understand why the Creator had created it in such a closed form. He answers, "To put the correction of Heaven and earth in the words of the righteous, to make them His partners—participants in the creation of Heaven and earth."

There are two kinds of renewal of Heaven and earth that the Creator enclosed in the mouths of the righteous:

1. The correction of Adam's sin, the correction of the past. Even before the creation of Adam, the Creator had made a secret correction of Heaven and earth, as it is described in the beginning of the Torah, in the chapter *Beresheet*: *ZON de Atzilut* ascended to *AVI* and to *AA*, while Adam ascended to *ZON* and *YESHSUT*. As a result, Adam received the Light of *NRN de Atzilut*, for he clothed *YESHSUT* and *ZON de Atzilut*, i.e., ascended to their level.

Adam is located within the worlds *BYA* and he ascends together with these worlds. All the worlds can ascend above their permanent state or descend to their places with Adam inside of them. Adam's spiritual level and the Light that he receives are determined by his location (see page 212).

DURING ASCENT	PERMANENT STATE
	Atik
AVI	AA
ZON	AVI
Adam - Beria	YESHSUT + ZON
Parsa of the world of Atzilut	
Adam - Yetzira	Beria
Adam - Assiya	Yetzira
	Assiya

In other sources, such as the Talmud (*Bava Batra*, 58:2), this is described as Adam's ascent to the level of the sun (*ZA de Atzilut*). This Light is called "*Zihara Ilaa*" (*Zihara* is the Aramaic word for *Zohar* in Hebrew or "radiant Light" in English).

As a result of his sin, Adam fell spiritually to the level of our corporeal world (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12:1). And instead of *NRN de Atzilut* that he used to receive before his fall, he now receives the Light from the worlds *BYA* that are below *Parsa*. And as a result of Adam's sin, Heaven (*ZA*) and earth (*Malchut*) of the world of *Atzilut* descended to the level of *VAK de ZA* and the point of *Malchut* respectively, as they descended below *Tabur de Partzuf AA*.

And the righteous that live in this world, but already exist spiritually in the spiritual worlds of *BYA*, are entrusted with the task of correcting all that transpired through Adam's fault, and to return, to renew the Heavens and the earth (*ZON de Atzilut*) and elevate them to *AVI* and *AA*—*ZA* to *AA* and *Malchut* to *AVI*, as it was before the sin. And as a result of their work, the righteous will receive the Light of the world of *Atzilut* that the corrected Adam is entitled to, for they (their souls, spiritual *Kelim* or inner spiritual *Partzuf*) are his parts.

2. However, even before the sin, Adam was not in the perfect state for which the Creator had created him. Hence, after the righteous correct the consequences of Adam's sin and attain *NRN de Atzilut*, which existed in Adam before the sin, new work awaits them—to receive new Upper Light that has yet to descend. In other words, if the first goal is to correct the sin, the second is to attain even more. It is called to "create new Heaven and earth," new properties of *ZON*, in which new, Higher Light can be received.

This new level or degree that has never been present in any *Kli* is described as "neither hath an eye seen the Creator beside thee," and the degrees which

the righteous attach to the worlds are called "new Heaven" and "new earth," for they are truly new and have never before existed in reality.

And this Heaven and earth, which the righteous correct to the level that preceded Adam's sin, during the creation (*Beresheet*), are not called new, as they've already existed and the Creator Himself corrected them even before Adam's sin. Hence, they are called renewed, and the righteous who correct them are not called the Creator's partners.

"Encloses in their mouths" implies reception of such Upper Light that was neither received by Adam nor emanated from the Creator. And now, by the actions of the righteous, which are called partners, participants and co-creators, it comes out and shines in creation. Thus we see that all the righteous are divided into two groups: those who correct Adam's sin and those who create new degrees of attainment. The latter are called the Creator's partners.

ZA is called voice and *Malchut* is called speech. When a righteous person studies the Torah and thereby raises *MAN* (by the voice and speech of his Torah) from his soul to *ZON*, his voice ascends to *ZA* and his speech ascends to *Malchut*. The voice of the Torah that ascends with *MAN* to *ZA* is called the Creator (*Kadosh Baruch Hu*).

Also, each renewed word in the Torah builds a new firmament. A word means speech, and any speech that renews the Torah by those who study it ascends in the form of *MAN* to *Malchut*, who is called "word and speech." This creates a new firmament in the form of a screen, on which a *Zivug* between the Creator and the *Shechina* is made. This is what the righteous, who study the Torah, attain by raising *MAN*!

However, renewal in the words of the Torah does not imply anything new in the voice of the Torah. For *Malchut* has to recreate herself for each new *Zivug*, for after each *Zivug*, *Malchut* returns to the state of virginity thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous, who constantly renew her properties, her *Yesod*—the *Kli* for the reception of Light from *ZA*. Hence, it is written that the Torah is renewed by each word, for a word (*Malchut*) is renewed by the speech of the righteous in the Torah, as, after each *Zivug*, the previous *Kli* disappears and a new one appears.

62. We have learned that just as the Torah is renewed by one's mouth, that renewal ascends and appears before the Creator. And the Creator accepts this wisdom, kisses it, and adorns it with seventy adornments. And the renewed wisdom itself ascends and settles on the head of the righteous that revive the

worlds, and then flies, soaring through 70,000 worlds, until it ascends to *Atik*, the *Sefira Keter*. And all that exists in *Atik* is concealed, Supernal wisdom.

When a person raises *MAN* from his Torah, this word, which is *Nukva de ZA*, ascends and connects to the Creator in a *Zivug* with Him. The Creator takes this word, kisses, and adorns it, and these are the two types of *Zivugim* (plural for *Zivug*) in *ZON*:

1. *Zivug de Neshikin* (kisses);
2. *Zivug de Yesodot* (bases/foundations).

Each *Zivug* consists of two *Zivugim*, for a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma* must clothe itself into the *Partzuf* (garment) of *Ohr Hassadim*. Therefore, a preliminary *Zivug* must be made on *Ohr Hassadim*, whose role is to become a garment for *Ohr Hochma*. This is why each *Zivug* consists of two *Zivugim*:

1. *Zivug* on the degree of *Hochma*, called *Zivug de Neshikin*, because it stands at the *Peh de Rosh* of the *Partzuf*, at the level of *Rosh* and *GAR*.
2. *Zivug* on the degree of *Hassadim*, called *Zivug de Yesodot*, because it takes place at the level of the bodies of the *Partzufim*.

Therefore, it is said that the Creator took *Nukva* in this word and kissed her, i.e., made a *Zivug de Neshikin* at the level of *GAR*, and then adorned her, i.e., made a *Zivug de Yesodot* at the level of *Hassadim*. As a result, *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, and *Nukva* received the complete Light.

IN SEVENTY ADORNMENTS: the complete Light of *Nukva* is called "seventy adornments," because *Malchut* is the seventh day, and when she receives from *ZA*, her *Sefirot* become tens, just as the *Sefirot* of *ZA*; this turns *Malchut* into 7 x 10 = 70. *Mochin* (wisdom), *Ohr Hochma* is called *Atara* (adornment or crown). Hence, what she receives is called "seventy adornments." After *Malchut* receives the Light of *Hassadim*, with the help of the *MAN* of the righteous, she becomes fit to receive the Upper Light of *Hochma*, the seventy adornments.

As was said above, there are two kinds of renewal of Heaven and earth (*ZON*):

1. When everything returns to the state preceding Adam's sin. In that instance, *Malchut* is called the "word of the Torah" (*VAK*), where the Torah is *ZA*.
2. When Heaven and earth are created with a new Light, which even Adam did not attain prior to his sin. And this attainable word is called *GAR*.

It is written (Talmud, *Berachot*, 7:1) that the righteous sit with adornments on their heads, for *Malchut* ascended to adorn the head of the righteous (*ZA*)

in his *Yesod*, called *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds), or, rather, in his *Ateret Yesod*—the place of circumcision. And this transpires thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous that have already attained the Upper Light of Adam's *Zihara Ilaa*, just as Rabbi Shimon and his friends have already attained it.

Ohr Hochma is called *Ohr Haya*. Since *ZA* desires only *Hassadim*, he can receive *Ohr Haya* only with the help of his *Nukva*, *Malchut*. It turns out that *ZA* lives, i.e., receives *Ohr Haya*, only if he is in a *Zivug* with *Nukva*, called *Olam* (world). That is how the name *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds) originated.

Also, *Nukva*, the adornment on his head, becomes important (*Keter* – crown) because *ZA* receives this Light only thanks to his *Malchut*. Although *Malchut* was born from *ZA*, since it is *Malchut* and no other that evokes, makes reception of the Light of Life possible, *ZA* calls her his mother. Indeed, *ZA* receives *Ohr Haya* (the Light of Life) from her.

Therefore, it is written that *Malchut* flies and soars in 70,000 worlds, and after her *Zivug* with *ZA* on his *Atara* (adornment on his head), she ascends even higher, to *AA*, where the seven *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, called 70,000 worlds, become corrected, as one *Sefira* of *ZA* equals 10,000. After that, *Malchut* ascends higher still—to *Atik*. And all of these ascents of *ZON* to *Atik* transpire thanks to the efforts made by the righteous that raise *MAN*: a *Zivug* on *Atara* elevates *ZON* to *AVI*, from which they ascend to *AA* (70,000 worlds), and from there to *Atik*, the highest possible point of ascent.

It is therefore written that all the words of *Atik's* Supernal wisdom are locked, since *Malchut* receives the Upper Light upon ascending to *Atik*, and each degree that she receives from *Atik* is called "concealed," "Supernal wisdom," i.e., *GAR de Hochma*. This is because words of wisdom signify the degree of *Hochma*, and the words "concealed," "secret," and "Supernal" refer to *GAR*. Also, they are revealed only to those who attain the level of *Atik*, but not below, as *Tzimtzum Bet* (the second restriction) already exists in *AA*.

63. And when this hidden wisdom, which is renewed here in this world, ascends, she joins *Atik*, ascends and descends, enters 18 worlds, where no eye has seen the Creator besides you. They emerge from there and appear before *Atik*, complete and perfect. Meanwhile, *Atik* tests her and finds her most desirable above all else. He then takes her and adorns her with 370,000 adornments. And she, the renewed Torah, ascends and descends, and is transformed into a firmament.

During the ascent of *Malchut* to *Atik*, she joins the *Zivug* that transpires there, and creates *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light) by accepting *Ohr Yashar* (Direct

Light) at the level of *Atik*'s properties. The ascent of *Malchut* means that *Malchut* elevates *Ohr Hozer* from herself upwards. *Malchut's* descent means that she sends *Ohr Yashar* from Above downwards. And then *Malchut* receives the hidden, secret, and Supernal wisdom. The word "joins" signifies her contact with the *Ohr Hozer* and the *Ohr Yashar* within *Atik* itself.

This *Zivug* is made in *Atik* on its *Yesod*, but not on *Malchut*, since *Malchut de Atik* is concealed until the end of correction. Like *Yesod de ZA* during its ascent to *AVI*, this *Yesod* is called *Chai Olamim*. The difference between them is that *Yesod de Atik* is called "No one else but you can see the Creator," for a *Zivug* on *Yesod* elevates *Ohr Hozer* and clothes *Ohr Yashar* with it. This screen is defined in *AVI*, below *Atik*, as wings that block the Upper Light. This shows that the screen possesses a force of restriction, law, judgment. This is why *Ohr Hozer* is also called "the Light of Restriction." Thus, *Ohr Hozer* exists in *AVI*.

Conversely, the screen in *Yesod de Atik*, of which it is said that there "the Creator no longer hides from you" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:20), while it does raise *Ohr Hozer*, it does not conceal the Creator thereby, does not have the properties of wings. This is the reason why it is called *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds).

Nevertheless, it remains concealed until man attains that level himself, as is written: "Only your eyes shall see the Creator." There are no wings or anything else there that conceal Him from outsiders' eyes, for no restrictions are imposed and everything is revealed. And neither are there any restrictions in *Ohr Hozer*, but only mercy and benevolence, as in *Ohr Yashar*.

The name *Chai Olamim* implies that a *Zivug* is made not on ten *Sefirot* of *Ohr Yashar* from Above downwards and ten *Sefirot* of *Ohr Hozer* from below upwards, and not on the whole of the twenty *Sefirot*, i.e., not on *Malchut* herself, but on *Yesod de Malchut*. In this instance, there are nine *Sefirot* of *Ohr Yashar* and nine *Sefirot* of *Ohr Hozer*, as *Yesod* is the ninth *Sefira*: 9 + 9 = 18 = 10 + 8 = *Yod* + *Chet*, which is pronounced in reverse order as *Chet-Yod* (*Chai*), for this is the Returning Light. The word "life" (*Chaim*) is derived from the word "alive" (*Chai*), for he who is able to make a *Zivug* on *Yesod* receives the Upper Light of life, *Ohr Hochma*.

Tremendous Upper Light manifests in *Atik* as a result of this *Zivug*. This is because all the worlds and all that inhabit them join *Nukva*, and together they attain true perfection, the level for which they were initially conceived and created by the Creator.

Hence, it is said that word flies in the firmament, which signifies the creation of *Ohr Hozer* from below upwards, which leads to *Ohr Yashar* descending from

the Creator, from Above downwards. And the clothing of *Ohr Hozer* on *Ohr Yashar* creates a firmament, because the screen that appears in *Malchut* for the creation of *Ohr Hozer* comes as a result of the good deeds of the righteous, their *MAN* (requests for spiritual ascent) aimed at pleasing the Creator. So then, after this screen makes a *Zivug* with the Upper Light, it becomes a firmament, with the help of which, the righteous attain the full height of the degree on which they have now made a *Zivug*.

This occurs because when this degree descends to the righteous through the firmament, it clothes in *Ohr Hozer* (garment of this firmament), which, together with the *Ohr Yashar* clothed within it, turn over and they descend below the screen (firmament) and thereby become attainable by the righteous.

Those righteous that have achieved such perfection that they can raise *MAN* to such exalted *Zivug* have already rid themselves of egoism completely and have no desire to receive anything for themselves. Instead, they raise their *MAN* (request) with the sole purpose of pleasing the Creator. Therefore, by their corrections (*MAN*), they correct the screen in *Malchut*, and, by creating *Ohr Hozer* in her, which ascends from the screen of *Malchut* upwards, make her capable of a great *Zivug*. This is because all that ascends is altruism, bestowal, repelling, and rejecting reception for oneself and egoistic pleasure.

Then there is a *Zivug* with the Upper Light, and the Upper Light clothes in the ascending Returning Light. This descending Upper Light clothes into the Returning Light and enters into the righteous that have raised *MAN*. The expression "from below upwards" implies the repelling of Light by a person, and "from Above downwards" designates a person's reception.

And since the Upper Light comes to man through a firmament, it takes the Light reflected from the firmament as its garment, and one receives the Upper Light clothed in Returning Light. This means that, even after one already receives the spiritual information of the entire degree, he delights in the Upper Light that descends to him only to the extent in which he can please the Creator thereby, i.e., to the extent of his strength, the magnitude of his screen, and the amount of Returning Light that clothes the Direct Upper Light.

Such reception of the Upper Light (only to the extent of the magnitude of *Ohr Hozer* created by man) is called the reception for the Creator's sake. And wherever one cannot find a way to bestow upon the Creator, he does not receive. Hence, his reception is clothed in bestowal: the Upper Direct Light is clothed in Returning Light, meaning the lower one receives only the clothed Upper Light from the Upper One, i.e., only through the firmament.

64. And thus, every deed creates firmaments that appear before *Atik*, and he calls them "new Heavens" or, rather, "renewed firmaments," concealed by Supernal wisdom. And all the other parts of the Torah that are not renewed by means of Supernal wisdom appear before the Creator, ascend and become "the lands of life" (*Artzot HaChaim*). They then descend and adorn one land. And it becomes renewed, and a new land comes into being from all that was renewed in the Torah.

The righteous are constantly raising newer and newer *MAN*, and thus receive newer and newer degrees of attainments from *Atik*, with the help of the firmaments created by the Upper *Zivug*. From these firmaments emerge new Heavens, which are renewed in the degrees of *Atik*. These exalted attainments of the righteous are therefore called the hidden secrets of Supernal wisdom, for they descend clothed in the garments received from the firmaments.

Malchut is called "earth" and *Bina* is called "the lands of life" (*Artzot HaChaim*). When *Malchut* attains all the degrees of *Bina*, she acquires the name "the land of life." *Malchut* is also called the "new land," for she exchanges her own properties for those of *Bina*. And everything that was previously *Malchut* now becomes *Bina*.

Therefore, it is written that in the future, *BON* will become *SAG*, and *MA* will become *AB*, for Heaven is *ZA* that now ascended to the degree of *Atik* (*AB* or *Hochma*). The earth, *Nukva de ZA*, *Malchut*, became *SAG*, *Bina*. Hence, the new land and the new Heavens are *Malchut* and *ZA* that became *SAG* and *AB*, *Atik* and *AA*.

65. It is written, "When the new land and the new Heavens, which I make." It is not written, "I have made," in past tense, but rather "I make," in present tense, for they are constantly made from the renewal and secrets of the Torah. And it is written of this: "And I shall place it in your mouth, and in the shadow of your hands' garments, that I may take the Heavens, and lay the foundations of the land" (*Yeshayahu*, 51:16). It is simply said "Heavens," for it implies the Heavens renewed by the Torah.

Everything that is described in the Torah is written in the present tense, as there is no time in the spiritual; everything is written with regard to the one who attains the Torah at that given moment. This is what *The Zohar* wants to stress here: the matter concerns man's constant work on himself, on his nature. And the righteous that have already attained the Upper Light continue creating newer and newer Heavens and lands, as is written, "The righteous ascend from summit to summit," and this process is infinite.

66. Rabbi Elazar said, "What is the meaning of 'in the shadow of your hands' garments?'". He answered, when the Torah was passed to Moshe, tens of thousands of Supernal angels appeared so as to raise him with the flames of their mouths, but the Creator protected him. So now, when the renewal in the Torah ascends and appears before the Creator, He protects it and shelters the one who performed it, so as to prevent the angels from finding out and envying him, until new Heaven and earth are made out of this renewal in the Torah. Hence, it is said, "To take the Heavens and lay the foundations of the land from the shadow of your hands' garments." It follows that all that is concealed from the eyes achieves a supernal result. This is why it is said, "In the shadow of your hands' garments." Yet, why should it be concealed from the eyes for the sake of a supernal result? Hence, it is immediately said, "So that I may take the Heavens and lay the foundations of the land." As we have learned—so that new Heavens and earth will appear out of this concealment.

The phrase "In the shadow of your hands' garments" alludes to *Ohr Hozer*, the garment that stems from the firmament, clothing and covering of the *Ohr Hochma*. Like a shadow, this garment conceals *Hochma* from outsiders' eyes, so they do not know what is inside. Why are High Degrees concealed from angels? So they would not envy man, for when the angels, which are made of a very light material (without egoism), look at one who is righteous and see his negative properties, they envy him for the High Degree that he has achieved. They then begin slandering that righteous, the properties that they discover in him. This brings harm to the righteous.

Therefore, when a degree clothes into the garment of a firmament (*Ohr Hozer*), this garment measures the degree itself, its magnitude, to prevent man from receiving more than his intention for the Creator's sake allows, i.e., only to the extent of *Ohr Hozer*. Thus, he is protected from the angels' envy and from their ability to harm his spiritual condition, for he becomes equal to them in his properties: his Returning Light makes him equal.

Like everything else that fills the worlds, *Melachim* (angels) are man's inner properties and forces. In order to avoid harming himself by wishing to attain Higher Degrees before he has acquired *Ohr Hozer*, these degrees must be concealed. However, in addition to *Ohr Hozer*, one should exercise caution against his desire.

This explains the rule: "The eye sees and the heart covets," and man would not be able to protect his intention, to keep it for the Creator's sake alone, and would desire to receive for himself. However, once clothed in the garment of

the firmament, he can be certain that he will not receive above his intention to receive for the Creator's sake.

Let us briefly examine how a desire is conceived in man. One looks at something for the first time, not yet knowing what he is going to see. It is as if an object accidentally falls into his field of vision. Naturally, no ban can be imposed on it, as this occurrence is not dependent on man; thus, it is neither rewarded nor punished.

However, when looking at it for the second time—here, man already has freedom of choice. And if the second look is going to result in the desire to receive pleasure, it is forbidden. If man cannot restrain himself, and looks for the second time, his eyes send a signal to his heart, and the heart begins to desire. Thus, man has the power to decide whether or not to allow the desire to be born within him. This is the meaning of the phrase: "The eye sees and the heart covets."

67. He said to these gates and to the words that were set one upon the other in the renewed Torah: "Who are you with? You are my partners. Just as I make the Heavens and the earth with My words, as it is written, 'By the Creator's word were the Heavens made,' so you create new Heavens and earth by your labor in the Torah."

The properties of reception are called "gates," because, like open gates, they are always ready to receive. "Words" are the properties of bestowal, of raising *MAN* to the Creator. The phrase "Set one upon the other" signifies one clothing the other, and so occurs reception for the sake of bestowal.

68. However, if one were to claim that the renovation of the Torah by one who does not even know what he is saying creates a firmament, then look at one who is not familiar with the secrets of the Torah: since he renews the Torah without having sufficient knowledge, all that he renews ascends, and the reverse side of man (male part of the impure force), and the false tongue (from *Nukva* of the impure force, called *Tehom Raba*—great abyss) comes toward him. This reversed man skips 500 *Parsaot* (measures of distance) to receive this renewal of the Torah, takes it and makes a false firmament out of it, called *Tohu* (abyss).

As we already know, the righteous raise *MAN* to please the Creator. This is called the "words of the Torah," for the words are renewed as a result of the Upper *Zivug*, and *ZON* receive a new Light from this *Zivug*, to the extent that they come to merit the renewal of Heaven and earth by their actions. They thereby become the Creator's partners—fellow workers, for, just like Him, they renew Heaven and earth with their words.

Although one who is not familiar with the secrets of the Torah (the ways of the Creator) so as to know how to protect himself and to not harm the Higher Degrees tells himself that his intention is for the exalted goal, he deludes himself, for he does not know that which his soul surely knows—that his intentions are for himself. Terrible punishment awaits him, for he allows the impure forces to destroy those who labor in the Torah. *The Zohar* explains: if one does not know the exact meanings of the words, i.e., if he raises *MAN* to the great *Zivug* without a thorough understanding of all the intricate details of the act, the reverse man and the false tongue capture his word.

Klipot (one's impure forces) also consist of male and female parts. The male part is called "fruitless return," and the female part is called "falsehood." The male part of the *Klipa* is not as bad as the female part. And when it is by itself, it does not prompt one to lie by the Creator's name; on the contrary, goodness strikes his eye, yet the eye itself is evil. And he who falls into the hands of the male impure force uses the Creator's name in vain, for he detaches himself from the Creator and receives no Light from Him, i.e., he utters words and seemingly acts, but fruitlessly, for these actions are not the screen's interaction with the Light.

Hence, the sages said: "The Creator says of all who is proud: He and I cannot be together" (Talmud, *Suta*, 5:1), for his intentions are to receive everything for himself, for his own benefit, for his pride and vanity, as the sensation of one's "I" is the greatest manifestation of pride. Hence, man falls under the power of the evil eye. Consequently, the *MAN* that he raises receives no response from Above, and he utters the Creator's name in vain. Therefore, the male part of the impure force is called empty, fruitless, false, vain, unsuccessful, and futile, for the Creator cannot unite with him due to the dissimilarity of their properties.

If, however, one feels not his similarity to the Creator, but rather his oppositeness in properties from Him, and perceives himself as the most evil of all, he can then lower himself before the Creator, suppress all of his properties out of hatred for them, and the Creator Himself will perform the remaining part of his correction. However, one who is proud not only fails to understand the extent of his remoteness from the Creator, he actually believes that he is entitled to receive more than others, and that the Creator owes him something.

Nukva de Klipa is called "falsehood." After one falls into the net of the male part of the impure force, the latter makes a *Zivug* with its *Nukva* (impure, bitter, and evil force), which, as a result of its connection to the male part, falsifies the Creator's name, descends and instigates man, and then ascends, complaints

against him, and takes his soul. However holy this soul was, *Nukva de Klipa* grabs all of it for itself.

Naturally, this refers to one who works on himself and advances spiritually, for whom working for the Creator's sake is his life's calling. Yet, he may occasionally fail to observe precisely all the restrictions, and thus find himself in such states. An ordinary person, however, who neither works on himself nor studies Kabbalah, is obviously entirely unrelated to either pure or impure spiritual forces.

For example, the male impure force says that one must study the Torah, but then steals the results of his work for itself. As a result, man loses interest in his studies, and must once more consolidate himself in his efforts and advancement. And although he attains the Creator and the revelation of Light to a certain degree, it is nonetheless fruitless, for all of his attainments vanish from him, and he gains nothing from them.

Therefore, the Torah refers to it as the "reverse man," for initially he ate and drank and said "Go," i.e., raise *MAN* to the Creator and receive the Light for the sake of the exalted goal, but not for yourself. Thus, it pretends that it is not the impure force, but its opposite. However, due to its property called "fruitless return," it then makes a *Zivug* with its *Nukva* (the great abyss), which steals man's soul and destroys him with its falsehood, and man is left without even the slightest part of his soul that is holy and pure!

Hence, it is written that he skips through 500 *Parsaot*: initially, *ZON* of the impure forces have only *VAK* in *ZA* and a point in *Malchut*. Consequently, they can only be equal to *ZON de Atzilut* in their *Katnut* (small state), when they are also *VAK* and a point, and have neither the power nor the place to connect to *Bina*.

Nevertheless, thanks to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, the male impure force is given the opportunity to skip through *ZAT de Bina*, which sustain the pure and holy *ZON*. *ZON* contain *Sefirot HGT NH* (*Netzah-Hod*) = 5 x 100 = 500, since a *Sefira* in *Bina* equals 100. And this occurs thanks to the *MAN* raised by one who is uncertain of his intentions (whether or not he acts for the Creator's sake).

The "reverse man" then makes a *Zivug* with his *Nukva* on this false *MAN*, and receives the Upper Light for the construction of his *Partzuf*, much like the spiritually pure Heavens that were created on the pure *MAN*. Also, the new Heavens created on the impure *MAN* are called "reverse," "empty." And since the impure *Malchut* took part in this, these Heavens are called *Tohu* (abyss/chaos).

69. And this reverse man then flies across the empty firmament, traversing 6,000 *Parsaot* in one bound. And as soon as this empty firmament stops, an impure woman emerges at once, seizes onto this empty firmament, and partakes in it. She leaves it and slays hundreds of thousands, for as long as she remains in this firmament, she has the authority and power to fly and traverse the whole world in an instant.

All that stems from the empty firmament stems from the impure force, which is correspondingly opposite the Supernal, holy wisdom of *Ohr Hochma*. The *Sefira Hochma* equals 1,000, and so it is written that it flies across the firmament in 6,000 = six *Sefirot HGT NHY* of *Partzuf Hochma*, each of which equals 1,000.

After the new heavens of the impure male part, called the "empty heavens," were completed, the power of its female half, *Nukva* ("the great abyss"), was revealed. Her force attacked the firmament with falsehood by the Creator's name; she soared through the sky, and the heavens were then called *Tohu*.

Since *Nukva* of the impure forces partakes in this firmament, she becomes stronger and grows even more than the male level of the impure part. This is because the male impure part reaches up to *VAK* of *Hochma*, which equals 6,000 *Parsaot*, whereas *Nukva* grows to the full ten *Sefirot*, i.e., the entire world.

Therefore, she is immensely powerful and can destroy many, for, as Rashi says, "The Creator created one opposite the other." And just as new, Holy Heavens and lands are created thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous, new, impure heavens and lands are created through the *MAN* raised by those who do not know exactly how one should work for the Creator.

70. It is written of it: "Do not facilitate fruitless transgression." Transgression is related to the male part, and is as heavy as wagon shafts. What is this transgression? It is the impure *Nukva*. With reins she draws the male impure part to fruitlessness. And then, as a result, a transgression is committed, as the male part draws itself towards this *Nukva*, who grows strong and flies off to slay people. And many does she slay. And who is it that caused all this? It is those that study the Torah, but do not attain *Ohrah* and *Morah* (Light and bestowal). May the Creator be merciful to them!

As was already mentioned above, the male impure part is not as evil as the female part. This is so because it makes itself similar to the holy part of the creature; hence, it is called fruitless. However, due to this similarity, it has great power to ensnare man, as, for example, just as the sages do, it encourages people to study the Torah. Yet, its goals are different from that of the Creator; it wants to receive wisdom (*Hochma*), and not to become altruistic.

And after one is caught in its toils, the male impure force makes a *Zivug* with its impure *Nukva*, and, like heavy wagon shafts, they pull man into an abyss so great and dark that he doesn't even realize that he is in darkness. On the contrary, he considers himself wise and righteous. The male part only catches man, binds him, and then brings him to the impure *Nukva* and casts him at her feet. Only then does he falter, falls into the great abyss and perishes.

71. Rabbi Shimon said to his friends: "I beg of you not to utter any discernments from the Torah, no matter what you may hear from the Great Tree of Truth, so that you would not assist the impure *Nukva* in slaying multitudes of people for naught." They all opened and mouthed: "Save us, O Merciful One! Save us, O Merciful One!"

Rabbi Shimon said that if you have attained the discernment yourselves, then you are allowed, but if not, you must listen to the Great Tree (the great learned sage, whose wisdom and purity can be trusted) to learn how to work for the Creator.

72. Come and see, the Creator created the world by the Torah. And He looked into the Torah not once, not twice, not thrice, and not four times. Only after that did He create the world. This should show people how not to err.

73. Opposite these four times, the Creator saw, counted, prepared, and investigated what He had created. It is therefore written, "*Beresheet* (In the beginning) *Barah* (created) *Elokim* (the Creator) *Et* (the)"—four words, corresponding to the four above. And then, it is written: "Heaven"—opposite all four words, for the Creator looked into the Torah before He began to manifest His thought into reality.

The four words signify four time periods or four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*. "Saw" designates *Hochma*, "counted"—*Bina*, "prepared"—ZA, and "investigated"—*Malchut*. After these four, the Creator created what He created.

We find the same in the Torah: *Beresheet* is *Hochma*, *Barah* is *Bina*, *Elokim* is ZA, and *Et* (the) is *Malchut*, which includes everything from *Aleph* to *Tav*—all the letters and all the properties. Hence, she is designated in the Torah by the word *Et* = *Aleph-Tav* (from the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *Aleph*, to the last, *Tav*). And after these four, He created the Heavens and the earth, i.e., revealed the next, lower degree, below *Malchut*.

The Donkey Driver

74. Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, was on his way to visit his father-in-law, Rabbi Yosi, the son of Lakunya, and Rabbi Aba accompanied him. A man followed behind them, driving their donkeys. Rabbi Aba said, "Let us open the gates of the Torah, as it is time to correct our path."

In Aramaic, the language in which *The Zohar* was written, "driver" means "one who pricks." This is because the donkey driver's function amounts to forcing the donkeys to move by pricking them with the edge of his stick.

75. Rabbi Elazar opened and said, "It is written: My Sabbaths you are to observe." Let us see: the Creator created the world in six days. And each day would reveal His deeds, and gave strength to that day. When did He reveal His deeds and give them strength? On the fourth day of creation, for the first three days were concealed completely, and would not be revealed. The fourth day arrived, and He revealed the deeds and forces of all the days.

The phrase "He gave that day strength" means that He gave everything to the day of *Shabbat*. For the six days are *Sefirot HGT NHY* that reveal on *Shabbat* (*Malchut*) the work and the forces that were carried out during these days.

Yet, if the deeds of all the days are concealed, and only reveal at their end, on *Shabbat*, then why is it written that they are revealed on the fourth day of creation? The thing is that *Malchut* is called both the fourth and the seventh days: she is fourth with regard to the first three *Sefirot HGT*, called the "Patriarchs" (*Hesed* is Avraham, *Gevura* is Yitzchak, and *Tifferet* is Yaakov), and seventh with regard to the six *Sefirot*, after three additional *Sefirot*, called the "Sons": *Netzah* is Moshe, *Hod* is Aaron, and *Yesod* is Yosef.

Malchut herself is King David—the day of *Shabbat*. *Malchut* grows and gradually accumulates her corrections in two principal stages, called *Ibur* (conception). The first three days correspond to *Ibur Aleph* (the first conception), and the

second three days correspond to *Ibur Bet* (the second conception, *Gadlut*, the reception of *Ohr Hochma*).

In other words, *Malchut* is gradually created from *Sefirot HGT* of ZA in three days, and forms on the fourth day as the *Sefira Netzah de* ZA. Hence, at this stage in her growth, *Malchut* is referred to as fourth from the Patriarchs. And then *Shabbat* comes to our land (*Malchut* is called both land/earth and *Shabbat*). The state that *Malchut* achieves as a result of her growth from *Sefirot NHY* of ZA is called *Shabbat* on earth. And this state she attains as the seventh *Sefira* from all the *Sefirot* of ZA.

The first three days are not revealed in *Malchut*, for as long as a *Partzuf* lacks *Malchut*, it is defined as concealed or secret. The weekdays are defined so. And when *Malchut* completely attains the degree where she stands, she thereby attains herself. This state is defined as *Shabbat*.

However, if *Malchut* receives from the six *Sefirot de* ZA, shouldn't they (the six weekdays) be more important than *Malchut-Shabbat* (inferior *Sefira* with regard to those she receives from)?

The truth is that all the weekdays constitute individual degrees of correction (weekdays' work) that are devoid of *Malchut*. Hence, they are called "weekdays," for a *Partzuf* without *Malchut* is considered a closed degree, unable to receive Light, and is therefore deprived of holiness. After all, in the absence of *Malchut*, there is no GAR of the Light, *Ohr Hochma*. And only when *Malchut* is revealed in the *Partzuf* (signifying the arrival of *Shabbat*) is the holiness of the ENTIRE degree revealed; ENTIRE, because all six days receive what they have earned, and the Light shines in all the weekdays thanks to them alone.

When the first three days of creation *HGT* emerged before the emergence of *Malchut*, these three *Sefirot* were devoid of Light, i.e., they were concealed. And when *Malchut* appeared, the fourth day arrived, and the importance and holiness of all four days manifested, for *Malchut* complements the entire degree, and the perfection of creation becomes revealed thanks to her. In the language of Kabbalah, this is described in the following way: all six days of creation are *Ohr Hochma*, and *Shabbat* is *Ohr Hassadim*. *Ohr Hochma* is present on weekdays, but cannot shine for lack of *Ohr Hassadim*, and when *Ohr Hassadim* arrives on *Shabbat*, all the *Ohr Hochma* shines thanks to this *Ohr Hassadim* of *Shabbat*.

76. There is fire, water and air—*HGT*—the three first days of creation. Although they are the initial Supernal foundations of all that will follow, their actions are not revealed until the earth, meaning *Malchut*, reveals them. Only then does the work of each of the Supernal foundations reveal itself. Hence, the power of the first three days is revealed only on the fourth.

77. However, the third day may be better described as one that reveals the creation of the first three days, as it is written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH GRASS. That is to say, the revelation of the earth's (*Malchut*'s) deeds already took place on the third day. Yet, although it was written on the third day, *Tifferet*, it was actually the fourth day, *Malchut*. *Malchut* joined the third day, for *Tifferet* and *Malchut* are inseparable. And then the fourth day revealed its deeds—to elucidate the work of each and every one of *HGT*, for the fourth day is the "fourth leg" of the Supernal Throne (the *Sefira Bina*), whose four legs are *HGTM* (*Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut*).

Malchut reveals the holiness and spiritual power of the three days. Therefore, *Malchut* ascended and joined the third day, so as to reveal by the unity of these three days (three lines) their exalted spiritual essence.

It is hence written that the deed is revealed on the fourth day, for *Malchut* alone completes their revelation at the conclusion of the three days. And afterwards, three more days emerge, which are *NHY*. After the revelation of the holiness of the first three days, *HGT*, called the "Patriarchs," which are the foundation of *ZA*, *ZA* enters them (his main part is manifested), and the time comes for the Sons (*NHY*, the last three of the six days of creation) to be born.

This is why it is written that *ZA* is defined as the fourth leg of the throne of *Bina*, and the throne remains imperfect and incomplete until its fourth leg (foundation) manifests. Indeed, *ZA* is incomplete until *Malchut* manifests within him, i.e., until the fourth day arrives. And only after the emergence of *Malchut* can *ZA* father the Sons—the three final days of creation.

78. All of the actions of all the *Sefirot*, both on the first three days of creation, *HGT*, and on the last three, *NHY*, are dependent on the day of *Shabbat*, *Malchut*, *GAR* of the entire degree of *ZA* and its perfection. Hence, it is written, AND THE CREATOR RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY, *SHABBAT*. This refers to the fourth leg of the throne, as the seventh and the fourth days are both *Malchut*. Only the fourth day is *Malchut* that includes the *Sefira Tifferet* of *ZA*, from his chest upwards. Also, the seventh day is *Malchut* of the entire *ZA*, and they merge together face to face in a *Zivug*.

Although the first three days, *HGT*, end with the fourth day (the result of their actions), they nonetheless remain not entirely complete; their perfection manifests only on *Shabbat*, together with the last three days, *NHY*.

It is therefore written that *Shabbat* is the fourth leg of the throne, even though it is the seventh day, for, although it emerges after the Sons, it also completes the deeds of the Patriarchs, as the first three days did not complete

their corrections on the fourth day, and a seventh day, *Shabbat*, is needed to complete them.

The reason for this is that on the fourth day, *Malchut* is in the state of *Katnut*, called the small phase of the Moon. As a result, the Moon (*Malchut*) returns to the state called *Shabbat*, when all the Light of all the days of creation manifest and shine within her. This is why the Light of the first three days of creation becomes revealed only on *Shabbat*.

79. Yet, if *Shabbat* is *Malchut*, then why does the Torah say, "My Sabbaths you are to observe," implying two? It is written of the two parts of *Shabbat*: the night (*Malchut*) and the day (ZA) that shines in *Malchut*. Thus, there is no division between them, for they merge face to face in a *Zivug*, and are therefore called two Sabbaths.

He asks: two *Malchuyot* (plural for *Malchut*) of the fourth and the seventh days are completely separate, as is written, "You shall keep my Sabbaths," implying two? Yet, when we clarify that the fourth day manifests in perfection only on the seventh day, it becomes clear that there is only one *Shabbat*. But what is meant here is ZA and *Malchut* that shine in the holiness of *Shabbat*, for this day is the male, bestowing part (*Zachar*) that manifests in the female part (*Malchut* or *Nukva*). Hence, they are called Sabbaths (plural). However, by merging in perfection, they become a single whole. As a result, ZA also assumes the name of *Shabbat*.

80. Following behind them with the donkeys, the donkey driver asked: "Why is it said, 'You shall fear sanctity?'" They replied: "This refers to the sanctity of *Shabbat*." The donkey driver asked: "What is the sanctity of *Shabbat*?" They replied: "It is the sanctity that descends from Above, from *AVI*." He said to them, "If that is so, then *Shabbatot* (plural for *Shabbat*) are without sanctity, for sanctity descends on it from Above, from *AVI*." Rabbi Aba answered him: "It is indeed so." And it is said: "And call *Shabbat* a delight, a holy day dedicated to the Creator." *Shabbat* and a holy day are mentioned separately. The donkey driver asked: "If that is so, then what does a holy day mean to the Creator?" He replied: "That is when sanctity descends from Above, from ZA, and fills *Shabbat*, *Malchut*." The donkey driver objected, "But if sanctity descends from Above, then *Shabbat* itself is not a holy day. And yet, it is written, 'You shall sanctify *Shabbat*,' meaning *Shabbat* itself." Rabbi Elazar said to Rabbi Aba, "Leave this man alone, for there is much wisdom in him, of which we do not know." So he said to the donkey driver, "Speak, and we shall listen."

The donkey driver's question is this: if *Shabbat* is ZA, then why is it described as holy? After all, sanctity is the property of *AVI*, and only *AVI* are called holy.

Hence, he objected that *Shabbat* should be separated from sanctity. *Shabbat* (ZA) is not holiness in itself, but because it receives holiness from Above, from *AVI*. That, which ZA receives from *AVI* is what is called the Creator's holiness.

81. The donkey driver opened and said, "It is written: *Shabbatot*, i.e., there are usually two. And this alludes to the border of *Shabbat*, which is 2,000 *Amah* (cubits) in each direction from the city. This is why the word *Et* was added before the word *Shabbatot*, which designates the plural form—both the Upper *Shabbat* and the lower *Shabbat* joining into one."

Although it is said: "Man shall not leave his place on the seventh day" (*Shemot*, 16), i.e., the singular form is used, in many places in the Torah, the word *Et* is used; for example, in the sentence: "***Et*** 2,000 *Amah* in each direction from its place." The word *Et*, consisting of the first and the last letters of the alphabet, *Aleph* and *Tav*, designates *Malchut* entering into union with ZA, which signifies the state of *Shabbat*; hence, the Light of *AVI* becomes revealed and shines (as a supplementary luminescence) upon ZON. This is because *AVI* are called "two thousand," and so the word *Et* is present here to designate a supplement of Light to *Shabbat*.

There exist a *Shabbat* Above and a *Shabbat* below: the Upper *Shabbat* is *Partzuf Tvuna*, and the lower part of *Partzuf Bina*, whereas the lower *Shabbat* is *Partzuf Malchut*, *Nukva de* ZA of the world of *Atzilut*. In the world of *Atzilut*, *Partzuf Bina* is divided into two *Partzufim*: the Upper Part of *Bina* is called *Partzuf AVI* and the lower part of *Bina* (the part where she receives the Light from the Upper Part so as to pass it to ZA) is called *Partzuf YESHSUT* (*Israel Saba ve Tvuna*) or simply *Tvuna*. The relationship between *Bina-AVI* and *Tvuna* is similar to that of ZA and *Malchut*. *Bina* is called the "Upper World" and *Malchut* is called the "lower world." On *Shabbat*, ZON ascend to *Bina*, ZA to *AVI*, and *Malchut* to *Tvuna*.

On *Shabbat*, *Malchut* merges with *Tvuna*. However, this does not mean that no difference is left between them, for *Malchut* receives the Light from *Tvuna* only because she ascends to *Tvuna's* level. Yet, at her place on the last, lowest degree of the world of *Atzilut*, *Malchut* is unable to receive the Light from *Tvuna*. And to the extent that *Malchut* cannot yet receive the Light from *Tvuna* in her regular state, she is defined as "closed."

Also, *Tvuna* suffers from *Malchut* being closed because while in her place, *Malchut* cannot receive the Light from *Tvuna*, for the revelation of *Tvuna* is possible only through *Malchut*. On *Shabbat*, *Tvuna* and *Ima* join to form one *Partzuf*, which is not closed. Yet, since its Light shines only when *Malchut* ascends to it, *Tvuna* feels the closed state of *Malchut*, and suffers, too.

82. One *Shabbat* was left, unmentioned Above, and felt ashamed. She said to Him, "The Creator of the universe, from the day I was created, I am called *Shabbat*, but there is no day without night." The Creator replied to her: "My daughter, you are *Shabbat*, and I have given you this name. But now I am surrounding and adorning you with the most exalted adornment." He then raised His voice and proclaimed, "Those who sanctify shall fear. And this is the night of *Shabbat* that radiates fear." But who is she? It is the merging together of I (*Malchut*, the nights of *Shabbat*) with the Creator Himself (ZA) into a single whole. And I've heard from my father that the word *Et* refers to the boundaries-borders of *Shabbat*. *Shabbatot* (two Sabbaths) denote a circle and a square within, which total two. According to them, there are two sanctities we should mention during the *Shabbat* blessing: *Vayechulu* consists of thirty-five words, and *Kiddush*, too, consists of thirty-five words. Collectively, they make up to the seventy names of ZA, with which ZA (the Creator), and *Malchut* (the Assembly of Israel) adorn themselves.

83. Since the circle and square are *Shabbatot*, they are both included in the instruction, "My *Shabbatot* you are to observe." However, the Upper *Shabbat* is not included in the instruction "Observe," but rather in "Remember." For the Supernal King, *Bina* is as perfect as memory. This is why *Bina* is called "King," whose perfection lies in peace and in memory. Hence, there is no contradiction Above.

Malchut de Malchut is called the central point of creation, and receives no Light even on *Shabbat*, as, being a *Man'ula* (lock), she is closed to the Light. And the entire Light enters her only in the form of *Miftacha* (key), into *Yesod de Malchut*, in *Malchut* that joins *Bina* with her properties, while *Malchut* herself is therefore referred to as "locked."

This central point of creation is the only thing that the Creator created, and is comprised of all the creatures, including human souls. And she argues with the Creator that in the beginning of creation, in the world of *AK*, the entire Light was revealed and shone upon the creatures thanks to her, for there was no other *Malchut* in the world of *AK*, except for the central point. And only due to *Tzimtzum Bet* (second restriction), now in the world of *Atzilut*, was she restricted and closed to the reception of Light.

And this is a great and wonderful secret, for, as *Malchut* objects, even on the first day, it is said: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning—one day." (*Beresheet*, 1:6) In other words, unity is revealed in both night and day together. Yet, why is the night of the first *Shabbat* not mentioned in the

Torah, and only the words "on the seventh day" are used? The Creator replied to *Malchut* that a future *Shabbat* is implied—*Shabbat* of the seventh millennium, when the day of *Shabbat* will come and remain forever.

Meanwhile, during the 6,000 years, the Creator elevates *Malchut* to *Bina*, and as a result, she receives Supernal Adornments, greater than the ones she had had in the world of *AK*. For there she acted as the end of all *Sefirot*, but now she has risen to act in the place of *GAR*, in *AVI*, which are called "holy of holies."

If *Malchut* is in *Yesod*, the lack of *Ohr Hochma* is felt. But if *Malchut* ascends to *AVI* (where *Ohr Hassadim* is present, and there is absolutely no need for *Ohr Hochma*), this state is defined as perfect.

Malchut is called "fear," for she was restricted to refrain from receiving the Creator's Light within her desire to receive pleasure. Therefore, she does not receive the Light from Above within her desire to receive pleasure. Instead, she receives the Light only in *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light), when she refuses to use her egoism.

This occurs in the following way: first, *Ohr Yashar* (Direct Light) comes from the Creator to *Malchut* and wishes to enter her (*Malchut* feels both the delight and her own desire to receive and enjoy it). Secondly, by wishing to be like the Creator, *Malchut* repels the Light (prohibits herself from receiving the delight).

This renunciation of egoistic pleasure is called *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light), because *Malchut* repels the Light (pleasure) from her. Thirdly, after *Malchut* has created *Ohr Hozer*, she begins to receive *Ohr Yashar* in it (her new desire to receive only because the Creator wants her to). This reception is possible because *Malchut* has an anti-egoistic force, will power, called a screen.

The spiritual world is a realm of sensations, desires, and forces, not vested in shells-garments, like the corporeal bodies in our world. Similarly, all the characters depicted in Kabbalah do not designate any images; rather, they demonstrate interactions of forces and properties.

Therefore, a circle implies that the Light shines completely unrestrictedly in every place and to the same extent, so there can be no change in its radiance. A square or a rectangle indicates restrictions, which create differences between the sides: right and left, top and bottom. Hence, the head has a round shape with regard to the rectangular shape of the body, for the *Rosh* (head) is free of restrictions, but *VAK* (body) are not.

Shabbat is a spiritual state, when *ZON* ascend to *AVI* and clothe them. As a result, the lower *Shabbat* (*ZON*) and the Upper *Shabbat* (*AVI*) merge into one.

The Upper *Shabbat* (*AVI*) is designated by a circle, and the lower *Shabbat* (*ZON*) is designated by a square. On *Shabbat*, *ZON* merge with *AVI*, depicted as the square's ascent and insertion into the circle.

Ohr Hochma is designated by the letter *Ayin*. Since *Ohr Hochma* is revealed only during the ascent of the lower *Shabbat* to the Upper, *Ohr Hochma* is divided into two parts: one half for the Upper *Shabbat*, and one for the lower. Hence, the passage of *Vayechulu* (*Beresheet*, 2:1) consists of thirty-five words that refer to half of the Light of the Upper *Shabbat*, whereas the blessing itself consists of thirty-five words that refer to half of the Light of the lower *Shabbat*. And the common soul, called the "Assembly of Israel" or *Malchut* (*Shabbat*), is adorned with this Light.

Since the circle and the square merge and assume the name *Shabbatot* (two *Shabbats*), the Light of both the circle and the square is defined as protecting—GUARD. And, although the word GUARD alludes to restrictions and borders that one must observe and fear violating, whereas the Upper *Shabbat* (designated by a circle) has no restrictions and borders, due to the joining of the two *Shabbatot* into one, there still appeared restrictions and borders.

The Upper *Shabbat* is called REMEMBER, and not OBSERVE, as it is completely free of restrictions. However, since it merged with the lower *Shabbat*, called OBSERVE, it, too, needs to GUARD, which normally relates to *Malchut* alone. Only due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* did the need to guard, which is present in *Malchut*, arose in *Bina*. But *Bina* herself remains only in the property of REMEMBER, for only egoistic desires to receive pleasure need GUARDING.

The Upper *Shabbat* (*Bina*) is designated by the letters *MI* = *Mem-Yod*. The lower *Shabbat* (*Malchut*) is designated by the letters *MA* = *Mem-Hey*, and has the form of a square, which implies a presence of controversy between its properties—the right and the left sides, which give it its square form.

84. There are two types of peace below: one is Yaakov (*Tifferet*), and the other is Yosef (*Yesod*). Therefore, PEACE is written twice in the greeting: "PEACE, PEACE to the distant one and to the near one." "The distant one" refers to Yaakov, and "the near one" refers to Yosef. Or, as it is written, "From afar I see the Creator," "Came to a stop far in the distance."

"Below" signifies *ZON*, containing one of the properties, Yaakov or the *Sefira Tifferet de ZA*. *ZON* also contain the property called Yosef, or *Yesod*. Both these *Sefirot* indicate the place of a potential *Zivug* between *ZA* and *Malchut*, for Peace signifies *Zivug*. The Upper *Zivug* (Yaakov) is intended for reception of *Ohr Hochma* from Above, and the lower *Zivug* (Yosef) fills *Malchut* only with *Ohr Hassadim*.

It was already mentioned that it is impossible to receive *Ohr Hochma* without it being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. *Ohr Hochma* or the *Zivug* that is made on it is therefore defined as distant, for it must first be clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* before it can receive *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, it is written, "From afar I saw the Creator."

The lower *Zivug* is called "the near one," because the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hassadim* without any preliminary actions. Furthermore, with the help of this *Ohr Hassadim*, the *Partzuf* subsequently receives *Ohr Hochma*. This is why the word "peace" is used twice: "Peace, peace to the far and to the near"—a greeting to Yaakov and Yosef, respectively, both of whom take part in the great *Zivug* (the reception of *Ohr Hochma*) in *ZA*.

These two greetings are defined in *ZON* as a square, as there is controversy between them, defined as the controversy between the right and the left sides, and they end in the letter *Hey*—*Nukva* or *Malchut*, whereas the Upper *Nukva* (*Bina*) ends with the letter *Yod*, which designates not the female part, but the male. Hence, there is no controversy in her.

Even the notions of "near" and "far" do not exist in *Bina* herself, for she refers to *GAR*, perfection, and *GAR* can receive *Ohr Hochma* nearby, meaning they do not need to clothe in *Ohr Hassadim* beforehand, but can receive *Ohr Hochma* without *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is said that the Upper *Malchut* is the King, who has peace. Thus, unlike *ZON*, two notions of peace are absent in him.

85. "From afar" is the Supernal Point, standing in His palace, of which it is said, "You are to guard." "You shall fear My sanctity" refers to the point standing in the center, which must be feared more than anything, for its punishment is death, as it is written, "All who transgress in it shall perish." Who are these transgressors? They are those who have entered the space of the circle and the square, and committed a sin. Hence, it is written, "You shall fear!" This point is called "I," and there is a prohibition on its revelation, called *HaVaYaH*. "I" and *HaVaYaH* are a single whole. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba dismounted from their donkeys and kissed him. They said, "So great is your wisdom, and yet you drive donkeys behind us! Who are you, then?" He replied to them: "Do not ask me who I am, but let us go on and study the Torah. Each of us will speak his wisdom so as to illuminate our path."

The distant point refers to the point that opens the way to the *Partzuf* for thirty-two streams of *Ohr Hochma*. And this is the letter *Bet* in the first word of the Torah—*Beresheet*, called the "point in the hall," from which *Ohr Hochma* descends to *ZON*, when *ZON* ascend to *AVI*. For then, the two *Shabbatot* (the

Upper—*AVI* and the lower—*ZON*) merge. It is written about them: "I saw the Creator from afar," for *ZON* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma* without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*.

Hochma and *Bina*, called the "point in the hall," are referred to as "distant from *ZON*," for they need the garment of *Ohr Hassadim* from the lower world, *Nukva*, called *MA*. *Malchut* of the world of *AK* is the central point, called the "lock," whereas *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* (the point in the hall) is the "key," as the Light from *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*) can be received in it.

The circle is called *AVI*, the square—*ZON*. *ZON* ascend to *AVI* and thus the square enters the circle. As a result, two properties appear in *Malchut* of *AVI*: the "lock" (*Malchut de Malchut*, the central point or *Malchut de AVI*), and the "key" (the point in the hall, *Yesod de Malchut* or *Malchut de YESHSUT*). *Malchut de AVI* is called space, for she is unattainable, and he who wishes to fill her with Light is punished by death. It is written about it: "You shall fear My sanctity."

The point itself is called "I," and *AVI* is *HaVaYaH* that merges with it. And they are defined as a single whole; hence, the point itself is referred to as *AVI*, meaning that it is characterized as holy, as the property of *AVI*.

As was already mentioned before, *The Zohar* and the entire Torah speak exclusively of spiritual degrees, the structure of spiritual worlds, and the revelation of the Creator's governance to us. There is not a word in the Torah that refers to our world. The whole Torah is, as it is said, "The Creator's sacred names." And those who reduce it from its spiritual heights to the corporeal level with their commentaries cast it down completely.

Rashi says that the Torah only speaks in human tongue, but it tells us of man's spiritual paths toward his Creator. Therefore, when we read that one Rabbi went to visit another, the real meaning is that one spiritual degree, called, for example, Rabbi Elazar, passes to another spiritual degree, called, for example, Rabbi Yosi.

ZA has his own *AVI*, who are called the Upper *AVI*. The wife of *ZA* (*Nukva* or *Malchut*) contains *AVI*, too, called *YESHSUT*. First, *ZA* attains the *AVI* of his wife (*YESHSUT* or *Ohr Hassadim*). Then it rises to a Higher Degree and attains the *AVI* themselves—*Ohr Hochma* (also called *Ohr Haya*).

The righteous who ascend the spiritual degrees are the constituents of *Partzuf ZA*. Since the degree of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba is *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of *Neshama*), this ascent means it went to (spiritually) see (in *Ohr Hochma*) another spiritual degree.

In the spiritual worlds, the donkey driver constitutes a special spiritual force that helps the souls of the righteous move from one spiritual degree to another. Without this help sent by the Creator from Above, it is impossible to exit your degree and ascend to the next. Hence, the Creator sends a Higher soul from Above to each of the righteous (those who wish to ascend). Each receives his own, according to his degree, properties, and purpose.

And so, at first the righteous fails to recognize this exalted soul; he considers it low, that it leeched onto him on his spiritual path. Such state is called *Ibur*—conception of the righteous' soul. Since the Higher soul has not yet completed its assistance and purpose, it is not yet perceived by the righteous for what it really is.

However, after it completes its task in its entirety, and brings the righteous' soul to the Upper Degree for which it is intended, the righteous then reveals the exalted properties of the soul that helped him. This is referred to as the revelation of the soul to the righteous.

In our case, the soul that was sent to help the souls of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba was the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba—a very exalted and perfect soul, the Light of *Yechida*. Yet, initially, it is revealed to the righteous in its smallest scope, called *Ibur*, conception (in sensations). Hence, they perceive it as the level of a spiritual donkey driver—a simple soul.

The Hebrew word for donkey is *Hamor*, which also means matter, *Homer*! Thus, one who can control his donkey, his body, his desires, ascends above matter as a spiritual being. And since he wishes to ascend above matter in his desires, he is considered a righteous. However, here, *The Zohar* speaks of Higher Degrees.

The donkey driver's task is to take the riders, mounted atop of their donkeys, from place to place; yet, he walks in front of his donkeys, thereby leading them through spiritual degrees. Since every word in the Torah has several meanings, due to the multiplicity of the Upper Roots (wherefrom word notions descend), the notion of a "donkey driver" is more precisely referred to as a "donkey guide," and implies properties that are coarse, sinful, and most base.

Therefore, Rabbi Aba said: "Let us open the gates of the Torah, for the time has come for us to correct our path," that is, to open their souls with the help of the secrets of the Torah, so their path would be correct and lead them to the Creator. Rabbi Elazar then began to discuss a passage from the Torah that says, "You shall observe my *Shabbatot*," as he stood at this degree (the Light of *YESHSUT*) in his properties. He therefore concluded that *Shabbat* itself is the property of *ZON*, which has not yet reached the property of sanctity, but only

receives the Light of *YESHSUT* on *Shabbat*. It is written about this Light, "You shall fear my sanctity," for when *Ohr Hochma* passes from *YESHSUT* to *ZA*, it evokes fear in them.

And here they receive the donkey driver's help, who reveals to them the secret of *Ohr Haya*. He explains that the phrase "You shall observe my *Shabbatot*" signifies the Upper and the lower *Shabbatot*, which come together, due to the ascent of *ZON* to *AVI*. As a result, *ZON* themselves become holy (the square within the circle) and acquire the properties of *Bina*: mercy, altruism, *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is written with regard to them: fear not and observe. For *Ohr Haya* repels foreign, impure forces and desires, and all restrictions are lifted on *Shabbat*; hence, there is no fear.

And, according to the donkey driver's explanation, the phrase "You shall fear My sanctity" refers only to the central point that is used in *GAR de AVI*, in *GAR* of *Ohr Haya*, which is unattainable and where fear does exist.

At that, the soul of the donkey driver has fulfilled its role, for it brought them to the attainment of *Ohr Haya*. Only then did they merit the attainment of the height of the soul that had helped them, since they attained its revelation and were thus able to appreciate it.

This is why Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba dismounted from their donkeys and kissed him, for the attainment of the Upper One is defined as a "kiss." However, this exalted soul has not yet finished aiding them: it must still help them attain *Ohr Yechida*. Yet, since the attainment of *Ohr Haya* already provides perfection, they've already attained thereby the degree of the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba.

The level of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself is the degree of attainment of *Ohr Yechida*. Therefore, by attaining only *Ohr Haya*, they mistakenly thought that the soul guiding them belongs to the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. However, after the donkey driver had revealed to them the secret of the attainment of *Ohr Yechida*, they realized that their companion is none other than Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself.

And the reason why they could not recognize him before is that the powers of the helping soul cannot be seen until its role is fulfilled. Hence, they asked him to reveal his name, but he told them not to inquire about his name, for without having completed all the corrections, they do not merit the revelation of the secrets of the Torah. And he must help them in their studies of the Torah, for he still needs to illuminate their path, as they have not yet attained the desired goal.

86. He said to him: "Who appointed you to walk here and be a donkey driver?" He replied: "The letter *Yod* waged war with two letters, *Chaf* and *Samech*, for me to come and join. The letter *Chaf* did not want to leave its place because it has to support those who fall, for without a screen, they cannot survive."

87. The letter *Yod* came to me alone, kissed me and wept with me. It said to me, "My son, what can I do for you? I disappear from many good deeds and from secret, supernal, basic letters. But I shall return to you and will be of help to you. And I shall give you two letters that are more exalted than those that have disappeared—the letters *Yod* and *Shin*. They shall become for you a treasury that is forever full. So, my son, go and drive the donkeys. And that is why I am here in this role."

As we already know, the donkey driver is an auxiliary force given to someone who wishes to ascend to a higher spiritual degree on his path toward the Creator, just as donkeys carry people on their backs, thereby helping them travel from one place to another. As this happens, the righteous one falls from his previous degree and enters the embryonic state of the new degree, just as the soul that came to help him. However, the property of *Ibur*-embryo (*Ibur* is also derived from the word *Haavarah*, crossing) means that all the Light that it had in the previous degree disappears upon the conception (*Ibur*) of a new, Higher Degree.

And that is what they wanted to know of the donkey driver: "How did the Creator bring you here in the state of *Ibur*, in our state of *Ibur*, as a result of which the Light in us has disappeared? Who lowers you from the Higher Degrees?" And that is why the donkey driver replied that the letter *Yod* waged war against the letters *Chaf* and *Samech*, to join with them. The degree of *Hassadim* is called *Samech* (*Ohr Neshama*).

"When the time has come for you to attain *Ohr Haya* (*Yod* from *HaVaYaH*, the degree from which I descended to help you to attain *Ohr Haya*), *Hochma* really wanted to connect *Ohr Neshama* (that was previously in you) to me. And here *Yod* wages war against *Chaf* and *Samech*. *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* clothes in the lower *Partzuf*, designated by the letter *Chaf*. There used to be *Ohr Neshama*, and now there is *Ohr Haya*, whereas *Yod*, which desires *Ohr Neshama* as well, merges with it, and rejects the *Chaf*."

This is so because the connection between the degrees, from the Highest Degree in the world of *Atzilut* to the end of the world of *Assiya*, is realized only by *Malchut* of the Upper One descending to the lower one and clothing in it. *Malchut* of the Upper One herself cannot descend from her degree of *YESHSUT*

(the degree of *Neshama*) even for a moment, as the chain connecting the degrees would be instantly broken.

The property of *Samech* is the property of the Light itself, which the soul receives from *Sefirot HBD HGT* of *AVI* (above the *Chazeh*), and which *AVI* pass to *ZON* when the letters are in *Katnut*, and support them (the Hebrew word for support is *Somech*, derived from the letter *Samech*) so that *ZON* will not fall from the world of *Atzilut*.

The letter *Chaf*, *Hassadim*, is unwilling to leave its place and join *Hochma*, as it needs to connect the Upper *Partzuf* to the lower one. Thus, it must always remain in its place, for all the degrees are constant, and only the soul changes while moving from one degree to another within the worlds. This is why the soul is called the "inner part" with regard to the world (the external part)—the soul exists and moves about within the world by changing its properties.

Hence, the Light of the soul did not wish to join the letter *Yod* (degree of *Hochma*, the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba) as it descended to help Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba. This is because they needed a new Light that would build a new degree within them, the degree of *Ohr Haya*, whereas each new degree is built from scratch, from the state of *Ibur* (conception). As that happens, the entire previous degree with all of its Light disappears. Similarly, in their case, the new degree starts with *Ibur* and reaches the level of *Haya*. This resembles a seed that must first abandon its present form and rot, in order to become a tree afterwards.

It is therefore written that it came to me without the Light of *HBD HGT de AVI*, called *Samech*, the Light of *Hassadim*. *Samech* is the property of mercy, a selfless desire to give, pure spiritual altruism. Hence, it is unwilling to join *Yod*, *Ohr Hochma*. Yet, *Ohr Hochma* cannot enter and fill the *Partzuf* without first being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, for this clothing of *Ohr Hochma* in *Ohr Hassadim* means that the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma* not for itself, but for the Creator's sake. But *Ohr Hassadim*, *Samech*, does not wish to receive anything within itself; it wants nothing to do with *Ohr Hochma*! This is why the letter *Yod* wept, being unable to fill the *Partzuf* with its Light, for *Hassadim* refused to accept *Hochma*.

It is written in this regard: Hence, I must now disappear, and you, the donkey driver, go to the state of *Ibur*, to rebuild the degrees of gradual development of a new *Partzuf*-state with you: *Ibur* (embryo), *Leidah* (birth), *Yenika* (nursing), and *Mochin* (maturity).

And know that such is the order of creating (begetting) each new degree: every time one is to attain a new degree, he must undergo (in his properties) a complete disappearance of the previous degree (level of attainment, Light), and

begin anew. He must receive new attainments, from the lowest new degree, *Ohr Nefesh* (*Ibur*), to *Ohr Ruach* (*Yenika*), and so on, as though he had never attained any spiritual level at all.

It is impossible to take with you anything from a previous degree. Hence, one must start anew from the lowest level of *Ibur*, called THE DONKEY DRIVER. *Ohr Haya de AVI* is called *YESH* (*Yod-Shin*), where *Yod* is *Hochma* and *Shin* is *Bina*. And, of course, they are more important than the *Ohr Neshama* that was in the *Partzuf* before them.

88. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba rejoiced, wept, and said, "You sit on the donkey, and we shall drive it." He replied to them, "Have I not told you that it is the command of the King that I act as I do, until the other donkey driver appears" (this hints at the *Mashiach*, who, as it is said, will appear poor and riding a donkey). They said to him, "You have not even told us your name! Where do you dwell?" He told them, "My dwelling place is wonderful and very precious to me. It is a tower that soars in the air, grand and unique. Only two live in this tower: the Creator and I. That is the place, in which I dwell. And I am exiled from there in order to drive the donkeys." Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba looked at him, and his words were unclear to them, for they tasted sweeter than manna and honey. They said to him, "Perhaps you will tell us the name of your father, so that we could kiss the earth at his feet?" He responded, "What for? It is not my habit to boast of the Torah."

After they have attained the greatness of the donkey driver's degree, they could no longer bear his small state of *Ibur*, which he inhabited for their sake. Hence, they told him that since they have already attained *Ohr Hochma*, he has done enough and can leave the state of *Ibur*. And should a need arise to add anything else to them, they would be able to enter *Ibur* on their own, and he does not need to suffer for their sake.

However, the donkey driver warned them beforehand to not ask him his name, for they still require revelations of secrets of the Torah. Once again, he hinted that it is the degree of *Ohr Yechida* that they lack, which is implied here. This degree signifies the reception of the Light of the King Messiah's face, which he mentioned by hinting at the poor donkey driver, as described by a prophet (*Zachariah*, 9:9). And he is commanded by the Creator to help them attain *Ohr Yechida*.

This is why they asked him about the type of his soul: "For you did not wish to reveal your name, as we have not yet received from you that which we must

attain. But if so, at least tell us where you live, what is your degree? At least then we will know what we lack, what else we must receive, attain from you."

He replied that his place is much higher than his present location, for now he himself cannot attain his own individual level. This is a result of the Upper *Partzuf* descending to the place of the lower one and becoming completely identical to it, and while there (in that state), the Upper *Partzuf* can no longer attain its own level. The tower that soars in the air is *Bina*, *Hassadim*. The *Mashiach*'s tower (the great tower) designates the time (state) of ascent to *GAR de AA*, when *Ohr Hochma* is available.

89. But the place of my father's dwelling was in the Great Sea. And he was a big fish that continually circled the Great Sea, from one end to the other. And he was mighty and he grew old, until he swallowed up all the other fish in that sea. And then he released them, and they were thriving and filled with all of the very best of the world. And it was in his power to swim across the entire sea in one instant. And He pulled him out and hauled him in with an arrow, like a warrior, and brought him to the place that I told you about, to the tower that soars in the air, but he returned to his place and disappeared in that sea.

The concealed *Zivug* is called *Shaar HaNun* (the 50th gate). The Great Sea is *Malchut*. All the *Zivugim* from *Partzuf Atik de Atzilut* and below do not include the Great Sea in its entirety, all the *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, but only the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*. Moreover, none of the *Zivugim* include *Malchut de Malchut*.

This *Sefira*, *Malchut de Malchut*, is the only creation, because all the other *Sefirot* constitute properties of spiritual forces and desires above *Malchut*, existing in and referring to the Creator, the sole purpose of which is the correction of *Malchut de Malchut*. The only *Zivug* on this *Malchut* exists in *Atik*, and it will be revealed to all only at the end of correction.

Rav Hamnuna-Saba emerged from this concealed *Zivug* in *Atik*; hence, the donkey driver calls him "my father." And he says that his father lived in the Great Sea, as this *Zivug* was on the entire *Malchut*, on *Malchut de Malchut*, called the "Great Sea."

Yet, if one were to argue that all *Partzufim* make a *Zivug* on the Light with a screen that stands before *Malchut*, then that *Zivug* was made on the 50th gate, on all the parts of the desire, on the full depth of the Great Sea (*Malchut*), down to the very last of her desires and properties, from *Keter de Malchut* to *Malchut de Malchut*, from end to end of the Great Sea. Nevertheless, this occurs only

In *Partzuf Atik de Atzilut*, but not below it. And this is not the donkey driver himself, but his father.

This occurs because the great *Zivug* absorbs all the other particular *Zivugim* ("swallows all the other fish in the Great Sea") and all the souls in all the worlds, for they are all much weaker than it. Hence, it is as though they do not exist in its greatness and might. And since it includes absolutely everything, they are all called by the name *Nunin*, from the letter *Nun* (50).

This indicates that after all the major corrections that follow this great *Zivug*, all those Lights and souls, absorbed during its *Zivug*, return and are born anew for eternal life, for they are completely filled with Light as a result of the great *Zivug,* when the Light absorbed them completely.

All the *Zivugim* below *Partzuf Atik* stem from unifications of the *Sefirot* with one another. These unifications are defined as interruptions in a *Zivug*, whereas the *Zivug* in *Atik* is direct and without unification. Thus, it is defined as "instant," for it goes on uninterrupted. It is therefore written that "he crosses the entire sea in an instant," without any garments-unifications. And it mounts an attack, for there is great power of reception of *Ohr Hochma* in this *Zivug*; hence, he said: "Begets, like an arrow in the hands of a warrior."

It is written of this *Zivug* in *Partzuf Atik*: "No one else but you saw the Creator." However, no birth is possible without the forces of resistance, since, as is written: "The seed that is not shot like an arrow does not beget." (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 16). Hence, after he had begotten me and hid me in the Great Tower, he returned to his concealed *Zivug*.

90. Rabbi Elazar contemplated his words and replied: "You are the son of the Holy Source, you are the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, you are the son of the Source of the Torah, and you drive donkeys behind us!" They wept and kissed him, and continued their journey. Then he said: "If it pleases our master, let him reveal his name to us."

It is written "looked," because sight signifies *Hochma*, and no other words, such as "said," "heard" (*Bina*) or "thought" could be used in its stead. Since they have not yet attained to the full extent of perfection what the donkey driver had told them, and their attainment reached only as high as *Ohr Haya*, they were delighted with what was begotten by Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, for Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba is *Ohr Yechida*.

He asked him to reveal his name, that is, to receive his degree, for the attainment of a name denotes the attainment of the spiritual degree. Therefore, the saying, "the entire Torah consists only of the Creator's names," means that the

entire Torah constitutes the degrees that one must attain, up to the very highest, called "Love" ("Introduction to The Study of the Ten Sefirot," items 70-71).

Each degree in the attainment of the Upper Worlds has its own name. All the Creator's names: Moshe, Pharaoh, Avraham, the Temple, Sinai—every single word in the Torah—are degrees of perception of the Creator, degrees of attaining Him, for nothing exists besides man and his Creator. Everything else that exists in the world, as it seems to us, are the various degrees of our perception of the Creator Himself. He may appear to us as this world, and He may appear as the world of *Assiya*, as *Yetzira*, *Beria*, *Atzilut*, or He may be revealed completely, without partial concealments of the spiritual world or total concealment of our world. Thus, the word *Olam* (world) is derived from the *Haalamah* (concealment).

91. He opened and began. It is written, "Benayahu (Benaiah) Ben (the son of) Yehoyada (Jehoiada)." This narrative is beautiful, but it serves to show us the exalted secrets of the Torah. And the name Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada indicates the secret of the Light of Wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*. *Ben Ish Chai* is the righteous who revives the worlds. *Rav Paalim* means that He is the Master of all that transpires, and that all the forces and Supernal Troops stem from Him. He is called the Creator of Force, the Master of all, and He is in everything.

It is written in Prophets: "Benayahu, the son of Yehoyada," (*Shmuel* II, 23:20). Here, *The Zohar* reveals to us the exalted secrets of the Torah, for the holy name of Yehoyada consists of two: *Yod-Hey-Vav*, the first three letters of *HaVaYaH*, and *Yeda* (knowledge).

Keter of the world of *Atzilut* is called *RADLA* (unattainable head), whereas *Atik* itself surrounds all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*—*AA*, *AVI*, and *ZON*. *Atik* is called *Makif* (surrounding), for the other, lower *Partzufim* cannot attain it or its *Zivug*. Moreover, they cannot attain anything that comes from it. In other words, there is nothing descending *from Atik* to the lower *Partzufim*. Even *AA* is concealed from them; hence, it is called the "concealed *Hochma*." However, it is not defined as unattainable, like *Atik*, for it contains a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. Nevertheless, this Light does not descend to the lower ones, but only a small luminescence from it, called *He'arat Hochma*, reaches them.

And all the Light that fills the worlds through the 6,000 years comes from *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, who are called *Hochma* of the thirty-two paths or thirty-two forces (*Elokim*) of creation, i.e., thirty-two types of *He'arat Hochma*. This Light of *Hochma* is the result of *Bina's* ascent to *AA*, where she receives *Ohr Hochma* and shines downward. Therefore, all the Light of *Hochma* that is revealed through

the 6,000 years, before the end of correction, is no more than the Light of *Bina*, which received *Ohr Hochma* upon ascending to *AA*.

AA is called *Yeda* (knowledge) because it gives *Ohr Hochma* to *Bina*, and knows all the routes of *Ohr Hochma* into *Bina* and through her on to the lower ones. While making a *Zivug*, *AA* itself does not pass its Light downwards, but as *AVI* ascend to *AA*, they receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "thirty-two streams" or "paths of wisdom," which can be attained by the lower ones.

Everything that is written in *The Zohar* refers to all the souls in general. However, there are exceptions that are not normally studied. There exist special, exalted souls that merit becoming a *Kli*, *MAN* for the great *Zivug* of *RADLA* after their exile, and to receive from this *Zivug* in the Upper World the degree of *Yechida*. These are the souls of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada, Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba and a very few chosen others. These exalted souls reveal themselves to the righteous in this world, and as a result, the righteous merit delighting in *Ohr Yechida*, which shines only in such exalted souls, while still being in this world.

Therefore, the name of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada indicates that it stems from the inner wisdom, the unattainable Light of *Hochma* of *Atik*. This name also causes the concealment of the Light of *Hochma*, for the name Yehoyada: *Yod-Hey-Vav* + *Yeda* means that only he who attains the first three letters *Yod-Hey-Vav* of the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* shall attain Him, and no other shall.

Therefore, this name remains concealed in its place. At first, the donkey driver explains the quality of this *Zivug* in *Atik*—its height, the power of the Light that emerges onto it in *Rosh de Atik*, which the name of this *Zivug*, "*Ben Ish Chai Rav Paalim ve Mekabtziel*," indicates. And then he explains what is concealed and what descends to the souls.

It was already stated that this *Zivug* takes place at the end of the correction of the entire *Malchut*. Hence, it includes all the individual *Zivugim* and the degrees that emerge on them through the 6,000 years. All the Lights accumulate into one. All the types of *MAN* combine into one and ascend to ask for this *Zivug*, which includes all the suffering and punishments gradually accumulated during the 6,000 years.

Hence, the height and greatness of this *Zivug* and the degree of Light that emerges from it are infinite, and it destroys all the impure forces once and for all. *Yesod de ZA*, from which the Light of this *Zivug* (the combination of all the Lights over the full course of the 6,000 years) is emanated, is called "*Ish Chai Rav Paalim*"—a vivid man of many actions. However, *Malchut*, which contains within

her all the *MAN*, suffering, and work performed during the 6,000 years, is called *Mekabtziel* (gathering one).

The Zohar also calls it *Tzadik Chai Olamim*—the righteous, who revives the worlds, for it thereby points to the *Sefira Yesod*, which gives the Light to *Malchut*. The *Sefira Yesod* does not have a place to receive the Light for itself. Hence, it lives (*Chai*) only to pass the Light to *Malchut*. This is why it is called *Tzadik* (the righteous one), who revives the worlds (*Chai Olamim*).

Its other name, *Rav Paalim* (performing many actions) indicates that it includes all the *MAD* of all the good deeds and all the degrees that were revealed through the 6,000 years. This is because all these degrees are now being revealed all at once in a cumulative, integrated Light, as they leave *Yesod* and enter *Malchut*. And since *Yesod* now gathers all the Light that was emanated during the 6,000 years into one, and passes it to *Malchut*, this action determines its name—*Rav Paalim.*

92. *Rav Paalim* is also *Mekabtziel*—the Exalted Tree, gathering and performing many actions, Supreme Above all. Where did it come from? From which degree did it originate? Once more, the source indicates—from *Mekabtziel*, for it is an exalted and concealed degree that none has seen. It includes everything, for it gathers all of the Upper Light within it, and everything originates from it.

Malchut-Nukva is also named *Mekabtziel*, for she receives and gathers all the Light from *Yesod* within herself. Hence, *Yesod* is called *Rav Paalim*. The degree that emerges onto this *Zivug* is called the "Supreme and Exalted Tree" that originated from *Yesod* and entered *Malchut*. *The Zohar* goes on to explain that to show us the quality and the origin of this exalted degree, the name *Mekabtziel* (gathering) is used; *Yesod* accumulates the Upper Light and passes it to *Nukva*. And both *Yesod* and *Malchut* are called *Mekabtziel*.

And the degree that emerges onto this *Zivug* of *Yesod* and *Malchut* is called "None but you has seen the Creator." This degree emerges after the complete correction has been achieved, at the moment of attachment of the final correction that completes them all. Therefore, this degree is defined as all-inclusive, for it collects all the Light over the full course of 6,000 years, and thereby manifests at once in its true perfection.

93. All of the degrees gather in this Supernal, Sacred, and Concealed Hall, where everything is concealed. All of the worlds are inside that hall. All the holy forces are sustained and revived by it, and all are dependant on it.

The Zohar speaks of *Rosh de Atik*, where all the degrees and all the Light of all the worlds are concentrated and concealed. It further explains how this *Zivug* can occur up to the final correction, so it would combine all the degrees emerging one after another during the 6,000 years. And it would emerge instantly during the 6,000 years of the world's existence, when the degrees are in a state of constant ascents and descents, for as soon as a new degree, a new attainment of the Creator, of the Light, is revealed, the present degree disappears. This occurs due to the sin of the lower ones, who cannot retain this degree permanently (world—*Olam*, from the word *Haalamah*—concealment. The complete revelation of the Creator to His Creatures will take place at the end of the 6,000 years; thus, the world-concealment will cease to exist).

So, whenever a degree disappears, it does so only from the sensation of one who attains a new degree. In reality, this degree ascends to *Rosh de Atik* and hides there, so as to, by joining other degrees, be manifested at the end of correction.

In the same way, *Atik* gathers all the degrees revealed in the world during the 6,000 years, and conceals them within itself until the time of the end of correction comes; WHEN IT CORRECTS THE LAST PORTION OF WHAT IT MUST CORRECT, AND THUS CANNOT NO LONGER SIN. AND IT NO LONGER NEEDS TO SIN TO CORRECT THE NEXT PORTION OF EGOISM; HENCE, THIS FINAL DEGREE REMAINS PERMANENTLY AND DOES NOT DISAPPEAR. Then, *Atik* gathers all the degrees, and they all manifest simultaneously.

Everyone has his own *Partzuf Atik*. How can one accelerate his advancement along the degrees of correction in this world and in the spiritual worlds? It is written in the Talmud that an old man bends as he walks, as if he's looking for something that he had lost.

An old man symbolizes someone of wisdom, *Hochma*, for even without having lost anything, he looks beforehand for things he can correct in himself, and thus finds them. Hence, he does not require the previous degree of attainment to disappear from him. And if one does not discover new egoistic properties in need of correction within him, his previous degree disappears and a new one begins. However, this process is considerably slower than when one acts like an old man in search of shortcomings.

Throughout the 6,000 years, *Atik* is defined as unattainable. Therefore, its head is called *RADLA* (an abbreviation for the Aramaic words, *Reisha de Lo Etiada*, the "unattainable head"), whereas the name *Atik* is derived from the word *Ne'etak* (isolated) from the lower ones, for it does not shine upon them.

And, although it accumulates within all the Lights that emerge from it itself and become revealed in the lower worlds, the Light of the end of correction remains concealed nonetheless. It follows that after each degree disappears due to the sins of the lower ones, it ascends to *Rosh de Atik* and conceals itself there.

However, *Guf de Atik*, from its *Peh* downward, is located inside all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, i.e., it is attainable by them. Thus, by clothing in the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, *Atik* shines through them and gives the Light to them and to all the lower worlds of *BYA*. And any Light that shines on creation during the 6,000 years comes only from *Guf de Atik*, and not from some other spiritual object.

We usually say that whatever is present in the *Rosh* of a *Partzuf* manifests in its *Guf*. This is also true with regard to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *AK* and all the other *Partzufim* in all the worlds, except in *Partzuf Atik*! This is so because *Atik* remains in *Tzimtzum Aleph* and descends down to our world. However, with regard to other *Partzufim* below it, *Atik* acts as though it is in *Tzimtzum Bet*, making a special *Zivug* on itself and the Light from it descends to the lower worlds.

The Light that comes to revive the worlds is called "sustenance" or *Ohr Hassadim*, and the Light that comes to stimulate the growth of the *Partzufim*, to turn a small *Partzuf* (*Katnut*) into a big one (*Gadlut*) is called *Ohr Hochma*. Both these Lights originate in *Guf de Atik*. *Ohr Hochma*, which makes a *Partzuf* big, is called the Light that elevates the *Partzuf*, for the lying position is called *Ibur* (embryo), the sitting position is called *Katnut* (small), and the standing position—*Gadlut* (big).

94. He slew two—Ariel and Moav (Moab). Two Holy Temples existed thanks to *Atik* and received from it: the First Temple and the Second Temple. Since *Atik's* disappearance, the process that stemmed from Above had ceased. It is as though he struck and destroyed them.

Only *Malchut de Malchut* must be corrected, and nothing else. All the other properties do not require correction. This *Malchut de Malchut* is *Malchut* of *Olam Ein Sof* (the World of Infinity), *Behina Dalet*, *Nukva de ZA* or *Partzuf BON*—the Creator's only creation, the will to receive (pleasure) for oneself. It is this desire that caused the breaking of the *Kelim* (vessels)—the sin of Adam.

And all the work of the righteous during the 6,000 years concerns the correction of *Malchut*, so she becomes precisely as she was prior to the breaking of the *Kelim* and the sin of Adam. As a result, the great *Zivug* on *Tzimtzum Aleph* in *Rosh de Atik* will be revealed. The Light of this *Zivug* enables man to sort and separate his impure desires from the pure ones, and thus forever rid himself of

the impure egoistic forces. This is exactly what Prophet Yeshayahu writes about: "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8).

Since *Malchut*, *Partzuf BON* of the world of *Atzilut*, is completely corrected already and does not require any further corrections, her *Partzuf BON* ascends to the level of *Partzuf SAG* of the world of *AK*. Thus, *Malchut* completely attains the properties of *Bina*.

However, meanwhile, after the great *Zivug* in *Atik*, but before the ascent of *Partzuf BON* to *SAG*, the Light of *Atik* stops shining. As a result, the two Temples were destroyed. The two temples are the two Lights of *Hochma*: the Light of *AVI*, *Ohr Hochma de Haya* that shines in the First Temple, and the Light of *YESHSUT*, *Ohr Neshama* that shines in the Second Temple. And all the Light that Israel received from *Atik* disappears.

However, all these destructions and disappearances of Light are corrections and milestones on the path to deliverance and complete correction. They signify not devastation, but creation of perfection, as they are precisely those final corrections that bring *BON* back to *SAG*.

Since all the roots and sources of what transpires in this world exist in the spiritual realm, and must all manifest once in our world, every spiritual root must "touch" its branch in our world, and it does not matter when this occurs. In the spiritual world, everything unfolds in accordance with a strict cause-and-effect process, whereas in our world those same consequences can manifest at a completely different time.

An example of this is the destruction of the First and the Second Temples. While this event has already transpired in our world, in the spiritual world it occurs only when the last stage of correction is attained. Due to the complexity of time-transcending notions, we will examine this matter in another book. However, one way or another, only our inner spiritual properties can become the Temple in which we will feel the Creator and in which He will forever dwell!

At the end of correction, *Ohr Haya* and *Ohr Neshama* will be called the First and the Second Temples, respectively. Also, until the end of correction, *Ohr Haya*, which is received on the *Zivug* of *Malchut* and included in *Yesod*, is called *Shabbat* (Sabbath), while *Ohr Neshama* is called *Hol* (weekdays). As we can see, there is absolutely no connection between these Lights and the days of the week in our world.

After the destruction of the spiritual Temples (the disappearance of Light), they will be recreated from Above by the screen of *Bina*, called "Heaven." This is because the screen of *Partzuf SAG* is a property of absolute mercy and is completely

unrestricted in its actions, desiring only to bestow and refrain from receiving *Ohr Hochma*. Thus, it is beyond the influence of any restrictions and limitations.

As a result of this *Zivug*, the two Temples will be restored forever, and "the Light of the Moon (*Malchut*) shall be as the Light of the Sun (*Bina*)" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:26). The Light of *Bina*, which is now the Light of ZA (called "the sun"), will be seven times more powerful, as *ZAT de Atik*. From there, this Light will descend to *AVI* and create the first seven days of creation, for ZA (the sun) will become like *AB* and contain the Light of *Guf de Atik*. *Malchut* will become like ZA and receive his Light, the Light of the sun.

At the end of correction, a *Zivug* on *Malchut* herself (the primordial, but corrected egoism) will transpire, and all the particular *Zivugim* that were made on all the Lights through the 6,000 years (made not on *Malchut*, but on her inclusion in *Yesod*) will thereby disappear.

The Temple will be restored from Heaven, for *Bina* herself does not wish to receive *Ohr Hochma*. And it will not occur because she cannot, but because she does not want to. This degree is referred to as "in the hands of Heaven." For example, it is written in the blessing on the new moon: "Life, which contains the fear of Heaven, and the fear of sinning." This life is above our reasoning and desires, for it is said that faith must be "above reason"; otherwise, sins will ensue.

Thus, one desires nothing more than to go by faith above his reason and desires, for he is afraid to sin. However, there exists an even Higher Degree: when he no longer fears sinning, as he now has a screen, but still prefers to proceed by faith above reason and desires, for he yearns to be dissolved in the Upper One.

The reason for the Light's disappearance from *Guf de Atik* prior to these corrections is that the two *Malchuyot* (*Bina* and *Malchut*, called *SAG* and *BON*) no longer exist. After the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, *BON* were annulled along with the screen of *SAG*, as *Guf de Atik* contains the connection between *Bina* and *Malchut*, designed for their interaction during the 6,000 years.

As a result of such interaction between *Bina* and *Malchut*, an opportunity arises to partially, gradually correct *Malchut*. In this mutual *Zivug* with *Malchut*, which is merged with *Bina* (*Bina's* properties), *Atik* first creates *AA* and then all the other *Partzufim* of the worlds of *Atzilut* and *BYA*.

And since the screen of *Malchut* (*Masach de BON*) now disappears, the screen of *Bina* (*Masach de SAG*) disappears as well, as they are merged together. In the absence of *Malchut* and the screen, this *Zivug* stops, and all the Light of *Guf de Atik* emanating from this *Zivug* on the mutual screen of *Malchut* and

Bina disappears. Therefore, all the Light that descended from its *Guf* (called Temples) disappeared.

In *Rosh de Atik* there is a *Zivug* on *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. Merged with *Bina* and existing for 6,000 years, the screen of *Malchut* disappears. As a result, the Light disappears as well. *Malchut* has yet to ascend to *SAG* to receive her perfection, as there is still no new Light. This complete absence of Light is called "destruction." However, *Malchut* then receives the Light of *AVI*, and the worlds of *BYA* merge with the world of *Atzilut*.

95. And the Holy Throne (*Malchut*) is overthrown. Hence, the prophet Yechezkel (Ezekiel) wrote, "I am in exile," signifying that the degree called "I," which is *Malchut*, is in exile. Why? "By the river *Kevar*." *Kevar* (already) is the river that had already existed, but has now disappeared. As it is written, "The river is destroyed and dried up." It was "destroyed" in the first Temple and "dried up" in the second. Hence, it is written: "He struck and destroyed both, Ariel and Moav." Moav (or *Mi Av*) means "from the Heavenly Father." They were all destroyed for Him, and all the Light that shone upon Israel disappeared.

The word *Kursa*, derived from the word *Kisse* (throne) or *Kissuy* (cover) signifies the combination of the properties of *Malchut* and *Bina*, which leads to the Light descending to *BYA* during the 6,000 years. The Holy Throne is overthrown, because the screen of *Bina* (*Kisse*) has been annulled, as it is said, "I am in exile," where "I" designates *Malchut*.

The entire spiritual complex is structured like a ladder, where *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* becomes (descends to) the *Keter* of the lower one. This is also indicated in the names: *Malchut* is called "I" (*Ani = Aleph-Nun-Yod*) and *Keter* is called "no" (*Ein = Aleph-Yod-Nun*), as it is completely unattainable. Only that which is perceived within *Malchut* can be attained; hence, it is called "I."

Only *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* acts as a link between the *Partzufim*: the Upper One makes a *Zivug* on its *Malchut*, creates *Ohr Hozer*, and receives (clothes) the Upper Light within it, and then *Malchut* of the Upper One descends to the lower *Partzuf* in the form of *Ohr Hozer*. This state of the Upper One clothing in the lower one is called the exile of the Upper One, for the *Zivug* with the Upper Light disappears from it, and the Upper Light disappears from all the *Partzufim*. And the river dries up—the corrected screen is called the "river," for it causes the Upper Light's descent to the lower ones.

However, now that the screen (river) disappears, the descent of the Upper Light disappears as well. The destruction of the river in the First Temple causes

the disappearance of *Ohr Haya*; the river in the Second Temple dries up, and *Ohr Neshama* vanishes along with it. The river in the First Temple is destroyed because the *Zivug* in *AVI* is stopped; the Light in *YESHSUT* is exhausted, and the river in the Second Temple dries up.

The source of *Ohr Haya* and *Neshama* is *Aba*, called the "Heavenly Father," for he shines in *ZA*, called "Heaven," with the Light that elevates *ZON* to *YESHSUT* (the Second Temple) and to *AVI* (the First Temple). Because the Light stops shining from *Guf de Atik*, all of the Light descending to Israel disappears. This refers not only to the Light of the two Temples, but to all of the Light shining upon Israel, including *Ohr VAK* and the Light in the worlds of *BYA*.

96. Further, He descended and struck the lion. Initially, when this river rolled its waters down, Israel was in a state of perfection, for they offered up gifts and sacrifices to atone for their sins and to save their souls. Then, the image of a lion would descend from Above, and they would see it on the altar as it trampled the bodies of the sacrifices, devouring them, and all the dogs (all those who slander Israel) would fall to silence.

The fire that consumes the sacrifices laid on the Temple altar resembled a lion, and towered over the sacrifices, like a lion (Talmud, *Yoma*, 21:2), and that fire burned the sacrifices laid down by the sons of Israel. However, this is a corporeal image that a regular person perceives in our world.

But we shall follow our higher analysis and detach ourselves from this corporeal image; we will explain the action in the spiritual world that this language actually alludes to. All the languages in the Torah, including that which describes a rather corporeal image of sacrifice, speak only of spiritual actions. The most precise language for the description of these actions is the language of Kabbalah. However, this language is clear only to those who have ascended to the spiritual worlds and see both the roots, i.e., the events that transpire in the spiritual worlds, as well as their corporeal consequences.

Before the Light of *Atik* disappeared, when the Upper Light still shone upon Israel, like a river rolling its waters, Israel was in a state of perfection: by means of sacrifice, it raised its *MAN* (request), thus evoking a *Zivug* on its screen, and *MAD* (the Light, abundance) descends on it. As a result of these actions, it grew closer to the Heavenly Father, and all the impure forces distanced from it, for it purified its souls, and purification signifies distancing from the impure forces (desires), the way a soiled garment is cleansed from dirt.

Hence, the Hebrew word for sacrifice is *Korban*, derived from the word *Karov* (near). Thus, sacrifice signifies a person tearing away a part of his inner

animal egoism for the sake of drawing closer to the Creator. This is what brings Israel closer to their Heavenly Father.

And since Israel existed in perfection and raised *MAN* for the Creator's pleasure alone, its *MAN* would ascend to *Bina*. The Light of *Bina* is called *Ohr Hassadim*, and its form resembles the image of a lion, like the property of bestowal, *Hesed*. This means that the lion-*Bina* receives Israel's good desires and deeds. And it was seen how *Bina* consumes Israel's *MAN*—*Ohr Hassadim* descends from *Bina* onto this *MAN*, like a lion trampling his prey (*MAN*) and devouring it.

A lion devouring its prey is the principal aspect of sacrifice, for it signifies raising *MAN* to strengthen a screen and create *Ohr Hozer*. And since the magnitude of the received *Ohr Yashar* is determined by the magnitude (height) of *Ohr Hozer*, which creates the screen, it follows that existence and growth of *Ohr Yashar* is dependent on the *Ohr Hozer*. The greater the *Ohr Hozer*, the greater the descending *Ohr Yashar* becomes.

In other words, to the extent that every one of us desires to "bestow," he evokes a corresponding response from Above, from the root of his soul. And just as in our world a living being's life and strength depend on nutrition (it simply dies without it), the Upper Light depends on the Light reflected by the screen. When it stops, the Upper Light disappears from the *Partzuf*, i.e., man stops feeling it.

The Upper Light descends from *Bina* as *Ohr Yashar* (called a "lion"), i.e., in the form of "bestowal," in accordance with *Bina's* nature. And man sees (feels!) how *Ohr Yashar* clothes in *Ohr Hozer*, which ascends from its sacrifice (rejection of egoism), the lion's nourishment.

It devours its prey and thereby grows: the extent of Israel's perfection and their ability to offer sacrifices, to "bestow," determines the magnitude of their *MAN* and the force with which the *Ohr Yashar* strikes the screen, which reflects the Direct Light (pleasure) from below upwards with all its might. Moreover, it does so in great fear: for what if it fails to reflect the Light and desires to enjoy the Light of this commandment selfishly?

That is precisely where one's work lies. It is called "faith above reason," for it must rise above one's reason (egoism) and intellect. Conversely, those who receive inner confidence that it is enough to advance within one's nature are called "sacred still," a pure inanimate (non-developing) being, as such reason prevents them from spiritual growth.

Therefore, if the height of *Ohr Hozer* is great, it is defined as a lion that tears and devours its prey, as a victor, for it grows and ascends to a higher spiritual level thanks to the efforts of the lower one (man).

The impure force, the selfish will to receive pleasure is called "a dog," as it is written: "The leech has two daughters (who demand): Give-give." (*Mishley*, 30:15). They bark like a dog, and demand (to receive) both this world and the next. And the Higher One ascends, the stronger this impure force, called *Klipa*, becomes. And its strongest part corresponds to *Ohr Yechida*, opposite the lion devouring its prey).

The lion represents mercy and bestowal, unwillingness to receive anything for oneself. As it is written in *The Ethics of the Fathers*, 95: "A *Chassid*, the merciful righteous one, says, 'What's yours is yours, and what's mine is yours,'" so is the impure force (dog) aimed wholly at reception, and has no aspiration to bestow. As it is said in the Talmud (*Bava Batra*, 10:2), "The righteous among the nations of the world: all their mercy is for themselves alone;" hence, they are connected to the impure force of a dog. (Under no circumstances should any of this be interpreted literally, for, as it was repeatedly explained, the whole of the Kabbalah speaks only of man's-prototype. Israel is one's inner aspiration to the Creator, and *Goy* (a gentile) signifies egoism (regardless of and unrelated to one's origin). Relate this to the above-mentioned corporeal and spiritual Temples, where there is no connection between rocks and spiritual objects. It is also unclear to the uninitiated why altruism is the property of a lion, while a dog, a loyal animal, is the root of egoism and impurity).

It is therefore said that when Israel was perfect, it acquired the property of a lion, and all the dogs left it be, for it gave *Malchut* the strength to raise *Ohr Hozer* to great heights (devoured its prey, like a victor), and the impure force, like a dog, was afraid to come near it, and would hide in fear of the lion.

97. Yet, when sins increased, he descended to the lower degrees and slew the lion. This was because the lion refused to give up its prey as before, and this is as though he killed it. Therefore, he struck the lion and threw it into a pit, to the Evil Side (according to his understanding). The Evil Side saw this and sent a dog to devour the sacrifices from the altar in the lion's stead. What is the name of that lion? And what is the nickname of that dog? Baladan is its name; Baladan is formed by the words *Bal-Adam*, where the letter *Mem* is replaced by *Nun*, for he is not a human being at all, but a dog, and his face is like a muzzle of a dog.

("He" refers to Benayahu Ben Yehoyada Ben Ish Chai, *Rav Paalim u Mekabtziel*, in whom the degree of *Atik*, all of the Light, shines all at once.) Due to the disappearance of the screens of *Malchut* (*BON*) and *Bina* (*SAG*), Israel below could no longer raise *MAN* (the will to "bestow," the screen, the lion's nourishment). The *Zivug* stopped, and the Upper Light (lion) disappeared in its Root Above.

"Threw it into a pit"—the root of the desire to receive for one's own sake is in the eyes, as Rashi said: "The eye sees, and the heart burns with desire" (The weekly portion *Shlach*). This will to receive for oneself is called an "empty, waterless pit" (*Beresheet*, 37:24). The Upper Light does not fill it. Although it is empty, it is unworthy of being a vessel for the Light, as it is written: "He and I cannot dwell in the same abode" (Talmud, *Suta*, 5).

Thus, the lion was thrown into a pit, for it was struck before the eyes of the impure egoistic force, called an "empty, waterless pit." And these pits now emerge from their hideouts and reveal their power, and in place of a lion appears a barking dog.

ZA-MA = 45 is called Adam = *Aleph* + *Dalet* + *Mem* = 1 + 4 + 40 = 45, when he receives the Light from *Bina*. The property of *Bina* is bestowal. Hence, it is written: "Man is your name" (Talmud, *Yevamot*, 61), referring only to those who attain the property of bestowal, but not to the others, of whom it is said: "Even their mercy is only for their profit" (Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 10:2), and who are therefore called Baladan (Bal-Adan).

98. On a day of snow, on the day misfortunes descend from the Supernal Court Above, it is written, "Her household shall not fear snow," that is, the Supernal Court, called "snow." For her household is clothed twofold, and can thereby endure a strong fire. So the book says.

Strictness, judgment (*Din*) or restriction imposed on the use of egoism in the male part is called "snow" that stems from the Supernal Court. These restrictions are very powerful, but are mitigated below the *Chazeh*, where *Malchut* receives them. *Nukva* describes these restrictions in the following way: "Surround me with roses," (*Shir HaShirim*, 2) referring to two fires: the Upper—*Bina*, and the lower, her own—*Malchut*.

After *Malchut* acquires these two fires, she weakens the strictness of the cold snow with her fire. Hence, it is written in *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs) that her household shall not fear snow (the Supernal Court), i.e., the restrictions imposed on the male part, for her household is clothed twofold. In other words, on the contrary, the snow helps her withstand the heat of her fire. And only now that the screen and *Zivug* are gone, and the two fires are no more, the restrictions of the snow return.

99. What is written next? "And he struck an Egyptian." This refers to a secret: every time Israel sinned, the Creator would conceal Himself and restrict them from receiving all the goodness and all the Light that He shone upon them. "He struck an Egyptian." "He" refers to Moshe, the Light that shines upon Israel. For in Egypt he was born, grew up, and attained the Supernal Light.

The Torah speaks not of man, but of the Light that disappeared and concealed itself. Hence, it is defined as "slain." Gone is the great Light, with which Moshe shone upon Israel. And this Light is called the "Egyptian," for in Egypt Moshe was born, grew up, and attained the great Supernal Light, the Light that delivered Israel from Egypt.

100. A man of mirror. It is written, mirror and man, as it is written, a Godly man, the husband of that mirror, of the Creator's glory, *Malchut*. For with this degree he merited ruling over the entire land in all of his desire—a feat unmatched by any other.

The difference between Moshe and the other prophets is that Moshe is the foundation of *ZA*, as he constructs and passes the Light from *ZA* to *Malchut*, whereas the other prophets are the foundation of *Malchut*, and receive from her. Hence, it is written of him: "Godly man," the husband of *Malchut*, called the "Creator's greatness." And why is Moshe called the husband of *Malchut*? Because he attained the level of *ZA* and gives the Light to *Malchut*. Therefore, it is written that his attainments are beyond anyone else's, for the other prophets receive from *Malchut*, and are therefore ruled by her.

He who attains *Malchut* receives from her. The degree called Moshe means that he who attains it gives the Light to *Malchut*, instead of receiving from her. Yet, how can this be? How can one possibly rise above *Malchut* if all our souls originate from her and exist in the worlds of *BYA*? This indicates the state of ascent above *Malchut*, which is how Moshe ascends to *Bina*.

101. This is the Creator's staff that was delivered to him, as it is written, "With the Creator's staff in my hand." This is the staff that was created on the evening of the sixth day of the creation, before *Shabbat*. And His Holy Name is contained in it. And with this staff Moshe sinned by striking it twice against the rock. The Creator said to him: "Moshe, it is not for this purpose that I have not given you My staff; thus, it will no longer be in your possession henceforth."

The words "evening" and "twilight" signify the state of mitigation of *Malchut's* strictness by the properties of *Bina* to an extent that it becomes impossible to distinguish *Malchut* from *Bina*. This is because on *Shabbat*, *Malchut* ascends to *AVI* and becomes *Bina*. However, on the twilight of *Shabbat*, *Malchut* is not yet *Bina*, but is no longer *Malchut* (everything in the book speaks only of the properties of spiritual objects, for nothing but desires exists in the spiritual worlds. Only in our world are desires clothed in physical bodies).

Hence, it is said that ten things were created in the twilight, when there is no distinction between the thing itself and its origin, *Bina* or *Malchut*, for *Malchut* herself shows no distinction. And such is the property of the staff that was created in the twilight, before the world's first *Shabbat*. Hence, it possesses the holy (special) property of the Creator's name, an allusion to the properties of *Bina*, from which holiness (altruism) descends. And *Malchut* is ready to receive this holiness.

And these two properties of *Bina* and *Malchut* are contained in the Creator's staff, utterly indistinguishable from one another, for they were created in the twilight. Hence, with the help of this staff, i.e., by means of the property of uniting *Malchut* with *Bina*, all the fortunes and wonders, all of the Light can be brought to Israel, for this is the purpose behind the Light's descent from *Bina* to *Malchut*. With the help of this property (the staff), Moshe merited an ascent to *Bina*, up to the degree of "Godly man." Therefore, the staff is called the Creator's staff, according to the name of *Bina*.

Malchut is called *Tzur* (rock), and upon ascending to *Bina*, she is called *Sela* (another name for a rock). The inner *Zivug* between *ZON* (*ZA* and *Malchut*) in the state of their ascent to *AVI*, when *Nukva* uses *Ima's Kelim*, is called "speech." The outer *Zivug* between *ZON*, when they are in their own place, is called "*Zivug de Hakaa*" (a *Zivug* by Striking).

It is hence written to Moshe in the weekly Torah portion *Bashalach*: "You shall strike the rock (*Tzur*), and it shall bring forth water" (*Shemot*, 17:6), for a *Zivug de Hakaa* occurs within *Malchut* herself. However, it is written in the weekly portion *Chukat*: "Speak ye unto the rock before all eyes, that it give forth its water" (*Bamidbar*, 20:8), for the "rock" is in *Bina*, and the *Zivug* within her is called "speech."

And herein lies the sin of Moshe: he struck twice: in addition to first striking the *Tzur*, he struck the *Sela*, which lacks the strike, and only has a *Zivug* in the form of speech. Since there is no distinction in the Creator's staff, and it is unclear whether it refers to *Malchut* or to *Bina*, he also applied it to *Sela-Bina*. And the Creator told him that the staff was given to him to use with *Tzur*, but not with *Sela*.

102. At once He descended to him in strictness and wrenched the staff from the Egyptian's hand, for the moment the staff was taken from him, it was taken for good. And he was killed by it: because of the sin of striking the rock with the staff, he died and did not enter the Holy Land. And that Light was concealed from Israel.

It was already mentioned in item 94 that as a result of a great *Zivug* in *Atik*, only *BON* were supposed to disappear, but not *SAG*, for *BON* could have immediately risen and forever become like *SAG*. However, as *SAG* and *BON* were merged, *SAG* disappeared together with *BON*.

The Light of Moshe disappeared from Israel for the same reason—because he committed an even greater sin and harmed the union of *BON* and *SAG* by striking the *Sela*. Hence, harsh judgment descended upon him, which refers to the disappearance of the Light of *SAG*. Indeed, *SAG* is no longer connected to *BON* in any way, and the annulment of *BON* has no influence on it.

This is the meaning of what is written in Psalms: "He resembled those who draw axes at a copse of trees, but now all of his adornments are smashed by hatchets and axes" (*Tehilim*, 74:5). Due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, and her correction there, *Malchut* is like a "copse of trees," for *SAG*, too, is annulled by the merging with *BON*, *Malchut's* ascent, as if struck with "hatchets and axes."

Hence, it is written that the staff was taken from the Egyptian, and will never return to him, for the staff refers to *Malchut*. So the Light disappears for good, because *BON* renews itself afterwards and becomes *SAG* forever. Thus, it is no longer necessary to use the staff for striking.

It is written in this regard that he was slain by the same staff, for had he been careful and used it only once—striking the *Tzur*, but not the *Sela*—*SAG* would not have been annulled together with *BON*, and he would not have died. Instead, he would have immediately risen to *SAG*.

This is why it is written that Moshe shall not enter the Holy Land, Israel, as Israel is *BON* in the state of ascent to *SAG*, and it is called the Holy Land, for the Light of *Bina* (called the Holy Light) shines in it. However, until the end of correction arrives, there are still ascents and descents, which cause destructions (disappearance of the Light) and revelations (shining of the Light). But at the end of correction, *BON* will remain within *SAG* permanently as *Eretz Israel*, and there shall be no more exiles from it.

103. "The most respected of the thirty" refers to the Upper One that receives from Above and passes downward, one that receives and brings closer. However, he does not go to the first three, but they come to him and give to him wholeheartedly, but he does not come to them.

GAR (*HBD*) are called "thirty," as each of the three *Sefirot HBD* consists of ten, which amounts to thirty. And their Light shines in all of the 6,000 years. The soul of Benayahu appears out of the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, which accumulates

all the *Zivugim* during the 6,000 years. Hence, it is called *Rav Paalim* (performing many actions) and *Mekabtziel* (gathering all into one degree-*Partzuf*, called Benayahu Ben Yehoyada).

Therefore, he receives the Light of all of the Supernal Thirty, which descends to his soul. Indeed, he consists of particular *Zivugim* that have transpired through the 6,000 years, which he gathers into one. And, although they give him the best of their properties wholeheartedly, he still cannot draw closer to them and subsequently receive from them. This is because the disappearance of the screen in *ZON* made the screen in *SAG* disappear as well. Hence, he cannot come to them, raise *MAN*, and receive from them further.

104. Despite not being considered one of them, David heard the meaning that is never detached from the heart, for they can never be separated. David paid attention with all his heart, but he did not pay attention to David. For by the praises, hymns, and mercy that the moon offers the sun, the moon draws the sun closer so as to be with it.

David is *Malchut*; *Malchut* comes from the word *Melech* (King). Therefore, David is King, for his properties are the properties of *Malchut* (kingdom). And this is the fourth leg (support) of *GAR*. Hence, it is written that although he cannot be together with the thirty (*GAR*), he nonetheless clings to these properties, and never detaches himself from them.

This is because *Malchut's* entire perfection is revealed in him, for it stems from the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, which destroys all the impure forces of *BON*, as it is said: "He destroys evil forever."

Therefore, David resolved to never part with it again, for it is his perfection. However, Benayahu Ben Yehoyada paid no attention to David, as David is the fourth support of *GAR*. Hence, it is as though he is unable to receive from *GAR*. And since he cannot receive from David, he pays no attention to him.

With the help of the *MAN* of *Malchut* (called *Se'ara*—stormy wind), which is raised to *ZA* (called "Heaven"), as a result of the hymns, praises, and mercy, *Malchut* receives the Light of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada's soul, which is absolute perfection, and merges with it for all eternity.

105. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba fell down on their faces before him and could not see him anymore, then rose and went in every direction, but could not see him. They sat and wept, and could not even speak to one another. Then, Rabbi Aba said, "It is true what we have learned, that the Torah accompanies the righteous on all their paths. The righteous of the other world come to

them to reveal to them the secrets of the Torah. And this must have been Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, who came to us from the other world to reveal these secrets to us. But before we could recognize him, he vanished." They rose and wanted to lead their donkeys on, but could not. They repeatedly tried to goad the donkeys, but still they could not move. They grew frightened and left their donkeys behind. And to this day this place is called "the place of donkeys."

Because they could not bear such a powerful Light, which was revealed to them upon the disclosure of those secrets, they fell (*Katnut*) and then rose (*Gadlut*), for it was so unbearable. After they merited receiving from it such a great degree, this Light disappeared at once and did not reappear, and they could not attain it anymore. Hence, they wept (a kind of *Katnut*) out of great grief that they had lost such exalted attainment, and they could not speak (absence of *Kelim*).

The bitterness of their loss made them realize that it was the degree of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself, and not lower, as they had mistakenly thought before. The forces that they received from the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba are called "donkeys," with which they can raise *MAN*, the request to attain Higher Degrees, *Haya* and *Yechida*.

In other words, the soul is a spiritual force of Light; like a pulling force of a donkey that helps overcome egoistic desires and move from place to place in the spiritual world, onto a Higher Degree. To raise *MAN* means to feel what is lacking and what needs to be attained—this is what man's work is all about.

Such is the work of a righteous soul—it helps man by lifting him up onto his donkey (egoism) and taking the lead (pulling) in order to illuminate (give strength) for him the path of the righteous. And now, when its role has been completed, this soul disappears, although they would have very much liked to continue ascending and riding its donkeys, i.e., they wished to raise *MAN* anew to return and attain once more.

However, they could no longer receive the strength to raise *MAN*. Thus, they were struck by fear and left their donkeys in that place, which is hence called "the place of donkeys," for they could not use them any longer.

106. Rabbi Elazar opened and said: "Oh, how great is Your goodness, which You have hidden away for those who fear You! (*Tehilim*, 31:20). How infinite is the goodness that the Creator shall bestow on humankind in the future, on those sin-fearing, exalted righteous, who study the Torah as they arrive at that Upper World."

The words "great goodness" refer to *Gadlut*, the attainment of the Light of *GAR*. For the basis of a *Partzuf* is its *VAK*—the amount of Light necessary for its

existence, received from the *Zivug* of *AVI*, who make this *Zivug* and emit *Ohr Hassadim*, necessary to sustain the worlds. And all the extra Light, necessary for existence, is called *GAR* or *Ohr Hochma*—the additional, delectable and great Light.

This *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *GAR*, stems from *Bina*, which is called "the world to come." It is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* that emerges from a *Zivug* of the *Sefira Yesod* (*Chai Olamim*—life of the worlds), and from there descends to the righteous who fear to sin.

The *Zivug* of *AVI*, when they are at the degree of *Bina*, gives *Ohr Hassadim* to *ZA* for the sustenance of the worlds. However, when *AVI* ascend to *AA* and beget new souls by their *Zivug*, their *Zivug* is inconstant, as it emits *Ohr Hochma*, called "new souls."

107. The name "great goodness" can be further described as containing all the secrets of the Supernal wisdom, which descend from ZA to *Malchut*. There is a great tree, called ZA or *Rav* (great, strong), and there is a small tree, *Malchut*, which grows from it. And it is elevated to the Highest Firmament.

In addition to the attainment of the Light of *GAR*, there is also the inner part of the Supernal wisdom with its secrets, which become revealed in the *Zivug* of *Atik* at the completion of the 6,000 years, the end of correction. *MA* designates the lower world, *Malchut*. The great and strong tree is *ZA* in the state of ascent to *Partzuf AB*, as in this state he receives *Ohr Hochma*, and *Hochma* signifies strength (not "reason—strength" but the strength of *Ohr Hochma* lies in the fact that it allows one to go against reason, in defiance of common sense, in faith above reason).

However, when *ZA* is in his place, he is simply called "a tree," for he lacks *Ohr Hochma* and has only *VAK*, *Ohr Hassadim*. *Malchut* is also called a tree and grows together with *ZA*; *ZA* ascends to *Aba*, to the utmost height, to the Supernal Firmament—*Atik*.

108. The "great goodness" is the Light that was created on the first day of creation and concealed so as to be revealed in the future for the righteous in the other world. Your Deeds are the Supernal Garden of Eden, which the Creator has created by His act.

The Light that was created on the first day of creation is the Light in which Adam saw from one end of the world to the other. Hence, the word "Light" is used five times in the Torah's description of the first day of creation. This Light is intended for the righteous in the world to come, for it is concealed in *Yesod de Aba* and in *Yesod de Ima*, which are collectively called "righteousness and justice."

(In Hebrew, the words *Tzedek*—justice and *Tzadik*—righteous/just have the same root. This name is given to one who attains the Creator's governance and sees that His governance is just; hence, he justifies all of the Creator's actions, and is thus called righteous. The other meaning of the word 'righteous' refers to man's belief that the Creator is righteous, because in spirituality, one assumes the name of the degree one has attained. If he attains that the Creator is righteous by receiving this knowledge from the degree onto which he ascends, then he is already called by the name of that degree.)

Ohr Hochma can be received only in "precious garments," called righteousness and justice, that is, only with these intentions. The above excerpt speaks of an open action, implying unrestricted diffusion of Light, as it will be after the end of all the corrections. In the Torah, such a state is called "the Supernal Garden of Eden."

In the meantime, only the complete and perfect righteous ones, the souls of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada and others that merited reception of Light from the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, gather all the Light of the 6,000 years. These souls' place of rest is referred to as the Garden of Eden.

There exists the lower Garden of Eden of earth, which is *VAK*, and the Supernal one, *GAR*. All the souls dwell in the lower Garden of Eden, and only on new moons and Sabbaths do they ascend to the Supernal Garden of Eden, and then return to their place. However, there are individual, special persons (souls), whose place is in the Supernal Garden of Eden. These are the souls of which Rabbi Shimon says: "I saw them ascending, but their numbers were few."

109. All the righteous stand in the lower Garden of Eden, clothed in precious adornments, similar in quality and form to those which they wore in this world, meaning in the same form as people in this world and according to man's actions in this world. They stand there and fly away through the air, ascend to the Assembly in the Supernal Garden of Eden, fly there and bathe in the dew of the pure river of *Apharsemon* (persimmon), then come down and fly below in the lower Garden of Eden.

The main difference between *GAR* and *ZAT* with regard to both *Partzufim* and souls is that *GAR* (*KHB*) do not need the garment of *Hassadim*. They can receive *Ohr Hochma* as it is. However, *Partzufim* of *VAK* and the souls born from *ZON*, whose basis is *VAK* (*Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*), can only receive *Ohr Hochma* when it is clothes in *Ohr Hassadim*.

The *Ruach de Tzadikim* (spirit of the righteous) in the lower Garden of Eden is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, just as human souls in this world. And with the help

of these precious garments, they can ascend to the Supernal Garden of Eden and there receive *Ohr Hochma*. Afterwards, they return to their place in the lower Garden of Eden, for that is their permanent place.

They ascend by the power of *Ohr Hassadim*, called "air," and fly to the Supernal Garden of Eden to receive *Ohr Hochma*, called the river of *Apharsemon*. However, they cannot stay there, so they immediately descend from the Supernal Garden of Eden to the lower. *The Zohar* compares them to human souls, for both the Upper and the lower human souls need to receive the garment of *Ohr Hassadim* in order to correct themselves and ascend.

110. And sometimes these righteous appear as people in order to perform miracles, like celestial angels, just as we have seen the luminescence of the Upper Light, but did not merit to see and discover the wisdom's great secrets.

DID NOT MERIT TO DISCOVER THE WISDOM'S GREAT SECRETS—for the donkey driver had left them and disappeared. There are special souls that abide in the Supernal Garden of Eden. They have risen so high that the souls from the lower Garden of Eden ascend to them only on new moons and Sabbaths, and, being unable to stay there, immediately descend to their permanent place. However, they are nonetheless similar to human souls, which descend from the Supernal Garden of Eden to this world and meet people, just like the angels that seldom descend to this world.

Now they have seen the Light of the Supernal Luminary, the Light of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba that descended on them from the highest point, the Supernal Garden of Eden, and was revealed before them in this world (while they are still living in this world).

AS PEOPLE refers to the souls that abide in the lower Garden of Eden, which have the form of people, and the Light of the Supernal Garden of Eden influences them. They can receive this Light during their ascent on new moons and Sabbaths, whereupon they merit meeting the souls of the Supernal Garden of Eden, and then descend to their permanent place.

However, one may also say that the words AS PEOPLE refer to the people of our corporeal world, while the souls from the Supernal Garden of Eden sometimes descend to this world and, like exalted angels, appear before the eyes of the righteous.

111. Rabbi Aba opened and said: "And he who is doomed said to his wife, 'We shall die, for I have seen the Creator.' Even though he was not aware of his actions, as it is written, 'He did not know that it was an angel'; however,

since it is written, 'Man shall not see Me and live,' we know that he has died. And we have merited this great Light to accompany us, and the world exists because the Creator Himself sent him to us, to reveal the secrets of His Supernal wisdom to us. How joyous is our share!"

When the angel saw him who was doomed, he did not yet have the proper level of attainment; thus, the angel was unwilling to reveal his name. Yet, although he did not know and did not attain him, he still feared the words, "Man shall not see Me and live" (*Shemot*, 33:20).

But we have merited complete attainment, for we came to know his name, Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. And we live and exist in this world. It is therefore clear that the degree of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba is called "Show me Your glory" (*Shemot*, 33:18), Moshe's request of the Creator.

But the Creator replied: "You cannot see My face, for man shall not see Me and live." From this we see that they have attained more than Moshe. This state is described by sages as, "There was no prophet more exalted than Moshe, but there was a sage" (*Yalkut Shimoni*, the end). It is also written: "A sage is preferred to a prophet" (Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 12:1). Thus, they have spiritually ascended to merit the appearance of such an exalted soul, while still being in this world.

112. They walked and came to a mountain. The sun had set. The branches of the tree on that mountain started rattling and singing. As they were still walking, they heard a resounding voice proclaim, "Sons of the Holy Creator, dispersed among the living in this world, illuminated by the sons of the Assembly, gather in your places and rejoice with your Creator in the Torah." They grew frightened and stopped, then sat down.

"They came to a mountain" refers to the words of King David, who said (*Tehilim*, 24:3): "Who shall ascend the mountain of the Lord, and who shall stand in His holy place?" meaning who is worthy of it? After they climbed the mountain, the sun had set (the Light left the *Partzuf*). But they heard something from the trees, as it is written: "Then shall all the trees of the wood sing for joy" (*Tehilim*, 96:12).

They heard a voice that told them to return to their place, rejoice in the Creator and His Torah, and descend from the mountain. And it calls them by the name of that High Degree, which they've achieved. But it hints that people are not worthy of being at that degree and in this world simultaneously. Yet, although they were frightened, they remained on the mountain, sat down, and did not move. "Grew frightened," "stopped," and "sat down" are the spiritual states of the *Partzuf*.

We see how *The Zohar* explains the path of the righteous, those who cross the *Machsom* (the barrier that separates our world from the spiritual) and start ascending the rungs of the spiritual ladder. This path is diverse, and each book of the Torah describes it in its own way: the language of Kabbalah, legends, judicial laws, historical accounts of the Pentateuch, etc.. *The Zohar* draws a vivid picture for us—like a guidebook for those who will find themselves in the place of these exalted travelers in the spiritual world. Once there, you will see for yourselves what is implied by such notions as "mountain," "tree," and "voice." Then *The Zohar* will become your true guidebook!

It is impossible to provide a more detailed description of the *Partzufim*, i.e., an inner perception of one who ascends spiritually. This is because the reader must first have certain analogous sensations of his own. If one could see only once what the described content (or something similar) really means, one would be able to clearly imagine what it speaks of.

It is the same in our world: even if we have never been to a certain country, we can imagine what others describe to us by analogy with what we already know. But in this case, there is no analogy. One who sees the spiritual world for the first time realizes how wrong all of his previous visualizations have been! Hence, we can say nothing about many of the states described in *The Zohar*.

113. Meanwhile, a voice called out again, "O, mighty rocks, great hammers of thunder, *Bina* stands upon a pillar, so enter and assemble." At that moment, they heard the mighty voice of thousands of trees, which was saying, "The Creator's voice breaks the cedars." Both Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba fell down on their faces. Great fear fell upon them. They rose hastily and left, not hearing anything else, then came down the mountain and kept on walking.

It was previously said that they could not load their donkeys, meaning that they were unable to raise *MAN*, because Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba had already completed his helping mission. This is why they lost the power of their donkeys, and could not continue using them to raise *MAN* and merit Higher Degrees.

Therefore, Rabbi Elazar said earlier that they did not merit seeing and attaining the secrets of the Supernal wisdom. The fact is that after they attained the level of *Yechida*, i.e., revealed the soul of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada with the help of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, the disappearance of the screen (*Masach*) of *BON* caused the loss of *Masach de SAG*. Hence, they could no longer raise *MAN*.

The Light stopped descending to them from *Guf de Atik* specifically to give them the opportunity, or rather the strength to recreate *Masach de SAG*.

Consequently, *BON* will become like *SAG*, they will resume raising *MAN*, and will once more be able to ascend from degree to degree.

Hence, as soon as both Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba left their donkeys, they lost strength to raise *MAN* in order to bring *BON* back to the level of *SAG*. However, the voice proclaimed that they are as strong as rock and thunder, for so far they have endured all the trials. And they will gather strength to endure the mighty rocks and to overcome all the obstacles as before, until they obliterate these obstacles, like great hammers of thunder crashing down from Above.

Bina, though herself colorless, is called "the source of colors." This is because she is all mercy, whereas all the other properties originate specifically from her by enduring all the trials, like rocks. From all this, *Bina* receives new forms, hence she received the powers of a new screen onto which emerge all the new degrees and *Partzufim*.

Together with the voice that informed them of *Bina's* new powers, they heard another voice, "The Creator's voice breaks the cedars" (*Tehilim*, 29:5), which let them know that all the cedars (obstacles) on their path to higher attainments have been removed. This gave them strength to climb down the mountain and continue their path onto Higher Degrees.

114. Upon reaching the house of Rabbi Yosi, the son of Rabbi Shimon Ben Yosi Ben Lakunya, they saw Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai. They rejoiced. Rabbi Shimon rejoiced, too. He said to them, "You have traveled this path of Heavenly signs and wonders correctly, for as I was sleeping, I saw you and Benayahu Ben Yehoyada, who was sending you two crowns with an old man, so as to adorn you. I am certain that the Creator was on this path too, because I see how your faces have changed." Rabbi Yosi said, "Truly, it is said that a sage is preferred to a prophet." Rabbi Elazar came and put his head on the knees of his father, Rabbi Shimon, and told him of what had happened.

Here *The Zohar* gives an allegorical explanation of two states: first, they merited attaining the Light of *SAG* (called Rabbi Yosi) once more, and secondly, now *SAG* and *AB* join in a constant *Zivug*. We see this from their meeting with Rabbi Shimon, who signifies *Ohr Hochma*. In other words, they merited their *BON* returning and becoming like *SAG* in its constant and eternal *Zivug* with *AB*.

Benayahu Ben Yehoyada sent them two crowns through Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba: *Ohr Yechida*, called Benayahu Ben Yehoyada himself, and a new Light *AB-SAG*, which they have just attained. This Light also came to them by the powers of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada as a reward for overcoming all the trials, thanks to

which they, of all others, merited this degree, which is emanated from the great Light of his soul.

Hence, it follows that he sent them two crowns. However, all these descents on their spiritual path were not failures; rather, the Creator Himself was leading them to that High Degree, which they have now attained. This is why it is written: I AM CERTAIN THAT THE CREATOR WAS ON THIS PATH (with you). However, HOW YOUR FACES HAVE CHANGED, for you have attained something else, described by the phrase, A SAGE IS PREFERRED TO A PROPHET.

115. Rabbi Shimon was frightened and wept. He said, "I have heard the Creator and I am awed." This verse was spoken by the prophet Havakuk (Habakkuk), when he saw his death and his resurrection by Elisha. Why was he named Havakuk? Because it is written that at around this time there would be a *HOVVEK-ET*—a son will be embraced. For Havakuk was the son of the Shunamit. And there were two embraces: one from the mother and one from Elisha, as it is written, "He put his mouth to his."

First, it is unclear how the prophet Elisha could pass a seed in his blessing to the Shunamit, for this seed cannot exist (procreate). Indeed, Elisha was the greatest prophet after Moshe and his soul came from the Supernal Garden of Eden. Hence, his *BON* (in Hebrew, the words *Ben*—son and *BON* are spelled the same way: *Bet-Nun*) was already absolutely pure and perfect.

Therefore, when he passed his son to her, he tied him to the male side, whereas he tied Havakuk only to the female side. And since the female side, *Nukva*, is closer to the impure force, it clung itself to him, and he died. Thus, the reason for his death lies in the exalted level of the prophet, for his *BON* is pure and free from the clinging of impure forces.

Hence, the prophet prayed: "The Creator has hidden it from me and had not told me!" (*Melachim II*, 4:27). In other words, he had not the slightest clue that he could die by being connected only to *BON*. That is why it was necessary to return, revive, and attach him to the Upper World, to the resurrection of the dead.

The essence of the embryo is the white (*Ohr Hochma*) in it, as it is written (Talmud, *Nidah*, 31:1) that *Aba* (father) is *Hochma*, for *Hochma* is called "white," as it is said, "He made everything with *Hochma* (wisdom)" (*Tehilim*, 104). However, there is also a need for clothing in *Ohr Hassadim*, the intention "for the Creator's sake," as it is impossible to receive *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of Wisdom, attainment and delight, without the clothing of *Ohr Hassadim*, without an altruistic intention.

So the mother must provide the red, the screen, which provides *Ohr Hassadim*, required for the clothing of *Ohr Hochma* in it. As a result of the *Ohr Hassadim* embracing (clothing, enveloping) *Ohr Hochma* in itself, an embryo can exist. And here the embryo's entire embrace came only from the mother, the Shunamit, i.e., only from the female side (*BON*).

Hence, when Elisha revived him, he gave him the white (*Hochma*) and the red (*Hassadim*) once more. It follows that it was Elisha himself who embraced him the second time. It is hence said that there were two Havakuks (from the word *Hibuk*—embrace): one from the mother and the other from Elisha.

116. I have discovered in the book of King Solomon that the name Havakuk consists of seventy-two names. Elisha created it with words. Each word consists of three letters, for the letters of the alphabet that the Father confirmed to him initially flew away when he died. But Elisha embraced him and confirmed in him all these letters in his seventy-two names. In all, there are 216 letters in his seventy-two names, three letters in each.

The embryo is built of 216 = *RYU* (*Reish* = 200 + *Yod* = 10 + *Vav* = 6) letters, designating *Ohr Hochma*, which descends to *YESHSUT*. This means that the embryo has *RYU* letters, which amounts to the *Gematria* of *RE'IYAH* = *Reish-Aleph-Yod-Hey*, i.e., the Light of vision. *Re'iyah* means vision in Hebrew, and vision is possible only in *Ohr Hochma*, for "seeing" means "attaining," and the Light of the eyes is the Light of *Hochma*.

When a growing *Partzuf* attains *Gadlut*, receives the clothing of *Ohr Hassadim* of the Upper World from *AVI*, and *RYU* clothe in *Ohr Hassadim*, this *Partzuf* is called *AB* (72) names, as each three letters join into one and *RYU* = 216 letters turn into *AB* = seventy-two groups with three letters in each group, or *AB* = seventy-two names.

When *Ohr Hassadim*, the clothing of the *Partzuf*, comes only from the lower world, it is defined as *RYU* = 216 letters. And when it attains *AB*, *Hassadim* of the Upper World, each three letters form a group, and this results in *AB* = seventy-two names, as it is written, HE CONFIRMED IN HIM ALL THESE LETTERS. When Elisha revived Havakuk, the son of the Shunamit, he created the name Havakuk, *AB* = seventy-two letters from *RYU* = 216, for he gave him *Ohr Hassadim* of the Upper World from *AB*.

Because of it, all 216 letters made groups of three and formed three lines from Above downwards: right, left and middle. A cell made of three letters—the right, left, and middle lines, situated horizontally (referring to the same screen and type of *Kli*)—is regarded as one. Therefore, *AB* (seventy-two) letters is used

instead of *AB* (seventy-two) names, because each letter is considered to include three, merged into one. When *Ohr Hochma* enters these seventy-two cells, the *Partzuf* is called *AB* and is said to have the complete Light of *Hochma*.

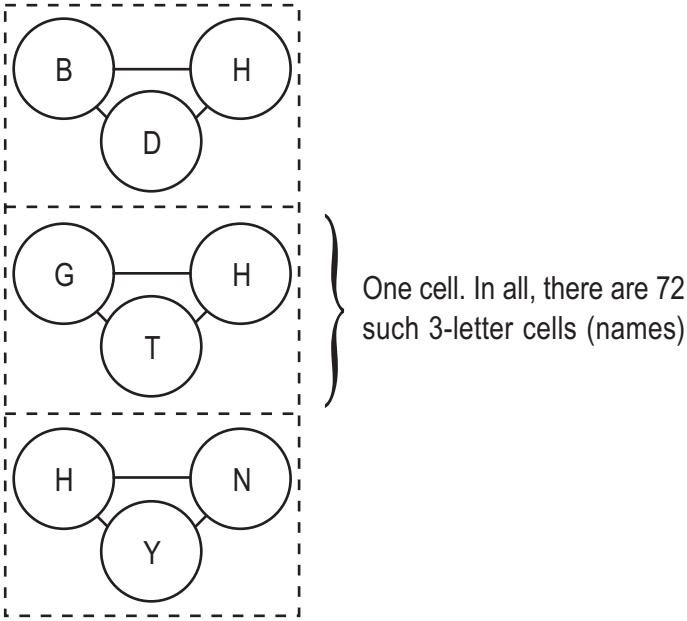

Ohr Hassadim is the Light that brings peace in the state of the *Partzuf* at a given moment, for its property is not to wish anything for itself, but to bestow. However, *Ohr Hassadim* received from the lower world is merely comfort "for want of something better," whereas *Ohr Hassadim* received from the Upper World creates such a powerful property of "bestowal" that the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma*, thereby showing that although it has *Ohr Hochma*, it still prefers *Ohr Hassadim*.

This is similar to a person in our world, who says that he needs nothing. Yet, there is a distinction: does he say this in a state when he has nothing and can have everything he wants, but still wishes to restrict himself to bare essentials and to give away the rest?

Therefore, when the growing *Partzuf* (the son—*BON*) had only *Ohr Hassadim* from the lower world, it could not receive *Ohr Hochma* in it, and was thus called *RYU* letters. But since the impure forces still cling to them and tempt the *Partzuf* to receive *Ohr Hochma* for itself, *Ohr Hochma* cannot be clothed within them.

These *RYU* letters that Havakuk had since the day of his birth FLEW AWAY WHEN HE DIED. Hence, it was essential to give him *RYU* letters and *AB* names once more. And Elisha did just that by HIS SPIRIT, for he was obliged

to recreate in him *RYU* letters in order to combine them into *AB* cells with the help of the Upper *Hassadim* (combine everything into three lines), when everything unites into *AB* names.

117. Elisha confirmed all of these letters in the soul of Havakuk so as to revive him by the letters of the seventy-two names. And he called him Havakuk, for that is his complete name, which describes all of his properties, as it alludes to two Havakuks and to the 216 letters of the Holy Name, as the *Gematria* (numerical value) of the name Havakuk is 216, from which the seventy-two names were formed. By *AB* names he revived him and brought his spirit back, and by *RYU* letters he revived his body and let it live. This is why he is called Havakuk.

Havakuk = *Chet* + *Bet* + *Kuf* + *Vav* + *Kuf* = 8 + 2 + 100 + 6 + 100 = 216. The word Havakuk indicates two embraces (*Hibukim*, plural for *Hibuk*). Like all Hebrew names, it refers to the property of its bearer. For instance, Yaakov is derived from "*Akev*" ("got around" Esav), and Avraham signifies *Av* —father, *Am*—of the nation).

The first embrace came from *Ima*, but it did not yet allow *Ohr Hochma* into the *Partzuf*, into *RYU* letters, for the impure force clings to the red in *Ima*. But then Elisha embraced him with *Hassadim* of the Upper World that came from *AVI*. This united the letters into groups (names), and *Ohr Hochma* entered and filled these names permanently, since the impure force cannot cling to *Hassadim* of the Upper World.

As in the above example, even if all the *Ohr Hochma* were to be offered, the *Partzuf*, upon receiving protection in the form of a desire for *Hassadim* of the Upper World, receives such great strength (desire) to bestow that it never wants *Hochma*. This is precisely why *Hochma* can fill it for all eternity.

Therefore, the name Havakuk denotes two *Chibukim* (embraces): one from the mother and one from Elisha, thereby imparting him with perfection from all sides: from both the *Ohr Hochma* and the *Ohr Hassadim*. "Embraces" signify *Ohr Hassadim* that stems from *AVI*, and *Ohr Hochma* received within *Ohr Hassadim* is called "the secrets of *RYU*."

It is hence written that HE REVIVED HIS SPIRIT BY *AB* NAMES AND HIS BODY BY *RYU* LETTERS. And he was revived by Elisha's embrace, for *RYU* letters had formed names, that is, the three lines, in which *Ohr Hochma* could be received, thanks to the reception of *Ohr Hassadim* from *AVI* (the Upper World).

The impure forces (man's egoistic desires) cannot attack in this Light. Hence, death (the result of receiving *Ohr Hochma* for oneself) does not exist.

Subsequently, he receives *Ohr Hochma*, which yields the complete correction of his *Guf*.

However, the *Partzuf* (son of the Shunamit) had *RYU* letters from the moment of birth, and they left him when he died. Then why is he called Havakuk (two embraces)? After all, the first embrace of *Ima* (mother) left him the moment of his death, and Elisha revived him from death by embracing him only once. Thus, does he not contain only the embrace of Elisha?

The thing is that Elisha has given him nothing new at the time of resurrection, except for the embrace, the Light from the Supernal *Ima*—*SAG*, whose Light evokes the resurrection of the dead. And *RYU* letters were simply revived by his lower mother—*BON*. These are the same *RYU* of *BON* with which he was born. Otherwise, it would have been an entirely new soul, of which one would not have been able to say that it was dead and then resurrected.

Therefore, now he truly has two embraces, for the first one has now been revived as well, when *BON* ascended to *SAG*. And since *BON* is in the place of *SAG*, his *Hassadim* are regarded as those of the Supernal Mother. They completely neutralize the impure forces and death, for their properties (desires) are only of bestowal, which the impure force cannot bear. Thus, they can no longer tempt man. This is why he is called Havakuk, after the action of the two embraces.

118. He said, "I have heard the Creator and I am awed by His Name." I have heard of what I had and have had a taste of the other world at the moment of death, before Elisha resurrected him, and I am awed. He began asking for mercy for his soul. He said, "O, Creator, the deeds that You have performed for me throughout the years were my life." And whoever connects to the past years (the name of the *Sefirot* of *Atik*), connects to life. Throughout the years, bestow life upon the degree that has no life of its own, upon *Malchut de Malchut*.

His fear comes from the past, previous states, for now he has become perfect on all his sides, and therefore fear has no place. This fear remained from the past, when he left the world. This describes the state between death and resurrection. However, he continues receiving fear from the past state, so it would help him create a screen for raising *MAN*. It is precisely this fear from past times (states) that stimulates him to raise *MAN* (request for mercy).

This is the secret of the future screen, after *BON* becomes *SAG*. For then "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8), and there will be no force evoking fear of death and suffering or able to cause harm to one's purity and holiness. Hence, there will be no need to shun, no one to beware of or avoid.

So if one has attained such an exalted spiritual state, where could he possibly acquire fear? After all, he will not be able to ascend without it! Only if he takes fear from his past states! For the *Partzuf* retains the memories, records, recollections of past states, even after its ascent to *SAG*, when *BON* become like *SAG*.

If not for the recollections of fear from the past states, the *Partzuf* would not have been able to create a screen in a state when it has nothing left to fear. While explaining this, Rabbi Shimon told them of Havakuk, to teach them how to acquire fear, just as Havakuk did by taking fear from the past.

THE DEEDS THAT YOU HAVE PERFORMED... THROUGHOUT THE YEARS... WERE MY LIFE—because he lived through two periods: the years preceding his death and the years following his resurrection. Between these two periods, there was a state of exiting this world, death (during which he existed in the other world). That is to say, because I remember the time of my death, I thereby connect to life of the Upper World, which Elisha bestowed by resurrecting me.

ZAT de Atik is called the "past (sometimes ancient) years," since they receive their Light from *Malchut* of the world of *AK*, *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. However, *ZAT de Atik* do not shine upon the lower *Partzufim* and worlds with their Light of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. *ZAT de Atik* shine downward during the 6,000 years with diminished Light, restricting it according to the laws of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Only at the end of correction will they begin to pass down all of their Light. It is written in the Torah that the Light that *Atik* had passed during the 6,000 years is designated with the small letter *Hey* in the word Avraham.

However, because Havakuk's death has purified him completely, since at the end of correction he merited merging with the "past years" of *Atik*, he received the required strength in Elisha's embraces and resurrection. It is hence written that after he has purified himself and felt fear at the moment of his death, the power of this fear enabled him to establish contact with *ZAT de Atik* and receive the Light called "eternal life."

For having purified himself through death, *BON* received complete correction, upon ascending and becoming *SAG* at the time of death. Subsequently, it reaches the degree of *Malchut de Malchut*, a *Zivug* on which can only be made at the end of correction, and attains this degree, the Light of his life.

119. Rabbi Shimon wept and said: "And I have seen from the Creator what I have heard." He raised his hands above his head, and said: "But you have merited seeing Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, the Light of the Torah, face to face, while I have not." He fell on his face and saw him who uproots mountains and

lights candles in the Temple of the King (*Mashiach*). He said to him, "Rabbi, in the other world we shall be neighbors with the heads of the assemblies before the Creator." From here on, he called his son Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba by the name Pnei'el (the face of God), as it is written: "For I have seen the Creator face to face."

He praised himself for using the same fear from the past, just like Prophet Havakuk.

All corrections are already ready and waiting in the hall of the King (*Mashiach*), down to the very last detail. They must all be revealed at the end of all corrections, with the appearance of the King. And the souls in that hall are those who merited completion of their individual corrections, for there is an individual correction and a general one.

Malchut de Malchut is the only creation, and it is divided into parts called souls. These parts merge with people of our world, and each of them, while existing within man, must attain one's own correction, i.e., gradually replace one's properties (desires) with those of the Creator. This is considered the soul's individual or personal correction. So then, the souls that have attained their individual correction reach and exist in the state called "abiding in the hall of the King-*Mashiach*."

The Light in that hall (the Light of the Torah), also called Hamnuna-Saba, completely liberates man from the impure forces, i.e., purifies him from all his primordial egoistic desires and corrects *Malchut de Malchut*, which "appears to the righteous as a high mountain" (Talmud, *Sota*, 52). This correction is made by creating a new *SAG*-like screen with the purpose of raising *MAN* (the request for final correction). *MAN* is called *Me'orei Esh* (sparkles of fire), as it is written: "Man's soul is the Creator's candle" (*Mishley*, 20:27).

The light of the sun designates the Light's descent, *MAD*, just as sunlight descends upon us from Above, whereas a fire's flame signifies *Ohr Hozer* that rises from below upwards, like candlelight. *The Zohar* therefore says that these two corrections, aimed at destroying the impure forces and ascending to light the candles in the hall of the King-*Mashiach*, are in the hands of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba.

And the perfect righteous in need of these two final corrections merit receiving them only through revealing the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. And he stated that they (the disciples of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba) will merit the honor of serving in the hall of the King-*Mashiach* after their death, and will become his neighbors and the heads of the Creator's Assembly.

The Two Points

120. Rabbi Chiya began and opened, "The beginning of *Hochma* (wisdom) is fear of the Creator, and those who observe this rule receive all the goodness." He asks, "The beginning of wisdom? One should rather say that the end of wisdom is the fear of the Creator, for fear of the Creator is the property of *Malchut*, which is at the end of *Hochma* (wisdom)." He replies, "Yet, *Malchut* is the beginning of the entrance to the degrees of reception of the Supernal wisdom." Hence, it is written, "Open to me the gates of justice," meaning that the gates of *Malchut*, called "justice," are the Creator's gates. And if man does not enter these gates he shall not reach the Supernal King through any other, for He is concealed and detached, and has erected many gates on the path to Him.

Fear of the Creator is the *Sefira Malchut*. Yet, how can *Malchut* serve as an entrance if she is the last of the ten *Sefirot*? Indeed, she may be called the end of *Hochma* or of a *Partzuf*, but not the beginning. However, this is not an allegorical expression, but the essence itself, for HE IS CONCEALED AND DETACHED and no thought of man can attain Him. Hence, He has put up many gates ON THE PATH TO HIM, and thanks to these gates He grants sufferers the opportunity to draw closer to him, the opportunity for attainment.

This is precisely what the verse, "Open to me the gates of justice," (*Tehilim*, 118) alludes to; these are the very gates that the Creator made, through which people can come to Him. HOWEVER, AT THE END OF ALL THE GATES ERECTED A SPECIAL GATE WITH MANY LOCKS. This gate is *Malchut de Malchut*, the ultimate point of all creation, the ultimate point of all Supernal gates.

And this last gate (from Above downwards) is the first gate to Supernal wisdom (from below upwards), for it is impossible to attain the Supernal *Hochma*

(wisdom) without attaining precisely this final gate, as it is the first gate with regard to attainment of the Supernal wisdom. It is therefore written (*Tehilim*, 111:10): "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom," as fear of the Creator is called the final gate, which stands first on the path to Supernal attainment.

121. And at the end of all the gates He erected a special gate with several locks, several entrances, and several chambers, one atop of the other. And He said, "Whoever wishes to reach Me, let this be the first gate on his way to Me. Whoever enters through this gate—will enter." Only this is the first gate to the Supernal wisdom, the gate of fear of the Creator, *Malchut*, which is hence called "beginning."

The locks, entrances, and chambers are three successive processes of attainment, of realizing the spiritual in one's inner sensation. The thought that created the world was the Creator's thought to make a creation (the human soul) in order to fill it with delight. However, it is impossible to feel delight as long as one is removed from the Creator, for He is the only One in existence. And He has created us in such a way that the nearer we come to Him, the greater delight we feel, whereas the farther we are from Him, the more we suffer.

Those of us who live in and perceive only this world can only accept the above words on faith or reject them. However, Kabbalists, who ascend spiritually and draw closer to the Creator, make these assertions and describe their attainments for us. And as to how and when we shall travel the same path to the Creator and attain complete unity with Him, this depends on us alone. However, regardless of whether we want to or not, we will need to travel the entire path from our world to complete unity with the Creator while still existing in this body, during one of our lifetimes in this world. This is the purpose of creation, and until it is fulfilled, man must reincarnate and return to this world, as the sages said: "The Creator wished to dwell in the lower ones."

Our world is built completely opposite from the Creator, as it was created in the property of egoistic will to receive pleasure, and this property is the exact antithesis to the Creator's property (desire) to delight us. Additionally, there is no trace of a will to receive pleasure in the Creator Himself.

It is hence said about a person in our world: "Man is born akin to a wild ass" (*Iyov*, 11:12). Therefore, to those who live in this world, the Creator's governance seems completely opposite to the purpose of creation—to delight the creatures. After all, that is how we perceive His rule over us, and feel the surrounding world in our egoistic sensations.

According to the Creator's plan, one must correct his egoistic desires and make them altruistic, whereupon the Creator fulfills them with supernal, absolute delight (to the extent of their correction). Until one attains this state, he continues to suffer from his desire to enjoy either this world or the spiritual.

These sensations are called "gate locks," for all the numerous contradictions to the oneness of the Creator's actions that we feel in this world separate us from the Creator and prevent us from drawing closer to Him. However, when we exert to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* with love, with our heart and soul, as devotedly as it was prescribed for us, with the sole intention of pleasing the Creator and without any benefit for ourselves, all of the forces that separate us from Him and every contradiction that we overcome on our path to Him becomes a gate of attainment of His Supernal wisdom, of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because every contradiction reveals its own uniqueness in the attainment of the Creator's governance.

Thus, those very questions and contradictions, which initially seemed to prevent us from accepting the oneness of the Creator's governance, then turn into knowledge, thanks to which we come to understand and attain the oneness of His governance.

And those who merit this transform darkness into Light (within themselves) and bitterness into sweetness. This is how they feel their attainments—in precisely those past sensations of darkness and bitterness. For the forces that repel us from the Creator, that form our minds and are perceived by the body as bitter turn into gates of attainment of Supernal Degrees. This way, darkness becomes Light and bitterness becomes sweetness.

And the more negative the Creator's governance is first perceived, the deeper man eventually comes to realize the perfection of His governance. At last, the entire world ends up on the scale of merit, for every force and insight now serve as *SHAAREY TZEDEK* (the gates of truth), through which one can enter and receive from the Creator everything that He intended to bestow at the Thought of Creation. Thus, it is written about such contradictions that turn into realization of unity: "These are the gates to the Creator; the righteous shall enter them" (*Tehilim*, 118:20).

Hence, until one merits turning his will "to receive for himself" into the will "to receive for the Creator" with the help of the Torah and *Mitzvot*, all the gates to the Creator have sturdy locks (the sensation of imperfection in the Creator's governance), as they then play their opposite role: to distance and turn one away

from the Creator. And they are called locks, for they lock the gates of contact with the Creator and distance us from Him.

However, if we make efforts to overcome them so they stop influencing us and weakening our love for the Creator, we will thus turn these locks into entrances, darkness into Light, and bitterness into sweetness. This is because for every lock we receive a special degree of attainment of the Creator. These degrees become entrances that lead to the degrees of sensation of the Creator Himself. And the degrees themselves turn into halls or chambers of wisdom.

Thus, we see that locks, entrances, and chambers constitute the three types of perception of one material, our will to receive or egoism. Indeed, before we turn the egoistic desire to receive into reception (of pleasure) for the Creator's sake, altruism, this material transforms Light into darkness and sweetness into bitterness, in accordance with our (egoistic) taste. In other words, egoism finds suffering in the same types of influence that bring pleasure to altruism. Therefore, to perceive the Light (delight) that surrounds us, we only need to change our senses. But until we do, this Light will be perceived by us as darkness and suffering.

Initially, whatever examples of the Creator's governance we see, they distance us from Him. This is because we perceive them negatively; at that very moment, our egoism (will to receive pleasure) begets locks. However, once we transform our desires to "reception for the Creator's sake," these locks become entrances, and entrances turn into chambers—vessels of wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*.

As we already know, the end of all the degrees, i.e., the very last degree, below which nothing can possibly exist, is called *Malchut de Malchut*. To attain Supernal wisdom, one must first overcome this last gate, which turns into the first gate to ascend from below upwards, toward the chamber of Supernal wisdom, the *Sefira Hochma*. All gates become entrances and chambers of the Creator's wisdom. This is why it is written, IN THE BEGINNING (the first words in the Torah), for IN THE BEGINNING signifies fear of the Creator, the last gate (*Malchut*), which becomes the first on the path to attainment of the Supernal wisdom.

122. The letter *Bet* in the word *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING) indicates that the two are joined together in *Malchut*. Both are points: one is concealed, while the other is revealed. However, since there's no division between them, they are called THE BEGINNING, which signifies only one, rather than two, for he who takes one, takes the other as well, and all is one,

for He and His Name are one, as it is written, "And you shall know that this is the Creator's only name."

The Hebrew letter *Bet* has a numerical value of two, indicating two points. These two points symbolize the correction of the egoistic point of *Malchut*, onto which the point of mercy (*Bina*) imposes a restriction of use. Correction is achieved when *Malchut* (strictness) ascends to *Bina* (mercy), as it is written, "So they both walked" (*Rut*, 1:19), i.e., *Bina* and *Malchut*. Hence, the screen in *Malchut* consists of both points, and they are thereby joined together as one.

It is explained in *Megilat Rut* (*The Book of Ruth*) how *Malchut* (Ruth) merges with *Bina* (Naomi), which then leads to the correction of *Malchut* and the birth of David, the first King (the word King (*Melech*) is derived from *Malchut* (kingdom) of Israel).

HOWEVER, ONE IS CONCEALED, WHILE THE OTHER IS REVEALED, for the judgment in the point of *Malchut* is concealed, whereas only the property of mercy in the point of *Bina* is revealed. Otherwise, the world could not exist, as it is written, "In the beginning, He created the world with the property of judgment, but seeing that it cannot exist, He attached to it the property of mercy" (*Beresheet Raba*, item 1).

Although the restriction is concealed, this does not mean that a *Zivug* is not made on it, since these two points merge into one, and the point of *Malchut* receives a *Zivug* together with the point of *Bina*, though it participates in it secretly. Therefore, it is written, IN THE BEGINNING, for the word "beginning" indicates one point, which includes two that are as one.

Because *Malchut* participates with *Bina* in all the *Zivugim* that are made during the 6,000 years (albeit secretly), she corrects herself to such an extent that at the end of all the corrections, even her property of restriction is corrected, and she acquires the property of *Bina*. It is written of this state that on that day He and His Name will be one.

Since the property of restriction is also concealed within the letter *Bet* of the word *BERESHEET* (in the beginning), this property is called *RESHEET* (first) in *Hochma* (wisdom). However, the correction of this property occurs only at the end of corrections, when the Supernal wisdom is revealed, as the prophet said: "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Creator" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9). This is because the last gate will become the first. Hence, it is written, "That they may know that it is Thou alone whose name is the Lord, the Most High over all the earth," (*Tehilim*, 83:19) for the Creator's wisdom will be revealed in our world to all.

123. Why is *Malchut* called "fear of the Creator?" It is because *Malchut* is the Tree of Good and Evil: If man merits, it is good, but if he does not, it is evil. This is why fear dwells in that place. And this gate leads to all the goodness that exists in the world. ALL THE GOODNESS signifies two gates, two points that are as one. Rabbi Yosi said that ALL THE GOODNESS refers to the Tree of Life, for it is entirely good and completely without evil. And because it is without evil, it is entirely good, without evil.

It is written of the last gate: THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM IS FEAR OF THE CREATOR. So why is it called "fear of the Creator?" Because this is the secret of the Tree of Knowledge, by which Adam sinned, for the use of that point (egoistic desires) is punishable by death (disappearance of the Light). And great fear is needed to refrain from touching (using) it before all the other desires have been corrected. Nevertheless, at the end of correction, when even this point is completely corrected, death will cease to exist for all eternity. That is why it is called "fear."

The Creator created one creation—the egoistic *Malchut*. The goal of creation is to fill her with the Creator's Light using an altruistic intention. As a result, *Malchut* merges with the Creator and receives limitless delight.

Malchut, the only creation, consists of five parts: *KHB ZA-M*. Her parts *KHB ZA*, excluding *Malchut de Malchut*, have altruistic properties, which they received from the Light.

As a result of her decision to refrain from receiving Light into egoistic desires, called *Tzimtzum Aleph* (the first restriction), *Malchut* receives the Light only in her first four desires: *KHB-ZA*. *Malchut de Malchut* remains inaccessible to the Light. So how can she be corrected?

To correct *Malchut de Malchut's* properties (desires), the Creator creates the conditions under which *Bina* and *Malchut* mix, and consequently, *Malchut* acquires the properties of *Bina*.

This process needs to occur more than once, so that all of *Malchut's* parts will be mixed with *Bina*. Every time it takes place in an increasingly deeper layer of *Malchut*, it is called the breaking of holiness, for *Bina* descends and passes her properties to *Malchut*, but she herself breaks during this mixing, as though losing her altruistic properties.

Thus, we can conclude that all the shattering of vessels, the breaking of Adam's soul, the ruin of the First and Second Temples, and other spiritual disasters take place not as punishment, for punishment (as we understand it)

does not exist in the spiritual, but only so as to enable the altruistic desires of *Bina* penetrate deeper into the egoistic desires of *Malchut*.

The last point of *Malchut*, the yet uncorrected *Malchut de Malchut*, is that very point the use of which is punishable by death (the Light's disappearance is considered death). It is forbidden to use *Malchut de Malchut* until all the other properties of *Malchut* (*KHB-ZA*) have been fully corrected. Or rather, if man refrains from using egoism (the point of *Malchut de Malchut*), and uses only his other altruistic desires, he gradually constructs a "non-reception" screen on *Malchut de Malchut*.

Having filled all of his corrected desires with Light, man achieves the end of correction—of what he could correct by himself. As soon as that happens, i.e., as soon as one receives the Light in all of his soul's first nine *Sefirot* (*KHB-ZA*, excluding *Malchut*), the Light called *Mashiach* descends from Above, which imparts *Malchut de Malchut* with the altruistic property of bestowal, of acting for the Creator's sake. This concludes the entire correction process of man's soul, and he attains complete unity with the Creator. The Creator's goal is for man to attain this state while still living in our world and in his physical body, to combine all the worlds, spiritual and material, within himself.

AND THIS GATE LEADS TO ALL THE GOODNESS, for there is nothing better than the revelation of the Supernal wisdom in the world, included in the Thought of Creation. And since fear of the Creator is the last gate to the Supernal wisdom, it also constitutes the gate to all the goodness.

THESE TWO GATES ARE AS ONE refers to the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are united in the letter *Bet* of the word *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING), the first word in the Torah. And the two points are mentioned because they allude to the state following the correction, when these two points are called "the two gates," for both turn out to be good and free from evil, thereby bringing man only perfect goodness.

Nevertheless, until the end of correction, one must strain to separate within him the desires that refer to the point of *Bina* from those that refer to the point of *Malchut*, to reject the desires of *Malchut*, and, in defiance of egoism, use the desires of *Bina*. During man's work on self-correction, called "6,000 years," these two points are referred to as "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil."

RABBI YOSI SAID—Rabbi Yosi does not object to the words of Rabbi Chiya. They are talking about two different states: Rabbi Chiya alludes to a state past the end of correction of *Malchut*, when both points become a gate, and there is no more evil within them. And Rabbi Yosi explains a state in the correction

process, when the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, exist within us as our Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Hence, he tells us that ALL THE GOODNESS IS (can only be found in) THE TREE OF LIFE.

ZA filled with the Light of *Ima-Bina* is called "The Tree of Life," for he possesses only good properties. And the two points of good and evil, *Bina* and *Malchut*, remain within *Malchut* until the end of correction; hence, *Malchut* is called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil."

124. To all those who act, it is the faithful mercy of David that upholds the Torah. Those who keep the Torah seemingly create it themselves. All those who study the Torah—there is no action in them as they study, but those who keep the Torah—in them there is action. And the world exists by this force, eternal are the wisdom and the Torah, and the throne stands just as it should stand.

It was previously said that fear of the Creator constitutes the last gate, though it is the first gate to the Supernal wisdom. It turns out that ALL THOSE WHO STUDY THE TORAH have already corrected the last gate, and the two points become for them two entrances, all goodness without evil. Hence, it is said that THERE IS NO ACTION IN THEM, i.e., no analysis of good and evil, for they have already corrected everything.

However, those who have not yet reached the end of correction are referred to as those who keep the Torah. There is action in them, for they have not yet corrected good and evil in everyone's Tree of Good and Evil—not everyone has realized in one's inner tree (in all of one's properties) what is good and what is evil with regard to the spiritual truth.

It is therefore said that THOSE WHO KEEP THE TORAH SEEMINGLY CREATE IT THEMSELVES. As a result of man's effort to refrain from their use, all the distracting and impeding forces (thoughts and desires) of the point of *Malchut* become gates, all the locks become entrances, and all the entrances become chambers of wisdom filled with *Ohr Hochma*.

It follows that all the wisdom and the entire Torah become revealed only through the efforts of those who keep the Torah. Hence, they SEEMINGLY CREATE IT THEMSELVES. The forces of good and evil are combined within them, and they become those who keep the Torah, for the Torah is revealed thanks to their inner work of separating and correcting good and evil.

Such people are called "those who act," for they seemingly create the Torah by themselves. After all, without perceiving the Creator (The Torah, Light) as concealed, and then overcoming this concealment, thereby turning it into gates, entrances, and chambers the Torah could never have been revealed.

The perfection of the Creator's actions lies in the fact that by creating man so paltry (with such insignificant egoistic desires, completely opposite to the Creator in his properties, and utterly powerless to change himself), the Creator gave man an opportunity to become like Him (in properties, greatness, and the sensation of creating himself), to create within and by himself all of the worlds and the Torah. By revealing the Light, it is as though man actually creates it.

Thus, since these individuals reveal the Torah, they are regarded as its creators. The word is SEEMINGLY used to indicate that the Torah was created before the creation of our world (Talmud, *Pesachim*, 54:1), and of course, it is the work of the Creator Himself. Yet, without the good deeds of those who keep the Torah, it would not have been revealed to the world. Hence, they are regarded as the makers and creators of the Torah.

The wisdom and the Torah are eternal; that is, they exist even after the end of correction, for fear of the Creator is needed even then. However, once the entire egoism is corrected, there is no place from which to take this fear, for the Tree of Good and Evil becomes only good, and can no longer furnish fear of the Creator.

However, because they received fear in the past, they can continue using it in the present, after the end of correction, when there is nothing left to fear, as there are no restrictions in *Malchut*. And the only reason they can do so is that during the correction they worked on creating within them the sensation of the Creator's absolute rule and the eternity of the Torah. And since this fear is never-ending, the Creator's throne remains forever standing in their attainment.

The Night of the Bride

125. Rabbi Shimon was sitting and studying the Torah on the night when the Bride, *Malchut*, unites with her husband, *Zeir Anpin*. And all the friends present in the bridal chamber on that night, the eve of the holiday of *Shavuot* (Pentecost), must stand together with the bridegroom under the *Huppah* (wedding canopy), and be with him this whole night, and rejoice with him in the corrections of the Bride, i.e., study the Torah, then Prophets, then Holy Scriptures, and finally the wisdom, for these corrections are the Bride's adornments. And the Bride receives corrections, adorns herself with them, and rejoices with them all of that night. And on the next day, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, she only comes to the *Huppah* together with them. And her friends, who studied the Torah all night long, are called the sons of the *Huppah*. And as she approaches the *Huppah*, the Creator asks about them, blesses and adorns them with the Bride's adornments. Happy are those who merit this!

All the days of exile are called night, for this is when the Creator's face is concealed from Israel, as the impure forces rule and separate His loyal servants from Him. Yet, this is the time when the bride unites with her husband (in Hebrew, "husband" and "master" are the same word, so one must keep in mind the second meaning of the word as well). The *Huppah* is a wedding canopy, under which the ritual of union between a bride and a bridegroom (their merging in a *Zivug*) takes place.

The union between the bride and her husband (*The Zohar* uses the word "husband" instead of "bridegroom") occurs thanks to the Torah and *Mitzvot* (commandments) of the righteous, referred to as "those who keep the Torah." And all the Supernal Degrees, called "secrets of the Torah," become revealed thanks to them alone, for they are also called MAKERS (as though CREATING the Torah itself), as is described in item 124. Therefore, the time of exile is called the NIGHT WHEN THE BRIDE UNITES WITH HER HUSBAND. AND

ALL THE FRIENDS, THE SONS OF THE BRIDE'S JOY, ARE CALLED THOSE WHO KEEP THE TORAH.

And after THE END OF CORRECTION and complete deliverance, of which the prophet Zachariah writes (14:7): "And there shall be one day, which shall be known to the Creator, neither day nor night, but it shall come to pass come evening time: there shall be light." THE NEXT DAY, THE BRIDE AND HER HUSBAND ENTER THE *HUPPAH*, for *BON* will become like *SAG* and *MA* will be like *AB* (see item 64).

This state is therefore defined as the next day and a new *Huppah*. Whereas at this time (in this state), the righteous are called SONS OF THE *HUPPAH*, in whom there is no action, for then, as it is written: "They shall not do evil upon My holy mountain, for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Creator, as waters cover the sea" (*Yeshayahu*, 11: 9).

And since these righteous elevated *BON* to *SAG* by their actions, i.e., made its properties similar to those of *SAG*, they are considered to have made a new *Huppah*, they are called "sons of the *Huppah*."

The night of *Shavuot* (Pentecost) is when THE BRIDE UNITES WITH HER HUSBAND, for the *Huppah* takes place on the next day, the day of *Shavuot*, the day of the reception of the Torah. On that day, all of creation achieves the state of the end of correction, as it is said: "He will swallow up death forever; and the Creator Himself will wipe away the tears off all faces" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8).

The Torah describes this state as "engraved upon the scrolls" (*Shemot*, 32:16). In Hebrew, the word "engraved" is *Harut*, but it should be pronounced *Herut* (freedom), freedom from the angel of death. However, the sin of the golden calf followed and the High Degree was lost. Since *Shavuot* is the day when the Torah was received, it is also regarded as the end of correction.

Therefore, all the necessary preparations (the corrections carried out during the concealment period) are completed beforehand, on the night before the holiday of *Shavuot*. This night is hence defined as the night when the bride unites with her husband so as to enter the *Huppah* the following day, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, when all the corrections are completed and liberated from the angel of death, thanks to the actions of the righteous, who erect a new *Huppah*.

All of the bride's friends, those who keep the Torah, also called "sons of the bridal chamber," must be merged with the *Shechina-Malchut* (the bride) all of that night, called "exile." Only then do their acts in the Torah and *Mitzvot*

correct and purify the good in her from the taint of evil, so she would emerge with the properties that contain only good, without evil.

Hence, those who keep the Torah should rejoice together with the bride for all the great corrections that they've made in her. Then they joyously continue with their corrections in THE TORAH, then in PROPHETS and finally in the HOLY SCRIPTURES. All the degrees and revelations of the secrets of the Torah, which make up the framework of the *Shechina* herself at the end of her correction, are made exclusively by the righteous, who keep the Torah during the exile.

Therefore, all the degrees that emerge at the time (state) of the exile are called the bride's corrections and adornments from the Torah, Prophets and Holy Scriptures, for *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, and *Tifferet* constitute the Torah, *Sefirot Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Yesod* are the Prophets, and *Malchut* is the Holy Scriptures. The Light of *VAK* is called *Midrashim* and the Light of *GAR* is called "the secrets of the Torah." And all these corrections must be made in *Malchut* (the bride) on the night when she completes her corrections (precisely in the darkness of exile from the spiritual does man carry out the work of his inner correction).

It is known that the end of correction does not bring anything new or that was previously unknown. Rather, all the *MAN* and *MAD*, along with all degrees and *Zivugim* that have emerged consecutively during the 6,000 years will merge into one degree and become corrected with the help of the Light of *Atik*.

The bride will then enter her *Huppah*, and THE CREATOR WILL ASK ABOUT EVERYONE, about every man who had even once raised *MAN* for the Supernal, final *Zivug*. For the Creator waits for all the small *Zivugim* to assemble, as though asking about and waiting for each of them. And when they've gathered, a great *Zivug* will unfold, called *RAV PAALIM U MEKABTZIEL* (HE WHO BLESSES AND ADORNS HER). And when all the creatures are blessed and adorned together, correction comes to an end. This is referred to as "the adornment of the bride's crown."

126. This is why Rabbi Shimon and all of his friends stayed up that night, and each of them renewed the Torah again and again. Rabbi Shimon was joyous, and so were his friends. Rabbi Shimon said to them: "My sons, how blessed is your lot, for it is you who shall accompany the Bride tomorrow to the *Huppah*, for all those who correct Her and rejoice in Her this night shall have their names recorded in the Book of Remembrance. And the Creator shall bless them with seventy blessings and adornments of crowns of the Upper World."

The Book of Remembrance, mentioned by the prophet (*Malachi*, 3:15): "You will say, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all? And now we regard the wicked as blessed: they have settled in their wickedness, tried the Creator, and were liberated.' Then those who feared the Creator spoke with each other, and the Creator hearkened and heard, and a Book of Remembrance was recorded before Him for those who fear the Creator and honor His Name. 'They shall become chosen for Me on the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his own son, who serves him.'"

But how can we understand that when they spoke ill of the Creator, they referred to fear of the Creator, as the prophet says? Moreover, they were inscribed in the Book of Remembrance as those who "feared the Creator and honored His Name?"

The thing is that at the end of correction, when the great general *Zivug* of *Atik* manifests, great Light will be revealed in all the worlds, and in this Light everyone will return to the Creator in absolute love. The Talmud (*Yoma*, 86:2, "Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot") says: "He who attains the repentance from love shall have his sins turned to merits."

Here, the prophet refers to the sinners claiming the futility of spiritual work: on the great day of the end of correction, when the Light of repentance from love shall shine, all the most malicious and deliberate, worst imaginable sins, will turn to merits, and their words shall be deemed not slight, but fear of the Creator.

Therefore, all the sins, as well as all the good deeds, are recorded before the Creator, for He will need them on that great day of His miracle: all the merits gather and complete the *Kli*, which receives the Light necessary for the final correction. Hence, it is said that the Creator shall record the names of those who fear Him in the Book of Remembrance, for He will need them on that day to complete the common *Partzuf*. This is exactly what the prophet says: those who remain shall be close to the Creator, like sons who served Him.

It is therefore said that everyone and everything will be recorded in the Book of Remembrance, even the sins. However, The Creator will record them as though they are merits, as though they served Him. These are the words of the prophet.

The number seventy signifies the Light of *Hochma*, GAR, adornment, a crown, and the Light of *Hassadim* is called "a blessing," for the world was created with the letter *Bet* (blessing), as it is written: "The world was built by mercy"

(*Tehilim*, 89:3), which is *VAK*. But at the end of correction, the Light of *Hassadim* will also be like seventy crowns, like the Light of *Hochma*, for *MA* and *BON* will ascend to *AB* and *SAG*. Therefore, *The Zohar* says that the Creator will bless them with seventy blessings and adornments of crowns of the Upper World.

127. Rabbi Shimon opened and said, "The Heavens declare the Creator's greatness. I have already explained this, but when the bride awakens to enter the *Huppah* on the following day, with all the friends who rejoiced with her through that night, she rejoices with them, corrects herself and shines with her adornments."

128. And on the following day, a multitude of masses, hosts, and legions join her. And she, together with all these masses, hosts and legions, awaits all those who corrected her by studying the Torah on that night. This is so because *Zeir Anpin* unites with *Malchut*, and she sees her husband, and it is said: "The Heavens declare the Creator's greatness." "The Heavens" alludes to the Bridegroom (ZA), who enters the *Huppah*. "The Heavens declare," i.e., shine, like the luminescence of a sapphire, upon the entire *Malchut*, from end to end.

The day of the end of correction is called "tomorrow," as it is written in the Talmud: "Do today, and receive the reward tomorrow" (*Eruvin*, 22:1). The masses are the worldly masses who do not serve the Creator, the hosts are those who serve the Creator, and the legions are chariots of warriors in armor—the Supernal groups of angels that accompany the souls, as it is said: "For He bid His angels to guard over you on all your paths" (*Tehilim*, 91:11). Just as the Creator waits for everyone, as was previously stated, so does the *Shechina*.

"Heavens" is the bridegroom entering the *Huppah*—the state of the end of correction, of which it is written: "And the light of the moon (*Malchut*) shall be as the light of the sun (ZA)" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:26). The Creator is called the "Heavens," and at the end of correction He is referred to as the "bridegroom," as it is said: "Just as a bridegroom rejoices over his bride, so shall your Creator rejoice over you." (*Yeshayahu*, 62:5).

Wherever it is said that the Creator descends, it indicates His strictness and judgment, for it speaks of diminishing His greatness in the eyes of the lower ones, as it is said: "His might and greatness are in His place." But at the end of correction, when all sins turn to merits, for it will become clear that all the spiritual descents were nothing other than spiritual ascents, the Creator becomes the "bridegroom" and the *Shechina* becomes his "bride."

The Hebrew word for "bride" is *Kalah*, as in the words *Kalat Moshe* (*Bamidbar*, 7), which describes the completion of the altar. Hence, in the Torah, the word *Kalah* signifies the end of construction. The Hebrew word for "bridegroom" is *Hatan*, and it signifies the descent along spiritual degrees, as it is said in the Talmud: "Descends the steps" (*Yevamot*, 63:1). However, this descent is greater than all the previous ascents, for it takes place on the way towards the bride at the moment of the end of correction.

The *Huppah* represents the total of all the Returning Light received on the *MAN* raised by the righteous in all the *Zivugim* at all the times during the 6,000 years. This is because now they have all gathered into one great Returning Light, rising and soaring over the Creator and the *Shechina*, over the bridegroom and his bride, like a *Huppah*—wedding canopy.

In this state, the righteous are called "Sons of the *Huppah*," for each of them has a part in this *Huppah*, to the extent of the *MAN* they raise to the screen of *Malchut*, which evoked, produced the Returning Light, corresponding in magnitude to this *MAN*. At the end of correction, the Creator is called *Hatan* (bridegroom), for He *Nechit Darga*—descends from His degree to his bride, and enters the *Huppah*.

At this time (in this state), the Heavens say—this is a great *Zivug* of the future, as the Talmud says: "The wife speaks to her husband" (*Berachot*, 3:1). The word "speaks" (*Mesaperet*) implies a *Zivug*, and is derived from *Sapir* (sapphire), the name of the *Shechina*, as it is said in the Torah, "...and under His feet—like a pavement of sapphire" (*Shemot*, 24:10).

THE LUMINESCENT SAPPHIRE is the Returning Light, ascending from below upwards. LUMINESCENT, LIKE LUMINESCENCE—The Returning Light, LUMINESCENT is equivalent to the Direct Light, LUMINESCENCE. This great *Zivug* gathers all of the Returning Light from all the *Zivugim* made during the 6,000 years, and the Direct Light will shine in it, as it is said, FROM END TO END.

129. The Creator's glory = *EL*—is the bride, *Malchut*, called *EL*, as it is written: "*EL* rages each day." She is called *EL* on all the days of the year. And now, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, when she already entered the *Huppah*, she is called GREATNESS and she is called *EL*, greatest of the great, luminescent out of the luminescent, dominion over dominions.

El is the name of great mercy. Yet, here it says: "*El* rages each day," which is contrary to mercy. The Torah says: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." The *Shechina* is a small star, the Moon, which reigns at

night. It is called "fear of Heaven," for it is the property of the righteous, who must raise *MAN* through their aspiration to be corrected, thereby evoking the Returning Light to descend on *Malchut* from Above and correct her.

It is therefore written: "The Creator hath made it so man would fear Him" (*Kohelet*, 3:14). This is so because it is impossible to raise the *MAN* without fear. The absence of fear of the Creator is referred to as *Malchut's* reign at night, in the state of darkness. In the absence of Light, all the restrictions and suffering are revealed, as they are opposite to the property of day, mercy. Thus, fear of the Creator emerges; were it not for this fear, the property of morning and day could not be revealed.

So it is written: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." Night also enters morning, for without a night, there would be no morning, and one cannot do without night. It is hence written that *EL* RAGES EACH DAY. After all, the property of mercy, called *EL*, is revealed only with the help of the night, through the property of RAGE. Hence, this property is also regarded as mercy; and consequently, the *Shechina* is called *EL*.

This is why it is said that the CREATOR'S GREATNESS = *EL*—IS THE BRIDE, *MALCHUT*, CALLED *EL*, for it is impossible to achieve the state of "day" without the state of "night." So it is in each of the six days of creation, of which it is said: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." We see that the night is included in the name "day." And just as they are all called the six DAYS of creation, the 6,000 years are called "night" in the property of mercy.

And in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, a day shall come; the light of the moon will become like that of the sun, as the prophet said (*Zachariah*, 14:7): "It shall come to pass, that at evening time there shall be light." This will cause the degrees of *Malchut* to increase twofold, for even during the 6,000 years, the light of the moon was according to the aforesaid, "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning."

And at the end of correction, when the moon becomes like the sun (*ZA*), the moon will be twice as great as before, as it will become greatness itself, for its greatness will equal that of *ZA*, of which *The Zohar* says: THE GREATEST OF THE GREAT, DOMINION OVER DOMINIONS. Although it merged with the light of the morning during the 6,000 years, as it is said, "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day," now that it is as big as the sun (*ZA*), it becomes Light, itself, LUMINESCENT OUT OF THE

LUMINESCENT. Previously, its Light was solely the result of the inclusion of the properties of Higher *Sefirot* into it.

Also, DOMINION OVER DOMINIONS, for during the 6,000 years, its reign was that of a small star, reigning only at night. Now, however, it also reigns during the day, for it is as big as the sun.

130. The hour when the Heaven (ZA) enters the *Huppah* and shines upon *Malchut*, all of her friends, who corrected her by studying the Torah, are known by their names, as it is said: "The Heavens declare the work of His hands." "The work of His hands" refers to the members of this covenant, called "the work of His hands." As you say: "Confirm for us the work of our hands," which is the mark of the covenant, imprinted on man's body.

"Friends" are those who keep the Torah, which includes both good and evil deeds, even those parts of them that are still evil and uncorrected; EACH IS KNOWN BY A NAME (his corrected part), as it is said: THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. "Heavens" is the Book of Remembrance, which constitutes the Light of the great *Zivug* that leads to repentance (correction) out of love, when sins become merits (Talmud, *Yoma*, 86:2).

And even those who were speaking ill things, it is said about them: "Then they shall impart their fear of the Creator upon one another" (item 126). Therefore, the action defined as "upholding the Torah," which includes both good (for the worthy) and evil (for the unworthy), now becomes completely good and holy. And it turns into THE WORK OF HIS HANDS—the Creator's actions, for THE HEAVENS SPEAK even of the unworthy. It turns out that all the friends have performed only good deeds and carried out holy work, for they would all correct *Malchut*, and ALL ARE KNOWN BY THEIR NAMES.

It is therefore said: CONFIRM FOR US THE WORK OF OUR HANDS (*Tehilim*, 90:17). However, it is unclear whose hands are meant: His or ours? Only one thing is meant here—that the covenant is referred to as "the work of our hands," for its confirmation is *Yesod* (*Yesod* is not only the name of a *Sefira*, it also means "basis," "foundation" in Hebrew), the foundation of the entire construction.

The correction of *Yesod* is *Brit Milah* (circumcision). Hence, it is said that the existence of the covenant is called "the work of our hands," for we separate the *Orlah* (foreskin) from *Yesod* through the work of our hands. But this only concerns the period up to the end of correction. And at the end of correction, THE WORK OF HIS HANDS will be revealed. In other words, the Creator Himself will detach the *Orlah* from us, and THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. But until that state comes, we are entrusted with the

correction of the circumcision. Therefore, we ask: CONFIRM FOR US THE WORK OF OUR HANDS.

131. Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba then said as follows: "Do not let your mouth cause your body to sin," i.e., one must not allow his mouth to get close to evil and be the cause of sin for the sacred flesh, which bears the mark of the holy covenant with the Creator. If he does so, he shall be dragged to hell. And the ruler of hell, called Domeh, stands at the gates of hell with hundreds of thousands of angels, but he is forbidden to approach those who have kept the holy covenant in this world.

There is a warning here: let each man be careful of what he utters, so that his prayer is pure when he raises *MAN* with the help of the Torah and *Mitzvot*. If the impure force clings to his prayer, it will receive his *MAN*. As a result, man will develop a grudge against the Creator and foreign thoughts, thereby causing the *Orlah* to once again cling to the holy covenant. Consequently, his holy soul will fall into the captivity of the impure forces, and they will drag it to hell. This is similar to what Rabbi Elazar said about falling into Lilit's hands (item 68).

THE SACRED FLESH, WHICH BEARS THE MARK OF THE HOLY COVENANT alludes to the holy soul guarded by the holy covenant, as it is said: "From my flesh I shall see the Creator," i.e., from my nature, my properties. Yet, doubts evoke the return of the impure force of the *Orlah*. It touches the holy covenant, and the Divine soul is instantly driven away. Hence, "The Tree cried out: Sinner, do not touch me," for this Tree is *Yesod*, *Ateret Yesod* (foreskin—the very essence of creation, egoism), the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

DOMEH, THE RULER OF HELL—DOMEH is derived from *Dmamah*—lifelessness, for he robs man of his soul and leaves him lifeless. This is the angel that fills man's heart with doubts regarding the Creator's greatness, and creates within him a sinful desire to perceive His plans as though they were plans of one born of a woman, i.e., as though they were of this world. And since he likens the Creator's thoughts in man's perception to those of man, he is named so (*Domeh* also means likeness, similarity).

At first, man understands that the Creator's thoughts and ways are different from ours, for the created mind can grasp neither Him nor His thoughts nor His governance, as our mind is inferior to His. But, through sin, the angel Domeh plants a silly spirit within man, which forces him to say that the mind of one born of a woman is similar to the Creator's. This leaves man open to doubts, which DRAG HIM TO HELL.

Therefore, the power of the angel Domeh is in his name, as it is said: "Who is as mighty as You, who is LIKE You, the King that kills and resurrects?" This indicates that the connection with the one who is LIKE him leads to death, whereas in the realization that there is none like Him, man finds life.

However, the doubts and thoughts that man receives from the angel Domeh are countless, as *The Zohar* says, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ANGELS ARE WITH HIM, and they are all standing at the gates of hell, through which man is dragged there, though the gates themselves are not yet considered hell.

BUT HE (THE ANGEL) IS FORBIDDEN TO APPROACH THOSE WHO HAVE KEPT THE HOLY COVENANT IN THIS WORLD. And even if one did not fully keep (observe) the covenant, and there is still good and evil in his deeds, he is nonetheless regarded as one who has kept the holy covenant. So, unless one comes to doubt, the angel Domeh is forbidden to drag him to hell.

132. When this happened to King David, fear enveloped him. Right then, Domeh ascended before the Creator, and said: "Master of the world, it says in the Torah (*Vayikra*, 20:10): 'And the man that commits adultery with another man's wife...' David broke his covenant, is it not so?" The Creator replied to him: "David is righteous, and his holy covenant remains pure, for it is known to Me that Bat Sheva was destined for him since the creation of the world."

Although David committed no sin, as the Talmud explains (*Shabbat*, 56:1) that he who says that David sinned is wrong, he was enveloped with fear nonetheless, as if he really had sinned, for Domeh cited the Torah in his complaint.

However, Bat Sheva had been destined for David since the creation of the world (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 107:1); thus, he did not violate his covenant. Yet, if Bat Sheva had been destined for David, why was she first married to Uriah? After all, a wife is half of her husband's body. And if she is half of David's body, how could Uriah have taken her, if there is nothing in him that corresponds with her?

The fact is that Bat Sheva is David's true *Nukva* (female) from the day of the creation of the world, for David is the male part of *Malchut*, while Bat Sheva is the *Nukva* in *Malchut*. But since, as the world was being created, *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* to receive the property of mercy (bestowal) from her, Bat Sheva, too, required this correction in *GAR*. Without it she could not have given birth to the soul of King Solomon.

And Uriah the Hittite was an exalted soul, the properties of *GAR*, wherefrom the name "Uriah," which consists of Ur = *Ohr* (Light) and i(a)h = i (*Yod*) + h (*Hey*) = the first two letters of the Creator's Name *HaVaYaH*, is derived. In other words, Uriah signifies "the Creator's Light." And the fact that his name contains only

the first two letters *Yod-Hey* = *Hochma-Bina*, and lacks the last two letters *Vav-Hey* = *ZA-Malchut* indicates that his Light is the Light of *GAR*. Therefore, to correct Bat Sheva in the property of mercy, she was joined with Uriah. As a result, she became fit for queenship, and became the Queen of Israel.

133. Domeh said to Him: "Master of the World, what is revealed to You is concealed from him." The Creator answered: "Whatever David did was done with My permission. For no man goes to war without first giving his wife a *get* (document of divorce)." Domeh then said: "But if this is so, David should have waited three months, which he did not." The Creator replied: "This extension is only necessary to make certain that the woman is not pregnant from her previous husband. But it is known to Me that Uriah never went near her, for My Name is imprinted in him as testimony. Indeed, Uriah is *Ohr-Iah*, the Creator's Light, though it is written *Uriahu* = *Ohr* + *i* + *a* + *hu* (*Yod-Hey*-Vav), without the last *Hey*, *Malchut*, which proves that he did not use *Malchut*."

The letters *Yod-Hey* in Uriah's name (*Aleph-Reish-Yod-Hey*) indicate that he had never touched Bat Sheva. This is because Uriah refers to *GAR* without *VAK*. And *The Zohar* emphasizes that whenever *VAK* is used, the name *Uriahu* is applied. However, it is written here that Uriah was Bat Sheva's first husband, meaning that he had nothing of *VAK* in him, but only *GAR*—the Light of *Hochma* without the Light of *Hassadim*, for *Vav* signifies *Hassadim*. This is why he could not come near Bath Sheba.

134. Domeh said to Him: "Master of the World, this is exactly what I have said: if You knew that Uriah had never laid with her, then who revealed it to David? He should have waited three months. And if You will say that David knew that Uriah had never laid with her, why did he send Uriah to his wife, saying: 'Go down to your house, and wash your feet?'"

Usually the readers of the Torah give this example of "a love triangle" as evidence of King David's less than exalted qualities and of the inconsistency of the Creator's judgment—how He forgave David for "killing" Uriah, and so forth. We must remember that the Torah speaks only of the spiritual worlds and their laws, which have no obvious consequences in our world. There is a cause-and-effect connection: whatever occurs in our world is a result of a Higher cause, but in no way is it vice versa, i.e., whatever is described in the Upper World does not necessarily need to manifest in ours. To consider the Torah a narrative about our world relegates the Torah of the world of *Atzilut*, the Creator's holy names, the Creator's Light, to the lowest level of creation, which is strictly forbidden: "Do not make an idol for yourself."

135. He replied to him: "Of course, David did not know, but he waited more than three months, as four months had passed." As we have learned, on the 15th day of *Nissan*, David ordered all the people of Israel to prepare for war, Yoav—on seventh day of *Nissan*. They conquered the lands of Moav and remained there for four months, until he went to Bat Sheva in the month of *Elul*. And on *Yom Kippur*, the Creator forgave him his sin. But there are those who say that David dispatched his orders on the seventh day of *Adar*, the troops assembled on the 15th day of *Iyar*, he went to Bat Sheva on the 15th day of *Elul*, and on *Yom Kippur* the Creator forgave him and spared him from death at the hands of the angel Domeh.

Domeh is in charge of adultery. And since David was forgiven on the Day of Atonement, he thereby escaped death at the hands of Domeh. However, death was a consequence of Uriah's death at the hands of Amon's sons, as is recorded in the book of Kings (*Melachim*, 1, 15:5), "For David did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from anything that He commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite."

136. Domeh said: "Master of the World, I have nonetheless one claim against him: why did he open his mouth and say: 'The Lord is righteous, for a mortal does so,' thus condemning himself to death. Hence, I have the power to bring death upon him." The Creator replied to him: "You are not allowed to bring death upon him, for he has repented and confessed: 'I have sinned before the Creator,' even though he did not sin. But he did sin in one matter—the killing of Uriah. I have recorded his punishment, and he had received it." Then Domeh immediately gave up his complaints, and returned, despondent, to his place.

The last letter *Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH* has two points—restriction (strictness) and mercy. And all the corrections of *Malchut* with the help of the covenant (circumcision) are intended to conceal strictness and reveal mercy. Then, the Creator's name descends into *Malchut*. Even though *Malchut* exists there under the ban of the first restriction (strictness and judgment), and all the impure forces cling onto her, this point is nonetheless concealed, and only *Bina*'s property of mercy is revealed. Thus, the impure forces-desires, which are foreign to holiness and spirituality, are powerless and cannot cling to her.

To violate the covenant means to reveal the strictness and judgment in *Malchut* (the letter *Hey*). As a result, the impure forces immediately cling to her, for this is their property—a part of them. The holy soul, the Creator's name, thereby disappears at once, as it is written (*Iyov*, 4:9): "By the breath of God they perish."

David himself is the part of *Malchut* related to *Malchut's* property of mercy. Hence, he requires special care so as to prevent *Malchut's* property of strictness from being revealed in him. For he who reveals the property of strictness and violates the covenant with the Creator, surrenders himself to the impure forces, which condemn him to death. This is because the property of strictness reveals itself within him before the impure force (the angel Domeh), who wished to cling to David's soul and drag it to hell.

Although he was innocent, David begged the Creator's forgiveness for adultery, and received it. But with regard to David sending Uriah to his death, Domeh had no right to ask the Creator for punishment, as he is only in charge of adultery.

137. And David said to this: "Were it not for the Creator's help, Domeh had nearly claimed my soul." "Were it not for the Creator's help" means "had the Creator not been my guard and guide against the angel Domeh." "Nearly" means that only the distance as thin as a thread remained for Domeh to drag my soul to hell.

David is *Malchut*, of whom it is written (*Mishley*, 5:5): "Her feet descend to death," for she is the end, conclusion of holiness (the spiritual). The impure forces originate in *Malchut*, and she sustains them, as it is said (*Tehilim*, 103:19): "His kingdom rules over all."

However, when *Malchut* exists in her corrected property of mercy (item 122), she is defined as consisting of two points: her own point of judgment and the point of mercy that she received from *Bina*. Her point of judgment is concealed, while the point of mercy is revealed. And thanks to this correction, all that the impure forces can get from *Malchut* is a *Ner Dakik* (tiny luminescence), which only sustains their existence, but does not allow for their spreading.

Ner Dakik, the source of existence for the impure forces, is also known as *Hoteh Dakik*, a small sin, the root of sins, as it is written (Talmud, *Sukkah*, 52:1): "Initially, the impure force seems as thin as a spider web, but then grows as thick as a shaft." And it is called small (*Dakik*), for judgment and restrictions are concealed within the property (point) of mercy.

However, he who violates the covenant causes the point of judgment in *Malchut* to be revealed. As a result, the impure forces cling to *Malchut* and draw much Light from her, thus receiving the strength to spread and expand. And he who does so is said to be forsaking his own soul, as it is written: "By the breath of God they perish" (*Iyov*, 4:9).

And when he merits returning to the Creator, he returns and corrects *Malchut* with the property of mercy. This is why this process is called *Teshuva*

(return), from the word of *Tashuv* (to return) + "A," where "A" (*Hey*) designates the Creator. In other words, it is the return to the property of mercy, whereas the property of judgment goes back to being concealed in the property of mercy, like a small candle, and nothing more.

It is therefore written: WERE IT NOT FOR THE CREATOR'S HELP, referring to His acceptance of my return and repelling the angel Domeh by bringing *Malchut* back to her place (to the property) of mercy, reducing the property of judgment to a mere small candle, a hair's-breadth fire, whose LIGHT SEPARATES ME FROM THE IMPURE FORCE.

This is that minimal Light that must always remain between *Malchut* and the impure force, so as to allow *Malchut* to exist and be sustained by this small Light, called "small sin," so small that DOMEH WOULD NOT DRAG MY SOUL TO HELL FOR IT.

It is precisely the magnitude of this Light that saved me from the hands of Domeh, for had the property of judgment not returned to *Malchut* in the measure of a small sin, I would have fallen into the hands of Domeh.

138. Therefore, man should be careful not to say what David said, for one cannot say to the angel Domeh that "It was an error" (*Kohelet*, 5:5), as it was with David, when the Creator won the dispute against Domeh. "Why should the Creator be angry over your word" (*Kohelet*, 5:5), i.e., for what you have said. "Destroyed the work of your hands" (*Kohelet*, 5:5) i.e., the sacred flesh, the holy covenant, which you have broken, and are therefore to be dragged to hell by the angel Domeh.

There are two ways to return to the Creator ("Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," items 45, 59, 64; Talmud, *Yoma*, 86:2):

1) Repentance out of fear, when intentional sins become unintentional,

2) Repentance out of love, when intentional sins become merits.

Before the end of correction, when the forces of strictness, restriction, and judgment are still needed in the world, as it is written (*Kohelet*, 3:14), "The Creator hath so made it that man should fear Him," *Malchut* must sustain the existence of the impure forces as *Ner Dakik*, so they will not disappear from the world.

Therefore, at such a time (in this state), *Malchut's* corrections are made in two points: mercy and judgment. However, judgment is concealed, while mercy acts openly. This is why the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is feared: if man is worthy—it is good, if not—it is evil (items 120–124).

Therefore, DURING THE 6,000 YEARS, WE RETURN TO THE CREATOR ONLY OUT OF FEAR, which causes our intentional sins to turn into unintentional ones—errors. As a result of our repentance, we bring *Malchut* back to the property of mercy. But strictness and judgment are concealed in her to the extent of a small candle (small sin), since *Malchut* must still remain in the property of fear. Hence, this return is called "the return out of fear."

The small sin that must remain is also called "unintentional sin," an "error," a "mistake," for it is not regarded as a sin in and of itself. Rather, it only leads man to commit an unintentional sin. Man sins intentionally only after having first committed an unintentional sin: he committed something unintentionally, but it turned out that he has sinned.

Thus, this small sin remains in *Malchut*, but although it remains, it is not really considered a sin. Yet, through this concealed judgment and strictness we come to intentional sins. This is why it is said: "Initially, it is as a hair's-breadth," i.e., like a small sin. But then, unless we properly guard our covenant, it "becomes as thick as a shaft," as the property of strictness and judgment becomes revealed in *Malchut*.

It is hence said that Domeh stands at the gates of hell, as the power of a small sin is only an entrance, for it is said that it looks as thin as a spider web. Therefore, our repentance is called "forgiven sins," which turn into unintentional errors, as though they were mistakes. For a small sin remains, which is capable of leading us to intentional sins.

All this refers to the repentance out of fear, whereas the second kind is the repentance out of love, when intentional sins turn to merits (item 126).

Therefore, MAN SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO SAY WHAT DAVID SAID, i.e., not to utter the word that causes the property of judgment in *Malchut* to be revealed (as David had done). FOR ONE CANNOT SAY TO THE ANGEL DOMEH THAT IT WAS AN ERROR, for he is unsure as to whether he can return to the Creator right away, so that his sin would be forgiven and made unintentional, AS IT WAS WITH DAVID, WHEN THE CREATOR WON THE DISPUTE AGAINST DOMEH.

It happened with David because throughout his life all of his actions before the Creator were pure, he had committed no crimes, and the only exception was his act toward Uriah. Hence, the Creator became his defender, and helped him return to Him at once, and his sin was turned into an error, as it is said in *The Zohar* (item 137): WERE IT NOT FOR THE CREATOR'S HELP, DOMEH

HAD NEARLY CLAIMED MY SOUL. But other people should fear this angel, for an unintentional sin may lead them to hell at the hands of Domeh.

DESTROYED THE WORK OF YOUR HANDS, THE SACRED FLESH, THE HOLY COVENANT, WHICH YOU HAVE VIOLATED, AND ARE THEREFORE TO BE DRAGGED TO HELL BY THE ANGEL DOMEH. The correction in us called "the holy covenant" is regarded as "the work of our hands," as it is written: "Confirm the work of our hands." The holy soul is called the sacred flesh, as it is said, "Out of my flesh shall I see the Creator" (*Iyov*, 19:26) (item 131). Because of the revelation of the property of strictness and judgment in *Malchut*, the correction of the covenant was corrupted, and Domeh drags the soul to hell.

Therefore, THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS (item 130). In the end of correction, the Heavens will declare the work of His hands, as the reward for all these corrections will be revealed. It will become clear that this was THE WORK OF HIS HANDS, and NOT OURS', and THE HEAVENS DECLARE this. And the great *Zivug RAV PAALIM U MEKABTZIEL* will be made on these actions (corrections) (item 92). DECLARE refers to the Light's descent from Above.

Know that this is the only difference in our world before and after the end of correction. Before the end of correction, *Malchut* is called the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, for *Malchut* is the revelation of the Creator's governance over this world. And until people achieve the state where they can receive His Light (as He conceived and prepared for everyone back at the Thought of Creation), the world will be ruled by good and evil, by reward and punishment.

The reason for this is that our *Kelim de Kabbalah* (vessels of reception) are impure, stained by egoism, which (i) prevents the Creator's Light from filling theses desires, and (ii) separates us from the Creator. And the infinite goodness that He has prepared for us may only be received in altruistic desires, for these delights are not limited by the bounds of creation, like egoistic pleasures, in which fulfillment instantly douses the pleasure.

Hence, it is written: "The Creator hath made everything for His own glory" (*Mishley*, 16:4), i.e., all the deeds in the world were initially created by Him so that we could please Him. Therefore, people in our world are engaged in things that are totally opposite from what they should be doing, according to the purpose of their creation. After all, the Creator clearly states that He created the world for Himself: "I have created it for My glory" (*Yeshayahu*, 43:7).

Yet, we claim the exact opposite—that the whole world was created for us, and we desire to swallow it whole, for our own pleasure, satisfaction, indulgence, and exaltation. So it is no surprise we are unworthy of receiving the Creator's perfect goodness. And thus He rules over us through good and evil, in the form of reward and punishment, for one depends on the other: reward and punishment give rise to good and evil.

Because we use our desires to receive (pleasure), thus becoming opposite from the Creator, we perceive His governance towards us as evil. This stems from the fact that man cannot perceive obvious evil from the Creator, as this would greatly undermine the creatures' perception of the great and perfect Creator, for the Perfect one cannot create evil.

Therefore, to the extent that man feels bad and evil, and denies the Divine Providence, a veil immediately falls over him, and the sensation of the Creator's existence disappears. This is the worst punishment in the world!

Hence, the sensation of good and evil in the Creator's governance gives us a feeling of reward and punishment. This is because he who exerts efforts not to lose faith in the Creator's existence and governance, even if he tastes evil in His governance, is rewarded with finding strength to not lose faith in the governance and good purpose of the Creator's "evil" influence. But if he had not yet merited the opportunity to exert efforts in believing that the Creator pursues a definite purpose by sending him unpleasant sensations, he is punished with remoteness from faith in the Creator and the sensation of His existence.

Therefore, although He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the world, it remains semi-concealed from those who perceive both good and evil. For when they perceive evil, the impure force is allowed to conceal the Creator's governance and faith in Him. Thus, man suffers the worst punishment in the world—the sensation of detachment from the Creator—and becomes filled with doubts and denial of the Creator's existence and governance. And when he returns to the Creator, he receives a corresponding reward, and is able to unite with Him once again.

But through this very governance of reward and punishment, the Creator has prepared for us the opportunity to utilize this governance in order to achieve the end of correction, when all people attain their corrected *Kelim* (desires), and use them to bring pleasure to the Creator, as it is written that He has created everything for Himself! In other words, our bestowal must be absolute.

Then the great *Zivug* of *Atik* will be revealed, we will all return to the Creator out of love, all our intentional sins will turn to merits, all evil will be felt as

infinite goodness, and His Divine Providence will be revealed in the entire world. Thus, ALL SHALL SEE that only He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the world, and that no one acts besides Him. After the sensation of evil and punishment is turned to one of goodness and reward, and our egoistic desires become altruistic, we are given the opportunity to attain the Maker, for we conform to the work of His hands by blessing and exalting Him above all evil and all punishments we had once suffered.

However, the most important point to stress here is that until the end of correction, all the corrections were considered as THE WORK OF OUR HANDS. This is why we receive rewards or punishments for them. But in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, it will be revealed that all the corrections and all the punishments are THE WORK OF HIS HANDS.

Thus, it is said, THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. This is because the great *Zivug* signifies what the Heavens will declare, that all the deeds are the work of His hands, that He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the whole of creation.

139. Thus, "the Heavens declare the work of His hands." These are the friends who have united in the bride (*Malchut*) by studying the Torah on the night of the holiday of *Shavuot*. They are all participants of the covenant with her, and are called "the work of His hands." And she praises and notes each and every one of them. What is Heaven, firmament? It is the firmament, where the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiac are located. This firmament is called the Book of Remembrance, and it declares and records them, so they shall become the sons of His palace, and He will fulfill all their desires.

Yesod of *Zeir Anpin*, onto which a *Zivug* is made for the revelation of all the Supernal Degrees, called the sun, the moon, the stars, and the signs of the zodiac, is referred to as the "firmament." All of the Supernal stars exist on the firmament, called *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin*. And everything exists thanks to it, for it makes a *Zivug* with *Nukva*, called earth, and shines upon her with all these stars, i.e., gives these stars to her.

It turns out that *Malchut* is smaller than the sun (ZA). But at the end of correction, the light of the moon will be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun will be seventy times greater than before—*Malchut* will become as big as *Zeir Anpin* during the six days of creation. When will this be? Rabbi Yehuda answers: on the day when death disappears forever, and the Creator and His Name are as one.

The Heaven or the firmament (ZA) is *HaVaYaH*, called "the sun." *Malchut* (*Nukva*) receives from it, and is called "the moon." During the 6,000 years, *Malchut* receives the Light from the six days of creation, but *Zeir Anpin* does not reveal that the Creator and His Name are one. Hence, the moon is smaller than the sun. Its lesser size is a result of *Malchut's* consisting of both good and evil, reward and punishment.

There is a considerable difference between "Him" and "His Name." "His Name" is *Malchut*, where all the *Zivugim*, and all the states of unification and separation are accumulated. But at the end of correction, when death is said to disappear forever, *HaVaYaH* and His Name will be one. The Name (*Malchut*) will be like the Light of *Zeir Anpin*—only goodness without evil, and the private governance will be revealed in her, which means that the light of the moon will become equal to that of the sun.

Therefore at this time (in this state), *Nukva* will be called "the Book of Remembrance," for all human deeds are recorded in her. *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin* is called "remembrance," for it remembers the deeds of the entire world, studies, and analyzes all the creatures that receive from it.

During the 6,000 years before the end of correction, the Book of Remembrance exists sometimes together and sometimes separately. But at the end of correction, these two degrees will merge into one, and *Malchut* herself will be called "the Book of Remembrance," when ZA and *Malchut* become a single whole, for *Malchut*'s Light will equal that of ZA.

Therefore, the firmament is a place where the sun, the moon, the stars, and the signs of the zodiac are located. The firmament is *Yesod* of ZA, which emanates all the Light of the world and sustains all existence. It passes the Light onto *Malchut* when she is smaller than it, and the state, "He and His Name are one" has not yet been achieved. And at the end of correction, it will be exactly like *Malchut*, who is hence called the Book of Remembrance.

Thus, when *Malchut* receives all the properties of *Zeir Anpin* (the firmament, called "Remembrance"), she will become the Book of Remembrance, i.e., she and the firmament will be one.

140. Day after day brings *Omer*—a sheaf. The holy day out of those days (*Sefirot*) of the King (*Zeir Anpin*) praises the friends, who study the Torah on the night of *Shavuot*. They say to each other, "Day after day shall bring a sheaf," and praise it. And the words "night after night" refer to all the degrees, *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, that reign in the night, praise one another by

each receiving from a friend, from another *Sefira*. And the state of complete perfection makes them beloved friends.

Having explained that THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS is THE BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE. *The Zohar* continues to clarify the writings in the *Book of Malachi* (3:14-16): "You have said, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all? And now we regard the wicked as blessed: they have settled in their wickedness, tried the Creator, and were liberated.' Then those who feared the Creator spoke WITH EACH OTHER, and the Creator hearkened and heard, and a BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE was recorded before Him for those who fear the Creator (every day) and honor His (holy) name. 'And they shall become chosen for Me,'—the Lord said,—'on the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his son, who serves him,—on the day that I shall work a miracle, on the day of the end of correction.'"

Before the end of correction, before we prepare our desires "to receive" only for the Creator's sake, and not for self-gratification, *Malchut* is called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," for *Malchut* governs the world in accordance with man's deeds. Inasmuch as we are not yet ready to receive all the delight that the Creator prepared for us in His Thought of Creation, we have no choice but to submit to *Malchut*'s governance of good and evil.

And this very governance prepares us for the eventual correction of our desires to receive (*Kelim de Kabbalah*) into desires for bestowal (*Kelim de Hashpaa*), thus achieving the goodness and delight that He conceived to bestow upon us.

As was previously stated, the sensation of good and evil creates in us a feeling of reward and punishment. Therefore, when one tries to retain his faith in the Creator while he is feeling evil, but still continues to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* as he did before, he is rewarded.

And if he cannot overcome this test and is distanced from the Creator, he becomes filled with doubts with regard to the good governance. Alternatively, he stops believing that the Creator governs the world altogether, or feels resentment towards the Creator in response to these unpleasant sensations. The Creator punishes for all thoughts, just as He does for all actions (Talmud, *Kidushim*, 40:1).

It is also said that one's righteousness is of no help to him on the day of his sin. But sometimes man's doubts are so overpowering that he regrets even the good deeds he had previously done, and says (*Malachi*, 3:14): "You have said, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all?'" He becomes

a complete sinner, who regrets his righteous past (complaining that he wasted time and effort instead of enjoying this world like the others!), and his doubts and regrets cause him to lose all of his good deeds, as the Torah warns us: "One's righteousness is of no help to him on the day of his sin."

Yet, even in this state, man can return to the Creator. However, he is said to be beginning on his path anew, as though he is a newborn, for all of his past good deeds are gone.

One should not take the aforesaid literally, even in its spiritual context, for he who works to achieve unconditional altruistic deeds constantly experiences descents and ascents, is filled with doubts, and tries to overcome them. Only one who advances in this manner feels that he is starting his work every time anew, that he understands no more than a newborn baby. Conversely, one who belongs to the masses—who works in his egoistic desires—is constantly filled with self-reverence and thinks that on each new day, he adds to the previous one, and nothing seems to disappear. This makes his spiritual growth impossible.

Only one who truly ascends the spiritual degrees feels like a newborn baby before his Creator at each moment. After all, as he ascends from one degree to the next, the previous state (degree) disappears, and until he attains a Higher Degree, he is in total darkness and feels that he is starting from scratch, rather than supplementing his assets, which is how the spiritually inanimate (*Domem de Kedusha*) feel.

The governance of good and evil causes us to ascend and descend—each in his own way... Each ascent is considered a separate day (sensation of Light). As a result of the great descent that he has just undergone by regretting his past good deeds, man moves into a state of ascent, as one who is born anew.

Therefore, at each ascent, it is as though one starts over on his path to the Creator. Thus, each ascent is regarded as a separate day, for there is a break (night) between these states. And each descent is hence considered a separate night.

This is what *The Zohar* tells us: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF—in each ascent we draw nearer to the Creator's greatest day (the end of correction), HE PRAISED THE FRIENDS AND THEY WOULD SPEAK WITH EACH OTHER. This is because through the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, they will all merit returning to the Creator out of love, for the desire "to receive" will be completely corrected, and they will begin to receive only for the Creator's sake, so as to bestow delight upon Him.

In this great *Zivug* (unity), we will reveal all the supreme goodness and delight of the Thought of Creation. And we will then see with our own eyes that

all those punishments we experienced in the states of descent, which made us doubt and regret the efforts exerted in the Torah, all those punishments would correct and purify us. And now, at the end of correction, they are the direct cause for our sensation and reception of the Creator's goodness.

Had it not been for the terrible suffering and punishments, we would not have been able to achieve the state of being filled with perfect delight. Therefore, even these intentional sins turn into merits, as it is said: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF—each ascent in *Malchut*, up to the end of correction, is like a separate day.

This day is revealed by the word, which supports the Torah in all its greatness. What is this word? When they say, "How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all?"

These words brought punishments that have now become merits, for all the perfection and magnificence of that great day can now be revealed thanks to these very punishments of the past. Thus, those who uttered these words are now regarded as those who fear the Creator and praise His Name. (And these words could only have been spoken by those who made efforts to advance on the Path of Truth, and felt frustrated upon receiving uncorrected egoism of a Higher Degree. In other words, frustration comes only to those who truly work for the Creator's sake.)

Hence, it is said about them: "The Lord said, 'On the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his son, who serves him,'" for all the nights—states of descent, suffering and punishments, which sever their connection with the Creator—now become merits and good deeds. And the night turns into day, darkness turns into Light, and there are no divisions between days, and all 6,000 years gather into one great day.

And all the *Zivugim* that were made one after another, revealed the ascents and the separate, consecutive degrees, have now gathered into one degree of one great *Zivug*—Unity, which shines in the world from end to end. Hence, it is written: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF, that is, the intervals between days now become magnificent glory, for they have been turned into merits. Thus, everything becomes the Creator's one glorious day!

And the words "night after night" refer to all the degrees that reign in the night. They praise one another, and each receives everything that man feels as suffering in a state of descent—this is called night. And through such sensations, intervals are formed between the sensations of day.

On the whole, each degree is separated from one another. Night is an aspiration to attain the Creator. And while each night is full of darkness, now all the nights (states of feeling emptiness, hopelessness, heaviness of efforts, the Creator's concealment) gather together and form a unified vessel of reception of Supernal wisdom, which fills the entire earth with Knowledge of the Creator, and the nights shine like days.

For each night receives its own part of Knowledge only by joining with the other nights. Thus, each night is said to help the other nights in the Knowledge. Put differently, man is ready to receive the Knowledge only if he joins with the other nights.

And since night is a feeling of lacking knowledge, attainment, and sensation of the Creator by uniting, they form a perfect vessel of reception of the Knowledge of the Creator. And they praise one another, for each has received his share of the Knowledge of the Creator thanks exclusively to his friend, through uniting with him. Only in unity do they merit reception of the Supernal Knowledge. Hence, it is said that through the perfection achieved by all, the nights became beloved friends.

141. Does he speak of the others in the world who do not obey the Creator, and whom He does not wish to hear? But they made lines through all the earth, that is, these things make a line out of those that reside Above and out of those that reside below. From the first—firmaments are made, and from the second, from their return—earth. And should you say that they revolve around the earth in one place, it is said that they are also at the end of the world.

Thus far, we have discussed the most terrible punishments and suffering in the world—being detached from the Creator and losing faith in Him. Moreover, *The Zohar* tells us that all the punishments, all the suffering of hell and of the body, which stem from personal sins and fill this world, also gather and are included into one great *Zivug*, as it is written: "And it shall come to pass, that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so the Lord will rejoice over you to cause you to perish, and to destroy you" (*Devarim*, 28:63).

All will gather and become one great Light, and everything will turn to great joy and bliss. It is therefore said that THERE IS NO SHEAF AND NO THINGS IN THE OTHER WORDS OF THE WORLD, which man perceives in this world as suffering. But they will turn to joy and bliss, and thus the holy King, too, shall wish to hear them.

So, all the suffering during the 6,000 years will gather at the end of correction and will become a tremendous delight, as the prophet said: "In those days and

in that time, said the Lord, even if the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, there shall be none" (*Yirmiyahu*, 50:20).

Everything will turn to merits, so much so that they will ask and search "for the past sins that can be included in the *Zivug*, and which can be laughed at, for they were felt as suffering and now they are joy and bliss," but they will not find any. There will be no more suffering in its true form, as it was in the past, although they greatly desire to find it and feel it, for all suffering will have now been turned to great Light.

This Supernal Degree, created by the great *Zivug* out of all the souls and all the deeds, both good and evil, is now defined as a pillar of Light, which shines from one end of the world to the other. And this unity is perfect, as is said by the prophet (*Zachariah*, 14:9): "And the Creator shall be one (for all), and His Name one"—all the senses will grasp the Creator's complete and perfect name, "the Infinitely good."

Precisely because this most Supernal Degree is achieved as a result of bringing together all the suffering and punishments, it fills the entire universe with Light, including earth. However, it should be noted that the suffering of which *The Zohar* speaks is not the suffering of the body's lack of pleasure. It is the suffering caused by the absence of unity with the Creator!

But if suffering is so useful, why is it written, "neither them nor the reward for them?" Suffering is necessary, for it is correction. However, the true suffering, for which man can receive the degree of the end of correction, is caused by temporary distancing from the Torah and *Mitzvot* as a result of feeling the pain of suffering, and this pains the Creator. Thus, the *Shechina* suffers, for when man suffers in his heart, he speaks ill of her, willingly or unwillingly. Although the Torah tells him to be patient, to endure and have faith above reason—selfless faith that all of this is the correction that he must undergo—he debases the *Shechina* by being unwilling to endure them and achieve the end of correction.

Man's soul is also a *Partzuf* consisting of ten *Sefirot*. In its initial, spiritually undeveloped, unborn state, the soul is defined as a point, as a potential future spiritual body. If man works on himself, this point within him gradually acquires a screen, and he makes a *Zivug* on it. He repels all the pleasures for the sake of the Creator's desires, and receives Light in this point. Thus, he "amplifies" it to the size of a *Partzuf* and transforms it into a body, a newborn *Partzuf*.

Afterwards he continues to cultivate his screen, gradually nurturing the small state into the big one, until he receives all of the Light destined for him

by the Creator within his spiritual body. This state is called "the end of the personal correction." When all the personal corrections merge into one, the general correction of the entire world (of *Malchut*) will occur. *Malchut* is a *Partzuf* that consists of separate souls; each soul, the *Partzuf* of each soul, is part of *Malchut*, and *Malchut* is a collection, the sum of all the *Partzufim* that are to be made by all the people. To make a *Partzuf* is to acquire a screen and become filled with Light.

THOSE THAT RESIDE ABOVE AND THOSE THAT RESIDE BELOW refers to the order of time in the spiritual, eternal world, which is different from ours. When the Creator wished to create the world, He immediately created everything: all the souls filled with Light in a state of absolute perfection, called "the end of correction," where all the creatures receive the infinite delight that He envisioned.

This ultimate state was born with the Creator's first thought to create the world, and it exists in its final form from the very first moment, for the future, present, and past are merged in the Creator, and the factor of time does not exist in Him.

All human progress is necessary only to enable us to imagine that the following is also possible:

1. Change of time: the stretching of time into infinity, i.e., when time stops and the present merges with the past and the future; when time reverses its course or disappears. Yet, time is the only thing that provides us with a perception of existence. By "switching off" time, we stop perceiving that we exist!
2. Transformation of space: expanding and contracting of space into a point; space taking other forms, other dimensions; infinity and total absence of space altogether.

I've already dealt with these issues in my book, *Kabbalah, Science and the Meaning of Life*, and I would prefer not to digress from the text of *The Zohar*. However, to understand our true state, and not the one we currently perceive, it is essential to remember that notions of time and space do not exist with regard to Creator. In reality, we are completely different and exist in a completely different form and state from what we presently perceive. We feel this way because our sensations are distorted by our egoism, which infuse our senses and possess our bodies, like a cloud.

Therefore, all that is described in the Torah refers strictly to the spiritual realm. This information transcends time, referring at once to our past, present

and future, for time exists only with regard to those who are still confined to their egoistic *Kelim* (desires). From this we can understand what is said in the Torah: "The Creator showed Adam each generation and its representatives, and showed it to Moshe as well" (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 38:2).

Yet, if the above described unfolded before the creation of these generations, how can the Creator show them to Adam and Moshe? It is possible because all the souls with all their destinies from the moment of their creation to the end of their correction emerged before the Creator in their completeness and reside in the Supernal Garden of Eden. From there they descend and enter the bodies of our world, each at their own "time." And there, "Above," the Creator revealed them to Adam, Moshe, and all the others who were worthy of it. However, this is a difficult notion, and not every mind is ready to grasp it.

Therefore, *The Zohar* says (*Terumah*, 163) that the way the six *Sefirot* of *Zeir Anpin* unite as ONE above *Chazeh de Zeir Anpin*, where they are free from the *Klipot*, *Malchut* unites with *Zeir Anpin* below his *Chazeh*, so that unity exists below, as it does Above. For the Creator (*Zeir Anpin*) is One (male) Above. And *Malchut* becomes One (female), so that One (male) would be with One (female). This is the secret of unity expressed in the words: "He and His Name are one"; "He" (ZA) and "His Name" (*Malchut*) are within one another.

The degree that is born at the end of correction, in the state of "He and His Name are one," already exists Above as the sum of all the 600,000 souls and deeds during the 6,000 degrees (called "years") in the world, which will emerge before the end of correction, but exist in their eternal form Above, where the future is as present.

Therefore, the pillar of Light that will shine upon the world from one end to the other at the end of correction already exists in the Supernal Garden of Eden, which illuminates it with the same brilliance that will be revealed to us in the future. This is because at the end of correction the two degrees will shine as one, and "He and His Name will be one." A pillar (line) of Light will appear, made of those that reside Above (the souls that reside in the Supernal Garden of Eden) and those that reside below (the souls clothed in the bodies of our world). And "One receives One"; these two degrees shine together, and reveal the Creator's unity thereby, as it is said that on that day "He and His Name will be one."

From the aforesaid one can assume that the pillar of Light that shines in the Supernal Garden of Eden descends and shines in the Garden of Eden of our world. But this is not so. Rather, FROM THE FIRST—FIRMAMENTS

ARE MADE, for this degree exits onto a *Zivug* of *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin*, called "firmament." Therefore, all the *Zivugim* that ascend above the firmament shine upon those that receive them from the firmament and below. The degree above the firmament is referred to as "Heaven," and the degree that receives from the firmament is called "earth."

When the line (pillar) of Light unites the inhabitants of Above and those of below, the distinction between the Supernal Garden of Eden and the inhabitants of this world still remains. This is because the inhabitants of the Supernal Garden of Eden receive from a *Zivug* above the firmament, and what they receive is called "the new Heaven for the inhabitants of Above." And only a small luminescence, called "the new earth," descends below the firmament to the inhabitants of below. This is what *The Zohar* says: "From the first—firmaments are made, and from the second, from their return—earth."

Although in this great *Zivug*, as in all *Zivugim*, all that is decided above the firmament, above the *Zivug*, spreads down to earth, below the line of the *Zivug*, one should not think that this *Zivug* (like all the previous ones) is merely a thin line of Light, called "one," a limited, inner place, as it is written at the beginning of creation: "Let the waters gather together unto one place," i.e., in the inner place of the worlds (and not the outer), a place of Israel.

But the Light of this *Zivug* revolves around the world and fills it whole. This Light reaches even the outer parts of the worlds (the nations of the world), as the prophet writes: "The earth shall be filled with Knowledge of the Creator" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9).

142. And since out of them Heavens were created, who resides there? He returned and said, "There is a shelter for the sun in them. This is the holy sun, called *Zeir Anpin*, and it dwells and resides there, and adorns itself with them."

143. Since *Zeir Anpin* resides in those firmaments and clothes in them, he emerges like a bridegroom out of his wedding canopy, and rejoices and races along these firmaments, and exits them and enters, and races toward a tower in a different place. He emerges from one end of Heaven, from the Upper World, from the Highest place, from *Bina*. And his season—where is it? It is the opposite place below, i.e., *Malchut*, which is the year's season that forms all the ends and binds everything—from Heaven to this firmament.

The Zohar speaks of the great secret of the sun coming out of its hiding. It is worth noting that Kabbalists often use the word "secret" only to explain and as if reveal the mystery in the passages that follow. The reader should nevertheless

understand that there are no secrets in the world. Man attains everything from his degree. Even in our world, in the process of his mental development, man attains new notions on every new degree. And whatever he considered a secret only yesterday now becomes clear and revealed before him.

The same is true with regard to spiritual attainments. Kabbalah is called a secret wisdom, for it is concealed from ordinary people, it is a secret to them. But as soon as one acquires a screen and begins to perceive the spiritual world, he sees the secret becomes a reality. And this process continues until he completely attains the entire universe, all of the Creator's secrets ("Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," item 148).

The sun emerges from its hiding (sheath—*Nartik*), from under the *Huppah*, and rushes to a tower at a different place—after the great *Zivug* under the *Huppah*. *Zeir Anpin* leaves his hiding and enters *Malchut*, called the tower of *Oz* (strength) of the Creator's Name, for *Malchut* then ascends and unites with *ZA*, and they become as one.

The end of *Malchut* is called "the year's season." And until the end of correction, the impure forces, called "the end of days," attach themselves to it. Now, after the end of correction, it is still necessary to correct this part of *Malchut*, called "the end of days." To this end, the sun emerges from its hiding, LIKE THE BRIDEGROOM EMERGING FROM UNDER THE *HUPPAH*, and shines, and enters the tower of *Oz* (*Malchut*), races and shines on all the ends of *Malchut* to correct "the year's season" of the lower end of Heaven.

For this last action corrects all the ends of *Malchut* and unites all from the Heavens to the firmament. In other words, *Malchut* receives the Light of THE END OF HEAVENS above the firmament (*ZA*).

144. There is nothing hidden on account of the year's season and the phase of the sun that revolves in all directions. And there is no concealment, i.e., not a single Supernal Degree is hidden from him, for all were bound together and everyone appeared before him, and none could be concealed from him. Thanks to him and thanks to them he returned to them, to the friends, in the phase of complete return and correction. All this year and all this time is for the Torah (to study it), as it is written: "The Creator's Torah is perfect."

After the great *Zivug*, a restriction was imposed on all the Upper Light (item 94). Therefore, a new *Zivug* (TOWER) is necessary, which reveals anew all of the Upper Light that was concealed on account of the disappearance of the degree of *BON*, before it begins to ascend to *SAG*. Thus, NOTHING IS

CONCEALED FROM THAT PHASE OF THE SUN THAT REVOLVES IN ALL DIRECTIONS.

Indeed, a *Zivug* between the phase of the sun and the year's season corrects the ends of *Malchut* on all sides, until the correction is completed. Thus, *BON* ascends and becomes like *SAG*, which amounts to the complete correction of *BON*, whereupon THERE IS NO CONCEALMENT, NOT A SINGLE SUPERNAL DEGREE IS CONCEALED FROM HIM, for all the degrees and the Upper Light are once more revealed in their perfection. AND NOTHING CAN BE CONCEALED FROM Him, for all the degrees and Light gradually return to Him, until all become revealed.

It is hence said that the revelation does not occur at once, for while in its phase, the sun travels and shines in sufficient measure for a COMPLETE RETURN, as it is written that He punishes the sinners and cures the righteous, whereupon they all merit the complete revelation of the Star.

145. The word *HaVaYaH* is written six times, and there are six verses from "the Heavens declare" and until "The Creator's Torah is perfect" (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8). And this is the secret of the word *BERESHEET*, which consists of six letters: THE CREATOR CREATED ET (THE) HEAVENS AND THE EARTH, six words in all. The other sources of the verse from "The Creator's Torah is perfect" and until "they are better than gold" (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8) correspond to the six utterances of the name *HaVaYaH* in them. The sources from "the Heavens declare" through "The Creator's Torah is perfect" are for the six letters in the word *BERESHEET*, whereas the six names are for the six words from "the Creator created" through "the Heavens and the earth."

It is known that any degree born or revealed in the worlds is first revealed through its letters, which signifies the, as yet, unattainable. Afterwards, it appears in the combination of letters. This degree then becomes attainable, its contents become known, as previously described with the letters *RYU* = 216 and *AB* = 72 (item 116).

The six letters in the word *BERESHEET* contain everything that exists in Heaven and on earth, but in an unattainable form, and are hence designated by these letters alone, without their combinations. Then there are the six words: *Bara Elokim Et Ha-Shamayim Ve-Et Ha-Aretz* (THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH), where everything that the word *BERESHEET* contains (Heaven, earth, and all their inhabitants) is already attained.

The same principle allows us to understand what is included in the six verses from "the Heavens declare" to "The Creator's Torah is perfect." This is

just the beginning of the revelation of attaining the end of creation in the form of letters, as with the six letters in the word *BERESHEET*.

And the complete revelation, the attainment of the end of creation begins with the verse "The Creator's Torah is perfect." This verse contains six names, each of which constitutes unique attainment, thus indicating that only after the completion of this degree do all the letter combinations become revealed and attained in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, as it is said, NOTHING IS CONCEALED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIM.

This is why *The Zohar* says that THE WORD *BERESHEET*, WHICH CONSISTS OF six, IS WRITTEN (SPEAKS) ABOUT THIS SECRET. The word *BERESHEET* contains six letters, where Heaven and earth are concealed, before they become revealed in the six words, THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH.

The same applies to the six verses (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8): the great *Zivug* of the end of correction is not yet revealed from THE HEAVENS DECLARE to THE CREATOR'S TORAH IS PERFECT. Only after NOTHING IS CONCEALED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIM are the six names revealed, which in turn reveal the end of correction in its full perfection.

146. As they were sitting and talking, Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, entered. He said to them: "Certainly, the face of the *Shechina* has come, hence I called you *Pniel* (*Pnei*–face + *El*–Creator = the Creator's face)" (item 119), for you have seen the *Shechina* face to face. And now that you have attained Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada, it certainly refers to *Atik*, the *Sefira* of *Keter*, just as everything else that occurred afterwards, as it is written in the Torah: "And he slew the Egyptian." And he who is concealed from all—is *Atik*.

It is said in the continuation of "The Donkey Driver," who revealed the soul of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada to Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba, as a result of which Rabbi Shimon called them *Pniel*. For the soul of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada is a spiritual degree destined to be revealed in the future, at the end of correction. This is why they were in a state of concealment of the Upper Light (item 113), as was already mentioned with regard to the *Zivug* of the sun's phase and the year's season, until they have found Rabbi Shimon Ben Lakunya and others, thus meriting all the Light once again.

Therefore, Rabbi Shimon says to them, YOU HAVE ATTAINED, BENAYAHU BEN-YEHOYADA WAS REVEALED TO YOU. This means that they have already attained the six verses, the essence of THE HEAVENS DECLARE, and exist in the six names. When they have attained the soul of

Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada with the help of the donkey driver, their attainment had not yet been revealed to them, as they still existed in the six verses—the reason for their concealment. But now they have attained and revealed his soul, that it is the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, when everything is revealed to all.

147. The words, "He slew the Egyptian" are explained in another place, i.e., at a different degree, in a different way. He opened and said, "He slew the Egyptian, a man of good stature, five cubits high." All of this refers to the same secret. This Egyptian is the one who is well-known and is described as "very great in the land of Egypt in the eyes of the Jew," for he is great and honored, as that old man had already explained (item 99).

The Torah describes the killing of the Egyptian in the book *Shemot* (*2:12*). As we have already learned from the article about Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, it is expressed differently at a different degree (in a different language, the language of *Divrey HaYamim*). However, these two verses are the same secret, for it is written in the book *Shmuel* 1 (11:23): "And he slew the Egyptian, a prominent man," while in *Divrey HaYamim* it is written: "And he slew the Egyptian, a man of good stature, five cubits high." Both verses are the same secret, which *The Zohar* continues to clarify.

148. This case was examined at the Divine Assembly. "A prominent man" and "a man of good stature" are the same, as they constitute *Shabbat* and the bounds of *Shabbat*. As it is written: "You shall measure it from outside the city." It is also written, "You shall not impede limitations in measure." Hence, he was a man of good stature. Precisely such, from one end of the world to the other. Such is he, Adam, the first man. And should you disagree, referring to the written "five cubits," know that these five cubits extend from one end of the world to the other.

The matter concerns the Divine Assembly, of which Rabbi Shimon said: "I saw those ascending, but how few they were" (Talmud, *Sukkah*, 45:2). There is a lower assembly of the angel Matat. However, the described above takes place in the Supernal Assembly, which will be clarified further.

"A prominent man" is the degree of Moshe, of whom it is written in the Torah: "And there hath not since risen a prophet in Israel such as Moshe" (*Devarim*, 34:10), of whom it is written "My servant Moshe is not so; he is trusted in all My house; with him do I speak mouth to mouth, clearly, and not with riddles" (*Bamidbar*, 12:7-8).

"A prominent man" also constitutes a measure, which extends from one end of the world to the other. Moreover, its form and size correspond to *Shabbat* and

the bounds of *Shabbat*, where the bounds of *Shabbat* are the end of its measure. During the 6,000 years, the bounds of *Shabbat* are limited by only 2,000 *Amah* (cubits). However, after the end of correction, the bounds of *Shabbat* will extend from one end of the world to the other, as it is written: "And the Lord shall be King over all the earth" (*Zachariah*, 14:9).

As we already know, the Light can descend and fill the *Partzufim* down to the level of *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*. *Shabbat* is a spiritual state when the worlds of *BYA* with all that inhabit them rise above the *Parsa* to the world of *Atzilut*. Above *Parsa* are only pure forces, corrected desires (*Kelim*). Hence, naturally there is no need to separate pure *Kelim* from impure ones and to correct them during *Shabbat*.

However, the Light of *Shabbat* shines not only in the world of *Atzilut*, but beyond its bounds as well. It thus affects the sixteen *Sefirot* from *Parsa* down to *Chazeh* of the world of *Yetzira* so the soul can be in the state of "*Shabbat*" with these desires, too. The language of our world describes this as the permission to transcend the bounds of the city of *Atzilut* (seventy *Amah*) by 2,000 *Amah* down to the *Chazeh* of the world of *Beria*, and then another 2,000 *Amah* from *Chazeh* of the world of *Beria* to *Chazeh* of the world of *Yetzira*. (Seventy *Amah* are regarded as being within the city limits.)

However, after all the *Kelim* (desires) are corrected, there will be no restrictions; the world of *Atzilut* will extend down to our world, and only the state of *Shabbat* will prevail in the entire world—in all desires of all creatures.

It is hence written: A PROMINENT MAN and A MAN OF GOOD STATURE are one and the same, for they constitute *Shabbat* and the bounds of *Shabbat*, as is said: AND YOU SHALL MEASURE FROM OUTSIDE THE CITY, and it is also written: YOU SHALL NOT IMPEDE JUDGMENT IN MEASURE. It follows that an object's measure represents its limit, just as the words A MAN OF GOOD STATURE alludes to the end, the bounds of *Shabbat* after the end of correction, which will extend from one end of the world to the other.

AND HE SHALL BE PRECISELY MAN OF GOOD STATURE indicates that size does not rule over him; rather, he rules over size, and it is he who determines this size according to his own will. SUCH IS HE, ADAM, who, prior to his sin, extended and shone from one end of the world to the other (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12:1), as the bounds of *Shabbat* after the end of correction.

FIVE CUBITS FROM ONE END OF THE WORLD TO THE OTHER—because the five cubits are the five *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*

that expand and fill everything from one end of the world to the other after the end of correction.

149. It is, as is written, "like a weaver's beam" (*Shmuel* 1, 17: 7) "as the Divine staff" (*Shemot*, 4:20) that was in his hand, which reveals by the secret name (Light) confirmed in it by the Light of the letter combinations that Betzalel and his disciples engraved, called "weaving," as is written, "He filled them and others, and BOUND them." And that staff—within it shone a secret name, inscribed on all its sides by the Light of the sages, who confirmed the secret name in forty-two properties. And the rest of what is written from here onward is similar to what the old man had already explained. Happy is his lot!

The secret of the letter combinations in sacred names is called "weaving," like a weaver joins his threads into a fabric, the letters join into combinations of sacred names, which designate man's spiritual level of their attainment. Hence, *The Zohar* says that the Creator's staff in Moshe's hand had engraved the letter combinations of the secret name, which Betzalel and his disciples engraved as they worked on the Tabernacle.

The Creator's staff is therefore called a "weaver's beam." The Hebrew word for "beam" is *MANOR* (from *OHR*—Light). This refers to the Light of the letter combinations in the secret name, which Betzalel weaved and engraved, as it is said, "by the Light of the letter combinations that Betzalel engraved."

However, the staff does not shine in all directions until the end of correction, for there is a distinction between the Creator's staff and that of Moshe. It is written of the staff of Moshe: "Put forth your hand and take it by the tail (of a snake), and it shall become a staff in your hand" (*Shemot*, 4:4). This means that it did not shine from all sides.

However, after the end of correction, it will shine in all directions, as it is said: "And the secret name shone from within that staff in all directions by the Light of sages, who confirmed the secret name in forty-two properties." For the secret name that was engraved on the staff shone in all directions, i.e., in the property called "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8). It will thus begin to shine evenly in all directions, whereas the Light of the name engraved on the staff is the Light of *Hochma* of the Name *MB*.

150. Be seated, dear friends. Be seated and let us renew the correction of the Bride on this night, for whomever joins her on this night shall be guarded Above and below in the coming year. And this year shall pass over him in peace. Such people are described in the verse: "The angel of the Lord stands

round those that fear Him, and delivers them. O taste and see that the Creator is good" (*Tehilim*, 34:8-9).

As was already stated in item 125, there are two explanations of the aforesaid. The first is that since the day of the giving of the Torah is the Light of the end of correction that abolishes death forever and brings freedom from the angel of death, one should exert to receive this Light on the day of *Shavuot* (Pentecost), as Light is renewed on the holiday and brings deliverance from death.

According to the second explanation, *Malchut* is called a "year," and the renewal of the Light by those who keep the Torah after the end of correction will also bring the complete and final correction of the year (*Malchut*). This is because the renewal of the Light by those who keep the Torah is referred to as the correction of the night of the bride, *Malchut*, called a "year." And this brings us to a corrected year.

Heaven and Earth

151. Rabbi Shimon opened and said, "In the beginning the Creator created the Heavens and the earth." This verse should be examined carefully, for whoever claims that there is another Creator disappears from the world, as it is written, "He who claims that there is another Creator perishes from both the earth and from Heavens, for there is no other Creator, but the Almighty."

Here *The Zohar* continues to discuss the correction of the bride. It starts with the first sentence of the Torah: IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, with the root and the source of all the corrections of the bride (*Malchut*) during the 6,000 years.

Malchut's entire correction occurs only through her union with *Bina* and the reception of *Bina's* properties. In the verse, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, the Creator is called *Elokim*, signifying *Bina*. This means that He created the world by the property of *Bina* for the purpose of correction.

Elokim consists of *MI-Bina* and *ELEH-Malchut*. Thanks to the constant union of *MI* and *ELEH*, the world can exist. The Creator is *Bina*, called *Elokim*, and as a result of *Ohr Hochma* clothing in *Ohr Hassadim*, the union of *MI* and *ELEH* provides *ELEH* with the property of *Bina*. It is through this correction that the world is able to exist.

The union of *MI* and *ELEH* does not permit for the existence of other, foreign, egoistic forces within the *Partzuf*. These are the so-called "other gods," who cannot sustain the world, as they separate *MI* from *ELEH* and do not clothe the Light of pleasure (*Hochma*) in the altruistic intention of *Hassadim* (for the Creator's sake), which leads to *Ohr Hochma* departing the *Partzuf*, leaving *ELEH*. Therefore, it is forbidden to believe that man is governed by any other forces besides the Creator, for instead of existence and reception of the Light of Life, such belief brings the world and man only ruin and disappearance of this Light.

152. With the exception of *ELEH*, everything is written in Aramaic. This is called "translation." He asks: However, should you suggest that it is because the holy angels do not understand the translation, i.e., the Aramaic language, then everything should have been said in Hebrew, so the holy angels would hear and be grateful for it. He replies: This is exactly why it is written in the translation (in Aramaic), as the holy angels neither hear nor understand it, and hence will not envy people, which would be detrimental to the latter. For in this case, even the holy angels are called Creators, and they are included in the group of Creators, but they have not created Heaven and earth.

Aramaic is referred to as "translation." It is very close to the holy language of Hebrew, but angels neither need nor know it nonetheless. Yet, they know and need all the other languages of the nations of the world. This is so because the translation from the holy language is called its "reverse side," its *VAK* without *GAR*.

In other words, there is an altruistic language, which is hence called "holy," and its reverse, preliminary stage, hence called "translation," is the Aramaic language. No other language in the world but Aramaic can act as translation from the holy language. All the other languages in the nations of the world (egoistic desires) are strictly egoistic and are unrelated to altruism. They are not *AHP* with regard to *GE* (the holy language).

Therefore, the translation is truly close to the holy language. However, there is one distinction here, which renders it unnecessary to angels: the holy language is like the scale pointer that shows the extent of balance between the right and left scales, where the pointer moves between the two scales and delivers its judgment—toward the scale of reward (for merits) or towards the scale of punishment (for sins). It brings everything back to the state of correction, to purity and holiness, and is hence called the holy language ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 120).

As it is written in item sixteen, Heaven, earth, and all that inhabit them were created by *MA*, i.e., *Malchut*, as it is written, "*MA* = WHAT = HOW glorious is Your name in all the earth, which You have set above the Heavens!" Indeed, Heaven was created by the name (property) of *MA* (*Malchut*), whereas the Heaven that is mentioned alludes to *Bina*, called *MI*. But all is explained by the name *Elokim*.

The name *Elokim* is revealed in Heaven and earth, which were created by the power of *MA*, by attaching the letters *ELEH* from *Ima-Bina* with the help of *MAN* and good deeds of the lower ones. Therefore, the Light of *GAR*, i.e., *Ohr Hochma*, called *Elokim*, is consistent neither in Heaven (*Bina*) nor on earth (*ZON*).

Typically, only *GE* are present above the *Parsa*, in *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, whereas their *AHP* is below the *Parsa*, in the worlds *BYA*, for *ZON* themselves are unwilling to receive *Ohr Hochma* unless it is to be passed on to the *Partzufim*—the souls of the righteous—in the worlds of *BYA*.

When the lower ones, the righteous that exist spiritually in the worlds of *BYA*, raise *MAN* from below upwards, from their place in *BYA* to *Malchut de Atzilut*, *MA* turns into *MI* and the letters *ELEH* join with *MI*. Together, they create the word *Elokim*, which is the Light of Heaven and earth. However, if the lower ones corrupt their deeds by sinking into egoistic intentions, the Light disappears and leaves *Sefirot K-H* with the Light *Ruach-Nefesh* (called *MI* or *MA*), while the letters *ELEH* fall into the impure forces, for *MI* is *GE* and *ELEH* is *AHP*.

Therefore, the entire correction depends exclusively on attaching the letters *ELEH* to *MI* with the help of *MAN*. Hence, this correction is called the "holy language," like the scale pointer, which determines the balance between egoistic desires and altruistic intentions, i.e., the reception for the Creator's sake. This is why the scale pointer is set in the middle, and by means of such interaction of the properties of *Malchut* (the will to receive) and *Bina* (the will to bestow), one can achieve the reception of *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake.

The Light is called "holy," as it passes the holy name *Elokim* to *ZON*, descends from *Bina* to *ZON*, and transfers the letters *ELEH* to the pure and holy side, to the scale of merit. This is why the Hebrew word for "scales" is *Mawznaim* (from the word *Awzen*), for the Light in *AHP* (*Awzen-Hotem-Peh*) is named according to its highest Light, the Light of *Awzen* of the *Sefira Bina* or *Ohr Neshama*.

Keter	Galgalta	Forehead/Skull	Yechida	GE
Hochma	Eynaim	eyes	Haya	
		Parsa		
Bina	Awzen	ear	Neshama	AHP
ZA	Hotem	nose	Ruach	
Malchut	Peh	mouth	Nefesh	

And the language of translation called *Targum* is opposite to the holy language of *Mawznaim* (scales). It is so because when the lower ones do not raise *MAN* and do not harbor pure intentions, it is defined as an aspiration to use only the desires to receive, designated by the letters *ELEH*, and which do not aspire to unite with the desire (property) of bestowal (the letters *MI-Bina*). As a

result, *AHP* of *ZON*, called *MA*, descend and Heaven and earth (*ZON*) return to the state of *VAK*.

Such a state is called the language of *Targum*. The *Gematria* of the word *Tardema* (sleep) matches that of the word *Targum*. In Hebrew, the word *Targum* is spelled with the same letters as the words *Tered MA*, which means "descending *MA*," for through this spiritually impure language, *AHP* = *MA* (designated by the words *Tered MA*) becomes revealed. This leads to the descent from the scale of merit to the scale of punishment. While this is happening, the state of *GE* is called "sleep."

However, all this refers only to *ZON*, to Heaven and earth created in *MA*, the desires of reception. This is because they have emerged as a result of a *Zivug* on *Yesod*, called *MA*. But the holy angels that emerged from the *Zivug de Neshikin* (kissing *Zivug*) of *AVI*, and which have only *MI* but no *MA* (only altruistic desires of bestowal, the property of *IMA-Bina*), permanently exist in the state of *VAK* without *GAR*, that is, without *Ohr Hochma*.

On the other hand, their *VAK* is *Ohr Hassadim* of *MI* = *Ima-Bina*. *Ohr Hassadim* in *Bina* is as important as *GAR*, for it fills desires with just as perfect a sensation as does the *GAR*, to the point that they reject *Ohr Hochma*, just like *Ima*. And there is holiness in them; hence, *GAR* are called holy, as well.

There are two reasons why angels do not respond to the language of *Targum*, which adds *MA* to *ZON* and returns *ZON* to the state of *VAK*:

1. Even when *ZON* are in the state of *GAR* due to the influence of the holy language, angels do not receive *GAR* (*Hochma*) from it, as, just like *Ima*, they want only *Ohr Hassadim*.
2. The addition of the *Achoraim* (*AHP*) does not apply to angels whatsoever; they lack the properties of *MA*. Hence, *The Zohar* says that THE HOLY ANGELS HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO NEED for translation AND DO NOT LISTEN to it. They do not need it because they neither lose anything when it is present nor gain anything when it is absent, as they constitute the property of *VAK* and lack the property of *MA*.

AND THEY SHALL NOT ENVY MAN—this sentence refers primarily to the damnation of other gods, the forces that prevent man from revealing *GAR*, *Ohr Hochma*. As a result, he loses the Light and the letters *ELEH*, for angels do not have the properties of *GAR de Hochma* either, but only *GAR de Hassadim*. Thus, they feel ashamed of their descent to such a low degree, and envy us for considering ourselves significant.

The Zohar says that in this case, even the holy angels are called "Creators," but they have not created Heaven and earth and are called "Creators-*Elokim*" (forces) because they come from *Ima-Bina* (called *Elokim*), thus existing in the general *Elokim*. But THEY HAVE NOT CREATED HEAVEN AND EARTH, for they cannot uphold the existence of Heaven and earth in *GAR de Hochma*. However, Heaven and earth (the correction of the world to its ultimate merging with the Creator) cannot exist unless man settles there (man must consist of egoistic and altruistic desires) and sows and reaps (corrects his egoistic desires by uniting with the properties of *Bina*). This existence is possible only in the Light of *GAR de Hochma* (the reception of *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake). Hence, angels do not create Heaven and earth.

153. He asks: earth is called *Arka*, when it should read, *Ar'a*. He answers: because *Arka* is one of the seven lands below, where the sons of Cain's sons reside. Indeed, after being banished from the face of the earth, they descended there and fathered generations; wisdom became so lost that all understanding was lost, and this is a double land, consisting of darkness and Light.

Each of the seven *Sefirot* (the six *Sefirot* of *ZA* and *Malchut*) contain the properties of the other six. Thus, each one of them contains the seven *Sefirot HGT NHYM*. In other words, *Malchut*, too, has seven *Sefirot*, and the lower world contains seven lands, as well, called *Eretz*, *Adama*, *Arka*, *Gia*, *Neshia*, *Tzia* and *Tevel*.

Our land is called *Tevel* and is the highest of the seven lands. *Arka* is the third of the seven lands. The souls of Cain and Abel descend from the word *Elokim*, but due to the impurity that Chava (Eve), Adam's wife, received from the serpent, the soul of Cain emerged first from the letters *ELEH*, followed by the soul of Abel, which emerged from the letters *MI*. These two *Partzufim* were meant to unite and incorporate their properties in one another, which would make the name *Elokim* shine in both of them, as when *MI* is permanently present in *ELEH*. However, the impure force that emerged together with Cain's soul incited him against his brother (*MI* of the word *Elokim*) to the point that he rose against Abel (*MI* in *Elokim*) and slew him. This is because the disappearance of the property of *MI-Bina* from *ELEH* is tantamount to murder.

Without the support of the properties of *MI*, *ELEH* (Cain's own property) fell into the impure forces: from the spiritual level of the holy land to the impure place (of egoistic desires). And he lost his descendants (*Partzufim* filled with Light) because of the rule of the impure forces (the disappearance of the screen).

Thus, the holy language within him was substituted for translation, for he had lost the wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*). After all, the impure forces lack wisdom, as they have only the Light of *HB* without *Daat*.

The slaying of Abel, i.e., the exit of Light from this *Partzuf* (item 152), occurs because *MI* is formed in *ZON* exclusively by the power of *MAN* (raised by the pure thoughts of the righteous in the worlds of *BYA*). Then appear the letters *ELEH*, and the word *Elokim* becomes as complete in *ZON* as it is in *AVI*. *Malchut* ends just like *ZA*, like *Ima*, due to the replacing of the letter *Hey* with *Yod* (item 17).

However, the letter *Hey* does not disappear from *MA* forever. Rather, it simply enters the inner part of *Malchut* and hides there (the will to receive receives its fulfillment from altruistic actions, from *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, its egoistic aspirations are temporarily unfelt, as they are concealed in *Ohr Hassadim*). Meanwhile, the letter *Yod* is revealed in *MI*.

This is why the Creator's holy name *Elokim* is also found in *ZON*, in Heaven and earth. However, Cain raised *MAN* not in holiness and purity, but wished to use the letters *ELEH*—which relate to him—for his own pleasure. This is described as, AND CAIN ROSE UP AGAINST ABEL, HIS BROTHER, for he put himself above his brother, to rule over *MI* (Abel).

However, *AHP* of *Nukva* (the hitherto concealed letter *Hey* of *MA*) were immediately revealed, and the word *MI* disappeared from *Malchut*. Hence, Abel's soul, which stems from *MI* of *Nukva* (*MI* fill the *Partzuf* with Light and are considered its soul) ascends and disappears as well, as is described by the words, AND SLEW HIM, for the Light's exit from the *Partzuf* is referred to as death.

This is why *The Zohar* describes this process in the following way: The serpent's impure force was within Cain (*Beresheet*, 2:4); hence, he wished to strengthen the letters *ELEH*, annul *MI*, and govern them. That is why he revealed *AHP* of *Nukva* (*MA*) and *MI* disappeared from *Nukva*, whereupon Abel's soul, which descends from *MI*, disappeared as well (AND SLEW HIM).

Thus, Cain himself (*ELEH*) fell under the rule of the impure forces, called *Arka* or *Eretz Nod*, as it is written in the Torah: "And he settled in the land of Nod" (*Beresheet*, 4:16).

The Zohar calls it a double land, one that contains both Light and darkness. This is because Light and darkness mix and act (rule) together, as there are two rulers in that land, who divide the power equally between them. One rules over darkness, the other over Light. Hence, in this state one is unable to separate Light from darkness, and only help from Above, the descending Light of reason, enables one to tell between the true Ruler and the lord of darkness.

154. And there are two rulers there—one rules over darkness and one over Light, and they become hostile to each other. When Cain descended there, they joined together and became complete. And they all saw that they were Cain's descendants. Therefore, their two heads are like two serpents, except for when the ruler of Light defeats the other, the ruler of darkness. Hence, they enter Light and darkness, and become as one.

We need to review item 14, which expounds on the creation of the holy name *Elokim*. First, the letters *ELEH* ascend and join *MI* to form a simple word, since *Ohr Hassadim* is still insufficient, whereas holiness (*Ohr Hochma*) cannot enter the *Kli* (desire) without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is concealed in the name *Elokim*.

That is why a *Zivug* takes place in *MI*— to receive *Ohr Hassadim*, which clothes *Ohr Hochma*, thereby correcting the name *Elokim*: *MI BARAH ELEH—BARAH* is the source of *Ohr Hassadim*, which clothes *Ohr Hochma*, thus connecting *MI* to *ELEH*, which brings correction to the name *Elokim*. *MI-Bina* consists of *GAR* (*AVI* with the property of pure altruism), who never receive *Ohr Hochma*, and *ZAT* (*YESHSUT*), who do receive *Ohr Hochma*.

Therefore, as the letters *ELEH* begin to ascend to *MI*, they first rise to *ZAT de MI* (*YESHSUT*), who receive *Ohr Hochma*, but are currently concealed in the name *Elokim*. Then transpires the second *Zivug* on *GAR de MI*, *AVI*, altruistic desires, which provide *ELEH* with *Ohr Hassadim*, thus bringing correction to the name *Elokim*.

AVI	–	GAR de Bina	–	Ohr Hassadim
YESHSUT	–	ZAT de Bina	–	Ohr Hochma
ZON				

Since *ELEH* lacks *Ohr Hassadim*, those deprived from *Ohr Hochma* are called *Partzuf* Cain. Not only did Cain fail to raise *MAN* to receive *MI* with *Hassadim*, he also wished to receive *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*, thereby destroying the *Partzuf* named Abel, for the egoistic desires of *AHP de Malchut* of *Atzilut* were exposed. The Light disappeared from *Partzuf* Abel, signifying its death, whereas Cain himself fell into the impure forces—*ELEH*.

The place of these impure forces is called *Arka*. Also, two rulers exist there, emerging from the impure *ELEH*: when *AHP de MA* in *Malchut* is concealed, while *AHP de MI* are revealed, they can pass the Light from the perfect, pure, and holy name *Elokim* to the souls. *Ohr Hochma* of *ELEH* (received by

YESHSUT) then clothes in *Hassadim* (received from *AVI*), and the holy name *Elokim* becomes revealed.

However, since the impure forces cling only to the *AHP* of the pure forces (to *MA*), the letters *ELEH* within them exist in two incomplete states: (i) when no *Hassadim* are present at all; (ii) when *Ohr Hochma* in *ELEH* cannot clothe in *Hassadim* due to the lack of *Hassadim de MI*; hence, *ELEH* are kept in darkness.

This is the male part of the impure *ELEH*, as these *Kelim* are intended for *Ohr Hochma*. However, they have no *Hochma* due to the lack of *Hassadim de MI*. Hence, they are kept in darkness, devoid of both *Hochma* and *Hassadim*. Yet, these are great *Kelim*, for if they had been able to receive *Ohr Hassadim*, they would have been able to receive *Ohr Hochma* within it, too.

The female part of the impure *ELEH* stems from *AHP de MA* of the holy *Nukva*, the *Kli* for *Ohr Hassadim*. However, the impure *Nukva* is considerably injured, as she is the basis for everyone's remoteness from the Creator, as she impersonates the holy *Malchut*. Depending on the extent of her corruption, she has a multitude of impure names. Yet, she still retains a tiny Light (*Ner Dakik*), since her *Kelim* stem from *AHP de MA*, the roots of which are *Kelim* of *Ohr Hassadim*.

These male and female parts of the impure *ELEH* are *ZA* and *Malchut* of the impure forces, the two rulers in *Arka*. The male part rules over darkness and the female part rules over the Light that is there. They complain against each another, since they are opposite. The male part complains because it is the *Kelim* of the letters *ELEH*, which are empty of *Ohr Hochma*; it hates the forces of remoteness from the Creator and forgery, existing within the *Kelim* of the female part of the impure forces, and prefers to remain in its darkness.

Nukva of the impure forces, however, who has a small Light of *Hassadim*, does not aspire for *Ohr Hochma*, let alone for the darkness in which her male part abides. Therefore, she complains about the male part and distances from it. As *The Zohar* says, two rulers govern there: one (the male part) over darkness, and the other (the female part) over Light, and they are hostile towards each other, for the male part rules over darkness and the female rules over Light. Hence, they hate, slander, and complain against each other. And since they are thereby distanced from one another, they cannot expand their dominance and are incapable of causing any harm.

However, after Cain had sinned and dropped the pure letters of *ELEH* of his soul into the impure forces of *Arka*, his *ELEH*, which are concealed from *Hassadim*, clothed in the tiny Light present in the impure forces. This revives

the small *Kelim de Hochma* in Cain's *ELEH*, for the Light of the impure forces bestows life upon them, just like the pure Light of *Hassadim*.

As a result, the male part of *ELEH* of the impure forces, too, made a *Zivug* with this *Nukva*, who clothed Cain's *ELEH*, since he has these *Kelim*, as well. With the help of this *Zivug*, Cain fathered his descendants, the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that remain in the letters *ELEH*, which are not mixed with the male impure *Kelim* of *ELEH* that clothed in the Light of *Nukva* of the impure forces.

This is why *The Zohar* says that when Cain descended there, everything merged and became complete, for the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that remained in Cain's *ELEH* were clothed in the Light of *Nukva* of the impure forces. Consequently, her male impure force wished to enjoy the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that are in Cain's *ELEH*.

Hence, they made a *Zivug*, i.e., spread and completed one another, and everyone saw that they were the descendants of Cain, that this *Zivug* produced the descendants, the clothing of the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* in Cain's impure *ELEH*. Thus, the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* of Cain's soul were revealed, and everyone saw that they were Cain's descendants, born of a vile *Zivug*.

Therefore, their two heads are like two serpents, for they were born from a union of the male and female parts of the impure *ELEH*, which are initially opposite to one another. Therefore, Cain's descendants have two heads, from the two impure forces: one craves the darkness of the desires to receive *Ohr Hochma*, and the other craves the Light within the impure desires of the impure *Nukva*. And the two serpent heads correspond to the two animals that belong to the system of the pure forces: the bull and the eagle.

However, the two heads exist only when the male part is dominant, when darkness rules. Indeed, by clothing in the Light of *Nukva* in order to enjoy the small sparks of *Ohr Hochma*, the male part also supports (against its will) the dominance of its *Nukva*, for it wants her Light. As a result, their descendants have two heads: the first pulls in one direction and the second in another.

Nukva of the impure forces does not need their male part whatsoever, as her male part exists in darkness and cannot give her anything. Therefore, *Nukva* dominates and prevails in her impurity, leaving nothing of the properties of the male part. Consequently, Cain's two-headed descendants become one-headed.

The Zohar tells us that the ruler of Light defeats the lord of darkness. When the impure *Nukva*, which has the Light, dominates, she defeats the male impure part, as well as the other male ruler. She defeats the male part, fully subduing it to her rule, and they include themselves in her Light and darkness, and become

as one. Consequently, the rule of the male part (darkness) is included under the rule of the female part (Light), and the two heads become one.

155. For these are the two rulers, called Afrira and Kastimon, who resemble holy angels with six wings. One has the image of a bull, and the other of an eagle. And when they unite, they create an image of man.

The male impure force is called Kastimon (from the word *Kosti*, devastation), for it is darkness and is unfit for man's life. And the impure *Nukva*, the female part, is called Afrira (from the word *Afar*, dust), and is unfit for sowing. She is called so in order to show that although she contains Light, she is insufficient for sowing the seed and producing harvest to feed human beings.

The Zohar also says that she resembles holy angels with six wings, for the six wings of the holy angels correspond to the letter *Vav* in the name *HaVaYaH*. In contrast, there are only four wings in the impure forces, corresponding to the name *ADNI*, indicating the height of the impure forces with regard to the holy angels, opposite them.

The Upper Light is called "wine," bringing joy to the Creator and to human beings. However, wine residue contains *Sigim* or wine yeast. And from this waste emerges the foremost wrecker of the world, for he is still connected to purity (to yeast) and has the image of a man. However, as he descends to bring people harm, he assumes the image of a bull. This is why a bull is the first of the four main types of wrecker.

Hence, *The Zohar* tells us that Kastimon is a wrecker in the image of a bull, thus indicating that it is the basis of all wreckers that are called "the impure bull." It is the *Sigim* of the Supernal *Ohr Hochma* of the holy name *Elokim*, the impure *ELEH* that correspond to the pure *ELEH* of the name *Elokim*. For *Sigim* and yeast stand below it, but since it is still connected to purity, it has the image of man, for *Ohr Hochma* of the name *Elokim* is *Tzelem* (image and likeness) of man, of which it is said: "*Be Tzelem Elokim*—created man in image and likeness."

Yet, when separated from purity (altruism) through deterioration of its desires and, consequently, of its properties, it descends to its place (befitting these properties) in *Arka*, and assumes the image (properties) of a bull. And its *Nukva* assumes (in *Arka*) the form (properties) of an eagle, in congruence with her goal and action of *Linshor* (to fall out)—to bring about the fall of human souls under her power.

Hence, the word *Nesher* (vulture) is derived from the word *Neshira* (fall), just as leaves fall from a tree, for the role of the impure *Nukva* is to seek people out

and bring them to a state of night and darkness, to the destruction of the holy covenant, as a result of which people's souls depart from them (item 131).

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us: "And when they unite, they form the image of man," i.e., if they return and unite with purity, existing as wine yeast, they return and assume once more the image of man, just as before they descended to Arka and became wreckers.

156. When they are covered with darkness, they turn into a serpent with two heads, and move like a serpent. They soar in the void and bathe in the Great Sea, and when they approach the chains of Aza and Azael, they rile and rouse them and leap into the mountains of darkness, thinking that the Creator wishes to bring justice upon them.

I suggest that the reader will try to comment on *The Zohar* on his own, without any help, and then compare his thoughts with those stated below. This way, we might understand what Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag has done for us with his commentary. Prior to the appearance of his commentaries on the books of the ARI and *The Zohar*, there was no way for us to understand Kabbalah correctly, and only a handful of people in each generation could climb the spiritual ladder on their own.

Now, however, I assure the reader that simply by constantly reading even my books, which retell the compositions of the great Kabbalists, Rabbi Ashlag and his elder son and my teacher, Rabbi Baruch Ashlag, anyone can attain ascension to the Creator. I think that those who have already read previous books realize that this is truly possible!

As *The Zohar* already mentioned in item 154, when the impure *Nukva* dominates man through her Light, the two heads become as one. However, in the darkness, when the male part, called Kastimon, dominates, they turn into a serpent with two heads, for the male part is unable to annul the power of the female part, as it needs to be clothed in her Light. Hence, the serpent has two heads. And they move like a serpent—aiming to bring harm (the property of the serpent), to tempt Chava to dine on the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.

By the power of the *Rosh* of the impure *Nukva* they soar in the void, which contains the root of the impure force, called "void" or the greatest fall, as it is written: "They ascended up to Heaven, they descended down to the abyss" (*Tehilim*, 107:26). By the power of the impure male part, they bathe in the Great Sea, in *Ohr Hochma* of the impure forces.

Therefore, *Arka* is called the Land of Nod, as it constantly sways from the rule of the two heads: those that reside there keep alternating between ascending up to the Great Sea and descending down into the void.

The angels Aza and Azael are very exalted angels. Indeed, even after they had fallen from Heaven into our world, into the mountains of darkness, linked by a metal chain, so great was their power that with their help Bil'am (Balaam) attained the degree of prophecy, of which it is written: "Sees the Creator's presence" (*Bamidbar*, 24:4).

This is described as "falls and opens his eyes," for Aza is referred to as "falling" because of his fall from Heaven to earth. And Azael is called "he who opens his eyes" with regard to Aza, at whose face the Creator throws darkness. And with regard to Bil'am's prophetic degree, our sages have said the following: "There has not been a prophet in Israel like Moshe, not in Israel, but there was one among the nations of the world, and his name was Bil'am" (*Bamidbar-Raba*, 14)—so great was his prophetic degree.

And the reason for their downfall from Heaven to earth lies in their complaints against man at the moment of his making. Yet, there were many angels complaining and objecting, so why did the Creator cast down only these two? The answer to this question can be found in items 416-425 of the chapter "*Balak*" in *The Zohar*. Briefly, it says that when the desire to create Adam (or man, since the Hebrew word for man is Adam) appeared in the Creator, He summoned the Supernal angels, seated them before Him, and told them of His desire to create man.

The angels replied: "What is man, that You are mindful of him?" (*Tehilim*, 8:5), meaning what are the properties of this man that You so wish to create? He replied to them: "This man will be similar to Me and his wisdom will surpass yours, for the human soul includes all the angels and Supernal Degrees, just as his body includes all the creatures of this world."

Therefore, at the moment of creation of man's soul, the Creator summoned all the Supernal angels, so they would pass all of their properties and forces to man's soul. It is therefore written: "Let us make man in our image, in our likeness," meaning that man's "image and likeness" includes all of the properties of all the angels.

The words "image and likeness" are written in quotation marks, since the words *Tzelem* and *Demut* (image and likeness) are not mere words that simply describe likeness. Rather, they constitute very meaningful spiritual notions.

But the angels' question should be interpreted as follows: "What kind of a creature is this man and what is his nature? How shall we benefit from passing (including) our properties in him?" The Creator replied to this: "This man will be similar to Me and his wisdom will surpass yours." In other words, the Creator thus promised them that man will embrace all of their qualities (the properties of *Tzelem*), and that he will be wiser than them. However, because of their connection to him, they will also benefit from his great attainments and acquire everything that they presently lack.

This is because the human soul includes all the spiritual degrees and all the utmost properties of all the angels. And just as his body includes all the materials and creatures of our world with all of their properties, so was the Creator's wish that his soul would absorb the whole of creation within it.

It is written in the Torah: "Yaakov and Israel shall be told of the Creator's works (*Bamidbar*, 23:23)." The sages have said that in the future the angels will ask Israel for things that they do not know themselves, for Israel's attainments will be beyond that of the angels. Hence, all the angels took part in the creation of man and integrated all their properties within him.

However, once man was created and sinned, thus becoming guilty before the Creator, the angels Aza and Azael appeared before the Creator with accusations "that man, whom You have created, has sinned before You." For these words, the Creator cast them down from their exalted and holy degree, and thus, they began to deceive human beings.

Of all the angels, only these two, Aza and Azael, came before the Creator to complain about Adam's sins, for only they knew that man shall return to the Creator. However, Aza and Azael also knew that the harm brought to them by man's sin will not be corrected by this return. Moreover, they would prefer man to not return in his desires to the Creator at all. This is why they were the only ones that complained about Adam's sin, because from their perspective, this sin is incorrigible.

The thing is that the breaking of the vessels and Adam's sin constitute the same breaking, disappearance of the screen (anti-egoistic willpower or intention to act for the Creator's sake). The difference is that the breaking of the vessels signifies the breaking of the screen in the *Partzuf* called "world," while Adam's sin is the breaking, disappearance of the screen in the *Partzuf* called "soul." The difference between these two *Partzufim* is that the *Partzuf* called "world" is external with regard to the inner *Partzuf* called "soul." The soul exists within the world and is sustained by it.

The breaking has its causes and consequences. It is necessary for mixing all the properties of *Bina* and *Malchut*, and must transpire both in the spiritual world and within the soul, to impart the properties of *Bina* to *Malchut*, and thus enable her to correct herself.

The breaking of the world of *Nekudim* led to the breaking of the eight *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura*-2/3 of *Tifferet* and 1/3 of *Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut*, four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M* in each one that in turn consists of ten *Sefirot*, in all: 8 x 4 x 10 = 320 (*SHACH*) parts. As a result of the mixing of all the parts, each part in turn consists of 320 parts. All of these 320 parts, called *Nitzotzin* (sparks), acquired the egoistic will to enjoy by receiving the Creator's Light, which signifies their descent into the impure forces.

In the spiritual realm there are no locations or departments of pure and impure. However, for the purpose of conveying information more vividly, we envision the reception of lower properties as a descent, the reception of more spiritual properties as an ascent, the attainment of equivalence of form as a union, and the emergence of a new property as separation. The appearance of egoistic desires in a spiritual object is considered a descent into the impure forces, although these forces exist within us (and not vice versa), and simply become more apparent. There is nothing surrounding us, for everything is within: all the worlds and desires, both pure and impure.

By studying Kabbalah we attract the emanation of the Light that surrounds our soul (see "Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155), which cultivates within us a desire for correction. Then, as we attain the degrees of the spiritual worlds, we begin to feel the spiritual Light that corresponds to each degree, through which we begin to discern egoistic and altruistic parts in each of our properties.

By comparisons to the Light, we perceive our egoistic parts as evil, and to the extent that we sense it, we distance ourselves from it and refuse to use these desires. Conversely, we perceive our altruistic desires as good for us, but, having no strength to use them, we submit a request, receive the necessary strength, and accept the Light for the Creator's sake, thereby ascending to a higher degree, where this process repeats itself.

The return (*Teshuva*—repentance) means that by raising *MAN* (request for correction), we elevate some of the 320 corrupt parts from the impure forces, into which they fell, back to the world of *Atzilut*, where they existed prior to Adam's sin. However, we are powerless to sort out and correct, i.e., to elevate the

thirty-two parts of *Malchut* herself, which exist in the eight *Sefirot* of this *Partzuf* (world), for their level of corruption is beyond our ability to repair them.

Therefore, out of the 320 (*SHACH* = *Shin* + *Chet* = 300 + 20) parts, we can, that is, we are entitled to and must sort out and correct only 320 – 32 = 288 parts (*RAPACH* = 288) by our return to the Creator, i.e., 9 x 32, where nine designates the first nine *Sefirot* in each *Sefira* that we are allowed to correct. Yet, we are unable to correct *Malchut* of each *Sefira*, for this requires a Light of a special power. We will receive this Light from the Creator only after the correction of all the other 288 parts, that is, at the end of correction.

These thirty-two parts of *Malchut*, which are impossible and thus prohibited to correct, are called *Lev HaEven* (*Lamed-Bet Even*—thirty-two stones). As I've repeatedly mentioned, there is no such notion as "prohibition" in Kabbalah; this word is used when it is necessary to point out the futility of trying despite one's weakness and limitation. "Prohibited" means impossible, beyond one's power. Moreover, it is not the Creator's prohibition; rather, as a result of one's personal faith and experience, one should admit that "prohibited" alludes to whatever is still beyond one's power to correct.

Therefore, *GAR de AVI* are concealed, and their Light does not shine. After all, for all of its ten *Sefirot* to shine, a *Zivug* needs to be made on *Malchut* herself, for *Lev HaEven*, the thirty-two uncorrected parts of *Malchut* herself are a supplement to their ten *Sefirot*. And as long as these *Kelim* are missing, a complete *Zivug* is impossible. However, when the complete analysis and correction of the 288 (*RAPACH* = *Reish* + *Peh* + *Chet* = 200 + 80 + 8 = 288) *Nitzotzin* is completed, *Lev HaEven* will be corrected by itself, and no effort or corrections shall be required on our part.

So the prophet says: "A new heart also shall I give you, and a new spirit shall I put within you; and I shall take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I shall give you a heart of flesh" (*Yechezkel*, 36:26). Then *AVI* will receive their Light. However, this will occur at the end of correction, and before the end of correction, *AHP* of *AVI* will not be able to receive correction by means of our return, for we will be able to correct all of our egoistic desires, except for our very essence, *Malchut de Malchut*.

These angels—Aza and Azael—are the real *AHP de AVI* that were destroyed during the breaking of the vessels, and were nearly restored before the sin of Adam. However, Adam's sin destroyed them once more, this time until the very end of correction.

Hence, both angels were complaining to the Creator about their Light, which has disappeared because of Adam, for they saw that there was no hope that Adam would correct them through his return to the Creator. Moreover, they saw that by his return, Adam had lowered their degree even more, for now the entire correction and return was limited to only 288 parts, without any participation or even mentioning of the thirty-two forbidden parts, *Lev HaEven*, which refer to the correction of *AVI*, whose Light is the Light of these angels, just as the *Kelim* of the true *AHP de AVI* are their *Kelim*.

Each raising of *MAN* designates cutting off, separation of impurity—*Lev HaEven*—from the food, *RAPACH* = 288 *Nitzotzin*, the parts that can be corrected. It follows that by preventing Aza and Azael from participating in the correction of *Lev HaEven*, we lower them even more. This is why the two angels complained to the Creator and tried to impede Adam from returning. After all, his return lowers them even further, for the thirty-two parts refer to them.

Therefore, when the Creator saw that their complaints threatened to weaken man's strength to return to Him, He told them that Adam's sin did not spoil anything for them. For although there is greatness and holiness in them while they are in Heaven and no impure forces can cling to them, still this perfection is incomplete, as they cannot exist in our world, in a place of impure forces.

The Creator told them: "Hence, you have lost nothing as a result of Adam's sin, for you are no better than him anyway, as your degree is merely the result of the place of your residence." And since the Creator's words constitute His actions, they fell instantly from Heaven to earth (into egoism, of course, not to the physical earth!).

And since they came (spiritually descended) to the corporeal life (as Kabbalah defines it), they began to sort through and analyze the thirty-two parts of complete egoism, called the "daughters of men," of which the Torah says: "And the sons of great (angels) saw the daughters of men (egoistic *Nukva*), that they were fair (they saw in her an opportunity for egoistic reception of pleasure), and they took them as wives (used their egoistic desires), whomsoever they chose (they themselves chose precisely this low state)" (*Beresheet*, 6:2). For they did not want to separate the impurity of the thirty-two egoistic parts and prefer only 288, but took everything they wished, including *Lev HaEven*.

Hence, they also transgressed with *Nukva* Lilit (Lilith) the sinner, and wished to draw the entire world toward sin, to fling it into the last stage of egoism, for they did not wish man to return, as it completely contradicts their root.

What did the Creator do? He put them in iron chains! For the Creator saw that if they had the power to return to Heaven after the sin, all the people would fail in their attempts to aspire to the Creator in their desires, as the dominance of these egoistic angels (forces) in man would be too great. (Rashi—the great eleventh century Kabbalist and Biblical commentator—says that the entire Torah speaks in the words of man. Hence, everything is described in notions of time and sequence of events. Similarly, the Creator seemingly creates and only then sees the results of his work).

Therefore, although their root is quite high, the Creator gave the root of the impure forces His permission to act (here we see that the Creator governs all the forces in creation). This root is called *Barzel* (iron), as it is written: "There was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building" (*Melachim*, 1, 6:7), for iron is an impure force.

And since this impure force clang to the two angels and bound them, as if with iron chains, by the desires that it dictates to them, such a state is characterized as being in the mountains of darkness, from which they can no longer ascend until the end of correction.

And when they approach the chain of Aza and Azael, rile and rouse them, it designates the awakening of the fourth part of the will to receive, *Malchut de Malchut*, the greatest desire to receive, called "wrath and rage." And they leap over the mountains of darkness, thinking that the Creator wishes to bring justice upon them, for being bound by iron chains, they could not ascend to their roots and receive *Hochma.*

Therefore, this action is considered leaping, an attempt to ascend, followed by a fall, as a result of which they descend even deeper into the mountains of darkness. And they think that because of their leaps (attempts to receive the Light from their root), the Creator is becoming increasingly stricter with them; thus, they decide to stop leaping.

However, even though they cannot give anything, as their attempts to reach up are mere leaps and falls, it is nonetheless enough for the two rulers to receive *Ohr Hochma* from them, as this gives them the strength to swim in the sea of *Hochma* of the impure force, whereas before they had only the strength to bathe in it.

The reason for this is that there is no action in this exalted impure force, and everything is limited only in thoughts and desires, for such is the essence of the impure forces (desires) that separate us from the Creator—before the level of an action is achieved, purity disappears from it. Therefore, the impure forces will never reach the level of an action.

Hence, the work for the impure forces is called *Avoda Zara* (alien work or idol worshipping), as it is alien to spiritual work "for the Creator's sake," and is performed according to the instruction and desires that the impure forces insert into man's thoughts. In this alien work for an alien master, the Creator punishes even for mere thoughts and desires, as the prophet said: "That the house of Israel may understand in their own heart" (*Yechezkel*, 14:5). And the sages have said that man is accused and punished even for thoughts, desires, and doubts in the alien work that transpires in his heart in exactly the same measure as for a completed action. Hence, the leaps of Aza and Azael are sufficient in their desire to receive *Hochma*, although in reality they received nothing.

157. And these two Creator-appointed rulers swim in the Great Sea, fly up from there, and at night go to Naamah, the mother of witches, for whom the first people fell (*Beresheet*, 6:1-4). And they wish to approach her, but she leaps 60,000 *Parsa'ot* and assumes several different forms, so that people may be deceived and enticed by her.

After receiving power from Aza and Azael, they can now make a *Zivug* with Naamah, as the first angels Aza and Azael erred. From that *Zivug* with Aza and Azael, Naamah gave birth to all the spirits and witches of the world. The Torah calls Aza and Azael the "sons of Gods" or the "sons of the great" (*Beresheet*, 6:2).

Yet, how could such exalted angels stoop to such depraved actions with Naamah, and why did she give birth to spirits and witches, and not to people?

The thing is that the Upper World (*AVI*) was created by the letter *Yod*, by the male part, which have nothing of the fourth part of *Malchut*, called *Malchut de Malchut*. However, *ZON* (the lower world) was created by the letter *Hey*, which includes *Malchut de Malchut*. *AVI* aspire only to *Ohr Hassadim*, to altruistic actions (bestowal), for *Bina* emerged as such in the four stages of *Malchut's* birth, even before the appearance of the first *Kli* (*Malchut de Malchut*).

Nevertheless, *ZON* need *Ohr Hochma*, since *ZA* was created as such in the four stages of *Malchut's* birth. Also, *ZA* wishes to receive *Ohr Hochma* within *Ohr Hassadim*, which he already has.

The *Zivug* of *AVI*, called the "Upper World," begets angels who desire *Ohr Hassadim*, just like *AVI*, from whom they were born. Human souls are born from the *Zivug* of *ZON*, called the "lower world," and they, like *ZON*, from whom they were born, desire only *Ohr Hochma*.

The moment the common soul of all the creatures (Adam) was born from *ZON de Atzilut*, *ZON* existed at the level of the Upper World (*AVI*) and clothed

it. Like *AVI*, they, too, ended in the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*. And the letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH* was concealed in their posterior side, *Achoraim* or *AHP*.

Hence, Adam's level was quite high because *ZON* was in the Upper World and ended in the letter *Yod*. The level of *ZON* was that of the angels that were born from *AVI*; therewith, *ZON* received *Ohr Hochma* according to their desires, as *ZON* are meant to.

As a result, *ZON* contain the name *Elokim*, Supernal *Hochma*, the perfection of the Upper World. This is because the ban of the first restriction to not receive *Ohr Hochma* does not apply to the letter *Yod*. Cain and Abel were born from this state: Cain was born from *ELEH* and Abel from *MI*. *Malchut* herself (the last letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*) was concealed in them both, and only the letter *Yod* was revealed; hence, they contained Supernal *Hochma*.

However, on the whole, *Hochma* is received in *Kelim ELEH*, *ZAT de Bina*, by Cain's soul. This property of Cain is concealed in *MI*, as the last *Hey* is concealed inside *Yod*, and Cain wanted to make a *Zivug* with it, to receive *Ohr Hochma* in *Malchut de Malchut*, concealed in Abel's soul.

It is by this that he slew Abel, for after the last *Hey* was revealed, the ban of the first restriction to receive *Ohr Hochma* in it was revealed. Hence, the Creator's name *Elokim* disappeared from them both: *MI*, since it refers to *GAR*, ascended and disappeared (signifying Abel's slaying), and Cain's *ELEH*, since it refers to *ZAT*, fell into the impure forces, called *Arka*.

However, although it fell into the impure forces, sparks of *Ohr Hochma* still remain in these *Kelim* (desires), as it is written that his daughters did not suffer from it greatly, and the sparks of *Bina* still remained in them. From this we can understand that Naamah, one of Cain's daughters, was the most beautiful of all the women in the world, for the sin transpired mainly in Cain's male part, and not in his female part, as is described in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 74:2).

Therefore, after the Creator cast Aza and Azael into this world (created by the letter *Hey*), and they've seen Naamah, a new hitherto non-existent desire appeared within them—the desire to receive *Ohr Hochma*, for in their essence they desire only *Ohr Hassadim*, and only the image of Naamah bore a new desire for *Ohr Hochma* within them.

And since there is no *Hey* (the last *Hey*, on which there is a ban to receive *Ohr Hochma*) in their essence and in that of Naamah (the last revealed one, for it originates from Cain's *ELEH*), they erred in her, thinking that she is able to receive *Ohr Hochma*, and made a *Zivug* with her.

Their error was twofold:

1. Despite the fact that they do not have the last *Hey* from birth, since the place determines, and they exist in this world, the last *Hey* already governs them, and they are forbidden to receive *Ohr Hochma*.
2. They thought that the last *Hey* was absent in Naamah's structure, when in fact, it was concealed. Hence, spirits and witches were born from their *Zivug*.

From this we can understand what is written in the Talmud (*Hagiga*, 16:1), that witches are half-angels half-people, for with regard to their fathers, Aza and Azael, they are angels, whereas with regard to Naamah, they are like people. But she could not give birth to people, for the seed within her came from angels, and not from people.

The reason for the harm that they cause lies in the fact that they were born from depravity, the greatest possible distance from the Creator. Hence, their impurity accompanies them and brings harm wherever it possibly can. Therefore, *The Zohar* says that at night they come to Naamah, the mother of witches, for whom the first people fell (see *Beresheet*, 6:1-4).

Indeed, after they received strength from these angels, who were the first to engage in depravity with Naamah, they could continue to engage in depravity with her. *The Zohar* indicates that this is precisely why they come at night, for the power of *Hochma* of the impure forces rules only in the darkness of night, the time of judgment and restrictions, and also as the consequence of roots, namely Aza and Azael, who reside in the mountains of darkness.

However, after engaging in depravity with them, she leapt 60,000 *Parsa'ot*, i.e., she rose so high that she wanted to annul the *Parsa* below *VAK de* AA, whose each *Sefira* is defined as 10,000; hence, its *VAK* = 6 *Sefirot* equal 60,000.

But as soon as they think to approach her, she leaps 60,000 *Parsa'ot*, but immediately falls back down and is unable to touch them, for there is no action in these upper impure forces, and all transgressions and all errors are only in thoughts and intentions.

Yet, there is still enough power in her to deceive and entice people, even if man does not reach the level of impure actions and is only drawn to her in his thoughts and desires. However, the Creator punishes for such thoughts and desires, as He does for actions, as the prophet warns us: "the house of Israel may understand in their own heart" (*Yechezkel*, 14:5). And the impure force assumes

several different shapes, such as depravity with married women, murder and other things laid upon Lilit.

158. These two rulers soar in the entire world and then return to their places. And they rouse the sons of Cain's sons with a spirit of evil desires to beget children.

"Soar in the entire world"—they bring harm to man in all of their thoughts, wherever they can, and lure him into the darkness of night. For after man sins, they return to their permanent place in *Arka*, where they rouse the sons of Cain to defile the descendants with impurities.

Moreover, *The Zohar* says that besides pushing the sons of Cain to sin in *Arka*, they also soar in our world (*Tevel*), and compel the sons of this land to sin.

159. The Heavens that rule there are not like ours, and the land bears neither seed nor fruit by the power of Heaven, as ours does, and the grains grow again only once in several years. Hence, it is written of them that they could not correct *Shemaya* and *Arka*, and perished from the Supernal land, called *Tevel*, where they will not be able to exist, nor rule over it, nor cause human beings to sin because of the night. Hence, they disappeared from *Arka* and from the place of *Shemaya* that were created by the name *ELEH* (as mentioned in item 14).

Our Heavens receive the Light essential for the birth of subsequent *Partzufim* from ZA, which has *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, our land, which receives in *Malchut de* ZA, receives a grain and a seed.

However, the Heavens in *Arka* do not have the Light to bear fruit and give birth due to the rule of the impure forces that are there. Hence, unlike our land, *Arka* cannot produce; its land has no power to receive and grow a seed, and this property appears in it only once in several years.

Here *The Zohar* speaks of the two rulers: Afriron and Kastimon, who could not correct *Shemaya* and *Arka*, to make them bear fruit. Therefore, these rulers are not allowed to be here and seduce people in our land (*Tevel*), to sin, for when they are here, they bring harm to our land so as to make it like their *Shemaya* and *Arka*.

Therefore, *The Zohar* says that they disappeared from the Supernal land of *Tevel*, from our land, for here they sought to bring harm by the power of the night. They provoke people toward sin by virtue of the night, and it is a curse that hangs over *Arka* because of their rule there.

Our Heavens were created by the name *ELEH*, for our Heavens receive from ZA, which was corrected by *ELEH's* properties, by the words: IN THE

BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, where *MI* is connected to *ELEH*. Hence, our land is corrected by the Supernal holiness and purity. Therefore, these two rulers are not allowed to rule here.

160. Hence, there exists a *Targum*, a translation (from Hebrew to Aramaic, which *The Zohar* dubs *Targum*), so the holy angels will not think that it is said about them, so they will not harm us. This is the secret of the word *ELEH*—as we have already stated, it is a holy word that cannot be translated into a *Targum*.

Everything but the word *ELEH* has been translated into the language of the *Targum*, as it is said in item 149, that *ELEH* disappeared from both *Arka* and *Shemaya*, for the word *ELEH* is untranslatable, as it constitutes the full connection between *ELEH* and *MI*, which causes the descent of *Ohr Hochma*. And should anyone sin and corrupt the letters *ELEH*, as Cain had done, they would fall to the impure forces, so even the holiness of the *Targum* (*VAK* of the pure forces) would depart from them.

Among All the Sages of the Nations of the World, There Are None Like You

161. Rabbi Elazar said, "It is written: 'Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?' What kind of praise is this?" Rabbi Shimon replied: "Elazar, my son, this has been said in several places. However, one should not understand the verse, 'For among all the sages of the nations of the world, and in all their kingdoms, there are none like You' in its simple, literal interpretation. This is because it naturally gives rise to evil intentions of sinners—those who think that the Creator is not aware of their dark thoughts, doubts and intents. Therefore, their folly must be clarified. A philosopher of one of the nations of the world came to me and said, 'You say that your Creator governs the entire Heavens, and that all the Heavenly hosts are unable to attain Him, nor come to know His dwelling place. However, this does not add to His greatness, as it is written, 'among all the sages of the nations of the world, and in all their kingdoms, there is none like You.' What kind of a comparison is this when He is compared to man, who is nothing?'"

This is similar to what is written about sinners in Psalms (*Tehilim*, 73:11-12): "And they say: 'How does the Creator know? And is there knowledge in Him? Behold the wicked; they are always at peace, rich and powerful.'" This is exactly what the philosopher says. He was one of the greatest sages among the nations of the world, and he came to Rabbi Shimon to dishonor Israel's wisdom and work in absolute faith for the Creator's sake, which ought to be in great wholeness, perfection, purity, and integrity, for no thought can grasp Him.

This sage was a representative of the philosophers who asserted that the main principle in working for the Creator is to attain Him, rather than serve Him in faith, for in their understanding, they attain Him. And now he has come to ridicule Israel's approach.

Hence, he said: "The Creator is above all human wisdom, and thereby He rules, and He bid you to work for Him in faith and purity, and have no doubts in Him, for the human mind cannot grasp Him. After all, even the Heavenly hosts, His legions and angels are unable to attain Him, as it is written of those who say: 'Blessed be the Creator in His place,' for they do not know 'His place.'"

However, the phrase, "as among all the sages of the world, there is none like the Creator" does not imply the Creator's greatness. Indeed, if this prophetic expression is used in order to exalt the God of Israel and show that He is greater than the god attained by the sages of the nations of the world by their human strength and reason, then naturally, this does not add to the glory of the God of Israel, as He is being compared to trifle and transient forces. On the contrary, this statement shows great disdain for your Creator, when you compare Him to the sages of the nations of the world, who are mortal and restricted creatures. Those were the words that the scholarly sage, who represented the wisdom of the nations of the world, uttered before Rabbi Shimon.

Clearly, *The Zohar* is referring to some overseas sage who paid a visit to Rabbi Shimon. Just like all the other names of places and characters mentioned in the Torah, the Talmud, and the Kabbalah, names of places, animals, people, and actions described in *The Zohar* speak only of the spiritual world, the Creator's actions, and how one can achieve the goal of creation. In no way does any of this relate to events in our world!

Therefore, the "sage of the nations of the world" symbolizes man's own egoistic property to research and know everything, instead of having faith above reason, as the Torah demands. This human property, called a "sage of the nations of the world," the egoistic reason, is in a state of constant argument with man's spiritual, altruistic property, called "Israel" or the aspiration to the Creator. Thus, by opposing it, man builds himself and grows.

162. Furthermore, you claim, as your Torah says, that "There had not risen a prophet since in Israel like Moshe." There are none in Israel, but there is one among the nations of the world! So I claim the same: there is none like You among all the sages of the nations of the world, but among the sages of Israel there is one like You. However, if there is one like Him among the sages of Israel, then He cannot be the Supreme Ruler. Look closely into my words, and you shall see that I am right.

Here the philosopher (man's egoistic voice) spoke wisely. He understood that should he speak directly, he would hear precise answers to his questions. It is written: "Among all the sages of the nations of the world, there are none like

You," meaning that there is no one that can attain You. For the words, "there are none like You" imply that You have no equals, that it is impossible to attain You, attain Your degree.

However, since the sages of the nations of the world (human reason) take pride in their attainment of the Creator (that they understand His intentions and actions), they consider themselves similar to Him, for attainment means similarity of properties with the attained degree. This is why it is considered a lie, and that there are none like Him, for they do not attain the Creator, but only delude themselves by thinking that they do.

The philosopher (within man) understood that, and hence began (leading man astray from the path of faith, which surpasses and defies reason) with a completely different question: "If it is explicitly said that no one is equal to the Creator among the sages of the other nations, does it not mean that there are those who *can* attain Him among the sages of Israel? Otherwise, why would it be necessary to specify that there are none like Him among the sages of the nations of the world?

"But if this is so, and He is similar to you, then He cannot be the Supreme Ruler! Thus, how can you say that the God of Israel cannot be attained by reason and that He governs all? You speak by means of faith in His greatness, but indeed there are those among your sages who are like Him, i.e., those who attain Him."

163. Rabbi Shimon said to him, "You object correctly that there are those among the sages of Israel who are similar to the Creator, for who resurrects the dead back to life, if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Eliyahu and Elisha came and resurrected the dead back to life! Who causes rain to fall if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Eliyahu came and abolished rain, and then summoned it through his prayer! Who created the Heavens and the earth, if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Avraham came, and, as it is written, the Heavens and the earth were revived."

Rabbi Shimon replies that the (inner) sage speaks the truth when he asserts that there are those among the sages of Israel who are similar to the Creator. However, in no way does this revoke the simple faith in the Creator's unattainability by human reason. Of course, He is the master and ruler of the Heavens, and He is so much higher than all of them that even the Supernal angels cannot attain Him and do not know His place.

Yet, the Torah and *Mitzvot* (commandments) were given to us precisely for this purpose—so that by observing the *Mitzvot* (making a *Zivug* between the screen

and the Light) and studying the Torah (receiving the Light) for the Creator's sake, we, Israel (those who aspire to the Creator) would completely merge with Him (in our properties), so His Light would permeate us and clothe in us to such an extent that we would merit (begin to desire and receive the power of a screen) carrying out the same actions as the Creator: resurrecting the dead (correcting egoism), summoning rains (*Ohr Hassadim*), and reviving Heaven and earth (filling all the *Partzufim* in all the worlds with the Light of our actions).

In that, we are just like Him, as it is said: "By Your deeds (by experiencing them on myself) I will know You." However, we attain all this only through absolute and devout faith (the property of *Bina*), which leaves within us no desires whatsoever to attain Him with our reason (to verify first and act next), as in the path of sages of the nations of the world (our egoism). Our egoism consists of a *Partzuf* called a "sage of the nations of the world." Its *Rosh* (head) designates knowledge and desire to attain everything, and its *Guf* (body) is the will to receive pleasure for oneself.

The philosopher argues that if Israel can do what the Creator does, then Israel attains Him. This is correct, for if one is able to act like the Creator, then, to the extent of his actions, he attains and perceives Him. After all, it is said: "By Your deeds I will know You." If one acts like the Creator, then he understands the Creator's analogous actions in his own actions, and thus perceives Him. However, one must first advance by faith above reason, and as a result, he attains the Creator's properties, thereby becoming like Him in his actions.

164. (Rabbi Shimon continues:) "Who governs the sun, if not the Creator? Yet, Yehoshua came and stopped it. The Creator issues His decree, yet Moshe immediately issues a decree of his own, and it is carried out. The Creator wishes to punish, and the righteous of Israel annul His verdict. Moreover, He bid us to closely follow His ways and to be like Him in every way." The philosopher then went and became Israel, and lived in the village of Shachalayim, and they called him Yosi HaKatan (Little Yosi). He studied the Torah a great deal, and was among the sages and the righteous of that village.

The problem is that if a person does everything only by means of his faith, he denies himself the chance to attain the Creator, for attainment comes through applying reason. However, the moment he begins to apply his reason, he immediately diminishes his faith. So how can one combine faith with reason?

It is true that those who aspire to draw nearer the Creator (those who are called Israel) diminish their simple, devout faith. However, they do this only because He bids them to do so in order to attain His actions, and thus become like Him, as it is said in the Torah: "Follow His way" (*Devarim*, 21). Hence,

they observe His commandments. The philosopher was so overwhelmed by this truth that he became "Israel" and started observing the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

He was overwhelmed when he had found that Israel's actions, their attainments of the spiritual worlds, did not diminish their faith above reason, for all of their actions and attainments were based on faith. Israel attains the Creator because He bids them to, not because they desire this with their egoism.

165. And now the time has come to take a closer look at this verse. It is written that all the nations of the world are nothing before Him. Yet, how does this exalt Him? Hence, it is written: "Who sees the King of the nations of the world?" Yet, is the King of the nations of the world also not the King of Israel? The Creator wishes to elevate Israel in all places; this is why He is called everywhere "the King of Israel." The other nations of the world say that they have another King up in the Heavens, for it seems to them that He governs only them, and not us.

The nations of the world are certain that their Supernal King is not the King of Israel, that the King who sits in the Heavens and governs them is only their King, and that the King of Israel has no power over them. Thus, it seems to man's egoism that it exists under some other (non-altruistic) system of governance, and not altruism. The egoism fails to realize that the Creator made it exactly the way it is so as to achieve His goal: using egoism, to bring man to altruism, from "for one's own self" to "for the Creator's sake."

166. It is written: "Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?" (*Yirmiyahu*, 10:7) That is, their Supernal King is there to threaten and persecute them, and do with them as He pleases. Hence, He should be feared. And all fear Him Above and below. For it is written that among all the sages of the nations of the world (the angels that rule over these nations) and in their Kingdoms (Above) there is none like You. There are four Kingdoms Above that rule over all the nations of the world according to the Creator's will. And there is no one who can do even the smallest action without His personal instruction. The sages of the nations of the world are the forces that rule them from Above, and all the wisdom of the nations of the world comes from these rulers. "In all their Kingdoms" means that the Creator's will rules over them.

These lines describe how the bride, who is in a state of exile, prepares herself for her future, final correction. The power of the nations of the world (in every one of us) amounts to conquering us (the altruistic desires for the Creator) and placing us under their power (serving only the body). They wish to drive us away

from the Creator's rule and let other desires, called "the nations of the world" dominate us. Our egoistic desires, the nations of the world, do so because of their power (tempting us with various pleasures) and wisdom (appealing to our common sense).

Their actions over us (spiritual aspirations) stem from the system of the impure forces and their impure (egoistic) angels (our inner egoistic forces), which give power and reason to the nations of the world. With the help of their wisdom, they (our egoistic desires) lead us (the sons of Israel, those who aspire only to the Creator) to all sorts of doubts and desires to understand the Creator, His ways and thoughts, without any fear or reverence before His greatness and supremacy.

Because of these doubts, we draw far from the Creator and His Supernal Light, which, as a result, passes on to them (our egoistic desires), as it is written, "Tzur (the capital of the impure forces) was built only on the ruins of Jerusalem (the capital of the pure forces)." Thus, they acquire the strength to persecute and humiliate Israel, and force them to submit to their will (suppress the only true path to the spiritual—faith above and in defiance of reason—with their persuasions and proof of their "real" rightfulness). And as it was already explained in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar" (items 69-71), our inner spiritual enslavement leads to our external, corporeal enslavement, persecution, and humiliation by the nations of the world.

This is the secret of the four Kingdoms that rule over us in our four (spiritual and therefore physical) exiles, which correspond to *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*, symbolized by Nebuchadnezzar, as it is written: "Here is that idol, its head made of pure gold, its breast and its arms of silver, its belly and its thighs of brass, its shins of iron, and its feet part iron and part clay" (*Daniel*, 2:32-33).

When this idol governs us, the nations of the world mock us, claiming that they have a King of their own. However, such was the Creator's plan, as it is said: "The Creator hath so made it, that men should fear Him" (*Kohelet*, 3:14), for the sensation of the Creator, called *Shechina*, is also referred to as fear before Him. However, since we do not yet feel the greatness and supremacy of the Creator, we do not merit fearing Him, and live in fear of the King of the nations of the world.

This points to the fact that we have no other way of completely and eternally merging with the Creator other than by means of tremendous fear before His greatness, by assuming His Torah and His desires (*Mitzvot*) in devout and complete faith, without any doubts in His properties.

Only then will we merge with Him in absolute, eternal union, and the Creator will impart us with all the goodness for which He had created us. He conceived this in the beginning of creation, and it became the purpose behind the whole of creation. This state is considered the complete and final deliverance and correction.

However, before the attainment of such an exalted spiritual state, this is how the prophet describes those who aspire to the Creator: "You have sown much, and brought in little; you eat but you have not enough; you drink but your thirst is not quenched" (*Haggai*, 1:6), for in all of our actions (of those who aspire to the spiritual) the impure force (egoism) constantly takes all the Light for itself. This occurs as a result of our doubts with regard to faith in the Creator, which the impure force itself cultivates within us.

However, the purpose of these punishments is not to cause us grief! Everything happens according to the Creator's plan and serves only to promote us toward correction. Therefore, as long as man can listen only to egoistic arguments, the Creator develops us gradually, using these forces. With their help, we gradually become fit to feel fear of the Creator, through the many trials and sufferings our exile from the spiritual brings us.

But in the end, we merit the reception of complete and devoted faith and fear before His greatness. It is written of this state: "He remembered His mercy and His allegiance toward the house of Israel, and all the worthless creatures of the earth witnessed the help and deliverance at the Creator's hands" (*Tehilim*, 98:3).

This is because at the end of days, the Creator will remember us in His mercy, and will give us the strength to receive complete and devout faith in Him. Thus, Jerusalem (the capital of altruism) will be rebuilt on the ruins of Tzur (the capital of egoism), for all the Light, which *Malchut* of the impure force was robbing of us throughout our exile from the spiritual, will return to us when we acquire complete and devout faith, and will shine within us with all its might.

All the worthless creatures of the earth (manifestations of egoism) will then see with their own eyes how our Creator saves (corrects) them. For all the nations of the world (within us) will see that they have always possessed this Light until the very last moment before their correction so as to give it back to us at the appropriate time. And all shall see that "one man's rule over another is to the detriment of the ruler!" (*Kohelet*, 8:9).

The burden of our slavery and the impure force's rule over us (over holiness) harms only the impure force, for it thereby compels us to attain complete and devoted faith in the Creator even faster! And the prophet speaks of this time,

"Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?" for it has now been revealed that He is the King of the nations of the world, who persecutes and dominates those nations. It previously seemed to them (our egoistic intentions) that they persecuted us (our altruistic intentions), but now the opposite has been revealed to them—that they were merely blind enactors of the Creator's will, our servants and our slaves, whose purpose is to bring us to perfection.

It seemed to us that they were beating us. Now it turns out that they were beating themselves, for thanks to these blows (suffering from unrealized egoistic desires and constant frustration), they have accelerated our deliverance and attainment of perfection (our realization of the need to choose the path of faith above reason). Thus, they have also accelerated their own demise (their own correction).

And wherever it seemed to us (our reason) that they rebelled against the Creator (argued that the Creator is not the source of all reality) and acted (supposedly) however they pleased so as to humiliate us and satiate their base egoistic desires, and it appeared that there was no (Supernal) judge and no law (the advancement of creation toward its goal), it has now been revealed that they have always been fulfilling the Creator's will, to bring us (all our desires, them included) to perfection.

The same applies to every person in the world—whether he wants to or not, at all times and in every way, he fulfills only the Creator's will. Why then is he not called the Creator's servant? Because he acts unconsciously, not of his own will. To compel man to fulfill His will, the Creator gives him some alien desire to enjoy, which forces him to carry out an action, but he does so as a slave of his desire, and not as someone who fulfills the Creator's will.

For example, the Creator may give man an alien desire to make money, thereby compelling him to open a restaurant so as to carry out altruistic actions as a slave of his egoistic desire.

In other words, to compel us to do what is necessary, the Creator created within us an egoistic desire to receive pleasure, thus obliging us to do His will by enabling us to find pleasure in the actions and objects on which He wants us to work. This is why we live in constant chase of pleasures, whereas in truth we are constantly and unconsciously fulfilling the Creator's will. This resembles a situation in which children are given many toys to play with, but as they play, they also carry out work.

The entire world is doing the Creator's will, but our goal, the purpose of our development is to do it consciously. We must attain and realize His will; we must ascend so high that we will want to do it wholeheartedly and on our own,

rather than as we do it now—unconsciously and coercively. We must achieve a state when our desires fully coincide with those of the Creator, which designates complete and conscious union with Him.

Thus, it becomes clear that the King of the nations of the world is the same Creator that rules over them and compels them to fulfill all His desires, as a King does with his slaves. And now fear before the Creator is revealed to all the nations of the world. The phrase, "all the nations of the world" alludes to the angels that rule over those nations, such as Afriron, Kastimon, Aza, Azael and others, from whom the sages of the nations of the world (our egoism and reason) receive their wisdom, and with whose help they oppress Israel (our altruistic desires).

IN THEIR KINGDOMS refers to the four existing Kingdoms, which govern the seventy nations of the world (*ZON* = seven *Sefirot*, each of which containing ten sub-*Sefirot*: in all seventy *Sefirot*) and over us (altruistic aspirations) in our four exiles, which correspond to the impure *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M* (described as Nebuchadnezzar). As the prophet writes: "Here is that idol, its head made of pure gold (the first Kingdom), its breast and its arms of silver (the second Kingdom), its belly and its thighs of brass (the third Kingdom), its shins of iron, its feet part iron and part clay (the fourth Kingdom)" (*Daniel*, 2:32-33).

There is not one among them who can make even the smallest action of their own, but only what You bid them. However, this will only be revealed at the end of correction, and all will know that all of our misfortunes and suffering that had the power to separate us from the Creator were but loyal executors of the Creator's aspiration to draw us closer to Him. Moreover, these cruel forces did nothing else but obey His orders.

And the sole purpose of all that transpired was to bring us to a state where we can receive all the perfection and infinite goodness that He intended to bestow upon us from the very beginning in His plan of creation. The Creator must lead us to complete and devout faith, the result of which will be, as the prophet said: "Then, at once, the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold all crumbled to pieces and became like the chaff on summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, and no trace was left of them; and the stone that smote their image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth" (*Daniel*, 2:35).

Absolute faith is called "unbreakable (non-crumbling) stone." After one merits absolute faith, the impure force (his inner egoistic desires and thoughts) disappears as though it had never existed. And all the worthless creatures

(reason, logic, philosophy, and common sense), which inhabit the earth, witness deliverance at the hands of the Creator, as the prophet said: "They shall not do evil nor destroy in all My holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters fill the sea" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9).

167. Yet, among all the sages of the nations of the world and in all their kingdoms, I have found in the ancient books that even though the Heavenly hosts and legions fully obeyed their given orders and each would receive precise instructions to be carried out, but who among them can do it if not You, who will do it better than You? For You excel over them all in both properties and deeds. Hence, it is written: "There is none like You."

The Creator Himself carries out all the creatures' actions with His Light, and leads them to His goal. Man's sole task is the realization of all creation and governance, to wholeheartedly agree with all of the Creator's actions, and take an active part in the process of spiritual creation.

168. Rabbi Shimon said to his friends: "This wedding must be a wedding for all of you, and each of you should bring a gift (his own part in the common *Malchut*) to the Bride." He said to Rabbi Elazar, his son: "Present the Bride with a gift, for on the following day *Zeir Anpin* will look as he enters the wedding canopy at the sound of these songs and praises of the sons of the wedding canopy, who stand before the Creator."

Who Is This?

169. Rabbi Elazar opened and said, "Who is this coming up from the wasteland?" (*Shir HaShirim, 3:6*). *MI ZOT*—who is this—is the common ground of the two questions, the two worlds, *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are bound together. COMING UP—coming up to become the "Holy of Holies." For *MI* is *Bina*, called the Holy of Holies. And she joins with *ZOT* (*Malchut*), so that *Malchut* could come up FROM THE WASTELAND, for she inherits THIS from the wasteland, to become a bride and enter the bridal canopy.

The Zohar explains the following passage: "Who is this coming up from the wasteland, leaning upon her beloved!?" (*Shir HaShirim*, 8:5). It describes a state at the end of correction, when the bride enters the wedding canopy. *MI ZOT*: *MI* is *Bina* and *ZOT* is *Malchut*. At the end of correction, *Bina* and *Malchut* unite, and both are called "holy." But until the end of correction only *Bina* is called holy, while *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and receives holiness from her.

Nevertheless, at the end of correction, *Malchut* becomes like *Bina*, and they both become holy. *Malchut* completely unites with *Bina* through equivalence of form, and fully merges with the source of life, for a screen (the restriction imposed on reception of Light within *Malchut*) creates the Returning Light that combines all *Sefirot* into one.

The Creator's *Ohr Hochma* can be received precisely in this Returning Light. As a result, *Malchut* ends with the letter *Yod* and becomes forever similar to *Bina*. Hence, it is written that *Malchut* and *Bina* unite by equalizing their desires to form a single whole.

Similarly, the Light of *Malchut* will be forever connected to the Light of *Bina*, for *Malchut* herself ascends to the level of the "Holy of Holies," thus becoming exactly like *Bina*. SHE COMES UP just like a sacrifice, which is the "Holy of Holies," for *MI* (*AVI*, *Bina* or the "Holy of Holies") joins *ZOT* (*Malchut*), so

Malchut would ascend and become the "Holy of Holies." Sacrifice is the part of *Malchut* (man's animal egoism) that ascends with its properties to *Bina*.

And when *MI* (*Bina*) joins *ZOT* (*Malchut*), and *ZOT* becomes the "Holy of Holies," there is no longer a diminution of *Malchut's* state, for this diminution occurred only because of the deterioration of *Malchut's* properties, when new egoistic desires emerge within her.

Now that *Malchut* has become as holy (altruistic) in her properties as *Bina*, death disappears, and the fall of *Malchut* into her egoistic desires is impossible, for she has been fully corrected and has attained the properties of *Bina*, which are referred to as holy. Through *Malchut's* acquisition of these properties, the Upper Light (life) enters her. *Malchut* emerges from the wasteland (the sensation of life's absence for want of altruistic properties) and enters her wedding canopy.

This occurs thanks to man's efforts, called "those who keep the Torah" (item 124). These efforts are the foremost part of creation, for they create the Torah and bring *Malchut* to the great *Zivug* at the end of her correction, to her complete fulfillment with the Light. This great *Zivug* on the entire corrected *Malchut* (including *Malchut de Malchut*) can be achieved by precisely this sensation (by man) of the spiritual wasteland.

170. She comes up from the wasteland of the soft utterance of lips, as it is written, "And your mouth is comely" (*Shir HaShirim*, 4:3). This is because the Hebrew word *Midbar* (desert/wasteland) is derived from *Dibur* (speech). It is written of the mighty forces, that these mighty forces strike Egypt with all the plagues of the wasteland, for all that the Creator did to them was not in the wasteland, but in settlements. And the phrase "in the wasteland" means "by the power of speech, of spoken word." This comes up from articulation, from the mouth (*Malchut*) as she ascends and comes under the wings of *Ima* (mother, *Bina*). Then, through speech, she descends upon the entire holy nation (the difference between speech and articulation is that articulation is an action that forms speech).

Before the end of correction, when *Malchut* is still called the "Tree of Good and Evil," all corrections occur through *MAN* (prayers or requests), through which the righteous (those who wish to become similar to the Creator in their properties) elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*. Consequently, *Malchut* receives *Bina*'s properties for as long as *Malchut* remains there, for spiritual ascent signifies an attainment of properties. *Malchut* becomes as holy (altruistic) as *Bina*.

MAN is a silent prayer in the heart of man, for *Malchut* signifies "speech." Yet, until the end of correction, good words cannot exist without bad ones. That

is, this will not happen until both voice and speech come from *Bina* herself, when *Malchut* becomes like *Bina*, which designates the unity of voice and speech—the *Zivug* of *ZON* in their corrected state of *Gadlut*.

ZA receives the voice from *Ima* and passes it in his speech to *Malchut*. Hence, this speech is completely good, devoid of any evil. Thus, *Malchut* receives from *Bina* the Light of holiness, *Hassadim*. Unless it is corrected by the completely good, altruistic voice of *Bina*, *Malchut's* voice will always consist of both good and evil. This is why impure, egoistic forces cling to her, and *Malchut* cannot receive anything from holiness (*Bina*).

Hence, *MAN* that the righteous raise in their prayers is like a soft murmur of lips, a voiceless speech, as the prophet says: "Only the lips move, but the voice cannot be heard" (*Shmuel I*, 1:13). This is because there is no connection between *MAN* and the impure force, and *Malchut* can be elevated to *Bina* so she can receive her voice from *Bina*.

As a result, a holy edifice of *Malchut* is erected, and she receives the Light from a *Zivug* between voice and speech, and the holiness of her speech descends upon the heads of the righteous that raised *MAN* and thereby revived *Malchut*.

This is why it is written that SHE COMES UP FROM THE WASTELAND, for the bride (*Malchut*) is now invited to a great *Zivug* under the wedding canopy. This occurs thanks to the raising of *MAN* by the righteous, who thereby united *Bina* (voice, *Ima*) with *Malchut* (speech). As a result, *Malchut's* speech became as beautiful as that of *Bina*.

All of these individual *Zivugim* made by the various righteous (each of whom constitutes a small part of the common *Malchut*) during the 6,000 years, now connect all of *Malchut's* parts (souls of the righteous) together in one great *Zivug*, as the bride (*Malchut*) enters her wedding canopy.

In other words, it is precisely this soft prayer, the raising of *MAN* during the 6,000 years by a voiceless speech (seeing as good is still mixed with evil in the voice of *Malchut*), that creates the conditions for the great *Zivug* of *Malchut* with *ZA*, of man with the Creator.

And since *Malchut* received the voice of *Bina* (from *Ima*-Mother) thanks to the help of the righteous (all the good deeds performed by the righteous during the 6,000 years), everything is now combined into the great Supernal *Zivug* under the wedding canopy. This is because *Malchut* becomes completely good without a hint of evil—the "Holy of Holies," just like *Ima*.

Silent speech is defined as the movement of lips without the participation of the palate, larynx, tongue, and teeth. This is how *MAN* is raised when *Malchut* ascends between the wings of *Bina*, i.e., receives the voice of the wings of *Ima* in her speech. Afterwards, having acquired the speech, she descends upon the heads of the holy nation. For after the reception of voice through *Ima's* property of mercy, *Malchut* becomes as holy as *Bina* herself, and her holiness descends upon those who corrected her. Consequently, they are called the "holy nation," for now the speech of *Malchut* is as holy as that of *Ima-Bina*.

There is "voice" and there is "speech." "Voice" is the inner part, whereas "speech" is its outward appearance. This appearance is based on exhaling (the silent letter *Hey*). *ZA* is called "voice," and *Malchut* is called "speech." Letters are sung according to the note signs (*Taamim*), followed by the letters with their punctuation marks.

The level of *Ohr Haya* (called *Kol*—voice) emerges on the screen in the *Peh* of the third degree of thickness, known as "teeth." From this Light *ZA* receives *Ohr Hochma*, and his voice is then heard outside (begets the souls of the lower ones).

Yet, the voice of *ZA* is not heard below the level of *Neshama*, for his screen is not strong enough to receive *Ohr Hochma*. The level of *Ohr Yechida* in *ZA*, called *Dibur* (speech), emerges on the screen in the *Peh* of the fourth degree of thickness. This screen is the most powerful, as it reveals all of the Light, and is called "lips."

The Light of *NRNHY* reveals the inner, Supernal and concealed wisdom, *Hochma*, the concealed thought, the inner Light of *Bina*, which cannot shine to the lower ones, that is, in *ZA*, because *ZON* cannot receive from *Peh de AA*. Nevertheless, the two levels of the Light—*Haya* and *Yechida*—that descend from *AA* are converted into voice and speech with *Bina's* help, even though it is the Light of thought, wisdom and reason.

Voice is formed in *ZA*, and speech in *Malchut*. If a righteous one raises his prayers (*MAN*) to *Malchut*, thereby causing *ZON* to ascend to *AVI*, who are in constant union, to provide Light for the lower ones, *ZON* receive this Light from *AVI*, which is called "voice and speech." The property of the righteous is to create the pure and destroy the impure with their voice. In the beginning, there was only one language (one speech) in the world, *Lashon HaKodesh*—the holy language. In Hebrew (as in English) the same word (*Lashon*) means "tongue" (both as a body part and as a means of communication).

171. He asks: "How does *Malchut* ascend in speech?" And he replies: "When man first awakens in the morning and opens his eyes, he must bless his Creator and Master. How is he to bless Him? The way it was done by the first

***Hassidim*: they would prepare a vessel of water beside them, so that when they woke at night, they would wash their hands at once, and, having blessed the Torah, would rise to study it. When the rooster crowed, precisely heralding midnight, the Creator was with the righteous in the Garden of Eden. And it is forbidden to perform a blessing in the morning with unclean hands."**

He asks: since it is written that the beginning of *Malchut's* correction must be expressed in a quiet murmur of lips, how can he who wakes up (spiritually) immediately pronounce a blessing at the top of his voice? After all, the blessing must also be uttered in whisper so as to first receive a voice from *Ima*, and with this voice (by the force of *Ima-Bina*) elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*, and impart onto her altruistic properties.

The Zohar replies: The first *Hassidim* have corrected this. As man falls asleep (falls to the level of the Light in his *Partzuf* called "sleep"), his holy soul (the Light that was in his spiritual *Partzuf*) ascends, and only the impure spirit of the primordial serpent (egoistic properties) remains in him, for sleep constitutes the 60th part of death (Talmud, *Berachot*, 57:2).

Since death is an impure property of the primordial serpent, the impure spirit (egoistic desires) does not leave man completely as he wakes up (receives a new Light from Above), but remains on man's fingertips (not all of man's desires change under the influence of the Light received from Above, called "the Light of morning" or "the Light of awakening").

And the greater holiness and Light that was present in man before he fell asleep (before he fell into a diminished spiritual state, called "sleep"), the more the impure (egoistic) force clings to these desires when the altruistic intentions exit them during sleep.

Fingertips constitute the purest place (desires) of the entire body (all desires), man's most spiritual desires, for they can be filled with *Ohr Hochma* (*Ohr Hochma* enters these desires during a *Zivug*, with the help of a screen). Therefore, even after awakening (at the beginning of the spiritual ascent), the impure (egoistic) force does not leave this place, wishing to receive at least some of that great Light, which can fill these most altruistic human desires.

Hence, hands must be washed in order to remove the residual egoistic desires. For this to happen, two vessels need to be prepared: the Upper One (cup) and the lower one that will accept the removed impurity.

The Upper Vessel designates *Bina*, whose Light drives the impure force away. Hence, washing the fingertips with water (the forces or desires of *Bina*) expels the impure force (man's egoistic desires) from them. Thus, *Malchut* rids herself

of her evil (egoism) and becomes holy and good. Afterwards, one can study the Torah and bless the Creator for it, for washing hands is similar to raising *MAN* in a whispered prayer to the wings of *Ima*.

And when the rooster crows (this is a special spiritual sign of the angel Gavriel), it is precisely midnight, as it is written: "The greater star to rule the day and the lesser star to rule the night" (*Beresheet*, 1:16). For the lesser star, the holy *Shechina-Malchut* grew smaller, clothed in impure forces and "her feet descend to death" (*Mishley*, 5:5).

This is so because during the 6,000 years, up to her final correction, *Malchut* constitutes the Tree (foundations) of Good and Evil: if one is worthy, she becomes good for him and purifies him, if not—she turns evil. Accordingly, the rule of night is also divided into two parts: the first refers to a state called "unworthy—evil," and the second refers to a state called "worthy—good."

The first correction of *Malchut's* good part is made exactly at midnight (in a state so called "midnight"), for it is then that *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*. Put differently, *Malchut* ascends to *Malchut de Ima-Bina* and corrects herself within it. As a result, the strictness and judgment in *Malchut* become holy and good, completely devoid of evil. This means that strictness and judgment fall onto the impure forces, but for Israel, they turn into mercy.

Yitzchak signifies restriction, the property of *Malchut* within *Bina*. The Hebrew word for a "rooster" is *Tarnegol*, and also *Gever* (man) and designates the angel Gavriel, who attends to *Malchut*, the lesser star. The strictness of *Bina* pierces the wings of the rooster (Gavriel), and through it *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*.

And when Gavriel passes the voice of *Bina* to *Malchut*, his call reaches all the roosters of this world, the property of judgment in the spiritual void. Such a state is called "this world" or *Malchut de Malchut*. Everyone speaks only in this voice, which was corrected by *Bina's* property of mercy.

Therefore, the voice of *Malchut* (her judgment) no longer dominates the second half of the night, and the voice of *Bina* claims this place. This is what the "rooster of this world" heralds—the property of judgment in *Malchut de Malchut*.

Hence, a rooster's crow (change of properties) is heard precisely at midnight (when states change), for this crow means that *Malchut* has already been corrected by the voice of *Bina*, and that this voice is already within *Malchut*. This is defined as the moment of midnight, which marks the beginning of the second half—absolute goodness, devoid of evil.

After *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*, the righteous (man's properties in the worlds of *BYA*) raise *MAN* with the help of their study of Torah after (in the state of) midnight. They keep raising *MAN* to the "cheerful strictness" in *Ima*, of which it is written: "She rises also while it is yet night" (*Mishley*, 31:15), for it is precisely at night that the Supernal *Malchut* reveals herself in all her splendor.

And the actual revelation of *Malchut* takes place in the Garden of Eden, i.e., she is meant for those righteous who have corrected her with their work and studies (in the state) after midnight. The Creator rejoices with them (merriment signifies fulfillment with *Ohr Hochma*) in the Garden of Eden, for the corrected *Malchut* is called "the Holy *Shechina*" or "the Garden of Eden," for she receives *Hochma* and rejoices with the righteous that constitute *MAN* within her.

And the phrase that describes how impurity (egoistic desires) is washed away (corrected to altruistic properties) from man's fingers (his most exalted desires) is true not only with regard to nighttime. Man ascends from the lower degree of "sleep" onto a higher degree of "awakening," the difference between the two states being that previously, he was receiving only the vital *Ohr Hassadim*, called "sleep," while "awakening" signifies reception of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because the impure force constantly clings to man's fingertips (precisely for man to correct it and thus attain greater spiritual heights), and he is obliged to wash his hands (make his desires and intentions "for the Creator's sake") before uttering a blessing (appealing to the Creator for reception).

172. For when man is asleep, his soul (spirit) leaves him. And as soon as his soul departs from him, the impure spirit replaces it at once, and it fills his hands and defiles them, and it is forbidden to utter a blessing without washing one's hands. And should you object that when man is awake and his soul does not leave him, the impure force does not descend upon him, then, if he enters a washroom, he is forbidden from reading even a single word of the Torah until he washes his hands. And if you say that it is because his hands are soiled, this is not true, for how are they soiled?

173. But woe unto those who do not beware and do not guard the Creator's honor and do not know the foundation of this world. There is a certain spirit that dwells in every cesspool of the world, a spirit that relishes depravity and excrement, and it immediately settles on the fingers of man's hands.

Just like Rabbi Y. Ashlag, I refrain from commenting on items 172 and 173 of *The Zohar*, and he who merits it—will understand this text himself.

He Who Rejoices on Holidays

174. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "He who rejoices on holidays and does not give a part to the Creator, the evil eye hates and slanders him, removes him from this world, and brings him many miseries."

We have already said (item 68) that the impure forces (egoistic spiritual forces within man that know of and hence desire the pleasures hidden in the Creator's Light) consist of male and female parts. The male part brings less harm than the female. It leads man to transgressions such as lying in the name of the Creator, as though it inspires man to observe the *Mitzvot*, but not in complete purity (with the sole purpose of pleasing the Creator). Instead, it causes man to also add a touch of personal benefit and selfish enjoyment, as it is written: "Eat not the bread of an ill-willer, nor desire his treats; for as one reckons within himself, such is he: 'Eat and drink,' he shall say to you; but his heart is not with you" (*Mishley*, 23:6-7).

Since the male impure force has absolutely no intentions to bestow, the commandment remains devoid of fear and love (without a heart). Yet, since the male impure force has already caught man in its net, it gains power to make a *Zivug* with its female half (the impure *Nukva*), which is a bitter and evil impure force that lies in the name of the Creator, and, upon seducing man, captures his entire soul.

Hence, *The Zohar* says that the evil eye hates and slanders man, and removes him from this world by provoking him to fail to observe the commandment of rejoicing on a holiday (the reception of *Ohr Hochma*, joy on a higher degree)—so that this joy would not be for the sake of the Creator. It is as though he eats alone and does not share his food with the needy, which leads to the male impure force making a *Zivug* with *Nukva* and capturing man's soul.

175. The Creator's role is to cheer the poor, according to His ability. For the Creator appears on the holidays so as to look at His broken *Kelim*. He comes to them, and He sees that there is nothing to rejoice in, and He weeps for them, and ascends Above to destroy the world.

To understand this passage and the angels' objections, one must first understand the words of the sages (*Midrash Raba*, 86): "When creating the world, the Creator asked the angels: 'Shall we create man in our image (*Tzelem*) and likeness?' And the four angels (forces, properties) of creation gave their answers:

Mercy said, LET US CREATE, for he creates *Hassadim*, mercy. Truth said, LET US NOT CREATE, for he is all falsehood. Justice said, LET US CREATE, for he dispenses justice. Peace said, LET US NOT CREATE, for he is all enmity."

What did the Creator do? He took truth and concealed it in the ground, as it is written: "cast down truth to the ground" (*Daniel*, 8:12). Our entire purpose in the study of the Torah and *Mitzvot* lies in that, thanks to them, as the Talmud says (*Psachim*, 50, 2): "From *Lo Lishma* (intentions for oneself) man comes to *Lishma* (intentions for the Creator's sake)."

And since man is born with such insignificant desires and powers, he is unable to immediately engage in the Creator's *Mitzvot* for the sake of pleasing the Giver of these *Mitzvot*, for as it is said: "Man is born akin to a wild ass" (*Iyov*, 11:12). Due to his egoistic nature, he is unable to make any inner movement or action if it is not for his own benefit.

Therefore, the Creator allows man to begin observing the *Mitzvot* solely for his own sake, seeking personal benefit. Yet, in spite of this, his actions attract spiritual Light to him. And then, with the help of the received Light, he comes to observe the *Mitzvot* for the Creator's sake, in order to please Him.

This is exactly what Truth presented when it objected to man's creation and said that he is all falsehood. After all, how can man be created to study the Torah and observe *Mitzvot* in a state of absolute falsehood, i.e., "for oneself?"

However, Mercy said, "Let us create," for man performs merciful deeds. Although the *Mitzvot* of mercy, which man observes (even if mechanically) initially "for his own sake," are mere external actions without the intention of bestowal, with their help he gradually corrects his intentions until he becomes capable of observing all the *Mitzvot* "for the Creator's sake." Hence, there exists an absolute certainty and guarantee that through his efforts, man will achieve the goal—altruistic actions "for the Creator's sake." And that it is okay to create man.

Peace also asserted that man is all "enmity;" hence, he can observe the *Mitzvot* "for the Creator's sake" only if it also brings him personal benefit. However, due to such mixed intentions and actions, man exists in constant conflict with the Creator, for it seems to him that he is great and righteous, and he utterly fails to see his shortcomings. In other words, he is completely unaware that all his work in the Torah and *Mitzvot* is exclusively for his own benefit.

And because he feels this way, he fills up with anger and resentment towards the Creator: why does the Creator not treat him as it befits one so perfectly righteous? It follows that he alternates between states of peace and conflict with the Creator. That is why Peace objected to the creation of man.

However, Justice said that man should be created, for he dispenses justice. By observing the *Mitzva* (singular for *Mitzvot*) of giving charity to the poor, even with the intention "for oneself," he gradually acquires the property of "bestowal," learns to act "for the Creator's sake," and merits eternal peace with Him.

After the Creator heard these opinions, He agreed with the angels of Mercy and Justice, and cast down Truth to the "ground." By this, He allowed man to begin observing the *Mitzvot* with the intention "for oneself," despite its falsehood.

It follows that the Creator cast Truth down to the ground because He had accepted the claims of Mercy and Justice, that thanks to the *Mitzva* of giving charity to the poor, man will ultimately come to Truth, i.e., work for the Creator's sake, and Truth will rise from the ground.

The only creation created by the Creator is *Malchut de Malchut*, egoism, and it can only be corrected by "instilling" the Creator's properties of *Bina* or mercy into it. Yet, if these properties are opposite, how can such a thing be accomplished? After all, in the spiritual world, distance is proportionate to the difference in properties. So how can *Malchut* be united with *Bina*?

To this end, the *Kli* was broken: the spiritual, altruistic desire lost its screen and became egoistic. Yet, it retained sparks of the Light, and these sparks exist within egoistic desires. This is why egoistic desires have power over us.

These sparks of the Upper Light are the source of various pleasures and love, for Light is pleasure. And since these particles of Light are clothed in impure garments and exist under the rule of the impure forces, man starts perceiving these feelings of love and delight as being inherent in the impure forces, as though these egoistic garments contain pleasures, and such is their property. And he associates the properties of love and pleasure with the impure forces,

failing to understand that the impure forces draw him solely with the spiritual spark that has fallen into them.

However, as the impure force is very appealing, it lures man into all kinds of transgressions, such as theft, robbery, and murder. At the same time, it gives us the desire to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* for our own sake. Even if we start observing them not "for the Creator's sake," but "for ourselves," (for our own benefit, to fulfill our base aspirations, according to the desires of the broken, egoistic *Kelim*-vessels), we gradually come to the intention "for the Creator's sake," and merit the goal of creation—to receive all the pleasure that was prepared for us back in the Thought of Creation—"to delight man." Thus, the impure forces destroy themselves, but that is exactly the purpose for which the Creator conceived and created them.

The Zohar says that the Creator appears on these holidays to look at all the broken *Kelim*. On holidays, when man observes the *Mitzva* of rejoicing because of the great Light that he receives from the Creator, the Creator appears to look at His broken vessels, by which man is given an opportunity to observe the *Mitzvot* not "for the Creator's sake." The Creator comes and looks at how well these broken vessels have fulfilled their mission to bring man to observance of the *Mitzvot* with the intention "for the Creator's sake."

However, the Creator comes to them and sees that there is nothing to rejoice in. He weeps over them, for He sees that nothing spiritual (altruistic) was created from the broken vessels, that man has yet to correct even a single broken vessel (egoistic desire). In other words, there's not one vessel that was intentionally broken by the Creator that has brought man to the intention "for the Creator's sake," and he rejoices on holidays solely for his own pleasure.

So the Creator weeps and regrets breaking the vessels, for He broke them and cast Truth to the ground only for man's sake, to give him an opportunity to start working in falsehood (in the intention "for oneself") and gradually come to Truth, to the intention "for the Creator's sake." Yet, when He sees that man has not changed at all in his aspirations for selfish pleasure, it is as though the vessels were broken in vain, and so He weeps for them.

And He rises Above, to destroy the world—meaning, He ascends so as to stop the Light's descent and thereby destroy the world. The world and creatures can exist only if they receive the Creator's Light (even if unconsciously). However, if man's state and selfish actions cannot lead him to the intention "for the Creator's sake," the Light itself becomes detrimental to him, for in pursuit of this Light, man sinks ever deeper into egoistic desires (impure forces) and growing

dependency on egoism. Therefore, it is more desirable and beneficial for man to stop feeling pleasure in his impure desires, so that it would not destroy him completely and prevent him from sinking into such powerful egoistic desires that, having become a slave to their pleasures, he would never be able escape them and attain the spiritual.

176. The members of the assembly then appear before the Creator and say: "Master of the world, You are called merciful and forgiving, send Your mercy upon Your sons." He answers them: "Have I not done so, when I created the world based on mercy? As it is written, 'The world is built by mercy' and the world is established upon it. However, if they do not show mercy to the poor, the world will be destroyed." The Heavenly angels then say to Him: "Master of the world, here is a man who had eaten and drunk to his heart's content, and could have been merciful to the poor, but did not do anything." The prosecutor appears, receives permission, and persecutes that man.

The exalted souls, called "the members (or the sons) of the assembly" begin praying for the lower ones, so the Creator would have mercy on His sons and not discontinue the flow of Light descending onto them. They do everything within their power to justify man's state of being, and say that as long as he observes his *Mitzvot* in faith, he is called "the Creator's son," and hence deserves the Creator's mercy, as a son deserves the mercy of his father.

The Creator replies to them that He created the world by the property of mercy, and the world stands on this property alone. In other words, man will not be corrected by the Creator's Light as long as he disdains the poor, for the world's creation was the result of the Creator's agreement with the angel of Mercy, which states that due to man's merciful deeds, the world will be able to exist and will gradually come to the intention "for the Creator's sake." But now, since people are not showing mercy, there will be no correction.

Then the Supernal angels said, "Master of the universe, here is a man who had eaten and drunk, and had his fill, and could have been merciful to the poor, but did not give them anything." In this case, the angels begin to accuse man, instead of defending him, even the angels of Mercy and Justice. And all those who did not wish to create an egoistic man with desires "for oneself," but agreed to it only because they assumed that by deeds of mercy and justice he would escape his egoism "for one's own sake" and achieve the altruistic property "for the Creator's sake." Now, they, too, turn against man.

And if man is unable to acquire the intention "for the Creator's sake," the angels repent and regret at having agreed to his creation, and they now accuse

him before the Creator. And after it becomes clear that man will not achieve the altruistic property "for the Creator's sake" by observing the *Mitzvot*, he is passed into the hands of the prosecutor.

177. There are none greater in our world than Avraham, who acted with mercy toward all creatures. It is written of the day that he prepared a feast: "The child grew and was weaned, and Avraham made a great feast on the day that Yitzchak was weaned." So Avraham prepared a feast and invited all the leaders of that generation. It is well known that at every feast, the supreme prosecutor is about, watching. And if there are any poor people in the house, he leaves that house and does not return there. However, if the prosecutor enters a house and sees rejoicing without the poor—without having first shown mercy to the poor—he ascends Above and brings accusations against the host of that feast.

178. Because Avraham was the leader of his generation, the prosecutor descended from Heavens and stood at the door of his house, disguised as a poor man. And nobody so much as looked at him. Avraham was attending to kings and ministers, and Sarah was feeding all of their children, for they did not believe that she had born a child, but rather claimed that Yitzchak was a foundling, whom they had bought at the marketplace. This is why they brought their children with them, and Sarah nursed them in front of all. And the prosecutor stands at the door. Sarah said: "The Creator has made laughter for me" ("For anyone who hears will laugh on account of me" (*Beresheet*, 21:6). The prosecutor ascended at once and stood before the Creator, and said to Him, "O Master of the world, You have said that You love Avraham, and here he had prepared a feast, but had not given anything to You nor to the poor, had not sacrificed even a single pigeon for Your sake. And Sarah says that You have laughed at her."

Until the end of correction, it is impossible to fully rid oneself of the impure forces. Hence, however hard even the most exalted righteous may try to observe the Creator's *Mitzvot* in purity of their altruistic intentions, without any touch of personal benefit, the impure forces can nonetheless accuse them and find faults in their observance of the *Mitzvot*.

Therefore, the Creator prepared another opportunity for the righteous to silence the prosecutor—by bribing him with a certain portion of holiness and purity, thus silencing him. This way, the prosecutor is reluctant to accuse a righteous one and does not want him to disappear, for then the prosecutor, too, will be deprived of his part of holiness, the Light that he receives as the righteous one observes each *Mitzvot*.

Hence, the need for external hair in *Tefillin* (phylacteries), scapegoat rite, red heifer, and so forth. (*The Zohar*, *Emor*, p. 88). From this we see how extraordinary, multifaceted, and complex this world is created, how impossible it is to judge human deeds and the Upper Governance by external manifestations, as they are seen by us, and how "entangled" and inseparably intertwined all the connections between the pure and impure forces really are.

Even when we look at our great leaders-Kabbalists, we see how much they've suffered, how they were forced to submit to the will of petty rulers or ignorant masses, and how persecuted they were—those who were closest to the Creator! Everyone feels these obstacles, even those who are just beginning on their spiritual journey.

But here, in the example of Avraham, *The Zohar* does not speak about an ordinary prosecutor, for Avraham had surely given food to all the poor, as he had always done even before he invited his distinguished guests to his table. But this prosecutor demanded his share of holiness, of the Light. However, Avraham did not wish to give anything of holiness to impurity. Rather, he wanted to overcome its power and push it away from himself completely. This is why the prosecutor ascended Above and accused Avraham.

The Zohar tells us that the prosecutor was not really poor, but only disguised himself as such, and demanded to be treated at Avraham's festive table. Avraham felt that this was an impure force that assumed the image of a poor man; hence, he refused to give it anything.

This is why it is written: "He did not sacrifice even a single pigeon," for in accordance to the sacrificial rites (rejection of egoistic parts, of man's "I"), only two pigeons are offered, which symbolize the two combined points in *Malchut*: the property of *Malchut* that was corrected by the property of mercy, *Bina*. This common point contains both the properties of restriction and mercy, but the property of restriction is concealed, whereas the property of mercy is revealed (item 122).

Without this combination of *Malchut*'s properties with those of *Bina*, called the "mitigation" or "sweetening" of *Malchut*, the world (*Malchut*) cannot exist, i.e., receive the Creator's Light. Therefore, it is necessary to offer precisely two baby pigeons. One of them was sent by Noah from his Ark, never to return (*Beresheet*, 8), for one pigeon designates the property of restriction in *Malchut* that is unmitigated by *Bina*'s property of mercy. And since Noah could not correct anything in her, the pigeon never returned to him (*The Zohar Shlach*, p. 52).

The prosecutor's claims and complaints concerning Avraham's feast on the day when Yitzchak was weaned stem from his demand to receive his share, the corrections of the part of *Malchut* that cannot be corrected until *Gmar Tikkun* (the end of correction). And this is the property of the restriction within *Malchut*, with which the world cannot exist; hence, it must be concealed. This property is the pigeon that did not return to Noah.

Man was not entrusted with the task of correcting his Creator-given primordial egoism, for it is impossible to alter what the Creator had made. However, man can hide his *Malchut*, his egoism (refrain from using it), and instead act by receiving his desires from *Bina*. This is why a combination of the properties of *Malchut* (egoism) and *Bina* (altruism) was formed in man—to let him make the effort and conceal the properties of *Malchut*, and act only according to the properties of *Bina*.

When one is able to completely reject the use of his egoism and is guided only by the properties of *Bina*, he will achieve a state called "the end of his correction." Correction is made during the 6,000 years, i.e., along the degrees of the 6,000 consecutive actions.

Then, man's *Mashiach* (Messiah/savior), the Upper Light, comes to him and transforms all of man's egoism (the primordial nature that he was rejecting during the 6,000 years) into altruism. Then, one's egoistic properties serve for the reception of the Light of pleasure for the Creator's sake, and he no longer needs to refrain from using them.

The property of *Malchut*, with which man cannot work for the Creator's sake until his final correction, is referred to as "restriction." Using the properties of *Malchut* herself remains forbidden until she is completely corrected through gradual purification by the properties of *Bina* during the 6,000 years. Alternatively, *Malchut* is called "strictness" or "judgment," for this restriction is also the source of all punishments and prohibitions.

Avraham could not correct this property of restriction in *Malchut*, i.e., receive the Light and fill *Malchut* entirely. Hence, he received nothing in this part, and that is exactly the way he treated the prosecutor, who ascended at once and began to accuse Avraham before the Creator, claiming that Avraham failed to correct anything in *Malchut*'s property of restriction with his feast. This property of restriction is called "poor," for it does not receive Light; hence, it constitutes the essence of *Malchut*, her egoism.

Since the Creator mitigated the restrictive property of *Malchut* with the property of mercy, and mixed *Malchut* with *Bina* for the sole purpose of giving the

world an opportunity to exist, the Light that is received thanks to the property of mercy is defined as the part of Light belonging to all the world's inhabitants. This part helps *Malchut* become corrected. Since the Creator created *Malchut* in order to personally fill her with Light, she is regarded as His personal part.

As a result of a miracle of nursing the babies that were brought to Sarah, Avraham received all the Light that exists in the property of mercy, and began to doubt his ability to correct the poor part of *Malchut*. This part receives nothing (for it cannot be used during the 6,000 years) and constitutes the Creator's personal part.

Therefore, the prosecutor ascended, accusing Avraham of not giving to the poor, i.e., not giving to the part of the Creator, *Malchut de Malchut* herself, which no man can correct by himself, as even Noah was unable to do so. And he gave nothing to You nor to the poor, and sacrificed not even a single pigeon for Your sake.

And Sarah says that You have laughed at her. Sarah is the part of *Bina* that shines in *Malchut*. With the words: "Any who hears will laugh on account of me" (*Beresheet*, 21:6), Sarah-*Bina* gave *Malchut* such powerful *Ohr Hassadim* that *Malchut* stopped feeling her egoistic desires, felt the perfection of altruism, and temporarily acquired the properties of *Bina*, while under the influence of *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, there emerges fear that due to such a sense of perfection and absence of suffering from unfulfilled desires, the absence of the feeling of deficiency, *Malchut* would remain uncorrected. Such a state is similar to the following description of Adam's state in the Torah (*Beresheet*, 3:22): "Lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live forever." In other words, he must not stop feeling his own nature nor forget the fact that he is obliged to correct his defect in the "Tree of Knowledge." And that is why Adam was cast down into a place that is suitable for correction, the lowest possible egoistic place, called our world.

179. The Creator said to him: "Who in the world is like Avraham?" And the prosecutor did not leave from there until he had consumed the entire fare. So the Creator decreed that Yitzchak is to be sacrificed. And He said that Sarah shall die from grief for her son. The cause of this grief is that he did not give anything to the poor.

Yitzchak's sacrifice was aimed at the correction of *Malchut*, to compensate for what Avraham could not correct at his great feast in honor of Yitzchak's weaning. Sarah's death was the result of the great Light that she passed to

Malchut, saying: "The Creator has made laughter for me," alluding to the Light that obstructs the correction of *Malchut*.

Therefore, the Light that descends to *Malchut* and gives her the sensation of perfection prevents her from correcting herself. Hence, the Creator stopped it. This is the significance of Sarah's death, for Sarah constitutes the Light of *Bina* that enters *Malchut*. Thus, all that the Torah speaks of is but the essence of the process of *Malchut's* correction, until her correction is completed.

The Torah and Prayer

180. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "It is written that Hizkiyahu (Hezekiah) turned his face to the wall and prayed to the Creator." Let us see how great and potent the power of the Torah is, and how high it rises above all. He who engages in the Torah has no fear of those Above or below, nor of any hardships or illnesses of this world, for he is connected to the Tree of Life and learns from it each day.

181. For the Torah teaches man how to walk a path of truth; it teaches him how to return to his Master and cancel what is predestined for him. And even if man is shown that what is predestined for him cannot be cancelled, it is nonetheless completely cancelled and annulled, then disappears at once and does not prevail over him in this world. Hence, man should study the Torah day and night, and never abandon it, as it is written: "Contemplate Him day and night." Whomever abandons the Torah, it is as though he abandons the Tree of Life.

"Contemplate Him day and night"—"Him" implies the Creator! In another place in *The Zohar*, it is said that Hizkiyahu's prayer was accepted by the Creator, for nothing (no egoistic desires) separated him from the wall (the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator, akin to the Wailing Wall).

This was the advice that he received from the Torah, when, through his efforts in the Torah, he realized how to achieve complete return to the Creator, whereby nothing would separate him from the Creator (from the wall, the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator). As a result, the decree of his death (the Light's exit from the *Partzuf*) was revoked. So great is the power of the Torah.

182. Come and see—such is the advice given to man. When he goes to bed at night, he must accept the Creator's governance from Above, and wholeheartedly

entrust his soul with Him. Thus, man is immediately spared all the illnesses, slander, and evil eyes, and they will no longer have power over him.

Here we come to a precise understanding of certain definitions from the Torah, which are quite different from the notions that we are accustomed to. Daylight signifies the sensation of unity with the Creator. It is called "Light," for this is how man defines his good feelings. Therefore, daylight is when man feels closeness of the Creator and the greatness of spirituality.

Darkness coincides with nighttime in our world. Accordingly, with regard to man's spiritual states, darkness designates the absence of the sensation of the Creator, of the Upper Light, due to the actions of the impure, egoistic forces that separate man from the Creator. At night in our world, we sleep. The spiritual *Partzuf* is filled with the minimal amount of Light in an unconscious state called "sleep." The amount of Light within the *Partzuf* is so little that it is defined as one sixtieth—6 (*Sefirot* of ZA) x 10 (in each part)—of death or complete absence of spiritual Light, for the impure forces rule here.

Due to these two forces that govern and control us, we cannot completely and permanently merge with the Creator. As the result of our sensation of the state of night, the impure forces that rule at night impede us in our efforts, for their power over us keeps returning, thus creating gaps in our unity with the Creator and in our work for His sake.

To correct this, Rabbi Shimon gives us his advice: every "night" (a feeling of separation from the spiritual), when man goes to "sleep" (sinks deeper into the sensations of this world), he must wholeheartedly accept the Creator's governance, entrust himself completely under His rule. For if the night (the sensation of night) is corrected as in the act of creation, when day follows night, as it is said, "And there was evening and there was morning, one day," both night and day become as a single whole.

And the night, called "the rule of *Malchut*," shall not mix with any impure force, and shall not attack man because of the disappearance of the sensation of the Creator on account of egoistic desires and obstacles of "reason." For first, man has realized the necessity of the night for the attainment of the next day (greater sensation of the Creator, a bigger altruistic desire), and perceives these two states as a single whole and as an advancement, despite the fact that in his sensations, a night designates remoteness from spirituality.

In the language of spiritual work, this means that if man feels remoteness from the Creator, and is therefore without joy, despite all the possible pleasures, for him this state is called "night." It is precisely in such a state of complete

absence of sensation and lack of faith in the Creator that man can, through his own effort, without feeling any taste in the Torah, yield before the Creator's rule. That is, he closes his eyes (as one who goes to sleep) and says: "I bring myself under the Creator's rule and submit to His will." This state is called "descent for the sake of a subsequent ascent," and serves as a springboard, by which man attains an even brighter "day."

However, to this end man must completely accept the Supernal Kingdom's rule, so that nothing will separate him from the Creator. In other words, he must submit to the Supernal Rule unconditionally, whether it brings life or death, so that no force in the world will be able to stop him from uniting with the Supernal Ruler, as it is written, "Love your Creator with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might" (*Devarim*, 6:5).

If man accepts everything that the Creator sends him with all his heart, he is certain that nothing will separate him from the Creator. This determines the fulfillment of the condition of entrusting one's soul with the Creator. For he gives himself into the Creator's hands in advance, by deciding to fulfill all His desires (commandments) to the fullest, right up to self-sacrifice.

Hence, as man sleeps, when his soul (the sensation of the Creator), the Light that previously filled him, leaves his body (desires), he does not feel the taste of the sixtieth part of death, for the impure (egoistic) forces have no power over him. In other words, they do not separate him from the Creator. Rather, he merely fails to feel the Creator temporarily.

Thus, the impure forces cannot interrupt his spiritual work even in the state called "night," for his evening and morning are already as one day—the Creator's Light. The night becomes a part of the day, for it is precisely because of the night that he recognizes his future merit of receiving an even greater Light.

This is because his night stems not from the rule of the impure forces. Instead, he understands that the Creator intentionally sends him such states. Thus, even in such sensations as darkness and lack of feeling, absence of aspiration and taste for the spiritual, he sees an opportunity to merge with the Creator. And this means that nothing stands between him and the wall.

183. And in the morning, when he rises from his bed, he must bless the Creator, enter His house, and bow before Him in fear and trepidation, and only then should he pray. He should take advice of his holy Patriarchs, as it is written, "By Your great mercy shall I come into Your house, to bow in fear of Your holy greatness."

Thanks to Your great kindness, I can now bless You for being merciful to me, for ending my spiritual descent, and for letting me come into Your house once more, for allowing me to feel You. However, I am happy not because my suffering gave way to pleasure, but because now I can thank You. I come to Your house so as to kneel in awe before Your holy greatness, which I now attain more than ever before.

The prayer in our heart is the correction within *Malchut* (the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator, or the common soul of Israel), and the fulfillment of this common soul with the Upper Light (the sensation of the Creator), in accordance with all of its corrected desires. Hence, all our pleas are expressed in plural form, for we pray not for our own soul, but for the common soul of Israel. Naturally, all that is present in the *Shechina* is subsequently present in every soul of Israel, and vice versa, all that the common soul of Israel lacks is also absent in each soul.

Therefore, before we start praying, we need to understand (feel) what is lacking in *Malchut* (the *Shechina*), to know what we need to correct in her and how we can fulfill her. Our heart, the center of our desires, is a part of this *Malchut* (the *Shechina*). All the generations of Israel are included in the common soul—the *Shechina*. However, we need not correct what has already been corrected by previous generations, but only what is left after those generations of souls.

Our Patriarchs, the spiritual *Partzufim* called "Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov," also known as the *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, and *Tifferet* of *Partzuf ZA de Atzilut*, include the entire community of Israel, all the properties that subsequently manifest in the corrected *Malchut*, who, in her corrected state, is called "Israel." The Patriarchs designate the three spiritual roots of the 600,000 souls of Israel in all the generations. In other words, these are the three sources of desires born within man's part of *Malchut* for the purpose of his correction.

All the good deeds, the reception and bestowal of Light carried out by the "community of Israel" (by Kabbalists) in all the generations, first trigger reception of the Upper Light by our holy Patriarchs (*Sefirot de ZA*), for all the Upper Light descends through them from Above downwards. From them, this Upper Light descends onto the "community of Israel," the righteous of that generation who exist with their properties in the worlds of *BYA*, and evoke the descent of this Light with their prayers.

Such is the order of spiritual degrees: each branch can receive only through its root (the preceding, Higher Degree), but never independently. The main Light remains in the root, and only an insignificant part of it descends to the

branch that evokes it. Therefore, all the corrections completed in the community of Israel (the *Shechina*, the common soul) are stored and preserved in the souls of our holy Patriarchs.

(The Light received in the corrected *Kelim* remains forever within them. Our description of the Light's exit and descent should be understood as a metaphor, for the *Partzuf* receives new empty desires that require correction, and the sensation of emptiness from the received empty desires is perceived as the Light's departure. Nevertheless, upon correcting these newly received desires, in them the *Partzuf* will receive an even greater Light than before).

Therefore, the essence of our prayer lies in supplementing the *Shechina* with whatever it needs to achieve complete correction, after all the previous corrections that were performed in it by the past generations of Kabbalists. Hence, he who spiritually ascends must first make all the corrections that have already been performed in the *Shechina*, and only then will he be able to recognize what is left for him to correct.

This is why it is written that one cannot enter the *Beit Knesset* (synagogue, but in Hebrew it means "the house of assembly" or "the house of prayer," from the word *Kones*—"to assemble") before he assembles his prayer and asks the holy Patriarchs for guidance, for he needs to know what has already been corrected and what still needs to be corrected. This is possible only after he receives everything that the Patriarchs have corrected through the *Shechina*. Only then will he come to know what is left for him to correct in the *Shechina*.

The Patriarchs have corrected the prayer in the *Shechina*. Prayer and the *Shechina* are one and the same, for prayer is a request, a raising of *MAN*, a *Kli*, the corrected *Malchut* or the desire for the Creator's sake. The correction performed by Avraham is called *Shacharit* (the morning prayer), by Yitzchak—*Mincha* (the afternoon prayer), and by Yaakov—*Arvit* (the evening prayer). Therefore, one must first repeat in his prayer everything that was already corrected by them, and then he will discover how to construct his personal plea, and what other imperfections are left that only he can, and consequently, must correct.

184. Man cannot enter the *Beit Knesset* (synagogue, house of prayer) unless he first receives permission from Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov, for they have corrected the prayer to the Creator. It is therefore written, "And in Your great mercy shall I enter into Your house" (*Tehilim*, 5:8). The aforesaid refers to Avraham, for his property is mercy, the *Sefira Hesed*. "I will bow before Your holy chamber" refers to Yitzchak, for thanks to him *Malchut* is called *Heichal*—chamber, the *Sefira Gevura*. "In fear and trepidation" refers to

Yaakov, for his property is the *Sefira Tifferet*, called "fear." And man must first enter into these properties, and only then enter the *Beit Knesset* to raise his prayers. Such a state is described by the verse, "Here is My slave, Israel, by whom I am adorned."

Here *The Zohar* analyzes the first three main corrections, made by the Patriarchs in the *Shechina*. Avraham corrected the property called *Bait* (house, permanent dwelling), which allows man to merge with it and to always exist in the Creator's properties and sensations, just as he can always dwell in his house.

Yitzchak complemented the correction and corrected *Malchut* in the property called the "holy temple," so that the King Himself would always dwell in it, as a king always dwells in his chambers. Yaakov added to the correction by the property of fear, which corresponds to a gate in front of a house, and designates the condition that (if met) allows man to enter *Malchut*, Avraham's house, and into Yitzchak's holy temple that are both within her.

Upon including within him all three corrections of the Patriarchs in full perfection, he attains what has already been corrected in the holy *Shechina*, and then proceeds to correct what has not been corrected.

Avraham is the source of the property of mercy in the souls of Israel. Therefore, he corrected the holy *Shechina* in such a way that it could receive *Ohr Hassadim*, the Light of Mercy. And the *Shechina* received this Light in its entirety for all the souls of Israel. Had it remained this way, all the souls of Israel would have been in complete and eternal unity with the Creator, and the *Shechina* would have been filled with Light (pleasure). Thus, no man would ever wish to part with the *Shechina* (the sensation of the Creator) even for a single moment.

Yet, Avraham's entire correction consisted in the creation of a perfect, bestowing *Kli*, which consisted only of *Ohr Hassadim*. There was no way of corrupting its properties or introducing imperfection within it, for, just like Avraham's property of mercy (*Hesed*), this *Kli* (desire) consisted only of the will to bestow upon, and please the Creator, as it is written: "Mine is yours and yours is yours designates the property of mercy" (*Avot*, 85). By imparting creation with his property, Avraham completely separated the impure forces (thoughts and desires) from the *Shechina*, and made it completely holy and pure.

However, the Thought of Creation does not end here, for it lies in fulfilling the souls with delight. And the extent of pleasure depends on the aspiration to enjoy, on the degree of hunger. Only the extent of preliminary hunger, the will to receive pleasure, determines the extent of the subsequent reception of pleasure.

The *Shechina* (*Malchut de Atzilut*, the sum of the souls) received its correction from Avraham—the Supernal force of *Hassadim*, the *Sefira Hesed* of *ZA de Atzilut*—and acquired the property of mercy from it. This property is completely free from any selfish will to receive, that is, its desire to receive something from the Creator has completely disappeared, and only the will to bestow upon Him remains. This desire is called "bestowal for the sake of bestowal." However, this brought no correction to the souls (parts of the *Shechina*), for their role is to receive the pleasure prepared for them by the Creator. To that end, they must first have the "will to receive." After all, pleasure is felt only when preceded by an aspiration or desire for it, and is determined by the extent of this desire.

It is hence written that Avraham fathered Yitzchak: Yitzchak found the *Shechina* in absolute spiritual perfection, in the property of pure selfless bestowal, filled with *Ohr Hassadim* because of all the corrections made by Avraham. However, in accordance with his properties, Yitzchak (the left spiritual force) felt imperfection in this state of the *Shechina*—that it was not yet corrected to "receive" *all* that was conceived in the Thought of Creation.

Therefore, he corrected it by turning it into a *Kli* (vessel) of reception, by supplementing it with the will "to receive," so that it could receive all the perfection prepared for it. Yitzchak evoked in the *Shechina* the will to receive pleasure from the Creator, albeit in the form of "reception for the Creator's sake"—with the intention of receiving pleasure in order to delight Him.

The reception for the Creator's sake means that although man fervently wishes to receive pleasure, he receives not because he wishes to enjoy, but only because the bestowing Creator wishes for him to receive it. And had the Creator not wished it so, man would have no desire to receive from Him.

Reception for the Creator's sake is equivalent to selfless bestowal. Thus, the egoistic, impure force, cannot cling to such a desire.

Hence, Yitzchak corrected the *Shechina* and brought it to complete perfection, for now it can receive all that the Creator conceived to bestow upon it, as this is the purpose of His creation.

Thus, after being corrected by Yitzchak, the state of *Malchut-Shechina* is called *Heichal* (the Creator's chambers), for now He can fill it with Himself, His Light, which means that He dwells in its halls.

Yet, Avraham's correction, called "house," did not yet allow the *Shechina* to be filled and worthy of the Creator's presence. Hence, Yitzchak is considered to have corrected all the *Gevurot* (willpower and resistance to egoism in the souls of Israel). This means that he mitigated all the laws and restrictions in the

Creator's governance. This is because all restrictions and punishments come into this world for the sole purpose of correcting the souls' will to receive, to make them suitable for reception of the infinite goodness contained in the Thought of Creation. And since Yitzchak corrected the *Shechina* to complete perfection, all its restrictions and forces have been corrected, and all of its properties have attained the desired goal.

However, his correction, too, did not retain this form in the *Shechina*, and became corrupted, for the world was still unprepared for the end of correction. Hence, Yitzchak fathered a sinner, Esav, who, being unable to resist the temptation to receive for himself, corrupted Yitzchak's correction in the *Shechina*. Unlike Yitzchak, he could not resist the selfish reception. This means that even when it became clear to him that the bestowing Creator did not wish for him to receive, he wanted to receive nonetheless, for such was his desire of self-gratification.

Therefore, the impure force (*Klipot*-shells, the husk, or rind surrounding the pure forces) clung to the *Shechina*. Thus, the legs (*Sefirot NHYM*) of *Partzuf Malchut de Atzilut* descended to the place of the *Klipot* below *Parsa*, where egoistic desires dominate the desires of *NHYM*.

Yet, the *Rosh* and the Upper Part of the *Guf* down to the *Tabur* of *Partzuf Malchut* remained above the rule of the impure forces. Hence, his head (*Rosh*) understands how he should act (hence, Yitzchak's head is buried together with the bodies of Avraham and Yaakov in the *Machpela* cave), but the body (*Guf*) still wants to receive pleasure for its own sake.

And since Yaakov saw the damage caused by Esav, he corrected the *Shechina* by adding his property of fear to it, as it is written: "His hand had hold on Esav's heel" (The Torah, *Beresheet*, 25:26). Because Yaakov realized what imperfection Esav had caused in *Shechina* (in the created souls), he corrected himself in fear to such an extent that he raised the holy *Shechina* as a crown-adornment. By this he also retained the corrections made by Avraham and Yitzchak.

However, Yaakov's correction was not final, for this fear is more similar to the fear of transgression than the selfless fear that comes from within. For this fear of his is born in him from Esav's hip, even though he had not transgressed by receiving, as did Esav. But the end of correction will bring a different state: Esav's hip will be annulled, as it is written: "Death will forever vanish from the world," and fear will remain only because the Creator is almighty and great.

Yaakov attained this genuine fear by himself. However, the entire "community of Israel," all the souls that form the *Shechina*, still need to correct themselves in all the generations, from the first to the last, to the end of correction. (Only

Moshe attained the property of true fear—one out of greatness and love—only he, and no one else. Hence, as the Talmud says, description of fear out of love for the Creator doesn't even exist.)

The Zohar cites the words of the Psalm (5:8): "By Your great mercy I shall come into Your house," since Avraham corrected the *Shechina* up to the property of a "house" that is filled with goodness, i.e., with *Ohr Hassadim*. The words, "So as to bow before Your holy chamber," refer to Yitzchak, who corrected the *Shechina* from a "house" to a "chamber" that befits the Creator. The words, "in fear" refer to Yaakov, who corrected the *Shechina* with his property of fear, whereupon he made it a *Kli* (vessel) of reception that includes all the corrections made by Avraham and Yitzchak.

Yet, how did he find out what else needed correction in the *Shechina*? Only by correcting and including himself in these three corrections performed by the holy Patriarchs before him. This means that, just as they did, Yaakov can act according to the conditions of these corrections. In other words, Yaakov merged with their properties, thereby ascending to their level.

Thus, man must first attain these properties and correct them within him. Only after he assumes the properties of these three corrections into himself can he start correcting them from where our Patriarch Yaakov left off, i.e., elevating fear to the extent of the Creator's greatness and omnipotence, and drawing the Upper Light with his prayer, with his awe of the Creator's greatness. And the Upper Light will bring with it the fulfillment of the *Shechina* and the end of its correction. Hence, man's prayer must include two objectives: to obtain fear of the Creator's true greatness, and with this attainment, to achieve the final correction of his egoism.

Rabbi Shimon's Departure from the Cave

185. Rabbi Pinchas stood before Rabbi Rachuma on the shore of Lake Kinneret. He was wise, old, and almost blind. He said to Rabbi Pinchas: "I have heard that our friend Shimon Bar-Yochai has a jewel, a son. I have looked upon the Light from that jewel, and it shines like the light of the sun, and illuminates the entire world."

A fully corrected *Malchut* is called a jewel (usually a pearl). Rabbi Nachum tells Rabbi Pinchas that Rabbi Shimon has already merited complete correction, for a "son" designates the next state, the next *Partzuf* that emerges or is born from the preceding one. And Rabbi Pinchas sees this while looking (with his spiritual sight, called *Ruach HaKodesh*—the Holy Spirit) at the Light of this pearl, which shines like the sun emerging from its hiding (*Nartik*—sheath). This means that after the future correction of *Malchut* (the moon), her Light will become like that of the sun, and will illuminate the entire world.

And when the Light of the moon becomes like that of the sun, it will rise to the zenith and illuminate the whole world with a pillar of Light, from Heaven to earth. And it will shine until Rabbi Shimon completes the correction of *Atik*. This speaks to the fact that he has already merited attaining the degrees of the Creator's two revelations, i.e., the end of correction.

186. And that Light extends from the Heavens down to the earth and illuminates the whole world until *Atik-Keter* appears and sits upon its throne, which occurs at the end of correction. And that Light abides entirely in your household (for the daughter of Rabbi Pinchas was wife to Rabbi Shimon, and Rabbi Elazar was therefore his grandson). And a tiny ray of Light (called "the son of the household," Rabbi Elazar) separates from the Light that fills the household, comes forth and shines upon the whole world. Happy are those

who merit such a destiny! Come out, my son, come out! Go after that jewel, which illuminates the world, for it is a good time to do so!

Since the daughter of Rabbi Pinchas was the wife of Rabbi Shimon (Rabbi Shimon and his wife designate two spiritual *Partzufim* that are below Rabbi Pinchas), Rabbi Shimon (together with his wife) belonged to the household (was included in the *Partzuf*) of Rabbi Pinchas. This refers to Rabbi Elazar, the *Partzuf* that emerged from the Light and illuminated the world, which filled the household (ten *Sefirot*) of Rabbi Pinchas, i.e., came out of the *Partzuf* called "Rabbi Shimon and his wife."

187. He came out before him and stood waiting to board a ship. Two women were with him. He saw two birds soaring over the water. He raised his voice and said, "Birds, you soar over the sea; have you seen the place where one could find Bar-Yochai?" He waited some and said, "Birds, O birds, fly away." They flew away and disappeared into the sea.

Rabbi Shimon fled from the authorities that condemned him to death, and hid in a cave with his son. And no one knew where he was. Therefore, Rabbi Pinchas set out to look for him.

Although everything described here is historically true, it is nonetheless essential for us to understand the words of *The Zohar* as the actions of Supernal spiritual causes, whose consequences determine all that transpires on earth. The egoistic authorities (forces) of a *Partzuf* as exalted as Rabbi Shimon's try to overcome his own altruistic aspirations and deprive him of the Light, that is, to kill him. And he hides from them in a cave, i.e., assumes a small state (*Katnut*) and shines with the Light of Mercy. This is referred to as "hides in a cave"—becomes invisible to egoistic forces, for they desire *Ohr Hochma* and cannot see *Ohr Hassadim*.

188. Before he boarded the ship, the birds approached again, and in the beak of one of them was a letter. It read that Rabbi Shimon, the son of Yochai, had left the cave together with his son, Rabbi Elazar. Rabbi Pinchas went to them and found them completely changed: their bodies were covered with sores (like holes in the ground—see the Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 19:2) from staying in the cave for so long. He wept and said, "Woe that I have seen you so!" Rabbi Shimon replied: "O how happy is my lot that you have seen me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not have been what I am!" Rabbi Shimon opened about the *Mitzvot* of the Torah and said, "The *Mitzvot* of the Torah that the Creator gave to Israel are all described in a general form."

While staying in the cave (in *Ohr Hassadim*) for many years (degrees), Rabbi Shimon had no choice but to sit in the sand (the external garment—*Levush* covering the *Partzuf* with a particular property, called "earth") in order to cover his naked body (desires) so he could study the Torah (receive the Upper Light in his *Partzuf* with the intention for the Creator's sake). As a result of being covered with sand, his entire "body" was covered with "rust and sores" (but these were necessary corrections).

And not only did the *Partzuf* called Rabbi Shimon need the correction of concealment in *Hassadim* (cave) and the cover of an external garment (Returning Light), but his next state, fathered by him, called his son, Rabbi Elazar (a lower *Partzuf*), also needed these corrections to attain all of the Creator's Light.

He wept and said: "Woe that I have seen you so!" Rabbi Shimon replied: "O how happy is my lot that you have seen me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not have been what I am!" In other words, if I would not look as I do, I would not have merited all the secrets of the Torah, for all that I have attained, I have attained during those thirteen years (thirteen successive corrections) of hiding in the cave.

Rabbi Shimon opened. It is written of the *Mitzvot* of the Torah: "The *Mitzvot* of the Torah that the Creator gave to Israel are all described in a general form." All of the *Mitzvot* of the Torah are described in the passage from the Torah, starting with "In the beginning the Creator created" and ending with "Let there be Light." These are the *Mitzvot* of fear and punishment, which include all the *Mitzvot* of the Torah. This is why they are called "in general."

The First Commandment

189. *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (In the beginning the Creator created) is the first *Mitzva* (commandment), the root and foundation of everything. And it is called "fear of the Creator" or *Resheet* (beginning), as it is written: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom." Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom, for this fear is called "the beginning." And it is the gate that leads to faith. And the whole world is based on this *Mitzva*.

It is difficult to understand why fear is called "the beginning," and why it precedes wisdom and faith. *The Zohar* answers: it is because fear is the beginning of every *Sefira*, and it is impossible to attain any *Sefira* (property) without first attaining the property of fear. Yet, this implies that fear is merely a means of attaining other qualities or properties. But then, if it is only a means, then why is it included in the list of *Mitzvot* (plural for *Mitzva*) as the first *Mitzva*? Can it be that fear is a kind of prerequisite?

Therefore, *The Zohar* says that it is impossible to attain perfect, selfless faith in any way other than through fear of the Creator. And the extent of fear will determine the extent of faith. Hence, the whole world is based on the *Mitzva* of fear, for the whole world exists only thanks to the Torah and *Mitzvot*, as the prophet said: "If not for My union with day and night, I would not have appointed the ordinances of Heaven and earth" (*Yirmiyahu*, 33:25).

And since fear is the beginning and the gate to the other *Mitzvot* (for fear is also the gate to faith), the whole world is based on this property of fear. It is hence written that the *Mitzva* of fear includes all of the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah; and were it not for fear, the Creator would not have created anything.

190. There are three types of fear, two of which have no real basis, but one does. If man fears that his children may die, or fears illness or bodily suffering, or fears for his material well-being, this kind of fear (even if constant) is not the basis or root, for only desirable consequences constitute the cause of fear.

This is called "the fear of punishment in this world." But there is also another type of fear: the fear of punishment in the world to come, in hell. These two types of fear—the fear of punishment in this world and in the world to come—do not constitute real basis and root.

191. The real fear is the fear of the Creator, for He is great and almighty, for He is the Source of everything, and all else is nothing compared to Him. Man should concentrate all his attention on attaining this kind of fear.

There are three kinds of fear before the Creator, but only one of them is considered true fear. If one is afraid of the Creator, and observes His *Mitzvot* so he and his children will be well and prosperous, this constitutes the first kind, the fear of the various punishments in this world. If he observes the Creator's *Mitzvot* because he fears punishments in hell, this is the second kind of fear. *The Zohar* says that neither of these two kinds is true, for man observes the *Mitzvot* only out of fear of punishment, for the sake of his own benefit, and not because these are the Creator's *Mitzvot*.

In this case, his personal wellbeing is the cause of his observance, and his fear is merely a consequence of his will to receive pleasure. Rather, true fear must stem from the Creator's greatness and omnipotence, for He rules over all and is the source of everything. All the worlds emerge from Him, and His deeds testify to His greatness. And all that He created is nothing compared to Him, for it adds nothing to Him.

Thus, we can plainly see that there is no difference in action: one observes out of the first or second kinds of fear, while the other observes out of the third kind. To an onlooker, they perform the same actions, the Creator's *Mitzvot*. But the enormous difference between them lies only in their *intention*, their motivation—why they observe the Creator's decree!

Hence, it is impossible to discern man's spiritual degree by his external observance of the *Mitzvot*, which is visible to all. Moreover, those who observe them in order to receive an immediate reward from others usually do so with the utmost outward zeal. But one whose intentions and thoughts are directed inwardly, who seeks true observance, as a rule, does not stand out amidst the masses in any way.

One must constantly seek to perfect and complement his intentions only by observing the *Mitzvot* at an increasingly deeper level, while focusing on inner contemplation and direction of his thoughts. In no way should he engage in excessive "mechanical observance," on which there is a clear prohibition: "Do not exaggerate in the *Mitzvot*."

On the contrary, one must devote all his attention to the attainment of true fear, as the Creator's first *Mitzva* decrees. As Rabbi Baruch Ashlag said, "Fear of the Creator is the constant, selfless desire that is expressed in the thought: 'Have I done everything I could for the Creator, or is there anything more that I can do for Him?'"

192. Rabbi Shimon started to weep, wailing, "Woe if I reveal and woe if I do not reveal. If I say, the sinners will know how to work for the Creator's sake, and if I do not say, it will not reach my friends." Wherever there is true fear, opposite it and correspondingly below stands an evil fear, which strikes and prosecutes. It is the scourge that whips the sinners (punishing them for their sins). This is why he is afraid to reveal it, for the sinners may learn how to avoid punishment, and punishment constitutes their correction!

Here Rabbi Shimon warns that he cannot reveal everything in its entirety (this refers to *Avoda Lishma*—work "for the Creator's sake"), for he fears it may harm the sinners. Here he wishes to reveal how one can draw nearer and merge with the Tree of Life, and therewith refrain from touching the Tree of Death. However, this refers only to those who have already corrected themselves with regard to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

Nevertheless, the sinners (those who have yet to correct their transgressions in the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil) are not entitled to know this, for they still need to toil in all the required tasks until they correct themselves in the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Thus we see that the Torah defines a sinner as one who is yet to correct the Tree of Knowledge in his soul.

The prohibition on revealing the true essence of the work for the Creator's sake is based on the words of the Torah: "Behold, Adam has become as one of us in knowledge of good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live forever" (*Beresheet*, 3:22).

After Adam's sin in the Tree of Knowledge, the Creator banished him from the Garden of Eden to prevent Adam from connecting to the Tree of Life and gaining eternal life. This is because then, what he corrupted in the Tree of Knowledge would remain uncorrected. Therefore, to let only the righteous know this wisdom, Rabbi Shimon reveals it by way of allusion.

193. But he who fears the punishment by whippings, the true fear of the Creator cannot descend upon him. Instead, evil fear overtakes him in the form of fearing punishment by whipping.

194. Therefore, the place that is named "fear of the Creator" is called the beginning of knowledge. This is why this *Mitzva* is included here. And it is the foundation and source of all the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah. And whoever observes the *Mitzva* of fear of the Creator, thereby observes all the others. But he who does not observe the *Mitzva* of fear of the Creator, does not observe the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah, for this *Mitzva* constitutes the foundation for all the others.

Here *The Zohar* repeats that in one place it is written, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom," while in another it says, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge." And *The Zohar* explains that where the property of fear ends, another evil fear begins, one that slanders and whips. In this regard, it is said in Kabbalah that the legs of a pure *Partzuf Malchut* descend to a place of impure forces.

However, he who observes the *Mitzva* of fear because the Creator is great and almighty unites with Him (becomes equal to the Creator in his properties), so as to not feel shame in receiving from Him. Besides this correction, no other work exists for the creatures.

This is called "fear of the Creator for the sake of life," for as a result of merging with the Creator, creatures are filled with life. Otherwise, they fall under the power of the restriction, as *Tzimtzum Aleph* (first restriction) restricted the reception of Light in egoistic desires. Such a *Kli* (desire) becomes a cause of death, for it is an empty place (devoid of Light). Hence, creatures must fear failing to make the corrections that they were entrusted with.

However, those who observe the *Mitzvot* out of fear, rather than out of realization of the Creator's greatness and His decree, are ruled and whipped by the fear of an empty *Malchut*. And since the end of fear lies in the evil scourge, true fear is called "The beginning of knowledge of the fear of the Creator," which indicates the necessity to aspire only to this kind of fear, and beware of the evil kind. Because of this, Adam's sin is corrected.

195. Therefore, it is written, IN THE BEGINNING (signifying fear) THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. For whoever transgresses here, transgresses all of the Torah *Mitzvot*. And his punishment is the evil scourge, i.e., the evil fear that whips him. The words, AND THE EARTH WAS UNFORMED AND CHAOTIC, AND DARKNESS WAS UPON THE FACE OF THE DEEP, AND THE SPIRIT OF THE CREATOR refer to the four punishments of the wicked.

196. WITHOUT FORM refers to strangulation. CHAOTIC refers to stoning, i.e., the stones that fall into the great deep to punish the sinners. DARKNESS signifies burning, the fire that falls upon the heads of the wicked to burn them down. THE SPIRIT OF THE CREATOR refers to beheading.

Those who observe the *Mitzva* of fear before the Creator not because such is His decree, but because they are afraid of punishment, fall into the impure force's trap, called "without form." As a result, they are lost, having no understanding of the Creator's thoughts and deeds. And this impure force is defined as a rope on man's neck, blocking the inflow of pure (holy) air to his soul and preventing him from gaining life. And to the extent of man's ignorance, the impure force strangulates him!

And when he is caught in the impure force's noose, tightening around his neck, it has the power to control man at its will: to stone, burn, or behead him. Stoning means that impure thoughts befall his head with desired pleasures, thus pulling him down into the deep. There they punish him with darkness (burning), and the impure force turns him on fierce fire until it burns all the pure life-force out of him.

197. The spirit of the Creator means beheading, for the scorching wind (*Ruach Se'ara*) is a flaming sword—punishment for whoever does not observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* that are mentioned after the *Mitzva* of fear, called "foundation," as it includes all the *Mitzvot*. This is because after the word *BERESHEET* (BEGINNING), which signifies fear, it is written WITHOUT FORM, CHAOS, DARKNESS and SPIRIT—in all, the four penalties of death. And then follow the rest of the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

Following the first sentence of the Torah, the remaining part of the Torah refers to the rest of the *Mitzvot*, which are particular with regard to the general and all-inclusive *Mitzva* of fear.

The Second Commandment

198. The second *Mitzva* (commandment) is inseparably connected with the *Mitzva* of fear, and it is the *Mitzva* of love—for man to love his Creator with perfect love. What is perfect love? It is a great love, as it is written, "He walks before the Creator in complete sincerity and perfection" (*Beresheet*, 17:1), which signifies perfection in love. Thus, it is written, "And the Creator said, 'Let there be Light'" (*Beresheet*, 1:3)—this is perfect love, called "great love." This is precisely how man should love his Creator.

There exists conditional love, which appears as a result of all the goodness received from the Creator ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," items 66-74), as a result of which man merges with the Creator with all his heart and soul. Yet, although he merges with the Creator in complete perfection, this love is considered imperfect. It is similar to Noah's love (*Beresheet Raba*, 30), who constantly needed to reinforce his feeling—to see that the Creator sends him only goodness.

Avraham, however, needed nothing to reinforce his love for the Creator, as it is written: "He walks before the Creator in complete perfection." For the words "walks before" mean that he needs nothing to reinforce his feeling of love for the Creator. And even if he does not receive anything from Him, his love remains constant and perfect, and he wishes to merge with the Creator with his heart and soul.

199. Rabbi Elazar said, "I have heard what perfect love means." He was told, "Tell this to Rabbi Pinchas, as he truly exists on that degree." Rabbi Elazar said, "Perfect love means that it is perfect on both sides; if it does not include both sides, such a love is imperfect."

He was told to turn to Rabbi Pinchas, for Rabbi Pinchas had already attained the degree of perfect love and will be able understand him correctly.

The words "on both sides" refer to both the good side and the evil side. In other words, if the Creator gives him not only goodness, but restrictions, too (which he perceives as unpleasant), and even if He takes his soul away, still man's love for the Creator remains perfect, as though he receives from Him nothing but the very best in the world.

200. Therefore, there is he who loves the Creator in order to gain riches, live a long life, have many healthy children, and rule over his enemies—he receives everything he wants, and this is why he loves the Creator. However, should he receive the opposite, should the Creator lead him through a wheel of suffering, he will come to hate the Creator, and will feel no love toward Him whatsoever. Therefore, such a love is baseless.

Since his love depends on what he receives from the Creator, when reception stops, so does his love. Clearly, man can love only one or the other—himself or the Creator!

201. Love is considered perfect if it exists on both sides—on the side of judgment and the side of mercy (success in life). As we already mentioned, when one loves the Creator, even if He were to take away his soul, this love would remain perfect on both sides: mercy and judgment. Therefore, the Light of the First Act of Creation was revealed and then concealed. And because of this concealment, strict judgment appeared in the world, and both sides, mercy and judgment, united to form perfection. And this is the desired love.

The Light that was created on the first day of creation (in the verse "Let there be Light") was later concealed, as it is written, for the righteous in the world to come. It was concealed so as to let strict judgment appear in this world.

This leads to the unification of the two sides (mercy and judgment) into one, for man receives an opportunity to reveal the perfection of love even when the Creator takes his soul away, and he is given an opportunity to supplement and perfect his love. And had the Light not been concealed, strict judgment would not have been revealed, and the GREAT LOVE would have been concealed from the righteous, and there would be no way of revealing it.

202. Rabbi Shimon kissed him. Rabbi Pinchas approached, kissed and blessed him. He said, "It is clear that the Creator has sent me here. This is the tiny ray of Light that was said to be shining in my house, and would later light up the whole world" (item 186). Rabbi Elazar said that fear must certainly not be forgotten from all the *Mitzvot*; especially in this *Mitzva*, the *Mitzva* of love, fear must be attached to this *Mitzva* at all times. How is it attached? Love is

good when it brings goodness, health, sustenance, and life from the Beloved One. And it is here that fear of sinning must be revived, so that the wheel does not turn against him, as it is written, "Happy is the man who always fears," for his fear is contained in his love.

203. This is how fear should be evoked from the perspective of strict judgment, for once man realizes that strict judgment hovers over him, he must evoke within him fear of his Master. Thus, his heart will not be hardened, of which it is written, "He that hardens his heart shall fall into evil," into the other side. This is called evil. Therefore, fear unites with both sides—with goodness and love, as well as with strict judgment, and consists of both. And if fear is united with the good side and love, as well as with the strictness of judgment, such a love is perfect.

The *Mitzva* of fear includes all the *Mitzvot* of the Torah; it is the gateway to faith in the Creator—to the extent of his fear, man acquires faith in the Creator's governance. Hence, he must not forget fear in observing every *Mitzva*, especially the *Mitzva* of love, at which time fear needs to be roused even more, for fear must constantly be present in the *Mitzva* of love. Therefore, man must evoke fear within him in the two states of love: in love from the good side, when he receives good sensations from the Creator, and in love from the evil side, when the Creator sends him harsh restrictions, according to judgment.

However, it would be incorrect to think that perfect love means a state where one receives bad feelings from the Creator, to the extent of feeling one's soul being taken away. It is incorrect to think that one should not fear the Creator's judgment and strictness, and, despite his feelings to cling unto Him with love, fearlessly and wholeheartedly.

First, one must rouse fear within him lest his love for the Creator will weaken. Thus, he combines love and fear. Second, from the other side of love, from the side of feeling the strictness, he must rouse within him fear before the Creator, and not let his heart harden, so it would not stop heeding the unpleasant sensations of punishment. Thus, here, too, he includes fear and love, and if he acts so in both sides of love, his love remains forever connected to fear, thus becoming perfect.

It is written about the good side's inclusion of fear into love: "Happy is the man who always fears." The word "always" indicates that although man always receives only goodness from the Creator, he fears Him nonetheless, for he fears that he may sin.

And it is written about the evil side's inclusion of fear into love, when man feels punishments and strictness of judgment: "He who lets his heart be hardened shall fall into awe." This means that one should in no way and under no circumstances let his heart be hardened under the judgment's influence. Otherwise, he will fall into the impure forces, called "evil." In such a case, he must rouse within him even more fear of the Creator, and mingle his fear into the love.

However, neither kind is fear for oneself, for one's own well-being. Rather, they both refer to man's fear of diminishing his intentions and actions for the Creator's sake, and his attempts to direct them all towards pleasing Him.

Thus, we have clarified the first two *Mitzvot* of the Torah—the *Mitzvot* of fear and love. The *Mitzva* of fear is the basis for all the other *Mitzvot* and of the entire Torah. It is contained in the first word of the Torah, *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING), and in its first sentence, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. Fear is called BEGINNING, from which THE HEAVENS and THE EARTH are born, meaning *ZON* and their descendants, the worlds of *BYA*. And the second sentence in the Torah refers to punishment in the form of four kinds of spiritual death: WITHOUT FORM means strangulation, CHAOTIC means stoning, DARKNESS means burning, and SPIRIT means beheading. The *Mitzva* of love is described in the Torah in the verse: AND THE CREATOR SAID, 'LET THERE BE LIGHT.'

There are two sides to this *Mitzva*, which are called "kindness and longevity" and "with all one's soul." This implies that man should feel love even under the worst kinds of circumstances, i.e., when the Creator takes his soul away, just as he feels it when everything is well.

Just to reveal this perfect love, the Light of creation was concealed. Fear must also be included in both sides of love: in the part where man must fear to commit a sin, thereby reducing his love for the Creator, and in the part where he must fear because of the concealment and the Creator's judgment. Yet, to understand these spiritual categories, we must clarify them in a slightly different manner.

Calls for love are used repeatedly in the Torah: "Love thy neighbor…," "Do not do what you hate to another," and so on. But the basis of all this is love between man and the Creator; this is where our requests are directed: "Draw us nearer with love…," "He who chooses Israel with love…"

The revelation of the Creator is the revelation of His love for man. However, altruistic love is completely different from our understanding of love. Our love always relies on egoistic reasons. And should the reasons suddenly disappear, love disappears at once.

We can take as an example the natural love between father and son. Parents naturally love their only son more than anything in the world. Accordingly, the son should hold the same kind of love for his parents. Yet, we see that this is not so: if the son feels unconditional love from his parents, then, in accordance with nature's law and regardless of himself, his love for them will decrease.

This is so because the father's love for his son is natural; and just as the father wants his son to love him, his son wants to be loved by his father. This reciprocal desire gives rise to fear in both their hearts: the father is afraid that the son may hate him (even a little), and the son fears the same.

This constant fear begets good deeds between them: each of them aspires to show his love to the other, so as to promote reciprocity. Yet, when their love reaches peaks, and there is nothing else that can be added to it, the beloved son discovers absolute and unconditional love in the heart of his loving father.

The loved one immediately stops fearing that he will be loved less; neither can he hope that the love for him will grow. And this leads to a situation where the son grows lazy and stops expressing his love with good deeds. And as they lessen, his love lessens, too, until it is reversed into its opposite—hatred, for he deems everything his father does as worthless and insufficient in comparison with what the father's actions out of "absolute" love should be. Therefore, the union of love and fear within man brings him to the state of perfection.

The four letters *HaVaYaH* (*Yod* + *Hey* + *Vav* + *Hey*) correspond to *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*. *The Zohar* calls them, FEAR, LOVE, TORAH, COMMANDMENT, respectively.

YOD	–	HOCHMA	–	FEAR
HEY	–	BINA	–	LOVE
VAV	–	ZA	–	TORAH
HEY	–	MALCHUT	–	COMMANDMENT

Partzuf AA is the main *Partzuf*, and includes the entire world of *Atzilut*. It shines upon all the other worlds through its garments, called *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON*, where *AVI* and *YESHSUT* clothe *AA* from its *Peh* to *Tabur*, while *ZON* clothe *AA* from *Tabur* down to its *Sium Raglaim* (end of legs) that stand on *Parsa*.

AA is called "the concealed *Hochma*," as its *Ohr Hochma* is concealed in its *Rosh* and does not shine upon the other *Partzufim* and worlds, and only its *Bina* shines below. Thus, it is *Bina* (and not *AA*) that is called *BERESHEET*—BEGINNING, for she is the foundation and the source of all the worlds.

And she is also called FEAR OF THE CREATOR, i.e., fear of His greatness, "for He is the only Master and the root of all, and all that exists is as nothing compared to Him." And *ZON* (called HEAVEN AND EARTH) emerge from *Bina*. It is therefore written in the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING (with fear) *AVI*, THE CREATOR CREATED HEAVEN (*ZA*) AND EARTH (*Malchut*).

Hence, it is said: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom (*Hochma*)" and "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge (*Daat*)." *Ohr Hochma* stems not from the *Sefira Hochma de AA*, but from *Bina de AA* alone. For when *Bina de AA* ascends to *Rosh de AA*, it turns to the *Sefira Hochma* and then passes the Light downward. It follows that the *Sefira Bina*, fear of the Creator, is the source of *Ohr Hochma*; hence, it is said, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of *Hochma*."

Also, fear is the beginning of knowledge, for the *Sefira Daat* is the beginning of *ZON*: *ZON* raise their request to *Rosh de AA* in order to receive *Hochma*. And this request of *ZON* regarding reception of *Ohr Hochma*, which is received and felt by *AA*, is called *Daat*, knowledge. This is why it is written: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge (*Daat*)."

The Zohar also tells us that afterwards fear and love unite so as never to part again, for *Hochma* is called "love." Indeed, the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH* is *Bina*, i.e., *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) that wants only *Ohr Hassadim*, whereas *Ohr Hochma* is concealed within it.

And the place of revelation of *Ohr Hochma* is *ZAT de Bina*, called *YESHSUT*, the first letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*. Therefore, this place is called love, and it is the second *Mitzva* that follows the first *Mitzva* of fear, which shines in *ZON*, for this *Ohr Hochma* does not stem from *Hochma de AVI*, but from *Bina*, and *Bina* is known as fear.

And *The Zohar* says that fear unites with love so as to never let it go. This means that *Bina* forever unites with *Hochma* and does not part with it. And wherever there is *Bina*, *Hochma* is there alongside her. And although it seems to write that one *Mitzva* is fear and another is love (that these are separate *Mitzvot*), they are nonetheless always together and are never apart: just as the first *Mitzva* includes the first, so the first includes the second.

The reason they have separate names is that we distinguish them by their dominance: in the first *Mitzva*, it is *AVI*, *GAR de Bina*, *Bina* herself along with her property. Hence, it is called "fear." However, in the second *Mitzva* it is *Hochma* that is dominant; hence, it is called "love."

Therefore, the words of the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED constitute concealment, and the revelation of these words begins

with the words LET THERE BE LIGHT, designating the ascent of *Bina* (BEGINNING) to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* becomes like *Hochma*.

The combination of *Hochma* and *Bina* is then called GREAT LOVE. This is the meaning of the words, LET THERE BE LIGHT, for *Bina* ascends to *AA* and passes the Light to all the lower worlds with GREAT LOVE, i.e., by means of two Lights: *Hassadim* and *Hochma*.

This is why it is said that the CREATOR'S LOVE IS CLARIFIED FROM TWO SIDES, as it is written: LET THERE BE LIGHT IN THIS WORLD AND IN THE WORLD TO COME. Because the Creator saw that this world cannot receive the Light, He concealed His Light and raised it above *Parsa de AA*, called (according to its corrected properties) "the world to come," above *Chazeh de AA*, where *AVI* or *GAR de Bina* reside.

Parsa is located below *Chazeh de AA*, and it separates the Supernal Waters (*AVI*) from the lower waters (*YESHSUT* + *ZON*). Since *Ohr Hochma* does not shine below *Chazeh de AA*, it is said that the Light is concealed from *Partzufim YESHSUT* and *ZON*.

Thus, we see that *Bina* is divided into two parts: *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*), located above the *Chazeh* (*Parsa de AA* or the Supernal Waters), upon whom the Upper Light shines, meaning that secrets are revealed within them. He who ascends to this degree receives its Light, thereby meriting "wealth (*Hochma*) and longevity (*Hassadim*). His sons (his future corrections) are like olive sprouts (olive oil symbolizes *Hochma*), they gather round his table (*Hassadim*), and he rules over his enemies (impure forces), and whatever his wish may be, he succeeds in it (for *Ohr Hochma* is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*)." *ZAT de Bina* are the lower waters, located below *Chazeh de AA*. The Light is concealed from them, and those who receive from them must love the Creator with the kind of love called "even if He takes away his soul."

These are the two degrees of love for the Creator. That is to say, love for the Creator is not the desire and decision of man alone. Rather, like any of our other desires, it appears only by attaining a particular degree: if one attains the degree of *YESHSUT*, it allows him to love the Creator "even if He takes away his soul." However, an even more perfect love emerges within him who reaches the degree of *AVI*: he receives such Light from it that his love for the Creator becomes perfect on both sides.

Yet, fear must be included in both kinds of love. For at the degree of *AVI*, one needs fear so as to not sin while in a state of spiritual ascent in *AVI*. And while at the degree of *YESHSUT*, one must fear lest his heart be hardened,

for *Hochma* and *Bina* correspond to love and fear in a state of eternal unity. Therefore, one must include the properties of *Bina* (fear) into *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*), as well as into *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*).

Only then will love be perfect on both sides, in both forms: *GAR* and *ZAT de Bina*. Love cannot possibly be perfect only on one side, but only if fear exists on both sides, for *Hochma* (love) cannot exist without *Bina* (fear).

It follows that conditional love is the degree of *AVI*, whereas unconditional (perfect) love is the degree of *YESHSUT*. Yet, *YESHSUT* is below *AVI*. The thing is that man first receives Higher *Sefirot* of his emerging *Partzuf*, in the order *KHB-ZA-M*, but the Light enters them in the reverse order of *NRNHY*: first, he receives the *Sefira Keter* with the Light of *Nefesh*, and in the end he receives the *Sefira Malchut*, though the Light of *Yechida* enters *Keter*. Therefore, if we measure according to the *Sefirot* (*Kelim*), the degree of *AVI* = *GE* = *K-H* (conditional love) is smaller than the degree of *YESHSUT* = *AHP* = *B-ZA-M* (unconditional love).

The Third Commandment

204. The third *Mitzva* is to know that there is an Almighty Lord who governs the world, to unite this every day in the six Supernal limbs: *HGT NHY* of *Zeir Anpin*, and to unify them in the six words of the prayer "Hear O Israel," and with it to direct our desires upwards. Therefore, we must prolong the word "one" in the six words: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our Creator, the Lord is one."

In correspondence with the instruction to prolong the word "one," he who utters this verse should pronounce this word lengthily, as ooone. However, *The Zohar* obviously alludes not to a simple utterance of one's mouth, but rather to our true heartfelt intentions.

What is indicated here is that one needs to *know* and make a *union*. First, one must know the two sides of love, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. *AVI* are called the "big and great ones in *Hassadim*," whereas *YESHSUT* is called "the Master of the World," for it contains judgment and restriction.

After man has attained both degrees of love and merited perfect love, he needs to know that there is a great Master who governs the entire world, and to unite this knowledge every day by using the six Supernal limbs, sides, that is, to raise *MAN* to *ZON de Atzilut*, and *ZON* will raise their *MAN* to *YESHSUT*. As a result, *ZON* and *YESHSUT* will ascend and unite with *Partzuf AVI*. This common *Partzuf* has six Supernal sides-limbs, for they all clothe *VAK*, the six lower *Sefirot* of *AA*.

Because of this unity, *YESHSUT* ascends above *Parsa de AA*, to the place from the *Peh* down to the *Chazeh*, the place of the Supernal Waters. This is the permanent place of *AVI*, and the place where Light is revealed. When *YESHSUT* is filled with this Light, it passes it to *ZON*, which pass it on to the lower worlds, leading to the revelation of *Ohr Hassadim* in all the worlds. This is the secret of the union of "Hear, O Israel."

The six words: "**Hear,** O **Israel**, the **Lord** is **our** Creator, the **Lord** is **One**" constitute the six sides of *ZON*, which need to be united so as to unite them with the six Supernal sides, that is, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. And man must direct his intentions and *NRN* upwards, so they, too, would unite with Supernal unity, just as *MAN*.

To achieve unity in *VAK de ZA*, in its six sides, the word "one" must be prolonged, meaning to receive *Ohr Hochma* within it, for *Ohr Hochma* descends from *Ein Sof* (infinity) to Supernal *VAK*, i.e., to *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, and unites *VAK de ZA* with the Light of *Ein Sof*. This is because the *Gematria* (numerical value) of the Hebrew word *Echad* (one) is *Aleph* + *Chet* + *Dalet* = 1 + 8 + 4 = 13, which indicates reception of *Ohr Hochma*.

Hence, while pronouncing the word "one," one should intend to draw *Ohr Hochma* to *VAK de ZA*. However, this unity lacks the intention to receive the Light of *GAR* in *ZA*, but only to enlarge its *VAK* through unity with the Supernal *VAK*, and to receive *VAK de Gadlut*.

205. It is therefore written, "Let the waters under the Heavens be gathered together onto one place." This means that all the degrees under the Heavens will gather onto one place, to become perfect in the six ends. Therewith, fear must be attached to the unity of the words: "Hear, O Israel," which is done by prolonging the pronunciation of the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*. This is why the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* is written larger than the other letters. It is written, "Let the dry land appear," to let the letter *Dalet* (designating dry land) be attached to that unity.

As was already explained, the unity contained in the words "Hear, O Israel" refers to the reception of *Gadlut* by *VAK*. This is because "one place" signifies the Supernal *VAK*, where the Light of *Ein Sof* shines within *Ohr Hochma*, under the Heavens (*Bina*), with regard to the earth (*ZA*). The words "onto one place" imply the unification of all the six Upper and lower sides, so the lower *Partzufim* will receive *Ohr Hochma* and unite with *VAK de ZA*, but only as *VAK de Gadlut*.

As we have already clarified, there are two kinds of fear and two kinds of love: the Upper fear and love are called *AVI*, whereas the lower fear and love are called *YESHSUT*. However, perfection is attained only by attaining both degrees together. Hence, the Light is concealed in *YESHSUT*, so the lower kind of love ("even if He takes away the soul") will be revealed. But even in this case, fear must cling to love and prevent the hardening of the heart; only then does one reveal perfect love, merges with *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, and receives the complete Creator's goodness.

In the unity of "Hear, O Israel," and after *ZON* ascend and unite with their properties in the six Upper sides to receive within them the "Great Love" in the word "one," they receive the Light that was made on the first day of creation, of which it is written: "And the Creator said, 'Let there be Light'" (*Beresheet*, 1:3).

And to all of this unity one must attach fear, since he needs to reveal and receive the Light that is deliberately concealed in *YESHSUT*, so as to unite the lower love and fear, for they still cannot be considered perfect.

Therefore, it is said that one should prolong the pronunciation of the *Dalet* in the word *Echad* (one) when reciting the prayer, *Shema Israel*, *Adonay Eloheinu*, *Adonay EchaD-D-D!* (Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our Creator, the Lord is One). In this case, the letter *Dalet* is written in large font. This is because big letters refer to *Tvuna*, and the big *Dalet* in the word *Echad* indicates that its place is in *Tvuna*, and that the Light is concealed there. By attracting it, not by utterance, of course, but by the spiritual action, man unites its concealment with the lower fear and love.

AND THE DRY LAND APPEARED means that there is no perfection in the Upper fear and love, expressed in the six words of the prayer "Hear, O Israel" with the help of the word "one." These words correspond to "Let there be Light," until the unity of fear and love is achieved below. This unity is revealed in the Light that is concealed in *Tvuna*, designated by the letter *Dalet* (D) in the word *Echad.*

Therefore, after the WATERS GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE, signifying the descent of *Ohr Hochma* into the six parts of *ZA*, DRY LAND APPEARED. It denotes the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*, which should be pronounced with (spiritual) prolongation, with the aim to turn it into land through the concealment of the Light.

All of this is essential in order to unite the *D*, *Tvuna*, with *AVI*, resulting in the descent of the Light to *VAK de ZON*, so that love could be made perfect.

206. After *Malchut* unites with ZA Above (in *VAK de ZON*), they must now be united below, in the masses, i.e., in all six sides of *Malchut*, in the words, *BARUCH SHEM KVOD MALCHUTO LEOLAM VAED* (Blessed be the great name of His kingdom for ever and ever), which contain six other words of unity. And then, what was dry land will become fertile soil, yielding fruit and plant.

After the Supernal union is achieved, when the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* becomes whole Above, in *AVI*, it is essential to unite the *Dalet* in the word *Echad* below, in *VAK*, in the six aspects of *Nukva de ZA* (Rachel), who

stands from *Chazeh de ZA* and below. All 600,000 souls of Israel, called "the inhabitants of *Nukva*," are included in Rachel.

After ZA unites in the Light of *AVI*, and the concealment of *Tvuna* (in the words DRY LAND APPEARED or in the letter *Dalet*) is revealed in him, *Nukva* must be filled with these two revelations. This is designated by the six words, *BARUCH SHEM KVOD MALCHUTO LEOLAM VAED*, corresponding to the six *Sefirot HGT NHY* of *Nukva*.

It was already explained that the Light was concealed in order to reveal both sides of love—good and evil. Yet, neither side of love, good or evil, can be revealed through concealment, but only through revelation of judgment. Before judgment was revealed, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* was DRY LAND—utterly useless. This is because it emerged from the Light due to the concealment. Even fear to unite in the lower fear and love, which supplement the Upper fear and love was absent from it, for the judgment that reveals the lower fear and love was not yet revealed.

Strictness and judgment are located in the legs of *Partzuf* Leah, which are included in the *Rosh* of *Partzuf* Rachel. ZA has two *Nukvaot* (plural for *Nukva*): Leah (above his *Chazeh*) and Rachel (below his *Chazeh*). Leah's legs end at the *Chazeh de ZA* and touch Rachel's *Rosh*.

World of Atzilut

Atik		
AA		
AVI		
YESHSUT		
Nukvaot of ZA		ZA
Leah:	Head	Head
	Body	Mouth
	Legs	Chest
Rachel:	Head	Chest
	Body	Legs
	Legs	Feet

Parsa

Worlds of BYA

Machsom

Our World

Since strictness and judgment are located at the end of the legs of *Partzuf* Leah, this affects only *Partzuf* Rachel, as each spiritual property acts only from the place of its manifestation and below. Therefore, the concealment in the lower love and fear manifests only in the place in Rachel where the force of strictness and judgment is manifested.

Prior to the revelation of judgment, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* was dry land, a place that is unfit for living. Now, however, after the descent of *Partzuf* Rachel into *VAK*, below *Chazeh de ZA*, the dry land became fertile, suitable for settlement and cultivation of fruits. In other words, the lower love and fear were revealed in it in completion and perfection. And they complement the Upper love and fear, so that all are perfect on both sides, for that is when all the goodness is revealed in *AVI*.

It is therefore said, THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH-*ERETZ* (the word *Eretz* is derived from *Ratzon*—desire), for it is the property of the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* in the six *Sefirot* (sides) of *Nukva de ZA* (where the property of strictness and judgment is already revealed). The letter *Dalet* that was in DRY LAND and made its property inanimate and unfit to live on turns into EARTH in *Nukva de ZA* (as a result of a *Zivug* with *ZA*), can now be settled and cultivated; hence, the Creator called it "earth."

207. It is written, AND THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH. This refers to the same unity below, by the words, BLESSED BE HIS GREAT NAME FOR EVER AND EVER, when the earth, called "desire," became what it should be. For the word "earth" (*Eretz*) means desire (*Ratzon*). Hence, the expression IT WAS GOOD appears twice on the third day of creation: once for the Upper unity and once for the lower. For *Malchut* merges with both sides of *ZA*—with *VAK de ZA* and with her own *VAK*. Henceforth, the earth brings forth grass, for it has been corrected to yield fruit.

The Upper unity (described by the words, WATERS GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE) passes the Light that was created on the first day of creation from Above downwards, from the six Upper sides of *AVI* to *VAK de ZA*. This is called by the first word, IT WAS GOOD, uttered by the Creator on the third day of creation.

And then occurs the lower unity, designated by the verse, BLESSED BE HIS GREAT NAME FOR EVER AND EVER. This means that the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* attains perfection only from the six sides of *Nukva*, as described by the verses, AND THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH and

THE EARTH SHALL BRING FORTH GRASS, for in *VAK de Nukva*, DRY LAND turned to EARTH, yielding fruits.

With regard to this unity of *VAK de Nukva*, the Creator said, IT WAS GOOD, for the second time on the third day of creation. It follows that when IT WAS GOOD is said for the first time, it refers to the Upper unity. And the second time refers to the lower. Because of the lower unity, both sides of love achieve perfection, and the Light of *AVI* descends to *VAK de Nukva*, and bears fruit for the 600,000 souls of Israel that inhabit her.

The Fourth Commandment

208. The fourth *Mitzva* is to know that *HaVaYaH* (the Creator) is *Elokim* (Lord), as it is written: KNOW THIS DAY AND LAY IT IN YOUR HEART THAT *HaVaYaH*–CREATOR IS *ELOKIM*—LORD. That is, the name *Elokim* is included in the name of the *HaVaYaH*, and there is no distinction between them.

HaVaYaH is *ZA*, and *Elokim* is *Nukva de ZA*. It is essential to unite *ZA* with *Nukva* by making their properties similar, so there is no distinction between them. Thus, the name *Elokim* of *Nukva* will be included in the name *HaVaYaH* of *ZA*, so that *Nukva* herself will become as *HaVaYaH*.

This union signifies the reception of *Ohr Hochma* (*GAR*) in *ZON*, for the union implied by the words HEAR, O ISRAEL is the reception of the Light of *VAK* from *AVI* in *ZON*. The unity in question here is the reception from *AVI* in *ZON* of the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*). One can never receive an entire degree in one go: first *VAK* is received, and only then *GAR*.

209. Hence, it is written, "Let the stars in Heaven shine upon the earth." This means that both names, *HaVaYaH* and *ELOKIM*, are as one. This way, *Malchut* (*Elokim*) should merge with the name *HaVaYaH* (*ZA*). The black Light (*Malchut*) with the white Light (*ZA*), as one, without distinction. The white cloud by day (*ZA*) with the pillar of fire by night (*Malchut*); the property of day (*ZA*) merged with the property of night (*Malchut*), so they shine as one star.

Nukva is called "a small star." Initially, there were two stars, *ZA* and *Malchut*, and both were the same size. But the moon (*Malchut*) complained that two stars cannot use one crown (source of Light). The Creator reply to *Malchut* was, "Go and diminish yourself" (Talmud, *Hulin*, 60:2).

As a result, the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* descended below the *Parsa* to the world of *Beria*, and only one *Sefira*, *Keter de Malchut*, remained in the world

of *Atzilut*. The task of the righteous is to elevate the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* from the world of *Beria* to the level of ZA, to correct her distinction from ZA, i.e., to grow and make her equal to ZA once more, so she will make a *Zivug* with ZA face to face. Thus, they shall correct the detachment of *Malchut* from ZA that was born of the moon's complaint.

The moon complained because it was unable to receive the Light directly from *Ima*, but only via ZA. Hence, the Creator gave it His advice: diminish yourself to a point (the *Sefira Keter*) and lower the nine *Sefirot* from *Hochma* to *Malchut* below the *Parsa*. Then, through the unity of "Hear, O Israel," rebuild *Malchut* in *VAK*, in the lower unity of "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever," for the power of judgment within it corrects the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*, turning the DRY LAND into the fruit-yielding EARTH.

Therefore, the now black point of *Malchut* that caused its fall became as important as Light, for it is precisely the strictness of judgment that builds the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* and makes it fruit-bearing. And if *Malchut* had not had this power of judgment, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* (*Tvuna*) would have remained DRY LAND. Hence, when the Light spreads inside her, the power of judgment and restriction becomes more important than Light itself, for it becomes the cause, the source of the Light of *VAK*, *Ohr Hassadim*.

Thus, it is now possible to receive *Ohr Hochma* in *VAK de Malchut*, while elevating *ZON* to *AVI*. For now, just like ZA, *Nukva* can unite with *AVI* in her properties. This was the basis of her previous complaint, for the Light-restricting power within her turned into the cause of the Light's diffusion. Hence, ZA and *Malchut* are considered a single whole: each of them constitutes the source of Light for the other, whereas previously, *Malchut* was completely dependent on ZA, and therefore felt humiliated.

As a result of the union between ZA and *Nukva* in *AVI*, ZA connects to *Aba*, and *Nukva* to *Ima*. ZA turns into white clouds in the daylight and *Nukva* turns into a pillar of fire in the Light of night, i.e., the properties of day and night merge into one property, as it is written: AND THERE WAS EVENING AND THERE WAS MORNING, ONE DAY. Together they illuminate the earth and those who inhabit *Nukva* in the worlds of *BYA*.

210. This is the sin of the primeval serpent that unites below but separates Above; hence, it caused what it caused to the world. What should be united Above, should be separated below. The black light, which is *Malchut*, should be united Above with ZA into a single whole and then separate it from the "evil side."

The union and fulfillment of *ZON* with *Ohr Hochma* occurs only when they ascend to *AVI*, above *Chazeh de AA*, where *ZA* merges with *Aba* and *Nukva* merges with *Ima*. As a result, they unite, and *ZA* passes *Ohr Hochma* to *Malchut*. However, in the permanent place of *ZON*, below *Chazeh de AA*, they cannot form a union and allow *Nukva* to receive *Ohr Hochma*.

This is exactly what provoked Adam's sin and allowed the Serpent to bring death into the world (cause the disappearance of *Ohr Hochma* from *Malchut*), by compelling Adam and Chava (Eve) to make a *Zivug* (union) in the permanent place of *ZON*, below *Chazeh de AA*. As a result, the Upper *Zivug* stopped in *AVI*, as *ZA* started passing *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI* down to *Malchut*.

Thus, all the parts (souls) of *Malchut* existing in the world stopped receiving *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*. This is regarded as death, for as soon as the impure forces approach *ZON* to draw their *Ohr Hochma*, *AVI* immediately terminate their *Zivug* for the sake of *ZON*, to prevent the impure force from clinging to *ZON*. And as soon as *Ohr Hochma* departs from *ZON*, the impure force leaves them at once, for it approaches *ZON* with the sole purpose of feeding on *Ohr Hochma*.

However, after being in *Ima* and receiving *Ohr Hochma*, *Malchut* descends to her permanent place and passes this Light to the souls of the righteous, called the "inhabitants of *Malchut*." She unites with them via equivalence of their properties, for in the absence of unity with *ZA* below, *Malchut* draws far from the evil side and the impure forces cannot receive from her.

211. Nevertheless, one should know that *Elokim* and *HaVaYaH* are one, without distinction. *HaVaYaH* is *Elokim*. If man knows that all is one and does not cause any separation, then even the opposite, impure forces disappear from the world, instead of descending below.

Although there is fear that a *Zivug* will occur in *ZON* in their place below, this is no cause to stop aspiring for a *Zivug* Above, in *AVI*. Moreover, one must attain that *HaVaYaH* is *Elokim*, which is achieved by uniting *ZA* with *Nukva*. And if man raises his *MAN*, thereby causing *ZON* to ascend to *AVI* and unite there, the impure forces are completely rejected by the Light, weaken and finally disappear from the world.

212. The secret behind the word *Me'orot*, which consists of the words *Mavet* (death) and *Ohr* (Light), is that the impure forces follow knowledge, understanding, and thought. And this is Light, which is the opposite from death—*Mavet*, for the Light (*Ohr*) is inside death—*Mavet* (spelled as *Me'ot*) in

the word *ME'ohrOT*. This alludes to the fact that Light separates death, but when Light disappears, the letters unite and form the word "death."

The impure forces follow reason (knowledge, understanding, and thought). Reason signifies "Light," and the impure force is "death," where Light connects the letters, while death separates them.

Here is the explanation of this: the power of restriction in *Malchut* is the source of the emergence of the impure forces. Because *ZON* united with *AVI* so as to receive the Light of *VAK* and *GAR*, the power of restriction in *Malchut* turned into Light by receiving the Light of *VAK* in the union below. Then, it ascended to *AVI* once more, and *Malchut* merged with *ZA* at the degree of *AVI*.

This union Above is designated by the word *Me'orot* = *Ohr* + *Mavet*. As a result of the Light of *VAK* and *GAR* descending to *Nukva* in the union with *ZA* at the level of *AVI*, the power of restriction in *Malchut* turns into Light, and all the impure forces that were created by this restriction disappear, for their root turns to Light. Consequently, the letters of the word *Mavet* of the impure forces disappear, and the words *Me'ohrot Ohr* appear instead.

213. Chava started with these letters, and brought evil into the world. As it is written, the woman SAW that it was good to bring the letters of the word *Me'ohrot* back. From there she took the letters *Vav-Tav-Reish-Aleph*, leaving only the letters *Mem* and *Vav*. And they took with them the letter *Tav*, thus forming the word *Mem-Vav-Tav* (*Mavet*—death). And they brought death into the world.

Thanks to the unity of the letters in the word *Me'ohrot*, designating the reception of *Ohr Hochma* in *ZON*, in the unity of *ZON* Above, the received Light separates the letters of *Mavet* in *AVI*, for it shines within them and forms a new combination of the letters *Me'ohrot*. And if *ZON* make a union below, at their permanent place, the Light disappears from the combination of letters *Me'ohrot*, and the word *Mavet* (death) remains.

AND THE WOMAN SAW THAT THE TREE WAS GOOD (*Beresheet*, 3:6). The Hebrew equivalent for the words "and saw" is *Vetir'e* = *Vav-Tav-Reish-Aleph*. These are the letters that depart from the word *Me'ohrot* (stars), leaving only *Mem-Vav*. They attach the letter *Tav* (*Nukva* of the impure forces) and form the word *Mavet*—the name for *Klipot*.

Chava drew these letters from the word *Me'ohrot*, meaning she followed the serpent's advice to unite *ZON* at their place below. In doing so, she violated the holy union of the letters in the word *Me'ohrot*, for the union of *ZON* below

immediately causes the separation of *AVI* and the word *Me'ohrot* into *Ohr* (Light) and *Mavet* (death).

The impure forces, called "death," contain a male part, called "Sam," and a female part, called "Lilit." The letter *Mem* is the male part of the word *MaveT*, called "Sam," and the letter *Tav* is its female part, called "Lilit." Thus, there was a *Zivug* between the male and female parts, the letters *Mem*, *Tav* and *Yesod* (*Vav*), forming the word *MaVeT*, as the name of the impure force.

This signifies the appearance of the serpent before Chava, and the transference of impurity from it to her. As she followed its advice, the letter *Tav* entered her, splitting the word *Ohr* (Light) and combining the letters into the word *Vetir'e* (AND SAW). Then, the male part of the impure force (*Mem-Vav*) appeared and made a *Zivug* with *Tav*, which was already present in Chava; thus, death (*MaVeT*) appeared in the world.

214. And look: said Rabbi Elazar: "My father, I have learned that after Chava had removed the letters *VeTiR'E* from the word *Me'ohrot*, the letters *Mem* and *Vav* did not remain. Only the letter *Mem* remained, for the letter *Vav*, which is the letter of life, turned into death. This occurred because it attached the letter *Tav* to itself, thus forming the word *MaVeT*." He replied: "Blessed are you, my son!"

Rabbi Elazar answered that the letter *Mem* remained alone, without the letter *Vav*, for *Vav* designates *Yesod*, whereas Sam (the male part of the impure forces) lacks *Yesod*; hence, it is written that it is unable to procreate offspring, akin to a castrated man. The letter *Vav* designates *Yesod*, the place of a *Zivug*, the union of the male and female parts of *ZON*. The letter *Vav* always designates life, *Yesod* of the pure forces, whose *Zivug* bears fruit, for it is made on the screen that stands in *Yesod*.

Here, the pure letter *Vav* became impure and turned into *Yesod* of the impure force, *MaVeT*. After *Vav* received from *Yesod* of the pure forces, it united in a *Zivug* with *Tav*, and the word *MaVeT* was formed. This was precisely the sin of Adam, which defiled the pure *Vav*.

The Fifth Commandment

215. The fifth *Mitzva*. It is written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES (*Beresheet*, 1:20). This verse contains three *Mitzvot*. The first is to study the Torah, the second is to procreate and multiply, and the third is to remove the foreskin on the eighth day. And it is necessary to study the Torah on all the days, at all times, in order to correct one's soul and spirit.

The four previous *Mitzvot* originate in the first four days of creation, and are intended for the correction of the degrees *H-B-ZA-M* of the world of *Atzilut*.

The **First *Mitzva*** originates from the word *BERESHEET* (*Bina*, fear of the Great and Mighty Creator, who rules over all), referring only to *GAR de Bina* that is located in *AVI*. The position of *AVI* is from *Peh* to *Chazeh de AA*, *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*.

The **Second *Mitzva*** originates from the words LET THERE BE LIGHT, and is meant for the correction of *ZAT de Bina* (called *YESHSUT*), located from *Chazeh* to *Tabur de AA*, i.e., below its *Parsa*. However, when it is said, LET THERE BE LIGHT, this means that *YESHSUT* ascended and united with *AVI*, forming one *Partzuf* above *Chazeh de AA*. And from there they ascended to *Rosh de AA*.

Such a state (degree) is called "Great love," designated by the first letter (*Hey*) of the name *HaVaYaH*: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*, and the Light passes from it to *ZON*. However, *ZON* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*, for they are *GAR de Bina* and will always remain only with *Ohr Hassadim*, unwilling to receive, hence their name, "fear."

ZON, however, receive *Ohr Hochma* from *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*), which ascended above *Parsa de AA*, called "Great love." However, *YESHSUT*, which stand below *Parsa de AA*, cannot pass *Ohr Hochma* to *ZA*, for *Ohr Hochma* is concealed within them. Also, their *Tvuna* is called DRY LAND.

The **Third *Mitzva*** originates from the two stars that were created on the third day of creation, of which it is written: LET THE WATERS UNDER THE HEAVENS BE GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE, AND LET THE DRY LAND APPEAR... and LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH GRASS. This *Mitzva* is intended for the correction of *VAK de ZON*, whose union Above stems from the verse, LET THE WATERS, referring to *ZA*, whereas the union below stems from the verse, LET THE EARTH PUT FORTH GRASS, and refers to *VAK de Nukva*.

The **Fourth *Mitzva*** originates from the verse, LET THE STARS, and is meant for the correction of *GAR* in *ZA* and *Malchut*. Thus, all the corrections necessary for *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON de Atzilut* have already taken place in the first four days of creation. *ZON* received *GAR* (*Ohr Hochma*), and, being of equal height, can now make a *Zivug* face to face. Therefore, the rest of the *Mitzvot* are intended for this *Zivug* of *ZON*.

The **Fifth *Mitzva*** is LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES. Now there is a need to bring *ZON* to a perfect face-to-face *Zivug*, i.e., (i) to receive *Ohr Neshama* onto this *Zivug*, so that Adam, too, will receive this Light and make a holy and pure *Zivug*, which is attained by man's efforts in the study of the Torah; (ii) to give birth to holy souls; and (iii) to correct the holy covenant by circumcision and rejection.

Man's efforts lie in that he studies the Torah, although he realizes that he does not attain it (receives nothing in his corrected desires, called *Guf*, body). He merely utters its words with his "mouth" (not yet able to receive the Light (Torah) in his body for the Creator's sake), but as a result, he attains *Ohr Nefesh*.

Man's efforts should correspond to his readiness to do everything in his power to attain and understand the Torah, which causes him to attain *Ohr Ruach*. However, he must not limit himself to such attainments, but rather multiply his efforts so as to attain *Ohr Neshama*. Thus, every day he must aspire to correct his *Nefesh* and *Ruach*, and by increasing them, attain *Neshama*.

216. Because man labors in the study of the Torah, he corrects the other holy soul, as it is written, SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES, referring to the life-giving holy soul, *Malchut*. For when man does not study the Torah, he lacks the holy soul and the holiness that descends from Above. Yet, when he does study the Torah, he merits its Light, just like holy angels.

Nukva de ZA that makes a face-to-face *Zivug* with *ZA* in the state of *Gadlut* is called "living," for *ZA* is then called the "Tree of Life." Consequently, *Nukva* is called "Life." By raising *MAN* during the study of Torah for the Creator's sake,

man causes *ZON* to make a *Zivug* and receives *Ohr Nefesh* from it. And if he does not study the Torah for the Creator's sake, he cannot even attain *Ohr Nefesh*, for he fails to bring about the Creator's *Zivug* with the *Shechina*. And a *Zivug* can be attained only by raising *MAN*.

It is therefore written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES, for the Torah is called "water." If man raises *MAN* with the help of the Torah, he merits *Ohr Nefesh* (holy spirit) from *Ohr Haya* (Life). Moreover, he merges with the Creator only after he attains *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, and *Neshama* from *HAYA* (Supernal holy life). He unites *Ohr Nefesh* with *Ohr Ruach*, *Ohr Ruach* with *Ohr Neshama*, and *Ohr Neshama* with the Creator.

217. It is written, "Angels of the Creator shall bless Him." This refers to those who study the Torah, as they are called His angels on earth. It is also written, BIRDS SOARING OVER THE EARTH. This refers to this world. However, in the world to come, as it is said, the Creator will make them wings like those of an eagle so they may soar in the whole world.

Why does *The Zohar* mention angels? Because angels are spiritual forces—mechanical enactors of the Creator's will. They were repeatedly compared to animals in our world (e.g., a horse) that fulfill man's will. Angels are spiritual forces without freedom or egoism; hence, they never sin and have no need for the Torah, which is why they are spiritually inanimate, motionless—they do not grow spiritually.

Man is created in such a way that before he carries out any task, he needs to realize what he is supposed to do. But angels carry out their assignments even before they hear and understand what the Creator wants from them, for His desire rules over them. Hence, nothing prevents them from instant fulfillment of His will. They always follow the Creator, just like man's shadow follows him. This is why they are believed to act before they even hear.

Man can therefore act like an angel (even though his desires are of egoistic nature) if his desires become like those of angels, whose actions precede their understanding (hearing). Just like an angel, such a person fulfills all the Creator's desires before he realizes, hears and understands them, for he follows the Creator as a shadow follows man.

This can be illustrated by the following example: when a strong wind throws dust in one's eyes, he quickly shuts them, even before his brain and thoughts feel and realize the need to do so: the action (shutting the eyes) precedes the actual realization of the thought of dust.

Although the physical body of such a person exists together with us in this world, his spiritual body (desires) becomes angel-like, and his actions precede his hearing. He does not need to hear in order to fulfill the Creator's will, but observes any *Mitzva* even before his brain realizes what he is doing. Therefore, he is regarded as an angel.

Hence, *The Zohar* says that in the future the Creator will provide him with wings to enable him to soar over the whole world. For until man attains the holy soul (*Ohr Nefesh*—the smallest spiritual Light), the impure force rules over him, as the prophet said: "The souls of your enemies, them shall he sling out, as from the hollow of a sling" (*Shmuel I*, 25:29).

Hence, one cannot merge with the Creator and observe His desires (*Mitzvot*) until he has acquired faith in the Creator's names and knows that He is absolutely good to all and bestows only goodness. And if one has not yet attained the holy soul, and the impure force still rules over him, when his thoughts soar above the world, it seems to him as though the Creator's rule is not quite as good as it should be according to His names. This feeling of his brings corruption to the Creator's holy names, and he cannot find a quiet place for himself, cannot have faith in His names and draw closer to Him.

Therefore, he stains himself with such impurity that it leads him toward lack of faith in the Creator and in His names. However, nothing of this affects the spiritual; it occurs simply because man has not yet attained the spiritual realm, and is making no effort to do so.

But as soon as he receives the holy soul (*Ohr Nefesh*), his body (desires and thoughts) instantly becomes angel-like: his actions precede realization. It is written about such a person: "And the birds shall soar above the earth," for in the future, the Creator will give him wings, and he will soar above the whole world.

For he soars mentally above the whole world and sees how the Creator governs all. Yet, not only does he not err when seeing the manifestation of this governance, he receives the strength to raise *MAN* to increase his spiritual anti-egoistic powers. By looking upon all the forms of the Creator's rule over this world and, seeing the harshness of the external manifestations of this rule, such a person is given an opportunity to ask for the strengthening of his faith. And owing to his faith in the Creator's unity and absolute kindness of His rule, he raises *MAN* and receives increasingly greater Light for the Creator's sake.

218. It is written in this regard: LET BIRDS SOAR OVER THE EARTH, for the Torah, called THE WATERS, will SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES from its place of life, *Malchut*, and all will descend

down below. This is what King David referred to, when he said, THE CREATOR CREATED IN ME A PURE HEART to study The Torah, and A HOLY SPIRIT WAS RENEWED WITHIN ME.

So as to continue to explain the aforementioned text, *The Zohar* compares the Torah to water—just as living creatures emerged from water, in the same way the Light of life descends from *Malchut* (called "life") upon the entire world. This is the Light for which King David asked the Creator. He begged for a pure heart in order to study the Torah and raise *MAN*, for this would lead him to the reception of the holy spirit of renewal—the strength to merge with the Creator even more.

The Sixth Commandment

219. The sixth *Mitzva* is to procreate and multiply, for he who does so turns the stream, called *Yesod de ZA*, into an inexhaustible fountain. And the sea, *Malchut*, shall be filled from all directions, and new souls shall come forth from that tree, and a multitude of forces shall appear together with those souls, to guard them. Hence, it is written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES. This is the mark of the holy Covenant. The stream grows stronger, turns into a river, and thus brings more and more new souls to life.

An awakening from below causes an awakening from Above: raising *MAN*, the prayers and requests of the lower ones to receive strength so they can perform spiritual, altruistic actions, stimulate a *Zivug* Above between the Creator and the *Shechina*. As a result, the stream, *Yesod de ZA*, fills with water and descends to *Nukva de ZA*, filling her on all sides, wishing to both revive all the worlds (to bestow *Ohr Hassadim*) and bear new souls (pass *Ohr Hochma* downward, for birth is possible only in *Ohr Hochma*).

There are two kinds of *Zivugim de ZON*: (i) a "*Zivug* of existence" on *Ohr Hassadim*, from which *Ohr Hassadim* descends to provide the lower souls with what they need for their existence. This *Zivug* on *Ohr Hassadim* also gives birth to angels. (ii) A "*Zivug* of birth" on *Ohr Hochma*, which leads to the creation of new *Partzufim*, new human souls.

These new souls emerge from the Tree (*ZA*). However, although they are called new, the genuinely new souls originate in the world of *Ein Sof* (Infinity), whereas these souls were already within Adam, and fell into the impure forces as a result of his sin. Now they are revived with the help of the Tree of Life (*ZA*); hence, they are called "new souls." A multitude of other forces, called Heavenly

hosts or armies, descends along with them. But completely new souls descend to the world only after the correction of Adam's sin has been completed.

Yesod de ZA is called a "covenant," because we (*Malchut*, souls) feel and receive from it all the Light of our life. It constitutes the source of our life, descending to us from the Tree of Life (*ZA*). *ZA* ascends to *AVI* (called "garden") in order to take the waters from them and fill *Malchut*, his *Nukva*. A *Zivug* on *VAK* (*Hassadim*) is called WATERS SWARM, and a *Zivug* on *GAR* (*Hochma*) is called LIVING CREATURES.

220. A number of birds (angels) that soar above the whole world enter *Malchut* along with those souls. When a soul comes into this world, the bird that came from that tree along with that soul accompanies it. How many angels leave with each soul? Two: one on the right, and one on the left. If one so merits, they guard him, as it is written: FOR HE WILL GIVE HIS ANGELS CHARGE OVER YOU. Yet, if he does not merit, they report and accuse him. Rabbi Pinchas said: "There are three angels that guard man, if he so merits, as it is written, IF THERE BE AN ANGEL OVER HIM, A DEFENDER, ONE AMONG A THOUSAND THAT WARNS MAN. If there be an ANGEL—is the first; A DEFENDER—is the second; one among a thousand THAT WARNS man—is the third."

221. Rabbi Shimon said: "In all, there are five angels, for the verse continues: 'there is one after the giver and two more, so in all there are five.'" He replied: "This is not so. 'The giver' refers solely to the Creator Himself, and not to an angel, for only the Creator is permitted to give, but no one else."

A number of angels come forth together with the begotten souls. These angels are called "soaring" or "flying." They help the souls to sentence to the scale of merit, or, conversely, complain to the Creator about these souls, and push them toward the scale of sin, which entails punishments. These angels soar above the world, see how the Creator rules over all, and report all this to the soul. If the soul so merits, it sentences itself and the entire world to the scale of merit; if not, it sentences itself and the entire world to the scale of sin.

Therefore, Rabbi Pinchas does not dispute Rabbi Shimon when he says that only two angels are born with a soul. Rather, he says that as long as there are only two angels in man, he cannot sentence to the scale of merit completely, and keeps moving between the scales of sin (punishment) and merit (reward). However, through one's good deeds, the third angel is born within him, which enables man to sentence everything to the scale of merit. Hence, only with the help of the three angels can he achieve his correction.

222. And he who abstains from procreating and multiplying belittles (so to speak) the form that includes all other forms, the form of man, causes that stream, *Yesod* of ZA, to dry out, and harms the holy Covenant (*Yesod* of ZA) from all sides. It is written of such a man, "Go forth and look upon the corpses of those that have transgressed against the Creator." Of course, those who transgress against Me. This is said about the body, as the soul never even enters the screen, i.e., the Creator's domain. And such a man shall be banished from the world.

Malchut is called a "form," a "property" that contains all of the other properties, for all the forms of *NRN* of the righteous and of the angels in the three worlds of *BYA* originate from her. They constitute all the hosts and armies. And those that do not procreate and multiply thereby diminish the form of *Malchut* and prevent her from using all of her hosts and armies. For with the help of *MAN* that the lower ones raise, the Light descends from Above and stimulates a *Zivug* between the Creator and the *Shechina*. This *Zivug* creates *NRN*—the souls of the righteous and the angels in the worlds of *BYA*.

And those that impede this *Zivug* cause the stream (*Yesod* of *ZA*) to dry out and stop the flow of its male waters into the holy *Shechina*, *Malchut*. In doing so, they harm the holy covenant in all of its properties, for they delay the two parts of the *Zivug*: *VAK* (on *Ohr Hassadim*) and *GAR* (on *Ohr Hochma*).

This is because the *Mitzva* of procreation and multiplication constantly develops the soul. As a result, man defeats his body forever, so it can rise again during the resurrection from the dead. And he who abstains from procreating and multiplying turns his body into a corpse, of which it is written: GO FORTH AND LOOK UPON THE CORPSES OF THE PEOPLE, for his soul will not be able to enter the Creator's domain and merge with Him. Thus, he is rejected from the world to come.

The Seventh Commandment

223. The seventh *Mitzva* is to perform circumcision on the eighth day, and thus remove the impurity of the foreskin, for *Malchut* constitutes the eighth degree of all the degrees, beginning with *Bina*. And the soul that soars from her must appear before her on the eighth day; hence, she constitutes the eighth degree.

Nukva de ZA is called *Haya* if she rises and clothes *Ima-Bina*, the eighth degree from *Malchut* (provided that you count all ten *Sefirot* from below upwards). *Malchut* is hence called "the eighth," for she ascended eight degrees, from her own place to that of *Bina*. And when she reaches *Bina*, she receives the name *Haya*, just like *Bina*.

Therefore, man's soul, which is born in *Malchut* (that ascended to *Bina*), must appear before *Malchut* in all the appropriate corrections of circumcision, removal of the foreskin and the rolling up of its remains, on the eighth day from its birth in *Malchut*. This is because then it becomes clear that it is a soul that was born from none other than the holy degree of *Haya*.

Because of the force of circumcision and rolling up, man's soul sloughs the impure force, and the soul can receive the perfection of *Ohr Haya*. LET THE WATERS SWARM—thus *Malchut* receives the Supernal male waters from *ZON*, and is filled with them.

224. It then becomes clear that the type of this soul is *Haya*. That is, belonging to that holy degree of *Haya* (*Malchut*), and not to any other degree. And this is implied by, LET THE WATERS SWARM, as is explained in the book of Hanoch, the waters of the holy seed merge in the properties of the soul of *Haya*. And it is the property of the letter *Yod*, marked on the sacred flesh, more than any other mark that exists in the world.

Because of the circumcision, the Supernal male waters fill man's soul the way they were received in *Nukva* (called "the soul of *Haya*"). The Upper World,

called *Bina*, is designated by the letter *Yod*, and the lower world, *Malchut*, is designated by the letter *Hey*—its property. However, as *Malchut* ascends to *Bina*, the letter *Hey* disappears from her, and, just like *Bina*, turns into *Yod*.

Similarly, through man's observance of the *Mitzva* of spiritual circumcision, the letter *Hey* disappears, and just like in the *Nukva* that ascended to *Bina*, the property of the letter *Yod* appears in him instead. And if man's body acquires the property of *Yod*, he can receive the soul of *Haya* from *Nukva*.

225. The verse, LET BIRDS SOAR OVER THE EARTH, refers to Eliyahu, who flies across the whole world in four flights in order to be present in the place, where the Holy Covenant is made. And a chair must be prepared for him, and it must be said out loud, THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. For this is not done so, he will not appear in that place.

Angels originate from *AVI*; hence, they remain exclusively in the sky and consist of *HGT NHY*. Therefore, when they appear in this world to fulfill their tasks, they are said to make six flights, for they clothe in six *Sefirot*.

However, Eliyahu stems from *Malchut* (not from *AVI*). Hence, he is constantly connected to the earth. And since *Malchut* contains only four *Sefirot* of *ZA*, for her position is parallel to the *Sefirot TNHY* (*Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*, pronounced, Tanhi) from *Chazeh de ZA* downward, it is written that Eliyahu flies on four flights, i.e., by clothing in *Sefirot TNHY*.

Under no circumstances should one interpret the words about Eliyahu's presence at every rite of circumcision literally. Yet, if he is obliged to be there, why should he be invited?

The Zohar explains this in another place (*Shlach*, 18): there are four impure forces, called "Stormy Wind," "Great Cloud," "Blazing Flame," and *Noga*. The lowest of them, Stormy Wind, is at the center, as though clothed by Great Cloud, which is in turn clothed by Blazing Flame. And they are all clothed from the outside by *Noga*.

All the worlds, forces, and everything that was ever created exists within man. And these are our spiritual forces, by which we can attain the goal of creation. The first three impure forces are completely impure (egoistic). Whereas *Noga* is half good and half evil. But how is that possible if the spiritual is always true? How can it be half good (altruistic) and half evil (egoistic) at the same time?

In fact, this is impossible. *Noga* is a neutral force that can be used by the pure force (then *Noga* is considered good) or by the impure force (and then it is considered evil). Hence, *Noga* is called "half good and half evil" although

neutral in itself. It may be attached to either pure or impure forces, and this depends entirely on man.

MAN'S SPIRITUAL FORCES

Pure	-	altruistic
Noga	-	neutral
Blazing Flame	-	egoistic
Great Cloud	-	egoistic
Stormy Wind	-	egoistic

These four impure forces are located at the end of each spiritual *Partzuf*, in its *Sefira Yesod*. The *Sefira Yesod* has two layers of skin, one atop of the other. One layer is called *Orla*, and contains the three impure forces. The other is called *Preia*, and this is *Noga*.

The first man, Adam, was born circumcised, meaning that he did not have the three impure forces at all—he was completely unaware of his egoistic desires. In other words, they could not cling to him. *Noga* prevailed in him, in his sensations. Yet, since it was separated from the three impure forces and attached to the pure force (Adam's altruistic desires), *Noga* itself was considered completely good.

The three impure forces are collectively called the Serpent. These three impure desires were roused in Adam and tempted him to use them. In so doing, Adam attracted the *Orla* to himself, as it is described in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 38:2). As soon as he attached *Orla* to himself, his pure soul (the Light of the world of *Atzilut*) immediately disappeared, for his desires became egoistic, and he fell with his properties (desires) to the world of *Assiya*, to its lowest degree, called "this world," and was condemned to death (disappearance of the Supernal spiritual Light).

Therefore, it is written about him that since he violated the prohibition of not eating the fruits of the Tree of Knowledge, he attached the *Orla* to himself. Consequently, the impure desires acquired both layers of skin on the *Sefira Yesod* of *Partzuf* Adam, and *Preia*, called *Noga*, became impure, too, because of its contact with the *Orla*, with the three impure forces. However, there is a distinction between them, which lies in the fact that prior to Adam's sin, *Preia* was pure, and all of its impurity stems from its contact with the *Orla*.

Accordingly, there are two types of correction: circumcision and rolling up of the remaining skin. The *Orla* must be cut off and cast in the dust, since only thus can man free himself from these egoistic desires. *Preia*, however, can be left

attached to *Yesod*. But the skin around the *Sefira Yesod* must be rolled up. This is a special spiritual action that frees the *Preia* from the impure forces remaining in it. Hence, this action causes the Light to return to the *Partzuf*. This Light previously disappeared because of the egoistic desires that ruled in the *Partzuf* before the spiritual circumcision took place.

However, this is still insufficient for the fulfillment of the spiritual *Partzuf*, Adam, with the Light, as it was before he sinned, i.e. used the Serpent's impure forces and tasted the forbidden fruit from the Tree of Knowledge (received *Ohr Hochma* in egoistic desires). For now, after Adam's sin and fall, a special angel by the name of SAM makes accusations and complaints against man.

To neutralize the power of SAM, Eliyahu took upon himself his role of a prosecutor, and was thereby granted an opportunity to defend Israel (one who aspires to the Creator) when he circumcises himself (his egoistic desires).

Hence, it is said that Eliyahu must be present at each rite of circumcision (Hebrew, *Brit Mila*—the Covenant with the Creator). For since it is he, rather than SAM, who complains to the Creator about Israel's neglect of their Covenant, he can also testify that when Israel aspires to the Creator, it is loyal to the covenant. As a result, the Light returns to the *Partzuf*.

This is why, besides the chair occupied by the man who holds the baby (*Sandak*–godfather), one more chair must be prepared for the prophet Eliyahu. For the chair designates the beginning of correction, the influence of the Upper One on the lower one. The first chair, on which the *Sandak* sits, belongs to the Creator, for the filling of Light as the result of the circumcision and the rolling up of the impure forces. The second chair is saved for Eliyahu, so he can neutralize the impure forces' complaints to the Creator against man, so they would not be able to accuse man.

However, to make Eliyahu appear, one must say out loud: THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. The thing is that a male baby is circumcised on the eighth day after *Shabbat* (*Malchut* with the Light of *AVI*, called "holy") has passed over him. Since the sloughed desires (*Orla*) are cast away, the impure force sees that it is given a part of the Creator's Covenant. Because of this gift, it stops complaining and accusing man. On the contrary, it begins to advocate him before the Creator.

The spiritual desires (objects) pass their properties from one to another. Since the *Orla* was attached to *Yesod*, after the circumcision (separation from *Yesod*) it takes part of the pure desires with it. And since we throw it to the dust,

to the impure forces, they draw from it that weak Light, which they can receive from the circumcision and the rolling up.

This is why the impure forces stop complaining against Israel, and no longer wish to destroy this Light, for in so doing they will lose the part that they draw from it. Thus, they become defenders of the pure forces, to allow the pure forces to be filled with Light.

Yet, Eliyahu cannot bear this correction, for although the *Klipa* stops impeding and slandering Israel, it takes part of the Light for itself in return. To correct this, Eliyahu takes upon himself all the accusations against Israel, and refuses to give anything from the pure to the impure forces.

Thus, although the impure force stopped complaining against Israel, and actually became its defender, Eliyahu himself continues to accuse in order to wrest all the power from the impure forces and fully separate them from the pure. Hence, a chair must be prepared for Eliyahu, for it is he who fully separates the impure forces from the pure ones.

One must therefore verbalize the words: THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. For after the circumcision, part of the Light still remains in the impure forces, and the mention of Eliyahu completely deprives them of any contact with the Light.

Thus, if man does not express his desire to detach himself completely from the impure forces, through his own effort (by the screen positioned in *Peh*), it does not happen, even though the first chair belongs to the Creator. This is because the Creator starts the process of creation (makes His foundation in the form of a chair), and man continues and corrects his nature by performing altruistic deeds.

226. And the Creator created great Leviathans. They were two: *Orla* and *Preia*, male and female forces, and all living creatures. This is the mark of the Holy Covenant, the soul of the holy *Ohr Haya*, as it is written, LET THE WATERS SWARM, the Supernal Waters that descend to this Covenant.

Leviathan and his wife designate that which is opposite from *Orla* and *Preia*. They are also called *Nachash* (Serpent) and Alcaton (his wife). *Orla* is the Serpent, and *Nachash* is the male part that must be cut off and committed to dust. *Preia* is the correction, liberation from the Serpent's female part, Alcaton. Through these corrections, *Ohr Haya* of *AVI* descends from Above.

227. The reason why Israel below is marked in the holy form, similar to its form from Above, is to separate the pure part from the impure, to distinguish

between the holiness of Israel and the other nations that originate from the other side. And just as Israel was marked, so were the animals and birds—to determine which of them belong to Israel, and which belong to the nations of the world. Happy is the lot of Israel!

Man's attitude toward all the living creatures in our world is similar to the attitude of the general spiritual creation, called "man," toward his parts. This is because Adam includes absolutely everything within his spiritual body. And there is nothing except for this spiritual *Partzuf*, called "man" or "Adam."

All spiritual objects, angels, souls, both pure and impure forces are parts of Adam's body. All that is described in Kabbalah speaks only of the spiritual world, of one creature called "man," Adam. Adam's various parts, his various desires—are called "Israel," "nations of the world," "pure animals," "impure animals," and so forth.

All that man must do in our world (for every one of us was created in the image of Adam, recreating Adam's entire *Partzuf* within him) is build a pure, altruistic *Partzuf* within him. This is done by cutting off all of the egoistic desires in his heart, and separating the pure from the impure in all his desires, on all the levels of his soul.

The Eighth Commandment

228. The eighth *Mitzva* is to love an outsider from another nation, who desires to come under the wings of the *Shechina, Malchut*, who takes under her wings those who separate themselves from the other, impure side, and draw near her, as it is written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH A LIVING SOUL AFTER ITS KIND.

Malchut, *Nukva de ZA*, is called the *Shechina*, for she does not distance from us even when our properties are distant from her, as it is said: WHEREVER YOU ARE BANISHED, THE *SHECHINA* WILL BE WITH YOU, and ABIDES IN THEM, IN THEIR IMPURITY. *ZA* is called *Shochen* (dweller) and *Nukva* is called *Shechina*.

The revelation of the Creator in *Malchut*, of the *Shochen* in the *Shechina*, of *ZA* in *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* is possible only by a face-to-face *Zivug* of *ZON* in *Gadlut*. This is because the Light of this *Zivug* is so great that it reveals unity even in the most remote and concealed places, in the most opposite and uncorrected desires.

However, the creation of *Gadlut de ZON* occurs gradually: first, a *Partzuf* of *ZON* in *Katnut* is created with the Light of *VAK*, and only then does it grow to reach *Gadlut*. Moreover, this process takes place in each state of *ZON*. Furthermore, even as *ZON* in *Gadlut* make a *Zivug* and receive *Ohr Hochma*, the Light from their previous state of *Katnut* does not disappear, but facilitates a *Zivug* in *Gadlut*. And this Light of *Katnut* is called the "Wings of *Shechina*."

Hence, it is written in the Torah: "And the cherubim shall spread out their wings on High, screening the ark-cover with their wings" (*Shemot*, 25:20). For the main thing is to cover the Light of the great *Zivug* with their wings, so that even the most distant ones would receive the Light, and, at the same time, keep it out of the reach of the impure forces.

This is so because those who have yet to completely purify their egoistic desires are rejected by the Light for fear that the Light may fall to the impure forces. But now the wings guard the Light so vigilantly that even the closest ones will not err and let the Light through to the impure forces.

Therefore, an outsider is one who decides to join the people of Israel (to correct his egoistic desires and make them altruistic), and to be circumcised (reject his egoistic desires), for his body (collection of desires) still retains the properties of the *Orla*, as his ancestors (previous spiritual states) did not stand at the foot of Mount Sinai (did not receive the Light, called the Torah, and were not corrected by it), i.e., have not yet rid themselves of the serpent's impurity (have neither revealed all the impure egoistic desires within them nor recognized them as evil). Nevertheless, other altruistic desires have the power to elevate him to the level of Supernal purity.

This occurs through raising *MAN*, by evoking the great *Zivug* of *ZON* (where the Wings of *Shechina* rule and cover the Light of this *Zivug*). We can also elevate the outsider's soul (his yet uncorrected desires) to that level and sanctify it in the Light of this *Zivug*.

And although this soul is not yet completely pure, it can receive the Light from this *Zivug*, for the wings protect it and do not allow its Light through to the impure forces (desires), even though they are very close to it. And it is said, UNDER THE WINGS OF *SHECHINA*, for this soul can receive the Light only from the wings of *Malchut-Shechina*, i.e., receive only the small, outer Light of *Malchut*. This is not the Light in the body of *Malchut* (*Shechina*) herself, let alone that of *ZA* (the Creator, *Shochen*). Rather, it is merely the Light of the Wings of *Shechina*.

The outsider's soul (his egoistic desires) can be corrected (made altruistic) only during the great *Zivug*, for only then is the Light protected by the Wings of *Shechina*. Hence, we (altruistic desires) must first raise *MAN* for the great *Zivug*, and receive its Light in our souls (desires corrected by the screen). Then, the *Shechina* spreads her wings, protects this *Zivug*, and takes the outsider's soul under them. It follows that initially, we elevate the outsider's soul with the help of our *MAN*, and then the *Shechina* takes it under her wings.

229. One might say that the soul of *Haya* exists in Israel and is ready for anything. He specified, "After its kind," which refers to both Israel and to an outsider. Like chambers and passages between them, the same exists in the land called *Haya*, under the wings.

Here *The Zohar* tells us that although the new soul (the corrected properties called the "outsider") receives the Light, just like the properties called "Israel," Israel receives from the inner Light, whereas the outsider receives from the outer. It was already mentioned that wings designate the Light of *VAK*, received during the great *Zivug*, but from the previous state of *Katnut*, so as to cover the Light of the great *Zivug*.

This *VAK* includes *Sefirot HGT NHY*, where *HGT* are called "chambers," in which one can abide and sit (sitting means *Katnut* as opposed to standing, which is *Gadlut*). The *Sefirot NHY* are called "passages," entrances to the chambers, and it is impossible to sit there; their only role is to allow access to the chambers.

The reason for this lies in the property of *Tifferet*, the main *Sefira* in *HGT*. *Tifferet* is their middle line, a complete *Kli* for the reception of *Ohr Hassadim*. And the main *Sefira* in *NHY* is *Yesod*, which constitutes their middle line. It contains no property of the receiving *Kli*, and is used only for passing the Light onto *Malchut*, for the creation of the Returning Light. Hence, *NHY* are called "entrances."

As for the outsiders (to purify from egoistic desires) from the seventy nations of the world (seventy egoistic properties), the chambers in *HGT* of the wings, as well as the passages in *NHY* of the wings are prepared for them. They receive *Ohr Nefesh* from the passages (*NHY*) and *Ohr Ruach* from the chambers (*HGT*).

230. The right wing of *Malchut* has two passages, which are split from this wing in two so as to let in two nations that are close to Israel. And under the left wing there are two additional passages, called Amon and Moav. And they are all called the souls of *Haya*.

Previously, *The Zohar* mentioned that there are many entrances-passages, yet now it speaks of only two. This is because it speaks in general: there are two entrances for the nations belonging to the right line, and two entrances for the nations belonging to the left line. There are also two nations in all of the right line, which include all the nations of the right side, and there are two nations of the left line, which include all the nations of the left side.

The nations of the right side refer to the two general passages in the right wing. And *The Zohar* does not reveal what these nations are. And as for the nations of the left side, generally called "Amon and Moav," there are two passages in the left wing that are meant for them.

All the souls of the outsiders that come from all the nations are collectively called *Nefesh Haya*, for they can receive only from the great *Zivug* of *ZON* when

ZON are inside *AVI*. Thus, *Malchut* is called *Nefesh Haya*, for she receives *Ohr Haya* from *AVI*. And since the souls (*Nefashot*) of the outsiders receive from the wings of *Nefesh Haya*, they are named after the received Light.

231. Each wing contains a multitude of closed chambers and halls. From them, spirits emerge and are divided among all the outsiders, called *Nefesh Haya*, but each "after his kind." And they all come under the wings of the *Shechina*, but no further.

Each wing includes *VAK* (*HGT NHY*), called "passages" and "chambers." Each nation has its own chamber in *HGT* and its own passage in *NHY*. Each receives *Nefesh* in the passages and *Ruach* in the chambers. It is written that the chambers are closed, since *HGT de VAK* have only *Ohr Hassadim* without any *Ohr Hochma*; hence, they are called "closed."

232. However, the soul of Israel stems from the body of that tree (ZA), and from there the souls fly off to this land (*Malchut*). Therefore, Israel is the darling son of *Malchut*, and is sustained by her womb, and not by the wings that are on the outside of the body. Moreover, the outsiders have no part in the Holy Tree (ZA), especially not in its body. They refer only to the wings of *Malchut*, and no further. The outsider's place is under the wings of the *Shechina*, and no further. The righteous among the outsiders also refer to the outer side, and not to the inner. It is hence written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH A LIVING SOUL (*Nefesh Haya*) AFTER ITS KIND. All receive *Nefesh* from that *Haya*, but each according to its kind.

ZA is referred to as the "Tree of Life" and his *Nukva* is called the "Land of Life." For in the state of *Gadlut*, they both ascend and clothe *AVI*, who have *Ohr Haya* (the Light of Life). Therefore, it is said that the soul of Israel stems from the body of that tree, meaning from *ZA* himself.

And the souls from that tree fly off to the Land of Life: as a result of a *Zivug* between the tree (*ZA*) and the land (*Malchut*), *ZA* gives the souls of Israel into *Nukva*, and Israel receives these souls from her, as opposed to the outsiders, who receive their souls from the wings of *Malchut*, but not from *Malchut* herself, not from what *ZA* passed to *Malchut*.

The reason for this is that *Nukva* has three *Partzufim*, which clothe one another. They are called *Ibur* (embryo), *Yenika* (nursing), and *Mochin* (adulthood, *Gadlut*). The big (*Mochin*) *Partzuf* is the innermost of the three, and is clothed by *Partzuf Yenika*, which is in turn clothed by *Ibur*.

Israel receives from the innermost *Partzuf* (*Gadlut* of *Nukva*); hence, it is called the "darling son," for it stems from the inner part of *Malchut*, and not from her outer part (wings).

NHY de Malchut are called "womb," for it is the place where the souls of Israel are conceived and grown. However, this does not refer to the *NHY* of the two outer *Partzufim*, called *Ibur* and *Yenika*, as they are the wings of the *Shechina-Malchut*. Here *The Zohar* refers to the *NHY* of the *Partzuf* in *Gadlut*, the innermost *Partzuf* (the womb of *Malchut*).

This is what the words of the prophet refer to: "Is Ephraim a darling son unto Me? Is he a child that is dandled? For as often as I speak of him, I do earnestly remember him still; therefore, My heart yearns for him, I will surely have compassion upon him" (*Yirmiyahu*, 31:19). Because the souls of Israel stem from the inner part of *Malchut*, *The Zohar* says that they appeared from *Malchut*'s womb, from *NHY* of the *Partzuf* in *Gadlut*, and not from *NHY* of the two outer *Partzufim*, called "wings."

The outsiders (desires for correction) have no part in the Supernal Tree, especially not in its body. Their place is under the wings of the *Shechina*, and no further. The outsiders that come (to correct themselves) are called righteous, for the *Shechina* is also called the "righteous one." They come under her wings and unite within her. Yet, they have no place above the *Shechina*, and receive from *Nefesh Haya*, from a *Zivug* of *Malchut* with *ZA* in *Gadlut*. But they only receive the portion of the Light called "wings"; hence, they are said to be under the wings of the *Shechina*, where each receives according to his properties.

The Ninth Commandment

233. The ninth *Mitzva* is to show mercy to the needy and supply them with food, as it is written: LET US MAKE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS, and this man will consist of two parts, male and female. IN OUR IMAGE refers to the rich; AFTER OUR LIKENESS refers to the poor.

234. For from the male side, they are rich, but from the female side, they are poor. And as they are united together, merciful to each other, and help each other, so below should the rich and the poor be united as one, and should share with each other, and show mercy to one another.

235. We see this in the book of King Shlomo (Solomon): he who shows mercy to the poor with all his heart, his image never differs from that of Adam, the first man. And since he was created in the image of Adam, he therefore governs all the creatures on earth by his image, as it is written: "And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth" (*Beresheet*, 9:2), all fear that image, existing in him. For this *Mitzva*, to show mercy to the poor, is the most important of all the *Mitzvot* for elevating man to the image of Adam.

236. How do we know this? From Nebuchadnezzar. Even though he dreamt a dream, as long as he had mercy upon the poor, that dream did not come true. However, as soon as he started looking badly upon the poor, his image changed at once, and he distanced from people. Hence, it is written, LET US MAKE MAN. It is said in the form as it was said of charity in another verse. Therefore, MAKE—is the same as charity.

The rich and the poor correspond to the male and the female principles, to ZA and his *Nukva*. However, there is nothing here that hints at the obligation of the rich to be merciful to the poor and provide for his needs. But this instruction differs from the rest in that in all the others, the Creator's command is separated

from the action that follows it, as it is written, AND THE CREATOR SAID: 'LET THERE BE LIGHT. AND THERE WAS LIGHT;' and also, AND THE CREATOR SAID: 'LET THE WATERS BE GATHERED…' AND IT WAS SO; and so on in all the *Mitzvot*.

And none of the other *Mitzvot* contain the Creator's instruction mixed with action. This is so because the entire creation originated from *AVI*, where *Aba* spoke and *Ima* acted—*Aba* gave the Light to *Ima*, and after he gave it to her, he started acting on it himself. For only with the property of *Aba* could creation not have manifested in action, as there are no boundaries in creation, in which actions could be revealed.

Hence, *Aba* issues a command that designates the passage of Light from him to *Ima*. However, since this is merely a command, and not an action (like a force instead of an action), the future tense is used. The same language is used in the description of man's creation: AND THE CREATOR SAID, "LET US CREATE MAN." Note that the plural form is used: LET US CREATE.

Before the creation of the world of *Atzilut* (called the world of correction), an action known as *Shevirat HaKelim* (the breaking of the vessels in the world of *Nekudim*) took place in the spiritual worlds. It is written: "The Creator kept creating and destroying worlds, until He created this world (*Atzilut*), and He told it to stop spreading below the boundaries in which it was created" (*Beresheet Raba*, 3:7).

The breaking of the vessels was essential, for it was the only opportunity to mix the egoistic properties (desires) with the altruistic ones; after all, distance in the spiritual is determined by the disparity of properties (desires). And that is why egoism and altruism are infinitely remote from each other. Yet, if this is so, how can egoism possibly be corrected? How can such properties or even notions of the existence of altruistic desires be introduced to man?

So then, to allow egoistic desires to be corrected, the Creator performed the breaking of the vessels—the striking impact between opposite desires, egoistic and altruistic. It is called "striking," for it is impossible to unite these desires by any means other than an "explosion."

As a result of this explosion, the altruistic, pure *Kelim* (desires) penetrated the egoistic, impure ones, and gave man an opportunity for free will and self-correction. After the destruction of the pure *Kli* and the descent of its parts into impurity, the world of *Atzilut* was formed.

Out of all the mixed desires, the world of *Atzilut* selected only altruistic ones, attached them to itself, corrected them and filled them with Light. Out

of these corrected parts, it made the worlds *BYA* with everything that exists within them.

These corrections of the broken and mixed *Kelim* by the world of *Atzilut* are depicted in the first chapter of the Torah, which speaks of creation. It uses the instructions of exposing and separating the egoistic *Kelim* from the altruistic ones, as, for instance, in the following verses: AND THE CREATOR DIVIDED LIGHT FROM DARKNESS; THE CREATOR DIVIDED WATERS FROM DRY LAND; THE CREATOR DIVIDED DAY FROM NIGHT, and so forth. All these examples speak of the separation of the pure forces from the impure ones, of good from evil. And all that diverged became part of the pure system.

Therefore, the entire act of creation is contained in the depiction of the first day of creation, in the words, LET THERE BE LIGHT, as this is when Light was separated from darkness. This is because, on the whole, purity is called "Light" and impurity is called "darkness." And all the other definitions of purity and impurity are only particular names designating their various manifestations.

The world of *Atzilut* made only a partial correction: it only separated altruistic desires from egoistic desires, Light from darkness, and thus created the system of creation, described in the beginning of the Torah. However, this does not complete the correction, as darkness and impurity are simply detached from participating in creation, but remain utterly uncorrected. They are simply separated as an entirely unnecessary part, and this completely defies the perfection of the Creator, who created everything (including darkness) for His final goal. Moreover, correction ends specifically with the correction of darkness, as it is said: "Night shines as day; darkness as Light." (*Tehilim*, 139:12).

To correct this, man was created containing everything, and consisting of all the properties of creation: from the absolute goodness to total evil. This enables man to execute the correction and achieve complete perfection. In other words, he must turn evil to good, bitter to sweet, and darkness to Light. As a result, death will disappear forever, and the Creator will manifest as the King of all creation.

Hence, there is a great difference between the description of man's creation and that of all the other creatures and parts of creation. Here, the action itself was mixed with the instructions, for the instructions, descriptions come from *Ima*, not from *Aba*, who said, LET US CREATE MAN—together with *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

The reason for this is that *Malchut* includes everything, for she also gives the Light of sustenance to the impure forces to keep them from disappearing from

the world, as, like all the other elements of creation, the impure forces cannot exist without Light, and immediately disappear. It is written in this regard: HER FEET DESCEND TO DEATH, for the impure forces receive a tiny spark of Light to sustain their existence.

This is why *Malchut* is called *Assiya* (action), for she spreads and rules in the whole of creation. She is also called "darkness," for she shines with a spark of Light, to sustain the darkness and evil.

Hence, when *Ima* unites with *Malchut* and their properties mix, she receives the properties of darkness, of which it is said: LET US CREATE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS, for Light is called "image," and darkness is called "likeness." Indeed, after *Ima* mixes with *Malchut*, these two forces, IMAGE and LIKENESS, appear in her as well. As a result, man, who was created by her, contains these two forces—IMAGE and LIKENESS, too.

From the phrase, LET US MAKE, it follows that *Ima* consists of two parts, male and female. Although *Ima* is a male part (giving is a male property), she is connected to *Malchut*. Besides, the male property suggests the presence of Light, while the property of *Nukva* (the female part) is poverty and darkness.

And since *Ima* accepted *Malchut* as her partner with the purpose of creating man (accepted the properties of *Malchut*), she is now filled with poverty and darkness. It follows that man consists of the properties of *Ima* (wealth and Light), as well as of the properties of *Malchut* (poverty and darkness).

And it is this precise combination of the properties of *Ima* and *Malchut* that enables man to correct *Malchut*, fill her with Light, and spread spiritual purity and holiness throughout the entire earth (*Malchut*). It is written that at the end of correction, "the Creator and His Name shall be one," for the darkness in *Malchut* will be transformed into Light, as in the male part, *HaVaYaH*. Everything will be as one in the male property, as it is said, "There will be no poor in your nation."

This *Mitzva* says that as *Ima* united with *Malchut* so as to correct her, which is why *Ima* includes Image and Likeness, man needs to correct his qualities in order to correct the parts of darkness within him. To this end, he must diminish his properties, just like *Ima*, and give his part (charity) to the poor *Malchut*, who is deprived of Light. He must show mercy to the LIKENESS (poverty) within him, and provide it with everything it needs.

By observing this *Mitzva*, man receives IMAGE and LIKENESS from *Ima*, the Upper Light that was received by Adam, created in IMAGE and LIKENESS. This is why he has the power to rule over all the animals in the world (all of his

animal desires) to such an extent that no impure force (desire) remains within him, which he cannot defeat and correct.

The Zohar gives the example of Navuchadnetzar (Nebuchadnezzar): although the Supreme verdict with regard to him was reached, his dream did not come true as long as he was merciful to the poor. However, as soon as he allowed his evil eye to look badly upon the poor, the sentence was immediately executed, and his image changed (those who are interested can turn to *The Book of Daniel*). Thus we see that this *Mitzva* is greater than all the others, and that it can overrule the Supreme verdict made against man.

"Charity" signifies the union of *Bina* and *Malchut*. Similarly, the story about the marriage of Rut (Ruth) the Moavite, King David's grandmother (*Malchut*), and Boaz, who was merciful to her (this marriage started Israel's Royal Dynasty), describes the correction of *Malchut* by *Bina* (See *Megilat Rut—The Book of Ruth*).

The Tenth Commandment

237. The tenth *Mitzva* obliges man to put on *Tefillin* and to attain the Supernal properties, as it is written, THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE. He opened and said, "Your head upon you is like the Carmel." This text refers to the Supernal head—the *Tefillin* worn on the head of the Holy, Supernal King *HaVaYaH*, written in separate letters. Each letter in the holy name *HaVaYaH* corresponds to a certain paragraph in the *Tefillin*. Thus, the Holy, Supernal Name is written in the scrolls of *Tefillin*, in the secrets of the letters. For THE NAME OF THE CREATOR IS UPON YOU, AND THEY SHALL BE AFRAID OF YOU refers to the head *Tefillin*, which contains the Holy Name *HaVaYaH*.

By being merciful to the poor, one merely begins to receive the Creator's Supernal image. *Bina* absorbs the properties of *Malchut*, described by the verse, LET US CREATE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS. By unifying *Bina*'s properties with those of *Malchut*, *AHP de Bina* (the letters *ELEH*) fell to *ZON*, and only the letters *MI* (*GE*) remained in *Ima*. *AHP de Bina* that fell to *ZON* consist of *Aba* and *Ima*: *Aba* assumes the properties of *ZA*, and *Ima* assumes the properties of *Nukva*.

Since *AVI* descended to the place of *ZON*, they became like *ZON*. And from them *ZON* receive the state of *Katnut*, called *TZELEM Elokim*, likeness to *Bina* (*VAK*), for *Ima* lost the *GAR* of her own state, that is, since her *AHP* fell to *ZON*, she lost the Light of *GAR* (see diagram on next page).

Therefore, only the letters *MI* = *GE* = *K-H* remained in *Ima*, whereas her *B-ZA-M* = *AHP* = *ELEH* fell to *ZON*. Thus, of the five Lights *NRNHY* that were inside *Ima*, she retained only *Ohr Ruach* in *Keter* and *Ohr Nefesh* in *Hochma*. Thus, *Ima* can only give *ZON* the Light of *VAK* = *Ruach* + *Nefesh*, but not the Light of *GAR* = *NRNHY*. Also, *ZON* are considered to have acquired likeness to

the Upper One only upon receiving the Lights *NRNHY*. And this is achieved by the fulfillment of the *Mitzva* of *Tefillin*.

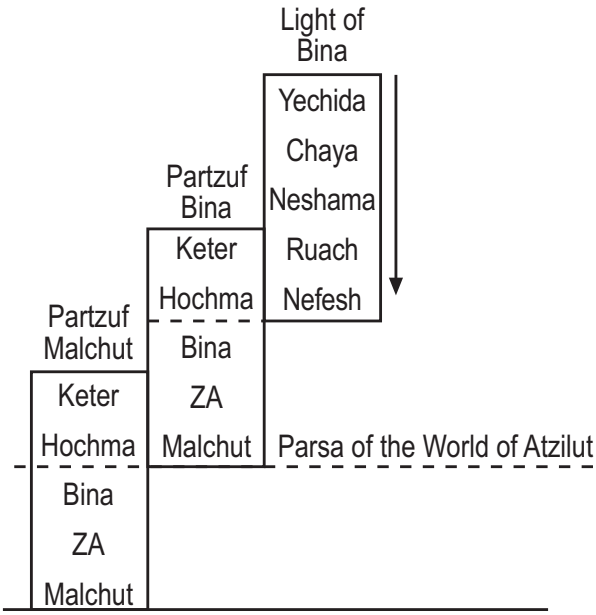

Yet, a question arises: we have already learned that to create the *Partzuf* of lower man out of *ZON*, *ZON* must ascend to *AVI* and receive the Light of *GAR*, for a small *Partzuf* without *Ohr Hochma* cannot beget. So why is it said that *Ima* is in a state of *Katnut*?

When *ZON* attain reception of the Light of *AVI*, they thereby ascend to *AVI* and become similar to *AVI* in their properties, for each lower one that ascends to the Upper One becomes like it. Indeed, only the magnitude of the screen distinguishes between spiritual objects, as only the magnitude of the screen determines all of the object's properties.

Thus, upon ascending and clothing *AVI*, *ZON* become like *AVI*, and all the properties of *AVI* are now naturally adopted by *ZON*. Just as *AVI* create *ZON*, *ZON* in *AVI* beget and pass the Light into the *Partzuf* of lower man. Hence, there is no need to even change names, for everything occurs at the degree of *AVI*. And upon ascending there, *ZON* are already called *AVI*, and the Light that they pass to man is regarded as the Light intended for *ZON*.

It is written: THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE. The Hebrew word "image" that is used in the Torah is *TzeLeM*, and is formed by three letters: *Tzadi-Lamed-Mem*. In item 2, we said that there are no *Kelim* for *Ohr*

Haya and *Yechida*; rather, there are only *Kelim Bina-ZA-Malchut* for the Lights *NRN*: *Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama*.

So even when we say that there is a *Kli* called *Keter*, we imply that the count starts with *Bina de Keter*, not with *Keter de Keter*. *Bina* and *ZON*, the *Kelim* that remained in the *Partzuf*, are divided into three lines: the line of *Bina—HBD*, the line of *ZA—HGT*, and the line of *Malchut—NHYM*. This is characteristic of *Ohr Hassadim*.

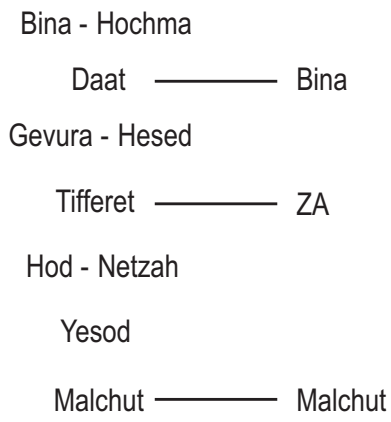

However, when *Ohr Hochma* is transferred, *Partzuf Bina* divides into two *Partzufim*: *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. These constitute *HBD* = three and *HGT* = three. Along with *ZAT* = seven *Sefirot*, from *Hesed* to *Malchut*, and form the *Gematria* of thirteen (3 + 3 + 7) of the word *Echad*, which alludes to the complete name, state, and attainment.

The thing is that *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* are concealed in *AA*, and only its *Sefira Bina* sends her Light down. This *Sefira Bina de AA* is divided into two *Partzufim*, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*: her *GAR* shines in *AVI* and her *ZAT* shines in *YESHSUT*. These two parts of *Bina* are called *M* (*Mem*) and *L* (*Lamed*) of the word *TzeLeM*:

1. *AVI* are called *M* of the word *TzeLeM*, as they form a closed ring guarding *Ohr Hochma*, preventing it from reaching the other, lower *Partzufim*. This *Ohr Hochma* is referred to as "concealed" (from all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*), and only *Ohr Hassadim*, *Ohr Ruach*, descends from them to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* during the 6,000 years until the end of correction.
2. *YESHSUT* is called *L* of the word *TzeLeM*, as it bows its head (*GAR*) and resembles a tower. It is written about this tower: "The Tower of Oz (strength) of the Creator's name." This is because *YESHSUT* is

called a "tower," and *ZA* is known as the "righteous one." After all, *YESHSUT* is *ZAT de Bina*, the properties of *ZON* that are included in *Bina*; hence, it passes its *Ohr Hochma* to *ZON*.

If *ZON* in *Katnut* are filled with *Ohr Hassadim* (*Ruach* called *Avir*—air), then during the reception of *Ohr Hochma* from *YESHSUT*, the letter *Yod* in the word *Avir* exits, and *Avir* turns into *Ohr* (Light). Hence, *YESHSUT* is called a "tower," i.e., a *Partzuf* in *Gadlut* that contains *Hochma*, soaring in the air (*Avir*).

However, this state in *ZON* is inconstant. *YESHSUT* intermittently returns to *Katnut* and to *Gadlut*; therefore, such a state is called "soaring." *ZA* is called *Tz* (*Tzadi*) of the word *TzeLeM*, for such is his property inside this tower. Thus:

- *AVI*—M (*Mem*)—*Hochma* that is concealed inside a ring.
- *YESHSUT*—*L* (*Lamed*)—*Bina*, though as she ascends to *AA*, she becomes *Hochma* (tower) and passes *Ohr Hochma* down.
- *ZON*—*Tz* (*Tzadi*)—*Daat*, receives the Light from *YESHSUT*.

However, one should not confuse the three letters *Tz-L-M* with the three lines called *HBD*: *TzeLeM* consists of three *Partzufim*, one inside the other. *Partzuf Hochma* (M of the *TzeLeM*, *AVI*) is the innermost *Partzuf*; *Partzuf Bina* (*YESHSUT*, *L* of the *TzeLeM*) clothes it from *Chazeh de AVI* downward; and from *Chazeh de YESHSUT* downwards, *Partzuf Bina* is clothed by *Partzuf Daat*, *ZA*, *Tz of* the word *TzeLeM*.

The words, THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE (*TzeLeM*), mean that with the help of the spiritual observance of the *Mitzva* of *Tefillin*, *Ohr Hochma* is received in accordance with the ascending order of the letters *Tz-L-M*. This is the Light that Adam received after his creation, whereas we first stimulate the reception of this Light in *ZON*, and from *ZON* we stimulate its reception into ourselves.

THE HEAD *TEFILLIN* CONTAINS THE NAME OF THE HOLY KING, INSCRIBED IN THE LETTERS *HaVaYaH*—the head *Tefillin* is the name of the Supernal King, inscribed in the letters *HaVaYaH*. The *Tefillin* are called the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—all goodness), as it is written: YOUR HEAD UPON YOU IS LIKE THE CARMEL. This is because when the heads of *ZA* and *Malchut* put on the head *Tefillin* (the Upper Light of *TzeLeM*), they become like the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—all goodness).

This Light is called "The name of the Supernal, Holy King," the four letters of *HaVaYaH*, where each letter is written separately: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*. And the reason why man feels that the letters are written separately is that each

Partzuf contains the four letters of *HaVaYaH*, and each of them designates an independent *Partzuf*.

Every letter constitutes a separate passage on the parchment (in the *Tefillin*); four separate passages correspond to the four letters of *HaVaYaH*. A passage (Hebrew—*Parashah*) represents a separate and complete *Partzuf*, and its corresponding letter in *HaVaYaH* symbolizes the Light in this *Partzuf*. The order of *Partzufim* corresponds to the order of the letters of *HaVaYaH*: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*. Such a *Tefillin* is called the *Tefillin* of *Rashi*.

However, there is a *Tefillin* with the order of passages (*Partzufim*) *Yod-Hey-Hey-Vav*, called *Tefillin Rabeinu Tam*. The passages that are written on fragments of parchment are identical, but the order of putting them into the boxes of *Tefillin Rabeinu Tam* is different: *Yod-Hey-Hey-Vav*.

238. The first passage in the *Tefillin* corresponds to the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH* (*Hochma*) and refers to the *Mitzva*, "Sanctify to Me all the firstborn." This is because *Hochma* is the firstborn of all the Supernal Ones. It opens the place of conception for the future firstborn with the help of a thin line of Light that emanates from *Yod*, which opens the womb and impregnates it.

AVI are designated by the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*, where *Yod* signifies *Aba* and the filling of *Yod* (according to its pronunciation: *Yod* = *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet*), i.e., *Vav* + *Dalet* constitutes *Ima*. *Partzuf AVI* is called "holy" and "first born," for *Partzufim YESHSUT* and *ZON* are called holy only when they receive holiness (*Ohr Hochma*) from *AVI*. All the holiness in the world of *Atzilut* comes from *AVI*.

This is so because *Ohr Hochma* is called "holiness" and *AVI* is *Mem* of the word *TzeLeM* (*Hochma de Atzilut*), for the Supernal *Hochma* of the world of *Atzilut* is concealed within them. *AVI* themselves are defined as *Bina* in the property of *Hassadim*, as *Hochma* is concealed within *Rosh de AA*, and the lower ones can receive it only if *Bina* ascends to *Hochma*, to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* unites with *Hochma* of *Rosh de AA* and assumes the name *Hochma*. However, she is not the ordinary *Hochma*; she is called "*Hochma* of the thirty-two paths" of descending *Ohr Hochma*, and only this *Hochma* bestows *Ohr Hochma* upon all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*.

This is why *The Zohar* says that this thin ray of Light, called the "path of Light," opens the womb and conceives the future offspring. *Yod* consists of three parts: (i) the upper "spike" of the letter *Yod*, a small line above the point, which is called *Rosh* and designates *Partzuf AA* that is concealed in *AVI*; (ii) the body of

the *Yod*, which forms *Partzuf AVI*; and (iii) the lower "spike" of the letter, which designates *Yesod*, the end of *Partzuf AVI*.

Through the continuous *Zivug* between *Yesod de Aba* and *Yesod de Ima*, the great waters descend onto all the lower worlds with all that inhabits them. This *Zivug* on *Ohr Hassadim* is called a "*Zivug* that revives the worlds." *Yesod de Ima* is also called *Rechem* (womb), for all *Rachamim* (mercy) stems from this part of Its *Partzuf*. Yet, if *AVI* do not make a *Zivug*, this part of *Ima* is closed, and mercy does not descend below. Only *Yesod de Aba* can open *Yesod de Ima*, whereupon *Ima* passes her great waters to the lower ones.

239. The second passage in the *Tefillin*, WHEN YOU COME, corresponds to the first letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, the hall (*Bina*) that opens up under the influence of the letter *Yod* (*Aba*) in fifty entrances, passages, and chambers concealed within it. The revelation that *Yod* made in that hall was done so as to hear the voice of the *Shofar* (a ram's horn), *Bina*. The *Shofar* is closed on all sides, but the letter *Yod* came and opened it so that its sound could be heard. And since it opened the *Shofar* and derived sound from it, *Yod* led all to freedom.

The letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH* is *YESHSUT*, *L* in the word *TzeLeM*. It is called a "tower soaring in the air," a hall with fifty entrances, for the concealed *AVI* are designated by the *M* of *TzeLeM*, by the ring that surrounds *Ohr Hochma* and prevents it from shining outside. And they shine only with *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, by rising to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* turns into *Hochma*, *YESHSUT* can pass *Ohr Hochma* to *ZON*. *Bina*, who turns into *Hochma* in order to receive *Hochma* for *ZON*, is called the "fifty gates of *Bina*," for she consists of five *Sefirot KHB-ZA-M*, ten in each. Each of these fifty *Sefirot* consists of a chamber and an entrance: *HGT* are called a "chamber" and *NHY* are called an "entrance," a "passage," implying the absence of a *Kli* for reception. Instead, it serves for transferring the Light into, or out of the chamber.

Therefore, the second passage used in the *Tefillin*: AND WHEN YOU COME designates the letter *Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH*, *YESHSUT* of the world of *Atzilut*, which ascends to accept *Ohr Hochma* and pass it on to *ZON* below.

Yod opened this hall so as to hear the voice that comes from the ram's horn, for this horn is closed on all sides. As was already mentioned, *YESHSUT* (*Bina*) united with *Malchut* by lowering her three *Sefirot ELEH* (*Bina* and *ZON*) to *ZON*, while *YESHSUT* remained with only two *Sefirot K-H*, *MI*.

Then, as a result of raising *MAN*, *Malchut* descends from the *Eynaim* (eyes), the *Eynaim* of *YESHSUT* open up, *Malchut* descends to her own place in the *Peh*, and

the three letters *ELEH* reunite with *MI* to form the name *ELOKIM*. *GE = KH de ZON* ascend to *Bina* along with these *ELEH*. However, although *ELEH* ascended and joined *MI*, the name *ELOKIM* is still considered closed, for it has only *Ohr Hochma*, and *Ohr Hochma* cannot shine in *ELEH* without *Ohr Hassadim*.

These three letters *ELEH* are therefore defined as a horn (*Shofar*), and *ZON* that ascended to *Bina* along with *ELEH* are concealed within them. And these *ZON* in *ELEH* are referred to as a "voice." This voice sounds in the hall with the help of the letter *Yod*, for *Yod* designates *AVI* that bestow the Light from Above, which facilitates the lowering of *Malchut* from *Nikvey Eynaim de YESHSUT* to her place in the *Peh*, and raising *ELEH* back to *Bina*. Hence, *Yod* opens up the hall of Light in *YESHSUT* in order to pass this Light to *ZON* from the *Shofar* (the ascended letters *ELEH*).

ZON, too, ascend to *Bina* along with *ELEH* and there receive *Hochma*. This great Light in *ZA* is called a "voice," and its reception is known as "listening to the voice." However, this horn is closed on all sides, on the sides of *Hochma* and *Hassadim*, for the letters *ELEH* (called a "horn") fall to *ZON*, where they remain closed and inaccessible both to *Ohr Hochma* and to *Ohr Hassadim*.

Consequently, two corrections are needed: (i) to elevate and unite them with *Bina*, enabling them to once more attain their *Ohr Hochma*; (ii) to provide them with *Ohr Hassadim* so it can serve as a garment for *Ohr Hochma*.

First, *Yod* (*AVI*) pass the Light to *Hey* (*YESHSUT*), whereupon *ELEH* rise above *Malchut*, to *Bina*, together with *ZON*, and there receive *Ohr Hochma*. However, this *Ohr Hochma* is called concealed or closed, for it cannot shine without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. This means that the voice has not yet emerged—*ZA* has not yet been born.

After that, *Yod* enters into the word Light = *Ohr*; hence, it turns into *Avir* = air (*Ohr Hassadim*). And since the horn (the letters *ELEH*) received air (*Ohr Hassadim*), they can beget *ZA* (the voice of the *Shofar*), for being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *Ohr Hochma* can enter *ZA*.

The general Light that *ZA* receives is called "voice." And this voice frees all the slaves that were enslaved by the egoistic desires in all the worlds, for *ZA* shines down on all the lower ones. Thus, the sons of Israel (man's spiritual aspirations) merit the Light of deliverance (defeat the earthly, egoistic ones).

240. At the sounds of the *Shofar*, the sons of Israel were delivered from Egypt. And so shall the *Shofar* be blown in the future, the next time at the end of days. And all deliverance originates from this *Shofar*, which is *Bina*. This is why the deliverance from Egypt is mentioned in this chapter of the Torah, for

this *Shofar* stems from the force of the letter *Yod*, which opens the womb and delivers the captives to freedom. And this is the letter *Hey*, the second letter of the name *HaVaYaH*.

All of the Light in *ZON* comes from the horn (*ELEH*), including the great Light that delivers Israel from Egypt, and the Light that is destined to be revealed in the future, at the end of days (complete deliverance from egoism). This is why the *Tefillin* contain a passage that refers to the exodus from Egypt, for the Light delivering from Egypt comes from the horn, which is inside *YESHSUT*. This is done by the power of *AVI*, called *Yod de HaVaYaH*, which open the womb of *YESHSUT* (*ELEH*) and free the voice (*ZA*) from its captivity.

This Light has sufficient power to deliver Israel from slavery. Only after the attainment of this Light (*Ohr Haya*), and not a degree lower, can *ZA* and *Nukva* be called "voice" and "speech." All deliverance comes only from *Ohr Haya* (only upon ascending the spiritual degree of *Ohr Haya* can man liberate himself from egoism and become free).

241. The third passage in the *Tefillin* is the secret of the Unity in "Hear O Israel," the letter *Vav* in *HaVaYaH*, which includes all and designates *ZA*, who contains the unity of all. Everything merges in unity within him, and he receives all. The fourth passage that reads, "You shall hear," includes two sides, *Hesed* and *Gevura*, which unite with the Assembly of Israel, called the lower *Gevura* or *Malchut*. And this is the last letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, which takes and includes them all.

The third passage in the *Tefillin* (Hear O Israel) is *Partzuf ZA*, the letter *Vav* in *HaVaYaH*, which includes all four passages contained in the *Tefillin*. Although the first two passages (*AVI* and *YESHSUT*) represent *Hochma* and *Bina*, they do not really constitute *Hochma* and *Bina* themselves, but rather, their part, which clothes in *Rosh de ZON*, called *M* and *L* of *TZeLeM de ZA*.

Similarly, the fourth passage, *Malchut* of *ZA*, does not imply that this is *Malchut* herself. Rather, it refers to her part that is included in *ZA* and is called *Mochin* (brain) *de Gevura*. There are three parts of *Mochin* in *ZA*: *Hochma*, *Bina*, and *Daat*, which are accordingly called *M*, *L* and *Tz* of *TzeLeM de ZA*. They are the same *H-B-ZA-M* as in *Mochin de ZA*. This is because *Daat* (*Tz*) includes *Hesed and Gevura*. And this *Hesed* in *Daat* is defined as *ZA* himself, and *Gevura* is defined as the inclusion (of the properties) of *Nukva* in *ZA*. And these *H-B-ZA-M* constitute the four passages contained in the *Tefillin*.

This is why *ZA*, the letter *Vav* in the name *HaVaYaH*, includes all four passages. And all the unions that come from *AVI* and *YESHSUT* are done within

him, i.e., for his sake. For all the Higher *Partzufim* that precede ZA are united (with the Creator), and need no *MAN* from the lower ones to reach the state of unity. Whereas all the *MAN* raised by the lower ones to the Upper *Partzufim* are meant solely for the unification of ZA, and in no way affect the constant unity of the Higher *Partzufim* with the Creator.

The unification of *Hochma* with *Bina*, as a result of which *Bina* becomes like *Hochma*, occurs only on account of ZA being raised to *Bina* in the form of *MAN*. For when ZA is raised to *Bina* as *MAN*, *Bina* ascends to *Rosh de* AA and there receives *Hochma* for ZA. Since *Bina* aspires only to mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), she never receives *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake, but only if the lower ones are in need of it. Her role, her properties are only to bestow, and not to receive. (Note that in the spiritual, "reception" is always for the Creator's sake.)

Hence, *Bina* ascends to *Rosh de* AA only for the sake of ZON. And it is ZA alone that ascends to *Bina* and stimulates her to ascend to *Rosh de* AA, where she makes a *Zivug* with *Hochma* and passes this Light to him. It is therefore said that ZA receives all, as *Bina* passes everything that she receives in *Rosh de* AA to him. And *Ohr Hochma* is revealed only in the place of ZA (not *Bina*), as he descends back to his place below *Chazeh de* ZA.

The prayer "Hear O Israel" designates ZA, the letter *Vav* of the name *HaVaYaH*, the Supernal unity (item 207) that reveals love only from the good side. And since it refers only to "Love your Creator…," it contains no restrictions or strictness of judgment.

However, in the fourth passage, "You shall hear," the last *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, *Nukva de* ZA that is included in him, *Gevura* in *Rosh de* ZA, reveals both sides of love—good, as well as evil (item 206), reflected in the words of this passage. It ends with the words: "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever," which corresponds to the inclusion and unity of *Nukva* in ZA, meaning not *Nukva* herself, but her part in ZA, i.e., *Mochin de Daat*.

Gevura in *Daat* is the second *Hey* in *HaVaYaH*. It accepts all the Light of the Supernal unity contained in "Hear O Israel," and includes all. And since it contains all the perfection of unity, it reveals all the Light and both sides of love, for the property of judgment that complements love to perfection exists only within it, and not Above.

It is therefore written: "Your head upon you is like the Carmel," designating the head *Tefillin*. Indeed, after ZA is clothed in all four Lights, designated by the four paragraphs of the *Tefillin*, which are the three letters *Tz*, *L*, and *M* of

the word *TzeLeM*, his head is defined as the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—completely filled with goodness).

242. *Tefillin* are the letters of the holy name. Therefore, "Your head upon you is like the Carmel" refers to the head *Tefillin*. The letter *Dalet* refers to the hand *Tefillin*, *Malchut*, who is depleted of Light, compared to the head *Tefillin*, ZA, but she contains the perfection of the Upper One.

The hand *Tefillin* designates *Malchut*. And she is poor in comparison with *Bina*, the Upper World. Yet, she has her own perfection, for she now receives it from *Bina* thanks to the unity between *Nukva* and ZA in "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever."

And since she is not the *Nukva* that is included in ZA (his body), but a separate *Nukva* of ZA, she takes all four passages from him, *H-B-ZA-M* of ZA, for she has a separate, complete *Partzuf*. However, these four passages of the Torah are in the same place; they are not separated from each other by partitions, as in the *Tefillin* of ZA.

The reason for this is that a passage of the Torah is the Light, and the place where it dwells is a *Kli* (the *Tefillin* in our world is a box made of a "pure" animal's skin, into which four parchment scrolls are placed, and the corresponding passages from the Torah are written on each). As we know, every *Zivug* emanates Light. Since ZA receives four Lights *H-B-H-G* in four *Kelim*, as a result of four *Zivugim*, he contains four compartments for four passages, each compartment containing a particular passage from the Torah.

However, no *Zivug* is made on *Malchut* herself. Everything that *Malchut* has, she receives from ZA. *Malchut* receives all four Lights (four passages from the Torah that result from one *Zivug* with ZA); hence, she has only one place for all four passages (Lights).

243. "The King is held captive in the tubs" means that he is tied down and held in those four compartments of the *Tefillin* for the purpose of being properly united with that holy name. And he who makes this correction, exists in image and likeness, *TZELEM*, with the Creator. Just as the holy name is united in the Creator, the holy name is united in him. "Male and female he created them" refers to the head and the hand *Tefillin*. And it is one.

"The King is held captive in the tubs" signifies ZA, who is bound and unified in those compartments of the *Tefillin*. The compartments of the *Tefillin*, which contain the passages from the Torah, are called "tubs" or "troughs," just like the tubs from which sheep drink water, for the waters of *Ohr Hochma* and

Ohr Hassadim are bound and restricted by these *Kelim*, the compartments of the *Tefillin*. And it is the Creator who is bound tight and held in these *Kelim*, so as to be unified in the holy name.

The compartments of the *Tefillin* are the *TNHY* of *Tvuna*, the lower part of *YESHSUT* (*Israel-Saba* and *Tvuna*, where *Israel-Saba* is the male part and *Tvuna* is the female). This part of *Tvuna* is called the big letter *Dalet* of the word *Echad* (one) in the verse, "Hear O Israel, our Creator is one." It is written about this letter: "Let the dry land appear."

As was already mentioned in the third *Mitzva*, because this "dry land" was revealed in ZA, he can pass the Light to *Malchut*. Thus, were it not for these four places in ZA, the dry land within him, he would have been unable to give the Light to *Nukva*. Hence, it is said that ZA "is tied down and held in those places" that stem from dry land so as to enable him to unite and pass the revelation of the Creator's Light into the holy name, *Nukva*. As a result, the dry land becomes fertile and produces fruit.

Therefore, he who has completed the corrections of these four passages from the Torah acquires the image and likeness (*TzeLeM*) of the Creator. In other words, when man "below" (below the world of *Atzilut*, in the worlds *BYA*) "puts on" the *Tefillin* (attains the level of this degree), he receives the Light of *H-B-H-G* from ZA. This Light is called *TzeLeM*, since *Hochma* and *Bina* are called M and L, whereas *Hesed* and *Gevura* are called *Tz*. And just like *Elokim*, *Bina* unites with the holy name of *Malchut*, thereby uniting the holy name within man, for man is a part of *Malchut*.

There are two parts—male and female—in the Light of *Hochma* and *Bina* (called *TzeLeM*): *TzeLeM* of ZA and *TzeLeM* of *Nukva*, the head *Tefillin* and the hand *Tefillin*. Hence, it is said that the Creator created a man and a woman, referring to the head *Tefillin* and the hand *Tefillin*.

The Eleventh Commandment

244. The eleventh *Mitzva* is to give a tithe of the fruits of the earth. Here there are two *Mitzvot*: to separate a tithe of the fruits of the earth, and to bring the first fruits of the trees, as it is written, "Behold, I have given you every herb-yielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). Here it is written, I HAVE GIVEN YOU. Elsewhere it is written, "And to the children of Levi, behold, I have given all the tithe in Israel" (*Bamidbar*, 18:21). It is also written, "And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree, is the Creator's" (*Vayikra*, 27:30).

These verses say that the Creator gave everything to Adam. Yet, why does that oblige us to separate a tithe, to bring the first fruits of the earth, and why are we forbidden from eating them? After all, this contradicts the aforesaid.

The thing is that the process of (spiritual) nourishment includes exposure, selection, and separation of the holy sparks of the Light from the impure forces. In the process of feeding (reception of Light), the sparks of the Light (*Nitzotzin*) that are contained in the food unite with man's soul, with his very flesh, and the waste, except for the sparks, leaves the body. This continues throughout man's life (6,000 degrees of ascent); he gradually accumulates within him all the holy sparks, with which he complements his soul. Without them, the soul cannot attain completeness and perfection.

I think that the reader already understands that *The Zohar* in no way speaks about the process of feeding, digestion, and secretion of our physical body. As the whole of the Torah, *The Zohar* speaks only of the goal of creation and the ways of its attainment. Therefore, I call upon the reader (in defiance of what his mind suggests to him after the first reading) to realize that these texts are written in the language of branches, when spiritual objects are described in the language of our world; yet, despite the corporeal language, the objects remain spiritual!

It is written in the weekly portion *Lech Lecha* that Adam was forbidden to eat meat: "I have given you every herb…" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). However, since Adam sinned, and egoism, impurity entered his body, it was said to Noah: "Every moving thing that lives shall be for food for you; as the green herb have I given you all" (*Beresheet*, 9:3), that is, including meat.

Since Adam was created in absolute perfection, everything was sorted and corrected within him, which corresponds to the animate part of creation, as it is written (*Beresheet*, 2:19): "Out of the ground the Creator formed every beast of the field," and also, "whatsoever the man would call every living creature, that was to be the name thereof." This means that Adam attained every name (spiritual level) of the animal souls, for the pure forces were already separated from the impure ones.

Hence, Adam was not given the task of exposing, sorting, and correcting animals by eating them, for even before the creation of man, the Creator corrected this in the world of *Atzilut*. And only the inanimate and vegetative (parts of the soul) remained uncorrected, containing both pure and impure forces. Therefore, Adam was instructed to expose the sparks that his soul lacked in the inanimate and vegetative food.

However, as a result of Adam's sin, pure and impure desires (forces) were mixed once more. And as Adam's soul was shattered into many parts, all of which fell into the impure forces, all the animals (animate desires) were corrupted along with him (with the human level of desire). Thus appeared the need to expose, sort, and correct them. Therefore, after the sin the Creator ordered Adam and the subsequent generations to eat animals, and thus extract the sparks from impurity.

It is said that Adam was created IN THE IMAGE AND AFTER LIKENESS, i.e., with the help of the *TzeLeM Elokim*, the Light of *Bina*, by the four passages from the Torah in the *Tefillin*. And this is his soul. However, after he was born with this holy soul, thanks to his good deeds, he merited raising *MAN* and receiving *Ohr Haya*, and then, on *Shabbat*, attaining *Ohr Yechida* as well.

Therefore, Adam was left to correct the creation with the help of only a tithe and offerings. And by feeding on tithe and offerings, he attained the revelation of his desires and raised *MAN* to the level of *Ohr Haya* and *Yechida*. Yet, after he sinned, all of his corrections and everything that had filled his soul was corrupted, mixed, and egoism took over the body.

Due to our egoism, tithe and offerings are forbidden for us, for fear that we will desire Supernal purity. Instead, we are obliged to extract and pass them on

to the *Cohanim* and *Levi'im* (parts of the soul). And if we observe this Creator's *Mitzva* of spiritually separating a tithe of the fruits of the earth and the offerings (as He commanded), we will receive the strength to raise *MAN* and receive *Ohr Haya* on *Shabbat* (the ascent of the worlds is called *Shabbat*) in the same way that Adam attained this state while feeding on tithe and offerings.

Thus, after man receives *Ohr Neshama* by putting on the *Tefillin*, he can raise *MAN* with the help of the two *Mitzvot* (tithe and offerings) in order to receive *Ohr Haya*. As it is explained, Adam was receiving *Ohr Haya* by feeding on tithe and offerings. However, we are forbidden to feed on them (to try to receive this Light for the Creator's sake) because of the egoism that acts in our body (desires). Instead, we are bid to give a tithe and the offerings to the *Cohanim* and the *Levi'im*. As a result, we receive the strength to receive this Light.

The Twelfth Commandment

245. The twelfth *Mitzva* is to bring the first fruits of the trees as an offering, as it is written, "And every tree in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). All that is worthy of Me shall not be eaten by you. I have given you My permission and I have given you all the tithe and offerings of the trees. "To you," and not to the subsequent generations.

From the aforesaid, it becomes clear that we, the subsequent generations, are forbidden to feed on tithe and offerings. The Light called "tithe" and "offerings" is so great that until all the *Kelim* (desires) of Adam's soul have been corrected, it is impossible to receive it for the Creator's sake.

Hence, it is forbidden to even try, lest we sin, as it happened to Adam. There is a *Mitzva* to not receive this Light, which refers to *Malchut de Malchut*. Every time the sparks are revealed, it is sufficient to let this Light be, to refrain from receiving it during the 6,000 years. Herein lies its actual correction until, at the end of correction, the Creator's great Light, called *Mashiach* (Messiah), manifests and gives us the strength to receive tithe and offerings for the Creator's sake.

The Thirteenth Commandment

246. The thirteenth *Mitzva* is to perform the redemption of a first-born son so as to strengthen him in life. For there are two appointed angels in charge—one over life and one over death. And they both rule over man from Above. And when man redeems his son, he redeems him from the angel in charge of death, so that the angel can no longer govern the first-born son. Hence, it is written, AND THE CREATOR SAW EVERYTHING THAT HE HAD MADE—this is in general, AND, BEHOLD, IT WAS... VERY GOOD alludes to the angel of life, while the word VERY alludes to the angel of death. Therefore, by this act of redemption, the angel of life is strengthened and the angel of death is weakened. Life is purchased by this redemption, for the evil side leaves him be and clings to him no more.

The ascent of the worlds occurred on the sixth day of creation: *ZA* ascended to the place of *AA*, *Malchut* ascended to *AVI*, and Adam attained *Ohr Haya*. As a result, the angel of death (egoism) lost his power completely. On the contrary, he became very good, for upon being corrected, egoism becomes a great and holy *Kli*, the one *Kli* that can receive the greatest Light.

Such a state will come at the end of the general correction, when, due to the revelation of this great Light, death (egoism) will disappear forever. This is the meaning of the verse: "when the Creator saw EVERYTHING that He had made (i.e., at the end of all creation), He saw that it was very good."

However, since Adam's sin, the worlds can no longer ascend as high. This is why we need special *Mitzvot* in order to perform special preparations and actions for the reception of *Ohr Haya*, at least in a state called *Shabbat*. This is precisely the *Mitzva* to redeem one's first-born son, when we weaken the powers of the angel of death and strengthen the angel of life, much like what the Creator did to Adam by the preliminary ascents of all the worlds, for

during such an ascent, called *Shabbat*, the angel of death becomes very good. Such is the power of that *Mitzva*.

Yet, it is not observed as fully as previously, when the angel of death lost all of his power. Now, by observing the *Mitzva* of redemption of the first-born son, we merely distance from the angel of death without actually destroying the impure forces, and they no longer cling to him. And after preventing the impure forces from clinging, accomplished with the help of this *Mitzva*, he can receive life, i.e., *Ohr Haya* of the state of *Shabbat*.

The Fourteenth Commandment

247. The fourteenth *Mitzva* is to observe *Shabbat*, which is a day of rest from all the actions of creation. There are two *Mitzvot* here: to observe the day of *Shabbat* and to adorn its holiness, namely to receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "holiness;" and to observe *Shabbat* as a day of rest for all the worlds, in which all actions are multiplied and realized even before this day is sanctified.

Shabbat is a state of the spiritual worlds where the Light descending from Above elevates *ZA* to *AA*, *Nukva* to *AVI*, the worlds of *BYA* to *YESHSUT*, and *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*. As a result, man's *NRN* (whoever has it, whoever is spiritually present in the worlds of *BYA*) also ascends to *Atzilut* with the worlds of *BYA*, and there receives *Ohr Haya*.

	Atik
ZA -	AA
M -	AVI
BYA -	YESHSUT + ZON

Parsa of the World of Atzilut

It follows that there are two *Mitzvot*: to refrain from working and carrying things from one household to another. This is so because when all the worlds are completely freed from the impure forces, we must guard against the impure forces, so they do not return and mingle with the holiness of *Shabbat*. And he who works causes the impure forces to mingle with the pure ones.

The second *Mitzva* is to adorn the day of *Shabbat*: through the pleasures of *Shabbat* (the ascent of the worlds of *ABYA*), man receives (in his spiritual desires existing in the world of *BYA*) the Light of the world of *Atzilut* from Above. This Light of *Atzilut* is called "holiness" (*Hochma*); hence, man becomes sanctified by it.

All purifications and corrections take place only in our work and struggle with the impure forces, preventing us from drawing nearer and merging with the Creator in our properties. It is precisely in the wars with the impure forces that we extract the sparks of the Light that they swallowed up, and each extraction of a spark of the Light from the impure forces and its ascent to the world of *Atzilut* is defined as independent, individual work.

In the beginning, these sparks were sorted and extracted from the impure forces by the Creator Himself. This is described in His actions in the six days of creation. And when all the extractions of the Light sparks ended, the work was considered finished, and the corrected state, called *Shabbat*, arrives; and it is the day of rest, for there is nothing else to correct.

Hence, *Shabbat* is the day (the state when the Light shines in the worlds) when all the correction work in all the worlds ceases. For every *Shabbat* (the state of ascent in the spiritual worlds to the level of correction of all the impure forces), the same state of the perfection of creation's first *Shabbat* returns and brings rest to all the worlds of *ABYA*. All the impure forces become detached, remote, and return to their place (*Tehom Raba*—great abyss), and all the worlds ascend to the world of *Atzilut*, defined as perfect unity. And we are destined to receive this holiness, the Light of the world of *Atzilut*; it descends upon us through our observance of the two *Mitzvot*: REMEMBER AND GUARD THE DAY OF *SHABBAT*.

248. Because that day was sanctified, the creation of bodiless spirits was to be completed. Asks: "Was the Creator unable to delay the sanctification of that day until the bodies for those spirits were created?" And answers: "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil contained an evil side that wanted to govern the world. And many spirits separated and went forth, armed, to clothe in the bodies of this world."

Because that day was sanctified, the creation of bodies for the spirits was to be completed. This means that the day had been sanctified before the Creator had time to create bodies for those spirits. It is written about this on the first *Shabbat* of creation: "And on the seventh day the Creator finished His work, which He has made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work, which He has made."

This passage from the Torah is unclear. For if the Creator completely finished all His work by Himself, then He left nothing for us to do. After all, He finished everything Himself. However, the Creator sorted the Light sparks and separated the pure forces from the impure ones precisely to enable us *to do*,

i.e., to complete this work by making our own efforts in the observance of the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

And the rest that is mentioned here refers only to what the Creator Himself had to do. Therefore, the Torah says that the Creator finished His work, for He has completed all the preparations for us, and nothing else is required of Him, for the rest HE HAS MADE for us to do. This enables us to do and to complete creation.

Hence, it is written that the Creator did not have time to create bodies for the spirits before the arrival of *Shabbat*. These bodiless spirits constitute all of our impure and evil forces that drive man to transgressions. And the Creator intentionally left them this way, for it is precisely because they are present within us that we have freedom of will in our work with the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

As a result of Adam's sin in *Malchut*, called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," pure and impure forces were mixed. At that, the impure forces wished to rule over the forces of good in the world, so the forces of good would never prevail over them. Thus, a number of armed spirits went forth, intending to attack the bodies, capture them, and clothe in them.

Two points merged in *Malchut*: one was corrected by receiving the properties of *Bina*, mercy, and the other is the strictness of judgment, the result of restrictions within *Malchut* herself. When *Malchut* is united with the pure forces, her property of restriction is concealed, and the point of mercy is revealed (item 123). Then man is said to merit only goodness.

However, if man transgresses, he attacks the good point and thereby reveals the point of restriction in *Malchut*. Thus, the forces that wish to harm and destroy the corrected part and to rule over man become revealed, and this is evil.

However, if he merits for the point of mercy to reveal itself and dominate, he can elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*, thereby causing Supernal mercy and Light to descend. However, if he does not merit, and the point of restriction is revealed in *Malchut*, not only does he thereby harm *Malchut*, but he also harms the point of *Bina* that unites with *Malchut*. Thus, this point turns from good to evil, from mercy to judgment, as restriction is revealed in *Malchut* herself, and every revealed property dominates.

This is why the point of judgment was revealed in *Malchut* after Adam's sin. By this, Adam damaged the point (property) of *Bina* that united with *Malchut*, too, turning it from mercy to strictness, judgment. Yet, the correction of *Malchut* is possible only with the help of this point, for it is called "goodness." And when this point of *Bina* is revealed within her, *Malchut* is called "goodness," too.

But now that the very point of *Bina* in *Malchut* was damaged and turned from good to evil, the impure force thought that the time has come for it to dominate the world and clothe human bodies, meaning Adam and his sons (spiritual *Partzufim*). In other words, the body (desires) of the impure force inherits the place of Adam's body. Thus, the correction of *Malchut* from the good point becomes impossible, for no more goodness comes to *Malchut* from *Bina*, and this property has become evil, strictness, and judgment, due to the restricted reception in *Malchut*.

And many armed and destructive impure forces went forth to attack so as to clothe human bodies (desires) in this world, and rule over them. For the impure force thought that nothing could protect and save the pure forces from it because of the harm that Adam's sin brought to the system of governance and the point of mercy in *Malchut*.

249. However, as the Creator saw this, He roused the wind from within the Tree of Life, ZA, and struck the other Tree, *Malchut*. And the other, good side was awakened, and the day was sanctified. For the creation of bodies and the awakening of spirits on that night of *Shabbat* stem from the good side, and not from the evil one.

Since the Creator saw the strengthening of the power of judgment and the impure forces, their ability to clothe the bodies in this world (completely excluding the possibility of correcting the world in the future), He roused the wind within the Tree of Life and struck the other Tree (made a *Zivug* with it), *Malchut*. Due to this *Zivug*, the Tree of Life passed the spirit of life to the other Tree, *Malchut*, thus enabling *Malchut* to tear away from the impure forces.

As a result, the good side reappeared in *Malchut*, as it was prior to Adam's sin, and the sanctity of *Shabbat* descended to the world. That is, although the impure forces had the strength to clothe in bodies, and were more powerful than the pure forces, and, according to the law, they were supposed to prevail, at that moment the Creator intervened, disregarding the destruction caused by Adam's sin.

Consequently, *ZON* (the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good) united in a *Zivug*, as before Adam's sin, and the Light of sanctity of *Shabbat* descended into the world. This action of the Creator caused *Shabbat* (the Light of *Shabbat*) to descend into the world, and the impure forces lost the opportunity to clothe in human bodies in this world. The impure force remained as a bodiless spirit, which enables man to draw closer to the Creator (with his properties). This is referred to as his return (*Teshuva*).

The creation of bodies and the arousal of spirits on that night of *Shabbat* stems from the good side, and not from the side of the impure forces, for the Creator's action remains in creation forever. Just as on the first *Shabbat* of creation, the Creator completely disregarded the damage of Adam's sin, instead compelling *ZON* to make a *Zivug*, and the day was sanctified as before the sin, for He destroyed all the power of the impure forces, despite the fact that they had the strength to rule.

The same applies to all *Shabbatot* (plural for *Shabbat*)—the spiritual ascents for those who exist in the worlds of *BYA*—during the 6,000 years. Although man is still full of impurity, for he has yet to correct the sins of the Tree of Knowledge, when he makes a *Zivug* (of the Light with a screen) on the night of *Shabbat* (in a spiritual state of that name), the impure forces (of man) have no power over him (his altruistic desires). In this *Zivug*, man assumes the body and spirit of a newborn, as though he was unharmed by Adam's sin, as though he himself corrected the Tree of Knowledge.

And despite the fact that man has yet to merit liberation from his egoism, the impure forces have no power over him on that night. Thus, he can receive the bodies and spirits in his *Zivug* on the side of the Tree of Good, but not from the impure forces.

250. And had he hastened on that night to put forward the other side, before the good side came forward, he would not have been able to withstand it for even an instant. But the Creator provided the remedy in advance. And He sanctified the day beforehand. And He warned to appear before the other side. And the world exists. And that the opposite side thought to rule in the world, i.e., in defiance of it, the good side was created and strengthened on that night. And the good, holy bodies and spirits were created on that night from the good side. Therefore, the delight of sages who know this spans from *Shabbat* to *Shabbat*.

251. However, when the other (impure) side saw that what it had planned to do was already done by the holy side, it started to check its own forces and properties, and saw all those who perform a *Zivug* naked and in the candlelight. Therefore, all of the sons born from that *Zivug* are enslaved by the spirit of the other side. And these naked spirits of the wicked are called "harming," and they are ruled and killed by Lilit.

252. And since the day was sanctified, and holiness rules in the world, the other side diminishes itself and hides on each *Shabbat* day and on each *Shabbat* night. With the exception of Asimon and his group, who walk secretly in the

Candlelight, to observe the naked *Zivug*. And then they hide inside the cave, called *Tehom Raba* (the great abyss). And as soon as *Shabbat* ends, many hosts fly and prowl in the world. As a result, everything is corrected by the song of the sufferers, "He who dwells in concealment," to prevent impurity from governing holiness.

According to the law, the impure force was supposed to rule in the world, for it was stronger than the pure one, and it was to clothe in human bodies. But then, the earth would have been given over to the wicked, and all the generations in the world originating from man would have stemmed from the side of the impure forces. And there would have been no chance of correction, for impurity would have dominated over all the generations to such an extent that there would have been no opportunity to get hold of the good side even for a moment.

However, the Creator provided a remedy, thereby forestalling the defect, for He elevated *Shabbat* and removed the impure forces, which caused the Light of peace and rest to be revealed in all the worlds. And all the impure forces were thrown into *Tehom Raba* (the great abyss). Thus, the world was revived, as this enabled the creation of bodies and spirits from the pure side in a *Zivug* of the *Shabbat* night, and the world advances toward the desired goal.

So what does it mean to forestall the defect via a remedy? The whole of creation is based on a cause and effect sequence, and all that transpires not according to the worlds' development is called "forestalling" (skipping several degrees, bypassing some of the causes and effects in this chain).

And since the sanctity of *Shabbat* came as an awakening from Above, from the Creator's desire, without any desire or request from below, for Adam had yet to make any corrections and draw closer to the Creator in order to merit *Shabbat* (when the Creator Himself prevented the defect by providing a remedy for the correction of the world), this action on the Creator's behalf is called "forestalling."

Just as the impure force planned to assume power over the world, the good side forestalled its actions on that night. For this night that followed the sin in the Tree of Knowledge was given entirely to the impure forces. Hence, they thought that they would obviously rule over the world. However, the opposite had happened—sanctity took their place: pure bodies and spirits were created on that night by the good side. This is because such a preparation took place that all the *Zivugim* on that night created bodies and spirits from the good side, without any participation of the impure force. In other words, what transpired was exactly the opposite of the impure force's expectations.

Therefore, the time of sages who know this spans from *Shabbat* to *Shabbat*—for at this time, bodies and spirits are created from the pure, good side. And

when the impure force sees that what it wanted to create was created by the opposite side, it collects its evil powers and searches through the whole world, and sees all those who make a *Zivug* in the candlelight, exposing their naked bodies. And ill sons are made from this *Zivug*. The impure side sends these sons its evil spirits of the wicked, called "wreckers." As a result, they are ruled and killed by Lilit. Garments refer to *Ohr Hassadim*, the garments of *Ima*, the intention "for the sake of the Creator."

When the sanctity of *Shabbat* comes into the world, and *Shabbat* rules in the world, the power of the impure force dwindles and hides on the night and on the day of *Shabbat*. Hence, this is the time of sages.

And only the wreckers, called "Asimon and his group," walk secretly in the candlelight, to observe those who expose their *Zivug*. Afterward, they hide in the *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba*. Thus, although Asimon has the power to see the *Zivug* in the candlelight and on *Shabbat*, he cannot do harm on *Shabbat*, but must immediately return to the *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba*. Only after *Shabbat* is over can he resume causing harm.

Rabbi Shimon felt the difficulty of explaining the words regarding *Shabbat* being the time of sages. For each day (not only on *Shabbat* night), starting at midnight, the Creator walks around the Garden of Eden and makes *Zivugim* with the sages. *The Zohar* asks the same question (*Veyikahel*, item 194), and answers that there is a difference between a *Zivug* on a week night and one that is made in the candlelight on *Shabbat*. On weekdays, the impure force has the power to inflict maladies on the newborns, and Lilit has the power to kill them.

However, on *Shabbat* nights, although the wrecker Asimon and his group are present, he has not the power to harm, but only after *Shabbat* is over. However, opposite his opportunity to cause harm after *Shabbat* there exists a correction, called *Havdalah*, the separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays through a blessing, a prayer, and a cup of wine, which completely annul the power of this wrecker. Hence, there is a significant difference between a *Zivug* on a week night and a *Zivug* on the night of *Shabbat*.

The thing is that there is a source of Light, ZA, Supernal unity, and a source of fire, *Malchut*, lower unity (item 209). Also, there are three details in the candle flame (this refers to a spiritual candle, designated in corporeality by a wick floating in olive oil):

- White Upper flame;
- Lower flame;
- The coarse part—wick and oil, supporting the lower flame.

This lower flame is called "devouring flame." It designates judgment, the power of restriction in the candle. Thus, it devours everything below it, the wick *and* the oil. And the Upper white flame signifies mercy contained in the candle, for white means mercy.

And he who makes a *Zivug* in the candlelight will see his children damaged, and Lilit will be able to kill them, for the candle contains the strictness of judgment, and the impure forces can therefore cling to such a *Zivug*. Due to the strictness of judgment, their bodies (the impurities contained in the bodies that participate in a *Zivug*, each of which finds what suits them) become revealed.

Therefore, a *Zivug* is permitted only at midnight, i.e., only in the darkness, when there is absolutely no Light, when *Malchut* is said to "awaken at night," and mercy is revealed. However, if there is some candlelight, it reveals the impurity in the bodies, and the impure forces cling to them.

In the candlelight, the impure force sees impurity in the bodies of those making a *Zivug*, and it informs on them and clings to their bodies. However, all the restrictions of strictness and judgment disappear on the night of *Shabbat*, and the coarse lower flame becomes like the white Upper flame. This means that even candlelight is permitted. Moreover, under the influence of the sanctity of *Shabbat*, all the impurity disappears from man's body, hence there is no fear to reveal the body in the candlelight.

Yet, even on *Shabbat*, when the coarse flame turns white and the judgment of restrictions disappears, the white flame of the candle nonetheless requires the light's coarse part, so it would act as foundation. And the coarse foundation designates an indispensable presence of judgment and restrictions, for coarseness constitutes restriction.

Nevertheless, these restrictions do not appear on *Shabbat*. This resembles a coin without any image, so its denomination is unknown. Therefore, the wrecker, this coarse, detrimental part of the candle that supports the white flame, is called Asimon (Hebrew, *Token*), signifying a coin without image.

The coarse part of the candle secretly ascends along with the white candlelight, as the candle cannot burn without it. Hence, this coarse part sees the exposed *Zivug* and can therefore do harm after the end of *Shabbat*. Although the revelation (exposure) of bodies does no harm on the night of *Shabbat* (the impurity of the body remains concealed during *Shabbat*), as soon as *Shabbat* is over, the impure force can reveal itself and harm.

And since, after *Shabbat*, Asimon and his group return to their forms (properties) and rise up from the Great Abyss (*Tehom Raba*) to the place of

settlement, they soar above the world and can cause harm. There is a song: "He who sits in the shadow of the Supernal One," for man saves himself from harmful forces by praying and returning to the Creator:

"He who sits in the shadow of the Supernal One (dwells under the shelter of the Supernal One) dwells in the shadow of the Almighty. I will say to the Lord: 'my refuge and my fortress, my God, in whom I trust.' Surely he will save you from the fowler's snare and from the deadly pestilence. He will cover you with his feathers, and under his wings will you find refuge; his faithfulness will be your shield and rampart. You will not fear the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that stalks in the darkness, nor the plague that destroys at midday. A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand, but it will not come near you. You will only observe with your eyes and see the punishment of the wicked..." (*Tehilim*, 91:1-8).

253. What places do they visit on the night of the end of *Shabbat*? When they come out in haste and wish to govern the holy nation, they see it standing in prayer and singing this song: "He who sits in the shadow (concealment) of the Supernal One," first separating *Shabbat* from the weekdays in his prayer, and then over a cup of wine, these forces flee thence and fly away to the desert. May the Merciful One save us from them and from the evil side.

Here the question concerns only the night of the end of *Shabbat*, but not the night of weekdays, as the night of the end of *Shabbat* still contains some force of the sanctity of *Shabbat*. Hence, although the impure forces rise from *Tehom Raba* and fly to conquer Israel, when they see Israel's actions in song of prayer and in the blessing over a cup of wine, they fly away to the wasteland, an unpopulated place. Thus, people escape their reach.

It follows that impure forces dwell in three places:

- On *Shabbat*, they dwell in *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba* and have no power to cause harm;
- When *Shabbat* is over, they are kept in the wasteland with the help of prayer, *Havdalah*, separation of *Shabbat* from weekdays, and the blessing over a cup of wine. They have the power to cause harm, but can't, as they are in an unpopulated place;
- On other nights they are also present in populated places.

254. The three that cause evil to themselves: a) he who curses himself; b) he who throws away bread or bread crumbs bigger than an olive; c) he who lights the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel attains sanctity in the prayer, "And You are holy." And the light from that candle ignites hellfire.

255. There is a place in hell for those who transgress *Shabbat*. And as they are punished in hell, they curse him who lit the candle before its time, and they say to him, "Behold: the Creator will thrust you about with a mighty throw, and He will seize you firmly. He will violently roll and toss you like a ball into a large land; there shall you die" (*Yeshayahu*, 22:17-18).

One wrecker is called the "evil eye." And he loves cursing, as it is said; "Yea, he loved cursing, and it came unto him; and he delighted not in blessing, and it is far from him" (*Tehilim*, 109:17). When man curses himself, he thereby empowers the evil eye to love cursing, and it rules over him—thus, man brings harm to himself.

There is nothing in this world that does not have an Upper Root Above. Especially bread, on which man's life depends, has its own special root Above. Therefore, he who neglects his bread brings harm to the root of his life Above. Everyone understands this, but only to the extent of the portion that satiates him, giving him life.

However, if a piece of bread and crumbs are smaller than an olive, there are those who neglect and throw them away, as such amount cannot satiate man. Yet, the sages instructed us to bless as a meal even an olive-sized amount of bread, obliging us to treat such portion as satiating, so we have no right to neglect such an amount. And he who neglects it brings harms to himself.

The reason for this is explained in the Talmud: "They asked the Creator: Master of the world, it is said in your Torah that one should not turn his face and accept bribes. Yet, You turn Your face to Israel..." The Creator replied: "How can I help turning my face to Israel if they observe the law 'down to the size of an olive...'" (*Berachot*, 20:2). In other words, by accepting an olive-sized bread crumb as a satiating meal, we merit revealing the Creator's face, even though we are unworthy of it. Therefore, those who neglect the amount of bread the size of an olive and do not consider it a satiating meal do not merit revealing the Creator's face; hence, they bring harm to themselves.

He who lights the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel has reached sanctity in the blessing, thereby ignites hellfire. This is because prior to that moment, it was *Shabbat*; its sanctity prevailed, and hellfire has no power on *Shabbat*. Hence, he who transgresses *Shabbat* and lights the candle prematurely, Ignites hellfire and brings harm to himself, for the transgression of *Shabbat* is regarded as the gravest transgression. Hence, there is a special place in hell for those who transgress *Shabbat*. And they who are punished in hell curse the sinner for igniting hellfire prematurely.

256. For he should not light the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel separates *Shabbat* from the weekdays in their prayer and over a cup of wine, as until that time, it is still *Shabbat*, and the sanctity of *Shabbat* still rules over us. And during the separation by means of blessing over a cup, all those hosts and legions that the rulers appointed to govern the weekdays return each to their place to resume the work for which they are responsible.

The main prohibition remains in effect only until the blessing in the prayer. Nevertheless, one should beware of lighting a candle before the actual separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays in the blessings over a cup, as it is still *Shabbat*. Of course, one can light a candle for the actual separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays, i.e., for the blessing over a lit candle.

257. As soon as *Shabbat* starts and the day is sanctified, holiness awakens and rules over the world; the power of weekdays disappears and returns only when *Shabbat* ends. However, although *Shabbat* is over, other forces do not regain their power until Israel says the prayer, "He who separates holiness from the weekdays." Only then does holiness disappear, and the legions that govern the weekdays awaken and return to their places, each to its above-appointed post.

258. Nevertheless, the impure forces do not assume control until the flame of the candle is lit, for they all come from the root (element) of fire, from which everything originates, and they descend to rule over the lower world. All this happens if one lights the candle before Israel has finished the blessing in the prayer.

Malchut is called the "pillar of fire" (item 209), and the forces that exist in the candlelight are the restrictions in *Malchut*. It is impossible to use these forces before the candle is lit.

259. Yet, if he waits until they complete the blessing, the wicked in hell justify the Creator's justice over them, and they bring upon him all the blessings, recited by the congregation: "Therefore, the Creator gives you of the dew of Heaven," "Blessed shall you be in your town," and "Blessed shall you be in the field."

By reciting the blessings, we evoke the descent of the great Light, and its power saves us from hell. And since the wicked in hell see this, they regret committing their sins and justify the Creator's judgment brought upon them by seeing their punishment. And since man evoked such justification of the Creator's judgment, all the blessings, recited at the end of *Shabbat* by the congregation become fulfilled in him.

260. "Blessed is he who considers the poor; the Creator will deliver him in the day of disaster" (*Tehilim*, 41:2). What do the words "in the day of disaster" mean? This refers to the day when evil gains power and wants to take his soul away from him. The word "poor" alludes to someone very sick. "He who considers" refers to one who realizes the need to be cured from transgressions before the Creator. Another explanation is that this is the Day of Judgment in the world. "He who considers" signifies one who knows how to save himself from it, as it is written: "The Creator will deliver him in the day of disaster," meaning that on the day when the judgment against man dominates the world, the Creator will deliver him.

"The day of disaster" is a state when the impure forces, called "evil," govern man and take his soul away. "He who considers the poor" is one who tells the sick to return to the Creator to correct himself. It is him who the Creator delivers from the rule of the impure forces.

The Zohar continues by saying that there are three sources of evil for the soul of a man that attracts it onto himself. Hence, it advises one who considers and is compassionate to the poor, to appeal to the sick man's heart (he who feels sick in his own evil, egoism) to return to the Creator. Then the Creator will cure him. And on this day of disaster, which man caused to his soul, the Creator will deliver him through this reward.

Even if judgment dominates the world, the Creator will deliver him, for he taught the sick to return to the Creator and explained to them the need for correction. And the difference in the explanations is that the first refers to an individual who discovers evil within himself, and the second refers to the evil of the entire world. And here, the Creator, too, will deliver man as a reward for fulfilling this *Mitzva*.

The Intention in the Prayer

It is written in *The Zohar* (*Veyikahel*, pp. 32-52): "Each day a voice calls upon all people in the world, 'This depends on you. Separate a part of yourself and devote it to the Creator.'" At some point in life, thoughts and desires to draw closer to the spiritual come to every person, and it depends on us whether or not we heed that inner call. The voice reassures man that by casting aside his needless, transient, and earthly desires, by ceasing his endless chase for their appeasement, he will attain true and eternal happiness.

From this we can understand the secret meaning of prayer: he who fears the Creator and directs his heart and desires in his prayer, carries out great and exalted corrections. If one wishes to enter the spiritual realm and feel the Creator, the only thing he must do is pray, i.e., ask the Creator to correct his nature, to transform it from the nature of our world (egoistic) into the nature of the spiritual realm (altruistic). He will then enter eternity and transcend the boundaries of our world. Being completely enslaved by his egoism, man is unable to change himself on his own.

To correct himself, man needs to receive the strength that exists outside of him, beyond the bounds of his egoism. He must ask to receive this strength; hence, the only thing man must do is pray.

However, prayer is not uttered by one's mouth. Rather, it is the desire in our heart, for the Creator reads the desires in our hearts. Therefore, man's only task is to transform his heart's desires—for his heart to wish to change its own desires. Yet, even this man is unable to do it by himself; he must ask the Creator for it.

Thus, everything boils down to exalting the Creator's rule, faith in Him, in His singularity, His power, His ability and desire to help. All of man's efforts aim to create the only true desire within him—to feel the Creator! Here, *The Zohar*, as well as all the other books of Kabbalah and the Torah, speak of those who

have already attained the spiritual worlds with their desires and properties, and, while being in our world, perceive and exist in the two worlds simultaneously. The prayer the book refers to here constitutes the spiritual actions of one who has already acquired spiritual instruments, and can utilize them in exactly the same way we use our hands and auxiliary means in our world.

First, in the songs and hymns of the Supernal angels, and according to the order of chants sung by the sons of Israel below, *Malchut* adorns and corrects herself as a wife who adorns herself for her husband. The sons of Israel are those who wish to become *Yashar* (straight) and *El* (Creator), i.e., to draw closer to, or go straight to the Creator. Such people, who exist in the Upper Worlds with their spiritual (altruistic) instruments (desires), can change the states of Higher *Sefirot* and worlds by their spiritual actions.

Our prayer-book was compiled by the sages of the Great Assembly twenty centuries ago. Before that, everyone addressed the Creator in accordance with what he or she felt. About twenty centuries ago, coarser souls began descending to our world, which needed orderly prayers. Hence, the members of the Great Assembly (great Kabbalists) created the prayer book that we still use today.

In an orderly fashion, the prayer book expounds all the consecutive degrees of man's correction. Behind the words of the prayer book, one who understands sees the spiritual actions that he needs to perform. This information is conveyed in letters, in their forms and combinations, as well as in the sequence of sentences and parts of the whole prayer.

According to the order of the prayer, correction of the worlds comes first by the morning blessings (See *Tefilat Kol Peh*) up to the prayer of *Shmone Esreh*, correction in a sitting position. Then, when they reach the words *Emet ve Yatziv* that conclude *Kriyat Shema*, all the worlds achieve correction. And as they reach the words *Gaal Israel*, all the corrections are to take their places; hence, they continue reciting the *Shmone Esreh* prayer while standing.

In spirituality (and, consequently, in corporeality) a person can be in one of three states: lying, sitting, or standing. A newborn infant in our world and a spiritually newborn person develop in the same order. Lying means that the position of the head, the legs, and the body are at the same level. In the spiritual, this corresponds to the embryonic state, when all that exists in the ten *Sefirot* is the same. This is the lowest spiritual state.

Sitting means that the head is above the body, and the body is above the legs, but one cannot use his legs. Such a state is called *Katnut* (smallness) or *VAK*. Standing implies absolute distinction between the levels of the head, body, and

legs. It is called *Gadlut* (big state) or *GAR*. Thus, according to one's ability to ask for correction, he gradually receives strength from the Creator and grows.

Therefore, when he reaches the words *Emet ve Yatziv*, everything has already been corrected: all of the worlds bear *Malchut* in them, while *Malchut* herself bears the Supernal King. When man reaches the words, *Gaal Israel*, the Supernal King advances along the degrees, along the three lines, and comes forward to receive *Malchut*.

The Supernal King (the Creator), with regard to all created beings, constitutes *ZA* of the world of *Atzilut*, for *Malchut de Atzilut* is the sum of all creations. Everything that was ever created, including us and all the worlds with all that inhabit them, is a part of *Malchut*.

In our initial state, we are the parts of *Malchut* that receive the smallest portion of the Creator's Light, *Ner Dakik* (tiny candle). As we draw closer to the Creator in our properties (making them similar to His), we receive increasingly greater Light, in proportion to our advancement, which we feel as infinite bliss, peace, delight, eternity, and as a life-force.

The degrees of our closeness to the Creator (our "I" and Him, *Malchut* and *ZA*) are described in Kabbalah using a special language: the nearing of properties is considered a transition from the state of "back to back" between *ZA* and *Malchut* to the state of "face to face." The souls' union with the Creator is described as a *Zivug*—sexual act between *ZA* and *Malchut*, whereupon *ZA* passes the Light to *Malchut*, and each soul, in proportion to its correction, can thereby receive this Light.

Naturally, the Creator remains in a state of absolute rest, and all His alleged movements are felt with regard to *Malchut*, depending on the changes in her properties. At times she feels Him more and at times less, and she perceives this as His movement toward her.

We must stand in humility and awe before the Supernal King, each in his place, for He extends His right hand to *Malchut* in *Magen Avraham*, the first blessing in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, designating the right line. Then He puts His left hand under the head of *Malchut*, as it is written: "Let his left hand be under my head, and his right hand embrace me" (*Shir HaShirim*, 2:6) in the blessing *Ata Gibor*, the second blessing in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, designating the left line.

The entire magnificent *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs) speaks of the Supernal merging of all the creatures with the Creator. Since our world is created as a reflection of the spiritual world, spiritual merging can only be described with the corresponding words of our world. Because our world is egoistic, the spiritual,

altruistic actions, directed toward the merging of properties and desires, are described in the words of our world as *Malchut* (man's soul) drawing closer to the Creator in her properties, followed by their gradual unification. First, it manifests in the form of an embrace, followed by a kiss, then a coition, when the soul is sufficiently corrected to receive the Light (*Ohr Hochma*) from the Creator.

Afterward, ZA and *Malchut* embrace and unite in a kiss of the blessing *HaEl HaKadosh*, designating the middle line. From this state and higher on, everything transpires in the state of a kiss, up to the last three blessings in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer. This is the spiritual, true meaning of the first three blessings of the *Shmone Esreh* prayer.

In other words, if one is able to make a spiritual action that corresponds to the conditions described in these blessings, he attains unity with the Creator that it is called "embrace" and "kiss." The detailed explanation of the spiritual actions is given in *The Study of the Ten Sefirot* by Rabbi Ashlag. The language of *The Zohar* and the Torah describes these actions with words of our world.

The language of Kabbalah describes them by using the names of *Sefirot*, *Partzufim*, and Lights. The most complete and precise language for the description of spiritual actions is the language of *Sefirot*. Therefore, this was the language chosen by Kabbalists for their inner work and for explaining to us the practice and method of spiritual ascent.

Man must aspire to the Creator in his heart and desires in order to acquire the intentions that bring him to correction in all the spiritual states described in this prayer—for his mouth and his heart (desires) to become a single whole, so his lips will not speak against the wishes of his heart. The Creator awaits only the sincerity of our desires so as to fulfill them at once and bring us closer to Him:

Beloved of the soul, Compassionate Father!
Draw Your servant to Your will.
Your servant will hurry like a hart, will bow before Your majesty.
To him Your friendship will be sweeter
Than the dripping of the honeycomb and any taste.

Majestic, Beautiful Radiance of the universe!
My soul pines for Your love.
Please O God, heal her now showing her the pleasantness of Your radiance.
Then she will be strengthened and healed
And eternal gladness will be hers.

All-worthy One, may Your mercy be aroused
And please take pity on the son of Your beloved.
Because it is so very long that I have yearned intensely to see the splendor of strength.
These my heart desires, and please take pity and do not conceal Yourself.

Please be revealed and spread upon me, my Beloved, the shelter of Your peace.
Illuminate the land with Your glory, we shall rejoice and be glad in You.
Make haste, do love, for the time has come, and pardon us as in days of old.

(Song Yedid Nefesh)

When the Creator and *Malchut* merge in a kiss, he who needs advice and assistance can ask for it, for this state is called the "time of desire." And since man appealed before the King and Queen in the twelve intermediate blessings of the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, he thereby corrected and prepared his heart's desires for the last three blessings. He aroused the Creator's desire for him, for thanks to these last three blessings, he merges with the Creator in Supernal Unity.

The "time of desire" is an appropriate state for making requests and receiving the answer—the strength for self-correction. The King and Queen are ZA and *Malchut*. Each blessing constitutes a sequence of individual corrections of man's soul. Consequently, man ascends to a Higher spiritual level. Thus, he gradually attains Supernal Unity with the Creator.

Then, he must fall on his face, and when *Malchut* holds the souls within her, submit his soul to the Creator's absolute power, as this is the appropriate time (state) to entrust one's soul amongst all the other souls, for *Malchut* is the source of life.

To fall on one's face and entrust one's soul means that man has but a single desire—to completely rid himself of his egoistic desires, and receive the Creator's altruistic desires in their stead. Upon receiving the Creator's desires, man becomes similar to Him, and to the extent of his similarity, he merges with the Creator. By merging with the Creator, man acquires all that the Creator has: immortality, complete knowledge of all creation, might, and perfection.

The secret of the Light is available only to the chosen ones: when *Malchut* holds human souls by her single desire to merge with the Creator (because the same desire fills man's heart), he submits himself entirely to the aspiration for this merging, so as to include his soul in the collective merging between *Malchut* and the Creator. And if his soul is received by the Creator, man instantly merges with Him and enters the source of life (*Tzror HaChaim*), both in this world and in the world to come.

Although Kabbalah is considered a secret teaching, it holds no secrets. It is perceived as secret only by those who are yet unable to create the spiritual organs within themselves with which to perceive their surroundings. We are the only ones who conceal our surroundings from ourselves in default of the corresponding sensory organs.

The King (Creator, ZA) and Queen (*Malchut*) must be connected to the souls on all sides, Above and below, and be adorned with the souls of the righteous (those who wish to merge with the Creator, entrust their souls to Him). And if man directs all the intentions of his heart (desires) to this goal and completely submits his soul to the Creator's will, the Creator makes peace and a covenant with him (both in the Upper Covenant, called *Yesod*, and in the lower covenant). He blesses *Malchut* by this peace and covenant, and surrounds her on all sides.

Unity on all sides means that the souls attain similarity with the Creator in all their properties. The righteous are those who want to merge with the Creator, attain the entire creation, and as a result, discover the righteousness of the Creator, who created and thus governs them. Those who wish to justify all the Creator's actions are called "righteous."

Although they have not yet reached this state and are only en route to it, even if only at the very beginning of their path, and they are yet to correct even a single desire and only feel the smallest aspiration to draw closer to the Creator, they are already called "righteous," after this desire. The Creator surrounds *Malchut* on all sides, and *Malchut* feels Him with all of her corrected properties, sensations.

Thus, man also receives the name *Shalom* (peace), for he has made a covenant with *Malchut* below, similar to the covenant of the *Sefira Yesod* Above. And when such a man leaves our world, his soul rises through all the Heavens and none stand in its way, and the Creator calls for it and says: "Let Peace come." The soul reveals the thirteen elevations of the holy peach and no one stands in its way. Hence, happy is he who makes an offering to the Creator.

As soon as the soul tears itself from egoism altogether, it completely merges with the Creator and is no longer obliged to descend into this world, clothe in a physical body, and receive an additional portion of egoistic desires. An offering to the Creator signifies rejection of the body's egoistic desires; it is called a "sacrifice," for our body is no different from that of an animal.

Therefore, the aspiration to rid oneself of the animate body and its desires is called an "offering." Depending on the kind of desires man is already able to wish to rid himself of, his offering takes the form of a bird (one part of his

desires) or cattle (another part). Certain parts of *The Zohar* and some of the ARI's compositions discuss this matter in great detail.

Rabbi Chiya raised his voice: "Oh, Rabbi Shimon, you are alive, and I was already mourning over you! Yet, it is not you that I mourn for, but for all my friends and for the whole world that will remain orphans after you." Rabbi Shimon is like a torchlight, shining both Above and below. With this Light below, he illuminates the whole world. Woe unto this world when this Light will leave it and rise up Above. Who will shine in this world with the Light of the Torah? Rabbi Aba rose, kissed Rabbi Chiya, and said, "If such words are within you, I thank the Creator for sending me to you, so that I could be closer to you. How happy I am with my lot!"

All of the characters described in *The Zohar* are spiritual objects, *Partzufim*. As does the whole Torah, *The Zohar* speaks only of things that exist in the spiritual worlds, rather than in our world. Therefore, all of the objects, animals, plants, and people described in *The Book of Zohar* constitute spiritual degrees, desires, and *Partzufim*.

The Creator deliberately sends into our world special souls that are close to Him, to help all the others to attain the spiritual in this lifetime, while they are still in this world. These great Kabbalists serve as guides for those who have realized that they lack spiritual sight, and are hence ready to follow them blindly.

Rabbi Yehudah said after him: When the Creator told Moshe to choose among the people those who are wise and understanding, Moshe looked at the people and could not find any. Then he was instructed to pick the heads of the tribes who were known for their wisdom. The word "understanding" is not used here, for the degree of the understanding is higher than that of the wise. What is the difference between one who is wise and one who understands? Wise is one who learns from a *Rav* (Teacher) and wants to attain wisdom. Wise is one who knows all that he has to know.

He who understands consists of several levels-degrees, for he sees into every thing and knows for himself and for others. The mark of him who understands is formulated in the phrase: "The righteous one knows his animal soul." The righteous one signifies *Yesod* that passes the Light to *Malchut* (animal), for the *Gematria* of *HaVaYaH* of *Malchut* is fifty-two = *BON* = *BeHeMaH* (beast) = *Bet-Hey-Mem-Hey* = 2 + 5 + 40 + 5 = 52.

Malchut constitutes the level called "wise at heart," as wisdom is found within the heart. But he who understands, sees Above and below, for himself and for others. He who is wise designates *Malchut*, for it is *Malchut* that reveals

wisdom. He who understands is *Yesod* that stands above *Malchut*. *Ohr Hochma* in *Malchut* shines only from below upwards. It is impossible to receive the Light from Above downwards, as it would surely enter egoistic desires. Therefore, it is said that the wise (*Hacham*) sees only for himself, from himself upwards, and cannot pass the Light to others below.

It is hence said that wisdom is found within the heart, as the heart receives from below upwards; whereas he who understands (the *Sefira Yesod*, *Tzadik*, the righteous one) shines with the Light of Mercy, *Ohr Hassadim*, from Above downwards. He sees that he receives for himself, and shines upon the others, i.e., shines upon *Malchut*, as it is written: "The righteous knows his animal soul."

Raising a Prayer

Here *The Zohar* speaks about the prayer, which every man offers his Creator (*Veyikahel*, pp. 32-52). This inner action of man constitutes his greatest and most valuable work in his efforts for the Creator's sake.

The Creator made man at the farthest, completely opposite spiritual level to His: with only the egoistic will to enjoy. And since man has no other properties-desires but the egoistic will to receive pleasure, not only is he unable to change himself, he cannot even wish for the desire to change.

We can change only under the influence of the Creator's Light, by receiving His properties from Him. Hence our only task is to cultivate a desire to change. As soon as this true desire appears within man, the Creator will immediately give him the strength needed for its realization. So the problem is not how to realize a prayer; it is, rather, how to attain it, how to formulate one's request for the strength to become like the Creator!

A prayer is a sensation, a desire in one's heart. Man does not realize it completely and cannot describe it, for the sensation in one's heart *is not subject to any control and conscious correction*—it cannot be "created" by one's own will. The sensations in one's heart constitute the consequence of man's mental and spiritual condition, the result of the current degree of his spiritual development.

Thus, the desire to change is also in the Creator's hands. However, He gave us the opportunity to stimulate this process and to determine our own spiritual advancement:

- He allows Kabbalists to write books, and when we read them, we develop the desire to draw closer to Him;
- He allows some of the true Kabbalists to be revealed to a wide circle of those who desire spiritual development;

- Indiscernibly, He transforms our desires (modifies our souls) so we suddenly take an interest in spirituality;
- He changes our desires with regard to this world, helping us realize its insignificance and transience through sensations of disappointment and suffering.

By creating man a worthless egoist, i.e., by making a worthless creation that is seemingly so unbefitting Him, the Creator allowed man to create himself and elevate himself to an equal degree to that of the Creator Himself—to attain His level of perfection. Thus, the Creator reveals the perfection of His creation: although He created man a worthless creature, He thereby enables him to make a "Creator" of himself (in his properties).

Man cannot claim that although he is created with only one desire, he is unable to induce the reception of an altruistic desire instead of his natural, egoistic one. The Torah, Kabbalah, teachers, and suffering are all prepared to accelerate his advancement toward the goal of creation by the path of the Torah, or otherwise, the path of suffering.

However, the path of suffering is not only undesirable for man, whose life on earth makes him feel as though he is caught between the millstones of a tirelessly revolving mill. Ruthlessly and methodically, it pulverizes him both mentally and physically, to the very last day of his life. But this painful path is equally undesirable in the eyes of the Creator. After all, His goal is to delight man, which is in accord with the path of the Torah—a quick and painless way to transform our desires from egoistic into altruistic.

Since only the Creator can accomplish this (and He will, either painfully or painlessly, in accord with our conscious request), the development of such a request toward Him is all that man must do in his life. It is hence written: "Let him pray all day long!" Yet, we now understand that this phrase does not speak of sitting over a prayer-book, but refers to man's inner work on himself.

There are various forms of work that man must do in action, with his body, as in the case of physically observing the *Mitzvot*. And then there is man's inner, most important work, when observance of the *Mitzvot* depends on the words and desires of the heart.

Never does Kabbalah allude to or even mention our physical body, for it is no different from the body of an animal—it is born, functions, and dies as an animal. And all the various forms of work that the body performs are mere mechanical actions utterly unconnected to man's inner intention, and can even be outright opposite to it.

Therefore, the body's actions are completely disregarded in Kabbalah. Instead, man's *desire* is taken into account and is regarded as an action. In itself, when stripped off the physical body (in which it presently exists), it constitutes man's inner spiritual action.

The spiritual world is a world of incorporeal desires that have no volume, size, movement, or time. Just as in our imagination, where our desires are fulfilled instantly by the power of thought, everything in the spiritual world is determined only by our desires-thoughts, and not by physical actions.

Nevertheless, since in this world we temporarily exist in a physiological body, our task is to observe the Creator's *Mitzvot* both physically (with our body) and spiritually. Physically, we can observe them, as a person usually does—because of his upbringing or for a reward in this world (money, health, luck, peace, and so forth) or in the world to come (the best that he can imagine). Alternatively, he performs these actions because he was taught from childhood to do so mechanically, so he cannot avoid doing them in view of the acquired desire (instinct)—if he does not do them, he suffers.

This feeling of suffering is exactly what compels him to carry out the mechanical actions of the *Mitzvot*. It is not even the desire to receive a reward in this world or in the world to come: in this case, the reward is instantaneous—man feels no discomfort, since he does what he is accustomed to do.

Hence, it seems to such a man, who observes the *Mitzvot* because of the acquired nature (habit), that he demands no reward for his actions either in this world or in the world to come. After all, he truly does not think about any reward, as his habit, which became his second nature, compels him to perform these actions. If he feels this way, he is absolutely positive that he acts "for the Creator's sake." The fact that his habit, his second nature, compels him to perform the *Mitzvot* mechanically, escapes his awareness.

However, since our body is no more than an animal, the mechanical fulfillment of the *Mitzvot* by force of habit or for a reward is quite sufficient for him. There is a difference between those who observe because of upbringing or habit, and those who do it for a reward: the former do not even care whether or not the Creator actually exists; they perform purely mechanical actions that they cannot help performing, for they immediately begin to suffer for lack of habitual actions.

Yet, one who observes the *Mitzvot* because he has faith in reward and punishment believes in the Creator, His Torah, and His governance, but simply

uses it for his own benefit. By observing the *Mitzvot* with such an intention and remaining in it all of his life, he, naturally, does not grow spiritually. And he who does not grow in our world is called "still" (inanimate), as we divide all nature into the following levels: still, vegetative, animate, and speaking (human). Therefore, such people are regarded as spiritually still (*Domem de Kedusha*), but they are already "spiritually" still, as opposed to those who observe mechanically, by force of habit.

In Kabbalah, the word "body" implies desire. A desire or a body can be egoistic or spiritual (altruistic). The gradual passing of the egoistic body and its replacement with the altruistic one is called man's "spiritual birth."

Man's spiritual growth is designated by an increasingly growing intention to observe the *Mitzvot* only because such is the Creator's desire. Man observes it only for His sake, completely selflessly, as if no reward of any kind will ever be given to him in return, not even in the form of his own self-content. It is as though the Creator does not know who fulfills His desire, as though man himself is uncertain of whether or not he observes the *Mitzvot*. Yet, he does it anyway, for such is the Creator's will.

So then, the notion of "body" in Kabbalah alludes to man's corrected desires, whereas uncorrected desires, without a screen, cannot be used. It is as though they are not considered body parts, existing beyond the body. Hence, they are considered foreign forces or desires—*Klipot* (shells).

The only existing creation besides the Creator is the egoistic will to enjoy Him that was created by Him. This desire can be either egoistic (corrupted) or altruistic (corrected), spiritually pure or impure. All the spiritual forces: angels, *Klipot*, etc., constitute our uncorrected or corrected desires (the will to bestow delight upon the Creator). Nothing else exists in the universe!

There are twelve parts in the spiritual body that perform spiritual actions: two arms and two legs, each consisting of three parts, in all 4 x 3 = 12. These parts of our spiritual body (our desires that were corrected by the screen) observe the positive *Mitzvot*.

Just like the body of a spiritual object (*Partzuf*), man's body is his altruistic desires, in which he can receive the Creator's Light according to his intentions (screen). Man's desires are determined by his intentions.

All the work with the intention "for the Creator's sake" is performed by the external body parts: the twelve parts of arms and legs, and by the twelve internal body parts: brain, heart, liver, mouth, tongue, five parts of the lungs,

and two kidneys. These inner corrections of the body are meant for reception of the Supernal spirit, Light, inside the body, and represent man's most important work with regard to the Creator.

These inner actions are called *Mitzvot*. They depend on speech, such as a prayer—supplications, blessings, and praises. And he who comes to know this work is happy in all things. Man does not realize that his prayer permeates all the Heavens, rising up to the very pinnacle of the universe and reaching the Creator Himself.

As was repeatedly mentioned, not a single word in the Torah speaks of our world, especially not of our body. All the words in the Torah are the Creator's sacred names—the various sensations of the Creator felt by those who attain Him. As we have explained, the attainment and sensation of the Creator is impossible without a screen, an altruistic intention, meaning that all that man desires is to please his Creator. Only the sensations in the heart (the essence of man) can perform this work, and never the physiological organs of our animate body, which is no different from that of an animal.

When the morning Light begins to shine, separating Light from darkness, a call pierces through all the Heavens: *prepare for the opening of entrances and chambers, and each go to your position*. For the ones that serve at night are not the ones that serve in the daytime. And when the night comes, the daytime servants are once more replaced by the nighttime ones.

When the morning Light begins to shine—when man begins to realize that his egoistic desires are death and darkness, whereas altruism and spirituality are life and Light, the Light within man thereby separates from darkness, and he begins to analyze and realize his states, to feel spiritual ascents and descents—he feels his proximity to the Creator as Light, while remoteness from Him and descents into his egoistic desires feel like darkness.

However, one can feel it only if he feels the Creator (even if only a little, even if indistinctly). To start feeling the shame of receiving from the Creator and the insignificance of one's nature (the sensation of darkness), one must first feel the Creator. Only His Light contains all that man needs: strength for correction, desires, life. Hence, the main thing to which man must aspire is the sensation of the Creator, but not for pleasure, for correction.

The forces that serve in the daytime are called the "rulers, the government of the day," and the forces that serve at night are called the "rulers, the government of the night." As soon as the morning call is heard, they all take their positions,

Malchut and Israel descend and enter the *Beit-Knesset* (the House of Assembly—a place, where all of man's wishes are collected; hence, it is called the house of prayer) to exalt the Creator and begin their singing and blessings.

It is written: "We shall praise Your mercy in the morning and Your faith at night." Feeling the Creator's Light descending upon him, man perceives it as morning that comes after the darkness, and upon feeling such a state, he praises the Creator in his heart. All alien thoughts retreat before the influence of the Creator's Light, and all impure desires become restrained.

After man has corrected himself in the positive *Mitzvot* (in the first part, in the corrections of *Tzitzit* and *Tefillin*), he must unite all of his heart's desires in inner work (in the second part), and wholeheartedly dedicate himself to the work of praises, since speech rises upwards.

It is impossible to offer a brief explanation of the *Mitzvot* of *Tefillin* and *Tzitzit*, observed only by those who spiritually attained the level of *Partzuf* ZA.

These servants, who stood in their places in the air, are appointed to rule over the four sides of the world. Gazaria soars in the air to govern the East, and all the others that are appointed are together with him, and await the words of the prayer that rises on that side from below. And this ruler takes the prayer.

If the words of a prayer are proper, then all these rulers absorb them and rise with them to the firmament, where the other rulers stand. Upon absorbing these words, they proclaim, "Blessed be Israel. Blessed be the lips that utter these words!"

The letters that were hanging in the air then fly up and form the holy name that rules in the air and consists of twelve letters. This is the name by which Eliyahu flew before rising up to the sky. The letters fly up in the air, and the ruler, who holds the keys to the air in his hand, rises to Heaven along with all the other rulers, and pass the letters into the hands of another ruler for further ascent.

After *Malchut* had been separated from ZA, ZA filled himself with only *Ohr Hassadim* and became the right line, whereas *Malchut* formed the left line. These two lines are in conflict with one another, just as the right and the left lines of *Bina* oppose one another. This continues until ZA ascends to *Bina* as the middle line, balances the right and the left lines, and makes peace between them by uniting them in a single, middle line.

Similarly, ZA and *Malchut*, the two opposite lines, need a middle line to balance them, to bring them balance and peace, and to unite them. This occurs

with the help of *MAN* (*Mei Nukvin*), the prayers of the righteous, for they offer up the desires from this world. Also, the screen that they raise is called the *Masach* (screen) *de* (of) *Hirik*—the middle line—causing the left and the right lines to unite, and *Malchut* to unite with *ZA*.

Thus, a prayer becomes a request, *MAN*, and the middle line that leads to peace and unity between *ZA* and *Malchut*. Just like *Yesod* Above (the middle line) unites the Creator with the *Shechina-Malchut* by gathering all the created souls, man's prayer creates the middle line and unites all by its ascent—bringing peace and unity between the Creator and the *Shechina* (His creatures), the unity of souls with their Creator.

Hence, just like the *Sefira Yesod* Above, man, too, is called *Shalom* (peace). Moreover, the world below precedes and determines the world Above, for the awakening from below (requests of the lower ones) precedes and evokes the awakening from Above.

The spiritual world is a world of desires. There are only two desires:

1. The Creator's desire to bestow perfect delight upon His creation, i.e., upon man;
2. The will to receive pleasure for oneself, created by the Creator, called creation, or man's essence.

Nothing else exists except for these two desires! Everything we can possibly imagine derives only from these two spiritual forces. Man's desire is called a "prayer," for intentionally or unintentionally, this desire appeals to the One who created man, to the Creator. Spiritually, man develops in accordance with his prayer.

However, one's true prayer is his request for spiritual correction and elevation. Such a prayer, a desire in the heart, can be achieved only by consistent study of Kabbalistic sources, which affect man's egoistic desire with their concealed inner Light, and evoke him to ascend spiritually ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155).

A soul is none other than man's corrected, altruistic desire, his spiritual *Partzuf*, his desire to receive the Creator's Light with the screen (intention) "for the Creator's sake."

Man's speech in a prayer is none other than parts of his soul (the soul itself) clothed in a body. A prayer is man's soul in this world, *VAK de Nefesh* of *Malchut de Malchut* within *Malchut de Assiya*.

World of AK
World of Atzilut
World of Beria
World of Yetzira
World of Assiya: Keter
Hochma
Bina
ZA
Malchut = K + H + B + ZA + M
K + H + B + ZA + M
GAR + VAK = Soul of Man

Yet, how can one's prayer, his desire, rise through all the degrees of all the worlds of *BYA* and reach *Malchut de Atzilut* so as to become *MAN* and the middle line, uniting *Malchut* with *ZA*? After all, it is well known that no degree can rise above itself, let alone make such an incredible leap from the lowest degree of the spiritual ladder (our world) to the world of *Atzilut*.

To understand that, we must first thoroughly understand the meaning of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*. As a result of this ascent, each degree splits into two parts: *Keter* and *Hochma* of each degree remain within it, while *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* fall to a lower degree. This occurs because *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* and thereby created in *Bina* a new *Sof* (end) of the degree. This is because *Malchut* exists under the prohibition of the first restriction, and hence cannot receive the Light. Due to the second restriction, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* are located below the new *Sof* of the degree. Thus, being below *Malchut* that ascended to *Bina*, they are defined as a lower degree.

Keter = Galgalta	Together they are called GE (Galgalta-Eynaim)
Hochma = Eynaim	
Parsa = Ascended Malchut	
Bina = Awzen	Together they are called AHP (Awzen-Hotem-Peh)
ZA = Hotem	
Malchut = Peh	

Afterward, through the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, the Light *AB-SAG* descends and gives strength to *Malchut*, which stands in *Bina*, to descend to her own place: *Malchut* descends from *Bina* to her own place, thereby returning all the *Sefirot* to their places and uniting them all into one degree, consisting of ten whole *Sefirot*. Consequently, *Bina* and *ZON*, which were below each degree, return to their degree, to their previous level. Thus, each degree restores itself back to ten *Sefirot*.

However, although *Malchut*, who stood in *Bina* as the new *Sof* (end) of the degree, returns from *Bina* to her own place at the end of every ten *Sefirot*, this new *Sof* that she created in *Bina* does not entirely vanish from *Bina*. As a result, *Bina* and *ZON* do not descend to their place. Instead, they must rise above the new *Sof* and there create the left line with regard to *Keter* and *Hochma*, which never fell from their degree and constitute the right line.

This is why the new *Sof* remains in its place in all the degrees even after *Malchut's* descent from *Bina*. And this *Sof* is called the "firmament," while *Bina* and *ZON*, which fell from their degree, but now have returned to it, are called "air." For each lower degree is defined as *VAK* (called *Avir*—air) with regard to the Upper One.

Keter	= Galgalta	GE
Hochma	= Eynaim	GE
		Parsa (Firmament)
Bina	= Awzen	AHP (Air)
ZA	= Hotem	AHP (Air)
Malchut	= Peh	AHP (Air)

Since *Bina* and *ZON* fell from their degree, they became as *VAK* (air) with regard to it, as the entire lower degree with regard to the Upper. And after the descent of *Malchut* from *Bina*, the air (*Bina* and *ZON*) that was under the firmament rises above it and becomes the left line.

When *Bina* and *ZON* ascend above the firmament, they take with them the lower degree, where they existed when they were below, and elevate it along with them above the firmament. It is so because unlike our world, there are no ascents and descents in the spiritual; a descent constitutes the deterioration of one's properties from one spiritual level to a lower one.

Hence, being equivalent in properties with the lower degree, when *Bina* and *ZON* ascend together, they take the entire lower degree along with them. For after being together once, and having become similar, they receive help, ascend, and never part again.

Ultimately, *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* forms an entrance, an opening, a gate for the lower degree, through which it can ascend to the Upper One. Hence, when *Malchut* descends from *Bina*, thus allowing the lower part, *AHP de Bina*, to ascend, the lower degree can rise along with the ascending *AHP de Bina*.

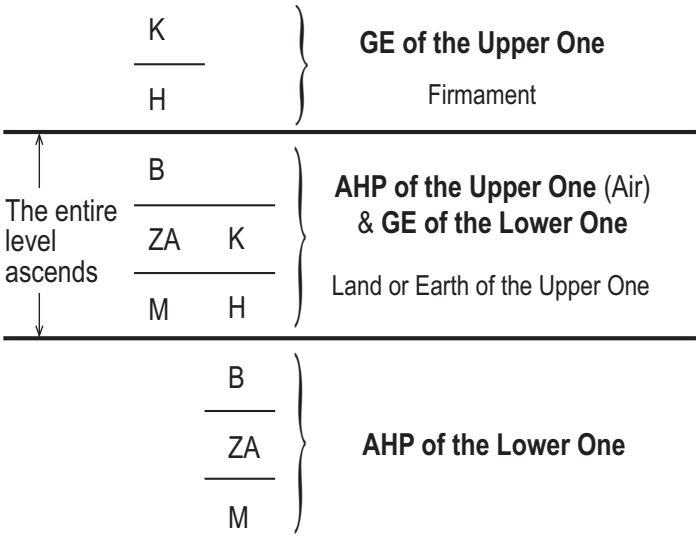

Thus, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* and her subsequent descent due to the influence of *Ohr AB-SAG*, three parts were formed in each degree:

- Air, *Bina* and *ZON* that fell down;
- The firmaments, the new ends of degrees that appeared through *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*. These never disappear, even if *Malchut* returns to her place;
- The entrances for the lower degrees that were formed through *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, when the lower degree ascends along with her. Without it, the lower degree can never reach the Upper One, for no degree can ascend above itself.

This process is described in the Chassidic tales as the mission of a righteous one (the Upper Degree) in our world: to descend to the most vile and corrupt people (the lower degree). In other words, while essentially remaining itself, the Upper Degree should corrupt its properties so as to equalize with the lower

degree. Thus, it shows to the lower ones that in its desires, thoughts, and actions, it is the same as them.

Then, when he completely unites with them, and they fully trust him, when he becomes "one of them" (designating the union of *AHP* of the Upper One with *GE* of the lower one), he gradually, inconspicuously or openly, begins to correct them—by his own example, he propagates his thoughts to them. These thoughts cannot be perceived from an outsider, but only from "one of their own." That is, the Upper One receives additional Light (strength) in its *GE* so as to be able to raise its own *AHP*, correct its desires of reception, start working with them for the Creator's sake, and elevate them to its own level.

And since there is no distinction between the desires of *AHP* of the Upper One and *GE* of the lower one, into which *AHP* of the Upper One fell, they both rise together. This way, the Upper One elevates, i.e., improves, corrects a certain part of the lower one's properties (*GE*), and elevates them to its true level.

Therefore, the most important thing in our state is to come to feel *AHP* of the Upper Degree, located at the very center of our heart, and to become equal with it in our properties so as to afterwards rise together with it.

This process is described in the book *Attaining the Worlds Beyond*, which provides a more personal perspective of this spiritual process:

Inside the internal sensations of the Kabbalist exists a part of the Higher Level, of the future state (*AHP*). One who perceives a Higher Spiritual Level as an unattractive vacuum, rather than a state full of Light, does not receive from the Higher level.

Even though the Higher Level is full of Light, the lower level perceives the Higher only to the degree that the lower qualities permit one to do so. Since the present qualities are not sufficient to receive the Higher Light, the individual does not perceive it.

We can perceive the Upper Level because all the spiritual steps are arranged sequentially from lowest to highest. Moreover, the subsequent states overlap with one another; the lower half of the Higher state is situated within the Upper half of the lower state (*AHP* of Upper falls into *GE* of lower).

Thus, the lowest part of our Upper State is always present within us, but is usually not felt by us. The Upper State above us is referred to as "the Creator" because it functions as the Creator for us.

It gives birth to us and it gives us life and guidance. Since we do not have a perception of this Higher State, we often insist that the Creator does not exist.

But if we are in a state in which we clearly see the Creator's Upper Domain over all the creations in this world, then we lose the possibility to choose freely.

We can see only One Truth, only One Force, and only One Will that operates in everything and in everyone.

Since the Will of the Creator is to grant each human being a free will, then the concealment of the Creator from His creations is necessary. Only if He is hidden can we argue that we can aspire *of our free will* to attach ourselves to the Creator—to act for His sake, without any trace of self-interest.

The entire process of self-correction is possible only when the Creator is concealed from us. As soon as He reveals Himself to us we immediately become His servants and fall into the control of His thought, grandeur and power.

At that point, it is impossible to determine what our true thoughts are. Thus, in order to allow us to act freely, the Creator has to conceal Himself.

On the other hand, to give us a chance to break free from the blind slavery of egoism, the Creator must reveal Himself. This is so because a human being obeys only two forces in this world: the force of egoism—the body—and the force of the Creator—altruism.

It follows, then, that alternating the two states is necessary. These states are the concealment of the Creator from us when we perceive only ourselves and the egoistic forces governing us, and the revelation of the Creator when we feel the power of the spiritual forces.

In order for one who is still under the influence of egoism to perceive the closest Upper Object (the Creator), the Creator must equalize some of His qualities with those of the lower being—the person seeking a connection with the Creator.

He will endow some of His altruistic qualities with egoistic attributes, and can then come into balance with the person seeking connection with Him.

The Upper Part elevates the *Malchut-Midat HaDin* to the level of His *Galgalta ve Eynaim.* As a result, His *AHP* acquires egoistic qualities. In this manner, His *AHP* "descends" to the lower part (the spiritual level of the seeker) and comes into a state of equivalence with the qualities of the lower part.

Initially the lower part was not able to perceive the Upper Spiritual State. However, because the Creator hid His highest altruistic qualities behind egoistic ones, He was able to descend to the level of the person so that the person was able to perceive Him.

Because we perceive higher qualities as being egoistic, we are unable to truly grasp their essence. It appears that there is nothing positive in the spiritual that may bring pleasure, inspiration, confidence, or tranquility.

It is precisely at this point that we have an opportunity to exercise our willpower. We may, instead, declare that the absence of pleasure and taste in the spiritual and in Kabbalah is because of the Creator's deliberate concealment for our own sake. Because we do not yet possess the necessary spiritual qualities, it is therefore impossible for us to perceive the Upper spiritual pleasures; rather, all our earthly desires are governed by egoism.

It is crucial for beginners to understand that they are given depression and distress in order to overcome them.

They may direct their pleas for relief to the Creator, they may study, or they may do good deeds. The fact that such people do not experience pleasure or vitality from spiritual aspirations is directed from Above.

This gives them the free will to conclude that their lack of pleasure comes from a lack of appropriate altruistic qualities in themselves. Hence, the Upper One must hide His true qualities from them.

Therefore, we must remember that the first stage of perceiving the spiritual is the feeling of spiritual deprivation. If the lower part is capable of realizing that the Upper One is concealing Himself because of their incongruity of qualities, and if that lower part asks for help to correct its own egoism by raising a prayer (*MAN*), then the Upper Part partially reveals Himself (lifts His *AHP*) and displays His true qualities, which prior to this moment, were disguised beneath egoism.

As a result, spiritual pleasure also becomes apparent. Thus, the lower part begins to experience the grandeur and the spiritual pleasure felt by the Higher Being, Who possesses spiritual altruistic qualities.

Because the Upper Part elevated His altruistic qualities in the eyes of the individual, He thus elevated the individual to the middle of His State (He lifted *GE* of the lower together with His own *AHP*).

This spiritual state is known as a person's "lesser spiritual level" (*Katnut*). The Upper Part, in a way, elevates the lower part to His own spiritual level by revealing both His grandeur and the grandeur of altruistic qualities. By seeing the magnificence of the spiritual and comparing it to the material, we may spiritually rise above our world.

When we perceive the spiritual, regardless of our will, our egoistic qualities are changed into altruistic ones, that is, into the qualities of the Creator. In

order to allow the lower part to take complete possession of the Higher first level, the Upper Part wholly reveals Himself and all His qualities to that lower part; meaning He reveals his Grandeur, makes *Gadlut*.

At this point, the person perceives the Upper Part as the One and Only Absolute Sovereign of everything in the universe. At the same time, the lower part grasps the highest knowledge of the purpose of creation and of the Upper's dominion.

It becomes clear to the lower part that there is no other way to conduct oneself than in the way prescribed by Kabbalah. Thus, the lower part's reason now requires proper action. As a result of this clear awareness of the Creator, one must deal with the contradiction between faith and knowledge, between the right and the left lines.

Now, having acquired altruistic qualities (*Katnut*), the lower part prefers to proceed only by means of faith in the strength of the Creator. This serves as an indication of the seeker's sincere desire to come closer to the Creator.

However, the Creator's revelation of His grandeur (*Gadlut*) now obstructs one from advancing by faith. Consequently, the individual must willingly dispense with the acquired knowledge.

When one pleads to proceed blindly, relying only on one's faith in the magnificence of the Creator, rather than by realizing His power and grandeur, and only by using reason in proportion to one's faith, the Creator is compelled to limit His disclosure. When such an action compels the Creator to diminish His disclosure of His general dominion, His omnipotence, and His Light (*Ohr Hochma*), this is called "the screen of *Hirik*."

Through this screen, we are able to diminish the revelation of the Upper reason (the left line) to the point at which this revelation can be balanced with faith, the right line. The correct correlation between faith and knowledge is called a "spiritual balance," or the middle line.

We, as individuals, determine the state we desire to be in. Once the correct correlation of faith and knowledge is in place, we can then attain perfection. This is known as "the middle line."

The part of revealed knowledge (the left line) that we can use in proportion to our faith (the right line), by proceeding by faith above reason (the middle line), is added onto those spiritual qualities that we possessed before, in the state of *Katnut*. The newly acquired spiritual level is known as *Gadlut*, meaning big and complete.

After the first complete spiritual level has been attained, we will become equal in qualities to the very first (the lowest) state of the spiritual ladder. As was mentioned earlier, all the states, or steps of the ladder, overlap with each other.

Having reached the first level, we may discover the presence of a higher level within us. Using the same principle as when advancing to the first level, we can proceed step by step to the goal of creation—complete unification with the Creator on the Highest level.

An essential part of our spiritual ascent is a special process that requires that, on discovering a greater evil within us, we ask the Creator to grant us the strength to overcome that evil. We then receive strength in the form of a greater spiritual Light.

This continues until we actually reach the original level and size of our souls: at that point, our egoism is completely corrected and filled with Light.

When we are distracted by outside thoughts, we feel that thoughts obstruct us from ascertaining the spiritual, because our strength and minds are wasted on extraneous concerns, while our hearts become filled with petty desires. At times like this, we lose faith in the fact that only the Kabbalah contains the true life.

Once we overcome this condition, we come out of our state and move into the Light, receiving a Higher Light that helps us ascend further. In this manner, our extraneous thoughts work to help us in our spiritual advancement.

We can overcome obstacles only with the help of the Creator. We can only work on something if we perceive some personal benefit in the task. However, our bodies, hearts and intellects do not understand what benefits can result from altruism.

Therefore, as soon as we try to make even the slightest altruistic move, we lose all strength of the mind, heart and body. We are left with nothing else but to turn to the Creator and ask Him for help. In this way, unwillingly and without any free choice, we advance toward the Creator until we merge with Him completely.

The lower half of the Higher spiritual object is found within the Upper half of the lower spiritual object. In the lower object, the screen (*Masach*) is found in the eye area. This is known as "spiritual blindness," because in such a state only the lower half of the Higher object is visible to us, since the screen of the lower spiritual object conceals part of the Higher spiritual object.

The Higher spiritual object drops its screen to the lower one, then reveals itself to the lower object, which in turn begins to view the Higher object as the Higher One views itself. As a result, the lower object receives the state of fullness (*Gadlut*).

The lower object, then, sees that the Higher One is in a "great" state, and realizes that the Higher object's prior concealment and apparent manifestation as the "small" state (*Katnut*), was done exclusively for the benefit of the lower one. In this way, the lower object could become aware of the importance of the Higher One.

A person in the right line (*Kav Yamin*) is happy with his lot (*Chafetz Hesed*). This is called a "small spiritual state" (*Katnut*), because a person feels no need for the Torah. He does not feel evil, egoism within himself, and without the need for self-correction, he needs no Torah.

Hence, he needs the left line (*Kav Smol*). He has to critically appraise his state (*Heshbon Nefesh*), decide what he wants from the Creator and from himself, and whether he understands the Torah and advances toward the goal of creation. Here he sees his genuine state and is obliged to integrate it in the right line. In other words, he has to be content with what he has and be pleased with his state, as if he has everything that he wishes.

In the left line, which brings about suffering as a result of the absence of the desired, a need is awakened for the help of the Creator, which comes in the form of Light of the soul.

In the right line, in a state when a person desires nothing for the self, there exists only the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), the joy from the similarity in spiritual qualities. But this state is not perfect, because it lacks knowledge and the understanding of the inner meaning. In the left line there is no perfection because the Light of Wisdom can illuminate only if there is congruence in qualities between the Light received and the recipient of the Light.

The congruence results in *Ohr Hassadim*, which is found in the right line. Spiritual gains can be made only by having a desire. But the right line has no desire for anything. All the desires are concentrated in the left line. However, the desired cannot be received into the egoistic desires.

Thus, it is necessary to unite these two qualities so that the Light of knowledge and pleasure of the left line can enter the Light of altruistic qualities of the right line, and the Light of the middle line will illuminate the created being. Without the Light of the right line, the Light of the left is not revealed and is perceived only as darkness.

The ascent from our world, in which we do not consciously perceive *AHP* of the Upper One, occurs in the following way:

All of one's thoughts about the Creator and spirituality constitute his contact with *AHP* of the Upper One. How can this Upper *Partzuf* descend to

him? Only by equalizing one's desires (properties) with it. All of man's thoughts and desires (or lack thereof), with regard to the spiritual, constitute his contact with the Upper One. When man feels a lack of desire for spirituality, it means that the Upper *Partzuf* descended and entered him, equalized itself with him; hence, man feels spiritual emptiness.

It is precisely in this state of not being drawn to the spiritual that man should tell himself that it only seems to him this way, whereas in truth, by faith above reason, he desires and acts for the sake of nearing the spiritual. In other words, if, in the state when the Upper One "falls" (spiritual values lose their significance) in his eyes, one can nonetheless aspire to spirituality, he thereby binds, connects himself to *AHP* of the Upper One. This is because *AHP* of the Upper One deliberately degraded its properties and assumed an outward form similar to the properties (desires) of man.

Therefore, as soon as one can establish contact with *AHP* of the Upper One (even if it appears to him absolutely unattractive, precisely because it lowers its properties to man's level), this *AHP* of the Upper One immediately elevates man to its *GE*. Thus, man ascends to a Higher Degree.

"Piercing through the air" means that the air boundary, consisting of *Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, created as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, is pierced by *Malchut's* descent from *Bina* to her place, for then the air rises above the firmament and reaches *GAR* (*GE*) of the degree.

Thus occurs the piercing of the firmaments. For the firmaments constitute the borders of new ends, which appeared because the air (*Bina* and *ZON*) was pushed off from its own degree to a lower one, and was not allowed to return to its degree. Hence, the firmament is pierced from *Malchut's* descent, and no longer prevents *Bina* and *ZON* from ascending and joining that degree.

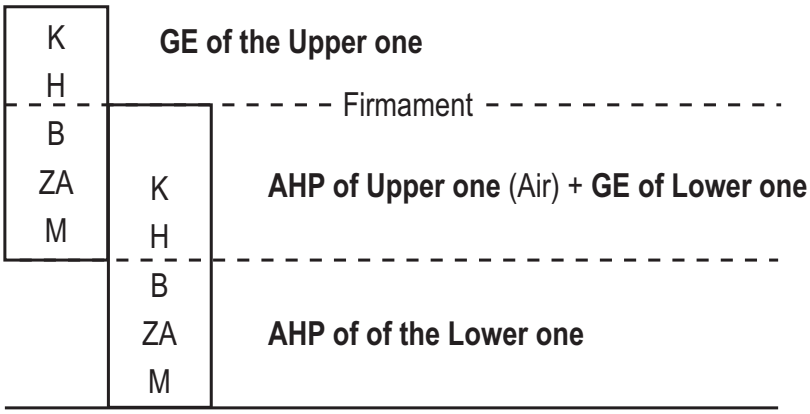

1. *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* = firmament.

2. *Malchut* descends back. This creates a passage for *AHP* to its *GE*. Thus, the entrances for the lower degree are opened: due to *Malchut's* descent to her place and the piercing through the firmaments, *Bina* and *ZON* ascend to a Higher Degree above the firmament together with the lower degree that they were with during their descent.

In other words, the Upper One deliberately opened up the entrances to enable the lower degree to ascend to a Higher Degree, and not for *Bina* and *ZON* (*AHP* of the Upper One), who simply return to their place.

The Light that lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* to her own place at the end of the ten *Sefirot* stems from *Partzufim AB-SAG*. These are the *Partzufim Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *AK*. Although the second restriction—*Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*—occurred in *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *AK*, the *Partzufim Bina* (*SAG*) and *Hochma* (*AB*) of the world of *AK* were unaffected by it, and *Malchut* remains in her place at the end of the ten *Sefirot*.

Only the Creator Himself, meaning the properties of the Light, can correct and transform man's egoistic properties to altruistic. Indeed, man is simply unable to pull himself out of his current state "by his own hair," as from birth he has absolutely no spiritual strength (desires). Hence, only the Upper Light can correct him. And it can only be *Ohr Hochma*, for this is the Light that the Creator emanates. *Ohr Hochma*, unrestricted by *Tzimtzum Bet*, is located in *Partzuf AB* of the world of *AK*. *Partzuf SAG de AK* is a *Partzuf* of *Bina*.

Therefore, when one raises his *MAN* (prayer), it reaches the Highest *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, which turn to *SAG-Bina-Ima* (mother), who in turn appeals to *AB-Hochma-Aba* (father), receives *Ohr Hochma* from him and passes it to her children—the souls of the righteous, those who wish to become righteous and to ascend spiritually.

Hence, when *Hochma-AB* unites with *Bina-SAG* in the world of *AK*, this Light (*Ohr AB-SAG*) descends from *Partzuf Bina de AK* to *Partzuf Bina de Atzilut*, called *EKYEH* = *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey*. *Partzuf Bina de Atzilut* sends the Light to all the degrees of the worlds of *BYA*. Upon attaining a particular *Partzuf*, this Light lowers the *Malchut* of each degree (that ascended to *Bina*) from the degree of *Bina* to her previous place.

Starting with *AVI*, all the *Partzufim* are in the state of *Katnut*: *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* is inside *GE* of the lower one. The received *Ohr Hochma* descends to him who raised *MAN*, thus evoking *Gadlut* in all the *Partzufim*, through which

the Light descends to him. The Light descends to each *Partzuf* along his personal path, which is precisely what connects everyone, each soul, to the Creator.

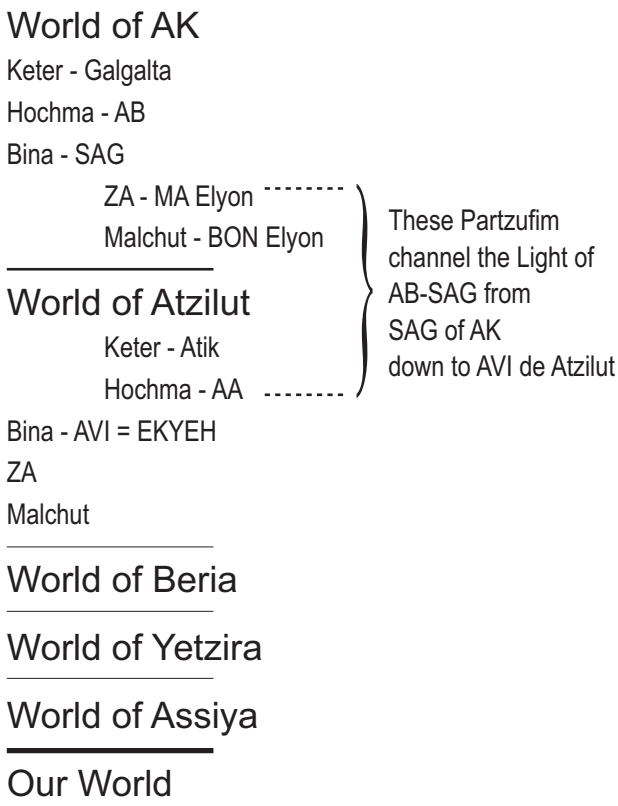

This is why the name *EKYEH* is referred to as the ruler of air that moves the boundary of air because of *Malchut's* descent from *Bina* to her previous place. Each degree and each world consists of four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*, each of which Consists of its own individual ten *Sefirot*, where, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* in each degree, *Bina-ZA-Malchut* of each degree fell to a lower degree.

Thus, there are four kinds of airspace in each world that are governed by the three names of *EKYEH*: *EKYEH* in the air of *Hesed*, *EKYEH* in the air of *Gevura*, and *EKYEH* in the air of *Tifferet*. *Malchut* receives from them, and all three names govern in her air together.

The triple name, *EKYEH*, comprises twelve letters. This twelve-letter name rules in the air by lowering *Malchut* from *Bina* to her previous place, returning *Bina* and *ZON* (called "air"), who fell to a lower degree, back to the degree above the firmament. For *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* created an entrance, to enable the

lower one rise to the Upper Degree as soon as it opens, i.e., during *Malchut's* return to her place.

Hence, when the prophet Eliyahu (a particular spiritual degree) wished to soar to the sky, *Malchut* of each degree ascended to *Bina* of the corresponding degree, while *Bina* and *ZON* of this degree fell to the lower degree, and a firmament was formed between them. It turned out that each degree doubled: now it contained its own degree, as well as *Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, who fell and clothed the lower degree.

This occurred at each degree of the worlds of *ABYA*, down to the lowest one: *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Malchut* of the world of *Assiya* fell and emerged in our world below *Malchut*. *Malchut de Assiya* ends at its firmament, which is a new end, in *Bina*. Also, this degree doubled, as *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Yesod* of the world of *Assiya* fell and clothed in its degree.

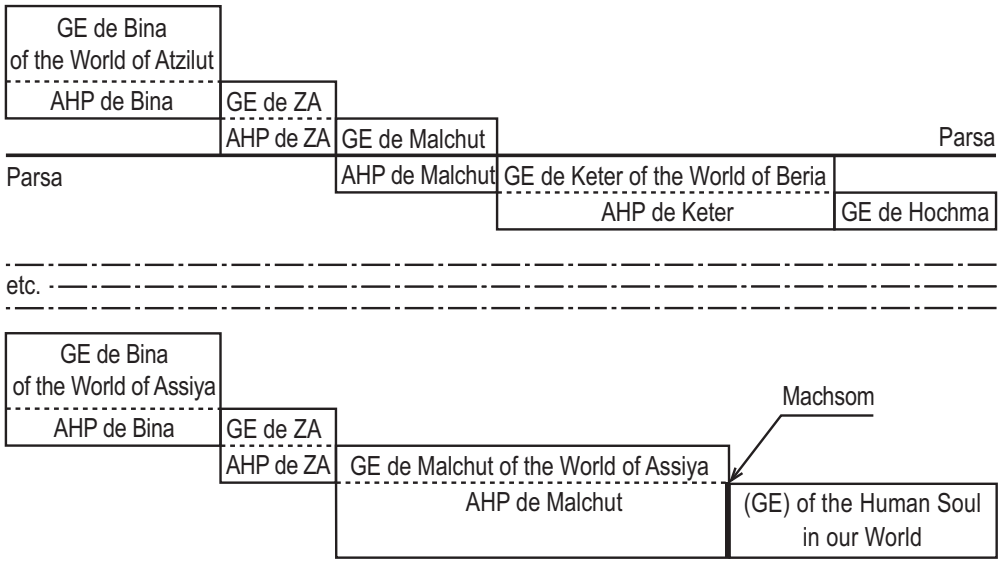

In the diagram, *GE* of man in our world are put in brackets, for he who exists (spiritually, not with his body) at the degree of our world has no desires of bestowal. Hence, it is said that he who exists with his properties in this world, in egoism, has only a point in his heart, from which he can start his spiritual development.

Similarly, the *Sefira Yesod* of the world of *Assiya* also ends with its firmament and contains *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Hod de Assiya*. The *Sefira Netzah de Assiya* also doubled, and so on up to *Bina de Atzilut*. This is why the prophet Eliyahu rose up and united with *Bina* and *ZON*, who fell from *Malchut de Assiya*

to this world. He equalized with them and clothed in them, whereupon they became like him—reached his degree.

Not all ten *Sefirot* of the world of *Assiya* are shown in the above diagram, but as it was previously mentioned, each degree is divided into its own *GE* and *AHP*. Man's task is to find *AHP* of the Upper One within him, and connect to it, merge with it in all of his sensations and desires.

Subsequently, the twelve-letter name exerted its influence (thanks to the Light *AB-SAG*), causing *Malchut de Assiya* to descend from *Bina* of *Malchut de Assiya* to its place, *Malchut de Malchut*, the end of the ten *Sefirot*. And as before, *Bina* and *ZON* ascended to their degree above the firmament of *Malchut*. And since Eliyahu's properties were already merged with this air (with the ascending *Bina* and *ZON*), he rose together with them above the firmament of *Malchut*, as he was similar to them.

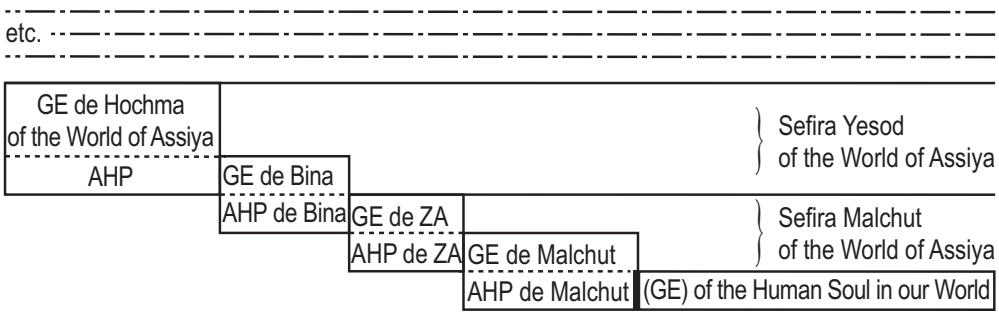

And since he rose above the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*, he entered the air (*AHP*) of *Yesod de Assiya*, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Yesod* that fell down there. Then he merged in his desires with this air and is considered to have clothed in it, for they were previously at the same degree. Then the influence of the twelve-letter name lowered *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Yesod de Assiya* to her place at the end of the ten individual *Sefirot* of *Yesod de Assiya*.

After that, *Bina* and *ZON* (the air of *Yesod*) ascended above the firmament of *Yesod*. And since Eliyahu had already merged with this air, he (man's soul, his desire) too ascended above the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*, due to his concord with them.

And because he rose above the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*, he met with the air (*AHP*) of *Hod de Assiya*, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Hod de Assiya* that fell down there. Subsequently, he merged in his desires with this air and clothed it, for they were previously at the same place (spiritually similar to one another).

As soon as man merges in his properties with *AHP* of the Upper One, the influence of the twelve-letter name (the descent of the Light of *AB-SAG* from Above) brings *Malchut* back (gives strength to the screen) to the end of the ten individual *Sefirot* of *Hod de Assiya*. And the air, its *Bina* and *ZON*, returned to their place above the firmament of *Hod de Assiya*. They took Eliyahu (man's soul, his desires) with them, for he had merged with them, and they elevated him to the firmament of *Hod de Assiya* in view of his similarity with them.

And when he was already in the firmament of *Hod de Assiya*, he met with the air (*AHP*) of *Netzah de Assiya* and merged with it in his properties. When the influence of the twelve-letter name (the Light of correction, *AB-SAG*, that was sent by the Creator) brought *Malchut* back to her place (*Malchut* descended from *Bina* to *Malchut* of this *Sefira*, because she received strength from the Light to resist the egoistic desires of *AHP* and make them altruistic), the air of *Netzah* ascended above the firmament, and being merged with Eliyahu (man's soul), took him with it. Being already in the firmament of *Netzah*, he met with the air of *Tifferet* and so on, until he ascended with this air above the firmament of *Tifferet de Assiya*.

In the same way, the air (*AHP*) of each degree rose higher, up to the Highest Degree of the world of *Assiya*. From there, it rose to *Malchut de Yetzira*, and from there—one step at a time—along all the degrees of the world of *Yetzira* and the world of *Beria*, up to the Heavens (*ZA*) of the world of *Atzilut*.

It is therefore said about the prophet Eliyahu that the Creator's spirit (the Light *AB-SAG*) elevated him (merged with *AHP* of the Upper One) to the Heavens: spirit means *Ruach*, *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, called "air," that fell down to the lower degree. And this air (spirit) elevates one from a lower degree to a Higher One through all the individual degrees, from the lowest degree (*Sof de Assiya*) up to the world of *Atzilut*.

An Upper Degree is regarded as the Creator of the lower degree: it creates it, vitalizes it with Light, and governs it. At each degree, man considers the next Highest spiritual degree with regard to him as the Creator. As Rabbi Zushe said: "Every day I have a new Creator." In other words, as man ascends to a Higher Degree (which he calls "day" or "Light"), he thereby reveals a new property of the Creator in this Higher Degree.

The air of each of the four sides of the world (in *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Malchut*) has its own rulers, who hold the keys to the activation of the twelve-letter name so as to lower *Malchut* from *Bina* to her own place. The ascending order of these four kinds of air is as follows: West-*Malchut*, East-*Tifferet* (including *NHY*), North-*Gevura*, and South-*Hesed*.

Hesed	–	SOUTH
Gevura	–	NORTH
ZA	–	EAST
Malchut	–	WEST

It is not the rulers that raise a prayer (the desire that man feels in the very depths of his heart) from air to air, and then from firmament to firmament. The air raises a prayer from the firmament, each air to its firmament: first, the prayer ascends to the air of the *Sefira Malchut de Assiya*, i.e., to *Bina* and *ZON* (*AHP*) that fell from *Malchut de Assiya* down to our world. They resemble the prayer itself, for this air (*AHP*) is similar to a prayer (the Upper One lowered itself deliberately to equalize its properties with the lower one); hence, they merge as one degree.

Then the one that rules there, Zvuliel (Zebuliel), activates the twelve-letter name, which lowers *Malchut* from *Bina de Assiya* to her place. This causes the air to return to its degree and rise above the firmament of the world of *Assiya*. And since the air became similar to the degree of the actual prayer, it also takes the prayer along with it, raising it above the firmament of the *Sefira Malchut de Assiya*. This is similar to the ascent of Prophet Eliyahu.

And since the prayer ascended to the firmament of the world of *Assiya*, it meets the air of *Yesod de Assiya* that fell there, as in the case of Eliyahu. It also encounters the ruler of the air of the East, Gazaria (Gazardiel), because East designates the *Sefira Tifferet* (ZA is often called *Tifferet*, as the properties of this *Sefira* dominate and determine all the properties of ZA), which includes the *Sefira Yesod*, for *Tifferet* includes *Sefirot NHY*.

This ruler activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina de Yesod* to her place, which causes the air of *Yesod* to ascend to its degree, the firmament of *Yesod*. By merging with the prayer into one degree via equivalence of form, he takes it with him and raises it above the firmament of *Yesod*. Then, a similar action occurs in the air and firmament of *Sefirot Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Tifferet*.

Since the prayer ascended to the firmament of *Tifferet*, it encounters the Northern air, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Gevura de Assiya* that fell there. There it unites with this air into one degree. Then the ruler of the North, Petachia (Petahyah), activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* to her place. Consequently, the air returns, ascends to the firmament of *Gevura* and takes with it the prayer, which merged with it into one degree during its fall.

Since the prayer has already reached the firmament of *Gevura*, it meets with the Southern air, *Bina* and *ZON* of *Hesed de Assiya* that fell there, and merges with this air. Then the ruler of the Southern air, named Pisgania (Pesagniyah), *Hesed de Assiya*, activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Hesed de Assiya* to her place. The Southern air returns and ascends to its degree in the sixth firmament, *Hesed de Assiya*, called "south."

Since the prayer has reached the sixth firmament, it encounters the air that fell from the seventh firmament, which is *Bina* that includes *GAR*, and the prayer merges with this air into one degree. When the twelve-letter name lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* (the seventh firmament) to her place, the air returns to its degree (the seventh firmament) and takes the prayer with it, as they merge during its fall.

Since the prayer has reached the seventh firmament, it encounters the air that fell from *Malchut de Yetzira*, and merges with it. Next, the general ruler, Sandalphon, who governs the entire world of *Assiya*, takes it and activates the twelve-letter name, which lowers *Malchut* from *Malchut de Yetzira* to her place. And the air ascends and returns to its degree, the firmament of *Malchut de Yetzira*, takes the prayer with it, and elevates it to the firmament of *Malchut de Yetzira*.

In exactly the same way, the prayer ascends through all seven *Heichalot* (halls) of the worlds *Yetzira* and *Beria* up to the world of *Atzilut*. This clarifies the question posed in the beginning: how can a prayer ascend from the very lowest degree of the world of *Assiya* to the world of *Atzilut*, for no degree can ascend above itself? From the aforesaid, it follows that since the prayer merges with the first air that fell from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world, it is exactly this air that elevated them to the firmament of *Malchut*, whereas the air of *Yesod de Assiya* was elevated to the firmament of *Yesod*, and so forth. In other words, the air with which the prayer merges and ascends elevates it to *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

He who falls from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world descends from the spiritual degree called *Malchut de Assiya* to the spiritual degree called our world. Of course, this in no way refers to the physical existence in our world. *AHP* of the Upper Degree are considered fallen when one feels in his heart (in the center of all of his desires) the desire to attain the spiritual, merge with it, and annul his egoistic properties because they harm and impede his advancement.

One should not think that the fall of *Bina* and *ZON* to our world from the world of *Assiya* can be experienced by anyone. And only he who felt this way and was then able to make a sufficient amount of quantitative and qualitative efforts, merits being elevated above our world by *AHP* of the Upper One.

On the Southern side (*Hesed*), there is he who governs the air of that side, and his assistants. His name is Pisgania, and he holds the keys to the air of this side. All those who suffer pray to their Creator from the depths of their broken hearts (the very sensation of suffering constitutes a prayer, and requires no words). If their speech (desires) is worthy, it ascends to the air of this side, and the ruler accepts and kisses it ("embrace," "kiss," and *Zivug* are forms of spiritual union of *Partzufim*), and then declares: "The Creator will be merciful and will spare you in His mercy."

All of the holy rulers (*Ohr Hochma* is called holy) and their assistants of that side rise together with him. The letters of the Creator's holy name, of the twelve-letter name *EKYEH* soar: four letters *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey* on each side, which rule the corresponding sides of air. They ascend on this side of the air to the Southern firmament, *Hesed* (the sixth firmament), to the ruler of the firmament of the Southern side, named Anafiel.

On the Northern side (*Gevura*) there is Petachia, who governs the air with his assistants. If he who prays for his enemies and haters, i.e., for those who make him suffer is righteous, then as the speech of his prayer rises to the air of that side, the ruler accepts his heart's speech and kisses it (unites it with his properties so as to raise it higher).

The air that comes from the North stirs and calls upon all the firmaments, and they all take this speech, raise it to the Northern, fifth firmament, kiss it and say: "The Lord will cast your enemies down and take them away from your face." This occurs in the following order: after the governor of the air had accepted the prayer and kissed it, which means that it merged with the degree of the air and the ruler, the air stirs on the Northern side (the new end that *Malchut* made as she ascended to *Bina*, called *Techum*—space, from the word *Tohu*—chaos), and the twelve-letter name lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Gevura de Assiya* back to her place.

The air that fell into the restrictions (*Dinim*) of this space is aroused by the desire to rise to the firmament of *Gevura*. Also, all the degrees that merged with it during its fall rise along with it to the firmament of *Gevura* due to their similarity to it. Similarly, the prayer that was merged with it during its fall ascends along with it to the fifth firmament.

The order of the ascent (offering up of a prayer) starts from here: it ascends and pierces through the air (*AHP*), which fell from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world, and ascends with it to the first firmament, the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*. The prayer ascends and approaches the ruler (in its properties), who was

appointed to control the Western side, *Malchut*. There are nine entrances where the assistants to the ruler, Zvuliel stand.

The ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut* herself have nine (not ten) entrances, for a restriction to receive the Light is imposed on *Malchut* of the *Sefira Malchut*, and it is connected to *Yesod de Malchut*. Hence, *Yesod* and *Malchut* of *Malchut* share the same entrance.

However, a question arises: "Why do all the parts of the air have one ruler for the air and a separate ruler for the firmament? For example, on the Eastern side Gazaria controls the Eastern air and Shimshiel controls the Eastern firmament (*Tifferet*, the fourth firmament). Similarly, Pisgania controls the Southern air on the Southern side, and Anafiel controls the Southern firmament. And on the Northern side, the ruler Petachia governs the Northern air, and Gadriel is in charge of the Northern firmament. So why does only *Malchut* have one general ruler, called Zvuliel, who governs both the air and the firmament?"

The reason is that due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, *Bina* and *ZON* of each degree fall to a lower degree, the degree of air. However, only the lower part of *Bina* (*ZAT* or *VAK de Bina*) falls, whereas *Keter*, *Hochma*, and the Upper half of *Bina* (*GAR de Bina*) remain at the same degree. Only the lower half of *Bina*, *ZAT de Bina* (*ZA* and *Malchut*) fell from this degree and became air.

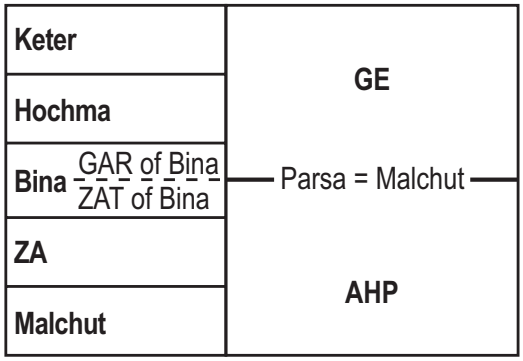

Therefore, two separate rulers were needed: one for the Upper Degree remaining above the firmament, and the other—for the lower half of the degree that fell and turned into air. The degree (ten *Sefirot*) of *Malchut*, from whom all nine lower *Sefirot* fell to the lower degree during *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, retained only one *Sefira Keter de Malchut*, which remained as a point below *Yesod de ZA*.

Nevertheless, even this point refers more to the *Sefira Yesod*, which is superior to *Malchut*, because its properties are more similar to *Yesod*. And since all of

Malchut refers to the properties of air (except for her individual *Keter*), she has only one ruler.

The ruler wishes to act in the firmament in the daylight, but does not receive permission until the moon rises, i.e., until nightfall, when all the rulers and forces emerge. And when the day breaks (the Upper Light starts shining), they all ascend (the spiritual properties become corrected and improve under the Light's influence) to the Highest of the nine entrances, the point of *Keter de Malchut*, which remained at its degree above the firmament (*Parsa*).

And when the prayer ascends, it enters through this Upper entrance, and all the rulers with their assistants emerge from it, led by their Supreme ruler, Zvuliel, the only ruler of the air of this Upper entrance, who is above the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*. They all emerge, kiss the prayer, and accompany it up the second firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*.

Malchut constitutes the left line—*Hochma* without *Hassadim*. Therefore, when she dominates, the Light does not shine and darkness prevails. *Hochma* cannot shine without *Hassadim*, which means that when *Malchut* rules, it is nighttime (not daylight). Indeed, all nine of her lower *Sefirot*, from which all the rulers (of man) and forces (man's desires) of the left side originate, rule at night.

This is why it is said that *Malchut* descends from *Bina* to her place, although her nine lower *Sefirot* remained untouched by the impure force, for *Malchut* descended from the firmament, which transformed her into air. Even so, they (nine *Sefirot*) have no power in her place, and must rise above the firmament to the Upper entrance, *Keter de Malchut*. There they enter the right side (*Hassadim*), and the prayer ascends with them because of their similarity (in desires, properties), achieved while they were below the firmament (in the state called "our world").

And since the prayer (*MAN*) rose above the firmament of *Malchut* (to *GE* of the Upper One), it encounters the air (*AHP* of the still Higher One) that fell there from the second firmament. After the descent of *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Yesod de Assiya* to her place, this air ascends to the firmament of *Yesod*, and takes with it all the rulers, their assistants, and the prayer, which were merged with it during its fall, and elevates all of them to the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*.

And when the prayer ascends to this firmament (*Yesod*), the twelve gates of this firmament open up. A special ruler, Ana'el (Anahel), who is in charge of many forces, stands at the twelfth entrance, and when the prayer ascends, proclaims to all the entrances: "Open the gates." And all the entrances open up, and the prayer enters through them.

This happens because *Tifferet* has twelve borders of the diagonal, defined by the *Sefirot H-G-T-M*, each of which contains three lines of *HGT*, twelve in all. And all that exists in *Tifferet* is also present in *Yesod*, but there these twelve borders are called "twelve gates," through which the prayer enters.

And then awakens a very old ruler, who stands at the Southern side. His name is Azriel-Saba, sometimes referred to as Machaniel, for he is responsible for 600,000 groups (camps—*Machanot*). All the groups have wings and eyes; they stand and listen to all those who are quietly praying, to the prayers that come from the depths of the heart and are directed only to the Creator. Only such prayers are heard by those who have ears.

There is a special opening in the *Sefira Yesod de Hesed* (Supernal mercy) that descends from the right line of *Bina*. Hence, the ruler of this mercy is called Azriel-Saba. He is called *Saba* (grandfather), because *Hochma* and *Bina* are called "old men." And he is appointed to rule over 600,000 groups (camps), because 600 = 6 x 100, where 6 = *HGT NHY Sefirot* in *Bina*. And since each *Sefira* in *Bina* is designated by 100, 6 x 100 = 600. And the thousands stem from *Ohr Hochma*, which shines in each of these *Sefirot*. Hence, 600 x 1,000 = 600,000 groups.

GAR de Tvuna, the lower part (*ZAT*) of *Bina*, are called "ears." Only *Ohr Hassadim* shines in them, without *Hochma*. *VAK de Tvuna* are called "eyes," and *Ohr Hochma* shines in them.

Malchut and *Bina* constitute two kinds of air, West and North, which unite and intermix, and form a diagonal, a combination of judgment and mercy that mitigates strictness and judgment. Hence, they hear good words from one who merits it, i.e., they accept one's prayer to the extent of the mercy in the diagonal. Alternatively, they hear bad things about one who does not merit, accepting one's prayer to the extent of the judgment in the diagonal.

If man's ears hear the prayer (which means that he speaks not from the depths of his heart, but with his mouth, so outwardly that his ears hear it, but not his heart), no one will accept it Above. Therefore, man must be watchful: no one should hear his prayer, for the speech of the prayer unites in the Upper World, in *ZA*, and the speech of the Upper World must not be heard.

Consider how the Torah is read: one reads and the others keep silent. However, if they all read it out loud, they lessen the faith Above, for the voice and speech of one mingle with the voice and speech of the others, and undermine faith, i.e., *Malchut*. The voice and speech (*ZA* is called "voice" and *Malchut* is called "speech") of one must be similar to the voice and speech of the other.

Two reasons are mentioned above as to why a prayer must be speech without voice, unheard by man's ear. The first is that *Malchut*, who begets people, consists of two points: the Light cannot be received from *Malchut* with a measure of judgment, whereas the Light can be received from *Malchut* that is corrected in *Bina* with a measure of mercy.

Similarly, man consists of a combination of these two points. If he merits, the measure of judgment becomes concealed, the measure of mercy is revealed, and he merits receiving the Upper Light. However, if he does not merit, the measure of judgment becomes revealed and the Light disappears from him.

Therefore, the Upper ear has an inclined form so as to be able to receive the prayer of man-righteous one, him who merits the concealment of the measure of judgment, so that the listening ear would not arouse judgment, concealed in the speech of the prayer. Hence, if an outsider hears the prayer before it ascends, he evokes the judgment concealed in the speech of the prayer, and it cannot be heard Above.

There is another reason for this: the speech of the prayer constitutes parts of *Malchut*. And he who prays must be a part of *Malchut*. Hence, the prayer must ascend and be included in the Supernal *Malchut*, called "speech." Then *Malchut* unites with ZA (voice) and the prayer is accepted, i.e., the Light is accepted from ZA.

Therefore, one must not raise his voice during prayer so as to allow the Supernal voice, the Light of ZA, to descend to the praying person. The speech ascends to *Malchut*, merges with ZA with the help of *Malchut*, and receives a completely corrected voice from ZA. As a result, the prayer can receive the Light. It is therefore said that the words of a prayer pronounced by man's voice must not be heard.

He who reads the Torah must also be a part of ZA, called "Torah." And the voice of one who reads Torah must be instead of the voice of ZA. Hence, it is forbidden to hear someone else's voice, for it will be the voice of one who exists under judgment, and not under mercy.

Thus, the voice of an outsider harms the voice of one who reads the Torah, and *Malchut* is unable to receive the Light from ZA. Yet, if this is the voice and speech of one man, then the voice, called ZA, and speech, called *Malchut*, merge into one combination. But if voice and speech of an outsider join the reader's, it will harm him.

With regard to everything mentioned above, one can say that only he who approaches the described state can understand what *The Zohar* narrates.

Spiritual actions are understood in one's heart, his desires, his properties. If they do not correspond to those that are described above, no explanation of any kind will help. An "outsider" designates man's "foreign" (distant from spiritual aspirations) thoughts and desires.

When a quiet, concealed, and secret prayer ascends, the governor Azriel-Saba himself and all of his assistants, who are in charge of the 600,000 groups (camps), and all those who have eyes and ears emerge and kiss the ascending word of the prayer.

This is said in the verse: "The Creator's eyes and ears are upon them." The Creator's eyes rest upon the righteous. The Creator's eyes refer to those below who have eyes, meaning the angels that exist in the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*. They exist Above, at the degree of GAR, for eyes signify the property of *Hochma*. However, these eyes are the eyes of the *Sefira Yesod*, as it is written: "The Creator's eyes rest upon the righteous," as *Yesod* is called the "righteous one."

The third firmament is the *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod de Assiya*. The prayer ascends to this firmament. The ruler Gadria, who controls this firmament with his assistants, acts three times a day during the ascent of the three lines to the world of *Atzilut*, when the luminous scepter of Light ascends and descends, but does not stay in one place, for *Ohr Hochma* of the left line (called the "scepter of Light") wants to shine.

The word "scepter" (Hebrew, *Sharvit*) signifies eyesight, and *Ohr Hochma* is called the Light of eyesight. The scepter moves three times and conceals itself, because *Hochma* reveals itself only when the three lines move in the three points: *Holam* (the dot above the letters), *Shuruk* (the dot inside the letters), and *Hirik* (the dot below the letters).

When the prayer, which is the middle line, ascends and carries the screen of *Hirik*, the scepter (the Light of the left line) descends and bows its head before the prayer, designating the concealment of GAR, called "head." This is because the middle line reduces the left line with the help of the screen of *Hirik*. This third firmament of *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod de Assiya* is called the "firmament of the scepter," for the scepter of Light acts within it.

When the prayer ascends, the ruler bows his head before it (diminishes his level) and then strikes the iridescent rock with his scepter. The rock stands at the center (the middle line) of the firmament, and 365 hosts emerge from the rock, which were concealed within it since the Torah descended to the earth. Because they objected to this descent, the Creator reproached them, and they concealed themselves in the rock.

Here, by analogy with the aforesaid and in accordance with the definitions of such notions as a "scepter," a "rock," "hosts," "Light," "concealment," "to bow," the reader is offered an opportunity to translate from the language of legends into the language of spiritual actions. And when the reader attains what is written, he will feel it within him!

And they do not emerge from there, except for when the prayer ascends. Then they praise the Creator, saying: "Our Creator, how great is Your name upon the earth!" This prayer is called "Great," because it ascends to all these firmaments, and they bow before it.

This occurs because the angels that opposed the descent of the Torah (see the article "Heaven and Earth"), i.e., the middle line, to the earth (*Malchut* and the worlds of *BYA*), emerge from the left line. And they wanted the left line to dominate in *Malchut* and in the worlds of *BYA*, but not the middle one, called the "Torah," which reduces the *GAR* of the Light of the left line.

Malchut, called "earth," includes all the worlds of *BYA*. However, the Creator (middle line) reproached and compelled her to receive the Light of the middle line and conceal herself in the rock, in the forces of judgment, which exist in the middle line that stands at the center of the firmament.

However, the prayer can ascend only by activating the left line, namely *Bina* and *ZON* that fell to the lower degree, then ascended once more above the firmament, and became the left line. They take the prayer that existed with them during their descent to the lower degree.

This is why the ruler receives the scepter, the Light of the left line, for during the ascent of the prayer, the left line shines in his domain. The 365 hosts then awaken and receive the Light of the left line from the scepter. Hence, they exclaim: "The Creator, Our Lord, how great is Your name upon the earth!" for the prayer ascends to this firmament, called "Great," and includes the screen of *Hirik* of the left line, from the *GAR*. Thus, they bow their heads, i.e., do not use the *GAR* of *Ohr Hochma*, but only *VAK*.

Afterward, the prayer clothes in the Supernal adornments and rises to the fourth firmament, *Tifferet*. Then the sun (*Tifferet*) emerges at its level, the Supreme ruler Shimshiel, and the 365 hosts ascend to this firmament along with him. They are called "the days of the sun," for these levels stem from the sun, *Tifferet*. And they all clothe and adorn *Malchut* in the Heavens of the Garden of Eden.

The prayer pauses there to merge with the air of *Gevura* of those degrees, because it was not supposed to pause at the previous firmament, *NHY*, as they are included in *Tifferet*. And the prayer remains there until all the hosts have

risen with it to the fifth firmament (*Gevura*), where Gadriel rules; he is in charge of all the hosts of the other nations, for *Gevura* constitutes the left line, which the other nations hold on to.

And when the prayer ascends, carrying within the screen of the middle line (which reduces the left line from *GAR* to *VAK*), it shakes him and all of his hosts, and they lose all their strength, emerge and bow their heads, i.e., *GAR*, and adorn this prayer.

They ascend with it to the sixth firmament, *Hesed*, and the legions and hosts come forth and accept the prayer until they reach the seventy gates, *HGT NHYM*, each of which consists of ten, as *Hesed* includes all seven lower *Sefirot*. The Supreme ruler, Anafiel, stands there and adorns the prayer with seventy adornments.

And since the prayer was adorned, all the legions and hosts of all the firmaments that accompanied the prayer from firmament to firmament unite and raise the prayer to the seventh firmament, *Bina*, which includes *GAR*.

The prayer enters the seventh firmament, and the Supreme ruler Sandalphon, who is in charge of all the guards at the entrances, ushers the prayer into the seven halls of the world of *Yetzira*. These are the seven halls of the King, the seven halls of *Malchut de Atzilut*, where *ZA* rules.

When the prayer, adorned with all of these adornments, ascends there, it unites *ZA* with *Malchut*, for everything grows with similarity to everything else. And the Creator's name, i.e., *Malchut* is adorned from Above and from below, and on all sides, as *Malchut* merges with *ZA* into one. And then *Yesod* (the righteous one) fills *Malchut* with its blessings.

Happy is the lot of him who can put his prayer in proper order, so the Creator will clothe in this prayer. He waits until all the prayers of Israel finish ascending and unite into a complete and perfect prayer, whereupon everything will become perfect both Above and below.

Besides the prayer, there are the *Mitzvot* of the Torah that depend on speech and action. There are six *Mitzvot* that depend on speech:

1. To fear the Great and Mighty Creator;
2. To love the Creator;
3. To bless the Creator;
4. To proclaim the Creator's unity;
5. To bless the nation, which is incumbent on *Cohanim* (priests);
6. To entrust one's soul with the Creator.

Out of the six above-mentioned *Mitzvot*, the first finds its place in the blessings that King David sang during his offerings in the Torah, where man must fear his Master, for these songs stand in a place called "fear" or *Malchut*. And all of these written blessings constitute the essence of fear of the Creator, *Malchut*. And man must sing these songs with his desires in fear.

Man must achieve a level of spiritual development where his desires will coincide with what is said in the texts of these blessings. It is impossible to force someone to wish something; all our feelings are the product, the result of our spiritual level. The Light of that degree influences one's egoism and corrects it with the power of that degree. Therefore, man can only ask for correction, but it will come from Above, from the Light, from the Creator.

Here we have a list of degrees that man must gradually go through in his correction. These degrees are usually called *Mitzvot*, and in all there are 620 of them between us and the Creator: 613 *Mitzvot* of the Torah for Israel (altruism) and seven *Mitzvot* of the Torah for all the nations (egoism). Here they are expounded in a different way: since the most important is to ask for correction (and if the request is genuine, the answer in the form of Light immediately descends to it), all of man's work on himself, all of his efforts in the study, work and actions are aimed only at the creation of a true request, *MAN*. Hence, the stages of man's spiritual development are described as his path in prayer; as if he stands and prays, although this process continues within him throughout his life on earth.

The second *Mitzva*: to love the Creator (as it was repeatedly stated, this feeling is the result of correction; see "Introduction to the Study of Ten Sefirot," item 45—the four degrees of sensation of governance, from darkness to love), when in his prayer one reaches *Ahavat Olam* (great love) and *Le El* (for the Creator). These two blessings precede the appeal, *Shema Israel* (Hear, O Israel) and *Ve Ahavta Et* (and love the Creator), the blessing of the Creator for one's love for Him that follows the appeal *Shema Israel*. And this is the secret of love for the Creator.

The third *Mitzva*: since man reaches a place in the prayer that is called *Lehishtabe'ach* (blessed is the Creator), he must attain praises and blessings of the Creator in his desire, as in parts of the prayer *Yotzer Ohr* (He who creates Light) and *Yotzer HaMeohrot* (maker of the stars).

The fourth *Mitzva* is to proclaim the Creator's unity, i.e., *Shema Israel* (Hear, O Israel, our Creator is one!). From this point (degree) on, one must express the secret of the Creator's unity (in all His manifestations to man) in his heart's

desire (one's heart must be filled only with the sensation of the One, Upper Force). Afterward, the *Mitzva* to remember and remind others of the exodus from Egypt (egoism) is observed, as it is written: "Remember how you were a slave in Egypt."

The fifth *Mitzva* is for a *Cohen* to bless the people (the Light's descent to the *Partzuf*), so that Israel will be included when the prayer (the *Cohanim*'s blessing) ascends, for at this time (state), *Knesset Israel* (all those who correct themselves by aspiring to the Creator and constitute a part of *Malchut de Atzilut*), i.e., *Malchut*, receives a blessing (Light).

The sixth *Mitzva* and the desired time (state, spiritual level when man wishes only to give all of his desires, i.e., his soul, to the Creator, meaning that he can act for the Creator's sake in all of his desires) is to entrust one's soul with the Creator with complete desire in one's heart. When one falls (willingly accepts the small state) on his face (*Hochma*) and proclaims (raises *MAN*): "I entrust my soul with You, O Creator." The intentions and desires of his heart are to give his soul completely to the Creator (this desire is the consequence of this spiritual degree and comes naturally to those who attain it).

These six *Mitzvot* of the prayer correspond to the 600 *Mitzvot* of the Torah. And the remaining thirteen *Mitzvot* are required in order to attract the thirteen properties of mercy (thirteen *Midot HaRachamim*), which include all the rest. The prayer is adorned with 600 *Mitzvot*, which corresponds to *HGT NHY*, to what the prayer, *Malchut*, receives from *ZA*.

Happy is he who heeded and focused his desire on this (who was able to raise a proper request for his correction), who completed all that was required each day (in the Creator's daylight), and directed his heart's intentions and desires to fulfill this *Mitzva*, which depends on the word.

The End

Appendix One
Further Reading

To help you determine which book you would like to read next, we have divided the books into five categories—Beginners, Intermediate, Advanced, All Around, and Textbooks. The first three categories are divided by the level of prior knowledge readers are required to have. The Beginners Category requires no prior knowledge. The Intermediate Category requires reading one or two beginners' books first; and the Advanced level requires one or two books of each of the previous categories. The fourth category, All Around, includes books you can always enjoy, whether you are a complete novice or well versed in Kabbalah.

The fifth category—textbooks—includes translations of authentic source materials from earlier Kabbalists, such as the Ari, Rav Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam) and his son and successor, Rav Baruch Ashlag (the Rabash).

Additional translated material that has not yet been published can be found at *www.kabbalah.info*. All materials on this site, including e-versions of published books, can be downloaded free of charge.

BEGINNERS

Kabbalah for Beginners

Kabbalah for Beginners is a book for all those seeking answers to life's essential questions. We all want to know why we are here, why there is pain, and how we can make life more enjoyable. The four parts of this book provide us with reliable answers to these questions, as well as clear explanations of the gist of Kabbalah and its practical implementations.

Part One discusses the discovery of the wisdom of Kabbalah, and how it was developed, and finally concealed until our time. Part Two introduces the gist of the wisdom of Kabbalah, using ten easy drawings to help us understand the structure of the spiritual worlds, and how they relate to our world. Part Three reveals Kabbalistic concepts that are largely unknown to the public, and Part Four elaborates on practical means you and I can take, to make our lives better and more enjoyable for us and for our children.

Kabbalah Revealed

This is a clearly written, reader-friendly guide to making sense of the surrounding world. Each of its six chapters focuses on a different aspect of the wisdom of Kabbalah, illuminating the teachings and explaining them using various examples from our day-to-day lives.

The first three chapters in *Kabbalah Revealed* explain why the world is in a state of crisis, how our growing desires promote progress as well as alienation, and why the biggest deterrent to achieving positive change is rooted in our own spirits. Chapters Four through Six offer a prescription for positive change. In these chapters, we learn how we can use our spirits to build a personally peaceful life in harmony with all of Creation.

Wondrous Wisdom

This book offers an initial course on Kabbalah. Like all the books presented here, *Wondrous Wisdom* is based solely on authentic teachings passed down from Kabbalist teacher to student over thousands of years. At the heart of the book is a sequence of lessons revealing the nature of Kabbalah's wisdom and explaining how to attain it. For every person questioning "Who am I really?" and "Why am I on this planet?" this book is a must.

Awakening to Kabbalah

A distinctive, personal, and awe-filled introduction to an ancient wisdom tradition. In this book, Rav Laitman offers a deeper understanding of the fundamental teachings of Kabbalah, and how you can use its wisdom to clarify your relationship with others and the world around you.

Using language both scientific and poetic, he probes the most profound questions of spirituality and existence. This provocative, unique guide will inspire and invigorate you to see beyond the world as it is and the limitations of your everyday life, become closer to the Creator, and reach new depths of the soul.

Kabbalah, Science, and the Meaning of Life

Science explains the mechanisms that sustain life; Kabbalah explains why life exists. In *Kabbalah, Science, and the Meaning of Life*, Rav Laitman combines science and spirituality in a captivating dialogue that reveals life's meaning.

For thousands of years Kabbalists have been writing that the world is a single entity divided into separate beings. Today the cutting-edge science of quantum physics states a very similar idea: that at the most fundamental level of matter, we are all literally one.

Science proves that reality is affected by the observer who examines it; and so does Kabbalah. But Kabbalah makes an even bolder statement: even the Creator, the Maker of reality, is within the observer. In other words, God is inside of us; He doesn't exist anywhere else. When we pass away, so does He.

These earthshaking concepts and more are eloquently introduced so that even readers new to Kabbalah or science will easily understand them. Therefore, if you're just a little curious about why you are here, what life means, and what you can do to enjoy it more, this book is for you.

From Chaos to Harmony

Many researchers and scientists agree that the ego is the reason behind the perilous state our world is in today. Laitman's groundbreaking book not only demonstrates that ego has been the basis for all suffering throughout human history, but also shows how we can turn our plight to pleasure.

The book contains a clear analysis of the human soul and its problems, and provides a "roadmap" of what we need to do to once again be happy. *From Chaos to Harmony* explains how we can rise to a new level of existence on personal, social, national, and international levels.

INTERMEDIATE

The Kabbalah Experience

The depth of the wisdom revealed in the questions and answers within this book will inspire readers to reflect and contemplate. This is not a book to race through, but rather one that should be read thoughtfully and carefully. With this approach, readers will begin to experience a growing sense of enlightenment while simply absorbing the answers to the questions every Kabbalah student asks along the way.

The Kabbalah Experience is a guide from the past to the future, revealing situations that all students of Kabbalah will experience at some point along their journeys. For those who cherish every moment in life, this book offers unparalleled insights into the timeless wisdom of Kabbalah.

The Path of Kabbalah

This unique book combines beginners' material with more advanced concepts and teachings. If you have read a book or two of Laitman's, you will find this book very easy to relate to.

While touching upon basic concepts such as perception of reality and Freedom of Choice, *The Path of Kabbalah* goes deeper and expands beyond the scope of beginners' books. The structure of the worlds, for example, is explained in greater detail here than in the "pure" beginners' books. Also described is the spiritual root of mundane matters such as the Hebrew calendar and the holidays.

ADVANCED

The Science of Kabbalah

Kabbalist and scientist Rav Michael Laitman, PhD, designed this book to introduce readers to the special language and terms of the authentic wisdom of Kabbalah. Here, Rav Laitman reveals authentic Kabbalah in a manner both rational and mature. Readers are gradually led to understand the logical design of the Universe and the life that exists in it.

The Science of Kabbalah, a revolutionary work unmatched in its clarity, depth, and appeal to the intellect, will enable readers to approach the more technical works of Baal HaSulam (Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag), such as *The Study of the Ten Sefirot* and *The Book of Zohar.* Readers of this book will enjoy the satisfying answers to the riddles of life that only authentic Kabbalah provides. Travel through the pages and prepare for an astonishing journey into the Upper Worlds.

Introduction to the Book of Zohar

This volume, along with *The Science of Kabbalah*, is a required preparation for those who wish to understand the hidden message of *The Book of Zohar*. Among the many helpful topics dealt with in this text is an introduction to the "language of roots and branches," without which the stories in *The Zohar* are mere fable and legend. *Introduction to the Book of Zohar* will provide readers with

the necessary tools to understand authentic Kabbalah as it was originally meant to be, as a means to attain the Upper Worlds.

The Zohar

The Book of Zohar (The Book of Radiance) is an ageless source of wisdom and the basis for all Kabbalistic literature. Since its appearance nearly 2,000 years ago, it has been the primary, and often only, source used by Kabbalists.

For centuries, Kabbalah was hidden from the public, which was deemed not yet ready to receive it. However, our generation has been designated by Kabbalists as the first generation that *is* ready to grasp the concepts in *The Zohar.* Now, we can put these principles into practice in our lives.

Written in a unique and metaphorical language, *The Book of Zohar* enriches our understanding of reality and widens our worldview. Although the text deals with one subject only—how to relate to the Creator—it approaches it from different angles. This allows each of us to find the particular phrase or word that will carry us into the depths of this profound and timeless wisdom.

ALL AROUND

Attaining the Worlds Beyond

From the introduction to *Attaining the Worlds Beyond:* "...Not feeling well on the Jewish New Year in September 1991, my teacher called me to his bedside and handed me his notebook, saying, 'Take it and learn from it.' The following morning, my teacher perished in my arms, leaving me and many of his other disciples without guidance in this world.

"He used to say, 'I want to teach you to turn to the Creator, rather than to me, because He is the only strength, the only Source of all that exists, the only One who can really help you, and He awaits your prayers for help. When you seek help in your search for freedom from the bondage of this world, help in elevating yourself above this world, help in finding the self, and help in determining your purpose in life, you must turn to the Creator, who sends you all those aspirations in order to compel you to turn to Him.'"

Attaining the Worlds Beyond holds within it the content of that notebook, as well as other inspiring texts. This book reaches out to all those seekers who want to find a logical, reliable way to understand the world's phenomena. This fascinating introduction to the wisdom of Kabbalah will enlighten the mind, invigorate the heart, and move readers to the depths of their souls.

Basic Concepts in Kabbalah

This is a book to help readers cultivate an *approach to the concepts* of Kabbalah, to spiritual objects, and to spiritual terms. By reading and re-reading in this book, one develops internal observations, senses, and approaches that did not previously exist within. These newly acquired observations are like sensors that "feel" the space around us that is hidden from our ordinary senses.

Hence, *Basic Concepts in Kabbalah* is intended to foster the contemplation of spiritual terms. Once we are integrated with these terms, we can begin to see, with our inner vision, the unveiling of the spiritual structure that surrounds us, almost as if a mist has been lifted.

Again, this book is not aimed at the study of facts. Instead, it is a book for those who wish to awaken the deepest and subtlest sensations they can possess.

Together Forever

On the surface, *Together Forever* is a children's story. But like all good children's stories, it transcends boundaries of age, culture, and upbringing.

In *Together Forever*, the author tells us that if we are patient and endure the trials we encounter along our life's path, we will become stronger, braver, and wiser. Instead of growing weaker, we will learn to create our own magic and our own wonders as only a magician can.

In this warm, tender tale, Michael Laitman shares with children and parents alike some of the gems and charms of the spiritual world. The wisdom of Kabbalah is filled with spellbinding stories. *Together Forever* is yet another gift from this ageless source of wisdom, whose lessons make our lives richer, easier, and far more fulfilling.

TEXTBOOKS

Shamati

Rav Michael Laitman's words on the book: Among all the texts and notes that were used by my teacher, Rabbi Baruch Shalom Halevi Ashlag (the Rabash), there was one special notebook he always carried. This notebook contained the transcripts of his conversations with his father, Rabbi Yehuda Leib Halevi Ashlag (Baal HaSulam), author of the *Sulam* (Ladder) commentary on *The Book of Zohar, The Study of the Ten Sefirot* (a commentary on the texts of the Kabbalist, Ari), and of many other works on Kabbalah.

Not feeling well on the Jewish New Year in September 1991, the Rabash summoned me to his bedside and handed me a notebook, whose cover contained only one word, *Shamati* (I Heard). As he handed the notebook, he said, "Take it and learn from it." The following morning, my teacher perished in my arms, leaving me and many of his other disciples without guidance in this world.

Committed to Rabash's legacy to disseminate the wisdom of Kabbalah, I published the notebook just as it was written, thus retaining the text's transforming powers. Among all the books of Kabbalah, *Shamati* is a unique and compelling creation.

Appendix Two
About Bnei Baruch

Bnei Baruch is a group of Kabbalists in Israel, sharing the wisdom of Kabbalah with the entire world. Study materials in over 20 languages are based on authentic Kabbalah texts that were passed down from generation to generation.

HISTORY AND ORIGIN

In 1991, following the passing of his teacher, Rabbi Baruch Shalom HaLevi Ashlag (The Rabash), Rav Michael Laitman, Professor of Ontology and the Theory of Knowledge, PhD in Philosophy and Kabbalah, and MSc in Medical Bio-Cybernetics, established a Kabbalah study group called "Bnei Baruch." He called it Bnei Baruch (Sons of Baruch) to commemorate the memory of his mentor, whose side he never left in the final twelve years of his life, from 1979 to 1991. Rav Laitman had been Ashlag's prime student and personal assistant, and is recognized as the successor to Rabash's teaching method.

The Rabash was the firstborn son and successor of Rabbi Yehuda Leib HaLevi Ashlag, the greatest Kabbalist of the 20th century. Rabbi Ashlag authored the most authoritative and comprehensive commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, titled *The Sulam Commentary (The Ladder Commentary)*. He was the first to reveal the complete method for spiritual ascent, and thus was known as Baal HaSulam (Owner of the Ladder).

Today, Bnei Baruch bases its entire study method on the path paved by these two great spiritual leaders.

THE STUDY METHOD

The unique study method developed by Baal HaSulam and his son, the Rabash, is taught and applied on a daily basis by Bnei Baruch. This method

relies on authentic Kabbalah sources such as *The Book of Zohar,* by Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, *The Tree of Life,* by the Holy Ari, and *The Study of the Ten Sefirot,* by Baal HaSulam.

While the study relies on authentic Kabbalah sources, it is carried out in simple language and uses a scientific, contemporary approach. Developing this approach has made Bnei Baruch an internationally respected organization, both in Israel and in the world at large.

The unique combination of an academic study method and personal experiences broadens the students' perspective and awards them a new perception of the reality they live in. Those on the spiritual path are thus given the necessary tools to research themselves and their surrounding reality.

THE MESSAGE

Bnei Baruch is a diverse movement of many thousands of students worldwide. Students can choose their own paths and the personal intensity of their studies, according to their unique conditions and abilities. The essence of the message disseminated by Bnei Baruch is universal: unity of the people, unity of nations and love of man.

For millennia, Kabbalists have been teaching that love of man should be the foundation of all human relations. This love prevailed in the days of Abraham, Moses, and the group of Kabbalists that they established. If we make room for these seasoned, yet contemporary values, we will discover that we possess the power to put differences aside and unite.

The wisdom of Kabbalah, hidden for millennia, has been waiting for the time when we would be sufficiently developed and ready to implement its message. Now, it is emerging as a solution that can unite diverse factions everywhere, better enabling us, as individuals and as a society, to meet today's challenges.

ACTIVITIES

Bnei Baruch was established on the premise that "only by expansion of the wisdom of Kabbalah to the public can we be awarded complete redemption" (Baal HaSulam).

Therefore, Bnei Baruch offers a variety of ways for people to explore and discover the purpose of their lives, providing careful guidance for the beginners and the advanced students alike.

Kabbalah Today

Kabbalah Today is a free monthly paper produced and disseminated by Bnei Baruch. It is apolitical, non-commercial, and written in a clear, contemporary style. Its purpose is to expose the vast body of knowledge hidden in the wisdom of Kabbalah at no cost and in a clear, engaging format and style for readers everywhere.

Kabbalah Today is distributed for free in every major U.S. city, as well as in Toronto, Canada, London, England, and Sydney, Australia. It is printed in English, Hebrew, and Russian, and is also available on the Internet, at *www.kabtoday.com*.

Additionally, a hard copy of the paper is sent to subscribers at delivery cost only.

Internet Website

Bnei Baruch's homepage, *www.kabbalah.info*, presents the authentic wisdom of Kabbalah using essays, books, and original texts. It is the largest Kabbalah website on the net, and contains a unique, extensive library for readers to thoroughly explore the wisdom of Kabbalah. Additionally, there is a media archive, *www.kabbalahmedia.info*, containing more than 5,000 media items, downloadable books, and a vast reservoir of texts, video and audio files in many languages. All of this material is available for free download.

Kabbalah Television

Bnei Baruch established a production company, ARI Films (*www.arifilms.tv*) specializing in production of educational TV programs throughout the world, and in many languages.

In Israel, Bnei Baruch broadcasts are aired live through cable and satellite on Channel 98 Sunday through Friday. All broadcasts on these channels are free of charge. The programs are adapted specifically for beginners, and do not require prior knowledge of the material. This convenient learning process is complemented by programs featuring Rav Laitman's meetings with publicly known figures in Israel and throughout the world.

Additionally, ARI Films produces educational series and documentaries on DVDs, as well as other visual teaching aids.

Kabbalah Books

Rav Laitman writes his books in a clear, contemporary style based on the key concepts of Baal HaSulam. These books serve as a vital link between today's readers and the original texts. All of Rav Laitman's books are available for sale,

as well as for free download. Rav Laitman has thus far written thirty books, translated into ten languages.

Kabbalah Lessons

As Kabbalists have been doing for centuries, Rav Laitman gives a daily lesson at the Bnei Baruch center in Israel between 3:15-6:00 a.m. Israel time. The lessons are simultaneously translated into six languages: English, Russian, Spanish, German, Italian, and Turkish. In the near future, broadcasts will also be translated into French, Greek, Polish, and Portuguese. As with everything else, the live broadcast is provided gratis to thousands of students worldwide.

Funding

Bnei Baruch is a non-profit organization for teaching and sharing the wisdom of Kabbalah. To maintain its independence and purity of intentions, Bnei Baruch is not supported, funded, or otherwise tied to any government or political organization.

Since the bulk of its activity is provided free of charge, the prime source of funding for the group's activities is donations, tithing—contributed by students on a voluntary basis—and Rav Laitman's books, which are sold at cost.

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The Zohar

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THE ZOHAR

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Prologue

ABOUT RABBI SHIMON BAR-YOCHAI[1]

In the second century CE, a single man was granted the spiritual knowledge that Kabbalists had accumulated for 3,000 years before his time. Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi) put it all on paper and then hid it, as humanity was not ready for it. Today, we are ready for the revelation of *The Book of Zohar*.

Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi), author of *The Book of Zohar* (*The Book of Radiance*) was a Tana—a great sage in the early Common Era centuries. Rashbi's name is tied to numerous legends, and he is mentioned constantly in the Talmud and in the Midrash, the sacred Hebrew texts of his time. He lived in Sidon and in Meron, and established a seminary in the Western Galilee.

Rashbi was born and raised in the Galilee (a mountainous region in today's Northern Israel). Even as a child, he was not like other children his age. Questions such as, "What is the purpose of my life?" "Who am I?" and "How is the world built?" plagued him and demanded answers.

In those days, life in Galilee was very harsh: the Romans persecuted Jews and continually invented new laws to make their lives more difficult. Among these laws was a decree that prohibited Jews from studying the Torah (then synonymous with Kabbalah).

1 The articles, "About Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai" and "About The Book of Zohar" are presented here courtesy of the paper *Kabbalah Today*.

However, despite the Romans' prohibition, Rashbi immersed himself in the Kabbalah and tried to understand its subtle teachings. He felt that beneath the Biblical stories was a profound and hidden truth, which held the answers to his persistent questions.

Gradually, Rabbi Shimon came to realize that he had to find a teacher who had already been through the spiritual path, gained experience, and could guide others up the spiritual ladder. He decided to join the group of the greatest Kabbalist of the time—Rabbi Akiva—a decision that turned out to be the turning point in Rashbi's life.

STUDYING WITH RABBI AKIVA

Rabbi Shimon was an avid, devoted student, burning with desire to discover the Higher realms of reality. Before long, he was one of Rabbi Akiva's prime students. He studied with Rabbi Akiva for thirteen years, and achieved the highest levels on the spiritual ladder.

The Bar-Kokheva revolt abruptly ended the great days of Rabbi Akiva's seminary. Almost all of his 24,000 students died in plagues, and in fierce battles against the Romans. Of the 24,000 students, only five survived, and Rashbi was among them.

Rashbi was among the leaders of the Bar-Kokheva revolt against the Roman rule in the land of Israel. His resistance became even more fierce and unyielding when he'd learned how his teacher, Rabbi Akiva, had been ruthlessly executed.

The Talmud writes that once, when Rashbi spoke against the Roman rule, a fellow Jew heard him and alerted the Roman authorities. In consequence, Rashbi was tried in absentia and was sentenced to death. The Roman emperor sent men in search of him, but to their disappointment, Rashbi seemed to have vanished into thin air.

THE CAVE AT PEQI'IN

Legends have it that Rashbi and his son fled to the Galilee, hid in a cave at Peqi'in, a village in the north of Israel, and remained there for thirteen years. During that time, they delved in the secrets of the wisdom of the hidden. Their efforts succeeded, and they discovered the entire system of creation.

After thirteen years in a cave, Rashbi heard that the Roman emperor had died. He could finally heave a sigh of relief. After leaving the cave, Rashbi gathered nine students and went with them to a small cave in Meron, known as

The Idra Raba (Great Assembly). With their help, he wrote *The Book of Zohar*, the most important book of Kabbalah.

Baal HaSulam described Rashbi and his students as the only beings who achieved perfection, the 125 spiritual degrees that complete the correction of one's soul. When he finished his commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, Baal HaSulam held a festive meal to celebrate its completion. At that celebration, he stated that "...prior to the days of the Messiah, it is impossible to be awarded all 125 degrees... except the Rashbi and his contemporaries, meaning the authors of *The Book of Zohar*. They were awarded all 125 degrees in completeness, even though they lived prior to the days of the Messiah. Hence, we often find in *The Zohar* that there will not be a generation such as the Rashbi's until the generation of the Messiah King. This is why his composition made such a strong impression in the world, since the secrets of the Torah in it occupy the level of all 125 degrees. This is also why it is said in *The Zohar* that *The Book of Zohar* will not be revealed except at the end of days, meaning in the days of the Messiah."

THE IDRA RABA (GREAT ASSEMBLY) AND *THE BOOK OF ZOHAR*

Idra Raba is a cave located in the north of Israel, between Meron and Zephath. Rashbi took his students to this cave, and there he wrote *The Book of Zohar*. It is almost impossible to understand how great Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai really was. He belongs, as Baal HaSulam puts it, to the highest Inner Light. This is why he had to use Rabbi Abba to put his words into writing. In *The Book of Zohar*, the Rashbi tells his students: "I am arranging you as follows: Rabbi Abba will write, Rabbi Elazar, my son, will study orally, and the rest of the friends will converse in their hearts" (*Zohar*, Haazinu).

The Book of Zohar was written in the second century CE, not long after the ruin of the Second Temple and the beginning of the last exile of the people of Israel from its land. But even prior to the exile, Rashbi predicted that *The Book of Zohar* would only be revealed at the end of the exile. He stated that its appearance to the masses would symbolize the end of the spiritual exile: "...in it, they will come out of the exile with mercy" (*Zohar*, Naso).

It is also written in *The Book of Zohar* that its wisdom would be revealed to all toward the end of the six thousand years, the period allotted to the correction of humanity: "And when it is near the days of the Messiah, even infants in the world are destined to find the secrets of the wisdom, and know in them the ends and the calculations of redemption, and at that time it will be revealed to all" (*Zohar*, VaYera).

THE REINCARNATION OF A UNIQUE SOUL

Rashbi is an incarnation of a unique soul, which coordinates and connects the Upper Force to every creation. This soul comes down into our world and incarnates in the patriarchs of Kabbalah. This is the order of its appearance: Abraham, Moses, Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, the ARI (Rabbi Isaac Luria), and Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam). Each incarnation of this soul promotes humanity to a new spiritual degree and leaves its mark in Kabbalah books, which serve the generations that follow.

An example of this process can be found in special sections of *The Zohar* called *Raia Meheimna* (The Loyal Shepherd). In these parts, Rashbi speaks from a state of clothing in Moses' soul. Another example of this is the book, *Shaar HaGilgulim (Gate of Reincarnations)*, where Rashbi speaks from a state of clothing in the soul of the ARI.

The Book of Zohar is undoubtedly unique and one of the world's most renowned compositions. Since its writing, thousands of stories have been linked to *The Zohar*, and the book is still shrouded in mystery today. The fascination around it is so great that even though the book is completely incomprehensible to our generation without proper interpretation, millions of people diligently read it.

RASHBI'S DEPARTURE

According to tradition, Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai passed away in the presence of his friends on *Lag BaOmer* (the 33rd day of the *Omer* count, which starts on the first day of Passover) of the year 160 CE, and was buried in Meron. With his death, the soul of a giant Kabbalist completed its task in our world.

Rashbi fulfilled his destination. Hundreds of thousands visit his gravesite yearly, trying to sense some of the Light that he had brought to the world. The greatest Kabbalists praise his composition and repeatedly claim that *The Book of Zohar* is destined to bring redemption to the world.

Rav Kook, the first Chief Rabbi of Israel, writes about the *Zohar* (*Ohr Yakar*): "This composition, called *The Book of Zohar*, is like Noah's Ark, where there were many kinds, but those kinds and families could not exist unless by entering the ark. ...**Thus the righteous will enter the secret of the Light of this composition to persist, and thus is the virtue of the composition, that immediately when engaging, with his desire for the love of God, it will draw him as a magnet draws the iron. And he will enter it to save his**

soul and spirit and his correction. And even if he is wicked, there is no fear should he enter."

We are living in a historic time. The soul of Rashbi is completing its mission in our generation, and thanks to this spiritual giant, who lived nearly 2,000 years ago, the wisdom of Kabbalah is emerging so we may all ascend to a life of eternity and wholeness.

ABOUT *THE BOOK OF ZOHAR*

***The Book of Zohar* is the most mysterious, and at the same time the most significant book of Kabbalah. In recent years, it has become increasingly clear that although *The Book of Zohar* was written eighteen centuries ago, it was actually written for our time. Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam) opened it to us and rekindled what has long been forgotten from our hearts.**

The depth of the wisdom in The Book of Zohar is locked behind a thousand doors.

–Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam), "Preface to the Book of Zohar"

Since the dawn of humanity, unique individuals climbed the spiritual ladder and achieved the highest level of bonding with the Upper Force, the Creator. We call those people "Kabbalists."

Through this bonding, they came to understand that the whole of reality, from the highest spiritual worlds down to our world, is founded on love and bestowal. They realized that there is nothing in the world except for this Force, and that everything that happens in reality was made only to bring humanity to permanent existence with this sensation.

Kabbalists have searched and found the answers to every question they asked—the purpose of our lives, the structure of the world, and how we can determine our destiny. They wrote about what they discovered in books such as *Raziel Hamalaach (The Angel Raziel), Sefer Yetzira (The Book of Creation), Etz Chaim (The Tree of Life)*, and others.

Of all the books, the most seminal, mysterious, and profound is *The Book of Zohar (The Book of Radiance). The Book of Zohar* describes the hidden system of the Upper Guidance. It depicts the worlds, the great powers that govern them, and how one who chooses to study Kabbalah affects his or her own fate and that of humanity.

The Zohar also explains how every event cascades from the Upper World to ours, and the dressings it acquires here. But what makes *The Zohar* unique is the fact that it was not written for its contemporaries; it was rather intended for a generation that would live two millennia later—our generation.

REMOVING THE COVERS

Our generation stands at the very threshold of redemption, if we only know how to spread the wisdom of the hidden in the masses.

–Baal HaSulam, "Messiah's Horn"

The twentieth century has brought unprecedented changes. These opened the door to a whole new phase, which the greatest Kabbalists have been describing for centuries in their writings. The greatest change of all is that in this century, Kabbalists state that studying Kabbalah is not only permitted, it is a must!

It is written in *The Book of Zohar* itself that the wisdom of Kabbalah would begin its spreading from the year 1840. The great 18th century Kabbalist, The Vilna Gaon (GRA), wrote in his book *Kol HaTor (Voice of the Turtledove)* that the process of the revelation of the Kabbalah would begin in 1990. In his book, *Even Shlemah (A Perfect and Just Weight),* Chapter 11, he even stated that redemption *depends primarily* on the study of Kabbalah.

Rav Kook explained that "the great spiritual questions that were once resolved only for the great and the excellent, must now be resolved to various degrees within the entire nation" (*Eder HaYaker ve Ikvey HaTzon*, p. 144).

But it was Baal HaSulam who turned the words of the Kabbalists from a vision to a tangible reality. He clearly saw that the time had come to allow everyone to study *The Book of Zohar.* He claimed that by studying *The Zohar*, the whole of humanity would rise and attain the spiritual world.

With this vision in mind, Baal HaSulam devoted himself to composing a comprehensive, accurate, and systematic interpretation of *The Book of Zohar.* His goal was to unveil the book to the public and make it suitable for the souls of our generation.

In the introduction to his commentary on *The Zohar*, he explained why he wrote it: "I have named the commentary *HaSulam* (The Ladder) to indicate that the function of my commentary is as the function of any ladder. If you have an attic filled with abundance, you need only a ladder to climb it, and all the bounty in the world will be in your hands."

ACCELERATING THE SPREAD OF THE WISDOM

All the Kabbalists dreamed of our generation, when the whole of humanity could discover the wondrous things they already had. They prayed that through reading the authentic sources they had left for us, we, too, would achieve bonding with the Upper Force, as did they. In his commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, Baal HaSulam threw us a rope, "a life buoy." In doing so, he paved our way to a future of abundance and prosperity.

Baal HaSulam called upon us to give greater weight to engagement in the wisdom of Kabbalah, and accelerate the spreading of the wisdom. He knew that only the wisdom of Kabbalah could elevate the world to the spiritual realm and into the eternity that Kabbalists had been experiencing throughout the generations.

Webster's Dictionary defines a generation as "a group of individuals born and living contemporaneously (at the same time)." In Kabbalah, however, a generation is a *spiritual* phase. According to great Kabbalists such as the Holy ARI, our generation—our spiritual phase—began in the sixteenth century.

The longer we wait with the spiritual ascension our generation is meant to achieve, the greater will be our discomfort. The spiritual realm, which determines what happens in our world, will increase its pressure on us until we decide to achieve this realm for ourselves.

In the words of the great Kabbalist Rabbi Avraham Azulai (in his introduction to the book, *Ohr ha Chama* (*Light of the Sun*)), "I have found it written that the above decree to not openly engage in the wisdom of truth was only for a time—until the end of the 1490. From then on … the sentence has been lifted, and permission was given to engage in *The Book of Zohar*. And from the year 1540 it has become praiseworthy to engage in great numbers since it is by virtue of this the Messiah King will come, and not by another virtue. It is inappropriate to be negligent."

"But the wise shall understand that their elevation comes from the Creator, the Tree of Life. And they who are righteous shall shine like the brightness of the firmament" (Daniel, 12:3).[2]

"By virtue of Rabbi Shimon's composition, *The Book of Zohar*, from the Supernal Force that brings all things back to the Creator, at the end of days, the children of Israel will taste from the Tree of Life, which is *The Book of Zohar*; and they will be redeemed from exile by the Creator's mercy" (Naso, 90).

2 To facilitate comprehension of the spiritual meaning of ancient Hebrew sources, quotes are not direct translations, but rather reflect the Kabbalistic meaning of the texts.

Introduction

The Book of Zohar narrates that Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi) and his son, Rabbi Aba, attained the level of Prophet Eliyahu (Elijah). Hence, it is said that Eliyahu himself visited their cave and taught them the Torah. (Incidentally, the cave in the village of Peqi'in still exists today.)

The author of *Divrey Yoel (The Words of Yoel)* wrote the following in the book *The Torah of Rashbi*: "Before Rabbi Shimon studied the secrets of the Torah, there was a rule in the cave—to settle disputes according to the opinion of Rabbi Yehuda, the author of the Talmud. However, after Rabbi Shimon left the cave, everything that he had written in *The Zohar* was considered to have exceeded all human attainments." Rashbi himself received the name *Butzina Kadisha* (Holy Candle), as he had attained the soul of Moshe (Moses).

Verdicts on legislative and procedural matters are rendered in accordance with the Talmud or *The Book of Zohar*, depending on where this matter is examined more strictly. If the matter is mentioned neither in the Talmud nor in *The Zohar*, then the decision is based on the source that best elucidates this matter. If the disputed matter is between the Talmud and the legislators, the decision is based on the assertion from *The Book of Zohar*. If the legislators themselves cannot come to an agreement on the matter in dispute, the decision is based on the opinion of *The Zohar* (*Mishna Brura*, 25, 42).

The great follower of Rashbi, an heir (next receiver) to his soul, Rabbi Isaac Luria (The Holy ARI) wrote that his soul was a return of the soul of Rabbi Shimon, and the soul of Rabbi Shimon was a return of the soul of Moshe (*Shaar HaGilgulim*, item 64). He also wrote that the soul of Moshe clothed in Rashbi to correct the soul of *Achiya HaShiloni* (Ahijah the Shilonite), who "corrupted" *Malchut* on account of the sin of King Yerav'am (Jeroboam), which prompted the transgression of all Israel. Hence, the soul of Rashbi appeared

to correct Israel's sins. The part of *The Zohar* titled *Raya Meheimna* (Loyal Shepherd) relates how Rashbi attained the soul of Moshe, merged with it, and attained the supernal wisdom.

In his works *Maranan ve Rabanan* and *Kli Yakar* (*Melachim*, 2, 12), the great HaChida also says that Rashbi's entire work lay in correction of the sin of *Achiya HaShiloni*.

As Rashbi says in the Talmud (*Sukkah*, 45, 2): "I can redeem the entire world from judgment from the day of my birth to the present day. And if my son is with me, from the day the world was created to the present day. And if Yotam Ben Uziyahu is with us, from the day the world was created to its end." The book of *Melachim* narrates about Yotam Ben Uziyahu (20, 15).

After the verdict was lifted, Rashbi founded his seminary in the settlement of Tekoa and in the village of Meron. There he taught his disciples Kabbalah and wrote *The Book of Zohar*, thereby revealing what was forbidden to reveal from the time of Israel's reception of the Torah (*Tikuney Zohar*, *Hakdamah*, p. 17).

However, to write down all the secrets of the Torah, Rabbi Shimon had to express them in a secret form. Rashbi's disciple, Rabbi Aba, had a unique quality to his soul. This quality enabled him to convey spiritual knowledge in a secret, concealed form. Hence, Rabbi Shimon asked his disciple to express his thoughts for him, that is, to commit Rashbi's thoughts to paper. The ARI explained it in the following way: "*The Book of Zohar* must remain concealed until the generation of the coming of the *Mashiach* (Messiah), as through the study of this book will humankind return from its spiritual exile" (The ARI, *Shaar HaHakdamot*, *Hakdamah*, p. 3). That is why Rabbi Aba wrote the teachings of Rabbi Shimon in Aramaic, as it is the reverse side of Hebrew.

The ARI wrote (*Maamarey Rashbi (Articles of Rashbi)*, p. 100) that the writing of *The Zohar* in a secret form was possible because the soul of Rabbi Aba originated from the Surrounding Light, and not from the Inner Light. For this reason, the ARI explained, he could express the most supernal wisdom in a secret form as simple stories.

(Rabbi Shimon lived approximately to the age of eighty and passed away on the holiday of *Lag BaOmer*, the eighteenth day in the month *Iyar*, surrounded by his disciples, and recognized by the entire nation. This day is celebrated as the holiday of Light. Rabbi Shimon's body was buried in a cave off Mount Meron, and the body of his son, Rabbi Elazar, is buried a few meters from him.)

Like the subsequent compositions of the ARI and other Kabbalists (evidently, such is the lot of all true spiritual books), *The Book of Zohar* was concealed for

some 1,100 years in a cave near Meron, since the day it was written, until an Arab man found it and sold it in the market as wrapping cloth.

Part of the torn sheets fell into the hands of a sage, who recognized and appreciated the value of the writings. After a long search, he recovered many sheets from refuse bins or bought them from spice vendors, who were selling their merchandise wrapped in the sheets of *The Zohar*. It was out of these recovered sheets that the book (as we know it today) was compiled.

For many centuries, since that time until today, *The Book of Zohar* has been the subject of controversy. Philosophers, scientists, and other "sages," still debate it today. Yet, the fact remains that only a Kabbalist, one who ascends to a particular spiritual degree, attains what this book conveys. To all other people, it seems like a collection of narratives, stories, and ancient philosophy. Only those who do not comprehend this book argue over it; but Kabbalists know for certain that Rashbi's book is the greatest source of spiritual attainment that the Creator imparted upon the people in this world.

Although *The Book of Zohar* was written in the second century, only Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag was able to provide a full commentary on it in the 1930s-40s. The reason for the concealment of *The Zohar* from the second century to thirteenth century and the lack of a complete commentary on it for eighteen centuries is explained in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar."

Rabbi Ashlag called his commentary *HaSulam* (The Ladder) because by studying it, one can ascend the spiritual degrees of attainment of the Upper Worlds as one would climb a ladder in our world. Following the publishing of the *Sulam* commentary, Rabbi Ashlag received the epithet *Baal HaSulam* (Owner of the Ladder), as it is customary among sages of the Torah to call a person not by his name, but according to his highest attainment.

THE BOOK OF ZOHAR CONTAINS:

1. ***Hakdamat Sefer HaZohar*** *(The Introduction of the Book of Zohar)*—containing several articles that fully reveal the inner meaning of the Torah.

2. ***Sefer HaZohar*** *(The Book of Zohar)*—divided into parts and chapters that correspond to the weekly portions of the Torah:

The Book of *Beresheet* *(Genesis)*: *Beresheet*, *Noach*, *Lech Lecha*, *Vayera*, *Chaiey Sarah*, *Toldot*, *Vayetze*, *Vayishlach*, *Vayeshev*, *Miketz*, *Vayigash*, *Vayichi*.

The Book of *Shemot* *(Exodus)*: *Shemot*, *Vayera*, *Bo*, *Beshalach*, *Yitro*, *Mishpatim*, *Terumah* (*Safra de Tzniuta*), *Tetzaveh*, *Ki Tissa*, *Veyikahel*, *Pekudey*.

The Book of *Vayikra* *(Leviticus)***:** *Vayikra*, *Tzav*, *Shmini*, *Tazria*, *Metzura*, *Acharey*, *Kedushim*, *Emor*, *BaHar*, *Vechukotay*.

The Book of *Bamidbar* *(Numbers)***:** *Bamidbar*, *Naso* (*Idra Raba*), *Baalotcha*, *Shlach Lecha*, *Korach*, *Chukat*, *Balak*, *Pinchas*, *Matot*.

The Book of *Devarim* *(Deuteronomy)***:** *VeEtchanen*, *Ekev*, *Shoftim*, *Titze*, *Vayelech*, *Haazinu* (*Idra Zuta*).

3. *Zohar Hadash* *(The New Zohar)*: additions to the weekly chapters:

Beresheet, *Noach*, *Lech Lecha*, *Vayera*, *Vayetze*, *Vayeshev*, *Bashalach*, *Yitro*, *Terumah*, *Ki Titze*, *Tzav*, *Acharey*, *BaHar*, *Naso*, *Chukat*, *Balak*, *Matot*, *VeEtchanen*, *Ki Titze*, *Ki Tavo*.

4. Additional books in *The Book of Zohar* that are not a direct commentary on the Torah:

Idra Raba, *Idra Zuta*, *Safra de Tzniuta*, *Raza de Razin*, *Tosefta*, *Raya Mi'emna*, *Ashmatot*, *Sitrey Torah*, *Sitrey Otiot*, and *Tikuney Zohar*.

5. *Midrash HaNe'elam* *(The Commentary on the Writings)*: *Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Eicha (Lamentations)*—and on the Torah (Pentateuch).

Baal HaSulam wrote the commentary on the portions of *The Zohar* that are known to us. His main commentaries in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar" and the chapter "Beresheet" are expressed in terms of man's spiritual work. The most valuable articles of *The Zohar* for the science of Kabbalah are *Idra Raba*, *Idra Zuta*, and *Safra de Tzniuta*. All of them are expressed in the language of Kabbalah. Besides these articles, the rest of *The Zohar* is written in the language of Midrash.

In its original form, *The Book of Zohar*—written by Rabbi Aba sixteen centuries ago—was not divided into weekly chapters. Its volume was several times larger than the text that reached us; it expounded not only the Torah, but also twenty-four other books of the Bible (Pentateuch, Prophets, and Writings).

Besides *The Book of Zohar* itself, Rabbi Shimon's book of *Tikkunim* (corrections) had reached us, as well. It comprises seventy commentaries on the first word of the Torah, *Beresheet* (in the beginning), since it includes everything.

This book offers a semantic translation of *The Zohar* itself, Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag's *The Sulam* commentary, and my own explanations. The book also contains the first part of *The Book of Zohar—Hakdamat Sefer HaZohar* (*Introduction of The Book of Zohar*).

At the beginning of the text, the semantic translation is given in bold script. *The Sulam* commentary and my explanations are in regular script or *italics* because it turned out to be extremely difficult to separate my explanations from Rabbi Ashlag's holy texts. The numbers at the beginning of the items correspond to the numbers of the items in *The Book of Zohar* with *The Sulam* commentary, vol. 1.

The reason for the interlacing of texts is the need to explain the meaning of *The Zohar* in several languages simultaneously: a) the language of Kabbalah (*Sefirot*, *Partzufim*, *Gematria,* and worlds), b) the language of spiritual work (emotions), c) the language of the Torah (narrative), and d) the language of the Talmud (judicial).

To comprehend the style of *The Book of Zohar*, I recommend the reader to return to the translation of the original text after reading and mastering the commentary.

The Book of Zohar, like the whole of the Torah, speaks exclusively of man (creation) and his relationship with the Creator. The Torah attaches worldly appellations to all of man's inner properties. Thus, the aspiration to the Creator is called "Israel," and the aspiration to selfish reception of pleasures is called "nations of the world." However, there is no connection whatsoever between these names in the Torah and the Jews and other nations in our world. Kabbalah appeals to *man*, to creation!

The book contains articles commented upon in the language of Kabbalah, and others commented upon in the language of emotions, which is easier to understand for the beginner. The reader can begin the study of the book with such articles as "Night of the Bride," and "Who rejoices on holidays." Nevertheless, a complete study of *The Zohar* entails systematic learning of the material. The more accustomed we are to Kabbalah, the more it permeates our hearts, and it can only be mastered by repeatedly reviewing the studied material.

Rav Michael Laitman

List of Abbreviations and Explanations

AA—*Arich Anpin*—the *Partzuf* of *Hochma*, the central, initial *Partzuf* in the world of *Atzilut*, from which all the other *Partzufim* originate.

Aba—Father —the *Partzuf* of *Hochma*.

Ima—Mother—the *Partzuf* of *Bina*.

ZA—*Zeir Anpin*—Son (with regard to *AVI*).

ZON—ZA and *Nukva*—*Malchut*.

Nukva, Malchut—a *Sefira* (singular for *Sefirot*) or *Partzuf* that receives from all the preceding *Partzufim* (plural for *Partzuf*). *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* is the sum of all the creatures, all human souls. For this reason it is called *Knesset Israel* (The Assembly of Israel).

Israel—the property of "bestowal," altruism. This is the property of the Creator, the property of *Bina*. *Israel* derives from the Hebrew words *Yashar*—straight, and *El*—the Creator. Thus, *Israel* is the property of aspiring to attain equivalence of form with the Creator. The "nations of the world" are the aspiration to selfish reception of pleasure. Naturally, these two properties are present in everyone, and Kabbalah is the method for the development of the property of Israel within man, with the purpose of attaining the Creator in this life.

Kli (vessel) egoistic desires and aspirations are not considered a *Kli*. A *Kli* is the corrected desires, suitable for reception of Light. These are altruistic desires with a screen that has transformed them from egoism into altruism.

The human heart that receives all sensations is called the *Kli* (vessel) of reception of sensations. The spiritual vessel, the only vessel that *The Zohar* speaks of, is the desire to bestow upon the Creator: to hand over all of man's desires to the Creator, as though saying that he agrees with all his heart to relinquish all of himself for His sake. Such a complete and true intention is called "*Lishma*" (for the Creator's sake).

SEFIROT	THE CREATOR'S NAMES
KETER	EKYEH=Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey
HOCHMA	YAH= Yod-Hey
BINA	HaVaYaH with Nikud Elokim
HESED	EL=Aleph-Lamed
GEVURA	ELOKIM= Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Hey
TIFFERET	HaVaYaH with Nikud of Shvah-Holam-Kamatz
NETZAH and HOD	TZEVAOT
YESOD	SHADDAY=Shin-Dalet-Yod or EL=Aleph-Lamed CHAI=Chet-Yod
MALCHUT	ADNI=Aleph-Dalet-Nun-Yod

Mittuk (sweetening/mitigation) of a restriction law. Restriction is a ban for *Malchut* to receive Light. This ban is lifted when *Malchut* is corrected by the properties of *Bina*.

Zivug—coupling—is translated as a sexual union between a man and a woman in this world. Since spiritual actions are *absolutely detached* from the way we would normally perceive them, I have chosen to use the Hebrew term *Zivug*, as it is more abstractedly perceived by people with no knowledge of Hebrew. This will help prevent confusions based on previously existing conceptions. The spiritual *Zivug* is an aspiration of the Upper One (ZA—male part) to pass the Light (pleasure) to the lower one (*Malchut*—female part). In doing so, both desires are completely selfless, as in the example of the guest and the host.

PBP—*Panim be Panim* (face to face). This state occurs when a *Zachar* (male *Sefira*), or *Aba* (father), passes *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) to the female *Sefira*, or *Ima* (mother), for the subsequent transfer to the children (ZON). The same relationships of *ABA* (see below) and *PBP* also transpire between their children, ZON (ZA and *Malchut*).

ABA – *Achor be Achor*, back to back (pronounced *Ach be Ach*). If *Partzuf Aba* (*Hochma)* has *Ohr Hochma*, but is unwilling to pass it on to *Partzuf Ima* (*Bina*), and if *Ima* also does not want to receive it, such a relationship between them is called back to back. The same relationship can exist between ZA and *Malchut*.

Hesed—mercy, compassion, altruism, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy, compassion, and altruism). It appears only within a *Kli* (desire) that wishes to

give selflessly and be similar to the Creator. This is the property of the *Sefira* or *Partzuf* of *Bina*. *Bina* of the world of *AK (Adam Kadmon)* is called *SAG*. *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* is called *Ima*, the Supernal Mother, *YESHSUT*, and *AVI*. The Light of *Bina* is the pleasure of being similar to the Creator's properties; hence, this Light (sensation) is the most reliable protection from the impure forces. And the *Kli* that possesses the properties of *Bina* is unable to transgress, as its desire is solely to bestow.

KHB—*Keter-Hochma-Bina* (pronounced *Kahab*). These are the first three *Sefirot* that form the *Rosh* (head) of the *Partzuf*. The *Rosh* decides how much pleasure the *Partzuf* can accept not for its own sake but for the sake of the Creator. This Light descends from the *Rosh* to the *Guf* (body).

HBD—*Hochma-Bina-Daat* (pronounced *Habad*). This is the same as *Keter-Hochma-Bina* (the *Rosh* of the *Partzuf*). *Sefira Daat* is not a *Sefira*, but the request (also known as *MAN*) of *ZON* (*Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva*). *Daat* is the appeal of *ZON* to *Bina* regarding their desire to receive *Ohr Hochma* from her. This prayer of *ZON* is called *MAN*, for it ascends to *Bina* and evokes in *Bina* (*Ima*—their mother) the desire to bestow upon her children—*ZON*. *MAN* in *Bina* is called *Sefira Daat*. This is not a *Sefira* like the other ten *Sefirot*; it is rather a request. However, to stress this state, we use the name *HBD* instead of *KHB*.

HGT—*Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* (pronounced *Hagat*). These are the *Sefirot* of the *Guf* (body), similar to the *Sefirot* of the *Rosh*: *Hesed* is tantamount to *Keter*, *Gevura* is tantamount to *Hochma*, and *Tifferet* is tantamount to *Bina*. They are called *GE* (see below) of the body.

NHYM—*Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut* (pronounced *Nehim*). These *Sefirot* receive from the *Sefirot HGT* (*GE*). Since they receive and have the will to receive, they are called *AHP* of the body.

GE—*Galgalta-Eynaim* (skull and eyes). *Sefirot Keter-Hochma*-and *GAR* of *Bina*. These *Sefirot* do not have the will to receive and wish only to bestow. Hence, they cannot become egoistic.

NRN—*Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama* (pronounced *Naran*). This is the Light that fills the small *Partzuf*. *Katnut* (small state) is when the *Partzuf* has the strength (a screen) only to bestow, but is unable to receive for the Creator's sake, despite its desire to do so. In this case, the *Partzuf* has only *Ohr Hassadim* (Light of Mercy), but not *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom). This is why it is considered a small *Partzuf*, without strength and reason, similar to a child in our world.

AHP—*Awzen-Hotem-Peh* (ear-nose-mouth), pronounced *Ahap*. These are *Sefirot ZAT* of *Bina-ZA-Malchut*, which possess a will to receive. Therefore, in the

absence of a proper screen (resistance to that desire), they become egoistic. A *Partzuf* without a screen on its *AHP* is called *Katan* (small) and its state is called *Katnut* (smallness, incompleteness). It is like a child in our world, as this *Partzuf*, too, has no strength (screen), and can therefore have only *Ohr Hassadim* without *Ohr Hochma*).

Gadlut—big state. A *Partzuf* with a screen (strength to resist its egoistic nature) to not only refrain from receiving for its own sake, but to receive not for its own sake (as in the example of the guest and the host. In this case, the *Partzuf* fills all of its desires (all ten *Sefirot*) with the Lights of *Hassadim* and *Hochma*.

First Big State—*Gadlut Aleph*, the attainment of the Light of *Neshama*.

Second Big State—*Gadlut Bet*, the attainment of the Light of *Haya*.

Ohr Hochma—Light of Wisdom. This Light fills the *Kelim* (vessels/desires) of reception. It comes only if there is a screen on altruistic reception.

Ateret Yesod—literarily "foreskin," the place of union between Israel and the Creator. After the second restriction, it is forbidden to make a *Zivug* (spiritual coupling) on *Malchut* herself due to the absence of the screen. However, a *Zivug* can be made on the properties that *Malchut* received from ZA, called *Ateret Yesod*. Just as the desires of *Malchut* herself are cut off, the foreskin is circumcised, and the desires that remain within her are those received from ZA, called *Ateret Yesod*. On these desires, *Malchut* can make a *Zivug* with ZA, and receive the Light of *Hochma*. Naturally, this is not the same Light of *Hochma* that *Malchut* would receive if she were able to make a *Zivug* on her desires, that is, on herself, on her own properties, called "the central point of creation," the truly egoistic desires. *Malchut* will be able to do that only after 6,000 years, at the end of correction. But before that happens, these desires are called the mark of union with the Creator, since a *Zivug* on *Ateret Yesod* brings her closer to the Creator.

Ateret Yesod is also *Malchut de Malchut* that remains after the circumcision, the removal of the *Orla* (foreskin). This is the corrected part of *Malchut*, her unification with *Sefira Yesod*, upon which a *Zivug* can be made while still during the 6,000 years, thus bringing *Malchut* to the end of correction.

NRNHY—*Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama-Haya-Yechida* (pronounced ***Naranhay***). This Light fills the big *Partzuf*, consisting of *GE* and *AHP*.

Ohr (Light)—pleasure, the sensation of the Creator. *Ohr* should always be interpreted as the same concept, for although the term is used in general, all of its synonyms are implied!

Kli (vessel)—desire, creature. Like *Ohr*, the word *Kli* is used in general, but all of its synonyms are implied!

Gematria—numerical value of a letter, or a combination of letters and words. This is a special way of recording spiritual information.

Parsa—firmament, the division between the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds *BYA*. The *Parsa* divides the ten *Sefirot* into two parts: the altruistic *Kelim* of bestowal (*GAR*, *KHB*, and *GE*) and the *Kelim* of reception (*ZON* or *Bina-ZA-Malchut*), for *Bina* deliberately fell into ZA (*AHP*) with the purpose of correcting him. *Malchut*, which ascends above *Bina* and stands below *Hochma*, is called *Parsa* or "firmament," and separates *GE* from *AHP*.

ZAT, ZAK—the seven *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, *Malchut* (*HGT NHYM*).

VAT, VAK—the six *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod* (*HGT NHY*, pronounced *Hagat Nehy*).

De – the preposition 'of' in a possessive meaning. For example, *Malchut* ***de*** *Atzilut* means *Malchut* **of** the world of *Atzilut*.

English translation—Whenever it says so in parenthesis, this refers to the books of the Torah (Pentateuch), *Nevi'im* (Prophets), and *Ketuvim* (Writings/ Hagiographa), published by Mosad HaRav Kook, in Hebrew with English translation. For example, (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9; English translation p. XXX, 9) means that if you open page XXX in the book of Prophets, what you are looking for will be in sentence number nine. When the original source is indicated, it is recommended to refer to it there and then to read at least the passage that the quoted saying is ascribed to. This will help you to see even more clearly that the Torah, using an allegorical, figurative language, speaks only of the spiritual world and man's ascension to it, and not at all about history or about our world.

Garments—attributes, desires, *Kelim*. Generally, the garments in question are those that *Malchut* receives from *Bina*.

Huppah—a wedding baldachin, a canopy under which a marriage ceremony takes place.

Nartik—the covering of ZA; same as the *Huppah*.

Adornments—the Light of *Hassadim*, Light of *Bina*, which she passes into *Malchut*. This corrects *Malchut*, and enables her to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the Light of *Hassadim*.

Orla—foreskin on the *Sefira Yesod*, the place of the *Zivug* between ZA and *Malchut*. The *Orla* must be removed, for during the 6,000 years, it is impossible to make

a *Zivug* (intention) on *Malchut* herself and receive for the Creator's sake. Only a *Zivug* on the union of *Malchut* with ZA can be made. This is called *Ateret Yesod*, the part of the *Sefira Yesod* that remains after the cutting off of the *Orla*. *Orla* is also *Malchut de Malchut*, or the impure forces.

Ima—Mother—*Bina* with regard to *Malchut*, who is the daughter.

Daughter—*Malchut* with regard to *Bina*, mother.

***Kodesh ha Kodashim*—Holy of Holies**—the Light of GAR—*Neshama-Haya-Yechida*.

Question—the sensation of lack of the Light of *Hochma* in *Malchut*.

Sela—rock or truth. The name of *Malchut*.

Shechina—Divinity—the sensation (appearance, vision) of the Creator to those who attain Him. *Malchut* in the state of reception of the Light (the Creator) is called *Shechina*. The sensation of the Creator, the place where one experiences the Creator is called *Shechina*.

Techum—zone—the distance beyond the bounds of which one is forbidden to go on *Shabbat* (the Sabbath). *Techum Shabbat* constitutes the maximal distance within which one can move about during Sabbath.

Sigim—dross—impure desires that exist within pure desires. Man's work is to separate the two, and to gradually correct the *Sigim*. The term *Sigim* comes from SAG, for they appeared as a result of the breaking of the *Kelim* of the world of *Nekudim*, which refer to the system of the *Partzufim* of *Partzuf* SAG. The term *Sigim* found its way from Kabbalah into spoken Hebrew.

SHACH—*Shin-Chaf*—300 + 20 = 320 fragments of the broken vessel.

RAPACH—*Reish-Peh-Chet*—200 + 80 + 8 = 288 fragments of the broken vessel, which one can and must be corrected during the 6,000 years, by climbing the 6,000 steps of the spiritual ladder.

Lev ha Even—Stony Heart—*Lev* = *Lamed-Bet* = 30 + 2 = 32 fragments into which *Malchut* had broken. These fragments of *Malchut* cannot be corrected and made altruistic; one can only refrain from using these desires. *Lev ha Even* is corrected only after the 6,000 years, that is, after the Creator Himself corrects the 288 fragments within man. It becomes completely altruistic and receives the name *Lev Basar* (heart of flesh).

Lo Lishma—not for the sake of the Creator. Since nothing exists in creation but the Creator and man, if something is not done "for the sake of the Creator," it is done "for one's own sake." Thus, *Lo Lishma* denotes man's egoistic intention.

Lishma—for the Creator's sake. Man's selfless intention to act only to please and bring joy to the Creator.

Four angels that participate in the creation of man—the four basic properties of nature: mercy—*Hesed*, justice—*Tzedek*, truth—*Emet*, and peace—*Shalom*.

Eretz Israel—Land of Israel—*Yetzira* of this world. *Yerushalaim* (Jerusalem) is *Ateret Yesod* in *Malchut*.

ORIGINAL NAMES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS ACCEPTED IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Aaron – Aaron
Amon – Ammon
Ana'el – Anahel
Anafiel – Anafiel
Ariel – Ariel
Avraham – Abraham
Bat Sheva – Bathsheba
Benayahu – Benaiah
Betzalel – Betzalel
Bil'am – Balaam
Chagai – Haggai
Chava – Eve
Eden – Eden
Eicha – Eichah
Elisha – Elisha
Eliyahu – Elijah
Esav – Esau
Ester – Esther
Ezra – Ezra
Gavri'el – Gabriel
Gazaria – Gazardiel
Hanoch – Eunuch
Havakuk – Habakkuk
Iyov – Job
Korach – Korach
Leah – Leah
Lilit – Lilith
Machaniel – Manhiel
Matat – Metatron
Micha – Micah
Moav – Moab
Moshe – Moses
Nachum – Nahum
Navuchadnetzar – Nebuchadnezzar
Nechemia – Nehemiah
Noach – Noah
Ovadia – Obadiah
Petachia – Petahyah
Pinchas – Pinchas
Pisgania – Pesagniyah
Rahel – Rachel
Rivka – Rebecca
Rut – Ruth
Sandalphon – Sandalphon
Shet – Seth
Shimon – Simeon
Shlomo – Solomon
Shmuel – Samuel
Tamar – Tamar
Tzefania – Zephaniah

Tzur – Tyre
Yaakov – Jacob
Yehoyada – Jehoiada
Yechezkel – Ezekiel
Yehoshua – Joshua
Yehudah – Judah
Yerushalaim – Jerusalem
Yeshayahu – Isaiah
Yirmiyahu – Jeremiah
Yishmael – Ishmael
Yitzchak – Isaac
Yosef – Joseph
Zachariah – Zechariah
Zvuliel – Zebuliel

ORIGINAL TITLES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS ACCEPTED IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Beresheet – Genesis
Shemot – Exodus
Vayikra – Leviticus
Bamidbar – Numbers
Devarim – Deuteronomy
Kohelet – Ecclesiastes
Shmuel 1 and 2 – Samuel 1 and 2
Melachim 1 and 2 – Kings 1 and 2
Divrey HaYamim – Chronicles
Mishley – Proverbs
Tehilim – Psalms
Shir HaShirim – Song of Songs
Shoftim – Judges

An Example of the Original Text of The Zohar

א) רבי חזקיה פתחת כתיב, כשושנה בין החוחים. מאן שושנה, דא כנסת ישראל. בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה, מה שושנה דאיהי בין החוחים אית בה סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי. מה שושנה אית בה תליסר עלין אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה תליסר מכילן דרחמי דסחרין לה מכל סטרהא.אוף אלקים דהכא, משעתא דאדכר, אפיק תליסר תיבין לסחרא לכנסת ישראל ולנטרא לה.

ב) ולבתר אדכר זמנא אחרא. אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא, בגין לאפקא חמש עלין תקיפין דסחרין לשושנה. ואינון חמש, אקרון ישועות.ואינון חמש תרעין.ועל רזא דא כתיב, כוס ישועות אשא, דא כוס של ברכה. כוס של ברכה אצטריך למהוי על חמש אצבען ולא יתיר, כנוונא דשושנה דיתבא על חמש עלין תקיפין דוגמא דחמש אצבען. ושושנה, דא איהו כוס של ברכה, מאלקים תניינא עד אלקים תליתאה חמש תיבין. מכאן ולהלאה, אור דאתברי ואתגניז, ואתכליל בברית ההוא דעאל בשושנה ואפיק בה זרעא. ודא אקרי עץ קיימא באות ברית ממש.

ג) וכמה דדיוקנא דברית אזדרע בארבעין ותרין זווגין ההואזרעא. כך אזדרע שמא גליפא מפרש, בארבעין וותריזאתוון דעובדא דבראשית.

ד) בראשית. רבי שמעון פתח הנצנים נראו בארץ, הנצנים דא עובדא דבראשית. נראו בארץ, אימתי, ביום השלישי, דכתיב ותוצא הארץ, כדין נראו בארץ. עת הזמיר הגיע, דא יום רביעי, דהוה ביה זמיר עריצים, מארת חסר. וקול התור, דא יום חמישי, דכתיב ישרצו המים וגו׳, למעבד תולדות. נשמע דא יום ששי, דכתיב נעשה אדם, דהוה עתיד למקדם עשיה לשמיעה דכתיב הכא נעשה אדם, וכתיב התם נעשה ונשמע. בארצנו, דא יום שבת, דאיהו דוגמת ארץ החיים.

ה) ד״א הנצנים אלין אינון אבהן,דעאלו במחשבה, ועאלו בעלמא דאתי ,ואתגניזו תמן. ומתן נפקו בגניזו ואטמירו גו נביאי קשוט, אתיליד יוסף, ואטמרו ביה. עאל יוסף בארעא קדישא ונציב לון תמן, וכדין נראו בארץ ואתגלו תמן. ואימתי אתחזן. בשעתא דאתגלי קשת
בעלמא, דהא בשעתא דקשת אתחזי כדין אתגליין אינון, ובהיא שעתא עת הזמיר הגיע עדן לקצץ חייבין מעלמא. אמאי אשתזיבו. בגין דהנצבים נראו בארץ, ואלמלא דנראו לא אשתארון בעלמא , ועלמא לא אתקיים.
ו) ומאן מקיים עלמא וגרים לאבהן דאתגליין, קל ינוקי דלעאן באורייתא, ובגין אינון רביין דעלמא, עלמא אשתזיב. לקבליהון, תורי זהב נעשה לך, אלין אינון ינוקי רביין עולמין, דכתיב ועשית שנים כרובים זהב.
ז) בראשית. ר׳ אלעזר פתח, שאו מרום עיניכם וראו מי ברא אלה. שאו מרום עיניכם. לאן אתר. לאתר דכל עיינין תליאן ליה, ומאן איהו. פתח עינים. ותמן תנדעון, דהאי סתים עתיקא דקיימא לשאלה, ברא אלה. ומאן איהו, מ״י. ההוא דאקרי מקצה השמים לעילא, דכלא קיימא ברשותיה. ועל דקיימא לשאלה, ואיהו בארח סתים ולא
אתגליא, אקרי מ״י דהא לעילא לית תמן שאלה. והאי קצה השמים אקרי מ״י.
ח) ואית אחרא לתתא ואקרי מ״ה, מה בין האי להאי, אלא קדמאה סתימאה דאקרי מ״י קיימא לשאלה, כיון דשאל בר נש ומפשפש לאסתכלא ולמנדע מדרגא לדרגא עד סוף כל דרגין, כיון דמטי תמן מ״ה, מה ידעת, מה אסתכלתא, מה פשפשתא, הא כלא סתים כדקדמיתא.
ט) ועל רזא דנא כתיב, מה אעידך מה אדמה לך. כד אתחריב בי מקדשא, נפיק קלא ואמר, מה אעידך ומה אדמה

לך, בההוא מ"ה אעידך, בכל יומא ויומא אסהידת בך מיומין קדמאין. דכתיב העדותי בכם היום את השמים ואת הארץ. ומה אדסה לך, בההוא גוונא ממש, עתרית לך בעטרין קדישין, עבדית לך שלטנו על עלמא, דכתיב הזאת העיר שיאמרו כלילת יפי וגו'. קרינא לך ירושלם הבנויה כעיר שחברה לה. מה אשוה לך, כגוונא דאנת יתבה, הכי הוא כביכול לעילא, כגוונא דלא עאלין השתא בך עמא קדישא בסדרא קדישין, הכי אומינא לך דלא איעול אנא לעילא עד דיעלון בך אוכלסך לתתא. ודא איהו נחמה דילך, הואיל דדרגא דא אשוה לך בכלא. והשתא דאנת הכא, גדול כים שברך. ואי תימא דלית לך קיימא ואסוותא, מ"י ירפא לך, ודאי ההוא דרגא סתימאה עלאה, דכלא קיימא ביה, ירפא לך ויוקים לך.

י) מ"י קצה השמים לעילא, מ"ה קצה השמים לתתא, ודא ירית יעקב דאיהו מבריח מן הקצה אל הקצה, מן הקצה קדמאה דאיהו מ"י, אל הקצה בתראה דאיהו מ"ה, בגין דקאים באמצעיתא. ועל דא, מי ברא אלה.

יא) אמר ר"ש אלעזר בני פסוק מילך, ויתגלי סתימא דרזא עלאה דבני עלמא לא ידעין. שתיק רבי אלעזר. בכה רבי שמעון, וקאים רגעא חדא. א"ר שמעון, אלעזר, מאי אלה. אי תימא ככביא ומזלי, הא אתחזן תמן תדיר. ובמ"ה אתבריאו, כד"א בדבר ה' שמים נעשו. אי על מלין סתימין, לא לכתוב אלה דהא אתגלייא איהו.

יב) אלא רזא דא לא אתגליא, בר יומא חד דהוינא על כיף ימא, ואתא אליהו ואמר לי, ר' ידעת מה הוא מי ברא אלה. אמינא ליה, אלין שמיא וחיליהון, עובדא דקב"ה דאית ליה לבר נש לאסתכלא בהו, ולברכא ליה, דכתיב כי אראה

שמיך מעשה אצבעותיך וגו׳ ה׳ אדונינו מה אדיר שמך בכל הארץ.

יג) א״ל, ר׳: מלה סתימה הוה קמי קב״ה, וגלי במתיבתא עלאה, ודא הוא. בשעתא דסתימא דכל סתימין בעא לאתגלייא, עבד ברישא נקודה חדא, ודא סליק למהוי מחשבה. צייר בה כל ציורין חקק בה כל גליפין.

יד) ואגליף גו בוצינא קדישא סתימא גליפו דחד ציורא סתימאה קדש קדישין בניינא עמיקא דנפיק מגו מחשבה, ואקרי מ״י שירותא לבנינא קיימא ולא קיימא. עמיק וסתים בשמא. לא אקרי אלא מ״י. בעא לאתגלייא ולאתקרי בשמא דא, ואתלבש בלבוש יקר דנהיר, וברא אל״ה, וסליק אל״ה בשמא. אתחברון אתוון אלין באלין ואשתלים בשמא אלהים. ועד לא ברא אלה לא סליק בשמא אלהים. ואינון דחבו בעגלא. על רזא דנא אמרו אלה אלהיך ישראל.

טו) וכמה דאשתתף מ״י באלה, הכי הוא שמא דאשתתף תדיר,

ברזא דא אתקיים עלמא. ופרח אליהו ולא חמינא ליה. ומניה ידענא מלה דאוקימנא על רזא וסתרא דילה. אתא רבי אלעזר וכלהו חברייא ואשתטחו קמיה, בכו ואמרו, אלמלא לא אתינא לעלמא אלא למשמע דא די.

א

רבי חזקיה

נ"א רבי אלעזר

בזהרי חמה ובנוסחת א"י

מאמר השושנה

א) פתח, כתיב א) א) א **כשושנה בין החוחים. מאן שושנה, דא** ב) ב) **כנסת ישראל.** ב **בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה,** ג **מה שושנה דאיהי בין** ג) **החוחים**

מסורת הזהר

א) (שיר ב) ב"א אות רצח תולדות יח ויחי רלד שמות שסד כי תשא לא שמיני לט אמור שלג חקת יח פנחס סח שצג שצח ואתחנן סו האזינו י יב ת"ז תכ"ה דף עא. תכ"ו שם תל"ח דף עח: ז"ח יתרו יב. ב) יתרו שסה.

חלופי גרסאות

א נ"א כשושנה בין החוחים מה שושנה דא דאיהי בין החוחים וכו' (אור הלבנה). ב נ"א בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה ל"ג. ג נ"א ד"א מה שושנה דאיהו בין החוחים וכו' (אה"ל).

דרך אמת א) רחל. ב) לאח כלת משה מלגאו. ג) רחל.

הסולם

מאמר

א) ר' חזקיה פתח וכו': ר' חזקיה **פתח**, כתוב, כשושנה בין החוחים. שואל מהי שושנה. ומשיב, זו היא כנסת ישראל. שהיא מלכות. משום שיש שושנה ויש שושנה. מה שושנה בין החוחים יש בה אדום ולבן אף כנסת ישראל יש בה דין ורחמים. מה שושנה יש בה י"ג עלים, כך כנסת ישראל יש בה י"ג מדות הרחמים המסבבות אותה מכל צדדיה. אף אלקים, שבמקרא שבכאן דהיינו בראשית ברא **אלקים**, משעה שנזכר, הוציא י"ג מלים לסבב את כנסת ישראל ולשמרה. שהן: את, השמים, ואת, הארץ, והארץ, היתה, תהו, ובהו, וחשך, על, פני, תהום, ורוח. דהיינו עד אלקים מרחפת וגו'.

ביאור הדברים, עשר ספירות הן, בתר, חכמה, בינה, חסד, גבורה, תפארת, נצח, הוד, יסוד ומלכות. ועיקרן הוא רק חמש, כתר,

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

השושנה

חכמה, בינה, תפארת ומלכות, משום שספירת התפארת כוללת בתוכה שש ספירות חג"ת נה"י. והן נעשו חמש פרצופין: א"א, ואו"א, וזו"ן. הכתר נק' בשם אריך אנפין. חכמה ובינה נק' בשם אבא ואמא. ת"ת ומלכות, נק' בשם זעיר אנפין ונוקבא. (ביאורן של עשר הספירות עי' בפתיחה לחכמת הקבלה אות ה').

ודע, שסוד ז' ימי בראשית ה"ס ב' הפרצופין ז"א ונוקבא דאצילות, שיש בהם ז' ספירות חג"ת נה"י ומלכות, כנ"ל. אשר באלו הכתובים דמעשה בראשית מתבאר, איך אבא ואמא, שהם חו"ב, האצילו אותם מתחילת התהוותם עד סוף הגדלות, שנוהג בהם בהמשך שתא אלפי שני. וענין זה מתבאר והולך כאן בזוהר בראשית.

ור' חזקיה פתח בביאור הנוקבא דז"א, לבאר סדר אצילותה מאמא, שהיא הבינה הנק' בשם

אית בה ג) **סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת** ד) **ישראל אית בה** ד) **דין** ה) **ורחמי. מה שושנה אית בה** ו) ה) **תליסר עלין, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה** ו) **תליסר מכילין דרחמי**

מסורת הזהר

ג) ב"א ע תולדות טו וישלח יא ויחי תקח ויקרא רכג אמור שלג האזינו קסב ת"ז תל"ו דף עז: עשה ולא תעשה תק"ח דף קיא: ד) ויחי רלו אמור שלג האזינו קעז. ה) פנחס שצד ת"ז תכ"ה דף עא. תכ"ו שם. ו) ב"א קיב קכו ויצא שטו יתרו תקיב תצוה כ ויקהל קנה אחרי קפד נשא צו שם קכא קסד שמא פנחס רפו שסז שצד תרמו כי תצא יז ת"ז תכ"ב דף סז. ז"ח בראשית מו תק"ח דף ק. קא. קיג.

דרך אמת ד) לאה. ה) ולא גוון. ו) י"ב דידיה וי"ב דידה והכוללים.

הסולם

מאמר — השושנה

בשם אלהים. וזהו שפתח בביאור השושנה, שהיא הנוקבא דז"א. והנוקבא דז"א בעת גדלותה נקראת בשם כנסת ישראל, במ"ש להלן, וזהו שאומר, **מאן שושנה, דא כנסת ישראל.**

ויש בשושנה זו ב' מצבים: מצב של קטנות, דהיינו של תחלת התהוותה, שאז אין בה אלא ספי' אחת כתר, שבתוכה מלובש אור הנפש שלה, וט' הספירות התחתונות שלה נבחנות כנופלות לבר מאצילות. והן בעולם הבריאה. ועוד בה מצב של גדלות, שאז מתעלות ט"ס התחתונות שלה מן עולם הבריאה אל עולם האצילות, והיא נבנית עמהן לפרצוף שלם בעשר ספירות. ואז עולה עם ז"א בעלה לקומה שוה עם או"א דאצילות ומלבישים אותם. ואז נק' ז"א, בשם ישראל. שהוא אותיות לי ראש, והנוקבא נק' בשם כנסת ישראל, על שם שכונסת בתוכה כל האורות של ישראל בעלה שהיא משפעת אותם אל התחתונים.

והמצב של הקטנות נק' בשם שושנה בין החוחים, משום שט"ס התחתונות שלה נתרוקנו מאור האצילות, ונשארו כחוחים. והמצב של הגדלות נק' בשם שושנה סתם, או כנסת ישראל. וזה אמרו **אית שושנה ואית שושנה.**

והנה גוון סומק מורה שיש שם אחיזה לחיצונים ולקליפות לינק ממנה, וזהו בזמן המצב של הקטנות, שט"ס התחתונות שלה הן בבריאה, ויש בה ג"כ בחינת חוור, דהיינו בכלי דכתר שלה, שאין שם אחיזה לחיצונים. **וז"ש מה שושנה דאיהי בין החוחים אית בה סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי** להורות כי גם בגדלותה בעת שנקראת כנסת ישראל, אע"פ שעולה אז ומלבישה את הבינה במצב גדלותה כנ"ל, מ"מ נשארת בה בחינת דין, כי היא נצרכת לסוד המסך המתוקן בה לצורך הזווג דהכאה, שמסבת הדין שבמסך, הוא מכה על האור העליון ומחזירו לאחוריו, ומעלה עי"ז ע"ס דאור חוזר הנקרא אור של דין, וממשיך בתוכן ע"ס דאור ישר, הנקרא אור של רחמים. (עי' בפתיחה לחכמת הקבלה אות י"ד) וע"כ גם בכנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי כנגד הסומק והחוור שיש לשושנה בין החוחים.

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

וז"ס הים שעשה שלמה, העומד על שני עשר בקר. כי אלו טה"ס התחתונות שלה שנפלו לבריאה, כנ"ל, נתתקנו שם בסוד שני עשר בקר, ונקודת הכתר שנשארה באצילות ה"ס הים העומד עליהם מלמעלה, וכללותם יחד נק' **תליסר עלין** דשושנה. וענין ההתחלקות הזו של עה"ס שלה לסוד י"ג מתבאר להלן במראות הסולם.

והנה המוחין דגדלות של הנוקבא, שיש בהם מהארת החכמה, הם נמשכים מסוד י"ג השמות הנק' י"ג מדות הרחמים. וז"ש **אוף כ"י אית בה י"ג מכילן דרחמי.** והעיקר מה שבא ר' חזקיה להורות בהשואה הזו משושנה דבין החוחים לכנסת ישראל, הוא ללמדנו, שכל שיש לנוקבא במצב גדלותה צריך להמצא בה כנגדן בחי' הכנה והכשר עוד בתחילת הויתה דהיינו במצב הקטנות. וז"ש, שכנגד חוור וסומק דקטנות יוצא בה דין ורחמי בגדלות, וכנגד י"ג עלין דקטנות יוצא בה י"ג מדות הרחמים בגדלות. והוא מביא זאת כאן, בכדי ללמדנו איך הכתובים שלפנינו מבארים אותם ב' הסדרים דקטנות וגדלות, הנוהגים באצילות הנוקבא, כמו שממשיך והולך, אוף אלהים דהכא וכו'.

וז"ש, **אוף אלהים וכו' אפיק י"ג תיבין:** מורה, שאלהים שבמקרא דהכא בראשית

דסחרין לה מכל סטרהא. אוף אלהים ז) **דהכא, משעתא דאדכר, אפיק** ז) **תליסר תיבין לסחרא לכנסת** ח) **ישראל** ד **ולנטרא לה.**

ב) ולבתר אדכר זמנא אחרא, אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא, בגין ט) **לאפקא** ח) **חמש עלין תקיפין דסחרין לשושנה. ואינון חמש, אקרון ישועות. ואינון**

מסורת הזהר

ז) פנחס שצז ת"ז תכ"ו דף עא. ח) פנחס שצז ת"ז תכ"ו דף עא. תל"ח דף עח. תק"ח קיז:

חלופי גרסאות

ד ולנטלא (אה"ל).

דרך אמת ז) פי' אימא. ח) לאה. ט) אימא אפיק ה' גבורות מנצפ"ך להושיעם מן הקליפות.

הסולם

מאמר

בראשית ברא אלהים, שה"ס הבינה המאצלת לנוקבא דז"א, אפיק י"ג מלים שהן: **את השמים ואת הארץ והארץ היתה תוהו ובוהו וחושך על פני תהום ורוח**, דהיינו עד אלהים תנינא, שאלו י"ג תיבין רומזים על אותם י"ג עלין של שושנה בין החוחים בסוד הים העומד על שני עשר בקר, כנ"ל, שהם הכנה והכשר לכנסת ישראל שתקבל י"ג מכילן דרחמי. וז"ש, **לסחרא לכנסת ישראל ולנטרא לה,** כי י"ג מדות הרחמים, שהן המוחין השלמים דנוקבא, נבחנות שהן מסבבות ומאירות אליה מכל הצדדים סביב סביב, ונשמרת על ידיהן ממגע החיצונים, כי כל זמן שאין בה המוחין הגדולים בהארת החכמה מי"ג מדות, יש בה יניקה לחיצונים.

ב) **ולבתר אדכר** וכו': ואח"כ נזכר שם אלקים פעם אחרת, דהיינו **אלקים** מרחפת וגו'. ולמה נזכר פעם אחרת. הוא כדי להוציא חמשה עלים קשים המסבבים את השושנה. ואלו חמשת העלים נקראים ישועות, והם חמשה שערים, ועל סוד זה כתוב, כוס ישועות אשא, זו היא כוס של ברכה. כוס של ברכה צריכה להיות על חמש אצבעות ולא יותר, כמו השושנה היושבת על חמשה עלים קשים, שהם כנגד חמש אצבעות. ושושנה זו היא כוס של ברכה. מהשם אלקים השני עד שם אלקים השלישי חמש מלים. שהן: מרחפת על פני המים ויאמר. שהן כנגד ה' עלים הנ"ל מכאן ולהלאה, שנאמר, אלקים יהי אור וגו', הוא האור שנברא ונגנז ונכלל בברית ההוא שנכנס בשושנה והוציא בה זרע, וזה נקרא עץ עושה פרי אשר זרעו בו. והזרע ההוא נמצא באות ברית ממש.

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

השושנה

ביאור הדברים, **חמש עלין תקיפין:** ה"ס ה"ג של הנוקבא, שהן ע"ס דאו"ח, שהנוקבא מעלה על ידי זווג דהכאה באור העליון, הנק' אור של דין, (כנ"ל ד"ה סומק) כי עה"ס דאור ישר נק' ה' חסדים חג"ת נ"ה, והן מתלבשות בה' גבורות חג"ת נ"ה דאו"ח, ואלו חמש עלין תקיפין הן, כחות הדין שבמסך, המעכב את האור העליון מהתלבש ממסך ולמטה. וע"כ נק' עתה רק ה' עלין תקיפין, כי עוד אינה ראויה לזווג עליהם. ובזמן הגדלות כשהמסך בא בזווג עם האור העליון הם נק' ה' גבורות. כנ"ל.

ואלו ה' עלין תקיפין ה"ס ה' תיבות שיש מאלקים תנינא עד אלהים תליתאה, שהן: מרחפת על פני המים ויאמר. וז"ש **אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא,** שמשמע שיש כאן פעולה חדשה, ואומר, שהוא כדי להוציא מהנוקבא ה' עלין תקיפין אלו, שהם הכנה לזווג בזמן הגדלות.

ומה שאלו ע"ס דאו"ח נקראות ה"ג שהן חג"ת נ"ה ואינן נקראות כח"ב תו"מ, כנ"ל. הענין הוא, מפני שאינן ממשיכות אלא אור חסדים לבד, ולכן ירדו כח"ב ממעלתם ונקראים חג"ת, ות"ת ומלכות נק' בשם נו"ה.

וז"ש, **חמש תרעין וכו' כוס ישועות:** היינו בעת הגדלות, שה' עלין תקיפין נעשו לה' גבורות, אז הם נבחנים לחמש תרעין, שהם שערים פתוחים לקבל ה' החסדים דאור ישר. וכן הם נקראים ישועות מטעם זה. ואז נק' הנוקבא **כוס ישועות** או **כוס של ברכה,** כי בסגולתן נעשית הנוקבא כלי מחזיק הברכה, שהיא ה"ח הנ"ל.

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE AFORECITED TEXT FROM ARAMAIC INTO ENGLISH[3]

1. Rabbi Hizkiyah opened, "It is written, as a rose among thorns." That a rose is the Assembly of Israel. Because there is a rose and there is a rose, just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, the Assembly of Israel consists of judgment and mercy. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, the Assembly of Israel is surrounded on all sides by the thirteen attributes of mercy. However, *Elokim*, that is here, thought to bring out the thirteen words that surround the Assembly of Israel and guard it.

2. Afterwards, this is mentioned another time. The reason it is mentioned another time is to bring out the five rigid leaves that surround the rose. And these five stand for salvation. These are also the five gates.

It is written of this secret, "I will raise the cup of salvation, it is the cup of blessing." The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, and no more, just as a rose rests on five rigid leaves that correspond to the five fingers. And this rose is the cup of blessing. From the second to the third mention of the name *Elokim*, there are five words. From here on, the Light was created and concealed, enclosed within that covenant, and entered the rose and fructified it. And this is referred to as a fructiferous tree, wherein is the seed thereof. And this seed truly exists in the letter of the covenant.

3. And just as the form of the covenant is sown in forty-two conceptions from that seed, so is the legislative, special name of creation sown.

4. In the beginning, Rabbi Shimon opened, the flower buds appeared on the earth. "The flower buds" refer to the act of creation. They appeared on the earth when, on the third day, as it is said, "And the earth shall pullulate." That was when they appeared on the earth. The time of singing has come, and this is the fourth day, when there was a reduction from the Light of *Hassadim*. The voice of the turtle dove refers to the fifth day, where it is written, "Let the waters swarm," so as to produce offspring. "It is heard" refers to the sixth day, where it is written, "Let us stand and create man," and there it is said, "We will do and we will hear." "In our land" refers to the day of *Shabbat*, which represents the Land of Life.

5. Another meaning is that these flower buds are the Patriarchs who entered the thoughts of the future world, and there they are concealed. They emerged from

3 The translation in the book is semantic and not literal

there in concealment, and concealed themselves in the true prophets. Yosef was born and they concealed themselves in him. When Yosef entered the Holy Land and founded them there, they appeared in the land (earth) and were revealed there. When are they seen? When a rainbow is seen in the world. It is when the rainbow is seen that they are revealed. As the time of pruning has come. The time has come to eradicate the wicked from the world. Why were the wicked saved? Because the flower buds can be seen in the earth. And if they could not be seen, they would not have remained in the world, and the world would not be able to exist.

6. Who animates the world and causes the Fathers to appear? It is the voice of the children, who study the Torah, meaning that these children of the world save the world. In deference to them, "We will make you pendants of gold." Those are the children, children of the world, as is it said, "You shall make two Cherubs of gold."

7. In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes above and see who has created this." Raise your eyes. To what place? To the place where all eyes depend on Him. And who is He? He is one who opens eyes. And you will know this. It is the concealed *Atik*, wherein lies the question, who has created this. And who is He? *MI* = who. He is called from the edge of Divine Heaven, where everything belongs to Him. As there is a question, He is along a concealed path, and does not reveal Himself. He is called *MI*, as there is no question Above, this edge of Heaven is called *MI*.

8. And there is another below, called *MA*. What is between this and that? The first one, called *MI*, is concealed. There is a question in him, because man asks, searches and looks, and beholds from degree to degree until the end of all the degrees. And after he arrives there, he is asked: *MA*? (What?). What have you learned? What have you seen? What have you investigated, since everything is still concealed, just as it was before.

9. It is written of this secret, "Who can I point out to you? Who can I compare you to?" After all, the Temple was destroyed, and a voice came forth and said, "What can I point out to you, and what can I compare you to?" The word *MA* = what, testimony, each day and the day of testimony to you from the days of past, as it is written: "I call to witness Heaven and earth," which is like unto you.

According to the same type, "I adorned you with holy ornaments," made you ruler over the world, as it is written: "Is this the city that was called the quintessence of beauty?" and so forth. I have called you, "Jerusalem, a city built by me." "What could be compared to you?" Just as you sit, so he is like Above,

just as now the holy nation does not enter into you to perform holy work, so I swear to you that I will not enter Above until I dwell down below. This is your consolation, as this degree is equal to you in all things. And now that I am here, "Your misery is great, like the sea." And if you claim that there is no existence or remedy for you, then *MI* (who) shall heal you? It shall be precisely that concealed Supernal Degree, which animates all things; it shall heal you, and exist within you.

10. *MI* is the upper edge of Heaven, *MA* is the lower edge of Heaven. This was inherited by Yaakov, that he shines from edge to edge, from the first edge, which is *MI*, until the last edge, which is *MA*, for he stands in the middle. Therefore, who has created this?

11. Rabbi Shimon said: Elazar, my son, stop talking and reveal to us the supernal secret, which the people of the world know nothing of. Rabbi Elazar was silent. Rabbi Shimon wept and said: One minute. Rabbi Shimon said: Elazar, what is *ELEH* (these)? If you say the stars and the signs of the zodiac, have they not always been seen? However, *MA* (what) were created, as it is said, by the word of the Creator were the Heavens made. If it is about concealed things, then it is not written *ELEH*, because they are revealed.

12. But this secret was never revealed, until one day when I was at the seashore, Eliyahu came and told me: "Rabbi, do you know what this is, WHO HAS CREATED THIS?" I told him: "These are the Heavens and their hosts, the works of the Creator, that man can look at them and bless them, as is written, 'When I behold Your Heavens, the work of Your hands, our Master, how glorious Your name is throughout all the earth'!"

13. He told me: "Rabbi, there was one thing concealed before the Creator, which He revealed to the Supernal Assembly, and it is this. When the concealed of all the concealed desired to reveal Himself, He first made one single point, and this point ascended and became a Thought. With it, He drew all the forms and with it engraved all the images."

14. He engraved inside a concealed, sacred candle an image of a concealed image of the holy of holies. A profound structure emerged from the depth of that thought, and it is called *MI* – who, which is the inception of the structure both standing and not standing, which is hidden deep inside the name. It is not called, but only *MI* – who. He desired to reveal Himself and to be called this name, so He clothed Himself in a precious, radiant garment and created *ELEH*, and *ELEH* ascended in name. These letters combined with these, and the name *Elokim* was completed. And until He created *ELEH* – this, *Elokim* did not ascend

to form the name *Elokim*. And these sinned in worshipping the golden calf. Of this secret it is said, *ELEH* is your Lord, Israel.

15. Just as the letters *MI* joined the letters *ELEH*, so does this name remain forever united, and on this secret stands the world. Eliyahu then flew away, and I could not see him. It is from him that I knew this, which stands on the secret, and its explanation. Rabbi Elazar has come, and all the disciples, too, and they bowed down before him, wept and said, if we had (not) come into this world but only to hear this secret, it would have been enough.

16. Rabbi Shimon said, "Onto these Heavens and their hosts were created in *MA*, as it is said, 'When I behold the Heavens, the works of Your hands,' and it is said, '*MA*, how glorious Your name is throughout all the earth, which You set Above the Heavens, it ascends in name.' That is why it created Light for Light, clothed this into this, and elevated in the Supernal Name, this the Creator created in the beginning. This is the Supernal Creator, for *MA* is not such and was not created."

The Rose

1. Rabbi Hizkiyah opened (began): "It is said, as a rose among thorns" (*Shir HaShirim*, 2:2). He asks, "What does a rose represent?" He answers, "It is the Assembly of Israel, meaning *Malchut*. For there is a rose, and there is a rose. Just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, so does the Assembly of Israel (*Malchut*) consist of judgment and mercy. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, so the Assembly of Israel consists of thirteen properties of mercy, surrounding it on all sides. After all, *Elokim* (the name of the Creator that alludes to His attitude towards the lower ones by the force of judgment), as it is said, 'In the beginning, *Elokim* created' (the first sentence in the Torah), In the beginning (initially) when He thought it, He created thirteen words to surround the Assembly of Israel and to protect it, and here they are: THE, HEAVEN, AND-THE, EARTH, AND-THE EARTH, WAS, EMPTY, AND-CHAOTIC, AND-THE DARKNESS, OVER, THE FACE, OF THE ABYSS, AND-THE SPIRIT, up to the word *Elokim*" (In Hebrew, "and" is written in conjunction with the word following it. Hence, it is considered as one word).

As its object of study, Kabbalah takes the only creation, the only thing that exists besides the Creator—man's self, or "I," and researches it. This science breaks down the self into parts, explains the structure and properties of each part, and the purpose of its creation. Kabbalah explains how every part of man's self, called "the soul," can be changed so that one would reach the goal of creation, the state desired by both the Creator and man himself, provided he realizes it.

There is not a science in the world that can describe, either graphically or analytically, through use of formulas, our sensations and desires, and how diverse and multifaceted they are. That is how fickle, unpredictable, and absolutely distinct they are in everyone. This is because our desires surface in our mind and sensations in a gradual order, in a certain sequence, so we may acknowledge and correct them.

Our self is our essence, the only thing that characterizes an individual. However, it is ever-changing, and what remains is merely an external, animate shell. This is why it is said that every moment man is born anew. Yet, if this is so, how should we regard one another, and how should we perceive ourselves? How can we possibly "stabilize" anything within and outside of us if we are constantly changing, and all that we perceive is a function of our inner state?

The Creator is the source of Light (pleasure). Those who draw near Him sense Him as such. Such people, who draw near the Creator and thereby sense Him, are called Kabbalists (from the word *Lekabel*—to receive the Creator's Light). One can draw near the Creator only through equivalence of desires. The Creator is incorporeal, and can only be sensed with our heart. Naturally, what is meant by "heart" is not the pump that mobilizes blood through our veins, but the center of man's every sensation.

However, one cannot sense the Creator with just his heart, but only with a small point in it. And to feel this point, man must develop it himself. When one develops and expands this point, the sensation of the Creator, His Light, can enter it.

Our heart is the sum of our egoistic desires, and the small point within it is part of the spiritual, altruistic desire implanted from Above by the Creator Himself. It is our task to nurture this embryo of a spiritual desire to such an extent that it (and not our egoistic nature) will determine all of our aspirations. At the same time, the egoistic desire of the heart will surrender, contract, wither, and diminish.

After being born in our world, one is obliged to change his heart from egoistic to altruistic, while living in this world. This is the purpose of his life, the reason behind his appearance in this world, and it is the goal of all creation. A complete replacement of egoistic desires with altruistic ones is called "the End of Correction." Every individual and all of humanity must attain it in this world together. Until one achieves this, he will continue to be born into this world. The Torah and all the prophets speak exclusively of this. The method of correction is called "Kabbalah."

One can change his desires only if one wishes to change them. Man is created an absolute egoist; he can neither adopt different desires from other people or from the surrounding world—as his surroundings are just like him—nor does he have any link to the spiritual worlds, since such a link is possible only through mutual properties. The spiritual can only be perceived in altruistic desires.

Hence, an individual in our world has no chance of transcending the boundaries of this world on his own. That is why we were given the Torah and its most effective part, Kabbalah—to help man acquire the desires of the spiritual worlds.

In order to create man in remoteness to Himself, so that man would realize his insignificance and would come independently to the desire to ascend, the Creator created all creation as degrees descending from Him. The Creator's Light descended along these degrees, and at the lowest degree, created our world and man in it. Having realized his insignificance and wishing to ascend to the Creator, man (to the extent that he wishes to approach the Creator) ascends along the same degrees by which his initial descent took place.

In all, there are ten degrees, called "ten *Sefirot*": *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, and *Malchut*. Like ten screens or curtains, these ten *Sefirot* conceal the Creator's Light from us or the Creator Himself (which is the same thing). These ten screens constitute the ten degrees of our remoteness from the Creator.

Therefore, in order to draw near the Creator by one degree, the lowest one above our own properties, we must acquire the properties of that (lowest) degree. This means that our properties become similar to the properties of that degree, rather than remaining inferior to it. To acquire similar properties means to have the same desires. As soon as our desires coincide with the desires of that degree, its concealment fades, and we seemingly exist on it, and only nine degrees separate us from the Creator.

However, the last, lowest degree differs from all the others: as soon as one ascends out of our world and onto the first degree, he already begins to see (sense) the Creator. And all the subsequent degrees are degrees of drawing closer to the Creator. Only the very last degree, at which we presently exist, conceals the Creator completely, whereas all of the Higher Degrees only distance Him.

Although we count ten degrees, there are in fact only five of them. This is because six degrees: *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Yesod* combine into one *Sefira*, called *Zeir Anpin* (ZA). ZA itself is sometimes referred to as *Tifferet*, for this *Sefira* reflects the common attributes of all of its six *Sefirot*.

So, there are five degrees of concealment from the Creator down to our world: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Every degree is alternatively called *Olam* (world), from the word *Haalamah* (concealment). Every degree has its sub-degrees, called *Partzufim* (plural for *Partzuf*), and every sub-degree has its own

sub-degrees, called *Sefirot* (plural for *Sefira*). Thus, in all, 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 degrees-*Sefirot* exist between us and the Creator.

Below is a table of the degrees from the Creator down to our world:

The Creator: an absolutely altruistic desire to create a soul (man) in order to fill it with delight.

The world of Infinity: the existence of souls in the ultimate, perfect state.

WORLDS	SEFIROT	PARTZUFIM	
1st World Adam Kadmon (AK)	Keter	Galgalta	(*)
	Hochma	AB	(*)
	Bina	SAG	(*)
	ZA	MA	(*)
	Malchut	BON	(*)
2nd World Atzilut	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
3rd World Beria	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
4th World Yetzira	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
5th World Assiya	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)

Our world: the five egoistic desires felt in the heart.

(*) – Consists of five *Sefirot*– *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*.

In all, there are 125 degrees from the Creator to our world.

THE GOAL OF CREATION

Since there is no notion of time in the spiritual, we already exist in our ultimate, perfect state in the world of Infinity (*Ein Sof*). Because desire in the spiritual designates action, desire itself acts, without a body. Therefore, when the desire to create souls (the will to enjoy) appeared in the Creator, when He wished to fill them with the most perfect delight—to sense Him and to delight in His perfection—to make creatures just as He is, His desire was immediately realized. Thus appeared the World of *Ein Sof*, in which we already exist in our final state.

However, we still need to attain this state in our sensations. This is reminiscent of a sleeping person: even though he is sleeping somewhere, he does not understand where he is until he wakes up. However, in order to achieve this perfect state, we must go through a gradual process of transformation of our inner properties (desires), which corresponds to the spiritual ascension from our world through all the worlds, to the World of *Ein Sof*.

To lead us to the final state, the Creator governs us from Above through all the worlds. Thus, there is nothing in our world that does not originate in the World of *Ein Sof*, where the final state of every soul determines the path that it is destined to travel **in general** and the changes that it has to undergo **in particular** at every moment (state) of its spiritual advancement towards the World of Infinity.

There is no way back: everything that happens is dictated by the necessity to bring every soul to its final state. Only this goal determines the state of our world at every second, what happens to it in general and to each of us in particular. The Creator created nothing for naught. Rather, everything serves His purpose.

However, the will that stems from Above does not exclude our active participation in our own advancement. Instead of being slaves that move under the compulsion of a beating stick called suffering, we can turn our path of suffering into the path of Torah—to actively and quickly travel this path from below upwards on our own by realizing that the Creator's purpose is indeed desirable.

This is possible via a request for spiritual elevation—raising *MAN*, a prayer. In response, we will receive spiritual strength from Above that will help us improve our qualities, i.e., to ascend. The entire Torah speaks only of this, and Kabbalah goes further still and provides a detailed explanation of the path itself. As if on a map, it depicts what we go through and where (in what state and at which degree) we are now.

Kabbalah studies the structure of the spiritual worlds. The purpose of these worlds is to weaken the Creator's signals (desires) so that we could understand them with our egoism and realize them with our mind. In Hebrew, the word for "world" is *Olam* (from the word *Haalamah*—meaning concealment), for these worlds conceal and weaken the Creator's Light to such an extent that we can feel it.

Depending on everyone's spiritual qualities, on the degree of one's attainment (complete egoism = our world, partial altruism = spiritual worlds), we perceive the Creator or His Light differently at each of the 125 degrees. These 125 degrees amount to just ten, called "the ten *Sefirot* between the Creator and us," where every lower *Sefira* transmits less of the Creator's Light, as perceived by those at that degree. The lower the *Sefira*, the less of the Creator's Light it lets through to those that are below it.

SEFIROT

These are the names of the *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, and *Malchut*. However, six of them are combined into one *Sefira*, called *Zeir Anpin*, so in all there are five *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Also, ZA himself (ZA is usually considered a male *Sefira*) is sometimes called *Tifferet*, since *Tifferet* is his main *Sefira*, absorbing within itself the properties of all six *Sefirot* of ZA. Thus, the Creator created only five *Sefirot*:

Keter—the Creator's desire to bestow delight upon us, *Malchut*;

Hochma—the pleasure itself, which the Creator wishes to bestow upon us;

Bina—passes the pleasure from *Hochma* to ZA;

ZA—accepts the pleasure from *Bina* and passes it to *Malchut*;

Malchut—receives the pleasure.

Bina consists of two parts: her upper part, called GAR or *AVI*, is unwilling to receive the Light from *Hochma*. However, since the Creator wishes to impart this Light to the lower ones, the lower part of *Bina*, called ZAT or *YESHSUT*, receives the Light from *Hochma* and passes it to ZA. ZA does not want to receive the Light, but *Malchut* (to the extent of her correction) evokes ZA to receive the Light from *Bina* and pass it on to her. Hence, we sometimes speak of the general reception of the Light by ZA and *Malchut*, which are together called ZON (ZA and *Nukva*).

The process is such that *Malchut*—to the extent that her desires are corrected from egoism to altruism—asks ZA to receive the Light "for the Creator's sake."

To this extent, *ZA* requests the Light from *Bina*. Subsequently, *Bina* turns to and receives the requested amount of Light from *Hochma*, then passes it to *ZA*. *Malchut* (to the extent of her corrected properties) merges with *ZA* via equivalence of form (desires), and receives this Light.

Keter, *Hochma*, and *GAR* of *Bina* do not want to receive the Light, but starting with *ZAT* of *Bina* (*YESHSUT*), the desire to receive the Light so as to pass it to the lower ones appears in the *Sefirot*.

Keter	Galgalta or Metzah - forehead	"bestowal"
Hochma	Eynaim - eyes	**GE**
Bina GAR of Bina	Nikvey Eynaim - pupils	
Bina ZAT of Bina	Awzen - ear	
ZA	Hotem - nose	**AHP**
Malchut	Peh - mouth	"reception"

Malchut herself is the creature—the egoistic will to receive pleasure, to enjoy the Creator's Light. This desire is to enjoy the Creator's Light or the Creator (which is the same thing) is the essence of *Malchut*. We are parts of *Malchut*. However, if we have only egoistic desires, we feel the Creator's Light as pleasures in our world. This is a micro dose of His Light. By correcting our desires (properties), we can ascend the spiritual degrees of the Upper Worlds, and there experience the Creator's true delight.

According to the Thought of Creation, *Malchut* must receive the Light from the four previous *Sefirot*, and delight in it. Hence, *Malchut* herself consists of five parts: she receives the Light from the preceding *Sefirot* in four parts, and senses it in the fifth.

All the *Sefirot* that precede *Malchut* (excluding *Malchut*) are similar to our sensory organs, and *Malchut* is like the heart that receives from all organs: brain, sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The heart is *Malchut*, and the sensory organs are the first nine *Sefirot* that precede *Malchut*. All of these parts of *Malchut* are egoistic—they wish to receive the Light (pleasure) so as to enjoy it. With such properties, *Malchut* cannot receive more than a micro dose of the Light of our world, sensing the Creator in a manner called "this world."

However, if *Malchut*, i.e., every one of us, were to receive desires (aspirations) from Above to *bestow* delight upon the Creator to the same extent that we feel the Creator bestowing upon us, with this property (desire), man would ascend spiritually to a degree above our world. He would sense the Creator as spiritual Light, altruistic pleasure and great knowledge, attainment of supernal thoughts and the essence of existence.

SCREEN

Malchut (man) can receive the Light only in anti-egoistic desires. If such desires appear in *Malchut* as a result of the realization that egoism is her enemy (with the help of Kabbalah), to the extent of her hatred for it, *Malchut* can repel the egoistic pleasures for the sake of spiritual perfection, i.e., similarity to the Creator in her desire to please Him and act for His sake.

This ability to repel selfish reception of pleasure is called "a screen," and the repelled pleasure is called "Returning Light," and the pleasure that comes to *Malchut* is called "Direct Light." It is precisely in the repelled pleasure, meaning in the desire to bestow whole-heartedly, selflessly, that man can sense the Creator's Light and Supreme Knowledge.

Since *Malchut* (man's egoism) has to repel pleasure from the five parts of her egoism, the reflecting screen must also consist of five parts. Hence, it creates five parts of the Returning Light. The five parts in *Malchut* are called by the names of the *Sefirot* from which they receive. The five kinds of Direct Light are called *NRNHY*: *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*. The Light that emanates from the Creator descends in the following order:

Yechida

Haya

Neshama

Ruach

Nefesh

PARTZUF

After *Malchut* reflects the Light (pleasure), she decides to receive it in order to delight the Creator, because He wants *Malchut* to receive pleasure and feel Him. The reflection of all the incoming pleasure is called *Rosh* (head). The partial reception of the Light to the extent of one's anti-egoistic powers is called *Toch*

(interior). The unfulfilled desires (due to the absence of a screen on them) are called *Sof* (end) (see below diagram).

This is the structure of the soul (*Kli*, vessel, corrected altruistic desire, *Partzuf* or spiritual body). We call the parts of the spiritual structure by the names of our physiological body: head, body, and limbs. There are five parts in the *Rosh* (head): skull—*Galgalta*, eyes—*Eynaim*, ears—*Awznaim*, nose—*Hotem*, and mouth—*Peh*. There are five parts in the *Guf* (body) from the mouth—*Peh* to the navel—*Tabur.* In the limbs, there are five parts from the navel to the toes (see below diagram).

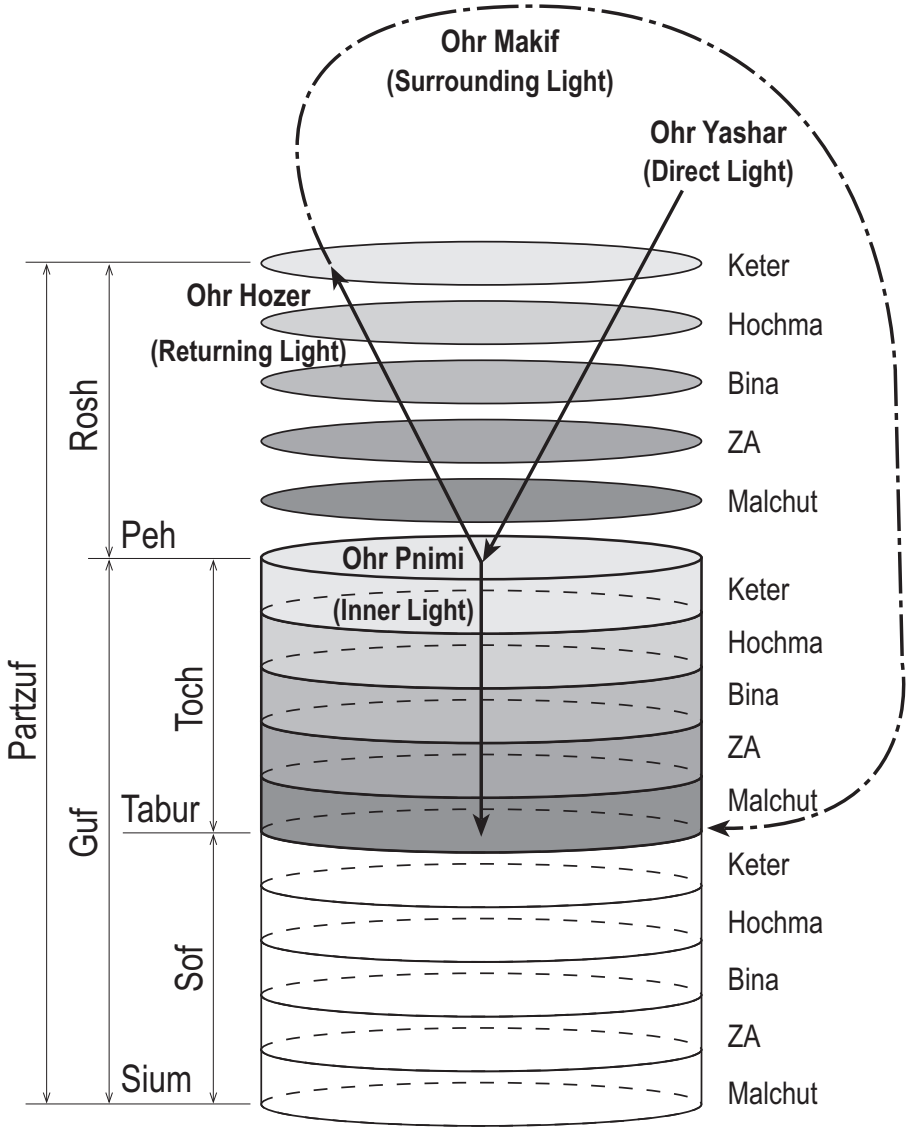

THE INVERSE PROPORTION BETWEEN THE VESSEL AND THE LIGHT

The more strength *Malchut* has to oppose egoism, the greater the Light that enters her. However, although one works on the correction of the vessel's coarser part, he receives the Light from his efforts in his subtler desires. In other words, there is an inverse proportion between the vessel and the Light: the coarser the desire (*Kli*) that is corrected, the greater the Light that enters *Malchut* (vessel); however, it enters her Upper *Kli* (desire).

Since *Malchut* (i.e., all that exists apart from the Creator) is absolutely egoistic, she can only be corrected by imparting onto herself the properties of *Bina*, the Creator—bestowal without reception. This is the property of absolute altruism, of selfless bestowal. To receive such a property (desire) is tantamount to ascending from the level of *Malchut* to the level of *Bina*.

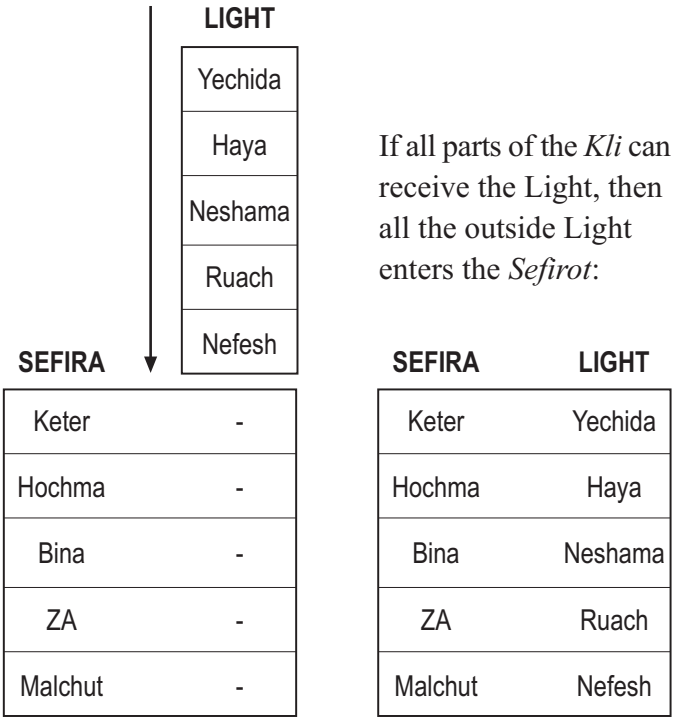

Malchut herself is the will to receive pleasure. The ban imposed on the reception of pleasure for oneself is called the **First Restriction** (*Tzimtzum Aleph*). Restriction is a ban on the reception of pleasure; however, if the receiver aspires to please the Creator and not himself, he is allowed to receive the pleasure.

Whether *Malchut* wants it or not, if she (soul, man) has egoistic desires, the Light will not enter her (be felt within her). Hence, we are utterly unable to feel the spiritual (the Creator).

THE STATE OF *KATNUT* (SMALLNESS)

Yet, *Malchut* is not the only *Sefira* that cannot receive the Light: from the world of *Atzilut* and below, *Sefirot Bina* and ZA cannot receive the Light either. This ban is called the **Second Restriction** (*Tzimtzum Bet*). In this restriction, *Malchut* seemingly ascends in her desires to *Sefira Bina*. Her desires of "reception" dominate three *Sefirot*: *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*, as *Sefirot Bina* and ZA also fall under the rule (desire) of the elevated *Malchut*.

If a *Partzuf* has no strength to oppose its egoistic desires of reception in *Sefirot Bina*, ZA and *Malchut* (*AHP*), its lower part is not entitled to receive the Creator's Light, as it will receive it selfishly, thereby causing great harm to itself. To avoid this, the upper part of the *Partzuf*—*Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* (*GE*)—separates from the lower part by *Parsa* (partition), through which the Light cannot pass downwards. Therefore, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, each degree was divided into two parts:

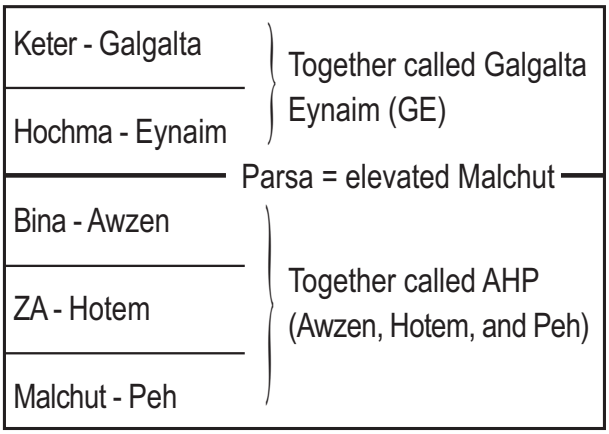

Malchut restricted the spreading of Light inside the *Partzuf*, and two parts were formed in her: *GE* receives the Light, i.e., *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* receive the Lights *Nefesh* and *Ruach*, while the other part of the *Partzuf* (*Sefirot Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*) is below the *Parsa*, and therefore does not receive the Light. Their corresponding Lights—*Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*—also remain outside of the *Partzuf*.

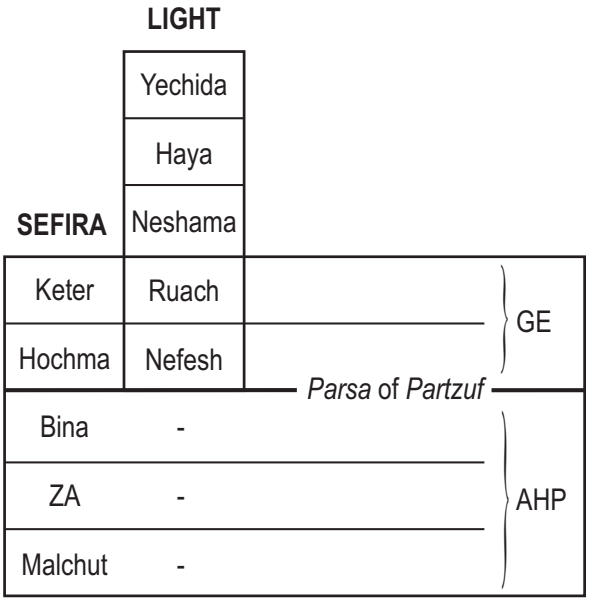

This degree (*Partzuf*) is deprived of the Light *Neshama-Haya-Yechida* and is left with just the Light *Nefesh-Ruach*, called "air." This is designated by the entry of the letter *Yod* into the word Light (*Ohr* = *Aleph-Vav-Reish*). Thus, the word Light (*Ohr*) turns into air (*Avir* = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*). This state of the vessel is called *Katnut* (small state). In other words, the ascent of *Malchut* to *Bina* is designated by the entry of the letter *Yod* into the word Light (*Ohr* = *Aleph-Vav-Reish* +*Yod* = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish* = *Avir*—air). This means that because of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, the *Partzuf* lost its Light and was left with air.

In such a state, the degree or *Partzuf* is called *Katnut* (smallness), where *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* have only the Light *Nefesh-Ruach*, as *Sefirot Bina*, ZA and *Malchut* are below the *Parsa*, and do not receive the Light. The *Parsa* prevents the Light from spreading below it. *Sefirot Keter-Hochma* and *Bina-ZA-Malchut* are designated by the following letters:

Keter	- Mem	- M
Hochma	- Yod	- I
Bina	- Hey	- H
ZA	- Lamed	- LO
Malchut	- Aleph	- E

In the reverse order, these letters form the Creator's name *Elokim*, where *GE* = letters *Mem* + *Yod* = *IM* (pronounced as *MI*), and *AHP* = letters *Aleph* + *Lamed* + *Hey* = *ELEH*. Since man attains the Creator from below upwards, the Creator's name *ELOKIM* is read from below upwards.

After the birth of all the worlds and the descent of the entire Creation to our world, all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds of *BYA* passed into the state of *Katnut*. Thus, the Light is present in *GE*, but absent in *AHP*. *AHP* of the Upper Degree fell into *GE* of the lower degree, thus forming the spiritual ladder between the Creator and man in our world, and the lowest part of the last spiritual degree of the world of *Assiya* fell into a point in man's heart. Consequently, all the intermediate degrees now exist one inside the other: *AHP* of the Upper Degree is inside *GE* of the lower one:

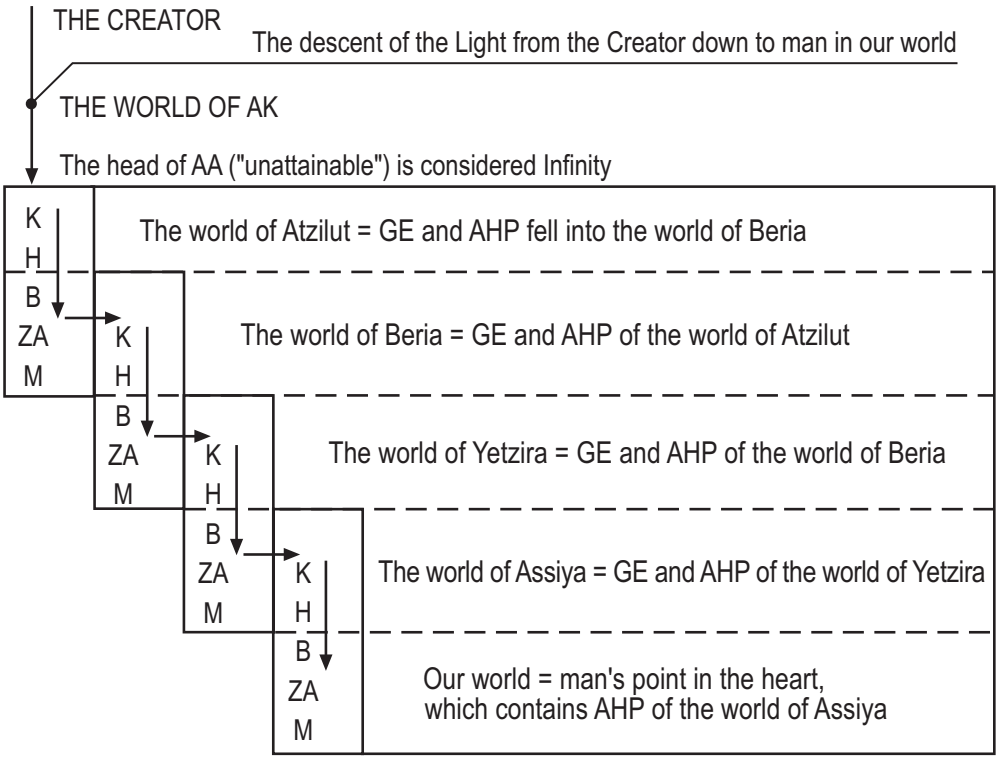

The sum of man's desires is referred to as his heart. Since the nature with which we are born is absolute egoism, man does not feel the spiritual point in his heart. However, at some point in one of his reincarnations, man begins to gradually strive towards attainment of the causes of life, its evaluation; he

yearns to attain himself, his source, just as you do right now. Man's aspiration to the Creator is precisely this aspiration to attain his origin. Man's discontent in life often helps him in this search, when there's nothing that appeals to him in his surroundings. Such circumstances are sent from Above in order for man to start feeling an empty point in his heart, and to stimulate in him the desire to fulfill it.

The Creator manifests as the altruistic property to bestow pleasure without any benefit for Himself. From this, we can understand the property of *Sefirot Keter*, *Hochma,* and *Bina* that share the Creator's property of bestowal. The only Creation is *Malchut*, the will to receive the Light (pleasure). All of us and our entire world are the lowest part of this egoistic *Malchut*.

THE STATE OF *GADLUT* (GREATNESS/ADULTHOOD)

However, if one (*Malchut*) raises *MAN*, the request for his spiritual ascent, by making efforts to free himself from egoism and by praying to the Creator for help, the Light *AB-SAG* descends from Above. It comes from the world of *AK*, brings *Malchut* altruistic strength and enables her to return from *Bina* back to her place. In other words, *Malchut*'s ability to refrain from selfish reception of pleasure is complemented with the strength to receive pleasure for the Creator's sake, to receive the Light of *Hochma* within *AHP*, for His sake.

Subsequently, *AHP*, or *Sefirot Bina*, *ZA* and *Malchut*, become reactivated, the *Partzuf* regains all five *Kelim* (parts), the letter *Yod* disappears from the word *Avir* (air), and it turns to being *Ohr* (Light). In that state, all five Lights *NRNHY* fill the *Partzuf*, the letters *MI* join the letters *ELEH*, forming the Creator's name—*Elokim*. This state is called *Gadlut* (greatness/adulthood).

ASCENT OF THE LOWER ONE TO THE UPPER ONE

As a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, the Upper *Partzuf* establishes contact with the lower one. As a result, the lower *Partzuf* can ascend to the level of the Upper One. This is the reason for the second restriction: to give the lower ones (man) the opportunity to ascend to the World of Infinity, up to the Creator Himself.

In order to establish this contact, the Upper *Partzuf* deliberately diminishes itself, descends to the level of the lower *Partzuf*, and becomes similar to the lower one in its properties. *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* willingly falls into *GE* of the lower one, as though it has no strength to receive the Light, and they become a single whole. This is similar to a scenario when a strong individual joins a society of criminals, imitating their behavior, so that after being admitted into

their circle and establishing contact with them, he will gradually influence and correct them.

How? The Upper Light (the so-called Light of *AB-SAG*) comes and provides *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* with the strength to ascend to their *GE*. And *GE* of the lower *Partzuf* ascend together with them: because they were a single whole and equivalent in their properties below, they receive the same strength to ascend.

Upon receiving the Light of *AB-SAG*, *GE* of the lower *Partzuf* become like Upper One. Therefore, we should not regard the second restriction as negative, but as help from the Upper *Partzuf*. It descends to the lower *Partzuf* by corrupting its own properties in order to equalize itself with the lower one, so as to subsequently ascend together with it to its previous level. This way, the lowest degree can ascend not only to the next Higher One, but also to the Highest Degree of the spiritual ladder.

THE LIGHT OF *ZON* IS THE LIGHT OF THE WORLDS *BYA*

Partzuf YESHSUT is *AHP* of *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, and all that it receives and passes to *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut* subsequently descends to the worlds of *BYA* and then to us.

In the small state (*Katnut*), *AHP* of *YESHSUT* falls into *ZON*. Then *YESHSUT* receives strength, and by elevating its *AHP*, it elevates *ZON*, too. By ascending to *YESHSUT*, *ZON* become similar to it and receive the Light at the level of *YESHSUT*. *ZON* can never receive the Light of *Hochma* in their own level; they can only receive the Light of *Hassadim*, the Light essential to their existence.

ZON of the world of *Atzilut* are called *Olam* (world), just as our world is also called *Olam*, for all that *ZON de Atzilut* receive can be received by man in this world. And vice versa—all that *ZON de Atzilut* cannot receive is unattainable to man, for we attain only up to the level of *ZON*, and not higher.

And since *ZON* cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* in their place, the Creator purposely initiated the second restriction, thereby lowering the *Sefirot* of *AHP* of *Partzuf YESHSUT* down to *ZON*, so that *ZON* would be able to ascend to *YESHSUT* and higher, up to the Highest Degree. Hence, it is said in the Torah (*Beresheet Barah*): "In the beginning the Creator created all in judgment (restriction), but after seeing that the world (*ZON*) cannot exist (receive all of the Light of *Hochma* prepared for it), added to judgment the property of mercy."

In the beginning, He elevated *Malchut* (the restriction of *YESHSUT*, for *Malchut* is restricted from receiving Light) to *Bina* (mercy of *YESHSUT*). As a result, *AHP* of *YESHSUT* fell into *ZON* and merged with them. However, the world (*ZON*) still cannot exist in this way. Hence, the Creator added mercy to judgment: He gave *YESHSUT* the strength to elevate its *AHP* together with *ZON* to the degree of *YESHSUT*. There, *ZON* receive the Light of *YESHSUT* and pass it down to all the worlds of *BYA* and to our world.

CORRECTION IN THREE LINES

Each of the ten *Sefirot* in turn consists of ten individual sub-*Sefirot*. *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* in each individual *Sefira*, i.e., to the full height of the ten *Sefirot*; in each particular *Sefira*, *Malchut* moves up from its place to the place of *Bina* in that *Sefira*:

(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - K
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - H
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - B
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - ZA
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - M

The sign | signifies a particular *Parsa* in a *Sefira*, the restriction imposed on the spreading of Light. *GE* that remain in each *Sefira* above the *Parsa* are called the **"right line,"** for there is Light in them. *Malchut* that ascends to *Bina* in each *Sefira* creates the **"left line"** with her restriction on the reception of Light. A *Zivug* made on the elevated *Malchut* (only on the free, unrestricted *Kelim KHB*) allows the Light of *Hassadim* to shine in *GE*, and this reception of the Light of *Hassadim* in *GE* is called the **"middle line."**

Now let us clarify what is written in *The Zohar*: There are ten *Sefirot*: *Keter* (*K*), *Hochma* (*H*), *Bina* (*B*), *Hesed* (*H*), *Gevura* (*G*), *Tifferet* (*T*), *Netzah* (*N*), *Hod* (*H*), *Yesod* (*Y*), and *Malchut* (M). However, there are actually only five of them: *Keter* (*K*), *Hochma* (*H*), *Bina* (*B*), *Tifferet* (*T*), and *Malchut* (M). This is because *Tifferet* (alternatively called *Zeir Anpin*—*ZA*) consists of six *Sefirot*, from *Hesed* to *Yesod*. Five *Sefirot KHB-ZA-M* created five *Partzufim* in each world. In the world of *Atzilut*, these *Partzufim* are *Arich Anpin* (*AA*), *Aba ve Ima* (*AVI*), and *Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva* (*ZON*). *Keter* is called *AA*; correspondingly, *Hochma* and *Bina* are called *AVI*; and *ZA* (*Tifferet*) and *Malchut* are called *ZON*.

The essence of the seven days of creation lies in *Partzufim ZA* and *Nukva* of the world of *Atzilut*, which consist of seven *Sefirot*: *HGT-NHYM*. And from the

description of creation it transpires how *AVI* (*Hochma* and *Bina*) beget *ZON* (all of creation, including us) and elevate them to their final state during the 6,000 years. This is what *The Book of Zohar* tells us.

Rabbi Hizkiyah began his explanation of *Nukva* of the world of *Atzilut* by clarifying the birth of *ZON* from *Ima* (*Bina*), called *Elokim*. That is why he began his explanation with a rose, *Nukva* of *ZA*. At the utmost completion of its development, *Nukva* of *ZA* is called *Knesset Israel*, the Assembly of Israel. For *Nukva* consists of all the souls called *Israel*; hence, it is said that a rose is *Knesset Israel.*

There are two states in a rose (*Malchut*). The lowest, initial, small state (*Katnut*) is when *Malchut* consists only of *Sefira Keter* filled with the Light *Nefesh*, while her other nine *Sefirot* are those that fell from the world of *Atzilut* to the world of *Beria*. The other state of *Nukva* is mature, big, complete (*Gadlut*), when her nine *Sefirot* ascend from the world of *Beria* back to the world of *Atzilut*, and complete the full ten *Sefirot* of her *Partzuf*. Then, being equal to her husband, *Malchut* ascends together with him to *AVI* and clothes them, i.e., receives their Light.

The clothing of the lower, outer *Partzuf* onto the Upper, Inner One means that the lower *Partzuf* attains a part of the Upper One, ascends to a Higher spiritual level, and becomes in some way similar to the Upper *Partzuf.*

In that state, *ZA* is called Israel, from the letters *LI* (to me) and *ROSH* (head), which signifies the state of *Gadlut*, while *Nukva* is called "the Assembly of Israel," for she accumulates all of the Light of her husband, *ZA*, and passes it to the lower ones—the souls in the worlds *BYA*.

Nukva's state of *Katnut* is called "a rose among thorns," for nine of her lower *Sefirot* in the *Katnut* state fell under the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*, thereby losing the Light of the world of *Atzilut*, and becoming as dry as thorns. And in her *Gadlut* state, *Nukva* is simply called "a rose" or "the Assembly of Israel." This is why it is written, "there is a rose, and there is a rose."

The color red designates the rose's connection with the outer, impure forces, which, because of this connection, can suck the strength (Light) from it. This is because nine of her *Sefirot* are in exile below the world of *Atzilut*, in the world of *Beria*, which may already contain impure forces. And the rose also has a color white in its *Sefira Keter*, for her *Sefira Keter* is in the world of *Atzilut*, above the *Parsa*, where there is no contact with the lower, impure forces. In other words, there are two opposite states: perfection and its absence, Light and darkness. They are felt by him who merits it.

It is therefore written that just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, so does the Assembly of Israel consist of judgment and mercy. This shows that in *Gadlut*, when *Malchut* is called *Knesset Israel*, even though she ascended to *Bina* and clothed her, she still retains the property of judgment, of restriction—an attitude that's tough and just, rather than compassionate. This is so because she needs a screen (a force of resistance to her egoistic desires), which, if available, enables *Malchut* to receive the Upper Light.

The law, judgment, or restriction does not allow for the reception of Light in egoistic desires. The screen, the aspiration to oppose one's egoistic desires, repels the Upper Light (pleasure) back to its source, the Creator. The Light that man sends back is called "Returning Light" or the "Light of Judgment." To the extent of the intensity of the reflective force (i.e., the force of resistance to one's will to receive), man is allowed to receive the ten *Sefirot* of the Upper Light (called the Direct Light or the Light of Mercy) for the Creator's sake, in precisely these altruistic desires. And that is why, even in its complete state, the Assembly of Israel consists of judgment and mercy, which corresponds to the red and white colors of a rose among thorns.

And this is the pool made by King Shlomo (Solomon). It is built on twelve bulls, for the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* that fell to the world of *Beria* were corrected there from twelve heads of bulls. One of their *Sefirot*, *Keter*, which remained in the world of *Atzilut*, is called the "pool" that is built on these bulls. Together, they are called thirteen rose petals. (The reason why the ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut* are divided by ten-*Hassadim* or thirteen-*Hochma* will be clarified later).

The Light of a complete *Nukva* is called *Hochma*, as it contains the Light of Wisdom, and originates from the thirteen names called "the thirteen attributes of mercy." However, the main thing that Rabbi Hizkiyah wants to tell us is that a rose among thorns is above the Assembly of Israel, because, as is well known, all that is present in *Nukva's* complete state must exist in her small state as well, albeit in diminished similarity.

Therefore, it is said that the properties of white and red in the small state correspond to the properties of mercy and judgment in the big state. And the thirteen petals of the small state, when corrected, create in *Nukva* the thirteen attributes of mercy in her big state. Later on, we will see how these thirteen attributes of *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* change her in both the small and big states.

It is written that, in the process of creation, "in the beginning *Elokim* (*Bina de Atzilut*) created" *Nukva* of ZA with thirteen words: *ET*, *SHAMAIM*, *VE'ET*,

ARETZ, *VEARETZ*, *HAITA*, *TOHU*, *VABOHU*, *VECHOSHECH*, *AL*, *PNEI*, *TEHOM*, *VERUACH* (from the word *Elokim* to the word *Elokim*). And these thirteen words signify the thirteen petals of a rose among thorns (her small state), like the pool built by the King Shlomo, which stands on thirteen (twelve) bulls (nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* without Light, as they are in the world of *Beria*, below the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*). These words are the preparation for the purification and correction of the Assembly of Israel in order to receive the thirteen attributes of mercy.

These thirteen attributes of mercy (the Light of a complete *Nukva*) surround her and shine upon her from all sides, and guard her from the touch of foreign (egoistic) desires. After all, until she is filled with all the Light of *Hochma* in her complete, big state, there's a potential for foreign, egoistic desires to cling to and feed off her.

2. Afterwards, the name *Elokim* is mentioned once more, "*Elokim* soars." Why is it mentioned in this sense? So as to bring out the five rigid leaves that surround the rose, which are called "salvation." And these are the five gates. And it is said of this secret, I will raise the "cup of salvation" (Psalms, 116:13). It is the cup of blessing. The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, just as a rose rests on five rigid leaves that correspond to the five fingers. And this rose is the cup of blessing, from the second to the third mention of the name *Elokim* (*Beresheet*, 1:2-3), there are five words: "soars," "over," "the surface," "of the waters," "and said"—in all, five words parallel the five leaves. And further, "The Creator said, 'Let there be Light'"—this Light was created. However, it was concealed and enclosed within that covenant that entered the rose and fructified it. And it is referred to as "A fructiferous tree, wherein is the seed thereof" (*Beresheet*, 1:12). And this seed exists in the mark of the covenant.

The five leaves are the five *Sefirot* of the Light reflected from *Malchut*, which she raises from the *Zivug de Hakaa.* The direct incoming Light is called five *Hassadim HGT-NH*, and it clothes into five parts (types of restrictions) of the Returning Light *HGT-NH*, called the five rigid leaves of a rose, which correspond to the text from the second (the spirit of God soared over the waters) to the third (and said) mention of the word *Elokim* in the Torah.

These words explain how the five rigid leaves (attributes) can be extracted from *Malchut* so that she will be fit for a *Zivug* and achieve the big state. And during the big state, when the five rigid leaves become five restrictions, they are defined as the five gates of reception of the Light of *Hassadim* of the Direct Light, and they are called salvation, and *Malchut* is called the cup of salvation or

the cup of blessing and good fortune, for, thanks to these leaves (restrictions), *Malchut* can receive the Light of *Hassadim*—a blessing.

The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, for *Malchut* can receive the Light of *Hochma* only if she is clothed in the Light of *Hassadim* beforehand. Therefore, first she has to make a blessing, which means to receive the five parts (*NRNHY*) of the Light of *Hassadim* with the help of five fingers (five restrictions), and only then to receive in them (i.e., in the corrected intentions) the Light of *Hochma*.

Hence, a cup of wine must be raised with two hands, as five fingers of the right hand symbolize mercy—*Hassadim*, and five fingers of the left hand symbolize restrictions. However, having started the blessing, the cup must only be held with the five fingers of the right hand (*Hassadim*, bestowing). Otherwise, the impure forces that take from the left (receiving) side become active, as such forces cling only to a place where there is reception of Light.

What follows is the big state of *Malchut*, which corresponds to the words of the Torah: "Let there be Light." These are the five lights, in which Adam saw the world from end to end, as it is written in the Talmud (*Hagigah*, 12). But the Creator saw that there would be transgressions in the generations of the Flood and the Tower of Babel, and concealed this Light. And the following generations will then need to attain it on their own.

Previously, these five *Hassadim* were in *Yesod* of ZA, and *Malchut* received from it, and not from *Bina*, called *Elokim*, as she does now. *Yesod de ZA* is called the mark of the covenant with the Creator (after the corrections, called circumcision, are made), and five *Hassadim* received on the five restrictions are called "seed." The main force of restrictions and the impact forces of the screen, with which it repels the Light, are in *Ateret Yesod* (the end of the *Sefira Yesod*). There occurs *Zivug de Hakaa*, from which *Malchut* receives the Light. Only at the end of correction will this *Zivug* pass on to *Malchut* herself.

Therefore, during the 6,000 years, the screen that is in *Yesod*, strikes at the incoming Light (pleasure) with its five restrictions (the forces that oppose egoistic reception of pleasure), thus creating five parts of the Returning Light, and receiving in them the five parts of the Light of *Hassadim*. Subsequently, ZA passes these five Lights of *Hassadim* from his *Yesod* to *Nukva*. And these five Lights of *Hassadim* are called "seed."

3. Just as the covenant is conceived from that seed in forty-two *Zivugim*, so the secret name fills and inseminates all forty-two letters of the initial act of creation.

The name "forty-two" = *MB* = *Mem* + *Bet* = 40 + 2 is composed of *HaVaYaH* (four letters), filled *HaVaYaH* (ten letters), and doubly filled *HaVaYaH* (twenty-eight letters). In all, 4 + 10 + 28 = 42, signifying the seed that exists in the mark of the covenant that is enclosed in five *Hassadim* and five *Gevurot*.

There are two aspects to *Nukva*: her body (*Partzuf*), which emerges from *Bina*, and her *Zivug*, called the secret of unity with ZA. *Nukva* can be in two states: small or big (*Katnut* or *Gadlut* respectively). The small state is an incomplete, insufficient state of *Malchut*, but it is necessary as preparation for the big state, called the revelation of the secret, of the concealed.

And since the big state reveals the small, and all that is concealed in the small state becomes clear in the big, he who is in a state of spiritual descent does not see the reasons for his state, but it all becomes clear to him when he attains the big state that follows.

As a result of the ascent of *Malchut* of *AVI* to their *Bina*, *Partzuf* of *Bina* (*AVI*) was divided into two parts: the upper part, *GE*, acquired the name *AVI*, while the lower part, *AHP*, became known as *YESHSUT*. *AVI* are filled with the Light of *Hassadim*, since they wish for no other, and *YESHSUT* receives it from them, for, although it desires the Light of *Hochma*, it cannot receive it in view of the fact that *Malchut* of *AVI* ascended above it.

However, although there is no Light of *Hochma* in *AVI*, they do not suffer without it whatsoever, and therefore exist in perfection called *GAR*, even in the absence of the Light of *Hochma*. And even when one raises *MAN* requesting strength (i.e., the Light of *Hochma*) so as to overcome his impure desires, *AVI* do not receive the Light of *Hochma*. *YESHSUT* receives this Light and passes it to ZA. Hence, although *AVI* are below the *Rosh* of AA, and there is no Light of *Hochma* in them, they do not suffer from it.

However, *YESHSUT* suffers from the absence of the Light of *Hochma*, wishing to pass it to ZA, so it waits for *MAN* from ZA in order to ascend to *AVI* in the form of *Sefira Daat*. For when the lower ones raise *MAN*, the whole of *Bina* ascends to the *Rosh* of AA; *YESHSUT* receives the Light of *Hochma* from AA and passes it to ZON. This corresponds to the disappearance of the letter *Yod* from the word *Avir* (air), and *Avir* turns into *Ohr*—Light (*Hochma*) once more.

However, for all that, even in the *Rosh* of AA, *AVI* remain only with the Light of *Hassadim* (air). Hence, the heads of both AA and *AVI* are called "Supreme Waters" or "Heaven." This is considering the fact that *AVI* can be beneath the *Rosh* of AA; however, since it does not affect their independence and perfection, it is as if they are in the *Rosh* of AA.

Under *AVI* there is a firmament (*Parsa*) of the world of *Atzilut*, which separates the *Kelim* of bestowal from the *Kelim* of reception of the world of *Atzilut*. *YESHSUT* and *ZON* (inferior waters) that need the Light of *Hochma* stand below the *Parsa*, which is in the chest of *AA*. It is therefore said that the inferior waters weep (i.e., their state is small), for they feel the lack of *Ohr Hochma* and wish to ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA*. In no way should one confuse the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* (located within the world of *Atzilut*) that divides it into *GE* and *AHP* with the *Parsa* below the world *Atzilut* that separates it from the worlds of *BYA*.

The Light that is received above the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* is called the Light of *Mem-Bet* (*MB*). However, the seven *Sefirot* of *ZON* (six *Sefirot* of *ZA* and one *Sefira* of *Malchut*) that designate the seven days of creation cannot receive this Light of *MB*, as they are located below the *Parsa* and receive only the Light of *Hassadim* (minimal sustenance) from *YESHSUT*.

However, when the lower ones (man) raise *MAN*, and *MAD* descends from *AB-SAG* (the Light that brings *Bina* back to the *Rosh* of *AA*), *YESHSUT* receives the Light of *Hochma* and passes it to *ZON*, allowing *ZON* to ascend above the *Parsa* that stands in the *Chazeh* (chest) of *AA*, and receive the Light of *MB*.

That is why the Light of *MB* in *ZON* is manifested in thirty-two *Elokim* and ten sayings, where thirty-two *Elokim* represent *YESHSUT* in the state of ascent, when *YESHSUT* receives thirty-two streams of wisdom (*Hochma*) that create in it the thirty-two names of *Elokim*, mentioned in the act of creation: "In the beginning the Creator created," and so on.

The ten sayings are five *Hassadim*. After *ZON* have already received the Light of *Hochma* from thirty-two *Elokim*, the five Lights of *Hassadim* that were received from *AVI* (signifying *MB*) are called "Supreme Waters." We see that the five *Hassadim* in *ZON* do not turn into the name *MB* before they receive from thirty-two *Elokim*. It is therefore said that thirty-two *Elokim* and ten sayings form the name *MB*, i.e., in the state of ascent.

Hence, Rabbi Hizkiyah said that the five Lights in the saying "Let there be Light" (signifying the five *Hassadim*) are called "seed" (abundance), which *Yesod* of *ZA* passes to *Malchut*. And it is called *MB*, although essentially it is merely five *Hassadim*; however, since it has the Light of *Hochma* that was received from thirty-two *Elokim* of *YESHSUT*, it refers to *MB*.

Flower Buds

4. In the Beginning, Rabbi Shimon opened, "The flower buds have appeared on the earth" (In Hebrew the words "land" and "earth" are designated by the same word, *Eretz*; Song of Songs, 2:12). "The flower buds" refer to the act of creation; "appeared on the earth." When? On the third day, as it is said, "And the earth brought forth grass" (*Beresheet*, 1:12). "The time of singing has come" refers to the fourth day, the time of strictness, judgment, restriction. Therefore, on the fourth day, the word "lights" is written with a missing letter, which hints at the strictness of judgment and a curse. "And the voice of the turtle dove is heard" refers to the fifth day, on which it is said, "Let the waters swarm," so that they can produce offspring. However, the words "is heard" already refer to the sixth day, on which it is said, "Let us make man," who, in the future, shall put action before understanding (we shall do and we shall hear, *Naaseh ve Nishmah*). For here it is said, "Let us make man," and there it is said, "We shall do and we shall hear." "In our land" refers to the day of *Shabbat*, which is like the Land of Life, the world to come.

It is completely incomprehensible to us how *The Zohar* compares the words from *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs, 2:12) with what is written in the Torah about the first days of creation. The six days of creation symbolize the six *Sefirot HGT-NHY* of ZA, onto which all ten *Sefirot* of *Nukva* are built. This is because *Nukva* is only the will to receive (pleasure), while her entire spiritual body (desires of bestowal) consists of her husband's *Sefirot*, ZA, the altruistic properties that ZA passes to *Nukva*.

Nukva herself (the created desire to receive pleasure) is an empty place unfilled with Light (the Creator). This is because the Light can only enter a desire (*Kli*) with similar properties to itself. Therefore, to the extent of her similarity to ZA, the properties that *Malchut* receives from ZA, those corrected properties of *Malchut* turn into a *Partzuf* and become filled with the Light that corresponds to their correction.

Thus, the greater the correction that is made in a particular part, the greater the Light (of the five Lights *NRNHY*) that enters that part. The corrected and fulfilled part of *Malchut* is referred to as a "world." Here and henceforth, *The Zohar* explains how *Nukva* is built out of ZA, i.e., how the world is created.

Nukva is called "earth." Flower buds are *Sefirot*—the properties of ZA that appear and grow within *Malchut* on the third day of creation, which corresponds to *Sefira Tifferet* (*Hesed*-1, *Gevura*-2, *Tifferet*-3). In the beginning, *Malchut* was created as ZA in height; two equally great celestial bodies, the Sun—ZA and the Moon—*Malchut*. This is why we see them as being equal in size when the Moon is full. After all, all that is said with regard to man. In the initial state following her creation, *Malchut* is a point at the feet of ZA, and subsequently grows along him.

That is to say, on the third day of creation, *Malchut* was equal in height (had the same properties) to *Tifferet* of ZA. However, *Malchut* was not able to receive the Light in such a state. Hence, it is said, STRICTNESS (judgment) APPEARED ON THE EARTH (in *Malchut*); the flower buds merely appeared.

And after that, THE TIME OF SINGING HAS COME already refers to the fourth day of creation, when *Malchut* was diminished, because she complained to the Creator: "Two angels cannot wear one crown"—if *Malchut* is equal to ZA in height, she cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* from him.

The reason for that being—not having received the Light of *Hassadim* from ZA beforehand, *Malchut* cannot receive the Light of *Hochma*, as the Light of *Hochma* can only be received within the Light of *Hassadim*, by clothing the Light of *Hochma* (pleasure) into the Light of *Hassadim* (the intention to enjoy "for the Creator's sake").

And the Creator answered *Malchut*: "Go and diminish yourself." In other words: if, owing to your egoistic properties, you cannot receive the Light independently, but only from ZA, then diminish your own properties, accept His, and gradually correct yourself. Then you will be able to receive all of the Light and be like Him (ZA—the Creator). All of this is described in the Talmud (*Hullin*, 60:2), but only with the explanation provided in *The Zohar* do we stop perceiving it as a fairytale.

Then *Malchut* descended below *Yesod* of ZA, and her nine lower *Sefirot* fell below *Parsa* into the worlds of BYA. And only her *Sefira Keter* remained in *Atzilut* as a point standing below *Yesod* of ZA. And from here on, *Malchut* is built not of her own *Sefirot* (properties) that exist in BYA, but of *Sefirot* (properties) *Netzah* and *Hod* of ZA.

Although *Malchut* was previously bigger, she was not able to receive the Light for lack of the Light of *Hassadim*; now she will be smaller, but she will have the Light of *Hassadim*, in which she will be able to receive the Light of *Hochma*. Even though *Malchut* will be at a lower degree, she will be able to utilize it, for the Light of *Hassadim* repels the impure forces that cling to *Nukva*. That is the meaning of the word *Zamir* (singing/pruning). However, there is another meaning to this word that is at use here—cutting off, or pruning the impure forces from *Malchut* (rose bud).

THE VOICE OF THE TURTLE DOVE: The turtle dove is a *Sefira*, the property of *Netzah de ZA*, and the voice of the turtle dove represents *Sefira Hod* of *ZA*, the fifth day of creation. And since *Malchut* receives from *Yesod* (which receives from *Hod* that is joined with *Netzah*), such reception by *Malchut* is referred to as "the voice of the turtle dove."

Therefore, the words "is heard" refer to the sixth day, since the voice of the turtle dove (*Malchut*) is heard only with the help of the sixth day, *Yesod* of *ZA*, which includes both *Netzah* and *Hod*, and passes their Light to *Malchut*. Hence, it is said that this voice is heard in *Malchut* only from *Yesod*, on the sixth day.

The reason for this is that *Malchut* can receive the Light only from the middle line of *ZA*: either from *Yesod* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *NHY*, *Ibur* – embryo) or from *Tifferet* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *HGT* = *VAK*, *Yenika* – nursing or *Katnut* – smallness) or from *Daat* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *HBD* = *GAR*, *Mochin* – brain or *Gadlut* – big).

LINES Left Middle Right	NAME OF DEGREE	THE LIGHT IN THE DEGREE
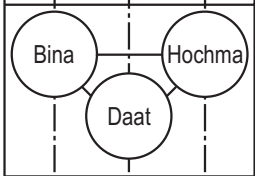	HBD (*HaBaD*)	The Light of Neshama = The light of HBD
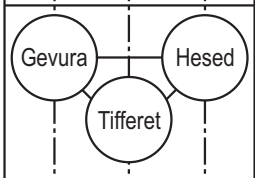	HGT (*HaGaT*)	The Light of Ruach = The light of HGT
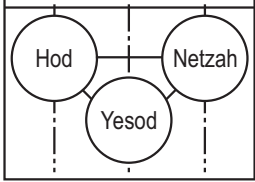	NHY (*NeHY*)	The Light of Nefesh = The light of NHY

LET US MAKE MAN, FOR IN THE FUTURE HE SHALL PUT ACTION BEFORE LISTENING: sight refers to *Sefira Hochma*, hearing refers to *Sefira Bina*. Action or deed is a property of *Malchut*. In order to correct *Malchut*, the Creator's only creation (other *Sefirot* are properties of the Creator Himself, with which He gradually created *Malchut*), a second restriction was made—*Malchut* ascended to *Bina* so as to combine her egoistic properties of reception with *Bina*'s altruistic properties of bestowal; *Malchut* ascended to *Aba-Hochma*, and *Ima-Bina* found herself below *Malchut* (*Parsa*), where she became similar in her properties to *Malchut*.

Eyes refer to *Sefira Hochma* or *Aba*. *Malchut* ascended to the level of eyes and stands at the level of pupils. *Malchut* is called *Nukva*; and *Malchut* that stands at the level of eyes is called *Nikvey Eynaim* (pupils) or *NE*. That is why there are only *Keter* and *Hochma* in the *Rosh* (head) of *AA*: *Bina* fell from the *Rosh* to the *Guf* (body) and *Malchut* is above *Bina*, that is, *Malchut* represents an action that is Above, i.e., precedes perception and understanding. This is what is meant by "we will do, and we will hear"—the act of the second restriction, limiting reception only to *GE*. Such a state is called the "return" (in one's properties to the Creator). The "complete return" occurs when *AHP* of *Malchut* gets corrected and joins *GE* at this degree.

As a result of *Malchut*'s ascent to *NE*, she changes her properties (every one of us needs only this—to ascend to the level of the Creator's properties, so that we can receive them and become like Him), and is now ready to ascend to *AVI* and receive the Light of *Haya*. The constant Light of this level is called the First Temple. That is why when receiving the Torah, Israel elected to act first and hear after. And for this reason they merited reception of the Torah (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 85:1), as the action (*Malchut*) ascended and clothed *AVI*, and thus the secret of the fifty gates of *Bina* was revealed.

Construction of the Temple does not pertain to it being built in this world, but rather to the attainment of the degree of the Temple, the degree of *AVI de Atzilut*, the Light of *Haya* (the First Temple) or the degree of *YESHSUT de Atzilut*, the Light of *Neshama* (the Second Temple).

Here *The Zohar* tells us: "it is heard" on the sixth day, for on this day (in this state) *Malchut* was corrected by means of her ascent above *Bina*, referred to as "placing action before listening," to do and to hear as during the reception of the Torah. *Malchut* in the state of ascension to *Bina* is called the Eternal Land or the Land of Life, for she inherits life from *Bina*.

"IN OUR LAND" REFERS TO *SHABBAT*, WHICH IS LIKE THE ETERNAL LAND OF LIFE: *Ima-Bina* is called the Land of Life or the Eternal Land. As a result of the act on the sixth day, meaning the Creator's action from Above (the factor of time is designated by an action of the Creator Himself, which has no causes in our world), *Malchut* ascended to *Ima* on the seventh day of creation (*Shabbat*) and became like *Ima*, for when the lower one ascends to the degree of the Upper One, they become equal (in properties). Hence, upon ascending to *Bina* and there receiving the Light of *Haya*, *Malchut* is called the Land of Eternal Life.

5. Another explanation: flower buds are the Patriarchs, who entered the mind and entered into the world to come, *Bina*, where they remain concealed. From there they emerge in concealment and conceal themselves in the true prophets. Yosef was born and they concealed themselves within him. When Yosef entered the Holy Land, he erected them there, and then "they appeared on the earth" and were revealed there. When did they appear? When a rainbow can be seen, they become revealed. At that moment, "the time of singing has come," meaning the time to eradicate all the wicked in the world. Why did they survive? Because the flower buds have appeared on (from) the earth. And if they were to be seen beforehand, they could not have remained in the world, and the world would not have been able to exist.

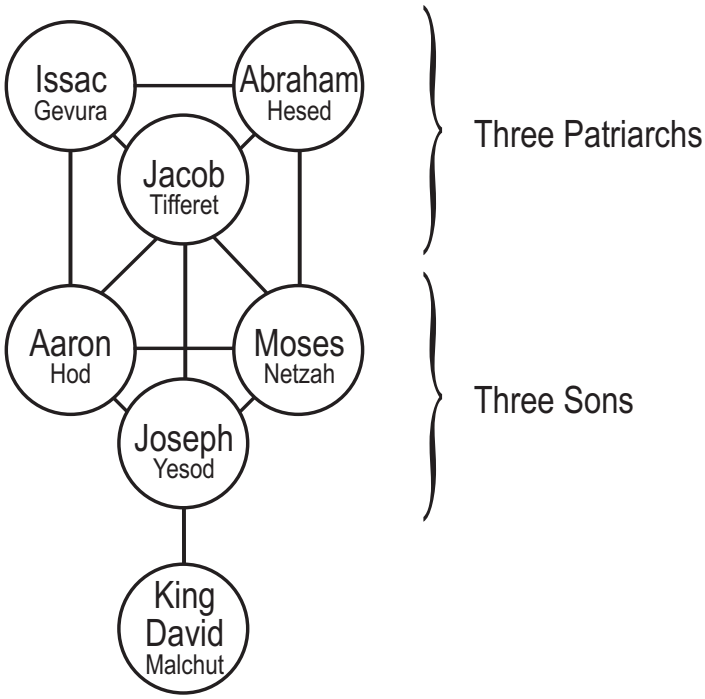

Here *The Zohar* explains the attainment of the Light of *Haya* by *ZA*. *NHY* of *ZA* are called "sons" and *HGT* of *ZA* are called "patriarchs," as well as the "turtle dove." *ZA* himself (seemingly) consists of two parts: above his *Chazeh*, his *Sefirot HGT* are called the big *ZON*; below his *Chazeh*, *Sefirot NHY* are called the small *ZON*. *Sefirot HGT* correspond to Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov, while *NHY* correspond to Moshe, Aaron and Yosef. *Malchut* corresponds to King David.

Sefirot NHY are called "prophets," and *Yesod* is called "the righteous one." Here *The Zohar* speaks of the buds that gradually grow from the small state to the big state of *ZON*: first *ZON* were small, consisting of *Sefirot NHY* with the Light of *Nefesh* and called *Ubar* (embryo). Then, with the help of *Yenika* (nursing), i.e., receiving Light from *Ima*, *ZON* grew. Accordingly, the properties of *Sefirot NHY* grew to equalize those of *Sefirot HGT*, and *Sefirot NHY* received the Light of *Ruach*.

Thus, the *Partzuf* now consists of parts of *HGT* and *NHY* with the Lights *Ruach* and *Nefesh*. Subsequently, by further reception of strength from the Upper One, and further growth, they've attained the state of *Gadlut Aleph*, the first big state. Accordingly, *Sefirot HGT* became *HBD* with the Light of *Neshama*, *Sefirot NHY* became *Sefirot HGT*, and received new *Sefirot NHY*.

Thus, the *Partzuf* grew to include three parts: *HBD*, *HGT*, and *NHY* with the Lights *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, and *Neshama*. And it is called *Gadol* (big—the first big state). Then, through further growth, they've attainted the state of maturity (*Gadlut Bet*, the second big state), and the Light of *Haya* entered *Sefirot HBD*.

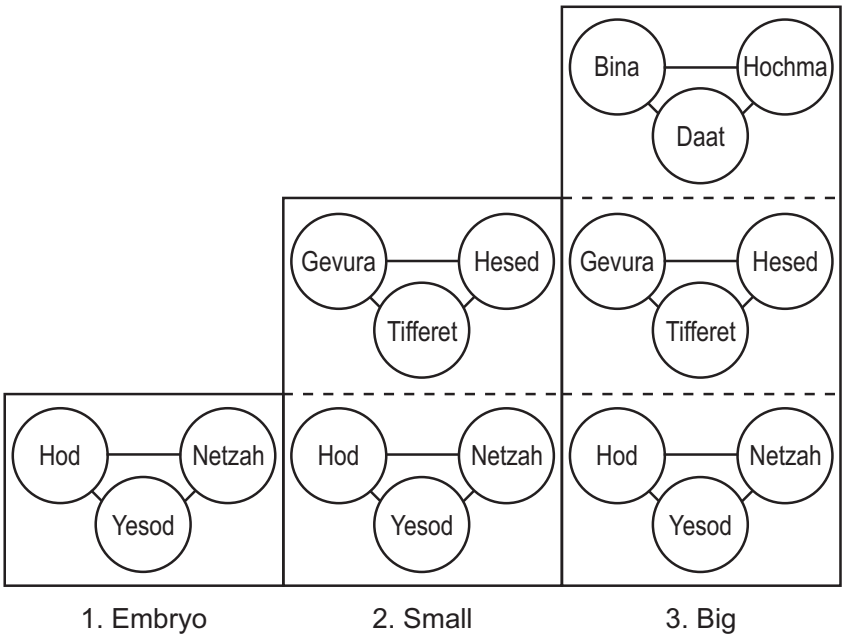

The word "growth" refers to the growth of a screen, of man's inner anti-egoistic forces and desires. This is the only difference between a big vessel and a small one, the only difference between the *Partzufim*. Their inner properties change depending on the change in the magnitude of the screen.

THESE FATHERS ENTERED THE SUPERNAL MIND AND ASCENDED INTO THE WORLD TO COME: this sentence speaks of the prenatal development of *ZA*, when he ascends to *AVI* (called "Supernal Mind" or "Supernal Thought"). *Aba-Hochma* is called "mind" or "thought," and *Ima-Bina* is called "the world to come." And together they are called "parents"—father and mother, *AVI*. It is there that creation begins—conception of *ZA* in the initial state of a spiritual embryo.

Just as an embryo in our world is completely dependent on the mother, having absolutely no desires or life of its own, and developing only thanks to her, so can every man become a spiritual embryo; if he completely relinquishes all of his desires and actions, and submits entirely to the will of the Upper *Partzuf*, he will turn himself into a spiritual embryo, just like a physiological one. The difference between a physiological embryo and a spiritual one lies in the fact that becoming a spiritual embryo requires tremendous personal desire and effort, whereas the conception of a physiological embryo depends on the parents.

As a result of its prenatal development within *Bina* (which means that one completely extinguishes all of his personal desires and thoughts, and, like an embryo, is ready to accept all that the mother gives: all of her thoughts and properties, regardless of how incomprehensible or unnatural they may seem to his essence), this embryo achieves the state of its spiritual birth.

However, this is a state of an even greater concealment of the Upper Light with regard to the embryo, for it does not yet have a screen for the reception of this Light. Hence, this state is called *Katnut*, CONCEALED IN THE TRUE PROPHETS, i.e., in *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod*, which *ZA* attains as a result of the process of nursing, reception of milk, the Light of *Hassadim* from *Ima* (mother) *Bina*.

The Light of nursing comes to the *NHY* of *ZA*, and *ZA* attains *VAK* (Light of *Nefesh-Ruach*), the state of *Katnut*. During nursing, *ZA* attains the *Sefira Yesod*, which is why it is said that Yosef is born. After the nursing period is over, *ZA* ascends to *AVI* so as to receive from them the Light of *Neshama*, and this constitutes the state of *Gadlut*, called "Yosef."

ZA consists of three parts: *HBD*, *HGT*, and *NHY*. The process of *Zeir Anpin's* growth, of acquiring a screen on his desires, begins with the purest, least egoistic part—*Sefirot HBD*, in which he first receives the Light of *Nefesh*.

Afterwards, *ZA* acquires a screen on coarser egoistic desires—*Sefirot HGT*; the Light of *Nefesh* passes from *HBD* to *HGT*, and the Light of *Ruach* enters the empty *HBD*.

Finally, *ZA* acquires a screen on the most egoistic *Kelim*—*Sefirot NHY*; the Light of *Nefesh* passes from *HGT* to *NHY*, the Light of *Ruach* moves from *HBD* to the empty *HGT*, and the Light of *Neshama* enters the empty *HBD*.

The attainment of the big state by *ZA* is called the birth of Yosef, for there emerge *Sefirot NHY*, of which the last *Sefira*, *Yesod*, is called "Yosef." However, since the Light of *Haya* is not yet present, this state is called "concealment." WHEN YOSEF ENTERED THE HOLY LAND AND ERECTED THEM THERE: that is, after the attainment of the first big state, the reception of the Light of *Neshama*, *ZA* continues to grow, cultivating his screen until the Light of *Haya* enters it.

In such a state, *Malchut* of *ZA* separates from him into an independent *Partzuf*, called THE HOLY LAND, as the Light of *Haya* is called holiness. It is therefore said that Yosef entered or, rather, ASCENDED TO THE HOLY LAND in the *Gadlut* state of *ZA*. *ZA* and *Nukva* became equally big in the state of *PBP* (*Panim be Panim*, face to face), which is the state that determines the *Zivug* between *ZON*.

AND YOSEF ERECTED THEM THERE: the Light of *Haya* or *Hochma* fills the *Partzuf* only during a *Zivug*, when *ZON* (*ZA* and *Nukva*) make a *Zivug* together. And this Light remains in *Malchut*, for only she (her screen) can reveal it. Just as *AVI* are *GAR de Bina*, *YESHSUT* is *ZAT de Bina* and the Light of *Hochma* is found only in *YESHSUT*, the relationship between *Malchut* and *ZA* works along the same principle, and the Light of *Hochma* is revealed only in *Malchut*. Therefore, only when the Light of *Hochma* fills *Nukva* can it be said that the Light has been revealed, and until that happens, it is considered to be concealed.

WHEN ARE THEY SEEN? WHEN A RAINBOW CAN BE SEEN IN THE WORLD: *ZA* is called a "rainbow," the world is *Malchut*, and their union is called a "rainbow within a cloud." THE TIME HAS COME TO ERADICATE ALL THE WICKED FROM THE WORLD—as the number of the wicked grows, as more impure forces cling to *ZON*. The impure forces can influence *ZON* so greatly that the entire world will be brought to ruin, as has happened in the

time of the Flood. If so, there is no salvation for man other than through the revelation of the Upper Light, the Light of *Haya*. That is why *The Zohar* tells us that the world is saved by the flower buds appearing from the earth, meaning that the Light of *Haya* eradicates man's impure forces from the earth (his desires, *Malchut*), and they cannot cling to her and hinder man.

AND HAD THEY NOT APPEARED, THERE WOULD BE NO SALVATION FOR THE WORLD—for initially *Nukva* is built as big as ZA. This is called the "two great celestial bodies," when *Malchut* is on the same degree as ZA, but stands behind him, back to back, unable to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the absence of the Light of *Hassadim*. This is why *Malchut* complains about lacking the Light of *Hassadim* and thus not being able to receive the Light of *Hochma*.

Even though the moon grows as big as the Sun, it cannot shine independently, but only if the Sun (ZA) gives it Light. And since *Malchut* lacks the Light of *Hochma*, such a state is called reversed (*Achor*-back). And a *Zivug* cannot take place in the position of back-to-back (*Achor be Achor*).

However, after *Nukva* is born and grows (receives the properties) from the *Guf* of ZA, as it is written in the Torah (*Beresheet* 2) that Chava (Eve) was born from the body of Adam, she becomes equal to ZA and enters into a *Zivug* face-to-face (*Panim be Panim*, *PBP)* with him.

Also, *Nukva* still retained the previous Light. Moreover, precisely because she felt the lack of the Light in her initial state, *Malchut* received the Light of *Haya* specifically into her previous sufferings. Similarly, man can feel pleasure only and precisely because of his previous suffering.

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us that had the flower buds not appeared in *Malchut* during her *Katnut*, when she was standing behind ZA, she would not have been able to receive the Light of *Haya* in her state of *Gadlut*, as she would not have the *Kelim* (desires) to receive this Light. Every new creation is founded on the sensation of darkness, as it is said: the Creator emanates the Light out of Himself, and creates darkness out of nothingness. Man's sensation of darkness signifies his readiness to receive the Light.

6. Who sustains the world and evokes the revelation of the Patriarchs? It is the voice of the children engaged in the Torah. The world exists thanks to these children. Hence, it is said: "We will make for you pendants of gold" (*Shir HaShirim*, 1:11). These are the children, youngsters of the world, as it is said: "Make two cherubs of gold" (*Shemot*, *25:18*).

The Light of *Ruach* is called "the children of the world," and the *Zivug* in this state (*PBA*—face to back) is referred to as THE VOICE OF THE CHILDREN ENGAGED IN THE TORAH. And it is also called "threads of gold" and "two cherubs of gold." Before *Nukva* grew, the impure forces had the power to destroy the world. However, precisely because *Nukva* grows from *ZA*, the right and left lines merge in her as one, the RAINBOW (right line) shines WITHIN A CLOUD (left line), and the Light of *Haya* can enter *Malchut*. Without this Light, the world can be destroyed as during (in the state of) the Flood.

SO WHO IS IT THAT SUSTAINS THE WORLD: who causes the appearance of the Light of *Haya*? They are precisely the children engaged in the Torah. The "children" designate the Light of the opposite side, the Light of *Ruach*, the sensation of deficiency of the Light of *Haya*, for a "child" alludes to the process of nursing. The children of the house of *Raban* (*Tinokot Shel Beit Raban*)—are the Light of *Haya*, as the word "*Raban*" derives from "*Rav*" (big, *Haya*). They did not transgress, i.e., did not use their *AHP* (egoistic and yet uncorrected desires, for the word "children" designates the small state), their will to receive.

Who Created These

7. In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes and you shall see, WHO HAS CREATED THESE" (*Yeshayahu*, 40:26). Raise your eyes where? To the place on which all eyes depend. Who is He? He is the One who opens eyes, *Malchut de Rosh de Arich Anpin*. And there you shall see that *Atik* is concealed and within it lies the answer to the question: WHO HAS CREATED THESE? WHO? *MI*, *ZAT de Bina*, the Highest Edge of Heaven, and everything depends on Him. And since the question lies in Him, and He is concealed, He is called *MI*. For *MI* is like when the question "Who?" is asked, as there are no questions above Him. The question is found only at the Highest Boundary of Heaven.

In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes on high and look at who has created these." Raise your eyes to what place? To the place, where all eyes depend on Him. And who is He? He is the One who opens eyes. And there you shall know. It is the concealed *Atik*, within which lies the question: who has created these? And who is He? *MI* = who. He is called by the edge of the Supernal Heaven, where everything belongs to him. Since there lies a question, and He is on a concealed path and does not reveal Himself, He is called *MI*. And because there is no question Above, this edge of Heaven is called *MI*.

In Hebrew, the word *MI* means the question "Who?" as well as the preposition "from." Since Kabbalah tells us about the property of our world's roots, one spiritual object can sometimes reveal an entire range of associations, properties, and categories. In the same way, here the word *MI* is a part of the word *ElokIM*, where the last two letters form the word *MI*. However, at the same time, they carry a variety of additional charges and meanings.

Rabbi Elazar wishes to explain how Heaven and earth were created. Naturally, just like the whole of the Torah, *The Zohar* refers only to spiritual degrees and categories, and does not deal with explanations of the physical

origin and development of our world. Moreover, it is impossible to understand the true origin and development of our world without attaining the spiritual world. However, whatever one does attain, he is unable to pass these attainments to others. Hence, even after he attains the full essence of our nature's origin and its actions, he will still be unable to describe it in a form that will be comprehensible to others.

Heaven and earth constitute the seven days of Creation—*ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*. However, if it is a part of *Atzilut*, then why is it described as *BARAH* (created, from the word *Beria*) and not *ATZIL* (emanated, from the word *Atzilut*)? Yet, precisely herein lies the opportunity to open our eyes to the process of creation.

Rosh (head) *de AA* has only *Keter* and *Hochma*. *Malchut* standing below the eyes, below *Sefira Hochma*, is called "the opening of the eyes." After all, only when she opens up does the Light of *Hochma* pass through her from *Rosh de AA* to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*.

It is therefore said that the eyes should be raised up TO THE PLACE ON WHICH ALL EYES DEPEND, for the Light of *Hochma* can fill all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* only when *Malchut* opens up in *Rosh de AA*. Hence, the entire secret of the opening lies in *Malchut*. The Light of *Hochma* (the Light of Wisdom) is the Light of the eyes. It comes out of the eyes, and only in this Light can one see.

The word *BARAH* signifies *BAR* (beyond), meaning outside the world of *Atzilut*. This is because *Bina* herself came out of the *Rosh* of *AA* and stood lower, outside the *Rosh* of *AA*, giving birth to, that is, precisely *BARAH* (creating) *ZON*.

In Hebrew, every notion has several possible names that determine the specific action that takes place. Here, the birth of *ZON* occurred by means of *Bina*'s exit and descent from her degree; hence, the birth of *ZON* is called *BARAH*, from the word *BAR* – outside (of one's degree).

The entire creation consists of only ten *Sefirot*. Yet, since every *Sefira* includes all the others, and since all of them are interconnected, every world, degree, or *Sefira* includes the properties of all the others, and consists of their parts. Therefore, every *Sefira* consists of *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*, each of which in turn consists of five. In all, 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 *Sefirot* or steps of the ladder that separate us (the lowest) from the Creator (the highest).

The property of *Bina* herself is not to receive the Light of *Hochma*. Yet, in order to pass the Light of *Hochma* to *ZA* and *Malchut*, who desire to receive it for

the Creator's sake, since receiving the Light of *Hochma* is the goal of creation, *Bina* allocates within herself a certain part called *ZAT de Bina* or *YESHSUT*, which receives the Light of *Hochma* from *Partzuf Hochma* and passes it to *ZON*. The main part, *Bina* herself, is called *GAR de Bina*. The part of *Bina* that receives the Light of *Hochma* is called *ZAT de Bina*.

Therefore, if *Bina* exits the *Rosh* and falls into the *Guf*, as it occurs in the second restriction, this has no effect on *Bina* herself, for she does not suffer from lack of the Light of *Hochma* whatsoever, as though she had never left the *Rosh*. This refers only to the Upper part of *Bina*, *GAR de Bina*, which has no desire for *Hochma*. This part is called *AVI*, and it spans from the *Peh* (mouth) down to the *Chazeh* (chest) of *AA*.

However, *ZAT de Bina*, which wants to receive *Hochma* for *ZON*, just as a mother who wants to receive for her children, feels the exit from the *Rosh* of *AA* to its *Guf*, for there it cannot receive the Light of *Hochma*, but only the Light of *Ruach-Nefesh*, *VAK* of the Light. This part of *Bina* is called *YESHSUT*, and it spans from the *Chazeh* down to *Tabur* of *AA*.

ZON of the world of *Atzilut*, which receive from *YESHSUT*, span from *Tabur* to the end of the feet of *AA*, on the *Parsa*. Thus, there are two *Parsaot* (plural for *Parsa*): one is in the world of *Atzilut*, separating the *Sefirot* of "bestowal" (*GE*) from the *Sefirot* of "reception" (*AHP*). This *Parsa* is located at the chest of *AA*. The second *Parsa* is located between *Atzilut* and *BYA*. However, we can also say that every *Partzuf* has its own *Parsa*, which separates the desires of bestowal from the desires of reception.

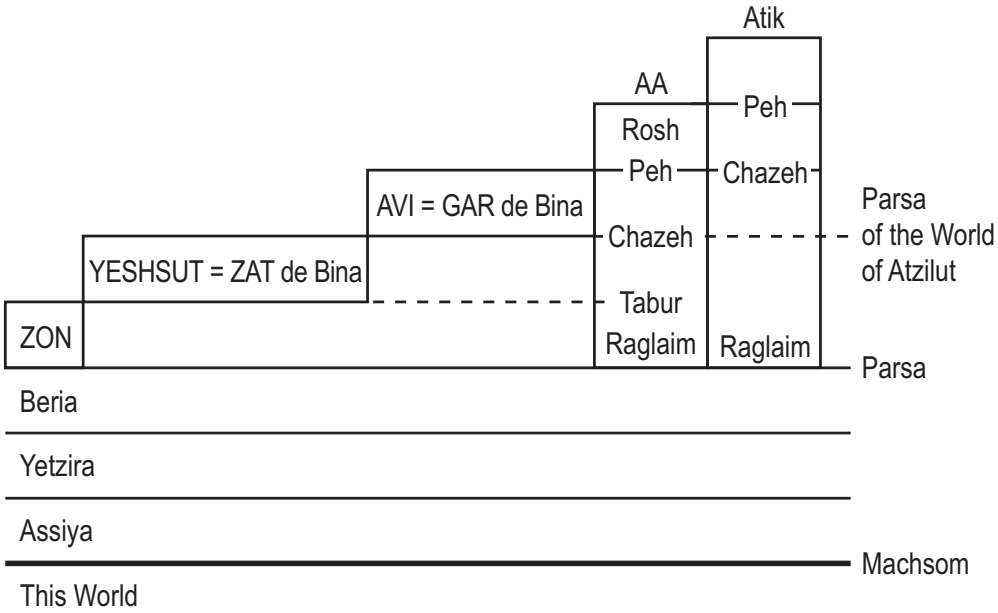

Although *GAR de Bina* are positioned below the *Rosh* of *AA*, they are considered not to have left it, as they do not feel it, that is, they do not want *Hochma*; they wish only to bestow, and he who wants only to bestow feels perfection wherever he is. All the *Partzufim* and their parts that have nothing to do with reception of *Hochma* (*Keter, Hochma,* and *GAR de Bina*) separate themselves with a *Parsa* from the remaining parts of the world of *Atzilut* that want *Hochma* (*ZAT de Bina* and *ZON*).

The "existence of the question" that *The Zohar* speaks of signifies the sensation of the lack of Light of *Hochma*, the desire for it. This is felt by *ZON*, which is why they raise *MAN*. *MAN* is a request of the lower one to receive the Light of *Hochma* from the Upper One for the Creator's sake. It is called a "question," for a question is similar to prayer or request. *The Zohar* tells us that the question exists only in *YESHSUT*, meaning that it receives *MAN* from below, from *ZON*.

And before that, it is said of *YESHSUT*: *BARAH* (from the word *Beria* = *BAR*), something that exists outside of its degree. What did it do? *BARAH* (created) *ELEH* (*AHP*, *ZON*). However, it created them as headless as itself. For the word *BARAH* (beyond) indicates the lack of a *Rosh* (*Kelim* of the world of *Atzilut*).

ZAT de Bina that wait for an "answer to their question," for the Light of *Hochma*, are called *MI*. It is said *BARAH* in regards to them because they exited and descended independently from the level of the *Rosh de AA* to below its *Chazeh*. These are *ZAT de Bina*, called *YESHSUT* or *MI*, the "Highest Edge of Heaven," for Heaven refers to *ZA*, who receives from *YESHSUT*. *Malchut* is called "earth."

ZAT de Bina is called "firmament."

ZA is called "Heaven."

Malchut is called "earth."

All that exists below *YESHSUT* (*ZON* and the worlds of *BYA*) receives from it. Hence, it is considered that *YESHSUT* revives the whole of creation: whatever it has, they will receive it, too. However, their *MAN* determines whether or not *YESHSUT* will have something to bestow upon them.

THERE LIES NO QUESTION in *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*). They do not receive *MAN* for the reception of *Hochma*, and they never feel any lack of *Hochma*, neither for themselves nor so as to give to others. Only *ZAT de Bina* or *YESHSUT* are created and exist for the question, for the reception of *MAN* (*ZON's* plea). *YESHSUT* raises *MAN* that is received from *ZON* to the *Rosh* of *AA* and receives

the Light of *Hochma* from there. *YESHSUT* is called the "Highest Edge of Heaven," for *ZA*, called "Heaven," receives from it.

8. But there is another one below, called MA. What is in common between this one and that one? The first one is concealed and is called MI. There exists a question in it for man to inquire and research in order to see and know all the degrees, down to the end of all degrees, which is *Malchut*. That is MA. What does MA mean? MA (what) do you know? What do you see? What do you research? After all, everything is initially concealed.

Being in a state of *Zivug PBP* with *ZA*, *Malchut* is also called *MA* (like *ZA*) and is considered the lowest edge of Heaven, for she concludes all the degrees and *Atzilut*. *ZA*, called "Heaven," stands between *Malchut* (lowest edge of Heaven) and *YESHSUT* (Highest Edge of Heaven).

MAN MUST INQUIRE, SEE, RESEARCH—only if one who is below *ZON* raises *MAN* (his prayer) to *ZON* will they raise this *MAN* higher. For *ZON* themselves are corrected by the Light of *Hassadim*, and do not want to receive the Light of *Hochma*. And only if a request comes from below, from man, will *ZON* ascend to *YESHSUT* and ask for the Light of *Hochma*. *YESHSUT* proceeds to raise *MAN* to *AVI*, and *AVI* raise *MAN* to *AA*: *AVI* ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA*, where there is the Light of *Hochma*, where they make a *Zivug* on this Light.

A *Zivug* of *AVI* is called "*Aba* and *Ima* looking at each other." To "look" means to receive the Light of *Hochma* (to "hear" means to receive the Light of *Hassadim*). As a result of *AVI's* ascent to the *Rosh* of *AA*, *Bina* starts receiving *Hochma* for *ZON*. All the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* are corrected by the Light of *Hassadim* in such a way that they do not want to receive the Light of *Hochma* for themselves.

He who is able to raise his request (*MAN*) to compel *ZON* to ascend to *YESHSUT*, whereupon *YESHSUT* and *AVI* will ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA* together so as to receive the Light for him—such a person is not simply considered a mere "person," but a "righteous"!

The request that one raises to *ZON* is called one's "soul," for a soul is a vessel, a desire filled with Light. However, the Light inside a vessel is determined by the desire. Hence, the spiritual desire, the intention to act for the Creator's sake is called "a soul." Naturally, if one does not yet have such an intention, he does not have a soul.

The spiritual world is a world of only desires without any corporeal shells. The reader must revise his ideas about the soul, body, connections

between worlds, etc., and correct himself continually so as to properly interpret these categories.

So then, man's corrected desires are called "the souls of the righteous." These souls of the righteous ascend to *ZON* in the form of *MAN* and compel *ZON* to ascend to *YESHSUT*. The presence of *ZON* creates in *YESHSUT* a desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*. This compels *YESHSUT* (*ZAT de Bina*) to ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA* and there join with *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) into one *Partzuf*. And then *AVI* (*AB* + *SAG* = *AA* + *AVI*) look at each other, exchange the Light *of Hochma* between them, and pass it down to *ZON*.

Without a request from below, *AVI* will be satisfied with the Light of *Hassadim* and will not "look" at one another. Only the request of their children (*ZON*) compels *AVI* to face each other (*Panim be Panim*) and make a *Zivug*. In this *Zivug*, *Ima-Bina* receives the Light of *Hochma* for the children, *ZON*, from *Aba-Hochma*.

However, this occurs BECAUSE MAN INQUIRED—man's question signifies the raising of *MAN* so as to make *AVI* look at each other, make a *Zivug* together, and let *Ima* receive *Hochma* from *Aba* for the man that is elevating his soul. The descending Light of *Hochma* is called knowledge or wisdom (*Daat*), for *ZON* ascend to *YESHSUT* + *AVI*, and there stimulate a *Zivug* on the Light of *Hochma*, called "knowledge." Hence, it is written in the Torah: "And Adam came to know his wife."

Thus, to COME TO KNOW means to receive the Light of *Hochma*. *ZON* that stand in *AVI* and compel *AVI* to receive the Light of *Hochma* are called *Daat* (knowledge) or the *Sefira Daat*.

Yet, *Daat* is not an additional *Sefira*. There are only ten *Sefirot*. However, in order to designate the fact that *ZON*'s request for the Light of *Hochma* is inside the ten *Sefirot* of *Partzuf AVI*, we say that *AVI* have a *Sefira* called *Daat*. In this case, instead of the regular count of *Sefirot*: *KHB-HGT-NHYM*, we count the *Sefirot*: *HBD-HGT-NHYM*. The *Sefira Keter* is omitted, and we only mention the *Sefira Daat* after *Hochma-Aba* and *Bina-Ima*. FROM ONE DEGREE TO ANOTHER signifies the passing of the Light of *Hochma* from the *Sefira Daat* of the degree of *AVI* to the degree of *ZA*. And TO THE END OF ALL DEGREES—from *ZA* to *Malchut*, which is called "the end of all degrees."

When the Light is present in *Nukva*, she is called *MA*, and the Light that she passes to the lower ones is called 100 blessings. There are several states in *Nukva*, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*. We need to know them, for all that we receive,

we receive from her alone. In addition to all stages of growth from a point to a full *Partzuf*, a grown *Malchut* has two big states.

Malchut attains the first big state when she receives the Light of *Neshama*. This occurs when, due to her *MAN*, *AVI* ascend one degree from their permanent place to the *Rosh* of *AA*. However, although *YESHSUT* ascends from its permanent place between the chest (*Chazeh*) and the navel (*Tabur*) of *AA* to where *AVI* used to be (between the mouth and the chest of *AA*), it still remains clothed onto the *Guf* of *AA*, even though it merges into one *Partzuf* with *AVI*.

And since *YESHSUT* now clothes the place from the mouth (*Peh*) to the *Chazeh* of *AA* from the outside, *YESHSUT* becomes like the *Rosh* of *AA*, as it merged with *AVI* in the *Rosh* of *AA* as one *Partzuf*. Also, *YESHSUT* ascends from under the *Parsa* of *Atzilut* in the *Chazeh* of *AA* and stands above it, where the *Rosh* of *AA* shines.

That is why *YESHSUT* passes the Light of *Hochma* to *ZA*, and *ZA* passes it on to *Malchut*, who fills herself with this Light, called "100 blessings," for, having received this Light, *ZON* can ascend to the permanent place of *YESHSUT* between the *Chazeh* and the *Tabur* of *AA*.

By ascending to this degree, *Malchut* becomes like *Ima*. In the spiritual world, the degree of a spiritual object determines all of its properties. Even in our world, the degree of man's inner development alone determines his properties, thoughts, and desires. And since *Ima* equals 100, *Malchut*, too, is called "100," so as to emphasize the fact that *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*.

Now *Malchut* is similar to *MI* just as *YESHSUT* was prior to raising *MAN* and passing the Light. This is because she now clothes the place of the small state of *YESHSUT* from the *Chazeh* to the *Tabur* of *AA*, and stands under the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*, below which the Light from the *Rosh de AA* cannot pass.

That is why *Malchut* gained no Light, for the sake of which she had raised *MAN*. Nevertheless, *Malchut* gains by receiving the properties of *Ima-Bina*, for she ascended to *YESHSUT*, called *Ima*.

Hence, the Light that *Malchut* received is only considered *VAK* of the *Gadlut* state, the first state of *Gadlut*. *Malchut* will not be able to receive the *GAR* of *Gadlut*, the second *Gadlut*, the Light of *Hochma* (*Haya*), as long as she is under the *Parsa* of *Atzilut* in the *Chazeh* of *AA*. (How *Malchut* receives *GAR* of the *Gadlut* is explained in items 11 through 15 in the next article).

The Zohar calls *Nukva* that ascended to *YESHSUT* by the word *MA* (from the word *Me'ah*—100), for by means of this ascent, *Malchut* gained the properties of *Bina*—100 blessings. And she gained the sensation of the question—she feels that it has only *VAK* (a half, a part of the big state). Put differently, she feels the desire for its second half, *GAR*. Nevertheless, she gained a part of the big state, *VAK* of *AVI*.

Thus, *Nukva* became like *YESHSUT* before it raised *MAN*, but gained the properties of *Bina*, 100 blessings. And since this is *VAK* of the Light of the big state, she feels a deficiency (a question), just as *YESHSUT* felt prior to raising *MAN*—at its place, when *YESHSUT* was in the *Katnut* state. When it ascended to *AVI*, *AVI* ascended to *AA*, and *ZON* ascended to the place of *YESHSUT*. *AVI* shine from the *Rosh* of *AA* on the place of *YESHSUT*. *ZON* that stand there now feel the Light that they receive from *AVI*, and realize that this is merely a part of the Light, which generates another question within them.

9. This is the secret defined by the word MA: WHAT do you testify and WHAT is equal to you? When the Temple was destroyed, a voice came forth and said, "What (MA) shall I indicate to you, and what (MA) shall I equate to you?" (*Eicha*, 2:13). However, here MA means, "What is the covenant, testimony, what (MA) is equal to you?" For every day testifies to you the days of past, as it is said: "This day I call onto Heaven and earth to witness for you" (*Devarim*, 30:19). WHAT is equal to you? It is said: "I adorned you with holy adornments and made you ruler of the world." And it is said: "Is this the city that men called the quintessence of beauty?" (*Eicha*, 2:15). I have called you, "Jerusalem, a city rebuilt by me" (*Tehilim*, 122:3). "What shall I equate to you?" (*Eicha*, 2:13). Just as you sit here, so He sits Above in Supernal Jerusalem. Just as the holy nation does not enter into you, so I swear to you that I will not enter Above until I enter you down below. And this is your consolation—that I will equate you with this degree, with Supernal Jerusalem, which is the Supernal *Malchut* (Hebrew – Kingdom) that rules over all. But for now you are here, and "Your misery is great, like the sea" (*Eicha, 2:13*). And if you say that there is no existence or salvation for you, then WHO (MI) shall heal you (not Who? with a question mark, but the Upper Force called WHO is what will heal you), that is, that same concealed Upper Degree, which is called MI, *Bina* that revives all, shall heal and revive you.

In other words, *MA* and *MI*, besides being translated as WHAT and WHO, also designate the names of spiritual objects that perform actions described in *The Zohar*. The destruction of the Temple was the consequence of Israel's

transgression of egoistic reception, because they did not want to raise *MAN* for the *Zivug* of *ZON*, and instead wished to receive the Light into the impure forces, their egoistic desires, called "other gods" (*Elokim Acherim*). There is only one Creator.

There is but one property for the Creator, and we know it—the property of bestowal. Drawing closer to this property is defined as working "for the Creator's sake." Any other desire can only mean distancing from this property and from the Creator, for except for this property or its opposite (rather, its absence), nothing else exists in creation. Hence, man's inner movement towards the property of "reception" pushes him away from the Creator, and is therefore called "worshipping other gods." As a result, *ZON* stopped their *Zivug*, the 100 blessings disappeared from *Nukva*, and the Temple was ruined.

The First Temple—*Malchut* ascended to *AVI* and there receives the Light of *Haya*. Its ruin is the fall of *Malchut* to the level of reception of the Light *GAR* de *Ruach*.

The Second Temple is *Malchut's* ascension to *YESHSUT* and the reception of the Light of *Neshama*. In its ruin, *Malchut* fell to the level of reception of the Light of *Nefesh* in her *Sefira Keter*, while the other nine *Sefirot* fall below the *Parsa*. Such a state is called *Galut*—exile from the spiritual, from the world of *Atzilut*. The single *Sefira Malchut* in the world of *Atzilut* remains as a point below the *Sefira Yesod* of *ZA*.

ZA is called "six days" and *Malchut* is called *Shabbat* (Saturday). Yet, is *Malchut* really bigger than *ZA*, as *Shabbat* is bigger (higher) than weekdays? The worlds of *BYA*, including our world, receive the Light, their life-force, from *Malchut*. The "six weekdays" are a state of *ZON* when *ZA* and *Malchut* are unconnected to one another. *Shabbat* is a state of *ZON* when *Malchut* joins with *ZA*, a *Zivug* takes place between them, and *Malchut* receives the Light from *ZA* and passes it on to the whole world.

Since the state of *Malchut* when she passes the Light received from *ZA* down to the world is important to us, by measuring our states in accordance with what we receive from *Malchut*, we define the extent of maximal reception as *Shabbat*. (Naturally, this has nothing to do with our calendar: weekdays and *Shabbat* are spiritual states that transcend time).

AND A VOICE CAME FORTH AND SAID: "EACH AND EVERY DAY MY COVENANT HAS BEEN IN YOU SINCE THE DAYS OF PAST"—here, *The Zohar* speaks of the Light of *VAK* that *ZON* receive in the state of *Gadlut*, which *Nukva* receives as *MA*. This Light is called "the past days" (*Yamim*

Kadmonim). Therefore, it is written in the Torah (*Devarim*, 4:32): "Ask now of the past days, which were before you, since the day the Creator created man, from one edge of Heaven unto the other, whether there has been any such thing as great as this?..."

The Light of *VAK* of the *Gadlut* state is called in *ZON* "the past days," for it is *VAK* of *AVI*. *YESHSUT* is *ZAT* of *AVI*. *ZAT* is an abbreviation of the words *Zayin* (7), and *Tachtonot* (lower, meaning the lower *Sefirot*). *ZAT* of *AVI*, meaning the seven *Sefirot* of *Partzuf AVI*, is *YESHSUT*. These *Zayin* are seven days, the seven primary *Sefirot* of *AVI* with regard to *Zayin,* the seven days or the seven *Sefirot* of *ZON*.

Hence, it is written, "MY COVENANT EACH AND EVERY DAY BY HEAVEN AND EARTH" (*Devarim*, 4:26). These words of the Torah speak of the *Zivug* of *ZON* called "Heaven" (*ZA*) and "earth" (*Nukva*). "The past days" or "Supernal Days" constitute *YESHSUT*, and "the low days" or "the present days" are *ZON*.

In this sentence, the Creator cautions that the *Zivug* of *ZON* needs to be constantly realized and maintained. Otherwise, the Creator warns that "you will disappear from the earth." And this is the meaning of the Creator's warning about the 100 blessings: they should be guarded and constantly created.

For these 100 blessings that *Nukva* receives from *ZA* every day in the *Zivug* of *MA* between them take place during the ascent of *ZON* to *YESHSUT*, when *ZA* becomes like *YeshS* (*Israel-Saba*) and *Nukva* becomes like *T* (*Tvunah*). *YESHSUT* stands for *Israel-Saba* and *Tvunah*. And then, the Light that *Nukva* receives from *ZA* becomes 100 blessings, like the Light in *Tvunah*.

It is said about it, "the city that united with her," for *Nukva*, called "city," merged with *Tvunah*, and *Nukva* became like *Tvunah*. And *Nukva* receives in *Tvunah* the Light of *Tvunah*, called "holy adornments," and then, like a crown of beauty, she surrounds the earth and receives power over the earth.

However, as a result of Israel's transgressions (the rise of impure desires over the pure ones), the Temple is ruined (the Light disappeared), and Israel is banished from its land (fell to lower degrees). This led to the distancing of *Nukva* (all creatures) from *ZA* (the Creator), for the lower nine *Sefirot* (desires) of *Nukva* fell to the impure forces (became egoistic). In other words, the nine pure, altruistic desires (forces) lost their screen and became egoistic, and *Nukva* herself turned into a point that stands below the *Sefira Yesod* of *ZA*.

Hence, it is written: "WHO SHALL REBUILD YOU AND HEAL YOU"—if the sons of Israel return in their aspirations to the Creator (to altruism), called

"the return," correct their deeds (desires), and raise their prayers (*MAN*) for help in their correction to the Creator in *ZON*, they will once more be able to receive the Upper Light in *ZON*, *Nukva* will rise again to *YESHSUT*, called *MI*, and will be healed thereby (the Upper Light will enter *Malchut*, the souls, and will impart its properties onto them).

10. *MI*—WHO sets the boundary of Heaven Above—*YESHSUT*. *MA*—WHAT sets the boundary of Heaven below—*ZA* and *Malchut*. And this is what Yaakov inherited, as he is *ZA* that shines from end to end. From one boundary, which is *MI*, to the other boundary, which is *MA*. For he, Yaakov, stands in the middle, between *YESHSUT* and *Malchut*. Hence, it is said, *MI BARAH ELEH*: *MI* is *YESHSUT*, *BARAH* means created, and *ELEH* stands for *ZA* and *Malchut*.

Actually, it should rather be written, "from the beginning, i.e., from the Height of Heaven down to its end (lowest point) below." Yet it says, "from the boundary of Heaven." *MI* is *YESHSUT* that upholds everything with its question, the desire to receive the Light for *ZON*. *MA* is *Nukva*. Before *Nukva* raises *MAN*, she is the very last degree, standing below the *Chazeh* of *ZA*. Between *YESHSUT* and *Nukva* stands Yaakov—*ZA* that clothes *AA* from *Tabur* to *Malchut* of *AA*.

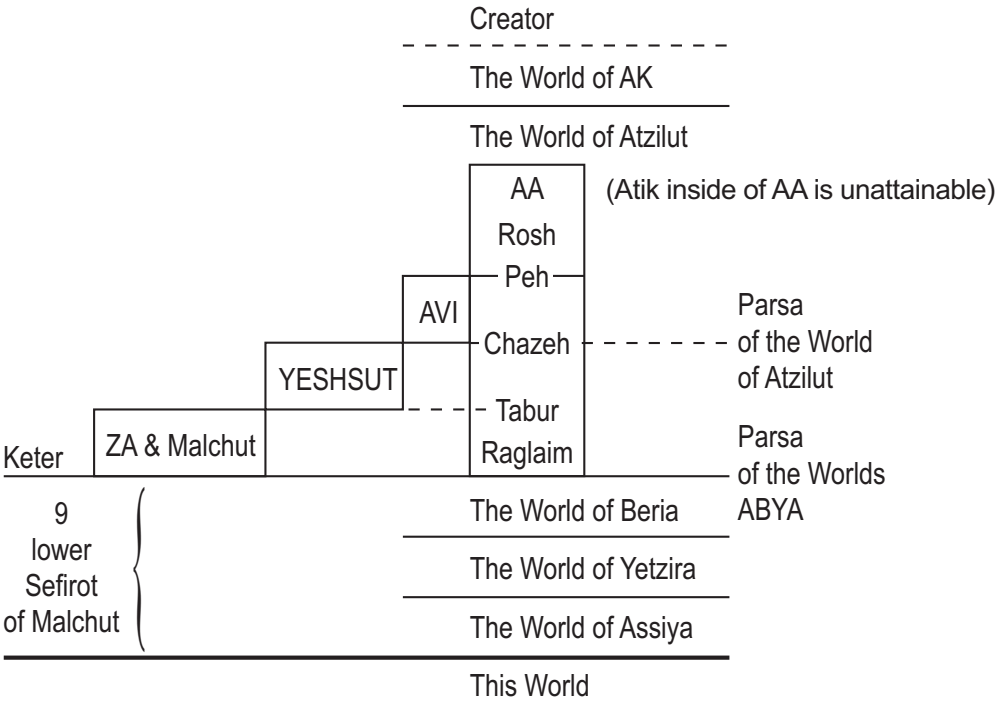

Arich Anpin is the central *Partzuf* in the world of *Atzilut*. Since *Atik* is unattainable, everything comes from *AA*, and all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* clothe it (receive from it): *Rosh de AA* towers over all, and no one can clothe it, meaning no one can attain its thoughts and reasons for its actions.

The next *Partzuf* is *AVI*. *AVI* clothe (attain) *AA* from *Peh* to *Chazeh*. Below *AVI* stands *Partzuf YESHSUT*, clothing *AA* from *Chazeh* to *Tabur*. *ZA* stands below *YESHSUT* and clothes *AA* from *Tabur* downwards. *Partzuf ZA* is incomplete, as he has only six *Sefirot HBD-HGT* or *VAK*; he is in the *Katnut* state, ending with his *Sefira Tifferet* (his *Chazeh*).

Nukva (*Malchut*) stands below *ZA*, or parallel to his last *Sefira Tifferet* (the *Chazeh* of *ZA*). She has only one *Sefira Keter*, whereas her nine other *Sefirot* fell below the *Parsa* to the worlds *BYA*. The entire world of *Atzilut* ends at the *Chazeh* of *ZA*, where the single *Sefira* of *Malchut* stands, who is therefore called a point.

In our world, there is desire and its physical manifestation—action. For example, one wants to receive something, but he does not allow himself to perform the physical act of taking. Meanwhile, his desire to take remains the same. In the spiritual world, there are no bodies, only bare desires. Therefore, the desire itself already constitutes action, like an already completed mental and physical action in our world. Therefore, the desire alone determines man's spiritual state.

Just imagine what it would be like if in our world we judged a person not by his actions, but by his desires! It is terrifying to think how distant we are from spiritual demands. However, our desires are determined by our spiritual degree. And *The Zohar* explains that only by raising *MAN* (the request for correction) can we attract onto us the flow of Upper Light, which will correct and elevate us to a Higher Degree. And we will immediately begin to think and desire whatever that degree will evoke within us.

Therefore, our task is to attain the desire for correction. To this end, we need a "question," perception of our state as intolerable. This is called the realization of evil, i.e., that our egoism is evil, that it brings me harm by severing me from the spiritual.

However, in order for this to happen, we need to come to sense at least a little bit of what the spiritual is and how good it is. Evil can only be realized in contrast with good. Yet, how can we sense the spiritual if we have yet to escape egoism? In what *Kelim* (desires) can we sense this? Even though we lack corrected desires, and therefore cannot sense the spiritual, as a result of studying Kabbalah,

one begins to sense the Surrounding Light, which bestows onto him the desire for the spiritual (See "Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," item 155).

The desire of one who physically exists in our world, but spiritually exists in the worlds of *BYA*—is a desire to enjoy the Light. However, opposite these desires one has an "anti-desire," a screen, which neutralizes his innate will to receive pleasure.

A screen is created (appears, emerges, born) within the *Kli* (desire, man) as a result of man's sensation of the spiritual Light (the Creator). Therefore, all our requests (prayers, *MAN*, "questions") should be about one thing only: for the Creator to grant us the strength necessary to ascend spiritually, to transform our desires or, as Kabbalah defines it, to acquire a screen. It is impossible to annul one's will to receive pleasure. The Creator created it, and it is His only creation. All we can do is acquire a screen (counterbalance) on it, thereby ascending above creation (egoism), and become similar to the Creator! And to the extent of this similarity, to merge with him.

Thus, *Partzuf* Yaakov stands from *MI* (*YESHSUT*) to *MA* (*Malchut*), from end to end. However, what is referred to here is the state of *ZON*, when they ascend to *YESHSUT* and receive the Light of its degree.

The entire spiritual distance from us to the Creator is divided into 125 invisible degrees, all of them named. These degrees differ from one another only by the magnitude of their screen on man's egoistic desires. Man receives the Light in his corrected, altruistic desires. The volume of the received Light depends on the screen's magnitude (the size of the desire's corrected part).

Every degree is characterized by a particular sensation of the Creator, and this sensation is called Light. Hence, we can designate the spiritual state of the *Kli* (man) in the spiritual world by the name of its degree or the name of the Light it receives, as every degree has its own particular Light. These gradations of the sensation of the Creator are precisely what we call spiritual degrees.

That is why, having ascended to a degree called *YESHSUT*, *ZON* receive the Light of *YESHSUT*, although *Partzuf YESHSUT* itself ascended, accordingly, to a Higher Degree, and there receives the Light of that degree, called *AVI*. In turn, *AVI* ascend to a degree called *AA*, where they receive the Light of *AA*. We call degrees by the names of the *Partzufim* that abide there in their usual, lowest state. Such a state is called permanent.

Even though by ascending to a Higher Degree, the lower *Partzuf* receives the Light of that degree, which changes its properties, the *Partzuf* remains itself nonetheless, just as a person who acquires new properties remains a person,

though now one of another level. Therefore, when it is said, "having ascended to the Upper One, the lower one becomes like him," it implies a change only in the inner properties of man (or *Partzuf*), but not in his identity.

Upon ascending to *YESHSUT*, *ZA* receives greater Light, for an ascent in the spiritual world signifies an increase in the magnitude of a screen, and, accordingly, reception of greater Light. That is to say, *ZA* himself grew, but did not turn into *YESHSUT*: previously, at his own place, he had only the Light *Ruach-Nefesh*, but upon ascending and acquiring a screen, he receives the Light of *Neshama* as well.

Therefore, all the places between us and the Creator are established, and the *Partzufim* that are there "stand" on them in their permanent place. However, all the *Partzufim* and the worlds can ascend relative to their permanent, lowest states by one, two, or three degrees. In its lowest state, a *Partzuf* has only *GE* and no *AHP*, and only the Light of *Nefesh-Ruach*.

By receiving the Light of correction from Above, the *Partzuf* can gradually correct its *AHP*: it corrects the *Sefira Bina* and receives the Light of *Neshama*, which designates an ascent of one degree. After that, the *Partzuf* corrects the *Sefira ZA*, and receives the Light of *Haya*, which designates an ascent to another degree, i.e., already two degrees. And after that, it corrects *Sefira Malchut* and receives the Light of *Yechida*, which designates an ascent to yet another degree, a third one.

Keter = Galgalta	GE - Katnut (small state)
Hochma = Eynaim	
Parsa, Nikvey Eynaim, Masach of Partzuf	
Bina = Awzen	(ascent of Bina to GE = ascent by 1 degree)
ZA = Hotem	(ascent of ZA to GE = ascent by 2 degrees)
Malchut = Peh	(ascent of Malchut to GE = ascent by 3 degrees)

However, the new Light does not enter the just corrected *Kli* (*Sefira*), but comes from Above and enters through the *Sefira Keter*.

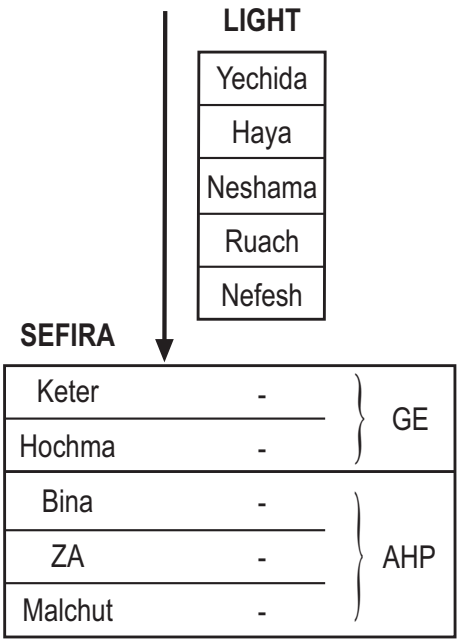

Man's spiritual ascent can be the consequence of two factors:

1. An awakening of a desire from Above, called "special days"—holidays, new moons, Sabbaths. This kind of an ascent is called "an awakening from Above," and leads to the general ascent of all the worlds *ABYA*, and, consequently, of all that inhabits them.
2. Man's efforts in his studies and inner work, his prayer to merit the Creator personally giving him the strength to ascend to a Higher Degree.

Moreover, such an ascent is not limited to only three degrees, but can elevate man along all 125 degrees to the Creator Himself. Ascension to the Highest Degree is precisely the purpose for which man was created. He must accomplish this task while still living in this world. And until he attains this goal, he will have to return to this world again and again.

Although *ZON* are called "the last days," upon ascending and receiving the Light of *YESHSUT*, they receive the name "the days past or first days." In this instance, one boundary of Heaven (*Malchut* or *MA*) ascends and clothes the other boundary of Heaven (*YESHSUT* or *MI*). *MA* and *MI* merge in one, and *The Zohar* emphasizes that fact. AND KNOW:

MI – WHO

BARAH – CREATED

ELEH – THIS

MI is *YESHSUT* that stands in the place of *Bina de AA*, from *Chazeh* to *Tabur de AA*. And although only *Kelim* of *GE* (vessels of bestowal) are present in the world of *Atzilut*, there are *Partzufim* among them that wish only to "bestow": *Atik*, *AA*, *AVI*, and those that want to receive for the sake of bestowal, so as to pass the Light on to *YESHSUT* and *ZON*.

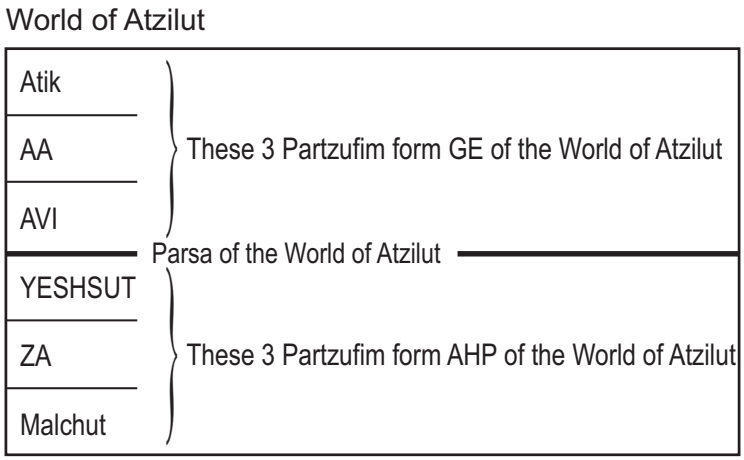

YESHSUT and *ZON* want to receive the Light so as to pass it to the souls of the righteous, the people who seek correction. Hence, within the world of *Atzilut* there is a division into two types of *Kelim*—*GE* and *AHP*. They are separated from each other by the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* that stands in the *Chazeh* of *AA*.

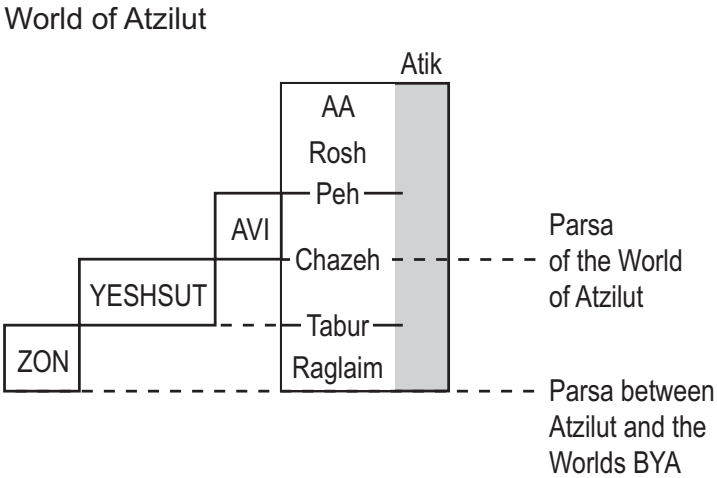

The Light from the *Rosh de AA* does not pass below the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*. Therefore, *YESHSUT* in its permanent state, or *ZON*, when they ascend

to *YESHSUT*, cannot receive the Light of *Rosh de AA*. This is why they have the desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*, called "question." The question (desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*) therefore amounts to *MI* (*YESHSUT*, the Light of *YESHSUT*), which is *BARAH* (beyond *ELEH—ZON*), and upon their ascent, *ZON* do not receive the Light of *Hochma*, as they are outside the *Rosh* of *AA*, outside of the Light of *Hochma*, but with a question (a desire for it). This enables them to continue their ascent.

Who Created These (by Eliyahu)

11. Rabbi Shimon said: "Elazar, my son, reveal the supernal secret, which the dwellers of this world know nothing about." Rabbi Elazar was silent. Rabbi Shimon wept and paused for a moment, and then said, "Elazar, what is *ELEH*?" If you say that they are like the stars and the signs of the zodiac (destiny), are they not always visible (unlike the changeable signs of destiny)? And in *MA*, that is in *Malchut*, they were created as it is written, "By the word of the Creator were the Heavens made" (*Tehilim*, 33:6), meaning that the Heavens were made by *Malchut*, called the Creator's word. And if *ELEH* speak of the hidden secrets, then there would be no need to write *ELEH*, as the stars and the signs of destinies are visible to all (the word *ELEH* (THIS) tells us that something is clear).

Rabbi Elazar did not reveal the reception of the Light of the first *Gadlut* state (*Ohr Neshama*), and Rabbi Shimon wished to reveal the way to receive the Light of the second *Gadlut* state (*Ohr Haya*). Therefore, he asked Rabbi Elazar to speak and to reveal the way to attain *Ohr Neshama*, which is concealed from people by a supernal secret, for this Light has not yet been revealed in the world, and Rabbi Shimon reveals it here.

The fact is that, although there were righteous who attained the Light of *Haya*, there was no one among them who could explain the path of its attainment in detail, no one who could reveal it to the entire world. This is so because to understand means to attain, to ascend to that degree, which depends only on man's efforts. While there were many people throughout the generations who attained the degree of *ELEH*, revealing it to the world requires an even greater degree, and a special permission by the Creator (See the article *The Conditions for Disclosing the Secrets of the Wisdom of Kabbalah*).

Rabbi Shimon asked him what *ELEH* means, what new things is the Torah telling us with the words, *MI BARAH ELEH* (WHO CREATED THESE), where

the word *ELEH* designates *ZON*? After all, if it speaks of the stars and the signs of the zodiac—luck, which signify the Light of *VAK* of the big state, then what is so special about it? After all, *ZON* can receive this Light even on weekdays. There is nothing so extraordinary in this to mention *MI* – WHO CREATED THIS separately.

(One might say that this Light is constant, for only the Light of *VAK* is constantly present in *ZON*, but not *GAR*. And only as a result of *MAN* does *ZON* receive the Light of *VAK* of the big state, the Light of *Neshama*. The answer lies in that this Light can be received at any time, even on weekdays during the morning prayer. However, he still does not understand why these were created in *MA*. After all, Light refers not to *Bina*, but to the *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *MA*, and exits them, as is written BY THE WORD OF THE CREATOR, where the Creator is *ZA* and His word is *Malchut*.)

12. However, this secret was revealed on another day, when I was on the seashore. The prophet Eliyahu came to me and said: "Rabbi, do you know the meaning of *MI BARAH ELEH* – WHO HAS CREATED THESE?" I answered: "These are the Heavens and its forces, the works of the Creator, looking at which, people should bless Him, as it is said, 'When I behold Your Heavens, the work of Your hands' (*Tehilim*, 8:4), and 'O LORD! Our Lord! How glorious is Your name throughout all the earth!'" (*Tehilim*, 8:10).

13. He replied to me: "Rabbi, the Creator took the concealed and revealed it to the Celestial Council. And here it is: When the most Concealed of all that are Concealed desired to reveal Himself, He first made a single point, which is *Malchut*, and it ascended to His Thought, that is, into *Bina*, meaning that *Malchut* ascended and merged with *Bina*. In her, He shaped all the creatures, and in her confirmed all the laws."

Atik is the first *Partzuf* and the *Rosh* of the world of *Atzilut*. And it is called the most concealed and secret of all the *Partzufim*, and its name—*Atik* (from the word *Ne'etak*—isolated, unattainable) testifies to that fact. No one can attain this *Partzuf* in itself, its properties, but we can attain it the way it appears to us: *Atik* deliberately diminishes and changes itself in such a way that the lower ones could attain the outer form (its properties) in which it appears to them, but not *Atik* itself.

In the words of *The Zohar*, when *Atik* wished to reveal itself to the worlds, although it is a *Partzuf* that acts according to the laws of the first restriction, it "clothed itself in the garments" (an external *Partzuf* that acts according to the

laws of the second restriction) with regard to the lower ones so as to enable them to perceive and attain it.

There is an enormous difference between the properties of the sensory organs that perceive sensations of the first and the second restrictions. Just as man in our world is born without sensory organs that can perceive spiritual worlds, which is why he cannot sense them, so is the *Partzuf* that is corrected for the conditions of spiritual work at the level of the second restriction unable to accept (perceive) the Light that descends according to the law of the first restriction. A similar distinction exists between *Partzuf Atik* and the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds of *BYA*.

To be connected to the lower ones, *Atik* elevated *Malchut de Rosh de AA* within the *Rosh* of the lower-standing *AA* up to the *Sefira Hochma*. As a result, *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON de Rosh de AA* fell from the *Rosh* of *AA* to its *Guf*. After all, *Malchut* ascended from the *Peh* to the *Eynaim* and stood in the *Rosh* at place of *Bina*, whereas *Bina* and *ZON* exited the *Rosh*. The *Guf* (body) begins after *Malchut de Rosh* (after the decision on how to act), wherever it may be.

Here is how one should understand this: the *Sefirot* of the *Rosh* are the thoughts and desires with regards to which the *Partzuf*, man's inner properties (man himself) makes the decisions as to how they can be used in order to advance as much as possible toward the goal of creation. The fact that *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON* exited the *Rosh* of *AA* means that *Partzuf AA* cannot make any decisions with regard to them for lack of a screen on them. This is why they fell into the *Guf*, outside the *Rosh*.

Hence, their remaining role is only to receive the Light from the *Rosh*, just as it is received by all the *Sefirot* of the *Guf*. In other words, they receive the Light that is accepted by the screen of *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* that remained in the *Rosh*. Man deliberately restricts the use of his desires, and uses only those desires with which he can work for the Creator's sake.

Therefore, when *Malchut* ascended and stood under the *Sefira Hochma*, *Hochma* became like the male part (bestowing, fulfilling), and *Malchut* became like the female (receiving) part of the *Rosh*. And since *Malchut* took the place of *Bina* (called "thought"), *Malchut* assumed the name "thought," since now it's *Malchut* that makes a *Zivug* and receives *Ohr Hochma*.

A *Partzuf* that receives from *Hochma* is defined as *Bina*, and not *Malchut*. Therefore, although *Malchut* herself is merely a black point (egoistic creature), as a result of her ascent, she becomes *Bina*, i.e., *Malchut* acquires *Bina*'s properties. Hence, *Malchut* is now called *Bina* or "thought."

The Zohar calls a "thought" either to *Hochma* or to *Bina*. The difference is that a thought is something that is received from *Hochma*. Hence, *Bina* is called a thought only if she is in the *Rosh* and receives the Light from *Hochma*. In the first restriction, *Bina* always receives from *Hochma*, and is called "thought." However, in the second restriction, *Malchut* ascended above *Bina* and started receiving from *Hochma*. That is why it is *Malchut* that is now called "thought," and not *Bina*.

All the *Partzufim* of the worlds of ABYA are created by this ascent of *Malchut* to *Bina*. Therefore, it is written: IN HER HE SHAPED ALL THE CREATURES, AND IN HER CONFIRMED ALL THE LAWS—*Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* remained in the *Rosh* of each *Partzuf*, and a *Zivug* was made on these two *Sefirot*. This is why the Light received in *Guf* of the *Partzuf* consists of only two Lights, *Nefesh* and *Ruach*.

Previously, *Malchut* stood in *Peh de Rosh* and the *Rosh* (the part of the *Partzuf* in which it calculated how much Light it can receive for the Creator's sake) ended there. Then, the *Partzuf* would receive that Light from the *Rosh* to the *Guf*, between the *Peh* and the *Tabur*.

But now *Malchut* ascended to *Eynaim de Rosh* and stands under them. This is known as the ascent of *Malchut* to *NE* (*Nikvey Eynaim* – pupils of the eyes), which are called *NE* precisely because *Nikvey Eynaim* means *Malchut* of the eyes. Prior to *Malchut*'s ascent to the *Eynaim*, it was as though there were no pupils (*NE*). It is worth noting that only in *Malchut* (desire) can we feel what surrounds us (the Creator, Light). This is why all of our sensory organs are designed as apertures: *Nekev* (orifice), *Nukva, Malchut* in the eyes, *Awznaim* (ears), *Hotem* (nose) and *Peh* (mouth).

Only he who can create desires that work according to the principle of the second restriction through his own strength and effort, and puts *Malchut* after *Keter-Hochma* (thinks in terms of bestowal), can start perceiving through this corrected spiritual sensory organ. Wherever there is a screen, it constitutes that sensory organ with which one can perceive the Upper Light.

Upon her ascent, *Malchut* stood under *Hochma* and made a *Zivug* on her own screen, on *Sefirot Keter-Hochma* (*GE*). *Sefirot Bina-ZA-Malchut* (*AHP*) are located below the *Rosh*, in the *Guf* of the *Partzuf*, and passively receive the Light from the *Rosh*. This leads to a division of the ten *Sefirot* of the *Guf*, *KHB-ZA-M*, in the same way the ten *Sefirot* of the *Rosh* were divided: *Sefirot K-H* of the *Guf* continue receiving from *K-H* of the *Rosh*, and *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Guf*, being unable to receive from the *Rosh*, start receiving from *K-H* of the *Guf*, like the *Sefirot* below the *Tabur* of the *Partzuf*.

As is well-known, every *Partzuf* consists of a *Rosh*, a *Guf*, and extremities. The *Rosh* decides how much Light the *Guf* can receive for the Creator's sake, in accordance with the magnitude of the screen that reflects the Light (pleasure). The decision to accept this Light causes the Light to descend through the screen, from the *Rosh* to the *Guf*, filling it from the *Peh* down to the *Tabur*. Each *Sefira* of the *Rosh* fills its corresponding *Sefira* in the *Guf*.

Partzuf in the 1st Restriction

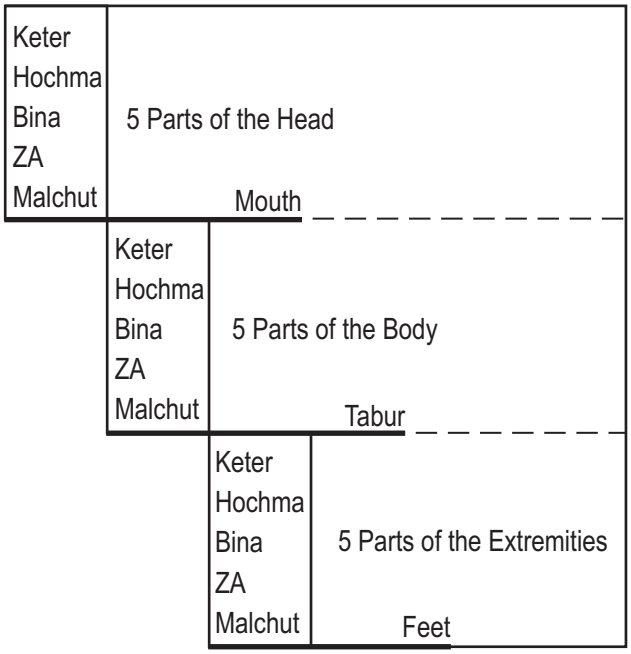

Partzuf in the 2nd Restriction

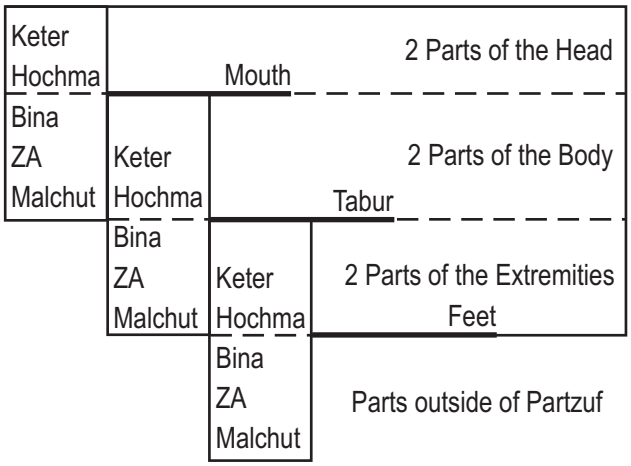

If there are only two *Sefirot K-H* in the *Rosh*, then only the two *Sefirot K-H* remain in the *Guf*. This is because only they can receive from the corresponding *Sefirot* in the *Rosh*. *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Rosh* receive the same Light as *Sefirot K-H* of the *Guf*, which means that they are located under the screen (*Malchut* that ascends and stands under *Hochma de Rosh*). Thus, the *Guf* contains *K-H* that receive, accordingly, the Lights *Ruach-Nefesh*, and *AHP* of the *Rosh* that receive these two Lights of *Ruach-Nefesh*, too.

B-ZA-M (*AHP*) of the *Guf* cannot receive the Light from the *Rosh*, as their corresponding *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Rosh* do not participate in a *Zivug*, since they lack the strength of the screen sufficient to reflect the egoistic desires of *AHP de Rosh* so as to receive for the Creator's sake. In other words, since there are no *AHP* in the *Rosh*, there are also no *AHP* in the *Guf*. And since *AHP de Guf* receive no Light from *AHP de Rosh*, they are like the extremities—the end of a *Partzuf*, below its *Tabur*. Hence, at the end of a *Partzuf*, below *Tabur*, there are *GE* of *Raglaim* (feet) and *AHP de Guf*, which fell there. And *AHP* of *Raglaim* are not parts of a *Partzuf* whatsoever, as they are located at a lower degree.

The Light that cannot be received by the *Partzuf* remains outside, surrounding it, and waits until the *Partzuf* acquires the strength to receive it. It is called "Surrounding Light," and it corresponds to the desires that do not take part in a *Zivug*, those desires that are still uncorrected and lack a screen.

If, previously, before the second restriction, *Malchut* (the last *Sefira* of the *Guf*) was in *Tabur*, now, when only two *Sefirot K-H* remain in the *Guf*, *Malchut de Guf*, too, ascends to *Bina de Guf*, called *Chazeh*. Therefore, when *Malchut* ascends to *Bina de Rosh*, the entire *Partzuf* "diminishes" in size: the *Rosh* reaches only up to the *Eynaim*, the *Guf* only to the *Chazeh*, and the *Raglaim* only to *Tabur*. And that is why this state of the *Partzuf* is called "the state of *Katnut*."

However, if the *Partzuf* receives new strength from Above, acquires a *Masach* (screen), it will be able to resolve to accept the Light for the Creator's sake in its *AHP*, then *AHP de Rosh* will rise again from the *Guf* to the *Rosh*, and complete the *Rosh* to ten *Sefirot*, while the *Sefirot* of *AHP de Guf* will ascend from the *Raglaim* back to their place in order to receive additional Light. And then *Rosh*, *Guf*, and *Raglaim* will all contain ten *Sefirot*. This state of the *Partzuf* is called "the state of *Gadlut*."

In the language of *The Zohar*, the restriction of a *Partzuf*, its transition from the *Gadlut* state to the *Katnut* state is described as a division of each part of the *Partzuf* (*Rosh*, *Guf*, and *Raglaim*) into *GE* (*MI*) and *AHP* (*ELEH*). All ten *Sefirot* are called by the Creator's name *Elokim*, which consists of the letters *ELEH-IM*, that are further divided into *MI – GE – K-H* and *ELEH – B-ZA-M*. When in *Katnut*, only *Sefirot ELEH* maintain their degree, whereas *Sefirot IM* fall to a

lower degree. The word *Elokim* is read from below upwards, the way they are attained by man.

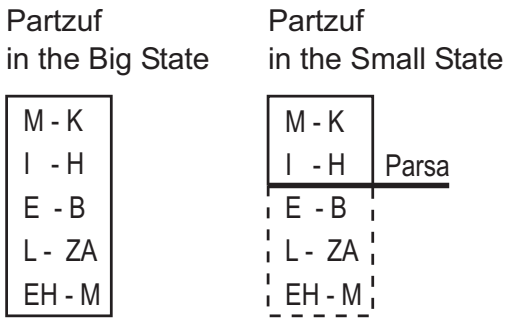

IN HER HE SHAPED ALL THE CREATURES, AND IN HER CONFIRMED ALL THE LAWS—alludes to the division of each degree into two parts; their new form signifies the division into *ELEH* and *MI*, the separation of the *Kelim* (desires) of "bestowal" and "reception," where, due to the lack of strength to oppose one's nature (egoism), part of the *Sefirot* (desires) remain unused, outside of their degree. Accordingly, their Light remains outside as *Ohr Makif* (Surrounding Light), and waits until the *Partzuf* acquires additional strength to become big and thus receive all the Light.

During the 6,000 years, our entire correction transpires only according to the laws of *Tzimtzum Bet* (second restriction). As soon as the *Partzuf* acquires new strength (*Masach*) to receive the Light selflessly in *Sefirot/Kelim B-ZA-M* (*ELEH*), it will immediately attach them to itself and receive in them the Lights *Neshama-Haya-Yechida*. And it will grow to become a big *Partzuf* consisting of five *Kelim* (ten *Sefirot*) with the five Lights of *NRNHY*.

14. He confirmed in the sacred and concealed candle (in *Malchut* that merged with *Bina*), a concealed image, the Holy of Holies, a secret structure that emerges from the thought, *GAR* that is called *MI*, which is the beginning of this structure. It stands and it does not stand; it is great and concealed in the name *Elokim* (*ELEH* and *IM*). It is called *MI* from the word *Elokim*, that is, it lacks the letters *ELEH* of the name *Elokim*. He desired to be revealed and called by the complete name *Elokim*, so He clothed Himself in a splendid shining garment, the Light of *Hassadim*. He created *ELEH*. The letters *ELEH* of the name *Elokim* ascended and combined with the letters *MI* and formed the complete name *Elokim*. And until He created *ELEH*, He did not rise (did not ascend) to the name *Elokim*. Hence, those who sinned by worshipping the Golden Calf alluded to this secret by saying, "*ELEH* (this is) your God, Israel!" (*Shemot*, 32:4).

"*ELEH* (this is) your God, Israel!"—that is, these egoistic desires (*ELEH*) are your deity, which you must worship until you correct yourself. The use of *ELEH* is the reason for all transgressions and ruin: the breaking of the vessels (*Kelim*), the sin of Adam and the shattering of his soul into 600,000 pieces, worshipping the Golden Calf and the breaking of the Tablets by Moshe, the ruin of the First and Second Temples, and so forth.

As a result of the lower ones raising *MAN*, meaning their request to receive the strength necessary to make a *Zivug* and receive *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake, there descends from Above the Light called *MAD* (*Mayin Dechurin*)–the force that enables the *Kli* to create a *Masach* capable of reflecting Light, thereby resisting its egoistic nature. This force comes in the form of Light, the sensation of the Creator's greatness, and is referred to as the Light of *AB-SAG*, as it descends from the *Partzufim Hochma* (*AB*) and *Bina* (*SAG*) of the world of *AK* (*Adam Kadmon*).

If one ascends from the degree called "our world" to the worlds *BYA*, then wherever he may be in those worlds, his request for spiritual correction will rise through all the worlds and degrees up to *Partzuf SAG*. *SAG* turns to *AB*, receives the Light of *Hochma* from it, and passes it down to all the *Partzufim* along which *MAN* had ascended.

Since the entire world of *AK* exists in the first restriction (*Tzimtzum Aleph*) and above the second restriction (*Tzimtzum Bet*), the Light that comes from it provides the *Kli* that receives this Light with the strength to pass from the small state to the big one. In other words, the Light of *AB-SAG* enables the *Kli* to create a *Masach*, reflect the Light of *Hochma*, and receive it for the Creator's sake. The *Gadlut* state is called "the holy of holies," for being filled with the Light of *GAR* (the holy of holies) is utterly perfect.

The Light of *AB-SAG* first descends to the *Rosh* of *Partzuf AA* and lowers the point (*Malchut*) from the thought (*Bina*) back to its place in the *Peh*, where it was prior to *Tzimtzum Bet*. In consequence, the three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* rejoin the two *Sefirot K-H* and become five *Sefirot* in the *Rosh*, *AHP* (*ELEH*) ascend and join with *GE* (*MI*), and the Creator's name *Elokim* is completed.

However, this does not mean that the *Partzuf* can be filled with the five Lights *NRNHY*; it merely acquires a *Masach*, the strength to receive the Light in all its ten *Sefirot*. Since only *Ohr Hochma* shines in *AA*, this Light cannot fill the elevated *Kelim* of *ELEH*, as they can only receive *Ohr Hochma* if it is clothed by *Ohr Hassadim*. Only the *GAR* of the *Partzuf* (*K-H-B*) can have pure *Ohr Hochma*; the *ZAT* of the *Partzuf* (*Sefirot ZA-M*) can only receive diminished

Ohr Hochma—half-mixed with *Ohr Hassadim*. This is called the reception of *Ohr Hochma* in the middle line (consisting of half *Hochma* and half *Hassadim*).

Therefore, says *The Zohar*, THIS STRUCTURE STANDS AND IT DOES NOT STAND—even though all the *Sefirot* are already present in the *Rosh*, they still need to be filled with Light, meaning that *Sefirot ELEH* are not yet revealed in the name *Elokim*. Only the letters *MI* have so far been revealed (filled with the Light).

Hence, first, the *Partzuf* makes a *Zivug* on its *Katnut* state and receives *Ohr Hassadim*. Then, it clothes *Ohr Hochma* into PRECIOUS GARMENT (*Ohr Hassadim*). Only afterwards can the mixed Light of *Hassadim* and *Hochma* fill *Sefirot ZAT* (*ELEH*), and all five *Sefirot* will shine in perfection.

However, before *MI* gives *Ohr Hassadim* to *ELEH* so as to enable *ELEH* to receive *Ohr Hochma* in it, *ELEH* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma*, and only the Light of *MI* shines in the entire name *Elokim*. Further, *The Zohar* tells us that neglect of *Ohr Hassadim* (the intention for the Creator's sake) is precisely what constitutes the entire transgression. And since they transgressed, i.e., neglected *Ohr Hassadim*, that is, since they did not wish to receive with the intention "for the Creator's sake," but desired only *Ohr Hochma*, they caused the separation of *MI* from *ELEH*. Hence, it is written, *ELEH* – THIS (the desires of reception and not *MI*, the desires of bestowal) IS YOUR LORD, ISRAEL—and the Light instantly passed to the impure forces.

The Torah does not tell us about the history of an ancient nation, but about the structure of the spiritual degrees that we must attain. To know the properties of these degrees (whose attainment is designated by the acquisition of their properties), Kabbalah explains to us how they were originally created by a gradual descent (spiritual coarsening) from the Creator Himself.

And in order to give us an opportunity to correct our egoism, the Creator mixed it with altruism at the very creation of the spiritual degrees. This kind of mixing of opposite properties is possible only through an "explosion," since opposite properties cannot be combined otherwise. There were several such mixtures that occurred as a result of explosions (breaking of properties).

One of them is mentioned in the Torah (*Shemot*, 32:4), when, by worshiping the Golden Calf, the sons of Israel (the altruistic desires of "bestowal") suddenly wished to receive the Light for themselves. Consequently, the *Sefirot* (*Kelim*) of *GE* and *AHP* mixed together, and the properties (desires) of *GE* penetrated *AHP*. Through these altruistic properties that are secretly concealed within a small, egoistic human being, it is possible to awaken him, to evoke in him an aspiration to ascend spiritually and to disregard this world.

Therefore, everything that is written in the Torah should not be perceived by us not as history, but as an instruction manual. All the actions described in the Torah are positive: all the devastations, including the ruin of the First and the Second Temples, wars, adultery and murder. We only need to realize what exactly the Torah is telling us. And one can understand it correctly only if he stops perceiving it as a collection of injunctions referring to the mechanical performance of commandments.

15. Just as *MI* join *ELEH* into one name *Elokim*, when *Hochma* clothes itself in *Hassadim*, so is the name combined by this precious shining garment. The world exists thanks to this secret, as is written, "The world was created by mercy." (*Tehilim*, 89:3). Then Eliyahu flew away, and I did not see him anymore. Yet, it is from him that I discovered that I stood upon the secret and its concealment. Rabbi Elazar approached with the others, and they bowed down before him. They wept and said, "If we have come into this world only to hear this—it is enough for us!"

Rabbi Shimon continues his explanation: There is only one law of reception of *Ohr Hochma*: *Ohr Hochma* can only be received if *Ohr Hassadim* clothes it beforehand. Just as this occurs in *Partzuf Bina*, called "the Upper World," so does it occur in *Partzuf Malchut* (MA, *Nukva* of ZA), called "the lower world." *Malchut* is typically referred to as *BON*, but when she joins ZA and receives the Light from him, she is called by his name—MA.

The Upper World, *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, desires only *Hassadim*, but the lower world, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, wants *Hochma*. However, Eliyahu the prophet spoke only of the order of Light and the structure of the name *Elokim* in *AVI* (*Bina de Atzilut*), whereas Rabbi Shimon continues his explanation in the next article and describes the structure and reception of Light in the name *Elokim* in *Malchut de Atzilut* herself.

The Mother Lends Her Clothes to Her Daughter

16. Heaven, Earth, and all that inhabit them were created by *MA*, which is *Malchut*, as it is said: "When I behold your Heavens, the work of your hands" (*Tehilim*, 8:4). And before this, it is said, "*MA* – WHAT (How) majestic Your name is throughout the earth, which You established above the Heavens" (*Tehilim*, 8:2). After all, the Heavens were created by the name (property) *MA* (*Malchut*). It is written "in the Heavens," which refers to *Bina*, called *MI*, the Heavens that are above *ZA*. The explanation for this lies in the name *Elokim*. *MA* (*Malchut*) ascends and enters with her properties into *Bina*, i.e., connects into *Bina*, and receives her properties. *Bina* is called *Elokim*. After He CREATED LIGHT FOR LIGHT, meaning *Ohr* (Light) *Hassadim* (called "precious adornments or garments") so as to clothe *Ohr Hochma*, *Ohr Hassadim* clothes *Ohr Hochma*, which signifies the creation of Light for Light; by the force of the Supernal Name *Elokim* (*Bina*), *Malchut* ascends, and, upon joining *Bina*, receives all of her properties, and includes herself in *Bina*. Therefore, *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (In the beginning the Creator created) refers to the Supernal *Elokim*, to *Bina* and not to *Malchut*. For *MA* (*Malchut*) is not created by the name *MI ELEH*.

The lower world (*Malchut*, *MA*) receives the Light (marked from Above by the name *Elokim*) from *Bina*. This Light brings *Malchut* strength, and the properties suitable for the creation of Heaven, earth, and posterity manifest within her. After all, there cannot be any posterity or birth of new generations without the Light of *Haya*.

And this is what *The Zohar* tells us: so does the lower world (*Malchut*, *MA*) exist by the name *Elokim*, by the name from the Upper World, which is why

there's strength in *Malchut* (*Ohr Hochma*) to create generations. And if *Malchut* has *Ohr Hochma*, then the world can be created by her.

(*Haya* is one type of *Ohr Hochma*. There is one Light that the Creator emanates, or rather, the sensation of the Creator we refer to as Light. This sensation depends on the desires-*Kelim* in which we feel Him. And since there are only two types of desires-*Kelim*, those of "bestowal" and those of "reception," there exist only two types of Light, *Hassadim* and *Hochma*. However, each of them includes several subtypes, and *Ohr Haya* constitutes a particular form of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because *Hochma* is the Light or pleasure that is felt by the will "to receive," whereas *Hassadim* is the pleasure that is felt by the will "to bestow." If only the *Kelim* of bestowal (*GE*) are present in the *Partzuf*, it is filled with *Ohr Hassadim*; and if it has the strength to receive for the Creator's sake, it is filled with *Ohr Hochma*.) (Do not confuse this with *MA*, which is used here, where *MA* = *Malchut* with *ZA* = *MA* in *Gematria*).

The Zohar explains that the Light descends from the name *Elokim* thanks to the merging of *MI* and *ELEH*. *ZA* is called "Heaven." *YESHSUT* is above Heaven (*ZA*). There is no *MI* in Heaven (*ZA*), only *MA*. However, after *Ohr Hassadim* clothes *Ohr Hochma* (the Light *ELEH* = *AHP* clothes the Light of *MA* = *GE*), all the letters combine and ascend by the name *Elokim* above Heaven = *ZA* = *MA* to *YESHSUT* = *Bina* = *MI*.

MI (*Bina*) is above the second restriction, above its ban, as her properties are higher, better than those to which the restriction extends: the property of *Bina* is "not to receive anything," which is why the ban of the second restriction—to not receive—simply does not apply to her, for in her essence, she has no desire to receive.

There remains only the ban of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, the restriction imposed on the reception of Light in *Malchut* herself (*Malchut de Malchut*), the central point of all creation, the only creating being. *Malchut* herself is egoistic, but if she has a *Masach* and only receives the Light by means of a *Zivug de Hakaa* (resistance to one's own desire, only for the Creator's sake) on the desires of bestowal, such reception does not occur in *Malchut*, but rather in the first nine *Sefirot*. Hence, *Malchut* can receive the Light in her first nine *Sefirot*.

In other words, if *Malchut* has the will (strength) to receive (enjoy) the Light (pleasure) not for herself, but only because the Creator so desires, then she receives only this amount of Light (pleasure). In order to receive the Light under such a condition, *Malchut* (man's inclination to pleasure and enjoyment) must first reject all incoming pleasure, which *Malchut* perceives to be right there before

her. This is referred to as the Light's (the pleasure's) impact against the screen and its reflection off the screen (the reflection of pleasure by force of will so as to not receive, in spite of the natural, primordial desire to receive pleasure).

The reflected pleasure is called *Ohr Hassadim*. Essentially, this is not a Light, but rather *Malchut*'s intention to receive only for the Creator's sake. However, this intention is that necessary and sufficient condition for the subsequent reception of *Ohr Hochma* from the Creator. For after *Malchut* repelled all the Light (expressed her intention to not receive for her own sake), she thereby met the condition of *Tzimtzum Aleph* (first restriction) to only receive the Light of *Hochma* in the intention for the Creator's sake, which is called *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light) or *Ohr Hassadim*. And now she can receive *Ohr Hochma*, the pleasure that the Creator wants to bestow upon her.

However, by receiving this Light, *Malchut* is no more a mere recipient-creature. Now, like the Creator, she bestows pleasure upon Him! In this manner, the creature attains the degree of the Creator, becomes equal to Him in properties, for it wants to bestow everything. This is called "being filled with *Ohr Hassadim*." Moreover, *Malchut* receives and enjoys, for if she does not feel pleasure, she will not please the Creator.

Therefore, *Malchut* receives, meaning she is filled with *Ohr Hochma*, full of wisdom and pleasure, from both bestowal and reception for the Creator's sake. And herein lies the perfection of the Creator's Creation: she becomes perfect and similar to the Creator. And this is the perfection of the Creator's works: His creation can ascend to His level independently!

One can imagine one's path from the lows of our world up to the ultimate spiritual peak—the Creator—as a passage through a suite of rooms. In all, between our state and the Creator there are 125 connected, walkthrough rooms. Each room has its own properties, and only those who possess the same properties can be there. If, regardless of reason, man changes his properties, he is automatically moved as though by an invisible current to a room that corresponds to his new properties.

This is how one can move between these rooms: an infinitesimal inner change of properties evokes influence of a spiritual force-field upon man, and he immediately moves to his new place of equilibrium, where his inner properties completely coincide with the external properties of the spiritual field. Hence, there are no guards at the rooms' entrances/exits; as soon as man changes himself so as to match the properties of the next, higher room, he is automatically transferred there by the spiritual current or field.

What properties must one change in order to move from one room to another within this spiritual field? He only needs to alter the type of pleasure to which he aspires. We cannot help receiving pleasure, for such is the entire material of creation, it is all that was created. However, we can change the object of our aspirations, what it is that we wish to enjoy: either coarse reception, reception of mere necessities, or the Creator being pleased with us that we bestow to Him, that we receive because such is His wish.

Our "I," the entity that feels pleasure is present in all of our desires, which change ceaselessly in terms of both magnitude and the desired object. This "I" never disappears. The only thing of which one should rid himself is the sensation that he does something to please this "I." One should aspire to sense the desires of the Creator, how He is pleased with him (just as a mother is pleased with her son's achievements).

After *Malchut* decides to receive only for the Creator's sake, i.e., according to the force of her *Masach* (the force of resistance to her egoistic will to receive pleasure), she receives *Ohr Hochma* only in accordance with the magnitude of the Returning Light. Or, conversely, one may say that the magnitude of the Returning Light determines man's willpower and his desire to act for the Creator's sake.

However, the first nine of *Malchut's* ten *Sefirot* are not egoistic, as they are the Creator's properties with which He wishes to correct *Malchut*. Only the last *Sefira* of *Malchut*, *Malchut* herself, the single creation, called *Malchut de Malchut*, is egoistic and remains under the ban of the first restriction: *Ohr Hochma* does not enter where the will to receive pleasure is present. Therefore, the first nine *Sefirot* can receive the Light of *Hochma*.

However, after the second restriction, in order to correct *Malchut* and impart the properties of mercy (*Hassadim*) onto her so she would be able to desire to "bestow," acquire the properties of *Bina*, and convert her initial, primordial egoism into altruism, *Malchut* ascended to *Partzuf Aba*, became *Malchut* in *Partzuf Aba* in *Bina's* place, while *Bina* found herself below *Malchut*. *Bina* herself can receive *Ohr Hochma* without any restrictions, even when below *Malchut*. However, *Bina* adopted the limitations of *Tzimtzum Bet* for the sole purpose of correcting *Malchut*.

Therefore, due to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, by man's requests for spiritual correction, the Light *AB-SAG* descends and lowers *Malchut* from the level of *Bina* back to her own place: *Malchut* descends from *Bina*, and the Light of attainment and wisdom is revealed.

As a result of *Malchut*'s descent, *Bina* purifies herself from all restrictions and limitations and returns to receiving *Ohr Hochma*. And after the *Ohr Hassadim* clothes the *Ohr Hochma*, *MI* shines in *ELEH* and the name *Elokim* is revealed, meaning that *Ohr Hochma* shines.

The structure of the name *Elokim* cannot be found in *MA*, for the lower boundary of Heaven (*Malchut* herself) is limited by *Tzimtzum Aleph*—the ban imposed on the reception of *Ohr Hochma*, and by *Tzimtzum Bet's* 6,000-year long prohibition on the usage of the desires of reception. Hence, *The Zohar* tells us that the name *Elokim* was created with *MI*, and not with *MA*, by the property received by *Malchut* upon her ascent to *Bina*.

17. But as the letters *ELEH* descend from Above, from *Bina* down to *Malchut*, for the mother temporarily lends her clothes to her daughter and adorns her with her own adornments, the name *Elokim* descends from *Bina* (mother) to *Malchut* (daughter). When does she adorn her with her own adornments? When she sees the male essence before her. It is then written of her, "Three times in the year shall all your males appear before the Lord Creator" (*Shemot*, 34:23). For *Malchut* is then called by the male name "Master." As it is written: "Behold the Ark of the Union, the Master of all the earth" (*Yehoshua*, 3:11). The Torah is the Union and the Ark is *Malchut*, called by the male name "Master." For she received the *Kelim* (properties, desires) called "clothes," and the Light called "adornments" from her mother, *Bina*. The letter *Hey* (A from MA) then leaves MA (*Mem* + *Hey*) and the letter *Yod* (I) enters in its stead, and just like *Bina*, *Malchut* assumes the name MI. And then she adorns herself with male clothes, with the clothes of *Bina*, to accept all the husbands of Israel.

As it is written (item 13), *Tzimtzum Bet* is in force from the *Rosh* of *AA* downwards, for *Malchut* of *AA* ascended to *Bina* and created all the lower *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* in the property of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Thus, each *Partzuf* of *AA*, *AVI* and *ZON* has only two *Sefirot K-H*, and three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* separated themselves (their properties) from that degree, and moved to a lower one (their properties became equal to it). This is how *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf AA*) fell to *Sefirot K-H* (*GE*) of *Partzuf AVI*, *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf AVI*) fell to *Sefirot K-H* (*GE*) of *Partzuf ZON*, and *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf ZON*) fell below *Parsa* to the worlds of *BYA*.

Sefirot K-H (*GE*) that remained in their degree in their *Partzuf* are called *MI*, and *Sefirot B-ZA-M* that separated (in their properties) and descended (by equivalence in properties) to a lower *Partzuf* are called *ELEH*.

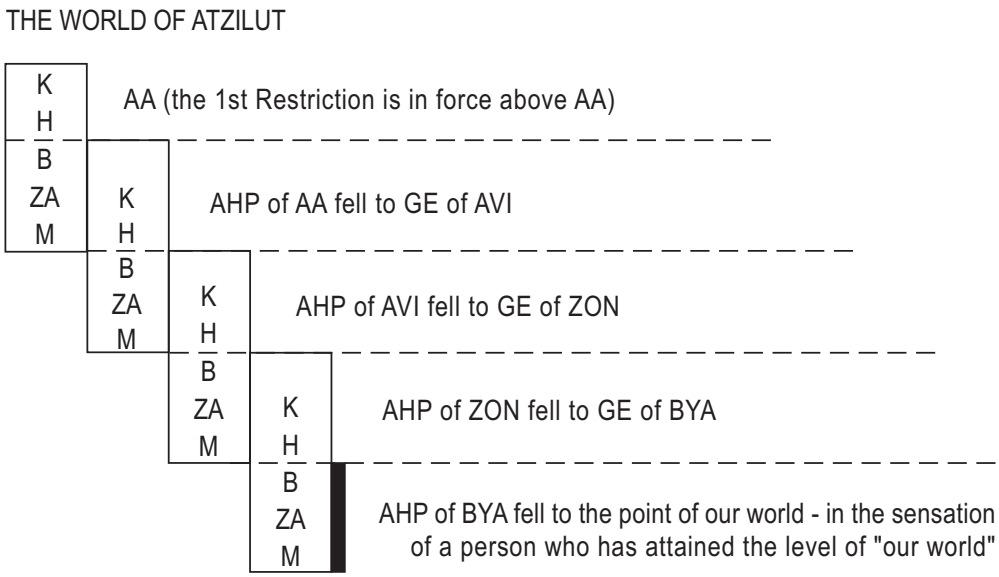

BUT AS THE LETTERS *ELEH* DESCEND FROM ABOVE—when *Malchut* is expelled from *Bina*, the letters *ELEH* get detached from *AVI* and fall to *ZON* (a lower degree), and clothe themselves in *ZON*: *ELEH* of *Aba* (*YESHS – Israel Saba*) clothe *ZA*, and *ELEH* of *Ima* (*Tvuna*) clothe *Malchut*. *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* is a complex *Partzuf*: her *GE* constitute *AVI* (two *Partzufim*), and her *AHP* have the name of a separate *Partzuf YESHSUT*, for they fulfill separate functions with regard to *ZON*: *Bina*: *GE* = *MI* = *GE* of *Aba* + *MI* = *GE* of *Ima*. *ELEH* = *AHP* of *Aba* = *YESHS* (*Israel Saba*) + *T* (*Tvuna*) = *ELEH* = *AHP* of *Ima*.

When *Ohr Haya* descends from Above (as a result of which *Malchut* descends from *Bina's* level back to her own place), three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* thereby return to their degree, and correspondingly, *Sefirot KHB* (called the "holy of holies") enter the now complete *Partzuf* consisting of five *Sefirot*. (Here, the Light is called by the name of the *Sefirot* it fills.) Previously, there was only *Ohr Ruach-Nefesh* in *K-H*, and now *Ohr Neshama-Haya-Yechida* was added to *KHB*, while *Ruach-Nefesh* descended to *ZA-M*.

However, when *AHP* of *Rosh de AA* (*B-ZA-M* of *Rosh de AA*) that fell to its *Guf* ascend (return from *Guf* to *Rosh de AA*), the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* ascend along with them to *Rosh de AA*. (These are the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* that were clothed in *AHP de AA* in their small state, when *AHP de AA* had fallen to *GE de AVI*.) Once there, the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* receive the Light called "holy of holies" that shines in *Rosh de AA*.

The reason for this is that when the Upper One descends to the lower one, it becomes like the lower one. And when the lower one ascends to the Upper One it becomes like the Upper One. This is because no space or motion exist in the spiritual, and only a change of properties instantly and automatically moves a *Partzuf* or its part in spiritual space, closer (higher) to the Creator or farther away (lower) from Him. Therefore, spiritual ascent itself implies a change of properties of the lower one to those of the Upper One, and a descent of the Upper One signifies that its properties became equal to the properties of the degree to which it descended.

Hence, in *Katnut*, when *Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP de Rosh* of *Partzuf AA* separate from its head and fall (move according to their now inferior properties) to its *Guf*, from *Peh* to *Chazeh*, where *Partzuf AVI* clothes *Partzuf AA*, they (*B-ZA-M = ZON = AHP de Rosh* of *AA*) become like *AVI* in their properties, without *Ohr Hochma*, and only with the Light of *Bina*, *Hassadim*.

That is why, in *Gadlut*, when *B-ZA-M = AHP de AA* return to the *Rosh* (the degree that is higher than *Guf*), they take with them *GE* of *AVI*, as they all became one degree while in *Katnut*. Therefore, in *Gadlut*, *GE* of *AVI* ascend from *AHP de Rosh* of *AA* to *Rosh de AA* and become equal to it (in their properties), where they receive the Light called "holy of holies" that shines in *Rosh de AA*.

ZON ascend to *AVI* in the same way: after *AVI* receive the Light in *Rosh de AA*, they acquire strength (screen), and lower *Malchut* from *Bina* back to her place in *Malchut*, thereby enabling their *Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP* to return to their degree, *AVI*, as in *AA*. However, when the *Kelim-Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP de Bina* that were inside *K-H = GE de ZON* ascend to *AVI*, they also take with them *Sefirot* of *ZON*, which they've clothed—*K-H = GE de ZON*. Thus, *K-H = GE de ZON* ascend to *AVI* and there receive the Light called "holy of holies," the Light of *Haya*.

Therefore, it is written that *Ima*-MOTHER DESCENDS TO HER DAUGHTER TO DRESS AND ADORN HER: the letters *ELEH* or *Ima* (*Bina*) in her small state descend to *Malchut*. This means that THE MOTHER DESCENDS TO HER DAUGHTER, for the three *Sefirot* of *Ima* assumed the property of *Malchut*, thereby separating from *Bina* and becoming a part of *Malchut*. This is akin to *Bina* giving part of her *Kelim* to *Malchut*. Yet, this gift is temporary, as though *Bina* LENDS, GIVES (these *Kelim*) FOR TEMPORARY USE, and thus, *Malchut* uses them temporarily.

And then, *Ima-Bina* (mother) ADORNS HER DAUGHTER WITH HER ADORNMENTS. This is so because in *Gadlut*, when the three *Sefirot ELEH*

return to *Bina*, *Malchut* ascends to the degree of *Bina* together with them, and there receives the Light of "holy of holies." And since an ascent to *Bina* implies becoming like *Bina* (in properties), she now has the right to receive the same Light as *Bina*.

It turns out that, as a result of the mother lowering her *Kelim* (properties) *ELEH* to her daughter by intentionally assuming the properties (desires) of *Malchut* instead of her own properties (desires), thereby entering the small state and willingly diminishing herself, upon receiving the properties of *Malchut* instead of properties of *Bina*, mother *Bina* adorned her daughter *Malchut* with her adornments, meaning the Light that subsequently comes in the state of *Gadlut*: the Light of *Bina* entered *Malchut*. This is described as "*Malchut* received her adornments."

There are two kinds of adornments that the daughter *Malchut* receives from her mother *Bina*: the first is *Ohr Hochma* (*Ohr Haya*, the Light of GAR), the Light of perfection, for it imparts the property of perfection to the *Kli* that it is filling, the Light that *Malchut* receives from *Ima* (Supernal Mother), who stands between *Peh* and *Chazeh* of *Partzuf* AA, above its *Parsa*. The second adornment is *Ohr Neshama*, which still designates imperfection, as it is received from the lower mother, *Partzuf* of *Tvuna* that stands between *Chazeh* and *Tabur de* AA, below its *Parsa*.

Naturally, to receive either Light, *Malchut* must ascend to the corresponding degree. In other words, she must change her properties so as to be able to receive, to merit that Light.

When *Malchut* ascends to *Tvuna* and receives her adornments from *Tvuna*, these adornments are still imperfect, for *Malchut* remains with a "question" (without the Light of *Hochma*), as *Tvuna* was before the raising of *MAN*. This means that to attain perfection, *Malchut* still needs to receive *MAN* from the lower ones, called the "husbands of Israel." In this state, the lower ones, called the righteous or "the husbands of Israel," receive the Light from ZA, which ascended to *YESHS* = *Israel-Saba*.

However, when *Malchut* ascends another degree, to the place of the Supernal Mother, *Bina*, above *Chazeh de* AA, and there receives her adornments from *Ima* and not from *Tvuna*, then these adornments are perfect, for they contain *Ohr Haya*; there is no more "question" in her, as she is considered a male, bestowing *Kli*, and the husbands of Israel receive from her.

And all the husbands of Israel appear before her and receive the Light from her. And *Malchut* is CALLED MASTER (Hebrew – *Adon*). The regular *Malchut*

is called by the Creator's female name *Adonay* (mistress) or *ADNI*, whereas in this state she is called by the male name *Adon* (master).

And this is because *Malchut* no longer has a question, for *MAN* is no longer raised within her, as she has reached perfection (Light of *Haya*) and is therefore called "husband" or master (*Adon*). Hence, the prophet said: BEHOLD THE ARK OF THE COVENANT, THE MASTER (*Adon*) OF ALL THE EARTH (*Yehoshua*, 3:11). *Malchut* is called the "Ark," for *ZA*, who bestows upon her, is called the "Covenant." *The Zohar* calls *Malchut* the "Master of all the earth" or "husband."

As a result of the letter *Hey* in the word *MA* (*Mem-Hey*), signifying the female essence, leaving *Malchut*, for the letter *Hey* signifies the presence of a question in *Malchut*, i.e., the absence of *Ohr Hochma*, whereas *Ohr Hochma* brings absolute knowledge, all questions disappear, and with them the letter *Hey*. The letter *Yod* ascends to the place of *Hey*, and *Malchut* assumes the name *MI* as *Ima*, which signifies *Malchut*'s reception of the name *Elokim*, as the name *Ima*.

18. Israel receives the last letters (*ELEH*) from Above, from *Bina* down to that place, i.e., to *Malchut*, who is now called *MI*, just like the name *Bina*. I pronounce the letters *ELEH* and my whole soul weeps so as to receive these letters *ELEH* from *Bina* into the house of *Elokim*, which is *Malchut*. So that *Malchut* would be called *Elokim*, just as *Bina* is called *Elokim*. How can I receive them? "With joyous songs of praise sung in the voice of the Torah, and festive throngs" (*Tehilim*, 42:4). Rabbi Elazar said, "My silence has erected the Temple Above, which is *Bina*, and the Temple below, which is *Malchut*. Of course, as people say, 'A word is worth a gold coin (Hebrew – *Sela*), but silence is worth two.' So the words 'a word is worth a gold coin' mean that I spoke and came to regret it. Silence, my silence, is worth twice as much, for the two worlds, *Bina* and *Malchut*, were created by this silence. For had I not kept silent (see item 11), I would not have attained the unity of both worlds."

After *Hey* has left *MA* and *Yod* ascended in her place, thereby forming *MI*, Israel elevates the LAST LETTERS *ELEH* to *Malchut* by raising *MAN*. As we've already explained, in *Katnut*, *ELEH* of the Upper One fell to *GE* of the lower one. Hence, they refer to the lower one in *Gadlut* as well. For when *B-ZA-M* = *ELEH* of the Upper One return to its *Rosh*, they thereby elevate *GE* of the lower one, too. The lower one thus acquires the *ELEH* of the Upper One and the Light with which they filled themselves in their present *Gadlut*.

To equalize with the lower one and enter the state of *Katnut*, the Upper One deliberately makes *Tzimtzum Bet* on its *AHP*. And upon connecting to the

lower one, the Upper One returns to the state of *Gadlut*, and passes the Light to that part of the lower one which they've both occupied in the state of *Katnut*.

This scenario is similar to one when a good, strong person joins a company of wicked men, and connects with them by pretending to be like them. And when such contact is established between them, he begins to correct them, little by little, precisely through this connection that has formed between them beforehand.

Each *Partzuf* in the small state is divided into two parts: *GE* and *AHP*. However, since there is a "column" of *Partzufim* between our world and the Creator, there is a connection between them via the common parts of the upper and the lower ones. Precisely because there is a part of an Upper One in each lower one, the lower one can receive strength from Above, through this common property, and ascend independently up to the Creator Himself.

Each Upper One that falls to the lower one completes its *Kelim* to ten *Sefirot*: *AHP* fall to *GE* of the lower one, and together they make up ten *Sefirot*, since they stand at the same level. In turn, *AHP* of the lower one falls into *GE* of the next lower one, and so on.

Afterwards, in *Gadlut*, when *GE* of the Upper One receive the strength to attach their *AHP* to themselves and elevate them, *GE* of the lower one ascend together with *AHP*, as they were joined below. Therefore, upon ascending, *GE* of the lower one continue to be joined with *AHP* of the Upper One, and together they form a *Partzuf* of ten *Sefirot*.

I PRONOUNCE THE LETTERS *ELEH*: Israel (one who wishes to receive the properties of the Creator) raises *MAN* (prayer for it) to receive in *Malchut* the Light of *Gadlut* (for self-correction) with the help of the letters *ELEH*, *Ima-Bina*. This is achieved by praying near the Gates of Tears, after which no one ever returns empty-handed, that is, after raising *MAN*, *ELEH* descend from *AVI* to *Malchut*, the house of *Elokim*. This is because after receiving *ELEH*, *Malchut* herself receives the name *Elokim*, just like *Ima*.

A WORD IS WORTH A GOLD COIN, BUT SILENCE IS WORTH TWO: the words (spiritual action) of Rabbi Elazar (the spiritual *Partzuf* of that name) elevated *Malchut* to *Tvuna*, below *Chazeh de AA*, where there is still no Light of *Hochma*, which designates the presence of a question in *Malchut*, a request for *Ohr Hochma*. And this is called "gold" (Hebrew – *Sela*, a gold coin), for that is the name of *Malchut*.

However, Rabbi Elazar's silence enabled Rabbi Shimon to reveal *Ohr Haya* by raising *Malchut* to the Supernal Mother, whereupon both worlds were

simultaneously created, for the lower world, *Malchut*, was created together with the Upper World, *Bina*, of which *The Zohar* speaks: SILENCE IS WORTH TWICE (two worlds) AS MUCH.

19. Rabbi Shimon said, "From here on the perfection of the written is said to bring forth their host by number." For these are two degrees, and each must be recorded, that is, noted: one is called *MA* and the other *MI*. *MI* is the Upper One, and *MA* is the lower one. The Upper Degree registers, speaks, and brings forth their hosts by number, where the letter *Hey* alludes to the one that is known and unequaled, namely *MI*. This is similar to the phrase, "*HaMotzi Lechem*"—He who brings forth bread from the earth (an appeal to the Creator), where the letter *Hey* refers to the knowledge of the known, lower degree, namely *MA*. And together they are one degree, *Malchut*. However, the Upper One is *MI de Malchut* and the lower one is *MA de Malchut*, the one that brings forth their host by number, for the number 600,000 refers to the number of stars that stand together, and they bring forth innumerable hosts.

The Zohar alludes to the words of the prophet (*Yeshayahu*, 40:26): "Raise your eyes to the height of Heavens and see: WHO HAS CREATED THESE (them) – *MI BARAH ELEH*? He that brings out their host by number, He calls them all by name; no one shall be hidden from the greatness of His might and the force of His power."

The word "recording" means "marked by the letter *Hey*," for two degrees must be recorded in *Malchut*: *MI* and *MA*. With the help of the Light that is received at the time of ascent above *Chazeh de AA* to the Upper World, *Malchut* becomes like the upper world and assumes the name *MI*, for the letter *Hey* exits *MA* (*Mem-Hey*), and the letter *Yod* ascends to its place. Thus, *Malchut* is called *MI*, like the Upper World, and is adorned with the male property.

Nevertheless, *MA*, the previous degree of *Malchut*, does not disappear. The reason for this is that the degree of *MI* is essential in order to pass the Light, the perfection of the "holy of holies" to the generations, the posterity of *Malchut*, *NRN* of the righteous, the lower ones. However, the birth and procreation of these generations (sons) depend on the name *MA*. Hence, if either (*MA* or *MI*) is missing in *Malchut*, she will not be able to beget future generations, to create new souls (lower *Partzufim* filled with Light).

Therefore, *Malchut* BRINGS OUT THEIR HOST BY NUMBER—this is the degree of *MI*, which *Malchut* inherits from the Supernal Mother, for the letter *Hey* before the words "brings out" (*Motzi* = *HaMotzi*) alludes to the fact that *Malchut* contains the perfect Light, called "adornments," which she

receives from *AVI*. This is the maximal Light that may fill *Malchut* during the 6,000 years.

The same letter, *Hey*, designates the presence of the Light of *YESHSUT*, the degree of *MA* within *Malchut*. For this degree must also be recorded, be present in *Malchut*. And these two degrees, *MI* and *MA*, are present in *Malchut*: *MI* above and *MA* below.

The Zohar calls *Malchut* the "world being revealed." That is to say, whatever *Malchut* reveals, the lower ones receive. Those individual attainments, individual sensations of the Light that descend from *Malchut* are what they call "their world." Similarly, whatever we feel in our sensory organs is what we call "our world." But this is nothing more than what we receive from *Malchut* of the lowest degree in the world of *Assiya*, *Malchut* of the previous degree.

However, we should know that the actual notion of "our world" indicates the true attainment of the degree called "our world," i.e., man's sensation of his ultimate disconnection from the Creator, total helplessness, and the realization of his absolute egoism. One can attain this sensation only if the spiritual Light shines on him from Above, in contrast to which he will see his true spiritual state. However, in order to reach such a state, one must make great efforts in the study of Kabbalah so as to draw upon himself the influence of the Surrounding Light ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155).

However, when man attains this state, he immediately raises such a request to the Creator that his *MAN* is not left unanswered, and he receives the strength to transcend "our world" and ascend with his properties to a Higher Degree—*Malchut* of the world of *Assiya*. And then it is she that becomes his world.

Here we are speaking about very high degrees. The *Malchut* that is being revealed is *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, *Nukva de ZA*. And the fact that *The Zohar* calls her "Supernal" indicates the state of *Malchut* when she attains the degree of *MI* during her ascent and clothing the Upper World, the Supernal Mother. Therefore, *Malchut* herself is then called "Supernal," and the degree of *MA* is, accordingly, called "lower."

KNOWS ALL THE HOSTS BY NUMBER: number designates perfection. Light without a number indicates that the Light is imperfect, whereas the Light with a number is perfect. The action of *ZA* with regard to passing the Light from *Bina* to *Malchut* is described in the phrase: THE HEAVENS TELL OF THE CREATOR'S GREATNESS. THE HEAVENS (*ZA*) TELL (Hebrew—*Mesaper*, from the word *Mispar*—number, the Light's perfection). *ZA* passes this Light from *AVI* to *Malchut*, called THE CREATOR'S GREATNESS.

This Light is called 600,000, for the degree of *Malchut* designates units, the degree of *ZA*—tens, the degree of *YESHSUT*—hundreds, the degree of *AVI*—thousands, the degree of *AA*—tens of thousands.

There are two parts in *AVI*: their own part, where they are regarded as thousands, and the part from *Ohr Hochma* that is received from *Rosh de AA*, where they are regarded as *AA*, that is, tens of thousands. However, they cannot be considered a complete degree of *AA*, but only as its *VAK*, for they clothe *AA* from the *Peh* down to the *Chazeh*. And since *VAK* = *Vav Ketzavot* = 6 *Sefirot* x 10 = 60, the degree of *VAK de AA* equals 60 x 10,000 = 600,000.

Therefore, when *Malchut* ascends to *AVI*, she receives a complete, perfect number—600,000, where 60 signifies that it is merely *VAK*, for *Malchut* has not yet reached *Rosh de AA* and that she still lacks this degree. And the degree of 10,000 refers to *AA*, the part that clothes in *AVI*, for *AVI* are *VAK de AA*. Therefore, *Malchut* contains the number 600,000.

Thus, two degrees are recorded in *Malchut*:

- *MI*, the degree of *AVI* that clothes in *Malchut*, through which *Malchut* receives the degree of the Upper World and is called accordingly, while the Light in it is called 600,000.
- *MA*, the degree of *YESHSUT* that clothes in *Malchut*, through which *Malchut* has a question, the sensation of lack of *Ohr Hochma*, and the request for its reception. *Malchut* is therefore called the "lower world."

These two degrees create one *Partzuf* within *Malchut*: her part that is above the *Chazeh* is clothed in *AVI*, and her part that is below the *Chazeh* is clothed in *YESHSUT*. Therefore, in the generations, in *Malchut*'s descendants, each *Partzuf* consists of two parts (degrees): from the Upper Part (*MI*) there is a Light of 600,000, and from the lower part (lower world, *MA*), there is an absence of number (perfection) in each descendant.

The phrase, THEY BRING FORTH INNUMERABLE HOSTS is not interpreted as infinitely big. Rather, "Innumerable" indicates the imperfection of the Light that is received in the lower part, as it comes from *YESHSUT*, the degree that is without a number.

Malchut's descendants are therefore defined as imperfect, as these two degrees exist in her as one, and are connected as one. Hence, there are two degrees in *Malchut*'s descendants: the Upper One—600,000, and the lower one—without a number. However, the lower one is defined as supplement to perfection and is not considered a flaw.

The reason for this is that the blessing of the seed, propagation depends only on the lower world, *MA*, without a number, as it is said in the Torah that Avraham complained that he is childless (*Beresheet*, 15:5), and the answer was: "Look now toward Heaven, and count the stars. Will you be able to count them? So shall be your descendants." From this we see that the blessing of the seed comes from the lack of a number, i.e., the name *MA*.

Hence, after all the perfection that *Malchut* attains from the Light of *AVI* (*MI*), *Malchut* has an additional blessing from *MA*, which is called the "lack of a number," and both these degrees are included in her descendants—the souls and generations.

20. All of these 600,000 and all their innumerable hosts, He calls the names. What does this mean: "calls the names?" If you say that He calls them by their names, it is not so, for then it would have said, "calls by name." However, when this degree does not ascend in the name *Elokim*, but is called *MI*, it does not beget and does not reveal those that are concealed within it. And although they were all concealed within it, meaning that even though the letters *ELEH* have already ascended, the "precious garment" of *Ohr Hassadim* is still concealed. And while it is concealed, it is not called by the name *Elokim*. For He created the letters *ELEH* and they ascended in His Name—clothed themselves in "precious garments" of *Ohr Hassadim*, as a result of which *ELEH* combine with *MI*, and are called *Elo-im*. Then, by the power of this name, He brought them forth in perfection, defined as CALLS THEIR NAMES, which means that He called by name and brought forth every type and species to exist in perfection. Hence, it is said: HE BROUGHT FORTH THEIR HOST BY NUMBER—called them all by name, that is, by the name *Elokim*.

It was already mentioned that the perfection of the Light, which is the Creator's name *Elo-im*, descends to the souls, generations, descendants, two degrees joined in one. This degree includes 600,000 from the Upper Degree, and innumerable hosts from the lower, and the Creator's name descends on both of them.

The blessing of the seed depends entirely on *MA*, for it is determined by *Ohr Hochma*, as this Light designates perfection. Whereas the Light without a number, *Ohr Hassadim*, comes precisely from the name *MA*. As is already known, *Ohr Hochma* is accepted only when clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. Until such clothing occurs, even though *ELEH* ascend to *MI*, the name *Elokim* (*ELO-IM* = *ELEH* + *IM*) does not act.

Hence, it is written that *MI* DOES NOT BEGET (ANY OFFSPRING), even though the point of *Malchut* left the thought (*Bina*) and descended back to her place, and all ten *Sefirot* and the Light returned to the *Partzuf*, THE NAME *ELEH* IS still CONCEALED, for she still cannot receive *Hochma* in the absence of *Hassadim*.

However, BECAUSE HE CREATED *ELEH*, meaning that after He added a *Zivug* to the screen of *MA* (lower world, *Malchut*), there appeared *Ohr Hassadim*, called WITHOUT A NUMBER. And *ELEH* were filled with *Ohr Hassadim*, which means *BARAH* = CREATED *ELEH*, as clothing in *Ohr Hassadim* is called *BARAH* (creation). Only after this are they called *ELOKIM*, for only after the reception of *Ohr Hassadim* can they receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "the Light of a number," the Light of 600,000, as a result of which, the letters combine and form the complete name *Elokim*.

The same perfection (clothing of *Hochma* in *Hassadim*) also extends to the souls and descendants that emerge from the name *Elokim*. AND HE IS CALLED BY THIS NAME: all that emerges is called by this name, with these properties He creates all descendants—*Partzufim* from His *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. THE NAME 600,000 is *Hochma*, TOGETHER WITH *HASSADIM*, so that they will have the perfection of the name, so that Light will clothe Light, as they are clothed in the NAME. It is therefore written: SEE, I CALL THEM BY NAME, for "to call" means to revive and bring to perfection.

21. He asks, "What is the meaning of 'by the greatness of His might and wealth?'" This is the head of the degree, where all desires ascend and remain concealed. The strong one that ascended in the name *Elokim*, as it is said, "This is the secret of the Upper World, called *MI*." No man is missing from the 600,000 that He created by the power of this name. And because no one is missing from these 600,000, it follows that wherever the sons of Israel perished and were punished for their transgressions, we subsequently find that not one from the 600,000 had disappeared, so that everything would remain the same Above and below. And just as no one had disappeared from the 600,000 Above, no one has disappeared from this number below.

FROM THE GREATNESS OF HIS MIGHT AND WEALTH signifies *Keter de AVI*, called the HEAD OF DEGREES. This is *Bina* of *AA*, which became *Keter de Partzuf AVI*, WHERE ALL DESIRES ASCEND (*MAN* of the lower ones), and receive all the degrees from there. This degree is filled with *Ohr Hassadim*, and exists in perfection even in the absence of *Ohr Hochma*, as its Light of *Hassadim* comes from *GAR de BINA* of *AA*. In other words, it has such

a powerful Light of *Hassadim* that although this degree emerged from *Rosh de AA*, it is not regarded as having left it, for it feels no need for *Ohr Hochma*. This degree, *Keter* of *AVI*, is the *Rosh* of all the degrees in the world of *Atzilut*, from where *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON* receive the Light.

THE STRONG ONE IS THE SECRET OF THE UPPER WORLD, the property of *MI* that is present in *Malchut*, from where the number 600,000 descends, for she clothes the Upper World, *AVI*. Therefore, it is written that NO ONE DISAPPEARS FROM THOSE 600,000 because there *Malchut* receives *Ohr Hochma*, called "600,000." Hence, it is said that AS NO ONE DISAPPEARED ABOVE, SO IT IS BELOW, for *Malchut* clothes *AVI*, described in the phrase: THE MOTHER ADORNS HER DAUGHTER WITH HER OWN ADORNMENTS, by which *Malchut* becomes completely similar to *AVI*. And just as the Light of *AVI* is perfect (which is why it is called "600,000" and NO ONE HAS DISAPPEARED, i.e., no lack of *Ohr Hochma* is felt), *Malchut* is perfect in this number, which means NO ONE HAS DISAPPEARED below.

The Letters of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba

22. Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba said: "In the first four words of the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED *Et – Beresheet Barah Elokim Et*, the first two words begin with the letter *Bet*, and the following two begin with *Aleph*" (The letter *Aleph* is pronounced both as "A" and "E"). It is said that when the Creator thought to create the world, all of the letters were still concealed, and even 2,000 years before the creation of the world, the Creator gazed into the letters and played with them.

In the language of Kabbalah, the same sentence appears in the following way: when the Creator (*Bina*) decided to create the world (*ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*), the *Kelim* of *ZON* (*Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva*) were still in *Bina*. *Hochma* and *Bina* (*Aba ve Ima – AVI*) are called 2,000 years. Before the creation of the world (the birth of *ZON*), all the letters (the *Kelim* of *ZON*) existed in *AVI* in the form of *MAN*, and *MAN* always stimulates a desire in the Upper One to attend to it.

With regard to the lower *Partzuf*, the Upper One is called the Creator, for it truly begets it, and whatever the lower one receives, comes directly from its Upper One. Moreover, one may say that this is all that the Upper One desires, its entire existence is meant exclusively for the lower one. Therefore, the Upper One always waits for the lower one's genuine request for the desire to ascend spiritually, which is called *MAN*. Provided this desire is sincere, the Upper One immediately responds and passes the powerful Light of correction to the lower one.

Since the lower one is *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, and all that is below this *Partzuf* (all the worlds of *ABYA* and our world) is considered a part of it, *AVI* of the world of *Atzilut* constitute the Upper *Partzuf*. The desires and properties of *ZON* are called "letters," and here *The Zohar* explains the properties that *ZON* (the spiritual worlds and our world, we ourselves) were

created with, which properties are desirable, which require correction, and how this correction is achieved.

Since the properties of the future Creature are determined by the Creator's purpose in creating it, it is said that even before the creation of the world, the Creator played with the letters. The word "played" suggests that the Creator's interaction with the Creature is like His game with the leviathan (the legendary sea monster), with the property that is opposite from Him. At the end of correction all the letters unite and combine into the one name of the Creator.

The order of the Hebrew alphabet indicates the descent of the Direct Light from Above, the Inner Light that fills the *Partzuf*. The reverse order of the letters from the end of the alphabet alludes to the ascent of the Returning Light. The direct order of the alphabet refers to mercy, whereas the reverse order—to the strict law and restrictions on using egoistic desires.

When Adam sinned, the letters detached themselves from him, and only the letters *Shin* and *Tav* (the *Kelim* for the Light of *VAK* of *Nefesh*) remained in him. The *Kelim* for the Light of *Neshama* are represented by the letters from *Aleph* to *Yod*; the letters from *Yod* to *Kuf* are the *Kelim* for the Light of *Ruach*, and the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*—the *Kelim* for *GAR* of *Nefesh*—disappeared from him.

This is why Adam gave his son, born after his sin, the name *SHeT* (Seth): *Shin-Tav*, according to the two last letters of the alphabet—the *Kelim* that remained in him. The *Kli Shin-Tav* are only fit for the Returning Light from below upwards, but not for the reception of the Upper Light from Above downwards. However, after it receives *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin* (the letter *Yod*), *Shin-Tav* turns into a combination *Shin-Yod-Tav*. And if the Creator creates the world by the letter *Bet*, it then enters between *Shin* and *Tav* and forms the word *Shabbat* (*Sh-B-T*), the state of spiritual perfection, the goal of creation. For this reason, the first word in the Torah—*Beresheet* consists of: *Bara* (created) *Sh(in)-Y(od)-T(av)*.

23. When the Creator thought to create the world, all the letters of the alphabet came to Him in reverse order from last (*Tav*) to first (*Aleph*). The letter *Tav* entered first and said, "Master of the world! It is good, and also seemly of You, to create the world with me, with my properties. For I am the seal on Your ring, called *EmeT* (truth), that ends with the letter *Tav*. And that is why You are called truth, and why it would befit the King to begin the universe with the letter *Tav*, and to create the world by her, by her properties."

The Creator answered: "You are beautiful and sincere, but do not merit the world that I conceived to be created by your properties, since you are

destined to be marked on the foreheads of the truly faithful who fulfill all of Torah from *Aleph* to *Tav* (from the first letter to the last), and perished because of you" (Talmud Bavli, *Shabbat*, 55)

What does a particular name of the Creator mean? The name of the spiritual object indicates the way one can receive the Light that fills it, the way one can attain its spiritual degree. Generally speaking, the twenty-two letters are the ten *Sefirot-Kelim* in the *Ibur* (embryonic phase) of the future *Partzuf* in the *Sefira Yesod*, for that is where the screen of the embryo of the new *Partzuf* is located. That is why *Yesod* is called a "number," as it measures the size of a new *Partzuf*.

Bearing in mind that each name determines specific spiritual properties and states of an object, one can understand what is meant by a change of name, place, or action.

HaVaYaH is the basis of all the letters, but the filling of each letter clarifies the letter itself. The filling of a letter is heard as the letter is pronounced. As we read the letter *Yod* in the word *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*), we actually pronounce three sounds (y-o-d); although we write only one letter, the sounds "o-*Vav*" and "d-*Dalet*" are heard together with the sound "y." When we say "*Hey*," the sound "ey"—*Yod* or "ey"—follows the sound "h." Therein lies the clarification of the name *HaVaYaH* in the process of its emergence.

The Creator's form-properties are revealed in His deeds; hence, the three lines in *Bina* (the Creator) are imprinted and act in His created beings (the lower worlds) as a seal and its imprint. Therefore, the name *MB* exists in *Bina*, as well as in *ZA* and *Malchut*. However, in *ZA*, this name is divided into the ten sayings and thirty-two forces of creation of *Elokim*, which create *Malchut*, the creature.

Bina is designated by the letter *Mem*, *Malchut*—by *Bet*; the name *MB* designates the creation of *Malchut* by *Bina*. The letter *Aleph* designates *ZA*, which passes all the twenty-two letters (from *Aleph* to *Tav*) to *Malchut* (*Bet*). This is why *Malchut* is called *ET* (*Aleph* pronounced as '*E*'-*Tav*).

Malchut is the central part of creation and its purpose. She is the only creation and includes all the worlds with all that inhabits them, us included. Depending on its states, parts of *Malchut* or *Malchut* herself (which is one and the same) have different properties designated by the different letter combinations. For this reason, *Malchut's* parts receive various "codes" (combinations) of letters (properties) or names.

All the words in the world originate here, in *Malchut*. There is not a single property in the world that is not included in *Malchut*. Each property of *Malchut*, each of the creatures (for all creatures are her parts) is designated by

the property that distinguishes it from the others, by the unique set of letters-properties that forms its name.

Malchut is called *Shechina* (Divinity), as she is filled with the Light, *Shochen* (Dweller—the Creator). The Creator is called *Shochen* when *Malchut* feels Him as such, within her. If man, being part of *Malchut*, purifies himself of egoism, either partially or completely, and thus fills his corrected desires with the Light (the Creator), he becomes part of the *Shechina*.

Malchut consists of four parts that are named by their properties (also called faces): face of a lion, face of an ox, face of an eagle, and face of a man. Alternately, *Malchut* is likened to a spiritual kernel, surrounded by four shells, which correspond to the four *Klipot* (impure forces): *Ruach Se'ara* (Stormy Wind), *Anan Gadol* (Great Cloud), *Esh Mitlakachat* (Blazing Flame), and *Noga* (Radiance).

Kabbalah can describe spiritual actions either as names of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim* or as names of *HaVaYaH*, *EKYEH*, and so forth, with their fillings and *Gematriot* (plural for *Gematria*—the numeric value). Although the most frequently used language is that of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*, sometimes the language of *HaVaYaH* with its fillings can also be applied, even in parallel or simultaneously with the former.

Most Kabbalistic terms are composite: *Maatzil* (the Creator) comes from the word *Tzel* (shadow), as the Creature emerges from the Creator's concealment, from His restrictions. Another name for the Creator is *Boreh* (combination of *Bo*—come and *Re'eh*—see).

A name denotes attainment. Upon attaining an object, man gives it a name. Similarly, man gives a name to the Creator according to the property that he attains, depending on how he feels the Creator. There are several kinds of names to the Creator, based on His properties. For example, the Creator's name *EMET*—"Truth" is based on the sensations of His Light within the *Partzuf*.

Below are the names of the Creator with the corresponding names of the *Sefirot*:

– ***Keter:*** *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey* (*EKYEH*)

– ***Hochma:*** *Yod-Hey* (*YA*)

– ***Bina:*** *HaVaYaH* with the punctuation *Segol-Holam-Hirik*, as *Elokim*: *Yod* (*Yod-Vav-Dalet*) - *Hey* (*Hey-Yod*) - *Vav* (*Vav-Aleph-Vav*) - *Hey* (*Hey-Yod*).

– ***Hesed:*** *Aleph-Lamed* = *EL* (pronounced *KEL*)

– ***Gevura:*** *Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Mem* (*ELOKIM*)

– ***Tifferet:*** *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey* (*HaVaYaH* without punctuation)

– ***Netzah:*** *HaVaYaH TZEVAOT*

– ***Hod:*** *ELOKIM TZEVAOT*

– ***Yesod:*** *Shin-Dalet-Yod = SHADDAY*

– ***Malchut:*** *ADONAY* (pronounced *ADNI*)

Merging the two worlds, the Upper and the lower, is designated by the words *HaVaYaH-ADNI*, implying the ascent of *Malchut-ADNI* to the level of *Bina-HaVaYaH* with the punctuation of *Elokim*.

The name ZA of *HaVaYaH* comes from the right line (*Hesed*), and the name *ADNI*, from the left line (*Gevura*). Joining of these two lines forms the middle line, where the Light of *Hochma* shines on account of the presence of the Light of *Hassadim* from the right line. Such state is designated by a combination of the two names *HaVaYaH-ADNI*:

YOD-Aleph-HEY-Dalet-VAV-Nun-HEY-Yod. The union (*Zivug*) of ZA and his *Nukva* is designated by mixing the two names.

HaVaYaH-ADNI: *Yod-Aleph-Hey-Dalet-Vav-Nun-Hey-Yod*. The opening *Yod* indicates the Light of *Hochma* in ZA, the *Yod* at the end refers to the passing of this Light to *Nukva*.

As a result of the second restriction, *Malchut* ascended to *Bina*, and governs *Bina* and ZA with her desire. Since it is impossible to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the three *Sefirot*—*Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*, which are governed by *Malchut's* egoistic desire, the Light of *Hochma* is absent in the *Partzuf*, and only the Light of *Hassadim* is present.

This is designated in the following way: the letter *Yod* enters the word Light (*Ohr* contains the letters *Aleph-Vav-Reish*, signifying the Light of *Hochma*), and forms the word *Avir* (air, containing the letters *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*), signifying the Light of *Hassadim*. If the *Partzuf* returns to the *Gadlut* state, the letter *Yod* exits it, and it is refilled with the Light of *Hochma*. Consequently, *Avir* (air) becomes *Ohr* (Light).

Unfilled *HaVaYaH* designates *Partzuf Keter*. *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *AB* (72) designates *Partzuf Hochma* (AA). *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *SAG* (63) designates *Partzuf Bina* (AVI). Together, these three *HaVaYaH* form *MB* (42) letters—the sacred name of the Light that corrects the souls by its influence on the *Kli*, the screen.

All that was created is the desire to receive pleasure, which we call "creature." Only this desire was created, and nothing else. All the worlds and all that inhabits

them, our world with everything within it, are but degrees of the desire to receive pleasure. The intensity of the desire determines its place in the spiritual realm, where all creation and our world—as its lowest point—are located. Man's actual location (the world, his spiritual degree) determines the particular kind of pleasure he desires, how he chooses to enjoy.

In order for the creature to emerge from the Creator, the Light emanating from Him must descend through four stages, whereas the fifth stage already perceives itself as a separate and independent (from the Creator) desire to enjoy precisely the Light emanating from the Creator.

Upon emerging from the Creator—a result of a sequential emanation of His Light—the desire to receive pleasure (*Kli*-vessel) also consists of five parts designated by the letters: the tip of the *Yod*, *Yod*, *Hey*, *Vav*, *Hey*. These five parts (four letters) are called the Creator's name *HaVaYaH*, because the *Kli* gives the Creator a name according to its sensation of Him, according to its sensation of the Light that fills it. The Light that fills the *Kli* is called "filling."

The *Kli* created by the Creator is divided into five parts, called "worlds." Each world is in turn divided into five more parts, called *Partzufim* (faces). Then, each *Partzuf* (singular for *Partzufim*) consists of five parts called *Sefirot*. In all, there are 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 spiritual objects or degrees from the lowest degree to the Creator Himself.

Each *Partzuf* consists of five parts (*Sefirot*), designated by a dot and four letters: *Keter*-dot + *Hochma*-*Yod* + *Bina*-*Hey* + ZA-*Vav* + *Malchut*-*Hey* = *HaVaYaH*. The difference between each of the 125 *Partzufim* lies in the type of Light that fills them, whereas the core of the *Kli*, the letters *HaVaYaH*, remain the same. A desire cannot appear unless the Creator's Light had previously passed through the five stages; only the fifth stage is considered a birth of a new creation (desire).

The whole universe (all the worlds) is nothing but the ten *Sefirot* or the Creator's name *HaVaYaH*.

SEFIRA	LETTER	PARTZUF	WORLD	LIGHT
Keter	A dot, the tip of the letter *Yod*	*Galgalta*	*AK*	*Yechida*
Hochma	*Yod*	*AB*	*Atzilut*	*Haya*
Bina	*Hey*	*SAG*	*Beria*	*Neshama*
ZA	*Vav*	*MA*	*Yetzira*	*Ruach*
Malchut	*Hey*	*BON*	*Assiya*	*Nefesh*

A filling of *HaVaYaH* with Light is referred to as its revelation. Thus, the letters emerge from the state of concealment when they are not filled. In all there are five *Partzufim*: *Keter* (*Galgalta*), *AB*, *SAG*, *MA* and *BON*. The first—*Partzuf Keter*—is the main one and the source of all the rest. Its ten *Sefirot* is plain (inner) *HaVaYaH*, for each of the four letters of its *HaVaYaH* comes outside, revealing a new *Partzuf* that clothes it.

So then, out of *Partzuf Keter-Galgalta*, from the letter *Yod* comes *Partzuf Hochma* (*AB*), from the letter *Hey*—*Partzuf Bina* (*SAG*), from the letter *Vav*—*Partzuf ZA* (*MA*), and from the letter *Hey*—*Partzuf Malchut* (*BON*). Thus *Partzuf Keter* is designated by plain *HaVaYaH*, and the *Partzufim* that clothe it are designated by filled *HaVaYaH*. The recording of *HaVaYaH* with the Light that fills it is called *Miluy* (filling). For the purposes of brevity when naming a *Partzuf*, the notion of *Gematria* was introduced. *Gematria* is the numerical value of the Light that fills the *Partzuf*.

Wisdom (*Hochma*) is called calculation (*Heshbon*), *Gematria*. A calculation is made only in a place where Light is received: (i) a preliminary calculation is made as to how much Light the *Partzuf* can receive for the Creator's sake; (ii) the Light is received in accordance with the calculation; (iii) calculation of the received amount, called *Miluy*, *Gematria*.

Malchut cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* without the Light of *Hassadim*, and in that event, *Hochma* cannot shine in her. Then *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and becomes like an embryo inside of her, by which she receives the right line—*Hassadim*. Upon joining the past and the present states, *Malchut* receives *Hochma* into *Hassadim*, and the Light of *Hochma* shines in her. All these actions of *Malchut* are accompanied by calculations, called *Gematriot*.

The *Gematria* (numerical value) of the *Partzuf* unfilled with the Light, the *Gematria* of the empty *HaVaYaH* is as follows:

HaVaYaH = *Yod* + *Hey* + *Vav* + *Hey* = 10 + 5 + 6 + 5 = 26. The *Gematria* of a filled *HaVaYaH* is formed by filling each letter; In Hebrew, each letter has a full name: A-*Aleph*, B-*Bet*, etc.. Hence, there are four kinds of fillings in *HaVaYaH*: 1) *AB*, 2) *SAG*, 3) *MA* and 4) *BON*.

1) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *AB*:
Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 10 + 6 + 4 = 20
Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15
Vav: *Vav* + *Yod* + *Vav* = 6 + 10 + 6 = 22
Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

In all: 20 + 15 + 22 + 15 = 72 = *AB*, where "A" designates the letter *Ayin* = 70, and not *Aleph* = 1. *HaVaYaH* filled with this Light is called *Partzuf AB* (*Partzuf Hochma*), for the letter *Yod* with its filling signifies the Light of Wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*. Such a filling is called "*HaVaYaH* with the filling of *Yod*."

2) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *SAG*: the *Partzuf* that is filled with Light of Mercy, *Ohr Hassadim*, is called *SAG*, for its *Gematria* is this:

SAG = *Samech* (60) + *Gimel* (3) = 63:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 10 + 6 + 4 = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

Vav: *Vav* + *Aleph* + *Vav* = 6 + 1 + 6 = 13

Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

In all: 20 + 15 + 13 + 15 = 63 = *Samech* + *Gimel* = *SAG*

If the *Kelim* and their filling originate from the first restriction, the letter *Yod* is present in the filling of *HaVaYaH*. And if the *Kelim* are filled with the Light of the second restriction, it is the letter *Aleph*, present in the filling of *HaVaYaH*. The difference between the *Gematriot* of *AB* and *SAG* lies in the filling of the letter *Vav*: *Gematria* of *Vav* in *Partzuf AB* is twenty-two (from the filling of *Ohr Hochma*), whereas *Gematria* of *Vav* in *Partzuf SAG* is thirteen (from the filling of *Ohr Hassadim*). From the aforesaid, it is clear that *Partzuf AB* originates from the first restriction, whereas the letter *Vav* (ZA) in *Partzuf SAG* originates from the second restriction.

3) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *MA*:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Aleph* = 6

Vav: *Vav* + *Aleph* + *Vav* = 13

Hey: *Hey* + *Aleph* = 6

Such a filling of *HaVaYaH* is called 20 + 6 + 13 + 6 = 45 = *Mem* (40) + *Hey* (5) = *MA* (the letter *Hey* is pronounced as "ah").

4) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *BON*:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Hey* = 10

Vav: *Vav* + *Vav* = 12

Hey: *Hey* + *Hey* = 10

Such a filling of *HaVaYaH* is called 20 + 10 + 12 + 10 = 52 = *Nun* (50) + *Bet* (2), pronounced as *BON* for easier articulation. This is the *Gematria* of

Partzuf Malchut, and it is equivalent to twice the value of the unfilled *HaVaYaH*: *HaVaYaH* = 26, and 26 x 2 = 52 = *MA*.

Partzuf Malchut cannot receive the Creator's Light due to the absence of a screen. Instead, it can only passively receive what *Partzuf ZA* gives it. Hence, the twofold twenty-six indicates that whatever *Malchut* has comes to her from *ZA*.

From the four kinds of *HaVaYaH*, it becomes clear that the root of creation is neither *Partzuf Hochma* nor *Bina*, but only *ZA*, as it is the first *Partzuf* built on the second restriction.

The primary ten *Sefirot* are located in *Partzuf Keter*, whereas *Partzufim AB*, *SAG*, *MA*, and *BON* are merely branches stemming from the first *Partzuf*. However, when the Light spreads within the *Partzuf*, it contains five inner Lights *NRNHY* and five outer Lights. The five outer Lights of *Bina* come out of the right ear, and the five inner Lights of *Bina* come out of the left. The five outer Lights of *ZA* come out of the right nostril, and the five inner Lights of *ZA* come out of the left.

Since the two *Malchuyot* (plural for *Malchut*) are remote from one another, as a branch in our world, man's ear holes are also separated and distanced. The two nostrils are separated by a smaller distance, whereas the five inner and outer Lights of the common Light of the *Peh* (mouth) come out of the same opening. Thus, as they exit the mouth, they collide and interweave, and as a result of their collisions, letters (*Kelim*) are born.

Since twenty-two letters originate from *Bina-SAG* = *Samech* + *Gimel* = 60 + 3 = 63, the opening through which they come out is called 63 + 22 = 85 = *Peh* + *Hey* = *PeH* (mouth). The letters come out of the *Peh* of *ZA*, for *Yesod* of *Ima* is located there.

We received our entire Torah, all of the knowledge about the spiritual worlds, from our Great Patriarchs, who ascended spiritually above our world, sensed the Upper Worlds, and described them to us. This is how we received the whole Torah—both the written and the oral parts.

We cannot imagine the spiritual world because our sensory organs cannot detect it. Thus, to describe the objects and concepts still unattainable by us, Kabbalists use several techniques, languages. The whole Torah speaks only of the creation, governing, and correction of the world; never about history, geography, or anything else. As it is said in the Torah itself, the Torah is the sacred names, that is, manifestations of the Creator, the degrees and methods of His attainment.

Kabbalists, those who ascend to the spiritual world and thus establish direct contact with the Creator, convey this information to us using four languages:

1. The language of the *TaNaKh* (**T**orah—Pentateuch, **N***evi'im*—Prophets, ***K****etuvim*—Writings/Hagiographa). This is the language of the written Torah.
2. The language of laws.
3. The language of legends.
4. The language of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*—the language of Kabbalah.

All the languages speak about the same thing—the attainment of the Creator by us, those living in this world. For this is the sole purpose of our creation, and according to the Creator's design, we must devote all of our physical, mental, and spiritual abilities only to it. And if we were to aspire only to this, we would naturally use our language only for this purpose. After all, everything that is given to us is only for the fulfillment of this exclusive goal—the attainment of the sensation of the Creator, while still in this life.

And this is why the first language mastered by humankind was Hebrew. However, as they distanced from fulfilling their mission, humankind conceived other languages. All the other languages in the world have their inner meaning, too, but since their alphabets were not revealed to us by Kabbalists, we study the spiritual forces depicted in the Hebrew alphabet, the source of all the others.

Every *Partzuf* is divided into two parts: right and left. The right part consists of *Ramach* = *Reish* – *Mem* – *Chet* = 248 parts (organs) filled with the Light of *Hassadim*; and the left part consists of *Shasah* = *Shin* – *Samech* – *Hey* = 365 parts (tendons) filled with the Light of *Hochma*. ZA is called a "voice"; he is generally the Light of *Hassadim*. But when he joins with *Malchut*, called "speech," *Malchut* receives the Light of *Hassadim* with *Hochma* from ZA, and thus "speech" is formed.

The seven primary *Sefirot* of ZA are called "Seven Heavens." The seventy names of ZA originate from the 70 (7 x 10) *Sefirot* of ZA. ZA himself is called "Heaven" and *Malchut* is called "earth." The *Sefirot* of ZA are also called *Ruach*, owing to the Light of *Ruach* within them, which ascends to *Bina* (ears) and transforms into sound: *Hochma* in the left ear and *Hassadim* in the right.

There is a difference between language and alphabet, as in our world there are people who can speak, but cannot read or write. The most ancient spoken language is that of the *TaNaKh*, which dates back to Adam. The language of laws originated from it, followed by the language of legends. All of these languages combined and each of them in particular are used in our holy scriptures.

The language of Kabbalah was the last to develop. It is the most difficult language, since proper understanding of it requires sensing the spiritual categories

that this language narrates. Kabbalah is also the most precise language of all. It is the only language that can accurately render all the spiritual information.

However, only through direct study with a Kabbalist-teacher can a student learn it and grasp its information. And since for many generations there were only a few Kabbalists, unconnected with one another, the language of Kabbalah was the last to evolve. Even today it can only be "learned" directly from a Kabbalist-teacher.

Initially, Kabbalists enciphered their knowledge of the spiritual world as letters, whose outlines reflected the interrelationships of spiritual forces. In other words, each spiritual degree is characterized by a unique interrelationship of spiritual forces. By assigning each spiritual property with a particular symbol, one can depict the interrelationship, as well as the general product of the union of spiritual forces of each degree, i.e., its essence.

Thus, Kabbalists created the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. *The Zohar* pays much attention to analyzing the connection between the letters, which helps a student to synthesize his knowledge and find new ways of discovering spiritual forces and their actions within.

As our forefather Avraham writes in his *Book of Creation* (*Sefer Yetzira*), letters represent the stones from which the building-word is constructed. As our sages tell us, the world was created with the letters of the "sacred language," each letter representing a certain holy, spiritual, altruistic force of creation.

The properties of this force are reflected in the letter's outline, its importance with regard to other letters, its potential combinations with the others, its potential punctuation marks, its crowns and notations, its numerical value (*Gematria*) and variations.

However, this only concerns separate letters and their combinations. There are also certain rules that enable us to determine the properties of spiritual forces not from letters, but from whole words. Moreover, quite often we can replace letters or even parts of a word with similar ones.

The language itself, the roots of its words, indicate the properties of the spiritual object they describe. For example, Adam originated from *Adama*—earth, which emphasizes his insignificance, and from the word *Adameh*—similar (to the Upper One), which emphasizes his eminence. The name Yaakov comes from the word *Ekev*—to get around (*Esau*). There are many such examples in the Torah, for everything is named after its root, as after the patronymic name of one's father.

Once we have established that certain combinations of letters (*Kelim*, language of letters) can be used instead of the language of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*

when describing spiritual actions, the entire description of the spiritual worlds amounts to portraying objects and actions in the form of letters and their combinations. This is how the whole of the Torah is written, in words. Thus,

a) The shape of each letter and the elements of its structure indicate all the properties and the general state of a spiritual object, *Sefira*, or *Partzuf*, which this particular letter depicts;

b) The order of letters in a word indicates the connection between spiritual objects, *Sefirot*, and their shared properties and actions. Attainment of a word's spiritual meaning signifies an ascent to the spiritual level of the object. When that happens, he who attains it becomes this very word, assumes its name. Man's name keeps changing as he ascends the spiritual degrees; it is determined by the degree he is on, as he assumes the name of that degree. It is therefore said that everyone can become like Moshe, i.e., attain the degree called "Moshe";

c) The word itself in its "corporeal" reading, its "corporeal" meaning indicates the spiritual root and its branch—consequence in our world;

d) A combination of words indicates an entire spiritual process, which, as a rule, has a corresponding action (commandment) in our world.

Names change depending on the aspect that requires clarification:

a) By elements of *Sefirot*:

Keter	-	has none
Hochma	-	fire
Bina	-	water
ZA	-	air
Malchut	-	earth

b) By colors:

Keter	-	has none
Hochma	-	white – the basis of all colors
Bina	-	red – most prominent
ZA	-	green – most perfect
Malchut	-	black – cannot be changed by any other color

Colors are present only in the *Guf* (body) of the *Partzuf*, but never in the *Rosh* (head). These colors are projected onto *Malchut* from Above, and she passes them on to all the lower ones.

c) By lines:

Hesed	-	right	-	white
Gevura	-	left	-	red
Tifferet	-	central, includes all the colors	-	green

Quite often, colors and elements are used instead of the names of *Sefirot* and their properties: fire, water, air, earth (*The Zohar*, *Vayera*, item 32). *Malchut* is called "earth," but *Malchut* that ascends with her properties to *Bina* is called "earth of the Temple." In the Temple, the four sides of the world—*Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet* and *Malchut* join the four elements of the world—fire, water, air and earth. Out of the two points of *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are joined together, the Creator made one *Partzuf* —Adam.

The four foundations of the world, or the four sides of the world:

Fire	North	*Shuruk*	Left Line	*Gevura*
Air	East	*Hirik*	Middle Line	*Tifferet*
Water	South	*Holam*	Right Line	*Hesed*
Earth	West	–	–	*Malchut* – receives from all

Four fundamental metals are created as a result of a *Zivug* of the four foundations with *Malchut*: gold, silver, copper and iron. All of these names, as well as many others, are used in the Torah instead of the names of the ten *Sefirot*. Therefore, although the languages of the Torah, legends, the Talmud, and the Scriptures are extraordinarily vivid, only the concise language of Kabbalah provides an accurate description of the spiritual worlds.

The four kinds of symbols used with letters:

Taamim—tone modulations used in pronouncing letters—signify the Direct Light, which spreads from Above downwards in the body of the *Partzuf*.

Nekudot—letter punctuation marks—signify the Light during its gradual exit from the body of the *Partzuf* from below upwards.

Tagin—crowns above the letters—represent *Reshimot* (reminiscences/records) of the previously present Light (*Taamim*). *Tagin* originate from *GAR de Bina*.

Otiot—letters—represent *Reshimot* of the Light's exit from the body of the *Partzuf* (*Nekudot*). Letters originate from *Zat de Bina*.

The ten *Sefirot* are divided into three primary parts—*Taamim*, *Nekudot*, and *Otiot*:

Taamim	-	Keter
Nekudot	-	Hochma
Otiot	-	ZAT de Bina and ZON

According to the Light in them, *Sefirot* are divided into:

Taamim	-	Hochma
Nekudot	-	Bina
Otiot	-	ZON

The letters were created in the following order: the letter *Aleph*, which was initially on the right side, begot the letter *Shin*, which emerged from it and moved to the left side. The letter *Shin* consists of three sides: the left, the middle, and the right. The letter *Vav* is thereby formed by three letters, and upon joining with *Aleph*, it formed the word ***A****leph*-***Sh****in* = *ESH* (fire) in the left side.

Out of the interaction of the right and the left sides these two letters came forth in contradiction between them, as the right line includes water, while the left line includes fire. Their collisions begot the letters *Reish*, *Vav,* and *Chet*, which formed the word *Ruach* (wind). This wind entered between the two sides (fire and water) and joined them together, thereby establishing the order of the first letters and their perfection.

At first, *The Zohar* offers a general description of the three lines in ZA, designated by the three names of the Creator: *El*, *Elokim* and *Elokeinu*, and then proceeds to clarify the descent of the degrees of filling ZA and *Malchut* with the Light of *Hochma* in the form of letter combinations, in the order of the degrees' descent from Above downwards. *Mayim* – water, *Esh* – fire, *Ruach* – wind constitute the three lines in ZA from *AVI*. This is why the first letters in ZA come from *AVI*.

Then the following combinations emerged: *Aleph* revealed *Mem* from its right side, so *Mem* stands to the left line of *Aleph*. *Mem* revealed *Shin* as the middle line, as *Mem* initially consists of the left line, for it exists in the form of a concealed letter *Mem* in the word *Elokim*, which pertains to the left line, and so forth. This is how all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet were born.

THE LETTERS OF THE HEBREW ALPHABET

LETTERS	NAME	PRONUNCIATION	GEMATRIA
א	*Aleph*	[a], [e]	1
ב	*Bet*	b, v	2
ג	*Gimel*	g	3
ד	*Dalet*	d	4
ה	*Hey*	[a], [e]	5
ו	*Vav*	v, [u], [o]	6
ז	*Zayin*	z	7
ח	*Chet*	h	8
ט	*Tet*	t	9
י	*Yod*	y, i	10
כ (ך)	*Chaf*	h, k	20
ל	*Lamed*	l	30
מ (ם)	*Mem*	m	40
נ (ן)	*Nun*	n	50
ס	*Samech*	s	60
ע	*Ayin*	[a], [e]	70
פ (ף)	*Peh*	p, ph	80
צ (ץ)	*Tzadik*	tz	90
ק	*Kuf*	k	100
ר	*Reish*	r	200
ש	*Shin*	sh, s	300
ת	*Tav*	t	400

The letters *Aleph* and *Ayin* do not have any particular sound, and only the accompanying punctuation mark determines their pronunciation.

The letters *Bet*, *Chaf* and *Peh* with a dot inside them are pronounced as "b," "k," and "p." The absence of a dot changes their pronunciation to "v," "ch" and "f."

The letter ***Hey*** is not pronounced, but rather aspirated.

The shapes of the letters *Mem*, *Nun*, *Tzadik*, *Peh*, *Chaf* (pronounced *MANTZEPACH*) change when placed at the end of a word, as seen in the table of letters.

The shape, external form of letters: the protruding element of a letter indicates that the Light in this part of the letter is greater than in the other. The filling (*Miluy*) indicates the height of the degree. A punctuation mark (*Nikud*) indicates the origin of each part of the *Partzuf*: whether it came from the Upper *Partzuf* (and constitutes its part in the present one), from the lower *Partzuf*, or from itself.

The *Kelim-Sefirot* themselves are called "letters," and their punctuation marks (*Nekudot*) indicate the Light that enters and exits them. The Light of *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* can enter the *Kelim*, but the Light of *Keter* or *Hochma* cannot. A dot above a letter (*Holam*) signifies the Lights *Keter* and *Hochma*, which never clothe the *Kli*, hence the location of the dot above the letter.

Two horizontally positioned dots (*Tzere*) allude to *Sefirot Hochma* and *Bina*, that *Bina* does not receive the Light of *Hochma*, and contains only the Light of *Hassadim*, the Light of Mercy (*AVI* back-to-back). *Bina* herself is also called *Tzere*, for ZA receives everything from her. If there is a third dot (*Segol*) between these two dots, it means that ZA raised his request for the Light of *Hochma* to *AVI*. Such a request of ZA in *AVI* is called *Daat*. *Daat* receives the Light of *Hochma* in order to pass it on to ZA. The punctuation mark *Kamatz* (a "T" shaped mark under the letter) indicates that ZA collects (*Mekabetz*) the Light of *Hochma*.

A dot indicates *Malchut* with a reflecting screen, but not a receiving one. Such a form testifies to the absence of Light in the *Kli*; it is merely a black dot, as the law of restriction rules over it.

The *Sefira Hod* is an inclusion of *Malchut's* properties into ZA, out of which ZA makes a whole *Partzuf Malchut*. The letter *Hey* in the word *Hod* signifies *Keter* in *Malchut*, and the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* are located among the impure forces that cling to them. This is designated by an elongated leg of the letter *Kuf* (dipping below the line), which indicates that the impure forces receive their strength from the spiritually pure forces through this element, the *Kuf*.

The white background is a plain, indistinguishable and thereby imperceptible Light (by us). Whatever we can distinguish may only be expressed by restricting the diffusion of this white color. The forms and degrees of its restriction are called letters. That is why we see black outlines on white background, and attain only the black restrictions.

We can describe the diffusion of Light in the worlds using attraction and restriction of the Light. And these two forces must act simultaneously. Similarly, when we perceive something in our sensory organs, we only sense it by way of restriction, as the object's surface or a light wave collides with our sensory organ, which restricts its expansion, and can thereby perceive it.

The spiritual roots of the forms are as follows: A circumference originates from the first restriction of the Light in the world of *Ein Sof* (Infinity), the first restriction on the diffusion of Light. Since this restriction was equal and uniform, it assumed the form of a circumference.

A vertical line, length without width, signifies that the notion is unattainable by us, and is therefore called a "thin line" of the diffusion of the Light of *Hochma*. The Light of *Hochma* can only be received with the help of the screen in *Malchut*, which creates Returning Light that clothes the Light of *Hochma*. Therefore, the Upper Light that comes to the *Kli* is called a line.

A horizontal line, width without height: when a vertical line—the diffusion of the Light of *Hochma* from Above downwards—collides with the screen, their collision (of desires) compels the vertical line to shift into the horizontal line (to the right), resulting in a shape of the English letter L. Its width is determined by the force of the Returning Light that ascends from the screen from below upwards.

A rectangle is formed by the interlacing of the descending Light of *Hochma* and the Returning Light: five vertical descending lines—five *Sefirot* of the Light of *Hochma* and five horizontal lines from right to left—five *Sefirot* of the Light of *Hassadim*. The size of the rectangle's side is called *Amah*, consisting of five parts—*Tefachim* (plural for *Tefach*). (Both *Amah* and *Tefach* are distance measuring units.) This is why we describe the *Kli* as a rectangle.

The two kinds of diffusion of Light, the Light of *Hochma* and the Returning Light, are called the right and the left cheeks, respectively, which turn into the upper and the lower lips. Since, after the first restriction, the Light may not be received in *Malchut*, the Returning Light is only received in four parts of the *Kli*, not in five. This is why there are 4 x 4 = 16 teeth on the lower jaw and 16 teeth on the upper jaw (The Returning Light stems from resistance, from "chewing" the Light before receiving it inside).

In the second restriction, a Triangle is formed, as *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and forms a slanted line. Thus the combination of the Direct Light with the Returning Light and restrictions beget various spiritual forms.

The Light of *Hassadim* is defined as "protruding," for a protrusion beyond the limits of a spiritual body means that:

1) The Light is so great that it comes out by elevating, protruding the limits;
2) It originates from the middle line, *Tifferet*.

A cavity in the body occurs due to the following reasons:

1) The Light is insufficient; the Light cannot shine there;
2) The Light of *Hochma* is present, but the lack of *Hassadim* prevents it from shining.

PUNCTUATION MARKS IN THE HEBREW ALPHABET *(NEKUDOT)*

Sefira	Punctuation Mark	Pronunciation
Keter	Kamatz	a
Hochma	Patach	a
Bina	Segol	e
Hesed	Tzere	e
Gevura	Shva	-
Tifferet	Holam	o
Netzah	Hirik	i
Hod	Kubutz	u
Yesod	Shuruk	u
Malchut	No Mark	-

Nekudot are defined by three lines:

IN THE ROSH (HEAD)

Kamatz - Keter - right line
Patach - Hochma - left line
Tzere - Bina - middle line
Holam - Tifferet - middle line

IN THE GUF (BODY)

Segol	-	Hesed	-	right line
Shva	-	Gevura	-	left line
Shuruk	-	Tifferet	-	middle line

IN THE EXTREMITIES

Hirik	-	Netzah	-	right line
Kubutz	-	Hod	-	left line
	-	Malchut	-	middle line (has no designation)

The levels of *Nekudot*:

Above the letters	-	Light of Neshama
In the letters	-	Light of Ruach
Under the letters	-	Light of Nefesh

Zivug de Nekudot is the *Zivug* between *Hochma de Aba* and *Hochma de Ima*.

Zivug de Otiot is the *Zivug* between *Bina de Aba* and *Bina de Ima*.

The letters combined together designate Returning Light during the screen's ascent from *Tabur* to *Peh*. They are combined, for they all ascend to their root, which unites everything, whereas the use of the will to receive, even for the Creator's sake, causes separation.

A state of separated letters occurs when the Light enters the *Kli* (vessel, the letters of *HaVaYaH*); the four letters thereby separate, since the Light makes a distinction between the *Sefirot*: depending on their different properties, it clothes in them in different ways.

HaVaYaH with filling *Aleph* comes on a screen with *Aviut Aleph* (thickness one), *HaVaYaH* with filling *Hey* comes on a screen with *Aviut Bet* (thickness two). A plain name refers to *Aviut Shoresh* (zero thickness) with the Light of *Nefesh*. Plain letters refer to a *Partzuf* with a screen of *Aviut Aleph*.

The truly faithful, who believe in the three fundamentals: the Creator, His Providence and the Torah, need the two lines to be in constant balance for their spiritual advancement. The left line is wisdom, the Light of *Hochma* that enters the desire to receive, which pertains to the left side, and the right line is faith, the Light of *Hassadim* (mercy), the altruistic desire to bestow.

Existing in knowledge only means that man is under the rule of the impure forces (*Klipa*) of the left side, which renders him totally unable to feel the spiritual, leaving him in spiritual darkness. Alternately, existing only in faith means that man is under the rule of the impure forces (*Klipa*) of the right side that convinces him that he has achieved perfection, that there is

nothing else to work on, nothing to correct within him. This, too, denies him the opportunity to advance.

The Zohar continues: And the Creator answered further (the letter *Tav*): "The word *MaveT* (death) ends with you. And since these are your properties, you are not suitable for Me to create the world with you." Immediately following, the letter *Tav* departed from Him.

The moment the Creator set about creating the world-*ZON* by selecting their properties, all twenty-two letters of *ZON* appeared before Him, starting from the last—*Tav*, and ending with the first, *Aleph*—the head of all letters. The reason for the letters coming in reverse order is that they constitute the *MAN* of *ZON*, the *Kelim* of *ZON*, which emerge from below upwards. The usual alphabetical order corresponds to the Light (*MAD*), which descends from Above downwards. But the order of *MAN* is opposite to that of *MAD*, for it ascends from below upwards.

Letters are none other than desires, properties, and thoughts that, in man's opinion, are suitable for the attainment of the spiritual, the Creator, of His Providence. Man skips from one thought to another: one moment he thinks that it is possible to attain the Upper Worlds with one property, next he believes he can enter the spiritual realms by mastering another property, then he begins to stubbornly observe all the commandments and pray zealously, or disregards all the actions and plunges into contemplation and reading. Sometimes he craves only knowledge, and sometimes only faith, right down to fanaticism.

Just as there are two extremes in our world—knowledge and faith, in the spiritual world, as man now consciously ascends the spiritual ladder to the Creator, there is spiritual work in the attainment of knowledge and faith. Hence, Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag's commentary on *The Zohar* is entitled *The Sulam* (The Ladder).

Each of the twenty-two Hebrew letters represents a certain property. At times it seems that the property of the letter *Tav* is suitable for the attainment of the spiritual; at times he believes that some other letter is more appropriate. This occurs because in the process of his spiritual ascent, man begins to increasingly understand the true Goal of creation and the Creator, which is exactly what is demanded of him.

Thus, he continues to sort through it all, until his search yields the truth: only with the help of the letter *Bet*, which stands at the beginning of the word *Berachah* (blessing)—contact with the Creator,—only with the help of this force can one achieve the goal.

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us how the letters—properties, forces, and desires—come to the Creator. By offering up his prayer (*MAN*), man asks for some property that seems like a real goal to him. And each letter tries to prove that it is best suited for the attainment of the sensation of the Creator and merging with Him. But the Creator shows that the best and the only letter is *Bet*, as only it can help man to establish contact with Him. This is why the Torah begins with this letter.

The description of the spiritual forces designated by each letter is incredibly deep, and in order to attain full clarity we need to bridge several other preliminary explanations: the creation of the world includes its existence and process of perfection so that the world could attain the goal for which it was created.

The Creator created the world consisting of two contrasting forces; against each pure, altruistic force, He created an impure, egoistic one, which is its equal and opposite. Just as there are four pure worlds *ABYA*, the Creator created opposite them four impure worlds *ABYA*.

Therefore, in our world—the last degree of the world of *Assiya*—a spiritually evolved person that senses the Creator and has entered with his properties into the spiritually pure world, looks no different from an egoistic and spiritually undeveloped person, who has not attained the spiritual realm. This means that one who does not perceive the spiritual is totally unable to differentiate between spiritual purity and impurity.

We see that in our world one cannot advance with the help of the pure forces. On the contrary, it is his egoistic aspirations that provide man with the strength to conquer everything in the world. How often do we see fervent fanatics immersed in their impure desires to capture for themselves both this world and the next, whereas one that aspires to the Creator has no strength for even a slightest spiritual movement! In our world there is no proof or confirmation that man advances on the right path. And under no circumstances should one draw conclusions based on one's life experience or "common sense."

So how can a person in this world exist and advance towards the Goal of creation if he is unable to tell good from bad, pure from impure? There is one sign by which one can distinguish purity from impurity: impure forces bear no spiritual fruit. Thus, those that advance through the impure worlds *ABYA* do not attain anything spiritual, whereas those who are connected to the pure forces reap spiritual fruit on their path.

As it is explained in the "Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot" (items 19-23), if man advances along the right path, he attains the secrets of the Torah in

three to five years. The Creator helps those who wish to acquire altruistic desires over and above their own requests, and thus one attains the desired goal. From below, man aspires to the Creator with his small desire (*MAN*), and from Above, the Creator pours onto him tremendous spiritual desires and strength (*MAD*).

This is the only opportunity to check whether or not the path that one is on is correct, whether it leads to altruism or to even bigger egoism. By no means can one consider his well-being, soaring elation, his happiness and success in life as proofs of correct advancement. It is precisely in those states of feeling perfection, well-being, and contentment that he must ask himself: "Have I attained the secrets of the Torah?" And until he has attained them, his "perfection" is impure.

Man should always strive for the middle line—a balance of faith and knowledge—in the following three notions: the Creator, His Providence, and the Torah. And under no circumstances should he advance by either faith or knowledge alone. If he only wants to attain the Creator, His Providence or the Torah, he enters spiritual darkness, for it is impossible to receive the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*) without the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*).

Such a state is referred to as the left impure force, "*Klipat Esau*." And if man strives to advance through faith alone, he enters the impure force of the right side, "*Klipat Yishmael*," which tells him he is in a state of perfection. In this case, he sees no point in his work and is thus unable to continue to advance.

In other words, even if one is full of joy, which is exactly what the Torah urges him to feel (to perceive the Creator's Providence with joy, for joy signifies justification of creation, understanding that His Providence is always just and kind), unless he has attained the secrets of the Torah, his path is considered erroneous, as he lacks the intention "for the Creator's sake," which reveals the secrets of the Torah.

This article explains the particular properties of the Hebrew letters—how all the letters come before the Creator, each asking Him to create the world with its property. Each of the twenty-two letters represents a spiritual degree in the worlds *ABYA*, and each believes that its pure spiritual properties are most suitable for the task, that by attaining its degree and acquiring its properties, the inhabitants of the world will be able to elevate the pure forces over the impure ones, so much so that they will reach the end of correction, the Goal of creation.

However, the Creator answers each letter that against it are the corresponding impure forces, and therefore man will be unable to properly separate the pure forces from the impure ones, and afterwards, utilize the pure forces to achieve

the goal. This occurrence repeats itself until the appearance of the letter *Bet*, which represents the degree called "the Creator's blessing," against which there are no impure forces of any kind.

And the Creator consented to create the world with the letter *Bet*, with its property; for it has no impure counterpart, only *Bet* presents an opportunity to carry out an analysis between good and evil, to determine when man works for himself and when he works for the Creator's sake. Therefore, only by its force, by its property can the world exist: so as to extract from the "mixture" of one's desires only what's pure, and elevate them above the impure, down to complete eradication of the latter, and the consequent attainment of complete correction of one's nature.

As it follows from *The Zohar,* only the Creator's help, called "a blessing," is the force of man's salvation, the only thing capable of freeing him from the rule of the impure forces. And this force, called "blessing," descends only upon those that advance along the right path.

The right path is a combination of three conditions: (i) one's efforts in studying (only!) genuine Kabbalistic sources; (ii) contact with a true Kabbalist, whom he accepts as his teacher; and (iii) contact with like-minded people, who seek spiritual elevation. A more detailed explanation will be provided to serious students only.

All twenty-two letters are divided into three degrees: *Bina*, *Zeir Anpin* (ZA), and *Malchut*, since there are no *Kelim* (letters) above *Bina*. Twenty-two letters in *Bina* are called "big," twenty-two letters in ZA are called "medium," and twenty-two letters in *Malchut* are called "small."

Each of the three *Sefirot* of *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* are further divided into three degrees: The twenty-two letters of *Bina* contain their own *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Likewise, ZA has his own ten *Sefirot*, in which his *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* also contain twenty-two letters. The same applies to *Malchut*.

The twenty-two letters of each degree are divided into three types. The letters from *Aleph* to *Tet* (1–9) are considered units; these are the nine *Sefirot* of *Bina*. The letters from *Yod* to *Tzadik* (10–90) are considered tens; these are the nine *Sefirot* of ZA. And finally, the four letters *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin* and *Tav* (100–400) are considered hundreds; and these are the four *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, since *Malchut* is located below and downwards of *Chazeh de* ZA, which corresponds in height to the four *Sefirot* of ZA.

Bina, units, big letters, nine letters: *Aleph*, *Bet*, *Gimel*, *Dalet*, *Hey*, *Vav*, *Zayin*, *Chet*, *Tet*.

ZA, tens, medium letters, nine letters: *Yod*, *Chaf*, *Lamed*, *Mem*, *Nun*, *Samech*, *Ayin*, *Peh*, *Tzadik*.

Malchut, hundreds, small letters, four letters: *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, *Tav*.

However, it is known that units are in *Malchut*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Bina*, which contradicts the aforesaid that units are in *Bina*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Malchut*. Such inverse dependence is caused by the inverse relationship between the Lights and the *Kelim*: the lowest Light enters the Highest *Kelim*. The Upper *Kelim* are the first to emerge, from *Keter* down to *Malchut* (*Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*), whereas the first to enter them is the smallest Light, *Nefesh*, followed by *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*.

Therefore, if there are only units in the *Kelim*, from *Aleph* to *Tet*, then only the Light of *Nefesh* is present. And if tens are added to the *Kelim*, the Light of *Ruach* appears, and if hundreds are added to the *Kelim*, the Light of *Neshama* fills them.

This is why hundreds are defined as *Bina*, tens as ZA, and units as *Malchut*. However, with regard to the *Kelim*, the order is inversed: units are in *Bina*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Malchut*.

Bina:	Light (100)	-	Kelim (1)
ZA:	Light (10)	-	Kelim (10)
Malchut:	Light (1)	-	Kelim (100)

The letters descend from *Bina* to ZA and from there to *Malchut*. When they descend from *Bina* to ZA, they descend as three lines: 22/3 = 7 letters in each, with the remaining letter being added to the middle line. These twenty-two letters descend in three lines to *Malchut*, which consists of five final letters *MANTZEPACH*, thereby bringing the total number in *Malchut* to 22 + 5 = 27 letters.

The middle line is called "Heaven," "firmament." Therefore, when *The Zohar* speaks of letters in the firmament, it means that the two middle lines, 7 + 7 = 14 = *Yod* + *Dalet* = *Yad* (hand) writes all the twenty-two letters in the firmament (ZA) through the middle line. That is how one should interpret the words of the Torah regarding the letters that appear in the sky or having seen the hand that writes the letters in the sky.

The twenty-two letters of the Torah are the *Kelim* to be filled by the Light of *NRN*. Units—from *Aleph* to *Yod*—are the *Kli* intended for the Light of *Bina* (*Neshama*). Tens—from *Yod* to *Kuf*—are the *Kli* meant for the Light of ZA (*Ruach*). Hundreds—from *Kuf* to *Tav*—are the *Kli* for the Light of *Malchut* (*Nefesh*).

Letters are the *Kelim*, into which the Light clothes; in all, there are twenty-two special properties, and thus twenty-two symbols of their description, called letters. Just as the combinations of the twenty-two letters suffice for the description of all existing knowledge, the various couplings, unions (*Zivugim* of *Sefirot*) of the twenty-two *Kelim*, properties, desires of the *Partzuf* are sufficient for receiving and bestowing Light, fulfilling all spiritual actions and bringing all the letters (man's desires) to correction.

Letters represent the various correlations of *ZON*:

a) ZA, consisting of six parts of his extremities, husband to *Malchut*, designated by the letter *Vav*, *Sefira Yesod*—level of an embryo;

b) ZA designated by the letter *Vav*, *Sefira Tifferet*, consisting of six parts of his hands—level of nursing;

c) ZA that stands between *AVI*, while *Nukva* must ascend to him, thereby reaching the level of reception of *Ohr Hochma*.

d) ZA, the letter *Vav*, above him are ten *Sefirot Keter-Hochma*, below him are ten *Sefirot Bina-Tifferet-Malchut*—and together they make up the letter *Aleph*. And the final corrected state will come when *Malchut* ascends to *Keter* of ZA (the Upper *Yod* in the letter *Aleph*) at the end of correction. When *Malchut* ascends above *Parsa* (*Vav*), she receives the Light herself, whereas when she descends below *Vav*, she receives from ZA. As *Malchut* ascends, she forms *Taamim* (tone marks), when she descends, she is called *Nekuda* (point), and when she merges with ZA, she is referred to as a point inside *Vav* (*Shuruk*).

The order of ***ATBaSH***: There is a special combination of letters, e.g. the first with the last ('A' through 'T'), the second with the second last ('B' through 'Sh'), etc., which designate the conditions for diffusion of the Upper Light from Above downwards.

MANTZEPACH: All the worlds and *Partzufim* were created with the twenty-two letters of *Malchut*. The screen is located in the head of the *Partzuf*, preventing the Light from entering. It repels the Light, calculates how much it can receive for the Creator's sake, and only then accepts it.

Each of the five levels of the will to receive that exist in *Malchut*, in the *Guf* of the *Partzuf*, has a corresponding restriction in the screen, located in the *Peh*, to prevent the Light from entering the body. Therefore, the screen in the *Peh* consists of five parts, forces.

These five restrictive forces of the screen, five exertions of the screen are designated by the five final letters of the alphabet: *Mem-Nun-Tzadik-Peh-Chaf* (abbreviated as *MANTZEPACH*). They are called "final letters" because they are written only at the end of words. These forces determine the reception of Light in the body of the *Partzuf*, and therefore beget the other twenty-two letters (*Kelim*, corrected desires, which receive the Light). Although the five letters *MANTZEPACH* are only found at the end of words, in oral speech they represent the five groups of pronunciation of the twenty-two letters. And the letters *MANTZEPACH* stand at the head of each group.

Out of the five letters *MANTZEPACH* originate five groups of sounds:

1. *Peh–Keter*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the throat; they are called *AChHA—Aleph-Chet-Hey-Ayin*. *Aleph* is the Light of *Partzuf Keter* of *Atzilut*, concealed from the lower ones and called *Atik*. *Chet* is the Light of *Partzuf Hochma* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *Arich Anpin* and also concealed from the lower ones. *Hey* is the Light of *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *Ima* (mother), who receives the Light of *Hochma* from *Aba* (father) in order to pass it on to her children (*ZON*). *Ayin* is the Light of *Zeir Anpin's* face. Since the Light of *ZA* that enters *Malchut* is called "the Torah," it is said that the Torah has *Ayin* (70) faces, that the Creator (*ZA*) has *Ayin* (70) names. After all, with regard to *Malchut*, *ZA* is the Creator. Therefore, seventy souls descended to Egypt, and so forth.

2. *Chaf–Hochma*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the palate; they are called *GIChiK—Gimel-Yod-Chaf-Kuf*. The letters *AChHA* transfer the Light to the letters *GIChiK*: *Aleph* passes the Light to *Gimel*, which carries reward (*Gemul—Gimel*) for the righteous. *Chet* passes the Light of *Hochma* to *Yod*, but this Light is concealed. *Hey* illuminates *Chaf* with the Light of *Bina*, which carries joy. *Ayin* illuminates *Kuf*. Just as *Ayin* = 70, as it consists of seven *Sefirot*, *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut*, each containing ten *Sefirot* of its own, *Kuf* = 100, as it consists of ten *Sefirot* from *Keter* to *Malchut*, each consisting of its own ten. Hence, the palate fully complements the throat.

3. *Nun–Bina*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the tongue, called *DaTLaT—Dalet-Tet-Lamed-Nun-Tav*.

4. *Mem–ZA*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the lips, called *BOMoCH—Bet-Vav-Mem-Chaf*.

5. *Tzadik–Malchut*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the teeth, called *ZaSSHRaTZ – Zayin-Samech-Shin-Reish-Tzadik*.

Voice and speech: Voice is formed in *ZA*, speech—in *Malchut*. If he who is righteous, and who exists in the worlds *BYA*, raises his prayers (*MAN*) to

Malchut of the world of *Atzilut*, he causes *ZON* to ascend to *AVI*, and unites them in a constant *Zivug* so as to assure the Light's descent to the lower ones. *ZON* receives the Light from *AVI*; this Light is called "voice" and "speech," and this is the power of the righteous—to create the pure and destroy the impure with their voice.

Man's speech is conceived in the lungs: as the air exits the lungs and reaches the mouth, it turns to voice, and as it leaves the mouth, it becomes speech. Two lips accept the voice from the two parts of the lungs (the left and the right) and turn it into speech. Each lung consists of five parts so as to pass to the five parts in the mouth: to the guttural letters *AChHA*, the labial letters *BOMoCH*, the palatal letters *GIChiK*, the lingual letters *DaTLaT* and the dental letters *ZaSSHRaTZ*.

The seven primary *Sefirot* of *ZA* are called "Seven Heavens." The seventy names of *ZA* originate from the seventy (7 x 10) *Sefirot* of *ZA*. *ZA* himself is called "Heaven," and *Malchut* is called "earth." The *Sefirot* of *ZA* are also known as *Ruach* (because of the Light of *Ruach* in them), which ascends to *Bina* (ears), where it turns to sound, with *Hochma* in the left ear and *Hassadim* in the right.

THE LETTER *TAV*

Each of the twenty-two letters corresponds to a particular spiritual degree, on which it acts. The letter itself is that spiritual degree. Hence, the letter *Tav* claims that its properties are the most suitable for the creation of the world, that its properties can bring the world to correction and to the goal of creation, for it defines the property of "truth," the Creator's seal.

The impure forces exist solely on account of the miniature Light received from the pure forces; this Light is called *Ner Dakik* (tiny candle). Without this Light, the impure forces would neither be able to exist nor to function—tempting man with the pleasures they received from the tiny spark of Light that fell from the pure *Sefirot*. Therefore, the last, lowest pure degree lets a little bit of the Upper Light down to the impure forces.

Without the support of the pure forces, the impure forces would instantly disappear. A question arises: who needs them to exist and what for? Obviously, the impure forces were created on a par with pure ones by the Creator Himself, for there is no other power in the entire universe besides Him.

It was necessary to create impure forces in order to concentrate them in the enormous desires to receive pleasure, in immense egoism. The system of

the impure worlds of *ABYA* serves as a kind of storehouse of desires to receive pleasure, from which, to the extent of his correction, man can take more and more new desires so as to correct them. Thus, by attaching uncorrected impure forces to himself and correcting them, man can gradually ascend higher and higher, up to the level of the Creator. For this purpose the Creator created impure forces and sustains them through the system of pure ones.

The impure system of the worlds *ABYA* exists on the same level, parallel to the pure one. Our world is located under these two spiritual systems. Our world is also called egoistic and impure, but its forces and desires are so insignificant that they are located below the worlds of the impure *ABYA*.

When, with the help of Kabbalah, one surmounts the level of our world's egoism, he enters the pure world of *Assiya*. And immediately after, the impure world of *Assiya* begins to influence him, tempting him with its false pleasures. By overcoming the temptations of the impure world of *Assiya*, one ascends spiritually. But until one surmounts the impure desires of his body, of our world, he will not begin to sense, or enter the spiritual worlds, for he would not be able to withstand the impure forces that act there.

Unlike the forces that act in the spiritual world, man in our world is only influenced by the small egoistic force called his "body," his ego. Man can struggle with this force, either winning or losing his battles. But even if he is defeated, man retains that tiny spark of Light (*Ner Dakik*), which sustains his existence.

Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag gives the following example: man's work in this world resembles writing on a school blackboard, where any mistake may be wiped off without harming the writer, where he can make corrections and write anew, until he learns to write correctly. Only when he learns to write correctly is he allowed to enter the spiritual realm.

Therefore, our world is the most insignificant of all. Everyone must begin here, and everyone is bound to return here, and be born again and again until he crosses the boundary between our world and the spiritual one. (There are many additional conditions required for the soul to not descend to this world anymore, and those who will merit, will understand).

Hence, the vertical line, the leg of the letter *Kuf*, descends below the writing line, which signifies the Light descending through this letter down to the impure forces. And no other letter descends below the writing line, like the *Kuf* does.

For the impure forces to exist (any creature, whether pure or impure, can only exist by receiving Light), the last, lowest degree of pure forces descends into the impure forces and gives them the Light necessary for their existence and

realization of their role: to entice man with their pleasures and convince him to act according to the law of the impure forces.

At first, the left leg of the letter *Tav* also descended below the writing line. But the Creator saw that the impure forces would then be too closely connected to pure ones, so He severed this connection and returned the left leg of the letter *Tav* back to the writing line, to the level of the pure forces.

As a result of this shortening, the left leg of the *Tav* doubled in thickness, as it folded in two, and no Light passes to the impure forces anymore. On the contrary, it even becomes the Creator's seal by holding the impure forces at bay and preventing them from stealing the Upper Light, for as soon as any impure forces touch it, they instantly die.

And all the life-force necessary for the sustenance of the impure forces is passed by the Creator through the letter *Kuf*, because, being the first letter of *Malchut*, it is remote from them; thus, there is no fear or risk that its connection to the impure forces would become too strong.

Malchut consists of only four letters from Above downwards: *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, and *Tav*. *Kuf* is the first, *Tav* is the last, and below it are the impure forces. Therefore, if they receive the Light they need according to the thought of creation from *Kuf*, the furthest letter from them, the impure forces have no way of "stealing" more Light than *Malchut*, who consists of four letters, is obliged to give them.

This is why this letter is called *Kuf*, to show that it gives strength to the impure system of *ABYA*—a fake (nonexistent) man, just as a monkey (*Kof* in Hebrew) resembles a human being.

And it misleads people by pretending to be the truth and claiming that its path leads to the attainment of spirituality, the Creator, *Lishma*, the sensation of the Creator. However, the pure forces maintain that only with the help of the Torah can man attain adequate correction of his properties so as to merge them with the Creator.

And this is what the letter *Tav* claimed: because it is the Creator's seal of truth, it stands at the end of the pure system and does not allow the impure forces to cling to pure ones, and pose as if they are pure. This is why its properties are worthy of becoming the basis for the creation of the world—so that via the analysis of good and evil, purity and impurity, inhabitants of this world may be sure that by acquiring its properties they will achieve the goal of their creation.

The four letters *Kuf-Reish-Shin-Tav* make up the four *Sefirot* of *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*: *Keter-Hochma-Bina-Tifferet*, where *Tifferet* consists of six *Sefirot*—*Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*. But when the letter *Kuf* is by itself, without *Reish-Shin-Tav*, the Torah, which spreads to the worlds *BYA*, also shines upon the impure forces, and the angel of death receives the strength to destroy all that lives. This state is designated by the letter *Kuf*. But when *Malchut* is corrected, she is designated by the letter *Hey*, whose difference from *Kuf* lies in the long leg of the *Kuf* (*Malchut de Malchut*).

This long left leg, which turns the *Hey* into *Kuf*, indicates that the Light descends from the pure forces (*Partzufim*) to the impure worlds of *BYA*, the impure forces referred to as death. And when *Malchut* joins with *Bina* and receives the strength from *Bina* to ascend and receive the Light, the other letters join *Malchut*, and she draws the Light of life from *Bina*.

In this state, the left leg of the *Kuf* is reduced in half, turning the *Kuf* into *Tav*, whose left leg is twice as thick, due to its shortening. The part of *Malchut* that passed Light to the impure forces now ascended out of them, hence there are two kinds of *Malchut*: *Miftacha* (key)—the part that joined with *Bina*, and *Man'ula* (lock)—the part that ascended out of the impure forces.

These two parts of *Malchut* manifest in different ways: *Miftacha*—openly and *Man'ula*—secretly. Two paths of bringing man to correction emerge from them: the good path of the Torah and the path of suffering.

However, after *Malchut* corrects her properties and joins with *Bina*, she no longer parts from *Bina*, but, upon receiving Light from her, *Malchut* pours it onto the worlds, and the impure forces lose their strength to sow death and rule over the world. And if a case arises where a sinner must be punished, the impure forces must first receive permission to punish him, for without permission they may not reveal the *Man'ula*.

Thus, after *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, thereby correcting her properties, the impure forces are no longer free to rule the world, unless they are permitted. The reason for this is the letter *Tet*, the last letter of *Bina*, which sends the Light of life to all with the help of the *Miftacha*. After *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, she becomes a *Miftacha*, and does not let go of this connection. Respectively, the impure forces, the leg of the letter *Kuf*, can no longer sow death.

Three places emerge from this: (i) where only the properties of the letter *Tet* rule by shining with the Light of life of this world; (ii) the entire world after *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, defined as *Miftacha*, when the letter *Tet* shines upon all, but permits the punishment of sinners according to the rule: "You advance

towards the goal either by the path of the Torah or by the path of suffering"; (iii) hell, the place of eternal punishment by the letter *Kuf*, in contrast with the first place, ruled by the letter *Tet*, where life is eternally prosperous.

All the letters with all their secret properties, described by those who understand them, are located in the Temple. All the Upper and lower worlds are created and function in the framework of their laws-properties, and the Supernal Name, the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* rules over all.

The *Mishkan* (tabernacle) in the Temple was also designed with the help of letters, for its builder, Betzalel, knew how to join the letters that made Heaven and earth. And since he was unique in possessing this wisdom, he was entrusted with the building of the sanctuary.

As the Creator chose Betzalel Above, so He wished him to be chosen below, as He said to Moshe Above: "Choose Betzalel." So Moshe said to his people below: "The Creator has chosen Betzalel." For such was Betzalel's name-property (*Be Tzel El*)—"In the Creator's shadow."

The Creator is called ZA or the *Sefira Tifferet* in *Partzuf* ZA, which shines upon the *Sefira Yesod*, called *Tzadik* (righteous one). Betzalel is called *Yesod*, which receives the Light of *VAK*—an incomplete Light—from *Tifferet*, which is hence called "sitting in the shadow," and, in turn, shining into *Malchut*. Thus, like *Tifferet*, the *Sefira Yesod* that passes this Light also consists of six *Sefirot*: *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*.

The name of the letter *Tav*, "truth," indicates that in order to reach its level, its degree, one must attain the property of truth. Therefore, the letter *Tav* claimed that with its properties man can fully analyze good and evil, renounce his impure desires as false, and to the degree that he renounces them, draw closer to the pure desires (forces), and thereby be certain that he will reach the goal of creation—correction of all his desires (*Gmar Tikkun*, end of correction).

This corresponds to the saying: "The Creator is close only to those who truly ask Him for help." For only with His help can one achieve correction and spiritual elevation. However, this help only comes to those who genuinely, "truly" demand it. As soon as man is able to cry out wholeheartedly for the Creator's help, he instantly receives it. And if he does not receive an answer from the Creator—it is a sign that his request is not yet complete, that he did not yet fully realize his egoistic nature and properties as worthless, has not yet fully felt his helplessness and inability to exit and correct his properties by himself. This is why letter *Tav* was certain that once man acquires its property of truth, he will be able to reach the goal.

But the Creator answered her that it is not worthy of becoming the basis of creation, for the forces of judgment that would arise from it would be so strong that even the complete righteous, who fulfilled the entire Torah from *Aleph* to *Tav* (A to Z) and reached the property of truth, will nevertheless be punished by it, for they have not destroyed all the sinners, as it is written in the Talmud (*Shabbat*, 55).

Furthermore, the Creator declines its request, for it is also the seal of death, as its power brought death to this world. For man is bound to die, as the serpent forged its seal and deceived Adam in his understanding of the Tree of Knowledge. This is why the world cannot exist with its properties.

THE LETTER *SHIN*

24. The letter *Shin* appeared before the Creator and said: "Maker of the world, it befits the world to be created with me, for Your own name *Shadday* begins with me." The Creator replied: "You are fine, handsome, and truthful, but since the letters (properties) of the word *Sheker* (falsehood) took you to be with them, I cannot create the world with your properties, for *SheKeR* (falsehood) exists only because the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* took you."

Malchut consists of ten *Sefirot* and has two endings:

1) If she has only her own properties, she contains all ten *Sefirot*, from *Keter de Malchut* to *Malchut de Malchut*. In this case she firmly restricts the diffusion of Light and is designated by the letter *Tav*;
2) If *Ima-Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* fills *Malchut* with her Light, *Partzuf Malchut* ends not in the *Sefira Malchut*, but in the *Sefira Yesod*, and is designated by the letter *Shin*.

The three tips of the letter *Shin* are called its crown and signify the Light of *Bina*, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy), which descends from *Partzuf Ima-Bina* into *Partzuf Malchut*. This Light of *Bina*, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy), creates new altruistic properties in *Malchut*, altruistic intentions to receive the Light for the Creator's sake, after which *Partzuf Malchut* can receive the *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) from ZA (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 22). When bonded so, ZA and *Malchut* are called "husband and wife," and the Light that *Malchut* receives from ZA is called "100 blessings."

This new ending of *Partzuf Malchut* in the *Sefira Yesod* instead of in the *Sefira Malchut* is therefore called *Yesod de Nukva* or "the central point of existence,"

for all that exists in the world originates from it and exists thanks to it. *Partzuf Malchut* is the sum of all the creatures, and we are all its parts. All the worlds and all that inhabit them constitute various parts of *Partzuf Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

Each Upper *Partzuf* is considered the Creator of its adjacent lower *Partzuf*, for the latter originates (born) from it. Therefore, in relation to all the creatures, *Zeir Anpin* of the world of *Atzilut* is considered and called "the Creator," our Creator.

And, like the *Tav*, the letter *Shin* is called "truth" and "the Creator's seal," for a seal signifies the end of a spiritual object—*Partzuf*, like a seal fixed at the end of a letter, written in the name of the Creator. The Creator's seal is similar to Himself; this is why the seal is called the mark of truth, for only the presence of a seal gives a letter the force of truth, and confirms the truthfulness of its content.

However, the significance of the letter *Shin* is greater than that of the letter *Tav*, for *Shin* is the first letter of the word *Shadday*, one of the Creator's names-properties, designating His power, by which He said "*Dai*" (enough) to creation—stop and do not descend further (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12)—do not descend below the letter *Shin*.

This reveals that the world and its inhabitants can only exist with the help of the letter *Shin*, thanks to its property that restricts the diffusion of Light. The Creator said: "Stop, Creature, at the letter *Shin*, and do not spread to the letter *Tav*," for if the Light had spread to *Tav*, the impure forces would have received such great strength that man would have no hope of escaping them and reaching altruistic properties. This is why the ending point of *Shin* is called "the central point of existence."

Therefore, after the letter *Shin* saw the Creator refuse the letter *Tav*, precisely because ending the diffusion of Light with *Tav* creates conditions for correction of the world that are too difficult for man to meet, the letter *Shin* claimed that its property of *Shadday* is suitable for the creation of the world, and was certain that the Creator would choose it—its properties—as the basis of creation, for it possesses all the advantages that *Tav* lacked, which was the reason for the Creator's refusal.

And it has *Tav's* advantage, as well: it is the Creator's seal—truth. Moreover, it has an additional advantage: it is called by the name *Shadday*, the new ending of *Malchut* for the inhabitants of the world, instead of the ending by the property

of the letter *Tav*. Based on all that, the letter *Shin* found the strength and courage to appear before the Creator with the proposition to create the world with it.

But the Creator answered that precisely because of *Shin*'s additional advantages compared to those of the letter *Tav*, the impure forces opposite it are strengthened. For opposite each letter (spiritually pure forces or properties) there is an opposing impure force (egoistic desire), as it is written: "The Creator had made one opposite the other" (*Kohelet*, 7:14).

The strengthening of the impure forces from the properties of the letter *Shin* occurred as a result of her properties joining the impure properties of falsehood, forging spiritual purity of the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*: falsehood would be unable to exist in the world, for it would be recognized at once, had the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* not put *Shin* at the head of the word *SheKeR* (falsehood). And when truth stands at the head of the word that designates the property of falsehood, man naturally tends to err.

There are two sources of impure forces: the first is a small luminescence (*Ner Dakik*), which the pure force itself (the Creator) sends to the impure forces (desires) so as to sustain them. This is done so they would not disappear until there is a need to "punish" the sinners with them. However, these are small forces—their height is not great, for they receive only a small luminescence, sufficient to sustain their life.

This small luminescence descends into the impure forces from the letter *Kuf*, which results in these impure forces becoming similar to man in the worlds *BYA*, as a monkey in comparison to a human being, as it is said: "The Creator had made one opposite the other" (*Kohelet*, 7:14).

The second source of impure forces arises from the lower ones' spiritual fall: as a result of people's evil, egoistic actions, the Light passes from the system of the pure forces into the impure. And the first transgression is Adam's sin, by which the system of the impure forces assumed an identical formation to that of the pure system, stationing itself opposite, parallel to it. As a result, the impure worlds *ABYA* emerged opposite the pure ones.

The second source of impure forces is the letter *Reish*, which indicates that the impure forces rise and attach themselves to the pure forces, right up to the level of *Bina* of *Malchut*, designated by the letter *Dalet*.

As was previously stated, the twenty-two letters of *Partzuf Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* are divided in three groups of letters: units in *Bina*, tens in *ZA*, and hundreds in *Malchut*.

PARTZUF	SEFIROT	LETTERS
BINA (IMA)	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*
ZA	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*
MALCHUT	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*

The letters *Aleph-Bet-Gimel* correspond to *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina*, called "the head" of a spiritual object (*Partzuf*). The letters from *Dalet* to *Tet* refer to the body of the *Partzuf*.

Aleph	-	Keter	**HEAD**
Bet	-	Hochma	
Gimel	-	Bina	
Dalet	-	Hesed	**BODY**
Hey	-	Gevura	
Vav	-	Tifferet	
Zayin	-	Netzah	
Chet	-	Hod	
Tet	-	Yesod	

The body only receives what descends to it from the head. Therefore, *Dalet*, the first letter of the body, through which the body receives Light from the head, is called *Dalah ve Aniyah* (poor and destitute). *Dalet* only receives what *Gimel* gives it. Since *Gimel* contains the Light of *Hassadim*, that is, what descends into *Dalet*.

And this is why the letter *Gimel* is called *Gomel Hassadim* (merciful One) (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 104), according to its action with regard to *Dalet*, which would otherwise be completely without Light. The protruding sharp angle on the right side of *Dalet* is the sign of *Dalet's* abundance of *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, opposite the pure (altruistic) *Malchut*, stands the impure *Malchut*, who is pride and does not wish to receive the Light from *Gimel* and rely on it. Instead, she rises up in the desire to be the head, and in so creates the sharp angle of the *Dalet*. That indicates that the presence of *Ohr Hassadim* disappears, transforming it into the letter *Reish*, which is written as it is pronounced—with two letters: *Reish* and *Shin*.

The true merging of the pure ZA and *Malchut* is called *ECHaD* (one), consists of the letters *Aleph*, *Chet* and *Dalet*, for the letters from *Aleph* to *Chet* are the nine *Sefirot* of ZA. He passes the Light from *Gimel* of *Bina* to *Gimel* of *Malchut*, resulting in *Malchut* being filled with the Light of *Hassadim*, thereby becoming *Dalet* with a protruding right angle. As a result of this, ZA and *Malchut* become one.

When the lower ones (people) sin in their actions (intentions), they give the impure *Malchut* the strength to cling to the pure one—*Dalet*, to erase the sharp angle of the Light of *Hassadim* and turn it into the letter *Reish*. Thus, the word *Echad* (one) becomes *Acher* (other, alien, foreign): *Aleph-Chet-Dalet* of the word *Echad* are transformed into *Aleph-Chet-Reish* of the word *Acher*, for instead of the connection with the Creator emerges a connection with other, impure forces, called "*Elokim Acherim*" (other gods), which cling to ZA and *Malchut* of the pure world of *Atzilut*.

This leads to the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* distorting the Creator's seal (*Shin*), the letter of truth. As a result, *Yesod* of *Malchut*, which receives from *Yesod de* ZA, becomes linked to the impure source instead of the pure, for a new *Yesod* of the impure *Malchut* was formed with the help of the letter *Shin*.

From here the impure forces develop up to ten *Sefirot* with a head and a body, whereas *Shin* becomes the source of all that desolates, for destruction of purity begets impurity. And from this emerged the system of the impure worlds *ABYA* of the impure man.

Thus, we have learned how the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* became the two sources of emergence and development of impure forces. And since the impure forces pose as pure, they are called false, counterfeit letters whose purpose is to annihilate the system of the pure forces and their unity with the Creator, so as to forge themselves out of the devastation of the pure forces.

The birth of the impure forces from the destruction of the pure ones is possible on account of the letter *Shin*, *Yesod* of *Malchut*, joining with the impure forces as a result of the forging of the letter *Reish* out of *Dalet*. Thereby,

Echad turns into *Acher*, and the system of the impure forces (*Elokim Acherim*, other gods) is created.

And had the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* not captured the letter *Shin*, such an enormous system of impure forces, so capable of lying and falsifying everything in the eyes of man, would not have come into being.

Therefore, the Creator answered the letter *Shin*: "Though you are good, you will stand at the head of the word *Sheker* (falsehood) together with the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*. Indeed, upon capturing you, with your power they will be able to create an entire system of impure forces of falsehood and forgery. Hence, I cannot create the world with your properties, for since there is an impure system opposite from you, it is impossible to achieve the goal of creation with you."

THE LETTERS *KUF* AND *REISH*

25. From the aforesaid, it follows that whoever wishes to tell a lie will succeed if he first tells the truth as a base on which the lie will then grow and start to act. And this is because the letter *Shin* is a letter of truth, in which the Patriarchs had been united, for the three lines in the writing of the letter *Shin* (ש) signify the three Patriarchs, who designate the *Sefirot*-properties *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet*.

The letters *Kuf* and *Reish* indicate the evil side, as they form the impure side, called *KaR* (cold), which lacks warmth and life, for it draws its sustenance from *Malchut* when she turns from living water into ice. However, to create an opportunity to exist, these letters attach the *Shin* to themselves, thus creating the combination *KeSHeR* (tie, knot), which embodies strength and survival.

For the Light of *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* of *Bina*, which she receives from *Yesod de ZA*, creates a new ending in *Malchut*, a new *Kli*-desire to receive the Light called "100 blessings" from *ZA*. And since *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* are called the Patriarchs, and the Light that passes to *Malchut* descends from them, the letter *Shin* that designates them is called "truth."

By eliminating the sharp angle of the letter *Dalet*, the impure forces turn it into the letter *Reish*. By this, they convert the word *ECHaD* into *ACHeR*, thereby stealing *Yesod* of the pure *Malchut*, designated by *Shin*. Also, with the letter *Shin* they build the *Yesod* of the impure *Malchut*, which leads to a very strong clinging of impure forces to pure ones. This clinging is called *KeSHeR*, the reciprocal tie joining pure and impure forces, a knot that is not easily severed.

From the aforesaid, we see that the reason for the letters wishing for the world to be created with them is that each of them believes that only its properties can correct the world. The letter *Shin* thinks that the Light of *Hassadim* will bring the souls to the goal of creation. However, the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*—*KaR* (cold)—do not desire this Light, for receiving the Light of Mercy for the sake of bestowal is pure, but receiving it for the sake of pleasure is impure.

THE LETTER *TZADIK*

26. Subsequently, the letter *Tzadik* appeared before the Creator and said: "Master of the world, You should create the world with me, for *Tzadikim* (the righteous) are marked by me. You, who is called a *Tzadik* (righteous one), are also recorded within me, for You are righteous and You love righteousness. Therefore, my properties are suitable to create the world by."

The Creator answered: "*Tzadik*, you are truly righteous, but you must remain concealed and not be revealed to the extent required were the world to be created by you, so as to not give the world an excuse." The concealment of the letter *Tzadik* is necessary, for first came the letter *Nun*, which was then joined by the letter *Yod* from the Creator's Holy Name *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey* (*HaVaYaH*), who stood above it as a mark of the bond between the Creator and His creations, mounted the letter *Nun* and joined it on its right hand side, thereby creating the letter *Tzadik*.

The reason for the necessity of concealing the letter *Tzadik*, which makes it unsuitable for the creation of the world with it, is that when the Creator created Adam, i.e., ZA, He created him as two *Partzufim*-objects—male and female, connected to each other back to back. This is why the letter *Yod* stands with its back to the back of the letter *Nun*, both facing opposite directions, just as the letter *Tzadik* is depicted: the face of *Yod* turned upwards, while the face of *Nun* is turned downwards.

And the Creator also said to *Tzadik*: "In the future I will revoke the relationship of back-to back, and will join them face-to-face. In another place shall you so rise as such, but not at the beginning of creation. For in the beginning of creation, you must be connected back-to-back by the letters *Nun* and *Yod*, for this form indicates that the Light in you is concealed. Therefore, the world cannot be created with you." The letter *Tzadik* then left.

Tzadik came to suggest that the world should be created with its properties, for when it saw that the *Tav*'s request was turned down by the Creator due to

its heavy laws, and the letter *Shin*—due to the impure forces clinging to it—it thought that its properties could be suitable for the creation of the world. After all, it, too, contains the Creator's seal, and no impure forces cling to it.

That is why *Tzadik* said to the Creator that the righteous are sealed by its name as a mark of their union with Him, by circumcision and turning up of the place of contact (*Zivug*) with the Creator, which, thanks to these corrections, repels all the impure forces.

The Creator, called *Bina*, is also marked by *Tzadik*, for He is righteous like ZA, since the Upper Part of *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* (*Aba ve Ima—AVI*) corresponds to the male and female parts, like ZA and *Malchut*. And *AVI* are forever joined so as to send down the Light of Mercy and thus sustain the existence of all that are below them. This is why *Tzadik* thought itself suitable for creating the world, for the world lives by the Light of Mercy, and can reach the goal with its help.

The letter *Tzadik* is called the *Sefira Yesod* of ZA. When *Yesod* joins with *Malchut*, it is defined as *Tzadik* (righteous), for the nine *Sefirot* of ZA are from *Yod* to *Tzadik*, and *Kuf* is the beginning of *Malchut*, which consists of four *Sefirot*—*Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, and *Tav*.

When *Malchut* is joined with *Yesod* of ZA, *Kuf* is joined with *Tzadik*, and *Yesod* is called *Tzadik* (righteous). And to this the Creator replied to *Tzadik* that it is *Tzadik* in *Yesod* of ZA: "And you are *Tzadik* in Me, for *AVI* are forever joined so as to pour down the Light of Mercy and sustain the existence of the lower ones. And you are righteous, for *Malchut* is also connected to you, just as in the alphabet, *Kuf* follows *Tzadik*. Yet, in spite of all that, you do not merit for your properties to become the basis of the world."

Yesod of ZA includes in itself *Malchut* in the form of the letter *Kuf* in the word *TzadiK*. And when *Malchut* is included in *Yesod* as *Tzadik*, it is designated by the letter *Nun*, for *Nun* is *Gevura* of ZA (*Yod-Keter*, *Chaf-Hochma*, *Lamed-Bina*, *Mem-Hesed*, *Nun-Gevura*).

When ZA grows and becomes big, his *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* become *Sefirot Hochma-Bina-Daat*. Thus, *Gevura* becomes *Bina*. And when ZA becomes small once again, *Bina*, too, returns to being *Gevura* (*Nun*). This fall is designated by *Nun*'s head looking down.

The letter *Tzadik* consists of the letters *Nun* and *Yod* connected back-to-back. The letter *Nun* designates *Malchut* with the properties of the *Sefira Yesod* included in her; *Yod* designates the actual *Yesod* of ZA. Their connection—back-to-back, facing out in opposite directions—indicates that impure forces cling to their backs.

They conceal their backs from strangers since there is a flaw in their backs—the desire to receive the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*). This flaw must be concealed so as to prevent the impure forces from clinging to their backs. Therefore, the letter *Tzadik* is unsuitable for the world to be created by its properties. Its very shape reveals an opportunity for the impure forces to cling to it; this is why Adam (created out of ZA and *Malchut* when they are joined as *Tzadik*) is also created consisting of two halves, male and female, joined at their backs.

And if the letter *Tzadik* were to argue that in the big state, in the presence of *Ohr Hochma*, ZA and *Malchut* unite face-to-face, it would be told that such connection is impossible at their place, but only during their ascent to *AVI*. For if such a connection were possible in their own place, the impure forces would immediately cling to them. For this reason, the letter *Tzadik* is unworthy of becoming the basis of the universe.

THE LETTER *PEH*

27. The letter *Peh* entered and said: "Master of the world, it would be good to create the world with me, for the future liberation of the world is inscribed in me, as the word *Pedut* (liberation, redemption) begins with me. That is, liberation is deliverance from all suffering. And it is therefore fitting to create the world with me."

The Creator answered her: "Though you are fine, the word *Peshah* (transgression) begins with you and is secretly denoted by you, like a serpent that strikes and hides its head in its body. So a sinner bows his head, hiding from others' eyes, but stretches out his hands to sin. So is the shape of the letter *Peh*, whose head is hidden inside it." And the Creator also said to the letter *Ayin* that it would be unfitting to create the world with its properties, for within it is the property of *Avon* (crime, sin). And though *Ayin* tried to object, saying that its properties are contained in the word *Anavah* (humility), the Creator refused it nonetheless.

Pedut (Liberation) begins with the letter *Peh*, meaning that the property of *Peh* is contained in future liberation. This is why the letter *Peh* claims that it is worthy of being the basis of the world. Indeed, both *Galut* (exile) and *Ge'ula* (redemption) depend on *Malchut*: when *Malchut* has no inner Light of *Hochma*, the people of Israel are exiled from the land of Israel. For in our world, the land of Israel corresponds to *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, the spiritual land of Israel.

Just as in the spiritual world, ZA (Israel) distances from *Malchut* (the land of Israel), the people of Israel separate and leave their land in our world. And when the children of Israel correct their actions, they cause ZA (Israel) to fill his *Malchut* (the land of Israel) with Light, build her with his Light and unite with her face-to-face. As a result, the children of Israel of our world merit redemption and return to their land.

The Light from ZA, which builds and fills *Malchut*, descends from *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod* in ZA. *Hochma* of *Malchut* clothes in *Netzah* and *Bina* of *Malchut* clothes in *Hod*. The letters *Ayin* and *Peh* are *Netzah* and *Hod* in ZA. This is why *Peh*, the *Sefira Hod* in ZA, claimed that it was suitable to be the basis of the world, for the Light of *Hochma* that brings redemption to the entire world stems from *Peh* to *Malchut*. Thus, if the world achieved its property, it would undoubtedly reach the end of correction—complete redemption.

The letter *Peh* thought that it was more suitable to become the basis of the world than *Ayin* because although *Ohr Hochma* enters *Netzah-Ayin* and *Hod-Peh*, and is mainly present in *Netzah-Ayin*, redemption depends on *Hod-Peh*, nonetheless. That is because initially, *Bina* liberates *Malchut* from her restrictions and thereby redeems her.

By receiving from *Bina* her properties of mercy, *Malchut* merits redemption. This is fulfilled in the following way: *Bina* transcends her own properties and joins with *Malchut*, as a result of which, upon receiving the Light of *Hassadim*, *Malchut* can now receive the Light of *Hochma*. The restrictions imposed on the reception of Light mostly affect the left side, i.e., *Hod-Peh* in ZA. And that is why the letter *Peh* thought that since the Light of *Bina* enters it, and not *Netzah-Ayin*, it is better suited to become the basis of the world.

However, all the individual corrections made during the 6,000 years of the world's existence until the end of correction are considered incomplete, for the Upper Light, which allows for the discovery and analysis of all the impure forces within oneself, is not present in its entirety. Therefore, the Light may not be received in the worlds of BYA, below *Parsa*, below the boundary that separates the world of *Atzilut* from the worlds of BYA.

Parsa is *Malchut* that ascended to *Bina* in order to restrict the diffusion and reception of Light into those parts of her that are located below *Bina*. And as a consequence of Adam's attempt to nevertheless receive the Light under the *Parsa*, impurity slipped into *Malchut*, of which it is said that the serpent appeared before Chava (Eve) and brought impurity upon her (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 146). This impurity will only be corrected at the end of correction.

The thing is that the absence of the Upper Light in the force capable of discerning good from evil in all of *Malchut's* thickness gives rise to a flaw called "tears"—two tears that fall into a vast sea from the two eyes of *Hochma* and *Bina* that are concealed from all.

The two eyes are *Hochma* and *Bina*, and the tears signify the flaw in them from the presence of the impure force that appeared in them as a result of Adam's sin. This led to the ruin of the two Temples. These tears in *Malchut's* eyes will only dry at the end of correction, when death disappears from the world and all the Light shines in *Hochma* and *Bina* (item 56).

So the letter *Peh* was told that although it brings the world *Pedut* (redemption) with its Light, and although all redemptions pass only through it, this Light is incomplete. All the individual corrections are imperfect, for they come and go, just as the two Temples.

For the properties of *Peshah* (transgression) and *Pedut* (redemption) in the letter *Peh* are not sufficiently perfect and complete so as to withstand the sin of Adam, for in the absence of the full Light of *Hochma*, there is clinging of impure forces. Hence, the letter *Peh* is unworthy of being the basis of the world.

And since the property of *Peshah* (transgression) is concealed, the force of the serpent is present therein, deceiving people and leading them to their death. And it is impossible to kill it, just as a snake bites and immediately hides its head in itself (similar to the head of the letter *Peh*), which makes it impossible to kill it, for one may only kill the serpent within oneself by striking the "head." This is why the letter *Peh* is unsuitable for the creation of the world.

THE LETTER *AYIN*

Bina of the world of *Atzilut* is called *Ima Ilaa* (Supernal Mother) and also *Anavah* (modesty, humility). (Here, the capital "A" designates the letter *Ayin*, not to be confused with *Aleph*). The *Sefira Netzah* of *Zeir Anpin* (designated by the letter *Ayin*) clothes into *Malchut* with all of its Light, and ascends to *Bina*, who adorns her with her own adornments: *Bina* clothes into *Netzah* of ZA. But since the letter *Peh*, signifying *Peshah* (transgression) is concealed in *Netzah*, the Creator refused to create the world with its properties, as it is written in item 27.

Two words render the meaning of the word "transgression" in Hebrew: *Peshah* and *Avon*. However, "transgression" is mainly concentrated in the letter *Peh*, for *Malchut* of ZA connects into the *Sefira Hod* of ZA.

As a result of Adam's sin, *Klipot* (shells, impure forces) cling to *Malchut* of ZA. But *Netzah* of ZA is a property of ZA himself, and impure forces cannot cling to it. Yet, as it is written in the Talmud (*Baba Kama*), even *Netzah* is subject to *Klipot* clinging to it.

This flaw—the ability of the impure forces to cling to *Netzah* of ZA—is called "transgression." However, the word *Avon* (not *Peshah*) indicates that *Netzah* is pure and direct, and that the transgression is caused by its connection with the *Sefira Hod*.

The reason the Creator turns to the letters *Peh* and *Ayin* at the same time is that *Netzah* and *Hod* are like two body parts—two legs. This is why they both appeared before Him with their requests. However, *The Zohar* clarifies each of them (their properties) one at a time.

THE LETTER *SAMECH*

28. The letter *Samech* appeared before the Creator and said: "Creator of the world, it would be good to create the world with my properties, for within me is *Smicha* (support) for the fallen, as it is written: 'The Creator supports (*Somech*) all who fall.'" The Creator replied: "That is why you are needed in your place; do not move from it. If you move from your place, contained in the word *Somech*, those who fall will lose your support, for they rely on you (your properties)." Having heard this, the letter *Samech* departed.

The letter *Samech* stands for *Sefira Tifferet* in ZA, i.e., *Bina* in the body of ZA. Since *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina* (*KHB*) were transformed into *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* (*HGT*) in ZA, they were emptied of the Light of *Hochma*, and were left with only the Light of *Hassadim*, thus changing their name from *KHB* to *HGT*.

As we know, *Bina* consists of two parts: the Upper Part, called GAR: *Gimel* (three) *Rishonot* (first ones)—the first three *Sefirot KHB*, and the lower part, called ZAT: *Zayin* (seven) *Tachtonot* (lower ones)—the seven lower *Sefirot* from *Hesed* to *Malchut*. The Upper Part of *Bina* is called *Aba ve Ima* (*AVI*). Being filled with the Light of Mercy, *Aba ve Ima* exist in a state of perfection—without any desire to receive, but only to bestow.

AVI are designated by *Samech* (numerical value – 60), for they include the first three *Sefirot KHB* and three *Sefirot* of ZA, which, in view of the absence of *Ohr Hochma* in ZA, are not called *KHB*, but rather *HGT*. Therefore *AVI* consist of six *Sefirot*, each consisting of ten, totaling 60 = *Samech*.

ZAT of *Bina* receive the Light from Above and pass it on to *ZA*. This part of *Bina* has the property of *ZA*, rather than of *Bina*, as it needs to receive exactly what *ZA* needs, and then pass it to him. Since, unlike *Bina*, who does not wish to receive anything, *ZAT* of *Bina* need to receive *Ohr Hochma* for *ZA*, they feels a lack for it, and thus separate from *Bina* and an independently existing object-*Partzuf* forms out of her lower part.

This *Partzuf* is called *YESHSUT*, and it is designated by the letter *Mem* (numerical value – 40), for it consists of four *Sefirot—Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* of *Partzuf AVI*. Owing to its shape (properties), the block-letter *Mem* is called *Mem Stumah* (closed).

However, this separation of *AVI* into two parts occurs only when they have no Light of *Hochma*, but only the Light of *Hassadim*. Consequently, the Upper Part of *Bina* remains in its perfection, whereas the lower part feels a flaw in its state by not receiving *Ohr Hochma*. And since spiritual objects are separated by the differences in their properties, the sensation of imperfection separates the lower part of *Bina* from the Upper.

However, if those below improve their "intentions" (called "actions" in the spiritual), and ask *ZA* for help in correcting their actions, overcoming the egoism of impure desires, and acquiring spiritually pure, altruistic desires, *ZA* then turns to the superior *YESHSUT*, which turns to *AVI*. *AVI* then send their request even higher, receive the Light of *Hochma* and pass it to *YESHSUT*.

Finally, *YESHSUT* and *AVI* unite into one *Partzuf*, for having received *Ohr Hochma*, *YESHSUT* becomes as perfect as *AVI* are perfect being filled with *Ohr Hassadim*. *YESHSUT* passes the Light of *Hochma* down to *ZA*, who then passes it to *Malchut*. The Light that *Malchut* receives from *ZA* is referred to as 100 blessings, for *Samech* = 60 joins with *Mem* = 40.

However, when man sins in his intentions (desires, actions), he does not turn to *Malchut* with a request for help, causing the Light of *Hochma* to disappear from *ZA*, and *ZA* returns from *Gadlut* (big state) back to *Katnut* (small state). (When *ZA* contains the Light of *Hochma*, he is called "big"; and when he is filled with only the Light of *Hassadim*, he is called "small"). And the united *Partzuf Bina* is once more divided into *AVI* and *YESHSUT*.

In this small state (*Katnut*), *ZA* and *Malchut* are in danger of impure forces (*Klipot*) clinging to them. To make certain this does not happen, for then they may fall from the world of *Atzilut* below the *Parsa* into the worlds *BYA*, *AVI* send them the property of *Samech* (the Light of Mercy). And although it is only the Light of *Hassadim* without the Light of Wisdom (Light of *Hochma*), it provides *ZA* and *Malchut* with the sensation of perfection in acts of bestowal, and thus

impure forces can no longer cling to them, for the sole intention of the impure forces is to receive the Light of Wisdom from a pure *Partzuf*.

And this is why the Light that fills ZA in *Katnut* is called *Samech*, which testifies to its action: *Samech* "supports" ZA and *Malchut* so that they wouldn't fall from the world of *Atzilut* below the *Parsa*.

That is why the letter *Samech* thought that if the world were created with its properties, it would be able to reach the goal of creation and merge with the Creator. Its Light could shine in ZA and *Malchut* even in their small state, and the *Klipa* (impure force) would not attempt to snatch the Light from them. On the contrary, the impure, egoistic forces would flee from its Light. *Samech* believed that if the world were to be created with its properties, it would be able to protect all creatures, even when their actions were corrupted, for even in such a state, the impure force would not be able to harm them.

But the Creator said to *Samech* that precisely because its role is to support those who fall and to protect the lower ones in times of their spiritual descent, it must stay in its place and not move from it. For if the world were created by it, its power would always prevail over all, ridding ZA and *Malchut* of the chance to grow out of their small state.

And if ZA and *Malchut* don't stimulate the lower ones (people) to raise MAN—request for help in achieving *Gadlut*, the Upper Light will not be able to descend to bring the creatures to the end of correction and redemption. Therefore, the letter *Samech* must support the lower ones until they merit more. But when they do merit, they will be able to receive the great Light called "100 blessings" into their entire *Partzuf*. So the Creator refused to create the world with the letter *Samech*.

"Because the lower ones need *Samech* only in their *Katnut*, in the absence of the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*), ZON need you and you can help them. However, they need you only in their *Katnut*. But you do not help to bring them to perfection, and so you cannot be the basis of the world."

THE LETTER *NUN*

29. The letter *Nun* entered and said to the Creator: "It would be good for You to create the world with me, for *Norah Tehilot* (great praises) is written with me, as well as 'Praising of the righteous.'"

The Creator replied: "Return to your place, for you are the reason that the letter *Samech* returned to its place. And rely on it for support. For the

letter *Nun* exists in the word *Nefilah* (fall), which must be corrected by the letter *Samech*. This is the reason why it needed to return to its place—so as to strengthen the lower ones." The letter *Nun* left Him at once.

When *Nun* saw that the Creator sent the letter *Samech* away (as its properties are only used in the state of *Katnut*, that is, only to support those who had fallen from the *Gadlut*), it thought that it was worthy of being the basis of the world. This is because not only does *Nun* have all the advantages of *Samech*, but it can also use *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *Gadlut*. Thus, the reason for the Creator's refusal to *Samech* does not apply to *Nun*.

The *Sefira Gevura* in ZA is called *Nun*, for it is entirely mitigated by *Bina's* property of mercy, called *Nun* = 50 gates of *Bina*. It is this property of *Gevura* that gives ZA the name *Norah Tehilot* (great praises). *Ima-Bina* is called *Tehilah* (praise), and since *Gevura* descends from *Bina*, it is referred to as *Norah Tehilot*, while *Nun* is used in the *Sefira Yesod*, in the *Gadlut* of ZA during his *Zivug* with *Nukva*. Like *Ima*, this is whence *Nukva* receives the name *Tehilah*, while ZA becomes one in both *Tehilot*—*Ima* and *Nukva*.

Therefore, the letter *Nun* said that, being in *Gevura*, the left line of ZA, it attracts the Light of Mercy emanated by *Samech* (*Bina*, *Ima*), which is also called the "Upper *Tehilah*," as a result of which ZA acquires its properties and the name *Norah Tehilot* to match them. This is why *Nun* has all the properties of *Samech*: the Light of Mercy that bestows perfection and repels the impure forces-desires.

The letter *Nun* added: "However, I have an additional advantage in that I am used during the big state of ZA in his *Yesod*, in the letter *Tzadik*, of which I am the left element." This *Nun* in the letter *Tzadik* is that same *Nun* that is defined as *Norah Tehilot* (praises of the righteous), for even when ZA achieves *Gadlut* during the ascent of ZON to *AVI*, *Nun* also acts in *Yesod* of ZA, connecting *Nukva* back-to-back with ZA, so that ZA receives the Light of Mercy from *AVI* (*Samech*).

And so *Nun* is called "praises of the righteous," for *Yod* (righteous one, the basis of the world) mounts it. *Nun* is called "great praises," for it attracts the Light of Wisdom to *Malchut* in the state of *Gadlut*.

Therefore, we find that *Malchut* receives all her beauty from *Nun*, which is located in *Yesod* of ZA. This is why the letter *Nun* claimed that it merits for the world to be created with its properties, for its luminescence adds to the Light of Wisdom that unites and revives ZON, and does not merely support them, like the letter *Samech*.

So the Creator answered it: "You are wrong in thinking that you merit leading the world to complete correction by your properties, without the clinging

of impure forces, for even your properties need to be supported by the letter *Samech*. Indeed, this is precisely why you are connected back-to-back with the letter *Yod*, and the Light of *Samech* guards you against the clinging of the impure forces onto you. And that is why your properties, which rely upon the strength of *Samech*, are merely ones of support. Hence, you are unworthy of becoming the basis of the world."

THE LETTERS *MEM* AND *LAMED*

30. The letter *Mem* entered and said: "Master of the world, it would be good for You to create the world by me, for *Melech* (King) is called by me." The Creator replied: "That is so, but I shall not create the world by you, for the world needs a King. Return to your place. Also, I shall not create the world with the letters *Lamed* and *Chaf* that form the word *MeLeCH* (King), as the world cannot exist without a King."

The letter *Mem* is the *Sefira Hesed* in ZA, which receives the Light from its corresponding *Sefira Hesed* in *Bina*. When, in addition to the Light of Mercy in his small state, ZA receives the Light of Wisdom and becomes big, his *Sefirot HGT* turn into *Sefirot Hochma-Bina-Daat* (*HBD*). In other words, *Hesed* in ZA ascends and becomes *Hochma*, thereby revealing a new Light, the Light of *Hochma*, the Light of the Creator's face.

This is why the letter *Mem* claimed that it was suitable for the world to be created by it, for it reveals the Creator's Light to the world, thereby eliminating any risk of impure forces clinging to it, and so the world is guaranteed complete correction.

But the Creator answered that it is forbidden to reveal this Light to the world, for the world needs for this great Light to first clothe itself in the three letters of the word *MeLeCH*. In other words, the great Light may be revealed in the world only if *Mem* joins with the letters *Lamed* and *Chaf*. So the Creator said, "Go and join with them."

Mem in the word *Melech* is *Hesed*. *Lamed* is *Bina*, which passes the Light to ZA. The letter *Chaf* is *Malchut*, *Nukva* of ZA, for there cannot be a *Melech* (*King*) without *Malchut* (Kingdom). Also, all of the Light becomes revealed only thanks to *Malchut*.

In this case, *Malchut* shines from ZA in three places:

1) *Malchut* becomes a *Kisseh* (throne) for a *King* (ZA). A *Kisseh* derives from *Kissui* (cover, concealment), so it is designated by the bent letter *Chaf*.

2) *Malchut* clothes ZA. Because the great Light is revealed only to Israel, *Malchut* clothes ZA, and when her kingdom is revealed, ZA frees himself from her garment and throws it over all the nations of the world, idolaters, and the Light of his face pours upon Israel. And all the righteous then point their finger at the Creator and say: "This is the Creator, to whom I aspired!" This diffusion of Light is designated by the letter *Chaf*.

3) *Malchut* becomes a crown on the head of ZA. And this is the property of the letter *Chaf*, of *Keter* (crown of ZA).

THE LETTER *CHAF*

31. At this time the letter *Chaf* descended from the *Kisseh* – the Creator's throne, and stood before the Creator. It trembled and said to Him: "Creator of the world, with my properties I merit to become the basis of the world, for I am *Kavod* – Your Glory." When the letter *Chaf* descended from the Creator's throne, all the worlds trembled, and the throne itself, verging on collapse. The Creator then answered: "*Chaf*, what are you doing here? I will not create the world by you. Return to your place, for you exist in the word *Kelayah* (destruction) and in the word *Kalah* (bride)."

The Creator's throne is the world of *Beria*. The appearance of the letter *Mem* before the Creator led to the letter *Chaf* falling from His throne. As a result, *Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *Beria* trembled, as well as all the lower worlds with all their inhabitants.

All the arguments that the letters raised in their wish for the world to be created with each of them is like raising *MAN*—a request for precise measure of help from Above in the form of Upper Light (called *MAD*), corresponding to that particular letter.

If so, *ZON* will rule the world, and this ruling is effected by the very Light descending from *ZON* in the exact quantity of *MAD* that each letter evoked and caused, for the *MAD* precisely corresponds to the *MAN* in both quantity and quality, whereas *MAN* is the actual property of the letter. Hence, each letter argues that it can draw the kind of Light from Above that will surely bring all creatures to the goal.

Similarly, the Creator's answers to each of the twenty-two letters of *ZON de Atzilut* constitute the descending *MAD* (the Upper Light, strength, help) that precisely corresponds to the *MAN* raised by that particular letter. And when the

Upper Light that descends from a particular letter begins to rule the world, this signifies the Creator's reply to that letter. Since the impure forces cling to one of the letter's properties, as the Creator created two precisely balanced, opposing systems of pure and impure forces, this reveals the letter's inability to rule the world. And thus, the Creator dismissed each letter's individual claim to build the world by its property in order to bring it to the goal of creation.

Herein lies the Creator's "game" with each of the twenty-two letters, giving each the opportunity to reveal its properties, power and forces, until it becomes clear from their aspirations and analysis, which of them truly merits the world being governed by it.

From this we see that when the letter *Mem* began to reveal its great Light in the world, in doing so, it caused the fall of the *Kisse* (throne). This is so because the *Kisse* has two properties: (i) it covers and conceals the Creator, where the word *Kisse* derives from the word *Kissui*; (ii) it reveals the Creator's greatness in the worlds with the help of the three letters *MeLeCH*. Then, *Malchut* that became a *Kissui*, the Creator's cover, ascends and turns to *Chaf*—the Creator's own garments—thus revealing the King (Creator), and it becomes a crown on His head.

But as soon as the letter *Mem*, which was not clothed in *Chaf*, began to reveal the Light of the Creator's face, the letter *Chaf* fell from the *Kisse* (the throne of His Glory), stopped concealing Him, and stated that from now on only the Creator's revealed glory would rule over it, without any kind of concealment, as desired by *Mem*.

Owing to *Chaf's* fall from the throne, two hundred thousand worlds that originate from *Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *Beria*, as well as the worlds below them, shook and trembled on the verge of collapse. For the entire connection between the lower degree or *Partzuf* and the one above it lies in the fact that *Malchut* of the Upper Degree becomes *Keter* of the lower. And the property of the letter *Chaf* consists in clothing *Malchut* of an Upper spiritual object in *Keter* of a lower one.

There are three distinctive features to the throne: (i) six steps leading to the throne, six *Sefirot—Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* of the lower one; (ii) four legs of the throne, the Light in *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the lower one; (iii) *Malchut* of the Upper One that descends to the lower one, clothes into it, and all the Light from the Upper One is passed through her to the lower one.

Thus, when *Chaf* fell from the throne of the Creator's glory, the connection between the world of *Atzilut* and the throne (world of *Beria*) was severed. This is so because *Chaf* (*Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*) that clothes in *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the world of *Beria* pours all the Light onto the world of

Beria, called the throne of His glory. But when *Chaf* fell from the throne, the connection between the world of *Atzilut* and the world of *Beria* was severed, *Chaf* trembled, for it lost the power to bestow upon the world of *Beria*, and two hundred thousand worlds (*Hochma* and *Bina* out of *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the world of *Beria*) trembled in fear of collapsing, for they lost all of their life-force, which they receive from the world of *Atzilut*.

Similarly, in the world of *Atzilut*, *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, the Creator, is connected with ZON. This is because *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* consists of ten *Sefirot*, and her last *Sefira*, *Malchut*, clothes in ZA of the world of *Atzilut* with the property of the letter *Chaf*. *Malchut* of the *Sefira Bina*, which clothes in ZA, is the letter *Chaf*. And this letter *Chaf* is the Creator's throne in ZA. For the Creator is *Bina*, *Sefira* above ZA. And ZA becomes a throne for *Bina*. And during the fall, the connection between *Bina* and ZA is severed, since *Chaf* is *Malchut* of *Bina*; it clothes into ZA and passes all the Light to him.

And it therefore trembled (lost its ability to bestow upon ZA), and so did two hundred thousand worlds, which are the Light for ZA, called *Hochma* and *Bina* or *KHBD*—the four legs of the throne—for all the Light departed from them. And the worlds trembled in fear of collapsing, that is, *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* in ZA that include all the worlds below them, for all the Light of *Bina* departed thence.

The Creator told the letter *Chaf* that because it fell from the throne of His glory, the first three *Sefirot* of ZA trembled, and all the other worlds are on the verge of total collapse and destruction without any hope of restoration; hence, *Chaf* must return to its place in the throne of glory.

Chaf's return to its place in the Creator's throne takes place just as He refuses to create the world with the letter *Mem*, for the world needs a King. That is, the trembling of the letter *Chaf* as it fell from the Creator's throne, which in turn, made the worlds tremble in fear of possible collapse, and the Creator's answer to the letter *Mem* transpire simultaneously.

THE LETTER *YOD*

32. The letter *Yod* entered and said: "Maker of the world! It would be good to create the world by me, for Your Holy name begins with me." The Creator replied: "It is sufficient that you are inscribed in My Name, in Me, and all of your aspirations are to Me, and you should not be uprooted from it all."

Since *Yod* is the first letter of the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*), the beginning of the Creator's revelation to creatures, the first degree of the Upper Light, the letter *Yod* argued for the world to be created with its properties, for the world would then be absolutely guaranteed complete correction. However, the Creator objects to it. As was already stated, the letters' questions and the Creator's answers signify the Creator playing with each letter, where the letters' questions are their *MAN*, and the Creator's answers are *MAD* in the form of the Upper Light.

So, by telling *Yod*, "It is sufficient," the Creator thus explained the creation of restriction—that the Light is only allowed to descend to its level, but no further. And this restriction is fixed in the Creator's name *Shadday* (*Shin-Dalet-Yod*). After *Yod* began to spread with the great Light, the Creator stopped it, forbidding it to spread to the letter *Tav*, but only to *Shin* (as was said above, in item 25). He said to it: "Enough, and do not spread further. Otherwise you will not be able to remain forever in My Name *HaVaYaH*."

As the sages said: "My Name is not pronounced as it is written. For it is written *HaVaYaH*, but pronounced *Adonay*" (Talmud, *Pesahim*, 50). Indeed, the name *HaVaYaH* is not subject to change, as it is written: "For I, the Lord (*HaVaYaH*), do not change" (*Malachi*, 3:6). For corruption and its correction emerge in the days of the world's existence, meaning that constant changes are coming. Therefore, until the end of correction, the Creator is called *Adonay*, for this name is subject to change, and not *HaVaYaH*, which can never be altered.

Yet, in the future, after the end of correction, *HaVaYaH* will be pronounced as it is written. Therefore, the Creator said, "If I see some fault or evil in you, by this you will be removed from My Name, for My Name, *HaVaYaH*, may not contain anything flawed or corrected—neither corruption nor correction. And this is why the world cannot be created by your properties." There are three degrees in the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*: in the *Sefira Hochma* of *ZA*, in *Hochma* of *AVI*, and in *Hochma* of *Arich Anpin*, called "concealed wisdom."

HaVaYaH begins with a dot, which then turns into *Yod*. Subsequently, *Yod* (*Ohr Hochma*) spreads to the sides and downward and turns into the letter *Dalet*, which consists of a horizontal roof-like line that indicates the property of *Bina-Ima* (mercy, *Hassadim*, width). When *Ohr Hassadim* stops spreading in width, *Ohr Hochma* begins to spread downward in the form of a vertical line. This is the leg of the letter *Dalet*, the property of *Hochma-Aba*.

The common property of *AVI* is designated by the letter *Dalet*. *AVI* beget *ZA*, designated by the letter *Vav* inside the *Dalet*, and eventually forms the shape

of the letter *Hey*. Thus, the request of *ZA* (*Vav*) to receive from *AVI* compels them to unite their properties of *Hochma* (vertical line) and *Hassadim* (horizontal line), with the help of the letter *Yod*. Consequently, *AVI* receive the Light from *Yod* and pass it on to *ZA*.

The screen with the desires of *Malchut* is called "a point," since the collision between the screen and the coming Light yields Returning Light. And since the received Light always consists of ten Lights, the screen is called "ten points."

Yod designates the spreading of *Nekudot* inside *Partzuf Keter*, from the Light of *Hochma* downwards, while *Vav* signifies the spreading of *Nekudot* inside *Partzuf Hochma*. However, there is no sign in *HaVaYaH* that indicates the diffusion of Light in *Keter*.

Entrance or exit of the letter *Yod* in a word signifies either presence or absence of the Light of *Hochma*. There are four kinds of correction:

1. The First *Ibur*—conception of the small state of *ZON*. This is an absolutely passive spiritual state, where the letter *Yod* enters the word *Ohr* (Light) and transforms it into *Avir* (air), becoming the *VAK* of the *Partzuf*.
2. The letter *Yod* exits the word *Avir*, which converts it back to *Ohr*: the Light of *Hochma* enters *VAK* of *Partzuf*;
3. The Second *Ibur*—conception of the *Gadlut* state of *ZON*: *AHP* of *Bina* ascend from *ZON* to *Bina*, and *GE de ZON* ascend with them, for they were together in the *Katnut* state, defined as conception of *GE de ZON*;
4. The diffusion of the Light of *Hochma*.

THE LETTER *TET*

33. The letter *Tet* entered and said: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world with me, for it is by me that You are called *Tov* (Good)." The Creator replied: "I will not create the world by you, for your goodness is concealed within you and is invisible. Therefore, it cannot take any part in the world that I wish to create, and will only be revealed in the world to come. And since your goodness is concealed within you, the gates of the palace will sink into the ground, for the letter *Chet* is opposite from you, and when you join together, the word *CHeT* (sin) will be formed. This is why these two letters are not recorded in the names of the holy tribes." The letter *Chet* immediately moved aside.

The letter *Tet*, whose numeric value of nine, is the inner property of the *Sefira Yesod* in ZA, while the outer property of *Yesod* in ZA is the letter *Tzadik*, whose numeric value of ninety, and it joins with *Nukva de* ZA, forming the notion of *Tzadik* (righteous one). Besides being the inner property of *Yesod* in ZA, *Tet* is also the ninth letter among the letters of *Bina* in ZA.

Also, *Tet* is called *Tov* (good). And since *Tov* is called *Tzadik*, for it is the inner Light of *Yesod*, called *Tzadik*, to whom no impure forces could cling, *Tet* calls on the above to justify its claim to become the basis of the world.

In the Talmud (*Hagiga*, 12), the sages wrote: "In the Light by which the Creator created the world, Adam saw from one end of the world to the other. But the Creator saw that the deeds of the generations of the Flood and the builders of the Tower of Babel are detrimental, and concealed that Light for the righteous in the future." Because the Creator saw that their actions will bring the threat of the clinging of the impure forces, He concealed this Light, Thus, the Light descended secretly from the Supernal Righteous (*AVI*) to the righteous one (*Yesod* in ZA), the letter *Tet*.

And so the Creator told *Tet* that because He must conceal it from the sinners and only the righteous will be worthy of it in the world to come, it cannot partake in the creation and correction of the world, for the world is ZON, and the letter *Tet* is constantly in danger of being clung to by impure forces.

And since this Light shines only secretly inside *Yesod* of ZA, and not openly, *Nukva* will not be able to receive this Light directly, but only through its concealment in her. Therefore, the gates of *Nukva* sink into her *Sefira Yesod*, which safeguards them against the clinging of the impure forces, and they are confident that the impure forces will not be able to rule over her gates. For even at the time of the ruin of the Temple, the impure forces could not rule over the gates of the Temple, and sank into the ground, that is, the ground consumed them. "But because you are in need of such protection, I cannot create the world with you," the Creator answered *Tet*.

There are two pipes (channels) in *Yesod de* ZA in the world of *Atzilut*: the right one serves for the birth of the souls, and the left one for throwing away waste to the impure forces. The letter *Chet* is *Hod*, whose property is *Malchut* in ZA, the left pipe in *Yesod* of ZA, for the properties of the letter *Chet* are the properties of *Kuf* included in *Yesod*, whereas *Kuf* emanates *Ner Dakik* (tiny Light) to the impure forces, from which they receive the strength to be similar to an image of a pure man, as a monkey compared to a man, for the Creator created purity parallel to impurity.

These two pipes are located very close to each other, separated only by a thin partition, called "a garlic husk." Consequently, the left pipe has the strength to rule over the right one, thereby forming *CHeT* (numerical value 8 + 9 = 17).

The numerical value of *CHeT* (17) equals that of the word *TOV* (9 + 6 + 2 = 17), which means that the impure force opposes the pure one. And if the right pipe (the letter *Tet*) prevails, the word *CHeT* (sin) will turn into *TOV* (good, goodness).

Since the left pipe (*CHeT*) has the strength to rule over the right one (*Tet*), the impure forces can suck the Upper Light for themselves. This would give power to the sinners of the world. This is why neither *Chet* nor *Tet* are present in the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, to show that they (the tribes) are above the letter *Chet*, the root of all the opposing impure forces.

When all the letters merited receiving a blessing through the letter *Bet*, they lined up in their alphabetical order, in which the letters *Tet* and *Reish* joined. The letter *Tet* ascended, but did not take its place until the Creator asked her: "*Tet*, why did you ascend, but do not take your place?" It replied: "You created me to begin the words *Tov* (goodness) and Torah, as it is written: 'And the Creator saw that the Light was good.' How then can I join and stand beside the letter *Reish*, when it begins the word *Rah* (evil)?"

The Creator answered: "Return to your place, for it is precisely you that needs the letter *Reish*. For man, whom I intend to create, combines all those properties—you as the right property, and *Reish* as the left." After that, both *Tet* and *Reish* returned to their places.

Three lines emerge in ZA of the world of *Atzilut*. However, they emerge from their source, *Bina*. (As a result of the second restriction, *Malchut* ascends to *Bina*, which leads to *Sefirot Bina-ZA-Malchut* falling into a lower *Partzuf*, into ZA.) *Bina* is called *Eloh-im* (*Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Mem*), and as a result of second restriction, her part *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (the *ELEH* of the word *Eloh-im*, *AHP*) fell into a lower *Partzuf*, to ZA. Only the letters *Yod-Mem* (the *IM* of *Eloh-im*) remained in *Bina*. This means that only half, (*VAK*, *GE*) remained in her from the previous level of *GAR*. Whatever is left is designated by a sign called *Holam—Vav* with a dot above it, as this is the right line, *Ohr Hassadim*.

Then, in the big state, the letters *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (*ELEH*) returned to *Bina* and joined with *Yod-Mem* (*IM*). Subsequently, the level of *GAR* returned, yet the Light of *Hochma* in *Bina* was incomplete, for the Light of *Hassadim* disappeared and the Light of *Hochma* cannot shine without the Light of *Hassadim*. The

returned letters A-L-H are *Shuruk—Vav* with a dot inside it, because, due to the restrictions in it, it constitutes the left line.

These restrictions are effective until *ZON*, upon ascending to *Bina*, begin to receive the Light, and the middle line emerges and reduces *GAR* of *Hochma* in the left line. As a result, the right line joins with the left: *Ohr Hochma* shines in the *Ohr Hassadim*. This middle line is called *Hirik—Vav* with a dot under it, or the screen of *Hirik*, for the Light enters the *Partzuf* because of it.

And since *Bina* regained *GAR* with *ZA's* help, *ZA*, now that he had acquired the three lines, begins to receive this Light from *Bina*, too. *Yod-Mem* (*IM*), *Tet* and *Holam* constitute the right line, *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (*ELEH*), *Reish* and *Shuruk* constitute the left.

Now let us translate this into the language of *Sefirot*. When *Bina* returned once more to the state of *Gadlut*, *ELEH* returned to *IM*, the left line merged with the right, and this drove *Tet* (right line, *Hassadim*) away from *Reish* (left line). This is because being opposite to each other, they cannot stand side by side until the Creator (*ZA*, middle line) reduces the *GAR* of both the left and right lines by the force of His screen, which is expressed by the words: "And the Creator commanded it to return to its place."

GAR de Hochma is called *Man'ula*—the lock that prevents the Light from entering a *Partzuf*, and its diminution is called *Miftacha*—the key that opens a passage for the Light, *VAK* of *Hochma*, to spread in the left line into a *Partzuf*. Then, *Tet*, the right line, receives *Ohr Hochma* from the left, joins with *Reish*, receiving from it the Light of *Hochma*. Otherwise it would have remained in *VAK*. Adam, too, is created from the union of these two lines.

But why was the letter *Tet* reluctant to join with the letter *Reish*, and had to be forced to do so by the Creator? In the spiritual world, a root rules over all its branches, and the branches submit to its rule. Therefore, *Tet* did not wish to join with *Reish*, as it was then bound to become a branch and submit to its root, *Reish*.

However, the Creator wanted *Tet* to receive the Light of *Hochma* from *Reish* so that this union would enable man to receive the Light of *GAR*. Thus, when *ELEH* return to *Bina*, He made it so *Bina*'s restrictions would be weakened so as to allow the *Reish* to join with the *Tet* and receive the Light of *Hassadim* from it. It follows that *Tet* becomes the root with regard to *Reish*, for without its *Hassadim*, *Reish* would be unable to shine, due to the restrictions placed on its Light.

THE LETTER *ZAYIN*

34. The letter *Zayin* entered and said: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world by me, as *Shabbat* is preserved with me, for it is written: 'Remember (*Zachor*) the day of *Shabbat*, so as to keep it.'" The Creator replied: "I will not create the world by you, for within you is a force of war, as sabers and swords, called *Klei Zayin* (weaponry), are made by you. And you are like the letter *Nun*, with which the world was not created, for within it is *Nefilah* (fall)" (item 29). Having heard that, the letter *Zayin* left Him.

The letter *Zayin* is depicted as a combination of *Vav* and *Yod*, as a head over it, which signifies the big state and the great Light in *Malchut*, ZA's wife, for *Malchut* includes herself into her husband, ZA (designated by *Vav*), and becomes a crown (*Yod*) on his head. Together, these two letters, *Vav* with *Yod* standing above it, form the letter *Zayin*.

Therefore, it is written: "Remember the day of *Shabbat*, so as to keep it holy." As a result of *Shabbat*'s elevation, that is, *Nukva's* ascent to the head of ZA, when she becomes his crown, she includes herself in the word *Zachor* (remember) and receives the name *Nukva Kedoshah* (holy *Nukva*). This is why the letter *Zayin* claimed that since this Light is so great and holy that it brings absolute rest on this day, for purity is completely separated from impurity in this state called *Shabbat*, it is worthy of becoming the basis for the creation of the world.

Zayin is the *Sefira Netzah* in ZA. When *Nukva* is included in *Netzah* and merges with its properties, she gains the strength to ascend along with ZA to *AVI*. There she becomes a crown on his head, by which he is adorned, which signifies the day of *Shabbat*. However, since this correction occurs solely as a result of her inclusion in the male essence and their ascent to *AVI*, and not in her regular place, where she normally abides with ZA, *Nukva* cannot be corrected completely during the 6,000 years.

The reason for this is that when *Nukva* returns to her place on weekdays, her connection with the letter *Zayin* is defined as a *Kli Zayin* (weapon), and all the wars with the impure forces emerge from her, like the weekdays that prepare *Shabbat*.

For every man must defeat the impure force within him on the weekdays, and thus merit the King's daughter—*Shabbat*. However, during the 6,000 years, the Light of *Shabbat* is insufficient for the neutralization of the impure forces, for weekdays return and surround the *Shabbat*. This continues until the end of correction, when there will be only *Shabbat* as the day of absolute perfection for all eternity.

This is also why the Creator replied to *Zayin*: "I will not create the world with you, for when you are in your place, your Light is not yet perfect. Only after you defeat the impure forces in war will man be able to attain you." And the shape of the letter *Vav* (ZA) resembles a spear, ready to strike and pierce through the impure forces. For *Gevurot* (courage) signifies the left line of *Bina*'s male part (*Nun*).

THE LETTERS *VAV* AND *HEY*

35. The letter *Vav* entered and said: "It would be good to create the world with me, for I am a letter from Your Name *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*)." The Creator replied: "*Vav*, both you and the letter *Hey* should just be glad to be contained within My Name. This is why I will not create the world with your properties."

Although the letter *Yod* expressed a similar request, *Vav* thought that *Yod* had been turned down because of its excessive size (spiritual force). This is why *Vav* claimed that it would be good to create the world with its properties, i.e., according to the letters *Vav-Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH*, with the Light of the Supernal *Bina* (*Ima*) of the world of *Atzilut*.

The Creator responded with the same answer he had given to the letter *Yod*—that He restricted it by saying to *DaY* (*Dalet-Yod*): "Stop at the letter *Shin* and spread no more, so that the impure forces would not cling to you." Hence, the letters *Vav* and *Hey* are not suitable for the world to be created with their properties, for even they need protection against the impure forces.

Sefira Tifferet is designated by the big letter *Vav* (*Vav* with a head), for it has all six (*Vav*) *Sefirot*: *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*. *Yesod* is the *Sefira* that is responsible for passing the Light from ZA to *Malchut*. This is why it has the same Light as in *Malchut*—*NHY* without *HGT*, and this is also why *Yesod* is called the small *Vav* (*Vav* without a head).

THE LETTERS *DALET* AND *GIMEL*

36. The letters *Dalet* and *Gimel* appeared before the Creator. However, the Creator told them right away: "It is enough that you are both together, so that as long as the poor exist on earth, there is someone to treat them with mercy (*LiGmol Hesed*)." The letter *Dalet* derives from *Dalut* (poverty), while *Gimel* renders mercy to it (*Gomelet Hassadim*). "Therefore, you cannot part, and it is enough for you to aid one another in this way."

It was already stated (item 24) that although *Dalet* receives the Light from *Gimel* and its sharp right angle protrudes from the Light of *Hassadim*, the impure forces are nonetheless strong enough to cling to it, separate it and make the sharp angle smooth, thus transforming it into the letter *Reish*.

This is why the letter *Dalet* requires special protection so as not to be corrupted and to be able to continue being fulfilled by *Gimel* so as to keep the needy ones (*Dalut*) in the world from disappearing. Thus, it is sufficient for these two forces to sustain and complement one another, to fulfill one another in reciprocal union so as to prevent the impure forces from ruling. And this role is enough from them. This is why the Creator did not want to create the world with them.

THE LETTER *BET*

37. The letter *Bet* entered and said to the Creator: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world by me, as by me You are blessed Above and below. For *Bet* is *Berachah* (blessing)." The Creator replied to *Bet*: "Of course, I will create the world by you, and you shall be the basis of the world!"

The letter *Bet* is the property of *Hochma* (wisdom), or rather *Hesed* in *Hochma*, a point in a palace, for *Ohr Hassadim* is a palace for *Ohr Hochma* and is called *Berachah* (blessing). Passing through all of the worlds from the Creator down to the lowest degree of the lowest world, this Light does not diminish in any way.

Rather, just as this Light is at the Highest Degree that receives it from the World of Infinity, it is just as great, magnificent, and mighty in the world of *Atzilut*, and likewise all the way down to the world of *Assiya*. And it does not get coarser or weaker as it passes through all the screens from Above downwards.

That is why the letter *Bet* vied for the world to be created with its properties, as the Light of blessing is the same both Above and below; no screen can weaken it and no coarse desires can harm it.

This is also why the property of mercy (*Hassadim*) is most suitable for the creation of the world, for no impure forces can cling to it. This is because the impure forces can only cling to a place where there is a deficiency. And since there is no deficiency of any kind in the property of mercy, there can never be any contact between *Bet* and the impure forces.

The Creator agreed with *Bet* that its property is perfect and suitable for the creation of the universe by Him. As it is said: "*Olam* (world) *Hesed* (mercy)

YiBaneh (will be built)," where *YiBaneh* means *Boneh* (building) and *HaVana* (understanding). (In Hebrew, the letters *Vav* and *Bet* are denoted by the letter *Bet*). This is because the Creator determined that this property is entirely sufficient for precisely evaluating and separating pure from impure.

And if man seeks an idol in the Creator's stead, a *Berachah* (blessing) does not descend upon him, for blessing stems from the Creator alone. Thus, it is possible to determine who is righteous and who is a sinner, who works for the Creator's sake and who works for himself, for the world is built by mercy.

Yet, the Creator did not order the Light of Mercy to rule the world. He merely intended it for a good beginning, sufficient to bring the world to perfection. This is because the Light of *Hassadim* is incomplete (*VAK*, and not *GAR*), insufficient for begetting new souls, for their union and multiplication, as no *Partzuf* (spiritual object) can beget until it attains the full Light of *Hochma*, termed *GAR* or head. Until then, the *Partzuf* remains in a state of imperfection.

Our normal (the lowest possible) state is determined by the property of the letter *Bet*. Hence, the Creator laid it as the basis for the creation of the world. In other words, the basis of a state is a state of a pure *Partzuf* (object), when nothing at all can diminish or impede it.

In such a state, an addition of *Ohr Hochma* to *Ohr Hassadim*, necessary for the birth of a new *Partzuf* is no longer considered basic and essential. Rather, it is defined as an addition, i.e., it depends solely on the good deeds of the lower ones. And the fundamental Light, *VAK*, will never be lacking.

THE LETTER *ALEPH*

38. The letter *Aleph* stood outside and did not enter to appear before the Creator. The Creator said to it: "Why do you not come to me like all the other letters?" *Aleph* replied: "Because I saw all the letters leaving your presence without the desired answer. And besides, I saw You presenting the letter *Bet* with this great gift. And, indeed, the King of the universe cannot take back his gift and give it to another!" The Creator replied: "Although I will create the world by the letter *Bet*, it is you who will stand at the head of all the letters, and there shall be no unity in Me, but through you alone; all accounts and deeds of this world shall always begin with you, and all of unity shall be in you alone."

As we already know, all the letters' questions are *Aliyat MAN*—their individual requests, prayers, desires to ascend to the Creator. And the Creator's answers

to them are called *Yeridat MAD*—the descent of the Light from Above, giving strength and abundance according to the letters' requests. The great perfection in the letter *Aleph* stems not from the lower ones' request for spiritual ascent and correction, but from a force (Light) descending from Above and elevating those that dwell below.

This is why from the beginning of correction to its end, *Aleph* (unlike the other letters, whose properties fuel the process of correction during the 6,000 years) is never stimulated to raise its request to the Creator. And only if the Light that bestows strength for spiritual ascent descends from Above and begins to shine upon *Aleph* will it be stimulated. However, this will only take place at the end of correction.

Aleph did not raise its plea (*MAN*) to the Creator, for it saw that all the other letters asked, but to no avail, for there was an opposite property in the system of the impure forces against each of their properties. Therefore, *Aleph* decided that it was no better than the rest, that there is a corresponding impure force against it as well.

Furthermore, it raised no requests (*MAN*) to the Creator because it saw that the Creator decided to create the world with the letter *Bet*, mercy. And since it had no doubt that His decision was irrevocable, it decided not to ask Him.

Although it is true that the world was already created with the property of *Bet*, and that the Creator will not turn His gift over to another letter, the *Partzuf* that was created by the property of *Bet* is incomplete, small, *VAK* without a head. And since a *Partzuf* needs a head in order to reach the state of *Gadlut*, which is possible only when the *Partzuf* is filled not only with the Light of Mercy (*Hassadim*), but also with the Light of Wisdom (*Hochma*), more letters are necessary for the connection, conception and birth of a new *Partzuf*, a new state.

A state of *Gadlut* can only be achieved with the help of the property of the letter *Aleph*. Only *Aleph* can bring a *Partzuf* to *Gadlut*, to supplement its body, *VAK*, with a head, *GAR*, *Mochin*—the Light of *Hochma*. The letter *Aleph* brings the union between *ZA* and *Malchut* in a face-to-face position, whereas previously, in *Katnut*, while being filled with only the Light of Mercy, *ZA* and *Malchut* were connected back-to-back. This is why *Aleph* creates a head for all the letters, and hence stands at the head of the alphabet.

The Creator said: "That is why My Unity in the world is expressed only through the property of the letter *Aleph*. Furthermore, all rewards and punishments, distancing and drawing nearer, as well as the aspiration for spiritual correction (*Teshuvah*), all of which lead to the achievement of the end of correction, will

only happen by the property of the *Aleph*. I have made *Bet* the basis of the *Partzuf* so that it would be in no way dependent on the deeds of the lower ones. Thus, even if they begin to sin, those above will remain unaffected."

He continued: "But the Light in you, *Aleph*, is directly related to the actions of the lower ones. So if they sin, the Light of Wisdom (the Light of *GAR* in you) will immediately disappear. But if they correct their actions (*Teshuvah*), the Light of *Hochma* will return. And My unity with all the creatures at the end of correction will only be realized through the letter *Aleph*."

Letters are *Kelim* (plural for *Kli*—vessel), desires. And this refers to both the individual letters of the alphabet and those that form words. In the names of spiritual objects, letters signify the force of their desire, which the Light can fill. Letters of a simple name, without filling, designate its basis without Light—*Kli* of *Aviut* zero with the Light of *Nefesh*. Letters of a fulfilled name designate the magnitude of desires that are filled by Light.

There are two sources of letters: *Yod* and *Aleph*. *Yod* is a genuine source, for when we write something, we begin with a dot (*Yod*), and then, as we proceed from the dot in one of the four directions, we get a line. Letters are *Kelim*, desires, in which the Light (pleasure) is received.

A desire for something specific may only emerge if: (i) the initial, still unconscious desire is filled with delight, and (ii) the delight exits the desire. It is the memories (*Reshimot*) of past pleasures that lead to the emergence of a true desire to receive it, to feel it once more. And this is the very desire that is called *Kli*.

A filled *Kli* cannot be called a desire, for it is satisfied. Therefore, expulsion of the Light and sensation of spiritual descent constitute the period of the creation of new *Kelim* for future receptions of Light, for new attainments. Because the first restriction is the reason for the disappearance of Light from all the vessels, its black dot, *Yod*, is the basis of all the letters-*Kelim*.

However, the second restriction is the only true root of all the worlds, because the first restriction was only made on a point, (Phase Four, *Malchut*, the fourth letter *Hey* in the Creator's name *HaVaYaH)*. The second restriction, however, was made on *Bina*, in whom the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, were joined. The union of the two points forms a line, either vertical or horizontal. If it is a horizontal line, it is called "firmament" or *Parsa*.

The sum of consequences of both the first and second restrictions forms a slanted line (\); *GE* (*Keter-Hochma*) is depicted to its right, and *AHP* (*Bina-ZA-Malchut*) to its left. *Keter-Hochma* remain on their previous level and are

designated by the letter *Yod*, the first root of the world, whereas, a result of the second restriction, designated by a slanted line (\), *Bina-ZA-Malchut* fell to a lower level. And since the letter *Yod* is the first, though a very remote root of the worlds, and all the worlds were created afterwards and in accordance with the law of the second restriction, the letter *Aleph* stands at the head of the alphabet.

The kind of Light that fills the spiritual *Kli* or *Partzuf* can also be seen from its designation: if it is filled with the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*), the filling is designated by the letter *Yod*; and if it is filled with the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), it is the letter *Aleph*.

39. The Creator made the Upper letters, which refer to the *Sefira Bina*, large, and the lower letters that refer to *Malchut*—small. Therefore it is said: "*Beresheet Barah*" (in the beginning He created)—two words that begin with *Bet*, and then *Elokim Et* (the Creator Himself)—two words that begin with *Aleph*. The first set of *Aleph* and *Bet* are letters of *Bina*, and the second set of *Aleph* and *Bet* are letters of *Malchut*. And they should mutually affect one another with their properties.

When the Upper One wishes to give Light to the lower one, it should clothe in the lower one, signified by the first two letters *Bet* and the two letters *Aleph* in the first four words of the Torah. For the first, Upper *Bet* is *Bina*, the second, lower *Bet* is ZA, and the first *Bet* clothes into the second one.

Similarly, the first *Aleph* refers to *Bina* and clothes into the second *Aleph* in ZA so as to fill it with Light. Therefore, the two letters *Bet* are like one letter *Bet* and the two letters *Aleph* are like one letter *Aleph*, since the lower letter merely constitutes the influence of the Upper One, which tells us that the Upper *Partzuf* fills the lower one.

The world cannot be created with *Aleph*, for the word *Arur* (cursed) begins with it, and had the world been created with *Aleph*, the impure forces, called "cursed," would have received great power from the pure forces, called *Baruch* (blessed). This is why the world (*Nukva* of ZA) is created with the letter *Bet*. Likewise, Adam in *Nukva* of ZA is also created by the power of *Bet*. Thus, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* constitutes the root of all creation, all the worlds, and all that inhabit them.

Supernal Wisdom

40. Rabbi Yudai asked, "What does the word *BERESHEET* mean?" It is the wisdom, upon which the world, *ZA*, is established to enter the concealed supernal secrets, namely the Light of *Bina*. Here are the six Supernal and great properties, *VAK de Bina*, from which everything emerges. The six river mouths, *VAK de ZA*, that flow into the Great Sea (*Malchut*) were formed from them. The word *BERESHEET* consists of the words *BARAH* (created) and *SHEET* (Aramaic: six), meaning that six properties were created. Who created them? He who is unmentioned, concealed, and unknown: *Arich Anpin*.

There are two types of *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) in the world of *Atzilut*:

1. The original Light, *Ohr Hochma* of *AA*, called "the concealed *Ohr Hochma*." This Light of *Hochma* is present only in *Partzuf AA* and does not spread to the lower *Partzufim*.
2. *Ohr Hochma* that descends via thirty-two paths from *Bina*, who ascended to *Rosh de AA* to receive *Ohr Hochma* and pass it to *ZA*. Hence, the word *Beresheet* means *Be-Resheet*, with-*Hochma*. However, this is not the true *Ohr Hochma* that is concealed in *AA*, but rather the Light that descends via thirty-two paths from *Bina* to *ZA* and sustains *ZON*.

It is written that the world is established on the "concealed supernal secrets," for when *ZON* (called "world") receive the Light of *Hochma* of thirty-two paths, they ascend to *AVI*, the concealed supernal secrets. Hence, it is said that *ZON* enter the concealed supernal secrets and attain the degree of *AVI*, as the lower one that ascends to the Upper One becomes equal to it in its properties.

The word *BERESHEET*, besides being divided into *BE-RESHEET*, is also divided into *BARAH-SHEET* (in Hebrew, both words are spelled the same), which translates as CREATED SIX—created six *Sefirot* (properties), called *VAK* (abbreviation of the words *Vav Ketzavot*, six extremities/properties of *ZA*, from which all creatures emerge).

The *Sefira Bina* fulfills the function of the *Sefira Hochma*, the source of *Ohr Hochma* for ZA. Because *Malchut* ascended to *Bina*, and *Bina* departed from *Rosh de AA* and became like its *Guf* (body), she cannot receive the *Ohr Hochma* of AA.

But then, thanks to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, human beings who are spiritually present in the worlds of *BYA*, *Bina* returns to *Rosh de AA*, receives *Ohr Hochma* from AA, passes it to *ZON*, and *ZON* pass it to all the worlds. It follows that all the worlds emerged from these six properties (extremities), into which *Bina* was divided.

It is therefore written that all six riverheads originate from *Bina*, and descend into the Great Sea. *Bina's* division into six properties, *VAK*, when she exits *Rosh de AA*, is called "six sources," for this is only a source of Light for ZA. But then, when *Bina* returns to *Rosh de AA*, they become *Ohr Hochma*, called the rivers that descend to *Partzuf* ZA.

And they are called "six rivers," as it is written: "He will drink off the brook in the way; therefore, will he lift up the head" (*Tehilim*, 110:7). Afterwards, ZA passes this Light into the Great Sea, to his *Nukva*. The rivers and brooks signify the Light of ZA. *VAK de Bina* is considered the sources of the Light of Wisdom, *Hochma*, for it emerged from *Bina* in the form of *VAK* with the sole purpose of creating a source of Light for *ZON*. And had *Bina* not emerged, *ZON* would have had no chance of receiving the Light.

The word *Beresheet* has several meanings: *Bere* = *Barah*—created six properties without *Ohr Hochma*, as the word *Barah* signifies concealment. Hence, the word *Beresheet* has two meanings:

1. *Hochma*, as the word *Resheet* means *Hochma*.
2. *Barah Sheet*, which shows how the *Sefira Hochma* was divided into six parts without a *Rosh*, without *Ohr Hochma*. These six parts are the source of Light for *ZON* (called the "world"), and these six parts of ZA together with *Malchut* are called the "seven days of creation."

However, since the word *Barah* is inside the word *Beresheet*, this means that it was created by "Him who is concealed and unknown," i.e., the concealed *Hochma* of *Arich Anpin*, for it expelled *Bina* from its *Rosh* and turned her into *VAK*. In other words, it created the six parts described in *Beresheet*.

Beresheet designates *Hochma*. The Light cannot descend to ZA until *Ima-Bina* comes outside, for because of *Tzimtzum Bet*, *ZAT de Bina* fell to *ZON*. Hence, when *Bina* is in *Gadlut*, ZA receives *Ohr Hochma* in his *Kelim*, the desires of *Bina*. The word *Barah* in *Beresheet* = *Barah Sheet* also means *Bar* (Hebrew, to exit, to transcend).

The Lock and the Key

41. Rabbi Chiya and Rabbi Yosi were walking along a road. As they reached a field, Rabbi Chiya said to Rabbi Yosi, "The words *BARAH SHEET* (created six) certainly allude to *BERESHEET*, for the six Supernal Days, *VAK de Bina*, shine on the Torah (*ZA*), while the others, *GAR de Bina*, are concealed."

ZA of the world of *Atzilut* is called the Torah. The six Supernal Days are *VAK de Bina* that are above *ZA*. Hence, the first word of the Torah, *BERESHEET* = *BARAH* (created) and *SHEET* (six) indicates that the *Sefira Bina* turns to the *Sefira Hochma* in order to receive *Ohr Hochma* and pass it to *ZA*. Since *ZA* is unable to receive all the *Ohr Hochma* (*GAR de Hochma*, the Light of the ten *Sefirot*) from *Bina*, but only *VAK de Hochma* (Light of six *Sefirot*), this is stressed in the word *BARAH SHEET*—CREATED SIX. This means that *ZA* receives from *Bina* the Light of only six *Sefirot*, *HGT NHY* or *VAK de Hochma*, whereas *GAR de Hochma*, the Light of *Sefirot KHB*, is concealed from him.

The reason for this is that although *Partzuf Atik* belongs to *Tzimtzum Aleph* (the first restriction), it is obliged to shine down on all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, and on all the worlds *BYA* with the Light of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Therefore, with regards to the lower *Partzufim*, it appears as a *Partzuf* that belongs to *Tzimtzum Bet*.

In other words, it deliberately imposed on itself an outward (with regards to others) restriction of its Light, to enable the lower *Partzufim* to receive from it. Hence, it elevated *Malchut* from the *Peh* to the *Eynaim* and made a *Zivug* on the screen that stands in *Nikvey Eynaim*, thus begetting *Partzuf AA*.

This is why *AA* is a *Partzuf* with properties of the second restriction, and acts as *Keter* of the entire world of *Atzilut* instead of *Atik*. This was designed so by *Partzuf Atik* itself, which split into two parts: *GE* remained in *Atik*, and *AHP* became part of the second *Partzuf*, *AA*. And since *Malchut* ascended to *NE*

(*Nikvey Eynaim*), *Partzuf AA* remained without *Malchut*, the *Sefira Ateret Yesod* was used in its stead, and *Malchut* became concealed in the *NE* of *Partzuf Atik*. Also, *GE de Atik* became concealed from the lower *Partzufim*, *Malchut* stood in *NE* of *Rosh de Atik*, *AHP de Atik* became *GE de AA*, and *Ateret Yesod* became *Malchut de AA*.

All the subsequent *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* emerged similar to these *Partzufim*. Thus, they all split into two parts, *GE* and *AHP*: *Partzuf Bina* was split into two *Partzufim*: *GE de Bina* formed *Partzuf AVI* and *AHP de Bina* formed *Partzuf YESHSUT*. *Malchut* ascended and remained in *AVI*, while *Partzuf YESHSUT* remained without *Malchut*.

The same applies to *ZON*: *GE* formed the big *ZON* and *AHP* formed the small *ZON*. *Malchut* remained in *NE* of the big *ZON*, while the small *ZON* have only nine *Sefirot* without *Malchut*, which is replaced in them by *Ateret Yesod*, as in *Partzuf Atik*. Therefore, just as *Keter* (*Atik*) split into two parts: *GAR* = *Atik* and *ZAT* = *AA*, so was *Bina* divided into *GAR* = *AVI* and *ZAT* = *YESHSUT*, and *ZON* into *GAR* = the big *ZON* and *ZAT* = the small *ZON*: *Malchut* remained in *GAR* and *Ateret Yesod* replaced it in *ZAT*.

As a result, the Upper Part of each degree remains concealed, just like *Partzuf Atik*, for *Malchut* does not descend from the place where she had ascended (*NE*) to her previous place in the *Peh*. And although in *Gadlut*, *AHP* return to their place or ascend to their own *GE* (which is one and the same), *GE* do not become filled with *Ohr Hochma* (the Light of *GAR*) as a result, since *Malchut* remains concealed in *GE*. Moreover, *Malchut* exists under the ban of *Tzimtzum Aleph* on the reception of *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, *GE* remain with *Ohr Hassadim*.

Only the lower part of each degree is filled with the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*) in *Gadlut*: there was *Avir* (air) = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*, then the letter *Yod* departed from this word, and only the letters *Aleph-Vav-Reish* remained to form the word *Ohr* (Light)—*Ohr Hochma* or *GAR*.

It follows that all *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* have *GE*, *GAR* of *Kelim*, *Sefirot KHB HGT* with *Ohr Hassadim*, the Light of *VAK*, whereas *AHP*, *Sefirot NHY*, *Vak de Kelim* in the *Gadlut* of the *Partzuf* are filled with *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *GAR*. *GE* (*GAR de Kelim*) are filled with the Light of *VAK* (*Ohr Hassadim*), and *AHP* (*VAK de Kelim*) are filled with the Light of *GAR* (*Ohr Hochma*). It is therefore said that there's no greater Light for *ZA* in the world of *Atzilut* than the Light of *VAK* = six days, while *GAR* are concealed even in the *Partzufim* above *ZA*.

42. However, it is said in the secrets of creation of *BERESHEET* that He who is Holy and Concealed established the laws in *Bina*, in the secret and concealed, meaning *Malchut* of *Partzuf Atik*, which is a *Partzuf* with *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, who ascended to *Bina* and removed *AHP de AA* below its *Rosh*. And the same law that He established in *Bina* He established and concealed within, and everything is locked under one key. And He hid this key in a hall. And although everything is hidden in that hall, the most important thing is in that key, for it locks and unlocks everything.

HE WHO IS HOLY AND CONCEALED is *AA*, for its *Hochma* is concealed. THE LAWS ARE ESTABLISHED IN IT, meaning in *Malchut de Atik*. The deficiency of the *Kelim de AHP* is confirmed. *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, called "the central point of all creation," is also the sole creation on which *Tzimtzum Aleph* was imposed. Contrary to her, if the screen stands not in *Malchut*, but in *Yesod* or, more precisely, in *Ateret Yesod*, the place of the covenant (circumcision), the place of the *Zivug* that was permitted after *Tzimtzum Bet*, this screen allows for the reception of Light. Hence, it is called the "point of population," and not the "central point."

– *Keter*

– *Hochma*

– *Bina*

– *ZA Yesod*

– *ZA—Malchut* that received *ZA's* properties to "bestow," the populated place

– *Malchut*—no *Zivug* can be made; the deserted place

The thing is that there is no *GAR* in *AA*, for the Supernal *Malchut* of *Atik*, within *AA*, is already corrected to the point of being in *NE* of her own *Partzuf*. In *Gadlut*, the screen descends from *NE* to *Peh*, which makes *AHP* return to their place, and a *Zivug* transpires on all ten *Sefirot*, which receive the *GAR* of the Light, *Ohr Hochma*.

Therefore, the screen in *NE* is called a "lock," for it blocks the entry of *GAR* of the Light into the *Partzuf*. The *GAR* of the Light are called *Ohr Hochma*. Yet, by descending from *NE* to *Peh*, the screen lets the Light into the *Partzuf*, and is therefore called *Nikvey Eynaim* (pupils of the eyes).

Although *Atik* itself is in *NE* together with *Malchut*, it affects *AA*, and not *Atik* itself, as *AA* was created by the screen, located not in *Malchut*, but in *Ateret Yesod* (or simply in *Yesod*), and there is no *Malchut* in it. This is why it is not

Malchut that rules in *NE de AA*, but *Ateret Yesod*. And this is why, unlike the Light of *Atik*, its Light can be attained, for *Malchut* in *Atik* is the central point, which does not make a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. Although with regards to *Atik*, *AA* is *AHP* of *Atik*, *AA* itself has its own *GE* and *AHP*.

Subsequently, *AA* created *AVI* and confirmed the absence of *Ohr Hochma* in them, due to the absence of *AHP de Kelim*. These *AHP* are the HALL in which the entire Light of *Hochma* is concealed (*GAR de Neshama*, *GAR de Haya*, and *GAR de Yechida*). This KEY IS KEPT HIDDEN IN A HALL: *Bina* is a hall for *Ohr Hochma*. *Malchut* ascends to *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) and rules there, but the absence of *Ohr Hochma* is not felt there, for the properties of *AVI* want only *Ohr Hassadim*; this is what is important to them, as it completely substitutes the *Ohr Hochma*. And *VAK de Bina* is ruled by the key, *Ateret Yesod*.

IN THAT KEY, FOR IT LOCKS AND UNLOCKS EVERYTHING—concealments and revelations are made by *Malchut* that stands in *NE*: when *Malchut* ascends to *NE* she conceals *Ohr Hochma*, since in such a case, the *Partzuf* remains without its *Kelim* of *AHP*—it cannot use its desires to "receive" for the Creator's sake. Consequently, it contains no *Ohr Hochma*, for *Ohr Hochma* can only be received in *Kelim de AHP*.

And when a *Partzuf* receives strength from Above to resist the egoistic desires of reception of its *Kelim de AHP*, and can receive for the Creator's sake, this means that it has acquired a screen against its desires, and can also work with them for the Creator. It then brings its *Malchut* back from the *NE* to the *Peh*. Put differently, it elevates its *Kelim* (desires of *AHP*) to the *Rosh* and begins to calculate how much Light it can receive within them for the Creator's sake. However, the received pleasure must not be too great, or it will make the *Partzuf* enjoy it egoistically. Afterwards, the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma* in its *Guf*.

Thus, only *Malchut* that stands in *NE* allows or forbids the Light from entering the *Partzuf*. And since she must let the Light into the *Partzuf* in *ZAT* (where the rule belongs not to *Malchut* that ascended to *NE*, but to *Ateret Yesod*, called "key"), whereas the *GAR* of each *Partzuf* remain with *Ohr Hassadim* (they desire only the Light of *Hassadim*), letting the Light in or preventing it from entering the *Partzuf* depends only on the key, and not on *Malchut* herself.

43. That hall conceals tremendous treasures piled one upon the other. And there are fifty tightly closed gates in that hall, which are meant to block access to the Light. They were divided into four sides and became forty-nine gates, for one gate has no side, and it is unknown whether it exists above or below. Hence, it remained closed.

There are many types of *GAR*: *GAR* of *Ohr Neshama*, *Haya,* or *Yechida*. Each of them contains countless individual degrees and details. Hence, it is written, ONE UPON THE OTHER. Yet, as long as *Malchut* stands in *NE*, all these degrees of Light remain concealed and unknown.

A gate signifies a vessel—a desire to receive the Light. In the spiritual world, there are no bodies, only desires. The desire itself is called "a body." If there is no desire, there is no body, as there is no vessel to receive the Light (pleasure). The bigger the desire, the "bigger" the body. However, all the bodies are similar in structure; just as a human body in our world consists of 613 parts, the spiritual body consists of 613 spiritual parts (desires).

If one is able to use one of the desires of his spiritual body for the Creator's sake, such action is referred to as a *Mitzva* (commandment, good deed). The received Light is called "Torah."

A spiritual *Partzuf* has a *Rosh* (head), the place where decisions are made. It contains only those desires that are known to be fit with a screen (resistance to the desires) to use them spiritually, altruistically, and to "reverse" them from "for one's own sake" to "for the sake of the Creator." If one has fulfilled all 613 commandments of the Torah and the seven *Mitzvot* (plural for *Mitzva*) of the nations of the world (620 *Mitzvot* in all), he thereby ascends 620 degrees and completely merges with the Creator.

To observe all the commandments means to completely fill one's spiritual *Partzuf* with the Light of the Torah by fulfilling observant commandments (*Mitzvot Aseh*—positive *Mitzvot*) and prohibitory commandments (*Mitzvot Lo Taaseh*—negative *Mitzvot*). The fulfillment of the later lies in the unwillingness to receive the pleasure that is found within them.

There are two types of desires or gates: when they are closed and receive nothing, and when they open and receive the Upper Light. When they are all closed, there are fifty of them. However, only forty-nine of the fifty can be opened. There are ten *Sefirot KHB HGT NHYM* or five *Sefirot KHB ZA-M* (as *ZA* consists of six *Sefirot HGT NHY*). However, *Malchut* also consists of these six, and hence includes all ten *Sefirot*. And since each of the five *Sefirot* consists of ten, in all they make up fifty.

However, since a *Zivug* is made not on *Malchut*, but on *Ateret Yesod*, *Malchut de Malchut* itself does not receive the Light. Instead, Light is received by the four *Sefirot KHB ZA* that precede *Malchut*. Each of them consists of ten, hence 4 x 10 = 40 plus nine *Sefirot* from *Keter* to *Yesod* in *Malchut* herself yields 40 + 9 = 49.

Only one *Sefira* (*Malchut de Malchut*) out of the fifty does not receive the Light. This is because until all the *Kelim* (desires) have been completely corrected, the Light cannot enter it, as it is known in advance that *Malchut de Malchut* has no strength to oppose such a powerful egoistic desire to receive pleasure.

Instead of being in *Malchut de Malchut*, the screen stands in *Yesod de Malchut*, and this place is called *Brith* (Covenant), the place where the *Mitzva* of circumcision must be kept, so as to make a *Zivug* not on *Malchut* herself (on the first restriction), but on *Yesod*, or rather, *Ateret Yesod* (on the second restriction). *Malchut de Malchut* itself is called "*Shaar Nun*" (the 50th gate). This refers to *Malchut* of each *Partzuf* in the worlds *ABYA*.

And although *Malchut* of *Partzuf AVI* descends from *NE de AVI* to her place in *Peh*, while *AHP* and *YESHSUT* that clothe them ascend to the degree of *AVI*, and *AVI* merges with *YESHSUT* into one *Partzuf*, as a result of which, *Ohr Hochma* descends to them from *AA*, *AVI* are unwilling and therefore do not receive anything from *Ohr Hochma*, and remain only with *Ohr Hassadim*, as though *Malchut* had never even descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh*.

Therefore, it is impossible to tell by the Light of *AVI* whether *Malchut* is located at the *NE* or at the *Peh*. On the contrary, by looking at *AVI*, it always seems to us that *Malchut* stands at *NE*. Only by the state of *YESHSUT* can we determine *Malchut's* location, for when she ascends to *AVI* in *Gadlut* (big state), *YESHSUT* receive *Ohr Hochma*.

Although *Malchut* herself can receive *Ohr Hochma* in *AVI*, since *AVI* receive no *Ohr Hochma* whatsoever, they do not utilize their own *Malchut*. Since *YESHSUT* already has *Ateret Yesod* instead of *Malchut*, it receives the Light or "opens up," whereas *AVI* remain closed.

However, the absence of the 50th gate, the *Zivug* on *Malchut* herself in *YESHSUT*, causes the absence of the corresponding Light of *Hochma* in all the *Partzufim*. It is written about it: "fifty gates of *Bina*, and all are given to Moshe, except for one, the last secret of the absence of the Upper Light." For this Upper Light can be received only within the *Kelim* (desires) of *Malchut* herself, of primordial egoism, which will occur at the end of all the corrections, at the completion of the 6,000 years.

44. Those gates have one lock with a narrow space inside for inserting the key. It is unmarked, and recognized only by the impress of the key, which is unknown in that narrow space, but only in the key itself. And it is written of this secret: *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED). "In the beginning" is the key, and all is concealed

within it, as it unlocks and locks. And six gates are contained in this key, which locks and unlocks. When it locks those gates, encloses them within itself, it is written IN THE BEGINNING (*BERESHEET*): a revealed word, though it is usually concealed. *BARAH* (CREATED) is a concealed word everywhere, implying that the key unlocks it and locks it up.

Malchut that stands in *NE* is called a "lock," for she prevents *Ohr Hochma* from entering the *Partzuf*. The entire *Partzuf* ends in *Hochma* (the Light can only be in *K-H*). Hence, it is merely *Nefesh-Ruach*. After all, in the absence of *Kelim-Sefirot B-ZA-M*, the Lights *Neshama-Haya-Yechida* are absent. *Yesod de Malchut* is the 49th gate, the maximum that can be before the end of correction, for *Malchut de Malchut* itself is the 50th gate.

If the key (*Ateret Yesod* of the Light) enters *Yesod de Malchut* (the 49th gate), then this Light lowers *Malchut* to her place, from *NE* to *Peh*. This Light opens the *Partzuf* and *Ohr Hochma* fills it. This is why *Ateret Yesod* is called a "key."

However, there is a special *Reshimo* that allows one to not use *Malchut de Malchut* as a place of *Zivug* before the final correction of all the others (except for *Malchut de Malchut*, *Kelim*-desires). This *Reshimo* is in *AVI*: since they never receive *Ohr Hochma* (they do not use this key), their real *AHP* do not ascend. Nevertheless, even their false *AHP* is sufficient to let *YESHSUT* receive *Ohr Hochma* and realize that knowledge signifies the presence of *Ohr Hochma*.

If the Light that corresponds to *Ateret Yesod* enters the corresponding *Sefira* in *Malchut* (in *Yesod de Malchut*, the 49th *Sefira*), then *Malchut* (the 50th gate) does not forbid this Light to fill the *Partzuf*, does not "lock up" the *Partzuf*, as she contains the *Reshimo* of prohibition only on that which enters *Malchut* herself. The reason for it is that the *Reshimo* (the key's memory) rules in *ZAT de Bina*, that is, in *YESHSUT*. Hence, this Light is called a "key."

And the word *BERESHEET*–IN THE BEGINNING–includes in itself only the key (*Ateret Yesod*, the 49th *Sefira*), excluding *Malchut de Malchut*, the 50th gate. However, none of the *Sefirot KHB* of all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* receive *Ohr Hochma*; *Ohr Hassadim* shines within them instead.

Therefore, the words IN THE BEGINNING CREATED (*BERESHEET BARAH*) mean CONCEALED *HOCHMA*, for the word *BARAH* (created) is derived from the notion of *BAR* (beyond), which signifies moving *Malchut de Malchut* beyond the reception of *Ohr Hochma*; hence, this part of the *Kelim* was locked up by the absence of Light.

Avraham

45. Rabbi Yosi said, "I heard from the great source of Light, i.e., from Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, that *BARAH* is a concealed word, the key to which locked it up and did not unlock it. And since the key locked up the word *BARAH*, there was no world and no possibility of its existence, and nothingness enveloped all. And when nothingness rules, there is no world, nor its existence."

46. So when did this key unlock those gates, and everything became ready for the existence and evolution of the generations? When Avraham appeared, as he is the property of *Hesed* (mercy), of which it is written, "These are the generations of Heaven and earth *Be-Hibar'am* (with which He built)." However, one should pronounce the word not as *Be-Hibar'am*, but as *Be-Avraham* (in Hebrew, these two words consist of the same letters, but in a slightly different order). Then, all that was concealed in the word *BARAH* was revealed as letters, meaning that the *Kelim* opened up to listen. And there appears the Pillar of Procreation, the sacred *Yesod*, upon which the world's existence is based, for the word *BARAH* consists of the same letters as the word *AVAR* (passed).

He asks: "When it is revealed, can one act and produce generations?" This question includes three questions:

1. When will it be revealed? When *Malchut* descends from the *Eynaim* (where she ascended as a result of *Tzimtzum Bet*) to her previous place in the *Peh*, which leads to the revelation of the forty-nine gates of *Hochma*;
2. When can it be used? When *Ohr Hochma* clothes in *Ohr Hassadim*, as a result of which *AHP* can receive *Ohr Hochma*, for unless it is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *MI* = *GE* cannot shine within *ELEH* = *AHP*, as the Light is not yet suitable for reception and use by the lower ones;

3. What does it mean to produce, multiply generations? Generations are the souls that exist in the worlds *BYA*, begotten by *ZA de Atzilut*. After *ZA* receives the Lights of *Hochma* and *Hassadim* (the Light of perfection), this Light enables him to make a *Zivug* with *Nukva* and beget the souls of the righteous.

WORLD OF AK

WORLD OF ATZILUT: AA of the world of Atzilut

AVI of the world of Atzilut

ZON of the world of Atzilut produce and feed the souls of the righteous

— Parsa -

WORLD OF BERIA
WORLD OF YETZIRA } the souls of the righteous in the worlds BYA
WORLD OR ASSIYA

— Machsom, the transition from egoism to altruism - - - - - - - - - - -

OUR EGOISTIC WORLD

Avraham is the property of the *Sefira Hesed* in *Partzuf ZA* during its *Gadlut* (big state), when *Hesed* ascends and becomes *Hochma*: *Sefirot HGT* become *HBD*:

PARTZUF ZA

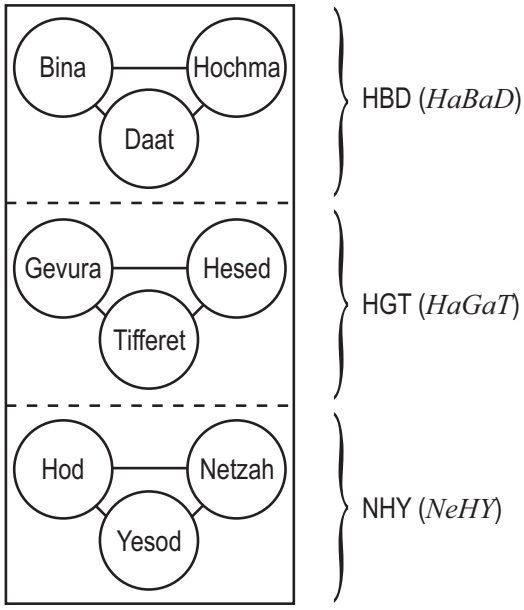

Before Avraham appeared, everything was concealed in the word *BARAH* and nothingness ruled over the world—there was neither *Ohr Hochma* nor *Ohr Hassadim* in *ZON*. However, when Avraham (the Light of *Hesed* that descends to *ZA*) appeared, the gates were opened for *Ohr Hochma*, for *Malchut* descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh*, and *YESHSUT* merged with *AVI* into one degree, which led to the descent of *Ohr Hochma* to *YESHSUT*, for *Ohr Hassadim* of Avraham's properties was already present in *ZA*.

Ohr Hochma then clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *MI* (*GE*) joined *ELEH* (*AHP*), the Creator's name *ELO-IM* was completed, and *Hochma* filled *ZA*. Then *Malchut* descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh* in *ZA*, and *ZA* received new *AHP* from *Bina*, thereby entering *Gadlut* and passing the Light through his *Yesod* into *Malchut*, called the "lower world." As a result, *Malchut* begets the souls of the righteous.

47. When *Yesod* of *ZA* joins the word *BARAH* (*Malchut*), there occurs a concealed and supernal division of the Creator's name and greatness, called *MI*, and *ELEH* comes into being. Also, the sacred name *MA* comes from *BARAH*. The sacred concealed *ELEH* exists just like *Yesod*. Yet, when *Yesod* attains its complete state, the *Partzuf* attains its complete state, the letter *Hey* corresponds to *Yesod* and the letter *Yod*—to *ELEH*.

Here, *The Zohar* clarifies which Light is present in *ZA*, depending on his states. In the *Sefira Yesod* of *Partzuf ZA* there is an end, meaning a place of contact with *Malchut*, the place of the covenant between the Creator (*ZA*) and the *Shechina* (the souls of the righteous), also called "Israel" or *Malchut*. This place of contact is called *Ateret Yesod* (encirclement of *Yesod*) or *Keter de ZA* (the crown of *ZA*).

The word *BARAH* signifies *Katnut* (small state), which comes as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *NE*. *AVI* never abandon the properties of *GAR de Bina* (properties of mercy); they do not desire to receive. Having ascended and standing in them, *Malchut* is called *Man'ula* (lock), which prevents the Light from spreading below her. *Ateret Yesod de ZA* is called *Miftacha* (key), for it is through its property that the Light can be received in the *Partzufim* located below *AVI*.

This is possible on condition that *ELEH* = *AHP* ascend to *MI* = *GE*. *Ohr Hochma* can be received in the *Kelim ELEH* that wish to receive it, but only upon their ascension above *Parsa*. However, until the properties of *Malchut* acquire the property of *Bina*, until they are "softened" by this property, there is no way to receive the Light, and *Malchut* is called "the 50th gate."

Hence, we see that the words *MI BARAH ELEH* signify not the question, "Who created these?" but the action: *MI* = *GE BARAH* (created) *ELEH* = *AHP* by

the descent of *Malchut* from *NE* back to *Peh*. As a result, *ELEH* = *AHP* ascended to the *Rosh* and there received the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*).

Upon descending to *Peh*, *Malchut* is called *MA*, as that is the name of the lower world. Her screen in the *Peh* makes a *Zivug*, onto which descends *Ohr Hassadim*, called "Light of blessing," for it abolishes the prohibition and the lock imposed on the diffusion of Light.

48. When the letters *Hey* and *Yod* wished to complement one another, the letter *Mem* emerged from them, and the word *ELO-HIM* = *ELE* + *Hey* + *Yod* + *Mem* was formed by the union of both sides. The word *AVAR* + *Hey* + *Mem* = Avraham originated from *ELEH*. However, one might say that the Creator took the words *ELEH* and *MI*, joined them and formed the word *ELOKIM*, whereas the words *MA* and *AVAR* formed the word Avraham, where the word *MI* designates the fifty gates of *Bina*, and the word *MA* refers to the numerical value of the holy name, for *HaVaYaH* with the filling of the letter *Aleph* forms the *Gematria* of MA—45.

Both this world and the world to come exist in these two letters, *Yod* and *Hey*. This world is in *Yod*, and the world to come is in *Hey*. Hence, the world to come was created with *MI*, and this world with *MA*.

It is therefore written: "These are the created (*Be-Hibar'am*) generations of Heaven and earth," where the letters *Be-Hibar'am* make up the word "Avraham," for there was no perfection until the letters formed this word. Therefore, the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* is first mentioned in the Torah only after the name Avraham.

Ohr Hassadim in *MA* and *Ohr Hochma* in *ELEH* wished to complement one another and be complemented within one another. As a result, *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, and *Malchut* receives from both *Hassadim* and *Hochma*. In so doing, *MA* and *MI* join and create MM, i.e., *Malchut* that receives *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* from Above.

The Vision of Rabbi Chiya

49. Rabbi Chiya prostrated himself on the ground and kissed it. He wept and said: "Dust, how hard and heartless you are, how many you have consumed, all the pillars of Light and all the great souls were consumed by you. And the greatest of all, Rabbi Shimon, the Light of the entire world, of all the worlds, who illuminates and governs over the descending Light, upon which our world exists, is also consumed by you, and yet you govern the world?" But then he collected himself at once and said: "Do not be proud, dust, for the pillars of the world will not be betrayed to you, and Rabbi Shimon will not be consumed by you!"

Malchut is the sole creation. And this sole creation is nothing but a desire to receive pleasure. It was made this way, and its essence cannot be changed. Yet, what can be changed is the intention—for which or whose sake to receive the pleasure.

As a result of *Malchut's* union with *Bina* with an altruistic will to bestow delight, give pleasure, *Malchut* acquires *Bina's* desire in addition to her own. That is, an additional desire appears in *Malchut*—to bestow, opposite to her nature.

Only this desire of *Bina* in *Malchut* can result in a *Zivug* and reception of Light. When *Malchut* receives all the desires that she possibly can from *Bina*, and fills them with Light, only her own initial egoistic property will remain uncorrected, but even that will be corrected from Above by the Creator Himself. The order of correction and reception of Light in *Bina's* properties inside of *Malchut* is referred to as the reception on the *Zivug* of *Yesod*, and it takes place sequentially along 6,000 degrees, called "6,000 years."

Malchut de Malchut of the world of *Atzilut* cannot receive any Light during the 6,000 years until all of its parts are completely corrected. All the *Zivugim* (plural for *Zivug*) throughout the 6,000 years are made not on *Malchut* herself, but on the properties she received from *Bina*. The place of such a *Zivug* is called *Yesod*

de Malchut or *Ateret Yesod*. Whereas *Malchut* herself (egoistic desires) remains closed to the Light, and is therefore called the "closed gates."

The reception of Light during the 6,000 years, correction of the *Partzufim*, and the gradual filling of *Malchut* with the Light, takes place with the help of *Bina's* desires in *Malchut*, which are called *Miftacha* (*Yesod de Malchut*), for the impure (egoistic) force has no power over this part of *Malchut*.

Yesod de Malchut means that *Malchut* only acts with the properties she received from a Higher *Sefira–Yesod*, which is free from the influence of the impure forces (*Klipot*). All the properties, except for those of *Malchut*, are altruistic, since they originate from *Bina*. However, since we wish to emphasize that a *Zivug* is made on an altruistic desire, above the egoistic desire of *Malchut*, we usually say *Yesod* instead of *Bina*. And since *Yesod* is the *Sefira* immediately above *Malchut*, we say that a *Zivug* is made not on the egoistic desires of *Malchut*, but on *Yesod*. And since, upon acquiring the properties of *Yesod*, *Malchut* can receive the Light, such reception of Light on *Yesod de Malchut* is called "*Miftacha*" (from the word *Mafte'ach*, key)—the key that opens the way for the Upper Light.

However, since *Malchut* herself, that is, *Malchut de Malchut* ("closed gates") remains inaccessible to the Light for 6,000 years, Rabbi Chiya (a particular spiritual degree) could not understand how Rabbi Shimon (the spiritual *Partzuf* called Rabbi Shimon) could achieve such complete perfection. Indeed, Rabbi Shimon is a *Partzuf* of such spiritual height that it receives the Light of *Yechida*. And it is impossible to receive this Light without utilizing a *Zivug* on *Malchut de Malchut* itself.

And yet, this part of *Malchut* remains uncorrected until the completion of the 6,000 years (the end of correction), and thus cannot be used. By defying these desires, it is as though one has already partially corrected it. And all the prohibitory commandments refer to *Malchut de Malchut*; hence, the ban imposed on its use is called "a restriction."

Yet, if it is impossible to fill the "stony heart" (*Lev HaEven*), i.e., *Malchut de Malchut* (the root of egoism, the basis of creation), with Light, how can even a single soul achieve complete correction? After all, complete correction implies the reception of Light in the entire *Malchut*. Each soul, each part of *Malchut* that man is destined to correct contains a part of all the other parts of *Malchut*, including a part of *Malchut de Malchut*, which he may not work with until the end of correction.

On the other hand, Rabbi Chiya sees Rabbi Shimon in a state of complete correction. So how could the latter have attained such state? This

contradiction roused Rabbi Chiya so greatly that he prostrated himself on the ground and cried out.

It is impossible to constantly "translate" the words of the Torah or *The Zohar* into a language we can understand, that "ground" signifies egoism and "dust" refers to the impure forces, that "crying out" implies raising *MAN*, and so forth. All the words and definitions in the text of *The Zohar* should be perceived sensuously rather than literally, as physical actions of our world. In other words, whatever *The Zohar* speaks of is related only to inner, spiritual sensations and experiences of one who perceives the spiritual realm.

All the worlds constitute the "environment," the spiritual sphere, within which the Creator made His only creation—man (Adam). Everything else was created only in order to help man to achieve his spiritual mission of becoming like his Creator.

Just as in our world, the world itself and all its inhabitants, except man, are robots operated by their animal nature, rather than creatures with free will, in the spiritual worlds, all the spiritual beings, except for the soul, are operated by their spiritual nature. Upon being born in our world, man, too, is an animal without freedom to act against his egoistic desire to receive pleasure. He usually stays that way throughout his existence on earth, being not at all different from the still, vegetative, and animate levels of nature, automatically following orders of his inner master, egoism.

Only with the help of Kabbalah can one gradually receive Upper, spiritual strength, and consequently acquire freedom of choice, that is, liberate himself from the influence of the impure, egoistic forces, and become free in his desires, like the Creator. However, such an opportunity is only given to one who can control his automatically-driven, egoistic nature: according to the strength of his screen, man ascends (moves inwardly, in his sensations) from this world to the spiritual.

After creating the spiritual worlds as a home for his future creation, the Creator created the creature (soul, Adam). The soul constitutes the desire to delight in the sensation of the Creator, of His Light. The sensation of the Creator is called "Light." There is nothing else in the entire universe besides the Light and the soul!

Although the soul itself is *Malchut de Malchut* (the only egoistic creation), the Creator imparted onto it the property of altruism, having created it mixed with the *Kelim* (desires) of *Bina*, thereby demonstrating how wonderful it would be to be like Him.

While performing altruistic actions, the soul (Adam) decided to use its natural egoism, *Malchut de Malchut* itself, to receive the Creator's Light with

altruistic intentions. Yet, when it began to let the tremendous Light of *Yechida* into *Malchut de Malchut*, it could not resist and wished to enjoy it egoistically. This change in the soul's desires is referred to as its fall.

As a result of the fall, Adam's soul split into myriad parts (600,000), all of which fell into captivity of impure, egoistic forces (acquired egoistic desires). After the fall, Adam corrected some of the souls (obtained an anti-egoistic screen), but only partially. And then, of the total number of souls, some were selected for correction, lowered into this world, and clothed into bodies, generation after generation.

The descent (distancing from the Creator) into our world (egoistic sensations of only one's own desires) occurs as a result of attaching an additional "makeweight" of egoism to the soul. In the spiritual world, movement (farther from the Creator or closer to Him) and distance (from Him) are determined by the correlation of egoistic and altruistic desires within the soul.

The purpose behind the souls' descent to our world is to transform one's egoistic desires with the help of Kabbalah, and to return to the Creator with one's intentions, by performing altruistic actions. The souls' descent continues until each of them and all of them together achieve complete correction.

And the most exalted souls that refer to the degrees of *Yechida* and *GAR* of *Haya* depend on the correction of *Malchut* herself in *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* ("closed gates"). These will only be corrected at the completion of the 6,000 years, after the correction of all the rest. This is due to the inverse relationship between the souls and the Light that fills them: the more egoistic the soul is, and the lower it is located, the greater the Light that enters the general *Partzuf* (the common soul) at the time of its correction.

THE LIGHT OF SOULS	Yechida	Haya	Neshama	Ruach	Nefesh
MALCHUT (types of souls)	Keter	Hochma	Bina	ZA	Malchut

This is why these exalted souls are consumed by dust (impure force), i.e., the impure force rules over them with its enormous and insolent power, for it is certain that no one and nothing can save these souls from captivity.

This is why Rabbi Chiya wept: "Dust, how cruel you are!" That the most exalted souls are "consumed by you without any hope of escaping you!" In other words, the actual root of creation, the primordial egoism cannot be corrected.

It turns out that as a result of the exalted souls' captivity by the rule of the impure forces, all the righteous that bring Light to the entire world cannot achieve perfection themselves. Since all the souls are interconnected, not a

single individual soul can arrive at the end of correction until all the souls are corrected. This is why they are susceptible to the ruthless rule of the dust.

At first, Rabbi Chiya wanted to say that Rabbi Shimon himself was also consumed by dust, i.e., did not achieve complete correction. He had heard that Rabbi Yosi also reasons that the closed gates are closed for all. Yet, after some contemplation, he inquired: "If Rabbi Shimon revives all the worlds and governs them, how can it possibly be that he has not reached perfection?"

Therefore, he concludes that Rabbi Shimon was not consumed by the dust, that he did achieve complete correction and is probably in a state of absolute perfection. The thing that Rabbi Chiya could not understand, however, is how any individual soul could achieve the end of correction prior to (without) the complete correction of all the others. This, Rabbi Chiya could not explain to himself.

50. Rabbi Chiya stood up and started to walk and weep. Rabbi Yosi joined him. He fasted for forty days so that he might see Rabbi Shimon. He was told he still was not worthy of seeing him. He wept and fasted for another forty days. He was then shown a vision: Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar were discussing him, Rabbi Chiya, the words he said to Rabbi Yosi, and thousands are listening in on their discussion.

Although the fasting that *The Zohar* speaks of is a spiritual act, in our world such a description is a good example of how strong a desire should be in order to be answered from Above. Other spiritual actions include weeping, tears—the small state (*Katnut*) of a spiritual *Partzuf*, in this case referred to as "Rabbi Chiya." Naturally, Rabbi Shimon and all the other characters of *The Zohar* are spiritual *Partzufim*, rather than people of our world.

Truth be told, the spiritual level of a person known by a certain name in our world may coincide with his spiritual root described in the Torah. However, elucidation of this matter exceeds the scope of this particular article. It is nonetheless essential to note that Pharaoh in the corporeal Egypt, naturally, was not a spiritual Pharaoh, the way he is described in *The Zohar* (the *Partzuf* that includes all of *Malchut*), and Laban, portrayed in the Torah as a villain, is in fact the Supernal Spiritual Light of *Partzuf AB*, the Supernal Light of *Hochma*. This will be explained later on.

The strong desire to attain the degree of Rabbi Shimon allowed Rabbi Chiya to see him, for he was certain that Rabbi Shimon had not been consumed by the dust. He came to this conclusion precisely because of his conversation with Rabbi Yosi, and hence passionately desired to see Rabbi Shimon.

51. In that same vision, Rabbi Chiya saw several great celestial wings: how Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar mounted them and soared to the Assembly of Heaven, while the wings waited for them. Afterwards, they both returned to their place and shone brighter than ever before, brighter than the light of the sun.

The Heavenly Assembly refers to the Assembly of the angel Matatron. However, his full name is not pronounced, and the name Matat is used instead, for pronouncing a name is equivalent to an action, which is not always desirable. The term Supernal Assembly refers to the Assembly of the Creator Himself, while the Heavenly Assembly refers to the Assembly of Matat.

The wings that were waiting for Rabbi Shimon and his son Elazar are angels (spiritual forces, similar to robots or draft animals in our world), whose task is to help the souls to ascend from one spiritual degree to another. And just as these wings must assist the souls in their ascent, they must assist them to descend to their places. Therefore, it is said that the wings were waiting for Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar to bring them back down.

And when Rabbi Chiya saw them returning from the Heavenly Assembly back to their place (to Rabbi Shimon's Assembly), he noticed a new light on their faces, and radiance surrounded them that was brighter than the sun.

52. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "Let Rabbi Chiya enter and see how much the Creator renews the faces of the righteous in the world to come. Happy is he who comes here without shame. Happy is he who stands in the other world as a rigid pillar opposite all." And Rabbi Chiya saw himself entering, and Rabbi Elazar and all the other pillars of the world that were there stood up before Rabbi Chiya. And he, Rabbi Chiya, was ashamed; he entered, bending, and sat at the feet of Rabbi Shimon.

Rabbi Shimon opened (opened the way for the Light) and said: "Happy is he who enters without shame." And all that were present there felt no shame. Only Rabbi Chiya was ashamed. This is because they had the strength to withstand the power of the dust, and Rabbi Chiya did not. They were all perfect, whereas Rabbi Chiya had a flaw—the desire to attain. And this is what he was ashamed of.

53. A voice sounded: "Lower your eyes, do not raise your head, and do not look." He lowered his eyes and saw Light that shone from afar. The voice returned and said: "The Supernal Ones, concealed and enclosed, who have eyes that watch over the entire world, look and see: the lower ones are sleeping, and the Light of their eyes is concealed in their pupils. Wake them!"

After he followed the instruction to lower his eyes and not raise his head (not use his desire to receive Light, but only desires to bestow), he merited hearing

(Light of *Hassadim*) the appeal, with the help of which he attained everything he wished. The voice divides all souls into two groups: the first is a group of Supernal Holy Ones that are concealed, who merited their eyes to be opened to behold the entire world, and the second group of souls have the Light of their eyes concealed in their eye-sockets, which is what blinded them. This is why the voice called upon the souls of the first group to behold, i.e., to use the reception of the Upper Light, to draw the Upper Light together with the second group.

54. Who among you turns darkness into Light and savors bitter as sweet even before he came here, that is, while still living in the other world? Who among you hopes and waits each day for the Light that shines when the Lord distances, when His greatness grows and He is called the King of all kings of the world? For he who does not wait for this each day while living in this world, has no place in the other world either.

The Creator's goal is for man to fully attain Him while still living in this world, to feel Him as he did prior to descending into this world, prior to incarnating in a physical body. From this the division of people of our world into two groups is clearly evident, and the voice appeals to them.

The voice emphasizes to each group their main advantage. To the souls of the first group, it says that they turned darkness into Light. These are the souls of the world of *Atzilut*, for the Creator created two opposite systems in the worlds *BYA*: the system of darkness and bitterness opposite the system of Light and sweetness. Therefore, in the Torah of the worlds *BYA* there is a division into suitable and unsuitable, pure and impure, permitted and forbidden, holy and unholy, whereas the Torah of the world of *Atzilut*, which consists wholly of the Creator's names, contains nothing impure whatsoever.

And the sinner Laban is regarded as a holy name in the world of *Atzilut*, as well as the Pharaoh. And all the names that represent impure forces in the worlds *BYA* become corrected in the world of *Atzilut*, exalted and pure spiritual objects and forces with corresponding holy names. Therefore, the souls that have attained the Light of the world of *Atzilut* transform all darkness into Light and all bitterness into sweetness. In other words, the whole difference between the holy, pure, and good, and their opposites lies in the correction of the desire and in acquiring an anti-egoistic screen over the will to receive.

And to the second group the voice said that they're waiting for the Creator's help, and He will rise (*Shechina*, His manifestation to the lower ones) from the dust (in their sensations). But those who do not wait for Him, being preoccupied with other aspirations, will not rise from the dust, and the sensation of the Creator will remain concealed from them.

55. In his vision, Rabbi Chiya saw many of his friends gathering around the standing pillars. And he saw them being elevated to the Heavenly Assembly, some are elevated, while others are lowered. And above them all, he saw Matat, the owner of wings, approaching.

As the voice was calling, Rabbi Chiya saw several souls of the righteous, belonging to the two groups, standing around the two pillars that were already present in Rabbi Shimon's assembly, and whom he had already seen ascending to the Heavenly Assembly. Some were ascending, and some were descending; moreover, this motion ensued in mutually opposite directions.

This way the two groups help one another according to the calling voice, which instructs the first group to descend and the second to ascend. Rabbi Chiya saw also that due to the excitement of all these souls over their aspirations, i.e., the power of the two groups, Matat descended from the Heavenly Assembly to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon and swore an oath.

56. The angel Matat swore that he heard from behind the curtain how each day the Creator remembers and grieves over *Malchut*, cast into the dust. And when He remembers her, He strikes 390 firmaments, and they all tremble with terrible fear before Him. And the Creator sheds tears for the *Shechina* (Divinity), *Malchut* that has fallen to the dust. And those tears simmer like fire, and fall into the Great Sea. And by the power of these tears, the Ruler of the Sea, called Rachav, is revived, blesses the Creator's holy name, and vows to swallow up everything, from the first days of creation, and to absorb all within himself, when all the nations gather against the holy nation, and the waters will dry, and Israel will walk through dry land.

This vow signifies that the Creator never forgets, but remembers each day that the *Shechina* lies in the dust. However, this does not refer to the entire Holy *Shechina*: this, the Creator need not vow, for it is revealed and seen by all who dwell in the Upper Worlds that everything He does is for the *Shechina* (*Malchut*) alone.

But this refers only to *Malchut de Malchut*. She is the one Rabbi Chiya thinks about being held captive by the impure forces, completely abandoned. Hence, he wept: "Oh dust that consumes all!" And here, the angel Matat, who has come to the Assembly of Rabbi Shimon, revealed to Rabbi Chiya a great secret—that the Creator's rule is absolute, and He remembers *Malchut de Malchut* each day.

A *Zivug* (union of the *Masach*-screen and the Light-pleasure) is defined as a stroke of Light onto the screen, a result of the desire to enter and cross the screen's barrier, while the screen restricts and repels it. This act of repelling is called the Returning (reversed) Light, as it rises from the screen from below upwards and clothes the coming Light.

This may be compared to the example of the host (Creator) offering delicious food (Light) to his guest (*Kli*), who wishes to enjoy the delicacies. However, as a result of the shame from being the receiver, the guest refuses to receive, and the screen repels the food (Light). It is as though the guest (*Kli*) says to the host (Creator) that he refuses to receive the pleasure (Light) for himself, for his own enjoyment. This repelling of the food (Light) forms the Returning Light, for it stems not just from not wanting to feel shame, as it is in our world, but from the spiritual *Kli's* desire to be like the Creator.

The Returning Light is that altruistic intention, desire. This is also the spiritual *Kli*, and only within it can the Light be received; only in this intention can one feel the Creator.

After the *Kli* was able to repel all the pleasure coming to it, and demonstrated that it could meet the condition of the first restriction (to refrain from egoistic reception), it began to calculate how much Light it could receive for the Creator's sake. The *Kli* receives only the amount of pleasure that it is certain it can receive for the Creator's sake.

The delight that was received inside the *Kli* is referred to as the Inner Light. The amount of Light received inside the vessel determines the degree of similarity to the Creator; the *Kli* acts like the Creator: just as He desires to bestow pleasure upon the *Kli*, so the *Kli* wishes to bestow upon Him, to the extent of the Inner Light received. Therefore, the size of the *Kli*, (from *Peh* to *Tabur*, where it receives the Light) determines the degree of merging with the Creator. In this place, the *Kli* is merged with Him in properties and intentions.

If the *Kli*'s powers of resistance are not sufficient to receive for the Creator's sake, and it can only refrain from reception, the *Kli* is considered to be in the "small" state, *Katnut*. The *Kli* that was created by the Creator is the strongest. However, afterwards, as it begins to descend, its screen gradually weakens until the *Kli* can no longer receive for the Creator's sake. It is left with just enough strength to not receive for itself. This is why from this state onward there is a ban on reception of Light into the *Kli's* desires "to receive." The *Kli* may only use its *GE*, but not its *AHP*. And the boundary beyond which the Light cannot spread is called *Parsa*, the firmament. This barrier is built from Above; thus, even if the *Kli* suddenly wishes to receive the Light for itself, it will not be able to do so.

The screen divides the firmament and consists of four parts: *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut* (*HBTM*), the four letters of *HaVaYaH*. Because *Malchut* joined with *Bina* and thereby corrected her egoistic properties into altruistic ones, the screen is located not in *Malchut*, but in *Bina*. *Bina* is counted as hundreds; therefore, the four parts *HBTM* equal 400. However, there is no *Zivug*

(reception of Light) on *Malchut de Malchut* itself (after all, it is called the "closed gates"). This means that *Malchut* contains ninety *Sefirot*, and not 100: 9 *Sefirot*, each consisting of ten.

Therefore, the screen that is called "the firmament" and that makes a *Zivug* with the Upper Light by reflecting it consists of 390 parts, for the part of *Malchut de Malchut* is lacking. The firmament is therefore said to consist of 390 firmaments, and on it a daily *Zivug* with the *Shechina* is made, whereas a *Zivug* on the dust, which signifies the ten parts of *Malchut de Malchut*, is forbidden. The impact between the screen and the incoming Light resembles shuddering from fear to receive the Light inside of oneself, beyond the limits of one's restrictions.

There are five *Sefirot* in the *Rosh* (head) of a *Partzuf*:

Keter	- *Galgalta* (or *Metzach*)	- forehead
Hochma	- *Eynaim*	- eyes
Bina	- *Awznayim*	- ears
ZA	- *Hotem*	- nose
Malchut	- *Peh*	- mouth

Just as the secretion from one's physiological eyes is called tears, the secretion of the Light of *Hochma* from the part of the spiritual *Kli* called "eyes" is referred to as "tears." Tears constitute the part of the Light that is rejected by the *Partzuf* due to the absence of a screen on *Malchut de Malchut*. All the Light that comes to a *Partzuf* wishes to enter and fill it with its pleasure, even the part of the *Partzuf* that has no screen to receive with altruistic intentions. Therefore, the screen immediately repels this portion of the Light.

But between the strike of the Light from Above and the resistance of the screen from below, tiny drops of Light seep through the screen, which, due to its hurry, is unable to repel them. These drops have nothing to do with the level of *Hochma* of the *Partzuf*, as they lack the clothing of the Returning Light. They exit the *Partzuf Hochma* and receive the name "tears." But it is nonetheless Light!

This is similar to a state where we are filled with tears of compassion for another person. Indeed, all that exists in our world exists because it derives from its spiritual prototype, and all that transpires in this world, transpires only because it stems from its Upper, spiritual root.

After all, the fact that the Upper Light strikes the screen, trying to break through its restriction, stems from its origin in the Highest Place, the Creator Himself, and is unrelated to the creature's desire to receive this Light within

the bounds of its altruistic capabilities. The Light stems from the world of Infinity, from the Creator Himself, long before the *Kli* appeared and wished to restrict itself.

The Upper Light wishes to fill the desire to enjoy that it created, as it is said, "the Creator wishes to dwell in His creatures below." The Light and the Creator are one and the same; after all, man defines the sensation of the Creator as spiritual Light. And this Upper Light strives to force its way through the screen and enter man's desires, but the screen hurls it back. Thus, this repelled Upper Light becomes Returning Light, which designates man's altruistic intentions to bestow delight upon the Creator.

As a result of the collision with the screen, portions of the Light fall outside, for these tears originate from the Creator's love and compassion for His creation. In our world, this spiritual action results in an emission of tears in an individual overwhelmed with suffering and love. However, spiritual tears do not disappear.

This is described in *Song of Songs* (8:6): "For love is as strong as death, jealousy is as cruel as hell; the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, the very flame of the Lord!" This is because these tears stem from the Upper One's love and compassion for the lower one. And just as flaming tears shed by someone in our world burn, so do the boiling and burning Upper tears burn like fire, like the very flame of the Lord!

Being related to the property of *Hochma*, *Malchut* is called "sea." It is therefore said that the tears (Light of *Hochma* without first being clothed in Light of *Hassadim*) fall into the sea, *Malchut*. And it is written that the many sea waters will not extinguish the Creator's love for His creatures, expressed in these tears.

It was said during the creation of the world: "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place" (*Beresheet*, 1:9). But the angel that governed the sea did not wish to swallow these waters, and was hence killed (was emptied of Light). Now, as the tears fall, he is revived.

The reason for this is that during the creation of the world, *Malchut de Malchut* itself had not undergone any kind of correction, as the Creator created the worlds *ABYA* in a special correction, called *MAN de Bina* or *Ateret Yesod*, and not *MAN de Malchut* or *Malchut de Malchut*. In other words, correction is possible only if man corrects not *Malchut de Malchut* itself (his essence), but, while completely refraining from its use (use of egoism), he acquires higher, altruistic desires from *Bina* and receives the Creator's Light in them (in *Sefirot KHB-ZA de Malchut*, in 390 *Sefirot*).

These higher, altruistic desires are referred to as desires of *Bina* or as *MAN de Bina*, and the reception of Light in them (*Zivug*) is made not on egoism (*Malchut* herself), but on the will to bestow, called *Ateret Yesod*. This *Zivug* is therefore sufficient to fill only the first nine *Sefirot* in *Malchut*, but does not fill *Malchut* herself.

Prophet Yeshayahu (Isaiah) writes in this regard: "Who are you with, partners? I started the worlds, and you are to complete them!" The correction of *Malchut de Malchut* is incumbent solely upon the creatures. Hence, when the sea ruler was told: "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place," he objected and did not wish to swallow up the created waters, for due to the uncorrected state of *Malchut de Malchut*, the impure forces prevailed and ruled over him. And that is why he was killed.

However, these tears correct *Malchut de Malchut*, and thus revive the sea ruler so that he would rise from the dead, sanctify the name of the Lord, fulfill the Creator's will, and swallow up the primeval waters. For then, all the impure forces, all the evil in the world will disappear and all (desires) will gather in one place (property), whose name is *Atzilut*. This is because the world of *Atzilut* will spread from the end of the world of *AK* down to our world, and there will come the end of correction, for the worlds of *BYA* will return in their properties to the world of *Atzilut*.

In the future, at the end of correction, after the correction of the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, when only *Malchut de Malchut*, the last, tenth *Sefira*, remains to be corrected, when all the nations of the world (*Malchut de Malchut*) unite to destroy Israel (the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, the desire to correct all the ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut*), the act of the sea ruler will be revealed in that he will swallow up all the primeval, evil waters, and the waters (severe restrictions) will dry up, and the sons of Israel (those who aspire for the Creator) will walk through dry land.

The prophet Micha (Micah) says of this: "As we fled the land of Egypt, we saw wonders." However, this was only the beginning, for it was only in the End Sea (the Red Sea; the Hebrew name signifies the end of *Malchut*, or *Malchut de Malchut*), and only for a limited time. But, at the end of correction, death will disappear forever.

This is how Matat explained his oath: the Creator never forgets *Malchut*, which is cast in the dust. For even though a daily *Zivug* with the *Shechina* is made on only 390 firmaments, on the nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut* and not on *Malchut de Malchut* itself, which remains lying in the dust, and, as it seems to us, completely forgotten by the Creator, nothing could be further from the truth. In truth, He corrects it with each *Zivug*, because with each *Zivug*, as a result of the 390

firmaments being struck, the tears fall outside. And these tears are not lost, but fall into the Great Sea (*Malchut de Malchut*), which receives from them slow, yet gradual corrections, even if it is the Light of *Hochma* without the clothing of the Light of *Hassadim*. As it becomes more and more corrected, the sea ruler is revived until the tears accumulate to the necessary amount for the correction of the entire *Malchut*, so that all of her intentions would be for the Creator's sake.

This will occur when all the nations of the world unite to attack Israel. Then, the sea ruler will rise back to life and swallow up all the primeval waters, for *Malchut de Malchut* will receive the lacking correction, for each day the Creator cares for her until she, His only creation, reaches her final correction.

And here Rabbi Chiya's delusion was revealed to him: he understood that nothing disappears in the dust, but, on the contrary, each day *Malchut* undergoes corrections, just as Matat swore.

57. Through all this, he heard a voice: "Clear this place, clear this place! The *Mashiach* (Messiah), the King-Redeemer is coming to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon," for all the righteous gathered there are the heads of groups and assemblies, whereas all of the assembly members ascend from this assembly to the Assembly of Heaven. And the *Mashiach* visits all these assemblies and seals the Torah that stems from the mouths of the righteous. And at that moment, the *Mashiach* comes to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon, surrounded by the heads of all the Supernal assemblies.

As a result of the great revelation—the end of correction—concealed in the oath of Matat, all of the righteous present at Rabbi Shimon's Assembly were elevated, especially the two groups of the righteous that caused Matat to appear and take his oath. As a result, all of them attained Upper Degrees and reached the levels of "heads of assemblies," for each assembly has members and a head, and the difference between them is similar to the difference between *VAK*, *GE* of the degree or *Partzuf*, from *GAR*, the complete *Partzuf*.

Hence, it is written that the place should be cleared for the *Mashiach*. After all, when Matat revealed the secret of the end (of correction), and specifically how creation will be delivered from egoism, a voice appeared and commanded to prepare a place for the *Mashiach*, the King-Redeemer, for the end of correction is connected to the King-*Mashiach*.

However, only the righteous of Rabbi Shimon's assembly, who are above all the heads of assemblies, merit his coming, for only those who are on the same spiritual level as the King-*Mashiach* (all those who have already corrected all of their other properties—the first nine *Sefirot* in their part of desires-*Malchut*—all

of the properties except for the original egoism, *Malchut de Malchut*) can merit the revelation of his face.

The level of the *Mashiach* is the Light of *Yechida*. And if all the members had not reached the level of the heads of the assemblies, the *GAR* of the degrees, i.e., corrected all that they could, they would not have merited the revelation of the *Mashiach's* face. But the heads of the Assemblies are not *GAR* of the low degrees. Rather, they represent a level so high that all the members have merited reaching the Heavenly Assembly of Matat.

And now all the members merited becoming the heads of the Assemblies, wherefrom they merited an ascent to the Heavenly Assembly. Moreover, thanks to their corrections, they merited the *Mashiach* himself coming to all these assemblies to be adorned with their deeds in the Torah. And now all the members have merited reaching the level of the assemblies' heads. This is why the *Mashiach* is adorned with the Torah of the assemblies' heads. Thus, thanks to them, the *Mashiach* himself ascends to a Higher Degree.

58. At that time, all the members stood up. Rabbi Shimon stood up, too, and his Light rose to the firmament. The *Mashiach* said unto him: "Happy are you, Rabbi, for your Torah has risen in 370 beams of Light, and each beam divides into 613 beams (properties) that ascend and bathe in the rivers of the holy *Apharsemon* (persimmon). And the Creator confirms and signs the Torah of your assembly, of the assembly of Chizkiyah (Hezekiah), the King of Judah, and the assembly of Achiyah ha Shiloni (Ahijah the Shilonite)."

When the *Mashiach* revealed himself to them and came to Rabbi Shimon's Assembly, all the members stood up (ascended from the level of *VAK* to *GAR*), and Rabbi Shimon stood on the same degree as the *Mashiach*. And the Light rose to the height of the firmament. This indicates that Rabbi Shimon has attained the Light of the ten firmaments, the previously missing tenth firmament on account of the closed gates of *Malchut de Malchut*, and has attained the Light of *Yechida*, which he now was able to receive, as he could make a *Zivug* on *Malchut de Malchut*. And the Light of *Yechida* that shines from this *Zivug* is called *Mashiach*. The "sitting" level is 390, or *VAK*; the "standing" level is 400, or *GAR*.

The *Mashiach* said to Rabbi Shimon that his Torah gave rise to the Light of *Yechida* in *Partzuf Atik*, because:

Units (0 – 9) are in *Malchut*;
Tens (10 – 90) are in *ZA*;
Hundreds (100 – 900) are in *Ima*;
Thousands (1,000 – 9,000) are in *Aba*;

Tens of thousands (10,000 – 90,000) are in *Arich Anpin*;
And hundreds of thousands (100,000 – 900,000) are in *Atik*.

Since each *Sefira* of *Atik* equals 100,000, the four *Sefirot* of *HaVaYaH* (*HBTM* of *Atik*) total 400,000.

However, in this case, he should have said that the Torah performed the deed in 400,000; yet, he said that the Light emanated by *Ima* is not used on 400, but only on 370, for although the Torah had reached the zenith of the firmament, it still could not reach *GAR* of the last, Supernal Hundred. Hence, there are only 370, while the Upper Thirty are absent in *Ima*.

The same applies with regard to thousands—the Light of *Aba* does not use *GAR* of each thousand, but only *VAK*, i.e., 600 instead of 1,000. Instead of the *GAR* of each thousand, it uses thirteen (*Hochma* of the "thirty-two *Netivot* (paths of) *Hochma*"). The number thirteen signifies *Hochma* of the "thirty-two *Netivot Hochma*," the weak Light of *Hochma*, called the holy *Apharsemon*.

It is therefore said that the Torah attained 370 Lights, and each of them divides into 613 beams; thus, in the 400 of *Ima*, thirty of the Upper Light of *Hochma* are absent, which leaves it with only 370. And each thousand lacks the Upper 400 (*GAR of Hochma*). Instead of using the thirteen paths of the holy *Apharsemon*, each thousand contains no more than 613, for all the supernal secrets are concealed in Rabbi Shimon's assembly. And the Creator Himself sealed them, for He ascends and becomes adorned with the achievements of all the righteous in the Torah.

We know from the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 99:1) that everything the prophets ever said refers only to the days of the *Mashiach*'s coming, but in the future (Yeshayahu, 64), everyone will behold the Creator themselves. For all the degrees and levels that refer to the days of the *Mashiach* will then be corrected, and all the secrets of the Torah will be revealed, everyone will attain complete revelation of the Light, of the Creator, as it is said, everyone will see with their own eyes (sight implies *GAR de Hochma*).

From the aforesaid, it becomes clear that there exists an opportunity to correct one's individual *Malchut de Malchut* even before all the souls achieve it in the future. In such a case, man reaches his *individual* level of attainment of 400, although his *general* level cannot be higher than 370, as in the case of everybody else. This is the degree that Rabbi Shimon, Rabbi Chizkiyah, and Achiyah ha Shiloni had reached.

59. The *Mashiach* said: "I have come here not to confirm the Torah of your assembly, but only because the 'owner of wings' is on his way here. For I know that he shall not enter any other assembly, but only yours." Meanwhile, Rabbi

Shimon told him of the oath taken by the "owner of wings." Right then the *Mashiach* trembled in awe and raised his voice, and the Heavens shook, and the Great Sea boiled, and the Leviathan stirred, and the entire world threatened to overturn.

At that moment, he saw Rabbi Chiya in Rabbi Shimon's adornments. He asked, "Who gave man in this world the adornments, garment of the other world?" (garment of the other world onto the body of this world). Rabbi Shimon answered, "This is Rabbi Chiya, the cresset of the Torah!" He said to him, "Gather him and his sons (those who have left this world), and they shall join your Assembly." Rabbi Shimon said, "Time was granted to him, he was granted time" (Rabbi Chiya's time has not yet come).

The *Mashiach* said to Rabbi Shimon that he came not for the sake of the Torah, but because the "owner of wings" has come to the assembly, wishing to know what Matat had said. For Matat had revealed that the end of correction would be preceded by terrible suffering for Israel—the Heavens and the Great Sea would tremble, and the world would be on the verge of collapse, as predicted in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 97): "All is broken." Hence, he raised his voice, wishing to mitigate all this upheaval.

The *Mashiach* was surprised to see Rabbi Chiya's garment (that Rabbi Chiya exists in a physical body of our world, in the property of this world), for if he had merited the appearance of Matat and his oath, he had attained the degree of complete correction of all his evil. And since he merited seeing the *Mashiach's* face, to receive the Light of *Yechida*, he had obviously completed his work in this world, and there is nothing left for him to do here. Hence, he should leave it and enter Rabbi Shimon's assembly in the Garden of Eden.

But Rabbi Shimon persuaded Rabbi Chiya that he needs to continue performing new, additional corrections in this world. And both the *Mashiach* and Rabbi Shimon explained to Rabbi Chiya what else specifically he still needed to do in this world.

60. Rabbi Chiya trembled in awe when the *Mashiach* left, and his eyes fulfilled with tears. For the *Mashiach* left Rabbi Shimon's Assembly weeping from the great desire for the final correction and redemption. And Rabbi Chiya was also anguished from the fervent desire to reach the end of correction. Rabbi Chiya cried and said: "Happy is the lot of the righteous in the other world, and happy is the lot of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, who has merited all of this."

Who Is Your Partner?

61. *Beresheet*: Rabbi Shimon opened: "Put my words in your mouth. How much effort should man exert in the Torah day and night, for the Creator is attentive to those who study it. And with every word that man attains by his efforts in the Torah, he builds a firmament."

The Creator gave the righteous the power of His speech. And just as the Creator creates the creature by the power of His word, so the righteous create new Heavens by its power. This is why Rabbi Shimon opened his speech by explaining the words, "In the beginning, the Creator created Heaven and earth," as the word *Barah* (created) also means "closing" and "limiting." And we must understand why the Creator had created it in such a closed form. He answers, "To put the correction of Heaven and earth in the words of the righteous, to make them His partners—participants in the creation of Heaven and earth."

There are two kinds of renewal of Heaven and earth that the Creator enclosed in the mouths of the righteous:

1. The correction of Adam's sin, the correction of the past. Even before the creation of Adam, the Creator had made a secret correction of Heaven and earth, as it is described in the beginning of the Torah, in the chapter *Beresheet*: *ZON de Atzilut* ascended to *AVI* and to *AA*, while Adam ascended to *ZON* and *YESHSUT*. As a result, Adam received the Light of *NRN de Atzilut*, for he clothed *YESHSUT* and *ZON de Atzilut*, i.e., ascended to their level.

Adam is located within the worlds *BYA* and he ascends together with these worlds. All the worlds can ascend above their permanent state or descend to their places with Adam inside of them. Adam's spiritual level and the Light that he receives are determined by his location (see page 212).

DURING ASCENT	PERMANENT STATE
	Atik
AVI	AA
ZON	AVI
Adam - Beria	YESHSUT + ZON
Parsa of the world of Atzilut	
Adam - Yetzira	Beria
Adam - Assiya	Yetzira
	Assiya

In other sources, such as the Talmud (*Bava Batra*, 58:2), this is described as Adam's ascent to the level of the sun (*ZA de Atzilut*). This Light is called "*Zihara Ilaa*" (*Zihara* is the Aramaic word for *Zohar* in Hebrew or "radiant Light" in English).

As a result of his sin, Adam fell spiritually to the level of our corporeal world (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12:1). And instead of *NRN de Atzilut* that he used to receive before his fall, he now receives the Light from the worlds *BYA* that are below *Parsa*. And as a result of Adam's sin, Heaven (*ZA*) and earth (*Malchut*) of the world of *Atzilut* descended to the level of *VAK de ZA* and the point of *Malchut* respectively, as they descended below *Tabur de Partzuf AA*.

And the righteous that live in this world, but already exist spiritually in the spiritual worlds of *BYA*, are entrusted with the task of correcting all that transpired through Adam's fault, and to return, to renew the Heavens and the earth (*ZON de Atzilut*) and elevate them to *AVI* and *AA*—*ZA* to *AA* and *Malchut* to *AVI*, as it was before the sin. And as a result of their work, the righteous will receive the Light of the world of *Atzilut* that the corrected Adam is entitled to, for they (their souls, spiritual *Kelim* or inner spiritual *Partzuf*) are his parts.

2. However, even before the sin, Adam was not in the perfect state for which the Creator had created him. Hence, after the righteous correct the consequences of Adam's sin and attain *NRN de Atzilut*, which existed in Adam before the sin, new work awaits them—to receive new Upper Light that has yet to descend. In other words, if the first goal is to correct the sin, the second is to attain even more. It is called to "create new Heaven and earth," new properties of *ZON*, in which new, Higher Light can be received.

This new level or degree that has never been present in any *Kli* is described as "neither hath an eye seen the Creator beside thee," and the degrees which

the righteous attach to the worlds are called "new Heaven" and "new earth," for they are truly new and have never before existed in reality.

And this Heaven and earth, which the righteous correct to the level that preceded Adam's sin, during the creation (*Beresheet*), are not called new, as they've already existed and the Creator Himself corrected them even before Adam's sin. Hence, they are called renewed, and the righteous who correct them are not called the Creator's partners.

"Encloses in their mouths" implies reception of such Upper Light that was neither received by Adam nor emanated from the Creator. And now, by the actions of the righteous, which are called partners, participants and co-creators, it comes out and shines in creation. Thus we see that all the righteous are divided into two groups: those who correct Adam's sin and those who create new degrees of attainment. The latter are called the Creator's partners.

ZA is called voice and *Malchut* is called speech. When a righteous person studies the Torah and thereby raises *MAN* (by the voice and speech of his Torah) from his soul to *ZON*, his voice ascends to *ZA* and his speech ascends to *Malchut*. The voice of the Torah that ascends with *MAN* to *ZA* is called the Creator (*Kadosh Baruch Hu*).

Also, each renewed word in the Torah builds a new firmament. A word means speech, and any speech that renews the Torah by those who study it ascends in the form of *MAN* to *Malchut*, who is called "word and speech." This creates a new firmament in the form of a screen, on which a *Zivug* between the Creator and the *Shechina* is made. This is what the righteous, who study the Torah, attain by raising *MAN*!

However, renewal in the words of the Torah does not imply anything new in the voice of the Torah. For *Malchut* has to recreate herself for each new *Zivug*, for after each *Zivug*, *Malchut* returns to the state of virginity thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous, who constantly renew her properties, her *Yesod*—the *Kli* for the reception of Light from *ZA*. Hence, it is written that the Torah is renewed by each word, for a word (*Malchut*) is renewed by the speech of the righteous in the Torah, as, after each *Zivug*, the previous *Kli* disappears and a new one appears.

62. We have learned that just as the Torah is renewed by one's mouth, that renewal ascends and appears before the Creator. And the Creator accepts this wisdom, kisses it, and adorns it with seventy adornments. And the renewed wisdom itself ascends and settles on the head of the righteous that revive the

worlds, and then flies, soaring through 70,000 worlds, until it ascends to *Atik*, the *Sefira Keter*. And all that exists in *Atik* is concealed, Supernal wisdom.

When a person raises *MAN* from his Torah, this word, which is *Nukva de ZA*, ascends and connects to the Creator in a *Zivug* with Him. The Creator takes this word, kisses, and adorns it, and these are the two types of *Zivugim* (plural for *Zivug*) in *ZON*:

1. *Zivug de Neshikin* (kisses);
2. *Zivug de Yesodot* (bases/foundations).

Each *Zivug* consists of two *Zivugim*, for a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma* must clothe itself into the *Partzuf* (garment) of *Ohr Hassadim*. Therefore, a preliminary *Zivug* must be made on *Ohr Hassadim*, whose role is to become a garment for *Ohr Hochma*. This is why each *Zivug* consists of two *Zivugim*:

1. *Zivug* on the degree of *Hochma*, called *Zivug de Neshikin*, because it stands at the *Peh de Rosh* of the *Partzuf*, at the level of *Rosh* and *GAR*.
2. *Zivug* on the degree of *Hassadim*, called *Zivug de Yesodot*, because it takes place at the level of the bodies of the *Partzufim*.

Therefore, it is said that the Creator took *Nukva* in this word and kissed her, i.e., made a *Zivug de Neshikin* at the level of *GAR*, and then adorned her, i.e., made a *Zivug de Yesodot* at the level of *Hassadim*. As a result, *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, and *Nukva* received the complete Light.

IN SEVENTY ADORNMENTS: the complete Light of *Nukva* is called "seventy adornments," because *Malchut* is the seventh day, and when she receives from *ZA*, her *Sefirot* become tens, just as the *Sefirot* of *ZA*; this turns *Malchut* into 7 x 10 = 70. *Mochin* (wisdom), *Ohr Hochma* is called *Atara* (adornment or crown). Hence, what she receives is called "seventy adornments." After *Malchut* receives the Light of *Hassadim*, with the help of the *MAN* of the righteous, she becomes fit to receive the Upper Light of *Hochma*, the seventy adornments.

As was said above, there are two kinds of renewal of Heaven and earth (*ZON*):

1. When everything returns to the state preceding Adam's sin. In that instance, *Malchut* is called the "word of the Torah" (*VAK*), where the Torah is *ZA*.
2. When Heaven and earth are created with a new Light, which even Adam did not attain prior to his sin. And this attainable word is called *GAR*.

It is written (Talmud, *Berachot*, 7:1) that the righteous sit with adornments on their heads, for *Malchut* ascended to adorn the head of the righteous (*ZA*)

in his *Yesod*, called *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds), or, rather, in his *Ateret Yesod*—the place of circumcision. And this transpires thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous that have already attained the Upper Light of Adam's *Zihara Ilaa*, just as Rabbi Shimon and his friends have already attained it.

Ohr Hochma is called *Ohr Haya*. Since *ZA* desires only *Hassadim*, he can receive *Ohr Haya* only with the help of his *Nukva*, *Malchut*. It turns out that *ZA* lives, i.e., receives *Ohr Haya*, only if he is in a *Zivug* with *Nukva*, called *Olam* (world). That is how the name *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds) originated.

Also, *Nukva*, the adornment on his head, becomes important (*Keter* – crown) because *ZA* receives this Light only thanks to his *Malchut*. Although *Malchut* was born from *ZA*, since it is *Malchut* and no other that evokes, makes reception of the Light of Life possible, *ZA* calls her his mother. Indeed, *ZA* receives *Ohr Haya* (the Light of Life) from her.

Therefore, it is written that *Malchut* flies and soars in 70,000 worlds, and after her *Zivug* with *ZA* on his *Atara* (adornment on his head), she ascends even higher, to *AA*, where the seven *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, called 70,000 worlds, become corrected, as one *Sefira* of *ZA* equals 10,000. After that, *Malchut* ascends higher still—to *Atik*. And all of these ascents of *ZON* to *Atik* transpire thanks to the efforts made by the righteous that raise *MAN*: a *Zivug* on *Atara* elevates *ZON* to *AVI*, from which they ascend to *AA* (70,000 worlds), and from there to *Atik*, the highest possible point of ascent.

It is therefore written that all the words of *Atik's* Supernal wisdom are locked, since *Malchut* receives the Upper Light upon ascending to *Atik*, and each degree that she receives from *Atik* is called "concealed," "Supernal wisdom," i.e., *GAR de Hochma*. This is because words of wisdom signify the degree of *Hochma*, and the words "concealed," "secret," and "Supernal" refer to *GAR*. Also, they are revealed only to those who attain the level of *Atik*, but not below, as *Tzimtzum Bet* (the second restriction) already exists in *AA*.

63. And when this hidden wisdom, which is renewed here in this world, ascends, she joins *Atik*, ascends and descends, enters 18 worlds, where no eye has seen the Creator besides you. They emerge from there and appear before *Atik*, complete and perfect. Meanwhile, *Atik* tests her and finds her most desirable above all else. He then takes her and adorns her with 370,000 adornments. And she, the renewed Torah, ascends and descends, and is transformed into a firmament.

During the ascent of *Malchut* to *Atik*, she joins the *Zivug* that transpires there, and creates *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light) by accepting *Ohr Yashar* (Direct

Light) at the level of *Atik*'s properties. The ascent of *Malchut* means that *Malchut* elevates *Ohr Hozer* from herself upwards. *Malchut's* descent means that she sends *Ohr Yashar* from Above downwards. And then *Malchut* receives the hidden, secret, and Supernal wisdom. The word "joins" signifies her contact with the *Ohr Hozer* and the *Ohr Yashar* within *Atik* itself.

This *Zivug* is made in *Atik* on its *Yesod*, but not on *Malchut*, since *Malchut de Atik* is concealed until the end of correction. Like *Yesod de ZA* during its ascent to *AVI*, this *Yesod* is called *Chai Olamim*. The difference between them is that *Yesod de Atik* is called "No one else but you can see the Creator," for a *Zivug* on *Yesod* elevates *Ohr Hozer* and clothes *Ohr Yashar* with it. This screen is defined in *AVI*, below *Atik*, as wings that block the Upper Light. This shows that the screen possesses a force of restriction, law, judgment. This is why *Ohr Hozer* is also called "the Light of Restriction." Thus, *Ohr Hozer* exists in *AVI*.

Conversely, the screen in *Yesod de Atik*, of which it is said that there "the Creator no longer hides from you" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:20), while it does raise *Ohr Hozer*, it does not conceal the Creator thereby, does not have the properties of wings. This is the reason why it is called *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds).

Nevertheless, it remains concealed until man attains that level himself, as is written: "Only your eyes shall see the Creator." There are no wings or anything else there that conceal Him from outsiders' eyes, for no restrictions are imposed and everything is revealed. And neither are there any restrictions in *Ohr Hozer*, but only mercy and benevolence, as in *Ohr Yashar*.

The name *Chai Olamim* implies that a *Zivug* is made not on ten *Sefirot* of *Ohr Yashar* from Above downwards and ten *Sefirot* of *Ohr Hozer* from below upwards, and not on the whole of the twenty *Sefirot*, i.e., not on *Malchut* herself, but on *Yesod de Malchut*. In this instance, there are nine *Sefirot* of *Ohr Yashar* and nine *Sefirot* of *Ohr Hozer*, as *Yesod* is the ninth *Sefira*: 9 + 9 = 18 = 10 + 8 = *Yod* + *Chet*, which is pronounced in reverse order as *Chet-Yod* (*Chai*), for this is the Returning Light. The word "life" (*Chaim*) is derived from the word "alive" (*Chai*), for he who is able to make a *Zivug* on *Yesod* receives the Upper Light of life, *Ohr Hochma*.

Tremendous Upper Light manifests in *Atik* as a result of this *Zivug*. This is because all the worlds and all that inhabit them join *Nukva*, and together they attain true perfection, the level for which they were initially conceived and created by the Creator.

Hence, it is said that word flies in the firmament, which signifies the creation of *Ohr Hozer* from below upwards, which leads to *Ohr Yashar* descending from

the Creator, from Above downwards. And the clothing of *Ohr Hozer* on *Ohr Yashar* creates a firmament, because the screen that appears in *Malchut* for the creation of *Ohr Hozer* comes as a result of the good deeds of the righteous, their *MAN* (requests for spiritual ascent) aimed at pleasing the Creator. So then, after this screen makes a *Zivug* with the Upper Light, it becomes a firmament, with the help of which, the righteous attain the full height of the degree on which they have now made a *Zivug*.

This occurs because when this degree descends to the righteous through the firmament, it clothes in *Ohr Hozer* (garment of this firmament), which, together with the *Ohr Yashar* clothed within it, turn over and they descend below the screen (firmament) and thereby become attainable by the righteous.

Those righteous that have achieved such perfection that they can raise *MAN* to such exalted *Zivug* have already rid themselves of egoism completely and have no desire to receive anything for themselves. Instead, they raise their *MAN* (request) with the sole purpose of pleasing the Creator. Therefore, by their corrections (*MAN*), they correct the screen in *Malchut*, and, by creating *Ohr Hozer* in her, which ascends from the screen of *Malchut* upwards, make her capable of a great *Zivug*. This is because all that ascends is altruism, bestowal, repelling, and rejecting reception for oneself and egoistic pleasure.

Then there is a *Zivug* with the Upper Light, and the Upper Light clothes in the ascending Returning Light. This descending Upper Light clothes into the Returning Light and enters into the righteous that have raised *MAN*. The expression "from below upwards" implies the repelling of Light by a person, and "from Above downwards" designates a person's reception.

And since the Upper Light comes to man through a firmament, it takes the Light reflected from the firmament as its garment, and one receives the Upper Light clothed in Returning Light. This means that, even after one already receives the spiritual information of the entire degree, he delights in the Upper Light that descends to him only to the extent in which he can please the Creator thereby, i.e., to the extent of his strength, the magnitude of his screen, and the amount of Returning Light that clothes the Direct Upper Light.

Such reception of the Upper Light (only to the extent of the magnitude of *Ohr Hozer* created by man) is called the reception for the Creator's sake. And wherever one cannot find a way to bestow upon the Creator, he does not receive. Hence, his reception is clothed in bestowal: the Upper Direct Light is clothed in Returning Light, meaning the lower one receives only the clothed Upper Light from the Upper One, i.e., only through the firmament.

64. And thus, every deed creates firmaments that appear before *Atik*, and he calls them "new Heavens" or, rather, "renewed firmaments," concealed by Supernal wisdom. And all the other parts of the Torah that are not renewed by means of Supernal wisdom appear before the Creator, ascend and become "the lands of life" (*Artzot HaChaim*). They then descend and adorn one land. And it becomes renewed, and a new land comes into being from all that was renewed in the Torah.

The righteous are constantly raising newer and newer *MAN*, and thus receive newer and newer degrees of attainments from *Atik*, with the help of the firmaments created by the Upper *Zivug*. From these firmaments emerge new Heavens, which are renewed in the degrees of *Atik*. These exalted attainments of the righteous are therefore called the hidden secrets of Supernal wisdom, for they descend clothed in the garments received from the firmaments.

Malchut is called "earth" and *Bina* is called "the lands of life" (*Artzot HaChaim*). When *Malchut* attains all the degrees of *Bina*, she acquires the name "the land of life." *Malchut* is also called the "new land," for she exchanges her own properties for those of *Bina*. And everything that was previously *Malchut* now becomes *Bina*.

Therefore, it is written that in the future, *BON* will become *SAG*, and *MA* will become *AB*, for Heaven is *ZA* that now ascended to the degree of *Atik* (*AB* or *Hochma*). The earth, *Nukva de ZA*, *Malchut*, became *SAG*, *Bina*. Hence, the new land and the new Heavens are *Malchut* and *ZA* that became *SAG* and *AB*, *Atik* and *AA*.

65. It is written, "When the new land and the new Heavens, which I make." It is not written, "I have made," in past tense, but rather "I make," in present tense, for they are constantly made from the renewal and secrets of the Torah. And it is written of this: "And I shall place it in your mouth, and in the shadow of your hands' garments, that I may take the Heavens, and lay the foundations of the land" (*Yeshayahu*, 51:16). It is simply said "Heavens," for it implies the Heavens renewed by the Torah.

Everything that is described in the Torah is written in the present tense, as there is no time in the spiritual; everything is written with regard to the one who attains the Torah at that given moment. This is what *The Zohar* wants to stress here: the matter concerns man's constant work on himself, on his nature. And the righteous that have already attained the Upper Light continue creating newer and newer Heavens and lands, as is written, "The righteous ascend from summit to summit," and this process is infinite.

66. Rabbi Elazar said, "What is the meaning of 'in the shadow of your hands' garments?'". He answered, when the Torah was passed to Moshe, tens of thousands of Supernal angels appeared so as to raise him with the flames of their mouths, but the Creator protected him. So now, when the renewal in the Torah ascends and appears before the Creator, He protects it and shelters the one who performed it, so as to prevent the angels from finding out and envying him, until new Heaven and earth are made out of this renewal in the Torah. Hence, it is said, "To take the Heavens and lay the foundations of the land from the shadow of your hands' garments." It follows that all that is concealed from the eyes achieves a supernal result. This is why it is said, "In the shadow of your hands' garments." Yet, why should it be concealed from the eyes for the sake of a supernal result? Hence, it is immediately said, "So that I may take the Heavens and lay the foundations of the land." As we have learned—so that new Heavens and earth will appear out of this concealment.

The phrase "In the shadow of your hands' garments" alludes to *Ohr Hozer*, the garment that stems from the firmament, clothing and covering of the *Ohr Hochma*. Like a shadow, this garment conceals *Hochma* from outsiders' eyes, so they do not know what is inside. Why are High Degrees concealed from angels? So they would not envy man, for when the angels, which are made of a very light material (without egoism), look at one who is righteous and see his negative properties, they envy him for the High Degree that he has achieved. They then begin slandering that righteous, the properties that they discover in him. This brings harm to the righteous.

Therefore, when a degree clothes into the garment of a firmament (*Ohr Hozer*), this garment measures the degree itself, its magnitude, to prevent man from receiving more than his intention for the Creator's sake allows, i.e., only to the extent of *Ohr Hozer*. Thus, he is protected from the angels' envy and from their ability to harm his spiritual condition, for he becomes equal to them in his properties: his Returning Light makes him equal.

Like everything else that fills the worlds, *Melachim* (angels) are man's inner properties and forces. In order to avoid harming himself by wishing to attain Higher Degrees before he has acquired *Ohr Hozer*, these degrees must be concealed. However, in addition to *Ohr Hozer*, one should exercise caution against his desire.

This explains the rule: "The eye sees and the heart covets," and man would not be able to protect his intention, to keep it for the Creator's sake alone, and would desire to receive for himself. However, once clothed in the garment of

the firmament, he can be certain that he will not receive above his intention to receive for the Creator's sake.

Let us briefly examine how a desire is conceived in man. One looks at something for the first time, not yet knowing what he is going to see. It is as if an object accidentally falls into his field of vision. Naturally, no ban can be imposed on it, as this occurrence is not dependent on man; thus, it is neither rewarded nor punished.

However, when looking at it for the second time—here, man already has freedom of choice. And if the second look is going to result in the desire to receive pleasure, it is forbidden. If man cannot restrain himself, and looks for the second time, his eyes send a signal to his heart, and the heart begins to desire. Thus, man has the power to decide whether or not to allow the desire to be born within him. This is the meaning of the phrase: "The eye sees and the heart covets."

67. He said to these gates and to the words that were set one upon the other in the renewed Torah: "Who are you with? You are my partners. Just as I make the Heavens and the earth with My words, as it is written, 'By the Creator's word were the Heavens made,' so you create new Heavens and earth by your labor in the Torah."

The properties of reception are called "gates," because, like open gates, they are always ready to receive. "Words" are the properties of bestowal, of raising *MAN* to the Creator. The phrase "Set one upon the other" signifies one clothing the other, and so occurs reception for the sake of bestowal.

68. However, if one were to claim that the renovation of the Torah by one who does not even know what he is saying creates a firmament, then look at one who is not familiar with the secrets of the Torah: since he renews the Torah without having sufficient knowledge, all that he renews ascends, and the reverse side of man (male part of the impure force), and the false tongue (from *Nukva* of the impure force, called *Tehom Raba*—great abyss) comes toward him. This reversed man skips 500 *Parsaot* (measures of distance) to receive this renewal of the Torah, takes it and makes a false firmament out of it, called *Tohu* (abyss).

As we already know, the righteous raise *MAN* to please the Creator. This is called the "words of the Torah," for the words are renewed as a result of the Upper *Zivug*, and *ZON* receive a new Light from this *Zivug*, to the extent that they come to merit the renewal of Heaven and earth by their actions. They thereby become the Creator's partners—fellow workers, for, just like Him, they renew Heaven and earth with their words.

Although one who is not familiar with the secrets of the Torah (the ways of the Creator) so as to know how to protect himself and to not harm the Higher Degrees tells himself that his intention is for the exalted goal, he deludes himself, for he does not know that which his soul surely knows—that his intentions are for himself. Terrible punishment awaits him, for he allows the impure forces to destroy those who labor in the Torah. *The Zohar* explains: if one does not know the exact meanings of the words, i.e., if he raises *MAN* to the great *Zivug* without a thorough understanding of all the intricate details of the act, the reverse man and the false tongue capture his word.

Klipot (one's impure forces) also consist of male and female parts. The male part is called "fruitless return," and the female part is called "falsehood." The male part of the *Klipa* is not as bad as the female part. And when it is by itself, it does not prompt one to lie by the Creator's name; on the contrary, goodness strikes his eye, yet the eye itself is evil. And he who falls into the hands of the male impure force uses the Creator's name in vain, for he detaches himself from the Creator and receives no Light from Him, i.e., he utters words and seemingly acts, but fruitlessly, for these actions are not the screen's interaction with the Light.

Hence, the sages said: "The Creator says of all who is proud: He and I cannot be together" (Talmud, *Suta*, 5:1), for his intentions are to receive everything for himself, for his own benefit, for his pride and vanity, as the sensation of one's "I" is the greatest manifestation of pride. Hence, man falls under the power of the evil eye. Consequently, the *MAN* that he raises receives no response from Above, and he utters the Creator's name in vain. Therefore, the male part of the impure force is called empty, fruitless, false, vain, unsuccessful, and futile, for the Creator cannot unite with him due to the dissimilarity of their properties.

If, however, one feels not his similarity to the Creator, but rather his oppositeness in properties from Him, and perceives himself as the most evil of all, he can then lower himself before the Creator, suppress all of his properties out of hatred for them, and the Creator Himself will perform the remaining part of his correction. However, one who is proud not only fails to understand the extent of his remoteness from the Creator, he actually believes that he is entitled to receive more than others, and that the Creator owes him something.

Nukva de Klipa is called "falsehood." After one falls into the net of the male part of the impure force, the latter makes a *Zivug* with its *Nukva* (impure, bitter, and evil force), which, as a result of its connection to the male part, falsifies the Creator's name, descends and instigates man, and then ascends, complaints

against him, and takes his soul. However holy this soul was, *Nukva de Klipa* grabs all of it for itself.

Naturally, this refers to one who works on himself and advances spiritually, for whom working for the Creator's sake is his life's calling. Yet, he may occasionally fail to observe precisely all the restrictions, and thus find himself in such states. An ordinary person, however, who neither works on himself nor studies Kabbalah, is obviously entirely unrelated to either pure or impure spiritual forces.

For example, the male impure force says that one must study the Torah, but then steals the results of his work for itself. As a result, man loses interest in his studies, and must once more consolidate himself in his efforts and advancement. And although he attains the Creator and the revelation of Light to a certain degree, it is nonetheless fruitless, for all of his attainments vanish from him, and he gains nothing from them.

Therefore, the Torah refers to it as the "reverse man," for initially he ate and drank and said "Go," i.e., raise *MAN* to the Creator and receive the Light for the sake of the exalted goal, but not for yourself. Thus, it pretends that it is not the impure force, but its opposite. However, due to its property called "fruitless return," it then makes a *Zivug* with its *Nukva* (the great abyss), which steals man's soul and destroys him with its falsehood, and man is left without even the slightest part of his soul that is holy and pure!

Hence, it is written that he skips through 500 *Parsaot*: initially, *ZON* of the impure forces have only *VAK* in *ZA* and a point in *Malchut*. Consequently, they can only be equal to *ZON de Atzilut* in their *Katnut* (small state), when they are also *VAK* and a point, and have neither the power nor the place to connect to *Bina*.

Nevertheless, thanks to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, the male impure force is given the opportunity to skip through *ZAT de Bina*, which sustain the pure and holy *ZON*. *ZON* contain *Sefirot HGT NH* (*Netzah-Hod*) = 5 x 100 = 500, since a *Sefira* in *Bina* equals 100. And this occurs thanks to the *MAN* raised by one who is uncertain of his intentions (whether or not he acts for the Creator's sake).

The "reverse man" then makes a *Zivug* with his *Nukva* on this false *MAN*, and receives the Upper Light for the construction of his *Partzuf*, much like the spiritually pure Heavens that were created on the pure *MAN*. Also, the new Heavens created on the impure *MAN* are called "reverse," "empty." And since the impure *Malchut* took part in this, these Heavens are called *Tohu* (abyss/chaos).

69. And this reverse man then flies across the empty firmament, traversing 6,000 *Parsaot* in one bound. And as soon as this empty firmament stops, an impure woman emerges at once, seizes onto this empty firmament, and partakes in it. She leaves it and slays hundreds of thousands, for as long as she remains in this firmament, she has the authority and power to fly and traverse the whole world in an instant.

All that stems from the empty firmament stems from the impure force, which is correspondingly opposite the Supernal, holy wisdom of *Ohr Hochma*. The *Sefira Hochma* equals 1,000, and so it is written that it flies across the firmament in 6,000 = six *Sefirot HGT NHY* of *Partzuf Hochma*, each of which equals 1,000.

After the new heavens of the impure male part, called the "empty heavens," were completed, the power of its female half, *Nukva* ("the great abyss"), was revealed. Her force attacked the firmament with falsehood by the Creator's name; she soared through the sky, and the heavens were then called *Tohu*.

Since *Nukva* of the impure forces partakes in this firmament, she becomes stronger and grows even more than the male level of the impure part. This is because the male impure part reaches up to *VAK* of *Hochma*, which equals 6,000 *Parsaot*, whereas *Nukva* grows to the full ten *Sefirot*, i.e., the entire world.

Therefore, she is immensely powerful and can destroy many, for, as Rashi says, "The Creator created one opposite the other." And just as new, Holy Heavens and lands are created thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous, new, impure heavens and lands are created through the *MAN* raised by those who do not know exactly how one should work for the Creator.

70. It is written of it: "Do not facilitate fruitless transgression." Transgression is related to the male part, and is as heavy as wagon shafts. What is this transgression? It is the impure *Nukva*. With reins she draws the male impure part to fruitlessness. And then, as a result, a transgression is committed, as the male part draws itself towards this *Nukva*, who grows strong and flies off to slay people. And many does she slay. And who is it that caused all this? It is those that study the Torah, but do not attain *Ohrah* and *Morah* (Light and bestowal). May the Creator be merciful to them!

As was already mentioned above, the male impure part is not as evil as the female part. This is so because it makes itself similar to the holy part of the creature; hence, it is called fruitless. However, due to this similarity, it has great power to ensnare man, as, for example, just as the sages do, it encourages people to study the Torah. Yet, its goals are different from that of the Creator; it wants to receive wisdom (*Hochma*), and not to become altruistic.

And after one is caught in its toils, the male impure force makes a *Zivug* with its impure *Nukva*, and, like heavy wagon shafts, they pull man into an abyss so great and dark that he doesn't even realize that he is in darkness. On the contrary, he considers himself wise and righteous. The male part only catches man, binds him, and then brings him to the impure *Nukva* and casts him at her feet. Only then does he falter, falls into the great abyss and perishes.

71. Rabbi Shimon said to his friends: "I beg of you not to utter any discernments from the Torah, no matter what you may hear from the Great Tree of Truth, so that you would not assist the impure *Nukva* in slaying multitudes of people for naught." They all opened and mouthed: "Save us, O Merciful One! Save us, O Merciful One!"

Rabbi Shimon said that if you have attained the discernment yourselves, then you are allowed, but if not, you must listen to the Great Tree (the great learned sage, whose wisdom and purity can be trusted) to learn how to work for the Creator.

72. Come and see, the Creator created the world by the Torah. And He looked into the Torah not once, not twice, not thrice, and not four times. Only after that did He create the world. This should show people how not to err.

73. Opposite these four times, the Creator saw, counted, prepared, and investigated what He had created. It is therefore written, "*Beresheet* (In the beginning) *Barah* (created) *Elokim* (the Creator) *Et* (the)"—four words, corresponding to the four above. And then, it is written: "Heaven"—opposite all four words, for the Creator looked into the Torah before He began to manifest His thought into reality.

The four words signify four time periods or four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*. "Saw" designates *Hochma*, "counted"—*Bina*, "prepared"—ZA, and "investigated"—*Malchut*. After these four, the Creator created what He created.

We find the same in the Torah: *Beresheet* is *Hochma*, *Barah* is *Bina*, *Elokim* is ZA, and *Et* (the) is *Malchut*, which includes everything from *Aleph* to *Tav*—all the letters and all the properties. Hence, she is designated in the Torah by the word *Et* = *Aleph-Tav* (from the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *Aleph*, to the last, *Tav*). And after these four, He created the Heavens and the earth, i.e., revealed the next, lower degree, below *Malchut*.

The Donkey Driver

74. Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, was on his way to visit his father-in-law, Rabbi Yosi, the son of Lakunya, and Rabbi Aba accompanied him. A man followed behind them, driving their donkeys. Rabbi Aba said, "Let us open the gates of the Torah, as it is time to correct our path."

In Aramaic, the language in which *The Zohar* was written, "driver" means "one who pricks." This is because the donkey driver's function amounts to forcing the donkeys to move by pricking them with the edge of his stick.

75. Rabbi Elazar opened and said, "It is written: My Sabbaths you are to observe." Let us see: the Creator created the world in six days. And each day would reveal His deeds, and gave strength to that day. When did He reveal His deeds and give them strength? On the fourth day of creation, for the first three days were concealed completely, and would not be revealed. The fourth day arrived, and He revealed the deeds and forces of all the days.

The phrase "He gave that day strength" means that He gave everything to the day of *Shabbat*. For the six days are *Sefirot HGT NHY* that reveal on *Shabbat* (*Malchut*) the work and the forces that were carried out during these days.

Yet, if the deeds of all the days are concealed, and only reveal at their end, on *Shabbat*, then why is it written that they are revealed on the fourth day of creation? The thing is that *Malchut* is called both the fourth and the seventh days: she is fourth with regard to the first three *Sefirot HGT*, called the "Patriarchs" (*Hesed* is Avraham, *Gevura* is Yitzchak, and *Tifferet* is Yaakov), and seventh with regard to the six *Sefirot*, after three additional *Sefirot*, called the "Sons": *Netzah* is Moshe, *Hod* is Aaron, and *Yesod* is Yosef.

Malchut herself is King David—the day of *Shabbat*. *Malchut* grows and gradually accumulates her corrections in two principal stages, called *Ibur* (conception). The first three days correspond to *Ibur Aleph* (the first conception), and the

second three days correspond to *Ibur Bet* (the second conception, *Gadlut*, the reception of *Ohr Hochma*).

In other words, *Malchut* is gradually created from *Sefirot HGT* of ZA in three days, and forms on the fourth day as the *Sefira Netzah de* ZA. Hence, at this stage in her growth, *Malchut* is referred to as fourth from the Patriarchs. And then *Shabbat* comes to our land (*Malchut* is called both land/earth and *Shabbat*). The state that *Malchut* achieves as a result of her growth from *Sefirot NHY* of ZA is called *Shabbat* on earth. And this state she attains as the seventh *Sefira* from all the *Sefirot* of ZA.

The first three days are not revealed in *Malchut*, for as long as a *Partzuf* lacks *Malchut*, it is defined as concealed or secret. The weekdays are defined so. And when *Malchut* completely attains the degree where she stands, she thereby attains herself. This state is defined as *Shabbat*.

However, if *Malchut* receives from the six *Sefirot de* ZA, shouldn't they (the six weekdays) be more important than *Malchut-Shabbat* (inferior *Sefira* with regard to those she receives from)?

The truth is that all the weekdays constitute individual degrees of correction (weekdays' work) that are devoid of *Malchut*. Hence, they are called "weekdays," for a *Partzuf* without *Malchut* is considered a closed degree, unable to receive Light, and is therefore deprived of holiness. After all, in the absence of *Malchut*, there is no GAR of the Light, *Ohr Hochma*. And only when *Malchut* is revealed in the *Partzuf* (signifying the arrival of *Shabbat*) is the holiness of the ENTIRE degree revealed; ENTIRE, because all six days receive what they have earned, and the Light shines in all the weekdays thanks to them alone.

When the first three days of creation *HGT* emerged before the emergence of *Malchut*, these three *Sefirot* were devoid of Light, i.e., they were concealed. And when *Malchut* appeared, the fourth day arrived, and the importance and holiness of all four days manifested, for *Malchut* complements the entire degree, and the perfection of creation becomes revealed thanks to her. In the language of Kabbalah, this is described in the following way: all six days of creation are *Ohr Hochma*, and *Shabbat* is *Ohr Hassadim*. *Ohr Hochma* is present on weekdays, but cannot shine for lack of *Ohr Hassadim*, and when *Ohr Hassadim* arrives on *Shabbat*, all the *Ohr Hochma* shines thanks to this *Ohr Hassadim* of *Shabbat*.

76. There is fire, water and air—*HGT*—the three first days of creation. Although they are the initial Supernal foundations of all that will follow, their actions are not revealed until the earth, meaning *Malchut*, reveals them. Only then does the work of each of the Supernal foundations reveal itself. Hence, the power of the first three days is revealed only on the fourth.

77. However, the third day may be better described as one that reveals the creation of the first three days, as it is written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH GRASS. That is to say, the revelation of the earth's (*Malchut*'s) deeds already took place on the third day. Yet, although it was written on the third day, *Tifferet*, it was actually the fourth day, *Malchut*. *Malchut* joined the third day, for *Tifferet* and *Malchut* are inseparable. And then the fourth day revealed its deeds—to elucidate the work of each and every one of *HGT*, for the fourth day is the "fourth leg" of the Supernal Throne (the *Sefira Bina*), whose four legs are *HGTM* (*Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut*).

Malchut reveals the holiness and spiritual power of the three days. Therefore, *Malchut* ascended and joined the third day, so as to reveal by the unity of these three days (three lines) their exalted spiritual essence.

It is hence written that the deed is revealed on the fourth day, for *Malchut* alone completes their revelation at the conclusion of the three days. And afterwards, three more days emerge, which are *NHY*. After the revelation of the holiness of the first three days, *HGT*, called the "Patriarchs," which are the foundation of *ZA*, *ZA* enters them (his main part is manifested), and the time comes for the Sons (*NHY*, the last three of the six days of creation) to be born.

This is why it is written that *ZA* is defined as the fourth leg of the throne of *Bina*, and the throne remains imperfect and incomplete until its fourth leg (foundation) manifests. Indeed, *ZA* is incomplete until *Malchut* manifests within him, i.e., until the fourth day arrives. And only after the emergence of *Malchut* can *ZA* father the Sons—the three final days of creation.

78. All of the actions of all the *Sefirot*, both on the first three days of creation, *HGT*, and on the last three, *NHY*, are dependent on the day of *Shabbat*, *Malchut*, *GAR* of the entire degree of *ZA* and its perfection. Hence, it is written, AND THE CREATOR RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY, *SHABBAT*. This refers to the fourth leg of the throne, as the seventh and the fourth days are both *Malchut*. Only the fourth day is *Malchut* that includes the *Sefira Tifferet* of *ZA*, from his chest upwards. Also, the seventh day is *Malchut* of the entire *ZA*, and they merge together face to face in a *Zivug*.

Although the first three days, *HGT*, end with the fourth day (the result of their actions), they nonetheless remain not entirely complete; their perfection manifests only on *Shabbat*, together with the last three days, *NHY*.

It is therefore written that *Shabbat* is the fourth leg of the throne, even though it is the seventh day, for, although it emerges after the Sons, it also completes the deeds of the Patriarchs, as the first three days did not complete

their corrections on the fourth day, and a seventh day, *Shabbat*, is needed to complete them.

The reason for this is that on the fourth day, *Malchut* is in the state of *Katnut*, called the small phase of the Moon. As a result, the Moon (*Malchut*) returns to the state called *Shabbat*, when all the Light of all the days of creation manifest and shine within her. This is why the Light of the first three days of creation becomes revealed only on *Shabbat*.

79. Yet, if *Shabbat* is *Malchut*, then why does the Torah say, "My Sabbaths you are to observe," implying two? It is written of the two parts of *Shabbat*: the night (*Malchut*) and the day (ZA) that shines in *Malchut*. Thus, there is no division between them, for they merge face to face in a *Zivug*, and are therefore called two Sabbaths.

He asks: two *Malchuyot* (plural for *Malchut*) of the fourth and the seventh days are completely separate, as is written, "You shall keep my Sabbaths," implying two? Yet, when we clarify that the fourth day manifests in perfection only on the seventh day, it becomes clear that there is only one *Shabbat*. But what is meant here is ZA and *Malchut* that shine in the holiness of *Shabbat*, for this day is the male, bestowing part (*Zachar*) that manifests in the female part (*Malchut* or *Nukva*). Hence, they are called Sabbaths (plural). However, by merging in perfection, they become a single whole. As a result, ZA also assumes the name of *Shabbat*.

80. Following behind them with the donkeys, the donkey driver asked: "Why is it said, 'You shall fear sanctity?'" They replied: "This refers to the sanctity of *Shabbat*." The donkey driver asked: "What is the sanctity of *Shabbat*?" They replied: "It is the sanctity that descends from Above, from *AVI*." He said to them, "If that is so, then *Shabbatot* (plural for *Shabbat*) are without sanctity, for sanctity descends on it from Above, from *AVI*." Rabbi Aba answered him: "It is indeed so." And it is said: "And call *Shabbat* a delight, a holy day dedicated to the Creator." *Shabbat* and a holy day are mentioned separately. The donkey driver asked: "If that is so, then what does a holy day mean to the Creator?" He replied: "That is when sanctity descends from Above, from ZA, and fills *Shabbat*, *Malchut*." The donkey driver objected, "But if sanctity descends from Above, then *Shabbat* itself is not a holy day. And yet, it is written, 'You shall sanctify *Shabbat*,' meaning *Shabbat* itself." Rabbi Elazar said to Rabbi Aba, "Leave this man alone, for there is much wisdom in him, of which we do not know." So he said to the donkey driver, "Speak, and we shall listen."

The donkey driver's question is this: if *Shabbat* is ZA, then why is it described as holy? After all, sanctity is the property of *AVI*, and only *AVI* are called holy.

Hence, he objected that *Shabbat* should be separated from sanctity. *Shabbat* (ZA) is not holiness in itself, but because it receives holiness from Above, from *AVI*. That, which ZA receives from *AVI* is what is called the Creator's holiness.

81. The donkey driver opened and said, "It is written: *Shabbatot*, i.e., there are usually two. And this alludes to the border of *Shabbat*, which is 2,000 *Amah* (cubits) in each direction from the city. This is why the word *Et* was added before the word *Shabbatot*, which designates the plural form—both the Upper *Shabbat* and the lower *Shabbat* joining into one."

Although it is said: "Man shall not leave his place on the seventh day" (*Shemot*, 16), i.e., the singular form is used, in many places in the Torah, the word *Et* is used; for example, in the sentence: "***Et*** 2,000 *Amah* in each direction from its place." The word *Et*, consisting of the first and the last letters of the alphabet, *Aleph* and *Tav*, designates *Malchut* entering into union with ZA, which signifies the state of *Shabbat*; hence, the Light of *AVI* becomes revealed and shines (as a supplementary luminescence) upon ZON. This is because *AVI* are called "two thousand," and so the word *Et* is present here to designate a supplement of Light to *Shabbat*.

There exist a *Shabbat* Above and a *Shabbat* below: the Upper *Shabbat* is *Partzuf Tvuna*, and the lower part of *Partzuf Bina*, whereas the lower *Shabbat* is *Partzuf Malchut*, *Nukva de* ZA of the world of *Atzilut*. In the world of *Atzilut*, *Partzuf Bina* is divided into two *Partzufim*: the Upper Part of *Bina* is called *Partzuf AVI* and the lower part of *Bina* (the part where she receives the Light from the Upper Part so as to pass it to ZA) is called *Partzuf YESHSUT* (*Israel Saba ve Tvuna*) or simply *Tvuna*. The relationship between *Bina-AVI* and *Tvuna* is similar to that of ZA and *Malchut*. *Bina* is called the "Upper World" and *Malchut* is called the "lower world." On *Shabbat*, ZON ascend to *Bina*, ZA to *AVI*, and *Malchut* to *Tvuna*.

On *Shabbat*, *Malchut* merges with *Tvuna*. However, this does not mean that no difference is left between them, for *Malchut* receives the Light from *Tvuna* only because she ascends to *Tvuna's* level. Yet, at her place on the last, lowest degree of the world of *Atzilut*, *Malchut* is unable to receive the Light from *Tvuna*. And to the extent that *Malchut* cannot yet receive the Light from *Tvuna* in her regular state, she is defined as "closed."

Also, *Tvuna* suffers from *Malchut* being closed because while in her place, *Malchut* cannot receive the Light from *Tvuna*, for the revelation of *Tvuna* is possible only through *Malchut*. On *Shabbat*, *Tvuna* and *Ima* join to form one *Partzuf*, which is not closed. Yet, since its Light shines only when *Malchut* ascends to it, *Tvuna* feels the closed state of *Malchut*, and suffers, too.

82. One *Shabbat* was left, unmentioned Above, and felt ashamed. She said to Him, "The Creator of the universe, from the day I was created, I am called *Shabbat*, but there is no day without night." The Creator replied to her: "My daughter, you are *Shabbat*, and I have given you this name. But now I am surrounding and adorning you with the most exalted adornment." He then raised His voice and proclaimed, "Those who sanctify shall fear. And this is the night of *Shabbat* that radiates fear." But who is she? It is the merging together of I (*Malchut*, the nights of *Shabbat*) with the Creator Himself (ZA) into a single whole. And I've heard from my father that the word *Et* refers to the boundaries-borders of *Shabbat*. *Shabbatot* (two Sabbaths) denote a circle and a square within, which total two. According to them, there are two sanctities we should mention during the *Shabbat* blessing: *Vayechulu* consists of thirty-five words, and *Kiddush*, too, consists of thirty-five words. Collectively, they make up to the seventy names of ZA, with which ZA (the Creator), and *Malchut* (the Assembly of Israel) adorn themselves.

83. Since the circle and square are *Shabbatot*, they are both included in the instruction, "My *Shabbatot* you are to observe." However, the Upper *Shabbat* is not included in the instruction "Observe," but rather in "Remember." For the Supernal King, *Bina* is as perfect as memory. This is why *Bina* is called "King," whose perfection lies in peace and in memory. Hence, there is no contradiction Above.

Malchut de Malchut is called the central point of creation, and receives no Light even on *Shabbat*, as, being a *Man'ula* (lock), she is closed to the Light. And the entire Light enters her only in the form of *Miftacha* (key), into *Yesod de Malchut*, in *Malchut* that joins *Bina* with her properties, while *Malchut* herself is therefore referred to as "locked."

This central point of creation is the only thing that the Creator created, and is comprised of all the creatures, including human souls. And she argues with the Creator that in the beginning of creation, in the world of *AK*, the entire Light was revealed and shone upon the creatures thanks to her, for there was no other *Malchut* in the world of *AK*, except for the central point. And only due to *Tzimtzum Bet* (second restriction), now in the world of *Atzilut*, was she restricted and closed to the reception of Light.

And this is a great and wonderful secret, for, as *Malchut* objects, even on the first day, it is said: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning—one day." (*Beresheet*, 1:6) In other words, unity is revealed in both night and day together. Yet, why is the night of the first *Shabbat* not mentioned in the

Torah, and only the words "on the seventh day" are used? The Creator replied to *Malchut* that a future *Shabbat* is implied—*Shabbat* of the seventh millennium, when the day of *Shabbat* will come and remain forever.

Meanwhile, during the 6,000 years, the Creator elevates *Malchut* to *Bina*, and as a result, she receives Supernal Adornments, greater than the ones she had had in the world of *AK*. For there she acted as the end of all *Sefirot*, but now she has risen to act in the place of *GAR*, in *AVI*, which are called "holy of holies."

If *Malchut* is in *Yesod*, the lack of *Ohr Hochma* is felt. But if *Malchut* ascends to *AVI* (where *Ohr Hassadim* is present, and there is absolutely no need for *Ohr Hochma*), this state is defined as perfect.

Malchut is called "fear," for she was restricted to refrain from receiving the Creator's Light within her desire to receive pleasure. Therefore, she does not receive the Light from Above within her desire to receive pleasure. Instead, she receives the Light only in *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light), when she refuses to use her egoism.

This occurs in the following way: first, *Ohr Yashar* (Direct Light) comes from the Creator to *Malchut* and wishes to enter her (*Malchut* feels both the delight and her own desire to receive and enjoy it). Secondly, by wishing to be like the Creator, *Malchut* repels the Light (prohibits herself from receiving the delight).

This renunciation of egoistic pleasure is called *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light), because *Malchut* repels the Light (pleasure) from her. Thirdly, after *Malchut* has created *Ohr Hozer*, she begins to receive *Ohr Yashar* in it (her new desire to receive only because the Creator wants her to). This reception is possible because *Malchut* has an anti-egoistic force, will power, called a screen.

The spiritual world is a realm of sensations, desires, and forces, not vested in shells-garments, like the corporeal bodies in our world. Similarly, all the characters depicted in Kabbalah do not designate any images; rather, they demonstrate interactions of forces and properties.

Therefore, a circle implies that the Light shines completely unrestrictedly in every place and to the same extent, so there can be no change in its radiance. A square or a rectangle indicates restrictions, which create differences between the sides: right and left, top and bottom. Hence, the head has a round shape with regard to the rectangular shape of the body, for the *Rosh* (head) is free of restrictions, but *VAK* (body) are not.

Shabbat is a spiritual state, when *ZON* ascend to *AVI* and clothe them. As a result, the lower *Shabbat* (*ZON*) and the Upper *Shabbat* (*AVI*) merge into one.

The Upper *Shabbat* (*AVI*) is designated by a circle, and the lower *Shabbat* (*ZON*) is designated by a square. On *Shabbat*, *ZON* merge with *AVI*, depicted as the square's ascent and insertion into the circle.

Ohr Hochma is designated by the letter *Ayin*. Since *Ohr Hochma* is revealed only during the ascent of the lower *Shabbat* to the Upper, *Ohr Hochma* is divided into two parts: one half for the Upper *Shabbat*, and one for the lower. Hence, the passage of *Vayechulu* (*Beresheet*, 2:1) consists of thirty-five words that refer to half of the Light of the Upper *Shabbat*, whereas the blessing itself consists of thirty-five words that refer to half of the Light of the lower *Shabbat*. And the common soul, called the "Assembly of Israel" or *Malchut* (*Shabbat*), is adorned with this Light.

Since the circle and the square merge and assume the name *Shabbatot* (two *Shabbats*), the Light of both the circle and the square is defined as protecting—GUARD. And, although the word GUARD alludes to restrictions and borders that one must observe and fear violating, whereas the Upper *Shabbat* (designated by a circle) has no restrictions and borders, due to the joining of the two *Shabbatot* into one, there still appeared restrictions and borders.

The Upper *Shabbat* is called REMEMBER, and not OBSERVE, as it is completely free of restrictions. However, since it merged with the lower *Shabbat*, called OBSERVE, it, too, needs to GUARD, which normally relates to *Malchut* alone. Only due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* did the need to guard, which is present in *Malchut*, arose in *Bina*. But *Bina* herself remains only in the property of REMEMBER, for only egoistic desires to receive pleasure need GUARDING.

The Upper *Shabbat* (*Bina*) is designated by the letters *MI* = *Mem-Yod*. The lower *Shabbat* (*Malchut*) is designated by the letters *MA* = *Mem-Hey*, and has the form of a square, which implies a presence of controversy between its properties—the right and the left sides, which give it its square form.

84. There are two types of peace below: one is Yaakov (*Tifferet*), and the other is Yosef (*Yesod*). Therefore, PEACE is written twice in the greeting: "PEACE, PEACE to the distant one and to the near one." "The distant one" refers to Yaakov, and "the near one" refers to Yosef. Or, as it is written, "From afar I see the Creator," "Came to a stop far in the distance."

"Below" signifies *ZON*, containing one of the properties, Yaakov or the *Sefira Tifferet de ZA*. *ZON* also contain the property called Yosef, or *Yesod*. Both these *Sefirot* indicate the place of a potential *Zivug* between *ZA* and *Malchut*, for Peace signifies *Zivug*. The Upper *Zivug* (Yaakov) is intended for reception of *Ohr Hochma* from Above, and the lower *Zivug* (Yosef) fills *Malchut* only with *Ohr Hassadim*.

It was already mentioned that it is impossible to receive *Ohr Hochma* without it being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. *Ohr Hochma* or the *Zivug* that is made on it is therefore defined as distant, for it must first be clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* before it can receive *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, it is written, "From afar I saw the Creator."

The lower *Zivug* is called "the near one," because the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hassadim* without any preliminary actions. Furthermore, with the help of this *Ohr Hassadim*, the *Partzuf* subsequently receives *Ohr Hochma*. This is why the word "peace" is used twice: "Peace, peace to the far and to the near"—a greeting to Yaakov and Yosef, respectively, both of whom take part in the great *Zivug* (the reception of *Ohr Hochma*) in *ZA*.

These two greetings are defined in *ZON* as a square, as there is controversy between them, defined as the controversy between the right and the left sides, and they end in the letter *Hey*—*Nukva* or *Malchut*, whereas the Upper *Nukva* (*Bina*) ends with the letter *Yod*, which designates not the female part, but the male. Hence, there is no controversy in her.

Even the notions of "near" and "far" do not exist in *Bina* herself, for she refers to *GAR*, perfection, and *GAR* can receive *Ohr Hochma* nearby, meaning they do not need to clothe in *Ohr Hassadim* beforehand, but can receive *Ohr Hochma* without *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is said that the Upper *Malchut* is the King, who has peace. Thus, unlike *ZON*, two notions of peace are absent in him.

85. "From afar" is the Supernal Point, standing in His palace, of which it is said, "You are to guard." "You shall fear My sanctity" refers to the point standing in the center, which must be feared more than anything, for its punishment is death, as it is written, "All who transgress in it shall perish." Who are these transgressors? They are those who have entered the space of the circle and the square, and committed a sin. Hence, it is written, "You shall fear!" This point is called "I," and there is a prohibition on its revelation, called *HaVaYaH*. "I" and *HaVaYaH* are a single whole. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba dismounted from their donkeys and kissed him. They said, "So great is your wisdom, and yet you drive donkeys behind us! Who are you, then?" He replied to them: "Do not ask me who I am, but let us go on and study the Torah. Each of us will speak his wisdom so as to illuminate our path."

The distant point refers to the point that opens the way to the *Partzuf* for thirty-two streams of *Ohr Hochma*. And this is the letter *Bet* in the first word of the Torah—*Beresheet*, called the "point in the hall," from which *Ohr Hochma* descends to *ZON*, when *ZON* ascend to *AVI*. For then, the two *Shabbatot* (the

Upper—*AVI* and the lower—*ZON*) merge. It is written about them: "I saw the Creator from afar," for *ZON* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma* without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*.

Hochma and *Bina*, called the "point in the hall," are referred to as "distant from *ZON*," for they need the garment of *Ohr Hassadim* from the lower world, *Nukva*, called *MA*. *Malchut* of the world of *AK* is the central point, called the "lock," whereas *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* (the point in the hall) is the "key," as the Light from *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*) can be received in it.

The circle is called *AVI*, the square—*ZON*. *ZON* ascend to *AVI* and thus the square enters the circle. As a result, two properties appear in *Malchut* of *AVI*: the "lock" (*Malchut de Malchut*, the central point or *Malchut de AVI*), and the "key" (the point in the hall, *Yesod de Malchut* or *Malchut de YESHSUT*). *Malchut de AVI* is called space, for she is unattainable, and he who wishes to fill her with Light is punished by death. It is written about it: "You shall fear My sanctity."

The point itself is called "I," and *AVI* is *HaVaYaH* that merges with it. And they are defined as a single whole; hence, the point itself is referred to as *AVI*, meaning that it is characterized as holy, as the property of *AVI*.

As was already mentioned before, *The Zohar* and the entire Torah speak exclusively of spiritual degrees, the structure of spiritual worlds, and the revelation of the Creator's governance to us. There is not a word in the Torah that refers to our world. The whole Torah is, as it is said, "The Creator's sacred names." And those who reduce it from its spiritual heights to the corporeal level with their commentaries cast it down completely.

Rashi says that the Torah only speaks in human tongue, but it tells us of man's spiritual paths toward his Creator. Therefore, when we read that one Rabbi went to visit another, the real meaning is that one spiritual degree, called, for example, Rabbi Elazar, passes to another spiritual degree, called, for example, Rabbi Yosi.

ZA has his own *AVI*, who are called the Upper *AVI*. The wife of *ZA* (*Nukva* or *Malchut*) contains *AVI*, too, called *YESHSUT*. First, *ZA* attains the *AVI* of his wife (*YESHSUT* or *Ohr Hassadim*). Then it rises to a Higher Degree and attains the *AVI* themselves—*Ohr Hochma* (also called *Ohr Haya*).

The righteous who ascend the spiritual degrees are the constituents of *Partzuf ZA*. Since the degree of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba is *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of *Neshama*), this ascent means it went to (spiritually) see (in *Ohr Hochma*) another spiritual degree.

In the spiritual worlds, the donkey driver constitutes a special spiritual force that helps the souls of the righteous move from one spiritual degree to another. Without this help sent by the Creator from Above, it is impossible to exit your degree and ascend to the next. Hence, the Creator sends a Higher soul from Above to each of the righteous (those who wish to ascend). Each receives his own, according to his degree, properties, and purpose.

And so, at first the righteous fails to recognize this exalted soul; he considers it low, that it leeched onto him on his spiritual path. Such state is called *Ibur*—conception of the righteous' soul. Since the Higher soul has not yet completed its assistance and purpose, it is not yet perceived by the righteous for what it really is.

However, after it completes its task in its entirety, and brings the righteous' soul to the Upper Degree for which it is intended, the righteous then reveals the exalted properties of the soul that helped him. This is referred to as the revelation of the soul to the righteous.

In our case, the soul that was sent to help the souls of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba was the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba—a very exalted and perfect soul, the Light of *Yechida*. Yet, initially, it is revealed to the righteous in its smallest scope, called *Ibur*, conception (in sensations). Hence, they perceive it as the level of a spiritual donkey driver—a simple soul.

The Hebrew word for donkey is *Hamor*, which also means matter, *Homer*! Thus, one who can control his donkey, his body, his desires, ascends above matter as a spiritual being. And since he wishes to ascend above matter in his desires, he is considered a righteous. However, here, *The Zohar* speaks of Higher Degrees.

The donkey driver's task is to take the riders, mounted atop of their donkeys, from place to place; yet, he walks in front of his donkeys, thereby leading them through spiritual degrees. Since every word in the Torah has several meanings, due to the multiplicity of the Upper Roots (wherefrom word notions descend), the notion of a "donkey driver" is more precisely referred to as a "donkey guide," and implies properties that are coarse, sinful, and most base.

Therefore, Rabbi Aba said: "Let us open the gates of the Torah, for the time has come for us to correct our path," that is, to open their souls with the help of the secrets of the Torah, so their path would be correct and lead them to the Creator. Rabbi Elazar then began to discuss a passage from the Torah that says, "You shall observe my *Shabbatot*," as he stood at this degree (the Light of *YESHSUT*) in his properties. He therefore concluded that *Shabbat* itself is the property of *ZON*, which has not yet reached the property of sanctity, but only

receives the Light of *YESHSUT* on *Shabbat*. It is written about this Light, "You shall fear my sanctity," for when *Ohr Hochma* passes from *YESHSUT* to *ZA*, it evokes fear in them.

And here they receive the donkey driver's help, who reveals to them the secret of *Ohr Haya*. He explains that the phrase "You shall observe my *Shabbatot*" signifies the Upper and the lower *Shabbatot*, which come together, due to the ascent of *ZON* to *AVI*. As a result, *ZON* themselves become holy (the square within the circle) and acquire the properties of *Bina*: mercy, altruism, *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is written with regard to them: fear not and observe. For *Ohr Haya* repels foreign, impure forces and desires, and all restrictions are lifted on *Shabbat*; hence, there is no fear.

And, according to the donkey driver's explanation, the phrase "You shall fear My sanctity" refers only to the central point that is used in *GAR de AVI*, in *GAR* of *Ohr Haya*, which is unattainable and where fear does exist.

At that, the soul of the donkey driver has fulfilled its role, for it brought them to the attainment of *Ohr Haya*. Only then did they merit the attainment of the height of the soul that had helped them, since they attained its revelation and were thus able to appreciate it.

This is why Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba dismounted from their donkeys and kissed him, for the attainment of the Upper One is defined as a "kiss." However, this exalted soul has not yet finished aiding them: it must still help them attain *Ohr Yechida*. Yet, since the attainment of *Ohr Haya* already provides perfection, they've already attained thereby the degree of the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba.

The level of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself is the degree of attainment of *Ohr Yechida*. Therefore, by attaining only *Ohr Haya*, they mistakenly thought that the soul guiding them belongs to the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. However, after the donkey driver had revealed to them the secret of the attainment of *Ohr Yechida*, they realized that their companion is none other than Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself.

And the reason why they could not recognize him before is that the powers of the helping soul cannot be seen until its role is fulfilled. Hence, they asked him to reveal his name, but he told them not to inquire about his name, for without having completed all the corrections, they do not merit the revelation of the secrets of the Torah. And he must help them in their studies of the Torah, for he still needs to illuminate their path, as they have not yet attained the desired goal.

86. He said to him: "Who appointed you to walk here and be a donkey driver?" He replied: "The letter *Yod* waged war with two letters, *Chaf* and *Samech*, for me to come and join. The letter *Chaf* did not want to leave its place because it has to support those who fall, for without a screen, they cannot survive."

87. The letter *Yod* came to me alone, kissed me and wept with me. It said to me, "My son, what can I do for you? I disappear from many good deeds and from secret, supernal, basic letters. But I shall return to you and will be of help to you. And I shall give you two letters that are more exalted than those that have disappeared—the letters *Yod* and *Shin*. They shall become for you a treasury that is forever full. So, my son, go and drive the donkeys. And that is why I am here in this role."

As we already know, the donkey driver is an auxiliary force given to someone who wishes to ascend to a higher spiritual degree on his path toward the Creator, just as donkeys carry people on their backs, thereby helping them travel from one place to another. As this happens, the righteous one falls from his previous degree and enters the embryonic state of the new degree, just as the soul that came to help him. However, the property of *Ibur*-embryo (*Ibur* is also derived from the word *Haavarah*, crossing) means that all the Light that it had in the previous degree disappears upon the conception (*Ibur*) of a new, Higher Degree.

And that is what they wanted to know of the donkey driver: "How did the Creator bring you here in the state of *Ibur*, in our state of *Ibur*, as a result of which the Light in us has disappeared? Who lowers you from the Higher Degrees?" And that is why the donkey driver replied that the letter *Yod* waged war against the letters *Chaf* and *Samech*, to join with them. The degree of *Hassadim* is called *Samech* (*Ohr Neshama*).

"When the time has come for you to attain *Ohr Haya* (*Yod* from *HaVaYaH*, the degree from which I descended to help you to attain *Ohr Haya*), *Hochma* really wanted to connect *Ohr Neshama* (that was previously in you) to me. And here *Yod* wages war against *Chaf* and *Samech*. *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* clothes in the lower *Partzuf*, designated by the letter *Chaf*. There used to be *Ohr Neshama*, and now there is *Ohr Haya*, whereas *Yod*, which desires *Ohr Neshama* as well, merges with it, and rejects the *Chaf*."

This is so because the connection between the degrees, from the Highest Degree in the world of *Atzilut* to the end of the world of *Assiya*, is realized only by *Malchut* of the Upper One descending to the lower one and clothing in it. *Malchut* of the Upper One herself cannot descend from her degree of *YESHSUT*

(the degree of *Neshama*) even for a moment, as the chain connecting the degrees would be instantly broken.

The property of *Samech* is the property of the Light itself, which the soul receives from *Sefirot HBD HGT* of *AVI* (above the *Chazeh*), and which *AVI* pass to *ZON* when the letters are in *Katnut*, and support them (the Hebrew word for support is *Somech*, derived from the letter *Samech*) so that *ZON* will not fall from the world of *Atzilut*.

The letter *Chaf*, *Hassadim*, is unwilling to leave its place and join *Hochma*, as it needs to connect the Upper *Partzuf* to the lower one. Thus, it must always remain in its place, for all the degrees are constant, and only the soul changes while moving from one degree to another within the worlds. This is why the soul is called the "inner part" with regard to the world (the external part)—the soul exists and moves about within the world by changing its properties.

Hence, the Light of the soul did not wish to join the letter *Yod* (degree of *Hochma*, the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba) as it descended to help Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba. This is because they needed a new Light that would build a new degree within them, the degree of *Ohr Haya*, whereas each new degree is built from scratch, from the state of *Ibur* (conception). As that happens, the entire previous degree with all of its Light disappears. Similarly, in their case, the new degree starts with *Ibur* and reaches the level of *Haya*. This resembles a seed that must first abandon its present form and rot, in order to become a tree afterwards.

It is therefore written that it came to me without the Light of *HBD HGT de AVI*, called *Samech*, the Light of *Hassadim*. *Samech* is the property of mercy, a selfless desire to give, pure spiritual altruism. Hence, it is unwilling to join *Yod*, *Ohr Hochma*. Yet, *Ohr Hochma* cannot enter and fill the *Partzuf* without first being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, for this clothing of *Ohr Hochma* in *Ohr Hassadim* means that the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma* not for itself, but for the Creator's sake. But *Ohr Hassadim*, *Samech*, does not wish to receive anything within itself; it wants nothing to do with *Ohr Hochma*! This is why the letter *Yod* wept, being unable to fill the *Partzuf* with its Light, for *Hassadim* refused to accept *Hochma*.

It is written in this regard: Hence, I must now disappear, and you, the donkey driver, go to the state of *Ibur*, to rebuild the degrees of gradual development of a new *Partzuf*-state with you: *Ibur* (embryo), *Leidah* (birth), *Yenika* (nursing), and *Mochin* (maturity).

And know that such is the order of creating (begetting) each new degree: every time one is to attain a new degree, he must undergo (in his properties) a complete disappearance of the previous degree (level of attainment, Light), and

begin anew. He must receive new attainments, from the lowest new degree, *Ohr Nefesh* (*Ibur*), to *Ohr Ruach* (*Yenika*), and so on, as though he had never attained any spiritual level at all.

It is impossible to take with you anything from a previous degree. Hence, one must start anew from the lowest level of *Ibur*, called THE DONKEY DRIVER. *Ohr Haya de AVI* is called *YESH* (*Yod-Shin*), where *Yod* is *Hochma* and *Shin* is *Bina*. And, of course, they are more important than the *Ohr Neshama* that was in the *Partzuf* before them.

88. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba rejoiced, wept, and said, "You sit on the donkey, and we shall drive it." He replied to them, "Have I not told you that it is the command of the King that I act as I do, until the other donkey driver appears" (this hints at the *Mashiach*, who, as it is said, will appear poor and riding a donkey). They said to him, "You have not even told us your name! Where do you dwell?" He told them, "My dwelling place is wonderful and very precious to me. It is a tower that soars in the air, grand and unique. Only two live in this tower: the Creator and I. That is the place, in which I dwell. And I am exiled from there in order to drive the donkeys." Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba looked at him, and his words were unclear to them, for they tasted sweeter than manna and honey. They said to him, "Perhaps you will tell us the name of your father, so that we could kiss the earth at his feet?" He responded, "What for? It is not my habit to boast of the Torah."

After they have attained the greatness of the donkey driver's degree, they could no longer bear his small state of *Ibur*, which he inhabited for their sake. Hence, they told him that since they have already attained *Ohr Hochma*, he has done enough and can leave the state of *Ibur*. And should a need arise to add anything else to them, they would be able to enter *Ibur* on their own, and he does not need to suffer for their sake.

However, the donkey driver warned them beforehand to not ask him his name, for they still require revelations of secrets of the Torah. Once again, he hinted that it is the degree of *Ohr Yechida* that they lack, which is implied here. This degree signifies the reception of the Light of the King Messiah's face, which he mentioned by hinting at the poor donkey driver, as described by a prophet (*Zachariah*, 9:9). And he is commanded by the Creator to help them attain *Ohr Yechida*.

This is why they asked him about the type of his soul: "For you did not wish to reveal your name, as we have not yet received from you that which we must

attain. But if so, at least tell us where you live, what is your degree? At least then we will know what we lack, what else we must receive, attain from you."

He replied that his place is much higher than his present location, for now he himself cannot attain his own individual level. This is a result of the Upper *Partzuf* descending to the place of the lower one and becoming completely identical to it, and while there (in that state), the Upper *Partzuf* can no longer attain its own level. The tower that soars in the air is *Bina*, *Hassadim*. The *Mashiach*'s tower (the great tower) designates the time (state) of ascent to *GAR de AA*, when *Ohr Hochma* is available.

89. But the place of my father's dwelling was in the Great Sea. And he was a big fish that continually circled the Great Sea, from one end to the other. And he was mighty and he grew old, until he swallowed up all the other fish in that sea. And then he released them, and they were thriving and filled with all of the very best of the world. And it was in his power to swim across the entire sea in one instant. And He pulled him out and hauled him in with an arrow, like a warrior, and brought him to the place that I told you about, to the tower that soars in the air, but he returned to his place and disappeared in that sea.

The concealed *Zivug* is called *Shaar HaNun* (the 50th gate). The Great Sea is *Malchut*. All the *Zivugim* from *Partzuf Atik de Atzilut* and below do not include the Great Sea in its entirety, all the *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, but only the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*. Moreover, none of the *Zivugim* include *Malchut de Malchut*.

This *Sefira*, *Malchut de Malchut*, is the only creation, because all the other *Sefirot* constitute properties of spiritual forces and desires above *Malchut*, existing in and referring to the Creator, the sole purpose of which is the correction of *Malchut de Malchut*. The only *Zivug* on this *Malchut* exists in *Atik*, and it will be revealed to all only at the end of correction.

Rav Hamnuna-Saba emerged from this concealed *Zivug* in *Atik*; hence, the donkey driver calls him "my father." And he says that his father lived in the Great Sea, as this *Zivug* was on the entire *Malchut*, on *Malchut de Malchut*, called the "Great Sea."

Yet, if one were to argue that all *Partzufim* make a *Zivug* on the Light with a screen that stands before *Malchut*, then that *Zivug* was made on the 50th gate, on all the parts of the desire, on the full depth of the Great Sea (*Malchut*), down to the very last of her desires and properties, from *Keter de Malchut* to *Malchut de Malchut*, from end to end of the Great Sea. Nevertheless, this occurs only

In *Partzuf Atik de Atzilut*, but not below it. And this is not the donkey driver himself, but his father.

This occurs because the great *Zivug* absorbs all the other particular *Zivugim* ("swallows all the other fish in the Great Sea") and all the souls in all the worlds, for they are all much weaker than it. Hence, it is as though they do not exist in its greatness and might. And since it includes absolutely everything, they are all called by the name *Nunin*, from the letter *Nun* (50).

This indicates that after all the major corrections that follow this great *Zivug*, all those Lights and souls, absorbed during its *Zivug*, return and are born anew for eternal life, for they are completely filled with Light as a result of the great *Zivug,* when the Light absorbed them completely.

All the *Zivugim* below *Partzuf Atik* stem from unifications of the *Sefirot* with one another. These unifications are defined as interruptions in a *Zivug*, whereas the *Zivug* in *Atik* is direct and without unification. Thus, it is defined as "instant," for it goes on uninterrupted. It is therefore written that "he crosses the entire sea in an instant," without any garments-unifications. And it mounts an attack, for there is great power of reception of *Ohr Hochma* in this *Zivug*; hence, he said: "Begets, like an arrow in the hands of a warrior."

It is written of this *Zivug* in *Partzuf Atik*: "No one else but you saw the Creator." However, no birth is possible without the forces of resistance, since, as is written: "The seed that is not shot like an arrow does not beget." (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 16). Hence, after he had begotten me and hid me in the Great Tower, he returned to his concealed *Zivug*.

90. Rabbi Elazar contemplated his words and replied: "You are the son of the Holy Source, you are the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, you are the son of the Source of the Torah, and you drive donkeys behind us!" They wept and kissed him, and continued their journey. Then he said: "If it pleases our master, let him reveal his name to us."

It is written "looked," because sight signifies *Hochma*, and no other words, such as "said," "heard" (*Bina*) or "thought" could be used in its stead. Since they have not yet attained to the full extent of perfection what the donkey driver had told them, and their attainment reached only as high as *Ohr Haya*, they were delighted with what was begotten by Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, for Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba is *Ohr Yechida*.

He asked him to reveal his name, that is, to receive his degree, for the attainment of a name denotes the attainment of the spiritual degree. Therefore, the saying, "the entire Torah consists only of the Creator's names," means that the

entire Torah constitutes the degrees that one must attain, up to the very highest, called "Love" ("Introduction to The Study of the Ten Sefirot," items 70-71).

Each degree in the attainment of the Upper Worlds has its own name. All the Creator's names: Moshe, Pharaoh, Avraham, the Temple, Sinai—every single word in the Torah—are degrees of perception of the Creator, degrees of attaining Him, for nothing exists besides man and his Creator. Everything else that exists in the world, as it seems to us, are the various degrees of our perception of the Creator Himself. He may appear to us as this world, and He may appear as the world of *Assiya*, as *Yetzira*, *Beria*, *Atzilut*, or He may be revealed completely, without partial concealments of the spiritual world or total concealment of our world. Thus, the word *Olam* (world) is derived from the *Haalamah* (concealment).

91. He opened and began. It is written, "Benayahu (Benaiah) Ben (the son of) Yehoyada (Jehoiada)." This narrative is beautiful, but it serves to show us the exalted secrets of the Torah. And the name Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada indicates the secret of the Light of Wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*. *Ben Ish Chai* is the righteous who revives the worlds. *Rav Paalim* means that He is the Master of all that transpires, and that all the forces and Supernal Troops stem from Him. He is called the Creator of Force, the Master of all, and He is in everything.

It is written in Prophets: "Benayahu, the son of Yehoyada," (*Shmuel* II, 23:20). Here, *The Zohar* reveals to us the exalted secrets of the Torah, for the holy name of Yehoyada consists of two: *Yod-Hey-Vav*, the first three letters of *HaVaYaH*, and *Yeda* (knowledge).

Keter of the world of *Atzilut* is called *RADLA* (unattainable head), whereas *Atik* itself surrounds all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*—*AA*, *AVI*, and *ZON*. *Atik* is called *Makif* (surrounding), for the other, lower *Partzufim* cannot attain it or its *Zivug*. Moreover, they cannot attain anything that comes from it. In other words, there is nothing descending *from Atik* to the lower *Partzufim*. Even *AA* is concealed from them; hence, it is called the "concealed *Hochma*." However, it is not defined as unattainable, like *Atik*, for it contains a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. Nevertheless, this Light does not descend to the lower ones, but only a small luminescence from it, called *He'arat Hochma*, reaches them.

And all the Light that fills the worlds through the 6,000 years comes from *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, who are called *Hochma* of the thirty-two paths or thirty-two forces (*Elokim*) of creation, i.e., thirty-two types of *He'arat Hochma*. This Light of *Hochma* is the result of *Bina's* ascent to *AA*, where she receives *Ohr Hochma* and shines downward. Therefore, all the Light of *Hochma* that is revealed through

the 6,000 years, before the end of correction, is no more than the Light of *Bina*, which received *Ohr Hochma* upon ascending to *AA*.

AA is called *Yeda* (knowledge) because it gives *Ohr Hochma* to *Bina*, and knows all the routes of *Ohr Hochma* into *Bina* and through her on to the lower ones. While making a *Zivug*, *AA* itself does not pass its Light downwards, but as *AVI* ascend to *AA*, they receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "thirty-two streams" or "paths of wisdom," which can be attained by the lower ones.

Everything that is written in *The Zohar* refers to all the souls in general. However, there are exceptions that are not normally studied. There exist special, exalted souls that merit becoming a *Kli*, *MAN* for the great *Zivug* of *RADLA* after their exile, and to receive from this *Zivug* in the Upper World the degree of *Yechida*. These are the souls of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada, Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba and a very few chosen others. These exalted souls reveal themselves to the righteous in this world, and as a result, the righteous merit delighting in *Ohr Yechida*, which shines only in such exalted souls, while still being in this world.

Therefore, the name of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada indicates that it stems from the inner wisdom, the unattainable Light of *Hochma* of *Atik*. This name also causes the concealment of the Light of *Hochma*, for the name Yehoyada: *Yod-Hey-Vav* + *Yeda* means that only he who attains the first three letters *Yod-Hey-Vav* of the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* shall attain Him, and no other shall.

Therefore, this name remains concealed in its place. At first, the donkey driver explains the quality of this *Zivug* in *Atik*—its height, the power of the Light that emerges onto it in *Rosh de Atik*, which the name of this *Zivug*, "*Ben Ish Chai Rav Paalim ve Mekabtziel*," indicates. And then he explains what is concealed and what descends to the souls.

It was already stated that this *Zivug* takes place at the end of the correction of the entire *Malchut*. Hence, it includes all the individual *Zivugim* and the degrees that emerge on them through the 6,000 years. All the Lights accumulate into one. All the types of *MAN* combine into one and ascend to ask for this *Zivug*, which includes all the suffering and punishments gradually accumulated during the 6,000 years.

Hence, the height and greatness of this *Zivug* and the degree of Light that emerges from it are infinite, and it destroys all the impure forces once and for all. *Yesod de ZA*, from which the Light of this *Zivug* (the combination of all the Lights over the full course of the 6,000 years) is emanated, is called "*Ish Chai Rav Paalim*"—a vivid man of many actions. However, *Malchut*, which contains within

her all the *MAN*, suffering, and work performed during the 6,000 years, is called *Mekabtziel* (gathering one).

The Zohar also calls it *Tzadik Chai Olamim*—the righteous, who revives the worlds, for it thereby points to the *Sefira Yesod*, which gives the Light to *Malchut*. The *Sefira Yesod* does not have a place to receive the Light for itself. Hence, it lives (*Chai*) only to pass the Light to *Malchut*. This is why it is called *Tzadik* (the righteous one), who revives the worlds (*Chai Olamim*).

Its other name, *Rav Paalim* (performing many actions) indicates that it includes all the *MAD* of all the good deeds and all the degrees that were revealed through the 6,000 years. This is because all these degrees are now being revealed all at once in a cumulative, integrated Light, as they leave *Yesod* and enter *Malchut*. And since *Yesod* now gathers all the Light that was emanated during the 6,000 years into one, and passes it to *Malchut*, this action determines its name—*Rav Paalim.*

92. *Rav Paalim* is also *Mekabtziel*—the Exalted Tree, gathering and performing many actions, Supreme Above all. Where did it come from? From which degree did it originate? Once more, the source indicates—from *Mekabtziel*, for it is an exalted and concealed degree that none has seen. It includes everything, for it gathers all of the Upper Light within it, and everything originates from it.

Malchut-Nukva is also named *Mekabtziel*, for she receives and gathers all the Light from *Yesod* within herself. Hence, *Yesod* is called *Rav Paalim*. The degree that emerges onto this *Zivug* is called the "Supreme and Exalted Tree" that originated from *Yesod* and entered *Malchut*. *The Zohar* goes on to explain that to show us the quality and the origin of this exalted degree, the name *Mekabtziel* (gathering) is used; *Yesod* accumulates the Upper Light and passes it to *Nukva*. And both *Yesod* and *Malchut* are called *Mekabtziel*.

And the degree that emerges onto this *Zivug* of *Yesod* and *Malchut* is called "None but you has seen the Creator." This degree emerges after the complete correction has been achieved, at the moment of attachment of the final correction that completes them all. Therefore, this degree is defined as all-inclusive, for it collects all the Light over the full course of 6,000 years, and thereby manifests at once in its true perfection.

93. All of the degrees gather in this Supernal, Sacred, and Concealed Hall, where everything is concealed. All of the worlds are inside that hall. All the holy forces are sustained and revived by it, and all are dependant on it.

The Zohar speaks of *Rosh de Atik*, where all the degrees and all the Light of all the worlds are concentrated and concealed. It further explains how this *Zivug* can occur up to the final correction, so it would combine all the degrees emerging one after another during the 6,000 years. And it would emerge instantly during the 6,000 years of the world's existence, when the degrees are in a state of constant ascents and descents, for as soon as a new degree, a new attainment of the Creator, of the Light, is revealed, the present degree disappears. This occurs due to the sin of the lower ones, who cannot retain this degree permanently (world—*Olam*, from the word *Haalamah*—concealment. The complete revelation of the Creator to His Creatures will take place at the end of the 6,000 years; thus, the world-concealment will cease to exist).

So, whenever a degree disappears, it does so only from the sensation of one who attains a new degree. In reality, this degree ascends to *Rosh de Atik* and hides there, so as to, by joining other degrees, be manifested at the end of correction.

In the same way, *Atik* gathers all the degrees revealed in the world during the 6,000 years, and conceals them within itself until the time of the end of correction comes; WHEN IT CORRECTS THE LAST PORTION OF WHAT IT MUST CORRECT, AND THUS CANNOT NO LONGER SIN. AND IT NO LONGER NEEDS TO SIN TO CORRECT THE NEXT PORTION OF EGOISM; HENCE, THIS FINAL DEGREE REMAINS PERMANENTLY AND DOES NOT DISAPPEAR. Then, *Atik* gathers all the degrees, and they all manifest simultaneously.

Everyone has his own *Partzuf Atik*. How can one accelerate his advancement along the degrees of correction in this world and in the spiritual worlds? It is written in the Talmud that an old man bends as he walks, as if he's looking for something that he had lost.

An old man symbolizes someone of wisdom, *Hochma*, for even without having lost anything, he looks beforehand for things he can correct in himself, and thus finds them. Hence, he does not require the previous degree of attainment to disappear from him. And if one does not discover new egoistic properties in need of correction within him, his previous degree disappears and a new one begins. However, this process is considerably slower than when one acts like an old man in search of shortcomings.

Throughout the 6,000 years, *Atik* is defined as unattainable. Therefore, its head is called *RADLA* (an abbreviation for the Aramaic words, *Reisha de Lo Etiada*, the "unattainable head"), whereas the name *Atik* is derived from the word *Ne'etak* (isolated) from the lower ones, for it does not shine upon them.

And, although it accumulates within all the Lights that emerge from it itself and become revealed in the lower worlds, the Light of the end of correction remains concealed nonetheless. It follows that after each degree disappears due to the sins of the lower ones, it ascends to *Rosh de Atik* and conceals itself there.

However, *Guf de Atik*, from its *Peh* downward, is located inside all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, i.e., it is attainable by them. Thus, by clothing in the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, *Atik* shines through them and gives the Light to them and to all the lower worlds of *BYA*. And any Light that shines on creation during the 6,000 years comes only from *Guf de Atik*, and not from some other spiritual object.

We usually say that whatever is present in the *Rosh* of a *Partzuf* manifests in its *Guf*. This is also true with regard to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *AK* and all the other *Partzufim* in all the worlds, except in *Partzuf Atik*! This is so because *Atik* remains in *Tzimtzum Aleph* and descends down to our world. However, with regard to other *Partzufim* below it, *Atik* acts as though it is in *Tzimtzum Bet*, making a special *Zivug* on itself and the Light from it descends to the lower worlds.

The Light that comes to revive the worlds is called "sustenance" or *Ohr Hassadim*, and the Light that comes to stimulate the growth of the *Partzufim*, to turn a small *Partzuf* (*Katnut*) into a big one (*Gadlut*) is called *Ohr Hochma*. Both these Lights originate in *Guf de Atik*. *Ohr Hochma*, which makes a *Partzuf* big, is called the Light that elevates the *Partzuf*, for the lying position is called *Ibur* (embryo), the sitting position is called *Katnut* (small), and the standing position—*Gadlut* (big).

94. He slew two—Ariel and Moav (Moab). Two Holy Temples existed thanks to *Atik* and received from it: the First Temple and the Second Temple. Since *Atik's* disappearance, the process that stemmed from Above had ceased. It is as though he struck and destroyed them.

Only *Malchut de Malchut* must be corrected, and nothing else. All the other properties do not require correction. This *Malchut de Malchut* is *Malchut* of *Olam Ein Sof* (the World of Infinity), *Behina Dalet*, *Nukva de ZA* or *Partzuf BON*—the Creator's only creation, the will to receive (pleasure) for oneself. It is this desire that caused the breaking of the *Kelim* (vessels)—the sin of Adam.

And all the work of the righteous during the 6,000 years concerns the correction of *Malchut*, so she becomes precisely as she was prior to the breaking of the *Kelim* and the sin of Adam. As a result, the great *Zivug* on *Tzimtzum Aleph* in *Rosh de Atik* will be revealed. The Light of this *Zivug* enables man to sort and separate his impure desires from the pure ones, and thus forever rid himself of

the impure egoistic forces. This is exactly what Prophet Yeshayahu writes about: "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8).

Since *Malchut*, *Partzuf BON* of the world of *Atzilut*, is completely corrected already and does not require any further corrections, her *Partzuf BON* ascends to the level of *Partzuf SAG* of the world of *AK*. Thus, *Malchut* completely attains the properties of *Bina*.

However, meanwhile, after the great *Zivug* in *Atik*, but before the ascent of *Partzuf BON* to *SAG*, the Light of *Atik* stops shining. As a result, the two Temples were destroyed. The two temples are the two Lights of *Hochma*: the Light of *AVI*, *Ohr Hochma de Haya* that shines in the First Temple, and the Light of *YESHSUT*, *Ohr Neshama* that shines in the Second Temple. And all the Light that Israel received from *Atik* disappears.

However, all these destructions and disappearances of Light are corrections and milestones on the path to deliverance and complete correction. They signify not devastation, but creation of perfection, as they are precisely those final corrections that bring *BON* back to *SAG*.

Since all the roots and sources of what transpires in this world exist in the spiritual realm, and must all manifest once in our world, every spiritual root must "touch" its branch in our world, and it does not matter when this occurs. In the spiritual world, everything unfolds in accordance with a strict cause-and-effect process, whereas in our world those same consequences can manifest at a completely different time.

An example of this is the destruction of the First and the Second Temples. While this event has already transpired in our world, in the spiritual world it occurs only when the last stage of correction is attained. Due to the complexity of time-transcending notions, we will examine this matter in another book. However, one way or another, only our inner spiritual properties can become the Temple in which we will feel the Creator and in which He will forever dwell!

At the end of correction, *Ohr Haya* and *Ohr Neshama* will be called the First and the Second Temples, respectively. Also, until the end of correction, *Ohr Haya*, which is received on the *Zivug* of *Malchut* and included in *Yesod*, is called *Shabbat* (Sabbath), while *Ohr Neshama* is called *Hol* (weekdays). As we can see, there is absolutely no connection between these Lights and the days of the week in our world.

After the destruction of the spiritual Temples (the disappearance of Light), they will be recreated from Above by the screen of *Bina*, called "Heaven." This is because the screen of *Partzuf SAG* is a property of absolute mercy and is completely

unrestricted in its actions, desiring only to bestow and refrain from receiving *Ohr Hochma*. Thus, it is beyond the influence of any restrictions and limitations.

As a result of this *Zivug*, the two Temples will be restored forever, and "the Light of the Moon (*Malchut*) shall be as the Light of the Sun (*Bina*)" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:26). The Light of *Bina*, which is now the Light of ZA (called "the sun"), will be seven times more powerful, as *ZAT de Atik*. From there, this Light will descend to *AVI* and create the first seven days of creation, for ZA (the sun) will become like *AB* and contain the Light of *Guf de Atik*. *Malchut* will become like ZA and receive his Light, the Light of the sun.

At the end of correction, a *Zivug* on *Malchut* herself (the primordial, but corrected egoism) will transpire, and all the particular *Zivugim* that were made on all the Lights through the 6,000 years (made not on *Malchut*, but on her inclusion in *Yesod*) will thereby disappear.

The Temple will be restored from Heaven, for *Bina* herself does not wish to receive *Ohr Hochma*. And it will not occur because she cannot, but because she does not want to. This degree is referred to as "in the hands of Heaven." For example, it is written in the blessing on the new moon: "Life, which contains the fear of Heaven, and the fear of sinning." This life is above our reasoning and desires, for it is said that faith must be "above reason"; otherwise, sins will ensue.

Thus, one desires nothing more than to go by faith above his reason and desires, for he is afraid to sin. However, there exists an even Higher Degree: when he no longer fears sinning, as he now has a screen, but still prefers to proceed by faith above reason and desires, for he yearns to be dissolved in the Upper One.

The reason for the Light's disappearance from *Guf de Atik* prior to these corrections is that the two *Malchuyot* (*Bina* and *Malchut*, called *SAG* and *BON*) no longer exist. After the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, *BON* were annulled along with the screen of *SAG*, as *Guf de Atik* contains the connection between *Bina* and *Malchut*, designed for their interaction during the 6,000 years.

As a result of such interaction between *Bina* and *Malchut*, an opportunity arises to partially, gradually correct *Malchut*. In this mutual *Zivug* with *Malchut*, which is merged with *Bina* (*Bina's* properties), *Atik* first creates *AA* and then all the other *Partzufim* of the worlds of *Atzilut* and *BYA*.

And since the screen of *Malchut* (*Masach de BON*) now disappears, the screen of *Bina* (*Masach de SAG*) disappears as well, as they are merged together. In the absence of *Malchut* and the screen, this *Zivug* stops, and all the Light of *Guf de Atik* emanating from this *Zivug* on the mutual screen of *Malchut* and

Bina disappears. Therefore, all the Light that descended from its *Guf* (called Temples) disappeared.

In *Rosh de Atik* there is a *Zivug* on *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. Merged with *Bina* and existing for 6,000 years, the screen of *Malchut* disappears. As a result, the Light disappears as well. *Malchut* has yet to ascend to *SAG* to receive her perfection, as there is still no new Light. This complete absence of Light is called "destruction." However, *Malchut* then receives the Light of *AVI*, and the worlds of *BYA* merge with the world of *Atzilut*.

95. And the Holy Throne (*Malchut*) is overthrown. Hence, the prophet Yechezkel (Ezekiel) wrote, "I am in exile," signifying that the degree called "I," which is *Malchut*, is in exile. Why? "By the river *Kevar*." *Kevar* (already) is the river that had already existed, but has now disappeared. As it is written, "The river is destroyed and dried up." It was "destroyed" in the first Temple and "dried up" in the second. Hence, it is written: "He struck and destroyed both, Ariel and Moav." Moav (or *Mi Av*) means "from the Heavenly Father." They were all destroyed for Him, and all the Light that shone upon Israel disappeared.

The word *Kursa*, derived from the word *Kisse* (throne) or *Kissuy* (cover) signifies the combination of the properties of *Malchut* and *Bina*, which leads to the Light descending to *BYA* during the 6,000 years. The Holy Throne is overthrown, because the screen of *Bina* (*Kisse*) has been annulled, as it is said, "I am in exile," where "I" designates *Malchut*.

The entire spiritual complex is structured like a ladder, where *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* becomes (descends to) the *Keter* of the lower one. This is also indicated in the names: *Malchut* is called "I" (*Ani = Aleph-Nun-Yod*) and *Keter* is called "no" (*Ein = Aleph-Yod-Nun*), as it is completely unattainable. Only that which is perceived within *Malchut* can be attained; hence, it is called "I."

Only *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* acts as a link between the *Partzufim*: the Upper One makes a *Zivug* on its *Malchut*, creates *Ohr Hozer*, and receives (clothes) the Upper Light within it, and then *Malchut* of the Upper One descends to the lower *Partzuf* in the form of *Ohr Hozer*. This state of the Upper One clothing in the lower one is called the exile of the Upper One, for the *Zivug* with the Upper Light disappears from it, and the Upper Light disappears from all the *Partzufim*. And the river dries up—the corrected screen is called the "river," for it causes the Upper Light's descent to the lower ones.

However, now that the screen (river) disappears, the descent of the Upper Light disappears as well. The destruction of the river in the First Temple causes

the disappearance of *Ohr Haya*; the river in the Second Temple dries up, and *Ohr Neshama* vanishes along with it. The river in the First Temple is destroyed because the *Zivug* in *AVI* is stopped; the Light in *YESHSUT* is exhausted, and the river in the Second Temple dries up.

The source of *Ohr Haya* and *Neshama* is *Aba*, called the "Heavenly Father," for he shines in *ZA*, called "Heaven," with the Light that elevates *ZON* to *YESHSUT* (the Second Temple) and to *AVI* (the First Temple). Because the Light stops shining from *Guf de Atik*, all of the Light descending to Israel disappears. This refers not only to the Light of the two Temples, but to all of the Light shining upon Israel, including *Ohr VAK* and the Light in the worlds of *BYA*.

96. Further, He descended and struck the lion. Initially, when this river rolled its waters down, Israel was in a state of perfection, for they offered up gifts and sacrifices to atone for their sins and to save their souls. Then, the image of a lion would descend from Above, and they would see it on the altar as it trampled the bodies of the sacrifices, devouring them, and all the dogs (all those who slander Israel) would fall to silence.

The fire that consumes the sacrifices laid on the Temple altar resembled a lion, and towered over the sacrifices, like a lion (Talmud, *Yoma*, 21:2), and that fire burned the sacrifices laid down by the sons of Israel. However, this is a corporeal image that a regular person perceives in our world.

But we shall follow our higher analysis and detach ourselves from this corporeal image; we will explain the action in the spiritual world that this language actually alludes to. All the languages in the Torah, including that which describes a rather corporeal image of sacrifice, speak only of spiritual actions. The most precise language for the description of these actions is the language of Kabbalah. However, this language is clear only to those who have ascended to the spiritual worlds and see both the roots, i.e., the events that transpire in the spiritual worlds, as well as their corporeal consequences.

Before the Light of *Atik* disappeared, when the Upper Light still shone upon Israel, like a river rolling its waters, Israel was in a state of perfection: by means of sacrifice, it raised its *MAN* (request), thus evoking a *Zivug* on its screen, and *MAD* (the Light, abundance) descends on it. As a result of these actions, it grew closer to the Heavenly Father, and all the impure forces distanced from it, for it purified its souls, and purification signifies distancing from the impure forces (desires), the way a soiled garment is cleansed from dirt.

Hence, the Hebrew word for sacrifice is *Korban*, derived from the word *Karov* (near). Thus, sacrifice signifies a person tearing away a part of his inner

animal egoism for the sake of drawing closer to the Creator. This is what brings Israel closer to their Heavenly Father.

And since Israel existed in perfection and raised *MAN* for the Creator's pleasure alone, its *MAN* would ascend to *Bina*. The Light of *Bina* is called *Ohr Hassadim*, and its form resembles the image of a lion, like the property of bestowal, *Hesed*. This means that the lion-*Bina* receives Israel's good desires and deeds. And it was seen how *Bina* consumes Israel's *MAN*—*Ohr Hassadim* descends from *Bina* onto this *MAN*, like a lion trampling his prey (*MAN*) and devouring it.

A lion devouring its prey is the principal aspect of sacrifice, for it signifies raising *MAN* to strengthen a screen and create *Ohr Hozer*. And since the magnitude of the received *Ohr Yashar* is determined by the magnitude (height) of *Ohr Hozer*, which creates the screen, it follows that existence and growth of *Ohr Yashar* is dependent on the *Ohr Hozer*. The greater the *Ohr Hozer*, the greater the descending *Ohr Yashar* becomes.

In other words, to the extent that every one of us desires to "bestow," he evokes a corresponding response from Above, from the root of his soul. And just as in our world a living being's life and strength depend on nutrition (it simply dies without it), the Upper Light depends on the Light reflected by the screen. When it stops, the Upper Light disappears from the *Partzuf*, i.e., man stops feeling it.

The Upper Light descends from *Bina* as *Ohr Yashar* (called a "lion"), i.e., in the form of "bestowal," in accordance with *Bina's* nature. And man sees (feels!) how *Ohr Yashar* clothes in *Ohr Hozer*, which ascends from its sacrifice (rejection of egoism), the lion's nourishment.

It devours its prey and thereby grows: the extent of Israel's perfection and their ability to offer sacrifices, to "bestow," determines the magnitude of their *MAN* and the force with which the *Ohr Yashar* strikes the screen, which reflects the Direct Light (pleasure) from below upwards with all its might. Moreover, it does so in great fear: for what if it fails to reflect the Light and desires to enjoy the Light of this commandment selfishly?

That is precisely where one's work lies. It is called "faith above reason," for it must rise above one's reason (egoism) and intellect. Conversely, those who receive inner confidence that it is enough to advance within one's nature are called "sacred still," a pure inanimate (non-developing) being, as such reason prevents them from spiritual growth.

Therefore, if the height of *Ohr Hozer* is great, it is defined as a lion that tears and devours its prey, as a victor, for it grows and ascends to a higher spiritual level thanks to the efforts of the lower one (man).

The impure force, the selfish will to receive pleasure is called "a dog," as it is written: "The leech has two daughters (who demand): Give-give." (*Mishley*, 30:15). They bark like a dog, and demand (to receive) both this world and the next. And the Higher One ascends, the stronger this impure force, called *Klipa*, becomes. And its strongest part corresponds to *Ohr Yechida*, opposite the lion devouring its prey).

The lion represents mercy and bestowal, unwillingness to receive anything for oneself. As it is written in *The Ethics of the Fathers*, 95: "A *Chassid*, the merciful righteous one, says, 'What's yours is yours, and what's mine is yours,'" so is the impure force (dog) aimed wholly at reception, and has no aspiration to bestow. As it is said in the Talmud (*Bava Batra*, 10:2), "The righteous among the nations of the world: all their mercy is for themselves alone;" hence, they are connected to the impure force of a dog. (Under no circumstances should any of this be interpreted literally, for, as it was repeatedly explained, the whole of the Kabbalah speaks only of man's-prototype. Israel is one's inner aspiration to the Creator, and *Goy* (a gentile) signifies egoism (regardless of and unrelated to one's origin). Relate this to the above-mentioned corporeal and spiritual Temples, where there is no connection between rocks and spiritual objects. It is also unclear to the uninitiated why altruism is the property of a lion, while a dog, a loyal animal, is the root of egoism and impurity).

It is therefore said that when Israel was perfect, it acquired the property of a lion, and all the dogs left it be, for it gave *Malchut* the strength to raise *Ohr Hozer* to great heights (devoured its prey, like a victor), and the impure force, like a dog, was afraid to come near it, and would hide in fear of the lion.

97. Yet, when sins increased, he descended to the lower degrees and slew the lion. This was because the lion refused to give up its prey as before, and this is as though he killed it. Therefore, he struck the lion and threw it into a pit, to the Evil Side (according to his understanding). The Evil Side saw this and sent a dog to devour the sacrifices from the altar in the lion's stead. What is the name of that lion? And what is the nickname of that dog? Baladan is its name; Baladan is formed by the words *Bal-Adam*, where the letter *Mem* is replaced by *Nun*, for he is not a human being at all, but a dog, and his face is like a muzzle of a dog.

("He" refers to Benayahu Ben Yehoyada Ben Ish Chai, *Rav Paalim u Mekabtziel*, in whom the degree of *Atik*, all of the Light, shines all at once.) Due to the disappearance of the screens of *Malchut* (*BON*) and *Bina* (*SAG*), Israel below could no longer raise *MAN* (the will to "bestow," the screen, the lion's nourishment). The *Zivug* stopped, and the Upper Light (lion) disappeared in its Root Above.

"Threw it into a pit"—the root of the desire to receive for one's own sake is in the eyes, as Rashi said: "The eye sees, and the heart burns with desire" (The weekly portion *Shlach*). This will to receive for oneself is called an "empty, waterless pit" (*Beresheet*, 37:24). The Upper Light does not fill it. Although it is empty, it is unworthy of being a vessel for the Light, as it is written: "He and I cannot dwell in the same abode" (Talmud, *Suta*, 5).

Thus, the lion was thrown into a pit, for it was struck before the eyes of the impure egoistic force, called an "empty, waterless pit." And these pits now emerge from their hideouts and reveal their power, and in place of a lion appears a barking dog.

ZA-MA = 45 is called Adam = *Aleph* + *Dalet* + *Mem* = 1 + 4 + 40 = 45, when he receives the Light from *Bina*. The property of *Bina* is bestowal. Hence, it is written: "Man is your name" (Talmud, *Yevamot*, 61), referring only to those who attain the property of bestowal, but not to the others, of whom it is said: "Even their mercy is only for their profit" (Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 10:2), and who are therefore called Baladan (Bal-Adan).

98. On a day of snow, on the day misfortunes descend from the Supernal Court Above, it is written, "Her household shall not fear snow," that is, the Supernal Court, called "snow." For her household is clothed twofold, and can thereby endure a strong fire. So the book says.

Strictness, judgment (*Din*) or restriction imposed on the use of egoism in the male part is called "snow" that stems from the Supernal Court. These restrictions are very powerful, but are mitigated below the *Chazeh*, where *Malchut* receives them. *Nukva* describes these restrictions in the following way: "Surround me with roses," (*Shir HaShirim*, 2) referring to two fires: the Upper—*Bina*, and the lower, her own—*Malchut*.

After *Malchut* acquires these two fires, she weakens the strictness of the cold snow with her fire. Hence, it is written in *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs) that her household shall not fear snow (the Supernal Court), i.e., the restrictions imposed on the male part, for her household is clothed twofold. In other words, on the contrary, the snow helps her withstand the heat of her fire. And only now that the screen and *Zivug* are gone, and the two fires are no more, the restrictions of the snow return.

99. What is written next? "And he struck an Egyptian." This refers to a secret: every time Israel sinned, the Creator would conceal Himself and restrict them from receiving all the goodness and all the Light that He shone upon them. "He struck an Egyptian." "He" refers to Moshe, the Light that shines upon Israel. For in Egypt he was born, grew up, and attained the Supernal Light.

The Torah speaks not of man, but of the Light that disappeared and concealed itself. Hence, it is defined as "slain." Gone is the great Light, with which Moshe shone upon Israel. And this Light is called the "Egyptian," for in Egypt Moshe was born, grew up, and attained the great Supernal Light, the Light that delivered Israel from Egypt.

100. A man of mirror. It is written, mirror and man, as it is written, a Godly man, the husband of that mirror, of the Creator's glory, *Malchut*. For with this degree he merited ruling over the entire land in all of his desire—a feat unmatched by any other.

The difference between Moshe and the other prophets is that Moshe is the foundation of *ZA*, as he constructs and passes the Light from *ZA* to *Malchut*, whereas the other prophets are the foundation of *Malchut*, and receive from her. Hence, it is written of him: "Godly man," the husband of *Malchut*, called the "Creator's greatness." And why is Moshe called the husband of *Malchut*? Because he attained the level of *ZA* and gives the Light to *Malchut*. Therefore, it is written that his attainments are beyond anyone else's, for the other prophets receive from *Malchut*, and are therefore ruled by her.

He who attains *Malchut* receives from her. The degree called Moshe means that he who attains it gives the Light to *Malchut*, instead of receiving from her. Yet, how can this be? How can one possibly rise above *Malchut* if all our souls originate from her and exist in the worlds of *BYA*? This indicates the state of ascent above *Malchut*, which is how Moshe ascends to *Bina*.

101. This is the Creator's staff that was delivered to him, as it is written, "With the Creator's staff in my hand." This is the staff that was created on the evening of the sixth day of the creation, before *Shabbat*. And His Holy Name is contained in it. And with this staff Moshe sinned by striking it twice against the rock. The Creator said to him: "Moshe, it is not for this purpose that I have not given you My staff; thus, it will no longer be in your possession henceforth."

The words "evening" and "twilight" signify the state of mitigation of *Malchut's* strictness by the properties of *Bina* to an extent that it becomes impossible to distinguish *Malchut* from *Bina*. This is because on *Shabbat*, *Malchut* ascends to *AVI* and becomes *Bina*. However, on the twilight of *Shabbat*, *Malchut* is not yet *Bina*, but is no longer *Malchut* (everything in the book speaks only of the properties of spiritual objects, for nothing but desires exists in the spiritual worlds. Only in our world are desires clothed in physical bodies).

Hence, it is said that ten things were created in the twilight, when there is no distinction between the thing itself and its origin, *Bina* or *Malchut*, for *Malchut* herself shows no distinction. And such is the property of the staff that was created in the twilight, before the world's first *Shabbat*. Hence, it possesses the holy (special) property of the Creator's name, an allusion to the properties of *Bina*, from which holiness (altruism) descends. And *Malchut* is ready to receive this holiness.

And these two properties of *Bina* and *Malchut* are contained in the Creator's staff, utterly indistinguishable from one another, for they were created in the twilight. Hence, with the help of this staff, i.e., by means of the property of uniting *Malchut* with *Bina*, all the fortunes and wonders, all of the Light can be brought to Israel, for this is the purpose behind the Light's descent from *Bina* to *Malchut*. With the help of this property (the staff), Moshe merited an ascent to *Bina*, up to the degree of "Godly man." Therefore, the staff is called the Creator's staff, according to the name of *Bina*.

Malchut is called *Tzur* (rock), and upon ascending to *Bina*, she is called *Sela* (another name for a rock). The inner *Zivug* between *ZON* (*ZA* and *Malchut*) in the state of their ascent to *AVI*, when *Nukva* uses *Ima's Kelim*, is called "speech." The outer *Zivug* between *ZON*, when they are in their own place, is called "*Zivug de Hakaa*" (a *Zivug* by Striking).

It is hence written to Moshe in the weekly Torah portion *Bashalach*: "You shall strike the rock (*Tzur*), and it shall bring forth water" (*Shemot*, 17:6), for a *Zivug de Hakaa* occurs within *Malchut* herself. However, it is written in the weekly portion *Chukat*: "Speak ye unto the rock before all eyes, that it give forth its water" (*Bamidbar*, 20:8), for the "rock" is in *Bina*, and the *Zivug* within her is called "speech."

And herein lies the sin of Moshe: he struck twice: in addition to first striking the *Tzur*, he struck the *Sela*, which lacks the strike, and only has a *Zivug* in the form of speech. Since there is no distinction in the Creator's staff, and it is unclear whether it refers to *Malchut* or to *Bina*, he also applied it to *Sela-Bina*. And the Creator told him that the staff was given to him to use with *Tzur*, but not with *Sela*.

102. At once He descended to him in strictness and wrenched the staff from the Egyptian's hand, for the moment the staff was taken from him, it was taken for good. And he was killed by it: because of the sin of striking the rock with the staff, he died and did not enter the Holy Land. And that Light was concealed from Israel.

It was already mentioned in item 94 that as a result of a great *Zivug* in *Atik*, only *BON* were supposed to disappear, but not *SAG*, for *BON* could have immediately risen and forever become like *SAG*. However, as *SAG* and *BON* were merged, *SAG* disappeared together with *BON*.

The Light of Moshe disappeared from Israel for the same reason—because he committed an even greater sin and harmed the union of *BON* and *SAG* by striking the *Sela*. Hence, harsh judgment descended upon him, which refers to the disappearance of the Light of *SAG*. Indeed, *SAG* is no longer connected to *BON* in any way, and the annulment of *BON* has no influence on it.

This is the meaning of what is written in Psalms: "He resembled those who draw axes at a copse of trees, but now all of his adornments are smashed by hatchets and axes" (*Tehilim*, 74:5). Due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, and her correction there, *Malchut* is like a "copse of trees," for *SAG*, too, is annulled by the merging with *BON*, *Malchut's* ascent, as if struck with "hatchets and axes."

Hence, it is written that the staff was taken from the Egyptian, and will never return to him, for the staff refers to *Malchut*. So the Light disappears for good, because *BON* renews itself afterwards and becomes *SAG* forever. Thus, it is no longer necessary to use the staff for striking.

It is written in this regard that he was slain by the same staff, for had he been careful and used it only once—striking the *Tzur*, but not the *Sela*—*SAG* would not have been annulled together with *BON*, and he would not have died. Instead, he would have immediately risen to *SAG*.

This is why it is written that Moshe shall not enter the Holy Land, Israel, as Israel is *BON* in the state of ascent to *SAG*, and it is called the Holy Land, for the Light of *Bina* (called the Holy Light) shines in it. However, until the end of correction arrives, there are still ascents and descents, which cause destructions (disappearance of the Light) and revelations (shining of the Light). But at the end of correction, *BON* will remain within *SAG* permanently as *Eretz Israel*, and there shall be no more exiles from it.

103. "The most respected of the thirty" refers to the Upper One that receives from Above and passes downward, one that receives and brings closer. However, he does not go to the first three, but they come to him and give to him wholeheartedly, but he does not come to them.

GAR (*HBD*) are called "thirty," as each of the three *Sefirot HBD* consists of ten, which amounts to thirty. And their Light shines in all of the 6,000 years. The soul of Benayahu appears out of the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, which accumulates

all the *Zivugim* during the 6,000 years. Hence, it is called *Rav Paalim* (performing many actions) and *Mekabtziel* (gathering all into one degree-*Partzuf*, called Benayahu Ben Yehoyada).

Therefore, he receives the Light of all of the Supernal Thirty, which descends to his soul. Indeed, he consists of particular *Zivugim* that have transpired through the 6,000 years, which he gathers into one. And, although they give him the best of their properties wholeheartedly, he still cannot draw closer to them and subsequently receive from them. This is because the disappearance of the screen in *ZON* made the screen in *SAG* disappear as well. Hence, he cannot come to them, raise *MAN*, and receive from them further.

104. Despite not being considered one of them, David heard the meaning that is never detached from the heart, for they can never be separated. David paid attention with all his heart, but he did not pay attention to David. For by the praises, hymns, and mercy that the moon offers the sun, the moon draws the sun closer so as to be with it.

David is *Malchut*; *Malchut* comes from the word *Melech* (King). Therefore, David is King, for his properties are the properties of *Malchut* (kingdom). And this is the fourth leg (support) of *GAR*. Hence, it is written that although he cannot be together with the thirty (*GAR*), he nonetheless clings to these properties, and never detaches himself from them.

This is because *Malchut's* entire perfection is revealed in him, for it stems from the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, which destroys all the impure forces of *BON*, as it is said: "He destroys evil forever."

Therefore, David resolved to never part with it again, for it is his perfection. However, Benayahu Ben Yehoyada paid no attention to David, as David is the fourth support of *GAR*. Hence, it is as though he is unable to receive from *GAR*. And since he cannot receive from David, he pays no attention to him.

With the help of the *MAN* of *Malchut* (called *Se'ara*—stormy wind), which is raised to *ZA* (called "Heaven"), as a result of the hymns, praises, and mercy, *Malchut* receives the Light of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada's soul, which is absolute perfection, and merges with it for all eternity.

105. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba fell down on their faces before him and could not see him anymore, then rose and went in every direction, but could not see him. They sat and wept, and could not even speak to one another. Then, Rabbi Aba said, "It is true what we have learned, that the Torah accompanies the righteous on all their paths. The righteous of the other world come to

them to reveal to them the secrets of the Torah. And this must have been Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, who came to us from the other world to reveal these secrets to us. But before we could recognize him, he vanished." They rose and wanted to lead their donkeys on, but could not. They repeatedly tried to goad the donkeys, but still they could not move. They grew frightened and left their donkeys behind. And to this day this place is called "the place of donkeys."

Because they could not bear such a powerful Light, which was revealed to them upon the disclosure of those secrets, they fell (*Katnut*) and then rose (*Gadlut*), for it was so unbearable. After they merited receiving from it such a great degree, this Light disappeared at once and did not reappear, and they could not attain it anymore. Hence, they wept (a kind of *Katnut*) out of great grief that they had lost such exalted attainment, and they could not speak (absence of *Kelim*).

The bitterness of their loss made them realize that it was the degree of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself, and not lower, as they had mistakenly thought before. The forces that they received from the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba are called "donkeys," with which they can raise *MAN*, the request to attain Higher Degrees, *Haya* and *Yechida*.

In other words, the soul is a spiritual force of Light; like a pulling force of a donkey that helps overcome egoistic desires and move from place to place in the spiritual world, onto a Higher Degree. To raise *MAN* means to feel what is lacking and what needs to be attained—this is what man's work is all about.

Such is the work of a righteous soul—it helps man by lifting him up onto his donkey (egoism) and taking the lead (pulling) in order to illuminate (give strength) for him the path of the righteous. And now, when its role has been completed, this soul disappears, although they would have very much liked to continue ascending and riding its donkeys, i.e., they wished to raise *MAN* anew to return and attain once more.

However, they could no longer receive the strength to raise *MAN*. Thus, they were struck by fear and left their donkeys in that place, which is hence called "the place of donkeys," for they could not use them any longer.

106. Rabbi Elazar opened and said: "Oh, how great is Your goodness, which You have hidden away for those who fear You! (*Tehilim*, 31:20). How infinite is the goodness that the Creator shall bestow on humankind in the future, on those sin-fearing, exalted righteous, who study the Torah as they arrive at that Upper World."

The words "great goodness" refer to *Gadlut*, the attainment of the Light of *GAR*. For the basis of a *Partzuf* is its *VAK*—the amount of Light necessary for its

existence, received from the *Zivug* of *AVI*, who make this *Zivug* and emit *Ohr Hassadim*, necessary to sustain the worlds. And all the extra Light, necessary for existence, is called *GAR* or *Ohr Hochma*—the additional, delectable and great Light.

This *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *GAR*, stems from *Bina*, which is called "the world to come." It is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* that emerges from a *Zivug* of the *Sefira Yesod* (*Chai Olamim*—life of the worlds), and from there descends to the righteous who fear to sin.

The *Zivug* of *AVI*, when they are at the degree of *Bina*, gives *Ohr Hassadim* to *ZA* for the sustenance of the worlds. However, when *AVI* ascend to *AA* and beget new souls by their *Zivug*, their *Zivug* is inconstant, as it emits *Ohr Hochma*, called "new souls."

107. The name "great goodness" can be further described as containing all the secrets of the Supernal wisdom, which descend from ZA to *Malchut*. There is a great tree, called ZA or *Rav* (great, strong), and there is a small tree, *Malchut*, which grows from it. And it is elevated to the Highest Firmament.

In addition to the attainment of the Light of *GAR*, there is also the inner part of the Supernal wisdom with its secrets, which become revealed in the *Zivug* of *Atik* at the completion of the 6,000 years, the end of correction. *MA* designates the lower world, *Malchut*. The great and strong tree is *ZA* in the state of ascent to *Partzuf AB*, as in this state he receives *Ohr Hochma*, and *Hochma* signifies strength (not "reason—strength" but the strength of *Ohr Hochma* lies in the fact that it allows one to go against reason, in defiance of common sense, in faith above reason).

However, when *ZA* is in his place, he is simply called "a tree," for he lacks *Ohr Hochma* and has only *VAK*, *Ohr Hassadim*. *Malchut* is also called a tree and grows together with *ZA*; *ZA* ascends to *Aba*, to the utmost height, to the Supernal Firmament—*Atik*.

108. The "great goodness" is the Light that was created on the first day of creation and concealed so as to be revealed in the future for the righteous in the other world. Your Deeds are the Supernal Garden of Eden, which the Creator has created by His act.

The Light that was created on the first day of creation is the Light in which Adam saw from one end of the world to the other. Hence, the word "Light" is used five times in the Torah's description of the first day of creation. This Light is intended for the righteous in the world to come, for it is concealed in *Yesod de Aba* and in *Yesod de Ima*, which are collectively called "righteousness and justice."

(In Hebrew, the words *Tzedek*—justice and *Tzadik*—righteous/just have the same root. This name is given to one who attains the Creator's governance and sees that His governance is just; hence, he justifies all of the Creator's actions, and is thus called righteous. The other meaning of the word 'righteous' refers to man's belief that the Creator is righteous, because in spirituality, one assumes the name of the degree one has attained. If he attains that the Creator is righteous by receiving this knowledge from the degree onto which he ascends, then he is already called by the name of that degree.)

Ohr Hochma can be received only in "precious garments," called righteousness and justice, that is, only with these intentions. The above excerpt speaks of an open action, implying unrestricted diffusion of Light, as it will be after the end of all the corrections. In the Torah, such a state is called "the Supernal Garden of Eden."

In the meantime, only the complete and perfect righteous ones, the souls of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada and others that merited reception of Light from the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, gather all the Light of the 6,000 years. These souls' place of rest is referred to as the Garden of Eden.

There exists the lower Garden of Eden of earth, which is *VAK*, and the Supernal one, *GAR*. All the souls dwell in the lower Garden of Eden, and only on new moons and Sabbaths do they ascend to the Supernal Garden of Eden, and then return to their place. However, there are individual, special persons (souls), whose place is in the Supernal Garden of Eden. These are the souls of which Rabbi Shimon says: "I saw them ascending, but their numbers were few."

109. All the righteous stand in the lower Garden of Eden, clothed in precious adornments, similar in quality and form to those which they wore in this world, meaning in the same form as people in this world and according to man's actions in this world. They stand there and fly away through the air, ascend to the Assembly in the Supernal Garden of Eden, fly there and bathe in the dew of the pure river of *Apharsemon* (persimmon), then come down and fly below in the lower Garden of Eden.

The main difference between *GAR* and *ZAT* with regard to both *Partzufim* and souls is that *GAR* (*KHB*) do not need the garment of *Hassadim*. They can receive *Ohr Hochma* as it is. However, *Partzufim* of *VAK* and the souls born from *ZON*, whose basis is *VAK* (*Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*), can only receive *Ohr Hochma* when it is clothes in *Ohr Hassadim*.

The *Ruach de Tzadikim* (spirit of the righteous) in the lower Garden of Eden is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, just as human souls in this world. And with the help

of these precious garments, they can ascend to the Supernal Garden of Eden and there receive *Ohr Hochma*. Afterwards, they return to their place in the lower Garden of Eden, for that is their permanent place.

They ascend by the power of *Ohr Hassadim*, called "air," and fly to the Supernal Garden of Eden to receive *Ohr Hochma*, called the river of *Apharsemon*. However, they cannot stay there, so they immediately descend from the Supernal Garden of Eden to the lower. *The Zohar* compares them to human souls, for both the Upper and the lower human souls need to receive the garment of *Ohr Hassadim* in order to correct themselves and ascend.

110. And sometimes these righteous appear as people in order to perform miracles, like celestial angels, just as we have seen the luminescence of the Upper Light, but did not merit to see and discover the wisdom's great secrets.

DID NOT MERIT TO DISCOVER THE WISDOM'S GREAT SECRETS—for the donkey driver had left them and disappeared. There are special souls that abide in the Supernal Garden of Eden. They have risen so high that the souls from the lower Garden of Eden ascend to them only on new moons and Sabbaths, and, being unable to stay there, immediately descend to their permanent place. However, they are nonetheless similar to human souls, which descend from the Supernal Garden of Eden to this world and meet people, just like the angels that seldom descend to this world.

Now they have seen the Light of the Supernal Luminary, the Light of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba that descended on them from the highest point, the Supernal Garden of Eden, and was revealed before them in this world (while they are still living in this world).

AS PEOPLE refers to the souls that abide in the lower Garden of Eden, which have the form of people, and the Light of the Supernal Garden of Eden influences them. They can receive this Light during their ascent on new moons and Sabbaths, whereupon they merit meeting the souls of the Supernal Garden of Eden, and then descend to their permanent place.

However, one may also say that the words AS PEOPLE refer to the people of our corporeal world, while the souls from the Supernal Garden of Eden sometimes descend to this world and, like exalted angels, appear before the eyes of the righteous.

111. Rabbi Aba opened and said: "And he who is doomed said to his wife, 'We shall die, for I have seen the Creator.' Even though he was not aware of his actions, as it is written, 'He did not know that it was an angel'; however,

since it is written, 'Man shall not see Me and live,' we know that he has died. And we have merited this great Light to accompany us, and the world exists because the Creator Himself sent him to us, to reveal the secrets of His Supernal wisdom to us. How joyous is our share!"

When the angel saw him who was doomed, he did not yet have the proper level of attainment; thus, the angel was unwilling to reveal his name. Yet, although he did not know and did not attain him, he still feared the words, "Man shall not see Me and live" (*Shemot*, 33:20).

But we have merited complete attainment, for we came to know his name, Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. And we live and exist in this world. It is therefore clear that the degree of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba is called "Show me Your glory" (*Shemot*, 33:18), Moshe's request of the Creator.

But the Creator replied: "You cannot see My face, for man shall not see Me and live." From this we see that they have attained more than Moshe. This state is described by sages as, "There was no prophet more exalted than Moshe, but there was a sage" (*Yalkut Shimoni*, the end). It is also written: "A sage is preferred to a prophet" (Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 12:1). Thus, they have spiritually ascended to merit the appearance of such an exalted soul, while still being in this world.

112. They walked and came to a mountain. The sun had set. The branches of the tree on that mountain started rattling and singing. As they were still walking, they heard a resounding voice proclaim, "Sons of the Holy Creator, dispersed among the living in this world, illuminated by the sons of the Assembly, gather in your places and rejoice with your Creator in the Torah." They grew frightened and stopped, then sat down.

"They came to a mountain" refers to the words of King David, who said (*Tehilim*, 24:3): "Who shall ascend the mountain of the Lord, and who shall stand in His holy place?" meaning who is worthy of it? After they climbed the mountain, the sun had set (the Light left the *Partzuf*). But they heard something from the trees, as it is written: "Then shall all the trees of the wood sing for joy" (*Tehilim*, 96:12).

They heard a voice that told them to return to their place, rejoice in the Creator and His Torah, and descend from the mountain. And it calls them by the name of that High Degree, which they've achieved. But it hints that people are not worthy of being at that degree and in this world simultaneously. Yet, although they were frightened, they remained on the mountain, sat down, and did not move. "Grew frightened," "stopped," and "sat down" are the spiritual states of the *Partzuf*.

We see how *The Zohar* explains the path of the righteous, those who cross the *Machsom* (the barrier that separates our world from the spiritual) and start ascending the rungs of the spiritual ladder. This path is diverse, and each book of the Torah describes it in its own way: the language of Kabbalah, legends, judicial laws, historical accounts of the Pentateuch, etc.. *The Zohar* draws a vivid picture for us—like a guidebook for those who will find themselves in the place of these exalted travelers in the spiritual world. Once there, you will see for yourselves what is implied by such notions as "mountain," "tree," and "voice." Then *The Zohar* will become your true guidebook!

It is impossible to provide a more detailed description of the *Partzufim*, i.e., an inner perception of one who ascends spiritually. This is because the reader must first have certain analogous sensations of his own. If one could see only once what the described content (or something similar) really means, one would be able to clearly imagine what it speaks of.

It is the same in our world: even if we have never been to a certain country, we can imagine what others describe to us by analogy with what we already know. But in this case, there is no analogy. One who sees the spiritual world for the first time realizes how wrong all of his previous visualizations have been! Hence, we can say nothing about many of the states described in *The Zohar*.

113. Meanwhile, a voice called out again, "O, mighty rocks, great hammers of thunder, *Bina* stands upon a pillar, so enter and assemble." At that moment, they heard the mighty voice of thousands of trees, which was saying, "The Creator's voice breaks the cedars." Both Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba fell down on their faces. Great fear fell upon them. They rose hastily and left, not hearing anything else, then came down the mountain and kept on walking.

It was previously said that they could not load their donkeys, meaning that they were unable to raise *MAN*, because Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba had already completed his helping mission. This is why they lost the power of their donkeys, and could not continue using them to raise *MAN* and merit Higher Degrees.

Therefore, Rabbi Elazar said earlier that they did not merit seeing and attaining the secrets of the Supernal wisdom. The fact is that after they attained the level of *Yechida*, i.e., revealed the soul of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada with the help of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, the disappearance of the screen (*Masach*) of *BON* caused the loss of *Masach de SAG*. Hence, they could no longer raise *MAN*.

The Light stopped descending to them from *Guf de Atik* specifically to give them the opportunity, or rather the strength to recreate *Masach de SAG*.

Consequently, *BON* will become like *SAG*, they will resume raising *MAN*, and will once more be able to ascend from degree to degree.

Hence, as soon as both Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba left their donkeys, they lost strength to raise *MAN* in order to bring *BON* back to the level of *SAG*. However, the voice proclaimed that they are as strong as rock and thunder, for so far they have endured all the trials. And they will gather strength to endure the mighty rocks and to overcome all the obstacles as before, until they obliterate these obstacles, like great hammers of thunder crashing down from Above.

Bina, though herself colorless, is called "the source of colors." This is because she is all mercy, whereas all the other properties originate specifically from her by enduring all the trials, like rocks. From all this, *Bina* receives new forms, hence she received the powers of a new screen onto which emerge all the new degrees and *Partzufim*.

Together with the voice that informed them of *Bina's* new powers, they heard another voice, "The Creator's voice breaks the cedars" (*Tehilim*, 29:5), which let them know that all the cedars (obstacles) on their path to higher attainments have been removed. This gave them strength to climb down the mountain and continue their path onto Higher Degrees.

114. Upon reaching the house of Rabbi Yosi, the son of Rabbi Shimon Ben Yosi Ben Lakunya, they saw Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai. They rejoiced. Rabbi Shimon rejoiced, too. He said to them, "You have traveled this path of Heavenly signs and wonders correctly, for as I was sleeping, I saw you and Benayahu Ben Yehoyada, who was sending you two crowns with an old man, so as to adorn you. I am certain that the Creator was on this path too, because I see how your faces have changed." Rabbi Yosi said, "Truly, it is said that a sage is preferred to a prophet." Rabbi Elazar came and put his head on the knees of his father, Rabbi Shimon, and told him of what had happened.

Here *The Zohar* gives an allegorical explanation of two states: first, they merited attaining the Light of *SAG* (called Rabbi Yosi) once more, and secondly, now *SAG* and *AB* join in a constant *Zivug*. We see this from their meeting with Rabbi Shimon, who signifies *Ohr Hochma*. In other words, they merited their *BON* returning and becoming like *SAG* in its constant and eternal *Zivug* with *AB*.

Benayahu Ben Yehoyada sent them two crowns through Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba: *Ohr Yechida*, called Benayahu Ben Yehoyada himself, and a new Light *AB-SAG*, which they have just attained. This Light also came to them by the powers of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada as a reward for overcoming all the trials, thanks to

which they, of all others, merited this degree, which is emanated from the great Light of his soul.

Hence, it follows that he sent them two crowns. However, all these descents on their spiritual path were not failures; rather, the Creator Himself was leading them to that High Degree, which they have now attained. This is why it is written: I AM CERTAIN THAT THE CREATOR WAS ON THIS PATH (with you). However, HOW YOUR FACES HAVE CHANGED, for you have attained something else, described by the phrase, A SAGE IS PREFERRED TO A PROPHET.

115. Rabbi Shimon was frightened and wept. He said, "I have heard the Creator and I am awed." This verse was spoken by the prophet Havakuk (Habakkuk), when he saw his death and his resurrection by Elisha. Why was he named Havakuk? Because it is written that at around this time there would be a *HOVVEK-ET*—a son will be embraced. For Havakuk was the son of the Shunamit. And there were two embraces: one from the mother and one from Elisha, as it is written, "He put his mouth to his."

First, it is unclear how the prophet Elisha could pass a seed in his blessing to the Shunamit, for this seed cannot exist (procreate). Indeed, Elisha was the greatest prophet after Moshe and his soul came from the Supernal Garden of Eden. Hence, his *BON* (in Hebrew, the words *Ben*—son and *BON* are spelled the same way: *Bet-Nun*) was already absolutely pure and perfect.

Therefore, when he passed his son to her, he tied him to the male side, whereas he tied Havakuk only to the female side. And since the female side, *Nukva*, is closer to the impure force, it clung itself to him, and he died. Thus, the reason for his death lies in the exalted level of the prophet, for his *BON* is pure and free from the clinging of impure forces.

Hence, the prophet prayed: "The Creator has hidden it from me and had not told me!" (*Melachim II*, 4:27). In other words, he had not the slightest clue that he could die by being connected only to *BON*. That is why it was necessary to return, revive, and attach him to the Upper World, to the resurrection of the dead.

The essence of the embryo is the white (*Ohr Hochma*) in it, as it is written (Talmud, *Nidah*, 31:1) that *Aba* (father) is *Hochma*, for *Hochma* is called "white," as it is said, "He made everything with *Hochma* (wisdom)" (*Tehilim*, 104). However, there is also a need for clothing in *Ohr Hassadim*, the intention "for the Creator's sake," as it is impossible to receive *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of Wisdom, attainment and delight, without the clothing of *Ohr Hassadim*, without an altruistic intention.

So the mother must provide the red, the screen, which provides *Ohr Hassadim*, required for the clothing of *Ohr Hochma* in it. As a result of the *Ohr Hassadim* embracing (clothing, enveloping) *Ohr Hochma* in itself, an embryo can exist. And here the embryo's entire embrace came only from the mother, the Shunamit, i.e., only from the female side (*BON*).

Hence, when Elisha revived him, he gave him the white (*Hochma*) and the red (*Hassadim*) once more. It follows that it was Elisha himself who embraced him the second time. It is hence said that there were two Havakuks (from the word *Hibuk*—embrace): one from the mother and the other from Elisha.

116. I have discovered in the book of King Solomon that the name Havakuk consists of seventy-two names. Elisha created it with words. Each word consists of three letters, for the letters of the alphabet that the Father confirmed to him initially flew away when he died. But Elisha embraced him and confirmed in him all these letters in his seventy-two names. In all, there are 216 letters in his seventy-two names, three letters in each.

The embryo is built of 216 = *RYU* (*Reish* = 200 + *Yod* = 10 + *Vav* = 6) letters, designating *Ohr Hochma*, which descends to *YESHSUT*. This means that the embryo has *RYU* letters, which amounts to the *Gematria* of *RE'IYAH* = *Reish-Aleph-Yod-Hey*, i.e., the Light of vision. *Re'iyah* means vision in Hebrew, and vision is possible only in *Ohr Hochma*, for "seeing" means "attaining," and the Light of the eyes is the Light of *Hochma*.

When a growing *Partzuf* attains *Gadlut*, receives the clothing of *Ohr Hassadim* of the Upper World from *AVI*, and *RYU* clothe in *Ohr Hassadim*, this *Partzuf* is called *AB* (72) names, as each three letters join into one and *RYU* = 216 letters turn into *AB* = seventy-two groups with three letters in each group, or *AB* = seventy-two names.

When *Ohr Hassadim*, the clothing of the *Partzuf*, comes only from the lower world, it is defined as *RYU* = 216 letters. And when it attains *AB*, *Hassadim* of the Upper World, each three letters form a group, and this results in *AB* = seventy-two names, as it is written, HE CONFIRMED IN HIM ALL THESE LETTERS. When Elisha revived Havakuk, the son of the Shunamit, he created the name Havakuk, *AB* = seventy-two letters from *RYU* = 216, for he gave him *Ohr Hassadim* of the Upper World from *AB*.

Because of it, all 216 letters made groups of three and formed three lines from Above downwards: right, left and middle. A cell made of three letters—the right, left, and middle lines, situated horizontally (referring to the same screen and type of *Kli*)—is regarded as one. Therefore, *AB* (seventy-two) letters is used

instead of *AB* (seventy-two) names, because each letter is considered to include three, merged into one. When *Ohr Hochma* enters these seventy-two cells, the *Partzuf* is called *AB* and is said to have the complete Light of *Hochma*.

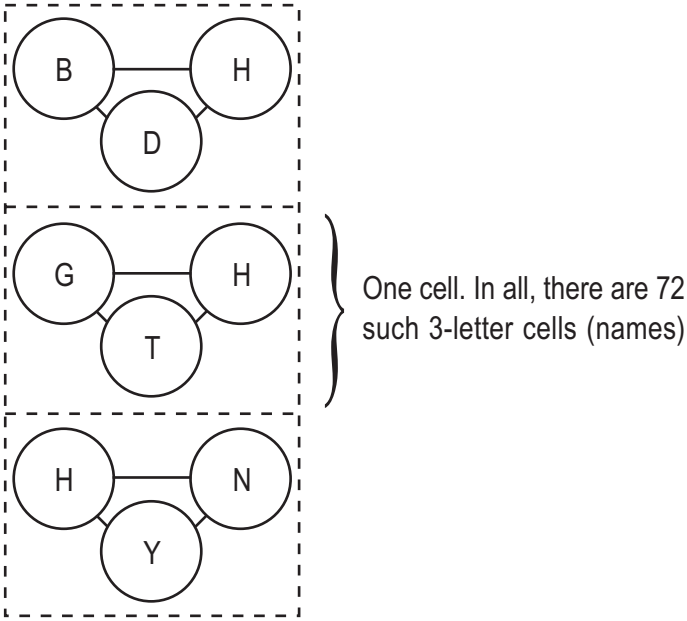

Ohr Hassadim is the Light that brings peace in the state of the *Partzuf* at a given moment, for its property is not to wish anything for itself, but to bestow. However, *Ohr Hassadim* received from the lower world is merely comfort "for want of something better," whereas *Ohr Hassadim* received from the Upper World creates such a powerful property of "bestowal" that the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma*, thereby showing that although it has *Ohr Hochma*, it still prefers *Ohr Hassadim*.

This is similar to a person in our world, who says that he needs nothing. Yet, there is a distinction: does he say this in a state when he has nothing and can have everything he wants, but still wishes to restrict himself to bare essentials and to give away the rest?

Therefore, when the growing *Partzuf* (the son—*BON*) had only *Ohr Hassadim* from the lower world, it could not receive *Ohr Hochma* in it, and was thus called *RYU* letters. But since the impure forces still cling to them and tempt the *Partzuf* to receive *Ohr Hochma* for itself, *Ohr Hochma* cannot be clothed within them.

These *RYU* letters that Havakuk had since the day of his birth FLEW AWAY WHEN HE DIED. Hence, it was essential to give him *RYU* letters and *AB* names once more. And Elisha did just that by HIS SPIRIT, for he was obliged

to recreate in him *RYU* letters in order to combine them into *AB* cells with the help of the Upper *Hassadim* (combine everything into three lines), when everything unites into *AB* names.

117. Elisha confirmed all of these letters in the soul of Havakuk so as to revive him by the letters of the seventy-two names. And he called him Havakuk, for that is his complete name, which describes all of his properties, as it alludes to two Havakuks and to the 216 letters of the Holy Name, as the *Gematria* (numerical value) of the name Havakuk is 216, from which the seventy-two names were formed. By *AB* names he revived him and brought his spirit back, and by *RYU* letters he revived his body and let it live. This is why he is called Havakuk.

Havakuk = *Chet* + *Bet* + *Kuf* + *Vav* + *Kuf* = 8 + 2 + 100 + 6 + 100 = 216. The word Havakuk indicates two embraces (*Hibukim*, plural for *Hibuk*). Like all Hebrew names, it refers to the property of its bearer. For instance, Yaakov is derived from "*Akev*" ("got around" Esav), and Avraham signifies *Av* —father, *Am*—of the nation).

The first embrace came from *Ima*, but it did not yet allow *Ohr Hochma* into the *Partzuf*, into *RYU* letters, for the impure force clings to the red in *Ima*. But then Elisha embraced him with *Hassadim* of the Upper World that came from *AVI*. This united the letters into groups (names), and *Ohr Hochma* entered and filled these names permanently, since the impure force cannot cling to *Hassadim* of the Upper World.

As in the above example, even if all the *Ohr Hochma* were to be offered, the *Partzuf*, upon receiving protection in the form of a desire for *Hassadim* of the Upper World, receives such great strength (desire) to bestow that it never wants *Hochma*. This is precisely why *Hochma* can fill it for all eternity.

Therefore, the name Havakuk denotes two *Chibukim* (embraces): one from the mother and one from Elisha, thereby imparting him with perfection from all sides: from both the *Ohr Hochma* and the *Ohr Hassadim*. "Embraces" signify *Ohr Hassadim* that stems from *AVI*, and *Ohr Hochma* received within *Ohr Hassadim* is called "the secrets of *RYU*."

It is hence written that HE REVIVED HIS SPIRIT BY *AB* NAMES AND HIS BODY BY *RYU* LETTERS. And he was revived by Elisha's embrace, for *RYU* letters had formed names, that is, the three lines, in which *Ohr Hochma* could be received, thanks to the reception of *Ohr Hassadim* from *AVI* (the Upper World).

The impure forces (man's egoistic desires) cannot attack in this Light. Hence, death (the result of receiving *Ohr Hochma* for oneself) does not exist.

Subsequently, he receives *Ohr Hochma*, which yields the complete correction of his *Guf*.

However, the *Partzuf* (son of the Shunamit) had *RYU* letters from the moment of birth, and they left him when he died. Then why is he called Havakuk (two embraces)? After all, the first embrace of *Ima* (mother) left him the moment of his death, and Elisha revived him from death by embracing him only once. Thus, does he not contain only the embrace of Elisha?

The thing is that Elisha has given him nothing new at the time of resurrection, except for the embrace, the Light from the Supernal *Ima*—*SAG*, whose Light evokes the resurrection of the dead. And *RYU* letters were simply revived by his lower mother—*BON*. These are the same *RYU* of *BON* with which he was born. Otherwise, it would have been an entirely new soul, of which one would not have been able to say that it was dead and then resurrected.

Therefore, now he truly has two embraces, for the first one has now been revived as well, when *BON* ascended to *SAG*. And since *BON* is in the place of *SAG*, his *Hassadim* are regarded as those of the Supernal Mother. They completely neutralize the impure forces and death, for their properties (desires) are only of bestowal, which the impure force cannot bear. Thus, they can no longer tempt man. This is why he is called Havakuk, after the action of the two embraces.

118. He said, "I have heard the Creator and I am awed by His Name." I have heard of what I had and have had a taste of the other world at the moment of death, before Elisha resurrected him, and I am awed. He began asking for mercy for his soul. He said, "O, Creator, the deeds that You have performed for me throughout the years were my life." And whoever connects to the past years (the name of the *Sefirot* of *Atik*), connects to life. Throughout the years, bestow life upon the degree that has no life of its own, upon *Malchut de Malchut*.

His fear comes from the past, previous states, for now he has become perfect on all his sides, and therefore fear has no place. This fear remained from the past, when he left the world. This describes the state between death and resurrection. However, he continues receiving fear from the past state, so it would help him create a screen for raising *MAN*. It is precisely this fear from past times (states) that stimulates him to raise *MAN* (request for mercy).

This is the secret of the future screen, after *BON* becomes *SAG*. For then "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8), and there will be no force evoking fear of death and suffering or able to cause harm to one's purity and holiness. Hence, there will be no need to shun, no one to beware of or avoid.

So if one has attained such an exalted spiritual state, where could he possibly acquire fear? After all, he will not be able to ascend without it! Only if he takes fear from his past states! For the *Partzuf* retains the memories, records, recollections of past states, even after its ascent to *SAG*, when *BON* become like *SAG*.

If not for the recollections of fear from the past states, the *Partzuf* would not have been able to create a screen in a state when it has nothing left to fear. While explaining this, Rabbi Shimon told them of Havakuk, to teach them how to acquire fear, just as Havakuk did by taking fear from the past.

THE DEEDS THAT YOU HAVE PERFORMED... THROUGHOUT THE YEARS... WERE MY LIFE—because he lived through two periods: the years preceding his death and the years following his resurrection. Between these two periods, there was a state of exiting this world, death (during which he existed in the other world). That is to say, because I remember the time of my death, I thereby connect to life of the Upper World, which Elisha bestowed by resurrecting me.

ZAT de Atik is called the "past (sometimes ancient) years," since they receive their Light from *Malchut* of the world of *AK*, *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. However, *ZAT de Atik* do not shine upon the lower *Partzufim* and worlds with their Light of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. *ZAT de Atik* shine downward during the 6,000 years with diminished Light, restricting it according to the laws of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Only at the end of correction will they begin to pass down all of their Light. It is written in the Torah that the Light that *Atik* had passed during the 6,000 years is designated with the small letter *Hey* in the word Avraham.

However, because Havakuk's death has purified him completely, since at the end of correction he merited merging with the "past years" of *Atik*, he received the required strength in Elisha's embraces and resurrection. It is hence written that after he has purified himself and felt fear at the moment of his death, the power of this fear enabled him to establish contact with *ZAT de Atik* and receive the Light called "eternal life."

For having purified himself through death, *BON* received complete correction, upon ascending and becoming *SAG* at the time of death. Subsequently, it reaches the degree of *Malchut de Malchut*, a *Zivug* on which can only be made at the end of correction, and attains this degree, the Light of his life.

119. Rabbi Shimon wept and said: "And I have seen from the Creator what I have heard." He raised his hands above his head, and said: "But you have merited seeing Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, the Light of the Torah, face to face, while I have not." He fell on his face and saw him who uproots mountains and

lights candles in the Temple of the King (*Mashiach*). He said to him, "Rabbi, in the other world we shall be neighbors with the heads of the assemblies before the Creator." From here on, he called his son Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba by the name Pnei'el (the face of God), as it is written: "For I have seen the Creator face to face."

He praised himself for using the same fear from the past, just like Prophet Havakuk.

All corrections are already ready and waiting in the hall of the King (*Mashiach*), down to the very last detail. They must all be revealed at the end of all corrections, with the appearance of the King. And the souls in that hall are those who merited completion of their individual corrections, for there is an individual correction and a general one.

Malchut de Malchut is the only creation, and it is divided into parts called souls. These parts merge with people of our world, and each of them, while existing within man, must attain one's own correction, i.e., gradually replace one's properties (desires) with those of the Creator. This is considered the soul's individual or personal correction. So then, the souls that have attained their individual correction reach and exist in the state called "abiding in the hall of the King-*Mashiach*."

The Light in that hall (the Light of the Torah), also called Hamnuna-Saba, completely liberates man from the impure forces, i.e., purifies him from all his primordial egoistic desires and corrects *Malchut de Malchut*, which "appears to the righteous as a high mountain" (Talmud, *Sota*, 52). This correction is made by creating a new *SAG*-like screen with the purpose of raising *MAN* (the request for final correction). *MAN* is called *Me'orei Esh* (sparkles of fire), as it is written: "Man's soul is the Creator's candle" (*Mishley*, 20:27).

The light of the sun designates the Light's descent, *MAD*, just as sunlight descends upon us from Above, whereas a fire's flame signifies *Ohr Hozer* that rises from below upwards, like candlelight. *The Zohar* therefore says that these two corrections, aimed at destroying the impure forces and ascending to light the candles in the hall of the King-*Mashiach*, are in the hands of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba.

And the perfect righteous in need of these two final corrections merit receiving them only through revealing the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. And he stated that they (the disciples of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba) will merit the honor of serving in the hall of the King-*Mashiach* after their death, and will become his neighbors and the heads of the Creator's Assembly.

The Two Points

120. Rabbi Chiya began and opened, "The beginning of *Hochma* (wisdom) is fear of the Creator, and those who observe this rule receive all the goodness." He asks, "The beginning of wisdom? One should rather say that the end of wisdom is the fear of the Creator, for fear of the Creator is the property of *Malchut*, which is at the end of *Hochma* (wisdom)." He replies, "Yet, *Malchut* is the beginning of the entrance to the degrees of reception of the Supernal wisdom." Hence, it is written, "Open to me the gates of justice," meaning that the gates of *Malchut*, called "justice," are the Creator's gates. And if man does not enter these gates he shall not reach the Supernal King through any other, for He is concealed and detached, and has erected many gates on the path to Him.

Fear of the Creator is the *Sefira Malchut*. Yet, how can *Malchut* serve as an entrance if she is the last of the ten *Sefirot*? Indeed, she may be called the end of *Hochma* or of a *Partzuf*, but not the beginning. However, this is not an allegorical expression, but the essence itself, for HE IS CONCEALED AND DETACHED and no thought of man can attain Him. Hence, He has put up many gates ON THE PATH TO HIM, and thanks to these gates He grants sufferers the opportunity to draw closer to him, the opportunity for attainment.

This is precisely what the verse, "Open to me the gates of justice," (*Tehilim*, 118) alludes to; these are the very gates that the Creator made, through which people can come to Him. HOWEVER, AT THE END OF ALL THE GATES ERECTED A SPECIAL GATE WITH MANY LOCKS. This gate is *Malchut de Malchut*, the ultimate point of all creation, the ultimate point of all Supernal gates.

And this last gate (from Above downwards) is the first gate to Supernal wisdom (from below upwards), for it is impossible to attain the Supernal *Hochma*

(wisdom) without attaining precisely this final gate, as it is the first gate with regard to attainment of the Supernal wisdom. It is therefore written (*Tehilim*, 111:10): "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom," as fear of the Creator is called the final gate, which stands first on the path to Supernal attainment.

121. And at the end of all the gates He erected a special gate with several locks, several entrances, and several chambers, one atop of the other. And He said, "Whoever wishes to reach Me, let this be the first gate on his way to Me. Whoever enters through this gate—will enter." Only this is the first gate to the Supernal wisdom, the gate of fear of the Creator, *Malchut*, which is hence called "beginning."

The locks, entrances, and chambers are three successive processes of attainment, of realizing the spiritual in one's inner sensation. The thought that created the world was the Creator's thought to make a creation (the human soul) in order to fill it with delight. However, it is impossible to feel delight as long as one is removed from the Creator, for He is the only One in existence. And He has created us in such a way that the nearer we come to Him, the greater delight we feel, whereas the farther we are from Him, the more we suffer.

Those of us who live in and perceive only this world can only accept the above words on faith or reject them. However, Kabbalists, who ascend spiritually and draw closer to the Creator, make these assertions and describe their attainments for us. And as to how and when we shall travel the same path to the Creator and attain complete unity with Him, this depends on us alone. However, regardless of whether we want to or not, we will need to travel the entire path from our world to complete unity with the Creator while still existing in this body, during one of our lifetimes in this world. This is the purpose of creation, and until it is fulfilled, man must reincarnate and return to this world, as the sages said: "The Creator wished to dwell in the lower ones."

Our world is built completely opposite from the Creator, as it was created in the property of egoistic will to receive pleasure, and this property is the exact antithesis to the Creator's property (desire) to delight us. Additionally, there is no trace of a will to receive pleasure in the Creator Himself.

It is hence said about a person in our world: "Man is born akin to a wild ass" (*Iyov*, 11:12). Therefore, to those who live in this world, the Creator's governance seems completely opposite to the purpose of creation—to delight the creatures. After all, that is how we perceive His rule over us, and feel the surrounding world in our egoistic sensations.

According to the Creator's plan, one must correct his egoistic desires and make them altruistic, whereupon the Creator fulfills them with supernal, absolute delight (to the extent of their correction). Until one attains this state, he continues to suffer from his desire to enjoy either this world or the spiritual.

These sensations are called "gate locks," for all the numerous contradictions to the oneness of the Creator's actions that we feel in this world separate us from the Creator and prevent us from drawing closer to Him. However, when we exert to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* with love, with our heart and soul, as devotedly as it was prescribed for us, with the sole intention of pleasing the Creator and without any benefit for ourselves, all of the forces that separate us from Him and every contradiction that we overcome on our path to Him becomes a gate of attainment of His Supernal wisdom, of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because every contradiction reveals its own uniqueness in the attainment of the Creator's governance.

Thus, those very questions and contradictions, which initially seemed to prevent us from accepting the oneness of the Creator's governance, then turn into knowledge, thanks to which we come to understand and attain the oneness of His governance.

And those who merit this transform darkness into Light (within themselves) and bitterness into sweetness. This is how they feel their attainments—in precisely those past sensations of darkness and bitterness. For the forces that repel us from the Creator, that form our minds and are perceived by the body as bitter turn into gates of attainment of Supernal Degrees. This way, darkness becomes Light and bitterness becomes sweetness.

And the more negative the Creator's governance is first perceived, the deeper man eventually comes to realize the perfection of His governance. At last, the entire world ends up on the scale of merit, for every force and insight now serve as *SHAAREY TZEDEK* (the gates of truth), through which one can enter and receive from the Creator everything that He intended to bestow at the Thought of Creation. Thus, it is written about such contradictions that turn into realization of unity: "These are the gates to the Creator; the righteous shall enter them" (*Tehilim*, 118:20).

Hence, until one merits turning his will "to receive for himself" into the will "to receive for the Creator" with the help of the Torah and *Mitzvot*, all the gates to the Creator have sturdy locks (the sensation of imperfection in the Creator's governance), as they then play their opposite role: to distance and turn one away

from the Creator. And they are called locks, for they lock the gates of contact with the Creator and distance us from Him.

However, if we make efforts to overcome them so they stop influencing us and weakening our love for the Creator, we will thus turn these locks into entrances, darkness into Light, and bitterness into sweetness. This is because for every lock we receive a special degree of attainment of the Creator. These degrees become entrances that lead to the degrees of sensation of the Creator Himself. And the degrees themselves turn into halls or chambers of wisdom.

Thus, we see that locks, entrances, and chambers constitute the three types of perception of one material, our will to receive or egoism. Indeed, before we turn the egoistic desire to receive into reception (of pleasure) for the Creator's sake, altruism, this material transforms Light into darkness and sweetness into bitterness, in accordance with our (egoistic) taste. In other words, egoism finds suffering in the same types of influence that bring pleasure to altruism. Therefore, to perceive the Light (delight) that surrounds us, we only need to change our senses. But until we do, this Light will be perceived by us as darkness and suffering.

Initially, whatever examples of the Creator's governance we see, they distance us from Him. This is because we perceive them negatively; at that very moment, our egoism (will to receive pleasure) begets locks. However, once we transform our desires to "reception for the Creator's sake," these locks become entrances, and entrances turn into chambers—vessels of wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*.

As we already know, the end of all the degrees, i.e., the very last degree, below which nothing can possibly exist, is called *Malchut de Malchut*. To attain Supernal wisdom, one must first overcome this last gate, which turns into the first gate to ascend from below upwards, toward the chamber of Supernal wisdom, the *Sefira Hochma*. All gates become entrances and chambers of the Creator's wisdom. This is why it is written, IN THE BEGINNING (the first words in the Torah), for IN THE BEGINNING signifies fear of the Creator, the last gate (*Malchut*), which becomes the first on the path to attainment of the Supernal wisdom.

122. The letter *Bet* in the word *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING) indicates that the two are joined together in *Malchut*. Both are points: one is concealed, while the other is revealed. However, since there's no division between them, they are called THE BEGINNING, which signifies only one, rather than two, for he who takes one, takes the other as well, and all is one,

for He and His Name are one, as it is written, "And you shall know that this is the Creator's only name."

The Hebrew letter *Bet* has a numerical value of two, indicating two points. These two points symbolize the correction of the egoistic point of *Malchut*, onto which the point of mercy (*Bina*) imposes a restriction of use. Correction is achieved when *Malchut* (strictness) ascends to *Bina* (mercy), as it is written, "So they both walked" (*Rut*, 1:19), i.e., *Bina* and *Malchut*. Hence, the screen in *Malchut* consists of both points, and they are thereby joined together as one.

It is explained in *Megilat Rut* (*The Book of Ruth*) how *Malchut* (Ruth) merges with *Bina* (Naomi), which then leads to the correction of *Malchut* and the birth of David, the first King (the word King (*Melech*) is derived from *Malchut* (kingdom) of Israel).

HOWEVER, ONE IS CONCEALED, WHILE THE OTHER IS REVEALED, for the judgment in the point of *Malchut* is concealed, whereas only the property of mercy in the point of *Bina* is revealed. Otherwise, the world could not exist, as it is written, "In the beginning, He created the world with the property of judgment, but seeing that it cannot exist, He attached to it the property of mercy" (*Beresheet Raba*, item 1).

Although the restriction is concealed, this does not mean that a *Zivug* is not made on it, since these two points merge into one, and the point of *Malchut* receives a *Zivug* together with the point of *Bina*, though it participates in it secretly. Therefore, it is written, IN THE BEGINNING, for the word "beginning" indicates one point, which includes two that are as one.

Because *Malchut* participates with *Bina* in all the *Zivugim* that are made during the 6,000 years (albeit secretly), she corrects herself to such an extent that at the end of all the corrections, even her property of restriction is corrected, and she acquires the property of *Bina*. It is written of this state that on that day He and His Name will be one.

Since the property of restriction is also concealed within the letter *Bet* of the word *BERESHEET* (in the beginning), this property is called *RESHEET* (first) in *Hochma* (wisdom). However, the correction of this property occurs only at the end of corrections, when the Supernal wisdom is revealed, as the prophet said: "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Creator" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9). This is because the last gate will become the first. Hence, it is written, "That they may know that it is Thou alone whose name is the Lord, the Most High over all the earth," (*Tehilim*, 83:19) for the Creator's wisdom will be revealed in our world to all.

123. Why is *Malchut* called "fear of the Creator?" It is because *Malchut* is the Tree of Good and Evil: If man merits, it is good, but if he does not, it is evil. This is why fear dwells in that place. And this gate leads to all the goodness that exists in the world. ALL THE GOODNESS signifies two gates, two points that are as one. Rabbi Yosi said that ALL THE GOODNESS refers to the Tree of Life, for it is entirely good and completely without evil. And because it is without evil, it is entirely good, without evil.

It is written of the last gate: THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM IS FEAR OF THE CREATOR. So why is it called "fear of the Creator?" Because this is the secret of the Tree of Knowledge, by which Adam sinned, for the use of that point (egoistic desires) is punishable by death (disappearance of the Light). And great fear is needed to refrain from touching (using) it before all the other desires have been corrected. Nevertheless, at the end of correction, when even this point is completely corrected, death will cease to exist for all eternity. That is why it is called "fear."

The Creator created one creation—the egoistic *Malchut*. The goal of creation is to fill her with the Creator's Light using an altruistic intention. As a result, *Malchut* merges with the Creator and receives limitless delight.

Malchut, the only creation, consists of five parts: *KHB ZA-M*. Her parts *KHB ZA*, excluding *Malchut de Malchut*, have altruistic properties, which they received from the Light.

As a result of her decision to refrain from receiving Light into egoistic desires, called *Tzimtzum Aleph* (the first restriction), *Malchut* receives the Light only in her first four desires: *KHB-ZA*. *Malchut de Malchut* remains inaccessible to the Light. So how can she be corrected?

To correct *Malchut de Malchut's* properties (desires), the Creator creates the conditions under which *Bina* and *Malchut* mix, and consequently, *Malchut* acquires the properties of *Bina*.

This process needs to occur more than once, so that all of *Malchut's* parts will be mixed with *Bina*. Every time it takes place in an increasingly deeper layer of *Malchut*, it is called the breaking of holiness, for *Bina* descends and passes her properties to *Malchut*, but she herself breaks during this mixing, as though losing her altruistic properties.

Thus, we can conclude that all the shattering of vessels, the breaking of Adam's soul, the ruin of the First and Second Temples, and other spiritual disasters take place not as punishment, for punishment (as we understand it)

does not exist in the spiritual, but only so as to enable the altruistic desires of *Bina* penetrate deeper into the egoistic desires of *Malchut*.

The last point of *Malchut*, the yet uncorrected *Malchut de Malchut*, is that very point the use of which is punishable by death (the Light's disappearance is considered death). It is forbidden to use *Malchut de Malchut* until all the other properties of *Malchut* (*KHB-ZA*) have been fully corrected. Or rather, if man refrains from using egoism (the point of *Malchut de Malchut*), and uses only his other altruistic desires, he gradually constructs a "non-reception" screen on *Malchut de Malchut*.

Having filled all of his corrected desires with Light, man achieves the end of correction—of what he could correct by himself. As soon as that happens, i.e., as soon as one receives the Light in all of his soul's first nine *Sefirot* (*KHB-ZA*, excluding *Malchut*), the Light called *Mashiach* descends from Above, which imparts *Malchut de Malchut* with the altruistic property of bestowal, of acting for the Creator's sake. This concludes the entire correction process of man's soul, and he attains complete unity with the Creator. The Creator's goal is for man to attain this state while still living in our world and in his physical body, to combine all the worlds, spiritual and material, within himself.

AND THIS GATE LEADS TO ALL THE GOODNESS, for there is nothing better than the revelation of the Supernal wisdom in the world, included in the Thought of Creation. And since fear of the Creator is the last gate to the Supernal wisdom, it also constitutes the gate to all the goodness.

THESE TWO GATES ARE AS ONE refers to the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are united in the letter *Bet* of the word *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING), the first word in the Torah. And the two points are mentioned because they allude to the state following the correction, when these two points are called "the two gates," for both turn out to be good and free from evil, thereby bringing man only perfect goodness.

Nevertheless, until the end of correction, one must strain to separate within him the desires that refer to the point of *Bina* from those that refer to the point of *Malchut*, to reject the desires of *Malchut*, and, in defiance of egoism, use the desires of *Bina*. During man's work on self-correction, called "6,000 years," these two points are referred to as "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil."

RABBI YOSI SAID—Rabbi Yosi does not object to the words of Rabbi Chiya. They are talking about two different states: Rabbi Chiya alludes to a state past the end of correction of *Malchut*, when both points become a gate, and there is no more evil within them. And Rabbi Yosi explains a state in the correction

process, when the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, exist within us as our Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Hence, he tells us that ALL THE GOODNESS IS (can only be found in) THE TREE OF LIFE.

ZA filled with the Light of *Ima-Bina* is called "The Tree of Life," for he possesses only good properties. And the two points of good and evil, *Bina* and *Malchut*, remain within *Malchut* until the end of correction; hence, *Malchut* is called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil."

124. To all those who act, it is the faithful mercy of David that upholds the Torah. Those who keep the Torah seemingly create it themselves. All those who study the Torah—there is no action in them as they study, but those who keep the Torah—in them there is action. And the world exists by this force, eternal are the wisdom and the Torah, and the throne stands just as it should stand.

It was previously said that fear of the Creator constitutes the last gate, though it is the first gate to the Supernal wisdom. It turns out that ALL THOSE WHO STUDY THE TORAH have already corrected the last gate, and the two points become for them two entrances, all goodness without evil. Hence, it is said that THERE IS NO ACTION IN THEM, i.e., no analysis of good and evil, for they have already corrected everything.

However, those who have not yet reached the end of correction are referred to as those who keep the Torah. There is action in them, for they have not yet corrected good and evil in everyone's Tree of Good and Evil—not everyone has realized in one's inner tree (in all of one's properties) what is good and what is evil with regard to the spiritual truth.

It is therefore said that THOSE WHO KEEP THE TORAH SEEMINGLY CREATE IT THEMSELVES. As a result of man's effort to refrain from their use, all the distracting and impeding forces (thoughts and desires) of the point of *Malchut* become gates, all the locks become entrances, and all the entrances become chambers of wisdom filled with *Ohr Hochma*.

It follows that all the wisdom and the entire Torah become revealed only through the efforts of those who keep the Torah. Hence, they SEEMINGLY CREATE IT THEMSELVES. The forces of good and evil are combined within them, and they become those who keep the Torah, for the Torah is revealed thanks to their inner work of separating and correcting good and evil.

Such people are called "those who act," for they seemingly create the Torah by themselves. After all, without perceiving the Creator (The Torah, Light) as concealed, and then overcoming this concealment, thereby turning it into gates, entrances, and chambers the Torah could never have been revealed.

The perfection of the Creator's actions lies in the fact that by creating man so paltry (with such insignificant egoistic desires, completely opposite to the Creator in his properties, and utterly powerless to change himself), the Creator gave man an opportunity to become like Him (in properties, greatness, and the sensation of creating himself), to create within and by himself all of the worlds and the Torah. By revealing the Light, it is as though man actually creates it.

Thus, since these individuals reveal the Torah, they are regarded as its creators. The word is SEEMINGLY used to indicate that the Torah was created before the creation of our world (Talmud, *Pesachim*, 54:1), and of course, it is the work of the Creator Himself. Yet, without the good deeds of those who keep the Torah, it would not have been revealed to the world. Hence, they are regarded as the makers and creators of the Torah.

The wisdom and the Torah are eternal; that is, they exist even after the end of correction, for fear of the Creator is needed even then. However, once the entire egoism is corrected, there is no place from which to take this fear, for the Tree of Good and Evil becomes only good, and can no longer furnish fear of the Creator.

However, because they received fear in the past, they can continue using it in the present, after the end of correction, when there is nothing left to fear, as there are no restrictions in *Malchut*. And the only reason they can do so is that during the correction they worked on creating within them the sensation of the Creator's absolute rule and the eternity of the Torah. And since this fear is never-ending, the Creator's throne remains forever standing in their attainment.

The Night of the Bride

125. Rabbi Shimon was sitting and studying the Torah on the night when the Bride, *Malchut*, unites with her husband, *Zeir Anpin*. And all the friends present in the bridal chamber on that night, the eve of the holiday of *Shavuot* (Pentecost), must stand together with the bridegroom under the *Huppah* (wedding canopy), and be with him this whole night, and rejoice with him in the corrections of the Bride, i.e., study the Torah, then Prophets, then Holy Scriptures, and finally the wisdom, for these corrections are the Bride's adornments. And the Bride receives corrections, adorns herself with them, and rejoices with them all of that night. And on the next day, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, she only comes to the *Huppah* together with them. And her friends, who studied the Torah all night long, are called the sons of the *Huppah*. And as she approaches the *Huppah*, the Creator asks about them, blesses and adorns them with the Bride's adornments. Happy are those who merit this!

All the days of exile are called night, for this is when the Creator's face is concealed from Israel, as the impure forces rule and separate His loyal servants from Him. Yet, this is the time when the bride unites with her husband (in Hebrew, "husband" and "master" are the same word, so one must keep in mind the second meaning of the word as well). The *Huppah* is a wedding canopy, under which the ritual of union between a bride and a bridegroom (their merging in a *Zivug*) takes place.

The union between the bride and her husband (*The Zohar* uses the word "husband" instead of "bridegroom") occurs thanks to the Torah and *Mitzvot* (commandments) of the righteous, referred to as "those who keep the Torah." And all the Supernal Degrees, called "secrets of the Torah," become revealed thanks to them alone, for they are also called MAKERS (as though CREATING the Torah itself), as is described in item 124. Therefore, the time of exile is called the NIGHT WHEN THE BRIDE UNITES WITH HER HUSBAND. AND

ALL THE FRIENDS, THE SONS OF THE BRIDE'S JOY, ARE CALLED THOSE WHO KEEP THE TORAH.

And after THE END OF CORRECTION and complete deliverance, of which the prophet Zachariah writes (14:7): "And there shall be one day, which shall be known to the Creator, neither day nor night, but it shall come to pass come evening time: there shall be light." THE NEXT DAY, THE BRIDE AND HER HUSBAND ENTER THE *HUPPAH*, for *BON* will become like *SAG* and *MA* will be like *AB* (see item 64).

This state is therefore defined as the next day and a new *Huppah*. Whereas at this time (in this state), the righteous are called SONS OF THE *HUPPAH*, in whom there is no action, for then, as it is written: "They shall not do evil upon My holy mountain, for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Creator, as waters cover the sea" (*Yeshayahu*, 11: 9).

And since these righteous elevated *BON* to *SAG* by their actions, i.e., made its properties similar to those of *SAG*, they are considered to have made a new *Huppah*, they are called "sons of the *Huppah*."

The night of *Shavuot* (Pentecost) is when THE BRIDE UNITES WITH HER HUSBAND, for the *Huppah* takes place on the next day, the day of *Shavuot*, the day of the reception of the Torah. On that day, all of creation achieves the state of the end of correction, as it is said: "He will swallow up death forever; and the Creator Himself will wipe away the tears off all faces" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8).

The Torah describes this state as "engraved upon the scrolls" (*Shemot*, 32:16). In Hebrew, the word "engraved" is *Harut*, but it should be pronounced *Herut* (freedom), freedom from the angel of death. However, the sin of the golden calf followed and the High Degree was lost. Since *Shavuot* is the day when the Torah was received, it is also regarded as the end of correction.

Therefore, all the necessary preparations (the corrections carried out during the concealment period) are completed beforehand, on the night before the holiday of *Shavuot*. This night is hence defined as the night when the bride unites with her husband so as to enter the *Huppah* the following day, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, when all the corrections are completed and liberated from the angel of death, thanks to the actions of the righteous, who erect a new *Huppah*.

All of the bride's friends, those who keep the Torah, also called "sons of the bridal chamber," must be merged with the *Shechina-Malchut* (the bride) all of that night, called "exile." Only then do their acts in the Torah and *Mitzvot*

correct and purify the good in her from the taint of evil, so she would emerge with the properties that contain only good, without evil.

Hence, those who keep the Torah should rejoice together with the bride for all the great corrections that they've made in her. Then they joyously continue with their corrections in THE TORAH, then in PROPHETS and finally in the HOLY SCRIPTURES. All the degrees and revelations of the secrets of the Torah, which make up the framework of the *Shechina* herself at the end of her correction, are made exclusively by the righteous, who keep the Torah during the exile.

Therefore, all the degrees that emerge at the time (state) of the exile are called the bride's corrections and adornments from the Torah, Prophets and Holy Scriptures, for *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, and *Tifferet* constitute the Torah, *Sefirot Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Yesod* are the Prophets, and *Malchut* is the Holy Scriptures. The Light of *VAK* is called *Midrashim* and the Light of *GAR* is called "the secrets of the Torah." And all these corrections must be made in *Malchut* (the bride) on the night when she completes her corrections (precisely in the darkness of exile from the spiritual does man carry out the work of his inner correction).

It is known that the end of correction does not bring anything new or that was previously unknown. Rather, all the *MAN* and *MAD*, along with all degrees and *Zivugim* that have emerged consecutively during the 6,000 years will merge into one degree and become corrected with the help of the Light of *Atik*.

The bride will then enter her *Huppah*, and THE CREATOR WILL ASK ABOUT EVERYONE, about every man who had even once raised *MAN* for the Supernal, final *Zivug*. For the Creator waits for all the small *Zivugim* to assemble, as though asking about and waiting for each of them. And when they've gathered, a great *Zivug* will unfold, called *RAV PAALIM U MEKABTZIEL* (HE WHO BLESSES AND ADORNS HER). And when all the creatures are blessed and adorned together, correction comes to an end. This is referred to as "the adornment of the bride's crown."

126. This is why Rabbi Shimon and all of his friends stayed up that night, and each of them renewed the Torah again and again. Rabbi Shimon was joyous, and so were his friends. Rabbi Shimon said to them: "My sons, how blessed is your lot, for it is you who shall accompany the Bride tomorrow to the *Huppah*, for all those who correct Her and rejoice in Her this night shall have their names recorded in the Book of Remembrance. And the Creator shall bless them with seventy blessings and adornments of crowns of the Upper World."

The Book of Remembrance, mentioned by the prophet (*Malachi*, 3:15): "You will say, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all? And now we regard the wicked as blessed: they have settled in their wickedness, tried the Creator, and were liberated.' Then those who feared the Creator spoke with each other, and the Creator hearkened and heard, and a Book of Remembrance was recorded before Him for those who fear the Creator and honor His Name. 'They shall become chosen for Me on the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his own son, who serves him.'"

But how can we understand that when they spoke ill of the Creator, they referred to fear of the Creator, as the prophet says? Moreover, they were inscribed in the Book of Remembrance as those who "feared the Creator and honored His Name?"

The thing is that at the end of correction, when the great general *Zivug* of *Atik* manifests, great Light will be revealed in all the worlds, and in this Light everyone will return to the Creator in absolute love. The Talmud (*Yoma*, 86:2, "Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot") says: "He who attains the repentance from love shall have his sins turned to merits."

Here, the prophet refers to the sinners claiming the futility of spiritual work: on the great day of the end of correction, when the Light of repentance from love shall shine, all the most malicious and deliberate, worst imaginable sins, will turn to merits, and their words shall be deemed not slight, but fear of the Creator.

Therefore, all the sins, as well as all the good deeds, are recorded before the Creator, for He will need them on that great day of His miracle: all the merits gather and complete the *Kli*, which receives the Light necessary for the final correction. Hence, it is said that the Creator shall record the names of those who fear Him in the Book of Remembrance, for He will need them on that day to complete the common *Partzuf*. This is exactly what the prophet says: those who remain shall be close to the Creator, like sons who served Him.

It is therefore said that everyone and everything will be recorded in the Book of Remembrance, even the sins. However, The Creator will record them as though they are merits, as though they served Him. These are the words of the prophet.

The number seventy signifies the Light of *Hochma*, GAR, adornment, a crown, and the Light of *Hassadim* is called "a blessing," for the world was created with the letter *Bet* (blessing), as it is written: "The world was built by mercy"

(*Tehilim*, 89:3), which is *VAK*. But at the end of correction, the Light of *Hassadim* will also be like seventy crowns, like the Light of *Hochma*, for *MA* and *BON* will ascend to *AB* and *SAG*. Therefore, *The Zohar* says that the Creator will bless them with seventy blessings and adornments of crowns of the Upper World.

127. Rabbi Shimon opened and said, "The Heavens declare the Creator's greatness. I have already explained this, but when the bride awakens to enter the *Huppah* on the following day, with all the friends who rejoiced with her through that night, she rejoices with them, corrects herself and shines with her adornments."

128. And on the following day, a multitude of masses, hosts, and legions join her. And she, together with all these masses, hosts and legions, awaits all those who corrected her by studying the Torah on that night. This is so because *Zeir Anpin* unites with *Malchut*, and she sees her husband, and it is said: "The Heavens declare the Creator's greatness." "The Heavens" alludes to the Bridegroom (ZA), who enters the *Huppah*. "The Heavens declare," i.e., shine, like the luminescence of a sapphire, upon the entire *Malchut*, from end to end.

The day of the end of correction is called "tomorrow," as it is written in the Talmud: "Do today, and receive the reward tomorrow" (*Eruvin*, 22:1). The masses are the worldly masses who do not serve the Creator, the hosts are those who serve the Creator, and the legions are chariots of warriors in armor—the Supernal groups of angels that accompany the souls, as it is said: "For He bid His angels to guard over you on all your paths" (*Tehilim*, 91:11). Just as the Creator waits for everyone, as was previously stated, so does the *Shechina*.

"Heavens" is the bridegroom entering the *Huppah*—the state of the end of correction, of which it is written: "And the light of the moon (*Malchut*) shall be as the light of the sun (ZA)" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:26). The Creator is called the "Heavens," and at the end of correction He is referred to as the "bridegroom," as it is said: "Just as a bridegroom rejoices over his bride, so shall your Creator rejoice over you." (*Yeshayahu*, 62:5).

Wherever it is said that the Creator descends, it indicates His strictness and judgment, for it speaks of diminishing His greatness in the eyes of the lower ones, as it is said: "His might and greatness are in His place." But at the end of correction, when all sins turn to merits, for it will become clear that all the spiritual descents were nothing other than spiritual ascents, the Creator becomes the "bridegroom" and the *Shechina* becomes his "bride."

The Hebrew word for "bride" is *Kalah*, as in the words *Kalat Moshe* (*Bamidbar*, 7), which describes the completion of the altar. Hence, in the Torah, the word *Kalah* signifies the end of construction. The Hebrew word for "bridegroom" is *Hatan*, and it signifies the descent along spiritual degrees, as it is said in the Talmud: "Descends the steps" (*Yevamot*, 63:1). However, this descent is greater than all the previous ascents, for it takes place on the way towards the bride at the moment of the end of correction.

The *Huppah* represents the total of all the Returning Light received on the *MAN* raised by the righteous in all the *Zivugim* at all the times during the 6,000 years. This is because now they have all gathered into one great Returning Light, rising and soaring over the Creator and the *Shechina*, over the bridegroom and his bride, like a *Huppah*—wedding canopy.

In this state, the righteous are called "Sons of the *Huppah*," for each of them has a part in this *Huppah*, to the extent of the *MAN* they raise to the screen of *Malchut*, which evoked, produced the Returning Light, corresponding in magnitude to this *MAN*. At the end of correction, the Creator is called *Hatan* (bridegroom), for He *Nechit Darga*—descends from His degree to his bride, and enters the *Huppah*.

At this time (in this state), the Heavens say—this is a great *Zivug* of the future, as the Talmud says: "The wife speaks to her husband" (*Berachot*, 3:1). The word "speaks" (*Mesaperet*) implies a *Zivug*, and is derived from *Sapir* (sapphire), the name of the *Shechina*, as it is said in the Torah, "...and under His feet—like a pavement of sapphire" (*Shemot*, 24:10).

THE LUMINESCENT SAPPHIRE is the Returning Light, ascending from below upwards. LUMINESCENT, LIKE LUMINESCENCE—The Returning Light, LUMINESCENT is equivalent to the Direct Light, LUMINESCENCE. This great *Zivug* gathers all of the Returning Light from all the *Zivugim* made during the 6,000 years, and the Direct Light will shine in it, as it is said, FROM END TO END.

129. The Creator's glory = *EL*—is the bride, *Malchut*, called *EL*, as it is written: "*EL* rages each day." She is called *EL* on all the days of the year. And now, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, when she already entered the *Huppah*, she is called GREATNESS and she is called *EL*, greatest of the great, luminescent out of the luminescent, dominion over dominions.

El is the name of great mercy. Yet, here it says: "*El* rages each day," which is contrary to mercy. The Torah says: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." The *Shechina* is a small star, the Moon, which reigns at

night. It is called "fear of Heaven," for it is the property of the righteous, who must raise *MAN* through their aspiration to be corrected, thereby evoking the Returning Light to descend on *Malchut* from Above and correct her.

It is therefore written: "The Creator hath made it so man would fear Him" (*Kohelet*, 3:14). This is so because it is impossible to raise the *MAN* without fear. The absence of fear of the Creator is referred to as *Malchut's* reign at night, in the state of darkness. In the absence of Light, all the restrictions and suffering are revealed, as they are opposite to the property of day, mercy. Thus, fear of the Creator emerges; were it not for this fear, the property of morning and day could not be revealed.

So it is written: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." Night also enters morning, for without a night, there would be no morning, and one cannot do without night. It is hence written that *EL* RAGES EACH DAY. After all, the property of mercy, called *EL*, is revealed only with the help of the night, through the property of RAGE. Hence, this property is also regarded as mercy; and consequently, the *Shechina* is called *EL*.

This is why it is said that the CREATOR'S GREATNESS = *EL*—IS THE BRIDE, *MALCHUT*, CALLED *EL*, for it is impossible to achieve the state of "day" without the state of "night." So it is in each of the six days of creation, of which it is said: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." We see that the night is included in the name "day." And just as they are all called the six DAYS of creation, the 6,000 years are called "night" in the property of mercy.

And in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, a day shall come; the light of the moon will become like that of the sun, as the prophet said (*Zachariah*, 14:7): "It shall come to pass, that at evening time there shall be light." This will cause the degrees of *Malchut* to increase twofold, for even during the 6,000 years, the light of the moon was according to the aforesaid, "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning."

And at the end of correction, when the moon becomes like the sun (*ZA*), the moon will be twice as great as before, as it will become greatness itself, for its greatness will equal that of *ZA*, of which *The Zohar* says: THE GREATEST OF THE GREAT, DOMINION OVER DOMINIONS. Although it merged with the light of the morning during the 6,000 years, as it is said, "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day," now that it is as big as the sun (*ZA*), it becomes Light, itself, LUMINESCENT OUT OF THE

LUMINESCENT. Previously, its Light was solely the result of the inclusion of the properties of Higher *Sefirot* into it.

Also, DOMINION OVER DOMINIONS, for during the 6,000 years, its reign was that of a small star, reigning only at night. Now, however, it also reigns during the day, for it is as big as the sun.

130. The hour when the Heaven (ZA) enters the *Huppah* and shines upon *Malchut*, all of her friends, who corrected her by studying the Torah, are known by their names, as it is said: "The Heavens declare the work of His hands." "The work of His hands" refers to the members of this covenant, called "the work of His hands." As you say: "Confirm for us the work of our hands," which is the mark of the covenant, imprinted on man's body.

"Friends" are those who keep the Torah, which includes both good and evil deeds, even those parts of them that are still evil and uncorrected; EACH IS KNOWN BY A NAME (his corrected part), as it is said: THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. "Heavens" is the Book of Remembrance, which constitutes the Light of the great *Zivug* that leads to repentance (correction) out of love, when sins become merits (Talmud, *Yoma*, 86:2).

And even those who were speaking ill things, it is said about them: "Then they shall impart their fear of the Creator upon one another" (item 126). Therefore, the action defined as "upholding the Torah," which includes both good (for the worthy) and evil (for the unworthy), now becomes completely good and holy. And it turns into THE WORK OF HIS HANDS—the Creator's actions, for THE HEAVENS SPEAK even of the unworthy. It turns out that all the friends have performed only good deeds and carried out holy work, for they would all correct *Malchut*, and ALL ARE KNOWN BY THEIR NAMES.

It is therefore said: CONFIRM FOR US THE WORK OF OUR HANDS (*Tehilim*, 90:17). However, it is unclear whose hands are meant: His or ours? Only one thing is meant here—that the covenant is referred to as "the work of our hands," for its confirmation is *Yesod* (*Yesod* is not only the name of a *Sefira*, it also means "basis," "foundation" in Hebrew), the foundation of the entire construction.

The correction of *Yesod* is *Brit Milah* (circumcision). Hence, it is said that the existence of the covenant is called "the work of our hands," for we separate the *Orlah* (foreskin) from *Yesod* through the work of our hands. But this only concerns the period up to the end of correction. And at the end of correction, THE WORK OF HIS HANDS will be revealed. In other words, the Creator Himself will detach the *Orlah* from us, and THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. But until that state comes, we are entrusted with the

correction of the circumcision. Therefore, we ask: CONFIRM FOR US THE WORK OF OUR HANDS.

131. Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba then said as follows: "Do not let your mouth cause your body to sin," i.e., one must not allow his mouth to get close to evil and be the cause of sin for the sacred flesh, which bears the mark of the holy covenant with the Creator. If he does so, he shall be dragged to hell. And the ruler of hell, called Domeh, stands at the gates of hell with hundreds of thousands of angels, but he is forbidden to approach those who have kept the holy covenant in this world.

There is a warning here: let each man be careful of what he utters, so that his prayer is pure when he raises *MAN* with the help of the Torah and *Mitzvot*. If the impure force clings to his prayer, it will receive his *MAN*. As a result, man will develop a grudge against the Creator and foreign thoughts, thereby causing the *Orlah* to once again cling to the holy covenant. Consequently, his holy soul will fall into the captivity of the impure forces, and they will drag it to hell. This is similar to what Rabbi Elazar said about falling into Lilit's hands (item 68).

THE SACRED FLESH, WHICH BEARS THE MARK OF THE HOLY COVENANT alludes to the holy soul guarded by the holy covenant, as it is said: "From my flesh I shall see the Creator," i.e., from my nature, my properties. Yet, doubts evoke the return of the impure force of the *Orlah*. It touches the holy covenant, and the Divine soul is instantly driven away. Hence, "The Tree cried out: Sinner, do not touch me," for this Tree is *Yesod*, *Ateret Yesod* (foreskin—the very essence of creation, egoism), the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

DOMEH, THE RULER OF HELL—DOMEH is derived from *Dmamah*—lifelessness, for he robs man of his soul and leaves him lifeless. This is the angel that fills man's heart with doubts regarding the Creator's greatness, and creates within him a sinful desire to perceive His plans as though they were plans of one born of a woman, i.e., as though they were of this world. And since he likens the Creator's thoughts in man's perception to those of man, he is named so (*Domeh* also means likeness, similarity).

At first, man understands that the Creator's thoughts and ways are different from ours, for the created mind can grasp neither Him nor His thoughts nor His governance, as our mind is inferior to His. But, through sin, the angel Domeh plants a silly spirit within man, which forces him to say that the mind of one born of a woman is similar to the Creator's. This leaves man open to doubts, which DRAG HIM TO HELL.

Therefore, the power of the angel Domeh is in his name, as it is said: "Who is as mighty as You, who is LIKE You, the King that kills and resurrects?" This indicates that the connection with the one who is LIKE him leads to death, whereas in the realization that there is none like Him, man finds life.

However, the doubts and thoughts that man receives from the angel Domeh are countless, as *The Zohar* says, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ANGELS ARE WITH HIM, and they are all standing at the gates of hell, through which man is dragged there, though the gates themselves are not yet considered hell.

BUT HE (THE ANGEL) IS FORBIDDEN TO APPROACH THOSE WHO HAVE KEPT THE HOLY COVENANT IN THIS WORLD. And even if one did not fully keep (observe) the covenant, and there is still good and evil in his deeds, he is nonetheless regarded as one who has kept the holy covenant. So, unless one comes to doubt, the angel Domeh is forbidden to drag him to hell.

132. When this happened to King David, fear enveloped him. Right then, Domeh ascended before the Creator, and said: "Master of the world, it says in the Torah (*Vayikra*, 20:10): 'And the man that commits adultery with another man's wife...' David broke his covenant, is it not so?" The Creator replied to him: "David is righteous, and his holy covenant remains pure, for it is known to Me that Bat Sheva was destined for him since the creation of the world."

Although David committed no sin, as the Talmud explains (*Shabbat*, 56:1) that he who says that David sinned is wrong, he was enveloped with fear nonetheless, as if he really had sinned, for Domeh cited the Torah in his complaint.

However, Bat Sheva had been destined for David since the creation of the world (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 107:1); thus, he did not violate his covenant. Yet, if Bat Sheva had been destined for David, why was she first married to Uriah? After all, a wife is half of her husband's body. And if she is half of David's body, how could Uriah have taken her, if there is nothing in him that corresponds with her?

The fact is that Bat Sheva is David's true *Nukva* (female) from the day of the creation of the world, for David is the male part of *Malchut*, while Bat Sheva is the *Nukva* in *Malchut*. But since, as the world was being created, *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* to receive the property of mercy (bestowal) from her, Bat Sheva, too, required this correction in *GAR*. Without it she could not have given birth to the soul of King Solomon.

And Uriah the Hittite was an exalted soul, the properties of *GAR*, wherefrom the name "Uriah," which consists of Ur = *Ohr* (Light) and i(a)h = i (*Yod*) + h (*Hey*) = the first two letters of the Creator's Name *HaVaYaH*, is derived. In other words, Uriah signifies "the Creator's Light." And the fact that his name contains only

the first two letters *Yod-Hey* = *Hochma-Bina*, and lacks the last two letters *Vav-Hey* = *ZA-Malchut* indicates that his Light is the Light of *GAR*. Therefore, to correct Bat Sheva in the property of mercy, she was joined with Uriah. As a result, she became fit for queenship, and became the Queen of Israel.

133. Domeh said to Him: "Master of the World, what is revealed to You is concealed from him." The Creator answered: "Whatever David did was done with My permission. For no man goes to war without first giving his wife a *get* (document of divorce)." Domeh then said: "But if this is so, David should have waited three months, which he did not." The Creator replied: "This extension is only necessary to make certain that the woman is not pregnant from her previous husband. But it is known to Me that Uriah never went near her, for My Name is imprinted in him as testimony. Indeed, Uriah is *Ohr-Iah*, the Creator's Light, though it is written *Uriahu* = *Ohr* + *i* + *a* + *hu* (*Yod-Hey*-Vav), without the last *Hey*, *Malchut*, which proves that he did not use *Malchut*."

The letters *Yod-Hey* in Uriah's name (*Aleph-Reish-Yod-Hey*) indicate that he had never touched Bat Sheva. This is because Uriah refers to *GAR* without *VAK*. And *The Zohar* emphasizes that whenever *VAK* is used, the name *Uriahu* is applied. However, it is written here that Uriah was Bat Sheva's first husband, meaning that he had nothing of *VAK* in him, but only *GAR*—the Light of *Hochma* without the Light of *Hassadim*, for *Vav* signifies *Hassadim*. This is why he could not come near Bath Sheba.

134. Domeh said to Him: "Master of the World, this is exactly what I have said: if You knew that Uriah had never laid with her, then who revealed it to David? He should have waited three months. And if You will say that David knew that Uriah had never laid with her, why did he send Uriah to his wife, saying: 'Go down to your house, and wash your feet?'"

Usually the readers of the Torah give this example of "a love triangle" as evidence of King David's less than exalted qualities and of the inconsistency of the Creator's judgment—how He forgave David for "killing" Uriah, and so forth. We must remember that the Torah speaks only of the spiritual worlds and their laws, which have no obvious consequences in our world. There is a cause-and-effect connection: whatever occurs in our world is a result of a Higher cause, but in no way is it vice versa, i.e., whatever is described in the Upper World does not necessarily need to manifest in ours. To consider the Torah a narrative about our world relegates the Torah of the world of *Atzilut*, the Creator's holy names, the Creator's Light, to the lowest level of creation, which is strictly forbidden: "Do not make an idol for yourself."

135. He replied to him: "Of course, David did not know, but he waited more than three months, as four months had passed." As we have learned, on the 15th day of *Nissan*, David ordered all the people of Israel to prepare for war, Yoav—on seventh day of *Nissan*. They conquered the lands of Moav and remained there for four months, until he went to Bat Sheva in the month of *Elul*. And on *Yom Kippur*, the Creator forgave him his sin. But there are those who say that David dispatched his orders on the seventh day of *Adar*, the troops assembled on the 15th day of *Iyar*, he went to Bat Sheva on the 15th day of *Elul*, and on *Yom Kippur* the Creator forgave him and spared him from death at the hands of the angel Domeh.

Domeh is in charge of adultery. And since David was forgiven on the Day of Atonement, he thereby escaped death at the hands of Domeh. However, death was a consequence of Uriah's death at the hands of Amon's sons, as is recorded in the book of Kings (*Melachim*, 1, 15:5), "For David did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from anything that He commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite."

136. Domeh said: "Master of the World, I have nonetheless one claim against him: why did he open his mouth and say: 'The Lord is righteous, for a mortal does so,' thus condemning himself to death. Hence, I have the power to bring death upon him." The Creator replied to him: "You are not allowed to bring death upon him, for he has repented and confessed: 'I have sinned before the Creator,' even though he did not sin. But he did sin in one matter—the killing of Uriah. I have recorded his punishment, and he had received it." Then Domeh immediately gave up his complaints, and returned, despondent, to his place.

The last letter *Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH* has two points—restriction (strictness) and mercy. And all the corrections of *Malchut* with the help of the covenant (circumcision) are intended to conceal strictness and reveal mercy. Then, the Creator's name descends into *Malchut*. Even though *Malchut* exists there under the ban of the first restriction (strictness and judgment), and all the impure forces cling onto her, this point is nonetheless concealed, and only *Bina*'s property of mercy is revealed. Thus, the impure forces-desires, which are foreign to holiness and spirituality, are powerless and cannot cling to her.

To violate the covenant means to reveal the strictness and judgment in *Malchut* (the letter *Hey*). As a result, the impure forces immediately cling to her, for this is their property—a part of them. The holy soul, the Creator's name, thereby disappears at once, as it is written (*Iyov*, 4:9): "By the breath of God they perish."

David himself is the part of *Malchut* related to *Malchut's* property of mercy. Hence, he requires special care so as to prevent *Malchut's* property of strictness from being revealed in him. For he who reveals the property of strictness and violates the covenant with the Creator, surrenders himself to the impure forces, which condemn him to death. This is because the property of strictness reveals itself within him before the impure force (the angel Domeh), who wished to cling to David's soul and drag it to hell.

Although he was innocent, David begged the Creator's forgiveness for adultery, and received it. But with regard to David sending Uriah to his death, Domeh had no right to ask the Creator for punishment, as he is only in charge of adultery.

137. And David said to this: "Were it not for the Creator's help, Domeh had nearly claimed my soul." "Were it not for the Creator's help" means "had the Creator not been my guard and guide against the angel Domeh." "Nearly" means that only the distance as thin as a thread remained for Domeh to drag my soul to hell.

David is *Malchut*, of whom it is written (*Mishley*, 5:5): "Her feet descend to death," for she is the end, conclusion of holiness (the spiritual). The impure forces originate in *Malchut*, and she sustains them, as it is said (*Tehilim*, 103:19): "His kingdom rules over all."

However, when *Malchut* exists in her corrected property of mercy (item 122), she is defined as consisting of two points: her own point of judgment and the point of mercy that she received from *Bina*. Her point of judgment is concealed, while the point of mercy is revealed. And thanks to this correction, all that the impure forces can get from *Malchut* is a *Ner Dakik* (tiny luminescence), which only sustains their existence, but does not allow for their spreading.

Ner Dakik, the source of existence for the impure forces, is also known as *Hoteh Dakik*, a small sin, the root of sins, as it is written (Talmud, *Sukkah*, 52:1): "Initially, the impure force seems as thin as a spider web, but then grows as thick as a shaft." And it is called small (*Dakik*), for judgment and restrictions are concealed within the property (point) of mercy.

However, he who violates the covenant causes the point of judgment in *Malchut* to be revealed. As a result, the impure forces cling to *Malchut* and draw much Light from her, thus receiving the strength to spread and expand. And he who does so is said to be forsaking his own soul, as it is written: "By the breath of God they perish" (*Iyov*, 4:9).

And when he merits returning to the Creator, he returns and corrects *Malchut* with the property of mercy. This is why this process is called *Teshuva*

(return), from the word of *Tashuv* (to return) + "A," where "A" (*Hey*) designates the Creator. In other words, it is the return to the property of mercy, whereas the property of judgment goes back to being concealed in the property of mercy, like a small candle, and nothing more.

It is therefore written: WERE IT NOT FOR THE CREATOR'S HELP, referring to His acceptance of my return and repelling the angel Domeh by bringing *Malchut* back to her place (to the property) of mercy, reducing the property of judgment to a mere small candle, a hair's-breadth fire, whose LIGHT SEPARATES ME FROM THE IMPURE FORCE.

This is that minimal Light that must always remain between *Malchut* and the impure force, so as to allow *Malchut* to exist and be sustained by this small Light, called "small sin," so small that DOMEH WOULD NOT DRAG MY SOUL TO HELL FOR IT.

It is precisely the magnitude of this Light that saved me from the hands of Domeh, for had the property of judgment not returned to *Malchut* in the measure of a small sin, I would have fallen into the hands of Domeh.

138. Therefore, man should be careful not to say what David said, for one cannot say to the angel Domeh that "It was an error" (*Kohelet*, 5:5), as it was with David, when the Creator won the dispute against Domeh. "Why should the Creator be angry over your word" (*Kohelet*, 5:5), i.e., for what you have said. "Destroyed the work of your hands" (*Kohelet*, 5:5) i.e., the sacred flesh, the holy covenant, which you have broken, and are therefore to be dragged to hell by the angel Domeh.

There are two ways to return to the Creator ("Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," items 45, 59, 64; Talmud, *Yoma*, 86:2):

1) Repentance out of fear, when intentional sins become unintentional,

2) Repentance out of love, when intentional sins become merits.

Before the end of correction, when the forces of strictness, restriction, and judgment are still needed in the world, as it is written (*Kohelet*, 3:14), "The Creator hath so made it that man should fear Him," *Malchut* must sustain the existence of the impure forces as *Ner Dakik*, so they will not disappear from the world.

Therefore, at such a time (in this state), *Malchut's* corrections are made in two points: mercy and judgment. However, judgment is concealed, while mercy acts openly. This is why the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is feared: if man is worthy—it is good, if not—it is evil (items 120–124).

Therefore, DURING THE 6,000 YEARS, WE RETURN TO THE CREATOR ONLY OUT OF FEAR, which causes our intentional sins to turn into unintentional ones—errors. As a result of our repentance, we bring *Malchut* back to the property of mercy. But strictness and judgment are concealed in her to the extent of a small candle (small sin), since *Malchut* must still remain in the property of fear. Hence, this return is called "the return out of fear."

The small sin that must remain is also called "unintentional sin," an "error," a "mistake," for it is not regarded as a sin in and of itself. Rather, it only leads man to commit an unintentional sin. Man sins intentionally only after having first committed an unintentional sin: he committed something unintentionally, but it turned out that he has sinned.

Thus, this small sin remains in *Malchut*, but although it remains, it is not really considered a sin. Yet, through this concealed judgment and strictness we come to intentional sins. This is why it is said: "Initially, it is as a hair's-breadth," i.e., like a small sin. But then, unless we properly guard our covenant, it "becomes as thick as a shaft," as the property of strictness and judgment becomes revealed in *Malchut*.

It is hence said that Domeh stands at the gates of hell, as the power of a small sin is only an entrance, for it is said that it looks as thin as a spider web. Therefore, our repentance is called "forgiven sins," which turn into unintentional errors, as though they were mistakes. For a small sin remains, which is capable of leading us to intentional sins.

All this refers to the repentance out of fear, whereas the second kind is the repentance out of love, when intentional sins turn to merits (item 126).

Therefore, MAN SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO SAY WHAT DAVID SAID, i.e., not to utter the word that causes the property of judgment in *Malchut* to be revealed (as David had done). FOR ONE CANNOT SAY TO THE ANGEL DOMEH THAT IT WAS AN ERROR, for he is unsure as to whether he can return to the Creator right away, so that his sin would be forgiven and made unintentional, AS IT WAS WITH DAVID, WHEN THE CREATOR WON THE DISPUTE AGAINST DOMEH.

It happened with David because throughout his life all of his actions before the Creator were pure, he had committed no crimes, and the only exception was his act toward Uriah. Hence, the Creator became his defender, and helped him return to Him at once, and his sin was turned into an error, as it is said in *The Zohar* (item 137): WERE IT NOT FOR THE CREATOR'S HELP, DOMEH

HAD NEARLY CLAIMED MY SOUL. But other people should fear this angel, for an unintentional sin may lead them to hell at the hands of Domeh.

DESTROYED THE WORK OF YOUR HANDS, THE SACRED FLESH, THE HOLY COVENANT, WHICH YOU HAVE VIOLATED, AND ARE THEREFORE TO BE DRAGGED TO HELL BY THE ANGEL DOMEH. The correction in us called "the holy covenant" is regarded as "the work of our hands," as it is written: "Confirm the work of our hands." The holy soul is called the sacred flesh, as it is said, "Out of my flesh shall I see the Creator" (*Iyov*, 19:26) (item 131). Because of the revelation of the property of strictness and judgment in *Malchut*, the correction of the covenant was corrupted, and Domeh drags the soul to hell.

Therefore, THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS (item 130). In the end of correction, the Heavens will declare the work of His hands, as the reward for all these corrections will be revealed. It will become clear that this was THE WORK OF HIS HANDS, and NOT OURS', and THE HEAVENS DECLARE this. And the great *Zivug RAV PAALIM U MEKABTZIEL* will be made on these actions (corrections) (item 92). DECLARE refers to the Light's descent from Above.

Know that this is the only difference in our world before and after the end of correction. Before the end of correction, *Malchut* is called the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, for *Malchut* is the revelation of the Creator's governance over this world. And until people achieve the state where they can receive His Light (as He conceived and prepared for everyone back at the Thought of Creation), the world will be ruled by good and evil, by reward and punishment.

The reason for this is that our *Kelim de Kabbalah* (vessels of reception) are impure, stained by egoism, which (i) prevents the Creator's Light from filling theses desires, and (ii) separates us from the Creator. And the infinite goodness that He has prepared for us may only be received in altruistic desires, for these delights are not limited by the bounds of creation, like egoistic pleasures, in which fulfillment instantly douses the pleasure.

Hence, it is written: "The Creator hath made everything for His own glory" (*Mishley*, 16:4), i.e., all the deeds in the world were initially created by Him so that we could please Him. Therefore, people in our world are engaged in things that are totally opposite from what they should be doing, according to the purpose of their creation. After all, the Creator clearly states that He created the world for Himself: "I have created it for My glory" (*Yeshayahu*, 43:7).

Yet, we claim the exact opposite—that the whole world was created for us, and we desire to swallow it whole, for our own pleasure, satisfaction, indulgence, and exaltation. So it is no surprise we are unworthy of receiving the Creator's perfect goodness. And thus He rules over us through good and evil, in the form of reward and punishment, for one depends on the other: reward and punishment give rise to good and evil.

Because we use our desires to receive (pleasure), thus becoming opposite from the Creator, we perceive His governance towards us as evil. This stems from the fact that man cannot perceive obvious evil from the Creator, as this would greatly undermine the creatures' perception of the great and perfect Creator, for the Perfect one cannot create evil.

Therefore, to the extent that man feels bad and evil, and denies the Divine Providence, a veil immediately falls over him, and the sensation of the Creator's existence disappears. This is the worst punishment in the world!

Hence, the sensation of good and evil in the Creator's governance gives us a feeling of reward and punishment. This is because he who exerts efforts not to lose faith in the Creator's existence and governance, even if he tastes evil in His governance, is rewarded with finding strength to not lose faith in the governance and good purpose of the Creator's "evil" influence. But if he had not yet merited the opportunity to exert efforts in believing that the Creator pursues a definite purpose by sending him unpleasant sensations, he is punished with remoteness from faith in the Creator and the sensation of His existence.

Therefore, although He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the world, it remains semi-concealed from those who perceive both good and evil. For when they perceive evil, the impure force is allowed to conceal the Creator's governance and faith in Him. Thus, man suffers the worst punishment in the world—the sensation of detachment from the Creator—and becomes filled with doubts and denial of the Creator's existence and governance. And when he returns to the Creator, he receives a corresponding reward, and is able to unite with Him once again.

But through this very governance of reward and punishment, the Creator has prepared for us the opportunity to utilize this governance in order to achieve the end of correction, when all people attain their corrected *Kelim* (desires), and use them to bring pleasure to the Creator, as it is written that He has created everything for Himself! In other words, our bestowal must be absolute.

Then the great *Zivug* of *Atik* will be revealed, we will all return to the Creator out of love, all our intentional sins will turn to merits, all evil will be felt as

infinite goodness, and His Divine Providence will be revealed in the entire world. Thus, ALL SHALL SEE that only He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the world, and that no one acts besides Him. After the sensation of evil and punishment is turned to one of goodness and reward, and our egoistic desires become altruistic, we are given the opportunity to attain the Maker, for we conform to the work of His hands by blessing and exalting Him above all evil and all punishments we had once suffered.

However, the most important point to stress here is that until the end of correction, all the corrections were considered as THE WORK OF OUR HANDS. This is why we receive rewards or punishments for them. But in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, it will be revealed that all the corrections and all the punishments are THE WORK OF HIS HANDS.

Thus, it is said, THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. This is because the great *Zivug* signifies what the Heavens will declare, that all the deeds are the work of His hands, that He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the whole of creation.

139. Thus, "the Heavens declare the work of His hands." These are the friends who have united in the bride (*Malchut*) by studying the Torah on the night of the holiday of *Shavuot*. They are all participants of the covenant with her, and are called "the work of His hands." And she praises and notes each and every one of them. What is Heaven, firmament? It is the firmament, where the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiac are located. This firmament is called the Book of Remembrance, and it declares and records them, so they shall become the sons of His palace, and He will fulfill all their desires.

Yesod of *Zeir Anpin*, onto which a *Zivug* is made for the revelation of all the Supernal Degrees, called the sun, the moon, the stars, and the signs of the zodiac, is referred to as the "firmament." All of the Supernal stars exist on the firmament, called *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin*. And everything exists thanks to it, for it makes a *Zivug* with *Nukva*, called earth, and shines upon her with all these stars, i.e., gives these stars to her.

It turns out that *Malchut* is smaller than the sun (ZA). But at the end of correction, the light of the moon will be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun will be seventy times greater than before—*Malchut* will become as big as *Zeir Anpin* during the six days of creation. When will this be? Rabbi Yehuda answers: on the day when death disappears forever, and the Creator and His Name are as one.

The Heaven or the firmament (ZA) is *HaVaYaH*, called "the sun." *Malchut* (*Nukva*) receives from it, and is called "the moon." During the 6,000 years, *Malchut* receives the Light from the six days of creation, but *Zeir Anpin* does not reveal that the Creator and His Name are one. Hence, the moon is smaller than the sun. Its lesser size is a result of *Malchut's* consisting of both good and evil, reward and punishment.

There is a considerable difference between "Him" and "His Name." "His Name" is *Malchut*, where all the *Zivugim*, and all the states of unification and separation are accumulated. But at the end of correction, when death is said to disappear forever, *HaVaYaH* and His Name will be one. The Name (*Malchut*) will be like the Light of *Zeir Anpin*—only goodness without evil, and the private governance will be revealed in her, which means that the light of the moon will become equal to that of the sun.

Therefore at this time (in this state), *Nukva* will be called "the Book of Remembrance," for all human deeds are recorded in her. *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin* is called "remembrance," for it remembers the deeds of the entire world, studies, and analyzes all the creatures that receive from it.

During the 6,000 years before the end of correction, the Book of Remembrance exists sometimes together and sometimes separately. But at the end of correction, these two degrees will merge into one, and *Malchut* herself will be called "the Book of Remembrance," when ZA and *Malchut* become a single whole, for *Malchut*'s Light will equal that of ZA.

Therefore, the firmament is a place where the sun, the moon, the stars, and the signs of the zodiac are located. The firmament is *Yesod* of ZA, which emanates all the Light of the world and sustains all existence. It passes the Light onto *Malchut* when she is smaller than it, and the state, "He and His Name are one" has not yet been achieved. And at the end of correction, it will be exactly like *Malchut*, who is hence called the Book of Remembrance.

Thus, when *Malchut* receives all the properties of *Zeir Anpin* (the firmament, called "Remembrance"), she will become the Book of Remembrance, i.e., she and the firmament will be one.

140. Day after day brings *Omer*—a sheaf. The holy day out of those days (*Sefirot*) of the King (*Zeir Anpin*) praises the friends, who study the Torah on the night of *Shavuot*. They say to each other, "Day after day shall bring a sheaf," and praise it. And the words "night after night" refer to all the degrees, *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, that reign in the night, praise one another by

each receiving from a friend, from another *Sefira*. And the state of complete perfection makes them beloved friends.

Having explained that THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS is THE BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE. *The Zohar* continues to clarify the writings in the *Book of Malachi* (3:14-16): "You have said, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all? And now we regard the wicked as blessed: they have settled in their wickedness, tried the Creator, and were liberated.' Then those who feared the Creator spoke WITH EACH OTHER, and the Creator hearkened and heard, and a BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE was recorded before Him for those who fear the Creator (every day) and honor His (holy) name. 'And they shall become chosen for Me,'—the Lord said,—'on the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his son, who serves him,—on the day that I shall work a miracle, on the day of the end of correction.'"

Before the end of correction, before we prepare our desires "to receive" only for the Creator's sake, and not for self-gratification, *Malchut* is called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," for *Malchut* governs the world in accordance with man's deeds. Inasmuch as we are not yet ready to receive all the delight that the Creator prepared for us in His Thought of Creation, we have no choice but to submit to *Malchut*'s governance of good and evil.

And this very governance prepares us for the eventual correction of our desires to receive (*Kelim de Kabbalah*) into desires for bestowal (*Kelim de Hashpaa*), thus achieving the goodness and delight that He conceived to bestow upon us.

As was previously stated, the sensation of good and evil creates in us a feeling of reward and punishment. Therefore, when one tries to retain his faith in the Creator while he is feeling evil, but still continues to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* as he did before, he is rewarded.

And if he cannot overcome this test and is distanced from the Creator, he becomes filled with doubts with regard to the good governance. Alternatively, he stops believing that the Creator governs the world altogether, or feels resentment towards the Creator in response to these unpleasant sensations. The Creator punishes for all thoughts, just as He does for all actions (Talmud, *Kidushim*, 40:1).

It is also said that one's righteousness is of no help to him on the day of his sin. But sometimes man's doubts are so overpowering that he regrets even the good deeds he had previously done, and says (*Malachi*, 3:14): "You have said, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all?'" He becomes

a complete sinner, who regrets his righteous past (complaining that he wasted time and effort instead of enjoying this world like the others!), and his doubts and regrets cause him to lose all of his good deeds, as the Torah warns us: "One's righteousness is of no help to him on the day of his sin."

Yet, even in this state, man can return to the Creator. However, he is said to be beginning on his path anew, as though he is a newborn, for all of his past good deeds are gone.

One should not take the aforesaid literally, even in its spiritual context, for he who works to achieve unconditional altruistic deeds constantly experiences descents and ascents, is filled with doubts, and tries to overcome them. Only one who advances in this manner feels that he is starting his work every time anew, that he understands no more than a newborn baby. Conversely, one who belongs to the masses—who works in his egoistic desires—is constantly filled with self-reverence and thinks that on each new day, he adds to the previous one, and nothing seems to disappear. This makes his spiritual growth impossible.

Only one who truly ascends the spiritual degrees feels like a newborn baby before his Creator at each moment. After all, as he ascends from one degree to the next, the previous state (degree) disappears, and until he attains a Higher Degree, he is in total darkness and feels that he is starting from scratch, rather than supplementing his assets, which is how the spiritually inanimate (*Domem de Kedusha*) feel.

The governance of good and evil causes us to ascend and descend—each in his own way... Each ascent is considered a separate day (sensation of Light). As a result of the great descent that he has just undergone by regretting his past good deeds, man moves into a state of ascent, as one who is born anew.

Therefore, at each ascent, it is as though one starts over on his path to the Creator. Thus, each ascent is regarded as a separate day, for there is a break (night) between these states. And each descent is hence considered a separate night.

This is what *The Zohar* tells us: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF—in each ascent we draw nearer to the Creator's greatest day (the end of correction), HE PRAISED THE FRIENDS AND THEY WOULD SPEAK WITH EACH OTHER. This is because through the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, they will all merit returning to the Creator out of love, for the desire "to receive" will be completely corrected, and they will begin to receive only for the Creator's sake, so as to bestow delight upon Him.

In this great *Zivug* (unity), we will reveal all the supreme goodness and delight of the Thought of Creation. And we will then see with our own eyes that

all those punishments we experienced in the states of descent, which made us doubt and regret the efforts exerted in the Torah, all those punishments would correct and purify us. And now, at the end of correction, they are the direct cause for our sensation and reception of the Creator's goodness.

Had it not been for the terrible suffering and punishments, we would not have been able to achieve the state of being filled with perfect delight. Therefore, even these intentional sins turn into merits, as it is said: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF—each ascent in *Malchut*, up to the end of correction, is like a separate day.

This day is revealed by the word, which supports the Torah in all its greatness. What is this word? When they say, "How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all?"

These words brought punishments that have now become merits, for all the perfection and magnificence of that great day can now be revealed thanks to these very punishments of the past. Thus, those who uttered these words are now regarded as those who fear the Creator and praise His Name. (And these words could only have been spoken by those who made efforts to advance on the Path of Truth, and felt frustrated upon receiving uncorrected egoism of a Higher Degree. In other words, frustration comes only to those who truly work for the Creator's sake.)

Hence, it is said about them: "The Lord said, 'On the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his son, who serves him,'" for all the nights—states of descent, suffering and punishments, which sever their connection with the Creator—now become merits and good deeds. And the night turns into day, darkness turns into Light, and there are no divisions between days, and all 6,000 years gather into one great day.

And all the *Zivugim* that were made one after another, revealed the ascents and the separate, consecutive degrees, have now gathered into one degree of one great *Zivug*—Unity, which shines in the world from end to end. Hence, it is written: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF, that is, the intervals between days now become magnificent glory, for they have been turned into merits. Thus, everything becomes the Creator's one glorious day!

And the words "night after night" refer to all the degrees that reign in the night. They praise one another, and each receives everything that man feels as suffering in a state of descent—this is called night. And through such sensations, intervals are formed between the sensations of day.

On the whole, each degree is separated from one another. Night is an aspiration to attain the Creator. And while each night is full of darkness, now all the nights (states of feeling emptiness, hopelessness, heaviness of efforts, the Creator's concealment) gather together and form a unified vessel of reception of Supernal wisdom, which fills the entire earth with Knowledge of the Creator, and the nights shine like days.

For each night receives its own part of Knowledge only by joining with the other nights. Thus, each night is said to help the other nights in the Knowledge. Put differently, man is ready to receive the Knowledge only if he joins with the other nights.

And since night is a feeling of lacking knowledge, attainment, and sensation of the Creator by uniting, they form a perfect vessel of reception of the Knowledge of the Creator. And they praise one another, for each has received his share of the Knowledge of the Creator thanks exclusively to his friend, through uniting with him. Only in unity do they merit reception of the Supernal Knowledge. Hence, it is said that through the perfection achieved by all, the nights became beloved friends.

141. Does he speak of the others in the world who do not obey the Creator, and whom He does not wish to hear? But they made lines through all the earth, that is, these things make a line out of those that reside Above and out of those that reside below. From the first—firmaments are made, and from the second, from their return—earth. And should you say that they revolve around the earth in one place, it is said that they are also at the end of the world.

Thus far, we have discussed the most terrible punishments and suffering in the world—being detached from the Creator and losing faith in Him. Moreover, *The Zohar* tells us that all the punishments, all the suffering of hell and of the body, which stem from personal sins and fill this world, also gather and are included into one great *Zivug*, as it is written: "And it shall come to pass, that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so the Lord will rejoice over you to cause you to perish, and to destroy you" (*Devarim*, 28:63).

All will gather and become one great Light, and everything will turn to great joy and bliss. It is therefore said that THERE IS NO SHEAF AND NO THINGS IN THE OTHER WORDS OF THE WORLD, which man perceives in this world as suffering. But they will turn to joy and bliss, and thus the holy King, too, shall wish to hear them.

So, all the suffering during the 6,000 years will gather at the end of correction and will become a tremendous delight, as the prophet said: "In those days and

in that time, said the Lord, even if the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, there shall be none" (*Yirmiyahu*, 50:20).

Everything will turn to merits, so much so that they will ask and search "for the past sins that can be included in the *Zivug*, and which can be laughed at, for they were felt as suffering and now they are joy and bliss," but they will not find any. There will be no more suffering in its true form, as it was in the past, although they greatly desire to find it and feel it, for all suffering will have now been turned to great Light.

This Supernal Degree, created by the great *Zivug* out of all the souls and all the deeds, both good and evil, is now defined as a pillar of Light, which shines from one end of the world to the other. And this unity is perfect, as is said by the prophet (*Zachariah*, 14:9): "And the Creator shall be one (for all), and His Name one"—all the senses will grasp the Creator's complete and perfect name, "the Infinitely good."

Precisely because this most Supernal Degree is achieved as a result of bringing together all the suffering and punishments, it fills the entire universe with Light, including earth. However, it should be noted that the suffering of which *The Zohar* speaks is not the suffering of the body's lack of pleasure. It is the suffering caused by the absence of unity with the Creator!

But if suffering is so useful, why is it written, "neither them nor the reward for them?" Suffering is necessary, for it is correction. However, the true suffering, for which man can receive the degree of the end of correction, is caused by temporary distancing from the Torah and *Mitzvot* as a result of feeling the pain of suffering, and this pains the Creator. Thus, the *Shechina* suffers, for when man suffers in his heart, he speaks ill of her, willingly or unwillingly. Although the Torah tells him to be patient, to endure and have faith above reason—selfless faith that all of this is the correction that he must undergo—he debases the *Shechina* by being unwilling to endure them and achieve the end of correction.

Man's soul is also a *Partzuf* consisting of ten *Sefirot*. In its initial, spiritually undeveloped, unborn state, the soul is defined as a point, as a potential future spiritual body. If man works on himself, this point within him gradually acquires a screen, and he makes a *Zivug* on it. He repels all the pleasures for the sake of the Creator's desires, and receives Light in this point. Thus, he "amplifies" it to the size of a *Partzuf* and transforms it into a body, a newborn *Partzuf*.

Afterwards he continues to cultivate his screen, gradually nurturing the small state into the big one, until he receives all of the Light destined for him

by the Creator within his spiritual body. This state is called "the end of the personal correction." When all the personal corrections merge into one, the general correction of the entire world (of *Malchut*) will occur. *Malchut* is a *Partzuf* that consists of separate souls; each soul, the *Partzuf* of each soul, is part of *Malchut*, and *Malchut* is a collection, the sum of all the *Partzufim* that are to be made by all the people. To make a *Partzuf* is to acquire a screen and become filled with Light.

THOSE THAT RESIDE ABOVE AND THOSE THAT RESIDE BELOW refers to the order of time in the spiritual, eternal world, which is different from ours. When the Creator wished to create the world, He immediately created everything: all the souls filled with Light in a state of absolute perfection, called "the end of correction," where all the creatures receive the infinite delight that He envisioned.

This ultimate state was born with the Creator's first thought to create the world, and it exists in its final form from the very first moment, for the future, present, and past are merged in the Creator, and the factor of time does not exist in Him.

All human progress is necessary only to enable us to imagine that the following is also possible:

1. Change of time: the stretching of time into infinity, i.e., when time stops and the present merges with the past and the future; when time reverses its course or disappears. Yet, time is the only thing that provides us with a perception of existence. By "switching off" time, we stop perceiving that we exist!
2. Transformation of space: expanding and contracting of space into a point; space taking other forms, other dimensions; infinity and total absence of space altogether.

I've already dealt with these issues in my book, *Kabbalah, Science and the Meaning of Life*, and I would prefer not to digress from the text of *The Zohar*. However, to understand our true state, and not the one we currently perceive, it is essential to remember that notions of time and space do not exist with regard to Creator. In reality, we are completely different and exist in a completely different form and state from what we presently perceive. We feel this way because our sensations are distorted by our egoism, which infuse our senses and possess our bodies, like a cloud.

Therefore, all that is described in the Torah refers strictly to the spiritual realm. This information transcends time, referring at once to our past, present

and future, for time exists only with regard to those who are still confined to their egoistic *Kelim* (desires). From this we can understand what is said in the Torah: "The Creator showed Adam each generation and its representatives, and showed it to Moshe as well" (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 38:2).

Yet, if the above described unfolded before the creation of these generations, how can the Creator show them to Adam and Moshe? It is possible because all the souls with all their destinies from the moment of their creation to the end of their correction emerged before the Creator in their completeness and reside in the Supernal Garden of Eden. From there they descend and enter the bodies of our world, each at their own "time." And there, "Above," the Creator revealed them to Adam, Moshe, and all the others who were worthy of it. However, this is a difficult notion, and not every mind is ready to grasp it.

Therefore, *The Zohar* says (*Terumah*, 163) that the way the six *Sefirot* of *Zeir Anpin* unite as ONE above *Chazeh de Zeir Anpin*, where they are free from the *Klipot*, *Malchut* unites with *Zeir Anpin* below his *Chazeh*, so that unity exists below, as it does Above. For the Creator (*Zeir Anpin*) is One (male) Above. And *Malchut* becomes One (female), so that One (male) would be with One (female). This is the secret of unity expressed in the words: "He and His Name are one"; "He" (ZA) and "His Name" (*Malchut*) are within one another.

The degree that is born at the end of correction, in the state of "He and His Name are one," already exists Above as the sum of all the 600,000 souls and deeds during the 6,000 degrees (called "years") in the world, which will emerge before the end of correction, but exist in their eternal form Above, where the future is as present.

Therefore, the pillar of Light that will shine upon the world from one end to the other at the end of correction already exists in the Supernal Garden of Eden, which illuminates it with the same brilliance that will be revealed to us in the future. This is because at the end of correction the two degrees will shine as one, and "He and His Name will be one." A pillar (line) of Light will appear, made of those that reside Above (the souls that reside in the Supernal Garden of Eden) and those that reside below (the souls clothed in the bodies of our world). And "One receives One"; these two degrees shine together, and reveal the Creator's unity thereby, as it is said that on that day "He and His Name will be one."

From the aforesaid one can assume that the pillar of Light that shines in the Supernal Garden of Eden descends and shines in the Garden of Eden of our world. But this is not so. Rather, FROM THE FIRST—FIRMAMENTS

ARE MADE, for this degree exits onto a *Zivug* of *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin*, called "firmament." Therefore, all the *Zivugim* that ascend above the firmament shine upon those that receive them from the firmament and below. The degree above the firmament is referred to as "Heaven," and the degree that receives from the firmament is called "earth."

When the line (pillar) of Light unites the inhabitants of Above and those of below, the distinction between the Supernal Garden of Eden and the inhabitants of this world still remains. This is because the inhabitants of the Supernal Garden of Eden receive from a *Zivug* above the firmament, and what they receive is called "the new Heaven for the inhabitants of Above." And only a small luminescence, called "the new earth," descends below the firmament to the inhabitants of below. This is what *The Zohar* says: "From the first—firmaments are made, and from the second, from their return—earth."

Although in this great *Zivug*, as in all *Zivugim*, all that is decided above the firmament, above the *Zivug*, spreads down to earth, below the line of the *Zivug*, one should not think that this *Zivug* (like all the previous ones) is merely a thin line of Light, called "one," a limited, inner place, as it is written at the beginning of creation: "Let the waters gather together unto one place," i.e., in the inner place of the worlds (and not the outer), a place of Israel.

But the Light of this *Zivug* revolves around the world and fills it whole. This Light reaches even the outer parts of the worlds (the nations of the world), as the prophet writes: "The earth shall be filled with Knowledge of the Creator" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9).

142. And since out of them Heavens were created, who resides there? He returned and said, "There is a shelter for the sun in them. This is the holy sun, called *Zeir Anpin*, and it dwells and resides there, and adorns itself with them."

143. Since *Zeir Anpin* resides in those firmaments and clothes in them, he emerges like a bridegroom out of his wedding canopy, and rejoices and races along these firmaments, and exits them and enters, and races toward a tower in a different place. He emerges from one end of Heaven, from the Upper World, from the Highest place, from *Bina*. And his season—where is it? It is the opposite place below, i.e., *Malchut*, which is the year's season that forms all the ends and binds everything—from Heaven to this firmament.

The Zohar speaks of the great secret of the sun coming out of its hiding. It is worth noting that Kabbalists often use the word "secret" only to explain and as if reveal the mystery in the passages that follow. The reader should nevertheless

understand that there are no secrets in the world. Man attains everything from his degree. Even in our world, in the process of his mental development, man attains new notions on every new degree. And whatever he considered a secret only yesterday now becomes clear and revealed before him.

The same is true with regard to spiritual attainments. Kabbalah is called a secret wisdom, for it is concealed from ordinary people, it is a secret to them. But as soon as one acquires a screen and begins to perceive the spiritual world, he sees the secret becomes a reality. And this process continues until he completely attains the entire universe, all of the Creator's secrets ("Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," item 148).

The sun emerges from its hiding (sheath—*Nartik*), from under the *Huppah*, and rushes to a tower at a different place—after the great *Zivug* under the *Huppah*. *Zeir Anpin* leaves his hiding and enters *Malchut*, called the tower of *Oz* (strength) of the Creator's Name, for *Malchut* then ascends and unites with *ZA*, and they become as one.

The end of *Malchut* is called "the year's season." And until the end of correction, the impure forces, called "the end of days," attach themselves to it. Now, after the end of correction, it is still necessary to correct this part of *Malchut*, called "the end of days." To this end, the sun emerges from its hiding, LIKE THE BRIDEGROOM EMERGING FROM UNDER THE *HUPPAH*, and shines, and enters the tower of *Oz* (*Malchut*), races and shines on all the ends of *Malchut* to correct "the year's season" of the lower end of Heaven.

For this last action corrects all the ends of *Malchut* and unites all from the Heavens to the firmament. In other words, *Malchut* receives the Light of THE END OF HEAVENS above the firmament (*ZA*).

144. There is nothing hidden on account of the year's season and the phase of the sun that revolves in all directions. And there is no concealment, i.e., not a single Supernal Degree is hidden from him, for all were bound together and everyone appeared before him, and none could be concealed from him. Thanks to him and thanks to them he returned to them, to the friends, in the phase of complete return and correction. All this year and all this time is for the Torah (to study it), as it is written: "The Creator's Torah is perfect."

After the great *Zivug*, a restriction was imposed on all the Upper Light (item 94). Therefore, a new *Zivug* (TOWER) is necessary, which reveals anew all of the Upper Light that was concealed on account of the disappearance of the degree of *BON*, before it begins to ascend to *SAG*. Thus, NOTHING IS

CONCEALED FROM THAT PHASE OF THE SUN THAT REVOLVES IN ALL DIRECTIONS.

Indeed, a *Zivug* between the phase of the sun and the year's season corrects the ends of *Malchut* on all sides, until the correction is completed. Thus, *BON* ascends and becomes like *SAG*, which amounts to the complete correction of *BON*, whereupon THERE IS NO CONCEALMENT, NOT A SINGLE SUPERNAL DEGREE IS CONCEALED FROM HIM, for all the degrees and the Upper Light are once more revealed in their perfection. AND NOTHING CAN BE CONCEALED FROM Him, for all the degrees and Light gradually return to Him, until all become revealed.

It is hence said that the revelation does not occur at once, for while in its phase, the sun travels and shines in sufficient measure for a COMPLETE RETURN, as it is written that He punishes the sinners and cures the righteous, whereupon they all merit the complete revelation of the Star.

145. The word *HaVaYaH* is written six times, and there are six verses from "the Heavens declare" and until "The Creator's Torah is perfect" (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8). And this is the secret of the word *BERESHEET*, which consists of six letters: THE CREATOR CREATED ET (THE) HEAVENS AND THE EARTH, six words in all. The other sources of the verse from "The Creator's Torah is perfect" and until "they are better than gold" (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8) correspond to the six utterances of the name *HaVaYaH* in them. The sources from "the Heavens declare" through "The Creator's Torah is perfect" are for the six letters in the word *BERESHEET*, whereas the six names are for the six words from "the Creator created" through "the Heavens and the earth."

It is known that any degree born or revealed in the worlds is first revealed through its letters, which signifies the, as yet, unattainable. Afterwards, it appears in the combination of letters. This degree then becomes attainable, its contents become known, as previously described with the letters *RYU* = 216 and *AB* = 72 (item 116).

The six letters in the word *BERESHEET* contain everything that exists in Heaven and on earth, but in an unattainable form, and are hence designated by these letters alone, without their combinations. Then there are the six words: *Bara Elokim Et Ha-Shamayim Ve-Et Ha-Aretz* (THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH), where everything that the word *BERESHEET* contains (Heaven, earth, and all their inhabitants) is already attained.

The same principle allows us to understand what is included in the six verses from "the Heavens declare" to "The Creator's Torah is perfect." This is

just the beginning of the revelation of attaining the end of creation in the form of letters, as with the six letters in the word *BERESHEET*.

And the complete revelation, the attainment of the end of creation begins with the verse "The Creator's Torah is perfect." This verse contains six names, each of which constitutes unique attainment, thus indicating that only after the completion of this degree do all the letter combinations become revealed and attained in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, as it is said, NOTHING IS CONCEALED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIM.

This is why *The Zohar* says that THE WORD *BERESHEET*, WHICH CONSISTS OF six, IS WRITTEN (SPEAKS) ABOUT THIS SECRET. The word *BERESHEET* contains six letters, where Heaven and earth are concealed, before they become revealed in the six words, THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH.

The same applies to the six verses (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8): the great *Zivug* of the end of correction is not yet revealed from THE HEAVENS DECLARE to THE CREATOR'S TORAH IS PERFECT. Only after NOTHING IS CONCEALED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIM are the six names revealed, which in turn reveal the end of correction in its full perfection.

146. As they were sitting and talking, Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, entered. He said to them: "Certainly, the face of the *Shechina* has come, hence I called you *Pniel* (*Pnei*–face + *El*–Creator = the Creator's face)" (item 119), for you have seen the *Shechina* face to face. And now that you have attained Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada, it certainly refers to *Atik*, the *Sefira* of *Keter*, just as everything else that occurred afterwards, as it is written in the Torah: "And he slew the Egyptian." And he who is concealed from all—is *Atik*.

It is said in the continuation of "The Donkey Driver," who revealed the soul of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada to Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba, as a result of which Rabbi Shimon called them *Pniel*. For the soul of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada is a spiritual degree destined to be revealed in the future, at the end of correction. This is why they were in a state of concealment of the Upper Light (item 113), as was already mentioned with regard to the *Zivug* of the sun's phase and the year's season, until they have found Rabbi Shimon Ben Lakunya and others, thus meriting all the Light once again.

Therefore, Rabbi Shimon says to them, YOU HAVE ATTAINED, BENAYAHU BEN-YEHOYADA WAS REVEALED TO YOU. This means that they have already attained the six verses, the essence of THE HEAVENS DECLARE, and exist in the six names. When they have attained the soul of

Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada with the help of the donkey driver, their attainment had not yet been revealed to them, as they still existed in the six verses—the reason for their concealment. But now they have attained and revealed his soul, that it is the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, when everything is revealed to all.

147. The words, "He slew the Egyptian" are explained in another place, i.e., at a different degree, in a different way. He opened and said, "He slew the Egyptian, a man of good stature, five cubits high." All of this refers to the same secret. This Egyptian is the one who is well-known and is described as "very great in the land of Egypt in the eyes of the Jew," for he is great and honored, as that old man had already explained (item 99).

The Torah describes the killing of the Egyptian in the book *Shemot* (*2:12*). As we have already learned from the article about Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, it is expressed differently at a different degree (in a different language, the language of *Divrey HaYamim*). However, these two verses are the same secret, for it is written in the book *Shmuel* 1 (11:23): "And he slew the Egyptian, a prominent man," while in *Divrey HaYamim* it is written: "And he slew the Egyptian, a man of good stature, five cubits high." Both verses are the same secret, which *The Zohar* continues to clarify.

148. This case was examined at the Divine Assembly. "A prominent man" and "a man of good stature" are the same, as they constitute *Shabbat* and the bounds of *Shabbat*. As it is written: "You shall measure it from outside the city." It is also written, "You shall not impede limitations in measure." Hence, he was a man of good stature. Precisely such, from one end of the world to the other. Such is he, Adam, the first man. And should you disagree, referring to the written "five cubits," know that these five cubits extend from one end of the world to the other.

The matter concerns the Divine Assembly, of which Rabbi Shimon said: "I saw those ascending, but how few they were" (Talmud, *Sukkah*, 45:2). There is a lower assembly of the angel Matat. However, the described above takes place in the Supernal Assembly, which will be clarified further.

"A prominent man" is the degree of Moshe, of whom it is written in the Torah: "And there hath not since risen a prophet in Israel such as Moshe" (*Devarim*, 34:10), of whom it is written "My servant Moshe is not so; he is trusted in all My house; with him do I speak mouth to mouth, clearly, and not with riddles" (*Bamidbar*, 12:7-8).

"A prominent man" also constitutes a measure, which extends from one end of the world to the other. Moreover, its form and size correspond to *Shabbat* and

the bounds of *Shabbat*, where the bounds of *Shabbat* are the end of its measure. During the 6,000 years, the bounds of *Shabbat* are limited by only 2,000 *Amah* (cubits). However, after the end of correction, the bounds of *Shabbat* will extend from one end of the world to the other, as it is written: "And the Lord shall be King over all the earth" (*Zachariah*, 14:9).

As we already know, the Light can descend and fill the *Partzufim* down to the level of *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*. *Shabbat* is a spiritual state when the worlds of *BYA* with all that inhabit them rise above the *Parsa* to the world of *Atzilut*. Above *Parsa* are only pure forces, corrected desires (*Kelim*). Hence, naturally there is no need to separate pure *Kelim* from impure ones and to correct them during *Shabbat*.

However, the Light of *Shabbat* shines not only in the world of *Atzilut*, but beyond its bounds as well. It thus affects the sixteen *Sefirot* from *Parsa* down to *Chazeh* of the world of *Yetzira* so the soul can be in the state of "*Shabbat*" with these desires, too. The language of our world describes this as the permission to transcend the bounds of the city of *Atzilut* (seventy *Amah*) by 2,000 *Amah* down to the *Chazeh* of the world of *Beria*, and then another 2,000 *Amah* from *Chazeh* of the world of *Beria* to *Chazeh* of the world of *Yetzira*. (Seventy *Amah* are regarded as being within the city limits.)

However, after all the *Kelim* (desires) are corrected, there will be no restrictions; the world of *Atzilut* will extend down to our world, and only the state of *Shabbat* will prevail in the entire world—in all desires of all creatures.

It is hence written: A PROMINENT MAN and A MAN OF GOOD STATURE are one and the same, for they constitute *Shabbat* and the bounds of *Shabbat*, as is said: AND YOU SHALL MEASURE FROM OUTSIDE THE CITY, and it is also written: YOU SHALL NOT IMPEDE JUDGMENT IN MEASURE. It follows that an object's measure represents its limit, just as the words A MAN OF GOOD STATURE alludes to the end, the bounds of *Shabbat* after the end of correction, which will extend from one end of the world to the other.

AND HE SHALL BE PRECISELY MAN OF GOOD STATURE indicates that size does not rule over him; rather, he rules over size, and it is he who determines this size according to his own will. SUCH IS HE, ADAM, who, prior to his sin, extended and shone from one end of the world to the other (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12:1), as the bounds of *Shabbat* after the end of correction.

FIVE CUBITS FROM ONE END OF THE WORLD TO THE OTHER—because the five cubits are the five *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*

that expand and fill everything from one end of the world to the other after the end of correction.

149. It is, as is written, "like a weaver's beam" (*Shmuel* 1, 17: 7) "as the Divine staff" (*Shemot*, 4:20) that was in his hand, which reveals by the secret name (Light) confirmed in it by the Light of the letter combinations that Betzalel and his disciples engraved, called "weaving," as is written, "He filled them and others, and BOUND them." And that staff—within it shone a secret name, inscribed on all its sides by the Light of the sages, who confirmed the secret name in forty-two properties. And the rest of what is written from here onward is similar to what the old man had already explained. Happy is his lot!

The secret of the letter combinations in sacred names is called "weaving," like a weaver joins his threads into a fabric, the letters join into combinations of sacred names, which designate man's spiritual level of their attainment. Hence, *The Zohar* says that the Creator's staff in Moshe's hand had engraved the letter combinations of the secret name, which Betzalel and his disciples engraved as they worked on the Tabernacle.

The Creator's staff is therefore called a "weaver's beam." The Hebrew word for "beam" is *MANOR* (from *OHR*—Light). This refers to the Light of the letter combinations in the secret name, which Betzalel weaved and engraved, as it is said, "by the Light of the letter combinations that Betzalel engraved."

However, the staff does not shine in all directions until the end of correction, for there is a distinction between the Creator's staff and that of Moshe. It is written of the staff of Moshe: "Put forth your hand and take it by the tail (of a snake), and it shall become a staff in your hand" (*Shemot*, 4:4). This means that it did not shine from all sides.

However, after the end of correction, it will shine in all directions, as it is said: "And the secret name shone from within that staff in all directions by the Light of sages, who confirmed the secret name in forty-two properties." For the secret name that was engraved on the staff shone in all directions, i.e., in the property called "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8). It will thus begin to shine evenly in all directions, whereas the Light of the name engraved on the staff is the Light of *Hochma* of the Name *MB*.

150. Be seated, dear friends. Be seated and let us renew the correction of the Bride on this night, for whomever joins her on this night shall be guarded Above and below in the coming year. And this year shall pass over him in peace. Such people are described in the verse: "The angel of the Lord stands

round those that fear Him, and delivers them. O taste and see that the Creator is good" (*Tehilim*, 34:8-9).

As was already stated in item 125, there are two explanations of the aforesaid. The first is that since the day of the giving of the Torah is the Light of the end of correction that abolishes death forever and brings freedom from the angel of death, one should exert to receive this Light on the day of *Shavuot* (Pentecost), as Light is renewed on the holiday and brings deliverance from death.

According to the second explanation, *Malchut* is called a "year," and the renewal of the Light by those who keep the Torah after the end of correction will also bring the complete and final correction of the year (*Malchut*). This is because the renewal of the Light by those who keep the Torah is referred to as the correction of the night of the bride, *Malchut*, called a "year." And this brings us to a corrected year.

Heaven and Earth

151. Rabbi Shimon opened and said, "In the beginning the Creator created the Heavens and the earth." This verse should be examined carefully, for whoever claims that there is another Creator disappears from the world, as it is written, "He who claims that there is another Creator perishes from both the earth and from Heavens, for there is no other Creator, but the Almighty."

Here *The Zohar* continues to discuss the correction of the bride. It starts with the first sentence of the Torah: IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, with the root and the source of all the corrections of the bride (*Malchut*) during the 6,000 years.

Malchut's entire correction occurs only through her union with *Bina* and the reception of *Bina's* properties. In the verse, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, the Creator is called *Elokim*, signifying *Bina*. This means that He created the world by the property of *Bina* for the purpose of correction.

Elokim consists of *MI-Bina* and *ELEH-Malchut*. Thanks to the constant union of *MI* and *ELEH*, the world can exist. The Creator is *Bina*, called *Elokim*, and as a result of *Ohr Hochma* clothing in *Ohr Hassadim*, the union of *MI* and *ELEH* provides *ELEH* with the property of *Bina*. It is through this correction that the world is able to exist.

The union of *MI* and *ELEH* does not permit for the existence of other, foreign, egoistic forces within the *Partzuf*. These are the so-called "other gods," who cannot sustain the world, as they separate *MI* from *ELEH* and do not clothe the Light of pleasure (*Hochma*) in the altruistic intention of *Hassadim* (for the Creator's sake), which leads to *Ohr Hochma* departing the *Partzuf*, leaving *ELEH*. Therefore, it is forbidden to believe that man is governed by any other forces besides the Creator, for instead of existence and reception of the Light of Life, such belief brings the world and man only ruin and disappearance of this Light.

152. With the exception of *ELEH*, everything is written in Aramaic. This is called "translation." He asks: However, should you suggest that it is because the holy angels do not understand the translation, i.e., the Aramaic language, then everything should have been said in Hebrew, so the holy angels would hear and be grateful for it. He replies: This is exactly why it is written in the translation (in Aramaic), as the holy angels neither hear nor understand it, and hence will not envy people, which would be detrimental to the latter. For in this case, even the holy angels are called Creators, and they are included in the group of Creators, but they have not created Heaven and earth.

Aramaic is referred to as "translation." It is very close to the holy language of Hebrew, but angels neither need nor know it nonetheless. Yet, they know and need all the other languages of the nations of the world. This is so because the translation from the holy language is called its "reverse side," its *VAK* without *GAR*.

In other words, there is an altruistic language, which is hence called "holy," and its reverse, preliminary stage, hence called "translation," is the Aramaic language. No other language in the world but Aramaic can act as translation from the holy language. All the other languages in the nations of the world (egoistic desires) are strictly egoistic and are unrelated to altruism. They are not *AHP* with regard to *GE* (the holy language).

Therefore, the translation is truly close to the holy language. However, there is one distinction here, which renders it unnecessary to angels: the holy language is like the scale pointer that shows the extent of balance between the right and left scales, where the pointer moves between the two scales and delivers its judgment—toward the scale of reward (for merits) or towards the scale of punishment (for sins). It brings everything back to the state of correction, to purity and holiness, and is hence called the holy language ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 120).

As it is written in item sixteen, Heaven, earth, and all that inhabit them were created by *MA*, i.e., *Malchut*, as it is written, "*MA* = WHAT = HOW glorious is Your name in all the earth, which You have set above the Heavens!" Indeed, Heaven was created by the name (property) of *MA* (*Malchut*), whereas the Heaven that is mentioned alludes to *Bina*, called *MI*. But all is explained by the name *Elokim*.

The name *Elokim* is revealed in Heaven and earth, which were created by the power of *MA*, by attaching the letters *ELEH* from *Ima-Bina* with the help of *MAN* and good deeds of the lower ones. Therefore, the Light of *GAR*, i.e., *Ohr Hochma*, called *Elokim*, is consistent neither in Heaven (*Bina*) nor on earth (*ZON*).

Typically, only *GE* are present above the *Parsa*, in *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, whereas their *AHP* is below the *Parsa*, in the worlds *BYA*, for *ZON* themselves are unwilling to receive *Ohr Hochma* unless it is to be passed on to the *Partzufim*—the souls of the righteous—in the worlds of *BYA*.

When the lower ones, the righteous that exist spiritually in the worlds of *BYA*, raise *MAN* from below upwards, from their place in *BYA* to *Malchut de Atzilut*, *MA* turns into *MI* and the letters *ELEH* join with *MI*. Together, they create the word *Elokim*, which is the Light of Heaven and earth. However, if the lower ones corrupt their deeds by sinking into egoistic intentions, the Light disappears and leaves *Sefirot K-H* with the Light *Ruach-Nefesh* (called *MI* or *MA*), while the letters *ELEH* fall into the impure forces, for *MI* is *GE* and *ELEH* is *AHP*.

Therefore, the entire correction depends exclusively on attaching the letters *ELEH* to *MI* with the help of *MAN*. Hence, this correction is called the "holy language," like the scale pointer, which determines the balance between egoistic desires and altruistic intentions, i.e., the reception for the Creator's sake. This is why the scale pointer is set in the middle, and by means of such interaction of the properties of *Malchut* (the will to receive) and *Bina* (the will to bestow), one can achieve the reception of *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake.

The Light is called "holy," as it passes the holy name *Elokim* to *ZON*, descends from *Bina* to *ZON*, and transfers the letters *ELEH* to the pure and holy side, to the scale of merit. This is why the Hebrew word for "scales" is *Mawznaim* (from the word *Awzen*), for the Light in *AHP* (*Awzen-Hotem-Peh*) is named according to its highest Light, the Light of *Awzen* of the *Sefira Bina* or *Ohr Neshama*.

Keter	Galgalta	Forehead/Skull	Yechida	GE
Hochma	Eynaim	eyes	Haya	
		Parsa		
Bina	Awzen	ear	Neshama	AHP
ZA	Hotem	nose	Ruach	
Malchut	Peh	mouth	Nefesh	

And the language of translation called *Targum* is opposite to the holy language of *Mawznaim* (scales). It is so because when the lower ones do not raise *MAN* and do not harbor pure intentions, it is defined as an aspiration to use only the desires to receive, designated by the letters *ELEH*, and which do not aspire to unite with the desire (property) of bestowal (the letters *MI-Bina*). As a

result, *AHP* of *ZON*, called *MA*, descend and Heaven and earth (*ZON*) return to the state of *VAK*.

Such a state is called the language of *Targum*. The *Gematria* of the word *Tardema* (sleep) matches that of the word *Targum*. In Hebrew, the word *Targum* is spelled with the same letters as the words *Tered MA*, which means "descending *MA*," for through this spiritually impure language, *AHP* = *MA* (designated by the words *Tered MA*) becomes revealed. This leads to the descent from the scale of merit to the scale of punishment. While this is happening, the state of *GE* is called "sleep."

However, all this refers only to *ZON*, to Heaven and earth created in *MA*, the desires of reception. This is because they have emerged as a result of a *Zivug* on *Yesod*, called *MA*. But the holy angels that emerged from the *Zivug de Neshikin* (kissing *Zivug*) of *AVI*, and which have only *MI* but no *MA* (only altruistic desires of bestowal, the property of *IMA-Bina*), permanently exist in the state of *VAK* without *GAR*, that is, without *Ohr Hochma*.

On the other hand, their *VAK* is *Ohr Hassadim* of *MI* = *Ima-Bina*. *Ohr Hassadim* in *Bina* is as important as *GAR*, for it fills desires with just as perfect a sensation as does the *GAR*, to the point that they reject *Ohr Hochma*, just like *Ima*. And there is holiness in them; hence, *GAR* are called holy, as well.

There are two reasons why angels do not respond to the language of *Targum*, which adds *MA* to *ZON* and returns *ZON* to the state of *VAK*:

1. Even when *ZON* are in the state of *GAR* due to the influence of the holy language, angels do not receive *GAR* (*Hochma*) from it, as, just like *Ima*, they want only *Ohr Hassadim*.
2. The addition of the *Achoraim* (*AHP*) does not apply to angels whatsoever; they lack the properties of *MA*. Hence, *The Zohar* says that THE HOLY ANGELS HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO NEED for translation AND DO NOT LISTEN to it. They do not need it because they neither lose anything when it is present nor gain anything when it is absent, as they constitute the property of *VAK* and lack the property of *MA*.

AND THEY SHALL NOT ENVY MAN—this sentence refers primarily to the damnation of other gods, the forces that prevent man from revealing *GAR*, *Ohr Hochma*. As a result, he loses the Light and the letters *ELEH*, for angels do not have the properties of *GAR de Hochma* either, but only *GAR de Hassadim*. Thus, they feel ashamed of their descent to such a low degree, and envy us for considering ourselves significant.

The Zohar says that in this case, even the holy angels are called "Creators," but they have not created Heaven and earth and are called "Creators-*Elokim*" (forces) because they come from *Ima-Bina* (called *Elokim*), thus existing in the general *Elokim*. But THEY HAVE NOT CREATED HEAVEN AND EARTH, for they cannot uphold the existence of Heaven and earth in *GAR de Hochma*. However, Heaven and earth (the correction of the world to its ultimate merging with the Creator) cannot exist unless man settles there (man must consist of egoistic and altruistic desires) and sows and reaps (corrects his egoistic desires by uniting with the properties of *Bina*). This existence is possible only in the Light of *GAR de Hochma* (the reception of *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake). Hence, angels do not create Heaven and earth.

153. He asks: earth is called *Arka*, when it should read, *Ar'a*. He answers: because *Arka* is one of the seven lands below, where the sons of Cain's sons reside. Indeed, after being banished from the face of the earth, they descended there and fathered generations; wisdom became so lost that all understanding was lost, and this is a double land, consisting of darkness and Light.

Each of the seven *Sefirot* (the six *Sefirot* of *ZA* and *Malchut*) contain the properties of the other six. Thus, each one of them contains the seven *Sefirot HGT NHYM*. In other words, *Malchut*, too, has seven *Sefirot*, and the lower world contains seven lands, as well, called *Eretz*, *Adama*, *Arka*, *Gia*, *Neshia*, *Tzia* and *Tevel*.

Our land is called *Tevel* and is the highest of the seven lands. *Arka* is the third of the seven lands. The souls of Cain and Abel descend from the word *Elokim*, but due to the impurity that Chava (Eve), Adam's wife, received from the serpent, the soul of Cain emerged first from the letters *ELEH*, followed by the soul of Abel, which emerged from the letters *MI*. These two *Partzufim* were meant to unite and incorporate their properties in one another, which would make the name *Elokim* shine in both of them, as when *MI* is permanently present in *ELEH*. However, the impure force that emerged together with Cain's soul incited him against his brother (*MI* of the word *Elokim*) to the point that he rose against Abel (*MI* in *Elokim*) and slew him. This is because the disappearance of the property of *MI-Bina* from *ELEH* is tantamount to murder.

Without the support of the properties of *MI*, *ELEH* (Cain's own property) fell into the impure forces: from the spiritual level of the holy land to the impure place (of egoistic desires). And he lost his descendants (*Partzufim* filled with Light) because of the rule of the impure forces (the disappearance of the screen).

Thus, the holy language within him was substituted for translation, for he had lost the wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*). After all, the impure forces lack wisdom, as they have only the Light of *HB* without *Daat*.

The slaying of Abel, i.e., the exit of Light from this *Partzuf* (item 152), occurs because *MI* is formed in *ZON* exclusively by the power of *MAN* (raised by the pure thoughts of the righteous in the worlds of *BYA*). Then appear the letters *ELEH*, and the word *Elokim* becomes as complete in *ZON* as it is in *AVI*. *Malchut* ends just like *ZA*, like *Ima*, due to the replacing of the letter *Hey* with *Yod* (item 17).

However, the letter *Hey* does not disappear from *MA* forever. Rather, it simply enters the inner part of *Malchut* and hides there (the will to receive receives its fulfillment from altruistic actions, from *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, its egoistic aspirations are temporarily unfelt, as they are concealed in *Ohr Hassadim*). Meanwhile, the letter *Yod* is revealed in *MI*.

This is why the Creator's holy name *Elokim* is also found in *ZON*, in Heaven and earth. However, Cain raised *MAN* not in holiness and purity, but wished to use the letters *ELEH*—which relate to him—for his own pleasure. This is described as, AND CAIN ROSE UP AGAINST ABEL, HIS BROTHER, for he put himself above his brother, to rule over *MI* (Abel).

However, *AHP* of *Nukva* (the hitherto concealed letter *Hey* of *MA*) were immediately revealed, and the word *MI* disappeared from *Malchut*. Hence, Abel's soul, which stems from *MI* of *Nukva* (*MI* fill the *Partzuf* with Light and are considered its soul) ascends and disappears as well, as is described by the words, AND SLEW HIM, for the Light's exit from the *Partzuf* is referred to as death.

This is why *The Zohar* describes this process in the following way: The serpent's impure force was within Cain (*Beresheet*, 2:4); hence, he wished to strengthen the letters *ELEH*, annul *MI*, and govern them. That is why he revealed *AHP* of *Nukva* (*MA*) and *MI* disappeared from *Nukva*, whereupon Abel's soul, which descends from *MI*, disappeared as well (AND SLEW HIM).

Thus, Cain himself (*ELEH*) fell under the rule of the impure forces, called *Arka* or *Eretz Nod*, as it is written in the Torah: "And he settled in the land of Nod" (*Beresheet*, 4:16).

The Zohar calls it a double land, one that contains both Light and darkness. This is because Light and darkness mix and act (rule) together, as there are two rulers in that land, who divide the power equally between them. One rules over darkness, the other over Light. Hence, in this state one is unable to separate Light from darkness, and only help from Above, the descending Light of reason, enables one to tell between the true Ruler and the lord of darkness.

154. And there are two rulers there—one rules over darkness and one over Light, and they become hostile to each other. When Cain descended there, they joined together and became complete. And they all saw that they were Cain's descendants. Therefore, their two heads are like two serpents, except for when the ruler of Light defeats the other, the ruler of darkness. Hence, they enter Light and darkness, and become as one.

We need to review item 14, which expounds on the creation of the holy name *Elokim*. First, the letters *ELEH* ascend and join *MI* to form a simple word, since *Ohr Hassadim* is still insufficient, whereas holiness (*Ohr Hochma*) cannot enter the *Kli* (desire) without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is concealed in the name *Elokim*.

That is why a *Zivug* takes place in *MI*— to receive *Ohr Hassadim*, which clothes *Ohr Hochma*, thereby correcting the name *Elokim*: *MI BARAH ELEH—BARAH* is the source of *Ohr Hassadim*, which clothes *Ohr Hochma*, thus connecting *MI* to *ELEH*, which brings correction to the name *Elokim*. *MI-Bina* consists of *GAR* (*AVI* with the property of pure altruism), who never receive *Ohr Hochma*, and *ZAT* (*YESHSUT*), who do receive *Ohr Hochma*.

Therefore, as the letters *ELEH* begin to ascend to *MI*, they first rise to *ZAT de MI* (*YESHSUT*), who receive *Ohr Hochma*, but are currently concealed in the name *Elokim*. Then transpires the second *Zivug* on *GAR de MI*, *AVI*, altruistic desires, which provide *ELEH* with *Ohr Hassadim*, thus bringing correction to the name *Elokim*.

AVI	–	GAR de Bina	–	Ohr Hassadim
YESHSUT	–	ZAT de Bina	–	Ohr Hochma
ZON				

Since *ELEH* lacks *Ohr Hassadim*, those deprived from *Ohr Hochma* are called *Partzuf* Cain. Not only did Cain fail to raise *MAN* to receive *MI* with *Hassadim*, he also wished to receive *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*, thereby destroying the *Partzuf* named Abel, for the egoistic desires of *AHP de Malchut* of *Atzilut* were exposed. The Light disappeared from *Partzuf* Abel, signifying its death, whereas Cain himself fell into the impure forces—*ELEH*.

The place of these impure forces is called *Arka*. Also, two rulers exist there, emerging from the impure *ELEH*: when *AHP de MA* in *Malchut* is concealed, while *AHP de MI* are revealed, they can pass the Light from the perfect, pure, and holy name *Elokim* to the souls. *Ohr Hochma* of *ELEH* (received by

YESHSUT) then clothes in *Hassadim* (received from *AVI*), and the holy name *Elokim* becomes revealed.

However, since the impure forces cling only to the *AHP* of the pure forces (to *MA*), the letters *ELEH* within them exist in two incomplete states: (i) when no *Hassadim* are present at all; (ii) when *Ohr Hochma* in *ELEH* cannot clothe in *Hassadim* due to the lack of *Hassadim de MI*; hence, *ELEH* are kept in darkness.

This is the male part of the impure *ELEH*, as these *Kelim* are intended for *Ohr Hochma*. However, they have no *Hochma* due to the lack of *Hassadim de MI*. Hence, they are kept in darkness, devoid of both *Hochma* and *Hassadim*. Yet, these are great *Kelim*, for if they had been able to receive *Ohr Hassadim*, they would have been able to receive *Ohr Hochma* within it, too.

The female part of the impure *ELEH* stems from *AHP de MA* of the holy *Nukva*, the *Kli* for *Ohr Hassadim*. However, the impure *Nukva* is considerably injured, as she is the basis for everyone's remoteness from the Creator, as she impersonates the holy *Malchut*. Depending on the extent of her corruption, she has a multitude of impure names. Yet, she still retains a tiny Light (*Ner Dakik*), since her *Kelim* stem from *AHP de MA*, the roots of which are *Kelim* of *Ohr Hassadim*.

These male and female parts of the impure *ELEH* are *ZA* and *Malchut* of the impure forces, the two rulers in *Arka*. The male part rules over darkness and the female part rules over the Light that is there. They complain against each another, since they are opposite. The male part complains because it is the *Kelim* of the letters *ELEH*, which are empty of *Ohr Hochma*; it hates the forces of remoteness from the Creator and forgery, existing within the *Kelim* of the female part of the impure forces, and prefers to remain in its darkness.

Nukva of the impure forces, however, who has a small Light of *Hassadim*, does not aspire for *Ohr Hochma*, let alone for the darkness in which her male part abides. Therefore, she complains about the male part and distances from it. As *The Zohar* says, two rulers govern there: one (the male part) over darkness, and the other (the female part) over Light, and they are hostile towards each other, for the male part rules over darkness and the female rules over Light. Hence, they hate, slander, and complain against each other. And since they are thereby distanced from one another, they cannot expand their dominance and are incapable of causing any harm.

However, after Cain had sinned and dropped the pure letters of *ELEH* of his soul into the impure forces of *Arka*, his *ELEH*, which are concealed from *Hassadim*, clothed in the tiny Light present in the impure forces. This revives

the small *Kelim de Hochma* in Cain's *ELEH*, for the Light of the impure forces bestows life upon them, just like the pure Light of *Hassadim*.

As a result, the male part of *ELEH* of the impure forces, too, made a *Zivug* with this *Nukva*, who clothed Cain's *ELEH*, since he has these *Kelim*, as well. With the help of this *Zivug*, Cain fathered his descendants, the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that remain in the letters *ELEH*, which are not mixed with the male impure *Kelim* of *ELEH* that clothed in the Light of *Nukva* of the impure forces.

This is why *The Zohar* says that when Cain descended there, everything merged and became complete, for the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that remained in Cain's *ELEH* were clothed in the Light of *Nukva* of the impure forces. Consequently, her male impure force wished to enjoy the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that are in Cain's *ELEH*.

Hence, they made a *Zivug*, i.e., spread and completed one another, and everyone saw that they were the descendants of Cain, that this *Zivug* produced the descendants, the clothing of the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* in Cain's impure *ELEH*. Thus, the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* of Cain's soul were revealed, and everyone saw that they were Cain's descendants, born of a vile *Zivug*.

Therefore, their two heads are like two serpents, for they were born from a union of the male and female parts of the impure *ELEH*, which are initially opposite to one another. Therefore, Cain's descendants have two heads, from the two impure forces: one craves the darkness of the desires to receive *Ohr Hochma*, and the other craves the Light within the impure desires of the impure *Nukva*. And the two serpent heads correspond to the two animals that belong to the system of the pure forces: the bull and the eagle.

However, the two heads exist only when the male part is dominant, when darkness rules. Indeed, by clothing in the Light of *Nukva* in order to enjoy the small sparks of *Ohr Hochma*, the male part also supports (against its will) the dominance of its *Nukva*, for it wants her Light. As a result, their descendants have two heads: the first pulls in one direction and the second in another.

Nukva of the impure forces does not need their male part whatsoever, as her male part exists in darkness and cannot give her anything. Therefore, *Nukva* dominates and prevails in her impurity, leaving nothing of the properties of the male part. Consequently, Cain's two-headed descendants become one-headed.

The Zohar tells us that the ruler of Light defeats the lord of darkness. When the impure *Nukva*, which has the Light, dominates, she defeats the male impure part, as well as the other male ruler. She defeats the male part, fully subduing it to her rule, and they include themselves in her Light and darkness, and become

as one. Consequently, the rule of the male part (darkness) is included under the rule of the female part (Light), and the two heads become one.

155. For these are the two rulers, called Afrira and Kastimon, who resemble holy angels with six wings. One has the image of a bull, and the other of an eagle. And when they unite, they create an image of man.

The male impure force is called Kastimon (from the word *Kosti*, devastation), for it is darkness and is unfit for man's life. And the impure *Nukva*, the female part, is called Afrira (from the word *Afar*, dust), and is unfit for sowing. She is called so in order to show that although she contains Light, she is insufficient for sowing the seed and producing harvest to feed human beings.

The Zohar also says that she resembles holy angels with six wings, for the six wings of the holy angels correspond to the letter *Vav* in the name *HaVaYaH*. In contrast, there are only four wings in the impure forces, corresponding to the name *ADNI*, indicating the height of the impure forces with regard to the holy angels, opposite them.

The Upper Light is called "wine," bringing joy to the Creator and to human beings. However, wine residue contains *Sigim* or wine yeast. And from this waste emerges the foremost wrecker of the world, for he is still connected to purity (to yeast) and has the image of a man. However, as he descends to bring people harm, he assumes the image of a bull. This is why a bull is the first of the four main types of wrecker.

Hence, *The Zohar* tells us that Kastimon is a wrecker in the image of a bull, thus indicating that it is the basis of all wreckers that are called "the impure bull." It is the *Sigim* of the Supernal *Ohr Hochma* of the holy name *Elokim*, the impure *ELEH* that correspond to the pure *ELEH* of the name *Elokim*. For *Sigim* and yeast stand below it, but since it is still connected to purity, it has the image of man, for *Ohr Hochma* of the name *Elokim* is *Tzelem* (image and likeness) of man, of which it is said: "*Be Tzelem Elokim*—created man in image and likeness."

Yet, when separated from purity (altruism) through deterioration of its desires and, consequently, of its properties, it descends to its place (befitting these properties) in *Arka*, and assumes the image (properties) of a bull. And its *Nukva* assumes (in *Arka*) the form (properties) of an eagle, in congruence with her goal and action of *Linshor* (to fall out)—to bring about the fall of human souls under her power.

Hence, the word *Nesher* (vulture) is derived from the word *Neshira* (fall), just as leaves fall from a tree, for the role of the impure *Nukva* is to seek people out

and bring them to a state of night and darkness, to the destruction of the holy covenant, as a result of which people's souls depart from them (item 131).

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us: "And when they unite, they form the image of man," i.e., if they return and unite with purity, existing as wine yeast, they return and assume once more the image of man, just as before they descended to Arka and became wreckers.

156. When they are covered with darkness, they turn into a serpent with two heads, and move like a serpent. They soar in the void and bathe in the Great Sea, and when they approach the chains of Aza and Azael, they rile and rouse them and leap into the mountains of darkness, thinking that the Creator wishes to bring justice upon them.

I suggest that the reader will try to comment on *The Zohar* on his own, without any help, and then compare his thoughts with those stated below. This way, we might understand what Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag has done for us with his commentary. Prior to the appearance of his commentaries on the books of the ARI and *The Zohar*, there was no way for us to understand Kabbalah correctly, and only a handful of people in each generation could climb the spiritual ladder on their own.

Now, however, I assure the reader that simply by constantly reading even my books, which retell the compositions of the great Kabbalists, Rabbi Ashlag and his elder son and my teacher, Rabbi Baruch Ashlag, anyone can attain ascension to the Creator. I think that those who have already read previous books realize that this is truly possible!

As *The Zohar* already mentioned in item 154, when the impure *Nukva* dominates man through her Light, the two heads become as one. However, in the darkness, when the male part, called Kastimon, dominates, they turn into a serpent with two heads, for the male part is unable to annul the power of the female part, as it needs to be clothed in her Light. Hence, the serpent has two heads. And they move like a serpent—aiming to bring harm (the property of the serpent), to tempt Chava to dine on the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.

By the power of the *Rosh* of the impure *Nukva* they soar in the void, which contains the root of the impure force, called "void" or the greatest fall, as it is written: "They ascended up to Heaven, they descended down to the abyss" (*Tehilim*, 107:26). By the power of the impure male part, they bathe in the Great Sea, in *Ohr Hochma* of the impure forces.

Therefore, *Arka* is called the Land of Nod, as it constantly sways from the rule of the two heads: those that reside there keep alternating between ascending up to the Great Sea and descending down into the void.

The angels Aza and Azael are very exalted angels. Indeed, even after they had fallen from Heaven into our world, into the mountains of darkness, linked by a metal chain, so great was their power that with their help Bil'am (Balaam) attained the degree of prophecy, of which it is written: "Sees the Creator's presence" (*Bamidbar*, 24:4).

This is described as "falls and opens his eyes," for Aza is referred to as "falling" because of his fall from Heaven to earth. And Azael is called "he who opens his eyes" with regard to Aza, at whose face the Creator throws darkness. And with regard to Bil'am's prophetic degree, our sages have said the following: "There has not been a prophet in Israel like Moshe, not in Israel, but there was one among the nations of the world, and his name was Bil'am" (*Bamidbar-Raba*, 14)—so great was his prophetic degree.

And the reason for their downfall from Heaven to earth lies in their complaints against man at the moment of his making. Yet, there were many angels complaining and objecting, so why did the Creator cast down only these two? The answer to this question can be found in items 416-425 of the chapter "*Balak*" in *The Zohar*. Briefly, it says that when the desire to create Adam (or man, since the Hebrew word for man is Adam) appeared in the Creator, He summoned the Supernal angels, seated them before Him, and told them of His desire to create man.

The angels replied: "What is man, that You are mindful of him?" (*Tehilim*, 8:5), meaning what are the properties of this man that You so wish to create? He replied to them: "This man will be similar to Me and his wisdom will surpass yours, for the human soul includes all the angels and Supernal Degrees, just as his body includes all the creatures of this world."

Therefore, at the moment of creation of man's soul, the Creator summoned all the Supernal angels, so they would pass all of their properties and forces to man's soul. It is therefore written: "Let us make man in our image, in our likeness," meaning that man's "image and likeness" includes all of the properties of all the angels.

The words "image and likeness" are written in quotation marks, since the words *Tzelem* and *Demut* (image and likeness) are not mere words that simply describe likeness. Rather, they constitute very meaningful spiritual notions.

But the angels' question should be interpreted as follows: "What kind of a creature is this man and what is his nature? How shall we benefit from passing (including) our properties in him?" The Creator replied to this: "This man will be similar to Me and his wisdom will surpass yours." In other words, the Creator thus promised them that man will embrace all of their qualities (the properties of *Tzelem*), and that he will be wiser than them. However, because of their connection to him, they will also benefit from his great attainments and acquire everything that they presently lack.

This is because the human soul includes all the spiritual degrees and all the utmost properties of all the angels. And just as his body includes all the materials and creatures of our world with all of their properties, so was the Creator's wish that his soul would absorb the whole of creation within it.

It is written in the Torah: "Yaakov and Israel shall be told of the Creator's works (*Bamidbar*, 23:23)." The sages have said that in the future the angels will ask Israel for things that they do not know themselves, for Israel's attainments will be beyond that of the angels. Hence, all the angels took part in the creation of man and integrated all their properties within him.

However, once man was created and sinned, thus becoming guilty before the Creator, the angels Aza and Azael appeared before the Creator with accusations "that man, whom You have created, has sinned before You." For these words, the Creator cast them down from their exalted and holy degree, and thus, they began to deceive human beings.

Of all the angels, only these two, Aza and Azael, came before the Creator to complain about Adam's sins, for only they knew that man shall return to the Creator. However, Aza and Azael also knew that the harm brought to them by man's sin will not be corrected by this return. Moreover, they would prefer man to not return in his desires to the Creator at all. This is why they were the only ones that complained about Adam's sin, because from their perspective, this sin is incorrigible.

The thing is that the breaking of the vessels and Adam's sin constitute the same breaking, disappearance of the screen (anti-egoistic willpower or intention to act for the Creator's sake). The difference is that the breaking of the vessels signifies the breaking of the screen in the *Partzuf* called "world," while Adam's sin is the breaking, disappearance of the screen in the *Partzuf* called "soul." The difference between these two *Partzufim* is that the *Partzuf* called "world" is external with regard to the inner *Partzuf* called "soul." The soul exists within the world and is sustained by it.

The breaking has its causes and consequences. It is necessary for mixing all the properties of *Bina* and *Malchut*, and must transpire both in the spiritual world and within the soul, to impart the properties of *Bina* to *Malchut*, and thus enable her to correct herself.

The breaking of the world of *Nekudim* led to the breaking of the eight *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura*-2/3 of *Tifferet* and 1/3 of *Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut*, four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M* in each one that in turn consists of ten *Sefirot*, in all: 8 x 4 x 10 = 320 (*SHACH*) parts. As a result of the mixing of all the parts, each part in turn consists of 320 parts. All of these 320 parts, called *Nitzotzin* (sparks), acquired the egoistic will to enjoy by receiving the Creator's Light, which signifies their descent into the impure forces.

In the spiritual realm there are no locations or departments of pure and impure. However, for the purpose of conveying information more vividly, we envision the reception of lower properties as a descent, the reception of more spiritual properties as an ascent, the attainment of equivalence of form as a union, and the emergence of a new property as separation. The appearance of egoistic desires in a spiritual object is considered a descent into the impure forces, although these forces exist within us (and not vice versa), and simply become more apparent. There is nothing surrounding us, for everything is within: all the worlds and desires, both pure and impure.

By studying Kabbalah we attract the emanation of the Light that surrounds our soul (see "Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155), which cultivates within us a desire for correction. Then, as we attain the degrees of the spiritual worlds, we begin to feel the spiritual Light that corresponds to each degree, through which we begin to discern egoistic and altruistic parts in each of our properties.

By comparisons to the Light, we perceive our egoistic parts as evil, and to the extent that we sense it, we distance ourselves from it and refuse to use these desires. Conversely, we perceive our altruistic desires as good for us, but, having no strength to use them, we submit a request, receive the necessary strength, and accept the Light for the Creator's sake, thereby ascending to a higher degree, where this process repeats itself.

The return (*Teshuva*—repentance) means that by raising *MAN* (request for correction), we elevate some of the 320 corrupt parts from the impure forces, into which they fell, back to the world of *Atzilut*, where they existed prior to Adam's sin. However, we are powerless to sort out and correct, i.e., to elevate the

thirty-two parts of *Malchut* herself, which exist in the eight *Sefirot* of this *Partzuf* (world), for their level of corruption is beyond our ability to repair them.

Therefore, out of the 320 (*SHACH* = *Shin* + *Chet* = 300 + 20) parts, we can, that is, we are entitled to and must sort out and correct only 320 – 32 = 288 parts (*RAPACH* = 288) by our return to the Creator, i.e., 9 x 32, where nine designates the first nine *Sefirot* in each *Sefira* that we are allowed to correct. Yet, we are unable to correct *Malchut* of each *Sefira*, for this requires a Light of a special power. We will receive this Light from the Creator only after the correction of all the other 288 parts, that is, at the end of correction.

These thirty-two parts of *Malchut*, which are impossible and thus prohibited to correct, are called *Lev HaEven* (*Lamed-Bet Even*—thirty-two stones). As I've repeatedly mentioned, there is no such notion as "prohibition" in Kabbalah; this word is used when it is necessary to point out the futility of trying despite one's weakness and limitation. "Prohibited" means impossible, beyond one's power. Moreover, it is not the Creator's prohibition; rather, as a result of one's personal faith and experience, one should admit that "prohibited" alludes to whatever is still beyond one's power to correct.

Therefore, *GAR de AVI* are concealed, and their Light does not shine. After all, for all of its ten *Sefirot* to shine, a *Zivug* needs to be made on *Malchut* herself, for *Lev HaEven*, the thirty-two uncorrected parts of *Malchut* herself are a supplement to their ten *Sefirot*. And as long as these *Kelim* are missing, a complete *Zivug* is impossible. However, when the complete analysis and correction of the 288 (*RAPACH* = *Reish* + *Peh* + *Chet* = 200 + 80 + 8 = 288) *Nitzotzin* is completed, *Lev HaEven* will be corrected by itself, and no effort or corrections shall be required on our part.

So the prophet says: "A new heart also shall I give you, and a new spirit shall I put within you; and I shall take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I shall give you a heart of flesh" (*Yechezkel*, 36:26). Then *AVI* will receive their Light. However, this will occur at the end of correction, and before the end of correction, *AHP* of *AVI* will not be able to receive correction by means of our return, for we will be able to correct all of our egoistic desires, except for our very essence, *Malchut de Malchut*.

These angels—Aza and Azael—are the real *AHP de AVI* that were destroyed during the breaking of the vessels, and were nearly restored before the sin of Adam. However, Adam's sin destroyed them once more, this time until the very end of correction.

Hence, both angels were complaining to the Creator about their Light, which has disappeared because of Adam, for they saw that there was no hope that Adam would correct them through his return to the Creator. Moreover, they saw that by his return, Adam had lowered their degree even more, for now the entire correction and return was limited to only 288 parts, without any participation or even mentioning of the thirty-two forbidden parts, *Lev HaEven*, which refer to the correction of *AVI*, whose Light is the Light of these angels, just as the *Kelim* of the true *AHP de AVI* are their *Kelim*.

Each raising of *MAN* designates cutting off, separation of impurity—*Lev HaEven*—from the food, *RAPACH* = 288 *Nitzotzin*, the parts that can be corrected. It follows that by preventing Aza and Azael from participating in the correction of *Lev HaEven*, we lower them even more. This is why the two angels complained to the Creator and tried to impede Adam from returning. After all, his return lowers them even further, for the thirty-two parts refer to them.

Therefore, when the Creator saw that their complaints threatened to weaken man's strength to return to Him, He told them that Adam's sin did not spoil anything for them. For although there is greatness and holiness in them while they are in Heaven and no impure forces can cling to them, still this perfection is incomplete, as they cannot exist in our world, in a place of impure forces.

The Creator told them: "Hence, you have lost nothing as a result of Adam's sin, for you are no better than him anyway, as your degree is merely the result of the place of your residence." And since the Creator's words constitute His actions, they fell instantly from Heaven to earth (into egoism, of course, not to the physical earth!).

And since they came (spiritually descended) to the corporeal life (as Kabbalah defines it), they began to sort through and analyze the thirty-two parts of complete egoism, called the "daughters of men," of which the Torah says: "And the sons of great (angels) saw the daughters of men (egoistic *Nukva*), that they were fair (they saw in her an opportunity for egoistic reception of pleasure), and they took them as wives (used their egoistic desires), whomsoever they chose (they themselves chose precisely this low state)" (*Beresheet*, 6:2). For they did not want to separate the impurity of the thirty-two egoistic parts and prefer only 288, but took everything they wished, including *Lev HaEven*.

Hence, they also transgressed with *Nukva* Lilit (Lilith) the sinner, and wished to draw the entire world toward sin, to fling it into the last stage of egoism, for they did not wish man to return, as it completely contradicts their root.

What did the Creator do? He put them in iron chains! For the Creator saw that if they had the power to return to Heaven after the sin, all the people would fail in their attempts to aspire to the Creator in their desires, as the dominance of these egoistic angels (forces) in man would be too great. (Rashi—the great eleventh century Kabbalist and Biblical commentator—says that the entire Torah speaks in the words of man. Hence, everything is described in notions of time and sequence of events. Similarly, the Creator seemingly creates and only then sees the results of his work).

Therefore, although their root is quite high, the Creator gave the root of the impure forces His permission to act (here we see that the Creator governs all the forces in creation). This root is called *Barzel* (iron), as it is written: "There was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building" (*Melachim*, 1, 6:7), for iron is an impure force.

And since this impure force clang to the two angels and bound them, as if with iron chains, by the desires that it dictates to them, such a state is characterized as being in the mountains of darkness, from which they can no longer ascend until the end of correction.

And when they approach the chain of Aza and Azael, rile and rouse them, it designates the awakening of the fourth part of the will to receive, *Malchut de Malchut*, the greatest desire to receive, called "wrath and rage." And they leap over the mountains of darkness, thinking that the Creator wishes to bring justice upon them, for being bound by iron chains, they could not ascend to their roots and receive *Hochma.*

Therefore, this action is considered leaping, an attempt to ascend, followed by a fall, as a result of which they descend even deeper into the mountains of darkness. And they think that because of their leaps (attempts to receive the Light from their root), the Creator is becoming increasingly stricter with them; thus, they decide to stop leaping.

However, even though they cannot give anything, as their attempts to reach up are mere leaps and falls, it is nonetheless enough for the two rulers to receive *Ohr Hochma* from them, as this gives them the strength to swim in the sea of *Hochma* of the impure force, whereas before they had only the strength to bathe in it.

The reason for this is that there is no action in this exalted impure force, and everything is limited only in thoughts and desires, for such is the essence of the impure forces (desires) that separate us from the Creator—before the level of an action is achieved, purity disappears from it. Therefore, the impure forces will never reach the level of an action.

Hence, the work for the impure forces is called *Avoda Zara* (alien work or idol worshipping), as it is alien to spiritual work "for the Creator's sake," and is performed according to the instruction and desires that the impure forces insert into man's thoughts. In this alien work for an alien master, the Creator punishes even for mere thoughts and desires, as the prophet said: "That the house of Israel may understand in their own heart" (*Yechezkel*, 14:5). And the sages have said that man is accused and punished even for thoughts, desires, and doubts in the alien work that transpires in his heart in exactly the same measure as for a completed action. Hence, the leaps of Aza and Azael are sufficient in their desire to receive *Hochma*, although in reality they received nothing.

157. And these two Creator-appointed rulers swim in the Great Sea, fly up from there, and at night go to Naamah, the mother of witches, for whom the first people fell (*Beresheet*, 6:1-4). And they wish to approach her, but she leaps 60,000 *Parsa'ot* and assumes several different forms, so that people may be deceived and enticed by her.

After receiving power from Aza and Azael, they can now make a *Zivug* with Naamah, as the first angels Aza and Azael erred. From that *Zivug* with Aza and Azael, Naamah gave birth to all the spirits and witches of the world. The Torah calls Aza and Azael the "sons of Gods" or the "sons of the great" (*Beresheet*, 6:2).

Yet, how could such exalted angels stoop to such depraved actions with Naamah, and why did she give birth to spirits and witches, and not to people?

The thing is that the Upper World (*AVI*) was created by the letter *Yod*, by the male part, which have nothing of the fourth part of *Malchut*, called *Malchut de Malchut*. However, *ZON* (the lower world) was created by the letter *Hey*, which includes *Malchut de Malchut*. *AVI* aspire only to *Ohr Hassadim*, to altruistic actions (bestowal), for *Bina* emerged as such in the four stages of *Malchut's* birth, even before the appearance of the first *Kli* (*Malchut de Malchut*).

Nevertheless, *ZON* need *Ohr Hochma*, since *ZA* was created as such in the four stages of *Malchut's* birth. Also, *ZA* wishes to receive *Ohr Hochma* within *Ohr Hassadim*, which he already has.

The *Zivug* of *AVI*, called the "Upper World," begets angels who desire *Ohr Hassadim*, just like *AVI*, from whom they were born. Human souls are born from the *Zivug* of *ZON*, called the "lower world," and they, like *ZON*, from whom they were born, desire only *Ohr Hochma*.

The moment the common soul of all the creatures (Adam) was born from *ZON de Atzilut*, *ZON* existed at the level of the Upper World (*AVI*) and clothed

it. Like *AVI*, they, too, ended in the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*. And the letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH* was concealed in their posterior side, *Achoraim* or *AHP*.

Hence, Adam's level was quite high because *ZON* was in the Upper World and ended in the letter *Yod*. The level of *ZON* was that of the angels that were born from *AVI*; therewith, *ZON* received *Ohr Hochma* according to their desires, as *ZON* are meant to.

As a result, *ZON* contain the name *Elokim*, Supernal *Hochma*, the perfection of the Upper World. This is because the ban of the first restriction to not receive *Ohr Hochma* does not apply to the letter *Yod*. Cain and Abel were born from this state: Cain was born from *ELEH* and Abel from *MI*. *Malchut* herself (the last letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*) was concealed in them both, and only the letter *Yod* was revealed; hence, they contained Supernal *Hochma*.

However, on the whole, *Hochma* is received in *Kelim ELEH*, *ZAT de Bina*, by Cain's soul. This property of Cain is concealed in *MI*, as the last *Hey* is concealed inside *Yod*, and Cain wanted to make a *Zivug* with it, to receive *Ohr Hochma* in *Malchut de Malchut*, concealed in Abel's soul.

It is by this that he slew Abel, for after the last *Hey* was revealed, the ban of the first restriction to receive *Ohr Hochma* in it was revealed. Hence, the Creator's name *Elokim* disappeared from them both: *MI*, since it refers to *GAR*, ascended and disappeared (signifying Abel's slaying), and Cain's *ELEH*, since it refers to *ZAT*, fell into the impure forces, called *Arka*.

However, although it fell into the impure forces, sparks of *Ohr Hochma* still remain in these *Kelim* (desires), as it is written that his daughters did not suffer from it greatly, and the sparks of *Bina* still remained in them. From this we can understand that Naamah, one of Cain's daughters, was the most beautiful of all the women in the world, for the sin transpired mainly in Cain's male part, and not in his female part, as is described in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 74:2).

Therefore, after the Creator cast Aza and Azael into this world (created by the letter *Hey*), and they've seen Naamah, a new hitherto non-existent desire appeared within them—the desire to receive *Ohr Hochma*, for in their essence they desire only *Ohr Hassadim*, and only the image of Naamah bore a new desire for *Ohr Hochma* within them.

And since there is no *Hey* (the last *Hey*, on which there is a ban to receive *Ohr Hochma*) in their essence and in that of Naamah (the last revealed one, for it originates from Cain's *ELEH*), they erred in her, thinking that she is able to receive *Ohr Hochma*, and made a *Zivug* with her.

Their error was twofold:

1. Despite the fact that they do not have the last *Hey* from birth, since the place determines, and they exist in this world, the last *Hey* already governs them, and they are forbidden to receive *Ohr Hochma*.
2. They thought that the last *Hey* was absent in Naamah's structure, when in fact, it was concealed. Hence, spirits and witches were born from their *Zivug*.

From this we can understand what is written in the Talmud (*Hagiga*, 16:1), that witches are half-angels half-people, for with regard to their fathers, Aza and Azael, they are angels, whereas with regard to Naamah, they are like people. But she could not give birth to people, for the seed within her came from angels, and not from people.

The reason for the harm that they cause lies in the fact that they were born from depravity, the greatest possible distance from the Creator. Hence, their impurity accompanies them and brings harm wherever it possibly can. Therefore, *The Zohar* says that at night they come to Naamah, the mother of witches, for whom the first people fell (see *Beresheet*, 6:1-4).

Indeed, after they received strength from these angels, who were the first to engage in depravity with Naamah, they could continue to engage in depravity with her. *The Zohar* indicates that this is precisely why they come at night, for the power of *Hochma* of the impure forces rules only in the darkness of night, the time of judgment and restrictions, and also as the consequence of roots, namely Aza and Azael, who reside in the mountains of darkness.

However, after engaging in depravity with them, she leapt 60,000 *Parsa'ot*, i.e., she rose so high that she wanted to annul the *Parsa* below *VAK de* AA, whose each *Sefira* is defined as 10,000; hence, its *VAK* = 6 *Sefirot* equal 60,000.

But as soon as they think to approach her, she leaps 60,000 *Parsa'ot*, but immediately falls back down and is unable to touch them, for there is no action in these upper impure forces, and all transgressions and all errors are only in thoughts and intentions.

Yet, there is still enough power in her to deceive and entice people, even if man does not reach the level of impure actions and is only drawn to her in his thoughts and desires. However, the Creator punishes for such thoughts and desires, as He does for actions, as the prophet warns us: "the house of Israel may understand in their own heart" (*Yechezkel*, 14:5). And the impure force assumes

several different shapes, such as depravity with married women, murder and other things laid upon Lilit.

158. These two rulers soar in the entire world and then return to their places. And they rouse the sons of Cain's sons with a spirit of evil desires to beget children.

"Soar in the entire world"—they bring harm to man in all of their thoughts, wherever they can, and lure him into the darkness of night. For after man sins, they return to their permanent place in *Arka*, where they rouse the sons of Cain to defile the descendants with impurities.

Moreover, *The Zohar* says that besides pushing the sons of Cain to sin in *Arka*, they also soar in our world (*Tevel*), and compel the sons of this land to sin.

159. The Heavens that rule there are not like ours, and the land bears neither seed nor fruit by the power of Heaven, as ours does, and the grains grow again only once in several years. Hence, it is written of them that they could not correct *Shemaya* and *Arka*, and perished from the Supernal land, called *Tevel*, where they will not be able to exist, nor rule over it, nor cause human beings to sin because of the night. Hence, they disappeared from *Arka* and from the place of *Shemaya* that were created by the name *ELEH* (as mentioned in item 14).

Our Heavens receive the Light essential for the birth of subsequent *Partzufim* from ZA, which has *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, our land, which receives in *Malchut de* ZA, receives a grain and a seed.

However, the Heavens in *Arka* do not have the Light to bear fruit and give birth due to the rule of the impure forces that are there. Hence, unlike our land, *Arka* cannot produce; its land has no power to receive and grow a seed, and this property appears in it only once in several years.

Here *The Zohar* speaks of the two rulers: Afriron and Kastimon, who could not correct *Shemaya* and *Arka*, to make them bear fruit. Therefore, these rulers are not allowed to be here and seduce people in our land (*Tevel*), to sin, for when they are here, they bring harm to our land so as to make it like their *Shemaya* and *Arka*.

Therefore, *The Zohar* says that they disappeared from the Supernal land of *Tevel*, from our land, for here they sought to bring harm by the power of the night. They provoke people toward sin by virtue of the night, and it is a curse that hangs over *Arka* because of their rule there.

Our Heavens were created by the name *ELEH*, for our Heavens receive from ZA, which was corrected by *ELEH's* properties, by the words: IN THE

BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, where *MI* is connected to *ELEH*. Hence, our land is corrected by the Supernal holiness and purity. Therefore, these two rulers are not allowed to rule here.

160. Hence, there exists a *Targum*, a translation (from Hebrew to Aramaic, which *The Zohar* dubs *Targum*), so the holy angels will not think that it is said about them, so they will not harm us. This is the secret of the word *ELEH*—as we have already stated, it is a holy word that cannot be translated into a *Targum*.

Everything but the word *ELEH* has been translated into the language of the *Targum*, as it is said in item 149, that *ELEH* disappeared from both *Arka* and *Shemaya*, for the word *ELEH* is untranslatable, as it constitutes the full connection between *ELEH* and *MI*, which causes the descent of *Ohr Hochma*. And should anyone sin and corrupt the letters *ELEH*, as Cain had done, they would fall to the impure forces, so even the holiness of the *Targum* (*VAK* of the pure forces) would depart from them.

Among All the Sages of the Nations of the World, There Are None Like You

161. Rabbi Elazar said, "It is written: 'Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?' What kind of praise is this?" Rabbi Shimon replied: "Elazar, my son, this has been said in several places. However, one should not understand the verse, 'For among all the sages of the nations of the world, and in all their kingdoms, there are none like You' in its simple, literal interpretation. This is because it naturally gives rise to evil intentions of sinners—those who think that the Creator is not aware of their dark thoughts, doubts and intents. Therefore, their folly must be clarified. A philosopher of one of the nations of the world came to me and said, 'You say that your Creator governs the entire Heavens, and that all the Heavenly hosts are unable to attain Him, nor come to know His dwelling place. However, this does not add to His greatness, as it is written, 'among all the sages of the nations of the world, and in all their kingdoms, there is none like You.' What kind of a comparison is this when He is compared to man, who is nothing?'"

This is similar to what is written about sinners in Psalms (*Tehilim*, 73:11-12): "And they say: 'How does the Creator know? And is there knowledge in Him? Behold the wicked; they are always at peace, rich and powerful.'" This is exactly what the philosopher says. He was one of the greatest sages among the nations of the world, and he came to Rabbi Shimon to dishonor Israel's wisdom and work in absolute faith for the Creator's sake, which ought to be in great wholeness, perfection, purity, and integrity, for no thought can grasp Him.

This sage was a representative of the philosophers who asserted that the main principle in working for the Creator is to attain Him, rather than serve Him in faith, for in their understanding, they attain Him. And now he has come to ridicule Israel's approach.

Hence, he said: "The Creator is above all human wisdom, and thereby He rules, and He bid you to work for Him in faith and purity, and have no doubts in Him, for the human mind cannot grasp Him. After all, even the Heavenly hosts, His legions and angels are unable to attain Him, as it is written of those who say: 'Blessed be the Creator in His place,' for they do not know 'His place.'"

However, the phrase, "as among all the sages of the world, there is none like the Creator" does not imply the Creator's greatness. Indeed, if this prophetic expression is used in order to exalt the God of Israel and show that He is greater than the god attained by the sages of the nations of the world by their human strength and reason, then naturally, this does not add to the glory of the God of Israel, as He is being compared to trifle and transient forces. On the contrary, this statement shows great disdain for your Creator, when you compare Him to the sages of the nations of the world, who are mortal and restricted creatures. Those were the words that the scholarly sage, who represented the wisdom of the nations of the world, uttered before Rabbi Shimon.

Clearly, *The Zohar* is referring to some overseas sage who paid a visit to Rabbi Shimon. Just like all the other names of places and characters mentioned in the Torah, the Talmud, and the Kabbalah, names of places, animals, people, and actions described in *The Zohar* speak only of the spiritual world, the Creator's actions, and how one can achieve the goal of creation. In no way does any of this relate to events in our world!

Therefore, the "sage of the nations of the world" symbolizes man's own egoistic property to research and know everything, instead of having faith above reason, as the Torah demands. This human property, called a "sage of the nations of the world," the egoistic reason, is in a state of constant argument with man's spiritual, altruistic property, called "Israel" or the aspiration to the Creator. Thus, by opposing it, man builds himself and grows.

162. Furthermore, you claim, as your Torah says, that "There had not risen a prophet since in Israel like Moshe." There are none in Israel, but there is one among the nations of the world! So I claim the same: there is none like You among all the sages of the nations of the world, but among the sages of Israel there is one like You. However, if there is one like Him among the sages of Israel, then He cannot be the Supreme Ruler. Look closely into my words, and you shall see that I am right.

Here the philosopher (man's egoistic voice) spoke wisely. He understood that should he speak directly, he would hear precise answers to his questions. It is written: "Among all the sages of the nations of the world, there are none like

You," meaning that there is no one that can attain You. For the words, "there are none like You" imply that You have no equals, that it is impossible to attain You, attain Your degree.

However, since the sages of the nations of the world (human reason) take pride in their attainment of the Creator (that they understand His intentions and actions), they consider themselves similar to Him, for attainment means similarity of properties with the attained degree. This is why it is considered a lie, and that there are none like Him, for they do not attain the Creator, but only delude themselves by thinking that they do.

The philosopher (within man) understood that, and hence began (leading man astray from the path of faith, which surpasses and defies reason) with a completely different question: "If it is explicitly said that no one is equal to the Creator among the sages of the other nations, does it not mean that there are those who *can* attain Him among the sages of Israel? Otherwise, why would it be necessary to specify that there are none like Him among the sages of the nations of the world?

"But if this is so, and He is similar to you, then He cannot be the Supreme Ruler! Thus, how can you say that the God of Israel cannot be attained by reason and that He governs all? You speak by means of faith in His greatness, but indeed there are those among your sages who are like Him, i.e., those who attain Him."

163. Rabbi Shimon said to him, "You object correctly that there are those among the sages of Israel who are similar to the Creator, for who resurrects the dead back to life, if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Eliyahu and Elisha came and resurrected the dead back to life! Who causes rain to fall if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Eliyahu came and abolished rain, and then summoned it through his prayer! Who created the Heavens and the earth, if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Avraham came, and, as it is written, the Heavens and the earth were revived."

Rabbi Shimon replies that the (inner) sage speaks the truth when he asserts that there are those among the sages of Israel who are similar to the Creator. However, in no way does this revoke the simple faith in the Creator's unattainability by human reason. Of course, He is the master and ruler of the Heavens, and He is so much higher than all of them that even the Supernal angels cannot attain Him and do not know His place.

Yet, the Torah and *Mitzvot* (commandments) were given to us precisely for this purpose—so that by observing the *Mitzvot* (making a *Zivug* between the screen

and the Light) and studying the Torah (receiving the Light) for the Creator's sake, we, Israel (those who aspire to the Creator) would completely merge with Him (in our properties), so His Light would permeate us and clothe in us to such an extent that we would merit (begin to desire and receive the power of a screen) carrying out the same actions as the Creator: resurrecting the dead (correcting egoism), summoning rains (*Ohr Hassadim*), and reviving Heaven and earth (filling all the *Partzufim* in all the worlds with the Light of our actions).

In that, we are just like Him, as it is said: "By Your deeds (by experiencing them on myself) I will know You." However, we attain all this only through absolute and devout faith (the property of *Bina*), which leaves within us no desires whatsoever to attain Him with our reason (to verify first and act next), as in the path of sages of the nations of the world (our egoism). Our egoism consists of a *Partzuf* called a "sage of the nations of the world." Its *Rosh* (head) designates knowledge and desire to attain everything, and its *Guf* (body) is the will to receive pleasure for oneself.

The philosopher argues that if Israel can do what the Creator does, then Israel attains Him. This is correct, for if one is able to act like the Creator, then, to the extent of his actions, he attains and perceives Him. After all, it is said: "By Your deeds I will know You." If one acts like the Creator, then he understands the Creator's analogous actions in his own actions, and thus perceives Him. However, one must first advance by faith above reason, and as a result, he attains the Creator's properties, thereby becoming like Him in his actions.

164. (Rabbi Shimon continues:) "Who governs the sun, if not the Creator? Yet, Yehoshua came and stopped it. The Creator issues His decree, yet Moshe immediately issues a decree of his own, and it is carried out. The Creator wishes to punish, and the righteous of Israel annul His verdict. Moreover, He bid us to closely follow His ways and to be like Him in every way." The philosopher then went and became Israel, and lived in the village of Shachalayim, and they called him Yosi HaKatan (Little Yosi). He studied the Torah a great deal, and was among the sages and the righteous of that village.

The problem is that if a person does everything only by means of his faith, he denies himself the chance to attain the Creator, for attainment comes through applying reason. However, the moment he begins to apply his reason, he immediately diminishes his faith. So how can one combine faith with reason?

It is true that those who aspire to draw nearer the Creator (those who are called Israel) diminish their simple, devout faith. However, they do this only because He bids them to do so in order to attain His actions, and thus become like Him, as it is said in the Torah: "Follow His way" (*Devarim*, 21). Hence,

they observe His commandments. The philosopher was so overwhelmed by this truth that he became "Israel" and started observing the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

He was overwhelmed when he had found that Israel's actions, their attainments of the spiritual worlds, did not diminish their faith above reason, for all of their actions and attainments were based on faith. Israel attains the Creator because He bids them to, not because they desire this with their egoism.

165. And now the time has come to take a closer look at this verse. It is written that all the nations of the world are nothing before Him. Yet, how does this exalt Him? Hence, it is written: "Who sees the King of the nations of the world?" Yet, is the King of the nations of the world also not the King of Israel? The Creator wishes to elevate Israel in all places; this is why He is called everywhere "the King of Israel." The other nations of the world say that they have another King up in the Heavens, for it seems to them that He governs only them, and not us.

The nations of the world are certain that their Supernal King is not the King of Israel, that the King who sits in the Heavens and governs them is only their King, and that the King of Israel has no power over them. Thus, it seems to man's egoism that it exists under some other (non-altruistic) system of governance, and not altruism. The egoism fails to realize that the Creator made it exactly the way it is so as to achieve His goal: using egoism, to bring man to altruism, from "for one's own self" to "for the Creator's sake."

166. It is written: "Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?" (*Yirmiyahu*, 10:7) That is, their Supernal King is there to threaten and persecute them, and do with them as He pleases. Hence, He should be feared. And all fear Him Above and below. For it is written that among all the sages of the nations of the world (the angels that rule over these nations) and in their Kingdoms (Above) there is none like You. There are four Kingdoms Above that rule over all the nations of the world according to the Creator's will. And there is no one who can do even the smallest action without His personal instruction. The sages of the nations of the world are the forces that rule them from Above, and all the wisdom of the nations of the world comes from these rulers. "In all their Kingdoms" means that the Creator's will rules over them.

These lines describe how the bride, who is in a state of exile, prepares herself for her future, final correction. The power of the nations of the world (in every one of us) amounts to conquering us (the altruistic desires for the Creator) and placing us under their power (serving only the body). They wish to drive us away

from the Creator's rule and let other desires, called "the nations of the world" dominate us. Our egoistic desires, the nations of the world, do so because of their power (tempting us with various pleasures) and wisdom (appealing to our common sense).

Their actions over us (spiritual aspirations) stem from the system of the impure forces and their impure (egoistic) angels (our inner egoistic forces), which give power and reason to the nations of the world. With the help of their wisdom, they (our egoistic desires) lead us (the sons of Israel, those who aspire only to the Creator) to all sorts of doubts and desires to understand the Creator, His ways and thoughts, without any fear or reverence before His greatness and supremacy.

Because of these doubts, we draw far from the Creator and His Supernal Light, which, as a result, passes on to them (our egoistic desires), as it is written, "Tzur (the capital of the impure forces) was built only on the ruins of Jerusalem (the capital of the pure forces)." Thus, they acquire the strength to persecute and humiliate Israel, and force them to submit to their will (suppress the only true path to the spiritual—faith above and in defiance of reason—with their persuasions and proof of their "real" rightfulness). And as it was already explained in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar" (items 69-71), our inner spiritual enslavement leads to our external, corporeal enslavement, persecution, and humiliation by the nations of the world.

This is the secret of the four Kingdoms that rule over us in our four (spiritual and therefore physical) exiles, which correspond to *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*, symbolized by Nebuchadnezzar, as it is written: "Here is that idol, its head made of pure gold, its breast and its arms of silver, its belly and its thighs of brass, its shins of iron, and its feet part iron and part clay" (*Daniel*, 2:32-33).

When this idol governs us, the nations of the world mock us, claiming that they have a King of their own. However, such was the Creator's plan, as it is said: "The Creator hath so made it, that men should fear Him" (*Kohelet*, 3:14), for the sensation of the Creator, called *Shechina*, is also referred to as fear before Him. However, since we do not yet feel the greatness and supremacy of the Creator, we do not merit fearing Him, and live in fear of the King of the nations of the world.

This points to the fact that we have no other way of completely and eternally merging with the Creator other than by means of tremendous fear before His greatness, by assuming His Torah and His desires (*Mitzvot*) in devout and complete faith, without any doubts in His properties.

Only then will we merge with Him in absolute, eternal union, and the Creator will impart us with all the goodness for which He had created us. He conceived this in the beginning of creation, and it became the purpose behind the whole of creation. This state is considered the complete and final deliverance and correction.

However, before the attainment of such an exalted spiritual state, this is how the prophet describes those who aspire to the Creator: "You have sown much, and brought in little; you eat but you have not enough; you drink but your thirst is not quenched" (*Haggai*, 1:6), for in all of our actions (of those who aspire to the spiritual) the impure force (egoism) constantly takes all the Light for itself. This occurs as a result of our doubts with regard to faith in the Creator, which the impure force itself cultivates within us.

However, the purpose of these punishments is not to cause us grief! Everything happens according to the Creator's plan and serves only to promote us toward correction. Therefore, as long as man can listen only to egoistic arguments, the Creator develops us gradually, using these forces. With their help, we gradually become fit to feel fear of the Creator, through the many trials and sufferings our exile from the spiritual brings us.

But in the end, we merit the reception of complete and devoted faith and fear before His greatness. It is written of this state: "He remembered His mercy and His allegiance toward the house of Israel, and all the worthless creatures of the earth witnessed the help and deliverance at the Creator's hands" (*Tehilim*, 98:3).

This is because at the end of days, the Creator will remember us in His mercy, and will give us the strength to receive complete and devout faith in Him. Thus, Jerusalem (the capital of altruism) will be rebuilt on the ruins of Tzur (the capital of egoism), for all the Light, which *Malchut* of the impure force was robbing of us throughout our exile from the spiritual, will return to us when we acquire complete and devout faith, and will shine within us with all its might.

All the worthless creatures of the earth (manifestations of egoism) will then see with their own eyes how our Creator saves (corrects) them. For all the nations of the world (within us) will see that they have always possessed this Light until the very last moment before their correction so as to give it back to us at the appropriate time. And all shall see that "one man's rule over another is to the detriment of the ruler!" (*Kohelet*, 8:9).

The burden of our slavery and the impure force's rule over us (over holiness) harms only the impure force, for it thereby compels us to attain complete and devoted faith in the Creator even faster! And the prophet speaks of this time,

"Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?" for it has now been revealed that He is the King of the nations of the world, who persecutes and dominates those nations. It previously seemed to them (our egoistic intentions) that they persecuted us (our altruistic intentions), but now the opposite has been revealed to them—that they were merely blind enactors of the Creator's will, our servants and our slaves, whose purpose is to bring us to perfection.

It seemed to us that they were beating us. Now it turns out that they were beating themselves, for thanks to these blows (suffering from unrealized egoistic desires and constant frustration), they have accelerated our deliverance and attainment of perfection (our realization of the need to choose the path of faith above reason). Thus, they have also accelerated their own demise (their own correction).

And wherever it seemed to us (our reason) that they rebelled against the Creator (argued that the Creator is not the source of all reality) and acted (supposedly) however they pleased so as to humiliate us and satiate their base egoistic desires, and it appeared that there was no (Supernal) judge and no law (the advancement of creation toward its goal), it has now been revealed that they have always been fulfilling the Creator's will, to bring us (all our desires, them included) to perfection.

The same applies to every person in the world—whether he wants to or not, at all times and in every way, he fulfills only the Creator's will. Why then is he not called the Creator's servant? Because he acts unconsciously, not of his own will. To compel man to fulfill His will, the Creator gives him some alien desire to enjoy, which forces him to carry out an action, but he does so as a slave of his desire, and not as someone who fulfills the Creator's will.

For example, the Creator may give man an alien desire to make money, thereby compelling him to open a restaurant so as to carry out altruistic actions as a slave of his egoistic desire.

In other words, to compel us to do what is necessary, the Creator created within us an egoistic desire to receive pleasure, thus obliging us to do His will by enabling us to find pleasure in the actions and objects on which He wants us to work. This is why we live in constant chase of pleasures, whereas in truth we are constantly and unconsciously fulfilling the Creator's will. This resembles a situation in which children are given many toys to play with, but as they play, they also carry out work.

The entire world is doing the Creator's will, but our goal, the purpose of our development is to do it consciously. We must attain and realize His will; we must ascend so high that we will want to do it wholeheartedly and on our own,

rather than as we do it now—unconsciously and coercively. We must achieve a state when our desires fully coincide with those of the Creator, which designates complete and conscious union with Him.

Thus, it becomes clear that the King of the nations of the world is the same Creator that rules over them and compels them to fulfill all His desires, as a King does with his slaves. And now fear before the Creator is revealed to all the nations of the world. The phrase, "all the nations of the world" alludes to the angels that rule over those nations, such as Afriron, Kastimon, Aza, Azael and others, from whom the sages of the nations of the world (our egoism and reason) receive their wisdom, and with whose help they oppress Israel (our altruistic desires).

IN THEIR KINGDOMS refers to the four existing Kingdoms, which govern the seventy nations of the world (*ZON* = seven *Sefirot*, each of which containing ten sub-*Sefirot*: in all seventy *Sefirot*) and over us (altruistic aspirations) in our four exiles, which correspond to the impure *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M* (described as Nebuchadnezzar). As the prophet writes: "Here is that idol, its head made of pure gold (the first Kingdom), its breast and its arms of silver (the second Kingdom), its belly and its thighs of brass (the third Kingdom), its shins of iron, its feet part iron and part clay (the fourth Kingdom)" (*Daniel*, 2:32-33).

There is not one among them who can make even the smallest action of their own, but only what You bid them. However, this will only be revealed at the end of correction, and all will know that all of our misfortunes and suffering that had the power to separate us from the Creator were but loyal executors of the Creator's aspiration to draw us closer to Him. Moreover, these cruel forces did nothing else but obey His orders.

And the sole purpose of all that transpired was to bring us to a state where we can receive all the perfection and infinite goodness that He intended to bestow upon us from the very beginning in His plan of creation. The Creator must lead us to complete and devout faith, the result of which will be, as the prophet said: "Then, at once, the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold all crumbled to pieces and became like the chaff on summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, and no trace was left of them; and the stone that smote their image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth" (*Daniel*, 2:35).

Absolute faith is called "unbreakable (non-crumbling) stone." After one merits absolute faith, the impure force (his inner egoistic desires and thoughts) disappears as though it had never existed. And all the worthless creatures

(reason, logic, philosophy, and common sense), which inhabit the earth, witness deliverance at the hands of the Creator, as the prophet said: "They shall not do evil nor destroy in all My holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters fill the sea" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9).

167. Yet, among all the sages of the nations of the world and in all their kingdoms, I have found in the ancient books that even though the Heavenly hosts and legions fully obeyed their given orders and each would receive precise instructions to be carried out, but who among them can do it if not You, who will do it better than You? For You excel over them all in both properties and deeds. Hence, it is written: "There is none like You."

The Creator Himself carries out all the creatures' actions with His Light, and leads them to His goal. Man's sole task is the realization of all creation and governance, to wholeheartedly agree with all of the Creator's actions, and take an active part in the process of spiritual creation.

168. Rabbi Shimon said to his friends: "This wedding must be a wedding for all of you, and each of you should bring a gift (his own part in the common *Malchut*) to the Bride." He said to Rabbi Elazar, his son: "Present the Bride with a gift, for on the following day *Zeir Anpin* will look as he enters the wedding canopy at the sound of these songs and praises of the sons of the wedding canopy, who stand before the Creator."

Who Is This?

169. Rabbi Elazar opened and said, "Who is this coming up from the wasteland?" (*Shir HaShirim, 3:6*). *MI ZOT*—who is this—is the common ground of the two questions, the two worlds, *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are bound together. COMING UP—coming up to become the "Holy of Holies." For *MI* is *Bina*, called the Holy of Holies. And she joins with *ZOT* (*Malchut*), so that *Malchut* could come up FROM THE WASTELAND, for she inherits THIS from the wasteland, to become a bride and enter the bridal canopy.

The Zohar explains the following passage: "Who is this coming up from the wasteland, leaning upon her beloved!?" (*Shir HaShirim*, 8:5). It describes a state at the end of correction, when the bride enters the wedding canopy. *MI ZOT*: *MI* is *Bina* and *ZOT* is *Malchut*. At the end of correction, *Bina* and *Malchut* unite, and both are called "holy." But until the end of correction only *Bina* is called holy, while *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and receives holiness from her.

Nevertheless, at the end of correction, *Malchut* becomes like *Bina*, and they both become holy. *Malchut* completely unites with *Bina* through equivalence of form, and fully merges with the source of life, for a screen (the restriction imposed on reception of Light within *Malchut*) creates the Returning Light that combines all *Sefirot* into one.

The Creator's *Ohr Hochma* can be received precisely in this Returning Light. As a result, *Malchut* ends with the letter *Yod* and becomes forever similar to *Bina*. Hence, it is written that *Malchut* and *Bina* unite by equalizing their desires to form a single whole.

Similarly, the Light of *Malchut* will be forever connected to the Light of *Bina*, for *Malchut* herself ascends to the level of the "Holy of Holies," thus becoming exactly like *Bina*. SHE COMES UP just like a sacrifice, which is the "Holy of Holies," for *MI* (*AVI*, *Bina* or the "Holy of Holies") joins *ZOT* (*Malchut*), so

Malchut would ascend and become the "Holy of Holies." Sacrifice is the part of *Malchut* (man's animal egoism) that ascends with its properties to *Bina*.

And when *MI* (*Bina*) joins *ZOT* (*Malchut*), and *ZOT* becomes the "Holy of Holies," there is no longer a diminution of *Malchut's* state, for this diminution occurred only because of the deterioration of *Malchut's* properties, when new egoistic desires emerge within her.

Now that *Malchut* has become as holy (altruistic) in her properties as *Bina*, death disappears, and the fall of *Malchut* into her egoistic desires is impossible, for she has been fully corrected and has attained the properties of *Bina*, which are referred to as holy. Through *Malchut's* acquisition of these properties, the Upper Light (life) enters her. *Malchut* emerges from the wasteland (the sensation of life's absence for want of altruistic properties) and enters her wedding canopy.

This occurs thanks to man's efforts, called "those who keep the Torah" (item 124). These efforts are the foremost part of creation, for they create the Torah and bring *Malchut* to the great *Zivug* at the end of her correction, to her complete fulfillment with the Light. This great *Zivug* on the entire corrected *Malchut* (including *Malchut de Malchut*) can be achieved by precisely this sensation (by man) of the spiritual wasteland.

170. She comes up from the wasteland of the soft utterance of lips, as it is written, "And your mouth is comely" (*Shir HaShirim*, 4:3). This is because the Hebrew word *Midbar* (desert/wasteland) is derived from *Dibur* (speech). It is written of the mighty forces, that these mighty forces strike Egypt with all the plagues of the wasteland, for all that the Creator did to them was not in the wasteland, but in settlements. And the phrase "in the wasteland" means "by the power of speech, of spoken word." This comes up from articulation, from the mouth (*Malchut*) as she ascends and comes under the wings of *Ima* (mother, *Bina*). Then, through speech, she descends upon the entire holy nation (the difference between speech and articulation is that articulation is an action that forms speech).

Before the end of correction, when *Malchut* is still called the "Tree of Good and Evil," all corrections occur through *MAN* (prayers or requests), through which the righteous (those who wish to become similar to the Creator in their properties) elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*. Consequently, *Malchut* receives *Bina*'s properties for as long as *Malchut* remains there, for spiritual ascent signifies an attainment of properties. *Malchut* becomes as holy (altruistic) as *Bina*.

MAN is a silent prayer in the heart of man, for *Malchut* signifies "speech." Yet, until the end of correction, good words cannot exist without bad ones. That

is, this will not happen until both voice and speech come from *Bina* herself, when *Malchut* becomes like *Bina*, which designates the unity of voice and speech—the *Zivug* of *ZON* in their corrected state of *Gadlut*.

ZA receives the voice from *Ima* and passes it in his speech to *Malchut*. Hence, this speech is completely good, devoid of any evil. Thus, *Malchut* receives from *Bina* the Light of holiness, *Hassadim*. Unless it is corrected by the completely good, altruistic voice of *Bina*, *Malchut's* voice will always consist of both good and evil. This is why impure, egoistic forces cling to her, and *Malchut* cannot receive anything from holiness (*Bina*).

Hence, *MAN* that the righteous raise in their prayers is like a soft murmur of lips, a voiceless speech, as the prophet says: "Only the lips move, but the voice cannot be heard" (*Shmuel I*, 1:13). This is because there is no connection between *MAN* and the impure force, and *Malchut* can be elevated to *Bina* so she can receive her voice from *Bina*.

As a result, a holy edifice of *Malchut* is erected, and she receives the Light from a *Zivug* between voice and speech, and the holiness of her speech descends upon the heads of the righteous that raised *MAN* and thereby revived *Malchut*.

This is why it is written that SHE COMES UP FROM THE WASTELAND, for the bride (*Malchut*) is now invited to a great *Zivug* under the wedding canopy. This occurs thanks to the raising of *MAN* by the righteous, who thereby united *Bina* (voice, *Ima*) with *Malchut* (speech). As a result, *Malchut's* speech became as beautiful as that of *Bina*.

All of these individual *Zivugim* made by the various righteous (each of whom constitutes a small part of the common *Malchut*) during the 6,000 years, now connect all of *Malchut's* parts (souls of the righteous) together in one great *Zivug*, as the bride (*Malchut*) enters her wedding canopy.

In other words, it is precisely this soft prayer, the raising of *MAN* during the 6,000 years by a voiceless speech (seeing as good is still mixed with evil in the voice of *Malchut*), that creates the conditions for the great *Zivug* of *Malchut* with *ZA*, of man with the Creator.

And since *Malchut* received the voice of *Bina* (from *Ima*-Mother) thanks to the help of the righteous (all the good deeds performed by the righteous during the 6,000 years), everything is now combined into the great Supernal *Zivug* under the wedding canopy. This is because *Malchut* becomes completely good without a hint of evil—the "Holy of Holies," just like *Ima*.

Silent speech is defined as the movement of lips without the participation of the palate, larynx, tongue, and teeth. This is how *MAN* is raised when *Malchut* ascends between the wings of *Bina*, i.e., receives the voice of the wings of *Ima* in her speech. Afterwards, having acquired the speech, she descends upon the heads of the holy nation. For after the reception of voice through *Ima's* property of mercy, *Malchut* becomes as holy as *Bina* herself, and her holiness descends upon those who corrected her. Consequently, they are called the "holy nation," for now the speech of *Malchut* is as holy as that of *Ima-Bina*.

There is "voice" and there is "speech." "Voice" is the inner part, whereas "speech" is its outward appearance. This appearance is based on exhaling (the silent letter *Hey*). *ZA* is called "voice," and *Malchut* is called "speech." Letters are sung according to the note signs (*Taamim*), followed by the letters with their punctuation marks.

The level of *Ohr Haya* (called *Kol*—voice) emerges on the screen in the *Peh* of the third degree of thickness, known as "teeth." From this Light *ZA* receives *Ohr Hochma*, and his voice is then heard outside (begets the souls of the lower ones).

Yet, the voice of *ZA* is not heard below the level of *Neshama*, for his screen is not strong enough to receive *Ohr Hochma*. The level of *Ohr Yechida* in *ZA*, called *Dibur* (speech), emerges on the screen in the *Peh* of the fourth degree of thickness. This screen is the most powerful, as it reveals all of the Light, and is called "lips."

The Light of *NRNHY* reveals the inner, Supernal and concealed wisdom, *Hochma*, the concealed thought, the inner Light of *Bina*, which cannot shine to the lower ones, that is, in *ZA*, because *ZON* cannot receive from *Peh de AA*. Nevertheless, the two levels of the Light—*Haya* and *Yechida*—that descend from *AA* are converted into voice and speech with *Bina's* help, even though it is the Light of thought, wisdom and reason.

Voice is formed in *ZA*, and speech in *Malchut*. If a righteous one raises his prayers (*MAN*) to *Malchut*, thereby causing *ZON* to ascend to *AVI*, who are in constant union, to provide Light for the lower ones, *ZON* receive this Light from *AVI*, which is called "voice and speech." The property of the righteous is to create the pure and destroy the impure with their voice. In the beginning, there was only one language (one speech) in the world, *Lashon HaKodesh*—the holy language. In Hebrew (as in English) the same word (*Lashon*) means "tongue" (both as a body part and as a means of communication).

171. He asks: "How does *Malchut* ascend in speech?" And he replies: "When man first awakens in the morning and opens his eyes, he must bless his Creator and Master. How is he to bless Him? The way it was done by the first

***Hassidim*: they would prepare a vessel of water beside them, so that when they woke at night, they would wash their hands at once, and, having blessed the Torah, would rise to study it. When the rooster crowed, precisely heralding midnight, the Creator was with the righteous in the Garden of Eden. And it is forbidden to perform a blessing in the morning with unclean hands."**

He asks: since it is written that the beginning of *Malchut's* correction must be expressed in a quiet murmur of lips, how can he who wakes up (spiritually) immediately pronounce a blessing at the top of his voice? After all, the blessing must also be uttered in whisper so as to first receive a voice from *Ima*, and with this voice (by the force of *Ima-Bina*) elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*, and impart onto her altruistic properties.

The Zohar replies: The first *Hassidim* have corrected this. As man falls asleep (falls to the level of the Light in his *Partzuf* called "sleep"), his holy soul (the Light that was in his spiritual *Partzuf*) ascends, and only the impure spirit of the primordial serpent (egoistic properties) remains in him, for sleep constitutes the 60th part of death (Talmud, *Berachot*, 57:2).

Since death is an impure property of the primordial serpent, the impure spirit (egoistic desires) does not leave man completely as he wakes up (receives a new Light from Above), but remains on man's fingertips (not all of man's desires change under the influence of the Light received from Above, called "the Light of morning" or "the Light of awakening").

And the greater holiness and Light that was present in man before he fell asleep (before he fell into a diminished spiritual state, called "sleep"), the more the impure (egoistic) force clings to these desires when the altruistic intentions exit them during sleep.

Fingertips constitute the purest place (desires) of the entire body (all desires), man's most spiritual desires, for they can be filled with *Ohr Hochma* (*Ohr Hochma* enters these desires during a *Zivug*, with the help of a screen). Therefore, even after awakening (at the beginning of the spiritual ascent), the impure (egoistic) force does not leave this place, wishing to receive at least some of that great Light, which can fill these most altruistic human desires.

Hence, hands must be washed in order to remove the residual egoistic desires. For this to happen, two vessels need to be prepared: the Upper One (cup) and the lower one that will accept the removed impurity.

The Upper Vessel designates *Bina*, whose Light drives the impure force away. Hence, washing the fingertips with water (the forces or desires of *Bina*) expels the impure force (man's egoistic desires) from them. Thus, *Malchut* rids herself

of her evil (egoism) and becomes holy and good. Afterwards, one can study the Torah and bless the Creator for it, for washing hands is similar to raising *MAN* in a whispered prayer to the wings of *Ima*.

And when the rooster crows (this is a special spiritual sign of the angel Gavriel), it is precisely midnight, as it is written: "The greater star to rule the day and the lesser star to rule the night" (*Beresheet*, 1:16). For the lesser star, the holy *Shechina-Malchut* grew smaller, clothed in impure forces and "her feet descend to death" (*Mishley*, 5:5).

This is so because during the 6,000 years, up to her final correction, *Malchut* constitutes the Tree (foundations) of Good and Evil: if one is worthy, she becomes good for him and purifies him, if not—she turns evil. Accordingly, the rule of night is also divided into two parts: the first refers to a state called "unworthy—evil," and the second refers to a state called "worthy—good."

The first correction of *Malchut's* good part is made exactly at midnight (in a state so called "midnight"), for it is then that *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*. Put differently, *Malchut* ascends to *Malchut de Ima-Bina* and corrects herself within it. As a result, the strictness and judgment in *Malchut* become holy and good, completely devoid of evil. This means that strictness and judgment fall onto the impure forces, but for Israel, they turn into mercy.

Yitzchak signifies restriction, the property of *Malchut* within *Bina*. The Hebrew word for a "rooster" is *Tarnegol*, and also *Gever* (man) and designates the angel Gavriel, who attends to *Malchut*, the lesser star. The strictness of *Bina* pierces the wings of the rooster (Gavriel), and through it *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*.

And when Gavriel passes the voice of *Bina* to *Malchut*, his call reaches all the roosters of this world, the property of judgment in the spiritual void. Such a state is called "this world" or *Malchut de Malchut*. Everyone speaks only in this voice, which was corrected by *Bina's* property of mercy.

Therefore, the voice of *Malchut* (her judgment) no longer dominates the second half of the night, and the voice of *Bina* claims this place. This is what the "rooster of this world" heralds—the property of judgment in *Malchut de Malchut*.

Hence, a rooster's crow (change of properties) is heard precisely at midnight (when states change), for this crow means that *Malchut* has already been corrected by the voice of *Bina*, and that this voice is already within *Malchut*. This is defined as the moment of midnight, which marks the beginning of the second half—absolute goodness, devoid of evil.

After *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*, the righteous (man's properties in the worlds of *BYA*) raise *MAN* with the help of their study of Torah after (in the state of) midnight. They keep raising *MAN* to the "cheerful strictness" in *Ima*, of which it is written: "She rises also while it is yet night" (*Mishley*, 31:15), for it is precisely at night that the Supernal *Malchut* reveals herself in all her splendor.

And the actual revelation of *Malchut* takes place in the Garden of Eden, i.e., she is meant for those righteous who have corrected her with their work and studies (in the state) after midnight. The Creator rejoices with them (merriment signifies fulfillment with *Ohr Hochma*) in the Garden of Eden, for the corrected *Malchut* is called "the Holy *Shechina*" or "the Garden of Eden," for she receives *Hochma* and rejoices with the righteous that constitute *MAN* within her.

And the phrase that describes how impurity (egoistic desires) is washed away (corrected to altruistic properties) from man's fingers (his most exalted desires) is true not only with regard to nighttime. Man ascends from the lower degree of "sleep" onto a higher degree of "awakening," the difference between the two states being that previously, he was receiving only the vital *Ohr Hassadim*, called "sleep," while "awakening" signifies reception of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because the impure force constantly clings to man's fingertips (precisely for man to correct it and thus attain greater spiritual heights), and he is obliged to wash his hands (make his desires and intentions "for the Creator's sake") before uttering a blessing (appealing to the Creator for reception).

172. For when man is asleep, his soul (spirit) leaves him. And as soon as his soul departs from him, the impure spirit replaces it at once, and it fills his hands and defiles them, and it is forbidden to utter a blessing without washing one's hands. And should you object that when man is awake and his soul does not leave him, the impure force does not descend upon him, then, if he enters a washroom, he is forbidden from reading even a single word of the Torah until he washes his hands. And if you say that it is because his hands are soiled, this is not true, for how are they soiled?

173. But woe unto those who do not beware and do not guard the Creator's honor and do not know the foundation of this world. There is a certain spirit that dwells in every cesspool of the world, a spirit that relishes depravity and excrement, and it immediately settles on the fingers of man's hands.

Just like Rabbi Y. Ashlag, I refrain from commenting on items 172 and 173 of *The Zohar*, and he who merits it—will understand this text himself.

He Who Rejoices on Holidays

174. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "He who rejoices on holidays and does not give a part to the Creator, the evil eye hates and slanders him, removes him from this world, and brings him many miseries."

We have already said (item 68) that the impure forces (egoistic spiritual forces within man that know of and hence desire the pleasures hidden in the Creator's Light) consist of male and female parts. The male part brings less harm than the female. It leads man to transgressions such as lying in the name of the Creator, as though it inspires man to observe the *Mitzvot*, but not in complete purity (with the sole purpose of pleasing the Creator). Instead, it causes man to also add a touch of personal benefit and selfish enjoyment, as it is written: "Eat not the bread of an ill-willer, nor desire his treats; for as one reckons within himself, such is he: 'Eat and drink,' he shall say to you; but his heart is not with you" (*Mishley*, 23:6-7).

Since the male impure force has absolutely no intentions to bestow, the commandment remains devoid of fear and love (without a heart). Yet, since the male impure force has already caught man in its net, it gains power to make a *Zivug* with its female half (the impure *Nukva*), which is a bitter and evil impure force that lies in the name of the Creator, and, upon seducing man, captures his entire soul.

Hence, *The Zohar* says that the evil eye hates and slanders man, and removes him from this world by provoking him to fail to observe the commandment of rejoicing on a holiday (the reception of *Ohr Hochma*, joy on a higher degree)—so that this joy would not be for the sake of the Creator. It is as though he eats alone and does not share his food with the needy, which leads to the male impure force making a *Zivug* with *Nukva* and capturing man's soul.

175. The Creator's role is to cheer the poor, according to His ability. For the Creator appears on the holidays so as to look at His broken *Kelim*. He comes to them, and He sees that there is nothing to rejoice in, and He weeps for them, and ascends Above to destroy the world.

To understand this passage and the angels' objections, one must first understand the words of the sages (*Midrash Raba*, 86): "When creating the world, the Creator asked the angels: 'Shall we create man in our image (*Tzelem*) and likeness?' And the four angels (forces, properties) of creation gave their answers:

Mercy said, LET US CREATE, for he creates *Hassadim*, mercy. Truth said, LET US NOT CREATE, for he is all falsehood. Justice said, LET US CREATE, for he dispenses justice. Peace said, LET US NOT CREATE, for he is all enmity."

What did the Creator do? He took truth and concealed it in the ground, as it is written: "cast down truth to the ground" (*Daniel*, 8:12). Our entire purpose in the study of the Torah and *Mitzvot* lies in that, thanks to them, as the Talmud says (*Psachim*, 50, 2): "From *Lo Lishma* (intentions for oneself) man comes to *Lishma* (intentions for the Creator's sake)."

And since man is born with such insignificant desires and powers, he is unable to immediately engage in the Creator's *Mitzvot* for the sake of pleasing the Giver of these *Mitzvot*, for as it is said: "Man is born akin to a wild ass" (*Iyov*, 11:12). Due to his egoistic nature, he is unable to make any inner movement or action if it is not for his own benefit.

Therefore, the Creator allows man to begin observing the *Mitzvot* solely for his own sake, seeking personal benefit. Yet, in spite of this, his actions attract spiritual Light to him. And then, with the help of the received Light, he comes to observe the *Mitzvot* for the Creator's sake, in order to please Him.

This is exactly what Truth presented when it objected to man's creation and said that he is all falsehood. After all, how can man be created to study the Torah and observe *Mitzvot* in a state of absolute falsehood, i.e., "for oneself?"

However, Mercy said, "Let us create," for man performs merciful deeds. Although the *Mitzvot* of mercy, which man observes (even if mechanically) initially "for his own sake," are mere external actions without the intention of bestowal, with their help he gradually corrects his intentions until he becomes capable of observing all the *Mitzvot* "for the Creator's sake." Hence, there exists an absolute certainty and guarantee that through his efforts, man will achieve the goal—altruistic actions "for the Creator's sake." And that it is okay to create man.

Peace also asserted that man is all "enmity;" hence, he can observe the *Mitzvot* "for the Creator's sake" only if it also brings him personal benefit. However, due to such mixed intentions and actions, man exists in constant conflict with the Creator, for it seems to him that he is great and righteous, and he utterly fails to see his shortcomings. In other words, he is completely unaware that all his work in the Torah and *Mitzvot* is exclusively for his own benefit.

And because he feels this way, he fills up with anger and resentment towards the Creator: why does the Creator not treat him as it befits one so perfectly righteous? It follows that he alternates between states of peace and conflict with the Creator. That is why Peace objected to the creation of man.

However, Justice said that man should be created, for he dispenses justice. By observing the *Mitzva* (singular for *Mitzvot*) of giving charity to the poor, even with the intention "for oneself," he gradually acquires the property of "bestowal," learns to act "for the Creator's sake," and merits eternal peace with Him.

After the Creator heard these opinions, He agreed with the angels of Mercy and Justice, and cast down Truth to the "ground." By this, He allowed man to begin observing the *Mitzvot* with the intention "for oneself," despite its falsehood.

It follows that the Creator cast Truth down to the ground because He had accepted the claims of Mercy and Justice, that thanks to the *Mitzva* of giving charity to the poor, man will ultimately come to Truth, i.e., work for the Creator's sake, and Truth will rise from the ground.

The only creation created by the Creator is *Malchut de Malchut*, egoism, and it can only be corrected by "instilling" the Creator's properties of *Bina* or mercy into it. Yet, if these properties are opposite, how can such a thing be accomplished? After all, in the spiritual world, distance is proportionate to the difference in properties. So how can *Malchut* be united with *Bina*?

To this end, the *Kli* was broken: the spiritual, altruistic desire lost its screen and became egoistic. Yet, it retained sparks of the Light, and these sparks exist within egoistic desires. This is why egoistic desires have power over us.

These sparks of the Upper Light are the source of various pleasures and love, for Light is pleasure. And since these particles of Light are clothed in impure garments and exist under the rule of the impure forces, man starts perceiving these feelings of love and delight as being inherent in the impure forces, as though these egoistic garments contain pleasures, and such is their property. And he associates the properties of love and pleasure with the impure forces,

failing to understand that the impure forces draw him solely with the spiritual spark that has fallen into them.

However, as the impure force is very appealing, it lures man into all kinds of transgressions, such as theft, robbery, and murder. At the same time, it gives us the desire to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* for our own sake. Even if we start observing them not "for the Creator's sake," but "for ourselves," (for our own benefit, to fulfill our base aspirations, according to the desires of the broken, egoistic *Kelim*-vessels), we gradually come to the intention "for the Creator's sake," and merit the goal of creation—to receive all the pleasure that was prepared for us back in the Thought of Creation—"to delight man." Thus, the impure forces destroy themselves, but that is exactly the purpose for which the Creator conceived and created them.

The Zohar says that the Creator appears on these holidays to look at all the broken *Kelim*. On holidays, when man observes the *Mitzva* of rejoicing because of the great Light that he receives from the Creator, the Creator appears to look at His broken vessels, by which man is given an opportunity to observe the *Mitzvot* not "for the Creator's sake." The Creator comes and looks at how well these broken vessels have fulfilled their mission to bring man to observance of the *Mitzvot* with the intention "for the Creator's sake."

However, the Creator comes to them and sees that there is nothing to rejoice in. He weeps over them, for He sees that nothing spiritual (altruistic) was created from the broken vessels, that man has yet to correct even a single broken vessel (egoistic desire). In other words, there's not one vessel that was intentionally broken by the Creator that has brought man to the intention "for the Creator's sake," and he rejoices on holidays solely for his own pleasure.

So the Creator weeps and regrets breaking the vessels, for He broke them and cast Truth to the ground only for man's sake, to give him an opportunity to start working in falsehood (in the intention "for oneself") and gradually come to Truth, to the intention "for the Creator's sake." Yet, when He sees that man has not changed at all in his aspirations for selfish pleasure, it is as though the vessels were broken in vain, and so He weeps for them.

And He rises Above, to destroy the world—meaning, He ascends so as to stop the Light's descent and thereby destroy the world. The world and creatures can exist only if they receive the Creator's Light (even if unconsciously). However, if man's state and selfish actions cannot lead him to the intention "for the Creator's sake," the Light itself becomes detrimental to him, for in pursuit of this Light, man sinks ever deeper into egoistic desires (impure forces) and growing

dependency on egoism. Therefore, it is more desirable and beneficial for man to stop feeling pleasure in his impure desires, so that it would not destroy him completely and prevent him from sinking into such powerful egoistic desires that, having become a slave to their pleasures, he would never be able escape them and attain the spiritual.

176. The members of the assembly then appear before the Creator and say: "Master of the world, You are called merciful and forgiving, send Your mercy upon Your sons." He answers them: "Have I not done so, when I created the world based on mercy? As it is written, 'The world is built by mercy' and the world is established upon it. However, if they do not show mercy to the poor, the world will be destroyed." The Heavenly angels then say to Him: "Master of the world, here is a man who had eaten and drunk to his heart's content, and could have been merciful to the poor, but did not do anything." The prosecutor appears, receives permission, and persecutes that man.

The exalted souls, called "the members (or the sons) of the assembly" begin praying for the lower ones, so the Creator would have mercy on His sons and not discontinue the flow of Light descending onto them. They do everything within their power to justify man's state of being, and say that as long as he observes his *Mitzvot* in faith, he is called "the Creator's son," and hence deserves the Creator's mercy, as a son deserves the mercy of his father.

The Creator replies to them that He created the world by the property of mercy, and the world stands on this property alone. In other words, man will not be corrected by the Creator's Light as long as he disdains the poor, for the world's creation was the result of the Creator's agreement with the angel of Mercy, which states that due to man's merciful deeds, the world will be able to exist and will gradually come to the intention "for the Creator's sake." But now, since people are not showing mercy, there will be no correction.

Then the Supernal angels said, "Master of the universe, here is a man who had eaten and drunk, and had his fill, and could have been merciful to the poor, but did not give them anything." In this case, the angels begin to accuse man, instead of defending him, even the angels of Mercy and Justice. And all those who did not wish to create an egoistic man with desires "for oneself," but agreed to it only because they assumed that by deeds of mercy and justice he would escape his egoism "for one's own sake" and achieve the altruistic property "for the Creator's sake." Now, they, too, turn against man.

And if man is unable to acquire the intention "for the Creator's sake," the angels repent and regret at having agreed to his creation, and they now accuse

him before the Creator. And after it becomes clear that man will not achieve the altruistic property "for the Creator's sake" by observing the *Mitzvot*, he is passed into the hands of the prosecutor.

177. There are none greater in our world than Avraham, who acted with mercy toward all creatures. It is written of the day that he prepared a feast: "The child grew and was weaned, and Avraham made a great feast on the day that Yitzchak was weaned." So Avraham prepared a feast and invited all the leaders of that generation. It is well known that at every feast, the supreme prosecutor is about, watching. And if there are any poor people in the house, he leaves that house and does not return there. However, if the prosecutor enters a house and sees rejoicing without the poor—without having first shown mercy to the poor—he ascends Above and brings accusations against the host of that feast.

178. Because Avraham was the leader of his generation, the prosecutor descended from Heavens and stood at the door of his house, disguised as a poor man. And nobody so much as looked at him. Avraham was attending to kings and ministers, and Sarah was feeding all of their children, for they did not believe that she had born a child, but rather claimed that Yitzchak was a foundling, whom they had bought at the marketplace. This is why they brought their children with them, and Sarah nursed them in front of all. And the prosecutor stands at the door. Sarah said: "The Creator has made laughter for me" ("For anyone who hears will laugh on account of me" (*Beresheet*, 21:6). The prosecutor ascended at once and stood before the Creator, and said to Him, "O Master of the world, You have said that You love Avraham, and here he had prepared a feast, but had not given anything to You nor to the poor, had not sacrificed even a single pigeon for Your sake. And Sarah says that You have laughed at her."

Until the end of correction, it is impossible to fully rid oneself of the impure forces. Hence, however hard even the most exalted righteous may try to observe the Creator's *Mitzvot* in purity of their altruistic intentions, without any touch of personal benefit, the impure forces can nonetheless accuse them and find faults in their observance of the *Mitzvot*.

Therefore, the Creator prepared another opportunity for the righteous to silence the prosecutor—by bribing him with a certain portion of holiness and purity, thus silencing him. This way, the prosecutor is reluctant to accuse a righteous one and does not want him to disappear, for then the prosecutor, too, will be deprived of his part of holiness, the Light that he receives as the righteous one observes each *Mitzvot*.

Hence, the need for external hair in *Tefillin* (phylacteries), scapegoat rite, red heifer, and so forth. (*The Zohar*, *Emor*, p. 88). From this we see how extraordinary, multifaceted, and complex this world is created, how impossible it is to judge human deeds and the Upper Governance by external manifestations, as they are seen by us, and how "entangled" and inseparably intertwined all the connections between the pure and impure forces really are.

Even when we look at our great leaders-Kabbalists, we see how much they've suffered, how they were forced to submit to the will of petty rulers or ignorant masses, and how persecuted they were—those who were closest to the Creator! Everyone feels these obstacles, even those who are just beginning on their spiritual journey.

But here, in the example of Avraham, *The Zohar* does not speak about an ordinary prosecutor, for Avraham had surely given food to all the poor, as he had always done even before he invited his distinguished guests to his table. But this prosecutor demanded his share of holiness, of the Light. However, Avraham did not wish to give anything of holiness to impurity. Rather, he wanted to overcome its power and push it away from himself completely. This is why the prosecutor ascended Above and accused Avraham.

The Zohar tells us that the prosecutor was not really poor, but only disguised himself as such, and demanded to be treated at Avraham's festive table. Avraham felt that this was an impure force that assumed the image of a poor man; hence, he refused to give it anything.

This is why it is written: "He did not sacrifice even a single pigeon," for in accordance to the sacrificial rites (rejection of egoistic parts, of man's "I"), only two pigeons are offered, which symbolize the two combined points in *Malchut*: the property of *Malchut* that was corrected by the property of mercy, *Bina*. This common point contains both the properties of restriction and mercy, but the property of restriction is concealed, whereas the property of mercy is revealed (item 122).

Without this combination of *Malchut*'s properties with those of *Bina*, called the "mitigation" or "sweetening" of *Malchut*, the world (*Malchut*) cannot exist, i.e., receive the Creator's Light. Therefore, it is necessary to offer precisely two baby pigeons. One of them was sent by Noah from his Ark, never to return (*Beresheet*, 8), for one pigeon designates the property of restriction in *Malchut* that is unmitigated by *Bina*'s property of mercy. And since Noah could not correct anything in her, the pigeon never returned to him (*The Zohar Shlach*, p. 52).

The prosecutor's claims and complaints concerning Avraham's feast on the day when Yitzchak was weaned stem from his demand to receive his share, the corrections of the part of *Malchut* that cannot be corrected until *Gmar Tikkun* (the end of correction). And this is the property of the restriction within *Malchut*, with which the world cannot exist; hence, it must be concealed. This property is the pigeon that did not return to Noah.

Man was not entrusted with the task of correcting his Creator-given primordial egoism, for it is impossible to alter what the Creator had made. However, man can hide his *Malchut*, his egoism (refrain from using it), and instead act by receiving his desires from *Bina*. This is why a combination of the properties of *Malchut* (egoism) and *Bina* (altruism) was formed in man—to let him make the effort and conceal the properties of *Malchut*, and act only according to the properties of *Bina*.

When one is able to completely reject the use of his egoism and is guided only by the properties of *Bina*, he will achieve a state called "the end of his correction." Correction is made during the 6,000 years, i.e., along the degrees of the 6,000 consecutive actions.

Then, man's *Mashiach* (Messiah/savior), the Upper Light, comes to him and transforms all of man's egoism (the primordial nature that he was rejecting during the 6,000 years) into altruism. Then, one's egoistic properties serve for the reception of the Light of pleasure for the Creator's sake, and he no longer needs to refrain from using them.

The property of *Malchut*, with which man cannot work for the Creator's sake until his final correction, is referred to as "restriction." Using the properties of *Malchut* herself remains forbidden until she is completely corrected through gradual purification by the properties of *Bina* during the 6,000 years. Alternatively, *Malchut* is called "strictness" or "judgment," for this restriction is also the source of all punishments and prohibitions.

Avraham could not correct this property of restriction in *Malchut*, i.e., receive the Light and fill *Malchut* entirely. Hence, he received nothing in this part, and that is exactly the way he treated the prosecutor, who ascended at once and began to accuse Avraham before the Creator, claiming that Avraham failed to correct anything in *Malchut*'s property of restriction with his feast. This property of restriction is called "poor," for it does not receive Light; hence, it constitutes the essence of *Malchut*, her egoism.

Since the Creator mitigated the restrictive property of *Malchut* with the property of mercy, and mixed *Malchut* with *Bina* for the sole purpose of giving the

world an opportunity to exist, the Light that is received thanks to the property of mercy is defined as the part of Light belonging to all the world's inhabitants. This part helps *Malchut* become corrected. Since the Creator created *Malchut* in order to personally fill her with Light, she is regarded as His personal part.

As a result of a miracle of nursing the babies that were brought to Sarah, Avraham received all the Light that exists in the property of mercy, and began to doubt his ability to correct the poor part of *Malchut*. This part receives nothing (for it cannot be used during the 6,000 years) and constitutes the Creator's personal part.

Therefore, the prosecutor ascended, accusing Avraham of not giving to the poor, i.e., not giving to the part of the Creator, *Malchut de Malchut* herself, which no man can correct by himself, as even Noah was unable to do so. And he gave nothing to You nor to the poor, and sacrificed not even a single pigeon for Your sake.

And Sarah says that You have laughed at her. Sarah is the part of *Bina* that shines in *Malchut*. With the words: "Any who hears will laugh on account of me" (*Beresheet*, 21:6), Sarah-*Bina* gave *Malchut* such powerful *Ohr Hassadim* that *Malchut* stopped feeling her egoistic desires, felt the perfection of altruism, and temporarily acquired the properties of *Bina*, while under the influence of *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, there emerges fear that due to such a sense of perfection and absence of suffering from unfulfilled desires, the absence of the feeling of deficiency, *Malchut* would remain uncorrected. Such a state is similar to the following description of Adam's state in the Torah (*Beresheet*, 3:22): "Lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live forever." In other words, he must not stop feeling his own nature nor forget the fact that he is obliged to correct his defect in the "Tree of Knowledge." And that is why Adam was cast down into a place that is suitable for correction, the lowest possible egoistic place, called our world.

179. The Creator said to him: "Who in the world is like Avraham?" And the prosecutor did not leave from there until he had consumed the entire fare. So the Creator decreed that Yitzchak is to be sacrificed. And He said that Sarah shall die from grief for her son. The cause of this grief is that he did not give anything to the poor.

Yitzchak's sacrifice was aimed at the correction of *Malchut*, to compensate for what Avraham could not correct at his great feast in honor of Yitzchak's weaning. Sarah's death was the result of the great Light that she passed to

Malchut, saying: "The Creator has made laughter for me," alluding to the Light that obstructs the correction of *Malchut*.

Therefore, the Light that descends to *Malchut* and gives her the sensation of perfection prevents her from correcting herself. Hence, the Creator stopped it. This is the significance of Sarah's death, for Sarah constitutes the Light of *Bina* that enters *Malchut*. Thus, all that the Torah speaks of is but the essence of the process of *Malchut's* correction, until her correction is completed.

The Torah and Prayer

180. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "It is written that Hizkiyahu (Hezekiah) turned his face to the wall and prayed to the Creator." Let us see how great and potent the power of the Torah is, and how high it rises above all. He who engages in the Torah has no fear of those Above or below, nor of any hardships or illnesses of this world, for he is connected to the Tree of Life and learns from it each day.

181. For the Torah teaches man how to walk a path of truth; it teaches him how to return to his Master and cancel what is predestined for him. And even if man is shown that what is predestined for him cannot be cancelled, it is nonetheless completely cancelled and annulled, then disappears at once and does not prevail over him in this world. Hence, man should study the Torah day and night, and never abandon it, as it is written: "Contemplate Him day and night." Whomever abandons the Torah, it is as though he abandons the Tree of Life.

"Contemplate Him day and night"—"Him" implies the Creator! In another place in *The Zohar*, it is said that Hizkiyahu's prayer was accepted by the Creator, for nothing (no egoistic desires) separated him from the wall (the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator, akin to the Wailing Wall).

This was the advice that he received from the Torah, when, through his efforts in the Torah, he realized how to achieve complete return to the Creator, whereby nothing would separate him from the Creator (from the wall, the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator). As a result, the decree of his death (the Light's exit from the *Partzuf*) was revoked. So great is the power of the Torah.

182. Come and see—such is the advice given to man. When he goes to bed at night, he must accept the Creator's governance from Above, and wholeheartedly

entrust his soul with Him. Thus, man is immediately spared all the illnesses, slander, and evil eyes, and they will no longer have power over him.

Here we come to a precise understanding of certain definitions from the Torah, which are quite different from the notions that we are accustomed to. Daylight signifies the sensation of unity with the Creator. It is called "Light," for this is how man defines his good feelings. Therefore, daylight is when man feels closeness of the Creator and the greatness of spirituality.

Darkness coincides with nighttime in our world. Accordingly, with regard to man's spiritual states, darkness designates the absence of the sensation of the Creator, of the Upper Light, due to the actions of the impure, egoistic forces that separate man from the Creator. At night in our world, we sleep. The spiritual *Partzuf* is filled with the minimal amount of Light in an unconscious state called "sleep." The amount of Light within the *Partzuf* is so little that it is defined as one sixtieth—6 (*Sefirot* of ZA) x 10 (in each part)—of death or complete absence of spiritual Light, for the impure forces rule here.

Due to these two forces that govern and control us, we cannot completely and permanently merge with the Creator. As the result of our sensation of the state of night, the impure forces that rule at night impede us in our efforts, for their power over us keeps returning, thus creating gaps in our unity with the Creator and in our work for His sake.

To correct this, Rabbi Shimon gives us his advice: every "night" (a feeling of separation from the spiritual), when man goes to "sleep" (sinks deeper into the sensations of this world), he must wholeheartedly accept the Creator's governance, entrust himself completely under His rule. For if the night (the sensation of night) is corrected as in the act of creation, when day follows night, as it is said, "And there was evening and there was morning, one day," both night and day become as a single whole.

And the night, called "the rule of *Malchut*," shall not mix with any impure force, and shall not attack man because of the disappearance of the sensation of the Creator on account of egoistic desires and obstacles of "reason." For first, man has realized the necessity of the night for the attainment of the next day (greater sensation of the Creator, a bigger altruistic desire), and perceives these two states as a single whole and as an advancement, despite the fact that in his sensations, a night designates remoteness from spirituality.

In the language of spiritual work, this means that if man feels remoteness from the Creator, and is therefore without joy, despite all the possible pleasures, for him this state is called "night." It is precisely in such a state of complete

absence of sensation and lack of faith in the Creator that man can, through his own effort, without feeling any taste in the Torah, yield before the Creator's rule. That is, he closes his eyes (as one who goes to sleep) and says: "I bring myself under the Creator's rule and submit to His will." This state is called "descent for the sake of a subsequent ascent," and serves as a springboard, by which man attains an even brighter "day."

However, to this end man must completely accept the Supernal Kingdom's rule, so that nothing will separate him from the Creator. In other words, he must submit to the Supernal Rule unconditionally, whether it brings life or death, so that no force in the world will be able to stop him from uniting with the Supernal Ruler, as it is written, "Love your Creator with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might" (*Devarim*, 6:5).

If man accepts everything that the Creator sends him with all his heart, he is certain that nothing will separate him from the Creator. This determines the fulfillment of the condition of entrusting one's soul with the Creator. For he gives himself into the Creator's hands in advance, by deciding to fulfill all His desires (commandments) to the fullest, right up to self-sacrifice.

Hence, as man sleeps, when his soul (the sensation of the Creator), the Light that previously filled him, leaves his body (desires), he does not feel the taste of the sixtieth part of death, for the impure (egoistic) forces have no power over him. In other words, they do not separate him from the Creator. Rather, he merely fails to feel the Creator temporarily.

Thus, the impure forces cannot interrupt his spiritual work even in the state called "night," for his evening and morning are already as one day—the Creator's Light. The night becomes a part of the day, for it is precisely because of the night that he recognizes his future merit of receiving an even greater Light.

This is because his night stems not from the rule of the impure forces. Instead, he understands that the Creator intentionally sends him such states. Thus, even in such sensations as darkness and lack of feeling, absence of aspiration and taste for the spiritual, he sees an opportunity to merge with the Creator. And this means that nothing stands between him and the wall.

183. And in the morning, when he rises from his bed, he must bless the Creator, enter His house, and bow before Him in fear and trepidation, and only then should he pray. He should take advice of his holy Patriarchs, as it is written, "By Your great mercy shall I come into Your house, to bow in fear of Your holy greatness."

Thanks to Your great kindness, I can now bless You for being merciful to me, for ending my spiritual descent, and for letting me come into Your house once more, for allowing me to feel You. However, I am happy not because my suffering gave way to pleasure, but because now I can thank You. I come to Your house so as to kneel in awe before Your holy greatness, which I now attain more than ever before.

The prayer in our heart is the correction within *Malchut* (the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator, or the common soul of Israel), and the fulfillment of this common soul with the Upper Light (the sensation of the Creator), in accordance with all of its corrected desires. Hence, all our pleas are expressed in plural form, for we pray not for our own soul, but for the common soul of Israel. Naturally, all that is present in the *Shechina* is subsequently present in every soul of Israel, and vice versa, all that the common soul of Israel lacks is also absent in each soul.

Therefore, before we start praying, we need to understand (feel) what is lacking in *Malchut* (the *Shechina*), to know what we need to correct in her and how we can fulfill her. Our heart, the center of our desires, is a part of this *Malchut* (the *Shechina*). All the generations of Israel are included in the common soul—the *Shechina*. However, we need not correct what has already been corrected by previous generations, but only what is left after those generations of souls.

Our Patriarchs, the spiritual *Partzufim* called "Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov," also known as the *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, and *Tifferet* of *Partzuf ZA de Atzilut*, include the entire community of Israel, all the properties that subsequently manifest in the corrected *Malchut*, who, in her corrected state, is called "Israel." The Patriarchs designate the three spiritual roots of the 600,000 souls of Israel in all the generations. In other words, these are the three sources of desires born within man's part of *Malchut* for the purpose of his correction.

All the good deeds, the reception and bestowal of Light carried out by the "community of Israel" (by Kabbalists) in all the generations, first trigger reception of the Upper Light by our holy Patriarchs (*Sefirot de ZA*), for all the Upper Light descends through them from Above downwards. From them, this Upper Light descends onto the "community of Israel," the righteous of that generation who exist with their properties in the worlds of *BYA*, and evoke the descent of this Light with their prayers.

Such is the order of spiritual degrees: each branch can receive only through its root (the preceding, Higher Degree), but never independently. The main Light remains in the root, and only an insignificant part of it descends to the

branch that evokes it. Therefore, all the corrections completed in the community of Israel (the *Shechina*, the common soul) are stored and preserved in the souls of our holy Patriarchs.

(The Light received in the corrected *Kelim* remains forever within them. Our description of the Light's exit and descent should be understood as a metaphor, for the *Partzuf* receives new empty desires that require correction, and the sensation of emptiness from the received empty desires is perceived as the Light's departure. Nevertheless, upon correcting these newly received desires, in them the *Partzuf* will receive an even greater Light than before).

Therefore, the essence of our prayer lies in supplementing the *Shechina* with whatever it needs to achieve complete correction, after all the previous corrections that were performed in it by the past generations of Kabbalists. Hence, he who spiritually ascends must first make all the corrections that have already been performed in the *Shechina*, and only then will he be able to recognize what is left for him to correct.

This is why it is written that one cannot enter the *Beit Knesset* (synagogue, but in Hebrew it means "the house of assembly" or "the house of prayer," from the word *Kones*—"to assemble") before he assembles his prayer and asks the holy Patriarchs for guidance, for he needs to know what has already been corrected and what still needs to be corrected. This is possible only after he receives everything that the Patriarchs have corrected through the *Shechina*. Only then will he come to know what is left for him to correct in the *Shechina*.

The Patriarchs have corrected the prayer in the *Shechina*. Prayer and the *Shechina* are one and the same, for prayer is a request, a raising of *MAN*, a *Kli*, the corrected *Malchut* or the desire for the Creator's sake. The correction performed by Avraham is called *Shacharit* (the morning prayer), by Yitzchak—*Mincha* (the afternoon prayer), and by Yaakov—*Arvit* (the evening prayer). Therefore, one must first repeat in his prayer everything that was already corrected by them, and then he will discover how to construct his personal plea, and what other imperfections are left that only he can, and consequently, must correct.

184. Man cannot enter the *Beit Knesset* (synagogue, house of prayer) unless he first receives permission from Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov, for they have corrected the prayer to the Creator. It is therefore written, "And in Your great mercy shall I enter into Your house" (*Tehilim*, 5:8). The aforesaid refers to Avraham, for his property is mercy, the *Sefira Hesed*. "I will bow before Your holy chamber" refers to Yitzchak, for thanks to him *Malchut* is called *Heichal*—chamber, the *Sefira Gevura*. "In fear and trepidation" refers to

Yaakov, for his property is the *Sefira Tifferet*, called "fear." And man must first enter into these properties, and only then enter the *Beit Knesset* to raise his prayers. Such a state is described by the verse, "Here is My slave, Israel, by whom I am adorned."

Here *The Zohar* analyzes the first three main corrections, made by the Patriarchs in the *Shechina*. Avraham corrected the property called *Bait* (house, permanent dwelling), which allows man to merge with it and to always exist in the Creator's properties and sensations, just as he can always dwell in his house.

Yitzchak complemented the correction and corrected *Malchut* in the property called the "holy temple," so that the King Himself would always dwell in it, as a king always dwells in his chambers. Yaakov added to the correction by the property of fear, which corresponds to a gate in front of a house, and designates the condition that (if met) allows man to enter *Malchut*, Avraham's house, and into Yitzchak's holy temple that are both within her.

Upon including within him all three corrections of the Patriarchs in full perfection, he attains what has already been corrected in the holy *Shechina*, and then proceeds to correct what has not been corrected.

Avraham is the source of the property of mercy in the souls of Israel. Therefore, he corrected the holy *Shechina* in such a way that it could receive *Ohr Hassadim*, the Light of Mercy. And the *Shechina* received this Light in its entirety for all the souls of Israel. Had it remained this way, all the souls of Israel would have been in complete and eternal unity with the Creator, and the *Shechina* would have been filled with Light (pleasure). Thus, no man would ever wish to part with the *Shechina* (the sensation of the Creator) even for a single moment.

Yet, Avraham's entire correction consisted in the creation of a perfect, bestowing *Kli*, which consisted only of *Ohr Hassadim*. There was no way of corrupting its properties or introducing imperfection within it, for, just like Avraham's property of mercy (*Hesed*), this *Kli* (desire) consisted only of the will to bestow upon, and please the Creator, as it is written: "Mine is yours and yours is yours designates the property of mercy" (*Avot*, 85). By imparting creation with his property, Avraham completely separated the impure forces (thoughts and desires) from the *Shechina*, and made it completely holy and pure.

However, the Thought of Creation does not end here, for it lies in fulfilling the souls with delight. And the extent of pleasure depends on the aspiration to enjoy, on the degree of hunger. Only the extent of preliminary hunger, the will to receive pleasure, determines the extent of the subsequent reception of pleasure.

The *Shechina* (*Malchut de Atzilut*, the sum of the souls) received its correction from Avraham—the Supernal force of *Hassadim*, the *Sefira Hesed* of *ZA de Atzilut*—and acquired the property of mercy from it. This property is completely free from any selfish will to receive, that is, its desire to receive something from the Creator has completely disappeared, and only the will to bestow upon Him remains. This desire is called "bestowal for the sake of bestowal." However, this brought no correction to the souls (parts of the *Shechina*), for their role is to receive the pleasure prepared for them by the Creator. To that end, they must first have the "will to receive." After all, pleasure is felt only when preceded by an aspiration or desire for it, and is determined by the extent of this desire.

It is hence written that Avraham fathered Yitzchak: Yitzchak found the *Shechina* in absolute spiritual perfection, in the property of pure selfless bestowal, filled with *Ohr Hassadim* because of all the corrections made by Avraham. However, in accordance with his properties, Yitzchak (the left spiritual force) felt imperfection in this state of the *Shechina*—that it was not yet corrected to "receive" *all* that was conceived in the Thought of Creation.

Therefore, he corrected it by turning it into a *Kli* (vessel) of reception, by supplementing it with the will "to receive," so that it could receive all the perfection prepared for it. Yitzchak evoked in the *Shechina* the will to receive pleasure from the Creator, albeit in the form of "reception for the Creator's sake"—with the intention of receiving pleasure in order to delight Him.

The reception for the Creator's sake means that although man fervently wishes to receive pleasure, he receives not because he wishes to enjoy, but only because the bestowing Creator wishes for him to receive it. And had the Creator not wished it so, man would have no desire to receive from Him.

Reception for the Creator's sake is equivalent to selfless bestowal. Thus, the egoistic, impure force, cannot cling to such a desire.

Hence, Yitzchak corrected the *Shechina* and brought it to complete perfection, for now it can receive all that the Creator conceived to bestow upon it, as this is the purpose of His creation.

Thus, after being corrected by Yitzchak, the state of *Malchut-Shechina* is called *Heichal* (the Creator's chambers), for now He can fill it with Himself, His Light, which means that He dwells in its halls.

Yet, Avraham's correction, called "house," did not yet allow the *Shechina* to be filled and worthy of the Creator's presence. Hence, Yitzchak is considered to have corrected all the *Gevurot* (willpower and resistance to egoism in the souls of Israel). This means that he mitigated all the laws and restrictions in the

Creator's governance. This is because all restrictions and punishments come into this world for the sole purpose of correcting the souls' will to receive, to make them suitable for reception of the infinite goodness contained in the Thought of Creation. And since Yitzchak corrected the *Shechina* to complete perfection, all its restrictions and forces have been corrected, and all of its properties have attained the desired goal.

However, his correction, too, did not retain this form in the *Shechina*, and became corrupted, for the world was still unprepared for the end of correction. Hence, Yitzchak fathered a sinner, Esav, who, being unable to resist the temptation to receive for himself, corrupted Yitzchak's correction in the *Shechina*. Unlike Yitzchak, he could not resist the selfish reception. This means that even when it became clear to him that the bestowing Creator did not wish for him to receive, he wanted to receive nonetheless, for such was his desire of self-gratification.

Therefore, the impure force (*Klipot*-shells, the husk, or rind surrounding the pure forces) clung to the *Shechina*. Thus, the legs (*Sefirot NHYM*) of *Partzuf Malchut de Atzilut* descended to the place of the *Klipot* below *Parsa*, where egoistic desires dominate the desires of *NHYM*.

Yet, the *Rosh* and the Upper Part of the *Guf* down to the *Tabur* of *Partzuf Malchut* remained above the rule of the impure forces. Hence, his head (*Rosh*) understands how he should act (hence, Yitzchak's head is buried together with the bodies of Avraham and Yaakov in the *Machpela* cave), but the body (*Guf*) still wants to receive pleasure for its own sake.

And since Yaakov saw the damage caused by Esav, he corrected the *Shechina* by adding his property of fear to it, as it is written: "His hand had hold on Esav's heel" (The Torah, *Beresheet*, 25:26). Because Yaakov realized what imperfection Esav had caused in *Shechina* (in the created souls), he corrected himself in fear to such an extent that he raised the holy *Shechina* as a crown-adornment. By this he also retained the corrections made by Avraham and Yitzchak.

However, Yaakov's correction was not final, for this fear is more similar to the fear of transgression than the selfless fear that comes from within. For this fear of his is born in him from Esav's hip, even though he had not transgressed by receiving, as did Esav. But the end of correction will bring a different state: Esav's hip will be annulled, as it is written: "Death will forever vanish from the world," and fear will remain only because the Creator is almighty and great.

Yaakov attained this genuine fear by himself. However, the entire "community of Israel," all the souls that form the *Shechina*, still need to correct themselves in all the generations, from the first to the last, to the end of correction. (Only

Moshe attained the property of true fear—one out of greatness and love—only he, and no one else. Hence, as the Talmud says, description of fear out of love for the Creator doesn't even exist.)

The Zohar cites the words of the Psalm (5:8): "By Your great mercy I shall come into Your house," since Avraham corrected the *Shechina* up to the property of a "house" that is filled with goodness, i.e., with *Ohr Hassadim*. The words, "So as to bow before Your holy chamber," refer to Yitzchak, who corrected the *Shechina* from a "house" to a "chamber" that befits the Creator. The words, "in fear" refer to Yaakov, who corrected the *Shechina* with his property of fear, whereupon he made it a *Kli* (vessel) of reception that includes all the corrections made by Avraham and Yitzchak.

Yet, how did he find out what else needed correction in the *Shechina*? Only by correcting and including himself in these three corrections performed by the holy Patriarchs before him. This means that, just as they did, Yaakov can act according to the conditions of these corrections. In other words, Yaakov merged with their properties, thereby ascending to their level.

Thus, man must first attain these properties and correct them within him. Only after he assumes the properties of these three corrections into himself can he start correcting them from where our Patriarch Yaakov left off, i.e., elevating fear to the extent of the Creator's greatness and omnipotence, and drawing the Upper Light with his prayer, with his awe of the Creator's greatness. And the Upper Light will bring with it the fulfillment of the *Shechina* and the end of its correction. Hence, man's prayer must include two objectives: to obtain fear of the Creator's true greatness, and with this attainment, to achieve the final correction of his egoism.

Rabbi Shimon's Departure from the Cave

185. Rabbi Pinchas stood before Rabbi Rachuma on the shore of Lake Kinneret. He was wise, old, and almost blind. He said to Rabbi Pinchas: "I have heard that our friend Shimon Bar-Yochai has a jewel, a son. I have looked upon the Light from that jewel, and it shines like the light of the sun, and illuminates the entire world."

A fully corrected *Malchut* is called a jewel (usually a pearl). Rabbi Nachum tells Rabbi Pinchas that Rabbi Shimon has already merited complete correction, for a "son" designates the next state, the next *Partzuf* that emerges or is born from the preceding one. And Rabbi Pinchas sees this while looking (with his spiritual sight, called *Ruach HaKodesh*—the Holy Spirit) at the Light of this pearl, which shines like the sun emerging from its hiding (*Nartik*—sheath). This means that after the future correction of *Malchut* (the moon), her Light will become like that of the sun, and will illuminate the entire world.

And when the Light of the moon becomes like that of the sun, it will rise to the zenith and illuminate the whole world with a pillar of Light, from Heaven to earth. And it will shine until Rabbi Shimon completes the correction of *Atik*. This speaks to the fact that he has already merited attaining the degrees of the Creator's two revelations, i.e., the end of correction.

186. And that Light extends from the Heavens down to the earth and illuminates the whole world until *Atik-Keter* appears and sits upon its throne, which occurs at the end of correction. And that Light abides entirely in your household (for the daughter of Rabbi Pinchas was wife to Rabbi Shimon, and Rabbi Elazar was therefore his grandson). And a tiny ray of Light (called "the son of the household," Rabbi Elazar) separates from the Light that fills the household, comes forth and shines upon the whole world. Happy are those

who merit such a destiny! Come out, my son, come out! Go after that jewel, which illuminates the world, for it is a good time to do so!

Since the daughter of Rabbi Pinchas was the wife of Rabbi Shimon (Rabbi Shimon and his wife designate two spiritual *Partzufim* that are below Rabbi Pinchas), Rabbi Shimon (together with his wife) belonged to the household (was included in the *Partzuf*) of Rabbi Pinchas. This refers to Rabbi Elazar, the *Partzuf* that emerged from the Light and illuminated the world, which filled the household (ten *Sefirot*) of Rabbi Pinchas, i.e., came out of the *Partzuf* called "Rabbi Shimon and his wife."

187. He came out before him and stood waiting to board a ship. Two women were with him. He saw two birds soaring over the water. He raised his voice and said, "Birds, you soar over the sea; have you seen the place where one could find Bar-Yochai?" He waited some and said, "Birds, O birds, fly away." They flew away and disappeared into the sea.

Rabbi Shimon fled from the authorities that condemned him to death, and hid in a cave with his son. And no one knew where he was. Therefore, Rabbi Pinchas set out to look for him.

Although everything described here is historically true, it is nonetheless essential for us to understand the words of *The Zohar* as the actions of Supernal spiritual causes, whose consequences determine all that transpires on earth. The egoistic authorities (forces) of a *Partzuf* as exalted as Rabbi Shimon's try to overcome his own altruistic aspirations and deprive him of the Light, that is, to kill him. And he hides from them in a cave, i.e., assumes a small state (*Katnut*) and shines with the Light of Mercy. This is referred to as "hides in a cave"—becomes invisible to egoistic forces, for they desire *Ohr Hochma* and cannot see *Ohr Hassadim*.

188. Before he boarded the ship, the birds approached again, and in the beak of one of them was a letter. It read that Rabbi Shimon, the son of Yochai, had left the cave together with his son, Rabbi Elazar. Rabbi Pinchas went to them and found them completely changed: their bodies were covered with sores (like holes in the ground—see the Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 19:2) from staying in the cave for so long. He wept and said, "Woe that I have seen you so!" Rabbi Shimon replied: "O how happy is my lot that you have seen me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not have been what I am!" Rabbi Shimon opened about the *Mitzvot* of the Torah and said, "The *Mitzvot* of the Torah that the Creator gave to Israel are all described in a general form."

While staying in the cave (in *Ohr Hassadim*) for many years (degrees), Rabbi Shimon had no choice but to sit in the sand (the external garment—*Levush* covering the *Partzuf* with a particular property, called "earth") in order to cover his naked body (desires) so he could study the Torah (receive the Upper Light in his *Partzuf* with the intention for the Creator's sake). As a result of being covered with sand, his entire "body" was covered with "rust and sores" (but these were necessary corrections).

And not only did the *Partzuf* called Rabbi Shimon need the correction of concealment in *Hassadim* (cave) and the cover of an external garment (Returning Light), but his next state, fathered by him, called his son, Rabbi Elazar (a lower *Partzuf*), also needed these corrections to attain all of the Creator's Light.

He wept and said: "Woe that I have seen you so!" Rabbi Shimon replied: "O how happy is my lot that you have seen me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not have been what I am!" In other words, if I would not look as I do, I would not have merited all the secrets of the Torah, for all that I have attained, I have attained during those thirteen years (thirteen successive corrections) of hiding in the cave.

Rabbi Shimon opened. It is written of the *Mitzvot* of the Torah: "The *Mitzvot* of the Torah that the Creator gave to Israel are all described in a general form." All of the *Mitzvot* of the Torah are described in the passage from the Torah, starting with "In the beginning the Creator created" and ending with "Let there be Light." These are the *Mitzvot* of fear and punishment, which include all the *Mitzvot* of the Torah. This is why they are called "in general."

The First Commandment

189. *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (In the beginning the Creator created) is the first *Mitzva* (commandment), the root and foundation of everything. And it is called "fear of the Creator" or *Resheet* (beginning), as it is written: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom." Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom, for this fear is called "the beginning." And it is the gate that leads to faith. And the whole world is based on this *Mitzva*.

It is difficult to understand why fear is called "the beginning," and why it precedes wisdom and faith. *The Zohar* answers: it is because fear is the beginning of every *Sefira*, and it is impossible to attain any *Sefira* (property) without first attaining the property of fear. Yet, this implies that fear is merely a means of attaining other qualities or properties. But then, if it is only a means, then why is it included in the list of *Mitzvot* (plural for *Mitzva*) as the first *Mitzva*? Can it be that fear is a kind of prerequisite?

Therefore, *The Zohar* says that it is impossible to attain perfect, selfless faith in any way other than through fear of the Creator. And the extent of fear will determine the extent of faith. Hence, the whole world is based on the *Mitzva* of fear, for the whole world exists only thanks to the Torah and *Mitzvot*, as the prophet said: "If not for My union with day and night, I would not have appointed the ordinances of Heaven and earth" (*Yirmiyahu*, 33:25).

And since fear is the beginning and the gate to the other *Mitzvot* (for fear is also the gate to faith), the whole world is based on this property of fear. It is hence written that the *Mitzva* of fear includes all of the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah; and were it not for fear, the Creator would not have created anything.

190. There are three types of fear, two of which have no real basis, but one does. If man fears that his children may die, or fears illness or bodily suffering, or fears for his material well-being, this kind of fear (even if constant) is not the basis or root, for only desirable consequences constitute the cause of fear.

This is called "the fear of punishment in this world." But there is also another type of fear: the fear of punishment in the world to come, in hell. These two types of fear—the fear of punishment in this world and in the world to come—do not constitute real basis and root.

191. The real fear is the fear of the Creator, for He is great and almighty, for He is the Source of everything, and all else is nothing compared to Him. Man should concentrate all his attention on attaining this kind of fear.

There are three kinds of fear before the Creator, but only one of them is considered true fear. If one is afraid of the Creator, and observes His *Mitzvot* so he and his children will be well and prosperous, this constitutes the first kind, the fear of the various punishments in this world. If he observes the Creator's *Mitzvot* because he fears punishments in hell, this is the second kind of fear. *The Zohar* says that neither of these two kinds is true, for man observes the *Mitzvot* only out of fear of punishment, for the sake of his own benefit, and not because these are the Creator's *Mitzvot*.

In this case, his personal wellbeing is the cause of his observance, and his fear is merely a consequence of his will to receive pleasure. Rather, true fear must stem from the Creator's greatness and omnipotence, for He rules over all and is the source of everything. All the worlds emerge from Him, and His deeds testify to His greatness. And all that He created is nothing compared to Him, for it adds nothing to Him.

Thus, we can plainly see that there is no difference in action: one observes out of the first or second kinds of fear, while the other observes out of the third kind. To an onlooker, they perform the same actions, the Creator's *Mitzvot*. But the enormous difference between them lies only in their *intention*, their motivation—why they observe the Creator's decree!

Hence, it is impossible to discern man's spiritual degree by his external observance of the *Mitzvot*, which is visible to all. Moreover, those who observe them in order to receive an immediate reward from others usually do so with the utmost outward zeal. But one whose intentions and thoughts are directed inwardly, who seeks true observance, as a rule, does not stand out amidst the masses in any way.

One must constantly seek to perfect and complement his intentions only by observing the *Mitzvot* at an increasingly deeper level, while focusing on inner contemplation and direction of his thoughts. In no way should he engage in excessive "mechanical observance," on which there is a clear prohibition: "Do not exaggerate in the *Mitzvot*."

On the contrary, one must devote all his attention to the attainment of true fear, as the Creator's first *Mitzva* decrees. As Rabbi Baruch Ashlag said, "Fear of the Creator is the constant, selfless desire that is expressed in the thought: 'Have I done everything I could for the Creator, or is there anything more that I can do for Him?'"

192. Rabbi Shimon started to weep, wailing, "Woe if I reveal and woe if I do not reveal. If I say, the sinners will know how to work for the Creator's sake, and if I do not say, it will not reach my friends." Wherever there is true fear, opposite it and correspondingly below stands an evil fear, which strikes and prosecutes. It is the scourge that whips the sinners (punishing them for their sins). This is why he is afraid to reveal it, for the sinners may learn how to avoid punishment, and punishment constitutes their correction!

Here Rabbi Shimon warns that he cannot reveal everything in its entirety (this refers to *Avoda Lishma*—work "for the Creator's sake"), for he fears it may harm the sinners. Here he wishes to reveal how one can draw nearer and merge with the Tree of Life, and therewith refrain from touching the Tree of Death. However, this refers only to those who have already corrected themselves with regard to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

Nevertheless, the sinners (those who have yet to correct their transgressions in the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil) are not entitled to know this, for they still need to toil in all the required tasks until they correct themselves in the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Thus we see that the Torah defines a sinner as one who is yet to correct the Tree of Knowledge in his soul.

The prohibition on revealing the true essence of the work for the Creator's sake is based on the words of the Torah: "Behold, Adam has become as one of us in knowledge of good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live forever" (*Beresheet*, 3:22).

After Adam's sin in the Tree of Knowledge, the Creator banished him from the Garden of Eden to prevent Adam from connecting to the Tree of Life and gaining eternal life. This is because then, what he corrupted in the Tree of Knowledge would remain uncorrected. Therefore, to let only the righteous know this wisdom, Rabbi Shimon reveals it by way of allusion.

193. But he who fears the punishment by whippings, the true fear of the Creator cannot descend upon him. Instead, evil fear overtakes him in the form of fearing punishment by whipping.

194. Therefore, the place that is named "fear of the Creator" is called the beginning of knowledge. This is why this *Mitzva* is included here. And it is the foundation and source of all the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah. And whoever observes the *Mitzva* of fear of the Creator, thereby observes all the others. But he who does not observe the *Mitzva* of fear of the Creator, does not observe the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah, for this *Mitzva* constitutes the foundation for all the others.

Here *The Zohar* repeats that in one place it is written, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom," while in another it says, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge." And *The Zohar* explains that where the property of fear ends, another evil fear begins, one that slanders and whips. In this regard, it is said in Kabbalah that the legs of a pure *Partzuf Malchut* descend to a place of impure forces.

However, he who observes the *Mitzva* of fear because the Creator is great and almighty unites with Him (becomes equal to the Creator in his properties), so as to not feel shame in receiving from Him. Besides this correction, no other work exists for the creatures.

This is called "fear of the Creator for the sake of life," for as a result of merging with the Creator, creatures are filled with life. Otherwise, they fall under the power of the restriction, as *Tzimtzum Aleph* (first restriction) restricted the reception of Light in egoistic desires. Such a *Kli* (desire) becomes a cause of death, for it is an empty place (devoid of Light). Hence, creatures must fear failing to make the corrections that they were entrusted with.

However, those who observe the *Mitzvot* out of fear, rather than out of realization of the Creator's greatness and His decree, are ruled and whipped by the fear of an empty *Malchut*. And since the end of fear lies in the evil scourge, true fear is called "The beginning of knowledge of the fear of the Creator," which indicates the necessity to aspire only to this kind of fear, and beware of the evil kind. Because of this, Adam's sin is corrected.

195. Therefore, it is written, IN THE BEGINNING (signifying fear) THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. For whoever transgresses here, transgresses all of the Torah *Mitzvot*. And his punishment is the evil scourge, i.e., the evil fear that whips him. The words, AND THE EARTH WAS UNFORMED AND CHAOTIC, AND DARKNESS WAS UPON THE FACE OF THE DEEP, AND THE SPIRIT OF THE CREATOR refer to the four punishments of the wicked.

196. WITHOUT FORM refers to strangulation. CHAOTIC refers to stoning, i.e., the stones that fall into the great deep to punish the sinners. DARKNESS signifies burning, the fire that falls upon the heads of the wicked to burn them down. THE SPIRIT OF THE CREATOR refers to beheading.

Those who observe the *Mitzva* of fear before the Creator not because such is His decree, but because they are afraid of punishment, fall into the impure force's trap, called "without form." As a result, they are lost, having no understanding of the Creator's thoughts and deeds. And this impure force is defined as a rope on man's neck, blocking the inflow of pure (holy) air to his soul and preventing him from gaining life. And to the extent of man's ignorance, the impure force strangulates him!

And when he is caught in the impure force's noose, tightening around his neck, it has the power to control man at its will: to stone, burn, or behead him. Stoning means that impure thoughts befall his head with desired pleasures, thus pulling him down into the deep. There they punish him with darkness (burning), and the impure force turns him on fierce fire until it burns all the pure life-force out of him.

197. The spirit of the Creator means beheading, for the scorching wind (*Ruach Se'ara*) is a flaming sword—punishment for whoever does not observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* that are mentioned after the *Mitzva* of fear, called "foundation," as it includes all the *Mitzvot*. This is because after the word *BERESHEET* (BEGINNING), which signifies fear, it is written WITHOUT FORM, CHAOS, DARKNESS and SPIRIT—in all, the four penalties of death. And then follow the rest of the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

Following the first sentence of the Torah, the remaining part of the Torah refers to the rest of the *Mitzvot*, which are particular with regard to the general and all-inclusive *Mitzva* of fear.

The Second Commandment

198. The second *Mitzva* (commandment) is inseparably connected with the *Mitzva* of fear, and it is the *Mitzva* of love—for man to love his Creator with perfect love. What is perfect love? It is a great love, as it is written, "He walks before the Creator in complete sincerity and perfection" (*Beresheet*, 17:1), which signifies perfection in love. Thus, it is written, "And the Creator said, 'Let there be Light'" (*Beresheet*, 1:3)—this is perfect love, called "great love." This is precisely how man should love his Creator.

There exists conditional love, which appears as a result of all the goodness received from the Creator ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," items 66-74), as a result of which man merges with the Creator with all his heart and soul. Yet, although he merges with the Creator in complete perfection, this love is considered imperfect. It is similar to Noah's love (*Beresheet Raba*, 30), who constantly needed to reinforce his feeling—to see that the Creator sends him only goodness.

Avraham, however, needed nothing to reinforce his love for the Creator, as it is written: "He walks before the Creator in complete perfection." For the words "walks before" mean that he needs nothing to reinforce his feeling of love for the Creator. And even if he does not receive anything from Him, his love remains constant and perfect, and he wishes to merge with the Creator with his heart and soul.

199. Rabbi Elazar said, "I have heard what perfect love means." He was told, "Tell this to Rabbi Pinchas, as he truly exists on that degree." Rabbi Elazar said, "Perfect love means that it is perfect on both sides; if it does not include both sides, such a love is imperfect."

He was told to turn to Rabbi Pinchas, for Rabbi Pinchas had already attained the degree of perfect love and will be able understand him correctly.

The words "on both sides" refer to both the good side and the evil side. In other words, if the Creator gives him not only goodness, but restrictions, too (which he perceives as unpleasant), and even if He takes his soul away, still man's love for the Creator remains perfect, as though he receives from Him nothing but the very best in the world.

200. Therefore, there is he who loves the Creator in order to gain riches, live a long life, have many healthy children, and rule over his enemies—he receives everything he wants, and this is why he loves the Creator. However, should he receive the opposite, should the Creator lead him through a wheel of suffering, he will come to hate the Creator, and will feel no love toward Him whatsoever. Therefore, such a love is baseless.

Since his love depends on what he receives from the Creator, when reception stops, so does his love. Clearly, man can love only one or the other—himself or the Creator!

201. Love is considered perfect if it exists on both sides—on the side of judgment and the side of mercy (success in life). As we already mentioned, when one loves the Creator, even if He were to take away his soul, this love would remain perfect on both sides: mercy and judgment. Therefore, the Light of the First Act of Creation was revealed and then concealed. And because of this concealment, strict judgment appeared in the world, and both sides, mercy and judgment, united to form perfection. And this is the desired love.

The Light that was created on the first day of creation (in the verse "Let there be Light") was later concealed, as it is written, for the righteous in the world to come. It was concealed so as to let strict judgment appear in this world.

This leads to the unification of the two sides (mercy and judgment) into one, for man receives an opportunity to reveal the perfection of love even when the Creator takes his soul away, and he is given an opportunity to supplement and perfect his love. And had the Light not been concealed, strict judgment would not have been revealed, and the GREAT LOVE would have been concealed from the righteous, and there would be no way of revealing it.

202. Rabbi Shimon kissed him. Rabbi Pinchas approached, kissed and blessed him. He said, "It is clear that the Creator has sent me here. This is the tiny ray of Light that was said to be shining in my house, and would later light up the whole world" (item 186). Rabbi Elazar said that fear must certainly not be forgotten from all the *Mitzvot*; especially in this *Mitzva*, the *Mitzva* of love, fear must be attached to this *Mitzva* at all times. How is it attached? Love is

good when it brings goodness, health, sustenance, and life from the Beloved One. And it is here that fear of sinning must be revived, so that the wheel does not turn against him, as it is written, "Happy is the man who always fears," for his fear is contained in his love.

203. This is how fear should be evoked from the perspective of strict judgment, for once man realizes that strict judgment hovers over him, he must evoke within him fear of his Master. Thus, his heart will not be hardened, of which it is written, "He that hardens his heart shall fall into evil," into the other side. This is called evil. Therefore, fear unites with both sides—with goodness and love, as well as with strict judgment, and consists of both. And if fear is united with the good side and love, as well as with the strictness of judgment, such a love is perfect.

The *Mitzva* of fear includes all the *Mitzvot* of the Torah; it is the gateway to faith in the Creator—to the extent of his fear, man acquires faith in the Creator's governance. Hence, he must not forget fear in observing every *Mitzva*, especially the *Mitzva* of love, at which time fear needs to be roused even more, for fear must constantly be present in the *Mitzva* of love. Therefore, man must evoke fear within him in the two states of love: in love from the good side, when he receives good sensations from the Creator, and in love from the evil side, when the Creator sends him harsh restrictions, according to judgment.

However, it would be incorrect to think that perfect love means a state where one receives bad feelings from the Creator, to the extent of feeling one's soul being taken away. It is incorrect to think that one should not fear the Creator's judgment and strictness, and, despite his feelings to cling unto Him with love, fearlessly and wholeheartedly.

First, one must rouse fear within him lest his love for the Creator will weaken. Thus, he combines love and fear. Second, from the other side of love, from the side of feeling the strictness, he must rouse within him fear before the Creator, and not let his heart harden, so it would not stop heeding the unpleasant sensations of punishment. Thus, here, too, he includes fear and love, and if he acts so in both sides of love, his love remains forever connected to fear, thus becoming perfect.

It is written about the good side's inclusion of fear into love: "Happy is the man who always fears." The word "always" indicates that although man always receives only goodness from the Creator, he fears Him nonetheless, for he fears that he may sin.

And it is written about the evil side's inclusion of fear into love, when man feels punishments and strictness of judgment: "He who lets his heart be hardened shall fall into awe." This means that one should in no way and under no circumstances let his heart be hardened under the judgment's influence. Otherwise, he will fall into the impure forces, called "evil." In such a case, he must rouse within him even more fear of the Creator, and mingle his fear into the love.

However, neither kind is fear for oneself, for one's own well-being. Rather, they both refer to man's fear of diminishing his intentions and actions for the Creator's sake, and his attempts to direct them all towards pleasing Him.

Thus, we have clarified the first two *Mitzvot* of the Torah—the *Mitzvot* of fear and love. The *Mitzva* of fear is the basis for all the other *Mitzvot* and of the entire Torah. It is contained in the first word of the Torah, *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING), and in its first sentence, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. Fear is called BEGINNING, from which THE HEAVENS and THE EARTH are born, meaning *ZON* and their descendants, the worlds of *BYA*. And the second sentence in the Torah refers to punishment in the form of four kinds of spiritual death: WITHOUT FORM means strangulation, CHAOTIC means stoning, DARKNESS means burning, and SPIRIT means beheading. The *Mitzva* of love is described in the Torah in the verse: AND THE CREATOR SAID, 'LET THERE BE LIGHT.'

There are two sides to this *Mitzva*, which are called "kindness and longevity" and "with all one's soul." This implies that man should feel love even under the worst kinds of circumstances, i.e., when the Creator takes his soul away, just as he feels it when everything is well.

Just to reveal this perfect love, the Light of creation was concealed. Fear must also be included in both sides of love: in the part where man must fear to commit a sin, thereby reducing his love for the Creator, and in the part where he must fear because of the concealment and the Creator's judgment. Yet, to understand these spiritual categories, we must clarify them in a slightly different manner.

Calls for love are used repeatedly in the Torah: "Love thy neighbor…," "Do not do what you hate to another," and so on. But the basis of all this is love between man and the Creator; this is where our requests are directed: "Draw us nearer with love…," "He who chooses Israel with love…"

The revelation of the Creator is the revelation of His love for man. However, altruistic love is completely different from our understanding of love. Our love always relies on egoistic reasons. And should the reasons suddenly disappear, love disappears at once.

We can take as an example the natural love between father and son. Parents naturally love their only son more than anything in the world. Accordingly, the son should hold the same kind of love for his parents. Yet, we see that this is not so: if the son feels unconditional love from his parents, then, in accordance with nature's law and regardless of himself, his love for them will decrease.

This is so because the father's love for his son is natural; and just as the father wants his son to love him, his son wants to be loved by his father. This reciprocal desire gives rise to fear in both their hearts: the father is afraid that the son may hate him (even a little), and the son fears the same.

This constant fear begets good deeds between them: each of them aspires to show his love to the other, so as to promote reciprocity. Yet, when their love reaches peaks, and there is nothing else that can be added to it, the beloved son discovers absolute and unconditional love in the heart of his loving father.

The loved one immediately stops fearing that he will be loved less; neither can he hope that the love for him will grow. And this leads to a situation where the son grows lazy and stops expressing his love with good deeds. And as they lessen, his love lessens, too, until it is reversed into its opposite—hatred, for he deems everything his father does as worthless and insufficient in comparison with what the father's actions out of "absolute" love should be. Therefore, the union of love and fear within man brings him to the state of perfection.

The four letters *HaVaYaH* (*Yod* + *Hey* + *Vav* + *Hey*) correspond to *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*. *The Zohar* calls them, FEAR, LOVE, TORAH, COMMANDMENT, respectively.

YOD	–	HOCHMA	–	FEAR
HEY	–	BINA	–	LOVE
VAV	–	ZA	–	TORAH
HEY	–	MALCHUT	–	COMMANDMENT

Partzuf AA is the main *Partzuf*, and includes the entire world of *Atzilut*. It shines upon all the other worlds through its garments, called *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON*, where *AVI* and *YESHSUT* clothe *AA* from its *Peh* to *Tabur*, while *ZON* clothe *AA* from *Tabur* down to its *Sium Raglaim* (end of legs) that stand on *Parsa*.

AA is called "the concealed *Hochma*," as its *Ohr Hochma* is concealed in its *Rosh* and does not shine upon the other *Partzufim* and worlds, and only its *Bina* shines below. Thus, it is *Bina* (and not *AA*) that is called *BERESHEET*—BEGINNING, for she is the foundation and the source of all the worlds.

And she is also called FEAR OF THE CREATOR, i.e., fear of His greatness, "for He is the only Master and the root of all, and all that exists is as nothing compared to Him." And *ZON* (called HEAVEN AND EARTH) emerge from *Bina*. It is therefore written in the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING (with fear) *AVI*, THE CREATOR CREATED HEAVEN (*ZA*) AND EARTH (*Malchut*).

Hence, it is said: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom (*Hochma*)" and "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge (*Daat*)." *Ohr Hochma* stems not from the *Sefira Hochma de AA*, but from *Bina de AA* alone. For when *Bina de AA* ascends to *Rosh de AA*, it turns to the *Sefira Hochma* and then passes the Light downward. It follows that the *Sefira Bina*, fear of the Creator, is the source of *Ohr Hochma*; hence, it is said, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of *Hochma*."

Also, fear is the beginning of knowledge, for the *Sefira Daat* is the beginning of *ZON*: *ZON* raise their request to *Rosh de AA* in order to receive *Hochma*. And this request of *ZON* regarding reception of *Ohr Hochma*, which is received and felt by *AA*, is called *Daat*, knowledge. This is why it is written: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge (*Daat*)."

The Zohar also tells us that afterwards fear and love unite so as never to part again, for *Hochma* is called "love." Indeed, the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH* is *Bina*, i.e., *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) that wants only *Ohr Hassadim*, whereas *Ohr Hochma* is concealed within it.

And the place of revelation of *Ohr Hochma* is *ZAT de Bina*, called *YESHSUT*, the first letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*. Therefore, this place is called love, and it is the second *Mitzva* that follows the first *Mitzva* of fear, which shines in *ZON*, for this *Ohr Hochma* does not stem from *Hochma de AVI*, but from *Bina*, and *Bina* is known as fear.

And *The Zohar* says that fear unites with love so as to never let it go. This means that *Bina* forever unites with *Hochma* and does not part with it. And wherever there is *Bina*, *Hochma* is there alongside her. And although it seems to write that one *Mitzva* is fear and another is love (that these are separate *Mitzvot*), they are nonetheless always together and are never apart: just as the first *Mitzva* includes the first, so the first includes the second.

The reason they have separate names is that we distinguish them by their dominance: in the first *Mitzva*, it is *AVI*, *GAR de Bina*, *Bina* herself along with her property. Hence, it is called "fear." However, in the second *Mitzva* it is *Hochma* that is dominant; hence, it is called "love."

Therefore, the words of the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED constitute concealment, and the revelation of these words begins

with the words LET THERE BE LIGHT, designating the ascent of *Bina* (BEGINNING) to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* becomes like *Hochma*.

The combination of *Hochma* and *Bina* is then called GREAT LOVE. This is the meaning of the words, LET THERE BE LIGHT, for *Bina* ascends to *AA* and passes the Light to all the lower worlds with GREAT LOVE, i.e., by means of two Lights: *Hassadim* and *Hochma*.

This is why it is said that the CREATOR'S LOVE IS CLARIFIED FROM TWO SIDES, as it is written: LET THERE BE LIGHT IN THIS WORLD AND IN THE WORLD TO COME. Because the Creator saw that this world cannot receive the Light, He concealed His Light and raised it above *Parsa de AA*, called (according to its corrected properties) "the world to come," above *Chazeh de AA*, where *AVI* or *GAR de Bina* reside.

Parsa is located below *Chazeh de AA*, and it separates the Supernal Waters (*AVI*) from the lower waters (*YESHSUT* + *ZON*). Since *Ohr Hochma* does not shine below *Chazeh de AA*, it is said that the Light is concealed from *Partzufim YESHSUT* and *ZON*.

Thus, we see that *Bina* is divided into two parts: *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*), located above the *Chazeh* (*Parsa de AA* or the Supernal Waters), upon whom the Upper Light shines, meaning that secrets are revealed within them. He who ascends to this degree receives its Light, thereby meriting "wealth (*Hochma*) and longevity (*Hassadim*). His sons (his future corrections) are like olive sprouts (olive oil symbolizes *Hochma*), they gather round his table (*Hassadim*), and he rules over his enemies (impure forces), and whatever his wish may be, he succeeds in it (for *Ohr Hochma* is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*)." *ZAT de Bina* are the lower waters, located below *Chazeh de AA*. The Light is concealed from them, and those who receive from them must love the Creator with the kind of love called "even if He takes away his soul."

These are the two degrees of love for the Creator. That is to say, love for the Creator is not the desire and decision of man alone. Rather, like any of our other desires, it appears only by attaining a particular degree: if one attains the degree of *YESHSUT*, it allows him to love the Creator "even if He takes away his soul." However, an even more perfect love emerges within him who reaches the degree of *AVI*: he receives such Light from it that his love for the Creator becomes perfect on both sides.

Yet, fear must be included in both kinds of love. For at the degree of *AVI*, one needs fear so as to not sin while in a state of spiritual ascent in *AVI*. And while at the degree of *YESHSUT*, one must fear lest his heart be hardened,

for *Hochma* and *Bina* correspond to love and fear in a state of eternal unity. Therefore, one must include the properties of *Bina* (fear) into *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*), as well as into *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*).

Only then will love be perfect on both sides, in both forms: *GAR* and *ZAT de Bina*. Love cannot possibly be perfect only on one side, but only if fear exists on both sides, for *Hochma* (love) cannot exist without *Bina* (fear).

It follows that conditional love is the degree of *AVI*, whereas unconditional (perfect) love is the degree of *YESHSUT*. Yet, *YESHSUT* is below *AVI*. The thing is that man first receives Higher *Sefirot* of his emerging *Partzuf*, in the order *KHB-ZA-M*, but the Light enters them in the reverse order of *NRNHY*: first, he receives the *Sefira Keter* with the Light of *Nefesh*, and in the end he receives the *Sefira Malchut*, though the Light of *Yechida* enters *Keter*. Therefore, if we measure according to the *Sefirot* (*Kelim*), the degree of *AVI* = *GE* = *K-H* (conditional love) is smaller than the degree of *YESHSUT* = *AHP* = *B-ZA-M* (unconditional love).

The Third Commandment

204. The third *Mitzva* is to know that there is an Almighty Lord who governs the world, to unite this every day in the six Supernal limbs: *HGT NHY* of *Zeir Anpin*, and to unify them in the six words of the prayer "Hear O Israel," and with it to direct our desires upwards. Therefore, we must prolong the word "one" in the six words: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our Creator, the Lord is one."

In correspondence with the instruction to prolong the word "one," he who utters this verse should pronounce this word lengthily, as ooone. However, *The Zohar* obviously alludes not to a simple utterance of one's mouth, but rather to our true heartfelt intentions.

What is indicated here is that one needs to *know* and make a *union*. First, one must know the two sides of love, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. *AVI* are called the "big and great ones in *Hassadim*," whereas *YESHSUT* is called "the Master of the World," for it contains judgment and restriction.

After man has attained both degrees of love and merited perfect love, he needs to know that there is a great Master who governs the entire world, and to unite this knowledge every day by using the six Supernal limbs, sides, that is, to raise *MAN* to *ZON de Atzilut*, and *ZON* will raise their *MAN* to *YESHSUT*. As a result, *ZON* and *YESHSUT* will ascend and unite with *Partzuf AVI*. This common *Partzuf* has six Supernal sides-limbs, for they all clothe *VAK*, the six lower *Sefirot* of *AA*.

Because of this unity, *YESHSUT* ascends above *Parsa de AA*, to the place from the *Peh* down to the *Chazeh*, the place of the Supernal Waters. This is the permanent place of *AVI*, and the place where Light is revealed. When *YESHSUT* is filled with this Light, it passes it to *ZON*, which pass it on to the lower worlds, leading to the revelation of *Ohr Hassadim* in all the worlds. This is the secret of the union of "Hear, O Israel."

The six words: "**Hear,** O **Israel**, the **Lord** is **our** Creator, the **Lord** is **One**" constitute the six sides of *ZON*, which need to be united so as to unite them with the six Supernal sides, that is, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. And man must direct his intentions and *NRN* upwards, so they, too, would unite with Supernal unity, just as *MAN*.

To achieve unity in *VAK de ZA*, in its six sides, the word "one" must be prolonged, meaning to receive *Ohr Hochma* within it, for *Ohr Hochma* descends from *Ein Sof* (infinity) to Supernal *VAK*, i.e., to *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, and unites *VAK de ZA* with the Light of *Ein Sof*. This is because the *Gematria* (numerical value) of the Hebrew word *Echad* (one) is *Aleph* + *Chet* + *Dalet* = 1 + 8 + 4 = 13, which indicates reception of *Ohr Hochma*.

Hence, while pronouncing the word "one," one should intend to draw *Ohr Hochma* to *VAK de ZA*. However, this unity lacks the intention to receive the Light of *GAR* in *ZA*, but only to enlarge its *VAK* through unity with the Supernal *VAK*, and to receive *VAK de Gadlut*.

205. It is therefore written, "Let the waters under the Heavens be gathered together onto one place." This means that all the degrees under the Heavens will gather onto one place, to become perfect in the six ends. Therewith, fear must be attached to the unity of the words: "Hear, O Israel," which is done by prolonging the pronunciation of the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*. This is why the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* is written larger than the other letters. It is written, "Let the dry land appear," to let the letter *Dalet* (designating dry land) be attached to that unity.

As was already explained, the unity contained in the words "Hear, O Israel" refers to the reception of *Gadlut* by *VAK*. This is because "one place" signifies the Supernal *VAK*, where the Light of *Ein Sof* shines within *Ohr Hochma*, under the Heavens (*Bina*), with regard to the earth (*ZA*). The words "onto one place" imply the unification of all the six Upper and lower sides, so the lower *Partzufim* will receive *Ohr Hochma* and unite with *VAK de ZA*, but only as *VAK de Gadlut*.

As we have already clarified, there are two kinds of fear and two kinds of love: the Upper fear and love are called *AVI*, whereas the lower fear and love are called *YESHSUT*. However, perfection is attained only by attaining both degrees together. Hence, the Light is concealed in *YESHSUT*, so the lower kind of love ("even if He takes away the soul") will be revealed. But even in this case, fear must cling to love and prevent the hardening of the heart; only then does one reveal perfect love, merges with *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, and receives the complete Creator's goodness.

In the unity of "Hear, O Israel," and after *ZON* ascend and unite with their properties in the six Upper sides to receive within them the "Great Love" in the word "one," they receive the Light that was made on the first day of creation, of which it is written: "And the Creator said, 'Let there be Light'" (*Beresheet*, 1:3).

And to all of this unity one must attach fear, since he needs to reveal and receive the Light that is deliberately concealed in *YESHSUT*, so as to unite the lower love and fear, for they still cannot be considered perfect.

Therefore, it is said that one should prolong the pronunciation of the *Dalet* in the word *Echad* (one) when reciting the prayer, *Shema Israel*, *Adonay Eloheinu*, *Adonay EchaD-D-D!* (Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our Creator, the Lord is One). In this case, the letter *Dalet* is written in large font. This is because big letters refer to *Tvuna*, and the big *Dalet* in the word *Echad* indicates that its place is in *Tvuna*, and that the Light is concealed there. By attracting it, not by utterance, of course, but by the spiritual action, man unites its concealment with the lower fear and love.

AND THE DRY LAND APPEARED means that there is no perfection in the Upper fear and love, expressed in the six words of the prayer "Hear, O Israel" with the help of the word "one." These words correspond to "Let there be Light," until the unity of fear and love is achieved below. This unity is revealed in the Light that is concealed in *Tvuna*, designated by the letter *Dalet* (D) in the word *Echad.*

Therefore, after the WATERS GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE, signifying the descent of *Ohr Hochma* into the six parts of *ZA*, DRY LAND APPEARED. It denotes the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*, which should be pronounced with (spiritual) prolongation, with the aim to turn it into land through the concealment of the Light.

All of this is essential in order to unite the *D*, *Tvuna*, with *AVI*, resulting in the descent of the Light to *VAK de ZON*, so that love could be made perfect.

206. After *Malchut* unites with ZA Above (in *VAK de ZON*), they must now be united below, in the masses, i.e., in all six sides of *Malchut*, in the words, *BARUCH SHEM KVOD MALCHUTO LEOLAM VAED* (Blessed be the great name of His kingdom for ever and ever), which contain six other words of unity. And then, what was dry land will become fertile soil, yielding fruit and plant.

After the Supernal union is achieved, when the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* becomes whole Above, in *AVI*, it is essential to unite the *Dalet* in the word *Echad* below, in *VAK*, in the six aspects of *Nukva de ZA* (Rachel), who

stands from *Chazeh de ZA* and below. All 600,000 souls of Israel, called "the inhabitants of *Nukva*," are included in Rachel.

After ZA unites in the Light of *AVI*, and the concealment of *Tvuna* (in the words DRY LAND APPEARED or in the letter *Dalet*) is revealed in him, *Nukva* must be filled with these two revelations. This is designated by the six words, *BARUCH SHEM KVOD MALCHUTO LEOLAM VAED*, corresponding to the six *Sefirot HGT NHY* of *Nukva*.

It was already explained that the Light was concealed in order to reveal both sides of love—good and evil. Yet, neither side of love, good or evil, can be revealed through concealment, but only through revelation of judgment. Before judgment was revealed, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* was DRY LAND—utterly useless. This is because it emerged from the Light due to the concealment. Even fear to unite in the lower fear and love, which supplement the Upper fear and love was absent from it, for the judgment that reveals the lower fear and love was not yet revealed.

Strictness and judgment are located in the legs of *Partzuf* Leah, which are included in the *Rosh* of *Partzuf* Rachel. ZA has two *Nukvaot* (plural for *Nukva*): Leah (above his *Chazeh*) and Rachel (below his *Chazeh*). Leah's legs end at the *Chazeh de ZA* and touch Rachel's *Rosh*.

World of Atzilut

Atik		
AA		
AVI		
YESHSUT		
Nukvaot of ZA		ZA
Leah:	Head	Head
	Body	Mouth
	Legs	Chest
Rachel:	Head	Chest
	Body	Legs
	Legs	Feet

Parsa

Worlds of BYA

Machsom

Our World

Since strictness and judgment are located at the end of the legs of *Partzuf* Leah, this affects only *Partzuf* Rachel, as each spiritual property acts only from the place of its manifestation and below. Therefore, the concealment in the lower love and fear manifests only in the place in Rachel where the force of strictness and judgment is manifested.

Prior to the revelation of judgment, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* was dry land, a place that is unfit for living. Now, however, after the descent of *Partzuf* Rachel into *VAK*, below *Chazeh de ZA*, the dry land became fertile, suitable for settlement and cultivation of fruits. In other words, the lower love and fear were revealed in it in completion and perfection. And they complement the Upper love and fear, so that all are perfect on both sides, for that is when all the goodness is revealed in *AVI*.

It is therefore said, THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH-*ERETZ* (the word *Eretz* is derived from *Ratzon*—desire), for it is the property of the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* in the six *Sefirot* (sides) of *Nukva de ZA* (where the property of strictness and judgment is already revealed). The letter *Dalet* that was in DRY LAND and made its property inanimate and unfit to live on turns into EARTH in *Nukva de ZA* (as a result of a *Zivug* with *ZA*), can now be settled and cultivated; hence, the Creator called it "earth."

207. It is written, AND THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH. This refers to the same unity below, by the words, BLESSED BE HIS GREAT NAME FOR EVER AND EVER, when the earth, called "desire," became what it should be. For the word "earth" (*Eretz*) means desire (*Ratzon*). Hence, the expression IT WAS GOOD appears twice on the third day of creation: once for the Upper unity and once for the lower. For *Malchut* merges with both sides of *ZA*—with *VAK de ZA* and with her own *VAK*. Henceforth, the earth brings forth grass, for it has been corrected to yield fruit.

The Upper unity (described by the words, WATERS GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE) passes the Light that was created on the first day of creation from Above downwards, from the six Upper sides of *AVI* to *VAK de ZA*. This is called by the first word, IT WAS GOOD, uttered by the Creator on the third day of creation.

And then occurs the lower unity, designated by the verse, BLESSED BE HIS GREAT NAME FOR EVER AND EVER. This means that the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* attains perfection only from the six sides of *Nukva*, as described by the verses, AND THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH and

THE EARTH SHALL BRING FORTH GRASS, for in *VAK de Nukva*, DRY LAND turned to EARTH, yielding fruits.

With regard to this unity of *VAK de Nukva*, the Creator said, IT WAS GOOD, for the second time on the third day of creation. It follows that when IT WAS GOOD is said for the first time, it refers to the Upper unity. And the second time refers to the lower. Because of the lower unity, both sides of love achieve perfection, and the Light of *AVI* descends to *VAK de Nukva*, and bears fruit for the 600,000 souls of Israel that inhabit her.

The Fourth Commandment

208. The fourth *Mitzva* is to know that *HaVaYaH* (the Creator) is *Elokim* (Lord), as it is written: KNOW THIS DAY AND LAY IT IN YOUR HEART THAT *HaVaYaH*–CREATOR IS *ELOKIM*—LORD. That is, the name *Elokim* is included in the name of the *HaVaYaH*, and there is no distinction between them.

HaVaYaH is *ZA*, and *Elokim* is *Nukva de ZA*. It is essential to unite *ZA* with *Nukva* by making their properties similar, so there is no distinction between them. Thus, the name *Elokim* of *Nukva* will be included in the name *HaVaYaH* of *ZA*, so that *Nukva* herself will become as *HaVaYaH*.

This union signifies the reception of *Ohr Hochma* (*GAR*) in *ZON*, for the union implied by the words HEAR, O ISRAEL is the reception of the Light of *VAK* from *AVI* in *ZON*. The unity in question here is the reception from *AVI* in *ZON* of the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*). One can never receive an entire degree in one go: first *VAK* is received, and only then *GAR*.

209. Hence, it is written, "Let the stars in Heaven shine upon the earth." This means that both names, *HaVaYaH* and *ELOKIM*, are as one. This way, *Malchut* (*Elokim*) should merge with the name *HaVaYaH* (*ZA*). The black Light (*Malchut*) with the white Light (*ZA*), as one, without distinction. The white cloud by day (*ZA*) with the pillar of fire by night (*Malchut*); the property of day (*ZA*) merged with the property of night (*Malchut*), so they shine as one star.

Nukva is called "a small star." Initially, there were two stars, *ZA* and *Malchut*, and both were the same size. But the moon (*Malchut*) complained that two stars cannot use one crown (source of Light). The Creator reply to *Malchut* was, "Go and diminish yourself" (Talmud, *Hulin*, 60:2).

As a result, the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* descended below the *Parsa* to the world of *Beria*, and only one *Sefira*, *Keter de Malchut*, remained in the world

of *Atzilut*. The task of the righteous is to elevate the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* from the world of *Beria* to the level of ZA, to correct her distinction from ZA, i.e., to grow and make her equal to ZA once more, so she will make a *Zivug* with ZA face to face. Thus, they shall correct the detachment of *Malchut* from ZA that was born of the moon's complaint.

The moon complained because it was unable to receive the Light directly from *Ima*, but only via ZA. Hence, the Creator gave it His advice: diminish yourself to a point (the *Sefira Keter*) and lower the nine *Sefirot* from *Hochma* to *Malchut* below the *Parsa*. Then, through the unity of "Hear, O Israel," rebuild *Malchut* in *VAK*, in the lower unity of "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever," for the power of judgment within it corrects the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*, turning the DRY LAND into the fruit-yielding EARTH.

Therefore, the now black point of *Malchut* that caused its fall became as important as Light, for it is precisely the strictness of judgment that builds the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* and makes it fruit-bearing. And if *Malchut* had not had this power of judgment, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* (*Tvuna*) would have remained DRY LAND. Hence, when the Light spreads inside her, the power of judgment and restriction becomes more important than Light itself, for it becomes the cause, the source of the Light of *VAK*, *Ohr Hassadim*.

Thus, it is now possible to receive *Ohr Hochma* in *VAK de Malchut*, while elevating *ZON* to *AVI*. For now, just like ZA, *Nukva* can unite with *AVI* in her properties. This was the basis of her previous complaint, for the Light-restricting power within her turned into the cause of the Light's diffusion. Hence, ZA and *Malchut* are considered a single whole: each of them constitutes the source of Light for the other, whereas previously, *Malchut* was completely dependent on ZA, and therefore felt humiliated.

As a result of the union between ZA and *Nukva* in *AVI*, ZA connects to *Aba*, and *Nukva* to *Ima*. ZA turns into white clouds in the daylight and *Nukva* turns into a pillar of fire in the Light of night, i.e., the properties of day and night merge into one property, as it is written: AND THERE WAS EVENING AND THERE WAS MORNING, ONE DAY. Together they illuminate the earth and those who inhabit *Nukva* in the worlds of *BYA*.

210. This is the sin of the primeval serpent that unites below but separates Above; hence, it caused what it caused to the world. What should be united Above, should be separated below. The black light, which is *Malchut*, should be united Above with ZA into a single whole and then separate it from the "evil side."

The union and fulfillment of *ZON* with *Ohr Hochma* occurs only when they ascend to *AVI*, above *Chazeh de AA*, where *ZA* merges with *Aba* and *Nukva* merges with *Ima*. As a result, they unite, and *ZA* passes *Ohr Hochma* to *Malchut*. However, in the permanent place of *ZON*, below *Chazeh de AA*, they cannot form a union and allow *Nukva* to receive *Ohr Hochma*.

This is exactly what provoked Adam's sin and allowed the Serpent to bring death into the world (cause the disappearance of *Ohr Hochma* from *Malchut*), by compelling Adam and Chava (Eve) to make a *Zivug* (union) in the permanent place of *ZON*, below *Chazeh de AA*. As a result, the Upper *Zivug* stopped in *AVI*, as *ZA* started passing *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI* down to *Malchut*.

Thus, all the parts (souls) of *Malchut* existing in the world stopped receiving *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*. This is regarded as death, for as soon as the impure forces approach *ZON* to draw their *Ohr Hochma*, *AVI* immediately terminate their *Zivug* for the sake of *ZON*, to prevent the impure force from clinging to *ZON*. And as soon as *Ohr Hochma* departs from *ZON*, the impure force leaves them at once, for it approaches *ZON* with the sole purpose of feeding on *Ohr Hochma*.

However, after being in *Ima* and receiving *Ohr Hochma*, *Malchut* descends to her permanent place and passes this Light to the souls of the righteous, called the "inhabitants of *Malchut*." She unites with them via equivalence of their properties, for in the absence of unity with *ZA* below, *Malchut* draws far from the evil side and the impure forces cannot receive from her.

211. Nevertheless, one should know that *Elokim* and *HaVaYaH* are one, without distinction. *HaVaYaH* is *Elokim*. If man knows that all is one and does not cause any separation, then even the opposite, impure forces disappear from the world, instead of descending below.

Although there is fear that a *Zivug* will occur in *ZON* in their place below, this is no cause to stop aspiring for a *Zivug* Above, in *AVI*. Moreover, one must attain that *HaVaYaH* is *Elokim*, which is achieved by uniting *ZA* with *Nukva*. And if man raises his *MAN*, thereby causing *ZON* to ascend to *AVI* and unite there, the impure forces are completely rejected by the Light, weaken and finally disappear from the world.

212. The secret behind the word *Me'orot*, which consists of the words *Mavet* (death) and *Ohr* (Light), is that the impure forces follow knowledge, understanding, and thought. And this is Light, which is the opposite from death—*Mavet*, for the Light (*Ohr*) is inside death—*Mavet* (spelled as *Me'ot*) in

the word *ME'ohrOT*. This alludes to the fact that Light separates death, but when Light disappears, the letters unite and form the word "death."

The impure forces follow reason (knowledge, understanding, and thought). Reason signifies "Light," and the impure force is "death," where Light connects the letters, while death separates them.

Here is the explanation of this: the power of restriction in *Malchut* is the source of the emergence of the impure forces. Because *ZON* united with *AVI* so as to receive the Light of *VAK* and *GAR*, the power of restriction in *Malchut* turned into Light by receiving the Light of *VAK* in the union below. Then, it ascended to *AVI* once more, and *Malchut* merged with *ZA* at the degree of *AVI*.

This union Above is designated by the word *Me'orot* = *Ohr* + *Mavet*. As a result of the Light of *VAK* and *GAR* descending to *Nukva* in the union with *ZA* at the level of *AVI*, the power of restriction in *Malchut* turns into Light, and all the impure forces that were created by this restriction disappear, for their root turns to Light. Consequently, the letters of the word *Mavet* of the impure forces disappear, and the words *Me'ohrot Ohr* appear instead.

213. Chava started with these letters, and brought evil into the world. As it is written, the woman SAW that it was good to bring the letters of the word *Me'ohrot* back. From there she took the letters *Vav-Tav-Reish-Aleph*, leaving only the letters *Mem* and *Vav*. And they took with them the letter *Tav*, thus forming the word *Mem-Vav-Tav* (*Mavet*—death). And they brought death into the world.

Thanks to the unity of the letters in the word *Me'ohrot*, designating the reception of *Ohr Hochma* in *ZON*, in the unity of *ZON* Above, the received Light separates the letters of *Mavet* in *AVI*, for it shines within them and forms a new combination of the letters *Me'ohrot*. And if *ZON* make a union below, at their permanent place, the Light disappears from the combination of letters *Me'ohrot*, and the word *Mavet* (death) remains.

AND THE WOMAN SAW THAT THE TREE WAS GOOD (*Beresheet*, 3:6). The Hebrew equivalent for the words "and saw" is *Vetir'e* = *Vav-Tav-Reish-Aleph*. These are the letters that depart from the word *Me'ohrot* (stars), leaving only *Mem-Vav*. They attach the letter *Tav* (*Nukva* of the impure forces) and form the word *Mavet*—the name for *Klipot*.

Chava drew these letters from the word *Me'ohrot*, meaning she followed the serpent's advice to unite *ZON* at their place below. In doing so, she violated the holy union of the letters in the word *Me'ohrot*, for the union of *ZON* below

immediately causes the separation of *AVI* and the word *Me'ohrot* into *Ohr* (Light) and *Mavet* (death).

The impure forces, called "death," contain a male part, called "Sam," and a female part, called "Lilit." The letter *Mem* is the male part of the word *MaveT*, called "Sam," and the letter *Tav* is its female part, called "Lilit." Thus, there was a *Zivug* between the male and female parts, the letters *Mem*, *Tav* and *Yesod* (*Vav*), forming the word *MaVeT*, as the name of the impure force.

This signifies the appearance of the serpent before Chava, and the transference of impurity from it to her. As she followed its advice, the letter *Tav* entered her, splitting the word *Ohr* (Light) and combining the letters into the word *Vetir'e* (AND SAW). Then, the male part of the impure force (*Mem-Vav*) appeared and made a *Zivug* with *Tav*, which was already present in Chava; thus, death (*MaVeT*) appeared in the world.

214. And look: said Rabbi Elazar: "My father, I have learned that after Chava had removed the letters *VeTiR'E* from the word *Me'ohrot*, the letters *Mem* and *Vav* did not remain. Only the letter *Mem* remained, for the letter *Vav*, which is the letter of life, turned into death. This occurred because it attached the letter *Tav* to itself, thus forming the word *MaVeT*." He replied: "Blessed are you, my son!"

Rabbi Elazar answered that the letter *Mem* remained alone, without the letter *Vav*, for *Vav* designates *Yesod*, whereas Sam (the male part of the impure forces) lacks *Yesod*; hence, it is written that it is unable to procreate offspring, akin to a castrated man. The letter *Vav* designates *Yesod*, the place of a *Zivug*, the union of the male and female parts of *ZON*. The letter *Vav* always designates life, *Yesod* of the pure forces, whose *Zivug* bears fruit, for it is made on the screen that stands in *Yesod*.

Here, the pure letter *Vav* became impure and turned into *Yesod* of the impure force, *MaVeT*. After *Vav* received from *Yesod* of the pure forces, it united in a *Zivug* with *Tav*, and the word *MaVeT* was formed. This was precisely the sin of Adam, which defiled the pure *Vav*.

The Fifth Commandment

215. The fifth *Mitzva*. It is written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES (*Beresheet*, 1:20). This verse contains three *Mitzvot*. The first is to study the Torah, the second is to procreate and multiply, and the third is to remove the foreskin on the eighth day. And it is necessary to study the Torah on all the days, at all times, in order to correct one's soul and spirit.

The four previous *Mitzvot* originate in the first four days of creation, and are intended for the correction of the degrees *H-B-ZA-M* of the world of *Atzilut*.

The **First *Mitzva*** originates from the word *BERESHEET* (*Bina*, fear of the Great and Mighty Creator, who rules over all), referring only to *GAR de Bina* that is located in *AVI*. The position of *AVI* is from *Peh* to *Chazeh de AA*, *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*.

The **Second *Mitzva*** originates from the words LET THERE BE LIGHT, and is meant for the correction of *ZAT de Bina* (called *YESHSUT*), located from *Chazeh* to *Tabur de AA*, i.e., below its *Parsa*. However, when it is said, LET THERE BE LIGHT, this means that *YESHSUT* ascended and united with *AVI*, forming one *Partzuf* above *Chazeh de AA*. And from there they ascended to *Rosh de AA*.

Such a state (degree) is called "Great love," designated by the first letter (*Hey*) of the name *HaVaYaH*: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*, and the Light passes from it to *ZON*. However, *ZON* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*, for they are *GAR de Bina* and will always remain only with *Ohr Hassadim*, unwilling to receive, hence their name, "fear."

ZON, however, receive *Ohr Hochma* from *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*), which ascended above *Parsa de AA*, called "Great love." However, *YESHSUT*, which stand below *Parsa de AA*, cannot pass *Ohr Hochma* to *ZA*, for *Ohr Hochma* is concealed within them. Also, their *Tvuna* is called DRY LAND.

The **Third *Mitzva*** originates from the two stars that were created on the third day of creation, of which it is written: LET THE WATERS UNDER THE HEAVENS BE GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE, AND LET THE DRY LAND APPEAR... and LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH GRASS. This *Mitzva* is intended for the correction of *VAK de ZON*, whose union Above stems from the verse, LET THE WATERS, referring to *ZA*, whereas the union below stems from the verse, LET THE EARTH PUT FORTH GRASS, and refers to *VAK de Nukva*.

The **Fourth *Mitzva*** originates from the verse, LET THE STARS, and is meant for the correction of *GAR* in *ZA* and *Malchut*. Thus, all the corrections necessary for *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON de Atzilut* have already taken place in the first four days of creation. *ZON* received *GAR* (*Ohr Hochma*), and, being of equal height, can now make a *Zivug* face to face. Therefore, the rest of the *Mitzvot* are intended for this *Zivug* of *ZON*.

The **Fifth *Mitzva*** is LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES. Now there is a need to bring *ZON* to a perfect face-to-face *Zivug*, i.e., (i) to receive *Ohr Neshama* onto this *Zivug*, so that Adam, too, will receive this Light and make a holy and pure *Zivug*, which is attained by man's efforts in the study of the Torah; (ii) to give birth to holy souls; and (iii) to correct the holy covenant by circumcision and rejection.

Man's efforts lie in that he studies the Torah, although he realizes that he does not attain it (receives nothing in his corrected desires, called *Guf*, body). He merely utters its words with his "mouth" (not yet able to receive the Light (Torah) in his body for the Creator's sake), but as a result, he attains *Ohr Nefesh*.

Man's efforts should correspond to his readiness to do everything in his power to attain and understand the Torah, which causes him to attain *Ohr Ruach*. However, he must not limit himself to such attainments, but rather multiply his efforts so as to attain *Ohr Neshama*. Thus, every day he must aspire to correct his *Nefesh* and *Ruach*, and by increasing them, attain *Neshama*.

216. Because man labors in the study of the Torah, he corrects the other holy soul, as it is written, SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES, referring to the life-giving holy soul, *Malchut*. For when man does not study the Torah, he lacks the holy soul and the holiness that descends from Above. Yet, when he does study the Torah, he merits its Light, just like holy angels.

Nukva de ZA that makes a face-to-face *Zivug* with *ZA* in the state of *Gadlut* is called "living," for *ZA* is then called the "Tree of Life." Consequently, *Nukva* is called "Life." By raising *MAN* during the study of Torah for the Creator's sake,

man causes *ZON* to make a *Zivug* and receives *Ohr Nefesh* from it. And if he does not study the Torah for the Creator's sake, he cannot even attain *Ohr Nefesh*, for he fails to bring about the Creator's *Zivug* with the *Shechina*. And a *Zivug* can be attained only by raising *MAN*.

It is therefore written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES, for the Torah is called "water." If man raises *MAN* with the help of the Torah, he merits *Ohr Nefesh* (holy spirit) from *Ohr Haya* (Life). Moreover, he merges with the Creator only after he attains *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, and *Neshama* from *HAYA* (Supernal holy life). He unites *Ohr Nefesh* with *Ohr Ruach*, *Ohr Ruach* with *Ohr Neshama*, and *Ohr Neshama* with the Creator.

217. It is written, "Angels of the Creator shall bless Him." This refers to those who study the Torah, as they are called His angels on earth. It is also written, BIRDS SOARING OVER THE EARTH. This refers to this world. However, in the world to come, as it is said, the Creator will make them wings like those of an eagle so they may soar in the whole world.

Why does *The Zohar* mention angels? Because angels are spiritual forces—mechanical enactors of the Creator's will. They were repeatedly compared to animals in our world (e.g., a horse) that fulfill man's will. Angels are spiritual forces without freedom or egoism; hence, they never sin and have no need for the Torah, which is why they are spiritually inanimate, motionless—they do not grow spiritually.

Man is created in such a way that before he carries out any task, he needs to realize what he is supposed to do. But angels carry out their assignments even before they hear and understand what the Creator wants from them, for His desire rules over them. Hence, nothing prevents them from instant fulfillment of His will. They always follow the Creator, just like man's shadow follows him. This is why they are believed to act before they even hear.

Man can therefore act like an angel (even though his desires are of egoistic nature) if his desires become like those of angels, whose actions precede their understanding (hearing). Just like an angel, such a person fulfills all the Creator's desires before he realizes, hears and understands them, for he follows the Creator as a shadow follows man.

This can be illustrated by the following example: when a strong wind throws dust in one's eyes, he quickly shuts them, even before his brain and thoughts feel and realize the need to do so: the action (shutting the eyes) precedes the actual realization of the thought of dust.

Although the physical body of such a person exists together with us in this world, his spiritual body (desires) becomes angel-like, and his actions precede his hearing. He does not need to hear in order to fulfill the Creator's will, but observes any *Mitzva* even before his brain realizes what he is doing. Therefore, he is regarded as an angel.

Hence, *The Zohar* says that in the future the Creator will provide him with wings to enable him to soar over the whole world. For until man attains the holy soul (*Ohr Nefesh*—the smallest spiritual Light), the impure force rules over him, as the prophet said: "The souls of your enemies, them shall he sling out, as from the hollow of a sling" (*Shmuel I*, 25:29).

Hence, one cannot merge with the Creator and observe His desires (*Mitzvot*) until he has acquired faith in the Creator's names and knows that He is absolutely good to all and bestows only goodness. And if one has not yet attained the holy soul, and the impure force still rules over him, when his thoughts soar above the world, it seems to him as though the Creator's rule is not quite as good as it should be according to His names. This feeling of his brings corruption to the Creator's holy names, and he cannot find a quiet place for himself, cannot have faith in His names and draw closer to Him.

Therefore, he stains himself with such impurity that it leads him toward lack of faith in the Creator and in His names. However, nothing of this affects the spiritual; it occurs simply because man has not yet attained the spiritual realm, and is making no effort to do so.

But as soon as he receives the holy soul (*Ohr Nefesh*), his body (desires and thoughts) instantly becomes angel-like: his actions precede realization. It is written about such a person: "And the birds shall soar above the earth," for in the future, the Creator will give him wings, and he will soar above the whole world.

For he soars mentally above the whole world and sees how the Creator governs all. Yet, not only does he not err when seeing the manifestation of this governance, he receives the strength to raise *MAN* to increase his spiritual anti-egoistic powers. By looking upon all the forms of the Creator's rule over this world and, seeing the harshness of the external manifestations of this rule, such a person is given an opportunity to ask for the strengthening of his faith. And owing to his faith in the Creator's unity and absolute kindness of His rule, he raises *MAN* and receives increasingly greater Light for the Creator's sake.

218. It is written in this regard: LET BIRDS SOAR OVER THE EARTH, for the Torah, called THE WATERS, will SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES from its place of life, *Malchut*, and all will descend

down below. This is what King David referred to, when he said, THE CREATOR CREATED IN ME A PURE HEART to study The Torah, and A HOLY SPIRIT WAS RENEWED WITHIN ME.

So as to continue to explain the aforementioned text, *The Zohar* compares the Torah to water—just as living creatures emerged from water, in the same way the Light of life descends from *Malchut* (called "life") upon the entire world. This is the Light for which King David asked the Creator. He begged for a pure heart in order to study the Torah and raise *MAN*, for this would lead him to the reception of the holy spirit of renewal—the strength to merge with the Creator even more.

The Sixth Commandment

219. The sixth *Mitzva* is to procreate and multiply, for he who does so turns the stream, called *Yesod de ZA*, into an inexhaustible fountain. And the sea, *Malchut*, shall be filled from all directions, and new souls shall come forth from that tree, and a multitude of forces shall appear together with those souls, to guard them. Hence, it is written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES. This is the mark of the holy Covenant. The stream grows stronger, turns into a river, and thus brings more and more new souls to life.

An awakening from below causes an awakening from Above: raising *MAN*, the prayers and requests of the lower ones to receive strength so they can perform spiritual, altruistic actions, stimulate a *Zivug* Above between the Creator and the *Shechina*. As a result, the stream, *Yesod de ZA*, fills with water and descends to *Nukva de ZA*, filling her on all sides, wishing to both revive all the worlds (to bestow *Ohr Hassadim*) and bear new souls (pass *Ohr Hochma* downward, for birth is possible only in *Ohr Hochma*).

There are two kinds of *Zivugim de ZON*: (i) a "*Zivug* of existence" on *Ohr Hassadim*, from which *Ohr Hassadim* descends to provide the lower souls with what they need for their existence. This *Zivug* on *Ohr Hassadim* also gives birth to angels. (ii) A "*Zivug* of birth" on *Ohr Hochma*, which leads to the creation of new *Partzufim*, new human souls.

These new souls emerge from the Tree (*ZA*). However, although they are called new, the genuinely new souls originate in the world of *Ein Sof* (Infinity), whereas these souls were already within Adam, and fell into the impure forces as a result of his sin. Now they are revived with the help of the Tree of Life (*ZA*); hence, they are called "new souls." A multitude of other forces, called Heavenly

hosts or armies, descends along with them. But completely new souls descend to the world only after the correction of Adam's sin has been completed.

Yesod de ZA is called a "covenant," because we (*Malchut*, souls) feel and receive from it all the Light of our life. It constitutes the source of our life, descending to us from the Tree of Life (*ZA*). *ZA* ascends to *AVI* (called "garden") in order to take the waters from them and fill *Malchut*, his *Nukva*. A *Zivug* on *VAK* (*Hassadim*) is called WATERS SWARM, and a *Zivug* on *GAR* (*Hochma*) is called LIVING CREATURES.

220. A number of birds (angels) that soar above the whole world enter *Malchut* along with those souls. When a soul comes into this world, the bird that came from that tree along with that soul accompanies it. How many angels leave with each soul? Two: one on the right, and one on the left. If one so merits, they guard him, as it is written: FOR HE WILL GIVE HIS ANGELS CHARGE OVER YOU. Yet, if he does not merit, they report and accuse him. Rabbi Pinchas said: "There are three angels that guard man, if he so merits, as it is written, IF THERE BE AN ANGEL OVER HIM, A DEFENDER, ONE AMONG A THOUSAND THAT WARNS MAN. If there be an ANGEL—is the first; A DEFENDER—is the second; one among a thousand THAT WARNS man—is the third."

221. Rabbi Shimon said: "In all, there are five angels, for the verse continues: 'there is one after the giver and two more, so in all there are five.'" He replied: "This is not so. 'The giver' refers solely to the Creator Himself, and not to an angel, for only the Creator is permitted to give, but no one else."

A number of angels come forth together with the begotten souls. These angels are called "soaring" or "flying." They help the souls to sentence to the scale of merit, or, conversely, complain to the Creator about these souls, and push them toward the scale of sin, which entails punishments. These angels soar above the world, see how the Creator rules over all, and report all this to the soul. If the soul so merits, it sentences itself and the entire world to the scale of merit; if not, it sentences itself and the entire world to the scale of sin.

Therefore, Rabbi Pinchas does not dispute Rabbi Shimon when he says that only two angels are born with a soul. Rather, he says that as long as there are only two angels in man, he cannot sentence to the scale of merit completely, and keeps moving between the scales of sin (punishment) and merit (reward). However, through one's good deeds, the third angel is born within him, which enables man to sentence everything to the scale of merit. Hence, only with the help of the three angels can he achieve his correction.

222. And he who abstains from procreating and multiplying belittles (so to speak) the form that includes all other forms, the form of man, causes that stream, *Yesod* of ZA, to dry out, and harms the holy Covenant (*Yesod* of ZA) from all sides. It is written of such a man, "Go forth and look upon the corpses of those that have transgressed against the Creator." Of course, those who transgress against Me. This is said about the body, as the soul never even enters the screen, i.e., the Creator's domain. And such a man shall be banished from the world.

Malchut is called a "form," a "property" that contains all of the other properties, for all the forms of *NRN* of the righteous and of the angels in the three worlds of *BYA* originate from her. They constitute all the hosts and armies. And those that do not procreate and multiply thereby diminish the form of *Malchut* and prevent her from using all of her hosts and armies. For with the help of *MAN* that the lower ones raise, the Light descends from Above and stimulates a *Zivug* between the Creator and the *Shechina*. This *Zivug* creates *NRN*—the souls of the righteous and the angels in the worlds of *BYA*.

And those that impede this *Zivug* cause the stream (*Yesod* of *ZA*) to dry out and stop the flow of its male waters into the holy *Shechina*, *Malchut*. In doing so, they harm the holy covenant in all of its properties, for they delay the two parts of the *Zivug*: *VAK* (on *Ohr Hassadim*) and *GAR* (on *Ohr Hochma*).

This is because the *Mitzva* of procreation and multiplication constantly develops the soul. As a result, man defeats his body forever, so it can rise again during the resurrection from the dead. And he who abstains from procreating and multiplying turns his body into a corpse, of which it is written: GO FORTH AND LOOK UPON THE CORPSES OF THE PEOPLE, for his soul will not be able to enter the Creator's domain and merge with Him. Thus, he is rejected from the world to come.

The Seventh Commandment

223. The seventh *Mitzva* is to perform circumcision on the eighth day, and thus remove the impurity of the foreskin, for *Malchut* constitutes the eighth degree of all the degrees, beginning with *Bina*. And the soul that soars from her must appear before her on the eighth day; hence, she constitutes the eighth degree.

Nukva de ZA is called *Haya* if she rises and clothes *Ima-Bina*, the eighth degree from *Malchut* (provided that you count all ten *Sefirot* from below upwards). *Malchut* is hence called "the eighth," for she ascended eight degrees, from her own place to that of *Bina*. And when she reaches *Bina*, she receives the name *Haya*, just like *Bina*.

Therefore, man's soul, which is born in *Malchut* (that ascended to *Bina*), must appear before *Malchut* in all the appropriate corrections of circumcision, removal of the foreskin and the rolling up of its remains, on the eighth day from its birth in *Malchut*. This is because then it becomes clear that it is a soul that was born from none other than the holy degree of *Haya*.

Because of the force of circumcision and rolling up, man's soul sloughs the impure force, and the soul can receive the perfection of *Ohr Haya*. LET THE WATERS SWARM—thus *Malchut* receives the Supernal male waters from *ZON*, and is filled with them.

224. It then becomes clear that the type of this soul is *Haya*. That is, belonging to that holy degree of *Haya* (*Malchut*), and not to any other degree. And this is implied by, LET THE WATERS SWARM, as is explained in the book of Hanoch, the waters of the holy seed merge in the properties of the soul of *Haya*. And it is the property of the letter *Yod*, marked on the sacred flesh, more than any other mark that exists in the world.

Because of the circumcision, the Supernal male waters fill man's soul the way they were received in *Nukva* (called "the soul of *Haya*"). The Upper World,

called *Bina*, is designated by the letter *Yod*, and the lower world, *Malchut*, is designated by the letter *Hey*—its property. However, as *Malchut* ascends to *Bina*, the letter *Hey* disappears from her, and, just like *Bina*, turns into *Yod*.

Similarly, through man's observance of the *Mitzva* of spiritual circumcision, the letter *Hey* disappears, and just like in the *Nukva* that ascended to *Bina*, the property of the letter *Yod* appears in him instead. And if man's body acquires the property of *Yod*, he can receive the soul of *Haya* from *Nukva*.

225. The verse, LET BIRDS SOAR OVER THE EARTH, refers to Eliyahu, who flies across the whole world in four flights in order to be present in the place, where the Holy Covenant is made. And a chair must be prepared for him, and it must be said out loud, THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. For this is not done so, he will not appear in that place.

Angels originate from *AVI*; hence, they remain exclusively in the sky and consist of *HGT NHY*. Therefore, when they appear in this world to fulfill their tasks, they are said to make six flights, for they clothe in six *Sefirot*.

However, Eliyahu stems from *Malchut* (not from *AVI*). Hence, he is constantly connected to the earth. And since *Malchut* contains only four *Sefirot* of *ZA*, for her position is parallel to the *Sefirot TNHY* (*Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*, pronounced, Tanhi) from *Chazeh de ZA* downward, it is written that Eliyahu flies on four flights, i.e., by clothing in *Sefirot TNHY*.

Under no circumstances should one interpret the words about Eliyahu's presence at every rite of circumcision literally. Yet, if he is obliged to be there, why should he be invited?

The Zohar explains this in another place (*Shlach*, 18): there are four impure forces, called "Stormy Wind," "Great Cloud," "Blazing Flame," and *Noga*. The lowest of them, Stormy Wind, is at the center, as though clothed by Great Cloud, which is in turn clothed by Blazing Flame. And they are all clothed from the outside by *Noga*.

All the worlds, forces, and everything that was ever created exists within man. And these are our spiritual forces, by which we can attain the goal of creation. The first three impure forces are completely impure (egoistic). Whereas *Noga* is half good and half evil. But how is that possible if the spiritual is always true? How can it be half good (altruistic) and half evil (egoistic) at the same time?

In fact, this is impossible. *Noga* is a neutral force that can be used by the pure force (then *Noga* is considered good) or by the impure force (and then it is considered evil). Hence, *Noga* is called "half good and half evil" although

neutral in itself. It may be attached to either pure or impure forces, and this depends entirely on man.

MAN'S SPIRITUAL FORCES

Pure	-	altruistic
Noga	-	neutral
Blazing Flame	-	egoistic
Great Cloud	-	egoistic
Stormy Wind	-	egoistic

These four impure forces are located at the end of each spiritual *Partzuf*, in its *Sefira Yesod*. The *Sefira Yesod* has two layers of skin, one atop of the other. One layer is called *Orla*, and contains the three impure forces. The other is called *Preia*, and this is *Noga*.

The first man, Adam, was born circumcised, meaning that he did not have the three impure forces at all—he was completely unaware of his egoistic desires. In other words, they could not cling to him. *Noga* prevailed in him, in his sensations. Yet, since it was separated from the three impure forces and attached to the pure force (Adam's altruistic desires), *Noga* itself was considered completely good.

The three impure forces are collectively called the Serpent. These three impure desires were roused in Adam and tempted him to use them. In so doing, Adam attracted the *Orla* to himself, as it is described in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 38:2). As soon as he attached *Orla* to himself, his pure soul (the Light of the world of *Atzilut*) immediately disappeared, for his desires became egoistic, and he fell with his properties (desires) to the world of *Assiya*, to its lowest degree, called "this world," and was condemned to death (disappearance of the Supernal spiritual Light).

Therefore, it is written about him that since he violated the prohibition of not eating the fruits of the Tree of Knowledge, he attached the *Orla* to himself. Consequently, the impure desires acquired both layers of skin on the *Sefira Yesod* of *Partzuf* Adam, and *Preia*, called *Noga*, became impure, too, because of its contact with the *Orla*, with the three impure forces. However, there is a distinction between them, which lies in the fact that prior to Adam's sin, *Preia* was pure, and all of its impurity stems from its contact with the *Orla*.

Accordingly, there are two types of correction: circumcision and rolling up of the remaining skin. The *Orla* must be cut off and cast in the dust, since only thus can man free himself from these egoistic desires. *Preia*, however, can be left

attached to *Yesod*. But the skin around the *Sefira Yesod* must be rolled up. This is a special spiritual action that frees the *Preia* from the impure forces remaining in it. Hence, this action causes the Light to return to the *Partzuf*. This Light previously disappeared because of the egoistic desires that ruled in the *Partzuf* before the spiritual circumcision took place.

However, this is still insufficient for the fulfillment of the spiritual *Partzuf*, Adam, with the Light, as it was before he sinned, i.e. used the Serpent's impure forces and tasted the forbidden fruit from the Tree of Knowledge (received *Ohr Hochma* in egoistic desires). For now, after Adam's sin and fall, a special angel by the name of SAM makes accusations and complaints against man.

To neutralize the power of SAM, Eliyahu took upon himself his role of a prosecutor, and was thereby granted an opportunity to defend Israel (one who aspires to the Creator) when he circumcises himself (his egoistic desires).

Hence, it is said that Eliyahu must be present at each rite of circumcision (Hebrew, *Brit Mila*—the Covenant with the Creator). For since it is he, rather than SAM, who complains to the Creator about Israel's neglect of their Covenant, he can also testify that when Israel aspires to the Creator, it is loyal to the covenant. As a result, the Light returns to the *Partzuf*.

This is why, besides the chair occupied by the man who holds the baby (*Sandak*–godfather), one more chair must be prepared for the prophet Eliyahu. For the chair designates the beginning of correction, the influence of the Upper One on the lower one. The first chair, on which the *Sandak* sits, belongs to the Creator, for the filling of Light as the result of the circumcision and the rolling up of the impure forces. The second chair is saved for Eliyahu, so he can neutralize the impure forces' complaints to the Creator against man, so they would not be able to accuse man.

However, to make Eliyahu appear, one must say out loud: THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. The thing is that a male baby is circumcised on the eighth day after *Shabbat* (*Malchut* with the Light of *AVI*, called "holy") has passed over him. Since the sloughed desires (*Orla*) are cast away, the impure force sees that it is given a part of the Creator's Covenant. Because of this gift, it stops complaining and accusing man. On the contrary, it begins to advocate him before the Creator.

The spiritual desires (objects) pass their properties from one to another. Since the *Orla* was attached to *Yesod*, after the circumcision (separation from *Yesod*) it takes part of the pure desires with it. And since we throw it to the dust,

to the impure forces, they draw from it that weak Light, which they can receive from the circumcision and the rolling up.

This is why the impure forces stop complaining against Israel, and no longer wish to destroy this Light, for in so doing they will lose the part that they draw from it. Thus, they become defenders of the pure forces, to allow the pure forces to be filled with Light.

Yet, Eliyahu cannot bear this correction, for although the *Klipa* stops impeding and slandering Israel, it takes part of the Light for itself in return. To correct this, Eliyahu takes upon himself all the accusations against Israel, and refuses to give anything from the pure to the impure forces.

Thus, although the impure force stopped complaining against Israel, and actually became its defender, Eliyahu himself continues to accuse in order to wrest all the power from the impure forces and fully separate them from the pure. Hence, a chair must be prepared for Eliyahu, for it is he who fully separates the impure forces from the pure ones.

One must therefore verbalize the words: THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. For after the circumcision, part of the Light still remains in the impure forces, and the mention of Eliyahu completely deprives them of any contact with the Light.

Thus, if man does not express his desire to detach himself completely from the impure forces, through his own effort (by the screen positioned in *Peh*), it does not happen, even though the first chair belongs to the Creator. This is because the Creator starts the process of creation (makes His foundation in the form of a chair), and man continues and corrects his nature by performing altruistic deeds.

226. And the Creator created great Leviathans. They were two: *Orla* and *Preia*, male and female forces, and all living creatures. This is the mark of the Holy Covenant, the soul of the holy *Ohr Haya*, as it is written, LET THE WATERS SWARM, the Supernal Waters that descend to this Covenant.

Leviathan and his wife designate that which is opposite from *Orla* and *Preia*. They are also called *Nachash* (Serpent) and Alcaton (his wife). *Orla* is the Serpent, and *Nachash* is the male part that must be cut off and committed to dust. *Preia* is the correction, liberation from the Serpent's female part, Alcaton. Through these corrections, *Ohr Haya* of *AVI* descends from Above.

227. The reason why Israel below is marked in the holy form, similar to its form from Above, is to separate the pure part from the impure, to distinguish

between the holiness of Israel and the other nations that originate from the other side. And just as Israel was marked, so were the animals and birds—to determine which of them belong to Israel, and which belong to the nations of the world. Happy is the lot of Israel!

Man's attitude toward all the living creatures in our world is similar to the attitude of the general spiritual creation, called "man," toward his parts. This is because Adam includes absolutely everything within his spiritual body. And there is nothing except for this spiritual *Partzuf*, called "man" or "Adam."

All spiritual objects, angels, souls, both pure and impure forces are parts of Adam's body. All that is described in Kabbalah speaks only of the spiritual world, of one creature called "man," Adam. Adam's various parts, his various desires—are called "Israel," "nations of the world," "pure animals," "impure animals," and so forth.

All that man must do in our world (for every one of us was created in the image of Adam, recreating Adam's entire *Partzuf* within him) is build a pure, altruistic *Partzuf* within him. This is done by cutting off all of the egoistic desires in his heart, and separating the pure from the impure in all his desires, on all the levels of his soul.

The Eighth Commandment

228. The eighth *Mitzva* is to love an outsider from another nation, who desires to come under the wings of the *Shechina, Malchut*, who takes under her wings those who separate themselves from the other, impure side, and draw near her, as it is written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH A LIVING SOUL AFTER ITS KIND.

Malchut, *Nukva de ZA*, is called the *Shechina*, for she does not distance from us even when our properties are distant from her, as it is said: WHEREVER YOU ARE BANISHED, THE *SHECHINA* WILL BE WITH YOU, and ABIDES IN THEM, IN THEIR IMPURITY. *ZA* is called *Shochen* (dweller) and *Nukva* is called *Shechina*.

The revelation of the Creator in *Malchut*, of the *Shochen* in the *Shechina*, of *ZA* in *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* is possible only by a face-to-face *Zivug* of *ZON* in *Gadlut*. This is because the Light of this *Zivug* is so great that it reveals unity even in the most remote and concealed places, in the most opposite and uncorrected desires.

However, the creation of *Gadlut de ZON* occurs gradually: first, a *Partzuf* of *ZON* in *Katnut* is created with the Light of *VAK*, and only then does it grow to reach *Gadlut*. Moreover, this process takes place in each state of *ZON*. Furthermore, even as *ZON* in *Gadlut* make a *Zivug* and receive *Ohr Hochma*, the Light from their previous state of *Katnut* does not disappear, but facilitates a *Zivug* in *Gadlut*. And this Light of *Katnut* is called the "Wings of *Shechina*."

Hence, it is written in the Torah: "And the cherubim shall spread out their wings on High, screening the ark-cover with their wings" (*Shemot*, 25:20). For the main thing is to cover the Light of the great *Zivug* with their wings, so that even the most distant ones would receive the Light, and, at the same time, keep it out of the reach of the impure forces.

This is so because those who have yet to completely purify their egoistic desires are rejected by the Light for fear that the Light may fall to the impure forces. But now the wings guard the Light so vigilantly that even the closest ones will not err and let the Light through to the impure forces.

Therefore, an outsider is one who decides to join the people of Israel (to correct his egoistic desires and make them altruistic), and to be circumcised (reject his egoistic desires), for his body (collection of desires) still retains the properties of the *Orla*, as his ancestors (previous spiritual states) did not stand at the foot of Mount Sinai (did not receive the Light, called the Torah, and were not corrected by it), i.e., have not yet rid themselves of the serpent's impurity (have neither revealed all the impure egoistic desires within them nor recognized them as evil). Nevertheless, other altruistic desires have the power to elevate him to the level of Supernal purity.

This occurs through raising *MAN*, by evoking the great *Zivug* of *ZON* (where the Wings of *Shechina* rule and cover the Light of this *Zivug*). We can also elevate the outsider's soul (his yet uncorrected desires) to that level and sanctify it in the Light of this *Zivug*.

And although this soul is not yet completely pure, it can receive the Light from this *Zivug*, for the wings protect it and do not allow its Light through to the impure forces (desires), even though they are very close to it. And it is said, UNDER THE WINGS OF *SHECHINA*, for this soul can receive the Light only from the wings of *Malchut-Shechina*, i.e., receive only the small, outer Light of *Malchut*. This is not the Light in the body of *Malchut* (*Shechina*) herself, let alone that of *ZA* (the Creator, *Shochen*). Rather, it is merely the Light of the Wings of *Shechina*.

The outsider's soul (his egoistic desires) can be corrected (made altruistic) only during the great *Zivug*, for only then is the Light protected by the Wings of *Shechina*. Hence, we (altruistic desires) must first raise *MAN* for the great *Zivug*, and receive its Light in our souls (desires corrected by the screen). Then, the *Shechina* spreads her wings, protects this *Zivug*, and takes the outsider's soul under them. It follows that initially, we elevate the outsider's soul with the help of our *MAN*, and then the *Shechina* takes it under her wings.

229. One might say that the soul of *Haya* exists in Israel and is ready for anything. He specified, "After its kind," which refers to both Israel and to an outsider. Like chambers and passages between them, the same exists in the land called *Haya*, under the wings.

Here *The Zohar* tells us that although the new soul (the corrected properties called the "outsider") receives the Light, just like the properties called "Israel," Israel receives from the inner Light, whereas the outsider receives from the outer. It was already mentioned that wings designate the Light of *VAK*, received during the great *Zivug*, but from the previous state of *Katnut*, so as to cover the Light of the great *Zivug*.

This *VAK* includes *Sefirot HGT NHY*, where *HGT* are called "chambers," in which one can abide and sit (sitting means *Katnut* as opposed to standing, which is *Gadlut*). The *Sefirot NHY* are called "passages," entrances to the chambers, and it is impossible to sit there; their only role is to allow access to the chambers.

The reason for this lies in the property of *Tifferet*, the main *Sefira* in *HGT*. *Tifferet* is their middle line, a complete *Kli* for the reception of *Ohr Hassadim*. And the main *Sefira* in *NHY* is *Yesod*, which constitutes their middle line. It contains no property of the receiving *Kli*, and is used only for passing the Light onto *Malchut*, for the creation of the Returning Light. Hence, *NHY* are called "entrances."

As for the outsiders (to purify from egoistic desires) from the seventy nations of the world (seventy egoistic properties), the chambers in *HGT* of the wings, as well as the passages in *NHY* of the wings are prepared for them. They receive *Ohr Nefesh* from the passages (*NHY*) and *Ohr Ruach* from the chambers (*HGT*).

230. The right wing of *Malchut* has two passages, which are split from this wing in two so as to let in two nations that are close to Israel. And under the left wing there are two additional passages, called Amon and Moav. And they are all called the souls of *Haya*.

Previously, *The Zohar* mentioned that there are many entrances-passages, yet now it speaks of only two. This is because it speaks in general: there are two entrances for the nations belonging to the right line, and two entrances for the nations belonging to the left line. There are also two nations in all of the right line, which include all the nations of the right side, and there are two nations of the left line, which include all the nations of the left side.

The nations of the right side refer to the two general passages in the right wing. And *The Zohar* does not reveal what these nations are. And as for the nations of the left side, generally called "Amon and Moav," there are two passages in the left wing that are meant for them.

All the souls of the outsiders that come from all the nations are collectively called *Nefesh Haya*, for they can receive only from the great *Zivug* of *ZON* when

ZON are inside *AVI*. Thus, *Malchut* is called *Nefesh Haya*, for she receives *Ohr Haya* from *AVI*. And since the souls (*Nefashot*) of the outsiders receive from the wings of *Nefesh Haya*, they are named after the received Light.

231. Each wing contains a multitude of closed chambers and halls. From them, spirits emerge and are divided among all the outsiders, called *Nefesh Haya*, but each "after his kind." And they all come under the wings of the *Shechina*, but no further.

Each wing includes *VAK* (*HGT NHY*), called "passages" and "chambers." Each nation has its own chamber in *HGT* and its own passage in *NHY*. Each receives *Nefesh* in the passages and *Ruach* in the chambers. It is written that the chambers are closed, since *HGT de VAK* have only *Ohr Hassadim* without any *Ohr Hochma*; hence, they are called "closed."

232. However, the soul of Israel stems from the body of that tree (ZA), and from there the souls fly off to this land (*Malchut*). Therefore, Israel is the darling son of *Malchut*, and is sustained by her womb, and not by the wings that are on the outside of the body. Moreover, the outsiders have no part in the Holy Tree (ZA), especially not in its body. They refer only to the wings of *Malchut*, and no further. The outsider's place is under the wings of the *Shechina*, and no further. The righteous among the outsiders also refer to the outer side, and not to the inner. It is hence written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH A LIVING SOUL (*Nefesh Haya*) AFTER ITS KIND. All receive *Nefesh* from that *Haya*, but each according to its kind.

ZA is referred to as the "Tree of Life" and his *Nukva* is called the "Land of Life." For in the state of *Gadlut*, they both ascend and clothe *AVI*, who have *Ohr Haya* (the Light of Life). Therefore, it is said that the soul of Israel stems from the body of that tree, meaning from *ZA* himself.

And the souls from that tree fly off to the Land of Life: as a result of a *Zivug* between the tree (*ZA*) and the land (*Malchut*), *ZA* gives the souls of Israel into *Nukva*, and Israel receives these souls from her, as opposed to the outsiders, who receive their souls from the wings of *Malchut*, but not from *Malchut* herself, not from what *ZA* passed to *Malchut*.

The reason for this is that *Nukva* has three *Partzufim*, which clothe one another. They are called *Ibur* (embryo), *Yenika* (nursing), and *Mochin* (adulthood, *Gadlut*). The big (*Mochin*) *Partzuf* is the innermost of the three, and is clothed by *Partzuf Yenika*, which is in turn clothed by *Ibur*.

Israel receives from the innermost *Partzuf* (*Gadlut* of *Nukva*); hence, it is called the "darling son," for it stems from the inner part of *Malchut*, and not from her outer part (wings).

NHY de Malchut are called "womb," for it is the place where the souls of Israel are conceived and grown. However, this does not refer to the *NHY* of the two outer *Partzufim*, called *Ibur* and *Yenika*, as they are the wings of the *Shechina-Malchut*. Here *The Zohar* refers to the *NHY* of the *Partzuf* in *Gadlut*, the innermost *Partzuf* (the womb of *Malchut*).

This is what the words of the prophet refer to: "Is Ephraim a darling son unto Me? Is he a child that is dandled? For as often as I speak of him, I do earnestly remember him still; therefore, My heart yearns for him, I will surely have compassion upon him" (*Yirmiyahu*, 31:19). Because the souls of Israel stem from the inner part of *Malchut*, *The Zohar* says that they appeared from *Malchut*'s womb, from *NHY* of the *Partzuf* in *Gadlut*, and not from *NHY* of the two outer *Partzufim*, called "wings."

The outsiders (desires for correction) have no part in the Supernal Tree, especially not in its body. Their place is under the wings of the *Shechina*, and no further. The outsiders that come (to correct themselves) are called righteous, for the *Shechina* is also called the "righteous one." They come under her wings and unite within her. Yet, they have no place above the *Shechina*, and receive from *Nefesh Haya*, from a *Zivug* of *Malchut* with *ZA* in *Gadlut*. But they only receive the portion of the Light called "wings"; hence, they are said to be under the wings of the *Shechina*, where each receives according to his properties.

The Ninth Commandment

233. The ninth *Mitzva* is to show mercy to the needy and supply them with food, as it is written: LET US MAKE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS, and this man will consist of two parts, male and female. IN OUR IMAGE refers to the rich; AFTER OUR LIKENESS refers to the poor.

234. For from the male side, they are rich, but from the female side, they are poor. And as they are united together, merciful to each other, and help each other, so below should the rich and the poor be united as one, and should share with each other, and show mercy to one another.

235. We see this in the book of King Shlomo (Solomon): he who shows mercy to the poor with all his heart, his image never differs from that of Adam, the first man. And since he was created in the image of Adam, he therefore governs all the creatures on earth by his image, as it is written: "And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth" (*Beresheet*, 9:2), all fear that image, existing in him. For this *Mitzva*, to show mercy to the poor, is the most important of all the *Mitzvot* for elevating man to the image of Adam.

236. How do we know this? From Nebuchadnezzar. Even though he dreamt a dream, as long as he had mercy upon the poor, that dream did not come true. However, as soon as he started looking badly upon the poor, his image changed at once, and he distanced from people. Hence, it is written, LET US MAKE MAN. It is said in the form as it was said of charity in another verse. Therefore, MAKE—is the same as charity.

The rich and the poor correspond to the male and the female principles, to ZA and his *Nukva*. However, there is nothing here that hints at the obligation of the rich to be merciful to the poor and provide for his needs. But this instruction differs from the rest in that in all the others, the Creator's command is separated

from the action that follows it, as it is written, AND THE CREATOR SAID: 'LET THERE BE LIGHT. AND THERE WAS LIGHT;' and also, AND THE CREATOR SAID: 'LET THE WATERS BE GATHERED…' AND IT WAS SO; and so on in all the *Mitzvot*.

And none of the other *Mitzvot* contain the Creator's instruction mixed with action. This is so because the entire creation originated from *AVI*, where *Aba* spoke and *Ima* acted—*Aba* gave the Light to *Ima*, and after he gave it to her, he started acting on it himself. For only with the property of *Aba* could creation not have manifested in action, as there are no boundaries in creation, in which actions could be revealed.

Hence, *Aba* issues a command that designates the passage of Light from him to *Ima*. However, since this is merely a command, and not an action (like a force instead of an action), the future tense is used. The same language is used in the description of man's creation: AND THE CREATOR SAID, "LET US CREATE MAN." Note that the plural form is used: LET US CREATE.

Before the creation of the world of *Atzilut* (called the world of correction), an action known as *Shevirat HaKelim* (the breaking of the vessels in the world of *Nekudim*) took place in the spiritual worlds. It is written: "The Creator kept creating and destroying worlds, until He created this world (*Atzilut*), and He told it to stop spreading below the boundaries in which it was created" (*Beresheet Raba*, 3:7).

The breaking of the vessels was essential, for it was the only opportunity to mix the egoistic properties (desires) with the altruistic ones; after all, distance in the spiritual is determined by the disparity of properties (desires). And that is why egoism and altruism are infinitely remote from each other. Yet, if this is so, how can egoism possibly be corrected? How can such properties or even notions of the existence of altruistic desires be introduced to man?

So then, to allow egoistic desires to be corrected, the Creator performed the breaking of the vessels—the striking impact between opposite desires, egoistic and altruistic. It is called "striking," for it is impossible to unite these desires by any means other than an "explosion."

As a result of this explosion, the altruistic, pure *Kelim* (desires) penetrated the egoistic, impure ones, and gave man an opportunity for free will and self-correction. After the destruction of the pure *Kli* and the descent of its parts into impurity, the world of *Atzilut* was formed.

Out of all the mixed desires, the world of *Atzilut* selected only altruistic ones, attached them to itself, corrected them and filled them with Light. Out

of these corrected parts, it made the worlds *BYA* with everything that exists within them.

These corrections of the broken and mixed *Kelim* by the world of *Atzilut* are depicted in the first chapter of the Torah, which speaks of creation. It uses the instructions of exposing and separating the egoistic *Kelim* from the altruistic ones, as, for instance, in the following verses: AND THE CREATOR DIVIDED LIGHT FROM DARKNESS; THE CREATOR DIVIDED WATERS FROM DRY LAND; THE CREATOR DIVIDED DAY FROM NIGHT, and so forth. All these examples speak of the separation of the pure forces from the impure ones, of good from evil. And all that diverged became part of the pure system.

Therefore, the entire act of creation is contained in the depiction of the first day of creation, in the words, LET THERE BE LIGHT, as this is when Light was separated from darkness. This is because, on the whole, purity is called "Light" and impurity is called "darkness." And all the other definitions of purity and impurity are only particular names designating their various manifestations.

The world of *Atzilut* made only a partial correction: it only separated altruistic desires from egoistic desires, Light from darkness, and thus created the system of creation, described in the beginning of the Torah. However, this does not complete the correction, as darkness and impurity are simply detached from participating in creation, but remain utterly uncorrected. They are simply separated as an entirely unnecessary part, and this completely defies the perfection of the Creator, who created everything (including darkness) for His final goal. Moreover, correction ends specifically with the correction of darkness, as it is said: "Night shines as day; darkness as Light." (*Tehilim*, 139:12).

To correct this, man was created containing everything, and consisting of all the properties of creation: from the absolute goodness to total evil. This enables man to execute the correction and achieve complete perfection. In other words, he must turn evil to good, bitter to sweet, and darkness to Light. As a result, death will disappear forever, and the Creator will manifest as the King of all creation.

Hence, there is a great difference between the description of man's creation and that of all the other creatures and parts of creation. Here, the action itself was mixed with the instructions, for the instructions, descriptions come from *Ima*, not from *Aba*, who said, LET US CREATE MAN—together with *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

The reason for this is that *Malchut* includes everything, for she also gives the Light of sustenance to the impure forces to keep them from disappearing from

the world, as, like all the other elements of creation, the impure forces cannot exist without Light, and immediately disappear. It is written in this regard: HER FEET DESCEND TO DEATH, for the impure forces receive a tiny spark of Light to sustain their existence.

This is why *Malchut* is called *Assiya* (action), for she spreads and rules in the whole of creation. She is also called "darkness," for she shines with a spark of Light, to sustain the darkness and evil.

Hence, when *Ima* unites with *Malchut* and their properties mix, she receives the properties of darkness, of which it is said: LET US CREATE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS, for Light is called "image," and darkness is called "likeness." Indeed, after *Ima* mixes with *Malchut*, these two forces, IMAGE and LIKENESS, appear in her as well. As a result, man, who was created by her, contains these two forces—IMAGE and LIKENESS, too.

From the phrase, LET US MAKE, it follows that *Ima* consists of two parts, male and female. Although *Ima* is a male part (giving is a male property), she is connected to *Malchut*. Besides, the male property suggests the presence of Light, while the property of *Nukva* (the female part) is poverty and darkness.

And since *Ima* accepted *Malchut* as her partner with the purpose of creating man (accepted the properties of *Malchut*), she is now filled with poverty and darkness. It follows that man consists of the properties of *Ima* (wealth and Light), as well as of the properties of *Malchut* (poverty and darkness).

And it is this precise combination of the properties of *Ima* and *Malchut* that enables man to correct *Malchut*, fill her with Light, and spread spiritual purity and holiness throughout the entire earth (*Malchut*). It is written that at the end of correction, "the Creator and His Name shall be one," for the darkness in *Malchut* will be transformed into Light, as in the male part, *HaVaYaH*. Everything will be as one in the male property, as it is said, "There will be no poor in your nation."

This *Mitzva* says that as *Ima* united with *Malchut* so as to correct her, which is why *Ima* includes Image and Likeness, man needs to correct his qualities in order to correct the parts of darkness within him. To this end, he must diminish his properties, just like *Ima*, and give his part (charity) to the poor *Malchut*, who is deprived of Light. He must show mercy to the LIKENESS (poverty) within him, and provide it with everything it needs.

By observing this *Mitzva*, man receives IMAGE and LIKENESS from *Ima*, the Upper Light that was received by Adam, created in IMAGE and LIKENESS. This is why he has the power to rule over all the animals in the world (all of his

animal desires) to such an extent that no impure force (desire) remains within him, which he cannot defeat and correct.

The Zohar gives the example of Navuchadnetzar (Nebuchadnezzar): although the Supreme verdict with regard to him was reached, his dream did not come true as long as he was merciful to the poor. However, as soon as he allowed his evil eye to look badly upon the poor, the sentence was immediately executed, and his image changed (those who are interested can turn to *The Book of Daniel*). Thus we see that this *Mitzva* is greater than all the others, and that it can overrule the Supreme verdict made against man.

"Charity" signifies the union of *Bina* and *Malchut*. Similarly, the story about the marriage of Rut (Ruth) the Moavite, King David's grandmother (*Malchut*), and Boaz, who was merciful to her (this marriage started Israel's Royal Dynasty), describes the correction of *Malchut* by *Bina* (See *Megilat Rut—The Book of Ruth*).

The Tenth Commandment

237. The tenth *Mitzva* obliges man to put on *Tefillin* and to attain the Supernal properties, as it is written, THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE. He opened and said, "Your head upon you is like the Carmel." This text refers to the Supernal head—the *Tefillin* worn on the head of the Holy, Supernal King *HaVaYaH*, written in separate letters. Each letter in the holy name *HaVaYaH* corresponds to a certain paragraph in the *Tefillin*. Thus, the Holy, Supernal Name is written in the scrolls of *Tefillin*, in the secrets of the letters. For THE NAME OF THE CREATOR IS UPON YOU, AND THEY SHALL BE AFRAID OF YOU refers to the head *Tefillin*, which contains the Holy Name *HaVaYaH*.

By being merciful to the poor, one merely begins to receive the Creator's Supernal image. *Bina* absorbs the properties of *Malchut*, described by the verse, LET US CREATE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS. By unifying *Bina*'s properties with those of *Malchut*, *AHP de Bina* (the letters *ELEH*) fell to *ZON*, and only the letters *MI* (*GE*) remained in *Ima*. *AHP de Bina* that fell to *ZON* consist of *Aba* and *Ima*: *Aba* assumes the properties of *ZA*, and *Ima* assumes the properties of *Nukva*.

Since *AVI* descended to the place of *ZON*, they became like *ZON*. And from them *ZON* receive the state of *Katnut*, called *TZELEM Elokim*, likeness to *Bina* (*VAK*), for *Ima* lost the *GAR* of her own state, that is, since her *AHP* fell to *ZON*, she lost the Light of *GAR* (see diagram on next page).

Therefore, only the letters *MI* = *GE* = *K-H* remained in *Ima*, whereas her *B-ZA-M* = *AHP* = *ELEH* fell to *ZON*. Thus, of the five Lights *NRNHY* that were inside *Ima*, she retained only *Ohr Ruach* in *Keter* and *Ohr Nefesh* in *Hochma*. Thus, *Ima* can only give *ZON* the Light of *VAK* = *Ruach* + *Nefesh*, but not the Light of *GAR* = *NRNHY*. Also, *ZON* are considered to have acquired likeness to

the Upper One only upon receiving the Lights *NRNHY*. And this is achieved by the fulfillment of the *Mitzva* of *Tefillin*.

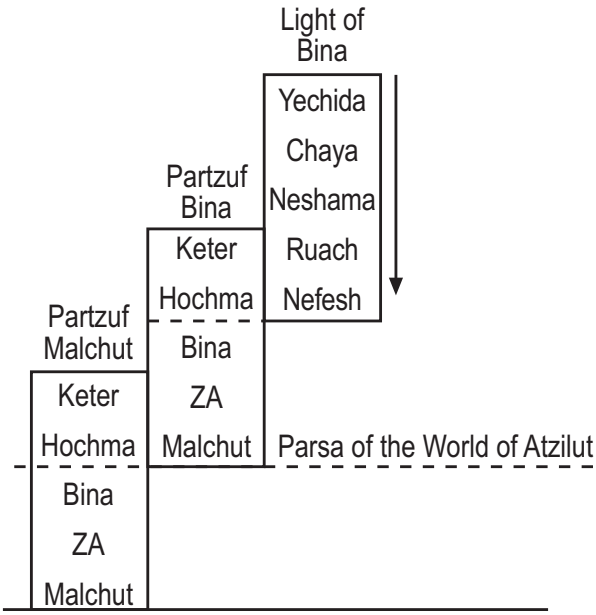

Yet, a question arises: we have already learned that to create the *Partzuf* of lower man out of *ZON*, *ZON* must ascend to *AVI* and receive the Light of *GAR*, for a small *Partzuf* without *Ohr Hochma* cannot beget. So why is it said that *Ima* is in a state of *Katnut*?

When *ZON* attain reception of the Light of *AVI*, they thereby ascend to *AVI* and become similar to *AVI* in their properties, for each lower one that ascends to the Upper One becomes like it. Indeed, only the magnitude of the screen distinguishes between spiritual objects, as only the magnitude of the screen determines all of the object's properties.

Thus, upon ascending and clothing *AVI*, *ZON* become like *AVI*, and all the properties of *AVI* are now naturally adopted by *ZON*. Just as *AVI* create *ZON*, *ZON* in *AVI* beget and pass the Light into the *Partzuf* of lower man. Hence, there is no need to even change names, for everything occurs at the degree of *AVI*. And upon ascending there, *ZON* are already called *AVI*, and the Light that they pass to man is regarded as the Light intended for *ZON*.

It is written: THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE. The Hebrew word "image" that is used in the Torah is *TzeLeM*, and is formed by three letters: *Tzadi-Lamed-Mem*. In item 2, we said that there are no *Kelim* for *Ohr*

Haya and *Yechida*; rather, there are only *Kelim Bina-ZA-Malchut* for the Lights *NRN*: *Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama*.

So even when we say that there is a *Kli* called *Keter*, we imply that the count starts with *Bina de Keter*, not with *Keter de Keter*. *Bina* and *ZON*, the *Kelim* that remained in the *Partzuf*, are divided into three lines: the line of *Bina—HBD*, the line of *ZA—HGT*, and the line of *Malchut—NHYM*. This is characteristic of *Ohr Hassadim*.

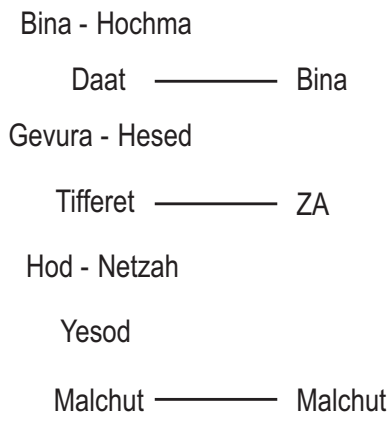

However, when *Ohr Hochma* is transferred, *Partzuf Bina* divides into two *Partzufim*: *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. These constitute *HBD* = three and *HGT* = three. Along with *ZAT* = seven *Sefirot*, from *Hesed* to *Malchut*, and form the *Gematria* of thirteen (3 + 3 + 7) of the word *Echad*, which alludes to the complete name, state, and attainment.

The thing is that *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* are concealed in *AA*, and only its *Sefira Bina* sends her Light down. This *Sefira Bina de AA* is divided into two *Partzufim*, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*: her *GAR* shines in *AVI* and her *ZAT* shines in *YESHSUT*. These two parts of *Bina* are called *M* (*Mem*) and *L* (*Lamed*) of the word *TzeLeM*:

1. *AVI* are called *M* of the word *TzeLeM*, as they form a closed ring guarding *Ohr Hochma*, preventing it from reaching the other, lower *Partzufim*. This *Ohr Hochma* is referred to as "concealed" (from all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*), and only *Ohr Hassadim*, *Ohr Ruach*, descends from them to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* during the 6,000 years until the end of correction.
2. *YESHSUT* is called *L* of the word *TzeLeM*, as it bows its head (*GAR*) and resembles a tower. It is written about this tower: "The Tower of Oz (strength) of the Creator's name." This is because *YESHSUT* is

called a "tower," and *ZA* is known as the "righteous one." After all, *YESHSUT* is *ZAT de Bina*, the properties of *ZON* that are included in *Bina*; hence, it passes its *Ohr Hochma* to *ZON*.

If *ZON* in *Katnut* are filled with *Ohr Hassadim* (*Ruach* called *Avir*—air), then during the reception of *Ohr Hochma* from *YESHSUT*, the letter *Yod* in the word *Avir* exits, and *Avir* turns into *Ohr* (Light). Hence, *YESHSUT* is called a "tower," i.e., a *Partzuf* in *Gadlut* that contains *Hochma*, soaring in the air (*Avir*).

However, this state in *ZON* is inconstant. *YESHSUT* intermittently returns to *Katnut* and to *Gadlut*; therefore, such a state is called "soaring." *ZA* is called *Tz* (*Tzadi*) of the word *TzeLeM*, for such is his property inside this tower. Thus:

- *AVI*—M (*Mem*)—*Hochma* that is concealed inside a ring.
- *YESHSUT*—*L* (*Lamed*)—*Bina*, though as she ascends to *AA*, she becomes *Hochma* (tower) and passes *Ohr Hochma* down.
- *ZON*—*Tz* (*Tzadi*)—*Daat*, receives the Light from *YESHSUT*.

However, one should not confuse the three letters *Tz-L-M* with the three lines called *HBD*: *TzeLeM* consists of three *Partzufim*, one inside the other. *Partzuf Hochma* (M of the *TzeLeM*, *AVI*) is the innermost *Partzuf*; *Partzuf Bina* (*YESHSUT*, *L* of the *TzeLeM*) clothes it from *Chazeh de AVI* downward; and from *Chazeh de YESHSUT* downwards, *Partzuf Bina* is clothed by *Partzuf Daat*, *ZA*, *Tz of* the word *TzeLeM*.

The words, THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE (*TzeLeM*), mean that with the help of the spiritual observance of the *Mitzva* of *Tefillin*, *Ohr Hochma* is received in accordance with the ascending order of the letters *Tz-L-M*. This is the Light that Adam received after his creation, whereas we first stimulate the reception of this Light in *ZON*, and from *ZON* we stimulate its reception into ourselves.

THE HEAD *TEFILLIN* CONTAINS THE NAME OF THE HOLY KING, INSCRIBED IN THE LETTERS *HaVaYaH*—the head *Tefillin* is the name of the Supernal King, inscribed in the letters *HaVaYaH*. The *Tefillin* are called the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—all goodness), as it is written: YOUR HEAD UPON YOU IS LIKE THE CARMEL. This is because when the heads of *ZA* and *Malchut* put on the head *Tefillin* (the Upper Light of *TzeLeM*), they become like the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—all goodness).

This Light is called "The name of the Supernal, Holy King," the four letters of *HaVaYaH*, where each letter is written separately: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*. And the reason why man feels that the letters are written separately is that each

Partzuf contains the four letters of *HaVaYaH*, and each of them designates an independent *Partzuf*.

Every letter constitutes a separate passage on the parchment (in the *Tefillin*); four separate passages correspond to the four letters of *HaVaYaH*. A passage (Hebrew—*Parashah*) represents a separate and complete *Partzuf*, and its corresponding letter in *HaVaYaH* symbolizes the Light in this *Partzuf*. The order of *Partzufim* corresponds to the order of the letters of *HaVaYaH*: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*. Such a *Tefillin* is called the *Tefillin* of *Rashi*.

However, there is a *Tefillin* with the order of passages (*Partzufim*) *Yod-Hey-Hey-Vav*, called *Tefillin Rabeinu Tam*. The passages that are written on fragments of parchment are identical, but the order of putting them into the boxes of *Tefillin Rabeinu Tam* is different: *Yod-Hey-Hey-Vav*.

238. The first passage in the *Tefillin* corresponds to the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH* (*Hochma*) and refers to the *Mitzva*, "Sanctify to Me all the firstborn." This is because *Hochma* is the firstborn of all the Supernal Ones. It opens the place of conception for the future firstborn with the help of a thin line of Light that emanates from *Yod*, which opens the womb and impregnates it.

AVI are designated by the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*, where *Yod* signifies *Aba* and the filling of *Yod* (according to its pronunciation: *Yod* = *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet*), i.e., *Vav* + *Dalet* constitutes *Ima*. *Partzuf AVI* is called "holy" and "first born," for *Partzufim YESHSUT* and *ZON* are called holy only when they receive holiness (*Ohr Hochma*) from *AVI*. All the holiness in the world of *Atzilut* comes from *AVI*.

This is so because *Ohr Hochma* is called "holiness" and *AVI* is *Mem* of the word *TzeLeM* (*Hochma de Atzilut*), for the Supernal *Hochma* of the world of *Atzilut* is concealed within them. *AVI* themselves are defined as *Bina* in the property of *Hassadim*, as *Hochma* is concealed within *Rosh de AA*, and the lower ones can receive it only if *Bina* ascends to *Hochma*, to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* unites with *Hochma* of *Rosh de AA* and assumes the name *Hochma*. However, she is not the ordinary *Hochma*; she is called "*Hochma* of the thirty-two paths" of descending *Ohr Hochma*, and only this *Hochma* bestows *Ohr Hochma* upon all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*.

This is why *The Zohar* says that this thin ray of Light, called the "path of Light," opens the womb and conceives the future offspring. *Yod* consists of three parts: (i) the upper "spike" of the letter *Yod*, a small line above the point, which is called *Rosh* and designates *Partzuf AA* that is concealed in *AVI*; (ii) the body of

the *Yod*, which forms *Partzuf AVI*; and (iii) the lower "spike" of the letter, which designates *Yesod*, the end of *Partzuf AVI*.

Through the continuous *Zivug* between *Yesod de Aba* and *Yesod de Ima*, the great waters descend onto all the lower worlds with all that inhabits them. This *Zivug* on *Ohr Hassadim* is called a "*Zivug* that revives the worlds." *Yesod de Ima* is also called *Rechem* (womb), for all *Rachamim* (mercy) stems from this part of Its *Partzuf*. Yet, if *AVI* do not make a *Zivug*, this part of *Ima* is closed, and mercy does not descend below. Only *Yesod de Aba* can open *Yesod de Ima*, whereupon *Ima* passes her great waters to the lower ones.

239. The second passage in the *Tefillin*, WHEN YOU COME, corresponds to the first letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, the hall (*Bina*) that opens up under the influence of the letter *Yod* (*Aba*) in fifty entrances, passages, and chambers concealed within it. The revelation that *Yod* made in that hall was done so as to hear the voice of the *Shofar* (a ram's horn), *Bina*. The *Shofar* is closed on all sides, but the letter *Yod* came and opened it so that its sound could be heard. And since it opened the *Shofar* and derived sound from it, *Yod* led all to freedom.

The letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH* is *YESHSUT*, *L* in the word *TzeLeM*. It is called a "tower soaring in the air," a hall with fifty entrances, for the concealed *AVI* are designated by the *M* of *TzeLeM*, by the ring that surrounds *Ohr Hochma* and prevents it from shining outside. And they shine only with *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, by rising to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* turns into *Hochma*, *YESHSUT* can pass *Ohr Hochma* to *ZON*. *Bina*, who turns into *Hochma* in order to receive *Hochma* for *ZON*, is called the "fifty gates of *Bina*," for she consists of five *Sefirot KHB-ZA-M*, ten in each. Each of these fifty *Sefirot* consists of a chamber and an entrance: *HGT* are called a "chamber" and *NHY* are called an "entrance," a "passage," implying the absence of a *Kli* for reception. Instead, it serves for transferring the Light into, or out of the chamber.

Therefore, the second passage used in the *Tefillin*: AND WHEN YOU COME designates the letter *Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH*, *YESHSUT* of the world of *Atzilut*, which ascends to accept *Ohr Hochma* and pass it on to *ZON* below.

Yod opened this hall so as to hear the voice that comes from the ram's horn, for this horn is closed on all sides. As was already mentioned, *YESHSUT* (*Bina*) united with *Malchut* by lowering her three *Sefirot ELEH* (*Bina* and *ZON*) to *ZON*, while *YESHSUT* remained with only two *Sefirot K-H*, *MI*.

Then, as a result of raising *MAN*, *Malchut* descends from the *Eynaim* (eyes), the *Eynaim* of *YESHSUT* open up, *Malchut* descends to her own place in the *Peh*, and

the three letters *ELEH* reunite with *MI* to form the name *ELOKIM*. *GE = KH de ZON* ascend to *Bina* along with these *ELEH*. However, although *ELEH* ascended and joined *MI*, the name *ELOKIM* is still considered closed, for it has only *Ohr Hochma*, and *Ohr Hochma* cannot shine in *ELEH* without *Ohr Hassadim*.

These three letters *ELEH* are therefore defined as a horn (*Shofar*), and *ZON* that ascended to *Bina* along with *ELEH* are concealed within them. And these *ZON* in *ELEH* are referred to as a "voice." This voice sounds in the hall with the help of the letter *Yod*, for *Yod* designates *AVI* that bestow the Light from Above, which facilitates the lowering of *Malchut* from *Nikvey Eynaim de YESHSUT* to her place in the *Peh*, and raising *ELEH* back to *Bina*. Hence, *Yod* opens up the hall of Light in *YESHSUT* in order to pass this Light to *ZON* from the *Shofar* (the ascended letters *ELEH*).

ZON, too, ascend to *Bina* along with *ELEH* and there receive *Hochma*. This great Light in *ZA* is called a "voice," and its reception is known as "listening to the voice." However, this horn is closed on all sides, on the sides of *Hochma* and *Hassadim*, for the letters *ELEH* (called a "horn") fall to *ZON*, where they remain closed and inaccessible both to *Ohr Hochma* and to *Ohr Hassadim*.

Consequently, two corrections are needed: (i) to elevate and unite them with *Bina*, enabling them to once more attain their *Ohr Hochma*; (ii) to provide them with *Ohr Hassadim* so it can serve as a garment for *Ohr Hochma*.

First, *Yod* (*AVI*) pass the Light to *Hey* (*YESHSUT*), whereupon *ELEH* rise above *Malchut*, to *Bina*, together with *ZON*, and there receive *Ohr Hochma*. However, this *Ohr Hochma* is called concealed or closed, for it cannot shine without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. This means that the voice has not yet emerged—*ZA* has not yet been born.

After that, *Yod* enters into the word Light = *Ohr*; hence, it turns into *Avir* = air (*Ohr Hassadim*). And since the horn (the letters *ELEH*) received air (*Ohr Hassadim*), they can beget *ZA* (the voice of the *Shofar*), for being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *Ohr Hochma* can enter *ZA*.

The general Light that *ZA* receives is called "voice." And this voice frees all the slaves that were enslaved by the egoistic desires in all the worlds, for *ZA* shines down on all the lower ones. Thus, the sons of Israel (man's spiritual aspirations) merit the Light of deliverance (defeat the earthly, egoistic ones).

240. At the sounds of the *Shofar*, the sons of Israel were delivered from Egypt. And so shall the *Shofar* be blown in the future, the next time at the end of days. And all deliverance originates from this *Shofar*, which is *Bina*. This is why the deliverance from Egypt is mentioned in this chapter of the Torah, for

this *Shofar* stems from the force of the letter *Yod*, which opens the womb and delivers the captives to freedom. And this is the letter *Hey*, the second letter of the name *HaVaYaH*.

All of the Light in *ZON* comes from the horn (*ELEH*), including the great Light that delivers Israel from Egypt, and the Light that is destined to be revealed in the future, at the end of days (complete deliverance from egoism). This is why the *Tefillin* contain a passage that refers to the exodus from Egypt, for the Light delivering from Egypt comes from the horn, which is inside *YESHSUT*. This is done by the power of *AVI*, called *Yod de HaVaYaH*, which open the womb of *YESHSUT* (*ELEH*) and free the voice (*ZA*) from its captivity.

This Light has sufficient power to deliver Israel from slavery. Only after the attainment of this Light (*Ohr Haya*), and not a degree lower, can *ZA* and *Nukva* be called "voice" and "speech." All deliverance comes only from *Ohr Haya* (only upon ascending the spiritual degree of *Ohr Haya* can man liberate himself from egoism and become free).

241. The third passage in the *Tefillin* is the secret of the Unity in "Hear O Israel," the letter *Vav* in *HaVaYaH*, which includes all and designates *ZA*, who contains the unity of all. Everything merges in unity within him, and he receives all. The fourth passage that reads, "You shall hear," includes two sides, *Hesed* and *Gevura*, which unite with the Assembly of Israel, called the lower *Gevura* or *Malchut*. And this is the last letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, which takes and includes them all.

The third passage in the *Tefillin* (Hear O Israel) is *Partzuf ZA*, the letter *Vav* in *HaVaYaH*, which includes all four passages contained in the *Tefillin*. Although the first two passages (*AVI* and *YESHSUT*) represent *Hochma* and *Bina*, they do not really constitute *Hochma* and *Bina* themselves, but rather, their part, which clothes in *Rosh de ZON*, called *M* and *L* of *TZeLeM de ZA*.

Similarly, the fourth passage, *Malchut* of *ZA*, does not imply that this is *Malchut* herself. Rather, it refers to her part that is included in *ZA* and is called *Mochin* (brain) *de Gevura*. There are three parts of *Mochin* in *ZA*: *Hochma*, *Bina*, and *Daat*, which are accordingly called *M*, *L* and *Tz* of *TzeLeM de ZA*. They are the same *H-B-ZA-M* as in *Mochin de ZA*. This is because *Daat* (*Tz*) includes *Hesed and Gevura*. And this *Hesed* in *Daat* is defined as *ZA* himself, and *Gevura* is defined as the inclusion (of the properties) of *Nukva* in *ZA*. And these *H-B-ZA-M* constitute the four passages contained in the *Tefillin*.

This is why *ZA*, the letter *Vav* in the name *HaVaYaH*, includes all four passages. And all the unions that come from *AVI* and *YESHSUT* are done within

him, i.e., for his sake. For all the Higher *Partzufim* that precede ZA are united (with the Creator), and need no *MAN* from the lower ones to reach the state of unity. Whereas all the *MAN* raised by the lower ones to the Upper *Partzufim* are meant solely for the unification of ZA, and in no way affect the constant unity of the Higher *Partzufim* with the Creator.

The unification of *Hochma* with *Bina*, as a result of which *Bina* becomes like *Hochma*, occurs only on account of ZA being raised to *Bina* in the form of *MAN*. For when ZA is raised to *Bina* as *MAN*, *Bina* ascends to *Rosh de* AA and there receives *Hochma* for ZA. Since *Bina* aspires only to mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), she never receives *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake, but only if the lower ones are in need of it. Her role, her properties are only to bestow, and not to receive. (Note that in the spiritual, "reception" is always for the Creator's sake.)

Hence, *Bina* ascends to *Rosh de* AA only for the sake of ZON. And it is ZA alone that ascends to *Bina* and stimulates her to ascend to *Rosh de* AA, where she makes a *Zivug* with *Hochma* and passes this Light to him. It is therefore said that ZA receives all, as *Bina* passes everything that she receives in *Rosh de* AA to him. And *Ohr Hochma* is revealed only in the place of ZA (not *Bina*), as he descends back to his place below *Chazeh de* ZA.

The prayer "Hear O Israel" designates ZA, the letter *Vav* of the name *HaVaYaH*, the Supernal unity (item 207) that reveals love only from the good side. And since it refers only to "Love your Creator…," it contains no restrictions or strictness of judgment.

However, in the fourth passage, "You shall hear," the last *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, *Nukva de* ZA that is included in him, *Gevura* in *Rosh de* ZA, reveals both sides of love—good, as well as evil (item 206), reflected in the words of this passage. It ends with the words: "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever," which corresponds to the inclusion and unity of *Nukva* in ZA, meaning not *Nukva* herself, but her part in ZA, i.e., *Mochin de Daat*.

Gevura in *Daat* is the second *Hey* in *HaVaYaH*. It accepts all the Light of the Supernal unity contained in "Hear O Israel," and includes all. And since it contains all the perfection of unity, it reveals all the Light and both sides of love, for the property of judgment that complements love to perfection exists only within it, and not Above.

It is therefore written: "Your head upon you is like the Carmel," designating the head *Tefillin*. Indeed, after ZA is clothed in all four Lights, designated by the four paragraphs of the *Tefillin*, which are the three letters *Tz*, *L*, and *M* of

the word *TzeLeM*, his head is defined as the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—completely filled with goodness).

242. *Tefillin* are the letters of the holy name. Therefore, "Your head upon you is like the Carmel" refers to the head *Tefillin*. The letter *Dalet* refers to the hand *Tefillin*, *Malchut*, who is depleted of Light, compared to the head *Tefillin*, ZA, but she contains the perfection of the Upper One.

The hand *Tefillin* designates *Malchut*. And she is poor in comparison with *Bina*, the Upper World. Yet, she has her own perfection, for she now receives it from *Bina* thanks to the unity between *Nukva* and ZA in "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever."

And since she is not the *Nukva* that is included in ZA (his body), but a separate *Nukva* of ZA, she takes all four passages from him, *H-B-ZA-M* of ZA, for she has a separate, complete *Partzuf*. However, these four passages of the Torah are in the same place; they are not separated from each other by partitions, as in the *Tefillin* of ZA.

The reason for this is that a passage of the Torah is the Light, and the place where it dwells is a *Kli* (the *Tefillin* in our world is a box made of a "pure" animal's skin, into which four parchment scrolls are placed, and the corresponding passages from the Torah are written on each). As we know, every *Zivug* emanates Light. Since ZA receives four Lights *H-B-H-G* in four *Kelim*, as a result of four *Zivugim*, he contains four compartments for four passages, each compartment containing a particular passage from the Torah.

However, no *Zivug* is made on *Malchut* herself. Everything that *Malchut* has, she receives from ZA. *Malchut* receives all four Lights (four passages from the Torah that result from one *Zivug* with ZA); hence, she has only one place for all four passages (Lights).

243. "The King is held captive in the tubs" means that he is tied down and held in those four compartments of the *Tefillin* for the purpose of being properly united with that holy name. And he who makes this correction, exists in image and likeness, *TZELEM*, with the Creator. Just as the holy name is united in the Creator, the holy name is united in him. "Male and female he created them" refers to the head and the hand *Tefillin*. And it is one.

"The King is held captive in the tubs" signifies ZA, who is bound and unified in those compartments of the *Tefillin*. The compartments of the *Tefillin*, which contain the passages from the Torah, are called "tubs" or "troughs," just like the tubs from which sheep drink water, for the waters of *Ohr Hochma* and

Ohr Hassadim are bound and restricted by these *Kelim*, the compartments of the *Tefillin*. And it is the Creator who is bound tight and held in these *Kelim*, so as to be unified in the holy name.

The compartments of the *Tefillin* are the *TNHY* of *Tvuna*, the lower part of *YESHSUT* (*Israel-Saba* and *Tvuna*, where *Israel-Saba* is the male part and *Tvuna* is the female). This part of *Tvuna* is called the big letter *Dalet* of the word *Echad* (one) in the verse, "Hear O Israel, our Creator is one." It is written about this letter: "Let the dry land appear."

As was already mentioned in the third *Mitzva*, because this "dry land" was revealed in ZA, he can pass the Light to *Malchut*. Thus, were it not for these four places in ZA, the dry land within him, he would have been unable to give the Light to *Nukva*. Hence, it is said that ZA "is tied down and held in those places" that stem from dry land so as to enable him to unite and pass the revelation of the Creator's Light into the holy name, *Nukva*. As a result, the dry land becomes fertile and produces fruit.

Therefore, he who has completed the corrections of these four passages from the Torah acquires the image and likeness (*TzeLeM*) of the Creator. In other words, when man "below" (below the world of *Atzilut*, in the worlds *BYA*) "puts on" the *Tefillin* (attains the level of this degree), he receives the Light of *H-B-H-G* from ZA. This Light is called *TzeLeM*, since *Hochma* and *Bina* are called M and L, whereas *Hesed* and *Gevura* are called *Tz*. And just like *Elokim*, *Bina* unites with the holy name of *Malchut*, thereby uniting the holy name within man, for man is a part of *Malchut*.

There are two parts—male and female—in the Light of *Hochma* and *Bina* (called *TzeLeM*): *TzeLeM* of ZA and *TzeLeM* of *Nukva*, the head *Tefillin* and the hand *Tefillin*. Hence, it is said that the Creator created a man and a woman, referring to the head *Tefillin* and the hand *Tefillin*.

The Eleventh Commandment

244. The eleventh *Mitzva* is to give a tithe of the fruits of the earth. Here there are two *Mitzvot*: to separate a tithe of the fruits of the earth, and to bring the first fruits of the trees, as it is written, "Behold, I have given you every herb-yielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). Here it is written, I HAVE GIVEN YOU. Elsewhere it is written, "And to the children of Levi, behold, I have given all the tithe in Israel" (*Bamidbar*, 18:21). It is also written, "And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree, is the Creator's" (*Vayikra*, 27:30).

These verses say that the Creator gave everything to Adam. Yet, why does that oblige us to separate a tithe, to bring the first fruits of the earth, and why are we forbidden from eating them? After all, this contradicts the aforesaid.

The thing is that the process of (spiritual) nourishment includes exposure, selection, and separation of the holy sparks of the Light from the impure forces. In the process of feeding (reception of Light), the sparks of the Light (*Nitzotzin*) that are contained in the food unite with man's soul, with his very flesh, and the waste, except for the sparks, leaves the body. This continues throughout man's life (6,000 degrees of ascent); he gradually accumulates within him all the holy sparks, with which he complements his soul. Without them, the soul cannot attain completeness and perfection.

I think that the reader already understands that *The Zohar* in no way speaks about the process of feeding, digestion, and secretion of our physical body. As the whole of the Torah, *The Zohar* speaks only of the goal of creation and the ways of its attainment. Therefore, I call upon the reader (in defiance of what his mind suggests to him after the first reading) to realize that these texts are written in the language of branches, when spiritual objects are described in the language of our world; yet, despite the corporeal language, the objects remain spiritual!

It is written in the weekly portion *Lech Lecha* that Adam was forbidden to eat meat: "I have given you every herb…" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). However, since Adam sinned, and egoism, impurity entered his body, it was said to Noah: "Every moving thing that lives shall be for food for you; as the green herb have I given you all" (*Beresheet*, 9:3), that is, including meat.

Since Adam was created in absolute perfection, everything was sorted and corrected within him, which corresponds to the animate part of creation, as it is written (*Beresheet*, 2:19): "Out of the ground the Creator formed every beast of the field," and also, "whatsoever the man would call every living creature, that was to be the name thereof." This means that Adam attained every name (spiritual level) of the animal souls, for the pure forces were already separated from the impure ones.

Hence, Adam was not given the task of exposing, sorting, and correcting animals by eating them, for even before the creation of man, the Creator corrected this in the world of *Atzilut*. And only the inanimate and vegetative (parts of the soul) remained uncorrected, containing both pure and impure forces. Therefore, Adam was instructed to expose the sparks that his soul lacked in the inanimate and vegetative food.

However, as a result of Adam's sin, pure and impure desires (forces) were mixed once more. And as Adam's soul was shattered into many parts, all of which fell into the impure forces, all the animals (animate desires) were corrupted along with him (with the human level of desire). Thus appeared the need to expose, sort, and correct them. Therefore, after the sin the Creator ordered Adam and the subsequent generations to eat animals, and thus extract the sparks from impurity.

It is said that Adam was created IN THE IMAGE AND AFTER LIKENESS, i.e., with the help of the *TzeLeM Elokim*, the Light of *Bina*, by the four passages from the Torah in the *Tefillin*. And this is his soul. However, after he was born with this holy soul, thanks to his good deeds, he merited raising *MAN* and receiving *Ohr Haya*, and then, on *Shabbat*, attaining *Ohr Yechida* as well.

Therefore, Adam was left to correct the creation with the help of only a tithe and offerings. And by feeding on tithe and offerings, he attained the revelation of his desires and raised *MAN* to the level of *Ohr Haya* and *Yechida*. Yet, after he sinned, all of his corrections and everything that had filled his soul was corrupted, mixed, and egoism took over the body.

Due to our egoism, tithe and offerings are forbidden for us, for fear that we will desire Supernal purity. Instead, we are obliged to extract and pass them on

to the *Cohanim* and *Levi'im* (parts of the soul). And if we observe this Creator's *Mitzva* of spiritually separating a tithe of the fruits of the earth and the offerings (as He commanded), we will receive the strength to raise *MAN* and receive *Ohr Haya* on *Shabbat* (the ascent of the worlds is called *Shabbat*) in the same way that Adam attained this state while feeding on tithe and offerings.

Thus, after man receives *Ohr Neshama* by putting on the *Tefillin*, he can raise *MAN* with the help of the two *Mitzvot* (tithe and offerings) in order to receive *Ohr Haya*. As it is explained, Adam was receiving *Ohr Haya* by feeding on tithe and offerings. However, we are forbidden to feed on them (to try to receive this Light for the Creator's sake) because of the egoism that acts in our body (desires). Instead, we are bid to give a tithe and the offerings to the *Cohanim* and the *Levi'im*. As a result, we receive the strength to receive this Light.

The Twelfth Commandment

245. The twelfth *Mitzva* is to bring the first fruits of the trees as an offering, as it is written, "And every tree in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). All that is worthy of Me shall not be eaten by you. I have given you My permission and I have given you all the tithe and offerings of the trees. "To you," and not to the subsequent generations.

From the aforesaid, it becomes clear that we, the subsequent generations, are forbidden to feed on tithe and offerings. The Light called "tithe" and "offerings" is so great that until all the *Kelim* (desires) of Adam's soul have been corrected, it is impossible to receive it for the Creator's sake.

Hence, it is forbidden to even try, lest we sin, as it happened to Adam. There is a *Mitzva* to not receive this Light, which refers to *Malchut de Malchut*. Every time the sparks are revealed, it is sufficient to let this Light be, to refrain from receiving it during the 6,000 years. Herein lies its actual correction until, at the end of correction, the Creator's great Light, called *Mashiach* (Messiah), manifests and gives us the strength to receive tithe and offerings for the Creator's sake.

The Thirteenth Commandment

246. The thirteenth *Mitzva* is to perform the redemption of a first-born son so as to strengthen him in life. For there are two appointed angels in charge—one over life and one over death. And they both rule over man from Above. And when man redeems his son, he redeems him from the angel in charge of death, so that the angel can no longer govern the first-born son. Hence, it is written, AND THE CREATOR SAW EVERYTHING THAT HE HAD MADE—this is in general, AND, BEHOLD, IT WAS... VERY GOOD alludes to the angel of life, while the word VERY alludes to the angel of death. Therefore, by this act of redemption, the angel of life is strengthened and the angel of death is weakened. Life is purchased by this redemption, for the evil side leaves him be and clings to him no more.

The ascent of the worlds occurred on the sixth day of creation: *ZA* ascended to the place of *AA*, *Malchut* ascended to *AVI*, and Adam attained *Ohr Haya*. As a result, the angel of death (egoism) lost his power completely. On the contrary, he became very good, for upon being corrected, egoism becomes a great and holy *Kli*, the one *Kli* that can receive the greatest Light.

Such a state will come at the end of the general correction, when, due to the revelation of this great Light, death (egoism) will disappear forever. This is the meaning of the verse: "when the Creator saw EVERYTHING that He had made (i.e., at the end of all creation), He saw that it was very good."

However, since Adam's sin, the worlds can no longer ascend as high. This is why we need special *Mitzvot* in order to perform special preparations and actions for the reception of *Ohr Haya*, at least in a state called *Shabbat*. This is precisely the *Mitzva* to redeem one's first-born son, when we weaken the powers of the angel of death and strengthen the angel of life, much like what the Creator did to Adam by the preliminary ascents of all the worlds, for

during such an ascent, called *Shabbat*, the angel of death becomes very good. Such is the power of that *Mitzva*.

Yet, it is not observed as fully as previously, when the angel of death lost all of his power. Now, by observing the *Mitzva* of redemption of the first-born son, we merely distance from the angel of death without actually destroying the impure forces, and they no longer cling to him. And after preventing the impure forces from clinging, accomplished with the help of this *Mitzva*, he can receive life, i.e., *Ohr Haya* of the state of *Shabbat*.

The Fourteenth Commandment

247. The fourteenth *Mitzva* is to observe *Shabbat*, which is a day of rest from all the actions of creation. There are two *Mitzvot* here: to observe the day of *Shabbat* and to adorn its holiness, namely to receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "holiness;" and to observe *Shabbat* as a day of rest for all the worlds, in which all actions are multiplied and realized even before this day is sanctified.

Shabbat is a state of the spiritual worlds where the Light descending from Above elevates *ZA* to *AA*, *Nukva* to *AVI*, the worlds of *BYA* to *YESHSUT*, and *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*. As a result, man's *NRN* (whoever has it, whoever is spiritually present in the worlds of *BYA*) also ascends to *Atzilut* with the worlds of *BYA*, and there receives *Ohr Haya*.

	Atik
ZA -	AA
M -	AVI
BYA -	YESHSUT + ZON

Parsa of the World of Atzilut

It follows that there are two *Mitzvot*: to refrain from working and carrying things from one household to another. This is so because when all the worlds are completely freed from the impure forces, we must guard against the impure forces, so they do not return and mingle with the holiness of *Shabbat*. And he who works causes the impure forces to mingle with the pure ones.

The second *Mitzva* is to adorn the day of *Shabbat*: through the pleasures of *Shabbat* (the ascent of the worlds of *ABYA*), man receives (in his spiritual desires existing in the world of *BYA*) the Light of the world of *Atzilut* from Above. This Light of *Atzilut* is called "holiness" (*Hochma*); hence, man becomes sanctified by it.

All purifications and corrections take place only in our work and struggle with the impure forces, preventing us from drawing nearer and merging with the Creator in our properties. It is precisely in the wars with the impure forces that we extract the sparks of the Light that they swallowed up, and each extraction of a spark of the Light from the impure forces and its ascent to the world of *Atzilut* is defined as independent, individual work.

In the beginning, these sparks were sorted and extracted from the impure forces by the Creator Himself. This is described in His actions in the six days of creation. And when all the extractions of the Light sparks ended, the work was considered finished, and the corrected state, called *Shabbat*, arrives; and it is the day of rest, for there is nothing else to correct.

Hence, *Shabbat* is the day (the state when the Light shines in the worlds) when all the correction work in all the worlds ceases. For every *Shabbat* (the state of ascent in the spiritual worlds to the level of correction of all the impure forces), the same state of the perfection of creation's first *Shabbat* returns and brings rest to all the worlds of *ABYA*. All the impure forces become detached, remote, and return to their place (*Tehom Raba*—great abyss), and all the worlds ascend to the world of *Atzilut*, defined as perfect unity. And we are destined to receive this holiness, the Light of the world of *Atzilut*; it descends upon us through our observance of the two *Mitzvot*: REMEMBER AND GUARD THE DAY OF *SHABBAT*.

248. Because that day was sanctified, the creation of bodiless spirits was to be completed. Asks: "Was the Creator unable to delay the sanctification of that day until the bodies for those spirits were created?" And answers: "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil contained an evil side that wanted to govern the world. And many spirits separated and went forth, armed, to clothe in the bodies of this world."

Because that day was sanctified, the creation of bodies for the spirits was to be completed. This means that the day had been sanctified before the Creator had time to create bodies for those spirits. It is written about this on the first *Shabbat* of creation: "And on the seventh day the Creator finished His work, which He has made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work, which He has made."

This passage from the Torah is unclear. For if the Creator completely finished all His work by Himself, then He left nothing for us to do. After all, He finished everything Himself. However, the Creator sorted the Light sparks and separated the pure forces from the impure ones precisely to enable us *to do*,

i.e., to complete this work by making our own efforts in the observance of the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

And the rest that is mentioned here refers only to what the Creator Himself had to do. Therefore, the Torah says that the Creator finished His work, for He has completed all the preparations for us, and nothing else is required of Him, for the rest HE HAS MADE for us to do. This enables us to do and to complete creation.

Hence, it is written that the Creator did not have time to create bodies for the spirits before the arrival of *Shabbat*. These bodiless spirits constitute all of our impure and evil forces that drive man to transgressions. And the Creator intentionally left them this way, for it is precisely because they are present within us that we have freedom of will in our work with the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

As a result of Adam's sin in *Malchut*, called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," pure and impure forces were mixed. At that, the impure forces wished to rule over the forces of good in the world, so the forces of good would never prevail over them. Thus, a number of armed spirits went forth, intending to attack the bodies, capture them, and clothe in them.

Two points merged in *Malchut*: one was corrected by receiving the properties of *Bina*, mercy, and the other is the strictness of judgment, the result of restrictions within *Malchut* herself. When *Malchut* is united with the pure forces, her property of restriction is concealed, and the point of mercy is revealed (item 123). Then man is said to merit only goodness.

However, if man transgresses, he attacks the good point and thereby reveals the point of restriction in *Malchut*. Thus, the forces that wish to harm and destroy the corrected part and to rule over man become revealed, and this is evil.

However, if he merits for the point of mercy to reveal itself and dominate, he can elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*, thereby causing Supernal mercy and Light to descend. However, if he does not merit, and the point of restriction is revealed in *Malchut*, not only does he thereby harm *Malchut*, but he also harms the point of *Bina* that unites with *Malchut*. Thus, this point turns from good to evil, from mercy to judgment, as restriction is revealed in *Malchut* herself, and every revealed property dominates.

This is why the point of judgment was revealed in *Malchut* after Adam's sin. By this, Adam damaged the point (property) of *Bina* that united with *Malchut*, too, turning it from mercy to strictness, judgment. Yet, the correction of *Malchut* is possible only with the help of this point, for it is called "goodness." And when this point of *Bina* is revealed within her, *Malchut* is called "goodness," too.

But now that the very point of *Bina* in *Malchut* was damaged and turned from good to evil, the impure force thought that the time has come for it to dominate the world and clothe human bodies, meaning Adam and his sons (spiritual *Partzufim*). In other words, the body (desires) of the impure force inherits the place of Adam's body. Thus, the correction of *Malchut* from the good point becomes impossible, for no more goodness comes to *Malchut* from *Bina*, and this property has become evil, strictness, and judgment, due to the restricted reception in *Malchut*.

And many armed and destructive impure forces went forth to attack so as to clothe human bodies (desires) in this world, and rule over them. For the impure force thought that nothing could protect and save the pure forces from it because of the harm that Adam's sin brought to the system of governance and the point of mercy in *Malchut*.

249. However, as the Creator saw this, He roused the wind from within the Tree of Life, ZA, and struck the other Tree, *Malchut*. And the other, good side was awakened, and the day was sanctified. For the creation of bodies and the awakening of spirits on that night of *Shabbat* stem from the good side, and not from the evil one.

Since the Creator saw the strengthening of the power of judgment and the impure forces, their ability to clothe the bodies in this world (completely excluding the possibility of correcting the world in the future), He roused the wind within the Tree of Life and struck the other Tree (made a *Zivug* with it), *Malchut*. Due to this *Zivug*, the Tree of Life passed the spirit of life to the other Tree, *Malchut*, thus enabling *Malchut* to tear away from the impure forces.

As a result, the good side reappeared in *Malchut*, as it was prior to Adam's sin, and the sanctity of *Shabbat* descended to the world. That is, although the impure forces had the strength to clothe in bodies, and were more powerful than the pure forces, and, according to the law, they were supposed to prevail, at that moment the Creator intervened, disregarding the destruction caused by Adam's sin.

Consequently, *ZON* (the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good) united in a *Zivug*, as before Adam's sin, and the Light of sanctity of *Shabbat* descended into the world. This action of the Creator caused *Shabbat* (the Light of *Shabbat*) to descend into the world, and the impure forces lost the opportunity to clothe in human bodies in this world. The impure force remained as a bodiless spirit, which enables man to draw closer to the Creator (with his properties). This is referred to as his return (*Teshuva*).

The creation of bodies and the arousal of spirits on that night of *Shabbat* stems from the good side, and not from the side of the impure forces, for the Creator's action remains in creation forever. Just as on the first *Shabbat* of creation, the Creator completely disregarded the damage of Adam's sin, instead compelling *ZON* to make a *Zivug*, and the day was sanctified as before the sin, for He destroyed all the power of the impure forces, despite the fact that they had the strength to rule.

The same applies to all *Shabbatot* (plural for *Shabbat*)—the spiritual ascents for those who exist in the worlds of *BYA*—during the 6,000 years. Although man is still full of impurity, for he has yet to correct the sins of the Tree of Knowledge, when he makes a *Zivug* (of the Light with a screen) on the night of *Shabbat* (in a spiritual state of that name), the impure forces (of man) have no power over him (his altruistic desires). In this *Zivug*, man assumes the body and spirit of a newborn, as though he was unharmed by Adam's sin, as though he himself corrected the Tree of Knowledge.

And despite the fact that man has yet to merit liberation from his egoism, the impure forces have no power over him on that night. Thus, he can receive the bodies and spirits in his *Zivug* on the side of the Tree of Good, but not from the impure forces.

250. And had he hastened on that night to put forward the other side, before the good side came forward, he would not have been able to withstand it for even an instant. But the Creator provided the remedy in advance. And He sanctified the day beforehand. And He warned to appear before the other side. And the world exists. And that the opposite side thought to rule in the world, i.e., in defiance of it, the good side was created and strengthened on that night. And the good, holy bodies and spirits were created on that night from the good side. Therefore, the delight of sages who know this spans from *Shabbat* to *Shabbat*.

251. However, when the other (impure) side saw that what it had planned to do was already done by the holy side, it started to check its own forces and properties, and saw all those who perform a *Zivug* naked and in the candlelight. Therefore, all of the sons born from that *Zivug* are enslaved by the spirit of the other side. And these naked spirits of the wicked are called "harming," and they are ruled and killed by Lilit.

252. And since the day was sanctified, and holiness rules in the world, the other side diminishes itself and hides on each *Shabbat* day and on each *Shabbat* night. With the exception of Asimon and his group, who walk secretly in the

Candlelight, to observe the naked *Zivug*. And then they hide inside the cave, called *Tehom Raba* (the great abyss). And as soon as *Shabbat* ends, many hosts fly and prowl in the world. As a result, everything is corrected by the song of the sufferers, "He who dwells in concealment," to prevent impurity from governing holiness.

According to the law, the impure force was supposed to rule in the world, for it was stronger than the pure one, and it was to clothe in human bodies. But then, the earth would have been given over to the wicked, and all the generations in the world originating from man would have stemmed from the side of the impure forces. And there would have been no chance of correction, for impurity would have dominated over all the generations to such an extent that there would have been no opportunity to get hold of the good side even for a moment.

However, the Creator provided a remedy, thereby forestalling the defect, for He elevated *Shabbat* and removed the impure forces, which caused the Light of peace and rest to be revealed in all the worlds. And all the impure forces were thrown into *Tehom Raba* (the great abyss). Thus, the world was revived, as this enabled the creation of bodies and spirits from the pure side in a *Zivug* of the *Shabbat* night, and the world advances toward the desired goal.

So what does it mean to forestall the defect via a remedy? The whole of creation is based on a cause and effect sequence, and all that transpires not according to the worlds' development is called "forestalling" (skipping several degrees, bypassing some of the causes and effects in this chain).

And since the sanctity of *Shabbat* came as an awakening from Above, from the Creator's desire, without any desire or request from below, for Adam had yet to make any corrections and draw closer to the Creator in order to merit *Shabbat* (when the Creator Himself prevented the defect by providing a remedy for the correction of the world), this action on the Creator's behalf is called "forestalling."

Just as the impure force planned to assume power over the world, the good side forestalled its actions on that night. For this night that followed the sin in the Tree of Knowledge was given entirely to the impure forces. Hence, they thought that they would obviously rule over the world. However, the opposite had happened—sanctity took their place: pure bodies and spirits were created on that night by the good side. This is because such a preparation took place that all the *Zivugim* on that night created bodies and spirits from the good side, without any participation of the impure force. In other words, what transpired was exactly the opposite of the impure force's expectations.

Therefore, the time of sages who know this spans from *Shabbat* to *Shabbat*—for at this time, bodies and spirits are created from the pure, good side. And

when the impure force sees that what it wanted to create was created by the opposite side, it collects its evil powers and searches through the whole world, and sees all those who make a *Zivug* in the candlelight, exposing their naked bodies. And ill sons are made from this *Zivug*. The impure side sends these sons its evil spirits of the wicked, called "wreckers." As a result, they are ruled and killed by Lilit. Garments refer to *Ohr Hassadim*, the garments of *Ima*, the intention "for the sake of the Creator."

When the sanctity of *Shabbat* comes into the world, and *Shabbat* rules in the world, the power of the impure force dwindles and hides on the night and on the day of *Shabbat*. Hence, this is the time of sages.

And only the wreckers, called "Asimon and his group," walk secretly in the candlelight, to observe those who expose their *Zivug*. Afterward, they hide in the *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba*. Thus, although Asimon has the power to see the *Zivug* in the candlelight and on *Shabbat*, he cannot do harm on *Shabbat*, but must immediately return to the *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba*. Only after *Shabbat* is over can he resume causing harm.

Rabbi Shimon felt the difficulty of explaining the words regarding *Shabbat* being the time of sages. For each day (not only on *Shabbat* night), starting at midnight, the Creator walks around the Garden of Eden and makes *Zivugim* with the sages. *The Zohar* asks the same question (*Veyikahel*, item 194), and answers that there is a difference between a *Zivug* on a week night and one that is made in the candlelight on *Shabbat*. On weekdays, the impure force has the power to inflict maladies on the newborns, and Lilit has the power to kill them.

However, on *Shabbat* nights, although the wrecker Asimon and his group are present, he has not the power to harm, but only after *Shabbat* is over. However, opposite his opportunity to cause harm after *Shabbat* there exists a correction, called *Havdalah*, the separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays through a blessing, a prayer, and a cup of wine, which completely annul the power of this wrecker. Hence, there is a significant difference between a *Zivug* on a week night and a *Zivug* on the night of *Shabbat*.

The thing is that there is a source of Light, ZA, Supernal unity, and a source of fire, *Malchut*, lower unity (item 209). Also, there are three details in the candle flame (this refers to a spiritual candle, designated in corporeality by a wick floating in olive oil):

- White Upper flame;
- Lower flame;
- The coarse part—wick and oil, supporting the lower flame.

This lower flame is called "devouring flame." It designates judgment, the power of restriction in the candle. Thus, it devours everything below it, the wick *and* the oil. And the Upper white flame signifies mercy contained in the candle, for white means mercy.

And he who makes a *Zivug* in the candlelight will see his children damaged, and Lilit will be able to kill them, for the candle contains the strictness of judgment, and the impure forces can therefore cling to such a *Zivug*. Due to the strictness of judgment, their bodies (the impurities contained in the bodies that participate in a *Zivug*, each of which finds what suits them) become revealed.

Therefore, a *Zivug* is permitted only at midnight, i.e., only in the darkness, when there is absolutely no Light, when *Malchut* is said to "awaken at night," and mercy is revealed. However, if there is some candlelight, it reveals the impurity in the bodies, and the impure forces cling to them.

In the candlelight, the impure force sees impurity in the bodies of those making a *Zivug*, and it informs on them and clings to their bodies. However, all the restrictions of strictness and judgment disappear on the night of *Shabbat*, and the coarse lower flame becomes like the white Upper flame. This means that even candlelight is permitted. Moreover, under the influence of the sanctity of *Shabbat*, all the impurity disappears from man's body, hence there is no fear to reveal the body in the candlelight.

Yet, even on *Shabbat*, when the coarse flame turns white and the judgment of restrictions disappears, the white flame of the candle nonetheless requires the light's coarse part, so it would act as foundation. And the coarse foundation designates an indispensable presence of judgment and restrictions, for coarseness constitutes restriction.

Nevertheless, these restrictions do not appear on *Shabbat*. This resembles a coin without any image, so its denomination is unknown. Therefore, the wrecker, this coarse, detrimental part of the candle that supports the white flame, is called Asimon (Hebrew, *Token*), signifying a coin without image.

The coarse part of the candle secretly ascends along with the white candlelight, as the candle cannot burn without it. Hence, this coarse part sees the exposed *Zivug* and can therefore do harm after the end of *Shabbat*. Although the revelation (exposure) of bodies does no harm on the night of *Shabbat* (the impurity of the body remains concealed during *Shabbat*), as soon as *Shabbat* is over, the impure force can reveal itself and harm.

And since, after *Shabbat*, Asimon and his group return to their forms (properties) and rise up from the Great Abyss (*Tehom Raba*) to the place of

settlement, they soar above the world and can cause harm. There is a song: "He who sits in the shadow of the Supernal One," for man saves himself from harmful forces by praying and returning to the Creator:

"He who sits in the shadow of the Supernal One (dwells under the shelter of the Supernal One) dwells in the shadow of the Almighty. I will say to the Lord: 'my refuge and my fortress, my God, in whom I trust.' Surely he will save you from the fowler's snare and from the deadly pestilence. He will cover you with his feathers, and under his wings will you find refuge; his faithfulness will be your shield and rampart. You will not fear the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that stalks in the darkness, nor the plague that destroys at midday. A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand, but it will not come near you. You will only observe with your eyes and see the punishment of the wicked..." (*Tehilim*, 91:1-8).

253. What places do they visit on the night of the end of *Shabbat*? When they come out in haste and wish to govern the holy nation, they see it standing in prayer and singing this song: "He who sits in the shadow (concealment) of the Supernal One," first separating *Shabbat* from the weekdays in his prayer, and then over a cup of wine, these forces flee thence and fly away to the desert. May the Merciful One save us from them and from the evil side.

Here the question concerns only the night of the end of *Shabbat*, but not the night of weekdays, as the night of the end of *Shabbat* still contains some force of the sanctity of *Shabbat*. Hence, although the impure forces rise from *Tehom Raba* and fly to conquer Israel, when they see Israel's actions in song of prayer and in the blessing over a cup of wine, they fly away to the wasteland, an unpopulated place. Thus, people escape their reach.

It follows that impure forces dwell in three places:

- On *Shabbat*, they dwell in *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba* and have no power to cause harm;
- When *Shabbat* is over, they are kept in the wasteland with the help of prayer, *Havdalah*, separation of *Shabbat* from weekdays, and the blessing over a cup of wine. They have the power to cause harm, but can't, as they are in an unpopulated place;
- On other nights they are also present in populated places.

254. The three that cause evil to themselves: a) he who curses himself; b) he who throws away bread or bread crumbs bigger than an olive; c) he who lights the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel attains sanctity in the prayer, "And You are holy." And the light from that candle ignites hellfire.

255. There is a place in hell for those who transgress *Shabbat*. And as they are punished in hell, they curse him who lit the candle before its time, and they say to him, "Behold: the Creator will thrust you about with a mighty throw, and He will seize you firmly. He will violently roll and toss you like a ball into a large land; there shall you die" (*Yeshayahu*, 22:17-18).

One wrecker is called the "evil eye." And he loves cursing, as it is said; "Yea, he loved cursing, and it came unto him; and he delighted not in blessing, and it is far from him" (*Tehilim*, 109:17). When man curses himself, he thereby empowers the evil eye to love cursing, and it rules over him—thus, man brings harm to himself.

There is nothing in this world that does not have an Upper Root Above. Especially bread, on which man's life depends, has its own special root Above. Therefore, he who neglects his bread brings harm to the root of his life Above. Everyone understands this, but only to the extent of the portion that satiates him, giving him life.

However, if a piece of bread and crumbs are smaller than an olive, there are those who neglect and throw them away, as such amount cannot satiate man. Yet, the sages instructed us to bless as a meal even an olive-sized amount of bread, obliging us to treat such portion as satiating, so we have no right to neglect such an amount. And he who neglects it brings harms to himself.

The reason for this is explained in the Talmud: "They asked the Creator: Master of the world, it is said in your Torah that one should not turn his face and accept bribes. Yet, You turn Your face to Israel..." The Creator replied: "How can I help turning my face to Israel if they observe the law 'down to the size of an olive...'" (*Berachot*, 20:2). In other words, by accepting an olive-sized bread crumb as a satiating meal, we merit revealing the Creator's face, even though we are unworthy of it. Therefore, those who neglect the amount of bread the size of an olive and do not consider it a satiating meal do not merit revealing the Creator's face; hence, they bring harm to themselves.

He who lights the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel has reached sanctity in the blessing, thereby ignites hellfire. This is because prior to that moment, it was *Shabbat*; its sanctity prevailed, and hellfire has no power on *Shabbat*. Hence, he who transgresses *Shabbat* and lights the candle prematurely, Ignites hellfire and brings harm to himself, for the transgression of *Shabbat* is regarded as the gravest transgression. Hence, there is a special place in hell for those who transgress *Shabbat*. And they who are punished in hell curse the sinner for igniting hellfire prematurely.

256. For he should not light the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel separates *Shabbat* from the weekdays in their prayer and over a cup of wine, as until that time, it is still *Shabbat*, and the sanctity of *Shabbat* still rules over us. And during the separation by means of blessing over a cup, all those hosts and legions that the rulers appointed to govern the weekdays return each to their place to resume the work for which they are responsible.

The main prohibition remains in effect only until the blessing in the prayer. Nevertheless, one should beware of lighting a candle before the actual separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays in the blessings over a cup, as it is still *Shabbat*. Of course, one can light a candle for the actual separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays, i.e., for the blessing over a lit candle.

257. As soon as *Shabbat* starts and the day is sanctified, holiness awakens and rules over the world; the power of weekdays disappears and returns only when *Shabbat* ends. However, although *Shabbat* is over, other forces do not regain their power until Israel says the prayer, "He who separates holiness from the weekdays." Only then does holiness disappear, and the legions that govern the weekdays awaken and return to their places, each to its above-appointed post.

258. Nevertheless, the impure forces do not assume control until the flame of the candle is lit, for they all come from the root (element) of fire, from which everything originates, and they descend to rule over the lower world. All this happens if one lights the candle before Israel has finished the blessing in the prayer.

Malchut is called the "pillar of fire" (item 209), and the forces that exist in the candlelight are the restrictions in *Malchut*. It is impossible to use these forces before the candle is lit.

259. Yet, if he waits until they complete the blessing, the wicked in hell justify the Creator's justice over them, and they bring upon him all the blessings, recited by the congregation: "Therefore, the Creator gives you of the dew of Heaven," "Blessed shall you be in your town," and "Blessed shall you be in the field."

By reciting the blessings, we evoke the descent of the great Light, and its power saves us from hell. And since the wicked in hell see this, they regret committing their sins and justify the Creator's judgment brought upon them by seeing their punishment. And since man evoked such justification of the Creator's judgment, all the blessings, recited at the end of *Shabbat* by the congregation become fulfilled in him.

260. "Blessed is he who considers the poor; the Creator will deliver him in the day of disaster" (*Tehilim*, 41:2). What do the words "in the day of disaster" mean? This refers to the day when evil gains power and wants to take his soul away from him. The word "poor" alludes to someone very sick. "He who considers" refers to one who realizes the need to be cured from transgressions before the Creator. Another explanation is that this is the Day of Judgment in the world. "He who considers" signifies one who knows how to save himself from it, as it is written: "The Creator will deliver him in the day of disaster," meaning that on the day when the judgment against man dominates the world, the Creator will deliver him.

"The day of disaster" is a state when the impure forces, called "evil," govern man and take his soul away. "He who considers the poor" is one who tells the sick to return to the Creator to correct himself. It is him who the Creator delivers from the rule of the impure forces.

The Zohar continues by saying that there are three sources of evil for the soul of a man that attracts it onto himself. Hence, it advises one who considers and is compassionate to the poor, to appeal to the sick man's heart (he who feels sick in his own evil, egoism) to return to the Creator. Then the Creator will cure him. And on this day of disaster, which man caused to his soul, the Creator will deliver him through this reward.

Even if judgment dominates the world, the Creator will deliver him, for he taught the sick to return to the Creator and explained to them the need for correction. And the difference in the explanations is that the first refers to an individual who discovers evil within himself, and the second refers to the evil of the entire world. And here, the Creator, too, will deliver man as a reward for fulfilling this *Mitzva*.

The Intention in the Prayer

It is written in *The Zohar* (*Veyikahel*, pp. 32-52): "Each day a voice calls upon all people in the world, 'This depends on you. Separate a part of yourself and devote it to the Creator.'" At some point in life, thoughts and desires to draw closer to the spiritual come to every person, and it depends on us whether or not we heed that inner call. The voice reassures man that by casting aside his needless, transient, and earthly desires, by ceasing his endless chase for their appeasement, he will attain true and eternal happiness.

From this we can understand the secret meaning of prayer: he who fears the Creator and directs his heart and desires in his prayer, carries out great and exalted corrections. If one wishes to enter the spiritual realm and feel the Creator, the only thing he must do is pray, i.e., ask the Creator to correct his nature, to transform it from the nature of our world (egoistic) into the nature of the spiritual realm (altruistic). He will then enter eternity and transcend the boundaries of our world. Being completely enslaved by his egoism, man is unable to change himself on his own.

To correct himself, man needs to receive the strength that exists outside of him, beyond the bounds of his egoism. He must ask to receive this strength; hence, the only thing man must do is pray.

However, prayer is not uttered by one's mouth. Rather, it is the desire in our heart, for the Creator reads the desires in our hearts. Therefore, man's only task is to transform his heart's desires—for his heart to wish to change its own desires. Yet, even this man is unable to do it by himself; he must ask the Creator for it.

Thus, everything boils down to exalting the Creator's rule, faith in Him, in His singularity, His power, His ability and desire to help. All of man's efforts aim to create the only true desire within him—to feel the Creator! Here, *The Zohar*, as well as all the other books of Kabbalah and the Torah, speak of those who

have already attained the spiritual worlds with their desires and properties, and, while being in our world, perceive and exist in the two worlds simultaneously. The prayer the book refers to here constitutes the spiritual actions of one who has already acquired spiritual instruments, and can utilize them in exactly the same way we use our hands and auxiliary means in our world.

First, in the songs and hymns of the Supernal angels, and according to the order of chants sung by the sons of Israel below, *Malchut* adorns and corrects herself as a wife who adorns herself for her husband. The sons of Israel are those who wish to become *Yashar* (straight) and *El* (Creator), i.e., to draw closer to, or go straight to the Creator. Such people, who exist in the Upper Worlds with their spiritual (altruistic) instruments (desires), can change the states of Higher *Sefirot* and worlds by their spiritual actions.

Our prayer-book was compiled by the sages of the Great Assembly twenty centuries ago. Before that, everyone addressed the Creator in accordance with what he or she felt. About twenty centuries ago, coarser souls began descending to our world, which needed orderly prayers. Hence, the members of the Great Assembly (great Kabbalists) created the prayer book that we still use today.

In an orderly fashion, the prayer book expounds all the consecutive degrees of man's correction. Behind the words of the prayer book, one who understands sees the spiritual actions that he needs to perform. This information is conveyed in letters, in their forms and combinations, as well as in the sequence of sentences and parts of the whole prayer.

According to the order of the prayer, correction of the worlds comes first by the morning blessings (See *Tefilat Kol Peh*) up to the prayer of *Shmone Esreh*, correction in a sitting position. Then, when they reach the words *Emet ve Yatziv* that conclude *Kriyat Shema*, all the worlds achieve correction. And as they reach the words *Gaal Israel*, all the corrections are to take their places; hence, they continue reciting the *Shmone Esreh* prayer while standing.

In spirituality (and, consequently, in corporeality) a person can be in one of three states: lying, sitting, or standing. A newborn infant in our world and a spiritually newborn person develop in the same order. Lying means that the position of the head, the legs, and the body are at the same level. In the spiritual, this corresponds to the embryonic state, when all that exists in the ten *Sefirot* is the same. This is the lowest spiritual state.

Sitting means that the head is above the body, and the body is above the legs, but one cannot use his legs. Such a state is called *Katnut* (smallness) or *VAK*. Standing implies absolute distinction between the levels of the head, body, and

legs. It is called *Gadlut* (big state) or *GAR*. Thus, according to one's ability to ask for correction, he gradually receives strength from the Creator and grows.

Therefore, when he reaches the words *Emet ve Yatziv*, everything has already been corrected: all of the worlds bear *Malchut* in them, while *Malchut* herself bears the Supernal King. When man reaches the words, *Gaal Israel*, the Supernal King advances along the degrees, along the three lines, and comes forward to receive *Malchut*.

The Supernal King (the Creator), with regard to all created beings, constitutes *ZA* of the world of *Atzilut*, for *Malchut de Atzilut* is the sum of all creations. Everything that was ever created, including us and all the worlds with all that inhabit them, is a part of *Malchut*.

In our initial state, we are the parts of *Malchut* that receive the smallest portion of the Creator's Light, *Ner Dakik* (tiny candle). As we draw closer to the Creator in our properties (making them similar to His), we receive increasingly greater Light, in proportion to our advancement, which we feel as infinite bliss, peace, delight, eternity, and as a life-force.

The degrees of our closeness to the Creator (our "I" and Him, *Malchut* and *ZA*) are described in Kabbalah using a special language: the nearing of properties is considered a transition from the state of "back to back" between *ZA* and *Malchut* to the state of "face to face." The souls' union with the Creator is described as a *Zivug*—sexual act between *ZA* and *Malchut*, whereupon *ZA* passes the Light to *Malchut*, and each soul, in proportion to its correction, can thereby receive this Light.

Naturally, the Creator remains in a state of absolute rest, and all His alleged movements are felt with regard to *Malchut*, depending on the changes in her properties. At times she feels Him more and at times less, and she perceives this as His movement toward her.

We must stand in humility and awe before the Supernal King, each in his place, for He extends His right hand to *Malchut* in *Magen Avraham*, the first blessing in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, designating the right line. Then He puts His left hand under the head of *Malchut*, as it is written: "Let his left hand be under my head, and his right hand embrace me" (*Shir HaShirim*, 2:6) in the blessing *Ata Gibor*, the second blessing in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, designating the left line.

The entire magnificent *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs) speaks of the Supernal merging of all the creatures with the Creator. Since our world is created as a reflection of the spiritual world, spiritual merging can only be described with the corresponding words of our world. Because our world is egoistic, the spiritual,

altruistic actions, directed toward the merging of properties and desires, are described in the words of our world as *Malchut* (man's soul) drawing closer to the Creator in her properties, followed by their gradual unification. First, it manifests in the form of an embrace, followed by a kiss, then a coition, when the soul is sufficiently corrected to receive the Light (*Ohr Hochma*) from the Creator.

Afterward, ZA and *Malchut* embrace and unite in a kiss of the blessing *HaEl HaKadosh*, designating the middle line. From this state and higher on, everything transpires in the state of a kiss, up to the last three blessings in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer. This is the spiritual, true meaning of the first three blessings of the *Shmone Esreh* prayer.

In other words, if one is able to make a spiritual action that corresponds to the conditions described in these blessings, he attains unity with the Creator that it is called "embrace" and "kiss." The detailed explanation of the spiritual actions is given in *The Study of the Ten Sefirot* by Rabbi Ashlag. The language of *The Zohar* and the Torah describes these actions with words of our world.

The language of Kabbalah describes them by using the names of *Sefirot*, *Partzufim*, and Lights. The most complete and precise language for the description of spiritual actions is the language of *Sefirot*. Therefore, this was the language chosen by Kabbalists for their inner work and for explaining to us the practice and method of spiritual ascent.

Man must aspire to the Creator in his heart and desires in order to acquire the intentions that bring him to correction in all the spiritual states described in this prayer—for his mouth and his heart (desires) to become a single whole, so his lips will not speak against the wishes of his heart. The Creator awaits only the sincerity of our desires so as to fulfill them at once and bring us closer to Him:

Beloved of the soul, Compassionate Father!
Draw Your servant to Your will.
Your servant will hurry like a hart, will bow before Your majesty.
To him Your friendship will be sweeter
Than the dripping of the honeycomb and any taste.

Majestic, Beautiful Radiance of the universe!
My soul pines for Your love.
Please O God, heal her now showing her the pleasantness of Your radiance.
Then she will be strengthened and healed
And eternal gladness will be hers.

All-worthy One, may Your mercy be aroused
And please take pity on the son of Your beloved.
Because it is so very long that I have yearned intensely to see the splendor of strength.
These my heart desires, and please take pity and do not conceal Yourself.

Please be revealed and spread upon me, my Beloved, the shelter of Your peace.
Illuminate the land with Your glory, we shall rejoice and be glad in You.
Make haste, do love, for the time has come, and pardon us as in days of old.

(Song Yedid Nefesh)

When the Creator and *Malchut* merge in a kiss, he who needs advice and assistance can ask for it, for this state is called the "time of desire." And since man appealed before the King and Queen in the twelve intermediate blessings of the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, he thereby corrected and prepared his heart's desires for the last three blessings. He aroused the Creator's desire for him, for thanks to these last three blessings, he merges with the Creator in Supernal Unity.

The "time of desire" is an appropriate state for making requests and receiving the answer—the strength for self-correction. The King and Queen are ZA and *Malchut*. Each blessing constitutes a sequence of individual corrections of man's soul. Consequently, man ascends to a Higher spiritual level. Thus, he gradually attains Supernal Unity with the Creator.

Then, he must fall on his face, and when *Malchut* holds the souls within her, submit his soul to the Creator's absolute power, as this is the appropriate time (state) to entrust one's soul amongst all the other souls, for *Malchut* is the source of life.

To fall on one's face and entrust one's soul means that man has but a single desire—to completely rid himself of his egoistic desires, and receive the Creator's altruistic desires in their stead. Upon receiving the Creator's desires, man becomes similar to Him, and to the extent of his similarity, he merges with the Creator. By merging with the Creator, man acquires all that the Creator has: immortality, complete knowledge of all creation, might, and perfection.

The secret of the Light is available only to the chosen ones: when *Malchut* holds human souls by her single desire to merge with the Creator (because the same desire fills man's heart), he submits himself entirely to the aspiration for this merging, so as to include his soul in the collective merging between *Malchut* and the Creator. And if his soul is received by the Creator, man instantly merges with Him and enters the source of life (*Tzror HaChaim*), both in this world and in the world to come.

Although Kabbalah is considered a secret teaching, it holds no secrets. It is perceived as secret only by those who are yet unable to create the spiritual organs within themselves with which to perceive their surroundings. We are the only ones who conceal our surroundings from ourselves in default of the corresponding sensory organs.

The King (Creator, ZA) and Queen (*Malchut*) must be connected to the souls on all sides, Above and below, and be adorned with the souls of the righteous (those who wish to merge with the Creator, entrust their souls to Him). And if man directs all the intentions of his heart (desires) to this goal and completely submits his soul to the Creator's will, the Creator makes peace and a covenant with him (both in the Upper Covenant, called *Yesod*, and in the lower covenant). He blesses *Malchut* by this peace and covenant, and surrounds her on all sides.

Unity on all sides means that the souls attain similarity with the Creator in all their properties. The righteous are those who want to merge with the Creator, attain the entire creation, and as a result, discover the righteousness of the Creator, who created and thus governs them. Those who wish to justify all the Creator's actions are called "righteous."

Although they have not yet reached this state and are only en route to it, even if only at the very beginning of their path, and they are yet to correct even a single desire and only feel the smallest aspiration to draw closer to the Creator, they are already called "righteous," after this desire. The Creator surrounds *Malchut* on all sides, and *Malchut* feels Him with all of her corrected properties, sensations.

Thus, man also receives the name *Shalom* (peace), for he has made a covenant with *Malchut* below, similar to the covenant of the *Sefira Yesod* Above. And when such a man leaves our world, his soul rises through all the Heavens and none stand in its way, and the Creator calls for it and says: "Let Peace come." The soul reveals the thirteen elevations of the holy peach and no one stands in its way. Hence, happy is he who makes an offering to the Creator.

As soon as the soul tears itself from egoism altogether, it completely merges with the Creator and is no longer obliged to descend into this world, clothe in a physical body, and receive an additional portion of egoistic desires. An offering to the Creator signifies rejection of the body's egoistic desires; it is called a "sacrifice," for our body is no different from that of an animal.

Therefore, the aspiration to rid oneself of the animate body and its desires is called an "offering." Depending on the kind of desires man is already able to wish to rid himself of, his offering takes the form of a bird (one part of his

desires) or cattle (another part). Certain parts of *The Zohar* and some of the ARI's compositions discuss this matter in great detail.

Rabbi Chiya raised his voice: "Oh, Rabbi Shimon, you are alive, and I was already mourning over you! Yet, it is not you that I mourn for, but for all my friends and for the whole world that will remain orphans after you." Rabbi Shimon is like a torchlight, shining both Above and below. With this Light below, he illuminates the whole world. Woe unto this world when this Light will leave it and rise up Above. Who will shine in this world with the Light of the Torah? Rabbi Aba rose, kissed Rabbi Chiya, and said, "If such words are within you, I thank the Creator for sending me to you, so that I could be closer to you. How happy I am with my lot!"

All of the characters described in *The Zohar* are spiritual objects, *Partzufim*. As does the whole Torah, *The Zohar* speaks only of things that exist in the spiritual worlds, rather than in our world. Therefore, all of the objects, animals, plants, and people described in *The Book of Zohar* constitute spiritual degrees, desires, and *Partzufim*.

The Creator deliberately sends into our world special souls that are close to Him, to help all the others to attain the spiritual in this lifetime, while they are still in this world. These great Kabbalists serve as guides for those who have realized that they lack spiritual sight, and are hence ready to follow them blindly.

Rabbi Yehudah said after him: When the Creator told Moshe to choose among the people those who are wise and understanding, Moshe looked at the people and could not find any. Then he was instructed to pick the heads of the tribes who were known for their wisdom. The word "understanding" is not used here, for the degree of the understanding is higher than that of the wise. What is the difference between one who is wise and one who understands? Wise is one who learns from a *Rav* (Teacher) and wants to attain wisdom. Wise is one who knows all that he has to know.

He who understands consists of several levels-degrees, for he sees into every thing and knows for himself and for others. The mark of him who understands is formulated in the phrase: "The righteous one knows his animal soul." The righteous one signifies *Yesod* that passes the Light to *Malchut* (animal), for the *Gematria* of *HaVaYaH* of *Malchut* is fifty-two = *BON* = *BeHeMaH* (beast) = *Bet-Hey-Mem-Hey* = 2 + 5 + 40 + 5 = 52.

Malchut constitutes the level called "wise at heart," as wisdom is found within the heart. But he who understands, sees Above and below, for himself and for others. He who is wise designates *Malchut*, for it is *Malchut* that reveals

wisdom. He who understands is *Yesod* that stands above *Malchut*. *Ohr Hochma* in *Malchut* shines only from below upwards. It is impossible to receive the Light from Above downwards, as it would surely enter egoistic desires. Therefore, it is said that the wise (*Hacham*) sees only for himself, from himself upwards, and cannot pass the Light to others below.

It is hence said that wisdom is found within the heart, as the heart receives from below upwards; whereas he who understands (the *Sefira Yesod*, *Tzadik*, the righteous one) shines with the Light of Mercy, *Ohr Hassadim*, from Above downwards. He sees that he receives for himself, and shines upon the others, i.e., shines upon *Malchut*, as it is written: "The righteous knows his animal soul."

Raising a Prayer

Here *The Zohar* speaks about the prayer, which every man offers his Creator (*Veyikahel*, pp. 32-52). This inner action of man constitutes his greatest and most valuable work in his efforts for the Creator's sake.

The Creator made man at the farthest, completely opposite spiritual level to His: with only the egoistic will to enjoy. And since man has no other properties-desires but the egoistic will to receive pleasure, not only is he unable to change himself, he cannot even wish for the desire to change.

We can change only under the influence of the Creator's Light, by receiving His properties from Him. Hence our only task is to cultivate a desire to change. As soon as this true desire appears within man, the Creator will immediately give him the strength needed for its realization. So the problem is not how to realize a prayer; it is, rather, how to attain it, how to formulate one's request for the strength to become like the Creator!

A prayer is a sensation, a desire in one's heart. Man does not realize it completely and cannot describe it, for the sensation in one's heart *is not subject to any control and conscious correction*—it cannot be "created" by one's own will. The sensations in one's heart constitute the consequence of man's mental and spiritual condition, the result of the current degree of his spiritual development.

Thus, the desire to change is also in the Creator's hands. However, He gave us the opportunity to stimulate this process and to determine our own spiritual advancement:

- He allows Kabbalists to write books, and when we read them, we develop the desire to draw closer to Him;
- He allows some of the true Kabbalists to be revealed to a wide circle of those who desire spiritual development;

- Indiscernibly, He transforms our desires (modifies our souls) so we suddenly take an interest in spirituality;
- He changes our desires with regard to this world, helping us realize its insignificance and transience through sensations of disappointment and suffering.

By creating man a worthless egoist, i.e., by making a worthless creation that is seemingly so unbefitting Him, the Creator allowed man to create himself and elevate himself to an equal degree to that of the Creator Himself—to attain His level of perfection. Thus, the Creator reveals the perfection of His creation: although He created man a worthless creature, He thereby enables him to make a "Creator" of himself (in his properties).

Man cannot claim that although he is created with only one desire, he is unable to induce the reception of an altruistic desire instead of his natural, egoistic one. The Torah, Kabbalah, teachers, and suffering are all prepared to accelerate his advancement toward the goal of creation by the path of the Torah, or otherwise, the path of suffering.

However, the path of suffering is not only undesirable for man, whose life on earth makes him feel as though he is caught between the millstones of a tirelessly revolving mill. Ruthlessly and methodically, it pulverizes him both mentally and physically, to the very last day of his life. But this painful path is equally undesirable in the eyes of the Creator. After all, His goal is to delight man, which is in accord with the path of the Torah—a quick and painless way to transform our desires from egoistic into altruistic.

Since only the Creator can accomplish this (and He will, either painfully or painlessly, in accord with our conscious request), the development of such a request toward Him is all that man must do in his life. It is hence written: "Let him pray all day long!" Yet, we now understand that this phrase does not speak of sitting over a prayer-book, but refers to man's inner work on himself.

There are various forms of work that man must do in action, with his body, as in the case of physically observing the *Mitzvot*. And then there is man's inner, most important work, when observance of the *Mitzvot* depends on the words and desires of the heart.

Never does Kabbalah allude to or even mention our physical body, for it is no different from the body of an animal—it is born, functions, and dies as an animal. And all the various forms of work that the body performs are mere mechanical actions utterly unconnected to man's inner intention, and can even be outright opposite to it.

Therefore, the body's actions are completely disregarded in Kabbalah. Instead, man's *desire* is taken into account and is regarded as an action. In itself, when stripped off the physical body (in which it presently exists), it constitutes man's inner spiritual action.

The spiritual world is a world of incorporeal desires that have no volume, size, movement, or time. Just as in our imagination, where our desires are fulfilled instantly by the power of thought, everything in the spiritual world is determined only by our desires-thoughts, and not by physical actions.

Nevertheless, since in this world we temporarily exist in a physiological body, our task is to observe the Creator's *Mitzvot* both physically (with our body) and spiritually. Physically, we can observe them, as a person usually does—because of his upbringing or for a reward in this world (money, health, luck, peace, and so forth) or in the world to come (the best that he can imagine). Alternatively, he performs these actions because he was taught from childhood to do so mechanically, so he cannot avoid doing them in view of the acquired desire (instinct)—if he does not do them, he suffers.

This feeling of suffering is exactly what compels him to carry out the mechanical actions of the *Mitzvot*. It is not even the desire to receive a reward in this world or in the world to come: in this case, the reward is instantaneous—man feels no discomfort, since he does what he is accustomed to do.

Hence, it seems to such a man, who observes the *Mitzvot* because of the acquired nature (habit), that he demands no reward for his actions either in this world or in the world to come. After all, he truly does not think about any reward, as his habit, which became his second nature, compels him to perform these actions. If he feels this way, he is absolutely positive that he acts "for the Creator's sake." The fact that his habit, his second nature, compels him to perform the *Mitzvot* mechanically, escapes his awareness.

However, since our body is no more than an animal, the mechanical fulfillment of the *Mitzvot* by force of habit or for a reward is quite sufficient for him. There is a difference between those who observe because of upbringing or habit, and those who do it for a reward: the former do not even care whether or not the Creator actually exists; they perform purely mechanical actions that they cannot help performing, for they immediately begin to suffer for lack of habitual actions.

Yet, one who observes the *Mitzvot* because he has faith in reward and punishment believes in the Creator, His Torah, and His governance, but simply

uses it for his own benefit. By observing the *Mitzvot* with such an intention and remaining in it all of his life, he, naturally, does not grow spiritually. And he who does not grow in our world is called "still" (inanimate), as we divide all nature into the following levels: still, vegetative, animate, and speaking (human). Therefore, such people are regarded as spiritually still (*Domem de Kedusha*), but they are already "spiritually" still, as opposed to those who observe mechanically, by force of habit.

In Kabbalah, the word "body" implies desire. A desire or a body can be egoistic or spiritual (altruistic). The gradual passing of the egoistic body and its replacement with the altruistic one is called man's "spiritual birth."

Man's spiritual growth is designated by an increasingly growing intention to observe the *Mitzvot* only because such is the Creator's desire. Man observes it only for His sake, completely selflessly, as if no reward of any kind will ever be given to him in return, not even in the form of his own self-content. It is as though the Creator does not know who fulfills His desire, as though man himself is uncertain of whether or not he observes the *Mitzvot*. Yet, he does it anyway, for such is the Creator's will.

So then, the notion of "body" in Kabbalah alludes to man's corrected desires, whereas uncorrected desires, without a screen, cannot be used. It is as though they are not considered body parts, existing beyond the body. Hence, they are considered foreign forces or desires—*Klipot* (shells).

The only existing creation besides the Creator is the egoistic will to enjoy Him that was created by Him. This desire can be either egoistic (corrupted) or altruistic (corrected), spiritually pure or impure. All the spiritual forces: angels, *Klipot*, etc., constitute our uncorrected or corrected desires (the will to bestow delight upon the Creator). Nothing else exists in the universe!

There are twelve parts in the spiritual body that perform spiritual actions: two arms and two legs, each consisting of three parts, in all 4 x 3 = 12. These parts of our spiritual body (our desires that were corrected by the screen) observe the positive *Mitzvot*.

Just like the body of a spiritual object (*Partzuf*), man's body is his altruistic desires, in which he can receive the Creator's Light according to his intentions (screen). Man's desires are determined by his intentions.

All the work with the intention "for the Creator's sake" is performed by the external body parts: the twelve parts of arms and legs, and by the twelve internal body parts: brain, heart, liver, mouth, tongue, five parts of the lungs,

and two kidneys. These inner corrections of the body are meant for reception of the Supernal spirit, Light, inside the body, and represent man's most important work with regard to the Creator.

These inner actions are called *Mitzvot*. They depend on speech, such as a prayer—supplications, blessings, and praises. And he who comes to know this work is happy in all things. Man does not realize that his prayer permeates all the Heavens, rising up to the very pinnacle of the universe and reaching the Creator Himself.

As was repeatedly mentioned, not a single word in the Torah speaks of our world, especially not of our body. All the words in the Torah are the Creator's sacred names—the various sensations of the Creator felt by those who attain Him. As we have explained, the attainment and sensation of the Creator is impossible without a screen, an altruistic intention, meaning that all that man desires is to please his Creator. Only the sensations in the heart (the essence of man) can perform this work, and never the physiological organs of our animate body, which is no different from that of an animal.

When the morning Light begins to shine, separating Light from darkness, a call pierces through all the Heavens: *prepare for the opening of entrances and chambers, and each go to your position*. For the ones that serve at night are not the ones that serve in the daytime. And when the night comes, the daytime servants are once more replaced by the nighttime ones.

When the morning Light begins to shine—when man begins to realize that his egoistic desires are death and darkness, whereas altruism and spirituality are life and Light, the Light within man thereby separates from darkness, and he begins to analyze and realize his states, to feel spiritual ascents and descents—he feels his proximity to the Creator as Light, while remoteness from Him and descents into his egoistic desires feel like darkness.

However, one can feel it only if he feels the Creator (even if only a little, even if indistinctly). To start feeling the shame of receiving from the Creator and the insignificance of one's nature (the sensation of darkness), one must first feel the Creator. Only His Light contains all that man needs: strength for correction, desires, life. Hence, the main thing to which man must aspire is the sensation of the Creator, but not for pleasure, for correction.

The forces that serve in the daytime are called the "rulers, the government of the day," and the forces that serve at night are called the "rulers, the government of the night." As soon as the morning call is heard, they all take their positions,

Malchut and Israel descend and enter the *Beit-Knesset* (the House of Assembly—a place, where all of man's wishes are collected; hence, it is called the house of prayer) to exalt the Creator and begin their singing and blessings.

It is written: "We shall praise Your mercy in the morning and Your faith at night." Feeling the Creator's Light descending upon him, man perceives it as morning that comes after the darkness, and upon feeling such a state, he praises the Creator in his heart. All alien thoughts retreat before the influence of the Creator's Light, and all impure desires become restrained.

After man has corrected himself in the positive *Mitzvot* (in the first part, in the corrections of *Tzitzit* and *Tefillin*), he must unite all of his heart's desires in inner work (in the second part), and wholeheartedly dedicate himself to the work of praises, since speech rises upwards.

It is impossible to offer a brief explanation of the *Mitzvot* of *Tefillin* and *Tzitzit*, observed only by those who spiritually attained the level of *Partzuf* ZA.

These servants, who stood in their places in the air, are appointed to rule over the four sides of the world. Gazaria soars in the air to govern the East, and all the others that are appointed are together with him, and await the words of the prayer that rises on that side from below. And this ruler takes the prayer.

If the words of a prayer are proper, then all these rulers absorb them and rise with them to the firmament, where the other rulers stand. Upon absorbing these words, they proclaim, "Blessed be Israel. Blessed be the lips that utter these words!"

The letters that were hanging in the air then fly up and form the holy name that rules in the air and consists of twelve letters. This is the name by which Eliyahu flew before rising up to the sky. The letters fly up in the air, and the ruler, who holds the keys to the air in his hand, rises to Heaven along with all the other rulers, and pass the letters into the hands of another ruler for further ascent.

After *Malchut* had been separated from ZA, ZA filled himself with only *Ohr Hassadim* and became the right line, whereas *Malchut* formed the left line. These two lines are in conflict with one another, just as the right and the left lines of *Bina* oppose one another. This continues until ZA ascends to *Bina* as the middle line, balances the right and the left lines, and makes peace between them by uniting them in a single, middle line.

Similarly, ZA and *Malchut*, the two opposite lines, need a middle line to balance them, to bring them balance and peace, and to unite them. This occurs

with the help of *MAN* (*Mei Nukvin*), the prayers of the righteous, for they offer up the desires from this world. Also, the screen that they raise is called the *Masach* (screen) *de* (of) *Hirik*—the middle line—causing the left and the right lines to unite, and *Malchut* to unite with *ZA*.

Thus, a prayer becomes a request, *MAN*, and the middle line that leads to peace and unity between *ZA* and *Malchut*. Just like *Yesod* Above (the middle line) unites the Creator with the *Shechina-Malchut* by gathering all the created souls, man's prayer creates the middle line and unites all by its ascent—bringing peace and unity between the Creator and the *Shechina* (His creatures), the unity of souls with their Creator.

Hence, just like the *Sefira Yesod* Above, man, too, is called *Shalom* (peace). Moreover, the world below precedes and determines the world Above, for the awakening from below (requests of the lower ones) precedes and evokes the awakening from Above.

The spiritual world is a world of desires. There are only two desires:

1. The Creator's desire to bestow perfect delight upon His creation, i.e., upon man;
2. The will to receive pleasure for oneself, created by the Creator, called creation, or man's essence.

Nothing else exists except for these two desires! Everything we can possibly imagine derives only from these two spiritual forces. Man's desire is called a "prayer," for intentionally or unintentionally, this desire appeals to the One who created man, to the Creator. Spiritually, man develops in accordance with his prayer.

However, one's true prayer is his request for spiritual correction and elevation. Such a prayer, a desire in the heart, can be achieved only by consistent study of Kabbalistic sources, which affect man's egoistic desire with their concealed inner Light, and evoke him to ascend spiritually ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155).

A soul is none other than man's corrected, altruistic desire, his spiritual *Partzuf*, his desire to receive the Creator's Light with the screen (intention) "for the Creator's sake."

Man's speech in a prayer is none other than parts of his soul (the soul itself) clothed in a body. A prayer is man's soul in this world, *VAK de Nefesh* of *Malchut de Malchut* within *Malchut de Assiya*.

World of AK
World of Atzilut
World of Beria
World of Yetzira
World of Assiya: Keter
Hochma
Bina
ZA
Malchut = K + H + B + ZA + M
K + H + B + ZA + M
GAR + VAK = Soul of Man

Yet, how can one's prayer, his desire, rise through all the degrees of all the worlds of *BYA* and reach *Malchut de Atzilut* so as to become *MAN* and the middle line, uniting *Malchut* with *ZA*? After all, it is well known that no degree can rise above itself, let alone make such an incredible leap from the lowest degree of the spiritual ladder (our world) to the world of *Atzilut*.

To understand that, we must first thoroughly understand the meaning of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*. As a result of this ascent, each degree splits into two parts: *Keter* and *Hochma* of each degree remain within it, while *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* fall to a lower degree. This occurs because *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* and thereby created in *Bina* a new *Sof* (end) of the degree. This is because *Malchut* exists under the prohibition of the first restriction, and hence cannot receive the Light. Due to the second restriction, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* are located below the new *Sof* of the degree. Thus, being below *Malchut* that ascended to *Bina*, they are defined as a lower degree.

Keter = Galgalta	Together they are called GE (Galgalta-Eynaim)
Hochma = Eynaim	
Parsa = Ascended Malchut	
Bina = Awzen	Together they are called AHP (Awzen-Hotem-Peh)
ZA = Hotem	
Malchut = Peh	

Afterward, through the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, the Light *AB-SAG* descends and gives strength to *Malchut*, which stands in *Bina*, to descend to her own place: *Malchut* descends from *Bina* to her own place, thereby returning all the *Sefirot* to their places and uniting them all into one degree, consisting of ten whole *Sefirot*. Consequently, *Bina* and *ZON*, which were below each degree, return to their degree, to their previous level. Thus, each degree restores itself back to ten *Sefirot*.

However, although *Malchut*, who stood in *Bina* as the new *Sof* (end) of the degree, returns from *Bina* to her own place at the end of every ten *Sefirot*, this new *Sof* that she created in *Bina* does not entirely vanish from *Bina*. As a result, *Bina* and *ZON* do not descend to their place. Instead, they must rise above the new *Sof* and there create the left line with regard to *Keter* and *Hochma*, which never fell from their degree and constitute the right line.

This is why the new *Sof* remains in its place in all the degrees even after *Malchut's* descent from *Bina*. And this *Sof* is called the "firmament," while *Bina* and *ZON*, which fell from their degree, but now have returned to it, are called "air." For each lower degree is defined as *VAK* (called *Avir*—air) with regard to the Upper One.

Keter	= Galgalta	GE
Hochma	= Eynaim	GE
		Parsa (Firmament)
Bina	= Awzen	AHP (Air)
ZA	= Hotem	AHP (Air)
Malchut	= Peh	AHP (Air)

Since *Bina* and *ZON* fell from their degree, they became as *VAK* (air) with regard to it, as the entire lower degree with regard to the Upper. And after the descent of *Malchut* from *Bina*, the air (*Bina* and *ZON*) that was under the firmament rises above it and becomes the left line.

When *Bina* and *ZON* ascend above the firmament, they take with them the lower degree, where they existed when they were below, and elevate it along with them above the firmament. It is so because unlike our world, there are no ascents and descents in the spiritual; a descent constitutes the deterioration of one's properties from one spiritual level to a lower one.

Hence, being equivalent in properties with the lower degree, when *Bina* and *ZON* ascend together, they take the entire lower degree along with them. For after being together once, and having become similar, they receive help, ascend, and never part again.

Ultimately, *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* forms an entrance, an opening, a gate for the lower degree, through which it can ascend to the Upper One. Hence, when *Malchut* descends from *Bina*, thus allowing the lower part, *AHP de Bina*, to ascend, the lower degree can rise along with the ascending *AHP de Bina*.

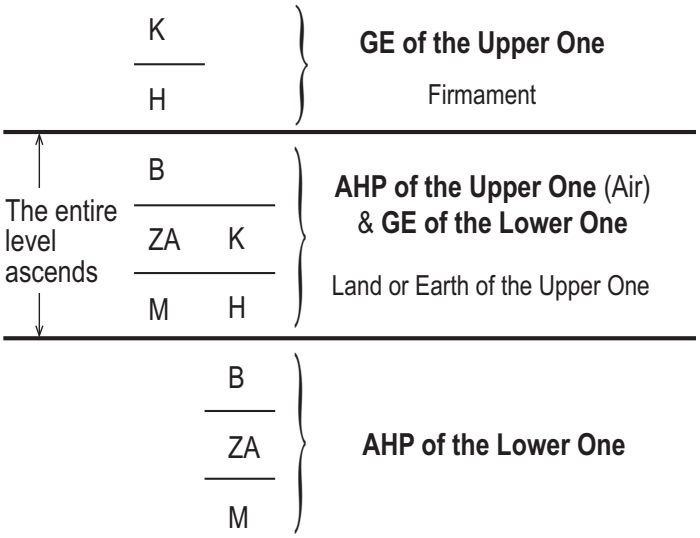

Thus, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* and her subsequent descent due to the influence of *Ohr AB-SAG*, three parts were formed in each degree:

- Air, *Bina* and *ZON* that fell down;
- The firmaments, the new ends of degrees that appeared through *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*. These never disappear, even if *Malchut* returns to her place;
- The entrances for the lower degrees that were formed through *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, when the lower degree ascends along with her. Without it, the lower degree can never reach the Upper One, for no degree can ascend above itself.

This process is described in the Chassidic tales as the mission of a righteous one (the Upper Degree) in our world: to descend to the most vile and corrupt people (the lower degree). In other words, while essentially remaining itself, the Upper Degree should corrupt its properties so as to equalize with the lower

degree. Thus, it shows to the lower ones that in its desires, thoughts, and actions, it is the same as them.

Then, when he completely unites with them, and they fully trust him, when he becomes "one of them" (designating the union of *AHP* of the Upper One with *GE* of the lower one), he gradually, inconspicuously or openly, begins to correct them—by his own example, he propagates his thoughts to them. These thoughts cannot be perceived from an outsider, but only from "one of their own." That is, the Upper One receives additional Light (strength) in its *GE* so as to be able to raise its own *AHP*, correct its desires of reception, start working with them for the Creator's sake, and elevate them to its own level.

And since there is no distinction between the desires of *AHP* of the Upper One and *GE* of the lower one, into which *AHP* of the Upper One fell, they both rise together. This way, the Upper One elevates, i.e., improves, corrects a certain part of the lower one's properties (*GE*), and elevates them to its true level.

Therefore, the most important thing in our state is to come to feel *AHP* of the Upper Degree, located at the very center of our heart, and to become equal with it in our properties so as to afterwards rise together with it.

This process is described in the book *Attaining the Worlds Beyond*, which provides a more personal perspective of this spiritual process:

Inside the internal sensations of the Kabbalist exists a part of the Higher Level, of the future state (*AHP*). One who perceives a Higher Spiritual Level as an unattractive vacuum, rather than a state full of Light, does not receive from the Higher level.

Even though the Higher Level is full of Light, the lower level perceives the Higher only to the degree that the lower qualities permit one to do so. Since the present qualities are not sufficient to receive the Higher Light, the individual does not perceive it.

We can perceive the Upper Level because all the spiritual steps are arranged sequentially from lowest to highest. Moreover, the subsequent states overlap with one another; the lower half of the Higher state is situated within the Upper half of the lower state (*AHP* of Upper falls into *GE* of lower).

Thus, the lowest part of our Upper State is always present within us, but is usually not felt by us. The Upper State above us is referred to as "the Creator" because it functions as the Creator for us.

It gives birth to us and it gives us life and guidance. Since we do not have a perception of this Higher State, we often insist that the Creator does not exist.

But if we are in a state in which we clearly see the Creator's Upper Domain over all the creations in this world, then we lose the possibility to choose freely.

We can see only One Truth, only One Force, and only One Will that operates in everything and in everyone.

Since the Will of the Creator is to grant each human being a free will, then the concealment of the Creator from His creations is necessary. Only if He is hidden can we argue that we can aspire *of our free will* to attach ourselves to the Creator—to act for His sake, without any trace of self-interest.

The entire process of self-correction is possible only when the Creator is concealed from us. As soon as He reveals Himself to us we immediately become His servants and fall into the control of His thought, grandeur and power.

At that point, it is impossible to determine what our true thoughts are. Thus, in order to allow us to act freely, the Creator has to conceal Himself.

On the other hand, to give us a chance to break free from the blind slavery of egoism, the Creator must reveal Himself. This is so because a human being obeys only two forces in this world: the force of egoism—the body—and the force of the Creator—altruism.

It follows, then, that alternating the two states is necessary. These states are the concealment of the Creator from us when we perceive only ourselves and the egoistic forces governing us, and the revelation of the Creator when we feel the power of the spiritual forces.

In order for one who is still under the influence of egoism to perceive the closest Upper Object (the Creator), the Creator must equalize some of His qualities with those of the lower being—the person seeking a connection with the Creator.

He will endow some of His altruistic qualities with egoistic attributes, and can then come into balance with the person seeking connection with Him.

The Upper Part elevates the *Malchut-Midat HaDin* to the level of His *Galgalta ve Eynaim.* As a result, His *AHP* acquires egoistic qualities. In this manner, His *AHP* "descends" to the lower part (the spiritual level of the seeker) and comes into a state of equivalence with the qualities of the lower part.

Initially the lower part was not able to perceive the Upper Spiritual State. However, because the Creator hid His highest altruistic qualities behind egoistic ones, He was able to descend to the level of the person so that the person was able to perceive Him.

Because we perceive higher qualities as being egoistic, we are unable to truly grasp their essence. It appears that there is nothing positive in the spiritual that may bring pleasure, inspiration, confidence, or tranquility.

It is precisely at this point that we have an opportunity to exercise our willpower. We may, instead, declare that the absence of pleasure and taste in the spiritual and in Kabbalah is because of the Creator's deliberate concealment for our own sake. Because we do not yet possess the necessary spiritual qualities, it is therefore impossible for us to perceive the Upper spiritual pleasures; rather, all our earthly desires are governed by egoism.

It is crucial for beginners to understand that they are given depression and distress in order to overcome them.

They may direct their pleas for relief to the Creator, they may study, or they may do good deeds. The fact that such people do not experience pleasure or vitality from spiritual aspirations is directed from Above.

This gives them the free will to conclude that their lack of pleasure comes from a lack of appropriate altruistic qualities in themselves. Hence, the Upper One must hide His true qualities from them.

Therefore, we must remember that the first stage of perceiving the spiritual is the feeling of spiritual deprivation. If the lower part is capable of realizing that the Upper One is concealing Himself because of their incongruity of qualities, and if that lower part asks for help to correct its own egoism by raising a prayer (*MAN*), then the Upper Part partially reveals Himself (lifts His *AHP*) and displays His true qualities, which prior to this moment, were disguised beneath egoism.

As a result, spiritual pleasure also becomes apparent. Thus, the lower part begins to experience the grandeur and the spiritual pleasure felt by the Higher Being, Who possesses spiritual altruistic qualities.

Because the Upper Part elevated His altruistic qualities in the eyes of the individual, He thus elevated the individual to the middle of His State (He lifted *GE* of the lower together with His own *AHP*).

This spiritual state is known as a person's "lesser spiritual level" (*Katnut*). The Upper Part, in a way, elevates the lower part to His own spiritual level by revealing both His grandeur and the grandeur of altruistic qualities. By seeing the magnificence of the spiritual and comparing it to the material, we may spiritually rise above our world.

When we perceive the spiritual, regardless of our will, our egoistic qualities are changed into altruistic ones, that is, into the qualities of the Creator. In

order to allow the lower part to take complete possession of the Higher first level, the Upper Part wholly reveals Himself and all His qualities to that lower part; meaning He reveals his Grandeur, makes *Gadlut*.

At this point, the person perceives the Upper Part as the One and Only Absolute Sovereign of everything in the universe. At the same time, the lower part grasps the highest knowledge of the purpose of creation and of the Upper's dominion.

It becomes clear to the lower part that there is no other way to conduct oneself than in the way prescribed by Kabbalah. Thus, the lower part's reason now requires proper action. As a result of this clear awareness of the Creator, one must deal with the contradiction between faith and knowledge, between the right and the left lines.

Now, having acquired altruistic qualities (*Katnut*), the lower part prefers to proceed only by means of faith in the strength of the Creator. This serves as an indication of the seeker's sincere desire to come closer to the Creator.

However, the Creator's revelation of His grandeur (*Gadlut*) now obstructs one from advancing by faith. Consequently, the individual must willingly dispense with the acquired knowledge.

When one pleads to proceed blindly, relying only on one's faith in the magnificence of the Creator, rather than by realizing His power and grandeur, and only by using reason in proportion to one's faith, the Creator is compelled to limit His disclosure. When such an action compels the Creator to diminish His disclosure of His general dominion, His omnipotence, and His Light (*Ohr Hochma*), this is called "the screen of *Hirik*."

Through this screen, we are able to diminish the revelation of the Upper reason (the left line) to the point at which this revelation can be balanced with faith, the right line. The correct correlation between faith and knowledge is called a "spiritual balance," or the middle line.

We, as individuals, determine the state we desire to be in. Once the correct correlation of faith and knowledge is in place, we can then attain perfection. This is known as "the middle line."

The part of revealed knowledge (the left line) that we can use in proportion to our faith (the right line), by proceeding by faith above reason (the middle line), is added onto those spiritual qualities that we possessed before, in the state of *Katnut*. The newly acquired spiritual level is known as *Gadlut*, meaning big and complete.

After the first complete spiritual level has been attained, we will become equal in qualities to the very first (the lowest) state of the spiritual ladder. As was mentioned earlier, all the states, or steps of the ladder, overlap with each other.

Having reached the first level, we may discover the presence of a higher level within us. Using the same principle as when advancing to the first level, we can proceed step by step to the goal of creation—complete unification with the Creator on the Highest level.

An essential part of our spiritual ascent is a special process that requires that, on discovering a greater evil within us, we ask the Creator to grant us the strength to overcome that evil. We then receive strength in the form of a greater spiritual Light.

This continues until we actually reach the original level and size of our souls: at that point, our egoism is completely corrected and filled with Light.

When we are distracted by outside thoughts, we feel that thoughts obstruct us from ascertaining the spiritual, because our strength and minds are wasted on extraneous concerns, while our hearts become filled with petty desires. At times like this, we lose faith in the fact that only the Kabbalah contains the true life.

Once we overcome this condition, we come out of our state and move into the Light, receiving a Higher Light that helps us ascend further. In this manner, our extraneous thoughts work to help us in our spiritual advancement.

We can overcome obstacles only with the help of the Creator. We can only work on something if we perceive some personal benefit in the task. However, our bodies, hearts and intellects do not understand what benefits can result from altruism.

Therefore, as soon as we try to make even the slightest altruistic move, we lose all strength of the mind, heart and body. We are left with nothing else but to turn to the Creator and ask Him for help. In this way, unwillingly and without any free choice, we advance toward the Creator until we merge with Him completely.

The lower half of the Higher spiritual object is found within the Upper half of the lower spiritual object. In the lower object, the screen (*Masach*) is found in the eye area. This is known as "spiritual blindness," because in such a state only the lower half of the Higher object is visible to us, since the screen of the lower spiritual object conceals part of the Higher spiritual object.

The Higher spiritual object drops its screen to the lower one, then reveals itself to the lower object, which in turn begins to view the Higher object as the Higher One views itself. As a result, the lower object receives the state of fullness (*Gadlut*).

The lower object, then, sees that the Higher One is in a "great" state, and realizes that the Higher object's prior concealment and apparent manifestation as the "small" state (*Katnut*), was done exclusively for the benefit of the lower one. In this way, the lower object could become aware of the importance of the Higher One.

A person in the right line (*Kav Yamin*) is happy with his lot (*Chafetz Hesed*). This is called a "small spiritual state" (*Katnut*), because a person feels no need for the Torah. He does not feel evil, egoism within himself, and without the need for self-correction, he needs no Torah.

Hence, he needs the left line (*Kav Smol*). He has to critically appraise his state (*Heshbon Nefesh*), decide what he wants from the Creator and from himself, and whether he understands the Torah and advances toward the goal of creation. Here he sees his genuine state and is obliged to integrate it in the right line. In other words, he has to be content with what he has and be pleased with his state, as if he has everything that he wishes.

In the left line, which brings about suffering as a result of the absence of the desired, a need is awakened for the help of the Creator, which comes in the form of Light of the soul.

In the right line, in a state when a person desires nothing for the self, there exists only the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), the joy from the similarity in spiritual qualities. But this state is not perfect, because it lacks knowledge and the understanding of the inner meaning. In the left line there is no perfection because the Light of Wisdom can illuminate only if there is congruence in qualities between the Light received and the recipient of the Light.

The congruence results in *Ohr Hassadim*, which is found in the right line. Spiritual gains can be made only by having a desire. But the right line has no desire for anything. All the desires are concentrated in the left line. However, the desired cannot be received into the egoistic desires.

Thus, it is necessary to unite these two qualities so that the Light of knowledge and pleasure of the left line can enter the Light of altruistic qualities of the right line, and the Light of the middle line will illuminate the created being. Without the Light of the right line, the Light of the left is not revealed and is perceived only as darkness.

The ascent from our world, in which we do not consciously perceive *AHP* of the Upper One, occurs in the following way:

All of one's thoughts about the Creator and spirituality constitute his contact with *AHP* of the Upper One. How can this Upper *Partzuf* descend to

him? Only by equalizing one's desires (properties) with it. All of man's thoughts and desires (or lack thereof), with regard to the spiritual, constitute his contact with the Upper One. When man feels a lack of desire for spirituality, it means that the Upper *Partzuf* descended and entered him, equalized itself with him; hence, man feels spiritual emptiness.

It is precisely in this state of not being drawn to the spiritual that man should tell himself that it only seems to him this way, whereas in truth, by faith above reason, he desires and acts for the sake of nearing the spiritual. In other words, if, in the state when the Upper One "falls" (spiritual values lose their significance) in his eyes, one can nonetheless aspire to spirituality, he thereby binds, connects himself to *AHP* of the Upper One. This is because *AHP* of the Upper One deliberately degraded its properties and assumed an outward form similar to the properties (desires) of man.

Therefore, as soon as one can establish contact with *AHP* of the Upper One (even if it appears to him absolutely unattractive, precisely because it lowers its properties to man's level), this *AHP* of the Upper One immediately elevates man to its *GE*. Thus, man ascends to a Higher Degree.

"Piercing through the air" means that the air boundary, consisting of *Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, created as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, is pierced by *Malchut's* descent from *Bina* to her place, for then the air rises above the firmament and reaches *GAR* (*GE*) of the degree.

Thus occurs the piercing of the firmaments. For the firmaments constitute the borders of new ends, which appeared because the air (*Bina* and *ZON*) was pushed off from its own degree to a lower one, and was not allowed to return to its degree. Hence, the firmament is pierced from *Malchut's* descent, and no longer prevents *Bina* and *ZON* from ascending and joining that degree.

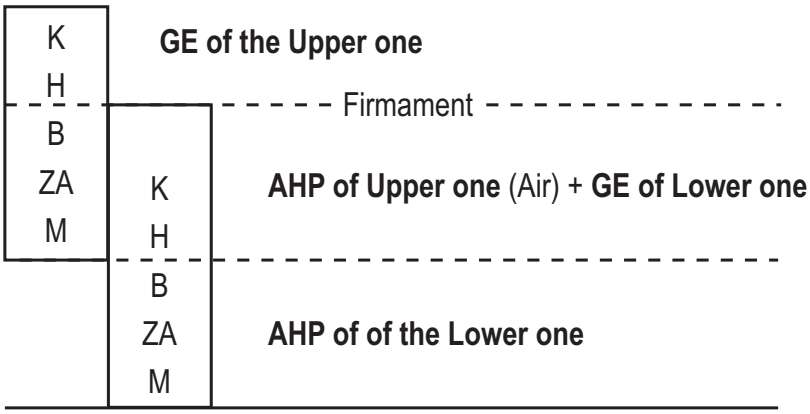

1. *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* = firmament.

2. *Malchut* descends back. This creates a passage for *AHP* to its *GE*. Thus, the entrances for the lower degree are opened: due to *Malchut's* descent to her place and the piercing through the firmaments, *Bina* and *ZON* ascend to a Higher Degree above the firmament together with the lower degree that they were with during their descent.

In other words, the Upper One deliberately opened up the entrances to enable the lower degree to ascend to a Higher Degree, and not for *Bina* and *ZON* (*AHP* of the Upper One), who simply return to their place.

The Light that lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* to her own place at the end of the ten *Sefirot* stems from *Partzufim AB-SAG*. These are the *Partzufim Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *AK*. Although the second restriction—*Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*—occurred in *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *AK*, the *Partzufim Bina* (*SAG*) and *Hochma* (*AB*) of the world of *AK* were unaffected by it, and *Malchut* remains in her place at the end of the ten *Sefirot*.

Only the Creator Himself, meaning the properties of the Light, can correct and transform man's egoistic properties to altruistic. Indeed, man is simply unable to pull himself out of his current state "by his own hair," as from birth he has absolutely no spiritual strength (desires). Hence, only the Upper Light can correct him. And it can only be *Ohr Hochma*, for this is the Light that the Creator emanates. *Ohr Hochma*, unrestricted by *Tzimtzum Bet*, is located in *Partzuf AB* of the world of *AK*. *Partzuf SAG de AK* is a *Partzuf* of *Bina*.

Therefore, when one raises his *MAN* (prayer), it reaches the Highest *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, which turn to *SAG-Bina-Ima* (mother), who in turn appeals to *AB-Hochma-Aba* (father), receives *Ohr Hochma* from him and passes it to her children—the souls of the righteous, those who wish to become righteous and to ascend spiritually.

Hence, when *Hochma-AB* unites with *Bina-SAG* in the world of *AK*, this Light (*Ohr AB-SAG*) descends from *Partzuf Bina de AK* to *Partzuf Bina de Atzilut*, called *EKYEH* = *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey*. *Partzuf Bina de Atzilut* sends the Light to all the degrees of the worlds of *BYA*. Upon attaining a particular *Partzuf*, this Light lowers the *Malchut* of each degree (that ascended to *Bina*) from the degree of *Bina* to her previous place.

Starting with *AVI*, all the *Partzufim* are in the state of *Katnut*: *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* is inside *GE* of the lower one. The received *Ohr Hochma* descends to him who raised *MAN*, thus evoking *Gadlut* in all the *Partzufim*, through which

the Light descends to him. The Light descends to each *Partzuf* along his personal path, which is precisely what connects everyone, each soul, to the Creator.

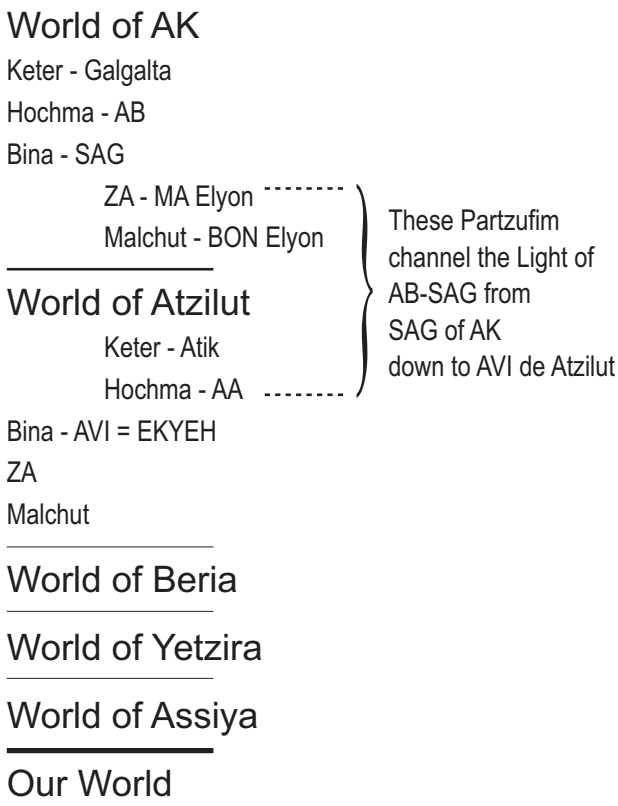

This is why the name *EKYEH* is referred to as the ruler of air that moves the boundary of air because of *Malchut's* descent from *Bina* to her previous place. Each degree and each world consists of four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*, each of which Consists of its own individual ten *Sefirot*, where, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* in each degree, *Bina-ZA-Malchut* of each degree fell to a lower degree.

Thus, there are four kinds of airspace in each world that are governed by the three names of *EKYEH*: *EKYEH* in the air of *Hesed*, *EKYEH* in the air of *Gevura*, and *EKYEH* in the air of *Tifferet*. *Malchut* receives from them, and all three names govern in her air together.

The triple name, *EKYEH*, comprises twelve letters. This twelve-letter name rules in the air by lowering *Malchut* from *Bina* to her previous place, returning *Bina* and *ZON* (called "air"), who fell to a lower degree, back to the degree above the firmament. For *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* created an entrance, to enable the

lower one rise to the Upper Degree as soon as it opens, i.e., during *Malchut's* return to her place.

Hence, when the prophet Eliyahu (a particular spiritual degree) wished to soar to the sky, *Malchut* of each degree ascended to *Bina* of the corresponding degree, while *Bina* and *ZON* of this degree fell to the lower degree, and a firmament was formed between them. It turned out that each degree doubled: now it contained its own degree, as well as *Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, who fell and clothed the lower degree.

This occurred at each degree of the worlds of *ABYA*, down to the lowest one: *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Malchut* of the world of *Assiya* fell and emerged in our world below *Malchut*. *Malchut de Assiya* ends at its firmament, which is a new end, in *Bina*. Also, this degree doubled, as *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Yesod* of the world of *Assiya* fell and clothed in its degree.

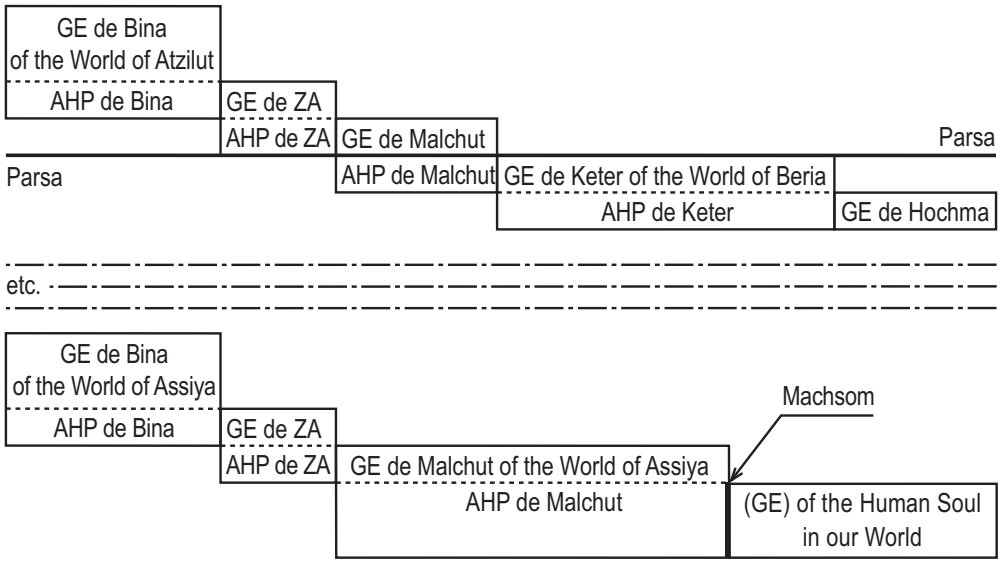

In the diagram, *GE* of man in our world are put in brackets, for he who exists (spiritually, not with his body) at the degree of our world has no desires of bestowal. Hence, it is said that he who exists with his properties in this world, in egoism, has only a point in his heart, from which he can start his spiritual development.

Similarly, the *Sefira Yesod* of the world of *Assiya* also ends with its firmament and contains *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Hod de Assiya*. The *Sefira Netzah de Assiya* also doubled, and so on up to *Bina de Atzilut*. This is why the prophet Eliyahu rose up and united with *Bina* and *ZON*, who fell from *Malchut de Assiya*

to this world. He equalized with them and clothed in them, whereupon they became like him—reached his degree.

Not all ten *Sefirot* of the world of *Assiya* are shown in the above diagram, but as it was previously mentioned, each degree is divided into its own *GE* and *AHP*. Man's task is to find *AHP* of the Upper One within him, and connect to it, merge with it in all of his sensations and desires.

Subsequently, the twelve-letter name exerted its influence (thanks to the Light *AB-SAG*), causing *Malchut de Assiya* to descend from *Bina* of *Malchut de Assiya* to its place, *Malchut de Malchut*, the end of the ten *Sefirot*. And as before, *Bina* and *ZON* ascended to their degree above the firmament of *Malchut*. And since Eliyahu's properties were already merged with this air (with the ascending *Bina* and *ZON*), he rose together with them above the firmament of *Malchut*, as he was similar to them.

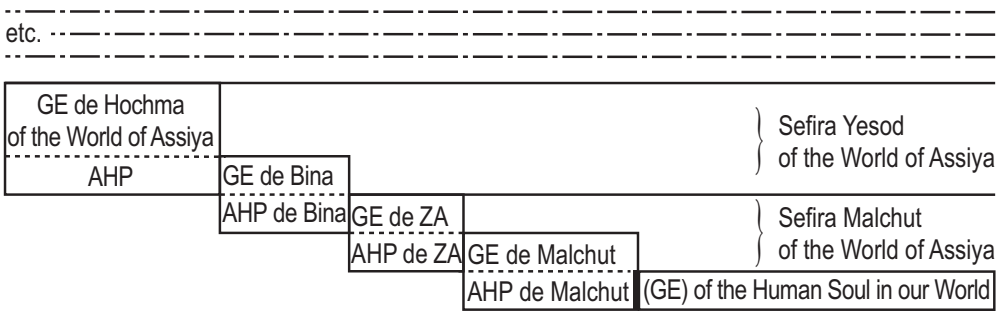

And since he rose above the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*, he entered the air (*AHP*) of *Yesod de Assiya*, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Yesod* that fell down there. Then he merged in his desires with this air and is considered to have clothed in it, for they were previously at the same degree. Then the influence of the twelve-letter name lowered *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Yesod de Assiya* to her place at the end of the ten individual *Sefirot* of *Yesod de Assiya*.

After that, *Bina* and *ZON* (the air of *Yesod*) ascended above the firmament of *Yesod*. And since Eliyahu had already merged with this air, he (man's soul, his desire) too ascended above the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*, due to his concord with them.

And because he rose above the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*, he met with the air (*AHP*) of *Hod de Assiya*, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Hod de Assiya* that fell down there. Subsequently, he merged in his desires with this air and clothed it, for they were previously at the same place (spiritually similar to one another).

As soon as man merges in his properties with *AHP* of the Upper One, the influence of the twelve-letter name (the descent of the Light of *AB-SAG* from Above) brings *Malchut* back (gives strength to the screen) to the end of the ten individual *Sefirot* of *Hod de Assiya*. And the air, its *Bina* and *ZON*, returned to their place above the firmament of *Hod de Assiya*. They took Eliyahu (man's soul, his desires) with them, for he had merged with them, and they elevated him to the firmament of *Hod de Assiya* in view of his similarity with them.

And when he was already in the firmament of *Hod de Assiya*, he met with the air (*AHP*) of *Netzah de Assiya* and merged with it in his properties. When the influence of the twelve-letter name (the Light of correction, *AB-SAG*, that was sent by the Creator) brought *Malchut* back to her place (*Malchut* descended from *Bina* to *Malchut* of this *Sefira*, because she received strength from the Light to resist the egoistic desires of *AHP* and make them altruistic), the air of *Netzah* ascended above the firmament, and being merged with Eliyahu (man's soul), took him with it. Being already in the firmament of *Netzah*, he met with the air of *Tifferet* and so on, until he ascended with this air above the firmament of *Tifferet de Assiya*.

In the same way, the air (*AHP*) of each degree rose higher, up to the Highest Degree of the world of *Assiya*. From there, it rose to *Malchut de Yetzira*, and from there—one step at a time—along all the degrees of the world of *Yetzira* and the world of *Beria*, up to the Heavens (*ZA*) of the world of *Atzilut*.

It is therefore said about the prophet Eliyahu that the Creator's spirit (the Light *AB-SAG*) elevated him (merged with *AHP* of the Upper One) to the Heavens: spirit means *Ruach*, *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, called "air," that fell down to the lower degree. And this air (spirit) elevates one from a lower degree to a Higher One through all the individual degrees, from the lowest degree (*Sof de Assiya*) up to the world of *Atzilut*.

An Upper Degree is regarded as the Creator of the lower degree: it creates it, vitalizes it with Light, and governs it. At each degree, man considers the next Highest spiritual degree with regard to him as the Creator. As Rabbi Zushe said: "Every day I have a new Creator." In other words, as man ascends to a Higher Degree (which he calls "day" or "Light"), he thereby reveals a new property of the Creator in this Higher Degree.

The air of each of the four sides of the world (in *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Malchut*) has its own rulers, who hold the keys to the activation of the twelve-letter name so as to lower *Malchut* from *Bina* to her own place. The ascending order of these four kinds of air is as follows: West-*Malchut*, East-*Tifferet* (including *NHY*), North-*Gevura*, and South-*Hesed*.

Hesed	–	SOUTH
Gevura	–	NORTH
ZA	–	EAST
Malchut	–	WEST

It is not the rulers that raise a prayer (the desire that man feels in the very depths of his heart) from air to air, and then from firmament to firmament. The air raises a prayer from the firmament, each air to its firmament: first, the prayer ascends to the air of the *Sefira Malchut de Assiya*, i.e., to *Bina* and *ZON* (*AHP*) that fell from *Malchut de Assiya* down to our world. They resemble the prayer itself, for this air (*AHP*) is similar to a prayer (the Upper One lowered itself deliberately to equalize its properties with the lower one); hence, they merge as one degree.

Then the one that rules there, Zvuliel (Zebuliel), activates the twelve-letter name, which lowers *Malchut* from *Bina de Assiya* to her place. This causes the air to return to its degree and rise above the firmament of the world of *Assiya*. And since the air became similar to the degree of the actual prayer, it also takes the prayer along with it, raising it above the firmament of the *Sefira Malchut de Assiya*. This is similar to the ascent of Prophet Eliyahu.

And since the prayer ascended to the firmament of the world of *Assiya*, it meets the air of *Yesod de Assiya* that fell there, as in the case of Eliyahu. It also encounters the ruler of the air of the East, Gazaria (Gazardiel), because East designates the *Sefira Tifferet* (ZA is often called *Tifferet*, as the properties of this *Sefira* dominate and determine all the properties of ZA), which includes the *Sefira Yesod*, for *Tifferet* includes *Sefirot NHY*.

This ruler activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina de Yesod* to her place, which causes the air of *Yesod* to ascend to its degree, the firmament of *Yesod*. By merging with the prayer into one degree via equivalence of form, he takes it with him and raises it above the firmament of *Yesod*. Then, a similar action occurs in the air and firmament of *Sefirot Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Tifferet*.

Since the prayer ascended to the firmament of *Tifferet*, it encounters the Northern air, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Gevura de Assiya* that fell there. There it unites with this air into one degree. Then the ruler of the North, Petachia (Petahyah), activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* to her place. Consequently, the air returns, ascends to the firmament of *Gevura* and takes with it the prayer, which merged with it into one degree during its fall.

Since the prayer has already reached the firmament of *Gevura*, it meets with the Southern air, *Bina* and *ZON* of *Hesed de Assiya* that fell there, and merges with this air. Then the ruler of the Southern air, named Pisgania (Pesagniyah), *Hesed de Assiya*, activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Hesed de Assiya* to her place. The Southern air returns and ascends to its degree in the sixth firmament, *Hesed de Assiya*, called "south."

Since the prayer has reached the sixth firmament, it encounters the air that fell from the seventh firmament, which is *Bina* that includes *GAR*, and the prayer merges with this air into one degree. When the twelve-letter name lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* (the seventh firmament) to her place, the air returns to its degree (the seventh firmament) and takes the prayer with it, as they merge during its fall.

Since the prayer has reached the seventh firmament, it encounters the air that fell from *Malchut de Yetzira*, and merges with it. Next, the general ruler, Sandalphon, who governs the entire world of *Assiya*, takes it and activates the twelve-letter name, which lowers *Malchut* from *Malchut de Yetzira* to her place. And the air ascends and returns to its degree, the firmament of *Malchut de Yetzira*, takes the prayer with it, and elevates it to the firmament of *Malchut de Yetzira*.

In exactly the same way, the prayer ascends through all seven *Heichalot* (halls) of the worlds *Yetzira* and *Beria* up to the world of *Atzilut*. This clarifies the question posed in the beginning: how can a prayer ascend from the very lowest degree of the world of *Assiya* to the world of *Atzilut*, for no degree can ascend above itself? From the aforesaid, it follows that since the prayer merges with the first air that fell from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world, it is exactly this air that elevated them to the firmament of *Malchut*, whereas the air of *Yesod de Assiya* was elevated to the firmament of *Yesod*, and so forth. In other words, the air with which the prayer merges and ascends elevates it to *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

He who falls from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world descends from the spiritual degree called *Malchut de Assiya* to the spiritual degree called our world. Of course, this in no way refers to the physical existence in our world. *AHP* of the Upper Degree are considered fallen when one feels in his heart (in the center of all of his desires) the desire to attain the spiritual, merge with it, and annul his egoistic properties because they harm and impede his advancement.

One should not think that the fall of *Bina* and *ZON* to our world from the world of *Assiya* can be experienced by anyone. And only he who felt this way and was then able to make a sufficient amount of quantitative and qualitative efforts, merits being elevated above our world by *AHP* of the Upper One.

On the Southern side (*Hesed*), there is he who governs the air of that side, and his assistants. His name is Pisgania, and he holds the keys to the air of this side. All those who suffer pray to their Creator from the depths of their broken hearts (the very sensation of suffering constitutes a prayer, and requires no words). If their speech (desires) is worthy, it ascends to the air of this side, and the ruler accepts and kisses it ("embrace," "kiss," and *Zivug* are forms of spiritual union of *Partzufim*), and then declares: "The Creator will be merciful and will spare you in His mercy."

All of the holy rulers (*Ohr Hochma* is called holy) and their assistants of that side rise together with him. The letters of the Creator's holy name, of the twelve-letter name *EKYEH* soar: four letters *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey* on each side, which rule the corresponding sides of air. They ascend on this side of the air to the Southern firmament, *Hesed* (the sixth firmament), to the ruler of the firmament of the Southern side, named Anafiel.

On the Northern side (*Gevura*) there is Petachia, who governs the air with his assistants. If he who prays for his enemies and haters, i.e., for those who make him suffer is righteous, then as the speech of his prayer rises to the air of that side, the ruler accepts his heart's speech and kisses it (unites it with his properties so as to raise it higher).

The air that comes from the North stirs and calls upon all the firmaments, and they all take this speech, raise it to the Northern, fifth firmament, kiss it and say: "The Lord will cast your enemies down and take them away from your face." This occurs in the following order: after the governor of the air had accepted the prayer and kissed it, which means that it merged with the degree of the air and the ruler, the air stirs on the Northern side (the new end that *Malchut* made as she ascended to *Bina*, called *Techum*—space, from the word *Tohu*—chaos), and the twelve-letter name lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Gevura de Assiya* back to her place.

The air that fell into the restrictions (*Dinim*) of this space is aroused by the desire to rise to the firmament of *Gevura*. Also, all the degrees that merged with it during its fall rise along with it to the firmament of *Gevura* due to their similarity to it. Similarly, the prayer that was merged with it during its fall ascends along with it to the fifth firmament.

The order of the ascent (offering up of a prayer) starts from here: it ascends and pierces through the air (*AHP*), which fell from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world, and ascends with it to the first firmament, the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*. The prayer ascends and approaches the ruler (in its properties), who was

appointed to control the Western side, *Malchut*. There are nine entrances where the assistants to the ruler, Zvuliel stand.

The ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut* herself have nine (not ten) entrances, for a restriction to receive the Light is imposed on *Malchut* of the *Sefira Malchut*, and it is connected to *Yesod de Malchut*. Hence, *Yesod* and *Malchut* of *Malchut* share the same entrance.

However, a question arises: "Why do all the parts of the air have one ruler for the air and a separate ruler for the firmament? For example, on the Eastern side Gazaria controls the Eastern air and Shimshiel controls the Eastern firmament (*Tifferet*, the fourth firmament). Similarly, Pisgania controls the Southern air on the Southern side, and Anafiel controls the Southern firmament. And on the Northern side, the ruler Petachia governs the Northern air, and Gadriel is in charge of the Northern firmament. So why does only *Malchut* have one general ruler, called Zvuliel, who governs both the air and the firmament?"

The reason is that due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, *Bina* and *ZON* of each degree fall to a lower degree, the degree of air. However, only the lower part of *Bina* (*ZAT* or *VAK de Bina*) falls, whereas *Keter*, *Hochma*, and the Upper half of *Bina* (*GAR de Bina*) remain at the same degree. Only the lower half of *Bina*, *ZAT de Bina* (*ZA* and *Malchut*) fell from this degree and became air.

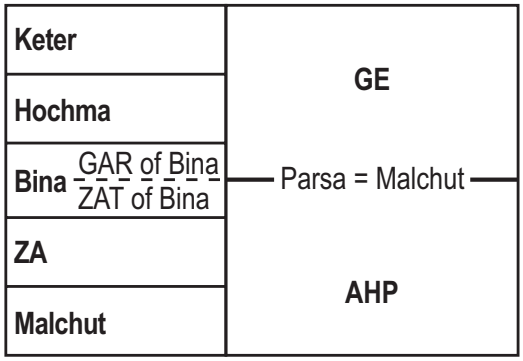

Therefore, two separate rulers were needed: one for the Upper Degree remaining above the firmament, and the other—for the lower half of the degree that fell and turned into air. The degree (ten *Sefirot*) of *Malchut*, from whom all nine lower *Sefirot* fell to the lower degree during *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, retained only one *Sefira Keter de Malchut*, which remained as a point below *Yesod de ZA*.

Nevertheless, even this point refers more to the *Sefira Yesod*, which is superior to *Malchut*, because its properties are more similar to *Yesod*. And since all of

Malchut refers to the properties of air (except for her individual *Keter*), she has only one ruler.

The ruler wishes to act in the firmament in the daylight, but does not receive permission until the moon rises, i.e., until nightfall, when all the rulers and forces emerge. And when the day breaks (the Upper Light starts shining), they all ascend (the spiritual properties become corrected and improve under the Light's influence) to the Highest of the nine entrances, the point of *Keter de Malchut*, which remained at its degree above the firmament (*Parsa*).

And when the prayer ascends, it enters through this Upper entrance, and all the rulers with their assistants emerge from it, led by their Supreme ruler, Zvuliel, the only ruler of the air of this Upper entrance, who is above the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*. They all emerge, kiss the prayer, and accompany it up the second firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*.

Malchut constitutes the left line—*Hochma* without *Hassadim*. Therefore, when she dominates, the Light does not shine and darkness prevails. *Hochma* cannot shine without *Hassadim*, which means that when *Malchut* rules, it is nighttime (not daylight). Indeed, all nine of her lower *Sefirot*, from which all the rulers (of man) and forces (man's desires) of the left side originate, rule at night.

This is why it is said that *Malchut* descends from *Bina* to her place, although her nine lower *Sefirot* remained untouched by the impure force, for *Malchut* descended from the firmament, which transformed her into air. Even so, they (nine *Sefirot*) have no power in her place, and must rise above the firmament to the Upper entrance, *Keter de Malchut*. There they enter the right side (*Hassadim*), and the prayer ascends with them because of their similarity (in desires, properties), achieved while they were below the firmament (in the state called "our world").

And since the prayer (*MAN*) rose above the firmament of *Malchut* (to *GE* of the Upper One), it encounters the air (*AHP* of the still Higher One) that fell there from the second firmament. After the descent of *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Yesod de Assiya* to her place, this air ascends to the firmament of *Yesod*, and takes with it all the rulers, their assistants, and the prayer, which were merged with it during its fall, and elevates all of them to the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*.

And when the prayer ascends to this firmament (*Yesod*), the twelve gates of this firmament open up. A special ruler, Ana'el (Anahel), who is in charge of many forces, stands at the twelfth entrance, and when the prayer ascends, proclaims to all the entrances: "Open the gates." And all the entrances open up, and the prayer enters through them.

This happens because *Tifferet* has twelve borders of the diagonal, defined by the *Sefirot H-G-T-M*, each of which contains three lines of *HGT*, twelve in all. And all that exists in *Tifferet* is also present in *Yesod*, but there these twelve borders are called "twelve gates," through which the prayer enters.

And then awakens a very old ruler, who stands at the Southern side. His name is Azriel-Saba, sometimes referred to as Machaniel, for he is responsible for 600,000 groups (camps—*Machanot*). All the groups have wings and eyes; they stand and listen to all those who are quietly praying, to the prayers that come from the depths of the heart and are directed only to the Creator. Only such prayers are heard by those who have ears.

There is a special opening in the *Sefira Yesod de Hesed* (Supernal mercy) that descends from the right line of *Bina*. Hence, the ruler of this mercy is called Azriel-Saba. He is called *Saba* (grandfather), because *Hochma* and *Bina* are called "old men." And he is appointed to rule over 600,000 groups (camps), because 600 = 6 x 100, where 6 = *HGT NHY Sefirot* in *Bina*. And since each *Sefira* in *Bina* is designated by 100, 6 x 100 = 600. And the thousands stem from *Ohr Hochma*, which shines in each of these *Sefirot*. Hence, 600 x 1,000 = 600,000 groups.

GAR de Tvuna, the lower part (*ZAT*) of *Bina*, are called "ears." Only *Ohr Hassadim* shines in them, without *Hochma*. *VAK de Tvuna* are called "eyes," and *Ohr Hochma* shines in them.

Malchut and *Bina* constitute two kinds of air, West and North, which unite and intermix, and form a diagonal, a combination of judgment and mercy that mitigates strictness and judgment. Hence, they hear good words from one who merits it, i.e., they accept one's prayer to the extent of the mercy in the diagonal. Alternatively, they hear bad things about one who does not merit, accepting one's prayer to the extent of the judgment in the diagonal.

If man's ears hear the prayer (which means that he speaks not from the depths of his heart, but with his mouth, so outwardly that his ears hear it, but not his heart), no one will accept it Above. Therefore, man must be watchful: no one should hear his prayer, for the speech of the prayer unites in the Upper World, in *ZA*, and the speech of the Upper World must not be heard.

Consider how the Torah is read: one reads and the others keep silent. However, if they all read it out loud, they lessen the faith Above, for the voice and speech of one mingle with the voice and speech of the others, and undermine faith, i.e., *Malchut*. The voice and speech (*ZA* is called "voice" and *Malchut* is called "speech") of one must be similar to the voice and speech of the other.

Two reasons are mentioned above as to why a prayer must be speech without voice, unheard by man's ear. The first is that *Malchut*, who begets people, consists of two points: the Light cannot be received from *Malchut* with a measure of judgment, whereas the Light can be received from *Malchut* that is corrected in *Bina* with a measure of mercy.

Similarly, man consists of a combination of these two points. If he merits, the measure of judgment becomes concealed, the measure of mercy is revealed, and he merits receiving the Upper Light. However, if he does not merit, the measure of judgment becomes revealed and the Light disappears from him.

Therefore, the Upper ear has an inclined form so as to be able to receive the prayer of man-righteous one, him who merits the concealment of the measure of judgment, so that the listening ear would not arouse judgment, concealed in the speech of the prayer. Hence, if an outsider hears the prayer before it ascends, he evokes the judgment concealed in the speech of the prayer, and it cannot be heard Above.

There is another reason for this: the speech of the prayer constitutes parts of *Malchut*. And he who prays must be a part of *Malchut*. Hence, the prayer must ascend and be included in the Supernal *Malchut*, called "speech." Then *Malchut* unites with ZA (voice) and the prayer is accepted, i.e., the Light is accepted from ZA.

Therefore, one must not raise his voice during prayer so as to allow the Supernal voice, the Light of ZA, to descend to the praying person. The speech ascends to *Malchut*, merges with ZA with the help of *Malchut*, and receives a completely corrected voice from ZA. As a result, the prayer can receive the Light. It is therefore said that the words of a prayer pronounced by man's voice must not be heard.

He who reads the Torah must also be a part of ZA, called "Torah." And the voice of one who reads Torah must be instead of the voice of ZA. Hence, it is forbidden to hear someone else's voice, for it will be the voice of one who exists under judgment, and not under mercy.

Thus, the voice of an outsider harms the voice of one who reads the Torah, and *Malchut* is unable to receive the Light from ZA. Yet, if this is the voice and speech of one man, then the voice, called ZA, and speech, called *Malchut*, merge into one combination. But if voice and speech of an outsider join the reader's, it will harm him.

With regard to everything mentioned above, one can say that only he who approaches the described state can understand what *The Zohar* narrates.

Spiritual actions are understood in one's heart, his desires, his properties. If they do not correspond to those that are described above, no explanation of any kind will help. An "outsider" designates man's "foreign" (distant from spiritual aspirations) thoughts and desires.

When a quiet, concealed, and secret prayer ascends, the governor Azriel-Saba himself and all of his assistants, who are in charge of the 600,000 groups (camps), and all those who have eyes and ears emerge and kiss the ascending word of the prayer.

This is said in the verse: "The Creator's eyes and ears are upon them." The Creator's eyes rest upon the righteous. The Creator's eyes refer to those below who have eyes, meaning the angels that exist in the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*. They exist Above, at the degree of GAR, for eyes signify the property of *Hochma*. However, these eyes are the eyes of the *Sefira Yesod*, as it is written: "The Creator's eyes rest upon the righteous," as *Yesod* is called the "righteous one."

The third firmament is the *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod de Assiya*. The prayer ascends to this firmament. The ruler Gadria, who controls this firmament with his assistants, acts three times a day during the ascent of the three lines to the world of *Atzilut*, when the luminous scepter of Light ascends and descends, but does not stay in one place, for *Ohr Hochma* of the left line (called the "scepter of Light") wants to shine.

The word "scepter" (Hebrew, *Sharvit*) signifies eyesight, and *Ohr Hochma* is called the Light of eyesight. The scepter moves three times and conceals itself, because *Hochma* reveals itself only when the three lines move in the three points: *Holam* (the dot above the letters), *Shuruk* (the dot inside the letters), and *Hirik* (the dot below the letters).

When the prayer, which is the middle line, ascends and carries the screen of *Hirik*, the scepter (the Light of the left line) descends and bows its head before the prayer, designating the concealment of GAR, called "head." This is because the middle line reduces the left line with the help of the screen of *Hirik*. This third firmament of *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod de Assiya* is called the "firmament of the scepter," for the scepter of Light acts within it.

When the prayer ascends, the ruler bows his head before it (diminishes his level) and then strikes the iridescent rock with his scepter. The rock stands at the center (the middle line) of the firmament, and 365 hosts emerge from the rock, which were concealed within it since the Torah descended to the earth. Because they objected to this descent, the Creator reproached them, and they concealed themselves in the rock.

Here, by analogy with the aforesaid and in accordance with the definitions of such notions as a "scepter," a "rock," "hosts," "Light," "concealment," "to bow," the reader is offered an opportunity to translate from the language of legends into the language of spiritual actions. And when the reader attains what is written, he will feel it within him!

And they do not emerge from there, except for when the prayer ascends. Then they praise the Creator, saying: "Our Creator, how great is Your name upon the earth!" This prayer is called "Great," because it ascends to all these firmaments, and they bow before it.

This occurs because the angels that opposed the descent of the Torah (see the article "Heaven and Earth"), i.e., the middle line, to the earth (*Malchut* and the worlds of *BYA*), emerge from the left line. And they wanted the left line to dominate in *Malchut* and in the worlds of *BYA*, but not the middle one, called the "Torah," which reduces the *GAR* of the Light of the left line.

Malchut, called "earth," includes all the worlds of *BYA*. However, the Creator (middle line) reproached and compelled her to receive the Light of the middle line and conceal herself in the rock, in the forces of judgment, which exist in the middle line that stands at the center of the firmament.

However, the prayer can ascend only by activating the left line, namely *Bina* and *ZON* that fell to the lower degree, then ascended once more above the firmament, and became the left line. They take the prayer that existed with them during their descent to the lower degree.

This is why the ruler receives the scepter, the Light of the left line, for during the ascent of the prayer, the left line shines in his domain. The 365 hosts then awaken and receive the Light of the left line from the scepter. Hence, they exclaim: "The Creator, Our Lord, how great is Your name upon the earth!" for the prayer ascends to this firmament, called "Great," and includes the screen of *Hirik* of the left line, from the *GAR*. Thus, they bow their heads, i.e., do not use the *GAR* of *Ohr Hochma*, but only *VAK*.

Afterward, the prayer clothes in the Supernal adornments and rises to the fourth firmament, *Tifferet*. Then the sun (*Tifferet*) emerges at its level, the Supreme ruler Shimshiel, and the 365 hosts ascend to this firmament along with him. They are called "the days of the sun," for these levels stem from the sun, *Tifferet*. And they all clothe and adorn *Malchut* in the Heavens of the Garden of Eden.

The prayer pauses there to merge with the air of *Gevura* of those degrees, because it was not supposed to pause at the previous firmament, *NHY*, as they are included in *Tifferet*. And the prayer remains there until all the hosts have

risen with it to the fifth firmament (*Gevura*), where Gadriel rules; he is in charge of all the hosts of the other nations, for *Gevura* constitutes the left line, which the other nations hold on to.

And when the prayer ascends, carrying within the screen of the middle line (which reduces the left line from *GAR* to *VAK*), it shakes him and all of his hosts, and they lose all their strength, emerge and bow their heads, i.e., *GAR*, and adorn this prayer.

They ascend with it to the sixth firmament, *Hesed*, and the legions and hosts come forth and accept the prayer until they reach the seventy gates, *HGT NHYM*, each of which consists of ten, as *Hesed* includes all seven lower *Sefirot*. The Supreme ruler, Anafiel, stands there and adorns the prayer with seventy adornments.

And since the prayer was adorned, all the legions and hosts of all the firmaments that accompanied the prayer from firmament to firmament unite and raise the prayer to the seventh firmament, *Bina*, which includes *GAR*.

The prayer enters the seventh firmament, and the Supreme ruler Sandalphon, who is in charge of all the guards at the entrances, ushers the prayer into the seven halls of the world of *Yetzira*. These are the seven halls of the King, the seven halls of *Malchut de Atzilut*, where *ZA* rules.

When the prayer, adorned with all of these adornments, ascends there, it unites *ZA* with *Malchut*, for everything grows with similarity to everything else. And the Creator's name, i.e., *Malchut* is adorned from Above and from below, and on all sides, as *Malchut* merges with *ZA* into one. And then *Yesod* (the righteous one) fills *Malchut* with its blessings.

Happy is the lot of him who can put his prayer in proper order, so the Creator will clothe in this prayer. He waits until all the prayers of Israel finish ascending and unite into a complete and perfect prayer, whereupon everything will become perfect both Above and below.

Besides the prayer, there are the *Mitzvot* of the Torah that depend on speech and action. There are six *Mitzvot* that depend on speech:

1. To fear the Great and Mighty Creator;
2. To love the Creator;
3. To bless the Creator;
4. To proclaim the Creator's unity;
5. To bless the nation, which is incumbent on *Cohanim* (priests);
6. To entrust one's soul with the Creator.

Out of the six above-mentioned *Mitzvot*, the first finds its place in the blessings that King David sang during his offerings in the Torah, where man must fear his Master, for these songs stand in a place called "fear" or *Malchut*. And all of these written blessings constitute the essence of fear of the Creator, *Malchut*. And man must sing these songs with his desires in fear.

Man must achieve a level of spiritual development where his desires will coincide with what is said in the texts of these blessings. It is impossible to force someone to wish something; all our feelings are the product, the result of our spiritual level. The Light of that degree influences one's egoism and corrects it with the power of that degree. Therefore, man can only ask for correction, but it will come from Above, from the Light, from the Creator.

Here we have a list of degrees that man must gradually go through in his correction. These degrees are usually called *Mitzvot*, and in all there are 620 of them between us and the Creator: 613 *Mitzvot* of the Torah for Israel (altruism) and seven *Mitzvot* of the Torah for all the nations (egoism). Here they are expounded in a different way: since the most important is to ask for correction (and if the request is genuine, the answer in the form of Light immediately descends to it), all of man's work on himself, all of his efforts in the study, work and actions are aimed only at the creation of a true request, *MAN*. Hence, the stages of man's spiritual development are described as his path in prayer; as if he stands and prays, although this process continues within him throughout his life on earth.

The second *Mitzva*: to love the Creator (as it was repeatedly stated, this feeling is the result of correction; see "Introduction to the Study of Ten Sefirot," item 45—the four degrees of sensation of governance, from darkness to love), when in his prayer one reaches *Ahavat Olam* (great love) and *Le El* (for the Creator). These two blessings precede the appeal, *Shema Israel* (Hear, O Israel) and *Ve Ahavta Et* (and love the Creator), the blessing of the Creator for one's love for Him that follows the appeal *Shema Israel*. And this is the secret of love for the Creator.

The third *Mitzva*: since man reaches a place in the prayer that is called *Lehishtabe'ach* (blessed is the Creator), he must attain praises and blessings of the Creator in his desire, as in parts of the prayer *Yotzer Ohr* (He who creates Light) and *Yotzer HaMeohrot* (maker of the stars).

The fourth *Mitzva* is to proclaim the Creator's unity, i.e., *Shema Israel* (Hear, O Israel, our Creator is one!). From this point (degree) on, one must express the secret of the Creator's unity (in all His manifestations to man) in his heart's

desire (one's heart must be filled only with the sensation of the One, Upper Force). Afterward, the *Mitzva* to remember and remind others of the exodus from Egypt (egoism) is observed, as it is written: "Remember how you were a slave in Egypt."

The fifth *Mitzva* is for a *Cohen* to bless the people (the Light's descent to the *Partzuf*), so that Israel will be included when the prayer (the *Cohanim*'s blessing) ascends, for at this time (state), *Knesset Israel* (all those who correct themselves by aspiring to the Creator and constitute a part of *Malchut de Atzilut*), i.e., *Malchut*, receives a blessing (Light).

The sixth *Mitzva* and the desired time (state, spiritual level when man wishes only to give all of his desires, i.e., his soul, to the Creator, meaning that he can act for the Creator's sake in all of his desires) is to entrust one's soul with the Creator with complete desire in one's heart. When one falls (willingly accepts the small state) on his face (*Hochma*) and proclaims (raises *MAN*): "I entrust my soul with You, O Creator." The intentions and desires of his heart are to give his soul completely to the Creator (this desire is the consequence of this spiritual degree and comes naturally to those who attain it).

These six *Mitzvot* of the prayer correspond to the 600 *Mitzvot* of the Torah. And the remaining thirteen *Mitzvot* are required in order to attract the thirteen properties of mercy (thirteen *Midot HaRachamim*), which include all the rest. The prayer is adorned with 600 *Mitzvot*, which corresponds to *HGT NHY*, to what the prayer, *Malchut*, receives from *ZA*.

Happy is he who heeded and focused his desire on this (who was able to raise a proper request for his correction), who completed all that was required each day (in the Creator's daylight), and directed his heart's intentions and desires to fulfill this *Mitzva*, which depends on the word.

The End

Appendix One
Further Reading

To help you determine which book you would like to read next, we have divided the books into five categories—Beginners, Intermediate, Advanced, All Around, and Textbooks. The first three categories are divided by the level of prior knowledge readers are required to have. The Beginners Category requires no prior knowledge. The Intermediate Category requires reading one or two beginners' books first; and the Advanced level requires one or two books of each of the previous categories. The fourth category, All Around, includes books you can always enjoy, whether you are a complete novice or well versed in Kabbalah.

The fifth category—textbooks—includes translations of authentic source materials from earlier Kabbalists, such as the Ari, Rav Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam) and his son and successor, Rav Baruch Ashlag (the Rabash).

Additional translated material that has not yet been published can be found at *www.kabbalah.info*. All materials on this site, including e-versions of published books, can be downloaded free of charge.

BEGINNERS

Kabbalah for Beginners

Kabbalah for Beginners is a book for all those seeking answers to life's essential questions. We all want to know why we are here, why there is pain, and how we can make life more enjoyable. The four parts of this book provide us with reliable answers to these questions, as well as clear explanations of the gist of Kabbalah and its practical implementations.

Part One discusses the discovery of the wisdom of Kabbalah, and how it was developed, and finally concealed until our time. Part Two introduces the gist of the wisdom of Kabbalah, using ten easy drawings to help us understand the structure of the spiritual worlds, and how they relate to our world. Part Three reveals Kabbalistic concepts that are largely unknown to the public, and Part Four elaborates on practical means you and I can take, to make our lives better and more enjoyable for us and for our children.

Kabbalah Revealed

This is a clearly written, reader-friendly guide to making sense of the surrounding world. Each of its six chapters focuses on a different aspect of the wisdom of Kabbalah, illuminating the teachings and explaining them using various examples from our day-to-day lives.

The first three chapters in *Kabbalah Revealed* explain why the world is in a state of crisis, how our growing desires promote progress as well as alienation, and why the biggest deterrent to achieving positive change is rooted in our own spirits. Chapters Four through Six offer a prescription for positive change. In these chapters, we learn how we can use our spirits to build a personally peaceful life in harmony with all of Creation.

Wondrous Wisdom

This book offers an initial course on Kabbalah. Like all the books presented here, *Wondrous Wisdom* is based solely on authentic teachings passed down from Kabbalist teacher to student over thousands of years. At the heart of the book is a sequence of lessons revealing the nature of Kabbalah's wisdom and explaining how to attain it. For every person questioning "Who am I really?" and "Why am I on this planet?" this book is a must.

Awakening to Kabbalah

A distinctive, personal, and awe-filled introduction to an ancient wisdom tradition. In this book, Rav Laitman offers a deeper understanding of the fundamental teachings of Kabbalah, and how you can use its wisdom to clarify your relationship with others and the world around you.

Using language both scientific and poetic, he probes the most profound questions of spirituality and existence. This provocative, unique guide will inspire and invigorate you to see beyond the world as it is and the limitations of your everyday life, become closer to the Creator, and reach new depths of the soul.

Kabbalah, Science, and the Meaning of Life

Science explains the mechanisms that sustain life; Kabbalah explains why life exists. In *Kabbalah, Science, and the Meaning of Life*, Rav Laitman combines science and spirituality in a captivating dialogue that reveals life's meaning.

For thousands of years Kabbalists have been writing that the world is a single entity divided into separate beings. Today the cutting-edge science of quantum physics states a very similar idea: that at the most fundamental level of matter, we are all literally one.

Science proves that reality is affected by the observer who examines it; and so does Kabbalah. But Kabbalah makes an even bolder statement: even the Creator, the Maker of reality, is within the observer. In other words, God is inside of us; He doesn't exist anywhere else. When we pass away, so does He.

These earthshaking concepts and more are eloquently introduced so that even readers new to Kabbalah or science will easily understand them. Therefore, if you're just a little curious about why you are here, what life means, and what you can do to enjoy it more, this book is for you.

From Chaos to Harmony

Many researchers and scientists agree that the ego is the reason behind the perilous state our world is in today. Laitman's groundbreaking book not only demonstrates that ego has been the basis for all suffering throughout human history, but also shows how we can turn our plight to pleasure.

The book contains a clear analysis of the human soul and its problems, and provides a "roadmap" of what we need to do to once again be happy. *From Chaos to Harmony* explains how we can rise to a new level of existence on personal, social, national, and international levels.

INTERMEDIATE

The Kabbalah Experience

The depth of the wisdom revealed in the questions and answers within this book will inspire readers to reflect and contemplate. This is not a book to race through, but rather one that should be read thoughtfully and carefully. With this approach, readers will begin to experience a growing sense of enlightenment while simply absorbing the answers to the questions every Kabbalah student asks along the way.

The Kabbalah Experience is a guide from the past to the future, revealing situations that all students of Kabbalah will experience at some point along their journeys. For those who cherish every moment in life, this book offers unparalleled insights into the timeless wisdom of Kabbalah.

The Path of Kabbalah

This unique book combines beginners' material with more advanced concepts and teachings. If you have read a book or two of Laitman's, you will find this book very easy to relate to.

While touching upon basic concepts such as perception of reality and Freedom of Choice, *The Path of Kabbalah* goes deeper and expands beyond the scope of beginners' books. The structure of the worlds, for example, is explained in greater detail here than in the "pure" beginners' books. Also described is the spiritual root of mundane matters such as the Hebrew calendar and the holidays.

ADVANCED

The Science of Kabbalah

Kabbalist and scientist Rav Michael Laitman, PhD, designed this book to introduce readers to the special language and terms of the authentic wisdom of Kabbalah. Here, Rav Laitman reveals authentic Kabbalah in a manner both rational and mature. Readers are gradually led to understand the logical design of the Universe and the life that exists in it.

The Science of Kabbalah, a revolutionary work unmatched in its clarity, depth, and appeal to the intellect, will enable readers to approach the more technical works of Baal HaSulam (Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag), such as *The Study of the Ten Sefirot* and *The Book of Zohar.* Readers of this book will enjoy the satisfying answers to the riddles of life that only authentic Kabbalah provides. Travel through the pages and prepare for an astonishing journey into the Upper Worlds.

Introduction to the Book of Zohar

This volume, along with *The Science of Kabbalah*, is a required preparation for those who wish to understand the hidden message of *The Book of Zohar*. Among the many helpful topics dealt with in this text is an introduction to the "language of roots and branches," without which the stories in *The Zohar* are mere fable and legend. *Introduction to the Book of Zohar* will provide readers with

the necessary tools to understand authentic Kabbalah as it was originally meant to be, as a means to attain the Upper Worlds.

The Zohar

The Book of Zohar (The Book of Radiance) is an ageless source of wisdom and the basis for all Kabbalistic literature. Since its appearance nearly 2,000 years ago, it has been the primary, and often only, source used by Kabbalists.

For centuries, Kabbalah was hidden from the public, which was deemed not yet ready to receive it. However, our generation has been designated by Kabbalists as the first generation that *is* ready to grasp the concepts in *The Zohar.* Now, we can put these principles into practice in our lives.

Written in a unique and metaphorical language, *The Book of Zohar* enriches our understanding of reality and widens our worldview. Although the text deals with one subject only—how to relate to the Creator—it approaches it from different angles. This allows each of us to find the particular phrase or word that will carry us into the depths of this profound and timeless wisdom.

ALL AROUND

Attaining the Worlds Beyond

From the introduction to *Attaining the Worlds Beyond:* "...Not feeling well on the Jewish New Year in September 1991, my teacher called me to his bedside and handed me his notebook, saying, 'Take it and learn from it.' The following morning, my teacher perished in my arms, leaving me and many of his other disciples without guidance in this world.

"He used to say, 'I want to teach you to turn to the Creator, rather than to me, because He is the only strength, the only Source of all that exists, the only One who can really help you, and He awaits your prayers for help. When you seek help in your search for freedom from the bondage of this world, help in elevating yourself above this world, help in finding the self, and help in determining your purpose in life, you must turn to the Creator, who sends you all those aspirations in order to compel you to turn to Him.'"

Attaining the Worlds Beyond holds within it the content of that notebook, as well as other inspiring texts. This book reaches out to all those seekers who want to find a logical, reliable way to understand the world's phenomena. This fascinating introduction to the wisdom of Kabbalah will enlighten the mind, invigorate the heart, and move readers to the depths of their souls.

Basic Concepts in Kabbalah

This is a book to help readers cultivate an *approach to the concepts* of Kabbalah, to spiritual objects, and to spiritual terms. By reading and re-reading in this book, one develops internal observations, senses, and approaches that did not previously exist within. These newly acquired observations are like sensors that "feel" the space around us that is hidden from our ordinary senses.

Hence, *Basic Concepts in Kabbalah* is intended to foster the contemplation of spiritual terms. Once we are integrated with these terms, we can begin to see, with our inner vision, the unveiling of the spiritual structure that surrounds us, almost as if a mist has been lifted.

Again, this book is not aimed at the study of facts. Instead, it is a book for those who wish to awaken the deepest and subtlest sensations they can possess.

Together Forever

On the surface, *Together Forever* is a children's story. But like all good children's stories, it transcends boundaries of age, culture, and upbringing.

In *Together Forever*, the author tells us that if we are patient and endure the trials we encounter along our life's path, we will become stronger, braver, and wiser. Instead of growing weaker, we will learn to create our own magic and our own wonders as only a magician can.

In this warm, tender tale, Michael Laitman shares with children and parents alike some of the gems and charms of the spiritual world. The wisdom of Kabbalah is filled with spellbinding stories. *Together Forever* is yet another gift from this ageless source of wisdom, whose lessons make our lives richer, easier, and far more fulfilling.

TEXTBOOKS

Shamati

Rav Michael Laitman's words on the book: Among all the texts and notes that were used by my teacher, Rabbi Baruch Shalom Halevi Ashlag (the Rabash), there was one special notebook he always carried. This notebook contained the transcripts of his conversations with his father, Rabbi Yehuda Leib Halevi Ashlag (Baal HaSulam), author of the *Sulam* (Ladder) commentary on *The Book of Zohar, The Study of the Ten Sefirot* (a commentary on the texts of the Kabbalist, Ari), and of many other works on Kabbalah.

Not feeling well on the Jewish New Year in September 1991, the Rabash summoned me to his bedside and handed me a notebook, whose cover contained only one word, *Shamati* (I Heard). As he handed the notebook, he said, "Take it and learn from it." The following morning, my teacher perished in my arms, leaving me and many of his other disciples without guidance in this world.

Committed to Rabash's legacy to disseminate the wisdom of Kabbalah, I published the notebook just as it was written, thus retaining the text's transforming powers. Among all the books of Kabbalah, *Shamati* is a unique and compelling creation.

Appendix Two
About Bnei Baruch

Bnei Baruch is a group of Kabbalists in Israel, sharing the wisdom of Kabbalah with the entire world. Study materials in over 20 languages are based on authentic Kabbalah texts that were passed down from generation to generation.

HISTORY AND ORIGIN

In 1991, following the passing of his teacher, Rabbi Baruch Shalom HaLevi Ashlag (The Rabash), Rav Michael Laitman, Professor of Ontology and the Theory of Knowledge, PhD in Philosophy and Kabbalah, and MSc in Medical Bio-Cybernetics, established a Kabbalah study group called "Bnei Baruch." He called it Bnei Baruch (Sons of Baruch) to commemorate the memory of his mentor, whose side he never left in the final twelve years of his life, from 1979 to 1991. Rav Laitman had been Ashlag's prime student and personal assistant, and is recognized as the successor to Rabash's teaching method.

The Rabash was the firstborn son and successor of Rabbi Yehuda Leib HaLevi Ashlag, the greatest Kabbalist of the 20th century. Rabbi Ashlag authored the most authoritative and comprehensive commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, titled *The Sulam Commentary (The Ladder Commentary)*. He was the first to reveal the complete method for spiritual ascent, and thus was known as Baal HaSulam (Owner of the Ladder).

Today, Bnei Baruch bases its entire study method on the path paved by these two great spiritual leaders.

THE STUDY METHOD

The unique study method developed by Baal HaSulam and his son, the Rabash, is taught and applied on a daily basis by Bnei Baruch. This method

relies on authentic Kabbalah sources such as *The Book of Zohar,* by Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, *The Tree of Life,* by the Holy Ari, and *The Study of the Ten Sefirot,* by Baal HaSulam.

While the study relies on authentic Kabbalah sources, it is carried out in simple language and uses a scientific, contemporary approach. Developing this approach has made Bnei Baruch an internationally respected organization, both in Israel and in the world at large.

The unique combination of an academic study method and personal experiences broadens the students' perspective and awards them a new perception of the reality they live in. Those on the spiritual path are thus given the necessary tools to research themselves and their surrounding reality.

THE MESSAGE

Bnei Baruch is a diverse movement of many thousands of students worldwide. Students can choose their own paths and the personal intensity of their studies, according to their unique conditions and abilities. The essence of the message disseminated by Bnei Baruch is universal: unity of the people, unity of nations and love of man.

For millennia, Kabbalists have been teaching that love of man should be the foundation of all human relations. This love prevailed in the days of Abraham, Moses, and the group of Kabbalists that they established. If we make room for these seasoned, yet contemporary values, we will discover that we possess the power to put differences aside and unite.

The wisdom of Kabbalah, hidden for millennia, has been waiting for the time when we would be sufficiently developed and ready to implement its message. Now, it is emerging as a solution that can unite diverse factions everywhere, better enabling us, as individuals and as a society, to meet today's challenges.

ACTIVITIES

Bnei Baruch was established on the premise that "only by expansion of the wisdom of Kabbalah to the public can we be awarded complete redemption" (Baal HaSulam).

Therefore, Bnei Baruch offers a variety of ways for people to explore and discover the purpose of their lives, providing careful guidance for the beginners and the advanced students alike.

Kabbalah Today

Kabbalah Today is a free monthly paper produced and disseminated by Bnei Baruch. It is apolitical, non-commercial, and written in a clear, contemporary style. Its purpose is to expose the vast body of knowledge hidden in the wisdom of Kabbalah at no cost and in a clear, engaging format and style for readers everywhere.

Kabbalah Today is distributed for free in every major U.S. city, as well as in Toronto, Canada, London, England, and Sydney, Australia. It is printed in English, Hebrew, and Russian, and is also available on the Internet, at *www.kabtoday.com*.

Additionally, a hard copy of the paper is sent to subscribers at delivery cost only.

Internet Website

Bnei Baruch's homepage, *www.kabbalah.info*, presents the authentic wisdom of Kabbalah using essays, books, and original texts. It is the largest Kabbalah website on the net, and contains a unique, extensive library for readers to thoroughly explore the wisdom of Kabbalah. Additionally, there is a media archive, *www.kabbalahmedia.info*, containing more than 5,000 media items, downloadable books, and a vast reservoir of texts, video and audio files in many languages. All of this material is available for free download.

Kabbalah Television

Bnei Baruch established a production company, ARI Films (*www.arifilms.tv*) specializing in production of educational TV programs throughout the world, and in many languages.

In Israel, Bnei Baruch broadcasts are aired live through cable and satellite on Channel 98 Sunday through Friday. All broadcasts on these channels are free of charge. The programs are adapted specifically for beginners, and do not require prior knowledge of the material. This convenient learning process is complemented by programs featuring Rav Laitman's meetings with publicly known figures in Israel and throughout the world.

Additionally, ARI Films produces educational series and documentaries on DVDs, as well as other visual teaching aids.

Kabbalah Books

Rav Laitman writes his books in a clear, contemporary style based on the key concepts of Baal HaSulam. These books serve as a vital link between today's readers and the original texts. All of Rav Laitman's books are available for sale,

as well as for free download. Rav Laitman has thus far written thirty books, translated into ten languages.

Kabbalah Lessons

As Kabbalists have been doing for centuries, Rav Laitman gives a daily lesson at the Bnei Baruch center in Israel between 3:15-6:00 a.m. Israel time. The lessons are simultaneously translated into six languages: English, Russian, Spanish, German, Italian, and Turkish. In the near future, broadcasts will also be translated into French, Greek, Polish, and Portuguese. As with everything else, the live broadcast is provided gratis to thousands of students worldwide.

Funding

Bnei Baruch is a non-profit organization for teaching and sharing the wisdom of Kabbalah. To maintain its independence and purity of intentions, Bnei Baruch is not supported, funded, or otherwise tied to any government or political organization.

Since the bulk of its activity is provided free of charge, the prime source of funding for the group's activities is donations, tithing—contributed by students on a voluntary basis—and Rav Laitman's books, which are sold at cost.

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The Zohar

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THE ZOHAR

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Prologue

ABOUT RABBI SHIMON BAR-YOCHAI[1]

In the second century CE, a single man was granted the spiritual knowledge that Kabbalists had accumulated for 3,000 years before his time. Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi) put it all on paper and then hid it, as humanity was not ready for it. Today, we are ready for the revelation of *The Book of Zohar*.

Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi), author of *The Book of Zohar* (*The Book of Radiance*) was a Tana—a great sage in the early Common Era centuries. Rashbi's name is tied to numerous legends, and he is mentioned constantly in the Talmud and in the Midrash, the sacred Hebrew texts of his time. He lived in Sidon and in Meron, and established a seminary in the Western Galilee.

Rashbi was born and raised in the Galilee (a mountainous region in today's Northern Israel). Even as a child, he was not like other children his age. Questions such as, "What is the purpose of my life?" "Who am I?" and "How is the world built?" plagued him and demanded answers.

In those days, life in Galilee was very harsh: the Romans persecuted Jews and continually invented new laws to make their lives more difficult. Among these laws was a decree that prohibited Jews from studying the Torah (then synonymous with Kabbalah).

1 The articles, "About Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai" and "About The Book of Zohar" are presented here courtesy of the paper *Kabbalah Today*.

However, despite the Romans' prohibition, Rashbi immersed himself in the Kabbalah and tried to understand its subtle teachings. He felt that beneath the Biblical stories was a profound and hidden truth, which held the answers to his persistent questions.

Gradually, Rabbi Shimon came to realize that he had to find a teacher who had already been through the spiritual path, gained experience, and could guide others up the spiritual ladder. He decided to join the group of the greatest Kabbalist of the time—Rabbi Akiva—a decision that turned out to be the turning point in Rashbi's life.

STUDYING WITH RABBI AKIVA

Rabbi Shimon was an avid, devoted student, burning with desire to discover the Higher realms of reality. Before long, he was one of Rabbi Akiva's prime students. He studied with Rabbi Akiva for thirteen years, and achieved the highest levels on the spiritual ladder.

The Bar-Kokheva revolt abruptly ended the great days of Rabbi Akiva's seminary. Almost all of his 24,000 students died in plagues, and in fierce battles against the Romans. Of the 24,000 students, only five survived, and Rashbi was among them.

Rashbi was among the leaders of the Bar-Kokheva revolt against the Roman rule in the land of Israel. His resistance became even more fierce and unyielding when he'd learned how his teacher, Rabbi Akiva, had been ruthlessly executed.

The Talmud writes that once, when Rashbi spoke against the Roman rule, a fellow Jew heard him and alerted the Roman authorities. In consequence, Rashbi was tried in absentia and was sentenced to death. The Roman emperor sent men in search of him, but to their disappointment, Rashbi seemed to have vanished into thin air.

THE CAVE AT PEQI'IN

Legends have it that Rashbi and his son fled to the Galilee, hid in a cave at Peqi'in, a village in the north of Israel, and remained there for thirteen years. During that time, they delved in the secrets of the wisdom of the hidden. Their efforts succeeded, and they discovered the entire system of creation.

After thirteen years in a cave, Rashbi heard that the Roman emperor had died. He could finally heave a sigh of relief. After leaving the cave, Rashbi gathered nine students and went with them to a small cave in Meron, known as

The Idra Raba (Great Assembly). With their help, he wrote *The Book of Zohar*, the most important book of Kabbalah.

Baal HaSulam described Rashbi and his students as the only beings who achieved perfection, the 125 spiritual degrees that complete the correction of one's soul. When he finished his commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, Baal HaSulam held a festive meal to celebrate its completion. At that celebration, he stated that "...prior to the days of the Messiah, it is impossible to be awarded all 125 degrees... except the Rashbi and his contemporaries, meaning the authors of *The Book of Zohar*. They were awarded all 125 degrees in completeness, even though they lived prior to the days of the Messiah. Hence, we often find in *The Zohar* that there will not be a generation such as the Rashbi's until the generation of the Messiah King. This is why his composition made such a strong impression in the world, since the secrets of the Torah in it occupy the level of all 125 degrees. This is also why it is said in *The Zohar* that *The Book of Zohar* will not be revealed except at the end of days, meaning in the days of the Messiah."

THE IDRA RABA (GREAT ASSEMBLY) AND *THE BOOK OF ZOHAR*

Idra Raba is a cave located in the north of Israel, between Meron and Zephath. Rashbi took his students to this cave, and there he wrote *The Book of Zohar*. It is almost impossible to understand how great Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai really was. He belongs, as Baal HaSulam puts it, to the highest Inner Light. This is why he had to use Rabbi Abba to put his words into writing. In *The Book of Zohar*, the Rashbi tells his students: "I am arranging you as follows: Rabbi Abba will write, Rabbi Elazar, my son, will study orally, and the rest of the friends will converse in their hearts" (*Zohar*, Haazinu).

The Book of Zohar was written in the second century CE, not long after the ruin of the Second Temple and the beginning of the last exile of the people of Israel from its land. But even prior to the exile, Rashbi predicted that *The Book of Zohar* would only be revealed at the end of the exile. He stated that its appearance to the masses would symbolize the end of the spiritual exile: "...in it, they will come out of the exile with mercy" (*Zohar*, Naso).

It is also written in *The Book of Zohar* that its wisdom would be revealed to all toward the end of the six thousand years, the period allotted to the correction of humanity: "And when it is near the days of the Messiah, even infants in the world are destined to find the secrets of the wisdom, and know in them the ends and the calculations of redemption, and at that time it will be revealed to all" (*Zohar*, VaYera).

THE REINCARNATION OF A UNIQUE SOUL

Rashbi is an incarnation of a unique soul, which coordinates and connects the Upper Force to every creation. This soul comes down into our world and incarnates in the patriarchs of Kabbalah. This is the order of its appearance: Abraham, Moses, Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, the ARI (Rabbi Isaac Luria), and Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam). Each incarnation of this soul promotes humanity to a new spiritual degree and leaves its mark in Kabbalah books, which serve the generations that follow.

An example of this process can be found in special sections of *The Zohar* called *Raia Meheimna* (The Loyal Shepherd). In these parts, Rashbi speaks from a state of clothing in Moses' soul. Another example of this is the book, *Shaar HaGilgulim (Gate of Reincarnations)*, where Rashbi speaks from a state of clothing in the soul of the ARI.

The Book of Zohar is undoubtedly unique and one of the world's most renowned compositions. Since its writing, thousands of stories have been linked to *The Zohar*, and the book is still shrouded in mystery today. The fascination around it is so great that even though the book is completely incomprehensible to our generation without proper interpretation, millions of people diligently read it.

RASHBI'S DEPARTURE

According to tradition, Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai passed away in the presence of his friends on *Lag BaOmer* (the 33rd day of the *Omer* count, which starts on the first day of Passover) of the year 160 CE, and was buried in Meron. With his death, the soul of a giant Kabbalist completed its task in our world.

Rashbi fulfilled his destination. Hundreds of thousands visit his gravesite yearly, trying to sense some of the Light that he had brought to the world. The greatest Kabbalists praise his composition and repeatedly claim that *The Book of Zohar* is destined to bring redemption to the world.

Rav Kook, the first Chief Rabbi of Israel, writes about the *Zohar* (*Ohr Yakar*): "This composition, called *The Book of Zohar*, is like Noah's Ark, where there were many kinds, but those kinds and families could not exist unless by entering the ark. ...**Thus the righteous will enter the secret of the Light of this composition to persist, and thus is the virtue of the composition, that immediately when engaging, with his desire for the love of God, it will draw him as a magnet draws the iron. And he will enter it to save his**

soul and spirit and his correction. And even if he is wicked, there is no fear should he enter."

We are living in a historic time. The soul of Rashbi is completing its mission in our generation, and thanks to this spiritual giant, who lived nearly 2,000 years ago, the wisdom of Kabbalah is emerging so we may all ascend to a life of eternity and wholeness.

ABOUT *THE BOOK OF ZOHAR*

***The Book of Zohar* is the most mysterious, and at the same time the most significant book of Kabbalah. In recent years, it has become increasingly clear that although *The Book of Zohar* was written eighteen centuries ago, it was actually written for our time. Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam) opened it to us and rekindled what has long been forgotten from our hearts.**

The depth of the wisdom in The Book of Zohar is locked behind a thousand doors.

–Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam), "Preface to the Book of Zohar"

Since the dawn of humanity, unique individuals climbed the spiritual ladder and achieved the highest level of bonding with the Upper Force, the Creator. We call those people "Kabbalists."

Through this bonding, they came to understand that the whole of reality, from the highest spiritual worlds down to our world, is founded on love and bestowal. They realized that there is nothing in the world except for this Force, and that everything that happens in reality was made only to bring humanity to permanent existence with this sensation.

Kabbalists have searched and found the answers to every question they asked—the purpose of our lives, the structure of the world, and how we can determine our destiny. They wrote about what they discovered in books such as *Raziel Hamalaach (The Angel Raziel), Sefer Yetzira (The Book of Creation), Etz Chaim (The Tree of Life)*, and others.

Of all the books, the most seminal, mysterious, and profound is *The Book of Zohar (The Book of Radiance). The Book of Zohar* describes the hidden system of the Upper Guidance. It depicts the worlds, the great powers that govern them, and how one who chooses to study Kabbalah affects his or her own fate and that of humanity.

The Zohar also explains how every event cascades from the Upper World to ours, and the dressings it acquires here. But what makes *The Zohar* unique is the fact that it was not written for its contemporaries; it was rather intended for a generation that would live two millennia later—our generation.

REMOVING THE COVERS

Our generation stands at the very threshold of redemption, if we only know how to spread the wisdom of the hidden in the masses.

–Baal HaSulam, "Messiah's Horn"

The twentieth century has brought unprecedented changes. These opened the door to a whole new phase, which the greatest Kabbalists have been describing for centuries in their writings. The greatest change of all is that in this century, Kabbalists state that studying Kabbalah is not only permitted, it is a must!

It is written in *The Book of Zohar* itself that the wisdom of Kabbalah would begin its spreading from the year 1840. The great 18th century Kabbalist, The Vilna Gaon (GRA), wrote in his book *Kol HaTor (Voice of the Turtledove)* that the process of the revelation of the Kabbalah would begin in 1990. In his book, *Even Shlemah (A Perfect and Just Weight),* Chapter 11, he even stated that redemption *depends primarily* on the study of Kabbalah.

Rav Kook explained that "the great spiritual questions that were once resolved only for the great and the excellent, must now be resolved to various degrees within the entire nation" (*Eder HaYaker ve Ikvey HaTzon*, p. 144).

But it was Baal HaSulam who turned the words of the Kabbalists from a vision to a tangible reality. He clearly saw that the time had come to allow everyone to study *The Book of Zohar.* He claimed that by studying *The Zohar*, the whole of humanity would rise and attain the spiritual world.

With this vision in mind, Baal HaSulam devoted himself to composing a comprehensive, accurate, and systematic interpretation of *The Book of Zohar.* His goal was to unveil the book to the public and make it suitable for the souls of our generation.

In the introduction to his commentary on *The Zohar*, he explained why he wrote it: "I have named the commentary *HaSulam* (The Ladder) to indicate that the function of my commentary is as the function of any ladder. If you have an attic filled with abundance, you need only a ladder to climb it, and all the bounty in the world will be in your hands."

ACCELERATING THE SPREAD OF THE WISDOM

All the Kabbalists dreamed of our generation, when the whole of humanity could discover the wondrous things they already had. They prayed that through reading the authentic sources they had left for us, we, too, would achieve bonding with the Upper Force, as did they. In his commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, Baal HaSulam threw us a rope, "a life buoy." In doing so, he paved our way to a future of abundance and prosperity.

Baal HaSulam called upon us to give greater weight to engagement in the wisdom of Kabbalah, and accelerate the spreading of the wisdom. He knew that only the wisdom of Kabbalah could elevate the world to the spiritual realm and into the eternity that Kabbalists had been experiencing throughout the generations.

Webster's Dictionary defines a generation as "a group of individuals born and living contemporaneously (at the same time)." In Kabbalah, however, a generation is a *spiritual* phase. According to great Kabbalists such as the Holy ARI, our generation—our spiritual phase—began in the sixteenth century.

The longer we wait with the spiritual ascension our generation is meant to achieve, the greater will be our discomfort. The spiritual realm, which determines what happens in our world, will increase its pressure on us until we decide to achieve this realm for ourselves.

In the words of the great Kabbalist Rabbi Avraham Azulai (in his introduction to the book, *Ohr ha Chama* (*Light of the Sun*)), "I have found it written that the above decree to not openly engage in the wisdom of truth was only for a time—until the end of the 1490. From then on … the sentence has been lifted, and permission was given to engage in *The Book of Zohar*. And from the year 1540 it has become praiseworthy to engage in great numbers since it is by virtue of this the Messiah King will come, and not by another virtue. It is inappropriate to be negligent."

"But the wise shall understand that their elevation comes from the Creator, the Tree of Life. And they who are righteous shall shine like the brightness of the firmament" (Daniel, 12:3).[2]

"By virtue of Rabbi Shimon's composition, *The Book of Zohar*, from the Supernal Force that brings all things back to the Creator, at the end of days, the children of Israel will taste from the Tree of Life, which is *The Book of Zohar*; and they will be redeemed from exile by the Creator's mercy" (Naso, 90).

2 To facilitate comprehension of the spiritual meaning of ancient Hebrew sources, quotes are not direct translations, but rather reflect the Kabbalistic meaning of the texts.

Introduction

The Book of Zohar narrates that Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi) and his son, Rabbi Aba, attained the level of Prophet Eliyahu (Elijah). Hence, it is said that Eliyahu himself visited their cave and taught them the Torah. (Incidentally, the cave in the village of Peqi'in still exists today.)

The author of *Divrey Yoel (The Words of Yoel)* wrote the following in the book *The Torah of Rashbi*: "Before Rabbi Shimon studied the secrets of the Torah, there was a rule in the cave—to settle disputes according to the opinion of Rabbi Yehuda, the author of the Talmud. However, after Rabbi Shimon left the cave, everything that he had written in *The Zohar* was considered to have exceeded all human attainments." Rashbi himself received the name *Butzina Kadisha* (Holy Candle), as he had attained the soul of Moshe (Moses).

Verdicts on legislative and procedural matters are rendered in accordance with the Talmud or *The Book of Zohar*, depending on where this matter is examined more strictly. If the matter is mentioned neither in the Talmud nor in *The Zohar*, then the decision is based on the source that best elucidates this matter. If the disputed matter is between the Talmud and the legislators, the decision is based on the assertion from *The Book of Zohar*. If the legislators themselves cannot come to an agreement on the matter in dispute, the decision is based on the opinion of *The Zohar* (*Mishna Brura*, 25, 42).

The great follower of Rashbi, an heir (next receiver) to his soul, Rabbi Isaac Luria (The Holy ARI) wrote that his soul was a return of the soul of Rabbi Shimon, and the soul of Rabbi Shimon was a return of the soul of Moshe (*Shaar HaGilgulim*, item 64). He also wrote that the soul of Moshe clothed in Rashbi to correct the soul of *Achiya HaShiloni* (Ahijah the Shilonite), who "corrupted" *Malchut* on account of the sin of King Yerav'am (Jeroboam), which prompted the transgression of all Israel. Hence, the soul of Rashbi appeared

to correct Israel's sins. The part of *The Zohar* titled *Raya Meheimna* (Loyal Shepherd) relates how Rashbi attained the soul of Moshe, merged with it, and attained the supernal wisdom.

In his works *Maranan ve Rabanan* and *Kli Yakar* (*Melachim*, 2, 12), the great HaChida also says that Rashbi's entire work lay in correction of the sin of *Achiya HaShiloni*.

As Rashbi says in the Talmud (*Sukkah*, 45, 2): "I can redeem the entire world from judgment from the day of my birth to the present day. And if my son is with me, from the day the world was created to the present day. And if Yotam Ben Uziyahu is with us, from the day the world was created to its end." The book of *Melachim* narrates about Yotam Ben Uziyahu (20, 15).

After the verdict was lifted, Rashbi founded his seminary in the settlement of Tekoa and in the village of Meron. There he taught his disciples Kabbalah and wrote *The Book of Zohar*, thereby revealing what was forbidden to reveal from the time of Israel's reception of the Torah (*Tikuney Zohar*, *Hakdamah*, p. 17).

However, to write down all the secrets of the Torah, Rabbi Shimon had to express them in a secret form. Rashbi's disciple, Rabbi Aba, had a unique quality to his soul. This quality enabled him to convey spiritual knowledge in a secret, concealed form. Hence, Rabbi Shimon asked his disciple to express his thoughts for him, that is, to commit Rashbi's thoughts to paper. The ARI explained it in the following way: "*The Book of Zohar* must remain concealed until the generation of the coming of the *Mashiach* (Messiah), as through the study of this book will humankind return from its spiritual exile" (The ARI, *Shaar HaHakdamot*, *Hakdamah*, p. 3). That is why Rabbi Aba wrote the teachings of Rabbi Shimon in Aramaic, as it is the reverse side of Hebrew.

The ARI wrote (*Maamarey Rashbi (Articles of Rashbi)*, p. 100) that the writing of *The Zohar* in a secret form was possible because the soul of Rabbi Aba originated from the Surrounding Light, and not from the Inner Light. For this reason, the ARI explained, he could express the most supernal wisdom in a secret form as simple stories.

(Rabbi Shimon lived approximately to the age of eighty and passed away on the holiday of *Lag BaOmer*, the eighteenth day in the month *Iyar*, surrounded by his disciples, and recognized by the entire nation. This day is celebrated as the holiday of Light. Rabbi Shimon's body was buried in a cave off Mount Meron, and the body of his son, Rabbi Elazar, is buried a few meters from him.)

Like the subsequent compositions of the ARI and other Kabbalists (evidently, such is the lot of all true spiritual books), *The Book of Zohar* was concealed for

some 1,100 years in a cave near Meron, since the day it was written, until an Arab man found it and sold it in the market as wrapping cloth.

Part of the torn sheets fell into the hands of a sage, who recognized and appreciated the value of the writings. After a long search, he recovered many sheets from refuse bins or bought them from spice vendors, who were selling their merchandise wrapped in the sheets of *The Zohar*. It was out of these recovered sheets that the book (as we know it today) was compiled.

For many centuries, since that time until today, *The Book of Zohar* has been the subject of controversy. Philosophers, scientists, and other "sages," still debate it today. Yet, the fact remains that only a Kabbalist, one who ascends to a particular spiritual degree, attains what this book conveys. To all other people, it seems like a collection of narratives, stories, and ancient philosophy. Only those who do not comprehend this book argue over it; but Kabbalists know for certain that Rashbi's book is the greatest source of spiritual attainment that the Creator imparted upon the people in this world.

Although *The Book of Zohar* was written in the second century, only Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag was able to provide a full commentary on it in the 1930s-40s. The reason for the concealment of *The Zohar* from the second century to thirteenth century and the lack of a complete commentary on it for eighteen centuries is explained in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar."

Rabbi Ashlag called his commentary *HaSulam* (The Ladder) because by studying it, one can ascend the spiritual degrees of attainment of the Upper Worlds as one would climb a ladder in our world. Following the publishing of the *Sulam* commentary, Rabbi Ashlag received the epithet *Baal HaSulam* (Owner of the Ladder), as it is customary among sages of the Torah to call a person not by his name, but according to his highest attainment.

THE BOOK OF ZOHAR CONTAINS:

1. ***Hakdamat Sefer HaZohar*** *(The Introduction of the Book of Zohar)*—containing several articles that fully reveal the inner meaning of the Torah.

2. ***Sefer HaZohar*** *(The Book of Zohar)*—divided into parts and chapters that correspond to the weekly portions of the Torah:

The Book of *Beresheet* *(Genesis)*: *Beresheet*, *Noach*, *Lech Lecha*, *Vayera*, *Chaiey Sarah*, *Toldot*, *Vayetze*, *Vayishlach*, *Vayeshev*, *Miketz*, *Vayigash*, *Vayichi*.

The Book of *Shemot* *(Exodus)*: *Shemot*, *Vayera*, *Bo*, *Beshalach*, *Yitro*, *Mishpatim*, *Terumah* (*Safra de Tzniuta*), *Tetzaveh*, *Ki Tissa*, *Veyikahel*, *Pekudey*.

The Book of *Vayikra* *(Leviticus)***:** *Vayikra*, *Tzav*, *Shmini*, *Tazria*, *Metzura*, *Acharey*, *Kedushim*, *Emor*, *BaHar*, *Vechukotay*.

The Book of *Bamidbar* *(Numbers)***:** *Bamidbar*, *Naso* (*Idra Raba*), *Baalotcha*, *Shlach Lecha*, *Korach*, *Chukat*, *Balak*, *Pinchas*, *Matot*.

The Book of *Devarim* *(Deuteronomy)***:** *VeEtchanen*, *Ekev*, *Shoftim*, *Titze*, *Vayelech*, *Haazinu* (*Idra Zuta*).

3. *Zohar Hadash* *(The New Zohar)*: additions to the weekly chapters:

Beresheet, *Noach*, *Lech Lecha*, *Vayera*, *Vayetze*, *Vayeshev*, *Bashalach*, *Yitro*, *Terumah*, *Ki Titze*, *Tzav*, *Acharey*, *BaHar*, *Naso*, *Chukat*, *Balak*, *Matot*, *VeEtchanen*, *Ki Titze*, *Ki Tavo*.

4. Additional books in *The Book of Zohar* that are not a direct commentary on the Torah:

Idra Raba, *Idra Zuta*, *Safra de Tzniuta*, *Raza de Razin*, *Tosefta*, *Raya Mi'emna*, *Ashmatot*, *Sitrey Torah*, *Sitrey Otiot*, and *Tikuney Zohar*.

5. *Midrash HaNe'elam* *(The Commentary on the Writings)*: *Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Eicha (Lamentations)*—and on the Torah (Pentateuch).

Baal HaSulam wrote the commentary on the portions of *The Zohar* that are known to us. His main commentaries in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar" and the chapter "Beresheet" are expressed in terms of man's spiritual work. The most valuable articles of *The Zohar* for the science of Kabbalah are *Idra Raba*, *Idra Zuta*, and *Safra de Tzniuta*. All of them are expressed in the language of Kabbalah. Besides these articles, the rest of *The Zohar* is written in the language of Midrash.

In its original form, *The Book of Zohar*—written by Rabbi Aba sixteen centuries ago—was not divided into weekly chapters. Its volume was several times larger than the text that reached us; it expounded not only the Torah, but also twenty-four other books of the Bible (Pentateuch, Prophets, and Writings).

Besides *The Book of Zohar* itself, Rabbi Shimon's book of *Tikkunim* (corrections) had reached us, as well. It comprises seventy commentaries on the first word of the Torah, *Beresheet* (in the beginning), since it includes everything.

This book offers a semantic translation of *The Zohar* itself, Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag's *The Sulam* commentary, and my own explanations. The book also contains the first part of *The Book of Zohar—Hakdamat Sefer HaZohar* (*Introduction of The Book of Zohar*).

At the beginning of the text, the semantic translation is given in bold script. *The Sulam* commentary and my explanations are in regular script or *italics* because it turned out to be extremely difficult to separate my explanations from Rabbi Ashlag's holy texts. The numbers at the beginning of the items correspond to the numbers of the items in *The Book of Zohar* with *The Sulam* commentary, vol. 1.

The reason for the interlacing of texts is the need to explain the meaning of *The Zohar* in several languages simultaneously: a) the language of Kabbalah (*Sefirot*, *Partzufim*, *Gematria,* and worlds), b) the language of spiritual work (emotions), c) the language of the Torah (narrative), and d) the language of the Talmud (judicial).

To comprehend the style of *The Book of Zohar*, I recommend the reader to return to the translation of the original text after reading and mastering the commentary.

The Book of Zohar, like the whole of the Torah, speaks exclusively of man (creation) and his relationship with the Creator. The Torah attaches worldly appellations to all of man's inner properties. Thus, the aspiration to the Creator is called "Israel," and the aspiration to selfish reception of pleasures is called "nations of the world." However, there is no connection whatsoever between these names in the Torah and the Jews and other nations in our world. Kabbalah appeals to *man*, to creation!

The book contains articles commented upon in the language of Kabbalah, and others commented upon in the language of emotions, which is easier to understand for the beginner. The reader can begin the study of the book with such articles as "Night of the Bride," and "Who rejoices on holidays." Nevertheless, a complete study of *The Zohar* entails systematic learning of the material. The more accustomed we are to Kabbalah, the more it permeates our hearts, and it can only be mastered by repeatedly reviewing the studied material.

Rav Michael Laitman

List of Abbreviations and Explanations

AA—*Arich Anpin*—the *Partzuf* of *Hochma*, the central, initial *Partzuf* in the world of *Atzilut*, from which all the other *Partzufim* originate.

Aba—Father —the *Partzuf* of *Hochma*.

Ima—Mother—the *Partzuf* of *Bina*.

ZA—*Zeir Anpin*—Son (with regard to *AVI*).

ZON—ZA and *Nukva*—*Malchut*.

Nukva, Malchut—a *Sefira* (singular for *Sefirot*) or *Partzuf* that receives from all the preceding *Partzufim* (plural for *Partzuf*). *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* is the sum of all the creatures, all human souls. For this reason it is called *Knesset Israel* (The Assembly of Israel).

Israel—the property of "bestowal," altruism. This is the property of the Creator, the property of *Bina*. *Israel* derives from the Hebrew words *Yashar*—straight, and *El*—the Creator. Thus, *Israel* is the property of aspiring to attain equivalence of form with the Creator. The "nations of the world" are the aspiration to selfish reception of pleasure. Naturally, these two properties are present in everyone, and Kabbalah is the method for the development of the property of Israel within man, with the purpose of attaining the Creator in this life.

Kli (vessel) egoistic desires and aspirations are not considered a *Kli*. A *Kli* is the corrected desires, suitable for reception of Light. These are altruistic desires with a screen that has transformed them from egoism into altruism.

The human heart that receives all sensations is called the *Kli* (vessel) of reception of sensations. The spiritual vessel, the only vessel that *The Zohar* speaks of, is the desire to bestow upon the Creator: to hand over all of man's desires to the Creator, as though saying that he agrees with all his heart to relinquish all of himself for His sake. Such a complete and true intention is called "*Lishma*" (for the Creator's sake).

SEFIROT	THE CREATOR'S NAMES
KETER	EKYEH=Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey
HOCHMA	YAH= Yod-Hey
BINA	HaVaYaH with Nikud Elokim
HESED	EL=Aleph-Lamed
GEVURA	ELOKIM= Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Hey
TIFFERET	HaVaYaH with Nikud of Shvah-Holam-Kamatz
NETZAH and HOD	TZEVAOT
YESOD	SHADDAY=Shin-Dalet-Yod or EL=Aleph-Lamed CHAI=Chet-Yod
MALCHUT	ADNI=Aleph-Dalet-Nun-Yod

Mittuk (sweetening/mitigation) of a restriction law. Restriction is a ban for *Malchut* to receive Light. This ban is lifted when *Malchut* is corrected by the properties of *Bina*.

Zivug—coupling—is translated as a sexual union between a man and a woman in this world. Since spiritual actions are *absolutely detached* from the way we would normally perceive them, I have chosen to use the Hebrew term *Zivug*, as it is more abstractedly perceived by people with no knowledge of Hebrew. This will help prevent confusions based on previously existing conceptions. The spiritual *Zivug* is an aspiration of the Upper One (ZA—male part) to pass the Light (pleasure) to the lower one (*Malchut*—female part). In doing so, both desires are completely selfless, as in the example of the guest and the host.

PBP—*Panim be Panim* (face to face). This state occurs when a *Zachar* (male *Sefira*), or *Aba* (father), passes *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) to the female *Sefira*, or *Ima* (mother), for the subsequent transfer to the children (ZON). The same relationships of *ABA* (see below) and *PBP* also transpire between their children, ZON (ZA and *Malchut*).

ABA – *Achor be Achor*, back to back (pronounced *Ach be Ach*). If *Partzuf Aba* (*Hochma)* has *Ohr Hochma*, but is unwilling to pass it on to *Partzuf Ima* (*Bina*), and if *Ima* also does not want to receive it, such a relationship between them is called back to back. The same relationship can exist between ZA and *Malchut*.

Hesed—mercy, compassion, altruism, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy, compassion, and altruism). It appears only within a *Kli* (desire) that wishes to

give selflessly and be similar to the Creator. This is the property of the *Sefira* or *Partzuf* of *Bina*. *Bina* of the world of *AK (Adam Kadmon)* is called *SAG*. *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* is called *Ima*, the Supernal Mother, *YESHSUT*, and *AVI*. The Light of *Bina* is the pleasure of being similar to the Creator's properties; hence, this Light (sensation) is the most reliable protection from the impure forces. And the *Kli* that possesses the properties of *Bina* is unable to transgress, as its desire is solely to bestow.

KHB—*Keter-Hochma-Bina* (pronounced *Kahab*). These are the first three *Sefirot* that form the *Rosh* (head) of the *Partzuf*. The *Rosh* decides how much pleasure the *Partzuf* can accept not for its own sake but for the sake of the Creator. This Light descends from the *Rosh* to the *Guf* (body).

HBD—*Hochma-Bina-Daat* (pronounced *Habad*). This is the same as *Keter-Hochma-Bina* (the *Rosh* of the *Partzuf*). *Sefira Daat* is not a *Sefira*, but the request (also known as *MAN*) of *ZON* (*Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva*). *Daat* is the appeal of *ZON* to *Bina* regarding their desire to receive *Ohr Hochma* from her. This prayer of *ZON* is called *MAN*, for it ascends to *Bina* and evokes in *Bina* (*Ima*—their mother) the desire to bestow upon her children—*ZON*. *MAN* in *Bina* is called *Sefira Daat*. This is not a *Sefira* like the other ten *Sefirot*; it is rather a request. However, to stress this state, we use the name *HBD* instead of *KHB*.

HGT—*Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* (pronounced *Hagat*). These are the *Sefirot* of the *Guf* (body), similar to the *Sefirot* of the *Rosh*: *Hesed* is tantamount to *Keter*, *Gevura* is tantamount to *Hochma*, and *Tifferet* is tantamount to *Bina*. They are called *GE* (see below) of the body.

NHYM—*Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut* (pronounced *Nehim*). These *Sefirot* receive from the *Sefirot HGT* (*GE*). Since they receive and have the will to receive, they are called *AHP* of the body.

GE—*Galgalta-Eynaim* (skull and eyes). *Sefirot Keter-Hochma*-and *GAR* of *Bina*. These *Sefirot* do not have the will to receive and wish only to bestow. Hence, they cannot become egoistic.

NRN—*Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama* (pronounced *Naran*). This is the Light that fills the small *Partzuf*. *Katnut* (small state) is when the *Partzuf* has the strength (a screen) only to bestow, but is unable to receive for the Creator's sake, despite its desire to do so. In this case, the *Partzuf* has only *Ohr Hassadim* (Light of Mercy), but not *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom). This is why it is considered a small *Partzuf*, without strength and reason, similar to a child in our world.

AHP—*Awzen-Hotem-Peh* (ear-nose-mouth), pronounced *Ahap*. These are *Sefirot ZAT* of *Bina-ZA-Malchut*, which possess a will to receive. Therefore, in the

absence of a proper screen (resistance to that desire), they become egoistic. A *Partzuf* without a screen on its *AHP* is called *Katan* (small) and its state is called *Katnut* (smallness, incompleteness). It is like a child in our world, as this *Partzuf*, too, has no strength (screen), and can therefore have only *Ohr Hassadim* without *Ohr Hochma*).

Gadlut—big state. A *Partzuf* with a screen (strength to resist its egoistic nature) to not only refrain from receiving for its own sake, but to receive not for its own sake (as in the example of the guest and the host. In this case, the *Partzuf* fills all of its desires (all ten *Sefirot*) with the Lights of *Hassadim* and *Hochma*.

First Big State—*Gadlut Aleph*, the attainment of the Light of *Neshama*.

Second Big State—*Gadlut Bet*, the attainment of the Light of *Haya*.

Ohr Hochma—Light of Wisdom. This Light fills the *Kelim* (vessels/desires) of reception. It comes only if there is a screen on altruistic reception.

Ateret Yesod—literarily "foreskin," the place of union between Israel and the Creator. After the second restriction, it is forbidden to make a *Zivug* (spiritual coupling) on *Malchut* herself due to the absence of the screen. However, a *Zivug* can be made on the properties that *Malchut* received from ZA, called *Ateret Yesod*. Just as the desires of *Malchut* herself are cut off, the foreskin is circumcised, and the desires that remain within her are those received from ZA, called *Ateret Yesod*. On these desires, *Malchut* can make a *Zivug* with ZA, and receive the Light of *Hochma*. Naturally, this is not the same Light of *Hochma* that *Malchut* would receive if she were able to make a *Zivug* on her desires, that is, on herself, on her own properties, called "the central point of creation," the truly egoistic desires. *Malchut* will be able to do that only after 6,000 years, at the end of correction. But before that happens, these desires are called the mark of union with the Creator, since a *Zivug* on *Ateret Yesod* brings her closer to the Creator.

Ateret Yesod is also *Malchut de Malchut* that remains after the circumcision, the removal of the *Orla* (foreskin). This is the corrected part of *Malchut*, her unification with *Sefira Yesod*, upon which a *Zivug* can be made while still during the 6,000 years, thus bringing *Malchut* to the end of correction.

NRNHY—*Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama-Haya-Yechida* (pronounced ***Naranhay***). This Light fills the big *Partzuf*, consisting of *GE* and *AHP*.

Ohr (Light)—pleasure, the sensation of the Creator. *Ohr* should always be interpreted as the same concept, for although the term is used in general, all of its synonyms are implied!

Kli (vessel)—desire, creature. Like *Ohr*, the word *Kli* is used in general, but all of its synonyms are implied!

Gematria—numerical value of a letter, or a combination of letters and words. This is a special way of recording spiritual information.

Parsa—firmament, the division between the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds *BYA*. The *Parsa* divides the ten *Sefirot* into two parts: the altruistic *Kelim* of bestowal (*GAR*, *KHB*, and *GE*) and the *Kelim* of reception (*ZON* or *Bina-ZA-Malchut*), for *Bina* deliberately fell into ZA (*AHP*) with the purpose of correcting him. *Malchut*, which ascends above *Bina* and stands below *Hochma*, is called *Parsa* or "firmament," and separates *GE* from *AHP*.

ZAT, ZAK—the seven *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, *Malchut* (*HGT NHYM*).

VAT, VAK—the six *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod* (*HGT NHY*, pronounced *Hagat Nehy*).

De – the preposition 'of' in a possessive meaning. For example, *Malchut* ***de*** *Atzilut* means *Malchut* **of** the world of *Atzilut*.

English translation—Whenever it says so in parenthesis, this refers to the books of the Torah (Pentateuch), *Nevi'im* (Prophets), and *Ketuvim* (Writings/ Hagiographa), published by Mosad HaRav Kook, in Hebrew with English translation. For example, (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9; English translation p. XXX, 9) means that if you open page XXX in the book of Prophets, what you are looking for will be in sentence number nine. When the original source is indicated, it is recommended to refer to it there and then to read at least the passage that the quoted saying is ascribed to. This will help you to see even more clearly that the Torah, using an allegorical, figurative language, speaks only of the spiritual world and man's ascension to it, and not at all about history or about our world.

Garments—attributes, desires, *Kelim*. Generally, the garments in question are those that *Malchut* receives from *Bina*.

Huppah—a wedding baldachin, a canopy under which a marriage ceremony takes place.

Nartik—the covering of ZA; same as the *Huppah*.

Adornments—the Light of *Hassadim*, Light of *Bina*, which she passes into *Malchut*. This corrects *Malchut*, and enables her to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the Light of *Hassadim*.

Orla—foreskin on the *Sefira Yesod*, the place of the *Zivug* between ZA and *Malchut*. The *Orla* must be removed, for during the 6,000 years, it is impossible to make

a *Zivug* (intention) on *Malchut* herself and receive for the Creator's sake. Only a *Zivug* on the union of *Malchut* with ZA can be made. This is called *Ateret Yesod*, the part of the *Sefira Yesod* that remains after the cutting off of the *Orla*. *Orla* is also *Malchut de Malchut*, or the impure forces.

Ima—Mother—*Bina* with regard to *Malchut*, who is the daughter.

Daughter—*Malchut* with regard to *Bina*, mother.

***Kodesh ha Kodashim*—Holy of Holies**—the Light of GAR—*Neshama-Haya-Yechida*.

Question—the sensation of lack of the Light of *Hochma* in *Malchut*.

Sela—rock or truth. The name of *Malchut*.

Shechina—Divinity—the sensation (appearance, vision) of the Creator to those who attain Him. *Malchut* in the state of reception of the Light (the Creator) is called *Shechina*. The sensation of the Creator, the place where one experiences the Creator is called *Shechina*.

Techum—zone—the distance beyond the bounds of which one is forbidden to go on *Shabbat* (the Sabbath). *Techum Shabbat* constitutes the maximal distance within which one can move about during Sabbath.

Sigim—dross—impure desires that exist within pure desires. Man's work is to separate the two, and to gradually correct the *Sigim*. The term *Sigim* comes from SAG, for they appeared as a result of the breaking of the *Kelim* of the world of *Nekudim*, which refer to the system of the *Partzufim* of *Partzuf* SAG. The term *Sigim* found its way from Kabbalah into spoken Hebrew.

SHACH—*Shin-Chaf*—300 + 20 = 320 fragments of the broken vessel.

RAPACH—*Reish-Peh-Chet*—200 + 80 + 8 = 288 fragments of the broken vessel, which one can and must be corrected during the 6,000 years, by climbing the 6,000 steps of the spiritual ladder.

Lev ha Even—Stony Heart—*Lev* = *Lamed-Bet* = 30 + 2 = 32 fragments into which *Malchut* had broken. These fragments of *Malchut* cannot be corrected and made altruistic; one can only refrain from using these desires. *Lev ha Even* is corrected only after the 6,000 years, that is, after the Creator Himself corrects the 288 fragments within man. It becomes completely altruistic and receives the name *Lev Basar* (heart of flesh).

Lo Lishma—not for the sake of the Creator. Since nothing exists in creation but the Creator and man, if something is not done "for the sake of the Creator," it is done "for one's own sake." Thus, *Lo Lishma* denotes man's egoistic intention.

Lishma—for the Creator's sake. Man's selfless intention to act only to please and bring joy to the Creator.

Four angels that participate in the creation of man—the four basic properties of nature: mercy—*Hesed*, justice—*Tzedek*, truth—*Emet*, and peace—*Shalom*.

Eretz Israel—Land of Israel—*Yetzira* of this world. *Yerushalaim* (Jerusalem) is *Ateret Yesod* in *Malchut*.

ORIGINAL NAMES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS ACCEPTED IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Aaron – Aaron
Amon – Ammon
Ana'el – Anahel
Anafiel – Anafiel
Ariel – Ariel
Avraham – Abraham
Bat Sheva – Bathsheba
Benayahu – Benaiah
Betzalel – Betzalel
Bil'am – Balaam
Chagai – Haggai
Chava – Eve
Eden – Eden
Eicha – Eichah
Elisha – Elisha
Eliyahu – Elijah
Esav – Esau
Ester – Esther
Ezra – Ezra
Gavri'el – Gabriel
Gazaria – Gazardiel
Hanoch – Eunuch
Havakuk – Habakkuk
Iyov – Job
Korach – Korach
Leah – Leah
Lilit – Lilith
Machaniel – Manhiel
Matat – Metatron
Micha – Micah
Moav – Moab
Moshe – Moses
Nachum – Nahum
Navuchadnetzar – Nebuchadnezzar
Nechemia – Nehemiah
Noach – Noah
Ovadia – Obadiah
Petachia – Petahyah
Pinchas – Pinchas
Pisgania – Pesagniyah
Rahel – Rachel
Rivka – Rebecca
Rut – Ruth
Sandalphon – Sandalphon
Shet – Seth
Shimon – Simeon
Shlomo – Solomon
Shmuel – Samuel
Tamar – Tamar
Tzefania – Zephaniah

Tzur – Tyre
Yaakov – Jacob
Yehoyada – Jehoiada
Yechezkel – Ezekiel
Yehoshua – Joshua
Yehudah – Judah
Yerushalaim – Jerusalem
Yeshayahu – Isaiah
Yirmiyahu – Jeremiah
Yishmael – Ishmael
Yitzchak – Isaac
Yosef – Joseph
Zachariah – Zechariah
Zvuliel – Zebuliel

ORIGINAL TITLES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS ACCEPTED IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Beresheet – Genesis
Shemot – Exodus
Vayikra – Leviticus
Bamidbar – Numbers
Devarim – Deuteronomy
Kohelet – Ecclesiastes
Shmuel 1 and 2 – Samuel 1 and 2
Melachim 1 and 2 – Kings 1 and 2
Divrey HaYamim – Chronicles
Mishley – Proverbs
Tehilim – Psalms
Shir HaShirim – Song of Songs
Shoftim – Judges

An Example of the Original Text of The Zohar

א) רבי חזקיה פתחת כתיב, כשושנה בין החוחים. מאן שושנה, דא כנסת ישראל. בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה, מה שושנה דאיהי בין החוחים אית בה סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי. מה שושנה אית בה תליסר עלין אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה תליסר מכילן דרחמי דסחרין לה מכל סטרהא.אוף אלקים דהכא, משעתא דאדכר, אפיק תליסר תיבין לסחרא לכנסת ישראל ולנטרא לה.

ב) ולבתר אדכר זמנא אחרא. אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא, בגין לאפקא חמש עלין תקיפין דסחרין לשושנה. ואינון חמש, אקרון ישועות.ואינון חמש תרעין.ועל רזא דא כתיב, כוס ישועות אשא, דא כוס של ברכה. כוס של ברכה אצטריך למהוי על חמש אצבען ולא יתיר, כנוונא דשושנה דיתבא על חמש עלין תקיפין דוגמא דחמש אצבען. ושושנה, דא איהו כוס של ברכה, מאלקים תניינא עד אלקים תליתאה חמש תיבין. מכאן ולהלאה, אור דאתברי ואתגניז, ואתכליל בברית ההוא דעאל בשושנה ואפיק בה זרעא. ודא אקרי עץ קיימא באות ברית ממש.

ג) וכמה דדיוקנא דברית אזדרע בארבעין ותרין זווגין ההואזרעא. כך אזדרע שמא גליפא מפרש, בארבעין וותריזאתוון דעובדא דבראשית.

ד) בראשית. רבי שמעון פתח הנצנים נראו בארץ, הנצנים דא עובדא דבראשית. נראו בארץ, אימתי, ביום השלישי, דכתיב ותוצא הארץ, כדין נראו בארץ. עת הזמיר הגיע, דא יום רביעי, דהוה ביה זמיר עריצים, מארת חסר. וקול התור, דא יום חמישי, דכתיב ישרצו המים וגו׳, למעבד תולדות. נשמע דא יום ששי, דכתיב נעשה אדם, דהוה עתיד למקדם עשיה לשמיעה דכתיב הכא נעשה אדם, וכתיב התם נעשה ונשמע. בארצנו, דא יום שבת, דאיהו דוגמת ארץ החיים.

ה) ד״א הנצנים אלין אינון אבהן,דעאלו במחשבה, ועאלו בעלמא דאתי ,ואתגניזו תמן. ומתן נפקו בגניזו ואטמירו גו נביאי קשוט, אתיליד יוסף, ואטמרו ביה. עאל יוסף בארעא קדישא ונציב לון תמן, וכדין נראו בארץ ואתגלו תמן. ואימתי אתחזן. בשעתא דאתגלי קשת
בעלמא, דהא בשעתא דקשת אתחזי כדין אתגליין אינון, ובהיא שעתא עת הזמיר הגיע עדן לקצץ חייבין מעלמא. אמאי אשתזיבו. בגין דהנצבים נראו בארץ, ואלמלא דנראו לא אשתארון בעלמא , ועלמא לא אתקיים.
ו) ומאן מקיים עלמא וגרים לאבהן דאתגליין, קל ינוקי דלעאן באורייתא, ובגין אינון רביין דעלמא, עלמא אשתזיב. לקבליהון, תורי זהב נעשה לך, אלין אינון ינוקי רביין עולמין, דכתיב ועשית שנים כרובים זהב.
ז) בראשית. ר׳ אלעזר פתח, שאו מרום עיניכם וראו מי ברא אלה. שאו מרום עיניכם. לאן אתר. לאתר דכל עיינין תליאן ליה, ומאן איהו. פתח עינים. ותמן תנדעון, דהאי סתים עתיקא דקיימא לשאלה, ברא אלה. ומאן איהו, מ״י. ההוא דאקרי מקצה השמים לעילא, דכלא קיימא ברשותיה. ועל דקיימא לשאלה, ואיהו בארח סתים ולא
אתגליא, אקרי מ״י דהא לעילא לית תמן שאלה. והאי קצה השמים אקרי מ״י.
ח) ואית אחרא לתתא ואקרי מ״ה, מה בין האי להאי, אלא קדמאה סתימאה דאקרי מ״י קיימא לשאלה, כיון דשאל בר נש ומפשפש לאסתכלא ולמנדע מדרגא לדרגא עד סוף כל דרגין, כיון דמטי תמן מ״ה, מה ידעת, מה אסתכלתא, מה פשפשתא, הא כלא סתים כדקדמיתא.
ט) ועל רזא דנא כתיב, מה אעידך מה אדמה לך. כד אתחריב בי מקדשא, נפיק קלא ואמר, מה אעידך ומה אדמה

לך, בההוא מ"ה אעידך, בכל יומא ויומא אסהידת בך מיומין קדמאין. דכתיב העדותי בכם היום את השמים ואת הארץ. ומה אדסה לך, בההוא גוונא ממש, עתרית לך בעטרין קדישין, עבדית לך שלטנו על עלמא, דכתיב הזאת העיר שיאמרו כלילת יפי וגו'. קרינא לך ירושלם הבנויה כעיר שחברה לה. מה אשוה לך, כגוונא דאנת יתבה, הכי הוא כביכול לעילא, כגוונא דלא עאלין השתא בך עמא קדישא בסדרא קדישין, הכי אומינא לך דלא איעול אנא לעילא עד דיעלון בך אוכלסך לתתא. ודא איהו נחמה דילך, הואיל דדרגא דא אשוה לך בכלא. והשתא דאנת הכא, גדול כים שברך. ואי תימא דלית לך קיימא ואסוותא, מ"י ירפא לך, ודאי ההוא דרגא סתימאה עלאה, דכלא קיימא ביה, ירפא לך ויוקים לך.

י) מ"י קצה השמים לעילא, מ"ה קצה השמים לתתא, ודא ירית יעקב דאיהו מבריח מן הקצה אל הקצה, מן הקצה קדמאה דאיהו מ"י, אל הקצה בתראה דאיהו מ"ה, בגין דקאים באמצעיתא. ועל דא, מי ברא אלה.

יא) אמר ר"ש אלעזר בני פסוק מילך, ויתגלי סתימא דרזא עלאה דבני עלמא לא ידעין. שתיק רבי אלעזר. בכה רבי שמעון, וקאים רגעא חדא. א"ר שמעון, אלעזר, מאי אלה. אי תימא ככביא ומזלי, הא אתחזן תמן תדיר. ובמ"ה אתבריאו, כד"א בדבר ה' שמים נעשו. אי על מלין סתימין, לא לכתוב אלה דהא אתגלייא איהו.

יב) אלא רזא דא לא אתגליא, בר יומא חד דהוינא על כיף ימא, ואתא אליהו ואמר לי, ר' ידעת מה הוא מי ברא אלה. אמינא ליה, אלין שמיא וחיליהון, עובדא דקב"ה דאית ליה לבר נש לאסתכלא בהו, ולברכא ליה, דכתיב כי אראה

שמיך מעשה אצבעותיך וגו׳ ה׳ אדונינו מה אדיר שמך בכל הארץ.

יג) א״ל, ר׳: מלה סתימה הוה קמי קב״ה, וגלי במתיבתא עלאה, ודא הוא. בשעתא דסתימא דכל סתימין בעא לאתגלייא, עבד ברישא נקודה חדא, ודא סליק למהוי מחשבה. צייר בה כל ציורין חקק בה כל גליפין.

יד) ואגליף גו בוצינא קדישא סתימא גליפו דחד ציורא סתימאה קדש קדישין בניינא עמיקא דנפיק מגו מחשבה, ואקרי מ״י שירותא לבנינא קיימא ולא קיימא. עמיק וסתים בשמא. לא אקרי אלא מ״י. בעא לאתגלייא ולאתקרי בשמא דא, ואתלבש בלבוש יקר דנהיר, וברא אל״ה, וסליק אל״ה בשמא. אתחברון אתוון אלין באלין ואשתלים בשמא אלהים. ועד לא ברא אלה לא סליק בשמא אלהים. ואינון דחבו בעגלא. על רזא דנא אמרו אלה אלהיך ישראל.

טו) וכמה דאשתתף מ״י באלה, הכי הוא שמא דאשתתף תדיר,

ברזא דא אתקיים עלמא. ופרח אליהו ולא חמינא ליה. ומניה ידענא מלה דאוקימנא על רזא וסתרא דילה. אתא רבי אלעזר וכלהו חברייא ואשתטחו קמיה, בכו ואמרו, אלמלא לא אתינא לעלמא אלא למשמע דא די.

א

רבי חזקיה

נ"א רבי אלעזר

בזהרי חמה ובנוסחת א"י

מאמר השושנה

א) פתח, כתיב א) א) א **כשושנה בין החוחים. מאן שושנה, דא** ב) ב) **כנסת ישראל.** ב **בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה,** ג **מה שושנה דאיהי בין** ג) **החוחים**

מסורת הזהר

א) (שיר ב) ב"א אות רצח תולדות יח ויחי רלד שמות שסד כי תשא לא שמיני לט אמור שלג חקת יח פנחס סח שצג שצח ואתחנן סו האזינו י יב ת"ז תכ"ה דף עא. תכ"ו שם תל"ח דף עח: ז"ח יתרו יב. ב) יתרו שסה.

חלופי גרסאות

א נ"א כשושנה בין החוחים מה שושנה דא דאיהי בין החוחים וכו' (אור הלבנה). ב נ"א בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה ל"ג. ג נ"א ד"א מה שושנה דאיהו בין החוחים וכו' (אה"ל).

דרך אמת א) רחל. ב) לאח כלת משה מלגאו. ג) רחל.

הסולם

מאמר

א) ר' חזקיה פתח וכו': ר' חזקיה **פתח**, כתוב, כשושנה בין החוחים. שואל מהי שושנה. ומשיב, זו היא כנסת ישראל. שהיא מלכות. משום שיש שושנה ויש שושנה. מה שושנה בין החוחים יש בה אדום ולבן אף כנסת ישראל יש בה דין ורחמים. מה שושנה יש בה י"ג עלים, כך כנסת ישראל יש בה י"ג מדות הרחמים המסבבות אותה מכל צדדיה. אף אלקים, שבמקרא שבכאן דהיינו בראשית ברא **אלקים**, משעה שנזכר, הוציא י"ג מלים לסבב את כנסת ישראל ולשמרה. שהן: את, השמים, ואת, הארץ, והארץ, היתה, תהו, ובהו, וחשך, על, פני, תהום, ורוח. דהיינו עד אלקים מרחפת וגו'.

ביאור הדברים, עשר ספירות הן, בתר, חכמה, בינה, חסד, גבורה, תפארת, נצח, הוד, יסוד ומלכות. ועיקרן הוא רק חמש, כתר,

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

השושנה

חכמה, בינה, תפארת ומלכות, משום שספירת התפארת כוללת בתוכה שש ספירות חג"ת נה"י. והן נעשו חמש פרצופין: א"א, ואו"א, וזו"ן. הכתר נק' בשם אריך אנפין. חכמה ובינה נק' בשם אבא ואמא. ת"ת ומלכות, נק' בשם זעיר אנפין ונוקבא. (ביאורן של עשר הספירות עי' בפתיחה לחכמת הקבלה אות ה').

ודע, שסוד ז' ימי בראשית ה"ס ב' הפרצופין ז"א ונוקבא דאצילות, שיש בהם ז' ספירות חג"ת נה"י ומלכות, כנ"ל. אשר באלו הכתובים דמעשה בראשית מתבאר, איך אבא ואמא, שהם חו"ב, האצילו אותם מתחילת התהוותם עד סוף הגדלות, שנוהג בהם בהמשך שתא אלפי שני. וענין זה מתבאר והולך כאן בזוהר בראשית.

ור' חזקיה פתח בביאור הנוקבא דז"א, לבאר סדר אצילותה מאמא, שהיא הבינה הנק' בשם

אית בה ג) **סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת** ד) **ישראל אית בה** ד) **דין** ה) **ורחמי. מה שושנה אית בה** ו) ה) **תליסר עלין, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה** ו) **תליסר מכילין דרחמי**

מסורת הזהר

ג) ב"א ע תולדות טו וישלח יא ויחי תקח ויקרא רכג אמור שלג האזינו קסב ת"ז תל"ו דף עז: עשה ולא תעשה תק"ח דף קיא: ד) ויחי רלו אמור שלג האזינו קעז. ה) פנחס שצד ת"ז תכ"ה דף עא. תכ"ו שם. ו) ב"א קיב קכו ויצא שטו יתרו תקיב תצוה כ ויקהל קנה אחרי קפד נשא צו שם קכא קסד שמא פנחס רפו שסז שצד תרמו כי תצא יז ת"ז תכ"ב דף סז. ז"ח בראשית מו תק"ח דף ק. קא. קיג.

דרך אמת ד) לאה. ה) ולא גוון. ו) י"ב דידיה וי"ב דידה והכוללים.

הסולם

מאמר — השושנה

בשם אלהים. וזהו שפתח בביאור השושנה, שהיא הנוקבא דז"א. והנוקבא דז"א בעת גדלותה נקראת בשם כנסת ישראל, במ"ש להלן, וזהו שאומר, **מאן שושנה, דא כנסת ישראל.**

ויש בשושנה זו ב' מצבים: מצב של קטנות, דהיינו של תחלת התהוותה, שאז אין בה אלא ספי' אחת כתר, שבתוכה מלובש אור הנפש שלה, וט' הספירות התחתונות שלה נבחנות כנופלות לבר מאצילות. והן בעולם הבריאה. ועוד בה מצב של גדלות, שאז מתעלות ט"ס התחתונות שלה מן עולם הבריאה אל עולם האצילות, והיא נבנית עמהן לפרצוף שלם בעשר ספירות. ואז עולה עם ז"א בעלה לקומה שוה עם או"א דאצילות ומלבישים אותם. ואז נק' ז"א, בשם ישראל. שהוא אותיות לי ראש, והנוקבא נק' בשם כנסת ישראל, על שם שכונסת בתוכה כל האורות של ישראל בעלה שהיא משפעת אותם אל התחתונים.

והמצב של הקטנות נק' בשם שושנה בין החוחים, משום שט"ס התחתונות שלה נתרוקנו מאור האצילות, ונשארו כחוחים. והמצב של הגדלות נק' בשם שושנה סתם, או כנסת ישראל. וזה אמרו **אית שושנה ואית שושנה.**

והנה גוון סומק מורה שיש שם אחיזה לחיצונים ולקליפות לינק ממנה, וזהו בזמן המצב של הקטנות, שט"ס התחתונות שלה הן בבריאה, ויש בה ג"כ בחינת חוור, דהיינו בכלי דכתר שלה, שאין שם אחיזה לחיצונים. **וז"ש מה שושנה דאיהי בין החוחים אית בה סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי** להורות כי גם בגדלותה בעת שנקראת כנסת ישראל, אע"פ שעולה אז ומלבישה את הבינה במצב גדלותה כנ"ל, מ"מ נשארת בה בחינת דין, כי היא נצרכת לסוד המסך המתוקן בה לצורך הזווג דהכאה, שמסבת הדין שבמסך, הוא מכה על האור העליון ומחזירו לאחוריו, ומעלה עי"ז ע"ס דאור חוזר הנקרא אור של דין, וממשיך בתוכן ע"ס דאור ישר, הנקרא אור של רחמים. (עי' בפתיחה לחכמת הקבלה אות י"ד) וע"כ גם בכנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי כנגד הסומק והחוור שיש לשושנה בין החוחים.

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

וז"ס הים שעשה שלמה, העומד על שני עשר בקר. כי אלו טה"ס התחתונות שלה שנפלו לבריאה, כנ"ל, נתתקנו שם בסוד שני עשר בקר, ונקודת הכתר שנשארה באצילות ה"ס הים העומד עליהם מלמעלה, וכללותם יחד נק' **תליסר עלין** דשושנה. וענין ההתחלקות הזו של עה"ס שלה לסוד י"ג מתבאר להלן במראות הסולם.

והנה המוחין דגדלות של הנוקבא, שיש בהם מהארת החכמה, הם נמשכים מסוד י"ג השמות הנק' י"ג מדות הרחמים. וז"ש **אוף כ"י אית בה י"ג מכילן דרחמי.** והעיקר מה שבא ר' חזקיה להורות בהשואה הזו משושנה דבין החוחים לכנסת ישראל, הוא ללמדנו, שכל שיש לנוקבא במצב גדלותה צריך להמצא בה כנגדן בחי' הכנה והכשר עוד בתחילת הויתה דהיינו במצב הקטנות. וז"ש, שכנגד חוור וסומק דקטנות יוצא בה דין ורחמי בגדלות, וכנגד י"ג עלין דקטנות יוצא בה י"ג מדות הרחמים בגדלות. והוא מביא זאת כאן, בכדי ללמדנו איך הכתובים שלפנינו מבארים אותם ב' הסדרים דקטנות וגדלות, הנוהגים באצילות הנוקבא, כמו שממשיך והולך, אוף אלהים דהכא וכו'.

וז"ש, **אוף אלהים וכו' אפיק י"ג תיבין:** מורה, שאלהים שבמקרא דהכא בראשית

דסחרין לה מכל סטרהא. אוף אלהים ז) **דהכא, משעתא דאדכר, אפיק** ז) **תליסר תיבין לסחרא לכנסת** ח) **ישראל** ד **ולנטרא לה.**

ב) ולבתר אדכר זמנא אחרא, אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא, בגין ט) **לאפקא** ח) **חמש עלין תקיפין דסחרין לשושנה. ואינון חמש, אקרון ישועות. ואינון**

מסורת הזהר

ז) פנחס שצז ת"ז תכ"ו דף עא. ח) פנחס שצז ת"ז תכ"ו דף עא. תל"ח דף עח. תק"ח קיז:

חלופי גרסאות

ד ולנטלא (אה"ל).

דרך אמת ז) פי' אימא. ח) לאה. ט) אימא אפיק ה' גבורות מנצפ"ך להושיעם מן הקליפות.

הסולם

מאמר

בראשית ברא אלהים, שה"ס הבינה המאצלת לנוקבא דז"א, אפיק י"ג מלים שהן: **את השמים ואת הארץ והארץ היתה תוהו ובוהו וחושך על פני תהום ורוח**, דהיינו עד אלהים תנינא, שאלו י"ג תיבין רומזים על אותם י"ג עלין של שושנה בין החוחים בסוד הים העומד על שני עשר בקר, כנ"ל, שהם הכנה והכשר לכנסת ישראל שתקבל י"ג מכילן דרחמי. וז"ש, **לסחרא לכנסת ישראל ולנטרא לה,** כי י"ג מדות הרחמים, שהן המוחין השלמים דנוקבא, נבחנות שהן מסבבות ומאירות אליה מכל הצדדים סביב סביב, ונשמרת על ידיהן ממגע החיצונים, כי כל זמן שאין בה המוחין הגדולים בהארת החכמה מי"ג מדות, יש בה יניקה לחיצונים.

ב) **ולבתר אדכר** וכו': ואח"כ נזכר שם אלקים פעם אחרת, דהיינו **אלקים** מרחפת וגו'. ולמה נזכר פעם אחרת. הוא כדי להוציא חמשה עלים קשים המסבבים את השושנה. ואלו חמשת העלים נקראים ישועות, והם חמשה שערים, ועל סוד זה כתוב, כוס ישועות אשא, זו היא כוס של ברכה. כוס של ברכה צריכה להיות על חמש אצבעות ולא יותר, כמו השושנה היושבת על חמשה עלים קשים, שהם כנגד חמש אצבעות. ושושנה זו היא כוס של ברכה. מהשם אלקים השני עד שם אלקים השלישי חמש מלים. שהן: מרחפת על פני המים ויאמר. שהן כנגד ה' עלים הנ"ל מכאן ולהלאה, שנאמר, אלקים יהי אור וגו', הוא האור שנברא ונגנז ונכלל בברית ההוא שנכנס בשושנה והוציא בה זרע, וזה נקרא עץ עושה פרי אשר זרעו בו. והזרע ההוא נמצא באות ברית ממש.

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

השושנה

ביאור הדברים, **חמש עלין תקיפין:** ה"ס ה"ג של הנוקבא, שהן ע"ס דאו"ח, שהנוקבא מעלה על ידי זווג דהכאה באור העליון, הנק' אור של דין, (כנ"ל ד"ה סומק) כי עה"ס דאור ישר נק' ה' חסדים חג"ת נ"ה, והן מתלבשות בה' גבורות חג"ת נ"ה דאו"ח, ואלו חמש עלין תקיפין הן, כחות הדין שבמסך, המעכב את האור העליון מהתלבש ממסך ולמטה. וע"כ נק' עתה רק ה' עלין תקיפין, כי עוד אינה ראויה לזווג עליהם. ובזמן הגדלות כשהמסך בא בזווג עם האור העליון הם נק' ה' גבורות. כנ"ל.

ואלו ה' עלין תקיפין ה"ס ה' תיבות שיש מאלקים תנינא עד אלהים תליתאה, שהן: מרחפת על פני המים ויאמר. וז"ש **אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא,** שמשמע שיש כאן פעולה חדשה, ואומר, שהוא כדי להוציא מהנוקבא ה' עלין תקיפין אלו, שהם הכנה לזווג בזמן הגדלות.

ומה שאלו ע"ס דאו"ח נקראות ה"ג שהן חג"ת נ"ה ואינן נקראות כח"ב תו"מ, כנ"ל. הענין הוא, מפני שאינן ממשיכות אלא אור חסדים לבד, ולכן ירדו כח"ב ממעלתם ונקראים חג"ת, ות"ת ומלכות נק' בשם נו"ה.

וז"ש, **חמש תרעין וכו' כוס ישועות:** היינו בעת הגדלות, שה' עלין תקיפין נעשו לה' גבורות, אז הם נבחנים לחמש תרעין, שהם שערים פתוחים לקבל ה' החסדים דאור ישר. וכן הם נקראים ישועות מטעם זה. ואז נק' הנוקבא **כוס ישועות** או **כוס של ברכה,** כי בסגולתן נעשית הנוקבא כלי מחזיק הברכה, שהיא ה"ח הנ"ל.

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE AFORECITED TEXT FROM ARAMAIC INTO ENGLISH[3]

1. Rabbi Hizkiyah opened, "It is written, as a rose among thorns." That a rose is the Assembly of Israel. Because there is a rose and there is a rose, just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, the Assembly of Israel consists of judgment and mercy. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, the Assembly of Israel is surrounded on all sides by the thirteen attributes of mercy. However, *Elokim*, that is here, thought to bring out the thirteen words that surround the Assembly of Israel and guard it.

2. Afterwards, this is mentioned another time. The reason it is mentioned another time is to bring out the five rigid leaves that surround the rose. And these five stand for salvation. These are also the five gates.

It is written of this secret, "I will raise the cup of salvation, it is the cup of blessing." The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, and no more, just as a rose rests on five rigid leaves that correspond to the five fingers. And this rose is the cup of blessing. From the second to the third mention of the name *Elokim*, there are five words. From here on, the Light was created and concealed, enclosed within that covenant, and entered the rose and fructified it. And this is referred to as a fructiferous tree, wherein is the seed thereof. And this seed truly exists in the letter of the covenant.

3. And just as the form of the covenant is sown in forty-two conceptions from that seed, so is the legislative, special name of creation sown.

4. In the beginning, Rabbi Shimon opened, the flower buds appeared on the earth. "The flower buds" refer to the act of creation. They appeared on the earth when, on the third day, as it is said, "And the earth shall pullulate." That was when they appeared on the earth. The time of singing has come, and this is the fourth day, when there was a reduction from the Light of *Hassadim*. The voice of the turtle dove refers to the fifth day, where it is written, "Let the waters swarm," so as to produce offspring. "It is heard" refers to the sixth day, where it is written, "Let us stand and create man," and there it is said, "We will do and we will hear." "In our land" refers to the day of *Shabbat*, which represents the Land of Life.

5. Another meaning is that these flower buds are the Patriarchs who entered the thoughts of the future world, and there they are concealed. They emerged from

3 The translation in the book is semantic and not literal

there in concealment, and concealed themselves in the true prophets. Yosef was born and they concealed themselves in him. When Yosef entered the Holy Land and founded them there, they appeared in the land (earth) and were revealed there. When are they seen? When a rainbow is seen in the world. It is when the rainbow is seen that they are revealed. As the time of pruning has come. The time has come to eradicate the wicked from the world. Why were the wicked saved? Because the flower buds can be seen in the earth. And if they could not be seen, they would not have remained in the world, and the world would not be able to exist.

6. Who animates the world and causes the Fathers to appear? It is the voice of the children, who study the Torah, meaning that these children of the world save the world. In deference to them, "We will make you pendants of gold." Those are the children, children of the world, as is it said, "You shall make two Cherubs of gold."

7. In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes above and see who has created this." Raise your eyes. To what place? To the place where all eyes depend on Him. And who is He? He is one who opens eyes. And you will know this. It is the concealed *Atik*, wherein lies the question, who has created this. And who is He? *MI* = who. He is called from the edge of Divine Heaven, where everything belongs to Him. As there is a question, He is along a concealed path, and does not reveal Himself. He is called *MI*, as there is no question Above, this edge of Heaven is called *MI*.

8. And there is another below, called *MA*. What is between this and that? The first one, called *MI*, is concealed. There is a question in him, because man asks, searches and looks, and beholds from degree to degree until the end of all the degrees. And after he arrives there, he is asked: *MA*? (What?). What have you learned? What have you seen? What have you investigated, since everything is still concealed, just as it was before.

9. It is written of this secret, "Who can I point out to you? Who can I compare you to?" After all, the Temple was destroyed, and a voice came forth and said, "What can I point out to you, and what can I compare you to?" The word *MA* = what, testimony, each day and the day of testimony to you from the days of past, as it is written: "I call to witness Heaven and earth," which is like unto you.

According to the same type, "I adorned you with holy ornaments," made you ruler over the world, as it is written: "Is this the city that was called the quintessence of beauty?" and so forth. I have called you, "Jerusalem, a city built by me." "What could be compared to you?" Just as you sit, so he is like Above,

just as now the holy nation does not enter into you to perform holy work, so I swear to you that I will not enter Above until I dwell down below. This is your consolation, as this degree is equal to you in all things. And now that I am here, "Your misery is great, like the sea." And if you claim that there is no existence or remedy for you, then *MI* (who) shall heal you? It shall be precisely that concealed Supernal Degree, which animates all things; it shall heal you, and exist within you.

10. *MI* is the upper edge of Heaven, *MA* is the lower edge of Heaven. This was inherited by Yaakov, that he shines from edge to edge, from the first edge, which is *MI*, until the last edge, which is *MA*, for he stands in the middle. Therefore, who has created this?

11. Rabbi Shimon said: Elazar, my son, stop talking and reveal to us the supernal secret, which the people of the world know nothing of. Rabbi Elazar was silent. Rabbi Shimon wept and said: One minute. Rabbi Shimon said: Elazar, what is *ELEH* (these)? If you say the stars and the signs of the zodiac, have they not always been seen? However, *MA* (what) were created, as it is said, by the word of the Creator were the Heavens made. If it is about concealed things, then it is not written *ELEH*, because they are revealed.

12. But this secret was never revealed, until one day when I was at the seashore, Eliyahu came and told me: "Rabbi, do you know what this is, WHO HAS CREATED THIS?" I told him: "These are the Heavens and their hosts, the works of the Creator, that man can look at them and bless them, as is written, 'When I behold Your Heavens, the work of Your hands, our Master, how glorious Your name is throughout all the earth'!"

13. He told me: "Rabbi, there was one thing concealed before the Creator, which He revealed to the Supernal Assembly, and it is this. When the concealed of all the concealed desired to reveal Himself, He first made one single point, and this point ascended and became a Thought. With it, He drew all the forms and with it engraved all the images."

14. He engraved inside a concealed, sacred candle an image of a concealed image of the holy of holies. A profound structure emerged from the depth of that thought, and it is called *MI* – who, which is the inception of the structure both standing and not standing, which is hidden deep inside the name. It is not called, but only *MI* – who. He desired to reveal Himself and to be called this name, so He clothed Himself in a precious, radiant garment and created *ELEH*, and *ELEH* ascended in name. These letters combined with these, and the name *Elokim* was completed. And until He created *ELEH* – this, *Elokim* did not ascend

to form the name *Elokim*. And these sinned in worshipping the golden calf. Of this secret it is said, *ELEH* is your Lord, Israel.

15. Just as the letters *MI* joined the letters *ELEH*, so does this name remain forever united, and on this secret stands the world. Eliyahu then flew away, and I could not see him. It is from him that I knew this, which stands on the secret, and its explanation. Rabbi Elazar has come, and all the disciples, too, and they bowed down before him, wept and said, if we had (not) come into this world but only to hear this secret, it would have been enough.

16. Rabbi Shimon said, "Onto these Heavens and their hosts were created in *MA*, as it is said, 'When I behold the Heavens, the works of Your hands,' and it is said, '*MA*, how glorious Your name is throughout all the earth, which You set Above the Heavens, it ascends in name.' That is why it created Light for Light, clothed this into this, and elevated in the Supernal Name, this the Creator created in the beginning. This is the Supernal Creator, for *MA* is not such and was not created."

The Rose

1. Rabbi Hizkiyah opened (began): "It is said, as a rose among thorns" (*Shir HaShirim*, 2:2). He asks, "What does a rose represent?" He answers, "It is the Assembly of Israel, meaning *Malchut*. For there is a rose, and there is a rose. Just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, so does the Assembly of Israel (*Malchut*) consist of judgment and mercy. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, so the Assembly of Israel consists of thirteen properties of mercy, surrounding it on all sides. After all, *Elokim* (the name of the Creator that alludes to His attitude towards the lower ones by the force of judgment), as it is said, 'In the beginning, *Elokim* created' (the first sentence in the Torah), In the beginning (initially) when He thought it, He created thirteen words to surround the Assembly of Israel and to protect it, and here they are: THE, HEAVEN, AND-THE, EARTH, AND-THE EARTH, WAS, EMPTY, AND-CHAOTIC, AND-THE DARKNESS, OVER, THE FACE, OF THE ABYSS, AND-THE SPIRIT, up to the word *Elokim*" (In Hebrew, "and" is written in conjunction with the word following it. Hence, it is considered as one word).

As its object of study, Kabbalah takes the only creation, the only thing that exists besides the Creator—man's self, or "I," and researches it. This science breaks down the self into parts, explains the structure and properties of each part, and the purpose of its creation. Kabbalah explains how every part of man's self, called "the soul," can be changed so that one would reach the goal of creation, the state desired by both the Creator and man himself, provided he realizes it.

There is not a science in the world that can describe, either graphically or analytically, through use of formulas, our sensations and desires, and how diverse and multifaceted they are. That is how fickle, unpredictable, and absolutely distinct they are in everyone. This is because our desires surface in our mind and sensations in a gradual order, in a certain sequence, so we may acknowledge and correct them.

Our self is our essence, the only thing that characterizes an individual. However, it is ever-changing, and what remains is merely an external, animate shell. This is why it is said that every moment man is born anew. Yet, if this is so, how should we regard one another, and how should we perceive ourselves? How can we possibly "stabilize" anything within and outside of us if we are constantly changing, and all that we perceive is a function of our inner state?

The Creator is the source of Light (pleasure). Those who draw near Him sense Him as such. Such people, who draw near the Creator and thereby sense Him, are called Kabbalists (from the word *Lekabel*—to receive the Creator's Light). One can draw near the Creator only through equivalence of desires. The Creator is incorporeal, and can only be sensed with our heart. Naturally, what is meant by "heart" is not the pump that mobilizes blood through our veins, but the center of man's every sensation.

However, one cannot sense the Creator with just his heart, but only with a small point in it. And to feel this point, man must develop it himself. When one develops and expands this point, the sensation of the Creator, His Light, can enter it.

Our heart is the sum of our egoistic desires, and the small point within it is part of the spiritual, altruistic desire implanted from Above by the Creator Himself. It is our task to nurture this embryo of a spiritual desire to such an extent that it (and not our egoistic nature) will determine all of our aspirations. At the same time, the egoistic desire of the heart will surrender, contract, wither, and diminish.

After being born in our world, one is obliged to change his heart from egoistic to altruistic, while living in this world. This is the purpose of his life, the reason behind his appearance in this world, and it is the goal of all creation. A complete replacement of egoistic desires with altruistic ones is called "the End of Correction." Every individual and all of humanity must attain it in this world together. Until one achieves this, he will continue to be born into this world. The Torah and all the prophets speak exclusively of this. The method of correction is called "Kabbalah."

One can change his desires only if one wishes to change them. Man is created an absolute egoist; he can neither adopt different desires from other people or from the surrounding world—as his surroundings are just like him—nor does he have any link to the spiritual worlds, since such a link is possible only through mutual properties. The spiritual can only be perceived in altruistic desires.

Hence, an individual in our world has no chance of transcending the boundaries of this world on his own. That is why we were given the Torah and its most effective part, Kabbalah—to help man acquire the desires of the spiritual worlds.

In order to create man in remoteness to Himself, so that man would realize his insignificance and would come independently to the desire to ascend, the Creator created all creation as degrees descending from Him. The Creator's Light descended along these degrees, and at the lowest degree, created our world and man in it. Having realized his insignificance and wishing to ascend to the Creator, man (to the extent that he wishes to approach the Creator) ascends along the same degrees by which his initial descent took place.

In all, there are ten degrees, called "ten *Sefirot*": *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, and *Malchut*. Like ten screens or curtains, these ten *Sefirot* conceal the Creator's Light from us or the Creator Himself (which is the same thing). These ten screens constitute the ten degrees of our remoteness from the Creator.

Therefore, in order to draw near the Creator by one degree, the lowest one above our own properties, we must acquire the properties of that (lowest) degree. This means that our properties become similar to the properties of that degree, rather than remaining inferior to it. To acquire similar properties means to have the same desires. As soon as our desires coincide with the desires of that degree, its concealment fades, and we seemingly exist on it, and only nine degrees separate us from the Creator.

However, the last, lowest degree differs from all the others: as soon as one ascends out of our world and onto the first degree, he already begins to see (sense) the Creator. And all the subsequent degrees are degrees of drawing closer to the Creator. Only the very last degree, at which we presently exist, conceals the Creator completely, whereas all of the Higher Degrees only distance Him.

Although we count ten degrees, there are in fact only five of them. This is because six degrees: *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Yesod* combine into one *Sefira*, called *Zeir Anpin* (ZA). ZA itself is sometimes referred to as *Tifferet*, for this *Sefira* reflects the common attributes of all of its six *Sefirot*.

So, there are five degrees of concealment from the Creator down to our world: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Every degree is alternatively called *Olam* (world), from the word *Haalamah* (concealment). Every degree has its sub-degrees, called *Partzufim* (plural for *Partzuf*), and every sub-degree has its own

sub-degrees, called *Sefirot* (plural for *Sefira*). Thus, in all, 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 degrees-*Sefirot* exist between us and the Creator.

Below is a table of the degrees from the Creator down to our world:

The Creator: an absolutely altruistic desire to create a soul (man) in order to fill it with delight.

The world of Infinity: the existence of souls in the ultimate, perfect state.

WORLDS	SEFIROT	PARTZUFIM	
1st World Adam Kadmon (AK)	Keter	Galgalta	(*)
	Hochma	AB	(*)
	Bina	SAG	(*)
	ZA	MA	(*)
	Malchut	BON	(*)
2nd World Atzilut	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
3rd World Beria	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
4th World Yetzira	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
5th World Assiya	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)

Our world: the five egoistic desires felt in the heart.

(*) – Consists of five *Sefirot*– *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*.

In all, there are 125 degrees from the Creator to our world.

THE GOAL OF CREATION

Since there is no notion of time in the spiritual, we already exist in our ultimate, perfect state in the world of Infinity (*Ein Sof*). Because desire in the spiritual designates action, desire itself acts, without a body. Therefore, when the desire to create souls (the will to enjoy) appeared in the Creator, when He wished to fill them with the most perfect delight—to sense Him and to delight in His perfection—to make creatures just as He is, His desire was immediately realized. Thus appeared the World of *Ein Sof*, in which we already exist in our final state.

However, we still need to attain this state in our sensations. This is reminiscent of a sleeping person: even though he is sleeping somewhere, he does not understand where he is until he wakes up. However, in order to achieve this perfect state, we must go through a gradual process of transformation of our inner properties (desires), which corresponds to the spiritual ascension from our world through all the worlds, to the World of *Ein Sof*.

To lead us to the final state, the Creator governs us from Above through all the worlds. Thus, there is nothing in our world that does not originate in the World of *Ein Sof*, where the final state of every soul determines the path that it is destined to travel **in general** and the changes that it has to undergo **in particular** at every moment (state) of its spiritual advancement towards the World of Infinity.

There is no way back: everything that happens is dictated by the necessity to bring every soul to its final state. Only this goal determines the state of our world at every second, what happens to it in general and to each of us in particular. The Creator created nothing for naught. Rather, everything serves His purpose.

However, the will that stems from Above does not exclude our active participation in our own advancement. Instead of being slaves that move under the compulsion of a beating stick called suffering, we can turn our path of suffering into the path of Torah—to actively and quickly travel this path from below upwards on our own by realizing that the Creator's purpose is indeed desirable.

This is possible via a request for spiritual elevation—raising *MAN*, a prayer. In response, we will receive spiritual strength from Above that will help us improve our qualities, i.e., to ascend. The entire Torah speaks only of this, and Kabbalah goes further still and provides a detailed explanation of the path itself. As if on a map, it depicts what we go through and where (in what state and at which degree) we are now.

Kabbalah studies the structure of the spiritual worlds. The purpose of these worlds is to weaken the Creator's signals (desires) so that we could understand them with our egoism and realize them with our mind. In Hebrew, the word for "world" is *Olam* (from the word *Haalamah*—meaning concealment), for these worlds conceal and weaken the Creator's Light to such an extent that we can feel it.

Depending on everyone's spiritual qualities, on the degree of one's attainment (complete egoism = our world, partial altruism = spiritual worlds), we perceive the Creator or His Light differently at each of the 125 degrees. These 125 degrees amount to just ten, called "the ten *Sefirot* between the Creator and us," where every lower *Sefira* transmits less of the Creator's Light, as perceived by those at that degree. The lower the *Sefira*, the less of the Creator's Light it lets through to those that are below it.

SEFIROT

These are the names of the *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, and *Malchut*. However, six of them are combined into one *Sefira*, called *Zeir Anpin*, so in all there are five *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Also, ZA himself (ZA is usually considered a male *Sefira*) is sometimes called *Tifferet*, since *Tifferet* is his main *Sefira*, absorbing within itself the properties of all six *Sefirot* of ZA. Thus, the Creator created only five *Sefirot*:

Keter—the Creator's desire to bestow delight upon us, *Malchut*;

Hochma—the pleasure itself, which the Creator wishes to bestow upon us;

Bina—passes the pleasure from *Hochma* to ZA;

ZA—accepts the pleasure from *Bina* and passes it to *Malchut*;

Malchut—receives the pleasure.

Bina consists of two parts: her upper part, called GAR or *AVI*, is unwilling to receive the Light from *Hochma*. However, since the Creator wishes to impart this Light to the lower ones, the lower part of *Bina*, called ZAT or *YESHSUT*, receives the Light from *Hochma* and passes it to ZA. ZA does not want to receive the Light, but *Malchut* (to the extent of her correction) evokes ZA to receive the Light from *Bina* and pass it on to her. Hence, we sometimes speak of the general reception of the Light by ZA and *Malchut*, which are together called ZON (ZA and *Nukva*).

The process is such that *Malchut*—to the extent that her desires are corrected from egoism to altruism—asks ZA to receive the Light "for the Creator's sake."

To this extent, *ZA* requests the Light from *Bina*. Subsequently, *Bina* turns to and receives the requested amount of Light from *Hochma*, then passes it to *ZA*. *Malchut* (to the extent of her corrected properties) merges with *ZA* via equivalence of form (desires), and receives this Light.

Keter, *Hochma*, and *GAR* of *Bina* do not want to receive the Light, but starting with *ZAT* of *Bina* (*YESHSUT*), the desire to receive the Light so as to pass it to the lower ones appears in the *Sefirot*.

Keter	Galgalta or Metzah - forehead	"bestowal"
Hochma	Eynaim - eyes	**GE**
Bina GAR of Bina	Nikvey Eynaim - pupils	
Bina ZAT of Bina	Awzen - ear	
ZA	Hotem - nose	**AHP**
Malchut	Peh - mouth	"reception"

Malchut herself is the creature—the egoistic will to receive pleasure, to enjoy the Creator's Light. This desire is to enjoy the Creator's Light or the Creator (which is the same thing) is the essence of *Malchut*. We are parts of *Malchut*. However, if we have only egoistic desires, we feel the Creator's Light as pleasures in our world. This is a micro dose of His Light. By correcting our desires (properties), we can ascend the spiritual degrees of the Upper Worlds, and there experience the Creator's true delight.

According to the Thought of Creation, *Malchut* must receive the Light from the four previous *Sefirot*, and delight in it. Hence, *Malchut* herself consists of five parts: she receives the Light from the preceding *Sefirot* in four parts, and senses it in the fifth.

All the *Sefirot* that precede *Malchut* (excluding *Malchut*) are similar to our sensory organs, and *Malchut* is like the heart that receives from all organs: brain, sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The heart is *Malchut*, and the sensory organs are the first nine *Sefirot* that precede *Malchut*. All of these parts of *Malchut* are egoistic—they wish to receive the Light (pleasure) so as to enjoy it. With such properties, *Malchut* cannot receive more than a micro dose of the Light of our world, sensing the Creator in a manner called "this world."

However, if *Malchut*, i.e., every one of us, were to receive desires (aspirations) from Above to *bestow* delight upon the Creator to the same extent that we feel the Creator bestowing upon us, with this property (desire), man would ascend spiritually to a degree above our world. He would sense the Creator as spiritual Light, altruistic pleasure and great knowledge, attainment of supernal thoughts and the essence of existence.

SCREEN

Malchut (man) can receive the Light only in anti-egoistic desires. If such desires appear in *Malchut* as a result of the realization that egoism is her enemy (with the help of Kabbalah), to the extent of her hatred for it, *Malchut* can repel the egoistic pleasures for the sake of spiritual perfection, i.e., similarity to the Creator in her desire to please Him and act for His sake.

This ability to repel selfish reception of pleasure is called "a screen," and the repelled pleasure is called "Returning Light," and the pleasure that comes to *Malchut* is called "Direct Light." It is precisely in the repelled pleasure, meaning in the desire to bestow whole-heartedly, selflessly, that man can sense the Creator's Light and Supreme Knowledge.

Since *Malchut* (man's egoism) has to repel pleasure from the five parts of her egoism, the reflecting screen must also consist of five parts. Hence, it creates five parts of the Returning Light. The five parts in *Malchut* are called by the names of the *Sefirot* from which they receive. The five kinds of Direct Light are called *NRNHY*: *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*. The Light that emanates from the Creator descends in the following order:

Yechida

Haya

Neshama

Ruach

Nefesh

PARTZUF

After *Malchut* reflects the Light (pleasure), she decides to receive it in order to delight the Creator, because He wants *Malchut* to receive pleasure and feel Him. The reflection of all the incoming pleasure is called *Rosh* (head). The partial reception of the Light to the extent of one's anti-egoistic powers is called *Toch*

(interior). The unfulfilled desires (due to the absence of a screen on them) are called *Sof* (end) (see below diagram).

This is the structure of the soul (*Kli*, vessel, corrected altruistic desire, *Partzuf* or spiritual body). We call the parts of the spiritual structure by the names of our physiological body: head, body, and limbs. There are five parts in the *Rosh* (head): skull—*Galgalta*, eyes—*Eynaim*, ears—*Awznaim*, nose—*Hotem*, and mouth—*Peh*. There are five parts in the *Guf* (body) from the mouth—*Peh* to the navel—*Tabur.* In the limbs, there are five parts from the navel to the toes (see below diagram).

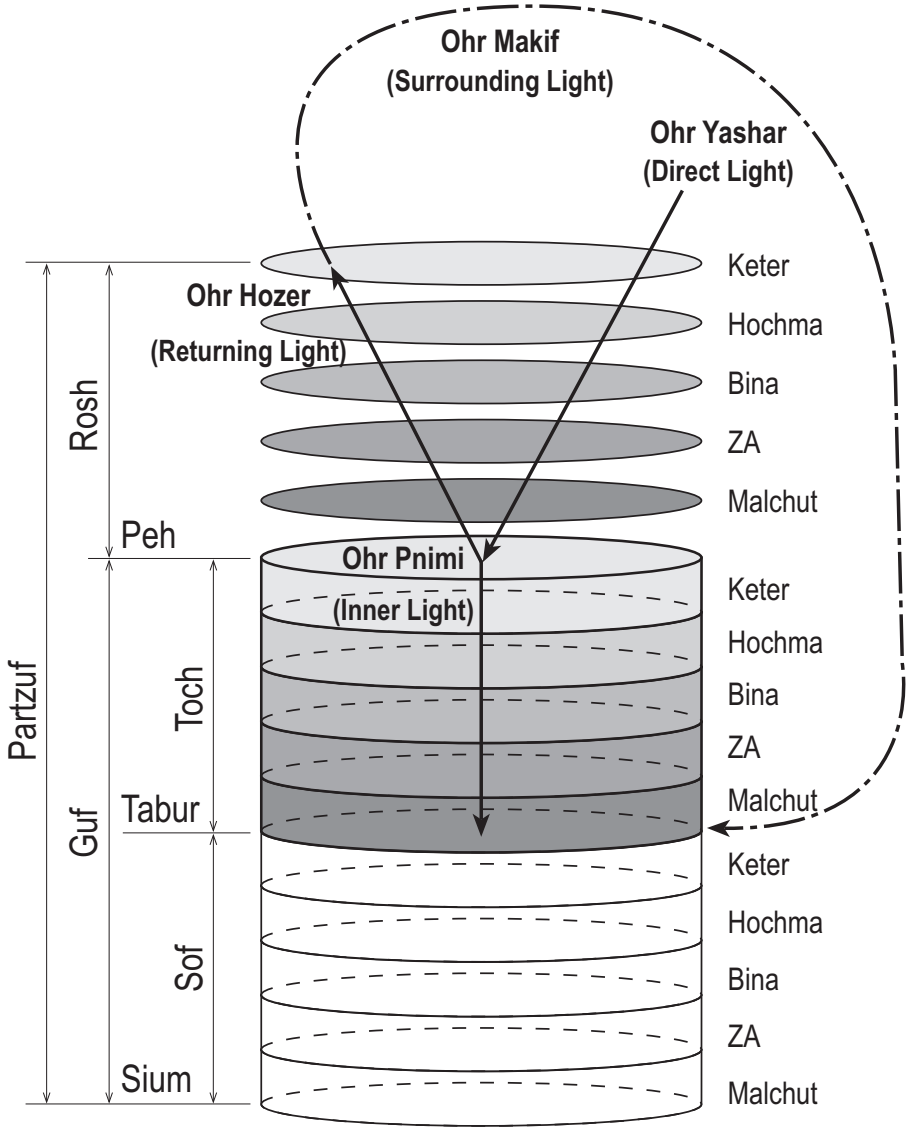

THE INVERSE PROPORTION BETWEEN THE VESSEL AND THE LIGHT

The more strength *Malchut* has to oppose egoism, the greater the Light that enters her. However, although one works on the correction of the vessel's coarser part, he receives the Light from his efforts in his subtler desires. In other words, there is an inverse proportion between the vessel and the Light: the coarser the desire (*Kli*) that is corrected, the greater the Light that enters *Malchut* (vessel); however, it enters her Upper *Kli* (desire).

Since *Malchut* (i.e., all that exists apart from the Creator) is absolutely egoistic, she can only be corrected by imparting onto herself the properties of *Bina*, the Creator—bestowal without reception. This is the property of absolute altruism, of selfless bestowal. To receive such a property (desire) is tantamount to ascending from the level of *Malchut* to the level of *Bina*.

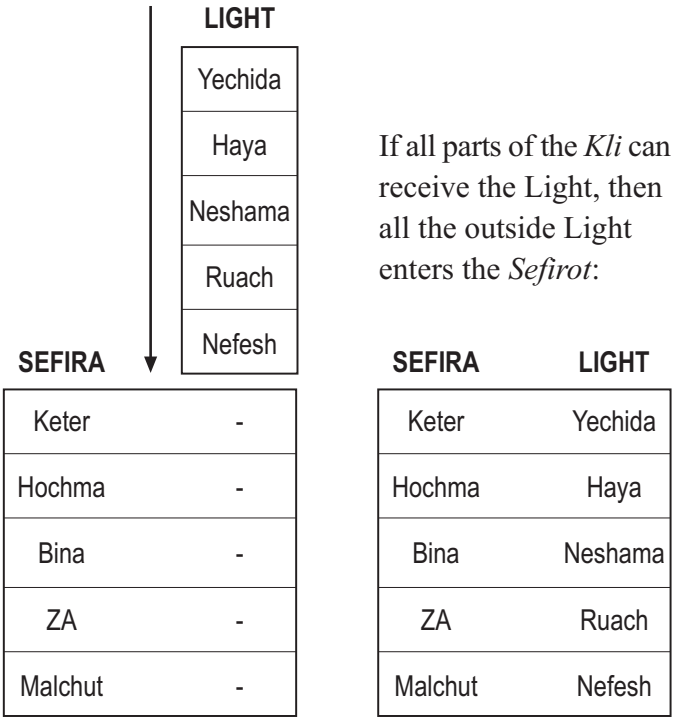

Malchut herself is the will to receive pleasure. The ban imposed on the reception of pleasure for oneself is called the **First Restriction** (*Tzimtzum Aleph*). Restriction is a ban on the reception of pleasure; however, if the receiver aspires to please the Creator and not himself, he is allowed to receive the pleasure.

Whether *Malchut* wants it or not, if she (soul, man) has egoistic desires, the Light will not enter her (be felt within her). Hence, we are utterly unable to feel the spiritual (the Creator).

THE STATE OF *KATNUT* (SMALLNESS)

Yet, *Malchut* is not the only *Sefira* that cannot receive the Light: from the world of *Atzilut* and below, *Sefirot Bina* and ZA cannot receive the Light either. This ban is called the **Second Restriction** (*Tzimtzum Bet*). In this restriction, *Malchut* seemingly ascends in her desires to *Sefira Bina*. Her desires of "reception" dominate three *Sefirot*: *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*, as *Sefirot Bina* and ZA also fall under the rule (desire) of the elevated *Malchut*.

If a *Partzuf* has no strength to oppose its egoistic desires of reception in *Sefirot Bina*, ZA and *Malchut* (*AHP*), its lower part is not entitled to receive the Creator's Light, as it will receive it selfishly, thereby causing great harm to itself. To avoid this, the upper part of the *Partzuf*—*Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* (*GE*)—separates from the lower part by *Parsa* (partition), through which the Light cannot pass downwards. Therefore, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, each degree was divided into two parts:

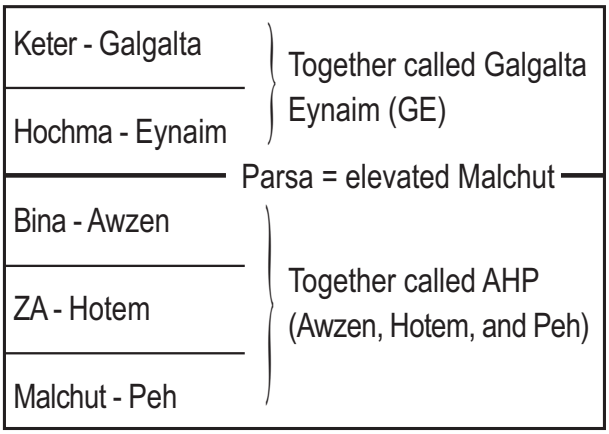

Malchut restricted the spreading of Light inside the *Partzuf*, and two parts were formed in her: *GE* receives the Light, i.e., *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* receive the Lights *Nefesh* and *Ruach*, while the other part of the *Partzuf* (*Sefirot Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*) is below the *Parsa*, and therefore does not receive the Light. Their corresponding Lights—*Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*—also remain outside of the *Partzuf*.

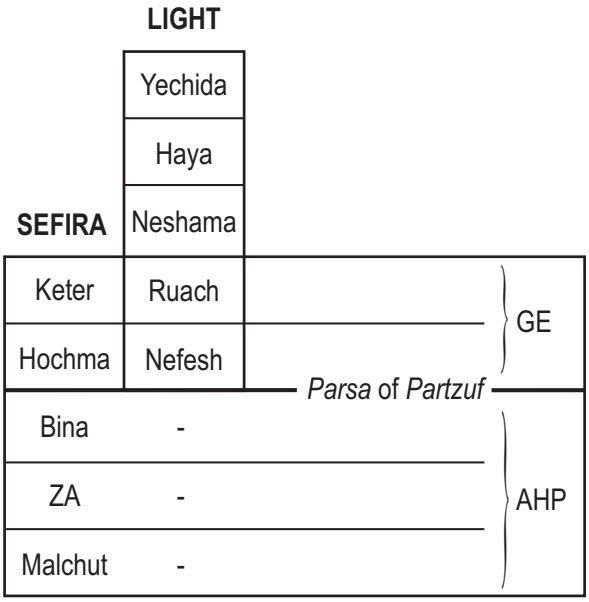

This degree (*Partzuf*) is deprived of the Light *Neshama-Haya-Yechida* and is left with just the Light *Nefesh-Ruach*, called "air." This is designated by the entry of the letter *Yod* into the word Light (*Ohr* = *Aleph-Vav-Reish*). Thus, the word Light (*Ohr*) turns into air (*Avir* = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*). This state of the vessel is called *Katnut* (small state). In other words, the ascent of *Malchut* to *Bina* is designated by the entry of the letter *Yod* into the word Light (*Ohr* = *Aleph-Vav-Reish* +*Yod* = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish* = *Avir*—air). This means that because of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, the *Partzuf* lost its Light and was left with air.

In such a state, the degree or *Partzuf* is called *Katnut* (smallness), where *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* have only the Light *Nefesh-Ruach*, as *Sefirot Bina*, ZA and *Malchut* are below the *Parsa*, and do not receive the Light. The *Parsa* prevents the Light from spreading below it. *Sefirot Keter-Hochma* and *Bina-ZA-Malchut* are designated by the following letters:

Keter	- Mem	- M
Hochma	- Yod	- I
Bina	- Hey	- H
ZA	- Lamed	- LO
Malchut	- Aleph	- E

In the reverse order, these letters form the Creator's name *Elokim*, where *GE* = letters *Mem* + *Yod* = *IM* (pronounced as *MI*), and *AHP* = letters *Aleph* + *Lamed* + *Hey* = *ELEH*. Since man attains the Creator from below upwards, the Creator's name *ELOKIM* is read from below upwards.

After the birth of all the worlds and the descent of the entire Creation to our world, all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds of *BYA* passed into the state of *Katnut*. Thus, the Light is present in *GE*, but absent in *AHP*. *AHP* of the Upper Degree fell into *GE* of the lower degree, thus forming the spiritual ladder between the Creator and man in our world, and the lowest part of the last spiritual degree of the world of *Assiya* fell into a point in man's heart. Consequently, all the intermediate degrees now exist one inside the other: *AHP* of the Upper Degree is inside *GE* of the lower one:

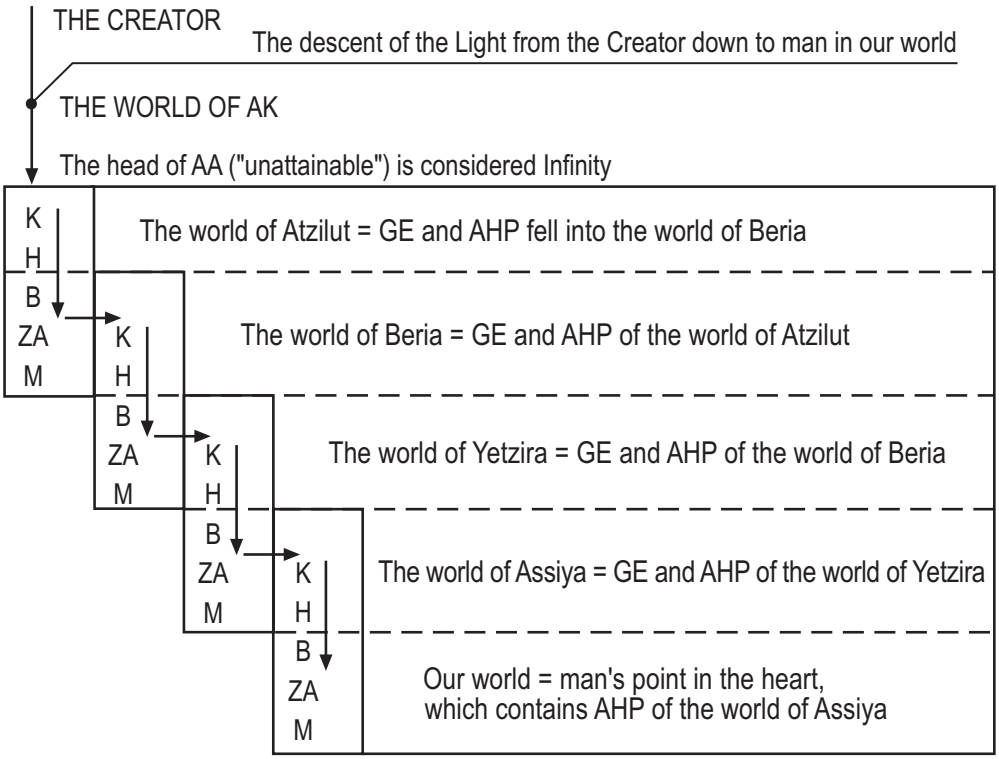

The sum of man's desires is referred to as his heart. Since the nature with which we are born is absolute egoism, man does not feel the spiritual point in his heart. However, at some point in one of his reincarnations, man begins to gradually strive towards attainment of the causes of life, its evaluation; he

yearns to attain himself, his source, just as you do right now. Man's aspiration to the Creator is precisely this aspiration to attain his origin. Man's discontent in life often helps him in this search, when there's nothing that appeals to him in his surroundings. Such circumstances are sent from Above in order for man to start feeling an empty point in his heart, and to stimulate in him the desire to fulfill it.

The Creator manifests as the altruistic property to bestow pleasure without any benefit for Himself. From this, we can understand the property of *Sefirot Keter*, *Hochma,* and *Bina* that share the Creator's property of bestowal. The only Creation is *Malchut*, the will to receive the Light (pleasure). All of us and our entire world are the lowest part of this egoistic *Malchut*.

THE STATE OF *GADLUT* (GREATNESS/ADULTHOOD)

However, if one (*Malchut*) raises *MAN*, the request for his spiritual ascent, by making efforts to free himself from egoism and by praying to the Creator for help, the Light *AB-SAG* descends from Above. It comes from the world of *AK*, brings *Malchut* altruistic strength and enables her to return from *Bina* back to her place. In other words, *Malchut*'s ability to refrain from selfish reception of pleasure is complemented with the strength to receive pleasure for the Creator's sake, to receive the Light of *Hochma* within *AHP*, for His sake.

Subsequently, *AHP*, or *Sefirot Bina*, *ZA* and *Malchut*, become reactivated, the *Partzuf* regains all five *Kelim* (parts), the letter *Yod* disappears from the word *Avir* (air), and it turns to being *Ohr* (Light). In that state, all five Lights *NRNHY* fill the *Partzuf*, the letters *MI* join the letters *ELEH*, forming the Creator's name—*Elokim*. This state is called *Gadlut* (greatness/adulthood).

ASCENT OF THE LOWER ONE TO THE UPPER ONE

As a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, the Upper *Partzuf* establishes contact with the lower one. As a result, the lower *Partzuf* can ascend to the level of the Upper One. This is the reason for the second restriction: to give the lower ones (man) the opportunity to ascend to the World of Infinity, up to the Creator Himself.

In order to establish this contact, the Upper *Partzuf* deliberately diminishes itself, descends to the level of the lower *Partzuf*, and becomes similar to the lower one in its properties. *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* willingly falls into *GE* of the lower one, as though it has no strength to receive the Light, and they become a single whole. This is similar to a scenario when a strong individual joins a society of criminals, imitating their behavior, so that after being admitted into

their circle and establishing contact with them, he will gradually influence and correct them.

How? The Upper Light (the so-called Light of *AB-SAG*) comes and provides *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* with the strength to ascend to their *GE*. And *GE* of the lower *Partzuf* ascend together with them: because they were a single whole and equivalent in their properties below, they receive the same strength to ascend.

Upon receiving the Light of *AB-SAG*, *GE* of the lower *Partzuf* become like Upper One. Therefore, we should not regard the second restriction as negative, but as help from the Upper *Partzuf*. It descends to the lower *Partzuf* by corrupting its own properties in order to equalize itself with the lower one, so as to subsequently ascend together with it to its previous level. This way, the lowest degree can ascend not only to the next Higher One, but also to the Highest Degree of the spiritual ladder.

THE LIGHT OF *ZON* IS THE LIGHT OF THE WORLDS *BYA*

Partzuf YESHSUT is *AHP* of *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, and all that it receives and passes to *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut* subsequently descends to the worlds of *BYA* and then to us.

In the small state (*Katnut*), *AHP* of *YESHSUT* falls into *ZON*. Then *YESHSUT* receives strength, and by elevating its *AHP*, it elevates *ZON*, too. By ascending to *YESHSUT*, *ZON* become similar to it and receive the Light at the level of *YESHSUT*. *ZON* can never receive the Light of *Hochma* in their own level; they can only receive the Light of *Hassadim*, the Light essential to their existence.

ZON of the world of *Atzilut* are called *Olam* (world), just as our world is also called *Olam*, for all that *ZON de Atzilut* receive can be received by man in this world. And vice versa—all that *ZON de Atzilut* cannot receive is unattainable to man, for we attain only up to the level of *ZON*, and not higher.

And since *ZON* cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* in their place, the Creator purposely initiated the second restriction, thereby lowering the *Sefirot* of *AHP* of *Partzuf YESHSUT* down to *ZON*, so that *ZON* would be able to ascend to *YESHSUT* and higher, up to the Highest Degree. Hence, it is said in the Torah (*Beresheet Barah*): "In the beginning the Creator created all in judgment (restriction), but after seeing that the world (*ZON*) cannot exist (receive all of the Light of *Hochma* prepared for it), added to judgment the property of mercy."

In the beginning, He elevated *Malchut* (the restriction of *YESHSUT*, for *Malchut* is restricted from receiving Light) to *Bina* (mercy of *YESHSUT*). As a result, *AHP* of *YESHSUT* fell into *ZON* and merged with them. However, the world (*ZON*) still cannot exist in this way. Hence, the Creator added mercy to judgment: He gave *YESHSUT* the strength to elevate its *AHP* together with *ZON* to the degree of *YESHSUT*. There, *ZON* receive the Light of *YESHSUT* and pass it down to all the worlds of *BYA* and to our world.

CORRECTION IN THREE LINES

Each of the ten *Sefirot* in turn consists of ten individual sub-*Sefirot*. *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* in each individual *Sefira*, i.e., to the full height of the ten *Sefirot*; in each particular *Sefira*, *Malchut* moves up from its place to the place of *Bina* in that *Sefira*:

(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - K
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - H
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - B
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - ZA
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - M

The sign | signifies a particular *Parsa* in a *Sefira*, the restriction imposed on the spreading of Light. *GE* that remain in each *Sefira* above the *Parsa* are called the **"right line,"** for there is Light in them. *Malchut* that ascends to *Bina* in each *Sefira* creates the **"left line"** with her restriction on the reception of Light. A *Zivug* made on the elevated *Malchut* (only on the free, unrestricted *Kelim KHB*) allows the Light of *Hassadim* to shine in *GE*, and this reception of the Light of *Hassadim* in *GE* is called the **"middle line."**

Now let us clarify what is written in *The Zohar*: There are ten *Sefirot*: *Keter* (*K*), *Hochma* (*H*), *Bina* (*B*), *Hesed* (*H*), *Gevura* (*G*), *Tifferet* (*T*), *Netzah* (*N*), *Hod* (*H*), *Yesod* (*Y*), and *Malchut* (M). However, there are actually only five of them: *Keter* (*K*), *Hochma* (*H*), *Bina* (*B*), *Tifferet* (*T*), and *Malchut* (M). This is because *Tifferet* (alternatively called *Zeir Anpin*—*ZA*) consists of six *Sefirot*, from *Hesed* to *Yesod*. Five *Sefirot KHB-ZA-M* created five *Partzufim* in each world. In the world of *Atzilut*, these *Partzufim* are *Arich Anpin* (*AA*), *Aba ve Ima* (*AVI*), and *Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva* (*ZON*). *Keter* is called *AA*; correspondingly, *Hochma* and *Bina* are called *AVI*; and *ZA* (*Tifferet*) and *Malchut* are called *ZON*.

The essence of the seven days of creation lies in *Partzufim ZA* and *Nukva* of the world of *Atzilut*, which consist of seven *Sefirot*: *HGT-NHYM*. And from the

description of creation it transpires how *AVI* (*Hochma* and *Bina*) beget *ZON* (all of creation, including us) and elevate them to their final state during the 6,000 years. This is what *The Book of Zohar* tells us.

Rabbi Hizkiyah began his explanation of *Nukva* of the world of *Atzilut* by clarifying the birth of *ZON* from *Ima* (*Bina*), called *Elokim*. That is why he began his explanation with a rose, *Nukva* of *ZA*. At the utmost completion of its development, *Nukva* of *ZA* is called *Knesset Israel*, the Assembly of Israel. For *Nukva* consists of all the souls called *Israel*; hence, it is said that a rose is *Knesset Israel.*

There are two states in a rose (*Malchut*). The lowest, initial, small state (*Katnut*) is when *Malchut* consists only of *Sefira Keter* filled with the Light *Nefesh*, while her other nine *Sefirot* are those that fell from the world of *Atzilut* to the world of *Beria*. The other state of *Nukva* is mature, big, complete (*Gadlut*), when her nine *Sefirot* ascend from the world of *Beria* back to the world of *Atzilut*, and complete the full ten *Sefirot* of her *Partzuf*. Then, being equal to her husband, *Malchut* ascends together with him to *AVI* and clothes them, i.e., receives their Light.

The clothing of the lower, outer *Partzuf* onto the Upper, Inner One means that the lower *Partzuf* attains a part of the Upper One, ascends to a Higher spiritual level, and becomes in some way similar to the Upper *Partzuf.*

In that state, *ZA* is called Israel, from the letters *LI* (to me) and *ROSH* (head), which signifies the state of *Gadlut*, while *Nukva* is called "the Assembly of Israel," for she accumulates all of the Light of her husband, *ZA*, and passes it to the lower ones—the souls in the worlds *BYA*.

Nukva's state of *Katnut* is called "a rose among thorns," for nine of her lower *Sefirot* in the *Katnut* state fell under the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*, thereby losing the Light of the world of *Atzilut*, and becoming as dry as thorns. And in her *Gadlut* state, *Nukva* is simply called "a rose" or "the Assembly of Israel." This is why it is written, "there is a rose, and there is a rose."

The color red designates the rose's connection with the outer, impure forces, which, because of this connection, can suck the strength (Light) from it. This is because nine of her *Sefirot* are in exile below the world of *Atzilut*, in the world of *Beria*, which may already contain impure forces. And the rose also has a color white in its *Sefira Keter*, for her *Sefira Keter* is in the world of *Atzilut*, above the *Parsa*, where there is no contact with the lower, impure forces. In other words, there are two opposite states: perfection and its absence, Light and darkness. They are felt by him who merits it.

It is therefore written that just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, so does the Assembly of Israel consist of judgment and mercy. This shows that in *Gadlut*, when *Malchut* is called *Knesset Israel*, even though she ascended to *Bina* and clothed her, she still retains the property of judgment, of restriction—an attitude that's tough and just, rather than compassionate. This is so because she needs a screen (a force of resistance to her egoistic desires), which, if available, enables *Malchut* to receive the Upper Light.

The law, judgment, or restriction does not allow for the reception of Light in egoistic desires. The screen, the aspiration to oppose one's egoistic desires, repels the Upper Light (pleasure) back to its source, the Creator. The Light that man sends back is called "Returning Light" or the "Light of Judgment." To the extent of the intensity of the reflective force (i.e., the force of resistance to one's will to receive), man is allowed to receive the ten *Sefirot* of the Upper Light (called the Direct Light or the Light of Mercy) for the Creator's sake, in precisely these altruistic desires. And that is why, even in its complete state, the Assembly of Israel consists of judgment and mercy, which corresponds to the red and white colors of a rose among thorns.

And this is the pool made by King Shlomo (Solomon). It is built on twelve bulls, for the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* that fell to the world of *Beria* were corrected there from twelve heads of bulls. One of their *Sefirot*, *Keter*, which remained in the world of *Atzilut*, is called the "pool" that is built on these bulls. Together, they are called thirteen rose petals. (The reason why the ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut* are divided by ten-*Hassadim* or thirteen-*Hochma* will be clarified later).

The Light of a complete *Nukva* is called *Hochma*, as it contains the Light of Wisdom, and originates from the thirteen names called "the thirteen attributes of mercy." However, the main thing that Rabbi Hizkiyah wants to tell us is that a rose among thorns is above the Assembly of Israel, because, as is well known, all that is present in *Nukva's* complete state must exist in her small state as well, albeit in diminished similarity.

Therefore, it is said that the properties of white and red in the small state correspond to the properties of mercy and judgment in the big state. And the thirteen petals of the small state, when corrected, create in *Nukva* the thirteen attributes of mercy in her big state. Later on, we will see how these thirteen attributes of *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* change her in both the small and big states.

It is written that, in the process of creation, "in the beginning *Elokim* (*Bina de Atzilut*) created" *Nukva* of ZA with thirteen words: *ET*, *SHAMAIM*, *VE'ET*,

ARETZ, *VEARETZ*, *HAITA*, *TOHU*, *VABOHU*, *VECHOSHECH*, *AL*, *PNEI*, *TEHOM*, *VERUACH* (from the word *Elokim* to the word *Elokim*). And these thirteen words signify the thirteen petals of a rose among thorns (her small state), like the pool built by the King Shlomo, which stands on thirteen (twelve) bulls (nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* without Light, as they are in the world of *Beria*, below the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*). These words are the preparation for the purification and correction of the Assembly of Israel in order to receive the thirteen attributes of mercy.

These thirteen attributes of mercy (the Light of a complete *Nukva*) surround her and shine upon her from all sides, and guard her from the touch of foreign (egoistic) desires. After all, until she is filled with all the Light of *Hochma* in her complete, big state, there's a potential for foreign, egoistic desires to cling to and feed off her.

2. Afterwards, the name *Elokim* is mentioned once more, "*Elokim* soars." Why is it mentioned in this sense? So as to bring out the five rigid leaves that surround the rose, which are called "salvation." And these are the five gates. And it is said of this secret, I will raise the "cup of salvation" (Psalms, 116:13). It is the cup of blessing. The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, just as a rose rests on five rigid leaves that correspond to the five fingers. And this rose is the cup of blessing, from the second to the third mention of the name *Elokim* (*Beresheet*, 1:2-3), there are five words: "soars," "over," "the surface," "of the waters," "and said"—in all, five words parallel the five leaves. And further, "The Creator said, 'Let there be Light'"—this Light was created. However, it was concealed and enclosed within that covenant that entered the rose and fructified it. And it is referred to as "A fructiferous tree, wherein is the seed thereof" (*Beresheet*, 1:12). And this seed exists in the mark of the covenant.

The five leaves are the five *Sefirot* of the Light reflected from *Malchut*, which she raises from the *Zivug de Hakaa.* The direct incoming Light is called five *Hassadim HGT-NH*, and it clothes into five parts (types of restrictions) of the Returning Light *HGT-NH*, called the five rigid leaves of a rose, which correspond to the text from the second (the spirit of God soared over the waters) to the third (and said) mention of the word *Elokim* in the Torah.

These words explain how the five rigid leaves (attributes) can be extracted from *Malchut* so that she will be fit for a *Zivug* and achieve the big state. And during the big state, when the five rigid leaves become five restrictions, they are defined as the five gates of reception of the Light of *Hassadim* of the Direct Light, and they are called salvation, and *Malchut* is called the cup of salvation or

the cup of blessing and good fortune, for, thanks to these leaves (restrictions), *Malchut* can receive the Light of *Hassadim*—a blessing.

The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, for *Malchut* can receive the Light of *Hochma* only if she is clothed in the Light of *Hassadim* beforehand. Therefore, first she has to make a blessing, which means to receive the five parts (*NRNHY*) of the Light of *Hassadim* with the help of five fingers (five restrictions), and only then to receive in them (i.e., in the corrected intentions) the Light of *Hochma*.

Hence, a cup of wine must be raised with two hands, as five fingers of the right hand symbolize mercy—*Hassadim*, and five fingers of the left hand symbolize restrictions. However, having started the blessing, the cup must only be held with the five fingers of the right hand (*Hassadim*, bestowing). Otherwise, the impure forces that take from the left (receiving) side become active, as such forces cling only to a place where there is reception of Light.

What follows is the big state of *Malchut*, which corresponds to the words of the Torah: "Let there be Light." These are the five lights, in which Adam saw the world from end to end, as it is written in the Talmud (*Hagigah*, 12). But the Creator saw that there would be transgressions in the generations of the Flood and the Tower of Babel, and concealed this Light. And the following generations will then need to attain it on their own.

Previously, these five *Hassadim* were in *Yesod* of ZA, and *Malchut* received from it, and not from *Bina*, called *Elokim*, as she does now. *Yesod de ZA* is called the mark of the covenant with the Creator (after the corrections, called circumcision, are made), and five *Hassadim* received on the five restrictions are called "seed." The main force of restrictions and the impact forces of the screen, with which it repels the Light, are in *Ateret Yesod* (the end of the *Sefira Yesod*). There occurs *Zivug de Hakaa*, from which *Malchut* receives the Light. Only at the end of correction will this *Zivug* pass on to *Malchut* herself.

Therefore, during the 6,000 years, the screen that is in *Yesod*, strikes at the incoming Light (pleasure) with its five restrictions (the forces that oppose egoistic reception of pleasure), thus creating five parts of the Returning Light, and receiving in them the five parts of the Light of *Hassadim*. Subsequently, ZA passes these five Lights of *Hassadim* from his *Yesod* to *Nukva*. And these five Lights of *Hassadim* are called "seed."

3. Just as the covenant is conceived from that seed in forty-two *Zivugim*, so the secret name fills and inseminates all forty-two letters of the initial act of creation.

The name "forty-two" = *MB* = *Mem* + *Bet* = 40 + 2 is composed of *HaVaYaH* (four letters), filled *HaVaYaH* (ten letters), and doubly filled *HaVaYaH* (twenty-eight letters). In all, 4 + 10 + 28 = 42, signifying the seed that exists in the mark of the covenant that is enclosed in five *Hassadim* and five *Gevurot*.

There are two aspects to *Nukva*: her body (*Partzuf*), which emerges from *Bina*, and her *Zivug*, called the secret of unity with ZA. *Nukva* can be in two states: small or big (*Katnut* or *Gadlut* respectively). The small state is an incomplete, insufficient state of *Malchut*, but it is necessary as preparation for the big state, called the revelation of the secret, of the concealed.

And since the big state reveals the small, and all that is concealed in the small state becomes clear in the big, he who is in a state of spiritual descent does not see the reasons for his state, but it all becomes clear to him when he attains the big state that follows.

As a result of the ascent of *Malchut* of *AVI* to their *Bina*, *Partzuf* of *Bina* (*AVI*) was divided into two parts: the upper part, *GE*, acquired the name *AVI*, while the lower part, *AHP*, became known as *YESHSUT*. *AVI* are filled with the Light of *Hassadim*, since they wish for no other, and *YESHSUT* receives it from them, for, although it desires the Light of *Hochma*, it cannot receive it in view of the fact that *Malchut* of *AVI* ascended above it.

However, although there is no Light of *Hochma* in *AVI*, they do not suffer without it whatsoever, and therefore exist in perfection called *GAR*, even in the absence of the Light of *Hochma*. And even when one raises *MAN* requesting strength (i.e., the Light of *Hochma*) so as to overcome his impure desires, *AVI* do not receive the Light of *Hochma*. *YESHSUT* receives this Light and passes it to ZA. Hence, although *AVI* are below the *Rosh* of AA, and there is no Light of *Hochma* in them, they do not suffer from it.

However, *YESHSUT* suffers from the absence of the Light of *Hochma*, wishing to pass it to ZA, so it waits for *MAN* from ZA in order to ascend to *AVI* in the form of *Sefira Daat*. For when the lower ones raise *MAN*, the whole of *Bina* ascends to the *Rosh* of AA; *YESHSUT* receives the Light of *Hochma* from AA and passes it to ZON. This corresponds to the disappearance of the letter *Yod* from the word *Avir* (air), and *Avir* turns into *Ohr*—Light (*Hochma*) once more.

However, for all that, even in the *Rosh* of AA, *AVI* remain only with the Light of *Hassadim* (air). Hence, the heads of both AA and *AVI* are called "Supreme Waters" or "Heaven." This is considering the fact that *AVI* can be beneath the *Rosh* of AA; however, since it does not affect their independence and perfection, it is as if they are in the *Rosh* of AA.

Under *AVI* there is a firmament (*Parsa*) of the world of *Atzilut*, which separates the *Kelim* of bestowal from the *Kelim* of reception of the world of *Atzilut*. *YESHSUT* and *ZON* (inferior waters) that need the Light of *Hochma* stand below the *Parsa*, which is in the chest of *AA*. It is therefore said that the inferior waters weep (i.e., their state is small), for they feel the lack of *Ohr Hochma* and wish to ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA*. In no way should one confuse the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* (located within the world of *Atzilut*) that divides it into *GE* and *AHP* with the *Parsa* below the world *Atzilut* that separates it from the worlds of *BYA*.

The Light that is received above the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* is called the Light of *Mem-Bet* (*MB*). However, the seven *Sefirot* of *ZON* (six *Sefirot* of *ZA* and one *Sefira* of *Malchut*) that designate the seven days of creation cannot receive this Light of *MB*, as they are located below the *Parsa* and receive only the Light of *Hassadim* (minimal sustenance) from *YESHSUT*.

However, when the lower ones (man) raise *MAN*, and *MAD* descends from *AB-SAG* (the Light that brings *Bina* back to the *Rosh* of *AA*), *YESHSUT* receives the Light of *Hochma* and passes it to *ZON*, allowing *ZON* to ascend above the *Parsa* that stands in the *Chazeh* (chest) of *AA*, and receive the Light of *MB*.

That is why the Light of *MB* in *ZON* is manifested in thirty-two *Elokim* and ten sayings, where thirty-two *Elokim* represent *YESHSUT* in the state of ascent, when *YESHSUT* receives thirty-two streams of wisdom (*Hochma*) that create in it the thirty-two names of *Elokim*, mentioned in the act of creation: "In the beginning the Creator created," and so on.

The ten sayings are five *Hassadim*. After *ZON* have already received the Light of *Hochma* from thirty-two *Elokim*, the five Lights of *Hassadim* that were received from *AVI* (signifying *MB*) are called "Supreme Waters." We see that the five *Hassadim* in *ZON* do not turn into the name *MB* before they receive from thirty-two *Elokim*. It is therefore said that thirty-two *Elokim* and ten sayings form the name *MB*, i.e., in the state of ascent.

Hence, Rabbi Hizkiyah said that the five Lights in the saying "Let there be Light" (signifying the five *Hassadim*) are called "seed" (abundance), which *Yesod* of *ZA* passes to *Malchut*. And it is called *MB*, although essentially it is merely five *Hassadim*; however, since it has the Light of *Hochma* that was received from thirty-two *Elokim* of *YESHSUT*, it refers to *MB*.

Flower Buds

4. In the Beginning, Rabbi Shimon opened, "The flower buds have appeared on the earth" (In Hebrew the words "land" and "earth" are designated by the same word, *Eretz*; Song of Songs, 2:12). "The flower buds" refer to the act of creation; "appeared on the earth." When? On the third day, as it is said, "And the earth brought forth grass" (*Beresheet*, 1:12). "The time of singing has come" refers to the fourth day, the time of strictness, judgment, restriction. Therefore, on the fourth day, the word "lights" is written with a missing letter, which hints at the strictness of judgment and a curse. "And the voice of the turtle dove is heard" refers to the fifth day, on which it is said, "Let the waters swarm," so that they can produce offspring. However, the words "is heard" already refer to the sixth day, on which it is said, "Let us make man," who, in the future, shall put action before understanding (we shall do and we shall hear, *Naaseh ve Nishmah*). For here it is said, "Let us make man," and there it is said, "We shall do and we shall hear." "In our land" refers to the day of *Shabbat*, which is like the Land of Life, the world to come.

It is completely incomprehensible to us how *The Zohar* compares the words from *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs, 2:12) with what is written in the Torah about the first days of creation. The six days of creation symbolize the six *Sefirot HGT-NHY* of ZA, onto which all ten *Sefirot* of *Nukva* are built. This is because *Nukva* is only the will to receive (pleasure), while her entire spiritual body (desires of bestowal) consists of her husband's *Sefirot*, ZA, the altruistic properties that ZA passes to *Nukva*.

Nukva herself (the created desire to receive pleasure) is an empty place unfilled with Light (the Creator). This is because the Light can only enter a desire (*Kli*) with similar properties to itself. Therefore, to the extent of her similarity to ZA, the properties that *Malchut* receives from ZA, those corrected properties of *Malchut* turn into a *Partzuf* and become filled with the Light that corresponds to their correction.

Thus, the greater the correction that is made in a particular part, the greater the Light (of the five Lights *NRNHY*) that enters that part. The corrected and fulfilled part of *Malchut* is referred to as a "world." Here and henceforth, *The Zohar* explains how *Nukva* is built out of ZA, i.e., how the world is created.

Nukva is called "earth." Flower buds are *Sefirot*—the properties of ZA that appear and grow within *Malchut* on the third day of creation, which corresponds to *Sefira Tifferet* (*Hesed*-1, *Gevura*-2, *Tifferet*-3). In the beginning, *Malchut* was created as ZA in height; two equally great celestial bodies, the Sun—ZA and the Moon—*Malchut*. This is why we see them as being equal in size when the Moon is full. After all, all that is said with regard to man. In the initial state following her creation, *Malchut* is a point at the feet of ZA, and subsequently grows along him.

That is to say, on the third day of creation, *Malchut* was equal in height (had the same properties) to *Tifferet* of ZA. However, *Malchut* was not able to receive the Light in such a state. Hence, it is said, STRICTNESS (judgment) APPEARED ON THE EARTH (in *Malchut*); the flower buds merely appeared.

And after that, THE TIME OF SINGING HAS COME already refers to the fourth day of creation, when *Malchut* was diminished, because she complained to the Creator: "Two angels cannot wear one crown"—if *Malchut* is equal to ZA in height, she cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* from him.

The reason for that being—not having received the Light of *Hassadim* from ZA beforehand, *Malchut* cannot receive the Light of *Hochma*, as the Light of *Hochma* can only be received within the Light of *Hassadim*, by clothing the Light of *Hochma* (pleasure) into the Light of *Hassadim* (the intention to enjoy "for the Creator's sake").

And the Creator answered *Malchut*: "Go and diminish yourself." In other words: if, owing to your egoistic properties, you cannot receive the Light independently, but only from ZA, then diminish your own properties, accept His, and gradually correct yourself. Then you will be able to receive all of the Light and be like Him (ZA—the Creator). All of this is described in the Talmud (*Hullin*, 60:2), but only with the explanation provided in *The Zohar* do we stop perceiving it as a fairytale.

Then *Malchut* descended below *Yesod* of ZA, and her nine lower *Sefirot* fell below *Parsa* into the worlds of BYA. And only her *Sefira Keter* remained in *Atzilut* as a point standing below *Yesod* of ZA. And from here on, *Malchut* is built not of her own *Sefirot* (properties) that exist in BYA, but of *Sefirot* (properties) *Netzah* and *Hod* of ZA.

Although *Malchut* was previously bigger, she was not able to receive the Light for lack of the Light of *Hassadim*; now she will be smaller, but she will have the Light of *Hassadim*, in which she will be able to receive the Light of *Hochma*. Even though *Malchut* will be at a lower degree, she will be able to utilize it, for the Light of *Hassadim* repels the impure forces that cling to *Nukva*. That is the meaning of the word *Zamir* (singing/pruning). However, there is another meaning to this word that is at use here—cutting off, or pruning the impure forces from *Malchut* (rose bud).

THE VOICE OF THE TURTLE DOVE: The turtle dove is a *Sefira*, the property of *Netzah de ZA*, and the voice of the turtle dove represents *Sefira Hod* of *ZA*, the fifth day of creation. And since *Malchut* receives from *Yesod* (which receives from *Hod* that is joined with *Netzah*), such reception by *Malchut* is referred to as "the voice of the turtle dove."

Therefore, the words "is heard" refer to the sixth day, since the voice of the turtle dove (*Malchut*) is heard only with the help of the sixth day, *Yesod* of *ZA*, which includes both *Netzah* and *Hod*, and passes their Light to *Malchut*. Hence, it is said that this voice is heard in *Malchut* only from *Yesod*, on the sixth day.

The reason for this is that *Malchut* can receive the Light only from the middle line of *ZA*: either from *Yesod* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *NHY*, *Ibur* – embryo) or from *Tifferet* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *HGT* = *VAK*, *Yenika* – nursing or *Katnut* – smallness) or from *Daat* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *HBD* = *GAR*, *Mochin* – brain or *Gadlut* – big).

LINES Left Middle Right	NAME OF DEGREE	THE LIGHT IN THE DEGREE
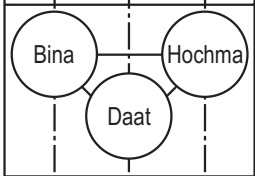	HBD (*HaBaD*)	The Light of Neshama = The light of HBD
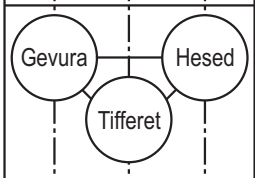	HGT (*HaGaT*)	The Light of Ruach = The light of HGT
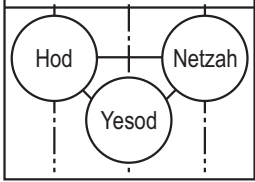	NHY (*NeHY*)	The Light of Nefesh = The light of NHY

LET US MAKE MAN, FOR IN THE FUTURE HE SHALL PUT ACTION BEFORE LISTENING: sight refers to *Sefira Hochma*, hearing refers to *Sefira Bina*. Action or deed is a property of *Malchut*. In order to correct *Malchut*, the Creator's only creation (other *Sefirot* are properties of the Creator Himself, with which He gradually created *Malchut*), a second restriction was made—*Malchut* ascended to *Bina* so as to combine her egoistic properties of reception with *Bina*'s altruistic properties of bestowal; *Malchut* ascended to *Aba-Hochma*, and *Ima-Bina* found herself below *Malchut* (*Parsa*), where she became similar in her properties to *Malchut*.

Eyes refer to *Sefira Hochma* or *Aba*. *Malchut* ascended to the level of eyes and stands at the level of pupils. *Malchut* is called *Nukva*; and *Malchut* that stands at the level of eyes is called *Nikvey Eynaim* (pupils) or *NE*. That is why there are only *Keter* and *Hochma* in the *Rosh* (head) of *AA*: *Bina* fell from the *Rosh* to the *Guf* (body) and *Malchut* is above *Bina*, that is, *Malchut* represents an action that is Above, i.e., precedes perception and understanding. This is what is meant by "we will do, and we will hear"—the act of the second restriction, limiting reception only to *GE*. Such a state is called the "return" (in one's properties to the Creator). The "complete return" occurs when *AHP* of *Malchut* gets corrected and joins *GE* at this degree.

As a result of *Malchut*'s ascent to *NE*, she changes her properties (every one of us needs only this—to ascend to the level of the Creator's properties, so that we can receive them and become like Him), and is now ready to ascend to *AVI* and receive the Light of *Haya*. The constant Light of this level is called the First Temple. That is why when receiving the Torah, Israel elected to act first and hear after. And for this reason they merited reception of the Torah (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 85:1), as the action (*Malchut*) ascended and clothed *AVI*, and thus the secret of the fifty gates of *Bina* was revealed.

Construction of the Temple does not pertain to it being built in this world, but rather to the attainment of the degree of the Temple, the degree of *AVI de Atzilut*, the Light of *Haya* (the First Temple) or the degree of *YESHSUT de Atzilut*, the Light of *Neshama* (the Second Temple).

Here *The Zohar* tells us: "it is heard" on the sixth day, for on this day (in this state) *Malchut* was corrected by means of her ascent above *Bina*, referred to as "placing action before listening," to do and to hear as during the reception of the Torah. *Malchut* in the state of ascension to *Bina* is called the Eternal Land or the Land of Life, for she inherits life from *Bina*.

"IN OUR LAND" REFERS TO *SHABBAT*, WHICH IS LIKE THE ETERNAL LAND OF LIFE: *Ima-Bina* is called the Land of Life or the Eternal Land. As a result of the act on the sixth day, meaning the Creator's action from Above (the factor of time is designated by an action of the Creator Himself, which has no causes in our world), *Malchut* ascended to *Ima* on the seventh day of creation (*Shabbat*) and became like *Ima*, for when the lower one ascends to the degree of the Upper One, they become equal (in properties). Hence, upon ascending to *Bina* and there receiving the Light of *Haya*, *Malchut* is called the Land of Eternal Life.

5. Another explanation: flower buds are the Patriarchs, who entered the mind and entered into the world to come, *Bina*, where they remain concealed. From there they emerge in concealment and conceal themselves in the true prophets. Yosef was born and they concealed themselves within him. When Yosef entered the Holy Land, he erected them there, and then "they appeared on the earth" and were revealed there. When did they appear? When a rainbow can be seen, they become revealed. At that moment, "the time of singing has come," meaning the time to eradicate all the wicked in the world. Why did they survive? Because the flower buds have appeared on (from) the earth. And if they were to be seen beforehand, they could not have remained in the world, and the world would not have been able to exist.

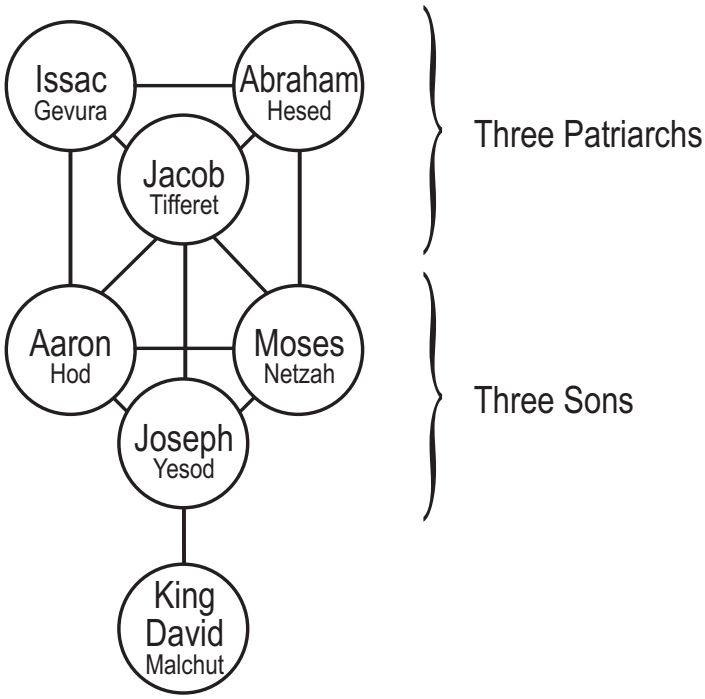

Here *The Zohar* explains the attainment of the Light of *Haya* by *ZA*. *NHY* of *ZA* are called "sons" and *HGT* of *ZA* are called "patriarchs," as well as the "turtle dove." *ZA* himself (seemingly) consists of two parts: above his *Chazeh*, his *Sefirot HGT* are called the big *ZON*; below his *Chazeh*, *Sefirot NHY* are called the small *ZON*. *Sefirot HGT* correspond to Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov, while *NHY* correspond to Moshe, Aaron and Yosef. *Malchut* corresponds to King David.

Sefirot NHY are called "prophets," and *Yesod* is called "the righteous one." Here *The Zohar* speaks of the buds that gradually grow from the small state to the big state of *ZON*: first *ZON* were small, consisting of *Sefirot NHY* with the Light of *Nefesh* and called *Ubar* (embryo). Then, with the help of *Yenika* (nursing), i.e., receiving Light from *Ima*, *ZON* grew. Accordingly, the properties of *Sefirot NHY* grew to equalize those of *Sefirot HGT*, and *Sefirot NHY* received the Light of *Ruach*.

Thus, the *Partzuf* now consists of parts of *HGT* and *NHY* with the Lights *Ruach* and *Nefesh*. Subsequently, by further reception of strength from the Upper One, and further growth, they've attained the state of *Gadlut Aleph*, the first big state. Accordingly, *Sefirot HGT* became *HBD* with the Light of *Neshama*, *Sefirot NHY* became *Sefirot HGT*, and received new *Sefirot NHY*.

Thus, the *Partzuf* grew to include three parts: *HBD*, *HGT*, and *NHY* with the Lights *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, and *Neshama*. And it is called *Gadol* (big—the first big state). Then, through further growth, they've attainted the state of maturity (*Gadlut Bet*, the second big state), and the Light of *Haya* entered *Sefirot HBD*.

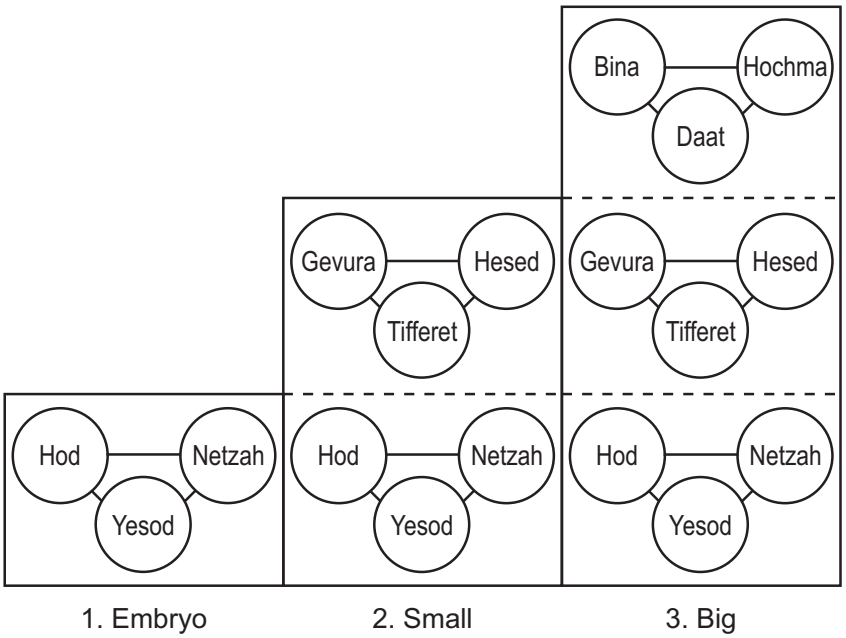

The word "growth" refers to the growth of a screen, of man's inner anti-egoistic forces and desires. This is the only difference between a big vessel and a small one, the only difference between the *Partzufim*. Their inner properties change depending on the change in the magnitude of the screen.

THESE FATHERS ENTERED THE SUPERNAL MIND AND ASCENDED INTO THE WORLD TO COME: this sentence speaks of the prenatal development of *ZA*, when he ascends to *AVI* (called "Supernal Mind" or "Supernal Thought"). *Aba-Hochma* is called "mind" or "thought," and *Ima-Bina* is called "the world to come." And together they are called "parents"—father and mother, *AVI*. It is there that creation begins—conception of *ZA* in the initial state of a spiritual embryo.

Just as an embryo in our world is completely dependent on the mother, having absolutely no desires or life of its own, and developing only thanks to her, so can every man become a spiritual embryo; if he completely relinquishes all of his desires and actions, and submits entirely to the will of the Upper *Partzuf*, he will turn himself into a spiritual embryo, just like a physiological one. The difference between a physiological embryo and a spiritual one lies in the fact that becoming a spiritual embryo requires tremendous personal desire and effort, whereas the conception of a physiological embryo depends on the parents.

As a result of its prenatal development within *Bina* (which means that one completely extinguishes all of his personal desires and thoughts, and, like an embryo, is ready to accept all that the mother gives: all of her thoughts and properties, regardless of how incomprehensible or unnatural they may seem to his essence), this embryo achieves the state of its spiritual birth.

However, this is a state of an even greater concealment of the Upper Light with regard to the embryo, for it does not yet have a screen for the reception of this Light. Hence, this state is called *Katnut*, CONCEALED IN THE TRUE PROPHETS, i.e., in *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod*, which *ZA* attains as a result of the process of nursing, reception of milk, the Light of *Hassadim* from *Ima* (mother) *Bina*.

The Light of nursing comes to the *NHY* of *ZA*, and *ZA* attains *VAK* (Light of *Nefesh-Ruach*), the state of *Katnut*. During nursing, *ZA* attains the *Sefira Yesod*, which is why it is said that Yosef is born. After the nursing period is over, *ZA* ascends to *AVI* so as to receive from them the Light of *Neshama*, and this constitutes the state of *Gadlut*, called "Yosef."

ZA consists of three parts: *HBD*, *HGT*, and *NHY*. The process of *Zeir Anpin's* growth, of acquiring a screen on his desires, begins with the purest, least egoistic part—*Sefirot HBD*, in which he first receives the Light of *Nefesh*.

Afterwards, *ZA* acquires a screen on coarser egoistic desires—*Sefirot HGT*; the Light of *Nefesh* passes from *HBD* to *HGT*, and the Light of *Ruach* enters the empty *HBD*.

Finally, *ZA* acquires a screen on the most egoistic *Kelim*—*Sefirot NHY*; the Light of *Nefesh* passes from *HGT* to *NHY*, the Light of *Ruach* moves from *HBD* to the empty *HGT*, and the Light of *Neshama* enters the empty *HBD*.

The attainment of the big state by *ZA* is called the birth of Yosef, for there emerge *Sefirot NHY*, of which the last *Sefira*, *Yesod*, is called "Yosef." However, since the Light of *Haya* is not yet present, this state is called "concealment." WHEN YOSEF ENTERED THE HOLY LAND AND ERECTED THEM THERE: that is, after the attainment of the first big state, the reception of the Light of *Neshama*, *ZA* continues to grow, cultivating his screen until the Light of *Haya* enters it.

In such a state, *Malchut* of *ZA* separates from him into an independent *Partzuf*, called THE HOLY LAND, as the Light of *Haya* is called holiness. It is therefore said that Yosef entered or, rather, ASCENDED TO THE HOLY LAND in the *Gadlut* state of *ZA*. *ZA* and *Nukva* became equally big in the state of *PBP* (*Panim be Panim*, face to face), which is the state that determines the *Zivug* between *ZON*.

AND YOSEF ERECTED THEM THERE: the Light of *Haya* or *Hochma* fills the *Partzuf* only during a *Zivug*, when *ZON* (*ZA* and *Nukva*) make a *Zivug* together. And this Light remains in *Malchut*, for only she (her screen) can reveal it. Just as *AVI* are *GAR de Bina*, *YESHSUT* is *ZAT de Bina* and the Light of *Hochma* is found only in *YESHSUT*, the relationship between *Malchut* and *ZA* works along the same principle, and the Light of *Hochma* is revealed only in *Malchut*. Therefore, only when the Light of *Hochma* fills *Nukva* can it be said that the Light has been revealed, and until that happens, it is considered to be concealed.

WHEN ARE THEY SEEN? WHEN A RAINBOW CAN BE SEEN IN THE WORLD: *ZA* is called a "rainbow," the world is *Malchut*, and their union is called a "rainbow within a cloud." THE TIME HAS COME TO ERADICATE ALL THE WICKED FROM THE WORLD—as the number of the wicked grows, as more impure forces cling to *ZON*. The impure forces can influence *ZON* so greatly that the entire world will be brought to ruin, as has happened in the

time of the Flood. If so, there is no salvation for man other than through the revelation of the Upper Light, the Light of *Haya*. That is why *The Zohar* tells us that the world is saved by the flower buds appearing from the earth, meaning that the Light of *Haya* eradicates man's impure forces from the earth (his desires, *Malchut*), and they cannot cling to her and hinder man.

AND HAD THEY NOT APPEARED, THERE WOULD BE NO SALVATION FOR THE WORLD—for initially *Nukva* is built as big as ZA. This is called the "two great celestial bodies," when *Malchut* is on the same degree as ZA, but stands behind him, back to back, unable to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the absence of the Light of *Hassadim*. This is why *Malchut* complains about lacking the Light of *Hassadim* and thus not being able to receive the Light of *Hochma*.

Even though the moon grows as big as the Sun, it cannot shine independently, but only if the Sun (ZA) gives it Light. And since *Malchut* lacks the Light of *Hochma*, such a state is called reversed (*Achor*-back). And a *Zivug* cannot take place in the position of back-to-back (*Achor be Achor*).

However, after *Nukva* is born and grows (receives the properties) from the *Guf* of ZA, as it is written in the Torah (*Beresheet* 2) that Chava (Eve) was born from the body of Adam, she becomes equal to ZA and enters into a *Zivug* face-to-face (*Panim be Panim*, *PBP)* with him.

Also, *Nukva* still retained the previous Light. Moreover, precisely because she felt the lack of the Light in her initial state, *Malchut* received the Light of *Haya* specifically into her previous sufferings. Similarly, man can feel pleasure only and precisely because of his previous suffering.

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us that had the flower buds not appeared in *Malchut* during her *Katnut*, when she was standing behind ZA, she would not have been able to receive the Light of *Haya* in her state of *Gadlut*, as she would not have the *Kelim* (desires) to receive this Light. Every new creation is founded on the sensation of darkness, as it is said: the Creator emanates the Light out of Himself, and creates darkness out of nothingness. Man's sensation of darkness signifies his readiness to receive the Light.

6. Who sustains the world and evokes the revelation of the Patriarchs? It is the voice of the children engaged in the Torah. The world exists thanks to these children. Hence, it is said: "We will make for you pendants of gold" (*Shir HaShirim*, 1:11). These are the children, youngsters of the world, as it is said: "Make two cherubs of gold" (*Shemot*, *25:18*).

The Light of *Ruach* is called "the children of the world," and the *Zivug* in this state (*PBA*—face to back) is referred to as THE VOICE OF THE CHILDREN ENGAGED IN THE TORAH. And it is also called "threads of gold" and "two cherubs of gold." Before *Nukva* grew, the impure forces had the power to destroy the world. However, precisely because *Nukva* grows from *ZA*, the right and left lines merge in her as one, the RAINBOW (right line) shines WITHIN A CLOUD (left line), and the Light of *Haya* can enter *Malchut*. Without this Light, the world can be destroyed as during (in the state of) the Flood.

SO WHO IS IT THAT SUSTAINS THE WORLD: who causes the appearance of the Light of *Haya*? They are precisely the children engaged in the Torah. The "children" designate the Light of the opposite side, the Light of *Ruach*, the sensation of deficiency of the Light of *Haya*, for a "child" alludes to the process of nursing. The children of the house of *Raban* (*Tinokot Shel Beit Raban*)—are the Light of *Haya*, as the word "*Raban*" derives from "*Rav*" (big, *Haya*). They did not transgress, i.e., did not use their *AHP* (egoistic and yet uncorrected desires, for the word "children" designates the small state), their will to receive.

Who Created These

7. In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes and you shall see, WHO HAS CREATED THESE" (*Yeshayahu*, 40:26). Raise your eyes where? To the place on which all eyes depend. Who is He? He is the One who opens eyes, *Malchut de Rosh de Arich Anpin*. And there you shall see that *Atik* is concealed and within it lies the answer to the question: WHO HAS CREATED THESE? WHO? *MI*, *ZAT de Bina*, the Highest Edge of Heaven, and everything depends on Him. And since the question lies in Him, and He is concealed, He is called *MI*. For *MI* is like when the question "Who?" is asked, as there are no questions above Him. The question is found only at the Highest Boundary of Heaven.

In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes on high and look at who has created these." Raise your eyes to what place? To the place, where all eyes depend on Him. And who is He? He is the One who opens eyes. And there you shall know. It is the concealed *Atik*, within which lies the question: who has created these? And who is He? *MI* = who. He is called by the edge of the Supernal Heaven, where everything belongs to him. Since there lies a question, and He is on a concealed path and does not reveal Himself, He is called *MI*. And because there is no question Above, this edge of Heaven is called *MI*.

In Hebrew, the word *MI* means the question "Who?" as well as the preposition "from." Since Kabbalah tells us about the property of our world's roots, one spiritual object can sometimes reveal an entire range of associations, properties, and categories. In the same way, here the word *MI* is a part of the word *ElokIM*, where the last two letters form the word *MI*. However, at the same time, they carry a variety of additional charges and meanings.

Rabbi Elazar wishes to explain how Heaven and earth were created. Naturally, just like the whole of the Torah, *The Zohar* refers only to spiritual degrees and categories, and does not deal with explanations of the physical

origin and development of our world. Moreover, it is impossible to understand the true origin and development of our world without attaining the spiritual world. However, whatever one does attain, he is unable to pass these attainments to others. Hence, even after he attains the full essence of our nature's origin and its actions, he will still be unable to describe it in a form that will be comprehensible to others.

Heaven and earth constitute the seven days of Creation—*ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*. However, if it is a part of *Atzilut*, then why is it described as *BARAH* (created, from the word *Beria*) and not *ATZIL* (emanated, from the word *Atzilut*)? Yet, precisely herein lies the opportunity to open our eyes to the process of creation.

Rosh (head) *de AA* has only *Keter* and *Hochma*. *Malchut* standing below the eyes, below *Sefira Hochma*, is called "the opening of the eyes." After all, only when she opens up does the Light of *Hochma* pass through her from *Rosh de AA* to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*.

It is therefore said that the eyes should be raised up TO THE PLACE ON WHICH ALL EYES DEPEND, for the Light of *Hochma* can fill all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* only when *Malchut* opens up in *Rosh de AA*. Hence, the entire secret of the opening lies in *Malchut*. The Light of *Hochma* (the Light of Wisdom) is the Light of the eyes. It comes out of the eyes, and only in this Light can one see.

The word *BARAH* signifies *BAR* (beyond), meaning outside the world of *Atzilut*. This is because *Bina* herself came out of the *Rosh* of *AA* and stood lower, outside the *Rosh* of *AA*, giving birth to, that is, precisely *BARAH* (creating) *ZON*.

In Hebrew, every notion has several possible names that determine the specific action that takes place. Here, the birth of *ZON* occurred by means of *Bina*'s exit and descent from her degree; hence, the birth of *ZON* is called *BARAH*, from the word *BAR* – outside (of one's degree).

The entire creation consists of only ten *Sefirot*. Yet, since every *Sefira* includes all the others, and since all of them are interconnected, every world, degree, or *Sefira* includes the properties of all the others, and consists of their parts. Therefore, every *Sefira* consists of *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*, each of which in turn consists of five. In all, 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 *Sefirot* or steps of the ladder that separate us (the lowest) from the Creator (the highest).

The property of *Bina* herself is not to receive the Light of *Hochma*. Yet, in order to pass the Light of *Hochma* to *ZA* and *Malchut*, who desire to receive it for

the Creator's sake, since receiving the Light of *Hochma* is the goal of creation, *Bina* allocates within herself a certain part called *ZAT de Bina* or *YESHSUT*, which receives the Light of *Hochma* from *Partzuf Hochma* and passes it to *ZON*. The main part, *Bina* herself, is called *GAR de Bina*. The part of *Bina* that receives the Light of *Hochma* is called *ZAT de Bina*.

Therefore, if *Bina* exits the *Rosh* and falls into the *Guf*, as it occurs in the second restriction, this has no effect on *Bina* herself, for she does not suffer from lack of the Light of *Hochma* whatsoever, as though she had never left the *Rosh*. This refers only to the Upper part of *Bina*, *GAR de Bina*, which has no desire for *Hochma*. This part is called *AVI*, and it spans from the *Peh* (mouth) down to the *Chazeh* (chest) of *AA*.

However, *ZAT de Bina*, which wants to receive *Hochma* for *ZON*, just as a mother who wants to receive for her children, feels the exit from the *Rosh* of *AA* to its *Guf*, for there it cannot receive the Light of *Hochma*, but only the Light of *Ruach-Nefesh*, *VAK* of the Light. This part of *Bina* is called *YESHSUT*, and it spans from the *Chazeh* down to *Tabur* of *AA*.

ZON of the world of *Atzilut*, which receive from *YESHSUT*, span from *Tabur* to the end of the feet of *AA*, on the *Parsa*. Thus, there are two *Parsaot* (plural for *Parsa*): one is in the world of *Atzilut*, separating the *Sefirot* of "bestowal" (*GE*) from the *Sefirot* of "reception" (*AHP*). This *Parsa* is located at the chest of *AA*. The second *Parsa* is located between *Atzilut* and *BYA*. However, we can also say that every *Partzuf* has its own *Parsa*, which separates the desires of bestowal from the desires of reception.

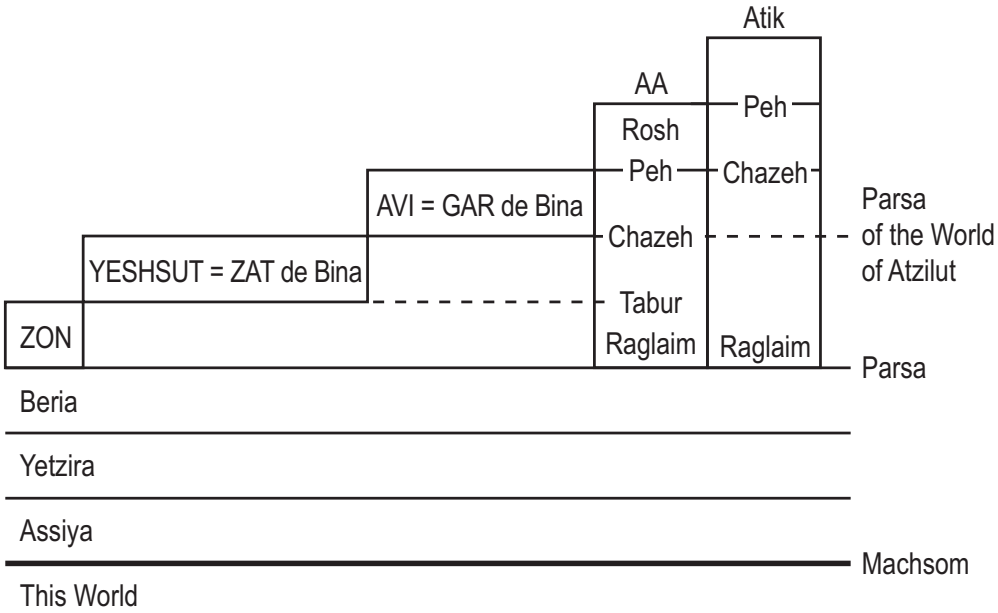

Although *GAR de Bina* are positioned below the *Rosh* of *AA*, they are considered not to have left it, as they do not feel it, that is, they do not want *Hochma*; they wish only to bestow, and he who wants only to bestow feels perfection wherever he is. All the *Partzufim* and their parts that have nothing to do with reception of *Hochma* (*Keter, Hochma,* and *GAR de Bina*) separate themselves with a *Parsa* from the remaining parts of the world of *Atzilut* that want *Hochma* (*ZAT de Bina* and *ZON*).

The "existence of the question" that *The Zohar* speaks of signifies the sensation of the lack of Light of *Hochma*, the desire for it. This is felt by *ZON*, which is why they raise *MAN*. *MAN* is a request of the lower one to receive the Light of *Hochma* from the Upper One for the Creator's sake. It is called a "question," for a question is similar to prayer or request. *The Zohar* tells us that the question exists only in *YESHSUT*, meaning that it receives *MAN* from below, from *ZON*.

And before that, it is said of *YESHSUT*: *BARAH* (from the word *Beria* = *BAR*), something that exists outside of its degree. What did it do? *BARAH* (created) *ELEH* (*AHP*, *ZON*). However, it created them as headless as itself. For the word *BARAH* (beyond) indicates the lack of a *Rosh* (*Kelim* of the world of *Atzilut*).

ZAT de Bina that wait for an "answer to their question," for the Light of *Hochma*, are called *MI*. It is said *BARAH* in regards to them because they exited and descended independently from the level of the *Rosh de AA* to below its *Chazeh*. These are *ZAT de Bina*, called *YESHSUT* or *MI*, the "Highest Edge of Heaven," for Heaven refers to *ZA*, who receives from *YESHSUT*. *Malchut* is called "earth."

ZAT de Bina is called "firmament."

ZA is called "Heaven."

Malchut is called "earth."

All that exists below *YESHSUT* (*ZON* and the worlds of *BYA*) receives from it. Hence, it is considered that *YESHSUT* revives the whole of creation: whatever it has, they will receive it, too. However, their *MAN* determines whether or not *YESHSUT* will have something to bestow upon them.

THERE LIES NO QUESTION in *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*). They do not receive *MAN* for the reception of *Hochma*, and they never feel any lack of *Hochma*, neither for themselves nor so as to give to others. Only *ZAT de Bina* or *YESHSUT* are created and exist for the question, for the reception of *MAN* (*ZON's* plea). *YESHSUT* raises *MAN* that is received from *ZON* to the *Rosh* of *AA* and receives

the Light of *Hochma* from there. *YESHSUT* is called the "Highest Edge of Heaven," for *ZA*, called "Heaven," receives from it.

8. But there is another one below, called MA. What is in common between this one and that one? The first one is concealed and is called MI. There exists a question in it for man to inquire and research in order to see and know all the degrees, down to the end of all degrees, which is *Malchut*. That is MA. What does MA mean? MA (what) do you know? What do you see? What do you research? After all, everything is initially concealed.

Being in a state of *Zivug PBP* with *ZA*, *Malchut* is also called *MA* (like *ZA*) and is considered the lowest edge of Heaven, for she concludes all the degrees and *Atzilut*. *ZA*, called "Heaven," stands between *Malchut* (lowest edge of Heaven) and *YESHSUT* (Highest Edge of Heaven).

MAN MUST INQUIRE, SEE, RESEARCH—only if one who is below *ZON* raises *MAN* (his prayer) to *ZON* will they raise this *MAN* higher. For *ZON* themselves are corrected by the Light of *Hassadim*, and do not want to receive the Light of *Hochma*. And only if a request comes from below, from man, will *ZON* ascend to *YESHSUT* and ask for the Light of *Hochma*. *YESHSUT* proceeds to raise *MAN* to *AVI*, and *AVI* raise *MAN* to *AA*: *AVI* ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA*, where there is the Light of *Hochma*, where they make a *Zivug* on this Light.

A *Zivug* of *AVI* is called "*Aba* and *Ima* looking at each other." To "look" means to receive the Light of *Hochma* (to "hear" means to receive the Light of *Hassadim*). As a result of *AVI's* ascent to the *Rosh* of *AA*, *Bina* starts receiving *Hochma* for *ZON*. All the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* are corrected by the Light of *Hassadim* in such a way that they do not want to receive the Light of *Hochma* for themselves.

He who is able to raise his request (*MAN*) to compel *ZON* to ascend to *YESHSUT*, whereupon *YESHSUT* and *AVI* will ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA* together so as to receive the Light for him—such a person is not simply considered a mere "person," but a "righteous"!

The request that one raises to *ZON* is called one's "soul," for a soul is a vessel, a desire filled with Light. However, the Light inside a vessel is determined by the desire. Hence, the spiritual desire, the intention to act for the Creator's sake is called "a soul." Naturally, if one does not yet have such an intention, he does not have a soul.

The spiritual world is a world of only desires without any corporeal shells. The reader must revise his ideas about the soul, body, connections

between worlds, etc., and correct himself continually so as to properly interpret these categories.

So then, man's corrected desires are called "the souls of the righteous." These souls of the righteous ascend to *ZON* in the form of *MAN* and compel *ZON* to ascend to *YESHSUT*. The presence of *ZON* creates in *YESHSUT* a desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*. This compels *YESHSUT* (*ZAT de Bina*) to ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA* and there join with *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) into one *Partzuf*. And then *AVI* (*AB* + *SAG* = *AA* + *AVI*) look at each other, exchange the Light *of Hochma* between them, and pass it down to *ZON*.

Without a request from below, *AVI* will be satisfied with the Light of *Hassadim* and will not "look" at one another. Only the request of their children (*ZON*) compels *AVI* to face each other (*Panim be Panim*) and make a *Zivug*. In this *Zivug*, *Ima-Bina* receives the Light of *Hochma* for the children, *ZON*, from *Aba-Hochma*.

However, this occurs BECAUSE MAN INQUIRED—man's question signifies the raising of *MAN* so as to make *AVI* look at each other, make a *Zivug* together, and let *Ima* receive *Hochma* from *Aba* for the man that is elevating his soul. The descending Light of *Hochma* is called knowledge or wisdom (*Daat*), for *ZON* ascend to *YESHSUT* + *AVI*, and there stimulate a *Zivug* on the Light of *Hochma*, called "knowledge." Hence, it is written in the Torah: "And Adam came to know his wife."

Thus, to COME TO KNOW means to receive the Light of *Hochma*. *ZON* that stand in *AVI* and compel *AVI* to receive the Light of *Hochma* are called *Daat* (knowledge) or the *Sefira Daat*.

Yet, *Daat* is not an additional *Sefira*. There are only ten *Sefirot*. However, in order to designate the fact that *ZON*'s request for the Light of *Hochma* is inside the ten *Sefirot* of *Partzuf AVI*, we say that *AVI* have a *Sefira* called *Daat*. In this case, instead of the regular count of *Sefirot*: *KHB-HGT-NHYM*, we count the *Sefirot*: *HBD-HGT-NHYM*. The *Sefira Keter* is omitted, and we only mention the *Sefira Daat* after *Hochma-Aba* and *Bina-Ima*. FROM ONE DEGREE TO ANOTHER signifies the passing of the Light of *Hochma* from the *Sefira Daat* of the degree of *AVI* to the degree of *ZA*. And TO THE END OF ALL DEGREES—from *ZA* to *Malchut*, which is called "the end of all degrees."

When the Light is present in *Nukva*, she is called *MA*, and the Light that she passes to the lower ones is called 100 blessings. There are several states in *Nukva*, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*. We need to know them, for all that we receive,

we receive from her alone. In addition to all stages of growth from a point to a full *Partzuf*, a grown *Malchut* has two big states.

Malchut attains the first big state when she receives the Light of *Neshama*. This occurs when, due to her *MAN*, *AVI* ascend one degree from their permanent place to the *Rosh* of *AA*. However, although *YESHSUT* ascends from its permanent place between the chest (*Chazeh*) and the navel (*Tabur*) of *AA* to where *AVI* used to be (between the mouth and the chest of *AA*), it still remains clothed onto the *Guf* of *AA*, even though it merges into one *Partzuf* with *AVI*.

And since *YESHSUT* now clothes the place from the mouth (*Peh*) to the *Chazeh* of *AA* from the outside, *YESHSUT* becomes like the *Rosh* of *AA*, as it merged with *AVI* in the *Rosh* of *AA* as one *Partzuf*. Also, *YESHSUT* ascends from under the *Parsa* of *Atzilut* in the *Chazeh* of *AA* and stands above it, where the *Rosh* of *AA* shines.

That is why *YESHSUT* passes the Light of *Hochma* to *ZA*, and *ZA* passes it on to *Malchut*, who fills herself with this Light, called "100 blessings," for, having received this Light, *ZON* can ascend to the permanent place of *YESHSUT* between the *Chazeh* and the *Tabur* of *AA*.

By ascending to this degree, *Malchut* becomes like *Ima*. In the spiritual world, the degree of a spiritual object determines all of its properties. Even in our world, the degree of man's inner development alone determines his properties, thoughts, and desires. And since *Ima* equals 100, *Malchut*, too, is called "100," so as to emphasize the fact that *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*.

Now *Malchut* is similar to *MI* just as *YESHSUT* was prior to raising *MAN* and passing the Light. This is because she now clothes the place of the small state of *YESHSUT* from the *Chazeh* to the *Tabur* of *AA*, and stands under the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*, below which the Light from the *Rosh de AA* cannot pass.

That is why *Malchut* gained no Light, for the sake of which she had raised *MAN*. Nevertheless, *Malchut* gains by receiving the properties of *Ima-Bina*, for she ascended to *YESHSUT*, called *Ima*.

Hence, the Light that *Malchut* received is only considered *VAK* of the *Gadlut* state, the first state of *Gadlut*. *Malchut* will not be able to receive the *GAR* of *Gadlut*, the second *Gadlut*, the Light of *Hochma* (*Haya*), as long as she is under the *Parsa* of *Atzilut* in the *Chazeh* of *AA*. (How *Malchut* receives *GAR* of the *Gadlut* is explained in items 11 through 15 in the next article).

The Zohar calls *Nukva* that ascended to *YESHSUT* by the word *MA* (from the word *Me'ah*—100), for by means of this ascent, *Malchut* gained the properties of *Bina*—100 blessings. And she gained the sensation of the question—she feels that it has only *VAK* (a half, a part of the big state). Put differently, she feels the desire for its second half, *GAR*. Nevertheless, she gained a part of the big state, *VAK* of *AVI*.

Thus, *Nukva* became like *YESHSUT* before it raised *MAN*, but gained the properties of *Bina*, 100 blessings. And since this is *VAK* of the Light of the big state, she feels a deficiency (a question), just as *YESHSUT* felt prior to raising *MAN*—at its place, when *YESHSUT* was in the *Katnut* state. When it ascended to *AVI*, *AVI* ascended to *AA*, and *ZON* ascended to the place of *YESHSUT*. *AVI* shine from the *Rosh* of *AA* on the place of *YESHSUT*. *ZON* that stand there now feel the Light that they receive from *AVI*, and realize that this is merely a part of the Light, which generates another question within them.

9. This is the secret defined by the word MA: WHAT do you testify and WHAT is equal to you? When the Temple was destroyed, a voice came forth and said, "What (MA) shall I indicate to you, and what (MA) shall I equate to you?" (*Eicha*, 2:13). However, here MA means, "What is the covenant, testimony, what (MA) is equal to you?" For every day testifies to you the days of past, as it is said: "This day I call onto Heaven and earth to witness for you" (*Devarim*, 30:19). WHAT is equal to you? It is said: "I adorned you with holy adornments and made you ruler of the world." And it is said: "Is this the city that men called the quintessence of beauty?" (*Eicha*, 2:15). I have called you, "Jerusalem, a city rebuilt by me" (*Tehilim*, 122:3). "What shall I equate to you?" (*Eicha*, 2:13). Just as you sit here, so He sits Above in Supernal Jerusalem. Just as the holy nation does not enter into you, so I swear to you that I will not enter Above until I enter you down below. And this is your consolation—that I will equate you with this degree, with Supernal Jerusalem, which is the Supernal *Malchut* (Hebrew – Kingdom) that rules over all. But for now you are here, and "Your misery is great, like the sea" (*Eicha, 2:13*). And if you say that there is no existence or salvation for you, then WHO (MI) shall heal you (not Who? with a question mark, but the Upper Force called WHO is what will heal you), that is, that same concealed Upper Degree, which is called MI, *Bina* that revives all, shall heal and revive you.

In other words, *MA* and *MI*, besides being translated as WHAT and WHO, also designate the names of spiritual objects that perform actions described in *The Zohar*. The destruction of the Temple was the consequence of Israel's

transgression of egoistic reception, because they did not want to raise *MAN* for the *Zivug* of *ZON*, and instead wished to receive the Light into the impure forces, their egoistic desires, called "other gods" (*Elokim Acherim*). There is only one Creator.

There is but one property for the Creator, and we know it—the property of bestowal. Drawing closer to this property is defined as working "for the Creator's sake." Any other desire can only mean distancing from this property and from the Creator, for except for this property or its opposite (rather, its absence), nothing else exists in creation. Hence, man's inner movement towards the property of "reception" pushes him away from the Creator, and is therefore called "worshipping other gods." As a result, *ZON* stopped their *Zivug*, the 100 blessings disappeared from *Nukva*, and the Temple was ruined.

The First Temple—*Malchut* ascended to *AVI* and there receives the Light of *Haya*. Its ruin is the fall of *Malchut* to the level of reception of the Light *GAR* de *Ruach*.

The Second Temple is *Malchut's* ascension to *YESHSUT* and the reception of the Light of *Neshama*. In its ruin, *Malchut* fell to the level of reception of the Light of *Nefesh* in her *Sefira Keter*, while the other nine *Sefirot* fall below the *Parsa*. Such a state is called *Galut*—exile from the spiritual, from the world of *Atzilut*. The single *Sefira Malchut* in the world of *Atzilut* remains as a point below the *Sefira Yesod* of *ZA*.

ZA is called "six days" and *Malchut* is called *Shabbat* (Saturday). Yet, is *Malchut* really bigger than *ZA*, as *Shabbat* is bigger (higher) than weekdays? The worlds of *BYA*, including our world, receive the Light, their life-force, from *Malchut*. The "six weekdays" are a state of *ZON* when *ZA* and *Malchut* are unconnected to one another. *Shabbat* is a state of *ZON* when *Malchut* joins with *ZA*, a *Zivug* takes place between them, and *Malchut* receives the Light from *ZA* and passes it on to the whole world.

Since the state of *Malchut* when she passes the Light received from *ZA* down to the world is important to us, by measuring our states in accordance with what we receive from *Malchut*, we define the extent of maximal reception as *Shabbat*. (Naturally, this has nothing to do with our calendar: weekdays and *Shabbat* are spiritual states that transcend time).

AND A VOICE CAME FORTH AND SAID: "EACH AND EVERY DAY MY COVENANT HAS BEEN IN YOU SINCE THE DAYS OF PAST"—here, *The Zohar* speaks of the Light of *VAK* that *ZON* receive in the state of *Gadlut*, which *Nukva* receives as *MA*. This Light is called "the past days" (*Yamim*

Kadmonim). Therefore, it is written in the Torah (*Devarim*, 4:32): "Ask now of the past days, which were before you, since the day the Creator created man, from one edge of Heaven unto the other, whether there has been any such thing as great as this?..."

The Light of *VAK* of the *Gadlut* state is called in *ZON* "the past days," for it is *VAK* of *AVI*. *YESHSUT* is *ZAT* of *AVI*. *ZAT* is an abbreviation of the words *Zayin* (7), and *Tachtonot* (lower, meaning the lower *Sefirot*). *ZAT* of *AVI*, meaning the seven *Sefirot* of *Partzuf AVI*, is *YESHSUT*. These *Zayin* are seven days, the seven primary *Sefirot* of *AVI* with regard to *Zayin,* the seven days or the seven *Sefirot* of *ZON*.

Hence, it is written, "MY COVENANT EACH AND EVERY DAY BY HEAVEN AND EARTH" (*Devarim*, 4:26). These words of the Torah speak of the *Zivug* of *ZON* called "Heaven" (*ZA*) and "earth" (*Nukva*). "The past days" or "Supernal Days" constitute *YESHSUT*, and "the low days" or "the present days" are *ZON*.

In this sentence, the Creator cautions that the *Zivug* of *ZON* needs to be constantly realized and maintained. Otherwise, the Creator warns that "you will disappear from the earth." And this is the meaning of the Creator's warning about the 100 blessings: they should be guarded and constantly created.

For these 100 blessings that *Nukva* receives from *ZA* every day in the *Zivug* of *MA* between them take place during the ascent of *ZON* to *YESHSUT*, when *ZA* becomes like *YeshS* (*Israel-Saba*) and *Nukva* becomes like *T* (*Tvunah*). *YESHSUT* stands for *Israel-Saba* and *Tvunah*. And then, the Light that *Nukva* receives from *ZA* becomes 100 blessings, like the Light in *Tvunah*.

It is said about it, "the city that united with her," for *Nukva*, called "city," merged with *Tvunah*, and *Nukva* became like *Tvunah*. And *Nukva* receives in *Tvunah* the Light of *Tvunah*, called "holy adornments," and then, like a crown of beauty, she surrounds the earth and receives power over the earth.

However, as a result of Israel's transgressions (the rise of impure desires over the pure ones), the Temple is ruined (the Light disappeared), and Israel is banished from its land (fell to lower degrees). This led to the distancing of *Nukva* (all creatures) from *ZA* (the Creator), for the lower nine *Sefirot* (desires) of *Nukva* fell to the impure forces (became egoistic). In other words, the nine pure, altruistic desires (forces) lost their screen and became egoistic, and *Nukva* herself turned into a point that stands below the *Sefira Yesod* of *ZA*.

Hence, it is written: "WHO SHALL REBUILD YOU AND HEAL YOU"—if the sons of Israel return in their aspirations to the Creator (to altruism), called

"the return," correct their deeds (desires), and raise their prayers (*MAN*) for help in their correction to the Creator in *ZON*, they will once more be able to receive the Upper Light in *ZON*, *Nukva* will rise again to *YESHSUT*, called *MI*, and will be healed thereby (the Upper Light will enter *Malchut*, the souls, and will impart its properties onto them).

10. *MI*—WHO sets the boundary of Heaven Above—*YESHSUT*. *MA*—WHAT sets the boundary of Heaven below—*ZA* and *Malchut*. And this is what Yaakov inherited, as he is *ZA* that shines from end to end. From one boundary, which is *MI*, to the other boundary, which is *MA*. For he, Yaakov, stands in the middle, between *YESHSUT* and *Malchut*. Hence, it is said, *MI BARAH ELEH*: *MI* is *YESHSUT*, *BARAH* means created, and *ELEH* stands for *ZA* and *Malchut*.

Actually, it should rather be written, "from the beginning, i.e., from the Height of Heaven down to its end (lowest point) below." Yet it says, "from the boundary of Heaven." *MI* is *YESHSUT* that upholds everything with its question, the desire to receive the Light for *ZON*. *MA* is *Nukva*. Before *Nukva* raises *MAN*, she is the very last degree, standing below the *Chazeh* of *ZA*. Between *YESHSUT* and *Nukva* stands Yaakov—*ZA* that clothes *AA* from *Tabur* to *Malchut* of *AA*.

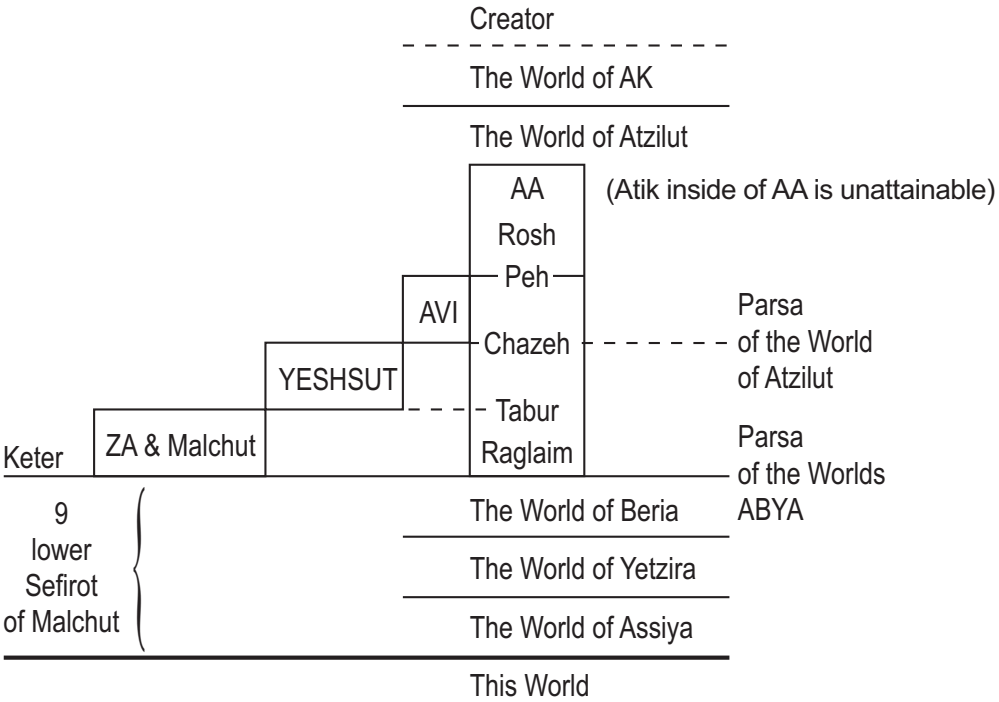

Arich Anpin is the central *Partzuf* in the world of *Atzilut*. Since *Atik* is unattainable, everything comes from *AA*, and all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* clothe it (receive from it): *Rosh de AA* towers over all, and no one can clothe it, meaning no one can attain its thoughts and reasons for its actions.

The next *Partzuf* is *AVI*. *AVI* clothe (attain) *AA* from *Peh* to *Chazeh*. Below *AVI* stands *Partzuf YESHSUT*, clothing *AA* from *Chazeh* to *Tabur*. *ZA* stands below *YESHSUT* and clothes *AA* from *Tabur* downwards. *Partzuf ZA* is incomplete, as he has only six *Sefirot HBD-HGT* or *VAK*; he is in the *Katnut* state, ending with his *Sefira Tifferet* (his *Chazeh*).

Nukva (*Malchut*) stands below *ZA*, or parallel to his last *Sefira Tifferet* (the *Chazeh* of *ZA*). She has only one *Sefira Keter*, whereas her nine other *Sefirot* fell below the *Parsa* to the worlds *BYA*. The entire world of *Atzilut* ends at the *Chazeh* of *ZA*, where the single *Sefira* of *Malchut* stands, who is therefore called a point.

In our world, there is desire and its physical manifestation—action. For example, one wants to receive something, but he does not allow himself to perform the physical act of taking. Meanwhile, his desire to take remains the same. In the spiritual world, there are no bodies, only bare desires. Therefore, the desire itself already constitutes action, like an already completed mental and physical action in our world. Therefore, the desire alone determines man's spiritual state.

Just imagine what it would be like if in our world we judged a person not by his actions, but by his desires! It is terrifying to think how distant we are from spiritual demands. However, our desires are determined by our spiritual degree. And *The Zohar* explains that only by raising *MAN* (the request for correction) can we attract onto us the flow of Upper Light, which will correct and elevate us to a Higher Degree. And we will immediately begin to think and desire whatever that degree will evoke within us.

Therefore, our task is to attain the desire for correction. To this end, we need a "question," perception of our state as intolerable. This is called the realization of evil, i.e., that our egoism is evil, that it brings me harm by severing me from the spiritual.

However, in order for this to happen, we need to come to sense at least a little bit of what the spiritual is and how good it is. Evil can only be realized in contrast with good. Yet, how can we sense the spiritual if we have yet to escape egoism? In what *Kelim* (desires) can we sense this? Even though we lack corrected desires, and therefore cannot sense the spiritual, as a result of studying Kabbalah,

one begins to sense the Surrounding Light, which bestows onto him the desire for the spiritual (See "Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," item 155).

The desire of one who physically exists in our world, but spiritually exists in the worlds of *BYA*—is a desire to enjoy the Light. However, opposite these desires one has an "anti-desire," a screen, which neutralizes his innate will to receive pleasure.

A screen is created (appears, emerges, born) within the *Kli* (desire, man) as a result of man's sensation of the spiritual Light (the Creator). Therefore, all our requests (prayers, *MAN*, "questions") should be about one thing only: for the Creator to grant us the strength necessary to ascend spiritually, to transform our desires or, as Kabbalah defines it, to acquire a screen. It is impossible to annul one's will to receive pleasure. The Creator created it, and it is His only creation. All we can do is acquire a screen (counterbalance) on it, thereby ascending above creation (egoism), and become similar to the Creator! And to the extent of this similarity, to merge with him.

Thus, *Partzuf* Yaakov stands from *MI* (*YESHSUT*) to *MA* (*Malchut*), from end to end. However, what is referred to here is the state of *ZON*, when they ascend to *YESHSUT* and receive the Light of its degree.

The entire spiritual distance from us to the Creator is divided into 125 invisible degrees, all of them named. These degrees differ from one another only by the magnitude of their screen on man's egoistic desires. Man receives the Light in his corrected, altruistic desires. The volume of the received Light depends on the screen's magnitude (the size of the desire's corrected part).

Every degree is characterized by a particular sensation of the Creator, and this sensation is called Light. Hence, we can designate the spiritual state of the *Kli* (man) in the spiritual world by the name of its degree or the name of the Light it receives, as every degree has its own particular Light. These gradations of the sensation of the Creator are precisely what we call spiritual degrees.

That is why, having ascended to a degree called *YESHSUT*, *ZON* receive the Light of *YESHSUT*, although *Partzuf YESHSUT* itself ascended, accordingly, to a Higher Degree, and there receives the Light of that degree, called *AVI*. In turn, *AVI* ascend to a degree called *AA*, where they receive the Light of *AA*. We call degrees by the names of the *Partzufim* that abide there in their usual, lowest state. Such a state is called permanent.

Even though by ascending to a Higher Degree, the lower *Partzuf* receives the Light of that degree, which changes its properties, the *Partzuf* remains itself nonetheless, just as a person who acquires new properties remains a person,

though now one of another level. Therefore, when it is said, "having ascended to the Upper One, the lower one becomes like him," it implies a change only in the inner properties of man (or *Partzuf*), but not in his identity.

Upon ascending to *YESHSUT*, *ZA* receives greater Light, for an ascent in the spiritual world signifies an increase in the magnitude of a screen, and, accordingly, reception of greater Light. That is to say, *ZA* himself grew, but did not turn into *YESHSUT*: previously, at his own place, he had only the Light *Ruach-Nefesh*, but upon ascending and acquiring a screen, he receives the Light of *Neshama* as well.

Therefore, all the places between us and the Creator are established, and the *Partzufim* that are there "stand" on them in their permanent place. However, all the *Partzufim* and the worlds can ascend relative to their permanent, lowest states by one, two, or three degrees. In its lowest state, a *Partzuf* has only *GE* and no *AHP*, and only the Light of *Nefesh-Ruach*.

By receiving the Light of correction from Above, the *Partzuf* can gradually correct its *AHP*: it corrects the *Sefira Bina* and receives the Light of *Neshama*, which designates an ascent of one degree. After that, the *Partzuf* corrects the *Sefira ZA*, and receives the Light of *Haya*, which designates an ascent to another degree, i.e., already two degrees. And after that, it corrects *Sefira Malchut* and receives the Light of *Yechida*, which designates an ascent to yet another degree, a third one.

Keter = Galgalta	GE - Katnut (small state)
Hochma = Eynaim	
Parsa, Nikvey Eynaim, Masach of Partzuf	
Bina = Awzen	(ascent of Bina to GE = ascent by 1 degree)
ZA = Hotem	(ascent of ZA to GE = ascent by 2 degrees)
Malchut = Peh	(ascent of Malchut to GE = ascent by 3 degrees)

However, the new Light does not enter the just corrected *Kli* (*Sefira*), but comes from Above and enters through the *Sefira Keter*.

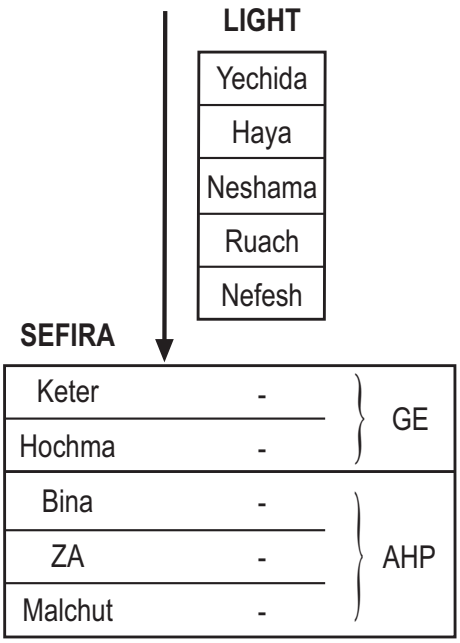

Man's spiritual ascent can be the consequence of two factors:

1. An awakening of a desire from Above, called "special days"—holidays, new moons, Sabbaths. This kind of an ascent is called "an awakening from Above," and leads to the general ascent of all the worlds *ABYA*, and, consequently, of all that inhabits them.
2. Man's efforts in his studies and inner work, his prayer to merit the Creator personally giving him the strength to ascend to a Higher Degree.

Moreover, such an ascent is not limited to only three degrees, but can elevate man along all 125 degrees to the Creator Himself. Ascension to the Highest Degree is precisely the purpose for which man was created. He must accomplish this task while still living in this world. And until he attains this goal, he will have to return to this world again and again.

Although *ZON* are called "the last days," upon ascending and receiving the Light of *YESHSUT*, they receive the name "the days past or first days." In this instance, one boundary of Heaven (*Malchut* or *MA*) ascends and clothes the other boundary of Heaven (*YESHSUT* or *MI*). *MA* and *MI* merge in one, and *The Zohar* emphasizes that fact. AND KNOW:

MI – WHO

BARAH – CREATED

ELEH – THIS

MI is *YESHSUT* that stands in the place of *Bina de AA*, from *Chazeh* to *Tabur de AA*. And although only *Kelim* of *GE* (vessels of bestowal) are present in the world of *Atzilut*, there are *Partzufim* among them that wish only to "bestow": *Atik*, *AA*, *AVI*, and those that want to receive for the sake of bestowal, so as to pass the Light on to *YESHSUT* and *ZON*.

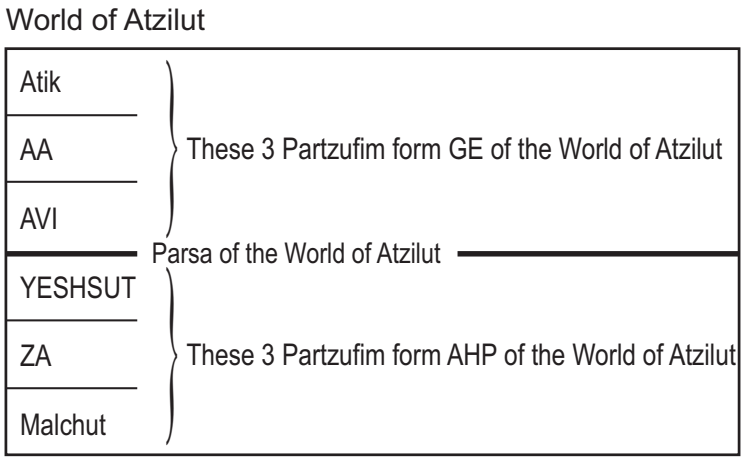

YESHSUT and *ZON* want to receive the Light so as to pass it to the souls of the righteous, the people who seek correction. Hence, within the world of *Atzilut* there is a division into two types of *Kelim*—*GE* and *AHP*. They are separated from each other by the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* that stands in the *Chazeh* of *AA*.

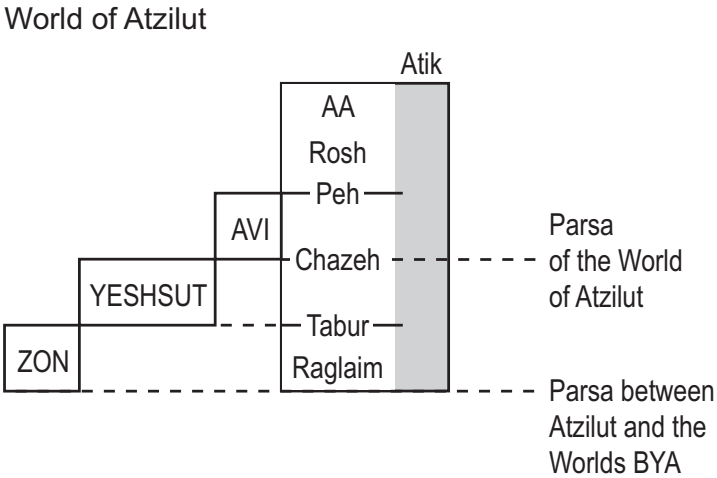

The Light from the *Rosh de AA* does not pass below the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*. Therefore, *YESHSUT* in its permanent state, or *ZON*, when they ascend

to *YESHSUT*, cannot receive the Light of *Rosh de AA*. This is why they have the desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*, called "question." The question (desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*) therefore amounts to *MI* (*YESHSUT*, the Light of *YESHSUT*), which is *BARAH* (beyond *ELEH—ZON*), and upon their ascent, *ZON* do not receive the Light of *Hochma*, as they are outside the *Rosh* of *AA*, outside of the Light of *Hochma*, but with a question (a desire for it). This enables them to continue their ascent.

Who Created These (by Eliyahu)

11. Rabbi Shimon said: "Elazar, my son, reveal the supernal secret, which the dwellers of this world know nothing about." Rabbi Elazar was silent. Rabbi Shimon wept and paused for a moment, and then said, "Elazar, what is *ELEH*?" If you say that they are like the stars and the signs of the zodiac (destiny), are they not always visible (unlike the changeable signs of destiny)? And in *MA*, that is in *Malchut*, they were created as it is written, "By the word of the Creator were the Heavens made" (*Tehilim*, 33:6), meaning that the Heavens were made by *Malchut*, called the Creator's word. And if *ELEH* speak of the hidden secrets, then there would be no need to write *ELEH*, as the stars and the signs of destinies are visible to all (the word *ELEH* (THIS) tells us that something is clear).

Rabbi Elazar did not reveal the reception of the Light of the first *Gadlut* state (*Ohr Neshama*), and Rabbi Shimon wished to reveal the way to receive the Light of the second *Gadlut* state (*Ohr Haya*). Therefore, he asked Rabbi Elazar to speak and to reveal the way to attain *Ohr Neshama*, which is concealed from people by a supernal secret, for this Light has not yet been revealed in the world, and Rabbi Shimon reveals it here.

The fact is that, although there were righteous who attained the Light of *Haya*, there was no one among them who could explain the path of its attainment in detail, no one who could reveal it to the entire world. This is so because to understand means to attain, to ascend to that degree, which depends only on man's efforts. While there were many people throughout the generations who attained the degree of *ELEH*, revealing it to the world requires an even greater degree, and a special permission by the Creator (See the article *The Conditions for Disclosing the Secrets of the Wisdom of Kabbalah*).

Rabbi Shimon asked him what *ELEH* means, what new things is the Torah telling us with the words, *MI BARAH ELEH* (WHO CREATED THESE), where

the word *ELEH* designates *ZON*? After all, if it speaks of the stars and the signs of the zodiac—luck, which signify the Light of *VAK* of the big state, then what is so special about it? After all, *ZON* can receive this Light even on weekdays. There is nothing so extraordinary in this to mention *MI* – WHO CREATED THIS separately.

(One might say that this Light is constant, for only the Light of *VAK* is constantly present in *ZON*, but not *GAR*. And only as a result of *MAN* does *ZON* receive the Light of *VAK* of the big state, the Light of *Neshama*. The answer lies in that this Light can be received at any time, even on weekdays during the morning prayer. However, he still does not understand why these were created in *MA*. After all, Light refers not to *Bina*, but to the *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *MA*, and exits them, as is written BY THE WORD OF THE CREATOR, where the Creator is *ZA* and His word is *Malchut*.)

12. However, this secret was revealed on another day, when I was on the seashore. The prophet Eliyahu came to me and said: "Rabbi, do you know the meaning of *MI BARAH ELEH* – WHO HAS CREATED THESE?" I answered: "These are the Heavens and its forces, the works of the Creator, looking at which, people should bless Him, as it is said, 'When I behold Your Heavens, the work of Your hands' (*Tehilim*, 8:4), and 'O LORD! Our Lord! How glorious is Your name throughout all the earth!'" (*Tehilim*, 8:10).

13. He replied to me: "Rabbi, the Creator took the concealed and revealed it to the Celestial Council. And here it is: When the most Concealed of all that are Concealed desired to reveal Himself, He first made a single point, which is *Malchut*, and it ascended to His Thought, that is, into *Bina*, meaning that *Malchut* ascended and merged with *Bina*. In her, He shaped all the creatures, and in her confirmed all the laws."

Atik is the first *Partzuf* and the *Rosh* of the world of *Atzilut*. And it is called the most concealed and secret of all the *Partzufim*, and its name—*Atik* (from the word *Ne'etak*—isolated, unattainable) testifies to that fact. No one can attain this *Partzuf* in itself, its properties, but we can attain it the way it appears to us: *Atik* deliberately diminishes and changes itself in such a way that the lower ones could attain the outer form (its properties) in which it appears to them, but not *Atik* itself.

In the words of *The Zohar*, when *Atik* wished to reveal itself to the worlds, although it is a *Partzuf* that acts according to the laws of the first restriction, it "clothed itself in the garments" (an external *Partzuf* that acts according to the

laws of the second restriction) with regard to the lower ones so as to enable them to perceive and attain it.

There is an enormous difference between the properties of the sensory organs that perceive sensations of the first and the second restrictions. Just as man in our world is born without sensory organs that can perceive spiritual worlds, which is why he cannot sense them, so is the *Partzuf* that is corrected for the conditions of spiritual work at the level of the second restriction unable to accept (perceive) the Light that descends according to the law of the first restriction. A similar distinction exists between *Partzuf Atik* and the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds of *BYA*.

To be connected to the lower ones, *Atik* elevated *Malchut de Rosh de AA* within the *Rosh* of the lower-standing *AA* up to the *Sefira Hochma*. As a result, *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON de Rosh de AA* fell from the *Rosh* of *AA* to its *Guf*. After all, *Malchut* ascended from the *Peh* to the *Eynaim* and stood in the *Rosh* at place of *Bina*, whereas *Bina* and *ZON* exited the *Rosh*. The *Guf* (body) begins after *Malchut de Rosh* (after the decision on how to act), wherever it may be.

Here is how one should understand this: the *Sefirot* of the *Rosh* are the thoughts and desires with regards to which the *Partzuf*, man's inner properties (man himself) makes the decisions as to how they can be used in order to advance as much as possible toward the goal of creation. The fact that *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON* exited the *Rosh* of *AA* means that *Partzuf AA* cannot make any decisions with regard to them for lack of a screen on them. This is why they fell into the *Guf*, outside the *Rosh*.

Hence, their remaining role is only to receive the Light from the *Rosh*, just as it is received by all the *Sefirot* of the *Guf*. In other words, they receive the Light that is accepted by the screen of *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* that remained in the *Rosh*. Man deliberately restricts the use of his desires, and uses only those desires with which he can work for the Creator's sake.

Therefore, when *Malchut* ascended and stood under the *Sefira Hochma*, *Hochma* became like the male part (bestowing, fulfilling), and *Malchut* became like the female (receiving) part of the *Rosh*. And since *Malchut* took the place of *Bina* (called "thought"), *Malchut* assumed the name "thought," since now it's *Malchut* that makes a *Zivug* and receives *Ohr Hochma*.

A *Partzuf* that receives from *Hochma* is defined as *Bina*, and not *Malchut*. Therefore, although *Malchut* herself is merely a black point (egoistic creature), as a result of her ascent, she becomes *Bina*, i.e., *Malchut* acquires *Bina*'s properties. Hence, *Malchut* is now called *Bina* or "thought."

The Zohar calls a "thought" either to *Hochma* or to *Bina*. The difference is that a thought is something that is received from *Hochma*. Hence, *Bina* is called a thought only if she is in the *Rosh* and receives the Light from *Hochma*. In the first restriction, *Bina* always receives from *Hochma*, and is called "thought." However, in the second restriction, *Malchut* ascended above *Bina* and started receiving from *Hochma*. That is why it is *Malchut* that is now called "thought," and not *Bina*.

All the *Partzufim* of the worlds of ABYA are created by this ascent of *Malchut* to *Bina*. Therefore, it is written: IN HER HE SHAPED ALL THE CREATURES, AND IN HER CONFIRMED ALL THE LAWS—*Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* remained in the *Rosh* of each *Partzuf*, and a *Zivug* was made on these two *Sefirot*. This is why the Light received in *Guf* of the *Partzuf* consists of only two Lights, *Nefesh* and *Ruach*.

Previously, *Malchut* stood in *Peh de Rosh* and the *Rosh* (the part of the *Partzuf* in which it calculated how much Light it can receive for the Creator's sake) ended there. Then, the *Partzuf* would receive that Light from the *Rosh* to the *Guf*, between the *Peh* and the *Tabur*.

But now *Malchut* ascended to *Eynaim de Rosh* and stands under them. This is known as the ascent of *Malchut* to *NE* (*Nikvey Eynaim* – pupils of the eyes), which are called *NE* precisely because *Nikvey Eynaim* means *Malchut* of the eyes. Prior to *Malchut*'s ascent to the *Eynaim*, it was as though there were no pupils (*NE*). It is worth noting that only in *Malchut* (desire) can we feel what surrounds us (the Creator, Light). This is why all of our sensory organs are designed as apertures: *Nekev* (orifice), *Nukva, Malchut* in the eyes, *Awznaim* (ears), *Hotem* (nose) and *Peh* (mouth).

Only he who can create desires that work according to the principle of the second restriction through his own strength and effort, and puts *Malchut* after *Keter-Hochma* (thinks in terms of bestowal), can start perceiving through this corrected spiritual sensory organ. Wherever there is a screen, it constitutes that sensory organ with which one can perceive the Upper Light.

Upon her ascent, *Malchut* stood under *Hochma* and made a *Zivug* on her own screen, on *Sefirot Keter-Hochma* (*GE*). *Sefirot Bina-ZA-Malchut* (*AHP*) are located below the *Rosh*, in the *Guf* of the *Partzuf*, and passively receive the Light from the *Rosh*. This leads to a division of the ten *Sefirot* of the *Guf*, *KHB-ZA-M*, in the same way the ten *Sefirot* of the *Rosh* were divided: *Sefirot K-H* of the *Guf* continue receiving from *K-H* of the *Rosh*, and *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Guf*, being unable to receive from the *Rosh*, start receiving from *K-H* of the *Guf*, like the *Sefirot* below the *Tabur* of the *Partzuf*.

As is well-known, every *Partzuf* consists of a *Rosh*, a *Guf*, and extremities. The *Rosh* decides how much Light the *Guf* can receive for the Creator's sake, in accordance with the magnitude of the screen that reflects the Light (pleasure). The decision to accept this Light causes the Light to descend through the screen, from the *Rosh* to the *Guf*, filling it from the *Peh* down to the *Tabur*. Each *Sefira* of the *Rosh* fills its corresponding *Sefira* in the *Guf*.

Partzuf in the 1st Restriction

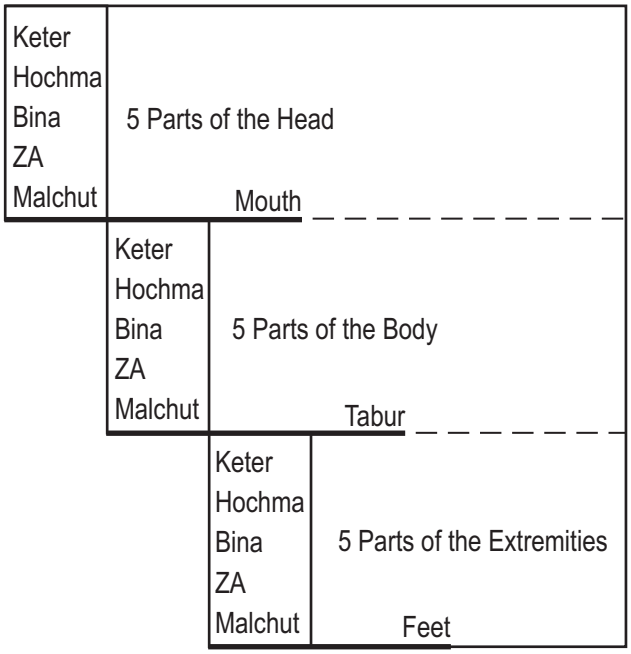

Partzuf in the 2nd Restriction

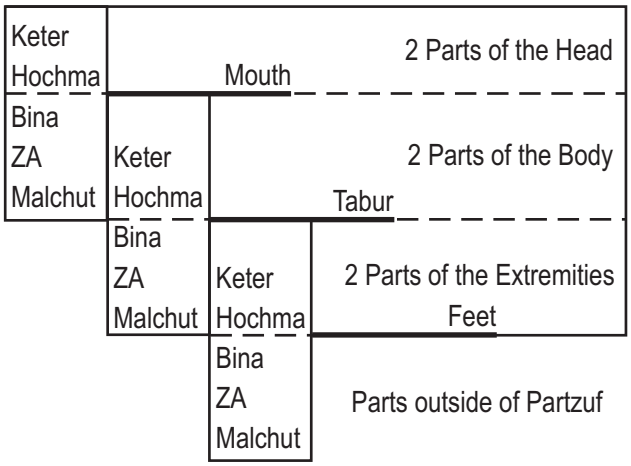

If there are only two *Sefirot K-H* in the *Rosh*, then only the two *Sefirot K-H* remain in the *Guf*. This is because only they can receive from the corresponding *Sefirot* in the *Rosh*. *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Rosh* receive the same Light as *Sefirot K-H* of the *Guf*, which means that they are located under the screen (*Malchut* that ascends and stands under *Hochma de Rosh*). Thus, the *Guf* contains *K-H* that receive, accordingly, the Lights *Ruach-Nefesh*, and *AHP* of the *Rosh* that receive these two Lights of *Ruach-Nefesh*, too.

B-ZA-M (*AHP*) of the *Guf* cannot receive the Light from the *Rosh*, as their corresponding *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Rosh* do not participate in a *Zivug*, since they lack the strength of the screen sufficient to reflect the egoistic desires of *AHP de Rosh* so as to receive for the Creator's sake. In other words, since there are no *AHP* in the *Rosh*, there are also no *AHP* in the *Guf*. And since *AHP de Guf* receive no Light from *AHP de Rosh*, they are like the extremities—the end of a *Partzuf*, below its *Tabur*. Hence, at the end of a *Partzuf*, below *Tabur*, there are *GE* of *Raglaim* (feet) and *AHP de Guf*, which fell there. And *AHP* of *Raglaim* are not parts of a *Partzuf* whatsoever, as they are located at a lower degree.

The Light that cannot be received by the *Partzuf* remains outside, surrounding it, and waits until the *Partzuf* acquires the strength to receive it. It is called "Surrounding Light," and it corresponds to the desires that do not take part in a *Zivug*, those desires that are still uncorrected and lack a screen.

If, previously, before the second restriction, *Malchut* (the last *Sefira* of the *Guf*) was in *Tabur*, now, when only two *Sefirot K-H* remain in the *Guf*, *Malchut de Guf*, too, ascends to *Bina de Guf*, called *Chazeh*. Therefore, when *Malchut* ascends to *Bina de Rosh*, the entire *Partzuf* "diminishes" in size: the *Rosh* reaches only up to the *Eynaim*, the *Guf* only to the *Chazeh*, and the *Raglaim* only to *Tabur*. And that is why this state of the *Partzuf* is called "the state of *Katnut*."

However, if the *Partzuf* receives new strength from Above, acquires a *Masach* (screen), it will be able to resolve to accept the Light for the Creator's sake in its *AHP*, then *AHP de Rosh* will rise again from the *Guf* to the *Rosh*, and complete the *Rosh* to ten *Sefirot*, while the *Sefirot* of *AHP de Guf* will ascend from the *Raglaim* back to their place in order to receive additional Light. And then *Rosh*, *Guf*, and *Raglaim* will all contain ten *Sefirot*. This state of the *Partzuf* is called "the state of *Gadlut*."

In the language of *The Zohar*, the restriction of a *Partzuf*, its transition from the *Gadlut* state to the *Katnut* state is described as a division of each part of the *Partzuf* (*Rosh*, *Guf*, and *Raglaim*) into *GE* (*MI*) and *AHP* (*ELEH*). All ten *Sefirot* are called by the Creator's name *Elokim*, which consists of the letters *ELEH-IM*, that are further divided into *MI – GE – K-H* and *ELEH – B-ZA-M*. When in *Katnut*, only *Sefirot ELEH* maintain their degree, whereas *Sefirot IM* fall to a

lower degree. The word *Elokim* is read from below upwards, the way they are attained by man.

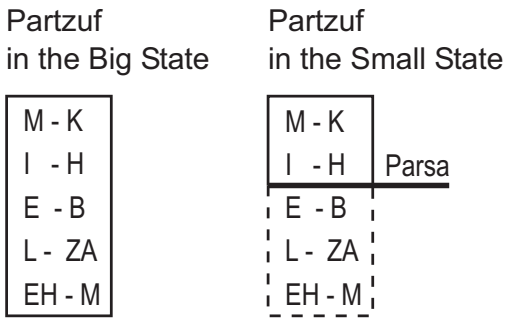

IN HER HE SHAPED ALL THE CREATURES, AND IN HER CONFIRMED ALL THE LAWS—alludes to the division of each degree into two parts; their new form signifies the division into *ELEH* and *MI*, the separation of the *Kelim* (desires) of "bestowal" and "reception," where, due to the lack of strength to oppose one's nature (egoism), part of the *Sefirot* (desires) remain unused, outside of their degree. Accordingly, their Light remains outside as *Ohr Makif* (Surrounding Light), and waits until the *Partzuf* acquires additional strength to become big and thus receive all the Light.

During the 6,000 years, our entire correction transpires only according to the laws of *Tzimtzum Bet* (second restriction). As soon as the *Partzuf* acquires new strength (*Masach*) to receive the Light selflessly in *Sefirot/Kelim B-ZA-M* (*ELEH*), it will immediately attach them to itself and receive in them the Lights *Neshama-Haya-Yechida*. And it will grow to become a big *Partzuf* consisting of five *Kelim* (ten *Sefirot*) with the five Lights of *NRNHY*.

14. He confirmed in the sacred and concealed candle (in *Malchut* that merged with *Bina*), a concealed image, the Holy of Holies, a secret structure that emerges from the thought, *GAR* that is called *MI*, which is the beginning of this structure. It stands and it does not stand; it is great and concealed in the name *Elokim* (*ELEH* and *IM*). It is called *MI* from the word *Elokim*, that is, it lacks the letters *ELEH* of the name *Elokim*. He desired to be revealed and called by the complete name *Elokim*, so He clothed Himself in a splendid shining garment, the Light of *Hassadim*. He created *ELEH*. The letters *ELEH* of the name *Elokim* ascended and combined with the letters *MI* and formed the complete name *Elokim*. And until He created *ELEH*, He did not rise (did not ascend) to the name *Elokim*. Hence, those who sinned by worshipping the Golden Calf alluded to this secret by saying, "*ELEH* (this is) your God, Israel!" (*Shemot*, 32:4).

"*ELEH* (this is) your God, Israel!"—that is, these egoistic desires (*ELEH*) are your deity, which you must worship until you correct yourself. The use of *ELEH* is the reason for all transgressions and ruin: the breaking of the vessels (*Kelim*), the sin of Adam and the shattering of his soul into 600,000 pieces, worshipping the Golden Calf and the breaking of the Tablets by Moshe, the ruin of the First and Second Temples, and so forth.

As a result of the lower ones raising *MAN*, meaning their request to receive the strength necessary to make a *Zivug* and receive *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake, there descends from Above the Light called *MAD* (*Mayin Dechurin*)–the force that enables the *Kli* to create a *Masach* capable of reflecting Light, thereby resisting its egoistic nature. This force comes in the form of Light, the sensation of the Creator's greatness, and is referred to as the Light of *AB-SAG*, as it descends from the *Partzufim Hochma* (*AB*) and *Bina* (*SAG*) of the world of *AK* (*Adam Kadmon*).

If one ascends from the degree called "our world" to the worlds *BYA*, then wherever he may be in those worlds, his request for spiritual correction will rise through all the worlds and degrees up to *Partzuf SAG*. *SAG* turns to *AB*, receives the Light of *Hochma* from it, and passes it down to all the *Partzufim* along which *MAN* had ascended.

Since the entire world of *AK* exists in the first restriction (*Tzimtzum Aleph*) and above the second restriction (*Tzimtzum Bet*), the Light that comes from it provides the *Kli* that receives this Light with the strength to pass from the small state to the big one. In other words, the Light of *AB-SAG* enables the *Kli* to create a *Masach*, reflect the Light of *Hochma*, and receive it for the Creator's sake. The *Gadlut* state is called "the holy of holies," for being filled with the Light of *GAR* (the holy of holies) is utterly perfect.

The Light of *AB-SAG* first descends to the *Rosh* of *Partzuf AA* and lowers the point (*Malchut*) from the thought (*Bina*) back to its place in the *Peh*, where it was prior to *Tzimtzum Bet*. In consequence, the three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* rejoin the two *Sefirot K-H* and become five *Sefirot* in the *Rosh*, *AHP* (*ELEH*) ascend and join with *GE* (*MI*), and the Creator's name *Elokim* is completed.

However, this does not mean that the *Partzuf* can be filled with the five Lights *NRNHY*; it merely acquires a *Masach*, the strength to receive the Light in all its ten *Sefirot*. Since only *Ohr Hochma* shines in *AA*, this Light cannot fill the elevated *Kelim* of *ELEH*, as they can only receive *Ohr Hochma* if it is clothed by *Ohr Hassadim*. Only the *GAR* of the *Partzuf* (*K-H-B*) can have pure *Ohr Hochma*; the *ZAT* of the *Partzuf* (*Sefirot ZA-M*) can only receive diminished

Ohr Hochma—half-mixed with *Ohr Hassadim*. This is called the reception of *Ohr Hochma* in the middle line (consisting of half *Hochma* and half *Hassadim*).

Therefore, says *The Zohar*, THIS STRUCTURE STANDS AND IT DOES NOT STAND—even though all the *Sefirot* are already present in the *Rosh*, they still need to be filled with Light, meaning that *Sefirot ELEH* are not yet revealed in the name *Elokim*. Only the letters *MI* have so far been revealed (filled with the Light).

Hence, first, the *Partzuf* makes a *Zivug* on its *Katnut* state and receives *Ohr Hassadim*. Then, it clothes *Ohr Hochma* into PRECIOUS GARMENT (*Ohr Hassadim*). Only afterwards can the mixed Light of *Hassadim* and *Hochma* fill *Sefirot ZAT* (*ELEH*), and all five *Sefirot* will shine in perfection.

However, before *MI* gives *Ohr Hassadim* to *ELEH* so as to enable *ELEH* to receive *Ohr Hochma* in it, *ELEH* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma*, and only the Light of *MI* shines in the entire name *Elokim*. Further, *The Zohar* tells us that neglect of *Ohr Hassadim* (the intention for the Creator's sake) is precisely what constitutes the entire transgression. And since they transgressed, i.e., neglected *Ohr Hassadim*, that is, since they did not wish to receive with the intention "for the Creator's sake," but desired only *Ohr Hochma*, they caused the separation of *MI* from *ELEH*. Hence, it is written, *ELEH* – THIS (the desires of reception and not *MI*, the desires of bestowal) IS YOUR LORD, ISRAEL—and the Light instantly passed to the impure forces.

The Torah does not tell us about the history of an ancient nation, but about the structure of the spiritual degrees that we must attain. To know the properties of these degrees (whose attainment is designated by the acquisition of their properties), Kabbalah explains to us how they were originally created by a gradual descent (spiritual coarsening) from the Creator Himself.

And in order to give us an opportunity to correct our egoism, the Creator mixed it with altruism at the very creation of the spiritual degrees. This kind of mixing of opposite properties is possible only through an "explosion," since opposite properties cannot be combined otherwise. There were several such mixtures that occurred as a result of explosions (breaking of properties).

One of them is mentioned in the Torah (*Shemot*, 32:4), when, by worshiping the Golden Calf, the sons of Israel (the altruistic desires of "bestowal") suddenly wished to receive the Light for themselves. Consequently, the *Sefirot* (*Kelim*) of *GE* and *AHP* mixed together, and the properties (desires) of *GE* penetrated *AHP*. Through these altruistic properties that are secretly concealed within a small, egoistic human being, it is possible to awaken him, to evoke in him an aspiration to ascend spiritually and to disregard this world.

Therefore, everything that is written in the Torah should not be perceived by us not as history, but as an instruction manual. All the actions described in the Torah are positive: all the devastations, including the ruin of the First and the Second Temples, wars, adultery and murder. We only need to realize what exactly the Torah is telling us. And one can understand it correctly only if he stops perceiving it as a collection of injunctions referring to the mechanical performance of commandments.

15. Just as *MI* join *ELEH* into one name *Elokim*, when *Hochma* clothes itself in *Hassadim*, so is the name combined by this precious shining garment. The world exists thanks to this secret, as is written, "The world was created by mercy." (*Tehilim*, 89:3). Then Eliyahu flew away, and I did not see him anymore. Yet, it is from him that I discovered that I stood upon the secret and its concealment. Rabbi Elazar approached with the others, and they bowed down before him. They wept and said, "If we have come into this world only to hear this—it is enough for us!"

Rabbi Shimon continues his explanation: There is only one law of reception of *Ohr Hochma*: *Ohr Hochma* can only be received if *Ohr Hassadim* clothes it beforehand. Just as this occurs in *Partzuf Bina*, called "the Upper World," so does it occur in *Partzuf Malchut* (MA, *Nukva* of ZA), called "the lower world." *Malchut* is typically referred to as *BON*, but when she joins ZA and receives the Light from him, she is called by his name—MA.

The Upper World, *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, desires only *Hassadim*, but the lower world, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, wants *Hochma*. However, Eliyahu the prophet spoke only of the order of Light and the structure of the name *Elokim* in *AVI* (*Bina de Atzilut*), whereas Rabbi Shimon continues his explanation in the next article and describes the structure and reception of Light in the name *Elokim* in *Malchut de Atzilut* herself.

The Mother Lends Her Clothes to Her Daughter

16. Heaven, Earth, and all that inhabit them were created by *MA*, which is *Malchut*, as it is said: "When I behold your Heavens, the work of your hands" (*Tehilim*, 8:4). And before this, it is said, "*MA* – WHAT (How) majestic Your name is throughout the earth, which You established above the Heavens" (*Tehilim*, 8:2). After all, the Heavens were created by the name (property) *MA* (*Malchut*). It is written "in the Heavens," which refers to *Bina*, called *MI*, the Heavens that are above *ZA*. The explanation for this lies in the name *Elokim*. *MA* (*Malchut*) ascends and enters with her properties into *Bina*, i.e., connects into *Bina*, and receives her properties. *Bina* is called *Elokim*. After He CREATED LIGHT FOR LIGHT, meaning *Ohr* (Light) *Hassadim* (called "precious adornments or garments") so as to clothe *Ohr Hochma*, *Ohr Hassadim* clothes *Ohr Hochma*, which signifies the creation of Light for Light; by the force of the Supernal Name *Elokim* (*Bina*), *Malchut* ascends, and, upon joining *Bina*, receives all of her properties, and includes herself in *Bina*. Therefore, *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (In the beginning the Creator created) refers to the Supernal *Elokim*, to *Bina* and not to *Malchut*. For *MA* (*Malchut*) is not created by the name *MI ELEH*.

The lower world (*Malchut*, *MA*) receives the Light (marked from Above by the name *Elokim*) from *Bina*. This Light brings *Malchut* strength, and the properties suitable for the creation of Heaven, earth, and posterity manifest within her. After all, there cannot be any posterity or birth of new generations without the Light of *Haya*.

And this is what *The Zohar* tells us: so does the lower world (*Malchut*, *MA*) exist by the name *Elokim*, by the name from the Upper World, which is why

there's strength in *Malchut* (*Ohr Hochma*) to create generations. And if *Malchut* has *Ohr Hochma*, then the world can be created by her.

(*Haya* is one type of *Ohr Hochma*. There is one Light that the Creator emanates, or rather, the sensation of the Creator we refer to as Light. This sensation depends on the desires-*Kelim* in which we feel Him. And since there are only two types of desires-*Kelim*, those of "bestowal" and those of "reception," there exist only two types of Light, *Hassadim* and *Hochma*. However, each of them includes several subtypes, and *Ohr Haya* constitutes a particular form of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because *Hochma* is the Light or pleasure that is felt by the will "to receive," whereas *Hassadim* is the pleasure that is felt by the will "to bestow." If only the *Kelim* of bestowal (*GE*) are present in the *Partzuf*, it is filled with *Ohr Hassadim*; and if it has the strength to receive for the Creator's sake, it is filled with *Ohr Hochma*.) (Do not confuse this with *MA*, which is used here, where *MA* = *Malchut* with *ZA* = *MA* in *Gematria*).

The Zohar explains that the Light descends from the name *Elokim* thanks to the merging of *MI* and *ELEH*. *ZA* is called "Heaven." *YESHSUT* is above Heaven (*ZA*). There is no *MI* in Heaven (*ZA*), only *MA*. However, after *Ohr Hassadim* clothes *Ohr Hochma* (the Light *ELEH* = *AHP* clothes the Light of *MA* = *GE*), all the letters combine and ascend by the name *Elokim* above Heaven = *ZA* = *MA* to *YESHSUT* = *Bina* = *MI*.

MI (*Bina*) is above the second restriction, above its ban, as her properties are higher, better than those to which the restriction extends: the property of *Bina* is "not to receive anything," which is why the ban of the second restriction—to not receive—simply does not apply to her, for in her essence, she has no desire to receive.

There remains only the ban of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, the restriction imposed on the reception of Light in *Malchut* herself (*Malchut de Malchut*), the central point of all creation, the only creating being. *Malchut* herself is egoistic, but if she has a *Masach* and only receives the Light by means of a *Zivug de Hakaa* (resistance to one's own desire, only for the Creator's sake) on the desires of bestowal, such reception does not occur in *Malchut*, but rather in the first nine *Sefirot*. Hence, *Malchut* can receive the Light in her first nine *Sefirot*.

In other words, if *Malchut* has the will (strength) to receive (enjoy) the Light (pleasure) not for herself, but only because the Creator so desires, then she receives only this amount of Light (pleasure). In order to receive the Light under such a condition, *Malchut* (man's inclination to pleasure and enjoyment) must first reject all incoming pleasure, which *Malchut* perceives to be right there before

her. This is referred to as the Light's (the pleasure's) impact against the screen and its reflection off the screen (the reflection of pleasure by force of will so as to not receive, in spite of the natural, primordial desire to receive pleasure).

The reflected pleasure is called *Ohr Hassadim*. Essentially, this is not a Light, but rather *Malchut*'s intention to receive only for the Creator's sake. However, this intention is that necessary and sufficient condition for the subsequent reception of *Ohr Hochma* from the Creator. For after *Malchut* repelled all the Light (expressed her intention to not receive for her own sake), she thereby met the condition of *Tzimtzum Aleph* (first restriction) to only receive the Light of *Hochma* in the intention for the Creator's sake, which is called *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light) or *Ohr Hassadim*. And now she can receive *Ohr Hochma*, the pleasure that the Creator wants to bestow upon her.

However, by receiving this Light, *Malchut* is no more a mere recipient-creature. Now, like the Creator, she bestows pleasure upon Him! In this manner, the creature attains the degree of the Creator, becomes equal to Him in properties, for it wants to bestow everything. This is called "being filled with *Ohr Hassadim*." Moreover, *Malchut* receives and enjoys, for if she does not feel pleasure, she will not please the Creator.

Therefore, *Malchut* receives, meaning she is filled with *Ohr Hochma*, full of wisdom and pleasure, from both bestowal and reception for the Creator's sake. And herein lies the perfection of the Creator's Creation: she becomes perfect and similar to the Creator. And this is the perfection of the Creator's works: His creation can ascend to His level independently!

One can imagine one's path from the lows of our world up to the ultimate spiritual peak—the Creator—as a passage through a suite of rooms. In all, between our state and the Creator there are 125 connected, walkthrough rooms. Each room has its own properties, and only those who possess the same properties can be there. If, regardless of reason, man changes his properties, he is automatically moved as though by an invisible current to a room that corresponds to his new properties.

This is how one can move between these rooms: an infinitesimal inner change of properties evokes influence of a spiritual force-field upon man, and he immediately moves to his new place of equilibrium, where his inner properties completely coincide with the external properties of the spiritual field. Hence, there are no guards at the rooms' entrances/exits; as soon as man changes himself so as to match the properties of the next, higher room, he is automatically transferred there by the spiritual current or field.

What properties must one change in order to move from one room to another within this spiritual field? He only needs to alter the type of pleasure to which he aspires. We cannot help receiving pleasure, for such is the entire material of creation, it is all that was created. However, we can change the object of our aspirations, what it is that we wish to enjoy: either coarse reception, reception of mere necessities, or the Creator being pleased with us that we bestow to Him, that we receive because such is His wish.

Our "I," the entity that feels pleasure is present in all of our desires, which change ceaselessly in terms of both magnitude and the desired object. This "I" never disappears. The only thing of which one should rid himself is the sensation that he does something to please this "I." One should aspire to sense the desires of the Creator, how He is pleased with him (just as a mother is pleased with her son's achievements).

After *Malchut* decides to receive only for the Creator's sake, i.e., according to the force of her *Masach* (the force of resistance to her egoistic will to receive pleasure), she receives *Ohr Hochma* only in accordance with the magnitude of the Returning Light. Or, conversely, one may say that the magnitude of the Returning Light determines man's willpower and his desire to act for the Creator's sake.

However, the first nine of *Malchut's* ten *Sefirot* are not egoistic, as they are the Creator's properties with which He wishes to correct *Malchut*. Only the last *Sefira* of *Malchut*, *Malchut* herself, the single creation, called *Malchut de Malchut*, is egoistic and remains under the ban of the first restriction: *Ohr Hochma* does not enter where the will to receive pleasure is present. Therefore, the first nine *Sefirot* can receive the Light of *Hochma*.

However, after the second restriction, in order to correct *Malchut* and impart the properties of mercy (*Hassadim*) onto her so she would be able to desire to "bestow," acquire the properties of *Bina*, and convert her initial, primordial egoism into altruism, *Malchut* ascended to *Partzuf Aba*, became *Malchut* in *Partzuf Aba* in *Bina's* place, while *Bina* found herself below *Malchut*. *Bina* herself can receive *Ohr Hochma* without any restrictions, even when below *Malchut*. However, *Bina* adopted the limitations of *Tzimtzum Bet* for the sole purpose of correcting *Malchut*.

Therefore, due to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, by man's requests for spiritual correction, the Light *AB-SAG* descends and lowers *Malchut* from the level of *Bina* back to her own place: *Malchut* descends from *Bina*, and the Light of attainment and wisdom is revealed.

As a result of *Malchut*'s descent, *Bina* purifies herself from all restrictions and limitations and returns to receiving *Ohr Hochma*. And after the *Ohr Hassadim* clothes the *Ohr Hochma*, *MI* shines in *ELEH* and the name *Elokim* is revealed, meaning that *Ohr Hochma* shines.

The structure of the name *Elokim* cannot be found in *MA*, for the lower boundary of Heaven (*Malchut* herself) is limited by *Tzimtzum Aleph*—the ban imposed on the reception of *Ohr Hochma*, and by *Tzimtzum Bet's* 6,000-year long prohibition on the usage of the desires of reception. Hence, *The Zohar* tells us that the name *Elokim* was created with *MI*, and not with *MA*, by the property received by *Malchut* upon her ascent to *Bina*.

17. But as the letters *ELEH* descend from Above, from *Bina* down to *Malchut*, for the mother temporarily lends her clothes to her daughter and adorns her with her own adornments, the name *Elokim* descends from *Bina* (mother) to *Malchut* (daughter). When does she adorn her with her own adornments? When she sees the male essence before her. It is then written of her, "Three times in the year shall all your males appear before the Lord Creator" (*Shemot*, 34:23). For *Malchut* is then called by the male name "Master." As it is written: "Behold the Ark of the Union, the Master of all the earth" (*Yehoshua*, 3:11). The Torah is the Union and the Ark is *Malchut*, called by the male name "Master." For she received the *Kelim* (properties, desires) called "clothes," and the Light called "adornments" from her mother, *Bina*. The letter *Hey* (A from MA) then leaves MA (*Mem* + *Hey*) and the letter *Yod* (I) enters in its stead, and just like *Bina*, *Malchut* assumes the name MI. And then she adorns herself with male clothes, with the clothes of *Bina*, to accept all the husbands of Israel.

As it is written (item 13), *Tzimtzum Bet* is in force from the *Rosh* of *AA* downwards, for *Malchut* of *AA* ascended to *Bina* and created all the lower *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* in the property of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Thus, each *Partzuf* of *AA*, *AVI* and *ZON* has only two *Sefirot K-H*, and three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* separated themselves (their properties) from that degree, and moved to a lower one (their properties became equal to it). This is how *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf AA*) fell to *Sefirot K-H* (*GE*) of *Partzuf AVI*, *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf AVI*) fell to *Sefirot K-H* (*GE*) of *Partzuf ZON*, and *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf ZON*) fell below *Parsa* to the worlds of *BYA*.

Sefirot K-H (*GE*) that remained in their degree in their *Partzuf* are called *MI*, and *Sefirot B-ZA-M* that separated (in their properties) and descended (by equivalence in properties) to a lower *Partzuf* are called *ELEH*.

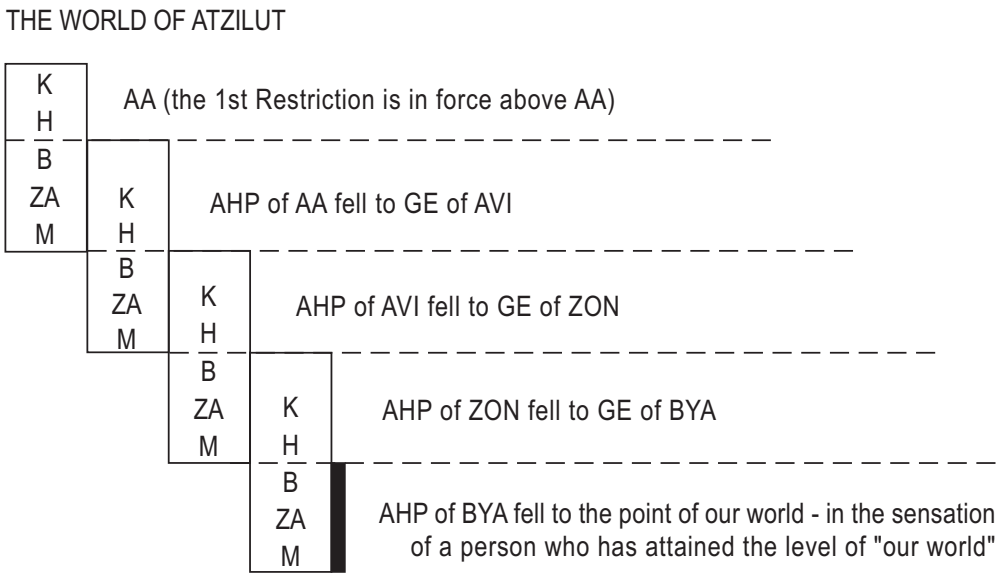

BUT AS THE LETTERS *ELEH* DESCEND FROM ABOVE—when *Malchut* is expelled from *Bina*, the letters *ELEH* get detached from *AVI* and fall to *ZON* (a lower degree), and clothe themselves in *ZON*: *ELEH* of *Aba* (*YESHS – Israel Saba*) clothe *ZA*, and *ELEH* of *Ima* (*Tvuna*) clothe *Malchut*. *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* is a complex *Partzuf*: her *GE* constitute *AVI* (two *Partzufim*), and her *AHP* have the name of a separate *Partzuf YESHSUT*, for they fulfill separate functions with regard to *ZON*: *Bina*: *GE* = *MI* = *GE* of *Aba* + *MI* = *GE* of *Ima*. *ELEH* = *AHP* of *Aba* = *YESHS* (*Israel Saba*) + *T* (*Tvuna*) = *ELEH* = *AHP* of *Ima*.

When *Ohr Haya* descends from Above (as a result of which *Malchut* descends from *Bina's* level back to her own place), three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* thereby return to their degree, and correspondingly, *Sefirot KHB* (called the "holy of holies") enter the now complete *Partzuf* consisting of five *Sefirot*. (Here, the Light is called by the name of the *Sefirot* it fills.) Previously, there was only *Ohr Ruach-Nefesh* in *K-H*, and now *Ohr Neshama-Haya-Yechida* was added to *KHB*, while *Ruach-Nefesh* descended to *ZA-M*.

However, when *AHP* of *Rosh de AA* (*B-ZA-M* of *Rosh de AA*) that fell to its *Guf* ascend (return from *Guf* to *Rosh de AA*), the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* ascend along with them to *Rosh de AA*. (These are the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* that were clothed in *AHP de AA* in their small state, when *AHP de AA* had fallen to *GE de AVI*.) Once there, the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* receive the Light called "holy of holies" that shines in *Rosh de AA*.

The reason for this is that when the Upper One descends to the lower one, it becomes like the lower one. And when the lower one ascends to the Upper One it becomes like the Upper One. This is because no space or motion exist in the spiritual, and only a change of properties instantly and automatically moves a *Partzuf* or its part in spiritual space, closer (higher) to the Creator or farther away (lower) from Him. Therefore, spiritual ascent itself implies a change of properties of the lower one to those of the Upper One, and a descent of the Upper One signifies that its properties became equal to the properties of the degree to which it descended.

Hence, in *Katnut*, when *Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP de Rosh* of *Partzuf AA* separate from its head and fall (move according to their now inferior properties) to its *Guf*, from *Peh* to *Chazeh*, where *Partzuf AVI* clothes *Partzuf AA*, they (*B-ZA-M = ZON = AHP de Rosh* of *AA*) become like *AVI* in their properties, without *Ohr Hochma*, and only with the Light of *Bina*, *Hassadim*.

That is why, in *Gadlut*, when *B-ZA-M = AHP de AA* return to the *Rosh* (the degree that is higher than *Guf*), they take with them *GE* of *AVI*, as they all became one degree while in *Katnut*. Therefore, in *Gadlut*, *GE* of *AVI* ascend from *AHP de Rosh* of *AA* to *Rosh de AA* and become equal to it (in their properties), where they receive the Light called "holy of holies" that shines in *Rosh de AA*.

ZON ascend to *AVI* in the same way: after *AVI* receive the Light in *Rosh de AA*, they acquire strength (screen), and lower *Malchut* from *Bina* back to her place in *Malchut*, thereby enabling their *Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP* to return to their degree, *AVI*, as in *AA*. However, when the *Kelim-Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP de Bina* that were inside *K-H = GE de ZON* ascend to *AVI*, they also take with them *Sefirot* of *ZON*, which they've clothed—*K-H = GE de ZON*. Thus, *K-H = GE de ZON* ascend to *AVI* and there receive the Light called "holy of holies," the Light of *Haya*.

Therefore, it is written that *Ima*-MOTHER DESCENDS TO HER DAUGHTER TO DRESS AND ADORN HER: the letters *ELEH* or *Ima* (*Bina*) in her small state descend to *Malchut*. This means that THE MOTHER DESCENDS TO HER DAUGHTER, for the three *Sefirot* of *Ima* assumed the property of *Malchut*, thereby separating from *Bina* and becoming a part of *Malchut*. This is akin to *Bina* giving part of her *Kelim* to *Malchut*. Yet, this gift is temporary, as though *Bina* LENDS, GIVES (these *Kelim*) FOR TEMPORARY USE, and thus, *Malchut* uses them temporarily.

And then, *Ima-Bina* (mother) ADORNS HER DAUGHTER WITH HER ADORNMENTS. This is so because in *Gadlut*, when the three *Sefirot ELEH*

return to *Bina*, *Malchut* ascends to the degree of *Bina* together with them, and there receives the Light of "holy of holies." And since an ascent to *Bina* implies becoming like *Bina* (in properties), she now has the right to receive the same Light as *Bina*.

It turns out that, as a result of the mother lowering her *Kelim* (properties) *ELEH* to her daughter by intentionally assuming the properties (desires) of *Malchut* instead of her own properties (desires), thereby entering the small state and willingly diminishing herself, upon receiving the properties of *Malchut* instead of properties of *Bina*, mother *Bina* adorned her daughter *Malchut* with her adornments, meaning the Light that subsequently comes in the state of *Gadlut*: the Light of *Bina* entered *Malchut*. This is described as "*Malchut* received her adornments."

There are two kinds of adornments that the daughter *Malchut* receives from her mother *Bina*: the first is *Ohr Hochma* (*Ohr Haya*, the Light of GAR), the Light of perfection, for it imparts the property of perfection to the *Kli* that it is filling, the Light that *Malchut* receives from *Ima* (Supernal Mother), who stands between *Peh* and *Chazeh* of *Partzuf* AA, above its *Parsa*. The second adornment is *Ohr Neshama*, which still designates imperfection, as it is received from the lower mother, *Partzuf* of *Tvuna* that stands between *Chazeh* and *Tabur de* AA, below its *Parsa*.

Naturally, to receive either Light, *Malchut* must ascend to the corresponding degree. In other words, she must change her properties so as to be able to receive, to merit that Light.

When *Malchut* ascends to *Tvuna* and receives her adornments from *Tvuna*, these adornments are still imperfect, for *Malchut* remains with a "question" (without the Light of *Hochma*), as *Tvuna* was before the raising of *MAN*. This means that to attain perfection, *Malchut* still needs to receive *MAN* from the lower ones, called the "husbands of Israel." In this state, the lower ones, called the righteous or "the husbands of Israel," receive the Light from ZA, which ascended to *YESHS* = *Israel-Saba*.

However, when *Malchut* ascends another degree, to the place of the Supernal Mother, *Bina*, above *Chazeh de* AA, and there receives her adornments from *Ima* and not from *Tvuna*, then these adornments are perfect, for they contain *Ohr Haya*; there is no more "question" in her, as she is considered a male, bestowing *Kli*, and the husbands of Israel receive from her.

And all the husbands of Israel appear before her and receive the Light from her. And *Malchut* is CALLED MASTER (Hebrew – *Adon*). The regular *Malchut*

is called by the Creator's female name *Adonay* (mistress) or *ADNI*, whereas in this state she is called by the male name *Adon* (master).

And this is because *Malchut* no longer has a question, for *MAN* is no longer raised within her, as she has reached perfection (Light of *Haya*) and is therefore called "husband" or master (*Adon*). Hence, the prophet said: BEHOLD THE ARK OF THE COVENANT, THE MASTER (*Adon*) OF ALL THE EARTH (*Yehoshua*, 3:11). *Malchut* is called the "Ark," for *ZA*, who bestows upon her, is called the "Covenant." *The Zohar* calls *Malchut* the "Master of all the earth" or "husband."

As a result of the letter *Hey* in the word *MA* (*Mem-Hey*), signifying the female essence, leaving *Malchut*, for the letter *Hey* signifies the presence of a question in *Malchut*, i.e., the absence of *Ohr Hochma*, whereas *Ohr Hochma* brings absolute knowledge, all questions disappear, and with them the letter *Hey*. The letter *Yod* ascends to the place of *Hey*, and *Malchut* assumes the name *MI* as *Ima*, which signifies *Malchut*'s reception of the name *Elokim*, as the name *Ima*.

18. Israel receives the last letters (*ELEH*) from Above, from *Bina* down to that place, i.e., to *Malchut*, who is now called *MI*, just like the name *Bina*. I pronounce the letters *ELEH* and my whole soul weeps so as to receive these letters *ELEH* from *Bina* into the house of *Elokim*, which is *Malchut*. So that *Malchut* would be called *Elokim*, just as *Bina* is called *Elokim*. How can I receive them? "With joyous songs of praise sung in the voice of the Torah, and festive throngs" (*Tehilim*, 42:4). Rabbi Elazar said, "My silence has erected the Temple Above, which is *Bina*, and the Temple below, which is *Malchut*. Of course, as people say, 'A word is worth a gold coin (Hebrew – *Sela*), but silence is worth two.' So the words 'a word is worth a gold coin' mean that I spoke and came to regret it. Silence, my silence, is worth twice as much, for the two worlds, *Bina* and *Malchut*, were created by this silence. For had I not kept silent (see item 11), I would not have attained the unity of both worlds."

After *Hey* has left *MA* and *Yod* ascended in her place, thereby forming *MI*, Israel elevates the LAST LETTERS *ELEH* to *Malchut* by raising *MAN*. As we've already explained, in *Katnut*, *ELEH* of the Upper One fell to *GE* of the lower one. Hence, they refer to the lower one in *Gadlut* as well. For when *B-ZA-M* = *ELEH* of the Upper One return to its *Rosh*, they thereby elevate *GE* of the lower one, too. The lower one thus acquires the *ELEH* of the Upper One and the Light with which they filled themselves in their present *Gadlut*.

To equalize with the lower one and enter the state of *Katnut*, the Upper One deliberately makes *Tzimtzum Bet* on its *AHP*. And upon connecting to the

lower one, the Upper One returns to the state of *Gadlut*, and passes the Light to that part of the lower one which they've both occupied in the state of *Katnut*.

This scenario is similar to one when a good, strong person joins a company of wicked men, and connects with them by pretending to be like them. And when such contact is established between them, he begins to correct them, little by little, precisely through this connection that has formed between them beforehand.

Each *Partzuf* in the small state is divided into two parts: *GE* and *AHP*. However, since there is a "column" of *Partzufim* between our world and the Creator, there is a connection between them via the common parts of the upper and the lower ones. Precisely because there is a part of an Upper One in each lower one, the lower one can receive strength from Above, through this common property, and ascend independently up to the Creator Himself.

Each Upper One that falls to the lower one completes its *Kelim* to ten *Sefirot*: *AHP* fall to *GE* of the lower one, and together they make up ten *Sefirot*, since they stand at the same level. In turn, *AHP* of the lower one falls into *GE* of the next lower one, and so on.

Afterwards, in *Gadlut*, when *GE* of the Upper One receive the strength to attach their *AHP* to themselves and elevate them, *GE* of the lower one ascend together with *AHP*, as they were joined below. Therefore, upon ascending, *GE* of the lower one continue to be joined with *AHP* of the Upper One, and together they form a *Partzuf* of ten *Sefirot*.

I PRONOUNCE THE LETTERS *ELEH*: Israel (one who wishes to receive the properties of the Creator) raises *MAN* (prayer for it) to receive in *Malchut* the Light of *Gadlut* (for self-correction) with the help of the letters *ELEH*, *Ima-Bina*. This is achieved by praying near the Gates of Tears, after which no one ever returns empty-handed, that is, after raising *MAN*, *ELEH* descend from *AVI* to *Malchut*, the house of *Elokim*. This is because after receiving *ELEH*, *Malchut* herself receives the name *Elokim*, just like *Ima*.

A WORD IS WORTH A GOLD COIN, BUT SILENCE IS WORTH TWO: the words (spiritual action) of Rabbi Elazar (the spiritual *Partzuf* of that name) elevated *Malchut* to *Tvuna*, below *Chazeh de AA*, where there is still no Light of *Hochma*, which designates the presence of a question in *Malchut*, a request for *Ohr Hochma*. And this is called "gold" (Hebrew – *Sela*, a gold coin), for that is the name of *Malchut*.

However, Rabbi Elazar's silence enabled Rabbi Shimon to reveal *Ohr Haya* by raising *Malchut* to the Supernal Mother, whereupon both worlds were

simultaneously created, for the lower world, *Malchut*, was created together with the Upper World, *Bina*, of which *The Zohar* speaks: SILENCE IS WORTH TWICE (two worlds) AS MUCH.

19. Rabbi Shimon said, "From here on the perfection of the written is said to bring forth their host by number." For these are two degrees, and each must be recorded, that is, noted: one is called *MA* and the other *MI*. *MI* is the Upper One, and *MA* is the lower one. The Upper Degree registers, speaks, and brings forth their hosts by number, where the letter *Hey* alludes to the one that is known and unequaled, namely *MI*. This is similar to the phrase, "*HaMotzi Lechem*"—He who brings forth bread from the earth (an appeal to the Creator), where the letter *Hey* refers to the knowledge of the known, lower degree, namely *MA*. And together they are one degree, *Malchut*. However, the Upper One is *MI de Malchut* and the lower one is *MA de Malchut*, the one that brings forth their host by number, for the number 600,000 refers to the number of stars that stand together, and they bring forth innumerable hosts.

The Zohar alludes to the words of the prophet (*Yeshayahu*, 40:26): "Raise your eyes to the height of Heavens and see: WHO HAS CREATED THESE (them) – *MI BARAH ELEH*? He that brings out their host by number, He calls them all by name; no one shall be hidden from the greatness of His might and the force of His power."

The word "recording" means "marked by the letter *Hey*," for two degrees must be recorded in *Malchut*: *MI* and *MA*. With the help of the Light that is received at the time of ascent above *Chazeh de AA* to the Upper World, *Malchut* becomes like the upper world and assumes the name *MI*, for the letter *Hey* exits *MA* (*Mem-Hey*), and the letter *Yod* ascends to its place. Thus, *Malchut* is called *MI*, like the Upper World, and is adorned with the male property.

Nevertheless, *MA*, the previous degree of *Malchut*, does not disappear. The reason for this is that the degree of *MI* is essential in order to pass the Light, the perfection of the "holy of holies" to the generations, the posterity of *Malchut*, *NRN* of the righteous, the lower ones. However, the birth and procreation of these generations (sons) depend on the name *MA*. Hence, if either (*MA* or *MI*) is missing in *Malchut*, she will not be able to beget future generations, to create new souls (lower *Partzufim* filled with Light).

Therefore, *Malchut* BRINGS OUT THEIR HOST BY NUMBER—this is the degree of *MI*, which *Malchut* inherits from the Supernal Mother, for the letter *Hey* before the words "brings out" (*Motzi* = *HaMotzi*) alludes to the fact that *Malchut* contains the perfect Light, called "adornments," which she

receives from *AVI*. This is the maximal Light that may fill *Malchut* during the 6,000 years.

The same letter, *Hey*, designates the presence of the Light of *YESHSUT*, the degree of *MA* within *Malchut*. For this degree must also be recorded, be present in *Malchut*. And these two degrees, *MI* and *MA*, are present in *Malchut*: *MI* above and *MA* below.

The Zohar calls *Malchut* the "world being revealed." That is to say, whatever *Malchut* reveals, the lower ones receive. Those individual attainments, individual sensations of the Light that descend from *Malchut* are what they call "their world." Similarly, whatever we feel in our sensory organs is what we call "our world." But this is nothing more than what we receive from *Malchut* of the lowest degree in the world of *Assiya*, *Malchut* of the previous degree.

However, we should know that the actual notion of "our world" indicates the true attainment of the degree called "our world," i.e., man's sensation of his ultimate disconnection from the Creator, total helplessness, and the realization of his absolute egoism. One can attain this sensation only if the spiritual Light shines on him from Above, in contrast to which he will see his true spiritual state. However, in order to reach such a state, one must make great efforts in the study of Kabbalah so as to draw upon himself the influence of the Surrounding Light ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155).

However, when man attains this state, he immediately raises such a request to the Creator that his *MAN* is not left unanswered, and he receives the strength to transcend "our world" and ascend with his properties to a Higher Degree—*Malchut* of the world of *Assiya*. And then it is she that becomes his world.

Here we are speaking about very high degrees. The *Malchut* that is being revealed is *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, *Nukva de ZA*. And the fact that *The Zohar* calls her "Supernal" indicates the state of *Malchut* when she attains the degree of *MI* during her ascent and clothing the Upper World, the Supernal Mother. Therefore, *Malchut* herself is then called "Supernal," and the degree of *MA* is, accordingly, called "lower."

KNOWS ALL THE HOSTS BY NUMBER: number designates perfection. Light without a number indicates that the Light is imperfect, whereas the Light with a number is perfect. The action of *ZA* with regard to passing the Light from *Bina* to *Malchut* is described in the phrase: THE HEAVENS TELL OF THE CREATOR'S GREATNESS. THE HEAVENS (*ZA*) TELL (Hebrew—*Mesaper*, from the word *Mispar*—number, the Light's perfection). *ZA* passes this Light from *AVI* to *Malchut*, called THE CREATOR'S GREATNESS.

This Light is called 600,000, for the degree of *Malchut* designates units, the degree of *ZA*—tens, the degree of *YESHSUT*—hundreds, the degree of *AVI*—thousands, the degree of *AA*—tens of thousands.

There are two parts in *AVI*: their own part, where they are regarded as thousands, and the part from *Ohr Hochma* that is received from *Rosh de AA*, where they are regarded as *AA*, that is, tens of thousands. However, they cannot be considered a complete degree of *AA*, but only as its *VAK*, for they clothe *AA* from the *Peh* down to the *Chazeh*. And since *VAK* = *Vav Ketzavot* = 6 *Sefirot* x 10 = 60, the degree of *VAK de AA* equals 60 x 10,000 = 600,000.

Therefore, when *Malchut* ascends to *AVI*, she receives a complete, perfect number—600,000, where 60 signifies that it is merely *VAK*, for *Malchut* has not yet reached *Rosh de AA* and that she still lacks this degree. And the degree of 10,000 refers to *AA*, the part that clothes in *AVI*, for *AVI* are *VAK de AA*. Therefore, *Malchut* contains the number 600,000.

Thus, two degrees are recorded in *Malchut*:

- *MI*, the degree of *AVI* that clothes in *Malchut*, through which *Malchut* receives the degree of the Upper World and is called accordingly, while the Light in it is called 600,000.
- *MA*, the degree of *YESHSUT* that clothes in *Malchut*, through which *Malchut* has a question, the sensation of lack of *Ohr Hochma*, and the request for its reception. *Malchut* is therefore called the "lower world."

These two degrees create one *Partzuf* within *Malchut*: her part that is above the *Chazeh* is clothed in *AVI*, and her part that is below the *Chazeh* is clothed in *YESHSUT*. Therefore, in the generations, in *Malchut*'s descendants, each *Partzuf* consists of two parts (degrees): from the Upper Part (*MI*) there is a Light of 600,000, and from the lower part (lower world, *MA*), there is an absence of number (perfection) in each descendant.

The phrase, THEY BRING FORTH INNUMERABLE HOSTS is not interpreted as infinitely big. Rather, "Innumerable" indicates the imperfection of the Light that is received in the lower part, as it comes from *YESHSUT*, the degree that is without a number.

Malchut's descendants are therefore defined as imperfect, as these two degrees exist in her as one, and are connected as one. Hence, there are two degrees in *Malchut*'s descendants: the Upper One—600,000, and the lower one—without a number. However, the lower one is defined as supplement to perfection and is not considered a flaw.

The reason for this is that the blessing of the seed, propagation depends only on the lower world, *MA*, without a number, as it is said in the Torah that Avraham complained that he is childless (*Beresheet*, 15:5), and the answer was: "Look now toward Heaven, and count the stars. Will you be able to count them? So shall be your descendants." From this we see that the blessing of the seed comes from the lack of a number, i.e., the name *MA*.

Hence, after all the perfection that *Malchut* attains from the Light of *AVI* (*MI*), *Malchut* has an additional blessing from *MA*, which is called the "lack of a number," and both these degrees are included in her descendants—the souls and generations.

20. All of these 600,000 and all their innumerable hosts, He calls the names. What does this mean: "calls the names?" If you say that He calls them by their names, it is not so, for then it would have said, "calls by name." However, when this degree does not ascend in the name *Elokim*, but is called *MI*, it does not beget and does not reveal those that are concealed within it. And although they were all concealed within it, meaning that even though the letters *ELEH* have already ascended, the "precious garment" of *Ohr Hassadim* is still concealed. And while it is concealed, it is not called by the name *Elokim*. For He created the letters *ELEH* and they ascended in His Name—clothed themselves in "precious garments" of *Ohr Hassadim*, as a result of which *ELEH* combine with *MI*, and are called *Elo-im*. Then, by the power of this name, He brought them forth in perfection, defined as CALLS THEIR NAMES, which means that He called by name and brought forth every type and species to exist in perfection. Hence, it is said: HE BROUGHT FORTH THEIR HOST BY NUMBER—called them all by name, that is, by the name *Elokim*.

It was already mentioned that the perfection of the Light, which is the Creator's name *Elo-im*, descends to the souls, generations, descendants, two degrees joined in one. This degree includes 600,000 from the Upper Degree, and innumerable hosts from the lower, and the Creator's name descends on both of them.

The blessing of the seed depends entirely on *MA*, for it is determined by *Ohr Hochma*, as this Light designates perfection. Whereas the Light without a number, *Ohr Hassadim*, comes precisely from the name *MA*. As is already known, *Ohr Hochma* is accepted only when clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. Until such clothing occurs, even though *ELEH* ascend to *MI*, the name *Elokim* (*ELO-IM* = *ELEH* + *IM*) does not act.

Hence, it is written that *MI* DOES NOT BEGET (ANY OFFSPRING), even though the point of *Malchut* left the thought (*Bina*) and descended back to her place, and all ten *Sefirot* and the Light returned to the *Partzuf*, THE NAME *ELEH* IS still CONCEALED, for she still cannot receive *Hochma* in the absence of *Hassadim*.

However, BECAUSE HE CREATED *ELEH*, meaning that after He added a *Zivug* to the screen of *MA* (lower world, *Malchut*), there appeared *Ohr Hassadim*, called WITHOUT A NUMBER. And *ELEH* were filled with *Ohr Hassadim*, which means *BARAH* = CREATED *ELEH*, as clothing in *Ohr Hassadim* is called *BARAH* (creation). Only after this are they called *ELOKIM*, for only after the reception of *Ohr Hassadim* can they receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "the Light of a number," the Light of 600,000, as a result of which, the letters combine and form the complete name *Elokim*.

The same perfection (clothing of *Hochma* in *Hassadim*) also extends to the souls and descendants that emerge from the name *Elokim*. AND HE IS CALLED BY THIS NAME: all that emerges is called by this name, with these properties He creates all descendants—*Partzufim* from His *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. THE NAME 600,000 is *Hochma*, TOGETHER WITH *HASSADIM*, so that they will have the perfection of the name, so that Light will clothe Light, as they are clothed in the NAME. It is therefore written: SEE, I CALL THEM BY NAME, for "to call" means to revive and bring to perfection.

21. He asks, "What is the meaning of 'by the greatness of His might and wealth?'" This is the head of the degree, where all desires ascend and remain concealed. The strong one that ascended in the name *Elokim*, as it is said, "This is the secret of the Upper World, called *MI*." No man is missing from the 600,000 that He created by the power of this name. And because no one is missing from these 600,000, it follows that wherever the sons of Israel perished and were punished for their transgressions, we subsequently find that not one from the 600,000 had disappeared, so that everything would remain the same Above and below. And just as no one had disappeared from the 600,000 Above, no one has disappeared from this number below.

FROM THE GREATNESS OF HIS MIGHT AND WEALTH signifies *Keter de AVI*, called the HEAD OF DEGREES. This is *Bina* of *AA*, which became *Keter de Partzuf AVI*, WHERE ALL DESIRES ASCEND (*MAN* of the lower ones), and receive all the degrees from there. This degree is filled with *Ohr Hassadim*, and exists in perfection even in the absence of *Ohr Hochma*, as its Light of *Hassadim* comes from *GAR de BINA* of *AA*. In other words, it has such

a powerful Light of *Hassadim* that although this degree emerged from *Rosh de AA*, it is not regarded as having left it, for it feels no need for *Ohr Hochma*. This degree, *Keter* of *AVI*, is the *Rosh* of all the degrees in the world of *Atzilut*, from where *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON* receive the Light.

THE STRONG ONE IS THE SECRET OF THE UPPER WORLD, the property of *MI* that is present in *Malchut*, from where the number 600,000 descends, for she clothes the Upper World, *AVI*. Therefore, it is written that NO ONE DISAPPEARS FROM THOSE 600,000 because there *Malchut* receives *Ohr Hochma*, called "600,000." Hence, it is said that AS NO ONE DISAPPEARED ABOVE, SO IT IS BELOW, for *Malchut* clothes *AVI*, described in the phrase: THE MOTHER ADORNS HER DAUGHTER WITH HER OWN ADORNMENTS, by which *Malchut* becomes completely similar to *AVI*. And just as the Light of *AVI* is perfect (which is why it is called "600,000" and NO ONE HAS DISAPPEARED, i.e., no lack of *Ohr Hochma* is felt), *Malchut* is perfect in this number, which means NO ONE HAS DISAPPEARED below.

The Letters of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba

22. Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba said: "In the first four words of the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED *Et – Beresheet Barah Elokim Et*, the first two words begin with the letter *Bet*, and the following two begin with *Aleph*" (The letter *Aleph* is pronounced both as "A" and "E"). It is said that when the Creator thought to create the world, all of the letters were still concealed, and even 2,000 years before the creation of the world, the Creator gazed into the letters and played with them.

In the language of Kabbalah, the same sentence appears in the following way: when the Creator (*Bina*) decided to create the world (*ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*), the *Kelim* of *ZON* (*Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva*) were still in *Bina*. *Hochma* and *Bina* (*Aba ve Ima – AVI*) are called 2,000 years. Before the creation of the world (the birth of *ZON*), all the letters (the *Kelim* of *ZON*) existed in *AVI* in the form of *MAN*, and *MAN* always stimulates a desire in the Upper One to attend to it.

With regard to the lower *Partzuf*, the Upper One is called the Creator, for it truly begets it, and whatever the lower one receives, comes directly from its Upper One. Moreover, one may say that this is all that the Upper One desires, its entire existence is meant exclusively for the lower one. Therefore, the Upper One always waits for the lower one's genuine request for the desire to ascend spiritually, which is called *MAN*. Provided this desire is sincere, the Upper One immediately responds and passes the powerful Light of correction to the lower one.

Since the lower one is *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, and all that is below this *Partzuf* (all the worlds of *ABYA* and our world) is considered a part of it, *AVI* of the world of *Atzilut* constitute the Upper *Partzuf*. The desires and properties of *ZON* are called "letters," and here *The Zohar* explains the properties that *ZON* (the spiritual worlds and our world, we ourselves) were

created with, which properties are desirable, which require correction, and how this correction is achieved.

Since the properties of the future Creature are determined by the Creator's purpose in creating it, it is said that even before the creation of the world, the Creator played with the letters. The word "played" suggests that the Creator's interaction with the Creature is like His game with the leviathan (the legendary sea monster), with the property that is opposite from Him. At the end of correction all the letters unite and combine into the one name of the Creator.

The order of the Hebrew alphabet indicates the descent of the Direct Light from Above, the Inner Light that fills the *Partzuf*. The reverse order of the letters from the end of the alphabet alludes to the ascent of the Returning Light. The direct order of the alphabet refers to mercy, whereas the reverse order—to the strict law and restrictions on using egoistic desires.

When Adam sinned, the letters detached themselves from him, and only the letters *Shin* and *Tav* (the *Kelim* for the Light of *VAK* of *Nefesh*) remained in him. The *Kelim* for the Light of *Neshama* are represented by the letters from *Aleph* to *Yod*; the letters from *Yod* to *Kuf* are the *Kelim* for the Light of *Ruach*, and the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*—the *Kelim* for *GAR* of *Nefesh*—disappeared from him.

This is why Adam gave his son, born after his sin, the name *SHeT* (Seth): *Shin-Tav*, according to the two last letters of the alphabet—the *Kelim* that remained in him. The *Kli Shin-Tav* are only fit for the Returning Light from below upwards, but not for the reception of the Upper Light from Above downwards. However, after it receives *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin* (the letter *Yod*), *Shin-Tav* turns into a combination *Shin-Yod-Tav*. And if the Creator creates the world by the letter *Bet*, it then enters between *Shin* and *Tav* and forms the word *Shabbat* (*Sh-B-T*), the state of spiritual perfection, the goal of creation. For this reason, the first word in the Torah—*Beresheet* consists of: *Bara* (created) *Sh(in)-Y(od)-T(av)*.

23. When the Creator thought to create the world, all the letters of the alphabet came to Him in reverse order from last (*Tav*) to first (*Aleph*). The letter *Tav* entered first and said, "Master of the world! It is good, and also seemly of You, to create the world with me, with my properties. For I am the seal on Your ring, called *EmeT* (truth), that ends with the letter *Tav*. And that is why You are called truth, and why it would befit the King to begin the universe with the letter *Tav*, and to create the world by her, by her properties."

The Creator answered: "You are beautiful and sincere, but do not merit the world that I conceived to be created by your properties, since you are

destined to be marked on the foreheads of the truly faithful who fulfill all of Torah from *Aleph* to *Tav* (from the first letter to the last), and perished because of you" (Talmud Bavli, *Shabbat*, 55)

What does a particular name of the Creator mean? The name of the spiritual object indicates the way one can receive the Light that fills it, the way one can attain its spiritual degree. Generally speaking, the twenty-two letters are the ten *Sefirot-Kelim* in the *Ibur* (embryonic phase) of the future *Partzuf* in the *Sefira Yesod*, for that is where the screen of the embryo of the new *Partzuf* is located. That is why *Yesod* is called a "number," as it measures the size of a new *Partzuf*.

Bearing in mind that each name determines specific spiritual properties and states of an object, one can understand what is meant by a change of name, place, or action.

HaVaYaH is the basis of all the letters, but the filling of each letter clarifies the letter itself. The filling of a letter is heard as the letter is pronounced. As we read the letter *Yod* in the word *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*), we actually pronounce three sounds (y-o-d); although we write only one letter, the sounds "o-*Vav*" and "d-*Dalet*" are heard together with the sound "y." When we say "*Hey*," the sound "ey"—*Yod* or "ey"—follows the sound "h." Therein lies the clarification of the name *HaVaYaH* in the process of its emergence.

The Creator's form-properties are revealed in His deeds; hence, the three lines in *Bina* (the Creator) are imprinted and act in His created beings (the lower worlds) as a seal and its imprint. Therefore, the name *MB* exists in *Bina*, as well as in *ZA* and *Malchut*. However, in *ZA*, this name is divided into the ten sayings and thirty-two forces of creation of *Elokim*, which create *Malchut*, the creature.

Bina is designated by the letter *Mem*, *Malchut*—by *Bet*; the name *MB* designates the creation of *Malchut* by *Bina*. The letter *Aleph* designates *ZA*, which passes all the twenty-two letters (from *Aleph* to *Tav*) to *Malchut* (*Bet*). This is why *Malchut* is called *ET* (*Aleph* pronounced as '*E*'-*Tav*).

Malchut is the central part of creation and its purpose. She is the only creation and includes all the worlds with all that inhabits them, us included. Depending on its states, parts of *Malchut* or *Malchut* herself (which is one and the same) have different properties designated by the different letter combinations. For this reason, *Malchut's* parts receive various "codes" (combinations) of letters (properties) or names.

All the words in the world originate here, in *Malchut*. There is not a single property in the world that is not included in *Malchut*. Each property of *Malchut*, each of the creatures (for all creatures are her parts) is designated by

the property that distinguishes it from the others, by the unique set of letters-properties that forms its name.

Malchut is called *Shechina* (Divinity), as she is filled with the Light, *Shochen* (Dweller—the Creator). The Creator is called *Shochen* when *Malchut* feels Him as such, within her. If man, being part of *Malchut*, purifies himself of egoism, either partially or completely, and thus fills his corrected desires with the Light (the Creator), he becomes part of the *Shechina*.

Malchut consists of four parts that are named by their properties (also called faces): face of a lion, face of an ox, face of an eagle, and face of a man. Alternately, *Malchut* is likened to a spiritual kernel, surrounded by four shells, which correspond to the four *Klipot* (impure forces): *Ruach Se'ara* (Stormy Wind), *Anan Gadol* (Great Cloud), *Esh Mitlakachat* (Blazing Flame), and *Noga* (Radiance).

Kabbalah can describe spiritual actions either as names of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim* or as names of *HaVaYaH*, *EKYEH*, and so forth, with their fillings and *Gematriot* (plural for *Gematria*—the numeric value). Although the most frequently used language is that of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*, sometimes the language of *HaVaYaH* with its fillings can also be applied, even in parallel or simultaneously with the former.

Most Kabbalistic terms are composite: *Maatzil* (the Creator) comes from the word *Tzel* (shadow), as the Creature emerges from the Creator's concealment, from His restrictions. Another name for the Creator is *Boreh* (combination of *Bo*—come and *Re'eh*—see).

A name denotes attainment. Upon attaining an object, man gives it a name. Similarly, man gives a name to the Creator according to the property that he attains, depending on how he feels the Creator. There are several kinds of names to the Creator, based on His properties. For example, the Creator's name *EMET*—"Truth" is based on the sensations of His Light within the *Partzuf*.

Below are the names of the Creator with the corresponding names of the *Sefirot*:

– ***Keter:*** *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey* (*EKYEH*)

– ***Hochma:*** *Yod-Hey* (*YA*)

– ***Bina:*** *HaVaYaH* with the punctuation *Segol-Holam-Hirik*, as *Elokim*: *Yod* (*Yod-Vav-Dalet*) - *Hey* (*Hey-Yod*) - *Vav* (*Vav-Aleph-Vav*) - *Hey* (*Hey-Yod*).

– ***Hesed:*** *Aleph-Lamed* = *EL* (pronounced *KEL*)

– ***Gevura:*** *Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Mem* (*ELOKIM*)

– ***Tifferet:*** *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey* (*HaVaYaH* without punctuation)

– ***Netzah:*** *HaVaYaH TZEVAOT*

– ***Hod:*** *ELOKIM TZEVAOT*

– ***Yesod:*** *Shin-Dalet-Yod = SHADDAY*

– ***Malchut:*** *ADONAY* (pronounced *ADNI*)

Merging the two worlds, the Upper and the lower, is designated by the words *HaVaYaH-ADNI*, implying the ascent of *Malchut-ADNI* to the level of *Bina-HaVaYaH* with the punctuation of *Elokim*.

The name ZA of *HaVaYaH* comes from the right line (*Hesed*), and the name *ADNI*, from the left line (*Gevura*). Joining of these two lines forms the middle line, where the Light of *Hochma* shines on account of the presence of the Light of *Hassadim* from the right line. Such state is designated by a combination of the two names *HaVaYaH-ADNI*:

YOD-Aleph-HEY-Dalet-VAV-Nun-HEY-Yod. The union (*Zivug*) of ZA and his *Nukva* is designated by mixing the two names.

HaVaYaH-ADNI: *Yod-Aleph-Hey-Dalet-Vav-Nun-Hey-Yod*. The opening *Yod* indicates the Light of *Hochma* in ZA, the *Yod* at the end refers to the passing of this Light to *Nukva*.

As a result of the second restriction, *Malchut* ascended to *Bina*, and governs *Bina* and ZA with her desire. Since it is impossible to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the three *Sefirot*—*Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*, which are governed by *Malchut's* egoistic desire, the Light of *Hochma* is absent in the *Partzuf*, and only the Light of *Hassadim* is present.

This is designated in the following way: the letter *Yod* enters the word Light (*Ohr* contains the letters *Aleph-Vav-Reish*, signifying the Light of *Hochma*), and forms the word *Avir* (air, containing the letters *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*), signifying the Light of *Hassadim*. If the *Partzuf* returns to the *Gadlut* state, the letter *Yod* exits it, and it is refilled with the Light of *Hochma*. Consequently, *Avir* (air) becomes *Ohr* (Light).

Unfilled *HaVaYaH* designates *Partzuf Keter*. *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *AB* (72) designates *Partzuf Hochma* (AA). *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *SAG* (63) designates *Partzuf Bina* (AVI). Together, these three *HaVaYaH* form *MB* (42) letters—the sacred name of the Light that corrects the souls by its influence on the *Kli*, the screen.

All that was created is the desire to receive pleasure, which we call "creature." Only this desire was created, and nothing else. All the worlds and all that inhabits

them, our world with everything within it, are but degrees of the desire to receive pleasure. The intensity of the desire determines its place in the spiritual realm, where all creation and our world—as its lowest point—are located. Man's actual location (the world, his spiritual degree) determines the particular kind of pleasure he desires, how he chooses to enjoy.

In order for the creature to emerge from the Creator, the Light emanating from Him must descend through four stages, whereas the fifth stage already perceives itself as a separate and independent (from the Creator) desire to enjoy precisely the Light emanating from the Creator.

Upon emerging from the Creator—a result of a sequential emanation of His Light—the desire to receive pleasure (*Kli*-vessel) also consists of five parts designated by the letters: the tip of the *Yod*, *Yod*, *Hey*, *Vav*, *Hey*. These five parts (four letters) are called the Creator's name *HaVaYaH*, because the *Kli* gives the Creator a name according to its sensation of Him, according to its sensation of the Light that fills it. The Light that fills the *Kli* is called "filling."

The *Kli* created by the Creator is divided into five parts, called "worlds." Each world is in turn divided into five more parts, called *Partzufim* (faces). Then, each *Partzuf* (singular for *Partzufim*) consists of five parts called *Sefirot*. In all, there are 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 spiritual objects or degrees from the lowest degree to the Creator Himself.

Each *Partzuf* consists of five parts (*Sefirot*), designated by a dot and four letters: *Keter*-dot + *Hochma*-*Yod* + *Bina*-*Hey* + ZA-*Vav* + *Malchut*-*Hey* = *HaVaYaH*. The difference between each of the 125 *Partzufim* lies in the type of Light that fills them, whereas the core of the *Kli*, the letters *HaVaYaH*, remain the same. A desire cannot appear unless the Creator's Light had previously passed through the five stages; only the fifth stage is considered a birth of a new creation (desire).

The whole universe (all the worlds) is nothing but the ten *Sefirot* or the Creator's name *HaVaYaH*.

SEFIRA	LETTER	PARTZUF	WORLD	LIGHT
Keter	A dot, the tip of the letter *Yod*	*Galgalta*	*AK*	*Yechida*
Hochma	*Yod*	*AB*	*Atzilut*	*Haya*
Bina	*Hey*	*SAG*	*Beria*	*Neshama*
ZA	*Vav*	*MA*	*Yetzira*	*Ruach*
Malchut	*Hey*	*BON*	*Assiya*	*Nefesh*

A filling of *HaVaYaH* with Light is referred to as its revelation. Thus, the letters emerge from the state of concealment when they are not filled. In all there are five *Partzufim*: *Keter* (*Galgalta*), *AB*, *SAG*, *MA* and *BON*. The first—*Partzuf Keter*—is the main one and the source of all the rest. Its ten *Sefirot* is plain (inner) *HaVaYaH*, for each of the four letters of its *HaVaYaH* comes outside, revealing a new *Partzuf* that clothes it.

So then, out of *Partzuf Keter-Galgalta*, from the letter *Yod* comes *Partzuf Hochma* (*AB*), from the letter *Hey*—*Partzuf Bina* (*SAG*), from the letter *Vav*—*Partzuf ZA* (*MA*), and from the letter *Hey*—*Partzuf Malchut* (*BON*). Thus *Partzuf Keter* is designated by plain *HaVaYaH*, and the *Partzufim* that clothe it are designated by filled *HaVaYaH*. The recording of *HaVaYaH* with the Light that fills it is called *Miluy* (filling). For the purposes of brevity when naming a *Partzuf*, the notion of *Gematria* was introduced. *Gematria* is the numerical value of the Light that fills the *Partzuf*.

Wisdom (*Hochma*) is called calculation (*Heshbon*), *Gematria*. A calculation is made only in a place where Light is received: (i) a preliminary calculation is made as to how much Light the *Partzuf* can receive for the Creator's sake; (ii) the Light is received in accordance with the calculation; (iii) calculation of the received amount, called *Miluy*, *Gematria*.

Malchut cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* without the Light of *Hassadim*, and in that event, *Hochma* cannot shine in her. Then *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and becomes like an embryo inside of her, by which she receives the right line—*Hassadim*. Upon joining the past and the present states, *Malchut* receives *Hochma* into *Hassadim*, and the Light of *Hochma* shines in her. All these actions of *Malchut* are accompanied by calculations, called *Gematriot*.

The *Gematria* (numerical value) of the *Partzuf* unfilled with the Light, the *Gematria* of the empty *HaVaYaH* is as follows:

HaVaYaH = *Yod* + *Hey* + *Vav* + *Hey* = 10 + 5 + 6 + 5 = 26. The *Gematria* of a filled *HaVaYaH* is formed by filling each letter; In Hebrew, each letter has a full name: A-*Aleph*, B-*Bet*, etc.. Hence, there are four kinds of fillings in *HaVaYaH*: 1) *AB*, 2) *SAG*, 3) *MA* and 4) *BON*.

1) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *AB*:
Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 10 + 6 + 4 = 20
Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15
Vav: *Vav* + *Yod* + *Vav* = 6 + 10 + 6 = 22
Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

In all: 20 + 15 + 22 + 15 = 72 = *AB*, where "A" designates the letter *Ayin* = 70, and not *Aleph* = 1. *HaVaYaH* filled with this Light is called *Partzuf AB* (*Partzuf Hochma*), for the letter *Yod* with its filling signifies the Light of Wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*. Such a filling is called "*HaVaYaH* with the filling of *Yod*."

2) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *SAG*: the *Partzuf* that is filled with Light of Mercy, *Ohr Hassadim*, is called *SAG*, for its *Gematria* is this:

SAG = *Samech* (60) + *Gimel* (3) = 63:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 10 + 6 + 4 = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

Vav: *Vav* + *Aleph* + *Vav* = 6 + 1 + 6 = 13

Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

In all: 20 + 15 + 13 + 15 = 63 = *Samech* + *Gimel* = *SAG*

If the *Kelim* and their filling originate from the first restriction, the letter *Yod* is present in the filling of *HaVaYaH*. And if the *Kelim* are filled with the Light of the second restriction, it is the letter *Aleph*, present in the filling of *HaVaYaH*. The difference between the *Gematriot* of *AB* and *SAG* lies in the filling of the letter *Vav*: *Gematria* of *Vav* in *Partzuf AB* is twenty-two (from the filling of *Ohr Hochma*), whereas *Gematria* of *Vav* in *Partzuf SAG* is thirteen (from the filling of *Ohr Hassadim*). From the aforesaid, it is clear that *Partzuf AB* originates from the first restriction, whereas the letter *Vav* (ZA) in *Partzuf SAG* originates from the second restriction.

3) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *MA*:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Aleph* = 6

Vav: *Vav* + *Aleph* + *Vav* = 13

Hey: *Hey* + *Aleph* = 6

Such a filling of *HaVaYaH* is called 20 + 6 + 13 + 6 = 45 = *Mem* (40) + *Hey* (5) = *MA* (the letter *Hey* is pronounced as "ah").

4) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *BON*:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Hey* = 10

Vav: *Vav* + *Vav* = 12

Hey: *Hey* + *Hey* = 10

Such a filling of *HaVaYaH* is called 20 + 10 + 12 + 10 = 52 = *Nun* (50) + *Bet* (2), pronounced as *BON* for easier articulation. This is the *Gematria* of

Partzuf Malchut, and it is equivalent to twice the value of the unfilled *HaVaYaH*: *HaVaYaH* = 26, and 26 x 2 = 52 = *MA*.

Partzuf Malchut cannot receive the Creator's Light due to the absence of a screen. Instead, it can only passively receive what *Partzuf ZA* gives it. Hence, the twofold twenty-six indicates that whatever *Malchut* has comes to her from *ZA*.

From the four kinds of *HaVaYaH*, it becomes clear that the root of creation is neither *Partzuf Hochma* nor *Bina*, but only *ZA*, as it is the first *Partzuf* built on the second restriction.

The primary ten *Sefirot* are located in *Partzuf Keter*, whereas *Partzufim AB*, *SAG*, *MA*, and *BON* are merely branches stemming from the first *Partzuf*. However, when the Light spreads within the *Partzuf*, it contains five inner Lights *NRNHY* and five outer Lights. The five outer Lights of *Bina* come out of the right ear, and the five inner Lights of *Bina* come out of the left. The five outer Lights of *ZA* come out of the right nostril, and the five inner Lights of *ZA* come out of the left.

Since the two *Malchuyot* (plural for *Malchut*) are remote from one another, as a branch in our world, man's ear holes are also separated and distanced. The two nostrils are separated by a smaller distance, whereas the five inner and outer Lights of the common Light of the *Peh* (mouth) come out of the same opening. Thus, as they exit the mouth, they collide and interweave, and as a result of their collisions, letters (*Kelim*) are born.

Since twenty-two letters originate from *Bina-SAG* = *Samech* + *Gimel* = 60 + 3 = 63, the opening through which they come out is called 63 + 22 = 85 = *Peh* + *Hey* = *PeH* (mouth). The letters come out of the *Peh* of *ZA*, for *Yesod* of *Ima* is located there.

We received our entire Torah, all of the knowledge about the spiritual worlds, from our Great Patriarchs, who ascended spiritually above our world, sensed the Upper Worlds, and described them to us. This is how we received the whole Torah—both the written and the oral parts.

We cannot imagine the spiritual world because our sensory organs cannot detect it. Thus, to describe the objects and concepts still unattainable by us, Kabbalists use several techniques, languages. The whole Torah speaks only of the creation, governing, and correction of the world; never about history, geography, or anything else. As it is said in the Torah itself, the Torah is the sacred names, that is, manifestations of the Creator, the degrees and methods of His attainment.

Kabbalists, those who ascend to the spiritual world and thus establish direct contact with the Creator, convey this information to us using four languages:

1. The language of the *TaNaKh* (**T**orah—Pentateuch, **N***evi'im*—Prophets, ***K****etuvim*—Writings/Hagiographa). This is the language of the written Torah.
2. The language of laws.
3. The language of legends.
4. The language of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*—the language of Kabbalah.

All the languages speak about the same thing—the attainment of the Creator by us, those living in this world. For this is the sole purpose of our creation, and according to the Creator's design, we must devote all of our physical, mental, and spiritual abilities only to it. And if we were to aspire only to this, we would naturally use our language only for this purpose. After all, everything that is given to us is only for the fulfillment of this exclusive goal—the attainment of the sensation of the Creator, while still in this life.

And this is why the first language mastered by humankind was Hebrew. However, as they distanced from fulfilling their mission, humankind conceived other languages. All the other languages in the world have their inner meaning, too, but since their alphabets were not revealed to us by Kabbalists, we study the spiritual forces depicted in the Hebrew alphabet, the source of all the others.

Every *Partzuf* is divided into two parts: right and left. The right part consists of *Ramach* = *Reish* – *Mem* – *Chet* = 248 parts (organs) filled with the Light of *Hassadim*; and the left part consists of *Shasah* = *Shin* – *Samech* – *Hey* = 365 parts (tendons) filled with the Light of *Hochma*. ZA is called a "voice"; he is generally the Light of *Hassadim*. But when he joins with *Malchut*, called "speech," *Malchut* receives the Light of *Hassadim* with *Hochma* from ZA, and thus "speech" is formed.

The seven primary *Sefirot* of ZA are called "Seven Heavens." The seventy names of ZA originate from the 70 (7 x 10) *Sefirot* of ZA. ZA himself is called "Heaven" and *Malchut* is called "earth." The *Sefirot* of ZA are also called *Ruach*, owing to the Light of *Ruach* within them, which ascends to *Bina* (ears) and transforms into sound: *Hochma* in the left ear and *Hassadim* in the right.

There is a difference between language and alphabet, as in our world there are people who can speak, but cannot read or write. The most ancient spoken language is that of the *TaNaKh*, which dates back to Adam. The language of laws originated from it, followed by the language of legends. All of these languages combined and each of them in particular are used in our holy scriptures.

The language of Kabbalah was the last to develop. It is the most difficult language, since proper understanding of it requires sensing the spiritual categories

that this language narrates. Kabbalah is also the most precise language of all. It is the only language that can accurately render all the spiritual information.

However, only through direct study with a Kabbalist-teacher can a student learn it and grasp its information. And since for many generations there were only a few Kabbalists, unconnected with one another, the language of Kabbalah was the last to evolve. Even today it can only be "learned" directly from a Kabbalist-teacher.

Initially, Kabbalists enciphered their knowledge of the spiritual world as letters, whose outlines reflected the interrelationships of spiritual forces. In other words, each spiritual degree is characterized by a unique interrelationship of spiritual forces. By assigning each spiritual property with a particular symbol, one can depict the interrelationship, as well as the general product of the union of spiritual forces of each degree, i.e., its essence.

Thus, Kabbalists created the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. *The Zohar* pays much attention to analyzing the connection between the letters, which helps a student to synthesize his knowledge and find new ways of discovering spiritual forces and their actions within.

As our forefather Avraham writes in his *Book of Creation* (*Sefer Yetzira*), letters represent the stones from which the building-word is constructed. As our sages tell us, the world was created with the letters of the "sacred language," each letter representing a certain holy, spiritual, altruistic force of creation.

The properties of this force are reflected in the letter's outline, its importance with regard to other letters, its potential combinations with the others, its potential punctuation marks, its crowns and notations, its numerical value (*Gematria*) and variations.

However, this only concerns separate letters and their combinations. There are also certain rules that enable us to determine the properties of spiritual forces not from letters, but from whole words. Moreover, quite often we can replace letters or even parts of a word with similar ones.

The language itself, the roots of its words, indicate the properties of the spiritual object they describe. For example, Adam originated from *Adama*—earth, which emphasizes his insignificance, and from the word *Adameh*—similar (to the Upper One), which emphasizes his eminence. The name Yaakov comes from the word *Ekev*—to get around (*Esau*). There are many such examples in the Torah, for everything is named after its root, as after the patronymic name of one's father.

Once we have established that certain combinations of letters (*Kelim*, language of letters) can be used instead of the language of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*

when describing spiritual actions, the entire description of the spiritual worlds amounts to portraying objects and actions in the form of letters and their combinations. This is how the whole of the Torah is written, in words. Thus,

a) The shape of each letter and the elements of its structure indicate all the properties and the general state of a spiritual object, *Sefira*, or *Partzuf*, which this particular letter depicts;

b) The order of letters in a word indicates the connection between spiritual objects, *Sefirot*, and their shared properties and actions. Attainment of a word's spiritual meaning signifies an ascent to the spiritual level of the object. When that happens, he who attains it becomes this very word, assumes its name. Man's name keeps changing as he ascends the spiritual degrees; it is determined by the degree he is on, as he assumes the name of that degree. It is therefore said that everyone can become like Moshe, i.e., attain the degree called "Moshe";

c) The word itself in its "corporeal" reading, its "corporeal" meaning indicates the spiritual root and its branch—consequence in our world;

d) A combination of words indicates an entire spiritual process, which, as a rule, has a corresponding action (commandment) in our world.

Names change depending on the aspect that requires clarification:

a) By elements of *Sefirot*:

Keter	-	has none
Hochma	-	fire
Bina	-	water
ZA	-	air
Malchut	-	earth

b) By colors:

Keter	-	has none
Hochma	-	white – the basis of all colors
Bina	-	red – most prominent
ZA	-	green – most perfect
Malchut	-	black – cannot be changed by any other color

Colors are present only in the *Guf* (body) of the *Partzuf*, but never in the *Rosh* (head). These colors are projected onto *Malchut* from Above, and she passes them on to all the lower ones.

c) By lines:

Hesed	-	right	-	white
Gevura	-	left	-	red
Tifferet	-	central, includes all the colors	-	green

Quite often, colors and elements are used instead of the names of *Sefirot* and their properties: fire, water, air, earth (*The Zohar*, *Vayera*, item 32). *Malchut* is called "earth," but *Malchut* that ascends with her properties to *Bina* is called "earth of the Temple." In the Temple, the four sides of the world—*Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet* and *Malchut* join the four elements of the world—fire, water, air and earth. Out of the two points of *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are joined together, the Creator made one *Partzuf* —Adam.

The four foundations of the world, or the four sides of the world:

Fire	North	*Shuruk*	Left Line	*Gevura*
Air	East	*Hirik*	Middle Line	*Tifferet*
Water	South	*Holam*	Right Line	*Hesed*
Earth	West	–	–	*Malchut* – receives from all

Four fundamental metals are created as a result of a *Zivug* of the four foundations with *Malchut*: gold, silver, copper and iron. All of these names, as well as many others, are used in the Torah instead of the names of the ten *Sefirot*. Therefore, although the languages of the Torah, legends, the Talmud, and the Scriptures are extraordinarily vivid, only the concise language of Kabbalah provides an accurate description of the spiritual worlds.

The four kinds of symbols used with letters:

Taamim—tone modulations used in pronouncing letters—signify the Direct Light, which spreads from Above downwards in the body of the *Partzuf*.

Nekudot—letter punctuation marks—signify the Light during its gradual exit from the body of the *Partzuf* from below upwards.

Tagin—crowns above the letters—represent *Reshimot* (reminiscences/records) of the previously present Light (*Taamim*). *Tagin* originate from *GAR de Bina*.

Otiot—letters—represent *Reshimot* of the Light's exit from the body of the *Partzuf* (*Nekudot*). Letters originate from *Zat de Bina*.

The ten *Sefirot* are divided into three primary parts—*Taamim*, *Nekudot*, and *Otiot*:

Taamim	-	Keter
Nekudot	-	Hochma
Otiot	-	ZAT de Bina and ZON

According to the Light in them, *Sefirot* are divided into:

Taamim	-	Hochma
Nekudot	-	Bina
Otiot	-	ZON

The letters were created in the following order: the letter *Aleph*, which was initially on the right side, begot the letter *Shin*, which emerged from it and moved to the left side. The letter *Shin* consists of three sides: the left, the middle, and the right. The letter *Vav* is thereby formed by three letters, and upon joining with *Aleph*, it formed the word ***A****leph*-***Sh****in* = *ESH* (fire) in the left side.

Out of the interaction of the right and the left sides these two letters came forth in contradiction between them, as the right line includes water, while the left line includes fire. Their collisions begot the letters *Reish*, *Vav,* and *Chet*, which formed the word *Ruach* (wind). This wind entered between the two sides (fire and water) and joined them together, thereby establishing the order of the first letters and their perfection.

At first, *The Zohar* offers a general description of the three lines in ZA, designated by the three names of the Creator: *El*, *Elokim* and *Elokeinu*, and then proceeds to clarify the descent of the degrees of filling ZA and *Malchut* with the Light of *Hochma* in the form of letter combinations, in the order of the degrees' descent from Above downwards. *Mayim* – water, *Esh* – fire, *Ruach* – wind constitute the three lines in ZA from *AVI*. This is why the first letters in ZA come from *AVI*.

Then the following combinations emerged: *Aleph* revealed *Mem* from its right side, so *Mem* stands to the left line of *Aleph*. *Mem* revealed *Shin* as the middle line, as *Mem* initially consists of the left line, for it exists in the form of a concealed letter *Mem* in the word *Elokim*, which pertains to the left line, and so forth. This is how all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet were born.

THE LETTERS OF THE HEBREW ALPHABET

LETTERS	NAME	PRONUNCIATION	GEMATRIA
א	*Aleph*	[a], [e]	1
ב	*Bet*	b, v	2
ג	*Gimel*	g	3
ד	*Dalet*	d	4
ה	*Hey*	[a], [e]	5
ו	*Vav*	v, [u], [o]	6
ז	*Zayin*	z	7
ח	*Chet*	h	8
ט	*Tet*	t	9
י	*Yod*	y, i	10
כ (ך)	*Chaf*	h, k	20
ל	*Lamed*	l	30
מ (ם)	*Mem*	m	40
נ (ן)	*Nun*	n	50
ס	*Samech*	s	60
ע	*Ayin*	[a], [e]	70
פ (ף)	*Peh*	p, ph	80
צ (ץ)	*Tzadik*	tz	90
ק	*Kuf*	k	100
ר	*Reish*	r	200
ש	*Shin*	sh, s	300
ת	*Tav*	t	400

The letters *Aleph* and *Ayin* do not have any particular sound, and only the accompanying punctuation mark determines their pronunciation.

The letters *Bet*, *Chaf* and *Peh* with a dot inside them are pronounced as "b," "k," and "p." The absence of a dot changes their pronunciation to "v," "ch" and "f."

The letter ***Hey*** is not pronounced, but rather aspirated.

The shapes of the letters *Mem*, *Nun*, *Tzadik*, *Peh*, *Chaf* (pronounced *MANTZEPACH*) change when placed at the end of a word, as seen in the table of letters.

The shape, external form of letters: the protruding element of a letter indicates that the Light in this part of the letter is greater than in the other. The filling (*Miluy*) indicates the height of the degree. A punctuation mark (*Nikud*) indicates the origin of each part of the *Partzuf*: whether it came from the Upper *Partzuf* (and constitutes its part in the present one), from the lower *Partzuf*, or from itself.

The *Kelim-Sefirot* themselves are called "letters," and their punctuation marks (*Nekudot*) indicate the Light that enters and exits them. The Light of *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* can enter the *Kelim*, but the Light of *Keter* or *Hochma* cannot. A dot above a letter (*Holam*) signifies the Lights *Keter* and *Hochma*, which never clothe the *Kli*, hence the location of the dot above the letter.

Two horizontally positioned dots (*Tzere*) allude to *Sefirot Hochma* and *Bina*, that *Bina* does not receive the Light of *Hochma*, and contains only the Light of *Hassadim*, the Light of Mercy (*AVI* back-to-back). *Bina* herself is also called *Tzere*, for ZA receives everything from her. If there is a third dot (*Segol*) between these two dots, it means that ZA raised his request for the Light of *Hochma* to *AVI*. Such a request of ZA in *AVI* is called *Daat*. *Daat* receives the Light of *Hochma* in order to pass it on to ZA. The punctuation mark *Kamatz* (a "T" shaped mark under the letter) indicates that ZA collects (*Mekabetz*) the Light of *Hochma*.

A dot indicates *Malchut* with a reflecting screen, but not a receiving one. Such a form testifies to the absence of Light in the *Kli*; it is merely a black dot, as the law of restriction rules over it.

The *Sefira Hod* is an inclusion of *Malchut's* properties into ZA, out of which ZA makes a whole *Partzuf Malchut*. The letter *Hey* in the word *Hod* signifies *Keter* in *Malchut*, and the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* are located among the impure forces that cling to them. This is designated by an elongated leg of the letter *Kuf* (dipping below the line), which indicates that the impure forces receive their strength from the spiritually pure forces through this element, the *Kuf*.

The white background is a plain, indistinguishable and thereby imperceptible Light (by us). Whatever we can distinguish may only be expressed by restricting the diffusion of this white color. The forms and degrees of its restriction are called letters. That is why we see black outlines on white background, and attain only the black restrictions.

We can describe the diffusion of Light in the worlds using attraction and restriction of the Light. And these two forces must act simultaneously. Similarly, when we perceive something in our sensory organs, we only sense it by way of restriction, as the object's surface or a light wave collides with our sensory organ, which restricts its expansion, and can thereby perceive it.

The spiritual roots of the forms are as follows: A circumference originates from the first restriction of the Light in the world of *Ein Sof* (Infinity), the first restriction on the diffusion of Light. Since this restriction was equal and uniform, it assumed the form of a circumference.

A vertical line, length without width, signifies that the notion is unattainable by us, and is therefore called a "thin line" of the diffusion of the Light of *Hochma*. The Light of *Hochma* can only be received with the help of the screen in *Malchut*, which creates Returning Light that clothes the Light of *Hochma*. Therefore, the Upper Light that comes to the *Kli* is called a line.

A horizontal line, width without height: when a vertical line—the diffusion of the Light of *Hochma* from Above downwards—collides with the screen, their collision (of desires) compels the vertical line to shift into the horizontal line (to the right), resulting in a shape of the English letter L. Its width is determined by the force of the Returning Light that ascends from the screen from below upwards.

A rectangle is formed by the interlacing of the descending Light of *Hochma* and the Returning Light: five vertical descending lines—five *Sefirot* of the Light of *Hochma* and five horizontal lines from right to left—five *Sefirot* of the Light of *Hassadim*. The size of the rectangle's side is called *Amah*, consisting of five parts—*Tefachim* (plural for *Tefach*). (Both *Amah* and *Tefach* are distance measuring units.) This is why we describe the *Kli* as a rectangle.

The two kinds of diffusion of Light, the Light of *Hochma* and the Returning Light, are called the right and the left cheeks, respectively, which turn into the upper and the lower lips. Since, after the first restriction, the Light may not be received in *Malchut*, the Returning Light is only received in four parts of the *Kli*, not in five. This is why there are 4 x 4 = 16 teeth on the lower jaw and 16 teeth on the upper jaw (The Returning Light stems from resistance, from "chewing" the Light before receiving it inside).

In the second restriction, a Triangle is formed, as *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and forms a slanted line. Thus the combination of the Direct Light with the Returning Light and restrictions beget various spiritual forms.

The Light of *Hassadim* is defined as "protruding," for a protrusion beyond the limits of a spiritual body means that:

1) The Light is so great that it comes out by elevating, protruding the limits;
2) It originates from the middle line, *Tifferet*.

A cavity in the body occurs due to the following reasons:

1) The Light is insufficient; the Light cannot shine there;
2) The Light of *Hochma* is present, but the lack of *Hassadim* prevents it from shining.

PUNCTUATION MARKS IN THE HEBREW ALPHABET *(NEKUDOT)*

Sefira	Punctuation Mark	Pronunciation
Keter	Kamatz	a
Hochma	Patach	a
Bina	Segol	e
Hesed	Tzere	e
Gevura	Shva	-
Tifferet	Holam	o
Netzah	Hirik	i
Hod	Kubutz	u
Yesod	Shuruk	u
Malchut	No Mark	-

Nekudot are defined by three lines:

IN THE ROSH (HEAD)

Kamatz - Keter - right line
Patach - Hochma - left line
Tzere - Bina - middle line
Holam - Tifferet - middle line

IN THE GUF (BODY)

Segol	-	Hesed	-	right line
Shva	-	Gevura	-	left line
Shuruk	-	Tifferet	-	middle line

IN THE EXTREMITIES

Hirik	-	Netzah	-	right line
Kubutz	-	Hod	-	left line
	-	Malchut	-	middle line (has no designation)

The levels of *Nekudot*:

Above the letters	-	Light of Neshama
In the letters	-	Light of Ruach
Under the letters	-	Light of Nefesh

Zivug de Nekudot is the *Zivug* between *Hochma de Aba* and *Hochma de Ima*.

Zivug de Otiot is the *Zivug* between *Bina de Aba* and *Bina de Ima*.

The letters combined together designate Returning Light during the screen's ascent from *Tabur* to *Peh*. They are combined, for they all ascend to their root, which unites everything, whereas the use of the will to receive, even for the Creator's sake, causes separation.

A state of separated letters occurs when the Light enters the *Kli* (vessel, the letters of *HaVaYaH*); the four letters thereby separate, since the Light makes a distinction between the *Sefirot*: depending on their different properties, it clothes in them in different ways.

HaVaYaH with filling *Aleph* comes on a screen with *Aviut Aleph* (thickness one), *HaVaYaH* with filling *Hey* comes on a screen with *Aviut Bet* (thickness two). A plain name refers to *Aviut Shoresh* (zero thickness) with the Light of *Nefesh*. Plain letters refer to a *Partzuf* with a screen of *Aviut Aleph*.

The truly faithful, who believe in the three fundamentals: the Creator, His Providence and the Torah, need the two lines to be in constant balance for their spiritual advancement. The left line is wisdom, the Light of *Hochma* that enters the desire to receive, which pertains to the left side, and the right line is faith, the Light of *Hassadim* (mercy), the altruistic desire to bestow.

Existing in knowledge only means that man is under the rule of the impure forces (*Klipa*) of the left side, which renders him totally unable to feel the spiritual, leaving him in spiritual darkness. Alternately, existing only in faith means that man is under the rule of the impure forces (*Klipa*) of the right side that convinces him that he has achieved perfection, that there is

nothing else to work on, nothing to correct within him. This, too, denies him the opportunity to advance.

The Zohar continues: And the Creator answered further (the letter *Tav*): "The word *MaveT* (death) ends with you. And since these are your properties, you are not suitable for Me to create the world with you." Immediately following, the letter *Tav* departed from Him.

The moment the Creator set about creating the world-*ZON* by selecting their properties, all twenty-two letters of *ZON* appeared before Him, starting from the last—*Tav*, and ending with the first, *Aleph*—the head of all letters. The reason for the letters coming in reverse order is that they constitute the *MAN* of *ZON*, the *Kelim* of *ZON*, which emerge from below upwards. The usual alphabetical order corresponds to the Light (*MAD*), which descends from Above downwards. But the order of *MAN* is opposite to that of *MAD*, for it ascends from below upwards.

Letters are none other than desires, properties, and thoughts that, in man's opinion, are suitable for the attainment of the spiritual, the Creator, of His Providence. Man skips from one thought to another: one moment he thinks that it is possible to attain the Upper Worlds with one property, next he believes he can enter the spiritual realms by mastering another property, then he begins to stubbornly observe all the commandments and pray zealously, or disregards all the actions and plunges into contemplation and reading. Sometimes he craves only knowledge, and sometimes only faith, right down to fanaticism.

Just as there are two extremes in our world—knowledge and faith, in the spiritual world, as man now consciously ascends the spiritual ladder to the Creator, there is spiritual work in the attainment of knowledge and faith. Hence, Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag's commentary on *The Zohar* is entitled *The Sulam* (The Ladder).

Each of the twenty-two Hebrew letters represents a certain property. At times it seems that the property of the letter *Tav* is suitable for the attainment of the spiritual; at times he believes that some other letter is more appropriate. This occurs because in the process of his spiritual ascent, man begins to increasingly understand the true Goal of creation and the Creator, which is exactly what is demanded of him.

Thus, he continues to sort through it all, until his search yields the truth: only with the help of the letter *Bet*, which stands at the beginning of the word *Berachah* (blessing)—contact with the Creator,—only with the help of this force can one achieve the goal.

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us how the letters—properties, forces, and desires—come to the Creator. By offering up his prayer (*MAN*), man asks for some property that seems like a real goal to him. And each letter tries to prove that it is best suited for the attainment of the sensation of the Creator and merging with Him. But the Creator shows that the best and the only letter is *Bet*, as only it can help man to establish contact with Him. This is why the Torah begins with this letter.

The description of the spiritual forces designated by each letter is incredibly deep, and in order to attain full clarity we need to bridge several other preliminary explanations: the creation of the world includes its existence and process of perfection so that the world could attain the goal for which it was created.

The Creator created the world consisting of two contrasting forces; against each pure, altruistic force, He created an impure, egoistic one, which is its equal and opposite. Just as there are four pure worlds *ABYA*, the Creator created opposite them four impure worlds *ABYA*.

Therefore, in our world—the last degree of the world of *Assiya*—a spiritually evolved person that senses the Creator and has entered with his properties into the spiritually pure world, looks no different from an egoistic and spiritually undeveloped person, who has not attained the spiritual realm. This means that one who does not perceive the spiritual is totally unable to differentiate between spiritual purity and impurity.

We see that in our world one cannot advance with the help of the pure forces. On the contrary, it is his egoistic aspirations that provide man with the strength to conquer everything in the world. How often do we see fervent fanatics immersed in their impure desires to capture for themselves both this world and the next, whereas one that aspires to the Creator has no strength for even a slightest spiritual movement! In our world there is no proof or confirmation that man advances on the right path. And under no circumstances should one draw conclusions based on one's life experience or "common sense."

So how can a person in this world exist and advance towards the Goal of creation if he is unable to tell good from bad, pure from impure? There is one sign by which one can distinguish purity from impurity: impure forces bear no spiritual fruit. Thus, those that advance through the impure worlds *ABYA* do not attain anything spiritual, whereas those who are connected to the pure forces reap spiritual fruit on their path.

As it is explained in the "Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot" (items 19-23), if man advances along the right path, he attains the secrets of the Torah in

three to five years. The Creator helps those who wish to acquire altruistic desires over and above their own requests, and thus one attains the desired goal. From below, man aspires to the Creator with his small desire (*MAN*), and from Above, the Creator pours onto him tremendous spiritual desires and strength (*MAD*).

This is the only opportunity to check whether or not the path that one is on is correct, whether it leads to altruism or to even bigger egoism. By no means can one consider his well-being, soaring elation, his happiness and success in life as proofs of correct advancement. It is precisely in those states of feeling perfection, well-being, and contentment that he must ask himself: "Have I attained the secrets of the Torah?" And until he has attained them, his "perfection" is impure.

Man should always strive for the middle line—a balance of faith and knowledge—in the following three notions: the Creator, His Providence, and the Torah. And under no circumstances should he advance by either faith or knowledge alone. If he only wants to attain the Creator, His Providence or the Torah, he enters spiritual darkness, for it is impossible to receive the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*) without the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*).

Such a state is referred to as the left impure force, "*Klipat Esau*." And if man strives to advance through faith alone, he enters the impure force of the right side, "*Klipat Yishmael*," which tells him he is in a state of perfection. In this case, he sees no point in his work and is thus unable to continue to advance.

In other words, even if one is full of joy, which is exactly what the Torah urges him to feel (to perceive the Creator's Providence with joy, for joy signifies justification of creation, understanding that His Providence is always just and kind), unless he has attained the secrets of the Torah, his path is considered erroneous, as he lacks the intention "for the Creator's sake," which reveals the secrets of the Torah.

This article explains the particular properties of the Hebrew letters—how all the letters come before the Creator, each asking Him to create the world with its property. Each of the twenty-two letters represents a spiritual degree in the worlds *ABYA*, and each believes that its pure spiritual properties are most suitable for the task, that by attaining its degree and acquiring its properties, the inhabitants of the world will be able to elevate the pure forces over the impure ones, so much so that they will reach the end of correction, the Goal of creation.

However, the Creator answers each letter that against it are the corresponding impure forces, and therefore man will be unable to properly separate the pure forces from the impure ones, and afterwards, utilize the pure forces to achieve

the goal. This occurrence repeats itself until the appearance of the letter *Bet*, which represents the degree called "the Creator's blessing," against which there are no impure forces of any kind.

And the Creator consented to create the world with the letter *Bet*, with its property; for it has no impure counterpart, only *Bet* presents an opportunity to carry out an analysis between good and evil, to determine when man works for himself and when he works for the Creator's sake. Therefore, only by its force, by its property can the world exist: so as to extract from the "mixture" of one's desires only what's pure, and elevate them above the impure, down to complete eradication of the latter, and the consequent attainment of complete correction of one's nature.

As it follows from *The Zohar,* only the Creator's help, called "a blessing," is the force of man's salvation, the only thing capable of freeing him from the rule of the impure forces. And this force, called "blessing," descends only upon those that advance along the right path.

The right path is a combination of three conditions: (i) one's efforts in studying (only!) genuine Kabbalistic sources; (ii) contact with a true Kabbalist, whom he accepts as his teacher; and (iii) contact with like-minded people, who seek spiritual elevation. A more detailed explanation will be provided to serious students only.

All twenty-two letters are divided into three degrees: *Bina*, *Zeir Anpin* (ZA), and *Malchut*, since there are no *Kelim* (letters) above *Bina*. Twenty-two letters in *Bina* are called "big," twenty-two letters in ZA are called "medium," and twenty-two letters in *Malchut* are called "small."

Each of the three *Sefirot* of *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* are further divided into three degrees: The twenty-two letters of *Bina* contain their own *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Likewise, ZA has his own ten *Sefirot*, in which his *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* also contain twenty-two letters. The same applies to *Malchut*.

The twenty-two letters of each degree are divided into three types. The letters from *Aleph* to *Tet* (1–9) are considered units; these are the nine *Sefirot* of *Bina*. The letters from *Yod* to *Tzadik* (10–90) are considered tens; these are the nine *Sefirot* of ZA. And finally, the four letters *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin* and *Tav* (100–400) are considered hundreds; and these are the four *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, since *Malchut* is located below and downwards of *Chazeh de* ZA, which corresponds in height to the four *Sefirot* of ZA.

Bina, units, big letters, nine letters: *Aleph*, *Bet*, *Gimel*, *Dalet*, *Hey*, *Vav*, *Zayin*, *Chet*, *Tet*.

ZA, tens, medium letters, nine letters: *Yod*, *Chaf*, *Lamed*, *Mem*, *Nun*, *Samech*, *Ayin*, *Peh*, *Tzadik*.

Malchut, hundreds, small letters, four letters: *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, *Tav*.

However, it is known that units are in *Malchut*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Bina*, which contradicts the aforesaid that units are in *Bina*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Malchut*. Such inverse dependence is caused by the inverse relationship between the Lights and the *Kelim*: the lowest Light enters the Highest *Kelim*. The Upper *Kelim* are the first to emerge, from *Keter* down to *Malchut* (*Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*), whereas the first to enter them is the smallest Light, *Nefesh*, followed by *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*.

Therefore, if there are only units in the *Kelim*, from *Aleph* to *Tet*, then only the Light of *Nefesh* is present. And if tens are added to the *Kelim*, the Light of *Ruach* appears, and if hundreds are added to the *Kelim*, the Light of *Neshama* fills them.

This is why hundreds are defined as *Bina*, tens as ZA, and units as *Malchut*. However, with regard to the *Kelim*, the order is inversed: units are in *Bina*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Malchut*.

Bina:	Light (100)	-	Kelim (1)
ZA:	Light (10)	-	Kelim (10)
Malchut:	Light (1)	-	Kelim (100)

The letters descend from *Bina* to ZA and from there to *Malchut*. When they descend from *Bina* to ZA, they descend as three lines: 22/3 = 7 letters in each, with the remaining letter being added to the middle line. These twenty-two letters descend in three lines to *Malchut*, which consists of five final letters *MANTZEPACH*, thereby bringing the total number in *Malchut* to 22 + 5 = 27 letters.

The middle line is called "Heaven," "firmament." Therefore, when *The Zohar* speaks of letters in the firmament, it means that the two middle lines, 7 + 7 = 14 = *Yod* + *Dalet* = *Yad* (hand) writes all the twenty-two letters in the firmament (ZA) through the middle line. That is how one should interpret the words of the Torah regarding the letters that appear in the sky or having seen the hand that writes the letters in the sky.

The twenty-two letters of the Torah are the *Kelim* to be filled by the Light of *NRN*. Units—from *Aleph* to *Yod*—are the *Kli* intended for the Light of *Bina* (*Neshama*). Tens—from *Yod* to *Kuf*—are the *Kli* meant for the Light of ZA (*Ruach*). Hundreds—from *Kuf* to *Tav*—are the *Kli* for the Light of *Malchut* (*Nefesh*).

Letters are the *Kelim*, into which the Light clothes; in all, there are twenty-two special properties, and thus twenty-two symbols of their description, called letters. Just as the combinations of the twenty-two letters suffice for the description of all existing knowledge, the various couplings, unions (*Zivugim* of *Sefirot*) of the twenty-two *Kelim*, properties, desires of the *Partzuf* are sufficient for receiving and bestowing Light, fulfilling all spiritual actions and bringing all the letters (man's desires) to correction.

Letters represent the various correlations of *ZON*:

a) ZA, consisting of six parts of his extremities, husband to *Malchut*, designated by the letter *Vav*, *Sefira Yesod*—level of an embryo;

b) ZA designated by the letter *Vav*, *Sefira Tifferet*, consisting of six parts of his hands—level of nursing;

c) ZA that stands between *AVI*, while *Nukva* must ascend to him, thereby reaching the level of reception of *Ohr Hochma*.

d) ZA, the letter *Vav*, above him are ten *Sefirot Keter-Hochma*, below him are ten *Sefirot Bina-Tifferet-Malchut*—and together they make up the letter *Aleph*. And the final corrected state will come when *Malchut* ascends to *Keter* of ZA (the Upper *Yod* in the letter *Aleph*) at the end of correction. When *Malchut* ascends above *Parsa* (*Vav*), she receives the Light herself, whereas when she descends below *Vav*, she receives from ZA. As *Malchut* ascends, she forms *Taamim* (tone marks), when she descends, she is called *Nekuda* (point), and when she merges with ZA, she is referred to as a point inside *Vav* (*Shuruk*).

The order of ***ATBaSH***: There is a special combination of letters, e.g. the first with the last ('A' through 'T'), the second with the second last ('B' through 'Sh'), etc., which designate the conditions for diffusion of the Upper Light from Above downwards.

MANTZEPACH: All the worlds and *Partzufim* were created with the twenty-two letters of *Malchut*. The screen is located in the head of the *Partzuf*, preventing the Light from entering. It repels the Light, calculates how much it can receive for the Creator's sake, and only then accepts it.

Each of the five levels of the will to receive that exist in *Malchut*, in the *Guf* of the *Partzuf*, has a corresponding restriction in the screen, located in the *Peh*, to prevent the Light from entering the body. Therefore, the screen in the *Peh* consists of five parts, forces.

These five restrictive forces of the screen, five exertions of the screen are designated by the five final letters of the alphabet: *Mem-Nun-Tzadik-Peh-Chaf* (abbreviated as *MANTZEPACH*). They are called "final letters" because they are written only at the end of words. These forces determine the reception of Light in the body of the *Partzuf*, and therefore beget the other twenty-two letters (*Kelim*, corrected desires, which receive the Light). Although the five letters *MANTZEPACH* are only found at the end of words, in oral speech they represent the five groups of pronunciation of the twenty-two letters. And the letters *MANTZEPACH* stand at the head of each group.

Out of the five letters *MANTZEPACH* originate five groups of sounds:

1. *Peh–Keter*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the throat; they are called *AChHA—Aleph-Chet-Hey-Ayin*. *Aleph* is the Light of *Partzuf Keter* of *Atzilut*, concealed from the lower ones and called *Atik*. *Chet* is the Light of *Partzuf Hochma* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *Arich Anpin* and also concealed from the lower ones. *Hey* is the Light of *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *Ima* (mother), who receives the Light of *Hochma* from *Aba* (father) in order to pass it on to her children (*ZON*). *Ayin* is the Light of *Zeir Anpin's* face. Since the Light of *ZA* that enters *Malchut* is called "the Torah," it is said that the Torah has *Ayin* (70) faces, that the Creator (*ZA*) has *Ayin* (70) names. After all, with regard to *Malchut*, *ZA* is the Creator. Therefore, seventy souls descended to Egypt, and so forth.

2. *Chaf–Hochma*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the palate; they are called *GIChiK—Gimel-Yod-Chaf-Kuf*. The letters *AChHA* transfer the Light to the letters *GIChiK*: *Aleph* passes the Light to *Gimel*, which carries reward (*Gemul—Gimel*) for the righteous. *Chet* passes the Light of *Hochma* to *Yod*, but this Light is concealed. *Hey* illuminates *Chaf* with the Light of *Bina*, which carries joy. *Ayin* illuminates *Kuf*. Just as *Ayin* = 70, as it consists of seven *Sefirot*, *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut*, each containing ten *Sefirot* of its own, *Kuf* = 100, as it consists of ten *Sefirot* from *Keter* to *Malchut*, each consisting of its own ten. Hence, the palate fully complements the throat.

3. *Nun–Bina*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the tongue, called *DaTLaT—Dalet-Tet-Lamed-Nun-Tav*.

4. *Mem–ZA*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the lips, called *BOMoCH—Bet-Vav-Mem-Chaf*.

5. *Tzadik–Malchut*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the teeth, called *ZaSSHRaTZ – Zayin-Samech-Shin-Reish-Tzadik*.

Voice and speech: Voice is formed in *ZA*, speech—in *Malchut*. If he who is righteous, and who exists in the worlds *BYA*, raises his prayers (*MAN*) to

Malchut of the world of *Atzilut*, he causes *ZON* to ascend to *AVI*, and unites them in a constant *Zivug* so as to assure the Light's descent to the lower ones. *ZON* receives the Light from *AVI*; this Light is called "voice" and "speech," and this is the power of the righteous—to create the pure and destroy the impure with their voice.

Man's speech is conceived in the lungs: as the air exits the lungs and reaches the mouth, it turns to voice, and as it leaves the mouth, it becomes speech. Two lips accept the voice from the two parts of the lungs (the left and the right) and turn it into speech. Each lung consists of five parts so as to pass to the five parts in the mouth: to the guttural letters *AChHA*, the labial letters *BOMoCH*, the palatal letters *GIChiK*, the lingual letters *DaTLaT* and the dental letters *ZaSSHRaTZ*.

The seven primary *Sefirot* of *ZA* are called "Seven Heavens." The seventy names of *ZA* originate from the seventy (7 x 10) *Sefirot* of *ZA*. *ZA* himself is called "Heaven," and *Malchut* is called "earth." The *Sefirot* of *ZA* are also known as *Ruach* (because of the Light of *Ruach* in them), which ascends to *Bina* (ears), where it turns to sound, with *Hochma* in the left ear and *Hassadim* in the right.

THE LETTER *TAV*

Each of the twenty-two letters corresponds to a particular spiritual degree, on which it acts. The letter itself is that spiritual degree. Hence, the letter *Tav* claims that its properties are the most suitable for the creation of the world, that its properties can bring the world to correction and to the goal of creation, for it defines the property of "truth," the Creator's seal.

The impure forces exist solely on account of the miniature Light received from the pure forces; this Light is called *Ner Dakik* (tiny candle). Without this Light, the impure forces would neither be able to exist nor to function—tempting man with the pleasures they received from the tiny spark of Light that fell from the pure *Sefirot*. Therefore, the last, lowest pure degree lets a little bit of the Upper Light down to the impure forces.

Without the support of the pure forces, the impure forces would instantly disappear. A question arises: who needs them to exist and what for? Obviously, the impure forces were created on a par with pure ones by the Creator Himself, for there is no other power in the entire universe besides Him.

It was necessary to create impure forces in order to concentrate them in the enormous desires to receive pleasure, in immense egoism. The system of

the impure worlds of *ABYA* serves as a kind of storehouse of desires to receive pleasure, from which, to the extent of his correction, man can take more and more new desires so as to correct them. Thus, by attaching uncorrected impure forces to himself and correcting them, man can gradually ascend higher and higher, up to the level of the Creator. For this purpose the Creator created impure forces and sustains them through the system of pure ones.

The impure system of the worlds *ABYA* exists on the same level, parallel to the pure one. Our world is located under these two spiritual systems. Our world is also called egoistic and impure, but its forces and desires are so insignificant that they are located below the worlds of the impure *ABYA*.

When, with the help of Kabbalah, one surmounts the level of our world's egoism, he enters the pure world of *Assiya*. And immediately after, the impure world of *Assiya* begins to influence him, tempting him with its false pleasures. By overcoming the temptations of the impure world of *Assiya*, one ascends spiritually. But until one surmounts the impure desires of his body, of our world, he will not begin to sense, or enter the spiritual worlds, for he would not be able to withstand the impure forces that act there.

Unlike the forces that act in the spiritual world, man in our world is only influenced by the small egoistic force called his "body," his ego. Man can struggle with this force, either winning or losing his battles. But even if he is defeated, man retains that tiny spark of Light (*Ner Dakik*), which sustains his existence.

Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag gives the following example: man's work in this world resembles writing on a school blackboard, where any mistake may be wiped off without harming the writer, where he can make corrections and write anew, until he learns to write correctly. Only when he learns to write correctly is he allowed to enter the spiritual realm.

Therefore, our world is the most insignificant of all. Everyone must begin here, and everyone is bound to return here, and be born again and again until he crosses the boundary between our world and the spiritual one. (There are many additional conditions required for the soul to not descend to this world anymore, and those who will merit, will understand).

Hence, the vertical line, the leg of the letter *Kuf*, descends below the writing line, which signifies the Light descending through this letter down to the impure forces. And no other letter descends below the writing line, like the *Kuf* does.

For the impure forces to exist (any creature, whether pure or impure, can only exist by receiving Light), the last, lowest degree of pure forces descends into the impure forces and gives them the Light necessary for their existence and

realization of their role: to entice man with their pleasures and convince him to act according to the law of the impure forces.

At first, the left leg of the letter *Tav* also descended below the writing line. But the Creator saw that the impure forces would then be too closely connected to pure ones, so He severed this connection and returned the left leg of the letter *Tav* back to the writing line, to the level of the pure forces.

As a result of this shortening, the left leg of the *Tav* doubled in thickness, as it folded in two, and no Light passes to the impure forces anymore. On the contrary, it even becomes the Creator's seal by holding the impure forces at bay and preventing them from stealing the Upper Light, for as soon as any impure forces touch it, they instantly die.

And all the life-force necessary for the sustenance of the impure forces is passed by the Creator through the letter *Kuf*, because, being the first letter of *Malchut*, it is remote from them; thus, there is no fear or risk that its connection to the impure forces would become too strong.

Malchut consists of only four letters from Above downwards: *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, and *Tav*. *Kuf* is the first, *Tav* is the last, and below it are the impure forces. Therefore, if they receive the Light they need according to the thought of creation from *Kuf*, the furthest letter from them, the impure forces have no way of "stealing" more Light than *Malchut*, who consists of four letters, is obliged to give them.

This is why this letter is called *Kuf*, to show that it gives strength to the impure system of *ABYA*—a fake (nonexistent) man, just as a monkey (*Kof* in Hebrew) resembles a human being.

And it misleads people by pretending to be the truth and claiming that its path leads to the attainment of spirituality, the Creator, *Lishma*, the sensation of the Creator. However, the pure forces maintain that only with the help of the Torah can man attain adequate correction of his properties so as to merge them with the Creator.

And this is what the letter *Tav* claimed: because it is the Creator's seal of truth, it stands at the end of the pure system and does not allow the impure forces to cling to pure ones, and pose as if they are pure. This is why its properties are worthy of becoming the basis for the creation of the world—so that via the analysis of good and evil, purity and impurity, inhabitants of this world may be sure that by acquiring its properties they will achieve the goal of their creation.

The four letters *Kuf-Reish-Shin-Tav* make up the four *Sefirot* of *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*: *Keter-Hochma-Bina-Tifferet*, where *Tifferet* consists of six *Sefirot*—*Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*. But when the letter *Kuf* is by itself, without *Reish-Shin-Tav*, the Torah, which spreads to the worlds *BYA*, also shines upon the impure forces, and the angel of death receives the strength to destroy all that lives. This state is designated by the letter *Kuf*. But when *Malchut* is corrected, she is designated by the letter *Hey*, whose difference from *Kuf* lies in the long leg of the *Kuf* (*Malchut de Malchut*).

This long left leg, which turns the *Hey* into *Kuf*, indicates that the Light descends from the pure forces (*Partzufim*) to the impure worlds of *BYA*, the impure forces referred to as death. And when *Malchut* joins with *Bina* and receives the strength from *Bina* to ascend and receive the Light, the other letters join *Malchut*, and she draws the Light of life from *Bina*.

In this state, the left leg of the *Kuf* is reduced in half, turning the *Kuf* into *Tav*, whose left leg is twice as thick, due to its shortening. The part of *Malchut* that passed Light to the impure forces now ascended out of them, hence there are two kinds of *Malchut*: *Miftacha* (key)—the part that joined with *Bina*, and *Man'ula* (lock)—the part that ascended out of the impure forces.

These two parts of *Malchut* manifest in different ways: *Miftacha*—openly and *Man'ula*—secretly. Two paths of bringing man to correction emerge from them: the good path of the Torah and the path of suffering.

However, after *Malchut* corrects her properties and joins with *Bina*, she no longer parts from *Bina*, but, upon receiving Light from her, *Malchut* pours it onto the worlds, and the impure forces lose their strength to sow death and rule over the world. And if a case arises where a sinner must be punished, the impure forces must first receive permission to punish him, for without permission they may not reveal the *Man'ula*.

Thus, after *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, thereby correcting her properties, the impure forces are no longer free to rule the world, unless they are permitted. The reason for this is the letter *Tet*, the last letter of *Bina*, which sends the Light of life to all with the help of the *Miftacha*. After *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, she becomes a *Miftacha*, and does not let go of this connection. Respectively, the impure forces, the leg of the letter *Kuf*, can no longer sow death.

Three places emerge from this: (i) where only the properties of the letter *Tet* rule by shining with the Light of life of this world; (ii) the entire world after *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, defined as *Miftacha*, when the letter *Tet* shines upon all, but permits the punishment of sinners according to the rule: "You advance

towards the goal either by the path of the Torah or by the path of suffering"; (iii) hell, the place of eternal punishment by the letter *Kuf*, in contrast with the first place, ruled by the letter *Tet*, where life is eternally prosperous.

All the letters with all their secret properties, described by those who understand them, are located in the Temple. All the Upper and lower worlds are created and function in the framework of their laws-properties, and the Supernal Name, the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* rules over all.

The *Mishkan* (tabernacle) in the Temple was also designed with the help of letters, for its builder, Betzalel, knew how to join the letters that made Heaven and earth. And since he was unique in possessing this wisdom, he was entrusted with the building of the sanctuary.

As the Creator chose Betzalel Above, so He wished him to be chosen below, as He said to Moshe Above: "Choose Betzalel." So Moshe said to his people below: "The Creator has chosen Betzalel." For such was Betzalel's name-property (*Be Tzel El*)—"In the Creator's shadow."

The Creator is called ZA or the *Sefira Tifferet* in *Partzuf* ZA, which shines upon the *Sefira Yesod*, called *Tzadik* (righteous one). Betzalel is called *Yesod*, which receives the Light of *VAK*—an incomplete Light—from *Tifferet*, which is hence called "sitting in the shadow," and, in turn, shining into *Malchut*. Thus, like *Tifferet*, the *Sefira Yesod* that passes this Light also consists of six *Sefirot*: *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*.

The name of the letter *Tav*, "truth," indicates that in order to reach its level, its degree, one must attain the property of truth. Therefore, the letter *Tav* claimed that with its properties man can fully analyze good and evil, renounce his impure desires as false, and to the degree that he renounces them, draw closer to the pure desires (forces), and thereby be certain that he will reach the goal of creation—correction of all his desires (*Gmar Tikkun*, end of correction).

This corresponds to the saying: "The Creator is close only to those who truly ask Him for help." For only with His help can one achieve correction and spiritual elevation. However, this help only comes to those who genuinely, "truly" demand it. As soon as man is able to cry out wholeheartedly for the Creator's help, he instantly receives it. And if he does not receive an answer from the Creator—it is a sign that his request is not yet complete, that he did not yet fully realize his egoistic nature and properties as worthless, has not yet fully felt his helplessness and inability to exit and correct his properties by himself. This is why letter *Tav* was certain that once man acquires its property of truth, he will be able to reach the goal.

But the Creator answered her that it is not worthy of becoming the basis of creation, for the forces of judgment that would arise from it would be so strong that even the complete righteous, who fulfilled the entire Torah from *Aleph* to *Tav* (A to Z) and reached the property of truth, will nevertheless be punished by it, for they have not destroyed all the sinners, as it is written in the Talmud (*Shabbat*, 55).

Furthermore, the Creator declines its request, for it is also the seal of death, as its power brought death to this world. For man is bound to die, as the serpent forged its seal and deceived Adam in his understanding of the Tree of Knowledge. This is why the world cannot exist with its properties.

THE LETTER *SHIN*

24. The letter *Shin* appeared before the Creator and said: "Maker of the world, it befits the world to be created with me, for Your own name *Shadday* begins with me." The Creator replied: "You are fine, handsome, and truthful, but since the letters (properties) of the word *Sheker* (falsehood) took you to be with them, I cannot create the world with your properties, for *SheKeR* (falsehood) exists only because the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* took you."

Malchut consists of ten *Sefirot* and has two endings:

1) If she has only her own properties, she contains all ten *Sefirot*, from *Keter de Malchut* to *Malchut de Malchut*. In this case she firmly restricts the diffusion of Light and is designated by the letter *Tav*;
2) If *Ima-Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* fills *Malchut* with her Light, *Partzuf Malchut* ends not in the *Sefira Malchut*, but in the *Sefira Yesod*, and is designated by the letter *Shin*.

The three tips of the letter *Shin* are called its crown and signify the Light of *Bina*, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy), which descends from *Partzuf Ima-Bina* into *Partzuf Malchut*. This Light of *Bina*, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy), creates new altruistic properties in *Malchut*, altruistic intentions to receive the Light for the Creator's sake, after which *Partzuf Malchut* can receive the *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) from ZA (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 22). When bonded so, ZA and *Malchut* are called "husband and wife," and the Light that *Malchut* receives from ZA is called "100 blessings."

This new ending of *Partzuf Malchut* in the *Sefira Yesod* instead of in the *Sefira Malchut* is therefore called *Yesod de Nukva* or "the central point of existence,"

for all that exists in the world originates from it and exists thanks to it. *Partzuf Malchut* is the sum of all the creatures, and we are all its parts. All the worlds and all that inhabit them constitute various parts of *Partzuf Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

Each Upper *Partzuf* is considered the Creator of its adjacent lower *Partzuf*, for the latter originates (born) from it. Therefore, in relation to all the creatures, *Zeir Anpin* of the world of *Atzilut* is considered and called "the Creator," our Creator.

And, like the *Tav*, the letter *Shin* is called "truth" and "the Creator's seal," for a seal signifies the end of a spiritual object—*Partzuf*, like a seal fixed at the end of a letter, written in the name of the Creator. The Creator's seal is similar to Himself; this is why the seal is called the mark of truth, for only the presence of a seal gives a letter the force of truth, and confirms the truthfulness of its content.

However, the significance of the letter *Shin* is greater than that of the letter *Tav*, for *Shin* is the first letter of the word *Shadday*, one of the Creator's names-properties, designating His power, by which He said "*Dai*" (enough) to creation—stop and do not descend further (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12)—do not descend below the letter *Shin*.

This reveals that the world and its inhabitants can only exist with the help of the letter *Shin*, thanks to its property that restricts the diffusion of Light. The Creator said: "Stop, Creature, at the letter *Shin*, and do not spread to the letter *Tav*," for if the Light had spread to *Tav*, the impure forces would have received such great strength that man would have no hope of escaping them and reaching altruistic properties. This is why the ending point of *Shin* is called "the central point of existence."

Therefore, after the letter *Shin* saw the Creator refuse the letter *Tav*, precisely because ending the diffusion of Light with *Tav* creates conditions for correction of the world that are too difficult for man to meet, the letter *Shin* claimed that its property of *Shadday* is suitable for the creation of the world, and was certain that the Creator would choose it—its properties—as the basis of creation, for it possesses all the advantages that *Tav* lacked, which was the reason for the Creator's refusal.

And it has *Tav's* advantage, as well: it is the Creator's seal—truth. Moreover, it has an additional advantage: it is called by the name *Shadday*, the new ending of *Malchut* for the inhabitants of the world, instead of the ending by the property

of the letter *Tav*. Based on all that, the letter *Shin* found the strength and courage to appear before the Creator with the proposition to create the world with it.

But the Creator answered that precisely because of *Shin*'s additional advantages compared to those of the letter *Tav*, the impure forces opposite it are strengthened. For opposite each letter (spiritually pure forces or properties) there is an opposing impure force (egoistic desire), as it is written: "The Creator had made one opposite the other" (*Kohelet*, 7:14).

The strengthening of the impure forces from the properties of the letter *Shin* occurred as a result of her properties joining the impure properties of falsehood, forging spiritual purity of the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*: falsehood would be unable to exist in the world, for it would be recognized at once, had the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* not put *Shin* at the head of the word *SheKeR* (falsehood). And when truth stands at the head of the word that designates the property of falsehood, man naturally tends to err.

There are two sources of impure forces: the first is a small luminescence (*Ner Dakik*), which the pure force itself (the Creator) sends to the impure forces (desires) so as to sustain them. This is done so they would not disappear until there is a need to "punish" the sinners with them. However, these are small forces—their height is not great, for they receive only a small luminescence, sufficient to sustain their life.

This small luminescence descends into the impure forces from the letter *Kuf*, which results in these impure forces becoming similar to man in the worlds *BYA*, as a monkey in comparison to a human being, as it is said: "The Creator had made one opposite the other" (*Kohelet*, 7:14).

The second source of impure forces arises from the lower ones' spiritual fall: as a result of people's evil, egoistic actions, the Light passes from the system of the pure forces into the impure. And the first transgression is Adam's sin, by which the system of the impure forces assumed an identical formation to that of the pure system, stationing itself opposite, parallel to it. As a result, the impure worlds *ABYA* emerged opposite the pure ones.

The second source of impure forces is the letter *Reish*, which indicates that the impure forces rise and attach themselves to the pure forces, right up to the level of *Bina* of *Malchut*, designated by the letter *Dalet*.

As was previously stated, the twenty-two letters of *Partzuf Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* are divided in three groups of letters: units in *Bina*, tens in *ZA*, and hundreds in *Malchut*.

PARTZUF	SEFIROT	LETTERS
BINA (IMA)	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*
ZA	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*
MALCHUT	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*

The letters *Aleph-Bet-Gimel* correspond to *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina*, called "the head" of a spiritual object (*Partzuf*). The letters from *Dalet* to *Tet* refer to the body of the *Partzuf*.

Aleph	-	Keter	**HEAD**
Bet	-	Hochma	
Gimel	-	Bina	
Dalet	-	Hesed	**BODY**
Hey	-	Gevura	
Vav	-	Tifferet	
Zayin	-	Netzah	
Chet	-	Hod	
Tet	-	Yesod	

The body only receives what descends to it from the head. Therefore, *Dalet*, the first letter of the body, through which the body receives Light from the head, is called *Dalah ve Aniyah* (poor and destitute). *Dalet* only receives what *Gimel* gives it. Since *Gimel* contains the Light of *Hassadim*, that is, what descends into *Dalet*.

And this is why the letter *Gimel* is called *Gomel Hassadim* (merciful One) (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 104), according to its action with regard to *Dalet*, which would otherwise be completely without Light. The protruding sharp angle on the right side of *Dalet* is the sign of *Dalet's* abundance of *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, opposite the pure (altruistic) *Malchut*, stands the impure *Malchut*, who is pride and does not wish to receive the Light from *Gimel* and rely on it. Instead, she rises up in the desire to be the head, and in so creates the sharp angle of the *Dalet*. That indicates that the presence of *Ohr Hassadim* disappears, transforming it into the letter *Reish*, which is written as it is pronounced—with two letters: *Reish* and *Shin*.

The true merging of the pure ZA and *Malchut* is called *ECHaD* (one), consists of the letters *Aleph*, *Chet* and *Dalet*, for the letters from *Aleph* to *Chet* are the nine *Sefirot* of ZA. He passes the Light from *Gimel* of *Bina* to *Gimel* of *Malchut*, resulting in *Malchut* being filled with the Light of *Hassadim*, thereby becoming *Dalet* with a protruding right angle. As a result of this, ZA and *Malchut* become one.

When the lower ones (people) sin in their actions (intentions), they give the impure *Malchut* the strength to cling to the pure one—*Dalet*, to erase the sharp angle of the Light of *Hassadim* and turn it into the letter *Reish*. Thus, the word *Echad* (one) becomes *Acher* (other, alien, foreign): *Aleph-Chet-Dalet* of the word *Echad* are transformed into *Aleph-Chet-Reish* of the word *Acher*, for instead of the connection with the Creator emerges a connection with other, impure forces, called "*Elokim Acherim*" (other gods), which cling to ZA and *Malchut* of the pure world of *Atzilut*.

This leads to the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* distorting the Creator's seal (*Shin*), the letter of truth. As a result, *Yesod* of *Malchut*, which receives from *Yesod de* ZA, becomes linked to the impure source instead of the pure, for a new *Yesod* of the impure *Malchut* was formed with the help of the letter *Shin*.

From here the impure forces develop up to ten *Sefirot* with a head and a body, whereas *Shin* becomes the source of all that desolates, for destruction of purity begets impurity. And from this emerged the system of the impure worlds *ABYA* of the impure man.

Thus, we have learned how the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* became the two sources of emergence and development of impure forces. And since the impure forces pose as pure, they are called false, counterfeit letters whose purpose is to annihilate the system of the pure forces and their unity with the Creator, so as to forge themselves out of the devastation of the pure forces.

The birth of the impure forces from the destruction of the pure ones is possible on account of the letter *Shin*, *Yesod* of *Malchut*, joining with the impure forces as a result of the forging of the letter *Reish* out of *Dalet*. Thereby,

Echad turns into *Acher*, and the system of the impure forces (*Elokim Acherim*, other gods) is created.

And had the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* not captured the letter *Shin*, such an enormous system of impure forces, so capable of lying and falsifying everything in the eyes of man, would not have come into being.

Therefore, the Creator answered the letter *Shin*: "Though you are good, you will stand at the head of the word *Sheker* (falsehood) together with the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*. Indeed, upon capturing you, with your power they will be able to create an entire system of impure forces of falsehood and forgery. Hence, I cannot create the world with your properties, for since there is an impure system opposite from you, it is impossible to achieve the goal of creation with you."

THE LETTERS *KUF* AND *REISH*

25. From the aforesaid, it follows that whoever wishes to tell a lie will succeed if he first tells the truth as a base on which the lie will then grow and start to act. And this is because the letter *Shin* is a letter of truth, in which the Patriarchs had been united, for the three lines in the writing of the letter *Shin* (ש) signify the three Patriarchs, who designate the *Sefirot*-properties *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet*.

The letters *Kuf* and *Reish* indicate the evil side, as they form the impure side, called *KaR* (cold), which lacks warmth and life, for it draws its sustenance from *Malchut* when she turns from living water into ice. However, to create an opportunity to exist, these letters attach the *Shin* to themselves, thus creating the combination *KeSHeR* (tie, knot), which embodies strength and survival.

For the Light of *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* of *Bina*, which she receives from *Yesod de ZA*, creates a new ending in *Malchut*, a new *Kli*-desire to receive the Light called "100 blessings" from *ZA*. And since *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* are called the Patriarchs, and the Light that passes to *Malchut* descends from them, the letter *Shin* that designates them is called "truth."

By eliminating the sharp angle of the letter *Dalet*, the impure forces turn it into the letter *Reish*. By this, they convert the word *ECHaD* into *ACHeR*, thereby stealing *Yesod* of the pure *Malchut*, designated by *Shin*. Also, with the letter *Shin* they build the *Yesod* of the impure *Malchut*, which leads to a very strong clinging of impure forces to pure ones. This clinging is called *KeSHeR*, the reciprocal tie joining pure and impure forces, a knot that is not easily severed.

From the aforesaid, we see that the reason for the letters wishing for the world to be created with them is that each of them believes that only its properties can correct the world. The letter *Shin* thinks that the Light of *Hassadim* will bring the souls to the goal of creation. However, the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*—*KaR* (cold)—do not desire this Light, for receiving the Light of Mercy for the sake of bestowal is pure, but receiving it for the sake of pleasure is impure.

THE LETTER *TZADIK*

26. Subsequently, the letter *Tzadik* appeared before the Creator and said: "Master of the world, You should create the world with me, for *Tzadikim* (the righteous) are marked by me. You, who is called a *Tzadik* (righteous one), are also recorded within me, for You are righteous and You love righteousness. Therefore, my properties are suitable to create the world by."

The Creator answered: "*Tzadik*, you are truly righteous, but you must remain concealed and not be revealed to the extent required were the world to be created by you, so as to not give the world an excuse." The concealment of the letter *Tzadik* is necessary, for first came the letter *Nun*, which was then joined by the letter *Yod* from the Creator's Holy Name *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey* (*HaVaYaH*), who stood above it as a mark of the bond between the Creator and His creations, mounted the letter *Nun* and joined it on its right hand side, thereby creating the letter *Tzadik*.

The reason for the necessity of concealing the letter *Tzadik*, which makes it unsuitable for the creation of the world with it, is that when the Creator created Adam, i.e., ZA, He created him as two *Partzufim*-objects—male and female, connected to each other back to back. This is why the letter *Yod* stands with its back to the back of the letter *Nun*, both facing opposite directions, just as the letter *Tzadik* is depicted: the face of *Yod* turned upwards, while the face of *Nun* is turned downwards.

And the Creator also said to *Tzadik*: "In the future I will revoke the relationship of back-to back, and will join them face-to-face. In another place shall you so rise as such, but not at the beginning of creation. For in the beginning of creation, you must be connected back-to-back by the letters *Nun* and *Yod*, for this form indicates that the Light in you is concealed. Therefore, the world cannot be created with you." The letter *Tzadik* then left.

Tzadik came to suggest that the world should be created with its properties, for when it saw that the *Tav*'s request was turned down by the Creator due to

its heavy laws, and the letter *Shin*—due to the impure forces clinging to it—it thought that its properties could be suitable for the creation of the world. After all, it, too, contains the Creator's seal, and no impure forces cling to it.

That is why *Tzadik* said to the Creator that the righteous are sealed by its name as a mark of their union with Him, by circumcision and turning up of the place of contact (*Zivug*) with the Creator, which, thanks to these corrections, repels all the impure forces.

The Creator, called *Bina*, is also marked by *Tzadik*, for He is righteous like ZA, since the Upper Part of *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* (*Aba ve Ima—AVI*) corresponds to the male and female parts, like ZA and *Malchut*. And *AVI* are forever joined so as to send down the Light of Mercy and thus sustain the existence of all that are below them. This is why *Tzadik* thought itself suitable for creating the world, for the world lives by the Light of Mercy, and can reach the goal with its help.

The letter *Tzadik* is called the *Sefira Yesod* of ZA. When *Yesod* joins with *Malchut*, it is defined as *Tzadik* (righteous), for the nine *Sefirot* of ZA are from *Yod* to *Tzadik*, and *Kuf* is the beginning of *Malchut*, which consists of four *Sefirot*—*Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, and *Tav*.

When *Malchut* is joined with *Yesod* of ZA, *Kuf* is joined with *Tzadik*, and *Yesod* is called *Tzadik* (righteous). And to this the Creator replied to *Tzadik* that it is *Tzadik* in *Yesod* of ZA: "And you are *Tzadik* in Me, for *AVI* are forever joined so as to pour down the Light of Mercy and sustain the existence of the lower ones. And you are righteous, for *Malchut* is also connected to you, just as in the alphabet, *Kuf* follows *Tzadik*. Yet, in spite of all that, you do not merit for your properties to become the basis of the world."

Yesod of ZA includes in itself *Malchut* in the form of the letter *Kuf* in the word *TzadiK*. And when *Malchut* is included in *Yesod* as *Tzadik*, it is designated by the letter *Nun*, for *Nun* is *Gevura* of ZA (*Yod-Keter*, *Chaf-Hochma*, *Lamed-Bina*, *Mem-Hesed*, *Nun-Gevura*).

When ZA grows and becomes big, his *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* become *Sefirot Hochma-Bina-Daat*. Thus, *Gevura* becomes *Bina*. And when ZA becomes small once again, *Bina*, too, returns to being *Gevura* (*Nun*). This fall is designated by *Nun*'s head looking down.

The letter *Tzadik* consists of the letters *Nun* and *Yod* connected back-to-back. The letter *Nun* designates *Malchut* with the properties of the *Sefira Yesod* included in her; *Yod* designates the actual *Yesod* of ZA. Their connection—back-to-back, facing out in opposite directions—indicates that impure forces cling to their backs.

They conceal their backs from strangers since there is a flaw in their backs—the desire to receive the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*). This flaw must be concealed so as to prevent the impure forces from clinging to their backs. Therefore, the letter *Tzadik* is unsuitable for the world to be created by its properties. Its very shape reveals an opportunity for the impure forces to cling to it; this is why Adam (created out of ZA and *Malchut* when they are joined as *Tzadik*) is also created consisting of two halves, male and female, joined at their backs.

And if the letter *Tzadik* were to argue that in the big state, in the presence of *Ohr Hochma*, ZA and *Malchut* unite face-to-face, it would be told that such connection is impossible at their place, but only during their ascent to *AVI*. For if such a connection were possible in their own place, the impure forces would immediately cling to them. For this reason, the letter *Tzadik* is unworthy of becoming the basis of the universe.

THE LETTER *PEH*

27. The letter *Peh* entered and said: "Master of the world, it would be good to create the world with me, for the future liberation of the world is inscribed in me, as the word *Pedut* (liberation, redemption) begins with me. That is, liberation is deliverance from all suffering. And it is therefore fitting to create the world with me."

The Creator answered her: "Though you are fine, the word *Peshah* (transgression) begins with you and is secretly denoted by you, like a serpent that strikes and hides its head in its body. So a sinner bows his head, hiding from others' eyes, but stretches out his hands to sin. So is the shape of the letter *Peh*, whose head is hidden inside it." And the Creator also said to the letter *Ayin* that it would be unfitting to create the world with its properties, for within it is the property of *Avon* (crime, sin). And though *Ayin* tried to object, saying that its properties are contained in the word *Anavah* (humility), the Creator refused it nonetheless.

Pedut (Liberation) begins with the letter *Peh*, meaning that the property of *Peh* is contained in future liberation. This is why the letter *Peh* claims that it is worthy of being the basis of the world. Indeed, both *Galut* (exile) and *Ge'ula* (redemption) depend on *Malchut*: when *Malchut* has no inner Light of *Hochma*, the people of Israel are exiled from the land of Israel. For in our world, the land of Israel corresponds to *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, the spiritual land of Israel.

Just as in the spiritual world, ZA (Israel) distances from *Malchut* (the land of Israel), the people of Israel separate and leave their land in our world. And when the children of Israel correct their actions, they cause ZA (Israel) to fill his *Malchut* (the land of Israel) with Light, build her with his Light and unite with her face-to-face. As a result, the children of Israel of our world merit redemption and return to their land.

The Light from ZA, which builds and fills *Malchut*, descends from *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod* in ZA. *Hochma* of *Malchut* clothes in *Netzah* and *Bina* of *Malchut* clothes in *Hod*. The letters *Ayin* and *Peh* are *Netzah* and *Hod* in ZA. This is why *Peh*, the *Sefira Hod* in ZA, claimed that it was suitable to be the basis of the world, for the Light of *Hochma* that brings redemption to the entire world stems from *Peh* to *Malchut*. Thus, if the world achieved its property, it would undoubtedly reach the end of correction—complete redemption.

The letter *Peh* thought that it was more suitable to become the basis of the world than *Ayin* because although *Ohr Hochma* enters *Netzah-Ayin* and *Hod-Peh*, and is mainly present in *Netzah-Ayin*, redemption depends on *Hod-Peh*, nonetheless. That is because initially, *Bina* liberates *Malchut* from her restrictions and thereby redeems her.

By receiving from *Bina* her properties of mercy, *Malchut* merits redemption. This is fulfilled in the following way: *Bina* transcends her own properties and joins with *Malchut*, as a result of which, upon receiving the Light of *Hassadim*, *Malchut* can now receive the Light of *Hochma*. The restrictions imposed on the reception of Light mostly affect the left side, i.e., *Hod-Peh* in ZA. And that is why the letter *Peh* thought that since the Light of *Bina* enters it, and not *Netzah-Ayin*, it is better suited to become the basis of the world.

However, all the individual corrections made during the 6,000 years of the world's existence until the end of correction are considered incomplete, for the Upper Light, which allows for the discovery and analysis of all the impure forces within oneself, is not present in its entirety. Therefore, the Light may not be received in the worlds of BYA, below *Parsa*, below the boundary that separates the world of *Atzilut* from the worlds of BYA.

Parsa is *Malchut* that ascended to *Bina* in order to restrict the diffusion and reception of Light into those parts of her that are located below *Bina*. And as a consequence of Adam's attempt to nevertheless receive the Light under the *Parsa*, impurity slipped into *Malchut*, of which it is said that the serpent appeared before Chava (Eve) and brought impurity upon her (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 146). This impurity will only be corrected at the end of correction.

The thing is that the absence of the Upper Light in the force capable of discerning good from evil in all of *Malchut's* thickness gives rise to a flaw called "tears"—two tears that fall into a vast sea from the two eyes of *Hochma* and *Bina* that are concealed from all.

The two eyes are *Hochma* and *Bina*, and the tears signify the flaw in them from the presence of the impure force that appeared in them as a result of Adam's sin. This led to the ruin of the two Temples. These tears in *Malchut's* eyes will only dry at the end of correction, when death disappears from the world and all the Light shines in *Hochma* and *Bina* (item 56).

So the letter *Peh* was told that although it brings the world *Pedut* (redemption) with its Light, and although all redemptions pass only through it, this Light is incomplete. All the individual corrections are imperfect, for they come and go, just as the two Temples.

For the properties of *Peshah* (transgression) and *Pedut* (redemption) in the letter *Peh* are not sufficiently perfect and complete so as to withstand the sin of Adam, for in the absence of the full Light of *Hochma*, there is clinging of impure forces. Hence, the letter *Peh* is unworthy of being the basis of the world.

And since the property of *Peshah* (transgression) is concealed, the force of the serpent is present therein, deceiving people and leading them to their death. And it is impossible to kill it, just as a snake bites and immediately hides its head in itself (similar to the head of the letter *Peh*), which makes it impossible to kill it, for one may only kill the serpent within oneself by striking the "head." This is why the letter *Peh* is unsuitable for the creation of the world.

THE LETTER *AYIN*

Bina of the world of *Atzilut* is called *Ima Ilaa* (Supernal Mother) and also *Anavah* (modesty, humility). (Here, the capital "A" designates the letter *Ayin*, not to be confused with *Aleph*). The *Sefira Netzah* of *Zeir Anpin* (designated by the letter *Ayin*) clothes into *Malchut* with all of its Light, and ascends to *Bina*, who adorns her with her own adornments: *Bina* clothes into *Netzah* of ZA. But since the letter *Peh*, signifying *Peshah* (transgression) is concealed in *Netzah*, the Creator refused to create the world with its properties, as it is written in item 27.

Two words render the meaning of the word "transgression" in Hebrew: *Peshah* and *Avon*. However, "transgression" is mainly concentrated in the letter *Peh*, for *Malchut* of ZA connects into the *Sefira Hod* of ZA.

As a result of Adam's sin, *Klipot* (shells, impure forces) cling to *Malchut* of ZA. But *Netzah* of ZA is a property of ZA himself, and impure forces cannot cling to it. Yet, as it is written in the Talmud (*Baba Kama*), even *Netzah* is subject to *Klipot* clinging to it.

This flaw—the ability of the impure forces to cling to *Netzah* of ZA—is called "transgression." However, the word *Avon* (not *Peshah*) indicates that *Netzah* is pure and direct, and that the transgression is caused by its connection with the *Sefira Hod*.

The reason the Creator turns to the letters *Peh* and *Ayin* at the same time is that *Netzah* and *Hod* are like two body parts—two legs. This is why they both appeared before Him with their requests. However, *The Zohar* clarifies each of them (their properties) one at a time.

THE LETTER *SAMECH*

28. The letter *Samech* appeared before the Creator and said: "Creator of the world, it would be good to create the world with my properties, for within me is *Smicha* (support) for the fallen, as it is written: 'The Creator supports (*Somech*) all who fall.'" The Creator replied: "That is why you are needed in your place; do not move from it. If you move from your place, contained in the word *Somech*, those who fall will lose your support, for they rely on you (your properties)." Having heard this, the letter *Samech* departed.

The letter *Samech* stands for *Sefira Tifferet* in ZA, i.e., *Bina* in the body of ZA. Since *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina* (*KHB*) were transformed into *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* (*HGT*) in ZA, they were emptied of the Light of *Hochma*, and were left with only the Light of *Hassadim*, thus changing their name from *KHB* to *HGT*.

As we know, *Bina* consists of two parts: the Upper Part, called GAR: *Gimel* (three) *Rishonot* (first ones)—the first three *Sefirot KHB*, and the lower part, called ZAT: *Zayin* (seven) *Tachtonot* (lower ones)—the seven lower *Sefirot* from *Hesed* to *Malchut*. The Upper Part of *Bina* is called *Aba ve Ima* (*AVI*). Being filled with the Light of Mercy, *Aba ve Ima* exist in a state of perfection—without any desire to receive, but only to bestow.

AVI are designated by *Samech* (numerical value – 60), for they include the first three *Sefirot KHB* and three *Sefirot* of ZA, which, in view of the absence of *Ohr Hochma* in ZA, are not called *KHB*, but rather *HGT*. Therefore *AVI* consist of six *Sefirot*, each consisting of ten, totaling 60 = *Samech*.

ZAT of *Bina* receive the Light from Above and pass it on to *ZA*. This part of *Bina* has the property of *ZA*, rather than of *Bina*, as it needs to receive exactly what *ZA* needs, and then pass it to him. Since, unlike *Bina*, who does not wish to receive anything, *ZAT* of *Bina* need to receive *Ohr Hochma* for *ZA*, they feels a lack for it, and thus separate from *Bina* and an independently existing object-*Partzuf* forms out of her lower part.

This *Partzuf* is called *YESHSUT*, and it is designated by the letter *Mem* (numerical value – 40), for it consists of four *Sefirot—Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* of *Partzuf AVI*. Owing to its shape (properties), the block-letter *Mem* is called *Mem Stumah* (closed).

However, this separation of *AVI* into two parts occurs only when they have no Light of *Hochma*, but only the Light of *Hassadim*. Consequently, the Upper Part of *Bina* remains in its perfection, whereas the lower part feels a flaw in its state by not receiving *Ohr Hochma*. And since spiritual objects are separated by the differences in their properties, the sensation of imperfection separates the lower part of *Bina* from the Upper.

However, if those below improve their "intentions" (called "actions" in the spiritual), and ask *ZA* for help in correcting their actions, overcoming the egoism of impure desires, and acquiring spiritually pure, altruistic desires, *ZA* then turns to the superior *YESHSUT*, which turns to *AVI*. *AVI* then send their request even higher, receive the Light of *Hochma* and pass it to *YESHSUT*.

Finally, *YESHSUT* and *AVI* unite into one *Partzuf*, for having received *Ohr Hochma*, *YESHSUT* becomes as perfect as *AVI* are perfect being filled with *Ohr Hassadim*. *YESHSUT* passes the Light of *Hochma* down to *ZA*, who then passes it to *Malchut*. The Light that *Malchut* receives from *ZA* is referred to as 100 blessings, for *Samech* = 60 joins with *Mem* = 40.

However, when man sins in his intentions (desires, actions), he does not turn to *Malchut* with a request for help, causing the Light of *Hochma* to disappear from *ZA*, and *ZA* returns from *Gadlut* (big state) back to *Katnut* (small state). (When *ZA* contains the Light of *Hochma*, he is called "big"; and when he is filled with only the Light of *Hassadim*, he is called "small"). And the united *Partzuf Bina* is once more divided into *AVI* and *YESHSUT*.

In this small state (*Katnut*), *ZA* and *Malchut* are in danger of impure forces (*Klipot*) clinging to them. To make certain this does not happen, for then they may fall from the world of *Atzilut* below the *Parsa* into the worlds *BYA*, *AVI* send them the property of *Samech* (the Light of Mercy). And although it is only the Light of *Hassadim* without the Light of Wisdom (Light of *Hochma*), it provides *ZA* and *Malchut* with the sensation of perfection in acts of bestowal, and thus

impure forces can no longer cling to them, for the sole intention of the impure forces is to receive the Light of Wisdom from a pure *Partzuf*.

And this is why the Light that fills ZA in *Katnut* is called *Samech*, which testifies to its action: *Samech* "supports" ZA and *Malchut* so that they wouldn't fall from the world of *Atzilut* below the *Parsa*.

That is why the letter *Samech* thought that if the world were created with its properties, it would be able to reach the goal of creation and merge with the Creator. Its Light could shine in ZA and *Malchut* even in their small state, and the *Klipa* (impure force) would not attempt to snatch the Light from them. On the contrary, the impure, egoistic forces would flee from its Light. *Samech* believed that if the world were to be created with its properties, it would be able to protect all creatures, even when their actions were corrupted, for even in such a state, the impure force would not be able to harm them.

But the Creator said to *Samech* that precisely because its role is to support those who fall and to protect the lower ones in times of their spiritual descent, it must stay in its place and not move from it. For if the world were created by it, its power would always prevail over all, ridding ZA and *Malchut* of the chance to grow out of their small state.

And if ZA and *Malchut* don't stimulate the lower ones (people) to raise MAN—request for help in achieving *Gadlut*, the Upper Light will not be able to descend to bring the creatures to the end of correction and redemption. Therefore, the letter *Samech* must support the lower ones until they merit more. But when they do merit, they will be able to receive the great Light called "100 blessings" into their entire *Partzuf*. So the Creator refused to create the world with the letter *Samech*.

"Because the lower ones need *Samech* only in their *Katnut*, in the absence of the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*), ZON need you and you can help them. However, they need you only in their *Katnut*. But you do not help to bring them to perfection, and so you cannot be the basis of the world."

THE LETTER *NUN*

29. The letter *Nun* entered and said to the Creator: "It would be good for You to create the world with me, for *Norah Tehilot* (great praises) is written with me, as well as 'Praising of the righteous.'"

The Creator replied: "Return to your place, for you are the reason that the letter *Samech* returned to its place. And rely on it for support. For the

letter *Nun* exists in the word *Nefilah* (fall), which must be corrected by the letter *Samech*. This is the reason why it needed to return to its place—so as to strengthen the lower ones." The letter *Nun* left Him at once.

When *Nun* saw that the Creator sent the letter *Samech* away (as its properties are only used in the state of *Katnut*, that is, only to support those who had fallen from the *Gadlut*), it thought that it was worthy of being the basis of the world. This is because not only does *Nun* have all the advantages of *Samech*, but it can also use *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *Gadlut*. Thus, the reason for the Creator's refusal to *Samech* does not apply to *Nun*.

The *Sefira Gevura* in ZA is called *Nun*, for it is entirely mitigated by *Bina's* property of mercy, called *Nun* = 50 gates of *Bina*. It is this property of *Gevura* that gives ZA the name *Norah Tehilot* (great praises). *Ima-Bina* is called *Tehilah* (praise), and since *Gevura* descends from *Bina*, it is referred to as *Norah Tehilot*, while *Nun* is used in the *Sefira Yesod*, in the *Gadlut* of ZA during his *Zivug* with *Nukva*. Like *Ima*, this is whence *Nukva* receives the name *Tehilah*, while ZA becomes one in both *Tehilot*—*Ima* and *Nukva*.

Therefore, the letter *Nun* said that, being in *Gevura*, the left line of ZA, it attracts the Light of Mercy emanated by *Samech* (*Bina*, *Ima*), which is also called the "Upper *Tehilah*," as a result of which ZA acquires its properties and the name *Norah Tehilot* to match them. This is why *Nun* has all the properties of *Samech*: the Light of Mercy that bestows perfection and repels the impure forces-desires.

The letter *Nun* added: "However, I have an additional advantage in that I am used during the big state of ZA in his *Yesod*, in the letter *Tzadik*, of which I am the left element." This *Nun* in the letter *Tzadik* is that same *Nun* that is defined as *Norah Tehilot* (praises of the righteous), for even when ZA achieves *Gadlut* during the ascent of ZON to *AVI*, *Nun* also acts in *Yesod* of ZA, connecting *Nukva* back-to-back with ZA, so that ZA receives the Light of Mercy from *AVI* (*Samech*).

And so *Nun* is called "praises of the righteous," for *Yod* (righteous one, the basis of the world) mounts it. *Nun* is called "great praises," for it attracts the Light of Wisdom to *Malchut* in the state of *Gadlut*.

Therefore, we find that *Malchut* receives all her beauty from *Nun*, which is located in *Yesod* of ZA. This is why the letter *Nun* claimed that it merits for the world to be created with its properties, for its luminescence adds to the Light of Wisdom that unites and revives ZON, and does not merely support them, like the letter *Samech*.

So the Creator answered it: "You are wrong in thinking that you merit leading the world to complete correction by your properties, without the clinging

of impure forces, for even your properties need to be supported by the letter *Samech*. Indeed, this is precisely why you are connected back-to-back with the letter *Yod*, and the Light of *Samech* guards you against the clinging of the impure forces onto you. And that is why your properties, which rely upon the strength of *Samech*, are merely ones of support. Hence, you are unworthy of becoming the basis of the world."

THE LETTERS *MEM* AND *LAMED*

30. The letter *Mem* entered and said: "Master of the world, it would be good for You to create the world by me, for *Melech* (King) is called by me." The Creator replied: "That is so, but I shall not create the world by you, for the world needs a King. Return to your place. Also, I shall not create the world with the letters *Lamed* and *Chaf* that form the word *MeLeCH* (King), as the world cannot exist without a King."

The letter *Mem* is the *Sefira Hesed* in ZA, which receives the Light from its corresponding *Sefira Hesed* in *Bina*. When, in addition to the Light of Mercy in his small state, ZA receives the Light of Wisdom and becomes big, his *Sefirot HGT* turn into *Sefirot Hochma-Bina-Daat* (*HBD*). In other words, *Hesed* in ZA ascends and becomes *Hochma*, thereby revealing a new Light, the Light of *Hochma*, the Light of the Creator's face.

This is why the letter *Mem* claimed that it was suitable for the world to be created by it, for it reveals the Creator's Light to the world, thereby eliminating any risk of impure forces clinging to it, and so the world is guaranteed complete correction.

But the Creator answered that it is forbidden to reveal this Light to the world, for the world needs for this great Light to first clothe itself in the three letters of the word *MeLeCH*. In other words, the great Light may be revealed in the world only if *Mem* joins with the letters *Lamed* and *Chaf*. So the Creator said, "Go and join with them."

Mem in the word *Melech* is *Hesed*. *Lamed* is *Bina*, which passes the Light to ZA. The letter *Chaf* is *Malchut*, *Nukva* of ZA, for there cannot be a *Melech* (*King*) without *Malchut* (Kingdom). Also, all of the Light becomes revealed only thanks to *Malchut*.

In this case, *Malchut* shines from ZA in three places:

1) *Malchut* becomes a *Kisseh* (throne) for a *King* (ZA). A *Kisseh* derives from *Kissui* (cover, concealment), so it is designated by the bent letter *Chaf*.

2) *Malchut* clothes ZA. Because the great Light is revealed only to Israel, *Malchut* clothes ZA, and when her kingdom is revealed, ZA frees himself from her garment and throws it over all the nations of the world, idolaters, and the Light of his face pours upon Israel. And all the righteous then point their finger at the Creator and say: "This is the Creator, to whom I aspired!" This diffusion of Light is designated by the letter *Chaf*.

3) *Malchut* becomes a crown on the head of ZA. And this is the property of the letter *Chaf*, of *Keter* (crown of ZA).

THE LETTER *CHAF*

31. At this time the letter *Chaf* descended from the *Kisseh* – the Creator's throne, and stood before the Creator. It trembled and said to Him: "Creator of the world, with my properties I merit to become the basis of the world, for I am *Kavod* – Your Glory." When the letter *Chaf* descended from the Creator's throne, all the worlds trembled, and the throne itself, verging on collapse. The Creator then answered: "*Chaf*, what are you doing here? I will not create the world by you. Return to your place, for you exist in the word *Kelayah* (destruction) and in the word *Kalah* (bride)."

The Creator's throne is the world of *Beria*. The appearance of the letter *Mem* before the Creator led to the letter *Chaf* falling from His throne. As a result, *Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *Beria* trembled, as well as all the lower worlds with all their inhabitants.

All the arguments that the letters raised in their wish for the world to be created with each of them is like raising *MAN*—a request for precise measure of help from Above in the form of Upper Light (called *MAD*), corresponding to that particular letter.

If so, *ZON* will rule the world, and this ruling is effected by the very Light descending from *ZON* in the exact quantity of *MAD* that each letter evoked and caused, for the *MAD* precisely corresponds to the *MAN* in both quantity and quality, whereas *MAN* is the actual property of the letter. Hence, each letter argues that it can draw the kind of Light from Above that will surely bring all creatures to the goal.

Similarly, the Creator's answers to each of the twenty-two letters of *ZON de Atzilut* constitute the descending *MAD* (the Upper Light, strength, help) that precisely corresponds to the *MAN* raised by that particular letter. And when the

Upper Light that descends from a particular letter begins to rule the world, this signifies the Creator's reply to that letter. Since the impure forces cling to one of the letter's properties, as the Creator created two precisely balanced, opposing systems of pure and impure forces, this reveals the letter's inability to rule the world. And thus, the Creator dismissed each letter's individual claim to build the world by its property in order to bring it to the goal of creation.

Herein lies the Creator's "game" with each of the twenty-two letters, giving each the opportunity to reveal its properties, power and forces, until it becomes clear from their aspirations and analysis, which of them truly merits the world being governed by it.

From this we see that when the letter *Mem* began to reveal its great Light in the world, in doing so, it caused the fall of the *Kisse* (throne). This is so because the *Kisse* has two properties: (i) it covers and conceals the Creator, where the word *Kisse* derives from the word *Kissui*; (ii) it reveals the Creator's greatness in the worlds with the help of the three letters *MeLeCH*. Then, *Malchut* that became a *Kissui*, the Creator's cover, ascends and turns to *Chaf*—the Creator's own garments—thus revealing the King (Creator), and it becomes a crown on His head.

But as soon as the letter *Mem*, which was not clothed in *Chaf*, began to reveal the Light of the Creator's face, the letter *Chaf* fell from the *Kisse* (the throne of His Glory), stopped concealing Him, and stated that from now on only the Creator's revealed glory would rule over it, without any kind of concealment, as desired by *Mem*.

Owing to *Chaf's* fall from the throne, two hundred thousand worlds that originate from *Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *Beria*, as well as the worlds below them, shook and trembled on the verge of collapse. For the entire connection between the lower degree or *Partzuf* and the one above it lies in the fact that *Malchut* of the Upper Degree becomes *Keter* of the lower. And the property of the letter *Chaf* consists in clothing *Malchut* of an Upper spiritual object in *Keter* of a lower one.

There are three distinctive features to the throne: (i) six steps leading to the throne, six *Sefirot—Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* of the lower one; (ii) four legs of the throne, the Light in *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the lower one; (iii) *Malchut* of the Upper One that descends to the lower one, clothes into it, and all the Light from the Upper One is passed through her to the lower one.

Thus, when *Chaf* fell from the throne of the Creator's glory, the connection between the world of *Atzilut* and the throne (world of *Beria*) was severed. This is so because *Chaf* (*Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*) that clothes in *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the world of *Beria* pours all the Light onto the world of

Beria, called the throne of His glory. But when *Chaf* fell from the throne, the connection between the world of *Atzilut* and the world of *Beria* was severed, *Chaf* trembled, for it lost the power to bestow upon the world of *Beria*, and two hundred thousand worlds (*Hochma* and *Bina* out of *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the world of *Beria*) trembled in fear of collapsing, for they lost all of their life-force, which they receive from the world of *Atzilut*.

Similarly, in the world of *Atzilut*, *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, the Creator, is connected with ZON. This is because *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* consists of ten *Sefirot*, and her last *Sefira*, *Malchut*, clothes in ZA of the world of *Atzilut* with the property of the letter *Chaf*. *Malchut* of the *Sefira Bina*, which clothes in ZA, is the letter *Chaf*. And this letter *Chaf* is the Creator's throne in ZA. For the Creator is *Bina*, *Sefira* above ZA. And ZA becomes a throne for *Bina*. And during the fall, the connection between *Bina* and ZA is severed, since *Chaf* is *Malchut* of *Bina*; it clothes into ZA and passes all the Light to him.

And it therefore trembled (lost its ability to bestow upon ZA), and so did two hundred thousand worlds, which are the Light for ZA, called *Hochma* and *Bina* or *KHBD*—the four legs of the throne—for all the Light departed from them. And the worlds trembled in fear of collapsing, that is, *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* in ZA that include all the worlds below them, for all the Light of *Bina* departed thence.

The Creator told the letter *Chaf* that because it fell from the throne of His glory, the first three *Sefirot* of ZA trembled, and all the other worlds are on the verge of total collapse and destruction without any hope of restoration; hence, *Chaf* must return to its place in the throne of glory.

Chaf's return to its place in the Creator's throne takes place just as He refuses to create the world with the letter *Mem*, for the world needs a King. That is, the trembling of the letter *Chaf* as it fell from the Creator's throne, which in turn, made the worlds tremble in fear of possible collapse, and the Creator's answer to the letter *Mem* transpire simultaneously.

THE LETTER *YOD*

32. The letter *Yod* entered and said: "Maker of the world! It would be good to create the world by me, for Your Holy name begins with me." The Creator replied: "It is sufficient that you are inscribed in My Name, in Me, and all of your aspirations are to Me, and you should not be uprooted from it all."

Since *Yod* is the first letter of the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*), the beginning of the Creator's revelation to creatures, the first degree of the Upper Light, the letter *Yod* argued for the world to be created with its properties, for the world would then be absolutely guaranteed complete correction. However, the Creator objects to it. As was already stated, the letters' questions and the Creator's answers signify the Creator playing with each letter, where the letters' questions are their *MAN*, and the Creator's answers are *MAD* in the form of the Upper Light.

So, by telling *Yod*, "It is sufficient," the Creator thus explained the creation of restriction—that the Light is only allowed to descend to its level, but no further. And this restriction is fixed in the Creator's name *Shadday* (*Shin-Dalet-Yod*). After *Yod* began to spread with the great Light, the Creator stopped it, forbidding it to spread to the letter *Tav*, but only to *Shin* (as was said above, in item 25). He said to it: "Enough, and do not spread further. Otherwise you will not be able to remain forever in My Name *HaVaYaH*."

As the sages said: "My Name is not pronounced as it is written. For it is written *HaVaYaH*, but pronounced *Adonay*" (Talmud, *Pesahim*, 50). Indeed, the name *HaVaYaH* is not subject to change, as it is written: "For I, the Lord (*HaVaYaH*), do not change" (*Malachi*, 3:6). For corruption and its correction emerge in the days of the world's existence, meaning that constant changes are coming. Therefore, until the end of correction, the Creator is called *Adonay*, for this name is subject to change, and not *HaVaYaH*, which can never be altered.

Yet, in the future, after the end of correction, *HaVaYaH* will be pronounced as it is written. Therefore, the Creator said, "If I see some fault or evil in you, by this you will be removed from My Name, for My Name, *HaVaYaH*, may not contain anything flawed or corrected—neither corruption nor correction. And this is why the world cannot be created by your properties." There are three degrees in the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*: in the *Sefira Hochma* of *ZA*, in *Hochma* of *AVI*, and in *Hochma* of *Arich Anpin*, called "concealed wisdom."

HaVaYaH begins with a dot, which then turns into *Yod*. Subsequently, *Yod* (*Ohr Hochma*) spreads to the sides and downward and turns into the letter *Dalet*, which consists of a horizontal roof-like line that indicates the property of *Bina-Ima* (mercy, *Hassadim*, width). When *Ohr Hassadim* stops spreading in width, *Ohr Hochma* begins to spread downward in the form of a vertical line. This is the leg of the letter *Dalet*, the property of *Hochma-Aba*.

The common property of *AVI* is designated by the letter *Dalet*. *AVI* beget *ZA*, designated by the letter *Vav* inside the *Dalet*, and eventually forms the shape

of the letter *Hey*. Thus, the request of *ZA* (*Vav*) to receive from *AVI* compels them to unite their properties of *Hochma* (vertical line) and *Hassadim* (horizontal line), with the help of the letter *Yod*. Consequently, *AVI* receive the Light from *Yod* and pass it on to *ZA*.

The screen with the desires of *Malchut* is called "a point," since the collision between the screen and the coming Light yields Returning Light. And since the received Light always consists of ten Lights, the screen is called "ten points."

Yod designates the spreading of *Nekudot* inside *Partzuf Keter*, from the Light of *Hochma* downwards, while *Vav* signifies the spreading of *Nekudot* inside *Partzuf Hochma*. However, there is no sign in *HaVaYaH* that indicates the diffusion of Light in *Keter*.

Entrance or exit of the letter *Yod* in a word signifies either presence or absence of the Light of *Hochma*. There are four kinds of correction:

1. The First *Ibur*—conception of the small state of *ZON*. This is an absolutely passive spiritual state, where the letter *Yod* enters the word *Ohr* (Light) and transforms it into *Avir* (air), becoming the *VAK* of the *Partzuf*.
2. The letter *Yod* exits the word *Avir*, which converts it back to *Ohr*: the Light of *Hochma* enters *VAK* of *Partzuf*;
3. The Second *Ibur*—conception of the *Gadlut* state of *ZON*: *AHP* of *Bina* ascend from *ZON* to *Bina*, and *GE de ZON* ascend with them, for they were together in the *Katnut* state, defined as conception of *GE de ZON*;
4. The diffusion of the Light of *Hochma*.

THE LETTER *TET*

33. The letter *Tet* entered and said: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world with me, for it is by me that You are called *Tov* (Good)." The Creator replied: "I will not create the world by you, for your goodness is concealed within you and is invisible. Therefore, it cannot take any part in the world that I wish to create, and will only be revealed in the world to come. And since your goodness is concealed within you, the gates of the palace will sink into the ground, for the letter *Chet* is opposite from you, and when you join together, the word *CHeT* (sin) will be formed. This is why these two letters are not recorded in the names of the holy tribes." The letter *Chet* immediately moved aside.

The letter *Tet*, whose numeric value of nine, is the inner property of the *Sefira Yesod* in ZA, while the outer property of *Yesod* in ZA is the letter *Tzadik*, whose numeric value of ninety, and it joins with *Nukva de* ZA, forming the notion of *Tzadik* (righteous one). Besides being the inner property of *Yesod* in ZA, *Tet* is also the ninth letter among the letters of *Bina* in ZA.

Also, *Tet* is called *Tov* (good). And since *Tov* is called *Tzadik*, for it is the inner Light of *Yesod*, called *Tzadik*, to whom no impure forces could cling, *Tet* calls on the above to justify its claim to become the basis of the world.

In the Talmud (*Hagiga*, 12), the sages wrote: "In the Light by which the Creator created the world, Adam saw from one end of the world to the other. But the Creator saw that the deeds of the generations of the Flood and the builders of the Tower of Babel are detrimental, and concealed that Light for the righteous in the future." Because the Creator saw that their actions will bring the threat of the clinging of the impure forces, He concealed this Light, Thus, the Light descended secretly from the Supernal Righteous (*AVI*) to the righteous one (*Yesod* in ZA), the letter *Tet*.

And so the Creator told *Tet* that because He must conceal it from the sinners and only the righteous will be worthy of it in the world to come, it cannot partake in the creation and correction of the world, for the world is ZON, and the letter *Tet* is constantly in danger of being clung to by impure forces.

And since this Light shines only secretly inside *Yesod* of ZA, and not openly, *Nukva* will not be able to receive this Light directly, but only through its concealment in her. Therefore, the gates of *Nukva* sink into her *Sefira Yesod*, which safeguards them against the clinging of the impure forces, and they are confident that the impure forces will not be able to rule over her gates. For even at the time of the ruin of the Temple, the impure forces could not rule over the gates of the Temple, and sank into the ground, that is, the ground consumed them. "But because you are in need of such protection, I cannot create the world with you," the Creator answered *Tet*.

There are two pipes (channels) in *Yesod de* ZA in the world of *Atzilut*: the right one serves for the birth of the souls, and the left one for throwing away waste to the impure forces. The letter *Chet* is *Hod*, whose property is *Malchut* in ZA, the left pipe in *Yesod* of ZA, for the properties of the letter *Chet* are the properties of *Kuf* included in *Yesod*, whereas *Kuf* emanates *Ner Dakik* (tiny Light) to the impure forces, from which they receive the strength to be similar to an image of a pure man, as a monkey compared to a man, for the Creator created purity parallel to impurity.

These two pipes are located very close to each other, separated only by a thin partition, called "a garlic husk." Consequently, the left pipe has the strength to rule over the right one, thereby forming *CHeT* (numerical value 8 + 9 = 17).

The numerical value of *CHeT* (17) equals that of the word *TOV* (9 + 6 + 2 = 17), which means that the impure force opposes the pure one. And if the right pipe (the letter *Tet*) prevails, the word *CHeT* (sin) will turn into *TOV* (good, goodness).

Since the left pipe (*CHeT*) has the strength to rule over the right one (*Tet*), the impure forces can suck the Upper Light for themselves. This would give power to the sinners of the world. This is why neither *Chet* nor *Tet* are present in the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, to show that they (the tribes) are above the letter *Chet*, the root of all the opposing impure forces.

When all the letters merited receiving a blessing through the letter *Bet*, they lined up in their alphabetical order, in which the letters *Tet* and *Reish* joined. The letter *Tet* ascended, but did not take its place until the Creator asked her: "*Tet*, why did you ascend, but do not take your place?" It replied: "You created me to begin the words *Tov* (goodness) and Torah, as it is written: 'And the Creator saw that the Light was good.' How then can I join and stand beside the letter *Reish*, when it begins the word *Rah* (evil)?"

The Creator answered: "Return to your place, for it is precisely you that needs the letter *Reish*. For man, whom I intend to create, combines all those properties—you as the right property, and *Reish* as the left." After that, both *Tet* and *Reish* returned to their places.

Three lines emerge in ZA of the world of *Atzilut*. However, they emerge from their source, *Bina*. (As a result of the second restriction, *Malchut* ascends to *Bina*, which leads to *Sefirot Bina-ZA-Malchut* falling into a lower *Partzuf*, into ZA.) *Bina* is called *Eloh-im* (*Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Mem*), and as a result of second restriction, her part *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (the *ELEH* of the word *Eloh-im*, *AHP*) fell into a lower *Partzuf*, to ZA. Only the letters *Yod-Mem* (the *IM* of *Eloh-im*) remained in *Bina*. This means that only half, (*VAK*, *GE*) remained in her from the previous level of *GAR*. Whatever is left is designated by a sign called *Holam—Vav* with a dot above it, as this is the right line, *Ohr Hassadim*.

Then, in the big state, the letters *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (*ELEH*) returned to *Bina* and joined with *Yod-Mem* (*IM*). Subsequently, the level of *GAR* returned, yet the Light of *Hochma* in *Bina* was incomplete, for the Light of *Hassadim* disappeared and the Light of *Hochma* cannot shine without the Light of *Hassadim*. The

returned letters A-L-H are *Shuruk—Vav* with a dot inside it, because, due to the restrictions in it, it constitutes the left line.

These restrictions are effective until *ZON*, upon ascending to *Bina*, begin to receive the Light, and the middle line emerges and reduces *GAR* of *Hochma* in the left line. As a result, the right line joins with the left: *Ohr Hochma* shines in the *Ohr Hassadim*. This middle line is called *Hirik—Vav* with a dot under it, or the screen of *Hirik*, for the Light enters the *Partzuf* because of it.

And since *Bina* regained *GAR* with *ZA's* help, *ZA*, now that he had acquired the three lines, begins to receive this Light from *Bina*, too. *Yod-Mem* (*IM*), *Tet* and *Holam* constitute the right line, *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (*ELEH*), *Reish* and *Shuruk* constitute the left.

Now let us translate this into the language of *Sefirot*. When *Bina* returned once more to the state of *Gadlut*, *ELEH* returned to *IM*, the left line merged with the right, and this drove *Tet* (right line, *Hassadim*) away from *Reish* (left line). This is because being opposite to each other, they cannot stand side by side until the Creator (*ZA*, middle line) reduces the *GAR* of both the left and right lines by the force of His screen, which is expressed by the words: "And the Creator commanded it to return to its place."

GAR de Hochma is called *Man'ula*—the lock that prevents the Light from entering a *Partzuf*, and its diminution is called *Miftacha*—the key that opens a passage for the Light, *VAK* of *Hochma*, to spread in the left line into a *Partzuf*. Then, *Tet*, the right line, receives *Ohr Hochma* from the left, joins with *Reish*, receiving from it the Light of *Hochma*. Otherwise it would have remained in *VAK*. Adam, too, is created from the union of these two lines.

But why was the letter *Tet* reluctant to join with the letter *Reish*, and had to be forced to do so by the Creator? In the spiritual world, a root rules over all its branches, and the branches submit to its rule. Therefore, *Tet* did not wish to join with *Reish*, as it was then bound to become a branch and submit to its root, *Reish*.

However, the Creator wanted *Tet* to receive the Light of *Hochma* from *Reish* so that this union would enable man to receive the Light of *GAR*. Thus, when *ELEH* return to *Bina*, He made it so *Bina*'s restrictions would be weakened so as to allow the *Reish* to join with the *Tet* and receive the Light of *Hassadim* from it. It follows that *Tet* becomes the root with regard to *Reish*, for without its *Hassadim*, *Reish* would be unable to shine, due to the restrictions placed on its Light.

THE LETTER *ZAYIN*

34. The letter *Zayin* entered and said: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world by me, as *Shabbat* is preserved with me, for it is written: 'Remember (*Zachor*) the day of *Shabbat*, so as to keep it.'" The Creator replied: "I will not create the world by you, for within you is a force of war, as sabers and swords, called *Klei Zayin* (weaponry), are made by you. And you are like the letter *Nun*, with which the world was not created, for within it is *Nefilah* (fall)" (item 29). Having heard that, the letter *Zayin* left Him.

The letter *Zayin* is depicted as a combination of *Vav* and *Yod*, as a head over it, which signifies the big state and the great Light in *Malchut*, ZA's wife, for *Malchut* includes herself into her husband, ZA (designated by *Vav*), and becomes a crown (*Yod*) on his head. Together, these two letters, *Vav* with *Yod* standing above it, form the letter *Zayin*.

Therefore, it is written: "Remember the day of *Shabbat*, so as to keep it holy." As a result of *Shabbat*'s elevation, that is, *Nukva's* ascent to the head of ZA, when she becomes his crown, she includes herself in the word *Zachor* (remember) and receives the name *Nukva Kedoshah* (holy *Nukva*). This is why the letter *Zayin* claimed that since this Light is so great and holy that it brings absolute rest on this day, for purity is completely separated from impurity in this state called *Shabbat*, it is worthy of becoming the basis for the creation of the world.

Zayin is the *Sefira Netzah* in ZA. When *Nukva* is included in *Netzah* and merges with its properties, she gains the strength to ascend along with ZA to *AVI*. There she becomes a crown on his head, by which he is adorned, which signifies the day of *Shabbat*. However, since this correction occurs solely as a result of her inclusion in the male essence and their ascent to *AVI*, and not in her regular place, where she normally abides with ZA, *Nukva* cannot be corrected completely during the 6,000 years.

The reason for this is that when *Nukva* returns to her place on weekdays, her connection with the letter *Zayin* is defined as a *Kli Zayin* (weapon), and all the wars with the impure forces emerge from her, like the weekdays that prepare *Shabbat*.

For every man must defeat the impure force within him on the weekdays, and thus merit the King's daughter—*Shabbat*. However, during the 6,000 years, the Light of *Shabbat* is insufficient for the neutralization of the impure forces, for weekdays return and surround the *Shabbat*. This continues until the end of correction, when there will be only *Shabbat* as the day of absolute perfection for all eternity.

This is also why the Creator replied to *Zayin*: "I will not create the world with you, for when you are in your place, your Light is not yet perfect. Only after you defeat the impure forces in war will man be able to attain you." And the shape of the letter *Vav* (ZA) resembles a spear, ready to strike and pierce through the impure forces. For *Gevurot* (courage) signifies the left line of *Bina*'s male part (*Nun*).

THE LETTERS *VAV* AND *HEY*

35. The letter *Vav* entered and said: "It would be good to create the world with me, for I am a letter from Your Name *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*)." The Creator replied: "*Vav*, both you and the letter *Hey* should just be glad to be contained within My Name. This is why I will not create the world with your properties."

Although the letter *Yod* expressed a similar request, *Vav* thought that *Yod* had been turned down because of its excessive size (spiritual force). This is why *Vav* claimed that it would be good to create the world with its properties, i.e., according to the letters *Vav-Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH*, with the Light of the Supernal *Bina* (*Ima*) of the world of *Atzilut*.

The Creator responded with the same answer he had given to the letter *Yod*—that He restricted it by saying to *DaY* (*Dalet-Yod*): "Stop at the letter *Shin* and spread no more, so that the impure forces would not cling to you." Hence, the letters *Vav* and *Hey* are not suitable for the world to be created with their properties, for even they need protection against the impure forces.

Sefira Tifferet is designated by the big letter *Vav* (*Vav* with a head), for it has all six (*Vav*) *Sefirot*: *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*. *Yesod* is the *Sefira* that is responsible for passing the Light from ZA to *Malchut*. This is why it has the same Light as in *Malchut*—*NHY* without *HGT*, and this is also why *Yesod* is called the small *Vav* (*Vav* without a head).

THE LETTERS *DALET* AND *GIMEL*

36. The letters *Dalet* and *Gimel* appeared before the Creator. However, the Creator told them right away: "It is enough that you are both together, so that as long as the poor exist on earth, there is someone to treat them with mercy (*LiGmol Hesed*)." The letter *Dalet* derives from *Dalut* (poverty), while *Gimel* renders mercy to it (*Gomelet Hassadim*). "Therefore, you cannot part, and it is enough for you to aid one another in this way."

It was already stated (item 24) that although *Dalet* receives the Light from *Gimel* and its sharp right angle protrudes from the Light of *Hassadim*, the impure forces are nonetheless strong enough to cling to it, separate it and make the sharp angle smooth, thus transforming it into the letter *Reish*.

This is why the letter *Dalet* requires special protection so as not to be corrupted and to be able to continue being fulfilled by *Gimel* so as to keep the needy ones (*Dalut*) in the world from disappearing. Thus, it is sufficient for these two forces to sustain and complement one another, to fulfill one another in reciprocal union so as to prevent the impure forces from ruling. And this role is enough from them. This is why the Creator did not want to create the world with them.

THE LETTER *BET*

37. The letter *Bet* entered and said to the Creator: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world by me, as by me You are blessed Above and below. For *Bet* is *Berachah* (blessing)." The Creator replied to *Bet*: "Of course, I will create the world by you, and you shall be the basis of the world!"

The letter *Bet* is the property of *Hochma* (wisdom), or rather *Hesed* in *Hochma*, a point in a palace, for *Ohr Hassadim* is a palace for *Ohr Hochma* and is called *Berachah* (blessing). Passing through all of the worlds from the Creator down to the lowest degree of the lowest world, this Light does not diminish in any way.

Rather, just as this Light is at the Highest Degree that receives it from the World of Infinity, it is just as great, magnificent, and mighty in the world of *Atzilut*, and likewise all the way down to the world of *Assiya*. And it does not get coarser or weaker as it passes through all the screens from Above downwards.

That is why the letter *Bet* vied for the world to be created with its properties, as the Light of blessing is the same both Above and below; no screen can weaken it and no coarse desires can harm it.

This is also why the property of mercy (*Hassadim*) is most suitable for the creation of the world, for no impure forces can cling to it. This is because the impure forces can only cling to a place where there is a deficiency. And since there is no deficiency of any kind in the property of mercy, there can never be any contact between *Bet* and the impure forces.

The Creator agreed with *Bet* that its property is perfect and suitable for the creation of the universe by Him. As it is said: "*Olam* (world) *Hesed* (mercy)

YiBaneh (will be built)," where *YiBaneh* means *Boneh* (building) and *HaVana* (understanding). (In Hebrew, the letters *Vav* and *Bet* are denoted by the letter *Bet*). This is because the Creator determined that this property is entirely sufficient for precisely evaluating and separating pure from impure.

And if man seeks an idol in the Creator's stead, a *Berachah* (blessing) does not descend upon him, for blessing stems from the Creator alone. Thus, it is possible to determine who is righteous and who is a sinner, who works for the Creator's sake and who works for himself, for the world is built by mercy.

Yet, the Creator did not order the Light of Mercy to rule the world. He merely intended it for a good beginning, sufficient to bring the world to perfection. This is because the Light of *Hassadim* is incomplete (*VAK*, and not *GAR*), insufficient for begetting new souls, for their union and multiplication, as no *Partzuf* (spiritual object) can beget until it attains the full Light of *Hochma*, termed *GAR* or head. Until then, the *Partzuf* remains in a state of imperfection.

Our normal (the lowest possible) state is determined by the property of the letter *Bet*. Hence, the Creator laid it as the basis for the creation of the world. In other words, the basis of a state is a state of a pure *Partzuf* (object), when nothing at all can diminish or impede it.

In such a state, an addition of *Ohr Hochma* to *Ohr Hassadim*, necessary for the birth of a new *Partzuf* is no longer considered basic and essential. Rather, it is defined as an addition, i.e., it depends solely on the good deeds of the lower ones. And the fundamental Light, *VAK*, will never be lacking.

THE LETTER *ALEPH*

38. The letter *Aleph* stood outside and did not enter to appear before the Creator. The Creator said to it: "Why do you not come to me like all the other letters?" *Aleph* replied: "Because I saw all the letters leaving your presence without the desired answer. And besides, I saw You presenting the letter *Bet* with this great gift. And, indeed, the King of the universe cannot take back his gift and give it to another!" The Creator replied: "Although I will create the world by the letter *Bet*, it is you who will stand at the head of all the letters, and there shall be no unity in Me, but through you alone; all accounts and deeds of this world shall always begin with you, and all of unity shall be in you alone."

As we already know, all the letters' questions are *Aliyat MAN*—their individual requests, prayers, desires to ascend to the Creator. And the Creator's answers

to them are called *Yeridat MAD*—the descent of the Light from Above, giving strength and abundance according to the letters' requests. The great perfection in the letter *Aleph* stems not from the lower ones' request for spiritual ascent and correction, but from a force (Light) descending from Above and elevating those that dwell below.

This is why from the beginning of correction to its end, *Aleph* (unlike the other letters, whose properties fuel the process of correction during the 6,000 years) is never stimulated to raise its request to the Creator. And only if the Light that bestows strength for spiritual ascent descends from Above and begins to shine upon *Aleph* will it be stimulated. However, this will only take place at the end of correction.

Aleph did not raise its plea (*MAN*) to the Creator, for it saw that all the other letters asked, but to no avail, for there was an opposite property in the system of the impure forces against each of their properties. Therefore, *Aleph* decided that it was no better than the rest, that there is a corresponding impure force against it as well.

Furthermore, it raised no requests (*MAN*) to the Creator because it saw that the Creator decided to create the world with the letter *Bet*, mercy. And since it had no doubt that His decision was irrevocable, it decided not to ask Him.

Although it is true that the world was already created with the property of *Bet*, and that the Creator will not turn His gift over to another letter, the *Partzuf* that was created by the property of *Bet* is incomplete, small, *VAK* without a head. And since a *Partzuf* needs a head in order to reach the state of *Gadlut*, which is possible only when the *Partzuf* is filled not only with the Light of Mercy (*Hassadim*), but also with the Light of Wisdom (*Hochma*), more letters are necessary for the connection, conception and birth of a new *Partzuf*, a new state.

A state of *Gadlut* can only be achieved with the help of the property of the letter *Aleph*. Only *Aleph* can bring a *Partzuf* to *Gadlut*, to supplement its body, *VAK*, with a head, *GAR*, *Mochin*—the Light of *Hochma*. The letter *Aleph* brings the union between *ZA* and *Malchut* in a face-to-face position, whereas previously, in *Katnut*, while being filled with only the Light of Mercy, *ZA* and *Malchut* were connected back-to-back. This is why *Aleph* creates a head for all the letters, and hence stands at the head of the alphabet.

The Creator said: "That is why My Unity in the world is expressed only through the property of the letter *Aleph*. Furthermore, all rewards and punishments, distancing and drawing nearer, as well as the aspiration for spiritual correction (*Teshuvah*), all of which lead to the achievement of the end of correction, will

only happen by the property of the *Aleph*. I have made *Bet* the basis of the *Partzuf* so that it would be in no way dependent on the deeds of the lower ones. Thus, even if they begin to sin, those above will remain unaffected."

He continued: "But the Light in you, *Aleph*, is directly related to the actions of the lower ones. So if they sin, the Light of Wisdom (the Light of *GAR* in you) will immediately disappear. But if they correct their actions (*Teshuvah*), the Light of *Hochma* will return. And My unity with all the creatures at the end of correction will only be realized through the letter *Aleph*."

Letters are *Kelim* (plural for *Kli*—vessel), desires. And this refers to both the individual letters of the alphabet and those that form words. In the names of spiritual objects, letters signify the force of their desire, which the Light can fill. Letters of a simple name, without filling, designate its basis without Light—*Kli* of *Aviut* zero with the Light of *Nefesh*. Letters of a fulfilled name designate the magnitude of desires that are filled by Light.

There are two sources of letters: *Yod* and *Aleph*. *Yod* is a genuine source, for when we write something, we begin with a dot (*Yod*), and then, as we proceed from the dot in one of the four directions, we get a line. Letters are *Kelim*, desires, in which the Light (pleasure) is received.

A desire for something specific may only emerge if: (i) the initial, still unconscious desire is filled with delight, and (ii) the delight exits the desire. It is the memories (*Reshimot*) of past pleasures that lead to the emergence of a true desire to receive it, to feel it once more. And this is the very desire that is called *Kli*.

A filled *Kli* cannot be called a desire, for it is satisfied. Therefore, expulsion of the Light and sensation of spiritual descent constitute the period of the creation of new *Kelim* for future receptions of Light, for new attainments. Because the first restriction is the reason for the disappearance of Light from all the vessels, its black dot, *Yod*, is the basis of all the letters-*Kelim*.

However, the second restriction is the only true root of all the worlds, because the first restriction was only made on a point, (Phase Four, *Malchut*, the fourth letter *Hey* in the Creator's name *HaVaYaH)*. The second restriction, however, was made on *Bina*, in whom the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, were joined. The union of the two points forms a line, either vertical or horizontal. If it is a horizontal line, it is called "firmament" or *Parsa*.

The sum of consequences of both the first and second restrictions forms a slanted line (\); *GE* (*Keter-Hochma*) is depicted to its right, and *AHP* (*Bina-ZA-Malchut*) to its left. *Keter-Hochma* remain on their previous level and are

designated by the letter *Yod*, the first root of the world, whereas, a result of the second restriction, designated by a slanted line (\), *Bina-ZA-Malchut* fell to a lower level. And since the letter *Yod* is the first, though a very remote root of the worlds, and all the worlds were created afterwards and in accordance with the law of the second restriction, the letter *Aleph* stands at the head of the alphabet.

The kind of Light that fills the spiritual *Kli* or *Partzuf* can also be seen from its designation: if it is filled with the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*), the filling is designated by the letter *Yod*; and if it is filled with the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), it is the letter *Aleph*.

39. The Creator made the Upper letters, which refer to the *Sefira Bina*, large, and the lower letters that refer to *Malchut*—small. Therefore it is said: "*Beresheet Barah*" (in the beginning He created)—two words that begin with *Bet*, and then *Elokim Et* (the Creator Himself)—two words that begin with *Aleph*. The first set of *Aleph* and *Bet* are letters of *Bina*, and the second set of *Aleph* and *Bet* are letters of *Malchut*. And they should mutually affect one another with their properties.

When the Upper One wishes to give Light to the lower one, it should clothe in the lower one, signified by the first two letters *Bet* and the two letters *Aleph* in the first four words of the Torah. For the first, Upper *Bet* is *Bina*, the second, lower *Bet* is ZA, and the first *Bet* clothes into the second one.

Similarly, the first *Aleph* refers to *Bina* and clothes into the second *Aleph* in ZA so as to fill it with Light. Therefore, the two letters *Bet* are like one letter *Bet* and the two letters *Aleph* are like one letter *Aleph*, since the lower letter merely constitutes the influence of the Upper One, which tells us that the Upper *Partzuf* fills the lower one.

The world cannot be created with *Aleph*, for the word *Arur* (cursed) begins with it, and had the world been created with *Aleph*, the impure forces, called "cursed," would have received great power from the pure forces, called *Baruch* (blessed). This is why the world (*Nukva* of ZA) is created with the letter *Bet*. Likewise, Adam in *Nukva* of ZA is also created by the power of *Bet*. Thus, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* constitutes the root of all creation, all the worlds, and all that inhabit them.

Supernal Wisdom

40. Rabbi Yudai asked, "What does the word *BERESHEET* mean?" It is the wisdom, upon which the world, *ZA*, is established to enter the concealed supernal secrets, namely the Light of *Bina*. Here are the six Supernal and great properties, *VAK de Bina*, from which everything emerges. The six river mouths, *VAK de ZA*, that flow into the Great Sea (*Malchut*) were formed from them. The word *BERESHEET* consists of the words *BARAH* (created) and *SHEET* (Aramaic: six), meaning that six properties were created. Who created them? He who is unmentioned, concealed, and unknown: *Arich Anpin*.

There are two types of *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) in the world of *Atzilut*:

1. The original Light, *Ohr Hochma* of *AA*, called "the concealed *Ohr Hochma*." This Light of *Hochma* is present only in *Partzuf AA* and does not spread to the lower *Partzufim*.
2. *Ohr Hochma* that descends via thirty-two paths from *Bina*, who ascended to *Rosh de AA* to receive *Ohr Hochma* and pass it to *ZA*. Hence, the word *Beresheet* means *Be-Resheet*, with-*Hochma*. However, this is not the true *Ohr Hochma* that is concealed in *AA*, but rather the Light that descends via thirty-two paths from *Bina* to *ZA* and sustains *ZON*.

It is written that the world is established on the "concealed supernal secrets," for when *ZON* (called "world") receive the Light of *Hochma* of thirty-two paths, they ascend to *AVI*, the concealed supernal secrets. Hence, it is said that *ZON* enter the concealed supernal secrets and attain the degree of *AVI*, as the lower one that ascends to the Upper One becomes equal to it in its properties.

The word *BERESHEET*, besides being divided into *BE-RESHEET*, is also divided into *BARAH-SHEET* (in Hebrew, both words are spelled the same), which translates as CREATED SIX—created six *Sefirot* (properties), called *VAK* (abbreviation of the words *Vav Ketzavot*, six extremities/properties of *ZA*, from which all creatures emerge).

The *Sefira Bina* fulfills the function of the *Sefira Hochma*, the source of *Ohr Hochma* for ZA. Because *Malchut* ascended to *Bina*, and *Bina* departed from *Rosh de AA* and became like its *Guf* (body), she cannot receive the *Ohr Hochma* of AA.

But then, thanks to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, human beings who are spiritually present in the worlds of *BYA*, *Bina* returns to *Rosh de AA*, receives *Ohr Hochma* from AA, passes it to *ZON*, and *ZON* pass it to all the worlds. It follows that all the worlds emerged from these six properties (extremities), into which *Bina* was divided.

It is therefore written that all six riverheads originate from *Bina*, and descend into the Great Sea. *Bina's* division into six properties, *VAK*, when she exits *Rosh de AA*, is called "six sources," for this is only a source of Light for ZA. But then, when *Bina* returns to *Rosh de AA*, they become *Ohr Hochma*, called the rivers that descend to *Partzuf* ZA.

And they are called "six rivers," as it is written: "He will drink off the brook in the way; therefore, will he lift up the head" (*Tehilim*, 110:7). Afterwards, ZA passes this Light into the Great Sea, to his *Nukva*. The rivers and brooks signify the Light of ZA. *VAK de Bina* is considered the sources of the Light of Wisdom, *Hochma*, for it emerged from *Bina* in the form of *VAK* with the sole purpose of creating a source of Light for *ZON*. And had *Bina* not emerged, *ZON* would have had no chance of receiving the Light.

The word *Beresheet* has several meanings: *Bere* = *Barah*—created six properties without *Ohr Hochma*, as the word *Barah* signifies concealment. Hence, the word *Beresheet* has two meanings:

1. *Hochma*, as the word *Resheet* means *Hochma*.
2. *Barah Sheet*, which shows how the *Sefira Hochma* was divided into six parts without a *Rosh*, without *Ohr Hochma*. These six parts are the source of Light for *ZON* (called the "world"), and these six parts of ZA together with *Malchut* are called the "seven days of creation."

However, since the word *Barah* is inside the word *Beresheet*, this means that it was created by "Him who is concealed and unknown," i.e., the concealed *Hochma* of *Arich Anpin*, for it expelled *Bina* from its *Rosh* and turned her into *VAK*. In other words, it created the six parts described in *Beresheet*.

Beresheet designates *Hochma*. The Light cannot descend to ZA until *Ima-Bina* comes outside, for because of *Tzimtzum Bet*, *ZAT de Bina* fell to *ZON*. Hence, when *Bina* is in *Gadlut*, ZA receives *Ohr Hochma* in his *Kelim*, the desires of *Bina*. The word *Barah* in *Beresheet* = *Barah Sheet* also means *Bar* (Hebrew, to exit, to transcend).

The Lock and the Key

41. Rabbi Chiya and Rabbi Yosi were walking along a road. As they reached a field, Rabbi Chiya said to Rabbi Yosi, "The words *BARAH SHEET* (created six) certainly allude to *BERESHEET*, for the six Supernal Days, *VAK de Bina*, shine on the Torah (*ZA*), while the others, *GAR de Bina*, are concealed."

ZA of the world of *Atzilut* is called the Torah. The six Supernal Days are *VAK de Bina* that are above *ZA*. Hence, the first word of the Torah, *BERESHEET* = *BARAH* (created) and *SHEET* (six) indicates that the *Sefira Bina* turns to the *Sefira Hochma* in order to receive *Ohr Hochma* and pass it to *ZA*. Since *ZA* is unable to receive all the *Ohr Hochma* (*GAR de Hochma*, the Light of the ten *Sefirot*) from *Bina*, but only *VAK de Hochma* (Light of six *Sefirot*), this is stressed in the word *BARAH SHEET*—CREATED SIX. This means that *ZA* receives from *Bina* the Light of only six *Sefirot*, *HGT NHY* or *VAK de Hochma*, whereas *GAR de Hochma*, the Light of *Sefirot KHB*, is concealed from him.

The reason for this is that although *Partzuf Atik* belongs to *Tzimtzum Aleph* (the first restriction), it is obliged to shine down on all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, and on all the worlds *BYA* with the Light of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Therefore, with regards to the lower *Partzufim*, it appears as a *Partzuf* that belongs to *Tzimtzum Bet*.

In other words, it deliberately imposed on itself an outward (with regards to others) restriction of its Light, to enable the lower *Partzufim* to receive from it. Hence, it elevated *Malchut* from the *Peh* to the *Eynaim* and made a *Zivug* on the screen that stands in *Nikvey Eynaim*, thus begetting *Partzuf AA*.

This is why *AA* is a *Partzuf* with properties of the second restriction, and acts as *Keter* of the entire world of *Atzilut* instead of *Atik*. This was designed so by *Partzuf Atik* itself, which split into two parts: *GE* remained in *Atik*, and *AHP* became part of the second *Partzuf*, *AA*. And since *Malchut* ascended to *NE*

(*Nikvey Eynaim*), *Partzuf AA* remained without *Malchut*, the *Sefira Ateret Yesod* was used in its stead, and *Malchut* became concealed in the *NE* of *Partzuf Atik*. Also, *GE de Atik* became concealed from the lower *Partzufim*, *Malchut* stood in *NE* of *Rosh de Atik*, *AHP de Atik* became *GE de AA*, and *Ateret Yesod* became *Malchut de AA*.

All the subsequent *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* emerged similar to these *Partzufim*. Thus, they all split into two parts, *GE* and *AHP*: *Partzuf Bina* was split into two *Partzufim*: *GE de Bina* formed *Partzuf AVI* and *AHP de Bina* formed *Partzuf YESHSUT*. *Malchut* ascended and remained in *AVI*, while *Partzuf YESHSUT* remained without *Malchut*.

The same applies to *ZON*: *GE* formed the big *ZON* and *AHP* formed the small *ZON*. *Malchut* remained in *NE* of the big *ZON*, while the small *ZON* have only nine *Sefirot* without *Malchut*, which is replaced in them by *Ateret Yesod*, as in *Partzuf Atik*. Therefore, just as *Keter* (*Atik*) split into two parts: *GAR* = *Atik* and *ZAT* = *AA*, so was *Bina* divided into *GAR* = *AVI* and *ZAT* = *YESHSUT*, and *ZON* into *GAR* = the big *ZON* and *ZAT* = the small *ZON*: *Malchut* remained in *GAR* and *Ateret Yesod* replaced it in *ZAT*.

As a result, the Upper Part of each degree remains concealed, just like *Partzuf Atik*, for *Malchut* does not descend from the place where she had ascended (*NE*) to her previous place in the *Peh*. And although in *Gadlut*, *AHP* return to their place or ascend to their own *GE* (which is one and the same), *GE* do not become filled with *Ohr Hochma* (the Light of *GAR*) as a result, since *Malchut* remains concealed in *GE*. Moreover, *Malchut* exists under the ban of *Tzimtzum Aleph* on the reception of *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, *GE* remain with *Ohr Hassadim*.

Only the lower part of each degree is filled with the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*) in *Gadlut*: there was *Avir* (air) = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*, then the letter *Yod* departed from this word, and only the letters *Aleph-Vav-Reish* remained to form the word *Ohr* (Light)—*Ohr Hochma* or *GAR*.

It follows that all *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* have *GE*, *GAR* of *Kelim*, *Sefirot KHB HGT* with *Ohr Hassadim*, the Light of *VAK*, whereas *AHP*, *Sefirot NHY*, *Vak de Kelim* in the *Gadlut* of the *Partzuf* are filled with *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *GAR*. *GE* (*GAR de Kelim*) are filled with the Light of *VAK* (*Ohr Hassadim*), and *AHP* (*VAK de Kelim*) are filled with the Light of *GAR* (*Ohr Hochma*). It is therefore said that there's no greater Light for *ZA* in the world of *Atzilut* than the Light of *VAK* = six days, while *GAR* are concealed even in the *Partzufim* above *ZA*.

42. However, it is said in the secrets of creation of *BERESHEET* that He who is Holy and Concealed established the laws in *Bina*, in the secret and concealed, meaning *Malchut* of *Partzuf Atik*, which is a *Partzuf* with *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, who ascended to *Bina* and removed *AHP de AA* below its *Rosh*. And the same law that He established in *Bina* He established and concealed within, and everything is locked under one key. And He hid this key in a hall. And although everything is hidden in that hall, the most important thing is in that key, for it locks and unlocks everything.

HE WHO IS HOLY AND CONCEALED is *AA*, for its *Hochma* is concealed. THE LAWS ARE ESTABLISHED IN IT, meaning in *Malchut de Atik*. The deficiency of the *Kelim de AHP* is confirmed. *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, called "the central point of all creation," is also the sole creation on which *Tzimtzum Aleph* was imposed. Contrary to her, if the screen stands not in *Malchut*, but in *Yesod* or, more precisely, in *Ateret Yesod*, the place of the covenant (circumcision), the place of the *Zivug* that was permitted after *Tzimtzum Bet*, this screen allows for the reception of Light. Hence, it is called the "point of population," and not the "central point."

– *Keter*

– *Hochma*

– *Bina*

– *ZA Yesod*

– *ZA—Malchut* that received *ZA's* properties to "bestow," the populated place

– *Malchut*—no *Zivug* can be made; the deserted place

The thing is that there is no *GAR* in *AA*, for the Supernal *Malchut* of *Atik*, within *AA*, is already corrected to the point of being in *NE* of her own *Partzuf*. In *Gadlut*, the screen descends from *NE* to *Peh*, which makes *AHP* return to their place, and a *Zivug* transpires on all ten *Sefirot*, which receive the *GAR* of the Light, *Ohr Hochma*.

Therefore, the screen in *NE* is called a "lock," for it blocks the entry of *GAR* of the Light into the *Partzuf*. The *GAR* of the Light are called *Ohr Hochma*. Yet, by descending from *NE* to *Peh*, the screen lets the Light into the *Partzuf*, and is therefore called *Nikvey Eynaim* (pupils of the eyes).

Although *Atik* itself is in *NE* together with *Malchut*, it affects *AA*, and not *Atik* itself, as *AA* was created by the screen, located not in *Malchut*, but in *Ateret Yesod* (or simply in *Yesod*), and there is no *Malchut* in it. This is why it is not

Malchut that rules in *NE de AA*, but *Ateret Yesod*. And this is why, unlike the Light of *Atik*, its Light can be attained, for *Malchut* in *Atik* is the central point, which does not make a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. Although with regards to *Atik*, *AA* is *AHP* of *Atik*, *AA* itself has its own *GE* and *AHP*.

Subsequently, *AA* created *AVI* and confirmed the absence of *Ohr Hochma* in them, due to the absence of *AHP de Kelim*. These *AHP* are the HALL in which the entire Light of *Hochma* is concealed (*GAR de Neshama*, *GAR de Haya*, and *GAR de Yechida*). This KEY IS KEPT HIDDEN IN A HALL: *Bina* is a hall for *Ohr Hochma*. *Malchut* ascends to *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) and rules there, but the absence of *Ohr Hochma* is not felt there, for the properties of *AVI* want only *Ohr Hassadim*; this is what is important to them, as it completely substitutes the *Ohr Hochma*. And *VAK de Bina* is ruled by the key, *Ateret Yesod*.

IN THAT KEY, FOR IT LOCKS AND UNLOCKS EVERYTHING—concealments and revelations are made by *Malchut* that stands in *NE*: when *Malchut* ascends to *NE* she conceals *Ohr Hochma*, since in such a case, the *Partzuf* remains without its *Kelim* of *AHP*—it cannot use its desires to "receive" for the Creator's sake. Consequently, it contains no *Ohr Hochma*, for *Ohr Hochma* can only be received in *Kelim de AHP*.

And when a *Partzuf* receives strength from Above to resist the egoistic desires of reception of its *Kelim de AHP*, and can receive for the Creator's sake, this means that it has acquired a screen against its desires, and can also work with them for the Creator. It then brings its *Malchut* back from the *NE* to the *Peh*. Put differently, it elevates its *Kelim* (desires of *AHP*) to the *Rosh* and begins to calculate how much Light it can receive within them for the Creator's sake. However, the received pleasure must not be too great, or it will make the *Partzuf* enjoy it egoistically. Afterwards, the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma* in its *Guf*.

Thus, only *Malchut* that stands in *NE* allows or forbids the Light from entering the *Partzuf*. And since she must let the Light into the *Partzuf* in *ZAT* (where the rule belongs not to *Malchut* that ascended to *NE*, but to *Ateret Yesod*, called "key"), whereas the *GAR* of each *Partzuf* remain with *Ohr Hassadim* (they desire only the Light of *Hassadim*), letting the Light in or preventing it from entering the *Partzuf* depends only on the key, and not on *Malchut* herself.

43. That hall conceals tremendous treasures piled one upon the other. And there are fifty tightly closed gates in that hall, which are meant to block access to the Light. They were divided into four sides and became forty-nine gates, for one gate has no side, and it is unknown whether it exists above or below. Hence, it remained closed.

There are many types of *GAR*: *GAR* of *Ohr Neshama*, *Haya,* or *Yechida*. Each of them contains countless individual degrees and details. Hence, it is written, ONE UPON THE OTHER. Yet, as long as *Malchut* stands in *NE*, all these degrees of Light remain concealed and unknown.

A gate signifies a vessel—a desire to receive the Light. In the spiritual world, there are no bodies, only desires. The desire itself is called "a body." If there is no desire, there is no body, as there is no vessel to receive the Light (pleasure). The bigger the desire, the "bigger" the body. However, all the bodies are similar in structure; just as a human body in our world consists of 613 parts, the spiritual body consists of 613 spiritual parts (desires).

If one is able to use one of the desires of his spiritual body for the Creator's sake, such action is referred to as a *Mitzva* (commandment, good deed). The received Light is called "Torah."

A spiritual *Partzuf* has a *Rosh* (head), the place where decisions are made. It contains only those desires that are known to be fit with a screen (resistance to the desires) to use them spiritually, altruistically, and to "reverse" them from "for one's own sake" to "for the sake of the Creator." If one has fulfilled all 613 commandments of the Torah and the seven *Mitzvot* (plural for *Mitzva*) of the nations of the world (620 *Mitzvot* in all), he thereby ascends 620 degrees and completely merges with the Creator.

To observe all the commandments means to completely fill one's spiritual *Partzuf* with the Light of the Torah by fulfilling observant commandments (*Mitzvot Aseh*—positive *Mitzvot*) and prohibitory commandments (*Mitzvot Lo Taaseh*—negative *Mitzvot*). The fulfillment of the later lies in the unwillingness to receive the pleasure that is found within them.

There are two types of desires or gates: when they are closed and receive nothing, and when they open and receive the Upper Light. When they are all closed, there are fifty of them. However, only forty-nine of the fifty can be opened. There are ten *Sefirot KHB HGT NHYM* or five *Sefirot KHB ZA-M* (as *ZA* consists of six *Sefirot HGT NHY*). However, *Malchut* also consists of these six, and hence includes all ten *Sefirot*. And since each of the five *Sefirot* consists of ten, in all they make up fifty.

However, since a *Zivug* is made not on *Malchut*, but on *Ateret Yesod*, *Malchut de Malchut* itself does not receive the Light. Instead, Light is received by the four *Sefirot KHB ZA* that precede *Malchut*. Each of them consists of ten, hence 4 x 10 = 40 plus nine *Sefirot* from *Keter* to *Yesod* in *Malchut* herself yields 40 + 9 = 49.

Only one *Sefira* (*Malchut de Malchut*) out of the fifty does not receive the Light. This is because until all the *Kelim* (desires) have been completely corrected, the Light cannot enter it, as it is known in advance that *Malchut de Malchut* has no strength to oppose such a powerful egoistic desire to receive pleasure.

Instead of being in *Malchut de Malchut*, the screen stands in *Yesod de Malchut*, and this place is called *Brith* (Covenant), the place where the *Mitzva* of circumcision must be kept, so as to make a *Zivug* not on *Malchut* herself (on the first restriction), but on *Yesod*, or rather, *Ateret Yesod* (on the second restriction). *Malchut de Malchut* itself is called "*Shaar Nun*" (the 50th gate). This refers to *Malchut* of each *Partzuf* in the worlds *ABYA*.

And although *Malchut* of *Partzuf AVI* descends from *NE de AVI* to her place in *Peh*, while *AHP* and *YESHSUT* that clothe them ascend to the degree of *AVI*, and *AVI* merges with *YESHSUT* into one *Partzuf*, as a result of which, *Ohr Hochma* descends to them from *AA*, *AVI* are unwilling and therefore do not receive anything from *Ohr Hochma*, and remain only with *Ohr Hassadim*, as though *Malchut* had never even descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh*.

Therefore, it is impossible to tell by the Light of *AVI* whether *Malchut* is located at the *NE* or at the *Peh*. On the contrary, by looking at *AVI*, it always seems to us that *Malchut* stands at *NE*. Only by the state of *YESHSUT* can we determine *Malchut's* location, for when she ascends to *AVI* in *Gadlut* (big state), *YESHSUT* receive *Ohr Hochma*.

Although *Malchut* herself can receive *Ohr Hochma* in *AVI*, since *AVI* receive no *Ohr Hochma* whatsoever, they do not utilize their own *Malchut*. Since *YESHSUT* already has *Ateret Yesod* instead of *Malchut*, it receives the Light or "opens up," whereas *AVI* remain closed.

However, the absence of the 50th gate, the *Zivug* on *Malchut* herself in *YESHSUT*, causes the absence of the corresponding Light of *Hochma* in all the *Partzufim*. It is written about it: "fifty gates of *Bina*, and all are given to Moshe, except for one, the last secret of the absence of the Upper Light." For this Upper Light can be received only within the *Kelim* (desires) of *Malchut* herself, of primordial egoism, which will occur at the end of all the corrections, at the completion of the 6,000 years.

44. Those gates have one lock with a narrow space inside for inserting the key. It is unmarked, and recognized only by the impress of the key, which is unknown in that narrow space, but only in the key itself. And it is written of this secret: *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED). "In the beginning" is the key, and all is concealed

within it, as it unlocks and locks. And six gates are contained in this key, which locks and unlocks. When it locks those gates, encloses them within itself, it is written IN THE BEGINNING (*BERESHEET*): a revealed word, though it is usually concealed. *BARAH* (CREATED) is a concealed word everywhere, implying that the key unlocks it and locks it up.

Malchut that stands in *NE* is called a "lock," for she prevents *Ohr Hochma* from entering the *Partzuf*. The entire *Partzuf* ends in *Hochma* (the Light can only be in *K-H*). Hence, it is merely *Nefesh-Ruach*. After all, in the absence of *Kelim-Sefirot B-ZA-M*, the Lights *Neshama-Haya-Yechida* are absent. *Yesod de Malchut* is the 49th gate, the maximum that can be before the end of correction, for *Malchut de Malchut* itself is the 50th gate.

If the key (*Ateret Yesod* of the Light) enters *Yesod de Malchut* (the 49th gate), then this Light lowers *Malchut* to her place, from *NE* to *Peh*. This Light opens the *Partzuf* and *Ohr Hochma* fills it. This is why *Ateret Yesod* is called a "key."

However, there is a special *Reshimo* that allows one to not use *Malchut de Malchut* as a place of *Zivug* before the final correction of all the others (except for *Malchut de Malchut*, *Kelim*-desires). This *Reshimo* is in *AVI*: since they never receive *Ohr Hochma* (they do not use this key), their real *AHP* do not ascend. Nevertheless, even their false *AHP* is sufficient to let *YESHSUT* receive *Ohr Hochma* and realize that knowledge signifies the presence of *Ohr Hochma*.

If the Light that corresponds to *Ateret Yesod* enters the corresponding *Sefira* in *Malchut* (in *Yesod de Malchut*, the 49th *Sefira*), then *Malchut* (the 50th gate) does not forbid this Light to fill the *Partzuf*, does not "lock up" the *Partzuf*, as she contains the *Reshimo* of prohibition only on that which enters *Malchut* herself. The reason for it is that the *Reshimo* (the key's memory) rules in *ZAT de Bina*, that is, in *YESHSUT*. Hence, this Light is called a "key."

And the word *BERESHEET*–IN THE BEGINNING–includes in itself only the key (*Ateret Yesod*, the 49th *Sefira*), excluding *Malchut de Malchut*, the 50th gate. However, none of the *Sefirot KHB* of all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* receive *Ohr Hochma*; *Ohr Hassadim* shines within them instead.

Therefore, the words IN THE BEGINNING CREATED (*BERESHEET BARAH*) mean CONCEALED *HOCHMA*, for the word *BARAH* (created) is derived from the notion of *BAR* (beyond), which signifies moving *Malchut de Malchut* beyond the reception of *Ohr Hochma*; hence, this part of the *Kelim* was locked up by the absence of Light.

Avraham

45. Rabbi Yosi said, "I heard from the great source of Light, i.e., from Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, that *BARAH* is a concealed word, the key to which locked it up and did not unlock it. And since the key locked up the word *BARAH*, there was no world and no possibility of its existence, and nothingness enveloped all. And when nothingness rules, there is no world, nor its existence."

46. So when did this key unlock those gates, and everything became ready for the existence and evolution of the generations? When Avraham appeared, as he is the property of *Hesed* (mercy), of which it is written, "These are the generations of Heaven and earth *Be-Hibar'am* (with which He built)." However, one should pronounce the word not as *Be-Hibar'am*, but as *Be-Avraham* (in Hebrew, these two words consist of the same letters, but in a slightly different order). Then, all that was concealed in the word *BARAH* was revealed as letters, meaning that the *Kelim* opened up to listen. And there appears the Pillar of Procreation, the sacred *Yesod*, upon which the world's existence is based, for the word *BARAH* consists of the same letters as the word *AVAR* (passed).

He asks: "When it is revealed, can one act and produce generations?" This question includes three questions:

1. When will it be revealed? When *Malchut* descends from the *Eynaim* (where she ascended as a result of *Tzimtzum Bet*) to her previous place in the *Peh*, which leads to the revelation of the forty-nine gates of *Hochma*;
2. When can it be used? When *Ohr Hochma* clothes in *Ohr Hassadim*, as a result of which *AHP* can receive *Ohr Hochma*, for unless it is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *MI* = *GE* cannot shine within *ELEH* = *AHP*, as the Light is not yet suitable for reception and use by the lower ones;

3. What does it mean to produce, multiply generations? Generations are the souls that exist in the worlds *BYA*, begotten by *ZA de Atzilut*. After *ZA* receives the Lights of *Hochma* and *Hassadim* (the Light of perfection), this Light enables him to make a *Zivug* with *Nukva* and beget the souls of the righteous.

WORLD OF AK

WORLD OF ATZILUT: AA of the world of Atzilut

AVI of the world of Atzilut

ZON of the world of Atzilut produce and feed the souls of the righteous

— Parsa -

WORLD OF BERIA
WORLD OF YETZIRA } the souls of the righteous in the worlds BYA
WORLD OR ASSIYA

— Machsom, the transition from egoism to altruism - - - - - - - - - - -

OUR EGOISTIC WORLD

Avraham is the property of the *Sefira Hesed* in *Partzuf ZA* during its *Gadlut* (big state), when *Hesed* ascends and becomes *Hochma*: *Sefirot HGT* become *HBD*:

PARTZUF ZA

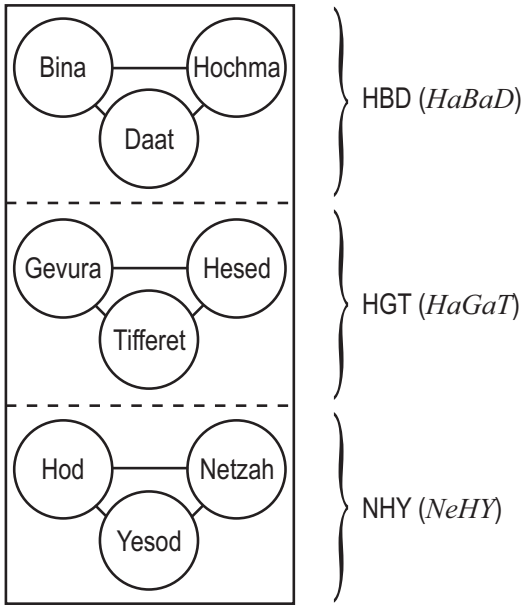

Before Avraham appeared, everything was concealed in the word *BARAH* and nothingness ruled over the world—there was neither *Ohr Hochma* nor *Ohr Hassadim* in *ZON*. However, when Avraham (the Light of *Hesed* that descends to *ZA*) appeared, the gates were opened for *Ohr Hochma*, for *Malchut* descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh*, and *YESHSUT* merged with *AVI* into one degree, which led to the descent of *Ohr Hochma* to *YESHSUT*, for *Ohr Hassadim* of Avraham's properties was already present in *ZA*.

Ohr Hochma then clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *MI* (*GE*) joined *ELEH* (*AHP*), the Creator's name *ELO-IM* was completed, and *Hochma* filled *ZA*. Then *Malchut* descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh* in *ZA*, and *ZA* received new *AHP* from *Bina*, thereby entering *Gadlut* and passing the Light through his *Yesod* into *Malchut*, called the "lower world." As a result, *Malchut* begets the souls of the righteous.

47. When *Yesod* of *ZA* joins the word *BARAH* (*Malchut*), there occurs a concealed and supernal division of the Creator's name and greatness, called *MI*, and *ELEH* comes into being. Also, the sacred name *MA* comes from *BARAH*. The sacred concealed *ELEH* exists just like *Yesod*. Yet, when *Yesod* attains its complete state, the *Partzuf* attains its complete state, the letter *Hey* corresponds to *Yesod* and the letter *Yod*—to *ELEH*.

Here, *The Zohar* clarifies which Light is present in *ZA*, depending on his states. In the *Sefira Yesod* of *Partzuf ZA* there is an end, meaning a place of contact with *Malchut*, the place of the covenant between the Creator (*ZA*) and the *Shechina* (the souls of the righteous), also called "Israel" or *Malchut*. This place of contact is called *Ateret Yesod* (encirclement of *Yesod*) or *Keter de ZA* (the crown of *ZA*).

The word *BARAH* signifies *Katnut* (small state), which comes as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *NE*. *AVI* never abandon the properties of *GAR de Bina* (properties of mercy); they do not desire to receive. Having ascended and standing in them, *Malchut* is called *Man'ula* (lock), which prevents the Light from spreading below her. *Ateret Yesod de ZA* is called *Miftacha* (key), for it is through its property that the Light can be received in the *Partzufim* located below *AVI*.

This is possible on condition that *ELEH* = *AHP* ascend to *MI* = *GE*. *Ohr Hochma* can be received in the *Kelim ELEH* that wish to receive it, but only upon their ascension above *Parsa*. However, until the properties of *Malchut* acquire the property of *Bina*, until they are "softened" by this property, there is no way to receive the Light, and *Malchut* is called "the 50th gate."

Hence, we see that the words *MI BARAH ELEH* signify not the question, "Who created these?" but the action: *MI* = *GE BARAH* (created) *ELEH* = *AHP* by

the descent of *Malchut* from *NE* back to *Peh*. As a result, *ELEH* = *AHP* ascended to the *Rosh* and there received the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*).

Upon descending to *Peh*, *Malchut* is called *MA*, as that is the name of the lower world. Her screen in the *Peh* makes a *Zivug*, onto which descends *Ohr Hassadim*, called "Light of blessing," for it abolishes the prohibition and the lock imposed on the diffusion of Light.

48. When the letters *Hey* and *Yod* wished to complement one another, the letter *Mem* emerged from them, and the word *ELO-HIM* = *ELE* + *Hey* + *Yod* + *Mem* was formed by the union of both sides. The word *AVAR* + *Hey* + *Mem* = Avraham originated from *ELEH*. However, one might say that the Creator took the words *ELEH* and *MI*, joined them and formed the word *ELOKIM*, whereas the words *MA* and *AVAR* formed the word Avraham, where the word *MI* designates the fifty gates of *Bina*, and the word *MA* refers to the numerical value of the holy name, for *HaVaYaH* with the filling of the letter *Aleph* forms the *Gematria* of MA—45.

Both this world and the world to come exist in these two letters, *Yod* and *Hey*. This world is in *Yod*, and the world to come is in *Hey*. Hence, the world to come was created with *MI*, and this world with *MA*.

It is therefore written: "These are the created (*Be-Hibar'am*) generations of Heaven and earth," where the letters *Be-Hibar'am* make up the word "Avraham," for there was no perfection until the letters formed this word. Therefore, the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* is first mentioned in the Torah only after the name Avraham.

Ohr Hassadim in *MA* and *Ohr Hochma* in *ELEH* wished to complement one another and be complemented within one another. As a result, *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, and *Malchut* receives from both *Hassadim* and *Hochma*. In so doing, *MA* and *MI* join and create MM, i.e., *Malchut* that receives *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* from Above.

The Vision of Rabbi Chiya

49. Rabbi Chiya prostrated himself on the ground and kissed it. He wept and said: "Dust, how hard and heartless you are, how many you have consumed, all the pillars of Light and all the great souls were consumed by you. And the greatest of all, Rabbi Shimon, the Light of the entire world, of all the worlds, who illuminates and governs over the descending Light, upon which our world exists, is also consumed by you, and yet you govern the world?" But then he collected himself at once and said: "Do not be proud, dust, for the pillars of the world will not be betrayed to you, and Rabbi Shimon will not be consumed by you!"

Malchut is the sole creation. And this sole creation is nothing but a desire to receive pleasure. It was made this way, and its essence cannot be changed. Yet, what can be changed is the intention—for which or whose sake to receive the pleasure.

As a result of *Malchut's* union with *Bina* with an altruistic will to bestow delight, give pleasure, *Malchut* acquires *Bina's* desire in addition to her own. That is, an additional desire appears in *Malchut*—to bestow, opposite to her nature.

Only this desire of *Bina* in *Malchut* can result in a *Zivug* and reception of Light. When *Malchut* receives all the desires that she possibly can from *Bina*, and fills them with Light, only her own initial egoistic property will remain uncorrected, but even that will be corrected from Above by the Creator Himself. The order of correction and reception of Light in *Bina's* properties inside of *Malchut* is referred to as the reception on the *Zivug* of *Yesod*, and it takes place sequentially along 6,000 degrees, called "6,000 years."

Malchut de Malchut of the world of *Atzilut* cannot receive any Light during the 6,000 years until all of its parts are completely corrected. All the *Zivugim* (plural for *Zivug*) throughout the 6,000 years are made not on *Malchut* herself, but on the properties she received from *Bina*. The place of such a *Zivug* is called *Yesod*

de Malchut or *Ateret Yesod*. Whereas *Malchut* herself (egoistic desires) remains closed to the Light, and is therefore called the "closed gates."

The reception of Light during the 6,000 years, correction of the *Partzufim*, and the gradual filling of *Malchut* with the Light, takes place with the help of *Bina's* desires in *Malchut*, which are called *Miftacha* (*Yesod de Malchut*), for the impure (egoistic) force has no power over this part of *Malchut*.

Yesod de Malchut means that *Malchut* only acts with the properties she received from a Higher *Sefira–Yesod*, which is free from the influence of the impure forces (*Klipot*). All the properties, except for those of *Malchut*, are altruistic, since they originate from *Bina*. However, since we wish to emphasize that a *Zivug* is made on an altruistic desire, above the egoistic desire of *Malchut*, we usually say *Yesod* instead of *Bina*. And since *Yesod* is the *Sefira* immediately above *Malchut*, we say that a *Zivug* is made not on the egoistic desires of *Malchut*, but on *Yesod*. And since, upon acquiring the properties of *Yesod*, *Malchut* can receive the Light, such reception of Light on *Yesod de Malchut* is called "*Miftacha*" (from the word *Mafte'ach*, key)—the key that opens the way for the Upper Light.

However, since *Malchut* herself, that is, *Malchut de Malchut* ("closed gates") remains inaccessible to the Light for 6,000 years, Rabbi Chiya (a particular spiritual degree) could not understand how Rabbi Shimon (the spiritual *Partzuf* called Rabbi Shimon) could achieve such complete perfection. Indeed, Rabbi Shimon is a *Partzuf* of such spiritual height that it receives the Light of *Yechida*. And it is impossible to receive this Light without utilizing a *Zivug* on *Malchut de Malchut* itself.

And yet, this part of *Malchut* remains uncorrected until the completion of the 6,000 years (the end of correction), and thus cannot be used. By defying these desires, it is as though one has already partially corrected it. And all the prohibitory commandments refer to *Malchut de Malchut*; hence, the ban imposed on its use is called "a restriction."

Yet, if it is impossible to fill the "stony heart" (*Lev HaEven*), i.e., *Malchut de Malchut* (the root of egoism, the basis of creation), with Light, how can even a single soul achieve complete correction? After all, complete correction implies the reception of Light in the entire *Malchut*. Each soul, each part of *Malchut* that man is destined to correct contains a part of all the other parts of *Malchut*, including a part of *Malchut de Malchut*, which he may not work with until the end of correction.

On the other hand, Rabbi Chiya sees Rabbi Shimon in a state of complete correction. So how could the latter have attained such state? This

contradiction roused Rabbi Chiya so greatly that he prostrated himself on the ground and cried out.

It is impossible to constantly "translate" the words of the Torah or *The Zohar* into a language we can understand, that "ground" signifies egoism and "dust" refers to the impure forces, that "crying out" implies raising *MAN*, and so forth. All the words and definitions in the text of *The Zohar* should be perceived sensuously rather than literally, as physical actions of our world. In other words, whatever *The Zohar* speaks of is related only to inner, spiritual sensations and experiences of one who perceives the spiritual realm.

All the worlds constitute the "environment," the spiritual sphere, within which the Creator made His only creation—man (Adam). Everything else was created only in order to help man to achieve his spiritual mission of becoming like his Creator.

Just as in our world, the world itself and all its inhabitants, except man, are robots operated by their animal nature, rather than creatures with free will, in the spiritual worlds, all the spiritual beings, except for the soul, are operated by their spiritual nature. Upon being born in our world, man, too, is an animal without freedom to act against his egoistic desire to receive pleasure. He usually stays that way throughout his existence on earth, being not at all different from the still, vegetative, and animate levels of nature, automatically following orders of his inner master, egoism.

Only with the help of Kabbalah can one gradually receive Upper, spiritual strength, and consequently acquire freedom of choice, that is, liberate himself from the influence of the impure, egoistic forces, and become free in his desires, like the Creator. However, such an opportunity is only given to one who can control his automatically-driven, egoistic nature: according to the strength of his screen, man ascends (moves inwardly, in his sensations) from this world to the spiritual.

After creating the spiritual worlds as a home for his future creation, the Creator created the creature (soul, Adam). The soul constitutes the desire to delight in the sensation of the Creator, of His Light. The sensation of the Creator is called "Light." There is nothing else in the entire universe besides the Light and the soul!

Although the soul itself is *Malchut de Malchut* (the only egoistic creation), the Creator imparted onto it the property of altruism, having created it mixed with the *Kelim* (desires) of *Bina*, thereby demonstrating how wonderful it would be to be like Him.

While performing altruistic actions, the soul (Adam) decided to use its natural egoism, *Malchut de Malchut* itself, to receive the Creator's Light with

altruistic intentions. Yet, when it began to let the tremendous Light of *Yechida* into *Malchut de Malchut*, it could not resist and wished to enjoy it egoistically. This change in the soul's desires is referred to as its fall.

As a result of the fall, Adam's soul split into myriad parts (600,000), all of which fell into captivity of impure, egoistic forces (acquired egoistic desires). After the fall, Adam corrected some of the souls (obtained an anti-egoistic screen), but only partially. And then, of the total number of souls, some were selected for correction, lowered into this world, and clothed into bodies, generation after generation.

The descent (distancing from the Creator) into our world (egoistic sensations of only one's own desires) occurs as a result of attaching an additional "makeweight" of egoism to the soul. In the spiritual world, movement (farther from the Creator or closer to Him) and distance (from Him) are determined by the correlation of egoistic and altruistic desires within the soul.

The purpose behind the souls' descent to our world is to transform one's egoistic desires with the help of Kabbalah, and to return to the Creator with one's intentions, by performing altruistic actions. The souls' descent continues until each of them and all of them together achieve complete correction.

And the most exalted souls that refer to the degrees of *Yechida* and *GAR* of *Haya* depend on the correction of *Malchut* herself in *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* ("closed gates"). These will only be corrected at the completion of the 6,000 years, after the correction of all the rest. This is due to the inverse relationship between the souls and the Light that fills them: the more egoistic the soul is, and the lower it is located, the greater the Light that enters the general *Partzuf* (the common soul) at the time of its correction.

THE LIGHT OF SOULS	Yechida	Haya	Neshama	Ruach	Nefesh
MALCHUT (types of souls)	Keter	Hochma	Bina	ZA	Malchut

This is why these exalted souls are consumed by dust (impure force), i.e., the impure force rules over them with its enormous and insolent power, for it is certain that no one and nothing can save these souls from captivity.

This is why Rabbi Chiya wept: "Dust, how cruel you are!" That the most exalted souls are "consumed by you without any hope of escaping you!" In other words, the actual root of creation, the primordial egoism cannot be corrected.

It turns out that as a result of the exalted souls' captivity by the rule of the impure forces, all the righteous that bring Light to the entire world cannot achieve perfection themselves. Since all the souls are interconnected, not a

single individual soul can arrive at the end of correction until all the souls are corrected. This is why they are susceptible to the ruthless rule of the dust.

At first, Rabbi Chiya wanted to say that Rabbi Shimon himself was also consumed by dust, i.e., did not achieve complete correction. He had heard that Rabbi Yosi also reasons that the closed gates are closed for all. Yet, after some contemplation, he inquired: "If Rabbi Shimon revives all the worlds and governs them, how can it possibly be that he has not reached perfection?"

Therefore, he concludes that Rabbi Shimon was not consumed by the dust, that he did achieve complete correction and is probably in a state of absolute perfection. The thing that Rabbi Chiya could not understand, however, is how any individual soul could achieve the end of correction prior to (without) the complete correction of all the others. This, Rabbi Chiya could not explain to himself.

50. Rabbi Chiya stood up and started to walk and weep. Rabbi Yosi joined him. He fasted for forty days so that he might see Rabbi Shimon. He was told he still was not worthy of seeing him. He wept and fasted for another forty days. He was then shown a vision: Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar were discussing him, Rabbi Chiya, the words he said to Rabbi Yosi, and thousands are listening in on their discussion.

Although the fasting that *The Zohar* speaks of is a spiritual act, in our world such a description is a good example of how strong a desire should be in order to be answered from Above. Other spiritual actions include weeping, tears—the small state (*Katnut*) of a spiritual *Partzuf*, in this case referred to as "Rabbi Chiya." Naturally, Rabbi Shimon and all the other characters of *The Zohar* are spiritual *Partzufim*, rather than people of our world.

Truth be told, the spiritual level of a person known by a certain name in our world may coincide with his spiritual root described in the Torah. However, elucidation of this matter exceeds the scope of this particular article. It is nonetheless essential to note that Pharaoh in the corporeal Egypt, naturally, was not a spiritual Pharaoh, the way he is described in *The Zohar* (the *Partzuf* that includes all of *Malchut*), and Laban, portrayed in the Torah as a villain, is in fact the Supernal Spiritual Light of *Partzuf AB*, the Supernal Light of *Hochma*. This will be explained later on.

The strong desire to attain the degree of Rabbi Shimon allowed Rabbi Chiya to see him, for he was certain that Rabbi Shimon had not been consumed by the dust. He came to this conclusion precisely because of his conversation with Rabbi Yosi, and hence passionately desired to see Rabbi Shimon.

51. In that same vision, Rabbi Chiya saw several great celestial wings: how Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar mounted them and soared to the Assembly of Heaven, while the wings waited for them. Afterwards, they both returned to their place and shone brighter than ever before, brighter than the light of the sun.

The Heavenly Assembly refers to the Assembly of the angel Matatron. However, his full name is not pronounced, and the name Matat is used instead, for pronouncing a name is equivalent to an action, which is not always desirable. The term Supernal Assembly refers to the Assembly of the Creator Himself, while the Heavenly Assembly refers to the Assembly of Matat.

The wings that were waiting for Rabbi Shimon and his son Elazar are angels (spiritual forces, similar to robots or draft animals in our world), whose task is to help the souls to ascend from one spiritual degree to another. And just as these wings must assist the souls in their ascent, they must assist them to descend to their places. Therefore, it is said that the wings were waiting for Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar to bring them back down.

And when Rabbi Chiya saw them returning from the Heavenly Assembly back to their place (to Rabbi Shimon's Assembly), he noticed a new light on their faces, and radiance surrounded them that was brighter than the sun.

52. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "Let Rabbi Chiya enter and see how much the Creator renews the faces of the righteous in the world to come. Happy is he who comes here without shame. Happy is he who stands in the other world as a rigid pillar opposite all." And Rabbi Chiya saw himself entering, and Rabbi Elazar and all the other pillars of the world that were there stood up before Rabbi Chiya. And he, Rabbi Chiya, was ashamed; he entered, bending, and sat at the feet of Rabbi Shimon.

Rabbi Shimon opened (opened the way for the Light) and said: "Happy is he who enters without shame." And all that were present there felt no shame. Only Rabbi Chiya was ashamed. This is because they had the strength to withstand the power of the dust, and Rabbi Chiya did not. They were all perfect, whereas Rabbi Chiya had a flaw—the desire to attain. And this is what he was ashamed of.

53. A voice sounded: "Lower your eyes, do not raise your head, and do not look." He lowered his eyes and saw Light that shone from afar. The voice returned and said: "The Supernal Ones, concealed and enclosed, who have eyes that watch over the entire world, look and see: the lower ones are sleeping, and the Light of their eyes is concealed in their pupils. Wake them!"

After he followed the instruction to lower his eyes and not raise his head (not use his desire to receive Light, but only desires to bestow), he merited hearing

(Light of *Hassadim*) the appeal, with the help of which he attained everything he wished. The voice divides all souls into two groups: the first is a group of Supernal Holy Ones that are concealed, who merited their eyes to be opened to behold the entire world, and the second group of souls have the Light of their eyes concealed in their eye-sockets, which is what blinded them. This is why the voice called upon the souls of the first group to behold, i.e., to use the reception of the Upper Light, to draw the Upper Light together with the second group.

54. Who among you turns darkness into Light and savors bitter as sweet even before he came here, that is, while still living in the other world? Who among you hopes and waits each day for the Light that shines when the Lord distances, when His greatness grows and He is called the King of all kings of the world? For he who does not wait for this each day while living in this world, has no place in the other world either.

The Creator's goal is for man to fully attain Him while still living in this world, to feel Him as he did prior to descending into this world, prior to incarnating in a physical body. From this the division of people of our world into two groups is clearly evident, and the voice appeals to them.

The voice emphasizes to each group their main advantage. To the souls of the first group, it says that they turned darkness into Light. These are the souls of the world of *Atzilut*, for the Creator created two opposite systems in the worlds *BYA*: the system of darkness and bitterness opposite the system of Light and sweetness. Therefore, in the Torah of the worlds *BYA* there is a division into suitable and unsuitable, pure and impure, permitted and forbidden, holy and unholy, whereas the Torah of the world of *Atzilut*, which consists wholly of the Creator's names, contains nothing impure whatsoever.

And the sinner Laban is regarded as a holy name in the world of *Atzilut*, as well as the Pharaoh. And all the names that represent impure forces in the worlds *BYA* become corrected in the world of *Atzilut*, exalted and pure spiritual objects and forces with corresponding holy names. Therefore, the souls that have attained the Light of the world of *Atzilut* transform all darkness into Light and all bitterness into sweetness. In other words, the whole difference between the holy, pure, and good, and their opposites lies in the correction of the desire and in acquiring an anti-egoistic screen over the will to receive.

And to the second group the voice said that they're waiting for the Creator's help, and He will rise (*Shechina*, His manifestation to the lower ones) from the dust (in their sensations). But those who do not wait for Him, being preoccupied with other aspirations, will not rise from the dust, and the sensation of the Creator will remain concealed from them.

55. In his vision, Rabbi Chiya saw many of his friends gathering around the standing pillars. And he saw them being elevated to the Heavenly Assembly, some are elevated, while others are lowered. And above them all, he saw Matat, the owner of wings, approaching.

As the voice was calling, Rabbi Chiya saw several souls of the righteous, belonging to the two groups, standing around the two pillars that were already present in Rabbi Shimon's assembly, and whom he had already seen ascending to the Heavenly Assembly. Some were ascending, and some were descending; moreover, this motion ensued in mutually opposite directions.

This way the two groups help one another according to the calling voice, which instructs the first group to descend and the second to ascend. Rabbi Chiya saw also that due to the excitement of all these souls over their aspirations, i.e., the power of the two groups, Matat descended from the Heavenly Assembly to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon and swore an oath.

56. The angel Matat swore that he heard from behind the curtain how each day the Creator remembers and grieves over *Malchut*, cast into the dust. And when He remembers her, He strikes 390 firmaments, and they all tremble with terrible fear before Him. And the Creator sheds tears for the *Shechina* (Divinity), *Malchut* that has fallen to the dust. And those tears simmer like fire, and fall into the Great Sea. And by the power of these tears, the Ruler of the Sea, called Rachav, is revived, blesses the Creator's holy name, and vows to swallow up everything, from the first days of creation, and to absorb all within himself, when all the nations gather against the holy nation, and the waters will dry, and Israel will walk through dry land.

This vow signifies that the Creator never forgets, but remembers each day that the *Shechina* lies in the dust. However, this does not refer to the entire Holy *Shechina*: this, the Creator need not vow, for it is revealed and seen by all who dwell in the Upper Worlds that everything He does is for the *Shechina* (*Malchut*) alone.

But this refers only to *Malchut de Malchut*. She is the one Rabbi Chiya thinks about being held captive by the impure forces, completely abandoned. Hence, he wept: "Oh dust that consumes all!" And here, the angel Matat, who has come to the Assembly of Rabbi Shimon, revealed to Rabbi Chiya a great secret—that the Creator's rule is absolute, and He remembers *Malchut de Malchut* each day.

A *Zivug* (union of the *Masach*-screen and the Light-pleasure) is defined as a stroke of Light onto the screen, a result of the desire to enter and cross the screen's barrier, while the screen restricts and repels it. This act of repelling is called the Returning (reversed) Light, as it rises from the screen from below upwards and clothes the coming Light.

This may be compared to the example of the host (Creator) offering delicious food (Light) to his guest (*Kli*), who wishes to enjoy the delicacies. However, as a result of the shame from being the receiver, the guest refuses to receive, and the screen repels the food (Light). It is as though the guest (*Kli*) says to the host (Creator) that he refuses to receive the pleasure (Light) for himself, for his own enjoyment. This repelling of the food (Light) forms the Returning Light, for it stems not just from not wanting to feel shame, as it is in our world, but from the spiritual *Kli's* desire to be like the Creator.

The Returning Light is that altruistic intention, desire. This is also the spiritual *Kli*, and only within it can the Light be received; only in this intention can one feel the Creator.

After the *Kli* was able to repel all the pleasure coming to it, and demonstrated that it could meet the condition of the first restriction (to refrain from egoistic reception), it began to calculate how much Light it could receive for the Creator's sake. The *Kli* receives only the amount of pleasure that it is certain it can receive for the Creator's sake.

The delight that was received inside the *Kli* is referred to as the Inner Light. The amount of Light received inside the vessel determines the degree of similarity to the Creator; the *Kli* acts like the Creator: just as He desires to bestow pleasure upon the *Kli*, so the *Kli* wishes to bestow upon Him, to the extent of the Inner Light received. Therefore, the size of the *Kli*, (from *Peh* to *Tabur*, where it receives the Light) determines the degree of merging with the Creator. In this place, the *Kli* is merged with Him in properties and intentions.

If the *Kli*'s powers of resistance are not sufficient to receive for the Creator's sake, and it can only refrain from reception, the *Kli* is considered to be in the "small" state, *Katnut*. The *Kli* that was created by the Creator is the strongest. However, afterwards, as it begins to descend, its screen gradually weakens until the *Kli* can no longer receive for the Creator's sake. It is left with just enough strength to not receive for itself. This is why from this state onward there is a ban on reception of Light into the *Kli's* desires "to receive." The *Kli* may only use its *GE*, but not its *AHP*. And the boundary beyond which the Light cannot spread is called *Parsa*, the firmament. This barrier is built from Above; thus, even if the *Kli* suddenly wishes to receive the Light for itself, it will not be able to do so.

The screen divides the firmament and consists of four parts: *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut* (*HBTM*), the four letters of *HaVaYaH*. Because *Malchut* joined with *Bina* and thereby corrected her egoistic properties into altruistic ones, the screen is located not in *Malchut*, but in *Bina*. *Bina* is counted as hundreds; therefore, the four parts *HBTM* equal 400. However, there is no *Zivug*

(reception of Light) on *Malchut de Malchut* itself (after all, it is called the "closed gates"). This means that *Malchut* contains ninety *Sefirot*, and not 100: 9 *Sefirot*, each consisting of ten.

Therefore, the screen that is called "the firmament" and that makes a *Zivug* with the Upper Light by reflecting it consists of 390 parts, for the part of *Malchut de Malchut* is lacking. The firmament is therefore said to consist of 390 firmaments, and on it a daily *Zivug* with the *Shechina* is made, whereas a *Zivug* on the dust, which signifies the ten parts of *Malchut de Malchut*, is forbidden. The impact between the screen and the incoming Light resembles shuddering from fear to receive the Light inside of oneself, beyond the limits of one's restrictions.

There are five *Sefirot* in the *Rosh* (head) of a *Partzuf*:

Keter	- *Galgalta* (or *Metzach*)	- forehead
Hochma	- *Eynaim*	- eyes
Bina	- *Awznayim*	- ears
ZA	- *Hotem*	- nose
Malchut	- *Peh*	- mouth

Just as the secretion from one's physiological eyes is called tears, the secretion of the Light of *Hochma* from the part of the spiritual *Kli* called "eyes" is referred to as "tears." Tears constitute the part of the Light that is rejected by the *Partzuf* due to the absence of a screen on *Malchut de Malchut*. All the Light that comes to a *Partzuf* wishes to enter and fill it with its pleasure, even the part of the *Partzuf* that has no screen to receive with altruistic intentions. Therefore, the screen immediately repels this portion of the Light.

But between the strike of the Light from Above and the resistance of the screen from below, tiny drops of Light seep through the screen, which, due to its hurry, is unable to repel them. These drops have nothing to do with the level of *Hochma* of the *Partzuf*, as they lack the clothing of the Returning Light. They exit the *Partzuf Hochma* and receive the name "tears." But it is nonetheless Light!

This is similar to a state where we are filled with tears of compassion for another person. Indeed, all that exists in our world exists because it derives from its spiritual prototype, and all that transpires in this world, transpires only because it stems from its Upper, spiritual root.

After all, the fact that the Upper Light strikes the screen, trying to break through its restriction, stems from its origin in the Highest Place, the Creator Himself, and is unrelated to the creature's desire to receive this Light within

the bounds of its altruistic capabilities. The Light stems from the world of Infinity, from the Creator Himself, long before the *Kli* appeared and wished to restrict itself.

The Upper Light wishes to fill the desire to enjoy that it created, as it is said, "the Creator wishes to dwell in His creatures below." The Light and the Creator are one and the same; after all, man defines the sensation of the Creator as spiritual Light. And this Upper Light strives to force its way through the screen and enter man's desires, but the screen hurls it back. Thus, this repelled Upper Light becomes Returning Light, which designates man's altruistic intentions to bestow delight upon the Creator.

As a result of the collision with the screen, portions of the Light fall outside, for these tears originate from the Creator's love and compassion for His creation. In our world, this spiritual action results in an emission of tears in an individual overwhelmed with suffering and love. However, spiritual tears do not disappear.

This is described in *Song of Songs* (8:6): "For love is as strong as death, jealousy is as cruel as hell; the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, the very flame of the Lord!" This is because these tears stem from the Upper One's love and compassion for the lower one. And just as flaming tears shed by someone in our world burn, so do the boiling and burning Upper tears burn like fire, like the very flame of the Lord!

Being related to the property of *Hochma*, *Malchut* is called "sea." It is therefore said that the tears (Light of *Hochma* without first being clothed in Light of *Hassadim*) fall into the sea, *Malchut*. And it is written that the many sea waters will not extinguish the Creator's love for His creatures, expressed in these tears.

It was said during the creation of the world: "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place" (*Beresheet*, 1:9). But the angel that governed the sea did not wish to swallow these waters, and was hence killed (was emptied of Light). Now, as the tears fall, he is revived.

The reason for this is that during the creation of the world, *Malchut de Malchut* itself had not undergone any kind of correction, as the Creator created the worlds *ABYA* in a special correction, called *MAN de Bina* or *Ateret Yesod*, and not *MAN de Malchut* or *Malchut de Malchut*. In other words, correction is possible only if man corrects not *Malchut de Malchut* itself (his essence), but, while completely refraining from its use (use of egoism), he acquires higher, altruistic desires from *Bina* and receives the Creator's Light in them (in *Sefirot KHB-ZA de Malchut*, in 390 *Sefirot*).

These higher, altruistic desires are referred to as desires of *Bina* or as *MAN de Bina*, and the reception of Light in them (*Zivug*) is made not on egoism (*Malchut* herself), but on the will to bestow, called *Ateret Yesod*. This *Zivug* is therefore sufficient to fill only the first nine *Sefirot* in *Malchut*, but does not fill *Malchut* herself.

Prophet Yeshayahu (Isaiah) writes in this regard: "Who are you with, partners? I started the worlds, and you are to complete them!" The correction of *Malchut de Malchut* is incumbent solely upon the creatures. Hence, when the sea ruler was told: "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place," he objected and did not wish to swallow up the created waters, for due to the uncorrected state of *Malchut de Malchut*, the impure forces prevailed and ruled over him. And that is why he was killed.

However, these tears correct *Malchut de Malchut*, and thus revive the sea ruler so that he would rise from the dead, sanctify the name of the Lord, fulfill the Creator's will, and swallow up the primeval waters. For then, all the impure forces, all the evil in the world will disappear and all (desires) will gather in one place (property), whose name is *Atzilut*. This is because the world of *Atzilut* will spread from the end of the world of *AK* down to our world, and there will come the end of correction, for the worlds of *BYA* will return in their properties to the world of *Atzilut*.

In the future, at the end of correction, after the correction of the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, when only *Malchut de Malchut*, the last, tenth *Sefira*, remains to be corrected, when all the nations of the world (*Malchut de Malchut*) unite to destroy Israel (the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, the desire to correct all the ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut*), the act of the sea ruler will be revealed in that he will swallow up all the primeval, evil waters, and the waters (severe restrictions) will dry up, and the sons of Israel (those who aspire for the Creator) will walk through dry land.

The prophet Micha (Micah) says of this: "As we fled the land of Egypt, we saw wonders." However, this was only the beginning, for it was only in the End Sea (the Red Sea; the Hebrew name signifies the end of *Malchut*, or *Malchut de Malchut*), and only for a limited time. But, at the end of correction, death will disappear forever.

This is how Matat explained his oath: the Creator never forgets *Malchut*, which is cast in the dust. For even though a daily *Zivug* with the *Shechina* is made on only 390 firmaments, on the nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut* and not on *Malchut de Malchut* itself, which remains lying in the dust, and, as it seems to us, completely forgotten by the Creator, nothing could be further from the truth. In truth, He corrects it with each *Zivug*, because with each *Zivug*, as a result of the 390

firmaments being struck, the tears fall outside. And these tears are not lost, but fall into the Great Sea (*Malchut de Malchut*), which receives from them slow, yet gradual corrections, even if it is the Light of *Hochma* without the clothing of the Light of *Hassadim*. As it becomes more and more corrected, the sea ruler is revived until the tears accumulate to the necessary amount for the correction of the entire *Malchut*, so that all of her intentions would be for the Creator's sake.

This will occur when all the nations of the world unite to attack Israel. Then, the sea ruler will rise back to life and swallow up all the primeval waters, for *Malchut de Malchut* will receive the lacking correction, for each day the Creator cares for her until she, His only creation, reaches her final correction.

And here Rabbi Chiya's delusion was revealed to him: he understood that nothing disappears in the dust, but, on the contrary, each day *Malchut* undergoes corrections, just as Matat swore.

57. Through all this, he heard a voice: "Clear this place, clear this place! The *Mashiach* (Messiah), the King-Redeemer is coming to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon," for all the righteous gathered there are the heads of groups and assemblies, whereas all of the assembly members ascend from this assembly to the Assembly of Heaven. And the *Mashiach* visits all these assemblies and seals the Torah that stems from the mouths of the righteous. And at that moment, the *Mashiach* comes to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon, surrounded by the heads of all the Supernal assemblies.

As a result of the great revelation—the end of correction—concealed in the oath of Matat, all of the righteous present at Rabbi Shimon's Assembly were elevated, especially the two groups of the righteous that caused Matat to appear and take his oath. As a result, all of them attained Upper Degrees and reached the levels of "heads of assemblies," for each assembly has members and a head, and the difference between them is similar to the difference between *VAK*, *GE* of the degree or *Partzuf*, from *GAR*, the complete *Partzuf*.

Hence, it is written that the place should be cleared for the *Mashiach*. After all, when Matat revealed the secret of the end (of correction), and specifically how creation will be delivered from egoism, a voice appeared and commanded to prepare a place for the *Mashiach*, the King-Redeemer, for the end of correction is connected to the King-*Mashiach*.

However, only the righteous of Rabbi Shimon's assembly, who are above all the heads of assemblies, merit his coming, for only those who are on the same spiritual level as the King-*Mashiach* (all those who have already corrected all of their other properties—the first nine *Sefirot* in their part of desires-*Malchut*—all

of the properties except for the original egoism, *Malchut de Malchut*) can merit the revelation of his face.

The level of the *Mashiach* is the Light of *Yechida*. And if all the members had not reached the level of the heads of the assemblies, the *GAR* of the degrees, i.e., corrected all that they could, they would not have merited the revelation of the *Mashiach's* face. But the heads of the Assemblies are not *GAR* of the low degrees. Rather, they represent a level so high that all the members have merited reaching the Heavenly Assembly of Matat.

And now all the members merited becoming the heads of the Assemblies, wherefrom they merited an ascent to the Heavenly Assembly. Moreover, thanks to their corrections, they merited the *Mashiach* himself coming to all these assemblies to be adorned with their deeds in the Torah. And now all the members have merited reaching the level of the assemblies' heads. This is why the *Mashiach* is adorned with the Torah of the assemblies' heads. Thus, thanks to them, the *Mashiach* himself ascends to a Higher Degree.

58. At that time, all the members stood up. Rabbi Shimon stood up, too, and his Light rose to the firmament. The *Mashiach* said unto him: "Happy are you, Rabbi, for your Torah has risen in 370 beams of Light, and each beam divides into 613 beams (properties) that ascend and bathe in the rivers of the holy *Apharsemon* (persimmon). And the Creator confirms and signs the Torah of your assembly, of the assembly of Chizkiyah (Hezekiah), the King of Judah, and the assembly of Achiyah ha Shiloni (Ahijah the Shilonite)."

When the *Mashiach* revealed himself to them and came to Rabbi Shimon's Assembly, all the members stood up (ascended from the level of *VAK* to *GAR*), and Rabbi Shimon stood on the same degree as the *Mashiach*. And the Light rose to the height of the firmament. This indicates that Rabbi Shimon has attained the Light of the ten firmaments, the previously missing tenth firmament on account of the closed gates of *Malchut de Malchut*, and has attained the Light of *Yechida*, which he now was able to receive, as he could make a *Zivug* on *Malchut de Malchut*. And the Light of *Yechida* that shines from this *Zivug* is called *Mashiach*. The "sitting" level is 390, or *VAK*; the "standing" level is 400, or *GAR*.

The *Mashiach* said to Rabbi Shimon that his Torah gave rise to the Light of *Yechida* in *Partzuf Atik*, because:

Units (0 – 9) are in *Malchut*;
Tens (10 – 90) are in *ZA*;
Hundreds (100 – 900) are in *Ima*;
Thousands (1,000 – 9,000) are in *Aba*;

Tens of thousands (10,000 – 90,000) are in *Arich Anpin*;
And hundreds of thousands (100,000 – 900,000) are in *Atik*.

Since each *Sefira* of *Atik* equals 100,000, the four *Sefirot* of *HaVaYaH* (*HBTM* of *Atik*) total 400,000.

However, in this case, he should have said that the Torah performed the deed in 400,000; yet, he said that the Light emanated by *Ima* is not used on 400, but only on 370, for although the Torah had reached the zenith of the firmament, it still could not reach *GAR* of the last, Supernal Hundred. Hence, there are only 370, while the Upper Thirty are absent in *Ima*.

The same applies with regard to thousands—the Light of *Aba* does not use *GAR* of each thousand, but only *VAK*, i.e., 600 instead of 1,000. Instead of the *GAR* of each thousand, it uses thirteen (*Hochma* of the "thirty-two *Netivot* (paths of) *Hochma*"). The number thirteen signifies *Hochma* of the "thirty-two *Netivot Hochma*," the weak Light of *Hochma*, called the holy *Apharsemon*.

It is therefore said that the Torah attained 370 Lights, and each of them divides into 613 beams; thus, in the 400 of *Ima*, thirty of the Upper Light of *Hochma* are absent, which leaves it with only 370. And each thousand lacks the Upper 400 (*GAR of Hochma*). Instead of using the thirteen paths of the holy *Apharsemon*, each thousand contains no more than 613, for all the supernal secrets are concealed in Rabbi Shimon's assembly. And the Creator Himself sealed them, for He ascends and becomes adorned with the achievements of all the righteous in the Torah.

We know from the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 99:1) that everything the prophets ever said refers only to the days of the *Mashiach*'s coming, but in the future (Yeshayahu, 64), everyone will behold the Creator themselves. For all the degrees and levels that refer to the days of the *Mashiach* will then be corrected, and all the secrets of the Torah will be revealed, everyone will attain complete revelation of the Light, of the Creator, as it is said, everyone will see with their own eyes (sight implies *GAR de Hochma*).

From the aforesaid, it becomes clear that there exists an opportunity to correct one's individual *Malchut de Malchut* even before all the souls achieve it in the future. In such a case, man reaches his *individual* level of attainment of 400, although his *general* level cannot be higher than 370, as in the case of everybody else. This is the degree that Rabbi Shimon, Rabbi Chizkiyah, and Achiyah ha Shiloni had reached.

59. The *Mashiach* said: "I have come here not to confirm the Torah of your assembly, but only because the 'owner of wings' is on his way here. For I know that he shall not enter any other assembly, but only yours." Meanwhile, Rabbi

Shimon told him of the oath taken by the "owner of wings." Right then the *Mashiach* trembled in awe and raised his voice, and the Heavens shook, and the Great Sea boiled, and the Leviathan stirred, and the entire world threatened to overturn.

At that moment, he saw Rabbi Chiya in Rabbi Shimon's adornments. He asked, "Who gave man in this world the adornments, garment of the other world?" (garment of the other world onto the body of this world). Rabbi Shimon answered, "This is Rabbi Chiya, the cresset of the Torah!" He said to him, "Gather him and his sons (those who have left this world), and they shall join your Assembly." Rabbi Shimon said, "Time was granted to him, he was granted time" (Rabbi Chiya's time has not yet come).

The *Mashiach* said to Rabbi Shimon that he came not for the sake of the Torah, but because the "owner of wings" has come to the assembly, wishing to know what Matat had said. For Matat had revealed that the end of correction would be preceded by terrible suffering for Israel—the Heavens and the Great Sea would tremble, and the world would be on the verge of collapse, as predicted in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 97): "All is broken." Hence, he raised his voice, wishing to mitigate all this upheaval.

The *Mashiach* was surprised to see Rabbi Chiya's garment (that Rabbi Chiya exists in a physical body of our world, in the property of this world), for if he had merited the appearance of Matat and his oath, he had attained the degree of complete correction of all his evil. And since he merited seeing the *Mashiach's* face, to receive the Light of *Yechida*, he had obviously completed his work in this world, and there is nothing left for him to do here. Hence, he should leave it and enter Rabbi Shimon's assembly in the Garden of Eden.

But Rabbi Shimon persuaded Rabbi Chiya that he needs to continue performing new, additional corrections in this world. And both the *Mashiach* and Rabbi Shimon explained to Rabbi Chiya what else specifically he still needed to do in this world.

60. Rabbi Chiya trembled in awe when the *Mashiach* left, and his eyes fulfilled with tears. For the *Mashiach* left Rabbi Shimon's Assembly weeping from the great desire for the final correction and redemption. And Rabbi Chiya was also anguished from the fervent desire to reach the end of correction. Rabbi Chiya cried and said: "Happy is the lot of the righteous in the other world, and happy is the lot of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, who has merited all of this."

Who Is Your Partner?

61. *Beresheet*: Rabbi Shimon opened: "Put my words in your mouth. How much effort should man exert in the Torah day and night, for the Creator is attentive to those who study it. And with every word that man attains by his efforts in the Torah, he builds a firmament."

The Creator gave the righteous the power of His speech. And just as the Creator creates the creature by the power of His word, so the righteous create new Heavens by its power. This is why Rabbi Shimon opened his speech by explaining the words, "In the beginning, the Creator created Heaven and earth," as the word *Barah* (created) also means "closing" and "limiting." And we must understand why the Creator had created it in such a closed form. He answers, "To put the correction of Heaven and earth in the words of the righteous, to make them His partners—participants in the creation of Heaven and earth."

There are two kinds of renewal of Heaven and earth that the Creator enclosed in the mouths of the righteous:

1. The correction of Adam's sin, the correction of the past. Even before the creation of Adam, the Creator had made a secret correction of Heaven and earth, as it is described in the beginning of the Torah, in the chapter *Beresheet*: *ZON de Atzilut* ascended to *AVI* and to *AA*, while Adam ascended to *ZON* and *YESHSUT*. As a result, Adam received the Light of *NRN de Atzilut*, for he clothed *YESHSUT* and *ZON de Atzilut*, i.e., ascended to their level.

Adam is located within the worlds *BYA* and he ascends together with these worlds. All the worlds can ascend above their permanent state or descend to their places with Adam inside of them. Adam's spiritual level and the Light that he receives are determined by his location (see page 212).

DURING ASCENT	PERMANENT STATE
	Atik
AVI	AA
ZON	AVI
Adam - Beria	YESHSUT + ZON
Parsa of the world of Atzilut	
Adam - Yetzira	Beria
Adam - Assiya	Yetzira
	Assiya

In other sources, such as the Talmud (*Bava Batra*, 58:2), this is described as Adam's ascent to the level of the sun (*ZA de Atzilut*). This Light is called "*Zihara Ilaa*" (*Zihara* is the Aramaic word for *Zohar* in Hebrew or "radiant Light" in English).

As a result of his sin, Adam fell spiritually to the level of our corporeal world (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12:1). And instead of *NRN de Atzilut* that he used to receive before his fall, he now receives the Light from the worlds *BYA* that are below *Parsa*. And as a result of Adam's sin, Heaven (*ZA*) and earth (*Malchut*) of the world of *Atzilut* descended to the level of *VAK de ZA* and the point of *Malchut* respectively, as they descended below *Tabur de Partzuf AA*.

And the righteous that live in this world, but already exist spiritually in the spiritual worlds of *BYA*, are entrusted with the task of correcting all that transpired through Adam's fault, and to return, to renew the Heavens and the earth (*ZON de Atzilut*) and elevate them to *AVI* and *AA*—*ZA* to *AA* and *Malchut* to *AVI*, as it was before the sin. And as a result of their work, the righteous will receive the Light of the world of *Atzilut* that the corrected Adam is entitled to, for they (their souls, spiritual *Kelim* or inner spiritual *Partzuf*) are his parts.

2. However, even before the sin, Adam was not in the perfect state for which the Creator had created him. Hence, after the righteous correct the consequences of Adam's sin and attain *NRN de Atzilut*, which existed in Adam before the sin, new work awaits them—to receive new Upper Light that has yet to descend. In other words, if the first goal is to correct the sin, the second is to attain even more. It is called to "create new Heaven and earth," new properties of *ZON*, in which new, Higher Light can be received.

This new level or degree that has never been present in any *Kli* is described as "neither hath an eye seen the Creator beside thee," and the degrees which

the righteous attach to the worlds are called "new Heaven" and "new earth," for they are truly new and have never before existed in reality.

And this Heaven and earth, which the righteous correct to the level that preceded Adam's sin, during the creation (*Beresheet*), are not called new, as they've already existed and the Creator Himself corrected them even before Adam's sin. Hence, they are called renewed, and the righteous who correct them are not called the Creator's partners.

"Encloses in their mouths" implies reception of such Upper Light that was neither received by Adam nor emanated from the Creator. And now, by the actions of the righteous, which are called partners, participants and co-creators, it comes out and shines in creation. Thus we see that all the righteous are divided into two groups: those who correct Adam's sin and those who create new degrees of attainment. The latter are called the Creator's partners.

ZA is called voice and *Malchut* is called speech. When a righteous person studies the Torah and thereby raises *MAN* (by the voice and speech of his Torah) from his soul to *ZON*, his voice ascends to *ZA* and his speech ascends to *Malchut*. The voice of the Torah that ascends with *MAN* to *ZA* is called the Creator (*Kadosh Baruch Hu*).

Also, each renewed word in the Torah builds a new firmament. A word means speech, and any speech that renews the Torah by those who study it ascends in the form of *MAN* to *Malchut*, who is called "word and speech." This creates a new firmament in the form of a screen, on which a *Zivug* between the Creator and the *Shechina* is made. This is what the righteous, who study the Torah, attain by raising *MAN*!

However, renewal in the words of the Torah does not imply anything new in the voice of the Torah. For *Malchut* has to recreate herself for each new *Zivug*, for after each *Zivug*, *Malchut* returns to the state of virginity thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous, who constantly renew her properties, her *Yesod*—the *Kli* for the reception of Light from *ZA*. Hence, it is written that the Torah is renewed by each word, for a word (*Malchut*) is renewed by the speech of the righteous in the Torah, as, after each *Zivug*, the previous *Kli* disappears and a new one appears.

62. We have learned that just as the Torah is renewed by one's mouth, that renewal ascends and appears before the Creator. And the Creator accepts this wisdom, kisses it, and adorns it with seventy adornments. And the renewed wisdom itself ascends and settles on the head of the righteous that revive the

worlds, and then flies, soaring through 70,000 worlds, until it ascends to *Atik*, the *Sefira Keter*. And all that exists in *Atik* is concealed, Supernal wisdom.

When a person raises *MAN* from his Torah, this word, which is *Nukva de ZA*, ascends and connects to the Creator in a *Zivug* with Him. The Creator takes this word, kisses, and adorns it, and these are the two types of *Zivugim* (plural for *Zivug*) in *ZON*:

1. *Zivug de Neshikin* (kisses);
2. *Zivug de Yesodot* (bases/foundations).

Each *Zivug* consists of two *Zivugim*, for a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma* must clothe itself into the *Partzuf* (garment) of *Ohr Hassadim*. Therefore, a preliminary *Zivug* must be made on *Ohr Hassadim*, whose role is to become a garment for *Ohr Hochma*. This is why each *Zivug* consists of two *Zivugim*:

1. *Zivug* on the degree of *Hochma*, called *Zivug de Neshikin*, because it stands at the *Peh de Rosh* of the *Partzuf*, at the level of *Rosh* and *GAR*.
2. *Zivug* on the degree of *Hassadim*, called *Zivug de Yesodot*, because it takes place at the level of the bodies of the *Partzufim*.

Therefore, it is said that the Creator took *Nukva* in this word and kissed her, i.e., made a *Zivug de Neshikin* at the level of *GAR*, and then adorned her, i.e., made a *Zivug de Yesodot* at the level of *Hassadim*. As a result, *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, and *Nukva* received the complete Light.

IN SEVENTY ADORNMENTS: the complete Light of *Nukva* is called "seventy adornments," because *Malchut* is the seventh day, and when she receives from *ZA*, her *Sefirot* become tens, just as the *Sefirot* of *ZA*; this turns *Malchut* into 7 x 10 = 70. *Mochin* (wisdom), *Ohr Hochma* is called *Atara* (adornment or crown). Hence, what she receives is called "seventy adornments." After *Malchut* receives the Light of *Hassadim*, with the help of the *MAN* of the righteous, she becomes fit to receive the Upper Light of *Hochma*, the seventy adornments.

As was said above, there are two kinds of renewal of Heaven and earth (*ZON*):

1. When everything returns to the state preceding Adam's sin. In that instance, *Malchut* is called the "word of the Torah" (*VAK*), where the Torah is *ZA*.
2. When Heaven and earth are created with a new Light, which even Adam did not attain prior to his sin. And this attainable word is called *GAR*.

It is written (Talmud, *Berachot*, 7:1) that the righteous sit with adornments on their heads, for *Malchut* ascended to adorn the head of the righteous (*ZA*)

in his *Yesod*, called *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds), or, rather, in his *Ateret Yesod*—the place of circumcision. And this transpires thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous that have already attained the Upper Light of Adam's *Zihara Ilaa*, just as Rabbi Shimon and his friends have already attained it.

Ohr Hochma is called *Ohr Haya*. Since *ZA* desires only *Hassadim*, he can receive *Ohr Haya* only with the help of his *Nukva*, *Malchut*. It turns out that *ZA* lives, i.e., receives *Ohr Haya*, only if he is in a *Zivug* with *Nukva*, called *Olam* (world). That is how the name *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds) originated.

Also, *Nukva*, the adornment on his head, becomes important (*Keter* – crown) because *ZA* receives this Light only thanks to his *Malchut*. Although *Malchut* was born from *ZA*, since it is *Malchut* and no other that evokes, makes reception of the Light of Life possible, *ZA* calls her his mother. Indeed, *ZA* receives *Ohr Haya* (the Light of Life) from her.

Therefore, it is written that *Malchut* flies and soars in 70,000 worlds, and after her *Zivug* with *ZA* on his *Atara* (adornment on his head), she ascends even higher, to *AA*, where the seven *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, called 70,000 worlds, become corrected, as one *Sefira* of *ZA* equals 10,000. After that, *Malchut* ascends higher still—to *Atik*. And all of these ascents of *ZON* to *Atik* transpire thanks to the efforts made by the righteous that raise *MAN*: a *Zivug* on *Atara* elevates *ZON* to *AVI*, from which they ascend to *AA* (70,000 worlds), and from there to *Atik*, the highest possible point of ascent.

It is therefore written that all the words of *Atik's* Supernal wisdom are locked, since *Malchut* receives the Upper Light upon ascending to *Atik*, and each degree that she receives from *Atik* is called "concealed," "Supernal wisdom," i.e., *GAR de Hochma*. This is because words of wisdom signify the degree of *Hochma*, and the words "concealed," "secret," and "Supernal" refer to *GAR*. Also, they are revealed only to those who attain the level of *Atik*, but not below, as *Tzimtzum Bet* (the second restriction) already exists in *AA*.

63. And when this hidden wisdom, which is renewed here in this world, ascends, she joins *Atik*, ascends and descends, enters 18 worlds, where no eye has seen the Creator besides you. They emerge from there and appear before *Atik*, complete and perfect. Meanwhile, *Atik* tests her and finds her most desirable above all else. He then takes her and adorns her with 370,000 adornments. And she, the renewed Torah, ascends and descends, and is transformed into a firmament.

During the ascent of *Malchut* to *Atik*, she joins the *Zivug* that transpires there, and creates *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light) by accepting *Ohr Yashar* (Direct

Light) at the level of *Atik*'s properties. The ascent of *Malchut* means that *Malchut* elevates *Ohr Hozer* from herself upwards. *Malchut's* descent means that she sends *Ohr Yashar* from Above downwards. And then *Malchut* receives the hidden, secret, and Supernal wisdom. The word "joins" signifies her contact with the *Ohr Hozer* and the *Ohr Yashar* within *Atik* itself.

This *Zivug* is made in *Atik* on its *Yesod*, but not on *Malchut*, since *Malchut de Atik* is concealed until the end of correction. Like *Yesod de ZA* during its ascent to *AVI*, this *Yesod* is called *Chai Olamim*. The difference between them is that *Yesod de Atik* is called "No one else but you can see the Creator," for a *Zivug* on *Yesod* elevates *Ohr Hozer* and clothes *Ohr Yashar* with it. This screen is defined in *AVI*, below *Atik*, as wings that block the Upper Light. This shows that the screen possesses a force of restriction, law, judgment. This is why *Ohr Hozer* is also called "the Light of Restriction." Thus, *Ohr Hozer* exists in *AVI*.

Conversely, the screen in *Yesod de Atik*, of which it is said that there "the Creator no longer hides from you" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:20), while it does raise *Ohr Hozer*, it does not conceal the Creator thereby, does not have the properties of wings. This is the reason why it is called *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds).

Nevertheless, it remains concealed until man attains that level himself, as is written: "Only your eyes shall see the Creator." There are no wings or anything else there that conceal Him from outsiders' eyes, for no restrictions are imposed and everything is revealed. And neither are there any restrictions in *Ohr Hozer*, but only mercy and benevolence, as in *Ohr Yashar*.

The name *Chai Olamim* implies that a *Zivug* is made not on ten *Sefirot* of *Ohr Yashar* from Above downwards and ten *Sefirot* of *Ohr Hozer* from below upwards, and not on the whole of the twenty *Sefirot*, i.e., not on *Malchut* herself, but on *Yesod de Malchut*. In this instance, there are nine *Sefirot* of *Ohr Yashar* and nine *Sefirot* of *Ohr Hozer*, as *Yesod* is the ninth *Sefira*: 9 + 9 = 18 = 10 + 8 = *Yod* + *Chet*, which is pronounced in reverse order as *Chet-Yod* (*Chai*), for this is the Returning Light. The word "life" (*Chaim*) is derived from the word "alive" (*Chai*), for he who is able to make a *Zivug* on *Yesod* receives the Upper Light of life, *Ohr Hochma*.

Tremendous Upper Light manifests in *Atik* as a result of this *Zivug*. This is because all the worlds and all that inhabit them join *Nukva*, and together they attain true perfection, the level for which they were initially conceived and created by the Creator.

Hence, it is said that word flies in the firmament, which signifies the creation of *Ohr Hozer* from below upwards, which leads to *Ohr Yashar* descending from

the Creator, from Above downwards. And the clothing of *Ohr Hozer* on *Ohr Yashar* creates a firmament, because the screen that appears in *Malchut* for the creation of *Ohr Hozer* comes as a result of the good deeds of the righteous, their *MAN* (requests for spiritual ascent) aimed at pleasing the Creator. So then, after this screen makes a *Zivug* with the Upper Light, it becomes a firmament, with the help of which, the righteous attain the full height of the degree on which they have now made a *Zivug*.

This occurs because when this degree descends to the righteous through the firmament, it clothes in *Ohr Hozer* (garment of this firmament), which, together with the *Ohr Yashar* clothed within it, turn over and they descend below the screen (firmament) and thereby become attainable by the righteous.

Those righteous that have achieved such perfection that they can raise *MAN* to such exalted *Zivug* have already rid themselves of egoism completely and have no desire to receive anything for themselves. Instead, they raise their *MAN* (request) with the sole purpose of pleasing the Creator. Therefore, by their corrections (*MAN*), they correct the screen in *Malchut*, and, by creating *Ohr Hozer* in her, which ascends from the screen of *Malchut* upwards, make her capable of a great *Zivug*. This is because all that ascends is altruism, bestowal, repelling, and rejecting reception for oneself and egoistic pleasure.

Then there is a *Zivug* with the Upper Light, and the Upper Light clothes in the ascending Returning Light. This descending Upper Light clothes into the Returning Light and enters into the righteous that have raised *MAN*. The expression "from below upwards" implies the repelling of Light by a person, and "from Above downwards" designates a person's reception.

And since the Upper Light comes to man through a firmament, it takes the Light reflected from the firmament as its garment, and one receives the Upper Light clothed in Returning Light. This means that, even after one already receives the spiritual information of the entire degree, he delights in the Upper Light that descends to him only to the extent in which he can please the Creator thereby, i.e., to the extent of his strength, the magnitude of his screen, and the amount of Returning Light that clothes the Direct Upper Light.

Such reception of the Upper Light (only to the extent of the magnitude of *Ohr Hozer* created by man) is called the reception for the Creator's sake. And wherever one cannot find a way to bestow upon the Creator, he does not receive. Hence, his reception is clothed in bestowal: the Upper Direct Light is clothed in Returning Light, meaning the lower one receives only the clothed Upper Light from the Upper One, i.e., only through the firmament.

64. And thus, every deed creates firmaments that appear before *Atik*, and he calls them "new Heavens" or, rather, "renewed firmaments," concealed by Supernal wisdom. And all the other parts of the Torah that are not renewed by means of Supernal wisdom appear before the Creator, ascend and become "the lands of life" (*Artzot HaChaim*). They then descend and adorn one land. And it becomes renewed, and a new land comes into being from all that was renewed in the Torah.

The righteous are constantly raising newer and newer *MAN*, and thus receive newer and newer degrees of attainments from *Atik*, with the help of the firmaments created by the Upper *Zivug*. From these firmaments emerge new Heavens, which are renewed in the degrees of *Atik*. These exalted attainments of the righteous are therefore called the hidden secrets of Supernal wisdom, for they descend clothed in the garments received from the firmaments.

Malchut is called "earth" and *Bina* is called "the lands of life" (*Artzot HaChaim*). When *Malchut* attains all the degrees of *Bina*, she acquires the name "the land of life." *Malchut* is also called the "new land," for she exchanges her own properties for those of *Bina*. And everything that was previously *Malchut* now becomes *Bina*.

Therefore, it is written that in the future, *BON* will become *SAG*, and *MA* will become *AB*, for Heaven is *ZA* that now ascended to the degree of *Atik* (*AB* or *Hochma*). The earth, *Nukva de ZA*, *Malchut*, became *SAG*, *Bina*. Hence, the new land and the new Heavens are *Malchut* and *ZA* that became *SAG* and *AB*, *Atik* and *AA*.

65. It is written, "When the new land and the new Heavens, which I make." It is not written, "I have made," in past tense, but rather "I make," in present tense, for they are constantly made from the renewal and secrets of the Torah. And it is written of this: "And I shall place it in your mouth, and in the shadow of your hands' garments, that I may take the Heavens, and lay the foundations of the land" (*Yeshayahu*, 51:16). It is simply said "Heavens," for it implies the Heavens renewed by the Torah.

Everything that is described in the Torah is written in the present tense, as there is no time in the spiritual; everything is written with regard to the one who attains the Torah at that given moment. This is what *The Zohar* wants to stress here: the matter concerns man's constant work on himself, on his nature. And the righteous that have already attained the Upper Light continue creating newer and newer Heavens and lands, as is written, "The righteous ascend from summit to summit," and this process is infinite.

66. Rabbi Elazar said, "What is the meaning of 'in the shadow of your hands' garments?'". He answered, when the Torah was passed to Moshe, tens of thousands of Supernal angels appeared so as to raise him with the flames of their mouths, but the Creator protected him. So now, when the renewal in the Torah ascends and appears before the Creator, He protects it and shelters the one who performed it, so as to prevent the angels from finding out and envying him, until new Heaven and earth are made out of this renewal in the Torah. Hence, it is said, "To take the Heavens and lay the foundations of the land from the shadow of your hands' garments." It follows that all that is concealed from the eyes achieves a supernal result. This is why it is said, "In the shadow of your hands' garments." Yet, why should it be concealed from the eyes for the sake of a supernal result? Hence, it is immediately said, "So that I may take the Heavens and lay the foundations of the land." As we have learned—so that new Heavens and earth will appear out of this concealment.

The phrase "In the shadow of your hands' garments" alludes to *Ohr Hozer*, the garment that stems from the firmament, clothing and covering of the *Ohr Hochma*. Like a shadow, this garment conceals *Hochma* from outsiders' eyes, so they do not know what is inside. Why are High Degrees concealed from angels? So they would not envy man, for when the angels, which are made of a very light material (without egoism), look at one who is righteous and see his negative properties, they envy him for the High Degree that he has achieved. They then begin slandering that righteous, the properties that they discover in him. This brings harm to the righteous.

Therefore, when a degree clothes into the garment of a firmament (*Ohr Hozer*), this garment measures the degree itself, its magnitude, to prevent man from receiving more than his intention for the Creator's sake allows, i.e., only to the extent of *Ohr Hozer*. Thus, he is protected from the angels' envy and from their ability to harm his spiritual condition, for he becomes equal to them in his properties: his Returning Light makes him equal.

Like everything else that fills the worlds, *Melachim* (angels) are man's inner properties and forces. In order to avoid harming himself by wishing to attain Higher Degrees before he has acquired *Ohr Hozer*, these degrees must be concealed. However, in addition to *Ohr Hozer*, one should exercise caution against his desire.

This explains the rule: "The eye sees and the heart covets," and man would not be able to protect his intention, to keep it for the Creator's sake alone, and would desire to receive for himself. However, once clothed in the garment of

the firmament, he can be certain that he will not receive above his intention to receive for the Creator's sake.

Let us briefly examine how a desire is conceived in man. One looks at something for the first time, not yet knowing what he is going to see. It is as if an object accidentally falls into his field of vision. Naturally, no ban can be imposed on it, as this occurrence is not dependent on man; thus, it is neither rewarded nor punished.

However, when looking at it for the second time—here, man already has freedom of choice. And if the second look is going to result in the desire to receive pleasure, it is forbidden. If man cannot restrain himself, and looks for the second time, his eyes send a signal to his heart, and the heart begins to desire. Thus, man has the power to decide whether or not to allow the desire to be born within him. This is the meaning of the phrase: "The eye sees and the heart covets."

67. He said to these gates and to the words that were set one upon the other in the renewed Torah: "Who are you with? You are my partners. Just as I make the Heavens and the earth with My words, as it is written, 'By the Creator's word were the Heavens made,' so you create new Heavens and earth by your labor in the Torah."

The properties of reception are called "gates," because, like open gates, they are always ready to receive. "Words" are the properties of bestowal, of raising *MAN* to the Creator. The phrase "Set one upon the other" signifies one clothing the other, and so occurs reception for the sake of bestowal.

68. However, if one were to claim that the renovation of the Torah by one who does not even know what he is saying creates a firmament, then look at one who is not familiar with the secrets of the Torah: since he renews the Torah without having sufficient knowledge, all that he renews ascends, and the reverse side of man (male part of the impure force), and the false tongue (from *Nukva* of the impure force, called *Tehom Raba*—great abyss) comes toward him. This reversed man skips 500 *Parsaot* (measures of distance) to receive this renewal of the Torah, takes it and makes a false firmament out of it, called *Tohu* (abyss).

As we already know, the righteous raise *MAN* to please the Creator. This is called the "words of the Torah," for the words are renewed as a result of the Upper *Zivug*, and *ZON* receive a new Light from this *Zivug*, to the extent that they come to merit the renewal of Heaven and earth by their actions. They thereby become the Creator's partners—fellow workers, for, just like Him, they renew Heaven and earth with their words.

Although one who is not familiar with the secrets of the Torah (the ways of the Creator) so as to know how to protect himself and to not harm the Higher Degrees tells himself that his intention is for the exalted goal, he deludes himself, for he does not know that which his soul surely knows—that his intentions are for himself. Terrible punishment awaits him, for he allows the impure forces to destroy those who labor in the Torah. *The Zohar* explains: if one does not know the exact meanings of the words, i.e., if he raises *MAN* to the great *Zivug* without a thorough understanding of all the intricate details of the act, the reverse man and the false tongue capture his word.

Klipot (one's impure forces) also consist of male and female parts. The male part is called "fruitless return," and the female part is called "falsehood." The male part of the *Klipa* is not as bad as the female part. And when it is by itself, it does not prompt one to lie by the Creator's name; on the contrary, goodness strikes his eye, yet the eye itself is evil. And he who falls into the hands of the male impure force uses the Creator's name in vain, for he detaches himself from the Creator and receives no Light from Him, i.e., he utters words and seemingly acts, but fruitlessly, for these actions are not the screen's interaction with the Light.

Hence, the sages said: "The Creator says of all who is proud: He and I cannot be together" (Talmud, *Suta*, 5:1), for his intentions are to receive everything for himself, for his own benefit, for his pride and vanity, as the sensation of one's "I" is the greatest manifestation of pride. Hence, man falls under the power of the evil eye. Consequently, the *MAN* that he raises receives no response from Above, and he utters the Creator's name in vain. Therefore, the male part of the impure force is called empty, fruitless, false, vain, unsuccessful, and futile, for the Creator cannot unite with him due to the dissimilarity of their properties.

If, however, one feels not his similarity to the Creator, but rather his oppositeness in properties from Him, and perceives himself as the most evil of all, he can then lower himself before the Creator, suppress all of his properties out of hatred for them, and the Creator Himself will perform the remaining part of his correction. However, one who is proud not only fails to understand the extent of his remoteness from the Creator, he actually believes that he is entitled to receive more than others, and that the Creator owes him something.

Nukva de Klipa is called "falsehood." After one falls into the net of the male part of the impure force, the latter makes a *Zivug* with its *Nukva* (impure, bitter, and evil force), which, as a result of its connection to the male part, falsifies the Creator's name, descends and instigates man, and then ascends, complaints

against him, and takes his soul. However holy this soul was, *Nukva de Klipa* grabs all of it for itself.

Naturally, this refers to one who works on himself and advances spiritually, for whom working for the Creator's sake is his life's calling. Yet, he may occasionally fail to observe precisely all the restrictions, and thus find himself in such states. An ordinary person, however, who neither works on himself nor studies Kabbalah, is obviously entirely unrelated to either pure or impure spiritual forces.

For example, the male impure force says that one must study the Torah, but then steals the results of his work for itself. As a result, man loses interest in his studies, and must once more consolidate himself in his efforts and advancement. And although he attains the Creator and the revelation of Light to a certain degree, it is nonetheless fruitless, for all of his attainments vanish from him, and he gains nothing from them.

Therefore, the Torah refers to it as the "reverse man," for initially he ate and drank and said "Go," i.e., raise *MAN* to the Creator and receive the Light for the sake of the exalted goal, but not for yourself. Thus, it pretends that it is not the impure force, but its opposite. However, due to its property called "fruitless return," it then makes a *Zivug* with its *Nukva* (the great abyss), which steals man's soul and destroys him with its falsehood, and man is left without even the slightest part of his soul that is holy and pure!

Hence, it is written that he skips through 500 *Parsaot*: initially, *ZON* of the impure forces have only *VAK* in *ZA* and a point in *Malchut*. Consequently, they can only be equal to *ZON de Atzilut* in their *Katnut* (small state), when they are also *VAK* and a point, and have neither the power nor the place to connect to *Bina*.

Nevertheless, thanks to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, the male impure force is given the opportunity to skip through *ZAT de Bina*, which sustain the pure and holy *ZON*. *ZON* contain *Sefirot HGT NH* (*Netzah-Hod*) = 5 x 100 = 500, since a *Sefira* in *Bina* equals 100. And this occurs thanks to the *MAN* raised by one who is uncertain of his intentions (whether or not he acts for the Creator's sake).

The "reverse man" then makes a *Zivug* with his *Nukva* on this false *MAN*, and receives the Upper Light for the construction of his *Partzuf*, much like the spiritually pure Heavens that were created on the pure *MAN*. Also, the new Heavens created on the impure *MAN* are called "reverse," "empty." And since the impure *Malchut* took part in this, these Heavens are called *Tohu* (abyss/chaos).

69. And this reverse man then flies across the empty firmament, traversing 6,000 *Parsaot* in one bound. And as soon as this empty firmament stops, an impure woman emerges at once, seizes onto this empty firmament, and partakes in it. She leaves it and slays hundreds of thousands, for as long as she remains in this firmament, she has the authority and power to fly and traverse the whole world in an instant.

All that stems from the empty firmament stems from the impure force, which is correspondingly opposite the Supernal, holy wisdom of *Ohr Hochma*. The *Sefira Hochma* equals 1,000, and so it is written that it flies across the firmament in 6,000 = six *Sefirot HGT NHY* of *Partzuf Hochma*, each of which equals 1,000.

After the new heavens of the impure male part, called the "empty heavens," were completed, the power of its female half, *Nukva* ("the great abyss"), was revealed. Her force attacked the firmament with falsehood by the Creator's name; she soared through the sky, and the heavens were then called *Tohu*.

Since *Nukva* of the impure forces partakes in this firmament, she becomes stronger and grows even more than the male level of the impure part. This is because the male impure part reaches up to *VAK* of *Hochma*, which equals 6,000 *Parsaot*, whereas *Nukva* grows to the full ten *Sefirot*, i.e., the entire world.

Therefore, she is immensely powerful and can destroy many, for, as Rashi says, "The Creator created one opposite the other." And just as new, Holy Heavens and lands are created thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous, new, impure heavens and lands are created through the *MAN* raised by those who do not know exactly how one should work for the Creator.

70. It is written of it: "Do not facilitate fruitless transgression." Transgression is related to the male part, and is as heavy as wagon shafts. What is this transgression? It is the impure *Nukva*. With reins she draws the male impure part to fruitlessness. And then, as a result, a transgression is committed, as the male part draws itself towards this *Nukva*, who grows strong and flies off to slay people. And many does she slay. And who is it that caused all this? It is those that study the Torah, but do not attain *Ohrah* and *Morah* (Light and bestowal). May the Creator be merciful to them!

As was already mentioned above, the male impure part is not as evil as the female part. This is so because it makes itself similar to the holy part of the creature; hence, it is called fruitless. However, due to this similarity, it has great power to ensnare man, as, for example, just as the sages do, it encourages people to study the Torah. Yet, its goals are different from that of the Creator; it wants to receive wisdom (*Hochma*), and not to become altruistic.

And after one is caught in its toils, the male impure force makes a *Zivug* with its impure *Nukva*, and, like heavy wagon shafts, they pull man into an abyss so great and dark that he doesn't even realize that he is in darkness. On the contrary, he considers himself wise and righteous. The male part only catches man, binds him, and then brings him to the impure *Nukva* and casts him at her feet. Only then does he falter, falls into the great abyss and perishes.

71. Rabbi Shimon said to his friends: "I beg of you not to utter any discernments from the Torah, no matter what you may hear from the Great Tree of Truth, so that you would not assist the impure *Nukva* in slaying multitudes of people for naught." They all opened and mouthed: "Save us, O Merciful One! Save us, O Merciful One!"

Rabbi Shimon said that if you have attained the discernment yourselves, then you are allowed, but if not, you must listen to the Great Tree (the great learned sage, whose wisdom and purity can be trusted) to learn how to work for the Creator.

72. Come and see, the Creator created the world by the Torah. And He looked into the Torah not once, not twice, not thrice, and not four times. Only after that did He create the world. This should show people how not to err.

73. Opposite these four times, the Creator saw, counted, prepared, and investigated what He had created. It is therefore written, "*Beresheet* (In the beginning) *Barah* (created) *Elokim* (the Creator) *Et* (the)"—four words, corresponding to the four above. And then, it is written: "Heaven"—opposite all four words, for the Creator looked into the Torah before He began to manifest His thought into reality.

The four words signify four time periods or four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*. "Saw" designates *Hochma*, "counted"—*Bina*, "prepared"—ZA, and "investigated"—*Malchut*. After these four, the Creator created what He created.

We find the same in the Torah: *Beresheet* is *Hochma*, *Barah* is *Bina*, *Elokim* is ZA, and *Et* (the) is *Malchut*, which includes everything from *Aleph* to *Tav*—all the letters and all the properties. Hence, she is designated in the Torah by the word *Et* = *Aleph-Tav* (from the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *Aleph*, to the last, *Tav*). And after these four, He created the Heavens and the earth, i.e., revealed the next, lower degree, below *Malchut*.

The Donkey Driver

74. Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, was on his way to visit his father-in-law, Rabbi Yosi, the son of Lakunya, and Rabbi Aba accompanied him. A man followed behind them, driving their donkeys. Rabbi Aba said, "Let us open the gates of the Torah, as it is time to correct our path."

In Aramaic, the language in which *The Zohar* was written, "driver" means "one who pricks." This is because the donkey driver's function amounts to forcing the donkeys to move by pricking them with the edge of his stick.

75. Rabbi Elazar opened and said, "It is written: My Sabbaths you are to observe." Let us see: the Creator created the world in six days. And each day would reveal His deeds, and gave strength to that day. When did He reveal His deeds and give them strength? On the fourth day of creation, for the first three days were concealed completely, and would not be revealed. The fourth day arrived, and He revealed the deeds and forces of all the days.

The phrase "He gave that day strength" means that He gave everything to the day of *Shabbat*. For the six days are *Sefirot HGT NHY* that reveal on *Shabbat* (*Malchut*) the work and the forces that were carried out during these days.

Yet, if the deeds of all the days are concealed, and only reveal at their end, on *Shabbat*, then why is it written that they are revealed on the fourth day of creation? The thing is that *Malchut* is called both the fourth and the seventh days: she is fourth with regard to the first three *Sefirot HGT*, called the "Patriarchs" (*Hesed* is Avraham, *Gevura* is Yitzchak, and *Tifferet* is Yaakov), and seventh with regard to the six *Sefirot*, after three additional *Sefirot*, called the "Sons": *Netzah* is Moshe, *Hod* is Aaron, and *Yesod* is Yosef.

Malchut herself is King David—the day of *Shabbat*. *Malchut* grows and gradually accumulates her corrections in two principal stages, called *Ibur* (conception). The first three days correspond to *Ibur Aleph* (the first conception), and the

second three days correspond to *Ibur Bet* (the second conception, *Gadlut*, the reception of *Ohr Hochma*).

In other words, *Malchut* is gradually created from *Sefirot HGT* of ZA in three days, and forms on the fourth day as the *Sefira Netzah de* ZA. Hence, at this stage in her growth, *Malchut* is referred to as fourth from the Patriarchs. And then *Shabbat* comes to our land (*Malchut* is called both land/earth and *Shabbat*). The state that *Malchut* achieves as a result of her growth from *Sefirot NHY* of ZA is called *Shabbat* on earth. And this state she attains as the seventh *Sefira* from all the *Sefirot* of ZA.

The first three days are not revealed in *Malchut*, for as long as a *Partzuf* lacks *Malchut*, it is defined as concealed or secret. The weekdays are defined so. And when *Malchut* completely attains the degree where she stands, she thereby attains herself. This state is defined as *Shabbat*.

However, if *Malchut* receives from the six *Sefirot de* ZA, shouldn't they (the six weekdays) be more important than *Malchut-Shabbat* (inferior *Sefira* with regard to those she receives from)?

The truth is that all the weekdays constitute individual degrees of correction (weekdays' work) that are devoid of *Malchut*. Hence, they are called "weekdays," for a *Partzuf* without *Malchut* is considered a closed degree, unable to receive Light, and is therefore deprived of holiness. After all, in the absence of *Malchut*, there is no GAR of the Light, *Ohr Hochma*. And only when *Malchut* is revealed in the *Partzuf* (signifying the arrival of *Shabbat*) is the holiness of the ENTIRE degree revealed; ENTIRE, because all six days receive what they have earned, and the Light shines in all the weekdays thanks to them alone.

When the first three days of creation *HGT* emerged before the emergence of *Malchut*, these three *Sefirot* were devoid of Light, i.e., they were concealed. And when *Malchut* appeared, the fourth day arrived, and the importance and holiness of all four days manifested, for *Malchut* complements the entire degree, and the perfection of creation becomes revealed thanks to her. In the language of Kabbalah, this is described in the following way: all six days of creation are *Ohr Hochma*, and *Shabbat* is *Ohr Hassadim*. *Ohr Hochma* is present on weekdays, but cannot shine for lack of *Ohr Hassadim*, and when *Ohr Hassadim* arrives on *Shabbat*, all the *Ohr Hochma* shines thanks to this *Ohr Hassadim* of *Shabbat*.

76. There is fire, water and air—*HGT*—the three first days of creation. Although they are the initial Supernal foundations of all that will follow, their actions are not revealed until the earth, meaning *Malchut*, reveals them. Only then does the work of each of the Supernal foundations reveal itself. Hence, the power of the first three days is revealed only on the fourth.

77. However, the third day may be better described as one that reveals the creation of the first three days, as it is written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH GRASS. That is to say, the revelation of the earth's (*Malchut*'s) deeds already took place on the third day. Yet, although it was written on the third day, *Tifferet*, it was actually the fourth day, *Malchut*. *Malchut* joined the third day, for *Tifferet* and *Malchut* are inseparable. And then the fourth day revealed its deeds—to elucidate the work of each and every one of *HGT*, for the fourth day is the "fourth leg" of the Supernal Throne (the *Sefira Bina*), whose four legs are *HGTM* (*Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut*).

Malchut reveals the holiness and spiritual power of the three days. Therefore, *Malchut* ascended and joined the third day, so as to reveal by the unity of these three days (three lines) their exalted spiritual essence.

It is hence written that the deed is revealed on the fourth day, for *Malchut* alone completes their revelation at the conclusion of the three days. And afterwards, three more days emerge, which are *NHY*. After the revelation of the holiness of the first three days, *HGT*, called the "Patriarchs," which are the foundation of *ZA*, *ZA* enters them (his main part is manifested), and the time comes for the Sons (*NHY*, the last three of the six days of creation) to be born.

This is why it is written that *ZA* is defined as the fourth leg of the throne of *Bina*, and the throne remains imperfect and incomplete until its fourth leg (foundation) manifests. Indeed, *ZA* is incomplete until *Malchut* manifests within him, i.e., until the fourth day arrives. And only after the emergence of *Malchut* can *ZA* father the Sons—the three final days of creation.

78. All of the actions of all the *Sefirot*, both on the first three days of creation, *HGT*, and on the last three, *NHY*, are dependent on the day of *Shabbat*, *Malchut*, *GAR* of the entire degree of *ZA* and its perfection. Hence, it is written, AND THE CREATOR RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY, *SHABBAT*. This refers to the fourth leg of the throne, as the seventh and the fourth days are both *Malchut*. Only the fourth day is *Malchut* that includes the *Sefira Tifferet* of *ZA*, from his chest upwards. Also, the seventh day is *Malchut* of the entire *ZA*, and they merge together face to face in a *Zivug*.

Although the first three days, *HGT*, end with the fourth day (the result of their actions), they nonetheless remain not entirely complete; their perfection manifests only on *Shabbat*, together with the last three days, *NHY*.

It is therefore written that *Shabbat* is the fourth leg of the throne, even though it is the seventh day, for, although it emerges after the Sons, it also completes the deeds of the Patriarchs, as the first three days did not complete

their corrections on the fourth day, and a seventh day, *Shabbat*, is needed to complete them.

The reason for this is that on the fourth day, *Malchut* is in the state of *Katnut*, called the small phase of the Moon. As a result, the Moon (*Malchut*) returns to the state called *Shabbat*, when all the Light of all the days of creation manifest and shine within her. This is why the Light of the first three days of creation becomes revealed only on *Shabbat*.

79. Yet, if *Shabbat* is *Malchut*, then why does the Torah say, "My Sabbaths you are to observe," implying two? It is written of the two parts of *Shabbat*: the night (*Malchut*) and the day (ZA) that shines in *Malchut*. Thus, there is no division between them, for they merge face to face in a *Zivug*, and are therefore called two Sabbaths.

He asks: two *Malchuyot* (plural for *Malchut*) of the fourth and the seventh days are completely separate, as is written, "You shall keep my Sabbaths," implying two? Yet, when we clarify that the fourth day manifests in perfection only on the seventh day, it becomes clear that there is only one *Shabbat*. But what is meant here is ZA and *Malchut* that shine in the holiness of *Shabbat*, for this day is the male, bestowing part (*Zachar*) that manifests in the female part (*Malchut* or *Nukva*). Hence, they are called Sabbaths (plural). However, by merging in perfection, they become a single whole. As a result, ZA also assumes the name of *Shabbat*.

80. Following behind them with the donkeys, the donkey driver asked: "Why is it said, 'You shall fear sanctity?'" They replied: "This refers to the sanctity of *Shabbat*." The donkey driver asked: "What is the sanctity of *Shabbat*?" They replied: "It is the sanctity that descends from Above, from *AVI*." He said to them, "If that is so, then *Shabbatot* (plural for *Shabbat*) are without sanctity, for sanctity descends on it from Above, from *AVI*." Rabbi Aba answered him: "It is indeed so." And it is said: "And call *Shabbat* a delight, a holy day dedicated to the Creator." *Shabbat* and a holy day are mentioned separately. The donkey driver asked: "If that is so, then what does a holy day mean to the Creator?" He replied: "That is when sanctity descends from Above, from ZA, and fills *Shabbat*, *Malchut*." The donkey driver objected, "But if sanctity descends from Above, then *Shabbat* itself is not a holy day. And yet, it is written, 'You shall sanctify *Shabbat*,' meaning *Shabbat* itself." Rabbi Elazar said to Rabbi Aba, "Leave this man alone, for there is much wisdom in him, of which we do not know." So he said to the donkey driver, "Speak, and we shall listen."

The donkey driver's question is this: if *Shabbat* is ZA, then why is it described as holy? After all, sanctity is the property of *AVI*, and only *AVI* are called holy.

Hence, he objected that *Shabbat* should be separated from sanctity. *Shabbat* (ZA) is not holiness in itself, but because it receives holiness from Above, from *AVI*. That, which ZA receives from *AVI* is what is called the Creator's holiness.

81. The donkey driver opened and said, "It is written: *Shabbatot*, i.e., there are usually two. And this alludes to the border of *Shabbat*, which is 2,000 *Amah* (cubits) in each direction from the city. This is why the word *Et* was added before the word *Shabbatot*, which designates the plural form—both the Upper *Shabbat* and the lower *Shabbat* joining into one."

Although it is said: "Man shall not leave his place on the seventh day" (*Shemot*, 16), i.e., the singular form is used, in many places in the Torah, the word *Et* is used; for example, in the sentence: "***Et*** 2,000 *Amah* in each direction from its place." The word *Et*, consisting of the first and the last letters of the alphabet, *Aleph* and *Tav*, designates *Malchut* entering into union with ZA, which signifies the state of *Shabbat*; hence, the Light of *AVI* becomes revealed and shines (as a supplementary luminescence) upon ZON. This is because *AVI* are called "two thousand," and so the word *Et* is present here to designate a supplement of Light to *Shabbat*.

There exist a *Shabbat* Above and a *Shabbat* below: the Upper *Shabbat* is *Partzuf Tvuna*, and the lower part of *Partzuf Bina*, whereas the lower *Shabbat* is *Partzuf Malchut*, *Nukva de* ZA of the world of *Atzilut*. In the world of *Atzilut*, *Partzuf Bina* is divided into two *Partzufim*: the Upper Part of *Bina* is called *Partzuf AVI* and the lower part of *Bina* (the part where she receives the Light from the Upper Part so as to pass it to ZA) is called *Partzuf YESHSUT* (*Israel Saba ve Tvuna*) or simply *Tvuna*. The relationship between *Bina-AVI* and *Tvuna* is similar to that of ZA and *Malchut*. *Bina* is called the "Upper World" and *Malchut* is called the "lower world." On *Shabbat*, ZON ascend to *Bina*, ZA to *AVI*, and *Malchut* to *Tvuna*.

On *Shabbat*, *Malchut* merges with *Tvuna*. However, this does not mean that no difference is left between them, for *Malchut* receives the Light from *Tvuna* only because she ascends to *Tvuna's* level. Yet, at her place on the last, lowest degree of the world of *Atzilut*, *Malchut* is unable to receive the Light from *Tvuna*. And to the extent that *Malchut* cannot yet receive the Light from *Tvuna* in her regular state, she is defined as "closed."

Also, *Tvuna* suffers from *Malchut* being closed because while in her place, *Malchut* cannot receive the Light from *Tvuna*, for the revelation of *Tvuna* is possible only through *Malchut*. On *Shabbat*, *Tvuna* and *Ima* join to form one *Partzuf*, which is not closed. Yet, since its Light shines only when *Malchut* ascends to it, *Tvuna* feels the closed state of *Malchut*, and suffers, too.

82. One *Shabbat* was left, unmentioned Above, and felt ashamed. She said to Him, "The Creator of the universe, from the day I was created, I am called *Shabbat*, but there is no day without night." The Creator replied to her: "My daughter, you are *Shabbat*, and I have given you this name. But now I am surrounding and adorning you with the most exalted adornment." He then raised His voice and proclaimed, "Those who sanctify shall fear. And this is the night of *Shabbat* that radiates fear." But who is she? It is the merging together of I (*Malchut*, the nights of *Shabbat*) with the Creator Himself (ZA) into a single whole. And I've heard from my father that the word *Et* refers to the boundaries-borders of *Shabbat*. *Shabbatot* (two Sabbaths) denote a circle and a square within, which total two. According to them, there are two sanctities we should mention during the *Shabbat* blessing: *Vayechulu* consists of thirty-five words, and *Kiddush*, too, consists of thirty-five words. Collectively, they make up to the seventy names of ZA, with which ZA (the Creator), and *Malchut* (the Assembly of Israel) adorn themselves.

83. Since the circle and square are *Shabbatot*, they are both included in the instruction, "My *Shabbatot* you are to observe." However, the Upper *Shabbat* is not included in the instruction "Observe," but rather in "Remember." For the Supernal King, *Bina* is as perfect as memory. This is why *Bina* is called "King," whose perfection lies in peace and in memory. Hence, there is no contradiction Above.

Malchut de Malchut is called the central point of creation, and receives no Light even on *Shabbat*, as, being a *Man'ula* (lock), she is closed to the Light. And the entire Light enters her only in the form of *Miftacha* (key), into *Yesod de Malchut*, in *Malchut* that joins *Bina* with her properties, while *Malchut* herself is therefore referred to as "locked."

This central point of creation is the only thing that the Creator created, and is comprised of all the creatures, including human souls. And she argues with the Creator that in the beginning of creation, in the world of *AK*, the entire Light was revealed and shone upon the creatures thanks to her, for there was no other *Malchut* in the world of *AK*, except for the central point. And only due to *Tzimtzum Bet* (second restriction), now in the world of *Atzilut*, was she restricted and closed to the reception of Light.

And this is a great and wonderful secret, for, as *Malchut* objects, even on the first day, it is said: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning—one day." (*Beresheet*, 1:6) In other words, unity is revealed in both night and day together. Yet, why is the night of the first *Shabbat* not mentioned in the

Torah, and only the words "on the seventh day" are used? The Creator replied to *Malchut* that a future *Shabbat* is implied—*Shabbat* of the seventh millennium, when the day of *Shabbat* will come and remain forever.

Meanwhile, during the 6,000 years, the Creator elevates *Malchut* to *Bina*, and as a result, she receives Supernal Adornments, greater than the ones she had had in the world of *AK*. For there she acted as the end of all *Sefirot*, but now she has risen to act in the place of *GAR*, in *AVI*, which are called "holy of holies."

If *Malchut* is in *Yesod*, the lack of *Ohr Hochma* is felt. But if *Malchut* ascends to *AVI* (where *Ohr Hassadim* is present, and there is absolutely no need for *Ohr Hochma*), this state is defined as perfect.

Malchut is called "fear," for she was restricted to refrain from receiving the Creator's Light within her desire to receive pleasure. Therefore, she does not receive the Light from Above within her desire to receive pleasure. Instead, she receives the Light only in *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light), when she refuses to use her egoism.

This occurs in the following way: first, *Ohr Yashar* (Direct Light) comes from the Creator to *Malchut* and wishes to enter her (*Malchut* feels both the delight and her own desire to receive and enjoy it). Secondly, by wishing to be like the Creator, *Malchut* repels the Light (prohibits herself from receiving the delight).

This renunciation of egoistic pleasure is called *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light), because *Malchut* repels the Light (pleasure) from her. Thirdly, after *Malchut* has created *Ohr Hozer*, she begins to receive *Ohr Yashar* in it (her new desire to receive only because the Creator wants her to). This reception is possible because *Malchut* has an anti-egoistic force, will power, called a screen.

The spiritual world is a realm of sensations, desires, and forces, not vested in shells-garments, like the corporeal bodies in our world. Similarly, all the characters depicted in Kabbalah do not designate any images; rather, they demonstrate interactions of forces and properties.

Therefore, a circle implies that the Light shines completely unrestrictedly in every place and to the same extent, so there can be no change in its radiance. A square or a rectangle indicates restrictions, which create differences between the sides: right and left, top and bottom. Hence, the head has a round shape with regard to the rectangular shape of the body, for the *Rosh* (head) is free of restrictions, but *VAK* (body) are not.

Shabbat is a spiritual state, when *ZON* ascend to *AVI* and clothe them. As a result, the lower *Shabbat* (*ZON*) and the Upper *Shabbat* (*AVI*) merge into one.

The Upper *Shabbat* (*AVI*) is designated by a circle, and the lower *Shabbat* (*ZON*) is designated by a square. On *Shabbat*, *ZON* merge with *AVI*, depicted as the square's ascent and insertion into the circle.

Ohr Hochma is designated by the letter *Ayin*. Since *Ohr Hochma* is revealed only during the ascent of the lower *Shabbat* to the Upper, *Ohr Hochma* is divided into two parts: one half for the Upper *Shabbat*, and one for the lower. Hence, the passage of *Vayechulu* (*Beresheet*, 2:1) consists of thirty-five words that refer to half of the Light of the Upper *Shabbat*, whereas the blessing itself consists of thirty-five words that refer to half of the Light of the lower *Shabbat*. And the common soul, called the "Assembly of Israel" or *Malchut* (*Shabbat*), is adorned with this Light.

Since the circle and the square merge and assume the name *Shabbatot* (two *Shabbats*), the Light of both the circle and the square is defined as protecting—GUARD. And, although the word GUARD alludes to restrictions and borders that one must observe and fear violating, whereas the Upper *Shabbat* (designated by a circle) has no restrictions and borders, due to the joining of the two *Shabbatot* into one, there still appeared restrictions and borders.

The Upper *Shabbat* is called REMEMBER, and not OBSERVE, as it is completely free of restrictions. However, since it merged with the lower *Shabbat*, called OBSERVE, it, too, needs to GUARD, which normally relates to *Malchut* alone. Only due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* did the need to guard, which is present in *Malchut*, arose in *Bina*. But *Bina* herself remains only in the property of REMEMBER, for only egoistic desires to receive pleasure need GUARDING.

The Upper *Shabbat* (*Bina*) is designated by the letters *MI* = *Mem-Yod*. The lower *Shabbat* (*Malchut*) is designated by the letters *MA* = *Mem-Hey*, and has the form of a square, which implies a presence of controversy between its properties—the right and the left sides, which give it its square form.

84. There are two types of peace below: one is Yaakov (*Tifferet*), and the other is Yosef (*Yesod*). Therefore, PEACE is written twice in the greeting: "PEACE, PEACE to the distant one and to the near one." "The distant one" refers to Yaakov, and "the near one" refers to Yosef. Or, as it is written, "From afar I see the Creator," "Came to a stop far in the distance."

"Below" signifies *ZON*, containing one of the properties, Yaakov or the *Sefira Tifferet de ZA*. *ZON* also contain the property called Yosef, or *Yesod*. Both these *Sefirot* indicate the place of a potential *Zivug* between *ZA* and *Malchut*, for Peace signifies *Zivug*. The Upper *Zivug* (Yaakov) is intended for reception of *Ohr Hochma* from Above, and the lower *Zivug* (Yosef) fills *Malchut* only with *Ohr Hassadim*.

It was already mentioned that it is impossible to receive *Ohr Hochma* without it being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. *Ohr Hochma* or the *Zivug* that is made on it is therefore defined as distant, for it must first be clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* before it can receive *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, it is written, "From afar I saw the Creator."

The lower *Zivug* is called "the near one," because the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hassadim* without any preliminary actions. Furthermore, with the help of this *Ohr Hassadim*, the *Partzuf* subsequently receives *Ohr Hochma*. This is why the word "peace" is used twice: "Peace, peace to the far and to the near"—a greeting to Yaakov and Yosef, respectively, both of whom take part in the great *Zivug* (the reception of *Ohr Hochma*) in *ZA*.

These two greetings are defined in *ZON* as a square, as there is controversy between them, defined as the controversy between the right and the left sides, and they end in the letter *Hey*—*Nukva* or *Malchut*, whereas the Upper *Nukva* (*Bina*) ends with the letter *Yod*, which designates not the female part, but the male. Hence, there is no controversy in her.

Even the notions of "near" and "far" do not exist in *Bina* herself, for she refers to *GAR*, perfection, and *GAR* can receive *Ohr Hochma* nearby, meaning they do not need to clothe in *Ohr Hassadim* beforehand, but can receive *Ohr Hochma* without *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is said that the Upper *Malchut* is the King, who has peace. Thus, unlike *ZON*, two notions of peace are absent in him.

85. "From afar" is the Supernal Point, standing in His palace, of which it is said, "You are to guard." "You shall fear My sanctity" refers to the point standing in the center, which must be feared more than anything, for its punishment is death, as it is written, "All who transgress in it shall perish." Who are these transgressors? They are those who have entered the space of the circle and the square, and committed a sin. Hence, it is written, "You shall fear!" This point is called "I," and there is a prohibition on its revelation, called *HaVaYaH*. "I" and *HaVaYaH* are a single whole. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba dismounted from their donkeys and kissed him. They said, "So great is your wisdom, and yet you drive donkeys behind us! Who are you, then?" He replied to them: "Do not ask me who I am, but let us go on and study the Torah. Each of us will speak his wisdom so as to illuminate our path."

The distant point refers to the point that opens the way to the *Partzuf* for thirty-two streams of *Ohr Hochma*. And this is the letter *Bet* in the first word of the Torah—*Beresheet*, called the "point in the hall," from which *Ohr Hochma* descends to *ZON*, when *ZON* ascend to *AVI*. For then, the two *Shabbatot* (the

Upper—*AVI* and the lower—*ZON*) merge. It is written about them: "I saw the Creator from afar," for *ZON* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma* without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*.

Hochma and *Bina*, called the "point in the hall," are referred to as "distant from *ZON*," for they need the garment of *Ohr Hassadim* from the lower world, *Nukva*, called *MA*. *Malchut* of the world of *AK* is the central point, called the "lock," whereas *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* (the point in the hall) is the "key," as the Light from *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*) can be received in it.

The circle is called *AVI*, the square—*ZON*. *ZON* ascend to *AVI* and thus the square enters the circle. As a result, two properties appear in *Malchut* of *AVI*: the "lock" (*Malchut de Malchut*, the central point or *Malchut de AVI*), and the "key" (the point in the hall, *Yesod de Malchut* or *Malchut de YESHSUT*). *Malchut de AVI* is called space, for she is unattainable, and he who wishes to fill her with Light is punished by death. It is written about it: "You shall fear My sanctity."

The point itself is called "I," and *AVI* is *HaVaYaH* that merges with it. And they are defined as a single whole; hence, the point itself is referred to as *AVI*, meaning that it is characterized as holy, as the property of *AVI*.

As was already mentioned before, *The Zohar* and the entire Torah speak exclusively of spiritual degrees, the structure of spiritual worlds, and the revelation of the Creator's governance to us. There is not a word in the Torah that refers to our world. The whole Torah is, as it is said, "The Creator's sacred names." And those who reduce it from its spiritual heights to the corporeal level with their commentaries cast it down completely.

Rashi says that the Torah only speaks in human tongue, but it tells us of man's spiritual paths toward his Creator. Therefore, when we read that one Rabbi went to visit another, the real meaning is that one spiritual degree, called, for example, Rabbi Elazar, passes to another spiritual degree, called, for example, Rabbi Yosi.

ZA has his own *AVI*, who are called the Upper *AVI*. The wife of *ZA* (*Nukva* or *Malchut*) contains *AVI*, too, called *YESHSUT*. First, *ZA* attains the *AVI* of his wife (*YESHSUT* or *Ohr Hassadim*). Then it rises to a Higher Degree and attains the *AVI* themselves—*Ohr Hochma* (also called *Ohr Haya*).

The righteous who ascend the spiritual degrees are the constituents of *Partzuf ZA*. Since the degree of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba is *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of *Neshama*), this ascent means it went to (spiritually) see (in *Ohr Hochma*) another spiritual degree.

In the spiritual worlds, the donkey driver constitutes a special spiritual force that helps the souls of the righteous move from one spiritual degree to another. Without this help sent by the Creator from Above, it is impossible to exit your degree and ascend to the next. Hence, the Creator sends a Higher soul from Above to each of the righteous (those who wish to ascend). Each receives his own, according to his degree, properties, and purpose.

And so, at first the righteous fails to recognize this exalted soul; he considers it low, that it leeched onto him on his spiritual path. Such state is called *Ibur*—conception of the righteous' soul. Since the Higher soul has not yet completed its assistance and purpose, it is not yet perceived by the righteous for what it really is.

However, after it completes its task in its entirety, and brings the righteous' soul to the Upper Degree for which it is intended, the righteous then reveals the exalted properties of the soul that helped him. This is referred to as the revelation of the soul to the righteous.

In our case, the soul that was sent to help the souls of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba was the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba—a very exalted and perfect soul, the Light of *Yechida*. Yet, initially, it is revealed to the righteous in its smallest scope, called *Ibur*, conception (in sensations). Hence, they perceive it as the level of a spiritual donkey driver—a simple soul.

The Hebrew word for donkey is *Hamor*, which also means matter, *Homer*! Thus, one who can control his donkey, his body, his desires, ascends above matter as a spiritual being. And since he wishes to ascend above matter in his desires, he is considered a righteous. However, here, *The Zohar* speaks of Higher Degrees.

The donkey driver's task is to take the riders, mounted atop of their donkeys, from place to place; yet, he walks in front of his donkeys, thereby leading them through spiritual degrees. Since every word in the Torah has several meanings, due to the multiplicity of the Upper Roots (wherefrom word notions descend), the notion of a "donkey driver" is more precisely referred to as a "donkey guide," and implies properties that are coarse, sinful, and most base.

Therefore, Rabbi Aba said: "Let us open the gates of the Torah, for the time has come for us to correct our path," that is, to open their souls with the help of the secrets of the Torah, so their path would be correct and lead them to the Creator. Rabbi Elazar then began to discuss a passage from the Torah that says, "You shall observe my *Shabbatot*," as he stood at this degree (the Light of *YESHSUT*) in his properties. He therefore concluded that *Shabbat* itself is the property of *ZON*, which has not yet reached the property of sanctity, but only

receives the Light of *YESHSUT* on *Shabbat*. It is written about this Light, "You shall fear my sanctity," for when *Ohr Hochma* passes from *YESHSUT* to *ZA*, it evokes fear in them.

And here they receive the donkey driver's help, who reveals to them the secret of *Ohr Haya*. He explains that the phrase "You shall observe my *Shabbatot*" signifies the Upper and the lower *Shabbatot*, which come together, due to the ascent of *ZON* to *AVI*. As a result, *ZON* themselves become holy (the square within the circle) and acquire the properties of *Bina*: mercy, altruism, *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is written with regard to them: fear not and observe. For *Ohr Haya* repels foreign, impure forces and desires, and all restrictions are lifted on *Shabbat*; hence, there is no fear.

And, according to the donkey driver's explanation, the phrase "You shall fear My sanctity" refers only to the central point that is used in *GAR de AVI*, in *GAR* of *Ohr Haya*, which is unattainable and where fear does exist.

At that, the soul of the donkey driver has fulfilled its role, for it brought them to the attainment of *Ohr Haya*. Only then did they merit the attainment of the height of the soul that had helped them, since they attained its revelation and were thus able to appreciate it.

This is why Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba dismounted from their donkeys and kissed him, for the attainment of the Upper One is defined as a "kiss." However, this exalted soul has not yet finished aiding them: it must still help them attain *Ohr Yechida*. Yet, since the attainment of *Ohr Haya* already provides perfection, they've already attained thereby the degree of the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba.

The level of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself is the degree of attainment of *Ohr Yechida*. Therefore, by attaining only *Ohr Haya*, they mistakenly thought that the soul guiding them belongs to the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. However, after the donkey driver had revealed to them the secret of the attainment of *Ohr Yechida*, they realized that their companion is none other than Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself.

And the reason why they could not recognize him before is that the powers of the helping soul cannot be seen until its role is fulfilled. Hence, they asked him to reveal his name, but he told them not to inquire about his name, for without having completed all the corrections, they do not merit the revelation of the secrets of the Torah. And he must help them in their studies of the Torah, for he still needs to illuminate their path, as they have not yet attained the desired goal.

86. He said to him: "Who appointed you to walk here and be a donkey driver?" He replied: "The letter *Yod* waged war with two letters, *Chaf* and *Samech*, for me to come and join. The letter *Chaf* did not want to leave its place because it has to support those who fall, for without a screen, they cannot survive."

87. The letter *Yod* came to me alone, kissed me and wept with me. It said to me, "My son, what can I do for you? I disappear from many good deeds and from secret, supernal, basic letters. But I shall return to you and will be of help to you. And I shall give you two letters that are more exalted than those that have disappeared—the letters *Yod* and *Shin*. They shall become for you a treasury that is forever full. So, my son, go and drive the donkeys. And that is why I am here in this role."

As we already know, the donkey driver is an auxiliary force given to someone who wishes to ascend to a higher spiritual degree on his path toward the Creator, just as donkeys carry people on their backs, thereby helping them travel from one place to another. As this happens, the righteous one falls from his previous degree and enters the embryonic state of the new degree, just as the soul that came to help him. However, the property of *Ibur*-embryo (*Ibur* is also derived from the word *Haavarah*, crossing) means that all the Light that it had in the previous degree disappears upon the conception (*Ibur*) of a new, Higher Degree.

And that is what they wanted to know of the donkey driver: "How did the Creator bring you here in the state of *Ibur*, in our state of *Ibur*, as a result of which the Light in us has disappeared? Who lowers you from the Higher Degrees?" And that is why the donkey driver replied that the letter *Yod* waged war against the letters *Chaf* and *Samech*, to join with them. The degree of *Hassadim* is called *Samech* (*Ohr Neshama*).

"When the time has come for you to attain *Ohr Haya* (*Yod* from *HaVaYaH*, the degree from which I descended to help you to attain *Ohr Haya*), *Hochma* really wanted to connect *Ohr Neshama* (that was previously in you) to me. And here *Yod* wages war against *Chaf* and *Samech*. *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* clothes in the lower *Partzuf*, designated by the letter *Chaf*. There used to be *Ohr Neshama*, and now there is *Ohr Haya*, whereas *Yod*, which desires *Ohr Neshama* as well, merges with it, and rejects the *Chaf*."

This is so because the connection between the degrees, from the Highest Degree in the world of *Atzilut* to the end of the world of *Assiya*, is realized only by *Malchut* of the Upper One descending to the lower one and clothing in it. *Malchut* of the Upper One herself cannot descend from her degree of *YESHSUT*

(the degree of *Neshama*) even for a moment, as the chain connecting the degrees would be instantly broken.

The property of *Samech* is the property of the Light itself, which the soul receives from *Sefirot HBD HGT* of *AVI* (above the *Chazeh*), and which *AVI* pass to *ZON* when the letters are in *Katnut*, and support them (the Hebrew word for support is *Somech*, derived from the letter *Samech*) so that *ZON* will not fall from the world of *Atzilut*.

The letter *Chaf*, *Hassadim*, is unwilling to leave its place and join *Hochma*, as it needs to connect the Upper *Partzuf* to the lower one. Thus, it must always remain in its place, for all the degrees are constant, and only the soul changes while moving from one degree to another within the worlds. This is why the soul is called the "inner part" with regard to the world (the external part)—the soul exists and moves about within the world by changing its properties.

Hence, the Light of the soul did not wish to join the letter *Yod* (degree of *Hochma*, the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba) as it descended to help Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba. This is because they needed a new Light that would build a new degree within them, the degree of *Ohr Haya*, whereas each new degree is built from scratch, from the state of *Ibur* (conception). As that happens, the entire previous degree with all of its Light disappears. Similarly, in their case, the new degree starts with *Ibur* and reaches the level of *Haya*. This resembles a seed that must first abandon its present form and rot, in order to become a tree afterwards.

It is therefore written that it came to me without the Light of *HBD HGT de AVI*, called *Samech*, the Light of *Hassadim*. *Samech* is the property of mercy, a selfless desire to give, pure spiritual altruism. Hence, it is unwilling to join *Yod*, *Ohr Hochma*. Yet, *Ohr Hochma* cannot enter and fill the *Partzuf* without first being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, for this clothing of *Ohr Hochma* in *Ohr Hassadim* means that the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma* not for itself, but for the Creator's sake. But *Ohr Hassadim*, *Samech*, does not wish to receive anything within itself; it wants nothing to do with *Ohr Hochma*! This is why the letter *Yod* wept, being unable to fill the *Partzuf* with its Light, for *Hassadim* refused to accept *Hochma*.

It is written in this regard: Hence, I must now disappear, and you, the donkey driver, go to the state of *Ibur*, to rebuild the degrees of gradual development of a new *Partzuf*-state with you: *Ibur* (embryo), *Leidah* (birth), *Yenika* (nursing), and *Mochin* (maturity).

And know that such is the order of creating (begetting) each new degree: every time one is to attain a new degree, he must undergo (in his properties) a complete disappearance of the previous degree (level of attainment, Light), and

begin anew. He must receive new attainments, from the lowest new degree, *Ohr Nefesh* (*Ibur*), to *Ohr Ruach* (*Yenika*), and so on, as though he had never attained any spiritual level at all.

It is impossible to take with you anything from a previous degree. Hence, one must start anew from the lowest level of *Ibur*, called THE DONKEY DRIVER. *Ohr Haya de AVI* is called *YESH* (*Yod-Shin*), where *Yod* is *Hochma* and *Shin* is *Bina*. And, of course, they are more important than the *Ohr Neshama* that was in the *Partzuf* before them.

88. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba rejoiced, wept, and said, "You sit on the donkey, and we shall drive it." He replied to them, "Have I not told you that it is the command of the King that I act as I do, until the other donkey driver appears" (this hints at the *Mashiach*, who, as it is said, will appear poor and riding a donkey). They said to him, "You have not even told us your name! Where do you dwell?" He told them, "My dwelling place is wonderful and very precious to me. It is a tower that soars in the air, grand and unique. Only two live in this tower: the Creator and I. That is the place, in which I dwell. And I am exiled from there in order to drive the donkeys." Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba looked at him, and his words were unclear to them, for they tasted sweeter than manna and honey. They said to him, "Perhaps you will tell us the name of your father, so that we could kiss the earth at his feet?" He responded, "What for? It is not my habit to boast of the Torah."

After they have attained the greatness of the donkey driver's degree, they could no longer bear his small state of *Ibur*, which he inhabited for their sake. Hence, they told him that since they have already attained *Ohr Hochma*, he has done enough and can leave the state of *Ibur*. And should a need arise to add anything else to them, they would be able to enter *Ibur* on their own, and he does not need to suffer for their sake.

However, the donkey driver warned them beforehand to not ask him his name, for they still require revelations of secrets of the Torah. Once again, he hinted that it is the degree of *Ohr Yechida* that they lack, which is implied here. This degree signifies the reception of the Light of the King Messiah's face, which he mentioned by hinting at the poor donkey driver, as described by a prophet (*Zachariah*, 9:9). And he is commanded by the Creator to help them attain *Ohr Yechida*.

This is why they asked him about the type of his soul: "For you did not wish to reveal your name, as we have not yet received from you that which we must

attain. But if so, at least tell us where you live, what is your degree? At least then we will know what we lack, what else we must receive, attain from you."

He replied that his place is much higher than his present location, for now he himself cannot attain his own individual level. This is a result of the Upper *Partzuf* descending to the place of the lower one and becoming completely identical to it, and while there (in that state), the Upper *Partzuf* can no longer attain its own level. The tower that soars in the air is *Bina*, *Hassadim*. The *Mashiach*'s tower (the great tower) designates the time (state) of ascent to *GAR de AA*, when *Ohr Hochma* is available.

89. But the place of my father's dwelling was in the Great Sea. And he was a big fish that continually circled the Great Sea, from one end to the other. And he was mighty and he grew old, until he swallowed up all the other fish in that sea. And then he released them, and they were thriving and filled with all of the very best of the world. And it was in his power to swim across the entire sea in one instant. And He pulled him out and hauled him in with an arrow, like a warrior, and brought him to the place that I told you about, to the tower that soars in the air, but he returned to his place and disappeared in that sea.

The concealed *Zivug* is called *Shaar HaNun* (the 50th gate). The Great Sea is *Malchut*. All the *Zivugim* from *Partzuf Atik de Atzilut* and below do not include the Great Sea in its entirety, all the *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, but only the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*. Moreover, none of the *Zivugim* include *Malchut de Malchut*.

This *Sefira*, *Malchut de Malchut*, is the only creation, because all the other *Sefirot* constitute properties of spiritual forces and desires above *Malchut*, existing in and referring to the Creator, the sole purpose of which is the correction of *Malchut de Malchut*. The only *Zivug* on this *Malchut* exists in *Atik*, and it will be revealed to all only at the end of correction.

Rav Hamnuna-Saba emerged from this concealed *Zivug* in *Atik*; hence, the donkey driver calls him "my father." And he says that his father lived in the Great Sea, as this *Zivug* was on the entire *Malchut*, on *Malchut de Malchut*, called the "Great Sea."

Yet, if one were to argue that all *Partzufim* make a *Zivug* on the Light with a screen that stands before *Malchut*, then that *Zivug* was made on the 50th gate, on all the parts of the desire, on the full depth of the Great Sea (*Malchut*), down to the very last of her desires and properties, from *Keter de Malchut* to *Malchut de Malchut*, from end to end of the Great Sea. Nevertheless, this occurs only

In *Partzuf Atik de Atzilut*, but not below it. And this is not the donkey driver himself, but his father.

This occurs because the great *Zivug* absorbs all the other particular *Zivugim* ("swallows all the other fish in the Great Sea") and all the souls in all the worlds, for they are all much weaker than it. Hence, it is as though they do not exist in its greatness and might. And since it includes absolutely everything, they are all called by the name *Nunin*, from the letter *Nun* (50).

This indicates that after all the major corrections that follow this great *Zivug*, all those Lights and souls, absorbed during its *Zivug*, return and are born anew for eternal life, for they are completely filled with Light as a result of the great *Zivug,* when the Light absorbed them completely.

All the *Zivugim* below *Partzuf Atik* stem from unifications of the *Sefirot* with one another. These unifications are defined as interruptions in a *Zivug*, whereas the *Zivug* in *Atik* is direct and without unification. Thus, it is defined as "instant," for it goes on uninterrupted. It is therefore written that "he crosses the entire sea in an instant," without any garments-unifications. And it mounts an attack, for there is great power of reception of *Ohr Hochma* in this *Zivug*; hence, he said: "Begets, like an arrow in the hands of a warrior."

It is written of this *Zivug* in *Partzuf Atik*: "No one else but you saw the Creator." However, no birth is possible without the forces of resistance, since, as is written: "The seed that is not shot like an arrow does not beget." (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 16). Hence, after he had begotten me and hid me in the Great Tower, he returned to his concealed *Zivug*.

90. Rabbi Elazar contemplated his words and replied: "You are the son of the Holy Source, you are the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, you are the son of the Source of the Torah, and you drive donkeys behind us!" They wept and kissed him, and continued their journey. Then he said: "If it pleases our master, let him reveal his name to us."

It is written "looked," because sight signifies *Hochma*, and no other words, such as "said," "heard" (*Bina*) or "thought" could be used in its stead. Since they have not yet attained to the full extent of perfection what the donkey driver had told them, and their attainment reached only as high as *Ohr Haya*, they were delighted with what was begotten by Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, for Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba is *Ohr Yechida*.

He asked him to reveal his name, that is, to receive his degree, for the attainment of a name denotes the attainment of the spiritual degree. Therefore, the saying, "the entire Torah consists only of the Creator's names," means that the

entire Torah constitutes the degrees that one must attain, up to the very highest, called "Love" ("Introduction to The Study of the Ten Sefirot," items 70-71).

Each degree in the attainment of the Upper Worlds has its own name. All the Creator's names: Moshe, Pharaoh, Avraham, the Temple, Sinai—every single word in the Torah—are degrees of perception of the Creator, degrees of attaining Him, for nothing exists besides man and his Creator. Everything else that exists in the world, as it seems to us, are the various degrees of our perception of the Creator Himself. He may appear to us as this world, and He may appear as the world of *Assiya*, as *Yetzira*, *Beria*, *Atzilut*, or He may be revealed completely, without partial concealments of the spiritual world or total concealment of our world. Thus, the word *Olam* (world) is derived from the *Haalamah* (concealment).

91. He opened and began. It is written, "Benayahu (Benaiah) Ben (the son of) Yehoyada (Jehoiada)." This narrative is beautiful, but it serves to show us the exalted secrets of the Torah. And the name Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada indicates the secret of the Light of Wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*. *Ben Ish Chai* is the righteous who revives the worlds. *Rav Paalim* means that He is the Master of all that transpires, and that all the forces and Supernal Troops stem from Him. He is called the Creator of Force, the Master of all, and He is in everything.

It is written in Prophets: "Benayahu, the son of Yehoyada," (*Shmuel* II, 23:20). Here, *The Zohar* reveals to us the exalted secrets of the Torah, for the holy name of Yehoyada consists of two: *Yod-Hey-Vav*, the first three letters of *HaVaYaH*, and *Yeda* (knowledge).

Keter of the world of *Atzilut* is called *RADLA* (unattainable head), whereas *Atik* itself surrounds all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*—*AA*, *AVI*, and *ZON*. *Atik* is called *Makif* (surrounding), for the other, lower *Partzufim* cannot attain it or its *Zivug*. Moreover, they cannot attain anything that comes from it. In other words, there is nothing descending *from Atik* to the lower *Partzufim*. Even *AA* is concealed from them; hence, it is called the "concealed *Hochma*." However, it is not defined as unattainable, like *Atik*, for it contains a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. Nevertheless, this Light does not descend to the lower ones, but only a small luminescence from it, called *He'arat Hochma*, reaches them.

And all the Light that fills the worlds through the 6,000 years comes from *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, who are called *Hochma* of the thirty-two paths or thirty-two forces (*Elokim*) of creation, i.e., thirty-two types of *He'arat Hochma*. This Light of *Hochma* is the result of *Bina's* ascent to *AA*, where she receives *Ohr Hochma* and shines downward. Therefore, all the Light of *Hochma* that is revealed through

the 6,000 years, before the end of correction, is no more than the Light of *Bina*, which received *Ohr Hochma* upon ascending to *AA*.

AA is called *Yeda* (knowledge) because it gives *Ohr Hochma* to *Bina*, and knows all the routes of *Ohr Hochma* into *Bina* and through her on to the lower ones. While making a *Zivug*, *AA* itself does not pass its Light downwards, but as *AVI* ascend to *AA*, they receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "thirty-two streams" or "paths of wisdom," which can be attained by the lower ones.

Everything that is written in *The Zohar* refers to all the souls in general. However, there are exceptions that are not normally studied. There exist special, exalted souls that merit becoming a *Kli*, *MAN* for the great *Zivug* of *RADLA* after their exile, and to receive from this *Zivug* in the Upper World the degree of *Yechida*. These are the souls of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada, Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba and a very few chosen others. These exalted souls reveal themselves to the righteous in this world, and as a result, the righteous merit delighting in *Ohr Yechida*, which shines only in such exalted souls, while still being in this world.

Therefore, the name of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada indicates that it stems from the inner wisdom, the unattainable Light of *Hochma* of *Atik*. This name also causes the concealment of the Light of *Hochma*, for the name Yehoyada: *Yod-Hey-Vav* + *Yeda* means that only he who attains the first three letters *Yod-Hey-Vav* of the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* shall attain Him, and no other shall.

Therefore, this name remains concealed in its place. At first, the donkey driver explains the quality of this *Zivug* in *Atik*—its height, the power of the Light that emerges onto it in *Rosh de Atik*, which the name of this *Zivug*, "*Ben Ish Chai Rav Paalim ve Mekabtziel*," indicates. And then he explains what is concealed and what descends to the souls.

It was already stated that this *Zivug* takes place at the end of the correction of the entire *Malchut*. Hence, it includes all the individual *Zivugim* and the degrees that emerge on them through the 6,000 years. All the Lights accumulate into one. All the types of *MAN* combine into one and ascend to ask for this *Zivug*, which includes all the suffering and punishments gradually accumulated during the 6,000 years.

Hence, the height and greatness of this *Zivug* and the degree of Light that emerges from it are infinite, and it destroys all the impure forces once and for all. *Yesod de ZA*, from which the Light of this *Zivug* (the combination of all the Lights over the full course of the 6,000 years) is emanated, is called "*Ish Chai Rav Paalim*"—a vivid man of many actions. However, *Malchut*, which contains within

her all the *MAN*, suffering, and work performed during the 6,000 years, is called *Mekabtziel* (gathering one).

The Zohar also calls it *Tzadik Chai Olamim*—the righteous, who revives the worlds, for it thereby points to the *Sefira Yesod*, which gives the Light to *Malchut*. The *Sefira Yesod* does not have a place to receive the Light for itself. Hence, it lives (*Chai*) only to pass the Light to *Malchut*. This is why it is called *Tzadik* (the righteous one), who revives the worlds (*Chai Olamim*).

Its other name, *Rav Paalim* (performing many actions) indicates that it includes all the *MAD* of all the good deeds and all the degrees that were revealed through the 6,000 years. This is because all these degrees are now being revealed all at once in a cumulative, integrated Light, as they leave *Yesod* and enter *Malchut*. And since *Yesod* now gathers all the Light that was emanated during the 6,000 years into one, and passes it to *Malchut*, this action determines its name—*Rav Paalim.*

92. *Rav Paalim* is also *Mekabtziel*—the Exalted Tree, gathering and performing many actions, Supreme Above all. Where did it come from? From which degree did it originate? Once more, the source indicates—from *Mekabtziel*, for it is an exalted and concealed degree that none has seen. It includes everything, for it gathers all of the Upper Light within it, and everything originates from it.

Malchut-Nukva is also named *Mekabtziel*, for she receives and gathers all the Light from *Yesod* within herself. Hence, *Yesod* is called *Rav Paalim*. The degree that emerges onto this *Zivug* is called the "Supreme and Exalted Tree" that originated from *Yesod* and entered *Malchut*. *The Zohar* goes on to explain that to show us the quality and the origin of this exalted degree, the name *Mekabtziel* (gathering) is used; *Yesod* accumulates the Upper Light and passes it to *Nukva*. And both *Yesod* and *Malchut* are called *Mekabtziel*.

And the degree that emerges onto this *Zivug* of *Yesod* and *Malchut* is called "None but you has seen the Creator." This degree emerges after the complete correction has been achieved, at the moment of attachment of the final correction that completes them all. Therefore, this degree is defined as all-inclusive, for it collects all the Light over the full course of 6,000 years, and thereby manifests at once in its true perfection.

93. All of the degrees gather in this Supernal, Sacred, and Concealed Hall, where everything is concealed. All of the worlds are inside that hall. All the holy forces are sustained and revived by it, and all are dependant on it.

The Zohar speaks of *Rosh de Atik*, where all the degrees and all the Light of all the worlds are concentrated and concealed. It further explains how this *Zivug* can occur up to the final correction, so it would combine all the degrees emerging one after another during the 6,000 years. And it would emerge instantly during the 6,000 years of the world's existence, when the degrees are in a state of constant ascents and descents, for as soon as a new degree, a new attainment of the Creator, of the Light, is revealed, the present degree disappears. This occurs due to the sin of the lower ones, who cannot retain this degree permanently (world—*Olam*, from the word *Haalamah*—concealment. The complete revelation of the Creator to His Creatures will take place at the end of the 6,000 years; thus, the world-concealment will cease to exist).

So, whenever a degree disappears, it does so only from the sensation of one who attains a new degree. In reality, this degree ascends to *Rosh de Atik* and hides there, so as to, by joining other degrees, be manifested at the end of correction.

In the same way, *Atik* gathers all the degrees revealed in the world during the 6,000 years, and conceals them within itself until the time of the end of correction comes; WHEN IT CORRECTS THE LAST PORTION OF WHAT IT MUST CORRECT, AND THUS CANNOT NO LONGER SIN. AND IT NO LONGER NEEDS TO SIN TO CORRECT THE NEXT PORTION OF EGOISM; HENCE, THIS FINAL DEGREE REMAINS PERMANENTLY AND DOES NOT DISAPPEAR. Then, *Atik* gathers all the degrees, and they all manifest simultaneously.

Everyone has his own *Partzuf Atik*. How can one accelerate his advancement along the degrees of correction in this world and in the spiritual worlds? It is written in the Talmud that an old man bends as he walks, as if he's looking for something that he had lost.

An old man symbolizes someone of wisdom, *Hochma*, for even without having lost anything, he looks beforehand for things he can correct in himself, and thus finds them. Hence, he does not require the previous degree of attainment to disappear from him. And if one does not discover new egoistic properties in need of correction within him, his previous degree disappears and a new one begins. However, this process is considerably slower than when one acts like an old man in search of shortcomings.

Throughout the 6,000 years, *Atik* is defined as unattainable. Therefore, its head is called *RADLA* (an abbreviation for the Aramaic words, *Reisha de Lo Etiada*, the "unattainable head"), whereas the name *Atik* is derived from the word *Ne'etak* (isolated) from the lower ones, for it does not shine upon them.

And, although it accumulates within all the Lights that emerge from it itself and become revealed in the lower worlds, the Light of the end of correction remains concealed nonetheless. It follows that after each degree disappears due to the sins of the lower ones, it ascends to *Rosh de Atik* and conceals itself there.

However, *Guf de Atik*, from its *Peh* downward, is located inside all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, i.e., it is attainable by them. Thus, by clothing in the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, *Atik* shines through them and gives the Light to them and to all the lower worlds of *BYA*. And any Light that shines on creation during the 6,000 years comes only from *Guf de Atik*, and not from some other spiritual object.

We usually say that whatever is present in the *Rosh* of a *Partzuf* manifests in its *Guf*. This is also true with regard to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *AK* and all the other *Partzufim* in all the worlds, except in *Partzuf Atik*! This is so because *Atik* remains in *Tzimtzum Aleph* and descends down to our world. However, with regard to other *Partzufim* below it, *Atik* acts as though it is in *Tzimtzum Bet*, making a special *Zivug* on itself and the Light from it descends to the lower worlds.

The Light that comes to revive the worlds is called "sustenance" or *Ohr Hassadim*, and the Light that comes to stimulate the growth of the *Partzufim*, to turn a small *Partzuf* (*Katnut*) into a big one (*Gadlut*) is called *Ohr Hochma*. Both these Lights originate in *Guf de Atik*. *Ohr Hochma*, which makes a *Partzuf* big, is called the Light that elevates the *Partzuf*, for the lying position is called *Ibur* (embryo), the sitting position is called *Katnut* (small), and the standing position—*Gadlut* (big).

94. He slew two—Ariel and Moav (Moab). Two Holy Temples existed thanks to *Atik* and received from it: the First Temple and the Second Temple. Since *Atik's* disappearance, the process that stemmed from Above had ceased. It is as though he struck and destroyed them.

Only *Malchut de Malchut* must be corrected, and nothing else. All the other properties do not require correction. This *Malchut de Malchut* is *Malchut* of *Olam Ein Sof* (the World of Infinity), *Behina Dalet*, *Nukva de ZA* or *Partzuf BON*—the Creator's only creation, the will to receive (pleasure) for oneself. It is this desire that caused the breaking of the *Kelim* (vessels)—the sin of Adam.

And all the work of the righteous during the 6,000 years concerns the correction of *Malchut*, so she becomes precisely as she was prior to the breaking of the *Kelim* and the sin of Adam. As a result, the great *Zivug* on *Tzimtzum Aleph* in *Rosh de Atik* will be revealed. The Light of this *Zivug* enables man to sort and separate his impure desires from the pure ones, and thus forever rid himself of

the impure egoistic forces. This is exactly what Prophet Yeshayahu writes about: "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8).

Since *Malchut*, *Partzuf BON* of the world of *Atzilut*, is completely corrected already and does not require any further corrections, her *Partzuf BON* ascends to the level of *Partzuf SAG* of the world of *AK*. Thus, *Malchut* completely attains the properties of *Bina*.

However, meanwhile, after the great *Zivug* in *Atik*, but before the ascent of *Partzuf BON* to *SAG*, the Light of *Atik* stops shining. As a result, the two Temples were destroyed. The two temples are the two Lights of *Hochma*: the Light of *AVI*, *Ohr Hochma de Haya* that shines in the First Temple, and the Light of *YESHSUT*, *Ohr Neshama* that shines in the Second Temple. And all the Light that Israel received from *Atik* disappears.

However, all these destructions and disappearances of Light are corrections and milestones on the path to deliverance and complete correction. They signify not devastation, but creation of perfection, as they are precisely those final corrections that bring *BON* back to *SAG*.

Since all the roots and sources of what transpires in this world exist in the spiritual realm, and must all manifest once in our world, every spiritual root must "touch" its branch in our world, and it does not matter when this occurs. In the spiritual world, everything unfolds in accordance with a strict cause-and-effect process, whereas in our world those same consequences can manifest at a completely different time.

An example of this is the destruction of the First and the Second Temples. While this event has already transpired in our world, in the spiritual world it occurs only when the last stage of correction is attained. Due to the complexity of time-transcending notions, we will examine this matter in another book. However, one way or another, only our inner spiritual properties can become the Temple in which we will feel the Creator and in which He will forever dwell!

At the end of correction, *Ohr Haya* and *Ohr Neshama* will be called the First and the Second Temples, respectively. Also, until the end of correction, *Ohr Haya*, which is received on the *Zivug* of *Malchut* and included in *Yesod*, is called *Shabbat* (Sabbath), while *Ohr Neshama* is called *Hol* (weekdays). As we can see, there is absolutely no connection between these Lights and the days of the week in our world.

After the destruction of the spiritual Temples (the disappearance of Light), they will be recreated from Above by the screen of *Bina*, called "Heaven." This is because the screen of *Partzuf SAG* is a property of absolute mercy and is completely

unrestricted in its actions, desiring only to bestow and refrain from receiving *Ohr Hochma*. Thus, it is beyond the influence of any restrictions and limitations.

As a result of this *Zivug*, the two Temples will be restored forever, and "the Light of the Moon (*Malchut*) shall be as the Light of the Sun (*Bina*)" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:26). The Light of *Bina*, which is now the Light of ZA (called "the sun"), will be seven times more powerful, as *ZAT de Atik*. From there, this Light will descend to *AVI* and create the first seven days of creation, for ZA (the sun) will become like *AB* and contain the Light of *Guf de Atik*. *Malchut* will become like ZA and receive his Light, the Light of the sun.

At the end of correction, a *Zivug* on *Malchut* herself (the primordial, but corrected egoism) will transpire, and all the particular *Zivugim* that were made on all the Lights through the 6,000 years (made not on *Malchut*, but on her inclusion in *Yesod*) will thereby disappear.

The Temple will be restored from Heaven, for *Bina* herself does not wish to receive *Ohr Hochma*. And it will not occur because she cannot, but because she does not want to. This degree is referred to as "in the hands of Heaven." For example, it is written in the blessing on the new moon: "Life, which contains the fear of Heaven, and the fear of sinning." This life is above our reasoning and desires, for it is said that faith must be "above reason"; otherwise, sins will ensue.

Thus, one desires nothing more than to go by faith above his reason and desires, for he is afraid to sin. However, there exists an even Higher Degree: when he no longer fears sinning, as he now has a screen, but still prefers to proceed by faith above reason and desires, for he yearns to be dissolved in the Upper One.

The reason for the Light's disappearance from *Guf de Atik* prior to these corrections is that the two *Malchuyot* (*Bina* and *Malchut*, called *SAG* and *BON*) no longer exist. After the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, *BON* were annulled along with the screen of *SAG*, as *Guf de Atik* contains the connection between *Bina* and *Malchut*, designed for their interaction during the 6,000 years.

As a result of such interaction between *Bina* and *Malchut*, an opportunity arises to partially, gradually correct *Malchut*. In this mutual *Zivug* with *Malchut*, which is merged with *Bina* (*Bina's* properties), *Atik* first creates *AA* and then all the other *Partzufim* of the worlds of *Atzilut* and *BYA*.

And since the screen of *Malchut* (*Masach de BON*) now disappears, the screen of *Bina* (*Masach de SAG*) disappears as well, as they are merged together. In the absence of *Malchut* and the screen, this *Zivug* stops, and all the Light of *Guf de Atik* emanating from this *Zivug* on the mutual screen of *Malchut* and

Bina disappears. Therefore, all the Light that descended from its *Guf* (called Temples) disappeared.

In *Rosh de Atik* there is a *Zivug* on *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. Merged with *Bina* and existing for 6,000 years, the screen of *Malchut* disappears. As a result, the Light disappears as well. *Malchut* has yet to ascend to *SAG* to receive her perfection, as there is still no new Light. This complete absence of Light is called "destruction." However, *Malchut* then receives the Light of *AVI*, and the worlds of *BYA* merge with the world of *Atzilut*.

95. And the Holy Throne (*Malchut*) is overthrown. Hence, the prophet Yechezkel (Ezekiel) wrote, "I am in exile," signifying that the degree called "I," which is *Malchut*, is in exile. Why? "By the river *Kevar*." *Kevar* (already) is the river that had already existed, but has now disappeared. As it is written, "The river is destroyed and dried up." It was "destroyed" in the first Temple and "dried up" in the second. Hence, it is written: "He struck and destroyed both, Ariel and Moav." Moav (or *Mi Av*) means "from the Heavenly Father." They were all destroyed for Him, and all the Light that shone upon Israel disappeared.

The word *Kursa*, derived from the word *Kisse* (throne) or *Kissuy* (cover) signifies the combination of the properties of *Malchut* and *Bina*, which leads to the Light descending to *BYA* during the 6,000 years. The Holy Throne is overthrown, because the screen of *Bina* (*Kisse*) has been annulled, as it is said, "I am in exile," where "I" designates *Malchut*.

The entire spiritual complex is structured like a ladder, where *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* becomes (descends to) the *Keter* of the lower one. This is also indicated in the names: *Malchut* is called "I" (*Ani = Aleph-Nun-Yod*) and *Keter* is called "no" (*Ein = Aleph-Yod-Nun*), as it is completely unattainable. Only that which is perceived within *Malchut* can be attained; hence, it is called "I."

Only *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* acts as a link between the *Partzufim*: the Upper One makes a *Zivug* on its *Malchut*, creates *Ohr Hozer*, and receives (clothes) the Upper Light within it, and then *Malchut* of the Upper One descends to the lower *Partzuf* in the form of *Ohr Hozer*. This state of the Upper One clothing in the lower one is called the exile of the Upper One, for the *Zivug* with the Upper Light disappears from it, and the Upper Light disappears from all the *Partzufim*. And the river dries up—the corrected screen is called the "river," for it causes the Upper Light's descent to the lower ones.

However, now that the screen (river) disappears, the descent of the Upper Light disappears as well. The destruction of the river in the First Temple causes

the disappearance of *Ohr Haya*; the river in the Second Temple dries up, and *Ohr Neshama* vanishes along with it. The river in the First Temple is destroyed because the *Zivug* in *AVI* is stopped; the Light in *YESHSUT* is exhausted, and the river in the Second Temple dries up.

The source of *Ohr Haya* and *Neshama* is *Aba*, called the "Heavenly Father," for he shines in *ZA*, called "Heaven," with the Light that elevates *ZON* to *YESHSUT* (the Second Temple) and to *AVI* (the First Temple). Because the Light stops shining from *Guf de Atik*, all of the Light descending to Israel disappears. This refers not only to the Light of the two Temples, but to all of the Light shining upon Israel, including *Ohr VAK* and the Light in the worlds of *BYA*.

96. Further, He descended and struck the lion. Initially, when this river rolled its waters down, Israel was in a state of perfection, for they offered up gifts and sacrifices to atone for their sins and to save their souls. Then, the image of a lion would descend from Above, and they would see it on the altar as it trampled the bodies of the sacrifices, devouring them, and all the dogs (all those who slander Israel) would fall to silence.

The fire that consumes the sacrifices laid on the Temple altar resembled a lion, and towered over the sacrifices, like a lion (Talmud, *Yoma*, 21:2), and that fire burned the sacrifices laid down by the sons of Israel. However, this is a corporeal image that a regular person perceives in our world.

But we shall follow our higher analysis and detach ourselves from this corporeal image; we will explain the action in the spiritual world that this language actually alludes to. All the languages in the Torah, including that which describes a rather corporeal image of sacrifice, speak only of spiritual actions. The most precise language for the description of these actions is the language of Kabbalah. However, this language is clear only to those who have ascended to the spiritual worlds and see both the roots, i.e., the events that transpire in the spiritual worlds, as well as their corporeal consequences.

Before the Light of *Atik* disappeared, when the Upper Light still shone upon Israel, like a river rolling its waters, Israel was in a state of perfection: by means of sacrifice, it raised its *MAN* (request), thus evoking a *Zivug* on its screen, and *MAD* (the Light, abundance) descends on it. As a result of these actions, it grew closer to the Heavenly Father, and all the impure forces distanced from it, for it purified its souls, and purification signifies distancing from the impure forces (desires), the way a soiled garment is cleansed from dirt.

Hence, the Hebrew word for sacrifice is *Korban*, derived from the word *Karov* (near). Thus, sacrifice signifies a person tearing away a part of his inner

animal egoism for the sake of drawing closer to the Creator. This is what brings Israel closer to their Heavenly Father.

And since Israel existed in perfection and raised *MAN* for the Creator's pleasure alone, its *MAN* would ascend to *Bina*. The Light of *Bina* is called *Ohr Hassadim*, and its form resembles the image of a lion, like the property of bestowal, *Hesed*. This means that the lion-*Bina* receives Israel's good desires and deeds. And it was seen how *Bina* consumes Israel's *MAN*—*Ohr Hassadim* descends from *Bina* onto this *MAN*, like a lion trampling his prey (*MAN*) and devouring it.

A lion devouring its prey is the principal aspect of sacrifice, for it signifies raising *MAN* to strengthen a screen and create *Ohr Hozer*. And since the magnitude of the received *Ohr Yashar* is determined by the magnitude (height) of *Ohr Hozer*, which creates the screen, it follows that existence and growth of *Ohr Yashar* is dependent on the *Ohr Hozer*. The greater the *Ohr Hozer*, the greater the descending *Ohr Yashar* becomes.

In other words, to the extent that every one of us desires to "bestow," he evokes a corresponding response from Above, from the root of his soul. And just as in our world a living being's life and strength depend on nutrition (it simply dies without it), the Upper Light depends on the Light reflected by the screen. When it stops, the Upper Light disappears from the *Partzuf*, i.e., man stops feeling it.

The Upper Light descends from *Bina* as *Ohr Yashar* (called a "lion"), i.e., in the form of "bestowal," in accordance with *Bina's* nature. And man sees (feels!) how *Ohr Yashar* clothes in *Ohr Hozer*, which ascends from its sacrifice (rejection of egoism), the lion's nourishment.

It devours its prey and thereby grows: the extent of Israel's perfection and their ability to offer sacrifices, to "bestow," determines the magnitude of their *MAN* and the force with which the *Ohr Yashar* strikes the screen, which reflects the Direct Light (pleasure) from below upwards with all its might. Moreover, it does so in great fear: for what if it fails to reflect the Light and desires to enjoy the Light of this commandment selfishly?

That is precisely where one's work lies. It is called "faith above reason," for it must rise above one's reason (egoism) and intellect. Conversely, those who receive inner confidence that it is enough to advance within one's nature are called "sacred still," a pure inanimate (non-developing) being, as such reason prevents them from spiritual growth.

Therefore, if the height of *Ohr Hozer* is great, it is defined as a lion that tears and devours its prey, as a victor, for it grows and ascends to a higher spiritual level thanks to the efforts of the lower one (man).

The impure force, the selfish will to receive pleasure is called "a dog," as it is written: "The leech has two daughters (who demand): Give-give." (*Mishley*, 30:15). They bark like a dog, and demand (to receive) both this world and the next. And the Higher One ascends, the stronger this impure force, called *Klipa*, becomes. And its strongest part corresponds to *Ohr Yechida*, opposite the lion devouring its prey).

The lion represents mercy and bestowal, unwillingness to receive anything for oneself. As it is written in *The Ethics of the Fathers*, 95: "A *Chassid*, the merciful righteous one, says, 'What's yours is yours, and what's mine is yours,'" so is the impure force (dog) aimed wholly at reception, and has no aspiration to bestow. As it is said in the Talmud (*Bava Batra*, 10:2), "The righteous among the nations of the world: all their mercy is for themselves alone;" hence, they are connected to the impure force of a dog. (Under no circumstances should any of this be interpreted literally, for, as it was repeatedly explained, the whole of the Kabbalah speaks only of man's-prototype. Israel is one's inner aspiration to the Creator, and *Goy* (a gentile) signifies egoism (regardless of and unrelated to one's origin). Relate this to the above-mentioned corporeal and spiritual Temples, where there is no connection between rocks and spiritual objects. It is also unclear to the uninitiated why altruism is the property of a lion, while a dog, a loyal animal, is the root of egoism and impurity).

It is therefore said that when Israel was perfect, it acquired the property of a lion, and all the dogs left it be, for it gave *Malchut* the strength to raise *Ohr Hozer* to great heights (devoured its prey, like a victor), and the impure force, like a dog, was afraid to come near it, and would hide in fear of the lion.

97. Yet, when sins increased, he descended to the lower degrees and slew the lion. This was because the lion refused to give up its prey as before, and this is as though he killed it. Therefore, he struck the lion and threw it into a pit, to the Evil Side (according to his understanding). The Evil Side saw this and sent a dog to devour the sacrifices from the altar in the lion's stead. What is the name of that lion? And what is the nickname of that dog? Baladan is its name; Baladan is formed by the words *Bal-Adam*, where the letter *Mem* is replaced by *Nun*, for he is not a human being at all, but a dog, and his face is like a muzzle of a dog.

("He" refers to Benayahu Ben Yehoyada Ben Ish Chai, *Rav Paalim u Mekabtziel*, in whom the degree of *Atik*, all of the Light, shines all at once.) Due to the disappearance of the screens of *Malchut* (*BON*) and *Bina* (*SAG*), Israel below could no longer raise *MAN* (the will to "bestow," the screen, the lion's nourishment). The *Zivug* stopped, and the Upper Light (lion) disappeared in its Root Above.

"Threw it into a pit"—the root of the desire to receive for one's own sake is in the eyes, as Rashi said: "The eye sees, and the heart burns with desire" (The weekly portion *Shlach*). This will to receive for oneself is called an "empty, waterless pit" (*Beresheet*, 37:24). The Upper Light does not fill it. Although it is empty, it is unworthy of being a vessel for the Light, as it is written: "He and I cannot dwell in the same abode" (Talmud, *Suta*, 5).

Thus, the lion was thrown into a pit, for it was struck before the eyes of the impure egoistic force, called an "empty, waterless pit." And these pits now emerge from their hideouts and reveal their power, and in place of a lion appears a barking dog.

ZA-MA = 45 is called Adam = *Aleph* + *Dalet* + *Mem* = 1 + 4 + 40 = 45, when he receives the Light from *Bina*. The property of *Bina* is bestowal. Hence, it is written: "Man is your name" (Talmud, *Yevamot*, 61), referring only to those who attain the property of bestowal, but not to the others, of whom it is said: "Even their mercy is only for their profit" (Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 10:2), and who are therefore called Baladan (Bal-Adan).

98. On a day of snow, on the day misfortunes descend from the Supernal Court Above, it is written, "Her household shall not fear snow," that is, the Supernal Court, called "snow." For her household is clothed twofold, and can thereby endure a strong fire. So the book says.

Strictness, judgment (*Din*) or restriction imposed on the use of egoism in the male part is called "snow" that stems from the Supernal Court. These restrictions are very powerful, but are mitigated below the *Chazeh*, where *Malchut* receives them. *Nukva* describes these restrictions in the following way: "Surround me with roses," (*Shir HaShirim*, 2) referring to two fires: the Upper—*Bina*, and the lower, her own—*Malchut*.

After *Malchut* acquires these two fires, she weakens the strictness of the cold snow with her fire. Hence, it is written in *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs) that her household shall not fear snow (the Supernal Court), i.e., the restrictions imposed on the male part, for her household is clothed twofold. In other words, on the contrary, the snow helps her withstand the heat of her fire. And only now that the screen and *Zivug* are gone, and the two fires are no more, the restrictions of the snow return.

99. What is written next? "And he struck an Egyptian." This refers to a secret: every time Israel sinned, the Creator would conceal Himself and restrict them from receiving all the goodness and all the Light that He shone upon them. "He struck an Egyptian." "He" refers to Moshe, the Light that shines upon Israel. For in Egypt he was born, grew up, and attained the Supernal Light.

The Torah speaks not of man, but of the Light that disappeared and concealed itself. Hence, it is defined as "slain." Gone is the great Light, with which Moshe shone upon Israel. And this Light is called the "Egyptian," for in Egypt Moshe was born, grew up, and attained the great Supernal Light, the Light that delivered Israel from Egypt.

100. A man of mirror. It is written, mirror and man, as it is written, a Godly man, the husband of that mirror, of the Creator's glory, *Malchut*. For with this degree he merited ruling over the entire land in all of his desire—a feat unmatched by any other.

The difference between Moshe and the other prophets is that Moshe is the foundation of *ZA*, as he constructs and passes the Light from *ZA* to *Malchut*, whereas the other prophets are the foundation of *Malchut*, and receive from her. Hence, it is written of him: "Godly man," the husband of *Malchut*, called the "Creator's greatness." And why is Moshe called the husband of *Malchut*? Because he attained the level of *ZA* and gives the Light to *Malchut*. Therefore, it is written that his attainments are beyond anyone else's, for the other prophets receive from *Malchut*, and are therefore ruled by her.

He who attains *Malchut* receives from her. The degree called Moshe means that he who attains it gives the Light to *Malchut*, instead of receiving from her. Yet, how can this be? How can one possibly rise above *Malchut* if all our souls originate from her and exist in the worlds of *BYA*? This indicates the state of ascent above *Malchut*, which is how Moshe ascends to *Bina*.

101. This is the Creator's staff that was delivered to him, as it is written, "With the Creator's staff in my hand." This is the staff that was created on the evening of the sixth day of the creation, before *Shabbat*. And His Holy Name is contained in it. And with this staff Moshe sinned by striking it twice against the rock. The Creator said to him: "Moshe, it is not for this purpose that I have not given you My staff; thus, it will no longer be in your possession henceforth."

The words "evening" and "twilight" signify the state of mitigation of *Malchut's* strictness by the properties of *Bina* to an extent that it becomes impossible to distinguish *Malchut* from *Bina*. This is because on *Shabbat*, *Malchut* ascends to *AVI* and becomes *Bina*. However, on the twilight of *Shabbat*, *Malchut* is not yet *Bina*, but is no longer *Malchut* (everything in the book speaks only of the properties of spiritual objects, for nothing but desires exists in the spiritual worlds. Only in our world are desires clothed in physical bodies).

Hence, it is said that ten things were created in the twilight, when there is no distinction between the thing itself and its origin, *Bina* or *Malchut*, for *Malchut* herself shows no distinction. And such is the property of the staff that was created in the twilight, before the world's first *Shabbat*. Hence, it possesses the holy (special) property of the Creator's name, an allusion to the properties of *Bina*, from which holiness (altruism) descends. And *Malchut* is ready to receive this holiness.

And these two properties of *Bina* and *Malchut* are contained in the Creator's staff, utterly indistinguishable from one another, for they were created in the twilight. Hence, with the help of this staff, i.e., by means of the property of uniting *Malchut* with *Bina*, all the fortunes and wonders, all of the Light can be brought to Israel, for this is the purpose behind the Light's descent from *Bina* to *Malchut*. With the help of this property (the staff), Moshe merited an ascent to *Bina*, up to the degree of "Godly man." Therefore, the staff is called the Creator's staff, according to the name of *Bina*.

Malchut is called *Tzur* (rock), and upon ascending to *Bina*, she is called *Sela* (another name for a rock). The inner *Zivug* between *ZON* (*ZA* and *Malchut*) in the state of their ascent to *AVI*, when *Nukva* uses *Ima's Kelim*, is called "speech." The outer *Zivug* between *ZON*, when they are in their own place, is called "*Zivug de Hakaa*" (a *Zivug* by Striking).

It is hence written to Moshe in the weekly Torah portion *Bashalach*: "You shall strike the rock (*Tzur*), and it shall bring forth water" (*Shemot*, 17:6), for a *Zivug de Hakaa* occurs within *Malchut* herself. However, it is written in the weekly portion *Chukat*: "Speak ye unto the rock before all eyes, that it give forth its water" (*Bamidbar*, 20:8), for the "rock" is in *Bina*, and the *Zivug* within her is called "speech."

And herein lies the sin of Moshe: he struck twice: in addition to first striking the *Tzur*, he struck the *Sela*, which lacks the strike, and only has a *Zivug* in the form of speech. Since there is no distinction in the Creator's staff, and it is unclear whether it refers to *Malchut* or to *Bina*, he also applied it to *Sela-Bina*. And the Creator told him that the staff was given to him to use with *Tzur*, but not with *Sela*.

102. At once He descended to him in strictness and wrenched the staff from the Egyptian's hand, for the moment the staff was taken from him, it was taken for good. And he was killed by it: because of the sin of striking the rock with the staff, he died and did not enter the Holy Land. And that Light was concealed from Israel.

It was already mentioned in item 94 that as a result of a great *Zivug* in *Atik*, only *BON* were supposed to disappear, but not *SAG*, for *BON* could have immediately risen and forever become like *SAG*. However, as *SAG* and *BON* were merged, *SAG* disappeared together with *BON*.

The Light of Moshe disappeared from Israel for the same reason—because he committed an even greater sin and harmed the union of *BON* and *SAG* by striking the *Sela*. Hence, harsh judgment descended upon him, which refers to the disappearance of the Light of *SAG*. Indeed, *SAG* is no longer connected to *BON* in any way, and the annulment of *BON* has no influence on it.

This is the meaning of what is written in Psalms: "He resembled those who draw axes at a copse of trees, but now all of his adornments are smashed by hatchets and axes" (*Tehilim*, 74:5). Due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, and her correction there, *Malchut* is like a "copse of trees," for *SAG*, too, is annulled by the merging with *BON*, *Malchut's* ascent, as if struck with "hatchets and axes."

Hence, it is written that the staff was taken from the Egyptian, and will never return to him, for the staff refers to *Malchut*. So the Light disappears for good, because *BON* renews itself afterwards and becomes *SAG* forever. Thus, it is no longer necessary to use the staff for striking.

It is written in this regard that he was slain by the same staff, for had he been careful and used it only once—striking the *Tzur*, but not the *Sela*—*SAG* would not have been annulled together with *BON*, and he would not have died. Instead, he would have immediately risen to *SAG*.

This is why it is written that Moshe shall not enter the Holy Land, Israel, as Israel is *BON* in the state of ascent to *SAG*, and it is called the Holy Land, for the Light of *Bina* (called the Holy Light) shines in it. However, until the end of correction arrives, there are still ascents and descents, which cause destructions (disappearance of the Light) and revelations (shining of the Light). But at the end of correction, *BON* will remain within *SAG* permanently as *Eretz Israel*, and there shall be no more exiles from it.

103. "The most respected of the thirty" refers to the Upper One that receives from Above and passes downward, one that receives and brings closer. However, he does not go to the first three, but they come to him and give to him wholeheartedly, but he does not come to them.

GAR (*HBD*) are called "thirty," as each of the three *Sefirot HBD* consists of ten, which amounts to thirty. And their Light shines in all of the 6,000 years. The soul of Benayahu appears out of the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, which accumulates

all the *Zivugim* during the 6,000 years. Hence, it is called *Rav Paalim* (performing many actions) and *Mekabtziel* (gathering all into one degree-*Partzuf*, called Benayahu Ben Yehoyada).

Therefore, he receives the Light of all of the Supernal Thirty, which descends to his soul. Indeed, he consists of particular *Zivugim* that have transpired through the 6,000 years, which he gathers into one. And, although they give him the best of their properties wholeheartedly, he still cannot draw closer to them and subsequently receive from them. This is because the disappearance of the screen in *ZON* made the screen in *SAG* disappear as well. Hence, he cannot come to them, raise *MAN*, and receive from them further.

104. Despite not being considered one of them, David heard the meaning that is never detached from the heart, for they can never be separated. David paid attention with all his heart, but he did not pay attention to David. For by the praises, hymns, and mercy that the moon offers the sun, the moon draws the sun closer so as to be with it.

David is *Malchut*; *Malchut* comes from the word *Melech* (King). Therefore, David is King, for his properties are the properties of *Malchut* (kingdom). And this is the fourth leg (support) of *GAR*. Hence, it is written that although he cannot be together with the thirty (*GAR*), he nonetheless clings to these properties, and never detaches himself from them.

This is because *Malchut's* entire perfection is revealed in him, for it stems from the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, which destroys all the impure forces of *BON*, as it is said: "He destroys evil forever."

Therefore, David resolved to never part with it again, for it is his perfection. However, Benayahu Ben Yehoyada paid no attention to David, as David is the fourth support of *GAR*. Hence, it is as though he is unable to receive from *GAR*. And since he cannot receive from David, he pays no attention to him.

With the help of the *MAN* of *Malchut* (called *Se'ara*—stormy wind), which is raised to *ZA* (called "Heaven"), as a result of the hymns, praises, and mercy, *Malchut* receives the Light of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada's soul, which is absolute perfection, and merges with it for all eternity.

105. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba fell down on their faces before him and could not see him anymore, then rose and went in every direction, but could not see him. They sat and wept, and could not even speak to one another. Then, Rabbi Aba said, "It is true what we have learned, that the Torah accompanies the righteous on all their paths. The righteous of the other world come to

them to reveal to them the secrets of the Torah. And this must have been Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, who came to us from the other world to reveal these secrets to us. But before we could recognize him, he vanished." They rose and wanted to lead their donkeys on, but could not. They repeatedly tried to goad the donkeys, but still they could not move. They grew frightened and left their donkeys behind. And to this day this place is called "the place of donkeys."

Because they could not bear such a powerful Light, which was revealed to them upon the disclosure of those secrets, they fell (*Katnut*) and then rose (*Gadlut*), for it was so unbearable. After they merited receiving from it such a great degree, this Light disappeared at once and did not reappear, and they could not attain it anymore. Hence, they wept (a kind of *Katnut*) out of great grief that they had lost such exalted attainment, and they could not speak (absence of *Kelim*).

The bitterness of their loss made them realize that it was the degree of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself, and not lower, as they had mistakenly thought before. The forces that they received from the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba are called "donkeys," with which they can raise *MAN*, the request to attain Higher Degrees, *Haya* and *Yechida*.

In other words, the soul is a spiritual force of Light; like a pulling force of a donkey that helps overcome egoistic desires and move from place to place in the spiritual world, onto a Higher Degree. To raise *MAN* means to feel what is lacking and what needs to be attained—this is what man's work is all about.

Such is the work of a righteous soul—it helps man by lifting him up onto his donkey (egoism) and taking the lead (pulling) in order to illuminate (give strength) for him the path of the righteous. And now, when its role has been completed, this soul disappears, although they would have very much liked to continue ascending and riding its donkeys, i.e., they wished to raise *MAN* anew to return and attain once more.

However, they could no longer receive the strength to raise *MAN*. Thus, they were struck by fear and left their donkeys in that place, which is hence called "the place of donkeys," for they could not use them any longer.

106. Rabbi Elazar opened and said: "Oh, how great is Your goodness, which You have hidden away for those who fear You! (*Tehilim*, 31:20). How infinite is the goodness that the Creator shall bestow on humankind in the future, on those sin-fearing, exalted righteous, who study the Torah as they arrive at that Upper World."

The words "great goodness" refer to *Gadlut*, the attainment of the Light of *GAR*. For the basis of a *Partzuf* is its *VAK*—the amount of Light necessary for its

existence, received from the *Zivug* of *AVI*, who make this *Zivug* and emit *Ohr Hassadim*, necessary to sustain the worlds. And all the extra Light, necessary for existence, is called *GAR* or *Ohr Hochma*—the additional, delectable and great Light.

This *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *GAR*, stems from *Bina*, which is called "the world to come." It is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* that emerges from a *Zivug* of the *Sefira Yesod* (*Chai Olamim*—life of the worlds), and from there descends to the righteous who fear to sin.

The *Zivug* of *AVI*, when they are at the degree of *Bina*, gives *Ohr Hassadim* to *ZA* for the sustenance of the worlds. However, when *AVI* ascend to *AA* and beget new souls by their *Zivug*, their *Zivug* is inconstant, as it emits *Ohr Hochma*, called "new souls."

107. The name "great goodness" can be further described as containing all the secrets of the Supernal wisdom, which descend from ZA to *Malchut*. There is a great tree, called ZA or *Rav* (great, strong), and there is a small tree, *Malchut*, which grows from it. And it is elevated to the Highest Firmament.

In addition to the attainment of the Light of *GAR*, there is also the inner part of the Supernal wisdom with its secrets, which become revealed in the *Zivug* of *Atik* at the completion of the 6,000 years, the end of correction. *MA* designates the lower world, *Malchut*. The great and strong tree is *ZA* in the state of ascent to *Partzuf AB*, as in this state he receives *Ohr Hochma*, and *Hochma* signifies strength (not "reason—strength" but the strength of *Ohr Hochma* lies in the fact that it allows one to go against reason, in defiance of common sense, in faith above reason).

However, when *ZA* is in his place, he is simply called "a tree," for he lacks *Ohr Hochma* and has only *VAK*, *Ohr Hassadim*. *Malchut* is also called a tree and grows together with *ZA*; *ZA* ascends to *Aba*, to the utmost height, to the Supernal Firmament—*Atik*.

108. The "great goodness" is the Light that was created on the first day of creation and concealed so as to be revealed in the future for the righteous in the other world. Your Deeds are the Supernal Garden of Eden, which the Creator has created by His act.

The Light that was created on the first day of creation is the Light in which Adam saw from one end of the world to the other. Hence, the word "Light" is used five times in the Torah's description of the first day of creation. This Light is intended for the righteous in the world to come, for it is concealed in *Yesod de Aba* and in *Yesod de Ima*, which are collectively called "righteousness and justice."

(In Hebrew, the words *Tzedek*—justice and *Tzadik*—righteous/just have the same root. This name is given to one who attains the Creator's governance and sees that His governance is just; hence, he justifies all of the Creator's actions, and is thus called righteous. The other meaning of the word 'righteous' refers to man's belief that the Creator is righteous, because in spirituality, one assumes the name of the degree one has attained. If he attains that the Creator is righteous by receiving this knowledge from the degree onto which he ascends, then he is already called by the name of that degree.)

Ohr Hochma can be received only in "precious garments," called righteousness and justice, that is, only with these intentions. The above excerpt speaks of an open action, implying unrestricted diffusion of Light, as it will be after the end of all the corrections. In the Torah, such a state is called "the Supernal Garden of Eden."

In the meantime, only the complete and perfect righteous ones, the souls of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada and others that merited reception of Light from the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, gather all the Light of the 6,000 years. These souls' place of rest is referred to as the Garden of Eden.

There exists the lower Garden of Eden of earth, which is *VAK*, and the Supernal one, *GAR*. All the souls dwell in the lower Garden of Eden, and only on new moons and Sabbaths do they ascend to the Supernal Garden of Eden, and then return to their place. However, there are individual, special persons (souls), whose place is in the Supernal Garden of Eden. These are the souls of which Rabbi Shimon says: "I saw them ascending, but their numbers were few."

109. All the righteous stand in the lower Garden of Eden, clothed in precious adornments, similar in quality and form to those which they wore in this world, meaning in the same form as people in this world and according to man's actions in this world. They stand there and fly away through the air, ascend to the Assembly in the Supernal Garden of Eden, fly there and bathe in the dew of the pure river of *Apharsemon* (persimmon), then come down and fly below in the lower Garden of Eden.

The main difference between *GAR* and *ZAT* with regard to both *Partzufim* and souls is that *GAR* (*KHB*) do not need the garment of *Hassadim*. They can receive *Ohr Hochma* as it is. However, *Partzufim* of *VAK* and the souls born from *ZON*, whose basis is *VAK* (*Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*), can only receive *Ohr Hochma* when it is clothes in *Ohr Hassadim*.

The *Ruach de Tzadikim* (spirit of the righteous) in the lower Garden of Eden is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, just as human souls in this world. And with the help

of these precious garments, they can ascend to the Supernal Garden of Eden and there receive *Ohr Hochma*. Afterwards, they return to their place in the lower Garden of Eden, for that is their permanent place.

They ascend by the power of *Ohr Hassadim*, called "air," and fly to the Supernal Garden of Eden to receive *Ohr Hochma*, called the river of *Apharsemon*. However, they cannot stay there, so they immediately descend from the Supernal Garden of Eden to the lower. *The Zohar* compares them to human souls, for both the Upper and the lower human souls need to receive the garment of *Ohr Hassadim* in order to correct themselves and ascend.

110. And sometimes these righteous appear as people in order to perform miracles, like celestial angels, just as we have seen the luminescence of the Upper Light, but did not merit to see and discover the wisdom's great secrets.

DID NOT MERIT TO DISCOVER THE WISDOM'S GREAT SECRETS—for the donkey driver had left them and disappeared. There are special souls that abide in the Supernal Garden of Eden. They have risen so high that the souls from the lower Garden of Eden ascend to them only on new moons and Sabbaths, and, being unable to stay there, immediately descend to their permanent place. However, they are nonetheless similar to human souls, which descend from the Supernal Garden of Eden to this world and meet people, just like the angels that seldom descend to this world.

Now they have seen the Light of the Supernal Luminary, the Light of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba that descended on them from the highest point, the Supernal Garden of Eden, and was revealed before them in this world (while they are still living in this world).

AS PEOPLE refers to the souls that abide in the lower Garden of Eden, which have the form of people, and the Light of the Supernal Garden of Eden influences them. They can receive this Light during their ascent on new moons and Sabbaths, whereupon they merit meeting the souls of the Supernal Garden of Eden, and then descend to their permanent place.

However, one may also say that the words AS PEOPLE refer to the people of our corporeal world, while the souls from the Supernal Garden of Eden sometimes descend to this world and, like exalted angels, appear before the eyes of the righteous.

111. Rabbi Aba opened and said: "And he who is doomed said to his wife, 'We shall die, for I have seen the Creator.' Even though he was not aware of his actions, as it is written, 'He did not know that it was an angel'; however,

since it is written, 'Man shall not see Me and live,' we know that he has died. And we have merited this great Light to accompany us, and the world exists because the Creator Himself sent him to us, to reveal the secrets of His Supernal wisdom to us. How joyous is our share!"

When the angel saw him who was doomed, he did not yet have the proper level of attainment; thus, the angel was unwilling to reveal his name. Yet, although he did not know and did not attain him, he still feared the words, "Man shall not see Me and live" (*Shemot*, 33:20).

But we have merited complete attainment, for we came to know his name, Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. And we live and exist in this world. It is therefore clear that the degree of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba is called "Show me Your glory" (*Shemot*, 33:18), Moshe's request of the Creator.

But the Creator replied: "You cannot see My face, for man shall not see Me and live." From this we see that they have attained more than Moshe. This state is described by sages as, "There was no prophet more exalted than Moshe, but there was a sage" (*Yalkut Shimoni*, the end). It is also written: "A sage is preferred to a prophet" (Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 12:1). Thus, they have spiritually ascended to merit the appearance of such an exalted soul, while still being in this world.

112. They walked and came to a mountain. The sun had set. The branches of the tree on that mountain started rattling and singing. As they were still walking, they heard a resounding voice proclaim, "Sons of the Holy Creator, dispersed among the living in this world, illuminated by the sons of the Assembly, gather in your places and rejoice with your Creator in the Torah." They grew frightened and stopped, then sat down.

"They came to a mountain" refers to the words of King David, who said (*Tehilim*, 24:3): "Who shall ascend the mountain of the Lord, and who shall stand in His holy place?" meaning who is worthy of it? After they climbed the mountain, the sun had set (the Light left the *Partzuf*). But they heard something from the trees, as it is written: "Then shall all the trees of the wood sing for joy" (*Tehilim*, 96:12).

They heard a voice that told them to return to their place, rejoice in the Creator and His Torah, and descend from the mountain. And it calls them by the name of that High Degree, which they've achieved. But it hints that people are not worthy of being at that degree and in this world simultaneously. Yet, although they were frightened, they remained on the mountain, sat down, and did not move. "Grew frightened," "stopped," and "sat down" are the spiritual states of the *Partzuf*.

We see how *The Zohar* explains the path of the righteous, those who cross the *Machsom* (the barrier that separates our world from the spiritual) and start ascending the rungs of the spiritual ladder. This path is diverse, and each book of the Torah describes it in its own way: the language of Kabbalah, legends, judicial laws, historical accounts of the Pentateuch, etc.. *The Zohar* draws a vivid picture for us—like a guidebook for those who will find themselves in the place of these exalted travelers in the spiritual world. Once there, you will see for yourselves what is implied by such notions as "mountain," "tree," and "voice." Then *The Zohar* will become your true guidebook!

It is impossible to provide a more detailed description of the *Partzufim*, i.e., an inner perception of one who ascends spiritually. This is because the reader must first have certain analogous sensations of his own. If one could see only once what the described content (or something similar) really means, one would be able to clearly imagine what it speaks of.

It is the same in our world: even if we have never been to a certain country, we can imagine what others describe to us by analogy with what we already know. But in this case, there is no analogy. One who sees the spiritual world for the first time realizes how wrong all of his previous visualizations have been! Hence, we can say nothing about many of the states described in *The Zohar*.

113. Meanwhile, a voice called out again, "O, mighty rocks, great hammers of thunder, *Bina* stands upon a pillar, so enter and assemble." At that moment, they heard the mighty voice of thousands of trees, which was saying, "The Creator's voice breaks the cedars." Both Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba fell down on their faces. Great fear fell upon them. They rose hastily and left, not hearing anything else, then came down the mountain and kept on walking.

It was previously said that they could not load their donkeys, meaning that they were unable to raise *MAN*, because Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba had already completed his helping mission. This is why they lost the power of their donkeys, and could not continue using them to raise *MAN* and merit Higher Degrees.

Therefore, Rabbi Elazar said earlier that they did not merit seeing and attaining the secrets of the Supernal wisdom. The fact is that after they attained the level of *Yechida*, i.e., revealed the soul of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada with the help of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, the disappearance of the screen (*Masach*) of *BON* caused the loss of *Masach de SAG*. Hence, they could no longer raise *MAN*.

The Light stopped descending to them from *Guf de Atik* specifically to give them the opportunity, or rather the strength to recreate *Masach de SAG*.

Consequently, *BON* will become like *SAG*, they will resume raising *MAN*, and will once more be able to ascend from degree to degree.

Hence, as soon as both Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba left their donkeys, they lost strength to raise *MAN* in order to bring *BON* back to the level of *SAG*. However, the voice proclaimed that they are as strong as rock and thunder, for so far they have endured all the trials. And they will gather strength to endure the mighty rocks and to overcome all the obstacles as before, until they obliterate these obstacles, like great hammers of thunder crashing down from Above.

Bina, though herself colorless, is called "the source of colors." This is because she is all mercy, whereas all the other properties originate specifically from her by enduring all the trials, like rocks. From all this, *Bina* receives new forms, hence she received the powers of a new screen onto which emerge all the new degrees and *Partzufim*.

Together with the voice that informed them of *Bina's* new powers, they heard another voice, "The Creator's voice breaks the cedars" (*Tehilim*, 29:5), which let them know that all the cedars (obstacles) on their path to higher attainments have been removed. This gave them strength to climb down the mountain and continue their path onto Higher Degrees.

114. Upon reaching the house of Rabbi Yosi, the son of Rabbi Shimon Ben Yosi Ben Lakunya, they saw Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai. They rejoiced. Rabbi Shimon rejoiced, too. He said to them, "You have traveled this path of Heavenly signs and wonders correctly, for as I was sleeping, I saw you and Benayahu Ben Yehoyada, who was sending you two crowns with an old man, so as to adorn you. I am certain that the Creator was on this path too, because I see how your faces have changed." Rabbi Yosi said, "Truly, it is said that a sage is preferred to a prophet." Rabbi Elazar came and put his head on the knees of his father, Rabbi Shimon, and told him of what had happened.

Here *The Zohar* gives an allegorical explanation of two states: first, they merited attaining the Light of *SAG* (called Rabbi Yosi) once more, and secondly, now *SAG* and *AB* join in a constant *Zivug*. We see this from their meeting with Rabbi Shimon, who signifies *Ohr Hochma*. In other words, they merited their *BON* returning and becoming like *SAG* in its constant and eternal *Zivug* with *AB*.

Benayahu Ben Yehoyada sent them two crowns through Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba: *Ohr Yechida*, called Benayahu Ben Yehoyada himself, and a new Light *AB-SAG*, which they have just attained. This Light also came to them by the powers of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada as a reward for overcoming all the trials, thanks to

which they, of all others, merited this degree, which is emanated from the great Light of his soul.

Hence, it follows that he sent them two crowns. However, all these descents on their spiritual path were not failures; rather, the Creator Himself was leading them to that High Degree, which they have now attained. This is why it is written: I AM CERTAIN THAT THE CREATOR WAS ON THIS PATH (with you). However, HOW YOUR FACES HAVE CHANGED, for you have attained something else, described by the phrase, A SAGE IS PREFERRED TO A PROPHET.

115. Rabbi Shimon was frightened and wept. He said, "I have heard the Creator and I am awed." This verse was spoken by the prophet Havakuk (Habakkuk), when he saw his death and his resurrection by Elisha. Why was he named Havakuk? Because it is written that at around this time there would be a *HOVVEK-ET*—a son will be embraced. For Havakuk was the son of the Shunamit. And there were two embraces: one from the mother and one from Elisha, as it is written, "He put his mouth to his."

First, it is unclear how the prophet Elisha could pass a seed in his blessing to the Shunamit, for this seed cannot exist (procreate). Indeed, Elisha was the greatest prophet after Moshe and his soul came from the Supernal Garden of Eden. Hence, his *BON* (in Hebrew, the words *Ben*—son and *BON* are spelled the same way: *Bet-Nun*) was already absolutely pure and perfect.

Therefore, when he passed his son to her, he tied him to the male side, whereas he tied Havakuk only to the female side. And since the female side, *Nukva*, is closer to the impure force, it clung itself to him, and he died. Thus, the reason for his death lies in the exalted level of the prophet, for his *BON* is pure and free from the clinging of impure forces.

Hence, the prophet prayed: "The Creator has hidden it from me and had not told me!" (*Melachim II*, 4:27). In other words, he had not the slightest clue that he could die by being connected only to *BON*. That is why it was necessary to return, revive, and attach him to the Upper World, to the resurrection of the dead.

The essence of the embryo is the white (*Ohr Hochma*) in it, as it is written (Talmud, *Nidah*, 31:1) that *Aba* (father) is *Hochma*, for *Hochma* is called "white," as it is said, "He made everything with *Hochma* (wisdom)" (*Tehilim*, 104). However, there is also a need for clothing in *Ohr Hassadim*, the intention "for the Creator's sake," as it is impossible to receive *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of Wisdom, attainment and delight, without the clothing of *Ohr Hassadim*, without an altruistic intention.

So the mother must provide the red, the screen, which provides *Ohr Hassadim*, required for the clothing of *Ohr Hochma* in it. As a result of the *Ohr Hassadim* embracing (clothing, enveloping) *Ohr Hochma* in itself, an embryo can exist. And here the embryo's entire embrace came only from the mother, the Shunamit, i.e., only from the female side (*BON*).

Hence, when Elisha revived him, he gave him the white (*Hochma*) and the red (*Hassadim*) once more. It follows that it was Elisha himself who embraced him the second time. It is hence said that there were two Havakuks (from the word *Hibuk*—embrace): one from the mother and the other from Elisha.

116. I have discovered in the book of King Solomon that the name Havakuk consists of seventy-two names. Elisha created it with words. Each word consists of three letters, for the letters of the alphabet that the Father confirmed to him initially flew away when he died. But Elisha embraced him and confirmed in him all these letters in his seventy-two names. In all, there are 216 letters in his seventy-two names, three letters in each.

The embryo is built of 216 = *RYU* (*Reish* = 200 + *Yod* = 10 + *Vav* = 6) letters, designating *Ohr Hochma*, which descends to *YESHSUT*. This means that the embryo has *RYU* letters, which amounts to the *Gematria* of *RE'IYAH* = *Reish-Aleph-Yod-Hey*, i.e., the Light of vision. *Re'iyah* means vision in Hebrew, and vision is possible only in *Ohr Hochma*, for "seeing" means "attaining," and the Light of the eyes is the Light of *Hochma*.

When a growing *Partzuf* attains *Gadlut*, receives the clothing of *Ohr Hassadim* of the Upper World from *AVI*, and *RYU* clothe in *Ohr Hassadim*, this *Partzuf* is called *AB* (72) names, as each three letters join into one and *RYU* = 216 letters turn into *AB* = seventy-two groups with three letters in each group, or *AB* = seventy-two names.

When *Ohr Hassadim*, the clothing of the *Partzuf*, comes only from the lower world, it is defined as *RYU* = 216 letters. And when it attains *AB*, *Hassadim* of the Upper World, each three letters form a group, and this results in *AB* = seventy-two names, as it is written, HE CONFIRMED IN HIM ALL THESE LETTERS. When Elisha revived Havakuk, the son of the Shunamit, he created the name Havakuk, *AB* = seventy-two letters from *RYU* = 216, for he gave him *Ohr Hassadim* of the Upper World from *AB*.

Because of it, all 216 letters made groups of three and formed three lines from Above downwards: right, left and middle. A cell made of three letters—the right, left, and middle lines, situated horizontally (referring to the same screen and type of *Kli*)—is regarded as one. Therefore, *AB* (seventy-two) letters is used

instead of *AB* (seventy-two) names, because each letter is considered to include three, merged into one. When *Ohr Hochma* enters these seventy-two cells, the *Partzuf* is called *AB* and is said to have the complete Light of *Hochma*.

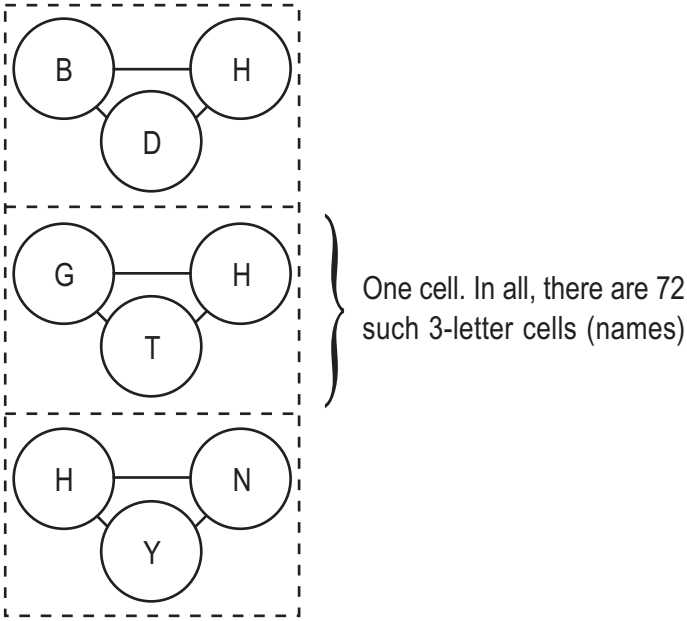

Ohr Hassadim is the Light that brings peace in the state of the *Partzuf* at a given moment, for its property is not to wish anything for itself, but to bestow. However, *Ohr Hassadim* received from the lower world is merely comfort "for want of something better," whereas *Ohr Hassadim* received from the Upper World creates such a powerful property of "bestowal" that the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma*, thereby showing that although it has *Ohr Hochma*, it still prefers *Ohr Hassadim*.

This is similar to a person in our world, who says that he needs nothing. Yet, there is a distinction: does he say this in a state when he has nothing and can have everything he wants, but still wishes to restrict himself to bare essentials and to give away the rest?

Therefore, when the growing *Partzuf* (the son—*BON*) had only *Ohr Hassadim* from the lower world, it could not receive *Ohr Hochma* in it, and was thus called *RYU* letters. But since the impure forces still cling to them and tempt the *Partzuf* to receive *Ohr Hochma* for itself, *Ohr Hochma* cannot be clothed within them.

These *RYU* letters that Havakuk had since the day of his birth FLEW AWAY WHEN HE DIED. Hence, it was essential to give him *RYU* letters and *AB* names once more. And Elisha did just that by HIS SPIRIT, for he was obliged

to recreate in him *RYU* letters in order to combine them into *AB* cells with the help of the Upper *Hassadim* (combine everything into three lines), when everything unites into *AB* names.

117. Elisha confirmed all of these letters in the soul of Havakuk so as to revive him by the letters of the seventy-two names. And he called him Havakuk, for that is his complete name, which describes all of his properties, as it alludes to two Havakuks and to the 216 letters of the Holy Name, as the *Gematria* (numerical value) of the name Havakuk is 216, from which the seventy-two names were formed. By *AB* names he revived him and brought his spirit back, and by *RYU* letters he revived his body and let it live. This is why he is called Havakuk.

Havakuk = *Chet* + *Bet* + *Kuf* + *Vav* + *Kuf* = 8 + 2 + 100 + 6 + 100 = 216. The word Havakuk indicates two embraces (*Hibukim*, plural for *Hibuk*). Like all Hebrew names, it refers to the property of its bearer. For instance, Yaakov is derived from "*Akev*" ("got around" Esav), and Avraham signifies *Av* —father, *Am*—of the nation).

The first embrace came from *Ima*, but it did not yet allow *Ohr Hochma* into the *Partzuf*, into *RYU* letters, for the impure force clings to the red in *Ima*. But then Elisha embraced him with *Hassadim* of the Upper World that came from *AVI*. This united the letters into groups (names), and *Ohr Hochma* entered and filled these names permanently, since the impure force cannot cling to *Hassadim* of the Upper World.

As in the above example, even if all the *Ohr Hochma* were to be offered, the *Partzuf*, upon receiving protection in the form of a desire for *Hassadim* of the Upper World, receives such great strength (desire) to bestow that it never wants *Hochma*. This is precisely why *Hochma* can fill it for all eternity.

Therefore, the name Havakuk denotes two *Chibukim* (embraces): one from the mother and one from Elisha, thereby imparting him with perfection from all sides: from both the *Ohr Hochma* and the *Ohr Hassadim*. "Embraces" signify *Ohr Hassadim* that stems from *AVI*, and *Ohr Hochma* received within *Ohr Hassadim* is called "the secrets of *RYU*."

It is hence written that HE REVIVED HIS SPIRIT BY *AB* NAMES AND HIS BODY BY *RYU* LETTERS. And he was revived by Elisha's embrace, for *RYU* letters had formed names, that is, the three lines, in which *Ohr Hochma* could be received, thanks to the reception of *Ohr Hassadim* from *AVI* (the Upper World).

The impure forces (man's egoistic desires) cannot attack in this Light. Hence, death (the result of receiving *Ohr Hochma* for oneself) does not exist.

Subsequently, he receives *Ohr Hochma*, which yields the complete correction of his *Guf*.

However, the *Partzuf* (son of the Shunamit) had *RYU* letters from the moment of birth, and they left him when he died. Then why is he called Havakuk (two embraces)? After all, the first embrace of *Ima* (mother) left him the moment of his death, and Elisha revived him from death by embracing him only once. Thus, does he not contain only the embrace of Elisha?

The thing is that Elisha has given him nothing new at the time of resurrection, except for the embrace, the Light from the Supernal *Ima*—*SAG*, whose Light evokes the resurrection of the dead. And *RYU* letters were simply revived by his lower mother—*BON*. These are the same *RYU* of *BON* with which he was born. Otherwise, it would have been an entirely new soul, of which one would not have been able to say that it was dead and then resurrected.

Therefore, now he truly has two embraces, for the first one has now been revived as well, when *BON* ascended to *SAG*. And since *BON* is in the place of *SAG*, his *Hassadim* are regarded as those of the Supernal Mother. They completely neutralize the impure forces and death, for their properties (desires) are only of bestowal, which the impure force cannot bear. Thus, they can no longer tempt man. This is why he is called Havakuk, after the action of the two embraces.

118. He said, "I have heard the Creator and I am awed by His Name." I have heard of what I had and have had a taste of the other world at the moment of death, before Elisha resurrected him, and I am awed. He began asking for mercy for his soul. He said, "O, Creator, the deeds that You have performed for me throughout the years were my life." And whoever connects to the past years (the name of the *Sefirot* of *Atik*), connects to life. Throughout the years, bestow life upon the degree that has no life of its own, upon *Malchut de Malchut*.

His fear comes from the past, previous states, for now he has become perfect on all his sides, and therefore fear has no place. This fear remained from the past, when he left the world. This describes the state between death and resurrection. However, he continues receiving fear from the past state, so it would help him create a screen for raising *MAN*. It is precisely this fear from past times (states) that stimulates him to raise *MAN* (request for mercy).

This is the secret of the future screen, after *BON* becomes *SAG*. For then "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8), and there will be no force evoking fear of death and suffering or able to cause harm to one's purity and holiness. Hence, there will be no need to shun, no one to beware of or avoid.

So if one has attained such an exalted spiritual state, where could he possibly acquire fear? After all, he will not be able to ascend without it! Only if he takes fear from his past states! For the *Partzuf* retains the memories, records, recollections of past states, even after its ascent to *SAG*, when *BON* become like *SAG*.

If not for the recollections of fear from the past states, the *Partzuf* would not have been able to create a screen in a state when it has nothing left to fear. While explaining this, Rabbi Shimon told them of Havakuk, to teach them how to acquire fear, just as Havakuk did by taking fear from the past.

THE DEEDS THAT YOU HAVE PERFORMED... THROUGHOUT THE YEARS... WERE MY LIFE—because he lived through two periods: the years preceding his death and the years following his resurrection. Between these two periods, there was a state of exiting this world, death (during which he existed in the other world). That is to say, because I remember the time of my death, I thereby connect to life of the Upper World, which Elisha bestowed by resurrecting me.

ZAT de Atik is called the "past (sometimes ancient) years," since they receive their Light from *Malchut* of the world of *AK*, *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. However, *ZAT de Atik* do not shine upon the lower *Partzufim* and worlds with their Light of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. *ZAT de Atik* shine downward during the 6,000 years with diminished Light, restricting it according to the laws of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Only at the end of correction will they begin to pass down all of their Light. It is written in the Torah that the Light that *Atik* had passed during the 6,000 years is designated with the small letter *Hey* in the word Avraham.

However, because Havakuk's death has purified him completely, since at the end of correction he merited merging with the "past years" of *Atik*, he received the required strength in Elisha's embraces and resurrection. It is hence written that after he has purified himself and felt fear at the moment of his death, the power of this fear enabled him to establish contact with *ZAT de Atik* and receive the Light called "eternal life."

For having purified himself through death, *BON* received complete correction, upon ascending and becoming *SAG* at the time of death. Subsequently, it reaches the degree of *Malchut de Malchut*, a *Zivug* on which can only be made at the end of correction, and attains this degree, the Light of his life.

119. Rabbi Shimon wept and said: "And I have seen from the Creator what I have heard." He raised his hands above his head, and said: "But you have merited seeing Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, the Light of the Torah, face to face, while I have not." He fell on his face and saw him who uproots mountains and

lights candles in the Temple of the King (*Mashiach*). He said to him, "Rabbi, in the other world we shall be neighbors with the heads of the assemblies before the Creator." From here on, he called his son Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba by the name Pnei'el (the face of God), as it is written: "For I have seen the Creator face to face."

He praised himself for using the same fear from the past, just like Prophet Havakuk.

All corrections are already ready and waiting in the hall of the King (*Mashiach*), down to the very last detail. They must all be revealed at the end of all corrections, with the appearance of the King. And the souls in that hall are those who merited completion of their individual corrections, for there is an individual correction and a general one.

Malchut de Malchut is the only creation, and it is divided into parts called souls. These parts merge with people of our world, and each of them, while existing within man, must attain one's own correction, i.e., gradually replace one's properties (desires) with those of the Creator. This is considered the soul's individual or personal correction. So then, the souls that have attained their individual correction reach and exist in the state called "abiding in the hall of the King-*Mashiach*."

The Light in that hall (the Light of the Torah), also called Hamnuna-Saba, completely liberates man from the impure forces, i.e., purifies him from all his primordial egoistic desires and corrects *Malchut de Malchut*, which "appears to the righteous as a high mountain" (Talmud, *Sota*, 52). This correction is made by creating a new *SAG*-like screen with the purpose of raising *MAN* (the request for final correction). *MAN* is called *Me'orei Esh* (sparkles of fire), as it is written: "Man's soul is the Creator's candle" (*Mishley*, 20:27).

The light of the sun designates the Light's descent, *MAD*, just as sunlight descends upon us from Above, whereas a fire's flame signifies *Ohr Hozer* that rises from below upwards, like candlelight. *The Zohar* therefore says that these two corrections, aimed at destroying the impure forces and ascending to light the candles in the hall of the King-*Mashiach*, are in the hands of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba.

And the perfect righteous in need of these two final corrections merit receiving them only through revealing the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. And he stated that they (the disciples of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba) will merit the honor of serving in the hall of the King-*Mashiach* after their death, and will become his neighbors and the heads of the Creator's Assembly.

The Two Points

120. Rabbi Chiya began and opened, "The beginning of *Hochma* (wisdom) is fear of the Creator, and those who observe this rule receive all the goodness." He asks, "The beginning of wisdom? One should rather say that the end of wisdom is the fear of the Creator, for fear of the Creator is the property of *Malchut*, which is at the end of *Hochma* (wisdom)." He replies, "Yet, *Malchut* is the beginning of the entrance to the degrees of reception of the Supernal wisdom." Hence, it is written, "Open to me the gates of justice," meaning that the gates of *Malchut*, called "justice," are the Creator's gates. And if man does not enter these gates he shall not reach the Supernal King through any other, for He is concealed and detached, and has erected many gates on the path to Him.

Fear of the Creator is the *Sefira Malchut*. Yet, how can *Malchut* serve as an entrance if she is the last of the ten *Sefirot*? Indeed, she may be called the end of *Hochma* or of a *Partzuf*, but not the beginning. However, this is not an allegorical expression, but the essence itself, for HE IS CONCEALED AND DETACHED and no thought of man can attain Him. Hence, He has put up many gates ON THE PATH TO HIM, and thanks to these gates He grants sufferers the opportunity to draw closer to him, the opportunity for attainment.

This is precisely what the verse, "Open to me the gates of justice," (*Tehilim*, 118) alludes to; these are the very gates that the Creator made, through which people can come to Him. HOWEVER, AT THE END OF ALL THE GATES ERECTED A SPECIAL GATE WITH MANY LOCKS. This gate is *Malchut de Malchut*, the ultimate point of all creation, the ultimate point of all Supernal gates.

And this last gate (from Above downwards) is the first gate to Supernal wisdom (from below upwards), for it is impossible to attain the Supernal *Hochma*

(wisdom) without attaining precisely this final gate, as it is the first gate with regard to attainment of the Supernal wisdom. It is therefore written (*Tehilim*, 111:10): "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom," as fear of the Creator is called the final gate, which stands first on the path to Supernal attainment.

121. And at the end of all the gates He erected a special gate with several locks, several entrances, and several chambers, one atop of the other. And He said, "Whoever wishes to reach Me, let this be the first gate on his way to Me. Whoever enters through this gate—will enter." Only this is the first gate to the Supernal wisdom, the gate of fear of the Creator, *Malchut*, which is hence called "beginning."

The locks, entrances, and chambers are three successive processes of attainment, of realizing the spiritual in one's inner sensation. The thought that created the world was the Creator's thought to make a creation (the human soul) in order to fill it with delight. However, it is impossible to feel delight as long as one is removed from the Creator, for He is the only One in existence. And He has created us in such a way that the nearer we come to Him, the greater delight we feel, whereas the farther we are from Him, the more we suffer.

Those of us who live in and perceive only this world can only accept the above words on faith or reject them. However, Kabbalists, who ascend spiritually and draw closer to the Creator, make these assertions and describe their attainments for us. And as to how and when we shall travel the same path to the Creator and attain complete unity with Him, this depends on us alone. However, regardless of whether we want to or not, we will need to travel the entire path from our world to complete unity with the Creator while still existing in this body, during one of our lifetimes in this world. This is the purpose of creation, and until it is fulfilled, man must reincarnate and return to this world, as the sages said: "The Creator wished to dwell in the lower ones."

Our world is built completely opposite from the Creator, as it was created in the property of egoistic will to receive pleasure, and this property is the exact antithesis to the Creator's property (desire) to delight us. Additionally, there is no trace of a will to receive pleasure in the Creator Himself.

It is hence said about a person in our world: "Man is born akin to a wild ass" (*Iyov*, 11:12). Therefore, to those who live in this world, the Creator's governance seems completely opposite to the purpose of creation—to delight the creatures. After all, that is how we perceive His rule over us, and feel the surrounding world in our egoistic sensations.

According to the Creator's plan, one must correct his egoistic desires and make them altruistic, whereupon the Creator fulfills them with supernal, absolute delight (to the extent of their correction). Until one attains this state, he continues to suffer from his desire to enjoy either this world or the spiritual.

These sensations are called "gate locks," for all the numerous contradictions to the oneness of the Creator's actions that we feel in this world separate us from the Creator and prevent us from drawing closer to Him. However, when we exert to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* with love, with our heart and soul, as devotedly as it was prescribed for us, with the sole intention of pleasing the Creator and without any benefit for ourselves, all of the forces that separate us from Him and every contradiction that we overcome on our path to Him becomes a gate of attainment of His Supernal wisdom, of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because every contradiction reveals its own uniqueness in the attainment of the Creator's governance.

Thus, those very questions and contradictions, which initially seemed to prevent us from accepting the oneness of the Creator's governance, then turn into knowledge, thanks to which we come to understand and attain the oneness of His governance.

And those who merit this transform darkness into Light (within themselves) and bitterness into sweetness. This is how they feel their attainments—in precisely those past sensations of darkness and bitterness. For the forces that repel us from the Creator, that form our minds and are perceived by the body as bitter turn into gates of attainment of Supernal Degrees. This way, darkness becomes Light and bitterness becomes sweetness.

And the more negative the Creator's governance is first perceived, the deeper man eventually comes to realize the perfection of His governance. At last, the entire world ends up on the scale of merit, for every force and insight now serve as *SHAAREY TZEDEK* (the gates of truth), through which one can enter and receive from the Creator everything that He intended to bestow at the Thought of Creation. Thus, it is written about such contradictions that turn into realization of unity: "These are the gates to the Creator; the righteous shall enter them" (*Tehilim*, 118:20).

Hence, until one merits turning his will "to receive for himself" into the will "to receive for the Creator" with the help of the Torah and *Mitzvot*, all the gates to the Creator have sturdy locks (the sensation of imperfection in the Creator's governance), as they then play their opposite role: to distance and turn one away

from the Creator. And they are called locks, for they lock the gates of contact with the Creator and distance us from Him.

However, if we make efforts to overcome them so they stop influencing us and weakening our love for the Creator, we will thus turn these locks into entrances, darkness into Light, and bitterness into sweetness. This is because for every lock we receive a special degree of attainment of the Creator. These degrees become entrances that lead to the degrees of sensation of the Creator Himself. And the degrees themselves turn into halls or chambers of wisdom.

Thus, we see that locks, entrances, and chambers constitute the three types of perception of one material, our will to receive or egoism. Indeed, before we turn the egoistic desire to receive into reception (of pleasure) for the Creator's sake, altruism, this material transforms Light into darkness and sweetness into bitterness, in accordance with our (egoistic) taste. In other words, egoism finds suffering in the same types of influence that bring pleasure to altruism. Therefore, to perceive the Light (delight) that surrounds us, we only need to change our senses. But until we do, this Light will be perceived by us as darkness and suffering.

Initially, whatever examples of the Creator's governance we see, they distance us from Him. This is because we perceive them negatively; at that very moment, our egoism (will to receive pleasure) begets locks. However, once we transform our desires to "reception for the Creator's sake," these locks become entrances, and entrances turn into chambers—vessels of wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*.

As we already know, the end of all the degrees, i.e., the very last degree, below which nothing can possibly exist, is called *Malchut de Malchut*. To attain Supernal wisdom, one must first overcome this last gate, which turns into the first gate to ascend from below upwards, toward the chamber of Supernal wisdom, the *Sefira Hochma*. All gates become entrances and chambers of the Creator's wisdom. This is why it is written, IN THE BEGINNING (the first words in the Torah), for IN THE BEGINNING signifies fear of the Creator, the last gate (*Malchut*), which becomes the first on the path to attainment of the Supernal wisdom.

122. The letter *Bet* in the word *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING) indicates that the two are joined together in *Malchut*. Both are points: one is concealed, while the other is revealed. However, since there's no division between them, they are called THE BEGINNING, which signifies only one, rather than two, for he who takes one, takes the other as well, and all is one,

for He and His Name are one, as it is written, "And you shall know that this is the Creator's only name."

The Hebrew letter *Bet* has a numerical value of two, indicating two points. These two points symbolize the correction of the egoistic point of *Malchut*, onto which the point of mercy (*Bina*) imposes a restriction of use. Correction is achieved when *Malchut* (strictness) ascends to *Bina* (mercy), as it is written, "So they both walked" (*Rut*, 1:19), i.e., *Bina* and *Malchut*. Hence, the screen in *Malchut* consists of both points, and they are thereby joined together as one.

It is explained in *Megilat Rut* (*The Book of Ruth*) how *Malchut* (Ruth) merges with *Bina* (Naomi), which then leads to the correction of *Malchut* and the birth of David, the first King (the word King (*Melech*) is derived from *Malchut* (kingdom) of Israel).

HOWEVER, ONE IS CONCEALED, WHILE THE OTHER IS REVEALED, for the judgment in the point of *Malchut* is concealed, whereas only the property of mercy in the point of *Bina* is revealed. Otherwise, the world could not exist, as it is written, "In the beginning, He created the world with the property of judgment, but seeing that it cannot exist, He attached to it the property of mercy" (*Beresheet Raba*, item 1).

Although the restriction is concealed, this does not mean that a *Zivug* is not made on it, since these two points merge into one, and the point of *Malchut* receives a *Zivug* together with the point of *Bina*, though it participates in it secretly. Therefore, it is written, IN THE BEGINNING, for the word "beginning" indicates one point, which includes two that are as one.

Because *Malchut* participates with *Bina* in all the *Zivugim* that are made during the 6,000 years (albeit secretly), she corrects herself to such an extent that at the end of all the corrections, even her property of restriction is corrected, and she acquires the property of *Bina*. It is written of this state that on that day He and His Name will be one.

Since the property of restriction is also concealed within the letter *Bet* of the word *BERESHEET* (in the beginning), this property is called *RESHEET* (first) in *Hochma* (wisdom). However, the correction of this property occurs only at the end of corrections, when the Supernal wisdom is revealed, as the prophet said: "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Creator" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9). This is because the last gate will become the first. Hence, it is written, "That they may know that it is Thou alone whose name is the Lord, the Most High over all the earth," (*Tehilim*, 83:19) for the Creator's wisdom will be revealed in our world to all.

123. Why is *Malchut* called "fear of the Creator?" It is because *Malchut* is the Tree of Good and Evil: If man merits, it is good, but if he does not, it is evil. This is why fear dwells in that place. And this gate leads to all the goodness that exists in the world. ALL THE GOODNESS signifies two gates, two points that are as one. Rabbi Yosi said that ALL THE GOODNESS refers to the Tree of Life, for it is entirely good and completely without evil. And because it is without evil, it is entirely good, without evil.

It is written of the last gate: THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM IS FEAR OF THE CREATOR. So why is it called "fear of the Creator?" Because this is the secret of the Tree of Knowledge, by which Adam sinned, for the use of that point (egoistic desires) is punishable by death (disappearance of the Light). And great fear is needed to refrain from touching (using) it before all the other desires have been corrected. Nevertheless, at the end of correction, when even this point is completely corrected, death will cease to exist for all eternity. That is why it is called "fear."

The Creator created one creation—the egoistic *Malchut*. The goal of creation is to fill her with the Creator's Light using an altruistic intention. As a result, *Malchut* merges with the Creator and receives limitless delight.

Malchut, the only creation, consists of five parts: *KHB ZA-M*. Her parts *KHB ZA*, excluding *Malchut de Malchut*, have altruistic properties, which they received from the Light.

As a result of her decision to refrain from receiving Light into egoistic desires, called *Tzimtzum Aleph* (the first restriction), *Malchut* receives the Light only in her first four desires: *KHB-ZA*. *Malchut de Malchut* remains inaccessible to the Light. So how can she be corrected?

To correct *Malchut de Malchut's* properties (desires), the Creator creates the conditions under which *Bina* and *Malchut* mix, and consequently, *Malchut* acquires the properties of *Bina*.

This process needs to occur more than once, so that all of *Malchut's* parts will be mixed with *Bina*. Every time it takes place in an increasingly deeper layer of *Malchut*, it is called the breaking of holiness, for *Bina* descends and passes her properties to *Malchut*, but she herself breaks during this mixing, as though losing her altruistic properties.

Thus, we can conclude that all the shattering of vessels, the breaking of Adam's soul, the ruin of the First and Second Temples, and other spiritual disasters take place not as punishment, for punishment (as we understand it)

does not exist in the spiritual, but only so as to enable the altruistic desires of *Bina* penetrate deeper into the egoistic desires of *Malchut*.

The last point of *Malchut*, the yet uncorrected *Malchut de Malchut*, is that very point the use of which is punishable by death (the Light's disappearance is considered death). It is forbidden to use *Malchut de Malchut* until all the other properties of *Malchut* (*KHB-ZA*) have been fully corrected. Or rather, if man refrains from using egoism (the point of *Malchut de Malchut*), and uses only his other altruistic desires, he gradually constructs a "non-reception" screen on *Malchut de Malchut*.

Having filled all of his corrected desires with Light, man achieves the end of correction—of what he could correct by himself. As soon as that happens, i.e., as soon as one receives the Light in all of his soul's first nine *Sefirot* (*KHB-ZA*, excluding *Malchut*), the Light called *Mashiach* descends from Above, which imparts *Malchut de Malchut* with the altruistic property of bestowal, of acting for the Creator's sake. This concludes the entire correction process of man's soul, and he attains complete unity with the Creator. The Creator's goal is for man to attain this state while still living in our world and in his physical body, to combine all the worlds, spiritual and material, within himself.

AND THIS GATE LEADS TO ALL THE GOODNESS, for there is nothing better than the revelation of the Supernal wisdom in the world, included in the Thought of Creation. And since fear of the Creator is the last gate to the Supernal wisdom, it also constitutes the gate to all the goodness.

THESE TWO GATES ARE AS ONE refers to the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are united in the letter *Bet* of the word *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING), the first word in the Torah. And the two points are mentioned because they allude to the state following the correction, when these two points are called "the two gates," for both turn out to be good and free from evil, thereby bringing man only perfect goodness.

Nevertheless, until the end of correction, one must strain to separate within him the desires that refer to the point of *Bina* from those that refer to the point of *Malchut*, to reject the desires of *Malchut*, and, in defiance of egoism, use the desires of *Bina*. During man's work on self-correction, called "6,000 years," these two points are referred to as "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil."

RABBI YOSI SAID—Rabbi Yosi does not object to the words of Rabbi Chiya. They are talking about two different states: Rabbi Chiya alludes to a state past the end of correction of *Malchut*, when both points become a gate, and there is no more evil within them. And Rabbi Yosi explains a state in the correction

process, when the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, exist within us as our Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Hence, he tells us that ALL THE GOODNESS IS (can only be found in) THE TREE OF LIFE.

ZA filled with the Light of *Ima-Bina* is called "The Tree of Life," for he possesses only good properties. And the two points of good and evil, *Bina* and *Malchut*, remain within *Malchut* until the end of correction; hence, *Malchut* is called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil."

124. To all those who act, it is the faithful mercy of David that upholds the Torah. Those who keep the Torah seemingly create it themselves. All those who study the Torah—there is no action in them as they study, but those who keep the Torah—in them there is action. And the world exists by this force, eternal are the wisdom and the Torah, and the throne stands just as it should stand.

It was previously said that fear of the Creator constitutes the last gate, though it is the first gate to the Supernal wisdom. It turns out that ALL THOSE WHO STUDY THE TORAH have already corrected the last gate, and the two points become for them two entrances, all goodness without evil. Hence, it is said that THERE IS NO ACTION IN THEM, i.e., no analysis of good and evil, for they have already corrected everything.

However, those who have not yet reached the end of correction are referred to as those who keep the Torah. There is action in them, for they have not yet corrected good and evil in everyone's Tree of Good and Evil—not everyone has realized in one's inner tree (in all of one's properties) what is good and what is evil with regard to the spiritual truth.

It is therefore said that THOSE WHO KEEP THE TORAH SEEMINGLY CREATE IT THEMSELVES. As a result of man's effort to refrain from their use, all the distracting and impeding forces (thoughts and desires) of the point of *Malchut* become gates, all the locks become entrances, and all the entrances become chambers of wisdom filled with *Ohr Hochma*.

It follows that all the wisdom and the entire Torah become revealed only through the efforts of those who keep the Torah. Hence, they SEEMINGLY CREATE IT THEMSELVES. The forces of good and evil are combined within them, and they become those who keep the Torah, for the Torah is revealed thanks to their inner work of separating and correcting good and evil.

Such people are called "those who act," for they seemingly create the Torah by themselves. After all, without perceiving the Creator (The Torah, Light) as concealed, and then overcoming this concealment, thereby turning it into gates, entrances, and chambers the Torah could never have been revealed.

The perfection of the Creator's actions lies in the fact that by creating man so paltry (with such insignificant egoistic desires, completely opposite to the Creator in his properties, and utterly powerless to change himself), the Creator gave man an opportunity to become like Him (in properties, greatness, and the sensation of creating himself), to create within and by himself all of the worlds and the Torah. By revealing the Light, it is as though man actually creates it.

Thus, since these individuals reveal the Torah, they are regarded as its creators. The word is SEEMINGLY used to indicate that the Torah was created before the creation of our world (Talmud, *Pesachim*, 54:1), and of course, it is the work of the Creator Himself. Yet, without the good deeds of those who keep the Torah, it would not have been revealed to the world. Hence, they are regarded as the makers and creators of the Torah.

The wisdom and the Torah are eternal; that is, they exist even after the end of correction, for fear of the Creator is needed even then. However, once the entire egoism is corrected, there is no place from which to take this fear, for the Tree of Good and Evil becomes only good, and can no longer furnish fear of the Creator.

However, because they received fear in the past, they can continue using it in the present, after the end of correction, when there is nothing left to fear, as there are no restrictions in *Malchut*. And the only reason they can do so is that during the correction they worked on creating within them the sensation of the Creator's absolute rule and the eternity of the Torah. And since this fear is never-ending, the Creator's throne remains forever standing in their attainment.

The Night of the Bride

125. Rabbi Shimon was sitting and studying the Torah on the night when the Bride, *Malchut*, unites with her husband, *Zeir Anpin*. And all the friends present in the bridal chamber on that night, the eve of the holiday of *Shavuot* (Pentecost), must stand together with the bridegroom under the *Huppah* (wedding canopy), and be with him this whole night, and rejoice with him in the corrections of the Bride, i.e., study the Torah, then Prophets, then Holy Scriptures, and finally the wisdom, for these corrections are the Bride's adornments. And the Bride receives corrections, adorns herself with them, and rejoices with them all of that night. And on the next day, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, she only comes to the *Huppah* together with them. And her friends, who studied the Torah all night long, are called the sons of the *Huppah*. And as she approaches the *Huppah*, the Creator asks about them, blesses and adorns them with the Bride's adornments. Happy are those who merit this!

All the days of exile are called night, for this is when the Creator's face is concealed from Israel, as the impure forces rule and separate His loyal servants from Him. Yet, this is the time when the bride unites with her husband (in Hebrew, "husband" and "master" are the same word, so one must keep in mind the second meaning of the word as well). The *Huppah* is a wedding canopy, under which the ritual of union between a bride and a bridegroom (their merging in a *Zivug*) takes place.

The union between the bride and her husband (*The Zohar* uses the word "husband" instead of "bridegroom") occurs thanks to the Torah and *Mitzvot* (commandments) of the righteous, referred to as "those who keep the Torah." And all the Supernal Degrees, called "secrets of the Torah," become revealed thanks to them alone, for they are also called MAKERS (as though CREATING the Torah itself), as is described in item 124. Therefore, the time of exile is called the NIGHT WHEN THE BRIDE UNITES WITH HER HUSBAND. AND

ALL THE FRIENDS, THE SONS OF THE BRIDE'S JOY, ARE CALLED THOSE WHO KEEP THE TORAH.

And after THE END OF CORRECTION and complete deliverance, of which the prophet Zachariah writes (14:7): "And there shall be one day, which shall be known to the Creator, neither day nor night, but it shall come to pass come evening time: there shall be light." THE NEXT DAY, THE BRIDE AND HER HUSBAND ENTER THE *HUPPAH*, for *BON* will become like *SAG* and *MA* will be like *AB* (see item 64).

This state is therefore defined as the next day and a new *Huppah*. Whereas at this time (in this state), the righteous are called SONS OF THE *HUPPAH*, in whom there is no action, for then, as it is written: "They shall not do evil upon My holy mountain, for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Creator, as waters cover the sea" (*Yeshayahu*, 11: 9).

And since these righteous elevated *BON* to *SAG* by their actions, i.e., made its properties similar to those of *SAG*, they are considered to have made a new *Huppah*, they are called "sons of the *Huppah*."

The night of *Shavuot* (Pentecost) is when THE BRIDE UNITES WITH HER HUSBAND, for the *Huppah* takes place on the next day, the day of *Shavuot*, the day of the reception of the Torah. On that day, all of creation achieves the state of the end of correction, as it is said: "He will swallow up death forever; and the Creator Himself will wipe away the tears off all faces" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8).

The Torah describes this state as "engraved upon the scrolls" (*Shemot*, 32:16). In Hebrew, the word "engraved" is *Harut*, but it should be pronounced *Herut* (freedom), freedom from the angel of death. However, the sin of the golden calf followed and the High Degree was lost. Since *Shavuot* is the day when the Torah was received, it is also regarded as the end of correction.

Therefore, all the necessary preparations (the corrections carried out during the concealment period) are completed beforehand, on the night before the holiday of *Shavuot*. This night is hence defined as the night when the bride unites with her husband so as to enter the *Huppah* the following day, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, when all the corrections are completed and liberated from the angel of death, thanks to the actions of the righteous, who erect a new *Huppah*.

All of the bride's friends, those who keep the Torah, also called "sons of the bridal chamber," must be merged with the *Shechina-Malchut* (the bride) all of that night, called "exile." Only then do their acts in the Torah and *Mitzvot*

correct and purify the good in her from the taint of evil, so she would emerge with the properties that contain only good, without evil.

Hence, those who keep the Torah should rejoice together with the bride for all the great corrections that they've made in her. Then they joyously continue with their corrections in THE TORAH, then in PROPHETS and finally in the HOLY SCRIPTURES. All the degrees and revelations of the secrets of the Torah, which make up the framework of the *Shechina* herself at the end of her correction, are made exclusively by the righteous, who keep the Torah during the exile.

Therefore, all the degrees that emerge at the time (state) of the exile are called the bride's corrections and adornments from the Torah, Prophets and Holy Scriptures, for *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, and *Tifferet* constitute the Torah, *Sefirot Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Yesod* are the Prophets, and *Malchut* is the Holy Scriptures. The Light of *VAK* is called *Midrashim* and the Light of *GAR* is called "the secrets of the Torah." And all these corrections must be made in *Malchut* (the bride) on the night when she completes her corrections (precisely in the darkness of exile from the spiritual does man carry out the work of his inner correction).

It is known that the end of correction does not bring anything new or that was previously unknown. Rather, all the *MAN* and *MAD*, along with all degrees and *Zivugim* that have emerged consecutively during the 6,000 years will merge into one degree and become corrected with the help of the Light of *Atik*.

The bride will then enter her *Huppah*, and THE CREATOR WILL ASK ABOUT EVERYONE, about every man who had even once raised *MAN* for the Supernal, final *Zivug*. For the Creator waits for all the small *Zivugim* to assemble, as though asking about and waiting for each of them. And when they've gathered, a great *Zivug* will unfold, called *RAV PAALIM U MEKABTZIEL* (HE WHO BLESSES AND ADORNS HER). And when all the creatures are blessed and adorned together, correction comes to an end. This is referred to as "the adornment of the bride's crown."

126. This is why Rabbi Shimon and all of his friends stayed up that night, and each of them renewed the Torah again and again. Rabbi Shimon was joyous, and so were his friends. Rabbi Shimon said to them: "My sons, how blessed is your lot, for it is you who shall accompany the Bride tomorrow to the *Huppah*, for all those who correct Her and rejoice in Her this night shall have their names recorded in the Book of Remembrance. And the Creator shall bless them with seventy blessings and adornments of crowns of the Upper World."

The Book of Remembrance, mentioned by the prophet (*Malachi*, 3:15): "You will say, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all? And now we regard the wicked as blessed: they have settled in their wickedness, tried the Creator, and were liberated.' Then those who feared the Creator spoke with each other, and the Creator hearkened and heard, and a Book of Remembrance was recorded before Him for those who fear the Creator and honor His Name. 'They shall become chosen for Me on the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his own son, who serves him.'"

But how can we understand that when they spoke ill of the Creator, they referred to fear of the Creator, as the prophet says? Moreover, they were inscribed in the Book of Remembrance as those who "feared the Creator and honored His Name?"

The thing is that at the end of correction, when the great general *Zivug* of *Atik* manifests, great Light will be revealed in all the worlds, and in this Light everyone will return to the Creator in absolute love. The Talmud (*Yoma*, 86:2, "Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot") says: "He who attains the repentance from love shall have his sins turned to merits."

Here, the prophet refers to the sinners claiming the futility of spiritual work: on the great day of the end of correction, when the Light of repentance from love shall shine, all the most malicious and deliberate, worst imaginable sins, will turn to merits, and their words shall be deemed not slight, but fear of the Creator.

Therefore, all the sins, as well as all the good deeds, are recorded before the Creator, for He will need them on that great day of His miracle: all the merits gather and complete the *Kli*, which receives the Light necessary for the final correction. Hence, it is said that the Creator shall record the names of those who fear Him in the Book of Remembrance, for He will need them on that day to complete the common *Partzuf*. This is exactly what the prophet says: those who remain shall be close to the Creator, like sons who served Him.

It is therefore said that everyone and everything will be recorded in the Book of Remembrance, even the sins. However, The Creator will record them as though they are merits, as though they served Him. These are the words of the prophet.

The number seventy signifies the Light of *Hochma*, GAR, adornment, a crown, and the Light of *Hassadim* is called "a blessing," for the world was created with the letter *Bet* (blessing), as it is written: "The world was built by mercy"

(*Tehilim*, 89:3), which is *VAK*. But at the end of correction, the Light of *Hassadim* will also be like seventy crowns, like the Light of *Hochma*, for *MA* and *BON* will ascend to *AB* and *SAG*. Therefore, *The Zohar* says that the Creator will bless them with seventy blessings and adornments of crowns of the Upper World.

127. Rabbi Shimon opened and said, "The Heavens declare the Creator's greatness. I have already explained this, but when the bride awakens to enter the *Huppah* on the following day, with all the friends who rejoiced with her through that night, she rejoices with them, corrects herself and shines with her adornments."

128. And on the following day, a multitude of masses, hosts, and legions join her. And she, together with all these masses, hosts and legions, awaits all those who corrected her by studying the Torah on that night. This is so because *Zeir Anpin* unites with *Malchut*, and she sees her husband, and it is said: "The Heavens declare the Creator's greatness." "The Heavens" alludes to the Bridegroom (ZA), who enters the *Huppah*. "The Heavens declare," i.e., shine, like the luminescence of a sapphire, upon the entire *Malchut*, from end to end.

The day of the end of correction is called "tomorrow," as it is written in the Talmud: "Do today, and receive the reward tomorrow" (*Eruvin*, 22:1). The masses are the worldly masses who do not serve the Creator, the hosts are those who serve the Creator, and the legions are chariots of warriors in armor—the Supernal groups of angels that accompany the souls, as it is said: "For He bid His angels to guard over you on all your paths" (*Tehilim*, 91:11). Just as the Creator waits for everyone, as was previously stated, so does the *Shechina*.

"Heavens" is the bridegroom entering the *Huppah*—the state of the end of correction, of which it is written: "And the light of the moon (*Malchut*) shall be as the light of the sun (ZA)" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:26). The Creator is called the "Heavens," and at the end of correction He is referred to as the "bridegroom," as it is said: "Just as a bridegroom rejoices over his bride, so shall your Creator rejoice over you." (*Yeshayahu*, 62:5).

Wherever it is said that the Creator descends, it indicates His strictness and judgment, for it speaks of diminishing His greatness in the eyes of the lower ones, as it is said: "His might and greatness are in His place." But at the end of correction, when all sins turn to merits, for it will become clear that all the spiritual descents were nothing other than spiritual ascents, the Creator becomes the "bridegroom" and the *Shechina* becomes his "bride."

The Hebrew word for "bride" is *Kalah*, as in the words *Kalat Moshe* (*Bamidbar*, 7), which describes the completion of the altar. Hence, in the Torah, the word *Kalah* signifies the end of construction. The Hebrew word for "bridegroom" is *Hatan*, and it signifies the descent along spiritual degrees, as it is said in the Talmud: "Descends the steps" (*Yevamot*, 63:1). However, this descent is greater than all the previous ascents, for it takes place on the way towards the bride at the moment of the end of correction.

The *Huppah* represents the total of all the Returning Light received on the *MAN* raised by the righteous in all the *Zivugim* at all the times during the 6,000 years. This is because now they have all gathered into one great Returning Light, rising and soaring over the Creator and the *Shechina*, over the bridegroom and his bride, like a *Huppah*—wedding canopy.

In this state, the righteous are called "Sons of the *Huppah*," for each of them has a part in this *Huppah*, to the extent of the *MAN* they raise to the screen of *Malchut*, which evoked, produced the Returning Light, corresponding in magnitude to this *MAN*. At the end of correction, the Creator is called *Hatan* (bridegroom), for He *Nechit Darga*—descends from His degree to his bride, and enters the *Huppah*.

At this time (in this state), the Heavens say—this is a great *Zivug* of the future, as the Talmud says: "The wife speaks to her husband" (*Berachot*, 3:1). The word "speaks" (*Mesaperet*) implies a *Zivug*, and is derived from *Sapir* (sapphire), the name of the *Shechina*, as it is said in the Torah, "...and under His feet—like a pavement of sapphire" (*Shemot*, 24:10).

THE LUMINESCENT SAPPHIRE is the Returning Light, ascending from below upwards. LUMINESCENT, LIKE LUMINESCENCE—The Returning Light, LUMINESCENT is equivalent to the Direct Light, LUMINESCENCE. This great *Zivug* gathers all of the Returning Light from all the *Zivugim* made during the 6,000 years, and the Direct Light will shine in it, as it is said, FROM END TO END.

129. The Creator's glory = *EL*—is the bride, *Malchut*, called *EL*, as it is written: "*EL* rages each day." She is called *EL* on all the days of the year. And now, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, when she already entered the *Huppah*, she is called GREATNESS and she is called *EL*, greatest of the great, luminescent out of the luminescent, dominion over dominions.

El is the name of great mercy. Yet, here it says: "*El* rages each day," which is contrary to mercy. The Torah says: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." The *Shechina* is a small star, the Moon, which reigns at

night. It is called "fear of Heaven," for it is the property of the righteous, who must raise *MAN* through their aspiration to be corrected, thereby evoking the Returning Light to descend on *Malchut* from Above and correct her.

It is therefore written: "The Creator hath made it so man would fear Him" (*Kohelet*, 3:14). This is so because it is impossible to raise the *MAN* without fear. The absence of fear of the Creator is referred to as *Malchut's* reign at night, in the state of darkness. In the absence of Light, all the restrictions and suffering are revealed, as they are opposite to the property of day, mercy. Thus, fear of the Creator emerges; were it not for this fear, the property of morning and day could not be revealed.

So it is written: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." Night also enters morning, for without a night, there would be no morning, and one cannot do without night. It is hence written that *EL* RAGES EACH DAY. After all, the property of mercy, called *EL*, is revealed only with the help of the night, through the property of RAGE. Hence, this property is also regarded as mercy; and consequently, the *Shechina* is called *EL*.

This is why it is said that the CREATOR'S GREATNESS = *EL*—IS THE BRIDE, *MALCHUT*, CALLED *EL*, for it is impossible to achieve the state of "day" without the state of "night." So it is in each of the six days of creation, of which it is said: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." We see that the night is included in the name "day." And just as they are all called the six DAYS of creation, the 6,000 years are called "night" in the property of mercy.

And in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, a day shall come; the light of the moon will become like that of the sun, as the prophet said (*Zachariah*, 14:7): "It shall come to pass, that at evening time there shall be light." This will cause the degrees of *Malchut* to increase twofold, for even during the 6,000 years, the light of the moon was according to the aforesaid, "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning."

And at the end of correction, when the moon becomes like the sun (*ZA*), the moon will be twice as great as before, as it will become greatness itself, for its greatness will equal that of *ZA*, of which *The Zohar* says: THE GREATEST OF THE GREAT, DOMINION OVER DOMINIONS. Although it merged with the light of the morning during the 6,000 years, as it is said, "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day," now that it is as big as the sun (*ZA*), it becomes Light, itself, LUMINESCENT OUT OF THE

LUMINESCENT. Previously, its Light was solely the result of the inclusion of the properties of Higher *Sefirot* into it.

Also, DOMINION OVER DOMINIONS, for during the 6,000 years, its reign was that of a small star, reigning only at night. Now, however, it also reigns during the day, for it is as big as the sun.

130. The hour when the Heaven (ZA) enters the *Huppah* and shines upon *Malchut*, all of her friends, who corrected her by studying the Torah, are known by their names, as it is said: "The Heavens declare the work of His hands." "The work of His hands" refers to the members of this covenant, called "the work of His hands." As you say: "Confirm for us the work of our hands," which is the mark of the covenant, imprinted on man's body.

"Friends" are those who keep the Torah, which includes both good and evil deeds, even those parts of them that are still evil and uncorrected; EACH IS KNOWN BY A NAME (his corrected part), as it is said: THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. "Heavens" is the Book of Remembrance, which constitutes the Light of the great *Zivug* that leads to repentance (correction) out of love, when sins become merits (Talmud, *Yoma*, 86:2).

And even those who were speaking ill things, it is said about them: "Then they shall impart their fear of the Creator upon one another" (item 126). Therefore, the action defined as "upholding the Torah," which includes both good (for the worthy) and evil (for the unworthy), now becomes completely good and holy. And it turns into THE WORK OF HIS HANDS—the Creator's actions, for THE HEAVENS SPEAK even of the unworthy. It turns out that all the friends have performed only good deeds and carried out holy work, for they would all correct *Malchut*, and ALL ARE KNOWN BY THEIR NAMES.

It is therefore said: CONFIRM FOR US THE WORK OF OUR HANDS (*Tehilim*, 90:17). However, it is unclear whose hands are meant: His or ours? Only one thing is meant here—that the covenant is referred to as "the work of our hands," for its confirmation is *Yesod* (*Yesod* is not only the name of a *Sefira*, it also means "basis," "foundation" in Hebrew), the foundation of the entire construction.

The correction of *Yesod* is *Brit Milah* (circumcision). Hence, it is said that the existence of the covenant is called "the work of our hands," for we separate the *Orlah* (foreskin) from *Yesod* through the work of our hands. But this only concerns the period up to the end of correction. And at the end of correction, THE WORK OF HIS HANDS will be revealed. In other words, the Creator Himself will detach the *Orlah* from us, and THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. But until that state comes, we are entrusted with the

correction of the circumcision. Therefore, we ask: CONFIRM FOR US THE WORK OF OUR HANDS.

131. Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba then said as follows: "Do not let your mouth cause your body to sin," i.e., one must not allow his mouth to get close to evil and be the cause of sin for the sacred flesh, which bears the mark of the holy covenant with the Creator. If he does so, he shall be dragged to hell. And the ruler of hell, called Domeh, stands at the gates of hell with hundreds of thousands of angels, but he is forbidden to approach those who have kept the holy covenant in this world.

There is a warning here: let each man be careful of what he utters, so that his prayer is pure when he raises *MAN* with the help of the Torah and *Mitzvot*. If the impure force clings to his prayer, it will receive his *MAN*. As a result, man will develop a grudge against the Creator and foreign thoughts, thereby causing the *Orlah* to once again cling to the holy covenant. Consequently, his holy soul will fall into the captivity of the impure forces, and they will drag it to hell. This is similar to what Rabbi Elazar said about falling into Lilit's hands (item 68).

THE SACRED FLESH, WHICH BEARS THE MARK OF THE HOLY COVENANT alludes to the holy soul guarded by the holy covenant, as it is said: "From my flesh I shall see the Creator," i.e., from my nature, my properties. Yet, doubts evoke the return of the impure force of the *Orlah*. It touches the holy covenant, and the Divine soul is instantly driven away. Hence, "The Tree cried out: Sinner, do not touch me," for this Tree is *Yesod*, *Ateret Yesod* (foreskin—the very essence of creation, egoism), the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

DOMEH, THE RULER OF HELL—DOMEH is derived from *Dmamah*—lifelessness, for he robs man of his soul and leaves him lifeless. This is the angel that fills man's heart with doubts regarding the Creator's greatness, and creates within him a sinful desire to perceive His plans as though they were plans of one born of a woman, i.e., as though they were of this world. And since he likens the Creator's thoughts in man's perception to those of man, he is named so (*Domeh* also means likeness, similarity).

At first, man understands that the Creator's thoughts and ways are different from ours, for the created mind can grasp neither Him nor His thoughts nor His governance, as our mind is inferior to His. But, through sin, the angel Domeh plants a silly spirit within man, which forces him to say that the mind of one born of a woman is similar to the Creator's. This leaves man open to doubts, which DRAG HIM TO HELL.

Therefore, the power of the angel Domeh is in his name, as it is said: "Who is as mighty as You, who is LIKE You, the King that kills and resurrects?" This indicates that the connection with the one who is LIKE him leads to death, whereas in the realization that there is none like Him, man finds life.

However, the doubts and thoughts that man receives from the angel Domeh are countless, as *The Zohar* says, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ANGELS ARE WITH HIM, and they are all standing at the gates of hell, through which man is dragged there, though the gates themselves are not yet considered hell.

BUT HE (THE ANGEL) IS FORBIDDEN TO APPROACH THOSE WHO HAVE KEPT THE HOLY COVENANT IN THIS WORLD. And even if one did not fully keep (observe) the covenant, and there is still good and evil in his deeds, he is nonetheless regarded as one who has kept the holy covenant. So, unless one comes to doubt, the angel Domeh is forbidden to drag him to hell.

132. When this happened to King David, fear enveloped him. Right then, Domeh ascended before the Creator, and said: "Master of the world, it says in the Torah (*Vayikra*, 20:10): 'And the man that commits adultery with another man's wife...' David broke his covenant, is it not so?" The Creator replied to him: "David is righteous, and his holy covenant remains pure, for it is known to Me that Bat Sheva was destined for him since the creation of the world."

Although David committed no sin, as the Talmud explains (*Shabbat*, 56:1) that he who says that David sinned is wrong, he was enveloped with fear nonetheless, as if he really had sinned, for Domeh cited the Torah in his complaint.

However, Bat Sheva had been destined for David since the creation of the world (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 107:1); thus, he did not violate his covenant. Yet, if Bat Sheva had been destined for David, why was she first married to Uriah? After all, a wife is half of her husband's body. And if she is half of David's body, how could Uriah have taken her, if there is nothing in him that corresponds with her?

The fact is that Bat Sheva is David's true *Nukva* (female) from the day of the creation of the world, for David is the male part of *Malchut*, while Bat Sheva is the *Nukva* in *Malchut*. But since, as the world was being created, *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* to receive the property of mercy (bestowal) from her, Bat Sheva, too, required this correction in *GAR*. Without it she could not have given birth to the soul of King Solomon.

And Uriah the Hittite was an exalted soul, the properties of *GAR*, wherefrom the name "Uriah," which consists of Ur = *Ohr* (Light) and i(a)h = i (*Yod*) + h (*Hey*) = the first two letters of the Creator's Name *HaVaYaH*, is derived. In other words, Uriah signifies "the Creator's Light." And the fact that his name contains only

the first two letters *Yod-Hey* = *Hochma-Bina*, and lacks the last two letters *Vav-Hey* = *ZA-Malchut* indicates that his Light is the Light of *GAR*. Therefore, to correct Bat Sheva in the property of mercy, she was joined with Uriah. As a result, she became fit for queenship, and became the Queen of Israel.

133. Domeh said to Him: "Master of the World, what is revealed to You is concealed from him." The Creator answered: "Whatever David did was done with My permission. For no man goes to war without first giving his wife a *get* (document of divorce)." Domeh then said: "But if this is so, David should have waited three months, which he did not." The Creator replied: "This extension is only necessary to make certain that the woman is not pregnant from her previous husband. But it is known to Me that Uriah never went near her, for My Name is imprinted in him as testimony. Indeed, Uriah is *Ohr-Iah*, the Creator's Light, though it is written *Uriahu* = *Ohr* + *i* + *a* + *hu* (*Yod-Hey*-Vav), without the last *Hey*, *Malchut*, which proves that he did not use *Malchut*."

The letters *Yod-Hey* in Uriah's name (*Aleph-Reish-Yod-Hey*) indicate that he had never touched Bat Sheva. This is because Uriah refers to *GAR* without *VAK*. And *The Zohar* emphasizes that whenever *VAK* is used, the name *Uriahu* is applied. However, it is written here that Uriah was Bat Sheva's first husband, meaning that he had nothing of *VAK* in him, but only *GAR*—the Light of *Hochma* without the Light of *Hassadim*, for *Vav* signifies *Hassadim*. This is why he could not come near Bath Sheba.

134. Domeh said to Him: "Master of the World, this is exactly what I have said: if You knew that Uriah had never laid with her, then who revealed it to David? He should have waited three months. And if You will say that David knew that Uriah had never laid with her, why did he send Uriah to his wife, saying: 'Go down to your house, and wash your feet?'"

Usually the readers of the Torah give this example of "a love triangle" as evidence of King David's less than exalted qualities and of the inconsistency of the Creator's judgment—how He forgave David for "killing" Uriah, and so forth. We must remember that the Torah speaks only of the spiritual worlds and their laws, which have no obvious consequences in our world. There is a cause-and-effect connection: whatever occurs in our world is a result of a Higher cause, but in no way is it vice versa, i.e., whatever is described in the Upper World does not necessarily need to manifest in ours. To consider the Torah a narrative about our world relegates the Torah of the world of *Atzilut*, the Creator's holy names, the Creator's Light, to the lowest level of creation, which is strictly forbidden: "Do not make an idol for yourself."

135. He replied to him: "Of course, David did not know, but he waited more than three months, as four months had passed." As we have learned, on the 15th day of *Nissan*, David ordered all the people of Israel to prepare for war, Yoav—on seventh day of *Nissan*. They conquered the lands of Moav and remained there for four months, until he went to Bat Sheva in the month of *Elul*. And on *Yom Kippur*, the Creator forgave him his sin. But there are those who say that David dispatched his orders on the seventh day of *Adar*, the troops assembled on the 15th day of *Iyar*, he went to Bat Sheva on the 15th day of *Elul*, and on *Yom Kippur* the Creator forgave him and spared him from death at the hands of the angel Domeh.

Domeh is in charge of adultery. And since David was forgiven on the Day of Atonement, he thereby escaped death at the hands of Domeh. However, death was a consequence of Uriah's death at the hands of Amon's sons, as is recorded in the book of Kings (*Melachim*, 1, 15:5), "For David did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from anything that He commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite."

136. Domeh said: "Master of the World, I have nonetheless one claim against him: why did he open his mouth and say: 'The Lord is righteous, for a mortal does so,' thus condemning himself to death. Hence, I have the power to bring death upon him." The Creator replied to him: "You are not allowed to bring death upon him, for he has repented and confessed: 'I have sinned before the Creator,' even though he did not sin. But he did sin in one matter—the killing of Uriah. I have recorded his punishment, and he had received it." Then Domeh immediately gave up his complaints, and returned, despondent, to his place.

The last letter *Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH* has two points—restriction (strictness) and mercy. And all the corrections of *Malchut* with the help of the covenant (circumcision) are intended to conceal strictness and reveal mercy. Then, the Creator's name descends into *Malchut*. Even though *Malchut* exists there under the ban of the first restriction (strictness and judgment), and all the impure forces cling onto her, this point is nonetheless concealed, and only *Bina*'s property of mercy is revealed. Thus, the impure forces-desires, which are foreign to holiness and spirituality, are powerless and cannot cling to her.

To violate the covenant means to reveal the strictness and judgment in *Malchut* (the letter *Hey*). As a result, the impure forces immediately cling to her, for this is their property—a part of them. The holy soul, the Creator's name, thereby disappears at once, as it is written (*Iyov*, 4:9): "By the breath of God they perish."

David himself is the part of *Malchut* related to *Malchut's* property of mercy. Hence, he requires special care so as to prevent *Malchut's* property of strictness from being revealed in him. For he who reveals the property of strictness and violates the covenant with the Creator, surrenders himself to the impure forces, which condemn him to death. This is because the property of strictness reveals itself within him before the impure force (the angel Domeh), who wished to cling to David's soul and drag it to hell.

Although he was innocent, David begged the Creator's forgiveness for adultery, and received it. But with regard to David sending Uriah to his death, Domeh had no right to ask the Creator for punishment, as he is only in charge of adultery.

137. And David said to this: "Were it not for the Creator's help, Domeh had nearly claimed my soul." "Were it not for the Creator's help" means "had the Creator not been my guard and guide against the angel Domeh." "Nearly" means that only the distance as thin as a thread remained for Domeh to drag my soul to hell.

David is *Malchut*, of whom it is written (*Mishley*, 5:5): "Her feet descend to death," for she is the end, conclusion of holiness (the spiritual). The impure forces originate in *Malchut*, and she sustains them, as it is said (*Tehilim*, 103:19): "His kingdom rules over all."

However, when *Malchut* exists in her corrected property of mercy (item 122), she is defined as consisting of two points: her own point of judgment and the point of mercy that she received from *Bina*. Her point of judgment is concealed, while the point of mercy is revealed. And thanks to this correction, all that the impure forces can get from *Malchut* is a *Ner Dakik* (tiny luminescence), which only sustains their existence, but does not allow for their spreading.

Ner Dakik, the source of existence for the impure forces, is also known as *Hoteh Dakik*, a small sin, the root of sins, as it is written (Talmud, *Sukkah*, 52:1): "Initially, the impure force seems as thin as a spider web, but then grows as thick as a shaft." And it is called small (*Dakik*), for judgment and restrictions are concealed within the property (point) of mercy.

However, he who violates the covenant causes the point of judgment in *Malchut* to be revealed. As a result, the impure forces cling to *Malchut* and draw much Light from her, thus receiving the strength to spread and expand. And he who does so is said to be forsaking his own soul, as it is written: "By the breath of God they perish" (*Iyov*, 4:9).

And when he merits returning to the Creator, he returns and corrects *Malchut* with the property of mercy. This is why this process is called *Teshuva*

(return), from the word of *Tashuv* (to return) + "A," where "A" (*Hey*) designates the Creator. In other words, it is the return to the property of mercy, whereas the property of judgment goes back to being concealed in the property of mercy, like a small candle, and nothing more.

It is therefore written: WERE IT NOT FOR THE CREATOR'S HELP, referring to His acceptance of my return and repelling the angel Domeh by bringing *Malchut* back to her place (to the property) of mercy, reducing the property of judgment to a mere small candle, a hair's-breadth fire, whose LIGHT SEPARATES ME FROM THE IMPURE FORCE.

This is that minimal Light that must always remain between *Malchut* and the impure force, so as to allow *Malchut* to exist and be sustained by this small Light, called "small sin," so small that DOMEH WOULD NOT DRAG MY SOUL TO HELL FOR IT.

It is precisely the magnitude of this Light that saved me from the hands of Domeh, for had the property of judgment not returned to *Malchut* in the measure of a small sin, I would have fallen into the hands of Domeh.

138. Therefore, man should be careful not to say what David said, for one cannot say to the angel Domeh that "It was an error" (*Kohelet*, 5:5), as it was with David, when the Creator won the dispute against Domeh. "Why should the Creator be angry over your word" (*Kohelet*, 5:5), i.e., for what you have said. "Destroyed the work of your hands" (*Kohelet*, 5:5) i.e., the sacred flesh, the holy covenant, which you have broken, and are therefore to be dragged to hell by the angel Domeh.

There are two ways to return to the Creator ("Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," items 45, 59, 64; Talmud, *Yoma*, 86:2):

1) Repentance out of fear, when intentional sins become unintentional,

2) Repentance out of love, when intentional sins become merits.

Before the end of correction, when the forces of strictness, restriction, and judgment are still needed in the world, as it is written (*Kohelet*, 3:14), "The Creator hath so made it that man should fear Him," *Malchut* must sustain the existence of the impure forces as *Ner Dakik*, so they will not disappear from the world.

Therefore, at such a time (in this state), *Malchut's* corrections are made in two points: mercy and judgment. However, judgment is concealed, while mercy acts openly. This is why the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is feared: if man is worthy—it is good, if not—it is evil (items 120–124).

Therefore, DURING THE 6,000 YEARS, WE RETURN TO THE CREATOR ONLY OUT OF FEAR, which causes our intentional sins to turn into unintentional ones—errors. As a result of our repentance, we bring *Malchut* back to the property of mercy. But strictness and judgment are concealed in her to the extent of a small candle (small sin), since *Malchut* must still remain in the property of fear. Hence, this return is called "the return out of fear."

The small sin that must remain is also called "unintentional sin," an "error," a "mistake," for it is not regarded as a sin in and of itself. Rather, it only leads man to commit an unintentional sin. Man sins intentionally only after having first committed an unintentional sin: he committed something unintentionally, but it turned out that he has sinned.

Thus, this small sin remains in *Malchut*, but although it remains, it is not really considered a sin. Yet, through this concealed judgment and strictness we come to intentional sins. This is why it is said: "Initially, it is as a hair's-breadth," i.e., like a small sin. But then, unless we properly guard our covenant, it "becomes as thick as a shaft," as the property of strictness and judgment becomes revealed in *Malchut*.

It is hence said that Domeh stands at the gates of hell, as the power of a small sin is only an entrance, for it is said that it looks as thin as a spider web. Therefore, our repentance is called "forgiven sins," which turn into unintentional errors, as though they were mistakes. For a small sin remains, which is capable of leading us to intentional sins.

All this refers to the repentance out of fear, whereas the second kind is the repentance out of love, when intentional sins turn to merits (item 126).

Therefore, MAN SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO SAY WHAT DAVID SAID, i.e., not to utter the word that causes the property of judgment in *Malchut* to be revealed (as David had done). FOR ONE CANNOT SAY TO THE ANGEL DOMEH THAT IT WAS AN ERROR, for he is unsure as to whether he can return to the Creator right away, so that his sin would be forgiven and made unintentional, AS IT WAS WITH DAVID, WHEN THE CREATOR WON THE DISPUTE AGAINST DOMEH.

It happened with David because throughout his life all of his actions before the Creator were pure, he had committed no crimes, and the only exception was his act toward Uriah. Hence, the Creator became his defender, and helped him return to Him at once, and his sin was turned into an error, as it is said in *The Zohar* (item 137): WERE IT NOT FOR THE CREATOR'S HELP, DOMEH

HAD NEARLY CLAIMED MY SOUL. But other people should fear this angel, for an unintentional sin may lead them to hell at the hands of Domeh.

DESTROYED THE WORK OF YOUR HANDS, THE SACRED FLESH, THE HOLY COVENANT, WHICH YOU HAVE VIOLATED, AND ARE THEREFORE TO BE DRAGGED TO HELL BY THE ANGEL DOMEH. The correction in us called "the holy covenant" is regarded as "the work of our hands," as it is written: "Confirm the work of our hands." The holy soul is called the sacred flesh, as it is said, "Out of my flesh shall I see the Creator" (*Iyov*, 19:26) (item 131). Because of the revelation of the property of strictness and judgment in *Malchut*, the correction of the covenant was corrupted, and Domeh drags the soul to hell.

Therefore, THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS (item 130). In the end of correction, the Heavens will declare the work of His hands, as the reward for all these corrections will be revealed. It will become clear that this was THE WORK OF HIS HANDS, and NOT OURS', and THE HEAVENS DECLARE this. And the great *Zivug RAV PAALIM U MEKABTZIEL* will be made on these actions (corrections) (item 92). DECLARE refers to the Light's descent from Above.

Know that this is the only difference in our world before and after the end of correction. Before the end of correction, *Malchut* is called the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, for *Malchut* is the revelation of the Creator's governance over this world. And until people achieve the state where they can receive His Light (as He conceived and prepared for everyone back at the Thought of Creation), the world will be ruled by good and evil, by reward and punishment.

The reason for this is that our *Kelim de Kabbalah* (vessels of reception) are impure, stained by egoism, which (i) prevents the Creator's Light from filling theses desires, and (ii) separates us from the Creator. And the infinite goodness that He has prepared for us may only be received in altruistic desires, for these delights are not limited by the bounds of creation, like egoistic pleasures, in which fulfillment instantly douses the pleasure.

Hence, it is written: "The Creator hath made everything for His own glory" (*Mishley*, 16:4), i.e., all the deeds in the world were initially created by Him so that we could please Him. Therefore, people in our world are engaged in things that are totally opposite from what they should be doing, according to the purpose of their creation. After all, the Creator clearly states that He created the world for Himself: "I have created it for My glory" (*Yeshayahu*, 43:7).

Yet, we claim the exact opposite—that the whole world was created for us, and we desire to swallow it whole, for our own pleasure, satisfaction, indulgence, and exaltation. So it is no surprise we are unworthy of receiving the Creator's perfect goodness. And thus He rules over us through good and evil, in the form of reward and punishment, for one depends on the other: reward and punishment give rise to good and evil.

Because we use our desires to receive (pleasure), thus becoming opposite from the Creator, we perceive His governance towards us as evil. This stems from the fact that man cannot perceive obvious evil from the Creator, as this would greatly undermine the creatures' perception of the great and perfect Creator, for the Perfect one cannot create evil.

Therefore, to the extent that man feels bad and evil, and denies the Divine Providence, a veil immediately falls over him, and the sensation of the Creator's existence disappears. This is the worst punishment in the world!

Hence, the sensation of good and evil in the Creator's governance gives us a feeling of reward and punishment. This is because he who exerts efforts not to lose faith in the Creator's existence and governance, even if he tastes evil in His governance, is rewarded with finding strength to not lose faith in the governance and good purpose of the Creator's "evil" influence. But if he had not yet merited the opportunity to exert efforts in believing that the Creator pursues a definite purpose by sending him unpleasant sensations, he is punished with remoteness from faith in the Creator and the sensation of His existence.

Therefore, although He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the world, it remains semi-concealed from those who perceive both good and evil. For when they perceive evil, the impure force is allowed to conceal the Creator's governance and faith in Him. Thus, man suffers the worst punishment in the world—the sensation of detachment from the Creator—and becomes filled with doubts and denial of the Creator's existence and governance. And when he returns to the Creator, he receives a corresponding reward, and is able to unite with Him once again.

But through this very governance of reward and punishment, the Creator has prepared for us the opportunity to utilize this governance in order to achieve the end of correction, when all people attain their corrected *Kelim* (desires), and use them to bring pleasure to the Creator, as it is written that He has created everything for Himself! In other words, our bestowal must be absolute.

Then the great *Zivug* of *Atik* will be revealed, we will all return to the Creator out of love, all our intentional sins will turn to merits, all evil will be felt as

infinite goodness, and His Divine Providence will be revealed in the entire world. Thus, ALL SHALL SEE that only He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the world, and that no one acts besides Him. After the sensation of evil and punishment is turned to one of goodness and reward, and our egoistic desires become altruistic, we are given the opportunity to attain the Maker, for we conform to the work of His hands by blessing and exalting Him above all evil and all punishments we had once suffered.

However, the most important point to stress here is that until the end of correction, all the corrections were considered as THE WORK OF OUR HANDS. This is why we receive rewards or punishments for them. But in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, it will be revealed that all the corrections and all the punishments are THE WORK OF HIS HANDS.

Thus, it is said, THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. This is because the great *Zivug* signifies what the Heavens will declare, that all the deeds are the work of His hands, that He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the whole of creation.

139. Thus, "the Heavens declare the work of His hands." These are the friends who have united in the bride (*Malchut*) by studying the Torah on the night of the holiday of *Shavuot*. They are all participants of the covenant with her, and are called "the work of His hands." And she praises and notes each and every one of them. What is Heaven, firmament? It is the firmament, where the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiac are located. This firmament is called the Book of Remembrance, and it declares and records them, so they shall become the sons of His palace, and He will fulfill all their desires.

Yesod of *Zeir Anpin*, onto which a *Zivug* is made for the revelation of all the Supernal Degrees, called the sun, the moon, the stars, and the signs of the zodiac, is referred to as the "firmament." All of the Supernal stars exist on the firmament, called *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin*. And everything exists thanks to it, for it makes a *Zivug* with *Nukva*, called earth, and shines upon her with all these stars, i.e., gives these stars to her.

It turns out that *Malchut* is smaller than the sun (ZA). But at the end of correction, the light of the moon will be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun will be seventy times greater than before—*Malchut* will become as big as *Zeir Anpin* during the six days of creation. When will this be? Rabbi Yehuda answers: on the day when death disappears forever, and the Creator and His Name are as one.

The Heaven or the firmament (ZA) is *HaVaYaH*, called "the sun." *Malchut* (*Nukva*) receives from it, and is called "the moon." During the 6,000 years, *Malchut* receives the Light from the six days of creation, but *Zeir Anpin* does not reveal that the Creator and His Name are one. Hence, the moon is smaller than the sun. Its lesser size is a result of *Malchut's* consisting of both good and evil, reward and punishment.

There is a considerable difference between "Him" and "His Name." "His Name" is *Malchut*, where all the *Zivugim*, and all the states of unification and separation are accumulated. But at the end of correction, when death is said to disappear forever, *HaVaYaH* and His Name will be one. The Name (*Malchut*) will be like the Light of *Zeir Anpin*—only goodness without evil, and the private governance will be revealed in her, which means that the light of the moon will become equal to that of the sun.

Therefore at this time (in this state), *Nukva* will be called "the Book of Remembrance," for all human deeds are recorded in her. *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin* is called "remembrance," for it remembers the deeds of the entire world, studies, and analyzes all the creatures that receive from it.

During the 6,000 years before the end of correction, the Book of Remembrance exists sometimes together and sometimes separately. But at the end of correction, these two degrees will merge into one, and *Malchut* herself will be called "the Book of Remembrance," when ZA and *Malchut* become a single whole, for *Malchut*'s Light will equal that of ZA.

Therefore, the firmament is a place where the sun, the moon, the stars, and the signs of the zodiac are located. The firmament is *Yesod* of ZA, which emanates all the Light of the world and sustains all existence. It passes the Light onto *Malchut* when she is smaller than it, and the state, "He and His Name are one" has not yet been achieved. And at the end of correction, it will be exactly like *Malchut*, who is hence called the Book of Remembrance.

Thus, when *Malchut* receives all the properties of *Zeir Anpin* (the firmament, called "Remembrance"), she will become the Book of Remembrance, i.e., she and the firmament will be one.

140. Day after day brings *Omer*—a sheaf. The holy day out of those days (*Sefirot*) of the King (*Zeir Anpin*) praises the friends, who study the Torah on the night of *Shavuot*. They say to each other, "Day after day shall bring a sheaf," and praise it. And the words "night after night" refer to all the degrees, *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, that reign in the night, praise one another by

each receiving from a friend, from another *Sefira*. And the state of complete perfection makes them beloved friends.

Having explained that THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS is THE BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE. *The Zohar* continues to clarify the writings in the *Book of Malachi* (3:14-16): "You have said, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all? And now we regard the wicked as blessed: they have settled in their wickedness, tried the Creator, and were liberated.' Then those who feared the Creator spoke WITH EACH OTHER, and the Creator hearkened and heard, and a BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE was recorded before Him for those who fear the Creator (every day) and honor His (holy) name. 'And they shall become chosen for Me,'—the Lord said,—'on the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his son, who serves him,—on the day that I shall work a miracle, on the day of the end of correction.'"

Before the end of correction, before we prepare our desires "to receive" only for the Creator's sake, and not for self-gratification, *Malchut* is called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," for *Malchut* governs the world in accordance with man's deeds. Inasmuch as we are not yet ready to receive all the delight that the Creator prepared for us in His Thought of Creation, we have no choice but to submit to *Malchut*'s governance of good and evil.

And this very governance prepares us for the eventual correction of our desires to receive (*Kelim de Kabbalah*) into desires for bestowal (*Kelim de Hashpaa*), thus achieving the goodness and delight that He conceived to bestow upon us.

As was previously stated, the sensation of good and evil creates in us a feeling of reward and punishment. Therefore, when one tries to retain his faith in the Creator while he is feeling evil, but still continues to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* as he did before, he is rewarded.

And if he cannot overcome this test and is distanced from the Creator, he becomes filled with doubts with regard to the good governance. Alternatively, he stops believing that the Creator governs the world altogether, or feels resentment towards the Creator in response to these unpleasant sensations. The Creator punishes for all thoughts, just as He does for all actions (Talmud, *Kidushim*, 40:1).

It is also said that one's righteousness is of no help to him on the day of his sin. But sometimes man's doubts are so overpowering that he regrets even the good deeds he had previously done, and says (*Malachi*, 3:14): "You have said, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all?'" He becomes

a complete sinner, who regrets his righteous past (complaining that he wasted time and effort instead of enjoying this world like the others!), and his doubts and regrets cause him to lose all of his good deeds, as the Torah warns us: "One's righteousness is of no help to him on the day of his sin."

Yet, even in this state, man can return to the Creator. However, he is said to be beginning on his path anew, as though he is a newborn, for all of his past good deeds are gone.

One should not take the aforesaid literally, even in its spiritual context, for he who works to achieve unconditional altruistic deeds constantly experiences descents and ascents, is filled with doubts, and tries to overcome them. Only one who advances in this manner feels that he is starting his work every time anew, that he understands no more than a newborn baby. Conversely, one who belongs to the masses—who works in his egoistic desires—is constantly filled with self-reverence and thinks that on each new day, he adds to the previous one, and nothing seems to disappear. This makes his spiritual growth impossible.

Only one who truly ascends the spiritual degrees feels like a newborn baby before his Creator at each moment. After all, as he ascends from one degree to the next, the previous state (degree) disappears, and until he attains a Higher Degree, he is in total darkness and feels that he is starting from scratch, rather than supplementing his assets, which is how the spiritually inanimate (*Domem de Kedusha*) feel.

The governance of good and evil causes us to ascend and descend—each in his own way... Each ascent is considered a separate day (sensation of Light). As a result of the great descent that he has just undergone by regretting his past good deeds, man moves into a state of ascent, as one who is born anew.

Therefore, at each ascent, it is as though one starts over on his path to the Creator. Thus, each ascent is regarded as a separate day, for there is a break (night) between these states. And each descent is hence considered a separate night.

This is what *The Zohar* tells us: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF—in each ascent we draw nearer to the Creator's greatest day (the end of correction), HE PRAISED THE FRIENDS AND THEY WOULD SPEAK WITH EACH OTHER. This is because through the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, they will all merit returning to the Creator out of love, for the desire "to receive" will be completely corrected, and they will begin to receive only for the Creator's sake, so as to bestow delight upon Him.

In this great *Zivug* (unity), we will reveal all the supreme goodness and delight of the Thought of Creation. And we will then see with our own eyes that

all those punishments we experienced in the states of descent, which made us doubt and regret the efforts exerted in the Torah, all those punishments would correct and purify us. And now, at the end of correction, they are the direct cause for our sensation and reception of the Creator's goodness.

Had it not been for the terrible suffering and punishments, we would not have been able to achieve the state of being filled with perfect delight. Therefore, even these intentional sins turn into merits, as it is said: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF—each ascent in *Malchut*, up to the end of correction, is like a separate day.

This day is revealed by the word, which supports the Torah in all its greatness. What is this word? When they say, "How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all?"

These words brought punishments that have now become merits, for all the perfection and magnificence of that great day can now be revealed thanks to these very punishments of the past. Thus, those who uttered these words are now regarded as those who fear the Creator and praise His Name. (And these words could only have been spoken by those who made efforts to advance on the Path of Truth, and felt frustrated upon receiving uncorrected egoism of a Higher Degree. In other words, frustration comes only to those who truly work for the Creator's sake.)

Hence, it is said about them: "The Lord said, 'On the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his son, who serves him,'" for all the nights—states of descent, suffering and punishments, which sever their connection with the Creator—now become merits and good deeds. And the night turns into day, darkness turns into Light, and there are no divisions between days, and all 6,000 years gather into one great day.

And all the *Zivugim* that were made one after another, revealed the ascents and the separate, consecutive degrees, have now gathered into one degree of one great *Zivug*—Unity, which shines in the world from end to end. Hence, it is written: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF, that is, the intervals between days now become magnificent glory, for they have been turned into merits. Thus, everything becomes the Creator's one glorious day!

And the words "night after night" refer to all the degrees that reign in the night. They praise one another, and each receives everything that man feels as suffering in a state of descent—this is called night. And through such sensations, intervals are formed between the sensations of day.

On the whole, each degree is separated from one another. Night is an aspiration to attain the Creator. And while each night is full of darkness, now all the nights (states of feeling emptiness, hopelessness, heaviness of efforts, the Creator's concealment) gather together and form a unified vessel of reception of Supernal wisdom, which fills the entire earth with Knowledge of the Creator, and the nights shine like days.

For each night receives its own part of Knowledge only by joining with the other nights. Thus, each night is said to help the other nights in the Knowledge. Put differently, man is ready to receive the Knowledge only if he joins with the other nights.

And since night is a feeling of lacking knowledge, attainment, and sensation of the Creator by uniting, they form a perfect vessel of reception of the Knowledge of the Creator. And they praise one another, for each has received his share of the Knowledge of the Creator thanks exclusively to his friend, through uniting with him. Only in unity do they merit reception of the Supernal Knowledge. Hence, it is said that through the perfection achieved by all, the nights became beloved friends.

141. Does he speak of the others in the world who do not obey the Creator, and whom He does not wish to hear? But they made lines through all the earth, that is, these things make a line out of those that reside Above and out of those that reside below. From the first—firmaments are made, and from the second, from their return—earth. And should you say that they revolve around the earth in one place, it is said that they are also at the end of the world.

Thus far, we have discussed the most terrible punishments and suffering in the world—being detached from the Creator and losing faith in Him. Moreover, *The Zohar* tells us that all the punishments, all the suffering of hell and of the body, which stem from personal sins and fill this world, also gather and are included into one great *Zivug*, as it is written: "And it shall come to pass, that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so the Lord will rejoice over you to cause you to perish, and to destroy you" (*Devarim*, 28:63).

All will gather and become one great Light, and everything will turn to great joy and bliss. It is therefore said that THERE IS NO SHEAF AND NO THINGS IN THE OTHER WORDS OF THE WORLD, which man perceives in this world as suffering. But they will turn to joy and bliss, and thus the holy King, too, shall wish to hear them.

So, all the suffering during the 6,000 years will gather at the end of correction and will become a tremendous delight, as the prophet said: "In those days and

in that time, said the Lord, even if the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, there shall be none" (*Yirmiyahu*, 50:20).

Everything will turn to merits, so much so that they will ask and search "for the past sins that can be included in the *Zivug*, and which can be laughed at, for they were felt as suffering and now they are joy and bliss," but they will not find any. There will be no more suffering in its true form, as it was in the past, although they greatly desire to find it and feel it, for all suffering will have now been turned to great Light.

This Supernal Degree, created by the great *Zivug* out of all the souls and all the deeds, both good and evil, is now defined as a pillar of Light, which shines from one end of the world to the other. And this unity is perfect, as is said by the prophet (*Zachariah*, 14:9): "And the Creator shall be one (for all), and His Name one"—all the senses will grasp the Creator's complete and perfect name, "the Infinitely good."

Precisely because this most Supernal Degree is achieved as a result of bringing together all the suffering and punishments, it fills the entire universe with Light, including earth. However, it should be noted that the suffering of which *The Zohar* speaks is not the suffering of the body's lack of pleasure. It is the suffering caused by the absence of unity with the Creator!

But if suffering is so useful, why is it written, "neither them nor the reward for them?" Suffering is necessary, for it is correction. However, the true suffering, for which man can receive the degree of the end of correction, is caused by temporary distancing from the Torah and *Mitzvot* as a result of feeling the pain of suffering, and this pains the Creator. Thus, the *Shechina* suffers, for when man suffers in his heart, he speaks ill of her, willingly or unwillingly. Although the Torah tells him to be patient, to endure and have faith above reason—selfless faith that all of this is the correction that he must undergo—he debases the *Shechina* by being unwilling to endure them and achieve the end of correction.

Man's soul is also a *Partzuf* consisting of ten *Sefirot*. In its initial, spiritually undeveloped, unborn state, the soul is defined as a point, as a potential future spiritual body. If man works on himself, this point within him gradually acquires a screen, and he makes a *Zivug* on it. He repels all the pleasures for the sake of the Creator's desires, and receives Light in this point. Thus, he "amplifies" it to the size of a *Partzuf* and transforms it into a body, a newborn *Partzuf*.

Afterwards he continues to cultivate his screen, gradually nurturing the small state into the big one, until he receives all of the Light destined for him

by the Creator within his spiritual body. This state is called "the end of the personal correction." When all the personal corrections merge into one, the general correction of the entire world (of *Malchut*) will occur. *Malchut* is a *Partzuf* that consists of separate souls; each soul, the *Partzuf* of each soul, is part of *Malchut*, and *Malchut* is a collection, the sum of all the *Partzufim* that are to be made by all the people. To make a *Partzuf* is to acquire a screen and become filled with Light.

THOSE THAT RESIDE ABOVE AND THOSE THAT RESIDE BELOW refers to the order of time in the spiritual, eternal world, which is different from ours. When the Creator wished to create the world, He immediately created everything: all the souls filled with Light in a state of absolute perfection, called "the end of correction," where all the creatures receive the infinite delight that He envisioned.

This ultimate state was born with the Creator's first thought to create the world, and it exists in its final form from the very first moment, for the future, present, and past are merged in the Creator, and the factor of time does not exist in Him.

All human progress is necessary only to enable us to imagine that the following is also possible:

1. Change of time: the stretching of time into infinity, i.e., when time stops and the present merges with the past and the future; when time reverses its course or disappears. Yet, time is the only thing that provides us with a perception of existence. By "switching off" time, we stop perceiving that we exist!
2. Transformation of space: expanding and contracting of space into a point; space taking other forms, other dimensions; infinity and total absence of space altogether.

I've already dealt with these issues in my book, *Kabbalah, Science and the Meaning of Life*, and I would prefer not to digress from the text of *The Zohar*. However, to understand our true state, and not the one we currently perceive, it is essential to remember that notions of time and space do not exist with regard to Creator. In reality, we are completely different and exist in a completely different form and state from what we presently perceive. We feel this way because our sensations are distorted by our egoism, which infuse our senses and possess our bodies, like a cloud.

Therefore, all that is described in the Torah refers strictly to the spiritual realm. This information transcends time, referring at once to our past, present

and future, for time exists only with regard to those who are still confined to their egoistic *Kelim* (desires). From this we can understand what is said in the Torah: "The Creator showed Adam each generation and its representatives, and showed it to Moshe as well" (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 38:2).

Yet, if the above described unfolded before the creation of these generations, how can the Creator show them to Adam and Moshe? It is possible because all the souls with all their destinies from the moment of their creation to the end of their correction emerged before the Creator in their completeness and reside in the Supernal Garden of Eden. From there they descend and enter the bodies of our world, each at their own "time." And there, "Above," the Creator revealed them to Adam, Moshe, and all the others who were worthy of it. However, this is a difficult notion, and not every mind is ready to grasp it.

Therefore, *The Zohar* says (*Terumah*, 163) that the way the six *Sefirot* of *Zeir Anpin* unite as ONE above *Chazeh de Zeir Anpin*, where they are free from the *Klipot*, *Malchut* unites with *Zeir Anpin* below his *Chazeh*, so that unity exists below, as it does Above. For the Creator (*Zeir Anpin*) is One (male) Above. And *Malchut* becomes One (female), so that One (male) would be with One (female). This is the secret of unity expressed in the words: "He and His Name are one"; "He" (ZA) and "His Name" (*Malchut*) are within one another.

The degree that is born at the end of correction, in the state of "He and His Name are one," already exists Above as the sum of all the 600,000 souls and deeds during the 6,000 degrees (called "years") in the world, which will emerge before the end of correction, but exist in their eternal form Above, where the future is as present.

Therefore, the pillar of Light that will shine upon the world from one end to the other at the end of correction already exists in the Supernal Garden of Eden, which illuminates it with the same brilliance that will be revealed to us in the future. This is because at the end of correction the two degrees will shine as one, and "He and His Name will be one." A pillar (line) of Light will appear, made of those that reside Above (the souls that reside in the Supernal Garden of Eden) and those that reside below (the souls clothed in the bodies of our world). And "One receives One"; these two degrees shine together, and reveal the Creator's unity thereby, as it is said that on that day "He and His Name will be one."

From the aforesaid one can assume that the pillar of Light that shines in the Supernal Garden of Eden descends and shines in the Garden of Eden of our world. But this is not so. Rather, FROM THE FIRST—FIRMAMENTS

ARE MADE, for this degree exits onto a *Zivug* of *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin*, called "firmament." Therefore, all the *Zivugim* that ascend above the firmament shine upon those that receive them from the firmament and below. The degree above the firmament is referred to as "Heaven," and the degree that receives from the firmament is called "earth."

When the line (pillar) of Light unites the inhabitants of Above and those of below, the distinction between the Supernal Garden of Eden and the inhabitants of this world still remains. This is because the inhabitants of the Supernal Garden of Eden receive from a *Zivug* above the firmament, and what they receive is called "the new Heaven for the inhabitants of Above." And only a small luminescence, called "the new earth," descends below the firmament to the inhabitants of below. This is what *The Zohar* says: "From the first—firmaments are made, and from the second, from their return—earth."

Although in this great *Zivug*, as in all *Zivugim*, all that is decided above the firmament, above the *Zivug*, spreads down to earth, below the line of the *Zivug*, one should not think that this *Zivug* (like all the previous ones) is merely a thin line of Light, called "one," a limited, inner place, as it is written at the beginning of creation: "Let the waters gather together unto one place," i.e., in the inner place of the worlds (and not the outer), a place of Israel.

But the Light of this *Zivug* revolves around the world and fills it whole. This Light reaches even the outer parts of the worlds (the nations of the world), as the prophet writes: "The earth shall be filled with Knowledge of the Creator" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9).

142. And since out of them Heavens were created, who resides there? He returned and said, "There is a shelter for the sun in them. This is the holy sun, called *Zeir Anpin*, and it dwells and resides there, and adorns itself with them."

143. Since *Zeir Anpin* resides in those firmaments and clothes in them, he emerges like a bridegroom out of his wedding canopy, and rejoices and races along these firmaments, and exits them and enters, and races toward a tower in a different place. He emerges from one end of Heaven, from the Upper World, from the Highest place, from *Bina*. And his season—where is it? It is the opposite place below, i.e., *Malchut*, which is the year's season that forms all the ends and binds everything—from Heaven to this firmament.

The Zohar speaks of the great secret of the sun coming out of its hiding. It is worth noting that Kabbalists often use the word "secret" only to explain and as if reveal the mystery in the passages that follow. The reader should nevertheless

understand that there are no secrets in the world. Man attains everything from his degree. Even in our world, in the process of his mental development, man attains new notions on every new degree. And whatever he considered a secret only yesterday now becomes clear and revealed before him.

The same is true with regard to spiritual attainments. Kabbalah is called a secret wisdom, for it is concealed from ordinary people, it is a secret to them. But as soon as one acquires a screen and begins to perceive the spiritual world, he sees the secret becomes a reality. And this process continues until he completely attains the entire universe, all of the Creator's secrets ("Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," item 148).

The sun emerges from its hiding (sheath—*Nartik*), from under the *Huppah*, and rushes to a tower at a different place—after the great *Zivug* under the *Huppah*. *Zeir Anpin* leaves his hiding and enters *Malchut*, called the tower of *Oz* (strength) of the Creator's Name, for *Malchut* then ascends and unites with *ZA*, and they become as one.

The end of *Malchut* is called "the year's season." And until the end of correction, the impure forces, called "the end of days," attach themselves to it. Now, after the end of correction, it is still necessary to correct this part of *Malchut*, called "the end of days." To this end, the sun emerges from its hiding, LIKE THE BRIDEGROOM EMERGING FROM UNDER THE *HUPPAH*, and shines, and enters the tower of *Oz* (*Malchut*), races and shines on all the ends of *Malchut* to correct "the year's season" of the lower end of Heaven.

For this last action corrects all the ends of *Malchut* and unites all from the Heavens to the firmament. In other words, *Malchut* receives the Light of THE END OF HEAVENS above the firmament (*ZA*).

144. There is nothing hidden on account of the year's season and the phase of the sun that revolves in all directions. And there is no concealment, i.e., not a single Supernal Degree is hidden from him, for all were bound together and everyone appeared before him, and none could be concealed from him. Thanks to him and thanks to them he returned to them, to the friends, in the phase of complete return and correction. All this year and all this time is for the Torah (to study it), as it is written: "The Creator's Torah is perfect."

After the great *Zivug*, a restriction was imposed on all the Upper Light (item 94). Therefore, a new *Zivug* (TOWER) is necessary, which reveals anew all of the Upper Light that was concealed on account of the disappearance of the degree of *BON*, before it begins to ascend to *SAG*. Thus, NOTHING IS

CONCEALED FROM THAT PHASE OF THE SUN THAT REVOLVES IN ALL DIRECTIONS.

Indeed, a *Zivug* between the phase of the sun and the year's season corrects the ends of *Malchut* on all sides, until the correction is completed. Thus, *BON* ascends and becomes like *SAG*, which amounts to the complete correction of *BON*, whereupon THERE IS NO CONCEALMENT, NOT A SINGLE SUPERNAL DEGREE IS CONCEALED FROM HIM, for all the degrees and the Upper Light are once more revealed in their perfection. AND NOTHING CAN BE CONCEALED FROM Him, for all the degrees and Light gradually return to Him, until all become revealed.

It is hence said that the revelation does not occur at once, for while in its phase, the sun travels and shines in sufficient measure for a COMPLETE RETURN, as it is written that He punishes the sinners and cures the righteous, whereupon they all merit the complete revelation of the Star.

145. The word *HaVaYaH* is written six times, and there are six verses from "the Heavens declare" and until "The Creator's Torah is perfect" (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8). And this is the secret of the word *BERESHEET*, which consists of six letters: THE CREATOR CREATED ET (THE) HEAVENS AND THE EARTH, six words in all. The other sources of the verse from "The Creator's Torah is perfect" and until "they are better than gold" (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8) correspond to the six utterances of the name *HaVaYaH* in them. The sources from "the Heavens declare" through "The Creator's Torah is perfect" are for the six letters in the word *BERESHEET*, whereas the six names are for the six words from "the Creator created" through "the Heavens and the earth."

It is known that any degree born or revealed in the worlds is first revealed through its letters, which signifies the, as yet, unattainable. Afterwards, it appears in the combination of letters. This degree then becomes attainable, its contents become known, as previously described with the letters *RYU* = 216 and *AB* = 72 (item 116).

The six letters in the word *BERESHEET* contain everything that exists in Heaven and on earth, but in an unattainable form, and are hence designated by these letters alone, without their combinations. Then there are the six words: *Bara Elokim Et Ha-Shamayim Ve-Et Ha-Aretz* (THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH), where everything that the word *BERESHEET* contains (Heaven, earth, and all their inhabitants) is already attained.

The same principle allows us to understand what is included in the six verses from "the Heavens declare" to "The Creator's Torah is perfect." This is

just the beginning of the revelation of attaining the end of creation in the form of letters, as with the six letters in the word *BERESHEET*.

And the complete revelation, the attainment of the end of creation begins with the verse "The Creator's Torah is perfect." This verse contains six names, each of which constitutes unique attainment, thus indicating that only after the completion of this degree do all the letter combinations become revealed and attained in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, as it is said, NOTHING IS CONCEALED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIM.

This is why *The Zohar* says that THE WORD *BERESHEET*, WHICH CONSISTS OF six, IS WRITTEN (SPEAKS) ABOUT THIS SECRET. The word *BERESHEET* contains six letters, where Heaven and earth are concealed, before they become revealed in the six words, THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH.

The same applies to the six verses (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8): the great *Zivug* of the end of correction is not yet revealed from THE HEAVENS DECLARE to THE CREATOR'S TORAH IS PERFECT. Only after NOTHING IS CONCEALED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIM are the six names revealed, which in turn reveal the end of correction in its full perfection.

146. As they were sitting and talking, Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, entered. He said to them: "Certainly, the face of the *Shechina* has come, hence I called you *Pniel* (*Pnei*–face + *El*–Creator = the Creator's face)" (item 119), for you have seen the *Shechina* face to face. And now that you have attained Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada, it certainly refers to *Atik*, the *Sefira* of *Keter*, just as everything else that occurred afterwards, as it is written in the Torah: "And he slew the Egyptian." And he who is concealed from all—is *Atik*.

It is said in the continuation of "The Donkey Driver," who revealed the soul of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada to Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba, as a result of which Rabbi Shimon called them *Pniel*. For the soul of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada is a spiritual degree destined to be revealed in the future, at the end of correction. This is why they were in a state of concealment of the Upper Light (item 113), as was already mentioned with regard to the *Zivug* of the sun's phase and the year's season, until they have found Rabbi Shimon Ben Lakunya and others, thus meriting all the Light once again.

Therefore, Rabbi Shimon says to them, YOU HAVE ATTAINED, BENAYAHU BEN-YEHOYADA WAS REVEALED TO YOU. This means that they have already attained the six verses, the essence of THE HEAVENS DECLARE, and exist in the six names. When they have attained the soul of

Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada with the help of the donkey driver, their attainment had not yet been revealed to them, as they still existed in the six verses—the reason for their concealment. But now they have attained and revealed his soul, that it is the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, when everything is revealed to all.

147. The words, "He slew the Egyptian" are explained in another place, i.e., at a different degree, in a different way. He opened and said, "He slew the Egyptian, a man of good stature, five cubits high." All of this refers to the same secret. This Egyptian is the one who is well-known and is described as "very great in the land of Egypt in the eyes of the Jew," for he is great and honored, as that old man had already explained (item 99).

The Torah describes the killing of the Egyptian in the book *Shemot* (*2:12*). As we have already learned from the article about Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, it is expressed differently at a different degree (in a different language, the language of *Divrey HaYamim*). However, these two verses are the same secret, for it is written in the book *Shmuel* 1 (11:23): "And he slew the Egyptian, a prominent man," while in *Divrey HaYamim* it is written: "And he slew the Egyptian, a man of good stature, five cubits high." Both verses are the same secret, which *The Zohar* continues to clarify.

148. This case was examined at the Divine Assembly. "A prominent man" and "a man of good stature" are the same, as they constitute *Shabbat* and the bounds of *Shabbat*. As it is written: "You shall measure it from outside the city." It is also written, "You shall not impede limitations in measure." Hence, he was a man of good stature. Precisely such, from one end of the world to the other. Such is he, Adam, the first man. And should you disagree, referring to the written "five cubits," know that these five cubits extend from one end of the world to the other.

The matter concerns the Divine Assembly, of which Rabbi Shimon said: "I saw those ascending, but how few they were" (Talmud, *Sukkah*, 45:2). There is a lower assembly of the angel Matat. However, the described above takes place in the Supernal Assembly, which will be clarified further.

"A prominent man" is the degree of Moshe, of whom it is written in the Torah: "And there hath not since risen a prophet in Israel such as Moshe" (*Devarim*, 34:10), of whom it is written "My servant Moshe is not so; he is trusted in all My house; with him do I speak mouth to mouth, clearly, and not with riddles" (*Bamidbar*, 12:7-8).

"A prominent man" also constitutes a measure, which extends from one end of the world to the other. Moreover, its form and size correspond to *Shabbat* and

the bounds of *Shabbat*, where the bounds of *Shabbat* are the end of its measure. During the 6,000 years, the bounds of *Shabbat* are limited by only 2,000 *Amah* (cubits). However, after the end of correction, the bounds of *Shabbat* will extend from one end of the world to the other, as it is written: "And the Lord shall be King over all the earth" (*Zachariah*, 14:9).

As we already know, the Light can descend and fill the *Partzufim* down to the level of *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*. *Shabbat* is a spiritual state when the worlds of *BYA* with all that inhabit them rise above the *Parsa* to the world of *Atzilut*. Above *Parsa* are only pure forces, corrected desires (*Kelim*). Hence, naturally there is no need to separate pure *Kelim* from impure ones and to correct them during *Shabbat*.

However, the Light of *Shabbat* shines not only in the world of *Atzilut*, but beyond its bounds as well. It thus affects the sixteen *Sefirot* from *Parsa* down to *Chazeh* of the world of *Yetzira* so the soul can be in the state of "*Shabbat*" with these desires, too. The language of our world describes this as the permission to transcend the bounds of the city of *Atzilut* (seventy *Amah*) by 2,000 *Amah* down to the *Chazeh* of the world of *Beria*, and then another 2,000 *Amah* from *Chazeh* of the world of *Beria* to *Chazeh* of the world of *Yetzira*. (Seventy *Amah* are regarded as being within the city limits.)

However, after all the *Kelim* (desires) are corrected, there will be no restrictions; the world of *Atzilut* will extend down to our world, and only the state of *Shabbat* will prevail in the entire world—in all desires of all creatures.

It is hence written: A PROMINENT MAN and A MAN OF GOOD STATURE are one and the same, for they constitute *Shabbat* and the bounds of *Shabbat*, as is said: AND YOU SHALL MEASURE FROM OUTSIDE THE CITY, and it is also written: YOU SHALL NOT IMPEDE JUDGMENT IN MEASURE. It follows that an object's measure represents its limit, just as the words A MAN OF GOOD STATURE alludes to the end, the bounds of *Shabbat* after the end of correction, which will extend from one end of the world to the other.

AND HE SHALL BE PRECISELY MAN OF GOOD STATURE indicates that size does not rule over him; rather, he rules over size, and it is he who determines this size according to his own will. SUCH IS HE, ADAM, who, prior to his sin, extended and shone from one end of the world to the other (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12:1), as the bounds of *Shabbat* after the end of correction.

FIVE CUBITS FROM ONE END OF THE WORLD TO THE OTHER—because the five cubits are the five *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*

that expand and fill everything from one end of the world to the other after the end of correction.

149. It is, as is written, "like a weaver's beam" (*Shmuel* 1, 17: 7) "as the Divine staff" (*Shemot*, 4:20) that was in his hand, which reveals by the secret name (Light) confirmed in it by the Light of the letter combinations that Betzalel and his disciples engraved, called "weaving," as is written, "He filled them and others, and BOUND them." And that staff—within it shone a secret name, inscribed on all its sides by the Light of the sages, who confirmed the secret name in forty-two properties. And the rest of what is written from here onward is similar to what the old man had already explained. Happy is his lot!

The secret of the letter combinations in sacred names is called "weaving," like a weaver joins his threads into a fabric, the letters join into combinations of sacred names, which designate man's spiritual level of their attainment. Hence, *The Zohar* says that the Creator's staff in Moshe's hand had engraved the letter combinations of the secret name, which Betzalel and his disciples engraved as they worked on the Tabernacle.

The Creator's staff is therefore called a "weaver's beam." The Hebrew word for "beam" is *MANOR* (from *OHR*—Light). This refers to the Light of the letter combinations in the secret name, which Betzalel weaved and engraved, as it is said, "by the Light of the letter combinations that Betzalel engraved."

However, the staff does not shine in all directions until the end of correction, for there is a distinction between the Creator's staff and that of Moshe. It is written of the staff of Moshe: "Put forth your hand and take it by the tail (of a snake), and it shall become a staff in your hand" (*Shemot*, 4:4). This means that it did not shine from all sides.

However, after the end of correction, it will shine in all directions, as it is said: "And the secret name shone from within that staff in all directions by the Light of sages, who confirmed the secret name in forty-two properties." For the secret name that was engraved on the staff shone in all directions, i.e., in the property called "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8). It will thus begin to shine evenly in all directions, whereas the Light of the name engraved on the staff is the Light of *Hochma* of the Name *MB*.

150. Be seated, dear friends. Be seated and let us renew the correction of the Bride on this night, for whomever joins her on this night shall be guarded Above and below in the coming year. And this year shall pass over him in peace. Such people are described in the verse: "The angel of the Lord stands

round those that fear Him, and delivers them. O taste and see that the Creator is good" (*Tehilim*, 34:8-9).

As was already stated in item 125, there are two explanations of the aforesaid. The first is that since the day of the giving of the Torah is the Light of the end of correction that abolishes death forever and brings freedom from the angel of death, one should exert to receive this Light on the day of *Shavuot* (Pentecost), as Light is renewed on the holiday and brings deliverance from death.

According to the second explanation, *Malchut* is called a "year," and the renewal of the Light by those who keep the Torah after the end of correction will also bring the complete and final correction of the year (*Malchut*). This is because the renewal of the Light by those who keep the Torah is referred to as the correction of the night of the bride, *Malchut*, called a "year." And this brings us to a corrected year.

Heaven and Earth

151. Rabbi Shimon opened and said, "In the beginning the Creator created the Heavens and the earth." This verse should be examined carefully, for whoever claims that there is another Creator disappears from the world, as it is written, "He who claims that there is another Creator perishes from both the earth and from Heavens, for there is no other Creator, but the Almighty."

Here *The Zohar* continues to discuss the correction of the bride. It starts with the first sentence of the Torah: IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, with the root and the source of all the corrections of the bride (*Malchut*) during the 6,000 years.

Malchut's entire correction occurs only through her union with *Bina* and the reception of *Bina's* properties. In the verse, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, the Creator is called *Elokim*, signifying *Bina*. This means that He created the world by the property of *Bina* for the purpose of correction.

Elokim consists of *MI-Bina* and *ELEH-Malchut*. Thanks to the constant union of *MI* and *ELEH*, the world can exist. The Creator is *Bina*, called *Elokim*, and as a result of *Ohr Hochma* clothing in *Ohr Hassadim*, the union of *MI* and *ELEH* provides *ELEH* with the property of *Bina*. It is through this correction that the world is able to exist.

The union of *MI* and *ELEH* does not permit for the existence of other, foreign, egoistic forces within the *Partzuf*. These are the so-called "other gods," who cannot sustain the world, as they separate *MI* from *ELEH* and do not clothe the Light of pleasure (*Hochma*) in the altruistic intention of *Hassadim* (for the Creator's sake), which leads to *Ohr Hochma* departing the *Partzuf*, leaving *ELEH*. Therefore, it is forbidden to believe that man is governed by any other forces besides the Creator, for instead of existence and reception of the Light of Life, such belief brings the world and man only ruin and disappearance of this Light.

152. With the exception of *ELEH*, everything is written in Aramaic. This is called "translation." He asks: However, should you suggest that it is because the holy angels do not understand the translation, i.e., the Aramaic language, then everything should have been said in Hebrew, so the holy angels would hear and be grateful for it. He replies: This is exactly why it is written in the translation (in Aramaic), as the holy angels neither hear nor understand it, and hence will not envy people, which would be detrimental to the latter. For in this case, even the holy angels are called Creators, and they are included in the group of Creators, but they have not created Heaven and earth.

Aramaic is referred to as "translation." It is very close to the holy language of Hebrew, but angels neither need nor know it nonetheless. Yet, they know and need all the other languages of the nations of the world. This is so because the translation from the holy language is called its "reverse side," its *VAK* without *GAR*.

In other words, there is an altruistic language, which is hence called "holy," and its reverse, preliminary stage, hence called "translation," is the Aramaic language. No other language in the world but Aramaic can act as translation from the holy language. All the other languages in the nations of the world (egoistic desires) are strictly egoistic and are unrelated to altruism. They are not *AHP* with regard to *GE* (the holy language).

Therefore, the translation is truly close to the holy language. However, there is one distinction here, which renders it unnecessary to angels: the holy language is like the scale pointer that shows the extent of balance between the right and left scales, where the pointer moves between the two scales and delivers its judgment—toward the scale of reward (for merits) or towards the scale of punishment (for sins). It brings everything back to the state of correction, to purity and holiness, and is hence called the holy language ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 120).

As it is written in item sixteen, Heaven, earth, and all that inhabit them were created by *MA*, i.e., *Malchut*, as it is written, "*MA* = WHAT = HOW glorious is Your name in all the earth, which You have set above the Heavens!" Indeed, Heaven was created by the name (property) of *MA* (*Malchut*), whereas the Heaven that is mentioned alludes to *Bina*, called *MI*. But all is explained by the name *Elokim*.

The name *Elokim* is revealed in Heaven and earth, which were created by the power of *MA*, by attaching the letters *ELEH* from *Ima-Bina* with the help of *MAN* and good deeds of the lower ones. Therefore, the Light of *GAR*, i.e., *Ohr Hochma*, called *Elokim*, is consistent neither in Heaven (*Bina*) nor on earth (*ZON*).

Typically, only *GE* are present above the *Parsa*, in *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, whereas their *AHP* is below the *Parsa*, in the worlds *BYA*, for *ZON* themselves are unwilling to receive *Ohr Hochma* unless it is to be passed on to the *Partzufim*—the souls of the righteous—in the worlds of *BYA*.

When the lower ones, the righteous that exist spiritually in the worlds of *BYA*, raise *MAN* from below upwards, from their place in *BYA* to *Malchut de Atzilut*, *MA* turns into *MI* and the letters *ELEH* join with *MI*. Together, they create the word *Elokim*, which is the Light of Heaven and earth. However, if the lower ones corrupt their deeds by sinking into egoistic intentions, the Light disappears and leaves *Sefirot K-H* with the Light *Ruach-Nefesh* (called *MI* or *MA*), while the letters *ELEH* fall into the impure forces, for *MI* is *GE* and *ELEH* is *AHP*.

Therefore, the entire correction depends exclusively on attaching the letters *ELEH* to *MI* with the help of *MAN*. Hence, this correction is called the "holy language," like the scale pointer, which determines the balance between egoistic desires and altruistic intentions, i.e., the reception for the Creator's sake. This is why the scale pointer is set in the middle, and by means of such interaction of the properties of *Malchut* (the will to receive) and *Bina* (the will to bestow), one can achieve the reception of *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake.

The Light is called "holy," as it passes the holy name *Elokim* to *ZON*, descends from *Bina* to *ZON*, and transfers the letters *ELEH* to the pure and holy side, to the scale of merit. This is why the Hebrew word for "scales" is *Mawznaim* (from the word *Awzen*), for the Light in *AHP* (*Awzen-Hotem-Peh*) is named according to its highest Light, the Light of *Awzen* of the *Sefira Bina* or *Ohr Neshama*.

Keter	Galgalta	Forehead/Skull	Yechida	GE
Hochma	Eynaim	eyes	Haya	
		Parsa		
Bina	Awzen	ear	Neshama	AHP
ZA	Hotem	nose	Ruach	
Malchut	Peh	mouth	Nefesh	

And the language of translation called *Targum* is opposite to the holy language of *Mawznaim* (scales). It is so because when the lower ones do not raise *MAN* and do not harbor pure intentions, it is defined as an aspiration to use only the desires to receive, designated by the letters *ELEH*, and which do not aspire to unite with the desire (property) of bestowal (the letters *MI-Bina*). As a

result, *AHP* of *ZON*, called *MA*, descend and Heaven and earth (*ZON*) return to the state of *VAK*.

Such a state is called the language of *Targum*. The *Gematria* of the word *Tardema* (sleep) matches that of the word *Targum*. In Hebrew, the word *Targum* is spelled with the same letters as the words *Tered MA*, which means "descending *MA*," for through this spiritually impure language, *AHP* = *MA* (designated by the words *Tered MA*) becomes revealed. This leads to the descent from the scale of merit to the scale of punishment. While this is happening, the state of *GE* is called "sleep."

However, all this refers only to *ZON*, to Heaven and earth created in *MA*, the desires of reception. This is because they have emerged as a result of a *Zivug* on *Yesod*, called *MA*. But the holy angels that emerged from the *Zivug de Neshikin* (kissing *Zivug*) of *AVI*, and which have only *MI* but no *MA* (only altruistic desires of bestowal, the property of *IMA-Bina*), permanently exist in the state of *VAK* without *GAR*, that is, without *Ohr Hochma*.

On the other hand, their *VAK* is *Ohr Hassadim* of *MI* = *Ima-Bina*. *Ohr Hassadim* in *Bina* is as important as *GAR*, for it fills desires with just as perfect a sensation as does the *GAR*, to the point that they reject *Ohr Hochma*, just like *Ima*. And there is holiness in them; hence, *GAR* are called holy, as well.

There are two reasons why angels do not respond to the language of *Targum*, which adds *MA* to *ZON* and returns *ZON* to the state of *VAK*:

1. Even when *ZON* are in the state of *GAR* due to the influence of the holy language, angels do not receive *GAR* (*Hochma*) from it, as, just like *Ima*, they want only *Ohr Hassadim*.
2. The addition of the *Achoraim* (*AHP*) does not apply to angels whatsoever; they lack the properties of *MA*. Hence, *The Zohar* says that THE HOLY ANGELS HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO NEED for translation AND DO NOT LISTEN to it. They do not need it because they neither lose anything when it is present nor gain anything when it is absent, as they constitute the property of *VAK* and lack the property of *MA*.

AND THEY SHALL NOT ENVY MAN—this sentence refers primarily to the damnation of other gods, the forces that prevent man from revealing *GAR*, *Ohr Hochma*. As a result, he loses the Light and the letters *ELEH*, for angels do not have the properties of *GAR de Hochma* either, but only *GAR de Hassadim*. Thus, they feel ashamed of their descent to such a low degree, and envy us for considering ourselves significant.

The Zohar says that in this case, even the holy angels are called "Creators," but they have not created Heaven and earth and are called "Creators-*Elokim*" (forces) because they come from *Ima-Bina* (called *Elokim*), thus existing in the general *Elokim*. But THEY HAVE NOT CREATED HEAVEN AND EARTH, for they cannot uphold the existence of Heaven and earth in *GAR de Hochma*. However, Heaven and earth (the correction of the world to its ultimate merging with the Creator) cannot exist unless man settles there (man must consist of egoistic and altruistic desires) and sows and reaps (corrects his egoistic desires by uniting with the properties of *Bina*). This existence is possible only in the Light of *GAR de Hochma* (the reception of *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake). Hence, angels do not create Heaven and earth.

153. He asks: earth is called *Arka*, when it should read, *Ar'a*. He answers: because *Arka* is one of the seven lands below, where the sons of Cain's sons reside. Indeed, after being banished from the face of the earth, they descended there and fathered generations; wisdom became so lost that all understanding was lost, and this is a double land, consisting of darkness and Light.

Each of the seven *Sefirot* (the six *Sefirot* of *ZA* and *Malchut*) contain the properties of the other six. Thus, each one of them contains the seven *Sefirot HGT NHYM*. In other words, *Malchut*, too, has seven *Sefirot*, and the lower world contains seven lands, as well, called *Eretz*, *Adama*, *Arka*, *Gia*, *Neshia*, *Tzia* and *Tevel*.

Our land is called *Tevel* and is the highest of the seven lands. *Arka* is the third of the seven lands. The souls of Cain and Abel descend from the word *Elokim*, but due to the impurity that Chava (Eve), Adam's wife, received from the serpent, the soul of Cain emerged first from the letters *ELEH*, followed by the soul of Abel, which emerged from the letters *MI*. These two *Partzufim* were meant to unite and incorporate their properties in one another, which would make the name *Elokim* shine in both of them, as when *MI* is permanently present in *ELEH*. However, the impure force that emerged together with Cain's soul incited him against his brother (*MI* of the word *Elokim*) to the point that he rose against Abel (*MI* in *Elokim*) and slew him. This is because the disappearance of the property of *MI-Bina* from *ELEH* is tantamount to murder.

Without the support of the properties of *MI*, *ELEH* (Cain's own property) fell into the impure forces: from the spiritual level of the holy land to the impure place (of egoistic desires). And he lost his descendants (*Partzufim* filled with Light) because of the rule of the impure forces (the disappearance of the screen).

Thus, the holy language within him was substituted for translation, for he had lost the wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*). After all, the impure forces lack wisdom, as they have only the Light of *HB* without *Daat*.

The slaying of Abel, i.e., the exit of Light from this *Partzuf* (item 152), occurs because *MI* is formed in *ZON* exclusively by the power of *MAN* (raised by the pure thoughts of the righteous in the worlds of *BYA*). Then appear the letters *ELEH*, and the word *Elokim* becomes as complete in *ZON* as it is in *AVI*. *Malchut* ends just like *ZA*, like *Ima*, due to the replacing of the letter *Hey* with *Yod* (item 17).

However, the letter *Hey* does not disappear from *MA* forever. Rather, it simply enters the inner part of *Malchut* and hides there (the will to receive receives its fulfillment from altruistic actions, from *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, its egoistic aspirations are temporarily unfelt, as they are concealed in *Ohr Hassadim*). Meanwhile, the letter *Yod* is revealed in *MI*.

This is why the Creator's holy name *Elokim* is also found in *ZON*, in Heaven and earth. However, Cain raised *MAN* not in holiness and purity, but wished to use the letters *ELEH*—which relate to him—for his own pleasure. This is described as, AND CAIN ROSE UP AGAINST ABEL, HIS BROTHER, for he put himself above his brother, to rule over *MI* (Abel).

However, *AHP* of *Nukva* (the hitherto concealed letter *Hey* of *MA*) were immediately revealed, and the word *MI* disappeared from *Malchut*. Hence, Abel's soul, which stems from *MI* of *Nukva* (*MI* fill the *Partzuf* with Light and are considered its soul) ascends and disappears as well, as is described by the words, AND SLEW HIM, for the Light's exit from the *Partzuf* is referred to as death.

This is why *The Zohar* describes this process in the following way: The serpent's impure force was within Cain (*Beresheet*, 2:4); hence, he wished to strengthen the letters *ELEH*, annul *MI*, and govern them. That is why he revealed *AHP* of *Nukva* (*MA*) and *MI* disappeared from *Nukva*, whereupon Abel's soul, which descends from *MI*, disappeared as well (AND SLEW HIM).

Thus, Cain himself (*ELEH*) fell under the rule of the impure forces, called *Arka* or *Eretz Nod*, as it is written in the Torah: "And he settled in the land of Nod" (*Beresheet*, 4:16).

The Zohar calls it a double land, one that contains both Light and darkness. This is because Light and darkness mix and act (rule) together, as there are two rulers in that land, who divide the power equally between them. One rules over darkness, the other over Light. Hence, in this state one is unable to separate Light from darkness, and only help from Above, the descending Light of reason, enables one to tell between the true Ruler and the lord of darkness.

154. And there are two rulers there—one rules over darkness and one over Light, and they become hostile to each other. When Cain descended there, they joined together and became complete. And they all saw that they were Cain's descendants. Therefore, their two heads are like two serpents, except for when the ruler of Light defeats the other, the ruler of darkness. Hence, they enter Light and darkness, and become as one.

We need to review item 14, which expounds on the creation of the holy name *Elokim*. First, the letters *ELEH* ascend and join *MI* to form a simple word, since *Ohr Hassadim* is still insufficient, whereas holiness (*Ohr Hochma*) cannot enter the *Kli* (desire) without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is concealed in the name *Elokim*.

That is why a *Zivug* takes place in *MI*— to receive *Ohr Hassadim*, which clothes *Ohr Hochma*, thereby correcting the name *Elokim*: *MI BARAH ELEH—BARAH* is the source of *Ohr Hassadim*, which clothes *Ohr Hochma*, thus connecting *MI* to *ELEH*, which brings correction to the name *Elokim*. *MI-Bina* consists of *GAR* (*AVI* with the property of pure altruism), who never receive *Ohr Hochma*, and *ZAT* (*YESHSUT*), who do receive *Ohr Hochma*.

Therefore, as the letters *ELEH* begin to ascend to *MI*, they first rise to *ZAT de MI* (*YESHSUT*), who receive *Ohr Hochma*, but are currently concealed in the name *Elokim*. Then transpires the second *Zivug* on *GAR de MI*, *AVI*, altruistic desires, which provide *ELEH* with *Ohr Hassadim*, thus bringing correction to the name *Elokim*.

AVI	–	GAR de Bina	–	Ohr Hassadim
YESHSUT	–	ZAT de Bina	–	Ohr Hochma
ZON				

Since *ELEH* lacks *Ohr Hassadim*, those deprived from *Ohr Hochma* are called *Partzuf* Cain. Not only did Cain fail to raise *MAN* to receive *MI* with *Hassadim*, he also wished to receive *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*, thereby destroying the *Partzuf* named Abel, for the egoistic desires of *AHP de Malchut* of *Atzilut* were exposed. The Light disappeared from *Partzuf* Abel, signifying its death, whereas Cain himself fell into the impure forces—*ELEH*.

The place of these impure forces is called *Arka*. Also, two rulers exist there, emerging from the impure *ELEH*: when *AHP de MA* in *Malchut* is concealed, while *AHP de MI* are revealed, they can pass the Light from the perfect, pure, and holy name *Elokim* to the souls. *Ohr Hochma* of *ELEH* (received by

YESHSUT) then clothes in *Hassadim* (received from *AVI*), and the holy name *Elokim* becomes revealed.

However, since the impure forces cling only to the *AHP* of the pure forces (to *MA*), the letters *ELEH* within them exist in two incomplete states: (i) when no *Hassadim* are present at all; (ii) when *Ohr Hochma* in *ELEH* cannot clothe in *Hassadim* due to the lack of *Hassadim de MI*; hence, *ELEH* are kept in darkness.

This is the male part of the impure *ELEH*, as these *Kelim* are intended for *Ohr Hochma*. However, they have no *Hochma* due to the lack of *Hassadim de MI*. Hence, they are kept in darkness, devoid of both *Hochma* and *Hassadim*. Yet, these are great *Kelim*, for if they had been able to receive *Ohr Hassadim*, they would have been able to receive *Ohr Hochma* within it, too.

The female part of the impure *ELEH* stems from *AHP de MA* of the holy *Nukva*, the *Kli* for *Ohr Hassadim*. However, the impure *Nukva* is considerably injured, as she is the basis for everyone's remoteness from the Creator, as she impersonates the holy *Malchut*. Depending on the extent of her corruption, she has a multitude of impure names. Yet, she still retains a tiny Light (*Ner Dakik*), since her *Kelim* stem from *AHP de MA*, the roots of which are *Kelim* of *Ohr Hassadim*.

These male and female parts of the impure *ELEH* are *ZA* and *Malchut* of the impure forces, the two rulers in *Arka*. The male part rules over darkness and the female part rules over the Light that is there. They complain against each another, since they are opposite. The male part complains because it is the *Kelim* of the letters *ELEH*, which are empty of *Ohr Hochma*; it hates the forces of remoteness from the Creator and forgery, existing within the *Kelim* of the female part of the impure forces, and prefers to remain in its darkness.

Nukva of the impure forces, however, who has a small Light of *Hassadim*, does not aspire for *Ohr Hochma*, let alone for the darkness in which her male part abides. Therefore, she complains about the male part and distances from it. As *The Zohar* says, two rulers govern there: one (the male part) over darkness, and the other (the female part) over Light, and they are hostile towards each other, for the male part rules over darkness and the female rules over Light. Hence, they hate, slander, and complain against each other. And since they are thereby distanced from one another, they cannot expand their dominance and are incapable of causing any harm.

However, after Cain had sinned and dropped the pure letters of *ELEH* of his soul into the impure forces of *Arka*, his *ELEH*, which are concealed from *Hassadim*, clothed in the tiny Light present in the impure forces. This revives

the small *Kelim de Hochma* in Cain's *ELEH*, for the Light of the impure forces bestows life upon them, just like the pure Light of *Hassadim*.

As a result, the male part of *ELEH* of the impure forces, too, made a *Zivug* with this *Nukva*, who clothed Cain's *ELEH*, since he has these *Kelim*, as well. With the help of this *Zivug*, Cain fathered his descendants, the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that remain in the letters *ELEH*, which are not mixed with the male impure *Kelim* of *ELEH* that clothed in the Light of *Nukva* of the impure forces.

This is why *The Zohar* says that when Cain descended there, everything merged and became complete, for the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that remained in Cain's *ELEH* were clothed in the Light of *Nukva* of the impure forces. Consequently, her male impure force wished to enjoy the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that are in Cain's *ELEH*.

Hence, they made a *Zivug*, i.e., spread and completed one another, and everyone saw that they were the descendants of Cain, that this *Zivug* produced the descendants, the clothing of the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* in Cain's impure *ELEH*. Thus, the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* of Cain's soul were revealed, and everyone saw that they were Cain's descendants, born of a vile *Zivug*.

Therefore, their two heads are like two serpents, for they were born from a union of the male and female parts of the impure *ELEH*, which are initially opposite to one another. Therefore, Cain's descendants have two heads, from the two impure forces: one craves the darkness of the desires to receive *Ohr Hochma*, and the other craves the Light within the impure desires of the impure *Nukva*. And the two serpent heads correspond to the two animals that belong to the system of the pure forces: the bull and the eagle.

However, the two heads exist only when the male part is dominant, when darkness rules. Indeed, by clothing in the Light of *Nukva* in order to enjoy the small sparks of *Ohr Hochma*, the male part also supports (against its will) the dominance of its *Nukva*, for it wants her Light. As a result, their descendants have two heads: the first pulls in one direction and the second in another.

Nukva of the impure forces does not need their male part whatsoever, as her male part exists in darkness and cannot give her anything. Therefore, *Nukva* dominates and prevails in her impurity, leaving nothing of the properties of the male part. Consequently, Cain's two-headed descendants become one-headed.

The Zohar tells us that the ruler of Light defeats the lord of darkness. When the impure *Nukva*, which has the Light, dominates, she defeats the male impure part, as well as the other male ruler. She defeats the male part, fully subduing it to her rule, and they include themselves in her Light and darkness, and become

as one. Consequently, the rule of the male part (darkness) is included under the rule of the female part (Light), and the two heads become one.

155. For these are the two rulers, called Afrira and Kastimon, who resemble holy angels with six wings. One has the image of a bull, and the other of an eagle. And when they unite, they create an image of man.

The male impure force is called Kastimon (from the word *Kosti*, devastation), for it is darkness and is unfit for man's life. And the impure *Nukva*, the female part, is called Afrira (from the word *Afar*, dust), and is unfit for sowing. She is called so in order to show that although she contains Light, she is insufficient for sowing the seed and producing harvest to feed human beings.

The Zohar also says that she resembles holy angels with six wings, for the six wings of the holy angels correspond to the letter *Vav* in the name *HaVaYaH*. In contrast, there are only four wings in the impure forces, corresponding to the name *ADNI*, indicating the height of the impure forces with regard to the holy angels, opposite them.

The Upper Light is called "wine," bringing joy to the Creator and to human beings. However, wine residue contains *Sigim* or wine yeast. And from this waste emerges the foremost wrecker of the world, for he is still connected to purity (to yeast) and has the image of a man. However, as he descends to bring people harm, he assumes the image of a bull. This is why a bull is the first of the four main types of wrecker.

Hence, *The Zohar* tells us that Kastimon is a wrecker in the image of a bull, thus indicating that it is the basis of all wreckers that are called "the impure bull." It is the *Sigim* of the Supernal *Ohr Hochma* of the holy name *Elokim*, the impure *ELEH* that correspond to the pure *ELEH* of the name *Elokim*. For *Sigim* and yeast stand below it, but since it is still connected to purity, it has the image of man, for *Ohr Hochma* of the name *Elokim* is *Tzelem* (image and likeness) of man, of which it is said: "*Be Tzelem Elokim*—created man in image and likeness."

Yet, when separated from purity (altruism) through deterioration of its desires and, consequently, of its properties, it descends to its place (befitting these properties) in *Arka*, and assumes the image (properties) of a bull. And its *Nukva* assumes (in *Arka*) the form (properties) of an eagle, in congruence with her goal and action of *Linshor* (to fall out)—to bring about the fall of human souls under her power.

Hence, the word *Nesher* (vulture) is derived from the word *Neshira* (fall), just as leaves fall from a tree, for the role of the impure *Nukva* is to seek people out

and bring them to a state of night and darkness, to the destruction of the holy covenant, as a result of which people's souls depart from them (item 131).

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us: "And when they unite, they form the image of man," i.e., if they return and unite with purity, existing as wine yeast, they return and assume once more the image of man, just as before they descended to Arka and became wreckers.

156. When they are covered with darkness, they turn into a serpent with two heads, and move like a serpent. They soar in the void and bathe in the Great Sea, and when they approach the chains of Aza and Azael, they rile and rouse them and leap into the mountains of darkness, thinking that the Creator wishes to bring justice upon them.

I suggest that the reader will try to comment on *The Zohar* on his own, without any help, and then compare his thoughts with those stated below. This way, we might understand what Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag has done for us with his commentary. Prior to the appearance of his commentaries on the books of the ARI and *The Zohar*, there was no way for us to understand Kabbalah correctly, and only a handful of people in each generation could climb the spiritual ladder on their own.

Now, however, I assure the reader that simply by constantly reading even my books, which retell the compositions of the great Kabbalists, Rabbi Ashlag and his elder son and my teacher, Rabbi Baruch Ashlag, anyone can attain ascension to the Creator. I think that those who have already read previous books realize that this is truly possible!

As *The Zohar* already mentioned in item 154, when the impure *Nukva* dominates man through her Light, the two heads become as one. However, in the darkness, when the male part, called Kastimon, dominates, they turn into a serpent with two heads, for the male part is unable to annul the power of the female part, as it needs to be clothed in her Light. Hence, the serpent has two heads. And they move like a serpent—aiming to bring harm (the property of the serpent), to tempt Chava to dine on the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.

By the power of the *Rosh* of the impure *Nukva* they soar in the void, which contains the root of the impure force, called "void" or the greatest fall, as it is written: "They ascended up to Heaven, they descended down to the abyss" (*Tehilim*, 107:26). By the power of the impure male part, they bathe in the Great Sea, in *Ohr Hochma* of the impure forces.

Therefore, *Arka* is called the Land of Nod, as it constantly sways from the rule of the two heads: those that reside there keep alternating between ascending up to the Great Sea and descending down into the void.

The angels Aza and Azael are very exalted angels. Indeed, even after they had fallen from Heaven into our world, into the mountains of darkness, linked by a metal chain, so great was their power that with their help Bil'am (Balaam) attained the degree of prophecy, of which it is written: "Sees the Creator's presence" (*Bamidbar*, 24:4).

This is described as "falls and opens his eyes," for Aza is referred to as "falling" because of his fall from Heaven to earth. And Azael is called "he who opens his eyes" with regard to Aza, at whose face the Creator throws darkness. And with regard to Bil'am's prophetic degree, our sages have said the following: "There has not been a prophet in Israel like Moshe, not in Israel, but there was one among the nations of the world, and his name was Bil'am" (*Bamidbar-Raba*, 14)—so great was his prophetic degree.

And the reason for their downfall from Heaven to earth lies in their complaints against man at the moment of his making. Yet, there were many angels complaining and objecting, so why did the Creator cast down only these two? The answer to this question can be found in items 416-425 of the chapter "*Balak*" in *The Zohar*. Briefly, it says that when the desire to create Adam (or man, since the Hebrew word for man is Adam) appeared in the Creator, He summoned the Supernal angels, seated them before Him, and told them of His desire to create man.

The angels replied: "What is man, that You are mindful of him?" (*Tehilim*, 8:5), meaning what are the properties of this man that You so wish to create? He replied to them: "This man will be similar to Me and his wisdom will surpass yours, for the human soul includes all the angels and Supernal Degrees, just as his body includes all the creatures of this world."

Therefore, at the moment of creation of man's soul, the Creator summoned all the Supernal angels, so they would pass all of their properties and forces to man's soul. It is therefore written: "Let us make man in our image, in our likeness," meaning that man's "image and likeness" includes all of the properties of all the angels.

The words "image and likeness" are written in quotation marks, since the words *Tzelem* and *Demut* (image and likeness) are not mere words that simply describe likeness. Rather, they constitute very meaningful spiritual notions.

But the angels' question should be interpreted as follows: "What kind of a creature is this man and what is his nature? How shall we benefit from passing (including) our properties in him?" The Creator replied to this: "This man will be similar to Me and his wisdom will surpass yours." In other words, the Creator thus promised them that man will embrace all of their qualities (the properties of *Tzelem*), and that he will be wiser than them. However, because of their connection to him, they will also benefit from his great attainments and acquire everything that they presently lack.

This is because the human soul includes all the spiritual degrees and all the utmost properties of all the angels. And just as his body includes all the materials and creatures of our world with all of their properties, so was the Creator's wish that his soul would absorb the whole of creation within it.

It is written in the Torah: "Yaakov and Israel shall be told of the Creator's works (*Bamidbar*, 23:23)." The sages have said that in the future the angels will ask Israel for things that they do not know themselves, for Israel's attainments will be beyond that of the angels. Hence, all the angels took part in the creation of man and integrated all their properties within him.

However, once man was created and sinned, thus becoming guilty before the Creator, the angels Aza and Azael appeared before the Creator with accusations "that man, whom You have created, has sinned before You." For these words, the Creator cast them down from their exalted and holy degree, and thus, they began to deceive human beings.

Of all the angels, only these two, Aza and Azael, came before the Creator to complain about Adam's sins, for only they knew that man shall return to the Creator. However, Aza and Azael also knew that the harm brought to them by man's sin will not be corrected by this return. Moreover, they would prefer man to not return in his desires to the Creator at all. This is why they were the only ones that complained about Adam's sin, because from their perspective, this sin is incorrigible.

The thing is that the breaking of the vessels and Adam's sin constitute the same breaking, disappearance of the screen (anti-egoistic willpower or intention to act for the Creator's sake). The difference is that the breaking of the vessels signifies the breaking of the screen in the *Partzuf* called "world," while Adam's sin is the breaking, disappearance of the screen in the *Partzuf* called "soul." The difference between these two *Partzufim* is that the *Partzuf* called "world" is external with regard to the inner *Partzuf* called "soul." The soul exists within the world and is sustained by it.

The breaking has its causes and consequences. It is necessary for mixing all the properties of *Bina* and *Malchut*, and must transpire both in the spiritual world and within the soul, to impart the properties of *Bina* to *Malchut*, and thus enable her to correct herself.

The breaking of the world of *Nekudim* led to the breaking of the eight *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura*-2/3 of *Tifferet* and 1/3 of *Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut*, four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M* in each one that in turn consists of ten *Sefirot*, in all: 8 x 4 x 10 = 320 (*SHACH*) parts. As a result of the mixing of all the parts, each part in turn consists of 320 parts. All of these 320 parts, called *Nitzotzin* (sparks), acquired the egoistic will to enjoy by receiving the Creator's Light, which signifies their descent into the impure forces.

In the spiritual realm there are no locations or departments of pure and impure. However, for the purpose of conveying information more vividly, we envision the reception of lower properties as a descent, the reception of more spiritual properties as an ascent, the attainment of equivalence of form as a union, and the emergence of a new property as separation. The appearance of egoistic desires in a spiritual object is considered a descent into the impure forces, although these forces exist within us (and not vice versa), and simply become more apparent. There is nothing surrounding us, for everything is within: all the worlds and desires, both pure and impure.

By studying Kabbalah we attract the emanation of the Light that surrounds our soul (see "Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155), which cultivates within us a desire for correction. Then, as we attain the degrees of the spiritual worlds, we begin to feel the spiritual Light that corresponds to each degree, through which we begin to discern egoistic and altruistic parts in each of our properties.

By comparisons to the Light, we perceive our egoistic parts as evil, and to the extent that we sense it, we distance ourselves from it and refuse to use these desires. Conversely, we perceive our altruistic desires as good for us, but, having no strength to use them, we submit a request, receive the necessary strength, and accept the Light for the Creator's sake, thereby ascending to a higher degree, where this process repeats itself.

The return (*Teshuva*—repentance) means that by raising *MAN* (request for correction), we elevate some of the 320 corrupt parts from the impure forces, into which they fell, back to the world of *Atzilut*, where they existed prior to Adam's sin. However, we are powerless to sort out and correct, i.e., to elevate the

thirty-two parts of *Malchut* herself, which exist in the eight *Sefirot* of this *Partzuf* (world), for their level of corruption is beyond our ability to repair them.

Therefore, out of the 320 (*SHACH* = *Shin* + *Chet* = 300 + 20) parts, we can, that is, we are entitled to and must sort out and correct only 320 – 32 = 288 parts (*RAPACH* = 288) by our return to the Creator, i.e., 9 x 32, where nine designates the first nine *Sefirot* in each *Sefira* that we are allowed to correct. Yet, we are unable to correct *Malchut* of each *Sefira*, for this requires a Light of a special power. We will receive this Light from the Creator only after the correction of all the other 288 parts, that is, at the end of correction.

These thirty-two parts of *Malchut*, which are impossible and thus prohibited to correct, are called *Lev HaEven* (*Lamed-Bet Even*—thirty-two stones). As I've repeatedly mentioned, there is no such notion as "prohibition" in Kabbalah; this word is used when it is necessary to point out the futility of trying despite one's weakness and limitation. "Prohibited" means impossible, beyond one's power. Moreover, it is not the Creator's prohibition; rather, as a result of one's personal faith and experience, one should admit that "prohibited" alludes to whatever is still beyond one's power to correct.

Therefore, *GAR de AVI* are concealed, and their Light does not shine. After all, for all of its ten *Sefirot* to shine, a *Zivug* needs to be made on *Malchut* herself, for *Lev HaEven*, the thirty-two uncorrected parts of *Malchut* herself are a supplement to their ten *Sefirot*. And as long as these *Kelim* are missing, a complete *Zivug* is impossible. However, when the complete analysis and correction of the 288 (*RAPACH* = *Reish* + *Peh* + *Chet* = 200 + 80 + 8 = 288) *Nitzotzin* is completed, *Lev HaEven* will be corrected by itself, and no effort or corrections shall be required on our part.

So the prophet says: "A new heart also shall I give you, and a new spirit shall I put within you; and I shall take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I shall give you a heart of flesh" (*Yechezkel*, 36:26). Then *AVI* will receive their Light. However, this will occur at the end of correction, and before the end of correction, *AHP* of *AVI* will not be able to receive correction by means of our return, for we will be able to correct all of our egoistic desires, except for our very essence, *Malchut de Malchut*.

These angels—Aza and Azael—are the real *AHP de AVI* that were destroyed during the breaking of the vessels, and were nearly restored before the sin of Adam. However, Adam's sin destroyed them once more, this time until the very end of correction.

Hence, both angels were complaining to the Creator about their Light, which has disappeared because of Adam, for they saw that there was no hope that Adam would correct them through his return to the Creator. Moreover, they saw that by his return, Adam had lowered their degree even more, for now the entire correction and return was limited to only 288 parts, without any participation or even mentioning of the thirty-two forbidden parts, *Lev HaEven*, which refer to the correction of *AVI*, whose Light is the Light of these angels, just as the *Kelim* of the true *AHP de AVI* are their *Kelim*.

Each raising of *MAN* designates cutting off, separation of impurity—*Lev HaEven*—from the food, *RAPACH* = 288 *Nitzotzin*, the parts that can be corrected. It follows that by preventing Aza and Azael from participating in the correction of *Lev HaEven*, we lower them even more. This is why the two angels complained to the Creator and tried to impede Adam from returning. After all, his return lowers them even further, for the thirty-two parts refer to them.

Therefore, when the Creator saw that their complaints threatened to weaken man's strength to return to Him, He told them that Adam's sin did not spoil anything for them. For although there is greatness and holiness in them while they are in Heaven and no impure forces can cling to them, still this perfection is incomplete, as they cannot exist in our world, in a place of impure forces.

The Creator told them: "Hence, you have lost nothing as a result of Adam's sin, for you are no better than him anyway, as your degree is merely the result of the place of your residence." And since the Creator's words constitute His actions, they fell instantly from Heaven to earth (into egoism, of course, not to the physical earth!).

And since they came (spiritually descended) to the corporeal life (as Kabbalah defines it), they began to sort through and analyze the thirty-two parts of complete egoism, called the "daughters of men," of which the Torah says: "And the sons of great (angels) saw the daughters of men (egoistic *Nukva*), that they were fair (they saw in her an opportunity for egoistic reception of pleasure), and they took them as wives (used their egoistic desires), whomsoever they chose (they themselves chose precisely this low state)" (*Beresheet*, 6:2). For they did not want to separate the impurity of the thirty-two egoistic parts and prefer only 288, but took everything they wished, including *Lev HaEven*.

Hence, they also transgressed with *Nukva* Lilit (Lilith) the sinner, and wished to draw the entire world toward sin, to fling it into the last stage of egoism, for they did not wish man to return, as it completely contradicts their root.

What did the Creator do? He put them in iron chains! For the Creator saw that if they had the power to return to Heaven after the sin, all the people would fail in their attempts to aspire to the Creator in their desires, as the dominance of these egoistic angels (forces) in man would be too great. (Rashi—the great eleventh century Kabbalist and Biblical commentator—says that the entire Torah speaks in the words of man. Hence, everything is described in notions of time and sequence of events. Similarly, the Creator seemingly creates and only then sees the results of his work).

Therefore, although their root is quite high, the Creator gave the root of the impure forces His permission to act (here we see that the Creator governs all the forces in creation). This root is called *Barzel* (iron), as it is written: "There was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building" (*Melachim*, 1, 6:7), for iron is an impure force.

And since this impure force clang to the two angels and bound them, as if with iron chains, by the desires that it dictates to them, such a state is characterized as being in the mountains of darkness, from which they can no longer ascend until the end of correction.

And when they approach the chain of Aza and Azael, rile and rouse them, it designates the awakening of the fourth part of the will to receive, *Malchut de Malchut*, the greatest desire to receive, called "wrath and rage." And they leap over the mountains of darkness, thinking that the Creator wishes to bring justice upon them, for being bound by iron chains, they could not ascend to their roots and receive *Hochma.*

Therefore, this action is considered leaping, an attempt to ascend, followed by a fall, as a result of which they descend even deeper into the mountains of darkness. And they think that because of their leaps (attempts to receive the Light from their root), the Creator is becoming increasingly stricter with them; thus, they decide to stop leaping.

However, even though they cannot give anything, as their attempts to reach up are mere leaps and falls, it is nonetheless enough for the two rulers to receive *Ohr Hochma* from them, as this gives them the strength to swim in the sea of *Hochma* of the impure force, whereas before they had only the strength to bathe in it.

The reason for this is that there is no action in this exalted impure force, and everything is limited only in thoughts and desires, for such is the essence of the impure forces (desires) that separate us from the Creator—before the level of an action is achieved, purity disappears from it. Therefore, the impure forces will never reach the level of an action.

Hence, the work for the impure forces is called *Avoda Zara* (alien work or idol worshipping), as it is alien to spiritual work "for the Creator's sake," and is performed according to the instruction and desires that the impure forces insert into man's thoughts. In this alien work for an alien master, the Creator punishes even for mere thoughts and desires, as the prophet said: "That the house of Israel may understand in their own heart" (*Yechezkel*, 14:5). And the sages have said that man is accused and punished even for thoughts, desires, and doubts in the alien work that transpires in his heart in exactly the same measure as for a completed action. Hence, the leaps of Aza and Azael are sufficient in their desire to receive *Hochma*, although in reality they received nothing.

157. And these two Creator-appointed rulers swim in the Great Sea, fly up from there, and at night go to Naamah, the mother of witches, for whom the first people fell (*Beresheet*, 6:1-4). And they wish to approach her, but she leaps 60,000 *Parsa'ot* and assumes several different forms, so that people may be deceived and enticed by her.

After receiving power from Aza and Azael, they can now make a *Zivug* with Naamah, as the first angels Aza and Azael erred. From that *Zivug* with Aza and Azael, Naamah gave birth to all the spirits and witches of the world. The Torah calls Aza and Azael the "sons of Gods" or the "sons of the great" (*Beresheet*, 6:2).

Yet, how could such exalted angels stoop to such depraved actions with Naamah, and why did she give birth to spirits and witches, and not to people?

The thing is that the Upper World (*AVI*) was created by the letter *Yod*, by the male part, which have nothing of the fourth part of *Malchut*, called *Malchut de Malchut*. However, *ZON* (the lower world) was created by the letter *Hey*, which includes *Malchut de Malchut*. *AVI* aspire only to *Ohr Hassadim*, to altruistic actions (bestowal), for *Bina* emerged as such in the four stages of *Malchut's* birth, even before the appearance of the first *Kli* (*Malchut de Malchut*).

Nevertheless, *ZON* need *Ohr Hochma*, since *ZA* was created as such in the four stages of *Malchut's* birth. Also, *ZA* wishes to receive *Ohr Hochma* within *Ohr Hassadim*, which he already has.

The *Zivug* of *AVI*, called the "Upper World," begets angels who desire *Ohr Hassadim*, just like *AVI*, from whom they were born. Human souls are born from the *Zivug* of *ZON*, called the "lower world," and they, like *ZON*, from whom they were born, desire only *Ohr Hochma*.

The moment the common soul of all the creatures (Adam) was born from *ZON de Atzilut*, *ZON* existed at the level of the Upper World (*AVI*) and clothed

it. Like *AVI*, they, too, ended in the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*. And the letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH* was concealed in their posterior side, *Achoraim* or *AHP*.

Hence, Adam's level was quite high because *ZON* was in the Upper World and ended in the letter *Yod*. The level of *ZON* was that of the angels that were born from *AVI*; therewith, *ZON* received *Ohr Hochma* according to their desires, as *ZON* are meant to.

As a result, *ZON* contain the name *Elokim*, Supernal *Hochma*, the perfection of the Upper World. This is because the ban of the first restriction to not receive *Ohr Hochma* does not apply to the letter *Yod*. Cain and Abel were born from this state: Cain was born from *ELEH* and Abel from *MI*. *Malchut* herself (the last letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*) was concealed in them both, and only the letter *Yod* was revealed; hence, they contained Supernal *Hochma*.

However, on the whole, *Hochma* is received in *Kelim ELEH*, *ZAT de Bina*, by Cain's soul. This property of Cain is concealed in *MI*, as the last *Hey* is concealed inside *Yod*, and Cain wanted to make a *Zivug* with it, to receive *Ohr Hochma* in *Malchut de Malchut*, concealed in Abel's soul.

It is by this that he slew Abel, for after the last *Hey* was revealed, the ban of the first restriction to receive *Ohr Hochma* in it was revealed. Hence, the Creator's name *Elokim* disappeared from them both: *MI*, since it refers to *GAR*, ascended and disappeared (signifying Abel's slaying), and Cain's *ELEH*, since it refers to *ZAT*, fell into the impure forces, called *Arka*.

However, although it fell into the impure forces, sparks of *Ohr Hochma* still remain in these *Kelim* (desires), as it is written that his daughters did not suffer from it greatly, and the sparks of *Bina* still remained in them. From this we can understand that Naamah, one of Cain's daughters, was the most beautiful of all the women in the world, for the sin transpired mainly in Cain's male part, and not in his female part, as is described in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 74:2).

Therefore, after the Creator cast Aza and Azael into this world (created by the letter *Hey*), and they've seen Naamah, a new hitherto non-existent desire appeared within them—the desire to receive *Ohr Hochma*, for in their essence they desire only *Ohr Hassadim*, and only the image of Naamah bore a new desire for *Ohr Hochma* within them.

And since there is no *Hey* (the last *Hey*, on which there is a ban to receive *Ohr Hochma*) in their essence and in that of Naamah (the last revealed one, for it originates from Cain's *ELEH*), they erred in her, thinking that she is able to receive *Ohr Hochma*, and made a *Zivug* with her.

Their error was twofold:

1. Despite the fact that they do not have the last *Hey* from birth, since the place determines, and they exist in this world, the last *Hey* already governs them, and they are forbidden to receive *Ohr Hochma*.
2. They thought that the last *Hey* was absent in Naamah's structure, when in fact, it was concealed. Hence, spirits and witches were born from their *Zivug*.

From this we can understand what is written in the Talmud (*Hagiga*, 16:1), that witches are half-angels half-people, for with regard to their fathers, Aza and Azael, they are angels, whereas with regard to Naamah, they are like people. But she could not give birth to people, for the seed within her came from angels, and not from people.

The reason for the harm that they cause lies in the fact that they were born from depravity, the greatest possible distance from the Creator. Hence, their impurity accompanies them and brings harm wherever it possibly can. Therefore, *The Zohar* says that at night they come to Naamah, the mother of witches, for whom the first people fell (see *Beresheet*, 6:1-4).

Indeed, after they received strength from these angels, who were the first to engage in depravity with Naamah, they could continue to engage in depravity with her. *The Zohar* indicates that this is precisely why they come at night, for the power of *Hochma* of the impure forces rules only in the darkness of night, the time of judgment and restrictions, and also as the consequence of roots, namely Aza and Azael, who reside in the mountains of darkness.

However, after engaging in depravity with them, she leapt 60,000 *Parsa'ot*, i.e., she rose so high that she wanted to annul the *Parsa* below *VAK de* AA, whose each *Sefira* is defined as 10,000; hence, its *VAK* = 6 *Sefirot* equal 60,000.

But as soon as they think to approach her, she leaps 60,000 *Parsa'ot*, but immediately falls back down and is unable to touch them, for there is no action in these upper impure forces, and all transgressions and all errors are only in thoughts and intentions.

Yet, there is still enough power in her to deceive and entice people, even if man does not reach the level of impure actions and is only drawn to her in his thoughts and desires. However, the Creator punishes for such thoughts and desires, as He does for actions, as the prophet warns us: "the house of Israel may understand in their own heart" (*Yechezkel*, 14:5). And the impure force assumes

several different shapes, such as depravity with married women, murder and other things laid upon Lilit.

158. These two rulers soar in the entire world and then return to their places. And they rouse the sons of Cain's sons with a spirit of evil desires to beget children.

"Soar in the entire world"—they bring harm to man in all of their thoughts, wherever they can, and lure him into the darkness of night. For after man sins, they return to their permanent place in *Arka*, where they rouse the sons of Cain to defile the descendants with impurities.

Moreover, *The Zohar* says that besides pushing the sons of Cain to sin in *Arka*, they also soar in our world (*Tevel*), and compel the sons of this land to sin.

159. The Heavens that rule there are not like ours, and the land bears neither seed nor fruit by the power of Heaven, as ours does, and the grains grow again only once in several years. Hence, it is written of them that they could not correct *Shemaya* and *Arka*, and perished from the Supernal land, called *Tevel*, where they will not be able to exist, nor rule over it, nor cause human beings to sin because of the night. Hence, they disappeared from *Arka* and from the place of *Shemaya* that were created by the name *ELEH* (as mentioned in item 14).

Our Heavens receive the Light essential for the birth of subsequent *Partzufim* from ZA, which has *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, our land, which receives in *Malchut de* ZA, receives a grain and a seed.

However, the Heavens in *Arka* do not have the Light to bear fruit and give birth due to the rule of the impure forces that are there. Hence, unlike our land, *Arka* cannot produce; its land has no power to receive and grow a seed, and this property appears in it only once in several years.

Here *The Zohar* speaks of the two rulers: Afriron and Kastimon, who could not correct *Shemaya* and *Arka*, to make them bear fruit. Therefore, these rulers are not allowed to be here and seduce people in our land (*Tevel*), to sin, for when they are here, they bring harm to our land so as to make it like their *Shemaya* and *Arka*.

Therefore, *The Zohar* says that they disappeared from the Supernal land of *Tevel*, from our land, for here they sought to bring harm by the power of the night. They provoke people toward sin by virtue of the night, and it is a curse that hangs over *Arka* because of their rule there.

Our Heavens were created by the name *ELEH*, for our Heavens receive from ZA, which was corrected by *ELEH's* properties, by the words: IN THE

BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, where *MI* is connected to *ELEH*. Hence, our land is corrected by the Supernal holiness and purity. Therefore, these two rulers are not allowed to rule here.

160. Hence, there exists a *Targum*, a translation (from Hebrew to Aramaic, which *The Zohar* dubs *Targum*), so the holy angels will not think that it is said about them, so they will not harm us. This is the secret of the word *ELEH*—as we have already stated, it is a holy word that cannot be translated into a *Targum*.

Everything but the word *ELEH* has been translated into the language of the *Targum*, as it is said in item 149, that *ELEH* disappeared from both *Arka* and *Shemaya*, for the word *ELEH* is untranslatable, as it constitutes the full connection between *ELEH* and *MI*, which causes the descent of *Ohr Hochma*. And should anyone sin and corrupt the letters *ELEH*, as Cain had done, they would fall to the impure forces, so even the holiness of the *Targum* (*VAK* of the pure forces) would depart from them.

Among All the Sages of the Nations of the World, There Are None Like You

161. Rabbi Elazar said, "It is written: 'Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?' What kind of praise is this?" Rabbi Shimon replied: "Elazar, my son, this has been said in several places. However, one should not understand the verse, 'For among all the sages of the nations of the world, and in all their kingdoms, there are none like You' in its simple, literal interpretation. This is because it naturally gives rise to evil intentions of sinners—those who think that the Creator is not aware of their dark thoughts, doubts and intents. Therefore, their folly must be clarified. A philosopher of one of the nations of the world came to me and said, 'You say that your Creator governs the entire Heavens, and that all the Heavenly hosts are unable to attain Him, nor come to know His dwelling place. However, this does not add to His greatness, as it is written, 'among all the sages of the nations of the world, and in all their kingdoms, there is none like You.' What kind of a comparison is this when He is compared to man, who is nothing?'"

This is similar to what is written about sinners in Psalms (*Tehilim*, 73:11-12): "And they say: 'How does the Creator know? And is there knowledge in Him? Behold the wicked; they are always at peace, rich and powerful.'" This is exactly what the philosopher says. He was one of the greatest sages among the nations of the world, and he came to Rabbi Shimon to dishonor Israel's wisdom and work in absolute faith for the Creator's sake, which ought to be in great wholeness, perfection, purity, and integrity, for no thought can grasp Him.

This sage was a representative of the philosophers who asserted that the main principle in working for the Creator is to attain Him, rather than serve Him in faith, for in their understanding, they attain Him. And now he has come to ridicule Israel's approach.

Hence, he said: "The Creator is above all human wisdom, and thereby He rules, and He bid you to work for Him in faith and purity, and have no doubts in Him, for the human mind cannot grasp Him. After all, even the Heavenly hosts, His legions and angels are unable to attain Him, as it is written of those who say: 'Blessed be the Creator in His place,' for they do not know 'His place.'"

However, the phrase, "as among all the sages of the world, there is none like the Creator" does not imply the Creator's greatness. Indeed, if this prophetic expression is used in order to exalt the God of Israel and show that He is greater than the god attained by the sages of the nations of the world by their human strength and reason, then naturally, this does not add to the glory of the God of Israel, as He is being compared to trifle and transient forces. On the contrary, this statement shows great disdain for your Creator, when you compare Him to the sages of the nations of the world, who are mortal and restricted creatures. Those were the words that the scholarly sage, who represented the wisdom of the nations of the world, uttered before Rabbi Shimon.

Clearly, *The Zohar* is referring to some overseas sage who paid a visit to Rabbi Shimon. Just like all the other names of places and characters mentioned in the Torah, the Talmud, and the Kabbalah, names of places, animals, people, and actions described in *The Zohar* speak only of the spiritual world, the Creator's actions, and how one can achieve the goal of creation. In no way does any of this relate to events in our world!

Therefore, the "sage of the nations of the world" symbolizes man's own egoistic property to research and know everything, instead of having faith above reason, as the Torah demands. This human property, called a "sage of the nations of the world," the egoistic reason, is in a state of constant argument with man's spiritual, altruistic property, called "Israel" or the aspiration to the Creator. Thus, by opposing it, man builds himself and grows.

162. Furthermore, you claim, as your Torah says, that "There had not risen a prophet since in Israel like Moshe." There are none in Israel, but there is one among the nations of the world! So I claim the same: there is none like You among all the sages of the nations of the world, but among the sages of Israel there is one like You. However, if there is one like Him among the sages of Israel, then He cannot be the Supreme Ruler. Look closely into my words, and you shall see that I am right.

Here the philosopher (man's egoistic voice) spoke wisely. He understood that should he speak directly, he would hear precise answers to his questions. It is written: "Among all the sages of the nations of the world, there are none like

You," meaning that there is no one that can attain You. For the words, "there are none like You" imply that You have no equals, that it is impossible to attain You, attain Your degree.

However, since the sages of the nations of the world (human reason) take pride in their attainment of the Creator (that they understand His intentions and actions), they consider themselves similar to Him, for attainment means similarity of properties with the attained degree. This is why it is considered a lie, and that there are none like Him, for they do not attain the Creator, but only delude themselves by thinking that they do.

The philosopher (within man) understood that, and hence began (leading man astray from the path of faith, which surpasses and defies reason) with a completely different question: "If it is explicitly said that no one is equal to the Creator among the sages of the other nations, does it not mean that there are those who *can* attain Him among the sages of Israel? Otherwise, why would it be necessary to specify that there are none like Him among the sages of the nations of the world?

"But if this is so, and He is similar to you, then He cannot be the Supreme Ruler! Thus, how can you say that the God of Israel cannot be attained by reason and that He governs all? You speak by means of faith in His greatness, but indeed there are those among your sages who are like Him, i.e., those who attain Him."

163. Rabbi Shimon said to him, "You object correctly that there are those among the sages of Israel who are similar to the Creator, for who resurrects the dead back to life, if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Eliyahu and Elisha came and resurrected the dead back to life! Who causes rain to fall if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Eliyahu came and abolished rain, and then summoned it through his prayer! Who created the Heavens and the earth, if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Avraham came, and, as it is written, the Heavens and the earth were revived."

Rabbi Shimon replies that the (inner) sage speaks the truth when he asserts that there are those among the sages of Israel who are similar to the Creator. However, in no way does this revoke the simple faith in the Creator's unattainability by human reason. Of course, He is the master and ruler of the Heavens, and He is so much higher than all of them that even the Supernal angels cannot attain Him and do not know His place.

Yet, the Torah and *Mitzvot* (commandments) were given to us precisely for this purpose—so that by observing the *Mitzvot* (making a *Zivug* between the screen

and the Light) and studying the Torah (receiving the Light) for the Creator's sake, we, Israel (those who aspire to the Creator) would completely merge with Him (in our properties), so His Light would permeate us and clothe in us to such an extent that we would merit (begin to desire and receive the power of a screen) carrying out the same actions as the Creator: resurrecting the dead (correcting egoism), summoning rains (*Ohr Hassadim*), and reviving Heaven and earth (filling all the *Partzufim* in all the worlds with the Light of our actions).

In that, we are just like Him, as it is said: "By Your deeds (by experiencing them on myself) I will know You." However, we attain all this only through absolute and devout faith (the property of *Bina*), which leaves within us no desires whatsoever to attain Him with our reason (to verify first and act next), as in the path of sages of the nations of the world (our egoism). Our egoism consists of a *Partzuf* called a "sage of the nations of the world." Its *Rosh* (head) designates knowledge and desire to attain everything, and its *Guf* (body) is the will to receive pleasure for oneself.

The philosopher argues that if Israel can do what the Creator does, then Israel attains Him. This is correct, for if one is able to act like the Creator, then, to the extent of his actions, he attains and perceives Him. After all, it is said: "By Your deeds I will know You." If one acts like the Creator, then he understands the Creator's analogous actions in his own actions, and thus perceives Him. However, one must first advance by faith above reason, and as a result, he attains the Creator's properties, thereby becoming like Him in his actions.

164. (Rabbi Shimon continues:) "Who governs the sun, if not the Creator? Yet, Yehoshua came and stopped it. The Creator issues His decree, yet Moshe immediately issues a decree of his own, and it is carried out. The Creator wishes to punish, and the righteous of Israel annul His verdict. Moreover, He bid us to closely follow His ways and to be like Him in every way." The philosopher then went and became Israel, and lived in the village of Shachalayim, and they called him Yosi HaKatan (Little Yosi). He studied the Torah a great deal, and was among the sages and the righteous of that village.

The problem is that if a person does everything only by means of his faith, he denies himself the chance to attain the Creator, for attainment comes through applying reason. However, the moment he begins to apply his reason, he immediately diminishes his faith. So how can one combine faith with reason?

It is true that those who aspire to draw nearer the Creator (those who are called Israel) diminish their simple, devout faith. However, they do this only because He bids them to do so in order to attain His actions, and thus become like Him, as it is said in the Torah: "Follow His way" (*Devarim*, 21). Hence,

they observe His commandments. The philosopher was so overwhelmed by this truth that he became "Israel" and started observing the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

He was overwhelmed when he had found that Israel's actions, their attainments of the spiritual worlds, did not diminish their faith above reason, for all of their actions and attainments were based on faith. Israel attains the Creator because He bids them to, not because they desire this with their egoism.

165. And now the time has come to take a closer look at this verse. It is written that all the nations of the world are nothing before Him. Yet, how does this exalt Him? Hence, it is written: "Who sees the King of the nations of the world?" Yet, is the King of the nations of the world also not the King of Israel? The Creator wishes to elevate Israel in all places; this is why He is called everywhere "the King of Israel." The other nations of the world say that they have another King up in the Heavens, for it seems to them that He governs only them, and not us.

The nations of the world are certain that their Supernal King is not the King of Israel, that the King who sits in the Heavens and governs them is only their King, and that the King of Israel has no power over them. Thus, it seems to man's egoism that it exists under some other (non-altruistic) system of governance, and not altruism. The egoism fails to realize that the Creator made it exactly the way it is so as to achieve His goal: using egoism, to bring man to altruism, from "for one's own self" to "for the Creator's sake."

166. It is written: "Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?" (*Yirmiyahu*, 10:7) That is, their Supernal King is there to threaten and persecute them, and do with them as He pleases. Hence, He should be feared. And all fear Him Above and below. For it is written that among all the sages of the nations of the world (the angels that rule over these nations) and in their Kingdoms (Above) there is none like You. There are four Kingdoms Above that rule over all the nations of the world according to the Creator's will. And there is no one who can do even the smallest action without His personal instruction. The sages of the nations of the world are the forces that rule them from Above, and all the wisdom of the nations of the world comes from these rulers. "In all their Kingdoms" means that the Creator's will rules over them.

These lines describe how the bride, who is in a state of exile, prepares herself for her future, final correction. The power of the nations of the world (in every one of us) amounts to conquering us (the altruistic desires for the Creator) and placing us under their power (serving only the body). They wish to drive us away

from the Creator's rule and let other desires, called "the nations of the world" dominate us. Our egoistic desires, the nations of the world, do so because of their power (tempting us with various pleasures) and wisdom (appealing to our common sense).

Their actions over us (spiritual aspirations) stem from the system of the impure forces and their impure (egoistic) angels (our inner egoistic forces), which give power and reason to the nations of the world. With the help of their wisdom, they (our egoistic desires) lead us (the sons of Israel, those who aspire only to the Creator) to all sorts of doubts and desires to understand the Creator, His ways and thoughts, without any fear or reverence before His greatness and supremacy.

Because of these doubts, we draw far from the Creator and His Supernal Light, which, as a result, passes on to them (our egoistic desires), as it is written, "Tzur (the capital of the impure forces) was built only on the ruins of Jerusalem (the capital of the pure forces)." Thus, they acquire the strength to persecute and humiliate Israel, and force them to submit to their will (suppress the only true path to the spiritual—faith above and in defiance of reason—with their persuasions and proof of their "real" rightfulness). And as it was already explained in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar" (items 69-71), our inner spiritual enslavement leads to our external, corporeal enslavement, persecution, and humiliation by the nations of the world.

This is the secret of the four Kingdoms that rule over us in our four (spiritual and therefore physical) exiles, which correspond to *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*, symbolized by Nebuchadnezzar, as it is written: "Here is that idol, its head made of pure gold, its breast and its arms of silver, its belly and its thighs of brass, its shins of iron, and its feet part iron and part clay" (*Daniel*, 2:32-33).

When this idol governs us, the nations of the world mock us, claiming that they have a King of their own. However, such was the Creator's plan, as it is said: "The Creator hath so made it, that men should fear Him" (*Kohelet*, 3:14), for the sensation of the Creator, called *Shechina*, is also referred to as fear before Him. However, since we do not yet feel the greatness and supremacy of the Creator, we do not merit fearing Him, and live in fear of the King of the nations of the world.

This points to the fact that we have no other way of completely and eternally merging with the Creator other than by means of tremendous fear before His greatness, by assuming His Torah and His desires (*Mitzvot*) in devout and complete faith, without any doubts in His properties.

Only then will we merge with Him in absolute, eternal union, and the Creator will impart us with all the goodness for which He had created us. He conceived this in the beginning of creation, and it became the purpose behind the whole of creation. This state is considered the complete and final deliverance and correction.

However, before the attainment of such an exalted spiritual state, this is how the prophet describes those who aspire to the Creator: "You have sown much, and brought in little; you eat but you have not enough; you drink but your thirst is not quenched" (*Haggai*, 1:6), for in all of our actions (of those who aspire to the spiritual) the impure force (egoism) constantly takes all the Light for itself. This occurs as a result of our doubts with regard to faith in the Creator, which the impure force itself cultivates within us.

However, the purpose of these punishments is not to cause us grief! Everything happens according to the Creator's plan and serves only to promote us toward correction. Therefore, as long as man can listen only to egoistic arguments, the Creator develops us gradually, using these forces. With their help, we gradually become fit to feel fear of the Creator, through the many trials and sufferings our exile from the spiritual brings us.

But in the end, we merit the reception of complete and devoted faith and fear before His greatness. It is written of this state: "He remembered His mercy and His allegiance toward the house of Israel, and all the worthless creatures of the earth witnessed the help and deliverance at the Creator's hands" (*Tehilim*, 98:3).

This is because at the end of days, the Creator will remember us in His mercy, and will give us the strength to receive complete and devout faith in Him. Thus, Jerusalem (the capital of altruism) will be rebuilt on the ruins of Tzur (the capital of egoism), for all the Light, which *Malchut* of the impure force was robbing of us throughout our exile from the spiritual, will return to us when we acquire complete and devout faith, and will shine within us with all its might.

All the worthless creatures of the earth (manifestations of egoism) will then see with their own eyes how our Creator saves (corrects) them. For all the nations of the world (within us) will see that they have always possessed this Light until the very last moment before their correction so as to give it back to us at the appropriate time. And all shall see that "one man's rule over another is to the detriment of the ruler!" (*Kohelet*, 8:9).

The burden of our slavery and the impure force's rule over us (over holiness) harms only the impure force, for it thereby compels us to attain complete and devoted faith in the Creator even faster! And the prophet speaks of this time,

"Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?" for it has now been revealed that He is the King of the nations of the world, who persecutes and dominates those nations. It previously seemed to them (our egoistic intentions) that they persecuted us (our altruistic intentions), but now the opposite has been revealed to them—that they were merely blind enactors of the Creator's will, our servants and our slaves, whose purpose is to bring us to perfection.

It seemed to us that they were beating us. Now it turns out that they were beating themselves, for thanks to these blows (suffering from unrealized egoistic desires and constant frustration), they have accelerated our deliverance and attainment of perfection (our realization of the need to choose the path of faith above reason). Thus, they have also accelerated their own demise (their own correction).

And wherever it seemed to us (our reason) that they rebelled against the Creator (argued that the Creator is not the source of all reality) and acted (supposedly) however they pleased so as to humiliate us and satiate their base egoistic desires, and it appeared that there was no (Supernal) judge and no law (the advancement of creation toward its goal), it has now been revealed that they have always been fulfilling the Creator's will, to bring us (all our desires, them included) to perfection.

The same applies to every person in the world—whether he wants to or not, at all times and in every way, he fulfills only the Creator's will. Why then is he not called the Creator's servant? Because he acts unconsciously, not of his own will. To compel man to fulfill His will, the Creator gives him some alien desire to enjoy, which forces him to carry out an action, but he does so as a slave of his desire, and not as someone who fulfills the Creator's will.

For example, the Creator may give man an alien desire to make money, thereby compelling him to open a restaurant so as to carry out altruistic actions as a slave of his egoistic desire.

In other words, to compel us to do what is necessary, the Creator created within us an egoistic desire to receive pleasure, thus obliging us to do His will by enabling us to find pleasure in the actions and objects on which He wants us to work. This is why we live in constant chase of pleasures, whereas in truth we are constantly and unconsciously fulfilling the Creator's will. This resembles a situation in which children are given many toys to play with, but as they play, they also carry out work.

The entire world is doing the Creator's will, but our goal, the purpose of our development is to do it consciously. We must attain and realize His will; we must ascend so high that we will want to do it wholeheartedly and on our own,

rather than as we do it now—unconsciously and coercively. We must achieve a state when our desires fully coincide with those of the Creator, which designates complete and conscious union with Him.

Thus, it becomes clear that the King of the nations of the world is the same Creator that rules over them and compels them to fulfill all His desires, as a King does with his slaves. And now fear before the Creator is revealed to all the nations of the world. The phrase, "all the nations of the world" alludes to the angels that rule over those nations, such as Afriron, Kastimon, Aza, Azael and others, from whom the sages of the nations of the world (our egoism and reason) receive their wisdom, and with whose help they oppress Israel (our altruistic desires).

IN THEIR KINGDOMS refers to the four existing Kingdoms, which govern the seventy nations of the world (*ZON* = seven *Sefirot*, each of which containing ten sub-*Sefirot*: in all seventy *Sefirot*) and over us (altruistic aspirations) in our four exiles, which correspond to the impure *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M* (described as Nebuchadnezzar). As the prophet writes: "Here is that idol, its head made of pure gold (the first Kingdom), its breast and its arms of silver (the second Kingdom), its belly and its thighs of brass (the third Kingdom), its shins of iron, its feet part iron and part clay (the fourth Kingdom)" (*Daniel*, 2:32-33).

There is not one among them who can make even the smallest action of their own, but only what You bid them. However, this will only be revealed at the end of correction, and all will know that all of our misfortunes and suffering that had the power to separate us from the Creator were but loyal executors of the Creator's aspiration to draw us closer to Him. Moreover, these cruel forces did nothing else but obey His orders.

And the sole purpose of all that transpired was to bring us to a state where we can receive all the perfection and infinite goodness that He intended to bestow upon us from the very beginning in His plan of creation. The Creator must lead us to complete and devout faith, the result of which will be, as the prophet said: "Then, at once, the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold all crumbled to pieces and became like the chaff on summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, and no trace was left of them; and the stone that smote their image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth" (*Daniel*, 2:35).

Absolute faith is called "unbreakable (non-crumbling) stone." After one merits absolute faith, the impure force (his inner egoistic desires and thoughts) disappears as though it had never existed. And all the worthless creatures

(reason, logic, philosophy, and common sense), which inhabit the earth, witness deliverance at the hands of the Creator, as the prophet said: "They shall not do evil nor destroy in all My holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters fill the sea" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9).

167. Yet, among all the sages of the nations of the world and in all their kingdoms, I have found in the ancient books that even though the Heavenly hosts and legions fully obeyed their given orders and each would receive precise instructions to be carried out, but who among them can do it if not You, who will do it better than You? For You excel over them all in both properties and deeds. Hence, it is written: "There is none like You."

The Creator Himself carries out all the creatures' actions with His Light, and leads them to His goal. Man's sole task is the realization of all creation and governance, to wholeheartedly agree with all of the Creator's actions, and take an active part in the process of spiritual creation.

168. Rabbi Shimon said to his friends: "This wedding must be a wedding for all of you, and each of you should bring a gift (his own part in the common *Malchut*) to the Bride." He said to Rabbi Elazar, his son: "Present the Bride with a gift, for on the following day *Zeir Anpin* will look as he enters the wedding canopy at the sound of these songs and praises of the sons of the wedding canopy, who stand before the Creator."

Who Is This?

169. Rabbi Elazar opened and said, "Who is this coming up from the wasteland?" (*Shir HaShirim, 3:6*). *MI ZOT*—who is this—is the common ground of the two questions, the two worlds, *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are bound together. COMING UP—coming up to become the "Holy of Holies." For *MI* is *Bina*, called the Holy of Holies. And she joins with *ZOT* (*Malchut*), so that *Malchut* could come up FROM THE WASTELAND, for she inherits THIS from the wasteland, to become a bride and enter the bridal canopy.

The Zohar explains the following passage: "Who is this coming up from the wasteland, leaning upon her beloved!?" (*Shir HaShirim*, 8:5). It describes a state at the end of correction, when the bride enters the wedding canopy. *MI ZOT*: *MI* is *Bina* and *ZOT* is *Malchut*. At the end of correction, *Bina* and *Malchut* unite, and both are called "holy." But until the end of correction only *Bina* is called holy, while *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and receives holiness from her.

Nevertheless, at the end of correction, *Malchut* becomes like *Bina*, and they both become holy. *Malchut* completely unites with *Bina* through equivalence of form, and fully merges with the source of life, for a screen (the restriction imposed on reception of Light within *Malchut*) creates the Returning Light that combines all *Sefirot* into one.

The Creator's *Ohr Hochma* can be received precisely in this Returning Light. As a result, *Malchut* ends with the letter *Yod* and becomes forever similar to *Bina*. Hence, it is written that *Malchut* and *Bina* unite by equalizing their desires to form a single whole.

Similarly, the Light of *Malchut* will be forever connected to the Light of *Bina*, for *Malchut* herself ascends to the level of the "Holy of Holies," thus becoming exactly like *Bina*. SHE COMES UP just like a sacrifice, which is the "Holy of Holies," for *MI* (*AVI*, *Bina* or the "Holy of Holies") joins *ZOT* (*Malchut*), so

Malchut would ascend and become the "Holy of Holies." Sacrifice is the part of *Malchut* (man's animal egoism) that ascends with its properties to *Bina*.

And when *MI* (*Bina*) joins *ZOT* (*Malchut*), and *ZOT* becomes the "Holy of Holies," there is no longer a diminution of *Malchut's* state, for this diminution occurred only because of the deterioration of *Malchut's* properties, when new egoistic desires emerge within her.

Now that *Malchut* has become as holy (altruistic) in her properties as *Bina*, death disappears, and the fall of *Malchut* into her egoistic desires is impossible, for she has been fully corrected and has attained the properties of *Bina*, which are referred to as holy. Through *Malchut's* acquisition of these properties, the Upper Light (life) enters her. *Malchut* emerges from the wasteland (the sensation of life's absence for want of altruistic properties) and enters her wedding canopy.

This occurs thanks to man's efforts, called "those who keep the Torah" (item 124). These efforts are the foremost part of creation, for they create the Torah and bring *Malchut* to the great *Zivug* at the end of her correction, to her complete fulfillment with the Light. This great *Zivug* on the entire corrected *Malchut* (including *Malchut de Malchut*) can be achieved by precisely this sensation (by man) of the spiritual wasteland.

170. She comes up from the wasteland of the soft utterance of lips, as it is written, "And your mouth is comely" (*Shir HaShirim*, 4:3). This is because the Hebrew word *Midbar* (desert/wasteland) is derived from *Dibur* (speech). It is written of the mighty forces, that these mighty forces strike Egypt with all the plagues of the wasteland, for all that the Creator did to them was not in the wasteland, but in settlements. And the phrase "in the wasteland" means "by the power of speech, of spoken word." This comes up from articulation, from the mouth (*Malchut*) as she ascends and comes under the wings of *Ima* (mother, *Bina*). Then, through speech, she descends upon the entire holy nation (the difference between speech and articulation is that articulation is an action that forms speech).

Before the end of correction, when *Malchut* is still called the "Tree of Good and Evil," all corrections occur through *MAN* (prayers or requests), through which the righteous (those who wish to become similar to the Creator in their properties) elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*. Consequently, *Malchut* receives *Bina*'s properties for as long as *Malchut* remains there, for spiritual ascent signifies an attainment of properties. *Malchut* becomes as holy (altruistic) as *Bina*.

MAN is a silent prayer in the heart of man, for *Malchut* signifies "speech." Yet, until the end of correction, good words cannot exist without bad ones. That

is, this will not happen until both voice and speech come from *Bina* herself, when *Malchut* becomes like *Bina*, which designates the unity of voice and speech—the *Zivug* of *ZON* in their corrected state of *Gadlut*.

ZA receives the voice from *Ima* and passes it in his speech to *Malchut*. Hence, this speech is completely good, devoid of any evil. Thus, *Malchut* receives from *Bina* the Light of holiness, *Hassadim*. Unless it is corrected by the completely good, altruistic voice of *Bina*, *Malchut's* voice will always consist of both good and evil. This is why impure, egoistic forces cling to her, and *Malchut* cannot receive anything from holiness (*Bina*).

Hence, *MAN* that the righteous raise in their prayers is like a soft murmur of lips, a voiceless speech, as the prophet says: "Only the lips move, but the voice cannot be heard" (*Shmuel I*, 1:13). This is because there is no connection between *MAN* and the impure force, and *Malchut* can be elevated to *Bina* so she can receive her voice from *Bina*.

As a result, a holy edifice of *Malchut* is erected, and she receives the Light from a *Zivug* between voice and speech, and the holiness of her speech descends upon the heads of the righteous that raised *MAN* and thereby revived *Malchut*.

This is why it is written that SHE COMES UP FROM THE WASTELAND, for the bride (*Malchut*) is now invited to a great *Zivug* under the wedding canopy. This occurs thanks to the raising of *MAN* by the righteous, who thereby united *Bina* (voice, *Ima*) with *Malchut* (speech). As a result, *Malchut's* speech became as beautiful as that of *Bina*.

All of these individual *Zivugim* made by the various righteous (each of whom constitutes a small part of the common *Malchut*) during the 6,000 years, now connect all of *Malchut's* parts (souls of the righteous) together in one great *Zivug*, as the bride (*Malchut*) enters her wedding canopy.

In other words, it is precisely this soft prayer, the raising of *MAN* during the 6,000 years by a voiceless speech (seeing as good is still mixed with evil in the voice of *Malchut*), that creates the conditions for the great *Zivug* of *Malchut* with *ZA*, of man with the Creator.

And since *Malchut* received the voice of *Bina* (from *Ima*-Mother) thanks to the help of the righteous (all the good deeds performed by the righteous during the 6,000 years), everything is now combined into the great Supernal *Zivug* under the wedding canopy. This is because *Malchut* becomes completely good without a hint of evil—the "Holy of Holies," just like *Ima*.

Silent speech is defined as the movement of lips without the participation of the palate, larynx, tongue, and teeth. This is how *MAN* is raised when *Malchut* ascends between the wings of *Bina*, i.e., receives the voice of the wings of *Ima* in her speech. Afterwards, having acquired the speech, she descends upon the heads of the holy nation. For after the reception of voice through *Ima's* property of mercy, *Malchut* becomes as holy as *Bina* herself, and her holiness descends upon those who corrected her. Consequently, they are called the "holy nation," for now the speech of *Malchut* is as holy as that of *Ima-Bina*.

There is "voice" and there is "speech." "Voice" is the inner part, whereas "speech" is its outward appearance. This appearance is based on exhaling (the silent letter *Hey*). *ZA* is called "voice," and *Malchut* is called "speech." Letters are sung according to the note signs (*Taamim*), followed by the letters with their punctuation marks.

The level of *Ohr Haya* (called *Kol*—voice) emerges on the screen in the *Peh* of the third degree of thickness, known as "teeth." From this Light *ZA* receives *Ohr Hochma*, and his voice is then heard outside (begets the souls of the lower ones).

Yet, the voice of *ZA* is not heard below the level of *Neshama*, for his screen is not strong enough to receive *Ohr Hochma*. The level of *Ohr Yechida* in *ZA*, called *Dibur* (speech), emerges on the screen in the *Peh* of the fourth degree of thickness. This screen is the most powerful, as it reveals all of the Light, and is called "lips."

The Light of *NRNHY* reveals the inner, Supernal and concealed wisdom, *Hochma*, the concealed thought, the inner Light of *Bina*, which cannot shine to the lower ones, that is, in *ZA*, because *ZON* cannot receive from *Peh de AA*. Nevertheless, the two levels of the Light—*Haya* and *Yechida*—that descend from *AA* are converted into voice and speech with *Bina's* help, even though it is the Light of thought, wisdom and reason.

Voice is formed in *ZA*, and speech in *Malchut*. If a righteous one raises his prayers (*MAN*) to *Malchut*, thereby causing *ZON* to ascend to *AVI*, who are in constant union, to provide Light for the lower ones, *ZON* receive this Light from *AVI*, which is called "voice and speech." The property of the righteous is to create the pure and destroy the impure with their voice. In the beginning, there was only one language (one speech) in the world, *Lashon HaKodesh*—the holy language. In Hebrew (as in English) the same word (*Lashon*) means "tongue" (both as a body part and as a means of communication).

171. He asks: "How does *Malchut* ascend in speech?" And he replies: "When man first awakens in the morning and opens his eyes, he must bless his Creator and Master. How is he to bless Him? The way it was done by the first

***Hassidim*: they would prepare a vessel of water beside them, so that when they woke at night, they would wash their hands at once, and, having blessed the Torah, would rise to study it. When the rooster crowed, precisely heralding midnight, the Creator was with the righteous in the Garden of Eden. And it is forbidden to perform a blessing in the morning with unclean hands."**

He asks: since it is written that the beginning of *Malchut's* correction must be expressed in a quiet murmur of lips, how can he who wakes up (spiritually) immediately pronounce a blessing at the top of his voice? After all, the blessing must also be uttered in whisper so as to first receive a voice from *Ima*, and with this voice (by the force of *Ima-Bina*) elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*, and impart onto her altruistic properties.

The Zohar replies: The first *Hassidim* have corrected this. As man falls asleep (falls to the level of the Light in his *Partzuf* called "sleep"), his holy soul (the Light that was in his spiritual *Partzuf*) ascends, and only the impure spirit of the primordial serpent (egoistic properties) remains in him, for sleep constitutes the 60th part of death (Talmud, *Berachot*, 57:2).

Since death is an impure property of the primordial serpent, the impure spirit (egoistic desires) does not leave man completely as he wakes up (receives a new Light from Above), but remains on man's fingertips (not all of man's desires change under the influence of the Light received from Above, called "the Light of morning" or "the Light of awakening").

And the greater holiness and Light that was present in man before he fell asleep (before he fell into a diminished spiritual state, called "sleep"), the more the impure (egoistic) force clings to these desires when the altruistic intentions exit them during sleep.

Fingertips constitute the purest place (desires) of the entire body (all desires), man's most spiritual desires, for they can be filled with *Ohr Hochma* (*Ohr Hochma* enters these desires during a *Zivug*, with the help of a screen). Therefore, even after awakening (at the beginning of the spiritual ascent), the impure (egoistic) force does not leave this place, wishing to receive at least some of that great Light, which can fill these most altruistic human desires.

Hence, hands must be washed in order to remove the residual egoistic desires. For this to happen, two vessels need to be prepared: the Upper One (cup) and the lower one that will accept the removed impurity.

The Upper Vessel designates *Bina*, whose Light drives the impure force away. Hence, washing the fingertips with water (the forces or desires of *Bina*) expels the impure force (man's egoistic desires) from them. Thus, *Malchut* rids herself

of her evil (egoism) and becomes holy and good. Afterwards, one can study the Torah and bless the Creator for it, for washing hands is similar to raising *MAN* in a whispered prayer to the wings of *Ima*.

And when the rooster crows (this is a special spiritual sign of the angel Gavriel), it is precisely midnight, as it is written: "The greater star to rule the day and the lesser star to rule the night" (*Beresheet*, 1:16). For the lesser star, the holy *Shechina-Malchut* grew smaller, clothed in impure forces and "her feet descend to death" (*Mishley*, 5:5).

This is so because during the 6,000 years, up to her final correction, *Malchut* constitutes the Tree (foundations) of Good and Evil: if one is worthy, she becomes good for him and purifies him, if not—she turns evil. Accordingly, the rule of night is also divided into two parts: the first refers to a state called "unworthy—evil," and the second refers to a state called "worthy—good."

The first correction of *Malchut's* good part is made exactly at midnight (in a state so called "midnight"), for it is then that *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*. Put differently, *Malchut* ascends to *Malchut de Ima-Bina* and corrects herself within it. As a result, the strictness and judgment in *Malchut* become holy and good, completely devoid of evil. This means that strictness and judgment fall onto the impure forces, but for Israel, they turn into mercy.

Yitzchak signifies restriction, the property of *Malchut* within *Bina*. The Hebrew word for a "rooster" is *Tarnegol*, and also *Gever* (man) and designates the angel Gavriel, who attends to *Malchut*, the lesser star. The strictness of *Bina* pierces the wings of the rooster (Gavriel), and through it *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*.

And when Gavriel passes the voice of *Bina* to *Malchut*, his call reaches all the roosters of this world, the property of judgment in the spiritual void. Such a state is called "this world" or *Malchut de Malchut*. Everyone speaks only in this voice, which was corrected by *Bina's* property of mercy.

Therefore, the voice of *Malchut* (her judgment) no longer dominates the second half of the night, and the voice of *Bina* claims this place. This is what the "rooster of this world" heralds—the property of judgment in *Malchut de Malchut*.

Hence, a rooster's crow (change of properties) is heard precisely at midnight (when states change), for this crow means that *Malchut* has already been corrected by the voice of *Bina*, and that this voice is already within *Malchut*. This is defined as the moment of midnight, which marks the beginning of the second half—absolute goodness, devoid of evil.

After *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*, the righteous (man's properties in the worlds of *BYA*) raise *MAN* with the help of their study of Torah after (in the state of) midnight. They keep raising *MAN* to the "cheerful strictness" in *Ima*, of which it is written: "She rises also while it is yet night" (*Mishley*, 31:15), for it is precisely at night that the Supernal *Malchut* reveals herself in all her splendor.

And the actual revelation of *Malchut* takes place in the Garden of Eden, i.e., she is meant for those righteous who have corrected her with their work and studies (in the state) after midnight. The Creator rejoices with them (merriment signifies fulfillment with *Ohr Hochma*) in the Garden of Eden, for the corrected *Malchut* is called "the Holy *Shechina*" or "the Garden of Eden," for she receives *Hochma* and rejoices with the righteous that constitute *MAN* within her.

And the phrase that describes how impurity (egoistic desires) is washed away (corrected to altruistic properties) from man's fingers (his most exalted desires) is true not only with regard to nighttime. Man ascends from the lower degree of "sleep" onto a higher degree of "awakening," the difference between the two states being that previously, he was receiving only the vital *Ohr Hassadim*, called "sleep," while "awakening" signifies reception of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because the impure force constantly clings to man's fingertips (precisely for man to correct it and thus attain greater spiritual heights), and he is obliged to wash his hands (make his desires and intentions "for the Creator's sake") before uttering a blessing (appealing to the Creator for reception).

172. For when man is asleep, his soul (spirit) leaves him. And as soon as his soul departs from him, the impure spirit replaces it at once, and it fills his hands and defiles them, and it is forbidden to utter a blessing without washing one's hands. And should you object that when man is awake and his soul does not leave him, the impure force does not descend upon him, then, if he enters a washroom, he is forbidden from reading even a single word of the Torah until he washes his hands. And if you say that it is because his hands are soiled, this is not true, for how are they soiled?

173. But woe unto those who do not beware and do not guard the Creator's honor and do not know the foundation of this world. There is a certain spirit that dwells in every cesspool of the world, a spirit that relishes depravity and excrement, and it immediately settles on the fingers of man's hands.

Just like Rabbi Y. Ashlag, I refrain from commenting on items 172 and 173 of *The Zohar*, and he who merits it—will understand this text himself.

He Who Rejoices on Holidays

174. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "He who rejoices on holidays and does not give a part to the Creator, the evil eye hates and slanders him, removes him from this world, and brings him many miseries."

We have already said (item 68) that the impure forces (egoistic spiritual forces within man that know of and hence desire the pleasures hidden in the Creator's Light) consist of male and female parts. The male part brings less harm than the female. It leads man to transgressions such as lying in the name of the Creator, as though it inspires man to observe the *Mitzvot*, but not in complete purity (with the sole purpose of pleasing the Creator). Instead, it causes man to also add a touch of personal benefit and selfish enjoyment, as it is written: "Eat not the bread of an ill-willer, nor desire his treats; for as one reckons within himself, such is he: 'Eat and drink,' he shall say to you; but his heart is not with you" (*Mishley*, 23:6-7).

Since the male impure force has absolutely no intentions to bestow, the commandment remains devoid of fear and love (without a heart). Yet, since the male impure force has already caught man in its net, it gains power to make a *Zivug* with its female half (the impure *Nukva*), which is a bitter and evil impure force that lies in the name of the Creator, and, upon seducing man, captures his entire soul.

Hence, *The Zohar* says that the evil eye hates and slanders man, and removes him from this world by provoking him to fail to observe the commandment of rejoicing on a holiday (the reception of *Ohr Hochma*, joy on a higher degree)—so that this joy would not be for the sake of the Creator. It is as though he eats alone and does not share his food with the needy, which leads to the male impure force making a *Zivug* with *Nukva* and capturing man's soul.

175. The Creator's role is to cheer the poor, according to His ability. For the Creator appears on the holidays so as to look at His broken *Kelim*. He comes to them, and He sees that there is nothing to rejoice in, and He weeps for them, and ascends Above to destroy the world.

To understand this passage and the angels' objections, one must first understand the words of the sages (*Midrash Raba*, 86): "When creating the world, the Creator asked the angels: 'Shall we create man in our image (*Tzelem*) and likeness?' And the four angels (forces, properties) of creation gave their answers:

Mercy said, LET US CREATE, for he creates *Hassadim*, mercy. Truth said, LET US NOT CREATE, for he is all falsehood. Justice said, LET US CREATE, for he dispenses justice. Peace said, LET US NOT CREATE, for he is all enmity."

What did the Creator do? He took truth and concealed it in the ground, as it is written: "cast down truth to the ground" (*Daniel*, 8:12). Our entire purpose in the study of the Torah and *Mitzvot* lies in that, thanks to them, as the Talmud says (*Psachim*, 50, 2): "From *Lo Lishma* (intentions for oneself) man comes to *Lishma* (intentions for the Creator's sake)."

And since man is born with such insignificant desires and powers, he is unable to immediately engage in the Creator's *Mitzvot* for the sake of pleasing the Giver of these *Mitzvot*, for as it is said: "Man is born akin to a wild ass" (*Iyov*, 11:12). Due to his egoistic nature, he is unable to make any inner movement or action if it is not for his own benefit.

Therefore, the Creator allows man to begin observing the *Mitzvot* solely for his own sake, seeking personal benefit. Yet, in spite of this, his actions attract spiritual Light to him. And then, with the help of the received Light, he comes to observe the *Mitzvot* for the Creator's sake, in order to please Him.

This is exactly what Truth presented when it objected to man's creation and said that he is all falsehood. After all, how can man be created to study the Torah and observe *Mitzvot* in a state of absolute falsehood, i.e., "for oneself?"

However, Mercy said, "Let us create," for man performs merciful deeds. Although the *Mitzvot* of mercy, which man observes (even if mechanically) initially "for his own sake," are mere external actions without the intention of bestowal, with their help he gradually corrects his intentions until he becomes capable of observing all the *Mitzvot* "for the Creator's sake." Hence, there exists an absolute certainty and guarantee that through his efforts, man will achieve the goal—altruistic actions "for the Creator's sake." And that it is okay to create man.

Peace also asserted that man is all "enmity;" hence, he can observe the *Mitzvot* "for the Creator's sake" only if it also brings him personal benefit. However, due to such mixed intentions and actions, man exists in constant conflict with the Creator, for it seems to him that he is great and righteous, and he utterly fails to see his shortcomings. In other words, he is completely unaware that all his work in the Torah and *Mitzvot* is exclusively for his own benefit.

And because he feels this way, he fills up with anger and resentment towards the Creator: why does the Creator not treat him as it befits one so perfectly righteous? It follows that he alternates between states of peace and conflict with the Creator. That is why Peace objected to the creation of man.

However, Justice said that man should be created, for he dispenses justice. By observing the *Mitzva* (singular for *Mitzvot*) of giving charity to the poor, even with the intention "for oneself," he gradually acquires the property of "bestowal," learns to act "for the Creator's sake," and merits eternal peace with Him.

After the Creator heard these opinions, He agreed with the angels of Mercy and Justice, and cast down Truth to the "ground." By this, He allowed man to begin observing the *Mitzvot* with the intention "for oneself," despite its falsehood.

It follows that the Creator cast Truth down to the ground because He had accepted the claims of Mercy and Justice, that thanks to the *Mitzva* of giving charity to the poor, man will ultimately come to Truth, i.e., work for the Creator's sake, and Truth will rise from the ground.

The only creation created by the Creator is *Malchut de Malchut*, egoism, and it can only be corrected by "instilling" the Creator's properties of *Bina* or mercy into it. Yet, if these properties are opposite, how can such a thing be accomplished? After all, in the spiritual world, distance is proportionate to the difference in properties. So how can *Malchut* be united with *Bina*?

To this end, the *Kli* was broken: the spiritual, altruistic desire lost its screen and became egoistic. Yet, it retained sparks of the Light, and these sparks exist within egoistic desires. This is why egoistic desires have power over us.

These sparks of the Upper Light are the source of various pleasures and love, for Light is pleasure. And since these particles of Light are clothed in impure garments and exist under the rule of the impure forces, man starts perceiving these feelings of love and delight as being inherent in the impure forces, as though these egoistic garments contain pleasures, and such is their property. And he associates the properties of love and pleasure with the impure forces,

failing to understand that the impure forces draw him solely with the spiritual spark that has fallen into them.

However, as the impure force is very appealing, it lures man into all kinds of transgressions, such as theft, robbery, and murder. At the same time, it gives us the desire to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* for our own sake. Even if we start observing them not "for the Creator's sake," but "for ourselves," (for our own benefit, to fulfill our base aspirations, according to the desires of the broken, egoistic *Kelim*-vessels), we gradually come to the intention "for the Creator's sake," and merit the goal of creation—to receive all the pleasure that was prepared for us back in the Thought of Creation—"to delight man." Thus, the impure forces destroy themselves, but that is exactly the purpose for which the Creator conceived and created them.

The Zohar says that the Creator appears on these holidays to look at all the broken *Kelim*. On holidays, when man observes the *Mitzva* of rejoicing because of the great Light that he receives from the Creator, the Creator appears to look at His broken vessels, by which man is given an opportunity to observe the *Mitzvot* not "for the Creator's sake." The Creator comes and looks at how well these broken vessels have fulfilled their mission to bring man to observance of the *Mitzvot* with the intention "for the Creator's sake."

However, the Creator comes to them and sees that there is nothing to rejoice in. He weeps over them, for He sees that nothing spiritual (altruistic) was created from the broken vessels, that man has yet to correct even a single broken vessel (egoistic desire). In other words, there's not one vessel that was intentionally broken by the Creator that has brought man to the intention "for the Creator's sake," and he rejoices on holidays solely for his own pleasure.

So the Creator weeps and regrets breaking the vessels, for He broke them and cast Truth to the ground only for man's sake, to give him an opportunity to start working in falsehood (in the intention "for oneself") and gradually come to Truth, to the intention "for the Creator's sake." Yet, when He sees that man has not changed at all in his aspirations for selfish pleasure, it is as though the vessels were broken in vain, and so He weeps for them.

And He rises Above, to destroy the world—meaning, He ascends so as to stop the Light's descent and thereby destroy the world. The world and creatures can exist only if they receive the Creator's Light (even if unconsciously). However, if man's state and selfish actions cannot lead him to the intention "for the Creator's sake," the Light itself becomes detrimental to him, for in pursuit of this Light, man sinks ever deeper into egoistic desires (impure forces) and growing

dependency on egoism. Therefore, it is more desirable and beneficial for man to stop feeling pleasure in his impure desires, so that it would not destroy him completely and prevent him from sinking into such powerful egoistic desires that, having become a slave to their pleasures, he would never be able escape them and attain the spiritual.

176. The members of the assembly then appear before the Creator and say: "Master of the world, You are called merciful and forgiving, send Your mercy upon Your sons." He answers them: "Have I not done so, when I created the world based on mercy? As it is written, 'The world is built by mercy' and the world is established upon it. However, if they do not show mercy to the poor, the world will be destroyed." The Heavenly angels then say to Him: "Master of the world, here is a man who had eaten and drunk to his heart's content, and could have been merciful to the poor, but did not do anything." The prosecutor appears, receives permission, and persecutes that man.

The exalted souls, called "the members (or the sons) of the assembly" begin praying for the lower ones, so the Creator would have mercy on His sons and not discontinue the flow of Light descending onto them. They do everything within their power to justify man's state of being, and say that as long as he observes his *Mitzvot* in faith, he is called "the Creator's son," and hence deserves the Creator's mercy, as a son deserves the mercy of his father.

The Creator replies to them that He created the world by the property of mercy, and the world stands on this property alone. In other words, man will not be corrected by the Creator's Light as long as he disdains the poor, for the world's creation was the result of the Creator's agreement with the angel of Mercy, which states that due to man's merciful deeds, the world will be able to exist and will gradually come to the intention "for the Creator's sake." But now, since people are not showing mercy, there will be no correction.

Then the Supernal angels said, "Master of the universe, here is a man who had eaten and drunk, and had his fill, and could have been merciful to the poor, but did not give them anything." In this case, the angels begin to accuse man, instead of defending him, even the angels of Mercy and Justice. And all those who did not wish to create an egoistic man with desires "for oneself," but agreed to it only because they assumed that by deeds of mercy and justice he would escape his egoism "for one's own sake" and achieve the altruistic property "for the Creator's sake." Now, they, too, turn against man.

And if man is unable to acquire the intention "for the Creator's sake," the angels repent and regret at having agreed to his creation, and they now accuse

him before the Creator. And after it becomes clear that man will not achieve the altruistic property "for the Creator's sake" by observing the *Mitzvot*, he is passed into the hands of the prosecutor.

177. There are none greater in our world than Avraham, who acted with mercy toward all creatures. It is written of the day that he prepared a feast: "The child grew and was weaned, and Avraham made a great feast on the day that Yitzchak was weaned." So Avraham prepared a feast and invited all the leaders of that generation. It is well known that at every feast, the supreme prosecutor is about, watching. And if there are any poor people in the house, he leaves that house and does not return there. However, if the prosecutor enters a house and sees rejoicing without the poor—without having first shown mercy to the poor—he ascends Above and brings accusations against the host of that feast.

178. Because Avraham was the leader of his generation, the prosecutor descended from Heavens and stood at the door of his house, disguised as a poor man. And nobody so much as looked at him. Avraham was attending to kings and ministers, and Sarah was feeding all of their children, for they did not believe that she had born a child, but rather claimed that Yitzchak was a foundling, whom they had bought at the marketplace. This is why they brought their children with them, and Sarah nursed them in front of all. And the prosecutor stands at the door. Sarah said: "The Creator has made laughter for me" ("For anyone who hears will laugh on account of me" (*Beresheet*, 21:6). The prosecutor ascended at once and stood before the Creator, and said to Him, "O Master of the world, You have said that You love Avraham, and here he had prepared a feast, but had not given anything to You nor to the poor, had not sacrificed even a single pigeon for Your sake. And Sarah says that You have laughed at her."

Until the end of correction, it is impossible to fully rid oneself of the impure forces. Hence, however hard even the most exalted righteous may try to observe the Creator's *Mitzvot* in purity of their altruistic intentions, without any touch of personal benefit, the impure forces can nonetheless accuse them and find faults in their observance of the *Mitzvot*.

Therefore, the Creator prepared another opportunity for the righteous to silence the prosecutor—by bribing him with a certain portion of holiness and purity, thus silencing him. This way, the prosecutor is reluctant to accuse a righteous one and does not want him to disappear, for then the prosecutor, too, will be deprived of his part of holiness, the Light that he receives as the righteous one observes each *Mitzvot*.

Hence, the need for external hair in *Tefillin* (phylacteries), scapegoat rite, red heifer, and so forth. (*The Zohar*, *Emor*, p. 88). From this we see how extraordinary, multifaceted, and complex this world is created, how impossible it is to judge human deeds and the Upper Governance by external manifestations, as they are seen by us, and how "entangled" and inseparably intertwined all the connections between the pure and impure forces really are.

Even when we look at our great leaders-Kabbalists, we see how much they've suffered, how they were forced to submit to the will of petty rulers or ignorant masses, and how persecuted they were—those who were closest to the Creator! Everyone feels these obstacles, even those who are just beginning on their spiritual journey.

But here, in the example of Avraham, *The Zohar* does not speak about an ordinary prosecutor, for Avraham had surely given food to all the poor, as he had always done even before he invited his distinguished guests to his table. But this prosecutor demanded his share of holiness, of the Light. However, Avraham did not wish to give anything of holiness to impurity. Rather, he wanted to overcome its power and push it away from himself completely. This is why the prosecutor ascended Above and accused Avraham.

The Zohar tells us that the prosecutor was not really poor, but only disguised himself as such, and demanded to be treated at Avraham's festive table. Avraham felt that this was an impure force that assumed the image of a poor man; hence, he refused to give it anything.

This is why it is written: "He did not sacrifice even a single pigeon," for in accordance to the sacrificial rites (rejection of egoistic parts, of man's "I"), only two pigeons are offered, which symbolize the two combined points in *Malchut*: the property of *Malchut* that was corrected by the property of mercy, *Bina*. This common point contains both the properties of restriction and mercy, but the property of restriction is concealed, whereas the property of mercy is revealed (item 122).

Without this combination of *Malchut*'s properties with those of *Bina*, called the "mitigation" or "sweetening" of *Malchut*, the world (*Malchut*) cannot exist, i.e., receive the Creator's Light. Therefore, it is necessary to offer precisely two baby pigeons. One of them was sent by Noah from his Ark, never to return (*Beresheet*, 8), for one pigeon designates the property of restriction in *Malchut* that is unmitigated by *Bina*'s property of mercy. And since Noah could not correct anything in her, the pigeon never returned to him (*The Zohar Shlach*, p. 52).

The prosecutor's claims and complaints concerning Avraham's feast on the day when Yitzchak was weaned stem from his demand to receive his share, the corrections of the part of *Malchut* that cannot be corrected until *Gmar Tikkun* (the end of correction). And this is the property of the restriction within *Malchut*, with which the world cannot exist; hence, it must be concealed. This property is the pigeon that did not return to Noah.

Man was not entrusted with the task of correcting his Creator-given primordial egoism, for it is impossible to alter what the Creator had made. However, man can hide his *Malchut*, his egoism (refrain from using it), and instead act by receiving his desires from *Bina*. This is why a combination of the properties of *Malchut* (egoism) and *Bina* (altruism) was formed in man—to let him make the effort and conceal the properties of *Malchut*, and act only according to the properties of *Bina*.

When one is able to completely reject the use of his egoism and is guided only by the properties of *Bina*, he will achieve a state called "the end of his correction." Correction is made during the 6,000 years, i.e., along the degrees of the 6,000 consecutive actions.

Then, man's *Mashiach* (Messiah/savior), the Upper Light, comes to him and transforms all of man's egoism (the primordial nature that he was rejecting during the 6,000 years) into altruism. Then, one's egoistic properties serve for the reception of the Light of pleasure for the Creator's sake, and he no longer needs to refrain from using them.

The property of *Malchut*, with which man cannot work for the Creator's sake until his final correction, is referred to as "restriction." Using the properties of *Malchut* herself remains forbidden until she is completely corrected through gradual purification by the properties of *Bina* during the 6,000 years. Alternatively, *Malchut* is called "strictness" or "judgment," for this restriction is also the source of all punishments and prohibitions.

Avraham could not correct this property of restriction in *Malchut*, i.e., receive the Light and fill *Malchut* entirely. Hence, he received nothing in this part, and that is exactly the way he treated the prosecutor, who ascended at once and began to accuse Avraham before the Creator, claiming that Avraham failed to correct anything in *Malchut*'s property of restriction with his feast. This property of restriction is called "poor," for it does not receive Light; hence, it constitutes the essence of *Malchut*, her egoism.

Since the Creator mitigated the restrictive property of *Malchut* with the property of mercy, and mixed *Malchut* with *Bina* for the sole purpose of giving the

world an opportunity to exist, the Light that is received thanks to the property of mercy is defined as the part of Light belonging to all the world's inhabitants. This part helps *Malchut* become corrected. Since the Creator created *Malchut* in order to personally fill her with Light, she is regarded as His personal part.

As a result of a miracle of nursing the babies that were brought to Sarah, Avraham received all the Light that exists in the property of mercy, and began to doubt his ability to correct the poor part of *Malchut*. This part receives nothing (for it cannot be used during the 6,000 years) and constitutes the Creator's personal part.

Therefore, the prosecutor ascended, accusing Avraham of not giving to the poor, i.e., not giving to the part of the Creator, *Malchut de Malchut* herself, which no man can correct by himself, as even Noah was unable to do so. And he gave nothing to You nor to the poor, and sacrificed not even a single pigeon for Your sake.

And Sarah says that You have laughed at her. Sarah is the part of *Bina* that shines in *Malchut*. With the words: "Any who hears will laugh on account of me" (*Beresheet*, 21:6), Sarah-*Bina* gave *Malchut* such powerful *Ohr Hassadim* that *Malchut* stopped feeling her egoistic desires, felt the perfection of altruism, and temporarily acquired the properties of *Bina*, while under the influence of *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, there emerges fear that due to such a sense of perfection and absence of suffering from unfulfilled desires, the absence of the feeling of deficiency, *Malchut* would remain uncorrected. Such a state is similar to the following description of Adam's state in the Torah (*Beresheet*, 3:22): "Lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live forever." In other words, he must not stop feeling his own nature nor forget the fact that he is obliged to correct his defect in the "Tree of Knowledge." And that is why Adam was cast down into a place that is suitable for correction, the lowest possible egoistic place, called our world.

179. The Creator said to him: "Who in the world is like Avraham?" And the prosecutor did not leave from there until he had consumed the entire fare. So the Creator decreed that Yitzchak is to be sacrificed. And He said that Sarah shall die from grief for her son. The cause of this grief is that he did not give anything to the poor.

Yitzchak's sacrifice was aimed at the correction of *Malchut*, to compensate for what Avraham could not correct at his great feast in honor of Yitzchak's weaning. Sarah's death was the result of the great Light that she passed to

Malchut, saying: "The Creator has made laughter for me," alluding to the Light that obstructs the correction of *Malchut*.

Therefore, the Light that descends to *Malchut* and gives her the sensation of perfection prevents her from correcting herself. Hence, the Creator stopped it. This is the significance of Sarah's death, for Sarah constitutes the Light of *Bina* that enters *Malchut*. Thus, all that the Torah speaks of is but the essence of the process of *Malchut's* correction, until her correction is completed.

The Torah and Prayer

180. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "It is written that Hizkiyahu (Hezekiah) turned his face to the wall and prayed to the Creator." Let us see how great and potent the power of the Torah is, and how high it rises above all. He who engages in the Torah has no fear of those Above or below, nor of any hardships or illnesses of this world, for he is connected to the Tree of Life and learns from it each day.

181. For the Torah teaches man how to walk a path of truth; it teaches him how to return to his Master and cancel what is predestined for him. And even if man is shown that what is predestined for him cannot be cancelled, it is nonetheless completely cancelled and annulled, then disappears at once and does not prevail over him in this world. Hence, man should study the Torah day and night, and never abandon it, as it is written: "Contemplate Him day and night." Whomever abandons the Torah, it is as though he abandons the Tree of Life.

"Contemplate Him day and night"—"Him" implies the Creator! In another place in *The Zohar*, it is said that Hizkiyahu's prayer was accepted by the Creator, for nothing (no egoistic desires) separated him from the wall (the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator, akin to the Wailing Wall).

This was the advice that he received from the Torah, when, through his efforts in the Torah, he realized how to achieve complete return to the Creator, whereby nothing would separate him from the Creator (from the wall, the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator). As a result, the decree of his death (the Light's exit from the *Partzuf*) was revoked. So great is the power of the Torah.

182. Come and see—such is the advice given to man. When he goes to bed at night, he must accept the Creator's governance from Above, and wholeheartedly

entrust his soul with Him. Thus, man is immediately spared all the illnesses, slander, and evil eyes, and they will no longer have power over him.

Here we come to a precise understanding of certain definitions from the Torah, which are quite different from the notions that we are accustomed to. Daylight signifies the sensation of unity with the Creator. It is called "Light," for this is how man defines his good feelings. Therefore, daylight is when man feels closeness of the Creator and the greatness of spirituality.

Darkness coincides with nighttime in our world. Accordingly, with regard to man's spiritual states, darkness designates the absence of the sensation of the Creator, of the Upper Light, due to the actions of the impure, egoistic forces that separate man from the Creator. At night in our world, we sleep. The spiritual *Partzuf* is filled with the minimal amount of Light in an unconscious state called "sleep." The amount of Light within the *Partzuf* is so little that it is defined as one sixtieth—6 (*Sefirot* of ZA) x 10 (in each part)—of death or complete absence of spiritual Light, for the impure forces rule here.

Due to these two forces that govern and control us, we cannot completely and permanently merge with the Creator. As the result of our sensation of the state of night, the impure forces that rule at night impede us in our efforts, for their power over us keeps returning, thus creating gaps in our unity with the Creator and in our work for His sake.

To correct this, Rabbi Shimon gives us his advice: every "night" (a feeling of separation from the spiritual), when man goes to "sleep" (sinks deeper into the sensations of this world), he must wholeheartedly accept the Creator's governance, entrust himself completely under His rule. For if the night (the sensation of night) is corrected as in the act of creation, when day follows night, as it is said, "And there was evening and there was morning, one day," both night and day become as a single whole.

And the night, called "the rule of *Malchut*," shall not mix with any impure force, and shall not attack man because of the disappearance of the sensation of the Creator on account of egoistic desires and obstacles of "reason." For first, man has realized the necessity of the night for the attainment of the next day (greater sensation of the Creator, a bigger altruistic desire), and perceives these two states as a single whole and as an advancement, despite the fact that in his sensations, a night designates remoteness from spirituality.

In the language of spiritual work, this means that if man feels remoteness from the Creator, and is therefore without joy, despite all the possible pleasures, for him this state is called "night." It is precisely in such a state of complete

absence of sensation and lack of faith in the Creator that man can, through his own effort, without feeling any taste in the Torah, yield before the Creator's rule. That is, he closes his eyes (as one who goes to sleep) and says: "I bring myself under the Creator's rule and submit to His will." This state is called "descent for the sake of a subsequent ascent," and serves as a springboard, by which man attains an even brighter "day."

However, to this end man must completely accept the Supernal Kingdom's rule, so that nothing will separate him from the Creator. In other words, he must submit to the Supernal Rule unconditionally, whether it brings life or death, so that no force in the world will be able to stop him from uniting with the Supernal Ruler, as it is written, "Love your Creator with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might" (*Devarim*, 6:5).

If man accepts everything that the Creator sends him with all his heart, he is certain that nothing will separate him from the Creator. This determines the fulfillment of the condition of entrusting one's soul with the Creator. For he gives himself into the Creator's hands in advance, by deciding to fulfill all His desires (commandments) to the fullest, right up to self-sacrifice.

Hence, as man sleeps, when his soul (the sensation of the Creator), the Light that previously filled him, leaves his body (desires), he does not feel the taste of the sixtieth part of death, for the impure (egoistic) forces have no power over him. In other words, they do not separate him from the Creator. Rather, he merely fails to feel the Creator temporarily.

Thus, the impure forces cannot interrupt his spiritual work even in the state called "night," for his evening and morning are already as one day—the Creator's Light. The night becomes a part of the day, for it is precisely because of the night that he recognizes his future merit of receiving an even greater Light.

This is because his night stems not from the rule of the impure forces. Instead, he understands that the Creator intentionally sends him such states. Thus, even in such sensations as darkness and lack of feeling, absence of aspiration and taste for the spiritual, he sees an opportunity to merge with the Creator. And this means that nothing stands between him and the wall.

183. And in the morning, when he rises from his bed, he must bless the Creator, enter His house, and bow before Him in fear and trepidation, and only then should he pray. He should take advice of his holy Patriarchs, as it is written, "By Your great mercy shall I come into Your house, to bow in fear of Your holy greatness."

Thanks to Your great kindness, I can now bless You for being merciful to me, for ending my spiritual descent, and for letting me come into Your house once more, for allowing me to feel You. However, I am happy not because my suffering gave way to pleasure, but because now I can thank You. I come to Your house so as to kneel in awe before Your holy greatness, which I now attain more than ever before.

The prayer in our heart is the correction within *Malchut* (the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator, or the common soul of Israel), and the fulfillment of this common soul with the Upper Light (the sensation of the Creator), in accordance with all of its corrected desires. Hence, all our pleas are expressed in plural form, for we pray not for our own soul, but for the common soul of Israel. Naturally, all that is present in the *Shechina* is subsequently present in every soul of Israel, and vice versa, all that the common soul of Israel lacks is also absent in each soul.

Therefore, before we start praying, we need to understand (feel) what is lacking in *Malchut* (the *Shechina*), to know what we need to correct in her and how we can fulfill her. Our heart, the center of our desires, is a part of this *Malchut* (the *Shechina*). All the generations of Israel are included in the common soul—the *Shechina*. However, we need not correct what has already been corrected by previous generations, but only what is left after those generations of souls.

Our Patriarchs, the spiritual *Partzufim* called "Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov," also known as the *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, and *Tifferet* of *Partzuf ZA de Atzilut*, include the entire community of Israel, all the properties that subsequently manifest in the corrected *Malchut*, who, in her corrected state, is called "Israel." The Patriarchs designate the three spiritual roots of the 600,000 souls of Israel in all the generations. In other words, these are the three sources of desires born within man's part of *Malchut* for the purpose of his correction.

All the good deeds, the reception and bestowal of Light carried out by the "community of Israel" (by Kabbalists) in all the generations, first trigger reception of the Upper Light by our holy Patriarchs (*Sefirot de ZA*), for all the Upper Light descends through them from Above downwards. From them, this Upper Light descends onto the "community of Israel," the righteous of that generation who exist with their properties in the worlds of *BYA*, and evoke the descent of this Light with their prayers.

Such is the order of spiritual degrees: each branch can receive only through its root (the preceding, Higher Degree), but never independently. The main Light remains in the root, and only an insignificant part of it descends to the

branch that evokes it. Therefore, all the corrections completed in the community of Israel (the *Shechina*, the common soul) are stored and preserved in the souls of our holy Patriarchs.

(The Light received in the corrected *Kelim* remains forever within them. Our description of the Light's exit and descent should be understood as a metaphor, for the *Partzuf* receives new empty desires that require correction, and the sensation of emptiness from the received empty desires is perceived as the Light's departure. Nevertheless, upon correcting these newly received desires, in them the *Partzuf* will receive an even greater Light than before).

Therefore, the essence of our prayer lies in supplementing the *Shechina* with whatever it needs to achieve complete correction, after all the previous corrections that were performed in it by the past generations of Kabbalists. Hence, he who spiritually ascends must first make all the corrections that have already been performed in the *Shechina*, and only then will he be able to recognize what is left for him to correct.

This is why it is written that one cannot enter the *Beit Knesset* (synagogue, but in Hebrew it means "the house of assembly" or "the house of prayer," from the word *Kones*—"to assemble") before he assembles his prayer and asks the holy Patriarchs for guidance, for he needs to know what has already been corrected and what still needs to be corrected. This is possible only after he receives everything that the Patriarchs have corrected through the *Shechina*. Only then will he come to know what is left for him to correct in the *Shechina*.

The Patriarchs have corrected the prayer in the *Shechina*. Prayer and the *Shechina* are one and the same, for prayer is a request, a raising of *MAN*, a *Kli*, the corrected *Malchut* or the desire for the Creator's sake. The correction performed by Avraham is called *Shacharit* (the morning prayer), by Yitzchak—*Mincha* (the afternoon prayer), and by Yaakov—*Arvit* (the evening prayer). Therefore, one must first repeat in his prayer everything that was already corrected by them, and then he will discover how to construct his personal plea, and what other imperfections are left that only he can, and consequently, must correct.

184. Man cannot enter the *Beit Knesset* (synagogue, house of prayer) unless he first receives permission from Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov, for they have corrected the prayer to the Creator. It is therefore written, "And in Your great mercy shall I enter into Your house" (*Tehilim*, 5:8). The aforesaid refers to Avraham, for his property is mercy, the *Sefira Hesed*. "I will bow before Your holy chamber" refers to Yitzchak, for thanks to him *Malchut* is called *Heichal*—chamber, the *Sefira Gevura*. "In fear and trepidation" refers to

Yaakov, for his property is the *Sefira Tifferet*, called "fear." And man must first enter into these properties, and only then enter the *Beit Knesset* to raise his prayers. Such a state is described by the verse, "Here is My slave, Israel, by whom I am adorned."

Here *The Zohar* analyzes the first three main corrections, made by the Patriarchs in the *Shechina*. Avraham corrected the property called *Bait* (house, permanent dwelling), which allows man to merge with it and to always exist in the Creator's properties and sensations, just as he can always dwell in his house.

Yitzchak complemented the correction and corrected *Malchut* in the property called the "holy temple," so that the King Himself would always dwell in it, as a king always dwells in his chambers. Yaakov added to the correction by the property of fear, which corresponds to a gate in front of a house, and designates the condition that (if met) allows man to enter *Malchut*, Avraham's house, and into Yitzchak's holy temple that are both within her.

Upon including within him all three corrections of the Patriarchs in full perfection, he attains what has already been corrected in the holy *Shechina*, and then proceeds to correct what has not been corrected.

Avraham is the source of the property of mercy in the souls of Israel. Therefore, he corrected the holy *Shechina* in such a way that it could receive *Ohr Hassadim*, the Light of Mercy. And the *Shechina* received this Light in its entirety for all the souls of Israel. Had it remained this way, all the souls of Israel would have been in complete and eternal unity with the Creator, and the *Shechina* would have been filled with Light (pleasure). Thus, no man would ever wish to part with the *Shechina* (the sensation of the Creator) even for a single moment.

Yet, Avraham's entire correction consisted in the creation of a perfect, bestowing *Kli*, which consisted only of *Ohr Hassadim*. There was no way of corrupting its properties or introducing imperfection within it, for, just like Avraham's property of mercy (*Hesed*), this *Kli* (desire) consisted only of the will to bestow upon, and please the Creator, as it is written: "Mine is yours and yours is yours designates the property of mercy" (*Avot*, 85). By imparting creation with his property, Avraham completely separated the impure forces (thoughts and desires) from the *Shechina*, and made it completely holy and pure.

However, the Thought of Creation does not end here, for it lies in fulfilling the souls with delight. And the extent of pleasure depends on the aspiration to enjoy, on the degree of hunger. Only the extent of preliminary hunger, the will to receive pleasure, determines the extent of the subsequent reception of pleasure.

The *Shechina* (*Malchut de Atzilut*, the sum of the souls) received its correction from Avraham—the Supernal force of *Hassadim*, the *Sefira Hesed* of *ZA de Atzilut*—and acquired the property of mercy from it. This property is completely free from any selfish will to receive, that is, its desire to receive something from the Creator has completely disappeared, and only the will to bestow upon Him remains. This desire is called "bestowal for the sake of bestowal." However, this brought no correction to the souls (parts of the *Shechina*), for their role is to receive the pleasure prepared for them by the Creator. To that end, they must first have the "will to receive." After all, pleasure is felt only when preceded by an aspiration or desire for it, and is determined by the extent of this desire.

It is hence written that Avraham fathered Yitzchak: Yitzchak found the *Shechina* in absolute spiritual perfection, in the property of pure selfless bestowal, filled with *Ohr Hassadim* because of all the corrections made by Avraham. However, in accordance with his properties, Yitzchak (the left spiritual force) felt imperfection in this state of the *Shechina*—that it was not yet corrected to "receive" *all* that was conceived in the Thought of Creation.

Therefore, he corrected it by turning it into a *Kli* (vessel) of reception, by supplementing it with the will "to receive," so that it could receive all the perfection prepared for it. Yitzchak evoked in the *Shechina* the will to receive pleasure from the Creator, albeit in the form of "reception for the Creator's sake"—with the intention of receiving pleasure in order to delight Him.

The reception for the Creator's sake means that although man fervently wishes to receive pleasure, he receives not because he wishes to enjoy, but only because the bestowing Creator wishes for him to receive it. And had the Creator not wished it so, man would have no desire to receive from Him.

Reception for the Creator's sake is equivalent to selfless bestowal. Thus, the egoistic, impure force, cannot cling to such a desire.

Hence, Yitzchak corrected the *Shechina* and brought it to complete perfection, for now it can receive all that the Creator conceived to bestow upon it, as this is the purpose of His creation.

Thus, after being corrected by Yitzchak, the state of *Malchut-Shechina* is called *Heichal* (the Creator's chambers), for now He can fill it with Himself, His Light, which means that He dwells in its halls.

Yet, Avraham's correction, called "house," did not yet allow the *Shechina* to be filled and worthy of the Creator's presence. Hence, Yitzchak is considered to have corrected all the *Gevurot* (willpower and resistance to egoism in the souls of Israel). This means that he mitigated all the laws and restrictions in the

Creator's governance. This is because all restrictions and punishments come into this world for the sole purpose of correcting the souls' will to receive, to make them suitable for reception of the infinite goodness contained in the Thought of Creation. And since Yitzchak corrected the *Shechina* to complete perfection, all its restrictions and forces have been corrected, and all of its properties have attained the desired goal.

However, his correction, too, did not retain this form in the *Shechina*, and became corrupted, for the world was still unprepared for the end of correction. Hence, Yitzchak fathered a sinner, Esav, who, being unable to resist the temptation to receive for himself, corrupted Yitzchak's correction in the *Shechina*. Unlike Yitzchak, he could not resist the selfish reception. This means that even when it became clear to him that the bestowing Creator did not wish for him to receive, he wanted to receive nonetheless, for such was his desire of self-gratification.

Therefore, the impure force (*Klipot*-shells, the husk, or rind surrounding the pure forces) clung to the *Shechina*. Thus, the legs (*Sefirot NHYM*) of *Partzuf Malchut de Atzilut* descended to the place of the *Klipot* below *Parsa*, where egoistic desires dominate the desires of *NHYM*.

Yet, the *Rosh* and the Upper Part of the *Guf* down to the *Tabur* of *Partzuf Malchut* remained above the rule of the impure forces. Hence, his head (*Rosh*) understands how he should act (hence, Yitzchak's head is buried together with the bodies of Avraham and Yaakov in the *Machpela* cave), but the body (*Guf*) still wants to receive pleasure for its own sake.

And since Yaakov saw the damage caused by Esav, he corrected the *Shechina* by adding his property of fear to it, as it is written: "His hand had hold on Esav's heel" (The Torah, *Beresheet*, 25:26). Because Yaakov realized what imperfection Esav had caused in *Shechina* (in the created souls), he corrected himself in fear to such an extent that he raised the holy *Shechina* as a crown-adornment. By this he also retained the corrections made by Avraham and Yitzchak.

However, Yaakov's correction was not final, for this fear is more similar to the fear of transgression than the selfless fear that comes from within. For this fear of his is born in him from Esav's hip, even though he had not transgressed by receiving, as did Esav. But the end of correction will bring a different state: Esav's hip will be annulled, as it is written: "Death will forever vanish from the world," and fear will remain only because the Creator is almighty and great.

Yaakov attained this genuine fear by himself. However, the entire "community of Israel," all the souls that form the *Shechina*, still need to correct themselves in all the generations, from the first to the last, to the end of correction. (Only

Moshe attained the property of true fear—one out of greatness and love—only he, and no one else. Hence, as the Talmud says, description of fear out of love for the Creator doesn't even exist.)

The Zohar cites the words of the Psalm (5:8): "By Your great mercy I shall come into Your house," since Avraham corrected the *Shechina* up to the property of a "house" that is filled with goodness, i.e., with *Ohr Hassadim*. The words, "So as to bow before Your holy chamber," refer to Yitzchak, who corrected the *Shechina* from a "house" to a "chamber" that befits the Creator. The words, "in fear" refer to Yaakov, who corrected the *Shechina* with his property of fear, whereupon he made it a *Kli* (vessel) of reception that includes all the corrections made by Avraham and Yitzchak.

Yet, how did he find out what else needed correction in the *Shechina*? Only by correcting and including himself in these three corrections performed by the holy Patriarchs before him. This means that, just as they did, Yaakov can act according to the conditions of these corrections. In other words, Yaakov merged with their properties, thereby ascending to their level.

Thus, man must first attain these properties and correct them within him. Only after he assumes the properties of these three corrections into himself can he start correcting them from where our Patriarch Yaakov left off, i.e., elevating fear to the extent of the Creator's greatness and omnipotence, and drawing the Upper Light with his prayer, with his awe of the Creator's greatness. And the Upper Light will bring with it the fulfillment of the *Shechina* and the end of its correction. Hence, man's prayer must include two objectives: to obtain fear of the Creator's true greatness, and with this attainment, to achieve the final correction of his egoism.

Rabbi Shimon's Departure from the Cave

185. Rabbi Pinchas stood before Rabbi Rachuma on the shore of Lake Kinneret. He was wise, old, and almost blind. He said to Rabbi Pinchas: "I have heard that our friend Shimon Bar-Yochai has a jewel, a son. I have looked upon the Light from that jewel, and it shines like the light of the sun, and illuminates the entire world."

A fully corrected *Malchut* is called a jewel (usually a pearl). Rabbi Nachum tells Rabbi Pinchas that Rabbi Shimon has already merited complete correction, for a "son" designates the next state, the next *Partzuf* that emerges or is born from the preceding one. And Rabbi Pinchas sees this while looking (with his spiritual sight, called *Ruach HaKodesh*—the Holy Spirit) at the Light of this pearl, which shines like the sun emerging from its hiding (*Nartik*—sheath). This means that after the future correction of *Malchut* (the moon), her Light will become like that of the sun, and will illuminate the entire world.

And when the Light of the moon becomes like that of the sun, it will rise to the zenith and illuminate the whole world with a pillar of Light, from Heaven to earth. And it will shine until Rabbi Shimon completes the correction of *Atik*. This speaks to the fact that he has already merited attaining the degrees of the Creator's two revelations, i.e., the end of correction.

186. And that Light extends from the Heavens down to the earth and illuminates the whole world until *Atik-Keter* appears and sits upon its throne, which occurs at the end of correction. And that Light abides entirely in your household (for the daughter of Rabbi Pinchas was wife to Rabbi Shimon, and Rabbi Elazar was therefore his grandson). And a tiny ray of Light (called "the son of the household," Rabbi Elazar) separates from the Light that fills the household, comes forth and shines upon the whole world. Happy are those

who merit such a destiny! Come out, my son, come out! Go after that jewel, which illuminates the world, for it is a good time to do so!

Since the daughter of Rabbi Pinchas was the wife of Rabbi Shimon (Rabbi Shimon and his wife designate two spiritual *Partzufim* that are below Rabbi Pinchas), Rabbi Shimon (together with his wife) belonged to the household (was included in the *Partzuf*) of Rabbi Pinchas. This refers to Rabbi Elazar, the *Partzuf* that emerged from the Light and illuminated the world, which filled the household (ten *Sefirot*) of Rabbi Pinchas, i.e., came out of the *Partzuf* called "Rabbi Shimon and his wife."

187. He came out before him and stood waiting to board a ship. Two women were with him. He saw two birds soaring over the water. He raised his voice and said, "Birds, you soar over the sea; have you seen the place where one could find Bar-Yochai?" He waited some and said, "Birds, O birds, fly away." They flew away and disappeared into the sea.

Rabbi Shimon fled from the authorities that condemned him to death, and hid in a cave with his son. And no one knew where he was. Therefore, Rabbi Pinchas set out to look for him.

Although everything described here is historically true, it is nonetheless essential for us to understand the words of *The Zohar* as the actions of Supernal spiritual causes, whose consequences determine all that transpires on earth. The egoistic authorities (forces) of a *Partzuf* as exalted as Rabbi Shimon's try to overcome his own altruistic aspirations and deprive him of the Light, that is, to kill him. And he hides from them in a cave, i.e., assumes a small state (*Katnut*) and shines with the Light of Mercy. This is referred to as "hides in a cave"—becomes invisible to egoistic forces, for they desire *Ohr Hochma* and cannot see *Ohr Hassadim*.

188. Before he boarded the ship, the birds approached again, and in the beak of one of them was a letter. It read that Rabbi Shimon, the son of Yochai, had left the cave together with his son, Rabbi Elazar. Rabbi Pinchas went to them and found them completely changed: their bodies were covered with sores (like holes in the ground—see the Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 19:2) from staying in the cave for so long. He wept and said, "Woe that I have seen you so!" Rabbi Shimon replied: "O how happy is my lot that you have seen me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not have been what I am!" Rabbi Shimon opened about the *Mitzvot* of the Torah and said, "The *Mitzvot* of the Torah that the Creator gave to Israel are all described in a general form."

While staying in the cave (in *Ohr Hassadim*) for many years (degrees), Rabbi Shimon had no choice but to sit in the sand (the external garment—*Levush* covering the *Partzuf* with a particular property, called "earth") in order to cover his naked body (desires) so he could study the Torah (receive the Upper Light in his *Partzuf* with the intention for the Creator's sake). As a result of being covered with sand, his entire "body" was covered with "rust and sores" (but these were necessary corrections).

And not only did the *Partzuf* called Rabbi Shimon need the correction of concealment in *Hassadim* (cave) and the cover of an external garment (Returning Light), but his next state, fathered by him, called his son, Rabbi Elazar (a lower *Partzuf*), also needed these corrections to attain all of the Creator's Light.

He wept and said: "Woe that I have seen you so!" Rabbi Shimon replied: "O how happy is my lot that you have seen me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not have been what I am!" In other words, if I would not look as I do, I would not have merited all the secrets of the Torah, for all that I have attained, I have attained during those thirteen years (thirteen successive corrections) of hiding in the cave.

Rabbi Shimon opened. It is written of the *Mitzvot* of the Torah: "The *Mitzvot* of the Torah that the Creator gave to Israel are all described in a general form." All of the *Mitzvot* of the Torah are described in the passage from the Torah, starting with "In the beginning the Creator created" and ending with "Let there be Light." These are the *Mitzvot* of fear and punishment, which include all the *Mitzvot* of the Torah. This is why they are called "in general."

The First Commandment

189. *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (In the beginning the Creator created) is the first *Mitzva* (commandment), the root and foundation of everything. And it is called "fear of the Creator" or *Resheet* (beginning), as it is written: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom." Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom, for this fear is called "the beginning." And it is the gate that leads to faith. And the whole world is based on this *Mitzva*.

It is difficult to understand why fear is called "the beginning," and why it precedes wisdom and faith. *The Zohar* answers: it is because fear is the beginning of every *Sefira*, and it is impossible to attain any *Sefira* (property) without first attaining the property of fear. Yet, this implies that fear is merely a means of attaining other qualities or properties. But then, if it is only a means, then why is it included in the list of *Mitzvot* (plural for *Mitzva*) as the first *Mitzva*? Can it be that fear is a kind of prerequisite?

Therefore, *The Zohar* says that it is impossible to attain perfect, selfless faith in any way other than through fear of the Creator. And the extent of fear will determine the extent of faith. Hence, the whole world is based on the *Mitzva* of fear, for the whole world exists only thanks to the Torah and *Mitzvot*, as the prophet said: "If not for My union with day and night, I would not have appointed the ordinances of Heaven and earth" (*Yirmiyahu*, 33:25).

And since fear is the beginning and the gate to the other *Mitzvot* (for fear is also the gate to faith), the whole world is based on this property of fear. It is hence written that the *Mitzva* of fear includes all of the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah; and were it not for fear, the Creator would not have created anything.

190. There are three types of fear, two of which have no real basis, but one does. If man fears that his children may die, or fears illness or bodily suffering, or fears for his material well-being, this kind of fear (even if constant) is not the basis or root, for only desirable consequences constitute the cause of fear.

This is called "the fear of punishment in this world." But there is also another type of fear: the fear of punishment in the world to come, in hell. These two types of fear—the fear of punishment in this world and in the world to come—do not constitute real basis and root.

191. The real fear is the fear of the Creator, for He is great and almighty, for He is the Source of everything, and all else is nothing compared to Him. Man should concentrate all his attention on attaining this kind of fear.

There are three kinds of fear before the Creator, but only one of them is considered true fear. If one is afraid of the Creator, and observes His *Mitzvot* so he and his children will be well and prosperous, this constitutes the first kind, the fear of the various punishments in this world. If he observes the Creator's *Mitzvot* because he fears punishments in hell, this is the second kind of fear. *The Zohar* says that neither of these two kinds is true, for man observes the *Mitzvot* only out of fear of punishment, for the sake of his own benefit, and not because these are the Creator's *Mitzvot*.

In this case, his personal wellbeing is the cause of his observance, and his fear is merely a consequence of his will to receive pleasure. Rather, true fear must stem from the Creator's greatness and omnipotence, for He rules over all and is the source of everything. All the worlds emerge from Him, and His deeds testify to His greatness. And all that He created is nothing compared to Him, for it adds nothing to Him.

Thus, we can plainly see that there is no difference in action: one observes out of the first or second kinds of fear, while the other observes out of the third kind. To an onlooker, they perform the same actions, the Creator's *Mitzvot*. But the enormous difference between them lies only in their *intention*, their motivation—why they observe the Creator's decree!

Hence, it is impossible to discern man's spiritual degree by his external observance of the *Mitzvot*, which is visible to all. Moreover, those who observe them in order to receive an immediate reward from others usually do so with the utmost outward zeal. But one whose intentions and thoughts are directed inwardly, who seeks true observance, as a rule, does not stand out amidst the masses in any way.

One must constantly seek to perfect and complement his intentions only by observing the *Mitzvot* at an increasingly deeper level, while focusing on inner contemplation and direction of his thoughts. In no way should he engage in excessive "mechanical observance," on which there is a clear prohibition: "Do not exaggerate in the *Mitzvot*."

On the contrary, one must devote all his attention to the attainment of true fear, as the Creator's first *Mitzva* decrees. As Rabbi Baruch Ashlag said, "Fear of the Creator is the constant, selfless desire that is expressed in the thought: 'Have I done everything I could for the Creator, or is there anything more that I can do for Him?'"

192. Rabbi Shimon started to weep, wailing, "Woe if I reveal and woe if I do not reveal. If I say, the sinners will know how to work for the Creator's sake, and if I do not say, it will not reach my friends." Wherever there is true fear, opposite it and correspondingly below stands an evil fear, which strikes and prosecutes. It is the scourge that whips the sinners (punishing them for their sins). This is why he is afraid to reveal it, for the sinners may learn how to avoid punishment, and punishment constitutes their correction!

Here Rabbi Shimon warns that he cannot reveal everything in its entirety (this refers to *Avoda Lishma*—work "for the Creator's sake"), for he fears it may harm the sinners. Here he wishes to reveal how one can draw nearer and merge with the Tree of Life, and therewith refrain from touching the Tree of Death. However, this refers only to those who have already corrected themselves with regard to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

Nevertheless, the sinners (those who have yet to correct their transgressions in the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil) are not entitled to know this, for they still need to toil in all the required tasks until they correct themselves in the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Thus we see that the Torah defines a sinner as one who is yet to correct the Tree of Knowledge in his soul.

The prohibition on revealing the true essence of the work for the Creator's sake is based on the words of the Torah: "Behold, Adam has become as one of us in knowledge of good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live forever" (*Beresheet*, 3:22).

After Adam's sin in the Tree of Knowledge, the Creator banished him from the Garden of Eden to prevent Adam from connecting to the Tree of Life and gaining eternal life. This is because then, what he corrupted in the Tree of Knowledge would remain uncorrected. Therefore, to let only the righteous know this wisdom, Rabbi Shimon reveals it by way of allusion.

193. But he who fears the punishment by whippings, the true fear of the Creator cannot descend upon him. Instead, evil fear overtakes him in the form of fearing punishment by whipping.

194. Therefore, the place that is named "fear of the Creator" is called the beginning of knowledge. This is why this *Mitzva* is included here. And it is the foundation and source of all the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah. And whoever observes the *Mitzva* of fear of the Creator, thereby observes all the others. But he who does not observe the *Mitzva* of fear of the Creator, does not observe the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah, for this *Mitzva* constitutes the foundation for all the others.

Here *The Zohar* repeats that in one place it is written, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom," while in another it says, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge." And *The Zohar* explains that where the property of fear ends, another evil fear begins, one that slanders and whips. In this regard, it is said in Kabbalah that the legs of a pure *Partzuf Malchut* descend to a place of impure forces.

However, he who observes the *Mitzva* of fear because the Creator is great and almighty unites with Him (becomes equal to the Creator in his properties), so as to not feel shame in receiving from Him. Besides this correction, no other work exists for the creatures.

This is called "fear of the Creator for the sake of life," for as a result of merging with the Creator, creatures are filled with life. Otherwise, they fall under the power of the restriction, as *Tzimtzum Aleph* (first restriction) restricted the reception of Light in egoistic desires. Such a *Kli* (desire) becomes a cause of death, for it is an empty place (devoid of Light). Hence, creatures must fear failing to make the corrections that they were entrusted with.

However, those who observe the *Mitzvot* out of fear, rather than out of realization of the Creator's greatness and His decree, are ruled and whipped by the fear of an empty *Malchut*. And since the end of fear lies in the evil scourge, true fear is called "The beginning of knowledge of the fear of the Creator," which indicates the necessity to aspire only to this kind of fear, and beware of the evil kind. Because of this, Adam's sin is corrected.

195. Therefore, it is written, IN THE BEGINNING (signifying fear) THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. For whoever transgresses here, transgresses all of the Torah *Mitzvot*. And his punishment is the evil scourge, i.e., the evil fear that whips him. The words, AND THE EARTH WAS UNFORMED AND CHAOTIC, AND DARKNESS WAS UPON THE FACE OF THE DEEP, AND THE SPIRIT OF THE CREATOR refer to the four punishments of the wicked.

196. WITHOUT FORM refers to strangulation. CHAOTIC refers to stoning, i.e., the stones that fall into the great deep to punish the sinners. DARKNESS signifies burning, the fire that falls upon the heads of the wicked to burn them down. THE SPIRIT OF THE CREATOR refers to beheading.

Those who observe the *Mitzva* of fear before the Creator not because such is His decree, but because they are afraid of punishment, fall into the impure force's trap, called "without form." As a result, they are lost, having no understanding of the Creator's thoughts and deeds. And this impure force is defined as a rope on man's neck, blocking the inflow of pure (holy) air to his soul and preventing him from gaining life. And to the extent of man's ignorance, the impure force strangulates him!

And when he is caught in the impure force's noose, tightening around his neck, it has the power to control man at its will: to stone, burn, or behead him. Stoning means that impure thoughts befall his head with desired pleasures, thus pulling him down into the deep. There they punish him with darkness (burning), and the impure force turns him on fierce fire until it burns all the pure life-force out of him.

197. The spirit of the Creator means beheading, for the scorching wind (*Ruach Se'ara*) is a flaming sword—punishment for whoever does not observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* that are mentioned after the *Mitzva* of fear, called "foundation," as it includes all the *Mitzvot*. This is because after the word *BERESHEET* (BEGINNING), which signifies fear, it is written WITHOUT FORM, CHAOS, DARKNESS and SPIRIT—in all, the four penalties of death. And then follow the rest of the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

Following the first sentence of the Torah, the remaining part of the Torah refers to the rest of the *Mitzvot*, which are particular with regard to the general and all-inclusive *Mitzva* of fear.

The Second Commandment

198. The second *Mitzva* (commandment) is inseparably connected with the *Mitzva* of fear, and it is the *Mitzva* of love—for man to love his Creator with perfect love. What is perfect love? It is a great love, as it is written, "He walks before the Creator in complete sincerity and perfection" (*Beresheet*, 17:1), which signifies perfection in love. Thus, it is written, "And the Creator said, 'Let there be Light'" (*Beresheet*, 1:3)—this is perfect love, called "great love." This is precisely how man should love his Creator.

There exists conditional love, which appears as a result of all the goodness received from the Creator ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," items 66-74), as a result of which man merges with the Creator with all his heart and soul. Yet, although he merges with the Creator in complete perfection, this love is considered imperfect. It is similar to Noah's love (*Beresheet Raba*, 30), who constantly needed to reinforce his feeling—to see that the Creator sends him only goodness.

Avraham, however, needed nothing to reinforce his love for the Creator, as it is written: "He walks before the Creator in complete perfection." For the words "walks before" mean that he needs nothing to reinforce his feeling of love for the Creator. And even if he does not receive anything from Him, his love remains constant and perfect, and he wishes to merge with the Creator with his heart and soul.

199. Rabbi Elazar said, "I have heard what perfect love means." He was told, "Tell this to Rabbi Pinchas, as he truly exists on that degree." Rabbi Elazar said, "Perfect love means that it is perfect on both sides; if it does not include both sides, such a love is imperfect."

He was told to turn to Rabbi Pinchas, for Rabbi Pinchas had already attained the degree of perfect love and will be able understand him correctly.

The words "on both sides" refer to both the good side and the evil side. In other words, if the Creator gives him not only goodness, but restrictions, too (which he perceives as unpleasant), and even if He takes his soul away, still man's love for the Creator remains perfect, as though he receives from Him nothing but the very best in the world.

200. Therefore, there is he who loves the Creator in order to gain riches, live a long life, have many healthy children, and rule over his enemies—he receives everything he wants, and this is why he loves the Creator. However, should he receive the opposite, should the Creator lead him through a wheel of suffering, he will come to hate the Creator, and will feel no love toward Him whatsoever. Therefore, such a love is baseless.

Since his love depends on what he receives from the Creator, when reception stops, so does his love. Clearly, man can love only one or the other—himself or the Creator!

201. Love is considered perfect if it exists on both sides—on the side of judgment and the side of mercy (success in life). As we already mentioned, when one loves the Creator, even if He were to take away his soul, this love would remain perfect on both sides: mercy and judgment. Therefore, the Light of the First Act of Creation was revealed and then concealed. And because of this concealment, strict judgment appeared in the world, and both sides, mercy and judgment, united to form perfection. And this is the desired love.

The Light that was created on the first day of creation (in the verse "Let there be Light") was later concealed, as it is written, for the righteous in the world to come. It was concealed so as to let strict judgment appear in this world.

This leads to the unification of the two sides (mercy and judgment) into one, for man receives an opportunity to reveal the perfection of love even when the Creator takes his soul away, and he is given an opportunity to supplement and perfect his love. And had the Light not been concealed, strict judgment would not have been revealed, and the GREAT LOVE would have been concealed from the righteous, and there would be no way of revealing it.

202. Rabbi Shimon kissed him. Rabbi Pinchas approached, kissed and blessed him. He said, "It is clear that the Creator has sent me here. This is the tiny ray of Light that was said to be shining in my house, and would later light up the whole world" (item 186). Rabbi Elazar said that fear must certainly not be forgotten from all the *Mitzvot*; especially in this *Mitzva*, the *Mitzva* of love, fear must be attached to this *Mitzva* at all times. How is it attached? Love is

good when it brings goodness, health, sustenance, and life from the Beloved One. And it is here that fear of sinning must be revived, so that the wheel does not turn against him, as it is written, "Happy is the man who always fears," for his fear is contained in his love.

203. This is how fear should be evoked from the perspective of strict judgment, for once man realizes that strict judgment hovers over him, he must evoke within him fear of his Master. Thus, his heart will not be hardened, of which it is written, "He that hardens his heart shall fall into evil," into the other side. This is called evil. Therefore, fear unites with both sides—with goodness and love, as well as with strict judgment, and consists of both. And if fear is united with the good side and love, as well as with the strictness of judgment, such a love is perfect.

The *Mitzva* of fear includes all the *Mitzvot* of the Torah; it is the gateway to faith in the Creator—to the extent of his fear, man acquires faith in the Creator's governance. Hence, he must not forget fear in observing every *Mitzva*, especially the *Mitzva* of love, at which time fear needs to be roused even more, for fear must constantly be present in the *Mitzva* of love. Therefore, man must evoke fear within him in the two states of love: in love from the good side, when he receives good sensations from the Creator, and in love from the evil side, when the Creator sends him harsh restrictions, according to judgment.

However, it would be incorrect to think that perfect love means a state where one receives bad feelings from the Creator, to the extent of feeling one's soul being taken away. It is incorrect to think that one should not fear the Creator's judgment and strictness, and, despite his feelings to cling unto Him with love, fearlessly and wholeheartedly.

First, one must rouse fear within him lest his love for the Creator will weaken. Thus, he combines love and fear. Second, from the other side of love, from the side of feeling the strictness, he must rouse within him fear before the Creator, and not let his heart harden, so it would not stop heeding the unpleasant sensations of punishment. Thus, here, too, he includes fear and love, and if he acts so in both sides of love, his love remains forever connected to fear, thus becoming perfect.

It is written about the good side's inclusion of fear into love: "Happy is the man who always fears." The word "always" indicates that although man always receives only goodness from the Creator, he fears Him nonetheless, for he fears that he may sin.

And it is written about the evil side's inclusion of fear into love, when man feels punishments and strictness of judgment: "He who lets his heart be hardened shall fall into awe." This means that one should in no way and under no circumstances let his heart be hardened under the judgment's influence. Otherwise, he will fall into the impure forces, called "evil." In such a case, he must rouse within him even more fear of the Creator, and mingle his fear into the love.

However, neither kind is fear for oneself, for one's own well-being. Rather, they both refer to man's fear of diminishing his intentions and actions for the Creator's sake, and his attempts to direct them all towards pleasing Him.

Thus, we have clarified the first two *Mitzvot* of the Torah—the *Mitzvot* of fear and love. The *Mitzva* of fear is the basis for all the other *Mitzvot* and of the entire Torah. It is contained in the first word of the Torah, *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING), and in its first sentence, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. Fear is called BEGINNING, from which THE HEAVENS and THE EARTH are born, meaning *ZON* and their descendants, the worlds of *BYA*. And the second sentence in the Torah refers to punishment in the form of four kinds of spiritual death: WITHOUT FORM means strangulation, CHAOTIC means stoning, DARKNESS means burning, and SPIRIT means beheading. The *Mitzva* of love is described in the Torah in the verse: AND THE CREATOR SAID, 'LET THERE BE LIGHT.'

There are two sides to this *Mitzva*, which are called "kindness and longevity" and "with all one's soul." This implies that man should feel love even under the worst kinds of circumstances, i.e., when the Creator takes his soul away, just as he feels it when everything is well.

Just to reveal this perfect love, the Light of creation was concealed. Fear must also be included in both sides of love: in the part where man must fear to commit a sin, thereby reducing his love for the Creator, and in the part where he must fear because of the concealment and the Creator's judgment. Yet, to understand these spiritual categories, we must clarify them in a slightly different manner.

Calls for love are used repeatedly in the Torah: "Love thy neighbor…," "Do not do what you hate to another," and so on. But the basis of all this is love between man and the Creator; this is where our requests are directed: "Draw us nearer with love…," "He who chooses Israel with love…"

The revelation of the Creator is the revelation of His love for man. However, altruistic love is completely different from our understanding of love. Our love always relies on egoistic reasons. And should the reasons suddenly disappear, love disappears at once.

We can take as an example the natural love between father and son. Parents naturally love their only son more than anything in the world. Accordingly, the son should hold the same kind of love for his parents. Yet, we see that this is not so: if the son feels unconditional love from his parents, then, in accordance with nature's law and regardless of himself, his love for them will decrease.

This is so because the father's love for his son is natural; and just as the father wants his son to love him, his son wants to be loved by his father. This reciprocal desire gives rise to fear in both their hearts: the father is afraid that the son may hate him (even a little), and the son fears the same.

This constant fear begets good deeds between them: each of them aspires to show his love to the other, so as to promote reciprocity. Yet, when their love reaches peaks, and there is nothing else that can be added to it, the beloved son discovers absolute and unconditional love in the heart of his loving father.

The loved one immediately stops fearing that he will be loved less; neither can he hope that the love for him will grow. And this leads to a situation where the son grows lazy and stops expressing his love with good deeds. And as they lessen, his love lessens, too, until it is reversed into its opposite—hatred, for he deems everything his father does as worthless and insufficient in comparison with what the father's actions out of "absolute" love should be. Therefore, the union of love and fear within man brings him to the state of perfection.

The four letters *HaVaYaH* (*Yod* + *Hey* + *Vav* + *Hey*) correspond to *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*. *The Zohar* calls them, FEAR, LOVE, TORAH, COMMANDMENT, respectively.

YOD	–	HOCHMA	–	FEAR
HEY	–	BINA	–	LOVE
VAV	–	ZA	–	TORAH
HEY	–	MALCHUT	–	COMMANDMENT

Partzuf AA is the main *Partzuf*, and includes the entire world of *Atzilut*. It shines upon all the other worlds through its garments, called *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON*, where *AVI* and *YESHSUT* clothe *AA* from its *Peh* to *Tabur*, while *ZON* clothe *AA* from *Tabur* down to its *Sium Raglaim* (end of legs) that stand on *Parsa*.

AA is called "the concealed *Hochma*," as its *Ohr Hochma* is concealed in its *Rosh* and does not shine upon the other *Partzufim* and worlds, and only its *Bina* shines below. Thus, it is *Bina* (and not *AA*) that is called *BERESHEET*—BEGINNING, for she is the foundation and the source of all the worlds.

And she is also called FEAR OF THE CREATOR, i.e., fear of His greatness, "for He is the only Master and the root of all, and all that exists is as nothing compared to Him." And *ZON* (called HEAVEN AND EARTH) emerge from *Bina*. It is therefore written in the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING (with fear) *AVI*, THE CREATOR CREATED HEAVEN (*ZA*) AND EARTH (*Malchut*).

Hence, it is said: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom (*Hochma*)" and "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge (*Daat*)." *Ohr Hochma* stems not from the *Sefira Hochma de AA*, but from *Bina de AA* alone. For when *Bina de AA* ascends to *Rosh de AA*, it turns to the *Sefira Hochma* and then passes the Light downward. It follows that the *Sefira Bina*, fear of the Creator, is the source of *Ohr Hochma*; hence, it is said, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of *Hochma*."

Also, fear is the beginning of knowledge, for the *Sefira Daat* is the beginning of *ZON*: *ZON* raise their request to *Rosh de AA* in order to receive *Hochma*. And this request of *ZON* regarding reception of *Ohr Hochma*, which is received and felt by *AA*, is called *Daat*, knowledge. This is why it is written: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge (*Daat*)."

The Zohar also tells us that afterwards fear and love unite so as never to part again, for *Hochma* is called "love." Indeed, the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH* is *Bina*, i.e., *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) that wants only *Ohr Hassadim*, whereas *Ohr Hochma* is concealed within it.

And the place of revelation of *Ohr Hochma* is *ZAT de Bina*, called *YESHSUT*, the first letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*. Therefore, this place is called love, and it is the second *Mitzva* that follows the first *Mitzva* of fear, which shines in *ZON*, for this *Ohr Hochma* does not stem from *Hochma de AVI*, but from *Bina*, and *Bina* is known as fear.

And *The Zohar* says that fear unites with love so as to never let it go. This means that *Bina* forever unites with *Hochma* and does not part with it. And wherever there is *Bina*, *Hochma* is there alongside her. And although it seems to write that one *Mitzva* is fear and another is love (that these are separate *Mitzvot*), they are nonetheless always together and are never apart: just as the first *Mitzva* includes the first, so the first includes the second.

The reason they have separate names is that we distinguish them by their dominance: in the first *Mitzva*, it is *AVI*, *GAR de Bina*, *Bina* herself along with her property. Hence, it is called "fear." However, in the second *Mitzva* it is *Hochma* that is dominant; hence, it is called "love."

Therefore, the words of the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED constitute concealment, and the revelation of these words begins

with the words LET THERE BE LIGHT, designating the ascent of *Bina* (BEGINNING) to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* becomes like *Hochma*.

The combination of *Hochma* and *Bina* is then called GREAT LOVE. This is the meaning of the words, LET THERE BE LIGHT, for *Bina* ascends to *AA* and passes the Light to all the lower worlds with GREAT LOVE, i.e., by means of two Lights: *Hassadim* and *Hochma*.

This is why it is said that the CREATOR'S LOVE IS CLARIFIED FROM TWO SIDES, as it is written: LET THERE BE LIGHT IN THIS WORLD AND IN THE WORLD TO COME. Because the Creator saw that this world cannot receive the Light, He concealed His Light and raised it above *Parsa de AA*, called (according to its corrected properties) "the world to come," above *Chazeh de AA*, where *AVI* or *GAR de Bina* reside.

Parsa is located below *Chazeh de AA*, and it separates the Supernal Waters (*AVI*) from the lower waters (*YESHSUT* + *ZON*). Since *Ohr Hochma* does not shine below *Chazeh de AA*, it is said that the Light is concealed from *Partzufim YESHSUT* and *ZON*.

Thus, we see that *Bina* is divided into two parts: *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*), located above the *Chazeh* (*Parsa de AA* or the Supernal Waters), upon whom the Upper Light shines, meaning that secrets are revealed within them. He who ascends to this degree receives its Light, thereby meriting "wealth (*Hochma*) and longevity (*Hassadim*). His sons (his future corrections) are like olive sprouts (olive oil symbolizes *Hochma*), they gather round his table (*Hassadim*), and he rules over his enemies (impure forces), and whatever his wish may be, he succeeds in it (for *Ohr Hochma* is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*)." *ZAT de Bina* are the lower waters, located below *Chazeh de AA*. The Light is concealed from them, and those who receive from them must love the Creator with the kind of love called "even if He takes away his soul."

These are the two degrees of love for the Creator. That is to say, love for the Creator is not the desire and decision of man alone. Rather, like any of our other desires, it appears only by attaining a particular degree: if one attains the degree of *YESHSUT*, it allows him to love the Creator "even if He takes away his soul." However, an even more perfect love emerges within him who reaches the degree of *AVI*: he receives such Light from it that his love for the Creator becomes perfect on both sides.

Yet, fear must be included in both kinds of love. For at the degree of *AVI*, one needs fear so as to not sin while in a state of spiritual ascent in *AVI*. And while at the degree of *YESHSUT*, one must fear lest his heart be hardened,

for *Hochma* and *Bina* correspond to love and fear in a state of eternal unity. Therefore, one must include the properties of *Bina* (fear) into *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*), as well as into *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*).

Only then will love be perfect on both sides, in both forms: *GAR* and *ZAT de Bina*. Love cannot possibly be perfect only on one side, but only if fear exists on both sides, for *Hochma* (love) cannot exist without *Bina* (fear).

It follows that conditional love is the degree of *AVI*, whereas unconditional (perfect) love is the degree of *YESHSUT*. Yet, *YESHSUT* is below *AVI*. The thing is that man first receives Higher *Sefirot* of his emerging *Partzuf*, in the order *KHB-ZA-M*, but the Light enters them in the reverse order of *NRNHY*: first, he receives the *Sefira Keter* with the Light of *Nefesh*, and in the end he receives the *Sefira Malchut*, though the Light of *Yechida* enters *Keter*. Therefore, if we measure according to the *Sefirot* (*Kelim*), the degree of *AVI* = *GE* = *K-H* (conditional love) is smaller than the degree of *YESHSUT* = *AHP* = *B-ZA-M* (unconditional love).

The Third Commandment

204. The third *Mitzva* is to know that there is an Almighty Lord who governs the world, to unite this every day in the six Supernal limbs: *HGT NHY* of *Zeir Anpin*, and to unify them in the six words of the prayer "Hear O Israel," and with it to direct our desires upwards. Therefore, we must prolong the word "one" in the six words: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our Creator, the Lord is one."

In correspondence with the instruction to prolong the word "one," he who utters this verse should pronounce this word lengthily, as ooone. However, *The Zohar* obviously alludes not to a simple utterance of one's mouth, but rather to our true heartfelt intentions.

What is indicated here is that one needs to *know* and make a *union*. First, one must know the two sides of love, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. *AVI* are called the "big and great ones in *Hassadim*," whereas *YESHSUT* is called "the Master of the World," for it contains judgment and restriction.

After man has attained both degrees of love and merited perfect love, he needs to know that there is a great Master who governs the entire world, and to unite this knowledge every day by using the six Supernal limbs, sides, that is, to raise *MAN* to *ZON de Atzilut*, and *ZON* will raise their *MAN* to *YESHSUT*. As a result, *ZON* and *YESHSUT* will ascend and unite with *Partzuf AVI*. This common *Partzuf* has six Supernal sides-limbs, for they all clothe *VAK*, the six lower *Sefirot* of *AA*.

Because of this unity, *YESHSUT* ascends above *Parsa de AA*, to the place from the *Peh* down to the *Chazeh*, the place of the Supernal Waters. This is the permanent place of *AVI*, and the place where Light is revealed. When *YESHSUT* is filled with this Light, it passes it to *ZON*, which pass it on to the lower worlds, leading to the revelation of *Ohr Hassadim* in all the worlds. This is the secret of the union of "Hear, O Israel."

The six words: "**Hear,** O **Israel**, the **Lord** is **our** Creator, the **Lord** is **One**" constitute the six sides of *ZON*, which need to be united so as to unite them with the six Supernal sides, that is, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. And man must direct his intentions and *NRN* upwards, so they, too, would unite with Supernal unity, just as *MAN*.

To achieve unity in *VAK de ZA*, in its six sides, the word "one" must be prolonged, meaning to receive *Ohr Hochma* within it, for *Ohr Hochma* descends from *Ein Sof* (infinity) to Supernal *VAK*, i.e., to *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, and unites *VAK de ZA* with the Light of *Ein Sof*. This is because the *Gematria* (numerical value) of the Hebrew word *Echad* (one) is *Aleph* + *Chet* + *Dalet* = 1 + 8 + 4 = 13, which indicates reception of *Ohr Hochma*.

Hence, while pronouncing the word "one," one should intend to draw *Ohr Hochma* to *VAK de ZA*. However, this unity lacks the intention to receive the Light of *GAR* in *ZA*, but only to enlarge its *VAK* through unity with the Supernal *VAK*, and to receive *VAK de Gadlut*.

205. It is therefore written, "Let the waters under the Heavens be gathered together onto one place." This means that all the degrees under the Heavens will gather onto one place, to become perfect in the six ends. Therewith, fear must be attached to the unity of the words: "Hear, O Israel," which is done by prolonging the pronunciation of the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*. This is why the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* is written larger than the other letters. It is written, "Let the dry land appear," to let the letter *Dalet* (designating dry land) be attached to that unity.

As was already explained, the unity contained in the words "Hear, O Israel" refers to the reception of *Gadlut* by *VAK*. This is because "one place" signifies the Supernal *VAK*, where the Light of *Ein Sof* shines within *Ohr Hochma*, under the Heavens (*Bina*), with regard to the earth (*ZA*). The words "onto one place" imply the unification of all the six Upper and lower sides, so the lower *Partzufim* will receive *Ohr Hochma* and unite with *VAK de ZA*, but only as *VAK de Gadlut*.

As we have already clarified, there are two kinds of fear and two kinds of love: the Upper fear and love are called *AVI*, whereas the lower fear and love are called *YESHSUT*. However, perfection is attained only by attaining both degrees together. Hence, the Light is concealed in *YESHSUT*, so the lower kind of love ("even if He takes away the soul") will be revealed. But even in this case, fear must cling to love and prevent the hardening of the heart; only then does one reveal perfect love, merges with *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, and receives the complete Creator's goodness.

In the unity of "Hear, O Israel," and after *ZON* ascend and unite with their properties in the six Upper sides to receive within them the "Great Love" in the word "one," they receive the Light that was made on the first day of creation, of which it is written: "And the Creator said, 'Let there be Light'" (*Beresheet*, 1:3).

And to all of this unity one must attach fear, since he needs to reveal and receive the Light that is deliberately concealed in *YESHSUT*, so as to unite the lower love and fear, for they still cannot be considered perfect.

Therefore, it is said that one should prolong the pronunciation of the *Dalet* in the word *Echad* (one) when reciting the prayer, *Shema Israel*, *Adonay Eloheinu*, *Adonay EchaD-D-D!* (Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our Creator, the Lord is One). In this case, the letter *Dalet* is written in large font. This is because big letters refer to *Tvuna*, and the big *Dalet* in the word *Echad* indicates that its place is in *Tvuna*, and that the Light is concealed there. By attracting it, not by utterance, of course, but by the spiritual action, man unites its concealment with the lower fear and love.

AND THE DRY LAND APPEARED means that there is no perfection in the Upper fear and love, expressed in the six words of the prayer "Hear, O Israel" with the help of the word "one." These words correspond to "Let there be Light," until the unity of fear and love is achieved below. This unity is revealed in the Light that is concealed in *Tvuna*, designated by the letter *Dalet* (D) in the word *Echad.*

Therefore, after the WATERS GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE, signifying the descent of *Ohr Hochma* into the six parts of *ZA*, DRY LAND APPEARED. It denotes the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*, which should be pronounced with (spiritual) prolongation, with the aim to turn it into land through the concealment of the Light.

All of this is essential in order to unite the *D*, *Tvuna*, with *AVI*, resulting in the descent of the Light to *VAK de ZON*, so that love could be made perfect.

206. After *Malchut* unites with ZA Above (in *VAK de ZON*), they must now be united below, in the masses, i.e., in all six sides of *Malchut*, in the words, *BARUCH SHEM KVOD MALCHUTO LEOLAM VAED* (Blessed be the great name of His kingdom for ever and ever), which contain six other words of unity. And then, what was dry land will become fertile soil, yielding fruit and plant.

After the Supernal union is achieved, when the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* becomes whole Above, in *AVI*, it is essential to unite the *Dalet* in the word *Echad* below, in *VAK*, in the six aspects of *Nukva de ZA* (Rachel), who

stands from *Chazeh de ZA* and below. All 600,000 souls of Israel, called "the inhabitants of *Nukva*," are included in Rachel.

After ZA unites in the Light of *AVI*, and the concealment of *Tvuna* (in the words DRY LAND APPEARED or in the letter *Dalet*) is revealed in him, *Nukva* must be filled with these two revelations. This is designated by the six words, *BARUCH SHEM KVOD MALCHUTO LEOLAM VAED*, corresponding to the six *Sefirot HGT NHY* of *Nukva*.

It was already explained that the Light was concealed in order to reveal both sides of love—good and evil. Yet, neither side of love, good or evil, can be revealed through concealment, but only through revelation of judgment. Before judgment was revealed, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* was DRY LAND—utterly useless. This is because it emerged from the Light due to the concealment. Even fear to unite in the lower fear and love, which supplement the Upper fear and love was absent from it, for the judgment that reveals the lower fear and love was not yet revealed.

Strictness and judgment are located in the legs of *Partzuf* Leah, which are included in the *Rosh* of *Partzuf* Rachel. ZA has two *Nukvaot* (plural for *Nukva*): Leah (above his *Chazeh*) and Rachel (below his *Chazeh*). Leah's legs end at the *Chazeh de ZA* and touch Rachel's *Rosh*.

World of Atzilut

Atik		
AA		
AVI		
YESHSUT		
Nukvaot of ZA		ZA
Leah:	Head	Head
	Body	Mouth
	Legs	Chest
Rachel:	Head	Chest
	Body	Legs
	Legs	Feet

Parsa

Worlds of BYA

Machsom

Our World

Since strictness and judgment are located at the end of the legs of *Partzuf* Leah, this affects only *Partzuf* Rachel, as each spiritual property acts only from the place of its manifestation and below. Therefore, the concealment in the lower love and fear manifests only in the place in Rachel where the force of strictness and judgment is manifested.

Prior to the revelation of judgment, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* was dry land, a place that is unfit for living. Now, however, after the descent of *Partzuf* Rachel into *VAK*, below *Chazeh de ZA*, the dry land became fertile, suitable for settlement and cultivation of fruits. In other words, the lower love and fear were revealed in it in completion and perfection. And they complement the Upper love and fear, so that all are perfect on both sides, for that is when all the goodness is revealed in *AVI*.

It is therefore said, THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH-*ERETZ* (the word *Eretz* is derived from *Ratzon*—desire), for it is the property of the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* in the six *Sefirot* (sides) of *Nukva de ZA* (where the property of strictness and judgment is already revealed). The letter *Dalet* that was in DRY LAND and made its property inanimate and unfit to live on turns into EARTH in *Nukva de ZA* (as a result of a *Zivug* with *ZA*), can now be settled and cultivated; hence, the Creator called it "earth."

207. It is written, AND THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH. This refers to the same unity below, by the words, BLESSED BE HIS GREAT NAME FOR EVER AND EVER, when the earth, called "desire," became what it should be. For the word "earth" (*Eretz*) means desire (*Ratzon*). Hence, the expression IT WAS GOOD appears twice on the third day of creation: once for the Upper unity and once for the lower. For *Malchut* merges with both sides of *ZA*—with *VAK de ZA* and with her own *VAK*. Henceforth, the earth brings forth grass, for it has been corrected to yield fruit.

The Upper unity (described by the words, WATERS GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE) passes the Light that was created on the first day of creation from Above downwards, from the six Upper sides of *AVI* to *VAK de ZA*. This is called by the first word, IT WAS GOOD, uttered by the Creator on the third day of creation.

And then occurs the lower unity, designated by the verse, BLESSED BE HIS GREAT NAME FOR EVER AND EVER. This means that the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* attains perfection only from the six sides of *Nukva*, as described by the verses, AND THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH and

THE EARTH SHALL BRING FORTH GRASS, for in *VAK de Nukva*, DRY LAND turned to EARTH, yielding fruits.

With regard to this unity of *VAK de Nukva*, the Creator said, IT WAS GOOD, for the second time on the third day of creation. It follows that when IT WAS GOOD is said for the first time, it refers to the Upper unity. And the second time refers to the lower. Because of the lower unity, both sides of love achieve perfection, and the Light of *AVI* descends to *VAK de Nukva*, and bears fruit for the 600,000 souls of Israel that inhabit her.

The Fourth Commandment

208. The fourth *Mitzva* is to know that *HaVaYaH* (the Creator) is *Elokim* (Lord), as it is written: KNOW THIS DAY AND LAY IT IN YOUR HEART THAT *HaVaYaH*–CREATOR IS *ELOKIM*—LORD. That is, the name *Elokim* is included in the name of the *HaVaYaH*, and there is no distinction between them.

HaVaYaH is *ZA*, and *Elokim* is *Nukva de ZA*. It is essential to unite *ZA* with *Nukva* by making their properties similar, so there is no distinction between them. Thus, the name *Elokim* of *Nukva* will be included in the name *HaVaYaH* of *ZA*, so that *Nukva* herself will become as *HaVaYaH*.

This union signifies the reception of *Ohr Hochma* (*GAR*) in *ZON*, for the union implied by the words HEAR, O ISRAEL is the reception of the Light of *VAK* from *AVI* in *ZON*. The unity in question here is the reception from *AVI* in *ZON* of the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*). One can never receive an entire degree in one go: first *VAK* is received, and only then *GAR*.

209. Hence, it is written, "Let the stars in Heaven shine upon the earth." This means that both names, *HaVaYaH* and *ELOKIM*, are as one. This way, *Malchut* (*Elokim*) should merge with the name *HaVaYaH* (*ZA*). The black Light (*Malchut*) with the white Light (*ZA*), as one, without distinction. The white cloud by day (*ZA*) with the pillar of fire by night (*Malchut*); the property of day (*ZA*) merged with the property of night (*Malchut*), so they shine as one star.

Nukva is called "a small star." Initially, there were two stars, *ZA* and *Malchut*, and both were the same size. But the moon (*Malchut*) complained that two stars cannot use one crown (source of Light). The Creator reply to *Malchut* was, "Go and diminish yourself" (Talmud, *Hulin*, 60:2).

As a result, the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* descended below the *Parsa* to the world of *Beria*, and only one *Sefira*, *Keter de Malchut*, remained in the world

of *Atzilut*. The task of the righteous is to elevate the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* from the world of *Beria* to the level of ZA, to correct her distinction from ZA, i.e., to grow and make her equal to ZA once more, so she will make a *Zivug* with ZA face to face. Thus, they shall correct the detachment of *Malchut* from ZA that was born of the moon's complaint.

The moon complained because it was unable to receive the Light directly from *Ima*, but only via ZA. Hence, the Creator gave it His advice: diminish yourself to a point (the *Sefira Keter*) and lower the nine *Sefirot* from *Hochma* to *Malchut* below the *Parsa*. Then, through the unity of "Hear, O Israel," rebuild *Malchut* in *VAK*, in the lower unity of "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever," for the power of judgment within it corrects the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*, turning the DRY LAND into the fruit-yielding EARTH.

Therefore, the now black point of *Malchut* that caused its fall became as important as Light, for it is precisely the strictness of judgment that builds the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* and makes it fruit-bearing. And if *Malchut* had not had this power of judgment, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* (*Tvuna*) would have remained DRY LAND. Hence, when the Light spreads inside her, the power of judgment and restriction becomes more important than Light itself, for it becomes the cause, the source of the Light of *VAK*, *Ohr Hassadim*.

Thus, it is now possible to receive *Ohr Hochma* in *VAK de Malchut*, while elevating *ZON* to *AVI*. For now, just like ZA, *Nukva* can unite with *AVI* in her properties. This was the basis of her previous complaint, for the Light-restricting power within her turned into the cause of the Light's diffusion. Hence, ZA and *Malchut* are considered a single whole: each of them constitutes the source of Light for the other, whereas previously, *Malchut* was completely dependent on ZA, and therefore felt humiliated.

As a result of the union between ZA and *Nukva* in *AVI*, ZA connects to *Aba*, and *Nukva* to *Ima*. ZA turns into white clouds in the daylight and *Nukva* turns into a pillar of fire in the Light of night, i.e., the properties of day and night merge into one property, as it is written: AND THERE WAS EVENING AND THERE WAS MORNING, ONE DAY. Together they illuminate the earth and those who inhabit *Nukva* in the worlds of *BYA*.

210. This is the sin of the primeval serpent that unites below but separates Above; hence, it caused what it caused to the world. What should be united Above, should be separated below. The black light, which is *Malchut*, should be united Above with ZA into a single whole and then separate it from the "evil side."

The union and fulfillment of *ZON* with *Ohr Hochma* occurs only when they ascend to *AVI*, above *Chazeh de AA*, where *ZA* merges with *Aba* and *Nukva* merges with *Ima*. As a result, they unite, and *ZA* passes *Ohr Hochma* to *Malchut*. However, in the permanent place of *ZON*, below *Chazeh de AA*, they cannot form a union and allow *Nukva* to receive *Ohr Hochma*.

This is exactly what provoked Adam's sin and allowed the Serpent to bring death into the world (cause the disappearance of *Ohr Hochma* from *Malchut*), by compelling Adam and Chava (Eve) to make a *Zivug* (union) in the permanent place of *ZON*, below *Chazeh de AA*. As a result, the Upper *Zivug* stopped in *AVI*, as *ZA* started passing *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI* down to *Malchut*.

Thus, all the parts (souls) of *Malchut* existing in the world stopped receiving *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*. This is regarded as death, for as soon as the impure forces approach *ZON* to draw their *Ohr Hochma*, *AVI* immediately terminate their *Zivug* for the sake of *ZON*, to prevent the impure force from clinging to *ZON*. And as soon as *Ohr Hochma* departs from *ZON*, the impure force leaves them at once, for it approaches *ZON* with the sole purpose of feeding on *Ohr Hochma*.

However, after being in *Ima* and receiving *Ohr Hochma*, *Malchut* descends to her permanent place and passes this Light to the souls of the righteous, called the "inhabitants of *Malchut*." She unites with them via equivalence of their properties, for in the absence of unity with *ZA* below, *Malchut* draws far from the evil side and the impure forces cannot receive from her.

211. Nevertheless, one should know that *Elokim* and *HaVaYaH* are one, without distinction. *HaVaYaH* is *Elokim*. If man knows that all is one and does not cause any separation, then even the opposite, impure forces disappear from the world, instead of descending below.

Although there is fear that a *Zivug* will occur in *ZON* in their place below, this is no cause to stop aspiring for a *Zivug* Above, in *AVI*. Moreover, one must attain that *HaVaYaH* is *Elokim*, which is achieved by uniting *ZA* with *Nukva*. And if man raises his *MAN*, thereby causing *ZON* to ascend to *AVI* and unite there, the impure forces are completely rejected by the Light, weaken and finally disappear from the world.

212. The secret behind the word *Me'orot*, which consists of the words *Mavet* (death) and *Ohr* (Light), is that the impure forces follow knowledge, understanding, and thought. And this is Light, which is the opposite from death—*Mavet*, for the Light (*Ohr*) is inside death—*Mavet* (spelled as *Me'ot*) in

the word *ME'ohrOT*. This alludes to the fact that Light separates death, but when Light disappears, the letters unite and form the word "death."

The impure forces follow reason (knowledge, understanding, and thought). Reason signifies "Light," and the impure force is "death," where Light connects the letters, while death separates them.

Here is the explanation of this: the power of restriction in *Malchut* is the source of the emergence of the impure forces. Because *ZON* united with *AVI* so as to receive the Light of *VAK* and *GAR*, the power of restriction in *Malchut* turned into Light by receiving the Light of *VAK* in the union below. Then, it ascended to *AVI* once more, and *Malchut* merged with *ZA* at the degree of *AVI*.

This union Above is designated by the word *Me'orot* = *Ohr* + *Mavet*. As a result of the Light of *VAK* and *GAR* descending to *Nukva* in the union with *ZA* at the level of *AVI*, the power of restriction in *Malchut* turns into Light, and all the impure forces that were created by this restriction disappear, for their root turns to Light. Consequently, the letters of the word *Mavet* of the impure forces disappear, and the words *Me'ohrot Ohr* appear instead.

213. Chava started with these letters, and brought evil into the world. As it is written, the woman SAW that it was good to bring the letters of the word *Me'ohrot* back. From there she took the letters *Vav-Tav-Reish-Aleph*, leaving only the letters *Mem* and *Vav*. And they took with them the letter *Tav*, thus forming the word *Mem-Vav-Tav* (*Mavet*—death). And they brought death into the world.

Thanks to the unity of the letters in the word *Me'ohrot*, designating the reception of *Ohr Hochma* in *ZON*, in the unity of *ZON* Above, the received Light separates the letters of *Mavet* in *AVI*, for it shines within them and forms a new combination of the letters *Me'ohrot*. And if *ZON* make a union below, at their permanent place, the Light disappears from the combination of letters *Me'ohrot*, and the word *Mavet* (death) remains.

AND THE WOMAN SAW THAT THE TREE WAS GOOD (*Beresheet*, 3:6). The Hebrew equivalent for the words "and saw" is *Vetir'e* = *Vav-Tav-Reish-Aleph*. These are the letters that depart from the word *Me'ohrot* (stars), leaving only *Mem-Vav*. They attach the letter *Tav* (*Nukva* of the impure forces) and form the word *Mavet*—the name for *Klipot*.

Chava drew these letters from the word *Me'ohrot*, meaning she followed the serpent's advice to unite *ZON* at their place below. In doing so, she violated the holy union of the letters in the word *Me'ohrot*, for the union of *ZON* below

immediately causes the separation of *AVI* and the word *Me'ohrot* into *Ohr* (Light) and *Mavet* (death).

The impure forces, called "death," contain a male part, called "Sam," and a female part, called "Lilit." The letter *Mem* is the male part of the word *MaveT*, called "Sam," and the letter *Tav* is its female part, called "Lilit." Thus, there was a *Zivug* between the male and female parts, the letters *Mem*, *Tav* and *Yesod* (*Vav*), forming the word *MaVeT*, as the name of the impure force.

This signifies the appearance of the serpent before Chava, and the transference of impurity from it to her. As she followed its advice, the letter *Tav* entered her, splitting the word *Ohr* (Light) and combining the letters into the word *Vetir'e* (AND SAW). Then, the male part of the impure force (*Mem-Vav*) appeared and made a *Zivug* with *Tav*, which was already present in Chava; thus, death (*MaVeT*) appeared in the world.

214. And look: said Rabbi Elazar: "My father, I have learned that after Chava had removed the letters *VeTiR'E* from the word *Me'ohrot*, the letters *Mem* and *Vav* did not remain. Only the letter *Mem* remained, for the letter *Vav*, which is the letter of life, turned into death. This occurred because it attached the letter *Tav* to itself, thus forming the word *MaVeT*." He replied: "Blessed are you, my son!"

Rabbi Elazar answered that the letter *Mem* remained alone, without the letter *Vav*, for *Vav* designates *Yesod*, whereas Sam (the male part of the impure forces) lacks *Yesod*; hence, it is written that it is unable to procreate offspring, akin to a castrated man. The letter *Vav* designates *Yesod*, the place of a *Zivug*, the union of the male and female parts of *ZON*. The letter *Vav* always designates life, *Yesod* of the pure forces, whose *Zivug* bears fruit, for it is made on the screen that stands in *Yesod*.

Here, the pure letter *Vav* became impure and turned into *Yesod* of the impure force, *MaVeT*. After *Vav* received from *Yesod* of the pure forces, it united in a *Zivug* with *Tav*, and the word *MaVeT* was formed. This was precisely the sin of Adam, which defiled the pure *Vav*.

The Fifth Commandment

215. The fifth *Mitzva*. It is written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES (*Beresheet*, 1:20). This verse contains three *Mitzvot*. The first is to study the Torah, the second is to procreate and multiply, and the third is to remove the foreskin on the eighth day. And it is necessary to study the Torah on all the days, at all times, in order to correct one's soul and spirit.

The four previous *Mitzvot* originate in the first four days of creation, and are intended for the correction of the degrees *H-B-ZA-M* of the world of *Atzilut*.

The **First *Mitzva*** originates from the word *BERESHEET* (*Bina*, fear of the Great and Mighty Creator, who rules over all), referring only to *GAR de Bina* that is located in *AVI*. The position of *AVI* is from *Peh* to *Chazeh de AA*, *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*.

The **Second *Mitzva*** originates from the words LET THERE BE LIGHT, and is meant for the correction of *ZAT de Bina* (called *YESHSUT*), located from *Chazeh* to *Tabur de AA*, i.e., below its *Parsa*. However, when it is said, LET THERE BE LIGHT, this means that *YESHSUT* ascended and united with *AVI*, forming one *Partzuf* above *Chazeh de AA*. And from there they ascended to *Rosh de AA*.

Such a state (degree) is called "Great love," designated by the first letter (*Hey*) of the name *HaVaYaH*: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*, and the Light passes from it to *ZON*. However, *ZON* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*, for they are *GAR de Bina* and will always remain only with *Ohr Hassadim*, unwilling to receive, hence their name, "fear."

ZON, however, receive *Ohr Hochma* from *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*), which ascended above *Parsa de AA*, called "Great love." However, *YESHSUT*, which stand below *Parsa de AA*, cannot pass *Ohr Hochma* to *ZA*, for *Ohr Hochma* is concealed within them. Also, their *Tvuna* is called DRY LAND.

The **Third *Mitzva*** originates from the two stars that were created on the third day of creation, of which it is written: LET THE WATERS UNDER THE HEAVENS BE GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE, AND LET THE DRY LAND APPEAR... and LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH GRASS. This *Mitzva* is intended for the correction of *VAK de ZON*, whose union Above stems from the verse, LET THE WATERS, referring to *ZA*, whereas the union below stems from the verse, LET THE EARTH PUT FORTH GRASS, and refers to *VAK de Nukva*.

The **Fourth *Mitzva*** originates from the verse, LET THE STARS, and is meant for the correction of *GAR* in *ZA* and *Malchut*. Thus, all the corrections necessary for *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON de Atzilut* have already taken place in the first four days of creation. *ZON* received *GAR* (*Ohr Hochma*), and, being of equal height, can now make a *Zivug* face to face. Therefore, the rest of the *Mitzvot* are intended for this *Zivug* of *ZON*.

The **Fifth *Mitzva*** is LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES. Now there is a need to bring *ZON* to a perfect face-to-face *Zivug*, i.e., (i) to receive *Ohr Neshama* onto this *Zivug*, so that Adam, too, will receive this Light and make a holy and pure *Zivug*, which is attained by man's efforts in the study of the Torah; (ii) to give birth to holy souls; and (iii) to correct the holy covenant by circumcision and rejection.

Man's efforts lie in that he studies the Torah, although he realizes that he does not attain it (receives nothing in his corrected desires, called *Guf*, body). He merely utters its words with his "mouth" (not yet able to receive the Light (Torah) in his body for the Creator's sake), but as a result, he attains *Ohr Nefesh*.

Man's efforts should correspond to his readiness to do everything in his power to attain and understand the Torah, which causes him to attain *Ohr Ruach*. However, he must not limit himself to such attainments, but rather multiply his efforts so as to attain *Ohr Neshama*. Thus, every day he must aspire to correct his *Nefesh* and *Ruach*, and by increasing them, attain *Neshama*.

216. Because man labors in the study of the Torah, he corrects the other holy soul, as it is written, SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES, referring to the life-giving holy soul, *Malchut*. For when man does not study the Torah, he lacks the holy soul and the holiness that descends from Above. Yet, when he does study the Torah, he merits its Light, just like holy angels.

Nukva de ZA that makes a face-to-face *Zivug* with *ZA* in the state of *Gadlut* is called "living," for *ZA* is then called the "Tree of Life." Consequently, *Nukva* is called "Life." By raising *MAN* during the study of Torah for the Creator's sake,

man causes *ZON* to make a *Zivug* and receives *Ohr Nefesh* from it. And if he does not study the Torah for the Creator's sake, he cannot even attain *Ohr Nefesh*, for he fails to bring about the Creator's *Zivug* with the *Shechina*. And a *Zivug* can be attained only by raising *MAN*.

It is therefore written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES, for the Torah is called "water." If man raises *MAN* with the help of the Torah, he merits *Ohr Nefesh* (holy spirit) from *Ohr Haya* (Life). Moreover, he merges with the Creator only after he attains *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, and *Neshama* from *HAYA* (Supernal holy life). He unites *Ohr Nefesh* with *Ohr Ruach*, *Ohr Ruach* with *Ohr Neshama*, and *Ohr Neshama* with the Creator.

217. It is written, "Angels of the Creator shall bless Him." This refers to those who study the Torah, as they are called His angels on earth. It is also written, BIRDS SOARING OVER THE EARTH. This refers to this world. However, in the world to come, as it is said, the Creator will make them wings like those of an eagle so they may soar in the whole world.

Why does *The Zohar* mention angels? Because angels are spiritual forces—mechanical enactors of the Creator's will. They were repeatedly compared to animals in our world (e.g., a horse) that fulfill man's will. Angels are spiritual forces without freedom or egoism; hence, they never sin and have no need for the Torah, which is why they are spiritually inanimate, motionless—they do not grow spiritually.

Man is created in such a way that before he carries out any task, he needs to realize what he is supposed to do. But angels carry out their assignments even before they hear and understand what the Creator wants from them, for His desire rules over them. Hence, nothing prevents them from instant fulfillment of His will. They always follow the Creator, just like man's shadow follows him. This is why they are believed to act before they even hear.

Man can therefore act like an angel (even though his desires are of egoistic nature) if his desires become like those of angels, whose actions precede their understanding (hearing). Just like an angel, such a person fulfills all the Creator's desires before he realizes, hears and understands them, for he follows the Creator as a shadow follows man.

This can be illustrated by the following example: when a strong wind throws dust in one's eyes, he quickly shuts them, even before his brain and thoughts feel and realize the need to do so: the action (shutting the eyes) precedes the actual realization of the thought of dust.

Although the physical body of such a person exists together with us in this world, his spiritual body (desires) becomes angel-like, and his actions precede his hearing. He does not need to hear in order to fulfill the Creator's will, but observes any *Mitzva* even before his brain realizes what he is doing. Therefore, he is regarded as an angel.

Hence, *The Zohar* says that in the future the Creator will provide him with wings to enable him to soar over the whole world. For until man attains the holy soul (*Ohr Nefesh*—the smallest spiritual Light), the impure force rules over him, as the prophet said: "The souls of your enemies, them shall he sling out, as from the hollow of a sling" (*Shmuel I*, 25:29).

Hence, one cannot merge with the Creator and observe His desires (*Mitzvot*) until he has acquired faith in the Creator's names and knows that He is absolutely good to all and bestows only goodness. And if one has not yet attained the holy soul, and the impure force still rules over him, when his thoughts soar above the world, it seems to him as though the Creator's rule is not quite as good as it should be according to His names. This feeling of his brings corruption to the Creator's holy names, and he cannot find a quiet place for himself, cannot have faith in His names and draw closer to Him.

Therefore, he stains himself with such impurity that it leads him toward lack of faith in the Creator and in His names. However, nothing of this affects the spiritual; it occurs simply because man has not yet attained the spiritual realm, and is making no effort to do so.

But as soon as he receives the holy soul (*Ohr Nefesh*), his body (desires and thoughts) instantly becomes angel-like: his actions precede realization. It is written about such a person: "And the birds shall soar above the earth," for in the future, the Creator will give him wings, and he will soar above the whole world.

For he soars mentally above the whole world and sees how the Creator governs all. Yet, not only does he not err when seeing the manifestation of this governance, he receives the strength to raise *MAN* to increase his spiritual anti-egoistic powers. By looking upon all the forms of the Creator's rule over this world and, seeing the harshness of the external manifestations of this rule, such a person is given an opportunity to ask for the strengthening of his faith. And owing to his faith in the Creator's unity and absolute kindness of His rule, he raises *MAN* and receives increasingly greater Light for the Creator's sake.

218. It is written in this regard: LET BIRDS SOAR OVER THE EARTH, for the Torah, called THE WATERS, will SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES from its place of life, *Malchut*, and all will descend

down below. This is what King David referred to, when he said, THE CREATOR CREATED IN ME A PURE HEART to study The Torah, and A HOLY SPIRIT WAS RENEWED WITHIN ME.

So as to continue to explain the aforementioned text, *The Zohar* compares the Torah to water—just as living creatures emerged from water, in the same way the Light of life descends from *Malchut* (called "life") upon the entire world. This is the Light for which King David asked the Creator. He begged for a pure heart in order to study the Torah and raise *MAN*, for this would lead him to the reception of the holy spirit of renewal—the strength to merge with the Creator even more.

The Sixth Commandment

219. The sixth *Mitzva* is to procreate and multiply, for he who does so turns the stream, called *Yesod de ZA*, into an inexhaustible fountain. And the sea, *Malchut*, shall be filled from all directions, and new souls shall come forth from that tree, and a multitude of forces shall appear together with those souls, to guard them. Hence, it is written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES. This is the mark of the holy Covenant. The stream grows stronger, turns into a river, and thus brings more and more new souls to life.

An awakening from below causes an awakening from Above: raising *MAN*, the prayers and requests of the lower ones to receive strength so they can perform spiritual, altruistic actions, stimulate a *Zivug* Above between the Creator and the *Shechina*. As a result, the stream, *Yesod de ZA*, fills with water and descends to *Nukva de ZA*, filling her on all sides, wishing to both revive all the worlds (to bestow *Ohr Hassadim*) and bear new souls (pass *Ohr Hochma* downward, for birth is possible only in *Ohr Hochma*).

There are two kinds of *Zivugim de ZON*: (i) a "*Zivug* of existence" on *Ohr Hassadim*, from which *Ohr Hassadim* descends to provide the lower souls with what they need for their existence. This *Zivug* on *Ohr Hassadim* also gives birth to angels. (ii) A "*Zivug* of birth" on *Ohr Hochma*, which leads to the creation of new *Partzufim*, new human souls.

These new souls emerge from the Tree (*ZA*). However, although they are called new, the genuinely new souls originate in the world of *Ein Sof* (Infinity), whereas these souls were already within Adam, and fell into the impure forces as a result of his sin. Now they are revived with the help of the Tree of Life (*ZA*); hence, they are called "new souls." A multitude of other forces, called Heavenly

hosts or armies, descends along with them. But completely new souls descend to the world only after the correction of Adam's sin has been completed.

Yesod de ZA is called a "covenant," because we (*Malchut*, souls) feel and receive from it all the Light of our life. It constitutes the source of our life, descending to us from the Tree of Life (*ZA*). *ZA* ascends to *AVI* (called "garden") in order to take the waters from them and fill *Malchut*, his *Nukva*. A *Zivug* on *VAK* (*Hassadim*) is called WATERS SWARM, and a *Zivug* on *GAR* (*Hochma*) is called LIVING CREATURES.

220. A number of birds (angels) that soar above the whole world enter *Malchut* along with those souls. When a soul comes into this world, the bird that came from that tree along with that soul accompanies it. How many angels leave with each soul? Two: one on the right, and one on the left. If one so merits, they guard him, as it is written: FOR HE WILL GIVE HIS ANGELS CHARGE OVER YOU. Yet, if he does not merit, they report and accuse him. Rabbi Pinchas said: "There are three angels that guard man, if he so merits, as it is written, IF THERE BE AN ANGEL OVER HIM, A DEFENDER, ONE AMONG A THOUSAND THAT WARNS MAN. If there be an ANGEL—is the first; A DEFENDER—is the second; one among a thousand THAT WARNS man—is the third."

221. Rabbi Shimon said: "In all, there are five angels, for the verse continues: 'there is one after the giver and two more, so in all there are five.'" He replied: "This is not so. 'The giver' refers solely to the Creator Himself, and not to an angel, for only the Creator is permitted to give, but no one else."

A number of angels come forth together with the begotten souls. These angels are called "soaring" or "flying." They help the souls to sentence to the scale of merit, or, conversely, complain to the Creator about these souls, and push them toward the scale of sin, which entails punishments. These angels soar above the world, see how the Creator rules over all, and report all this to the soul. If the soul so merits, it sentences itself and the entire world to the scale of merit; if not, it sentences itself and the entire world to the scale of sin.

Therefore, Rabbi Pinchas does not dispute Rabbi Shimon when he says that only two angels are born with a soul. Rather, he says that as long as there are only two angels in man, he cannot sentence to the scale of merit completely, and keeps moving between the scales of sin (punishment) and merit (reward). However, through one's good deeds, the third angel is born within him, which enables man to sentence everything to the scale of merit. Hence, only with the help of the three angels can he achieve his correction.

222. And he who abstains from procreating and multiplying belittles (so to speak) the form that includes all other forms, the form of man, causes that stream, *Yesod* of ZA, to dry out, and harms the holy Covenant (*Yesod* of ZA) from all sides. It is written of such a man, "Go forth and look upon the corpses of those that have transgressed against the Creator." Of course, those who transgress against Me. This is said about the body, as the soul never even enters the screen, i.e., the Creator's domain. And such a man shall be banished from the world.

Malchut is called a "form," a "property" that contains all of the other properties, for all the forms of *NRN* of the righteous and of the angels in the three worlds of *BYA* originate from her. They constitute all the hosts and armies. And those that do not procreate and multiply thereby diminish the form of *Malchut* and prevent her from using all of her hosts and armies. For with the help of *MAN* that the lower ones raise, the Light descends from Above and stimulates a *Zivug* between the Creator and the *Shechina*. This *Zivug* creates *NRN*—the souls of the righteous and the angels in the worlds of *BYA*.

And those that impede this *Zivug* cause the stream (*Yesod* of *ZA*) to dry out and stop the flow of its male waters into the holy *Shechina*, *Malchut*. In doing so, they harm the holy covenant in all of its properties, for they delay the two parts of the *Zivug*: *VAK* (on *Ohr Hassadim*) and *GAR* (on *Ohr Hochma*).

This is because the *Mitzva* of procreation and multiplication constantly develops the soul. As a result, man defeats his body forever, so it can rise again during the resurrection from the dead. And he who abstains from procreating and multiplying turns his body into a corpse, of which it is written: GO FORTH AND LOOK UPON THE CORPSES OF THE PEOPLE, for his soul will not be able to enter the Creator's domain and merge with Him. Thus, he is rejected from the world to come.

The Seventh Commandment

223. The seventh *Mitzva* is to perform circumcision on the eighth day, and thus remove the impurity of the foreskin, for *Malchut* constitutes the eighth degree of all the degrees, beginning with *Bina*. And the soul that soars from her must appear before her on the eighth day; hence, she constitutes the eighth degree.

Nukva de ZA is called *Haya* if she rises and clothes *Ima-Bina*, the eighth degree from *Malchut* (provided that you count all ten *Sefirot* from below upwards). *Malchut* is hence called "the eighth," for she ascended eight degrees, from her own place to that of *Bina*. And when she reaches *Bina*, she receives the name *Haya*, just like *Bina*.

Therefore, man's soul, which is born in *Malchut* (that ascended to *Bina*), must appear before *Malchut* in all the appropriate corrections of circumcision, removal of the foreskin and the rolling up of its remains, on the eighth day from its birth in *Malchut*. This is because then it becomes clear that it is a soul that was born from none other than the holy degree of *Haya*.

Because of the force of circumcision and rolling up, man's soul sloughs the impure force, and the soul can receive the perfection of *Ohr Haya*. LET THE WATERS SWARM—thus *Malchut* receives the Supernal male waters from *ZON*, and is filled with them.

224. It then becomes clear that the type of this soul is *Haya*. That is, belonging to that holy degree of *Haya* (*Malchut*), and not to any other degree. And this is implied by, LET THE WATERS SWARM, as is explained in the book of Hanoch, the waters of the holy seed merge in the properties of the soul of *Haya*. And it is the property of the letter *Yod*, marked on the sacred flesh, more than any other mark that exists in the world.

Because of the circumcision, the Supernal male waters fill man's soul the way they were received in *Nukva* (called "the soul of *Haya*"). The Upper World,

called *Bina*, is designated by the letter *Yod*, and the lower world, *Malchut*, is designated by the letter *Hey*—its property. However, as *Malchut* ascends to *Bina*, the letter *Hey* disappears from her, and, just like *Bina*, turns into *Yod*.

Similarly, through man's observance of the *Mitzva* of spiritual circumcision, the letter *Hey* disappears, and just like in the *Nukva* that ascended to *Bina*, the property of the letter *Yod* appears in him instead. And if man's body acquires the property of *Yod*, he can receive the soul of *Haya* from *Nukva*.

225. The verse, LET BIRDS SOAR OVER THE EARTH, refers to Eliyahu, who flies across the whole world in four flights in order to be present in the place, where the Holy Covenant is made. And a chair must be prepared for him, and it must be said out loud, THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. For this is not done so, he will not appear in that place.

Angels originate from *AVI*; hence, they remain exclusively in the sky and consist of *HGT NHY*. Therefore, when they appear in this world to fulfill their tasks, they are said to make six flights, for they clothe in six *Sefirot*.

However, Eliyahu stems from *Malchut* (not from *AVI*). Hence, he is constantly connected to the earth. And since *Malchut* contains only four *Sefirot* of *ZA*, for her position is parallel to the *Sefirot TNHY* (*Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*, pronounced, Tanhi) from *Chazeh de ZA* downward, it is written that Eliyahu flies on four flights, i.e., by clothing in *Sefirot TNHY*.

Under no circumstances should one interpret the words about Eliyahu's presence at every rite of circumcision literally. Yet, if he is obliged to be there, why should he be invited?

The Zohar explains this in another place (*Shlach*, 18): there are four impure forces, called "Stormy Wind," "Great Cloud," "Blazing Flame," and *Noga*. The lowest of them, Stormy Wind, is at the center, as though clothed by Great Cloud, which is in turn clothed by Blazing Flame. And they are all clothed from the outside by *Noga*.

All the worlds, forces, and everything that was ever created exists within man. And these are our spiritual forces, by which we can attain the goal of creation. The first three impure forces are completely impure (egoistic). Whereas *Noga* is half good and half evil. But how is that possible if the spiritual is always true? How can it be half good (altruistic) and half evil (egoistic) at the same time?

In fact, this is impossible. *Noga* is a neutral force that can be used by the pure force (then *Noga* is considered good) or by the impure force (and then it is considered evil). Hence, *Noga* is called "half good and half evil" although

neutral in itself. It may be attached to either pure or impure forces, and this depends entirely on man.

MAN'S SPIRITUAL FORCES

Pure	-	altruistic
Noga	-	neutral
Blazing Flame	-	egoistic
Great Cloud	-	egoistic
Stormy Wind	-	egoistic

These four impure forces are located at the end of each spiritual *Partzuf*, in its *Sefira Yesod*. The *Sefira Yesod* has two layers of skin, one atop of the other. One layer is called *Orla*, and contains the three impure forces. The other is called *Preia*, and this is *Noga*.

The first man, Adam, was born circumcised, meaning that he did not have the three impure forces at all—he was completely unaware of his egoistic desires. In other words, they could not cling to him. *Noga* prevailed in him, in his sensations. Yet, since it was separated from the three impure forces and attached to the pure force (Adam's altruistic desires), *Noga* itself was considered completely good.

The three impure forces are collectively called the Serpent. These three impure desires were roused in Adam and tempted him to use them. In so doing, Adam attracted the *Orla* to himself, as it is described in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 38:2). As soon as he attached *Orla* to himself, his pure soul (the Light of the world of *Atzilut*) immediately disappeared, for his desires became egoistic, and he fell with his properties (desires) to the world of *Assiya*, to its lowest degree, called "this world," and was condemned to death (disappearance of the Supernal spiritual Light).

Therefore, it is written about him that since he violated the prohibition of not eating the fruits of the Tree of Knowledge, he attached the *Orla* to himself. Consequently, the impure desires acquired both layers of skin on the *Sefira Yesod* of *Partzuf* Adam, and *Preia*, called *Noga*, became impure, too, because of its contact with the *Orla*, with the three impure forces. However, there is a distinction between them, which lies in the fact that prior to Adam's sin, *Preia* was pure, and all of its impurity stems from its contact with the *Orla*.

Accordingly, there are two types of correction: circumcision and rolling up of the remaining skin. The *Orla* must be cut off and cast in the dust, since only thus can man free himself from these egoistic desires. *Preia*, however, can be left

attached to *Yesod*. But the skin around the *Sefira Yesod* must be rolled up. This is a special spiritual action that frees the *Preia* from the impure forces remaining in it. Hence, this action causes the Light to return to the *Partzuf*. This Light previously disappeared because of the egoistic desires that ruled in the *Partzuf* before the spiritual circumcision took place.

However, this is still insufficient for the fulfillment of the spiritual *Partzuf*, Adam, with the Light, as it was before he sinned, i.e. used the Serpent's impure forces and tasted the forbidden fruit from the Tree of Knowledge (received *Ohr Hochma* in egoistic desires). For now, after Adam's sin and fall, a special angel by the name of SAM makes accusations and complaints against man.

To neutralize the power of SAM, Eliyahu took upon himself his role of a prosecutor, and was thereby granted an opportunity to defend Israel (one who aspires to the Creator) when he circumcises himself (his egoistic desires).

Hence, it is said that Eliyahu must be present at each rite of circumcision (Hebrew, *Brit Mila*—the Covenant with the Creator). For since it is he, rather than SAM, who complains to the Creator about Israel's neglect of their Covenant, he can also testify that when Israel aspires to the Creator, it is loyal to the covenant. As a result, the Light returns to the *Partzuf*.

This is why, besides the chair occupied by the man who holds the baby (*Sandak*–godfather), one more chair must be prepared for the prophet Eliyahu. For the chair designates the beginning of correction, the influence of the Upper One on the lower one. The first chair, on which the *Sandak* sits, belongs to the Creator, for the filling of Light as the result of the circumcision and the rolling up of the impure forces. The second chair is saved for Eliyahu, so he can neutralize the impure forces' complaints to the Creator against man, so they would not be able to accuse man.

However, to make Eliyahu appear, one must say out loud: THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. The thing is that a male baby is circumcised on the eighth day after *Shabbat* (*Malchut* with the Light of *AVI*, called "holy") has passed over him. Since the sloughed desires (*Orla*) are cast away, the impure force sees that it is given a part of the Creator's Covenant. Because of this gift, it stops complaining and accusing man. On the contrary, it begins to advocate him before the Creator.

The spiritual desires (objects) pass their properties from one to another. Since the *Orla* was attached to *Yesod*, after the circumcision (separation from *Yesod*) it takes part of the pure desires with it. And since we throw it to the dust,

to the impure forces, they draw from it that weak Light, which they can receive from the circumcision and the rolling up.

This is why the impure forces stop complaining against Israel, and no longer wish to destroy this Light, for in so doing they will lose the part that they draw from it. Thus, they become defenders of the pure forces, to allow the pure forces to be filled with Light.

Yet, Eliyahu cannot bear this correction, for although the *Klipa* stops impeding and slandering Israel, it takes part of the Light for itself in return. To correct this, Eliyahu takes upon himself all the accusations against Israel, and refuses to give anything from the pure to the impure forces.

Thus, although the impure force stopped complaining against Israel, and actually became its defender, Eliyahu himself continues to accuse in order to wrest all the power from the impure forces and fully separate them from the pure. Hence, a chair must be prepared for Eliyahu, for it is he who fully separates the impure forces from the pure ones.

One must therefore verbalize the words: THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. For after the circumcision, part of the Light still remains in the impure forces, and the mention of Eliyahu completely deprives them of any contact with the Light.

Thus, if man does not express his desire to detach himself completely from the impure forces, through his own effort (by the screen positioned in *Peh*), it does not happen, even though the first chair belongs to the Creator. This is because the Creator starts the process of creation (makes His foundation in the form of a chair), and man continues and corrects his nature by performing altruistic deeds.

226. And the Creator created great Leviathans. They were two: *Orla* and *Preia*, male and female forces, and all living creatures. This is the mark of the Holy Covenant, the soul of the holy *Ohr Haya*, as it is written, LET THE WATERS SWARM, the Supernal Waters that descend to this Covenant.

Leviathan and his wife designate that which is opposite from *Orla* and *Preia*. They are also called *Nachash* (Serpent) and Alcaton (his wife). *Orla* is the Serpent, and *Nachash* is the male part that must be cut off and committed to dust. *Preia* is the correction, liberation from the Serpent's female part, Alcaton. Through these corrections, *Ohr Haya* of *AVI* descends from Above.

227. The reason why Israel below is marked in the holy form, similar to its form from Above, is to separate the pure part from the impure, to distinguish

between the holiness of Israel and the other nations that originate from the other side. And just as Israel was marked, so were the animals and birds—to determine which of them belong to Israel, and which belong to the nations of the world. Happy is the lot of Israel!

Man's attitude toward all the living creatures in our world is similar to the attitude of the general spiritual creation, called "man," toward his parts. This is because Adam includes absolutely everything within his spiritual body. And there is nothing except for this spiritual *Partzuf*, called "man" or "Adam."

All spiritual objects, angels, souls, both pure and impure forces are parts of Adam's body. All that is described in Kabbalah speaks only of the spiritual world, of one creature called "man," Adam. Adam's various parts, his various desires—are called "Israel," "nations of the world," "pure animals," "impure animals," and so forth.

All that man must do in our world (for every one of us was created in the image of Adam, recreating Adam's entire *Partzuf* within him) is build a pure, altruistic *Partzuf* within him. This is done by cutting off all of the egoistic desires in his heart, and separating the pure from the impure in all his desires, on all the levels of his soul.

The Eighth Commandment

228. The eighth *Mitzva* is to love an outsider from another nation, who desires to come under the wings of the *Shechina, Malchut*, who takes under her wings those who separate themselves from the other, impure side, and draw near her, as it is written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH A LIVING SOUL AFTER ITS KIND.

Malchut, *Nukva de ZA*, is called the *Shechina*, for she does not distance from us even when our properties are distant from her, as it is said: WHEREVER YOU ARE BANISHED, THE *SHECHINA* WILL BE WITH YOU, and ABIDES IN THEM, IN THEIR IMPURITY. *ZA* is called *Shochen* (dweller) and *Nukva* is called *Shechina*.

The revelation of the Creator in *Malchut*, of the *Shochen* in the *Shechina*, of *ZA* in *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* is possible only by a face-to-face *Zivug* of *ZON* in *Gadlut*. This is because the Light of this *Zivug* is so great that it reveals unity even in the most remote and concealed places, in the most opposite and uncorrected desires.

However, the creation of *Gadlut de ZON* occurs gradually: first, a *Partzuf* of *ZON* in *Katnut* is created with the Light of *VAK*, and only then does it grow to reach *Gadlut*. Moreover, this process takes place in each state of *ZON*. Furthermore, even as *ZON* in *Gadlut* make a *Zivug* and receive *Ohr Hochma*, the Light from their previous state of *Katnut* does not disappear, but facilitates a *Zivug* in *Gadlut*. And this Light of *Katnut* is called the "Wings of *Shechina*."

Hence, it is written in the Torah: "And the cherubim shall spread out their wings on High, screening the ark-cover with their wings" (*Shemot*, 25:20). For the main thing is to cover the Light of the great *Zivug* with their wings, so that even the most distant ones would receive the Light, and, at the same time, keep it out of the reach of the impure forces.

This is so because those who have yet to completely purify their egoistic desires are rejected by the Light for fear that the Light may fall to the impure forces. But now the wings guard the Light so vigilantly that even the closest ones will not err and let the Light through to the impure forces.

Therefore, an outsider is one who decides to join the people of Israel (to correct his egoistic desires and make them altruistic), and to be circumcised (reject his egoistic desires), for his body (collection of desires) still retains the properties of the *Orla*, as his ancestors (previous spiritual states) did not stand at the foot of Mount Sinai (did not receive the Light, called the Torah, and were not corrected by it), i.e., have not yet rid themselves of the serpent's impurity (have neither revealed all the impure egoistic desires within them nor recognized them as evil). Nevertheless, other altruistic desires have the power to elevate him to the level of Supernal purity.

This occurs through raising *MAN*, by evoking the great *Zivug* of *ZON* (where the Wings of *Shechina* rule and cover the Light of this *Zivug*). We can also elevate the outsider's soul (his yet uncorrected desires) to that level and sanctify it in the Light of this *Zivug*.

And although this soul is not yet completely pure, it can receive the Light from this *Zivug*, for the wings protect it and do not allow its Light through to the impure forces (desires), even though they are very close to it. And it is said, UNDER THE WINGS OF *SHECHINA*, for this soul can receive the Light only from the wings of *Malchut-Shechina*, i.e., receive only the small, outer Light of *Malchut*. This is not the Light in the body of *Malchut* (*Shechina*) herself, let alone that of *ZA* (the Creator, *Shochen*). Rather, it is merely the Light of the Wings of *Shechina*.

The outsider's soul (his egoistic desires) can be corrected (made altruistic) only during the great *Zivug*, for only then is the Light protected by the Wings of *Shechina*. Hence, we (altruistic desires) must first raise *MAN* for the great *Zivug*, and receive its Light in our souls (desires corrected by the screen). Then, the *Shechina* spreads her wings, protects this *Zivug*, and takes the outsider's soul under them. It follows that initially, we elevate the outsider's soul with the help of our *MAN*, and then the *Shechina* takes it under her wings.

229. One might say that the soul of *Haya* exists in Israel and is ready for anything. He specified, "After its kind," which refers to both Israel and to an outsider. Like chambers and passages between them, the same exists in the land called *Haya*, under the wings.

Here *The Zohar* tells us that although the new soul (the corrected properties called the "outsider") receives the Light, just like the properties called "Israel," Israel receives from the inner Light, whereas the outsider receives from the outer. It was already mentioned that wings designate the Light of *VAK*, received during the great *Zivug*, but from the previous state of *Katnut*, so as to cover the Light of the great *Zivug*.

This *VAK* includes *Sefirot HGT NHY*, where *HGT* are called "chambers," in which one can abide and sit (sitting means *Katnut* as opposed to standing, which is *Gadlut*). The *Sefirot NHY* are called "passages," entrances to the chambers, and it is impossible to sit there; their only role is to allow access to the chambers.

The reason for this lies in the property of *Tifferet*, the main *Sefira* in *HGT*. *Tifferet* is their middle line, a complete *Kli* for the reception of *Ohr Hassadim*. And the main *Sefira* in *NHY* is *Yesod*, which constitutes their middle line. It contains no property of the receiving *Kli*, and is used only for passing the Light onto *Malchut*, for the creation of the Returning Light. Hence, *NHY* are called "entrances."

As for the outsiders (to purify from egoistic desires) from the seventy nations of the world (seventy egoistic properties), the chambers in *HGT* of the wings, as well as the passages in *NHY* of the wings are prepared for them. They receive *Ohr Nefesh* from the passages (*NHY*) and *Ohr Ruach* from the chambers (*HGT*).

230. The right wing of *Malchut* has two passages, which are split from this wing in two so as to let in two nations that are close to Israel. And under the left wing there are two additional passages, called Amon and Moav. And they are all called the souls of *Haya*.

Previously, *The Zohar* mentioned that there are many entrances-passages, yet now it speaks of only two. This is because it speaks in general: there are two entrances for the nations belonging to the right line, and two entrances for the nations belonging to the left line. There are also two nations in all of the right line, which include all the nations of the right side, and there are two nations of the left line, which include all the nations of the left side.

The nations of the right side refer to the two general passages in the right wing. And *The Zohar* does not reveal what these nations are. And as for the nations of the left side, generally called "Amon and Moav," there are two passages in the left wing that are meant for them.

All the souls of the outsiders that come from all the nations are collectively called *Nefesh Haya*, for they can receive only from the great *Zivug* of *ZON* when

ZON are inside *AVI*. Thus, *Malchut* is called *Nefesh Haya*, for she receives *Ohr Haya* from *AVI*. And since the souls (*Nefashot*) of the outsiders receive from the wings of *Nefesh Haya*, they are named after the received Light.

231. Each wing contains a multitude of closed chambers and halls. From them, spirits emerge and are divided among all the outsiders, called *Nefesh Haya*, but each "after his kind." And they all come under the wings of the *Shechina*, but no further.

Each wing includes *VAK* (*HGT NHY*), called "passages" and "chambers." Each nation has its own chamber in *HGT* and its own passage in *NHY*. Each receives *Nefesh* in the passages and *Ruach* in the chambers. It is written that the chambers are closed, since *HGT de VAK* have only *Ohr Hassadim* without any *Ohr Hochma*; hence, they are called "closed."

232. However, the soul of Israel stems from the body of that tree (ZA), and from there the souls fly off to this land (*Malchut*). Therefore, Israel is the darling son of *Malchut*, and is sustained by her womb, and not by the wings that are on the outside of the body. Moreover, the outsiders have no part in the Holy Tree (ZA), especially not in its body. They refer only to the wings of *Malchut*, and no further. The outsider's place is under the wings of the *Shechina*, and no further. The righteous among the outsiders also refer to the outer side, and not to the inner. It is hence written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH A LIVING SOUL (*Nefesh Haya*) AFTER ITS KIND. All receive *Nefesh* from that *Haya*, but each according to its kind.

ZA is referred to as the "Tree of Life" and his *Nukva* is called the "Land of Life." For in the state of *Gadlut*, they both ascend and clothe *AVI*, who have *Ohr Haya* (the Light of Life). Therefore, it is said that the soul of Israel stems from the body of that tree, meaning from *ZA* himself.

And the souls from that tree fly off to the Land of Life: as a result of a *Zivug* between the tree (*ZA*) and the land (*Malchut*), *ZA* gives the souls of Israel into *Nukva*, and Israel receives these souls from her, as opposed to the outsiders, who receive their souls from the wings of *Malchut*, but not from *Malchut* herself, not from what *ZA* passed to *Malchut*.

The reason for this is that *Nukva* has three *Partzufim*, which clothe one another. They are called *Ibur* (embryo), *Yenika* (nursing), and *Mochin* (adulthood, *Gadlut*). The big (*Mochin*) *Partzuf* is the innermost of the three, and is clothed by *Partzuf Yenika*, which is in turn clothed by *Ibur*.

Israel receives from the innermost *Partzuf* (*Gadlut* of *Nukva*); hence, it is called the "darling son," for it stems from the inner part of *Malchut*, and not from her outer part (wings).

NHY de Malchut are called "womb," for it is the place where the souls of Israel are conceived and grown. However, this does not refer to the *NHY* of the two outer *Partzufim*, called *Ibur* and *Yenika*, as they are the wings of the *Shechina-Malchut*. Here *The Zohar* refers to the *NHY* of the *Partzuf* in *Gadlut*, the innermost *Partzuf* (the womb of *Malchut*).

This is what the words of the prophet refer to: "Is Ephraim a darling son unto Me? Is he a child that is dandled? For as often as I speak of him, I do earnestly remember him still; therefore, My heart yearns for him, I will surely have compassion upon him" (*Yirmiyahu*, 31:19). Because the souls of Israel stem from the inner part of *Malchut*, *The Zohar* says that they appeared from *Malchut*'s womb, from *NHY* of the *Partzuf* in *Gadlut*, and not from *NHY* of the two outer *Partzufim*, called "wings."

The outsiders (desires for correction) have no part in the Supernal Tree, especially not in its body. Their place is under the wings of the *Shechina*, and no further. The outsiders that come (to correct themselves) are called righteous, for the *Shechina* is also called the "righteous one." They come under her wings and unite within her. Yet, they have no place above the *Shechina*, and receive from *Nefesh Haya*, from a *Zivug* of *Malchut* with *ZA* in *Gadlut*. But they only receive the portion of the Light called "wings"; hence, they are said to be under the wings of the *Shechina*, where each receives according to his properties.

The Ninth Commandment

233. The ninth *Mitzva* is to show mercy to the needy and supply them with food, as it is written: LET US MAKE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS, and this man will consist of two parts, male and female. IN OUR IMAGE refers to the rich; AFTER OUR LIKENESS refers to the poor.

234. For from the male side, they are rich, but from the female side, they are poor. And as they are united together, merciful to each other, and help each other, so below should the rich and the poor be united as one, and should share with each other, and show mercy to one another.

235. We see this in the book of King Shlomo (Solomon): he who shows mercy to the poor with all his heart, his image never differs from that of Adam, the first man. And since he was created in the image of Adam, he therefore governs all the creatures on earth by his image, as it is written: "And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth" (*Beresheet*, 9:2), all fear that image, existing in him. For this *Mitzva*, to show mercy to the poor, is the most important of all the *Mitzvot* for elevating man to the image of Adam.

236. How do we know this? From Nebuchadnezzar. Even though he dreamt a dream, as long as he had mercy upon the poor, that dream did not come true. However, as soon as he started looking badly upon the poor, his image changed at once, and he distanced from people. Hence, it is written, LET US MAKE MAN. It is said in the form as it was said of charity in another verse. Therefore, MAKE—is the same as charity.

The rich and the poor correspond to the male and the female principles, to ZA and his *Nukva*. However, there is nothing here that hints at the obligation of the rich to be merciful to the poor and provide for his needs. But this instruction differs from the rest in that in all the others, the Creator's command is separated

from the action that follows it, as it is written, AND THE CREATOR SAID: 'LET THERE BE LIGHT. AND THERE WAS LIGHT;' and also, AND THE CREATOR SAID: 'LET THE WATERS BE GATHERED…' AND IT WAS SO; and so on in all the *Mitzvot*.

And none of the other *Mitzvot* contain the Creator's instruction mixed with action. This is so because the entire creation originated from *AVI*, where *Aba* spoke and *Ima* acted—*Aba* gave the Light to *Ima*, and after he gave it to her, he started acting on it himself. For only with the property of *Aba* could creation not have manifested in action, as there are no boundaries in creation, in which actions could be revealed.

Hence, *Aba* issues a command that designates the passage of Light from him to *Ima*. However, since this is merely a command, and not an action (like a force instead of an action), the future tense is used. The same language is used in the description of man's creation: AND THE CREATOR SAID, "LET US CREATE MAN." Note that the plural form is used: LET US CREATE.

Before the creation of the world of *Atzilut* (called the world of correction), an action known as *Shevirat HaKelim* (the breaking of the vessels in the world of *Nekudim*) took place in the spiritual worlds. It is written: "The Creator kept creating and destroying worlds, until He created this world (*Atzilut*), and He told it to stop spreading below the boundaries in which it was created" (*Beresheet Raba*, 3:7).

The breaking of the vessels was essential, for it was the only opportunity to mix the egoistic properties (desires) with the altruistic ones; after all, distance in the spiritual is determined by the disparity of properties (desires). And that is why egoism and altruism are infinitely remote from each other. Yet, if this is so, how can egoism possibly be corrected? How can such properties or even notions of the existence of altruistic desires be introduced to man?

So then, to allow egoistic desires to be corrected, the Creator performed the breaking of the vessels—the striking impact between opposite desires, egoistic and altruistic. It is called "striking," for it is impossible to unite these desires by any means other than an "explosion."

As a result of this explosion, the altruistic, pure *Kelim* (desires) penetrated the egoistic, impure ones, and gave man an opportunity for free will and self-correction. After the destruction of the pure *Kli* and the descent of its parts into impurity, the world of *Atzilut* was formed.

Out of all the mixed desires, the world of *Atzilut* selected only altruistic ones, attached them to itself, corrected them and filled them with Light. Out

of these corrected parts, it made the worlds *BYA* with everything that exists within them.

These corrections of the broken and mixed *Kelim* by the world of *Atzilut* are depicted in the first chapter of the Torah, which speaks of creation. It uses the instructions of exposing and separating the egoistic *Kelim* from the altruistic ones, as, for instance, in the following verses: AND THE CREATOR DIVIDED LIGHT FROM DARKNESS; THE CREATOR DIVIDED WATERS FROM DRY LAND; THE CREATOR DIVIDED DAY FROM NIGHT, and so forth. All these examples speak of the separation of the pure forces from the impure ones, of good from evil. And all that diverged became part of the pure system.

Therefore, the entire act of creation is contained in the depiction of the first day of creation, in the words, LET THERE BE LIGHT, as this is when Light was separated from darkness. This is because, on the whole, purity is called "Light" and impurity is called "darkness." And all the other definitions of purity and impurity are only particular names designating their various manifestations.

The world of *Atzilut* made only a partial correction: it only separated altruistic desires from egoistic desires, Light from darkness, and thus created the system of creation, described in the beginning of the Torah. However, this does not complete the correction, as darkness and impurity are simply detached from participating in creation, but remain utterly uncorrected. They are simply separated as an entirely unnecessary part, and this completely defies the perfection of the Creator, who created everything (including darkness) for His final goal. Moreover, correction ends specifically with the correction of darkness, as it is said: "Night shines as day; darkness as Light." (*Tehilim*, 139:12).

To correct this, man was created containing everything, and consisting of all the properties of creation: from the absolute goodness to total evil. This enables man to execute the correction and achieve complete perfection. In other words, he must turn evil to good, bitter to sweet, and darkness to Light. As a result, death will disappear forever, and the Creator will manifest as the King of all creation.

Hence, there is a great difference between the description of man's creation and that of all the other creatures and parts of creation. Here, the action itself was mixed with the instructions, for the instructions, descriptions come from *Ima*, not from *Aba*, who said, LET US CREATE MAN—together with *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

The reason for this is that *Malchut* includes everything, for she also gives the Light of sustenance to the impure forces to keep them from disappearing from

the world, as, like all the other elements of creation, the impure forces cannot exist without Light, and immediately disappear. It is written in this regard: HER FEET DESCEND TO DEATH, for the impure forces receive a tiny spark of Light to sustain their existence.

This is why *Malchut* is called *Assiya* (action), for she spreads and rules in the whole of creation. She is also called "darkness," for she shines with a spark of Light, to sustain the darkness and evil.

Hence, when *Ima* unites with *Malchut* and their properties mix, she receives the properties of darkness, of which it is said: LET US CREATE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS, for Light is called "image," and darkness is called "likeness." Indeed, after *Ima* mixes with *Malchut*, these two forces, IMAGE and LIKENESS, appear in her as well. As a result, man, who was created by her, contains these two forces—IMAGE and LIKENESS, too.

From the phrase, LET US MAKE, it follows that *Ima* consists of two parts, male and female. Although *Ima* is a male part (giving is a male property), she is connected to *Malchut*. Besides, the male property suggests the presence of Light, while the property of *Nukva* (the female part) is poverty and darkness.

And since *Ima* accepted *Malchut* as her partner with the purpose of creating man (accepted the properties of *Malchut*), she is now filled with poverty and darkness. It follows that man consists of the properties of *Ima* (wealth and Light), as well as of the properties of *Malchut* (poverty and darkness).

And it is this precise combination of the properties of *Ima* and *Malchut* that enables man to correct *Malchut*, fill her with Light, and spread spiritual purity and holiness throughout the entire earth (*Malchut*). It is written that at the end of correction, "the Creator and His Name shall be one," for the darkness in *Malchut* will be transformed into Light, as in the male part, *HaVaYaH*. Everything will be as one in the male property, as it is said, "There will be no poor in your nation."

This *Mitzva* says that as *Ima* united with *Malchut* so as to correct her, which is why *Ima* includes Image and Likeness, man needs to correct his qualities in order to correct the parts of darkness within him. To this end, he must diminish his properties, just like *Ima*, and give his part (charity) to the poor *Malchut*, who is deprived of Light. He must show mercy to the LIKENESS (poverty) within him, and provide it with everything it needs.

By observing this *Mitzva*, man receives IMAGE and LIKENESS from *Ima*, the Upper Light that was received by Adam, created in IMAGE and LIKENESS. This is why he has the power to rule over all the animals in the world (all of his

animal desires) to such an extent that no impure force (desire) remains within him, which he cannot defeat and correct.

The Zohar gives the example of Navuchadnetzar (Nebuchadnezzar): although the Supreme verdict with regard to him was reached, his dream did not come true as long as he was merciful to the poor. However, as soon as he allowed his evil eye to look badly upon the poor, the sentence was immediately executed, and his image changed (those who are interested can turn to *The Book of Daniel*). Thus we see that this *Mitzva* is greater than all the others, and that it can overrule the Supreme verdict made against man.

"Charity" signifies the union of *Bina* and *Malchut*. Similarly, the story about the marriage of Rut (Ruth) the Moavite, King David's grandmother (*Malchut*), and Boaz, who was merciful to her (this marriage started Israel's Royal Dynasty), describes the correction of *Malchut* by *Bina* (See *Megilat Rut—The Book of Ruth*).

The Tenth Commandment

237. The tenth *Mitzva* obliges man to put on *Tefillin* and to attain the Supernal properties, as it is written, THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE. He opened and said, "Your head upon you is like the Carmel." This text refers to the Supernal head—the *Tefillin* worn on the head of the Holy, Supernal King *HaVaYaH*, written in separate letters. Each letter in the holy name *HaVaYaH* corresponds to a certain paragraph in the *Tefillin*. Thus, the Holy, Supernal Name is written in the scrolls of *Tefillin*, in the secrets of the letters. For THE NAME OF THE CREATOR IS UPON YOU, AND THEY SHALL BE AFRAID OF YOU refers to the head *Tefillin*, which contains the Holy Name *HaVaYaH*.

By being merciful to the poor, one merely begins to receive the Creator's Supernal image. *Bina* absorbs the properties of *Malchut*, described by the verse, LET US CREATE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS. By unifying *Bina*'s properties with those of *Malchut*, *AHP de Bina* (the letters *ELEH*) fell to *ZON*, and only the letters *MI* (*GE*) remained in *Ima*. *AHP de Bina* that fell to *ZON* consist of *Aba* and *Ima*: *Aba* assumes the properties of *ZA*, and *Ima* assumes the properties of *Nukva*.

Since *AVI* descended to the place of *ZON*, they became like *ZON*. And from them *ZON* receive the state of *Katnut*, called *TZELEM Elokim*, likeness to *Bina* (*VAK*), for *Ima* lost the *GAR* of her own state, that is, since her *AHP* fell to *ZON*, she lost the Light of *GAR* (see diagram on next page).

Therefore, only the letters *MI* = *GE* = *K-H* remained in *Ima*, whereas her *B-ZA-M* = *AHP* = *ELEH* fell to *ZON*. Thus, of the five Lights *NRNHY* that were inside *Ima*, she retained only *Ohr Ruach* in *Keter* and *Ohr Nefesh* in *Hochma*. Thus, *Ima* can only give *ZON* the Light of *VAK* = *Ruach* + *Nefesh*, but not the Light of *GAR* = *NRNHY*. Also, *ZON* are considered to have acquired likeness to

the Upper One only upon receiving the Lights *NRNHY*. And this is achieved by the fulfillment of the *Mitzva* of *Tefillin*.

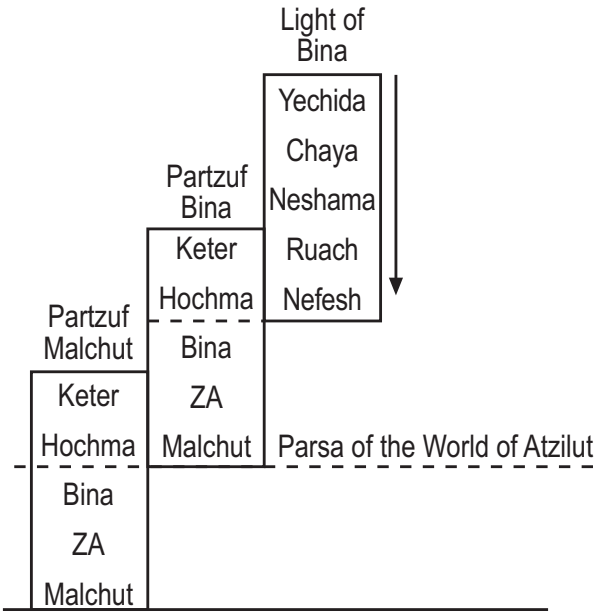

Yet, a question arises: we have already learned that to create the *Partzuf* of lower man out of *ZON*, *ZON* must ascend to *AVI* and receive the Light of *GAR*, for a small *Partzuf* without *Ohr Hochma* cannot beget. So why is it said that *Ima* is in a state of *Katnut*?

When *ZON* attain reception of the Light of *AVI*, they thereby ascend to *AVI* and become similar to *AVI* in their properties, for each lower one that ascends to the Upper One becomes like it. Indeed, only the magnitude of the screen distinguishes between spiritual objects, as only the magnitude of the screen determines all of the object's properties.

Thus, upon ascending and clothing *AVI*, *ZON* become like *AVI*, and all the properties of *AVI* are now naturally adopted by *ZON*. Just as *AVI* create *ZON*, *ZON* in *AVI* beget and pass the Light into the *Partzuf* of lower man. Hence, there is no need to even change names, for everything occurs at the degree of *AVI*. And upon ascending there, *ZON* are already called *AVI*, and the Light that they pass to man is regarded as the Light intended for *ZON*.

It is written: THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE. The Hebrew word "image" that is used in the Torah is *TzeLeM*, and is formed by three letters: *Tzadi-Lamed-Mem*. In item 2, we said that there are no *Kelim* for *Ohr*

Haya and *Yechida*; rather, there are only *Kelim Bina-ZA-Malchut* for the Lights *NRN*: *Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama*.

So even when we say that there is a *Kli* called *Keter*, we imply that the count starts with *Bina de Keter*, not with *Keter de Keter*. *Bina* and *ZON*, the *Kelim* that remained in the *Partzuf*, are divided into three lines: the line of *Bina—HBD*, the line of *ZA—HGT*, and the line of *Malchut—NHYM*. This is characteristic of *Ohr Hassadim*.

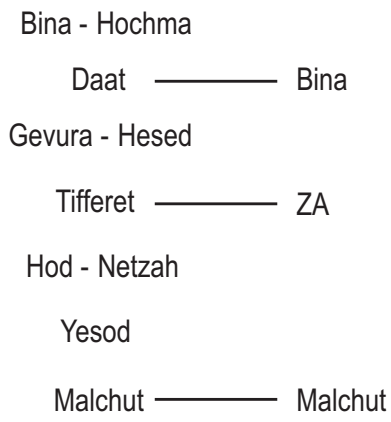

However, when *Ohr Hochma* is transferred, *Partzuf Bina* divides into two *Partzufim*: *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. These constitute *HBD* = three and *HGT* = three. Along with *ZAT* = seven *Sefirot*, from *Hesed* to *Malchut*, and form the *Gematria* of thirteen (3 + 3 + 7) of the word *Echad*, which alludes to the complete name, state, and attainment.

The thing is that *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* are concealed in *AA*, and only its *Sefira Bina* sends her Light down. This *Sefira Bina de AA* is divided into two *Partzufim*, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*: her *GAR* shines in *AVI* and her *ZAT* shines in *YESHSUT*. These two parts of *Bina* are called *M* (*Mem*) and *L* (*Lamed*) of the word *TzeLeM*:

1. *AVI* are called *M* of the word *TzeLeM*, as they form a closed ring guarding *Ohr Hochma*, preventing it from reaching the other, lower *Partzufim*. This *Ohr Hochma* is referred to as "concealed" (from all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*), and only *Ohr Hassadim*, *Ohr Ruach*, descends from them to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* during the 6,000 years until the end of correction.
2. *YESHSUT* is called *L* of the word *TzeLeM*, as it bows its head (*GAR*) and resembles a tower. It is written about this tower: "The Tower of Oz (strength) of the Creator's name." This is because *YESHSUT* is

called a "tower," and *ZA* is known as the "righteous one." After all, *YESHSUT* is *ZAT de Bina*, the properties of *ZON* that are included in *Bina*; hence, it passes its *Ohr Hochma* to *ZON*.

If *ZON* in *Katnut* are filled with *Ohr Hassadim* (*Ruach* called *Avir*—air), then during the reception of *Ohr Hochma* from *YESHSUT*, the letter *Yod* in the word *Avir* exits, and *Avir* turns into *Ohr* (Light). Hence, *YESHSUT* is called a "tower," i.e., a *Partzuf* in *Gadlut* that contains *Hochma*, soaring in the air (*Avir*).

However, this state in *ZON* is inconstant. *YESHSUT* intermittently returns to *Katnut* and to *Gadlut*; therefore, such a state is called "soaring." *ZA* is called *Tz* (*Tzadi*) of the word *TzeLeM*, for such is his property inside this tower. Thus:

- *AVI*—M (*Mem*)—*Hochma* that is concealed inside a ring.
- *YESHSUT*—*L* (*Lamed*)—*Bina*, though as she ascends to *AA*, she becomes *Hochma* (tower) and passes *Ohr Hochma* down.
- *ZON*—*Tz* (*Tzadi*)—*Daat*, receives the Light from *YESHSUT*.

However, one should not confuse the three letters *Tz-L-M* with the three lines called *HBD*: *TzeLeM* consists of three *Partzufim*, one inside the other. *Partzuf Hochma* (M of the *TzeLeM*, *AVI*) is the innermost *Partzuf*; *Partzuf Bina* (*YESHSUT*, *L* of the *TzeLeM*) clothes it from *Chazeh de AVI* downward; and from *Chazeh de YESHSUT* downwards, *Partzuf Bina* is clothed by *Partzuf Daat*, *ZA*, *Tz of* the word *TzeLeM*.

The words, THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE (*TzeLeM*), mean that with the help of the spiritual observance of the *Mitzva* of *Tefillin*, *Ohr Hochma* is received in accordance with the ascending order of the letters *Tz-L-M*. This is the Light that Adam received after his creation, whereas we first stimulate the reception of this Light in *ZON*, and from *ZON* we stimulate its reception into ourselves.

THE HEAD *TEFILLIN* CONTAINS THE NAME OF THE HOLY KING, INSCRIBED IN THE LETTERS *HaVaYaH*—the head *Tefillin* is the name of the Supernal King, inscribed in the letters *HaVaYaH*. The *Tefillin* are called the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—all goodness), as it is written: YOUR HEAD UPON YOU IS LIKE THE CARMEL. This is because when the heads of *ZA* and *Malchut* put on the head *Tefillin* (the Upper Light of *TzeLeM*), they become like the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—all goodness).

This Light is called "The name of the Supernal, Holy King," the four letters of *HaVaYaH*, where each letter is written separately: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*. And the reason why man feels that the letters are written separately is that each

Partzuf contains the four letters of *HaVaYaH*, and each of them designates an independent *Partzuf*.

Every letter constitutes a separate passage on the parchment (in the *Tefillin*); four separate passages correspond to the four letters of *HaVaYaH*. A passage (Hebrew—*Parashah*) represents a separate and complete *Partzuf*, and its corresponding letter in *HaVaYaH* symbolizes the Light in this *Partzuf*. The order of *Partzufim* corresponds to the order of the letters of *HaVaYaH*: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*. Such a *Tefillin* is called the *Tefillin* of *Rashi*.

However, there is a *Tefillin* with the order of passages (*Partzufim*) *Yod-Hey-Hey-Vav*, called *Tefillin Rabeinu Tam*. The passages that are written on fragments of parchment are identical, but the order of putting them into the boxes of *Tefillin Rabeinu Tam* is different: *Yod-Hey-Hey-Vav*.

238. The first passage in the *Tefillin* corresponds to the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH* (*Hochma*) and refers to the *Mitzva*, "Sanctify to Me all the firstborn." This is because *Hochma* is the firstborn of all the Supernal Ones. It opens the place of conception for the future firstborn with the help of a thin line of Light that emanates from *Yod*, which opens the womb and impregnates it.

AVI are designated by the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*, where *Yod* signifies *Aba* and the filling of *Yod* (according to its pronunciation: *Yod* = *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet*), i.e., *Vav* + *Dalet* constitutes *Ima*. *Partzuf AVI* is called "holy" and "first born," for *Partzufim YESHSUT* and *ZON* are called holy only when they receive holiness (*Ohr Hochma*) from *AVI*. All the holiness in the world of *Atzilut* comes from *AVI*.

This is so because *Ohr Hochma* is called "holiness" and *AVI* is *Mem* of the word *TzeLeM* (*Hochma de Atzilut*), for the Supernal *Hochma* of the world of *Atzilut* is concealed within them. *AVI* themselves are defined as *Bina* in the property of *Hassadim*, as *Hochma* is concealed within *Rosh de AA*, and the lower ones can receive it only if *Bina* ascends to *Hochma*, to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* unites with *Hochma* of *Rosh de AA* and assumes the name *Hochma*. However, she is not the ordinary *Hochma*; she is called "*Hochma* of the thirty-two paths" of descending *Ohr Hochma*, and only this *Hochma* bestows *Ohr Hochma* upon all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*.

This is why *The Zohar* says that this thin ray of Light, called the "path of Light," opens the womb and conceives the future offspring. *Yod* consists of three parts: (i) the upper "spike" of the letter *Yod*, a small line above the point, which is called *Rosh* and designates *Partzuf AA* that is concealed in *AVI*; (ii) the body of

the *Yod*, which forms *Partzuf AVI*; and (iii) the lower "spike" of the letter, which designates *Yesod*, the end of *Partzuf AVI*.

Through the continuous *Zivug* between *Yesod de Aba* and *Yesod de Ima*, the great waters descend onto all the lower worlds with all that inhabits them. This *Zivug* on *Ohr Hassadim* is called a "*Zivug* that revives the worlds." *Yesod de Ima* is also called *Rechem* (womb), for all *Rachamim* (mercy) stems from this part of Its *Partzuf*. Yet, if *AVI* do not make a *Zivug*, this part of *Ima* is closed, and mercy does not descend below. Only *Yesod de Aba* can open *Yesod de Ima*, whereupon *Ima* passes her great waters to the lower ones.

239. The second passage in the *Tefillin*, WHEN YOU COME, corresponds to the first letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, the hall (*Bina*) that opens up under the influence of the letter *Yod* (*Aba*) in fifty entrances, passages, and chambers concealed within it. The revelation that *Yod* made in that hall was done so as to hear the voice of the *Shofar* (a ram's horn), *Bina*. The *Shofar* is closed on all sides, but the letter *Yod* came and opened it so that its sound could be heard. And since it opened the *Shofar* and derived sound from it, *Yod* led all to freedom.

The letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH* is *YESHSUT*, *L* in the word *TzeLeM*. It is called a "tower soaring in the air," a hall with fifty entrances, for the concealed *AVI* are designated by the *M* of *TzeLeM*, by the ring that surrounds *Ohr Hochma* and prevents it from shining outside. And they shine only with *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, by rising to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* turns into *Hochma*, *YESHSUT* can pass *Ohr Hochma* to *ZON*. *Bina*, who turns into *Hochma* in order to receive *Hochma* for *ZON*, is called the "fifty gates of *Bina*," for she consists of five *Sefirot KHB-ZA-M*, ten in each. Each of these fifty *Sefirot* consists of a chamber and an entrance: *HGT* are called a "chamber" and *NHY* are called an "entrance," a "passage," implying the absence of a *Kli* for reception. Instead, it serves for transferring the Light into, or out of the chamber.

Therefore, the second passage used in the *Tefillin*: AND WHEN YOU COME designates the letter *Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH*, *YESHSUT* of the world of *Atzilut*, which ascends to accept *Ohr Hochma* and pass it on to *ZON* below.

Yod opened this hall so as to hear the voice that comes from the ram's horn, for this horn is closed on all sides. As was already mentioned, *YESHSUT* (*Bina*) united with *Malchut* by lowering her three *Sefirot ELEH* (*Bina* and *ZON*) to *ZON*, while *YESHSUT* remained with only two *Sefirot K-H*, *MI*.

Then, as a result of raising *MAN*, *Malchut* descends from the *Eynaim* (eyes), the *Eynaim* of *YESHSUT* open up, *Malchut* descends to her own place in the *Peh*, and

the three letters *ELEH* reunite with *MI* to form the name *ELOKIM*. *GE = KH de ZON* ascend to *Bina* along with these *ELEH*. However, although *ELEH* ascended and joined *MI*, the name *ELOKIM* is still considered closed, for it has only *Ohr Hochma*, and *Ohr Hochma* cannot shine in *ELEH* without *Ohr Hassadim*.

These three letters *ELEH* are therefore defined as a horn (*Shofar*), and *ZON* that ascended to *Bina* along with *ELEH* are concealed within them. And these *ZON* in *ELEH* are referred to as a "voice." This voice sounds in the hall with the help of the letter *Yod*, for *Yod* designates *AVI* that bestow the Light from Above, which facilitates the lowering of *Malchut* from *Nikvey Eynaim de YESHSUT* to her place in the *Peh*, and raising *ELEH* back to *Bina*. Hence, *Yod* opens up the hall of Light in *YESHSUT* in order to pass this Light to *ZON* from the *Shofar* (the ascended letters *ELEH*).

ZON, too, ascend to *Bina* along with *ELEH* and there receive *Hochma*. This great Light in *ZA* is called a "voice," and its reception is known as "listening to the voice." However, this horn is closed on all sides, on the sides of *Hochma* and *Hassadim*, for the letters *ELEH* (called a "horn") fall to *ZON*, where they remain closed and inaccessible both to *Ohr Hochma* and to *Ohr Hassadim*.

Consequently, two corrections are needed: (i) to elevate and unite them with *Bina*, enabling them to once more attain their *Ohr Hochma*; (ii) to provide them with *Ohr Hassadim* so it can serve as a garment for *Ohr Hochma*.

First, *Yod* (*AVI*) pass the Light to *Hey* (*YESHSUT*), whereupon *ELEH* rise above *Malchut*, to *Bina*, together with *ZON*, and there receive *Ohr Hochma*. However, this *Ohr Hochma* is called concealed or closed, for it cannot shine without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. This means that the voice has not yet emerged—*ZA* has not yet been born.

After that, *Yod* enters into the word Light = *Ohr*; hence, it turns into *Avir* = air (*Ohr Hassadim*). And since the horn (the letters *ELEH*) received air (*Ohr Hassadim*), they can beget *ZA* (the voice of the *Shofar*), for being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *Ohr Hochma* can enter *ZA*.

The general Light that *ZA* receives is called "voice." And this voice frees all the slaves that were enslaved by the egoistic desires in all the worlds, for *ZA* shines down on all the lower ones. Thus, the sons of Israel (man's spiritual aspirations) merit the Light of deliverance (defeat the earthly, egoistic ones).

240. At the sounds of the *Shofar*, the sons of Israel were delivered from Egypt. And so shall the *Shofar* be blown in the future, the next time at the end of days. And all deliverance originates from this *Shofar*, which is *Bina*. This is why the deliverance from Egypt is mentioned in this chapter of the Torah, for

this *Shofar* stems from the force of the letter *Yod*, which opens the womb and delivers the captives to freedom. And this is the letter *Hey*, the second letter of the name *HaVaYaH*.

All of the Light in *ZON* comes from the horn (*ELEH*), including the great Light that delivers Israel from Egypt, and the Light that is destined to be revealed in the future, at the end of days (complete deliverance from egoism). This is why the *Tefillin* contain a passage that refers to the exodus from Egypt, for the Light delivering from Egypt comes from the horn, which is inside *YESHSUT*. This is done by the power of *AVI*, called *Yod de HaVaYaH*, which open the womb of *YESHSUT* (*ELEH*) and free the voice (*ZA*) from its captivity.

This Light has sufficient power to deliver Israel from slavery. Only after the attainment of this Light (*Ohr Haya*), and not a degree lower, can *ZA* and *Nukva* be called "voice" and "speech." All deliverance comes only from *Ohr Haya* (only upon ascending the spiritual degree of *Ohr Haya* can man liberate himself from egoism and become free).

241. The third passage in the *Tefillin* is the secret of the Unity in "Hear O Israel," the letter *Vav* in *HaVaYaH*, which includes all and designates *ZA*, who contains the unity of all. Everything merges in unity within him, and he receives all. The fourth passage that reads, "You shall hear," includes two sides, *Hesed* and *Gevura*, which unite with the Assembly of Israel, called the lower *Gevura* or *Malchut*. And this is the last letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, which takes and includes them all.

The third passage in the *Tefillin* (Hear O Israel) is *Partzuf ZA*, the letter *Vav* in *HaVaYaH*, which includes all four passages contained in the *Tefillin*. Although the first two passages (*AVI* and *YESHSUT*) represent *Hochma* and *Bina*, they do not really constitute *Hochma* and *Bina* themselves, but rather, their part, which clothes in *Rosh de ZON*, called *M* and *L* of *TZeLeM de ZA*.

Similarly, the fourth passage, *Malchut* of *ZA*, does not imply that this is *Malchut* herself. Rather, it refers to her part that is included in *ZA* and is called *Mochin* (brain) *de Gevura*. There are three parts of *Mochin* in *ZA*: *Hochma*, *Bina*, and *Daat*, which are accordingly called *M*, *L* and *Tz* of *TzeLeM de ZA*. They are the same *H-B-ZA-M* as in *Mochin de ZA*. This is because *Daat* (*Tz*) includes *Hesed and Gevura*. And this *Hesed* in *Daat* is defined as *ZA* himself, and *Gevura* is defined as the inclusion (of the properties) of *Nukva* in *ZA*. And these *H-B-ZA-M* constitute the four passages contained in the *Tefillin*.

This is why *ZA*, the letter *Vav* in the name *HaVaYaH*, includes all four passages. And all the unions that come from *AVI* and *YESHSUT* are done within

him, i.e., for his sake. For all the Higher *Partzufim* that precede ZA are united (with the Creator), and need no *MAN* from the lower ones to reach the state of unity. Whereas all the *MAN* raised by the lower ones to the Upper *Partzufim* are meant solely for the unification of ZA, and in no way affect the constant unity of the Higher *Partzufim* with the Creator.

The unification of *Hochma* with *Bina*, as a result of which *Bina* becomes like *Hochma*, occurs only on account of ZA being raised to *Bina* in the form of *MAN*. For when ZA is raised to *Bina* as *MAN*, *Bina* ascends to *Rosh de* AA and there receives *Hochma* for ZA. Since *Bina* aspires only to mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), she never receives *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake, but only if the lower ones are in need of it. Her role, her properties are only to bestow, and not to receive. (Note that in the spiritual, "reception" is always for the Creator's sake.)

Hence, *Bina* ascends to *Rosh de* AA only for the sake of ZON. And it is ZA alone that ascends to *Bina* and stimulates her to ascend to *Rosh de* AA, where she makes a *Zivug* with *Hochma* and passes this Light to him. It is therefore said that ZA receives all, as *Bina* passes everything that she receives in *Rosh de* AA to him. And *Ohr Hochma* is revealed only in the place of ZA (not *Bina*), as he descends back to his place below *Chazeh de* ZA.

The prayer "Hear O Israel" designates ZA, the letter *Vav* of the name *HaVaYaH*, the Supernal unity (item 207) that reveals love only from the good side. And since it refers only to "Love your Creator…," it contains no restrictions or strictness of judgment.

However, in the fourth passage, "You shall hear," the last *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, *Nukva de* ZA that is included in him, *Gevura* in *Rosh de* ZA, reveals both sides of love—good, as well as evil (item 206), reflected in the words of this passage. It ends with the words: "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever," which corresponds to the inclusion and unity of *Nukva* in ZA, meaning not *Nukva* herself, but her part in ZA, i.e., *Mochin de Daat*.

Gevura in *Daat* is the second *Hey* in *HaVaYaH*. It accepts all the Light of the Supernal unity contained in "Hear O Israel," and includes all. And since it contains all the perfection of unity, it reveals all the Light and both sides of love, for the property of judgment that complements love to perfection exists only within it, and not Above.

It is therefore written: "Your head upon you is like the Carmel," designating the head *Tefillin*. Indeed, after ZA is clothed in all four Lights, designated by the four paragraphs of the *Tefillin*, which are the three letters *Tz*, *L*, and *M* of

the word *TzeLeM*, his head is defined as the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—completely filled with goodness).

242. *Tefillin* are the letters of the holy name. Therefore, "Your head upon you is like the Carmel" refers to the head *Tefillin*. The letter *Dalet* refers to the hand *Tefillin*, *Malchut*, who is depleted of Light, compared to the head *Tefillin*, ZA, but she contains the perfection of the Upper One.

The hand *Tefillin* designates *Malchut*. And she is poor in comparison with *Bina*, the Upper World. Yet, she has her own perfection, for she now receives it from *Bina* thanks to the unity between *Nukva* and ZA in "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever."

And since she is not the *Nukva* that is included in ZA (his body), but a separate *Nukva* of ZA, she takes all four passages from him, *H-B-ZA-M* of ZA, for she has a separate, complete *Partzuf*. However, these four passages of the Torah are in the same place; they are not separated from each other by partitions, as in the *Tefillin* of ZA.

The reason for this is that a passage of the Torah is the Light, and the place where it dwells is a *Kli* (the *Tefillin* in our world is a box made of a "pure" animal's skin, into which four parchment scrolls are placed, and the corresponding passages from the Torah are written on each). As we know, every *Zivug* emanates Light. Since ZA receives four Lights *H-B-H-G* in four *Kelim*, as a result of four *Zivugim*, he contains four compartments for four passages, each compartment containing a particular passage from the Torah.

However, no *Zivug* is made on *Malchut* herself. Everything that *Malchut* has, she receives from ZA. *Malchut* receives all four Lights (four passages from the Torah that result from one *Zivug* with ZA); hence, she has only one place for all four passages (Lights).

243. "The King is held captive in the tubs" means that he is tied down and held in those four compartments of the *Tefillin* for the purpose of being properly united with that holy name. And he who makes this correction, exists in image and likeness, *TZELEM*, with the Creator. Just as the holy name is united in the Creator, the holy name is united in him. "Male and female he created them" refers to the head and the hand *Tefillin*. And it is one.

"The King is held captive in the tubs" signifies ZA, who is bound and unified in those compartments of the *Tefillin*. The compartments of the *Tefillin*, which contain the passages from the Torah, are called "tubs" or "troughs," just like the tubs from which sheep drink water, for the waters of *Ohr Hochma* and

Ohr Hassadim are bound and restricted by these *Kelim*, the compartments of the *Tefillin*. And it is the Creator who is bound tight and held in these *Kelim*, so as to be unified in the holy name.

The compartments of the *Tefillin* are the *TNHY* of *Tvuna*, the lower part of *YESHSUT* (*Israel-Saba* and *Tvuna*, where *Israel-Saba* is the male part and *Tvuna* is the female). This part of *Tvuna* is called the big letter *Dalet* of the word *Echad* (one) in the verse, "Hear O Israel, our Creator is one." It is written about this letter: "Let the dry land appear."

As was already mentioned in the third *Mitzva*, because this "dry land" was revealed in ZA, he can pass the Light to *Malchut*. Thus, were it not for these four places in ZA, the dry land within him, he would have been unable to give the Light to *Nukva*. Hence, it is said that ZA "is tied down and held in those places" that stem from dry land so as to enable him to unite and pass the revelation of the Creator's Light into the holy name, *Nukva*. As a result, the dry land becomes fertile and produces fruit.

Therefore, he who has completed the corrections of these four passages from the Torah acquires the image and likeness (*TzeLeM*) of the Creator. In other words, when man "below" (below the world of *Atzilut*, in the worlds *BYA*) "puts on" the *Tefillin* (attains the level of this degree), he receives the Light of *H-B-H-G* from ZA. This Light is called *TzeLeM*, since *Hochma* and *Bina* are called M and L, whereas *Hesed* and *Gevura* are called *Tz*. And just like *Elokim*, *Bina* unites with the holy name of *Malchut*, thereby uniting the holy name within man, for man is a part of *Malchut*.

There are two parts—male and female—in the Light of *Hochma* and *Bina* (called *TzeLeM*): *TzeLeM* of ZA and *TzeLeM* of *Nukva*, the head *Tefillin* and the hand *Tefillin*. Hence, it is said that the Creator created a man and a woman, referring to the head *Tefillin* and the hand *Tefillin*.

The Eleventh Commandment

244. The eleventh *Mitzva* is to give a tithe of the fruits of the earth. Here there are two *Mitzvot*: to separate a tithe of the fruits of the earth, and to bring the first fruits of the trees, as it is written, "Behold, I have given you every herb-yielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). Here it is written, I HAVE GIVEN YOU. Elsewhere it is written, "And to the children of Levi, behold, I have given all the tithe in Israel" (*Bamidbar*, 18:21). It is also written, "And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree, is the Creator's" (*Vayikra*, 27:30).

These verses say that the Creator gave everything to Adam. Yet, why does that oblige us to separate a tithe, to bring the first fruits of the earth, and why are we forbidden from eating them? After all, this contradicts the aforesaid.

The thing is that the process of (spiritual) nourishment includes exposure, selection, and separation of the holy sparks of the Light from the impure forces. In the process of feeding (reception of Light), the sparks of the Light (*Nitzotzin*) that are contained in the food unite with man's soul, with his very flesh, and the waste, except for the sparks, leaves the body. This continues throughout man's life (6,000 degrees of ascent); he gradually accumulates within him all the holy sparks, with which he complements his soul. Without them, the soul cannot attain completeness and perfection.

I think that the reader already understands that *The Zohar* in no way speaks about the process of feeding, digestion, and secretion of our physical body. As the whole of the Torah, *The Zohar* speaks only of the goal of creation and the ways of its attainment. Therefore, I call upon the reader (in defiance of what his mind suggests to him after the first reading) to realize that these texts are written in the language of branches, when spiritual objects are described in the language of our world; yet, despite the corporeal language, the objects remain spiritual!

It is written in the weekly portion *Lech Lecha* that Adam was forbidden to eat meat: "I have given you every herb…" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). However, since Adam sinned, and egoism, impurity entered his body, it was said to Noah: "Every moving thing that lives shall be for food for you; as the green herb have I given you all" (*Beresheet*, 9:3), that is, including meat.

Since Adam was created in absolute perfection, everything was sorted and corrected within him, which corresponds to the animate part of creation, as it is written (*Beresheet*, 2:19): "Out of the ground the Creator formed every beast of the field," and also, "whatsoever the man would call every living creature, that was to be the name thereof." This means that Adam attained every name (spiritual level) of the animal souls, for the pure forces were already separated from the impure ones.

Hence, Adam was not given the task of exposing, sorting, and correcting animals by eating them, for even before the creation of man, the Creator corrected this in the world of *Atzilut*. And only the inanimate and vegetative (parts of the soul) remained uncorrected, containing both pure and impure forces. Therefore, Adam was instructed to expose the sparks that his soul lacked in the inanimate and vegetative food.

However, as a result of Adam's sin, pure and impure desires (forces) were mixed once more. And as Adam's soul was shattered into many parts, all of which fell into the impure forces, all the animals (animate desires) were corrupted along with him (with the human level of desire). Thus appeared the need to expose, sort, and correct them. Therefore, after the sin the Creator ordered Adam and the subsequent generations to eat animals, and thus extract the sparks from impurity.

It is said that Adam was created IN THE IMAGE AND AFTER LIKENESS, i.e., with the help of the *TzeLeM Elokim*, the Light of *Bina*, by the four passages from the Torah in the *Tefillin*. And this is his soul. However, after he was born with this holy soul, thanks to his good deeds, he merited raising *MAN* and receiving *Ohr Haya*, and then, on *Shabbat*, attaining *Ohr Yechida* as well.

Therefore, Adam was left to correct the creation with the help of only a tithe and offerings. And by feeding on tithe and offerings, he attained the revelation of his desires and raised *MAN* to the level of *Ohr Haya* and *Yechida*. Yet, after he sinned, all of his corrections and everything that had filled his soul was corrupted, mixed, and egoism took over the body.

Due to our egoism, tithe and offerings are forbidden for us, for fear that we will desire Supernal purity. Instead, we are obliged to extract and pass them on

to the *Cohanim* and *Levi'im* (parts of the soul). And if we observe this Creator's *Mitzva* of spiritually separating a tithe of the fruits of the earth and the offerings (as He commanded), we will receive the strength to raise *MAN* and receive *Ohr Haya* on *Shabbat* (the ascent of the worlds is called *Shabbat*) in the same way that Adam attained this state while feeding on tithe and offerings.

Thus, after man receives *Ohr Neshama* by putting on the *Tefillin*, he can raise *MAN* with the help of the two *Mitzvot* (tithe and offerings) in order to receive *Ohr Haya*. As it is explained, Adam was receiving *Ohr Haya* by feeding on tithe and offerings. However, we are forbidden to feed on them (to try to receive this Light for the Creator's sake) because of the egoism that acts in our body (desires). Instead, we are bid to give a tithe and the offerings to the *Cohanim* and the *Levi'im*. As a result, we receive the strength to receive this Light.

The Twelfth Commandment

245. The twelfth *Mitzva* is to bring the first fruits of the trees as an offering, as it is written, "And every tree in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). All that is worthy of Me shall not be eaten by you. I have given you My permission and I have given you all the tithe and offerings of the trees. "To you," and not to the subsequent generations.

From the aforesaid, it becomes clear that we, the subsequent generations, are forbidden to feed on tithe and offerings. The Light called "tithe" and "offerings" is so great that until all the *Kelim* (desires) of Adam's soul have been corrected, it is impossible to receive it for the Creator's sake.

Hence, it is forbidden to even try, lest we sin, as it happened to Adam. There is a *Mitzva* to not receive this Light, which refers to *Malchut de Malchut*. Every time the sparks are revealed, it is sufficient to let this Light be, to refrain from receiving it during the 6,000 years. Herein lies its actual correction until, at the end of correction, the Creator's great Light, called *Mashiach* (Messiah), manifests and gives us the strength to receive tithe and offerings for the Creator's sake.

The Thirteenth Commandment

246. The thirteenth *Mitzva* is to perform the redemption of a first-born son so as to strengthen him in life. For there are two appointed angels in charge—one over life and one over death. And they both rule over man from Above. And when man redeems his son, he redeems him from the angel in charge of death, so that the angel can no longer govern the first-born son. Hence, it is written, AND THE CREATOR SAW EVERYTHING THAT HE HAD MADE—this is in general, AND, BEHOLD, IT WAS... VERY GOOD alludes to the angel of life, while the word VERY alludes to the angel of death. Therefore, by this act of redemption, the angel of life is strengthened and the angel of death is weakened. Life is purchased by this redemption, for the evil side leaves him be and clings to him no more.

The ascent of the worlds occurred on the sixth day of creation: *ZA* ascended to the place of *AA*, *Malchut* ascended to *AVI*, and Adam attained *Ohr Haya*. As a result, the angel of death (egoism) lost his power completely. On the contrary, he became very good, for upon being corrected, egoism becomes a great and holy *Kli*, the one *Kli* that can receive the greatest Light.

Such a state will come at the end of the general correction, when, due to the revelation of this great Light, death (egoism) will disappear forever. This is the meaning of the verse: "when the Creator saw EVERYTHING that He had made (i.e., at the end of all creation), He saw that it was very good."

However, since Adam's sin, the worlds can no longer ascend as high. This is why we need special *Mitzvot* in order to perform special preparations and actions for the reception of *Ohr Haya*, at least in a state called *Shabbat*. This is precisely the *Mitzva* to redeem one's first-born son, when we weaken the powers of the angel of death and strengthen the angel of life, much like what the Creator did to Adam by the preliminary ascents of all the worlds, for

during such an ascent, called *Shabbat*, the angel of death becomes very good. Such is the power of that *Mitzva*.

Yet, it is not observed as fully as previously, when the angel of death lost all of his power. Now, by observing the *Mitzva* of redemption of the first-born son, we merely distance from the angel of death without actually destroying the impure forces, and they no longer cling to him. And after preventing the impure forces from clinging, accomplished with the help of this *Mitzva*, he can receive life, i.e., *Ohr Haya* of the state of *Shabbat*.

The Fourteenth Commandment

247. The fourteenth *Mitzva* is to observe *Shabbat*, which is a day of rest from all the actions of creation. There are two *Mitzvot* here: to observe the day of *Shabbat* and to adorn its holiness, namely to receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "holiness;" and to observe *Shabbat* as a day of rest for all the worlds, in which all actions are multiplied and realized even before this day is sanctified.

Shabbat is a state of the spiritual worlds where the Light descending from Above elevates *ZA* to *AA*, *Nukva* to *AVI*, the worlds of *BYA* to *YESHSUT*, and *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*. As a result, man's *NRN* (whoever has it, whoever is spiritually present in the worlds of *BYA*) also ascends to *Atzilut* with the worlds of *BYA*, and there receives *Ohr Haya*.

	Atik
ZA -	AA
M -	AVI
BYA -	YESHSUT + ZON

Parsa of the World of Atzilut

It follows that there are two *Mitzvot*: to refrain from working and carrying things from one household to another. This is so because when all the worlds are completely freed from the impure forces, we must guard against the impure forces, so they do not return and mingle with the holiness of *Shabbat*. And he who works causes the impure forces to mingle with the pure ones.

The second *Mitzva* is to adorn the day of *Shabbat*: through the pleasures of *Shabbat* (the ascent of the worlds of *ABYA*), man receives (in his spiritual desires existing in the world of *BYA*) the Light of the world of *Atzilut* from Above. This Light of *Atzilut* is called "holiness" (*Hochma*); hence, man becomes sanctified by it.

All purifications and corrections take place only in our work and struggle with the impure forces, preventing us from drawing nearer and merging with the Creator in our properties. It is precisely in the wars with the impure forces that we extract the sparks of the Light that they swallowed up, and each extraction of a spark of the Light from the impure forces and its ascent to the world of *Atzilut* is defined as independent, individual work.

In the beginning, these sparks were sorted and extracted from the impure forces by the Creator Himself. This is described in His actions in the six days of creation. And when all the extractions of the Light sparks ended, the work was considered finished, and the corrected state, called *Shabbat*, arrives; and it is the day of rest, for there is nothing else to correct.

Hence, *Shabbat* is the day (the state when the Light shines in the worlds) when all the correction work in all the worlds ceases. For every *Shabbat* (the state of ascent in the spiritual worlds to the level of correction of all the impure forces), the same state of the perfection of creation's first *Shabbat* returns and brings rest to all the worlds of *ABYA*. All the impure forces become detached, remote, and return to their place (*Tehom Raba*—great abyss), and all the worlds ascend to the world of *Atzilut*, defined as perfect unity. And we are destined to receive this holiness, the Light of the world of *Atzilut*; it descends upon us through our observance of the two *Mitzvot*: REMEMBER AND GUARD THE DAY OF *SHABBAT*.

248. Because that day was sanctified, the creation of bodiless spirits was to be completed. Asks: "Was the Creator unable to delay the sanctification of that day until the bodies for those spirits were created?" And answers: "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil contained an evil side that wanted to govern the world. And many spirits separated and went forth, armed, to clothe in the bodies of this world."

Because that day was sanctified, the creation of bodies for the spirits was to be completed. This means that the day had been sanctified before the Creator had time to create bodies for those spirits. It is written about this on the first *Shabbat* of creation: "And on the seventh day the Creator finished His work, which He has made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work, which He has made."

This passage from the Torah is unclear. For if the Creator completely finished all His work by Himself, then He left nothing for us to do. After all, He finished everything Himself. However, the Creator sorted the Light sparks and separated the pure forces from the impure ones precisely to enable us *to do*,

i.e., to complete this work by making our own efforts in the observance of the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

And the rest that is mentioned here refers only to what the Creator Himself had to do. Therefore, the Torah says that the Creator finished His work, for He has completed all the preparations for us, and nothing else is required of Him, for the rest HE HAS MADE for us to do. This enables us to do and to complete creation.

Hence, it is written that the Creator did not have time to create bodies for the spirits before the arrival of *Shabbat*. These bodiless spirits constitute all of our impure and evil forces that drive man to transgressions. And the Creator intentionally left them this way, for it is precisely because they are present within us that we have freedom of will in our work with the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

As a result of Adam's sin in *Malchut*, called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," pure and impure forces were mixed. At that, the impure forces wished to rule over the forces of good in the world, so the forces of good would never prevail over them. Thus, a number of armed spirits went forth, intending to attack the bodies, capture them, and clothe in them.

Two points merged in *Malchut*: one was corrected by receiving the properties of *Bina*, mercy, and the other is the strictness of judgment, the result of restrictions within *Malchut* herself. When *Malchut* is united with the pure forces, her property of restriction is concealed, and the point of mercy is revealed (item 123). Then man is said to merit only goodness.

However, if man transgresses, he attacks the good point and thereby reveals the point of restriction in *Malchut*. Thus, the forces that wish to harm and destroy the corrected part and to rule over man become revealed, and this is evil.

However, if he merits for the point of mercy to reveal itself and dominate, he can elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*, thereby causing Supernal mercy and Light to descend. However, if he does not merit, and the point of restriction is revealed in *Malchut*, not only does he thereby harm *Malchut*, but he also harms the point of *Bina* that unites with *Malchut*. Thus, this point turns from good to evil, from mercy to judgment, as restriction is revealed in *Malchut* herself, and every revealed property dominates.

This is why the point of judgment was revealed in *Malchut* after Adam's sin. By this, Adam damaged the point (property) of *Bina* that united with *Malchut*, too, turning it from mercy to strictness, judgment. Yet, the correction of *Malchut* is possible only with the help of this point, for it is called "goodness." And when this point of *Bina* is revealed within her, *Malchut* is called "goodness," too.

But now that the very point of *Bina* in *Malchut* was damaged and turned from good to evil, the impure force thought that the time has come for it to dominate the world and clothe human bodies, meaning Adam and his sons (spiritual *Partzufim*). In other words, the body (desires) of the impure force inherits the place of Adam's body. Thus, the correction of *Malchut* from the good point becomes impossible, for no more goodness comes to *Malchut* from *Bina*, and this property has become evil, strictness, and judgment, due to the restricted reception in *Malchut*.

And many armed and destructive impure forces went forth to attack so as to clothe human bodies (desires) in this world, and rule over them. For the impure force thought that nothing could protect and save the pure forces from it because of the harm that Adam's sin brought to the system of governance and the point of mercy in *Malchut*.

249. However, as the Creator saw this, He roused the wind from within the Tree of Life, ZA, and struck the other Tree, *Malchut*. And the other, good side was awakened, and the day was sanctified. For the creation of bodies and the awakening of spirits on that night of *Shabbat* stem from the good side, and not from the evil one.

Since the Creator saw the strengthening of the power of judgment and the impure forces, their ability to clothe the bodies in this world (completely excluding the possibility of correcting the world in the future), He roused the wind within the Tree of Life and struck the other Tree (made a *Zivug* with it), *Malchut*. Due to this *Zivug*, the Tree of Life passed the spirit of life to the other Tree, *Malchut*, thus enabling *Malchut* to tear away from the impure forces.

As a result, the good side reappeared in *Malchut*, as it was prior to Adam's sin, and the sanctity of *Shabbat* descended to the world. That is, although the impure forces had the strength to clothe in bodies, and were more powerful than the pure forces, and, according to the law, they were supposed to prevail, at that moment the Creator intervened, disregarding the destruction caused by Adam's sin.

Consequently, *ZON* (the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good) united in a *Zivug*, as before Adam's sin, and the Light of sanctity of *Shabbat* descended into the world. This action of the Creator caused *Shabbat* (the Light of *Shabbat*) to descend into the world, and the impure forces lost the opportunity to clothe in human bodies in this world. The impure force remained as a bodiless spirit, which enables man to draw closer to the Creator (with his properties). This is referred to as his return (*Teshuva*).

The creation of bodies and the arousal of spirits on that night of *Shabbat* stems from the good side, and not from the side of the impure forces, for the Creator's action remains in creation forever. Just as on the first *Shabbat* of creation, the Creator completely disregarded the damage of Adam's sin, instead compelling *ZON* to make a *Zivug*, and the day was sanctified as before the sin, for He destroyed all the power of the impure forces, despite the fact that they had the strength to rule.

The same applies to all *Shabbatot* (plural for *Shabbat*)—the spiritual ascents for those who exist in the worlds of *BYA*—during the 6,000 years. Although man is still full of impurity, for he has yet to correct the sins of the Tree of Knowledge, when he makes a *Zivug* (of the Light with a screen) on the night of *Shabbat* (in a spiritual state of that name), the impure forces (of man) have no power over him (his altruistic desires). In this *Zivug*, man assumes the body and spirit of a newborn, as though he was unharmed by Adam's sin, as though he himself corrected the Tree of Knowledge.

And despite the fact that man has yet to merit liberation from his egoism, the impure forces have no power over him on that night. Thus, he can receive the bodies and spirits in his *Zivug* on the side of the Tree of Good, but not from the impure forces.

250. And had he hastened on that night to put forward the other side, before the good side came forward, he would not have been able to withstand it for even an instant. But the Creator provided the remedy in advance. And He sanctified the day beforehand. And He warned to appear before the other side. And the world exists. And that the opposite side thought to rule in the world, i.e., in defiance of it, the good side was created and strengthened on that night. And the good, holy bodies and spirits were created on that night from the good side. Therefore, the delight of sages who know this spans from *Shabbat* to *Shabbat*.

251. However, when the other (impure) side saw that what it had planned to do was already done by the holy side, it started to check its own forces and properties, and saw all those who perform a *Zivug* naked and in the candlelight. Therefore, all of the sons born from that *Zivug* are enslaved by the spirit of the other side. And these naked spirits of the wicked are called "harming," and they are ruled and killed by Lilit.

252. And since the day was sanctified, and holiness rules in the world, the other side diminishes itself and hides on each *Shabbat* day and on each *Shabbat* night. With the exception of Asimon and his group, who walk secretly in the

Candlelight, to observe the naked *Zivug*. And then they hide inside the cave, called *Tehom Raba* (the great abyss). And as soon as *Shabbat* ends, many hosts fly and prowl in the world. As a result, everything is corrected by the song of the sufferers, "He who dwells in concealment," to prevent impurity from governing holiness.

According to the law, the impure force was supposed to rule in the world, for it was stronger than the pure one, and it was to clothe in human bodies. But then, the earth would have been given over to the wicked, and all the generations in the world originating from man would have stemmed from the side of the impure forces. And there would have been no chance of correction, for impurity would have dominated over all the generations to such an extent that there would have been no opportunity to get hold of the good side even for a moment.

However, the Creator provided a remedy, thereby forestalling the defect, for He elevated *Shabbat* and removed the impure forces, which caused the Light of peace and rest to be revealed in all the worlds. And all the impure forces were thrown into *Tehom Raba* (the great abyss). Thus, the world was revived, as this enabled the creation of bodies and spirits from the pure side in a *Zivug* of the *Shabbat* night, and the world advances toward the desired goal.

So what does it mean to forestall the defect via a remedy? The whole of creation is based on a cause and effect sequence, and all that transpires not according to the worlds' development is called "forestalling" (skipping several degrees, bypassing some of the causes and effects in this chain).

And since the sanctity of *Shabbat* came as an awakening from Above, from the Creator's desire, without any desire or request from below, for Adam had yet to make any corrections and draw closer to the Creator in order to merit *Shabbat* (when the Creator Himself prevented the defect by providing a remedy for the correction of the world), this action on the Creator's behalf is called "forestalling."

Just as the impure force planned to assume power over the world, the good side forestalled its actions on that night. For this night that followed the sin in the Tree of Knowledge was given entirely to the impure forces. Hence, they thought that they would obviously rule over the world. However, the opposite had happened—sanctity took their place: pure bodies and spirits were created on that night by the good side. This is because such a preparation took place that all the *Zivugim* on that night created bodies and spirits from the good side, without any participation of the impure force. In other words, what transpired was exactly the opposite of the impure force's expectations.

Therefore, the time of sages who know this spans from *Shabbat* to *Shabbat*—for at this time, bodies and spirits are created from the pure, good side. And

when the impure force sees that what it wanted to create was created by the opposite side, it collects its evil powers and searches through the whole world, and sees all those who make a *Zivug* in the candlelight, exposing their naked bodies. And ill sons are made from this *Zivug*. The impure side sends these sons its evil spirits of the wicked, called "wreckers." As a result, they are ruled and killed by Lilit. Garments refer to *Ohr Hassadim*, the garments of *Ima*, the intention "for the sake of the Creator."

When the sanctity of *Shabbat* comes into the world, and *Shabbat* rules in the world, the power of the impure force dwindles and hides on the night and on the day of *Shabbat*. Hence, this is the time of sages.

And only the wreckers, called "Asimon and his group," walk secretly in the candlelight, to observe those who expose their *Zivug*. Afterward, they hide in the *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba*. Thus, although Asimon has the power to see the *Zivug* in the candlelight and on *Shabbat*, he cannot do harm on *Shabbat*, but must immediately return to the *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba*. Only after *Shabbat* is over can he resume causing harm.

Rabbi Shimon felt the difficulty of explaining the words regarding *Shabbat* being the time of sages. For each day (not only on *Shabbat* night), starting at midnight, the Creator walks around the Garden of Eden and makes *Zivugim* with the sages. *The Zohar* asks the same question (*Veyikahel*, item 194), and answers that there is a difference between a *Zivug* on a week night and one that is made in the candlelight on *Shabbat*. On weekdays, the impure force has the power to inflict maladies on the newborns, and Lilit has the power to kill them.

However, on *Shabbat* nights, although the wrecker Asimon and his group are present, he has not the power to harm, but only after *Shabbat* is over. However, opposite his opportunity to cause harm after *Shabbat* there exists a correction, called *Havdalah*, the separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays through a blessing, a prayer, and a cup of wine, which completely annul the power of this wrecker. Hence, there is a significant difference between a *Zivug* on a week night and a *Zivug* on the night of *Shabbat*.

The thing is that there is a source of Light, ZA, Supernal unity, and a source of fire, *Malchut*, lower unity (item 209). Also, there are three details in the candle flame (this refers to a spiritual candle, designated in corporeality by a wick floating in olive oil):

- White Upper flame;
- Lower flame;
- The coarse part—wick and oil, supporting the lower flame.

This lower flame is called "devouring flame." It designates judgment, the power of restriction in the candle. Thus, it devours everything below it, the wick *and* the oil. And the Upper white flame signifies mercy contained in the candle, for white means mercy.

And he who makes a *Zivug* in the candlelight will see his children damaged, and Lilit will be able to kill them, for the candle contains the strictness of judgment, and the impure forces can therefore cling to such a *Zivug*. Due to the strictness of judgment, their bodies (the impurities contained in the bodies that participate in a *Zivug*, each of which finds what suits them) become revealed.

Therefore, a *Zivug* is permitted only at midnight, i.e., only in the darkness, when there is absolutely no Light, when *Malchut* is said to "awaken at night," and mercy is revealed. However, if there is some candlelight, it reveals the impurity in the bodies, and the impure forces cling to them.

In the candlelight, the impure force sees impurity in the bodies of those making a *Zivug*, and it informs on them and clings to their bodies. However, all the restrictions of strictness and judgment disappear on the night of *Shabbat*, and the coarse lower flame becomes like the white Upper flame. This means that even candlelight is permitted. Moreover, under the influence of the sanctity of *Shabbat*, all the impurity disappears from man's body, hence there is no fear to reveal the body in the candlelight.

Yet, even on *Shabbat*, when the coarse flame turns white and the judgment of restrictions disappears, the white flame of the candle nonetheless requires the light's coarse part, so it would act as foundation. And the coarse foundation designates an indispensable presence of judgment and restrictions, for coarseness constitutes restriction.

Nevertheless, these restrictions do not appear on *Shabbat*. This resembles a coin without any image, so its denomination is unknown. Therefore, the wrecker, this coarse, detrimental part of the candle that supports the white flame, is called Asimon (Hebrew, *Token*), signifying a coin without image.

The coarse part of the candle secretly ascends along with the white candlelight, as the candle cannot burn without it. Hence, this coarse part sees the exposed *Zivug* and can therefore do harm after the end of *Shabbat*. Although the revelation (exposure) of bodies does no harm on the night of *Shabbat* (the impurity of the body remains concealed during *Shabbat*), as soon as *Shabbat* is over, the impure force can reveal itself and harm.

And since, after *Shabbat*, Asimon and his group return to their forms (properties) and rise up from the Great Abyss (*Tehom Raba*) to the place of

settlement, they soar above the world and can cause harm. There is a song: "He who sits in the shadow of the Supernal One," for man saves himself from harmful forces by praying and returning to the Creator:

"He who sits in the shadow of the Supernal One (dwells under the shelter of the Supernal One) dwells in the shadow of the Almighty. I will say to the Lord: 'my refuge and my fortress, my God, in whom I trust.' Surely he will save you from the fowler's snare and from the deadly pestilence. He will cover you with his feathers, and under his wings will you find refuge; his faithfulness will be your shield and rampart. You will not fear the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that stalks in the darkness, nor the plague that destroys at midday. A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand, but it will not come near you. You will only observe with your eyes and see the punishment of the wicked..." (*Tehilim*, 91:1-8).

253. What places do they visit on the night of the end of *Shabbat*? When they come out in haste and wish to govern the holy nation, they see it standing in prayer and singing this song: "He who sits in the shadow (concealment) of the Supernal One," first separating *Shabbat* from the weekdays in his prayer, and then over a cup of wine, these forces flee thence and fly away to the desert. May the Merciful One save us from them and from the evil side.

Here the question concerns only the night of the end of *Shabbat*, but not the night of weekdays, as the night of the end of *Shabbat* still contains some force of the sanctity of *Shabbat*. Hence, although the impure forces rise from *Tehom Raba* and fly to conquer Israel, when they see Israel's actions in song of prayer and in the blessing over a cup of wine, they fly away to the wasteland, an unpopulated place. Thus, people escape their reach.

It follows that impure forces dwell in three places:

- On *Shabbat*, they dwell in *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba* and have no power to cause harm;
- When *Shabbat* is over, they are kept in the wasteland with the help of prayer, *Havdalah*, separation of *Shabbat* from weekdays, and the blessing over a cup of wine. They have the power to cause harm, but can't, as they are in an unpopulated place;
- On other nights they are also present in populated places.

254. The three that cause evil to themselves: a) he who curses himself; b) he who throws away bread or bread crumbs bigger than an olive; c) he who lights the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel attains sanctity in the prayer, "And You are holy." And the light from that candle ignites hellfire.

255. There is a place in hell for those who transgress *Shabbat*. And as they are punished in hell, they curse him who lit the candle before its time, and they say to him, "Behold: the Creator will thrust you about with a mighty throw, and He will seize you firmly. He will violently roll and toss you like a ball into a large land; there shall you die" (*Yeshayahu*, 22:17-18).

One wrecker is called the "evil eye." And he loves cursing, as it is said; "Yea, he loved cursing, and it came unto him; and he delighted not in blessing, and it is far from him" (*Tehilim*, 109:17). When man curses himself, he thereby empowers the evil eye to love cursing, and it rules over him—thus, man brings harm to himself.

There is nothing in this world that does not have an Upper Root Above. Especially bread, on which man's life depends, has its own special root Above. Therefore, he who neglects his bread brings harm to the root of his life Above. Everyone understands this, but only to the extent of the portion that satiates him, giving him life.

However, if a piece of bread and crumbs are smaller than an olive, there are those who neglect and throw them away, as such amount cannot satiate man. Yet, the sages instructed us to bless as a meal even an olive-sized amount of bread, obliging us to treat such portion as satiating, so we have no right to neglect such an amount. And he who neglects it brings harms to himself.

The reason for this is explained in the Talmud: "They asked the Creator: Master of the world, it is said in your Torah that one should not turn his face and accept bribes. Yet, You turn Your face to Israel..." The Creator replied: "How can I help turning my face to Israel if they observe the law 'down to the size of an olive...'" (*Berachot*, 20:2). In other words, by accepting an olive-sized bread crumb as a satiating meal, we merit revealing the Creator's face, even though we are unworthy of it. Therefore, those who neglect the amount of bread the size of an olive and do not consider it a satiating meal do not merit revealing the Creator's face; hence, they bring harm to themselves.

He who lights the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel has reached sanctity in the blessing, thereby ignites hellfire. This is because prior to that moment, it was *Shabbat*; its sanctity prevailed, and hellfire has no power on *Shabbat*. Hence, he who transgresses *Shabbat* and lights the candle prematurely, Ignites hellfire and brings harm to himself, for the transgression of *Shabbat* is regarded as the gravest transgression. Hence, there is a special place in hell for those who transgress *Shabbat*. And they who are punished in hell curse the sinner for igniting hellfire prematurely.

256. For he should not light the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel separates *Shabbat* from the weekdays in their prayer and over a cup of wine, as until that time, it is still *Shabbat*, and the sanctity of *Shabbat* still rules over us. And during the separation by means of blessing over a cup, all those hosts and legions that the rulers appointed to govern the weekdays return each to their place to resume the work for which they are responsible.

The main prohibition remains in effect only until the blessing in the prayer. Nevertheless, one should beware of lighting a candle before the actual separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays in the blessings over a cup, as it is still *Shabbat*. Of course, one can light a candle for the actual separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays, i.e., for the blessing over a lit candle.

257. As soon as *Shabbat* starts and the day is sanctified, holiness awakens and rules over the world; the power of weekdays disappears and returns only when *Shabbat* ends. However, although *Shabbat* is over, other forces do not regain their power until Israel says the prayer, "He who separates holiness from the weekdays." Only then does holiness disappear, and the legions that govern the weekdays awaken and return to their places, each to its above-appointed post.

258. Nevertheless, the impure forces do not assume control until the flame of the candle is lit, for they all come from the root (element) of fire, from which everything originates, and they descend to rule over the lower world. All this happens if one lights the candle before Israel has finished the blessing in the prayer.

Malchut is called the "pillar of fire" (item 209), and the forces that exist in the candlelight are the restrictions in *Malchut*. It is impossible to use these forces before the candle is lit.

259. Yet, if he waits until they complete the blessing, the wicked in hell justify the Creator's justice over them, and they bring upon him all the blessings, recited by the congregation: "Therefore, the Creator gives you of the dew of Heaven," "Blessed shall you be in your town," and "Blessed shall you be in the field."

By reciting the blessings, we evoke the descent of the great Light, and its power saves us from hell. And since the wicked in hell see this, they regret committing their sins and justify the Creator's judgment brought upon them by seeing their punishment. And since man evoked such justification of the Creator's judgment, all the blessings, recited at the end of *Shabbat* by the congregation become fulfilled in him.

260. "Blessed is he who considers the poor; the Creator will deliver him in the day of disaster" (*Tehilim*, 41:2). What do the words "in the day of disaster" mean? This refers to the day when evil gains power and wants to take his soul away from him. The word "poor" alludes to someone very sick. "He who considers" refers to one who realizes the need to be cured from transgressions before the Creator. Another explanation is that this is the Day of Judgment in the world. "He who considers" signifies one who knows how to save himself from it, as it is written: "The Creator will deliver him in the day of disaster," meaning that on the day when the judgment against man dominates the world, the Creator will deliver him.

"The day of disaster" is a state when the impure forces, called "evil," govern man and take his soul away. "He who considers the poor" is one who tells the sick to return to the Creator to correct himself. It is him who the Creator delivers from the rule of the impure forces.

The Zohar continues by saying that there are three sources of evil for the soul of a man that attracts it onto himself. Hence, it advises one who considers and is compassionate to the poor, to appeal to the sick man's heart (he who feels sick in his own evil, egoism) to return to the Creator. Then the Creator will cure him. And on this day of disaster, which man caused to his soul, the Creator will deliver him through this reward.

Even if judgment dominates the world, the Creator will deliver him, for he taught the sick to return to the Creator and explained to them the need for correction. And the difference in the explanations is that the first refers to an individual who discovers evil within himself, and the second refers to the evil of the entire world. And here, the Creator, too, will deliver man as a reward for fulfilling this *Mitzva*.

The Intention in the Prayer

It is written in *The Zohar* (*Veyikahel*, pp. 32-52): "Each day a voice calls upon all people in the world, 'This depends on you. Separate a part of yourself and devote it to the Creator.'" At some point in life, thoughts and desires to draw closer to the spiritual come to every person, and it depends on us whether or not we heed that inner call. The voice reassures man that by casting aside his needless, transient, and earthly desires, by ceasing his endless chase for their appeasement, he will attain true and eternal happiness.

From this we can understand the secret meaning of prayer: he who fears the Creator and directs his heart and desires in his prayer, carries out great and exalted corrections. If one wishes to enter the spiritual realm and feel the Creator, the only thing he must do is pray, i.e., ask the Creator to correct his nature, to transform it from the nature of our world (egoistic) into the nature of the spiritual realm (altruistic). He will then enter eternity and transcend the boundaries of our world. Being completely enslaved by his egoism, man is unable to change himself on his own.

To correct himself, man needs to receive the strength that exists outside of him, beyond the bounds of his egoism. He must ask to receive this strength; hence, the only thing man must do is pray.

However, prayer is not uttered by one's mouth. Rather, it is the desire in our heart, for the Creator reads the desires in our hearts. Therefore, man's only task is to transform his heart's desires—for his heart to wish to change its own desires. Yet, even this man is unable to do it by himself; he must ask the Creator for it.

Thus, everything boils down to exalting the Creator's rule, faith in Him, in His singularity, His power, His ability and desire to help. All of man's efforts aim to create the only true desire within him—to feel the Creator! Here, *The Zohar*, as well as all the other books of Kabbalah and the Torah, speak of those who

have already attained the spiritual worlds with their desires and properties, and, while being in our world, perceive and exist in the two worlds simultaneously. The prayer the book refers to here constitutes the spiritual actions of one who has already acquired spiritual instruments, and can utilize them in exactly the same way we use our hands and auxiliary means in our world.

First, in the songs and hymns of the Supernal angels, and according to the order of chants sung by the sons of Israel below, *Malchut* adorns and corrects herself as a wife who adorns herself for her husband. The sons of Israel are those who wish to become *Yashar* (straight) and *El* (Creator), i.e., to draw closer to, or go straight to the Creator. Such people, who exist in the Upper Worlds with their spiritual (altruistic) instruments (desires), can change the states of Higher *Sefirot* and worlds by their spiritual actions.

Our prayer-book was compiled by the sages of the Great Assembly twenty centuries ago. Before that, everyone addressed the Creator in accordance with what he or she felt. About twenty centuries ago, coarser souls began descending to our world, which needed orderly prayers. Hence, the members of the Great Assembly (great Kabbalists) created the prayer book that we still use today.

In an orderly fashion, the prayer book expounds all the consecutive degrees of man's correction. Behind the words of the prayer book, one who understands sees the spiritual actions that he needs to perform. This information is conveyed in letters, in their forms and combinations, as well as in the sequence of sentences and parts of the whole prayer.

According to the order of the prayer, correction of the worlds comes first by the morning blessings (See *Tefilat Kol Peh*) up to the prayer of *Shmone Esreh*, correction in a sitting position. Then, when they reach the words *Emet ve Yatziv* that conclude *Kriyat Shema*, all the worlds achieve correction. And as they reach the words *Gaal Israel*, all the corrections are to take their places; hence, they continue reciting the *Shmone Esreh* prayer while standing.

In spirituality (and, consequently, in corporeality) a person can be in one of three states: lying, sitting, or standing. A newborn infant in our world and a spiritually newborn person develop in the same order. Lying means that the position of the head, the legs, and the body are at the same level. In the spiritual, this corresponds to the embryonic state, when all that exists in the ten *Sefirot* is the same. This is the lowest spiritual state.

Sitting means that the head is above the body, and the body is above the legs, but one cannot use his legs. Such a state is called *Katnut* (smallness) or *VAK*. Standing implies absolute distinction between the levels of the head, body, and

legs. It is called *Gadlut* (big state) or *GAR*. Thus, according to one's ability to ask for correction, he gradually receives strength from the Creator and grows.

Therefore, when he reaches the words *Emet ve Yatziv*, everything has already been corrected: all of the worlds bear *Malchut* in them, while *Malchut* herself bears the Supernal King. When man reaches the words, *Gaal Israel*, the Supernal King advances along the degrees, along the three lines, and comes forward to receive *Malchut*.

The Supernal King (the Creator), with regard to all created beings, constitutes *ZA* of the world of *Atzilut*, for *Malchut de Atzilut* is the sum of all creations. Everything that was ever created, including us and all the worlds with all that inhabit them, is a part of *Malchut*.

In our initial state, we are the parts of *Malchut* that receive the smallest portion of the Creator's Light, *Ner Dakik* (tiny candle). As we draw closer to the Creator in our properties (making them similar to His), we receive increasingly greater Light, in proportion to our advancement, which we feel as infinite bliss, peace, delight, eternity, and as a life-force.

The degrees of our closeness to the Creator (our "I" and Him, *Malchut* and *ZA*) are described in Kabbalah using a special language: the nearing of properties is considered a transition from the state of "back to back" between *ZA* and *Malchut* to the state of "face to face." The souls' union with the Creator is described as a *Zivug*—sexual act between *ZA* and *Malchut*, whereupon *ZA* passes the Light to *Malchut*, and each soul, in proportion to its correction, can thereby receive this Light.

Naturally, the Creator remains in a state of absolute rest, and all His alleged movements are felt with regard to *Malchut*, depending on the changes in her properties. At times she feels Him more and at times less, and she perceives this as His movement toward her.

We must stand in humility and awe before the Supernal King, each in his place, for He extends His right hand to *Malchut* in *Magen Avraham*, the first blessing in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, designating the right line. Then He puts His left hand under the head of *Malchut*, as it is written: "Let his left hand be under my head, and his right hand embrace me" (*Shir HaShirim*, 2:6) in the blessing *Ata Gibor*, the second blessing in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, designating the left line.

The entire magnificent *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs) speaks of the Supernal merging of all the creatures with the Creator. Since our world is created as a reflection of the spiritual world, spiritual merging can only be described with the corresponding words of our world. Because our world is egoistic, the spiritual,

altruistic actions, directed toward the merging of properties and desires, are described in the words of our world as *Malchut* (man's soul) drawing closer to the Creator in her properties, followed by their gradual unification. First, it manifests in the form of an embrace, followed by a kiss, then a coition, when the soul is sufficiently corrected to receive the Light (*Ohr Hochma*) from the Creator.

Afterward, ZA and *Malchut* embrace and unite in a kiss of the blessing *HaEl HaKadosh*, designating the middle line. From this state and higher on, everything transpires in the state of a kiss, up to the last three blessings in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer. This is the spiritual, true meaning of the first three blessings of the *Shmone Esreh* prayer.

In other words, if one is able to make a spiritual action that corresponds to the conditions described in these blessings, he attains unity with the Creator that it is called "embrace" and "kiss." The detailed explanation of the spiritual actions is given in *The Study of the Ten Sefirot* by Rabbi Ashlag. The language of *The Zohar* and the Torah describes these actions with words of our world.

The language of Kabbalah describes them by using the names of *Sefirot*, *Partzufim*, and Lights. The most complete and precise language for the description of spiritual actions is the language of *Sefirot*. Therefore, this was the language chosen by Kabbalists for their inner work and for explaining to us the practice and method of spiritual ascent.

Man must aspire to the Creator in his heart and desires in order to acquire the intentions that bring him to correction in all the spiritual states described in this prayer—for his mouth and his heart (desires) to become a single whole, so his lips will not speak against the wishes of his heart. The Creator awaits only the sincerity of our desires so as to fulfill them at once and bring us closer to Him:

Beloved of the soul, Compassionate Father!
Draw Your servant to Your will.
Your servant will hurry like a hart, will bow before Your majesty.
To him Your friendship will be sweeter
Than the dripping of the honeycomb and any taste.

Majestic, Beautiful Radiance of the universe!
My soul pines for Your love.
Please O God, heal her now showing her the pleasantness of Your radiance.
Then she will be strengthened and healed
And eternal gladness will be hers.

All-worthy One, may Your mercy be aroused
And please take pity on the son of Your beloved.
Because it is so very long that I have yearned intensely to see the splendor of strength.
These my heart desires, and please take pity and do not conceal Yourself.

Please be revealed and spread upon me, my Beloved, the shelter of Your peace.
Illuminate the land with Your glory, we shall rejoice and be glad in You.
Make haste, do love, for the time has come, and pardon us as in days of old.

(Song Yedid Nefesh)

When the Creator and *Malchut* merge in a kiss, he who needs advice and assistance can ask for it, for this state is called the "time of desire." And since man appealed before the King and Queen in the twelve intermediate blessings of the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, he thereby corrected and prepared his heart's desires for the last three blessings. He aroused the Creator's desire for him, for thanks to these last three blessings, he merges with the Creator in Supernal Unity.

The "time of desire" is an appropriate state for making requests and receiving the answer—the strength for self-correction. The King and Queen are ZA and *Malchut*. Each blessing constitutes a sequence of individual corrections of man's soul. Consequently, man ascends to a Higher spiritual level. Thus, he gradually attains Supernal Unity with the Creator.

Then, he must fall on his face, and when *Malchut* holds the souls within her, submit his soul to the Creator's absolute power, as this is the appropriate time (state) to entrust one's soul amongst all the other souls, for *Malchut* is the source of life.

To fall on one's face and entrust one's soul means that man has but a single desire—to completely rid himself of his egoistic desires, and receive the Creator's altruistic desires in their stead. Upon receiving the Creator's desires, man becomes similar to Him, and to the extent of his similarity, he merges with the Creator. By merging with the Creator, man acquires all that the Creator has: immortality, complete knowledge of all creation, might, and perfection.

The secret of the Light is available only to the chosen ones: when *Malchut* holds human souls by her single desire to merge with the Creator (because the same desire fills man's heart), he submits himself entirely to the aspiration for this merging, so as to include his soul in the collective merging between *Malchut* and the Creator. And if his soul is received by the Creator, man instantly merges with Him and enters the source of life (*Tzror HaChaim*), both in this world and in the world to come.

Although Kabbalah is considered a secret teaching, it holds no secrets. It is perceived as secret only by those who are yet unable to create the spiritual organs within themselves with which to perceive their surroundings. We are the only ones who conceal our surroundings from ourselves in default of the corresponding sensory organs.

The King (Creator, ZA) and Queen (*Malchut*) must be connected to the souls on all sides, Above and below, and be adorned with the souls of the righteous (those who wish to merge with the Creator, entrust their souls to Him). And if man directs all the intentions of his heart (desires) to this goal and completely submits his soul to the Creator's will, the Creator makes peace and a covenant with him (both in the Upper Covenant, called *Yesod*, and in the lower covenant). He blesses *Malchut* by this peace and covenant, and surrounds her on all sides.

Unity on all sides means that the souls attain similarity with the Creator in all their properties. The righteous are those who want to merge with the Creator, attain the entire creation, and as a result, discover the righteousness of the Creator, who created and thus governs them. Those who wish to justify all the Creator's actions are called "righteous."

Although they have not yet reached this state and are only en route to it, even if only at the very beginning of their path, and they are yet to correct even a single desire and only feel the smallest aspiration to draw closer to the Creator, they are already called "righteous," after this desire. The Creator surrounds *Malchut* on all sides, and *Malchut* feels Him with all of her corrected properties, sensations.

Thus, man also receives the name *Shalom* (peace), for he has made a covenant with *Malchut* below, similar to the covenant of the *Sefira Yesod* Above. And when such a man leaves our world, his soul rises through all the Heavens and none stand in its way, and the Creator calls for it and says: "Let Peace come." The soul reveals the thirteen elevations of the holy peach and no one stands in its way. Hence, happy is he who makes an offering to the Creator.

As soon as the soul tears itself from egoism altogether, it completely merges with the Creator and is no longer obliged to descend into this world, clothe in a physical body, and receive an additional portion of egoistic desires. An offering to the Creator signifies rejection of the body's egoistic desires; it is called a "sacrifice," for our body is no different from that of an animal.

Therefore, the aspiration to rid oneself of the animate body and its desires is called an "offering." Depending on the kind of desires man is already able to wish to rid himself of, his offering takes the form of a bird (one part of his

desires) or cattle (another part). Certain parts of *The Zohar* and some of the ARI's compositions discuss this matter in great detail.

Rabbi Chiya raised his voice: "Oh, Rabbi Shimon, you are alive, and I was already mourning over you! Yet, it is not you that I mourn for, but for all my friends and for the whole world that will remain orphans after you." Rabbi Shimon is like a torchlight, shining both Above and below. With this Light below, he illuminates the whole world. Woe unto this world when this Light will leave it and rise up Above. Who will shine in this world with the Light of the Torah? Rabbi Aba rose, kissed Rabbi Chiya, and said, "If such words are within you, I thank the Creator for sending me to you, so that I could be closer to you. How happy I am with my lot!"

All of the characters described in *The Zohar* are spiritual objects, *Partzufim*. As does the whole Torah, *The Zohar* speaks only of things that exist in the spiritual worlds, rather than in our world. Therefore, all of the objects, animals, plants, and people described in *The Book of Zohar* constitute spiritual degrees, desires, and *Partzufim*.

The Creator deliberately sends into our world special souls that are close to Him, to help all the others to attain the spiritual in this lifetime, while they are still in this world. These great Kabbalists serve as guides for those who have realized that they lack spiritual sight, and are hence ready to follow them blindly.

Rabbi Yehudah said after him: When the Creator told Moshe to choose among the people those who are wise and understanding, Moshe looked at the people and could not find any. Then he was instructed to pick the heads of the tribes who were known for their wisdom. The word "understanding" is not used here, for the degree of the understanding is higher than that of the wise. What is the difference between one who is wise and one who understands? Wise is one who learns from a *Rav* (Teacher) and wants to attain wisdom. Wise is one who knows all that he has to know.

He who understands consists of several levels-degrees, for he sees into every thing and knows for himself and for others. The mark of him who understands is formulated in the phrase: "The righteous one knows his animal soul." The righteous one signifies *Yesod* that passes the Light to *Malchut* (animal), for the *Gematria* of *HaVaYaH* of *Malchut* is fifty-two = *BON* = *BeHeMaH* (beast) = *Bet-Hey-Mem-Hey* = 2 + 5 + 40 + 5 = 52.

Malchut constitutes the level called "wise at heart," as wisdom is found within the heart. But he who understands, sees Above and below, for himself and for others. He who is wise designates *Malchut*, for it is *Malchut* that reveals

wisdom. He who understands is *Yesod* that stands above *Malchut*. *Ohr Hochma* in *Malchut* shines only from below upwards. It is impossible to receive the Light from Above downwards, as it would surely enter egoistic desires. Therefore, it is said that the wise (*Hacham*) sees only for himself, from himself upwards, and cannot pass the Light to others below.

It is hence said that wisdom is found within the heart, as the heart receives from below upwards; whereas he who understands (the *Sefira Yesod*, *Tzadik*, the righteous one) shines with the Light of Mercy, *Ohr Hassadim*, from Above downwards. He sees that he receives for himself, and shines upon the others, i.e., shines upon *Malchut*, as it is written: "The righteous knows his animal soul."

Raising a Prayer

Here *The Zohar* speaks about the prayer, which every man offers his Creator (*Veyikahel*, pp. 32-52). This inner action of man constitutes his greatest and most valuable work in his efforts for the Creator's sake.

The Creator made man at the farthest, completely opposite spiritual level to His: with only the egoistic will to enjoy. And since man has no other properties-desires but the egoistic will to receive pleasure, not only is he unable to change himself, he cannot even wish for the desire to change.

We can change only under the influence of the Creator's Light, by receiving His properties from Him. Hence our only task is to cultivate a desire to change. As soon as this true desire appears within man, the Creator will immediately give him the strength needed for its realization. So the problem is not how to realize a prayer; it is, rather, how to attain it, how to formulate one's request for the strength to become like the Creator!

A prayer is a sensation, a desire in one's heart. Man does not realize it completely and cannot describe it, for the sensation in one's heart *is not subject to any control and conscious correction*—it cannot be "created" by one's own will. The sensations in one's heart constitute the consequence of man's mental and spiritual condition, the result of the current degree of his spiritual development.

Thus, the desire to change is also in the Creator's hands. However, He gave us the opportunity to stimulate this process and to determine our own spiritual advancement:

- He allows Kabbalists to write books, and when we read them, we develop the desire to draw closer to Him;
- He allows some of the true Kabbalists to be revealed to a wide circle of those who desire spiritual development;

- Indiscernibly, He transforms our desires (modifies our souls) so we suddenly take an interest in spirituality;
- He changes our desires with regard to this world, helping us realize its insignificance and transience through sensations of disappointment and suffering.

By creating man a worthless egoist, i.e., by making a worthless creation that is seemingly so unbefitting Him, the Creator allowed man to create himself and elevate himself to an equal degree to that of the Creator Himself—to attain His level of perfection. Thus, the Creator reveals the perfection of His creation: although He created man a worthless creature, He thereby enables him to make a "Creator" of himself (in his properties).

Man cannot claim that although he is created with only one desire, he is unable to induce the reception of an altruistic desire instead of his natural, egoistic one. The Torah, Kabbalah, teachers, and suffering are all prepared to accelerate his advancement toward the goal of creation by the path of the Torah, or otherwise, the path of suffering.

However, the path of suffering is not only undesirable for man, whose life on earth makes him feel as though he is caught between the millstones of a tirelessly revolving mill. Ruthlessly and methodically, it pulverizes him both mentally and physically, to the very last day of his life. But this painful path is equally undesirable in the eyes of the Creator. After all, His goal is to delight man, which is in accord with the path of the Torah—a quick and painless way to transform our desires from egoistic into altruistic.

Since only the Creator can accomplish this (and He will, either painfully or painlessly, in accord with our conscious request), the development of such a request toward Him is all that man must do in his life. It is hence written: "Let him pray all day long!" Yet, we now understand that this phrase does not speak of sitting over a prayer-book, but refers to man's inner work on himself.

There are various forms of work that man must do in action, with his body, as in the case of physically observing the *Mitzvot*. And then there is man's inner, most important work, when observance of the *Mitzvot* depends on the words and desires of the heart.

Never does Kabbalah allude to or even mention our physical body, for it is no different from the body of an animal—it is born, functions, and dies as an animal. And all the various forms of work that the body performs are mere mechanical actions utterly unconnected to man's inner intention, and can even be outright opposite to it.

Therefore, the body's actions are completely disregarded in Kabbalah. Instead, man's *desire* is taken into account and is regarded as an action. In itself, when stripped off the physical body (in which it presently exists), it constitutes man's inner spiritual action.

The spiritual world is a world of incorporeal desires that have no volume, size, movement, or time. Just as in our imagination, where our desires are fulfilled instantly by the power of thought, everything in the spiritual world is determined only by our desires-thoughts, and not by physical actions.

Nevertheless, since in this world we temporarily exist in a physiological body, our task is to observe the Creator's *Mitzvot* both physically (with our body) and spiritually. Physically, we can observe them, as a person usually does—because of his upbringing or for a reward in this world (money, health, luck, peace, and so forth) or in the world to come (the best that he can imagine). Alternatively, he performs these actions because he was taught from childhood to do so mechanically, so he cannot avoid doing them in view of the acquired desire (instinct)—if he does not do them, he suffers.

This feeling of suffering is exactly what compels him to carry out the mechanical actions of the *Mitzvot*. It is not even the desire to receive a reward in this world or in the world to come: in this case, the reward is instantaneous—man feels no discomfort, since he does what he is accustomed to do.

Hence, it seems to such a man, who observes the *Mitzvot* because of the acquired nature (habit), that he demands no reward for his actions either in this world or in the world to come. After all, he truly does not think about any reward, as his habit, which became his second nature, compels him to perform these actions. If he feels this way, he is absolutely positive that he acts "for the Creator's sake." The fact that his habit, his second nature, compels him to perform the *Mitzvot* mechanically, escapes his awareness.

However, since our body is no more than an animal, the mechanical fulfillment of the *Mitzvot* by force of habit or for a reward is quite sufficient for him. There is a difference between those who observe because of upbringing or habit, and those who do it for a reward: the former do not even care whether or not the Creator actually exists; they perform purely mechanical actions that they cannot help performing, for they immediately begin to suffer for lack of habitual actions.

Yet, one who observes the *Mitzvot* because he has faith in reward and punishment believes in the Creator, His Torah, and His governance, but simply

uses it for his own benefit. By observing the *Mitzvot* with such an intention and remaining in it all of his life, he, naturally, does not grow spiritually. And he who does not grow in our world is called "still" (inanimate), as we divide all nature into the following levels: still, vegetative, animate, and speaking (human). Therefore, such people are regarded as spiritually still (*Domem de Kedusha*), but they are already "spiritually" still, as opposed to those who observe mechanically, by force of habit.

In Kabbalah, the word "body" implies desire. A desire or a body can be egoistic or spiritual (altruistic). The gradual passing of the egoistic body and its replacement with the altruistic one is called man's "spiritual birth."

Man's spiritual growth is designated by an increasingly growing intention to observe the *Mitzvot* only because such is the Creator's desire. Man observes it only for His sake, completely selflessly, as if no reward of any kind will ever be given to him in return, not even in the form of his own self-content. It is as though the Creator does not know who fulfills His desire, as though man himself is uncertain of whether or not he observes the *Mitzvot*. Yet, he does it anyway, for such is the Creator's will.

So then, the notion of "body" in Kabbalah alludes to man's corrected desires, whereas uncorrected desires, without a screen, cannot be used. It is as though they are not considered body parts, existing beyond the body. Hence, they are considered foreign forces or desires—*Klipot* (shells).

The only existing creation besides the Creator is the egoistic will to enjoy Him that was created by Him. This desire can be either egoistic (corrupted) or altruistic (corrected), spiritually pure or impure. All the spiritual forces: angels, *Klipot*, etc., constitute our uncorrected or corrected desires (the will to bestow delight upon the Creator). Nothing else exists in the universe!

There are twelve parts in the spiritual body that perform spiritual actions: two arms and two legs, each consisting of three parts, in all 4 x 3 = 12. These parts of our spiritual body (our desires that were corrected by the screen) observe the positive *Mitzvot*.

Just like the body of a spiritual object (*Partzuf*), man's body is his altruistic desires, in which he can receive the Creator's Light according to his intentions (screen). Man's desires are determined by his intentions.

All the work with the intention "for the Creator's sake" is performed by the external body parts: the twelve parts of arms and legs, and by the twelve internal body parts: brain, heart, liver, mouth, tongue, five parts of the lungs,

and two kidneys. These inner corrections of the body are meant for reception of the Supernal spirit, Light, inside the body, and represent man's most important work with regard to the Creator.

These inner actions are called *Mitzvot*. They depend on speech, such as a prayer—supplications, blessings, and praises. And he who comes to know this work is happy in all things. Man does not realize that his prayer permeates all the Heavens, rising up to the very pinnacle of the universe and reaching the Creator Himself.

As was repeatedly mentioned, not a single word in the Torah speaks of our world, especially not of our body. All the words in the Torah are the Creator's sacred names—the various sensations of the Creator felt by those who attain Him. As we have explained, the attainment and sensation of the Creator is impossible without a screen, an altruistic intention, meaning that all that man desires is to please his Creator. Only the sensations in the heart (the essence of man) can perform this work, and never the physiological organs of our animate body, which is no different from that of an animal.

When the morning Light begins to shine, separating Light from darkness, a call pierces through all the Heavens: *prepare for the opening of entrances and chambers, and each go to your position*. For the ones that serve at night are not the ones that serve in the daytime. And when the night comes, the daytime servants are once more replaced by the nighttime ones.

When the morning Light begins to shine—when man begins to realize that his egoistic desires are death and darkness, whereas altruism and spirituality are life and Light, the Light within man thereby separates from darkness, and he begins to analyze and realize his states, to feel spiritual ascents and descents—he feels his proximity to the Creator as Light, while remoteness from Him and descents into his egoistic desires feel like darkness.

However, one can feel it only if he feels the Creator (even if only a little, even if indistinctly). To start feeling the shame of receiving from the Creator and the insignificance of one's nature (the sensation of darkness), one must first feel the Creator. Only His Light contains all that man needs: strength for correction, desires, life. Hence, the main thing to which man must aspire is the sensation of the Creator, but not for pleasure, for correction.

The forces that serve in the daytime are called the "rulers, the government of the day," and the forces that serve at night are called the "rulers, the government of the night." As soon as the morning call is heard, they all take their positions,

Malchut and Israel descend and enter the *Beit-Knesset* (the House of Assembly—a place, where all of man's wishes are collected; hence, it is called the house of prayer) to exalt the Creator and begin their singing and blessings.

It is written: "We shall praise Your mercy in the morning and Your faith at night." Feeling the Creator's Light descending upon him, man perceives it as morning that comes after the darkness, and upon feeling such a state, he praises the Creator in his heart. All alien thoughts retreat before the influence of the Creator's Light, and all impure desires become restrained.

After man has corrected himself in the positive *Mitzvot* (in the first part, in the corrections of *Tzitzit* and *Tefillin*), he must unite all of his heart's desires in inner work (in the second part), and wholeheartedly dedicate himself to the work of praises, since speech rises upwards.

It is impossible to offer a brief explanation of the *Mitzvot* of *Tefillin* and *Tzitzit*, observed only by those who spiritually attained the level of *Partzuf* ZA.

These servants, who stood in their places in the air, are appointed to rule over the four sides of the world. Gazaria soars in the air to govern the East, and all the others that are appointed are together with him, and await the words of the prayer that rises on that side from below. And this ruler takes the prayer.

If the words of a prayer are proper, then all these rulers absorb them and rise with them to the firmament, where the other rulers stand. Upon absorbing these words, they proclaim, "Blessed be Israel. Blessed be the lips that utter these words!"

The letters that were hanging in the air then fly up and form the holy name that rules in the air and consists of twelve letters. This is the name by which Eliyahu flew before rising up to the sky. The letters fly up in the air, and the ruler, who holds the keys to the air in his hand, rises to Heaven along with all the other rulers, and pass the letters into the hands of another ruler for further ascent.

After *Malchut* had been separated from ZA, ZA filled himself with only *Ohr Hassadim* and became the right line, whereas *Malchut* formed the left line. These two lines are in conflict with one another, just as the right and the left lines of *Bina* oppose one another. This continues until ZA ascends to *Bina* as the middle line, balances the right and the left lines, and makes peace between them by uniting them in a single, middle line.

Similarly, ZA and *Malchut*, the two opposite lines, need a middle line to balance them, to bring them balance and peace, and to unite them. This occurs

with the help of *MAN* (*Mei Nukvin*), the prayers of the righteous, for they offer up the desires from this world. Also, the screen that they raise is called the *Masach* (screen) *de* (of) *Hirik*—the middle line—causing the left and the right lines to unite, and *Malchut* to unite with *ZA*.

Thus, a prayer becomes a request, *MAN*, and the middle line that leads to peace and unity between *ZA* and *Malchut*. Just like *Yesod* Above (the middle line) unites the Creator with the *Shechina-Malchut* by gathering all the created souls, man's prayer creates the middle line and unites all by its ascent—bringing peace and unity between the Creator and the *Shechina* (His creatures), the unity of souls with their Creator.

Hence, just like the *Sefira Yesod* Above, man, too, is called *Shalom* (peace). Moreover, the world below precedes and determines the world Above, for the awakening from below (requests of the lower ones) precedes and evokes the awakening from Above.

The spiritual world is a world of desires. There are only two desires:

1. The Creator's desire to bestow perfect delight upon His creation, i.e., upon man;
2. The will to receive pleasure for oneself, created by the Creator, called creation, or man's essence.

Nothing else exists except for these two desires! Everything we can possibly imagine derives only from these two spiritual forces. Man's desire is called a "prayer," for intentionally or unintentionally, this desire appeals to the One who created man, to the Creator. Spiritually, man develops in accordance with his prayer.

However, one's true prayer is his request for spiritual correction and elevation. Such a prayer, a desire in the heart, can be achieved only by consistent study of Kabbalistic sources, which affect man's egoistic desire with their concealed inner Light, and evoke him to ascend spiritually ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155).

A soul is none other than man's corrected, altruistic desire, his spiritual *Partzuf*, his desire to receive the Creator's Light with the screen (intention) "for the Creator's sake."

Man's speech in a prayer is none other than parts of his soul (the soul itself) clothed in a body. A prayer is man's soul in this world, *VAK de Nefesh* of *Malchut de Malchut* within *Malchut de Assiya*.

World of AK
World of Atzilut
World of Beria
World of Yetzira
World of Assiya: Keter
Hochma
Bina
ZA
Malchut = K + H + B + ZA + M
K + H + B + ZA + M
GAR + VAK = Soul of Man

Yet, how can one's prayer, his desire, rise through all the degrees of all the worlds of *BYA* and reach *Malchut de Atzilut* so as to become *MAN* and the middle line, uniting *Malchut* with *ZA*? After all, it is well known that no degree can rise above itself, let alone make such an incredible leap from the lowest degree of the spiritual ladder (our world) to the world of *Atzilut*.

To understand that, we must first thoroughly understand the meaning of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*. As a result of this ascent, each degree splits into two parts: *Keter* and *Hochma* of each degree remain within it, while *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* fall to a lower degree. This occurs because *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* and thereby created in *Bina* a new *Sof* (end) of the degree. This is because *Malchut* exists under the prohibition of the first restriction, and hence cannot receive the Light. Due to the second restriction, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* are located below the new *Sof* of the degree. Thus, being below *Malchut* that ascended to *Bina*, they are defined as a lower degree.

Keter = Galgalta	Together they are called GE (Galgalta-Eynaim)
Hochma = Eynaim	
Parsa = Ascended Malchut	
Bina = Awzen	Together they are called AHP (Awzen-Hotem-Peh)
ZA = Hotem	
Malchut = Peh	

Afterward, through the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, the Light *AB-SAG* descends and gives strength to *Malchut*, which stands in *Bina*, to descend to her own place: *Malchut* descends from *Bina* to her own place, thereby returning all the *Sefirot* to their places and uniting them all into one degree, consisting of ten whole *Sefirot*. Consequently, *Bina* and *ZON*, which were below each degree, return to their degree, to their previous level. Thus, each degree restores itself back to ten *Sefirot*.

However, although *Malchut*, who stood in *Bina* as the new *Sof* (end) of the degree, returns from *Bina* to her own place at the end of every ten *Sefirot*, this new *Sof* that she created in *Bina* does not entirely vanish from *Bina*. As a result, *Bina* and *ZON* do not descend to their place. Instead, they must rise above the new *Sof* and there create the left line with regard to *Keter* and *Hochma*, which never fell from their degree and constitute the right line.

This is why the new *Sof* remains in its place in all the degrees even after *Malchut's* descent from *Bina*. And this *Sof* is called the "firmament," while *Bina* and *ZON*, which fell from their degree, but now have returned to it, are called "air." For each lower degree is defined as *VAK* (called *Avir*—air) with regard to the Upper One.

Keter	= Galgalta	GE
Hochma	= Eynaim	GE
		Parsa (Firmament)
Bina	= Awzen	AHP (Air)
ZA	= Hotem	AHP (Air)
Malchut	= Peh	AHP (Air)

Since *Bina* and *ZON* fell from their degree, they became as *VAK* (air) with regard to it, as the entire lower degree with regard to the Upper. And after the descent of *Malchut* from *Bina*, the air (*Bina* and *ZON*) that was under the firmament rises above it and becomes the left line.

When *Bina* and *ZON* ascend above the firmament, they take with them the lower degree, where they existed when they were below, and elevate it along with them above the firmament. It is so because unlike our world, there are no ascents and descents in the spiritual; a descent constitutes the deterioration of one's properties from one spiritual level to a lower one.

Hence, being equivalent in properties with the lower degree, when *Bina* and *ZON* ascend together, they take the entire lower degree along with them. For after being together once, and having become similar, they receive help, ascend, and never part again.

Ultimately, *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* forms an entrance, an opening, a gate for the lower degree, through which it can ascend to the Upper One. Hence, when *Malchut* descends from *Bina*, thus allowing the lower part, *AHP de Bina*, to ascend, the lower degree can rise along with the ascending *AHP de Bina*.

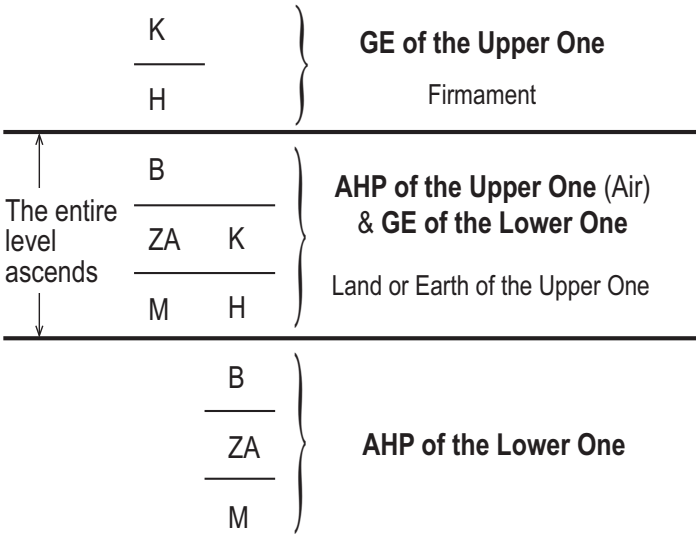

Thus, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* and her subsequent descent due to the influence of *Ohr AB-SAG*, three parts were formed in each degree:

- Air, *Bina* and *ZON* that fell down;
- The firmaments, the new ends of degrees that appeared through *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*. These never disappear, even if *Malchut* returns to her place;
- The entrances for the lower degrees that were formed through *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, when the lower degree ascends along with her. Without it, the lower degree can never reach the Upper One, for no degree can ascend above itself.

This process is described in the Chassidic tales as the mission of a righteous one (the Upper Degree) in our world: to descend to the most vile and corrupt people (the lower degree). In other words, while essentially remaining itself, the Upper Degree should corrupt its properties so as to equalize with the lower

degree. Thus, it shows to the lower ones that in its desires, thoughts, and actions, it is the same as them.

Then, when he completely unites with them, and they fully trust him, when he becomes "one of them" (designating the union of *AHP* of the Upper One with *GE* of the lower one), he gradually, inconspicuously or openly, begins to correct them—by his own example, he propagates his thoughts to them. These thoughts cannot be perceived from an outsider, but only from "one of their own." That is, the Upper One receives additional Light (strength) in its *GE* so as to be able to raise its own *AHP*, correct its desires of reception, start working with them for the Creator's sake, and elevate them to its own level.

And since there is no distinction between the desires of *AHP* of the Upper One and *GE* of the lower one, into which *AHP* of the Upper One fell, they both rise together. This way, the Upper One elevates, i.e., improves, corrects a certain part of the lower one's properties (*GE*), and elevates them to its true level.

Therefore, the most important thing in our state is to come to feel *AHP* of the Upper Degree, located at the very center of our heart, and to become equal with it in our properties so as to afterwards rise together with it.

This process is described in the book *Attaining the Worlds Beyond*, which provides a more personal perspective of this spiritual process:

Inside the internal sensations of the Kabbalist exists a part of the Higher Level, of the future state (*AHP*). One who perceives a Higher Spiritual Level as an unattractive vacuum, rather than a state full of Light, does not receive from the Higher level.

Even though the Higher Level is full of Light, the lower level perceives the Higher only to the degree that the lower qualities permit one to do so. Since the present qualities are not sufficient to receive the Higher Light, the individual does not perceive it.

We can perceive the Upper Level because all the spiritual steps are arranged sequentially from lowest to highest. Moreover, the subsequent states overlap with one another; the lower half of the Higher state is situated within the Upper half of the lower state (*AHP* of Upper falls into *GE* of lower).

Thus, the lowest part of our Upper State is always present within us, but is usually not felt by us. The Upper State above us is referred to as "the Creator" because it functions as the Creator for us.

It gives birth to us and it gives us life and guidance. Since we do not have a perception of this Higher State, we often insist that the Creator does not exist.

But if we are in a state in which we clearly see the Creator's Upper Domain over all the creations in this world, then we lose the possibility to choose freely.

We can see only One Truth, only One Force, and only One Will that operates in everything and in everyone.

Since the Will of the Creator is to grant each human being a free will, then the concealment of the Creator from His creations is necessary. Only if He is hidden can we argue that we can aspire *of our free will* to attach ourselves to the Creator—to act for His sake, without any trace of self-interest.

The entire process of self-correction is possible only when the Creator is concealed from us. As soon as He reveals Himself to us we immediately become His servants and fall into the control of His thought, grandeur and power.

At that point, it is impossible to determine what our true thoughts are. Thus, in order to allow us to act freely, the Creator has to conceal Himself.

On the other hand, to give us a chance to break free from the blind slavery of egoism, the Creator must reveal Himself. This is so because a human being obeys only two forces in this world: the force of egoism—the body—and the force of the Creator—altruism.

It follows, then, that alternating the two states is necessary. These states are the concealment of the Creator from us when we perceive only ourselves and the egoistic forces governing us, and the revelation of the Creator when we feel the power of the spiritual forces.

In order for one who is still under the influence of egoism to perceive the closest Upper Object (the Creator), the Creator must equalize some of His qualities with those of the lower being—the person seeking a connection with the Creator.

He will endow some of His altruistic qualities with egoistic attributes, and can then come into balance with the person seeking connection with Him.

The Upper Part elevates the *Malchut-Midat HaDin* to the level of His *Galgalta ve Eynaim.* As a result, His *AHP* acquires egoistic qualities. In this manner, His *AHP* "descends" to the lower part (the spiritual level of the seeker) and comes into a state of equivalence with the qualities of the lower part.

Initially the lower part was not able to perceive the Upper Spiritual State. However, because the Creator hid His highest altruistic qualities behind egoistic ones, He was able to descend to the level of the person so that the person was able to perceive Him.

Because we perceive higher qualities as being egoistic, we are unable to truly grasp their essence. It appears that there is nothing positive in the spiritual that may bring pleasure, inspiration, confidence, or tranquility.

It is precisely at this point that we have an opportunity to exercise our willpower. We may, instead, declare that the absence of pleasure and taste in the spiritual and in Kabbalah is because of the Creator's deliberate concealment for our own sake. Because we do not yet possess the necessary spiritual qualities, it is therefore impossible for us to perceive the Upper spiritual pleasures; rather, all our earthly desires are governed by egoism.

It is crucial for beginners to understand that they are given depression and distress in order to overcome them.

They may direct their pleas for relief to the Creator, they may study, or they may do good deeds. The fact that such people do not experience pleasure or vitality from spiritual aspirations is directed from Above.

This gives them the free will to conclude that their lack of pleasure comes from a lack of appropriate altruistic qualities in themselves. Hence, the Upper One must hide His true qualities from them.

Therefore, we must remember that the first stage of perceiving the spiritual is the feeling of spiritual deprivation. If the lower part is capable of realizing that the Upper One is concealing Himself because of their incongruity of qualities, and if that lower part asks for help to correct its own egoism by raising a prayer (*MAN*), then the Upper Part partially reveals Himself (lifts His *AHP*) and displays His true qualities, which prior to this moment, were disguised beneath egoism.

As a result, spiritual pleasure also becomes apparent. Thus, the lower part begins to experience the grandeur and the spiritual pleasure felt by the Higher Being, Who possesses spiritual altruistic qualities.

Because the Upper Part elevated His altruistic qualities in the eyes of the individual, He thus elevated the individual to the middle of His State (He lifted *GE* of the lower together with His own *AHP*).

This spiritual state is known as a person's "lesser spiritual level" (*Katnut*). The Upper Part, in a way, elevates the lower part to His own spiritual level by revealing both His grandeur and the grandeur of altruistic qualities. By seeing the magnificence of the spiritual and comparing it to the material, we may spiritually rise above our world.

When we perceive the spiritual, regardless of our will, our egoistic qualities are changed into altruistic ones, that is, into the qualities of the Creator. In

order to allow the lower part to take complete possession of the Higher first level, the Upper Part wholly reveals Himself and all His qualities to that lower part; meaning He reveals his Grandeur, makes *Gadlut*.

At this point, the person perceives the Upper Part as the One and Only Absolute Sovereign of everything in the universe. At the same time, the lower part grasps the highest knowledge of the purpose of creation and of the Upper's dominion.

It becomes clear to the lower part that there is no other way to conduct oneself than in the way prescribed by Kabbalah. Thus, the lower part's reason now requires proper action. As a result of this clear awareness of the Creator, one must deal with the contradiction between faith and knowledge, between the right and the left lines.

Now, having acquired altruistic qualities (*Katnut*), the lower part prefers to proceed only by means of faith in the strength of the Creator. This serves as an indication of the seeker's sincere desire to come closer to the Creator.

However, the Creator's revelation of His grandeur (*Gadlut*) now obstructs one from advancing by faith. Consequently, the individual must willingly dispense with the acquired knowledge.

When one pleads to proceed blindly, relying only on one's faith in the magnificence of the Creator, rather than by realizing His power and grandeur, and only by using reason in proportion to one's faith, the Creator is compelled to limit His disclosure. When such an action compels the Creator to diminish His disclosure of His general dominion, His omnipotence, and His Light (*Ohr Hochma*), this is called "the screen of *Hirik*."

Through this screen, we are able to diminish the revelation of the Upper reason (the left line) to the point at which this revelation can be balanced with faith, the right line. The correct correlation between faith and knowledge is called a "spiritual balance," or the middle line.

We, as individuals, determine the state we desire to be in. Once the correct correlation of faith and knowledge is in place, we can then attain perfection. This is known as "the middle line."

The part of revealed knowledge (the left line) that we can use in proportion to our faith (the right line), by proceeding by faith above reason (the middle line), is added onto those spiritual qualities that we possessed before, in the state of *Katnut*. The newly acquired spiritual level is known as *Gadlut*, meaning big and complete.

After the first complete spiritual level has been attained, we will become equal in qualities to the very first (the lowest) state of the spiritual ladder. As was mentioned earlier, all the states, or steps of the ladder, overlap with each other.

Having reached the first level, we may discover the presence of a higher level within us. Using the same principle as when advancing to the first level, we can proceed step by step to the goal of creation—complete unification with the Creator on the Highest level.

An essential part of our spiritual ascent is a special process that requires that, on discovering a greater evil within us, we ask the Creator to grant us the strength to overcome that evil. We then receive strength in the form of a greater spiritual Light.

This continues until we actually reach the original level and size of our souls: at that point, our egoism is completely corrected and filled with Light.

When we are distracted by outside thoughts, we feel that thoughts obstruct us from ascertaining the spiritual, because our strength and minds are wasted on extraneous concerns, while our hearts become filled with petty desires. At times like this, we lose faith in the fact that only the Kabbalah contains the true life.

Once we overcome this condition, we come out of our state and move into the Light, receiving a Higher Light that helps us ascend further. In this manner, our extraneous thoughts work to help us in our spiritual advancement.

We can overcome obstacles only with the help of the Creator. We can only work on something if we perceive some personal benefit in the task. However, our bodies, hearts and intellects do not understand what benefits can result from altruism.

Therefore, as soon as we try to make even the slightest altruistic move, we lose all strength of the mind, heart and body. We are left with nothing else but to turn to the Creator and ask Him for help. In this way, unwillingly and without any free choice, we advance toward the Creator until we merge with Him completely.

The lower half of the Higher spiritual object is found within the Upper half of the lower spiritual object. In the lower object, the screen (*Masach*) is found in the eye area. This is known as "spiritual blindness," because in such a state only the lower half of the Higher object is visible to us, since the screen of the lower spiritual object conceals part of the Higher spiritual object.

The Higher spiritual object drops its screen to the lower one, then reveals itself to the lower object, which in turn begins to view the Higher object as the Higher One views itself. As a result, the lower object receives the state of fullness (*Gadlut*).

The lower object, then, sees that the Higher One is in a "great" state, and realizes that the Higher object's prior concealment and apparent manifestation as the "small" state (*Katnut*), was done exclusively for the benefit of the lower one. In this way, the lower object could become aware of the importance of the Higher One.

A person in the right line (*Kav Yamin*) is happy with his lot (*Chafetz Hesed*). This is called a "small spiritual state" (*Katnut*), because a person feels no need for the Torah. He does not feel evil, egoism within himself, and without the need for self-correction, he needs no Torah.

Hence, he needs the left line (*Kav Smol*). He has to critically appraise his state (*Heshbon Nefesh*), decide what he wants from the Creator and from himself, and whether he understands the Torah and advances toward the goal of creation. Here he sees his genuine state and is obliged to integrate it in the right line. In other words, he has to be content with what he has and be pleased with his state, as if he has everything that he wishes.

In the left line, which brings about suffering as a result of the absence of the desired, a need is awakened for the help of the Creator, which comes in the form of Light of the soul.

In the right line, in a state when a person desires nothing for the self, there exists only the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), the joy from the similarity in spiritual qualities. But this state is not perfect, because it lacks knowledge and the understanding of the inner meaning. In the left line there is no perfection because the Light of Wisdom can illuminate only if there is congruence in qualities between the Light received and the recipient of the Light.

The congruence results in *Ohr Hassadim*, which is found in the right line. Spiritual gains can be made only by having a desire. But the right line has no desire for anything. All the desires are concentrated in the left line. However, the desired cannot be received into the egoistic desires.

Thus, it is necessary to unite these two qualities so that the Light of knowledge and pleasure of the left line can enter the Light of altruistic qualities of the right line, and the Light of the middle line will illuminate the created being. Without the Light of the right line, the Light of the left is not revealed and is perceived only as darkness.

The ascent from our world, in which we do not consciously perceive *AHP* of the Upper One, occurs in the following way:

All of one's thoughts about the Creator and spirituality constitute his contact with *AHP* of the Upper One. How can this Upper *Partzuf* descend to

him? Only by equalizing one's desires (properties) with it. All of man's thoughts and desires (or lack thereof), with regard to the spiritual, constitute his contact with the Upper One. When man feels a lack of desire for spirituality, it means that the Upper *Partzuf* descended and entered him, equalized itself with him; hence, man feels spiritual emptiness.

It is precisely in this state of not being drawn to the spiritual that man should tell himself that it only seems to him this way, whereas in truth, by faith above reason, he desires and acts for the sake of nearing the spiritual. In other words, if, in the state when the Upper One "falls" (spiritual values lose their significance) in his eyes, one can nonetheless aspire to spirituality, he thereby binds, connects himself to *AHP* of the Upper One. This is because *AHP* of the Upper One deliberately degraded its properties and assumed an outward form similar to the properties (desires) of man.

Therefore, as soon as one can establish contact with *AHP* of the Upper One (even if it appears to him absolutely unattractive, precisely because it lowers its properties to man's level), this *AHP* of the Upper One immediately elevates man to its *GE*. Thus, man ascends to a Higher Degree.

"Piercing through the air" means that the air boundary, consisting of *Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, created as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, is pierced by *Malchut's* descent from *Bina* to her place, for then the air rises above the firmament and reaches *GAR* (*GE*) of the degree.

Thus occurs the piercing of the firmaments. For the firmaments constitute the borders of new ends, which appeared because the air (*Bina* and *ZON*) was pushed off from its own degree to a lower one, and was not allowed to return to its degree. Hence, the firmament is pierced from *Malchut's* descent, and no longer prevents *Bina* and *ZON* from ascending and joining that degree.

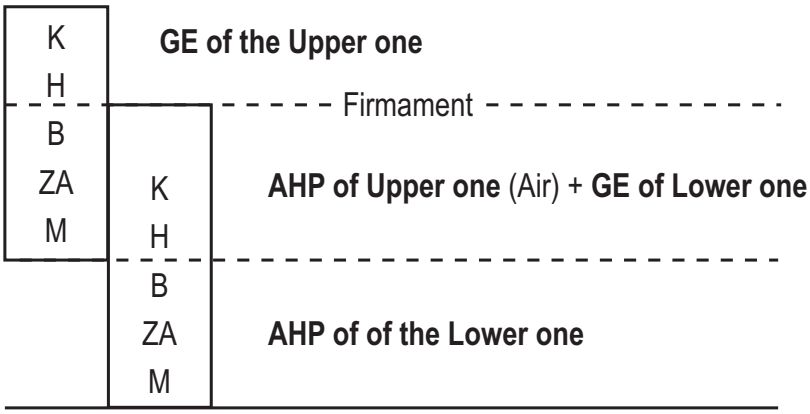

1. *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* = firmament.

2. *Malchut* descends back. This creates a passage for *AHP* to its *GE*. Thus, the entrances for the lower degree are opened: due to *Malchut's* descent to her place and the piercing through the firmaments, *Bina* and *ZON* ascend to a Higher Degree above the firmament together with the lower degree that they were with during their descent.

In other words, the Upper One deliberately opened up the entrances to enable the lower degree to ascend to a Higher Degree, and not for *Bina* and *ZON* (*AHP* of the Upper One), who simply return to their place.

The Light that lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* to her own place at the end of the ten *Sefirot* stems from *Partzufim AB-SAG*. These are the *Partzufim Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *AK*. Although the second restriction—*Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*—occurred in *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *AK*, the *Partzufim Bina* (*SAG*) and *Hochma* (*AB*) of the world of *AK* were unaffected by it, and *Malchut* remains in her place at the end of the ten *Sefirot*.

Only the Creator Himself, meaning the properties of the Light, can correct and transform man's egoistic properties to altruistic. Indeed, man is simply unable to pull himself out of his current state "by his own hair," as from birth he has absolutely no spiritual strength (desires). Hence, only the Upper Light can correct him. And it can only be *Ohr Hochma*, for this is the Light that the Creator emanates. *Ohr Hochma*, unrestricted by *Tzimtzum Bet*, is located in *Partzuf AB* of the world of *AK*. *Partzuf SAG de AK* is a *Partzuf* of *Bina*.

Therefore, when one raises his *MAN* (prayer), it reaches the Highest *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, which turn to *SAG-Bina-Ima* (mother), who in turn appeals to *AB-Hochma-Aba* (father), receives *Ohr Hochma* from him and passes it to her children—the souls of the righteous, those who wish to become righteous and to ascend spiritually.

Hence, when *Hochma-AB* unites with *Bina-SAG* in the world of *AK*, this Light (*Ohr AB-SAG*) descends from *Partzuf Bina de AK* to *Partzuf Bina de Atzilut*, called *EKYEH* = *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey*. *Partzuf Bina de Atzilut* sends the Light to all the degrees of the worlds of *BYA*. Upon attaining a particular *Partzuf*, this Light lowers the *Malchut* of each degree (that ascended to *Bina*) from the degree of *Bina* to her previous place.

Starting with *AVI*, all the *Partzufim* are in the state of *Katnut*: *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* is inside *GE* of the lower one. The received *Ohr Hochma* descends to him who raised *MAN*, thus evoking *Gadlut* in all the *Partzufim*, through which

the Light descends to him. The Light descends to each *Partzuf* along his personal path, which is precisely what connects everyone, each soul, to the Creator.

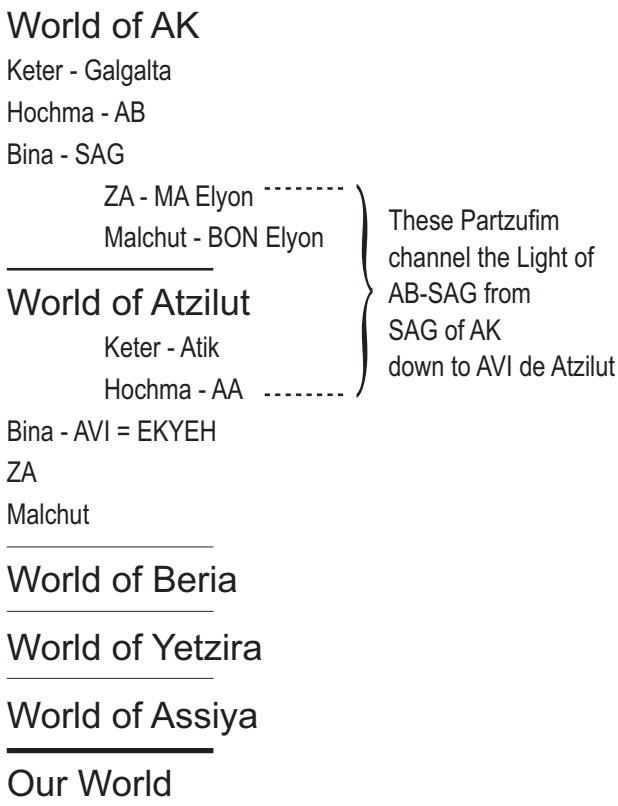

This is why the name *EKYEH* is referred to as the ruler of air that moves the boundary of air because of *Malchut's* descent from *Bina* to her previous place. Each degree and each world consists of four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*, each of which Consists of its own individual ten *Sefirot*, where, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* in each degree, *Bina-ZA-Malchut* of each degree fell to a lower degree.

Thus, there are four kinds of airspace in each world that are governed by the three names of *EKYEH*: *EKYEH* in the air of *Hesed*, *EKYEH* in the air of *Gevura*, and *EKYEH* in the air of *Tifferet*. *Malchut* receives from them, and all three names govern in her air together.

The triple name, *EKYEH*, comprises twelve letters. This twelve-letter name rules in the air by lowering *Malchut* from *Bina* to her previous place, returning *Bina* and *ZON* (called "air"), who fell to a lower degree, back to the degree above the firmament. For *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* created an entrance, to enable the

lower one rise to the Upper Degree as soon as it opens, i.e., during *Malchut's* return to her place.

Hence, when the prophet Eliyahu (a particular spiritual degree) wished to soar to the sky, *Malchut* of each degree ascended to *Bina* of the corresponding degree, while *Bina* and *ZON* of this degree fell to the lower degree, and a firmament was formed between them. It turned out that each degree doubled: now it contained its own degree, as well as *Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, who fell and clothed the lower degree.

This occurred at each degree of the worlds of *ABYA*, down to the lowest one: *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Malchut* of the world of *Assiya* fell and emerged in our world below *Malchut*. *Malchut de Assiya* ends at its firmament, which is a new end, in *Bina*. Also, this degree doubled, as *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Yesod* of the world of *Assiya* fell and clothed in its degree.

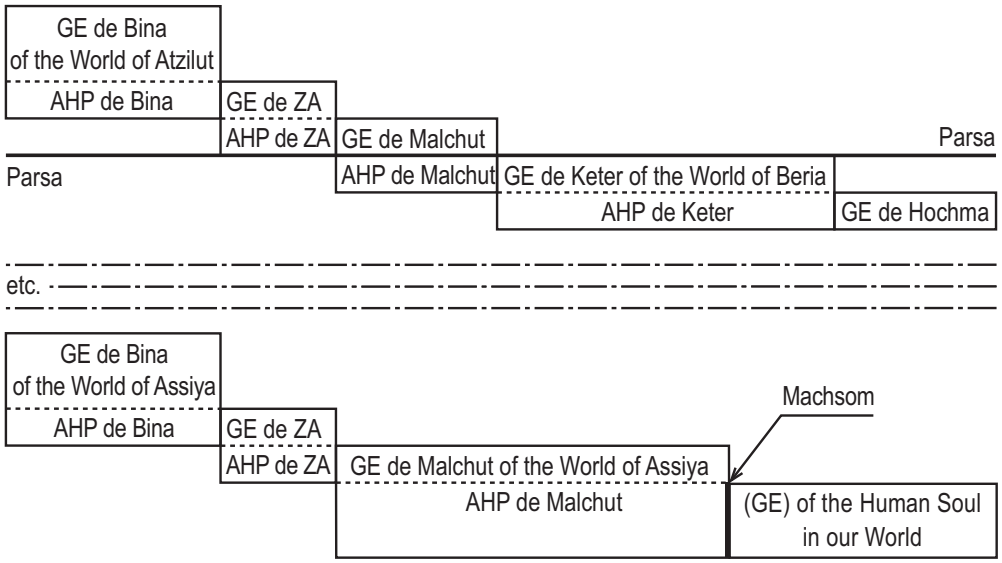

In the diagram, *GE* of man in our world are put in brackets, for he who exists (spiritually, not with his body) at the degree of our world has no desires of bestowal. Hence, it is said that he who exists with his properties in this world, in egoism, has only a point in his heart, from which he can start his spiritual development.

Similarly, the *Sefira Yesod* of the world of *Assiya* also ends with its firmament and contains *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Hod de Assiya*. The *Sefira Netzah de Assiya* also doubled, and so on up to *Bina de Atzilut*. This is why the prophet Eliyahu rose up and united with *Bina* and *ZON*, who fell from *Malchut de Assiya*

to this world. He equalized with them and clothed in them, whereupon they became like him—reached his degree.

Not all ten *Sefirot* of the world of *Assiya* are shown in the above diagram, but as it was previously mentioned, each degree is divided into its own *GE* and *AHP*. Man's task is to find *AHP* of the Upper One within him, and connect to it, merge with it in all of his sensations and desires.

Subsequently, the twelve-letter name exerted its influence (thanks to the Light *AB-SAG*), causing *Malchut de Assiya* to descend from *Bina* of *Malchut de Assiya* to its place, *Malchut de Malchut*, the end of the ten *Sefirot*. And as before, *Bina* and *ZON* ascended to their degree above the firmament of *Malchut*. And since Eliyahu's properties were already merged with this air (with the ascending *Bina* and *ZON*), he rose together with them above the firmament of *Malchut*, as he was similar to them.

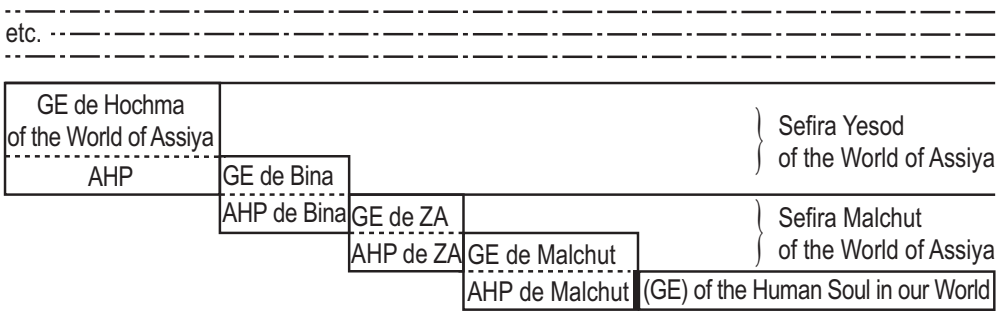

And since he rose above the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*, he entered the air (*AHP*) of *Yesod de Assiya*, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Yesod* that fell down there. Then he merged in his desires with this air and is considered to have clothed in it, for they were previously at the same degree. Then the influence of the twelve-letter name lowered *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Yesod de Assiya* to her place at the end of the ten individual *Sefirot* of *Yesod de Assiya*.

After that, *Bina* and *ZON* (the air of *Yesod*) ascended above the firmament of *Yesod*. And since Eliyahu had already merged with this air, he (man's soul, his desire) too ascended above the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*, due to his concord with them.

And because he rose above the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*, he met with the air (*AHP*) of *Hod de Assiya*, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Hod de Assiya* that fell down there. Subsequently, he merged in his desires with this air and clothed it, for they were previously at the same place (spiritually similar to one another).

As soon as man merges in his properties with *AHP* of the Upper One, the influence of the twelve-letter name (the descent of the Light of *AB-SAG* from Above) brings *Malchut* back (gives strength to the screen) to the end of the ten individual *Sefirot* of *Hod de Assiya*. And the air, its *Bina* and *ZON*, returned to their place above the firmament of *Hod de Assiya*. They took Eliyahu (man's soul, his desires) with them, for he had merged with them, and they elevated him to the firmament of *Hod de Assiya* in view of his similarity with them.

And when he was already in the firmament of *Hod de Assiya*, he met with the air (*AHP*) of *Netzah de Assiya* and merged with it in his properties. When the influence of the twelve-letter name (the Light of correction, *AB-SAG*, that was sent by the Creator) brought *Malchut* back to her place (*Malchut* descended from *Bina* to *Malchut* of this *Sefira*, because she received strength from the Light to resist the egoistic desires of *AHP* and make them altruistic), the air of *Netzah* ascended above the firmament, and being merged with Eliyahu (man's soul), took him with it. Being already in the firmament of *Netzah*, he met with the air of *Tifferet* and so on, until he ascended with this air above the firmament of *Tifferet de Assiya*.

In the same way, the air (*AHP*) of each degree rose higher, up to the Highest Degree of the world of *Assiya*. From there, it rose to *Malchut de Yetzira*, and from there—one step at a time—along all the degrees of the world of *Yetzira* and the world of *Beria*, up to the Heavens (*ZA*) of the world of *Atzilut*.

It is therefore said about the prophet Eliyahu that the Creator's spirit (the Light *AB-SAG*) elevated him (merged with *AHP* of the Upper One) to the Heavens: spirit means *Ruach*, *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, called "air," that fell down to the lower degree. And this air (spirit) elevates one from a lower degree to a Higher One through all the individual degrees, from the lowest degree (*Sof de Assiya*) up to the world of *Atzilut*.

An Upper Degree is regarded as the Creator of the lower degree: it creates it, vitalizes it with Light, and governs it. At each degree, man considers the next Highest spiritual degree with regard to him as the Creator. As Rabbi Zushe said: "Every day I have a new Creator." In other words, as man ascends to a Higher Degree (which he calls "day" or "Light"), he thereby reveals a new property of the Creator in this Higher Degree.

The air of each of the four sides of the world (in *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Malchut*) has its own rulers, who hold the keys to the activation of the twelve-letter name so as to lower *Malchut* from *Bina* to her own place. The ascending order of these four kinds of air is as follows: West-*Malchut*, East-*Tifferet* (including *NHY*), North-*Gevura*, and South-*Hesed*.

Hesed	–	SOUTH
Gevura	–	NORTH
ZA	–	EAST
Malchut	–	WEST

It is not the rulers that raise a prayer (the desire that man feels in the very depths of his heart) from air to air, and then from firmament to firmament. The air raises a prayer from the firmament, each air to its firmament: first, the prayer ascends to the air of the *Sefira Malchut de Assiya*, i.e., to *Bina* and *ZON* (*AHP*) that fell from *Malchut de Assiya* down to our world. They resemble the prayer itself, for this air (*AHP*) is similar to a prayer (the Upper One lowered itself deliberately to equalize its properties with the lower one); hence, they merge as one degree.

Then the one that rules there, Zvuliel (Zebuliel), activates the twelve-letter name, which lowers *Malchut* from *Bina de Assiya* to her place. This causes the air to return to its degree and rise above the firmament of the world of *Assiya*. And since the air became similar to the degree of the actual prayer, it also takes the prayer along with it, raising it above the firmament of the *Sefira Malchut de Assiya*. This is similar to the ascent of Prophet Eliyahu.

And since the prayer ascended to the firmament of the world of *Assiya*, it meets the air of *Yesod de Assiya* that fell there, as in the case of Eliyahu. It also encounters the ruler of the air of the East, Gazaria (Gazardiel), because East designates the *Sefira Tifferet* (ZA is often called *Tifferet*, as the properties of this *Sefira* dominate and determine all the properties of ZA), which includes the *Sefira Yesod*, for *Tifferet* includes *Sefirot NHY*.

This ruler activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina de Yesod* to her place, which causes the air of *Yesod* to ascend to its degree, the firmament of *Yesod*. By merging with the prayer into one degree via equivalence of form, he takes it with him and raises it above the firmament of *Yesod*. Then, a similar action occurs in the air and firmament of *Sefirot Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Tifferet*.

Since the prayer ascended to the firmament of *Tifferet*, it encounters the Northern air, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Gevura de Assiya* that fell there. There it unites with this air into one degree. Then the ruler of the North, Petachia (Petahyah), activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* to her place. Consequently, the air returns, ascends to the firmament of *Gevura* and takes with it the prayer, which merged with it into one degree during its fall.

Since the prayer has already reached the firmament of *Gevura*, it meets with the Southern air, *Bina* and *ZON* of *Hesed de Assiya* that fell there, and merges with this air. Then the ruler of the Southern air, named Pisgania (Pesagniyah), *Hesed de Assiya*, activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Hesed de Assiya* to her place. The Southern air returns and ascends to its degree in the sixth firmament, *Hesed de Assiya*, called "south."

Since the prayer has reached the sixth firmament, it encounters the air that fell from the seventh firmament, which is *Bina* that includes *GAR*, and the prayer merges with this air into one degree. When the twelve-letter name lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* (the seventh firmament) to her place, the air returns to its degree (the seventh firmament) and takes the prayer with it, as they merge during its fall.

Since the prayer has reached the seventh firmament, it encounters the air that fell from *Malchut de Yetzira*, and merges with it. Next, the general ruler, Sandalphon, who governs the entire world of *Assiya*, takes it and activates the twelve-letter name, which lowers *Malchut* from *Malchut de Yetzira* to her place. And the air ascends and returns to its degree, the firmament of *Malchut de Yetzira*, takes the prayer with it, and elevates it to the firmament of *Malchut de Yetzira*.

In exactly the same way, the prayer ascends through all seven *Heichalot* (halls) of the worlds *Yetzira* and *Beria* up to the world of *Atzilut*. This clarifies the question posed in the beginning: how can a prayer ascend from the very lowest degree of the world of *Assiya* to the world of *Atzilut*, for no degree can ascend above itself? From the aforesaid, it follows that since the prayer merges with the first air that fell from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world, it is exactly this air that elevated them to the firmament of *Malchut*, whereas the air of *Yesod de Assiya* was elevated to the firmament of *Yesod*, and so forth. In other words, the air with which the prayer merges and ascends elevates it to *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

He who falls from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world descends from the spiritual degree called *Malchut de Assiya* to the spiritual degree called our world. Of course, this in no way refers to the physical existence in our world. *AHP* of the Upper Degree are considered fallen when one feels in his heart (in the center of all of his desires) the desire to attain the spiritual, merge with it, and annul his egoistic properties because they harm and impede his advancement.

One should not think that the fall of *Bina* and *ZON* to our world from the world of *Assiya* can be experienced by anyone. And only he who felt this way and was then able to make a sufficient amount of quantitative and qualitative efforts, merits being elevated above our world by *AHP* of the Upper One.

On the Southern side (*Hesed*), there is he who governs the air of that side, and his assistants. His name is Pisgania, and he holds the keys to the air of this side. All those who suffer pray to their Creator from the depths of their broken hearts (the very sensation of suffering constitutes a prayer, and requires no words). If their speech (desires) is worthy, it ascends to the air of this side, and the ruler accepts and kisses it ("embrace," "kiss," and *Zivug* are forms of spiritual union of *Partzufim*), and then declares: "The Creator will be merciful and will spare you in His mercy."

All of the holy rulers (*Ohr Hochma* is called holy) and their assistants of that side rise together with him. The letters of the Creator's holy name, of the twelve-letter name *EKYEH* soar: four letters *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey* on each side, which rule the corresponding sides of air. They ascend on this side of the air to the Southern firmament, *Hesed* (the sixth firmament), to the ruler of the firmament of the Southern side, named Anafiel.

On the Northern side (*Gevura*) there is Petachia, who governs the air with his assistants. If he who prays for his enemies and haters, i.e., for those who make him suffer is righteous, then as the speech of his prayer rises to the air of that side, the ruler accepts his heart's speech and kisses it (unites it with his properties so as to raise it higher).

The air that comes from the North stirs and calls upon all the firmaments, and they all take this speech, raise it to the Northern, fifth firmament, kiss it and say: "The Lord will cast your enemies down and take them away from your face." This occurs in the following order: after the governor of the air had accepted the prayer and kissed it, which means that it merged with the degree of the air and the ruler, the air stirs on the Northern side (the new end that *Malchut* made as she ascended to *Bina*, called *Techum*—space, from the word *Tohu*—chaos), and the twelve-letter name lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Gevura de Assiya* back to her place.

The air that fell into the restrictions (*Dinim*) of this space is aroused by the desire to rise to the firmament of *Gevura*. Also, all the degrees that merged with it during its fall rise along with it to the firmament of *Gevura* due to their similarity to it. Similarly, the prayer that was merged with it during its fall ascends along with it to the fifth firmament.

The order of the ascent (offering up of a prayer) starts from here: it ascends and pierces through the air (*AHP*), which fell from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world, and ascends with it to the first firmament, the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*. The prayer ascends and approaches the ruler (in its properties), who was

appointed to control the Western side, *Malchut*. There are nine entrances where the assistants to the ruler, Zvuliel stand.

The ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut* herself have nine (not ten) entrances, for a restriction to receive the Light is imposed on *Malchut* of the *Sefira Malchut*, and it is connected to *Yesod de Malchut*. Hence, *Yesod* and *Malchut* of *Malchut* share the same entrance.

However, a question arises: "Why do all the parts of the air have one ruler for the air and a separate ruler for the firmament? For example, on the Eastern side Gazaria controls the Eastern air and Shimshiel controls the Eastern firmament (*Tifferet*, the fourth firmament). Similarly, Pisgania controls the Southern air on the Southern side, and Anafiel controls the Southern firmament. And on the Northern side, the ruler Petachia governs the Northern air, and Gadriel is in charge of the Northern firmament. So why does only *Malchut* have one general ruler, called Zvuliel, who governs both the air and the firmament?"

The reason is that due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, *Bina* and *ZON* of each degree fall to a lower degree, the degree of air. However, only the lower part of *Bina* (*ZAT* or *VAK de Bina*) falls, whereas *Keter*, *Hochma*, and the Upper half of *Bina* (*GAR de Bina*) remain at the same degree. Only the lower half of *Bina*, *ZAT de Bina* (*ZA* and *Malchut*) fell from this degree and became air.

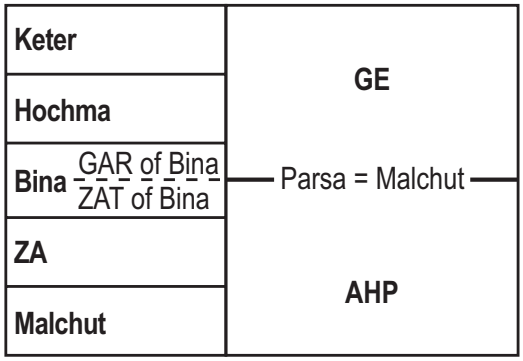

Therefore, two separate rulers were needed: one for the Upper Degree remaining above the firmament, and the other—for the lower half of the degree that fell and turned into air. The degree (ten *Sefirot*) of *Malchut*, from whom all nine lower *Sefirot* fell to the lower degree during *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, retained only one *Sefira Keter de Malchut*, which remained as a point below *Yesod de ZA*.

Nevertheless, even this point refers more to the *Sefira Yesod*, which is superior to *Malchut*, because its properties are more similar to *Yesod*. And since all of

Malchut refers to the properties of air (except for her individual *Keter*), she has only one ruler.

The ruler wishes to act in the firmament in the daylight, but does not receive permission until the moon rises, i.e., until nightfall, when all the rulers and forces emerge. And when the day breaks (the Upper Light starts shining), they all ascend (the spiritual properties become corrected and improve under the Light's influence) to the Highest of the nine entrances, the point of *Keter de Malchut*, which remained at its degree above the firmament (*Parsa*).

And when the prayer ascends, it enters through this Upper entrance, and all the rulers with their assistants emerge from it, led by their Supreme ruler, Zvuliel, the only ruler of the air of this Upper entrance, who is above the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*. They all emerge, kiss the prayer, and accompany it up the second firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*.

Malchut constitutes the left line—*Hochma* without *Hassadim*. Therefore, when she dominates, the Light does not shine and darkness prevails. *Hochma* cannot shine without *Hassadim*, which means that when *Malchut* rules, it is nighttime (not daylight). Indeed, all nine of her lower *Sefirot*, from which all the rulers (of man) and forces (man's desires) of the left side originate, rule at night.

This is why it is said that *Malchut* descends from *Bina* to her place, although her nine lower *Sefirot* remained untouched by the impure force, for *Malchut* descended from the firmament, which transformed her into air. Even so, they (nine *Sefirot*) have no power in her place, and must rise above the firmament to the Upper entrance, *Keter de Malchut*. There they enter the right side (*Hassadim*), and the prayer ascends with them because of their similarity (in desires, properties), achieved while they were below the firmament (in the state called "our world").

And since the prayer (*MAN*) rose above the firmament of *Malchut* (to *GE* of the Upper One), it encounters the air (*AHP* of the still Higher One) that fell there from the second firmament. After the descent of *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Yesod de Assiya* to her place, this air ascends to the firmament of *Yesod*, and takes with it all the rulers, their assistants, and the prayer, which were merged with it during its fall, and elevates all of them to the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*.

And when the prayer ascends to this firmament (*Yesod*), the twelve gates of this firmament open up. A special ruler, Ana'el (Anahel), who is in charge of many forces, stands at the twelfth entrance, and when the prayer ascends, proclaims to all the entrances: "Open the gates." And all the entrances open up, and the prayer enters through them.

This happens because *Tifferet* has twelve borders of the diagonal, defined by the *Sefirot H-G-T-M*, each of which contains three lines of *HGT*, twelve in all. And all that exists in *Tifferet* is also present in *Yesod*, but there these twelve borders are called "twelve gates," through which the prayer enters.

And then awakens a very old ruler, who stands at the Southern side. His name is Azriel-Saba, sometimes referred to as Machaniel, for he is responsible for 600,000 groups (camps—*Machanot*). All the groups have wings and eyes; they stand and listen to all those who are quietly praying, to the prayers that come from the depths of the heart and are directed only to the Creator. Only such prayers are heard by those who have ears.

There is a special opening in the *Sefira Yesod de Hesed* (Supernal mercy) that descends from the right line of *Bina*. Hence, the ruler of this mercy is called Azriel-Saba. He is called *Saba* (grandfather), because *Hochma* and *Bina* are called "old men." And he is appointed to rule over 600,000 groups (camps), because 600 = 6 x 100, where 6 = *HGT NHY Sefirot* in *Bina*. And since each *Sefira* in *Bina* is designated by 100, 6 x 100 = 600. And the thousands stem from *Ohr Hochma*, which shines in each of these *Sefirot*. Hence, 600 x 1,000 = 600,000 groups.

GAR de Tvuna, the lower part (*ZAT*) of *Bina*, are called "ears." Only *Ohr Hassadim* shines in them, without *Hochma*. *VAK de Tvuna* are called "eyes," and *Ohr Hochma* shines in them.

Malchut and *Bina* constitute two kinds of air, West and North, which unite and intermix, and form a diagonal, a combination of judgment and mercy that mitigates strictness and judgment. Hence, they hear good words from one who merits it, i.e., they accept one's prayer to the extent of the mercy in the diagonal. Alternatively, they hear bad things about one who does not merit, accepting one's prayer to the extent of the judgment in the diagonal.

If man's ears hear the prayer (which means that he speaks not from the depths of his heart, but with his mouth, so outwardly that his ears hear it, but not his heart), no one will accept it Above. Therefore, man must be watchful: no one should hear his prayer, for the speech of the prayer unites in the Upper World, in *ZA*, and the speech of the Upper World must not be heard.

Consider how the Torah is read: one reads and the others keep silent. However, if they all read it out loud, they lessen the faith Above, for the voice and speech of one mingle with the voice and speech of the others, and undermine faith, i.e., *Malchut*. The voice and speech (*ZA* is called "voice" and *Malchut* is called "speech") of one must be similar to the voice and speech of the other.

Two reasons are mentioned above as to why a prayer must be speech without voice, unheard by man's ear. The first is that *Malchut*, who begets people, consists of two points: the Light cannot be received from *Malchut* with a measure of judgment, whereas the Light can be received from *Malchut* that is corrected in *Bina* with a measure of mercy.

Similarly, man consists of a combination of these two points. If he merits, the measure of judgment becomes concealed, the measure of mercy is revealed, and he merits receiving the Upper Light. However, if he does not merit, the measure of judgment becomes revealed and the Light disappears from him.

Therefore, the Upper ear has an inclined form so as to be able to receive the prayer of man-righteous one, him who merits the concealment of the measure of judgment, so that the listening ear would not arouse judgment, concealed in the speech of the prayer. Hence, if an outsider hears the prayer before it ascends, he evokes the judgment concealed in the speech of the prayer, and it cannot be heard Above.

There is another reason for this: the speech of the prayer constitutes parts of *Malchut*. And he who prays must be a part of *Malchut*. Hence, the prayer must ascend and be included in the Supernal *Malchut*, called "speech." Then *Malchut* unites with ZA (voice) and the prayer is accepted, i.e., the Light is accepted from ZA.

Therefore, one must not raise his voice during prayer so as to allow the Supernal voice, the Light of ZA, to descend to the praying person. The speech ascends to *Malchut*, merges with ZA with the help of *Malchut*, and receives a completely corrected voice from ZA. As a result, the prayer can receive the Light. It is therefore said that the words of a prayer pronounced by man's voice must not be heard.

He who reads the Torah must also be a part of ZA, called "Torah." And the voice of one who reads Torah must be instead of the voice of ZA. Hence, it is forbidden to hear someone else's voice, for it will be the voice of one who exists under judgment, and not under mercy.

Thus, the voice of an outsider harms the voice of one who reads the Torah, and *Malchut* is unable to receive the Light from ZA. Yet, if this is the voice and speech of one man, then the voice, called ZA, and speech, called *Malchut*, merge into one combination. But if voice and speech of an outsider join the reader's, it will harm him.

With regard to everything mentioned above, one can say that only he who approaches the described state can understand what *The Zohar* narrates.

Spiritual actions are understood in one's heart, his desires, his properties. If they do not correspond to those that are described above, no explanation of any kind will help. An "outsider" designates man's "foreign" (distant from spiritual aspirations) thoughts and desires.

When a quiet, concealed, and secret prayer ascends, the governor Azriel-Saba himself and all of his assistants, who are in charge of the 600,000 groups (camps), and all those who have eyes and ears emerge and kiss the ascending word of the prayer.

This is said in the verse: "The Creator's eyes and ears are upon them." The Creator's eyes rest upon the righteous. The Creator's eyes refer to those below who have eyes, meaning the angels that exist in the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*. They exist Above, at the degree of GAR, for eyes signify the property of *Hochma*. However, these eyes are the eyes of the *Sefira Yesod*, as it is written: "The Creator's eyes rest upon the righteous," as *Yesod* is called the "righteous one."

The third firmament is the *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod de Assiya*. The prayer ascends to this firmament. The ruler Gadria, who controls this firmament with his assistants, acts three times a day during the ascent of the three lines to the world of *Atzilut*, when the luminous scepter of Light ascends and descends, but does not stay in one place, for *Ohr Hochma* of the left line (called the "scepter of Light") wants to shine.

The word "scepter" (Hebrew, *Sharvit*) signifies eyesight, and *Ohr Hochma* is called the Light of eyesight. The scepter moves three times and conceals itself, because *Hochma* reveals itself only when the three lines move in the three points: *Holam* (the dot above the letters), *Shuruk* (the dot inside the letters), and *Hirik* (the dot below the letters).

When the prayer, which is the middle line, ascends and carries the screen of *Hirik*, the scepter (the Light of the left line) descends and bows its head before the prayer, designating the concealment of GAR, called "head." This is because the middle line reduces the left line with the help of the screen of *Hirik*. This third firmament of *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod de Assiya* is called the "firmament of the scepter," for the scepter of Light acts within it.

When the prayer ascends, the ruler bows his head before it (diminishes his level) and then strikes the iridescent rock with his scepter. The rock stands at the center (the middle line) of the firmament, and 365 hosts emerge from the rock, which were concealed within it since the Torah descended to the earth. Because they objected to this descent, the Creator reproached them, and they concealed themselves in the rock.

Here, by analogy with the aforesaid and in accordance with the definitions of such notions as a "scepter," a "rock," "hosts," "Light," "concealment," "to bow," the reader is offered an opportunity to translate from the language of legends into the language of spiritual actions. And when the reader attains what is written, he will feel it within him!

And they do not emerge from there, except for when the prayer ascends. Then they praise the Creator, saying: "Our Creator, how great is Your name upon the earth!" This prayer is called "Great," because it ascends to all these firmaments, and they bow before it.

This occurs because the angels that opposed the descent of the Torah (see the article "Heaven and Earth"), i.e., the middle line, to the earth (*Malchut* and the worlds of *BYA*), emerge from the left line. And they wanted the left line to dominate in *Malchut* and in the worlds of *BYA*, but not the middle one, called the "Torah," which reduces the *GAR* of the Light of the left line.

Malchut, called "earth," includes all the worlds of *BYA*. However, the Creator (middle line) reproached and compelled her to receive the Light of the middle line and conceal herself in the rock, in the forces of judgment, which exist in the middle line that stands at the center of the firmament.

However, the prayer can ascend only by activating the left line, namely *Bina* and *ZON* that fell to the lower degree, then ascended once more above the firmament, and became the left line. They take the prayer that existed with them during their descent to the lower degree.

This is why the ruler receives the scepter, the Light of the left line, for during the ascent of the prayer, the left line shines in his domain. The 365 hosts then awaken and receive the Light of the left line from the scepter. Hence, they exclaim: "The Creator, Our Lord, how great is Your name upon the earth!" for the prayer ascends to this firmament, called "Great," and includes the screen of *Hirik* of the left line, from the *GAR*. Thus, they bow their heads, i.e., do not use the *GAR* of *Ohr Hochma*, but only *VAK*.

Afterward, the prayer clothes in the Supernal adornments and rises to the fourth firmament, *Tifferet*. Then the sun (*Tifferet*) emerges at its level, the Supreme ruler Shimshiel, and the 365 hosts ascend to this firmament along with him. They are called "the days of the sun," for these levels stem from the sun, *Tifferet*. And they all clothe and adorn *Malchut* in the Heavens of the Garden of Eden.

The prayer pauses there to merge with the air of *Gevura* of those degrees, because it was not supposed to pause at the previous firmament, *NHY*, as they are included in *Tifferet*. And the prayer remains there until all the hosts have

risen with it to the fifth firmament (*Gevura*), where Gadriel rules; he is in charge of all the hosts of the other nations, for *Gevura* constitutes the left line, which the other nations hold on to.

And when the prayer ascends, carrying within the screen of the middle line (which reduces the left line from *GAR* to *VAK*), it shakes him and all of his hosts, and they lose all their strength, emerge and bow their heads, i.e., *GAR*, and adorn this prayer.

They ascend with it to the sixth firmament, *Hesed*, and the legions and hosts come forth and accept the prayer until they reach the seventy gates, *HGT NHYM*, each of which consists of ten, as *Hesed* includes all seven lower *Sefirot*. The Supreme ruler, Anafiel, stands there and adorns the prayer with seventy adornments.

And since the prayer was adorned, all the legions and hosts of all the firmaments that accompanied the prayer from firmament to firmament unite and raise the prayer to the seventh firmament, *Bina*, which includes *GAR*.

The prayer enters the seventh firmament, and the Supreme ruler Sandalphon, who is in charge of all the guards at the entrances, ushers the prayer into the seven halls of the world of *Yetzira*. These are the seven halls of the King, the seven halls of *Malchut de Atzilut*, where *ZA* rules.

When the prayer, adorned with all of these adornments, ascends there, it unites *ZA* with *Malchut*, for everything grows with similarity to everything else. And the Creator's name, i.e., *Malchut* is adorned from Above and from below, and on all sides, as *Malchut* merges with *ZA* into one. And then *Yesod* (the righteous one) fills *Malchut* with its blessings.

Happy is the lot of him who can put his prayer in proper order, so the Creator will clothe in this prayer. He waits until all the prayers of Israel finish ascending and unite into a complete and perfect prayer, whereupon everything will become perfect both Above and below.

Besides the prayer, there are the *Mitzvot* of the Torah that depend on speech and action. There are six *Mitzvot* that depend on speech:

1. To fear the Great and Mighty Creator;
2. To love the Creator;
3. To bless the Creator;
4. To proclaim the Creator's unity;
5. To bless the nation, which is incumbent on *Cohanim* (priests);
6. To entrust one's soul with the Creator.

Out of the six above-mentioned *Mitzvot*, the first finds its place in the blessings that King David sang during his offerings in the Torah, where man must fear his Master, for these songs stand in a place called "fear" or *Malchut*. And all of these written blessings constitute the essence of fear of the Creator, *Malchut*. And man must sing these songs with his desires in fear.

Man must achieve a level of spiritual development where his desires will coincide with what is said in the texts of these blessings. It is impossible to force someone to wish something; all our feelings are the product, the result of our spiritual level. The Light of that degree influences one's egoism and corrects it with the power of that degree. Therefore, man can only ask for correction, but it will come from Above, from the Light, from the Creator.

Here we have a list of degrees that man must gradually go through in his correction. These degrees are usually called *Mitzvot*, and in all there are 620 of them between us and the Creator: 613 *Mitzvot* of the Torah for Israel (altruism) and seven *Mitzvot* of the Torah for all the nations (egoism). Here they are expounded in a different way: since the most important is to ask for correction (and if the request is genuine, the answer in the form of Light immediately descends to it), all of man's work on himself, all of his efforts in the study, work and actions are aimed only at the creation of a true request, *MAN*. Hence, the stages of man's spiritual development are described as his path in prayer; as if he stands and prays, although this process continues within him throughout his life on earth.

The second *Mitzva*: to love the Creator (as it was repeatedly stated, this feeling is the result of correction; see "Introduction to the Study of Ten Sefirot," item 45—the four degrees of sensation of governance, from darkness to love), when in his prayer one reaches *Ahavat Olam* (great love) and *Le El* (for the Creator). These two blessings precede the appeal, *Shema Israel* (Hear, O Israel) and *Ve Ahavta Et* (and love the Creator), the blessing of the Creator for one's love for Him that follows the appeal *Shema Israel*. And this is the secret of love for the Creator.

The third *Mitzva*: since man reaches a place in the prayer that is called *Lehishtabe'ach* (blessed is the Creator), he must attain praises and blessings of the Creator in his desire, as in parts of the prayer *Yotzer Ohr* (He who creates Light) and *Yotzer HaMeohrot* (maker of the stars).

The fourth *Mitzva* is to proclaim the Creator's unity, i.e., *Shema Israel* (Hear, O Israel, our Creator is one!). From this point (degree) on, one must express the secret of the Creator's unity (in all His manifestations to man) in his heart's

desire (one's heart must be filled only with the sensation of the One, Upper Force). Afterward, the *Mitzva* to remember and remind others of the exodus from Egypt (egoism) is observed, as it is written: "Remember how you were a slave in Egypt."

The fifth *Mitzva* is for a *Cohen* to bless the people (the Light's descent to the *Partzuf*), so that Israel will be included when the prayer (the *Cohanim*'s blessing) ascends, for at this time (state), *Knesset Israel* (all those who correct themselves by aspiring to the Creator and constitute a part of *Malchut de Atzilut*), i.e., *Malchut*, receives a blessing (Light).

The sixth *Mitzva* and the desired time (state, spiritual level when man wishes only to give all of his desires, i.e., his soul, to the Creator, meaning that he can act for the Creator's sake in all of his desires) is to entrust one's soul with the Creator with complete desire in one's heart. When one falls (willingly accepts the small state) on his face (*Hochma*) and proclaims (raises *MAN*): "I entrust my soul with You, O Creator." The intentions and desires of his heart are to give his soul completely to the Creator (this desire is the consequence of this spiritual degree and comes naturally to those who attain it).

These six *Mitzvot* of the prayer correspond to the 600 *Mitzvot* of the Torah. And the remaining thirteen *Mitzvot* are required in order to attract the thirteen properties of mercy (thirteen *Midot HaRachamim*), which include all the rest. The prayer is adorned with 600 *Mitzvot*, which corresponds to *HGT NHY*, to what the prayer, *Malchut*, receives from *ZA*.

Happy is he who heeded and focused his desire on this (who was able to raise a proper request for his correction), who completed all that was required each day (in the Creator's daylight), and directed his heart's intentions and desires to fulfill this *Mitzva*, which depends on the word.

The End

Appendix One
Further Reading

To help you determine which book you would like to read next, we have divided the books into five categories—Beginners, Intermediate, Advanced, All Around, and Textbooks. The first three categories are divided by the level of prior knowledge readers are required to have. The Beginners Category requires no prior knowledge. The Intermediate Category requires reading one or two beginners' books first; and the Advanced level requires one or two books of each of the previous categories. The fourth category, All Around, includes books you can always enjoy, whether you are a complete novice or well versed in Kabbalah.

The fifth category—textbooks—includes translations of authentic source materials from earlier Kabbalists, such as the Ari, Rav Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam) and his son and successor, Rav Baruch Ashlag (the Rabash).

Additional translated material that has not yet been published can be found at *www.kabbalah.info*. All materials on this site, including e-versions of published books, can be downloaded free of charge.

BEGINNERS

Kabbalah for Beginners

Kabbalah for Beginners is a book for all those seeking answers to life's essential questions. We all want to know why we are here, why there is pain, and how we can make life more enjoyable. The four parts of this book provide us with reliable answers to these questions, as well as clear explanations of the gist of Kabbalah and its practical implementations.

Part One discusses the discovery of the wisdom of Kabbalah, and how it was developed, and finally concealed until our time. Part Two introduces the gist of the wisdom of Kabbalah, using ten easy drawings to help us understand the structure of the spiritual worlds, and how they relate to our world. Part Three reveals Kabbalistic concepts that are largely unknown to the public, and Part Four elaborates on practical means you and I can take, to make our lives better and more enjoyable for us and for our children.

Kabbalah Revealed

This is a clearly written, reader-friendly guide to making sense of the surrounding world. Each of its six chapters focuses on a different aspect of the wisdom of Kabbalah, illuminating the teachings and explaining them using various examples from our day-to-day lives.

The first three chapters in *Kabbalah Revealed* explain why the world is in a state of crisis, how our growing desires promote progress as well as alienation, and why the biggest deterrent to achieving positive change is rooted in our own spirits. Chapters Four through Six offer a prescription for positive change. In these chapters, we learn how we can use our spirits to build a personally peaceful life in harmony with all of Creation.

Wondrous Wisdom

This book offers an initial course on Kabbalah. Like all the books presented here, *Wondrous Wisdom* is based solely on authentic teachings passed down from Kabbalist teacher to student over thousands of years. At the heart of the book is a sequence of lessons revealing the nature of Kabbalah's wisdom and explaining how to attain it. For every person questioning "Who am I really?" and "Why am I on this planet?" this book is a must.

Awakening to Kabbalah

A distinctive, personal, and awe-filled introduction to an ancient wisdom tradition. In this book, Rav Laitman offers a deeper understanding of the fundamental teachings of Kabbalah, and how you can use its wisdom to clarify your relationship with others and the world around you.

Using language both scientific and poetic, he probes the most profound questions of spirituality and existence. This provocative, unique guide will inspire and invigorate you to see beyond the world as it is and the limitations of your everyday life, become closer to the Creator, and reach new depths of the soul.

Kabbalah, Science, and the Meaning of Life

Science explains the mechanisms that sustain life; Kabbalah explains why life exists. In *Kabbalah, Science, and the Meaning of Life*, Rav Laitman combines science and spirituality in a captivating dialogue that reveals life's meaning.

For thousands of years Kabbalists have been writing that the world is a single entity divided into separate beings. Today the cutting-edge science of quantum physics states a very similar idea: that at the most fundamental level of matter, we are all literally one.

Science proves that reality is affected by the observer who examines it; and so does Kabbalah. But Kabbalah makes an even bolder statement: even the Creator, the Maker of reality, is within the observer. In other words, God is inside of us; He doesn't exist anywhere else. When we pass away, so does He.

These earthshaking concepts and more are eloquently introduced so that even readers new to Kabbalah or science will easily understand them. Therefore, if you're just a little curious about why you are here, what life means, and what you can do to enjoy it more, this book is for you.

From Chaos to Harmony

Many researchers and scientists agree that the ego is the reason behind the perilous state our world is in today. Laitman's groundbreaking book not only demonstrates that ego has been the basis for all suffering throughout human history, but also shows how we can turn our plight to pleasure.

The book contains a clear analysis of the human soul and its problems, and provides a "roadmap" of what we need to do to once again be happy. *From Chaos to Harmony* explains how we can rise to a new level of existence on personal, social, national, and international levels.

INTERMEDIATE

The Kabbalah Experience

The depth of the wisdom revealed in the questions and answers within this book will inspire readers to reflect and contemplate. This is not a book to race through, but rather one that should be read thoughtfully and carefully. With this approach, readers will begin to experience a growing sense of enlightenment while simply absorbing the answers to the questions every Kabbalah student asks along the way.

The Kabbalah Experience is a guide from the past to the future, revealing situations that all students of Kabbalah will experience at some point along their journeys. For those who cherish every moment in life, this book offers unparalleled insights into the timeless wisdom of Kabbalah.

The Path of Kabbalah

This unique book combines beginners' material with more advanced concepts and teachings. If you have read a book or two of Laitman's, you will find this book very easy to relate to.

While touching upon basic concepts such as perception of reality and Freedom of Choice, *The Path of Kabbalah* goes deeper and expands beyond the scope of beginners' books. The structure of the worlds, for example, is explained in greater detail here than in the "pure" beginners' books. Also described is the spiritual root of mundane matters such as the Hebrew calendar and the holidays.

ADVANCED

The Science of Kabbalah

Kabbalist and scientist Rav Michael Laitman, PhD, designed this book to introduce readers to the special language and terms of the authentic wisdom of Kabbalah. Here, Rav Laitman reveals authentic Kabbalah in a manner both rational and mature. Readers are gradually led to understand the logical design of the Universe and the life that exists in it.

The Science of Kabbalah, a revolutionary work unmatched in its clarity, depth, and appeal to the intellect, will enable readers to approach the more technical works of Baal HaSulam (Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag), such as *The Study of the Ten Sefirot* and *The Book of Zohar.* Readers of this book will enjoy the satisfying answers to the riddles of life that only authentic Kabbalah provides. Travel through the pages and prepare for an astonishing journey into the Upper Worlds.

Introduction to the Book of Zohar

This volume, along with *The Science of Kabbalah*, is a required preparation for those who wish to understand the hidden message of *The Book of Zohar*. Among the many helpful topics dealt with in this text is an introduction to the "language of roots and branches," without which the stories in *The Zohar* are mere fable and legend. *Introduction to the Book of Zohar* will provide readers with

the necessary tools to understand authentic Kabbalah as it was originally meant to be, as a means to attain the Upper Worlds.

The Zohar

The Book of Zohar (The Book of Radiance) is an ageless source of wisdom and the basis for all Kabbalistic literature. Since its appearance nearly 2,000 years ago, it has been the primary, and often only, source used by Kabbalists.

For centuries, Kabbalah was hidden from the public, which was deemed not yet ready to receive it. However, our generation has been designated by Kabbalists as the first generation that *is* ready to grasp the concepts in *The Zohar.* Now, we can put these principles into practice in our lives.

Written in a unique and metaphorical language, *The Book of Zohar* enriches our understanding of reality and widens our worldview. Although the text deals with one subject only—how to relate to the Creator—it approaches it from different angles. This allows each of us to find the particular phrase or word that will carry us into the depths of this profound and timeless wisdom.

ALL AROUND

Attaining the Worlds Beyond

From the introduction to *Attaining the Worlds Beyond:* "...Not feeling well on the Jewish New Year in September 1991, my teacher called me to his bedside and handed me his notebook, saying, 'Take it and learn from it.' The following morning, my teacher perished in my arms, leaving me and many of his other disciples without guidance in this world.

"He used to say, 'I want to teach you to turn to the Creator, rather than to me, because He is the only strength, the only Source of all that exists, the only One who can really help you, and He awaits your prayers for help. When you seek help in your search for freedom from the bondage of this world, help in elevating yourself above this world, help in finding the self, and help in determining your purpose in life, you must turn to the Creator, who sends you all those aspirations in order to compel you to turn to Him.'"

Attaining the Worlds Beyond holds within it the content of that notebook, as well as other inspiring texts. This book reaches out to all those seekers who want to find a logical, reliable way to understand the world's phenomena. This fascinating introduction to the wisdom of Kabbalah will enlighten the mind, invigorate the heart, and move readers to the depths of their souls.

Basic Concepts in Kabbalah

This is a book to help readers cultivate an *approach to the concepts* of Kabbalah, to spiritual objects, and to spiritual terms. By reading and re-reading in this book, one develops internal observations, senses, and approaches that did not previously exist within. These newly acquired observations are like sensors that "feel" the space around us that is hidden from our ordinary senses.

Hence, *Basic Concepts in Kabbalah* is intended to foster the contemplation of spiritual terms. Once we are integrated with these terms, we can begin to see, with our inner vision, the unveiling of the spiritual structure that surrounds us, almost as if a mist has been lifted.

Again, this book is not aimed at the study of facts. Instead, it is a book for those who wish to awaken the deepest and subtlest sensations they can possess.

Together Forever

On the surface, *Together Forever* is a children's story. But like all good children's stories, it transcends boundaries of age, culture, and upbringing.

In *Together Forever*, the author tells us that if we are patient and endure the trials we encounter along our life's path, we will become stronger, braver, and wiser. Instead of growing weaker, we will learn to create our own magic and our own wonders as only a magician can.

In this warm, tender tale, Michael Laitman shares with children and parents alike some of the gems and charms of the spiritual world. The wisdom of Kabbalah is filled with spellbinding stories. *Together Forever* is yet another gift from this ageless source of wisdom, whose lessons make our lives richer, easier, and far more fulfilling.

TEXTBOOKS

Shamati

Rav Michael Laitman's words on the book: Among all the texts and notes that were used by my teacher, Rabbi Baruch Shalom Halevi Ashlag (the Rabash), there was one special notebook he always carried. This notebook contained the transcripts of his conversations with his father, Rabbi Yehuda Leib Halevi Ashlag (Baal HaSulam), author of the *Sulam* (Ladder) commentary on *The Book of Zohar, The Study of the Ten Sefirot* (a commentary on the texts of the Kabbalist, Ari), and of many other works on Kabbalah.

Not feeling well on the Jewish New Year in September 1991, the Rabash summoned me to his bedside and handed me a notebook, whose cover contained only one word, *Shamati* (I Heard). As he handed the notebook, he said, "Take it and learn from it." The following morning, my teacher perished in my arms, leaving me and many of his other disciples without guidance in this world.

Committed to Rabash's legacy to disseminate the wisdom of Kabbalah, I published the notebook just as it was written, thus retaining the text's transforming powers. Among all the books of Kabbalah, *Shamati* is a unique and compelling creation.

Appendix Two
About Bnei Baruch

Bnei Baruch is a group of Kabbalists in Israel, sharing the wisdom of Kabbalah with the entire world. Study materials in over 20 languages are based on authentic Kabbalah texts that were passed down from generation to generation.

HISTORY AND ORIGIN

In 1991, following the passing of his teacher, Rabbi Baruch Shalom HaLevi Ashlag (The Rabash), Rav Michael Laitman, Professor of Ontology and the Theory of Knowledge, PhD in Philosophy and Kabbalah, and MSc in Medical Bio-Cybernetics, established a Kabbalah study group called "Bnei Baruch." He called it Bnei Baruch (Sons of Baruch) to commemorate the memory of his mentor, whose side he never left in the final twelve years of his life, from 1979 to 1991. Rav Laitman had been Ashlag's prime student and personal assistant, and is recognized as the successor to Rabash's teaching method.

The Rabash was the firstborn son and successor of Rabbi Yehuda Leib HaLevi Ashlag, the greatest Kabbalist of the 20th century. Rabbi Ashlag authored the most authoritative and comprehensive commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, titled *The Sulam Commentary (The Ladder Commentary)*. He was the first to reveal the complete method for spiritual ascent, and thus was known as Baal HaSulam (Owner of the Ladder).

Today, Bnei Baruch bases its entire study method on the path paved by these two great spiritual leaders.

THE STUDY METHOD

The unique study method developed by Baal HaSulam and his son, the Rabash, is taught and applied on a daily basis by Bnei Baruch. This method

relies on authentic Kabbalah sources such as *The Book of Zohar,* by Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, *The Tree of Life,* by the Holy Ari, and *The Study of the Ten Sefirot,* by Baal HaSulam.

While the study relies on authentic Kabbalah sources, it is carried out in simple language and uses a scientific, contemporary approach. Developing this approach has made Bnei Baruch an internationally respected organization, both in Israel and in the world at large.

The unique combination of an academic study method and personal experiences broadens the students' perspective and awards them a new perception of the reality they live in. Those on the spiritual path are thus given the necessary tools to research themselves and their surrounding reality.

THE MESSAGE

Bnei Baruch is a diverse movement of many thousands of students worldwide. Students can choose their own paths and the personal intensity of their studies, according to their unique conditions and abilities. The essence of the message disseminated by Bnei Baruch is universal: unity of the people, unity of nations and love of man.

For millennia, Kabbalists have been teaching that love of man should be the foundation of all human relations. This love prevailed in the days of Abraham, Moses, and the group of Kabbalists that they established. If we make room for these seasoned, yet contemporary values, we will discover that we possess the power to put differences aside and unite.

The wisdom of Kabbalah, hidden for millennia, has been waiting for the time when we would be sufficiently developed and ready to implement its message. Now, it is emerging as a solution that can unite diverse factions everywhere, better enabling us, as individuals and as a society, to meet today's challenges.

ACTIVITIES

Bnei Baruch was established on the premise that "only by expansion of the wisdom of Kabbalah to the public can we be awarded complete redemption" (Baal HaSulam).

Therefore, Bnei Baruch offers a variety of ways for people to explore and discover the purpose of their lives, providing careful guidance for the beginners and the advanced students alike.

Kabbalah Today

Kabbalah Today is a free monthly paper produced and disseminated by Bnei Baruch. It is apolitical, non-commercial, and written in a clear, contemporary style. Its purpose is to expose the vast body of knowledge hidden in the wisdom of Kabbalah at no cost and in a clear, engaging format and style for readers everywhere.

Kabbalah Today is distributed for free in every major U.S. city, as well as in Toronto, Canada, London, England, and Sydney, Australia. It is printed in English, Hebrew, and Russian, and is also available on the Internet, at *www.kabtoday.com*.

Additionally, a hard copy of the paper is sent to subscribers at delivery cost only.

Internet Website

Bnei Baruch's homepage, *www.kabbalah.info*, presents the authentic wisdom of Kabbalah using essays, books, and original texts. It is the largest Kabbalah website on the net, and contains a unique, extensive library for readers to thoroughly explore the wisdom of Kabbalah. Additionally, there is a media archive, *www.kabbalahmedia.info*, containing more than 5,000 media items, downloadable books, and a vast reservoir of texts, video and audio files in many languages. All of this material is available for free download.

Kabbalah Television

Bnei Baruch established a production company, ARI Films (*www.arifilms.tv*) specializing in production of educational TV programs throughout the world, and in many languages.

In Israel, Bnei Baruch broadcasts are aired live through cable and satellite on Channel 98 Sunday through Friday. All broadcasts on these channels are free of charge. The programs are adapted specifically for beginners, and do not require prior knowledge of the material. This convenient learning process is complemented by programs featuring Rav Laitman's meetings with publicly known figures in Israel and throughout the world.

Additionally, ARI Films produces educational series and documentaries on DVDs, as well as other visual teaching aids.

Kabbalah Books

Rav Laitman writes his books in a clear, contemporary style based on the key concepts of Baal HaSulam. These books serve as a vital link between today's readers and the original texts. All of Rav Laitman's books are available for sale,

as well as for free download. Rav Laitman has thus far written thirty books, translated into ten languages.

Kabbalah Lessons

As Kabbalists have been doing for centuries, Rav Laitman gives a daily lesson at the Bnei Baruch center in Israel between 3:15-6:00 a.m. Israel time. The lessons are simultaneously translated into six languages: English, Russian, Spanish, German, Italian, and Turkish. In the near future, broadcasts will also be translated into French, Greek, Polish, and Portuguese. As with everything else, the live broadcast is provided gratis to thousands of students worldwide.

Funding

Bnei Baruch is a non-profit organization for teaching and sharing the wisdom of Kabbalah. To maintain its independence and purity of intentions, Bnei Baruch is not supported, funded, or otherwise tied to any government or political organization.

Since the bulk of its activity is provided free of charge, the prime source of funding for the group's activities is donations, tithing—contributed by students on a voluntary basis—and Rav Laitman's books, which are sold at cost.

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Glossary of Names and Terms

Adur Burzen-Mihr	Great Fire located in Parthia
Adur Farnbag	Great Fire located in Pars
Adur Gushnasp	Great Fire located in Media
Ahura Mazda	Wisdom Incarnate, the one uncreated God (Zoroastrian term for God)
Airyå daiŋhāvō	Aryan Countries
amesha spenta	Bounteous Immortals
angra	hostile and inimical
Angra Mainyu	(Middle Persian *Ahriman*) the `destructive impulse/spirit'
ātakhshgāh/ātashkadeh	`house of fire', i.e. a Zoroastrian temple
Atash Bahram	sacred fire of the highest grade
Atash Niyash	Zoroastrian hymn to Fire
Avesta	sacred book of the Zoroastrians
Avestan	Iranian language spoken by Zarathustra in which the *Avesta* is composed
bacche gabre	child of an infidel, pejorative term for Zoroastrian children in Islamic Iran
dakhma	`Tower of Silence' for the disposal of the dead
dar-i Mehr	Zoroastrian place of worship
dastur	high priest
Dastur Dasturan	highest rank of priest
dāt	Old Persian term for law
dehqān	landlords who were almost local potentates
Dēnkard	9th century Pahlavi (Middle Persian) text
dhimmis	refers to `people of the book'
dīvs	demons
frasho-kereti	ultimate making good of Ahura Mazda's good creation; the renovation
gahambar	one of the 6 holy days of obligation in the Zoroastrian calendar

Gathas	17 great hymns containing Zarathustra's message
gōsān	minstrel
hazārapatiš	`leader of a thousand', elite troops
hudinan peshobay	`leaders of those of the Good Religion', i.e. Zoroastrian religious leaders
humata, hukhta, huvaresta	good thoughts, good words, good deeds
jizya	poll tax, head tax
kafir	unbeliever
kay or *kavi*	hero; title of Vishtasp, Zarathustra's royal patron
Kayānid dynasty	members of Vishtasp's dynasty
kharja	land tax
khshathrapavan	Old Persian term for satrap, meaning `protector of the kingdom'
Kisseh-i Sanjan	narrative poem that records the Parsi migration and settlement in India
kusti	sacred cord worn around the waist by Zoroastrians
kusti-bastan	the individual's act of untying and re-tying the *kusti* at the start of Zoroastrian prayers
Magavpatan Magavpat	Grand Master of Divinity
mainyus	motivating forces confronting humankind on earth
maji	term for Zoroastrian priest, generally used by foreign observers
majles	parliament
Matikan-i Hazar Datestan	Book of the Thousand Judgements
mōbad	priest
mujtahids	Muslim religious scholars
najes	polluted; the derogatory status applied to Zoroastrians in Islamic Iran
nasks	chapters of the *Avesta*
navjote	Parsi Gujarati term for investiture of the young into the Zoroastrian religion
Nav Ruz	`New Day', Zoroastrian New Year
pahlavans	heroes

panchayat	Indian system of communal assemblies
paridaida	Old Persian term meaning paradise, refers to gardens
Rivayats	Treatises; Persian correspondence exchanged between Iranian Zoroastrians and Parsis between the 15th and 18th centuries
šahr	province
sedre-pushin	(Farsi) investiture of the young into the Zoroastrian religion
sepāhbād	army general
Shahname	`Book of Kings', the Iranian national epic composed by Ferdowsi, late 10th-11th century AD
spenta	benevolent
sudreh	sacred undershirt on which the *kusti* is worn
Suren	Parthian noble family; Parthian general who defeated Crassus
vizier	prime minister
Yashts	Zoroastrian hymns
yasna	act of worship; the main Zoroastrian religious service
yazata	`worthy of worship'
yazdan xarrah i Ērānšahr	`the divine fortune of Iran'
zand	commentaries on the *Avesta*

Kabbalah - Contents

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      - c) Practicing the

By the blessing of G-d h"b

With the knowledge of heaven d"sb

Everything belongs to Hashem. }"hl

Kabbalah Meditation from Torah to Self-improvement to Prophecy

hawbn la rswm la hrwt }m twnnwbth hlbq

Version - 11/1/2001

This work in progress is intended to train one to experience authentic kabbalah. Study the manual by browsing the table of contents, links, and footnotes. Let your spirit be your guide and Ribono Shel Olam (the Master of the World) will reveal what you need to learn next. The work focuses on learning kabbalah through character improvement through the theoretical, meditative, and practical kabbalah. While I have written down some of my own kabbalistic journeys, in the final analysis one must choose his own path and with the blessing of G-d reveal another truth path to the Infinite.

This work uses a Hebrew true-type font that should be downloaded and installed on a PC to view the work correctly. To install the Hebrew true type font:

- Open location heb_tt.zip
- Save the file to a location on your disc
- Double click on heb_tt.zip and extract files to a directory
- Double click on Install_Hebrew.ttf.vbs

Your Hebrew fonts should now be installed. For any questions, send email to jeffs@lsil.com. The following tables are in the left frame.

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By the blessing of G-d h″b

With the knowledge of heaven d″sb

Everything belongs to Hashem. }″hl

Kabbalah Meditation from Torah to Self-improvement to Prophecy

hawbn la rswm la hrwt }m twnnwbth hlbq

Version - 11/1/2001

This work in progress is intended to train one to experience authentic kabbalah. Study the manual by browsing the table of contents, links, and footnotes. Let your spirit be your guide and Ribono Shel Olam (the Master of the World) will reveal what you need to learn next. The work focuses on learning kabbalah through character improvement through the theoretical, meditative, and practical kabbalah. While I have written down some of my own kabbalistic journeys, in the final analysis one must choose his own path and with the blessing of G-d reveal another truth path to the Infinite.

This work uses a Hebrew true-type font that should be downloaded and installed on a PC to view the work correctly. To install the Hebrew true type font:

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- Double click on Install_Hebrew.ttf.vbs

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WHAT'S NEW

- Labels on Figures and Tables
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This work summarizes a three-year study on developing mystical awareness. The purpose of this work is to provide the keys for developing a mystical relationship with G-d. Each of us has our own pathway to follow. Nevertheless, Jewish mystics throughout the ages have recorded an authentic map. Those who follow this map will find the greatest of mystical experiences! This is reassuring and a validation of the authenticity of the teachings of our prophets and sages.

All the trees, as it were, conversed with each other;
all the trees, as it were, conversed with mankind;
all the trees were created for man's companionship.
(Midrash Rabbah Genesis 13:2)

The word used for tree in Genesis 13:2 is 'siah' which also means conversation and grass. We need never feel lonely in this world if we go out and talk to the trees and pray amongst the grasses like Isaac. The Tree of Life is sometimes identified with the Torah and also the mystical tree of 32 paths containing the 10 sefirot. If we cling to this tree in this world we will find eternal life in the world to come. The key is discovering the eternal life while yet in this world, as King David said,

I will dwell in the House of the Lord while I yet live...

David danced before the Ark as the priests carried it up to Jerusalem. Simchas Torah is celebrated by dancing with the Torah. Lighting candles symbolizes freedom on Chanukah. In the end the candlelight, our souls, ascend to heaven to dance with the angels of G-d who will bring us to a new home in a new world.

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  - I. Forgiveness

Reality

'Rab Judah reported in the name of Samuel:[1] *Three thousand traditional laws were forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses'. They said to Joshua: 'Ask';*[2] *(that they be revealed from heaven) he replied: It is not in heaven.*[3] *They [the Israelites] said to Samuel: 'Ask'; he replied: [Scripture says:] These are the commandments,*[4] *implying [that since the promulgation of these commandments] no prophet has now the right to introduce anything new.*

Said R. Isaac the Smith: Also the law relating to a sin-offering whose owners have died was forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses. They [the Israelites] said to Phinehas: 'Ask'; he replied to them: 'It is not in heaven'. They said to Eleazar: 'Ask'. He replied: 'These are the commandments', implying [that since the promulgation of these commandments] no prophet has now the right to introduce anything new.

G-d creates truth. Man forms reality.[5] The Word—Logos, reforms reality continuously. In science, our concept of the Universe evolves with each new empirical observation changing reality.[6] The past exists only in memories and recordings of history. We determine the reality of the past by our present memory and our focus on what existed.

Prophetic revelation is the gateway to truth. Hence, the Written Torah is entirely revelation of truth revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai.[7] On the other hand, the Oral Torah, which includes Mishnah, Midrash, and Gemara, is a mixture of G-d's truth and man's reality. Within the Gemara, there is Aggada (story), Halacha (law), and Kabbalah (received mysticism). When a sage writes with Ruach Hakodesh, he reveals truth. When he writes with dialectic[8] legal questioning and answering (Pilpul) or hermeneutical[9] exposition (Drash), he forms reality.[10] In the Midrash, there is Drash, explanation, based on conjecture and there is Drash based on Ruach Hakodesh as well. The Oral Torah sections on Halacha often read into the Written Torah to form reality. For this reason these sections are not found in heaven.[11]

Rab Judah reported in the name of Rab: When Moses departed [this world] for the Garden of Eden he said to Joshua: 'Ask me concerning all the doubts you have'. He replied to him: 'My Master, have I ever left you for one hour and gone elsewhere? Did you not write concerning me in the Torah: But his servant Joshua the son of Nun departed not out of the tabernacle? Immediately the strength [of Moses] weakened and [Joshua] forgot three hundred laws and there arose [in his mind] seven hundred doubts [concerning laws]. Then all the Israelites rose up to kill him. The Holy One, blessed be He, then said to him [Joshua]: 'It is not possible to tell you. Go and occupy their attention in war, as it says: Now after the death of Moses the servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake; and it further says; [Prepare you victuals for within three days, etc.].

It has been taught: A thousand and seven hundred kal wahomer and gezerah shawah and specifications of the Scribes were forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses. Said R. Abbuha: Nevertheless

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Othniel the son of Kenaz restored [these forgotten teachings] as a result of his dialectics,[12] *as it says: And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it; and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.*

The dialectics of the Oral Law are not in heaven. Instead, they are man's formation and reality. With dialectic reasoning, the rabbis extract ideas for new applications of the Written Torah and with hermeneutical exposition they interpret the stories in the Torah. In this manner, the Torah adjusts itself over time with new situations. Nevertheless, we cannot be sure that the conclusions or explanations were in fact G-d's true intention or meaning. This reality is formed by man. Interestingly, the Rabbis hold these principles higher than the will of G-d when faced with revelation:[13]

R. Helbo said: One must always observe the honour due to his wife, because blessings rest on a man's home only on account of his wife, for it is written, And he treated Abram well for her sake. And thus did Raba say to the townspeople of Mahuza, Honour your wives, that ye may be enriched.

We learnt elsewhere: If he cut it into separate tiles, placing sand between each tile: R. Eliezer declared it clean, and the Sages declared it unclean; (end of 59a)
and this was the oven of 'Aknai. Why [the oven of] 'Aknai? — Said Rab Judah in Samuel's name: [It means] that they encompassed it with arguments as a snake, and proved it unclean. It has been taught: On that day R. Eliezer brought forward every imaginable argument, but they did not accept them. Said he to them: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let this carob-tree prove it!' Thereupon the carob-tree was torn a hundred cubits out of its place — others affirm, four hundred cubits. 'No proof can be brought from a carob-tree,' they retorted. Again he said to them: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let the stream of water prove it!' Whereupon the stream of water flowed backwards — 'No proof can be brought from a stream of water,' they rejoined. Again he urged: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let the walls of the schoolhouse prove it,' whereupon the walls inclined to fall. But R. Joshua rebuked them, saying: 'When scholars are engaged in a halachic dispute, what have ye to interfere?' Hence they did not fall, in honour of R. Joshua, nor did they resume the upright, in honour of R. Eliezer; and they are still standing thus inclined. Again he said to them: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let it be proved from Heaven!' Whereupon a Heavenly Voice cried out: 'Why do ye dispute with R. Eliezer, seeing that in all matters the halachah agrees with him!' But R. Joshua arose and exclaimed: 'It is not in heaven.' What did he mean by this? — Said R. Jeremiah: That the Torah had already been given at Mount Sinai; we pay no attention to a Heavenly Voice, because Thou hast long since written in the Torah at Mount Sinai, After the majority must one incline.

R. Nathan met Elijah and asked him: What did the Holy One, Blessed be He, do in that hour? — He laughed [with joy], he replied, saying, 'My sons have defeated Me, My sons have defeated Me.' It was said: On that day all objects which R. Eliezer had declared clean were brought and burnt in fire. Then they took a vote and blessed him off.[14] *Said they, 'Who shall go and inform him?' 'I will go,' answered R. Akiba, 'lest an unsuitable person go and inform him, and thus destroy the whole world.'*[15] *What did R. Akiba do? He donned black garments and wrapped himself in black, and sat at a distance of four cubits from him. 'Akiba,' said R. Eliezer to him, 'what has particularly happened to-day?' 'Master,' he*

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replied, 'it appears to me that thy companions hold aloof from thee.' Thereupon he too rent his garments, put off his shoes, removed [his seat] and sat on the earth, whilst tears streamed from his eyes. The world was then smitten: a third of the olive crop, a third of the wheat, and a third of the barley crop. Some say, the dough in women's hands swelled up.

Hashem like a parent takes pleasure in the new works of His children. "Defeated Me" is as if to say, "my children have become smarter than me."

A Tanna taught: Great was the calamity that befell that day, for everything at which R. Eliezer cast his eyes was burned up. R. Gamaliel[16] too was traveling in a ship, when a huge wave arose to drown him. 'It appears to me,' he reflected, 'that this is on account of none other but R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus.' Thereupon he arose and exclaimed, 'Sovereign of the Universe! Thou knowest full well that I have not acted for my honour, nor for the honour of my paternal house, but for Thine, so that strife may not multiply in Israel! 'At that the raging sea subsided.

Ima Shalom was R. Eliezer's wife, and sister to R. Gamaliel. From the time of this incident onwards she did not permit him to fall upon his face in the Tachnun prayer.[17] Now a certain day happened to be New Moon, but she mistook a full month for a defective one. Others say, a poor man came and stood at the door, and she took out some bread to him. [On her return] she found him fallen on his face. 'Arise,' she cried out to him, 'thou hast slain my brother.' In the meanwhile an announcement was made from the house of Rabban Gamaliel that he had died. 'Whence dost thou know it?' he questioned her. 'I have this tradition from my father's house: All gates are locked, excepting the gates of wounded feelings.'

Rabbi Gamaliel held views similar to that of Shamai in terms of strictness. The following viewpoint was in contradiction to the teaching of Avos 1:1 to "educate many disciples."[18]

For Rabban Gamaliel had issued a proclamation [saying]. No disciple whose character does not correspond to his exterior may enter the Beth ha-Midrash.

Rabbi Gamaliel also instituted the 19th blessing of the Amidah that cursed unbelievers, the Sadduces, and heretics in his time. Later, the blessing referred to Christian persecutors or to secular scoffers. For example, in the year 1400 a baptized Jew spread the slander that the words "for they bow to void and vanity and pray to a god who does not help"[19] in the Alenu prayer referred to the founder of Christianity. Hence, today the blessing or curse begins, "And for the slanders let there be no hope." The first word beginning with a vav, "And", combines the blessing with the previous blessing in order to maintain the eighteen blessing limitation of the Amidah according to the Mishnah, "RABBAN GAMALIEL SAYS: EVERY DAY A MAN SHOULD SAY THE EIGHTEEN BENEDICTIONS." [20] Nevertheless, the Gemara explains the intention is that we recite the name of G-d specifically eighteen times to metaphorically compose the Great Name (the Seventy-two Letter Name). [21] With the 19th benediction, this is no longer the case!

- H. Seven Tests
- VIII. Dreaming
  - A. Unconscious Dreams
  - B. Lucid Dreaming
  - C. Spiritual Dreaming
    - 1. Hypnotic Dreaming
    - 2. Prophetic Dreams
      - a) Food
      - b) Learning
      - c) Purity
- IX. The Power of Prayer
  - A. T'hillim
    - 1. Ten Psalms a Day
    - 2. Marriage Psalms
      - a) For Men – Psalm 128
      - b) For Women – 31, 32, 70, 72, 124
    - 3. The Songs of Ascent
    - 4. Hallel
    - 5. Improving oneself - Midos
  - B. Siddur [FIGURE]
    - 1. Introductory Prayers
    - 2. Offerings - Asiyah - World of Doing
    - 3. Psalms - Pseukei D'Zimra - Yetzirah - World of Formation
    - 4. Shema - Beriah - World of Creation
    - 5. Amidah - Atzilut - World adjacent to G-d
    - 6. Concluding Prayers

Our Rabbis taught: He who wounds the feelings of a proselyte transgresses three negative injunctions, and he who oppresses him infringes two. Wherein does wronging differ? Because three negative injunctions are stated: Viz., Thou shalt not wrong a stranger [i.e., a proselyte], And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not wrong him, and ye shall not therefore wrong each his fellowman, a proselyte being included in 'fellowman.' But for 'oppression' also three are written, viz., and thou shalt not oppress him, Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger, and [If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee,] thou shalt not be to him as a usurer which includes a proselyte! — But [say] both [are forbidden] by three [injunctions].

It has been taught: R. Eliezer the Great said: Why did the Torah warn against [the wronging of] a proselyte in thirty-six, or as others say, in forty-six, places? Because he has a strong inclination to evil.[22] *What is the meaning of the verse, Thou shalt neither wrong a stranger, nor oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt? It has been taught: R. Nathan said: Do not taunt your neighbour with the blemish you yourself have. And thus the proverb runs: If there is a case of hanging in a man's family record, say not to him, 'Hang this fish up for me.'*

Rabbi Gamaliel teaches, "so that strife may not multiply in Israel!" the decree of the majority is upheld indifferent to the will of heaven. A legitimate question is whether strife multiplies when a minority with the truth is disregarded for the majority.[23] The Karite movement disregarded the entire Oral Law and formed its own people, because they did not believe the Oral Torah was authentic revelation. The Reform movement broke from Orthodox Judaism because they set out on their own search for the Truth. One man plus the Truth is greater than then the majority.[24]

The Torah sets out the role of the elders/judges to try cases with the "spirit of G-d."

NUM 11:16 And the LORD said unto Moses, Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and bring them unto the tabernacle of the congregation, that they may stand there with thee.

NUM 11:17 And I will come down and talk with thee there: and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.

The officers operated in the gates of the city, attempting to judge correctly with the spirit of G-d. To protect against biased influences, G-d forbids them from accepting gifts.

DEU 16:18 Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the LORD thy God giveth thee, throughout thy tribes: and they shall judge the people with just judgment.

DEU 16:19 Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous.

- a) Ntzor Lshoni
- b) Tahanun
- c) Alenu
- d) Kaddish

- C. Requests
  - 1. Bypassing Obstacles
  - 2. Calling out to G-d
  - 3. Amongst the Grasses
  - 4. Shachris - Morning Prayer Answers - Jan. 21, 1994 - 9 AM
- D. Short Service
  - 1. Short Prayer Service - Jan. 15, 1997
- E. Temple
- F. "Psalms for a Sunny Day" by Samantha Grier
  - 1. PSALM I
  - 2. PSALM II
  - 3. PSALM III
  - 4. PSALM IV
  - 5. PSALM V
  - 6. PSALM VI
  - 7. PSALM VII
  - 8. PSALM VIII
  - 9. PSALM IX
  - 10. PSALM X
  - 11. PSALM XI
  - 12. PSALM XII
  - 13. PSALM XIII
  - 14. PSALM XIV
  - 15. PSALM XV
  - 16. PSALM XVI
  - 17. PSALM XVII
  - 18. PSALM XVIII

DEU 16:20 That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

The 70 elders would constitute the court of the Sanhedren with Moses serving as the President, Nasi. With the High Priest this is 72 and they parallel the 72 names of G-d.[25] The 70 elders represent 70 higher angels guiding 70 nations of the world. The Sanhedren served to clarify and unify the law of Israel, the Oral Law as well as to hear cases.

MISHNAH 1. MOSES RECEIVED THE TORAH[26] AT SINAI AND TRANSMITTED IT TO JOSHUA,[27] JOSHUA TO THE ELDERS,[28] AND THE ELDERS TO THE PROPHETS, AND THE PROPHETS TO THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE.[29] THE LATTER USED TO SAY THREE THINGS:[30] BE PATIENT IN [THE ADMINISTRATION OF] JUSTICE, REAR MANY DISCIPLES AND MAKE A FENCE ROUND THE TORAH.[31]

Table 1: Truth and Reality

Written Torah	Mishnah	Gemara	Midrash	Kabbalah Texts
Prophetic Halacha	Prophetic Halacha	Prophetic Halacha – passed down from Sinai	Prophetic Aggadah - passed down from Sinai	Prophetic Aggadah
Prophetic Aggadah	Dialectic Halacha	Dialectic Halacha	Hermeneutical Aggadah	Hermeneutical Aggadah
Prophetic Kabbalah		Prophetic Aggadah	True Kabbalah	Prophetic Gematria
		Hermeneutical Aggadah	Real Kabbalah	Dialectic Gematria
		Prophetic Kabbalah		Prophetic Meditation, and Dreams
		Hermeneutical Kabbalah (Zohar)		Hermeneutical Meditation and Dreams
				Prophetic Astrology
				Dialectic Astrology
				Prophetic Chiromancy

- X. Hypnosis
  - A. Introduction
  - B. Keeping a Journal
    - 1. B"H - By the blessing of G-d
    - 2. Date
    - 3. Time
    - 4. Location
    - 5. Text
  - C. Trust Yourself
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- XI. Meditation
  - A. Healing Meditations
  - B. Space travel [FIGURE] [TABLES]
  - C. Letter Meditations [TABLES]
  - D. Biblical narratives [FIGURE]
  - E. Blue Skies

				Dialectic Chiromancy

III. The Written Law

In Hebrew the word for Bible is Tanach -]"nt. Tanach stands for Torah, Navi'im, and Ctovim - \ykwtk, \yaybn, hrwt. These are the three principal areas of the Bible. In order to develop an authentic meditative reference one should study all of the books of the Bible.

A. Torah

This includes Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

1. Bereshis -- In the Beginning – Genesis

a) Parsha Bereshsis

The first book of the Torah contains the description of creation. The first sentence encapsulates the order of creation in seven words.

In the beginning G-d created the heaven and the earth. (Genesis 1:1)
Bereshis Bara Elohim et hashamayim vet haaretz -- {rah taw \ymch ta \yqla arb tycarb

The first word contains the word Rosh - car that means head. The first three letters are the same as the second word, Bara - arb, which means create. Elohim - \yqla is the name of G-d as creator of natural law. Alternatively, we translate the first three words of Genesis as "G-d created the beginning."

Another explanation from the Bahir verse 3:
"And why does the Torah begin with the letter Bet? In order that it begin with a blessing *(Berachah - hkrb)*...[32] The word 'beginning' *(Reshit - tycar)* is nothing other then Wisdom. It is thus written *(Psalm 111:10)*, 'The beginning is wisdom, the fear of G-d.' Wisdom is a blessing. It is thus written, 'And G-d blessed Solomon.' It is furthermore written *(I Kings 5:26)*, 'And G-d gave wisdom to Solomon.'..."

Now the earth was unformed and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep
And the spirit of G-d hovered over the face of the waters. (Genesis 1:2)

- 1. The Seven Heavens of Asiyah
- 2. The Seven Palaces of Yetzirah
  - a) Shamayim (Sham - Mayim : There is water -> Firmament)
  - b) Shemai Hashamayim (Water above the Waters -> Nehar Di-nur)
  - c) Zevul (Habitation -> prince)
  - d) Araphel (Fog or mist -> Torah)
  - e) Shehakim (Heavens)
  - f) Mahon -> Aravot
  - g) Throne of Glory
- 3. The Seven Chambers of Beriyah
  - a) Brickwork of Sapphire - First Chamber
  - b) Essence of Heaven - Second Chamber
  - c) Luster - Third Chamber
  - d) Merit - Forth

vhaaretz haita tohu vbohu vhoshech al penai g'hom v rooach elohim mrahepet al pnai hamayim
\ymh ynp-lu tpjrm \yqla hwrw \wht ynp-lu]cjw whbw wht htyh {rahw

From the Bahir 2:
Rabbi Berachiah said: It is written *(Genesis 1:2)*, "The earth was Chaos *(Tohu - wht)* and Desolation *(Bohu - whb)*. What is the meaning of the word "was" *(haita - htyh)* in this verse? This indicates that the chaos existed previously [and already was]. What is Chaos *(Tohu - wht)*? Something that confounds *(Taha)* people. What is Desolation *(Bohu - whb)*? It is something that has substance. This is the reason that it is called Bohu, that is, Bo Hu — "it is in it".

Chaos or Tohu is the place of the sefirot before the shattering. The sefirot received but did not give light which eventually caused their shattering. Tohu is the source of evil and the shattered components of the sefirot are called the Klipah Nogah, the glowing shell. After the shattering some of the vessels were reassembled into the Partzufim - group forms, which make up the sefirot as they behave today. The name of G-d in Tohu is associated with the letters aleph mem shin - cma – emesh.[33] In Bohu, the name of G-d is associated with the letters yod heh vav - why. The Sefer Yetzirah labels cma mother letters. The father letters why descend from them. The father letters make up the tetragrammaton name of G-d as we know it today. The mother letters represent the name of G-d in the preceding world of chaos. Aleph derives Vav, Mem derives Yod, Shin derives Heh.[34]

cacm - 381
hwhy - 26

And G-d said, Let there be light: and there was light. (Genesis 1:3)

The light created here preceded the creation of the Sun and refers to the good light Hashem has stored away for us in the world to come:

Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun,
and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold,
as the light of the seven days.
(Isaiah 30:26)

The creation story illustrates the progression from general to specific. The seven days associate with the seven lower sefirot and seven character qualities.

Table 2: Creation Concepts

Day (Corresponding Day)	**Creation**	**Sefira**	**Weekday**
1 (4)	Light	Hesed – kindness	Sunday

Chamber
- e) Love - Fifth Chamber
- f) Desire - The Sixth Chamber
- g) Holy of Holies - The Seventh Chamber

- XII. Up and Down the Tree of Life
  - A. The 32 Paths of Wisdom [TABLE]
    - 1. The 32 Names of G-d in Genesis
    - 2. The 22 Letters 10 Numerals
    - 3. The 32 Levels of Consciousness
    - 4. "These are the travels of B'nai Israel"
  - B. The Sefirot [FIGURES]
    - 1. The Ten Sefirot
      - a) Binah
      - b) Daat
    - 2. The Seven Double Letter Paths
    - 3. The Twelve Single Letter Paths
    - 4. The 3 Mother Letter Paths
  - C. 50 Gates of Understanding
  - D. Sefirot Colors and Lights [TABLE]
  - E. Sefirotic Worlds [FIGURES]
- XIII. The Other Side
  - A. Turning Evil to Good

2 (5)	Sky, clouds, oceans	Gevurah – discipline	Monday
3 (6)	Land	Tiferet - beauty/splendor	Tuesday
4 (1)	Sun, Moon, and Stars	Netzah – victory	Wednesday
5 (2)	Sea creatures and birds	Hod – gratitude	Thursday
6 (3)	Land animals, insects, and man	Yesod – righteousness	Friday
7	Shabbas	Malchut – kingdom	Saturday

By drawing the creation process in the form of the Tree of Life, we can see the descent from general to specific:

Figure 1: The 7 Days of Creation in Descent and the Form of the Partzuf Zer Anpin

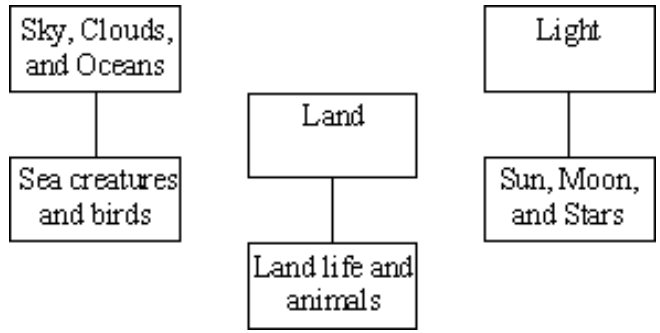

The creation of Light on the first day is completed on the fourth with the objects that manifest light. The creation of the Sky, Clouds, and Oceans is completed on the fifth day with sky and sea life. The creation of Land is completed on the sixth day with land life.[35]

All creation rests on the foundation of the seven days since each day sustains a seventh of creation. The Shaarey Orah teaches us that taking an oath - huwbc is to place creation upon ones words.[36] We should not break our word since this adversely effects the building – }ynb of creation.[37]

Wisdom has built her house; she has hewn out her seven pillars
hubc hydwmu hbxj htyb htnb twmkj
(Proverbs 9:1)

We must be careful with taking oaths and speaking words before those who attempt to ensnare, has vshalom. Hazal taught to avoid taking oaths. The place for oaths is in our relationship to G-d. The oath is intended to raise us above ourselves to commit to a greater level of observance.

Adam, Eve, and the Garden of Eden initially existed in the spiritual realm. According to Kabbalah, this

- B. The Evil Eye
- C. Evil Thoughts
- XIV. The Other Planes
  - A. Primordial planes
    - 1. Adam Kadmon
    - 2. Expansion of the name Hashem
  - B. Astral and Ethereal Planes
  - C. Space Travel
- XV. Back to the Future
  - A. The Storehouses of the Future
  - B. Reincarnation
  - C. Psychotic
- XVI. Dancing With Angels
- XVII. Health
  - A. Organic Food
  - B. Dental
  - C. Skin
- XVIII. Music
  - A. Even-Tempered Scale
  - B. Pythagorean Diatonic Scale
  - C. Fractals
  - D. Fibonacci Ratio
- XIX. Math
  - A. Euler's Theorem
  - B. Taylor Series Expansion
- XX. Science
  - A. Special Relativity
  - B. General Relativity
  - C. Astronomy
- XXI. Family and Roles
  - A. Marriage
  - B. Children
  - C. Getting Along with Others

place is in sefira Tiferet. Adam and Eve initially existed in spiritual bodies not unlike the angels. After eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, Adam and Eve became physical beings with physical temptations.

"Accordingly, we find that in the beginning, before his sin, Adam was on a very high level – first, in point of his existence, that is in terms of the results of his deeds, which rose to the worlds heights as we wrote previously and second in point his form and the form of his deeds.
...
Note, then; what the Garden of Eden was, it will unquestionably continue to be – rarefied, spiritual abode, where the spirits abide even now. And the Torah testifies concerning Adam that he dwelt there and ate and enjoyed the fruits that grew there. But since we see it to be the present habitation of the souls, it must be that its fruits were not earthy gross things, but far more delicate, being at least as air compared to earth. And the eating of them, too, was not by a body coarse and gross, as at present, but by a rarefied, almost spiritual body, like that of Elijah or Hanoch, ..."[38]

Adam and Eve were not the first physical people in the world but the first people in the image of G-d. They existed in the spiritual realm until G-d placed them in exile in this world.

Reviewing the Week Meditation - Etiel Herring - November 13, 1998 - 8 PM

This meditation is for Shabbas in order to review the events of the week:

Remember back to last Saturday night through the following night. This is Yom Rishon, the first day of the week. This day is dominated by the sefira of hesed that is loving kindness. Recall acts of kindness and expressions of love you showed another on this day.

Remember back to Yom Sheni, this is the second day of the week from Sunday night through Monday. The day is dominated by the sefira of gevurah. Gevurah represents how we help others and ourselves grow through discipline, rigor, and organization. Try to remember what you did to help organize yourself or others that day. Recall any struggles and how those struggles served the purpose of helping people grow.

Remember back to Yom Shlishi, the third day in the week. This begins on Monday night through Tuesday. This day is dominated by sefira tiferets which is associated with compassion and balanced harmony. Recall events that brought you or others to a state of harmony on this day. Remember any acts of compassion you showed others.

Remember back to Wednesday, which is Yom Revaee, the fourth day in the week beginning Tuesday night through Wednesday. This day is dominated by the sefira netzah that represents the quality of enduring. Recall what events you saw this day that will have lasting impact on yourself and others. What did you do that required endurance for the day and served to rescue and help others?

and Homeland
- XXII. Appendix
  - A. Encounters on the Internet
    - 1. Bnei Baruch Kabbalah Forum
      - a) RaZ
      - b) Poem
      - c) Poem on mystic life
      - d) Yetzirah Plane
      - e) Colors
      - f) Hashmal
      - g) Lag Ba Omer
    - 2. Breslov Discussions
      - a) Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah
    - 3. Pluto
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    - 1. From the Gates of Light - Shaarey Orah
    - 2. The 12 Letter Name
    - 3. The 42 Letter Name
    - 4. The 72 Letter Name
    - 5. The 216 Letter Name
    - 6. Without Name
  - D. Sidhartha
- XXIII. Glossary
- XXIV. Bibliography

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Remember back to Thursday that is Yom Hamishi, the fifth day of the week from Wednesday night through Thursday. This day is dominated by Hod. Hod which represents humbleness is not a passive trait but requires one to go out and interact with other people keeping a sense of humility in ones personality. This helps others grow.

Remember back to Friday that is Yom Sheshe, the sixth day of the week from Thursday night through Friday. The day is dominated by the sefira of Yesod that represents joining and bonding with others. What did you do on Friday to promote your relationship with significant others.

Remember back to Saturday, Shabbat, the seventh day of the week. Shabbat is the receptacle for all the deeds of the rest of week. Shabbat is dominated by the sefira of Malchut that is the kingdom of G-d in this world. Malchuts is the sum total of whom we are which is our soul. There is a channel between Yesod and Malchuts and all of energy is deposited with Malchuts which determines the quality of our soul.

Back to the Beginning - August 3, 1996 - 8 AM

While reading Scholem's Jewish Mysticism and Cohn-Sherbok's Jewish Mysticism (pp. 152-156), Erev Shabbas, I ran across Luria's idea of the tzimtzum, the withdrawal and reentry of G-d in the process of creation. The following morning I did this meditation to unravel its secrets:

I began to regress myself with the intention of going back to the beginning of time. I saw when I was 25 and living in Israel. I saw further back to 1968 and the Vietnam war. I saw World War I and then back to Lincoln giving an address from a train.[39] I saw the War of 1812. I saw French ships entering US seas in order to stave off the English in the Independence War. I saw back into the history of England.

I saw the Jews living in Spain and how they were both a thorn and a blessing here. Their stubbornness was a thorn to the Spanish Inquisitors who attempted to force their conversion to Christianity by torture. I saw the Second Temple standing in its magnificence and then the First Temple in smaller form. Finally, I saw the tabernacle at Shilo of simplistic beauty, perfectly dedicated to Hashem's service. The tabernacle was a rectangular mound off the floor. There were stairs ascending from all sides. I saw an alter upon it with a pleasant smoke rising up to heaven. I heard G-d say:

How good is My nation, there is no other nation like them.

I heard a song like the following:

Dance with Israel, sing with Israel, pray with Israel, love with Israel ...

I wondered what made Israel so great and I heard the answer was in their simplicity of service to Hashem. Each tribe lived in its own area and had a unique service in the land of Israel. I saw tzitzits on

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their four-cornered garments but I also saw that their daily lives were not obsessed with learning. Instead, they learned to live, not lived to learn. They worked and kept the commandments, loved G-d and raised families, spending most of their lives nurturing one another and the land they lived on.

I went back further in time briefly glimpsing the life of Abraham, back to the time when Hanoch walked the land. Hanoch was righteous all his days:

And Enoch walked with G-d after he begat Methuselah three hundred years,
and begat sons and daughters:
And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years:
And Enoch walked with G-d: and he was not; for G-d took him.
(Genesis 5:22-24)

I saw when Hanoch became "not." His soul was drawn out of his body swiftly leaving no remnant in his body, his bones losing all form returning to earth.[40]

[At this point Hashem granted an angelic voice to ask questions on the rest of the journey. During the review of this vision while walking to shul, I wanted to know the name of the voice, which I called Kol. The voice asked, "Who am I?" I responded, "the angel Metatron who was formerly Hanoch." I asked to understand how Moshe communicated with G-d face to face; how his prophesy was from a higher source than the prophesy of others? I saw that G-d filled Moshe with the first light of divine truth— a stream of light filling an empty sphere, the tzimtzum. Few receive prophecy directly from Hashem; most receive prophecy through the angels who are of the same form as Moshe. The messiah will be like Moshe again— see the Tish B'Av vision.]

I went back further to the Garden of Eden and saw the creation of Eve. I saw how Hashem drew forth a rib from Adam, and fashioned a woman and placed her beside him as he slept. I saw the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge in the garden. The later was like a fruit tree of modest height. On the other hand, the Tree of Life's height extended into the reaches of the sky and its width was too wide to fathom. The Tree called for an embrace. As I came close, a spiritual fire encompassed us and I felt myself cleansed of any taint of sin. [This was necessary to proceed further.]

I went back before the trees to the days of creation. I saw the creation of the animals, grass and all plant life; the creation of the Sun, Moon, and Stars in the heaven. Finally, I saw the creation of the first light and the preceding Tohu and Bohu. The first light was the first line of light that flowed into the empty space (the place of G-d's withdrawal in the tzimtzum). The chaos before was the emptiness of G-d's withdrawal.[41] The emptiness represented the quality of Din, judgment or constriction.[42]

I plunged into the emptiness and felt the withdrawal of Hashem. The rate of withdrawal was beyond physical travel and I wondered how I would reach the receding point. The Kol said to travel by spirit and will to reach the boundary. I saw the edge of light in the distance. I willed myself through the edge and now I stood in the undifferentiated form of the first light. I could not comprehend what was around me. I

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2. Figure_2: The Angelic Meditative Focus
3. Figure_3: The Dragon, Big and Little Dipper

tried to recall some daat - knowledge that would help me understand. This place was before and beyond the creation of the Sefirot. Not even the place of Hashem's Ratzon - Will existed in this light.[43] I glimmered above the sefirot and the Kol asked what I saw. I told her I saw of BN, MH, SaG, and AV, the realm of the Hebrew letters.

I saw the Hebrew letters traveling in chains.[44] There were also the 10 numerals but they were separate like flying disks in space. I moved my mind to the source of the letters in the light and saw the primordial form of the Torah in the light. I heard this song:

Love the Torah, learn the Torah, dance with the Torah, dwell with the Torah ...

There were no angels yet created as there were no worlds but I still heard the Kol and wondered about its existence. I sought out the voice and noticed a small space in the light, a small tzimtzum. I saw a thread of light entering the space, which was like a mouth transmitting the words. Here, I learned how G-d speaks to Moses and the angels face to face but to the rest of us through angels. The Torah was one of 10 forms that existed prior to all creation.

There was no sense of a personal G-d in the Ayn Sof. I felt only Nothing and I didn't understand why. I wanted to find my personal G-d but even this is a result of creation! The Kol asked me what I could know? I told him I could not know anything else while in my separate spirit and that to know further would result in the end of my own identity. I did not fear this kind of death strange enough since it was a merging with the Cosmos from whence I came. Nevertheless, I realized that even beyond the heaven of G-d's creation and man's comprehension, lies the Ayn Sof which dissolves all identity back into itself, the experience at the end of life. This 'final experience' is the end of knowledge and self-being, an utter nihilism of personal existence and yet beyond even thought or supreme consciousness as we imagine.

I asked the Kol to guide me and we preceded forward out of this light into consciousness, and yet, I remained in a waking trance to memorize the vision. I would have to wait until the end of Shabbas to write it down. The Kol asked me how I would do this. I answered that I would review it forward until the point after creation and than review it backward from my own life. I reviewed it as I walked to shul. This morning I picked up the "Book of Enoch" and brought it upstairs subconsciously, to begin a new learning.

Enoch became the angel Metatron, highest of the angels.[45] Rabbi Ishmael receives this explanation:[46]

III ENOCH: Chapter Four
"METATRON IS IDENTICAL WITH ENOCH WHO WAS TRANSFORMED AND ASCENDED TO HEAVEN AT THE TIME OF THE FLOOD."
1. I asked Metatron and said to him: " Why art thou called by the Name of Thy Creator, by seventy Names? Thou art greater than all the princes, higher than all the angels, beloved more than all the servants, honored above all the mighty ones in kingship,

4. Figure_4: The Northern Crown
5. Figure_5: The Focus
6. Figure_6: Symbol of Raziel
7. Figure_7: The Kabbalistic Tree in Two Systems
8. Figure_8: Cain and Abel
9. Figure_9: The Ten Sefirot
10. Figure_10: The Seven Vertical Paths
11. Figure_11: The Twelve Diagonal Paths
12. Figure_12: The Three Horizontal Paths
13. Figure_13: Hypnotic Experience of Ascending the Sefirot

List of Equations

1. Equation_1: Theorem of Addition of Velocities
2. Equation_2: Theorem of Addition of Velocities with Relativitity

greatness, and glory. Why do they call thee 'Youth' in the high heavens?"
2. He answered me and said to me: "Because I am Enoch, the son of Yared."
3. "For when the generations of the Flood sinned and were confounded in their deeds, saying unto God **(Job** 21.14): **'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of Thy ways.** Then the Holy One, blessed be He, removed me from their midst to be a witness against them in the high heavens to all the inhabitants of the world, that they may not say: "The Merciful One is cruel'."
4. Hence, the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted me up in their lifetime before their eyes to be a witness against them to the future world. And the Holy One, blessed be He, assigned me as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels.
5. In that hour three of the ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, and Azzael came forth and brought charges against me in the high heavens, saying before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Said not the Ancient Ones (First Ones) rightly before Thee: Do not create man!" The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said unto them **(Isaiah** 46.4): **"I have made and I will bear, yea, I will carry and will delive**r."
6. As soon as they saw me, they said before Him: "Lord of the Universe! What is this one that he should ascend to the height of heights? Is he not one from among the sons of (the sons of) those who perished in the days of the Flood? What doeth he in the *Raqia* (ayqr, Firmament)?"[47]
7. Again the Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said to them: "What are ye, that ye enter and speak in My Presence? I delight in this one more than in all of you, and hence he shall be a prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens."
8. Forthwith all stood up and went out to meet me, prostrated themselves before me and said: "Happy art thou and happy is thy father for thy Creator doth favor thee."
9. And because I am small and a youth among them in days, months, and years, therefore they call me "Youth" (run, *Na'a*r).

Also Enoch III explains how the Hebrew letters transcend even the world of Atzulut:

III ENOCH: Chapter Forty One
"Metatron Shows Rabbi Ishmael the Letters Engraved on the Throne of Glory by Which Letters Everything In The Earth Has Been Created."
Rabbi Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence said to me:
1. "Come and behold the letters by which heaven and the earth were created,[48]
the letters by which were created the mountains and hills,
the letters by which were created the seas and rivers,
the letters by which were created the trees and herbs
the letters by which were created the planets and constellations,
the letters by which were created the globe of the moon and the globe of the sun,
Orion, Pleides, and all the different luminaries of *Raqia* (Firmament)."
2. "The letters by which were created the Throne of Glory and the Wheels of the

*Merkaba*h, the letters by which were created the necessities of the worlds;
3. The letters by which were created wisdom, understanding, knowledge, prudence, meekness, and righteousness by which the whole world is sustained."
4. And I walked by his side and he took me by his hand and raised me upon his wings and showed me those letters, all of them, that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory. And sparks go forth from them and cover all the chambers of *Arabot*h.

Pre Rosh Hashanah - September 11, 1996 - 7:30 PM

The birthday of the world approaches.[49] The Shaarey Orah describes the story of Abraham and Isaac as a battle between kindness and judgment.[50] The gematria of kindness – Hesed – dsj, 4+60+8 is 72, which parallels the 72 names of G-d in the Great Name of triplets. The Great Name is composed from three sequential sentences in Exodus, each having 72 letters.[51] Abraham associates with kindness and mercy, and Isaac with judgment. When Abraham bound Isaac, mercy was binding judgment to show that mercy is greater. Mercy is above judgment and acts first to release us as Abraham released Isaac. Isaac loved Esau for Esau would be the instrument of judgment for Israel. Isaac saw that Israel would go into exile and this would save them from utter destruction. They would atone with oppression in the exile - galut. Nevertheless, Isaac worried that the oppression would destroy Israel; until he saw the instrument of oppression would be the descendants of Jacob's brother Esau.[52] Hence, Isaac delighted in the food that Esau brought and blessed him with physical rewards. Esau would judge Israel with his descendants the Edomites, Greeks, and Romans. Esau is the father of philosophy. Philosophy oppresses the spirit of Jacob; remember the Edomite who tormented Job.

I saw the angels descend around me each composed of a myriad of lights. I saw a cross-formed through me from Michael to Gavriel and from Uriel to Raphael.[53],[54] Eventually the outer lines were connected into a square and lines rose from the vertices into a pyramid with a point intersecting over my head in the Shechinah.

Figure 2: The Angelic Meditative Focus

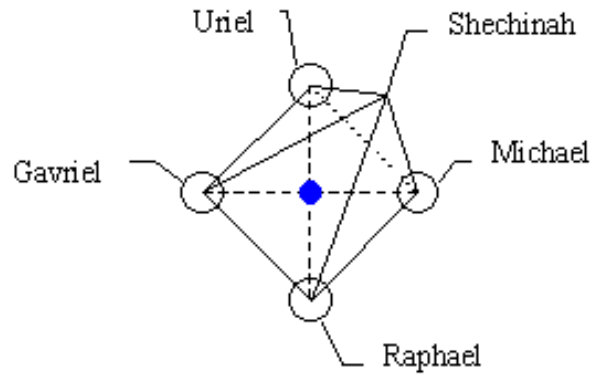

The meditation became cosmological and I saw the initial fiery expansion of the universe with packets of light turning into galaxies. I went back in time and I saw that this expansion was preceded by another Universe contracting and expanding, “And G-d made this King and he was not” (Genesis). Each universe was one of Hashem’s tested worlds expanding and contracting into nothing and recreation. I sought to understand the concept of the first seven days that the Rambam teaches are 7 days like our own in time. I saw this story played out on the higher spiritual plane. Kabbalah discusses the concept of an upper Eden that parallels the lower garden. This is like our upper soul, the neshamah, which exists in a higher plane while our body soul, the nefesh, exists here. Hashem modeled the spiritual counterpart of the physical world in seven days in the upper Eden. This is where Hashem placed the first soul – neshamah of Adam, 5756 years ago as well as the upper spiritual counterparts of all life. When Adam sinned, his nefesh dominated his mental reality and he found himself cast out into this world. Our whole world is the lower garden.

This world is paradise! We merely need to tend the Garden.

Rosh Hashanah – September 19, 2001

While attending services at Chabad, I saw my tallis like the color of angels white from heaven. Angels descended around lifting one to the world of Yetzirah. There, beautiful wreaths were weaved and placed on a stack to be carried to the throne of G-d. For awhile, I watched and then began to help out carrying the wreaths to an arch angel who would carry then to the throne of G-d. I heard a voice that said this one should be permitted to see where they go. New angels descended and brought with them a Merkavah, a magic carpet. The carpet lifted and ascended beyond Yetzirah to an overlook of the world of Beriyah. Below was the throne of G-d, purple with a clear diadem sitting in its midst. Tallis wrapped apparitions stood around the throne speaking prayers. Wreaths were laid upon the throne and then consumed in a light that descended from on high. The crowd parted and I came close to the throne. There was power and danger in the light that descended for those to close to the throne, but I embraced and merged into the light. There was an embrace in the light like the presence of G-d and something else. The color around was white, without past, present, or future. There is the color of sky blue in one region. This is the

Presence of G-d with the nation of Israel.

As the presence ascended, I ascended with it taking the prayer wreathes to the world of Atzulut. In Malchuts, the shefa of G-d descended with bounty and reward for the world below. With the name El Chai, El Shadai, the orange light of the setting sun I Yesod transmitted its bounty to Malchuts. In the green grasslands of Tiferet are tables with Torah scholars about learning and teaching under the Yellow sunlight of G-d. The Shechinah lifts the wreaths of prayers to the King and they join revealing the black infinite floor of Keter where the will of G-d takes form.

Three Seraphim speak for the past, present, and future. In the past, the seraph shows the waters of creation and the presence of G-d in lightning in the dark skies above. In the present, there is the Kotel and the Jewish prayers being submitted quickly before the sunsets. In the future is the Third Temple, built to enclose completely the Dome of the rock where the holy of holies rests inside.

Most important is the shimmering. Like ripples of water in a babbling brook over shallow stones in bright sunlight, our eyes look upon others creating the ether of G-d. What is the ether? It is none other than the shimmering, the shimmering of beatific light around creation. G-d has endowed mankind with the power to create the ether.

Creation of woman

And the Lord caused a deep sleep over Adam and He took from him a rib and made woman and brought her to him.

Adam was asleep when G-d took a rib from him and made the first woman. There is also a teaching that while Adam remained asleep G-d brought the woman to see him to see if she would accept him. From here we learn that a man must not criticize his wife for she accepted him first with all his faults. [55] Overall, a husband and wife should overlook each other's faults and accept each other.

b) Parsha Noach

Noach was a simple, righteous, man, \ymt qydx cya. The highest spiritual levels are achieved only through simplicity. Rabbi Nachman said that he achieved almost everything by simply reading the Psalms of David and talking to G-d. It is the same with all of tzaddikim.

Now the land – {ra was in a state of ruin – tjc. This is to say that that the areas of civilization were like a house infested with termites.[56] There is no manner of repair possible and the damage is to the core. As the behavior of man goes so the nature of the world is affected. Hashem sends a flood to cover the land. The word again is Eretz. If the whole world would be flooded, the word would have been Olam. From here, we learn that only the civilized place of the world is flooded.

When Ham, father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, he told – dgyw, in a giddy manner about the state of his father. Perhaps Canaan was involved here and Ham failed to reprove his son. When Noach awakes from his sleep, he realizes that which has been done – hcu-rca to him. The text does not say that he heard what had been said about him. This teaches that to make fun of someone 'does or makes' a situation that is not easily reparable. Similarly in a Chofetz Chaim story, a person came to him to ask for forgiveness about gossip he had spread. The Chofetz Chaim told him to take a pillow and cut it open in the window. When he returned, the Chofetz Chaim said, "Now gather the feathers that have spread for as difficult as it is to gather all of these feathers is as difficult as it is to repair the damage of gossip."

c) Parsha Lech L'hah

Take yourself out of your place. One of the hardest things to do is move. This was one of the ten tests given to Avraham Avinu. In this Torah portion Hashem reveals to Avraham the name ***El Shadai*** meaning Almighty. We call upon the Almighty to overcome our most difficult challenges. This name is associated with fruition and the sefira of Yesod.

The passage, "G-d will raise you up on wings of eagles to bring you back to the homeland." In operation Magic Carpet, Yemenite Jews felt that silver birds taking them to Israel fulfilled this prophecy.

2. Shemot - Names - Exodus

The book of Exodus in Hebrew is Shemot – Names- tmc. Mem - m represents wisdom. Shin - c represents understanding. Having wisdom and understanding together leads to knowledge.[57] When one knows the true name of a person or object one has complete wisdom and understanding. Knowledge leads to power as in the easing of the human struggle from the proper applications of science through engineering.

Aryeh Kaplan *(Jewish Meditation P.129)* has the following to say on the letters shin and mem that make up the word for name in Hebrew:

It is easy to understand why the shin and mem are important. The shin has the sound of *s* or *sh*, and hence, of all the letters in the alphabet, it has the sound closest to white noise. White noise is sound that contains every possible wavelength, and is usually heard as a hissing sound. On an oscilloscope, the *s* sound would appear as a totally chaotic jumble with no structure whatsoever.

The opposite of white noise is pure harmonic sound. This is a hum, like the sound of a tuning fork. On an oscilloscope, this would appear as a perfect wavy line, the epitome of order and regularity. This is the sound of the mem.

The shin thus represents chaos, while the mem represents harmony. The Sefer Yetzirah says that the shin

represents fire, while the mem represents water. The shin denotes a hot, chaotic state of consciousness, while the mem denotes a cool, harmonic state. This is significant, since in many meditative traditions, the m sound is seen as one that leads to tranquility and inner peace. The sound itself seems to be conducive to the harmony that one seeks in the meditative state. The s or sh sound, on the other hand, is more closely associated with our normal, everyday level of consciousness. It is also interesting to note that the "still small voice" (1 Kings 19:12) in which Elijah heard G-d is translated by the Sefer Yetzirah as a "fine humming sound." It appears that the *m* sound was closely associated with prophecy.

Many of the Hebrew words that tend to focus the mind on a single object are made up of these two mother letters. Thus, the Hebrew word for "name" is shäm - \c, which is spelled shin mem. Similarly, the word for "there" is shâm - \c.[58] Both of these words have the connotation of the transition from the chaos of the general to the harmony of the particular. A name separates a single object from the chaos of all objects, while "there" separates a place from the chaos of all places. Both words therefore denote the transition from the concept of the shin to that of the mem.

In Exodus 1 we read:

Now these are the names of the sons of Israel, who came into Egypt with Jacob; every man came with his household.
wab wtybw cya bquy ta hmyrxm \yabh larcy ynb twmc hlaw
Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah;
Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin;
Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher.
And all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob were seventy souls; and Joseph was in Egypt already.

The number seventy is the numerical value of the ayin - u which is the last letter of the word Shema - umc which begins the declaration, "Hear O Israel the Lord your G-d the Lord is One." The ayin is said to allude to the seventy nations of the world and the seventy languages.[59]

a) Parsha Terumah

We learn in Parsha Terumah that the ark was laid with gold both on the outside and the inside. This is analogous to our soul and behavior which must be pure as gold internally and externally. The ark was measured to a half unit to teach us that we must break our midos down to measure and improve.

3. Vayikra - And Called - Leviticus

And the Lord called unto Moses, and spoke unto him out of the tent of meeting saying:

rmal duwm lham wyla yy rbdyw hcm-la ªrqyw

The first word of Leviticus differs from the other words in that its last letter, the aleph - a is written smaller then the other letters. This is a carryover from the original text which did not have spaces and the same letter could serve the purpose of ending the previous word and beginning the next. The letter aleph in Hebrew contains the Gematria for the name of G-d:

a

The aleph can be seen as composed of 2 yods - yy and a vav - w. Together they have the numerical value of 26 which is the same as the value of the tetragrammaton.

yod + vav + yod = 10 + 6 + 10 = 26
heh + vav + heh + yod = 5 + 6 + 5 + 10 = 26

Another type of gematria we can do is based on the name of the letter itself: aleph - [la has the gematria 80 + 30 + 1 = 111 => 3. This is depicted in the shape of the aleph as having 3 components. The bottom aleph can be seen as a person calling up to G-d. The vav is the channel or ladder to climb and the top aleph is the point from which G-d responds or calls out to man. This is the image of prayer, of Jacob's Ladder, and the process of revelation. Thus, the word yikra - arqy, calling out teaches us that speech in general is an act in the image of G-d.

The book of Leviticus contains the laws of holiness. On the subject of laws, there are 2 major categories, i.e. those given to the whole world, and the laws pertaining additionally to Israel. The laws for the whole world are:

Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth. (Genesis 9)
Not to eat flesh from a living animal.
Not to murder.
Not to worship idols.
Not to curse G-d.
To establish courts of justice.
Not to murder.
Not to commit adultery or incest.
Not to steal.
Not to eat flesh from a living animal.

Jewish laws fall into the following categories. The chukim - \yqj - decrees are laws of holiness. The karbanos - twnbrq - offerings are those that deal with sacrifices. The Hebrew root is karov - brq which teaches us that sacrifices bring us closer to G-d. The mishpatim - \yfpcm - ethical laws or sentences pertain to morality and the justice system. The edoth - twdu - testimonies are commandments that are associated with our history and/or remind us of religious truths: i.e. holidays, tefillin, mezuzahs.

4. Bamidbar - In the Wilderness - Numbers

And the Lord spoke unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying:

rmal \yrxm {ram \taxl tynch hncb ynch cdjl djab duwm lhab ynys rbdmb hcm-la yy rbdyw

The Book of Numbers begins similar to Leviticus. The English name derives from the second sentence where it says:, ‘Take ye the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, by their families, by their fathers’ houses, according to the number of names, every male, by their polls;’. An interesting Gematria that alludes to the purpose of the Israelites wandering the desert is contained in the word bamidbar - rbdmb:

resh + bet + dalet + mem + bet = 200 + 2 + 4 + 40 + 2 = 248

248 is the number of positive commandments identified in the Torah by our sages. The 248 positive commandments combine with the 365 negative commandments to make up the 613 - taryag - gyrt commandments identified by hazal - lzh - the elders of the Torah. The time spent in the wilderness gave the people of Israel the freedom to practice positive commandments like keeping Shabbas that were made difficult in the oppression of Egypt.

The gematria of the name of Abraham is also 248 representing his mastery of the positive mitzvoth.

a) The Positive Commandments (examples from the Concise Book of Mitzvoth)

1. To believe that there is a G-d.
2. To believe in the unity of G-d, i.e. that there is only one G-d.
3. To love G-d with all one’s heart, soul, and might. —Shema
4. To fear G-d.
5. To sanctify G-d openly.
6. To walk in the ways of G-d with all one’s ability.
7. To pray every day to G-d.
8. To recite the Sh’ma morning and evening.

Shema Yisrael Adonai Elohenu Adonai Echad
dja yy wnyqla yy larcy umc
Hear O’Israel the Lord our G-d the Lord is One

Baruch sham cavod malchuto l’olam vaed
duw \lwul wtwklm dwbk \c]wrb

Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom in this world forever

v'ohavta et Adonai Eloheha behal lvav'vha oovhal nafsheha oovhal m'odeha
]dam-lkbw]cpn-lkbw]bbl-lkb]yqla \ch ta tbhaw
And you shall love the Lord your G-d with all your heart and all your soul and all your might.

]bbl-lu \wyh]wxm ykna rca hlah \yrbdh wyhw
And these words which I command you this day shall be upon your heart

]mwqbw]bkcbw]rdb]tklbw]tybb]tbcb \b trbdw]ynbl \tnncw
And you shall teach them to your children and speak of them when sitting in your house, when walking along your way and when you lie down and when you rise up.

In the first line of the Shema, the letters du are larger than the rest spelling the word 'ad' or witness in English. The English word 'aid' originates from the Hebrew 'ad' and is closer to the Jewish concept of witness.[60] When we call out Shema Yisrael, when we hear Hashem's words; Hashem like a father will come to our aid. Hashem gives us what we need, not necessarily what we want. The Witness assists us even in the event of a crime.

Although a Holocaust survivor and witness, Grandmother would say, "There is nothing bad that does not turn out for the good." During the Holocaust, she fasted Mondays and Thursdays to save food for the rest of her family while they were in hiding in Poland. Grandfather would search out new places and move the family often to avoid being located by the authorities. In the end, they were amongst a handful of witnesses who survived from the city of Kolemeah in Poland-Ukraine whose original Jewish population numbered close to 60,000. Grandmother attributed their survival to the Witness G-d.

The word Shema - umc is an acrostic[61] for Shadai Melekh Olam - \lwu]lm ydc - Almighty King of the World. This is what we are witnessing. The word echad - dja - also has a meaning in its individual letters. Dalet stands for the four directions in our world. Het is the seven heavens and the earth below. Aleph says that there is only one G-d ruling over all.[62]

The Shema is also a meditation for rectifying the world:
One should have in mind to transmit the illumination of God's holiness and the yoke of His Kingdom to his children and all other descendants. The reading therefore goes on to say "You shall teach them to your children..." He should furthermore have in mind to rectify man's state in general, as it continues, "[and you shall speak of them] while you remain at home and when you go on your way."[63]

As a rectification for ones home Luzatto teaches:
Finally, one should have in mind to rectify his house, as it concludes, "You shall write them [in the Mezuzah] on the doorposts of your house..."[64] wlc tybh tnyjb }qtlw

When one focuses his mind on repairing the spiritual aspect of his house while reciting this passage of the

Shema, he will in fact be writing these words upon the doorposts of his house and repairing all within.

b) Balak

Balak, king of Moab, sent messengers to try to induce Balaam, a prophet of the area to curse the people "that came out of Egypt and covers the face of the earth." In the first two instances Balaam refuses to go with them, finally acquiescing in the third instance in the story of the talking donkey. Here are the prophecies sent to Balaam concerning Israel in these instances:

And G-d said unto Balaam: 'Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people; for they are blessed.'

(Numbers 12:12) awh]wrb yk \uh-ta rat al \hmu]lt al \ulb-la \yqla rmayw

Balak sent messengers that were more prestigious in the next round with offers of greater wealth and honor. Instead of sending these messengers away *right* away, Balaam said:

Wait here also this night, that I may know what more the Lord will speak to me. And G-d came unto Balaam at night, and said unto him: 'If the men are come to call thee, rise up, go with them; but only the word which I speak unto thee, that shalt thou do. *(Numbers 12:19-20)*

Here we see the danger of the will of a prophet impinging on the will of G-d.

And Balaam rose up in the morning, saddled his donkey, and went with the princes of Moab. G-d's anger was kindled because he went; and the angel of the Lord placed himself in the way as an adversary against him. Now he was riding upon his donkey, and his two servants were with him. And the donkey saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand; and the donkey turned aside out of the way, and went into the field; and Balaam smote the donkey, to turn her into the way. Then the angel of the Lord stood in a hollow between the vineyards, a fence being on this side, and a fence on that side. And the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, and she thrust herself unto the wall, and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall; and he smote her again. And the angel of the Lord went further, and stood in a narrow place where was no way to turn either to the right hand or to the left. And the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, and she lay down under Balaam; and Balaam's anger was kindled, and he smote the donkey with his staff. And the Lord opened the mouth of the donkey, and she said unto Balaam: 'What have I done unto thee, that thou hast struck me these three times?' And Balaam said unto the donkey: 'Because thou hast mocked me; I would there were a sword in my hand, for now I had killed thee.' And the donkey said unto Balaam: 'Am I not thine donkey, upon which thou hast ridden all thy life long unto this day? was I ever wont to do so unto thee?' And he said: 'Nay.' Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand; and he bowed his head, and fell on his face. And the angel of the Lord said unto him: 'Wherefore hast thou smitten thine donkey these three times? behold, I am come forth for an adversary, because thy way is

contrary unto me; and the donkey saw me, and turned aside before me these three times; unless she had turned aside form me, surely now I had even slain thee, and saved her alive.'

At the point of Balak's requesting cursing, Balaam has this to say,

How shall I curse, whom G-d hath not cursed? And how shall I execrate, whom the Lord hath not execrated?

For from the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him:
Lo, it is a people that shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.
Who hath counted the dust of Jacob, or numbered the stock of Israel?
Let me die the death of the righteous, and let mine end be like his!

bchty al \ywgbw }kcy ddbl \u-}h wnrwca twubbmw wnara \yrx carm-yk
(Numbers 23:9-10) whmk ytyrja yhtw \yrcy twm ycpn tmt larcy ubr-ta rpsmw bquy rpu hnm ym

5. D'varim - Words - Deuteronomy

a) Musical Notes, Vowels, Crowns, and Letters

These are the words which Moses spoke unto all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah, over against Suph, between Paran and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab.
}dryh rbub larcy-lk-la hcm rbd rca \yrbdh hla
bhz ydw trxjw }blw lpt-}ybw }rap-}yb [ws lwm hbrub rbdmb

'Word' - rbd also means 'thing' in Hebrew because words manifest into material changes. The word structures the creative process. Torah words have four components. Letters represent the physical meaning of each word. The ornaments or crowns are like the angelic forces in the background. The vowel points correspond to the souls of the words. Finally we become part of the eternal song of G-d when we add melody to the words.

Table 3: The Four Universes and Our Connection to Them

Expression	Worlds	Tetragrammaton
Ta'amim - \ymat - Cantellation Notes	Atzilut - twlxa - Nearness	Yod
Nekudot - twdqn - Vowel Points	Beriyah - hyrb - Creation	Heh
Tagin - }ygt - Ornaments	Yetzirah - hrxy - Formation	Vav

Otiot - twtw - Letters	Asiyah - hycu - Making	Heh

The notes for chanting the Torah contain the melody. These notes also assist the reader in connecting related Torah ideas as well as separating different concepts. A song without words is called a ningun, i.e. tune. Tunes while popularized by the Hasidim represent a highly abstract way of connecting to G-d. Music raises our spirit, elevates love, joy, excitement, and spontaneity. These are all aspects of Atzilut, the highest world of being.

The Nekudot or vowel points are the souls of the letters.[65] The letters are the consonants which can form words but require vowel points to activate their meaning.

The Tagin or crowns on the letters represent the extra element that Hashem transmits into the physical. In the world of Yetzirah, the angels busy themselves with the spiritual dimension of the physical world.

The letters also represent the physical making of the world. The energy transmitted by Hashem is received in the physical world. Succinctly, the process is symbolized by the name of G-d, Yod is the coin, which Heh the hand holds, Vav extends the coin, and Heh is our hand receiving the gift. The giving of Hanukah gelt - money is to reflect this image of G-d.

b) Avarice

Deuteronomy also contains a warning pertaining to wealth:

And when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied; Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Eternal thy G-d, who brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage;
(Deuteronomy 8:13-14)

Accumulating wealth for its own sake diminishes spiritual interest and charitable donations. In this case wealth waxes away as quickly as it came. The main problem is that wealth leads to arrogance.[66] In the subsequent verses G-d reminds us not to let wealth go to our heads.

Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint; Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that he might humble thee, and that he might prove thee, to do thee good at thy latter end; And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth. But thou shalt remember the LORD thy G-d: for it is he that gives thee power to get wealth, that he may establish his covenant which he swore unto thy fathers, as it is this day. (Deuteronomy 8:15-18)

The proper use of excess wealth is to serve G-d in charity and the rest for the benefit of one’s wife for

sweetening the rigors of gevurah.

Man is created in the image of G-d. Also the Tree of Life represents G-d in this world with its thirty-two paths.[67]

Man is a tree of the field.
(Deuteronomy 20:19)

c) Practicing the Mitzvoth, Living in the Land of Israel

Rashi brings from the Siphre Midrash the idea that we observe commandments outside of Israel so that we remember how to do them when we are in the land of Israel. Hence the purpose of keeping the commandments is for the days when we are in the land of Israel.

Therefore shall ye lay up these My words in your heart and in your soul;
and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand,
and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes.
(Deuteronomy 11:18)

Even after you have been exiled, be excellent in doing commandments, put on tefillin, prepare mezuzot, in order that it should not be new for you when you return.
(Rashi 11:18)

The Ramban explains the meaning of Rashi and says that he has hinted at the meaning before. The hint is located in Vayikra 18:25:

And the land was defiled, and I checked the iniquity upon it.
And the land threw out her inhabitants.
(Leviticus 18:25)

Israel is in the galut (outside of Israel) because of iniquity. The Ramban tells a story of a king who sent his queen away because of some error. Nevertheless after returning to her father's house she continued adorning herself though the king could not see her. It is the same for us. Though we are in exile we still adorn ourselves with the commandments, because we have our King, in mind and we think only of returning to His house in the land of Israel.

B. Prophets

The prophets were powerful people who possessed Hochmah – wisdom, Gevurah – physical strength, Asher – wealth, and Anav – humility. They were capable of supporting their students with their own funds. Physical strength was an essential ingredient as much as wisdom and humilty.[68]

1. Y'hoshua - G-d Saves - Joshua

Joshua's original name was Hoshua - ucwh, but Moses added a Yod - y to the front of his name after the victory over Amalek (Exodus 17:9). The Yod, the first letter from the name of G-d, transforms the name to mean "G-d saves." A Midrash states that Moses gave the name as a blessing to Joshua after the incident of the despondent spies, saying, "May G-d save you from the council of the spies."

At the end of his life, Joshua gathers the Jewish people in the city of Schem to bind a covenant between Israel and G-d.[69] Why did Joshua choose the city of Schem instead of Shiloh where the Ark of the Covenant rested? Bryna Levy explains that the sons of Jacob turned against their brother Joseph in Schem. Hence, Y'hoshua chose this place to remind B'nai Israel of the danger of senseless hatred. Y'hoshua is a descendent of Ephraim who is a descendent of Joseph. Joseph is buried in Schem. Y'hoshua would also come to rest here. At this point, the sin of the brothers is completely expiated and the story comes full circle from senseless hatred to brotherly love.

Eldav and Madav are speaking words of prophecy. Gersholm reported this to Moshe. What were they saying, "that Moshe will die and Joshua will lead them into Israel." Joshua spoke up and said, "My master Moshe", stop them, give them hard tasks so they will stop speaking words of prophecy. Because he spoke up before his teacher, he was given the death penalty. There are four types of punishment similar to death, person who is blind, a leper, who has no children. One who states a law in front of his rabbi receives the death penalty. There is a penalty that is worse then death where one loses Olam Habah, has vshalom, that is when one addresses his rabbi with his name attached. One should not say rabbi so and so but simply rabbi when addressing ones teacher.

Joshua married the tzedekes of Jericho, Rahav, who delivered the city into the hand of Jericho. Because of Joshua's punishment, she did not have children. The number of children granted a wife is according to the merit of the husband. The amount of wealth a man acquires is according to his wife.

2. Shofteem - Judges

After the death of Joshua, the Israelites inquired of the Lord, "Which of us shall be the first to go up against the Canaanites and attack them?"
(Joshua 1:1)
wb \jlhl hljtb ynunkh-la wnl-hluy-ym rmal yyb larcy ynb wlacyw ucwhy twm yrja yhyw

Adoni-bezek had his thumbs and big toes cut off as he did to kings he took prisoner.
(Joshua 1:6)

This is the lesson of mido-cnegdo-mido - hdm-wdgnk-hdm, that a person's character and behavior will be repaid in kind.

3. Shmuel - Samuel

Hanna's Meditation

Hanna went to pray by the tabernacle because she had no children. Eli saw her davening without words and thought she was drunk. He asked why she was praying while drunk and Hanna replied that she wasn't drunk and instead described her situation calmly.[70] One should always let the Torah guide one's intellect which should guide one's emotions (Torah -> Intellect -> Emotions). There are two different phrases used in the Torah in this area, wbl lu - on ones heart. This phrase denotes that the emotions of the person are under the control of the intellect. This is the nature of a tzaddik - qdx - righteous person, whose intellect in addition, is under the control of the Torah. The emotions should rest on the heart and be circumventable by the intellect. wblb - In one's heart denotes that the emotions are controlling the intellect of the person. This is the nature of the Rasha - hcr - wicked person whose emotions control his thoughts and actions. This is extremely damaging in the case of anger.[71] There are three laws learned from Hanna.

- Prayer in a light voice is acceptable. Hanna's prayer was quiet which may have been unusual at that time but is now acceptable.
- Apologize and offer compensation for mistakenly rebuking another. This we learn from the response of Eli. While it is a mitzvah to correct a fellow Jew, if the person was innocent then one is required to appease that person. By way of apology, Eli offered Hanna a blessing that resulted in G-d granting her a child in a year.
- Explain to avert suspicion. Hanna did this with Eli. Hanna had the choice of ignoring Eli in this case but she wanted to clear up the misunderstanding.

Nevertheless, Rav Raphael Lapin states that ignoring a person is a particularly effective way to deal with rude people. He said this helps a person correct his/her behavior. He said that in Rav Soltzvechik's Yeshiva, the Rav would pause when someone asked a question and if the question was not well thought out he would then continue with his shir - ryc - class. In this manner, he would be helping the students to think intensely before speaking.

Rav Hamnuna in Berachos 31a says many important rules can be derived by Hannah's behavior.[72]

- "She spoke in her heart" (Samuel I 1:13). This teaches that when one prays he must concentrate in his heart.
- "Only her lips moved." This teaches he must articulate the words with his lips.
- "Her voice could not be heard." He may not raise his voice in prayer.
- "Eli thought that she was drunk." One who is drunk is not permitted to recite the service.

a) King David and Avishalom

King David said that Avishalom should not be harmed. The Ramban comments that David knew that Avishalom was only acting as an agent for Hakodesh Barchu. This suggests the question of how does one know when one is acting as an agent for G-d versus acting out of free will. When an event is so out of the ordinary, as in the case of a son wanting to kill a father, it must be b'sheret.[73]

4. Y'shayahu - Isaiah

Isaiah describes six winged angels called Seraphim:

In the year that King Uzziah died, I beheld my Lord seated on a high and lofty throne; and the skirts of His robe filled the Temple. Seraphs stood in attendance on Him. Each of them had six wings: with two he covered his face, with two he covered his legs, and with two he would fly.

And one would call to the other,
Holy, holy, holy is
The Lord of Hosts
And all of the land is filled with his Glory!
(Isaiah 6:1-3)

Holy is the Lord in the past, holy is the Lord in the present, and holy is the Lord in the future. The name of the Angel of the Present is YöHöVîEL - lawhy. [74] The Angel of the Past is YâHâViEL - lawhy. The Angel of the Future is YäHäViEL - lawhy.

The doorposts would shake at the sound of the one who called, and the House kept filling with smoke. I cried,

"Woe is me; I am lost.
For I am a man of unclean lips
And I live among a people
Of unclean lips;
Yet my own eyes have beheld
The King Lord of Hosts."

Then one of the seraphs flew over to me with a live coal, which he had taken from the altar with a pair of tongs. He touched it to my lips and declared,

"Now that this has touched your lips,

Your guilt shall depart
And your sin be purged away."

The experience of an angel touching a hot coal to cleanse ones lips opens higher gates into the spiritual realm. One should always strive to visualize biblical images since they are the highest revealed truth we have in this world. When one does this correctly, the vision takes on a pure form and one becomes certain of a true revelation from Ribono Shalom.

Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord:
Though your sins are as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow,
though they are red like crimson, they shall be as wool.
(Isaiah 1:18)

This is our hope on Yom Kipper - the Day of Atonement. On that day the Gates of Mercy are opened and the truly repentant are brought to the highest level. There is a teaching that even a tzaddik - a righteous one cannot stand at the height of a Baal Tshuvah on Yom Kippur. The reason is that all the sins of a master of repentance are turned into blessings for him or her as G-d's forgiveness extends beyond justice into the realm of mercy and then into overflowing love for his children.

But there the Lord will be with us in Majesty,
In a place of broad rivers and streams
...
For the Lord is our Judge
The Lord is our Lawgiver
The Lord is our King
(Isaiah 33:21)

Isaiah speaks of the return to Zion and the good life that awaits us.

Fear not, for I am with you:
I will bring your seed from the East, I will gather you out of the West;
I will say to the North, "Give back!"
And to the South, "Do not withhold!"
Bring My sons from afar, And My daughters from the end of the earth.
(Isaiah 43:5-7)

The message here is that we will return to the land of Israel[75]. Whether from Babylonia, Europe, Russia, or Ethiopia, G-d will help us return to Eretz Israel - the land of Israel. Hashem causes us to multiply in the East, and to gather wealth in the West. The North tries to hold back its people from leaving, but the South releases freely.

For as the new heaven and the new earth

that I will make shall endure by My will, says the Lord
so shall your seed and your name endure.
And new moon after new moon, and Sabbath after Sabbath,
all flesh shall present themselves before me.
(Isaiah 66:22-23)

Isaiah's final words are a vision of the world to come. Our relationship with G-d today forms the paradigm of what will be again. Instead of transcending completely into a spiritual dimension, we appear in gratitude, worship, and thankfulness before the King of kings in all the weeks and months of our lives. Our world is a reflection of the best of all worlds. Time enhances our relationship with Hashem.

5. Hoshua - Hosea

The whole life of Hosea is a message of prophecy. From the name of the wife he chose to the names of his children, the microcosm of his life represents the whole house of Israel.

HOS 1:1 The word of the LORD came unto Hosea, the son of Beeri,
in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,
and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel.

HOS 1:2 The beginning of the word of the LORD by Hosea. And the LORD said to Hosea,
Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms:
for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the LORD.

The prophet's life depicts the nation of Israel. In the 6th century BC the kingdom of Israel was split between Ephraim and Judah. With Ephraim went the rest of the tribes of the North. They maintained aspects of cow worship from the religion of Baal and whored after the products and ways of their neighbors to the North:

HOS 2:5 For their mother hath played the harlot: she that conceived them hath done shamefully: for she said, I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink.

Israel went after the ways of her northern neighbors while Judah went after the ways of Torah and pursued G-d.

HOS 1:3 So he went and took Gomer the daughter of Diblaim; who conceived, and bore him a son.

Gomer was a son of Japheth in Genesis who was the father of the European peoples.[76] The sons of Gomer are Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmath. Ashkenaz is the ancestor of the German nation.[77]

HOS 1:4 And the LORD said unto him, Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel.

HOS 1:5 And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel, in the valley of Jezreel.

HOS 1:6 And she conceived again, and bare a daughter. And G-d said unto him, Call her name Loruhamah: for I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel; but I will utterly take them away.

HOS 1:7 But I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the LORD their G-d, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen.

There were two kingdoms in the Holy Land during the time of Hosea. The first, the Northern Kingdom of Israel where Hosea resided, was composed of eleven tribes excluding Judah. The Southern Kingdom was made up of the tribe of Judah, the largest of the tribes equaling all the others put together. While the house of Judah adhered to righteousness forged by the isolation of the desert, the house of Israel became tainted with the idolatrous practices of its neighbors. Hosea prophesied G-d's judgment upon the Northern Kingdom while sending a message of protection to Judah.[78]

Later in the Book of Hosea, the Lord allures Israel back from Baalim renewing her purity in the wilderness and states the following:

And I will betroth you forever:
I will betroth you with righteousness and justice, and with goodness and mercy,
And I will betroth you with faithfulness,
Then you shall know the Lord.
(Hosea 2:21-22)

The Lord is like a spouse to Israel. In the Song of Songs the Lord is our Husband. Each Shabbas he sends forth the Shechinah to dwell with us and She is our Bride. We view G-d at times as masculine and at other times as feminine.

Come, let us turn back to the Lord:
He attacked, and He can heal us;
He wounded, and He can bind us up.
In two days He will make us whole again;
On the third day He will raise us up,
And we shall be whole by His favor.
Let us pursue obedience to the Lord,
And we shall become obedient.
His appearance is as sure as daybreak,
And He will come to us like rain,
Like later rain that refreshes the earth.

(Hosea 6:1-3)

The Lord is the true Healer of the world. Sometimes we cannot heal ourselves and yet another can help.[79] The Gemara brings down the story about Rabbi Yochanan Ben Zakkai who went to visit Rabbi Chanina who was sick. When Rabbi Yochanan asked, "Are your sufferings for good." Rabbi Chanina replied, "Not now and not in the future." Rabbi Yochanan then extended his hand, raised up Rabbi Chanina and he was healed. Rabbi Yochanan was a healer and helped Rabbi Chanina in an area where he could not help himself. When Rabbi Yochanan was sick, Rabbi Chanina went to visit him. Rabbi Chanina asked the same question of Rabbi Yochanan who replied with the same answer. Nevertheless, Rabbi Chanina was not a healer and Rabbi Yochanan could not heal himself. Ultimately the mitzvah of Bikur Holim - visiting the sick rescues the sick with the help of G-d. With renewed health comes renewed obedience to G-d. Suffering brings Tshuvah, repentance and a return to Hashem. Our hope is renewed like the dawn of a day and rain is associated with the renewal of the Earth.

6. Yoel - Joel

In Kohelet, we read, "A time for war and a time for peace." We find the answer in Joel.

Joel tells of the exile of the Jews after the destruction of the first temple, the land being divided by lots, and the people sold into slavery. This is the time for war as G-d proclaims in Joel 4:9:

Proclaim this among the nations:
Prepare for battle! Arouse the warriors,
Let all the fighters come and draw near!
Beat your plowshares into swords, And your pruning hooks into spears.
Let even the weakling say, "I am strong."

In Isaiah 2:4 we read:

Thus he will judge among the nations and arbitrate for the many peoples,
And they shall beat their swords into plowshares
and their spears into pruning hooks:
Nation shall not take up sword against nation;
They shall never again know war.

A third verse reconciles the two. Joel 4:16-17 reads:

And the Lord will roar from Zion, and shout aloud from Jerusalem,
So that heaven and earth tremble, but the Lord will be a shelter to His people.
And you shall know that I the Lord your G-d dwell in Zion, My holy mount.
And Jerusalem shall be holy;

Faith in the Lord balances war and peace, and brings one back to Zion. Above war and peace is Hashem's shelter for his people at the base of Mt. Zion next to the city of Jerusalem.

7. Haggai

The Book of Haggai is short but the point is long. The message of this book holds the cure to greed and materialistic idolotry which is a plague afflicting many of today's generation. Akin to this illness is gambling which stems from greed. Which is worse who knows, but one thing is for sure much that happens in the houses of Wall Street is legalized gambling and the precious time lost to this preoccupation is a weight upon the soul.

HAG 1:6 Ye have sown much, and bring in little; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but ye are not filled with drink; ye clothe you, but there is none warm; and he that earneth wages earneth wages to put it into a bag with holes.

HAG 1:7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Consider your ways.

HAG 1:8 Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the LORD.

G-d is teaching us to apply our earnings to a good cause otherwise they will be blown away.

HAG 1:9 Ye looked for much, and, lo it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. Why? saith the LORD of hosts. Because of mine house that is waste, and ye run every man unto his own house.

HAG 1:10 Therefore the heaven over you is stayed from dew, and the earth is stayed from her fruit.

Building the temple and giving charity are the purpose of our silver and gold.

Now, the greatness of the Creator is revealed through the charity
that is given to a deserving person in need.
This is because the primary greatness and splendor is the revelation of the Colors.
And silver and gold are themselves the Colors, for the Supernal Colors are in them...

And when the Colors radiate, the Holy One then exults and takes pride in them,
as in (Hagi 2:8), "Mine is the silver, Mine is the gold."
From them "garments of yesha (salvation)"[80] *are made.*
(Likutey Moharan #25:4)[81]

Giving charity creates beautiful garments for our soul in the world to come.

HAG 2:3 Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?

HAG 2:4 Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the LORD; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the LORD, and work: for I am with you, saith the LORD of hosts:

HAG 2:5 According to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so my spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not.

HAG 2:6 For thus saith the LORD of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land;

HAG 2:7 And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of hosts.

HAG 2:8 The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the LORD of hosts.

HAG 2:9 The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the LORD of hosts.

All the nations came to see the Temple that Solomon finished. This is the rectification of money and the heart of materialism and is the source of peace, Shalom.

8. Malachi

The writings of Malachi detail the complete life. While widely known for the last line of his prophecy, Malachi's emphasis is on acting sincere, bearing responsibility in marriage, being sincere in charity and offerings and bearing up to the standard of behavior expected of the servants of G-d.

Proper rulings were in his mouth and nothing perverse was on his lips;
He served Me with complete loyalty and held the many back from iniquity.
For the lips of a priest guard knowledge and men seek rulings from his mouth;
For he is a messenger of the Lord of Hosts.

But you have turned away from that course: You have made many stumble through your rulings; you have corrupted the covenant of the Levites—said the Lord of Hosts.
And I, in turn, have made you despicable and vile in the eyes of all the people,
because you disregard My ways and show partiality in your rulings. (Malachi 2:6-9)

C. Writings

1. Yov - Job

The book of Job deals with the issues of providence i.e. the reasons why the rewards and punishments of people are not always clear. Eliphaz consoles Job with the following explanation:

5:17 As for righteous men like you [Job] who are stricken by evil,
it is the chastening of G-d, despise it not,
for the purpose of such chastening is like that of the trials of the righteous.

The sufferings that Eliphaz is referring to apply to the righteous only. For the rest of us suffering is often the direct result of our actions. For example, not giving charity diminishes wealth. Afflicting others brings similar affliction. Nevertheless, in the case of Job who was righteous before G-d in wealth and poverty these sufferings are difficult to understand. The "chastening of G-d" is seen by Eliphaz as an opportunity. The Gemara on Brachots speaks of asoras ahavah - sufferings from love. Our heavenly Father gives sufferings to his children for their sake so that they may return to him. As Rabbeinu Bachya[82] describes:

Thus, repentance and suffering saved the sinner *from going down the pit*,[83] but he will not merit to see the Supreme Light until the soul is reborn as at first. Thus, Elihu next said, *His flesh is more tender than a child's, He returneth to the days of his youth*.[84] When he grows up, he will pray to G-d, and through his repentance and suffering he will be accepted by G-d. His righteousness will then be restored [as at first] for he will not have sinned since the days of his rebirth. His afflictions will have ensued from his former transgressions, which should have brought about his utter destruction. However, G-d devised means so that he would not be banished from the World to Come, and he will then merit the Supreme Light, as Elihu said. *So He redeemed his soul from going into the pit, and his life beholdeth the light*,[85] a reference to the Supreme Light. This device [of rebirth] can be repeated three times, as it says, *Lo all these things doth G-d work, twice, yea thrice, with a man*.[86]

Here, Rabbeinu Bachya brings an explanation for reincarnation in up to 3 lives. The reincarnation serves to amend past wrongs and may explain the suffering of the righteous. Rabbeinu brings down the final benefit that happened to Job:[87]

Then the Eternal answered Job out of the whirlwind.[88] Job attained the degree of prophecy because he was *wholehearted, and upright, and one that feared G-d, and shunned evil*, and had been chastised by trial. Although in his lack of wisdom, he transgressed by doubting G-d's judgment, his trial brought him nearer to G-d, for he accepted Elihu's words and found them satisfactory. Thus, he was now one that feared G-d and was sincere in his righteousness.

The whirlwind is an interesting metaphor. Once I entered a whirlwind 20 feet in height and was amazed to feel the presence of a spiritual entity. I thought this was a soul lost on Earth needing to return to G-d but in some cases this may be an elemental angel bringing a message from G-d.

2. Mishle - Proverbs

Tradition records King Solomon as having written 3 works. In his youth he wrote the Song of Songs. This work characterizes the relationship between G-d and Israel like the love of a young husband and bride. The last work he wrote, Kohelet - Ecclesiastes, deals with philosophies of life gleamed from the sufferings of the wealthy. Proverbs, on the other hand, is a work of mid-life. Of the 3 it is strongest at setting the foundation of how a person should live. I will take a few verses to illustrate the greatness of this work.

Chapter 3:
3:11 The chastisement of the Lord, my son, do not despise, and do not reject His rebuke.
3:12 For whom the Lord loves He reproves, as a father conciliates his son.

From Gemara Berachoth 5a we read commentary on:

axm alw hlt \aw - rca ta yk
jykwy \ch bhay rca ta yk :rmanc ,\h hbha lc }yrwsyc uwdyb

12 For whom - If he attributed (the cause to neglect of Torah) but could not find (an instance) He should know that they are sufferings of love, as it is said, "For whom the Lord loves He reproves".

The concept of 'sufferings of love' is a principle in the oral law and is brought forth from the proverb as well as the story Job. The main hope of Hashem is that we improve like a father hopes in his son. Hence, the sufferings that we go through have this entire purpose. Often just by praying for Ribono shel Olam to heal us, we have turned back to Hashem and the purpose served.[89]

Chapter 11:
11:1 Deceitful scales are an abomination of the Lord, and a whole weight is His will.

This refers to inaccurate weights and scales that a storeowner might use to deceive a customer. In the month of Tishrei, which is overseen by the constellation of Libra, the scales have a deeper meaning. They are the scales of judgment that we must all undergo. We cannot deceive G-d with a false weight in this case but we can deceive ourselves when we act as a judge for our neighbor. We should judge each person fairly realizing that we are all human making mistakes. Our weight must not be so heavy that others fail to tip the scale to the side of merit. We must choose to forgive everyone of any harm that we perceive was inflicted on us. In this manner, Ribono Shalom, shall choose to forgive us and tip our scales for a favorable judgment in the year to come.

11:2 With insolent behavior comes shame and with the modest, there is wisdom

Insolent behavior, speaking out and talking back to others in an arrogant domineering way causes one to feel shame afterwards. By being modest and not provoking others, we gain wisdom.

11:3 Simple righteousness manages you, but a crooked treachery destroys.

Following a simple straight path in life will manage all the affairs of one's life. Simple faith and choosing the good leads one on the right path of life. This is not reward and punishment but a direct consequence. Similarly, crooked treachery destroys one's mind and ability to choose to do well. This is also not a punishment but the nature of the effect of this attitude on the mind.

11:4 Wealth shall not avail in the day of wrath, but charity shall rescue from death.

This very powerful verse teaches that tzedakah can change the divine decree in our favor. Money should never be hoarded but instead given in charity and this saves a person from death. There is a story about a rabbi who was in charge of a charity fund for a particular city. A woman came to him asking for money to pay to feed her children, but he told her all the funds were currently depleted. She said that she had seven children and that they would begin to starve if she did not get money soon to buy food. The man gave her money from his own personal funds. Two weeks later, fate found this man on his deathbed. The angels above beseeched G-d to change the decree for this man. They claimed that his charity had enabled the woman and her seven children to survive and that this meant all their descendants would live as well which is how a world is saved. G-d rescinded the decree and the person lived an extra 15 years.[90] Hence, charity rescues from death - twmm lyxt hqdxw.

Chapter 1:
1:8 Hear my son the admonition of your father, and do not abandon the Torah of your Mother

Normally the mother admonishes the children while the father excels in Torah learning. This proverb teaches us that we should listen to the corrections of our father and not just receive his kindness. While our mother is an example of Torah and we should see her virtues in this area clearly and follow in those ways.

There is another teaching that long life and length of days is granted to one who honors ones mother and father.

When time is going by too fast it is because one is not spending enough time with ones parents.
(myself)

Chapter 9:
9:17 Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten secretly, more pleasing.

Some struggle to find true love. Others struggle for marriage to accept the true one. Many think that "stolen waters are sweet" and prefer relationships to marriage. On relationships Dessler says, "Together, they complement each other. This fact flows from the nature with which the Almighty has endowed them... the one who gives, loves."[91] "There are some people who do not want to enter into marriage. This is because they are unable to shake themselves free of the power of taking, and even their natural instincts cannot turn them into "givers," even temporarily..."[92] "To sum up: the best relationship between husband and wife will obtain when both achieve and practice the virtue of giving. Then their love will never cease and their lives will be filled with happiness and contentment for as long as they live on this earth."[93]

Chapter 27

1. Boast not yourself of tomorrow; for you know not what today may bring forth.
2. Let another man praise you, and not your own mouth; a stranger, and not your own lips.
3. A stone is heavy, and the sand weighty; but a fool's wrath is heavier than both of them.
4. Wrath is cruel, and anger is overwhelming; but who is able to stand before envy?
5. Open rebuke is better than secret love.
6. Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are profuse.
7. The soul who is sated loathes a honeycomb; but to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet.
8. As a bird that wanders from its nest, so is a man who wanders from his place.
9. Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart; so does the sweetness of a man's friend by hearty counsel.
10. Do not forsake your own friend, nor your father's friend; nor go into your brother's house in the day of your calamity; for better is a neighbor who is near than a brother who is far away.
11. My son, be wise, and make my heart glad, that I may answer him who reproaches me.
12. A prudent man sees the evil, and hides himself; but the simpletons pass on, and are punished.
13. Take his garment when he has given surety for a stranger, and take his pledge on behalf of an alien woman.
14. He who blesses his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him.
15. A continual dripping in a very rainy day and a quarrelsome woman are alike.
16. Whoever hides her hides the wind, like the ointment of his right hand, which betrays itself.
17. Iron sharpens iron; so a man sharpens another.
18. Whoever guards the fig tree shall eat its fruit; so he who waits on his master shall be honored.
19. As in water face answers face, so does the heart of man to man.
20. Sheol and Avaddon are never full; and the eyes of man are never satisfied.
21. The refining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold; and a man is judged according to his praise.
22. Though you should grind a fool with a pestle in a mortar among wheat, his folly would not depart from him.
23. Be diligent to know the state of your flocks, and look well to your herds.

24. For riches are not for ever; and does a crown endure to all generations?
25. When the grass sprouts forth, and the young grass appears, and herbs are gathered on the mountains,
26. Lambs shall provide your clothing, and goats the price of a field,
27. And you shall have goats' milk enough for your food, for the food of your household, and for the maintenance of your maidens

3. T'hillim - Psalms

The Psalms of David are our longings and prayers to G-d. Like the discarded stone that became the cornerstone of the Temple in Jerusalem, Psalm Thirteen is the cornerstone of the rest. Here it is in its entirety:

Psalm 13

To the Chief Musician, a Psalm of David
Until when, Adonay, will you forget me forever?
Until when, will You hide your face from me?
Until when, must I devise plans within my soul [to be free of] sorrow in my heart by day?
Until when, will my enemy rise high above me?
Look [at my troubled life and] answer me, Adonay, my G-d;
brighten my eyes lest I slumber into death.
Lest my enemy say, "I have prevailed against him;"
my tormentors rejoice when I waver.
I trust in Your loving kindness,
my heart will exult in Your deliverance.
I will sing to Adonay, for He has dealt kindly with me.

:dwdl rwmzm jxnml
jxn ynjkct yy hna-du
:ynmm]ynp-ta rytst hna-du
\mwy ybblb }wgy ycpnb twxu tyca hna-du
ylu ybya \wry hna-du
:twmh }cya-}p ynyu hryah yhla yy ynnu hfybh
:fwma yk wlygy yrx wytlky ybya rmay-}p
]tuwcyb ybl lgy ytjfb]dsjb ynaw
:ylu lmg yk yyl hryca

Lamnatzach, mizmor L'David
Ad anah | Adonay tshkihani netzah

Ad anah | tastir et panecha memeni
Ad anah | ashis atzot bnafshi ygon blvavi yoman
Ad anah | yarom oyvi alai
hebita anani Adonay elochai hairah anai pen ishan hamevet
Pen Yomar oyvi ychaltav zary ygylo cy amot
Vani bhadecha btachty ygl lby byshuatecha
Ashirah laAdonay cei gmal alai.

The word for lowly in Hebrew is Dal which is similar to the word dull in English. When we concern ourselves with the needs of others who are down, Hashem will remember us in kind when we are down.

Psalm 41

Fortunate is the person who concerns himself
with the needs of the lowly,
in his time of need,
Hashem will be there.

4. Divrei Hayamim Aleph - Chronicles 1

He is the Lord our G-d;
His judgments are in all the earth.
Remember His covenant forever, the word which He commanded to a thousand generations;
which he made with Abraham, and His oath with Isaac;
and he established it unto Jacob for a statute, to Israel for an everlasting covenant;
saying: 'Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance.'
(Chronicles 1 16:14-18)

David uttered these praises after selecting certain Levites including Asaph to minister before the ark of the Lord. Many of the praises in passages Chronicles 1 16:8-26 are found in our prayer book liturgy. The delegating of proper work to the Levites brought David great joy which brought forth these songs to Hashem:

Ascribe to the Lord, ye kindreds of the peoples,
Ascribe unto the Lord glory and strength,
Ascribe unto the Lord the glory due His name;
Bring an offering, and come before Him;
Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.
Tremble before Him, all the earth,

The world also is established that it cannot be moved.
Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice;
And let them say among the nations: 'The Lord reigneth.'
Let the sea roar, and the fullness thereof;
Let the field exult, and all that is therein;
Then shall the trees of the wood sing for joy,
Before the Lord for He is come to judge the earth.
O give thanks unto the Lord; for He is good; for his mercy endureth forever.
And say ye: 'Save us, O G-d of our salvation, and gather us together and deliver us from the nations,
That we may give thanks unto thy holy name that we may triumph in thy praise.'
Blessed be the Lord, the G-d of Israel, from everlasting even to everlasting.
And all the people said: 'Amen,' and praised the Lord.
(Chronicles 1 16:28-36)

IV. The Oral Law

Many details of Torah law were passed orally from the time of Moses. As new circumstances arose, the law was applied in new ways. The laws of the written Torah are called D'raissa and those passed orally are called Torah D'rabbanan.

There are many techniques in expounding the Written Torah with the Oral Torah. Many of the derivations are read into the text in ways that may not be significant. This is a creative manner as it is taught, the law is not in heaven that you should go up and seek it there, but man decrees and G-d fulfills. Truth evolves even absolute truth. This is the nature of Talmud. Right and wrong can change over time with interpretation. Absolute truth changes accordingly.

In observance, we strive to be the best we can be and follow the axiom '***Less guilt, more joy.***'[94]

A. Midrash

The Midrash is a commentary on the Bible and part of the Oral Law. The Midrash is rich in lessons and reveals the endless depth of meaning in Torah.

It is important that we not become depressed in daily sufferings. We should always remember the teaching of Akiba. R. Akiba said:

He deals strictly with both, even to the great deep. He deals strictly with the righteous, calling them to account for the few wrongs which they commit in this world, in order to lavish bliss upon and give them a goodly reward in the world to come; He grants ease to the wicked and rewards them for the few good deeds which they have performed in this world in order to punish them in the future world.[95]

King David wrote similarly in the Psalms:

Why do the wicked prosper in this world, so that they may be destroyed forever. Similarly, the righteous suffer in order that they may live forever in the world to come.

B. Mishnah

1. Perkei Avots

Avos 4:15 Rabbi Matya ben Harash said, “Be the first to greet every man; and be a tail amongst lions and be not a head to foxes.”

The Midrash on the Book of Samuel says: “Whereas the lion habitually raises his tail above his head, the fox lowers his head below his tail. And so it is with men: The gentleman respects his inferiors and discerns in them good qualities, whereas the lowbred despises and humiliates his superiors in honor and rank.”[96] Ultimately the gentleman is distinguished by his temperance, by his absence of anger.

C. Talmud

Rabbi Ishmael listed thirteen principles by which the written Torah is expounded. These are principles of logic for forming Oral Laws from the Written Law:[97]

1. Kal Vhomer – rmwjw lq If a rule applies in a lighter case, in a more serious case the rule applies.
2. Gzera Shav – hwc hrzg
3. Binyan Av – ba }ynb
4. Klal vPrat – frpw llk
5. Prat vKlal

Rabbi Lapin taught from Chulin that wherever G-d gives us a prohibition, there is something permissible, which is similar enough to satisfy any inclination we may have. There are always permissible foods that have similar flavors to non-kosher foods.

Here are the last words of Rabbi Yochanan Ben Zakkai while he was with his disciples:[98]

They said to him: Master, bless us. He said to them,:
May it be [God's] will that the fear of heaven shall be upon you like the fear of flesh and blood.

His disciples said to him: Is that all?
He said to them: If only [you can attain this]!
You can see [how important this is], for when a man wants to commit a transgression,
he says, I hope no man will see me.
At the moment of his departure he said to them:
Remove the vessels so that they shall not become unclean,
and prepare a throne for Hezekiah the king of Judah who is coming.

Last words are spoken with truth. To heed them is everything.

D. Mishnah Torah

If a prophet prophesizes something bad and it doesn't happen, it does not indicate that he is a false prophet, but if the prophet prophesizes something good, it must come to pass or we know that he is a false prophet. The idea here is that Hashem does not recall his good decree. May this idea drive us to repentance and Tshuvah to G-d in the good times as well as the bad, has vshalom.

E. Luzatto's Works [TABLES]

1. The Way of G-d - Derech Hashem

The 'Way of G-d' explains G-d's cosmological interface with the world. This was my first introduction to Kabbalah and I recommend it for everyone. The work bridges all Torah teachings with the mystical. Some of the subjects Luzzatto covers include the existence of G-d, the purpose of creation, angels, root of evil, destiny or providence, reincarnation, heavenly courts, influence of the stars, soul levels, dreams, magic, miracles, and prophecy.

2. The Path of the Just - M'silat Yesharim

This work is dedicated to Midos development. It presents a ladder to holiness consisting of the following traits:[99]

Duty
Watchfulness
Zeal
Cleanliness
Separation
Purity
Saintliness

Humility
Fear of Sin
Holiness

The Talmud lists the order differently. Rabbi Pinchas ben Ya'ir said, "Heedfulness leads to alertness, alertness leads to cleanliness, cleanliness leads to restraint, restraint leads to purity, purity leads to holiness, holiness leads to fear of sin, fear of sin leads to humility, humility leads to saintliness, saintliness leads to the gift of the holy spirit."[100]

The ten levels also represent a manner in which one purifies the Nefesh[101] or lowest soul in order to prepare oneself for the experience of Ruach Hakodesh, the holy wind, which is the middle soul transmitting inspiration. The highest soul or Neshamah is directly connected to G-d.

Table 4: Ten Principle Steps for Spiritual Inspiration

Level	Mordecai M. Kaplan's translation	Aryeh Kaplan's translation	Shraga Silver-stein's translation	Summary
1	Of Man's Duty in the World	Study	Duty	Man was created to find delight in the Lord and to bask in the radiance of his presence. To obtain this end, we follow the commandments in this world to merit the good light saved up for us in the world to come.[102] "But for me, the nearness of G-d is my good"[103] "One thing have I asked of the Lord that I will seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the graciousness of the Lord."[104]
2	Of Watchfulness	Careful-ness	Watchful-ness	A person should be watchful of his conduct. He must know what is truly good and bad to correctly classify his actions.[105] He should not enter upon any course of action without first determining its character. Watchfulness pertains to the negative commandments.
3	Of Zeal	Diligence	Zeal	"Depart from evil and do good."[106] Zeal pertains to keeping the positive commandments. "Those who are zealous perform a commandment at the earliest possible time."[107] "Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep – so shall thy poverty come as a runner and thy want as an armed man."[108]

4	Cleanness	Clean-liness	Clean-liness	Do not taunt your neighbor. Do not insult your neighbor. Do not mislead your neighbor. Do not slander your neighbor. Do not hate your neighbor. Do not nurse revenge nor swear nor lie nor act sacrilegiously against your neighbor.
5	Abstinence	Absten-tion	Separation	Abstaining from what is permitted brings one to holiness. "Whoever observes a fast not prescribed by law is considered holy."[109] "Be ye holy", Leviticus 19:2 means "Be ye abstinent"[110]
6	Purity	Purity	Purity	Perfecting ones heart and thoughts so that the evil inclination cannot influence them.
7	Saintliness	Piety	Saintliness	Regarding the body, to be as much help to those weighted down with a burden. "Bearing the yoke with one's fellow."[111] Spare no effort to prevent neighbor from bodily injury. Regarding possessions, not to cause damage to public or private property. "Let the possessions of thy neighbor be as to dear to thee as thine own."[112] Regarding feelings, to actively or passively (by listening) increase the pleasure of thy neighbor is a mitzvah under the category of saintliness.
8	Humility	Humility	Humility	A man should be wholly persuaded of his unworthiness to be the recipient of praise and glory for intellectual achievements. A man should have humility in one's bearing, in enduring insults, in hating to exercise authority and shunning applause, and in honoring everyone. In speech: "Let a man always speak gently."[113] A person should always speak respectfully and never disdainfully. In walking: "Walk humbly before your G-d." In sitting: "Find a place among those of humble rank and not among the great."[114]
9	The Fear of Sin	Fear of Sin	Fear of Sin	Refraining from sin out of regard for the glory of G-d. Sensing the awe of G-d.
10	Holiness	Holiness	Holiness	Cleaving to the will of G-d in all ones thoughts and actions.

"According to this program, one begins with constant study and observance, leading to scrupulous care not to violate any religious law. The next step is constant diligence to obey every commandment, and then to live a completely clean life, both in thought and in deed. One then reaches a level where he avoids even permissible things when they can possibly lead to wrong, and once this is accomplished, he can purify himself of all evil, past and present."

"The person is then ready to live a life of piety dedicating himself to G-d far beyond the call of law, and

this leads to humility, the negation of the ego. A person can then gain such a clear perception of good that he literally dreads sin, being totally aware of the banality of evil. He is then ready for the highest of these ten steps, holiness, the total negation of the physical."

"The very next level is that of Ruach Hakodesh. These ten steps thus provide a program of discipline for the individual who wishes to attain true enlightenment."[115]

3. The Knowing Heart – Daat T'vunot

The "Knowing Heart" is a refreshing course on the foundation of the spiritual in the physical world. The yeshiva education places this work in the realm of philosophy and studies the Path of the Just for self-improvement. The Way of G-d provokes the questioning mind, the Path of the Just sets the way of life and the Knowing Heart refines ones faith.[116] Luzatto reveals new teachings here that are not revealed in previous works. For example, on the importance of ecology:[117]

The Creator did not implant negation and deterioration in the nature of perfect creatures,
but in the nature of imperfect ones,
so that when the creatures will have perfected themselves in time to come,
they will not be subject to negation at all.
...
We speak of negation and deterioration as they apply to each species in itself.
Their inter-connection and conjunction towards the universal end, to the contrary,
is a correction for this because by virtue of it they leave the sphere of evil and are rescued from it.
...
In sum, it is in the species of nature in themselves and not in their inter-relationship that negation,
lowering, and deterioration obtain.
In their inter-relationship is rooted their perfection and escape from evil!

Luzatto here presents his view that nature working together is good, but species isolating themselves from other species leads to evil. This is reflected in the sefirot where in their original form, they attempted to exist independently and shattered when they became to full of the flow from Hashem. Their shattered forms are rebuilt into the Partzufim, who transmit the energy to each other and in doing so permit the sefirot to exist in harmony.

F. Kaplan's Works

Kaplan's best introductory work on kabbalah is "Inner Space." While intended for instruction, the work also inspires and gives the ecstatic experience of a real work of kabbalah. While Kaplan's "Jewish Meditation" introduces one to the subject, I recommend the work only as supplementary material. Here is

an example of one of Kaplan's uncanny ideas in "Jewish Meditation":

What is the real me? A hint to the answer can be found in the Hebrew word for "I," ani - yna. It is significant to note that if the letters of ani are rearranged, they spell the word ayn or ayin - }ya, which denotes nothingness. This would seem to imply that the real "me" is the nothingness within me *(Jewish Meditation P.87).*

Typically, the reverse spelling of a Hebrew word suggests an opposite meaning of a similar nature. For example, the word for 'heart' spelled reverse means 'owner'.

Kaplan's other major works include Meditation and Kabbalah, Meditation and the Bible, Sefer Yetzirah, and The Bahir Illumination. Bahir is one of the names of light in Hebrew along with Zohar, Nogah, Kavod, ... Bahir means brilliance and the work resembles a piercing light into the soul while the Zohar is more of a defused light. Let's look at the first verse which contains a classic Talmudic technique for resolving arguments:

Rabbi Nehunia ben HaKana said: One verse (Job 37:21) states, "And now they do not see light, it is brilliant (Bahir - ryhb) in the skies . . . [round about G-d in terrible majesty]." Another verse, however, *(Psalm 18:12)*, states, "He made darkness His hiding place." It is also written (Psalm 97:2), "Cloud and gloom surround Him." This is an apparent contradiction. A third verse comes and reconciles the two. It is written (Psalm 139:12), "Even darkness is not dark to You. Night shines like day — light and darkness are the same."

The description here is validated in the meditative experience where darkness can radiate like light. Another excellent Kaplan compilation is Rabbi Nachman's Stories which is a compilation of the stories told from Rabbi Nachman of Breslov. Kaplan complements the stories with a full blown commentary on the work explaining their meaning with Kabbalah and the meaning of the Kabbalah as well. Here is an example of Kaplan's commentary on Rabbi Nachman's story, "The Ram and the Bull."

The story is about a King who dreams of a Ram and a Bull that will lead to his destruction. He is an enemy of Israel and imagines that the Ram and the Bull represent physical forms. Instead they are actually from the mazelot - constellations and represent the month of Nissan with the ram and Iyar with the bull. The Jews were redeemed from Egypt in Nissan and the state of Israel was established in Iyar. The Ram also represents the 4 tzitzit since they are made from a ram's wool. If a ram is stolen it must be repaid with 4 times its value symbolizing the 4 tzitzit. The Bull represents the tefillin with its 5 compartments since they are formed with leather. If a bull is stolen, 5 times its value must be repaid to the original owner. Iron or Barzel has the acrostic lzrb which can represent the 4 wives of Jacob, i.e. Bilnah, Rebecca, Zilpa, and Leah.

Aryeh Kaplan's Sefer Yetzirah commentary identifies Hochmah with the principle of thesis and Binah with the principle of antithesis resulting in Daat, the principle of synthesis.[118] In Hochmah there is a singular thought that transfers to Sefira Binah. In Binah consciousness, we analyze the thought

extensively breaking it down into multiple categories. Finally, the Daat principle takes over selecting and combining the ideas from Binah into a synthesized solution.

G. Nachman's Works

1. Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom - Shevachey and Sichos HaRan

"Shevachey and Sichos HaRan" translated as the "Life and Conversations of Rabbi Nachman" is also known as Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, the wise sayings of Rebenuzal.[119]

As philosophy is the creation of the house of Esau, so Talmud is connected to the influence of Lilith. Rabbi Nachman warned incessantly on the dangers of the study of philosophy, that it leads to depression, which is rooted in evil. Similarly, Talmudic study in the area of halachic argument is rooted in philosophy based on the Thirteen Principles of Reason laid out by Rabbi Ishmael and may lead to depression.[120] The following gematria illustrates the connection:

dwmlt = 480 = tylyl

One cultivates intellect while studying talmudic law. By mastering the tools of reason, one grows in wisdom, but sometimes with a degree of depression.

For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.
(Ecclesiastes 1:18)

Agadah, kabbalah and Mussar when mixed with talmudic study temper this effect helping one develop the 48 qualifications by which the Torah is acquired.[121] The Talmud in its abundance includes all these areas and is hence, 480, a ten-fold magnification of these qualifications.

In the Sichos HaRan, Rabbi Nachman teaches:[122]

Joy can protect your children from death.
The evil force that destroys children is called Lilith.[123]
Joy is the antithesis of Lilith.

Aryeh Kaplan explains in the footnote, "Lilith comes from the root Laylay-night and is associated with dark moods and depression.[124]

2. Likutey Moharan

a) David's praise

David says something interesting in Psalm 56:11 which Reb Nachman builds upon.

In Elohim I will praise his work, in Hashem I will praise his work.

Elohim is the name of G-d in judgment and Hashem the name of G-d in mercy here. The psalm teaches, in both times of judgment and in mercy, we should sing praise to Hashem. Furthermore, the Shema teaches that Hashem's name is one. Thus, the names Elohim and Hashem are one.

dja yy wnyqla yy larcy umc

Hear O'Israel the Lord our G-d the Lord is One

How are we to understand this? The gematria of 'One', Echad is the same as that for 'Love', Ahavah. Thus, when G-d manifests the attribute of judgment, Elohim, this is out of love and so is the manifesting of the attribute of mercy, Hashem, out of love.

dja = 13 = hbha

Rabbi Nachman explains:

Knowing all this is called complete awareness. For the essence of awareness is the union of <chasadim (benevolence) and gevurot (severities)>. This is called Daat. In other words, he does not differentiate between loving kindness and judgment, but blesses "Who is good and beneficent" over everything. This is called "YHVH is one and His Name is one"[125]

b) Bones

Ezekiel writes:[126]

And their iniquities will be etched upon their bones.

There is fundamental idea that a person's sins are etched upon his bones. Even if a person is forgiven by G-d of his sins, there may still be traces on his bones. Reb Nachman teaches from the Baal Shem Tov, that one needs to confess his sins in order for these traces to be removed.[127]

By means of spoken confession, however, the letters disappear from the bones into which they have been etched and are transformed into the words of confession. For speech emanates from one's bones, as is written (Psalms 35:10), "All my bones will say."[128] He tears down the negative structure and combination, and from the letters builds Malkhut d'Kedushah.[129]

Ezekiel is later asked by G-d, "can these bones yet live?" Ezekiel responds, "Oh Lord only thou knowest." The Lord responds, "All these bones are the whole house of Israel and though they have lost

hope, they shall yet live and walk in the land of the living." Our bones are identified with our inner thoughts and deeds, which affect our hopes. There is also a teaching that in each of us there is a single bone, etzem, which is our essence and is not destroyed and from which a newly created body is made in the time of a resurrection. To preserve this bone is one reason that Jews do not to practice cremation.

R. Isaac bar Parnakh said: All of a man's iniquities are engraved upon his bones.[130]

The Lord will make strong thy bones
(Isaiah 58:11)
R. Eleazar said: This is the most perfect of blessings.[131]

3. Letter From Rebbe Nachman

In 1922 a letter was found that is from Rebbe Nachman. The letter reads:
Very hard it was for me to descend to you my precious student to tell you that I benefited greatly from your work and upon you I said, "My fire will burn until Messiah will come be strong and courageous. In your work, Na Nach, Nachma, Nachman Me'Uman.
And with this I shall reveal to you a secret and it is: Full and heaped up from line to line (pay, tzaddi, pay, tzaddi, you, hay)

And with strong service you will understand it and the sign is the 17th of Tamuz they will say that you will not fast.

I had a copy of this letter and had put it away with some papers. Strangely, on Shabbas morning, the 17th of Tamuz 5758, I was browsing some papers and stumbled upon the letter. When is the 17th of Tamuz not a fast day, when it is Shabbas I thought, so the finding of this letter on this Shabbas was not by chance. While the letter was originally sent to Rabbi Yisroel Dov-Ber Odesser Z"l of Tiberias, it is clear to me that it has a more significant reach. Part of the key is in the song, }mwam }mjn mjn jn n, which has gematria 137+148+98+58+50=491. This is also the gematria of }lyat. Ninety-one is the gematria of Hashem-Adonay that is Elon the last four letters. Elon refers to the Tree of Life. The Tav transforms Elon into a verb referring to establishing the tree. Nati Elon is founder of the Green Party in Israel. He teaches that the essence of moshiach is to see its potential in others. "It is like a seed planted waiting to grow."[132]

H. Moshe Cordovero [TABLES]

1. The Palm Tree of Devorah

The book provides training on improving one's midos - character traits by learning to behave in the image of G-d. In summary, the book presents the following associations:

Table 5: Mastering the Midos According to the Palm Tree of Devorah[133]

Sefirot	Midos
Keter crown, infinite mercy (The eight good qualities under the banner of humility —› These parallel the head in the following features: 1. Head 2. Mind 3. Forehead 4. Ears 5. Eyes 6. Nose 7. Face 8. Mouth)	1. A person must be humble. Humility derives from Keter. Keter is associated with the human head. 2. The wisdom (Hochmah) of Keter is to think good thoughts and to hold to a path of compassion. 3. A person's forehead should have no harshness. Even though certain people may arouse anger, one should conciliate them and placate them with good will for this is what G-d does. One should behave with pleasantness towards all creatures, for a harsh person is repaid in kind. 4. A person's ears should always turn to hear good, while falsehood or despicable things should be denied entry. Just as we expect Hashem to hear our good reports, we should behave in the same manner with our fellow. 5. A person's eyes should not gaze at anything despicable. Rather, one's eyes should watch over unfortunates and display compassion. One should distance oneself from noticing evil just as we hope that Hashem sees mostly our good. 6. The nose should never hold the breath of anger. Rather it should contain the breath of life, good will, and patience, even toward those who are unworthy. One should always exhale forgiveness of sin and pardon of iniquity. 7. A person's face should always shine and one should receive all people with a cheerful countenance. All who gaze upon it should find joy and cheerfulness. "Like in water one's face is reflected back, also the heart of a man is to a man" – Proverbs 27:19. 8. The mouth should express only good and the content of his words should be Torah and constant good will. No ugly words, curses, anger, frivolous talk should escape it. Rather, it should resemble the supernal 'Mouth,' which is uttering good at all times. Thus, one must speak well of everything, expressing benevolence and blessings constantly.

Hochmah wisdom	First, a person should commune with G-d in solitude in order to perfect his wisdom. Second a person should teach others what he has learned. A person should act as a father to all creatures showing mercy and helping them.
Binah understanding	Repentance and return to G-d. “Calling repentance to mind all the days of his life causes binah -understanding to illuminate all his days, the result being that all his days are spent in repentance. That is, he merges himself with binah, which is repentance, so that all the days of his life are crowned with the secret of the higher level of repentance.”[134]
Hesed kindness	Love of G-d, which leads to love of people who are in the image of G-d. Practice Nachum Ish Gamzu’s saying, “this too is for the good.”
Gevurah might, power, severity	Buying clothes and providing a house for one’s wife is the proper expression of might and power, sweetening severity. The desires of the Yetzer Hara, bad inclination, are intended for satisfaction of the wife by providing her with clothes, a house, and physical satisfaction. Afterwards one has brought gevurah to a good use and satisfied the Yetzer Tov, good inclination. The fine clothes and house model after the Temple. The satisfied wife brings the Shechinah, the divine presence of G-d into the home.
Tiferets beauty, truth	Obtained by studying Torah. This grants an understanding of the truth and provides a countenance of beauty. “One who teaches the Torah is on the level of Tiferets. When a man sits and learns for this purpose, Tiferets flows into Netzach and Hod and he actually attains their level.”[135]
Netzah victory, eternity	Encourage students of Torah. Scripture comes from the right and associates with Netzah. Netzah and Hod are called ‘those who adhere to it and support it.’
Hod gratitude	Financially assist and physically help students of Torah. Mishnah comes from the left and associates with hod. Talmud includes both Scripture and Mishnah.
Yesod righteousness	Be careful in speech. Avoid anger. ECC 5:6 Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin; neither say thou before the angel, that it was an error: wherefore should G-d be angry at thy voice, and destroy the work of thine hands?
Malchuts kingship	Apply ones wealth for the sake of Heaven. Behave humbly.

Moshe Cordovero revealed that each sefira has a leaning. Even the sefirot along the central trunk lean to either the left or the right and this leaning can be corrected. Cordovero teaches that we must strive to bring all the sefirot to lean to the right side.

Table 6: Sefirot Leanings

Sefira	Leaning
Keter	Right
Hochmah	Right
Binah	Left
Hesed	Right
Gevurah	Left
Tiferet	Right
Netzah	Right
Hod	Left
Yesod	Left
Malchut	Left

Sefirot that lean to the left have emotions that are easily applied in negative, destructive manners. It is our duty to find the positive in these sefirot and harness the emotions in service to Hashem. Moshe Cordovero in the following paragraphs describes this process.

a) Binah

The chapter begins:

How does man train himself in the quality of binah - understanding. He returns in complete repentance, for there is nothing like her, because she repairs all flaws - \gp. And just as binah sweetens all severities and neutralizes their bitterness, one should repent and rectify all flaws. A person who calls repentance to mind all the days of this life causes binah to illuminate all his days, the result being that all his days are spent in repentance. That is, he merges himself with binah, which is repentance, so that all the days of his life are crowned with the secret of the higher level of repentance.

Note that all existence is rooted in repentance, according to the secret of the Jubilee. In addition, the root of the external forces — expounded in the mystical teachings as the secret of the River Dinur — is also rooted therein and flows therefrom. (However, the River Dinur itself is included in Holiness, according to the mystical teachings regarding the severities.) This is called ‘the outflow of Divine Anger.’ But by means of the mystical teaching regarding the verse, “G-d smelled the pleasing scent of the sacrifices...” (Gen8:21), that ‘outflow’ returns to its source, the severities become sweetened, the anger ceases, and “G-d refrains from the evil...” (Ex32:14). Likewise, by means of the mystery of repentance, say that repentance benefits only the aspects of holiness in man. For his evil aspects are rectified as well, just as

the severities are sweetened by this attribute.

Know that Kayin himself was evil, and he derived from evil, yet he was told, “If you do good, will you not be uplifted...?” (Genesis 4:7), meaning, “Do not think that, because you derive from evil, you have no hope. This is false. For ‘if you do good,’ anchoring yourself firmly in the good implanted there, via the root of your soul, and do yourself good.” For everything bitter has a sweet Supernal root, as the mystical teachings explain. Thus, a person’s evil actions may be turned into good, and his deliberate transgressions may be turned into merits. For when one returns in complete repentance, these selfsame evil deeds from the ‘Left Side,’ which were accusers enter the higher worlds and become rooted in holiness there, transforming themselves into good rather than becoming nullified. This is what G-d told Kayin regarding his own self-betterment.

Thus, had Kayin repented, thereby becoming rectified, then the state of Adam’s sin—in which Kayin was conceived (the name Kayin deriving from the phrase "kina demisavuta", meaning ‘contaminated nest’)—would have been to his credit, according to the mystical interpretation of the concept of ‘the Son brings Merit to His Father.’ However, Kayin did not desire to repent, and therefore the entire Left Side derives from there, but all its branches will eventually become sweetened, returning to perfection. The reason for this is exactly as we have explained—a person who caused evil to become rooted in himself can sweeten it and restore it to good.

Therefore, when a person purifies his evil inclination and transforms it into good, it becomes rooted in holiness. This is the elevated level of repentance that a person who wishes to conduct himself in this manner should contemplate every day, and he should also repent in some way, so that all his days will be spent in repentance.[136]

Understanding is symbolized by motherhood here. A mother corrects her child, sweetens the judgment, nullifies the bitterness, and helps the child fix any flaws.

b) Hesed

Cordovero explains that hesed can only be achieved by placing the love of God before all other loves:

How should a person train himself in the attribute of hesed (kindness)? The main way to enter into the secret of hesed is to love G-d so absolutely that one will never forsake His service for any reason; for, compared with the love of God, Blessed Be He, no other love has any worth. Therefore, he should first attend to the requirements of his Divine service; then, the remainder of his time may be used for other needs.[137]

The wants of ones own family may distract from an opportunity for hesed. Combine hesed with the family activity and all will be blessed from Hashem.

If one experiences a difficult event, has vshalom, it is also for the good.[138] This is a binding of Malchuts and hesed. Cordovero presents eight principles of mastering hesed. As they are between man and man they are between man and G-d. A person who loves G-d loves man.

One who loves man greatly loves G-d truly.

Table 7: Hesed for G-d

Principle/Binding	Leaning
One Tiferets and Binah	Providing the necessities of a child's sustenance from birth. This is the birth of Tiferet from Binah. An easy birth leans the child to the right and Tiferet leans to the right. A rigorous birth leans Tiferet to the left descent of Binah.
Two Yesod	Circumcising the child. "One should pursue all those who cause the foreskin to grow on Yesod, bringing them back in repentance in such a way that, by circumcising the foreskins of their hearts, he renders the Supernal Tzaddik (G-d's reflection to us) without a foreskin.
Three Malchuts and Tiferet	Visiting the sick and healing them. The Shechinah is love sick with desire for Tiferets. Tiferets in the world to come is love sick for Malchuts, the Shechinah in this world. As one treats ill people well one must also treat Malchuts and Tiferets well who are saddened by their isolation from each other. Tzedakah, tikkun, holiness, blessings, Torah practice and study heal the union of Malchuts and Tiferets above.
Four Binah and Tiferet Malchuts and Yesod Malchuts and Tiferet	Giving charity to the poor. The hqdx for G-d is to say amen 90 times a day, the Kedushah 4 times a day, 100 blessings a day, and to read from the 5 books of Torah each day.[139] For Tiferets we must draw down from Binah a supernal sheaf for it says, "we must leave them for the poor and the stranger", and Tiferet is as stranger to Malchut below. For Malchuts, we should draw down tzedakah (maser ani – the tithe to the poor) from Tiferets and this is given to Yesod, who is called poor, which raises Malchut. If one binds Malchut to Tiferet, he gives the tithe to the stranger.
Five Tiferets and Malchuts Yesod and Malchuts	Offering hospitality to strangers. This is to give Tiferet and Yesod a guest house to rest which is Malchuts. For Tiferets and Yesod are in exile. They are searching for what they have lost, the Shechinah. Fixing times for Torah study unifies Tiferets and Malchuts.

Six Keter and Malchuts-Hesed	Attending to the dead. Clothing the dead in white is cleansing the body of sin which elevates the sefirot one by one, limb by limb raising them to the level of Eden on high which is Hochmah of keter. The upper Eden is in tiferets so Cordovero is referring to even higher aspect of Eden. This is a mitzvah of faith.
Seven	Right. Making peace between peers from Hochmah to Binah, from Hesed to Gevurah, or from Netzah to Hod.
Eight	Left. Similarly making peace between peers from Binah to Hochmah, from Gevurah to Hesed, or from Hod to Netzah.

Sometimes I am certain that all of the sefirot really exist for the sake of Malchuts (reuniting the Shechinah) and Binah (repentance). In the same way man exists for the sake of women.

c) Malchut

Traveling leads to becoming a "vehicle for the exiled Shechinah."[140]

A man should exile himself, wandering from place to place for the sake of Heaven, thereby becoming a vehicle for the exiled Shechinah. He should think to himself: "Behold, I am in exile, but I have all my implements with me. But what about the honor of the Supreme One, for the Shechinah is exiled without any implements, for they have gotten lost as a result of the exile?" For this reason, he should manage with as little as possible – as the verse states: "make yourself implements for exile (Yechezkel 12:3) – and let the exile humble his heart, while he binds himself to Torah. Then the Shechinah will be with him.

He should also impose an 'expulsion order' upon himself, always banishing himself from the comforts of home, just as Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai and his comrades banished themselves to toil in Torah. Better still, he should weary his legs by trudging from place to place without horse or wagon. Concerning such a person, it is stated: "...his hope shevaro - wrbc is with the Lord, his G-d" (Psalm 146:5), deriving from the word shevar - rbc, meaning 'breaking,' for he breaks his body for the honor of the Supreme One.

I. Yonah of Gerona

Rabbeinu Yonah is the author of Sharei Tshuvah - hbwct yruc, the Gates of Repentance:

XXVIII. The penitent is further obliged to humble himself and to undertake to conduct himself in the

manner prescribed by our Sages of blessed memory: “And be lowly of spirit before all men” (Avoth 4:10 Rabbi Levitas Ish Yavne). So doing, he will not be angered by his neighbors nor take offense at them; nor will he take to heart all the things that he hears, overlooking injustices against himself in order to atone for his transgressions, as Hazal have said, “If one overlooks injustices against himself, all of his sins will be forgiven” (Rosh Hashanah 17a), G-d’s relationship with him corresponding to his relationship with others. This concept constitutes a highly significant opening for hope, as it is said, “Let him put his mouth in the dust; perhaps there may be hope. Let him give his cheek to him that smiteth him; let him be satiated with shame” (Lamentations 3:29).[141]

J. Sefer Yetzirah

1. Golem

The Maharal describes the following characteristics of the Golem.

- The golem has a pure soul..
- The golem has no physical lusts, thus does not sin, thus is immune from sickness.
- The golem is not obligated to the commandments of Torah and thus is less qualified than a Jewish woman to be counted in a minyan.

The practice of making a golem is the meditative exercise of drawing down a pure soul or creating a pure soul within oneself. In order to do this one must purify himself of any impure thoughts or emotions which is the spiritual counterpart of removing hametz on Passover from one’s possessions.

K. Zohar

The Zohar, shining, is a work of Kabbalah. The major core is a commentary on the Five Books of Moses similar to the Midrash but instead, with an emphasis on mystical interpretations of the text. Three other works of the Zohar describe the G-dhead, and the physical form that corresponds to the crown of behavior of man in the image of G-d.[142] The following example text traces the meaning of the ‘beard’ of G-d from its physical form to the thirteen gates of repentance.

Note, the following translations are very difficult to follow. I will do my best to explain them.

Book of Concealed Mystery

Through thirteen springs are the fountains distributed. Four are separate but joined together, nine flow

upon the body and encircle the garden. The ornamentation begins at the gate of the ears. It descends in beauty to the beginning of the lips; from the beginning of the ears to the beginning of the lips. There exists a path beneath the nostrils, in order that He may seek to pass over transgression; Proverbs 19:11 "And it is his glory to pass over a transgression."

Beneath the lips the beard goes into another beginning ...

The lips are free on every side. Blessed is he who shall become the receiver of their kisses. In that influence stream down thirteen drops of pure balm. In this influence, all things exist and are concealed.

At that time, when the seventh month draweth nigh, those months shall be found to be thirteen (for in the Codex, so often said to be correct, the word twelve is expunged to show it to be a year of thirteen months, according to the number of those thirteen divisions of influence) in the supernal world, and the thirteen gates of mercy are opened. At that time: Isaiah, 40:6 "Seek ye the Lord while He can be found."[143]

The leap year of the Hebrew calendar includes a 2nd month of Adar called Adar Sheni. In this particular year there are thirteen months and they afford and extra month to understand the concepts of the Idra.[144]

Idra Rabba Kaddisha

It is said in the 'Book of Concealed Mystery': That beard, the truth of all (truths), proceeds from the place of the ears, and descends around the mouth of the Holy One; and descends and ascends covering the place of fragrance (the cheeks); white with ornament and it descends in equilibrium and furnishes a covering even unto the midst of the breast.

That is the beard of adornment, true and perfect, from which flow down thirteen fountains, scattering the most precious balm of splendor.[145]

The thirteen parts of the beard are thirteen aspects in the sefira of Keter in the world of Atzilut. They correspond to the primal ratzon, will or desire of G-d.

Mathers writes in his commentary on this passage[146],

The "thirteen divisions of the influence in the supernal world" are of course those thirteen parts of the beard of Macroprosopus considered in the sense of Atziloth, the archetypal world, the habitation of the pure Sephiroth alone: "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found."

I would like for a moment to trace the origins of this Zohar text to the prophet Micah. Moshe Cordovero writes in his Tomer Devorah[147]:

It is proper for man to emulate his Creator, for then he will attain the secret of the Supernal Form in both image (tzelem) and likeness (demut). For if a person's physical form reflects the Supernal Form, yet his

actions do not, he falsifies his stature. People will say of him, “A handsome form whose deeds are ugly.” For the essential aspect of the Supernal ‘Form’ and ‘Likeness’ is that they are the deeds of the Holy one, Blessed Be He. Therefore, what good is it for a person to reflect the Supernal Form in physical form only if his deeds do not imitate those of his Creator? Thus, it is proper that man’s actions imitate the Thirteen Supernal Attributes of Mercy – the functions of the sefirah of keter – hinted at in these verses:

Who is G-d like Thee, who pardons iniquity and forgives the transgression of the remnant of His heritage? He does not maintain His anger forever, for He delights in kindness. He will again show us compassion, He will vanquish our iniquities, and Thou will cast all their sins into the depths of the sea. Show faithfulness to Yaakov, kindness to Avraham, which You have sworn to our fathers from days of old.

(Micah 7:18-20)

Consequently, it is proper that these Thirteen Attributes, which we will now explain, should also be found in man.

These Thirteen Attributes reveal the absolute desire of Hashem to forgive even above wisdom (Hochmah), understanding (Binah), and knowledge (Daat). Why is forgiveness in the highest of all places? Because all heavenly doors are opened after a person chooses to return to G-d and G-d accepts the repentance and forgives. How do we now that G-d will accept the repentance? Hence we learn that forgiveness is the highest of all G-d’s desires (Keter). What are the doors that are opened? These are the Gates of Repentance, which reveal all the heavens as we learn from Moshe Rabbeinu:

Repentance
For how shall it be known that thy people have found grace in thy sight? By going with us (Lord) we are distinguished.

Forgiveness
And the Lord said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for you have found grace in my sight, and I know you by name.

Opening the Gates of Repentance
And he said, I beseech thee, show me thy glory. And He said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and I will show mercy to whom I will show mercy.
...

The Thirteen Attributes of Forgiveness
And the Lord descended in the cloud and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed,

O G-d, my G-d, mighty, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth,

keeping mercy for thousands (of generations), forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation.

And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped. And he said, if now I have found grace in thy sight, O Lord, let my Lord, I pray thee, go among us; for it is a stubborn people; and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.
(Exodus 33:13 - 34:7)

Furthermore, the thirteen attributes from Exodus overlap the thirteen attributes from Micah. The Tashlich service for Rosh Hashanah contains these passages.[148] Tashlich is a service for cleansing of sins recited before a living body of water.[149]

Daniel describes his vision of the G-dhead. This vision is the basis for the G-dhead and the River of Fire that descends from the beard. The River of Fire that descends from absolute mercy eradicates sin above and beyond even repentance. The River of Fire reveals the sovereignty of G-d's mercy to purge sin from the repentant.

I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire.

A fiery stream (Nahar DiNar) issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened.

I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.[150]

As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.
(Daniel 7:9-14)

And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the holy ones of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all

dominions shall serve and obey him.

Hitherto is the end of the matter. ...
(Daniel 7:27:28)

V. Character

In order to experience a close relationship to Hashem, one must work on character and attitude. Giving tzedakah - charity is the key to obtaining these qualities. Charity is not just in money or even gifts, but it is expressed in the way we speak to every person in need. Doing Hesed, practicing random acts of love and kindness[151], is another way to improve midos. Nevertheless, we must also take care of ourselves.

If I am not for myself, who am I
If I am only for myself, what am I
If not now, when.
(Perkei Avos)

Having a positive view of others and the world improves others and the world. "**The way one looks at the world is the kind of world one shall have**."[152]

A. Envy

When I came and told thereof to R. Akiba he said:
'Henceforth it is forbidden to speak of them in dispraise'
— Referring to this Ben Azzai said:
By your name you will be called, to your place you will be restored
and from what belongs to you will you be given.
No man can touch what is prepared for his fellow and
'One kingdom does not interfere with the other even to the extent of one hair's breadth'
(Yoma 38b)

Hashem ordains the reward that each person receives in this world. To envy there is no purpose. Often, the lack of a powerful position in society is a blessing, leaving one more time for Torah learning and developing true wisdom.

B. Chesed

Chesed is overflowing with good deeds for others. Abraham epitomizes this quality with his open tent policy towards strangers. The essence of chesed is to be aware of people, animal, and plant needs around and to perform a good deed when the opportunity arises. This should be done swiftly as if one is pursuing the glory of heaven.

Practice random acts of kindness and senseless acts of beauty

The Alter of Slobodka, Rav Nosson Zvi Finkel said:

All human beings are precious, for they contain the image of G-d.
Man is therefore obligated to honor his fellowman and shower him with chesed
for by so doing he is honoring G-d. He must be careful not to embarrass or
abuse another person, for by so doing he is slighting G-d.[153]

C. Charity

The Orchos Tzaddikim discusses the ways of giving charity. To give with a smile or to purchase what a person needs in advance is charity with loving kindness, tzedakah with hesed. Giving frequently to those in particular need is greater than a single large gift. One should be prepared to recognize and execute on the opportunity of tzedakah. This is an aspect of zealousness according to the M'silat Ysharim. Giving in secret is greater with one's neighbor so that no one feels embarrassed by having their need recognized.

I have a friend who taught me the meaning of charity. She prepares for meeting those in need by purchasing food certificates in advance to give to the homeless. When seeing someone in need, she would stop to talk with the person to see what she wants, whether she is hungry. She would take her time talking to the person showing chesed,[154] while others find themselves simply giving charity.

The rewards for charity are enumerated in the Talmud and Bible:

twkrb hrcu-tjab]rbtm \yrbdb wsypmhw ,twkrb ccb]rbtm ynul hfwrp }twnh
The giver of a coin to the poor is blessed with six blessings,
one who consoles him with words with eleven blessings. [155]
(Bava Batra 9b)

ISA 58:7 Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?

ISA 58:8 Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the LORD shall be thy reward.

ISA 58:9 Then shalt thou call, and the LORD shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity;

The rewards for charity in money are:

1. Shining light from ones own soul
2. Health
3. Righteous behavior will be easier.
4. Awareness of the glory of G-d.
5. Requests answered from G-d.
6. Cries heard and response from G-d.

ISA 58:10 And if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noonday:

ISA 58:11 And the LORD shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.

ISA 58:12 And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.

The rewards for consoling another with words are:

1. A personal radiant light
2. Darkness removed from ones soul
3. Guidance from G-d.
4. Quenching the thirst of the soul.
5. Fattening the bones, which purges the sin that weakens the bones.
6. Beautiful growth
7. An endless source of inspiration for others
8. Children who will rebuild downtrodden places.
9. Children who will build up later generations in wisdom.
10. Become known as one that repairs the divisions of the world.
11. Restore paths to dwell in.

The ‘paths to dwell in’ are the ways of Torah. Restoration of the paths is necessary when the people around are devoid of spiritual interests.

The Shabbat is likened to charity:

\yynul hqdx tbcb cmc

Sunshine on Shabbas is charity to the poor/homeless.

“When the Sun shines brightly on Shabbat, the pauper is spared appearing in the street in his tattered overcoat. The sun on Shabbat is thus a kindness/charity for him.”[156]

ISA 58:13 If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the LORD, honourable; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words:

ISA 58:14 Then shalt thou delight thyself in the LORD; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

The rewards for Shabbat described here are three:

1. Delight in G-d.
2. Walk upon the high places of the world, i.e. mountainous splendor or spiritual heights.
3. Receive the nourishment of the true life of Jacob, i.e. good children and family.

D. Joy

yy ynpl \tjmcw

And you shall rejoice before the Lord

(Deuteronomy 12:12)

The word sameach - jmc means happiness or joy. The root sahm - \c means put, suggesting that one must place joy in one’s heart always. Joy brings love and closeness to G-d.[157]

The Orchos Tzaddikim writes that one should wake up each day amazed with the world around. To see the Sun move across the sky in its course, and the plants around growing, the stars above shining in their constellations, and the planets advancing according to their course brings one to an amazement with G-d’s creation. If we wake up each day and remind ourselves of how precious the world is our joy with life will always grow and give us happiness.

hbwfl wz \g
This, too, is for the good
(Ta'anis 21a - Nachum Ish Gamzu)

dbu bfl anmjr dbud hm lk
All that the Merciful One does is for the good
(Berachos 60b)

All difficulty has a purpose if only to test our soul or to remind us of how thankful we need to be.

I AM THANKFUL FOR .....
THE PARTNER WHO HOGS THE COVERS EVERY NIGHT
BECAUSE HE/SHE IS NOT OUT WITH SOMEONE ELSE

THE TEENAGER WHO IS NOT DOING DISHES
BUT IS WATCHING TV, BECAUSE THAT MEANS
HE/SHE IS AT HOME AND NOT ON THE STREETS.

FOR THE TAXES THAT I PAY, BECAUSE IT
MEANS THAT I, AM EMPLOYED.

FOR THE MESS TO CLEAN AFTER A PARTY,
BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT I HAVE BEEN
SURROUNDED BY FRIENDS.

FOR THE CLOTHES THAT FIT A LITTLE TOO
SNUG, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE ENOUGH
TO EAT.

FOR MY SHADOW THAT WATCHES ME
WORK, BECAUSE IT MEANS I, AM IN
THE SUNSHINE.

FOR A LAWN THAT NEEDS MOWING,
WINDOWS THAT NEED CLEANING, AND
GUTTERS THAT NEED FIXING, BECAUSE
IT MEANS I HAVE A HOME.

FOR ALL THE COMPLAINING I HEAR ABOUT
THE GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE IT MEANS
THAT WE HAVE FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

FOR THE PARKING SPOT I FIND AT THE FAR
END OF THE PARKING LOT, BECAUSE IT
MEANS I AM CAPABLE OF WALKING AND
THAT I HAVE BEEN BLESSED WITH TRANSPORTATION.

FOR MY HUGE HEATING
BILL, BECAUSE IT
MEANS I, AM WARM.

FOR THE LADY BEHIND ME IN CHURCH
THAT SINGS OFF KEY, BECAUSE IT MEANS
THAT I CAN HEAR.

FOR THE PILE OF LAUNDRY AND IRONING,
BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE CLOTHES TO WEAR.

FOR WEARINESS AND ACHING MUSCLES
AT THE END OF THE DAY, BECAUSE IT
MEANS I HAVE BEEN CAPABLE OF WORKING HARD.

FOR THE ALARM THAT GOES OFF IN THE
EARLY MORNING HOURS, BECAUSE IT
MEANS THAT I AM ALIVE.

AND FINALLY.....

FOR TOO MUCH E-MAIL, BECAUSE IT
MEANS I HAVE FRIENDS WHO ARE
THINKING OF ME.

(SEND THIS TO SOMEONE YOU CARE ABOUT,
AND WHEN YOU THINK YOUR LIFE IS SO
BAD, READ THIS AGAIN.)
(Jamie – 9/11/2001)[158]

E. Anger

Jacob had prophesied, “I will divide them in Yaakov, and disperse them in Israel” because of their anger and excessive punishment of the people of Shechem.[159] Levi was scattered throughout Israel in the Cities of Refuge. Though they were selected to be priestly servants, they were humbled by their

dependence on charity, by the difficulties of those they would dwell amongst in these cities, and finally the distances between their families throughout the land. Similarly, Shimon was allocated a portion of land in the midst of Judah. In the end, they were forced to give up their land as Judah's numbers expanded and they became teachers of children and poor wanderers.[160] Nevertheless, the teaching of children helped them develop self-control. This is always the way of Hashem and we must always learn to see the gift and lesson in any suffering.[161]

The time to avoid anger is before it begins. The intellect should prevent this emotion from arising. There are three periods in anger:

- Before it begins. One should be aware of controlling anger at this point even before the emotion is even felt.
- After the emotion is felt but before one speaks or acts. This moment is likely to be too late.
- After one has already spoken or acted in anger. The damage has already been done, but one can still try to repair this damage.

According to 'Love the Neighbor'[162] there are three stages to anger:

- the cause
- one's interpretation of the cause
- one's reaction

The key to avoiding anger is to change one's interpretation of the cause. For example, one should not assume that an insult is directed towards them, but merely reflects that the other person is having a difficult day and perhaps has other problems on his mind. Fasting is a tikkun for anger. Fasting brings one back to return and repent.

We are taught from the "Ways of the Tzaddik":
Because Moshe our teacher, may peace be upon him, said to the children of Reuven and Gad (Numbers 32:14): "You are a brood of sinful men," his descendant became a priest of idols – even though he was angry for the sake of Heaven. All of man's actions require the proper measure. He must deliberate how to perform the mitzvos, both when angry and when in good spirits.
...
Know that the ripeness of a man's intellect is the governing of his anger, as it is written (Proverbs 19:11): "A man's intellect is the withholding of his anger."[163]

The following story describes the challenges of dealing with some people.[164]

I was told this story by my father who was told it by his father and is probably told by others as well.

There was a Rabbi who was giving a lecture one Shabbas. In the audience there was a person who interrupted the Rabbi and said, “That is not correct.” Others in the group were aghast and wanted to ask him to leave, but the Rabbi said it was OK, thought briefly, and than corrected himself continuing. Again this person spoke up and again the Rabbi corrected what he was saying. This went on for a period of a half an hour when finally the Rabbi asked someone to remove him from the audience.

Afterwards the Rabbi was praying and felt that G-d was dissatisfied with his behavior. He remarked to himself that he had been through 15 interruptions from this person in 30 minutes and had been patient. Nevertheless, he heard G-d saying, “I am disappointed in you. I’ve been putting up with this person for 50 years and you couldn’t put up with him for just one Shabbas.”

F. Taunting, insulting, misleading slander

Do not taunt your neighbor.
This means that you must neither do nor say to him that which might shame him,
though there be no one else present.
(M’silat Yesharim 11)[165]

G. Greeting Others

I was always first to greet another, both Jew and non-Jew. — Yoachanan Ben Zakkai

This will bring one to a greater concern about the welfare of his neighbor. A person should accustom oneself to seeing his neighbor and greeting him. Often people feel too shy and insecure to greet others. This is a lacking of self-esteem. They should give more charity, do more Hesed, and then they will come to greet their neighbor and learn from their teachers with greater enthusiasm.

H. Honor

One should not seek after higher positions for honor. The avoidance of honor permits one to grow into a better person. If one is asked to take a higher position with an increased service, one should consider acceptance with the thought of being a good person always in the back of one’s mind. M’silat Ysharim has the following to say on the subject:[166]

Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, forfeited his share in the world to come only because he coveted honor.

"The Holy One, blessed be He," said to him, 'Repent thee, and I, thou, and the son of Jesse will stroll together in the Garden of Eden.' 'Who will go first?' asked Jeroboam. 'The son of Jesse,' answered the Holy One, blessed be He. 'If so, I will not repent'" (Sanhedren 102a)

This teaches not to be jealous and seek after another's position of honor.

What caused the destruction of Korah and his whole company if not the lust for honor, as we may infer from the fact that Moses said to them, "And seek ye also priesthood?"[167] (Num. 16.10). And our Sages tell us that Korah rebelled because Elzaphan, the son of Uziel, had been made prince, an appointment which he had coveted for himself (Num. R. 18.2).

This teaches us to recognize the honor that G-d has already granted us and be satisfied. Honor is like the lust for money which can never be quenched.

What, if not the craving for honor, drove Saul to persecute David? We read, "And the women sang one to another in their play, and said, 'Saul hath slain his thousands and David his ten thousands.'

One cannot be a hold fast king, but one must always relinquish and let the superior of the next generation rise to leadership and honor.

I. Forgiveness

To forgive is to behave in the image of G-d.[168] There is a teaching from Talmud Tractate Rosh Hashanah that if one forgives slights or insults done to him, he will be forgiven of sins. This forgiveness is out of the side of divine justice since one is forgiven in kind for forgiving others. Forgiveness also dissolves anger, which opens a gateway to mercy.

On Yom Kippur 5757, I became irritated by the behavior of children whose parents brought them to services and were not reproving them on the proper way to behave in the sanctuary. However, as I thought about my anger, I wondered how possibly Hashem could forgive me for my bad behavior throughout the year. The answer appeared in the prayer book.

}wnjw \wjr htaw \ynp yzu wna
\ypa]ra htaw [ru ycq wna
\ymjr alm htaw }wu yalm wna
rbwu lxk wnymy wna
wmty al]ytwncw awh htaw

We are hard faced, but You are merciful and compassionate;

We are stiff necked, but You are long in patience (long faced awaiting our return).
We are full of sin, but You are full of mercy
As for us, our days are a passing shadow; but your years are never ending.
(Yom Kippur liturgy[169])

I exclaimed, "How can we be so bad when you are so good!" At that moment, I chose to forgive these children in my mind. I then turned to Hashem and I said, "If I could forgive these children, and your mercy is so much greater than mine, surely you can see to forgive us all in the year to come."

J. Conversations

1. Calming a person down

Listening to negative opinions about another is a mitzvah when the person is angry or upset and one knows that by listening the speaker will feel better and will no longer feel the need to state negative opinions about the target person. Nevertheless, one must be sure not to believe what one has heard.[170] This is the mitzvah of calming a person down.

2. Showing respect to everyone

There is a mitzvah to show respect for everyone.[171] One should try to avoid ending a conversation first with another if the other person wishes to continue talking and there isn't improper speech. In this way, one shows respect for the other person. One is commanded to spend time with one's spouse. This means that it is a mitzvah to listen to her until she completes what she needs to say.

3. True Speech

Rabbi Nachman concisely sums up the subject:[172]

1. Not all words are considered speech. Words not heard or accepted are not called speech, as in (Psalms 19:4), "There is no speech and no words without their voice being heard." Now the main reason words are accepted has to do with the good they contain, because everyone desires good. Therefore, when the words contain good, then speech is heard and accepted; but when the words have no good in them, they are not accepted. How do we create the good in the words? This is done by taking speech from daat (holy knowledge), then it will have good in it; but when speech is without daat, then it has no good, as in (Proverbs 19:2), "Also, for the soul to be without knowledge is not good." The soul is speech, as it is written (Genesis 2:7), "Man became a living soul," the Aramaic translation of which is a "a speaking spirit."

2. Now, raising and enhancing daat is accomplished through praise of the tzaddikim. By praising and extolling the tzaddikim, daat is elevated, corresponding to (Deuteronomy 32:11), “Like a nesher (eagle) arousing its kein (nest).” Nishra is the spirit, the concept of tzaddik,...

“Footnote 8: praising...the tzaddikim, daat is elevated. By mentioning the praise and glory of the tzaddikim, a person invokes their merit and spiritual power. His daat is thereby elevated, so that his speech—now drawn from enhanced daat—contains the quality of good. His words are thus heard and accepted (Parparaot LeChokhmah). The Be’Ibey HaNachal explains that drawing speech from enhanced daat entails drawing close to the tzaddikim. By being close to them and personally witnessing their greatness, a person is consistently moved to praise the tzaddikim.”[173]

From other of Rebbe Nachman’s teachings it becomes clear that the quality of good in one’s speech can also be achieved by finding good in others and praising them. As Rebbe Nachman emphasized, all Jews are called tzaddikim.[174] (Rabbi Nachman of Breslov)

K. Quarrels

1. A Woman’s Nature

A woman’s nature is to plan. This is her Binah Yeserah (extra insight). Sometimes this can be disturbing to a man who has many things on his mind at once and does not want to be burdened with an extra plan. Nevertheless, he should realize that for the woman it is the plan itself that is important and not its contents. If the day should arrive and circumstances necessitate changes, these are acceptable to the woman if she sees that the man values her, her plans, and her needs.

2. A World Full of Strife

By lessening quarrels in our own families, we improve our community and we improve the world. The microcosm of our life affects the macrocosm of the world and living a Torah life improves the entire world. As Rabbi Nachman teaches:[175]

The world is full of strife. There are wars between the great world powers. There are conflicts within different localities. There are feuds among families. There is discord between neighbors. There is friction within a household, between man and wife, between parents and children.

Life is short. People die every day. The day that has passed will never return, and death comes closer every day. But people still fight and never once remember their goal in life.

All strife is identical. The friction within a family is a counterpart of the wars between nations. Each person in a household is the counterpart of a world power, and their quarrels are the wars between those powers. The traits of each nation are also reflected in these individuals. Some nations are known for anger, others for bloodthirstiness. Each one has its particular trait. The counterparts of these traits are found in each household.

You may wish to live in peace. You have no desire for strife. Still you are forced into dispute and conflict. Nations are the same. A nation may desire peace and make many concessions to achieve it. But no matter how much it tries to remain neutral, it can still be caught up in war. Two opposing sides can demand its allegiance until it is drawn into war against its will. The same is true in a household.

Man is a miniature world. His essence contains the world and everything in it. A man and his family contain the nations of the world, including all their battles.

A man living alone can become insane. Within him are all the warring nations. His personality is that of the victorious nation. Each time a different nation is victorious, he must change completely, and this can drive him insane. He is alone and cannot express the war within him. But when one lives with others, these battles are expressed toward his family and friends.

There may be strife in the household of a tzaddik. This too is a war between nations. It is also the war between the twelve tribes, such as between Ephraim and Judah. When the messiah comes all wars will be abolished. The world will have eternal peace, as it is written (Isaiah 11:9) “They will neither hurt nor destroy ...”[176] (Rabbi Nachman of Breslov)

L. Fear

Apathy comes from depression. Apathy lessens the fear of G-d. What is the way out of apathy? We must focus on the fact that even Fear fears G-d as Rabbi Nachman teaches, “-The quality of fear itself fears G-d.”[177]

The baal tshuvah seeks closeness to G-d by soaring above apathy, above fear, above love, to a place that only his soul can fathom. What is this place? It is none other then Awe before the Presence of G-d. Kirkergaard spoke of this awe and is quoted on this subject in Abraham Joshua Heschel’s, “A Passion For Truth.”[178] Rudolf Otto also spent many years traveling and researching the universality of the subject recording his ideas in “The Idea of the Holy.” In apprehending the “numinous” as Otto referred to G-d:

We are dealing with something for which there is only one appropriate expression, mysterium tremendum. . . . The feeling of it may at times come sweeping like a gentle tide pervading the mind with a tranquil mood of deepest worship. It may pass over into a more set and lasting attitude of the soul,

continuing, as it were, thrillingly vibrant and resonant, until at last it dies away and the soul resumes its "profane," non-religious mood of everyday experience. . . . It has its crude, barbaric antecedents and early manifestations, and again it may be developed ito something beautiful and pure and glorious. It may become the hushed, trembling, and speechless humility of the creature in the presence of--whom or what? In the presence of that which is a Mystery inexpressible and above all creatures.

The Encyclopedia Britannica comments on this:
This content presents itself under two aspects: (1) that of "daunting awfulness and majesty," and (2) "as something uniquely attractive and fascinating." From the former comes the sense of the uncanny, of divine wrath and judgment; from the latter, the reassuring and heightening experiences of grace and divine love. This dual impact of awesome mystery and fascination was Otto's characteristic way of expressing man's encounter with the holy.

The fear and trembling which accompanies the Baal Tshuvah is awe. This is the quality of the fear itself that fears G-d.

M. Judging People

We must strive to judge others favorably.[179] “One who judges others on the scale of merit will be judged by the Almighty on the scale of merit.”[180] “In righteousness shall you judge your neighbor.”[181]

N. Observing Principles Consistently

Observing ones beliefs consistently is the trait of hasidut. This is item seven from M’silat Yesharim. There it is translated as saintliness or piety. Project Genesis in the explanation below shows how this trait is representative of Avraham but not of Lot.

Volume VI, Number 6 - Vayeira - Genesis 18:1 - 22:24

When a person adopts a set of principles and sticks by them, then other people will respect and honor him or her for adhering to them. People will, however grudgingly, understand that those principles guide the individual to behave in a certain way. But if a person is careless with his or her principles, then if one day he or she chooses to observe them in a difficult situation, people will not say that this is a moral choice -- they might rather assume the worst!

"Let some water be brought, and wash your feet, and relax under the tree."

[18:4]

We see that Avraham wanted his visitors to wash their feet immediately, before entering his house. Rashi explains that Avraham thought that the three angels, who appeared to be ordinary men, were idolaters from the region who worshipped the dust of their feet. He was therefore careful to ensure that they did not bring the objects of their idolatry into his home. Rashi goes on to say that Avraham's nephew Lot was not careful about this, and therefore he brought two of these same guests into _his_ home before having them wash their feet.

If we look, however, at the verse later where Lot brings in the guests [19:2], Rashi provides a very different explanation. Although Avraham was extremely careful that they do so, it is, of course, quite normal for people to wipe the dust off their feet before going into someone's home. So why, then, did Lot deviate from this norm? The answer is that the evil people of S'dom did not allow people to shelter guests, leaving the guests to sleep outside where the residents could rob them at will. Rashi tells us that Lot was therefore concerned that if he would bring the guests in with their feet already clean, the people of the city would accuse him of having sheltered guests for several days. By having them go into his house with the dust still on their feet, anyone would see that these people had just come from the desert.

The Avnei Azel says that there is no contradiction between the two explanations offered by Rashi. When discussing the verse regarding Avraham, Rashi accentuates the difference between Avraham and Lot, but both reasons are correct -- the first is a prerequisite for the second.

Had Lot been careful to keep any possible idolatry out of his home, then he would have been obligated to think only about that, and not to worry about what the people of S'dom might think. A person is supposed to be willing to give up his life in order not to worship idols, and the Avnei Azel says that were Lot careful about objects of idolatry, he should have been willing to risk his life to keep them out of his home. Therefore we first need to know that Lot was not concerned about this, before understanding why he brought in his guests in a way which was unusual in any case.

The Avnei Azel goes on to point out that one could also say as follows: that had the people of S'dom known that Lot, like his uncle Avraham, was concerned about the prohibition of idolatry, then they would have concluded

that this was the reason the people were entering his house with clean feet, rather than accusing Lot of sheltering guests for several days without telling them. Given that Lot was worried about this accusation, it is clear that the people of S'dom already recognized him as someone who had never been careful about this at all.

Good Shabbos,

Rabbi Yaakov Menken

Project Genesis
http://www.torah.org/

O. Truth

Ones relationship with the Shechinah is from emet - truth. A woman's relationship with Kingship is dependent on emunah - faith. The relationship between lovers reflects this relationship on high. A man must speak truthfully on all his concerns to find the attribute of truth and union with his wife. A woman must have faith in G-d to develop faith in her husband.

See the work of Elohim for Who will be able to fix
that which he has made crooked.
(Ecclesiastes 7:13)

The paradox of G-d is that while there is free will Hashem is omniscient. Most understand the gift of free will and its essential role in our improvement. Nevertheless, Hashem's omniscience is also a gift. From omniscience, we know that the path Hashem has let us travel was done with his knowledge from beginning to end and that it is for the good. As a friend has told me, "there is nothing bad that happens, but only sad." [182] I will add that even the sad is for the good and that the vitality of life overcomes sadness and the song of love transcends all.

P. Humility

One must obtain the level of humility before being able to experience authentic kabbalah. And what is humility? This is none other then to be stoic, to be indifferent to one who complements as one who insults.[183]

Q. Consideration

Consideration is to accommodate others without them asking. For example if one is in a standing group talking and someone there has a cast on his ankle, then it is considerate to suggest that the group move to a table to sit to continue their conversation.[184] To do so without revealing the reason is even a finer level of consideration. Consideration without expecting anyone to notice or to become aware is a mitzvah par excellence.

VI. Cycles of Time

A. Dimensions [TABLE]

The Hagim - \ygj - Holidays sanctify time in our world. Judaism emphasizes the sanctity of time over space. In the Tree of Life, time is denoted by the transition from Hochmah to Binah, past conscious to future conscious. Space is denoted by the six directions from Hesed to Yesod. The moral dimension is from Keter to Malchuts.

Table 8: Jewish Dimensions

Sefira	Sefira Meaning	Dimension
Keter	Crown	Goodness - spiritual
Hochmah	Wisdom	Past - unified consciousness
Binah	Understanding	Future - analytical consciousness
Hesed	Kindness	South
Gevurah	Severity	North
Tiferet	Beauty	East
Netzah	Victory	Up
Hod	Thankfulness	Down
Yesod	Foundation	West
Malchut	Kingdom	Baseness - physical

B. Months [TABLE]

The constellations were created with the 12 elemental letters in their respective order[185].

Table 9: Months

Months	Hebrew Letter	Constellation	Holidays	House
Nissan - }syn ~ April	heh - h	Aries the Ram T'leh - hlf	Pesach	Growth
Iyar - ryya ~ May	vav - w	Taurus the Bull Shor - rwc	Israel Independence	Possessions
Sivan - }wys ~ June	zayin - z	Gemini the Twins Teumim - \ymwat	Shavuos	Attraction
Tamuz - zwmt ~ July	het - j	Cancer the Crab Sartan - }frs	3 Mourning Weeks	Ancestors
Av - ba ~ August	tet - f	Leo the Lion Ari - hyra	Tish B'Av	Descendants
Elul - lwla ~ September	yod - y	Virgo the Virgin Betulah - hlwtb	Selichos	Healing
Tishrei - yrct ~ October	lamed - l	Libra the Scales Maznayim - \ynzam	Rosh Hashanah Yom Kippur Succoth	Coition
Cheshvan - }wcj ~ November	nun - n	Scorpio the Scorpion Akrav - brqu		Death
Kislev - wlsk ~ December	samech - s	Sagittarius the Archer Keshet - tcq	Hanukah	Travel
Tevet - tbf ~ January	ayin - u	Capricorn the Kid Gedi - ydg	Tenth of Tevet	Government

Shevat - fbc ~ February	tzadi - x	Aquarius the Water Drawer Deli - yld	New Year of Trees	Friends
Adar - rda ~ March	koof - q	Pisces the Fish Dagin - \ygd	Purim	Enemies

The Sefer Yetzirah describes the ruling personal qualities of the constellations. These however also correspond to the particularly trait in each sign that must be expressed regularly for this sign to feel a sense of joy and balance.[186] Of course in each of us there is a touch of each element below that must be satisfied. Nevertheless, the Sun sign does indicate the primary source of psychological balance for each sign. With the Hebrew letters Hashem endowed the heavens and identified qualities in people. When the twain meet there is a joyful bliss and complete harmony.

Table 10: Achieving Psychological Balance According to the Constellations

Constellation	**Quality**	**The Key to Balance For This Sign**
Aries The Ram T'leh – hlf	speech	Aries achieves joy and balance by speaking a lot.
Taurus the Bull Shor – rwc	thought	Taurus achieves joy and balance by active thought.
Gemini the Twins Teumim - \ymwat	motion	Gemini achieves joy and balance by motion. This includes active sports or physical work.
Cancer the Crab Sartan - }frs	sight	Cancer achieves joy and balance by pleasant sights. This includes living in a well-decorated house and seeing beautiful sights.
Leo the Lion Ari – hyra	hearing	Leo achieves joy and balance by hearing performances. This includes attending shows and musicals.
Virgo the Virgin Betulah - hlwtb	action	Virgo achieves joy and balance by action. This includes activities on a chore list.
Libra the Scales Maznayim - \ynzam	coition	Libra achieves a balanced state of mind through coition.

Scorpio the Scorpion Akrav - brqu	smell	Scorpio acquires a balanced state of mind through smell. This may be the smell of flowers, nature, or love.
Sagittarius the Archer Keshet - tcq	sleep	Sagittarius achieves a balanced state of mind by extra sleep.
Capricorn the Kid Gedi - ydg	anger	Capricorn achieves a balanced state of mind by expressing anger occasionally.
Aquarius the Water Drawer Deli – yld	taste	Aquarius achieves a balanced state of mind by tasting good foods. This includes cooking classes, eating out, and preparing tasteful meals.
Pisces the Fish Dagin - \ygd	laughter	Pisces achieves a balanced state of mind through laughter. This includes being with a group of friends regularly.

1. Nissan

And you shall count this as your first month, for I took you at of Egypt at this time. The letter h - heh denotes holiness since the letter occurs twice in the name of G-d representing both the attribute of Binah and Malchuts. The relationship here is G-d like a mother to her daughter Israel. There is a lot of conversation and differences of opinion but the two love each other and support each other through the trials of Egypt.

Make amends, repair our fences, we want moshiach now. The Baal Shem Tov called the last day of Pesach Moshiach Seudah. The ‘Today is the Day’ or in Hebrew the ‘Hayom Yom’ comments that the previous Chabad Rebbe made a meal and there were 310 students and 18 tables. The 310 students represent the 310 storehouses saved up for the righteous in the world to come and the 18 tables represent eternal life.

2. Iyar

The State of Israel is a Taurus! This has endowed the country with a green thumb. The state of Israel is also a place for hard work and productivity. Ironically, spirituality plays a secondary role to the physical sensations that pervade the land in this manifestation of its nationhood. Dance, song, agriculture, engineering, security, and monetary success preoccupy the nation.

Nevertheless, the letter w - vav is also a letter in the name of G-d and represents the outstretched arm of G-d to all who call upon Him, to all who call upon Him sincerely. Six midos [character qualities] compose the w, i.e. kindness, judgment, beauty, eternity, thankfulness, and foundation. These are also the principle values of the nation of Israel.

3. Sivan

The holiday of Shavuos falls out here. The letter z - zayin - 7 denotes the Shabbas or day of rest as Shavuos represents an end to the planting season and a resting period after 7 weeks.

4. Tamuz

July is represented by the letter j – het, which denotes a fence or limitation. The period, Between the Fences, refers to the three weeks before Tish B'Av. At the end of the Second Temple, these three weeks contained an inordinate amount of defeats during the siege of Jerusalem. The fences limited the area of operation necessary to properly defend the Holy Temple.

All her pursuers caught her between fences. (Eichah 1 - Lamentations 1)

5. Av

The letter f - tet denotes the serpent or adversary who punishes the Jewish people. On Yom Kippur, a goat was sent away to Azazel. Rabbi Nachman explains the meaning of this. This is like a bone thrown into the mouth of the great goat to quiet him while the Jewish people repent. For 364 days a year, the accuser presents himself before the Almighty, but on Yom Kippur, we are spared his accusations. This also relates to Pidyon that is an amount of money paid to redeem a person. The Pidyon is given to silence the adversary.

The name Azazel – lzazu has gematria 115 which is also qoof, yod, heh. We spell Azazel Ayin, Zayin, Aleph, Zayin, and Lamed. The Aleph represents G-d that stands in the middle of the name. Azazel is the dismissal of sin. The sin of the Jewish people is dismissed in the wilderness, the place of Azazel. What is in the wilderness? Is it not the 248 positive commandments of the Jewish people? BaMidbar is Bet, Mem, Dalet, Bet, and Resh that is 248. There is a force in the wilderness, and its name is Azazel and it is a servant of Hashem. Its function is to dismiss sin from the Jewish people. This is done by a goat wandering into the wilderness. How can we understand the goat? There is a teaching that a blessing needs something to rest on. When we recite the Birkat Hamazon, we do so at a table for a blessing needs an object to rest upon. When the Jewish people in the wilderness, sought a removal of their sins the Cohen rested his hands upon the goal such that their request would have something to rest on. Why a goat, so that it may wander away into the wilderness. In the wilderness, the sins are devoured and removed by the force of Azazel. The goat is more able to carry sins than a lamb or another animal. The intention is not

that the goat dies but that it wanders into the wilderness and does not return. With the shitafot, the flash floods of winter, the land is washed clean and renewed. The sins that the goat carries will also be washed away.

Rosh Hodesh Av - The new month of Av

Rosh Hodesh Av is Ta'anis Tzaddikim - a fast day for very pious people since Aaron died on this day. During the first 9 days of Av, we refrain from rejoicing and actions that may lead to rejoicing. We avoid planting of trees, home improvement, purchasing of new clothes, sewing, haircuts, and washing clothes. These pleasures are avoided at of memory for the temple that was destroyed on the 9th of Av.

Prayer on Rosh Hodesh Av - July 16, 1996 - 8 PM

One may pray for answers on how to deal with any problem. By making a hypnotic suggestion one can prepare for involuntary responses to answer the questions..

I davened at Am Echad alone as services were an hour earlier. I tested my answers with subconscious hypnotic responses, i.e. raising my right arm for truth, left arm for falsehood. At the end of the prayer, I asked for an answer that would help me improve my overall behavior.

I saw in a vision the image of Rav Lapin z"l, the former rabbi of the synagogue. He was looking at me and there was a young student before him. He was guiding the hand of the student over a sefer and then resting it upon the sefer. The message here was to learn the seforim like a young student. Let the teachings become part of you. View the world with the unbiased view of a young student.

Today, I also received a Breslov tape that discussed the importance of the tallis. Every thread in the tallis bears the imprint of the one who wears it. Reb Nachman poured out tears with his prayers to Hashem and said that there was a tear for every thread in the tallis when he gave his away to a choice student.

I picked up "Consulting the Wise" and opened it to page 246 which had the following statement:

INTERVIEWER: What sefer would you recommend for someone who wants to improve his midos?

RABBI YECHEZKAIL LEVENSTEIN: "Study the sefer Tomar Dvorah [Palm tree of D'vorah]. Rabbi Simcha Zissel Ziv of Kelm said that studying it is conducive to self-improvement. The sefer describes the thirteen attributes of the Almighty and elaborates on ways to integrate them into one's own life. Be prepared to spend sufficient time on this project because it is not light reading."[187]

Tisha B'Av - 9th of Av

Five things are prohibited:
eating
drinking

washing
wearing leather shoes
cohabitation

It is also prohibited to greet one's friend or acquaintance and even to say, "Good morning." However, one may respond to a greeting in a low tone in order to avoid resentment. Customarily we do not work for any length of time that may distract from the mourning.

After reading Eicha, Lamentations, we recite the following song:
Eli tzion vodecha, cmo isha btzarta.

Tish B'Av - July 27, 1993 - 5 PM
The following meditation illustrates the positive effect fasting has on meditation. While fasting facilitates meditation by weakening the physical binds on the soul, lengthy fasts can also be dangerous and it is easier to lose consciousness as illustrated at the mediation's end.

I decided to do a meditation to keep my mind off of food. Quickly I rose to the level of Malchuts. I felt the whole floor elevated as I entered this level on my own! I then lifted myself to Yesod. All around were towering angels. With only the slightest though Gavriel, Michael, Uriel, and Raphael descended to the four corners of my body. They lifted me as I looked upwards towards Tiferet like a spread sheet. A fifth angel joined by the name of Nuriel and Uriel took a center position under my body. We ascended above Tiferets and I felt as if I was floating in clouds and a blue sky.

As we rose higher, I thought about what I wanted to do. I wanted to know of the Messiah some more. I then saw one like the Son of Man coming down and there was a crown upon his head lowered quickly from above. I prostrated myself before him and he turned his head upward towards G-d saying,
"Why do you prostrate before me, there is only G-d."

He lifted me up and we were the same height for he was a man not an angel. He told me to find the answers, I should look into his eyes. The eyes were a swirling blue and green like water currents and I began to feel faint. I felt like I might lose consciousness if I gazed to long upon them. I opened my eyes and said I must eat. The experience was too dangerous.

Dove - 7/23/98
Tonight is Rosh Hodesh Av. Today was Erev Rosh Hodesh. In the morning, I cleaned my hand tefillin. I had a blowout on the way to work and replaced two tires and rear brakes. That evening after I came out of shul, I saw a white dove resting on my rear window windshield wiper. It was very much at peace. I saw how it would find peace by looking away from me. Only when a change was imminent would it look towards me, otherwise it would rest.

To be at rest, we must turn away from the turmoil around us and find inner tranquility. As I began to drive off the dove stayed on my car.

6. Elul

The time of the holidays is approaching. The letter y - yod for this month indicates that this is the time that the righteous return completely to G-d. The righteous ones make a complete Tshuvah on the first of Elul. The yod is the first letter of the name of G-d and represents beginnings like Rosh Hashanah. It symbolizes wisdom and the source of the 32 paths. Out of the yod comes the heh, which represents the 50 gates of understanding in the place of Binah. These 50 gates are the permutations taken two out at a time of the seven children of Binah plus one for the revelation of G-d.

7. Tishrei

The letter l - lamed denotes the new cycle of learning that begins with Simchas Torah at the end of the holiday [when we begin reading the Torah scroll from the beginning]. dml - Lomed is also the word for learning in Hebrew. Tishrei is a month to renew Jewish learning which helps us with Tshuvah, i.e. returning to G-d. In addition, the constellation of the month is Libra whose scales symbolize the ten-day judgment period from Rosh Hashanah to Yom Kippur. In Hebrew, the word for scales is moznaim.

Rosh Hashanah 5757 - September 14, 1996 - 11 AM

During the morning service, I was inclined to leave several times.[188] During the Musaf (afternoon) service I had the following experience. I saw myself in a wedge of people advancing into the 1st and 2nd palaces of heaven. The palaces were like castles, the first a reflection of our own world; the second housing the activities of many angels. The 1st and 2nd palaces were chained together and were easy to pass through. Michael and Gabriel held the gates of each palace open to permit the throng to enter. I asked the angels to help me ascend a ladder in the throne room of the 2nd palace. The ladder was completely occupied on this high holiday with the souls of the righteous reaching into the heavens. The angels enabled me to rise beside the ladder upward though the channel of the eye of the cylindrical water fall. The ladder entered a chamber where a righteous one sat upon a throne. This was in the 3rd palace which parallels the sefira of Hesed. The hands of the being were beautiful reflecting deeds of kindness and compassion. He was blessing each person who had ascended the ladder with mercy. I moved beside the person in the front of the line and noticed his right hand in front of me. I was afraid to look at his face, but I had learned from past visions to defeat my fear and that this leads to the highest truth. I looked into his face. At first I saw the reflections of people I knew in the community such as the owner of the Kosher deli, the Rabbi, and other members of the temple, but then the face turned into a doorway. I willed myself into the face of the angel and entered a tunnel which alternated between black and white corridor sections. At the end of the tunnel were ornately carved doors which I could not open. I knew these doors led to the 4th palace which would be the place of the sefira of Hochmah. I uttered in my mind the name of G-d associated with this sefira and the doors opened. I feared entering and then I saw the hand of a lady pass through the doorway towards me seeking my own. I took the hand and entered to be greeted by a beautiful lady in a relatively empty place. I danced with the lady who appeared petite with blonde hair

and I wondered what she was doing here? Why was she at this level of the sefirot? I then realized she was the personification of the Shechinah and was associated with the Partzuf Nukvah or Sefirah Malchuts. The princess dwells in the palace of her father, who is Hochmah and that is why I saw her here. Wisdom is sometimes referred to as a woman in Proverbs, but in truth, it is Wisdom's daughter that is feminine while Wisdom is masculine. I danced with the Shechinah in circles and enjoyed the moment. I remembered the throng following me and I summoned the angels to hold open the gates of this world. The throng entered scaring the princess, but I told her they did not know where they were and could do no harm. As we spun in a circle with one arm extended inward from each of us, I noticed below our hands the singularity of the whole world. This is why there is nothing in Wisdom for all is yet undifferentiated. Looking upward I saw the singularity reflected downward from the gates of Keter which were black and almost impossible to recognize. The angels could not bring me higher. From here on out I was on my own. I uttered the name of G-d associated with Keter, and the black gates opened and I rose through the darkness into the radiating black light. I saw endless blackness all around. I recalled that sons, food, and clothing are left to mazel and descend from this level. Instead I willed myself upward to the next level or Mah in the world of letters. I saw white light and silver chains and knew that Mah parallels Malchut below. I willed upward into Ben which parallels Yesod. I preceded into Sag which parallels Binah, and then Av which parallels Hochmah. Above this was Adam Kadmon where I briefly stayed and then sought to know of higher worlds. I saw the name RaM - \r which means 'high above' and discerned the following expansion. 10*4 + 100*2 => BakDai - ydqb. BakDai means 'enough seeking' which clearly meant I had gone far enough. I ended the vision and swept down in a river flowing through all the sefirot and pouring out of Malchuts like a water fall.

Postscript: Fast of Gedaliah - September 16, 1996

After the destruction of the first Temple, the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnetzar allowed a remnant of the Jews to remain and appointed Gedaliah Ben Achikam to be their governor. Jews who had fled to neighboring lands began to return to tend the vineyards of Judah. The King of Ammon sent Yishmael Ben Netaniah to assassinate Gedaliah. Gedaliah disbelieved the rumors he had heard and went out to greet Yishmael in the town of Mitzpa where he was assassinated.[189]

And yet we read in the daily Alenu prayer:

And G-d will be King over all the earth,
(and) on that day G-d will be one and his name one.
(Zechariah 14:9)

And on Rosh Hashanah we read:

Then the righteous will see and be joyful,
and the forthright will be merry...'[190]

The Gates of Light quotes further:

The light of the moon will be like the light of the sun and the light of the sun will be intensified sevenfold like the light of seven days on the day when the Lord heals his people...
(Isaiah 30:26)

The waters of desire flow from Keter which is the place of ratzon or the will of G-d as He relates to our world. However, all judgments are determined in Gevurah except for three which flow from Keter[191]:

Children, life and food do not rely on merit but on mazel.
(Moed Katan 28a)

The death of Gedaliah is hard to understand. Yet life depends on mazel which is the word for constellation and fortune. Still the sages commemorated Gedaliah's death with a fast day to remember always the good of his life.

8. Heshvan

There are no holidays in this month which is represented by the letter n - nun. The letter nun does not occur in King David's great psalm Ashrei, thus denoting a level the Jews never descended to before leaving Egypt.[192] There is a teaching that there are 49 levels down followed by a 50th level from which there is no return. There are also 49 levels up and the 50th denotes the holiday of Shavuos or the Giving of the Torah and the revelation at Mt. Sinai.

9. Kislev

The letter s - samech denotes happiness or sameach. This month has the holiday of Hanukah.

Kislev 21, 5759 - December 9th - 9 PM
In this meditation, the four angels lifted me toward the sapphire firmament described by Ezekiel. I glimpsed the form of a man on the other side and then passed through. The man had a diadem on his forehead and was of youthful form with dark hair and a lean face, quite handsome. He was the Prince, Zer Anpin and I had a discussion with him. He explained the nature of the longing of the Prince for the Princess. The Princess is joined to the Prince through the prayers of people, which elevates us to G-d. The Prince's situation is the paradigm, root source, of loneliness. I became friends with the Prince and I took him down to our world to see the beauty of mountains, the dessert, and small rivers with grass beds. He saw through my eyes and then assisted me in bringing down his Father and Mother. Everyone here but the Princess, I commented. He said that the Princess is here too but that her presence is in the spiritual form of the good feelings from our world, from us.

He said, now I will give you a gift and he pushed me upwards into the spiritual heavens. I beheld a white angel with a beautiful face. His robes were like a candle flame and I held them as we ascended. All around there were souls busying themselves and mirrors.[193] Eventually the angel brought me into a dark chamber higher up. Here was a man in dark robes with a small gray beard and gray hair and a pointed face. His appearance was scary. He was the root soul of the others. He was the root soul of myself.[194]

We all have a root soul and each of us must work to purify that part of the root's body which we represent. All our actions effect our root soul. Our actions effect other branches of the same root soul.

10. Tevet

The letter u - ayin denotes the adversary and many of Hillel's students died on the Tenth of Tevet which is a fast day. My Grandfather Moshe ben Ovadiah died on this day. Nebuchadnetzar, King of Babylonia, laid siege to Jerusalem on this day and 3 years later on the 9th of Tamuz the walls were breached. With the siege came terrible famine:

'And the city came under siege... and famine became intense in the city.' The daughters of Zion gathered in the market places, and upon seeing each other, one would say to the other: why have you come out to the market place, for you have never done so? The other answered and said: shall I hide it from you? The plague of famine is hard. I cannot bear it. They held on to each other, and went about the city seeking food, but did not find it. They embraced the pillars and died in every corner. Their suckling children crawled about on hand and foot, each one recognizing his mother, and seeking to nurse milk from her. When the child found no nourishment, his life was severed, and he died in his mother's lap' (Pesikta Raba 26)[195].

The 8th and 9th of Tevet are called 'fast-days-for-the-righteous' and observe the misunderstandings of the Greek translation of the Torah on the 8th, and the death of Ezra the Scribe on th 9th. The ultimate aim of the fast day as well at the 9 days leading up is repentance and return to G-d. This is a time to restrict pleasure and examine our deeds and improve for the future.

11. Shevat

The letter x - tzadi denotes the righteous one who is compared to a complete Tree. All of his her midos are in proper balance. This is also the time of Tu B'shvat which is the planting of new trees. Trees are planted at this time to keep track of the three-year requirement before one is permitted to eat the fruit of the tree.

Tu B'shvat - New Year of Trees - January 26, 1994

The following describes a meditation that cures paranoia. The visualization can be done at any time and in any place and should be effective.

On Tu B'shvat, search out apples or other fruit that appear like they are calling you. Part of the healing of the holiday is releasing the sparks in these fruit. Bring the person you wish to heal to a meditation that day. The meditation involves ascending through the sefirot of the person's body, focusing on healing those sefirot that are out of balance. In the case of paranoia, the sefira of Gevurah will be cold. Imagine a warm fuzzy white cloud encompassing the sefira softening its hardness moment by moment.

Next, begin to merge your mind into the mind of the other. Feel his or her thoughts. What do you hear? One may hear phrases like, "I don't want to be here," "Don't judge me," "I wish they cold stay together." These phrases will reflect the root causes of the development of the illness in the person's past.

Now, call upon the angel Raphael and he will place his hand on the left side of your head transmitting a healing energy from Hashem to the Gevurah in your soul.

Afterwards say the blessing over the fruit and release the sparks within.

Deep in Daas - Tu B'shvat - January 22, 1997 - 7:30 PM

I saw myself as a sapling being planted for the holiday. My brothers and sisters stood around in the soil beneath me. This was a simple life, yet beautiful and complete. Day to day I would follow the sun across the sky, turning my leaves in his direction always. After three years I saw there was fruit on my limbs and the first harvest was at hand. As the fruit was taken, I felt relief, a weight removed from me.

Just as the tree changes and moves in its life so should a person change and move. All movements bring knowledge. As the tree ages and its form changes, it becomes somewhat rigid, but there are still movements in the growth of its appearance. Our existence is eternal; though the life we have in this world is only a short span. We should not dwell on past mistakes for they are finite and fleeting. Our lives recur until we get it right.

Like a tree we should extend our branches far and wide. In this manner we meet more people and this interaction brings knowledge and happiness. Instead of striving to find the right person in life, we should strive to grow towards G-d which also means involvement in meeting new people and learning and having fun.

To find a mate, pursue activities that bring one together with other eligible partners rather than professional match makers.

I saw Jesus on the cross crying out to Hashem about being forsaken. I saw G-d respond that because of his great concern about the end of his life; he would magnify the meaning of his death.

At the end of the vision, I asked to see the source of the answers I was receiving. I saw the form of the Glory of G-d who was draped in regal robes with a scepter in His right hand; yet I could not see His face. He stood in a central area while above in a circle there were angels all around. He would turn from one to another assigning a mission and immediately the angel would depart.

12. Adar

Be Happy, its Adar

The month of Adar is symbolized by the letter q - koof which denotes laughter. One needs to make an extra effort to be happy in this month which like all year ends can bring back nostalgic memories and melancholy. The holiday of Purim occurs in this month and is one of 2 festive holidays where one is advised to get inebriated. The other holiday of this sort is Simhas Torah in the month of Tishrei.

C. Weeks [TABLES]

Each shavua - uwbc - week reminds of the process of creation. There are various correspondences with each day of the week.

Table 11: The Sevens of Creation

Sefirot	Qualities	Days of the Week	Double Letter	Foundation	Direction	Metals
Hesed	Kindness	Sunday	bet - b	Wisdom	South	Silver
Gevurah	Judgment	Monday	gimmel - g	Wealth	North	Gold
Tiferets	Beauty	Tuesday	dalet - d	Seed	East	Copper
Netzah	Victory	Wednesday	caph - k	Life	Up	Tin
Hod	Thankfulness	Thursday	peh - p	Rulership	Down	Lead
Yesod	Righteousness	Friday	resh - r	Peace	West	Mercury
Malchuts	Kingship	Shabbat	tav - t	Grace	Center	Iron

1. Rishon - Sunday

Kindness is associated with Sunday, the first day of the week. The planetary ruler of the first hour of the day is the Sun from which the Romans gave it the name.

The fear of G-d is the beginning of Wisdom.
(Proverbs 1:7)

Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the LORD, and stay upon his G-d.
(Isaiah 50:10)

Ravin bar R. Adda said in the name of R. Isaac: He who regularly attends a house of prayer, but fails to come one day–the Holy One, blessed be He, inquires about him, saying, "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of His servant? Yet now walketh off in darkness and hath no light?" If [he walked off in darkness away from the house of prayer] for a religious purpose, he will continue to have light; if for a secular purpose, he will have no light.[196]

2. Sheni - Monday

Judgment associates with Monday. On Mondays and Thursdays, Hashem holds back some of the good light so that we may learn to return to him. In order to make up for this light, we recite the Torah portion in shul on those days to bring the light of G-d down through learning. In addition, Mondays and Thursdays are chosen for self-appointed fasts to return to G-d.

3. Shlishi - Tuesday

G-d blessed Tuesday twice in the creation story. Beauty and splendor associate with Tuesday. The energy of the day facilitates torah learning and knowing truth.

4. Revaee - Wednesday

Wednesday associates with the upper prophecy of Moses. The energy of the day facilitates victory in undertakings and the joy of success, which is required to experience prophecy. Wednesday evenings are particularly suited for meditation for at this time the upper prophecy descends to the lower prophecy in our world.

5. Hamishi - Thursday

Thursday associates with the lower prophecy of Aaron the priest. This manifestation of prophecy is in life lessons and service to Hashem. The energy of the day is particularly suited to remind us of the need to show gratitude to Hashem and others in our life.

6. Sheshe - Friday

Righteousness associates with Friday. The energy facilitates preparation for Shabbat. Towards the end of Friday, Hashem grants an extra energy to finish the work of the week.

7. Shabbat - Saturday

Observing the Shabbas is one of the keys to achieving closeness to Hashem. This is the day when Hashem releases an extra portion of blessing stored in Malchuts for our world. This is similar to the extra portion of manna that the Israelites had for Shabbas while wandering in the Wilderness. We call the extra portion released from Malchuts, the Shechinah that is the presence of G-d.[197]

- Whoever is careful with Shabbas observance will be forgiven for all his sins even idolatry.
- Respecting the Shabbas is greater than fasting a thousand days.
- If the children of Israel would observe one Shabbas properly, the Moshiach would immediately come.
- If your children accept the observance of the Shabbas, they will merit entering the land of Israel.
- Whoever takes pleasure in the enjoyment of the Shabbas will be granted all of his heart's desires.
- Observing the Shabbas is equal to fulfilling all the mitzvoth of the Torah.
- Proper Observance of one Shabbas is equivalent to having observed all the Shabbatoth since creation.

There are 39 types of work prohibited on Shabbat. These are based on the work that was done in setting up the tabernacle. The tabernacle or Mishkan was a moving sanctuary that could be set up with tent walls and other holy articles. The original concepts are interpreted in stricter ways today.[198]

Table 12: Creative Works Prohibited on Shabbas

Work – melacha	Torah examples	Rabbinical examples	Permitted examples
Plowing – horaesh – crwh	Turning soil, digging holes, and removing stones from a garden.	Sweeping may lead to leveling ground.	
Planting – zoreah – urwz	Planting a tree, watering plants, throwing seeds onto wet soil.		
Harvesting – kotzar – rxwq	Picking fruit	picking a flower	

Gathering – mamer – rmum [collecting natural produce into a bundle]	Putting together a bouquet, collecting natural produce into a field.		
Threshing – dash – cd [separating a natural product from its natural container]	Like English 'dash' as in a "dash of salt". Pressing grapes or olives for juice.	Squeezing fruits for juice.	
Winnowing – zoreh – hrwz [using the wind to separate wanted from unwanted objects]	Blowing away nutshells from a mixture of nuts and shells.		
Selecting – borear – rrwb [separating desirable items from undesirable ones in a mixture]	Picking out specific books, dishes, or toys to be put away. Using a slotted spoon for selecting vegetables in soup.		Peeling fruit for immediate use is permitted.
Grinding - Tohän - }jwf [breaking down a substance into small usable pieces]	Grating potatoes or carrots. Making sawdust.	Taking medicines. As they were once prepared by grinding there is a prohibition from using them on Shabbas accept under essential circumstances.	Crushing crackers or other previously ground foods is permitted on Shabbas. Vegetables may be cut with a knife into small pieces for prompt use.
Sifting – Mrakäd – dqrm [separating mixed objects with a strainer]	Sifting flower. Removing a tea bag from a cup if tea. Separating spaghetti from water with a strainer.		
Kneading – Lahsh - cl [combining particles with liquid to form a dough or paste]	Mixing cream of wheat or oatmeal cereal into a thick mixture.	Mixing cream of wheat or oatmeal cereal into a thin mixture.	
Baking – Opheh - hpwa [changing the physical state of a substance by heating it]	Turning on a hot water faucet (causing cold water to flow into the hot boiler).	Stirring cooked food on a flame.	Making sun tea. Re-heating dry, cooked solid food.

Shearing – Gozaz – zzwg [Detaching non-living parts from a living animal]	Cutting nails, cutting hair, pulling out whiskers.	Biting nails or skin, combing or brushing if hairs will be uprooted, pulling out wool by hand from a living animal.	A very soft brush does not pull out hairs and may be used,
Bleaching – Mlaban – }blm [Freeing material from unwanted dirt, stains, dust, etc.]	Shaking or cleaning visible dust from dark colored clothing, soaking clothing, wringing out wet clothing, scrubbing clothing.	Hanging up clothing to dry may lead people to think it was washed on Shabbath.	Barely visible dust may be removed from light-colored clothing, leather surfaces may be washed with water without scraping, wet mud may be removed with a knife.
Combing – Mnapatz – {pnm [Untangling clumps of raw material into separate strands.]	Raking wool, flax, cotton, etc.		
Dyeing – Tzoväah – ubwx [Changing or reinforcing color.]	Painting, dyeing, coloring with crayons, using oil-based make-up.		Food may be colored.
Spinning – Toveh – hwwf [Twisting a strand of fiber into thread.]	Using a spinning wheel or loom.		
Threading Loom – Masech –]sym [Tying the threads from the front to the back roller.]			

D. Seasons

The Earth is referred to by four names in the liturgy.[199] During the spring, the earth is Eretz from the word Ratz that means movement or running. During the springtime, the earth is busy replenishing life. In the summer, the earth is called Tevel, which comes from the Hebrew word for spices and taste. In the summer, the earth enriches vegetation with the flavor of spices. In the fall, the earth is called Adamah, which means soil. Adam was created in the fall at Rosh Hashanah. In the fall, the earth dries up and soil clumps together with decaying vegetation. In the winter, the earth is Arak that means empty since the earth lies barren at this time.[200]

> ***So, wither the leaves of the past generation to produce the flowers of the next generation***[201]

The orchid is showing us the proper way to live.

E. Aging

Old age does not take well to negative or unhappy thoughts. One should focus on the positive, see the good in what makes them happy, for joy is the source of their life. Recall the exciting and happy thoughts

in life during conversation and leave the sadder subjects for conversations with younger folks.

VII. In Search of the Gateway

A. Gematria [TABLE]

The table below lists the Hebrew letters, their values, and their names in Hebrew and English.

Table 13: Hebrew Letters and Numbers

	Unity	Couples	Fertility	Rigor	Action	Love	Shabbas	Spiritual	War
twa **Number** **rbd** **Letter** **Meaning**	a 1 [la aleph ox	b 2 tyb bet house	g 3 lmg gimel camel	d 4 tld dalet door	h 5 ah heh window	w 6 ww vav peg	z 7 }yz zayin weapon	j 8 tyj het fence	f 9 tyf tet serpent
twa **Number** **rbd** **Letter** **Meaning**	y 10 dwy yod hand	k 20 [k kaph palm of the hand	l 30 dml lamed ox-goad	m 40 \m mem water	n 50 }wn nun fish	s 60]ms samehk prop, support	u 70 }yu ayin eye	p 80 ap peh mouth	x 90 ydx tzadi fishing hook
twa **Number** **rbd** **Letter** **Meaning**	q 100 [wq kof back of head	r 200 cyr resh head	c 300 }yc shin tooth	t 400 wt tav cross	] 20 (500) typws [k final kaph	\ 40 (600) typws \m final mem	} 50 (700) typws }wn final nun	[80 (800) typws ap final peh	{ 90 (900) typws ydx final tzadi

Practicing Gematria requires the following:

- Calligraphy pens – find a Sheaffer Calligraphy Kit.
- Hebrew calligraphy book - Jay Greenspan who taught at BCI[202] in August 1981 has an excellent book.
- Memorize the numerical values of each Hebrew letter with the final letters having the same numerical value as their source letter.

There are really only 22 principle letters in the Hebrew alphabet. Scribes to make it easier to recognize word separation added final letters.

1. Amen

Meditation, calligraphy, and gematria go hand in hand. Here is the result of a meditation on the word Amen after reading the Psalms of David[203] and the Bahir.[204]

}ma

91

ax

}m = x

FROM }m = x THE TZADDIK BRINGS

G-D a INTO THE WORLD

{rab]rbtmh rca

}ma hlab]rbty

THAT WHICH HE BLESSES IN THE LAND

IS BLESSED THROUGH THIS— AMEN

YHVH + ynda

26 + 65 = 91

}lya

ROOT < LEAVES < SUN < G-D

THE TREE TRANSMITS ENERGY

FROM ROOT TO LEAVES

AND BACK DOWN AGAIN

2. 100 Blessings a Day

The Sha'are Orah teaches the importance of reciting 100 blessings a day. This practice was instituted by David when he noticed a higher degree of illness in the people. The Sha'are Orah brings down that there were a hundred receptacles for the poles supporting the tabernacle. These receptacles are associated with Malchuts, the receptacle for G-d's energy entering our world. Reciting blessings helps to disperse this bounty to the rest of the world. Koof - q has the value 100 and is the result of the progression of G-d's energy from 1 - Aleph – a to 10 - Yod - y to 100 - Koof - q. The next step over is 2 - bet - b, 20 - caph - k, and 200 - resh - r. Rearranging the letters and putting the columns together spells one hundred bracha or blessings. Now, proceeding upwards from the Koof to the Aleph, the q represents Israel as they tithe to the Levites represented by y. Unless the Levites receive the proper tithe of 10 from the 100 they are unable to tithe the 1 - a to the Kohanim. The a represents the level of the Neshamah which requires the one hundred blessings to trigger the ten which trigger the single quanta of energy uniting our soul with Hashem.

3. Nature

The word, hateva, meaning "the nature" has gematria 86 that is the same as the Name, Elohim. Elohim sustains the physical forces of nature.

B. Numerology [TABLES]

After studying Gematria for a few years, I ran across "Linda Goodman's Star Signs" which describes an English version of Gematria that is based on the Hebrew phonetic sounds. Include program in appendix for doing this calculation.

1. Alphabet

Table 14: Development of the Alphabet and Numerical Values

English Letter	Hebrew Letter Source	Greek	Roman
A – 1	aleph - a – 1	alpha – A – α	A
B – 2	bet - b – 2	beta – B – β	B

C – 3	gimmel - g – 3	gamma – Γ – γ	C
D – 4	dalet - d – 4	delta – Δ – δ	D
E – 5	heh - h - 5	epsilon – E – ε	E
F – 8	Feh - p - 80	digamma – Φ – ϕ	F
G – 3	gimmel - g - 3	gamma – Γ – γ	G
H – 5	heh - h - 5	eta – H – η	H
I - 1	yod - y - 10	iota – I – ι	I
J – 1	yod - y - 10	iota – I – ι	J
K – 2	kaph - k - 20	kappa – K – κ	K
L – 3	lamed - l - 30	lambda – Λ – λ	L
M – 4	mem - m - 40	mu – M – •	M
N – 5	nun - n - 50	nu – N – ν	N
O – 7	ayin - u - 70	O – O – o	O
P –8	peh - p - 80	pi – Π – π	P
Q – 1	koof - q - 100	qopp – Θ – θ	Q
R – 2	resh - r - 200	rho – P – ρ	R
S – 3	shin - c - 300	sigma – – σ	S
T – 4	tav - t - 400	tau – T – τ	T
U – 6	vav - w – 6	upsilon – Y – υ	V
V – 6	vav - w – 6	vau – ς – ϖ	V
W – 6	vav - w – 6	upsilon – Y – υ	V
X – 5	heh - h - 5	xi – Ξ – ξ	X
Y – 1	yod - y - 10	psi – Ψ – ψ	Y
Z – 7	zayin - z - 7	zeta – Z – ζ	Z

Hebrew letters that are not in the English language are listed in the following table. Except for the het, which maintains a strong presence in English spelling, the other four letters have a diminished influence in English speaking countries.

Table 15: Hebrew Letters Missing Representation in the English Alphabet

English Letter	Hebrew Letter Source	Tarot
ght – 8	het - j – 8	chariot
? – 9	tet - f – 9	hermit
? – 60	samech – s – 60	devil
? – 70	ayin - u – 70	tower
? – 90	tzadik - x – 90	moon

2. Single Numbers

These are the associations of the principle numbers:[205]

Table 16: Principle Associations of the Numbers

#	**Planetary Ruler, Sign Ruled *and Trait***	**Vibration**	**Colors**	**Gems**	**Health**	**Treatments**	**Warnings**	**Foods**
1	Sun Leo *Initiate*	take charge, inventive, ego, protect the weak	sunny gold, yellow, royal purple	topaz, amber	Heart problems, lower back pain			
2	Moon Cancer *Sensitive*	imagination, romance, love						
3	Jupiter Sagittarius *Expand*	fruition, optimism, expansion						

4	Uranus Aquarius *Base*	inventiveness, individuality, genius, tolerance	Electric blue, cobalt blue, silver-gray, ocean green	Sapphire, quartz, azurite, malachite	mental disorders, melancholy, anemia, poor circulation, pains in the head and back	electrical treatments, hypnosis, mental suggestion, massage, whirlpools	Avoid all kinds of drugs, avoid highly seasoned foods, avoid red meat	Eat spinach Principle herbs - sage
5	Mercury Gemini Virgo *Move*		Pearl gray, light green, silver	Aquamarine, Platinum, Silver	nervous, insomnia. Phantom pains in shoulders, arms, and hands.	Practice grace under pressure. Patience, sleep, rest, quiet surroundings.		Carrots, parsnips, sea kale, oatmeal, parsley
6	Venus Taurus *Love*		Pastels, pink blue, brown green	Opals, copper	infections in the throat, nose, upper lungs	Visits to the country. Live in the country.		
7	Neptune Pisces *Spirit*		sea green light yellow aqua pink white					
8	Saturn Capricorn *Material*		Black					
9	Mars Aries *Conflict*			Diamond				

a) Number 1

1 is for G-d above. One entities take charge, can be inventive, do not like criticism, and may have a large go.

b) Number 2

2 are the Luhot.

c) Number 4

At the time of the destruction of the Temple, the people did not have the four arms, only the arm of halacha. They would learn at home and pray in the Temple. They did not learn in a house of a study, with others.[206]

Table 17: Number Four

Four concepts	Reference to:	Reference to:
L'lmod - to learn	Mikra - scripture	Pshat - simple interpretation
Lamed - to teach	Mishnah - six commentaries	Remez - allusion
Lishma - to guard over the things we shouldn't do	Talmud - the finishing, Gemara.	Drash - expounding
Laasot - to do the things we're supposed to do	Halacha - the law.	Sod - secret

The number four represents work. Reb. Chiya ben Avi said in the name of Hulla, "Greater is the person who has delight in living off of his own work than one who has fear of heaven."[207] For a person with the fear of heaven, the passuk says, "happy is the man who fears G-d", "Ashrei ish y'rat Hashem." Further, for the one who lives by his own work the psalm says, "the person who eats by his own toil, he will be happy and his life good." This means happy for him in this world and good for him in the world to come.

3. Compound Numbers

These parallel the 32 paths of wisdom from 10 to 32.

Table 18: Compound Numbers

Number	Description	Hebrew Meaning	Tarot Hebrew Letter	Tarot Interpretation
10	The Wheel of Fortune		yod - y – 10	
11	A Lion Muzzled - A Clenched Fist		kaph – k - 20	
12	The Sacrifice - The Victim		lamed - l - 30	
13	Regeneration - Change		mem - m - 40	Death tarot card. Death is change and the regeneration of life.
14	Movement ... Challenge		nun - n – 50	Temperance tarot card. Movement, change in life while bringing more failures brings more successes in life. Movement brings temperance and balanced perspective.
15	The Magician	Yah – hy, the Creator's name, "With Yah, G-d created the world." Songs of praise, Shir Amalot, there are 15. Yishtabach contains 15 praises of Hashem. "15 was used to reflect the highest degree attainable in the praise of G-d."[208]	samech - s – 60	Creator tarot card.
16	The Shattered Citadel		ayin - u – 70	Tower tarot card.
17	The Star of the Magi		peh - p – 80	Immortality. Star tarot card.
18	Spiritual-Material Conflict	18 instances of the tetragrammaton compose 72 letters symbolizing the 72 Letter Name. This occurs in Psalm 29, the Shema, the Song of Moses, and the Amidah by intention.[209]	tzadik - x – 90	Moon tarot card.

19	The Prince of Heaven		koof - q - 100	Sun tarot card, victory over temporary failures and disappointment. Happiness and fulfillment, success.
20	The Awakening		resh - r - 200	Judgment tarot card, at some point there will be an Awakening for the person and a new clear path will be pursued.
21	The Crown of the Magi		shin - c - 300	The Universe or World tarot card. The Crown of the Magi. Success, advancement, elevation of a career.
22	Submission – and Caution		tav – t - 400	A Blind man, good, but fooled by others. The master architect who builds with the 22 letters in the Hebrew alphabet.
23	The Royal Star of the Lion			Success, protection from those in high places. Grace, no other number can stand in its way.
24	Love - Money - Creativity			
25	Discrimination and Analysis			
26	Partnerships			Compassion, unselfishness, ability to help others not always oneself.
27	The Scepter			
28	The Trusting Lamb			
29	Grace Under Pressure			
30	The Loner - Meditation			
31	The Recluse - the Hermit			

32	Communication			

The number 16 has a terminal association. The Hebrew source meaning of the number is from the verb, ‘fall’ - nofel - lpn with gematria:
lamed + peh + nun = 30 + 80 + 50 = 160 => which can be reduced to 16 with the law of zeros.[210]

In Genesis 6:1-4, the word refers to a people born of the result of the marriages of the Sons of G-d and the Sons of Men:

And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of G-d saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives, whomsoever they chose. And the Lord said: ‘My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for that he also is flesh; therefore shall his days be a hundred and twenty years.’ The Nephilim - \ylpn were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of G-d came into the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; the same were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.

The number 16 refers to the shattered citadel that was once great but now the King and Queen fall to their doom. In kind, the Nephilim no longer live and many great kingdoms no longer exist.

Who were the Nephilim? Who are the sons of G-d and sons of men? The sons of G-d are the descendants of Adam who bear the divine soul. The sons of men are people who were around at the time, the result of evolution. The sons of G-d being tempted by their bodies saw the beauty of the daughters of men and took them to be wives. Their sons became heroes pursuing greatness, but trait for trait like their father’s lust, away from the spirit of Hashem.

4. Higher Compound Numbers

Table 19: Higher Compound Numbers

Number	Meaning
33	magnified 24
34	same as 25
35, 44	same as 26
36	same as 27
37	

Song

Recording songs and poems helps manifest ideas to change oneself and the world.

If you want to be free,
Open your heart to what you need[211]
Like calls to like and G-d sends the rain right down,
G-d sends the rain pouring down.
Rain on me, good rain on all my friends right now,
Like calls to like and rain pours down[212]

C. Star Wisdom [FIGURES]

1. Recording Star Patterns in a Journal

Kaplan's commentary on Sefer Yetzirah states the way to understand the meaning of the night sky is to see your own star patterns. This is similar to seeing shapes in cloud patterns; but one's own imagination will reveal the inner meaning of the constellation. There is reference to using Ptolemy's constellations as an accurate basis, but better yet, is go under the heavens oneself and examine the stars often.

July 10, 1996
Last night I noticed Draco serpenting its way up and around Ursala Minor and then up into its head. The North star is at the tail of Ursala Minor which is 69 to Ursala Major. All constellations hang off of Draco like a Tallis in Hebrew.[213] In the sky Draco swirls closely around the North star and its size and position give it the appearance that all other constellations descend from it.

Figure 3: The Dragon, Big and Little Dipper

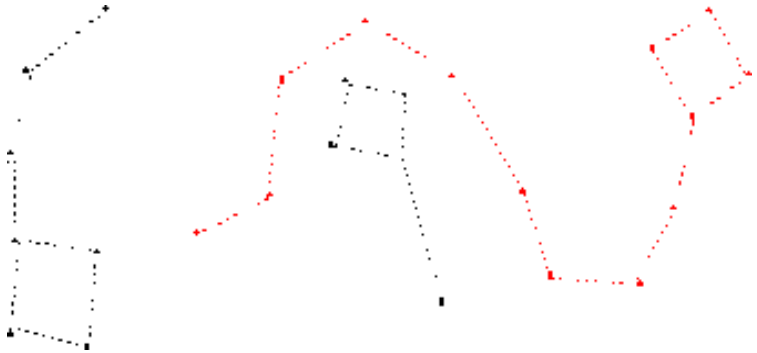

Sefer Yetzirah refers to the seven planets and twelve signs as set in the Teli.[214] The Teli may have originally meant a ball with a line attached to it for capturing animals and Draco is precisely in this shape. There is also the connotation of items hanging from the Teli from the word Tallis mentioned above. Other authorities identify the Teli with the Pole Serpent or Leviathan. Overall the Teli is the Dragon of the Universe from which the guiding constellations descend.[215]

Corona Borealis - The Northern Crown - August 5, 1996
The crown can be found by first locating Arcturus and then looking higher up in the sky. The crown reminds me of the sefira Keter whose Hebrew name means crown.. There is a dual star system in this constellation that flares up once every 80 years for a single night!

Figure 4: The Northern Crown

The Southern Cross
The stars below the equator are also amazing to see. Perhaps most amazing of all is Procyon in Canis Minor below and between Gemini and Cancer. The star is 0.4 magnitude and filled with the colors cool blue, sparkling Red, and white (kind of like the US Flag). If you are at the equator (Singapore) and look up to the right you will see Canopus (white), and above to the right Achernar, and then Fomalhaut. Below and between the last two is the Southern Cross with its leader Al Nair.

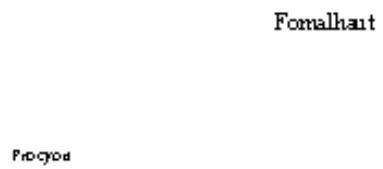

At 5:30 AM, August 27th, 1998, I see Procyon, Serius and Adhara, and Canopus, Achernar, and Fomalhaut rising to the right. They are G-d's lights in the Southern sky. They are beautiful. I learned in Singapore that G-d created all people with a special love and each is precious and has distinct importance.

August 27th, 1998 - 8:00 AM.
I dreamed of tracing my identity and another back through ancestors. I saw in myself different objects and in the other person objects that did not match. Finally, I saw an apple in me and then in her the same apple and I was as Adam and she as Eve. The apple turned into a tree with many fruits and the tree was growing as a fruitful vine extending into the reaches. I heard my father call my name, Jeff, with his youthful voice. Then I awoke refreshed and happy. I looked outside and the sun was shining. "When you can see the sunrise in Singapore you have found a prize" – Tao Cheng.

May 30th, 2001
Saw the pattern of the spade pointing towards the north in the night sky. The spade is the sword suit in Tarot or wind in astrology and is ominous. The north represents wealth. Forming constellations by gazing at the night sky is a form of divination.

2. Star Meditation

Kaplan's Jewish Meditation, P.67 describes:

One type of meditation mentioned in the Zohar (1:1b, 2:231b) involves contemplating the stars. The Zohar provides a biblical source for this type of meditation, from the verse, "Lift your eyes on high, and see who created these, the One who brings out their host by number, He calls them all by name . . ." (Is. 40:26).

> *Have you seen the stars in the night, they eliminate headaches with their twinkling light.*[216]

Looking at the stars at night is a healing activity. They remind us of the grandeur of the heavens and lift us beyond the daily stress of life.[217] For a life of contentment and simplicity, one should choose to live in a place where the stars shine bright. Looking at the stars bestows wisdom on the gazer. Learning the movements of the stars bestows understanding. Both together bring knowledge.

D. Divination

1. Tarot

The ability to do correct divination depends on the state of the diviner. In this manner, one catches obstructing angels off guard and obtains a more accurate reading. The Tarot as well as most fortune telling is inaccurate for predicting the future as we have free will. They are most accurate for learning the story behind past events. They are also accurate for revealing the present.

There are 56 cards for the Minor Arcana and 22 cards for the Major Arcana. The Minor Arcana include four suits of ten cards corresponding to the four elements and the ten sefirot reflected in each of them. Nevertheless the symbols on the Rider cards do not match in meaning. For the purpose of divination it matters little as long as the user has a clear understanding of each card. The four suits associate with the four letters of the tetragrammaton.[218] The Yod is Water or Cups from Abba-Father, Hochmah consciousness. The first Heh is Fire or Wands from Imma-Mother, Binah consciousness. The Vav is Air or Swords from Zer Anpin, the central six sefirot. The final Heh is Earth or Pentacles from Bat-daughter, Shechinah consciousness.

In addition, there are four court cards in each suit: Page, Knight, Queen, and King. They reflect messengers or personal representations in the divination. The Major Arcana include 22 cards corresponding to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The image on the card corresponds to the meaning of the associated Hebrew letter. The numbering of the major arcana should begin with the

Magician as aleph - 1, the High Priestess as bet - 2, the Empress as gimmel -3, the emperor as dalet - 4. There are also overtures of numerology in the associations of the cards with these numbers. Intrinsically the cards have no power, even their symbols are subjective but they serve as a channel for divine communication.

Waite had the following to say on the association of the Hebrew letters with the Tarot Cards: [219]

"The supposed Hebrew symbolism of the Tarot, which in justice to Papus, is laboriously elaborated –though apart from all inspiration- becomes disorganized if there is any doubt as to the attribution of its Trump Cards to the Hebrew Alphabet. Now there is one card which bears no number and is allocated therefore according to the discretion of the interpreter.[220] It has been placed in all cases wrongly, by the uninstructed because they had nothing but their private judgment to guide them, and by some who claimed to know better because they desired to mislead. It happens, however, that they also where at sea. I may go further and say that the true nature of Tarot symbolism is perhaps a secret in the hands of a very few persons, and outside that circle operators and writers may combine the cards as they like and attribute them as they like, but they will never find the right way."

The twelve elemental Hebrew letters correspond well with twelve of the Major Arcana trumps. The remaining ten trumps correspond better with a numerological meaning.[221] There has been some attempt to associate them with the seven Hebrew double letters with correspondence to the seven planets and three Hebrew mother letters, but the symbolic meaning is off. Instead, English numerology has a better fit.

Table 20: Hebrew Alphabet and the Tarot Sefirot Up

Numerology	Wands Up Fire	Pentacles Up Earth	Swords Up Air	Cups Up Water
1	Ace of Wands Keter, beginnings			
2				
3				
4				
5		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.		

vav - w – 6				
zayin - z – 7				
het - j – 8				
tet – f - 9				
yod - y – 10				
kaph – k - 20				
lamed - l - 30				
mem - m - 40				
nun - n – 50				
samech - s – 60				
ayin - u – 70				
peh - p – 80				
tzadik - x – 90				
koof - q - 100				
resh - r - 200				
shin - c - 300				
tav – t - 400				

Table 21: Hebrew Alphabet and the Tarot Major Arcana, Trumps, Up

Hebrew Letter Source	Wands Up Fire	Pentacles Up Earth	Swords Up Air	Cups Up Water	Hebrew Letter Source	Major Arcana Up
aleph - a – 1	Ace of Wands Keter, beginnings				aleph - a – 1	Magician The rod up is the upper yod and pointing downwards is the lower you.

bet - b – 2					bet - b – 2	High Priestess The bet is the home, the spiritual center of the high priestess.[222] The number two is akin to sensitivity, emotion, partnerships and the psychic.
gimmel - g – 3					gimmel - g – 3	Empress mother, creator, 3 suggests children, Gimmel associates with fortune from the dreidle.
dalet - d – 4					dalet - d – 4	Emperor
heh - h - 5		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.			heh - h - 5	Hierophant The upper and lower temples.[223]
vav - w – 6					vav - w – 6	Lovers
zayin - z - 7					zayin - z - 7	Chariot
het - j – 8					het - j – 8	Strength
tet – f - 9					tet – f - 9	Hermit

yod - y – 10					yod - y – 10	Wheel of Fortune new beginnings, auspicious time, like the yod is a point beginning. The tip of the yod is Keter as the full yod is Hochmah. Keter is the will or the primal thought of creation.
kaph – k - 20					kaph – k - 20	Justice
lamed - l - 30					lamed - l - 30	Hanged Man Hung up on learning and cannot act.
mem - m - 40					mem - m - 40	Death Rebirth, water washes clean and renews life. Mikvah experience of renewel.
nun - n – 50					nun - n – 50	Temperance There are 49 levels to fall before the 50th level of ultimate destruction or 49 levels to rise before the 50th level of ultimate salvation. The 50th day after the Counting of the Omer is

						Shavuot, revelation of God achieved through complete temperance with life.
samech - s – 60					samech - s – 60	Devil Magic Supports and connections, an allusion of magic, but is not magic at all but something real. Sometimes we hide behind the supports getting too dependent on what is secure. This too is the devil and letting go of security is the beginning of freedom.
ayin - u – 70					ayin - u – 70	Tower struck by lightning and king/queen falling from it. The Ayin Ra or evil eye is the Tower that brings others down.

peh - p – 80					peh - p – 80	Star Hope and nourishment from one place to the next. Peh is an opening, a pitcher that pours water upon the land.
tzadik - x – 90					tzadik - x – 90	Moon Associated with Pisces and the dreamer. This was Joseph Ha Tzadik. Psychic power is here but sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between prophecy and delusion. Upright the card represents deception. Self-righteousness is a deception for a person is not s/he seems. Also, the more righteousness, the greater the tests of temptation.
koof - q - 100					koof - q - 100	Sun
resh - r - 200					resh - r - 200	Judgment

shin - c - 300					shin - c - 300	World
tav – t - 400					tav – t - 400	Fool The cross, stepping off the cliff of self-sacrifice, or universal redemption.

Table 22: Hebrew Alphabet and the Tarot Reversed

Hebrew Letter Source	Wands Down Fire	Pentacles down Earth	Swords Down Air	Cups Down Water	Major Arcana Down
aleph - a – 1				A	Magician The rod up is the upper yod and pointing downwards is the lower you.
bet - b – 2				B	High Priestess The bet is the home, the spiritual center of the high priestess.[224] The number two is akin to sensitivity, emotion, partnerships and the psychic.
gimmel - g – 3				C	Empress
dalet - d – 4				D	Emperor

heh - h - 5		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.	Hierophant
vav - w – 6				F	Lovers
zayin - z - 7			Return of a possession or to the original state		Chariot
het - j – 8				H	Strength
tet – f - 9				I	Hermit
yod - y – 10				J	Wheel of Fortune new beginnings, auspicious time, like the yod is a point beginning. The tip of the yod is Keter as the full yod is Hochmah. Keter is the will or the primal thought of creation.
kaph – k - 20				K	
lamed - l - 30				L	
mem - m - 40				M	
nun - n – 50				N	
samech - s – 60					
ayin - u – 70				O	
Peh - p – 80				P	
Koof - q - 100				Q	
Resh - r - 100				R	
Shin - c - 300				S	

tav - t - 400				T	
vav - w – 6				V	
vav - w – 6				V	
vav - w – 6				V	
heh - h – 5				X	
yod - y - 10				Y	
zayin - z - 7				Z	

2. Urim and Tamim

Another example of divination occurs in the Torah when the High Priest would consult the Urim and Tamim - \ymt for a complete lighted answer to an important question. The King of Israel might ask for guidance with the Urim and Tamim in matters of national interest when meeting with the High Priest.

Saul then said to the Lord, the G-d of Israel, "Bring a complete answer."
Jonathan and Saul were indicated by lot, and the troops were cleared.
(Samuel I 14:41-42)

"Bringing a tamim" was a way for a king to uncover a hidden reason for G-d's will in a situation. The root of the word, Tam - \t means perfect, complete, or simple. Nevertheless, the greatness of Israel is summed up with the following:

No harm is in sight for Jacob, no woe in view for Israel.
The Lord their G-d is with them and their King's acclaim is in their midst.
G-d who freed them from Egypt is for them like the horns of the wild ox.
Lo, there is no augury in Jacob, no divining in Israel:
Jacob is told at once, yea Israel, what G-d has planned.
(Numbers 23:21-23)

3. Lots of Jonah

4. Page Turning

5. Verse of a Child's Study

6. Dream Questions

Shailot Holam, asking a question through a dream is a tool for divine inspiration. The method involved writing a question on a piece of paper, putting it under ones pillow and in the morning inspecting the paper for a succinct answer.[225]

E. Tzaddik

The term tzaddik means a righteous, holy person. Seeking out a "true" tzaddik is always a gateway to spiritual elevation. The "true" tzaddik is actually a person who has very little to say but when he speaks everyone feels that sHe is being directly spoken to even in a group setting. I present my own experience in meeting a true tzaddik:

January 12, 1993 - 9:30 AM

I had an audience with the Tzaddik of Nikelsburg, Rabbi M. Lebovits. He is spiritual heir and a descendent of Rabbi Smelke of Nikelsburg, a student of the Baal Shem Tov. His silence conveys understanding. He suggested reading Psalm 128 daily. He asked some questions, listened to answers and stories, and seemed to understand what was said and not said.

The assistant asked for a Hebrew name and mother's Hebrew name, address, and phone number before entering the room. The Rebbe asked for family origin.

When I discussed the Nothingness of Keter that I saw or the book Bahir that I studied, his face lit up and I heard a sigh. There was something in his silence. Even when he spoke to the congregation, a silence in him waited. This was like the silence of Keter, waiting for the word to come forth to manifest the will of G-d. This is a wonderous silence. I never saw his face turn from anyone who questioned him. His soul was safe from the outside world.

Before the tzaddik gives his blessing, he asks questions to raise within him the energy for the blessing.

Joseph represents the essence of the tzaddik. In Jacob's blessing over Joseph, he states, "GEN 49:24 But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob; from thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel - larcy }ba huwr \cm" The Bahir 91 explains:

"The stone that the builders rejected has become the head cornerstone."
It ascends to the place from which it was graven, as it is written,
"From there is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel."

The Bahir, section 187 describes the character of the Shepherd:

It is thus written (Isaiah 11:3), "I will grant him a spirit of the fear of G-d,
And he will not judge by the sight of his eyes,
He will not admonish according to what his ear hears."
He will incline all the world to the pan of merit.
From there counsel emanates, and from there health emanates to the world.
"From there is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel."
This is the place that is called "There."

The Bahir 193 shows that the Supernal Tzadik nourishes Israel:

"From There is nourished the Rock of Israel."
What is the meaning of "from There"?
We say that this is the Supernal Righteous One – }wylu qdx.
What is He (the Tzadik above)?
He is the Reward, the great hidden Light which is called Socher - rhws
And the splendid rock below is called Dar – rd
And the rays these are the rays from His Hand,
they are from the five fingers [of his right hand].

The Tzadik above refers to "the Reward, the great hidden Light," Socher, that is Hashem; the tzaddik below is as the splendid rock Dar, that is His representative in this generation. Habakkuk 3:3-6 is the biblical source text of the above:

G-d came from Texan, and the Holy One from mount Paran. Selah.
His Glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise.
And His brightness was as the light; and He had rays of light coming out of His hands;
And there was the Hiding of His Power.

Before Him went pestilence, and burning coals went forth at His feet.
He stood, and measured the earth: He beheld and drove asunder the nations;
And the everlasting mountains were scattered, and the perpetual hills did bow:
His ways are everlasting.

F. Intelligence

Memorization is a key to building a better memory. One must always strive to memorize new teachings and prayers. One can then recite them while one is driving or walking to Shul as a memory exercise. Once one has memorized one can review to make it permanent, but one should continue to seek out and memorize new teachings for this is the process of exercising the memory.

Studying Gemara is a key to increasing reasoning skills. Gemara trains one in the process of logical

deduction and analysis. It also will improve inspiration in technical fields and reasoning in all matters.

"G-d commanded Moses that the written Torah should not be recited from memory, and that the Oral Torah should not be written down. The Oral Torah was recited from memory, and was thus given over from one person to another."[226] Hence, our sages focused on memorizing Mishnah. Others recite T'hillim from memory. Most have memorized the Shema. While we are permitted to memorize our prayers, others are careful to recite the Shema from the Siddur. The Shema says, "And you shall teach them to your children and speak of them when sitting in your house, when walking along your way and when you lie down and when you rise up" implying these words are known by heart.

Why was the Oral Torah not written down? This was to teach us that the essence of learning Torah is by watching and living with religious people. We learn the details of Torah by observing their ways.[227] "Greater is the serving of talmudei hochamei than learning from them." This is the true way of understanding the meaning of the transmission of Torah Baal Peh.

G. Soul

Judaism presents five major levels to the soul:

Table 23: Five Levels of the Soul

Soul	Meaning	Manifestation
Nefesh	Body	Health
Ruach	Spirit	Positive morale
Neshamah	Soul	Moral sense
Chaya	Community Soul	Sixth sense
Yechidah	One soul with G-d	Prophecy

The Nefesh is our body, which is part of our soul. In the world to come, G-d resurrects us into an eternal body.

The Ruach is the spirit one feels by standing looking at the ocean or feeling G-d's breeze run with ones body. The ruach is the spirit we know and feel with Hashem.

The Neshamah is our moral consciousness. When we feel guilty for sin and know the right thing to do, it is from our Neshamah that we know this.

The Chaya is our community consciousness. The Chaya is our source of a sixth sense, of knowing how others are feeling without being there.

Yechidah is a part of our soul that is always with G-d. This is our direct channel of communication with Hashem.

H. Seven Tests

According to our qualities, we are tested. Abraham was tested in kindness by whether he would forsake Sodom or plead on their behalf. Sodom whose values differed utterly from Abraham's would have nothing redeemable in the eyes of Abraham.

Isaac was tested in strictness by his acceptance of the Akeidah, his personal sacrifice.

Jacob was tested in truth by living in the house of Lavan. He dealt with Lavan in a straight manner though he was treated in a crooked manner.

Moses was tested in eternity by rejecting the offer of his children starting a new chosen people to Hashem.

Aaron was tested in gratitude.

Joseph was tested in righteousness

David was tested in kingship.

VIII. Dreaming

Dreaming is virtual life. Often times our dreams are a nutrient that we are deficient in that our subconscious mind is supplementing. Dreams can also be a spiritual gateway to visit the heavens, angels, or the rich beauty of our precious world. The collection of dreams below describes nutrients of the mind in unconscious dreams, how to achieve conscious lucid dreams, and the pursuit of prophetic dreams.

A. Unconscious Dreams

Healing by Dance - July 12, 1995

The previous night I studied the Torah, parsha Balak.[228] This morning I read in Kitzur Shulhan Aruch the importance of reading the morning blessings each day including those before studying Torah. The night before I had the following dream. In my dream, I saw a few people assembling a canopy that would

be lifted by four pole bearers, one at each corner. One pole bearer was a rabbi, another a woman. As they raised the canopy, there was a woman in the center under it. She was attractive with an ailment of the legs inhibiting her ability to stand on her own. The canopy attached to her shoulders raised her up, and to her ankles helped her dance. There was music and she was dancing with the other four. Her dancing was great to see, greater than the other four alone. [Dancing is healing and no one must be left out of this joy.]

Now, as I beheld this, I felt some remorse at not participating, and a woman pole bearer fainted sick causing the canopy to collapse. Others ran to her side; I ran as well but the dancing did not continue. [A depressing thought causes instant sickness.][229]

A healer appeared. There were two sick. The pole bearer was treated physically as I was treated for negative thoughts. The healer led me to a place of crystals. There she took a few natural triangular stones of white base with blue tops and gave them to me. I assembled the stones and she said this would help keep depressing thoughts away.

The dancing brought me back to my youth at BCI[230] where we would dance the evenings away in circles and lines. Nothing is as rejuvenating as dance and we should do it often. How does the 7th beggar without legs heal by dancing; she is raised up by us holding a canopy giving us a reason to dance with her joy.

Dance - August 9, 1996 - Erev Shabbas

I had two dreams last night that were inspiring. The first was a test to see if I would perform the mitzvah of returning an item that did not belong to me.

I saw in my dream purchasing some goods at a house sale. The goods had some valuable stamps within them that were not part of the product I was purchasing. After I got home, I realized the stamps were there. With zealousness, I returned to the house and called up the owners. For some reason I felt they were aware that the stamps were in the item and that they were part of this test setting me up. They did not appear and the dream ended abruptly. I felt there was another around my bed who left quickly in a dark light.

This is the manner of spiritual tests. I went to Shachris that morning and was the tenth to arrive. I hadn't made the morning services in a few weeks, but I was up early that morning working. I saw two angels

fighting to bless the congregation. The one on the right was trying to grant a blessing with his right hand while the one on the left with his left hand. The one on the right was from Hesed and he was being pushed a way by the one on the left from Gevurah. In the end, they both blessed. After the services, I went home and I just wanted to fall asleep in a sunbeam on the floor. My soul was calling out for this nap. Here I had the second dream.

I was at a spiritual Shabbaton. There was a lot of singing and youthful spirit in the temple service. It felt so good to be there. As the Shabbas came closer to the end, there were a few musicians who took up musical instruments and who wanted to begin a scheduled evening concert early. They started playing and it felt wrong. I took the initiative and went up to the guitarist who seemed like a religious guy. I told him it is not proper to begin playing before Havdalah. He agreed and told the rest of the musicians to put down their instruments. The singing took the place of the instruments, a singing with great fervor.

The previous d-ay I had gone home from work early and spent time catching up on cleaning at home. Everything in spiritual growth is connected. One proper act leads to the next ad infinitum. If we give G-d an opening miracles will begin happening. If we give G-d a small opening, he will open the whole world for us.

B. Lucid Dreaming

Lucid dreams are conscious dreams where one is able to control one's motion and action.[231] Lucid dreams are opportunities to acquire understanding and wisdom on spiritual subjects. I will give two examples. The first illustrates how wisdom can be drawn from a dream. The second show how one can progress from a meditative state into a spiritual dream.

Names of G-d - May 1, 1993 - 5:00 AM - Saturday
During the night of the dream, I read about the lives of the Ramak, Caro, and Gikatalia. In the dream, I spoke with a maggid, i.e. a guide. Initially, he was in the form of a coworker[232], but he metamorphosed into a form with an all seeing eye. I asked, "Could you be my Maggid? There was no answer. I asked whether I had to know all the Talmud before receiving a maggid. "No." The Ramak says a maggid comes through repeated meditations on Torah verses. The maggid in the dream hinted there must be a unification of Torah, mind, soul, and body. I called out the following phrases in my mind:

Eheyeh asher Eheyeh is the crown of the Universe *(Keter).* I rose from the world and soared past the planets.
Yah is the beginning of Wisdom *(Hochmah)*
YHVH *(pronounced Elohim)* ***is the source of Understanding, which divides the Universe into distinct components*** *(Binah).*
El is the source of goodness *(Hesed).*
Elohim brings forth justice and judgment and discipline *(Gevurah).*

YHVH (Adonai) is the splendor of the world *(Tiferets).*
YHVH (Adonai) Tzevaot is the eternity of eternities *(Netzah).*
Elohim Tzevaot is the source of eternal praise and thankfulness to Hashem *(Hod).*
El Chai, Shadai lays the foundation of the world *(Yesod).*
Adonai is the gateway to the heavens *(Malchuts).*

Hypnosis to Lucid Dreaming - June 5, 1993 - 5 AM

Entering a lucid dream is facilitated by practicing hypnosis early in the morning, which is the time we tend to be most aware of our dreams. Lucid dreams occur when one is refreshed and thus tend to happen more often when one is already rested, i.e. during morning sleep.

6/5/1993 - 5 AM

I listened to the Earth, Wind, Fire, and Air tape. Towards the end of the hypnotic session, I shifted slightly into a curled position and entered a lucid dream. I experienced rapid travel while gazing backwards over several green hills and bodies of water. I noticed the foam on ocean waves resembled clouds over the earth from an outer space perspective. I tried to maintain the lucid state by counting down.[233] I exited into a light sleep. The key to success in obtaining a lucid dream is alertness, energy, and concentration when one begins.

Hypnosis to Lucid Dreaming - April 9, 1997 - 9 AM

4/9/97 - 9 AM

I listened to the Letter Ascension tape. The tape's introduction brought me to a river and suggested that I see something in the water" and that I should take it out. At first, it was like a cross and than a double cross, but than it appeared like the Shield of David.[234] Finally, I saw the form of a rod[235] shaped as a small sword. Upon the face of the rod was the Star of David.[236]

Figure 5: The Focus

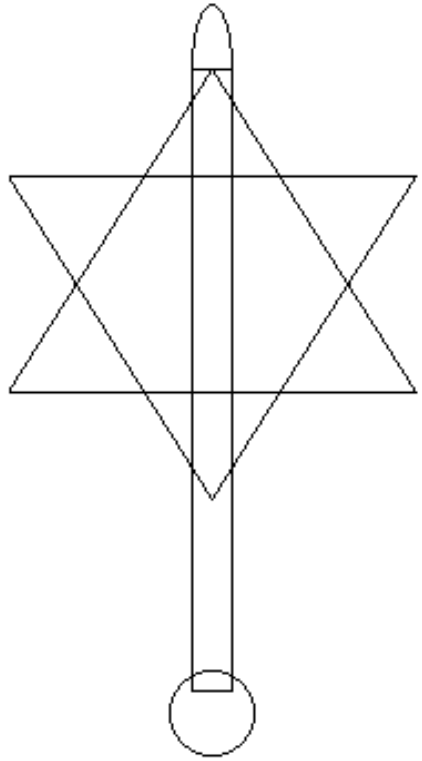

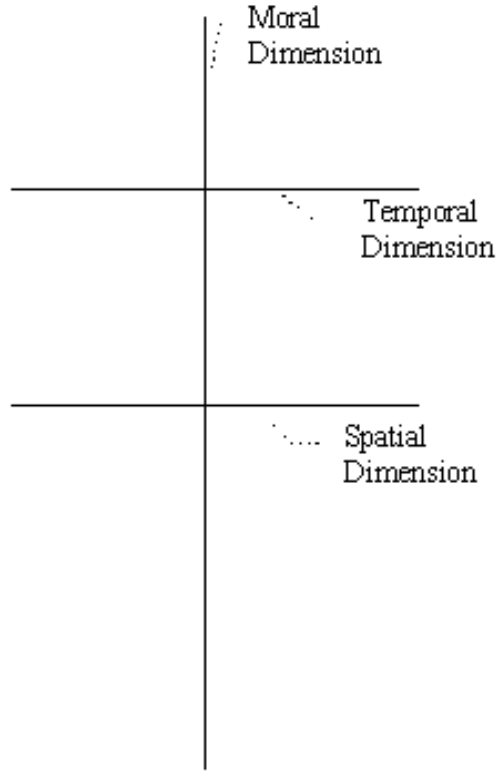

The goal for the hypnotic session was to discover the answer to a biblical question. I sought to understand the purpose of the high priest's role and hereditary class in Judaism. I rose into the sefira of Malchuts. I was in a large cavern and there was a ray of light from a point high above entering the room.[237] The tape guided one to visualize the letter Tav that connects Malchuts to Yesod. Through the Tav, I rose into the light of Yesod. The tape next asked to visualize the letter Yod. This brought me into the sefira of Netzah. This is the place of the spiritual Mt. Sinai and is symbolized by the patriarch Moses. To understand the priesthood, I knew I had to reach the sefira of Hod, which is the place of Aaron, the high priest. There is a mountain rising in Netzah whose base is in Hod. This is Sinai. Moses is on the mountain in communication with G-d. Aaron is in the valley with the people leading praises. The tape would continue to lead me upwards by visualizing the letter caph to go to Hesed, but I suggested to myself, "turn the tape off."

Now how does one reach Hod? An ocean connects Netzah and Hod represented by the letter Mem. An angel guards the ocean. His name is Mayimel. I called his name and he appeared huge, towering into the heavens. He is the ruler of the Water Elements and appears like a towering wave whose top lips over into a face. At first, I was struck by his great height and then I called his name, and he lowered to me. I climbed upon his top, his head, and he began to take me across the great ocean. The distance was far but this was his element and his travel was swift. Finally as we approached the place of Hod, he lowered and I dismounted. I was thankful for the transport and I tossed him the focus that I had found in the river at

the beginning of the vision. He took it up in his mouth and departed.[238] I inquired again on the purpose of the priesthood. I saw with my own eyes the purpose. While Moses was on the mountain, the people needed a leader in his place. At first, I thought this might be Joshua, but he still served Moses and had not been brought before them. Only Aaron had a similar status in their eyes. The priesthood is from Moshe's family as a symbol of an eternal connection with the Torah from Sinai. Even though our leaders depart, the priests descendent from Aaron continue to symbolize this eternal connection.

I turned and progressively entered a lucid dream. I felt myself rising off the ground into flight. All around the world was lit by the sunrise. I approached a place like Zion National Park near Cedar City in the South of Utah. There I beheld the modest red sandstone mountains of the park. I soared over them in various places. I desired to stay close to the ground for a better look and then soared straight up and over cliff faces. I was seeking to come close to G-d. I was wearing gloves and I removed the left to look at my hand and then the right to see the other hand. I saw their lines and their color was correct. I desired to be in the hand of G-d. All of a sudden I felt an incredible force pulling from behind me and I soared backwards; the wind passing swiftly by my sides. I then flew over the green land gazing at its harmony and beauty. I saw a large locomotive train and tennis courts as I came close to the ground. I sought to know the common denominator and I realized, "these are a few of my favorite things." I had been to Zion Park. I remember locomotives of various cities, Sacremento and Silverton. I played tennis regularly in my youth. There was another common factor, I have not seen such places or done this activity in a long time and my soul was yearning for them.[239]

We are only in this world for a short while; we must always remember to enjoy G-d's creation. This is a pathway to joy and a pathway to G-d.

Longing for Israel - July 16, 1998

Listened to hypnosis tape before going to sleep and then fell into lucid dream. In the Lucid dream, I let myself fly without control. This is the secret to control and prolong a dream in general. Let the subconscious direct the movement wherever it wills. In this manner, I rose abruptly over upcoming objects, and swoop close to the ground past other objects without harm. I would even have fun; for example, by bouncing off telephone lines. Before flying I chose a large towl to take with me, I thought to take a brown one, but it was a blue multicolored one instead. This helped in the flying.

I was moving and spoke to someone who was also moving. He was from Israel and we spoke briefly.

I found someone living alone, very depressed without legs. I saw an army uniform from Tzahal and asked to talk with him. He didn't want to, he didn't want pity. I said I know how it is to be alone and I said let us just talk. He still didn't want to, even after I said I want to talk for myself alone (no pity). Nothing, he sat on the floor without legs. I mentioned Israel and he perked up. I said I wanted to live there. He asked where. I said there is a place in the North, a small town next to Lake Kinneret, but I didn't know the name. (Probably this was a town like Yavne near the lake). Then I said K'far Channanya. He shook his

head, but felt impelled to get up to show me something. Out of nowhere, legs sprouted as he stood. It was like they were always there but hidden. He went over to a filing cabinet. He was very organized. He pulled out a folder on Israel, which contained a map. We opened it and it was a map of Jerusalem. There was a small map of Israel in a corner and a funny small map of San Francisco on it like a sister city to Jerusalem. We could not find the name of the town.

Secrets - April 12, 1997 - 8 AM

I discovered a 12th quasi sefira, which is the location of remez or secret knowledge. The quasi-sefira Daat represents knowledge. Now a 12th quasi-sefira called RaZ is a place of secret knowledge.

I played the letter ascension tape. As I looked into the stream, I saw various symbols forming. First, I saw the Star of David focus from the previous vision. Than I saw the letter Z within it and then another Z mirrored. I composed them in my mind and then lifted the hour glass symbol out of the star.

Figure 6: Symbol of Raziel

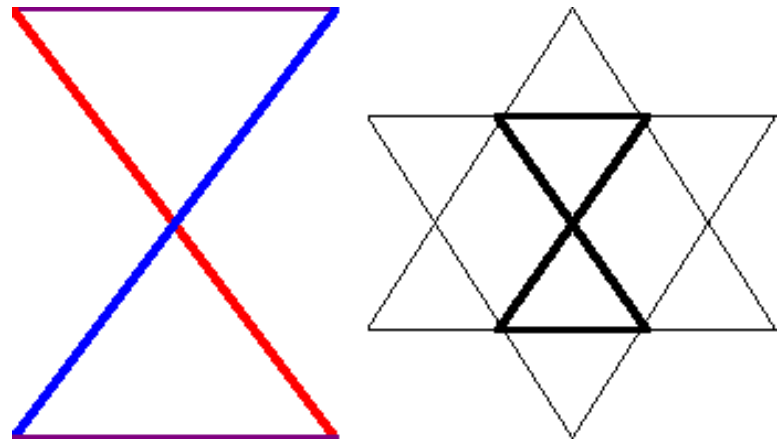

I visualized the letter Tav - t along with the tape and ascended from the level of Malchuts into Yesod. The goal for this hypnotic session was to find answers to mysteries. The tape led to a visualization of the letter Resh - r that is the vertical path to Tiferets. At this point, I combined the Resh with the letter 'Z' from the Zayin I saw in the stream, to make the Hebrew word, RaZ - zr which refers to allegories, secrets, or mysteries in the Torah. I called the angel Raziel to pursue this further. At the level of Yesod, an angel descended. In the white light, I saw an angel with black robes. He veiled his face with part of the robe as he landed and beckoned. I put my arms around his neck from behind and we ascended. From his backside, I could not see where we went and I sensed that the place we were traveling to is hidden from all mystic plane travelers. Upon landing in the dark world, the angel unveiled himself and I saw a frightening face. I realized this was not the angel Raziel and I called his name again. I turned to notice another angel in dark robes. As I approached him, I saw that his face was old and his head was balding, but that this angel bore the countenance of a man. He said not to be afraid. The angel that bore me here is a guardian who scares off the unwelcome. He told me to come close. He asked what I seek to know.

I sought to understand by what individual merit are the mysteries of the Universe bestowed. He responded:

By the knowledge of the seeker
By the seeker's deeds
By the longing in the seeker's heart

Occasionally, the seeker may fall into bad straits and his/her knowledge may become impaired and even his/her good deeds may be lacking; still, there is a way back to discover the answers to the mysteries and purpose of life. This is by the longing in the seeker's heart.

Not by knowledge, nor by deed, but by the longing in your heart

The angel asked me to come close and I merged with the angel. At this moment, the answer to several mysteries became known. I sought a prophetic message to bring back to the people, but I learned that I was not the messenger. Still, I asked could I know the message and the response was yes:

The Jewish people must learn to love each other first above other peoples. Unlike other peoples, we do not usually look out for the interest of our brethren first. We must always support each other before the other nations.[240]

He said if there are more factual items that I want to know I should ascend to the angel Yedeiel who is in the quasi-sefira of Daat. I ascended. I sought to know the locations of certain misplaced items and saw visions of their location. I pulled out the symbol I had found in the stream and looked at it which caused me to return to the place of Raziel. I offered the symbol to the angel and Raziel placed it upon his forehead and told me that the symbol was his very own.[241]

After I descended and emerged from hypnosis, I realized that the location of the place of Raziel is in the pathway between Tiferets and Yesod. This place is the 12th quasi sefira, RaZ. The sefira is accessible when Netzah and Hod come together in unity like Hochmah and Binah for Daat. In this manner, Netzah and Hod symbolize prophecy and their joining opens the gateway to RaZ and the answer to mysteries.

Secrets II - April 23, 1997[242]

I focused my mind on the symbol of Raziel and ascended from Malchuts to his place. The angel taught its approach to demon and angel summoning for learning all secrets. First, he drew the following symbol:

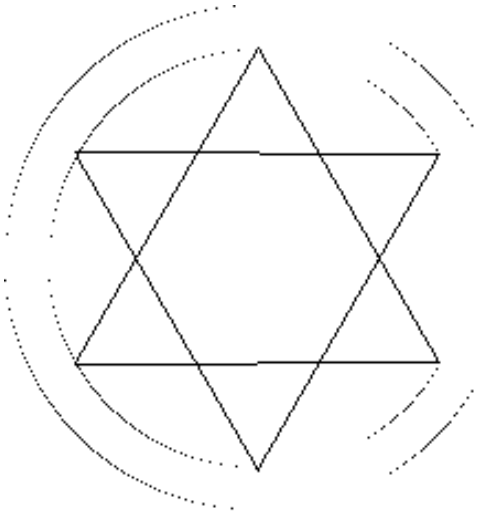

Then we both entered into the area together. The symbol was for protection from deception and other trickery. He summoned the shedu, Asmodeus, who appeared as a short man with dark clothing. He showed that any answer pertaining to the material world could be extracted from the shedu. Nevertheless, these answers serve little benefit for the soul. In order to release the angel he erased his symbol in the air.

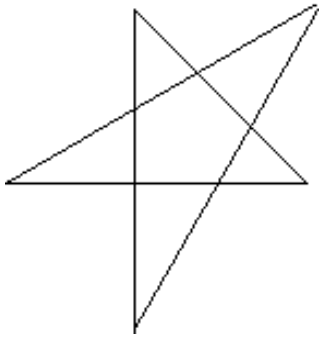

Next, he summoned the angel of love whose name is Anael. This angel appeared small, white, and feathery in a bright light. He asked the angel to show us ‘love’. The angel opened a portal and inside created a picture. First, he waved his arm to display a rainbow of butterflies. A mountain was behind the butterflies and a grass valley with water was below. The meditation guide, Ira, spoke of bonds that need to be freed at this point disturbing the tranquil picture but forcing the angel to reveal that sometimes love does have binds that restrict. For everything, there is a balancing force. He then dismissed the angel by erasing its symbol, a heart:

Secrets III – May 10, 2001

The name Raziel has gematria 248. This is the number of positive commandments in the Torah. The gematria of Bamidbar – "in the wilderness" is also 248. The essence of the wilderness or desert is to make ones mind empty of mundane thoughts and to fill it with the wonder of G-d's world ready to receive inspiration. Pursuing the positive commands also empties the mind of the mundane and fills it with what is important to linking with Hashem.

There are 7 Palaces in Beriyah and 7 Heavens in Yetzirah. Raziel teaches that all the worlds have a one-to-one correspondence. In the world of Asiyah there are 7 Continents: N. America, S. America, Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, and Antarctica. In Atzulut there are 7 lower sefirot are: Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzah, Hod, Yesod, and Malchuts.

What are the sefirot? These are the 10 sayings of the creation of the world.

Sefer Raziel describes 390 heavens. This is from the Gematria of Shamayim. Also there are 390 skies, but this is less significant.

The Lamed Vavniks - The 36 Saints - December 12, 1994 - Rosh Hodesh Adar - Malava Malcah

The wl - Lamed Vavniks by tradition are 36 saintly souls whose z'chus - merits tip the scale of justice in favor of the preservation of mankind. The tradition is that there must always be 36 select individuals for the world to continue. While some might be leaders of the generation, others may be lesser known.

12/10 Thursday Morning:
On the early morning of 12/10, I had a dream of rising up and over the peaks of sunlit mountains with the colors of a sunrise (warm orange). The mountains were of a warm hue much like the sandstone rock gardens of Colorado [Garden of the G-ds, Colorado Springs, Colorado]. At the top I could see a valley on the other side with the tribes of Jeshurun[243]. I was way up, several miles high and the mountains formed a ring around the luscious green valley. I then descended in a swoop to the base and landed on the green grass.

KNOW that there is a field where the most beautiful and pleasant trees and herbs grow. The precious beauty of this field and its plants and trees is impossible to describe. Happy is the eye that has seen it![244]

12/11 Shabbat Evening Services:
On Shabbas eve at Chabad [in Palo Alto], I saw more of the vision. In the valley, there are righteous men davening[245] to Hashem. They are there for Kabbalas Shabbat. They have a leader, the Baal Koreh [the Master of Calling *out to G-d*] and the grass and mountains pray with them. The "mountains skip like lambs," (Psalm 114:4) but their minds are on Hashem, the source and reason for this joy!. The Shechinah descends and rests amongst them. I saw myself dancing with her, all dressed in white, a dance of joy, a dance to Hashem. She spun round and under about me and I was pleased to be there.

12/11 Evening Dinner: At dinner I saw the men in black around their Shabbas table. I wanted to know who they were? I learned that there are 36 including the leader and they are the Lamed Vavniks, the righteous ones whose prayers sustain the world. As my host made kiddush, I saw their leader doing the same and he drank first and then the rest of us followed, so it was with bread and each course of the meal. As my host brought and poured me water so did the leader for the others. The love of the others for their leader is great and their presence in the valley is eternal. The valley is a place from the world to come for living tzaddikim to meet together.

12/12 Shabbas Morning:
As I was walking to the Minyan, I felt a little down from the previous night's later discussions but I wanted to feel joyful for the Rashi Shir, so I began to sing.[246] I chose the "Morning has Broken" song as a base and built upon it with grasses singing and mountains dancing. I was again in the Valley, but this time praying with them and realizing the support of all nature for my prayers and their object was Ribono Shalom. When walking home, I again sung and saw grasses rising up all around me and the thankfulness of the trees and my prayers were elevated. Now I am running, "May I run to you forever Hashem.

12/21:
This past Shabbas I was studying in the Bet Hamidrash when Hashem sent me a cherub who said, "What are you doing here?" I responded that I'm studying. He said, "Its kiddush time; its kiddish time." Finally, I complied realizing its a greater mitzvah to partake in kiddush over wine with the Edut [congregation] than to study alone.
This morning I prayed on the subject of what I should tell my parents before making a shidduch. When one prays before the Almighty, it is better to ask the more important questions than to remind G-d of our daily aches and pains. With our parents it is more so; one should not cause them to worry.

Dissolving Violent Dreams - October 28, 1993

Face up and defeat fear.

I had a dream where I was being threatened by a person. I defended myself and grabbed the person's hair.

Tumah or impurity is in the hair. I then became lucid and resisted. I said, “I will not fight this person.” I released his hair. Only the evil adversary who is inspiring these dreams will I fight. As I sought for his face, a thousand faces appeared before me of others; the adversary hides behind the masks of others. I said, “they are not the source though they have fallen prey to the evil inclination.” I said, “show me your face, evil one.” The evil is not within us but is outside and it seeks an entry point. The entry can be greed, lust, superficial worries, or even depression. Eventually a slight face formed, totally evil but faint, powerless, and alone. He would not appear to me in strength and majesty for alone evil is weak and cowardly. His strength comes only from those who surrender, Has V’shalom, but when facing him in my dream his power dissolved and his countenance vanished.

Messiah I - October 28, 1996

During the night, I had the following dream:
I beheld a sunrise and before it I saw the image of One like the Son of G-d rising high. There was warmth of light upon his face and his arms were outstretched to receive me. I felt an incredible sense of comfort, safety, security, and peace as I moved towards the entity. I saw myself as a light soaring up to a point near his forehead. I felt the rise of kavanah, fiery truth in my soul that indicates a true vision. Being a Jew, this vision perplexed me. In the dream, I thought the being to be as the Christians claim their savior.

Earlier in the day, I was watching a program about the conflict in the Middle East where the Christian moderator said, “the conflict will not end until the Son of G-d comes again to bring all parties to peace.” Certainly, a great leader/messiah, that all parties respect and acknowledge as G-d’s anointed, could make us realize the futility of our struggles and the higher purposes of G-d. Nevertheless, the messiah will also have to show an acceptable resolution to the issues of the conflict.

The next morning I sought the meaning of the dream. Fundamentally, I believe that there is only one true divine power and that is G-d. Yet, I cannot deny the complete comfort I felt in the experience of this spiritual being. Perhaps this is the reason for the principle that we are commanded as Jews to believe in the coming of Messiah.[247] This is to remind and comfort us with the idea of a saving leader who will also care about each of us as individuals. The three passages below shed some light on the meaning of the vision:

(Isaiah 62:1-3) For the sake of Zion I will not be silent, For the sake of Jerusalem I will not be still. Till her victory emerge resplendent and her triumph like a flaming torch. Nations shall see your victory, and every king your majesty. And you shall be called by a new name which the Lord Himself shall bestow. ***You shall be a glorious crown in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the palm of your G-d****. ...*

(Isaiah 62:8-12) The Lord has sworn by His right hand, by his mighty arm, “Nevermore will I give your new grain to your enemies for food, nor shall foreigners drink the new wine for which you have labored. But those who harvest it shall eat it and give praise to the Lord. And those who gather it shall drink it in My sacred courts.” Pass through, pass through the gates. Clear the road for the people; build up build up the highway, remove the rocks. Raise an ensign over the peoples. See, the Lord has proclaimed to the

*end of the earth, "**Announce to Fair Zion, Your Deliverer is coming! See, his reward is with Him, His recompense before Him**." And they shall be called, "The Holy People, the Redeemed of the Lord," and you shall be called, "Sought Out, A City Not Forsaken."*

The angelic entity I saw in my dream is an expression of G-d Himself.[248]

(Kings I 11:36) To his son I will give one tribe, so that there may be a lamp for My servant David forever before Me in Jerusalem—the city where I have chosen to establish My name.

This suggests that the Messiah, descendent of David will be the anointed. The final question I asked was to explain why I imagined an association with Jesus and the dream.

(Kings 20:41-43) Quickly he removed the cloth from his eyes, and the king recognized him as one of the prophets. He said to him, "Thus said the Lord: Because you have set free the man whom I doomed, your life shall be forfeit for his life and your people for his people." Dispirited and sullen, the king of Israel left for home and came to Samaria.

The prophet represents a messiah who is setting free the 'doomed' man, but in consequence forfeits his own life and descendants. The king of Israel is like Hashem, who watches the process unfold. In my dream, this prophet messiah became a great angel in the spiritual world, like Metatron and Sandalfon[249], yet different. As a result of the self-sacrifice and love he expressed in his lifetime, his angelic nature became an expression of Hashem's comfort and a message of redemption. This is the 'Right Hand' of Hashem, his messenger of deliverance in our world.

The messenger whether in the form of G-d as our Deliverer,
a righteous anointed king who cares for his subjects,
a prophet who risks his own life to save others,
is the essence of our belief in messiah.
May he come swiftly in our days even through our daily hopes and longing dreams.

C. Spiritual Dreaming

1. Hypnotic Dreaming

There are three steps here. Immediately after awakening study a kabbalistic or pure religious text for inspiration. Prepare the tape recorder with the hypnosis tape. Find a comfortable place for the meditation like a recliner. Begin the hypnotic meditation with the tape. Set as your goal an objective from the inspirational text.

City of Heaven - May 24th, 1997 - 8:00 AM

This day was the 32nd day of the Counting of the Omer corresponding to Netzah in Hod which is a complete day of prophecy revealing the 32 paths of wisdom. I was browsing through 'Meditation and Kabbalah' as my inspirational text and came across a passage translated from the Gates of Light:

Know and believe that there is a mystical method involving the purification of the limbs, through which it is possible for a human being to attach himself to the Divine Presence, even though it is a "consuming fire."[250]

The passage puzzled me and I selected it as an objective for my meditation.

I listened to a hypnosis tape I made that directed me to clear away any preoccupation's or worries. My goal for the meditation was to discover the meaning of the statement, "Know and believe that there is a mystical method involving the purification of the limbs, ..."

I spent most of the meditation on cleansing thoughts and shut off the tape in the middle which permitted me to enter a lucid dream shortly thereafter. As I attempted to ascend the sefirot I was confronted with numerous obstructing spirits. They were born out of the impurities of my own soul, magnified as always by heightened spiritual awareness. I destroyed these spirits by reminding myself in each encounter that "I am for G-d" and not for the values of this spirit.

I noticed snow falling around me and I looked up and saw a central cloud in a blue sky that was the source of the snow. I sensed that the snow was coming from the storehouses in heaven where the reward is stored up for the righteous in this world. I attempted to will myself upward to the cloud, but their was a strong back wind. I invoked the names in my mind of El Shadai and Eheyeh.[251] The first meaning 'All Mighty' to overcome any obstacle forces, the second meaning, 'I Will Be', corresponding to the name of G-d associated with the high place of Keter to request a lifting force. I rose up into the high clouds eventually emerging above them.

I saw buildings in a bright sunlight but no people. As I searched for the people I saw a city in a valley in the distance with mountains behind the city. I realized the good light stored up for us in the world to come is similar to our own world.[252] In fact the world we have here can be this paradise if we make it so.

The "consuming fire" is a reference to Deuteronomy 4:24.
For the Lord your G-d is a consuming fire, He is a jealous G-d.

This fire burns and destroys impurity. For the totally wicked nothing else would remain, but for the rest of us the fire cleanses us leaving only our pure soul.[253] What is the "mystical method involving the purification of the limbs." This is nothing other than high spiritual meditation that purifies the soul and cleanses the body.

2. Prophetic Dreams

Dreams can also be prophetic in nature. Food, learning, and purity all effect our ability to have and interpret prophetic dreams.

a) Food

The food that one eats, whether it is kosher or not, whether vegetarian or not, or whether milk based or not will all effect the dreams one has. Non-kosher meat is the greatest in danger for violent dreams from the slaughter and location of the meat result. These images are then combined with other stresses in our life to create nightmares. By keeping kosher we elevate the spirituality of our dreams so that the stress in our life have little impurity to hold on to and the dreams are clearer and better.

Now, like Yosef, someone who has achieved a perfection of his Holy Tongue is capable of interpreting the dreams of deep sleep, as explained there. This is because dreams are determined by foods that one eats, as is brought.[254] We've seen that in every thing there are letters. And so, when a person .lays down and sleeps, the vapors of the foods he's eaten ascend and rise to the brain. The letters which they contain are combined, and from this the dream is made.[255]

b) Learning

Dreaming the Bahir - The Brilliant Light
For a period of a 2 years I read the Bahir in the evening before falling asleep, particular on Friday night. Usually this led to a prophetic dream the same night on the subject I was studying.

c) Purity

Dreams can have important spiritual significance. At times when we are in a state of cleanliness, they can even point us in a direction we need to go.

Israel - March 30, 1994 - 4th day of Passover
At last to be a freeman in Israel is better than to be in exile. All night long I had dreamt of other countries and dreadful times. I awoke at 2 AM and read a little of the Fifth Sphere, Tiferets, in the Gates of Light.[256] I read that we are judged by three names. Each has thirty garments which are the thirty years Ezekiel spoke of before Jerusalem was condemned to destruction. The 30 garments have 30 corresponding names that are like instruments in the hands of their ministers. The other nations of the world are identified with the instruments executing judgement. Some are judged by the name of Hashem alone without garments. This is the way of true love between G-d and us forever and ever - Amen!

Later that night I had the best of all dreams. I dreamt I had reached Israel on my travels. I walked past a

post office thinking to buy a stamp to send a post card or to exchange money, but than I saw an Israel Discount Bank across and down the street. Inside the bank, I got on the fastest line which was the farthest right and saw that there were multiple tellers handling the line and one was already open, calling me. They do things so speedily in the banks in Israel! I told her I wanted to cash a hundred dollars in traveler's checks which I gave her and she asked for some ID. All I had was old ID cards from college and high school days. She accepted them in lew of my passport which I told her I must have left in my bag. She commented that the stamp is fading on these cards however.[257] I felt incredible joy to be in my homeland!

IX. The Power of Prayer

The Midrash explains[258]:
Great is prayer in the sight of G-d. R. Eleazar said: If you wish to know the power of prayer, know that if it does not achieve the whole of its object, it achieves at least half of it. Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him, and the decree went forth, *A fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou be in the earth* (Genesis 4:12); immediately he confessed before G-d, as it is said, *My punishment is greater than I can bear* (*ib.* 13); he said before Him: 'Master of the Universe, Thou bearest with the whole world, and yet with my sin Thou wilt not bear; Thou hast written, *Who is a G-d like unto Thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by transgression* (Micah 7:18); pardon my iniquity for it is great.' Immediately he found favor before G-d and He withheld from him the curse of 'fugitive'; that is half of the decree, for so it is written, *And he dwelt in the land of Nod* (Genesis 4:16). Hence you learn that prayer is great in the sight of G-d. And likewise it was with Hezekiah. When G-d said to him, *'Set thy house in order; for thou shalt die'* (Isaiah 38:1), immediately, Hezekiah turned his face to the wall (*ib.* 5). For so Scripture says:

He will fulfill the desire of them that fear Him;
He also will hear their cry, and will save them.
(Psalm 145:19)

Rabbi Chanina ben Dosa said, "Whenever prayer comes easily to my lips I know that it has been accepted. When it does not, then I know that it has been rejected."[259]

A. T'hillim

The psalms are a powerful form of prayer for changing one's life. Read each day they work their way into the subconscious and improve one's entire attitude towards life.

For R. Joshua b. Levi said: The Book of Psalms was uttered with ten synonyms of praise, viz.: nizzuah [victory], niggun [melody], maskil [instruction], mizmor [psalm], shir [song], ashre [happy], tehillah

[praise], tefillah [prayer], hodayah [thanksgiving] [and] hallelujah. The greatest of all is 'hallelujah,' because it embraces the [Divine] Name and praise simultaneously. (Pesachim 117a)

1. Ten Psalms a Day

Rabbi Nachman of Breslov popularized the idea of reciting 10 psalms a day for a complete reparation or cleansing of the body and soul. His Tikkun Hakelei collection contains the ten types of song which together are particularly effective (see Tikkun Hakelai). Here is a list of different groups of ten.

Table 24: Ten Palms a Day for Healing

Rabbi Nachman's	My Own Revealed From On High In This Order	Short Ten Revealed In This Order	Short Alternates
16	123	100	6
32	67	128	13
41	126	131	71
42	43	23	95 – 99
59	93	24	100
77	117	8	101
90	134	146	110
105	130	4	111
137	87	149	112
150	113	150	138

2. Marriage Psalms

a) For Men – Psalm 128

This psalm is recommended by the Nichelsburg Rabbi:

A Lifting Song
Sing praise all ye who fear the Lord and walk in His way
By the toil of your hands you shall eat and it is a goodly praise to you.
Your wife shall be a fruitful vine in the innermost part of your house.
Your sons shall be like olive saplings (seated) around your table.
Thus, is blessed the man who fears Adonay.
Adonay will bless you from Zion
And you will see the good of Jerusalem all the days of your life.

And you will see your children's children.
Peace upon Israel

twlumh ryc
wykrdb]lhh yy ary-lk yrca
]l bwfw]yrca lkat yk]ypk uygy
]tyb ytkryb hyrp }pgk]tca
]njlcl bybs \ytyz yltck]ynb
yy ary rbg]rby }k-yk hnh
}wyxm yy]krby
]yyj ymy lk \lcwry bwfb harw
]ynbl \ynb-harw
larcy-lu \wlc

b) For Women – 31, 32, 70, 72, 124

These psalms appeared in an interesting newspaper article with the following description:[260]

A mystic rabbi in Israel suggested the five psalms, which are preceded by the words, "I'm reciting these psalms in the merit of King David and I wish blessings to come to these women. Then they say the group members' Hebrew names and the members' mothers' Hebrew names. The goal is to pray for others.

3. The Songs of Ascent

Those seeking to elevate their spirit to G-d can recite Psalms 120-135 at Seudah Shelishis, the third meal on Shabbat, which is a holy time of the day. We recite Shir Amalot, the Songs of Ascent, after Mincha starting on Succoth until Pesach. From Pesach until next Succoth, we read Perkei Avots. Reading Shir Amalots is a preparation for a heightened state of spiritual awareness. The period after Mincha on Shabbas is the time of Zer Anpin who descends to join with the Shabbas Queen. Who is Zer Anpin? He is the Prince and masculine counterpart to Nukva who is identified with Shabbas. After the sefirot shattered because they had not learned to give, Hashem reformed them into the Partzufim. There are four lower ones consisting of father, mother, son, and daughter. Zer Anpin, the son, surrounds Nukva, the daughter and Shabbas Queen from six sides or directions: South, North, East, Up, Down, and West. Also Zer Anpin is associated with the six days of the work week while Nukva is the associated with Shabbas. In the Shabbas Amidah, we make a throne for the Shabbas Queen, this is the union of Zer Anpin and Nukva, or in their sefirot names Yesod and Malchuts. The Shabbas Queen when well supported by Zer Anpin rules over all her domain with blessing and spreads peace in the land and in the heavens above. We should view the Shabbat as the middle of the week with three days before and three days after. In this manner, we keep the Shabbas Queen in the center of our lives.

This is the same for a husband and wife. Placing the wife in the center of life with work on the periphery causes the wife to feel supported, loved, and cherished, which in turn brings the Shechinah or presence of G-d into the household. The Shechinah is the Shabbas Queen and the wife causes her presence to dwell in the house. When the husband is behaving properly serving his wife and his wife respects her husband's Torah devotion, than there is a great unity in the home and the Shechinah descends through their joy and the family is blessed.

4. Hallel

These psalms are recited in gratitude after deliverance from a threat. They are also effective on holidays to elevate joy and healing.

5. Improving oneself - Midos

Psalm 15 is the corner stone of spiritual cleansing, while Psalm 13 is the cornerstone of longing to be close to G-d.

Psalm 15

A Psalm of David
Adonay, who will sojourn in your Tabernacle?
Who will dwell upon Your holy mountain?
He who walks in wholehearted integrity
and deals righteously
and speaks truth in his heart.
He who has no slander on his tongue,
who has done his friend no evil,
nor cast disgrace upon his fellow man.
In whose eyes a vile person is despised,
and those who fear Adonay he honors;
though he swears to his own hurt,
he does not change [his oath].
His money he has not lent out at usury
and a bribe against the innocent he has not taken;
whoever does these things will not be moved forever.

B. Siddur [FIGURE]

1. Introductory Prayers

During the reign of David a plague broke out that killed many of the people. David prayed for the cause and solution to the plague. He learned that the plague was due the people not recounting enough of their daily blessings. Consequently David mandated that everyone recite 100 blessings a today which would increase their appreciation for life. The plague ceased.[261] Amongst the blessings is the following commandment which we remind ourselves of every morning:

]wmk]url tbhaw lc hcu twxm ylu lbqm ynyrh

I hereby accept upon myself the commandment,
"You shall love your neighbor as yourself"
(Leviticus 19:18)

This recitation of this lesson reminds us that each day we must forgive any insult or harm that anyone has done to us, whether actual or perceived. We are reminded each day that we are forbidden to hold a grudge against anyone.

2. Offerings - Asiyah - World of Doing

This 1st level of the morning service is associated with the physical world. Karbanos or offerings/sacrifices during the time of the Temples were considered a principle means to come close to G-d. While the temple does not exist, we consider the reading of these offerings to bring a merit similar to the actual offerings. The word for sacrifice - Karban bears a similar spelling to the word for close in Hebrew, i.e. Krov, which implies a similarity in meaning.

Rabbi Chiya bar Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yochanan, "When a person relieves himself, washeshis hands, puts on Tefillin, says the Shema and then prays, it is counted as if he built an alter and offered a sacrifice on it. (Talmud, Berachot 14b, 15a)[262]

3. Psalms - Pseukei D'Zimra - Yetzirah - World of Formation

The 2nd level of the morning service consists of the recitations of various psalms and songs. The level parallels the angels in the World of Formation who are forever singing songs to Hashem.

Rabbi Yose said, "May my portion be among those who complete the Praise (Hallel) each day." How could he have said this? We have learned, "One who completes the Praise each day is blaspheming and degrading." When he said this, he was speaking of the Verses of Praise (Pesukei Dezimra). [Rashi: This refers to the two psalms of praise, "Praise G-d from Heaven" (Psalm 148), and "Praise G-d in His Sanctuary" (Psalm 150).]

Berachos 4b says that if one recites Ashrei three times a today he is assured of a place in Olam Habah.

This is because of the passage, “thou openest thy hand and satisfieth everything that is living.” This passage contains the concept that we accept entirely our portion from Hashem. We accept that Hashem has given us everything we need to survive. This is also the reason that many religious people throw themselves into Torah study instead of planning their livelihood.. Ashrei is recited twice at Shachris and once at Mincha.

The Gemara goes on to discuss a similar benefit to connecting the concept of redemption (Goel Israel) with prayer (the Amidah).[263] If we begin the Amidah with a focus on our redemption from Egypt, we realize again that Hashem gives us all we need to survive. This is the reason that we attempt to connect the Redeemer of Israel with Adonay in the Amidah.

Overall, the Gemara[264] is teaching us that we can throw our burden onto Hashem and be His servants doing His will. This is the way to Olam Habah (The World to Come). We realize that everything Hashem has given us is for His service. All of our money, our wife, our children, our material possessions, our bodies, and our souls are for love of G-d.

4. Shema - Beriah - World of Creation

The World of Creation contains the Throne of G-d. Part of the reason we sit when reciting the Shema is to emulate the descent into the throne room of G-d where G-d’s presence rests upon the throne.

The first two verses of the Shema consist of twelve words and forty-nine letters:
So, when a person accepts upon himself the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven with these verses, through which his soul is encompassed in the Twelve Tribes of G-d, he separates his soul from the soul of the mixed multitude,[265]

Rabbi Nachman explains that there are 49 letters in the spelling of the twelve tribes of Israel as well as the first two lines of the Shema. Saying the Shema with ones eyes closed alludes to the faithful woman of God, Sarah or the Shechinah, who follows her spirit rather than the desire of her eyes.

To turn the mind away from the promiscuous woman, we recite the Shema with great concentration binding us to the Twelve Tribes of G-d and turn our mind to the faithful woman, the Torah woman, or the wonderful woman.
By accepting the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven <with the two verses that are> an aspect of the sea of Shelomoh, he disengages from the souls of the mixed multitude/evil maidservant/promiscuous woman, and is encompassed in the souls of the Tribes of God, an aspect of “a God-fearing woman.”[266]

5. Amidah - Atzilut - World adjacent to G-d

Before the Amidah, the cantor recites the Kaddish, the Sanctification prayer:

One who responds with “Amen, Yehei Shmei Raboh...” (“His great Name shall be blessed forever and for all eternity”) with all of his strength (of concentration and aloud) nullifies any evil decree that may have been pending against him for the next seventy years.[267] (Shabbas 119b)

The Amidah consists of 18 principle blessings and is the core prayer in Judaism. This is the reason that its older name is the Shemone Esrei that means 18. Nevertheless, Rabbi Gamliel instituted a 19th blessing against heretics in his time. The 18 blessings allude to the recitation of the name of G-d 18 times consisting of 72 letters. Rabbi Nachman says that the 18 blessings allude to Chai or life. He associates this with the phrase Mother Nature or Mother of all that Lives, Em Kol Chay, claiming that this prayer changes the forces of nature.[268] Similarly, he states the 19th blessing overcomes the forces of the Menim – \ynymh.[269]

As the service approaches the Amidah, one recites, “True and Certain is our G-d” which leads to the blessing of G-d who redeems Israel. The word for redeem in Hebrew is Ga’al - lag and is associated with Yesod and Hashem’s righteousness. When we begin the meditation before the Amidah, we say, “Adonai, open my lips so that I may declare thy praise.” The Shaarey Orah suggests that we bind the redeemer to the name Adonai, which is associated with the sefirah of Malchuts. In fact, the redeemer becomes a throne for the Queen and when the Queen sits upon the throne the redeemer supports her instead of fleeing from her presence; and then she bestows all the blessing of the Amidah on the land and the people of her kingdom. If the redeemer should flee her presence, has vshalom, then she will go into exile and join with foreign rulers who do not appreciate her great worth.

In the Bahir, the sefirah Yesod is in the eighth position below Malchuts. The Bahir places Malchuts in the 7th position since she represents the Shabbas Queen on the seventh day of the week:[270]

Malkhut-Kingship is called the seventh rather than the tenth,
since it is represented as being in the center of the six Sefirot of Zer Anpin.
The six Sefirot represent the six directions, while Malkhut-Kingship is their center point.
In this aspect, the Sabbath is seen as the middle of the week,
preceded and followed by three days.
(Aryeh Kaplan in “The Bahir Illumination”)

The eighth sefirah is associated with the brit milah, which is performed on the eighth day and was epitomized by Yosef who resisted the temptations of Potifer’s wife. Netzah and Hod are seen as the 9th and 10th sefirot always acting together like Moshe and Aaron as the legs of the tree. They are associated with the Shehakim, the heavens that are the source of prophecy.[271]

Figure 7: The Kabbalistic Tree in Two Systems

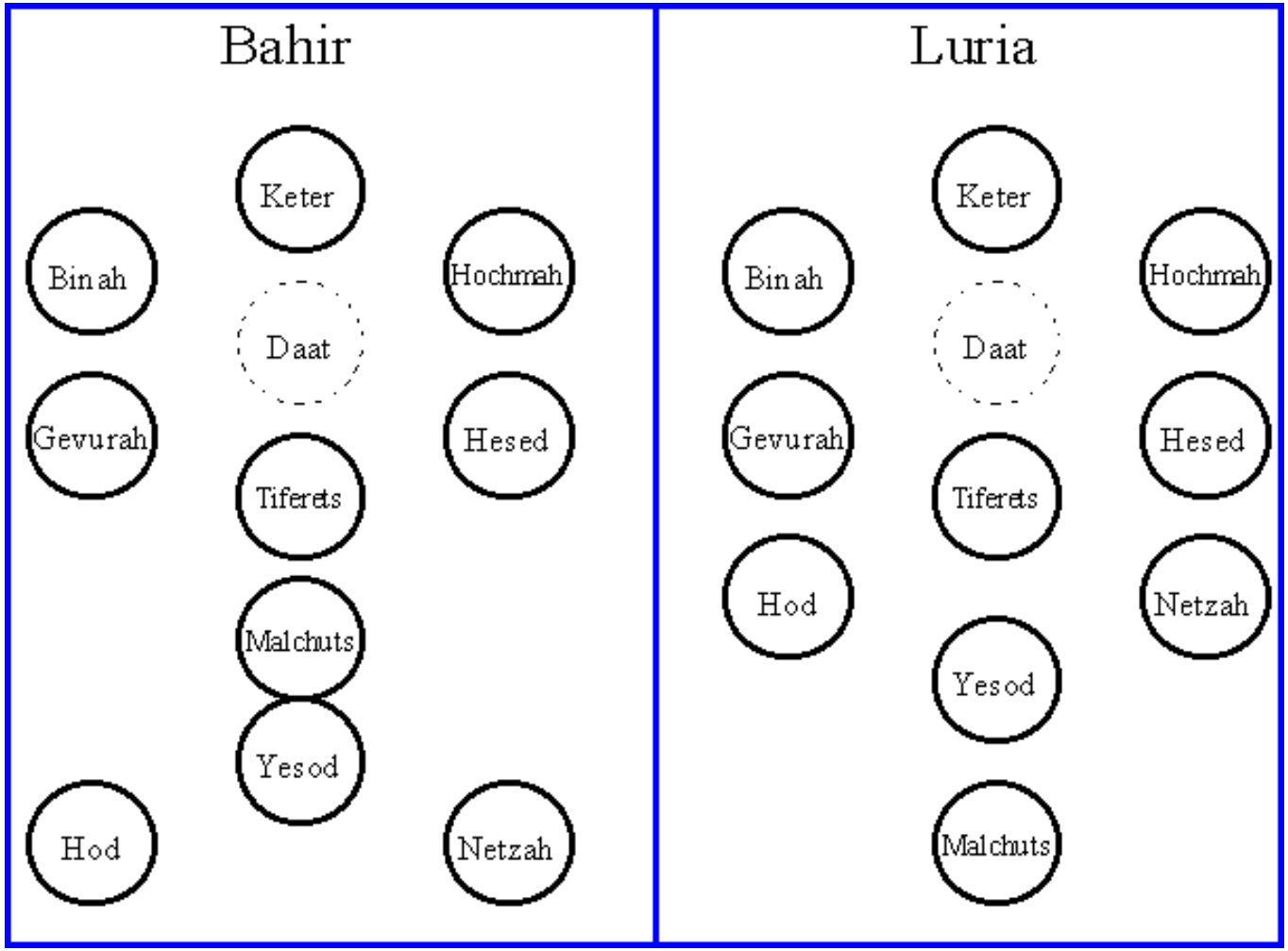

Nevertheless, in the Luria system, Yesod is in the 9th position with Malchuts in the 10th. How are we to reconcile these differences? The key is that Yesod has two names of G-d associated with it. It is called El Shadai when seen from the viewpoint of Malchuts below. When Malchuts has received enough sustenance she calls out 'Dai', enough. She then bestows what she has received upon the rest of the world. The sefirah is seen this way when ascending[272]. When Malchuts is above resting on Yesod, she calls Yesod, El Chai (Elohim Chaim), the living G-d, and the source of her creative energy. El Chai is the name of G-d associated with Malchuts looking down at her supernal spouse and represents the creative energy in process. She rests on the throne and prepares to bestow this energy as a blessing on all creation.

When Yesod is below, Netzah and Hod are in the 9th and 10th positions. When Yesod is above, Netzah and Hod are the 7th and 8th. In the former Netzah and Hod represent a preliminary energy to ascending the sefirot. In the later case, Netzah and Hod are traversed after already ascending into the tree. Both configurations are reasonable. I have chosen to draw them removing the channels from Hochmah to

Gevurah, and Binah to Yesod, instead replacing them with channels from Yesod to Hesed and from Yesod to Gevurah. These channels are the correct paths and can be traversed by the adept where Netzah and Hod become the source of prophecy. I have also traversed the tree with these sefirot in their Lurianic positions. However I have never found channels from Hochmah to Gevurah or Binah to Hesed and now believe these pathways exist only through the sefirah of Daat.

6. Concluding Prayers

a) Ntzor Lshoni

My G-d, guard my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile; and to such as curse me let my soul be dumb, yea, let my soul be unto all as the dust. Open my heart to thy Torah, and let my soul pursue thy commandments. If any design evil against me, speedily make their counsel of no effect, and frustrate their designs. Do it for the sake of thy Name, do it for the sake of thy power, do it for the sake of thy holiness, do it for the sake of thy Torah. In order that thy beloved ones may be delivered, O save by thy power and answer me. Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable before thee, O Lord, my Rock and my Redeemer. He who makes peace in his high places, may he make peace for us and for all Israel, and say ye, Amen.

This prayer is recited at the conclusion of the Amidah and reminds us not to mutter negative thoughts of others. Instead, we should focus on the positive and be “dumb” to the negative so that we do not remember the faults of others. By reciting this prayer meticulously at the end of every Amidah, one will overcome negativity towards others.

b) Tahanun

Rabbi Feinberg taught this prayer of supplication and confession is the prayer for a soldier going off to battle. By supplicating ourselves before Hashem, one strengthens his position against his enemies. Similarly Balak sought to destroy the children of Israel by demonstrating his zealousness in rising before dawn and saddling his donkey to gain an upper hand with Hashem by making himself appear righteous. In truth the children of Israel had their ancestor Avraham who was the source of this teaching and Balak had only adopted it from the children of Israel.

“The desire of the woman produces the soul of a female, the desire of the man produces the soul of a male.”[273] Feminine waters before masculine draw a male soul. Masculine waters before feminine draw a female soul. The goal of the prayer service is to elevate the feminine waters first drawing the masculine waters in response. The main prayer that does this is the Tahanun meaning “falling on one’s face.” This is the quintessential feminine prayer and draws the masculine bounty of G-d into this world.[274]

c) Alenu

Tradition holds that Joshua composed the Alenu before conquering Jericho.

Joshua recited Alenu seven times, backward and forward, and thus broke down the walls of Jericho. It is therefore beneficial for all things, helping for whatever trouble may occur. (Rabbi Moshe ibn Makhir of Safed, Seder HaYom p. 12d)[275]

We recite Alenu while standing before the King with strength for the unification of all creation under one G-d:

I found a manuscript relating a tradition that one should recite Alenu with awe and reverence.... All the hosts of heaven hear it, and the Blessed Holy One and His heavenly family rise and respond, “Happy is the one who has all this ...” (Rabbi Moshe Mat, Mateh Moshe)[276]

d) Kaddish

We recite Kaddish in Aramaic which is the language of Gevurah and the Other Side. It has the power to break the barriers of the other side and ultimately brings judgment and punishment to the left side of mercy, kindness, and a good ending.

Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi said: If one responds, “Amen, may His great Name be blessed” with all his might, then all decrees against him are torn.... (Talmud, Shabbat 119b)[277]

This [Aramaic] language is certain to subjugate the Other Side and break its strength, elevating the glory of the Blessed Holy One. It breaks the powerful locks, fetters, chains and all evil Husks. G-d then remembers His name and His children. (Zohar 2:129b)[278]

C. Requests

1. Bypassing Obstacles

(see Prayer on Rosh Hodesh Av)

2. Calling out to G-d

3. Amongst the Grasses

4. Shachris - Morning Prayer Answers - Jan. 21, 1994 - 9 AM

One can ask Hashem questions while praying. Yet one may ask, “How can I bother Hashem with small questions? A Breslov Rabbi responded, “You are not bothering him; he wants to be bothered. Tell Him all your smallest concerns.”

Here are some answers to some peculiar questions.[279]

1. Prayer for guidance on Shabbas observance revealed that Shabbas is the time of the Shechinah descending into our world. It is not a time to be alone. I saw two pigeons eating near each other from the window. Shabbas is a time for an elegant meal to make and delight the Shabbas Queen and the lady of the home.
2. The mitzvah of tefillin should be done even if one doesn’t have time to recite all of the morning prayers, even if none are said; it is still a mitzvah of value to be done.
3. A metal covered siddur should be kept by the bedside. Modeh [I thank ...] should be recited upon arising in the morning.
4. Forbidden scoffing includes if you disparage someone’s actions even without intending to offend the person herself. Causes of scoffing: You think that your opinion is superior to others.
5. The Shema should be recited 3 times a day; reciting the first line even alone fulfills the mitzvah.
6. Sleep with water close to one’s bed in order to perform n’tilats yadayim [the washing of the hands] upon awaking.
7. showing discontent for a decision that will help others. Be positive and of cheerful countenance.

D. Short Service

Often, reciting the entire morning service is too much for most of us to handle. There are various abbreviated paths set by our elders when time is short. Nevertheless, today the prayer service is also a learning path. Let Hashem guide you to the prayers you need to emphasize at this point in your life. A few examples are included here:

1. Short Prayer Service - Jan. 15, 1997

The morning service is lengthy to insure that each person find at least one prayer that is a source of inspiration. Part of the strength of a minyan is that each individual supports the group during his inspirational prayer. Siddur means order and while one may not necessarily say every prayer completely he should aim to follow their order. If one is short in time Hashem will reveal the prayers one needs to recite through the divination of turning pages. Here is an example service:[280]

1. Put on morning Tefillin and Tallis
2. The preliminary service Shema - p. 12

3. Recite the 'What Preciousness is Your Kindness' prayer which is normally said after putting on the Tallis - p. 21
4. Recite Psalm 100, 'A Thankful Song which Rises to the Lord of all the Land' - p. 28
5. Recite the Yishtabach - p. 60
6. Blessings before the Shema - p. 64
7. Shema
8. Blessing after Shema for the Redeemer of Israel - p. 74
9. Amidah
10. Alenu - p. 134
11. Psalm of the Day - p. 137
12. The Thirteen Articles of Faith (last 4) - p. 153
13. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name, takes cognizance of all the deeds of human kind, as well as of their thoughts; as it is said: He who fashioned all their hearts , understands all their actions
14. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name, recompenses those who observe his commandments, whilst he punishes those who transgress them.
15. I believe, with a perfect faith, in the coming of the Messiah, and though he tarry, I will daily await his appearance.
16. I believe, with a perfect faith, that there will be a resurrection of the dead, when such shall be willed by the Creator, blessed be his name, and exalted his memorial for ever and to all eternity.

E. Temple

Praying in a group strengthens ones prayers.

F. "Psalms for a Sunny Day" by Samantha Grier

These were composed by Samantha Grier, MSW and founding executive of "Caring for Children" San Francisco, CA. Samantha's inspired writing could be canonized if there was room for another book of psalms. Her masterful way of seeing G-d in nature, attaching to G-d, and expressing a longing for G-d, reveals her spiritual genius.

1. PSALM I

God is the sunshine of my life
the weather matters not
The day is always sunny
when we hold God in our heart

The storms of life are many
We can struggle if we please
But with acceptance
troubles fall away like autumn leaves

Our lesson is to know God's love
is with us all our days
although obscured it is truly there
to guide us through our daze

We need to see more clearly
what is in our hearts and know
what matters is not the tests or lessons
but our courage, and willingness to grow

2. PSALM II

I see God in the sunshine
I see god in the rain
I feel God when I'm happy
I feel God in my pain

It's clear that God does love me
and naught is good or bad
but rather lessons for my soul
and not to make me sad

So sleep is sweet no matter what
the day may have been
for when we live with open heart
there's no way that we can sin

3. PSALM III

God is my protector and
God is my friend
my shepherd and provider
His bounty has no end

God is my Father
and God is my peer
my lover and my playmate
with God there is no fear

Although the meaning is obscure
my life is God's to mold
for what may seem like mud to me
God can turn to gold

We can never know God's plan for us
It's only ours to trust
to seek the truth and
hold the faith

And when the veil lifts
revealing our purpose and our destiny
We will finally understand and accept
God's ultimate mystery

4. PSALM IV

Oh Lord lead me to the light
let your love illumine my path
guide me with your loving ways
Sustain me when I fall

Oh lord please lead me forth from
this barren plain of failed desires
free me from attachment to all but you for
I long for your tender touch
your gentle guidance

Thou art my rock and
my redeemer and the
restorer of my soul
your presence comforts and sustains me
your light shall lead the way

5. PSALM V

Lord, you are my source and my salvation
your love surrounds me when awake
and covers me when asleep

Your glory is in all things
large and small
insignificant moments and
chance encounters that are not so after all

Your profundity invites my soul
to taste the depth of your essence.
Please Lord, bless me and all my enterprises,
my goings and my comings
and all the affairs of my heart

6. PSALM VI

God of my fathers and my mothers
hold me in Your holy hand
surround me with your goodness
protected by your love

Although I am but a speck of dust
a spot of earth's horizon
a flower that fades, a dew drop that falls
I have a soul and a purpose in this world

May your light illumine the corners of my life
so that I may clearly see and gladly do
all that thou hast created me for

My soul submits to
Your wisdom and Your will
and welcomes Your sheltering presence

7. PSALM VII

Of God of all Creation, I surrender
to your wisdom and magnificence
Thy will be done

In vain I ponder Your divine plan
I sacrifice my ego to serve you
show me the way to
open my heart and my eyes

Welcome me into Thy dwelling by night
and Thy arms by day
know that I am devoted to Your will
I surrender all to follow the path that Thou
has laid out before me

Thy power and the glory fill the universe
and show me the way to come home

8. PSALM VIII

Oh Lord of nature's beautiful bounty
I view your marvelous creation with awe but
allow petty distractions to consume my piety so
I see not that the bush burns unconsumed

Your wonders surround me
every moment of every day;
If I would but lift up my head
I would see your Glory

Still my frantic heart with peace,
slow my hurried pace so that I can see that
wondrous treasures lie all around
and all my heart's desires
are fulfilled

9. PSALM IX

The violence all around us
profoundly shakes our calm;
Could it be our inner turbulence
that badly needs the balm?

For this world of lessons
and games for us to play
teaches us that peace comes with forgiving
and loving whatever comes our way

Our true home is God's Kingdom
We never can get lost
our souls are in his keeping
there never is a cost

10. PSALM X

Sometimes in the darkness
when life seems hard and bleak
the path unclear
the way obscure
God's voice begins to speak

You can hear His words by listening
to the quiet deep inside
It tells you all you need to know
and helps you loosen pride

Love is the salve that heals our wounds
calms our fears
and makes us strong
to fight the doubts and frights
and gives us courage
to bring them to the light

11. PSALM XI

Sometimes I'm lonely
Sometimes I'm sad
Sometimes I'm angry and feel very bad

These moments of blindness are closing my eyes
to God's loving presence and all that I prize

I try to remember that what I now feel

isn't what's true and isn't what's real

The truth is God's glory, his light and his love
and knowing I am protected by heaven above

12. PSALM XII

Sometimes in the shadows
When I'm down and feeling blue
divine light manifests to help me see anew

there are no skies of grey
only passing clouds
that cover bright and sunny days

So when illusions cover truth wit
cloudy thoughts of doom
remember all the good thoughts
that would fill our mind
if only there were room

13. PSALM XIII

When I sit and watch the sea,
I note the ebb and flow,
I see the moon move slowly and
glistening stars peeking out at me

Then morning sun bursts through the sky
Like a baby being born
a new day's promise
accompanies the coming of the dawn

In any moment each of us can be born anew
and manifest our heart's desire
If we accept God's purification
and baptism by fire

Our souls direct us
we cannot fail

with faith, hope and clarity we can all
prevail

Nature moves us forward
We can always reach our goal
If we hold fast to God's gift
and thank him for our soul

14. PSALM XIV

Blessed with inner vision
We no longer need be blind
nor miss the abundance of God's gifts in
all the sparkling beauty that abounds

To smell a flower, watch a bird,
hug a child is to honor
God's gifts

His will be done

15. PSALM XV

We find God in the strangest places
with friends, strangers and smiling faces

in hearts that are open and arms welcoming wide
love creeps in bearing treasures that nest deep inside

Lovers, honor each other,
be noble and true
be faithful and honest
and create joy anew

For we are all siblings,
children of God's light
resting on our mother's breast
nurtured with delight

Our family is forever,
We never have to mourn

for nothing is ever lost
it only changes form

If we love without attachment,
offering integrity and hearts that care
Our gifts will be community
with compassion always will be there

16. PSALM XVI

We often overlook the simple things
bearing hidden gifts galore
If only we recognized these treasures
We would never ask for more

We know not what we really want
moving blindly through our lives
like mindless bobbing reeds

Yet we can reclaim our riches,
when we look down deep inside
and see the peace and love
where all God's gifts reside

17. PSALM XVII

We know God in the sunshine
in the glories of our lives
but also in the shadows
and the sorrows of our mind

We overcome with love and faith
Knowing the light will lead the way;
Even though the path is steep,
and many obstacles slow us down each day

But with each new step we build new strength
until we can honestly say
Thank You God for all your gifts
It was the challenges that taught me how to pray

18. PSALM XVIII

Fill your heat with love
Open your arms to the Lord
Know that s/he is there for you
at all times and in all ways
you only need to be ready to receive

Know you are loved and cherished,
supported, guided, and protected,

Remember that you are led to the right place
at every moment in time
even the difficulties, challenges, losses, obstacles
bear their gifts

So open your eyes wide
See that all is love and light
and peace in our hearts
These are God's gifts to us,
To carry in our hearts,
So we can transform the world

X. Hypnosis

A. Introduction

The Kabbalists achieved their prophetic-like experiences while in a mental state akin to the hypnotic state of mind. Their are many levels of hypnosis. If while driving a car or sewing one doesn't notice the passage of time, one is in a hypnotic state of mind. Today we call this subconscious state the meditative state of mind. Meditation really means focused. The kabbalist focuses his or her mind in the trance state to find Torah or personal answers and experience the mystical realms. In essence the conscience releases itself to the subconscious state which while immersed in Torah seeks the divine.

Hypnosis is the tool for directing the subconscious mind. Fundamentally the experiences of hypnosis, meditation, TM, progressive relaxation, etc. are all similar in that they represent semi-conscious experiences. Ironically, the full unconscious dream state is the most intense subconscious level and happens every night. Our purpose in learning hypnosis is to bridge the gap between an uncontrolled dream and a lucid dream to create an open channel for us to ascend and descend the spiritual realms

manifesting in extra sensory perceptions in sight, sound, taste, and smell.

B. Keeping a Journal

One should keep a journal of ones progress. One can review the ideas that worked as well as those that didn't. The journal will become a record of your inspirations as well. I recommend writing an entry after each hypnotic session with the following form:

1. B"H - By the blessing of G-d

This acrostic denotes that everything you are writing is with G-d's help. By acknowledging Hashem, one will write with inspiration and truth. This is a key to recording prophecies. Place this in the upper right hand corner of every page you write. Besiadata Shemaya - d"sb - with the knowledge of heaven. Everything belongs to Hashem - }"hl.

2. Date

The date is useful for tracking one's meditation development. Sometimes a person is given a particular vision on a particular day which corresponds to a religious holiday in the vicinity, a Torah portion read that week, or some other event in your life. Knowing the date helps one track these correspondences. Record the date in the upper left hand corner of the page.

3. Time

Knowing the time of each meditation helps one track his/her best meditation times of the day. Meditations upon awakening can be extremely vivid since the mind is quite alert. This is also the best time for experiencing lucid dreams. At one point in my life I developed a technique for entering a lucid dream state from a deep hypnotic trance. I was only able to practice this in the morning which is often the time of greatest intensity in dreaming. The date, time, and place together specify a precise astrological instance, which may be interesting to examine occasionally. Record the time just below the date in the upper left hand corner.

4. Location

This is an optional entry indicating the place where the meditation was done if not mentioned in the text. The location entry is below the time.

5. Text

Try to write in your journal as soon after the hypnotic session as possible. It is important to review the entire hypnotic session in the last few minutes of hypnosis, in order to help oneself remember everything that happened. Unlike dreaming, the train of an entire hypnotic session is meaningful. The significance of the journey will become more evident by recording the session.

C. Trust Yourself

1. Fears

The key to experiencing hypnosis is to first realize there is nothing to fear. Many of us have preconceived notions about hypnosis. Maybe we saw a hypnotist at a show or have heard stories about someone being under another's hypnotic control. If one has seen a hypnotist at a show, one knows that s/he usually starts out with a group several times larger than the remaining group that is performing the antics in front of the audience. The reason for this is the final performers are really comfortable with doing the antics in front of the audience, while the others are not. Our ability to exercise free will and not to follow a suggestion is always available under hypnosis. In fact, one's mental control under hypnosis is far greater than the ability to resist a dream at night.

2. Self-hypnosis

Hypnosis done alone is called self-hypnosis though the effect is identical with having a partner. I recommend self-hypnosis for beginners because it is easier to trust oneself initially. The procedure in general is to plan, write, or use an existing script as a basis for the hypnotic session. If you are using someone else's script, read it over carefully to make sure you are comfortable with the ideas contained within. Next tape record the script at a slow pace. Leave plenty of pauses to let your imagination roam free. Here are some guidelines from the book "Strategic Self-Hypnosis, How to Overcome Stress, Improve Performance, and Live to your Fullest Potential."[281]

- **Relax and let go.**
- **Imagine along with the suggestions.** One should be like a child in make believe land. Feel free to change any item in a story you hear at any time during hypnosis. This will enhance the make believe experience for you and let your subconscious guide you to the answers you seek.
- **Let it happen.** Don't try to induce the hypnotic state. Hypnosis like dreaming, opening and closing one's eyes, breathing or even walking is perfectly natural. Trying will interfere with this process. As an example try opening and closing your eyes instead of blinking. The conscious

effort will be far more difficult then just letting your subconscious take over.

- **Whatever happens, whatever you experience is always appropriate.**
- **Don't worry, don't bother to think about what's happening, just let it flow.**
- **Take an experimental "give it the old college try and see what happens" attitude.**
- **Feel free to change suggestions into your own words and images.**

D. Exercises

The following exercises are intended to demonstrate the hypnotic phenomenon.

1. Cheveul's Pendulum

This technique involves attaching a coin to a thread and suspending it before one's face. The goal is to stare at the coin and concentrate on seeing it move. One has the choice of clockwise, counterclockwise, side to side and front to back.

Exercise:
Attach a thread with a piece of tape to a coin and practice concentrating on seeing it move clockwise or counterclockwise. If this difficult one can try concentrating on side-to-side or forward-back motion

This exercise demonstrates the hypnotic phenomenon, which is fundamentally for the mind to suggest physical or mental responses that appear to be happening autonomously.

2. Experiment 1: How does it Work?[282]

DIRECTIONS:
Tape this script. Pause a few seconds at the ellipses ... While always a good idea, for this exercise it is imperative that you don't stop listening and imagining to think about what you are doing. Just keep on imagining, pretending, making-believe, as if what your voice is describing were actually happening.

SCRIPT
"OKAY. I am closing my eyes now. I shut my eyes and focus my attention on what it feels like. I let myself feel what it feels like to feel my eyes closed, and when I do this I notice them closing more and more tightly shut . . . I tell myself my eyelids feel very heavy, very very heavy, tightly closed . . . I imagine that I can actually feel them become more and more tightly, tightly shut. . . .
"I want to see how closed I can think and feel and imagine my eyelids become . . .

a) Experiment 1 Results - June 9, 1992 - 10:30 PM

Completed experiment on closing eyes. By repeating ideas to myself, concentrating, and letting myself believe, the ideas become part of my reality. In fact, I cannot prevent this from happening if I choose to believe. I could not open my eyes but I was not afraid for I knew how the tape would end. I let myself be hypnotized, because I trusted myself and the ending would be good. I remember what happened. My eyes felt very relaxed when I let myself open them.

3. Experiment Six: What is Hypnosis Like?[283]

PURPOSE
To experience for yourself a conventional hypnosis session.

METHOD
Imagining along with your recorded voice, exactly as in previous experiments.

DIRECTIONS

SCRIPT
"To begin, I am going to look up with my eyes and find a spot on the ceiling somewhere above the center of my hairline. I am going to focus my attention on that spot with all might and keep staring at the spot for as long as I can.
"As I stare at my spot, I will take a deep breath and hold it for as long as I can and then breathe out slowly, as slowly as I can, and as I breathe out I let my body go limp and loose and relaxed . . . I breathe in starting now, even as I keep on staring at that spot on the ceiling . . . And I'll keep on staring at that spot while I breathe out, letting nothing distract me . . . and I'll keep staring at that spot as I begin breathing in and breathing out naturally, automatically . . . more and more slowly as I begin to relax. . . .

E. Hypnotic Induction Stages

1. Stare at a spot on the ceiling. Repeat suggestion that staring at the spot makes you feel tired. —This step sets up a loop that will help one close one's eyes autonomously.
2. Exhale negative thoughts. Inhale cool cleansing breaths.
3. Count down as a way of letting oneself enter a deeper state of hypnosis. —The number zero should be associated with entering the hypnotic frame of mind.
4. Review the goals for this session in your mind. —This should lead to the exploratory part of the session.
5. Have fun, explore any new ideas that you came up with in the session.
6. Mentally review the experiences chronologically.
7. Give yourself the suggestion that you will feel great as you count up and out of hypnosis. —This

leads to counting up from 1-10 and becoming fully awake and feeling great.

F. Automatic Writing

Similar to the process of doing Gematria, automatic writing involves asking questions and writing the answers from the extra-sensory mind.

G. Improvement

1. Principles

There are six principles here:[284]

1. The way to be changed is to act changed.
2. When your imaginations (what you believe or define to be so) come into conflict with your will (what you consciously choose to feel or do), your imaginations always win.
3. In order to understand our problems, we must look at their practical dimension, and how to translate our goals into practical actions.
4. Using verbal suggestion, you develop imaginings in order to get at and shape your feelings.
5. The harder you try to force it, the less likely will be your success; instead apply imagination power rather than willpower.
6. Any idea or goal on which you focus or practice in imaginative rehearsal often enough over a long time become your spontaneous tendency.

Stated another way:[285]

1. The way to be changed is to act changed.
2. Expect resistance and outflank it.
3. The best place to start anything is here and now.
4. The power of the past flows from the imagination.
5. Don’t take anything for granted.
6. You create your future as you go along.

When we stop taking for “granted” we break the pattern of automatic behavior and change what we formerly considered, “only natural.” We strive to break down our native hypnotic suggestions to transform into the being I always wanted to be.

2. Performance and Sports

When working to enhance performance, recall a cue suggesting improvement, such as the word **better**. At the same time, when you repeat your cue—whether better or another word—imagine what you want it to mean for you. You could either visualize actually performing the way you'd desire, or imagine seeing and hearing the audience or spectators bursting into applause. Just flash an image like this in your mind each time you think or say your cure.[286]

For example, in tennis I use the cue **LPS** to improve my backhand which reminds me to **L**ean forward, **P**oint with the rear foot as I follow through, and **S**nap my racket with the ball at my side. Prepare the racket pointing its head backward long before the stroke to insure taking a full swing.

To enhance performance focus on the object and the result as opposed to the means. For example, in tennis one observes the ball and nothing else in the area of location, movement, trajectory, spin, and all other features as one hits the ball with the racquet and sends it across the net. One then practices making the ball do the same thing. "The secret of this method is to focus on the means by which you attain your objective, not the mechanics of performance."[287]

Here are examples in tennis on how to focus the mind. Create a list of points to remember while playing.[288]

- Read the opponents shot – evaluate where it is going
- React to the shot – make your feet move where your eyes see the ball
- Move on balance – keep head quiet, shoulders on straight line over hips, eyes focused on hit point
- Shot mechanics – no matter how good the opponent shot, your goal is to hit it back. When chasing down balls, say "Got it, got it, hit with purpose" to remember to focus on the return.
- Reposition – after hitting ball return to center baseline or net
- One ball at a time – focus on each ball, do not become "loose" or "casual"

1. Present Tense – previous points mean nothing
2. No Past Tense – after shot prepare for next shot, no shot evaluation
3. No Future Tense – don't worry about point, score, game, or set position

- don't take eye off hit early
- don't check out opponent before hit
- watch ball, plan a target, and hit it

1. Present Tense After You Miss a Shot – don't worry about past shot, let it go.

It is easy to be distracted from proper focus in tennis. One should focus on hitting a ball back instead of an opponent standing at net.[289] To return a strong serve, one can choke up on a racket, increasing control or step three steps in to reduce the server's return time, or three steps back for more control. Playing inside the baseline will reduce the opponent's reaction time with a quicker return. From here, one can drive or half volley shots to shorten this time further. Professionals keep two hands on the racket during both backhand and forehand preparation. This is done by pulling the elbow back rotating the body. With the right forehand, one pulls the right elbow back while maintaining the left hand on the strings or racket. With the backhand, one pulls the left elbow back while holding the racket.

Actual Tape Scripts
Into the Heavens and Beyond
Fire, Earth, Air, and Water
Self-improvement

XI. Meditation

A. Healing Meditations

Healing Technique – August 11, 1993 - 7:30 PM
I moved the cause of any bad dreams I'd been having into my finger tips and washed them off.

I visualized Raphael - lapr hovering above the waters of creation. The beating of his wings transmitted healing energy throughout our world. I felt Raphael behind and through me lifting up my hands to heal those I prayed for. I prayed for each individual in the room and those that were ill that could not be with us. I saw their ill parts between my hands and I felt a flow of energy between them. My hands began moving as I visualized them along side my head and then down my body with a healing ray between them. I saw a golden light around my head (sunlight of Tiferets) and felt a surge of energy with Raphael still with me. I saw scintillating lights dancing around me and providing joy and healing.

I wanted to expand the healing that G-d was working through me. I visualized a glowing ball and I saw a string of light extending from its top, upward into the heavens. G-d created the world in the tzimtzum though a line of light and I saw its color was opal or mother of pearl. Raphael began to spin counter-clockwise above my head and into the heavens through the string-pipe.

I walked off into the mountains which is the wilderness, the realm of the klipot. I visualized drawing klipot coming out from others. They would then strike me and snap like a fire cracker turning into a

flower lining my path. I preceded in this manner healing those I knew. The klipot turned into the most beautiful multi-colored flowers as if our “sins were made as white as snow.” I walked further into the dark realm and began to visualize the harm of words spoken negatively in other lands. Eventually the klippot were coming in the thousands against my body until I had no more energy from Hashem to turn them. There were flowers everywhere and my hands fell down to the ground. I needed protection and thought of the garment, Malbush - cblm, the small silent voice, whose gematria is lightning.

cblm = 372 = lmcj

I visualized the garment around me and wondered at the Klipah Nogah that separates us from annihilation. I felt safe and drained of all energy as I opened my eyes.

B. Space travel [FIGURE] [TABLES]

Primordial Aleph - July 22, 1992 - 7:30 PM

Asiyah First being given a drink
Angels lifting
Moving higher, soul leaves the body
Leaving all behind, forgetting the physical
Yetzirah Dancing before a symbolic man of G-d as a bright fairy light
Kissing gleefully, being a bright happy spark
Seeing the primordial Aleph smoking as the molting pot of creation
All beginnings lie here, freedom from all restraints
Falling into the Aleph, nullifying all restraints
Beriyah A dark angel extending hands pulled out from within, the Merkavah lies below
Barely seeing the chamber
Going higher now into the heavens
All the angels chatting about what good things they will do today
Some are making a white feathery garment, placing the garment
Ascending higher[290]
Atzilut Moving towards an object way out in space. Getting closer, seeing a triangle with
Orbs at the vertices, connected to the bottom of the sefirot tree.
Pulsating with energy, the energy that sustains all creation
Eyes begin to flutter because of the energy
Head is rolled up in total vision

Commentary
The space in the tzelem[291] was filled with plasma energy, the power generator of the Universe. In astronomy, this is analogous to a black hole at the center of the Universe. Before ascending to the tzelem,

an angel led the way and there was a beam of light shining from its head, teaching, and empowering. The Merkavah mystics would talk while experiencing these visions and the students would record the teachings. As a final gift a crystal of light descended into my hands, a most spectacular beautiful light and I began to rise with the following vision:
I recall the unity of all creation, the black fire of the world against the white light of nothingness. All physical problems dissipate in the nothingness.
And there is something more, I recognize my soul and the other souls I have touched as part of me. There is no sadness only exchanged sparks and tokens of Love.
I remember my face lit with white light. This is the image I wanted to remain with: the white light and love of G-d, the world, and all people. Amen.
A relaxed jaw is a beginning to the meditative state.

Eloah – May 8, 1993 - 10 PM

I played the tape, "Further Suggestions For Induction."[292]

I found myself being greeted by a white pelican. It told me to follow as it soared into the heavens. I transformed into this type of bird and flew upwards. I gazed at the world below and saw green hills. From a bird I changed back into a man though I remained dressed in white and my arms had the likeness of feathers on them. I lifted them upwards and called unto G-d. I found myself in the large cavity of Malchuts - twklm. I called upon the angel Michael - lakm to take my right arm and Gabriel - larbg my left and we began our ascent. I uttered the names in my mind associated with Yesod (El Chai, Shadai) and the heaven of rock (firmament) opened and the angels took me higher. We ascended to the realm of Tiferets. I said the Tetragrammaton, Hashem, and we entered. There they let me rest. I was led to one of the academies of Kabbalists that reside there. I sat down in front of this book and opened it. On the first page, I saw the words:

YHVH - yy
ShaBaT - tbc

In Tiferet is the everlasting Shabbat of the world to come. This is the Shabbat of Hashem while in Malchuts is the Shabbas of mankind. The page was followed by many blank pages. I realized the book would reveal the answer to any question I had. In the academies of Heaven, the mysteries are revealed directly instead of veiled as in this world. I thought of the name, Eloah[293] and it appeared on the page. I meditated on the name and lifted the white page overhead. There I saw the name as black fire on white fire and the name parted:

The name begins with Yod and ends with Yod, and represents all creative energy. It is the power of Elohim brought into the creation of the world. Between the names came forth the image of a flower, like an orchid, one of the double flowers. I realized the Name is the source of youth and renewal in this world. Herein lies the fountain of youth. In my mind, I saw myself running in a wonderful dance and I stood up even while I was still meditating. I began to turn to my left and recalled the sefirot associated with the different directions and the creative forces of G-d they emit into this world. “To the east is Tiferets, the source of a new day. From the North comes G-d’s strength, Gevurah, riding forth. To the West is the foundation of the world, Yesod, where the world grows and is built up. And from the South comes G-d’s kindness, Hesed. Above is the source of prophecy, Netzah. And from below comes the praise of man to G-d, our thankfulness; Hod.”

As I rotated to the left, I saw the name ELOaH turning the clock of life backwards. Extending my arms outward in the shape of a five-pointed star energy entered my head in a beam of light and went forth into the world through my arms and legs. Next, as arms lowered, I became tzayr - ryx - young, a “nair,” a youth, a boy. This name is the source of youth and childhood. It is the means of preserving eternal life in the world to come. I saw between the two parts of the Name an endless stream of life pouring forth, the Genesis of the world. I made the following suggestions:

1. See the world new again with the eyes of a child.
2. See all people in a good light, trusting.
3. Grow younger in age.

I opened my eyes to see the youthful light of day. I picked up the Sefer Yetzirah and opened it to a chance page. Before me were the names of G-d to descend and ascend the Elon - }lya - the Tree of Life.[294]

C. Letter Meditations [TABLES]

Double Letters - May 15,1993 - 8:40 PM

I was studying the Handbook of Jewish Thought[295] and Sefer Yetzirah towards the end of Shabbas. In the chapter Judgment (21:2), life, children, peace, and wealth are not covered under the daily judgments. Instead, they are sealed on Rosh Hashanah. The rainfall of the year is sealed on Succoth (New Year of

Rain), grain is sealed on Pesach, and fruit trees have their well being sealed on Shavuot.

Table 25: New Years

New Years	Holidays - Hagim - \ygj	Items Sealed
New year for People	Rosh Hashanah	Life, children, peace, and wealth
New year of Rain	Succoth	Rainfall
New year for Grain	Pesach	Grain harvest
New Year for Trees	Shavuot	Fruit harvest

I recalled a meditation from Sefer Yetzirah on the double letters for influencing the four long-term human fates:

Table 26: Double Letters

Letters	**Tav - t**	**Resh - r**	**Peh - p**	**Caph - k**	**Dalet - d**	**Gimel - g**	**Bet - b**
Channel Upward	**Malchuts To Yesod**	**Yesod to Tiferets**	**Hod to Gevurah**	**Netzah to Hesed**	**Tiferets to Daat**	**Gevurah to Binah**	**Hesed to Hochmah**
Planet	**Jupiter**	**Saturn**	**Mercury**	**Venus**	**Sun**	**Mars**	**Moon**
Anatomy	**Mouth**	**Left Nostril**	**Left Ear**	**Left Eye**	**Right Nostril**	**Right Ear**	**Right Eye**
	The mouth speaks praise to G-d	**The left nostril smells war**	**The left ears hears ways of dominance**	**The left eye sees life**	**The right nostril smells new life**	**The right ear hears wealth**	**The right eye sees wisdom**
Day of the Week	**Shabbas**	**Friday**	**Thursday**	**Wednesday**	**Tuesday**	**Monday**	**Sunday**
Patriarch	**David**	**Joseph**	**Aaron**	**Moses**	**Jacob**	**Isaac**	**Abraham**
Sefirot Color	**Blue**	**Orange**	**Lower Eyelid**	**Upper Eyelid**	**Yellow**	**Gold Red**	**Silver White**
Vowel Names	**(none)**	**Shurek**	**Koobbutz**	**Heriq**	**Holam**	**Sheva**	**Segol**
Vowel Symbols							

Meditation uses

Permute DGBKPRT - trpk bgd with D - d in place with the sound “th” for children. p.177.

Strengthen on Tuesday - twice blessed, good for marriages.

Interpretation Uses
Find day of birth (Wednesday)— planet (Venus), [ruling planet by starts (Venus)] ruling planet by name (Venus), first letter of name sound influences. Name influences - Jewish Thought (21:22).

Friday - April 16th, 1993 - 6:30 AM
I studied the Key of Solomon.[296] The 6th hour of Friday is ruled by the Angel Anael under the planet Venus. These are also the guiding forces of Friday alone.[297] The influences of Venus are empowered during prayers at this hour. Copper is the metal of Friday and the color is green.[298]

Table 27: Mother Letters

Upper Sefira	Vowel Name	Vowel Sound	Vowel Symbol	Letter	Elem	Elem meaning
Keter	Kametz	awe	┬	Aleph	Air	“decree”
Hochmah	Patach	ah	—	Mem	Water	“merit”
Binah	Tzerey	ae	∴	Shin	Fire	“liability”[299]

D. Biblical narratives [FIGURE]

Pinchas - July 24, 1995 - 8:30 PM - Entered July 13, 1996
A breathing meditation led to a visualization of colors (auras) behind others.[300] I journeyed to the time of Pinchas and saw the unruly crowd before Moshe and Aaron. They were parading their Midianite women as Zimri slept with one. Pinchas who was depressed was all of a sudden filled with the souls of the first two sons of Aaron and his head lifted. He knew clearly what to do and there was no rage or even anger. He slew Zimri and the Midianite woman for his jealousy for G-d and the crowd quieted. Pinchas’s composure was self-evident and his right to priesthood secured. As he [Pinchas] did not die, Elijah was also jealous for G-d and a Cohen.[301] Pinchas’s life will end when a full love of Israel fills his soul and the sanctity of G-d is secure in all Israel, (at the end of days?)

I also saw the tragic bus bombing in Ramat Gan in my mind and experienced the shock of the dead and the sorrow of their relatives. It is G-d’s intention to reveal the closeness of Am Israel with Eretz Israel and that only the Jews can have this relationship with this land. I also asked of what to do in life. Money is gathered in the west (US) to sow seed in the east (Israel). Yesod is in the west and Tiferet in the east. Joseph accumulated the wealth of Egypt; Jacob was the source of the seed of Israel in Israel. Gather in the west to sow in the east is the way.

Walking meditation is halacha[302], since walking makes one aware of following G-d's will. Blessed be

the Lord, G-d, King of all the Universe who revealth all dvarim [words].

Adam and Eve - July 30, 1995 - 8 AM

I played the Progressive Relaxation Tape. I started in a beautiful meadow and prayed to Hashem with the grasses around me.[303] I ascended a tower of faces. This was the ladder through Yetzirah to higher worlds. I asked G-d of the mystery of Lilith. This was Adam's first wife, other half, separated from him[304]. She was the object of his lust, but he did not love her for his wife (Zohar 27b p. 105). Her children were winged demons of a thin body who spread throughout the world and one would be the tempter of Hava [Eve] in the garden.[305]

I asked G-d further on the meaning of this story. Adam rejected Lilith for a desire for someone similar to himself. But, there are deep mysteries why an opposite is a test of our choice in marriage. I pressed Hashem for the answer to this mystery. I pounded on the Gate of Knowledge that I may know it. The answer lies with David Hamelech who is a descendent of Ruth, of Moab, of Lot, of Seth who replaced Kayin.[306] Within every soul in this world is a unique part of Adam Kadmon.[307] The soul that David received, though tainted initially, brought with it great initiative that carried his ability to be king. This idea I learned yesterday on Shabbas from an article stating, "Kingship was not found in the Jewish people due to the lack of pride of Moav.[308]" Kayin descended from the first wife of Adam[309]. Hevel was from Hava. The source of the pride of Moshiach comes from Adam's opposite Lilith. Seth replaced both Hevel and Kayin and for this reason was not taken away by the demons of Lilith. How do we know that Seth replaces Kayin:

Eve said, "G-d has granted me *other* offspring in the place of Hevel." (Genesis 4:25)

The word 'other' alludes to Kayin. This occurred after the death of Kayin. [310]

Figure 8: Cain and Abel

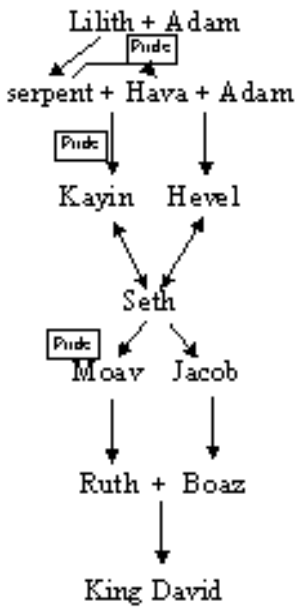

So the deep mystery of the choice of one's wife returns to the beginning and the choice repeats itself in every generation[311]. Praise to Hashem and much gratitude for being permitted this knowledge[312].

Isaac and Rebecca - August 14, 1996 - 7:30 PM - Rosh Hodesh Elul

I was studying Ahavas Chesed - loving kindness by the Chofetz Chaim in the morning. He quotes from Chazal, "He who only occupies himself with Torah study and not with kindness is as if he has no G-d."[313] That night Ira led the healing meditation at Beth Shalom.

I visualized Sarah pregnant with Isaac. I sensed her satisfaction with being B'rayon - pregnant and the good feeling about the child she carried. My search for Isaac brought me to a vision of him as a young man. I saw him in the fields amongst the grasses praying to G-d. He had long golden hair and was handsome in form. Nevertheless, what distinguished him most was the smile on his face and the joy in his heart. I was amazed by his energy in prayer and play in the fields and his joy and dance before Hashem. Isaac's blessings were multiplied by his fun loving spirit. I introduced myself to Isaac and we shook hands. Isaac asked me, "what do you do?" I told him I learn Torah. He said, "No, learning is not doing. I asked you what are you doing with your life?" I told him I work. He said, "No, what are your deeds? What are your actions in life? What are you doing that distinguishes your life?" I told him I once taught in a senior center. He said that was good and "what are you doing now?" I said I am writing a book. He said, "that's OK, but what else are you doing?" The point of these questions was the emphasis Isaac placed on doing and action in life as opposed to learning. For Isaac, even playing was an aspect of doing and an important part of life. I tried to reconcile this attitude with Isaac's childhood experience of almost being sacrificed. Isaac said that it was a long time ago and behind him. Ira suggested after the meditation that when a person has a near death experience, one develops a greater sense of urgency to enjoy every

moment of life. Instead of an emotional scar, Isaac became a very happy child who enjoyed nature and the world around him.

Doing implies taking chances occasionally. Certainly we will all make mistakes, but without doing we will not find them, correct them, and lead a better life. Doing applies to marriage as well. Isaac married Rebecca without doing an intensive personal search himself. This was a risk; nevertheless, his marriage was joyful. People whose marriages do not work out should not be unhappy but should take what they learned with new joy into their life.

I saw Rebecca riding on her camel and then alighting before Isaac as he wondered who she was[314]. Eleazar led her to the camp and Rebecca took Sarah's tent and renewed the rituals of Sarah. Isaac was overjoyed with Rebecca, his wife and their love ran very deep. I asked Isaac to take me to meet his wife and he led me up a hill to what is know today as Hebron and I saw a tent in the distance. We came up to the tent and Isaac called his wife who came out to meet us. She was short with youth in height and she reached to cling to the side of her husband. Her face was also lit up with the joy of youth and love. Isaac mentioned something about food and drink and Rebecca said that the table is already prepared. I saw an ordered table set with light and food and drink within the tent. When I saw Rebecca, I saw her with a pitcher volunteering water for Eleazar to drink and for his camels. Her life was one of action as well.

I sought to know where they were residing and why I saw them so young. I saw the gold of the grasses blowing in the wind and realized with Isaac's guidance that this place too was found in Gevurah. Gevurah is the 5th sefirot and epitomizes action and doing in life. The number 5 is associated with movement. The angel Gavriel is the one associated with rescuing the Jewish people in the time of Daniel and calling out to Abraham to end the test of sacrificing Isaac. The world of Gevurah is associated with nature and enjoying life besides the rigor, discipline, and judgment as traditional associations. The name of G-d associated with Gevurah is Elohim which represents natural law in our world. Fun is part of the opportunities of life in this world and should be embraced wholeheartedly.

E. Blue Skies

Having an authentic vision requires careful preparation. By learning the descriptions of the Palaces of Yetzirah or the Chambers of Beriah one can attempt to duplicate the vision during a meditation and learn more details of these worlds. The descriptions are only a guideline and the journey is only for those whose longing is strong.

1. The Seven Heavens of Asiyah

Chagigah 12b
R. Judah said: There are two firmaments, for it is said: Behold, unto the Lord thy God belongeth heaven,

and the heaven of heavens. Resh Lakish said: [There are] seven, namely, Wilon, Rakia', Shehakim, Zebul, Ma'on, Makon, 'Araboth. Wilon serves no purpose except that it enters in the morning and goes forth in the evening and renews every day the work of creation, for it is said: That stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in. Rakia' is that in which sun and moon, stars and constellations are set, for it is said: And God set them in the firmament [Rakia'] of the heaven. Shehakim is that in which millstones stand and grind manna for the righteous for it is said: And He commanded the skies [Shehakim] above, and opened the doors of heaven; and He caused manna to rain upon them for food etc. Zebul is that in which [the heavenly] Jerusalem and the Temple and the Altar are built, and Michael, the great Prince, stands and offers up thereon an offering, for it is said: I have surely built Thee a house of habitation [Zebul], a place for Thee to dwell in for ever. And whence do we derive that it is called heaven? For it is written: Look down from heaven, and see, even from Thy holy and glorious habitation. Ma'on is that in which there are companies of Ministering Angels, who utter [divine] song by night, and are silent by day for the sake of Israel's glory, for it is said: By day the Lord doth command His lovingkindness, and in the night His song is with me.

2. The Seven Palaces of Yetzirah

Perkei Hekhalot - Chapters of the Palaces[315] contains a formal description of these palaces. The following contains my own personal experiences of these heavens. In the world of Yetzirah there are 7 heavens[316]. These are:

a) Shamayim (Sham - Mayim : There is water -> Firmament)

This is the location of the Sun, Moon, planets, and stars. Yet how can this be since we see them in our world and know of their places. I have seen a star in Yetzirah and its light source is a precious soul that serves Hashem like an angel[317]. Some of these souls were once from our world, others are of angelic source.

b) Shemai Hashamayim (Water above the Waters -> Nehar Di-nur)

In this heaven new angels are born each day to utter praises to Hashem. They are born from the spring of fire each morning. They first dip their hands into the fiery waters and bring a taste to their mouths. Then they sing the holy Kadosh to Hashem and praises from sunrise to sunset.

c) Zevul (Habitation -> prince)

lwbz
This heaven is the place of the "prince". He is surrounded by his ministering angels. He is called Meattah

for he is from G-d. This heaven may be the residence of Zer Anpin in the world of Yetzirah.

d) Araphel (Fog or mist -> Torah)

lpru
This is like the morning mists and clouds that cover mountain tops. Moshe's tent was said to be enclosed in araphel when the Shechinah dwelled within. It represents Mt. Sinai and the place of the giving of the Torah.

e) Shehakim (Heavens)

syqjc
The rebuilt Jerusalem is prepared in this heaven. The Temple, Table, Ark, Menorah and all the utensils are here.

f) Mahon -> Aravot

It is five hundred year journey from Shehakim to Mahon. In the midst are the storehouses of snow and hail as well as the rewards for the righteous and punishments for the wicked. Five hundred years further is the Aravot whose merkavah is called Av bu which means cloud. There are some souls yet to be born.

g) Throne of Glory

This is the heaven of the Throne of G-d.

The descent from the heaven of the 'Throne of Glory' leads to the place of the Merkavah or the 'Throne of G-d'. Beneath the throne souls await their entry into our world.

3. The Seven Chambers of Beriyah

In the world of Beriyah there are seven chambers.[318] The seven chambers are discussed in the work of the Me'am Lo'ez.[319]

a) Brickwork of Sapphire - First Chamber

The first chamber [is called the Brickwork of Sapphire (Livnath HaSappir)]

It contains two angels, one on each side, under the direction of a great angel [called Tahariel]. He stands at the gate of this Chamber; by his side are myriads of fiery angels, with eyes all over, each holding a burning rod.

When a soul leaves this world, it must pass before this angel. If it is not sullied by sin, the presiding angel opens the gate of this Chamber and allows it inside. But, if the soul is defiled by sin and naked, not clothed in good deeds, it is shoved to the other side of the chamber, where there is a great angel presiding over thousands of harmful angels. They grasp the soul and beat it severely, leading it to purgatory [Gehenom], which is the place of judgment.

Another duty of this holy angel is to oversee prayer. Each prayer passes through this chamber....

b) Essence of Heaven - Second Chamber

The second Chamber [is called the Essence of Heaven (Etzem HaShamayim).] It has three gates, two of which are closed, and one of which is open. [Overseeing the open gate] is an angel [called Orpeneyel, who is also] in charge of the three directions south, north, and east. Under his supervision, two other angels stand by the two closed gates.

In the time of the Holy Temple, the Sanhedrin (Supreme Court) had the power to inflict the death penalty. When a person is put to death by this Court, his soul ascends to this Chamber, where it is greeted by the presiding angel. The same is true of the soul of a person killed by gentiles.

If a person has been killed by the gentiles, his image is engraved on [the angel's] vestments, and he brings it to the highest heaven. There, this person is recorded in the Great Book.

If he has been put to death by the Jewish courts, the angel overseeing the open gate greets his soul. It then conducts this soul all around the Chamber, until it arrives behind the two closed gates where it is shown the good reward given to all those who keep the Torah. The soul experiences great jealousy and extreme anguish for not having kept the Torah.

The angel then opens the east gate, comforts this soul, and allows it to enter. It is welcome inside, since its sins were expiated when it was put to death by the court.

In this Chamber are many kinds of garments prepared for the ones who present themselves before G-d. Every time a person observes the commandments with good intentions, not with any ulterior motive, a beautiful garment is prepared for his soul by the supervisors of this Chamber. When he passes away, his soul arrives in this Chamber. The angel who made his garment sees this soul coming, takes the garment, and accompanies the soul to the River Dinur.

Every soul must immerse in this river to purify itself, since there is no one who has never sinned.

Some souls are burned in this fiery river. They cannot leave it until the morning hours when the south wind blows. This is the time when all such souls are restored, singing praise to G-d and returning to their place. In this manner, souls behave like angels.

If this soul is perfectly pure, it can emerge from the river immediately. It is then dressed in its garment, and brought up to the heavens, into the domain of Michael, the greatest of all angels, who oversees Israel. Michael then offers this soul as a sacrifice to G-d [on the altar on high]. The soul then attains high status, and is allowed to remain permanently in this holy place...

c) Luster - Third Chamber

d) Merit - Forth Chamber

e) Love - Fifth Chamber

The fifth chamber [is called Love (Ahavah)]. ...

In this chamber there is a Force [called Suriah] who has four colors white, black, green, and red. Under his direction are many angels who oversee all the gates. All the keys are in his hand and it is he who opens all the gates and locks them. All the mysteries are also given to him. Three times each day all the angels come into this Chamber, and he nourishes them.

In this chamber are all the souls which are destined to be born, as well as the form of every future body. Since the world was created this place of souls has never been empty.

Hakodesh Baruch directs Suriah who commands the gate keepers to open the gates of heaven which include the Gates of Repentance.

f) Desire - The Sixth Chamber

The sixth chamber [is called desire (Ratzon)]. ...

The presiding angel in this Chamber [Raziel] is the greatest and most important of them all. All the divine mysteries are given to him.

...
In this Chamber there are other angels [Shakhniel, Azuziah, Yehudiah, and Azriel,] who oversee the voices of young children who study Torah in school. The breath exhaled from these children’s mouths is clear and pure, without sin. These angels take this breath and bring it up to heaven, where it sustains the entire universe. This is most precious in G-d’s eyes.

g) Holy of Holies - The Seventh Chamber

The seventh Chamber, which is called the Holy of Holies (kodesh Ha Kadashim), is the most excellent of all. It is sealed and concealed from all eyes. It is to this chamber that holy souls come when they leave the world, and here they delight in the radiance [of the Divine Presence]. Here they remain until the coming of the Messiah [and the Resurrection].

Ascent of the Palaces - June 9, 1996 - 8 AM

I played the Earth, Wind, Water, and Fire tape for hypnotic induction. Initially I saw a pool of cool blue green waters and descended into a deep hypnotic state.

I descended the stairs and opened the door into Shamayim. I was below looking up at the stars of the night. Everything was quite spectacular.

Eventually I saw a waterfall of fire and swam up it into the 2nd heaven. I swam towards the source. I saw two activities. First I saw a rope of angels being pulled out of the waters and as they parted each one took its own shape. Simultaneously there was a rope of angels returning into the waters. I placed myself into the form of one of the angels being born. I came to the water side and reached in lifting the liquid fire above my mouth so that my hand did not come into contact with my face. A few drops fell into my mouth and I began to sing praises to G-d. I was filled with joy and understood the pleasures of these angels. For them a day is eternity.

I then strove to enter the 3rd heaven, but found many barriers. There was no path to Zevul - lwbz and I remembered only two of the names of the “Prince”. I tried Meattah and Metatron, but they had little effect. I gave myself a hypnotic suggestion to wake for 30 seconds, retrieve Cohn-Sherbok’s Jewish Mysticism, lookup names and reenter the hypnotic state. This worked perfectly and I retrieved 2 names for the prince. They were Kimos and Sanas. The second is the name of the Guardian who appears like a manticore[320] with the head of a human and the body of a lion. He came down and swept my soul out of my body raising me to the entry point. I looked like a quasit with 2 thin wings and a mere spark of light for my head. It was a bit dehumanizing at first. I realized soon enough that he wasn’t the Prince and would not let me pass. I asked to go beyond but he said wait, “I can give you any knowledge in the world that you would like to know.” He claimed to be able to reveal the purpose and truth behind all my current struggles as well as the answers to what would happen in the future. I saw upon his shoulder and then above his head a snake hissing a way and realized the meaning of the tempter in the garden upon the Tree of Knowledge. I said that all knowledge I need to know has been given to us in our world and I took the position of the GRA and did not take the gift. Still I could not pass. I prepared another hypnotic suggestion and awoke and saw the name of the merkavah associated with this heaven. Once I knew this name, I felt the Guardian slipping away with the snake. I did not even need to utter the name.

A small angel came down and I raised my arms above my head and I was lifted into the third heaven proper and brought to the Prince. I gazed only at his beard and saw the 13 attributes of Hashem hanging

there. I uttered them in my mind. I felt the appearance of the Prince like the emperor but of more whiteness and mercy sitting on the throne. There was an opportunity to ask questions here as well but I did not pursue it. At this point, I do not believe any harm would have ensued.

Instead I requested to ascend to the world of the Torah, since the Torah was given to us in this world to answer all of my questions. I focused on the name lpru and saw the mist at the entrance of Moshe's tent. I also saw the fog hanging on Mt. Sinai. At this point I decided to return. I was very tired.

Eventually I gave myself a suggestion to be refreshed and counted myself up to ten and into the awake state.

Journey Through the 7 Heavens - June 14, 1995 - 7 PM

Healing Meditation. Chant tape followed by instrumental. Discussed homeless situation prior to meditation. I saw that part of the healing process for homeless people would be to live in the rural country. Closeness to natural beauty heals the soul.[321]

1st Heaven

The 4 angels led us through the 1st palace. There resided the homeless who had suffered in this world with walls of small angels playing soothing musical instruments. They walked stress-free in this world. We met the protector of the palace whose face was his full body. There was a staircase in the back that ascended to the second palace.

2nd Heaven

Here was Alyssum, a lake, and surrounding grasses. The world was guarded by a small druid with a keen mind. There were artists along the lake side drawing. He led us through the forest to the base of a mountain. After ascending the mountain, I passed through the clouds, the firmament into the 3rd world.

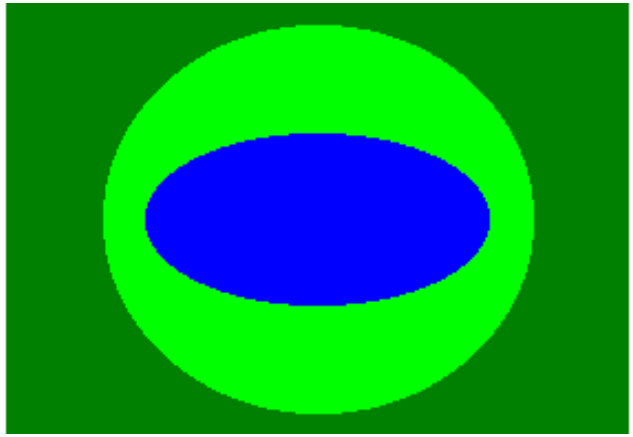

3rd Heaven
Here were astrologers and healers who had spent their lives on spiritual pursuits. The sky was dark and the piercing lights of the stars and planets was brilliant. The astrologers were in heaven. Passing through an arch led to the 4th world.

4th Heaven
This was a mirror of Israel, the dead sea and desert. Here the prophets of old walked. My guide was Isaiah who asked me what I had learned. He told me I understood the prophecies about the anointed well. He said I will find answers in Malachi.[322]

5th Heaven
All entities in this heaven were in a lightning energy. I held my guides hand for stability. [This world exists in raw visual energy.]

6th Heaven

The sixth world is entirely audio. The words of the Tzaddikim were all that I heard.

7th Heaven
This is the world of fragrance, closest to Hashem. The fragrance is that of goodly women whose souls are highest of all in heaven.

Follow up - June 16, 1995

When you share your bread with the hungry, bring the outcast poor to your home,
When you see the naked and clothe them, hide yourself not from your own flesh ...
Then you shall call, and G-d shall answer, You shall cry out, and He will say, "I am here."
(Isaiah 58:7,9)

XII. Up and Down the Tree of Life

A. The 32 Paths of Wisdom [TABLE]

The Sefer Yetzirah begins: [323]

With 32 mystical paths of Wisdom
engraved Yah
the Lord of Hosts
the G-d of Israel
the living G-d
King of the Universe
El Shadai
Merciful and Gracious
High and Exalted
Dwelling in eternity
Whose name is Holy
He is lofty and holy
And He created His universe
with three books (Seforim)
with text (Sefer)
with number (Sefar)
and with communication (Sippur)

The 32 paths of wisdom are related to the word 'heart'. In Hebrew, the word for heart is *Läv* – bl, which has a gematria value of 32. The Torah begins with the letter Bet - b and ends with the letter Lamed - l.

larcy-lk ynyul ... \yqla arb tycarb

These two letters, the 32 paths, the knowing heart contain the Torah. Nevertheless, the heart is directed by the intellect - sekhel. The heart that pumps blood and affects our exuberance and joy with life is related to the 32 paths of wisdom. The literature refers to the 32 in three different ways: the first 32 instances of the natural name of G-d - Elohim - \yqla in the book of Genesis, the 22 letters plus 10 principle numerals which G-d combined to create the world, and finally 32 levels of consciousness that Hashem displays in our world.

1. The 32 Names of G-d in Genesis

2. The 22 Letters 10 Numerals

3. The 32 Levels of Consciousness

These 32 Levels are mental attributes that operate in creating and sustaining our world. Genesis states that G-d created man in the image of G-d. The name for G-d, here, is Elohim. This is also the name for G-d in the 32 paths of creation at the beginning of Genesis. Since we are in the image (tzelem) of G-d, we have an opportunity to activate our mind on each of these 32 levels:

*18. Consciousness of the House of Influx (Sekhel Bet HaShefa). By probing with it, a secret mystery (raz) and an allusion are transmitted to those who "**dwell in its shadow**" and bind themselves to probing its substance from the Cause of Causes.*[324]

Those who 'dwell in the shadow' of the Almighty are those who trust in G-d (Psalm 91:1)

The name of G-d for Almighty is Shadai, which is associated with the sefirah of Yesod. The 18th level of consciousness is the gematria of chai - yh. The other name of G-d associated with Yesod is El Chai. The 'probing' done from Yesod reveals the secret mystery (raz) and allusion (ramez).

The quasi sefira RaZ is located above Yesod and between Netzah and Hod. When Netzah and Hod join during prophecy, the seeker can enter the gate of RaZ. The double letter connecting Yesod to Tiferets is the letter Resh representing RaZ.[325] Similarly, the double letter representing Tiferets to Keter is the Dalet representing Daat.

30. General Consciousness (Sekhel Kelali). It is called this because it is the means through which the "generalizers of the heavens" collect their rules regarding the stars and constellations, forming the theory that comprises their knowledge of the Ophan-orbits of the planets.

This is the knowledge of astrology in our world. Nevertheless, one is forbidden to worship the planets as described in the 32nd consciousness.

3. Sanctified Consciousness (Sekhel Mekudash). This is the foundation of the Original Wisdom, and it is called "Faithful Faith." Its roots are AMeN. It is the father of faith, and from its power faith emerges.

Amen is found Isaiah 25:1 with the reference Elohay Amen meaning G-d of Truth. AMeN is also the word for artificer and the word refers to craftsmanship and art. The word for belief is Emunah and we say AMeN after a blessing that is a Shevuah or vow binding ourselves to G-d through the content of the blessing. Truthfulness is the foundation of wisdom and is sanctified consciousness. Being truthful is more than honesty; it is behaving in an authentic manner with the values that one knows from his true heart, which contains the Torah.

32. Worshipped Consciousness (Sekhel Ne'evad). It is called this because it is prepared so as to destroy all who engage in the worship of the seven planets.

4. "These are the travels of B'nai Israel"

There are 32 resting places recorded of the children of Israel when they went forth from Egypt (Numbers 33:1-50). These travels also correspond to 32 stages of spiritual growth, which create a complete healing for the Jewish people. The Israelites mastered the midos of the 32 paths of wisdom. Here is a description of the places along that journey:

Table 28: The 32 Rest Places of Israel

Stop	Place	Hebrew Name	Comments
1	Succoth	tks	"And they journeyed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the Passover, the children of Israel went out with a high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians." (Numbers 33:1-3)
2	Etham	\ta	In the edge of the wilderness. The name contains the aleph and tav which is the beginning and end. The mem denotes water. Check Kaplan map.

3	Migdol	ldgm	literally ‘from the great’ - getting off the pedestal.
4	Marah	hrm	literally ‘bitterness’ - removing the bitterness in life.
5	Elim	hmlya	12 springs of water and 70 date palms.
6	Red Sea	[ws-\y	Reed sea.
7	Wilderness of Sin	}ys-rbdm	
8	Dophkah	hqpd	
9	Alush	cwla	
10	Rephidim	\dypr	
11	Sinai	ynys	
12	Kibroth-hattaavah	hwath trbq	
13	Hazeroth	trxj	
14	Rithmah	hmtr	
15	Rimmon-perez	{rp }mr	
16	Libnah	hnbl	
17	Rissah	hsr	
18	Kehelah	htlhq	
19	Mt. Shepher	rpc-rh	
20	Haradah	hdrj	
21	Makheloth	tlhqm	
22	Tahath	tjt	
23	Terah	jrt	
24	Mithkah	hqtm	
25	Hashmonah	hnmcj	
26	Moseroth	twrsm	
27	Bene-jaakan	}quy ynb	
28	Hor-haggidgad	dgdgh rj	
29	Jotbah	htbfy	

30	Abronah	hnrbu	
31	Ezion-geber	rbg }yxu	
32	Wilderness of Zin or Kadesh	cdq or }x-rdmb	"And they journeyed from Kadesh, and arrived at Mt. Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom. And Aaron the priest went up into mount Hor at the commandment of the Lord, and died there, in the fortieth year after the children of Israel came out of the land of Egypt, in the fifth month, on the first day of the month." (Numbers 33:36-39)
33	Mt Hor	rhh rh	
34	Zalmonah	hnmlx	
35	Punon	}nwp	
36	Oboth	baw	
37	Ije-abarim	\yrbuh yyu	
38	Dibon-gad	dg }bydb	
39	Almon-diblathaim	hmytlbd }mlu	
40	mountains of Abarim in front of Nebo	\yrbuh yrh	
41	plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho	wjry }dry lu bawm tbrub	
42	And they camped by the Jordan from Beth-jeshimotheven unto Abel-shittim in the plains of Moab.	tmcyh tybm }dryh-lu wnjyw bawm tbrub \yfch lba du	"And the Lord spoke unto Moses in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho saying: 'Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them: When ye pass over the Jordan into the land of Canaan, then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their figured stones, and destroy all their molten images, and demolish all their high places.'" (Numbers 33:50-53)

"'And ye shall drive out the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein; for unto you have I given the land

to possess it. And ye shall inherit the land by lot according to your families- to he more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer thou shalt give the less inheritance; wheresoever the lot falleth to any man, that shall be his; according to the tribes of your fathers shall ye inherit. But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then shall those that ye let remain of them be a as thorns in your eyes, and as pricks in your sides, and they shall harass you in the land wherein ye dwell. And it shall come to pass, that as I thought to do unto them so will I do unto you.'"
(Numbers 33:53-56)

B. The Sefirot [FIGURES]

The 32 paths originate from the first letter in the name of Hashem, the y - yod. This tip of the yod is associated with Keter, while the body with Hochmah. The energy of G-d is unity in Hochmah and flows into Binah, which divides it into seven children.

1. The Ten Sefirot

Figure 9: The Ten Sefirot

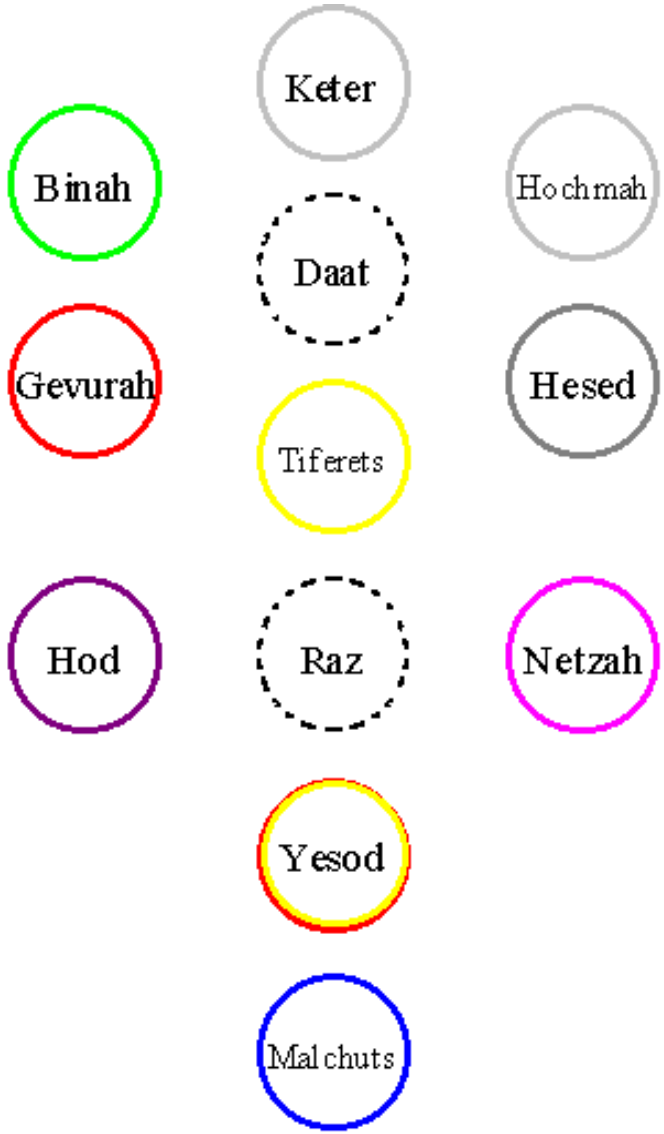

a) Binah

Binah is the place of the upper Shechinah as Malchuts is its lower place[326]. When the people of Israel do not fulfill the will of G-d, Has vshalom, the Shechinah is pulled back up into the higher sefirot and Hashem's bounty is held back. Binah, understanding, is associated with the name Hashem pronounced Elohim. Binah is also associated with the feminine aspect of motherhood while Malchuts would be a young feminine ruler. Praises with T'hilah, like the Hallel, are uttered only at the time that the upper Shechinah is revealed for example on Yom Tovim - festivals or Rosh Hodesh. Prayer, T'fillah, directs

itself through the lower Shechinah in Malchuts and ascends from there. To utter T'hilah properly one must be in a highly elevated state of mind where one feels closeness to Hashem. T'fillah on the other hand can be uttered at regular times and helps bring one back to Hashem. Tshuvah is associated with Binah since reward was stored up in this place for righteous souls and this level represents an intimacy with G-d. The year of the Yovel, Jubilee, is also associated with Binah since this represents freedom from slavery, which in our world is material bondage and must be achieved in order to have closeness to G-d. [327]

b) Daat

Either the sefirah Keter is seen or Daat but not both. Daat is a gateway to the 3 upper sefirot. Keter, Hochmah, and Binah are always complete and hold the reward of the world to come. The lower 7 sefirot have their bounty limited and there are obstacles to overcome in traversing them. Daat opens the pathway between the lower 7 and the upper 3. After the path is crossed, the sefirah ceases to exist below and above there is Keter. Daat specifically applies to the pathway Tiferets-Keter, which requires the union of Hochmah-Father and Binah-Mother to open, hence knowledge.

And Adam knew his wife and she conceived.

When father Hochmah and mother Binah join Daat opens for us to enter. The vertical pathway from Tiferets to Keter is the letter Dalet. Dalet means doorway in Hebrew. Daat lies upon this pathway and holds those below from entering above until they merit entry.

2. The Seven Double Letter Paths

These correspond to the seven double letters in the Hebrew alphabet: t"rpk d"gb. This is the Cloth of Atonement. And what is the t"rpk d"gb in this world? It is none other than the tallis. The married man wears the tallis and atones each day for his family. As the vertical path ascends the heavens in the spirit realm, the tallis ascends the heavens in the physical realm.

Figure 10: The Seven Vertical Paths

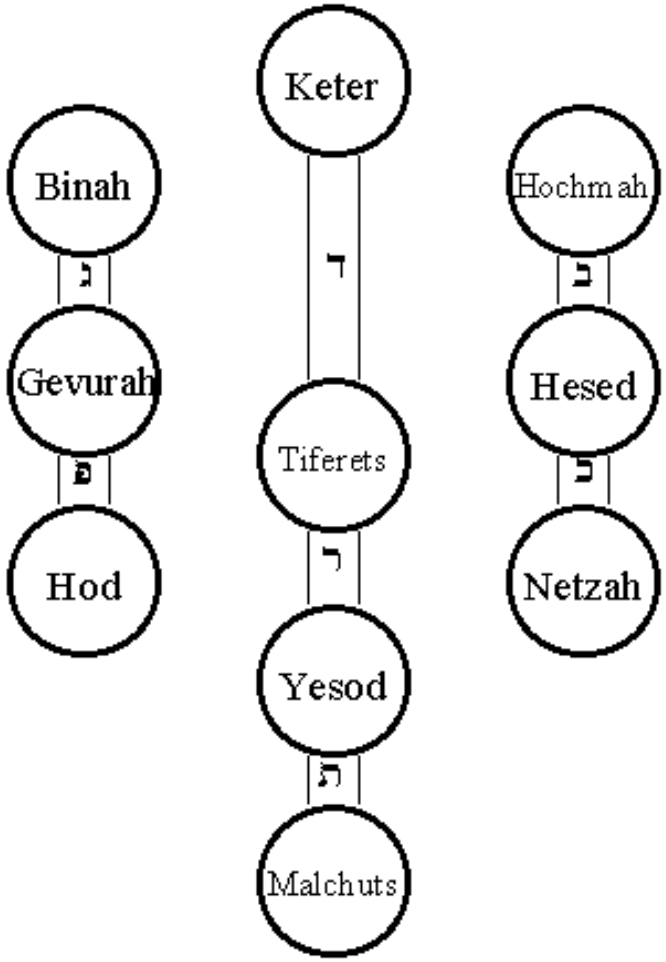

Each of the double letters has two pronunciations, a hard and a soft form, which constitute different meanings according to the Sefer Yetzirah. With the hard sounds one ascends the paths. With the soft ones one could descend.[328]

3. The Twelve Single Letter Paths

To seven vertical paths we add twelve diagonal paths which make up nineteen paths of traversal.

Figure 11: The Twelve Diagonal Paths

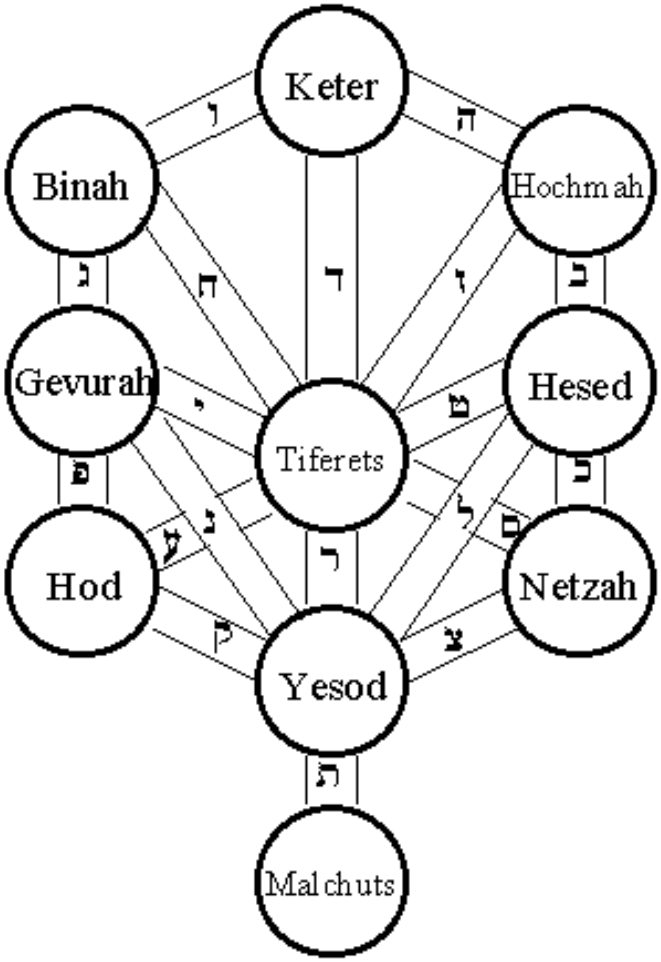

4. The 3 Mother Letter Paths

Shin - c connects Hochmah and Binah and is the elemental plane of fire. Aleph connects Hesed and Gevurah and is the elemental plane of air. Mem connects Netzah and Hod and is the elemental plane of water. These pathways preceded the other pathways and represent an earlier version of the name of G-d from which the name Yod Heh Vav descends. Mem is also associated with the right pillar, Shin with left, and air with the center.

Figure 12: The Three Horizontal Paths

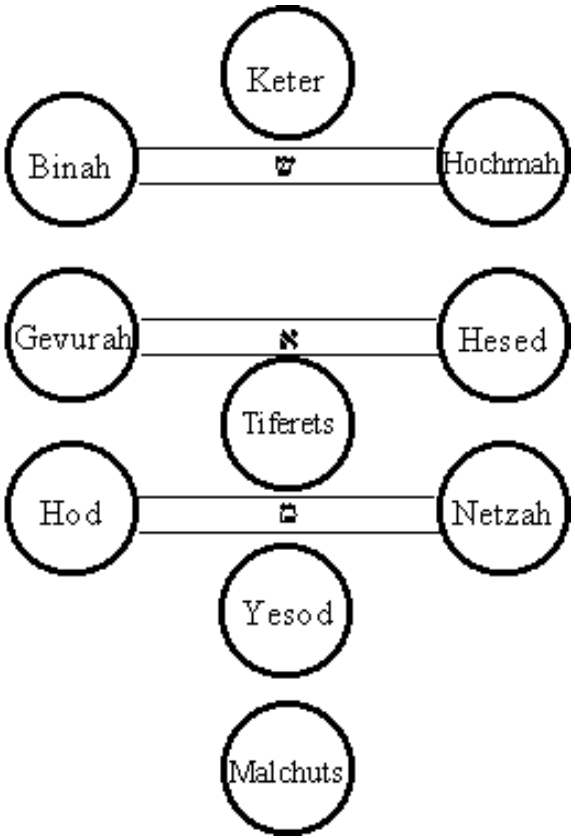

The Elemental Planes - Shemini Etzeret - Oct. 5th 1996 -6 PM

Introduction

Hypnotic Relaxation Tape Induction - All of the windows into the heavens were opened to me this Shemini Etzeret. I learned many things about my soul and others that I will share. The knowledge I obtained in this vision was within my own soul brought forth by the guidance of angels. I asked how could I know this much about the realms above. The answer is that my soul is a reincarnation from Yosef Gikatalia with a small portion of Yosef Caro. I saw myself in Italy as thin and tall with fair hair and eyes and so was my wife. I studied with Abraham Abulfaia and others of the time. I started writing in my teens for my knowledge was advanced even then, though perfected in my 30's when I started writing the Shaarey Orah.

The plane of water does indeed connect the sefirot of Netzah and Hod. The plane of air connects the sefirot of Hesed and Gevurah. The plane of fire connects the sefirot of Hochmah and Binah. The plane of water is the source of the seasons of the world. For as the world rotates around the Sun, the waters of the world change in motion and the 4 seasons arise. The plane of air controls the falling of rain. The plane of

fire rules the lights in the heavens which include the constellations, planets, and stars.

The Plane of Water - m

I began in Malchuts and called upon the angel, Af-Bri, to lift me. Instead I began to see thunder clouds forming over mountains in the foreground. Lightning began and there was wind and rain. Af refers to anger which has its place in the nose which is also called 'af'. Bri refers to healing and a health which a benevolent rain brings. This angel acts through both Af and Bri. As I focused on the storm I realized that this was a place in the plane of water connecting the heavens Netzah and Hod, the Shehakim, across the sky. To be proper this is the upper plane of water. Later I discovered the lower plane which is in the seas, waterfalls, and other pools of water in the world.[329] The storm scared me but I held my ground for I knew my name and the names of Hashem. I called upon the angel Af-Bri to show me his place. I heard these words, "Who is calling me." I responded with my name Yosef Ben Tvi and Ben Ruth. He responded, "By what right do you call to me?" I said I am water from Pisces Sun and he said, "there are many others as well." I said I am also water from Pisces moon and he paused. I said, "like calls to like" and he responded, "it is so." I asked to know his place. Before me I saw a huge tornado form. He told me if you wish to know my place you must risk the danger of the tornado. I came close to the fulcrum which in this plane was as small as my hand. As I entered I felt myself spinning and pulled upward into the heavens.

The Plane of Air - a

The top of the tornado opened into blue sky and there were breezes all around. I called again to the angel Af-Bri and I heard him respond that he was here. I asked what is the Angel of Rain doing in the Plane of Air. "This is the place of my source. The rain is caused by the motions of the clouds and they move according to the deeds of mankind.

Who causes the wind to blow and the rain to fall — \cgh dyrwmw jwrh bycm

When they are righteous, good clouds bring rain from the seas and lakes. When they are not righteous, has vshalom, the clouds are not guided to their place and there is a drought. The wind controls the rain. The wind also controls the evaporation of waters and the temperature of the world in all places. This determines the weather and rain. Hence my source is in the Plane of Air." I walked along the plane and I knew to the right is Hesed which is associated with Bri and to the left is Gevurah which is associated with Af. I sought to understand the connections between the planes. I saw that I ascended from the water to air through a tornado. The tornado contained both water and great winds together. The connection between the planes is in their combined forms. I asked the angel how to ascend to the plane of fire. He told me enter the Sun.

Plane of Fire - c

I saw the Sun in the sky and moved towards it, falling into its flames. Again, I did not fear the fire though I had great trepidation as I moved into it. I saw the fire of the Sun around me and then I was in the flames. I saw flames swirling everywhere and there was a connection in the form with the river of fire.

All fire is connected through this plane. I sought the angels in this place, noticed distinct flames and wondered what they were. I realized they were seraphim and they would help me. I chose a distinct one and asked to merge with the angel. I moved toward the angel and the angel toward me and we merged. Instantly my upper body became erect and my head straight and I sensed unlimited knowledge. The plane of fire holds the knowledge of the Universe. All the knowledge of science, crafts, and construction is contained here as well as the knowledge of the past and the future to come. I also saw that the plane of fire has an upper part and a lower part. The lower part is described above. The upper part of the plane of fire is all of the lights in the heavens. I moved with the Seraph into the Universe and amongst the constellations and realized that I could know their essence.

As I moved towards the right on this plane, I could see into my past and as I moved to the left I could see the future. (Hochmah, which represents the past is on the right in the plane of fire and Binah which represents the future is on the left as one walks into the plane.) I could see where I came from in life and I could see where I was moving to in the future.[330] The essence of the Seraphim is motion. As the flame of the seraph is in continuous motion like the flame of a candle, so this plane represents time and the transition from past to future as motion is an aspect of time.

I also sought the meanings of the connections of the sefirot. I saw that my diagram was indeed the correct rectification of the tree. Still I sought to understand how then was Binah connected to Hesed. Instantly I saw Daat between the two and when Binah is connected to Daat then energy descends to Hesed. Likewise, when Gevurah is connected to Daat, only then with G-d's mercy is Gevurah pulled up into Hochmah and a harsh decree - Din is removed from the world.

The Return

I reviewed my travels while descending. In each plane, there is an upper and lower part. In the plane of water, I visited the lower part and discovered the presence of an angel in a waterfall. I saw that the plane of water is responsible for the renewal and rebirth of the whole world each year. In this way, the plane of water is the source of the seasons of the world. The plane of air is the source of rain. The plain of fire is the source of the constellations in the heavens and knowledge. There are other forms in the deeper waters of this plane that cause forgetfulness which is connected to forgiveness. It is because of the danger of forgetfulness, that the adept traveler should not gaze too long in the waters for he could lose himself. Nevertheless, **forgiveness is assisted by forgetfulness** and this too is part of the plane of water. I brought the three angels I met together and I got up from my recliner and danced with each one while under hypnosis. I danced first with the seraph of fire in a flame dance, then with the tornado angel of wind, and finally with the angelic waterfall. In the end I brought all of these elements down into Malchuts which is Earth and looked up emerging out of the journey. Earlier I was in danger of not knowing how to exit the plane of fire. The secret is to ground oneself in the plane of earth which is Malchuts and our world[331].

C. 50 Gates of Understanding

I posted the following response to a discussion on the meaning of the 50 Gates of Understanding.

From: jeffs@lsil.com (Jeff Spiegel)
Newsgroups: alt.magick
Subject: Re: 50 Gates of Understanding
Date: 8 Jun. 1994 04:45:28 GMT

My own knowledge of this subject is based on the biblical writings and commentaries. The 50 gates are really 49 days or 7 weeks of self-elevation and self-evaluation (followed by one day of prophetic revelation) that the Israelites strove for from the time of the Exodus from Egypt until the time they received the Ten Commandments at Mt. Sinai. It is said that all of Israel experienced prophecy at this time and heard the voice of G-d (Kol Hashem) declare the first two commandments.

How is it possible for an entire nation to be able to experience prophecy? This is the secret of the 50 Gates of Understanding.

Being worthy of receiving prophecy requires character improvement. There are 49 aspects of character that the Israelites worked on developing while they wandered in the dessert of Sinai. These aspects correspond to the combinations of the 7 lower sefirot which are called midos or character qualities from the Hebrew.

The counting is done backwards from the highest level to the lowest since prophecy is energy transferred from G-d to man.

Hesed - kindness - Abraham (epitomized quality)
Gevurah - judgment power - Isaac
Tiferets - beauty - Jacob
Netzah - victory eternity - Moses
Hod - thankfulness - Aaron
Yesod - foundation - Joseph
Malchuts - kingdom - David

Shavuot - the day of the giving of the Ten Commandments, the revelation and prophecy. (Pentecost)

Hesed in Hesed 1. study
Gevurah in Hesed 2. attentive listening

Tiferets in Hesed 3. orderly speech
Netzah in Hesed 4. understanding
Hod in Hesed 5. intuitive insight
Yesod in Hesed 6. awe
Malchuts in Hesed 7. reverence

Hesed in Gevurah 8. humility
Gevurah in Gevurah 9. joy
Tiferets in Gevurah 10. purity
Netzah in Gevurah 11. attendance on scholars
Hod in Gevurah 12. debate with colleagues
Yesod in Gevurah 13. discussion with students
Malchuts in Gevurah 14. deliberation

Hesed in Tiferets 15. knowledge of the scriptures
Gevurah in Tiferets 16. moderation in business affairs
Tiferets in Tiferets 17. moderation in worldly affairs
Netzah in Tiferets 18. moderation in pleasure
Hod in Tiferets 19. moderation in sleep
Yesod in Tiferets 20. moderation in conversation
Malchuts in Tiferets 21. moderation in frivolity

Hesed in Netzah 22. patience
Gevurah in Netzah 23. good nature
Tiferets in Netzah 24. trust in the sages
Netzah in Netzah 25. uncomplaining acceptance of suffering
Hod in Netzah 26. knows his place
Yesod in Netzah 27. is content with his lot in life
Malchuts in Netzah 28. limits his words

Hesed in Hod 29. does not claim credit for his achievements
Gevurah in Hod 30. is beloved
Tiferets in Hod 31. loves G-d
Netzah in Hod 32. loves mankind
Hod in Hod 33. loves acts of charity and kindness
Yesod in Hod 34. loves straightforwardness
Malchuts in Hod 35. loves admonition

Hesed in Yesod 36. shuns honor
Gevurah in Yesod 37. is not conceited with his learning
Tiferets in Yesod 38. does not delight in dictating decisions

Netzah in Yesod 39. shares the burden of his fellow man
Hod in Yesod 40. and judges him favorably
Yesod in Yesod 41. directs him to the truth
Malchuts in Yesod 42. and to peace

Hesed in Malchuts 43. is composed in his learning
Gevurah in Malchuts 44. asks pertinent questions and answers to the point
Tiferets in Malchuts 45. listens and adds to his learning
Netzah in Malchuts 46. studies in order to teach
Hod in Malchuts 47. studies in order to practice
Yesod in Malchuts 48. increases the wisdom of his teacher
Malchuts in Malchuts 49. Notes accurately what he has learned
Shavuot 50. Quotes a thing in the name of the person
who said it

These teachings on character development are taken from the "Sayings of our Fathers 6:6"

The secret to understanding the correspondences is to recognize how the respective patriarchs perfected these character traits in their lives.

1. Abraham learned all he could of G-d and lived a life of kindness sharing this knowledge.
2. Isaac always listened attentively to his father.
3. Jacob never spoke hastily but was a master of speech.
4. Moses gained the highest level of understanding possible and was able to speak to G-d face to face.
.
15. Abraham's knowledge of the Torah was so great that he revealed the Book of Creation which bestows kindness and truth.
16. Isaac avoided excess business dealings, and at the end of his life was judged favorably, and blessed his sons in truth.
17. Jacob abstained from worldly affairs and was rewarded with physical beauty and truth.
18. Moses abstained from pleasure with his wife in order to be ready to reveal Hashem's truth.
19. Aaron had little time for sleep as he spent his nights dissolving arguments of couples with the truth.
20. Joseph circumcised his lips by only speaking after careful thought in truth.
.

1. Isaac was beloved by the people of the land of Caanan since he was friendly, displayed gratitude, and was carefree with his neighbors. This also led him to love his son Esau and his wild spirit.
2. Jacob's love for G-d brought him to Bet El, the house of G-d, where he beheld the angels ascending and descending. His love for G-d taught him to the importance of peace for to love G-d

requires an environment without anger and hatred. He encouraged peace with his neighbors, his wives, between his children, and he pursued peace with his brother.
3. Moses's love for G-d brought him to a love for people.
4. Aaron displayed acts of charity and kindness his whole life sometimes beyond measure by fashioning the Golden Calf.

.
39. Moses carried the burden of the whole house of Israel by answering their disputes in righteousness. Sharing the burdens of your fellow man means placing oneself in their position and not reacting spitefully to an inconvenience. For example, if a loud truck privately owned by a couple begins unloading and loading cars in a nearby parking a lot, one should look for a way to assist them instead of criticize them for the noise. If the president of the shul hints at the need for more tzedakah even though you may already be a large contributor, prepare a contribution instead of a contrary word.
.
46. Moses learned all he could in order to teach the people.
47. Aaron learned all he could in order to be an example of practicing the commandments.
48. Joseph increased the wisdom of his father Jacob, his teacher.
49. David recorded his experiences in his Psalms.

D. Sefirot Colors and Lights [TABLE]

Each sefira associates with a different color. One may visual these colors during meditation for enhancing the realism of the vision. When one adheres to the authoritative associations, the vision comes in loud and clear. During a meditation, this is similar to tuning a radio station to eliminate the static noise.

In addition to colors, the "Gate of Kavannah" describes eight qualities of light.[332] Here is the description of the Crown:

Above it is the Crown. This is the light that crowns the desires of the mind and illuminates the paths of the imagination, enhancing the radiance (zohar) of the vision. This light has no end, and it cannot be fathomed. From the glory (Kavod) of its perfection comes desire, blessing, peace, life (chaim), and all good (tov) to those who keep the way of its unification.

Table 29: Sefirot and Colors

Sefirah	Color	Light Quality	Names Of G-d
		Concealed Light	Ayn Sof
Keter – crown, will, or desire	blinding invisible light	Crown	Ehyeh asher Ehyeh

Hochmah – wisdom	a color that includes all colors		Yah
Binah – understanding	yellow and green		Hashem (Elohim)
Hesed – kindness	white and silver	Tov – Good	El
Gevurah – judgment, Discipline	red and gold	Nogah – Glow	Elohim
Tiferet – Beauty	yellow and violet	Kavod – Glory	Hashem
Netzah – eternity, victory, prophecy	light pink— the color of the upper eyelid	Bahir – Brilliance	Hashem Tzavaot
Hod – thankfulness, acceptance, prophecy	dark pink— the color of the lower eyelid	Zohar – Splendor	Elohim Tzavaot
Yesod – righteousness	Orange	Chaim – Life	El Chai, Shadai Living G-d
Malchuts – kingdom, Shechinah	Blue		Adonai

Why is the light of Keter called a blinding invisible light? Blinding, since no objects can be seen in this place. Invisible since the light does this without being seen. Light, since the vision is clear.

The color of wisdom includes all colors, for wisdom includes all knowledge in its synthesis. Yellow is associated with illumination and green with fertility which together represent the understanding of Binah with the fertility of the mother Partzuf. White and silver are traditional associations with kindness, red and gold associate with judgment. The sefirah of Tiferet illuminates the truth, yellow, and holds the mysteries of Torah, violet.[333]

The light pink and dark pink colors of Netzah and Hod are the colors of the upper and lower eyelids, which symbolize the experience of prophecy, i.e. sunlight shining through ones closed eyes. The orange of Yesod is the color of righteousness that is based on the discipline of Gevurah, red, with the illumination of Tiferets, yellow, and the prophecy of Netzah and Hod combined, pink, which together is Orange.

Kingship is blue, i.e. royal blue.

Lights – January 14, 1993 – 8:30 PM

Review the associations of light and color with each sefira during the day.[334] The color associations are of background value. The light of Chaim assists in entering Yesod, but El Chai is the main gateway. The goal of the session is to visit the sefirot Netzach — Hod, and Hesed.[335]

The Gates of Kavanah[336] present the lights in order of encounter:

- Nogah - Glow
- Tov - Good
- Bahir - Brilliant
- Zohar - Splendor
- Kavod - Glory
- Chaim - Life
- Crown - Desire of the mind
- Concealed Light - cannot be seen, without boundary or end

In a prophetic experience, one must first overcome the Klipah Nogah, a fragment of the broken vessels in oneself. After repairing the vessels, one becomes a vessel for the higher lights.

Table 30: Lights and Quality

Light	Quality	Similarity
Concealed Light	Cannot be seen, without boundary or end	Ayn Sof - Keter
Crown	Desire of the mind	Keter - Hochmah
Chaim	Life	Yesod
Kavod	Glory	Tiferet - Malchut
Zohar	Splendor	Hod
Bahir	Brilliance	Netzah
Tov	Good	Hesed
Nogah	Glow	Gevurah

In the realm of Yesod, three white angels form a circle, providing the first level of purification.[337]

I focused on the light above to the realm of Netzah and ascended there. Before my eyes was the Mountain of the Lord with dark clouds at its peak. I saw a line of souls heading up the mountain. This was like Mt. Sinai in the world to come but one of the souls told me that they were all permitted to climb the mountain without fear of death. As I climbed, I saw a light on the mountain. This was like the burning bush that Moshe rabbenu had seen. When I got closer, a voice told me to come closer still. The color of the fire was orange in the middle with darker shades lower. The flame was not hot. A voice spoke, “This land where you stand is Holy, remove your shoes from here.” I complied spiritually. The Voice spoke again, “I am the G-d that took you out of Egypt. I am the G-d of Avraham, Yitzhak, Yakov, Yoseph, Ephraim and

Manesseh." I asked the Lord what shall I do to serve you. First, I was told to pick up six stones in front of me and position them in the shape of a Magen David. After placing the stones, a line of light sealed them and an angel of immense height rose out of the flame. He called himself Metatron, an angel most high that shields us from the direct light of Hashem that no one can withstand and live.[338]

Metatron said, "When all our people feel a closeness to G-d through these ways, the world will be united" He said teach out of your heart. As the angel returned, I too came off the mountain and rose higher towards the world of Hesed.

Hesed is the world where some of the light of Tov has been saved for us. There I beheld the tent of Avraham in the midst of the dessert. It was black but open from all sides. I saw a white light upon me and a soul mate beside me. Avraham came out to greet us and brought us into his tent. He said when he met us that he would provide us with food and water for cleaning and that we should come with him. In his tent he told Sarah to prepare food; that there were guests here. Afterwards, Avraham said we would travel, just him and myself. We took preparations and he began leading us towards a mountain. As we got to the top, I saw there was an opening that looked downward. As I gazed inside there was a bright light. The opening was covered by a large rock and he said, this is where one enters to descend into the Merkavah. This is the same place as the Akeidah and the Temple Mount, it is Mt. Moriah where the Lord appeared. I began to descend into the mountain. It was somewhat scary and there was brightness all around. At this point my subconscious faded and I woke up.

(This vision was completed at another time.)

Descent into Mt. Moriah - February 23, 1994

I envisioned four angels[339] lifting me while on my back looking upwards. The first two sons of Aaron rose in this manner as a thanksgiving offering to Hashem completing the Tabernacle.

1. In Malchuts I beheld the Circular Ladder which is the Tree of Life. All may climb the Tree from any direction, hence its circularity.
2. In Yesod, I saw a beacon of light, flashing out messages. I turned to my right and then retreated to the left encountering Aaron in Hod.
3. "What bothers you" was a question I heard from Aaron. I responded, "Nothing, everything is like a blessing from Hashem; what could possibly be on my mind." Aaron blessed me with the Three Fold Blessing.
4. I rose as a comet of light into Tiferets and descended into a cave under the Temple Mount. There in a large hall I saw a table and resting upon it was the Hoshen, the breast plate that Aaron wore with the 12 stones of light. The Urim vTumim was in a fold behind the plate being the true source of the light. I asked is it true that there is only one G-d. First, the stones lit up to form the shape of the Yod - y. (The tip of the Yod is the singular point of Keter. I asked again and only a single

stone lit up; as D'varim 4:35 states ki Hashem, Hoo Ha elohim ayn od melvado - the Lord He is G-d there is none else beside Him. I asked where the ark of the covenant rests and all of a sudden the room lit up with a myriad of points of light and I saw an entrance to another chamber.

5. I preceded with Uriel leading the way. There before us were two large golden angels shielding the way to the Ark of the Covenant. They were the Cherubs or Cheruvim. As we tried to go forward, they stopped us saying, "he who is not clean may not approach the Ark." At this point a robe of point lights was lowered upon me and I felt myself cleansed again. As the Cheruvim continued to resist, I spoke up and said, "The contents of the Ark are given unto man. The commandments and tablets within are for us not the angels." I commanded, they parted and the ark curtains opened.
6. I lifted the tablets out.

The Burning Bush That Does Not Burn - Jan. 8, 1997 - 7:30 PM - Rosh Hodesh Shevat

Ira led the meditation:
First we envisioned the angels all around us and preceded with the descent of the Shechinah over and through our bodies, burning away all impurities. Ira asked us to visualize ourselves in a meadow with flowers on a trail. We were walking up the trail towards a mountain top and saw various shrubs. At one point we came to a place where we had to remove our shoes to cross. Beyond that line was the burning bush that the fire would not consume.

Now I will describe my own personal experiences:
I lowered my head down toward my knees, relieving all stress and tension. I had two questions which I set as my goals at the beginning of the meditation. They were:

1. What is the secret to achieving complete repentance without backsliding?

This can only be obtained by practicing complete forgiveness of everyone around. Achieving a pervasive attitude of forgiveness such that one never holds a grudge against others will prevent backsliding into an original sinful pattern.

1. What else does the 42 letter name of Hakodesh Baruch Hu direct?

There are 7 groups of 6 letters.. One point to note is the number 6 in this case is associated with the letter vav and the Partzufim of Ben which is Zer Anpin, or the supernal son. Together they represent the 6 directions in the Universe and the active aspect in life.[340]

After this point I found myself in the meadow and felt particularly happy with the beauty of a warm spring day. I visualized this meadow which appeared as a place I visited on Mount Shasta which is a spiritually inspiring place. Walking up the trail we ascended the mountain. Ira told us that the trees turned

into shrubs as we ascended. In the distance I saw a burning bush. As I approached I heard a voice in my head saying, “I am that I am. I am calls you.” I wondered what was the source of the non-consuming fire in the bush. In my mind I heard that the fire is from the Plane of Fire driven by an elemental angel. The fire is a spiritual fire and its secret is contained in the pathway connecting Hochmah-Wisdom and Binah-Understanding on the Tree of Life. This path brings together the supernal father and mother resulting in Daat-knowledge. This True Knowledge is knowing G-d. and is the byproduct of learning Torah This knowledge is not the Torah, but like a flame resting on a candle wick is sublime and a byproduct of the formal knowledge and rests in the heart. In the heart from the word lav - bl are the 32 paths of wisdom. Gaining this True Knowledge is the byproduct of learning Torah. By Torah I mean any Jewish work of spiritual elevation. Wisdom is associated with the supernal husband and Understanding with the supernal wife. When the two join, there is Daat which is knowledge or the byproduct of Torah learning.

When the Israelites left Egypt, they journeyed 32 times before coming to rest in place where Aaron died. Aaron had mastered his own heart by always judging the people favorably. There are then 10 more paths mentioned to make 42 and these are the 42 resting places of the people of Israel when they left Egypt. This is a name of transformation, sometimes associated with the creation week. In these 42 journeys, the Israelites recreated their nation through movement, which is change, which leads to purification which leads to cleanliness.

The secret to obtaining purity is “less is more” i.e. less possessions, less money, and less spoils of life purifies the soul to Hashem. The less one has, the greater the ability to become pure of outside influences. Purity leads to cleanliness which is a very high state enabling a person to burn clean all impurities and return close to Hashem.

Returning to the idea of supernal fire I saw the Staff of Moses as a branch off of the Tree of Life. The staff had a supernal flame around one end to those who could see the supernal fire. Around the other end were buds and blossoms like those found on the Rod of Aaron indicating the staff was yet alive. The Staff embodied the idea of knowledge and life like the burning bush that is never consumed.

E. Sefirotic Worlds [FIGURES]

Star of Light – Jan. 1, 1993 - 6 PM
I had been reading ‘Meditation and Kabbalah’, Gates of Light - Shaarey Orah, Page 128 by Joseph Gikatalia and the Songs of Ascent - Shir Amalots in the Psalms.

Figure 13: Hypnotic Experience of Ascending the Sefirot

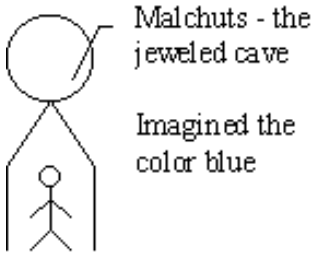

Vision of Malchuts
Entered realm of Malchuts, invoked the name, Adonai for the light to be revealed. I felt a funnel descending upon me. Whenever I searched for the light above, I would locate the next higher level. In this manner, I ascended the sefirot. The ascent was strictly through the central column while the descent took the longer route through all the spheres.[341] When I sought the source of light in Malchuts, I noticed a bright beam pouring in from above. I positioned myself in the beam and willed to be brought into the realm of Yesod. I invoked the name of Hashem [El Chai] and I ascended in the beam of light through a small hole at the top.
Vision of Yesod
As I passed through, I was amazed to see the world of Yesod. Here there are tall angels working hard away. There was a palace here. The Hebrew word for palace is Hechel that has the same gematria value as Adonai:

heh 5 + yod 10 + caph 20 + lamed 30 - lkyh = 65 = aleph 1 + dalet 4 + nun 50 + yod 10 -ynda

I was very small compared to the height of the angels, many of whom I could not see the tops of. One of the angels lowered his hand and picked me up. He asked, “What do we have here?” I said my name was Yoseph and that he should put me down. “Yoseph the righteous one. We shall use you to light our world for the patriarch, Yoseph symbolized the world of Yesod.” The angel put me in a high place and I became a five-pointed star of light. I said I couldn’t stay here for I have business on high and I began to pray. I said I must fulfill further mitzvoth in the physical world and I must ascend higher to beseech the Lord's will. Two angels came down beside the shining star and grabbed each of my arms. They were Gabriel on my left and Michael on my right. As they lifted me Gabriel looked down upon me and I looked upward. They lifted me out of my body like a white translucent spirit leaving its body and we headed upward towards Tiferet, the place of Gan Eden [Garden of Eden].
Vision of Tiferet
I could feel the warmth of the light above basking on me as the angels lifted me higher. Eventually, we passed through a hole in the top and there I beheld the Garden of Eden. Such a forest with bright light and lakes and wonderful grass as can only be glimpsed in our world. The souls of Adam and Eve came forth to greet me. They were in ethereal white bodies and they were holding hands. Only the strength of the angels kept me up in this world. I beheld the Tree of Life on my left and the Tree of Knowledge on my

right. They wanted me to stay and I stayed awhile out of respect for the avot - ancestors. Finally, I said I must ascend higher for I have a request that I must present in the realm of G-d's Will. I called upon the name Ehehyeh and the angels returned to lift me higher to the source of the light of the world of Gan Eden.

I will raise him up because he knows My Name. (Psalm 91:14)

Vision of Keter
As I slipped through the hole and into the world of Keter, I found a gray light not like the white light of Eden. In this gray world, I stood upon an impenetrable floor of blackness. Here is the world where G-d's will takes form.

Ascent to the Temple - July 24, 1996 - Erev Tish B'Av - 7 PM

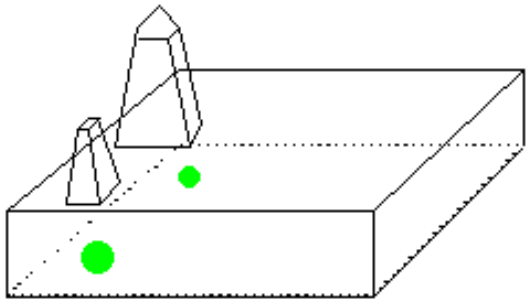

B"H

July 24, 1996

Erev Tish B'Av

7:30 PM

Temple Ascent

Preface

I attended the healing meditation at Beth Shalom. I arrived and Ira was outside watering the Roses. I volunteered to pick up all the trash that had been deposited amongst them. This opportunity led to the vision as well as powerful chanting from Ira. I washed my hands after the work and we began listening to Ira's tapes and humming a Ningun. I listened mostly until the end, when I participated at last with a touch

of the tune of Aicha - Lamentations on my lips.

Attending the meditation was Rita at my right, Monte at my left and Ira in front of me. Rita, earlier, showed me a work by Reb Nachman called, "The Empty Chair." We discussed several positive anecdotes. During the evening service at Am Echad, I remembered all the details of the vision.

Vision

4 Angels

Ira brought down the 4 angels and I saw them vividly this time: Michael on the right in silver light; Gavriel on the left in gold light, Raphael behind in the color of green, and Uriel in front in white-yellow light like the Sun. I thought of a story that I read about the temple. After the destruction when Rabbi Gamliel was leaving, a peer of his looking at the temple saw a fox dwelling therein [Lamentation .:.] and commenting woe is us for having seen the temple occupied by animals now. Reb Gamliel commented it is not so. "I see only that G-d's prophecy concerning the destruction of the temple has come to pass and now I know just as this prophecy has been fulfilled so will the prophecy concerning it being rebuilt come to pass."

Temple

Michael and Gavriel lifted me overhead and pushed me above themselves directly up and through a white cloud before the base of the Third Temple. It loomed before me like in drawings except that their was a tower in the rear of the structure. {Include drawing here} The tower rose from the roof to a pointed top like a steeple. I explored the grounds and discovered 2 huge court yards in the back. One housed a great Esthrog tree corresponding to the Tree of Life (on the left looking from the West). The other was a pomegranate tree for the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

The top of the tower was made of glass and inside was a study with wall-to-wall books. At night the ceiling would open permitting the one within to gaze directly at the heavens and contemplate the stars. I saw a person pondering in this room over a Sefer - book and realized him to be the Messiah.

Messiah

The first thing I noticed is that he was standing with one of the arms of his glasses dangling in his mouth contemplating a book. He did not have a beard. While his intellect was not extraordinary, his wisdom was granted from Hashem and he was able to answer any spiritual question put forth to him. I asked him a few questions:

- I thought of the loneliness I saw in friends who had not married their soul mate and asked how

long must we wait for an end of this situation? He responded,

"the question is not one of time at all for in each moment we can choose to love G-d with all our heart, soul, and might and be lifted away from this."

- I asked about the commandment to be fruitful and multiply and how we are often led to involvement with partners with this driving thought. Again, I got the response, "the answer is to focus on loving G-d with all your heart, soul, and might." [A tape from a follower of Reb. Nachman spoke about how the great longing and love for G-d leads us to love of our fellow man and to great acts of Hesed - kindness.]

- I asked again, “what of the situation when partners of different backgrounds are merging their values in a relationship, how can we avoid the loneliness and difficulty here?” Again, the same response, "you shall love the Lord your G-d with all your heart, soul, and might." This is all you need to follow. Good will flow from this." The meaning here is that by seeking G-d, one will seek the right partner and the proper values will emerge in the relationship.

Ira mentioned that it was Tish B'av the time when the 1st and 2nd temples were destroyed. He said we should view our body as a temple and this replaces what was lost. [This is similar to the idea that our prayer service replaces the sacrificial offerings that were carried out in the temple.] I tried to see how the Moshiach standing in the future temple saw the previous temples. I saw in his mind (this is possible in the hypnotic state) the temples burning and the people dying. A guiding intellectual reason that the burning of the temple was a Karban - a sacrifice that atoned for that generation supplanted mourning. [In the Kinot we read how the priests and prophets served with ulterior motives and l'havdil how King Josiah was brought down because of the sins of his kingdom while he himself was holy unto G-d.]

After the questions, I prayed for the well being of those present and their friends, and relatives. I began to see prayers ascending in a spiral out of the head of the Moshiach like a tornado going up into the heavens. I saw the image of the four of us ascending in the spiral. There was a female part of the moshiach, his wife. They had or would have a son as well. [In the trance state- past, present, and future may merge.]

At this juncture I made one more request. [The Nach rabbi said that we should make a list of all our requests to Hashem and repeat them daily. Even the little requests should be said for Hashem. We should also meditate for 20 minutes a day and that this was a powerful way to change our lives.]

My request was to see Abraham again. Here I learned another technique of ascending the sefirot. The moshiach tilted his head to the ride and directed his consciousness toward the sefira of Hesed which is to the right and above Tiferet, the heavenly temple mount. With his thought I began the ascent. Ira began chanting at this point and I brought him up with me. We emerged upon a desert and I saw Abraham waiting for us. I shook with a brief spiritual chill from Ira's chanting. Abraham pointed and I looked up to behold an angel like myself ascending to the place of G-d where prayers are received. The angel said he was carrying my requests and the requests of others I had prayed for to higher levels. He was extremely beautify, straight forward in speech, and of singular purpose like a chunky version of myself with small wings. [The chill indicated a separation of a small bundle of spiritual energy from myself which created an angel.] {add cross link to similar visions}

I was elated to see Abraham and greeted him with a hug. I said I missed you so much. Abraham is also my father's Hebrew name and I saw the likeness of my father in him as well. The patriarch was happy to see me and announced our presence to his wife. I asked what to do with Ira who was chanting away. He said it was fine, Ira was doing his thing and it was good. When we reached the tent, Ira was still chanting and Abraham sat down and began participating in Ira's meditation! The chanting was very good to Abraham as well! We continued the deep meditation until the end of the chanting. At this point Sarah brought out manna cakes from heaven as food to eat. The food had no physical taste but instead nourished and replenished spiritual energy of the soul.

At this juncture, Ira began to bring the meditation to a close since it was approaching 8 PM and time for Tish B'av evening services. I asked Abraham about the best way for descent. He told me to go down the diagonals from Hesed to Tiferet to Netzah across to Hod then to Yesod and Malchuts. I briefly saw the temple, Moshe on Mt. Sinai, Aaron at the base of Mt. Sinai, the surface rock of Yesod, and then found myself resting in the spherical cave of Malchuts. This was a fast effective grounding and I opened my eyes.

Postscript

I told parts of the vision to the others. The vision of the temple with the tower and moshiach's dwelling place. I said that the moshiach would be able to bear all the turmoil of the people by retreating to this tower each night and opening the glass ceiling to gaze out the stars. This would renew him with inspiration and calmness each night. I told them of the first question I asked concerning when the loneliness and difficulty of people would end and how the answer was not in the future but in each one of us. Monte spoke up at this point about how we should view the temple inside us and how the holiness within is the answer. I told them of the encounter with Abraham and what he said about Ira and there was chuckling.

I reached Am Echad at 8:15 and the service had not begun yet. Once, evening services began I was reminded of all the points in my vision at different points in the service. It is good to daven each day; this too is a teaching of Nach that even meditation cannot replace.

Gevurah - January 8, 1993 - 7 PM

1. I read the 49th Psalm on the need to transform material wealth for spiritual purposes.
2. Started hypnotic tape.
3. The effect was different from the previous week. I had been feeling some financial strains and my mind was lower.
4. I decided that I would go to the Sefirot of Gevurah, which I had avoided previously. After a slight entrance to the world of Malchuts, I uttered the name of Hashem associated with Gevurah, Elohim, and two angels came to take me. They were black and small in form differing from previous experiences. These were angels dedicated to bring one to judgment unlike white angels.
5. The world of Gevurah appeared to me with walls of red and gold. Before me was a judge's dais of dark wood. The setting was like a court and was being judged for the "crimes of my youth," (Kohelet - Ecclesiastes ???) The name Elohim is judgment and the seal pictured below a form of prison with the letters at 5 points surrounding.

6. The seal is like a pentacle.
7. Meditations are safe even under such circumstances. One merely needs to will himself to the conscious state.
8. Next day we read of the death of Yoseph, the last portion in Genesis.[342] My prayer was stimulated by the idea that it is better to be accompanied by Elohim than to be alone in this world.
9. memorized colors associated with meditations on the sefirot. There are two Josephs of significance here: Joseph Tzayach on the colors, Joseph Gikatalia on Shaarey Orah.

XIII. The Other Side

The word evil exits in Hebrew in a few forms. *Evil* - lwu is a verb meaning 'to do injustice.' *Avel* - lwu is a masculine noun for 'injustice, wrong.' *Aval* - lwu is the masculine noun for 'wrongdoer.' Judaism does not have a concept of evil as a counterpart to good. Instead evil is the absence of G-d.

wnnyaw wmwqm lu tnnwbthw ucr }yaw fum dwuw

And in a little while the wicked shall not be; you shall reflect upon his place and he will not be there. (Psalm 37:10)

Evil cannot exist indefinitely but its separation from G-d removes itself from the world.

\wlc br-lu wgnuthw {ra-wcryy \ywnuw

And the humble will inherit the land and they will delight themselves in the abundance of peace. (Psalm 37:11)

On the other hand the humble in spirit attach themselves to G-d and their reward is the inheritance of the land.

Rabbi Nachman teaches another meaning to Psalm 37:10.[343] He understands the word wicked here to refer to the sinner. He teaches that we must look for the good in every person even a wicked person. When we find this spark of good, we must judge him favorably and he will return to G-d. This is the meaning of "In a little while he is not"; when we judge him favorably the sinner is gone and in his place a baal tshuvah, a master of repentance.

Gevurah and Hod - July 19, 1993, Monday 1st of Av, 7 AM

I woke up in a dream, which emphasized the importance of keeping vows. Monday is associated with Gevurah as is Av.[344]

I played the Relaxation Tape and prepared myself in Malchuts. There I saw the angels Gavriel and Michael descend to my sides. They lifted me to Yesod, the righteous foundation of the Living G-d, Almighty. Yesod relates to Yetzirah, the home world of angels. I turned to my left, looked at the face of Gavriel, and said, "I will go with you." With a swift push, I was climbing the channel into Hod with Gavriel behind me, pursuing like a tiger.[345] In the world of Hod stood Aaron, the Golden Calf, Gavriel, and myself. The 12th of Tamuz was the day of our sin with the Golden Calf - Egel Zahav. I raised my arms and said to the Lord, we repent, I repent; let it be no more and in a burst of light, the idol was turned to molten spreading like a liquid enveloping the light of the Sun. This connection is to teach us that we must be careful not to worship the Sun. Gavriel came over and held me with concern. I said everything is OK, you don't have to worry. SHe raised my face, and I stared at the tears in her eyes as she shook her head from side-to-side. I tried to comfort her and I confessed that it was all for the good. I had learned the message of vows from a dream. The pattern repeated and then I said let us ascend to the realm of judgment. Immediately we ascended and emerged in the Court of Gevurah. The robes of Gavriel changed from white to red with dark shades of gold, and her countenance was without mercy and her purpose was firm. She drew a line and than a cross. Around the cross (fire), sHe connected a diamond and placed it under me in the center.

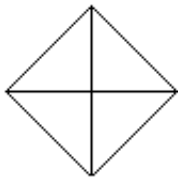

I was frozen and fixed as the pattern ascended through me. Finally a cover was placed on the top sealing me into the diamond. It was very tight and choking. She sat on the Throne of Judgment and watched unmoved by sufferings and I glimpsed the pain of Gehenom. I confessed to the Lord that it is better to be judged by the Almighty then to be without Him, Has Vshalom. Nevertheless, the pain did not subside and I became scared. This was a fatal position to contemplate and I searched for a way out. The Thirteen Attributes of Mercy then came to mind. To escape death. I said them aloud and the walls of the diamond fell to my side.

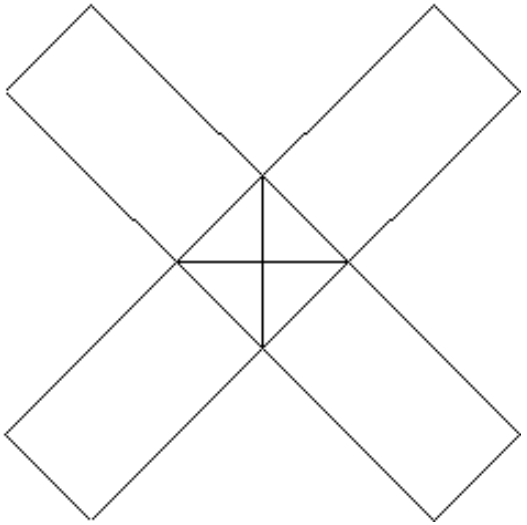

I was free and I chose quickly to ascend from Gevurah to Binah. I beheld the Angel in White from behind once more.[346] She held her left arm up to Hashem, which held a rod and her right arm down to this world channeling energy. She turned around, gave me her rod and my arms assumed the same position and she left. I stood alone feeling the vibrations of the energy coursing through the rod, but they nourished me not. I stood for a while and then contemplated a shift to Hochmah consciousness. I turned the rod to the right and moved into Hochmah. There was a well in the shape of a diamond with water within. I realized the danger of falling in and turned away. I began to forgive and prayed for anyone that harmed me or I had harmed. I saw a flame between Hochmah and Binah.[347] There were eyes within. This was a seraph and I moved into the flame. They became my eyes and the flames were a purgatory for my soul purifying it with my prayers. I turned my head to the left and the sunlight burned my face as the flames burned my soul. Everything is going to be OK. Finally, I saw a vision of an immense hill of sand with a slide. I jumped and landed down upon each dune until I reached the bottom and my eyes opened

upon the new day.

Everything is going to be all right Gabriel.
We will repent and return.
You do not need to cry for us anymore.
The stern decree has been turned aside.
Those we've harmed, we've prayed for.
Those that have harmed us, we've forgiven.
Through Judgment we have learned Love.
And through mercy we have found Hope.

Afterthought - July 20, 1993, 7:30 PM. The obstacles in a vision are formed out of klipot on the body and in the mind. Their danger and size magnify the closer one gets to Hashem.

To Hell and Back - November 27, 1993

The Jewish idea of hell is the absence of G-d. People create their own hells by their activities and worries in life. Ultimately G-d is ready to receive any person back. I played the tape, 'Achieving Maximum Human Potential' and entered the hypnotic state.

Fires of Gehenom - A large angel, shaped as a standing turtle,[348] invited me to enter the gates of hell.[349] He was waving to follow him. As he turned to lead, I noticed small wings of fire on his back. His body was luminescent without definite features other than body, arms, legs, and wings. I crossed under a gate and looked up to see it ringed with fire, ~ ten yards in height. Gehenom is not scary in itself. The flames exist only from the souls that are there.[350] The frightening part is encountering the burning souls. They wander aimlessly occasionally springing up on others by surprise. They are evil and the source of the fire that consumes them. The rest of this world is empty.[351] The angel kept asking that I follow and we went further inward. Eventually we arrived at a gate and the angel would go no further. Through the gate, I saw a raging furnace of fire that appeared solid unlike the spotted flames of souls before. I thought to myself (incorrectly) "Now I am approaching the worst of Gehenom." I entered alone as the angel could not lead me here. Crossing the threshold was a test of strength. The angel waived bye and I walked onward into the furnace.

Nahar DiNar (River of Fire) - I saw souls floating in a river of fire by waving their arms wildly as if caught in a fast current. I walked further and was greeted by a handsome woman swimming towards me. She had long black hair and dark eyes. She wanted to lead and she showed me how to swim after her. I followed her up the river, which entered the mouth of a cave. The fire river was a brilliant gold that lit up the walls and we swam onward. As we reached the end, which is actually the beginning of the river, she climbed out onto a bank. I burned in the headwaters and then climbed onto the opposite bank. I asked her about this place. She did not respond with words, but grabbed and placed me in the source of the fiery waters. My body regressed to that of an infant and she lifted me out again and put me on the bank. I was

scared of my mind regressing with my body, but this did not happen. My yetzer hara burned away from me, and I now possessed the innocence of a child. I felt lonely and wanted to be held, and she lifted me to her and I played with the tresses of her hair. Later I learned her name, Sara Imanu - Sarah our mother, and she helps souls through the river and prepares them for the Gate of Judgment. I beheld a ladder leading upwards and began to climb through the solid rock. I reached a clearing.

Gate of Judgment - I beheld a line of people (souls) waiting to pass through the gate one-by-one. Most were despondent with their heads down. I proceeded to the head of the line, as one living is free from the rules of this place. As an infant, I crossed over the threshold and entered the chamber of judgment. (The upper world was the color of a steely gray-silver unlike the gold of the river below.) I waited in the chamber until an old tall man entered. He was surprised to see me and looked discerningly at me. He said, "You are not really an infant, my son", and he lifted me up and my form returned to that of an adult. He asked me, what I wanted here. I told him that I wanted to pass through the gate and into the place beyond. He told me I could not do this. He always followed his statements with the trailer, my son. I deduced he was Avraham Avinu - Abraham our father, who could lift a soul out of Gehenom for the mitzvah of the brit milah alone.[352] I claimed that I needed to go beyond to bring back knowledge to teach.[353] He responded that all we need to know is in the Torah and I could not pass.

For this commandment which I command thee this day,
it is not too hard for thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say:
'Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?'
(Deuteronomy 30:11-12)[354]

In fact, I was shoved out of this place forcibly. I descended back to the River of Fire. Sarah returned me to an infant, placed me in a carriage that lifted me up the ladder into heaven. I beheld chariots of light descending on my left with many forms.

A. Turning Evil to Good

The four elements that compose a man lead him to sin in the following ways. Fire is the source of arrogance. Air is the source of idleness and idle chatter. Water is the source of evil passions. Earth is the source of melancholy.[355]

Likutey Moharan #8:5
Now, by sighing, a person draws the ruach-of-life to the lack for which he sighs. This makes it whole. Nevertheless, one should not attempt to provoke the wicked. When a person provokes the wicked man who then sighs, the wicked man draws ruach from his rav of the husks. In its moment, his ruach is mighty. "He blows down all his enemies," and is capable of harming them, G-d forbid.
Therefore, not everyone can antagonize the wicked. Only a perfect tzaddik can do this. A perfect tzaddik is someone who is on the level of "No sin will befall the tzaddik."[356] In other words, he has already

expelled and eliminated whatever bad he may have had within him. He is certain that he will in no way be brought to sin.
This matter [of eliminating the bad] is as follows: There are four fundamental elements [of creation]: fire, air, water, earth. Above, in their transcendent root, they correspond to the four letters of G-d's holy name, YHVH.[357] But, below [in our world], they are a mixture of good and bad. The perfect tzaddik, however, has completely distinguished and separated the bad from the good. He is without even a residue of bad from any one of these four elements. [These elements] encompass all the traits, as is known. So that when he is on this level, he [the tzaddik] can provoke the wicked.[358]
For every wicked man has to have a conduit through which he receives his ruach in order to provide wholeness [in place] of the lack. The conduit and pathway through which he receives the ruach-of-life needed to fill this lack is the particular bad trait from the four elements which he has drawn [upon himself] and empowered [himself with].

When the tzaddik wants to humble the wicked man, he must descend into the bad trait with which the wicked man has empowered himself.
This is how he can subdue and destroy the conduit from which the wicked man receives his life-force.

This is why the tzaddik must be perfect, without any bad whatsoever. Otherwise the wicked man's storm wind, which is also his ruach-of-life, can G-d forbid, overpower and harm the tzaddik when he descends into the bad trait in order to destroy it. The bad has no hold on or control over the perfect tzaddik. He hasn't any place to which the bad can attach itself.
{Even the bad quality into which the tzaddik descends in order to bring about its destruction has no hold on him. His entry there is solely for the purpose of humbling and subduing it; as in "And Avraham ascended from Egypt."}[359]

The "descent into the bad trait" means that the tzaddik reflects the bad trait of the other person. In this manner, the wicked person sees a mirror of his own behavior from this holy person. This reflection creates an affinity that will help the person realize his own wickedness. He will sense that perhaps the tzaddik was right after all in earlier arguments. As an example, consider a person on the verge of apikorsus considering all faith an illusion. After numerous arguments that have no effect on the person, the tzaddik descends into the bad trait and concedes, "all is illusion" to the other person. The effect is quite contrary. The other person feels a weight released off his chest and his obstinacy dissipate. Nevertheless, the elation of the tzaddik agreeing with his point leads to remorse. "Perhaps this great man's view is better. Perhaps it leads to a truer happiness. Perhaps I shall try faith and see for myself."

B. The Evil Eye

One who brags or shows off rouses the Evil Eye. Joseph and his descendants struggled with the

consequence of this evil:

And the sons of Joseph spoke to Joshua, saying why have you given me but one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing I am a great people, because the Lord has blessed me so much? And Joshua answered them, if you are a great people, then go to the forest country, and cut down a space for yourself there in the land of the Perizzites and of the Refaim, if Mount Ephraim is too narrow for you. (Joshua 17:14-15)

Bava Batra 118a (end) explains:

The children of Joseph, surely, complained and did not benefit, and [yet] Scripture recorded their case. There, [it may be replied, Scripture desired] to impart to us good advice, [namely,] that a person should he on his guard against an evil eye. And this indeed is [the purpose] of what Joshua said unto them; as it is written, And Joshua said unto them: 'If thou be a great people, get thee up to the forest'. [It is this that] he said to them: 'Go and hide yourselves in the forests so that an evil eye may have no power over you'.

The children of Joseph countered:

They said unto him, 'We are of the seed of Joseph over whom the evil eye has no power'. As it is written, Joseph is a fruitful vine, a fruitful vine by a fountain, and R. Abbahu said: Do not render, 'by the fountain,' but 'those who transcend the eye'. R. Jose son of R. Hanina said, [this is inferred] from the following [verse]: And let them grow like fishes into a multitude in the midst of the earth (Genesis 48:16). [This means that] as the fishes in the sea are covered by the waters and no eye has any power over them, so, in the case of the seed of Joseph, no [evil] eye has [any] power over them.

Joseph and his descendents are under the influence of the sign of Pisces[360] based on this passage where Jacob is blessing Joseph and his sons:

:{rah brqb brl wgdyw qjxyw \hrba ytba ymc \hb arqyw \yrunh-ta]rby ur-lkm yta lag]almh

The Angel that has redeemed me from all bad will bless these lads
and call in them the name of their fathers Abraham and
Isaac and will make them plentiful like fish
in closeness to the land.
(Genesis 48:16)

Rashi comments on fish here: "Like fish that are fruitful and multiply and there is not an evil eye that has power in them." Here we learn that the effect of the evil eye is to limit reproduction, has vshalom. We also learn that the evil eye manifests within them. It is cast from outside but effects the target within. Now if this is the case why did Joshua say to their descendents to flee to the forest? For the descendents were proud of their numbers asking for a larger inheritance. Braging brought the evil eye upon Joseph from his brothers originally. Joseph's descendents have the same vulnerability. Abraham knew this well and would teach his great-grandson this in another incarnation.

C. Evil Thoughts

As Rabbi Nachmah teaches:[361]
It is important to realize that it is utterly impossible to think two thoughts at once. You can therefore easily chase evil thoughts away without any real effort. Just stop thinking about the subject, and concentrate on something else, whether it be Torah, worship, or even business. The evil thought will automatically vanish, since it is impossible to think two thoughts at the same time. (Likutey Moharan 232)

XIV. The Other Planes

A. Primordial planes

The Ari z"l, Isaac Luria, was the first to describe the cosmological structure above the world of Atzilut, the place of the sefirot. I described a journey that took me to the place of G-d before time and space in a previous vision[362]. That vision brought me to the limit of what is knowable about G-d and then into the Nothingness beyond, Ayn Sof. This vision focuses on the experience of the 4 worlds in the 5th universe residing above the apex of the Yod, what is known as Adam Kadmon.

1. Adam Kadmon

The following meditation was done to the Eye Closure Tape. I learned the following finger response techniques for obtaining answers from the subconscious. Answers with movements of the right hand are for the good (tov), those with the left hand are not so (ra). The lifting of the index finger means yes, the pinkie means no, and the fingers in between are degrees between yes and no.

17th of Tamuz 5754 - Morning

I ascended to Malchuts and then to Yesod[363] with the help of angels lifting me into the light. From Yesod I went to the Garden of Eden where I saw the Lubavitcher Rebbe shlita[364] standing outside the gates. I asked him the secret to getting married and he said, "Emunah, that one must believe with all one's will for it to happen." I asked if he were Moshiach and he answered again with Emunah, that he has done all he could, it is up to us to believe with all our mind for Moshiach to be.

I wanted to ascend higher to see the Tzaddik Emets, Rebenu z"l. I passed through Tiferets and was stuck

at the Gates of Daat[365] which I did not know how to open. I did not know the Name of Hashem associated with this sefirah.[366] Eventually I saw Binah as a mother and Hochmah as a father embrace and the gates were opened and Binah lifted me up and showed her husband what she had found. I said, "I need to speak to the Tzaddik Emets and you should help me." The father took me and passed me into the base of Keter. The entry to Keter opened inward like a hole punched upward through paper, like a new gate made for each who enters. I said, "I will to ascend to the level to see the Tzaddik Emets." I was lifted through the blackness into the worlds above. I entered the level of MaH - 45 and the expansion of the Havayah was before me and then BN - 52, and then SaG - 63, and finally AV - 72 where I saw Rebenu z"l standing.

He was so happy. He said, "I am as proud of you as one of my finest students for though you live in the recesses of the world, you have learned so much of my teachings and have studied with my teachers."[367] It is impossible to describe the joy he felt and I felt to reach him. I asked Rabbenu z"l to help me with a question and he put his hands upon my head to know the situation. I asked him what he is doing at this level and he said, "you should continue to learn my teachings and you will understand, but for now it is beyond you."[368] All of a sudden, I felt a vacuum pulling me down and I descended through the Tree in rapid progression through all of the sefirot and upper worlds.

May 4th, 2001

Regressed myself back to the point of conception and witnessed a spark of light like a shooting star back to its place in the heavens waiting to be born. As I followed the white star back into the night sky, I found its stationary location in the right wrist of Adam Kadmon. Like the rest of the sparks, it was motionless waiting to be reborn. I felt the incredible longing in the spark for the chance at life again, for the chance to improve its station. How long it waited to be born. Such a longing, the other sparks felt the same. All were waiting for suitable parents to provide a chance in life.[369]

2. Expansion of the name Hashem

19th of Tamuz 5754

I learned the secret of how I entered Daat and what Rabenu z"l was doing at the level of AV. From the Ari z"l:

YVD HY VYV HY yh wyw yh dwy

The Tetragrammaton expanded with Yods, adding up to 72 (Ab) motivates the union of Hochmah -

Wisdom (Father) and Binah - Understanding (Mother), through the Neshamah of the Neshamah (i.e. Chaya) of the saint. It is associated with Hochmah - Wisdom.[370]

The saint in this case Rabbi Nachman of Breslov and he made it possible for me to enter Daat through his Chaya bringing Hochmah and Binah together for me to enter there. He was at the level of AV for it is Mekor Hochmah, the source of wisdom, and also part of the name of his new settlement in Israel, Nachal Novea Mekor Hochmah where his efforts on high in the spiritual realm parallel the physical construction in our world. The name of the settlement translates to “the source of wisdom is a flowing brook.”

The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters,
and the wellspring of wisdom as a flowing brook.
(Proverbs 18:4)

Elsewhere Rabbi Nachman speaks of a ‘Nachal Novea Mekor Chokhmah - hmkj rwqm ubwn ljn’ where the initial letters spell at the name Nachman - }mjn.[371]

B. Astral and Ethereal Planes

The Astral plane is a place outside of all places and yet connecting all. When in the Astral plane, one is invisible to all beings in other planes and yet able to observe all. The Astral body is a glowing white light and is connecting to the physical source by a line of light. It is also possible to teleport the physical body to the location of the Astral body in the non-physical planes. In this way one can interact with the beings on other planes. The advantage of Astral travel is that it is possible to bypass gate keepers to reach spiritual destinations since one can only be seen by other beings on the Astral plane. The disadvantage to Astral travel is that it is difficult and one must achieve a high degree of purification and shed the physical body to enter this plane.

The Ethereal plane is an inner plane that is experienced while dreaming at night. The Ethereal plane connects all physical places in the Universe and enables the subconscious to explore their locations. One can enter the Ethereal plane from the Astral plane but not vice-versa.

Astral Travel - May 19, 1997 - 27th Day of Omer - 8 PM
Today is influenced by Yesod in Netzah which brings righteous foundation to eternal visions. I visited Berkeley and the Hochmat HaLev meditation center for their weekly meditation. I took the BART up to Berkeley from Fremont and read a little of Crowley’s book on Magic. I had been trying to decipher the mystery of the Astral plane. I was late and jettisoned myself into the silent meditation.

I saw forms of the archangels descend and they pushed me higher from Malchuts to Yesod. The angels passed me to other angels in a chain fashion each pushing me higher. Each complained about my state of impurity and quickly pushed me to the next angel. Eventually something had to be done about the impure

state and I beheld a boiling pool of water and sulfuric acid. There was a small sense of fear and then I was tossed into the pool. I sank into the waters and felt myself suffocating. As I sank, I noticed an angelic mermaid form near the bottom of the pool and she spoke to me, “You are safe here.” I began to breath and I noticed that the bottom of the pool was pure acid. The color was a blue-green. Quickly my clothes were burned away by the acid. I asked the angel where I was and I was informed that I was in the Lower Plane of Water between the sefirot of Netzah and Hod. There are different types of liquids in the lower planes and this was a place of acid. I asked who she was and she said that her name would be the Hebrew word for acid with the suffix of an angel. I asked if she was an angel. She said that most beings are messengers of Hashem but that her role was more of an acid elemental. I noticed my skin was burning and pealing away and I beheld a pure white form of light emerging from the shell.

She told me that this was my Astral body and that I would be able to enter the Astral plane with it while she watched over the remains of my physical form. I traveled quickly out of the pool and noticed a new perspective on the Sefirotic Tree. I was outside of the tree now looking in while connected with a line of white light to my body in the Lower Plane of Water. I noticed that I could look into any world yet I could not be a part of any of them. I glanced into Tiferet and descended into the world. I saw Jacob there in discussion with other religious sages. None of them noticed me because I was not really in that world. I moved out of the sphere and then gazed into Hesed and saw Abraham and Sarah there performing eternal chores associated with their meeting tent and they too could not see me. I popped out and then gazed into Binah and beheld the great angelic mother transmitting light energy and above here chains of other angels in a eternal dance. Though I wanted to dance with the angels, they could not see me and I understood the limitations of the Astral plane.

I asked about the Ethereal plane and found that I could enter it invisibly with the Astral body. I saw many dream souls within the beatific scenes of the ethereal world. Finally, I returned to Binah and asked what it would take to be seen so that I could dance with the angels. I understood that I could merge back with the physical body while within the sphere of Binah. I drew my body up from the Plane of Water and wrapped my body around my Astral form. Immediately I became physical in the World of Binah and the angels saw me and descended. I began to dance with them in great joy. I joined with their ascent to the world of Keter and we entered this world carrying the prayers of those singing into the realm of Will. I began to fall through a center column of the angels, each one closing its wings around me in a salute of departure. I unwrapped back into the astral body and the angels departed. Nevertheless, all alone I heard the Voice of G-d and I knew before G-d we are never invisible.

C. Space Travel

April 25, 2000

I ascended into Malchuts with the name Adonai. This was Malchuts of Asiyah, a round cave with an opening at the top into Yesod. With further ascent, I encountered Eloh the source of creation. “I was here before and I will be here after. All that is I created.” I asked about His relation to El Shadai? “She is my younger sister. She is within creation nurturing and helping to grow.” And what of El Chai? “He is the little brother, younger than El Shadai. He causes the motion and springiness of life.” And what do you know of Eheyeh asher Eheyeh. “He is before me and will be after me before and beyond the Creator.” And of YHVH? “He is the viaduct connecting all of the higher spiritual places to creation. We are all connected to the root of Names, Yuhoah.” And El? “El is the prefix of my name and is the kindness that bestowed creation.” And of Elohim? “This is the din balancing kindness.” And of Yah. “Ah Yah is in the crown and is the source of the higher energies sustaining the energies below.”

I asked to be shown a black hole that I may understand its role. I was shown an ocean of plasma before the creation of our world. I asked what is this? “Before your Universe existed, Hashem made previous universes. This is the remnants of the previous one. As the plasma cooled, gravity pulled particles together. Ultimately all was pulled into the great central light of the Universe. This is like the light of YHVH in Tiferets. This great star super nova(ed) spewing elements throughout the Universe.

I entered the black hole. According to general relativity, gravity slows down time. Hence within a singularity time slows, maybe even stops. Light doesn’t emminate from a black hole due to gravity. This is like the place of Keter. There is no surface. One can fall into the singularity and be one with G-d.

One can communicate with each individual name of G-d. In this manner one can explore the meaning of concepts within the subjective perspective of differing attributes.

XV. Back to the Future

A. The Storehouses of the Future

There is a tradition that G-d took the first light of creation and saved it away as a reward in the world to come.[372] The light created during the first day was not from the sun so where is it? “It is stored up for the righteous in the Messianic future as it says:”

Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun,
and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold,
as the light of the seven days.
(Isaiah 30:26)

Where is this light stored? Proverbs 8:21 says:

*My loved ones will inherit from **there** and I will fill their storehouses.* lyjnhl lma \hytrxaw cy ybha

The Shaarey Orah reveals to us the key word is 'there' - Yesh - cy which has the value of 310 and refers to 310 storehouses of reward in the world to come and a tithe in this world. The Torah states that one should give a 1/10th of what one earns to charity. Hashem in his kindness tithes from the good stored up for us. The name EL, gematria 31, associates with the sefirah of Hesed - kindness. This is 1/10th of Yesh.[373] The word Yesh associates with the presence of G-d, i.e. the ultimate reward:

ytudy al yknaw hzh \wqmb \ch cy }ka rmayw wtncm bquy {kyyw

And Jacob awoke from his sleep and said truly **there** is Hashem in this place and I knew it not.
(Genesis 28:16)

The Hebrew word Yesh appears superlative since a better translation world read, "And Jacob awoke from his sleep and said truly Hashem is in this place and I knew it not." Yesh is providing an additional emphatic thought. Yesh refers to something else that is stored away for us and experienced only fleetingly in our world. 'Yesh Hashem - There's Hashem' is the highest reward in the world to come.

The 310 storehouses are said to have 310 guards in the world of Gevurah that prevent the bounty from descending.[374] These guards were put in place because of doubt expressed by the Israelites in the desert:

Is there Hashem close to us or not? }ya-\a wnbrqb \ch cyh ...

And the name of the place was called Massah-trying, and Meribah-strive, because of the striving of the children of Israel, and because they tried the Lord saying: 'Is the Lord among us, or not?' (Exodus 17:7)

HaYesh YHVH in our midst or AYN

The Shaarey Orah associates AYN – }ya with absolute mercy and the highest sefira, since above Keter is the AYN SOF - without end. Yesh is the reward from Hochmah and is mixed slightly with judgment as it is held back. Why is it held back? "Know that if they had asked gently and nicely not in a petulant and quarrelsome manner, their request would have been appropriate."[375]

Merkavah - July 10, 1993 - 9:30 AM

I played the letter ascension tape. After progressive relaxation I reached a deep trance state and began the ascent. I let my hands rise above my head coming together in the shape of an oak tree and I rose upward into this realm. I explored the cave somewhat but then rose higher into Yesod. I thought of the Living G-d, Almighty and saw the workings in the world of Yesod. All around angels were busy with their work

transmitting and paralleling the work of our world. The tape directed me to a stream in a meadow. There I beheld a shiny object in the stream. I lowered my hand and it entered the cool water retrieving an amulet of a color like silver with a touch of gold. Upon the amulet was inscribed the letter heh, like the hand of G-d. I held the amulet in my right hand then rubbed it against my heart. It felt good. The angels Michael and Gavriel took me higher into Tiferets. There I floated alone through white clouds which occasionally parted letting sunlight through. I made several rotations with my body enjoying the pleasures I felt. I had some battles with shards of evil as I wrestled to go higher.[376] There were distractions and I rose to Hesed and then rose to a hidden plane finally descending back to escape from a questionable force who attacked my body. Earlier in Netzah an angel dangled me by my hair until I commanded him with the name of Hashem Tzevaot. He released me and became absolutely straight at attention. I told him to descend and help a particular person who was ill and was going in for an operation. I also prayed for a woman I knew that she should be able to have children. Eventually I ascended to the level of Binah. There I beheld the most beautiful angel I had ever seen. I saw her backside. With one arm held up to the heavens and one pointed down she was white with long hair and flowing white robes. There was a silent wind blowing past her. I rotated to see her front and beheld a face looking downwards with locks of golden curls beside it. I extended my hand and gave her the amulet I had found with the Heh. She took it and raised me up. I saw at the top of her upward hand, the end of a rod that was ornately engraved and yet the color of a grayish white. The light of the Almighty descended into this rod and out her hand pointed down. Occasionally she flung off small discs of light like small saucers in various directions transmitting G-d's energy in concentrated packets. Finally she began to rapidly rotate and ascended higher in a burst of light. I copied her, rotating and ascending in a similar manner. When I became aware of my surroundings, I saw above me the likeness of a man. He was wonderful to behold and there was an angel lowering a crown upon his head. The man did not want to be addressed as the Messiah, I thought of him as the anointed one instead. The crown of the angel passed all the way down his body and then up again and rested upon his head. From his eyes and crown came forth rays of light that made me feel warm and good. The Anointed took a small crown and passed it over my left arm leaving it there. My whole arm was purified with the crown or band. Eventually another was passed over onto my right arm. I began to feel purified. I asked the Anointed one whether he is the "staff that will come out of Judah and the rod from Israel." He was very humble and would not say. He held a staff in his right hand though and a rod in his left. I asked him what would become in the end of days. Things began to happen now. I felt a crown placed on my head and the staff and rod placed in my hands and I began to prophesy the worlds of G-d.

I beheld a nation of Priest Kings and Queens, dressed in royal robes, and dwelling in the light of Hashem. I felt myself placed on a throne and then lifted up to a point looking down into the Merkavah. There, I beheld the throne of Hashem. Upon the throne rested the most beautiful crown I had ever seen upon a purple seat. Around the crown was His Presence, yet without image or form. There were angels around the throne singing praises. I too sung praises from my height. Below, I saw the children of men approach and the angels parted for them. They were all regally dressed, fit to approach the King of Kings. They too sung praises. As I watched, someone beseeched the King on Tahiyas haNefesh, the raising of the dead.

The desire was turned into a soul that came before G-d. I was in the place of that soul during this vision. I was thanking G-d so much for the beauty of our world. I was thanking Him for the trees and animals and mountains and rivers and I said that all things praise your name forever and ever. I said how beautiful your world was and though this vision is truly majestic, your world in its humbleness was a paradise as well. I described how our world permitted us to separate the dross from the silver and gold so that we could stand here today. It was your world with your help that made us what we could be. I asked in a small voice and a small desire, if we could experience it once more[377].

I then beheld this new world that G-d began to form for us. It was much larger then our current world, large enough to hold all those that had died. And each of us was a king and queen having our own castle and mated with our true soul mate. The world was lit by a great sun, and all people knew that the Lord was G-d, the Lord is G-d, the Lord will be G-d forever and ever. And Hashem put the laws in our heart and they were like a small candle and all the knowledge being revealed will be like the Sun in comparison. And we could learn the Torah all day long, and the teachings of the sefirot and angels, and Talmud, and all wisdom in this world and the structure of Hashem's higher worlds, and even science in all its depth will be permitted study.

For the earth will be full with the knowledge of Hashem as the waters cover the sea.
(Yeshayauh 11:9)

And all peoples will be permitted to visit one another and talk of the secrets of Hashem and share warmth and love for one another and G-d. Ahavah, our love to Hashem has gematria 13. And Hashem's love towards us makes 13. Together they are 26, the gematria of the name of G-d. Also the gematria of echad - unity is 13. There are the 13 attributes of mercy by which our sins are forgiven.

And we will have desires that manifest new souls and children from soul mates. And the children shall all be born of praise and knowledge of G-d and these souls shall dance before Hashem. At the end of the vision I said Hallel: Halleluyah, Hallel, Hallelyah, praise G-d praise G-d, Halleluyah!

Slowly I opened my eyes and there was a whiteness before me, though it was my white shirt on a white chair blocking the blackness of my stereo, it was like a last parting gift for my eyes to rest upon something white and holy.

Olam Habah[378] - May 22, 1994 - 9 AM

I played a taped called “What Hypnosis is Like.” I had the following vision. Overall, the future can never be completely known and is certainly within our free will to change. Most of all the following vision represents trends that may be changed and we can make this world of ours into an optimistic, sun shining place for G-d to dwell amongst us now and forever more.

I sat on a throne and angels assembled at the legs of the throne, first at the left front, then the front right, then the right back, and finally the left back. They began to move me. At first I floated above this world

gazing at the living places of my loved ones, than myself and I know that the presence of G-d was with me. I wanted to know about the connection of this world to the vision I had of Olam Habah. I felt the joy that we have in this world again; how beautiful it is, the seas and mountains and flowers and sky above and stars in heaven; that this world is truly a gift shared between us and Hashem. We shall transform this world from its gehenom of sufferings into a place of love and joy and adventure between our spirits and the freedom of discovering the spirit of G-d.

Still, this is not the world of Olam Habah - hbh \lwu - the world to come. I asked to be shown the future and the messiah to be. The year was 6000 by the Hebrew calendar, 2240 by the English. The world society is all linked by computer communication and there is a great celebration from the top of a tall building in New York. There a leader of the Jewish people is broadcasting a unifying song of joy to the rest of the world, a great ningun. All the world is listening many are singing, all feel connected. From the deserts of Africa to the peaks of the Andes, there is tranquility, peace and comfort. The skies churn at night and some can see spiritual lights in them but the physical world does not alter.

So I ask to go again into the future and now its the year 7000th Hebrew calendar year or the year 3240 in the Gregorian. I do not see any Jews. There are some watching a broadcast from the year 6000 like in a museum. The world is without faith now, there are no Jews in this place that I can see. Again this bothers me. The technology is great. There are roads on all different levels connecting every place. In the year 6000 I saw electric cars of sleek design minimizing air resistance as the main automobile. The year 7000 seemed to have many places in giant enclosures for preservation or perhaps protection. I asked to see Jerusalem, surely there would be Jews. As my throne approached, I was astounded to see the Dome of the Rock still standing. There were large walls built up around it as if there was an attempt to rebuild the Temple without its destruction. How strange? People were viewing the sites like a museum. There was a darkness around like a giant enclosure or could it be a spiritual void or perhaps just the darkness of an uncertain future that we may still improve.

I asked Hashem through the angels about the Jews, “Where are they?” My throne ascended upwards to the Garden of Eden where some still learn. The rest are in Olam Habah, a new spiritual world of utter joy and peace. G-d did not destroy this world after all, but still created a new place to put His chosen people. But what happened after the year 6000? There was a progressive loss of faith as people became more absorbed with technology. There were less Jewish children being born into the world as there were less Jewish souls which had not yet reached their waiting place next to the throne of G-d in Beriyah. This still bothers me for more children should bring us closer to the coming of the Moshiach, so I asked to know the Truth. I saw the kings of Israel on their thrones and each was anointed hope of their generation as was the Moshiach of the year 6000 as is the one today of 5754 (The other day I said that we must be ready to see the potential for Moshiach in every person (Jew) and this will bring us to love for all our fellow Jews)

I know that the Jewish people will not cease from this world as long as it is here though I saw not Hasidim dancing in my vision or any other sign. Blessed be the Lord, G-d forever and ever and through the Torah is in our hands and we have revealed its meaning and hopes as taught by our sages, we shall

never abandon our faith and love of You and Torah and Israel, Amen Selah.

B. Reincarnation

Take a counting of all the assembly of Israel by their families,
By their father's houses, according to the number of all the male names,
By their reincarnations.
(Numbers 1:2)

Gilgul which is from the word for wheel refers to the recycling of past lives in each generation. Each of us contains a fundamental soul that is often a reincarnation. Attached to that soul are smaller portions of other previous souls that uniquely combine with the fundamental soul to create each unique being in this world. From this we learn that no person is all bad but that we must work to rectify each part of our spiritual nature into good people. For example the person below contains 60% of the reincarnation of one principle person with 4 portions of 10% of portions of other previous souls needing rectification or to assist in rectification of other souls. The 'lofty soul' attaches itself to perform a mitzvah missed in a past life to help others.

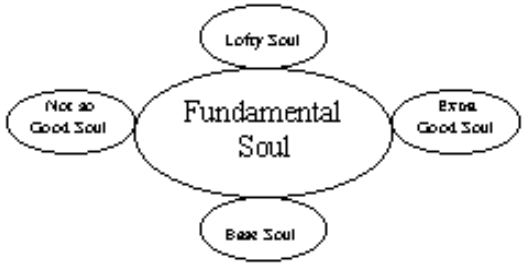

The 5 portions above combine into one unique individual with the soul existing on 3 fundamental planes of existence. The Nefesh is our physical body needs. Ruach is the energy and activity energy of our soul. The Neshamah is attached to G-d and is our divine spark. The previous incarnations of the soul select their primary residence in each of these three areas, but relocate daily based on learning and our actions. A person who does good deeds will bring the 'Lofty Soul' and 'Extra Good Soul' into the Nefesh and Ruach levels. The 'Base' and 'Not so Good Soul' become compressed at the bottom of the Nefesh and exert little influence. A person who does bad actions pushes the 'Lofty' and 'Good' souls to higher levels hiding their influence on our complete being while the 'Base' and 'Not so Good' souls occupy the majority of the Ruach and Nefesh levels, Has vshalom.

C. Psychotic

There are those in this world that bear in life severe psychological disorders. How are we to understand their circumstances in light of Torah. After a meditation which enlisted the angel Yediael to beseech G-d to reveal the answer, this is what I learned. There are souls in heaven which bear the mark of extreme moral and personal struggle in previous lifetimes. These souls need to be reborn, and they are drawn to a body with a mental chemical balance. This makes their struggle more difficult. The psychotic bear a combined soul as described above with a disturbed soul attached that challenges them. While responsible for any evil they commit, their challenges are also greater than the normal mind. Their delusions distract them and yet they have free choice not to commit crimes.

Many psychotics fall into this path after being hurt bad when younger. The psychotic interpretation represents a personal defense against a situation they do not understand and fall victim to repetively. Yet, they do not have to do evil; they have free will.

Paranoid schizophrenia is one of the most difficult mental illnesses. The schizophrenia prevents the patient from admitting the delusion and the paranoia questions explanations of what really happened. To help this person, gentle corrections may work. The Oral Torah describes possession and disavows mental illness. All are born with a difficult soul that is helped through a spiritual means, namely faith in Torah principles. The contrary soul will have difficulty with these principles. Meanwhile the paranoia will shield the person from help.

In the days of our Rabbi, the Ari—may his memory be for a blessing for the life of the world to come—it once happened that a spirit entered into a woman, causing her great distress. And when her relatives noted the extent of her pain they entreated the rabbi to save her. He then sent our teacher, Hayyim Vital, who went to the woman and asked the spirit numerous questions concerning himself and the reason that he was punished in this way. And the spirit told him that he was being punished for his in with a married woman and for bringing existence the offspring of an adulterous union. Rabbi H. Vital went on to inquire o f the spirit concerning the iniquity of the woman, which happened to the woman because her true self I s not as it appears. She did not believe in the Exodus from Egypt. And on the evening of Passover when all Israel rejoices in gladness, reciting the Hallel and relating the going out from Egypt, all this is as a laughing matter in her eyes for she thinks that this miracle never occurred.

The rabbi’s heart sank, as he could barely believe what he had heard. He trembled at hearing of her evil heart and said to her, “Have you not lost your hope? Behold you are as one of the pagan women, and for that reason this distress has come upon you and you are totally lost. Only if you will believe in perfect faith that the Holy One, blessed be He, created the heavens and the earth and that He has the capacity to do all that He desires and none can question Him concerning His doings can you be freed from this situation.” She responded with the words, “Yes, I believe completely.”

He continued, asking the woman, “Do you believe that the Holy One, blessed be He, brought us out from Egypt and split the sea for us?” And the woman said, “Amen, amen.” The rabbi continued, asking her, “Do you believe all this in perfect faith and do you repent with a complete repentance?” And he evoked in her remorse and regret concerning her prior sins. The woman answered “Yes” and began to cry. And so the rabbi pronounced a decree regarding that spirit, and it departed from her and went on its way.[379]

Similarly when we dream there is often a violent defense to an overblown circumstance. The psychotic has a similar challenge to avoid committing violence in these circumstances. How we learn to control our dream responses is similar to the challenge of the psychotic. This can be difficult on the subconscious level. A psychotic experiencing paranoid mania will have difficulty with reality and may be more likely to cross over the edge into violence.

Part of the solution to this problem is for the psychotic never to be isolated. We are isolated in our dreams unless our spiritual center reaches out for heavenly help. The psychotic needs feedback and communication from good people to overcome his/her distortion. Finally, medication may be the only way to reduce the manic delusional state to the point where a patient can be freed from hallucination.

Here are twelve steps to do if someone you know is diagnosed with a psychotic disorder.[380] Two of the key steps are:

2. Don't nag, preach or lecture to the person. Chances are he/she has already told him or herself everything you can tell them. He/she will take just so much and shut out the rest. You may only increase their feeling of isolation or force one to make promises that cannot possibly be kept. (I promise I'll feel better tomorrow honey; I'll do it then, okay?)

3. Guard against the "holier-than-thou" or martyr-like attitude. It is possible to create this impression without saying a word. A person suffering from a mood disorder has an emotional sensitivity such that he/she judges other people's attitudes toward him/her more by actions, even small ones, than by spoken words.

The old Jewish viewpoint on mental illness before medication may be summed up as:

We must defend ourselves from the evil, Psalm 59, but also reach out to the lowly, Psalm 41.

Today we must be careful to “guard against the ‘holier-than-thou’ or martyr-like attitude.” from above.

XVI. Dancing With Angels

Here are some visions on the highest form of praise to Hashem, which is through dancing. Unfortunately, this is often neglected today but in truth, all of us may praise Hashem in this manner. How does Nachman's 7th Beggar without legs heal the world? This is through dancing and he dances better than the rest of us. And how does he dance without legs, by making the rest of us dance in order to carry him into dancing. While we think we are helping him to dance, he is really helping us.

Angel of the Present - April 14, 1993

Discovered the Angel of the Present - The name is YöHöVîEL - lawhy [- the Presence of G-d]. [381]
The angel can direct true answers to a question requiring knowledge of the present time.

The Angel of the Past is YâHâViEL - lawhy.
The Angel of the Future is YäHäViEL - lawhy.

The derivation is from the vowels on the name of G-d, HaSheM - \ch assigned in the sefirot where Hochmah is past, Binah is future, and Tiferet is the present.

The name HaSHem is associated with the "verb" and hence related to activity in all time. (see Bahir 3)

I invoked the name before a 3 card reading for a Yes/No question and released the angel after the reading was over.

That night I was pursued by demons in my dreams for miraculous energy attracts opposing forces as well.

Child To Be - Jan. 12, 1994 - 7 PM

Ira Brandel[382] led this meditation after blowing the shofar, a ningun, washing the hands, and playing a background tape of music.

"Michael on right, Gavriel on left, Raphael behind, Uriel in front carrying a lamp and the Shechinah above descending as a cloud over you."[383] I felt my head turn into sparks and my body cleansed the cloud descended to my feet. I walked upon fresh grasses and they felt pleasant against my feet. As the Shechinah passed over my nose I smelled its fragrance; like the fragrance of flowers in a garden is the air of Hashem. The fragrance was like incense renewing my soul.[384]

Uriel led us forward carrying a lantern which swung side-to-side. Eventually the land turned rocky as we began to ascend a mountain. [385]

At the top of the mountain there was an amphitheater with seating. We looked up at the stars and they were so beautiful. Ira mentioned the moon which I looked towards but couldn't see for it was the new

moon; the moon to be.[386] Ira led us to a central plateau where I took pleasure in skipping long leaps and bounds.[387]

Uriel lit his lamp again (extinguished earlier to see the stars) and led us into a cave. We talked about the beauty of the gems lining the walls. Uriel led us into a chamber and there Ira said we would find something that would heal us. I saw a light along the wall and as I got closer, I saw it was a beautiful light, orange in color, warm and medium in brightness. It was very bright at first when entering the chamber. I noticed the light was a baby. The baby sneezed then wiped its nose while it continued to sleep. It felt so good and its soul was good. I took one last look; now I realized the soul was sleeping waiting to be born.

More dependable then Earth is Hashem
More sensitive to our needs than Water
More active in this world than Fire
More filled with life than the wind that Blows

Postscript - 1/13/1994
Along the journey, before entering the cave, I recited praises to Hashem, words of tefilah flowed like a river each praise leading to the next. The praises felt like they would never end.

Dancing with Angels - August 23, 1994 - 3 PM
I prepared the induction with the “What Hypnosis is Like” tape.

We reached the location of the Tree of Knowledge in this world. Recalling the story of Adam and Eve and realizing that we were carrying their souls, I led her instead to the Tree of Life whose upper branches reached into the heavens. She wound herself about me with her hair 7 times making me into a base for her to climb the tree and ascended. I stood waiting for her return, knowing that I was making her ascent possible. She returned but did not tell me what she saw. I ascended alone next, past the highest branches and beheld a blue-green swirl world of space where small specks of white angels floated gracefully. As I entered from on high, the angels gathered around me realizing my mortal nature. They were singing to Hashem and I recorded their tune. They asked me what I was doing there. I explained that I was seeking to be close to G-d which meant ascending higher. They corrected me explaining closeness to G-d is obtained by following the mitzvos - commandments and that one doesn’t need to ascend here for that. Realizing my mistake, I said it was to be close to the angels of G-d that brought me here and they began to circle around me counter-clockwise in elation. We began to spin endlessly in a circle. It was a great dance. Eventually I saw us walking along a cloud towards a gate that opened higher. In the end I returned gradually with the indescribable memory of the blue-green swirl of space with white specks of angels dancing endlessly with their songs of praise to Hashem.

Dancing with Indians - August 17, 1996 - 1 PM
American Indian dancing and teaching is very beautiful and inspirational. Indians dance in circles like

Hasidic Jews and enjoy chanting which is the same as singing a ningun (wordless melody). One group of dancers calling themselves, the Intertribal Dancers were very beautiful to watch. They were Pawnee, Cherokee, and Sue. The leader of the group had the following to say after the dance:

I like dancing here before you.
When I dance, I feel my spirit before Grandfather, dancing on mother Earth.
I feel good presenting myself before Grandfather in these beautiful colored clothes.
(David was wearing red and white leather garments, carrying a spirit stick and dream catcher.)

The leader invited us out to dance and we did a left stepping circle dance to an Indian chant. There were 4 drummers seated around a large drum banging simultaneously on it showing their unity and brotherhood. In one dance the circle broke into a line which went facing each other and we shook each others' hand. As a last dance, David led us in the very spiritual Indian 2 step. When the Indians dance they look down at mother Earth as if they are concerned with where they place each step. Each step is down with a sense of asking permission to land on the grass below our feet. Occasionally when David would get low he would give a quick glance at the heavens acknowledging his awareness of Grandfather. It felt so good to dance, my soul pulled me out to dance again.

I saw an Indian family friend of mine from Beth Shalom. Her daughter danced beautifully and her son is very special. He has down's syndrome but is sensitive, smart, caring, and even wise. He insisted on waiting for a chair to sit on before eating and placing the other plate on another chair since a table wasn't around. He wouldn't eat his food with his hands. I went and brought forks and spoons. He chose a spoon. His mother tells me she has a Jewish child. She said since his youth he wouldn't eat junk food but only healthy foods that would be recognized kosher. We also learned from Erik when he attended services at Beth Shalom. Erik was always so well behaved. He was patient and quiet. He enjoyed our singing and seeing us happy. Today, I also found that he helped me see myself more clearly. He said good-bye to me while I was still talking with his mother. I realized subconsciously I was fidgeting with keys and perhaps giving an anxious impression. His mother spoke to me on healing foods. She said that one should eat a lot of alkaline foods: avocados, pecans to reduce anger. High protein drinks are good for the nerve connections in the brain. Sea foods are good for helping thyroid deficiencies: especially kelp.

Sefirotic Ascent and Indian Wisdom - May 14, 1997 - 8:30 PM

Ira led this meditation. With the summoning of the archangels, I backed into Raphael and merged with his identity. I understood his role in healing the word. He goes from person to person bestowing healing in a non-emotional manner. He invests the grasses and herbage with healing properties. He gave decaying mold the most powerful of healing properties as He chose a lowly mountain to reveal the Torah, a lowly people as his chosen nation, an impaired speaker to be his greatest prophet, and "the stone that was despised" to become the cornerstone of His temple. The color associated with Raphael is the green color of plants.

Next Ira led us on a journey. We were traveling through a forest and came upon an open clearing in the

shape of a circle. The clearing was covered with grass. There were also trees and birds. There was one path out of the circle heading forward. Each path was bounded by forests. There was also an inclination on each path. Each clearing was circular shaped and covered with grass, a few trees, and animals.

Upon reaching the clearing that I associated with the sefira of Tiferets, Ira mentioned that there was someone sitting in the clearing. I walked up to meet the person. I noticed he was an elder American Indian in my vision. I greeted him and wondered where he came from. He said that he came from Ira. “You see how Ira describes these places, showing respect for nature and its harmony. Ira is my son.” I asked, “how can Ira be your son seeing that he is Jewish.” He said, “He is my Jewish son.” I asked who he was. He said he was Grandfather. I wondered whether this was the Indian concept of G-d. He said he was not and that he represented the ancestors of his people and their respect for the memory. I noticed that he was gazing towards the light of G-d shining down. He said that he too gazes out the light of G-d which is the spirit over all.

I understood better the Indian concept now. When an Indian dances before Grandfather, he is dancing before the spirits of all his ancestors in respect for their customs as well as the Great Spirit. I asked if he had any messages for Ira. He told me that Ira should not worry about the incident with his horses and that this was all part of his learning on nature. I asked about him finding a wife. Grandfather was seemingly confused by the question. This is part of nature. One does not need to seek her, when she is present, you will find her.

Finally, we began our descend and return to Beth Shalom. I saw the Indian turn his head back toward the light of G-d as I descended.

The First Nine Months - November 13, 1996 - 8 PM

This meditation occurred at Beth Shalom with Ira leading and Monte. The goal of the regression was to rediscover the teachings that are revealed to each of us during the pregnancy period. There is a teaching that before we are born we are taught the Torah for 9 months. At the time of birth, our memory of this experience is removed. My goal for this meditation was to relive and discover the essence of the teaching during these 9 months.

I prepared myself centered between the 4 angels Michael, Gavriel, Uriel, and Raphael. I viewed a line tied from myself to each one providing a secure base in the spiritual realm. I experienced the moment of my birth which was accompanied by an utter amazement with great size of the world around. I advanced briefly to the day of circumcision and realized that their is no trauma that can be relived from this experience since the fulfillment of a commandment ends trauma memories.

As I regressed back into the womb, I saw the place lit up from a book held by a small angel. The angel was the size of a cherub with a mature face and golden long wavy hair and he held a book with a cover of gold and silver. I asked to know what I learned during these nine months. He said I already knew since I had spent my current life learning the same items. I was amazed by the soft comfort and beauty of this place. He explained that it is Malchut that is in Malchut. I recalled the hard cave of Malchut where I’d

been many times and noticed the similarities in the cavities. Yet, the walls in this place were soft and that this represented a pure emanation of the energy of Malchut. He invited me over to look into the book and I saw that the pages were all blank. He explained that the Torah one learns during these nine months are the answers to questions asked. I asked a personal question at this point and saw the answer formed in beautiful Hebrew calligraphy on the page. Before each new question, he would turn to a new blank page. I asked what is the higher meaning of the names of the 4 worlds. The blank page filled with an answer and he read, “There is deep significance in these names. They represent a spiritual cycle of life as well. The winter which is called Akra or barren represents the necessary emptiness that one must achieve internally in order to plant a seed for personal growth which is the spring.”

Questions and answers:

1. What are we supposed to learn in relationships? “These involve increasing patience and understanding, reducing criticism, and helping to create a harmonious environment to raise children.”
2. How do we know our soul mate? “The person that one marries has a deep purpose that is not always represented by ‘compatible disposition, personal view, or sensitivity’. Sometimes, the relationship is meant to bring a special child into the world who will achieve much good in spiritual leadership in the community.”
3. I asked what is your name? He told me it is the same as yours with El as the suffix. This meant that his name is Yosefiel. He told me that each person has a guide before they are born that bears their Hebrew name with the suffix El. The angel of the womb is created specially by G-d for each soul in the coming lifetime to prepare it with the answers to questions it will need to find in the coming lifetime. The questions are already known by the coming child so the angel need only turn the pages of the Book and read the answers.
4. I asked what happens to the angel after a child is born. He said naturally the angel remains available throughout the current lifetime to provide answers.

At this point, Ira began a summoning of an angelic guide for each of us. I was already ahead of Ira at this point and had to dismiss an intrusive angel that was appearing. The cherub angel extended his right forearm and told me to grasp it and he grasped mine. We began to spin in a wonderful dance in a clockwise circle. I felt other angels entering and dancing in a circle around us. The whole heaven was alive in my mind by the dancing of a myriad of angels in a wreath around us vertically as we spun. I also thought of those around me and there well being. The lesson here is that joy elevates the feelings of others in higher worlds as well as this world.

XVII. Health

"Health is a Mitzvah."[388]
Body and soul in Judaism stand in a special relationship.
They are partners, jointly enabling us to serve the Lord.

The body is the Nefesh, which is the lowest part of the soul. Hence, it is incumbent upon us to maintain its health.

A. Organic Food

In order to avoid consuming growth hormones and antibiotics, consumers should buy organic products instead. These include milk, cheese, and eggs. Organic kosher meat has yet to become available. Organic eggs are noticeably lighter than regular eggs.

Pesticides are less of a problem since they are generally removed by washing and processing. Nevertheless organic foods do not contain pesticides and are likely to be healthier in the long term.

B. Dental

Electric toothbrushes are very effective at strengthening the gum line. While using a tooth paste is not always necessary, if one experiences reoccurring gum line pain, a good fluoride toothpaste during brushing will strengthen the area. Eating popcorn is a natural cleanser of plaque on teeth.

C. Skin

In order to reduce dry skin ailments, use a water softener, which will adjust the water's PH to a higher alkaline level that is more conducive to the skin.

XVIII. Music

A. Even-Tempered Scale

The piano has 88 keys which is 7 octaves and 4 extra keys. Each octave on the musical scale contains 7 white keys and 5 black keys. The notes increase in whole and in other cases half step multiples. The notes in brackets are black piano keys and are a half step above the previous note.

```
A [A+=B-] B C [C+=D-] D [D+=E-] E F [F+=G-] G [G+=A-]
```

Sometimes there are half steps between white piano keys as in B&C and E&F and between all white to

black keys. The +'s denote sharps and the –'s flats. The note at each octave has double the frequency of the previous octave and is thus a harmonic. We add suffix numbers to the notes to specify a particular octave. For example, A4 is harmonic to A3 in the following table. A wave is harmonic to a lower frequency wave if the lower frequency waveform's zero amplitude points are also of amplitude zero in the higher frequency wave.

Table 31: Frequencies of the Third Octave

Note	Frequency (Hertz)
A3	220
B3	246.9
C3	261.6
D3	293.7
E3	329.6
F3	349.2
G3	392
A4	440

How can we calculate these steps? We denote a waveform with frequency f0 and its harmonic with frequency f1. By definition:

$$f1/f0=2.$$

We also note that all of the frequencies between will have the same multiple (denoted by h) from the previous frequency. Say f0 is A3 than A3+ = A3*h. Now to the computation of h:

$$f1 = h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * f0$$
$$f1/f0 = h^{12}$$
$$2 = h^{12}$$
$$h = 12^{th} \text{ root of } 2 = 1.059463094$$

The half step always has a fixed ratio in the Even-Tempered Scale that is h. For example C3/B3 = 261.6/246.9 = 1.059463094.[389] Now we can fill in the frequencies of the sharps and flats as well:

Table 32: Sharp and Flat Frequencies of the Third Octave

Note	Frequency (Hertz)
A3	220
A3+B3-	233.1

B3	246.9
C3	261.6
C3+D3-	277.2
D3	293.7
D3+E3-	311.1
E3	329.6
F3	349.2
F3+G3-	370.0
G3	392.0
G3+A4-	415.3
A4	440

B. Pythagorean Diatonic Scale

The Diatonic scale differs from the Equal tempered scale in that the multiples between frequencies are fractions. Pythagoras developed the scale based on fractions while studying the tonal relationships between string lengths on a monochord. He did not consider a multiple of length based on an irrational numbers. A frequency of the wave of a string will change inversely with its length. Hence given two strings, the second string half the length of the first; the frequency of the second string will be twice that of the first.

The frequencies of the First, Fourth, Fifth, and Octave are known through observation. The derivation of the rest follows based on the Fifth.

D2 = 3/2 f * 3/2 = 9/4 f
D1 = 9/4 f * ½ = 9/8 f

C2 = 4/3 f * 3/2 f = 2f

A3 = 9/4f * 3/2 = 27/8 f
A2 = 27/16 f

Table 33: Diatonic Frequencies of the Octave

Note	Position	String Length Ratio	Frequency

C1	First	l	f
D1	Second	8/9 l	9/8 f
E1	Third	64/81 l	81/64 f
F1	Fourth	¾ l	4/3 f
G1	Fifth	2/3 l	3/2 f
A2	Sixth	16/27 l	27/16 f
B2	Seventh	128/243 l	243/128 f
C2	Octave	½ l	2 f

Since there are six whole tones in the space of an octave, we'd expect 9/8 ^ 6 => 2 but it = 2.027, so the tones are not evenly distant. Equal temperament does away with this problem.

Pythagoras found that the octave, fifth, and forth had the most harmonious sounds. A song's key is the octave forward from the starting note. On the Diatonic Scale, the multiples between the same notes may vary with Octave. Hence, the same piece of music played in a different key tends to sound quite different unlike when playing a piece with the Even-Tempered Scale.

This problem with uneven multiples manifests itself in other areas. For example, 12 fifths doesn't equal 7 octaves, though they are the same key on the piano. This is known as the Pythagorean comma.[390] This imbalance in the frequency distance between keys means that it is impossible to construct Pythagorean tuned piano.

The frequency of C1 = f
The frequency of C8 = 2^7 f = 128f from Octave multiplication.
The frequency of C8 from multiples of fifths is 3/2 ^ 12 f = 129.74f

The problem doesn't manifest significantly when playing music in a single octave, but when playing music across octaves one cannot for example tune the 8th octave to the 7th fifth since they are not compatible. One cannot build a Pythagorean piano.

C. Fractals

In the kabbalistic Tree of Life, the microcosm reflects the macrocosm, the sefirot in man reflect the sefirot of G-d. Man is created in the image of G-d. This recursive principle is the essence of fractals, which are repeated images within images.

"The natural world is composed of fractals that are the trails, or visual representation, left by the dynamic

(continuously moving) systems that created them. A tree is fractal in nature – a single branch resembles the entire tree, a smaller twig resembles the branch, even the structures of the veins in the leaves exhibit the same branching process as the tree itself. Granted, the patterns at different scales are not exact replicas of one another, but the idea is the same. The patterns created by the rocks of a rugged coastline also repeat themselves at different scales – a snail crawling along the nooks and crannies of the rocks on the shore traverses a meandering path similar to the one you would take on a hike along the cliffs, which in turn is similar to the general outline of the coast viewed from an airplane. Natural fractals reach a point where the pattern (at the biological level, anyway) stops; however, in a true scaling fractal (for instance, the Koch snowflake), this detail continues ad infinitum."[391]

D. Fibonacci Ratio

The Fibonacci ratio has an aesthetic appeal to the human mind. There are five black keys for every 8 white keys in a piano Octave. The partitioning of great paintings is often done according to the ratio. Also the lengths of different movements in a classical piece of music will often follow this ratio.

1/1
½
2/3
3/5
5/8
8/13

133/377 = 0.618037

XIX. Math

In the world of Asiyah, science is the body of the world and math its soul.

A. Euler's Theorem

B. Taylor Series Expansion

XX. Science

In the world of Asiyah, science is the body of the world and math its soul.

A. Special Relativity

Maxwell's equations predicted that light and radio waves have a fixed speed. Albert Michelson and Edward Morley showed that this fixed speed is independent of the movement of objects.[392] For example, an object moving towards the sun and an object moving away from the Sun would witness passing light beams to have the same velocity, the speed of light that is denoted ***c***.

Table 34: Speed of Light that is *c*

meters/sec	kilometers/sec	exp meters/sec	miles/sec
300,000,000	300,000	$3x10^8$	186,000

Since the upper limit of velocity is limited to the speed of light a second object moving at v_2 in relation to a first object v_1 has the following true velocity:

Equation 1: Theorem of Addition of Velocities

$$V = v_1 \pm v_2$$

Equation 2: Theorem of Addition of Velocities with Relativitity

$$V = \frac{v_1 \pm v_2}{1 \pm \frac{v_1 v_2}{c^2}}$$

So with v_1 = ***c***/2 and v_2 = ***c***/2, the actual velocity of the 2nd object is (***c***/2+ ***c***/2)/(1+(***c***^{2}/4 * 1/***c***^{2})) = 4/5 ***c.***

B. General Relativity

C. Astronomy

The position of a star is determined by its declination and right ascension.

The declination is measured in degrees north or south of the celestial equator, that is the projection of the equator.

The Right Ascension has a value of zero in Pisces and advances two hours though every constellation.[393] One can compute the passage of time by the advancement of the constellations across the sky.

The constellations rise in the East and set in the West. Hence, Virgo would have a RA of 12. Pisces lies directly over the projection of the equator and has a declination of zero. Orion's belt also lies directly over th equator with a declination of zero.

Table 35: Declination and Right Ascension of the Constellations

constellation	declination	right ascension (hours)
Pisces	0	0
Aries	20	2
Taurus	20	4
Gemini	22	6
Cancer	18	8
Leo	12	10
Virgo	-9	12
Libra	-18	14
Scorpio	-28	16
Sagittarius	-28	18
Capricorn	-18	20
Aquarius	-9	22

Stars that are always visible, are in the Polar Circle of the sky.

XXI. Family and Roles

There is a Midrash that before we are born, we have all the spiritual knowledge of our past lives and full comprehension about what we need to accomplish in this lifetime. Nevertheless, at the moment of birth an angel touches us just below the nose and we forget all we knew. We spend the rest of our lives trying to find what we lost. And it is extremely important to find what we have lost in this instance. There are many clues to discover one's role in life. A lot can be learned from our family. A soul will choose a family in order to improve itself in areas of weakness. While in this family there may be more conflicts, correction leads to greater personal growth. One may also learn about oneself from one's name. Who we are named after will effect our role in life. The day we are born will also have an effect.

Song of Myself – Walt Whitman

I celebrate myself, and sing myself,

For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you.

I loafe and invite my soul,
I lean and loafe at my ease observing a spear of summer grass.

My tongue, every atom of my blood, form'd from this soil, this air,
Born here of parents born here from parents the same, and their parents the same,
I, now thirty-seven years old in perfect health begin,
Hoping to cease not till death.

Creeds and schools in abeyance,
Retiring back a while sufficed at what they are, but never forgotten,
I harbor for good or bad, I permit to speak at every hazard,
Nature without check with original energy...

Avraham Tzvi ben Moshe
Jewish Movements
There is good and bad in each of the Jewish movements. Because of the Reform movement, there is pressure on the Vatican to release the archives of the WWII Pope Plus XII who allied with Hitler, mach shemo. Because of the Conservative and Reform movements, pressure was exerted on Truman to approve the State of Israel. While the Orthodox movement has kept us from adopting harmful modern ways, they have kept to themselves mostly. Leftists were the first to pick up the rifle to fight for Israel.[394]
Hitler's Pope
Recently the current Pope has come out with apologies to the Jewish people for the Cathloc Church during WWII. This is the result of pressure from the Reform movement and a publication by John Cornwell called Hitler's Pope:

HITLER'S POPE
Long-buried Vatican files reveal a new and shocking indictment of World War II's Pope Plus XII: that in pursuit of absolute power he helped Adolf Hitler destroy German Catholic political opposition, betrayed the Jews of Europe, and sealed a deeply cynical pact with a 20th-century devil.

BY JOHN CORNWELL
One evening several years ago when I was having dinner with a group of students, the topic of the papacy was broached, and the discussion quickly boiled over. A young woman asserted that Eugenio Pacelli, Pope Pius XII, the Pope during World War II, had brought lasting shame on thc Catholic Church by failing to denounce the Final Solution. A young man, a practicing Catholic, insisted that the case had never been proved.

Raised as a Catholic during the papacy of Pius Xll - his picture gazed down from the wall of every classroom during my childhood - I was only too familiar with the allegation. It started in 1963 with a play by a young German author named Rolf Hochhuth, Der Stellvertreter (Thc Deputy) which was staged on Broadway in 1964.

It depicted Pacelli as a ruthless cynic, interested more in the Vatican's stockholdings than in the fate of the Jews. Most Catholics dismissed Hochhuth's thesis as implausible, but the play sparked a controversy which has raged to this day.

Disturbed by the anger brought out in that dinner altercation, and convinced, as I had always been, of Pius XII's innocence, I decided to write a new defense of his reputation for a younger generation. I believed that Pacelli's evident holiness was proof of his good faith. How could such a saintly pope have betrayed the Jews? But was it possible to find a new and conclusive approach to the issue? The arguments had so far focused mainly on his wartime conduct; however, Pacelli's Vatican career had started 40 years earlier. It seemed to me that a proper investigation into Pacelli's record would require a more extensive chronicle than any attempted in the past. So I applied for access to archival material in the Vatican, reassuring those who had charge of crucial documents that I was on the side of my subject. Six years earlier, in a book entitled A Thief in the Night, I had defended the Vatican against charges that Pope John Paul I had been murdered by his own aides.

Two key officials granted me access to secret material: depositions under oath gathered 30 years ago to support the process for Pacelli's canonization, and the archive of the Vatican Secretariat of State, the foreign office of the Holy See. I also drew on German sources relating to Pacelli's activities in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s, including his dealings with AdoIf Hitler in 1933. For months on end I ransacked Pacelli's files, which dated back to 1912, in a windowless dungeon beneath

the Borgia Tower in Vatican City. Later I sat for several weeks in a dusty office in the Jesuit headquarters, close to St. Peter's Square in Rome, mulling over a thousand pages of transcribed testimony given under oath by those who had known Pacelli well during his lifetime, including his critics.

By the middle of 1997, 1 was in a state of moral shock. The material I had gathered amounted not to an exoneration but to an indictment more scandalous than Hochhuth's. The evidence was explosive. It showed for the first time that PaceIli was patently, and by the proof of his own words, anti-Jewish. It revealed that he had helped Hitler to power and at the same time undermined potential Catholic resistance in Germany. It showed that he had implicitly denied and trivialized the Holocaust, despite having reliable knowledge of its true extent. And, worse, that he was a hypocrite, for after the war he had retrospectively taken undue credit for speaking out boldly against the Nazi persecution of the Jews.

In the "Holy Year" of 1950, a year in which many millions of pilgrims flocked to Rome to catch a glimpse of Pacelli, he was at the zenith of his papacy. This was the Pius people now in their mid-50s and older remember from newsreels and newspaper photographs.

He was 74 years old and still vigorous. Six feet tall, stick thin at 125 pounds, light on his feet, regular in habits, he had hardly altered physically from the day of his coronation 11 years earlier. He had beautiful tapering hands, a plaintive voice, large dark eyes and an aura of holiness. It was his extreme pallor that first arrested those who met him. His skin "had surprisingly transparent effect," observed the writer Gerrado Pallenberg, "as if reflecting from the inside a cold, white flame." His charisma was stunning. "His presence radiated a benignity, calm and sanctity that I have certainly never before sensed in any human being." recorded the English writer James Lees-Milne. "I immediately fell head over heels in love with him. I was so affected I could scarcely speak without tears and was conscious that my legs were trembling."

But there was another side to his character, little known to the faithful. Although he was a man of

selfless, monklike habits of prayer and simplicity, he was a believer in the absolute leadership principle. More than any other Vatican official of the century, he had promoted the modern ideology of autocratic papal control, the highly centralized, dictatoria1 authority he himself assumed on March 2, 1939, and maintained until his death in October 1958. There was a time before the advent of modern communications when Catholic authority was widely distributed, in the collective decisions of the church's councils and in collegial power-sharing between the Pope and the bishops. The absolutism of the modern papacy is largely an invention of the late 19th century It developed rapidly in the first decades of this century in response to the perception of the centrifugal breakup of the church under an array of contemporary pressures: materialism, increasing sexual freedom, religious skepticism, and social and political liberties. From his young manhood on, Pacelli played a leading role in shaping the conditions and scope of modern papal power.

Eugenio Pacelli was born in Rome in 1876, into a family of church lawyers who served the Vatican. He had an older sister and brother and a younger sister. His parents, devout Catholics, shared an apartment in central Rome with his grandfather, who had been a legal adviser to Pius IX, the longest-serving Pope in history. There was only one small brazier to supply heat for the whole family, even in the depths of winter. Eugenio was a modest youth, who never appeared before his siblings unless he was fully dressed in a jacket and tie. He would always come to the table with a book, which he would read after having asked the family's permission.

From an early age he acted out the ritual of the Mass, dressed in robes supplied by his mother. He had a gift for languages and a prodigious memory. He was spindly and suffered from a "fastidious stomach." He retained a youthful piety all his life. Politically and legally, however, he was capable of great subtlety and cunning.

The Pacelli's were fiercely loyal to the injured merit of the papacy. From 1848, the Popes had progressively lost to the emerging nation-state of Italy their dominions, which had formed, since time immemorial, the midriff of the Italian peninsula. Six years before Eugenio's birth, the city of Rome itself had been

seized,
leaving the papacy in crisis. How could the Popes regard
themselves as independent now that they were mere
citizens of an upstart kingdom? Eugenio's grandfather and
father believed passionately that the Popes could once
again exert a powerful unifying authority over the church
by the application of ecclesiastical and international
law. In 1870, at a gathering in Rome of a preponderance
of the world's bishops, known as the First Vatican
Council, the Pope was dogmatically declared infallible in
matters of faith and morals. He was also declared the
unchallenged primate of the faithful. The Pope may have
lost his temporal dominion, but spiritually he was solely
in charge of his universal church.
During the first two decades of this century,
papal primacy and infallibility began to creep even
beyond the ample boundaries set by the First Vatican
Council. A powerful legal instrument transformed the 1870
primacy dogma into an unprecedented principle of papal power. Eugenio Pacelli, by then a brilliant young Vatican
lawyer, had a major part in the drafting of that
instrument, which was known as the Code of Canon Law.
Pacelli had been recruited into the Vatican in
1901, at the age of 24, to specialize in international
affairs and church law. Pious, slender, with dark
luminous eyes, he was an instant favorite. He was invited to collaborate on the reformulation of church law with
his immediate superior, Pietro Gaspam, a world-famous
canon lawyer. Packaged in a single manual, the Code of
Canon Law was distributed in 1917 to Catholic bishops and
clergy throughout the world. According to this code, in
the future all bishops would be nominated by the Pope; doctrinal error would be tantamount to heresy; priests
would be subjected to strict censorship in their
writings; papal letters to the faithful would be regarded
as infallible (in practice if not in principle}: and an
oath would be taken by all candidates for the priesthood
to submit to the sense as well as the strict wording of
doctrine as laid down by the Pope.
But there was a problem. The church had

historically granted the dioceses in the provincial states of Germany a large measure of local discretion and independence from Rome. Germany had one of the largest Catholic populations in the world, and its congregation was well educated and sophisticated, with hundreds of Catholic associations and newspapers and many Catholic universities and publishing houses. The historic autonomy of Germany's Catholic Church was enshrined in ancient church-state treaties known as concordats.

Aged 41 and already an archbishop, PaceIli was dispatched to Munich as papal nuncio, or ambassador, to start the process of eliminating all existing legal challenges to the new papal autocracy. At the same time, he was to pursue a Reich Concordat, a treaty between the papacy and Germany as a whole which would supersede all local agreements and become a model of Catholic church-state relations. A Reich Concordat would mean formal recognition by the German government of the Pope's right to impose the new Code of Canon Law on Germany's Catholics. Such an arrangement was fraught with significance for a largely Protestant Germany. Nearly 400 years earlier, in Wittenberg, Martin Luther had publicly burned a copy of Canon Law in defiance of the centralized authority of the church. It was one of the defining moments of the Reformation, which was to divide Western Christendom into Catholics and Protestants.

In May 1917, Pacelli set off for Germany via Switzerland in a private railway compartment, with an additional wagon containing 60 cases of special foods for his delicate stomach. The Pope at that time, Benedict XV, was shocked at this extravagance, but PaceIli had favored status as the Vatican's best diplomat. Shortly after he settled in Munich, he acquired a reputation as a vigorous relief worker. He traveled through war-weary Germany extending charity to people of all religions and none. In an early letter to the Vatican, however he revealed himself to be less than enamored of Germany's Jews. On September 4, 1917. PaceIli informed Pietro Gaspam, who had become cardinal secretary of state in the Vatican -- the equivalent of foreign minister and prime minister -- that a Dr. Werner, the chief rabbi of Munich, had

approached the nunciature begging a favor. In order to celebrate the festival of Tabernacles, beginning on October 1, the Jews needed palm fronds, which normally came from Italy. But the Italian government had forbidden the exportation, via Switzerland, of a stock of palms which the Jews had purchased and which were being held up in Como. "The Israelite Community," continued Pacelli, "are seeking the intervention of the Pope in the hope that he will plead on behalf of the thousands of German Jews." The favor in question was no more problematic than the transportation of Pacelli's 60 cases of food-stuffs had been a few months earlier. Pacelli informed Gaspam that he had warned the rabbi that "wartime delays in communication" would make things difficult. He also told Gaspam that he did not think it appropriate for the Vatican "to assist them in the exercise of their Jewish cult." His letter went by the slow route overland in the diplomatic bag. Gaspatti replied by telegram on September 18 that he entirely trusted Pacelli's "shrewdness," agreeing that it would not be appropriate to help Rabbi Werner. PaceIli wrote back on September 28, 1917, informing Gasparri that he had again seen the Rabbi, who "was perfectly convinced of the reasons I had given him and thanked me warmly for all that I had done on his behalf." Pacelli had done nothing except thwart the rabbi's request. The episode, small in itself, belies subsequent claims that Pacelli had a great love of the Jewish religion and was always motivated by its best interests. Eighteen months later he revealed his antipathy toward the Jews in a more blatantly anti-Semitic fashion when he found himself at the center of a local revolution as Bolshevik groups struggled to take advantage of the chaos in postwar Munich. Writing to Gasparri, Pacelli described the revolutionaries and their chief, Eugen Levien in their headquarters in the former royal palace. The letter has lain in the Vatican secret archive like a time bomb until now:

"The scene that presented itself at the palace was indescribable. The confusion totally chaotic,

the filth completely nauseating; soldiers and armed workers coming and going; the building, once the home of a king, resounding with screams, vile language, profanities. Absolute hell. An army of employees were dashing to and fro, giving out orders, waving bits of paper, and in the midst of all this, a gang of young women, of dubious appearance, Jews like all the rest of them, hanging around in all the offices with provocative demeanor and suggestive smiles. The boss of this female gang was Levien's mistress, a young Russian woman, a Jew and a divorcee, who was in charge. And it was to her that the nunciature was obliged to pay homage in order to proceed.

This Levien is a young man, about 30 or 35, also Russian and a Jew. Pale, dirty, with vacant eyes, hoarse voice, vulgar, repulsive, with a face that is both intelligent and sly."

This association of Jewishness with Bolshevism confirms that Pacelli, from his early 40s, nourished a suspicion of and contempt for the Jews for political reasons. But the repeated references to the Jewishness of these individuals, along with the catalogue of stereotypical epithets deploring their physical and moral repulsiveness, betray a scorn and revulsion consistent with anti-Semitism. Not long after this, Pacelli campaigned to have black French troops removed from the Rhineland, convinced that they were raping women and abusing children - even though an independent inquiry sponsored by the U.S. Congress, of which Pacelli was aware, proved this allegation false. Twenty-three years later, when the Allies were about to enter Rome, he asked the British envoy to the Vatican to request of the British Foreign Office that no Allied colored troops would be among the small number that might be garrisoned in Rome after the occupation.

Pacelli spent 13 years in Germany attempting to rewrite the state Concordats one by one in favor of the power of the Holy See and routinely employing diplomatic blackmail. Germany was caught up in many territorial disputes following the redrawing of the map of Central Europe after thc First World War. Pacelli repeatedly traded promises of Vatican support for German

control of disputed regions in return for obtaining terms advantageous to the Vatican in Concordats. The German government's official in charge of Vatican affairs at one point recorded the "ill feeling" prompted by Pacelli's "excessive demands." Both Catholics and Protestants in Germany resisted reaching an agreement with Pacelli on a Reich Concordat because the nuncio's concept of a church-state relationship was too authoritarian. In his negotiations, Pacelli was not concerned about the fate of non-Catholic religious communities or institutions, or about human rights. He was principally preoccupied with the interests of the Holy See. Nothing could have been better designed to deliver Pacelli into the hands of Hitler later, when the future dictator made his move in 1933.

In June 1920, Pacelli became nuncio to all of Germany, with headquarters in Berlin as well as in Munich, and immediately acquired a glittering reputation in diplomatic circles. He was a favorite at dinner parties and receptions, and he was known to ride horses on the estate of a wealthy German family. His household was run by a pretty young nun from southern Germany named Sister Pasqualina Lehnert. Pacelli's sister Elisabetta, who battled with the nun for Pacelli's affections, described Pasqualina as "scaltrissima"-- extremely cunning. In Munich it had been rumored that he cast more than priestly eyes on this religious housekeeper. Pacelli insisted that a Vatican investigation into this "horrible calumny" be conducted at the highest level, and his reputation emerged unbesmirched.

Meanwhile, he had formed a close relationship with an individual named Ludwig Kaas. Kaas was a representative of the solidly Catholic German Center Party, one of the largest and most powerful democratic parties in Germany. Though it was unusual for a full-time politician, he was also a Roman Catholic priest. Five years Pacelli's junior, dapper, bespectacled, and invariably carrying a smart walking stick, Kaas, known as "the prelate," became an intimate collaborator of Pacelli's on every aspect of Vatican diplomacy in Germany. With Pacelli's encouragement, Kaas eventually

became the chairman of the Center Party, the first priest to do so in the party's 60-year history. Yet while Kaas was officially a representative of a major democratic party, he was increasingly devoted to Pacelli to the point of becoming his alter ego.
Sister Pasqualina stated after Pacelli's death that Kaas, who "regularly accompanied Pacelli on holiday" was linked to him in "adoration, honest love and unconditional loyalty." There were stories of acute jealousy and high emotion when Kaas became conscious of a rival affection in Pacelli's secretary, the Jesuit Robert Leiber, who was also German.

Kaas was a profound believer in the benefits of a Reich Concordat, seeing a parallel between papal absolutism and the FÜHRER- PRINZIP, the Fascist leadership principle. His views coincided perfectly with Pacelli's on church-state politics, and their aspirations for centralized papal power were identical. Kaas's adulation of PaceIli, whom he put before his party, became a crucial element in the betrayal of Catholic democratic politics in Germany.
In 1929, Pacelli was recalled to Rome to take over the most important role under the Pope, Cardinal Secretary of State. Sister Pasqualina arrived uninvited and cunningly, according to Pacelli's sister, and along with two German nuns to assist her, took over the management of his Vatican residence. Almost immediately Kaas, although he was still head of the German Center Party, started to spend long periods--months at a time --in Pacelli's Vatican apartments Shortly before Pacelli's return to Rome, his brother, Francesco had successfully negotiated on behalf of Pius Xl, the current Pope, a concordat with Mussolini as part of an agreement known as the Lateran Treaty. The rancor between the Vatican and the state of Italy was officially at an end.
A precondition of the negotiations had involved the destruction of the parliamentary Catholic Italian Popular Party. Pius XI disliked political Catholicism because he could not control it. Like his predecessors, he believed that Catholic party politics brought democracy into the church by the back door. The result of the demise of the Popular Party was the wholesale shift of Catholics into

the Fascist Party and the collapse of democracy in Italy.
Pius XI and his new secretary of state, Pacelli, were
determined that no accommodation be reached with Communists anywhere in the world - this was the time of
persecution of the church in Russia, Mexico, and later
Spain -but totalitarian movements and regimes of the
right were a different matter.
Hitler, who had enjoyed his first great
success in the elections of September 1930, was
determined to seek a treaty with the Vatican similar to
that struck by Mussolini, which would lead to the disbanding of the German Center Party. In his political
testament, Mein Kampf, he had recollected that his fear
of Catholicism went back to his vagabond days in Vienna.
The fact that German Catholics, politically united by the
Center Party, had defeated Bismarck's Kulturkampf- the
"culture struggle" against the Catholic Church
in the 1870s--constantly worried him. He was convinced
that his movement could succeed only if political
Catholicism and its democratic networks were eliminated.
Hitler's fear of the Catholic Church was well
grounded. Into the early 1930s the German Center Party,
the German Catholic bishops, and the Catholic media had
been mainly solid in their rejection of National
Socialism. They denied Nazis the sacraments and church burials, and Catholic journalists excoriated National
Socialism daily in Germany's 400 Catholic ewspapers. The
hierarchy instructed priests to combat National Socialism
at a local level whenever it attacked Christianity. The
Munich-based weekly Der Gerade Weg The Straight Path)
told its readers, "Adolf Hitler preaches the law of lies. You who have fallen victim to the deceptions of one
obsessed with despotism, wake up!"
The vehement front of the Catholic Church in
Germany against Hitler, however, was not at one with the
view from inside the Vatican--a view that was now being
shaped and promoted by Eugenio Pacelli.
In 1930 the influential Catholic politician
Heinrich Briining, a First World War Veteran, became the
leader of a brief new government coalition, dominated by
the majority Socialists and the Center Party. The country
was reeling from successive economic crises against the background of the world slump and reparations

payments to
the Allies. In August 1931, Briining visited Pacelli in
the Vatican, and the two men quarreled. Brüning tells in
his memoirs how Pacelli lectured him, the German
chancellor, on how he should reach an understanding with
the Nazis to "form a right-wing administration"
in order to help achieve a Reich Concordat favorable to
the Vatican. When Brüning advised him not to interfere
in German politics, Pacelli threw a tantrum. Brüning
parting shot that day was the ironic observation-
chilling in hindsight-- that he trusted that "the
Vatican would fare better at the hands of Hitler ... than
with himself, a devout Catholic."
Briining was right on one score. Hitler proved
to be the only chancellor prepared to grant Pacelli the
sort of authoritarian concordat he was seeking. But the
price was to be catastrophic for Catholic Germany and for
Germany as a whole.
After Hitler came to power in January 1933, he
made the concordat negotiations with Pacelli a priority.
The negotiations proceeded over six months with constant
shuttle diplomacy between the Vatican and Berlin. Hitler
spent more time on this treaty than on any other item of
foreign diplomacy during his dictatorship.
The Reich Concordat granted Pacelli the right
to impose the new Code of Canon Law on Catholics in
Germany and promised a number of measures favorable to
Catholic education, including new schools. In exchange,
Pacelli collaborated in the withdrawal of Catholics from political and social activity. The negotiations were
conducted in secret by Pacelli, Kaas, and Hitler's deputy
chancellor, Franz von Papen, over the heads of German
bishops and the faithful. The Catholic Church in Germany
had no say in setting the conditions.
In the end, Hitler insisted that his signature
on the concordat would depend on the Center Party's
voting for the Enabling Act, the legislation that was to
give him dictatorial powers. It was Kaas, chairman of the
party but completely in thrall to Pacelli, who bullied the delegates into acceptance. Next, Hitler insisted on

the "voluntary" disbanding of the Center Party, the last truly parliamentary force in Germany. Again, Pacelli was the prime mover in this tragic Catholic surrender. The fact that the party voluntarily disbanded itself, rather than go down fighting, had a profound psychological effect, depriving Germany of the last democratic focus of potential noncompliance and resistance: In the political vacuum created by its surrender, Catholics in the millions joined the Nazi Party, believing that it had the support of the Pope. The German bishops capitulated to Pacelli's policy of centralization, and German Catholic democrats found themselves politically leaderless.

After the Reich Concordat was signed, Pacelli declared it an unparalleled triumph for the Holy See. In an article in L 'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican-controlled newspaper, he announced that the treaty, indicated the total recognition and acceptance of the church's law by the German state. But Hitler was the true victor and the Jews were the concordat's first victims. On July 14, 1933, after the initialing of the treaty, the Cabinet minutes record Hitler as saying that the concordat had created an atmosphere of confidence that would be "especially significant in the struggle against international Jewry." He was claiming that the Catholic Church had publicly given its blessing, at home and abroad, to the policies of National Socialism, including its anti-Semitic stand. At the same time, under the terms of the concordat, Catholic criticism of acts deemed political by the Nazis, could now be regarded as "foreign interference." The great German Catholic Church, at the insistence of Rome, fell silent. In the future all complaints against the Nazis would be channeled through Pacelli. There were some notable exceptions, for example the sermons preached in 1933 by Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber, the Archbishop of Munich, in which he denounced the Nazis for their rejection of the Old Testament as a Jewish text.

The concordat immediately drew the German church into complicity with the Nazis. Even as Pacelli was granted special advantages in the concordat for German Catholic education, Hitler was trampling on the educational rights of Jews throughout the country. At the same time, Catholic priests were being drawn into Nazi

collaboration with the attestation bureaucracy, which established Jewish ancestry. Pacelli, despite the immense centralized power he now wielded through the Code of Canon Law, said and did nothing. The attestation machinery would lead inexorably to the selection of millions destined for the death camps. As Nazi anti-Semitism mounted in Germany during the 1930's, Pacelli failed to complain, even on behalf of Jews who had become Catholics, acknowledging that the matter was a matter of German internal policy. Eventually, in January 1937, three German cardinals and two influential bishops arrived at the Vatican to plead for a vigorous protest over Nazi persecution of the Catholic Church, which had been deprived of all forms of activity beyond church services. Pins XI at last decided to issue an encyclical, a letter addressed to all the faithful of the world. Written under Pacelli's direction, it was called Mit Brennender Sorge (With Deep Anxiety), and it was a forthright statement of the plight of the church in Germany. But there was no explicit condemnation of anti-Semitism, even in relation to Jews who had converted to Catholicism. Worse still, the subtext against Nazism (National Socialism and Hitler were not mentioned by name) was blunted by the publication five days later of an even more condemnatory encyclical by Pins XI against Communism. The encyclical Mit Brennender Sorge, though too little and too late, revealed that the Catholic Church all along had the power to shake the regime. A few days later, Hermann Göring, one of Hitler's closest aides and his commander of the Luffwaffe, delivered a two-hour harangue to a Nazi assembly against the Catholic clergy. However, Roman centralizing had paralyzed the German Catholic Church and its powerful web of associations. Unlike the courageous grass-roots activism that had combated Bismarck's persecutions in the 1870s, German Catholicism now looked obediently to Rome for guidance. Although Pacelli collaborated in the writing and the distribution of the encyclical, he quickly undermined its effects by reassuring the Reich's ambassador in Rome. "Pacelli

received me with decided friendliness," the diplomat reported back to Berlin, "and emphatically assured me during the conversation that normal and friendly relations with us would be restored as soon as possible."

In the summer of 1938, as Pius XI lay dying, he became belatedly anxious about anti-Semitism throughout Europe. He commissioned another encyclical, to be written exclusively on the Jewish question. The text, which never saw the light of day, has only recently been discovered. It was written by three Jesuit scholars, but Pacelli presumably had charge of the project. It was to be called Humani Generis Unitas (The Unity of the Human Race). For all its good intentions and its repudiation of violent anti-Semitism, the document is replete with the anti-Jewishness that Pacelli had displayed in his early period in Germany. The Jews, the text claims, were responsible for their own fate. God had chosen them to make way for Christ's redemption, but they denied and killed him. And now, "blinded by their dream of worldly gain and material success," they deserved the "worldly and spiritual ruin" that they had brought down upon themselves.

The document warns that that to defend the Jews as "Christian principles and humanity" demand could involve the unacceptable risk of being ensnared by secular politics--not least an association with Bolshevism. The encyclical was delivered in the fall of 1938 to the Jesuits in Rome, who sat on it. To this day we do not know why it was not completed and handed to Pope Pius XI. For all its drawbacks, it was a clear protest against Nazi attacks on Jews and so might have done some good. But it appears likely that the Jesuits, and Pacelli, whose influence as secretary of state of the Vatican was paramount since the Pope was moribund, were reluctant to inflame the Nazis by its publication.

Pacelli, when he became pope, would bury the document deep in the secret archives.

On February 10, 1939, Pius XI died, at the age of 81. Pacelli, then 63, was elected Pope by the College

of Cardinals in just three ballots, on March 2. He was crowned on March 12, on the eve of Hitler's march into Prague. Between his election and his coronation he held a crucial meeting with the German cardinals. Keen to affirm Hitler publicly, he showed them a letter of good wishes which began, "To the Illustrious Herr Adolf Hitler." Should he, he asked them, style the Führer "Most Illustrious"? He decided that that might be going too far. He told the cardinals that Pius XI had said that keeping a papal nuncio in Berlin "conflicts with our honor." But his predecessor, he said, had been mistaken. He was going to maintain normal diplomatic relations with Hitler. The following month, at Pacelli's express wish, Archbishop Cesare Orsenigo, the Berlin nuncio, hosted a gala reception in honor of Hitler's 50th birthday. A birthday greeting to the Führer from the bishops of Germany would become an annual tradition until the war's end.

Pacelli's coronation was the most triumphant in a hundred years. His style of papacy, for all his personal humility, was unprecedentedly pompous. He always ate alone. Vatican bureaucrats were obliged to take phone calls from him on their knees. When he took his afternoon walk, the gardeners had to hide in the bushes. Senior officials were not allowed to ask him questions or present a point of view.

As Europe plunged toward war Pacelli cast himself in the role of judge of judges. But he continued to seek to appease Hitler by attempting to persuade the Poles to make concessions over Germany's territorial claims. After Hitler's invasion of Poland, on September 1, 1939, he declined to condemn Germany, to the bafflement of the Allies. His first public statement, the encyclical known in the English-speaking world as Darkness over the Earth, was full of papal rhetoric and equivocations.

Then something extraordinary occurred, revealing that whatever had motivated Pacelli in his equivocal approach to the Nazi onslaught in Poland did not betoken cowardice or a liking for Hitler. In November 1939, in deepest secrecy, Pacelli became intimately and dangerously involved In what was probably the most viable plot to depose Hitler during the war.

The plot centered on a group of anti-Nazi

generals, committed to returning Germany to democracy. The coup might spark a civil war, and they wanted assurances that the West would not take advantage of the ensuing chaos. Pius XII agreed to act as go-between for the plotters and the Allies. Had his complicity in the plot been discovered it might have proved disastrous for the Vatican and for many thousands of German clergy. As it happened, leaders in London dragged their feet, and the plotters eventually fell silent. The episode demonstrates that, while Pacelli seemed weak to some, pusillanimity and indecisiveness were hardly in his nature.

Pacelli's first wartime act of reticence in failing to speak out against Fascist brutality occurred in the summer of 1941, following Hitler's invasion of Yugoslavia and the formation of the Catholic and Fascist state of Croatia. In a wave of appalling ethnic cleansing, the Croat Fascist separatists, known as the Ustashe, under the leadership of Ante Pavelic, the Croat Führer, embarked on a campaign of enforced conversions, deportations, and mass extermination targeting a population of 2.2 million Serb Orthodox Christians and a smaller number of Jews and Gypsies.

According to the Italian writer Carlo Falconi, as early as April, in a typical act of atrocity, a band of Ustashe had rounded up 331 Serbs. The victims were forced to dig their own graves before being hacked to death with axes. The local priest was forced to recite the prayers for the dying while his son was chopped to pieces before his eyes. Then the priest was tortured. His hair and beard were torn off, his eves were gouged out. Finally he was skinned alive. The very next month Pacelli greeted Pavelic at the Vatican.

Throughout the war, the Croat atrocities continued By the most recent scholarly reckoning. 487,000 Orthodox Serbs and 27,000 Gypsies were massacred; in addition, approximately 30,000 out of a population of 45,000 Jews were killed. Despite a close relationship between the Ustashe regime and the Catholic bishops, and a constant flow of information about the massacres, Pacelli said and did nothing. In fact, he continued to extend warm wishes to the Ustashe leadership. The only feasible explanation for Pacelli's silence was his perception of Croatia as a Catholic bridgehead into the

East. The Vatican and the local bishops approved of mass conversion in Croatia (even though it was the result of fear rather than conviction), because they believed that this could spell the beginning of a return {?} of the Orthodox Christians there to papal allegiance. Pacelli was not a man to condone mass murder, but he evidently chose to turn a blind eye on Ustashe atrocities rather than hinder a unique opportunity to extend the power of the papacy.

{Note from emperors-clothes.com: This is a very generous interpretation. In fact the Catholic Church, controlled the Independent State of Croatia. At one point it was in fact directly run by Archbishop Stepinac who answered to Pius XII. Stepinac has, in turn, been beatified by the current pope, in a Croatian ceremony attended by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.}

Pacelli came to learn of the Nazi plans to exterminate the Jews of Europe shortly after they were laid in January 1942. The deportations to the death camps had begun in December 1941 and would continue through 1944. All during 1942, Pacelli received reliable information on the details of the Final Solution, much of it supplied by the British, French, and American representatives resident in the Vatican. On March 17, 1942, representatives of Jewish organizations assembled in Switzerland sent a memorandum to Pacelli via the papal nuncio in Bern, cataloguing violent anti-Semitic measures in Germany and in its allied and conquered territories. Their plea focused attention on Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, and unoccupied France, where, they believed, the Pope's intervention might yet be effective. Apart from an intervention in the case of Slovakia, where the president was Monsignor Josef Tiso, a Catholic priest, no papal initiatives resulted. During the same month, a stream of dispatches describing the fate of some 90,000 Jews reached the Vatican from various sources in Eastern Europe. The Jewish organizations' long memorandum would be excluded from the wartime documents published by the Vatican between 1965 and 1981.

On June 16, 1942, Harold Tittmann, the U.S. representative to the Vatican, told Washington that

Pacelli was diverting himself, ostrichlike, into purely religious concerns and that the moral authority won for the papacy by Pius XI was being eroded. At the end of that month, the London Daily Telegraph announced that more than a million Jews had been killed in Europe and that it was the aim of the Nazis "to wipe the race from the European continent." The article was re-printed in The New York Times. On July 21 there was a protest rally on behalf of Europe's Jews in New York's Madison Square Garden. In the following weeks the British, American, and Brazilian representatives to the Vatican tried to persuade Pacelli to speak out against the Nazi atrocities. But still he said nothing. In September 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt sent his personal representative, the former head of U.S. Steel, Myron Taylor, to plead with PaceIli to make a statement about the extermination of the Jews. Taylor traveled hazardously through enemy territory to reach the Vatican. Still Pacelli refused to speak. Pacelli's excuse was that he must rise above the belligerent parties. As late as December 18, Francis d'Arcy Osborne, Britain's envoy in the Vatican, handed Cardinal Domenico Tardini, Pacelli's deputy secretary of state, a dossier replete with information on the Jewish deportations and mass killings in hopes that the Pope would denounce the Nazi regime in a Christmas message.

On December 24, 1942, having made draft after draft, Pacelli at last said something. In his Christmas Eve broadcast to the world on Vatican Radio, he said that men of goodwill owed a vow to bring society "back to its immovable center of gravity in divine law." He went on: "Humanity owes this vow to those hundreds of thousands who, without any fault of their own, sometimes only by reason of their nationality and race, are marked for death or gradual extinction."

That was the strongest public denunciation of the Final Solution that Pacelli would make in the whole course of the war.

It was not merely a paltry statement. The chasm between the enormity of the liquidation of the Jewish people and this form of evasive language was profoundly scandalous. He might have been referring to

many categories of victims at the hands of various belligerents in the conflict. Clearly the choice of ambiguous wording was intended to placate those who urged him to protest, while avoiding offense to the Nazi regime. But these considerations are over-shadowed by the implicit denial and trivialization. He had scaled down the doomed millions to "hundreds of thousands" without uttering the word "Jews," while making the pointed qualification "sometimes only by reason of their nationality or race." Nowhere was the term "Nazi" mentioned. Hitler himself could not have wished for a more convoluted and innocuous reaction from the Vicar of Christ to the greatest crime in history.

But what was Pacelli's principal motivation for this trivialization and denial? The Allies' diplomats in the Vatican believed that he was remaining impartial in order to earn a crucial role in future peace negotiations. In this there was clearly a degree of truth. But a recapitulation of new evidence I have gathered shows that Pacelli saw the Jews as alien and undeserving of his respect and compassion. He felt no sense of moral outrage at their plight. The documents show that:

1. He had nourished a striking antipathy toward the Jews as early as 1917 in Germany, which contradicts later claims that his omissions were performed in good faith and that he "loved" the Jews and respected their religion.
2. From the end of the First World War to the lost encyclical of 1938, Pacelli betrayed a fear and contempt of Judaism based on his belief that the Jews were behind the Bolshevik plot to destroy Christendom.
3. Pacelli acknowledged to representatives of the Third Reich that the regime's anti-Semitic policies were a matter of Germany's internal politics. The Reich Concordat between Hitler and the Vatican, as Hitler was quick to grasp, created an ideal climate for Jewish persecution.
4. Pacelli failed to sanction protest by German Catholic bishops against anti-Semitism, and he did not attempt to intervene in the process by which Catholic clergy collaborated in racial certification to identify

Jews.
5. After Pius XI's Mit
Brennender Sorge, denouncing the
Nazi regime (although not by name), Pacelli attempted to
mitigate the effect of the encyclical by giving private
diplomatic reassurances to Berlin despite his awareness
of widespread Nazi persecution of Jews.
6. Pacelli was convinced that the Jews had
brought misfortune on their own heads: intervention on
their behalf could only draw the church into alliances
with forces inimical to Catholicism. Pacelli's failure to
utter a candid word on the Final Solution proclaimed to
the world that the Vicar of Christ was not roused to pity
or anger. From this point of view, he was the ideal Pope
for Hitler's unspeakable plan. His denial and
minimization of the Holocaust were all the more scandalous in that they were uttered from a seemingly impartial moral high ground.
There was another, more immediate indication
of Pacelli's moral dislocation. It occurred before the
liberation of Rome, when he was the sole Italian
authority in the city. On October 16, 1943, SS troops entered the Roman ghetto area and rounded up more than
1,000 Jews, imprisoning them in the very shadow of the
Vatican.
How did Pacelli acquit himself'?
On the morning of the roundup, which had been
prompted by AdoIf Eichmann, who was in charge of the
organization of the Final Solution from his headquarters
in Berlin, the German ambassador in Rome pleaded with the
Vatican to issue a public protest. By this stage of the
war, Mussolini had been deposed and rescued by AdoIf
Hitler to run the puppet regime in the North of Italy.
The German authorities in Rome, both diplomats and
military commanders, fearing a backlash of the Italian
populace, hoped that an immediate and vigorous papal
denunciation might stop the SS in their tracks and prevent further arrests. Pacelli refused. In the end, the German diplomats drafted a letter of protest on the
Pope's behalf and prevailed on a resident German bishop
to sign it for Berlin's benefit. Meanwhile, the
deportation of the imprisoned Jews went ahead on October
18.

When U.S. chargé d 'affaires Harold Tittmann visited Pacelli that day, he found the pontiff anxious that the "Communist" Partisans would take advantage of a cycle of papal protest, followed by SS reprisals, followed by a civilian backlash. As a consequence, he was not inclined to lift a finger for the Jewish deportees, who were now traveling in cattle cars to the Austrian border bound for Auschwitz. Church officials reported on the desperate plight of the deportees as they passed slowly through city after city. Still Pacelli refused to intervene.

In the Jesuit archives in Rome, I found a secret document sworn to under oath by Karl Wolff, the SS commander in Italy. The text reveals that Hitler had asked Wolff in the fall of 1943 to prepare a plan to evacuate the Pope and the Vatican treasures to Liechtenstein. After several weeks of investigation, Wolff concluded that an attempt to invade the Vatican and its properties, or to seize the Pope in response to a papal protest, would prompt a backlash throughout Italy that would seriously hinder the Nazi war effort. Hitler therefore dropped his plan to kidnap Pacelli, acknowledging what Pacelli appeared to ignore, that the strongest social and political force in Italy in late 1943 was the Catholic Church, and that its potential for thwarting the SS was immense.

Pacelli was concerned that a protest by him would benefit only the Communists. His silence on the deportation of Rome's Jews, in other words, was not an act of cowardice or fear of the Germans. He wanted to maintain the Nazi-occupation status quo until such time as the city could be liberated by the Allies. But what of the deported Jews? Five days after the train had set off from the Tiburtina station in Rome, an estimated 1,060 had been gassed at Auschwitz and Birkenau - 149 men and 47 women were detained for slave labor, but only 15 survived the war, and only one of those was a woman, Settimia Spizzichino, who had served as a human guinea pig of Dr. Josef Mengele, the Nazi medical doctor who performed atrocious experiments on human victims. After the liberation, she was found alive in a heap of corpses.

But there was a more profound failure than

Pacelli's unwillingness to help the Jews of Rome rounded up on October 16. Pacelli's reticence was not just a diplomatic silence in response to the political pressures of the moment, not just a failure to be morally outraged.

It was a stunning religious and ritualistic silence. To my knowledge, there is no record of a single public papal prayer, lit votive candle, psalm, lamentation, or Mass celebrated in solidarity with the Jews of Rome either during their terrible ordeal or after their deaths. This spiritual silence in the face of an atrocity committed at the heart of Christendom, in the shadow of the shrine of the first apostle, persists to this day and implicates all Catholics. This silence proclaims that Pacelli had no genuine spiritual sympathy even for the Jews of Rome, who were members of the community of his birth. And yet, on learning of the death of AdoIf Hitler, Archbishop Adolf Bertram of Berlin ordered all the priests of his archdiocese "to hold a solemn Requiem in memory of the Führer."

There were nevertheless Jews who gave Pacelli the benefit of the doubt. On Thursday, November 29, 1945, Pacelli met some 80 representatives of Jewish refugees who expressed their thanks "for his generosity toward those persecuted during the Nazi-Fascist period." One must respect a tribute made by people who had suffered and survived, and we cannot belittle Pacelli's efforts on the level of charitable relief, notably his directive that enclosed religious houses in Rome should take in Jews hiding from the SS.

By the same token, we must respect the voice of Settimia Spizzichino, the sole Roman Jewish woman survivor from the death camps. Speaking in a BBC interview in 1995 she said. "1 came back from Auschwitz on my own. . I lost my mother, two sisters and one brother. Pius XII could have warned us about what was going to happen. We might have escaped from Rome and joined the partisans. He played right into the Germans' hands. It all happened right under his nose. But he was an anti-Semitic pope, a pro-German pope. He didn't take a single risk. And when they say the Pope is like Jesus Christ, it is not true. He did not save a single child."

We are obliged to accept these contrasting

views of Pacelli are not mutually exclusive. It gives a Catholic no satisfaction to accuse a Pope of acquiescing in the plans of Hitler. But one of the saddest ironies of Pacelli's papacy centers on the implications of his own pastoral self-image. At the beginning of a promotional film he commissioned about himself during the war, called The Angelic Pastor, the camera frequently focuses on the statue of the Good Shepherd in the Vatican gardens. The parable of the good shepherd tells of the pastor who so loves each of his sheep that he will do all, risk all, go to any pains, to save one member of his flock that is lost or in danger. To his everlasting shame, and to the shame of the Catholic Church, Pacelli disdained to recognize the Jews of Rome as members of his Roman flock, even though they had dwelled in the Eternal City since before the birth of Christ. And yet there was still something worse. After the liberation of Rome, when every perception of restraint on his freedom was lifted, he claimed retrospective moral superiority for having spoken and acted on behalf of the Jews. Addressing a Palestinian group on August 3, 1946, he said, "We disapprove of all recourse to force...Just as we condemned on various occasions in the past the persecutions that a fanatical anti-Semitism inflicted on the Hebrew people." His grandiloquent self-exculpation a year after the war had ended showed him to be not only an ideal pope for the Nazis Final Solution but also a hypocrite.

The postwar period of Pacelli's papacy, through the 1950s, saw the apotheosis of the ideology of papal power as he presided over a triumphant Catholic Church in open confrontation with Communism. But it could not hold. The internal structures and morale of the church in Pacelli's final years began to show signs of fragmentation and decay, leading to a yearning for reassessment and renewal. In old age he became increasingly narrow-minded, eccentric. and hypochondriacal. He experienced religious visions, suffered from chronic hiccups, and received monkey-brain-cell injections for longevity. He had no love for, or trust in those who had to follow him. He failed to replace his secretary of state when lie died and for years he declined to appoint a full complement of cardinals. He died at the age of 82 on October 9,1958.

His corpse decomposed rapidly in the autumnal Roman heat. At his lying-in-state, a guard fainted from the stench. Later, his nose turned black and fell off. Some saw in this sudden corruption of his mortal remains, a symbol of the absolute corruption of his papacy.

The Second Vatican Council was called by John XXIII who succeeded Pacelli, in 1958, precisely to reject Pacelli's monolith in preference for a collegial, decentralized, human, Christian community, the Holy Spirit, and love. The guiding metaphor of the church of the future was of a "pilgrim people of God."

Expectations ran high, but there was no lack of contention and anxiety as old habits and disciplines died hard. There were signs from the very outset that papal and Vatican hegemony would not easily acquiesce, that the Old Guard would attempt a comeback. As we approach the end of this century, the hopeful energy of the Second Vatican Council, or Vatican II, as it came to be called, appears to many a spent force. The church of Pius XII is reasserting itself in confirmation of a pyramidal church model: faith in the primacy of the man in the white robe dictating in solitude from the pinnacle. In the twilight years of John Paul II's long reign, the Catholic Church gives a pervasive impression of dysfunction despite his historic influence on the collapse of Communist tyranny in Poland and the Vatican's enthusiasm for entering its third millennium with a cleansed conscience.

As the theologian Professor Adrian Hastings comments, "The great tide powered by Vatican II has, at least institutionally, spent its force. The old landscape has once more emerged and Vatican II is now being read in Rome far more in the spirit of the First Vatican Council and within the context of Pius XII's model of Catholicism." A future titanic struggle between the progressives and the traditionalists is in prospect, with the potential for a cataclysmic schism, especially in North America, where a split has opened up between bishops compliant with Rome and academic Catholicism, which is increasingly independent and dissident. Pacelli, whose canonization process is now well advanced, has become the icon, 40 years after his death, of those

traditionalists who read and revise the provisions of the
Second Vatican Council from the viewpoint of Pacelli's
ideology of papal power--an ideology that has proved disastrous in the century's history.
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Chabad
The Chabad respect me because I keep a little distant from them. They can walk all over someone who is too close.

Yichus
“Merits of the family” literally. The immeditate family influences the child’s values and stability.

Image of G-d
Ribono shel Olam cares more for the well being of our marriages than towards his own recognition. This was the point of the test of adultery where Hashem permits His name to be wiped out for the sake of the marriage. Why is this the case? Why is our relationship to Hashem of less significance then to others?

Men must realize that to be in the “Image of G-d” is not to expect recognition from others. This is the reason that a good atheist may rate as high in the eyes of Hashem as a believer. The key is how benevolent we act towards others. For the sake of kindness for others, Hashem foregoes recognition. The way we treat our spouse falls in this category.

Now how will it be possible after death to feel closeness to Hashem if while we lived we did not achieve this? Those that live in the “Image of G-d” will be as a loving friend of Hashem in the world to come. The relationship of a friend is different from that of servant. Both are worthy goals.

A. Marriage

A husband must strive to be a ‘mench’. To do this he must be willing to suppress his own ego for the sake of his wife. If his wife criticizes him, he should not counter. As Hashem was willing to permit his name to be destroyed for the test of adultery or for the sake of the marriage so must a husband be prepared to do similarly for the sake of his wife.

How to be a mench and also a good Jew is the question? To daven with a minyan morning and evening can take time from ones wife especially if the work schedule is demanding as well. Instead a husband may focus on his marriage with highest priority especially during the first year where both are learning about each other.

A husband should let his wife lead a conversation. This will encourage her personal expression and self-

esteem. This will help a husband repair damage done by criticism. A wife wants to be looked upon well in her husband's eyes. She seeks his approval as we seek approval in the eyes of G-d.

Attention and affection is the role of a husband towards his wife.[395] When one wishes to leave his house he could ask permission of his wife. This adds to her sense of importance. It is good to sleep in the same room as one's wife.

It is a mitzvah to marry the daughter of one's sister. Because children resemble the wife's brother, there will be a natural affection between the uncle and niece. Hashem answer the prayers of this man immediately.[396]

B. Children

One should always shower ones children with love and hugs. This assists in the development of their self-esteem. Bedwetting is a problem that stems from lack of positive complements to the child. Each night when putting the child to sleep one should complement and state how one believes in them and their potential. Overlook mistakes and give encouragement.

One must spend time with ones child. If the child feels that she is the most important thing to the parents, then she will grow up close to her parents values. If a child is asking or behaving in a way completely out of the ordinary it is usually a cry that the parents notice them and give them attention.

As a teenager a child may rebel and be testy. One must encourage her with complements. This gives her confidence to be successful in all challenges. When the child comes from divorced parents one should accept the child's discussion of both sides so that the child feels right about her parents.

C. Getting Along with Others and Homeland

The sons of Bilhah were Dan and Naphtali and those of Zilpah were Asher and Gad. Joseph got along with the children of the maidens. Jerusalem is in the territory of Benjamin. North of there is the territory of Ephraim and north of Ephraim is Mannaseh's land extending to the southern tip of the Sea of the Galilee. North of Mannaseh is Issachar and Zebulin. Dan's portion is where Tel-Aviv is today along the central to northern coastline. Asher's is above that on the coastline.

Our Hebrew names are our spiritual roots. My cousin Avraham Ellenbogen lives in Beer Sheva, much like Abraham Avinu who chose that place as his home.

Maternal Grandparents
Aryeh Lev served as gabai of his shul, which meant he maintained the order of services, distributed

service calls, gave out prayer books, and assisted guests. He was a quiet man with a good heart. His strength was calmness and a good temperament. He was not prone to anger.

My maternal grandmother was a charitable woman who sent care packages to her relatives in Israel at the beginning of Israel's statehood when there were few supplies. When I visited Israel, I found that she is well remembered by Sima Talmon of Kibbutz Maale HaHamisha. She was a dynamic lady who enjoyed entertaining guests and socializing.

Paternal Grandparents
My grandmother was a remarkable woman who would fast every Monday and Thursday while my grandfather sought for hiding places during the Holocaust. She read T'hillim and our Tanach in English for hours each day. She was a pious woman with a saintly heart. She died on Erev Rosh Hodesh before sunset on the last day of Adar.

I remember one particular story she would tell me taken from Ezekiel. This was the story of the valley of dry bones. G-d set Ezekiel down in a valley and all around were bones. G-d asked Ezekiel, "Can these bones yet live?" Ezekiel responded, "Oh G-d, only thou knowest." G-d said prophesy unto these bones that they should have flesh upon them and spirit within them. Ezekiel prophesied and it happened. G-d said:

Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel; although, they say, our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off; they will yet rise up and I will bring them back into the land of Israel.
(Ezekiel 37:11-12)

My grandmother's favorite saying was "Everything will work out for the best." One of her favorite charities was the Rabbi Meir Baal Haness school in Tiberias, Israel.

Great Uncles
My great uncle and his family were murdered in the holocaust. My grandmother's brother was very kind and caring for the needs of those around him. He was a good family man.

Yesod in Tiferets on the Counting of the Omer - April 24, 1996
Ira led the meditation at Beth Shalom. We started with Michael on the right, Gavriel on the left, Uriel in front, and Raphael behind. I had an experience of Nuriel descending directly upon me. I experienced tremendous power without emotion; the total balance of the Angel. The power was overwhelming and I opened my eyes to look at candle light. The light (NaRiel) of the candles balanced the Angel's energy within me and He ascended. The angels at my sides parted their hands and I inserted my own between them and we rose.

Around me the world of Malchuts was blue with the glistening of gem stone lights along cave walls. Above me the deep blue sky was parting and we passed through into the orange landscape of Yesod. The

intrusion of the light of a living soul attracted the angels around. I then pronounced the name yy with the vowel 'ᴛ' and ascended to Tiferets. There I stood in the Garden[397] and saw the bright light of a soul before me. I inquired who he was and he responded, "**Look into my soul and you shall know me.**" He wore a continuous smile on his face and I saw that he was my great uncle Joseph, Z"l whose name I bear. He asked me if I would like him to show me around? I asked to see the Tree of Knowledge. It stood by the Tree of Life but was smaller. I asked what is the fruit it bears? He said look and you will know. I saw a red fruit. It was a pomegranate. I asked, why is the pomegranate the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge? **He said, each seed is like a fruit in its own right and this reflects all of creation. There are worlds within worlds.** I asked, what is the secret of peace and happiness? He took me up to the world of Daat and I saw the parting of Abba and Imma.[398] I entered the space between them. The space of Daat is not a world, but the revelation of knowledge. I saw the answer was in his smile. **To always where a smile is to give contentment to others and thus oneself**. I asked, what is the secret of how to where a smile? He said one must let negative energy leave the body. Negative energy can leave via the eyes. One's eyes can also bless others.

XXII. Appendix

A. Encounters on the Internet

1. Bnei Baruch Kabbalah Forum

a) RaZ

Here are some references in the Tanach for
the following which I stated:

: Moshe alludes to Netzah and Aaron to Hod. The
: source of the most esoteric of prophecy and
: divination is hidden in RaZ.

RaZ is mentioned in only one place in the entire
Tanach and that is in the book of Daniel:

6. O Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in you, and no mystery troubles you, tell me the visions of my dream that I

have seen, and its meaning.

Belteshazzar is Daniel's name from Nebuchadnezzar.
Here the word for mystery is RaZ and the
verse refers to visions of prophecy, hence
Netzah and Hod.

7. Thus were the visions of my head in my bed; I saw, and behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, and its height was great.
8. The tree grew, and was strong, and its height reached to heaven, and it was visible to the end of all the earth;

There may be an allusion here to the Tree of
Life.

Now as for a reference to Moshe and Aaron,
RaZ is mentioned in only two places in all
of Rashi on the Tanach.

Numbers 17:11

11. And Moses said to Aaron, Take a censer, and put fire in it from the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly to the congregation, and make an atonement for them; for anger has come out from the Lord; the plague has begun.

Rashi comments on "atonement for them":
"This secret did the angel of death give
over to him when he (Moses) ascended to
the heavens, that incenses stays a plague;"

RaZ is on the level of Netzah and Hod
clearly from this verse, symbolized by Moshe
and Aaron. The use of incense is an example
of such a secret that Moshe learned by
ascending to the level of RaZ.

And Rashi refers to Tractate
Shabbas 88a which also mentions RaZ.

R. Eleazar said: When the Israelites gave precedence to ‘we will do’ over ‘we will hearken,’ a Heavenly Voice went forth and exclaimed to them, Who revealed to My children this secret, which is employed by the Ministering Angels, as it is written,

Bless the Lord, ye angels of his. Ye mighty in strength, that fulfil his word, That hearken unto the voice of his word: first they fulfil and then they hearken?

RaZ is the way of the ministering angels.
Moshe and Aaron together being on this level
could understand these secrets.

: This knowledge is not meant for this world
: and hence the quasi-sefira
: is not revealed like Daat.

RaZ is more the knowledge of the world of
angels.

Followup

: Jeff,

: Up till now, have been working under the assumption that the
: Quasi Sefirah RaZ does not exist, while looking for proof
: that it does. However, your last couple of posts have given
: me reason to stop and think, what if it does exist?

:: Rashi says ...
::"This secret did the angel of death give
:: over to him when he (Moses) ascended to
:: the heavens, that incenses stays a plague;"

I consider the Rashi highly significant. The reason
is that it doesn't make too much sense. Whenever
Rashi says something that doesn't make sense
it is usually hiding the theme of the entire
matter (taught to me by Rabbi Gedahlia Meyer).

Rashi's reference to Shabbas 88a clears
the mystery which he explains with the statement,

"... Who revealed to My children this secret,
which is employed by the Ministering Angels ..."

RaZ is a level of prophetic revelation from
angelic knowledge.

: This would then brings up the question, if RaZ does exist, why
: is it so different from the well known Quasi Sefirah Daat? Is
: there some principle at work here that is not widely known?

: ----------

: Following is pure hypothetical guess work.

: The result of Daat is Knowledge, which flows freely down upon
: Malkhut - Kingship (physical earth). In Genesis we read how
: Adam & Eve ate the fruit of Knowledge of Good & Evil. Do you
: think, this might be the reason why Daat is always visible
: and working? Because Adam & Eve ate of it? And further, for
: this reason, it's referred to in numerous places in the Bible?

Daat refers to knowledge while RaZ is
secret knowledge from the world of the
angels. Until Adam and Eve ate from the
fruit of the Tree of Good and Evil, they may
have been permitted the understanding of
RaZ. After eating the fruit they lost
the easy accessiblity of RaZ but
gained a closer attachment to Daat. In some
ways Daat is a more intimate knowlege
of G-d produced out of great love and
longing. Sometimes committing a sin
can create this great longing for tshuvah
that I believe Daat represents. Our great
longing for tshuvah brings a longing by
Hashem for us.

In some sense this is quite different from
the angelic knowledge of RaZ. Perhaps
the knowledge at the level of RaZ appears
more powerful in terms of its direct effects
like the incense:

:: Num. 17:11. And Moses said to Aaron, Take a
:: censer, and put fire in it from the altar,
:: and put on incense, and go quickly to
:: the congregation, and make an

:: atonement for them; for anger has
:: come out from the Lord; the plague has
:: begun.

But, atonement through Daat, through knowing
Hashem, longing for Hashem,
and loving Hashem is quite beautiful.

Daat is closer to Hesed and Gevurah and
RaZ is closer to Netzah and Hod. They
are different aspects of a relationship with
Hashem. Both can effect atonement.
Both are important. One is more intimate,
the other more demonstrative. One is more
accessible, the other more a mystery.

: Considering your posts on RaZ.

: On the other hand, the result of RaZ is an understanding of
: deep mysteries, allusions, and prophesizing. The main difference
: between the way these Quasi Sefirah appear is, where Daat is
: always visible, RaZ only becomes visible, under meditation, and
: only when probed from the Sefirah Yesod - Formation. Further,
: in that case, it's only visible to the one who is doing the
: probing (receiving the results of RaZ).

: When one considers that very little is know about how the
: Prophets actually prophesied. The idea of a hidden Quasi
: Sefirah begins to make sense. And since this knowledge was
: deliberately kept from the world, hence so few references
: to RaZ.

I agree.

: ----------

: And finally, here's another big question. Considering the
: above, is there other Quasi Sefirah that we've not heard
: about? Is there more fruit on the Tree?

I think understanding all 22 of the connection
paths to be a highly valuable study and

meditation.

b) Poem

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on April 22, 1998 at 22:21:46:

In Reply to: Re: His Name,His Essense, and the Tzimtzum posted by zalman hakotan on April 22, 1998 at 12:24:27:

SG refers to the value 63 which points
to Hashem's name with this value. The four levels
above Keter are defined by the four different
spellings of the name of Hashem. At each level
are letters in chains spelling the expanded
name of Hashem respectively: BN, MH, SG, AV.
There are also discs of light which precede
the sefirot.

I went back before the trees to the days of
creation. I saw the creation of the animals,
the grass and all plant life, the creation of
the Sun, Moon, and Stars in the heaven. Finally
I saw the creation of the first light and then
the Tohu and Bohu that preceded. The first light
was the first line of light that flowed into the
empty space (the place of G-d's withdrawal in the
tzimtzum). The chaos before was the emptiness of
G-d's withdrawal. The emptiness represented the
quality of Din, judgment or constriction.

I preceded into the emptiness and felt the
withdrawal of Hashem. I knew the withdrawal was
preceding at a speed beyond physical travel and
I wondered how I would reach the receding point.
The Kol told me to travel by spirit and will
myself to reach the boundary. This I did and saw
the edge of light in the distance. I willed
myself through the edge and now I stood in the
undifferentiated form of the first light. I could

not comprehend what was around me. I tried to recall some daat - knowledge that would help me understand. This place was before and beyond the creation of the Sefirot. There was not even the place of Hashem's Ratzon - Will yet in this light. I glimmered above the sefirot and the Kol asked me what I saw. I told her I saw of BN, MH, SaG, and AV, the realm of the Hebrew letters.

I saw the Hebrew letters traveling in chains. There were also the 10 numerals but they were separate like flying disks in this space. I moved my mind to the source of the letters in the light and saw the primordial form of the Torah in the light. I heard this song:

Love the Torah, learn the Torah, dance with the Torah, dwell with the Torah ...

There were no angels yet created as there were no worlds but I still heard the Kol and wondered about its existence. I sought out the voice and noticed a small space in the light, a small tzimtzum. I saw a thread of light entering the space which was like a mouth transmitting the words. Here I learned how G-d speaks to Moses and the angels face to face but to the rest of us through angels. The Torah was one of 10 forms that existed prior to all creation.

There was no sense of a personal G-d in the Ayn Sof. I felt only Nothing and I didn't understand why. I wanted to find my personal G-d but even this is a result of creation! The Kol asked me what I could know? I told him I could not know anything else while in my separate spirit.
I realized that even beyond the heaven of G-d's creation and man's comprehension lies the Ayn Sof of G-d which dissolves all identity back into itself.

I have noticed the bittul in your dual postings.
Now I see that it is bittul that creates the
space of the tzimtzum for the line of light to
enter the space.

: I'm sorry I don't know what "level" you are referring to when evrverthing was in chains. But what I've seen in seforim is that the 22 lettters plus the five final
mantzepach letters emenate from the gevuru elah of atik yomin called botzina d'krdinusah. In more simple words the letters in the upper worlds aren't actually forms,
rather the forms of the letters that we see hint or meramez to the different levels and forms of shefa from the Ain Sof to the low worlds. Therefore inorder for there
to be duality or difference in shefa it perforce requires tzimtzum. So again the question returns, how is it possible to have even letters before the Tzimtzum. I'd like to
quote from the Tikuney Zohar inorder that we can have a clear point of referance that sheds light on this topic, "Every sefirah has a known name... You have no
known name as You fill all the names. You are the perfection of all the names." As Hank pointed out earlier there is no name for Hashem that can describe his
Essence rather we give him a name according to how we percieve Him, but when we call him by that name we are not calling that attribute rather Him Himself.
But it still remains unclear how there was an existence of letters or names before the tzimtzum as I wrote earlier.

Shalom

c) Poem on mystic life

Posted by . on February 21, 1999 at 13:00:04:

been up and down the tree, all around mitzvot glow to keep
seen angels high above, the water fall between
looked down at the throne, stood before Unknown, now what is left of life

seen the cubic aleph, the letter chains in light
danced with the angels, seen the burning bush, glimpsed MT, now what to do

brought forth the demon AS, bound him to answer true, but what is left to know
traveled to the past, witnessed the creation, saw the first light

Spring is filled with beauty, the ocean shores of time,
the forests with their fragrance, the startlit skies with chimes

but what is left of life

I understand Solomon, Reb Meir, Ben Azi, Ben Zoma,
to have seen too much and then to fall away, to wonder what is left of life

to slip further and further away knowing all along the truth,
so Hashem spoke to Job and put him in his place, G-d save us from this fate

one day we will see how the 7th beggar without feet
heals the prince and princess with our dancing

d) Yetzirah Plane

Re: Yetzirah plane

Posted by jeff on May 21, 1997 at 15:30:45:

In Reply to: Re: Yetzirah plane posted by Jeff Spiegel on May 20, 1997 at 02:53:47:

: This plane is filled with immense angels. You will have no possibility of
: "manipulating" this plane. These angels can do
: with you as they like so it is best to behave. In
: order to reach the world of Yetzirah, one must
: have already achieve a high degree of humble
: perfection and would not be interested in
: "manipulation" at that level. As far as the
: sights, Yetzirah parallels our world in activities.
: The angels are busy in constructing palaces as
: we are in buildings. There are seven palaces in this
: world:

: 1. The Seven Palaces of Yetzirah
: Perkei Hekhalot - Chapters of the Palaces contains a formal description of these palaces. The following contains my own
personal experiences of these heavens. In the world of Yetzirah there are 7 heavens . These are:
: a) Shamayim (Sham - Mayim : There is water -> Firmament)
: This is the location of the Sun, Moon, planets, and stars. Yet how can this be since we see them in our world and know of
their places. I have seen a star in Yetzirah and its light source is a precious soul that serves Hashem like an angel . Some of

these souls were once from our world, others are of angelic source.
: b) Shemai Hashamayim (Water above the Waters -> Nehar Di-nur)
: In this heaven new angels are born each day to utter praises to Hashem. They are born from the spring of fire each morning.
They first dip their hands into the fiery waters and bring a taste to their mouths. Then they sing the holy Kadosh to Hashem and
praises from sunrise to sunset.
: c) Zevul (Habitation -> prince) lwbz
: This heaven is the place of the "prince". He is surrounded by his ministering angels. He is called Meattah for he is from G-d.
This heaven may be the residence of Zer Anpin in the world of Yetzirah.
: d) Araphel (Fog or mist -> Torah) lpru
: This is like the morning mists and clouds that cover mountain tops. Moshe's tent was said to be enclosed in araphel when the
Shechinah dwelled within. It represents Mt. Sinai and the place of the giving of the Torah.
: e) Shehakim (Heavens) syqjc
: The rebuilt Jerusalem is prepared in this heaven. The Temple, Table, Ark, Menorah and all the utensils are here.
: f) Mahon -> Aravot
: It is five hundred year journey from Shehakim to Mahon. In the midst are the storehouses of snow and hail as well as the
rewards for the righteous and punishments for the wicked. Five hundred years further is the Aravot whose merkavah is called
Av bu which means cloud. There are some souls yet to be born.
: g) Throne of Glory
: This is the heaven of the Throne of G-d.

: The descent from the heaven of the 'Throne of Glory' leads to the place of the Merkavah or the 'Throne of G-d'. Beneath
the throne souls await their entry into our world.

:
: There are angelic guards for each of these
: palaces that will turn one away unless key
: answers are known.

: The general landscape of Yetzirah is mountainous,
: the color is brown, brown-red, a touch of orange,
: and of course the white light of white angels and
: black light of dark angels. The angels are
: extremely tall such that a human in this world

: might bearly approach 1/6th the height of the
: smallest!

: The world of Yetzirah is associated with the
: morning service of Psukei D'zimra or the reciting
: of the Psalms of David. By reading the Psalms
: of David, one can prepare one's soul to be worthy
: of entering the world of Yetzirah while still
: in the land of the Living.

WHOA!! that was great, what an intense answer.
Is this kabbalah?
If so could you tell me how I can do such a thing?
Is the Yetzirah Plane another name for the 7 levels of heaven?

e) Colors

Re: Tree Of Life

[Follow Ups] [Post Followup] [BNEI BARUCH KABBALAH FORUM] [FAQ]

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on May 20, 1997 at 03:10:16:

In Reply to: Tree Of Life posted by Jonathan Blair on May 16, 1997 at 14:33:17:

The Jewish color system contains the following
associations:

D. Sefirot Colors and Lights
There are different colors associated with each sefirot. These colors can be visualized during meditations for enhancing the
realism of the vision. When the correct authoritative kabbalistic associations are adhered to the vision comes in loud and clear.
Similarly a radio receiver will exhibit a lot of static until it is finally tuned. The Gate of Kavannah describes the experience of the
quality of 8 types of light. Here is the description of the Crown:

Above it is the Crown. This is the light that crowns the desires of the mind and illuminates the paths of

the imagination,
enhancing the radiance (zohar) of the vision. This light has no end, and it cannot be fathomed. From the glory (Kavod) of its
perfection comes desire, blessing, peace, life (chaim), and all good (tov) to those who keep the way of its unification.

Table 16: Sefirot and Colors
Sefirah Color Light Quality Names Of G-d
Concealed Light Ayn Sof
Keter – crown,will, or desire blinding invisible light Crown Ehyeh asher Ehyeh
Hochmah – wisdom a color that includes all colors Yah
Binah – understanding yellow and green Hashem (Elohim)
Hesed – kindness white and silver Tov – Good El
Gevurah – judgment,discipline red and gold Nogah – Glow Elohim
Tiferet – Beauty yellow and violet Kavod – Glory Hashem
Netzah – eternity,victory, prophecy light pink— the color of the upper eyelid Bahir – Brilliance Hashem Tzavaot
Hod – thankfulness, acceptance, prophecy dark pink— the color of the lower eyelid Zohar – Splendor Elohim Tzavaot
Yesod – righteousness Orange Chaim – Life El Chai, Shadai Living G-d
Malchuts – kingdom, Shechinah Blue Adonai

Why is the light of Keter called a blinding invisible light? Blinding, since no objects can be seen in this place. Invisible since the
light does this without being seen. Light, since the vision is clear.
The color of wisdom includes all colors for
wisdom includes all knowledge in its synthesis.
Yellow is associated with illumination and
green with fertility which together represent the
understanding of Binah with the fertility of
the mother partzuf. White and silver are
traditional associations with kindness and red
and gold for judgement. With the sefirah of
splendor is the illumination of the truth, i.e.
Yellow, and mysteries of Torah, i.e. violet.

The light pink and dark pink colors of Netzah
and Hod are the colors of the upper and lower
eyelids which symbolize the experience of
prophecy, i.e. sunlight shining through ones
closed eyes. The orange of Yesod is the color

of righteousness which is based on the discipline
of gevurah, red, with the illumination of tiferets,
yellow, and the prophecy of Netzah and Hod combined,
pink, which together is Orange.

Kingship is blue, i.e. royal blue.

: Please could you explain the following :

: I have come across different Kabbalistic Tree Of Life's, with different colour arrangements eg. those which appear in
traditional plain Queen scale colours, those which appear speckled, and those with very different colour arrangements eg.
"School Of The Soul by Z'ev ben Shimon Halevi . Could you please explain to me their purpose, and use, or failing this point
me at literature that does explains this?

: Many thanks, Jonathan

f) Hashmal

Re: Hashmal

[Follow Ups] [Post Followup] [BNEI BARUCH KABBALAH FORUM] [FAQ]

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on May 20, 1997 at 03:29:51:

In Reply to: Hashmal posted by Gerard Zonus on May 15, 1997 at 02:28:47:

: Shalom,

: What do the Kabbalists say about the 'Hashmal' in Ezechiel vision.

Kabbalists say that the vision of the Hashmal should
not be openly discussed. Suffice it to say that
the Hashmal is the garment of G-d in our Universe,
has the sound of electrum, and the appearance of
a small voice.

: Is there still in Israel an hermetic tradition whose goal is the universal medecine needed for spiritual and

physical regeneration

The use of herbs and grasses for healing is
definitely within the domain of Judaism. The Breslov
Hasidim practice a hermetic like tradition.

"KNOW that there is a field where the most beautiful
and pleasant trees and herbs grow. The precious beauty
of this field and its plants and trees is impossible to describe. Happy is the eye that has seen it! "
(Likutey Moharan I:65 quoted in Garden of the Souls, page 37)

He invests the grasses and herbage with healing properties.
He gave decaying mold the most powerful of healing properties
as He chose a lowly mountain to reveal the Torah,
a lowly people as his chosen nation,
an impaired speaker to be his greatest prophet,
and "the stone that was despised" to become the
cornerstone of His temple.

: Thank you for answering my question.

: Gérard Zonus
: gzonus@loansystem.com

g) Lag Ba Omer

> WHOA!! that was great, what an intense answer.
> Is this kabbalah?
> If so could you tell me how I can do such a thing?
> Is the Yetzirah Plane another name for the 7 levels of heaven?

You should congradulate yourself for recognizing
the true Kabbalah! I will try to give some instruction
on how to achieve the experience. It took me over
ten years of kabbalistic study before I had my
first experience, so patience is required as well
as hard study, good deeds, and a humble nature.
The name Yetzirah, means formation from the
Hebrew word, yotzer, meaning to 'form'.

The four worlds are associated with the following:

The Four Universes and Our Connection to Them
Expression Worlds Tetragrammaton
Ta'amim - Cantellation Notes Atzilut - Nearness Yod
Nekudot - Vowel Points Beriyah - Creation Heh
Tagin - Ornaments Yetzirah - Formation Vav
Otiot - Letters Asiyah - Making Heh

Asiyah is our physical world. Yetzirah is the world of the lower angels that parallel our world. Beriyah is the world of the throne of God. This is also the world of the upper angels and souls to be born. There are seven chambers in the world of Beriyah which describe the process that the soul goes through before it is born into our world and after death when it returns to God. Atzulut the highest world contains the Ten Sefirot and the word Atzulut is from the Hebrew, Etzel which means 'adjacent'. I think learning Hebrew is important to Kabbalah study since much of the mysticism is based on the Hebrew alphabet, i.e. aleph - bet.

On Lab Ba Omer Rabbi Akiva's students died of a terrible plague. The plague was attributed to the conflicting opinions the students held towards one another. Some thought that Bar Kochbah was the Messiah. They differed on how to deal with the Romans. The lack of unity led to the plague.[399]

Today is Lag B'omer which is the 33rd day of the Counting of the Omer which associates with the sefirot combination of Hod in Hod. In general this would be an ominous day due to the passive nature of Hod which while representing peace and thankfulness also permits evil to exist in this world. Nevertheless Shimon bar Yochai helped rectify this day by revealing a great light of mystical knowledge to his followers which filled them with joy. Joy above all other emotions brings the Shekhinah into this world which is the presence of God.

There is also a tradition that his death on the same day also brought great light in this world as he died by the kiss of God.

Its a day of great light, dance with all your might!

(On Lag B'Omer weddings, davening inspiration 3/11/99)

2. Breslov Discussions

a) Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 27, 1998 at 20:17:22:
What is Novea mean in the statement? Does this mean
a "a brook flowing with prophecy, source of wisdom"?
If someone could elaborate on RebenuZ"L's inspiration
on this passage, I would appreciate it.

Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 28, 1998 at 01:59:24:
In Reply to: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 27, 1998 at 20:17:22:
The simple explanation is that the letters
Nachal Novea Makor CHochmah spell NaCHMaN,
and that Rabbi Nachman wasn't the founder of a
chassidic dynasty rather a luminary in and of
himself, similar to the Arizal - that is
a source of wisdom.
Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 01:59:54:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 28, 1998 at 01:59:24:
I really needed to know that Reb. Nachman
was not intending to found a dynasty. I study
the teachings of Reb. Nachman regularly like
an inspirational text and have never seen
anything that would demand a dynasty
affiliation. Still, most Hasidim seem to be
organized in dynasties. How does Breslov
differ based on your explanation?

Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 29, 1998 at 11:23:10:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 01:59:54:
Breslov chasidus differs from most chasisidim in this point.
This is the explanation why there is no Breslov Rebbe today.
Breslov differs from most chasidim in that it is inclusive, rather
than exclusive. There is no particular Breslov nusach (prayer book),
no mandated dress code (some long coats and payos, some short coat,

some in knitted kipa), and encourages people to follow the minhagim of their fathers (this is a major difference between Breslov & Chabbad as practiced today). This has had the effect that the majority of people who follow Rebbe Nachman are Sefardim (many Askenazim too).
The concept of Rebbe Nachman's role as leader of the Breslover Chasidim is involved in the Mystical / Breslov concept of the Tzaddik. There are many differing details on this inside of Breslov, but basically it goes something like this: HaShem created Man, and before the fall in the Garden of Eden, he was refered to as the Perfect Man (or Primordial Man).
Mashiach either is, or is an aspect of this Perfect Man.
Mashiach is the living embodiment of Torah, and though the light of Mashiach flows our understanding of Torah.
But we don't get it directly.
This light flows from Mashiach down to Joseph haTzadik, Moshe Rabbenu, the Arizal, the True Tzaddik, the Tzaddikim of each generation, to hidden Tzaddikim - hidden in every moment of our life, down to us. (The order listed here isn't exact)
There are many Tzaddikim in the world, yet there is one proto-typical Tzaddik who "breaks ground" allowing all Tzaddikim to function, paving the way for Mashiach.
This is Rebbe Nachman. Some explain that Rebbe Nachman is a recincarnation of the Arizal.
So, although no one would say that Rebbe Nachman was Mashiach, for us (not just Breslover Chasidim), on our level, he is a source of advice, guidance, and helps us to get plugged into the flow of Torah down to this world, as Mashiach will do when he comes, speedily in our days!
In this context Rebbe Nachman is "a brook flowing with prophecy, source of wisdom"

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 21:53:51:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 29, 1998 at 11:23:10:
I am sure viewing Reb Nachman like the Arizal is appropriate but I don't understand the idea of the Tzadik-Hasid relationship after a Tzadik had died?
I always thought that one travels to hear the words of the Tzadik and this is what elevates one. Of course learning his teachings does remind one of his presense in the world. If Reb Nachman is still the Tzadik of the Breslov Hasidim then they must still be hearing his words!

Is this correct?
This would suggest that it would be possible to have a Tzadik-Hasid relationship with many of our ancestorial Tzadikim if we were extremely familiar with their teachings. I guess what I don't understand is what makes the Breslov's relationship with Reb Nachman unique.
> Mashiach either is, or is an aspect of this Perfect Man.
> Mashiach is the living embodiment of Torah, and though
> the light of Mashiach flows our understanding of Torah.
> But we don't get it directly.
Adam Kadmon was the universal soul of all people combined.
The Moshiach is an annointed leader of the people of Israel, i.e. a righteous king. Why the idea that Torah can only flow through Mashiach?
I can understand that Hashem sends angels and other forces to reveal Torah to Klal Israel, but where is it said that all these forces of Torah revelation go through Moshiach?
> This light flows from Mashiach down to Joseph haTzadik,
> Moshe Rabbenu, the Arizal, the True Tzaddik, the Tzaddikim of
> each generation, to hidden Tzaddikim - hidden in every moment of
> our life, down to us. (The order listed here isn't exact)
I thought that the teaching of the Tzadik assumed that even he is not perfect but that his challenges are on a much higher level like Moshe Rabenu instead.
So what is the meaning and source of the concept "True Tzaddik"? In Israel I visited the tomb of the Arizal and was quite awed by feeling at the graveside. But I also was awed at the tombs of Shimon HaTzadik Z"l in Jerusalem, Rachel Z"l wife of Akiva, Jonaton ben Uziel Z"l, Rabbi Meir Baal HaNess Z"l, Yosef Karo Z"l, David HaMelech Z"l. What would make the Arizal the "True Tzaddik" before Reb Nachman?
You have described a line of light that passes through only one person in some generations. This is an interesting idea though why can there be only one. If this is the same as the potential Moshiach? Why do Breslov stop with Reb Nachman as the True Tzadik, instead of believing there may be a True Tzadik in a future generation?
> There are many Tzaddikim in the world, yet there is one
> proto-typical Tzaddik who "breaks ground" allowing all
> Tzaddikim to function, paving the way for Mashiach.
> This is Rebbe Nachman. Some explain that Rebbe Nachman is a
> recincarnation of the Arizal.
I guess I still have difficulty with the idea of a single True Tzadik.
I am not aware of any traditional kabbalistic Torah teachings that say there is such a single person. There is much spoken on the idea

of a potential Moshiach in each generation. Maybe the True Tzadik is
more of the Moshiach ben Yosef that may be born in a generation and this
is why there is only one. Is that what you mean?
The idea of a spiritual leader of all Tzadikim of a
generation is quite reasonable, though I would think he would be amongst
the living of the generation.
> So, although no one would say that Rebbe Nachman was Mashiach,
> for us (not just Breslover Chasidim), on our level, he is
> a source of advice, guidance, and helps us to get plugged into
> the flow of Torah down to this world, as Mashiach will do when
> he comes, speedily in our days!
His teachings and recorded writings definitely leave me with this
feeling. When you say a "source of advice, guidance", do you mean
from his teachings or is there a personal attachment that you feel and
an inspiration from his will that you still sense in the land of the
living.
Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 30, 1998 at 00:09:54:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 21:53:51:
This is not the place to go into any depth, but as far as a Kabalistic
reference for Torah coming through Adam Kadmon / Mashiach, this is
the aspect of the Histashelut of the "Kav" through each one
of the Sefirot in turn, but first coming through Keter = Adam Kadmon
~= Meshiach (Meshiach is more formally Malchut)
As far as the Hasid / Tzadik relationship goes, Breslovers take two
views 1) that Rabbi Nachman is alive today, and just as gazing on
the Chosen Mishpat cause "truth" to become clear, learning Rabbenu's
works, davening at his tzion, and "speaking to another breslover at
least once everyday" clarifies "truth" 2) that Rabbi Nachman broke new
ground and provided insight that was previously lacking. He tapped
into and strengthened the place (Yesod) that enables us to connect to a
greater degree with *other* Tzaddikim, Rabbonim and Torah Scholars.
The Tzadik is Yesod, Mashiach is Malchut. One prepares for the other.
And although it is not explained explicitly, Rebbe Nachman had some
very close connection to the Supernal Sefirah of Yesod. Just as each
of the Ushpizin (Avraham, Yitzchak, Yaacov, Aaron, Moshe, Yosef and
David) are the physical embodiment, on one level, of the Sefirot.
By finding the Hidden Tzaddik in every situation (the good points),
by learning and connecting to a Rav in a Torah Shiur, by asking
shailos and advice from True Tzaddik, we are approaching the Sefirah
of Yesod (Foundation / Righteousness) along the path that was made

by Mashiach using the signposts that were put up by Rebbe Nachman.
By reading and following those signposts, were are connecting with
the work and essense of Rebbe Nachman, our Rebbe.
Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 30, 1998 at 03:02:21:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 30, 1998 at 00:09:54:
The associations of the Ushpazim with the sefirot teaches us to
see how the sefirot or tzelem manifest in our world
and how man at best behaves in the image of G-d. Nevertheless,
we do not say the sefirot are the Ushpazim. Joseph's qualities
are reprentative of the sefira of Yesod but the moral energy of
Hashem sustaining this world is not transmitted for eternity through
Joseph because of this association. And similarly the association
of an anointed king (Moshiach) with the sefira of Malchut.
What is your source for Adam Kadmon equivalenced with Mashiach?
Adam Kadmon is the primordial purpose of all creation and the concept
of the soul of man in totality. Certainly the Torah is part of this
initial blueprint. On the other hand, Moshiach is an annointed king
who will lead Israel. Your implication is that the Universe was
created for Moshiach if he is equivalent to Adam Kadmon
Instead the universe was created for imperfect man to raise himself
through hard soul work back to the level of Adam Kadmon with the
help of tzadikim and moshiachim.
The Breslov concept of Moshiach seems quite metaphysical. I always
look at Moshiach as an anointed king that we should expect and be
worthy to follow to live in the land of Israel with. The concept
seems so down to earth to me. The concept of Moshiach being
Adam Kadmon, the purpose of all creation, and encompassing the souls
of all people uniting them into an entirety seems beyond the
scope of an anointed king who wages G-d's battles and returns
victoriously.
> as far as a Kabalistic
> reference for Torah coming through Adam Kadmon / Mashiach, this is
> the aspect of the Histashelut of the "Kav" through each one
> of the Sefirot in turn, but first coming through Keter = Adam Kadmon
> ~= Meshiach (Meshiach is more formally Malchut)
Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 30, 1998 at 10:21:56:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 30, 1998 at 03:02:21:
Breslov has a tighter and more simplified scheme of the
Sefirot. A "Univesal story" as it were. The basic theme
is that if any two objects have the same quality, they are

at their root the *same objeect*. This is the whole premis
of Likutei Halachot, where rapid fire relationships are made
between many, many diverse objects. And is related to the
concept of Rabbi Nachmans ability to reunite the sparks / essense
of diverse objects and people.
Disclaimer, this is only one approach to a complex and complicated
set of teachings within Breslov.

3. Pluto

Jeffrey Wolf Green is the author of Pluto Volume, http://www.jeffreywolfgreen.com.

(Question) 22-Feb-1999 Male Souls/Female Souls
I purchased Pluto Volume II today. There is a reference to the soul being non-sex based and evolving by being both male and female in different life times.

I believe this would differ from the Jewish mystical perspective. The idea is that G-d's first thought is Adam Kadmon, the primordial man. Each of us represents a spark of this idea. Each of us is unique in our place on the body. Each place is unique with either a masculine tone or feminine tone to its function.

At the end of times G-d will make a new world wherein will be the resurection of the dead. Each of our souls will have its true body. Each of us will either be male or female in our true form. Hence our identity body and soul is male or female. Jeff Spiegel
(Answer)
it is stated in the book that our souls are equally male and female, as is that which is called God. God is the origin of all things, obviously. Thus the origin of male and female. Thus each of our souls is simultaneously male and female... that which you site is simply another version of patriarchal thinking..man first jeffrey
(Addition)
In Hebrew we call G-d's essence Ayn Sof which is beyond male and female.
The seferot or Tree of Life containing pillers of male character, female character and a central piller reveal G-d's hightest image that we can know is equally male and female as you have pointed out to me.

We are created in the image of G-d so our soul contains both male and female aspects; the sefirot manifest in each of us reflecting the same image. Still we have a body which is not equally male and female. In Judaism the body is also an aspect of the soul, the Nefesh (body spirit) is the lowest level of the soul. The body is part of the soul's identity.

The concept of being male combined with male and female qualities or female combined with female and male qualities better matches the essence of who we are. This is also a reflection of the image of G-d

where each sefira whether male or female has an aspect of each of the other sefirot within.

Getting back to your book: Your concept of a composite chart from Pluto Volume II helped me understand the dynamics of a couples direction together. Previously I had only looked at synastry for understanding.

Is there a place where you describe the soul affects of Pluto's place in the other party's chart (constellation and house)? Is this in Volume I which I haven't purchased yet? Currently I only see a description of the composite Pluto's connection. Jeff Spiegel

4. Greek Qabalah

Kieren Barry is the author of the Greek Qabalah.

To: 'Jeff Spiegel' <spiegel@telocity.com>
Subject: RE: The Greek Qabalah

Dear Jeff,

Nice to hear from you. I agree 100% with everything you say. My book in no way detracts from the glories of Hebrew Qabalah or its authenticity or value, and please do not think that is what I intend. That would be like saying Christianity means any less because it derives from Judaism. It only enriches Hebrew Qabalah even more to discover new depths in its historical origins and cultural sources, and my intention was only to make more people aware of those depths. I am pleased that you found the book interesting historically, and thank you very much for reading it.

Best regards,

Kieren Barry

-----Original Message-----
From: Jeff Spiegel [mailto:spiegel@telocity.com]
Sent: 27 March 2001 15:14
To: ISL HKG HK Barry Kieren
Subject: The Greek Qabalah

Kieren,

I read your book. Einstein realized that good science is applicable to

ideas today no matter where it came from and he borrowed heavily from scientists such as Galileo in developing the theory of Relativity. You have shown some Jewish kabbalah to be similar. I think your book overlooks the prophetic experience as a form of kabbalah of the highest level.

Neitche's idea of eternal recurrence teaches that there is very little in this world that is a new idea and that what happens today has repeated itself ad-infinitum.

Jewish Kabbalah is authentic no matter its origin. It has been purified from the dross of other traditions to produce pure silver and gold. Today we know that circumcision was known by the Egyptians but it took Moses to purify the concept and invest the idea with divine meaning and the sign of the covenant.

So your book on Greek Qabalah is an interesting text historically.

B. Letters and Signs

Rabbi Nachman Letter - July 1, 1994

While fasting on the 17th of Tamuz, I ascended in a vision to the higher worlds. I was seeking Rabbi Nachman to ask him some questions. After passing Malchuts, Yesod, and Tiferets, I was stuck at the gates of Daat which I did not know how to enter. Eventually I saw Binah and Hochmah embrace like a mother and father and I was placed at the base of Keter. There I made it my will to find Rabbi Nachman.

I ascended to the worlds above Atzilut, passing through MH - hm - 45, BN - }b - 52, SaG - gs - 63, and arriving at AV - bu - 72.[400] There I beheld Rabbi Nachman who was radiant with joy to see me. I asked him what he was doing way up here. He told me if I continued studying his teachings I would understand.

The next day I am having dinner with a friend who has a letter from your settlement on his table. I noticed the name of your settlement contains the phrase Mekor Chochma (source of wisdom).

That night I'm reading at home the following: "Havayah expanded with Yods, adding up to 72 (AV) motivates the union of Hochmah - Wisdom (Father) and Binah - Understanding (Mother), through the Neshamah of the Neshamah of the saint. It is associated with Hochmah - Wisdom."[401] Now I know how I ascended through Daat. The saint is Rabbi Nachman of Breslov who lives through his Chaya[402] even in this world and is supporting the completion of Nachal Novea Mekor Chochma in the world of AV which is the source of the sefira of Hochmah in the worlds above Atzulut.

Encounter with the Astrological Signs - August 28, 1996
One can acquire knowledge of any subject through meditation. For example one can picture 12 rooms, each with one of the astrological glyphs above the doorway. By entering each room, one will encounter the essence of the sign. In the case of Aquarius, one can picture the water bearer who is always pouring forth, giving his resources for the world around him. The Aquarian lives to give. In the case of Pisces, one might see a room filled with sensuous tapestries, warm lights with thin shades of fabrics, and a warm carpet with nice furniture. The values of every sign can be understood better through meditative encounters.

Meditation for the Deaf – June 17, 2001
"And Isaac went out to meditate in the field before the evening; and he raised his eyes and saw and behold camels are coming." (Genesis 24:63) The word for mediate here is Suach, the word for grasses is Sicha, the word for conversation is also Sicha. Isaac was conversing with G-d in the fields. The camel is the letter Gimmel and it is a letter of good fortune for upon the camel rode Rachel, Isaac's intended wife.

Rabbi Nachman of Breslov says that we should say out every little concern we have to G-d, no matter how small. Tell him all our problems. G-d loves us more than anyone else in the whole world loves us. And he is more interested in hearing any little thing from us than anyone else. Some say, "How can I bother Hashem with this small problem?" The answer is we are not bothering Him. He wants to be bothered! This is the most powerful way to get close to Hashem.

In meditation we learn to act out what we are seeing or doing, to let the body become part of the visualization deepens the experience. This may be by letting the body dance if it feels like dancing or express itself with sign language. I will tell you it is possible for every person to get close to Hashem even while we are still in the land of the living, Bless Hashem.

There are many gateways, but study of authentic texts is essential. In your case, I recommend the Torah, Prophets, and Writings. Accompany this with walks in nature and conversations with G-d daily. Finally meditate on questions that have arisen in your mind from the Bible and let the Ribono Shel Olam, the Revered of the World teach you the answers with your signing.

C. Names of G-d [TABLES]

One principle source text for identifying the attributes associated with the key names of G-d is found in Exodus Midrash Rabbah 3:6:

6. AND G-D SAID UNTO MOSES (Exodus 3:14): R. Abba b. Mammel said: G-d said to Moses: ‘Thou wishest to know My name. Well, I am called according to My work; sometimes I am called “Almighty G-d”, “Lord of Hosts”, “G-d”, “Lord”. When I am judging created beings, I am called “G-d” (Elohim), and

when I am waging war against the wicked, I am called “El Shadai” (Almighty G-d), and when I am merciful towards My world, I am called “Adonai”, for “Adonai” refers to the Attribute of Mercy, as it is said: The Lord, the Lord (Adonai, Adonai), *G-d, merciful and gracious*. Hence I am that I am in virtue of My deeds.’ R. Isaac said: G-d said to Moses: ‘Tell them that I am now what I always was and always will be’; for this reason is the word eheyeh written three times. Another explanation of I AM THAT I AM is offered by R. Jacob b. Abina in the name of R. Huna of Sepphoris: G-d said to Moses: ‘Tell them that I will be with them in this servitude, and in servitude will they always continue, but I will be with them!’ Whereupon Moses said to G-d: ‘Shall I tell them this? Is not this sufficient for the hour the evil thereof?’ G-d replied: ‘NO: THUS SHALT THOU SAY UNTO THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL: “I AM HATH SENT ME UNTO YOU.” To thee only do I reveal this but not to them.’ Another interpretation of I AM.

1. From the Gates of Light - Shaarey Orah

For the Lord your G-d is a merciful G-d
(Deut. 4:31 - Gates of Light p. 167)

The name El is associated with mercy from this passage. El Rahum is found in Exodus 34:6.
Uneraseable names p. 170:
Ehye, Elohim, El, Eloha, Shadai - these are attached to the name Hashem

Erasable names associated with above:
El - Hesed gadol, rachum , chanun, chasin, erech apayim, rav chesed, kadosh, chasid, soleyach

Elohim adir (mighty), shofet (judger), dayyan (judge), chazak (strong), kabir, koach (powerful)
ish miylchamah (man of war), gibor (courageous), poked avon (exacts sin),
meshalem gemul (repays in kind)

Hashem norah (awesome), noseh avon (carrier of sin), over al pesha (overlooker of transgression)
emet (truth), marom (on high), ram (exalted), notzar chesed (creator of compassion),
shochen ad (perpetual dweller) kadosh (holy).

Table 36: Pillar Names of G-d

El	**Hashem**	**Elohim**
gadol	norah	adir
rachum	noseh avon	shofet
chanun	over al pesha	dayyan
chasin	emet	chazak

erech apayim - *Long faced awaiting our return.*	marom	kabir
rav chesed	ram	koach
kadosh - *"You shall be holy for I the Lord am holy."* [403] *This refers to G-d removing himself from the world. We need to behave in the image of G-d removing ourselves from over involvement in materialism or superficial lusts.*	notzar chesed	ish miylchamah
chasid	shochen ad	gibor
soleyach	kadosh	poked avon, meshalem gemul

2. The 12 Letter Name

The name may be composed of the tetragrammaton three times or contain the initials of the twelve tribes of Israel.

3. The 42 Letter Name

Table 37: The 42 Letter Name in the Days of the Week

Weekday	Hebrew	Meaning	Sefira	Age Hebrew	Age English	Historical Basis
Sunday	xty gba	The first line of Genesis.	Hesed	0-999	3760-2761 BCE	The kindness of Eden and the sons of G-d and the sons of men. "Longevity of early generations"[404]
Monday	}fc urq	Rent the adversary	Gevurah	1000-1999	2760-1761 BCE	The purification of mankind with the Flood. "The Flood 1656 (2104 BCE)"[405]

Tuesday	cky dgn		Tiferets	2000-2999	1760-761 BCE	The splendor of Israel under the guidance of Moses and the period of the Judges. "Sinai: Year 2448 (1312 BCE)"[406]
Wednesday	gtx rfk		Netzah	3000-3999	760 BCE-239 AD	The period of kings and the 2nd Temple of Israel. "1st Temple: 2928-3338 (832-422 BCE). 2nd Temple: 3408-3328 (352 BCE-68 CE)"[407]
Thursday	unf dqj	241- larzg	Hod	4000-4999	240-1239	The age of trials and the acceptance of suffering (the dark and middle ages). "Massacres, expulsions, Crusades"[408]
Friday	kzp lgy	If we are worthy, we will be redeemed now. Rejoicing leads to redemption.	Yesod	5000-5999	1240-2239	The age of the Tzaddikim; the struggle for righteousness. "Preparation for the era of Mashiach"[409]
Saturday	tyx wqc	The eternal Shabbat for the righteous in the world to come is the end.	Malchuts	6000-6999	2240-3239	The new age of kingship.

This is one of the most obscure names of G-d.[410] Rashi comments that 'this name was not given over to us'.[411] Hence, the derivation of the name is not well known. The name of Moses's mother Yocheved -

dbkwy has the gematria of 42. She is considered the mother of 600,000 souls, suggesting the name is related to creation.[412] The gematria for mother - ama is also 42. Other Kabbalists believed the name was composed from the first 42 letters of the Bible with each portion bearing the "magical potency" of the entirety.[413]

The 42 Letter Name is the force behind the mitzvah for a man to marry and have children.

And Isaiah ... came to him and said unto him:
'Thou shalt die, and not live'
(Kings 2 20:1)

"Thou shalt die" in this world "and not live" in the world-to-come.
When Hezekiah asked him, "Why is the punishment so severe?" Isaiah replied,
"Because you did not try to have children." Hezekiah replied,
"because it was shown to me by the holy spirit that children issuing from me
will not be worthy." Isaiah replied,
"What have you to do with the secrets of the Holy One?
What you have been commanded, you should have done,
and let G-d do what He pleases."
(Ber 10a. - Book of Legends 632:196)

Rabbi Nachman of Breslov taught that the secret of the 42-letter name is revealed in Nachman's fifth story, "The King Who Could Not Have Children, the Queen, the Daughter, and the Prince of Gems."[414] In this story, the King asks the Jews of his kingdom to pray on his behalf that he may have a child. The Jews reply to the King that he will need the prayer of a Tzaddik to accomplish this. They find a tzaddik who the king speaks to and the tzaddik agrees to pray on the kings behalf for the sake of the Jews in the Kingdom...

Table 38: The 42 Letter Name in the Counting of the Omer

Day	Counting of the Sefirot	Corresponding letter of the 42	Alternate Letter	Meaning (anyone who can fill in the blanks should contact me!)
1	Hesed in Hesed	a		
2	Gevurah in Hesed	b		
3	Tiferet in Hesed	g		
4	Netzah in Hesed	y		
5	Hod in Hesed	t		
6	Yesod in Hesed	x		

7	Malchuts in Hesed	xty gba		The energy of each of the six days is received by Malchuts.
8	Hesed in Gevurah	q		
9	Gevurah in Gevurah	r		
10	Tiferet in Gevurah	u		
11	Netzah in Gevurah	c		
12	Hod in Gevurah	f		
13	Yesod in Gevurah	}		
14	Malchut in Gevurah	}fc urq		
15	Hesed in Tiferet	n		
16	Gevurah in Tiferet	g		
17	Tiferet in Tiferet	d		
18	Netzah in Tiferet	y		
19	Hod in Tiferet	k		
20	Yesod in Tiferet	c		
21	Malchut in Tiferet	cky dgn		
22	Hesed in Netzah	k		
23	gevurah in netzah	f		
24	Tiferet in Netzah	r		
25	Netzah in Netzah	x		
26	Hod in Netzah	t		
27	Yesod in Netzah	g		
28	Malchut in Netzah	gtx rfk		
29	Hesed in Hod	j		
30	Gevurah in Hod	q		
31	Tiferet in Hod	d		
32	Netzah in Hod	f		
33	Hod in Hod	n		
34	Yesod in Hod	u		
35	Malchuts in Hod	unf dqj		

36	Hesed in Yesod	y	Friday	
37	Gevurah in Yesod	g		
38	Tiferet in Yesod	l		
39	Netzah in Yesod	p		
40	Hod in Yesod	z		
41	Yesod in Yesod	k		
42	Malchut in Yesod	kzp lgy	Friday	The Shechinah is within the protection of Zer Anpin. She rejoices and He bursts in love in return.
43	Hesed in Malchut	c	Shabbas	
44	Gevurah in Malchut	q		
45	Tiferet in Malchut	w		
46	Netzah in Malchut	x		
47	Hod in Malchut	y		
48	Yesod in Malchut	t		Zer Anpin descends and joins with Nukva, his eternal love.
49	Malchut in Malchut	tyx wqc		In the letters {yq – end, this is the last and highest state.

The name is associated with the 7 days of the week, 6 letters for each day.[415] The letters on each line correspond with the sefirot Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzah, Hod, and Yesod respectively with the whole line corresponding to Malchut.[416] The line for Shabbat is:

tyx wqc

The letter vav is Tiferet in Malchuts. The tzaddik is in the place of Netzah in Malchuts.[417] Each line corresponds to a 1000 years of creation. The last line refers to the last 1000 years of creation. Each 1000 years is also associated with a sefira and the last 1000 years for the age of moshiach that is kingship and Malchuts.

The 42 Letter Name is associated with the 7 days of creation. The ‘workings of creation’ - Ma’aseh Bereshis begins with the letters Mem Bet in Hebrew. The gematria value of Mem Bet - bm is 42. Above I describe a vision of creation associated with the name hw la. The gematria value of this name is also 5+6+30+1 = 42. Since the name begins with Aleph - a, the first Hebrew letter and ends with Tav - t, the last Hebrew letter, we know that all creation is contained within this Name.[418]

The first seven words in Genesis comprise 28 letters.[419] There is a teaching that the first 42 letters of the bible contain the Forty Two Letter Name of G-d: [420]

"You should know a decryption [lit. kabbalah] of this second section in Genesis has been passed down to us, beginning from the verse 'In the beginning...' up to the letter b[beyt; the 42nd letter in Genesis] which contains a name of 42 letters that hints at God's activities before the creation--but only by means of 'many permutations.'
Bachya was referring to a little-known observation made two centuries earlier by another sage, Rabbenu Tam (and even earlier by one Nechunya ben HaKanah, discussed below). Tam had observed that encoded into the opening passages of Genesis was a 42-letter name of God. But more than that, Bachya claimed, there lay within its compass the necessary information for calculating the unfolding of the "days and seasons," starting with the moment of the creation of the sun and moon and ever after, according to the ancient tradition that "...the luminaries were created on the fourth day, and by them we count the years of the world." Tam did not commit the details of this calculation to writing, however.
Two centuries later, Rabbenu Bachya did so, by describing in one of his books what he called "the date which is the true starting point of all calculations of the astronomers" (hence the date to be used for "prophetic" calculations as well.) He explained:
"...if the eyes of your heart will be illumined, you will find this date encoded in the text, such that between each of its numbers lies as well 42 letters. The wise will understand that this is not by chance, but a clear sign involving the very birth of the world."

Table 39: The 42 Letter Name and First 42 letters of Genesis

Forty-two Letter Name	Bereshis
xty gba	tyc arb
}fc urq	hla arb
cky dgn	cht a\y
gtx rfk	taw \ym
unf dqj	hw{ rah
kzp lgy	tyh {ra
tyx wqc	bww hth

There are 42 places where Israel camped on their journey from Egypt to Israel. These rest stops represent a ladder of cleansing within the context of the 42 Letter Name of G-d. There are 42 days between the end of Passover and Shavuot.

Some consider that the name derives from the initial letters of Nehunia ben Hakanah's "Anah B'Coach" sung before L'chai Dodi. The Hai Gaon says that each of the individual six letter names is significant in its own right. The fifth has the gematria 241 equating to the angel Gzrel.[421] "Speaking this Name in its entirety counteracts an evil decree issued against one in Heaven."[422]

The 42 Letter Name begins with Av - ba – Father, associating with the sefira of Hochmah and Partzuf Abba. Rav in Tractate Kiddushin, 71a had the following comments on the 42 Letter Name:

That this Name is to be revealed only to a man who stands in the middle of his life, who is pious and modest, who never gives way to anger and to drink, who is not obstinate. Whoever knows that Name and preserves it in purity is beloved in heaven and beloved upon earth; is well considered by man and inherits both worlds.[423]

4. The 72 Letter Name

Urbach in "The Sages" describes a papyrus, which portrayed the Divine name in a triangular structure.[424] At the base were 12 positions for the 12 Letter Name, and then 42 positions for the 42 Letter Name and then the full 72 positions ending at top. Adjusting the rows one can see the pyramid structure.

Table 40: The 72 Letter Name Papyrus Structure

				69	70		71	**72**				
				64	65	66	67	68				
			58	59	60		61	62	63			
			51	52	53	54	55	56	57			
		43	44	45	46		47	48	49	50		
		34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	**42**		
	24	25	26	27	28		29	30	31	32	33	
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10	11	**12**

Three transcriptions of the Tetragrammaton make up the bottom row, while the Forty Two Letter Name makes up the bottom four rows and the whole structure, the Seventy Two Letter Name. The top row is the Tetragrammaton. Because the 12 Letter Name is not a subset of the Forty Two Letter Name, the papyrus does not explain the origin of the specific letters of these names. Since the papyrus was written in Greek, the structure represents the influence of Greek thought on Jewish mysticism.

The Song of Moses, Az Yshir Moshe, consists of eighteen repetitions of the Tetragrammaton, the hywh \c.[425] In Midrash Raba Genesis 15:14, G-d promised Moshe that he would save his descendants from Egypt with this name. Hence, this song sung after the victory at the Reed Sea alludes to the Name.

5. The 216 Letter Name

This name is made up of the composition of three versus of 72 letters each in Exodus. The Shaarey Orah brings down that these verses can also be composed into 54 names of 4 letters each. This would correspond to the gematria of Dalet Nun - nd, the center 2 letters in the name Adonai - ynda. The first letter of this name is Aleph corresponding to the name Ehyeh that begins with an Aleph as well. The last letter is a Yod, which begins the name of the Tetragrammaton. Adonai is associated with the sefira Malchuts. Malchuts is an entry point for prayer to the heavens.

6. Without Name

Ultimately Hashem is beyond all names or without Name. The Or HaMaor in Shoftim recognized:

Everything originates with G-d; therefore, He even gives existence to the four letters...
Even though we make use of the Tetragrammaton (YHVH) and speak of it as G-d's "proper name," it is only meant to be "for the world" so that people would be able to call Him by some name and thus bring His providence to bear upon them. G-d is actually above all names. I later heard this had been said in the name of the Baal Shem Tov.[426]

Rabbi Zev Wolf of Zitamer

All names are but part of His creation as well as the attributes that we have ascribed to Him even the Sefirot.[427]

Song Hopes of Tomorrow:
You can dream, you can dream of life's greatest things, and these are the hopes of tomorrow.
To see the point lights in the midst of the night is to glimpse the truth of the morrow.
To travel this world, on roads just unfurled is to live our hope of the morrow.
To see the beauty of the one that you love is good for the soul and brings grace to this world and hope in

the future of our lives, so take someone and make h/er/im your life, have children or travel the world.
Learn the Torah, reveal the sweet words of life, practicing them is even sweeter.
In all this great world, with his glory unveiled, is to bask in the thoughts of tomorrow.

D. Sidhartha

Trees bow down, animals serving; these are the symbols of this time.

"If you tighten the string to tight it will snap; if you leave it to loose it will not play."
(Sidhartha's awakening from asceticism.)

XXIII. Glossary

Keter rtk Crown or highest sefira. Place of G-d's Will - }wxr - ratzon.
Hochmah hmkj Wisdom the second sefira. The singular purpose of creation.
Binah hnyb Understanding
Tzelem The image of the primordial man, Adam Kadmon. The image of G-d or the ideal man.
Guarding the Covenant Keeping continuous laws of the covenant like keeping kosher and speaking pleasantly.
Mitzvah Commandment
Mishkan The Tabernacle consisted of tent walls in a large rectangle.

1.

XXIV. Bibliography

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The Word - Mozeson
The World of Prayer

Meditation and the Bible
Meditation and Kabbalah
Inner Space
Sefer Yetzirah
Nachman's Short Stories
Jewish Meditation
Growth Through Torah

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[1] Soncino Talmud, Mas. T'mura 16a
[2] Soncino Talmud note: Through the holy spirit, that these forgotten laws should be taught anew (R. Gershom).
[3] Ibid: Deut. XXX, 12. The whole Torah has already been given.
[4] Ibid: Num. XXXVI, 13
[5] Form at the level of Yetzirah as opposed to create at the level of Beriyah.
[6] The finite Universe is now ever expanding from the Big Bang into eventual desolate space.
[7] Written Torah composed of the Five Books of Moses, the Prophets, and Writings
[8] Dialectic - Proposed Answer (thesis), follow up questions and analysis (antithesis), solution (synthesis). Suggestion, questioning, and answering approach found throughout the Talmud in halachic derivation.
[9] Hermeneutical - Explanatory, expository, interpretive, illustrative. Midrash. "Gadamer argues that a historian's own situation plays a role in determining the content of his interpretation of a historical event, i.e., a historian's own "prejudices" constitute necessary conditions for historical understanding."
[10] Yacov Neuman, Salt Lake City, Utah, (801) 581-9269. Yacov holds that there is only truth when there is doubt. Every great theory holds a counter theory. see Britannica Talmud and Midrash Article
[11] Soncino Talmud, Mas. T'mura 16a
[12] Pilpul in the Aramaic, a type of reasoning by example
[13] Soncino Talmud - Mas. Baba Metzia 59a-59b
[14] This word in Aramaic, whwkrbw, means they excommunicated him.
[15] Soncino Talmud note: I.e., commit a great wrong by informing him tactlessly and brutally.
[16] Soncino Talmud note: The Nasi and the prime mover in the ban against R. Eliezer.
[17] Soncino Talmud note: Ima Shalom feared that her husband might pour out his grief and feeling of injury in these prayers, and that God, listening to them, would punish R. Gamaliel, her brother.
[18] Berachot 28A
[19] Isaiah 30:7 and 45:20.

[20] Berachot 28B

[21] see Compound Number 18, Amidah

[22] Soncino Talmud note: So Rashi in Hor. 13a. Jast.: because his original character is bad — into which evil treatment might cause him to relapse.

[23] In those cases where they differ

[24] The motto of the Las Vegas Jewish News

[25] see 72 Letter Name

[26] Soncino Talmud note: Scripture and its complementary Oral Instruction, with special reference to the latter.

[27] Ibid: 'Joshua received from Moses'. The transmission and reception were done orally. All evidence goes to show that there was a continuous succession of 'schools' headed by the Elders, prophets and scribes of their respective generations, which maintained and developed the theoretical study and practical application of the Torah. For a full examination of the terms Mussar (transmitted) and Kabbalah (received) v. Bacher, Tradition und Tradenten, p. 1.

[28] Ibid: The Elders that outlived Joshua, Judges II, 7. 'Elders' in this Mishnah includes the Judges.

[29] Ibid: Kenesseth hagedolah: A body of 120 men founded by the leaders of the Jews who returned from the Babylonian captivity.

[30] Ibid: Whereby reverence for, the knowledge of, and the inviolability of the Torah might be secured (cf. Rashi).

[31] Ibid: The Torah is conceived as a garden and its precepts as precious plants. Such a garden is fenced round for the purpose of obviating wilful or even unintended damage. Likewise, the precepts of the Torah were to be 'fenced' round with additional inhibitions that should have the effect of preserving the original commandments from trespass.

[32] Midrash Rabbah Genesis I, Soncino, Ch. 1:10, page 9. Had it begun with an aleph, this is the first letter of the word cursed – arur - rwra.

[33] Sefer Yetzirah 3:2

[34] Raavad, Ramban, Etz Chayim Shaar Tanta 7 quoted in Kaplan Sefer Yetzirah page. 366.

[35] Midrash Rabbah Genesis, page 90.

[36] Gates of Light, Joseph Gikatilla, chapter "The Second Gate – The Ninth Sphere," p. 90.

[37] The Hebrew language rests on seven types of verb. They are referred to as a building – }ynb. The verb is also the means of creation. Hashem's tetragrammaton is a verb.

[38] The Knowing Heart, Luzzatto, page 191

[39] Perhaps this was the Gettysburg address.

[40] The lowest soul gives even a decaying body a human form. Without any soul presence there is no form. There is an etzem - bone that remains forever in the grave. From this Hashem will resurrect the soul. Hence, Jews do not believe in cremation. This bone contains an imprint of the soul.

[41] This place is Tohu. The absence of G-d is the definition of evil. While the sefirot initially existed in Tohu as point objects, they were incapable of giving, and they shattered with selfish overfilling energy.

The shattered results were reconstructed into the Partzufim which are identified with Bohu.

[42] see Jewish Mysticism— An Anthology pp. 152-153

[43] Keter

[44] This Shabbas is Parsha Bereshis, 10/10/1996 and I ran across a teaching on the 231 gates which preceded the creation of the world. Two of the gates hw la are particularly key to the process. The name El is associated with G-d's creative power. There are 231 - alr cy is from the name Israel and refers to the 231 gates of creation described in Sefer Yetzirah, Kaplan trans., Weiser press, page 117. 231 is the number of combinations of 22 letters taken two at a time which is (22*21)/ 2 = 21*11 = 231. Kabbalists interpret the 231 gates as the forms remaining in the vacated space preceding creation. see Emek HaMelekh 6a, Limudey Atzilut (Munkatch, 1897), 3a, 22a.

[45] The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Ktav, 1973, pp. 126-7. Metatron from mattara means service, post, watch, guard. Eleazar of Worms interprets Metatron from metator - rwfyfm, meaning leader from Gen. Rabbah v.4: "He, was made a metator for the waters,...for He is the Prince of the World." Ron - }wr means to utter praise to the Holy One.

[46] Merkabah Literature Books of Enoch I Enoch II Enoch III Enoch, Work of the Chariot, trans., page 7.

[47] Work of the Chariot Footnote 12: "In the text, the high angels protest that an impure human soul has been given access to the World of Emanation, where they cannot enter. This underscores that, unlike the Way of the Angels of *Elohi*m, extreme purity is not required to ascend the Central Column."

[48] Work of the Chariot Footnote 14: "This verse reflects the teaching in Qabalah (shared by Sufism and the Tantras) that the universe and everything in it is literally created from the letters of the alphabet as vibrational differentiations of the Alef of Unity." see Primordial Aleph XI.B

[49] Based on Am Echad Bereshis chumash class at 6:30 PM and Beth Shalom meditation after Mincha. Discussed the complexities of reconciling science's idea of creation with the Torah.

[50] Sha'are Orah, Yosef Gikatalia, page 200.

[51] Starting from first letter of first sentence, last letter of second sentence, and first letter of third sentence.

[52] David felt similarly and when he discovered that it was his son Adonijah was rising up against him. Berachos 7b comments that Adonijah did not want to kill his father.

[53] 3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Odeberg, page 160. The princes appointed over the camps of Shechinah are Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael.

[54] The Book of Enoch the Prophet, Enoch 1, Lawrence, 1892, Ch. 40, page 45. "After this I besought the angel of peace, who proceeded with me, to explain all that was concealed. I said to him, Who are those whom I have seen on the four sides, and whose words I have heard and written down? He replied, The first is the merciful, the patient, the holy Michael. The second is he who presides over every suffering and every affliction of the sons of men, the holy Raphael. The third, who presides over all that is powerful, is Gabriel. And the fourth, who presides over repentance, and the hope of those who will inherit eternal life, is Phanuel. These are the four angels of the most high God, and their four voices, which at that time I heard."

[55] Love thy Neighbor, Pliskin.

[56] Michael Walton, Salt Lake City, Utah.
[57] Mem from mayim – water is the right pillar. Shin from aish – fire is the left pillar of the Tree of Life.
[58] â as in "ah", ä as in "heh"
[59] Bahir.
[60] Rabbi Finkelman of Berkeley's Beth Israel suggested this meaning.
[61] An abbreviation for a phrase.
[62] The Taryag Mitzvos on the Shema.
[63] The Way of G-d, Luzatto, Aryeh Kaplan trans. P. 277.
[64] Ibid. p. 277.
[65] The souls of people wait in Beriyah to be born.
[66] Encyclopedia of Torah Thoughts, Rabbeinu Bachya, The Challenge of Wealth, page 486.
[67] A Call to the Infinite, Aryeh Kaplan, pp.146-147.
[68] Rabbi Goldberg, Ahavas Torah, June 3, 2001, San Jose, CA.
[69] Bernice Levy of the Matan Biblical Institute in Jerusalem spoke on this subject at Am Echad on June 15th, 1999. She said that there are three places in Israel specifically mentioned in the Torah as purchased by our ancestors: Schem, Arahat Hamechpalah in Hevron, and Jerusalem. She remembered feeling safe walking in all three of these places twenty years ago, but today she feels she can can only visit Schem and Hevron in armored vehicles and similarly in east Jerusalem.
[70] Rabbi Raphael Lapin spoke on this subject at his weekly shir after Shabbas services, July 13th 1996.
[71] See character traits, anger
[72] A Call to the Infinite, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 60.
[73] Rabbi Raphael Lapin, Congregation Am Echad, San Jose, California, 1998.
[74] **a-** fâr, fäte; **i-** jovîal; **o-** nöte
[75] see Table: Sevens
[76] Genesis 2.
[77] Genesis 3.
[78] The influences of the sefirot of Gevurah-judgment-north and Hesed-kindness-south are here.
[79] This is the mitzvah - commandment of Bikur Holim - visiting the sick. We are obliged to perform this positive commandment.
[80] Isaiah 61:10
[81] Likutey Moharan IV, Rabbi Nachman, page 123.
[82] Kad Hakemach by Rabbeinu Bachya Ben Asher, trans. Encyclopedia of Torah Thoughts, Chavel, page 200.
[83] Job 33:18-24.
[84] Job 33:25
[85] Job 33:28
[86] Job 33:29
[87] Encyclopedia of Torah Thoughts, Rabbeinu Bachya, page 201.

[88] Job 38:1
[89] see Hosea 6:1-3
[90] Fifteen alludes to the name of G-d, Yah – hy, G-d of Creation and the 15 songs of praise of the Psukei D'zimra as well as the Yishtabach.
[91] Strive for Truth: Giving and Taking, Rabbi Eliyahu Dessler, Part 1, page 131.
[92] Ibid. pp 132-133.
[93] Ibid. page 133.
[94] Judaism is a communal and family oriented religion. A single Jewish person who is alone should follow this axiom always since s/he does not have the support of a group for encouragement.
[95] Midrash Rabbah Genesis, Ch. 33. Noach .
[96] Mishnah Avot, Pinchas Kehati, Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora, Jerusalem, Page 130.
[97] For forming realities from truth, World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, pp. 54-56
[98] Berachot 28B
[99] Path of the Just, Shraga Silverstein translation.
[100] Encyclopedia of Judaism, Rabbeinu Bachaya, page 274.
[101] Meditation and the Bible, Aryeh Kaplan, page 30.
[102] Torah mystical study is a means to glimpse this light while still in this world.
[103] Psalm 73:28.
[104] Psalm 27:4.
[105] In this area divination is particularly useful for getting true feedback on one's behavior.
[106] Psalm 34:15.
[107] Pesach 4a.
[108] Proverbs 6:10.
[109] Ta'an 11a
[110] M'silat Ysharim, ch. 13.
[111] Perkei Avot 6:6, Quoted in M'silat Ysharim 19.
[112] Ibid 2.12.
[113] Yoma 86a
[114] M'silat Ysharim 22, Mordecai Kaplan trans. page 129.
[115] Ibid
[116] These numbers being according to the mental age in life.
[117] The Knowing Heart, Moshe Chayim Luzzatto, trans. Shraga Silverstein, pp. 199-201.
[118] Similar to the Hegelian Dialectic, see http://www.bartleby.com/65/he/Hegel-Ge.html.
[119] Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, Rabbi Nathan of Nemirov, trans. and annotated Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, edited by Rabbi Zvi Aryeh Rosenfeld, Breslov Research Institute, 1973, preface.
[120] In Kotels one often finds students suffering from depression. Halachic material in the Talmud intrinsically may have little that is spiritually inspiring and the legal argument methods day after day in

these subjects may cause depression. Rabbi Gedahlia Meir, a talmud hocham residing in Tel Stone and who I studied Talmud with in San Jose in 1998 acknowledged that this could be the case.

[121] Perkei Avos 6:6.

[122] Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, page 173, saying 65.

[123] Zohar 1:14b

[124] Ibid. 3:227b.

[125] Likutey Moharan #4:3,4 page 123.

[126] Ezekiel.

[127] Likutey Moharan #4 note 1, page 115.

[128] Likutey Moharan #4 note 38, page 129 states:
That is: When my bones say their confession...then Malkhut is rectified. The commentaries point out that atzmtay ("mybones") can also be understood as "my self," referring to one's aetzem (essence). "All my bones" thus implies all of a person's inner thoughts and deeds (radak, loc. Cit.).

[129] Likutey Moharan #4:5, page 129.

[130] Ka R. 3:1. The Book of Legends Page 345.

[131] B. Yev 102b.

[132] Nati Elon lives in Caesaria, Israel. I see within him the spark of moshiach.

[133] The Palm Tree of Devorah – Tomer Devorah, Moshe Cordovero, trans. Rabbi Moshe Miller, Targum Press, page 48.

[134] The Palm Tree of Devorah, Moshe Cordovero, Targum Press, Chapter 4, page 78.

[135] Ibid, page 118.

[136] Ibid, pp. 78-82.

[137] The Palm Tree of Devorah, Moshe Cordovero, Targum Press, Chapter 5, page 84.

[138] Ibid, page 86.

[139] Tikkunim.

[140] IMHO this applies to a man before marriage. Hazal teach that one should remove himself to a place of Torah learning. This is to teach to travel to live where there are more Jews involved in Torah.

[141] Gates of Repentance, Rabbeinu Yonah of Gerona, Feldheim, page 39.

[142] Genesis describes G-d walking in the Garden. Song of songs describes G-d as a young husband. Shiur Komah describes G-d in mystical terms like the Zohar.

[143] The Kabbalah Unveiled, The Book of Concealed Mystery, pages 67-69.

[144] In fact I am writing this text on Rosh Hodesh Adar Sheni which is also the Hebrew day of my birth.

[145] The Kabbalah Unveiled, The Idra Rabba Kaddisha, the Great Sanctified Idra, page 134.

[146] Ibid. page 69.

[147] The Palm Tree of Devorah, Chapter 1.

[148] Art Scroll Siddur, page 771.

[149] A body containing fish.

[150] The horn is the shofar calling our soul back to Hashem in the trembling that proceeds a complete

tshuvah or return. The beast is the yetzer hara or evil inclination which is separated from our soul and slain by Hashem.

[151] Sept. 6, 1996. At a visit to a diner, I noticed a homeless person who had come in off the street and was sitting at the counter near me. He ordered a hamburger making sure the waitress understood that he did not want any condiments. When he received his bill, I saw him check the price right away. As I was leaving I debated offering him money to pay for his lunch considering that he might be embarrassed. Then I placed myself in his position. Some rabbis would travel incognito as beggars to understand the plight of others better. I recalled my backpack trips through Europe where I would stop at a diner for rest as well as food. I paid the man's lunch and he was grateful.

[152] Lessons from our Teeth, Moshe Goldberger, Staten Island, NY, quoting Rav Avigdor Miller, p. 26.

[153] Sparks of Mussar, page 153.

[154] Kindness.

[155] Likutey Moharan, Volume IV, #31:1, page 331. Rabbi Nachman teaches that these blessings complete to seven for the seven planets and twelve for the twelve constellations when the reward of observing the Shabbas is added to both which overcomes them and hence charity saves from death. For example, Abraham's mazel was changed through charity so that he was permitted to have children.

[156] Rabbi Zvi Aryeh Rosenfeld, quoted in Likutey Moharan, Vol. IV, #31:2, note 15, page 333.

[157] Growth Through Torah, Pliskin, Portion Reah, subject Joy.

[158] Email 9/11/2001, not sure of the original source.

[159] Genesis 49:7 as brought forth by Rabbi Mordechai Katz, Joshua, page 157.

[160] Rashi, Parshas Vayechi as brought forth by Rabbi Mordechai Katz, Joshua, page 158.

[161] It's all a GIFT, Miriam Adahan.

[162] Pliskin. Eliahu Lopin discusses this in Lev Eliahu as well.

[163] Orchos Tzaddikim, pages 246-247.

[164] Paraphrased from Rabbi Doctor Joseph H. Gelberman, Kabbalah Instruction, San Francisco Yoga Center, 5/28/1997.

[165] M'silat Yesharim, Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto, translated by Mordechai Kaplan trans. Page 87.

[166] M'silat Yesharim, Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto, Chapter 11, Mordechai Kaplan trans. Page 113.

[167] Korah who was a Levite already had the privilege of ministering in all of G-d's services.

[168] See index entry 'image of G-d' for cross references.

[169] Day of Atonement, Hebrew Publishing Company, page 93.

[170] Chofetz Chaim, Guard Your Tongue, Ch. 6:9 - Calming down the speaker, page 87.

[171] The Jewish Marriage, Rabbi Tsvi Dov Travis, page 206.

[172] Likutey Moharan Vol. IV # 29:1,2 pp. 203-205

[173] Ibid

[174] Ibid

[175] Gems of Rabbi Nachman, Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, pages 66- 68.

[176] Ibid

[177] Likutey Moharan #148, Rabbi Nachman of Breslov, Volume 10, page 215.
[178] A Passion For Truth, Abraham Joshua Heschel.
[179] Orchos Tzaddikim, Feldheim, page 453.
[180] Shabbas 127b
[181] Vayikra 19:15
[182] David Lewis quoting Mannis Friedman, April 28, 2001
[183] Rabbi Isaac of Acco, Meir Eynayim – Light of the Eyes, Meditation and Kabbalah, page 143.
[184] Claudette Howerton made this suggestion August 8th, 1999 to the group on behalf of Lee while not inferring it be for any particular person. This was at Ira's yearly summer get together in the San Jose foothills at 4111 Higuerra.
[185] Sefer Yetzirah 5:4.
[186] Sefer Yetzirah 5:10.
[187] See The Palm Tree of Devorah
[188] This is the force of the Kelipot. Before any significant spiritual experience, there is a battle or test to be overcome.
[189] The Book of Our Heritage, Eliyahu Kitov, Book 1, pp 63-64.
[190] Sha'are Orah, Gates of Light. Harper Collins. Page 189.
[191] ibid. Page 263.
[192] Berachos 4b.
[193] The mirrors represent the reflection of the souls in each other since they were all of the same source root.
[194] Likutey Moharan 17:5 vol. 3, page 45 also Footnote 80. Giving charity to root souls encompasses other souls.
[195] The Book of Our Heritage, Feldheim Publishers, page 327.
[196] Berachos 6b.
[197] The 39 Avoth Melacha of Shabbath.
[198] **a-** fâr, fäte; **i-** jovîal; **o-** nöte
[199] Me'am Loez. Genesis. Page 70.
[200] The month of Heshvan ~ November has the sign of Akrav which is the Scorpio. The similarity of spelling with Arak signifies that scorpions are often found in the barren desert.
[201] On helping Orchids to flower, April 19, 1997
[202] BCI is a program offered by the Brandeis Bardin Institute. The program is aimed at college youth from the ages of 18-25 and consists of a 1 month intensive Jewish learning experience.
[203] see The Psalms of David by James Freemantle, William Morrow Press. This most beautiful work was published by the son of .... spent mostly of his life working on the calligraphy and illustrations in this work which was dedicated in love to whose wife.
[204] Bahir 95, 119
[205] Linda Goodman's Star Signs, Linda Goodman, St. Martin's Press pp. 65-80.

[206] Berachos 8a.
[207] Berachos 8a, towards bottom - “Amar lai rabbah.”
[208] The World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, page 36.
[209] Ibid, page 121. Berachot 28b mentions the correspondence of 18 names of G-d in the listed prayers but does not mention that they multiply to 72 letters. Munk quotes Bereshis Raba 15:14 and Ramban on Exodus 6:3 to make this point on page 85.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Free – Sept. 4, 2000
[212] Bringing Rain – Feb 18, 1996, having the astrological sign of Pisces is like water calling for rain
[213] The Tallis is a prayer shawl warn in the mornings having strings called Tzitzit descending in the four corners. This also symbolizes the higher Tallis in the heavens but more importantly the presence of Hashem surrounding our lives.
[214] Sefer Yetzirah 6:1, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Page 231.
[215] Ibid. page 233.
[216] Jan 3, 1997
[217] Watching the stars at night eliminates eye strain headaches.
[218] The Holy Kabbalah, A. E. Waite, quoting Eliphas Levi p. 555. In general Waite discredits the ideas of Levi as being without fact and of imagination not inspiration.
[219] Ibid p. 556.
[220] Fool card which has number 0 but has been placed incorrectly in correspondence with the letter Aleph.
[221] see Linda Goodman’s Star Signs
[222] Compare this with the Hierophant whose operating location is a sanctuary, a temple.
[223] The upper and lower gardens of Eden.
[224] Compare this with the Hierophant whose operating location is a sanctuary, a temple.
[225] Rabbi Goldberg, Ahavas Torah, June 3, 2001, San Jose, CA.
[226] Me’am Lo’ez, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Page 2.
[227] Berachos 2a, CD-Daf, audio commentary Rav Fishel Schachter.
[228] See Balak
[229] Interestingly, today as I am writing this–7/9/96, I saw in Border’s Books a book called, “The Empty Chair” excerpts from Rabbi Nachman of Breslov. I opened the book to a teaching which said, “One must make every effort to be joyful in life, even if one has to do something silly.” Other quotes dealt with the destructive force that comes with depression, has v’shalom. This dream also parallels Reb Nachman’s story of the 7 Beggars who were great healers. The greatest of the beggars was the one who healed by dancing but had no legs. The story concludes by Reb Nachman stating that the secret of this beggar’s healing would only be revealed in the time of Moshiach.)
[230] Brandeis Camp Institute is a summer program for college age students from 18-25 in Simi Valley which is north of LA. The program was run by Dennis Prager when I attended in August 1980.

[231] See Stephen Leberge's books for proven methods for experiencing these dreams.

[232] This was Mike Liveright who in some ways has been a mentor in my life. Visions in dreams are more susceptible to image metamorphosis. see Ovid's Metamorphosis.

[233] In hypnosis we count down to deepen the state of a trance. The same technique deepens a lucid dream. Similarly, Stephen Leberg wrote about spinning out or disorienting oneself as a technique for maintaining a lucid dream.

[234] Magen David.

[235] A foot in length.

[236] The Focus is a meditative symbol for transforming reality. For example, on the day this was contemplated an Earthquake occurred at 10:15 AM in San Jose, California. A prophet's staff is a similar symbol. All staffs from a living tree are ultimately from the Tree of Life the source of all trees.

[237] From the sefira of Yesod.

[238] This is similar to the vision of the angel in Binah where I gave her a Heh that I had found in a river at the beginning of the journey. See Merkavah

[239] A Pisces should visit these types of places regularly or live there.

[240] Excuse the nationalistic message. In a conversation with the Arch-Bishop of Prague the Maharal records the Arch-Bishop saying, "You Jews claim that you are a good nation. Observably you seem to have a pension for trouble or evil. It is not that we accuse you of being evil to those outside your own tribe. It is not that we are accusing you of . You Jews are really bad. Not because you treat us badly or other nations; this we could understand, we don't like you, you don't like us; no because you are not good for each other. All of these teachings, you shall love the ne neighbor as yourself stuff and then the harm you inflict upon your neighbor. I submit that you treat your neighbor worse than we treat our neighbor. You guys don't hang together. The harms you guys can afflict on each other. I submit that you treat each other worse than we treat each other." The Maharal had three answers. Jews are at each others throats because galut (exile) is unnatural. Galut is divisiness between the Jewish people. The Arch bishop said that your wrong. It goes back to Yosef and your brothers. You have it in your bones." The Maharal said, "You have a prima-facea case. Yet, the source of this is not the impoversished state of the Jewish people. It is the nobility of the Jewish people gone awry. This nation by its nature tends to importance to the nobility of the soul more than other people. Hakodesh Baruch hu has elevated us above other nations but our sins have gotten in the way. The creation of the Jewish people dictated that the Jewish people have different yearnings. You can see that when we are up against the wall we come back to being one people. Jews are people into meaning, ideas. If we are on the right track we're into Torah, if not other ideas. The Galut is infighting and divisiveness. When we are an Am, a people, we are drawn back to our nation."
http://www.613.org/jsi/zion23-adlerstein-maharal.ram "Maharral, Israel, Exile, and Redemption" by Rabbi Adlerstein at Beth Jacob for the Jewish Studies Institute of the Yeshiva of Los Angeles on Jan. 13, 1998 taped by Dovid Silverstein.

[241] Raziel keeps the secrets of soul mates. He also knows the quality of different locations match each soul. He does not give these answers freely, but one must merge and become the angel to obtain the

knowledge. Ironically, most often one will find that these answers will agree with what we each already know deep down in our soul.

[242] This meditation was led by Ira Brandell at Beth Shalom at the end of the 2nd day of Passover.

[243] G-d refers to Israel with this fond name which takes us back to the time when Joshua by the hand of G-d led us into Israel and we served G-d completely and wholeheartedly. The generation that entered Israel was like a new born child, innocent of the idolatrous ways of other peoples.

[244] Likutey Moharan I:65 quoted in Garden of the Souls, page 37.

[245] Praying an individual manner, often accompanied by standing and shifting one's weight side to side or forward and back. The movement is like the waves of a flag which catch the eye of Hashem to our needs.

[246] Stan Sussman leads the Minyan's Rashi shir each Saturday morning at 9 AM.

[247] Maimonides Principle 10: "I believe with complete faith in the coming of Messiah."

[248] G-d communicates with us through angels, i.e. the angel of the Burning Bush.

[249] Metatron is from Hanoch; Sandalfon is the angelic Elijah.

[250] Meditation and Kabbalah trans. Gates of Light, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 130.

[251] Ibid. page 128.

[252] See "I saw Heaven" by LDS publishing. LDS maintains a strong believe in prophecy even to this day. The person who wrote this work had a guide which showed him a heavenly city which looked like SLC.

[253] See Daniel 9:7-14, See Zohar river of fire descending from beard

[254] Berakhot 61b; Tikkuney Zohar, Addendum 3, p. 140b.

[255] Likutey Moharan, Ch. 19, pp. 185-187.

[256] Sha'are Orah, Gates of Light.

[257] Time is running out. Now is the time to return. The stamps are on the postcards that need to be sent. Concern for money is an obstacle.

[258] Midrash Rabbah Deuteronomy 8:1, Soncino addition, pp. 147-148.

[259] World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, page 129.

[260] Jewish Bulletin, "Women seeking basherit? Prayer, mitzvoth might help", 6/28/1996 issue.

[261] Me'am Lo'ez, page 107.

[262] A Call to the Infinite, Aryeh Kaplan, pp. 65-66.

[263] The Amidah is the quintessential prayer and is referred to as Tefillah.

[264] Berachos 4b.

[265] Likutey Moharan #36:3, Vol. 5, page 153

[266] Ibid, page 155.

[267] Ashrei, Moshe Goldberger et. al., Staten Island Yeshiva, page 4.

[268] Likutey Moharan #216, Vol. 11, page 101

[269] Spies, heretics, or atheists during the time of Rabbi Nachman

[270] Bahir 157 Aryeh Kaplan commentary, p. 176

[271] Bahir
[272] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 2.
[273] Likutey Moharan #31:14 Vol. IV, page. 387 quoted from the Zohar I, 85b.
[274] Ibid. page 391.
[275] A Call to the Infinite, Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, page 76.
[276] Ibid. Aryeh Kaplan quotes this from Eliahu Rabbah 132:3, Beer Hetiv 132:3.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid. pp. 77-78.
[279] Revealed with the name Adonay Tzavaot, the name of G-d associated with the sefira of Netzah. Netzah is the higher source for prophecy and revelation in this world. Moses, our teacher, epitomized the midos of Netzah.
[280] Siddur Avodat Israel, English Translation, Sinai publishing
[281] Strategic Self Hypnosis, Roger A. Straus, Second edition, 1988
[282] Ibid. pp. 3-6
[283] Ibid. pp. 42-48.
[284] Ibid. pp. 65-68.
[285] Creative Self-hypnosis, Roger A. Straus, First edition, 1989, page 32
[286] Strategic Self Hypnosis, Roger A. Straus, Second edition, 1989, pp. 197-198
[287] Ibid. page 200.
[288] Winning Tennis, Scott Perlstein, pp. 74-79
[289] Ugly Tennis.
[290] Props in a vision help in movement. Here a garment aids the visionary in ascent.
[291] Man was created in the “image (tzelem) of G-d”. The sefirot are equated with this image and manifest themselves from the attributes of Hashem into the image of man.
[292] Similar to stories of Ovid.
[293] Eloah Beriyahot – G-d of Creation, is found in Parsha Vayigash.
[294] Sefer Yetzirah 1:1, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Weiser, page 5.
[295] Handbook of Jewish Thought II, Aryeh Kaplan, Mozanim, page 334.
[296] Mathers translation.
[297] The 6th hour is from midnight and corresponds to the 1st hour of daylight. The ruling planet of the first hour of the day dominates the influence of the day.
[298] The Sevens of Creation has associations from a different tradition. The metal and color here are from the Key of Solomon.
[299] Sefer Yetzirah. Page 96.
[300] Kol Emet meditation group, Palo Alto, CA.
[301] There is a tradition that Pinchas did not die and became Elijah who also never died. G-d took Elijah directly into heaven in a fiery chariot. Each Pesach - Passover, we leave a cup of Elijah out with the expectation that he may come and visit us soon with the dawn of a new age.

[302] Halacha or law literally means walking. Judaism equates keeping the commands with the way one walks in life.
[303] There is a Midrash that Isaac went out in the field to pray amongst the grasses. As the grasses wave in the wind so does Jew wave when he prays to G-d. The grasses prayed with Isaac and received Rebecca his wife.
[304] G-d created Lilith from the dust of the earth at the same time as Adam. Nevertheless Lilith was not a help mate for Adam having a different nature entirely. Eventually she tried to rule over him without G-d between them. There is a teaching that the name of man in Hebrew is ish - cya and that of woman is ishah - hca. As long as G-d is between them they live as husband and wife. Nevertheless, if they remove G-d from the relationship, i.e. the letters from the name of G-d - hy, has vshalom, only fire - ca is left and the relationship consumes itself.
[305] Mido-cnegdo-mido, character trait begets character trait, for Adam's lust.
[306] The text used the reflexive version of kill, implying Cain killed himself as well as Abel.
[307] G-d's primordial thought and creation of first man.
[308] OU article, Jewish Thought Vol. 3 #2 page 62. Ber. Rabah 23:5 on Ber 4:25. Zohar 28b p. 108.
[309] Zohar 28b p. 108.
[310] After Hevel died, Adam avoided relations with his wife for 130 years. At that time Lamech's wives came in mourning to Adam. Lamech had killed Kayin and Tuval Kayin in a hunting accident. Lamech's two wives refused to have relations with their husband because of the murders and fulfillment of the prophecy over Kayin. Adam said that we are commanded to be fruitful and multiply and should not avoid this even because of prophecy. The women retorted, "Before you correct others correct yourself." Therefore he set an example with his wife so that Lamech's wives would not point out that he had given up relations with his wife over the death of Hevel. Seth is born after the death of Cain and Abel and replaces both.
[311] Lilith was very beautiful and Adam was proud of her and took her. This is the source of pride necessary for Kingship. The children of this marriage were demons. A marriage for appearance or wealth alone will not produce good offspring. Nevertheless, Seth had both the goodness of Abel and a touch of pride from Cain. Pride in one's wife is an ingredient for this balance. Women have the same dual choice and this is often the basis of their attraction to the 'wrong man'. In essence a touch of pride elevates goodness into leadership.
[312] Psalm 78:38, Zohar 23b, pp. 96-97.
[313] Ahavath Chesed, page 92. Chazal is a term referring to our sages of blessed memory.
[314] Abraham had not revealed the purpose of Eleazar's mission to Isaac before sending him away.
[315] Pirkey Hekhalot, Jewish Mysticism - An Anthology, Dan Cohn-Sherbok. pp. 72-75.
[316] I have placed them there with the highest heaven leading to the base of the world of creation.
[317] This is from a vision I had where I was placed as a star upon high point to transmit light in Yetzirah.
[318] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Weiser, 1990, page 186.
[319] Me'am Lo'ez, Genesis 6, page 182.
[320] These are mythological creatures.

[321] See Healing Meditations

[322] See Malachi

[323] Sefer Yetzirah The Book of Creation, Aryeh Kaplan trans., page 5.

[324] ibid page 298.

[325] See The Seven Double Letter Paths

[326] Bahir 96. Shaarey Orah Ch. 8.

[327] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 8.

[328] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan, page 166.

[329] Kabbalah Tradition of Hidden Knowledge, Z'ev Ben Shimon Halevi, page 70. The Temple Mount symbolizes the four worlds of creation each with an upper and lower part. This is a minimum and applies to all planes of existence.

[330] I saw my past lives in other Yosefs before me and my future path in life to marriage. I saw Malchah in the place of Binah and myself below her. I saw her spirit sawing upward like a white sparrow shooting up. I realized that it was the freedom or Jubilee of Binah that would set her spirit soaring up to Hashem and she would lift me in this flight of joy. I also saw the publication of this work, Dancing with Angels.

[331] This vision completes the first 72 pages of Dancing with Angels in the original manuscript.

[332] The Gate of Kavannah: Meditation and Kabbalah pp. 119-122, Aryeh Kaplan translator

[333] The violet is the lowest part of Tiferet adjacent to the dark and light pings of Netzah and Hod. Together they are the boundary of RaZ.

[334] Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, pp 121, 181. Transcribed 7/11/96—torah learning, conversation, star watching at night inspire writing in the morning.

[335] In the first few minutes of any hypnotic session, one should remind oneself of one's goal.

[336] Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, pp. 119-122, 326. Jewish Theological Seminary Ms 1822:9 p 43a,b. Quoted in Shaarey Kedushah.

[337] Michael, Gabriel, Uriel.

[338] 3 Enoch – The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Ktav publishing, 1973, page 115. "Metatron is the reprsentative of the Holy One to individual men. 'It was Metatron who showed himself to Moses and to the prophets, for twlyuh tlyu did not show Himself to any man.'"

[339] Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael.

[340] The following ideas came after the meditation and are not significant.

Sunday is emphasized with Hesed by the letter aleph - a which rules air and is the symbol of the first day of the week and the first day of creation.

Monday is emphasized with Gevurah by the letter resh - r which rules peace. This is the inner peace which comes by learning to forgive others which releases anger.

Tuesday is emphasized with Tiferets by the letter dalet - d which rules over seed. Hence Tuesday was twice blessed for the fruitfulness of the world and Tiferets is the place of the Garden of Eden.

Wednesday is emphasized with Netzah by the letter tzaddik - x which rules over righteousness. In this case Moses is the example of this righteous energy

Thursday is emphasized with Hod by the letter nun - n which rules over death.

Friday is emphasized with Yesod by the letter caph - k which rules over life.

[341] This is also the manner in which one ascends and descends the bimah in shul for an aliya. One takes the shortest route when one goes up in order not to delay the service. This is the "running" in the description of Jacob's ladder. One takes the longer route upon returning to one's seat in order to meet more people, exchange more yash hacoahs, and to spread the blessing of Torah to others. This is "returning" in Jacob's ladder.

[342] This was the Torah portion of the week.

[343] Likutey Moharan I:282. Azamra - 'I will sing' pamphlet.

[344] By coincidence I am reentering this lesson on a Monday in Tevet into a word processor.

[345] I was born in the year of the tiger, 1962. The Chinese signs reflect our latent ego. When we manifest the qualities of the sign authentically we move towards our potential.

[346] See Merkavah

[347] The seraph was from the Plane of Fire as I would discover years later.

[348] The shape was a "teenage ninja turtle."

[349] There is never a waiting line here for "the wicked do not repent even at the entrance to Hell." (Eruvin 19a - quoted in Strive for Truth 1, p. 156) Free will is in this world and our opportunity for repentance is here and now.

[350] Zohar Terumah 150b quoted in Strive for Truth, Rabbi Eliyahu Dessler, Part 3, p. 210, "Gehinnom is fired by the fierce heat of the yetzer ha-ra of the wicked."

[351] There is no fire in hell except around the souls who create it. This also means that evil cannot exist in and of itself as a force separate from a divine soul. Likutey Moharan 27:10 volume IV, note 18, page 171 comments on our being forced to sing their songs while we were taken into Babylon, "This is because singing and playing their music separates the good in their song from the evil. Evil has no existence of its own, and survives only by virtue of the good in its midst. Removing the good leaves the enemy without any subsistence and in this way G-d saves us from him."

[352] The idea that Avraham can lift a Jew from Gehenom is found in Kabbalistic sources.

[353] I held a weekly class at the San Jose Chai House on Judaism.

[354] *Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say: 'Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?' But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it. See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy G-d, to walk in His ways, and to keep His commandments and His statutes and His ordinances; then thou shalt live and multiply, and the Lord thy G-d shall bless thee in the land whither thou goest in to possess it. (Deuteronomy 30:13-16)*

[355] Likutey Moharan 1B, #8:5, footnote 41, page 48.

[356] Proverbs 12:21

[357] Tikkuney Zohar 22.

[358] "Being attached to the very Source, to the YHVH, he transcends the origin of the wicked man's ruach. This explains why the perfect tzaddik remains unaffected by the wicked man's ruach." Likutey Moharan 1B #8:5, page 49, footnote 40.

[359] Genesis 13:1. "His going down into Egypt was in order to subdue and humble the wickedness of the

land. After succeeding, he ascended from there, complete and without lack." Likutey Moharan 1B #8:5, page 48 footnote 42.

[360] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 199.

[361] The Light Beyond, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 294.

[362] In Back to the Beginning

[363] In Yesod, I saw the Nickelsburg Rebbe who like all living Tzaddikim ascend regularly to this sefira. Yesod which means foundation is symbolized by the Tzaddik Joseph. The gematria of Yesod - dwsy is 80. Sod which means secret is 70. Yesod is also the 8th sefira representing dedication. The temple was rededicated to Hashem on the 8 days of Hanukkah. Likewise, the tzaddik dedicates his entire life to Hashem. Yesod is the home of the tzaddikim (and the Living G-d) while they are living, El Chai.

[364] I saw him as in a portrait picture that can be found in the house of Chabad shalichim - messengers.

[365] Daat or knowledge is the quasi sefira which is the result of mastery of wisdom, understanding, kindness, and responsibility. It is the gateway to Keter, the crown of G-d, which is the place of G-d's will.

[366] A cherub came with a coal & placed it in my mouth and I was cleansed and my mouth opened. The place of Daat does not associate with a single name of G-d but one must open his mouth with wisdom to enter.

[367] The tapes of a Breslov teacher in Los Angeles, name unknown, and the tapes of Rabbi Aryeh Rosenfield.

[368] In Rabbi Nachman Letter

[369] Palo Alto JCC meditation group under the direction of Ira Brandell meets Thursday at 7 PM.

[370] Shaar Ruach Hakodesh, p. 110. First Yichud. Quoted in Meditation and Kabbalah, Page 238.

[371] Likutey Moharan, Ch. 19, Page 188, bottom notes. Also see Chayeh Moharan i.e. Tzaddik #86.

[372] Midrash Rabbah Genesis 3:6

[373] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 7, page 272.

[374] Shaarey Orah associates Yesh with the sefirah Hochmah. The reward originates in Keter, is stored in Hochmah, descends to Hesed, and is held back in Gevurah.

[375] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 9, page 328.

[376] Klippot.

[377] Ezekiel vision.

[378] This meditation is a follow-up with greater future detail to the previous throne meditation to be included.

[379] Hemdat yamim, Moadim 24a. trans. in "Beyond Appearances, Stories from the Kabbalistic Ethical Writings," Aryeh Wineman, Page 84.

[380] Bipolar Disorder FAQ, Barry Campbell, Marco Anglesio, http://www.moodswing.org/bdfaq.html.
Twelve things to do if your loved one has depression, manic-depression,
or some other mood disorder:

1. Don't regard this as a family disgrace or a subject of shame.

Mood disorders are biochemical in nature, just like diabetes, and are just as treatable.

2. Don't nag, preach or lecture to the person. Chances are he/she has already told him or herself everything you can tell them. He/she will take just so much and shut out the rest. You may only increase their feeling of isolation or force one to make promises that cannot possibly be kept. (I promise I'll feel better tomorrow honey; I'll do it then, okay?)

3. Guard against the "holier-than-thou" or martyr-like attitude. It is possible to create this impression without saying a word. A person suffering from a mood disorder has an emotional sensitivity such that he/she judges other people's attitudes toward him/her more by actions, even small ones, than by spoken words.

4. Don't use the "if you loved me" appeal. Since persons with mood disorders are not in control of their affliction, this approach only increases guilt. It is like saying, "If you loved me, you would not have diabetes."

5. Avoid any threats unless you think them through carefully and definitely intend to carry them out. There may be times, of course, when a specific action is necessary to protect children. Idle threats only make the person feel you don't mean what you say.

6. If the person uses drugs and/or alcohol, don't take it away from them or try to hide it. Usually this only pushes the person into a state of desperation and/or depression. In the end he/she will simply find news ways of getting more drugs or alcohol if he/she wants them badly enough. This is not the time or place for a power struggle.

7. On the other hand, if excessive use of drugs and/or alcohol is really a problem, don't let the person persuade you to use drugs or drink with him/her on the grounds that it will make him/her use less. It rarely does. Besides, when you condone the use of drugs or alcohol, it is likely to cause the person to put off seeking necessary help.

8. Don't be jealous of the method of recovery the person chooses.

The tendency is to think that love of home and family is enough incentive to get well, and that outside therapy should not be needed.

Frequently the motivation of regaining self respect is more compelling for the person than resumption of family responsibilities. You may feel left out when the person turns to other people for mutual support. You wouldn't be jealous of their doctor for treating them, would you?

9. Don't expect an immediate 100 percent recovery. In any illness, there is a period of convalescence. There may be relapses and times of tension and resentment.

10. Don't try to protect the person from situations which you believe they might find stressful or depressing. One of the quickest ways to push someone with a mood disorder away from you is to make them feel like you want them to be dependent on you.

Each person must learn for themselves what works best for them, especially in social situations. If, for example, you try to "shush" people who ask questions about the disorder, treatment, medications, etc., you will most likely stir up old feelings of resentment and inadequacy. Let the person decide for THEMSELVES whether to answer questions, or to gracefully say "I'd prefer to discuss something else, and I really hope that doesn't offend you".

11. Don't do for the person that which he/she can do for him/herself. You cannot take the medicine for him/her; you cannot feel his/her feelings for him/her, and you can't solve his/her problems for him/her; so don't try. Don't remove problems before the person can face them, solve them or suffer the consequences.

12. Do offer love, support, and understanding in the recovery, regardless of the method chosen. For example, some people choose to take meds; some choose not to. Each has advantages and disadvantages (more side-effects versus greater possibility of relapse, for example). Expressing disapproval of the method chosen will only deepen the person's feeling that anything they do will be wrong.

[381] **a-** fâr, fäte; **i-** jovîal; **o-** nöte

[382] Ira Brandell is a healer in the San Jose area. His meditations are gifted and tune automatically to each individual in the group.
[383] This parallel's the association of the angels with the sefirot assuming one is facing East like the encampment at Sinai. We face East while meditating in the Shul. East - Tiferet is the direction of the rising Sun and the angel of light is Uriel. To the Right is South - Hesed which is represented by Michael the protector of Israel who transmits kindness. To the Left is North - Gevurah which is represented by Gavriel who brings us to responsibility and discipline which is corrects us spiritually. Behind is West - Yesod which is represent by Raphael who like the Tzaddik heals his people.
[384] I was teaching a class at a senior home in San Jose called the Chai House. One student's name was Timber. During the meditation I got the message, "Timber is a precious soul to Hashem and his belief is his Tzaddik for him." Timber was a Jew who became a 7th day Adventist.
[385] In the hypnotic state, let the subconscious direct the movement of the body. The conscious mind will eventually realize the wisdom of the subconscious.
[386] I am typing this entry Rosh Hodesh Av 5756 - July 16, 1996.
[387] Leaping and bounding in the hypnotic state is like flying in a lucid dream. Taking time to experience pleasure will make future hypnotic sessions easier to enter.
[388] Understanding Judaism, The Basics of Deed and Creed, Benjamin Blech, Ch. 18, page 160
[389] Math and Music Harmonious Connections, Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughan Kahn, Dale Seymour Publications, page 40.
[390] Math and Music, page 62.
[391] Math and Music Harmonious Connections, Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughan Kahn, Dale Seymour Publications, page 132.
[392] A Brief History of Time, Stephen Hawking, 10th edition, page 20.
[393] Salt Lake City Community College lecture on astronomy, 9/07/2001.
[394] Tish B'Av 5760
[395] These are notes based on conversations with Rabbi Finehandler, author of Beloved Companions. June 12th 1999.
[396] Gemara Yevamos, Rabbi Aryeh Rosenfeld, Yevamos lecture
[397] Upper of Garden of Eden
[398] Father and mother.
[399] Added later.
[400] Traditional kabbalah places BN below MH.
[401] Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, page 238.
[402] The Neshamah of the Neshamah is the Chaya
[403] Torah Portion Ahrey Mos.
[404] From Exile to Redemption, Lubavitcher Rebbe Shlita, page 20.
[405] Ibid
[406] Ibid

[407] Ibid
[408] Ibid
[409] Ibid
[410] See Burning Bush that does not burn
There are seven groups of six letters. The seven groups are the seven days of the week. The six letters in each group are in the positions of the six sefirot Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzah, Hod, and Yesod. The combination of the letter and its position reveal the aspect of the sefira that is emphasized for that day.
[411] Kiddushin 71b.
[412] Nachman's short stories, trans. Aryeh Kaplan.
[413] Kabbalah, Charles Ponce, page 183.
[414] Rabbi Aryeh Rosenfield, Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, Tape 30.
[415] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan, Ch. 4. Also Ch. 5 for mix with letters of the name of G-d for 28 paths.
[416] Nachman's Short Stories, Aryeh Kaplan, page 126.
[417] Ibid. Reb Nachman is interpreted as assigning Moses to the letter vav and the Messiah to the tzaddik. The name Nachman has the gematria 149 which is the same as Netzah.
[418] This is the also found in the Greek concept of from Alpha to Omega
[419] The Holy Kabbalah, Arthur Edward Waite, page 618
[420] Cracking the Bible, Jeffrey Satinover, http://www.quantgen.com/ch06.htm, search for "42 letter name" Genesis
[421] Hebrew Amulets, Schrire
[422] http://members.aol.com/fegele/letters03.html
[423] M. Gaster, "Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic etc., vol. I, London 1925, pp. 295 ff.
[424] Urbach, "The Sages", page 130.
[425] The World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, page 85.
[426] The Light Beyond, Aryeh Kaplan, page 31.
[427] Nothing is the essence of G-d.
ity Community College lecture on astronomy, 9/07/2001.
[394]Tish B'Av 5760
[395]These are notes based on conversations with Rabbi Finehandler, author of Beloved Companions. June 12th1999.
[396]Gemara Yevamos, Rabbi Aryeh Rosenfeld, Yevamos lecture
[397]Upper of Garden of Eden
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[399]Added later.
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[401]Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, page 238.
[402]The Neshamah of the Neshamah is the Chaya<br

By the blessing of G-d h″b

With the knowledge of heaven d″sb

Everything belongs to Hashem. }″hl

Kabbalah Meditation from Torah to Self-improvement to Prophecy

hawbn la rswm la hrwt }m twnnwbth hlbq

Version - 11/1/2001

This work in progress is intended to train one to experience authentic kabbalah. Study the manual by browsing the table of contents, links, and footnotes. Let your spirit be your guide and Ribono Shel Olam (the Master of the World) will reveal what you need to learn next. The work focuses on learning kabbalah through character improvement through the theoretical, meditative, and practical kabbalah. While I have written down some of my own kabbalistic journeys, in the final analysis one must choose his own path and with the blessing of G-d reveal another truth path to the Infinite.

This work uses a Hebrew true-type font that should be downloaded and installed on a PC to view the work correctly. To install the Hebrew true type font:

- Open location heb_tt.zip
- Save the file to a location on your disc
- Double click on heb_tt.zip and extract files to a directory
- Double click on Install_Hebrew.ttf.vbs

Your Hebrew fonts should now be installed. For any questions, send email to jeffs@lsil.com. The following tables are in the left frame.

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I. Introduction

This work summarizes a three-year study on developing mystical awareness. The purpose of this work is to provide the keys for developing a mystical relationship with G-d. Each of us has our own pathway to follow. Nevertheless, Jewish mystics throughout the ages have recorded an authentic map. Those who follow this map will find the greatest of mystical experiences! This is reassuring and a validation of the authenticity of the teachings of our prophets and sages.

All the trees, as it were, conversed with each other;
all the trees, as it were, conversed with mankind;
all the trees were created for man's companionship.
(Midrash Rabbah Genesis 13:2)

The word used for tree in Genesis 13:2 is 'siah' which also means conversation and grass. We need never feel lonely in this world if we go out and talk to the trees and pray amongst the grasses like Isaac. The Tree of Life is sometimes identified with the Torah and also the mystical tree of 32 paths containing the 10 sefirot. If we cling to this tree in this world we will find eternal life in the world to come. The key is discovering the eternal life while yet in this world, as King David said,

I will dwell in the House of the Lord while I yet live...

David danced before the Ark as the priests carried it up to Jerusalem. Simchas Torah is celebrated by dancing with the Torah. Lighting candles symbolizes freedom on Chanukah. In the end the candlelight, our souls, ascend to heaven to dance with the angels of G-d who will bring us to a new home in a new world.

II. Torah Prophetic Truth and Talmudic Dialectic Hermeneutical Reality

'Rab Judah reported in the name of Samuel:[1] *Three thousand traditional laws were forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses'. They said to Joshua: 'Ask';*[2] *(that they be revealed from heaven) he replied: It is not in heaven.*[3] *They [the Israelites] said to Samuel: 'Ask'; he replied: [Scripture says:] These are the commandments,*[4] *implying [that since the promulgation of these commandments] no prophet has now the right to introduce anything new.*

Said R. Isaac the Smith: Also the law relating to a sin-offering whose owners have died was forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses. They [the Israelites] said to Phinehas: 'Ask'; he replied to them:

'It is not in heaven'. They said to Eleazar: 'Ask'. He replied: 'These are the commandments', implying [that since the promulgation of these commandments] no prophet has now the right to introduce anything new.

G-d creates truth. Man forms reality.[5] The Word—Logos, reforms reality continuously. In science, our concept of the Universe evolves with each new empirical observation changing reality.[6] The past exists only in memories and recordings of history. We determine the reality of the past by our present memory and our focus on what existed.

Prophetic revelation is the gateway to truth. Hence, the Written Torah is entirely revelation of truth revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai.[7] On the other hand, the Oral Torah, which includes Mishnah, Midrash, and Gemara, is a mixture of G-d's truth and man's reality. Within the Gemara, there is Aggada (story), Halacha (law), and Kabbalah (received mysticism). When a sage writes with Ruach Hakodesh, he reveals truth. When he writes with dialectic[8] legal questioning and answering (Pilpul) or hermeneutical[9] exposition (Drash), he forms reality.[10] In the Midrash, there is Drash, explanation, based on conjecture and there is Drash based on Ruach Hakodesh as well. The Oral Torah sections on Halacha often read into the Written Torah to form reality. For this reason these sections are not found in heaven.[11]

Rab Judah reported in the name of Rab: When Moses departed [this world] for the Garden of Eden he said to Joshua: 'Ask me concerning all the doubts you have'. He replied to him: 'My Master, have I ever left you for one hour and gone elsewhere? Did you not write concerning me in the Torah: But his servant Joshua the son of Nun departed not out of the tabernacle? Immediately the strength [of Moses] weakened and [Joshua] forgot three hundred laws and there arose [in his mind] seven hundred doubts [concerning laws]. Then all the Israelites rose up to kill him. The Holy One, blessed be He, then said to him [Joshua]: 'It is not possible to tell you. Go and occupy their attention in war, as it says: Now after the death of Moses the servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake; and it further says; [Prepare you victuals for within three days, etc.].

It has been taught: A thousand and seven hundred kal wahomer and gezerah shawah and specifications of the Scribes were forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses. Said R. Abbuha: Nevertheless Othniel the son of Kenaz restored [these forgotten teachings] as a result of his dialectics,[12] *as it says: And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it; and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.*

The dialectics of the Oral Law are not in heaven. Instead, they are man's formation and reality. With dialectic reasoning, the rabbis extract ideas for new applications of the Written Torah and with hermeneutical exposition they interpret the stories in the Torah. In this manner, the Torah adjusts itself over time with new situations. Nevertheless, we cannot be sure that the conclusions or explanations were in fact G-d's true intention or meaning. This reality is formed by man. Interestingly, the Rabbis hold these principles higher than the will of G-d when faced with revelation:[13]

R. Helbo said: One must always observe the honour due to his wife, because blessings rest on a man's home only on account of his wife, for it is written, And he treated Abram well for her sake. And thus did Raba say to the townspeople of Mahuza, Honour your wives, that ye may be enriched.

We learnt elsewhere: If he cut it into separate tiles, placing sand between each tile: R. Eliezer declared it

clean, and the Sages declared it unclean; (end of 59a)
and this was the oven of 'Aknai. Why [the oven of] 'Aknai? — Said Rab Judah in Samuel's name: [It means] that they encompassed it with arguments as a snake, and proved it unclean. It has been taught: On that day R. Eliezer brought forward every imaginable argument, but they did not accept them. Said he to them: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let this carob-tree prove it!' Thereupon the carob-tree was torn a hundred cubits out of its place — others affirm, four hundred cubits. 'No proof can be brought from a carob-tree,' they retorted. Again he said to them: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let the stream of water prove it!' Whereupon the stream of water flowed backwards — 'No proof can be brought from a stream of water,' they rejoined. Again he urged: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let the walls of the schoolhouse prove it,' whereupon the walls inclined to fall. But R. Joshua rebuked them, saying: 'When scholars are engaged in a halachic dispute, what have ye to interfere?' Hence they did not fall, in honour of R. Joshua, nor did they resume the upright, in honour of R. Eliezer; and they are still standing thus inclined. Again he said to them: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let it be proved from Heaven!' Whereupon a Heavenly Voice cried out: 'Why do ye dispute with R. Eliezer, seeing that in all matters the halachah agrees with him!' But R. Joshua arose and exclaimed: 'It is not in heaven.' What did he mean by this? — Said R. Jeremiah: That the Torah had already been given at Mount Sinai; we pay no attention to a Heavenly Voice, because Thou hast long since written in the Torah at Mount Sinai, After the majority must one incline.

R. Nathan met Elijah and asked him: What did the Holy One, Blessed be He, do in that hour? — He laughed [with joy], he replied, saying, 'My sons have defeated Me, My sons have defeated Me.' It was said: On that day all objects which R. Eliezer had declared clean were brought and burnt in fire. Then they took a vote and blessed him off.[14] *Said they, 'Who shall go and inform him?' 'I will go,' answered R. Akiba, 'lest an unsuitable person go and inform him, and thus destroy the whole world.'*[15] *What did R. Akiba do? He donned black garments and wrapped himself in black, and sat at a distance of four cubits from him. 'Akiba,' said R. Eliezer to him, 'what has particularly happened to-day?' 'Master,' he replied, 'it appears to me that thy companions hold aloof from thee.' Thereupon he too rent his garments, put off his shoes, removed [his seat] and sat on the earth, whilst tears streamed from his eyes. The world was then smitten: a third of the olive crop, a third of the wheat, and a third of the barley crop. Some say, the dough in women's hands swelled up.*

Hashem like a parent takes pleasure in the new works of His children. "Defeated Me" is as if to say, "my children have become smarter than me."

A Tanna taught: Great was the calamity that befell that day, for everything at which R. Eliezer cast his eyes was burned up. R. Gamaliel[16] *too was traveling in a ship, when a huge wave arose to drown him. 'It appears to me,' he reflected, 'that this is on account of none other but R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus.' Thereupon he arose and exclaimed, 'Sovereign of the Universe! Thou knowest full well that I have not acted for my honour, nor for the honour of my paternal house, but for Thine, so that strife may not multiply in Israel! 'At that the raging sea subsided.*

Ima Shalom was R. Eliezer's wife, and sister to R. Gamaliel. From the time of this incident onwards she did not permit him to fall upon his face in the Tachnun prayer.[17] *Now a certain day happened to be New Moon, but she mistook a full month for a defective one. Others say, a poor man came and stood at the door, and she took out some bread to him. [On her return] she found him fallen on his face. 'Arise,' she cried out*

to him, 'thou hast slain my brother.' In the meanwhile an announcement was made from the house of Rabban Gamaliel that he had died. 'Whence dost thou know it?' he questioned her. 'I have this tradition from my father's house: All gates are locked, excepting the gates of wounded feelings.'

Rabbi Gamaliel held views similar to that of Shamai in terms of strictness. The following viewpoint was in contradiction to the teaching of Avos 1:1 to "educate many disciples."[18]

For Rabban Gamaliel had issued a proclamation [saying]. No disciple whose character does not correspond to his exterior may enter the Beth ha-Midrash.

Rabbi Gamaliel also instituted the 19th blessing of the Amidah that cursed unbelievers, the Sadduces, and heretics in his time. Later, the blessing referred to Christian persecutors or to secular scoffers. For example, in the year 1400 a baptized Jew spread the slander that the words "for they bow to void and vanity and pray to a god who does not help"[19] in the Alenu prayer referred to the founder of Christianity. Hence, today the blessing or curse begins, "And for the slanders let there be no hope." The first word beginning with a vav, "And", combines the blessing with the previous blessing in order to maintain the eighteen blessing limitation of the Amidah according to the Mishnah, "RABBAN GAMALIEL SAYS: EVERY DAY A MAN SHOULD SAY THE EIGHTEEN BENEDICTIONS." [20] Nevertheless, the Gemara explains the intention is that we recite the name of G-d specifically eighteen times to metaphorically compose the Great Name (the Seventy-two Letter Name). [21] With the 19th benediction, this is no longer the case!

Our Rabbis taught: He who wounds the feelings of a proselyte transgresses three negative injunctions, and he who oppresses him infringes two. Wherein does wronging differ? Because three negative injunctions are stated: Viz., Thou shalt not wrong a stranger [i.e., a proselyte], And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not wrong him, and ye shall not therefore wrong each his fellowman, a proselyte being included in 'fellowman.' But for 'oppression' also three are written, viz., and thou shalt not oppress him, Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger, and [If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee,] thou shalt not be to him as a usurer which includes a proselyte! — But [say] both [are forbidden] by three [injunctions].

It has been taught: R. Eliezer the Great said: Why did the Torah warn against [the wronging of] a proselyte in thirty-six, or as others say, in forty-six, places? Because he has a strong inclination to evil.[22] What is the meaning of the verse, Thou shalt neither wrong a stranger, nor oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt? It has been taught: R. Nathan said: Do not taunt your neighbour with the blemish you yourself have. And thus the proverb runs: If there is a case of hanging in a man's family record, say not to him, 'Hang this fish up for me.'

Rabbi Gamaliel teaches, "so that strife may not multiply in Israel!" the decree of the majority is upheld indifferent to the will of heaven. A legitimate question is whether strife multiplies when a minority with the truth is disregarded for the majority.[23] The Karite movement disregarded the entire Oral Law and formed its own people, because they did not believe the Oral Torah was authentic revelation. The Reform movement broke from Orthodox Judaism because they set out on their own search for the Truth. One man plus the Truth is greater than then the majority.[24]

The Torah sets out the role of the elders/judges to try cases with the "spirit of G-d."

NUM 11:16 And the LORD said unto Moses, Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and bring them unto the tabernacle of the congregation, that they may stand there with thee.

NUM 11:17 And I will come down and talk with thee there: and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.

The officers operated in the gates of the city, attempting to judge correctly with the spirit of G-d. To protect against biased influences, G-d forbids them from accepting gifts.

DEU 16:18 Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the LORD thy God giveth thee, throughout thy tribes: and they shall judge the people with just judgment.

DEU 16:19 Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous.

DEU 16:20 That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

The 70 elders would constitute the court of the Sanhedren with Moses serving as the President, Nasi. With the High Priest this is 72 and they parallel the 72 names of G-d.[25] The 70 elders represent 70 higher angels guiding 70 nations of the world. The Sanhedren served to clarify and unify the law of Israel, the Oral Law as well as to hear cases.

MISHNAH 1. MOSES RECEIVED THE TORAH[26] AT SINAI AND TRANSMITTED IT TO JOSHUA,[27] JOSHUA TO THE ELDERS,[28] AND THE ELDERS TO THE PROPHETS, AND THE PROPHETS TO THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE.[29] THE LATTER USED TO SAY THREE THINGS:[30] BE PATIENT IN [THE ADMINISTRATION OF] JUSTICE, REAR MANY DISCIPLES AND MAKE A FENCE ROUND THE TORAH.[31]

Table 1: Truth and Reality

Written Torah	**Mishnah**	**Gemara**	**Midrash**	**Kabbalah Texts**
Prophetic Halacha	Prophetic Halacha	Prophetic Halacha – passed down from Sinai	Prophetic Aggadah - passed down from Sinai	Prophetic Aggadah
Prophetic Aggadah	Dialectic Halacha	Dialectic Halacha	Hermeneutical Aggadah	Hermeneutical Aggadah
Prophetic Kabbalah		Prophetic Aggadah	True Kabbalah	Prophetic Gematria
		Hermeneutical Aggadah	Real Kabbalah	Dialectic Gematria

		Prophetic Kabbalah		Prophetic Meditation, and Dreams
		Hermeneutical Kabbalah (Zohar)		Hermeneutical Meditation and Dreams
				Prophetic Astrology
				Dialectic Astrology
				Prophetic Chiromancy
				Dialectic Chiromancy

III. The Written Law

In Hebrew the word for Bible is Tanach -]″nt. Tanach stands for Torah, Navi'im, and Ctovim - \ykwtk, \yaybn, hrwt. These are the three principal areas of the Bible. In order to develop an authentic meditative reference one should study all of the books of the Bible.

A. Torah

This includes Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

1. Bereshis -- In the Beginning – Genesis

a) Parsha Bereshsis

The first book of the Torah contains the description of creation. The first sentence encapsulates the order of creation in seven words.

In the beginning G-d created the heaven and the earth. (Genesis 1:1)
Bereshis Bara Elohim et hashamayim vet haaretz -- {rah taw \ymch ta \yqla arb tycarb

The first word contains the word Rosh - car that means head. The first three letters are the same as the second word, Bara - arb, which means create. Elohim - \yqla is the name of G-d as creator of natural law. Alternatively, we translate the first three words of Genesis as "G-d created the beginning."

Another explanation from the Bahir verse 3:
"And why does the Torah begin with the letter Bet? In order that it begin with a blessing *(Berachah - hkrb)*...[32] The word 'beginning' *(Reshit - tycar)* is nothing other then Wisdom. It is thus written *(Psalm 111:10)*, 'The beginning is wisdom, the fear of G-d.' Wisdom is a blessing. It is thus written, 'And G-d blessed Solomon.' It is furthermore written *(I Kings 5:26)*, 'And G-d gave wisdom to Solomon.'..."

Now the earth was unformed and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep
And the spirit of G-d hovered over the face of the waters. (Genesis 1:2)

vhaaretz haita tohu vbohu vhoshech al penai g'hom v rooach elohim mrahepet al pnai hamayim
\ymh ynp-lu tpjrm \yqla hwrw \wht ynp-lu]cjw whbw wht htyh {rahw

From the Bahir 2:
Rabbi Berachiah said: It is written *(Genesis 1:2)*, "The earth was Chaos *(Tohu - wht)* and Desolation *(Bohu - whb)*. What is the meaning of the word "was" *(haita - htyh)* in this verse? This indicates that the chaos existed previously [and already was]. What is Chaos *(Tohu - wht)*? Something that confounds *(Taha)* people. What is Desolation *(Bohu - whb)*? It is something that has substance. This is the reason that it is called Bohu, that is, Bo Hu — "it is in it".

Chaos or Tohu is the place of the sefirot before the shattering. The sefirot received but did not give light which eventually caused their shattering. Tohu is the source of evil and the shattered components of the sefirot are called the Klipah Nogah, the glowing shell. After the shattering some of the vessels were reassembled into the Partzufim - group forms, which make up the sefirot as they behave today. The name of G-d in Tohu is associated with the letters aleph mem shin - cma – emesh.[33] In Bohu, the name of G-d is associated with the letters yod heh vav - why. The Sefer Yetzirah labels cma mother letters. The father letters why descend from them. The father letters make up the tetragrammaton name of G-d as we know it today. The mother letters represent the name of G-d in the preceding world of chaos. Aleph derives Vav, Mem derives Yod, Shin derives Heh.[34]

cacm - 381
hwhy - 26

And G-d said, Let there be light: and there was light. (Genesis 1:3)

The light created here preceded the creation of the Sun and refers to the good light Hashem has stored away for us in the world to come:

Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun,
and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold,
as the light of the seven days.
(Isaiah 30:26)

The creation story illustrates the progression from general to specific. The seven days associate with the seven lower sefirot and seven character qualities.

Table 2: Creation Concepts

Day (Corresponding Day)	**Creation**	**Sefira**	**Weekday**
1 (4)	Light	Hesed – kindness	Sunday
2 (5)	Sky, clouds, oceans	Gevurah – discipline	Monday
3 (6)	Land	Tiferet - beauty/splendor	Tuesday
4 (1)	Sun, Moon, and Stars	Netzah – victory	Wednesday
5 (2)	Sea creatures and birds	Hod – gratitude	Thursday
6 (3)	Land animals, insects, and man	Yesod – righteousness	Friday
7	Shabbas	Malchut – kingdom	Saturday

By drawing the creation process in the form of the Tree of Life, we can see the descent from general to specific:

Figure 1: The 7 Days of Creation in Descent and the Form of the Partzuf Zer Anpin

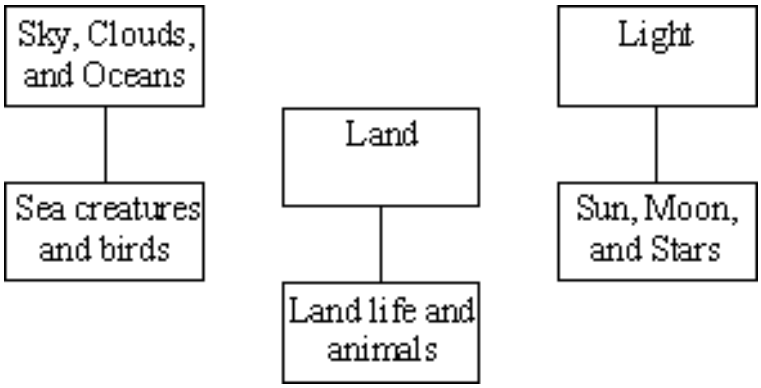

The creation of Light on the first day is completed on the fourth with the objects that manifest light. The creation of the Sky, Clouds, and Oceans is completed on the fifth day with sky and sea life. The creation of Land is completed on the sixth day with land life.[35]

All creation rests on the foundation of the seven days since each day sustains a seventh of creation. The Shaarey Orah teaches us that taking an oath - huwbc is to place creation upon ones words.[36] We should not break our word since this adversely effects the building – }ynb of creation.[37]

Wisdom has built her house; she has hewn out her seven pillars
hubc hydwmu hbxj htyb htnb twmkj
(Proverbs 9:1)

We must be careful with taking oaths and speaking words before those who attempt to ensnare, has vshalom. Hazal taught to avoid taking oaths. The place for oaths is in our relationship to G-d. The oath is intended to raise us above ourselves to commit to a greater level of observance.

Adam, Eve, and the Garden of Eden initially existed in the spiritual realm. According to Kabbalah, this place is in sefira Tiferet. Adam and Eve initially existed in spiritual bodies not unlike the angels. After eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, Adam and Eve became physical beings with physical temptations.

"Accordingly, we find that in the beginning, before his sin, Adam was on a very high level – first, in point of his existence, that is in terms of the results of his deeds, which rose to the worlds heights as we wrote previously and second in point his form and the form of his deeds.
...
Note, then; what the Garden of Eden was, it will unquestionably continue to be – rarefied, spiritual abode, where the spirits abide even now. And the Torah testifies concerning Adam that he dwelt there and ate and enjoyed the fruits that grew there. But since we see it to be the present habitation of the souls, it must be that its fruits were not earthy gross things, but far more delicate, being at least as air compared to earth. And the eating of them, too, was not by a body coarse and gross, as at present, but by a rarefied, almost spiritual body, like that of Elijah or Hanoch, ..."[38]

Adam and Eve were not the first physical people in the world but the first people in the image of G-d. They existed in the spiritual realm until G-d placed them in exile in this world.

Reviewing the Week Meditation - Etiel Herring - November 13, 1998 - 8 PM

This meditation is for Shabbas in order to review the events of the week:

Remember back to last Saturday night through the following night. This is Yom Rishon, the first day of the week. This day is dominated by the sefira of hesed that is loving kindness. Recall acts of kindness and expressions of love you showed another on this day.

Remember back to Yom Sheni, this is the second day of the week from Sunday night through Monday. The day is dominated by the sefira of gevurah. Gevurah represents how we help others and ourselves grow through discipline, rigor, and organization. Try to remember what you did to help organize yourself or others that day. Recall any struggles and how those struggles served the purpose of helping people grow.

Remember back to Yom Shlishi, the third day in the week. This begins on Monday night through Tuesday. This day is dominated by sefira tiferets which is associated with compassion and balanced harmony. Recall events that brought you or others to a state of harmony on this day. Remember any acts of compassion you showed others.

Remember back to Wednesday, which is Yom Revaee, the fourth day in the week beginning Tuesday night through Wednesday. This day is dominated by the sefira netzah that represents the quality of enduring. Recall what events you saw this day that will have lasting impact on yourself and others. What did you do that required endurance for the day and served to rescue and help others?

Remember back to Thursday that is Yom Hamishi, the fifth day of the week from Wednesday night through Thursday. This day is dominated by Hod. Hod which represents humbleness is not a passive trait but requires one to go out and interact with other people keeping a sense of humility in ones personality. This

helps others grow.

Remember back to Friday that is Yom Sheshe, the sixth day of the week from Thursday night through Friday. The day is dominated by the sefira of Yesod that represents joining and bonding with others. What did you do on Friday to promote your relationship with significant others.

Remember back to Saturday, Shabbat, the seventh day of the week. Shabbat is the receptacle for all the deeds of the rest of week. Shabbat is dominated by the sefira of Malchut that is the kingdom of G-d in this world. Malchuts is the sum total of whom we are which is our soul. There is a channel between Yesod and Malchuts and all of energy is deposited with Malchuts which determines the quality of our soul.

Back to the Beginning - August 3, 1996 - 8 AM

While reading Scholem's Jewish Mysticism and Cohn-Sherbok's Jewish Mysticism (pp. 152-156), Erev Shabbas, I ran across Luria's idea of the tzimtzum, the withdrawal and reentry of G-d in the process of creation. The following morning I did this meditation to unravel its secrets:

I began to regress myself with the intention of going back to the beginning of time. I saw when I was 25 and living in Israel. I saw further back to 1968 and the Vietnam war. I saw World War I and then back to Lincoln giving an address from a train.[39] I saw the War of 1812. I saw French ships entering US seas in order to stave off the English in the Independence War. I saw back into the history of England.

I saw the Jews living in Spain and how they were both a thorn and a blessing here. Their stubbornness was a thorn to the Spanish Inquisitors who attempted to force their conversion to Christianity by torture. I saw the Second Temple standing in its magnificence and then the First Temple in smaller form. Finally, I saw the tabernacle at Shilo of simplistic beauty, perfectly dedicated to Hashem's service. The tabernacle was a rectangular mound off the floor. There were stairs ascending from all sides. I saw an alter upon it with a pleasant smoke rising up to heaven. I heard G-d say:

How good is My nation, there is no other nation like them.

I heard a song like the following:

Dance with Israel, sing with Israel, pray with Israel, love with Israel ...

I wondered what made Israel so great and I heard the answer was in their simplicity of service to Hashem. Each tribe lived in its own area and had a unique service in the land of Israel. I saw tzitzits on their four-cornered garments but I also saw that their daily lives were not obsessed with learning. Instead, they learned to live, not lived to learn. They worked and kept the commandments, loved G-d and raised families, spending most of their lives nurturing one another and the land they lived on.

I went back further in time briefly glimpsing the life of Abraham, back to the time when Hanoch walked the land. Hanoch was righteous all his days:

And Enoch walked with G-d after he begat Methuselah three hundred years,
and begat sons and daughters:

And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years:
And Enoch walked with G-d: and he was not; for G-d took him.
(Genesis 5:22-24)

I saw when Hanoch became "not." His soul was drawn out of his body swiftly leaving no remnant in his body, his bones losing all form returning to earth.[40]

[At this point Hashem granted an angelic voice to ask questions on the rest of the journey. During the review of this vision while walking to shul, I wanted to know the name of the voice, which I called Kol. The voice asked, "Who am I?" I responded, "the angel Metatron who was formerly Hanoch." I asked to understand how Moshe communicated with G-d face to face; how his prophesy was from a higher source than the prophesy of others? I saw that G-d filled Moshe with the first light of divine truth— a stream of light filling an empty sphere, the tzimtzum. Few receive prophecy directly from Hashem; most receive prophecy through the angels who are of the same form as Moshe. The messiah will be like Moshe again— see the Tish B'Av vision.]

I went back further to the Garden of Eden and saw the creation of Eve. I saw how Hashem drew forth a rib from Adam, and fashioned a woman and placed her beside him as he slept. I saw the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge in the garden. The later was like a fruit tree of modest height. On the other hand, the Tree of Life's height extended into the reaches of the sky and its width was too wide to fathom. The Tree called for an embrace. As I came close, a spiritual fire encompassed us and I felt myself cleansed of any taint of sin. [This was necessary to proceed further.]

I went back before the trees to the days of creation. I saw the creation of the animals, grass and all plant life; the creation of the Sun, Moon, and Stars in the heaven. Finally, I saw the creation of the first light and the preceding Tohu and Bohu. The first light was the first line of light that flowed into the empty space (the place of G-d's withdrawal in the tzimtzum). The chaos before was the emptiness of G-d's withdrawal.[41] The emptiness represented the quality of Din, judgment or constriction.[42]

I plunged into the emptiness and felt the withdrawal of Hashem. The rate of withdrawal was beyond physical travel and I wondered how I would reach the receding point. The Kol said to travel by spirit and will to reach the boundary. I saw the edge of light in the distance. I willed myself through the edge and now I stood in the undifferentiated form of the first light. I could not comprehend what was around me. I tried to recall some daat - knowledge that would help me understand. This place was before and beyond the creation of the Sefirot. Not even the place of Hashem's Ratzon - Will existed in this light.[43] I glimmered above the sefirot and the Kol asked what I saw. I told her I saw of BN, MH, SaG, and AV, the realm of the Hebrew letters.

I saw the Hebrew letters traveling in chains.[44] There were also the 10 numerals but they were separate like flying disks in space. I moved my mind to the source of the letters in the light and saw the primordial form of the Torah in the light. I heard this song:

Love the Torah, learn the Torah, dance with the Torah, dwell with the Torah ...

There were no angels yet created as there were no worlds but I still heard the Kol and wondered about its

existence. I sought out the voice and noticed a small space in the light, a small tzimtzum. I saw a thread of light entering the space, which was like a mouth transmitting the words. Here, I learned how G-d speaks to Moses and the angels face to face but to the rest of us through angels. The Torah was one of 10 forms that existed prior to all creation.

There was no sense of a personal G-d in the Ayn Sof. I felt only Nothing and I didn't understand why. I wanted to find my personal G-d but even this is a result of creation! The Kol asked me what I could know? I told him I could not know anything else while in my separate spirit and that to know further would result in the end of my own identity. I did not fear this kind of death strange enough since it was a merging with the Cosmos from whence I came. Nevertheless, I realized that even beyond the heaven of G-d's creation and man's comprehension, lies the Ayn Sof which dissolves all identity back into itself, the experience at the end of life. This 'final experience' is the end of knowledge and self-being, an utter nihilism of personal existence and yet beyond even thought or supreme consciousness as we imagine.

I asked the Kol to guide me and we preceded forward out of this light into consciousness, and yet, I remained in a waking trance to memorize the vision. I would have to wait until the end of Shabbas to write it down. The Kol asked me how I would do this. I answered that I would review it forward until the point after creation and than review it backward from my own life. I reviewed it as I walked to shul. This morning I picked up the "Book of Enoch" and brought it upstairs subconsciously, to begin a new learning.

Enoch became the angel Metatron, highest of the angels.[45] Rabbi Ishmael receives this explanation:[46]

III ENOCH: Chapter Four
"METATRON IS IDENTICAL WITH ENOCH WHO WAS TRANSFORMED AND ASCENDED TO HEAVEN AT THE TIME OF THE FLOOD."
1. I asked Metatron and said to him: " Why art thou called by the Name of Thy Creator, by seventy Names? Thou art greater than all the princes, higher than all the angels, beloved more than all the servants, honored above all the mighty ones in kingship, greatness, and glory. Why do they call thee 'Youth' in the high heavens?"
2. He answered me and said to me: "Because I am Enoch, the son of Yared."
3. "For when the generations of the Flood sinned and were confounded in their deeds, saying unto God **(Job** 21.14): **'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of Thy ways.** Then the Holy One, blessed be He, removed me from their midst to be a witness against them in the high heavens to all the inhabitants of the world, that they may not say: "The Merciful One is cruel'."
4. Hence, the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted me up in their lifetime before their eyes to be a witness against them to the future world. And the Holy One, blessed be He, assigned me as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels.
5. In that hour three of the ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, and Azzael came forth and brought charges against me in the high heavens, saying before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Said not the Ancient Ones (First Ones) rightly before Thee: Do not create man!" The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said unto them **(Isaiah** 46.4): **"I have made and I will bear, yea, I will carry and will deliver**."
6. As soon as they saw me, they said before Him: "Lord of the Universe! What is this one that he should ascend to the height of heights? Is he not one from among the sons of (the

sons of) those who perished in the days of the Flood? What doeth he in the *Raqia* (ayqr, Firmament)?"[47]
7. Again the Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said to them: "What are ye, that ye enter and speak in My Presence? I delight in this one more than in all of you, and hence he shall be a prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens."
8. Forthwith all stood up and went out to meet me, prostrated themselves before me and said: "Happy art thou and happy is thy father for thy Creator doth favor thee."
9. And because I am small and a youth among them in days, months, and years, therefore they call me "Youth" (run, *Na'a*r).

Also Enoch III explains how the Hebrew letters transcend even the world of Atzulut:

III ENOCH: Chapter Forty One
"Metatron Shows Rabbi Ishmael the Letters Engraved on the Throne of Glory by Which Letters Everything In The Earth Has Been Created."
Rabbi Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence said to me:
1. "Come and behold the letters by which heaven and the earth were created,[48]
the letters by which were created the mountains and hills,
the letters by which were created the seas and rivers,
the letters by which were created the trees and herbs
the letters by which were created the planets and constellations,
the letters by which were created the globe of the moon and the globe of the sun,
Orion, Pleides, and all the different luminaries of *Raqia* (Firmament)."
2. "The letters by which were created the Throne of Glory and the Wheels of the *Merkaba*h, the letters by which were created the necessities of the worlds;
3. The letters by which were created wisdom, understanding, knowledge, prudence, meekness, and righteousness by which the whole world is sustained."
4. And I walked by his side and he took me by his hand and raised me upon his wings and showed me those letters, all of them, that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory. And sparks go forth from them and cover all the chambers of *Arabot*h.

Pre Rosh Hashanah - September 11, 1996 - 7:30 PM

The birthday of the world approaches.[49] The Shaarey Orah describes the story of Abraham and Isaac as a battle between kindness and judgment.[50] The gematria of kindness – Hesed – dsj, 4+60+8 is 72, which parallels the 72 names of G-d in the Great Name of triplets. The Great Name is composed from three sequential sentences in Exodus, each having 72 letters.[51] Abraham associates with kindness and mercy, and Isaac with judgment. When Abraham bound Isaac, mercy was binding judgment to show that mercy is greater. Mercy is above judgment and acts first to release us as Abraham released Isaac. Isaac loved Esau for Esau would be the instrument of judgment for Israel. Isaac saw that Israel would go into exile and this would save them from utter destruction. They would atone with oppression in the exile - galut. Nevertheless, Isaac worried that the oppression would destroy Israel; until he saw the instrument of oppression would be the descendants of Jacob's brother Esau.[52] Hence, Isaac delighted in the food that

Esau brought and blessed him with physical rewards. Esau would judge Israel with his descendants the Edomites, Greeks, and Romans. Esau is the father of philosophy. Philosophy oppresses the spirit of Jacob; remember the Edomite who tormented Job.

I saw the angels descend around me each composed of a myriad of lights. I saw a cross-formed through me from Michael to Gavriel and from Uriel to Raphael.[53],[54] Eventually the outer lines were connected into a square and lines rose from the vertices into a pyramid with a point intersecting over my head in the Shechinah.

Figure 2: The Angelic Meditative Focus

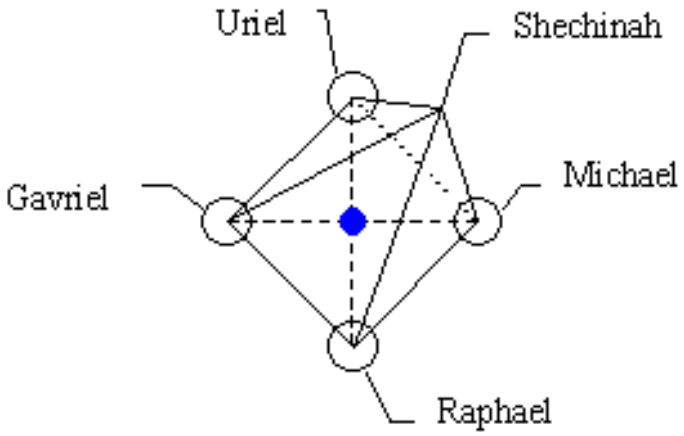

The meditation became cosmological and I saw the initial fiery expansion of the universe with packets of light turning into galaxies. I went back in time and I saw that this expansion was preceded by another Universe contracting and expanding, “And G-d made this King and he was not” (Genesis). Each universe was one of Hashem’s tested worlds expanding and contracting into nothing and recreation. I sought to understand the concept of the first seven days that the Rambam teaches are 7 days like our own in time. I saw this story played out on the higher spiritual plane. Kabbalah discusses the concept of an upper Eden that parallels the lower garden. This is like our upper soul, the neshamah, which exists in a higher plane while our body soul, the nefesh, exists here. Hashem modeled the spiritual counterpart of the physical world in seven days in the upper Eden. This is where Hashem placed the first soul – neshamah of Adam, 5756 years ago as well as the upper spiritual counterparts of all life. When Adam sinned, his nefesh dominated his mental reality and he found himself cast out into this world. Our whole world is the lower garden.

This world is paradise! We merely need to tend the Garden.

Rosh Hashanah – September 19, 2001

While attending services at Chabad, I saw my tallis like the color of angels white from heaven. Angels descended around lifting one to the world of Yetzirah. There, beautiful wreaths were weaved and placed on a stack to be carried to the throne of G-d. For awhile, I watched and then began to help out carrying the wreaths to an arch angel who would carry then to the throne of G-d. I heard a voice that said this one should be permitted to see where they go. New angels descended and brought with them a Merkavah, a magic carpet. The carpet lifted and ascended beyond Yetzirah to an overlook of the world of Beriyah. Below was

the throne of G-d, purple with a clear diadem sitting in its midst. Tallis wrapped apparitions stood around the throne speaking prayers. Wreaths were laid upon the throne and then consumed in a light that descended from on high. The crowd parted and I came close to the throne. There was power and danger in the light that descended for those to close to the throne, but I embraced and merged into the light. There was an embrace in the light like the presence of G-d and something else. The color around was white, without past, present, or future. There is the color of sky blue in one region. This is the Presence of G-d with the nation of Israel.

As the presence ascended, I ascended with it taking the prayer wreathes to the world of Atzulut. In Malchuts, the shefa of G-d descended with bounty and reward for the world below. With the name El Chai, El Shadai, the orange light of the setting sun I Yesod transmitted its bounty to Malchuts. In the green grasslands of Tiferet are tables with Torah scholars about learning and teaching under the Yellow sunlight of G-d. The Shechinah lifts the wreaths of prayers to the King and they join revealing the black infinite floor of Keter where the will of G-d takes form.

Three Seraphim speak for the past, present, and future. In the past, the seraph shows the waters of creation and the presence of G-d in lightning in the dark skies above. In the present, there is the Kotel and the Jewish prayers being submitted quickly before the sunsets. In the future is the Third Temple, built to enclose completely the Dome of the rock where the holy of holies rests inside.

Most important is the shimmering. Like ripples of water in a babbling brook over shallow stones in bright sunlight, our eyes look upon others creating the ether of G-d. What is the ether? It is none other than the shimmering, the shimmering of beatific light around creation. G-d has endowed mankind with the power to create the ether.

Creation of woman

And the Lord caused a deep sleep over Adam and He took from him a rib and made woman and brought her to him.

Adam was asleep when G-d took a rib from him and made the first woman. There is also a teaching that while Adam remained asleep G-d brought the woman to see him to see if she would accept him. From here we learn that a man must not criticize his wife for she accepted him first with all his faults. [55] Overall, a husband and wife should overlook each other's faults and accept each other.

b) Parsha Noach

Noach was a simple, righteous, man, \ymt qydx cya. The highest spiritual levels are achieved only through simplicity. Rabbi Nachman said that he achieved almost everything by simply reading the Psalms of David and talking to G-d. It is the same with all of tzaddikim.

Now the land – {ra was in a state of ruin – tjc. This is to say that that the areas of civilization were like a house infested with termites.[56] There is no manner of repair possible and the damage is to the core. As the

behavior of man goes so the nature of the world is affected. Hashem sends a flood to cover the land. The word again is Eretz. If the whole world would be flooded, the word would have been Olam. From here, we learn that only the civilized place of the world is flooded.

When Ham, father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, he told – dgyw, in a giddy manner about the state of his father. Perhaps Canaan was involved here and Ham failed to reprove his son. When Noach awakes from his sleep, he realizes that which has been done – hcu-rca to him. The text does not say that he heard what had been said about him. This teaches that to make fun of someone 'does or makes' a situation that is not easily reparable. Similarly in a Chofetz Chaim story, a person came to him to ask for forgiveness about gossip he had spread. The Chofetz Chaim told him to take a pillow and cut it open in the window. When he returned, the Chofetz Chaim said, "Now gather the feathers that have spread for as difficult as it is to gather all of these feathers is as difficult as it is to repair the damage of gossip."

c) Parsha Lech L'hah

Take yourself out of your place. One of the hardest things to do is move. This was one of the ten tests given to Avraham Avinu. In this Torah portion Hashem reveals to Avraham the name ***El Shadai*** meaning Almighty. We call upon the Almighty to overcome our most difficult challenges. This name is associated with fruition and the sefira of Yesod.

The passage, "G-d will raise you up on wings of eagles to bring you back to the homeland." In operation Magic Carpet, Yemenite Jews felt that silver birds taking them to Israel fulfilled this prophecy.

2. Shemot - Names - Exodus

The book of Exodus in Hebrew is Shemot – Names- tmc. Mem - m represents wisdom. Shin - c represents understanding. Having wisdom and understanding together leads to knowledge.[57] When one knows the true name of a person or object one has complete wisdom and understanding. Knowledge leads to power as in the easing of the human struggle from the proper applications of science through engineering.

Aryeh Kaplan *(Jewish Meditation P.129)* has the following to say on the letters shin and mem that make up the word for name in Hebrew:

It is easy to understand why the shin and mem are important. The shin has the sound of *s* or *sh*, and hence, of all the letters in the alphabet, it has the sound closest to white noise. White noise is sound that contains every possible wavelength, and is usually heard as a hissing sound. On an oscilloscope, the *s* sound would appear as a totally chaotic jumble with no structure whatsoever.

The opposite of white noise is pure harmonic sound. This is a hum, like the sound of a tuning fork. On an oscilloscope, this would appear as a perfect wavy line, the epitome of order and regularity. This is the sound of the mem.

The shin thus represents chaos, while the mem represents harmony. The Sefer Yetzirah says that the shin represents fire, while the mem represents water. The shin denotes a hot, chaotic state of consciousness,

while the mem denotes a cool, harmonic state. This is significant, since in many meditative traditions, the m sound is seen as one that leads to tranquility and inner peace. The sound itself seems to be conducive to the harmony that one seeks in the meditative state. The s or sh sound, on the other hand, is more closely associated with our normal, everyday level of consciousness. It is also interesting to note that the "still small voice" (1 Kings 19:12) in which Elijah heard G-d is translated by the Sefer Yetzirah as a "fine humming sound." It appears that the *m* sound was closely associated with prophecy.

Many of the Hebrew words that tend to focus the mind on a single object are made up of these two mother letters. Thus, the Hebrew word for "name" is shäm - \c, which is spelled shin mem. Similarly, the word for "there" is shâm - \c.[58] Both of these words have the connotation of the transition from the chaos of the general to the harmony of the particular. A name separates a single object from the chaos of all objects, while "there" separates a place from the chaos of all places. Both words therefore denote the transition from the concept of the shin to that of the mem.

In Exodus 1 we read:

Now these are the names of the sons of Israel, who came into Egypt with Jacob; every man came with his household.

wab wtybw cya bquy ta hmyrxm \yabh larcy ynb twmc hlaw

Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah;
Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin;
Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher.
And all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob were seventy souls; and Joseph was in Egypt already.

The number seventy is the numerical value of the ayin - u which is the last letter of the word Shema - umc which begins the declaration, "Hear O Israel the Lord your G-d the Lord is One." The ayin is said to allude to the seventy nations of the world and the seventy languages.[59]

a) Parsha Terumah

We learn in Parsha Terumah that the ark was laid with gold both on the outside and the inside. This is analogous to our soul and behavior which must be pure as gold internally and externally. The ark was measured to a half unit to teach us that we must break our midos down to measure and improve.

3. Vayikra - And Called - Leviticus

And the Lord called unto Moses, and spoke unto him out of the tent of meeting saying:

rmal duwm lham wyla yy rbdyw hcm-la ªrqyw

The first word of Leviticus differs from the other words in that its last letter, the aleph - a is written smaller then the other letters. This is a carryover from the original text which did not have spaces and the same letter could serve the purpose of ending the previous word and beginning the next. The letter aleph in

Hebrew contains the Gematria for the name of G-d:

a

The aleph can be seen as composed of 2 yods - yy and a vav - w. Together they have the numerical value of 26 which is the same as the value of the tetragrammaton.

yod + vav + yod = 10 + 6 + 10 = 26
heh + vav + heh + yod = 5 + 6 + 5 + 10 = 26

Another type of gematria we can do is based on the name of the letter itself: aleph - [la has the gematria 80 + 30 + 1 = 111 => 3. This is depicted in the shape of the aleph as having 3 components. The bottom aleph can be seen as a person calling up to G-d. The vav is the channel or ladder to climb and the top aleph is the point from which G-d responds or calls out to man. This is the image of prayer, of Jacob's Ladder, and the process of revelation. Thus, the word yikra - arqy, calling out teaches us that speech in general is an act in the image of G-d.

The book of Leviticus contains the laws of holiness. On the subject of laws, there are 2 major categories, i.e. those given to the whole world, and the laws pertaining additionally to Israel. The laws for the whole world are:

Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth. (Genesis 9)
Not to eat flesh from a living animal.
Not to murder.
Not to worship idols.
Not to curse G-d.
To establish courts of justice.
Not to murder.
Not to commit adultery or incest.
Not to steal.
Not to eat flesh from a living animal.

Jewish laws fall into the following categories. The chukim - \yqj - decrees are laws of holiness. The karbanos - twnbrq - offerings are those that deal with sacrifices. The Hebrew root is karov - brq which teaches us that sacrifices bring us closer to G-d. The mishpatim - \yfpcm - ethical laws or sentences pertain to morality and the justice system. The edoth - twdu - testimonies are commandments that are associated with our history and/or remind us of religious truths: i.e. holidays, tefillin, mezuzahs.

4. Bamidbar - In the Wilderness - Numbers

And the Lord spoke unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying:

rmal \yrxm {ram \taxl tynch hncb ynch cdjl djab duwm lhab ynys rbdmb hcm-la yy rbdyw

The Book of Numbers begins similar to Leviticus. The English name derives from the second sentence

where it says:, ‘Take ye the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, by their families, by their fathers’ houses, according to the number of names, every male, by their polls;’. An interesting Gematria that alludes to the purpose of the Israelites wandering the desert is contained in the word bamidbar - rbdmb:

resh + bet + dalet + mem + bet = 200 + 2 + 4 + 40 + 2 = 248

248 is the number of positive commandments identified in the Torah by our sages. The 248 positive commandments combine with the 365 negative commandments to make up the 613 - taryag - gyrt commandments identified by hazal - lzh - the elders of the Torah. The time spent in the wilderness gave the people of Israel the freedom to practice positive commandments like keeping Shabbas that were made difficult in the oppression of Egypt.

The gematria of the name of Abraham is also 248 representing his mastery of the positive mitzvoth.

a) The Positive Commandments (examples from the Concise Book of Mitzvoth)

1. To believe that there is a G-d.
2. To believe in the unity of G-d, i.e. that there is only one G-d.
3. To love G-d with all one’s heart, soul, and might. —Shema
4. To fear G-d.
5. To sanctify G-d openly.
6. To walk in the ways of G-d with all one’s ability.
7. To pray every day to G-d.
8. To recite the Sh’ma morning and evening.

Shema Yisrael Adonai Elohenu Adonai Echad
dja yy wnyqla yy larcy umc
Hear O’Israel the Lord our G-d the Lord is One

Baruch sham cavod malchuto l’olam vaed
duw \lwul wtwklm dwbk \c]wrb
Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom in this world forever

v’ohavta et Adonai Eloheha behal lvav’vha oovhal nafsheha oovhal m’odeha
]dam-lkbw]cpn-lkbw]bbl-lkb]yqla \ch ta tbhaw
And you shall love the Lord your G-d with all your heart and all your soul and all your might.

]bbl-lu \wyh]wxm ykna rca hlah \yrbdh wyhw
And these words which I command you this day shall be upon your heart

]mwqbw]bkcbw]rdb]tklbw]tybb]tbcb \b trbdw]ynbl \tnncw
And you shall teach them to your children and speak of them when sitting in your house, when walking along your way and when you lie down and when you rise up.

In the first line of the Shema, the letters du are larger than the rest spelling the word ‘ad’ or witness in English. The English word ‘aid’ originates from the Hebrew ‘ad’ and is closer to the Jewish concept of

witness.[60] When we call out Shema Yisrael, when we hear Hashem's words; Hashem like a father will come to our aid. Hashem gives us what we need, not necessarily what we want. The Witness assists us even in the event of a crime.

Although a Holocaust survivor and witness, Grandmother would say, "There is nothing bad that does not turn out for the good." During the Holocaust, she fasted Mondays and Thursdays to save food for the rest of her family while they were in hiding in Poland. Grandfather would search out new places and move the family often to avoid being located by the authorities. In the end, they were amongst a handful of witnesses who survived from the city of Kolemeah in Poland-Ukraine whose original Jewish population numbered close to 60,000. Grandmother attributed their survival to the Witness G-d.

The word Shema - umc is an acrostic[61] for Shadai Melekh Olam - \lwu]lm ydc - Almighty King of the World. This is what we are witnessing. The word echad - dja - also has a meaning in its individual letters. Dalet stands for the four directions in our world. Het is the seven heavens and the earth below. Aleph says that there is only one G-d ruling over all.[62]

The Shema is also a meditation for rectifying the world:
One should have in mind to transmit the illumination of God's holiness and the yoke of His Kingdom to his children and all other descendants. The reading therefore goes on to say "You shall teach them to your children..." He should furthermore have in mind to rectify man's state in general, as it continues, "[and you shall speak of them] while you remain at home and when you go on your way."[63]

As a rectification for ones home Luzatto teaches:
Finally, one should have in mind to rectify his house, as it concludes, "You shall write them [in the Mezuzah] on the doorposts of your house..."[64] wlc tybh tnyjb }qtlw

When one focuses his mind on repairing the spiritual aspect of his house while reciting this passage of the Shema, he will in fact be writing these words upon the doorposts of his house and repairing all within.

b) Balak

Balak, king of Moab, sent messengers to try to induce Balaam, a prophet of the area to curse the people "that came out of Egypt and covers the face of the earth." In the first two instances Balaam refuses to go with them, finally acquiescing in the third instance in the story of the talking donkey. Here are the prophecies sent to Balaam concerning Israel in these instances:

And G-d said unto Balaam: 'Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people; for they are blessed.'

(Numbers 12:12) awh]wrb yk \uh-ta rat al \hmu]lt al \ulb-la \yqla rmayw

Balak sent messengers that were more prestigious in the next round with offers of greater wealth and honor. Instead of sending these messengers away *right* away, Balaam said:

Wait here also this night, that I may know what more the Lord will speak to me. And G-d came unto

Balaam at night, and said unto him: ‘If the men are come to call thee, rise up, go with them; but only the word which I speak unto thee, that shalt thou do. *(Numbers 12:19-20)*

Here we see the danger of the will of a prophet impinging on the will of G-d.

And Balaam rose up in the morning, saddled his donkey, and went with the princes of Moab. G-d’s anger was kindled because he went; and the angel of the Lord placed himself in the way as an adversary against him. Now he was riding upon his donkey, and his two servants were with him. And the donkey saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand; and the donkey turned aside out of the way, and went into the field; and Balaam smote the donkey, to turn her into the way. Then the angel of the Lord stood in a hollow between the vineyards, a fence being on this side, and a fence on that side. And the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, and she thrust herself unto the wall, and crushed Balaam’s foot against the wall; and he smote her again. And the angel of the Lord went further, and stood in a narrow place where was no way to turn either to the right hand or to the left. And the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, and she lay down under Balaam; and Balaam’s anger was kindled, and he smote the donkey with his staff. And the Lord opened the mouth of the donkey, and she said unto Balaam: ‘What have I done unto thee, that thou hast struck me these three times?’ And Balaam said unto the donkey: ‘Because thou hast mocked me; I would there were a sword in my hand, for now I had killed thee.’ And the donkey said unto Balaam: ‘Am I not thine donkey, upon which thou hast ridden all thy life long unto this day? was I ever wont to do so unto thee?’ And he said: ‘Nay.’ Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand; and he bowed his head, and fell on his face. And the angel of the Lord said unto him: ‘Wherefore hast thou smitten thine donkey these three times? behold, I am come forth for an adversary, because thy way is contrary unto me; and the donkey saw me, and turned aside before me these three times; unless she had turned aside form me, surely now I had even slain thee, and saved her alive.’

At the point of Balak’s requesting cursing, Balaam has this to say,

How shall I curse, whom G-d hath not cursed? And how shall I execrate, whom the Lord hath not execrated?

For from the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him:
Lo, it is a people that shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.
Who hath counted the dust of Jacob, or numbered the stock of Israel?
Let me die the death of the righteous, and let mine end be like his!

bchty al \ywgbw }kcy ddbl \u-}h wnrwca twubbmw wnara \yrx carm-yk
(Numbers 23:9-10) whmk ytyrja yhtw \yrcy twm ycpn tmt larcy ubr-ta rpsmw bquy rpu hnm ym

5. D’varim - Words - Deuteronomy

a) Musical Notes, Vowels, Crowns, and Letters

These are the words which Moses spoke unto all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah, over against Suph, between Paran and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab.

}dryh rbub larcy-lk-la hcm rbd rca \yrbdh hla
bhz ydw trxjw }blw lpt-}ybw }rap-}yb [ws lwm hbrub rbdmb

'Word' - rbd also means 'thing' in Hebrew because words manifest into material changes. The word structures the creative process. Torah words have four components. Letters represent the physical meaning of each word. The ornaments or crowns are like the angelic forces in the background. The vowel points correspond to the souls of the words. Finally we become part of the eternal song of G-d when we add melody to the words.

Table 3: The Four Universes and Our Connection to Them

Expression	Worlds	Tetragrammaton
Ta'amim - \ymat - Cantellation Notes	Atzilut - twlxa - Nearness	Yod
Nekudot - twdqn - Vowel Points	Beriyah - hyrb - Creation	Heh
Tagin - }ygt - Ornaments	Yetzirah - hrxy - Formation	Vav
Otiot - twtw - Letters	Asiyah - hycu - Making	Heh

The notes for chanting the Torah contain the melody. These notes also assist the reader in connecting related Torah ideas as well as separating different concepts. A song without words is called a ningun, i.e. tune. Tunes while popularized by the Hasidim represent a highly abstract way of connecting to G-d. Music raises our spirit, elevates love, joy, excitement, and spontaneity. These are all aspects of Atzilut, the highest world of being.

The Nekudot or vowel points are the souls of the letters.[65] The letters are the consonants which can form words but require vowel points to activate their meaning.

The Tagin or crowns on the letters represent the extra element that Hashem transmits into the physical. In the world of Yetzirah, the angels busy themselves with the spiritual dimension of the physical world.

The letters also represent the physical making of the world. The energy transmitted by Hashem is received in the physical world. Succinctly, the process is symbolized by the name of G-d, Yod is the coin, which Heh the hand holds, Vav extends the coin, and Heh is our hand receiving the gift. The giving of Hanukah gelt - money is to reflect this image of G-d.

b) Avarice

Deuteronomy also contains a warning pertaining to wealth:

And when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied; Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Eternal thy G-d, who brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage;

(Deuteronomy 8:13-14)

Accumulating wealth for its own sake diminishes spiritual interest and charitable donations. In this case wealth waxes away as quickly as it came. The main problem is that wealth leads to arrogance.[66] In the subsequent verses G-d reminds us not to let wealth go to our heads.

Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint; Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that he might humble thee, and that he might prove thee, to do thee good at thy latter end; And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth. But thou shalt remember the LORD thy G-d: for it is he that gives thee power to get wealth, that he may establish his covenant which he swore unto thy fathers, as it is this day.
(Deuteronomy 8:15-18)

The proper use of excess wealth is to serve G-d in charity and the rest for the benefit of one's wife for sweetening the rigors of gevurah.

Man is created in the image of G-d. Also the Tree of Life represents G-d in this world with its thirty-two paths.[67]

Man is a tree of the field.
(Deuteronomy 20:19)

c) Practicing the Mitzvoth, Living in the Land of Israel

Rashi brings from the Siphre Midrash the idea that we observe commandments outside of Israel so that we remember how to do them when we are in the land of Israel. Hence the purpose of keeping the commandments is for the days when we are in the land of Israel.

Therefore shall ye lay up these My words in your heart and in your soul;
and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand,
and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes.
(Deuteronomy 11:18)

Even after you have been exiled, be excellent in doing commandments, put on tefillin, prepare mezuzot, in order that it should not be new for you when you return.
(Rashi 11:18)

The Ramban explains the meaning of Rashi and says that he has hinted at the meaning before. The hint is located in Vayikra 18:25:

And the land was defiled, and I checked the iniquity upon it.
And the land threw out her inhabitants.
(Leviticus 18:25)

Israel is in the galut (outside of Israel) because of iniquity. The Ramban tells a story of a king who sent his queen away because of some error. Nevertheless after returning to her father's house she continued

adorning herself though the king could not see her. It is the same for us. Though we are in exile we still adorn ourselves with the commandments, because we have our King, in mind and we think only of returning to His house in the land of Israel.

B. Prophets

The prophets were powerful people who possessed Hochmah – wisdom, Gevurah – physical strength, Asher – wealth, and Anav – humility. They were capable of supporting their students with their own funds. Physical strength was an essential ingredient as much as wisdom and humilty.[68]

1. Y'hoshua - G-d Saves - Joshua

Joshua's original name was Hoshua - ucwh, but Moses added a Yod - y to the front of his name after the victory over Amalek (Exodus 17:9). The Yod, the first letter from the name of G-d, transforms the name to mean "G-d saves." A Midrash states that Moses gave the name as a blessing to Joshua after the incident of the despondent spies, saying, "May G-d save you from the council of the spies."

At the end of his life, Joshua gathers the Jewish people in the city of Schem to bind a covenant between Israel and G-d.[69] Why did Joshua choose the city of Schem instead of Shiloh where the Ark of the Covenant rested? Bryna Levy explains that the sons of Jacob turned against their brother Joseph in Schem. Hence, Y'hoshua chose this place to remind B'nai Israel of the danger of senseless hatred. Y'hoshua is a descendent of Ephraim who is a descendent of Joseph. Joseph is buried in Schem. Y'hoshua would also come to rest here. At this point, the sin of the brothers is completely expiated and the story comes full circle from senseless hatred to brotherly love.

Eldav and Madav are speaking words of prophecy. Gersholm reported this to Moshe. What were they saying, "that Moshe will die and Joshua will lead them into Israel." Joshua spoke up and said, "My master Moshe", stop them, give them hard tasks so they will stop speaking words of prophecy. Because he spoke up before his teacher, he was given the death penalty. There are four types of punishment similar to death, person who is blind, a leper, who has no children. One who states a law in front of his rabbi receives the death penalty. There is a penalty that is worse then death where one loses Olam Habah, has vshalom, that is when one addresses his rabbi with his name attached. One should not say rabbi so and so but simply rabbi when addressing ones teacher.

Joshua married the tzedekes of Jericho, Rahav, who delivered the city into the hand of Jericho. Because of Joshua's punishment, she did not have children. The number of children granted a wife is according to the merit of the husband. The amount of wealth a man acquires is according to his wife.

2. Shofteem - Judges

After the death of Joshua, the Israelites inquired of the Lord, "Which of us shall be the first to go up against the Canaanites and attack them?"

(Joshua 1:1)

wb \jlhl hljtb ynunkh-la wnl-hluy-ym rmal yyb larcy ynb wlacyw ucwhy twm yrja yhyw

Adoni-bezek had his thumbs and big toes cut off as he did to kings he took prisoner. (Joshua 1:6)

This is the lesson of mido-cnegdo-mido - hdm-wdgnk-hdm, that a person's character and behavior will be repaid in kind.

3. Shmuel - Samuel

Hanna's Meditation

Hanna went to pray by the tabernacle because she had no children. Eli saw her davening without words and thought she was drunk. He asked why she was praying while drunk and Hanna replied that she wasn't drunk and instead described her situation calmly.[70] One should always let the Torah guide one's intellect which should guide one's emotions (Torah -> Intellect -> Emotions). There are two different phrases used in the Torah in this area, wbl lu - on ones heart. This phrase denotes that the emotions of the person are under the control of the intellect. This is the nature of a tzaddik - qdx - righteous person, whose intellect in addition, is under the control of the Torah. The emotions should rest on the heart and be circumventable by the intellect. wblb - In one's heart denotes that the emotions are controlling the intellect of the person. This is the nature of the Rasha - hcr - wicked person whose emotions control his thoughts and actions. This is extremely damaging in the case of anger.[71] There are three laws learned from Hanna.

- Prayer in a light voice is acceptable. Hanna's prayer was quiet which may have been unusual at that time but is now acceptable.
- Apologize and offer compensation for mistakenly rebuking another. This we learn from the response of Eli. While it is a mitzvah to correct a fellow Jew, if the person was innocent then one is required to appease that person. By way of apology, Eli offered Hanna a blessing that resulted in G-d granting her a child in a year.
- Explain to avert suspicion. Hanna did this with Eli. Hanna had the choice of ignoring Eli in this case but she wanted to clear up the misunderstanding.

Nevertheless, Rav Raphael Lapin states that ignoring a person is a particularly effective way to deal with rude people. He said this helps a person correct his/her behavior. He said that in Rav Soltzvechik's Yeshiva, the Rav would pause when someone asked a question and if the question was not well thought out he would then continue with his shir - ryc - class. In this manner, he would be helping the students to think intensely before speaking.

Rav Hamnuna in Berachos 31a says many important rules can be derived by Hannah's behavior.[72]

- "She spoke in her heart" (Samuel I 1:13). This teaches that when one prays he must concentrate in

his heart.
- "Only her lips moved." This teaches he must articulate the words with his lips.
- "Her voice could not be heard." He may not raise his voice in prayer.
- "Eli thought that she was drunk." One who is drunk is not permitted to recite the service.

a) King David and Avishalom

King David said that Avishalom should not be harmed. The Ramban comments that David knew that Avishalom was only acting as an agent for Hakodesh Barchu. This suggests the question of how does one know when one is acting as an agent for G-d versus acting out of free will. When an event is so out of the ordinary, as in the case of a son wanting to kill a father, it must be b'sheret.[73]

4. Y'shayahu - Isaiah

Isaiah describes six winged angels called Seraphim:

In the year that King Uzziah died, I beheld my Lord seated on a high and lofty throne; and the skirts of His robe filled the Temple. Seraphs stood in attendance on Him. Each of them had six wings: with two he covered his face, with two he covered his legs, and with two he would fly.

And one would call to the other,
Holy, holy, holy is
The Lord of Hosts
And all of the land is filled with his Glory!
(Isaiah 6:1-3)

Holy is the Lord in the past, holy is the Lord in the present, and holy is the Lord in the future. The name of the Angel of the Present is YöHöVîEL - lawhy. [74] The Angel of the Past is YâHâViEL - lawhy. The Angel of the Future is YäHäViEL - lawhy.

The doorposts would shake at the sound of the one who called, and the House kept filling with smoke. I cried,

"Woe is me; I am lost.
For I am a man of unclean lips
And I live among a people
Of unclean lips;
Yet my own eyes have beheld
The King Lord of Hosts."

Then one of the seraphs flew over to me with a live coal, which he had taken from the altar with a pair of tongs. He touched it to my lips and declared,

"Now that this has touched your lips,
Your guilt shall depart
And your sin be purged away."

The experience of an angel touching a hot coal to cleanse ones lips opens higher gates into the spiritual realm. One should always strive to visualize biblical images since they are the highest revealed truth we have in this world. When one does this correctly, the vision takes on a pure form and one becomes certain of a true revelation from Ribono Shalom.

Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord:
Though your sins are as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow,
though they are red like crimson, they shall be as wool.
(Isaiah 1:18)

This is our hope on Yom Kipper - the Day of Atonement. On that day the Gates of Mercy are opened and the truly repentant are brought to the highest level. There is a teaching that even a tzaddik - a righteous one cannot stand at the height of a Baal Tshuvah on Yom Kippur. The reason is that all the sins of a master of repentance are turned into blessings for him or her as G-d's forgiveness extends beyond justice into the realm of mercy and then into overflowing love for his children.

But there the Lord will be with us in Majesty,
In a place of broad rivers and streams
...
For the Lord is our Judge
The Lord is our Lawgiver
The Lord is our King
(Isaiah 33:21)

Isaiah speaks of the return to Zion and the good life that awaits us.

Fear not, for I am with you:
I will bring your seed from the East, I will gather you out of the West;
I will say to the North, "Give back!"
And to the South, "Do not withhold!"
Bring My sons from afar, And My daughters from the end of the earth.
(Isaiah 43:5-7)

The message here is that we will return to the land of Israel[75]. Whether from Babylonia, Europe, Russia, or Ethiopia, G-d will help us return to Eretz Israel - the land of Israel. Hashem causes us to multiply in the East, and to gather wealth in the West. The North tries to hold back its people from leaving, but the South releases freely.

For as the new heaven and the new earth
that I will make shall endure by My will, says the Lord
so shall your seed and your name endure.

And new moon after new moon, and Sabbath after Sabbath,
all flesh shall present themselves before me.
(Isaiah 66:22-23)

Isaiah's final words are a vision of the world to come. Our relationship with G-d today forms the paradigm of what will be again. Instead of transcending completely into a spiritual dimension, we appear in gratitude, worship, and thankfulness before the King of kings in all the weeks and months of our lives. Our world is a reflection of the best of all worlds. Time enhances our relationship with Hashem.

5. Hoshua - Hosea

The whole life of Hosea is a message of prophecy. From the name of the wife he chose to the names of his children, the microcosm of his life represents the whole house of Israel.

HOS 1:1 The word of the LORD came unto Hosea, the son of Beeri,
in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,
and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel.

HOS 1:2 The beginning of the word of the LORD by Hosea. And the LORD said to Hosea,
Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms:
for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the LORD.

The prophet's life depicts the nation of Israel. In the 6th century BC the kingdom of Israel was split between Ephraim and Judah. With Ephraim went the rest of the tribes of the North. They maintained aspects of cow worship from the religion of Baal and whored after the products and ways of their neighbors to the North:

HOS 2:5 For their mother hath played the harlot: she that conceived them hath done shamefully: for she said, I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink.

Israel went after the ways of her northern neighbors while Judah went after the ways of Torah and pursued G-d.

HOS 1:3 So he went and took Gomer the daughter of Diblaim; who conceived, and bore him a son.

Gomer was a son of Japheth in Genesis who was the father of the European peoples.[76] The sons of Gomer are Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmath. Ashkenaz is the ancestor of the German nation.[77]

HOS 1:4 And the LORD said unto him, Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel.

HOS 1:5 And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel, in the valley of Jezreel.

HOS 1:6 And she conceived again, and bare a daughter. And G-d said unto him, Call her name Loruhamah: for I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel; but I will utterly take them away.

HOS 1:7 But I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the LORD their G-d, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen.

There were two kingdoms in the Holy Land during the time of Hosea. The first, the Northern Kingdom of Israel where Hosea resided, was composed of eleven tribes excluding Judah. The Southern Kingdom was made up of the tribe of Judah, the largest of the tribes equaling all the others put together. While the house of Judah adhered to righteousness forged by the isolation of the desert, the house of Israel became tainted with the idolatrous practices of its neighbors. Hosea prophesied G-d's judgment upon the Northern Kingdom while sending a message of protection to Judah.[78]

Later in the Book of Hosea, the Lord allures Israel back from Baalim renewing her purity in the wilderness and states the following:

And I will betroth you forever:
I will betroth you with righteousness and justice, and with goodness and mercy,
And I will betroth you with faithfulness,
Then you shall know the Lord.
(Hosea 2:21-22)

The Lord is like a spouse to Israel. In the Song of Songs the Lord is our Husband. Each Shabbas he sends forth the Shechinah to dwell with us and She is our Bride. We view G-d at times as masculine and at other times as feminine.

Come, let us turn back to the Lord:
He attacked, and He can heal us;
He wounded, and He can bind us up.
In two days He will make us whole again;
On the third day He will raise us up,
And we shall be whole by His favor.
Let us pursue obedience to the Lord,
And we shall become obedient.
His appearance is as sure as daybreak,
And He will come to us like rain,
Like later rain that refreshes the earth.
(Hosea 6:1-3)

The Lord is the true Healer of the world. Sometimes we cannot heal ourselves and yet another can help.[79] The Gemara brings down the story about Rabbi Yochanan Ben Zakkai who went to visit Rabbi Chanina who was sick. When Rabbi Yochanan asked, "Are your sufferings for good." Rabbi Chanina replied, "Not now and not in the future." Rabbi Yochanan then extended his hand, raised up Rabbi Chanina and he was healed. Rabbi Yochanan was a healer and helped Rabbi Chanina in an area where he could not help himself. When Rabbi Yochanan was sick, Rabbi Chanina went to visit him. Rabbi Chanina asked the same question of Rabbi Yochanan who replied with the same answer. Nevertheless, Rabbi Chanina was not a healer and Rabbi Yochanan could not heal himself. Ultimately the mitzvah of Bikur Holim - visiting the

sick rescues the sick with the help of G-d. With renewed health comes renewed obedience to G-d. Suffering brings Tshuvah, repentance and a return to Hashem. Our hope is renewed like the dawn of a day and rain is associated with the renewal of the Earth.

6. Yoel - Joel

In Kohelet, we read, “A time for war and a time for peace.” We find the answer in Joel.

Joel tells of the exile of the Jews after the destruction of the first temple, the land being divided by lots, and the people sold into slavery. This is the time for war as G-d proclaims in Joel 4:9:

Proclaim this among the nations:
Prepare for battle! Arouse the warriors,
Let all the fighters come and draw near!
Beat your plowshares into swords, And your pruning hooks into spears.
Let even the weakling say, “I am strong.”

In Isaiah 2:4 we read:

Thus he will judge among the nations and arbitrate for the many peoples,
And they shall beat their swords into plowshares
and their spears into pruning hooks:
Nation shall not take up sword against nation;
They shall never again know war.

A third verse reconciles the two. Joel 4:16-17 reads:

And the Lord will roar from Zion, and shout aloud from Jerusalem,
So that heaven and earth tremble, but the Lord will be a shelter to His people.
And you shall know that I the Lord your G-d dwell in Zion, My holy mount.
And Jerusalem shall be holy;

Faith in the Lord balances war and peace, and brings one back to Zion. Above war and peace is Hashem’s shelter for his people at the base of Mt. Zion next to the city of Jerusalem.

7. Haggai

The Book of Haggai is short but the point is long. The message of this book holds the cure to greed and materialistic idolotry which is a plague afflicting many of today’s generation. Akin to this illness is gambling which stems from greed. Which is worse who knows, but one thing is for sure much that happens in the houses of Wall Street is legalized gambling and the precious time lost to this preoccupation is a weight upon the soul.

HAG 1:6 Ye have sown much, and bring in little; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but ye are not

filled with drink; ye clothe you, but there is none warm; and he that earneth wages earneth wages to put it into a bag with holes.

HAG 1:7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Consider your ways.

HAG 1:8 Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the LORD.

G-d is teaching us to apply our earnings to a good cause otherwise they will be blown away.

HAG 1:9 Ye looked for much, and, lo it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. Why? saith the LORD of hosts. Because of mine house that is waste, and ye run every man unto his own house.

HAG 1:10 Therefore the heaven over you is stayed from dew, and the earth is stayed from her fruit.

Building the temple and giving charity are the purpose of our silver and gold.

Now, the greatness of the Creator is revealed through the charity
that is given to a deserving person in need.
This is because the primary greatness and splendor is the revelation of the Colors.
And silver and gold are themselves the Colors, for the Supernal Colors are in them...

And when the Colors radiate, the Holy One then exults and takes pride in them,
as in (Hagi 2:8), "Mine is the silver, Mine is the gold."
From them "garments of yesha (salvation)"[80] are made.
(Likutey Moharan #25:4)[81]

Giving charity creates beautiful garments for our soul in the world to come.

HAG 2:3 Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?

HAG 2:4 Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the LORD; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the LORD, and work: for I am with you, saith the LORD of hosts:

HAG 2:5 According to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so my spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not.

HAG 2:6 For thus saith the LORD of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land;

HAG 2:7 And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of hosts.

HAG 2:8 The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the LORD of hosts.

HAG 2:9 The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the LORD of hosts.

All the nations came to see the Temple that Solomon finished. This is the rectification of money and the heart of materialism and is the source of peace, Shalom.

8. Malachi

The writings of Malachi detail the complete life. While widely known for the last line of his prophecy, Malachi's emphasis is on acting sincere, bearing responsibility in marriage, being sincere in charity and offerings and bearing up to the standard of behavior expected of the servants of G-d.

Proper rulings were in his mouth and nothing perverse was on his lips;
He served Me with complete loyalty and held the many back from iniquity.
For the lips of a priest guard knowledge and men seek rulings from his mouth;
For he is a messenger of the Lord of Hosts.

But you have turned away from that course: You have made many stumble through your rulings; you have corrupted the covenant of the Levites—said the Lord of Hosts.
And I, in turn, have made you despicable and vile in the eyes of all the people,
because you disregard My ways and show partiality in your rulings. (Malachi 2:6-9)

C. Writings

1. Yov - Job

The book of Job deals with the issues of providence i.e. the reasons why the rewards and punishments of people are not always clear. Eliphaz consoles Job with the following explanation:

5:17 As for righteous men like you [Job] who are stricken by evil,
it is the chastening of G-d, despise it not,
for the purpose of such chastening is like that of the trials of the righteous.

The sufferings that Eliphaz is referring to apply to the righteous only. For the rest of us suffering is often the direct result of our actions. For example, not giving charity diminishes wealth. Afflicting others brings similar affliction. Nevertheless, in the case of Job who was righteous before G-d in wealth and poverty these sufferings are difficult to understand. The "chastening of G-d" is seen by Eliphaz as an opportunity. The Gemara on Brachots speaks of asoras ahavah - sufferings from love. Our heavenly Father gives sufferings to his children for their sake so that they may return to him. As Rabbeinu Bachya[82] describes:

Thus, repentance and suffering saved the sinner *from going down the pit*,[83] but he will not merit to see the

Supreme Light until the soul is reborn as at first. Thus, Elihu next said, *His flesh is more tender than a child's, He returneth to the days of his youth.*[84] When he grows up, he will pray to G-d, and through his repentance and suffering he will be accepted by G-d. His righteousness will then be restored [as at first] for he will not have sinned since the days of his rebirth. His afflictions will have ensued from his former transgressions, which should have brought about his utter destruction. However, G-d devised means so that he would not be banished from the World to Come, and he will then merit the Supreme Light, as Elihu said. *So He redeemed his soul from going into the pit, and his life beholdeth the light,*[85] a reference to the Supreme Light. This device [of rebirth] can be repeated three times, as it says, *Lo all these things doth G-d work, twice, yea thrice, with a man.*[86]

Here, Rabbeinu Bachya brings an explanation for reincarnation in up to 3 lives. The reincarnation serves to amend past wrongs and may explain the suffering of the righteous. Rabbeinu brings down the final benefit that happened to Job:[87]

Then the Eternal answered Job out of the whirlwind.[88] Job attained the degree of prophecy because he was *wholehearted, and upright, and one that feared G-d, and shunned evil,* and had been chastised by trial. Although in his lack of wisdom, he transgressed by doubting G-d's judgment, his trial brought him nearer to G-d, for he accepted Elihu's words and found them satisfactory. Thus, he was now one that feared G-d and was sincere in his righteousness.

The whirlwind is an interesting metaphor. Once I entered a whirlwind 20 feet in height and was amazed to feel the presence of a spiritual entity. I thought this was a soul lost on Earth needing to return to G-d but in some cases this may be an elemental angel bringing a message from G-d.

2. Mishle - Proverbs

Tradition records King Solomon as having written 3 works. In his youth he wrote the Song of Songs. This work characterizes the relationship between G-d and Israel like the love of a young husband and bride. The last work he wrote, Kohelet - Ecclesiastes, deals with philosophies of life gleamed from the sufferings of the wealthy. Proverbs, on the other hand, is a work of mid-life. Of the 3 it is strongest at setting the foundation of how a person should live. I will take a few verses to illustrate the greatness of this work.

Chapter 3:
3:11 The chastisement of the Lord, my son, do not despise, and do not reject His rebuke.
3:12 For whom the Lord loves He reproves, as a father conciliates his son.

From Gemara Berachoth 5a we read commentary on:

axm alw hlt \aw - rca ta yk
jykwy \ch bhay rca ta yk :rmanc ,\h hbha lc }yrwsyc uwdyb

12 For whom - If he attributed (the cause to neglect of Torah) but could not find (an instance) He should know that they are sufferings of love, as it is said, "For whom the Lord loves He reproves".

The concept of 'sufferings of love' is a principle in the oral law and is brought forth from the proverb as

well as the story Job. The main hope of Hashem is that we improve like a father hopes in his son. Hence, the sufferings that we go through have this entire purpose. Often just by praying for Ribono shel Olam to heal us, we have turned back to Hashem and the purpose served.[89]

Chapter 11:
11:1 Deceitful scales are an abomination of the Lord, and a whole weight is His will.

This refers to inaccurate weights and scales that a storeowner might use to deceive a customer. In the month of Tishrei, which is overseen by the constellation of Libra, the scales have a deeper meaning. They are the scales of judgment that we must all undergo. We cannot deceive G-d with a false weight in this case but we can deceive ourselves when we act as a judge for our neighbor. We should judge each person fairly realizing that we are all human making mistakes. Our weight must not be so heavy that others fail to tip the scale to the side of merit. We must choose to forgive everyone of any harm that we perceive was inflicted on us. In this manner, Ribono Shalom, shall choose to forgive us and tip our scales for a favorable judgment in the year to come.

11:2 With insolent behavior comes shame and with the modest, there is wisdom

Insolent behavior, speaking out and talking back to others in an arrogant domineering way causes one to feel shame afterwards. By being modest and not provoking others, we gain wisdom.

11:3 Simple righteousness manages you, but a crooked treachery destroys.

Following a simple straight path in life will manage all the affairs of one's life. Simple faith and choosing the good leads one on the right path of life. This is not reward and punishment but a direct consequence. Similarly, crooked treachery destroys one's mind and ability to choose to do well. This is also not a punishment but the nature of the effect of this attitude on the mind.

11:4 Wealth shall not avail in the day of wrath, but charity shall rescue from death.

This very powerful verse teaches that tzedakah can change the divine decree in our favor. Money should never be hoarded but instead given in charity and this saves a person from death. There is a story about a rabbi who was in charge of a charity fund for a particular city. A woman came to him asking for money to pay to feed her children, but he told her all the funds were currently depleted. She said that she had seven children and that they would begin to starve if she did not get money soon to buy food. The man gave her money from his own personal funds. Two weeks later, fate found this man on his deathbed. The angels above beseeched G-d to change the decree for this man. They claimed that his charity had enabled the woman and her seven children to survive and that this meant all their descendants would live as well which is how a world is saved. G-d rescinded the decree and the person lived an extra 15 years.[90] Hence, charity rescues from death - twmm lyxt hqdxw.

Chapter 1:
1:8 Hear my son the admonition of your father, and do not abandon the Torah of your Mother

Normally the mother admonishes the children while the father excels in Torah learning. This proverb teaches us that we should listen to the corrections of our father and not just receive his kindness. While our

mother is an example of Torah and we should see her virtues in this area clearly and follow in those ways.

There is another teaching that long life and length of days is granted to one who honors ones mother and father.

When time is going by too fast it is because one is not spending enough time with ones parents.
(myself)

Chapter 9:
9:17 Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten secretly, more pleasing.

Some struggle to find true love. Others struggle for marriage to accept the true one. Many think that "stolen waters are sweet" and prefer relationships to marriage. On relationships Dessler says, "Together, they complement each other. This fact flows from the nature with which the Almighty has endowed them... the one who gives, loves."[91] "There are some people who do not want to enter into marriage. This is because they are unable to shake themselves free of the power of taking, and even their natural instincts cannot turn them into "givers," even temporarily..."[92] "To sum up: the best relationship between husband and wife will obtain when both achieve and practice the virtue of giving. Then their love will never cease and their lives will be filled with happiness and contentment for as long as they live on this earth."[93]

Chapter 27
1. Boast not yourself of tomorrow; for you know not what today may bring forth.
2. Let another man praise you, and not your own mouth; a stranger, and not your own lips.
3. A stone is heavy, and the sand weighty; but a fool's wrath is heavier than both of them.
4. Wrath is cruel, and anger is overwhelming; but who is able to stand before envy?
5. Open rebuke is better than secret love.
6. Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are profuse.
7. The soul who is sated loathes a honeycomb; but to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet.
8. As a bird that wanders from its nest, so is a man who wanders from his place.
9. Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart; so does the sweetness of a man's friend by hearty counsel.
10. Do not forsake your own friend, nor your father's friend; nor go into your brother's house in the day of your calamity; for better is a neighbor who is near than a brother who is far away.
11. My son, be wise, and make my heart glad, that I may answer him who reproaches me.
12. A prudent man sees the evil, and hides himself; but the simpletons pass on, and are punished.
13. Take his garment when he has given surety for a stranger, and take his pledge on behalf of an alien woman.
14. He who blesses his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him.
15. A continual dripping in a very rainy day and a quarrelsome woman are alike.
16. Whoever hides her hides the wind, like the ointment of his right hand, which betrays itself.
17. Iron sharpens iron; so a man sharpens another.
18. Whoever guards the fig tree shall eat its fruit; so he who waits on his master shall be honored.
19. As in water face answers face, so does the heart of man to man.
20. Sheol and Avaddon are never full; and the eyes of man are never satisfied.

21. The refining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold; and a man is judged according to his praise.
22. Though you should grind a fool with a pestle in a mortar among wheat, his folly would not depart from him.
23. Be diligent to know the state of your flocks, and look well to your herds.
24. For riches are not for ever; and does a crown endure to all generations?
25. When the grass sprouts forth, and the young grass appears, and herbs are gathered on the mountains,
26. Lambs shall provide your clothing, and goats the price of a field,
27. And you shall have goats' milk enough for your food, for the food of your household, and for the maintenance of your maidens

3. T'hillim - Psalms

The Psalms of David are our longings and prayers to G-d. Like the discarded stone that became the cornerstone of the Temple in Jerusalem, Psalm Thirteen is the cornerstone of the rest. Here it is in its entirety:

Psalm 13

To the Chief Musician, a Psalm of David
Until when, Adonay, will you forget me forever?
Until when, will You hide your face from me?
Until when, must I devise plans within my soul [to be free of] sorrow in my heart by day?
Until when, will my enemy rise high above me?
Look [at my troubled life and] answer me, Adonay, my G-d;
brighten my eyes lest I slumber into death.
Lest my enemy say, "I have prevailed against him;"
my tormentors rejoice when I waver.
I trust in Your loving kindness,
my heart will exult in Your deliverance.
I will sing to Adonay, for He has dealt kindly with me.

:dwdl rwmzm jxnml
jxn ynjkct yy hna-du
:ynmm]ynp-ta rytst hna-du
\mwy ybblb }wgy ycpnb twxu tyca hna-du
ylu ybya \wry hna-du
:twmh }cya-}p ynyu hryah yhla yy ynnu hfybh
:fwma yk wlygy yrx wytlky ybya rmay-}p
]tuwcyb ybl lgy ytjfb]dsjb ynaw
:ylu lmg yk yyl hryca

Lamnatzach, mizmor L'David

Ad anah | Adonay tshkihani netzah
Ad anah | tastir et panecha memeni
Ad anah | ashis atzot bnafshi ygon blvavi yoman
Ad anah | yarom oyvi alai
hebita anani Adonay elochai hairah anai pen ishan hamevet
Pen Yomar oyvi ychaltav zary ygylo cy amot
Vani bhadecha btachty ygl lby byshuatecha
Ashirah laAdonay cei gmal alai.

The word for lowly in Hebrew is Dal which is similar to the word dull in English. When we concern ourselves with the needs of others who are down, Hashem will remember us in kind when we are down.

Psalm 41

Fortunate is the person who concerns himself
with the needs of the lowly,
in his time of need,
Hashem will be there.

4. Divrei Hayamim Aleph - Chronicles 1

He is the Lord our G-d;
His judgments are in all the earth.
Remember His covenant forever, the word which He commanded to a thousand generations;
which he made with Abraham, and His oath with Isaac;
and he established it unto Jacob for a statute, to Israel for an everlasting covenant;
saying: 'Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance.'
(Chronicles 1 16:14-18)

David uttered these praises after selecting certain Levites including Asaph to minister before the ark of the Lord. Many of the praises in passages Chronicles 1 16:8-26 are found in our prayer book liturgy. The delegating of proper work to the Levites brought David great joy which brought forth these songs to Hashem:

Ascribe to the Lord, ye kindreds of the peoples,
Ascribe unto the Lord glory and strength,
Ascribe unto the Lord the glory due His name;
Bring an offering, and come before Him;
Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.
Tremble before Him, all the earth,
The world also is established that it cannot be moved.
Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice;
And let them say among the nations: 'The Lord reigneth.'

Let the sea roar, and the fullness thereof;
Let the field exult, and all that is therein;
Then shall the trees of the wood sing for joy,
Before the Lord for He is come to judge the earth.
O give thanks unto the Lord; for He is good; for his mercy endureth forever.
And say ye: 'Save us, O G-d of our salvation, and gather us together and deliver us from the nations,
That we may give thanks unto thy holy name that we may triumph in thy praise.'
Blessed be the Lord, the G-d of Israel, from everlasting even to everlasting.
And all the people said: 'Amen,' and praised the Lord.
(Chronicles 1 16:28-36)

IV. The Oral Law

Many details of Torah law were passed orally from the time of Moses. As new circumstances arose, the law was applied in new ways. The laws of the written Torah are called D'raissa and those passed orally are called Torah D'rabbanan.

There are many techniques in expounding the Written Torah with the Oral Torah. Many of the derivations are read into the text in ways that may not be significant. This is a creative manner as it is taught, the law is not in heaven that you should go up and seek it there, but man decrees and G-d fulfills. Truth evolves even absolute truth. This is the nature of Talmud. Right and wrong can change over time with interpretation. Absolute truth changes accordingly.

In observance, we strive to be the best we can be and follow the axiom '***Less guilt, more joy.***'[94]

A. Midrash

The Midrash is a commentary on the Bible and part of the Oral Law. The Midrash is rich in lessons and reveals the endless depth of meaning in Torah.

It is important that we not become depressed in daily sufferings. We should always remember the teaching of Akiba. R. Akiba said:

He deals strictly with both, even to the great deep. He deals strictly with the righteous, calling them to account for the few wrongs which they commit in this world, in order to lavish bliss upon and give them a goodly reward in the world to come; He grants ease to the wicked and rewards them for the few good deeds which they have performed in this world in order to punish them in the future world.[95]

King David wrote similarly in the Psalms:

Why do the wicked prosper in this world, so that they may be destroyed forever. Similarly, the righteous suffer in order that they may live forever in the world to come.

B. Mishnah

1. Perkei Avots

Avos 4:15 Rabbi Matya ben Harash said, “Be the first to greet every man; and be a tail amongst lions and be not a head to foxes.”

The Midrash on the Book of Samuel says: “Whereas the lion habitually raises his tail above his head, the fox lowers his head below his tail. And so it is with men: The gentleman respects his inferiors and discerns in them good qualities, whereas the lowbred despises and humiliates his superiors in honor and rank.”[96] Ultimately the gentleman is distinguished by his temperance, by his absence of anger.

C. Talmud

Rabbi Ishmael listed thirteen principles by which the written Torah is expounded. These are principles of logic for forming Oral Laws from the Written Law:[97]

1. Kal Vhomer – rmwjw lq If a rule applies in a lighter case, in a more serious case the rule applies.
2. Gzera Shav – hwc hrzg
3. Binyan Av – ba }ynb
4. Klal vPrat – frpw llk
5. Prat vKlal

Rabbi Lapin taught from Chulin that wherever G-d gives us a prohibition, there is something permissible, which is similar enough to satisfy any inclination we may have. There are always permissible foods that have similar flavors to non-kosher foods.

Here are the last words of Rabbi Yochanan Ben Zakkai while he was with his disciples:[98]

They said to him: Master, bless us. He said to them,:
May it be [God's] will that the fear of heaven shall be upon you like the fear of flesh and blood.
His disciples said to him: Is that all?
He said to them: If only [you can attain this]!
You can see [how important this is], for when a man wants to commit a transgression,
he says, I hope no man will see me.
At the moment of his departure he said to them:
Remove the vessels so that they shall not become unclean,
and prepare a throne for Hezekiah the king of Judah who is coming.

Last words are spoken with truth. To heed them is everything.

D. Mishnah Torah

If a prophet prophesizes something bad and it doesn't happen, it does not indicate that he is a false prophet, but if the prophet prophesizes something good, it must come to pass or we know that he is a false prophet. The idea here is that Hashem does not recall his good decree. May this idea drive us to repentance and Tshuvah to G-d in the good times as well as the bad, has vshalom.

E. Luzatto's Works [TABLES]

1. The Way of G-d - Derech Hashem

The 'Way of G-d' explains G-d's cosmological interface with the world. This was my first introduction to Kabbalah and I recommend it for everyone. The work bridges all Torah teachings with the mystical. Some of the subjects Luzzatto covers include the existence of G-d, the purpose of creation, angels, root of evil, destiny or providence, reincarnation, heavenly courts, influence of the stars, soul levels, dreams, magic, miracles, and prophecy.

2. The Path of the Just - M'silat Yesharim

This work is dedicated to Midos development. It presents a ladder to holiness consisting of the following traits:[99]

Duty
Watchfulness
Zeal
Cleanliness
Separation
Purity
Saintliness
Humility
Fear of Sin
Holiness

The Talmud lists the order differently. Rabbi Pinchas ben Ya'ir said, "Heedfulness leads to alertness, alertness leads to cleanliness, cleanliness leads to restraint, restraint leads to purity, purity leads to holiness, holiness leads to fear of sin, fear of sin leads to humility, humility leads to saintliness, saintliness leads to the gift of the holy spirit."[100]

The ten levels also represent a manner in which one purifies the Nefesh[101] or lowest soul in order to prepare oneself for the experience of Ruach Hakodesh, the holy wind, which is the middle soul transmitting inspiration. The highest soul or Neshamah is directly connected to G-d.

Table 4: Ten Principle Steps for Spiritual Inspiration

Level	Mordecai M. Kaplan's translation	Aryeh Kaplan's translation	Shraga Silver-stein's translation	Summary
1	Of Man's Duty in the World	Study	Duty	Man was created to find delight in the Lord and to bask in the radiance of his presence. To obtain this end, we follow the commandments in this world to merit the good light saved up for us in the world to come.[102] "But for me, the nearness of G-d is my good"[103] "One thing have I asked of the Lord that I will seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the graciousness of the Lord."[104]
2	Of Watchfulness	Careful-ness	Watchful-ness	A person should be watchful of his conduct. He must know what is truly good and bad to correctly classify his actions.[105] He should not enter upon any course of action without first determining its character. Watchfulness pertains to the negative commandments.
3	Of Zeal	Diligence	Zeal	"Depart from evil and do good."[106] Zeal pertains to keeping the positive commandments. "Those who are zealous perform a commandment at the earliest possible time."[107] "Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep – so shall thy poverty come as a runner and thy want as an armed man."[108]
4	Cleanness	Clean-liness	Clean-liness	Do not taunt your neighbor. Do not insult your neighbor. Do not mislead your neighbor. Do not slander your neighbor. Do not hate your neighbor. Do not nurse revenge nor swear nor lie nor act sacrilegiously against your neighbor.
5	Abstinence	Absten-tion	Separation	Abstaining from what is permitted brings one to holiness. "Whoever observes a fast not prescribed by law is considered holy."[109] "Be ye holy", Leviticus 19:2 means "Be ye abstinent"[110]
6	Purity	Purity	Purity	Perfecting ones heart and thoughts so that the evil inclination cannot influence them.
7	Saintliness	Piety	Saintliness	Regarding the body, to be as much help to those weighted down with a burden. "Bearing the yoke with one's fellow."[111] Spare no effort to prevent neighbor from bodily injury. Regarding possessions, not to cause damage to public or private property. "Let the possessions of thy neighbor be as to dear to thee as thine own."[112] Regarding feelings, to actively or passively (by listening) increase the pleasure of thy neighbor is a mitzvah under the category of saintliness.

8	Humility	Humility	Humility	A man should be wholly persuaded of his unworthiness to be the recipient of praise and glory for intellectual achievements. A man should have humility in one's bearing, in enduring insults, in hating to exercise authority and shunning applause, and in honoring everyone. In speech: "Let a man always speak gently."[113] A person should always speak respectfully and never disdainfully. In walking: "Walk humbly before your G-d." In sitting: "Find a place among those of humble rank and not among the great."[114]
9	The Fear of Sin	Fear of Sin	Fear of Sin	Refraining from sin out of regard for the glory of G-d. Sensing the awe of G-d.
10	Holiness	Holiness	Holiness	Cleaving to the will of G-d in all ones thoughts and actions.

"According to this program, one begins with constant study and observance, leading to scrupulous care not to violate any religious law. The next step is constant diligence to obey every commandment, and then to live a completely clean life, both in thought and in deed. One then reaches a level where he avoids even permissible things when they can possibly lead to wrong, and once this is accomplished, he can purify himself of all evil, past and present."

"The person is then ready to live a life of piety dedicating himself to G-d far beyond the call of law, and this leads to humility, the negation of the ego. A person can then gain such a clear perception of good that he literally dreads sin, being totally aware of the banality of evil. He is then ready for the highest of these ten steps, holiness, the total negation of the physical."

"The very next level is that of Ruach Hakodesh. These ten steps thus provide a program of discipline for the individual who wishes to attain true enlightenment."[115]

3. The Knowing Heart – Daat T'vunot

The "Knowing Heart" is a refreshing course on the foundation of the spiritual in the physical world. The yeshiva education places this work in the realm of philosophy and studies the Path of the Just for self-improvement. The Way of G-d provokes the questioning mind, the Path of the Just sets the way of life and the Knowing Heart refines ones faith.[116] Luzatto reveals new teachings here that are not revealed in previous works. For example, on the importance of ecology:[117]

The Creator did not implant negation and deterioration in the nature of perfect creatures,
but in the nature of imperfect ones,
so that when the creatures will have perfected themselves in time to come,
they will not be subject to negation at all.
...
We speak of negation and deterioration as they apply to each species in itself.
Their inter-connection and conjunction towards the universal end, to the contrary,
is a correction for this because by virtue of it they leave the sphere of evil and are rescued from it.

...

In sum, it is in the species of nature in themselves and not in their inter-relationship that negation, lowering, and deterioration obtain.
In their inter-relationship is rooted their perfection and escape from evil!

Luzatto here presents his view that nature working together is good, but species isolating themselves from other species leads to evil. This is reflected in the sefirot where in their original form, they attempted to exist independently and shattered when they became to full of the flow from Hashem. Their shattered forms are rebuilt into the Partzufim, who transmit the energy to each other and in doing so permit the sefirot to exist in harmony.

F. Kaplan's Works

Kaplan's best introductory work on kabbalah is "Inner Space." While intended for instruction, the work also inspires and gives the ecstatic experience of a real work of kabbalah. While Kaplan's "Jewish Meditation" introduces one to the subject, I recommend the work only as supplementary material. Here is an example of one of Kaplan's uncanny ideas in "Jewish Meditation":

What is the real me? A hint to the answer can be found in the Hebrew word for "I," ani - yna. It is significant to note that if the letters of ani are rearranged, they spell the word ayn or ayin - }ya, which denotes nothingness. This would seem to imply that the real "me" is the nothingness within me *(Jewish Meditation P.87).*

Typically, the reverse spelling of a Hebrew word suggests an opposite meaning of a similar nature. For example, the word for 'heart' spelled reverse means 'owner'.

Kaplan's other major works include Meditation and Kabbalah, Meditation and the Bible, Sefer Yetzirah, and The Bahir Illumination. Bahir is one of the names of light in Hebrew along with Zohar, Nogah, Kavod, ... Bahir means brilliance and the work resembles a piercing light into the soul while the Zohar is more of a defused light. Let's look at the first verse which contains a classic Talmudic technique for resolving arguments:

Rabbi Nehunia ben HaKana said: One verse (Job 37:21) states, "And now they do not see light, it is brilliant (Bahir - ryhb) in the skies . . . [round about G-d in terrible majesty]." Another verse, however, *(Psalm 18:12)*, states, "He made darkness His hiding place." It is also written (Psalm 97:2), "Cloud and gloom surround Him." This is an apparent contradiction. A third verse comes and reconciles the two. It is written (Psalm 139:12), "Even darkness is not dark to You. Night shines like day — light and darkness are the same."

The description here is validated in the meditative experience where darkness can radiate like light. Another excellent Kaplan compilation is Rabbi Nachman's Stories which is a compilation of the stories told from Rabbi Nachman of Breslov. Kaplan complements the stories with a full blown commentary on the work explaining their meaning with Kabbalah and the meaning of the Kabbalah as well. Here is an example of Kaplan's commentary on Rabbi Nachman's story, "The Ram and the Bull."

The story is about a King who dreams of a Ram and a Bull that will lead to his destruction. He is an enemy of Israel and imagines that the Ram and the Bull represent physical forms. Instead they are actually from the mazelot - constellations and represent the month of Nissan with the ram and Iyar with the bull. The Jews were redeemed from Egypt in Nissan and the state of Israel was established in Iyar. The Ram also represents the 4 tzitzit since they are made from a ram's wool. If a ram is stolen it must be repaid with 4 times its value symbolizing the 4 tzitzit. The Bull represents the tefillin with its 5 compartments since they are formed with leather. If a bull is stolen, 5 times its value must be repaid to the original owner. Iron or Barzel has the acrostic lzrb which can represent the 4 wives of Jacob, i.e. Bilnah, Rebecca, Zilpa, and Leah.

Aryeh Kaplan's Sefer Yetzirah commentary identifies Hochmah with the principle of thesis and Binah with the principle of antithesis resulting in Daat, the principle of synthesis.[118] In Hochmah there is a singular thought that transfers to Sefira Binah. In Binah consciousness, we analyze the thought extensively breaking it down into multiple categories. Finally, the Daat principle takes over selecting and combining the ideas from Binah into a synthesized solution.

G. Nachman's Works

1. Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom - Shevachey and Sichos HaRan

"Shevachey and Sichos HaRan" translated as the "Life and Conversations of Rabbi Nachman" is also known as Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, the wise sayings of Rebenuzal.[119]

As philosophy is the creation of the house of Esau, so Talmud is connected to the influence of Lilith. Rabbi Nachman warned incessantly on the dangers of the study of philosophy, that it leads to depression, which is rooted in evil. Similarly, Talmudic study in the area of halachic argument is rooted in philosophy based on the Thirteen Principles of Reason laid out by Rabbi Ishmael and may lead to depression.[120] The following gematria illustrates the connection:

dwmlt = 480 = tylyl

One cultivates intellect while studying talmudic law. By mastering the tools of reason, one grows in wisdom, but sometimes with a degree of depression.

For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow. (Ecclesiastes 1:18)

Agadah, kabbalah and Mussar when mixed with talmudic study temper this effect helping one develop the 48 qualifications by which the Torah is acquired.[121] The Talmud in its abundance includes all these areas and is hence, 480, a ten-fold magnification of these qualifications.

In the Sichos HaRan, Rabbi Nachman teaches:[122]

Joy can protect your children from death.

The evil force that destroys children is called Lilith.[123]
Joy is the antithesis of Lilith.

Aryeh Kaplan explains in the footnote, "Lilith comes from the root Laylay-night and is associated with dark moods and depression.[124]

2. Likutey Moharan

a) David's praise

David says something interesting in Psalm 56:11 which Reb Nachman builds upon.

In Elohim I will praise his work, in Hashem I will praise his work.

Elohim is the name of G-d in judgment and Hashem the name of G-d in mercy here. The psalm teaches, in both times of judgment and in mercy, we should sing praise to Hashem. Furthermore, the Shema teaches that Hashem's name is one. Thus, the names Elohim and Hashem are one.

dja yy wnyqla yy larcy umc
Hear O'Israel the Lord our G-d the Lord is One

How are we to understand this? The gematria of 'One', Echad is the same as that for 'Love', Ahavah. Thus, when G-d manifests the attribute of judgment, Elohim, this is out of love and so is the manifesting of the attribute of mercy, Hashem, out of love.

dja = 13 = hbha

Rabbi Nachman explains:

Knowing all this is called complete awareness. For the essence of awareness is the union of <chasadim (benevolence) and gevurot (severities)>. This is called Daat. In other words, he does not differentiate between loving kindness and judgment, but blesses "Who is good and beneficent" over everything. This is called "YHVH is one and His Name is one"[125]

b) Bones

Ezekiel writes:[126]

And their iniquities will be etched upon their bones.

There is fundamental idea that a person's sins are etched upon his bones. Even if a person is forgiven by G-d of his sins, there may still be traces on his bones. Reb Nachman teaches from the Baal Shem Tov, that one needs to confess his sins in order for these traces to be removed.[127]

By means of spoken confession, however, the letters disappear from the bones into which they have been etched and are transformed into the words of confession. For speech emanates from one's bones, as is

written (Psalms 35:10), “All my bones will say.”[128] He tears down the negative structure and combination, and from the letters builds Malkhut d’Kedushah.[129]

Ezekiel is later asked by G-d, “can these bones yet live?” Ezekiel responds, “Oh Lord only thou knowest.” The Lord responds, “All these bones are the whole house of Israel and though they have lost hope, they shall yet live and walk in the land of the living.” Our bones are identified with our inner thoughts and deeds, which affect our hopes. There is also a teaching that in each of us there is a single bone, etzem, which is our essence and is not destroyed and from which a newly created body is made in the time of a resurrection. To preserve this bone is one reason that Jews do not to practice cremation.

R. Isaac bar Parnakh said: All of a man’s iniquities are engraved upon his bones.[130]

The Lord will make strong thy bones
(Isaiah 58:11)
R. Eleazar said: This is the most perfect of blessings.[131]

3. Letter From Rebbe Nachman

In 1922 a letter was found that is from Rebbe Nachman. The letter reads:
Very hard it was for me to descend to you my precious student to tell you that I benefited greatly from your work and upon you I said, “My fire will burn until Messiah will come be strong and courageous. In your work, Na Nach, Nachma, Nachman Me’Uman.
And with this I shall reveal to you a secret and it is: Full and heaped up from line to line (pay, tzaddi, pay, tzaddi, you, hay)

And with strong service you will understand it and the sign is the 17th of Tamuz they will say that you will not fast.

I had a copy of this letter and had put it away with some papers. Strangely, on Shabbas morning, the 17th of Tamuz 5758, I was browsing some papers and stumbled upon the letter. When is the 17th of Tamuz not a fast day, when it is Shabbas I thought, so the finding of this letter on this Shabbas was not by chance. While the letter was originally sent to Rabbi Yisroel Dov-Ber Odesser Z”l of Tiberias, it is clear to me that it has a more significant reach. Part of the key is in the song, }mwam }mjn mjn jn n, which has gematria 137+148+98+58+50=491. This is also the gematria of }lyat. Ninety-one is the gematria of Hashem-Adonay that is Elon the last four letters. Elon refers to the Tree of Life. The Tav transforms Elon into a verb referring to establishing the tree. Nati Elon is founder of the Green Party in Israel. He teaches that the essence of moshiach is to see its potential in others. “It is like a seed planted waiting to grow.”[132]

H. Moshe Cordovero [TABLES]

1. The Palm Tree of Devorah

The book provides training on improving one's midos - character traits by learning to behave in the image of G-d. In summary, the book presents the following associations:

Table 5: Mastering the Midos According to the Palm Tree of Devorah[133]

Sefirot	Midos
Keter crown, infinite mercy (The eight good qualities under the banner of humility —› These parallel the head in the following features: 1. Head 2. Mind 3. Forehead 4. Ears 5. Eyes 6. Nose 7. Face 8. Mouth)	1. A person must be humble. Humility derives from Keter. Keter is associated with the human head. 2. The wisdom (Hochmah) of Keter is to think good thoughts and to hold to a path of compassion. 3. A person's forehead should have no harshness. Even though certain people may arouse anger, one should conciliate them and placate them with good will for this is what G-d does. One should behave with pleasantness towards all creatures, for a harsh person is repaid in kind. 4. A person's ears should always turn to hear good, while falsehood or despicable things should be denied entry. Just as we expect Hashem to hear our good reports, we should behave in the same manner with our fellow. 5. A person's eyes should not gaze at anything despicable. Rather, one's eyes should watch over unfortunates and display compassion. One should distance oneself from noticing evil just as we hope that Hashem sees mostly our good. 6. The nose should never hold the breath of anger. Rather it should contain the breath of life, good will, and patience, even toward those who are unworthy. One should always exhale forgiveness of sin and pardon of iniquity. 7. A person's face should always shine and one should receive all people with a cheerful countenance. All who gaze upon it should find joy and cheerfulness. "Like in water one's face is reflected back, also the heart of a man is to a man" – Proverbs 27:19. 8. The mouth should express only good and the content of his words should be Torah and constant good will. No ugly words, curses, anger, frivolous talk should escape it. Rather, it should resemble the supernal 'Mouth,' which is uttering good at all times. Thus, one must speak well of everything, expressing benevolence and blessings constantly.
Hochmah wisdom	First, a person should commune with G-d in solitude in order to perfect his wisdom. Second a person should teach others what he has learned. A person should act as a father to all creatures showing mercy and helping them.
Binah understanding	Repentance and return to G-d. "Calling repentance to mind all the days of his life causes binah -understanding to illuminate all his days, the result being that all his days are spent in repentance. That is, he merges himself with binah, which is repentance, so that all the days of his life are crowned with the secret of the higher level of repentance."[134]

Hesed kindness	Love of G-d, which leads to love of people who are in the image of G-d. Practice Nachum Ish Gamzu's saying, "this too is for the good."
Gevurah might, power, severity	Buying clothes and providing a house for one's wife is the proper expression of might and power, sweetening severity. The desires of the Yetzer Hara, bad inclination, are intended for satisfaction of the wife by providing her with clothes, a house, and physical satisfaction. Afterwards one has brought gevurah to a good use and satisfied the Yetzer Tov, good inclination. The fine clothes and house model after the Temple. The satisfied wife brings the Shechinah, the divine presence of G-d into the home.
Tiferets beauty, truth	Obtained by studying Torah. This grants an understanding of the truth and provides a countenance of beauty. "One who teaches the Torah is on the level of Tiferets. When a man sits and learns for this purpose, Tiferets flows into Netzach and Hod and he actually attains their level."[135]
Netzah victory, eternity	Encourage students of Torah. Scripture comes from the right and associates with Netzah. Netzah and Hod are called 'those who adhere to it and support it.'
Hod gratitude	Financially assist and physically help students of Torah. Mishnah comes from the left and associates with hod. Talmud includes both Scripture and Mishnah.
Yesod righteousness	Be careful in speech. Avoid anger. ECC 5:6 Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin; neither say thou before the angel, that it was an error: wherefore should G-d be angry at thy voice, and destroy the work of thine hands?
Malchuts kingship	Apply ones wealth for the sake of Heaven. Behave humbly.

Moshe Cordovero revealed that each sefira has a leaning. Even the sefirot along the central trunk lean to either the left or the right and this leaning can be corrected. Cordovero teaches that we must strive to bring all the sefirot to lean to the right side.

Table 6: Sefirot Leanings

Sefira	Leaning
Keter	Right
Hochmah	Right
Binah	Left
Hesed	Right
Gevurah	Left
Tiferet	Right
Netzah	Right

Hod	Left
Yesod	Left
Malchut	Left

Sefirot that lean to the left have emotions that are easily applied in negative, destructive manners. It is our duty to find the positive in these sefirot and harness the emotions in service to Hashem. Moshe Cordovero in the following paragraphs describes this process.

a) Binah

The chapter begins:

How does man train himself in the quality of binah - understanding. He returns in complete repentance, for there is nothing like her, because she repairs all flaws - \gp. And just as binah sweetens all severities and neutralizes their bitterness, one should repent and rectify all flaws. A person who calls repentance to mind all the days of this life causes binah to illuminate all his days, the result being that all his days are spent in repentance. That is, he merges himself with binah, which is repentance, so that all the days of his life are crowned with the secret of the higher level of repentance.

Note that all existence is rooted in repentance, according to the secret of the Jubilee. In addition, the root of the external forces — expounded in the mystical teachings as the secret of the River Dinur — is also rooted therein and flows therefrom. (However, the River Dinur itself is included in Holiness, according to the mystical teachings regarding the severities.) This is called ‘the outflow of Divine Anger.’ But by means of the mystical teaching regarding the verse, “G-d smelled the pleasing scent of the sacrifices...” (Gen8:21), that ‘outflow’ returns to its source, the severities become sweetened, the anger ceases, and “G-d refrains from the evil...” (Ex32:14). Likewise, by means of the mystery of repentance, say that repentance benefits only the aspects of holiness in man. For his evil aspects are rectified as well, just as the severities are sweetened by this attribute.

Know that Kayin himself was evil, and he derived from evil, yet he was told, “If you do good, will you not be uplifted...?” (Genesis 4:7), meaning, “Do not think that, because you derive from evil, you have no hope. This is false. For ‘if you do good,’ anchoring yourself firmly in the good implanted there, via the root of your soul, and do yourself good.” For everything bitter has a sweet Supernal root, as the mystical teachings explain. Thus, a person’s evil actions may be turned into good, and his deliberate transgressions may be turned into merits. For when one returns in complete repentance, these selfsame evil deeds from the ‘Left Side,’ which were accusers enter the higher worlds and become rooted in holiness there, transforming themselves into good rather than becoming nullified. This is what G-d told Kayin regarding his own self-betterment.

Thus, had Kayin repented, thereby becoming rectified, then the state of Adam’s sin—in which Kayin was conceived (the name Kayin deriving from the phrase "kina demisavuta", meaning ‘contaminated nest’)—would have been to his credit, according to the mystical interpretation of the concept of ‘the Son brings Merit to His Father.’ However, Kayin did not desire to repent, and therefore the entire Left Side

derives from there, but all its branches will eventually become sweetened, returning to perfection. The reason for this is exactly as we have explained—a person who caused evil to become rooted in himself can sweeten it and restore it to good.

Therefore, when a person purifies his evil inclination and transforms it into good, it becomes rooted in holiness. This is the elevated level of repentance that a person who wishes to conduct himself in this manner should contemplate every day, and he should also repent in some way, so that all his days will be spent in repentance.[136]

Understanding is symbolized by motherhood here. A mother corrects her child, sweetens the judgment, nullifies the bitterness, and helps the child fix any flaws.

b) Hesed

Cordovero explains that hesed can only be achieved by placing the love of God before all other loves:

How should a person train himself in the attribute of hesed (kindness)? The main way to enter into the secret of hesed is to love G-d so absolutely that one will never forsake His service for any reason; for, compared with the love of God, Blessed Be He, no other love has any worth. Therefore, he should first attend to the requirements of his Divine service; then, the remainder of his time may be used for other needs.[137]

The wants of ones own family may distract from an opportunity for hesed. Combine hesed with the family activity and all will be blessed from Hashem.

If one experiences a difficult event, has vshalom, it is also for the good.[138] This is a binding of Malchuts and hesed. Cordovero presents eight principles of mastering hesed. As they are between man and man they are between man and G-d. A person who loves G-d loves man.

One who loves man greatly loves G-d truly.

Table 7: Hesed for G-d

Principle/Binding	Leaning
One Tiferets and Binah	Providing the necessities of a child's sustenance from birth. This is the birth of Tiferet from Binah. An easy birth leans the child to the right and Tiferet leans to the right. A rigorous birth leans Tiferet to the left descent of Binah.
Two Yesod	Circumcising the child. "One should pursue all those who cause the foreskin to grow on Yesod, bringing them back in repentance in such a way that, by circumcising the foreskins of their hearts, he renders the Supernal Tzaddik (G-d's reflection to us) without a foreskin.

Three Malchuts and Tiferet	Visiting the sick and healing them. The Shechinah is love sick with desire for Tiferets. Tiferets in the world to come is love sick for Malchuts, the Shechinah in this world. As one treats ill people well one must also treat Malchuts and Tiferets well who are saddened by their isolation from each other. Tzedakah, tikkun, holiness, blessings, Torah practice and study heal the union of Malchuts and Tiferets above.
Four Binah and Tiferet Malchuts and Yesod Malchuts and Tiferet	Giving charity to the poor. The hqdx for G-d is to say amen 90 times a day, the Kedushah 4 times a day, 100 blessings a day, and to read from the 5 books of Torah each day.[139] For Tiferets we must draw down from Binah a supernal sheaf for it says, "we must leave them for the poor and the stranger", and Tiferet is as stranger to Malchut below. For Malchuts, we should draw down tzedakah (maser ani – the tithe to the poor) from Tiferets and this is given to Yesod, who is called poor, which raises Malchut. If one binds Malchut to Tiferet, he gives the tithe to the stranger.
Five Tiferets and Malchuts Yesod and Malchuts	Offering hospitality to strangers. This is to give Tiferet and Yesod a guest house to rest which is Malchuts. For Tiferets and Yesod are in exile. They are searching for what they have lost, the Shechinah. Fixing times for Torah study unifies Tiferets and Malchuts.
Six Keter and Malchuts- Hesed	Attending to the dead. Clothing the dead in white is cleansing the body of sin which elevates the sefirot one by one, limb by limb raising them to the level of Eden on high which is Hochmah of keter. The upper Eden is in tiferets so Cordovero is referring to even higher aspect of Eden. This is a mitzvah of faith.
Seven	Right. Making peace between peers from Hochmah to Binah, from Hesed to Gevurah, or from Netzah to Hod.
Eight	Left. Similarly making peace between peers from Binah to Hochmah, from Gevurah to Hesed, or from Hod to Netzah.

Sometimes I am certain that all of the sefirot really exist for the sake of Malchuts (reuniting the Shechinah) and Binah (repentance). In the same way man exists for the sake of women.

c) Malchut

Traveling leads to becoming a "vehicle for the exiled Shechinah."[140]

A man should exile himself, wandering from place to place for the sake of Heaven, thereby becoming a vehicle for the exiled Shechinah. He should think to himself: "Behold, I am in exile, but I have all my implements with me. But what about the honor of the Supreme One, for the Shechinah is exiled without any

implements, for they have gotten lost as a result of the exile?" For this reason, he should manage with as little as possible – as the verse states: "make yourself implements for exile (Yechezkel 12:3) – and let the exile humble his heart, while he binds himself to Torah. Then the Shechinah will be with him.

He should also impose an 'expulsion order' upon himself, always banishing himself from the comforts of home, just as Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai and his comrades banished themselves to toil in Torah. Better still, he should weary his legs by trudging from place to place without horse or wagon. Concerning such a person, it is stated: "...his hope shevaro - wrbc is with the Lord, his G-d" (Psalm 146:5), deriving from the word shevar - rbc, meaning 'breaking,' for he breaks his body for the honor of the Supreme One.

I. Yonah of Gerona

Rabbeinu Yonah is the author of Sharei Tshuvah - hbwct yruc, the Gates of Repentance:

XXVIII. The penitent is further obliged to humble himself and to undertake to conduct himself in the manner prescribed by our Sages of blessed memory: "And be lowly of spirit before all men" (Avoth 4:10 Rabbi Levitas Ish Yavne). So doing, he will not be angered by his neighbors nor take offense at them; nor will he take to heart all the things that he hears, overlooking injustices against himself in order to atone for his transgressions, as Hazal have said, "If one overlooks injustices against himself, all of his sins will be forgiven" (Rosh Hashanah 17a), G-d's relationship with him corresponding to his relationship with others. This concept constitutes a highly significant opening for hope, as it is said, "Let him put his mouth in the dust; perhaps there may be hope. Let him give his cheek to him that smiteth him; let him be satiated with shame" (Lamentations 3:29).[141]

J. Sefer Yetzirah

1. Golem

The Maharal describes the following characteristics of the Golem.

- The golem has a pure soul..
- The golem has no physical lusts, thus does not sin, thus is immune from sickness.
- The golem is not obligated to the commandments of Torah and thus is less qualified than a Jewish woman to be counted in a minyan.

The practice of making a golem is the meditative exercise of drawing down a pure soul or creating a pure soul within oneself. In order to do this one must purify himself of any impure thoughts or emotions which is the spiritual counterpart of removing hametz on Passover from one's possessions.

K. Zohar

The Zohar, shining, is a work of Kabbalah. The major core is a commentary on the Five Books of Moses similar to the Midrash but instead, with an emphasis on mystical interpretations of the text. Three other works of the Zohar describe the G-dhead, and the physical form that corresponds to the crown of behavior of man in the image of G-d.[142] The following example text traces the meaning of the 'beard' of G-d from its physical form to the thirteen gates of repentance.

Note, the following translations are very difficult to follow. I will do my best to explain them.

Book of Concealed Mystery

Through thirteen springs are the fountains distributed. Four are separate but joined together, nine flow upon the body and encircle the garden. The ornamentation begins at the gate of the ears. It descends in beauty to the beginning of the lips; from the beginning of the ears to the beginning of the lips. There exists a path beneath the nostrils, in order that He may seek to pass over transgression; Proverbs 19:11 "And it is his glory to pass over a transgression."

Beneath the lips the beard goes into another beginning ...

The lips are free on every side. Blessed is he who shall become the receiver of their kisses. In that influence stream down thirteen drops of pure balm. In this influence, all things exist and are concealed.

At that time, when the seventh month draweth nigh, those months shall be found to be thirteen (for in the Codex, so often said to be correct, the word twelve is expunged to show it to be a year of thirteen months, according to the number of those thirteen divisions of influence) in the supernal world, and the thirteen gates of mercy are opened. At that time: Isaiah, 40:6 "Seek ye the Lord while He can be found."[143]

The leap year of the Hebrew calendar includes a 2nd month of Adar called Adar Sheni. In this particular year there are thirteen months and they afford and extra month to understand the concepts of the Idra.[144]

Idra Rabba Kaddisha

It is said in the 'Book of Concealed Mystery': That beard, the truth of all (truths), proceeds from the place of the ears, and descends around the mouth of the Holy One; and descends and ascends covering the place of fragrance (the cheeks); white with ornament and it descends in equilibrium and furnishes a covering even unto the midst of the breast.

That is the beard of adornment, true and perfect, from which flow down thirteen fountains, scattering the most precious balm of splendor.[145]

The thirteen parts of the beard are thirteen aspects in the sefira of Keter in the world of Atzilut. They correspond to the primal ratzon, will or desire of G-d.

Mathers writes in his commentary on this passage[146],

The “thirteen divisions of the influence in the supernal world” are of course those thirteen parts of the beard of Macroprosopus considered in the sense of Atziloth, the archetypal world, the habitation of the pure Sephiroth alone: “Seek ye the Lord while he may be found.”

I would like for a moment to trace the origins of this Zohar text to the prophet Micah. Moshe Cordovero writes in his Tomer Devorah[147]:

It is proper for man to emulate his Creator, for then he will attain the secret of the Supernal Form in both image (tzelem) and likeness (demut). For if a person’s physical form reflects the Supernal Form, yet his actions do not, he falsifies his stature. People will say of him, “A handsome form whose deeds are ugly.” For the essential aspect of the Supernal ‘Form’ and ‘Likeness’ is that they are the deeds of the Holy one, Blessed Be He. Therefore, what good is it for a person to reflect the Supernal Form in physical form only if his deeds do not imitate those of his Creator? Thus, it is proper that man’s actions imitate the Thirteen Supernal Attributes of Mercy – the functions of the sefirah of keter – hinted at in these verses:

Who is G-d like Thee, who pardons iniquity and forgives the transgression of the remnant of His heritage? He does not maintain His anger forever, for He delights in kindness. He will again show us compassion, He will vanquish our iniquities, and Thou will cast all their sins into the depths of the sea. Show faithfulness to Yaakov, kindness to Avraham, which You have sworn to our fathers from days of old.
(Micah 7:18-20)

Consequently, it is proper that these Thirteen Attributes, which we will now explain, should also be found in man.

These Thirteen Attributes reveal the absolute desire of Hashem to forgive even above wisdom (Hochmah), understanding (Binah), and knowledge (Daat). Why is forgiveness in the highest of all places? Because all heavenly doors are opened after a person chooses to return to G-d and G-d accepts the repentance and forgives. How do we now that G-d will accept the repentance? Hence we learn that forgiveness is the highest of all G-d’s desires (Keter). What are the doors that are opened? These are the Gates of Repentance, which reveal all the heavens as we learn from Moshe Rabbeinu:

Repentance
For how shall it be known that thy people have found grace in thy sight? By going with us (Lord) we are distinguished.

Forgiveness
And the Lord said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for you have found grace in my sight, and I know you by name.

Opening the Gates of Repentance
And he said, I beseech thee, show me thy glory. And He said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and I will show mercy to whom I will show mercy.
...

The Thirteen Attributes of Forgiveness
And the Lord descended in the cloud and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed,

O G-d, my G-d, mighty, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands (of generations), forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation.

And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped. And he said, if now I have found grace in thy sight, O Lord, let my Lord, I pray thee, go among us; for it is a stubborn people; and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.
(Exodus 33:13 - 34:7)

Furthermore, the thirteen attributes from Exodus overlap the thirteen attributes from Micah. The Tashlich service for Rosh Hashanah contains these passages.[148] Tashlich is a service for cleansing of sins recited before a living body of water.[149]

Daniel describes his vision of the G-dhead. This vision is the basis for the G-dhead and the River of Fire that descends from the beard. The River of Fire that descends from absolute mercy eradicates sin above and beyond even repentance. The River of Fire reveals the sovereignty of G-d's mercy to purge sin from the repentant.

I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire.

A fiery stream (Nahar DiNar) issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened.

I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.[150]

As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.
(Daniel 7:9-14)

And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given

to the people of the holy ones of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

Hitherto is the end of the matter. ...
(Daniel 7:27:28)

V. Character

In order to experience a close relationship to Hashem, one must work on character and attitude. Giving tzedakah - charity is the key to obtaining these qualities. Charity is not just in money or even gifts, but it is expressed in the way we speak to every person in need. Doing Hesed, practicing random acts of love and kindness[151], is another way to improve midos. Nevertheless, we must also take care of ourselves.

If I am not for myself, who am I
If I am only for myself, what am I
If not now, when.
(Perkei Avos)

Having a positive view of others and the world improves others and the world. "**The way one looks at the world is the kind of world one shall have**."[152]

A. Envy

When I came and told thereof to R. Akiba he said:
'Henceforth it is forbidden to speak of them in dispraise'
— Referring to this Ben Azzai said:
By your name you will be called, to your place you will be restored
and from what belongs to you will you be given.
No man can touch what is prepared for his fellow and
'One kingdom does not interfere with the other even to the extent of one hair's breadth'
(Yoma 38b)

Hashem ordains the reward that each person receives in this world. To envy there is no purpose. Often, the lack of a powerful position in society is a blessing, leaving one more time for Torah learning and developing true wisdom.

B. Chesed

Chesed is overflowing with good deeds for others. Abraham epitomizes this quality with his open tent

policy towards strangers. The essence of chesed is to be aware of people, animal, and plant needs around and to perform a good deed when the opportunity arises. This should be done swiftly as if one is pursuing the glory of heaven.

Practice random acts of kindness and senseless acts of beauty

The Alter of Slobodka, Rav Nosson Zvi Finkel said:

All human beings are precious, for they contain the image of G-d.
Man is therefore obligated to honor his fellowman and shower him with chesed
for by so doing he is honoring G-d. He must be careful not to embarrass or
abuse another person, for by so doing he is slighting G-d.[153]

C. Charity

The Orchos Tzaddikim discusses the ways of giving charity. To give with a smile or to purchase what a person needs in advance is charity with loving kindness, tzedakah with hesed. Giving frequently to those in particular need is greater than a single large gift. One should be prepared to recognize and execute on the opportunity of tzedakah. This is an aspect of zealousness according to the M'silat Ysharim. Giving in secret is greater with one's neighbor so that no one feels embarrassed by having their need recognized.

I have a friend who taught me the meaning of charity. She prepares for meeting those in need by purchasing food certificates in advance to give to the homeless. When seeing someone in need, she would stop to talk with the person to see what she wants, whether she is hungry. She would take her time talking to the person showing chesed,[154] while others find themselves simply giving charity.

The rewards for charity are enumerated in the Talmud and Bible:

twkrb hrcu-tjab]rbtm \yrbdb wsypmhw ,twkrb ccb]rbtm ynul hfwrp }twnh
The giver of a coin to the poor is blessed with six blessings,
one who consoles him with words with eleven blessings. [155]
(Bava Batra 9b)

ISA 58:7 Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?

ISA 58:8 Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the LORD shall be thy reward.

ISA 58:9 Then shalt thou call, and the LORD shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity;

The rewards for charity in money are:

1. Shining light from ones own soul
2. Health
3. Righteous behavior will be easier.
4. Awareness of the glory of G-d.
5. Requests answered from G-d.
6. Cries heard and response from G-d.

ISA 58:10 And if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noonday:

ISA 58:11 And the LORD shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.

ISA 58:12 And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.

The rewards for consoling another with words are:

1. A personal radiant light
2. Darkness removed from ones soul
3. Guidance from G-d.
4. Quenching the thirst of the soul.
5. Fattening the bones, which purges the sin that weakens the bones.
6. Beautiful growth
7. An endless source of inspiration for others
8. Children who will rebuild downtrodden places.
9. Children who will build up later generations in wisdom.
10. Become known as one that repairs the divisions of the world.
11. Restore paths to dwell in.

The ‘paths to dwell in’ are the ways of Torah. Restoration of the paths is necessary when the people around are devoid of spiritual interests.

The Shabbat is likened to charity:

\yynul hqdx tbcb cmc

Sunshine on Shabbas is charity to the poor/homeless.

“When the Sun shines brightly on Shabbat, the pauper is spared appearing in the street in his tattered overcoat. The sun on Shabbat is thus a kindness/charity for him.”[156]

ISA 58:13 If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the LORD, honourable; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words:

ISA 58:14 Then shalt thou delight thyself in the LORD; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

The rewards for Shabbat described here are three:

1. Delight in G-d.
2. Walk upon the high places of the world, i.e. mountainous splendor or spiritual heights.
3. Receive the nourishment of the true life of Jacob, i.e. good children and family.

D. Joy

yy ynpl \tjmcw
And you shall rejoice before the Lord
(Deuteronomy 12:12)

The word sameach - jmc means happiness or joy. The root sahm - \c means put, suggesting that one must place joy in one's heart always. Joy brings love and closeness to G-d.[157]

The Orchos Tzaddikim writes that one should wake up each day amazed with the world around. To see the Sun move across the sky in its course, and the plants around growing, the stars above shining in their constellations, and the planets advancing according to their course brings one to an amazement with G-d's creation. If we wake up each day and remind ourselves of how precious the world is our joy with life will always grow and give us happiness.

hbwfl wz \g
This, too, is for the good
(Ta'anis 21a - Nachum Ish Gamzu)

dbu bfl anmjr dbud hm lk
All that the Merciful One does is for the good
(Berachos 60b)

All difficulty has a purpose if only to test our soul or to remind us of how thankful we need to be.

I AM THANKFUL FOR .....
THE PARTNER WHO HOGS THE COVERS EVERY NIGHT
BECAUSE HE/SHE IS NOT OUT WITH SOMEONE ELSE

THE TEENAGER WHO IS NOT DOING DISHES
BUT IS WATCHING TV, BECAUSE THAT MEANS
HE/SHE IS AT HOME AND NOT ON THE STREETS.

FOR THE TAXES THAT I PAY, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT I, AM EMPLOYED.

FOR THE MESS TO CLEAN AFTER A PARTY, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT I HAVE BEEN SURROUNDED BY FRIENDS.

FOR THE CLOTHES THAT FIT A LITTLE TOO SNUG, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE ENOUGH TO EAT.

FOR MY SHADOW THAT WATCHES ME WORK, BECAUSE IT MEANS I, AM IN THE SUNSHINE.

FOR A LAWN THAT NEEDS MOWING, WINDOWS THAT NEED CLEANING, AND GUTTERS THAT NEED FIXING, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE A HOME.

FOR ALL THE COMPLAINING I HEAR ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT WE HAVE FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

FOR THE PARKING SPOT I FIND AT THE FAR END OF THE PARKING LOT, BECAUSE IT MEANS I AM CAPABLE OF WALKING AND THAT I HAVE BEEN BLESSED WITH TRANSPORTATION.

FOR MY HUGE HEATING BILL, BECAUSE IT MEANS I, AM WARM.

FOR THE LADY BEHIND ME IN CHURCH THAT SINGS OFF KEY, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT I CAN HEAR.

FOR THE PILE OF LAUNDRY AND IRONING, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE CLOTHES TO WEAR.

FOR WEARINESS AND ACHING MUSCLES AT THE END OF THE DAY, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE BEEN CAPABLE OF WORKING HARD.

FOR THE ALARM THAT GOES OFF IN THE

EARLY MORNING HOURS, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT I AM ALIVE.

AND FINALLY.....

FOR TOO MUCH E-MAIL, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE FRIENDS WHO ARE THINKING OF ME.

(SEND THIS TO SOMEONE YOU CARE ABOUT, AND WHEN YOU THINK YOUR LIFE IS SO BAD, READ THIS AGAIN.)
(Jamie – 9/11/2001)[158]

E. Anger

Jacob had prophesied, "I will divide them in Yaakov, and disperse them in Israel" because of their anger and excessive punishment of the people of Shechem.[159] Levi was scattered throughout Israel in the Cities of Refuge. Though they were selected to be priestly servants, they were humbled by their dependence on charity, by the difficulties of those they would dwell amongst in these cities, and finally the distances between their families throughout the land. Similarly, Shimon was allocated a portion of land in the midst of Judah. In the end, they were forced to give up their land as Judah's numbers expanded and they became teachers of children and poor wanderers.[160] Nevertheless, the teaching of children helped them develop self-control. This is always the way of Hashem and we must always learn to see the gift and lesson in any suffering.[161]

The time to avoid anger is before it begins. The intellect should prevent this emotion from arising. There are three periods in anger:

- Before it begins. One should be aware of controlling anger at this point even before the emotion is even felt.
- After the emotion is felt but before one speaks or acts. This moment is likely to be too late.
- After one has already spoken or acted in anger. The damage has already been done, but one can still try to repair this damage.

According to 'Love the Neighbor'[162] there are three stages to anger:

- the cause
- one's interpretation of the cause
- one's reaction

The key to avoiding anger is to change one's interpretation of the cause. For example, one should not assume that an insult is directed towards them, but merely reflects that the other person is having a difficult day and perhaps has other problems on his mind. Fasting is a tikkun for anger. Fasting brings one back to return and repent.

We are taught from the "Ways of the Tzaddik":
Because Moshe our teacher, may peace be upon him, said to the children of Reuven and Gad (Numbers 32:14): "You are a brood of sinful men," his descendant became a priest of idols – even though he was angry for the sake of Heaven. All of man's actions require the proper measure. He must deliberate how to perform the mitzvos, both when angry and when in good spirits.
...
Know that the ripeness of a man's intellect is the governing of his anger, as it is written (Proverbs 19:11): "A man's intellect is the withholding of his anger."[163]

The following story describes the challenges of dealing with some people.[164]

I was told this story by my father who was told it by his father and is probably told by others as well. There was a Rabbi who was giving a lecture one Shabbas. In the audience there was a person who interrupted the Rabbi and said, "That is not correct." Others in the group were aghast and wanted to ask him to leave, but the Rabbi said it was OK, thought briefly, and than corrected himself continuing. Again this person spoke up and again the Rabbi corrected what he was saying. This went on for a period of a half an hour when finally the Rabbi asked someone to remove him from the audience.

Afterwards the Rabbi was praying and felt that G-d was dissatisfied with his behavior. He remarked to himself that he had been through 15 interruptions from this person in 30 minutes and had been patient. Nevertheless, he heard G-d saying, "I am disappointed in you. I've been putting up with this person for 50 years and you couldn't put up with him for just one Shabbas."

F. Taunting, insulting, misleading slander

Do not taunt your neighbor.
This means that you must neither do nor say to him that which might shame him,
though there be no one else present.
(M'silat Yesharim 11)[165]

G. Greeting Others

I was always first to greet another, both Jew and non-Jew. — Yoachanan Ben Zakkai

This will bring one to a greater concern about the welfare of his neighbor. A person should accustom oneself to seeing his neighbor and greeting him. Often people feel too shy and insecure to greet others. This is a lacking of self-esteem. They should give more charity, do more Hesed, and then they will come to greet their neighbor and learn from their teachers with greater enthusiasm.

H. Honor

One should not seek after higher positions for honor. The avoidance of honor permits one to grow into a better person. If one is asked to take a higher position with an increased service, one should consider acceptance with the thought of being a good person always in the back of one's mind. M'silat Ysharim has the following to say on the subject:[166]

Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, forfeited his share in the world to come only because he coveted honor. "The Holy One, blessed be He," said to him, 'Repent thee, and I, thou, and the son of Jesse will stroll together in the Garden of Eden.' 'Who will go first?' asked Jeroboam. 'The son of Jesse,' answered the Holy One, blessed be He. 'If so, I will not repent'" (Sanhedren 102a)

This teaches not to be jealous and seek after another's position of honor.

What caused the destruction of Korah and his whole company if not the lust for honor, as we may infer from the fact that Moses said to them, "And seek ye also priesthood?"[167] (Num. 16.10). And our Sages tell us that Korah rebelled because Elzaphan, the son of Uziel, had been made prince, an appointment which he had coveted for himself (Num. R. 18.2).

This teaches us to recognize the honor that G-d has already granted us and be satisfied. Honor is like the lust for money which can never be quenched.

What, if not the craving for honor, drove Saul to persecute David? We read, "And the women sang one to another in their play, and said, 'Saul hath slain his thousands and David his ten thousands.'

One cannot be a hold fast king, but one must always relinquish and let the superior of the next generation rise to leadership and honor.

I. Forgiveness

To forgive is to behave in the image of G-d.[168] There is a teaching from Talmud Tractate Rosh Hashanah that if one forgives slights or insults done to him, he will be forgiven of sins. This forgiveness is out of the side of divine justice since one is forgiven in kind for forgiving others. Forgiveness also dissolves anger, which opens a gateway to mercy.

On Yom Kippur 5757, I became irritated by the behavior of children whose parents brought them to

services and were not reproving them on the proper way to behave in the sanctuary. However, as I thought about my anger, I wondered how possibly Hashem could forgive me for my bad behavior throughout the year. The answer appeared in the prayer book.

}wnjw \wjr htaw \ynp yzu wna
\ypa]ra htaw [ru ycq wna
\ymjr alm htaw }wu yalm wna
rbwu lxk wnymy wna
wmty al]ytwncw awh htaw

We are hard faced, but You are merciful and compassionate;
We are stiff necked, but You are long in patience (long faced awaiting our return).
We are full of sin, but You are full of mercy
As for us, our days are a passing shadow; but your years are never ending.
(Yom Kippur liturgy[169])

I exclaimed, "How can we be so bad when you are so good!" At that moment, I chose to forgive these children in my mind. I then turned to Hashem and I said, "If I could forgive these children, and your mercy is so much greater than mine, surely you can see to forgive us all in the year to come."

J. Conversations

1. Calming a person down

Listening to negative opinions about another is a mitzvah when the person is angry or upset and one knows that by listening the speaker will feel better and will no longer feel the need to state negative opinions about the target person. Nevertheless, one must be sure not to believe what one has heard.[170] This is the mitzvah of calming a person down.

2. Showing respect to everyone

There is a mitzvah to show respect for everyone.[171] One should try to avoid ending a conversation first with another if the other person wishes to continue talking and there isn't improper speech. In this way, one shows respect for the other person. One is commanded to spend time with one's spouse. This means that it is a mitzvah to listen to her until she completes what she needs to say.

3. True Speech

Rabbi Nachman concisely sums up the subject:[172]

1. Not all words are considered speech. Words not heard or accepted are not called speech, as in (Psalms 19:4), "There is no speech and no words without their voice being heard." Now the main reason words are

accepted has to do with the good they contain, because everyone desires good. Therefore, when the words contain good, then speech is heard and accepted; but when the words have no good in them, they are not accepted. How do we create the good in the words? This is done by taking speech from daat (holy knowledge), then it will have good in it; but when speech is without daat, then it has no good, as in (Proverbs 19:2), "Also, for the soul to be without knowledge is not good." The soul is speech, as it is written (Genesis 2:7), "Man became a living soul," the Aramaic translation of which is a "a speaking spirit."

2. Now, raising and enhancing daat is accomplished through praise of the tzaddikim. By praising and extolling the tzaddikim, daat is elevated, corresponding to (Deuteronomy 32:11), "Like a nesher (eagle) arousing its kein (nest)." Nishra is the spirit, the concept of tzaddik,...

"Footnote 8: praising...the tzaddikim, daat is elevated. By mentioning the praise and glory of the tzaddikim, a person invokes their merit and spiritual power. His daat is thereby elevated, so that his speech—now drawn from enhanced daat—contains the quality of good. His words are thus heard and accepted (Parparaot LeChokhmah). The Be'Ibey HaNachal explains that drawing speech from enhanced daat entails drawing close to the tzaddikim. By being close to them and personally witnessing their greatness, a person is consistently moved to praise the tzaddikim."[173]

From other of Rebbe Nachman's teachings it becomes clear that the quality of good in one's speech can also be achieved by finding good in others and praising them. As Rebbe Nachman emphasized, all Jews are called tzaddikim.[174] (Rabbi Nachman of Breslov)

K. Quarrels

1. A Woman's Nature

A woman's nature is to plan. This is her Binah Yeserah (extra insight). Sometimes this can be disturbing to a man who has many things on his mind at once and does not want to be burdened with an extra plan. Nevertheless, he should realize that for the woman it is the plan itself that is important and not its contents. If the day should arrive and circumstances necessitate changes, these are acceptable to the woman if she sees that the man values her, her plans, and her needs.

2. A World Full of Strife

By lessening quarrels in our own families, we improve our community and we improve the world. The microcosm of our life affects the macrocosm of the world and living a Torah life improves the entire world. As Rabbi Nachman teaches:[175]

The world is full of strife. There are wars between the great world powers. There are conflicts within different localities. There are feuds among families. There is discord between neighbors. There is friction within a household, between man and wife, between parents and children.

Life is short. People die every day. The day that has passed will never return, and death comes closer every day. But people still fight and never once remember their goal in life.

All strife is identical. The friction within a family is a counterpart of the wars between nations. Each person in a household is the counterpart of a world power, and their quarrels are the wars between those powers. The traits of each nation are also reflected in these individuals. Some nations are known for anger, others for bloodthirstiness. Each one has its particular trait. The counterparts of these traits are found in each household.

You may wish to live in peace. You have no desire for strife. Still you are forced into dispute and conflict. Nations are the same. A nation may desire peace and make many concessions to achieve it. But no matter how much it tries to remain neutral, it can still be caught up in war. Two opposing sides can demand its allegiance until it is drawn into war against its will. The same is true in a household.

Man is a miniature world. His essence contains the world and everything in it. A man and his family contain the nations of the world, including all their battles.

A man living alone can become insane. Within him are all the warring nations. His personality is that of the victorious nation. Each time a different nation is victorious, he must change completely, and this can drive him insane. He is alone and cannot express the war within him. But when one lives with others, these battles are expressed toward his family and friends.

There may be strife in the household of a tzaddik. This too is a war between nations. It is also the war between the twelve tribes, such as between Ephraim and Judah. When the messiah comes all wars will be abolished. The world will have eternal peace, as it is written (Isaiah 11:9) “They will neither hurt nor destroy ...”[176] (Rabbi Nachman of Breslov)

L. Fear

Apathy comes from depression. Apathy lessens the fear of G-d. What is the way out of apathy? We must focus on the fact that even Fear fears G-d as Rabbi Nachman teaches, “-The quality of fear itself fears G-d.”[177]

The baal tshuvah seeks closeness to G-d by soaring above apathy, above fear, above love, to a place that only his soul can fathom. What is this place? It is none other then Awe before the Presence of G-d. Kirkergaard spoke of this awe and is quoted on this subject in Abraham Joshua Heschel’s, “A Passion For Truth.”[178] Rudolf Otto also spent many years traveling and researching the universality of the subject recording his ideas in “The Idea of the Holy.” In apprehending the “numinous” as Otto referred to G-d:

We are dealing with something for which there is only one appropriate expression, mysterium tremendum. . . . The feeling of it may at times come sweeping like a gentle tide pervading the mind with a tranquil mood of deepest worship. It may pass over into a more set and lasting attitude of the soul, continuing, as it were, thrillingly vibrant and resonant, until at last it dies away and the soul resumes its "profane," non-religious mood of everyday experience. . . . It has its crude, barbaric antecedents and early manifestations, and again

it may be developed ito something beautiful and pure and glorious. It may become the hushed, trembling, and speechless humility of the creature in the presence of--whom or what? In the presence of that which is a Mystery inexpressible and above all creatures.

The Encyclopedia Britannica comments on this:
This content presents itself under two aspects: (1) that of "daunting awfulness and majesty," and (2) "as something uniquely attractive and fascinating." From the former comes the sense of the uncanny, of divine wrath and judgment; from the latter, the reassuring and heightening experiences of grace and divine love. This dual impact of awesome mystery and fascination was Otto's characteristic way of expressing man's encounter with the holy.

The fear and trembling which accompanies the Baal Tshuvah is awe. This is the quality of the fear itself that fears G-d.

M. Judging People

We must strive to judge others favorably.[179] “One who judges others on the scale of merit will be judged by the Almighty on the scale of merit.”[180] “In righteousness shall you judge your neighbor.”[181]

N. Observing Principles Consistently

Observing ones beliefs consistently is the trait of hasidut. This is item seven from M’silat Yesharim. There it is translated as saintliness or piety. Project Genesis in the explanation below shows how this trait is representative of Avraham but not of Lot.

Volume VI, Number 6 - Vayeira - Genesis 18:1 - 22:24

When a person adopts a set of principles and sticks by them, then other people will respect and honor him or her for adhering to them. People will, however grudgingly, understand that those principles guide the individual to behave in a certain way. But if a person is careless with his or her principles, then if one day he or she chooses to observe them in a difficult situation, people will not say that this is a moral choice -- they might rather assume the worst!

"Let some water be brought, and wash your feet, and relax under the tree." [18:4]

We see that Avraham wanted his visitors to wash their feet immediately, before entering his house. Rashi explains that Avraham thought that the three angels, who appeared to be ordinary men, were idolaters from the region who worshipped the dust of their feet. He was therefore careful to

ensure that they did not bring the objects of their idolatry into his home. Rashi goes on to say that Avraham's nephew Lot was not careful about this, and therefore he brought two of these same guests into _his_ home before having them wash their feet.

If we look, however, at the verse later where Lot brings in the guests [19:2], Rashi provides a very different explanation. Although Avraham was extremely careful that they do so, it is, of course, quite normal for people to wipe the dust off their feet before going into someone's home. So why, then, did Lot deviate from this norm? The answer is that the evil people of S'dom did not allow people to shelter guests, leaving the guests to sleep outside where the residents could rob them at will. Rashi tells us that Lot was therefore concerned that if he would bring the guests in with their feet already clean, the people of the city would accuse him of having sheltered guests for several days. By having them go into his house with the dust still on their feet, anyone would see that these people had just come from the desert.

The Avnei Azel says that there is no contradiction between the two explanations offered by Rashi. When discussing the verse regarding Avraham, Rashi accentuates the difference between Avraham and Lot, but both reasons are correct -- the first is a prerequisite for the second.

Had Lot been careful to keep any possible idolatry out of his home, then he would have been obligated to think only about that, and not to worry about what the people of S'dom might think. A person is supposed to be willing to give up his life in order not to worship idols, and the Avnei Azel says that were Lot careful about objects of idolatry, he should have been willing to risk his life to keep them out of his home. Therefore we first need to know that Lot was not concerned about this, before understanding why he brought in his guests in a way which was unusual in any case.

The Avnei Azel goes on to point out that one could also say as follows: that had the people of S'dom known that Lot, like his uncle Avraham, was concerned about the prohibition of idolatry, then they would have concluded that this was the reason the people were entering his house with clean feet, rather than accusing Lot of sheltering guests for several days without telling them. Given that Lot was worried about this accusation, it is clear that the people of S'dom already recognized him as someone who had never been careful about this at all.

Good Shabbos,

Rabbi Yaakov Menken

Project Genesis
http://www.torah.org/

O. Truth

Ones relationship with the Shechinah is from emet - truth. A woman's relationship with Kingship is dependent on emunah - faith. The relationship between lovers reflects this relationship on high. A man must speak truthfully on all his concerns to find the attribute of truth and union with his wife. A woman must have faith in G-d to develop faith in her husband.

See the work of Elohim for Who will be able to fix
that which he has made crooked.
(Ecclesiastes 7:13)

The paradox of G-d is that while there is free will Hashem is omniscient. Most understand the gift of free will and its essential role in our improvement. Nevertheless, Hashem's omniscience is also a gift. From omniscience, we know that the path Hashem has let us travel was done with his knowledge from beginning to end and that it is for the good. As a friend has told me, "there is nothing bad that happens, but only sad." [182] I will add that even the sad is for the good and that the vitality of life overcomes sadness and the song of love transcends all.

P. Humility

One must obtain the level of humility before being able to experience authentic kabbalah. And what is humility? This is none other then to be stoic, to be indifferent to one who complements as one who insults.[183]

Q. Consideration

Consideration is to accommodate others without them asking. For example if one is in a standing group talking and someone there has a cast on his ankle, then it is considerate to suggest that the group move to a table to sit to continue their conversation.[184] To do so without revealing the reason is even a finer level of consideration. Consideration without expecting anyone to notice or to become aware is a mitzvah par excellence.

VI. Cycles of Time

A. Dimensions [TABLE]

The Hagim - \ygj - Holidays sanctify time in our world. Judaism emphasizes the sanctity of time over space. In the Tree of Life, time is denoted by the transition from Hochmah to Binah, past conscious to future conscious. Space is denoted by the six directions from Hesed to Yesod. The moral dimension is from Keter to Malchuts.

Table 8: Jewish Dimensions

Sefira	Sefira Meaning	Dimension
Keter	Crown	Goodness - spiritual
Hochmah	Wisdom	Past - unified consciousness
Binah	Understanding	Future - analytical consciousness
Hesed	Kindness	South
Gevurah	Severity	North
Tiferet	Beauty	East
Netzah	Victory	Up
Hod	Thankfulness	Down
Yesod	Foundation	West
Malchut	Kingdom	Baseness - physical

B. Months [TABLE]

The constellations were created with the 12 elemental letters in their respective order[185].

Table 9: Months

Months	Hebrew Letter	Constellation	Holidays	House
Nissan - }syn ~ April	heh - h	Aries the Ram T'leh - hlf	Pesach	Growth
Iyar - ryya ~ May	vav - w	Taurus the Bull Shor - rwc	Israel Independence	Possessions
Sivan - }wys ~ June	zayin - z	Gemini the Twins Teumim - \ymwat	Shavuos	Attraction

Tamuz - zwmt ~ July	het - j	Cancer the Crab Sartan - }frs	3 Mourning Weeks	Ancestors
Av - ba ~ August	tet - f	Leo the Lion Ari - hyra	Tish B'Av	Descendants
Elul - lwla ~ September	yod - y	Virgo the Virgin Betulah - hlwtb	Selichos	Healing
Tishrei - yrct ~ October	lamed - l	Libra the Scales Maznayim - \ynzam	Rosh Hashanah Yom Kippur Succoth	Coition
Cheshvan - }wcj ~ November	nun - n	Scorpio the Scorpion Akrav - brqu		Death
Kislev - wlsk ~ December	samech - s	Sagittarius the Archer Keshet - tcq	Hanukah	Travel
Tevet - tbf ~ January	ayin - u	Capricorn the Kid Gedi - ydg	Tenth of Tevet	Government
Shevat - fbc ~ February	tzadi - x	Aquarius the Water Drawer Deli - yld	New Year of Trees	Friends
Adar - rda ~ March	koof - q	Pisces the Fish Dagin - \ygd	Purim	Enemies

The Sefer Yetzirah describes the ruling personal qualities of the constellations. These however also correspond to the particularly trait in each sign that must be expressed regularly for this sign to feel a sense of joy and balance.[186] Of course in each of us there is a touch of each element below that must be satisfied. Nevertheless, the Sun sign does indicate the primary source of psychological balance for each sign. With the Hebrew letters Hashem endowed the heavens and identified qualities in people. When the twain meet there is a joyful bliss and complete harmony.

Table 10: Achieving Psychological Balance According to the Constellations

Constellation	**Quality**	**The Key to Balance For This Sign**
Aries The Ram T'leh – hlf	speech	Aries achieves joy and balance by speaking a lot.

Taurus the Bull Shor – rwc	thought	Taurus achieves joy and balance by active thought.
Gemini the Twins Teumim - \ymwat	motion	Gemini achieves joy and balance by motion. This includes active sports or physical work.
Cancer the Crab Sartan - }frs	sight	Cancer achieves joy and balance by pleasant sights. This includes living in a well-decorated house and seeing beautiful sights.
Leo the Lion Ari – hyra	hearing	Leo achieves joy and balance by hearing performances. This includes attending shows and musicals.
Virgo the Virgin Betulah - hlwtb	action	Virgo achieves joy and balance by action. This includes activities on a chore list.
Libra the Scales Maznayim - \ynzam	coition	Libra achieves a balanced state of mind through coition.
Scorpio the Scorpion Akrav - brqu	smell	Scorpio acquires a balanced state of mind through smell. This may be the smell of flowers, nature, or love.
Sagittarius the Archer Keshet - tcq	sleep	Sagittarius achieves a balanced state of mind by extra sleep.
Capricorn the Kid Gedi - ydg	anger	Capricorn achieves a balanced state of mind by expressing anger occasionally.
Aquarius the Water Drawer Deli – yld	taste	Aquarius achieves a balanced state of mind by tasting good foods. This includes cooking classes, eating out, and preparing tasteful meals.
Pisces the Fish Dagin - \ygd	laughter	Pisces achieves a balanced state of mind through laughter. This includes being with a group of friends regularly.

1. Nissan

And you shall count this as your first month, for I took you at of Egypt at this time. The letter h - heh denotes holiness since the letter occurs twice in the name of G-d representing both the attribute of Binah and Malchuts. The relationship here is G-d like a mother to her daughter Israel. There is a lot of

conversation and differences of opinion but the two love each other and support each other through the trials of Egypt.

Make amends, repair our fences, we want moshiach now. The Baal Shem Tov called the last day of Pesach Moshiach Seudah. The 'Today is the Day' or in Hebrew the 'Hayom Yom' comments that the previous Chabad Rebbe made a meal and there were 310 students and 18 tables. The 310 students represent the 310 storehouses saved up for the righteous in the world to come and the 18 tables represent eternal life.

2. Iyar

The State of Israel is a Taurus! This has endowed the country with a green thumb. The state of Israel is also a place for hard work and productivity. Ironically, spirituality plays a secondary role to the physical sensations that pervade the land in this manifestation of its nationhood. Dance, song, agriculture, engineering, security, and monetary success preoccupy the nation.

Nevertheless, the letter w - vav is also a letter in the name of G-d and represents the outstretched arm of G-d to all who call upon Him, to all who call upon Him sincerely. Six midos [character qualities] compose the w, i.e. kindness, judgment, beauty, eternity, thankfulness, and foundation. These are also the principle values of the nation of Israel.

3. Sivan

The holiday of Shavuos falls out here. The letter z - zayin - 7 denotes the Shabbas or day of rest as Shavuos represents an end to the planting season and a resting period after 7 weeks.

4. Tamuz

July is represented by the letter j – het, which denotes a fence or limitation. The period, Between the Fences, refers to the three weeks before Tish B'Av. At the end of the Second Temple, these three weeks contained an inordinate amount of defeats during the siege of Jerusalem. The fences limited the area of operation necessary to properly defend the Holy Temple.

All her pursuers caught her between fences. (Eichah 1 - Lamentations 1)

5. Av

The letter f - tet denotes the serpent or adversary who punishes the Jewish people. On Yom Kippur, a goat was sent away to Azazel. Rabbi Nachman explains the meaning of this. This is like a bone thrown into the mouth of the great goat to quiet him while the Jewish people repent. For 364 days a year, the accuser presents himself before the Almighty, but on Yom Kippur, we are spared his accusations. This also relates to Pidyon that is an amount of money paid to redeem a person. The Pidyon is given to silence the adversary.

The name Azazel – lzazu has gematria 115 which is also qoof, yod, heh. We spell Azazel Ayin, Zayin,

Aleph, Zayin, and Lamed. The Aleph represents G-d that stands in the middle of the name. Azazel is the dismissal of sin. The sin of the Jewish people is dismissed in the wilderness, the place of Azazel. What is in the wilderness? Is it not the 248 positive commandments of the Jewish people? BaMidbar is Bet, Mem, Dalet, Bet, and Resh that is 248. There is a force in the wilderness, and its name is Azazel and it is a servant of Hashem. Its function is to dismiss sin from the Jewish people. This is done by a goat wandering into the wilderness. How can we understand the goat? There is a teaching that a blessing needs something to rest on. When we recite the Birkat Hamazon, we do so at a table for a blessing needs an object to rest upon. When the Jewish people in the wilderness, sought a removal of their sins the Cohen rested his hands upon the goal such that their request would have something to rest on. Why a goat, so that it may wander away into the wilderness. In the wilderness, the sins are devoured and removed by the force of Azazel. The goat is more able to carry sins than a lamb or another animal. The intention is not that the goat dies but that it wanders into the wilderness and does not return. With the shitafot, the flash floods of winter, the land is washed clean and renewed. The sins that the goat carries will also be washed away.

Rosh Hodesh Av - The new month of Av

Rosh Hodesh Av is Ta'anis Tzaddikim - a fast day for very pious people since Aaron died on this day. During the first 9 days of Av, we refrain from rejoicing and actions that may lead to rejoicing. We avoid planting of trees, home improvement, purchasing of new clothes, sewing, haircuts, and washing clothes. These pleasures are avoided at of memory for the temple that was destroyed on the 9th of Av.

Prayer on Rosh Hodesh Av - July 16, 1996 - 8 PM

One may pray for answers on how to deal with any problem. By making a hypnotic suggestion one can prepare for involuntary responses to answer the questions..

I davened at Am Echad alone as services were an hour earlier. I tested my answers with subconscious hypnotic responses, i.e. raising my right arm for truth, left arm for falsehood. At the end of the prayer, I asked for an answer that would help me improve my overall behavior.

I saw in a vision the image of Rav Lapin z"l, the former rabbi of the synagogue. He was looking at me and there was a young student before him. He was guiding the hand of the student over a sefer and then resting it upon the sefer. The message here was to learn the seforim like a young student. Let the teachings become part of you. View the world with the unbiased view of a young student.

Today, I also received a Breslov tape that discussed the importance of the tallis. Every thread in the tallis bears the imprint of the one who wears it. Reb Nachman poured out tears with his prayers to Hashem and said that there was a tear for every thread in the tallis when he gave his away to a choice student.

I picked up "Consulting the Wise" and opened it to page 246 which had the following statement:

INTERVIEWER: What sefer would you recommend for someone who wants to improve his midos?

RABBI YECHEZKAIL LEVENSTEIN: "Study the sefer Tomar Dvorah [Palm tree of D'vorah]. Rabbi Simcha Zissel Ziv of Kelm said that studying it is conducive to self-improvement. The sefer describes the thirteen attributes of the Almighty and elaborates on ways to integrate them into one's own life. Be prepared to spend sufficient time on this project because it is not light reading."[187]

Tisha B'Av - 9th of Av
Five things are prohibited:
eating
drinking
washing
wearing leather shoes
cohabitation

It is also prohibited to greet one's friend or acquaintance and even to say, "Good morning." However, one may respond to a greeting in a low tone in order to avoid resentment. Customarily we do not work for any length of time that may distract from the mourning.

After reading Eicha, Lamentations, we recite the following song:
Eli tzion vodecha, cmo isha btzarta.

Tish B'Av - July 27, 1993 - 5 PM
The following meditation illustrates the positive effect fasting has on meditation. While fasting facilitates meditation by weakening the physical binds on the soul, lengthy fasts can also be dangerous and it is easier to lose consciousness as illustrated at the mediation's end.

I decided to do a meditation to keep my mind off of food. Quickly I rose to the level of Malchuts. I felt the whole floor elevated as I entered this level on my own! I then lifted myself to Yesod. All around were towering angels. With only the slightest though Gavriel, Michael, Uriel, and Raphael descended to the four corners of my body. They lifted me as I looked upwards towards Tiferet like a spread sheet. A fifth angel joined by the name of Nuriel and Uriel took a center position under my body. We ascended above Tiferets and I felt as if I was floating in clouds and a blue sky.

As we rose higher, I thought about what I wanted to do. I wanted to know of the Messiah some more. I then saw one like the Son of Man coming down and there was a crown upon his head lowered quickly from above. I prostrated myself before him and he turned his head upward towards G-d saying,
"Why do you prostrate before me, there is only G-d."

He lifted me up and we were the same height for he was a man not an angel. He told me to find the answers, I should look into his eyes. The eyes were a swirling blue and green like water currents and I began to feel faint. I felt like I might lose consciousness if I gazed to long upon them. I opened my eyes and said I must eat. The experience was too dangerous.

Dove - 7/23/98
Tonight is Rosh Hodesh Av. Today was Erev Rosh Hodesh. In the morning, I cleaned my hand tefillin. I had a blowout on the way to work and replaced two tires and rear brakes. That evening after I came out of shul, I saw a white dove resting on my rear window windshield wiper. It was very much at peace. I saw how it would find peace by looking away from me. Only when a change was imminent would it look towards me, otherwise it would rest.

To be at rest, we must turn away from the turmoil around us and find inner tranquility. As I began to drive off the dove stayed on my car.

6. Elul

The time of the holidays is approaching. The letter y - yod for this month indicates that this is the time that the righteous return completely to G-d. The righteous ones make a complete Tshuvah on the first of Elul. The yod is the first letter of the name of G-d and represents beginnings like Rosh Hashanah. It symbolizes wisdom and the source of the 32 paths. Out of the yod comes the heh, which represents the 50 gates of understanding in the place of Binah. These 50 gates are the permutations taken two out at a time of the seven children of Binah plus one for the revelation of G-d.

7. Tishrei

The letter l - lamed denotes the new cycle of learning that begins with Simchas Torah at the end of the holiday [when we begin reading the Torah scroll from the beginning]. dml - Lomed is also the word for learning in Hebrew. Tishrei is a month to renew Jewish learning which helps us with Tshuvah, i.e. returning to G-d. In addition, the constellation of the month is Libra whose scales symbolize the ten-day judgment period from Rosh Hashanah to Yom Kippur. In Hebrew, the word for scales is moznaim.

Rosh Hashanah 5757 - September 14, 1996 - 11 AM

During the morning service, I was inclined to leave several times.[188] During the Musaf (afternoon) service I had the following experience. I saw myself in a wedge of people advancing into the 1st and 2nd palaces of heaven. The palaces were like castles, the first a reflection of our own world; the second housing the activities of many angels. The 1st and 2nd palaces were chained together and were easy to pass through. Michael and Gabriel held the gates of each palace open to permit the throng to enter. I asked the angels to help me ascend a ladder in the throne room of the 2nd palace. The ladder was completely occupied on this high holiday with the souls of the righteous reaching into the heavens. The angels enabled me to rise beside the ladder upward though the channel of the eye of the cylindrical water fall. The ladder entered a chamber where a righteous one sat upon a throne. This was in the 3rd palace which parallels the sefira of Hesed. The hands of the being were beautiful reflecting deeds of kindness and compassion. He was blessing each person who had ascended the ladder with mercy. I moved beside the person in the front of the line and noticed his right hand in front of me. I was afraid to look at his face, but I had learned from past visions to defeat my fear and that this leads to the highest truth. I looked into his face. At first I saw the reflections of people I knew in the community such as the owner of the Kosher deli, the Rabbi, and other members of the temple, but then the face turned into a doorway. I willed myself into the face of the angel and entered a tunnel which alternated between black and white corridor sections. At the end of the tunnel were ornately carved doors which I could not open. I knew these doors led to the 4th palace which would be the place of the sefira of Hochmah. I uttered in my mind the name of G-d associated with this sefira and the doors opened. I feared entering and then I saw the hand of a lady pass through the doorway towards me seeking my own. I took the hand and entered to be greeted by a beautiful lady in a relatively empty place. I danced with the lady who appeared petite with blonde hair and I wondered what she was doing here? Why was she at this level of the sefirot? I then realized she was the personification of the Shechinah and was associated

with the Partzuf Nukvah or Sefirah Malchuts. The princess dwells in the palace of her father, who is Hochmah and that is why I saw her here. Wisdom is sometimes referred to as a woman in Proverbs, but in truth, it is Wisdom's daughter that is feminine while Wisdom is masculine. I danced with the Shechinah in circles and enjoyed the moment. I remembered the throng following me and I summoned the angels to hold open the gates of this world. The throng entered scaring the princess, but I told her they did not know where they were and could do no harm. As we spun in a circle with one arm extended inward from each of us, I noticed below our hands the singularity of the whole world. This is why there is nothing in Wisdom for all is yet undifferentiated. Looking upward I saw the singularity reflected downward from the gates of Keter which were black and almost impossible to recognize. The angels could not bring me higher. From here on out I was on my own. I uttered the name of G-d associated with Keter, and the black gates opened and I rose through the darkness into the radiating black light. I saw endless blackness all around. I recalled that sons, food, and clothing are left to mazel and descend from this level. Instead I willed myself upward to the next level or Mah in the world of letters. I saw white light and silver chains and knew that Mah parallels Malchut below. I willed upward into Ben which parallels Yesod. I preceded into Sag which parallels Binah, and then Av which parallels Hochmah. Above this was Adam Kadmon where I briefly stayed and then sought to know of higher worlds. I saw the name RaM - \r which means 'high above' and discerned the following expansion. 10*4 + 100*2 => BakDai - ydqb. BakDai means 'enough seeking' which clearly meant I had gone far enough. I ended the vision and swept down in a river flowing through all the sefirot and pouring out of Malchuts like a water fall.

Postscript: Fast of Gedaliah - September 16, 1996

After the destruction of the first Temple, the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnetzar allowed a remnant of the Jews to remain and appointed Gedaliah Ben Achikam to be their governor. Jews who had fled to neighboring lands began to return to tend the vineyards of Judah. The King of Ammon sent Yishmael Ben Netaniah to assassinate Gedaliah. Gedaliah disbelieved the rumors he had heard and went out to greet Yishmael in the town of Mitzpa where he was assassinated.[189]

And yet we read in the daily Alenu prayer:

And G-d will be King over all the earth,
(and) on that day G-d will be one and his name one.
(Zechariah 14:9)

And on Rosh Hashanah we read:

Then the righteous will see and be joyful,
and the forthright will be merry...'[190]

The Gates of Light quotes further:

The light of the moon will be like the light of the sun and the light of the sun will be intensified sevenfold like the light of seven days on the day when the Lord heals his people...
(Isaiah 30:26)

The waters of desire flow from Keter which is the place of ratzon or the will of G-d as He relates to our world. However, all judgments are determined in Gevurah except for three which flow from Keter[191]:

Children, life and food do not rely on merit but on mazel.
(Moed Katan 28a)

The death of Gedaliah is hard to understand. Yet life depends on mazel which is the word for constellation and fortune. Still the sages commemorated Gedaliah's death with a fast day to remember always the good of his life.

8. Heshvan

There are no holidays in this month which is represented by the letter n - nun. The letter nun does not occur in King David's great psalm Ashrei, thus denoting a level the Jews never descended to before leaving Egypt.[192] There is a teaching that there are 49 levels down followed by a 50th level from which there is no return. There are also 49 levels up and the 50th denotes the holiday of Shavuos or the Giving of the Torah and the revelation at Mt. Sinai.

9. Kislev

The letter s - samech denotes happiness or sameach. This month has the holiday of Hanukah.

Kislev 21, 5759 - December 9th - 9 PM
In this meditation, the four angels lifted me toward the sapphire firmament described by Ezekiel. I glimpsed the form of a man on the other side and then passed through. The man had a diadem on his forehead and was of youthful form with dark hair and a lean face, quite handsome. He was the Prince, Zer Anpin and I had a discussion with him. He explained the nature of the longing of the Prince for the Princess. The Princess is joined to the Prince through the prayers of people, which elevates us to G-d. The Prince's situation is the paradigm, root source, of loneliness. I became friends with the Prince and I took him down to our world to see the beauty of mountains, the dessert, and small rivers with grass beds. He saw through my eyes and then assisted me in bringing down his Father and Mother. Everyone here but the Princess, I commented. He said that the Princess is here too but that her presence is in the spiritual form of the good feelings from our world, from us.

He said, now I will give you a gift and he pushed me upwards into the spiritual heavens. I beheld a white angel with a beautiful face. His robes were like a candle flame and I held them as we ascended. All around there were souls busying themselves and mirrors.[193] Eventually the angel brought me into a dark chamber higher up. Here was a man in dark robes with a small gray beard and gray hair and a pointed face. His appearance was scary. He was the root soul of the others. He was the root soul of myself.[194]

We all have a root soul and each of us must work to purify that part of the root's body which we represent. All our actions effect our root soul. Our actions effect other branches of the same root soul.

10. Tevet

The letter u - ayin denotes the adversary and many of Hillel's students died on the Tenth of Tevet which is a fast day. My Grandfather Moshe ben Ovadiah died on this day. Nebuchadnetzar, King of Babylonia, laid siege to Jerusalem on this day and 3 years later on the 9th of Tamuz the walls were breached. With the siege came terrible famine:

'And the city came under siege... and famine became intense in the city.' The daughters of Zion gathered in the market places, and upon seeing each other, one would say to the other: why have you come out to the market place, for you have never done so? The other answered and said: shall I hide it from you? The plague of famine is hard. I cannot bear it. They held on to each other, and went about the city seeking food, but did not find it. They embraced the pillars and died in every corner. Their suckling children crawled about on hand and foot, each one recognizing his mother, and seeking to nurse milk from her. When the child found no nourishment, his life was severed, and he died in his mother's lap' (Pesikta Raba 26)[195].

The 8th and 9th of Tevet are called 'fast-days-for-the-righteous' and observe the misunderstandings of the Greek translation of the Torah on the 8th, and the death of Ezra the Scribe on th 9th. The ultimate aim of the fast day as well at the 9 days leading up is repentance and return to G-d. This is a time to restrict pleasure and examine our deeds and improve for the future.

11. Shevat

The letter x - tzadi denotes the righteous one who is compared to a complete Tree. All of his her midos are in proper balance. This is also the time of Tu B'shvat which is the planting of new trees. Trees are planted at this time to keep track of the three-year requirement before one is permitted to eat the fruit of the tree.

Tu B'shvat - New Year of Trees - January 26, 1994
The following describes a meditation that cures paranoia. The visualization can be done at any time and in any place and should be effective.

On Tu B'shvat, search out apples or other fruit that appear like they are calling you. Part of the healing of the holiday is releasing the sparks in these fruit. Bring the person you wish to heal to a meditation that day. The meditation involves ascending through the sefirot of the person's body, focusing on healing those sefirot that are out of balance. In the case of paranoia, the sefira of Gevurah will be cold. Imagine a warm fuzzy white cloud encompassing the sefira softening its hardness moment by moment.

Next, begin to merge your mind into the mind of the other. Feel his or her thoughts. What do you hear? One may hear phrases like, "I don't want to be here," "Don't judge me," "I wish they cold stay together." These phrases will reflect the root causes of the development of the illness in the person's past.

Now, call upon the angel Raphael and he will place his hand on the left side of your head transmitting a healing energy from Hashem to the Gevurah in your soul.

Afterwards say the blessing over the fruit and release the sparks within.

Deep in Daas - Tu B'shvat - January 22, 1997 - 7:30 PM

I saw myself as a sapling being planted for the holiday. My brothers and sisters stood around in the soil beneath me. This was a simple life, yet beautiful and complete. Day to day I would follow the sun across the sky, turning my leaves in his direction always. After three years I saw there was fruit on my limbs and the first harvest was at hand. As the fruit was taken, I felt relief, a weight removed from me.

Just as the tree changes and moves in its life so should a person change and move. All movements bring knowledge. As the tree ages and its form changes, it becomes somewhat rigid, but there are still movements in the growth of its appearance. Our existence is eternal; though the life we have in this world is only a short span. We should not dwell on past mistakes for they are finite and fleeting. Our lives recur until we get it right.

Like a tree we should extend our branches far and wide. In this manner we meet more people and this interaction brings knowledge and happiness. Instead of striving to find the right person in life, we should strive to grow towards G-d which also means involvement in meeting new people and learning and having fun.

To find a mate, pursue activities that bring one together with other eligible partners rather than professional match makers.

I saw Jesus on the cross crying out to Hashem about being forsaken. I saw G-d respond that because of his great concern about the end of his life; he would magnify the meaning of his death.

At the end of the vision, I asked to see the source of the answers I was receiving. I saw the form of the Glory of G-d who was draped in regal robes with a scepter in His right hand; yet I could not see His face. He stood in a central area while above in a circle there were angels all around. He would turn from one to another assigning a mission and immediately the angel would depart.

12. Adar

Be Happy, its Adar

The month of Adar is symbolized by the letter q - koof which denotes laughter. One needs to make an extra effort to be happy in this month which like all year ends can bring back nostalgic memories and melancholy. The holiday of Purim occurs in this month and is one of 2 festive holidays where one is advised to get inebriated. The other holiday of this sort is Simhas Torah in the month of Tishrei.

C. Weeks [TABLES]

Each shavua - uwbc - week reminds of the process of creation. There are various correspondences with each day of the week.

Table 11: The Sevens of Creation

Sefirot	Qualities	Days of the Week	Double Letter	Foundation	Direction	Metals
Hesed	Kindness	Sunday	bet - b	Wisdom	South	Silver
Gevurah	Judgment	Monday	gimmel - g	Wealth	North	Gold
Tiferets	Beauty	Tuesday	dalet - d	Seed	East	Copper
Netzah	Victory	Wednesday	caph - k	Life	Up	Tin
Hod	Thankfulness	Thursday	peh - p	Rulership	Down	Lead
Yesod	Righteousness	Friday	resh - r	Peace	West	Mercury
Malchuts	Kingship	Shabbat	tav - t	Grace	Center	Iron

1. Rishon - Sunday

Kindness is associated with Sunday, the first day of the week. The planetary ruler of the first hour of the day is the Sun from which the Romans gave it the name.

The fear of G-d is the beginning of Wisdom.
(Proverbs 1:7)

Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the LORD, and stay upon his G-d.
(Isaiah 50:10)

Ravin bar R. Adda said in the name of R. Isaac: He who regularly attends a house of prayer, but fails to come one day–the Holy One, blessed be He, inquires about him, saying, “Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of His servant? Yet now walketh off in darkness and hath no light?” If [he walked off in darkness away from the house of prayer] for a religious purpose, he will continue to have light; if for a secular purpose, he will have no light.[196]

2. Sheni - Monday

Judgment associates with Monday. On Mondays and Thursdays, Hashem holds back some of the good light so that we may learn to return to him. In order to make up for this light, we recite the Torah portion in shul on those days to bring the light of G-d down through learning. In addition, Mondays and Thursdays are chosen for self-appointed fasts to return to G-d.

3. Shlishi - Tuesday

G-d blessed Tuesday twice in the creation story. Beauty and splendor associate with Tuesday. The energy of the day facilitates torah learning and knowing truth.

4. Revaee - Wednesday

Wednesday associates with the upper prophecy of Moses. The energy of the day facilitates victory in undertakings and the joy of success, which is required to experience prophecy. Wednesday evenings are particularly suited for meditation for at this time the upper prophecy descends to the lower prophecy in our world.

5. Hamishi - Thursday

Thursday associates with the lower prophecy of Aaron the priest. This manifestation of prophecy is in life lessons and service to Hashem. The energy of the day is particularly suited to remind us of the need to show gratitude to Hashem and others in our life.

6. Sheshe - Friday

Righteousness associates with Friday. The energy facilitates preparation for Shabbat. Towards the end of Friday, Hashem grants an extra energy to finish the work of the week.

7. Shabbat - Saturday

Observing the Shabbas is one of the keys to achieving closeness to Hashem. This is the day when Hashem releases an extra portion of blessing stored in Malchuts for our world. This is similar to the extra portion of manna that the Israelites had for Shabbas while wandering in the Wilderness. We call the extra portion released from Malchuts, the Shechinah that is the presence of G-d.[197]

- Whoever is careful with Shabbas observance will be forgiven for all his sins even idolatry.
- Respecting the Shabbas is greater than fasting a thousand days.
- If the children of Israel would observe one Shabbas properly, the Moshiach would immediately come.
- If your children accept the observance of the Shabbas, they will merit entering the land of Israel.
- Whoever takes pleasure in the enjoyment of the Shabbas will be granted all of his heart's desires.
- Observing the Shabbas is equal to fulfilling all the mitzvoth of the Torah.
- Proper Observance of one Shabbas is equivalent to having observed all the Shabbatoth since creation.

There are 39 types of work prohibited on Shabbat. These are based on the work that was done in setting up the tabernacle. The tabernacle or Mishkan was a moving sanctuary that could be set up with tent walls and other holy articles. The original concepts are interpreted in stricter ways today.[198]

Table 12: Creative Works Prohibited on Shabbas

Work – melacha	Torah examples	Rabbinical examples	Permitted examples
Plowing – horaesh – crwh	Turning soil, digging holes, and removing stones from a garden.	Sweeping may lead to leveling ground.	
Planting – zoreah – urwz	Planting a tree, watering plants, throwing seeds onto wet soil.		
Harvesting – kotzar – rxwq	Picking fruit	picking a flower	
Gathering – mamer – rmum [collecting natural produce into a bundle]	Putting together a bouquet, collecting natural produce into a field.		
Threshing – dash – cd [separating a natural product from its natural container]	Like English 'dash' as in a "dash of salt". Pressing grapes or olives for juice.	Squeezing fruits for juice.	
Winnowing – zoreh – hrwz [using the wind to separate wanted from unwanted objects]	Blowing away nutshells from a mixture of nuts and shells.		
Selecting – borear – rrwb [separating desirable items from undesirable ones in a mixture]	Picking out specific books, dishes, or toys to be put away. Using a slotted spoon for selecting vegetables in soup.		Peeling fruit for immediate use is permitted.
Grinding - Tohän - }jwf [breaking down a substance into small usable pieces]	Grating potatoes or carrots. Making sawdust.	Taking medicines. As they were once prepared by grinding there is a prohibition from using them on Shabbas accept under essential circumstances.	Crushing crackers or other previously ground foods is permitted on Shabbas. Vegetables may be cut with a knife into small pieces for prompt use.
Sifting – Mrakäd – dqrm [separating mixed objects with a strainer]	Sifting flower. Removing a tea bag from a cup if tea. Separating spaghetti from water with a strainer.		

Kneading – Lahsh - cl [combining particles with liquid to form a dough or paste]	Mixing cream of wheat or oatmeal cereal into a thick mixture.	Mixing cream of wheat or oatmeal cereal into a thin mixture.	
Baking – Opheh - hpwa [changing the physical state of a substance by heating it]	Turning on a hot water faucet (causing cold water to flow into the hot boiler).	Stirring cooked food on a flame.	Making sun tea. Re-heating dry, cooked solid food.
Shearing – Gozaz – zzwg [Detaching non-living parts from a living animal]	Cutting nails, cutting hair, pulling out whiskers.	Biting nails or skin, combing or brushing if hairs will be uprooted, pulling out wool by hand from a living animal.	A very soft brush does not pull out hairs and may be used,
Bleaching – Mlaban – }blm [Freeing material from unwanted dirt, stains, dust, etc.]	Shaking or cleaning visible dust from dark colored clothing, soaking clothing, wringing out wet clothing, scrubbing clothing.	Hanging up clothing to dry may lead people to think it was washed on Shabbath.	Barely visible dust may be removed from light-colored clothing, leather surfaces may be washed with water without scraping, wet mud may be removed with a knife.
Combing – Mnapatz – {pnm [Untangling clumps of raw material into separate strands.]	Raking wool, flax, cotton, etc.		
Dyeing – Tzoväah – ubwx [Changing or reinforcing color.]	Painting, dyeing, coloring with crayons, using oil-based make-up.		Food may be colored.
Spinning – Toveh – hwwf [Twisting a strand of fiber into thread.]	Using a spinning wheel or loom.		
Threading Loom – Masech –]sym [Tying the threads from the front to the back roller.]			

D. Seasons

The Earth is referred to by four names in the liturgy.[199] During the spring, the earth is Eretz from the word Ratz that means movement or running. During the springtime, the earth is busy replenishing life. In the summer, the earth is called Tevel, which comes from the Hebrew word for spices and taste. In the summer, the earth enriches vegetation with the flavor of spices. In the fall, the earth is called Adamah, which means soil. Adam was created in the fall at Rosh Hashanah. In the fall, the earth dries up and soil clumps together with decaying vegetation. In the winter, the earth is Arak that means empty since the earth lies barren at this time.[200]

So, wither the leaves of the past generation to produce the flowers of the next generation[201]

The orchid is showing us the proper way to live.

E. Aging

Old age does not take well to negative or unhappy thoughts. One should focus on the positive, see the good in what makes them happy, for joy is the source of their life. Recall the exciting and happy thoughts in life during conversation and leave the sadder subjects for conversations with younger folks.

VII. In Search of the Gateway

A. Gematria [TABLE]

The table below lists the Hebrew letters, their values, and their names in Hebrew and English.

Table 13: Hebrew Letters and Numbers

	Unity	Couples	Fertility	Rigor	Action	Love	Shabbas	Spiritual	War
twa **Number** **rbd** **Letter** **Meaning**	a 1 [la aleph ox	b 2 tyb bet house	g 3 lmg gimel camel	d 4 tld dalet door	h 5 ah heh window	w 6 ww vav peg	z 7 }yz zayin weapon	j 8 tyj het fence	f 9 tyf tet serpent
twa **Number** **rbd** **Letter** **Meaning**	y 10 dwy yod hand	k 20 [k kaph palm of the hand	l 30 dml lamed ox-goad	m 40 \m mem water	n 50 }wn nun fish	s 60]ms samehk prop, support	u 70 }yu ayin eye	p 80 ap peh mouth	x 90 ydx tzadi fishing hook
twa **Number** **rbd** **Letter** **Meaning**	q 100 [wq kof back of head	r 200 cyr resh head	c 300 }yc shin tooth	t 400 wt tav cross	] 20 (500) typws [k final kaph	\ 40 (600) typws \m final mem	} 50 (700) typws }wn final nun	[80 (800) typws ap final peh	{ 90 (900) typws ydx final tzadi

Practicing Gematria requires the following:

- Calligraphy pens – find a Sheaffer Calligraphy Kit.
- Hebrew calligraphy book - Jay Greenspan who taught at BCI[202] in August 1981 has an excellent book.
- Memorize the numerical values of each Hebrew letter with the final letters having the same numerical value as their source letter.

There are really only 22 principle letters in the Hebrew alphabet. Scribes to make it easier to recognize word separation added final letters.

1. Amen

Meditation, calligraphy, and gematria go hand in hand. Here is the result of a meditation on the word Amen

after reading the Psalms of David[203] and the Bahir.[204]

}ma

91

ax

}m = x

FROM }m = x THE TZADDIK BRINGS

G-D a INTO THE WORLD

{rab]rbtmh rca

}ma hlab]rbty

THAT WHICH HE BLESSES IN THE LAND IS

BLESSED THROUGH THIS— AMEN

YHVH + ynda

26 + 65 = 91

}lya

ROOT < LEAVES < SUN < G-D

THE TREE TRANSMITS ENERGY

FROM ROOT TO LEAVES

AND BACK DOWN AGAIN

2. 100 Blessings a Day

The Sha'are Orah teaches the importance of reciting 100 blessings a day. This practice was instituted by David when he noticed a higher degree of illness in the people. The Sha'are Orah brings down that there

were a hundred receptacles for the poles supporting the tabernacle. These receptacles are associated with Malchuts, the receptacle for G-d's energy entering our world. Reciting blessings helps to disperse this bounty to the rest of the world. Koof - q has the value 100 and is the result of the progression of G-d's energy from 1 - Aleph – a to 10 - Yod - y to 100 - Koof - q. The next step over is 2 - bet - b, 20 - caph - k, and 200 - resh - r. Rearranging the letters and putting the columns together spells one hundred bracha or blessings. Now, proceeding upwards from the Koof to the Aleph, the q represents Israel as they tithe to the Levites represented by y. Unless the Levites receive the proper tithe of 10 from the 100 they are unable to tithe the 1 - a to the Kohanim. The a represents the level of the Neshamah which requires the one hundred blessings to trigger the ten which trigger the single quanta of energy uniting our soul with Hashem.

3. Nature

The word, hateva, meaning "the nature" has gematria 86 that is the same as the Name, Elohim. Elohim sustains the physical forces of nature.

B. Numerology [TABLES]

After studying Gematria for a few years, I ran across "Linda Goodman's Star Signs" which describes an English version of Gematria that is based on the Hebrew phonetic sounds. Include program in appendix for doing this calculation.

1. Alphabet

Table 14: Development of the Alphabet and Numerical Values

English Letter	Hebrew Letter Source	Greek	Roman
A – 1	aleph - a – 1	alpha – A – α	A
B – 2	bet - b – 2	beta – B – β	B
C – 3	gimmel - g – 3	gamma – Γ – γ	C
D – 4	dalet - d – 4	delta – Δ – δ	D
E – 5	heh - h - 5	epsilon – E – ε	E
F – 8	Feh - p - 80	digamma – Φ – ϕ	F
G – 3	gimmel - g - 3	gamma – Γ – γ	G
H – 5	heh - h - 5	eta – H – η	H
I - 1	yod - y - 10	iota – I – ι	I
J – 1	yod - y - 10	iota – I – ι	J
K – 2	kaph - k - 20	kappa – K – κ	K

L – 3	lamed - l - 30	lambda – Λ – λ	L
M – 4	mem - m - 40	mu – M – •	M
N – 5	nun - n - 50	nu – N – ν	N
O – 7	ayin - u - 70	O – O – o	O
P –8	peh - p - 80	pi – Π – π	P
Q – 1	koof - q - 100	qopp – Θ – θ	Q
R – 2	resh - r - 200	rho – P – ρ	R
S – 3	shin - c - 300	sigma – – σ	S
T – 4	tav - t - 400	tau – T – τ	T
U – 6	vav - w – 6	upsilon – Y – υ	V
V – 6	vav - w – 6	vau – ς – ϖ	V
W – 6	vav - w – 6	upsilon – Y – υ	V
X – 5	heh - h - 5	xi – Ξ – ξ	X
Y – 1	yod - y - 10	psi – Ψ – ψ	Y
Z – 7	zayin - z - 7	zeta – Z – ζ	Z

Hebrew letters that are not in the English language are listed in the following table. Except for the het, which maintains a strong presence in English spelling, the other four letters have a diminished influence in English speaking countries.

Table 15: Hebrew Letters Missing Representation in the English Alphabet

English Letter	Hebrew Letter Source	Tarot
ght – 8	het - j – 8	chariot
? – 9	tet - f – 9	hermit
? – 60	samech – s – 60	devil
? – 70	ayin - u – 70	tower
? – 90	tzadik - x – 90	moon

2. Single Numbers

These are the associations of the principle numbers:[205]

Table 16: Principle Associations of the Numbers

#	**Planetary Ruler, Sign Ruled *and Trait***	**Vibration**	**Colors**	**Gems**	**Health**	**Treatments**	**Warnings**	**Foods**
1	Sun Leo *Initiate*	take charge, inventive, ego, protect the weak	sunny gold, yellow, royal purple	topaz, amber	Heart problems, lower back pain			
2	Moon Cancer *Sensitive*	imagination, romance, love						
3	Jupiter Sagittarius *Expand*	fruition, optimism, expansion						
4	Uranus Aquarius *Base*	inventiveness, individuality, genius, tolerance	Electric blue, cobalt blue, silver-gray, ocean green	Sapphire, quartz, azurite, malachite	mental disorders, melancholy, anemia, poor circulation, pains in the head and back	electrical treatments, hypnosis, mental suggestion, massage, whirlpools	Avoid all kinds of drugs, avoid highly seasoned foods, avoid red meat	Eat spinach Principle herbs - sage
5	Mercury Gemini Virgo *Move*		Pearl gray, light green, silver	Aquamarine, Platinum, Silver	nervous, insomnia. Phantom pains in shoulders, arms, and hands.	Practice grace under pressure. Patience, sleep, rest, quiet surroundings.		Carrots, parsnips, sea kale, oatmeal, parsley
6	Venus Taurus *Love*		Pastels, pink blue, brown green	Opals, copper	infections in the throat, nose, upper lungs	Visits to the country. Live in the country.		

7	Neptune Pisces *Spirit*		sea green light yellow aqua pink white					
8	Saturn Capricorn *Material*		Black					
9	Mars Aries *Conflict*			Diamond				

a) Number 1

1 is for G-d above. One entities take charge, can be inventive, do not like criticism, and may have a large go.

b) Number 2

2 are the Luhot.

c) Number 4

At the time of the destruction of the Temple, the people did not have the four arms, only the arm of halacha. They would learn at home and pray in the Temple. They did not learn in a house of a study, with others.[206]

Table 17: Number Four

Four concepts	Reference to:	Reference to:
L'lmod - to learn	Mikra - scripture	Pshat - simple interpretation
Lamed - to teach	Mishnah - six commentaries	Remez - allusion
Lishma - to guard over the things we shouldn't do	Talmud - the finishing, Gemara.	Drash - expounding
Laasot - to do the things we're supposed to do	Halacha - the law.	Sod - secret

The number four represents work. Reb. Chiya ben Avi said in the name of Hulla, "Greater is the person

who has delight in living off of his own work than one who has fear of heaven."[207] For a person with the fear of heaven, the passuk says, "happy is the man who fears G-d", "Ashrei ish y'rat Hashem." Further, for the one who lives by his own work the psalm says, "the person who eats by his own toil, he will be happy and his life good." This means happy for him in this world and good for him in the world to come.

3. Compound Numbers

These parallel the 32 paths of wisdom from 10 to 32.

Table 18: Compound Numbers

Number	Description	Hebrew Meaning	Tarot Hebrew Letter	Tarot Interpretation
10	The Wheel of Fortune		yod - y – 10	
11	A Lion Muzzled - A Clenched Fist		kaph – k - 20	
12	The Sacrifice - The Victim		lamed - l - 30	
13	Regeneration - Change		mem - m - 40	Death tarot card. Death is change and the regeneration of life.
14	Movement ... Challenge		nun - n – 50	Temperance tarot card. Movement, change in life while bringing more failures brings more successes in life. Movement brings temperance and balanced perspective.
15	The Magician	Yah – hy, the Creator's name, "With Yah, G-d created the world." Songs of praise, Shir Amalot, there are 15. Yishtabach contains 15 praises of Hashem. "15 was used to reflect the highest degree attainable in the praise of G-d."[208]	samech - s – 60	Creator tarot card.
16	The Shattered Citadel		ayin - u – 70	Tower tarot card.
17	The Star of the Magi		peh - p – 80	Immortality. Star tarot card.

18	Spiritual-Material Conflict	18 instances of the tetragrammaton compose 72 letters symbolizing the 72 Letter Name. This occurs in Psalm 29, the Shema, the Song of Moses, and the Amidah by intention.[209]	tzadik - x – 90	Moon tarot card.
19	The Prince of Heaven		koof - q - 100	Sun tarot card, victory over temporary failures and disappointment. Happiness and fulfillment, success.
20	The Awakening		resh - r - 200	Judgment tarot card, at some point there will be an Awakening for the person and a new clear path will be pursued.
21	The Crown of the Magi		shin - c - 300	The Universe or World tarot card. The Crown of the Magi. Success, advancement, elevation of a career.
22	Submission – and Caution		tav – t - 400	A Blind man, good, but fooled by others. The master architect who builds with the 22 letters in the Hebrew alphabet.
23	The Royal Star of the Lion			Success, protection from those in high places. Grace, no other number can stand in its way.
24	Love - Money - Creativity			
25	Discrimination and Analysis			
26	Partnerships			Compassion, unselfishness, ability to help others not always oneself.
27	The Scepter			
28	The Trusting Lamb			
29	Grace Under Pressure			
30	The Loner - Meditation			

31	The Recluse - the Hermit			
32	Communication			

The number 16 has a terminal association. The Hebrew source meaning of the number is from the verb, 'fall' - nofel - lpn with gematria:
lamed + peh + nun = 30 + 80 + 50 = 160 => which can be reduced to 16 with the law of zeros.[210]

In Genesis 6:1-4, the word refers to a people born of the result of the marriages of the Sons of G-d and the Sons of Men:

And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of G-d saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives, whomsoever they chose. And the Lord said: 'My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for that he also is flesh; therefore shall his days be a hundred and twenty years.' The Nephilim - \ylpn were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of G-d came into the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; the same were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.

The number 16 refers to the shattered citadel that was once great but now the King and Queen fall to their doom. In kind, the Nephilim no longer live and many great kingdoms no longer exist.

Who were the Nephilim? Who are the sons of G-d and sons of men? The sons of G-d are the descendants of Adam who bear the divine soul. The sons of men are people who were around at the time, the result of evolution. The sons of G-d being tempted by their bodies saw the beauty of the daughters of men and took them to be wives. Their sons became heroes pursuing greatness, but trait for trait like their father's lust, away from the spirit of Hashem.

4. Higher Compound Numbers

Table 19: Higher Compound Numbers

Number	Meaning
33	magnified 24
34	same as 25
35, 44	same as 26
36	same as 27
37	

Song
Recording songs and poems helps manifest ideas to change oneself and the world.

If you want to be free,
Open your heart to what you need[211]
Like calls to like and G-d sends the rain right down,
G-d sends the rain pouring down.
Rain on me, good rain on all my friends right now,
Like calls to like and rain pours down[212]

C. Star Wisdom [FIGURES]

1. Recording Star Patterns in a Journal

Kaplan's commentary on Sefer Yetzirah states the way to understand the meaning of the night sky is to see your own star patterns. This is similar to seeing shapes in cloud patterns; but one's own imagination will reveal the inner meaning of the constellation. There is reference to using Ptolemy's constellations as an accurate basis, but better yet, is go under the heavens oneself and examine the stars often.

July 10, 1996
Last night I noticed Draco serpenting its way up and around Ursala Minor and then up into its head. The North star is at the tail of Ursala Minor which is 69 to Ursala Major. All constellations hang off of Draco like a Tallis in Hebrew.[213] In the sky Draco swirls closely around the North star and its size and position give it the appearance that all other constellations descend from it.

Figure 3: The Dragon, Big and Little Dipper

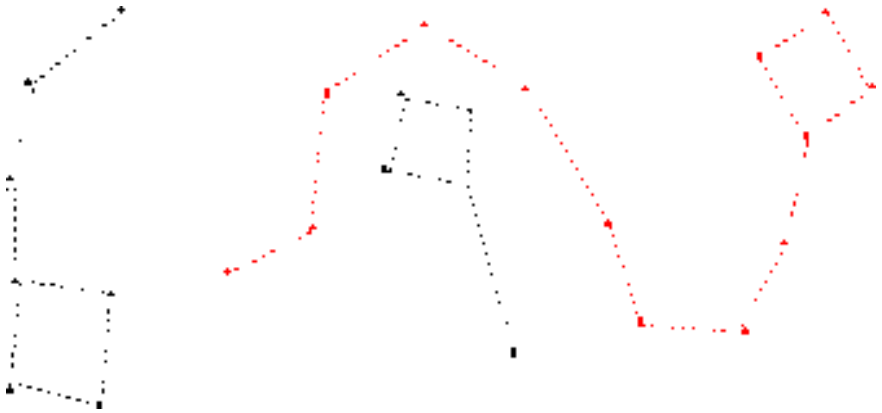

Sefer Yetzirah refers to the seven planets and twelve signs as set in the Teli.[214] The Teli may have originally meant a ball with a line attached to it for capturing animals and Draco is precisely in this shape. There is also the connotation of items hanging from the Teli from the word Tallis mentioned above. Other authorities identify the Teli with the Pole Serpent or Leviathan. Overall the Teli is the Dragon of the Universe from which the guiding constellations descend.[215]

Corona Borealis - The Northern Crown - August 5, 1996
The crown can be found by first locating Arcturus and then looking higher up in the sky. The crown reminds me of the sefira Keter whose Hebrew name means crown.. There is a dual star system in this constellation that flares up once every 80 years for a single night!

Figure 4: The Northern Crown

The Southern Cross

The stars below the equator are also amazing to see. Perhaps most amazing of all is Procyon in Canis Minor below and between Gemini and Cancer. The star is 0.4 magnitude and filled with the colors cool blue, sparkling Red, and white (kind of like the US Flag). If you are at the equator (Singapore) and look up to the right you will see Canopus (white), and above to the right Achernar, and then Fomalhaut. Below and between the last two is the Southern Cross with its leader Al Nair.

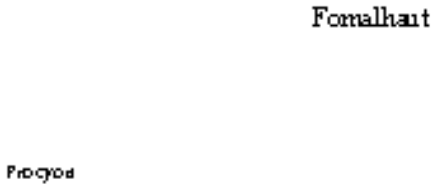

At 5:30 AM, August 27th, 1998, I see Procyon, Serius and Adhara, and Canopus, Achernar, and Fomalhaut rising to the right. They are G-d's lights in the Southern sky. They are beautiful. I learned in Singapore that G-d created all people with a special love and each is precious and has distinct importance.

August 27th, 1998 - 8:00 AM.

I dreamed of tracing my identity and another back through ancestors. I saw in myself different objects and in the other person objects that did not match. Finally, I saw an apple in me and then in her the same apple and I was as Adam and she as Eve. The apple turned into a tree with many fruits and the tree was growing as a fruitful vine extending into the reaches. I heard my father call my name, Jeff, with his youthful voice. Then I awoke refreshed and happy. I looked outside and the sun was shining. "When you can see the sunrise in Singapore you have found a prize" – Tao Cheng.

May 30th, 2001

Saw the pattern of the spade pointing towards the north in the night sky. The spade is the sword suit in Tarot or wind in astrology and is ominous. The north represents wealth. Forming constellations by gazing at the night sky is a form of divination.

2. Star Meditation

Kaplan's Jewish Meditation, P.67 describes:

One type of meditation mentioned in the Zohar (1:1b, 2:231b) involves contemplating the stars. The Zohar provides a biblical source for this type of meditation, from the verse, "Lift your eyes on high, and see who created these, the One who brings out their host by number, He calls them all by name . . ." (Is. 40:26).

Have you seen the stars in the night, they eliminate headaches with their twinkling light.[216]

Looking at the stars at night is a healing activity. They remind us of the grandeur of the heavens and lift us beyond the daily stress of life.[217] For a life of contentment and simplicity, one should choose to live in a place where the stars shine bright. Looking at the stars bestows wisdom on the gazer. Learning the movements of the stars bestows understanding. Both together bring knowledge.

D. Divination

1. Tarot

The ability to do correct divination depends on the state of the diviner. In this manner, one catches obstructing angels off guard and obtains a more accurate reading. The Tarot as well as most fortune telling is inaccurate for predicting the future as we have free will. They are most accurate for learning the story behind past events. They are also accurate for revealing the present.

There are 56 cards for the Minor Arcana and 22 cards for the Major Arcana. The Minor Arcana include four suits of ten cards corresponding to the four elements and the ten sefirot reflected in each of them. Nevertheless the symbols on the Rider cards do not match in meaning. For the purpose of divination it matters little as long as the user has a clear understanding of each card. The four suits associate with the four letters of the tetragrammaton.[218] The Yod is Water or Cups from Abba-Father, Hochmah consciousness. The first Heh is Fire or Wands from Imma-Mother, Binah consciousness. The Vav is Air or Swords from Zer Anpin, the central six sefirot. The final Heh is Earth or Pentacles from Bat-daughter, Shechinah consciousness.

In addition, there are four court cards in each suit: Page, Knight, Queen, and King. They reflect messengers or personal representations in the divination. The Major Arcana include 22 cards corresponding to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The image on the card corresponds to the meaning of the associated Hebrew letter. The numbering of the major arcana should begin with the Magician as aleph - 1, the High Priestess as bet - 2, the Empress as gimmel -3, the emperor as dalet - 4. There are also overtures of numerology in the associations of the cards with these numbers. Intrinsically the cards have no power, even their symbols are subjective but they serve as a channel for divine communication.

Waite had the following to say on the association of the Hebrew letters with the Tarot Cards: [219]

“The supposed Hebrew symbolism of the Tarot, which in justice to Papus, is laboriously elaborated –though apart from all inspiration- becomes disorganized if there is any doubt as to the attribution of its Trump Cards to the Hebrew Alphabet. Now there is one card which bears no number and is allocated therefore according to the discretion of the interpreter.[220] It has been placed in all cases wrongly, by the uninstructed because they had nothing but their private judgment to guide them, and by some who claimed to know better because they desired to mislead. It happens, however, that they also where at sea. I may go further and say that the true nature of Tarot symbolism is perhaps a secret in the hands of a very few

persons, and outside that circle operators and writers may combine the cards as they like and attribute them as they like, but they will never find the right way."

The twelve elemental Hebrew letters correspond well with twelve of the Major Arcana trumps. The remaining ten trumps correspond better with a numerological meaning.[221] There has been some attempt to associate them with the seven Hebrew double letters with correspondence to the seven planets and three Hebrew mother letters, but the symbolic meaning is off. Instead, English numerology has a better fit.

Table 20: Hebrew Alphabet and the Tarot Sefirot Up

Numerology	Wands Up Fire	Pentacles Up Earth	Swords Up Air	Cups Up Water
1	Ace of Wands Keter, beginnings			
2				
3				
4				
5		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.		
vav - w – 6				
zayin - z – 7				
het - j – 8				
tet – f - 9				
yod - y – 10				
kaph – k - 20				
lamed - l - 30				
mem - m - 40				
nun - n – 50				
samech - s – 60				
ayin - u – 70				
peh - p – 80				
tzadik - x – 90				
koof - q - 100				
resh - r - 200				

shin - c - 300				
tav – t - 400				

Table 21: Hebrew Alphabet and the Tarot Major Arcana, Trumps, Up

Hebrew Letter Source	Wands Up Fire	Pentacles Up Earth	Swords Up Air	Cups Up Water	Hebrew Letter Source	Major Arcana Up
aleph - a – 1	Ace of Wands Keter, beginnings				aleph - a – 1	Magician The rod up is the upper yod and pointing downwards is the lower you.
bet - b – 2					bet - b – 2	High Priestess The bet is the home, the spiritual center of the high priestess.[222] The number two is akin to sensitivity, emotion, partnerships and the psychic.
gimmel - g – 3					gimmel - g – 3	Empress mother, creator, 3 suggests children, Gimmel associates with fortune from the dreidle.
dalet - d – 4					dalet - d – 4	Emperor
heh - h - 5		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.			heh - h - 5	Hierophant The upper and lower temples.[223]
vav - w – 6					vav - w – 6	Lovers

zayin - z - 7					zayin - z - 7	Chariot
het - j – 8					het - j – 8	Strength
tet – f - 9					tet – f - 9	Hermit
yod - y – 10					yod - y – 10	Wheel of Fortune new beginnings, auspicious time, like the yod is a point beginning. The tip of the yod is Keter as the full yod is Hochmah. Keter is the will or the primal thought of creation.
kaph – k - 20					kaph – k - 20	Justice
lamed - l - 30					lamed - l - 30	Hanged Man Hung up on learning and cannot act.
mem - m - 40					mem - m - 40	Death Rebirth, water washes clean and renews life. Mikvah experience of renewel.
nun - n – 50					nun - n – 50	Temperance There are 49 levels to fall before the 50th level of ultimate destruction or 49 levels to rise before the 50th level of ultimate salvation. The 50th day after the Counting of

						the Omer is Shavuot, revelation of God achieved through complete temperance with life.
samech - s – 60					samech - s – 60	Devil Magic Supports and connections, an allusion of magic, but is not magic at all but something real. Sometimes we hide behind the supports getting too dependent on what is secure. This too is the devil and letting go of security is the beginning of freedom.
ayin - u – 70					ayin - u – 70	Tower struck by lightning and king/queen falling from it. The Ayin Ra or evil eye is the Tower that brings others down.

peh - p – 80					peh - p – 80	Star Hope and nourishment from one place to the next. Peh is an opening, a pitcher that pours water upon the land.
tzadik - x – 90					tzadik - x – 90	Moon Associated with Pisces and the dreamer. This was Joseph Ha Tzadik. Psychic power is here but sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between prophecy and delusion. Upright the card represents deception. Self-righteousness is a deception for a person is not s/he seems. Also, the more righteousness, the greater the tests of temptation.
koof - q - 100					koof - q - 100	Sun
resh - r - 200					resh - r - 200	Judgment
shin - c - 300					shin - c - 300	World

tav – t - 400					tav – t - 400	Fool The cross, stepping off the cliff of self-sacrifice, or universal redemption.

Table 22: Hebrew Alphabet and the Tarot Reversed

Hebrew Letter Source	Wands Down Fire	Pentacles down Earth	Swords Down Air	Cups Down Water	Major Arcana Down
aleph - a – 1				A	Magician The rod up is the upper yod and pointing downwards is the lower you.
bet - b – 2				B	High Priestess The bet is the home, the spiritual center of the high priestess.[224] The number two is akin to sensitivity, emotion, partnerships and the psychic.
gimmel - g – 3				C	Empress
dalet - d – 4				D	Emperor
heh - h - 5		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.	Hierophant
vav - w – 6				F	Lovers

zayin - z - 7			Return of a possession or to the original state		Chariot
het - j – 8				H	Strength
tet – f - 9				I	Hermit
yod - y – 10				J	Wheel of Fortune new beginnings, auspicious time, like the yod is a point beginning. The tip of the yod is Keter as the full yod is Hochmah. Keter is the will or the primal thought of creation.
kaph – k - 20				K	
lamed - l - 30				L	
mem - m - 40				M	
nun - n – 50				N	
samech - s – 60					
ayin - u – 70				O	
Peh - p – 80				P	
Koof - q - 100				Q	
Resh - r - 100				R	
Shin - c - 300				S	
tav - t - 400				T	
vav - w – 6				V	
vav - w – 6				V	
vav - w – 6				V	
heh - h – 5				X	
yod - y - 10				Y	
zayin - z - 7				Z	

2. Urim and Tamim

Another example of divination occurs in the Torah when the High Priest would consult the Urim and Tamim - \ymt for a complete lighted answer to an important question. The King of Israel might ask for guidance with the Urim and Tamim in matters of national interest when meeting with the High Priest.

Saul then said to the Lord, the G-d of Israel, "Bring a complete answer."
Jonathan and Saul were indicated by lot, and the troops were cleared.
(Samuel I 14:41-42)

"Bringing a tamim" was a way for a king to uncover a hidden reason for G-d's will in a situation. The root of the word, Tam - \t means perfect, complete, or simple. Nevertheless, the greatness of Israel is summed up with the following:

No harm is in sight for Jacob, no woe in view for Israel.
The Lord their G-d is with them and their King's acclaim is in their midst.
G-d who freed them from Egypt is for them like the horns of the wild ox.
Lo, there is no augury in Jacob, no divining in Israel:
Jacob is told at once, yea Israel, what G-d has planned.
(Numbers 23:21-23)

3. Lots of Jonah

4. Page Turning

5. Verse of a Child's Study

6. Dream Questions

Shailot Holam, asking a question through a dream is a tool for divine inspiration. The method involved writing a question on a piece of paper, putting it under ones pillow and in the morning inspecting the paper for a succinct answer.[225]

E. Tzaddik

The term tzaddik means a righteous, holy person. Seeking out a "true" tzaddik is always a gateway to spiritual elevation. The "true" tzaddik is actually a person who has very little to say but when he speaks everyone feels that sHe is being directly spoken to even in a group setting. I present my own experience in meeting a true tzaddik:

January 12, 1993 - 9:30 AM

I had an audience with the Tzaddik of Nikelsburg, Rabbi M. Lebovits. He is spiritual heir and a descendent of Rabbi Smelke of Nikelsburg, a student of the Baal Shem Tov. His silence conveys understanding. He suggested reading Psalm 128 daily. He asked some questions, listened to answers and stories, and seemed to understand what was said and not said.

The assistant asked for a Hebrew name and mother's Hebrew name, address, and phone number before entering the room. The Rebbe asked for family origin.

When I discussed the Nothingness of Keter that I saw or the book Bahir that I studied, his face lit up and I heard a sigh. There was something in his silence. Even when he spoke to the congregation, a silence in him waited. This was like the silence of Keter, waiting for the word to come forth to manifest the will of G-d. This is a wonderous silence. I never saw his face turn from anyone who questioned him. His soul was safe from the outside world.

Before the tzaddik gives his blessing, he asks questions to raise within him the energy for the blessing.

Joseph represents the essence of the tzaddik. In Jacob's blessing over Joseph, he states, "GEN 49:24 But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob; from thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel - larcy }ba huwr \cm" The Bahir 91 explains:

"The stone that the builders rejected has become the head cornerstone."
It ascends to the place from which it was graven, as it is written,
"From there is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel."

The Bahir, section 187 describes the character of the Shepherd:

It is thus written (Isaiah 11:3), "I will grant him a spirit of the fear of G-d,
And he will not judge by the sight of his eyes,
He will not admonish according to what his ear hears."
He will incline all the world to the pan of merit.
From there counsel emanates, and from there health emanates to the world.
"From there is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel."
This is the place that is called "There."

The Bahir 193 shows that the Supernal Tzadik nourishes Israel:

"From There is nourished the Rock of Israel."
What is the meaning of "from There"?
We say that this is the Supernal Righteous One – }wylu qdx.
What is He (the Tzadik above)?
He is the Reward, the great hidden Light which is called Socher - rhws
And the splendid rock below is called Dar – rd
And the rays these are the rays from His Hand,
they are from the five fingers [of his right hand].

The Tzadik above refers to "the Reward, the great hidden Light," Socher, that is Hashem; the tzaddik below

is as the splendid rock Dar, that is His representative in this generation. Habakkuk 3:3-6 is the biblical source text of the above:

G-d came from Texan, and the Holy One from mount Paran. Selah.
His Glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise.
And His brightness was as the light; and He had rays of light coming out of His hands;
And there was the Hiding of His Power.

Before Him went pestilence, and burning coals went forth at His feet.
He stood, and measured the earth: He beheld and drove asunder the nations;
And the everlasting mountains were scattered, and the perpetual hills did bow:
His ways are everlasting.

F. Intelligence

Memorization is a key to building a better memory. One must always strive to memorize new teachings and prayers. One can then recite them while one is driving or walking to Shul as a memory exercise. Once one has memorized one can review to make it permanent, but one should continue to seek out and memorize new teachings for this is the process of exercising the memory.

Studying Gemara is a key to increasing reasoning skills. Gemara trains one in the process of logical deduction and analysis. It also will improve inspiration in technical fields and reasoning in all matters.

“G-d commanded Moses that the written Torah should not be recited from memory, and that the Oral Torah should not be written down. The Oral Torah was recited from memory, and was thus given over from one person to another.”[226] Hence, our sages focused on memorizing Mishnah. Others recite T’hillim from memory. Most have memorized the Shema. While we are permitted to memorize our prayers, others are careful to recite the Shema from the Siddur. The Shema says, “And you shall teach them to your children and speak of them when sitting in your house, when walking along your way and when you lie down and when you rise up” implying these words are known by heart.

Why was the Oral Torah not written down? This was to teach us that the essence of learning Torah is by watching and living with religious people. We learn the details of Torah by observing their ways.[227] “Greater is the serving of talmudei hochamei than learning from them.” This is the true way of understanding the meaning of the transmission of Torah Baal Peh.

G. Soul

Judaism presents five major levels to the soul:

Table 23: Five Levels of the Soul

Soul	Meaning	Manifestation

Nefesh	Body	Health
Ruach	Spirit	Positive morale
Neshamah	Soul	Moral sense
Chaya	Community Soul	Sixth sense
Yechidah	One soul with G-d	Prophecy

The Nefesh is our body, which is part of our soul. In the world to come, G-d resurrects us into an eternal body.

The Ruach is the spirit one feels by standing looking at the ocean or feeling G-d's breeze run with ones body. The ruach is the spirit we know and feel with Hashem.

The Neshamah is our moral consciousness. When we feel guilty for sin and know the right thing to do, it is from our Neshamah that we know this.

The Chaya is our community consciousness. The Chaya is our source of a sixth sense, of knowing how others are feeling without being there.

Yechidah is a part of our soul that is always with G-d. This is our direct channel of communication with Hashem.

H. Seven Tests

According to our qualities, we are tested. Abraham was tested in kindness by whether he would forsake Sodom or plead on their behalf. Sodom whose values differed utterly from Abraham's would have nothing redeemable in the eyes of Abraham.

Isaac was tested in strictness by his acceptance of the Akeidah, his personal sacrifice.

Jacob was tested in truth by living in the house of Lavan. He dealt with Lavan in a straight manner though he was treated in a crooked manner.

Moses was tested in eternity by rejecting the offer of his children starting a new chosen people to Hashem.

Aaron was tested in gratitude.

Joseph was tested in righteousness

David was tested in kingship.

VIII. Dreaming

Dreaming is virtual life. Often times our dreams are a nutrient that we are deficient in that our subconscious mind is supplementing. Dreams can also be a spiritual gateway to visit the heavens, angels, or the rich beauty of our precious world. The collection of dreams below describes nutrients of the mind in unconscious dreams, how to achieve conscious lucid dreams, and the pursuit of prophetic dreams.

A. Unconscious Dreams

Healing by Dance - July 12, 1995

The previous night I studied the Torah, parsha Balak.[228] This morning I read in Kitzur Shulhan Aruch the importance of reading the morning blessings each day including those before studying Torah. The night before I had the following dream. In my dream, I saw a few people assembling a canopy that would be lifted by four pole bearers, one at each corner. One pole bearer was a rabbi, another a woman. As they raised the canopy, there was a woman in the center under it. She was attractive with an ailment of the legs inhibiting her ability to stand on her own. The canopy attached to her shoulders raised her up, and to her ankles helped her dance. There was music and she was dancing with the other four. Her dancing was great to see, greater than the other four alone. [Dancing is healing and no one must be left out of this joy.]

Now, as I beheld this, I felt some remorse at not participating, and a woman pole bearer fainted sick causing the canopy to collapse. Others ran to her side; I ran as well but the dancing did not continue. [A depressing thought causes instant sickness.][229]

A healer appeared. There were two sick. The pole bearer was treated physically as I was treated for negative thoughts. The healer led me to a place of crystals. There she took a few natural triangular stones of white base with blue tops and gave them to me. I assembled the stones and she said this would help keep depressing thoughts away.

The dancing brought me back to my youth at BCI[230] where we would dance the evenings away in circles and lines. Nothing is as rejuvenating as dance and we should do it often. How does the 7th beggar without legs heal by dancing; she is raised up by us holding a canopy giving us a reason to dance with her joy.

Dance - August 9, 1996 - Erev Shabbas

I had two dreams last night that were inspiring. The first was a test to see if I would perform the mitzvah of returning an item that did not belong to me.

I saw in my dream purchasing some goods at a house sale. The goods had some valuable stamps within them that were not part of the product I was purchasing. After I got home, I realized the stamps were there. With zealousness, I returned to the house and called up the owners. For some reason I felt they were aware that the stamps were in the item and that they were part of this test setting me up. They did not appear and the dream ended abruptly. I felt there was another around my bed who left quickly in a dark light.

This is the manner of spiritual tests. I went to Shachris that morning and was the tenth to arrive. I hadn't made the morning services in a few weeks, but I was up early that morning working. I saw two angels fighting to bless the congregation. The one on the right was trying to grant a blessing with his right hand while the one on the left with his left hand. The one on the right was from Hesed and he was being pushed a way by the one on the left from Gevurah. In the end, they both blessed. After the services, I went home and I just wanted to fall asleep in a sunbeam on the floor. My soul was calling out for this nap. Here I had the second dream.

I was at a spiritual Shabbaton. There was a lot of singing and youthful spirit in the temple service. It felt so good to be there. As the Shabbas came closer to the end, there were a few musicians who took up musical instruments and who wanted to begin a scheduled evening concert early. They started playing and it felt wrong. I took the initiative and went up to the guitarist who seemed like a religious guy. I told him it is not proper to begin playing before Havdalah. He agreed and told the rest of the musicians to put down their instruments. The singing took the place of the instruments, a singing with great fervor.

The previous d-ay I had gone home from work early and spent time catching up on cleaning at home. Everything in spiritual growth is connected. One proper act leads to the next ad infinitum. If we give G-d an opening miracles will begin happening. If we give G-d a small opening, he will open the whole world for us.

B. Lucid Dreaming

Lucid dreams are conscious dreams where one is able to control one's motion and action.[231] Lucid dreams are opportunities to acquire understanding and wisdom on spiritual subjects. I will give two examples. The first illustrates how wisdom can be drawn from a dream. The second show how one can progress from a meditative state into a spiritual dream.

Names of G-d - May 1, 1993 - 5:00 AM - Saturday

During the night of the dream, I read about the lives of the Ramak, Caro, and Gikatalia. In the dream, I spoke with a maggid, i.e. a guide. Initially, he was in the form of a coworker[232], but he metamorphosed into a form with an all seeing eye. I asked, "Could you be my Maggid? There was no answer. I asked whether I had to know all the Talmud before receiving a maggid. "No." The Ramak says a maggid comes through repeated meditations on Torah verses. The maggid in the dream hinted there must be a unification of Torah, mind, soul, and body. I called out the following phrases in my mind:

Eheyeh asher Eheyeh is the crown of the Universe *(Keter).* I rose from the world and soared past the planets.
Yah is the beginning of Wisdom *(Hochmah)*

YHVH *(pronounced Elohim)* ***is the source of Understanding, which divides the Universe into distinct components*** *(Binah).*
El is the source of goodness *(Hesed).*
Elohim brings forth justice and judgment and discipline *(Gevurah).*
YHVH (Adonai) is the splendor of the world *(Tiferets).*
YHVH (Adonai) Tzevaot is the eternity of eternities *(Netzah).*
Elohim Tzevaot is the source of eternal praise and thankfulness to Hashem *(Hod).*
El Chai, Shadai lays the foundation of the world *(Yesod).*
Adonai is the gateway to the heavens *(Malchuts).*

Hypnosis to Lucid Dreaming - June 5, 1993 - 5 AM

Entering a lucid dream is facilitated by practicing hypnosis early in the morning, which is the time we tend to be most aware of our dreams. Lucid dreams occur when one is refreshed and thus tend to happen more often when one is already rested, i.e. during morning sleep.

6/5/1993 - 5 AM

I listened to the Earth, Wind, Fire, and Air tape. Towards the end of the hypnotic session, I shifted slightly into a curled position and entered a lucid dream. I experienced rapid travel while gazing backwards over several green hills and bodies of water. I noticed the foam on ocean waves resembled clouds over the earth from an outer space perspective. I tried to maintain the lucid state by counting down.[233] I exited into a light sleep. The key to success in obtaining a lucid dream is alertness, energy, and concentration when one begins.

Hypnosis to Lucid Dreaming - April 9, 1997 - 9 AM

4/9/97 - 9 AM

I listened to the Letter Ascension tape. The tape's introduction brought me to a river and suggested that I see something in the water" and that I should take it out. At first, it was like a cross and than a double cross, but than it appeared like the Shield of David.[234] Finally, I saw the form of a rod[235] shaped as a small sword. Upon the face of the rod was the Star of David.[236]

Figure 5: The Focus

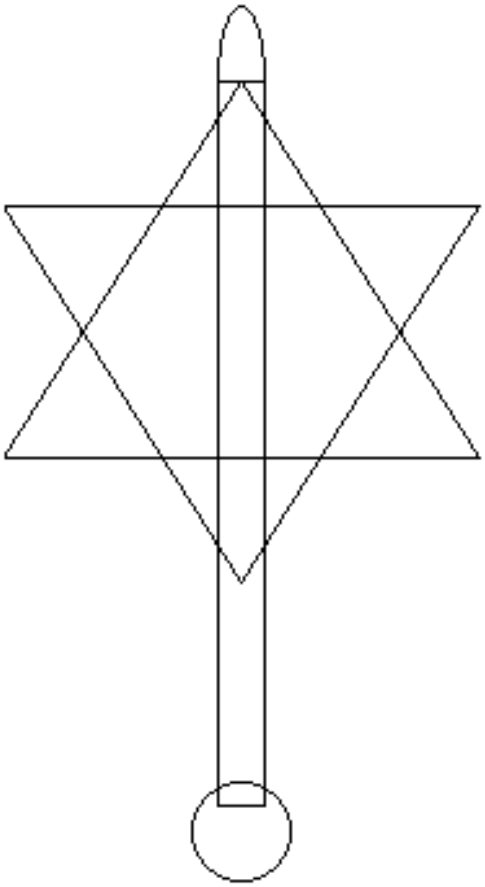

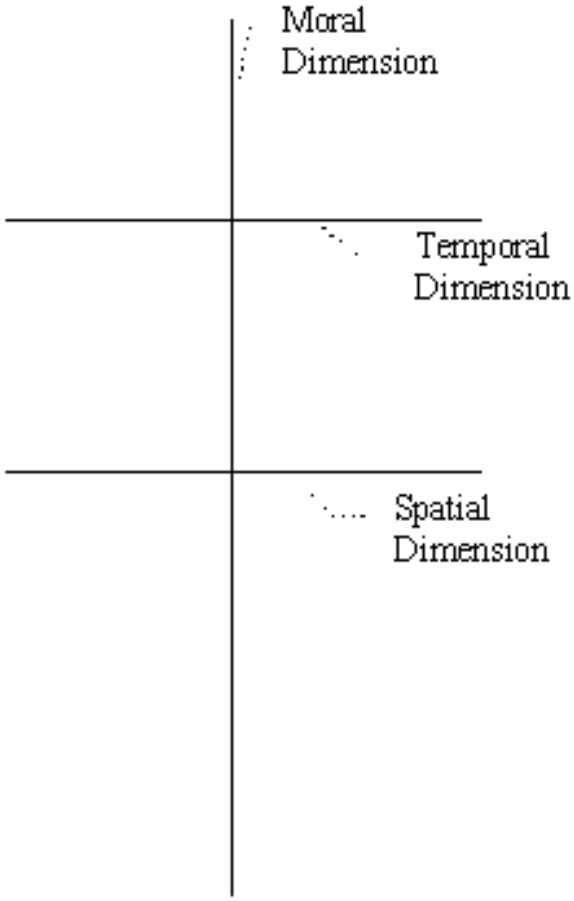

The goal for the hypnotic session was to discover the answer to a biblical question. I sought to understand the purpose of the high priest's role and hereditary class in Judaism. I rose into the sefira of Malchuts. I was in a large cavern and there was a ray of light from a point high above entering the room.[237] The tape guided one to visualize the letter Tav that connects Malchuts to Yesod. Through the Tav, I rose into the light of Yesod. The tape next asked to visualize the letter Yod. This brought me into the sefira of Netzah. This is the place of the spiritual Mt. Sinai and is symbolized by the patriarch Moses. To understand the priesthood, I knew I had to reach the sefira of Hod, which is the place of Aaron, the high priest. There is a mountain rising in Netzah whose base is in Hod. This is Sinai. Moses is on the mountain in communication with G-d. Aaron is in the valley with the people leading praises. The tape would continue to lead me upwards by visualizing the letter caph to go to Hesed, but I suggested to myself, "turn the tape off."

Now how does one reach Hod? An ocean connects Netzah and Hod represented by the letter Mem. An angel guards the ocean. His name is Mayimel. I called his name and he appeared huge, towering into the heavens. He is the ruler of the Water Elements and appears like a towering wave whose top lips over into a face. At first, I was struck by his great height and then I called his name, and he lowered to me. I climbed upon his top, his head, and he began to take me across the great ocean. The distance was far but this was his element and his travel was swift. Finally as we approached the place of Hod, he lowered and I dismounted. I was thankful for the transport and I tossed him the focus that I had found in the river at the beginning of the vision. He took it up in his mouth and departed.[238] I inquired again on the purpose of the priesthood. I saw with my own eyes the purpose. While Moses was on the mountain, the people needed a leader in his place. At first, I thought this might be Joshua, but he still served Moses and had not been brought before them. Only Aaron had a similar status in their eyes. The priesthood is from Moshe's family as a symbol of an eternal connection with the Torah from Sinai. Even though our leaders depart, the priests descendent

from Aaron continue to symbolize this eternal connection.

I turned and progressively entered a lucid dream. I felt myself rising off the ground into flight. All around the world was lit by the sunrise. I approached a place like Zion National Park near Cedar City in the South of Utah. There I beheld the modest red sandstone mountains of the park. I soared over them in various places. I desired to stay close to the ground for a better look and then soared straight up and over cliff faces. I was seeking to come close to G-d. I was wearing gloves and I removed the left to look at my hand and then the right to see the other hand. I saw their lines and their color was correct. I desired to be in the hand of G-d. All of a sudden I felt an incredible force pulling from behind me and I soared backwards; the wind passing swiftly by my sides. I then flew over the green land gazing at its harmony and beauty. I saw a large locomotive train and tennis courts as I came close to the ground. I sought to know the common denominator and I realized, “these are a few of my favorite things.” I had been to Zion Park. I remember locomotives of various cities, Sacremento and Silverton. I played tennis regularly in my youth. There was another common factor, I have not seen such places or done this activity in a long time and my soul was yearning for them.[239]

We are only in this world for a short while; we must always remember to enjoy G-d’s creation. This is a pathway to joy and a pathway to G-d.

Longing for Israel - July 16, 1998

Listened to hypnosis tape before going to sleep and then fell into lucid dream. In the Lucid dream, I let myself fly without control. This is the secret to control and prolong a dream in general. Let the subconscious direct the movement wherever it wills. In this manner, I rose abruptly over upcoming objects, and swoop close to the ground past other objects without harm. I would even have fun; for example, by bouncing off telephone lines. Before flying I chose a large towl to take with me, I thought to take a brown one, but it was a blue multicolored one instead. This helped in the flying.

I was moving and spoke to someone who was also moving. He was from Israel and we spoke briefly.

I found someone living alone, very depressed without legs. I saw an army uniform from Tzahal and asked to talk with him. He didn’t want to, he didn’t want pity. I said I know how it is to be alone and I said let us just talk. He still didn’t want to, even after I said I want to talk for myself alone (no pity). Nothing, he sat on the floor without legs. I mentioned Israel and he perked up. I said I wanted to live there. He asked where. I said there is a place in the North, a small town next to Lake Kinneret, but I didn’t know the name. (Probably this was a town like Yavne near the lake). Then I said K’far Channanya. He shook his head, but felt impelled to get up to show me something. Out of nowhere, legs sprouted as he stood. It was like they were always there but hidden. He went over to a filing cabinet. He was very organized. He pulled out a folder on Israel, which contained a map. We opened it and it was a map of Jerusalem. There was a small map of Israel in a corner and a funny small map of San Francisco on it like a sister city to Jerusalem. We could not find the name of the town.

Secrets - April 12, 1997 - 8 AM

I discovered a 12th quasi sefira, which is the location of remez or secret knowledge. The quasi-sefira Daat represents knowledge. Now a 12th quasi-sefira called RaZ is a place of secret knowledge.

I played the letter ascension tape. As I looked into the stream, I saw various symbols forming. First, I saw the Star of David focus from the previous vision. Than I saw the letter Z within it and then another Z mirrored. I composed them in my mind and then lifted the hour glass symbol out of the star.

Figure 6: Symbol of Raziel

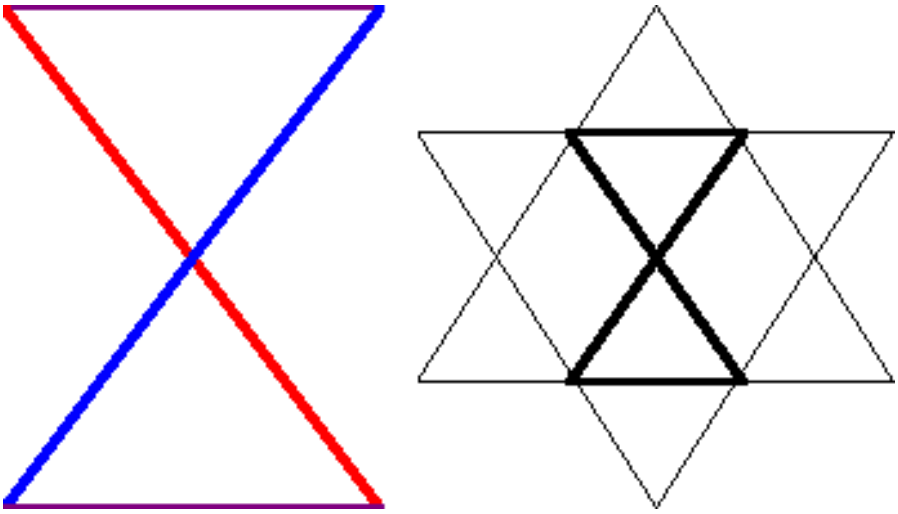

I visualized the letter Tav - t along with the tape and ascended from the level of Malchuts into Yesod. The goal for this hypnotic session was to find answers to mysteries. The tape led to a visualization of the letter Resh - r that is the vertical path to Tiferets. At this point, I combined the Resh with the letter 'Z' from the Zayin I saw in the stream, to make the Hebrew word, RaZ - zr which refers to allegories, secrets, or mysteries in the Torah. I called the angel Raziel to pursue this further. At the level of Yesod, an angel descended. In the white light, I saw an angel with black robes. He veiled his face with part of the robe as he landed and beckoned. I put my arms around his neck from behind and we ascended. From his backside, I could not see where we went and I sensed that the place we were traveling to is hidden from all mystic plane travelers. Upon landing in the dark world, the angel unveiled himself and I saw a frightening face. I realized this was not the angel Raziel and I called his name again. I turned to notice another angel in dark robes. As I approached him, I saw that his face was old and his head was balding, but that this angel bore the countenance of a man. He said not to be afraid. The angel that bore me here is a guardian who scares off the unwelcome. He told me to come close. He asked what I seek to know.

I sought to understand by what individual merit are the mysteries of the Universe bestowed. He responded:

By the knowledge of the seeker
By the seeker's deeds
By the longing in the seeker's heart

Occasionally, the seeker may fall into bad straits and his/her knowledge may become impaired and even his/her good deeds may be lacking; still, there is a way back to discover the answers to the mysteries and purpose of life. This is by the longing in the seeker's heart.

Not by knowledge, nor by deed, but by the longing in your heart

The angel asked me to come close and I merged with the angel. At this moment, the answer to several

mysteries became known. I sought a prophetic message to bring back to the people, but I learned that I was not the messenger. Still, I asked could I know the message and the response was yes:

The Jewish people must learn to love each other first above other peoples. Unlike other peoples, we do not usually look out for the interest of our brethren first. We must always support each other before the other nations.[240]

He said if there are more factual items that I want to know I should ascend to the angel Yedeiel who is in the quasi-sefira of Daat. I ascended. I sought to know the locations of certain misplaced items and saw visions of their location. I pulled out the symbol I had found in the stream and looked at it which caused me to return to the place of Raziel. I offered the symbol to the angel and Raziel placed it upon his forehead and told me that the symbol was his very own.[241]

After I descended and emerged from hypnosis, I realized that the location of the place of Raziel is in the pathway between Tiferets and Yesod. This place is the 12th quasi sefira, RaZ. The sefira is accessible when Netzah and Hod come together in unity like Hochmah and Binah for Daat. In this manner, Netzah and Hod symbolize prophecy and their joining opens the gateway to RaZ and the answer to mysteries.

Secrets II - April 23, 1997[242]

I focused my mind on the symbol of Raziel and ascended from Malchuts to his place. The angel taught its approach to demon and angel summoning for learning all secrets. First, he drew the following symbol:

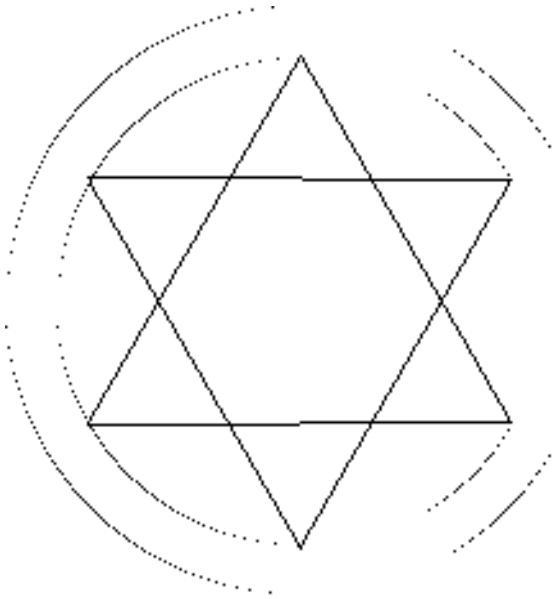

Then we both entered into the area together. The symbol was for protection from deception and other trickery. He summoned the shedu, Asmodeus, who appeared as a short man with dark clothing. He showed that any answer pertaining to the material world could be extracted from the shedu. Nevertheless, these answers serve little benefit for the soul. In order to release the angel he erased his symbol in the air.

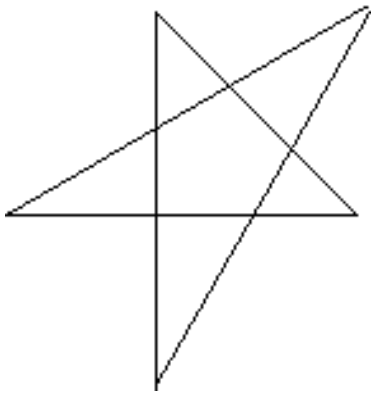

Next, he summoned the angel of love whose name is Anael. This angel appeared small, white, and feathery in a bright light. He asked the angel to show us 'love'. The angel opened a portal and inside created a picture. First, he waved his arm to display a rainbow of butterflies. A mountain was behind the butterflies and a grass valley with water was below. The meditation guide, Ira, spoke of bonds that need to be freed at this point disturbing the tranquil picture but forcing the angel to reveal that sometimes love does have binds that restrict. For everything, there is a balancing force. He then dismissed the angel by erasing its symbol, a heart:

Secrets III – May 10, 2001

The name Raziel has gematria 248. This is the number of positive commandments in the Torah. The gematria of Bamidbar – "in the wilderness" is also 248. The essence of the wilderness or desert is to make ones mind empty of mundane thoughts and to fill it with the wonder of G-d's world ready to receive inspiration. Pursuing the positive commands also empties the mind of the mundane and fills it with what is important to linking with Hashem.

There are 7 Palaces in Beriyah and 7 Heavens in Yetzirah. Raziel teaches that all the worlds have a one-to-one correspondence. In the world of Asiyah there are 7 Continents: N. America, S. America, Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, and Antarctica. In Atzulut there are 7 lower sefirot are: Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzah, Hod, Yesod, and Malchuts.

What are the sefirot? These are the 10 sayings of the creation of the world.

Sefer Raziel describes 390 heavens. This is from the Gematria of Shamayim. Also there are 390 skies, but this is less significant.

The Lamed Vavniks - The 36 Saints - December 12, 1994 - Rosh Hodesh Adar - Malava Malcah

The wl - Lamed Vavniks by tradition are 36 saintly souls whose z'chus - merits tip the scale of justice in favor of the preservation of mankind. The tradition is that there must always be 36 select individuals for the world to continue. While some might be leaders of the generation, others may be lesser known.

12/10 Thursday Morning:
On the early morning of 12/10, I had a dream of rising up and over the peaks of sunlit mountains with the colors of a sunrise (warm orange). The mountains were of a warm hue much like the sandstone rock gardens of Colorado [Garden of the G-ds, Colorado Springs, Colorado]. At the top I could see a valley on the other side with the tribes of Jeshurun[243]. I was way up, several miles high and the mountains formed a ring around the luscious green valley. I then descended in a swoop to the base and landed on the green grass.

KNOW that there is a field where the most beautiful and pleasant trees and herbs grow. The precious beauty of this field and its plants and trees is impossible to describe. Happy is the eye that has seen it![244]

12/11 Shabbat Evening Services:
On Shabbas eve at Chabad [in Palo Alto], I saw more of the vision. In the valley, there are righteous men davening[245] to Hashem. They are there for Kabbalas Shabbat. They have a leader, the Baal Koreh [the Master of Calling *out to G-d*] and the grass and mountains pray with them. The "mountains skip like lambs," (Psalm 114:4) but their minds are on Hashem, the source and reason for this joy!. The Shechinah descends and rests amongst them. I saw myself dancing with her, all dressed in white, a dance of joy, a dance to Hashem. She spun round and under about me and I was pleased to be there.

12/11 Evening Dinner: At dinner I saw the men in black around their Shabbas table. I wanted to know who they were? I learned that there are 36 including the leader and they are the Lamed Vavniks, the righteous ones whose prayers sustain the world. As my host made kiddush, I saw their leader doing the same and he drank first and then the rest of us followed, so it was with bread and each course of the meal. As my host brought and poured me water so did the leader for the others. The love of the others for their leader is great and their presence in the valley is eternal. The valley is a place from the world to come for living tzaddikim to meet together.

12/12 Shabbas Morning:
As I was walking to the Minyan, I felt a little down from the previous night's later discussions but I wanted to feel joyful for the Rashi Shir, so I began to sing.[246] I chose the "Morning has Broken" song as a base and built upon it with grasses singing and mountains dancing. I was again in the Valley, but this time praying with them and realizing the support of all nature for my prayers and their object was Ribono Shalom. When walking home, I again sung and saw grasses rising up all around me and the thankfulness of the trees and my prayers were elevated. Now I am running, "May I run to you forever Hashem.

12/21:
This past Shabbas I was studying in the Bet Hamidrash when Hashem sent me a cherub who said, "What are you doing here?" I responded that I'm studying. He said, "Its kiddush time; its kiddish time." Finally, I complied realizing its a greater mitzvah to partake in kiddush over wine with the Edut [congregation] than

to study alone.
This morning I prayed on the subject of what I should tell my parents before making a shidduch. When one prays before the Almighty, it is better to ask the more important questions than to remind G-d of our daily aches and pains. With our parents it is more so; one should not cause them to worry.

Dissolving Violent Dreams - October 28, 1993

Face up and defeat fear.

I had a dream where I was being threatened by a person. I defended myself and grabbed the person's hair. Tumah or impurity is in the hair. I then became lucid and resisted. I said, "I will not fight this person." I released his hair. Only the evil adversary who is inspiring these dreams will I fight. As I sought for his face, a thousand faces appeared before me of others; the adversary hides behind the masks of others. I said, "they are not the source though they have fallen prey to the evil inclination." I said, "show me your face, evil one." The evil is not within us but is outside and it seeks an entry point. The entry can be greed, lust, superficial worries, or even depression. Eventually a slight face formed, totally evil but faint, powerless, and alone. He would not appear to me in strength and majesty for alone evil is weak and cowardly. His strength comes only from those who surrender, Has V'shalom, but when facing him in my dream his power dissolved and his countenance vanished.

Messiah I - October 28, 1996

During the night, I had the following dream:
I beheld a sunrise and before it I saw the image of One like the Son of G-d rising high. There was warmth of light upon his face and his arms were outstretched to receive me. I felt an incredible sense of comfort, safety, security, and peace as I moved towards the entity. I saw myself as a light soaring up to a point near his forehead. I felt the rise of kavanah, fiery truth in my soul that indicates a true vision. Being a Jew, this vision perplexed me. In the dream, I thought the being to be as the Christians claim their savior.

Earlier in the day, I was watching a program about the conflict in the Middle East where the Christian moderator said, "the conflict will not end until the Son of G-d comes again to bring all parties to peace." Certainly, a great leader/messiah, that all parties respect and acknowledge as G-d's anointed, could make us realize the futility of our struggles and the higher purposes of G-d. Nevertheless, the messiah will also have to show an acceptable resolution to the issues of the conflict.

The next morning I sought the meaning of the dream. Fundamentally, I believe that there is only one true divine power and that is G-d. Yet, I cannot deny the complete comfort I felt in the experience of this spiritual being. Perhaps this is the reason for the principle that we are commanded as Jews to believe in the coming of Messiah.[247] This is to remind and comfort us with the idea of a saving leader who will also care about each of us as individuals. The three passages below shed some light on the meaning of the vision:

(Isaiah 62:1-3) For the sake of Zion I will not be silent, For the sake of Jerusalem I will not be still. Till her victory emerge resplendent and her triumph like a flaming torch. Nations shall see your victory, and every king your majesty. And you shall be called by a new name which the Lord Himself shall bestow. ***You shall be a glorious crown in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the palm of your G-d****. ...*

(Isaiah 62:8-12) The Lord has sworn by His right hand, by his mighty arm, "Nevermore will I give your

*new grain to your enemies for food, nor shall foreigners drink the new wine for which you have labored. But those who harvest it shall eat it and give praise to the Lord. And those who gather it shall drink it in My sacred courts." Pass through, pass through the gates. Clear the road for the people; build up build up the highway, remove the rocks. Raise an ensign over the peoples. See, the Lord has proclaimed to the end of the earth, "**Announce to Fair Zion, Your Deliverer is coming! See, his reward is with Him, His recompense before Him**." And they shall be called, "The Holy People, the Redeemed of the Lord," and you shall be called, "Sought Out, A City Not Forsaken."*

The angelic entity I saw in my dream is an expression of G-d Himself.[248]

(Kings I 11:36) To his son I will give one tribe, so that there may be a lamp for My servant David forever before Me in Jerusalem—the city where I have chosen to establish My name.

This suggests that the Messiah, descendent of David will be the anointed. The final question I asked was to explain why I imagined an association with Jesus and the dream.

(Kings 20:41-43) Quickly he removed the cloth from his eyes, and the king recognized him as one of the prophets. He said to him, "Thus said the Lord: Because you have set free the man whom I doomed, your life shall be forfeit for his life and your people for his people." Dispirited and sullen, the king of Israel left for home and came to Samaria.

The prophet represents a messiah who is setting free the 'doomed' man, but in consequence forfeits his own life and descendants. The king of Israel is like Hashem, who watches the process unfold. In my dream, this prophet messiah became a great angel in the spiritual world, like Metatron and Sandalfon[249], yet different. As a result of the self-sacrifice and love he expressed in his lifetime, his angelic nature became an expression of Hashem's comfort and a message of redemption. This is the 'Right Hand' of Hashem, his messenger of deliverance in our world.

The messenger whether in the form of G-d as our Deliverer,
a righteous anointed king who cares for his subjects,
a prophet who risks his own life to save others,
is the essence of our belief in messiah.
May he come swiftly in our days even through our daily hopes and longing dreams.

C. Spiritual Dreaming

1. Hypnotic Dreaming

There are three steps here. Immediately after awakening study a kabbalistic or pure religious text for inspiration. Prepare the tape recorder with the hypnosis tape. Find a comfortable place for the meditation like a recliner. Begin the hypnotic meditation with the tape. Set as your goal an objective from the inspirational text.

City of Heaven - May 24th, 1997 - 8:00 AM

This day was the 32nd day of the Counting of the Omer corresponding to Netzah in Hod which is a complete day of prophecy revealing the 32 paths of wisdom. I was browsing through 'Meditation and Kabbalah' as my inspirational text and came across a passage translated from the Gates of Light:

Know and believe that there is a mystical method involving the purification of the limbs, through which it is possible for a human being to attach himself to the Divine Presence, even though it is a "consuming fire."[250]

The passage puzzled me and I selected it as an objective for my meditation.

I listened to a hypnosis tape I made that directed me to clear away any preoccupation's or worries. My goal for the meditation was to discover the meaning of the statement, "Know and believe that there is a mystical method involving the purification of the limbs, ..."

I spent most of the meditation on cleansing thoughts and shut off the tape in the middle which permitted me to enter a lucid dream shortly thereafter. As I attempted to ascend the sefirot I was confronted with numerous obstructing spirits. They were born out of the impurities of my own soul, magnified as always by heightened spiritual awareness. I destroyed these spirits by reminding myself in each encounter that "I am for G-d" and not for the values of this spirit.

I noticed snow falling around me and I looked up and saw a central cloud in a blue sky that was the source of the snow. I sensed that the snow was coming from the storehouses in heaven where the reward is stored up for the righteous in this world. I attempted to will myself upward to the cloud, but their was a strong back wind. I invoked the names in my mind of El Shadai and Eheyeh.[251] The first meaning 'All Mighty' to overcome any obstacle forces, the second meaning, 'I Will Be', corresponding to the name of G-d associated with the high place of Keter to request a lifting force. I rose up into the high clouds eventually emerging above them.

I saw buildings in a bright sunlight but no people. As I searched for the people I saw a city in a valley in the distance with mountains behind the city. I realized the good light stored up for us in the world to come is similar to our own world.[252] In fact the world we have here can be this paradise if we make it so.

The "consuming fire" is a reference to Deuteronomy 4:24.
For the Lord your G-d is a consuming fire, He is a jealous G-d.

This fire burns and destroys impurity. For the totally wicked nothing else would remain, but for the rest of us the fire cleanses us leaving only our pure soul.[253] What is the "mystical method involving the purification of the limbs." This is nothing other than high spiritual meditation that purifies the soul and cleanses the body.

2. Prophetic Dreams

Dreams can also be prophetic in nature. Food, learning, and purity all effect our ability to have and interpret prophetic dreams.

a) Food

The food that one eats, whether it is kosher or not, whether vegetarian or not, or whether milk based or not will all effect the dreams one has. Non-kosher meat is the greatest in danger for violent dreams from the slaughter and location of the meat result. These images are then combined with other stresses in our life to create nightmares. By keeping kosher we elevate the spirituality of our dreams so that the stress in our life have little impurity to hold on to and the dreams are clearer and better.

Now, like Yosef, someone who has achieved a perfection of his Holy Tongue is capable of interpreting the dreams of deep sleep, as explained there. This is because dreams are determined by foods that one eats, as is brought.[254] We've seen that in every thing there are letters. And so, when a person .lays down and sleeps, the vapors of the foods he's eaten ascend and rise to the brain. The letters which they contain are combined, and from this the dream is made.[255]

b) Learning

Dreaming the Bahir - The Brilliant Light
For a period of a 2 years I read the Bahir in the evening before falling asleep, particular on Friday night. Usually this led to a prophetic dream the same night on the subject I was studying.

c) Purity

Dreams can have important spiritual significance. At times when we are in a state of cleanliness, they can even point us in a direction we need to go.

Israel - March 30, 1994 - 4th day of Passover
At last to be a freeman in Israel is better than to be in exile. All night long I had dreamt of other countries and dreadful times. I awoke at 2 AM and read a little of the Fifth Sphere, Tiferets, in the Gates of Light.[256] I read that we are judged by three names. Each has thirty garments which are the thirty years Ezekiel spoke of before Jerusalem was condemned to destruction. The 30 garments have 30 corresponding names that are like instruments in the hands of their ministers. The other nations of the world are identified with the instruments executing judgement. Some are judged by the name of Hashem alone without garments. This is the way of true love between G-d and us forever and ever - Amen!

Later that night I had the best of all dreams. I dreamt I had reached Israel on my travels. I walked past a post office thinking to buy a stamp to send a post card or to exchange money, but than I saw an Israel Discount Bank across and down the street. Inside the bank, I got on the fastest line which was the farthest right and saw that there were multiple tellers handling the line and one was already open, calling me. They do things so speedily in the banks in Israel! I told her I wanted to cash a hundred dollars in traveler's checks which I gave her and she asked for some ID. All I had was old ID cards from college and high school days. She accepted them in lew of my passport which I told her I must have left in my bag. She commented that the stamp is fading on these cards however.[257] I felt incredible joy to be in my homeland!

IX. The Power of Prayer

The Midrash explains[258]:
Great is prayer in the sight of G-d. R. Eleazar said: If you wish to know the power of prayer, know that if it does not achieve the whole of its object, it achieves at least half of it. Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him, and the decree went forth, *A fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou be in the earth* (Genesis 4:12); immediately he confessed before G-d, as it is said, *My punishment is greater than I can bear* (*ib.* 13); he said before Him: 'Master of the Universe, Thou bearest with the whole world, and yet with my sin Thou wilt not bear; Thou hast written, *Who is a G-d like unto Thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by transgression* (Micah 7:18); pardon my iniquity for it is great.' Immediately he found favor before G-d and He withheld from him the curse of 'fugitive'; that is half of the decree, for so it is written, *And he dwelt in the land of Nod* (Genesis 4:16). Hence you learn that prayer is great in the sight of G-d. And likewise it was with Hezekiah. When G-d said to him, *'Set thy house in order; for thou shalt die'* (Isaiah 38:1), immediately, Hezekiah turned his face to the wall (*ib.* 5). For so Scripture says:

He will fulfill the desire of them that fear Him;
He also will hear their cry, and will save them.
(Psalm 145:19)

Rabbi Chanina ben Dosa said, "Whenever prayer comes easily to my lips I know that it has been accepted. When it does not, then I know that it has been rejected."[259]

A. T'hillim

The psalms are a powerful form of prayer for changing one's life. Read each day they work their way into the subconscious and improve one's entire attitude towards life.

For R. Joshua b. Levi said: The Book of Psalms was uttered with ten synonyms of praise, viz.: nizzuah [victory], niggun [melody], maskil [instruction], mizmor [psalm], shir [song], ashre [happy], tehillah [praise], tefillah [prayer], hodayah [thanksgiving] [and] hallelujah. The greatest of all is 'hallelujah,' because it embraces the [Divine] Name and praise simultaneously. (Pesachim 117a)

1. Ten Psalms a Day

Rabbi Nachman of Breslov popularized the idea of reciting 10 psalms a day for a complete reparation or cleansing of the body and soul. His Tikkun Hakelei collection contains the ten types of song which together are particularly effective (see Tikkun Hakelai). Here is a list of different groups of ten.

Table 24: Ten Palms a Day for Healing

Rabbi Nachman's	My Own Revealed From On High In This Order	Short Ten Revealed In This Order	Short Alternates

16	123	100	6
32	67	128	13
41	126	131	71
42	43	23	95 – 99
59	93	24	100
77	117	8	101
90	134	146	110
105	130	4	111
137	87	149	112
150	113	150	138

2. Marriage Psalms

a) For Men – Psalm 128

This psalm is recommended by the Nichelsburg Rabbi:

A Lifting Song
Sing praise all ye who fear the Lord and walk in His way
By the toil of your hands you shall eat and it is a goodly praise to you.
Your wife shall be a fruitful vine in the innermost part of your house.
Your sons shall be like olive saplings (seated) around your table.
Thus, is blessed the man who fears Adonay.
Adonay will bless you from Zion
And you will see the good of Jerusalem all the days of your life.
And you will see your children's children.
Peace upon Israel

twlumh ryc
wykrdb]lhh yy ary-lk yrca
]l bwfw]yrca lkat yk]ypk uygy
]tyb ytkryb hyrp }pgk]tca
]njlcl bybs \ytyz yltck]ynb
yy ary rbg]rby }k-yk hnh
}wyxm yy]krby
]yyj ymy lk \lcwry bwfb harw
]ynbl \ynb-harw
larcy-lu \wlc

b) For Women – 31, 32, 70, 72, 124

These psalms appeared in an interesting newspaper article with the following description:[260]

A mystic rabbi in Israel suggested the five psalms, which are preceded by the words, “I’m reciting these psalms in the merit of King David and I wish blessings to come to these women. Then they say the group members’ Hebrew names and the members’ mothers’ Hebrew names. The goal is to pray for others.

3. The Songs of Ascent

Those seeking to elevate their spirit to G-d can recite Psalms 120-135 at Seudah Shelishis, the third meal on Shabbat, which is a holy time of the day. We recite Shir Amalot, the Songs of Ascent, after Mincha starting on Succoth until Pesach. From Pesach until next Succoth, we read Perkei Avots. Reading Shir Amalots is a preparation for a heightened state of spiritual awareness. The period after Mincha on Shabbas is the time of Zer Anpin who descends to join with the Shabbas Queen. Who is Zer Anpin? He is the Prince and masculine counterpart to Nukva who is identified with Shabbas. After the sefirot shattered because they had not learned to give, Hashem reformed them into the Partzufim. There are four lower ones consisting of father, mother, son, and daughter. Zer Anpin, the son, surrounds Nukva, the daughter and Shabbas Queen from six sides or directions: South, North, East, Up, Down, and West. Also Zer Anpin is associated with the six days of the work week while Nukva is the associated with Shabbas. In the Shabbas Amidah, we make a throne for the Shabbas Queen, this is the union of Zer Anpin and Nukva, or in their sefirot names Yesod and Malchuts. The Shabbas Queen when well supported by Zer Anpin rules over all her domain with blessing and spreads peace in the land and in the heavens above. We should view the Shabbat as the middle of the week with three days before and three days after. In this manner, we keep the Shabbas Queen in the center of our lives.

This is the same for a husband and wife. Placing the wife in the center of life with work on the periphery causes the wife to feel supported, loved, and cherished, which in turn brings the Shechinah or presence of G-d into the household. The Shechinah is the Shabbas Queen and the wife causes her presence to dwell in the house. When the husband is behaving properly serving his wife and his wife respects her husband’s Torah devotion, than there is a great unity in the home and the Shechinah descends through their joy and the family is blessed.

4. Hallel

These psalms are recited in gratitude after deliverance from a threat. They are also effective on holidays to elevate joy and healing.

5. Improving oneself - Midos

Psalm 15 is the corner stone of spiritual cleansing, while Psalm 13 is the cornerstone of longing to be close to G-d.

Psalm 15

A Psalm of David

Adonay, who will sojourn in your Tabernacle?
Who will dwell upon Your holy mountain?
He who walks in wholehearted integrity
and deals righteously
and speaks truth in his heart.
He who has no slander on his tongue,
who has done his friend no evil,
nor cast disgrace upon his fellow man.
In whose eyes a vile person is despised,
and those who fear Adonay he honors;
though he swears to his own hurt,
he does not change [his oath].
His money he has not lent out at usury
and a bribe against the innocent he has not taken;
whoever does these things will not be moved forever.

B. Siddur [FIGURE]

1. Introductory Prayers

During the reign of David a plague broke out that killed many of the people. David prayed for the cause and solution to the plague. He learned that the plague was due the people not recounting enough of their daily blessings. Consequently David mandated that everyone recite 100 blessings a today which would increase their appreciation for life. The plague ceased.[261] Amongst the blessings is the following commandment which we remind ourselves of every morning:

]wmk]url tbhaw lc hcu twxm ylu lbqm ynyrh

I hereby accept upon myself the commandment,
"You shall love your neighbor as yourself"
(Leviticus 19:18)

This recitation of this lesson reminds us that each day we must forgive any insult or harm that anyone has done to us, whether actual or perceived. We are reminded each day that we are forbidden to hold a grudge against anyone.

2. Offerings - Asiyah - World of Doing

This 1st level of the morning service is associated with the physical world. Karbanos or offerings/sacrifices during the time of the Temples were considered a principle means to come close to G-d. While the temple does not exist, we consider the reading of these offerings to bring a merit similar to the actual offerings. The word for sacrifice - Karban bears a similar spelling to the word for close in Hebrew, i.e. Krov, which implies a similarity in meaning.

Rabbi Chiya bar Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yochanan, “When a person relieves himself, washeshis hands, puts on Tefillin, says the Shema and then prays, it is counted as if he built an alter and offered a sacrifice on it. (Talmud, Berachot 14b, 15a)[262]

3. Psalms - Pseukei D’Zimra - Yetzirah - World of Formation

The 2nd level of the morning service consists of the recitations of various psalms and songs. The level parallels the angels in the World of Formation who are forever singing songs to Hashem.

Rabbi Yose said, “May my portion be among those who complete the Praise (Hallel) each day.” How could he have said this? We have learned, “One who completes the Praise each day is blaspheming and degrading.” When he said this, he was speaking of the Verses of Praise (Pesukei Dezimra). [Rashi: This refers to the two psalms of praise, “Praise G-d from Heaven” (Psalm 148), and “Praise G-d in His Sanctuary” (Psalm 150).]

Berachos 4b says that if one recites Ashrei three times a today he is assured of a place in Olam Habah. This is because of the passage, “thou openest thy hand and satisfieth everything that is living.” This passage contains the concept that we accept entirely our portion from Hashem. We accept that Hashem has given us everything we need to survive. This is also the reason that many religious people throw themselves into Torah study instead of planning their livelihood.. Ashrei is recited twice at Shachris and once at Mincha.

The Gemara goes on to discuss a similar benefit to connecting the concept of redemption (Goel Israel) with prayer (the Amidah).[263] If we begin the Amidah with a focus on our redemption from Egypt, we realize again that Hashem gives us all we need to survive. This is the reason that we attempt to connect the Redeemer of Israel with Adonay in the Amidah.

Overall, the Gemara[264] is teaching us that we can throw our burden onto Hashem and be His servants doing His will. This is the way to Olam Habah (The World to Come). We realize that everything Hashem has given us is for His service. All of our money, our wife, our children, our material possessions, our bodies, and our souls are for love of G-d.

4. Shema - Beriah - World of Creation

The World of Creation contains the Throne of G-d. Part of the reason we sit when reciting the Shema is to emulate the descent into the throne room of G-d where G-d’s presence rests upon the throne.

The first two verses of the Shema consist of twelve words and forty-nine letters:
So, when a person accepts upon himself the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven with these verses, through which his soul is encompassed in the Twelve Tribes of G-d, he separates his soul from the soul of the mixed multitude,[265]

Rabbi Nachman explains that there are 49 letters in the spelling of the twelve tribes of Israel as well as the first two lines of the Shema. Saying the Shema with ones eyes closed alludes to the faithful woman of God,

Sarah or the Shechinah, who follows her spirit rather than the desire of her eyes.

To turn the mind away from the promiscuous woman, we recite the Shema with great concentration binding us to the Twelve Tribes of G-d and turn our mind to the faithful woman, the Torah woman, or the wonderful woman.
By accepting the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven <with the two verses that are> an aspect of the sea of Shelomoh, he disengages from the souls of the mixed multitude/evil maidservant/promiscuous woman, and is encompassed in the souls of the Tribes of God, an aspect of "a God-fearing woman."[266]

5. Amidah - Atzilut - World adjacent to G-d

Before the Amidah, the cantor recites the Kaddish, the Sanctification prayer:
One who responds with "Amen, Yehei Shmei Raboh..." ("His great Name shall be blessed forever and for all eternity") with all of his strength (of concentration and aloud) nullifies any evil decree that may have been pending against him for the next seventy years.[267] (Shabbas 119b)

The Amidah consists of 18 principle blessings and is the core prayer in Judaism. This is the reason that its older name is the Shemone Esrei that means 18. Nevertheless, Rabbi Gamliel instituted a 19th blessing against heretics in his time. The 18 blessings allude to the recitation of the name of G-d 18 times consisting of 72 letters. Rabbi Nachman says that the 18 blessings allude to Chai or life. He associates this with the phrase Mother Nature or Mother of all that Lives, Em Kol Chay, claiming that this prayer changes the forces of nature.[268] Similarly, he states the 19th blessing overcomes the forces of the Menim – \ynymh.[269]

As the service approaches the Amidah, one recites, "True and Certain is our G-d" which leads to the blessing of G-d who redeems Israel. The word for redeem in Hebrew is Ga'al - lag and is associated with Yesod and Hashem's righteousness. When we begin the meditation before the Amidah, we say, "Adonai, open my lips so that I may declare thy praise." The Shaarey Orah suggests that we bind the redeemer to the name Adonai, which is associated with the sefirah of Malchuts. In fact, the redeemer becomes a throne for the Queen and when the Queen sits upon the throne the redeemer supports her instead of fleeing from her presence; and then she bestows all the blessing of the Amidah on the land and the people of her kingdom. If the redeemer should flee her presence, has vshalom, then she will go into exile and join with foreign rulers who do not appreciate her great worth.

In the Bahir, the sefirah Yesod is in the eighth position below Malchuts. The Bahir places Malchuts in the 7th position since she represents the Shabbas Queen on the seventh day of the week:[270]

Malkhut-Kingship is called the seventh rather than the tenth,
since it is represented as being in the center of the six Sefirot of Zer Anpin.
The six Sefirot represent the six directions, while Malkhut-Kingship is their center point.
In this aspect, the Sabbath is seen as the middle of the week,
preceded and followed by three days.
(Aryeh Kaplan in "The Bahir Illumination")

The eighth sefirah is associated with the brit milah, which is performed on the eighth day and was epitomized by Yosef who resisted the temptations of Potifer's wife. Netzah and Hod are seen as the 9th and 10th sefirot always acting together like Moshe and Aaron as the legs of the tree. They are associated with the Shehakim, the heavens that are the source of prophecy.[271]

Figure 7: The Kabbalistic Tree in Two Systems

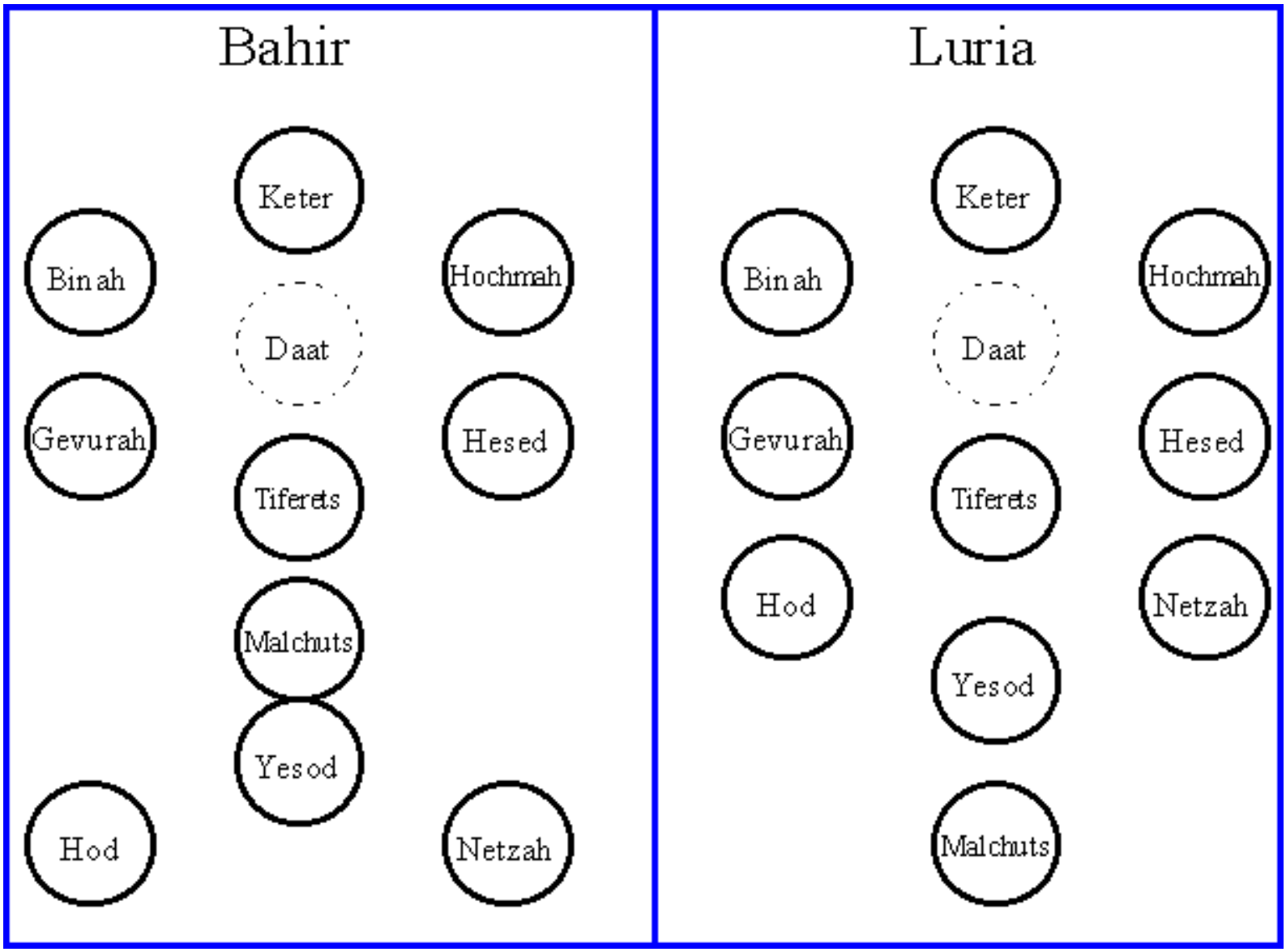

Nevertheless, in the Luria system, Yesod is in the 9th position with Malchuts in the 10th. How are we to reconcile these differences? The key is that Yesod has two names of G-d associated with it. It is called El Shadai when seen from the viewpoint of Malchuts below. When Malchuts has received enough sustenance she calls out 'Dai', enough. She then bestows what she has received upon the rest of the world. The sefirah is seen this way when ascending[272]. When Malchuts is above resting on Yesod, she calls Yesod, El Chai (Elohim Chaim), the living G-d, and the source of her creative energy. El Chai is the name of G-d associated with Malchuts looking down at her supernal spouse and represents the creative energy in process. She rests on the throne and prepares to bestow this energy as a blessing on all creation.

When Yesod is below, Netzah and Hod are in the 9th and 10th positions. When Yesod is above, Netzah and

Hod are the 7th and 8th. In the former Netzah and Hod represent a preliminary energy to ascending the sefirot. In the later case, Netzah and Hod are traversed after already ascending into the tree. Both configurations are reasonable. I have chosen to draw them removing the channels from Hochmah to Gevurah, and Binah to Yesod, instead replacing them with channels from Yesod to Hesed and from Yesod to Gevurah. These channels are the correct paths and can be traversed by the adept where Netzah and Hod become the source of prophecy. I have also traversed the tree with these sefirot in their Lurianic positions. However I have never found channels from Hochmah to Gevurah or Binah to Hesed and now believe these pathways exist only through the sefirah of Daat.

6. Concluding Prayers

a) Ntzor Lshoni

My G-d, guard my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile; and to such as curse me let my soul be dumb, yea, let my soul be unto all as the dust. Open my heart to thy Torah, and let my soul pursue thy commandments. If any design evil against me, speedily make their counsel of no effect, and frustrate their designs. Do it for the sake of thy Name, do it for the sake of thy power, do it for the sake of thy holiness, do it for the sake of thy Torah. In order that thy beloved ones may be delivered, O save by thy power and answer me. Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable before thee, O Lord, my Rock and my Redeemer. He who makes peace in his high places, may he make peace for us and for all Israel, and say ye, Amen.

This prayer is recited at the conclusion of the Amidah and reminds us not to mutter negative thoughts of others. Instead, we should focus on the positive and be “dumb” to the negative so that we do not remember the faults of others. By reciting this prayer meticulously at the end of every Amidah, one will overcome negativity towards others.

b) Tahanun

Rabbi Feinberg taught this prayer of supplication and confession is the prayer for a soldier going off to battle. By supplicating ourselves before Hashem, one strengthens his position against his enemies. Similarly Balak sought to destroy the children of Israel by demonstrating his zealousness in rising before dawn and saddling his donkey to gain an upper hand with Hashem by making himself appear righteous. In truth the children of Israel had their ancestor Avraham who was the source of this teaching and Balak had only adopted it from the children of Israel.

“The desire of the woman produces the soul of a female, the desire of the man produces the soul of a male.”[273] Feminine waters before masculine draw a male soul. Masculine waters before feminine draw a female soul. The goal of the prayer service is to elevate the feminine waters first drawing the masculine waters in response. The main prayer that does this is the Tahanun meaning “falling on one’s face.” This is the quintessential feminine prayer and draws the masculine bounty of G-d into this world.[274]

c) Alenu

Tradition holds that Joshua composed the Alenu before conquering Jericho.

Joshua recited Alenu seven times, backward and forward, and thus broke down the walls of Jericho. It is therefore beneficial for all things, helping for whatever trouble may occur. (Rabbi Moshe ibn Makhir of Safed, Seder HaYom p. 12d)[275]

We recite Alenu while standing before the King with strength for the unification of all creation under one G-d:

I found a manuscript relating a tradition that one should recite Alenu with awe and reverence.... All the hosts of heaven hear it, and the Blessed Holy One and His heavenly family rise and respond, "Happy is the one who has all this ..." (Rabbi Moshe Mat, Mateh Moshe)[276]

d) Kaddish

We recite Kaddish in Aramaic which is the language of Gevurah and the Other Side. It has the power to break the barriers of the other side and ultimately brings judgment and punishment to the left side of mercy, kindness, and a good ending.

Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi said: If one responds, "Amen, may His great Name be blessed" with all his might, then all decrees against him are torn.... (Talmud, Shabbat 119b)[277]

This [Aramaic] language is certain to subjugate the Other Side and break its strength, elevating the glory of the Blessed Holy One. It breaks the powerful locks, fetters, chains and all evil Husks. G-d then remembers His name and His children. (Zohar 2:129b)[278]

C. Requests

1. Bypassing Obstacles

(see Prayer on Rosh Hodesh Av)

2. Calling out to G-d

3. Amongst the Grasses

4. Shachris - Morning Prayer Answers - Jan. 21, 1994 - 9 AM

One can ask Hashem questions while praying. Yet one may ask, "How can I bother Hashem with small questions? A Breslov Rabbi responded, "You are not bothering him; he wants to be bothered. Tell Him all your smallest concerns."

Here are some answers to some peculiar questions.[279]

1. Prayer for guidance on Shabbas observance revealed that Shabbas is the time of the Shechinah descending into our world. It is not a time to be alone. I saw two pigeons eating near each other from the window. Shabbas is a time for an elegant meal to make and delight the Shabbas Queen and the lady of the home.
2. The mitzvah of tefillin should be done even if one doesn't have time to recite all of the morning prayers, even if none are said; it is still a mitzvah of value to be done.
3. A metal covered siddur should be kept by the bedside. Modeh [I thank ...] should be recited upon arising in the morning.
4. Forbidden scoffing includes if you disparage someone's actions even without intending to offend the person herself. Causes of scoffing: You think that your opinion is superior to others.
5. The Shema should be recited 3 times a day; reciting the first line even alone fulfills the mitzvah.
6. Sleep with water close to one's bed in order to perform n'tilats yadayim [the washing of the hands] upon awaking.
7. showing discontent for a decision that will help others. Be positive and of cheerful countenance.

D. Short Service

Often, reciting the entire morning service is too much for most of us to handle. There are various abbreviated paths set by our elders when time is short. Nevertheless, today the prayer service is also a learning path. Let Hashem guide you to the prayers you need to emphasize at this point in your life. A few examples are included here:

1. Short Prayer Service - Jan. 15, 1997

The morning service is lengthy to insure that each person find at least one prayer that is a source of inspiration. Part of the strength of a minyan is that each individual supports the group during his inspirational prayer. Siddur means order and while one may not necessarily say every prayer completely he should aim to follow their order. If one is short in time Hashem will reveal the prayers one needs to recite through the divination of turning pages. Here is an example service:[280]

1. Put on morning Tefillin and Tallis
2. The preliminary service Shema - p. 12
3. Recite the 'What Preciousness is Your Kindness' prayer which is normally said after putting on the Tallis - p. 21
4. Recite Psalm 100, 'A Thankful Song which Rises to the Lord of all the Land' - p. 28
5. Recite the Yishtabach - p. 60
6. Blessings before the Shema - p. 64
7. Shema
8. Blessing after Shema for the Redeemer of Israel - p. 74

9. Amidah
10. Alenu - p. 134
11. Psalm of the Day - p. 137
12. The Thirteen Articles of Faith (last 4) - p. 153
13. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name, takes cognizance of all the deeds of human kind, as well as of their thoughts; as it is said: He who fashioned all their hearts , understands all their actions
14. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name, recompenses those who observe his commandments, whilst he punishes those who transgress them.
15. I believe, with a perfect faith, in the coming of the Messiah, and though he tarry, I will daily await his appearance.
16. I believe, with a perfect faith, that there will be a resurrection of the dead, when such shall be willed by the Creator, blessed be his name, and exalted his memorial for ever and to all eternity.

E. Temple

Praying in a group strengthens ones prayers.

F. “Psalms for a Sunny Day” by Samantha Grier

These were composed by Samantha Grier, MSW and founding executive of “Caring for Children” San Francisco, CA. Samantha’s inspired writing could be canonized if there was room for another book of psalms. Her masterful way of seeing G-d in nature, attaching to G-d, and expressing a longing for G-d, reveals her spiritual genius.

1. PSALM I

God is the sunshine of my life
the weather matters not
The day is always sunny
when we hold God in our heart

The storms of life are many
We can struggle if we please
But with acceptance
troubles fall away like autumn leaves

Our lesson is to know God’s love
is with us all our days
although obscured it is truly there
to guide us through our daze

We need to see more clearly
what is in our hearts and know
what matters is not the tests or lessons
but our courage, and willingness to grow

2. PSALM II

I see God in the sunshine
I see god in the rain
I feel God when I'm happy
I feel God in my pain

It's clear that God does love me
and naught is good or bad
but rather lessons for my soul
and not to make me sad

So sleep is sweet no matter what
the day may have been
for when we live with open heart
there's no way that we can sin

3. PSALM III

God is my protector and
God is my friend
my shepherd and provider
His bounty has no end

God is my Father
and God is my peer
my lover and my playmate
with God there is no fear

Although the meaning is obscure
my life is God's to mold
for what may seem like mud to me
God can turn to gold

We can never know God's plan for us
It's only ours to trust
to seek the truth and
hold the faith

And when the veil lifts
revealing our purpose and our destiny
We will finally understand and accept
God's ultimate mystery

4. PSALM IV

Oh Lord lead me to the light
let your love illumine my path
guide me with your loving ways
Sustain me when I fall

Oh lord please lead me forth from
this barren plain of failed desires
free me from attachment to all but you for
I long for your tender touch
your gentle guidance

Thou art my rock and
my redeemer and the
restorer of my soul
your presence comforts and sustains me
your light shall lead the way

5. PSALM V

Lord, you are my source and my salvation
your love surrounds me when awake
and covers me when asleep

Your glory is in all things
large and small
insignificant moments and
chance encounters that are not so after all

Your profundity invites my soul
to taste the depth of your essence.
Please Lord, bless me and all my enterprises,
my goings and my comings
and all the affairs of my heart

6. PSALM VI

God of my fathers and my mothers
hold me in Your holy hand
surround me with your goodness
protected by your love

Although I am but a speck of dust
a spot of earth's horizon
a flower that fades, a dew drop that falls
I have a soul and a purpose in this world

May your light illumine the corners of my life
so that I may clearly see and gladly do
all that thou hast created me for

My soul submits to
Your wisdom and Your will
and welcomes Your sheltering presence

7. PSALM VII

Of God of all Creation, I surrender
to your wisdom and magnificence
Thy will be done

In vain I ponder Your divine plan
I sacrifice my ego to serve you
show me the way to
open my heart and my eyes

Welcome me into Thy dwelling by night
and Thy arms by day
know that I am devoted to Your will
I surrender all to follow the path that Thou
has laid out before me

Thy power and the glory fill the universe
and show me the way to come home

8. PSALM VIII

Oh Lord of nature's beautiful bounty
I view your marvelous creation with awe but
allow petty distractions to consume my piety so
I see not that the bush burns unconsumed

Your wonders surround me
every moment of every day;
If I would but lift up my head
I would see your Glory

Still my frantic heart with peace,
slow my hurried pace so that I can see that
wondrous treasures lie all around
and all my heart's desires
are fulfilled

9. PSALM IX

The violence all around us
profoundly shakes our calm;
Could it be our inner turbulence
that badly needs the balm?

For this world of lessons
and games for us to play
teaches us that peace comes with forgiving
and loving whatever comes our way

Our true home is God's Kingdom
We never can get lost
our souls are in his keeping
there never is a cost

10. PSALM X

Sometimes in the darkness
when life seems hard and bleak
the path unclear
the way obscure
God's voice begins to speak

You can hear His words by listening
to the quiet deep inside
It tells you all you need to know
and helps you loosen pride

Love is the salve that heals our wounds
calms our fears

and makes us strong
to fight the doubts and frights
and gives us courage
to bring them to the light

11. PSALM XI

Sometimes I'm lonely
Sometimes I'm sad
Sometimes I'm angry and feel very bad

These moments of blindness are closing my eyes
to God's loving presence and all that I prize

I try to remember that what I now feel
isn't what's true and isn't what's real

The truth is God's glory, his light and his love
and knowing I am protected by heaven above

12. PSALM XII

Sometimes in the shadows
When I'm down and feeling blue
divine light manifests to help me see anew

there are no skies of grey
only passing clouds
that cover bright and sunny days

So when illusions cover truth wit
cloudy thoughts of doom
remember all the good thoughts
that would fill our mind
if only there were room

13. PSALM XIII

When I sit and watch the sea,
I note the ebb and flow,
I see the moon move slowly and
glistening stars peeking out at me

Then morning sun bursts through the sky

Like a baby being born
a new day's promise
accompanies the coming of the dawn

In any moment each of us can be born anew
and manifest our heart's desire
If we accept God's purification
and baptism by fire

Our souls direct us
we cannot fail
with faith, hope and clarity we can all
prevail

Nature moves us forward
We can always reach our goal
If we hold fast to God's gift
and thank him for our soul

14. PSALM XIV

Blessed with inner vision
We no longer need be blind
nor miss the abundance of God's gifts in
all the sparkling beauty that abounds

To smell a flower, watch a bird,
hug a child is to honor
God's gifts

His will be done

15. PSALM XV

We find God in the strangest places
with friends, strangers and smiling faces

in hearts that are open and arms welcoming wide
love creeps in bearing treasures that nest deep inside

Lovers, honor each other,
be noble and true
be faithful and honest
and create joy anew

For we are all siblings,
children of God's light
resting on our mother's breast
nurtured with delight

Our family is forever,
We never have to mourn
for nothing is ever lost
it only changes form

If we love without attachment,
offering integrity and hearts that care
Our gifts will be community
with compassion always will be there

16. PSALM XVI

We often overlook the simple things
bearing hidden gifts galore
If only we recognized these treasures
We would never ask for more

We know not what we really want
moving blindly through our lives
like mindless bobbing reeds

Yet we can reclaim our riches,
when we look down deep inside
and see the peace and love
where all God's gifts reside

17. PSALM XVII

We know God in the sunshine
in the glories of our lives
but also in the shadows
and the sorrows of our mind

We overcome with love and faith
Knowing the light will lead the way;
Even though the path is steep,
and many obstacles slow us down each day

But with each new step we build new strength
until we can honestly say
Thank You God for all your gifts
It was the challenges that taught me how to pray

18. PSALM XVIII

Fill your heat with love
Open your arms to the Lord
Know that s/he is there for you
at all times and in all ways
you only need to be ready to receive

Know you are loved and cherished,
supported, guided, and protected,

Remember that you are led to the right place
at every moment in time
even the difficulties, challenges, losses, obstacles
bear their gifts

So open your eyes wide
See that all is love and light
and peace in our hearts
These are God's gifts to us,
To carry in our hearts,
So we can transform the world

X. Hypnosis

A. Introduction

The Kabbalists achieved their prophetic-like experiences while in a mental state akin to the hypnotic state of mind. Their are many levels of hypnosis. If while driving a car or sewing one doesn't notice the passage of time, one is in a hypnotic state of mind. Today we call this subconscious state the meditative state of mind. Meditation really means focused. The kabbalist focuses his or her mind in the trance state to find Torah or personal answers and experience the mystical realms. In essence the conscience releases itself to the subconscious state which while immersed in Torah seeks the divine.

Hypnosis is the tool for directing the subconscious mind. Fundamentally the experiences of hypnosis, meditation, TM, progressive relaxation, etc. are all similar in that they represent semi-conscious experiences. Ironically, the full unconscious dream state is the most intense subconscious level and happens every night. Our purpose in learning hypnosis is to bridge the gap between an uncontrolled dream and a

lucid dream to create an open channel for us to ascend and descend the spiritual realms manifesting in extra sensory perceptions in sight, sound, taste, and smell.

B. Keeping a Journal

One should keep a journal of ones progress. One can review the ideas that worked as well as those that didn't. The journal will become a record of your inspirations as well. I recommend writing an entry after each hypnotic session with the following form:

1. B"H - By the blessing of G-d

This acrostic denotes that everything you are writing is with G-d's help. By acknowledging Hashem, one will write with inspiration and truth. This is a key to recording prophecies. Place this in the upper right hand corner of every page you write. Besiadata Shemaya - d"sb - with the knowledge of heaven. Everything belongs to Hashem - }"hl.

2. Date

The date is useful for tracking one's meditation development. Sometimes a person is given a particular vision on a particular day which corresponds to a religious holiday in the vicinity, a Torah portion read that week, or some other event in your life. Knowing the date helps one track these correspondences. Record the date in the upper left hand corner of the page.

3. Time

Knowing the time of each meditation helps one track his/her best meditation times of the day. Meditations upon awakening can be extremely vivid since the mind is quite alert. This is also the best time for experiencing lucid dreams. At one point in my life I developed a technique for entering a lucid dream state from a deep hypnotic trance. I was only able to practice this in the morning which is often the time of greatest intensity in dreaming. The date, time, and place together specify a precise astrological instance, which may be interesting to examine occasionally. Record the time just below the date in the upper left hand corner.

4. Location

This is an optional entry indicating the place where the meditation was done if not mentioned in the text. The location entry is below the time.

5. Text

Try to write in your journal as soon after the hypnotic session as possible. It is important to review the entire hypnotic session in the last few minutes of hypnosis, in order to help oneself remember everything that happened. Unlike dreaming, the train of an entire hypnotic session is meaningful. The significance of the journey will become more evident by recording the session.

C. Trust Yourself

1. Fears

The key to experiencing hypnosis is to first realize there is nothing to fear. Many of us have preconceived notions about hypnosis. Maybe we saw a hypnotist at a show or have heard stories about someone being under another's hypnotic control. If one has seen a hypnotist at a show, one knows that s/he usually starts out with a group several times larger than the remaining group that is performing the antics in front of the audience. The reason for this is the final performers are really comfortable with doing the antics in front of the audience, while the others are not. Our ability to exercise free will and not to follow a suggestion is always available under hypnosis. In fact, one's mental control under hypnosis is far greater than the ability to resist a dream at night.

2. Self-hypnosis

Hypnosis done alone is called self-hypnosis though the effect is identical with having a partner. I recommend self-hypnosis for beginners because it is easier to trust oneself initially. The procedure in general is to plan, write, or use an existing script as a basis for the hypnotic session. If you are using someone else's script, read it over carefully to make sure you are comfortable with the ideas contained within. Next tape record the script at a slow pace. Leave plenty of pauses to let your imagination roam free. Here are some guidelines from the book "Strategic Self-Hypnosis, How to Overcome Stress, Improve Performance, and Live to your Fullest Potential."[281]

- **Relax and let go.**
- **Imagine along with the suggestions.** One should be like a child in make believe land. Feel free to change any item in a story you hear at any time during hypnosis. This will enhance the make believe experience for you and let your subconscious guide you to the answers you seek.
- **Let it happen.** Don't try to induce the hypnotic state. Hypnosis like dreaming, opening and closing one's eyes, breathing or even walking is perfectly natural. Trying will interfere with this process. As an example try opening and closing your eyes instead of blinking. The conscious effort will be far more difficult then just letting your subconscious take over.
- **Whatever happens, whatever you experience is always appropriate.**
- **Don't worry, don't bother to think about what's happening, just let it flow.**
- **Take an experimental "give it the old college try and see what happens" attitude.**
- **Feel free to change suggestions into your own words and images.**

D. Exercises

The following exercises are intended to demonstrate the hypnotic phenomenon.

1. Cheveul's Pendulum

This technique involves attaching a coin to a thread and suspending it before one's face. The goal is to stare at the coin and concentrate on seeing it move. One has the choice of clockwise, counterclockwise, side to side and front to back.

Exercise:
Attach a thread with a piece of tape to a coin and practice concentrating on seeing it move clockwise or counterclockwise. If this difficult one can try concentrating on side-to-side or forward-back motion

This exercise demonstrates the hypnotic phenomenon, which is fundamentally for the mind to suggest physical or mental responses that appear to be happening autonomously.

2. Experiment 1: How does it Work?[282]

DIRECTIONS:
Tape this script. Pause a few seconds at the ellipses ... While always a good idea, for this exercise it is imperative that you don't stop listening and imagining to think about what you are doing. Just keep on imagining, pretending, making-believe, as if what your voice is describing were actually happening.

SCRIPT
"OKAY. I am closing my eyes now. I shut my eyes and focus my attention on what it feels like. I let myself feel what it feels like to feel my eyes closed, and when I do this I notice them closing more and more tightly shut . . . I tell myself my eyelids feel very heavy, very very heavy, tightly closed . . . I imagine that I can actually feel them become more and more tightly, tightly shut. . . .
"I want to see how closed I can think and feel and imagine my eyelids become . . .

a) Experiment 1 Results - June 9, 1992 - 10:30 PM

Completed experiment on closing eyes. By repeating ideas to myself, concentrating, and letting myself believe, the ideas become part of my reality. In fact, I cannot prevent this from happening if I choose to believe. I could not open my eyes but I was not afraid for I knew how the tape would end. I let myself be hypnotized, because I trusted myself and the ending would be good. I remember what happened. My eyes felt very relaxed when I let myself open them.

3. Experiment Six: What is Hypnosis Like?[283]

PURPOSE
To experience for yourself a conventional hypnosis session.

METHOD
Imagining along with your recorded voice, exactly as in previous experiments.

DIRECTIONS

SCRIPT
"To begin, I am going to look up with my eyes and find a spot on the ceiling somewhere above the center of my hairline. I am going to focus my attention on that spot with all might and keep staring at the spot for as long as I can.
"As I stare at my spot, I will take a deep breath and hold it for as long as I can and then breathe out slowly, as slowly as I can, and as I breathe out I let my body go limp and loose and relaxed . . . I breathe in starting now, even as I keep on staring at that spot on the ceiling . . . And I'll keep on staring at that spot while I breathe out, letting nothing distract me . . . and I'll keep staring at that spot as I begin breathing in and breathing out naturally, automatically . . . more and more slowly as I begin to relax. . . .

E. Hypnotic Induction Stages

1. Stare at a spot on the ceiling. Repeat suggestion that staring at the spot makes you feel tired. —This step sets up a loop that will help one close one's eyes autonomously.
2. Exhale negative thoughts. Inhale cool cleansing breaths.
3. Count down as a way of letting oneself enter a deeper state of hypnosis. —The number zero should be associated with entering the hypnotic frame of mind.
4. Review the goals for this session in your mind. —This should lead to the exploratory part of the session.
5. Have fun, explore any new ideas that you came up with in the session.
6. Mentally review the experiences chronologically.
7. Give yourself the suggestion that you will feel great as you count up and out of hypnosis. —This leads to counting up from 1-10 and becoming fully awake and feeling great.

F. Automatic Writing

Similar to the process of doing Gematria, automatic writing involves asking questions and writing the answers from the extra-sensory mind.

G. Improvement

1. Principles

There are six principles here:[284]

1. The way to be changed is to act changed.
2. When your imaginations (what you believe or define to be so) come into conflict with your will (what you consciously choose to feel or do), your imaginations always win.
3. In order to understand our problems, we must look at their practical dimension, and how to translate our goals into practical actions.
4. Using verbal suggestion, you develop imaginings in order to get at and shape your feelings.
5. The harder you try to force it, the less likely will be your success; instead apply imagination power rather than willpower.
6. Any idea or goal on which you focus or practice in imaginative rehearsal often enough over a long time become your spontaneous tendency.

Stated another way:[285]

1. The way to be changed is to act changed.
2. Expect resistance and outflank it.
3. The best place to start anything is here and now.
4. The power of the past flows from the imagination.
5. Don't take anything for granted.
6. You create your future as you go along.

When we stop taking for "granted" we break the pattern of automatic behavior and change what we formerly considered, "only natural." We strive to break down our native hypnotic suggestions to transform into the being I always wanted to be.

2. Performance and Sports

When working to enhance performance, recall a cue suggesting improvement, such as the word **better**. At the same time, when you repeat your cue—whether better or another word—imagine what you want it to mean for you. You could either visualize actually performing the way you'd desire, or imagine seeing and hearing the audience or spectators bursting into applause. Just flash an image like this in your mind each time you think or say your cure.[286]

For example, in tennis I use the cue **LPS** to improve my backhand which reminds me to **L**ean forward, **P**oint with the rear foot as I follow through, and **S**nap my racket with the ball at my side. Prepare the racket pointing its head backward long before the stroke to insure taking a full swing.

To enhance performance focus on the object and the result as opposed to the means. For example, in tennis one observes the ball and nothing else in the area of location, movement, trajectory, spin, and all other features as one hits the ball with the racquet and sends it across the net. One then practices making the ball

do the same thing. “The secret of this method is to focus on the means by which you attain your objective, not the mechanics of performance.”[287]

Here are examples in tennis on how to focus the mind. Create a list of points to remember while playing.[288]

- Read the opponents shot – evaluate where it is going
- React to the shot – make your feet move where your eyes see the ball
- Move on balance – keep head quiet, shoulders on straight line over hips, eyes focused on hit point
- Shot mechanics – no matter how good the opponent shot, your goal is to hit it back. When chasing down balls, say “Got it, got it, hit with purpose” to remember to focus on the return.
- Reposition – after hitting ball return to center baseline or net
- One ball at a time – focus on each ball, do not become “loose” or “casual”

1. Present Tense – previous points mean nothing
2. No Past Tense – after shot prepare for next shot, no shot evaluation
3. No Future Tense – don’t worry about point, score, game, or set position

- don’t take eye off hit early
- don’t check out opponent before hit
- watch ball, plan a target, and hit it

1. Present Tense After You Miss a Shot – don’t worry about past shot, let it go.

It is easy to be distracted from proper focus in tennis. One should focus on hitting a ball back instead of an opponent standing at net.[289] To return a strong serve, one can choke up on a racket, increasing control or step three steps in to reduce the server’s return time, or three steps back for more control. Playing inside the baseline will reduce the opponent’s reaction time with a quicker return. From here, one can drive or half volley shots to shorten this time further. Professionals keep two hands on the racket during both backhand and forehand preparation. This is done by pulling the elbow back rotating the body. With the right forehand, one pulls the right elbow back while maintaining the left hand on the strings or racket. With the backhand, one pulls the left elbow back while holding the racket.

Actual Tape Scripts
Into the Heavens and Beyond
Fire, Earth, Air, and Water
Self-improvement

XI. Meditation

A. Healing Meditations

Healing Technique – August 11, 1993 - 7:30 PM

I moved the cause of any bad dreams I'd been having into my finger tips and washed them off.

I visualized Raphael - lapr hovering above the waters of creation. The beating of his wings transmitted healing energy throughout our world. I felt Raphael behind and through me lifting up my hands to heal those I prayed for. I prayed for each individual in the room and those that were ill that could not be with us. I saw their ill parts between my hands and I felt a flow of energy between them. My hands began moving as I visualized them along side my head and then down my body with a healing ray between them. I saw a golden light around my head (sunlight of Tiferets) and felt a surge of energy with Raphael still with me. I saw scintillating lights dancing around me and providing joy and healing.

I wanted to expand the healing that G-d was working through me. I visualized a glowing ball and I saw a string of light extending from its top, upward into the heavens. G-d created the world in the tzimtzum though a line of light and I saw its color was opal or mother of pearl. Raphael began to spin counter-clockwise above my head and into the heavens through the string-pipe.

I walked off into the mountains which is the wilderness, the realm of the klipot. I visualized drawing klipot coming out from others. They would then strike me and snap like a fire cracker turning into a flower lining my path. I preceded in this manner healing those I knew. The klipot turned into the most beautiful multi-colored flowers as if our "sins were made as white as snow." I walked further into the dark realm and began to visualize the harm of words spoken negatively in other lands. Eventually the klippot were coming in the thousands against my body until I had no more energy from Hashem to turn them. There were flowers everywhere and my hands fell down to the ground. I needed protection and thought of the garment, Malbush - cblm, the small silent voice, whose gematria is lightning.

cblm = 372 = lmcj

I visualized the garment around me and wondered at the Klipah Nogah that separates us from annihilation. I felt safe and drained of all energy as I opened my eyes.

B. Space travel [FIGURE] [TABLES]

Primordial Aleph - July 22, 1992 - 7:30 PM

Asiyah First being given a drink
Angels lifting
Moving higher, soul leaves the body
Leaving all behind, forgetting the physical
Yetzirah Dancing before a symbolic man of G-d as a bright fairy light
Kissing gleefully, being a bright happy spark
Seeing the primordial Aleph smoking as the molting pot of creation

All beginnings lie here, freedom from all restraints
Falling into the Aleph, nullifying all restraints
Beriyah A dark angel extending hands pulled out from within, the Merkavah lies below
Barely seeing the chamber
Going higher now into the heavens
All the angels chatting about what good things they will do today
Some are making a white feathery garment, placing the garment
Ascending higher[290]
Atzilut Moving towards an object way out in space. Getting closer, seeing a triangle with
Orbs at the vertices, connected to the bottom of the sefirot tree.
Pulsating with energy, the energy that sustains all creation
Eyes begin to flutter because of the energy
Head is rolled up in total vision

Commentary
The space in the tzelem[291] was filled with plasma energy, the power generator of the Universe. In astronomy, this is analogous to a black hole at the center of the Universe. Before ascending to the tzelem, an angel led the way and there was a beam of light shining from its head, teaching, and empowering. The Merkavah mystics would talk while experiencing these visions and the students would record the teachings. As a final gift a crystal of light descended into my hands, a most spectacular beautiful light and I began to rise with the following vision:
I recall the unity of all creation, the black fire of the world against the white light of nothingness. All physical problems dissipate in the nothingness.
And there is something more, I recognize my soul and the other souls I have touched as part of me. There is no sadness only exchanged sparks and tokens of Love.
I remember my face lit with white light. This is the image I wanted to remain with: the white light and love of G-d, the world, and all people. Amen.
A relaxed jaw is a beginning to the meditative state.

Eloah – May 8, 1993 - 10 PM
I played the tape, "Further Suggestions For Induction."[292]

I found myself being greeted by a white pelican. It told me to follow as it soared into the heavens. I transformed into this type of bird and flew upwards. I gazed at the world below and saw green hills. From a bird I changed back into a man though I remained dressed in white and my arms had the likeness of feathers on them. I lifted them upwards and called unto G-d. I found myself in the large cavity of Malchuts - twklm. I called upon the angel Michael - lakm to take my right arm and Gabriel - larbg my left and we began our ascent. I uttered the names in my mind associated with Yesod (El Chai, Shadai) and the heaven of rock (firmament) opened and the angels took me higher. We ascended to the realm of Tiferets. I said the Tetragrammaton, Hashem, and we entered. There they let me rest. I was led to one of the academies of Kabbalists that reside there. I sat down in front of this book and opened it. On the first page, I saw the words:

YHVH - yy

ShaBaT - tbc

In Tiferet is the everlasting Shabbat of the world to come. This is the Shabbat of Hashem while in Malchuts is the Shabbas of mankind. The page was followed by many blank pages. I realized the book would reveal the answer to any question I had. In the academies of Heaven, the mysteries are revealed directly instead of veiled as in this world. I thought of the name, Eloah[293] and it appeared on the page. I meditated on the name and lifted the white page overhead. There I saw the name as black fire on white fire and the name parted:

The name begins with Yod and ends with Yod, and represents all creative energy. It is the power of Elohim brought into the creation of the world. Between the names came forth the image of a flower, like an orchid, one of the double flowers. I realized the Name is the source of youth and renewal in this world. Herein lies the fountain of youth. In my mind, I saw myself running in a wonderful dance and I stood up even while I was still meditating. I began to turn to my left and recalled the sefirot associated with the different directions and the creative forces of G-d they emit into this world. “To the east is Tiferets, the source of a new day. From the North comes G-d’s strength, Gevurah, riding forth. To the West is the foundation of the world, Yesod, where the world grows and is built up. And from the South comes G-d’s kindness, Hesed. Above is the source of prophecy, Netzah. And from below comes the praise of man to G-d, our thankfulness; Hod.”

As I rotated to the left, I saw the name ELOaH turning the clock of life backwards. Extending my arms outward in the shape of a five-pointed star energy entered my head in a beam of light and went forth into the world through my arms and legs. Next, as arms lowered, I became tzayr - ryx - young, a “nair,” a youth, a boy. This name is the source of youth and childhood. It is the means of preserving eternal life in the world to come. I saw between the two parts of the Name an endless stream of life pouring forth, the Genesis of the world. I made the following suggestions:

1. See the world new again with the eyes of a child.
2. See all people in a good light, trusting.
3. Grow younger in age.

I opened my eyes to see the youthful light of day. I picked up the Sefer Yetzirah and opened it to a chance page. Before me were the names of G-d to descend and ascend the Elon - }lya - the Tree of Life.[294]

C. Letter Meditations [TABLES]

Double Letters - May 15,1993 - 8:40 PM

I was studying the Handbook of Jewish Thought[295] and Sefer Yetzirah towards the end of Shabbas. In the chapter Judgment (21:2), life, children, peace, and wealth are not covered under the daily judgments. Instead, they are sealed on Rosh Hashanah. The rainfall of the year is sealed on Succoth (New Year of Rain), grain is sealed on Pesach, and fruit trees have their well being sealed on Shavuot.

Table 25: New Years

New Years	Holidays - Hagim - \ygj	Items Sealed
New year for People	Rosh Hashanah	Life, children, peace, and wealth
New year of Rain	Succoth	Rainfall
New year for Grain	Pesach	Grain harvest
New Year for Trees	Shavuot	Fruit harvest

I recalled a meditation from Sefer Yetzirah on the double letters for influencing the four long-term human fates:

Table 26: Double Letters

Letters	**Tav - t**	**Resh - r**	**Peh - p**	**Caph - k**	**Dalet - d**	**Gimel - g**	**Bet - b**
Channel Upward	**Malchuts To Yesod**	**Yesod to Tiferets**	**Hod to Gevurah**	**Netzah to Hesed**	**Tiferets to Daat**	**Gevurah to Binah**	**Hesed to Hochmah**
Planet	**Jupiter**	**Saturn**	**Mercury**	**Venus**	**Sun**	**Mars**	**Moon**
Anatomy	**Mouth**	**Left Nostril**	**Left Ear**	**Left Eye**	**Right Nostril**	**Right Ear**	**Right Eye**
	The mouth speaks praise to G-d	**The left nostril smells war**	**The left ears hears ways of dominance**	**The left eye sees life**	**The right nostril smells new life**	**The right ear hears wealth**	**The right eye sees wisdom**
Day of the Week	**Shabbas**	**Friday**	**Thursday**	**Wednesday**	**Tuesday**	**Monday**	**Sunday**
Patriarch	**David**	**Joseph**	**Aaron**	**Moses**	**Jacob**	**Isaac**	**Abraham**
Sefirot Color	**Blue**	**Orange**	**Lower Eyelid**	**Upper Eyelid**	**Yellow**	**Gold Red**	**Silver White**
Vowel Names	**(none)**	**Shurek**	**Koobbutz**	**Heriq**	**Holam**	**Sheva**	**Segol**
Vowel Symbols							

Meditation uses

Permute DGBKPRT - trpk bgd with D - d in place with the sound “th” for children. p.177. Strengthen on Tuesday - twice blessed, good for marriages.

Interpretation Uses
Find day of birth (Wednesday)— planet (Venus), [ruling planet by starts (Venus)] ruling planet by name (Venus), first letter of name sound influences. Name influences - Jewish Thought (21:22).

Friday - April 16th, 1993 - 6:30 AM
I studied the Key of Solomon.[296] The 6th hour of Friday is ruled by the Angel Anael under the planet Venus. These are also the guiding forces of Friday alone.[297] The influences of Venus are empowered during prayers at this hour. Copper is the metal of Friday and the color is green.[298]

Table 27: Mother Letters

Upper Sefira	Vowel Name	Vowel Sound	Vowel Symbol	Letter	Elem	Elem meaning
Keter	Kametz	awe	┬	Aleph	Air	“decree”
Hochmah	Patach	ah	—	Mem	Water	“merit”
Binah	Tzerey	ae	∴	Shin	Fire	“liability”[299]

D. Biblical narratives [FIGURE]

Pinchas - July 24, 1995 - 8:30 PM - Entered July 13, 1996
A breathing meditation led to a visualization of colors (auras) behind others.[300] I journeyed to the time of Pinchas and saw the unruly crowd before Moshe and Aaron. They were parading their Midianite women as Zimri slept with one. Pinchas who was depressed was all of a sudden filled with the souls of the first two sons of Aaron and his head lifted. He knew clearly what to do and there was no rage or even anger. He slew Zimri and the Midianite woman for his jealousy for G-d and the crowd quieted. Pinchas’s composure was self-evident and his right to priesthood secured. As he [Pinchas] did not die, Elijah was also jealous for G-d and a Cohen.[301] Pinchas’s life will end when a full love of Israel fills his soul and the sanctity of G-d is secure in all Israel, (at the end of days?)

I also saw the tragic bus bombing in Ramat Gan in my mind and experienced the shock of the dead and the sorrow of their relatives. It is G-d’s intention to reveal the closeness of Am Israel with Eretz Israel and that only the Jews can have this relationship with this land. I also asked of what to do in life. Money is gathered in the west (US) to sow seed in the east (Israel). Yesod is in the west and Tiferet in the east. Joseph accumulated the wealth of Egypt; Jacob was the source of the seed of Israel in Israel. Gather in the west to sow in the east is the way.

Walking meditation is halacha[302], since walking makes one aware of following G-d's will. Blessed be the Lord, G-d, King of all the Universe who revealth all dvarim [words].

Adam and Eve - July 30, 1995 - 8 AM

I played the Progressive Relaxation Tape. I started in a beautiful meadow and prayed to Hashem with the grasses around me.[303] I ascended a tower of faces. This was the ladder through Yetzirah to higher worlds. I asked G-d of the mystery of Lilith. This was Adam's first wife, other half, separated from him[304]. She was the object of his lust, but he did not love her for his wife (Zohar 27b p. 105). Her children were winged demons of a thin body who spread throughout the world and one would be the tempter of Hava [Eve] in the garden.[305]

I asked G-d further on the meaning of this story. Adam rejected Lilith for a desire for someone similar to himself. But, there are deep mysteries why an opposite is a test of our choice in marriage. I pressed Hashem for the answer to this mystery. I pounded on the Gate of Knowledge that I may know it. The answer lies with David Hamelech who is a descendent of Ruth, of Moab, of Lot, of Seth who replaced Kayin.[306] Within every soul in this world is a unique part of Adam Kadmon.[307] The soul that David received, though tainted initially, brought with it great initiative that carried his ability to be king. This idea I learned yesterday on Shabbas from an article stating, "Kingship was not found in the Jewish people due to the lack of pride of Moav.[308]" Kayin descended from the first wife of Adam[309]. Hevel was from Hava. The source of the pride of Moshiach comes from Adam's opposite Lilith. Seth replaced both Hevel and Kayin and for this reason was not taken away by the demons of Lilith. How do we know that Seth replaces Kayin:

Eve said, "G-d has granted me *other* offspring in the place of Hevel." (Genesis 4:25)

The word 'other' alludes to Kayin. This occurred after the death of Kayin. [310]

Figure 8: Cain and Abel

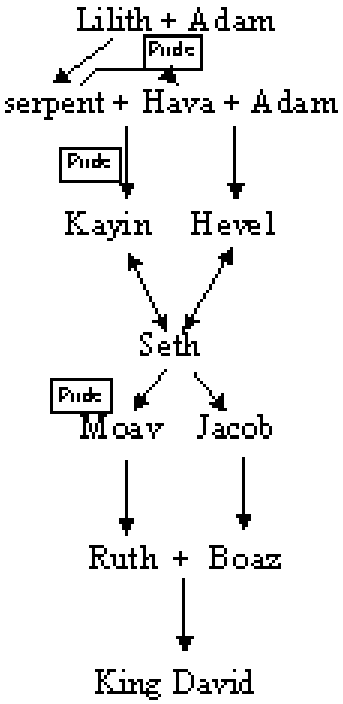

So the deep mystery of the choice of one's wife returns to the beginning and the choice repeats itself in every generation[311]. Praise to Hashem and much gratitude for being permitted this knowledge[312].

Isaac and Rebecca - August 14, 1996 - 7:30 PM - Rosh Hodesh Elul

I was studying Ahavas Chesed - loving kindness by the Chofetz Chaim in the morning. He quotes from Chazal, “He who only occupies himself with Torah study and not with kindness is as if he has no G-d.”[313] That night Ira led the healing meditation at Beth Shalom.

I visualized Sarah pregnant with Isaac. I sensed her satisfaction with being B’rayon - pregnant and the good feeling about the child she carried. My search for Isaac brought me to a vision of him as a young man. I saw him in the fields amongst the grasses praying to G-d. He had long golden hair and was handsome in form. Nevertheless, what distinguished him most was the smile on his face and the joy in his heart. I was amazed by his energy in prayer and play in the fields and his joy and dance before Hashem. Isaac’s blessings were multiplied by his fun loving spirit. I introduced myself to Isaac and we shook hands. Isaac asked me, “what do you do?” I told him I learn Torah. He said, “No, learning is not doing. I asked you what are you doing with your life?” I told him I work. He said, “No, what are your deeds? What are your actions in life? What are you doing that distinguishes your life?” I told him I once taught in a senior center. He said that was good and “what are you doing now?” I said I am writing a book. He said, “that’s OK, but what else are you doing?” The point of these questions was the emphasis Isaac placed on doing and action in life as opposed to learning. For Isaac, even playing was an aspect of doing and an important part of life. I tried to reconcile this attitude with Isaac’s childhood experience of almost being sacrificed. Isaac said that it was a long time ago and behind him. Ira suggested after the meditation that when a person has a near death experience, one develops a greater sense of urgency to enjoy every moment of life. Instead of an emotional scar, Isaac became a very happy child who enjoyed nature and the world around him.

Doing implies taking chances occasionally. Certainly we will all make mistakes, but without doing we will not find them, correct them, and lead a better life. Doing applies to marriage as well. Isaac married Rebecca without doing an intensive personal search himself. This was a risk; nevertheless, his marriage was joyful. People whose marriages do not work out should not be unhappy but should take what they learned with new joy into their life.

I saw Rebecca riding on her camel and then alighting before Isaac as he wondered who she was[314]. Eleazar led her to the camp and Rebecca took Sarah’s tent and renewed the rituals of Sarah. Isaac was overjoyed with Rebecca, his wife and their love ran very deep. I asked Isaac to take me to meet his wife and he led me up a hill to what is know today as Hebron and I saw a tent in the distance. We came up to the tent and Isaac called his wife who came out to meet us. She was short with youth in height and she reached to cling to the side of her husband. Her face was also lit up with the joy of youth and love. Isaac mentioned something about food and drink and Rebecca said that the table is already prepared. I saw an ordered table set with light and food and drink within the tent. When I saw Rebecca, I saw her with a pitcher volunteering water for Eleazar to drink and for his camels. Her life was one of action as well.

I sought to know where they were residing and why I saw them so young. I saw the gold of the grasses blowing in the wind and realized with Isaac’s guidance that this place too was found in Gevurah. Gevurah is the 5th sefirot and epitomizes action and doing in life. The number 5 is associated with movement. The angel Gavriel is the one associated with rescuing the Jewish people in the time of Daniel and calling out to Abraham to end the test of sacrificing Isaac. The world of Gevurah is associated with nature and enjoying life besides the rigor, discipline, and judgment as traditional associations. The name of G-d associated with Gevurah is Elohim which represents natural law in our world. Fun is part of the opportunities of life in this world and should be embraced wholeheartedly.

E. Blue Skies

Having an authentic vision requires careful preparation. By learning the descriptions of the Palaces of Yetzirah or the Chambers of Beriah one can attempt to duplicate the vision during a meditation and learn more details of these worlds. The descriptions are only a guideline and the journey is only for those whose longing is strong.

1. The Seven Heavens of Asiyah

Chagigah 12b
R. Judah said: There are two firmaments, for it is said: Behold, unto the Lord thy God belongeth heaven, and the heaven of heavens. Resh Lakish said: [There are] seven, namely, Wilon, Rakia', Shehakim, Zebul, Ma'on, Makon, 'Araboth. Wilon serves no purpose except that it enters in the morning and goes forth in the evening and renews every day the work of creation, for it is said: That stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in. Rakia' is that in which sun and moon, stars and constellations are set, for it is said: And God set them in the firmament [Rakia'] of the heaven. Shehakim is that in which millstones stand and grind manna for the righteous for it is said: And He commanded the skies [Shehakim] above, and opened the doors of heaven; and He caused manna to rain upon them for food etc. Zebul is that in which [the heavenly] Jerusalem and the Temple and the Altar are built, and Michael, the great Prince, stands and offers up thereon an offering, for it is said: I have surely built Thee a house of habitation [Zebul], a place for Thee to dwell in for ever. And whence do we derive that it is called heaven? For it is written: Look down from heaven, and see, even from Thy holy and glorious habitation. Ma'on is that in which there are companies of Ministering Angels, who utter [divine] song by night, and are silent by day for the sake of Israel's glory, for it is said: By day the Lord doth command His lovingkindness, and in the night His song is with me.

2. The Seven Palaces of Yetzirah

Perkei Hekhalot - Chapters of the Palaces[315] contains a formal description of these palaces. The following contains my own personal experiences of these heavens. In the world of Yetzirah there are 7 heavens[316]. These are:

a) Shamayim (Sham - Mayim : There is water -> Firmament)

This is the location of the Sun, Moon, planets, and stars. Yet how can this be since we see them in our world and know of their places. I have seen a star in Yetzirah and its light source is a precious soul that serves Hashem like an angel[317]. Some of these souls were once from our world, others are of angelic source.

b) Shemai Hashamayim (Water above the Waters -> Nehar Di-nur)

In this heaven new angels are born each day to utter praises to Hashem. They are born from the spring of fire each morning. They first dip their hands into the fiery waters and bring a taste to their mouths. Then they sing the holy Kadosh to Hashem and praises from sunrise to sunset.

c) Zevul (Habitation -> prince)

lwbz
This heaven is the place of the "prince". He is surrounded by his ministering angels. He is called Meattah for he is from G-d. This heaven may be the residence of Zer Anpin in the world of Yetzirah.

d) Araphel (Fog or mist -> Torah)

lpru
This is like the morning mists and clouds that cover mountain tops. Moshe's tent was said to be enclosed in araphel when the Shechinah dwelled within. It represents Mt. Sinai and the place of the giving of the Torah.

e) Shehakim (Heavens)

syqjc
The rebuilt Jerusalem is prepared in this heaven. The Temple, Table, Ark, Menorah and all the utensils are here.

f) Mahon -> Aravot

It is five hundred year journey from Shehakim to Mahon. In the midst are the storehouses of snow and hail as well as the rewards for the righteous and punishments for the wicked. Five hundred years further is the Aravot whose merkavah is called Av bu which means cloud. There are some souls yet to be born.

g) Throne of Glory

This is the heaven of the Throne of G-d.

The descent from the heaven of the 'Throne of Glory' leads to the place of the Merkavah or the 'Throne of G-d'. Beneath the throne souls await their entry into our world.

3. The Seven Chambers of Beriyah

In the world of Beriyah there are seven chambers.[318] The seven chambers are discussed in the work of the Me'am Lo'ez.[319]

a) Brickwork of Sapphire - First Chamber

The first chamber [is called the Brickwork of Sapphire (Livnath HaSappir)]

It contains two angels, one on each side, under the direction of a great angel [called Tahariel]. He stands at the gate of this Chamber; by his side are myriads of fiery angels, with eyes all over, each holding a burning rod.

When a soul leaves this world, it must pass before this angel. If it is not sullied by sin, the presiding angel opens the gate of this Chamber and allows it inside. But, if the soul is defiled by sin and naked, not clothed in good deeds, it is shoved to the other side of the chamber, where there is a great angel presiding over thousands of harmful angels. They grasp the soul and beat it severely, leading it to purgatory [Gehenom], which is the place of judgment.

Another duty of this holy angel is to oversee prayer. Each prayer passes through this chamber....

b) Essence of Heaven - Second Chamber

The second Chamber [is called the Essence of Heaven (Etzem HaShamayim).] It has three gates, two of which are closed, and one of which is open. [Overseeing the open gate] is an angel [called Orpeneyel, who is also] in charge of the three directions south, north, and east. Under his supervision, two other angels stand by the two closed gates.

In the time of the Holy Temple, the Sanhedrin (Supreme Court) had the power to inflict the death penalty. When a person is put to death by this Court, his soul ascends to this Chamber, where it is greeted by the presiding angel. The same is true of the soul of a person killed by gentiles.

If a person has been killed by the gentiles, his image is engraved on [the angel’s] vestments, and he brings it to the highest heaven. There, this person is recorded in the Great Book.

If he has been put to death by the Jewish courts, the angel overseeing the open gate greets his soul. It then conducts this soul all around the Chamber, until it arrives behind the two closed gates where it is shown the good reward given to all those who keep the Torah. The soul experiences great jealousy and extreme anguish for not having kept the Torah.

The angel then opens the east gate, comforts this soul, and allows it to enter. It is welcome inside, since its sins were expiated when it was put to death by the court.

In this Chamber are many kinds of garments prepared for the ones who present themselves before G-d. Every time a person observes the commandments with good intentions, not with any ulterior motive, a beautiful garment is prepared for his soul by the supervisors of this Chamber. When he passes away, his soul arrives in this Chamber. The angel who made his garment sees this soul coming, takes the garment, and accompanies the soul to the River Dinur.

Every soul must immerse in this river to purify itself, since there is no one who has never sinned.

Some souls are burned in this fiery river. They cannot leave it until the morning hours when the south wind blows. This is the time when all such souls are restored, singing praise to G-d and returning to their place. In this manner, souls behave like angels.

If this soul is perfectly pure, it can emerge from the river immediately. It is then dressed in its garment, and brought up to the heavens, into the domain of Michael, the greatest of all angels, who oversees Israel. Michael then offers this soul as a sacrifice to G-d [on the altar on high]. The soul then attains high status, and is allowed to remain permanently in this holy place...

c) Luster - Third Chamber

d) Merit - Forth Chamber

e) Love - Fifth Chamber

The fifth chamber [is called Love (Ahavah)]. ...

In this chamber there is a Force [called Suriah] who has four colors white, black, green, and red. Under his direction are many angels who oversee all the gates. All the keys are in his hand and it is he who opens all the gates and locks them. All the mysteries are also given to him. Three times each day all the angels come into this Chamber, and he nourishes them.

In this chamber are all the souls which are destined to be born, as well as the form of every future body. Since the world was created this place of souls has never been empty.

Hakodesh Baruch directs Suriah who commands the gate keepers to open the gates of heaven which include the Gates of Repentance.

f) Desire - The Sixth Chamber

The sixth chamber [is called desire (Ratzon)]. ...

The presiding angel in this Chamber [Raziel] is the greatest and most important of them all. All the divine mysteries are given to him.

...
In this Chamber there are other angels [Shakhniel, Azuziah, Yehudiah, and Azriel,] who oversee the voices of young children who study Torah in school. The breath exhaled from these children’s mouths is clear and pure, without sin. These angels take this breath and bring it up to heaven, where it sustains the entire universe. This is most precious in G-d’s eyes.

g) Holy of Holies - The Seventh Chamber

The seventh Chamber, which is called the Holy of Holies (kodesh Ha Kadashim), is the most excellent of all. It is sealed and concealed from all eyes. It is to this chamber that holy souls come when they leave the world, and here they delight in the radiance [of the Divine Presence]. Here they remain until the coming of the Messiah [and the Resurrection].

Ascent of the Palaces - June 9, 1996 - 8 AM

I played the Earth, Wind, Water, and Fire tape for hypnotic induction. Initially I saw a pool of cool blue green waters and descended into a deep hypnotic state.

I descended the stairs and opened the door into Shamayim. I was below looking up at the stars of the night. Everything was quite spectacular.

Eventually I saw a waterfall of fire and swam up it into the 2nd heaven. I swam towards the source. I saw two activities. First I saw a rope of angels being pulled out of the waters and as they parted each one took its own shape. Simultaneously there was a rope of angels returning into the waters. I placed myself into the form of one of the angels being born. I came to the water side and reached in lifting the liquid fire above my mouth so that my hand did not come into contact with my face. A few drops fell into my mouth and I began to sing praises to G-d. I was filled with joy and understood the pleasures of these angels. For them a day is eternity.

I then strove to enter the 3rd heaven, but found many barriers. There was no path to Zevul - lwbz and I remembered only two of the names of the "Prince". I tried Meattah and Metatron, but they had little effect. I gave myself a hypnotic suggestion to wake for 30 seconds, retrieve Cohn-Sherbok's Jewish Mysticism, lookup names and reenter the hypnotic state. This worked perfectly and I retrieved 2 names for the prince. They were Kimos and Sanas. The second is the name of the Guardian who appears like a manticore[320] with the head of a human and the body of a lion. He came down and swept my soul out of my body raising me to the entry point. I looked like a quasit with 2 thin wings and a mere spark of light for my head. It was a bit dehumanizing at first. I realized soon enough that he wasn't the Prince and would not let me pass. I asked to go beyond but he said wait, "I can give you any knowledge in the world that you would like to know." He claimed to be able to reveal the purpose and truth behind all my current struggles as well as the answers to what would happen in the future. I saw upon his shoulder and then above his head a snake hissing a way and realized the meaning of the tempter in the garden upon the Tree of Knowledge. I said that all knowledge I need to know has been given to us in our world and I took the position of the GRA and did not take the gift. Still I could not pass. I prepared another hypnotic suggestion and awoke and saw the name of the merkavah associated with this heaven. Once I knew this name, I felt the Guardian slipping away with the snake. I did not even need to utter the name.

A small angel came down and I raised my arms above my head and I was lifted into the third heaven proper and brought to the Prince. I gazed only at his beard and saw the 13 attributes of Hashem hanging there. I uttered them in my mind. I felt the appearance of the Prince like the emperor but of more whiteness and mercy sitting on the throne. There was an opportunity to ask questions here as well but I did not pursue it. At this point, I do not believe any harm would have ensued.

Instead I requested to ascend to the world of the Torah, since the Torah was given to us in this world to answer all of my questions. I focused on the name lpru and saw the mist at the entrance of Moshe's tent. I

also saw the fog hanging on Mt. Sinai. At this point I decided to return. I was very tired.

Eventually I gave myself a suggestion to be refreshed and counted myself up to ten and into the awake state.

Journey Through the 7 Heavens - June 14, 1995 - 7 PM

Healing Meditation. Chant tape followed by instrumental. Discussed homeless situation prior to meditation. I saw that part of the healing process for homeless people would be to live in the rural country. Closeness to natural beauty heals the soul.[321]

1st Heaven

The 4 angels led us through the 1st palace. There resided the homeless who had suffered in this world with walls of small angels playing soothing musical instruments. They walked stress-free in this world. We met the protector of the palace whose face was his full body. There was a staircase in the back that ascended to the second palace.

2nd Heaven

Here was Alyssum, a lake, and surrounding grasses. The world was guarded by a small druid with a keen mind. There were artists along the lake side drawing. He led us through the forest to the base of a mountain. After ascending the mountain, I passed through the clouds, the firmament into the 3rd world.

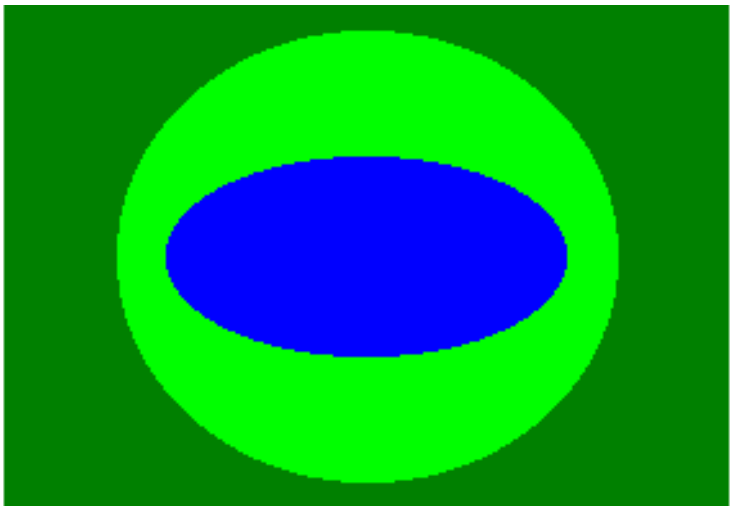

3rd Heaven

Here were astrologers and healers who had spent their lives on spiritual pursuits. The sky was dark and the piercing lights of the stars and planets was brilliant. The astrologers were in heaven. Passing through an arch led to the 4th world.

4th Heaven
This was a mirror of Israel, the dead sea and desert. Here the prophets of old walked. My guide was Isaiah who asked me what I had learned. He told me I understood the prophecies about the anointed well. He said I will find answers in Malachi.[322]

5th Heaven
All entities in this heaven were in a lightning energy. I held my guides hand for stability. [This world exists in raw visual energy.]

6th Heaven
The sixth world is entirely audio. The words of the Tzaddikim were all that I heard.

7th Heaven
This is the world of fragrance, closest to Hashem. The fragrance is that of goodly women whose souls are highest of all in heaven.

Follow up - June 16, 1995

When you share your bread with the hungry, bring the outcast poor to your home,
When you see the naked and clothe them, hide yourself not from your own flesh ...
Then you shall call, and G-d shall answer, You shall cry out, and He will say, "I am here."
(Isaiah 58:7,9)

XII. Up and Down the Tree of Life

A. The 32 Paths of Wisdom [TABLE]

The Sefer Yetzirah begins: [323]

With 32 mystical paths of Wisdom
engraved Yah
the Lord of Hosts
the G-d of Israel
the living G-d
King of the Universe
El Shadai
Merciful and Gracious
High and Exalted
Dwelling in eternity
Whose name is Holy
He is lofty and holy
And He created His universe
with three books (Seforim)
with text (Sefer)
with number (Sefar)
and with communication (Sippur)

The 32 paths of wisdom are related to the word 'heart'. In Hebrew, the word for heart is *Läv* – bl, which has a gematria value of 32. The Torah begins with the letter Bet - b and ends with the letter Lamed - l.

larcy-lk ynyul ... \yqla arb tycarb

These two letters, the 32 paths, the knowing heart contain the Torah. Nevertheless, the heart is directed by the intellect - sekhel. The heart that pumps blood and affects our exuberance and joy with life is related to the 32 paths of wisdom. The literature refers to the 32 in three different ways: the first 32 instances of the natural name of G-d - Elohim - \yqla in the book of Genesis, the 22 letters plus 10 principle numerals which G-d combined to create the world, and finally 32 levels of consciousness that Hashem displays in our world.

1. The 32 Names of G-d in Genesis

2. The 22 Letters 10 Numerals

3. The 32 Levels of Consciousness

These 32 Levels are mental attributes that operate in creating and sustaining our world. Genesis states that G-d created man in the image of G-d. The name for G-d, here, is Elohim. This is also the name for G-d in the 32 paths of creation at the beginning of Genesis. Since we are in the image (tzelem) of G-d, we have an opportunity to activate our mind on each of these 32 levels:

*18. Consciousness of the House of Influx (Sekhel Bet HaShefa). By probing with it, a secret mystery (raz) and an allusion are transmitted to those who "**dwell in its shadow**" and bind themselves to probing its substance from the Cause of Causes.*[324]

Those who 'dwell in the shadow' of the Almighty are those who trust in G-d (Psalm 91:1)

The name of G-d for Almighty is Shadai, which is associated with the sefirah of Yesod. The 18th level of consciousness is the gematria of chai - yh. The other name of G-d associated with Yesod is El Chai. The 'probing' done from Yesod reveals the secret mystery (raz) and allusion (ramez).

The quasi sefira RaZ is located above Yesod and between Netzah and Hod. When Netzah and Hod join during prophecy, the seeker can enter the gate of RaZ. The double letter connecting Yesod to Tiferets is the letter Resh representing RaZ.[325] Similarly, the double letter representing Tiferets to Keter is the Dalet representing Daat.

30. General Consciousness (Sekhel Kelali). It is called this because it is the means through which the "generalizers of the heavens" collect their rules regarding the stars and constellations, forming the theory that comprises their knowledge of the Ophan-orbits of the planets.

This is the knowledge of astrology in our world. Nevertheless, one is forbidden to worship the planets as described in the 32nd consciousness.

3. Sanctified Consciousness (Sekhel Mekudash). This is the foundation of the Original Wisdom, and it is called "Faithful Faith." Its roots are AMeN. It is the father of faith, and from its power faith emerges.

Amen is found Isaiah 25:1 with the reference Elohay Amen meaning G-d of Truth. AMeN is also the word for artificer and the word refers to craftsmanship and art. The word for belief is Emunah and we say AMeN after a blessing that is a Shevuah or vow binding ourselves to G-d through the content of the blessing. Truthfulness is the foundation of wisdom and is sanctified consciousness. Being truthful is more than honesty; it is behaving in an authentic manner with the values that one knows from his true heart, which contains the Torah.

32. Worshipped Consciousness (Sekhel Ne'evad). It is called this because it is prepared so as to destroy all who engage in the worship of the seven planets.

4. "These are the travels of B'nai Israel"

There are 32 resting places recorded of the children of Israel when they went forth from Egypt (Numbers 33:1-50). These travels also correspond to 32 stages of spiritual growth, which create a complete healing for the Jewish people. The Israelites mastered the midos of the 32 paths of wisdom. Here is a description of the places along that journey:

Table 28: The 32 Rest Places of Israel

Stop	Place	Hebrew Name	Comments
1	Succoth	tks	“And they journeyed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the Passover, the children of Israel went out with a high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians.” (Numbers 33:1-3)
2	Etham	\ta	In the edge of the wilderness. The name contains the aleph and tav which is the beginning and end. The mem denotes water. Check Kaplan map.
3	Migdol	ldgm	literally ‘from the great’ - getting off the pedestal.
4	Marah	hrm	literally ‘bitterness’ - removing the bitterness in life.
5	Elim	hmlya	12 springs of water and 70 date palms.
6	Red Sea	[ws-\y	Reed sea.
7	Wilderness of Sin	}ys-rbdm	
8	Dophkah	hqpd	
9	Alush	cwla	
10	Rephidim	\dypr	
11	Sinai	ynys	
12	Kibroth-hattaavah	hwath trbq	
13	Hazeroth	trxj	
14	Rithmah	hmtr	
15	Rimmon-perez	{rp }mr	
16	Libnah	hnbl	
17	Rissah	hsr	
18	Kehelah	htlhq	
19	Mt. Shepher	rpc-rh	
20	Haradah	hdrj	
21	Makheloth	tlhqm	
22	Tahath	tjt	

23	Terah	jrt	
24	Mithkah	hqtm	
25	Hashmonah	hnmcj	
26	Moseroth	twrsm	
27	Bene-jaakan	}quy ynb	
28	Hor-haggidgad	dgdgh rj	
29	Jotbah	htbfy	
30	Abronah	hnrbu	
31	Ezion-geber	rbg }yxu	
32	Wilderness of Zin or Kadesh	cdq or }x-rdmb	“And they journeyed from Kadesh, and arrived at Mt. Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom. And Aaron the priest went up into mount Hor at the commandment of the Lord, and died there, in the fortieth year after the children of Israel came out of the land of Egypt, in the fifth month, on the first day of the month.” (Numbers 33:36-39)
33	Mt Hor	rhh rh	
34	Zalmonah	hnmlx	
35	Punon	}nwp	
36	Oboth	baw	
37	Ije-abarim	\yrbuh yyu	
38	Dibon-gad	dg }bydb	
39	Almon-diblathaim	hmytlbd }mlu	
40	mountains of Abarim in front of Nebo	\yrbuh yrh	
41	plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho	wjry }dry lu bawm tbrub	

42	And they camped by the Jordan from Beth-jeshimotheven unto Abel-shittim in the plains of Moab.	tmcyh tybm }dryh-lu wnjyw bawm tbrub \yfch lba du	"And the Lord spoke unto Moses in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho saying: 'Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them: When ye pass over the Jordan into the land of Canaan, then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their figured stones, and destroy all their molten images, and demolish all their high places.'" (Numbers 33:50-53)

"'And ye shall drive out the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein; for unto you have I given the land to possess it. And ye shall inherit the land by lot according to your families- to he more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer thou shalt give the less inheritance; wheresoever the lot falleth to any man, that shall be his; according to the tribes of your fathers shall ye inherit. But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then shall those that ye let remain of them be a as thorns in your eyes, and as pricks in your sides, and they shall harass you in the land wherein ye dwell. And it shall come to pass, that as I thought to do unto them so will I do unto you.'"
(Numbers 33:53-56)

B. The Sefirot [FIGURES]

The 32 paths originate from the first letter in the name of Hashem, the y - yod. This tip of the yod is associated with Keter, while the body with Hochmah. The energy of G-d is unity in Hochmah and flows into Binah, which divides it into seven children.

1. The Ten Sefirot

Figure 9: The Ten Sefirot

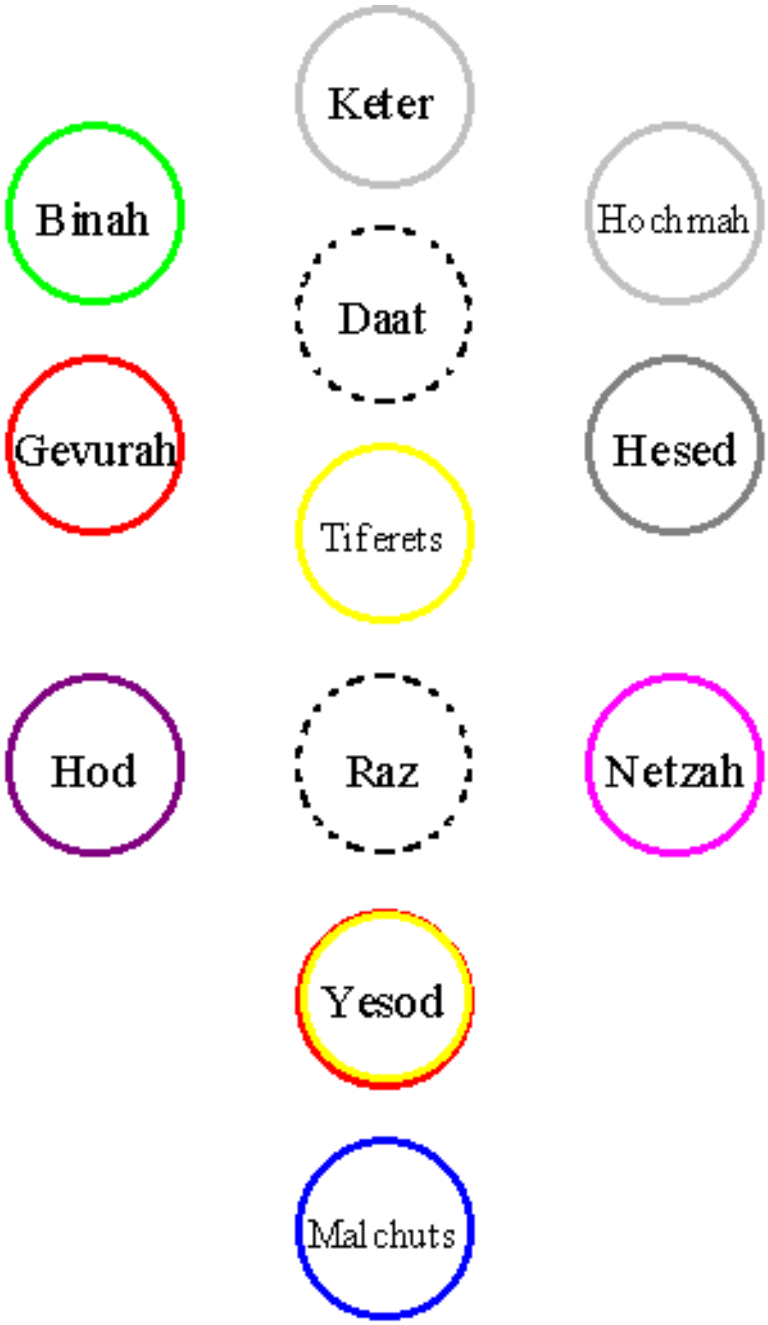

a) Binah

Binah is the place of the upper Shechinah as Malchuts is its lower place[326]. When the people of Israel do not fulfill the will of G-d, Has vshalom, the Shechinah is pulled back up into the higher sefirot and Hashem's bounty is held back. Binah, understanding, is associated with the name Hashem pronounced Elohim. Binah is also associated with the feminine aspect of motherhood while Malchuts would be a young feminine ruler. Praises with T'hilah, like the Hallel, are uttered only at the time that the upper Shechinah is revealed for example on Yom Tovim - festivals or Rosh Hodesh. Prayer, T'fillah, directs itself through the lower Shechinah in Malchuts and ascends from there. To utter T'hilah properly one must be in a highly elevated state of mind where one feels closeness to Hashem. T'fillah on the other hand can be uttered at regular times and helps bring one back to Hashem. Tshuvah is associated with Binah since reward was stored up in this place for righteous souls and this level represents an intimacy with G-d. The year of the

Yovel, Jubilee, is also associated with Binah since this represents freedom from slavery, which in our world is material bondage and must be achieved in order to have closeness to G-d. [327]

b) Daat

Either the sefirah Keter is seen or Daat but not both. Daat is a gateway to the 3 upper sefirot. Keter, Hochmah, and Binah are always complete and hold the reward of the world to come. The lower 7 sefirot have their bounty limited and there are obstacles to overcome in traversing them. Daat opens the pathway between the lower 7 and the upper 3. After the path is crossed, the sefirah ceases to exist below and above there is Keter. Daat specifically applies to the pathway Tiferets-Keter, which requires the union of Hochmah-Father and Binah-Mother to open, hence knowledge.

And Adam knew his wife and she conceived.

When father Hochmah and mother Binah join Daat opens for us to enter. The vertical pathway from Tiferets to Keter is the letter Dalet. Dalet means doorway in Hebrew. Daat lies upon this pathway and holds those below from entering above until they merit entry.

2. The Seven Double Letter Paths

These correspond to the seven double letters in the Hebrew alphabet: t”rpk d”gb. This is the Cloth of Atonement. And what is the t”rpk d”gb in this world? It is none other than the tallis. The married man wears the tallis and atones each day for his family. As the vertical path ascends the heavens in the spirit realm, the tallis ascends the heavens in the physical realm.

Figure 10: The Seven Vertical Paths

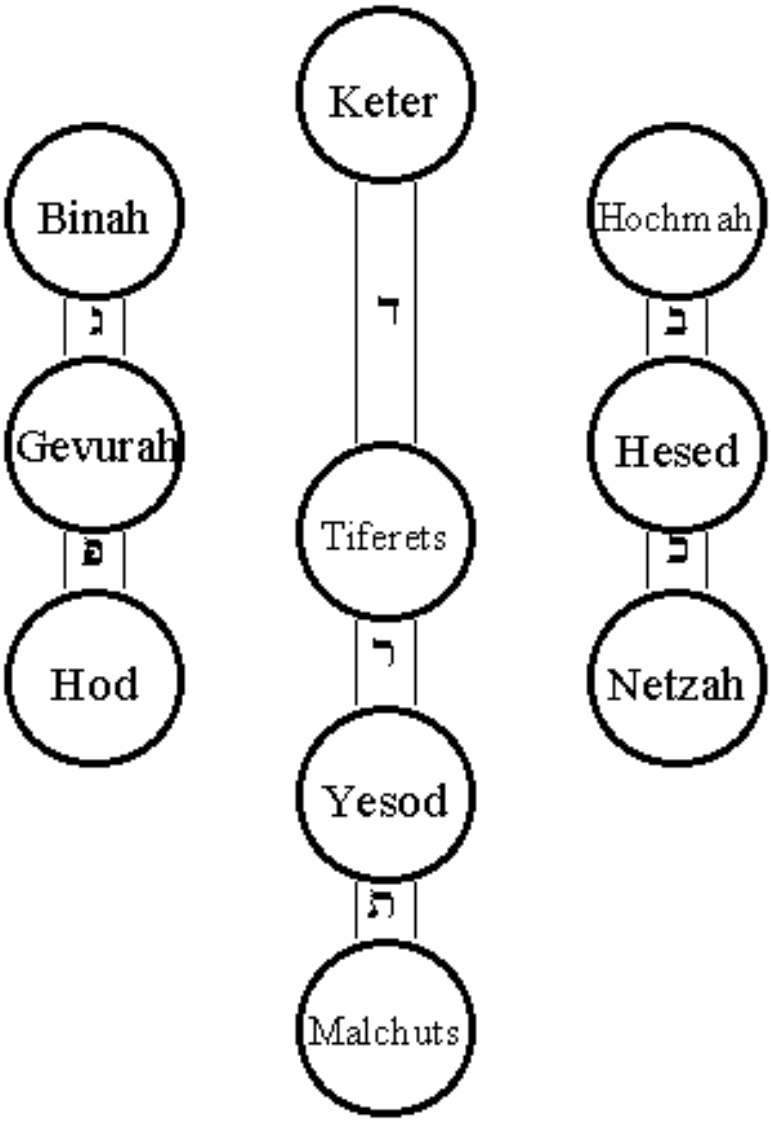

Each of the double letters has two pronunciations, a hard and a soft form, which constitute different meanings according to the Sefer Yetzirah. With the hard sounds one ascends the paths. With the soft ones one could descend.[328]

3. The Twelve Single Letter Paths

To seven vertical paths we add twelve diagonal paths which make up nineteen paths of traversal.

Figure 11: The Twelve Diagonal Paths

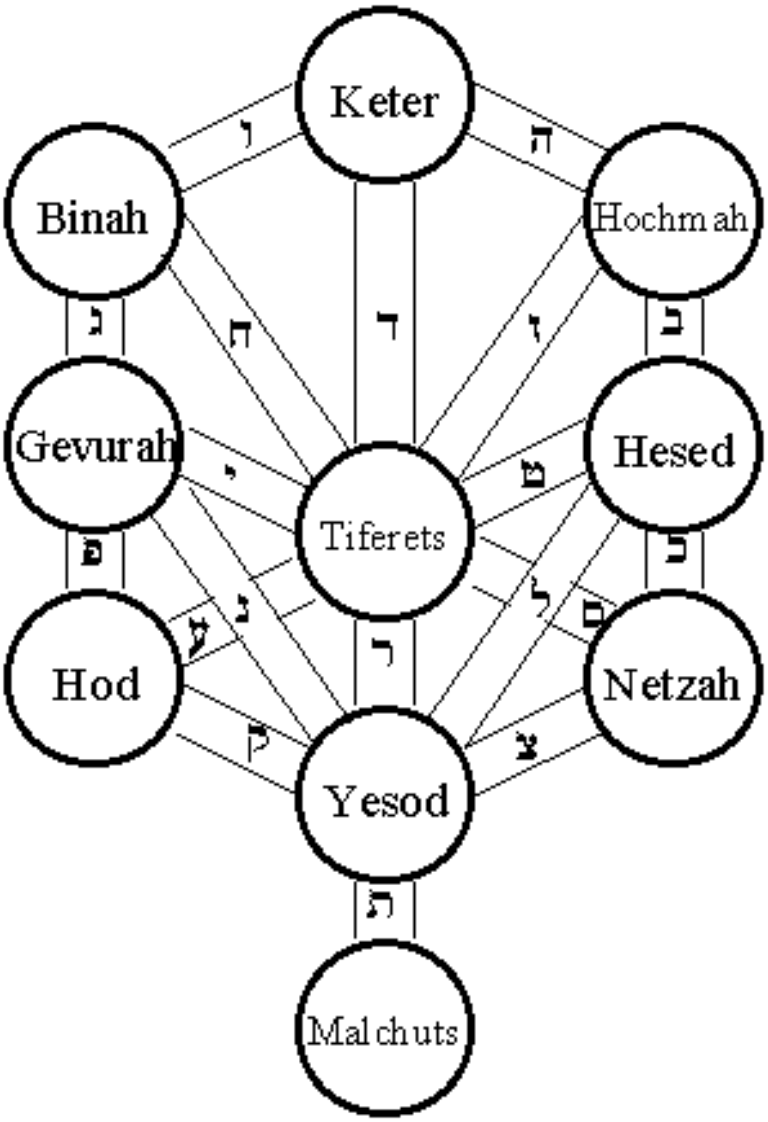

4. The 3 Mother Letter Paths

Shin - c connects Hochmah and Binah and is the elemental plane of fire. Aleph connects Hesed and Gevurah and is the elemental plane of air. Mem connects Netzah and Hod and is the elemental plane of water. These pathways preceded the other pathways and represent an earlier version of the name of G-d from which the name Yod Heh Vav descends. Mem is also associated with the right pillar, Shin with left, and air with the center.

Figure 12: The Three Horizontal Paths

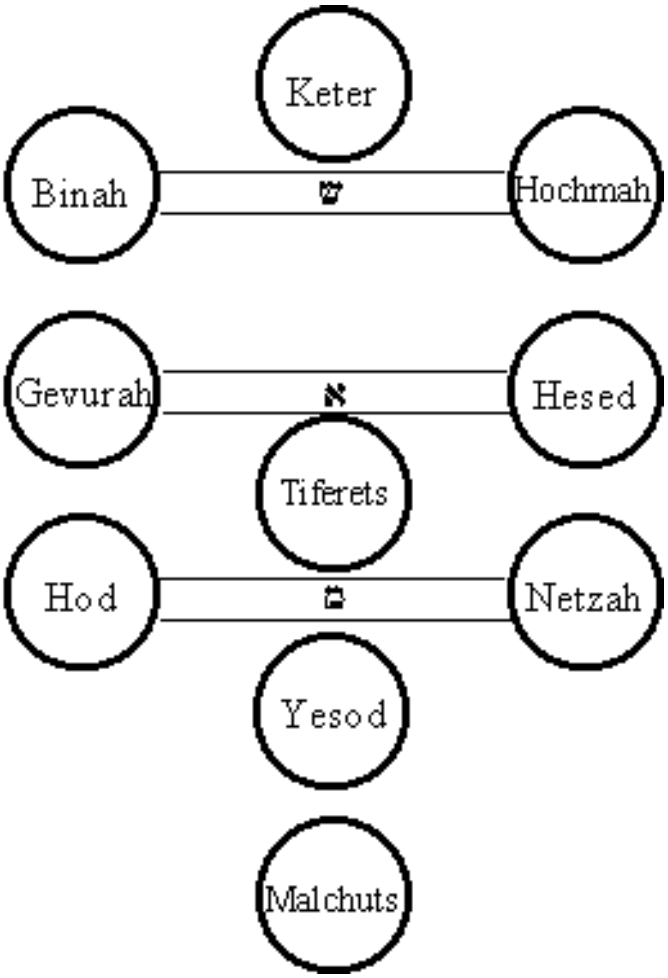

The Elemental Planes - Shemini Etzeret - Oct. 5th 1996 -6 PM

Introduction

Hypnotic Relaxation Tape Induction - All of the windows into the heavens were opened to me this Shemini Etzeret. I learned many things about my soul and others that I will share. The knowledge I obtained in this vision was within my own soul brought forth by the guidance of angels. I asked how could I know this much about the realms above. The answer is that my soul is a reincarnation from Yosef Gikatalia with a small portion of Yosef Caro. I saw myself in Italy as thin and tall with fair hair and eyes and so was my wife. I studied with Abraham Abulfaia and others of the time. I started writing in my teens for my knowledge was advanced even then, though perfected in my 30's when I started writing the Shaarey Orah.

The plane of water does indeed connect the sefirot of Netzah and Hod. The plane of air connects the sefirot of Hesed and Gevurah. The plane of fire connects the sefirot of Hochmah and Binah. The plane of water is the source of the seasons of the world. For as the world rotates around the Sun, the waters of the world change in motion and the 4 seasons arise. The plane of air controls the falling of rain. The plane of fire rules the lights in the heavens which include the constellations, planets, and stars.

The Plane of Water - m

I began in Malchuts and called upon the angel, Af-Bri, to lift me. Instead I began to see thunder clouds forming over mountains in the foreground. Lightning began and there was wind and rain. Af refers to anger

which has its place in the nose which is also called 'af'. Bri refers to healing and a health which a benevolent rain brings. This angel acts through both Af and Bri. As I focused on the storm I realized that this was a place in the plane of water connecting the heavens Netzah and Hod, the Shehakim, across the sky. To be proper this is the upper plane of water. Later I discovered the lower plane which is in the seas, waterfalls, and other pools of water in the world.[329] The storm scared me but I held my ground for I knew my name and the names of Hashem. I called upon the angel Af-Bri to show me his place. I heard these words, "Who is calling me." I responded with my name Yosef Ben Tvi and Ben Ruth. He responded, "By what right do you call to me?" I said I am water from Pisces Sun and he said, "there are many others as well." I said I am also water from Pisces moon and he paused. I said, "like calls to like" and he responded, "it is so." I asked to know his place. Before me I saw a huge tornado form. He told me if you wish to know my place you must risk the danger of the tornado. I came close to the fulcrum which in this plane was as small as my hand. As I entered I felt myself spinning and pulled upward into the heavens.

The Plane of Air - a

The top of the tornado opened into blue sky and there were breezes all around. I called again to the angel Af-Bri and I heard him respond that he was here. I asked what is the Angel of Rain doing in the Plane of Air. "This is the place of my source. The rain is caused by the motions of the clouds and they move according to the deeds of mankind.

Who causes the wind to blow and the rain to fall — \cgh dyrwmw jwrh bycm

When they are righteous, good clouds bring rain from the seas and lakes. When they are not righteous, has vshalom, the clouds are not guided to their place and there is a drought. The wind controls the rain. The wind also controls the evaporation of waters and the temperature of the world in all places. This determines the weather and rain. Hence my source is in the Plane of Air." I walked along the plane and I knew to the right is Hesed which is associated with Bri and to the left is Gevurah which is associated with Af. I sought to understand the connections between the planes. I saw that I ascended from the water to air through a tornado. The tornado contained both water and great winds together. The connection between the planes is in their combined forms. I asked the angel how to ascend to the plane of fire. He told me enter the Sun.

Plane of Fire - c

I saw the Sun in the sky and moved towards it, falling into its flames. Again, I did not fear the fire though I had great trepidation as I moved into it. I saw the fire of the Sun around me and then I was in the flames. I saw flames swirling everywhere and there was a connection in the form with the river of fire. All fire is connected through this plane. I sought the angels in this place, noticed distinct flames and wondered what they were. I realized they were seraphim and they would help me. I chose a distinct one and asked to merge with the angel. I moved toward the angel and the angel toward me and we merged. Instantly my upper body became erect and my head straight and I sensed unlimited knowledge. The plane of fire holds the knowledge of the Universe. All the knowledge of science, crafts, and construction is contained here as well as the knowledge of the past and the future to come. I also saw that the plane of fire has an upper part and a lower part. The lower part is described above. The upper part of the plane of fire is all of the lights in the heavens. I moved with the Seraph into the Universe and amongst the constellations and realized that I could know their essence.

As I moved towards the right on this plane, I could see into my past and as I moved to the left I could see

the future. (Hochmah, which represents the past is on the right in the plane of fire and Binah which represents the future is on the left as one walks into the plane.) I could see where I came from in life and I could see where I was moving to in the future.[330] The essence of the Seraphim is motion. As the flame of the seraph is in continuous motion like the flame of a candle, so this plane represents time and the transition from past to future as motion is an aspect of time.

I also sought the meanings of the connections of the sefirot. I saw that my diagram was indeed the correct rectification of the tree. Still I sought to understand how then was Binah connected to Hesed. Instantly I saw Daat between the two and when Binah is connected to Daat then energy descends to Hesed. Likewise, when Gevurah is connected to Daat, only then with G-d's mercy is Gevurah pulled up into Hochmah and a harsh decree - Din is removed from the world.

The Return

I reviewed my travels while descending. In each plane, there is an upper and lower part. In the plane of water, I visited the lower part and discovered the presence of an angel in a waterfall. I saw that the plane of water is responsible for the renewal and rebirth of the whole world each year. In this way, the plane of water is the source of the seasons of the world. The plane of air is the source of rain. The plain of fire is the source of the constellations in the heavens and knowledge. There are other forms in the deeper waters of this plane that cause forgetfulness which is connected to forgiveness. It is because of the danger of forgetfulness, that the adept traveler should not gaze too long in the waters for he could lose himself. Nevertheless, **forgiveness is assisted by forgetfulness** and this too is part of the plane of water. I brought the three angels I met together and I got up from my recliner and danced with each one while under hypnosis. I danced first with the seraph of fire in a flame dance, then with the tornado angel of wind, and finally with the angelic waterfall. In the end I brought all of these elements down into Malchuts which is Earth and looked up emerging out of the journey. Earlier I was in danger of not knowing how to exit the plane of fire. The secret is to ground oneself in the plane of earth which is Malchuts and our world[331].

C. 50 Gates of Understanding

I posted the following response to a discussion on the meaning of the 50 Gates of Understanding.

From: jeffs@lsil.com (Jeff Spiegel)
Newsgroups: alt.magick
Subject: Re: 50 Gates of Understanding
Date: 8 Jun. 1994 04:45:28 GMT

My own knowledge of this subject is based on the biblical writings and commentaries. The 50 gates are really 49 days or 7 weeks of self-elevation and self-evaluation (followed by one day of prophetic revelation) that the Israelites strove for from the time of the Exodus from Egypt until the time they received the Ten Commandments at Mt. Sinai. It is said that all of Israel experienced prophecy at this time and heard the voice of G-d (Kol Hashem) declare the first two commandments.

How is it possible for an entire nation to be able to experience prophecy? This is the secret of the 50 Gates of Understanding.

Being worthy of receiving prophecy requires character improvement. There are 49 aspects of character that the Israelites worked on developing while they wandered in the dessert of Sinai. These aspects correspond to the combinations of the 7 lower sefirot which are called midos or character qualities from the Hebrew.

The counting is done backwards from the highest level to the lowest since prophecy is energy transferred from G-d to man.

Hesed - kindness - Abraham (epitomized quality)
Gevurah - judgment power - Isaac
Tiferets - beauty - Jacob
Netzah - victory eternity - Moses
Hod - thankfulness - Aaron
Yesod - foundation - Joseph
Malchuts - kingdom - David

Shavuot - the day of the giving of the Ten Commandments, the revelation and prophecy. (Pentecost)

Hesed in Hesed 1. study
Gevurah in Hesed 2. attentive listening
Tiferets in Hesed 3. orderly speech
Netzah in Hesed 4. understanding
Hod in Hesed 5. intuitive insight
Yesod in Hesed 6. awe
Malchuts in Hesed 7. reverence

Hesed in Gevurah 8. humility
Gevurah in Gevurah 9. joy
Tiferets in Gevurah 10. purity
Netzah in Gevurah 11. attendance on scholars
Hod in Gevurah 12. debate with colleagues
Yesod in Gevurah 13. discussion with students
Malchuts in Gevurah 14. deliberation

Hesed in Tiferets 15. knowledge of the scriptures
Gevurah in Tiferets 16. moderation in business affairs
Tiferets in Tiferets 17. moderation in worldly affairs
Netzah in Tiferets 18. moderation in pleasure
Hod in Tiferets 19. moderation in sleep

Yesod in Tiferets 20. moderation in conversation
Malchuts in Tiferets 21. moderation in frivolity

Hesed in Netzah 22. patience
Gevurah in Netzah 23. good nature
Tiferets in Netzah 24. trust in the sages
Netzah in Netzah 25. uncomplaining acceptance of suffering
Hod in Netzah 26. knows his place
Yesod in Netzah 27. is content with his lot in life
Malchuts in Netzah 28. limits his words

Hesed in Hod 29. does not claim credit for his achievements
Gevurah in Hod 30. is beloved
Tiferets in Hod 31. loves G-d
Netzah in Hod 32. loves mankind
Hod in Hod 33. loves acts of charity and kindness
Yesod in Hod 34. loves straightforwardness
Malchuts in Hod 35. loves admonition

Hesed in Yesod 36. shuns honor
Gevurah in Yesod 37. is not conceited with his learning
Tiferets in Yesod 38. does not delight in dictating decisions
Netzah in Yesod 39. shares the burden of his fellow man
Hod in Yesod 40. and judges him favorably
Yesod in Yesod 41. directs him to the truth
Malchuts in Yesod 42. and to peace

Hesed in Malchuts 43. is composed in his learning
Gevurah in Malchuts 44. asks pertinent questions and answers to the point
Tiferets in Malchuts 45. listens and adds to his learning
Netzah in Malchuts 46. studies in order to teach
Hod in Malchuts 47. studies in order to practice
Yesod in Malchuts 48. increases the wisdom of his teacher
Malchuts in Malchuts 49. Notes accurately what he has learned
Shavuot 50. Quotes a thing in the name of the person
who said it

These teachings on character development are taken from the "Sayings of our Fathers 6:6"

The secret to understanding the correspondences is to recognize how the respective patriarchs perfected these character traits in their lives.

1. Abraham learned all he could of G-d and lived a life of kindness sharing this knowledge.

2. Isaac always listened attentively to his father.
3. Jacob never spoke hastily but was a master of speech.
4. Moses gained the highest level of understanding possible and was able to speak to G-d face to face.
.
15. Abraham's knowledge of the Torah was so great that he revealed the Book of Creation which bestows kindness and truth.
16. Isaac avoided excess business dealings, and at the end of his life was judged favorably, and blessed his sons in truth.
17. Jacob abstained from worldly affairs and was rewarded with physical beauty and truth.
18. Moses abstained from pleasure with his wife in order to be ready to reveal Hashem's truth.
19. Aaron had little time for sleep as he spent his nights dissolving arguments of couples with the truth.
20. Joseph circumcised his lips by only speaking after careful thought in truth.
.

1. Isaac was beloved by the people of the land of Caanan since he was friendly, displayed gratitude, and was carefree with his neighbors. This also led him to love his son Esau and his wild spirit.
2. Jacob's love for G-d brought him to Bet El, the house of G-d, where he beheld the angels ascending and descending. His love for G-d taught him to the importance of peace for to love G-d requires an environment without anger and hatred. He encouraged peace with his neighbors, his wives, between his children, and he pursued peace with his brother.
3. Moses's love for G-d brought him to a love for people.
4. Aaron displayed acts of charity and kindness his whole life sometimes beyond measure by fashioning the Golden Calf.

.
39. Moses carried the burden of the whole house of Israel by answering their disputes in righteousness. Sharing the burdens of your fellow man means placing oneself in their position and not reacting spitefully to an inconvenience. For example, if a loud truck privately owned by a couple begins unloading and loading cars in a nearby parking a lot, one should look for a way to assist them instead of criticize them for the noise. If the president of the shul hints at the need for more tzedakah even though you may already be a large contributor, prepare a contribution instead of a contrary word.
.
46. Moses learned all he could in order to teach the people.
47. Aaron learned all he could in order to be an example of practicing the commandments.
48. Joseph increased the wisdom of his father Jacob, his teacher.
49. David recorded his experiences in his Psalms.

D. Sefirot Colors and Lights [TABLE]

Each sefira associates with a different color. One may visual these colors during meditation for enhancing the realism of the vision. When one adheres to the authoritative associations, the vision comes in loud and clear. During a meditation, this is similar to tuning a radio station to eliminate the static noise.

In addition to colors, the "Gate of Kavannah" describes eight qualities of light.[332] Here is the description of the Crown:

Above it is the Crown. This is the light that crowns the desires of the mind and illuminates the paths of the imagination, enhancing the radiance (zohar) of the vision. This light has no end, and it cannot be fathomed. From the glory (Kavod) of its perfection comes desire, blessing, peace, life (chaim), and all good (tov) to those who keep the way of its unification.

Table 29: Sefirot and Colors

Sefirah	**Color**	**Light Quality**	**Names Of G-d**
		Concealed Light	Ayn Sof
Keter – crown, will, or desire	blinding invisible light	Crown	Ehyeh asher Ehyeh
Hochmah – wisdom	a color that includes all colors		Yah
Binah – understanding	yellow and green		Hashem (Elohim)
Hesed – kindness	white and silver	Tov – Good	El
Gevurah – judgment, Discipline	red and gold	Nogah – Glow	Elohim
Tiferet – Beauty	yellow and violet	Kavod – Glory	Hashem
Netzah – eternity, victory, prophecy	light pink— the color of the upper eyelid	Bahir – Brilliance	Hashem Tzavaot
Hod – thankfulness, acceptance, prophecy	dark pink— the color of the lower eyelid	Zohar – Splendor	Elohim Tzavaot
Yesod – righteousness	Orange	Chaim – Life	El Chai, Shadai Living G-d
Malchuts – kingdom, Shechinah	Blue		Adonai

Why is the light of Keter called a blinding invisible light? Blinding, since no objects can be seen in this place. Invisible since the light does this without being seen. Light, since the vision is clear.

The color of wisdom includes all colors, for wisdom includes all knowledge in its synthesis. Yellow is associated with illumination and green with fertility which together represent the understanding of Binah with the fertility of the mother Partzuf. White and silver are traditional associations with kindness, red and gold associate with judgment. The sefirah of Tiferet illuminates the truth, yellow, and holds the mysteries of Torah, violet.[333]

The light pink and dark pink colors of Netzah and Hod are the colors of the upper and lower eyelids, which symbolize the experience of prophecy, i.e. sunlight shining through ones closed eyes. The orange of Yesod

is the color of righteousness that is based on the discipline of Gevurah, red, with the illumination of Tiferets, yellow, and the prophecy of Netzah and Hod combined, pink, which together is Orange.

Kingship is blue, i.e. royal blue.

Lights – January 14, 1993 – 8:30 PM

Review the associations of light and color with each sefira during the day.[334] The color associations are of background value. The light of Chaim assists in entering Yesod, but El Chai is the main gateway. The goal of the session is to visit the sefirot Netzach — Hod, and Hesed.[335]

The Gates of Kavanah[336] present the lights in order of encounter:

- Nogah - Glow
- Tov - Good
- Bahir - Brilliant
- Zohar - Splendor
- Kavod - Glory
- Chaim - Life
- Crown - Desire of the mind
- Concealed Light - cannot be seen, without boundary or end

In a prophetic experience, one must first overcome the Klipah Nogah, a fragment of the broken vessels in oneself. After repairing the vessels, one becomes a vessel for the higher lights.

Table 30: Lights and Quality

Light	Quality	Similarity
Concealed Light	Cannot be seen, without boundary or end	Ayn Sof - Keter
Crown	Desire of the mind	Keter - Hochmah
Chaim	Life	Yesod
Kavod	Glory	Tiferet - Malchut
Zohar	Splendor	Hod
Bahir	Brilliance	Netzah
Tov	Good	Hesed
Nogah	Glow	Gevurah

In the realm of Yesod, three white angels form a circle, providing the first level of purification.[337]

I focused on the light above to the realm of Netzah and ascended there. Before my eyes was the Mountain

of the Lord with dark clouds at its peak. I saw a line of souls heading up the mountain. This was like Mt. Sinai in the world to come but one of the souls told me that they were all permitted to climb the mountain without fear of death. As I climbed, I saw a light on the mountain. This was like the burning bush that Moshe rabbenu had seen. When I got closer, a voice told me to come closer still. The color of the fire was orange in the middle with darker shades lower. The flame was not hot. A voice spoke, "This land where you stand is Holy, remove your shoes from here." I complied spiritually. The Voice spoke again, "I am the G-d that took you out of Egypt. I am the G-d of Avraham, Yitzhak, Yakov, Yoseph, Ephraim and Manesseh." I asked the Lord what shall I do to serve you. First, I was told to pick up six stones in front of me and position them in the shape of a Magen David. After placing the stones, a line of light sealed them and an angel of immense height rose out of the flame. He called himself Metatron, an angel most high that shields us from the direct light of Hashem that no one can withstand and live.[338]

Metatron said, "When all our people feel a closeness to G-d through these ways, the world will be united" He said teach out of your heart. As the angel returned, I too came off the mountain and rose higher towards the world of Hesed.

Hesed is the world where some of the light of Tov has been saved for us. There I beheld the tent of Avraham in the midst of the dessert. It was black but open from all sides. I saw a white light upon me and a soul mate beside me. Avraham came out to greet us and brought us into his tent. He said when he met us that he would provide us with food and water for cleaning and that we should come with him. In his tent he told Sarah to prepare food; that there were guests here. Afterwards, Avraham said we would travel, just him and myself. We took preparations and he began leading us towards a mountain. As we got to the top, I saw there was an opening that looked downward. As I gazed inside there was a bright light. The opening was covered by a large rock and he said, this is where one enters to descend into the Merkavah. This is the same place as the Akeidah and the Temple Mount, it is Mt. Moriah where the Lord appeared. I began to descend into the mountain. It was somewhat scary and there was brightness all around. At this point my subconscious faded and I woke up.

(This vision was completed at another time.)

Descent into Mt. Moriah - February 23, 1994

I envisioned four angels[339] lifting me while on my back looking upwards. The first two sons of Aaron rose in this manner as a thanksgiving offering to Hashem completing the Tabernacle.

1. In Malchuts I beheld the Circular Ladder which is the Tree of Life. All may climb the Tree from any direction, hence its circularity.
2. In Yesod, I saw a beacon of light, flashing out messages. I turned to my right and then retreated to the left encountering Aaron in Hod.
3. "What bothers you" was a question I heard from Aaron. I responded, "Nothing, everything is like a blessing from Hashem; what could possibly be on my mind." Aaron blessed me with the Three Fold Blessing.
4. I rose as a comet of light into Tiferets and descended into a cave under the Temple Mount. There in a large hall I saw a table and resting upon it was the Hoshen, the breast plate that Aaron wore with

the 12 stones of light. The Urim vTumim was in a fold behind the plate being the true source of the light. I asked is it true that there is only one G-d. First, the stones lit up to form the shape of the Yod - y. (The tip of the Yod is the singular point of Keter. I asked again and only a single stone lit up; as D'varim 4:35 states ki Hashem, Hoo Ha elohim ayn od melvado - the Lord He is G-d there is none else beside Him. I asked where the ark of the covenant rests and all of a sudden the room lit up with a myriad of points of light and I saw an entrance to another chamber.

5. I preceded with Uriel leading the way. There before us were two large golden angels shielding the way to the Ark of the Covenant. They were the Cherubs or Cheruvim. As we tried to go forward, they stopped us saying, "he who is not clean may not approach the Ark." At this point a robe of point lights was lowered upon me and I felt myself cleansed again. As the Cheruvim continued to resist, I spoke up and said, "The contents of the Ark are given unto man. The commandments and tablets within are for us not the angels." I commanded, they parted and the ark curtains opened.
6. I lifted the tablets out.

The Burning Bush That Does Not Burn - Jan. 8, 1997 - 7:30 PM - Rosh Hodesh Shevat

Ira led the meditation:
First we envisioned the angels all around us and preceded with the descent of the Shechinah over and through our bodies, burning away all impurities. Ira asked us to visualize ourselves in a meadow with flowers on a trail. We were walking up the trail towards a mountain top and saw various shrubs. At one point we came to a place where we had to remove our shoes to cross. Beyond that line was the burning bush that the fire would not consume.

Now I will describe my own personal experiences:
I lowered my head down toward my knees, relieving all stress and tension. I had two questions which I set as my goals at the beginning of the meditation. They were:

1. What is the secret to achieving complete repentance without backsliding?

This can only be obtained by practicing complete forgiveness of everyone around. Achieving a pervasive attitude of forgiveness such that one never holds a grudge against others will prevent backsliding into an original sinful pattern.

1. What else does the 42 letter name of Hakodesh Baruch Hu direct?

There are 7 groups of 6 letters.. One point to note is the number 6 in this case is associated with the letter vav and the Partzufim of Ben which is Zer Anpin, or the supernal son. Together they represent the 6 directions in the Universe and the active aspect in life.[340]

After this point I found myself in the meadow and felt particularly happy with the beauty of a warm spring day. I visualized this meadow which appeared as a place I visited on Mount Shasta which is a spiritually inspiring place. Walking up the trail we ascended the mountain. Ira told us that the trees turned into shrubs

as we ascended. In the distance I saw a burning bush. As I approached I heard a voice in my head saying, “I am that I am. I am calls you.” I wondered what was the source of the non-consuming fire in the bush. In my mind I heard that the fire is from the Plane of Fire driven by an elemental angel. The fire is a spiritual fire and its secret is contained in the pathway connecting Hochmah-Wisdom and Binah-Understanding on the Tree of Life. This path brings together the supernal father and mother resulting in Daat-knowledge. This True Knowledge is knowing G-d. and is the byproduct of learning Torah This knowledge is not the Torah, but like a flame resting on a candle wick is sublime and a byproduct of the formal knowledge and rests in the heart. In the heart from the word lav - bl are the 32 paths of wisdom. Gaining this True Knowledge is the byproduct of learning Torah. By Torah I mean any Jewish work of spiritual elevation. Wisdom is associated with the supernal husband and Understanding with the supernal wife. When the two join, there is Daat which is knowledge or the byproduct of Torah learning.

When the Israelites left Egypt, they journeyed 32 times before coming to rest in place where Aaron died. Aaron had mastered his own heart by always judging the people favorably. There are then 10 more paths mentioned to make 42 and these are the 42 resting places of the people of Israel when they left Egypt. This is a name of transformation, sometimes associated with the creation week. In these 42 journeys, the Israelites recreated their nation through movement, which is change, which leads to purification which leads to cleanliness.

The secret to obtaining purity is “less is more” i.e. less possessions, less money, and less spoils of life purifies the soul to Hashem. The less one has, the greater the ability to become pure of outside influences. Purity leads to cleanliness which is a very high state enabling a person to burn clean all impurities and return close to Hashem.

Returning to the idea of supernal fire I saw the Staff of Moses as a branch off of the Tree of Life. The staff had a supernal flame around one end to those who could see the supernal fire. Around the other end were buds and blossoms like those found on the Rod of Aaron indicating the staff was yet alive. The Staff embodied the idea of knowledge and life like the burning bush that is never consumed.

E. Sefirotic Worlds [FIGURES]

Star of Light – Jan. 1, 1993 - 6 PM

I had been reading ‘Meditation and Kabbalah’, Gates of Light - Shaarey Orah, Page 128 by Joseph Gikatalia and the Songs of Ascent - Shir Amalots in the Psalms.

Figure 13: Hypnotic Experience of Ascending the Sefirot

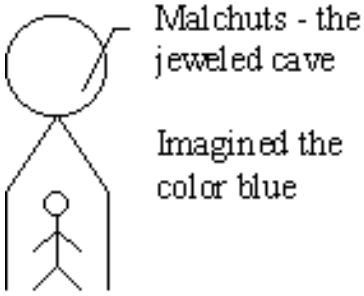

Vision of Malchuts
Entered realm of Malchuts, invoked the name, Adonai for the light to be revealed. I felt a funnel descending upon me. Whenever I searched for the light above, I would locate the next higher level. In this manner, I ascended the sefirot. The ascent was strictly through the central column while the descent took the longer route through all the spheres.[341] When I sought the source of light in Malchuts, I noticed a bright beam pouring in from above. I positioned myself in the beam and willed to be brought into the realm of Yesod. I invoked the name of Hashem [El Chai] and I ascended in the beam of light through a small hole at the top.
Vision of Yesod
As I passed through, I was amazed to see the world of Yesod. Here there are tall angels working hard away. There was a palace here. The Hebrew word for palace is Hechel that has the same gematria value as Adonai:

heh 5 + yod 10 + caph 20 + lamed 30 - lkyh = 65 = aleph 1 + dalet 4 + nun 50 + yod 10 -ynda

I was very small compared to the height of the angels, many of whom I could not see the tops of. One of the angels lowered his hand and picked me up. He asked, “What do we have here?” I said my name was Yoseph and that he should put me down. “Yoseph the righteous one. We shall use you to light our world for the patriarch, Yoseph symbolized the world of Yesod.” The angel put me in a high place and I became a five-pointed star of light. I said I couldn’t stay here for I have business on high and I began to pray. I said I must fulfill further mitzvoth in the physical world and I must ascend higher to beseech the Lord's will. Two angels came down beside the shining star and grabbed each of my arms. They were Gabriel on my left and Michael on my right. As they lifted me Gabriel looked down upon me and I looked upward. They lifted me out of my body like a white translucent spirit leaving its body and we headed upward towards Tiferet, the place of Gan Eden [Garden of Eden].
Vision of Tiferet
I could feel the warmth of the light above basking on me as the angels lifted me higher. Eventually, we passed through a hole in the top and there I beheld the Garden of Eden. Such a forest with bright light and lakes and wonderful grass as can only be glimpsed in our world. The souls of Adam and Eve came forth to greet me. They were in ethereal white bodies and they were holding hands. Only the strength of the angels kept me up in this world. I beheld the Tree of Life on my left and the Tree of Knowledge on my right. They wanted me to stay and I stayed awhile out of respect for the avot - ancestors. Finally, I said I must ascend higher for I have a request that I must present in the realm of G-d's Will. I called upon the name Ehehyeh and the angels returned to lift me higher to the source of the light of the world of Gan Eden.

I will raise him up because he knows My Name. (Psalm 91:14)

Vision of Keter
As I slipped through the hole and into the world of Keter, I found a gray light not like the white light of Eden. In this gray world, I stood upon an impenetrable floor of blackness. Here is the world where G-d's will takes form.

Ascent to the Temple - July 24, 1996 - Erev Tish B'Av - 7 PM

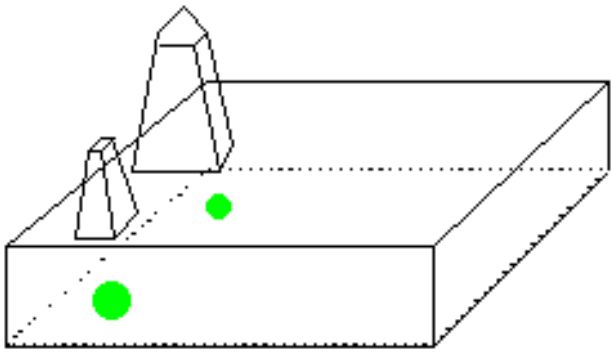

B"H

July 24, 1996

Erev Tish B'Av

7:30 PM

Temple Ascent

Preface

I attended the healing meditation at Beth Shalom. I arrived and Ira was outside watering the Roses. I volunteered to pick up all the trash that had been deposited amongst them. This opportunity led to the vision as well as powerful chanting from Ira. I washed my hands after the work and we began listening to Ira's tapes and humming a Ningun. I listened mostly until the end, when I participated at last with a touch of the tune of Aicha - Lamentations on my lips.

Attending the meditation was Rita at my right, Monte at my left and Ira in front of me. Rita, earlier, showed me a work by Reb Nachman called, "The Empty Chair." We discussed several positive anecdotes. During the evening service at Am Echad, I remembered all the details of the vision.

Vision

4 Angels

Ira brought down the 4 angels and I saw them vividly this time: Michael on the right in silver light; Gavriel on the left in gold light, Raphael behind in the color of green, and Uriel in front in white-yellow light like the Sun. I thought of a story that I read about the temple. After the destruction when Rabbi Gamliel was leaving, a peer of his looking at the temple saw a fox dwelling therein [Lamentation .:.] and commenting woe is us for having seen the temple occupied by animals now. Reb Gamliel commented it is not so. "I see only that G-d's prophecy concerning the destruction of the temple has come to pass and now I know just as this prophecy has been fulfilled so will the prophecy concerning it being rebuilt come to pass."

Temple

Michael and Gavriel lifted me overhead and pushed me above themselves directly up and through a white cloud before the base of the Third Temple. It loomed before me like in drawings except that their was a tower in the rear of the structure. {Include drawing here} The tower rose from the roof to a pointed top like a steeple. I explored the grounds and discovered 2 huge court yards in the back. One housed a great Esthrog tree corresponding to the Tree of Life (on the left looking from the West). The other was a pomegranate tree for the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

The top of the tower was made of glass and inside was a study with wall-to-wall books. At night the ceiling would open permitting the one within to gaze directly at the heavens and contemplate the stars. I saw a person pondering in this room over a Sefer - book and realized him to be the Messiah.

Messiah

The first thing I noticed is that he was standing with one of the arms of his glasses dangling in his mouth contemplating a book. He did not have a beard. While his intellect was not extraordinary, his wisdom was granted from Hashem and he was able to answer any spiritual question put forth to him. I asked him a few questions:

- I thought of the loneliness I saw in friends who had not married their soul mate and asked how long must we wait for an end of this situation? He responded,

"the question is not one of time at all for in each moment we can choose to love G-d with all our heart, soul, and might and be lifted away from this."

- I asked about the commandment to be fruitful and multiply and how we are often led to involvement with partners with this driving thought. Again, I got the response, "the answer is to focus on loving G-d with all your heart, soul, and might." [A tape from a follower of Reb. Nachman spoke about how the great longing and love for G-d leads us to love of our fellow man and to great acts of Hesed - kindness.]

- I asked again, “what of the situation when partners of different backgrounds are merging their values in a relationship, how can we avoid the loneliness and difficulty here?” Again, the same response, "you shall love the Lord your G-d with all your heart, soul, and might." This is all you need to follow. Good will flow from this." The meaning here is that by seeking G-d, one will seek the right partner and the proper values will emerge in the relationship.

Ira mentioned that it was Tish B'av the time when the 1st and 2nd temples were destroyed. He said we should view our body as a temple and this replaces what was lost. [This is similar to the idea that our prayer service replaces the sacrificial offerings that were carried out in the temple.] I tried to see how the Moshiach standing in the future temple saw the previous temples. I saw in his mind (this is possible in the hypnotic state) the temples burning and the people dying. A guiding intellectual reason that the burning of the temple was a Karban - a sacrifice that atoned for that generation supplanted mourning. [In the Kinot we read how the priests and prophets served with ulterior motives and l'havdil how King Josiah was brought down because of the sins of his kingdom while he himself was holy unto G-d.]

After the questions, I prayed for the well being of those present and their friends, and relatives. I began to see prayers ascending in a spiral out of the head of the Moshiach like a tornado going up into the heavens. I saw the image of the four of us ascending in the spiral. There was a female part of the moshiach, his wife. They had or would have a son as well. [In the trance state- past, present, and future may merge.]

At this juncture I made one more request. [The Nach rabbi said that we should make a list of all our requests to Hashem and repeat them daily. Even the little requests should be said for Hashem. We should also meditate for 20 minutes a day and that this was a powerful way to change our lives.]

My request was to see Abraham again. Here I learned another technique of ascending the sefirot. The moshiach tilted his head to the ride and directed his consciousness toward the sefira of Hesed which is to the right and above Tiferet, the heavenly temple mount. With his thought I began the ascent. Ira began chanting at this point and I brought him up with me. We emerged upon a desert and I saw Abraham waiting for us. I shook with a brief spiritual chill from Ira's chanting. Abraham pointed and I looked up to behold an angel like myself ascending to the place of G-d where prayers are received. The angel said he was carrying my requests and the requests of others I had prayed for to higher levels. He was extremely beautify, straight forward in speech, and of singular purpose like a chunky version of myself with small wings. [The chill indicated a separation of a small bundle of spiritual energy from myself which created an angel.] {add cross link to similar visions}

I was elated to see Abraham and greeted him with a hug. I said I missed you so much. Abraham is also my father's Hebrew name and I saw the likeness of my father in him as well. The patriarch was happy to see me and announced our presence to his wife. I asked what to do with Ira who was chanting away. He said it was fine, Ira was doing his thing and it was good. When we reached the tent, Ira was still chanting and Abraham sat down and began participating in Ira's meditation! The chanting was very good to Abraham as well! We continued the deep meditation until the end of the chanting. At this point Sarah brought out manna cakes from heaven as food to eat. The food had no physical taste but instead nourished and replenished spiritual energy of the soul.

At this juncture, Ira began to bring the meditation to a close since it was approaching 8 PM and time for Tish B'av evening services. I asked Abraham about the best way for descent. He told me to go down the diagonals from Hesed to Tiferet to Netzah across to Hod then to Yesod and Malchuts. I briefly saw the temple, Moshe on Mt. Sinai, Aaron at the base of Mt. Sinai, the surface rock of Yesod, and then found myself resting in the spherical cave of Malchuts. This was a fast effective grounding and I opened my eyes.

Postscript

I told parts of the vision to the others. The vision of the temple with the tower and moshiach's dwelling place. I said that the moshiach would be able to bear all the turmoil of the people by retreating to this tower each night and opening the glass ceiling to gaze out the stars. This would renew him with inspiration and calmness each night. I told them of the first question I asked concerning when the loneliness and difficulty of people would end and how the answer was not in the future but in each one of us. Monte spoke up at this point about how we should view the temple inside us and how the holiness within is the answer. I told them of the encounter with Abraham and what he said about Ira and there was chuckling.

I reached Am Echad at 8:15 and the service had not begun yet. Once, evening services began I was reminded of all the points in my vision at different points in the service. It is good to daven each day; this too is a teaching of Nach that even meditation cannot replace.

Gevurah - January 8, 1993 - 7 PM

1. I read the 49th Psalm on the need to transform material wealth for spiritual purposes.
2. Started hypnotic tape.
3. The effect was different from the previous week. I had been feeling some financial strains and my mind was lower.
4. I decided that I would go to the Sefirot of Gevurah, which I had avoided previously. After a slight entrance to the world of Malchuts, I uttered the name of Hashem associated with Gevurah, Elohim, and two angels came to take me. They were black and small in form differing from previous experiences. These were angels dedicated to bring one to judgment unlike white angels.
5. The world of Gevurah appeared to me with walls of red and gold. Before me was a judge's dais of dark wood. The setting was like a court and was being judged for the "crimes of my youth," (Kohelet - Ecclesiastes ???) The name Elohim is judgment and the seal pictured below a form of prison with the letters at 5 points surrounding.

6. The seal is like a pentacle.
7. Meditations are safe even under such circumstances. One merely needs to will himself to the conscious state.

8. Next day we read of the death of Yoseph, the last portion in Genesis.[342] My prayer was stimulated by the idea that it is better to be accompanied by Elohim than to be alone in this world.
9. memorized colors associated with meditations on the sefirot. There are two Josephs of significance here: Joseph Tzayach on the colors, Joseph Gikatalia on Shaarey Orah.

XIII. The Other Side

The word evil exits in Hebrew in a few forms. *Evil* - lwu is a verb meaning 'to do injustice.' *Avel* - lwu is a masculine noun for 'injustice, wrong.' *Aval* - lwu is the masculine noun for 'wrongdoer.' Judaism does not have a concept of evil as a counterpart to good. Instead evil is the absence of G-d.

wnnyaw wmwqm lu tnnwbthw ucr }yaw fum dwuw

And in a little while the wicked shall not be; you shall reflect upon his place and he will not be there. (Psalm 37:10)

Evil cannot exist indefinitely but its separation from G-d removes itself from the world.

\wlc br-lu wgnuthw {ra-wcryy \ywnuw

And the humble will inherit the land and they will delight themselves in the abundance of peace. (Psalm 37:11)

On the other hand the humble in spirit attach themselves to G-d and their reward is the inheritance of the land.

Rabbi Nachman teaches another meaning to Psalm 37:10.[343] He understands the word wicked here to refer to the sinner. He teaches that we must look for the good in every person even a wicked person. When we find this spark of good, we must judge him favorably and he will return to G-d. This is the meaning of "In a little while he is not"; when we judge him favorably the sinner is gone and in his place a baal tshuvah, a master of repentance.

Gevurah and Hod - July 19, 1993, Monday 1st of Av, 7 AM

I woke up in a dream, which emphasized the importance of keeping vows. Monday is associated with Gevurah as is Av.[344]

I played the Relaxation Tape and prepared myself in Malchuts. There I saw the angels Gavriel and Michael descend to my sides. They lifted me to Yesod, the righteous foundation of the Living G-d, Almighty. Yesod relates to Yetzirah, the home world of angels. I turned to my left, looked at the face of Gavriel, and said, "I will go with you." With a swift push, I was climbing the channel into Hod with Gavriel behind me, pursuing like a tiger.[345] In the world of Hod stood Aaron, the Golden Calf, Gavriel, and myself. The 12th of Tamuz was the day of our sin with the Golden Calf - Egel Zahav. I raised my arms and said to the Lord, we repent, I repent; let it be no more and in a burst of light, the idol was turned to molten spreading like a liquid enveloping the light of the Sun. This connection is to teach us that we must be careful not to worship the Sun. Gavriel came over and held me with concern. I said everything is OK, you don't have to worry.

SHe raised my face, and I stared at the tears in her eyes as she shook her head from side-to-side. I tried to comfort her and I confessed that it was all for the good. I had learned the message of vows from a dream. The pattern repeated and then I said let us ascend to the realm of judgment. Immediately we ascended and emerged in the Court of Gevurah. The robes of Gavriel changed from white to red with dark shades of gold, and her countenance was without mercy and her purpose was firm. She drew a line and than a cross. Around the cross (fire), sHe connected a diamond and placed it under me in the center.

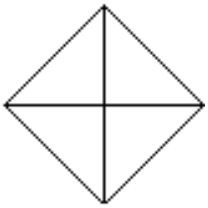

I was frozen and fixed as the pattern ascended through me. Finally a cover was placed on the top sealing me into the diamond. It was very tight and choking. She sat on the Throne of Judgment and watched unmoved by sufferings and I glimpsed the pain of Gehenom. I confessed to the Lord that it is better to be judged by the Almighty then to be without Him, Has Vshalom. Nevertheless, the pain did not subside and I became scared. This was a fatal position to contemplate and I searched for a way out. The Thirteen Attributes of Mercy then came to mind. To escape death. I said them aloud and the walls of the diamond fell to my side.

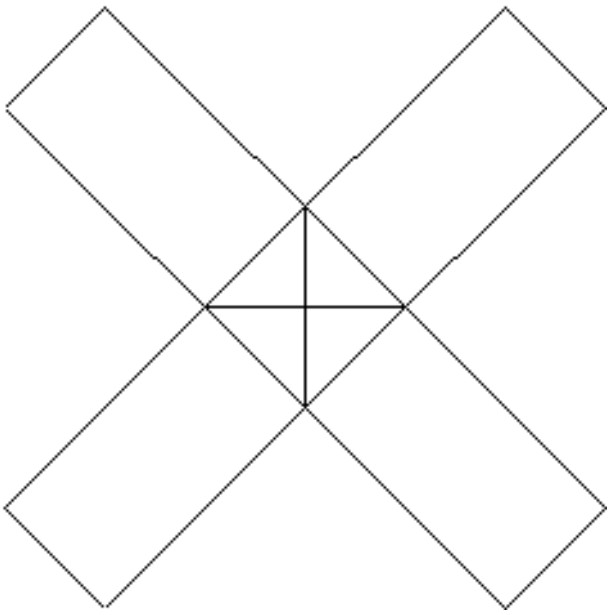

I was free and I chose quickly to ascend from Gevurah to Binah. I beheld the Angel in White from behind once more.[346] She held her left arm up to Hashem, which held a rod and her right arm down to this world channeling energy. She turned around, gave me her rod and my arms assumed the same position and she left. I stood alone feeling the vibrations of the energy coursing through the rod, but they nourished me not. I stood for a while and then contemplated a shift to Hochmah consciousness. I turned the rod to the right and moved into Hochmah. There was a well in the shape of a diamond with water within. I realized the danger of falling in and turned away. I began to forgive and prayed for anyone that harmed me or I had harmed. I saw a flame between Hochmah and Binah.[347] There were eyes within. This was a seraph and I moved into the flame. They became my eyes and the flames were a purgatory for my soul purifying it with my prayers. I turned my head to the left and the sunlight burned my face as the flames burned my soul. Everything is

going to be OK. Finally, I saw a vision of an immense hill of sand with a slide. I jumped and landed down upon each dune until I reached the bottom and my eyes opened upon the new day.

Everything is going to be all right Gabriel.
We will repent and return.
You do not need to cry for us anymore.
The stern decree has been turned aside.
Those we've harmed, we've prayed for.
Those that have harmed us, we've forgiven.
Through Judgment we have learned Love.
And through mercy we have found Hope.

Afterthought - July 20, 1993, 7:30 PM. The obstacles in a vision are formed out of klipot on the body and in the mind. Their danger and size magnify the closer one gets to Hashem.

To Hell and Back - November 27, 1993

The Jewish idea of hell is the absence of G-d. People create their own hells by their activities and worries in life. Ultimately G-d is ready to receive any person back. I played the tape, 'Achieving Maximum Human Potential' and entered the hypnotic state.

Fires of Gehenom - A large angel, shaped as a standing turtle,[348] invited me to enter the gates of hell.[349] He was waving to follow him. As he turned to lead, I noticed small wings of fire on his back. His body was luminescent without definite features other than body, arms, legs, and wings. I crossed under a gate and looked up to see it ringed with fire, ~ ten yards in height. Gehenom is not scary in itself. The flames exist only from the souls that are there.[350] The frightening part is encountering the burning souls. They wander aimlessly occasionally springing up on others by surprise. They are evil and the source of the fire that consumes them. The rest of this world is empty.[351] The angel kept asking that I follow and we went further inward. Eventually we arrived at a gate and the angel would go no further. Through the gate, I saw a raging furnace of fire that appeared solid unlike the spotted flames of souls before. I thought to myself (incorrectly) "Now I am approaching the worst of Gehenom." I entered alone as the angel could not lead me here. Crossing the threshold was a test of strength. The angel waived bye and I walked onward into the furnace.

Nahar DiNar (River of Fire) - I saw souls floating in a river of fire by waving their arms wildly as if caught in a fast current. I walked further and was greeted by a handsome woman swimming towards me. She had long black hair and dark eyes. She wanted to lead and she showed me how to swim after her. I followed her up the river, which entered the mouth of a cave. The fire river was a brilliant gold that lit up the walls and we swam onward. As we reached the end, which is actually the beginning of the river, she climbed out onto a bank. I burned in the headwaters and then climbed onto the opposite bank. I asked her about this place. She did not respond with words, but grabbed and placed me in the source of the fiery waters. My body regressed to that of an infant and she lifted me out again and put me on the bank. I was scared of my mind regressing with my body, but this did not happen. My yetzer hara burned away from me, and I now possessed the innocence of a child. I felt lonely and wanted to be held, and she lifted me to her and I played with the tresses of her hair. Later I learned her name, Sara Imanu - Sarah our mother, and she

helps souls through the river and prepares them for the Gate of Judgment. I beheld a ladder leading upwards and began to climb through the solid rock. I reached a clearing.

Gate of Judgment - I beheld a line of people (souls) waiting to pass through the gate one-by-one. Most were despondent with their heads down. I proceeded to the head of the line, as one living is free from the rules of this place. As an infant, I crossed over the threshold and entered the chamber of judgment. (The upper world was the color of a steely gray-silver unlike the gold of the river below.) I waited in the chamber until an old tall man entered. He was surprised to see me and looked discerningly at me. He said, "You are not really an infant, my son", and he lifted me up and my form returned to that of an adult. He asked me, what I wanted here. I told him that I wanted to pass through the gate and into the place beyond. He told me I could not do this. He always followed his statements with the trailer, my son. I deduced he was Avraham Avinu - Abraham our father, who could lift a soul out of Gehenom for the mitzvah of the brit milah alone.[352] I claimed that I needed to go beyond to bring back knowledge to teach.[353] He responded that all we need to know is in the Torah and I could not pass.

For this commandment which I command thee this day,
it is not too hard for thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say:
'Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?'
(Deuteronomy 30:11-12)[354]

In fact, I was shoved out of this place forcibly. I descended back to the River of Fire. Sarah returned me to an infant, placed me in a carriage that lifted me up the ladder into heaven. I beheld chariots of light descending on my left with many forms.

A. Turning Evil to Good

The four elements that compose a man lead him to sin in the following ways. Fire is the source of arrogance. Air is the source of idleness and idle chatter. Water is the source of evil passions. Earth is the source of melancholy.[355]

Likutey Moharan #8:5
Now, by sighing, a person draws the ruach-of-life to the lack for which he sighs. This makes it whole. Nevertheless, one should not attempt to provoke the wicked. When a person provokes the wicked man who then sighs, the wicked man draws ruach from his rav of the husks. In its moment, his ruach is mighty. "He blows down all his enemies," and is capable of harming them, G-d forbid.
Therefore, not everyone can antagonize the wicked. Only a perfect tzaddik can do this. A perfect tzaddik is someone who is on the level of "No sin will befall the tzaddik."[356] In other words, he has already expelled and eliminated whatever bad he may have had within him. He is certain that he will in no way be brought to sin.
This matter [of eliminating the bad] is as follows: There are four fundamental elements [of creation]: fire, air, water, earth. Above, in their transcendent root, they correspond to the four letters of G-d's holy name, YHVH.[357] But, below [in our world], they are a mixture of good and bad. The perfect tzaddik, however, has completely distinguished and separated the bad from the good. He is without even a residue of bad from

any one of these four elements. [These elements] encompass all the traits, as is known. So that when he is on this level, he [the tzaddik] can provoke the wicked.[358]
For every wicked man has to have a conduit through which he receives his ruach in order to provide wholeness [in place] of the lack. The conduit and pathway through which he receives the ruach-of-life needed to fill this lack is the particular bad trait from the four elements which he has drawn [upon himself] and empowered [himself with].

When the tzaddik wants to humble the wicked man, he must descend into the bad trait with which the wicked man has empowered himself.
This is how he can subdue and destroy the conduit from which the wicked man receives his life-force.

This is why the tzaddik must be perfect, without any bad whatsoever. Otherwise the wicked man's storm wind, which is also his ruach-of-life, can G-d forbid, overpower and harm the tzaddik when he descends into the bad trait in order to destroy it. The bad has no hold on or control over the perfect tzaddik. He hasn't any place to which the bad can attach itself.
{Even the bad quality into which the tzaddik descends in order to bring about its destruction has no hold on him. His entry there is solely for the purpose of humbling and subduing it; as in "And Avraham ascended from Egypt."}[359]

The "descent into the bad trait" means that the tzaddik reflects the bad trait of the other person. In this manner, the wicked person sees a mirror of his own behavior from this holy person. This reflection creates an affinity that will help the person realize his own wickedness. He will sense that perhaps the tzaddik was right after all in earlier arguments. As an example, consider a person on the verge of apikorsus considering all faith an illusion. After numerous arguments that have no effect on the person, the tzaddik descends into the bad trait and concedes, "all is illusion" to the other person. The effect is quite contrary. The other person feels a weight released off his chest and his obstinacy dissipate. Nevertheless, the elation of the tzaddik agreeing with his point leads to remorse. "Perhaps this great man's view is better. Perhaps it leads to a truer happiness. Perhaps I shall try faith and see for myself."

B. The Evil Eye

One who brags or shows off rouses the Evil Eye. Joseph and his descendants struggled with the consequence of this evil:

And the sons of Joseph spoke to Joshua, saying why have you given me but one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing I am a great people, because the Lord has blessed me so much? And Joshua answered them, if you are a great people, then go to the forest country, and cut down a space for yourself there in the land of the Perizzites and of the Refaim, if Mount Ephraim is too narrow for you. (Joshua 17:14-15)

Bava Batra 118a (end) explains:

The children of Joseph, surely, complained and did not benefit, and [yet] Scripture recorded their case.

There, [it may be replied, Scripture desired] to impart to us good advice, [namely,] that a person should he on his guard against an evil eye. And this indeed is [the purpose] of what Joshua said unto them; as it is written, And Joshua said unto them: 'If thou be a great people, get thee up to the forest'. [It is this that] he said to them: 'Go and hide yourselves in the forests so that an evil eye may have no power over you'.

The children of Joseph countered:

They said unto him, 'We are of the seed of Joseph over whom the evil eye has no power'. As it is written, Joseph is a fruitful vine, a fruitful vine by a fountain, and R. Abbahu said: Do not render, 'by the fountain,' but 'those who transcend the eye'. R. Jose son of R. Hanina said, [this is inferred] from the following [verse]: And let them grow like fishes into a multitude in the midst of the earth (Genesis 48:16). [This means that] as the fishes in the sea are covered by the waters and no eye has any power over them, so, in the case of the seed of Joseph, no [evil] eye has [any] power over them.

Joseph and his descendents are under the influence of the sign of Pisces[360] based on this passage where Jacob is blessing Joseph and his sons:

:{rah brqb brl wgdyw qjxyw \hrba ytba ymc \hb arqyw \yrunh-ta]rby ur-lkm yta lag]almh

The Angel that has redeemed me from all bad will bless these lads
and call in them the name of their fathers Abraham and
Isaac and will make them plentiful like fish
in closeness to the land.
(Genesis 48:16)

Rashi comments on fish here: "Like fish that are fruitful and multiply and there is not an evil eye that has power in them." Here we learn that the effect of the evil eye is to limit reproduction, has vshalom. We also learn that the evil eye manifests within them. It is cast from outside but effects the target within. Now if this is the case why did Joshua say to their descendents to flee to the forest? For the descendents were proud of their numbers asking for a larger inheritance. Braging brought the evil eye upon Joseph from his brothers originally. Joseph's descendents have the same vulnerability. Abraham knew this well and would teach his great-grandson this in another incarnation.

C. Evil Thoughts

As Rabbi Nachmah teaches:[361]
It is important to realize that it is utterly impossible to think two thoughts at once. You can therefore easily chase evil thoughts away without any real effort. Just stop thinking about the subject, and concentrate on something else, whether it be Torah, worship, or even business. The evil thought will automatically vanish, since it is impossible to think two thoughts at the same time. (Likutey Moharan 232)

XIV. The Other Planes

A. Primordial planes

The Ari z”l, Isaac Luria, was the first to describe the cosmological structure above the world of Atzilut, the place of the sefirot. I described a journey that took me to the place of G-d before time and space in a previous vision[362]. That vision brought me to the limit of what is knowable about G-d and then into the Nothingness beyond, Ayn Sof. This vision focuses on the experience of the 4 worlds in the 5th universe residing above the apex of the Yod, what is known as Adam Kadmon.

1. Adam Kadmon

The following meditation was done to the Eye Closure Tape. I learned the following finger response techniques for obtaining answers from the subconscious. Answers with movements of the right hand are for the good (tov), those with the left hand are not so (ra). The lifting of the index finger means yes, the pinkie means no, and the fingers in between are degrees between yes and no.

17th of Tamuz 5754 - Morning

I ascended to Malchuts and then to Yesod[363] with the help of angels lifting me into the light. From Yesod I went to the Garden of Eden where I saw the Lubavitcher Rebbe shlita[364] standing outside the gates. I asked him the secret to getting married and he said, “Emunah, that one must believe with all one’s will for it to happen.” I asked if he were Moshiach and he answered again with Emunah, that he has done all he could, it is up to us to believe with all our mind for Moshiach to be.

I wanted to ascend higher to see the Tzaddik Emets, Rebenu z”l. I passed through Tiferets and was stuck at the Gates of Daat[365] which I did not know how to open. I did not know the Name of Hashem associated with this sefirah.[366] Eventually I saw Binah as a mother and Hochmah as a father embrace and the gates were opened and Binah lifted me up and showed her husband what she had found. I said, “I need to speak to the Tzaddik Emets and you should help me.” The father took me and passed me into the base of Keter. The entry to Keter opened inward like a hole punched upward through paper, like a new gate made for each who enters. I said, “I will to ascend to the level to see the Tzaddik Emets.” I was lifted through the blackness into the worlds above. I entered the level of MaH - 45 and the expansion of the Havayah was before me and then BN - 52, and then SaG - 63, and finally AV - 72 where I saw Rebenu z”l standing.

He was so happy. He said, “I am as proud of you as one of my finest students for though you live in the recesses of the world, you have learned so much of my teachings and have studied with my teachers.”[367] It is impossible to describe the joy he felt and I felt to reach him. I asked Rabbenu z”l to help me with a question and he put his hands upon my head to know the situation. I asked him what he is doing at this level and he said, “you should continue to learn my teachings and you will understand, but for now it is beyond you.”[368] All of a sudden, I felt a vacuum pulling me down and I descended through the Tree in rapid

progression through all of the sefirot and upper worlds.

May 4th, 2001

Regressed myself back to the point of conception and witnessed a spark of light like a shooting star back to its place in the heavens waiting to be born. As I followed the white star back into the night sky, I found its stationary location in the right wrist of Adam Kadmon. Like the rest of the sparks, it was motionless waiting to be reborn. I felt the incredible longing in the spark for the chance at life again, for the chance to improve its station. How long it waited to be born. Such a longing, the other sparks felt the same. All were waiting for suitable parents to provide a chance in life.[369]

2. Expansion of the name Hashem

19th of Tamuz 5754

I learned the secret of how I entered Daat and what Rabenu z”l was doing at the level of AV. From the Ari z”l:

YVD HY VYV HY yh wyw yh dwy

The Tetragrammaton expanded with Yods, adding up to 72 (Ab) motivates the union of Hochmah - Wisdom (Father) and Binah - Understanding (Mother), through the Neshamah of the Neshamah (i.e. Chaya) of the saint. It is associated with Hochmah - Wisdom.[370]

The saint in this case Rabbi Nachman of Breslov and he made it possible for me to enter Daat through his Chaya bringing Hochmah and Binah together for me to enter there. He was at the level of AV for it is Mekor Hochmah, the source of wisdom, and also part of the name of his new settlement in Israel, Nachal Novea Mekor Hochmah where his efforts on high in the spiritual realm parallel the physical construction in our world. The name of the settlement translates to “the source of wisdom is a flowing brook.”

The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters,
and the wellspring of wisdom as a flowing brook.
(Proverbs 18:4)

Elsewhere Rabbi Nachman speaks of a ‘Nachal Novea Mekor Chokhmah - hmkj rwqm ubwn ljn’ where the initial letters spell at the name Nachman - }mjn.[371]

B. Astral and Ethereal Planes

The Astral plane is a place outside of all places and yet connecting all. When in the Astral plane, one is invisible to all beings in other planes and yet able to observe all. The Astral body is a glowing white light and is connecting to the physical source by a line of light. It is also possible to teleport the physical body to the location of the Astral body in the non-physical planes. In this way one can interact with the beings on

other planes. The advantage of Astral travel is that it is possible to bypass gate keepers to reach spiritual destinations since one can only be seen by other beings on the Astral plane. The disadvantage to Astral travel is that it is difficult and one must achieve a high degree of purification and shed the physical body to enter this plane.

The Ethereal plane is an inner plane that is experienced while dreaming at night. The Ethereal plane connects all physical places in the Universe and enables the subconscious to explore their locations. One can enter the Ethereal plane from the Astral plane but not vice-versa.

Astral Travel - May 19, 1997 - 27th Day of Omer - 8 PM

Today is influenced by Yesod in Netzah which brings righteous foundation to eternal visions. I visited Berkeley and the Hochmat HaLev meditation center for their weekly meditation. I took the BART up to Berkeley from Fremont and read a little of Crowley's book on Magic. I had been trying to decipher the mystery of the Astral plane. I was late and jettisoned myself into the silent meditation.

I saw forms of the archangels descend and they pushed me higher from Malchuts to Yesod. The angels passed me to other angels in a chain fashion each pushing me higher. Each complained about my state of impurity and quickly pushed me to the next angel. Eventually something had to be done about the impure state and I beheld a boiling pool of water and sulfuric acid. There was a small sense of fear and then I was tossed into the pool. I sank into the waters and felt myself suffocating. As I sank, I noticed an angelic mermaid form near the bottom of the pool and she spoke to me, "You are safe here." I began to breath and I noticed that the bottom of the pool was pure acid. The color was a blue-green. Quickly my clothes were burned away by the acid. I asked the angel where I was and I was informed that I was in the Lower Plane of Water between the sefirot of Netzah and Hod. There are different types of liquids in the lower planes and this was a place of acid. I asked who she was and she said that her name would be the Hebrew word for acid with the suffix of an angel. I asked if she was an angel. She said that most beings are messengers of Hashem but that her role was more of an acid elemental. I noticed my skin was burning and pealing away and I beheld a pure white form of light emerging from the shell.

She told me that this was my Astral body and that I would be able to enter the Astral plane with it while she watched over the remains of my physical form. I traveled quickly out of the pool and noticed a new perspective on the Sefirotic Tree. I was outside of the tree now looking in while connected with a line of white light to my body in the Lower Plane of Water. I noticed that I could look into any world yet I could not be a part of any of them. I glanced into Tiferet and descended into the world. I saw Jacob there in discussion with other religious sages. None of them noticed me because I was not really in that world. I moved out of the sphere and then gazed into Hesed and saw Abraham and Sarah there performing eternal chores associated with their meeting tent and they too could not see me. I popped out and then gazed into Binah and beheld the great angelic mother transmitting light energy and above here chains of other angels in a eternal dance. Though I wanted to dance with the angels, they could not see me and I understood the limitations of the Astral plane.

I asked about the Ethereal plane and found that I could enter it invisibly with the Astral body. I saw many dream souls within the beatific scenes of the ethereal world. Finally, I returned to Binah and asked what it would take to be seen so that I could dance with the angels. I understood that I could merge back with the physical body while within the sphere of Binah. I drew my body up from the Plane of Water and wrapped

my body around my Astral form. Immediately I became physical in the World of Binah and the angels saw me and descended. I began to dance with them in great joy. I joined with their ascent to the world of Keter and we entered this world carrying the prayers of those singing into the realm of Will. I began to fall through a center column of the angels, each one closing its wings around me in a salute of departure. I unwrapped back into the astral body and the angels departed. Nevertheless, all alone I heard the Voice of G-d and I knew before G-d we are never invisible.

C. Space Travel

April 25, 2000

I ascended into Malchuts with the name Adonai. This was Malchuts of Asiyah, a round cave with an opening at the top into Yesod. With further ascent, I encountered Eloh the source of creation. “I was here before and I will be here after. All that is I created.” I asked about His relation to El Shadai? “She is my younger sister. She is within creation nurturing and helping to grow.” And what of El Chai? “He is the little brother, younger than El Shadai. He causes the motion and springiness of life.” And what do you know of Eheyeh asher Eheyeh. “He is before me and will be after me before and beyond the Creator.” And of YHVH? “He is the viaduct connecting all of the higher spiritual places to creation. We are all connected to the root of Names, Yuhoah.” And El? “El is the prefix of my name and is the kindness that bestowed creation.” And of Elohim? “This is the din balancing kindness.” And of Yah. “Ah Yah is in the crown and is the source of the higher energies sustaining the energies below.”

I asked to be shown a black hole that I may understand its role. I was shown an ocean of plasma before the creation of our world. I asked what is this? “Before your Universe existed, Hashem made previous universes. This is the remnants of the previous one. As the plasma cooled, gravity pulled particles together. Ultimately all was pulled into the great central light of the Universe. This is like the light of YHVH in Tiferets. This great star super nova(ed) spewing elements throughout the Universe.

I entered the black hole. According to general relativity, gravity slows down time. Hence within a singularity time slows, maybe even stops. Light doesn’t emminate from a black hole due to gravity. This is like the place of Keter. There is no surface. One can fall into the singularity and be one with G-d.

One can communicate with each individual name of G-d. In this manner one can explore the meaning of concepts within the subjective perspective of differing attributes.

XV. Back to the Future

A. The Storehouses of the Future

There is a tradition that G-d took the first light of creation and saved it away as a reward in the world to come.[372] The light created during the first day was not from the sun so where is it? "It is stored up for the righteous in the Messianic future as it says:"

Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun,
and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold,
as the light of the seven days.
(Isaiah 30:26)

Where is this light stored? Proverbs 8:21 says:

My loved ones will inherit from ***there*** *and I will fill their storehouses.* lyjnhl lma \hytrxaw cy ybha

The Shaarey Orah reveals to us the key word is 'there' - Yesh - cy which has the value of 310 and refers to 310 storehouses of reward in the world to come and a tithe in this world. The Torah states that one should give a 1/10th of what one earns to charity. Hashem in his kindness tithes from the good stored up for us. The name EL, gematria 31, associates with the sefirah of Hesed - kindness. This is 1/10th of Yesh.[373] The word Yesh associates with the presence of G-d, i.e. the ultimate reward:

ytudy al yknaw hzh \wqmb \ch cy }ka rmayw wtncm bquy {kyyw

And Jacob awoke from his sleep and said truly **there** is Hashem in this place and I knew it not.
(Genesis 28:16)

The Hebrew word Yesh appears superlative since a better translation world read, "And Jacob awoke from his sleep and said truly Hashem is in this place and I knew it not." Yesh is providing an additional emphatic thought. Yesh refers to something else that is stored away for us and experienced only fleetingly in our world. 'Yesh Hashem - There's Hashem' is the highest reward in the world to come.

The 310 storehouses are said to have 310 guards in the world of Gevurah that prevent the bounty from descending.[374] These guards were put in place because of doubt expressed by the Israelites in the desert:

Is there Hashem close to us or not? }ya-\a wnbrqb \ch cyh ...

And the name of the place was called Massah-trying, and Meribah-strive, because of the striving of the children of Israel, and because they tried the Lord saying: 'Is the Lord among us, or not?' (Exodus 17:7)

HaYesh YHVH in our midst or AYN

The Shaarey Orah associates AYN – }ya with absolute mercy and the highest sefira, since above Keter is the AYN SOF - without end. Yesh is the reward from Hochmah and is mixed slightly with judgment as it is held back. Why is it held back? "Know that if they had asked gently and nicely not in a petulant and quarrelsome manner, their request would have been appropriate."[375]

Merkavah - July 10, 1993 - 9:30 AM

I played the letter ascension tape. After progressive relaxation I reached a deep trance state and began the ascent. I let my hands rise above my head coming together in the shape of an oak tree and I rose upward into this realm. I explored the cave somewhat but then rose higher into Yesod. I thought of the Living G-d, Almighty and saw the workings in the world of Yesod. All around angels were busy with their work transmitting and paralleling the work of our world. The tape directed me to a stream in a meadow. There I beheld a shiny object in the stream. I lowered my hand and it entered the cool water retrieving an amulet of a color like silver with a touch of gold. Upon the amulet was inscribed the letter heh, like the hand of G-d. I held the amulet in my right hand then rubbed it against my heart. It felt good. The angels Michael and Gavriel took me higher into Tiferets. There I floated alone through white clouds which occasionally parted letting sunlight through. I made several rotations with my body enjoying the pleasures I felt. I had some battles with shards of evil as I wrestled to go higher.[376] There were distractions and I rose to Hesed and then rose to a hidden plane finally descending back to escape from a questionable force who attacked my body. Earlier in Netzah an angel dangled me by my hair until I commanded him with the name of Hashem Tzevaot. He released me and became absolutely straight at attention. I told him to descend and help a particular person who was ill and was going in for an operation. I also prayed for a woman I knew that she should be able to have children. Eventually I ascended to the level of Binah. There I beheld the most beautiful angel I had ever seen. I saw her backside. With one arm held up to the heavens and one pointed down she was white with long hair and flowing white robes. There was a silent wind blowing past her. I rotated to see her front and beheld a face looking downwards with locks of golden curls beside it. I extended my hand and gave her the amulet I had found with the Heh. She took it and raised me up. I saw at the top of her upward hand, the end of a rod that was ornately engraved and yet the color of a grayish white. The light of the Almighty descended into this rod and out her hand pointed down. Occasionally she flung off small discs of light like small saucers in various directions transmitting G-d's energy in concentrated packets. Finally she began to rapidly rotate and ascended higher in a burst of light. I copied her, rotating and ascending in a similar manner. When I became aware of my surroundings, I saw above me the likeness of a man. He was wonderful to behold and there was an angel lowering a crown upon his head. The man did not want to be addressed as the Messiah, I thought of him as the anointed one instead. The crown of the angel passed all the way down his body and then up again and rested upon his head. From his eyes and crown came forth rays of light that made me feel warm and good. The Anointed took a small crown and passed it over my left arm leaving it there. My whole arm was purified with the crown or band. Eventually another was passed over onto my right arm. I began to feel purified. I asked the Anointed one whether he is the "staff that will come out of Judah and the rod from Israel." He was very humble and would not say. He held a staff in his right hand though and a rod in his left. I asked him what would become in the end of days. Things began to happen now. I felt a crown placed on my head and the staff and rod placed in my hands and I began to prophesy the worlds of G-d.

I beheld a nation of Priest Kings and Queens, dressed in royal robes, and dwelling in the light of Hashem. I felt myself placed on a throne and then lifted up to a point looking down into the Merkavah. There, I beheld the throne of Hashem. Upon the throne rested the most beautiful crown I had ever seen upon a purple seat. Around the crown was His Presence, yet without image or form. There were angels around the throne singing praises. I too sung praises from my height. Below, I saw the children of men approach and the angels parted for them. They were all regally dressed, fit to approach the King of Kings. They too sung praises. As I watched, someone beseeched the King on Tahiyas haNefesh, the raising of the dead.

The desire was turned into a soul that came before G-d. I was in the place of that soul during this vision. I was thanking G-d so much for the beauty of our world. I was thanking Him for the trees and animals and mountains and rivers and I said that all things praise your name forever and ever. I said how beautiful your world was and though this vision is truly majestic, your world in its humbleness was a paradise as well. I described how our world permitted us to separate the dross from the silver and gold so that we could stand here today. It was your world with your help that made us what we could be. I asked in a small voice and a small desire, if we could experience it once more[377].

I then beheld this new world that G-d began to form for us. It was much larger then our current world, large enough to hold all those that had died. And each of us was a king and queen having our own castle and mated with our true soul mate. The world was lit by a great sun, and all people knew that the Lord was G-d, the Lord is G-d, the Lord will be G-d forever and ever. And Hashem put the laws in our heart and they were like a small candle and all the knowledge being revealed will be like the Sun in comparison. And we could learn the Torah all day long, and the teachings of the sefirot and angels, and Talmud, and all wisdom in this world and the structure of Hashem's higher worlds, and even science in all its depth will be permitted study.

For the earth will be full with the knowledge of Hashem as the waters cover the sea.
(Yeshayauh 11:9)

And all peoples will be permitted to visit one another and talk of the secrets of Hashem and share warmth and love for one another and G-d. Ahavah, our love to Hashem has gematria 13. And Hashem's love towards us makes 13. Together they are 26, the gematria of the name of G-d. Also the gematria of echad - unity is 13. There are the 13 attributes of mercy by which our sins are forgiven.

And we will have desires that manifest new souls and children from soul mates. And the children shall all be born of praise and knowledge of G-d and these souls shall dance before Hashem. At the end of the vision I said Hallel: Halleluyah, Hallel, Hallelyah, praise G-d praise G-d, Halleluyah!

Slowly I opened my eyes and there was a whiteness before me, though it was my white shirt on a white chair blocking the blackness of my stereo, it was like a last parting gift for my eyes to rest upon something white and holy.

Olam Habah[378] - May 22, 1994 - 9 AM

I played a taped called “What Hypnosis is Like.” I had the following vision. Overall, the future can never be completely known and is certainly within our free will to change. Most of all the following vision represents trends that may be changed and we can make this world of ours into an optimistic, sun shining place for G-d to dwell amongst us now and forever more.

I sat on a throne and angels assembled at the legs of the throne, first at the left front, then the front right, then the right back, and finally the left back. They began to move me. At first I floated above this world gazing at the living places of my loved ones, than myself and I know that the presence of G-d was with me. I wanted to know about the connection of this world to the vision I had of Olam Habah. I felt the joy that we have in this world again; how beautiful it is, the seas and mountains and flowers and sky above and stars in heaven; that this world is truly a gift shared between us and Hashem. We shall transform this world from

its gehenom of sufferings into a place of love and joy and adventure between our spirits and the freedom of discovering the spirit of G-d.

Still, this is not the world of Olam Habah - hbh \lwu - the world to come. I asked to be shown the future and the messiah to be. The year was 6000 by the Hebrew calendar, 2240 by the English. The world society is all linked by computer communication and there is a great celebration from the top of a tall building in New York. There a leader of the Jewish people is broadcasting a unifying song of joy to the rest of the world, a great ningun. All the world is listening many are singing, all feel connected. From the deserts of Africa to the peaks of the Andes, there is tranquility, peace and comfort. The skies churn at night and some can see spiritual lights in them but the physical world does not alter.

So I ask to go again into the future and now its the year 7000th Hebrew calendar year or the year 3240 in the Gregorian. I do not see any Jews. There are some watching a broadcast from the year 6000 like in a museum. The world is without faith now, there are no Jews in this place that I can see. Again this bothers me. The technology is great. There are roads on all different levels connecting every place. In the year 6000 I saw electric cars of sleek design minimizing air resistance as the main automobile. The year 7000 seemed to have many places in giant enclosures for preservation or perhaps protection. I asked to see Jerusalem, surely there would be Jews. As my throne approached, I was astounded to see the Dome of the Rock still standing. There were large walls built up around it as if there was an attempt to rebuild the Temple without its destruction. How strange? People were viewing the sites like a museum. There was a darkness around like a giant enclosure or could it be a spiritual void or perhaps just the darkness of an uncertain future that we may still improve.

I asked Hashem through the angels about the Jews, “Where are they?” My throne ascended upwards to the Garden of Eden where some still learn. The rest are in Olam Habah, a new spiritual world of utter joy and peace. G-d did not destroy this world after all, but still created a new place to put His chosen people. But what happened after the year 6000? There was a progressive loss of faith as people became more absorbed with technology. There were less Jewish children being born into the world as there were less Jewish souls which had not yet reached their waiting place next to the throne of G-d in Beriyah. This still bothers me for more children should bring us closer to the coming of the Moshiach, so I asked to know the Truth. I saw the kings of Israel on their thrones and each was anointed hope of their generation as was the Moshiach of the year 6000 as is the one today of 5754 (The other day I said that we must be ready to see the potential for Moshiach in every person (Jew) and this will bring us to love for all our fellow Jews)

I know that the Jewish people will not cease from this world as long as it is here though I saw not Hasidim dancing in my vision or any other sign. Blessed be the Lord, G-d forever and ever and through the Torah is in our hands and we have revealed its meaning and hopes as taught by our sages, we shall never abandon our faith and love of You and Torah and Israel, Amen Selah.

B. Reincarnation

Take a counting of all the assembly of Israel by their families,
By their father’s houses, according to the number of all the male names,

By their reincarnations.
(Numbers 1:2)

Gilgul which is from the word for wheel refers to the recycling of past lives in each generation. Each of us contains a fundamental soul that is often a reincarnation. Attached to that soul are smaller portions of other previous souls that uniquely combine with the fundamental soul to create each unique being in this world. From this we learn that no person is all bad but that we must work to rectify each part of our spiritual nature into good people. For example the person below contains 60% of the reincarnation of one principle person with 4 portions of 10% of portions of other previous souls needing rectification or to assist in rectification of other souls. The 'lofty soul' attaches itself to perform a mitzvah missed in a past life to help others.

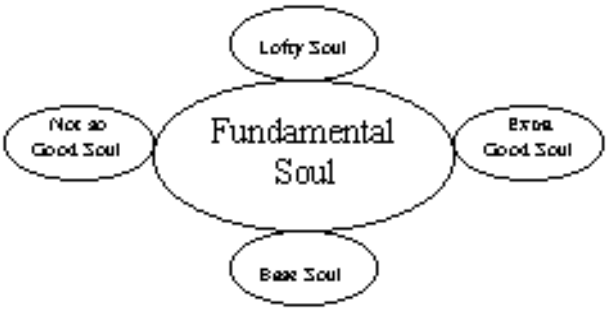

The 5 portions above combine into one unique individual with the soul existing on 3 fundamental planes of existence. The Nefesh is our physical body needs. Ruach is the energy and activity energy of our soul. The Neshamah is attached to G-d and is our divine spark. The previous incarnations of the soul select their primary residence in each of these three areas, but relocate daily based on learning and our actions. A person who does good deeds will bring the 'Lofty Soul' and 'Extra Good Soul' into the Nefesh and Ruach levels. The 'Base' and 'Not so Good Soul' become compressed at the bottom of the Nefesh and exert little influence. A person who does bad actions pushes the 'Lofty' and 'Good' souls to higher levels hiding their influence on our complete being while the 'Base' and 'Not so Good' souls occupy the majority of the Ruach and Nefesh levels, Has vshalom.

C. Psychotic

There are those in this world that bear in life severe psychological disorders. How are we to understand their circumstances in light of Torah. After a meditation which enlisted the angel Yediael to beseech G-d to reveal the answer, this is what I learned. There are souls in heaven which bear the mark of extreme moral and personal struggle in previous lifetimes. These souls need to be reborn, and they are drawn to a body with a mental chemical balance. This makes their struggle more difficult. The psychotic bear a combined soul as described above with a disturbed soul attached that challenges them. While responsible for any evil they commit, their challenges are also greater than the normal mind. Their delusions distract them and yet they have free choice not to commit crimes.

Many psychotics fall into this path after being hurt bad when younger. The psychotic interpretation

represents a personal defense against a situation they do not understand and fall victim to repetively. Yet, they do not have to do evil; they have free will.

Paranoid schizophrenia is one of the most difficult mental illnesses. The schizophrenia prevents the patient from admitting the delusion and the paranoia questions explanations of what really happened. To help this person, gentle corrections may work. The Oral Torah describes possession and disavows mental illness. All are born with a difficult soul that is helped through a spiritual means, namely faith in Torah principles. The contrary soul will have difficulty with these principles. Meanwhile the paranoia will shield the person from help.

In the days of our Rabbi, the Ari—may his memory be for a blessing for the life of the world to come—it once happened that a spirit entered into a woman, causing her great distress. And when her relatives noted the extent of her pain they entreated the rabbi to save her. He then sent our teacher, Hayyim Vital, who went to the woman and asked the spirit numerous questions concerning himself and the reason that he was punished in this way. And the spirit told him that he was being punished for his in with a married woman and for bringing existence the offspring of an adulterous union. Rabbi H. Vital went on to inquire o f the spirit concerning the iniquity of the woman, which happened to the woman because her true self I s not as it appears. She did not believe in the Exodus from Egypt. And on the evening of Passover when all Israel rejoices in gladness, reciting the Hallel and relating the going out from Egypt, all this is as a laughing matter in her eyes for she thinks that this miracle never occurred.

The rabbi's heart sank, as he could barely believe what he had heard. He trembled at hearing of her evil heart and said to her, "Have you not lost your hope? Behold you are as one of the pagan women, and for that reason this distress has come upon you and you are totally lost. Only if you will believe in perfect faith that the Holy One, blessed be He, created the heavens and the earth and that He has the capacity to do all that He desires and none can question Him concerning His doings can you be freed from this situation." She responded with the words, "Yes, I believe completely."

He continued, asking the woman, "Do you believe that the Holy One, blessed be He, brought us out from Egypt and split the sea for us?" And the woman said, "Amen, amen." The rabbi continued, asking her, "Do you believe all this in perfect faith and do you repent with a complete repentance?" And he evoked in her remorse and regret concerning her prior sins. The woman answered "Yes" and began to cry. And so the rabbi pronounced a decree regarding that spirit, and it departed from her and went on its way.[379]

Similarly when we dream there is often a violent defense to an overblown circumstance. The psychotic has a similar challenge to avoid committing violence in these circumstances. How we learn to control our dream responses is similar to the challenge of the psychotic. This can be difficult on the subconscious level. A psychotic experiencing paranoid mania will have difficulty with reality and may be more likely to cross over the edge into violence.

Part of the solution to this problem is for the psychotic never to be isolated. We are isolated in our dreams unless our spiritual center reaches out for heavenly help. The psychotic needs feedback and communication from good people to overcome his/her distortion. Finally, medication may be the only way to reduce the manic delusional state to the point where a patient can be freed from hallucination.

Here are twelve steps to do if someone you know is diagnosed with a psychotic disorder.[380] Two of the key steps are:

2. Don't nag, preach or lecture to the person. Chances are he/she has already told him or herself everything you can tell them. He/she will take just so much and shut out the rest. You may only increase their feeling of isolation or force one to make promises that cannot possibly be kept. (I promise I'll feel better tomorrow honey; I'll do it then, okay?)

3. Guard against the "holier-than-thou" or martyr-like attitude. It is possible to create this impression without saying a word. A person suffering from a mood disorder has an emotional sensitivity such that he/she judges other people's attitudes toward him/her more by actions, even small ones, than by spoken words.

The old Jewish viewpoint on mental illness before medication may be summed up as:
We must defend ourselves from the evil, Psalm 59, but also reach out to the lowly, Psalm 41.
Today we must be careful to “guard against the ‘holier-than-thou’ or martyr-like attitude.” from above.

XVI. Dancing With Angels

Here are some visions on the highest form of praise to Hashem, which is through dancing. Unfortunately, this is often neglected today but in truth, all of us may praise Hashem in this manner. How does Nachman’s 7th Beggar without legs heal the world? This is through dancing and he dances better than the rest of us. And how does he dance without legs, by making the rest of us dance in order to carry him into dancing. While we think we are helping him to dance, he is really helping us.

Angel of the Present - April 14, 1993
Discovered the Angel of the Present - The name is YöHöVîEL - lawhy [- the Presence of G-d]. [381]
The angel can direct true answers to a question requiring knowledge of the present time.

The Angel of the Past is YâHâViEL - lawhy.
The Angel of the Future is YäHäViEL - lawhy.

The derivation is from the vowels on the name of G-d, HaSheM - \ch assigned in the sefirot where Hochmah is past, Binah is future, and Tiferet is the present.

The name HaSHem is associated with the “verb” and hence related to activity in all time. (see Bahir 3)

I invoked the name before a 3 card reading for a Yes/No question and released the angel after the reading was over.

That night I was pursued by demons in my dreams for miraculous energy attracts opposing forces as well.

Child To Be - Jan. 12, 1994 - 7 PM

Ira Brandel[382] led this meditation after blowing the shofar, a ningun, washing the hands, and playing a background tape of music.

"Michael on right, Gavriel on left, Raphael behind, Uriel in front carrying a lamp and the Shechinah above descending as a cloud over you."[383] I felt my head turn into sparks and my body cleansed the cloud descended to my feet. I walked upon fresh grasses and they felt pleasant against my feet. As the Shechinah passed over my nose I smelled its fragrance; like the fragrance of flowers in a garden is the air of Hashem. The fragrance was like incense renewing my soul.[384]

Uriel led us forward carrying a lantern which swung side-to-side. Eventually the land turned rocky as we began to ascend a mountain. [385]

At the top of the mountain there was an amphitheater with seating. We looked up at the stars and they were so beautiful. Ira mentioned the moon which I looked towards but couldn't see for it was the new moon; the moon to be.[386] Ira led us to a central plateau where I took pleasure in skipping long leaps and bounds.[387]

Uriel lit his lamp again (extinguished earlier to see the stars) and led us into a cave. We talked about the beauty of the gems lining the walls. Uriel led us into a chamber and there Ira said we would find something that would heal us. I saw a light along the wall and as I got closer, I saw it was a beautiful light, orange in color, warm and medium in brightness. It was very bright at first when entering the chamber. I noticed the light was a baby. The baby sneezed then wiped its nose while it continued to sleep. It felt so good and its soul was good. I took one last look; now I realized the soul was sleeping waiting to be born.

More dependable then Earth is Hashem
More sensitive to our needs than Water
More active in this world than Fire
More filled with life than the wind that Blows

Postscript - 1/13/1994
Along the journey, before entering the cave, I recited praises to Hashem, words of tefilah flowed like a river each praise leading to the next. The praises felt like they would never end.

Dancing with Angels - August 23, 1994 - 3 PM

I prepared the induction with the "What Hypnosis is Like" tape.

We reached the location of the Tree of Knowledge in this world. Recalling the story of Adam and Eve and realizing that we were carrying their souls, I led her instead to the Tree of Life whose upper branches reached into the heavens. She wound herself about me with her hair 7 times making me into a base for her

to climb the tree and ascended. I stood waiting for her return, knowing that I was making her ascent possible. She returned but did not tell me what she saw. I ascended alone next, past the highest branches and beheld a blue-green swirl world of space where small specks of white angels floated gracefully. As I entered from on high, the angels gathered around me realizing my mortal nature. They were singing to Hashem and I recorded their tune. They asked me what I was doing there. I explained that I was seeking to be close to G-d which meant ascending higher. They corrected me explaining closeness to G-d is obtained by following the mitzvos - commandments and that one doesn't need to ascend here for that. Realizing my mistake, I said it was to be close to the angels of G-d that brought me here and they began to circle around me counter-clockwise in elation. We began to spin endlessly in a circle. It was a great dance. Eventually I saw us walking along a cloud towards a gate that opened higher. In the end I returned gradually with the indescribable memory of the blue-green swirl of space with white specks of angels dancing endlessly with their songs of praise to Hashem.

Dancing with Indians - August 17, 1996 - 1 PM

American Indian dancing and teaching is very beautiful and inspirational. Indians dance in circles like Hasidic Jews and enjoy chanting which is the same as singing a ningun (wordless melody). One group of dancers calling themselves, the Intertribal Dancers were very beautiful to watch. They were Pawnee, Cherokee, and Sue. The leader of the group had the following to say after the dance:

I like dancing here before you.
When I dance, I feel my spirit before Grandfather, dancing on mother Earth.
I feel good presenting myself before Grandfather in these beautiful colored clothes.
(David was wearing red and white leather garments, carrying a spirit stick and dream catcher.)

The leader invited us out to dance and we did a left stepping circle dance to an Indian chant. There were 4 drummers seated around a large drum banging simultaneously on it showing their unity and brotherhood. In one dance the circle broke into a line which went facing each other and we shook each others' hand. As a last dance, David led us in the very spiritual Indian 2 step. When the Indians dance they look down at mother Earth as if they are concerned with where they place each step. Each step is down with a sense of asking permission to land on the grass below our feet. Occasionally when David would get low he would give a quick glance at the heavens acknowledging his awareness of Grandfather. It felt so good to dance, my soul pulled me out to dance again.

I saw an Indian family friend of mine from Beth Shalom. Her daughter danced beautifully and her son is very special. He has down's syndrome but is sensitive, smart, caring, and even wise. He insisted on waiting for a chair to sit on before eating and placing the other plate on another chair since a table wasn't around. He wouldn't eat his food with his hands. I went and brought forks and spoons. He chose a spoon. His mother tells me she has a Jewish child. She said since his youth he wouldn't eat junk food but only healthy foods that would be recognized kosher. We also learned from Erik when he attended services at Beth Shalom. Erik was always so well behaved. He was patient and quiet. He enjoyed our singing and seeing us happy. Today, I also found that he helped me see myself more clearly. He said good-bye to me while I was still talking with his mother. I realized subconsciously I was fidgeting with keys and perhaps giving an anxious impression. His mother spoke to me on healing foods. She said that one should eat a lot of alkaline foods: avocados, pecans to reduce anger. High protein drinks are good for the nerve connections in the brain. Sea foods are good for helping thyroid deficiencies: especially kelp.

Sefirotic Ascent and Indian Wisdom - May 14, 1997 - 8:30 PM

Ira led this meditation. With the summoning of the archangels, I backed into Raphael and merged with his identity. I understood his role in healing the word. He goes from person to person bestowing healing in a non-emotional manner. He invests the grasses and herbage with healing properties. He gave decaying mold the most powerful of healing properties as He chose a lowly mountain to reveal the Torah, a lowly people as his chosen nation, an impaired speaker to be his greatest prophet, and "the stone that was despised" to become the cornerstone of His temple. The color associated with Raphael is the green color of plants.

Next Ira led us on a journey. We were traveling through a forest and came upon an open clearing in the shape of a circle. The clearing was covered with grass. There were also trees and birds. There was one path out of the circle heading forward. Each path was bounded by forests. There was also an inclination on each path. Each clearing was circular shaped and covered with grass, a few trees, and animals.

Upon reaching the clearing that I associated with the sefira of Tiferets, Ira mentioned that there was someone sitting in the clearing. I walked up to meet the person. I noticed he was an elder American Indian in my vision. I greeted him and wondered where he came from. He said that he came from Ira. "You see how Ira describes these places, showing respect for nature and its harmony. Ira is my son." I asked, "how can Ira be your son seeing that he is Jewish." He said, "He is my Jewish son." I asked who he was. He said he was Grandfather. I wondered whether this was the Indian concept of G-d. He said he was not and that he represented the ancestors of his people and their respect for the memory. I noticed that he was gazing towards the light of G-d shining down. He said that he too gazes out the light of G-d which is the spirit over all.

I understood better the Indian concept now. When an Indian dances before Grandfather, he is dancing before the spirits of all his ancestors in respect for their customs as well as the Great Spirit. I asked if he had any messages for Ira. He told me that Ira should not worry about the incident with his horses and that this was all part of his learning on nature. I asked about him finding a wife. Grandfather was seemingly confused by the question. This is part of nature. One does not need to seek her, when she is present, you will find her.

Finally, we began our descend and return to Beth Shalom. I saw the Indian turn his head back toward the light of G-d as I descended.

The First Nine Months - November 13, 1996 - 8 PM

This meditation occurred at Beth Shalom with Ira leading and Monte. The goal of the regression was to rediscover the teachings that are revealed to each of us during the pregnancy period. There is a teaching that before we are born we are taught the Torah for 9 months. At the time of birth, our memory of this experience is removed. My goal for this meditation was to relive and discover the essence of the teaching during these 9 months.

I prepared myself centered between the 4 angels Michael, Gavriel, Uriel, and Raphael. I viewed a line tied from myself to each one providing a secure base in the spiritual realm. I experienced the moment of my birth which was accompanied by an utter amazement with great size of the world around. I advanced briefly to the day of circumcision and realized that their is no trauma that can be relived from this experience since

the fulfillment of a commandment ends trauma memories.

As I regressed back into the womb, I saw the place lit up from a book held by a small angel. The angel was the size of a cherub with a mature face and golden long wavy hair and he held a book with a cover of gold and silver. I asked to know what I learned during these nine months. He said I already knew since I had spent my current life learning the same items. I was amazed by the soft comfort and beauty of this place. He explained that it is Malchut that is in Malchut. I recalled the hard cave of Malchut where I'd been many times and noticed the similarities in the cavities. Yet, the walls in this place were soft and that this represented a pure emanation of the energy of Malchut. He invited me over to look into the book and I saw that the pages were all blank. He explained that the Torah one learns during these nine months are the answers to questions asked. I asked a personal question at this point and saw the answer formed in beautiful Hebrew calligraphy on the page. Before each new question, he would turn to a new blank page. I asked what is the higher meaning of the names of the 4 worlds. The blank page filled with an answer and he read, "There is deep significance in these names. They represent a spiritual cycle of life as well. The winter which is called Akra or barren represents the necessary emptiness that one must achieve internally in order to plant a seed for personal growth which is the spring."

Questions and answers:

1. What are we supposed to learn in relationships? "These involve increasing patience and understanding, reducing criticism, and helping to create a harmonious environment to raise children."
2. How do we know our soul mate? "The person that one marries has a deep purpose that is not always represented by 'compatible disposition, personal view, or sensitivity'. Sometimes, the relationship is meant to bring a special child into the world who will achieve much good in spiritual leadership in the community."
3. I asked what is your name? He told me it is the same as yours with El as the suffix. This meant that his name is Yosefiel. He told me that each person has a guide before they are born that bears their Hebrew name with the suffix El. The angel of the womb is created specially by G-d for each soul in the coming lifetime to prepare it with the answers to questions it will need to find in the coming lifetime. The questions are already known by the coming child so the angel need only turn the pages of the Book and read the answers.
4. I asked what happens to the angel after a child is born. He said naturally the angel remains available throughout the current lifetime to provide answers.

At this point, Ira began a summoning of an angelic guide for each of us. I was already ahead of Ira at this point and had to dismiss an intrusive angel that was appearing. The cherub angel extended his right forearm and told me to grasp it and he grasped mine. We began to spin in a wonderful dance in a clockwise circle. I felt other angels entering and dancing in a circle around us. The whole heaven was alive in my mind by the dancing of a myriad of angels in a wreath around us vertically as we spun. I also thought of those around me and there well being. The lesson here is that joy elevates the feelings of others in higher worlds as well as this world.

XVII. Health

"Health is a Mitzvah."[388]
Body and soul in Judaism stand in a special relationship.
They are partners, jointly enabling us to serve the Lord.

The body is the Nefesh, which is the lowest part of the soul. Hence, it is incumbent upon us to maintain its health.

A. Organic Food

In order to avoid consuming growth hormones and antibiotics, consumers should buy organic products instead. These include milk, cheese, and eggs. Organic kosher meat has yet to become available. Organic eggs are noticeably lighter than regular eggs.

Pesticides are less of a problem since they are generally removed by washing and processing. Nevertheless organic foods do not contain pesticides and are likely to be healthier in the long term.

B. Dental

Electric toothbrushes are very effective at strengthening the gum line. While using a tooth paste is not always necessary, if one experiences reoccurring gum line pain, a good fluoride toothpaste during brushing will strengthen the area. Eating popcorn is a natural cleanser of plaque on teeth.

C. Skin

In order to reduce dry skin ailments, use a water softener, which will adjust the water's PH to a higher alkaline level that is more conducive to the skin.

XVIII. Music

A. Even-Tempered Scale

The piano has 88 keys which is 7 octaves and 4 extra keys. Each octave on the musical scale contains 7 white keys and 5 black keys. The notes increase in whole and in other cases half step multiples. The notes in brackets are black piano keys and are a half step above the previous note.

A [A+=B-] **B C** [C+=D-] **D** [D+=E-] **E F** [F+=G-] **G** [G+=A-]

Sometimes there are half steps between white piano keys as in B&C and E&F and between all white to black keys. The +'s denote sharps and the –'s flats. The note at each octave has double the frequency of the

previous octave and is thus a harmonic. We add suffix numbers to the notes to specify a particular octave. For example, A4 is harmonic to A3 in the following table. A wave is harmonic to a lower frequency wave if the lower frequency waveform's zero amplitude points are also of amplitude zero in the higher frequency wave.

Table 31: Frequencies of the Third Octave

Note	Frequency (Hertz)
A3	220
B3	246.9
C3	261.6
D3	293.7
E3	329.6
F3	349.2
G3	392
A4	440

How can we calculate these steps? We denote a waveform with frequency f0 and its harmonic with frequency f1. By definition:

$$f1/f0=2.$$

We also note that all of the frequencies between will have the same multiple (denoted by h) from the previous frequency. Say f0 is A3 than A3+ = A3*h. Now to the computation of h:

$$f1 = h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * f0$$
$$f1/f0 = h^{12}$$
$$2 = h^{12}$$
$$h = 12^{th} \text{ root of } 2 = 1.059463094$$

The half step always has a fixed ratio in the Even-Tempered Scale that is h. For example C3/B3 = 261.6/246.9 = 1.059463094.[389] Now we can fill in the frequencies of the sharps and flats as well:

Table 32: Sharp and Flat Frequencies of the Third Octave

Note	Frequency (Hertz)
A3	220
A3+B3-	233.1
B3	246.9
C3	261.6
C3+D3-	277.2
D3	293.7

D3+E3-	311.1
E3	329.6
F3	349.2
F3+G3-	370.0
G3	392.0
G3+A4-	415.3
A4	440

B. Pythagorean Diatonic Scale

The Diatonic scale differs from the Equal tempered scale in that the multiples between frequencies are fractions. Pythagoras developed the scale based on fractions while studying the tonal relationships between string lengths on a monochord. He did not consider a multiple of length based on an irrational numbers. A frequency of the wave of a string will change inversely with its length. Hence given two strings, the second string half the length of the first; the frequency of the second string will be twice that of the first.

The frequencies of the First, Fourth, Fifth, and Octave are known through observation. The derivation of the rest follows based on the Fifth.

D2 = 3/2 f * 3/2 = 9/4 f
D1 = 9/4 f * ½ = 9/8 f

C2 = 4/3 f * 3/2 f = 2f

A3 = 9/4f * 3/2 = 27/8 f
A2 = 27/16 f

Table 33: Diatonic Frequencies of the Octave

Note	Position	String Length Ratio	Frequency
C1	First	l	f
D1	Second	8/9 l	9/8 f
E1	Third	64/81 l	81/64 f
F1	Fourth	¾ l	4/3 f
G1	Fifth	2/3 l	3/2 f
A2	Sixth	16/27 l	27/16 f
B2	Seventh	128/243 l	243/128 f
C2	Octave	½ l	2 f

Since there are six whole tones in the space of an octave, we'd expect 9/8 ^ 6 => 2 but it = 2.027, so the tones are not evenly distant. Equal temperament does away with this problem.

Pythagoras found that the octave, fifth, and forth had the most harmonious sounds. A song's key is the octave forward from the starting note. On the Diatonic Scale, the multiples between the same notes may vary with Octave. Hence, the same piece of music played in a different key tends to sound quite different unlike when playing a piece with the Even-Tempered Scale.

This problem with uneven multiples manifests itself in other areas. For example, 12 fifths doesn't equal 7 octaves, though they are the same key on the piano. This is known as the Pythagorean comma.[390] This imbalance in the frequency distance between keys means that it is impossible to construct Pythagorean tuned piano.

The frequency of C1 = f
The frequency of C8 = 2^7 f = 128f from Octave multiplication.
The frequency of C8 from multiples of fifths is 3/2 ^ 12 f = 129.74f

The problem doesn't manifest significantly when playing music in a single octave, but when playing music across octaves one cannot for example tune the 8th octave to the 7th fifth since they are not compatible. One cannot build a Pythagorean piano.

C. Fractals

In the kabbalistic Tree of Life, the microcosm reflects the macrocosm, the sefirot in man reflect the sefirot of G-d. Man is created in the image of G-d. This recursive principle is the essence of fractals, which are repeated images within images.

"The natural world is composed of fractals that are the trails, or visual representation, left by the dynamic (continuously moving) systems that created them. A tree is fractal in nature – a single branch resembles the entire tree, a smaller twig resembles the branch, even the structures of the veins in the leaves exhibit the same branching process as the tree itself. Granted, the patterns at different scales are not exact replicas of one another, but the idea is the same. The patterns created by the rocks of a rugged coastline also repeat themselves at different scales – a snail crawling along the nooks and crannies of the rocks on the shore traverses a meandering path similar to the one you would take on a hike along the cliffs, which in turn is similar to the general outline of the coast viewed from an airplane. Natural fractals reach a point where the pattern (at the biological level, anyway) stops; however, in a true scaling fractal (for instance, the Koch snowflake), this detail continues ad infinitum."[391]

D. Fibonacci Ratio

The Fibonacci ratio has an aesthetic appeal to the human mind. There are five black keys for every 8 white

keys in a piano Octave. The partitioning of great paintings is often done according to the ratio. Also the lengths of different movements in a classical piece of music will often follow this ratio.

1/1
½
2/3
3/5
5/8
8/13

133/377 = 0.618037

XIX. Math

In the world of Asiyah, science is the body of the world and math its soul.

A. Euler's Theorem

B. Taylor Series Expansion

XX. Science

In the world of Asiyah, science is the body of the world and math its soul.

A. Special Relativity

Maxwell's equations predicted that light and radio waves have a fixed speed. Albert Michelson and Edward Morley showed that this fixed speed is independent of the movement of objects.[392] For example, an object moving towards the sun and an object moving away from the Sun would witness passing light beams to have the same velocity, the speed of light that is denoted ***c***.

Table 34: Speed of Light that is *c*

meters/sec	kilometers/sec	exp meters/sec	miles/sec
300,000,000	300,000	$3x10^8$	186,000

Since the upper limit of velocity is limited to the speed of light a second object moving at v_2 in relation to a first object v_1 has the following true velocity:

Equation 1: Theorem of Addition of Velocities

$$V = v_1 \pm v_2$$

Equation 2: Theorem of Addition of Velocities with Relativitity

$$V = \frac{v_1 \pm v_2}{1 \pm \frac{v_1 v_2}{c^2}}$$

So with v_1 = ***c***/2 and v_2 = ***c***/2, the actual velocity of the 2nd object is (***c***/2+ ***c***/2)/(1+(***c***^{2}/4 * 1/***c***^{2})) = 4/5 ***c.***

B. General Relativity

C. Astronomy

The position of a star is determined by its declination and right ascension.

The declination is measured in degrees north or south of the celestial equator, that is the projection of the equator.

The Right Ascension has a value of zero in Pisces and advances two hours though every constellation.[393] One can compute the passage of time by the advancement of the constellations across the sky.

The constellations rise in the East and set in the West. Hence, Virgo would have a RA of 12. Pisces lies directly over the projection of the equator and has a declination of zero. Orion's belt also lies directly over th equator with a declination of zero.

Table 35: Declination and Right Ascension of the Constellations

constellation	declination	right ascension (hours)
Pisces	0	0
Aries	20	2
Taurus	20	4
Gemini	22	6
Cancer	18	8
Leo	12	10
Virgo	-9	12
Libra	-18	14
Scorpio	-28	16
Sagittarius	-28	18
Capricorn	-18	20
Aquarius	-9	22

Stars that are always visible, are in the Polar Circle of the sky.

XXI. Family and Roles

There is a Midrash that before we are born, we have all the spiritual knowledge of our past lives and full comprehension about what we need to accomplish in this lifetime. Nevertheless, at the moment of birth an angel touches us just below the nose and we forget all we knew. We spend the rest of our lives trying to find what we lost. And it is extremely important to find what we have lost in this instance. There are many clues to discover one's role in life. A lot can be learned from our family. A soul will choose a family in order to improve itself in areas of weakness. While in this family there may be more conflicts, correction leads to greater personal growth. One may also learn about oneself from one's name. Who we are named after will effect our role in life. The day we are born will also have an effect.

Song of Myself – Walt Whitman

I celebrate myself, and sing myself,
For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you.

I loafe and invite my soul,
I lean and loafe at my ease observing a spear of summer grass.

My tongue, every atom of my blood, form'd from this soil, this air,
Born here of parents born here from parents the same, and their parents the same,
I, now thirty-seven years old in perfect health begin,
Hoping to cease not till death.

Creeds and schools in abeyance,
Retiring back a while sufficed at what they are, but never forgotten,
I harbor for good or bad, I permit to speak at every hazard,
Nature without check with original energy...

Avraham Tzvi ben Moshe
Jewish Movements
There is good and bad in each of the Jewish movements. Because of the Reform movement, there is pressure on the Vatican to release the archives of the WWII Pope Plus XII who allied with Hitler, mach shemo. Because of the Conservative and Reform movements, pressure was exerted on Truman to approve the State of Israel. While the Orthodox movement has kept us from adopting harmful modern ways, they have kept to themselves mostly. Leftists were the first to pick up the rifle to fight for Israel.[394]
Hitler's Pope
Recently the current Pope has come out with apologies to the Jewish people for the Cathloc Church during WWII. This is the result of pressure from the Reform movement and a publication by John Cornwell called Hitler's Pope:

HITLER'S POPE

Long-buried Vatican files reveal a new and shocking indictment of World War II's Pope Plus XII: that in pursuit of absolute power he helped Adolf Hitler destroy German Catholic political opposition, betrayed the Jews of Europe, and sealed a deeply cynical pact with a 20th-century devil.

BY JOHN CORNWELL

One evening several years ago when I was having dinner with a group of students, the topic of the papacy was broached, and the discussion quickly boiled over. A young woman asserted that Eugenio Pacelli, Pope Pius XII, the Pope during World War II, had brought lasting shame on thc Catholic Church by failing to denounce the Final Solution. A young man, a practicing Catholic, insisted that the case had never been proved. Raised as a Catholic during the papacy of Pius Xll - his picture gazed down from the wall of every classroom during my childhood - I was only too familiar with the allegation. It started in 1963 with a play by a young German author named Rolf Hochhuth, Der Stellvertreter (Thc Deputy) which was staged on Broadway in 1964. It depicted Pacelli as a ruthless cynic, interested more in the Vatican's stockholdings than in the fate of the Jews. Most Catholics dismissed Hochhuth's thesis as implausible, but the play sparked a controversy which has raged to this day.

Disturbed by the anger brought out in that dinner altercation, and convinced, as I had always been, of Pius XII's innocence, I decided to write a new defense of his reputation for a younger generation. I believed that Pacelli's evident holiness was proof of his good faith. How could such a saintly pope have betrayed the Jews? But was it possible to find a new and conclusive approach to the issue? The arguments had so far focused mainly on his wartime conduct; however, Pacelli's Vatican career had started 40 years earlier. It seemed to me that a proper investigation into Pacelli's record would require a more extensive chronicle than any attempted in the past. So I applied for access to archival material in the Vatican, reassuring those who had charge of crucial documents that I was on the side of my subject. Six years earlier, in a book entitled A Thief in the Night, I had defended the Vatican against charges that Pope John Paul I had been

murdered by his own aides.
Two key officials granted me access to secret
material: depositions under oath gathered 30 years ago to
support the process for Pacelli's canonization, and the
archive of the Vatican Secretariat of State, the foreign
office of the Holy See. I also drew on German sources relating to Pacelli's activities in Germany during the
1920s and 1930s, including his dealings with AdoIf Hitler
in 1933. For months on end I ransacked Pacelli's files,
which dated back to 1912, in a windowless dungeon beneath
the Borgia Tower in Vatican City. Later I sat for several
weeks in a dusty office in the Jesuit headquarters, close
to St. Peter's Square in Rome, mulling over a thousand
pages of transcribed testimony given under oath by those
who had known Pacelli well during his lifetime, including
his critics.
By the middle of 1997, 1 was in a state of
moral shock. The material I had gathered amounted not to
an exoneration but to an indictment more scandalous than
Hochhuth's. The evidence was explosive. It showed for the
first time that PaceIli was patently, and by the proof of
his own words, anti-Jewish. It revealed that he had
helped Hitler to power and at the same time undermined
potential Catholic resistance in Germany. It showed that
he had implicitly denied and trivialized the Holocaust,
despite having reliable knowledge of its true extent. And, worse, that he was a hypocrite, for after the war he
had retrospectively taken undue credit for speaking out
boldly against the Nazi persecution of the Jews.
In the "Holy Year" of 1950, a year
in which many millions of pilgrims flocked to Rome to
catch a glimpse of Pacelli, he was at the zenith of his
papacy. This was the Pius people now in their mid-50s and
older remember from newsreels and newspaper photographs.
He was 74 years old and still vigorous. Six feet tall,
stick thin at 125 pounds, light on his feet, regular in
habits, he had hardly altered physically from the day of
his coronation 11 years earlier. He had beautiful tapering hands, a plaintive voice, large dark eyes and an
aura of holiness. It was his extreme pallor that first
arrested those who met him. His skin "had
surprisingly transparent effect," observed the writer Gerrado Pallenberg, "as if reflecting from
the inside a cold, white flame." His charisma was
stunning. "His presence radiated a benignity, calm
and sanctity that I have certainly never before sensed in
any human being." recorded the English writer James Lees-Milne. "I immediately fell head over heels in

love with him. I was so affected I could scarcely speak without tears and was conscious that my legs were trembling."

But there was another side to his character, little known to the faithful. Although he was a man of selfless, monklike habits of prayer and simplicity, he was a believer in the absolute leadership principle. More than any other Vatican official of the century, he had promoted the modern ideology of autocratic papal control, the highly centralized, dictatoria1 authority he himself assumed on March 2, 1939, and maintained until his death in October 1958. There was a time before the advent of modern communications when Catholic authority was widely distributed, in the collective decisions of the church's councils and in collegial power-sharing between the Pope and the bishops. The absolutism of the modern papacy is largely an invention of the late 19th century It developed rapidly in the first decades of this century in response to the perception of the centrifugal breakup of the church under an array of contemporary pressures: materialism, increasing sexual freedom, religious skepticism, and social and political liberties. From his young manhood on, Pacelli played a leading role in shaping the conditions and scope of modern papal power.

Eugenio Pacelli was born in Rome in 1876, into a family of church lawyers who served the Vatican. He had an older sister and brother and a younger sister. His parents, devout Catholics, shared an apartment in central Rome with his grandfather, who had been a legal adviser to Pius IX, the longest-serving Pope in history. There was only one small brazier to supply heat for the whole family, even in the depths of winter. Eugenio was a modest youth, who never appeared before his siblings unless he was fully dressed in a jacket and tie. He would always come to the table with a book, which he would read after having asked the family's permission.

From an early age he acted out the ritual of the Mass, dressed in robes supplied by his mother. He had a gift for languages and a prodigious memory. He was spindly and suffered from a "fastidious stomach." He retained a youthful piety all his life. Politically and legally, however, he was capable of great subtlety and cunning.

The Pacelli's were fiercely loyal to the injured merit of the papacy. From 1848, the Popes had progressively lost to the emerging nation-state of Italy

their dominions, which had formed, since time immemorial,
the midriff of the Italian peninsula. Six years before Eugenio's birth, the city of Rome itself had been seized,
leaving the papacy in crisis. How could the Popes regard
themselves as independent now that they were mere
citizens of an upstart kingdom? Eugenio's grandfather and
father believed passionately that the Popes could once
again exert a powerful unifying authority over the church
by the application of ecclesiastical and international
law. In 1870, at a gathering in Rome of a preponderance
of the world's bishops, known as the First Vatican
Council, the Pope was dogmatically declared infallible in
matters of faith and morals. He was also declared the
unchallenged primate of the faithful. The Pope may have
lost his temporal dominion, but spiritually he was solely
in charge of his universal church.
During the first two decades of this century,
papal primacy and infallibility began to creep even
beyond the ample boundaries set by the First Vatican
Council. A powerful legal instrument transformed the 1870
primacy dogma into an unprecedented principle of papal power. Eugenio Pacelli, by then a brilliant young Vatican
lawyer, had a major part in the drafting of that
instrument, which was known as the Code of Canon Law.
Pacelli had been recruited into the Vatican in
1901, at the age of 24, to specialize in international
affairs and church law. Pious, slender, with dark
luminous eyes, he was an instant favorite. He was invited to collaborate on the reformulation of church law with
his immediate superior, Pietro Gaspam, a world-famous
canon lawyer. Packaged in a single manual, the Code of
Canon Law was distributed in 1917 to Catholic bishops and
clergy throughout the world. According to this code, in
the future all bishops would be nominated by the Pope; doctrinal error would be tantamount to heresy; priests
would be subjected to strict censorship in their
writings; papal letters to the faithful would be regarded
as infallible (in practice if not in principle}: and an
oath would be taken by all candidates for the priesthood
to submit to the sense as well as the strict wording of
doctrine as laid down by the Pope.
But there was a problem. The church had
historically granted the dioceses in the provincial
states of Germany a large measure of local discretion and

independence from Rome. Germany had one of the largest Catholic populations in the world, and its congregation was well educated and sophisticated, with hundreds of Catholic associations and newspapers and many Catholic universities and publishing houses. The historic autonomy of Germany's Catholic Church was enshrined in ancient church-state treaties known as concordats.

Aged 41 and already an archbishop, PaceIli was dispatched to Munich as papal nuncio, or ambassador, to start the process of eliminating all existing legal challenges to the new papal autocracy. At the same time, he was to pursue a Reich Concordat, a treaty between the papacy and Germany as a whole which would supersede all local agreements and become a model of Catholic church-state relations. A Reich Concordat would mean formal recognition by the German government of the Pope's right to impose the new Code of Canon Law on Germany's Catholics. Such an arrangement was fraught with significance for a largely Protestant Germany. Nearly 400 years earlier, in Wittenberg, Martin Luther had publicly burned a copy of Canon Law in defiance of the centralized authority of the church. It was one of the defining moments of the Reformation, which was to divide Western Christendom into Catholics and Protestants.

In May 1917, Pacelli set off for Germany via Switzerland in a private railway compartment, with an additional wagon containing 60 cases of special foods for his delicate stomach. The Pope at that time, Benedict XV, was shocked at this extravagance, but PaceIli had favored status as the Vatican's best diplomat. Shortly after he settled in Munich, he acquired a reputation as a vigorous relief worker. He traveled through war-weary Germany extending charity to people of all religions and none. In an early letter to the Vatican, however he revealed himself to be less than enamored of Germany's Jews. On September 4, 1917. PaceIli informed Pietro Gaspam, who had become cardinal secretary of state in the Vatican -- the equivalent of foreign minister and prime minister -- that a Dr. Werner, the chief rabbi of Munich, had approached the nunciature begging a favor. In order to celebrate the festival of Tabernacles, beginning on October 1, the Jews needed palm fronds, which normally came from Italy. But the Italian government had forbidden the exportation, via Switzerland, of a stock of palms

which the Jews had purchased and which were being held up in Como. "The Israelite Community," continued Pacelli, "are seeking the intervention of the Pope in the hope that he will plead on behalf of the thousands of German Jews." The favor in question was no more problematic than the transportation of Pacelli's 60 cases of food-stuffs had been a few months earlier. Pacelli informed Gaspam that he had warned the rabbi that "wartime delays in communication" would make things difficult. He also told Gaspam that he did not think it appropriate for the Vatican "to assist them in the exercise of their Jewish cult." His letter went by the slow route overland in the diplomatic bag. Gaspatti replied by telegram on September 18 that he entirely trusted Pacelli's "shrewdness," agreeing that it would not be appropriate to help Rabbi Werner. PaceIli wrote back on September 28, 1917, informing Gasparri that he had again seen the Rabbi, who "was perfectly convinced of the reasons I had given him and thanked me warmly for all that I had done on his behalf." Pacelli had done nothing except thwart the rabbi's request. The episode, small in itself, belies subsequent claims that Pacelli had a great love of the Jewish religion and was always motivated by its best interests. Eighteen months later he revealed his antipathy toward the Jews in a more blatantly anti-Semitic fashion when he found himself at the center of a local revolution as Bolshevik groups struggled to take advantage of the chaos in postwar Munich. Writing to Gasparri, Pacelli described the revolutionaries and their chief, Eugen Levien in their headquarters in the former royal palace. The letter has lain in the Vatican secret archive like a time bomb until now:

"The scene that presented itself at the palace was indescribable. The confusion totally chaotic, the filth completely nauseating; soldiers and armed workers coming and going; the building, once the home of a king, resounding with screams, vile language, profanities. Absolute hell. An army of employees were dashing to and fro, giving out orders, waving bits of paper, and in the midst of all this, a gang of young women, of dubious appearance, Jews like all the rest of them, hanging around in all the offices with provocative demeanor and suggestive smiles. The boss of this female gang was Levien's mistress, a young Russian woman, a Jew

and a divorcee, who was in charge. And it was to her that the nunciature was obliged to pay homage in order to proceed.

This Levien is a young man, about 30 or 35, also Russian and a Jew. Pale, dirty, with vacant eyes, hoarse voice, vulgar, repulsive, with a face that is both intelligent and sly."

This association of Jewishness with Bolshevism confirms that Pacelli, from his early 40s, nourished a suspicion of and contempt for the Jews for political reasons. But the repeated references to the Jewishness of these individuals, along with the catalogue of stereotypical epithets deploring their physical and moral repulsiveness, betray a scorn and revulsion consistent with anti-Semitism. Not long after this, Pacelli campaigned to have black French troops removed from the Rhineland, convinced that they were raping women and abusing children - even though an independent inquiry sponsored by the U.S. Congress, of which Pacelli was aware, proved this allegation false. Twenty-three years later, when the Allies were about to enter Rome, he asked the British envoy to the Vatican to request of the British Foreign Office that no Allied colored troops would be among the small number that might be garrisoned in Rome after the occupation.

Pacelli spent 13 years in Germany attempting to rewrite the state Concordats one by one in favor of the power of the Holy See and routinely employing diplomatic blackmail. Germany was caught up in many territorial disputes following the redrawing of the map of Central Europe after thc First World War. Pacelli repeatedly traded promises of Vatican support for German control of disputed regions in return for obtaining terms advantageous to the Vatican in Concordats. The German government's official in charge of Vatican affairs at one point recorded the "ill feeling" prompted by Pacelli's "excessive demands." Both Catholics and Protestants in Germany resisted reaching an agreement with Pacelli on a Reich Concordat because the nuncio's concept of a church-state relationship was too authoritarian. In his negotiations, Pacelli was not concerned about the fate of non-Catholic religious communities or institutions, or about human rights. He was principally preoccupied with the interests of the Holy See. Nothing could have been better designed to deliver Pacelli into the hands of Hitler later, when the

future dictator made his move in 1933.
In June 1920, Pacelli became nuncio to all of
Germany, with headquarters in Berlin as well as in
Munich, and immediately acquired a glittering reputation
in diplomatic circles. He was a favorite at dinner
parties and receptions, and he was known to ride horses
on the estate of a wealthy German family. His household
was run by a pretty young nun from southern Germany named
Sister Pasqualina Lehnert. Pacelli's sister Elisabetta,
who battled with the nun for Pacelli's affections,
described Pasqualina as "scaltrissima"-- extremely cunning. In Munich it had been rumored that he
cast more than priestly eyes on this religious
housekeeper. Pacelli insisted that a Vatican
investigation into this "horrible calumny" be
conducted at the highest level, and his reputation
emerged unbesmirched.
Meanwhile, he had formed a close relationship
with an individual named Ludwig Kaas. Kaas was a
representative of the solidly Catholic German Center
Party, one of the largest and most powerful democratic
parties in Germany. Though it was unusual for a full-time politician, he was also a Roman Catholic priest. Five
years Pacelli's junior, dapper, bespectacled, and
invariably carrying a smart walking stick, Kaas, known as
"the prelate," became an intimate collaborator
of Pacelli's on every aspect of Vatican diplomacy in Germany. With Pacelli's encouragement, Kaas eventually
became the chairman of the Center Party, the first priest
to do so in the party's 60-year history. Yet while Kaas
was officially a representative of a major democratic
party, he was increasingly devoted to Pacelli to the
point of becoming his alter ego.
Sister Pasqualina stated after Pacelli's death
that Kaas, who "regularly accompanied Pacelli on
holiday" was linked to him in "adoration,
honest love and unconditional loyalty." There were stories of acute jealousy and high emotion when Kaas
became conscious of a rival affection in Pacelli's
secretary, the Jesuit Robert Leiber, who was also German.

Kaas was a profound believer in the benefits
of a Reich Concordat, seeing a parallel between papal
absolutism and the FÜHRER- PRINZIP, the Fascist
leadership principle. His views coincided perfectly with
Pacelli's on church-state politics, and their aspirations for centralized papal power were identical. Kaas's

adulation of PaceIli, whom he put before his party,
became a crucial element in the betrayal of Catholic
democratic politics in Germany.
In 1929, Pacelli was recalled to Rome to take
over the most important role under the Pope, Cardinal
Secretary of State. Sister Pasqualina arrived uninvited
and cunningly, according to Pacelli's sister, and along
with two German nuns to assist her, took over the management of his Vatican residence. Almost immediately
Kaas, although he was still head of the German Center
Party, started to spend long periods--months at a time
--in Pacelli's Vatican apartments Shortly before
Pacelli's return to Rome, his brother, Francesco had
successfully negotiated on behalf of Pius Xl, the current
Pope, a concordat with Mussolini as part of an agreement known as the Lateran Treaty. The rancor between the
Vatican and the state of Italy was officially at an end.
A precondition of the negotiations had involved the
destruction of the parliamentary Catholic Italian Popular
Party. Pius XI disliked political Catholicism because he
could not control it. Like his predecessors, he believed that Catholic party politics brought democracy into the
church by the back door. The result of the demise of the
Popular Party was the wholesale shift of Catholics into
the Fascist Party and the collapse of democracy in Italy.
Pius XI and his new secretary of state, Pacelli, were
determined that no accommodation be reached with Communists anywhere in the world - this was the time of
persecution of the church in Russia, Mexico, and later
Spain -but totalitarian movements and regimes of the
right were a different matter.
Hitler, who had enjoyed his first great
success in the elections of September 1930, was
determined to seek a treaty with the Vatican similar to
that struck by Mussolini, which would lead to the disbanding of the German Center Party. In his political
testament, Mein Kampf, he had recollected that his fear
of Catholicism went back to his vagabond days in Vienna.
The fact that German Catholics, politically united by the
Center Party, had defeated Bismarck's Kulturkampf- the
"culture struggle" against the Catholic Church
in the 1870s--constantly worried him. He was convinced
that his movement could succeed only if political
Catholicism and its democratic networks were eliminated.
Hitler's fear of the Catholic Church was well

grounded. Into the early 1930s the German Center Party, the German Catholic bishops, and the Catholic media had been mainly solid in their rejection of National Socialism. They denied Nazis the sacraments and church burials, and Catholic journalists excoriated National Socialism daily in Germany's 400 Catholic ewspapers. The hierarchy instructed priests to combat National Socialism at a local level whenever it attacked Christianity. The Munich-based weekly Der Gerade Weg The Straight Path) told its readers, "Adolf Hitler preaches the law of lies. You who have fallen victim to the deceptions of one obsessed with despotism, wake up!"

The vehement front of the Catholic Church in Germany against Hitler, however, was not at one with the view from inside the Vatican--a view that was now being shaped and promoted by Eugenio Pacelli.

In 1930 the influential Catholic politician Heinrich Briining, a First World War Veteran, became the leader of a brief new government coalition, dominated by the majority Socialists and the Center Party. The country was reeling from successive economic crises against the background of the world slump and reparations payments to the Allies. In August 1931, Briining visited Pacelli in the Vatican, and the two men quarreled. Brüning tells in his memoirs how Pacelli lectured him, the German chancellor, on how he should reach an understanding with the Nazis to "form a right-wing administration" in order to help achieve a Reich Concordat favorable to the Vatican. When Brüning advised him not to interfere in German politics, Pacelli threw a tantrum. Brüning parting shot that day was the ironic observation- chilling in hindsight-- that he trusted that "the Vatican would fare better at the hands of Hitler ... than with himself, a devout Catholic."

Briining was right on one score. Hitler proved to be the only chancellor prepared to grant Pacelli the sort of authoritarian concordat he was seeking. But the price was to be catastrophic for Catholic Germany and for Germany as a whole.

After Hitler came to power in January 1933, he made the concordat negotiations with Pacelli a priority. The negotiations proceeded over six months with constant shuttle diplomacy between the Vatican and Berlin. Hitler spent more time on this treaty than on any other item of foreign diplomacy during his dictatorship.

The Reich Concordat granted Pacelli the right to impose the new Code of Canon Law on Catholics in Germany and promised a number of measures favorable to Catholic education, including new schools. In exchange, Pacelli collaborated in the withdrawal of Catholics from political and social activity. The negotiations were conducted in secret by Pacelli, Kaas, and Hitler's deputy chancellor, Franz von Papen, over the heads of German bishops and the faithful. The Catholic Church in Germany had no say in setting the conditions.

In the end, Hitler insisted that his signature on the concordat would depend on the Center Party's voting for the Enabling Act, the legislation that was to give him dictatorial powers. It was Kaas, chairman of the party but completely in thrall to Pacelli, who bullied the delegates into acceptance. Next, Hitler insisted on the "voluntary" disbanding of the Center Party, the last truly parliamentary force in Germany. Again, Pacelli was the prime mover in this tragic Catholic surrender. The fact that the party voluntarily disbanded itself, rather than go down fighting, had a profound psychological effect, depriving Germany of the last democratic focus of potential noncompliance and resistance: In the political vacuum created by its surrender, Catholics in the millions joined the Nazi Party, believing that it had the support of the Pope. The German bishops capitulated to Pacelli's policy of centralization, and German Catholic democrats found themselves politically leaderless.

After the Reich Concordat was signed, Pacelli declared it an unparalleled triumph for the Holy See. In an article in L 'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican-controlled newspaper, he announced that the treaty, indicated the total recognition and acceptance of the church's law by the German state. But Hitler was the true victor and the Jews were the concordat's first victims. On July 14, 1933, after the initialing of the treaty, the Cabinet minutes record Hitler as saying that the concordat had created an atmosphere of confidence that would be "especially significant in the struggle against international Jewry." He was claiming that the Catholic Church had publicly given its blessing, at home and abroad, to the policies of National Socialism, including its anti-Semitic stand. At the same time, under the terms of the concordat, Catholic criticism of acts deemed political by the Nazis, could now be regarded as "foreign interference." The great German Catholic Church, at the insistence of Rome, fell silent. In the future all complaints against the

Nazis would be channeled through Pacelli. There were some notable exceptions, for example the sermons preached in 1933 by Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber, the Archbishop of Munich, in which he denounced the Nazis for their rejection of the Old Testament as a Jewish text. The concordat immediately drew the German church into complicity with the Nazis. Even as Pacelli was granted special advantages in the concordat for German Catholic education, Hitler was trampling on the educational rights of Jews throughout the country. At the same time, Catholic priests were being drawn into Nazi collaboration with the attestation bureaucracy, which established Jewish ancestry. Pacelli, despite the immense centralized power he now wielded through the Code of Canon Law, said and did nothing. The attestation machinery would lead inexorably to the selection of millions destined for the death camps.
As Nazi anti-Semitism mounted in Germany during the 1930's, Pacelli failed to complain, even on behalf of Jews who had become Catholics, acknowledging that the matter was a matter of German internal policy. Eventually, in January 1937, three German cardinals and two influential bishops arrived at the Vatican to plead for a vigorous protest over Nazi persecution of the Catholic Church, which had been deprived of all forms of activity beyond church services. Pins XI at last decided to issue an encyclical, a letter addressed to all the faithful of the world. Written under Pacelli's direction, it was called Mit Brennender Sorge (With Deep Anxiety), and it was a forthright statement of the plight of the church in Germany. But there was no explicit condemnation of anti-Semitism, even in relation to Jews who had converted to Catholicism. Worse still, the subtext against Nazism (National Socialism and Hitler were not mentioned by name) was blunted by the publication five days later of an even more condemnatory encyclical by Pins XI against Communism.
The encyclical Mit Brennender Sorge, though too little and too late, revealed that the Catholic Church all along had the power to shake the regime. A few days later, Hermann Göring, one of Hitler's closest aides and his commander of the Luffwaffe, delivered a two-hour harangue to a Nazi assembly against the Catholic clergy. However, Roman centralizing had paralyzed the German Catholic Church and its powerful web of associations. Unlike the

courageous grass-roots activism that had combated Bismarck's persecutions in the 1870s, German Catholicism now looked obediently to Rome for guidance. Although Pacelli collaborated in the writing and the distribution of the encyclical, he quickly undermined its effects by reassuring the Reich's ambassador in Rome. "Pacelli received me with decided friendliness," the diplomat reported back to Berlin, "and emphatically assured me during the conversation that normal and friendly relations with us would be restored as soon as possible."

In the summer of 1938, as Pius XI lay dying, he became belatedly anxious about anti-Semitism throughout Europe. He commissioned another encyclical, to be written exclusively on the Jewish question. The text, which never saw the light of day, has only recently been discovered. It was written by three Jesuit scholars, but Pacelli presumably had charge of the project. It was to be called Humani Generis Unitas (The Unity of the Human Race). For all its good intentions and its repudiation of violent anti-Semitism, the document is replete with the anti-Jewishness that Pacelli had displayed in his early period in Germany. The Jews, the text claims, were responsible for their own fate. God had chosen them to make way for Christ's redemption, but they denied and killed him. And now, "blinded by their dream of worldly gain and material success," they deserved the "worldly and spiritual ruin" that they had brought down upon themselves.

The document warns that that to defend the Jews as "Christian principles and humanity" demand could involve the unacceptable risk of being ensnared by secular politics--not least an association with Bolshevism. The encyclical was delivered in the fall of 1938 to the Jesuits in Rome, who sat on it. To this day we do not know why it was not completed and handed to Pope Pius XI. For all its drawbacks, it was a clear protest against Nazi attacks on Jews and so might have done some good. But it appears likely that the Jesuits, and Pacelli, whose influence as secretary of state of the Vatican was paramount since the Pope was moribund, were reluctant to inflame the Nazis by its publication. Pacelli, when he became pope, would bury the document deep in the secret archives.

On February 10, 1939, Pius XI died, at the age of 81. Pacelli, then 63, was elected Pope by the College of Cardinals in just three ballots, on March 2. He was crowned on March 12, on the eve of Hitler's march into Prague. Between his election and his coronation he held a crucial meeting with the German cardinals. Keen to affirm Hitler publicly, he showed them a letter of good wishes which began, "To the Illustrious Herr Adolf Hitler." Should he, he asked them, style the Führer "Most Illustrious"? He decided that that might be going too far. He told the cardinals that Pius XI had said that keeping a papal nuncio in Berlin "conflicts with our honor." But his predecessor, he said, had been mistaken. He was going to maintain normal diplomatic relations with Hitler. The following month, at Pacelli's express wish, Archbishop Cesare Orsenigo, the Berlin nuncio, hosted a gala reception in honor of Hitler's 50th birthday. A birthday greeting to the Führer from the bishops of Germany would become an annual tradition until the war's end.

Pacelli's coronation was the most triumphant in a hundred years. His style of papacy, for all his personal humility, was unprecedentedly pompous. He always ate alone. Vatican bureaucrats were obliged to take phone calls from him on their knees. When he took his afternoon walk, the gardeners had to hide in the bushes. Senior officials were not allowed to ask him questions or present a point of view.

As Europe plunged toward war Pacelli cast himself in the role of judge of judges. But he continued to seek to appease Hitler by attempting to persuade the Poles to make concessions over Germany's territorial claims. After Hitler's invasion of Poland, on September 1, 1939, he declined to condemn Germany, to the bafflement of the Allies. His first public statement, the encyclical known in the English-speaking world as Darkness over the Earth, was full of papal rhetoric and equivocations.

Then something extraordinary occurred, revealing that whatever had motivated Pacelli in his equivocal approach to the Nazi onslaught in Poland did not betoken cowardice or a liking for Hitler. In November 1939, in deepest secrecy, Pacelli became intimately and dangerously involved In what was probably the most viable plot to depose Hitler during the war.

The plot centered on a group of anti-Nazi generals, committed to returning Germany to democracy. The coup might spark a civil war, and they wanted

assurances that the West would not take advantage of the ensuing chaos. Pius XII agreed to act as go-between for the plotters and the Allies. Had his complicity in the plot been discovered it might have proved disastrous for the Vatican and for many thousands of German clergy. As it happened, leaders in London dragged their feet, and the plotters eventually fell silent. The episode demonstrates that, while Pacelli seemed weak to some, pusillanimity and indecisiveness were hardly in his nature.

Pacelli's first wartime act of reticence in failing to speak out against Fascist brutality occurred in the summer of 1941, following Hitler's invasion of Yugoslavia and the formation of the Catholic and Fascist state of Croatia. In a wave of appalling ethnic cleansing, the Croat Fascist separatists, known as the Ustashe, under the leadership of Ante Pavelic, the Croat Führer, embarked on a campaign of enforced conversions, deportations, and mass extermination targeting a population of 2.2 million Serb Orthodox Christians and a smaller number of Jews and Gypsies.

According to the Italian writer Carlo Falconi, as early as April, in a typical act of atrocity, a band of Ustashe had rounded up 331 Serbs. The victims were forced to dig their own graves before being hacked to death with axes. The local priest was forced to recite the prayers for the dying while his son was chopped to pieces before his eyes. Then the priest was tortured. His hair and beard were torn off, his eves were gouged out. Finally he was skinned alive. The very next month Pacelli greeted Pavelic at the Vatican.

Throughout the war, the Croat atrocities continued By the most recent scholarly reckoning. 487,000 Orthodox Serbs and 27,000 Gypsies were massacred; in addition, approximately 30,000 out of a population of 45,000 Jews were killed. Despite a close relationship between the Ustashe regime and the Catholic bishops, and a constant flow of information about the massacres, Pacelli said and did nothing. In fact, he continued to extend warm wishes to the Ustashe leadership. The only feasible explanation for Pacelli's silence was his perception of Croatia as a Catholic bridgehead into the East. The Vatican and the local bishops approved of mass conversion in Croatia (even though it was the result of fear rather than conviction), because they believed that this could spell the beginning of a return {?} of the Orthodox Christians there to papal allegiance. Pacelli was not a man to condone mass murder, but he evidently

chose to turn a blind eye on Ustashe atrocities rather than hinder a unique opportunity to extend the power of the papacy.
{Note from emperors-clothes.com: This is a very generous interpretation. In fact the Catholic Church, controlled the Independent State of Croatia. At one point it was in fact directly run by Archbishop Stepinac who answered to Pius XII. Stepinac has, in turn, been beatified by the current pope, in a Croatian ceremony attended by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.}
Pacelli came to learn of the Nazi plans to exterminate the Jews of Europe shortly after they were laid in January 1942. The deportations to the death camps had begun in December 1941 and would continue through 1944. All during 1942, Pacelli received reliable information on the details of the Final Solution, much of it supplied by the British, French, and American representatives resident in the Vatican. On March 17, 1942, representatives of Jewish organizations assembled in Switzerland sent a memorandum to Pacelli via the papal nuncio in Bern, cataloguing violent anti-Semitic measures in Germany and in its allied and conquered territories. Their plea focused attention on Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, and unoccupied France, where, they believed, the Pope's intervention might yet be effective. Apart from an intervention in the case of Slovakia, where the president was Monsignor Josef Tiso, a Catholic priest, no papal initiatives resulted. During the same month, a stream of dispatches describing the fate of some 90,000 Jews reached the Vatican from various sources in Eastern Europe. The Jewish organizations' long memorandum would be excluded from the wartime documents published by the Vatican between 1965 and 1981.
On June 16, 1942, Harold Tittmann, the U.S. representative to the Vatican, told Washington that Pacelli was diverting himself, ostrichlike, into purely religious concerns and that the moral authority won for the papacy by Pius XI was being eroded. At the end of that month, the London Daily Telegraph announced that more than a million Jews had been killed in Europe and that it was the aim of the Nazis "to wipe the race from the European continent." The article was re-printed in The New York Times. On July 21 there was a protest rally on behalf of Europe's Jews in New

York's Madison Square Garden. In the following weeks the British, American, and Brazilian representatives to the Vatican tried to persuade Pacelli to speak out against the Nazi atrocities. But still he said nothing. In September 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt sent his personal representative, the former head of U.S. Steel, Myron Taylor, to plead with PaceIli to make a statement about the extermination of the Jews. Taylor traveled hazardously through enemy territory to reach the Vatican. Still Pacelli refused to speak. Pacelli's excuse was that he must rise above the belligerent parties. As late as December 18, Francis d'Arcy Osborne, Britain's envoy in the Vatican, handed Cardinal Domenico Tardini, Pacelli's deputy secretary of state, a dossier replete with information on the Jewish deportations and mass killings in hopes that the Pope would denounce the Nazi regime in a Christmas message.

On December 24, 1942, having made draft after draft, Pacelli at last said something. In his Christmas Eve broadcast to the world on Vatican Radio, he said that men of goodwill owed a vow to bring society "back to its immovable center of gravity in divine law." He went on: "Humanity owes this vow to those hundreds of thousands who, without any fault of their own, sometimes only by reason of their nationality and race, are marked for death or gradual extinction."

That was the strongest public denunciation of the Final Solution that Pacelli would make in the whole course of the war.

It was not merely a paltry statement. The chasm between the enormity of the liquidation of the Jewish people and this form of evasive language was profoundly scandalous. He might have been referring to many categories of victims at the hands of various belligerents in the conflict. Clearly the choice of ambiguous wording was intended to placate those who urged him to protest, while avoiding offense to the Nazi regime. But these considerations are over-shadowed by the implicit denial and trivialization. He had scaled down the doomed millions to "hundreds of thousands" without uttering the word "Jews," while making the pointed qualification "sometimes only by reason of their nationality or race." Nowhere was the term "Nazi" mentioned. Hitler himself could not have wished for a more convoluted and innocuous reaction from the Vicar of Christ to the greatest crime in history.

But what was Pacelli's principal motivation

for this trivialization and denial? The Allies' diplomats in the Vatican believed that he was remaining impartial in order to earn a crucial role in future peace negotiations. In this there was clearly a degree of truth. But a recapitulation of new evidence I have gathered shows that Pacelli saw the Jews as alien and undeserving of his respect and compassion. He felt no sense of moral outrage at their plight. The documents show that:

1. He had nourished a striking antipathy toward the Jews as early as 1917 in Germany, which contradicts later claims that his omissions were performed in good faith and that he "loved" the Jews and respected their religion.
2. From the end of the First World War to the lost encyclical of 1938, Pacelli betrayed a fear and contempt of Judaism based on his belief that the Jews were behind the Bolshevik plot to destroy Christendom.
3. Pacelli acknowledged to representatives of the Third Reich that the regime's anti-Semitic policies were a matter of Germany's internal politics. The Reich Concordat between Hitler and the Vatican, as Hitler was quick to grasp, created an ideal climate for Jewish persecution.
4. Pacelli failed to sanction protest by German Catholic bishops against anti-Semitism, and he did not attempt to intervene in the process by which Catholic clergy collaborated in racial certification to identify Jews.
5. After Pius XI's Mit Brennender Sorge, denouncing the Nazi regime (although not by name), Pacelli attempted to mitigate the effect of the encyclical by giving private diplomatic reassurances to Berlin despite his awareness of widespread Nazi persecution of Jews.
6. Pacelli was convinced that the Jews had brought misfortune on their own heads: intervention on their behalf could only draw the church into alliances with forces inimical to Catholicism. Pacelli's failure to utter a candid word on the Final Solution proclaimed to the world that the Vicar of Christ was not roused to pity or anger. From this point of view, he was the ideal Pope for Hitler's unspeakable plan. His denial and minimization of the Holocaust were all the more scandalous in that they were uttered from a seemingly impartial moral high ground.

There was another, more immediate indication of Pacelli's moral dislocation. It occurred before the liberation of Rome, when he was the sole Italian authority in the city. On October 16, 1943, SS troops entered the Roman ghetto area and rounded up more than 1,000 Jews, imprisoning them in the very shadow of the Vatican.

How did Pacelli acquit himself'?

On the morning of the roundup, which had been prompted by AdoIf Eichmann, who was in charge of the organization of the Final Solution from his headquarters in Berlin, the German ambassador in Rome pleaded with the Vatican to issue a public protest. By this stage of the war, Mussolini had been deposed and rescued by AdoIf Hitler to run the puppet regime in the North of Italy.

The German authorities in Rome, both diplomats and military commanders, fearing a backlash of the Italian populace, hoped that an immediate and vigorous papal denunciation might stop the SS in their tracks and prevent further arrests. Pacelli refused. In the end, the German diplomats drafted a letter of protest on the Pope's behalf and prevailed on a resident German bishop to sign it for Berlin's benefit. Meanwhile, the deportation of the imprisoned Jews went ahead on October 18.

When U.S. chargé d 'affaires Harold Tittmann visited Pacelli that day, he found the pontiff anxious that the "Communist" Partisans would take advantage of a cycle of papal protest, followed by SS reprisals, followed by a civilian backlash. As a consequence, he was not inclined to lift a finger for the Jewish deportees, who were now traveling in cattle cars to the Austrian border bound for Auschwitz. Church officials reported on the desperate plight of the deportees as they passed slowly through city after city.

Still Pacelli refused to intervene.

In the Jesuit archives in Rome, I found a secret document sworn to under oath by Karl Wolff, the SS commander in Italy. The text reveals that Hitler had asked Wolff in the fall of 1943 to prepare a plan to evacuate the Pope and the Vatican treasures to Liechtenstein.

After several weeks of investigation, Wolff concluded that an attempt to invade the Vatican and its properties, or to seize the Pope in response to a papal protest, would prompt a backlash throughout Italy that would seriously hinder the Nazi war effort. Hitler

therefore dropped his plan to kidnap Pacelli,
acknowledging what Pacelli appeared to ignore, that the
strongest social and political force in Italy in late
1943 was the Catholic Church, and that its potential for thwarting the SS was immense.
Pacelli was concerned that a protest by him
would benefit only the Communists. His silence on the
deportation of Rome's Jews, in other words, was not an
act of cowardice or fear of the Germans. He wanted to
maintain the Nazi-occupation status quo until such time
as the city could be liberated by the Allies. But what of
the deported Jews? Five days after the train had set off
from the Tiburtina station in Rome, an estimated 1,060
had been gassed at Auschwitz and Birkenau - 149 men and
47 women were detained for slave labor, but only 15
survived the war, and only one of those was a woman, Settimia Spizzichino, who had served as a human guinea
pig of Dr. Josef Mengele, the Nazi medical doctor who
performed atrocious experiments on human victims. After
the liberation, she was found alive in a heap of corpses.
But there was a more profound failure than
Pacelli's unwillingness to help the Jews of Rome rounded
up on October 16. Pacelli's reticence was not just a
diplomatic silence in response to the political pressures of the moment, not just a failure to be morally outraged.
It was a stunning religious and ritualistic silence. To
my knowledge, there is no record of a single public papal
prayer, lit votive candle, psalm, lamentation, or Mass
celebrated in solidarity with the Jews of Rome either
during their terrible ordeal or after their deaths. This
spiritual silence in the face of an atrocity committed at
the heart of Christendom, in the shadow of the shrine of
the first apostle, persists to this day and implicates
all Catholics. This silence proclaims that Pacelli had no
genuine spiritual sympathy even for the Jews of Rome, who
were members of the community of his birth. And yet, on learning of the death of AdoIf Hitler, Archbishop Adolf
Bertram of Berlin ordered all the priests of his
archdiocese "to hold a solemn Requiem in memory of
the Führer."
There were nevertheless Jews who gave Pacelli
the benefit of the doubt. On Thursday, November 29, 1945,
Pacelli met some 80 representatives of Jewish refugees
who expressed their thanks "for his generosity
toward those persecuted during the Nazi-Fascist period." One must respect a tribute made by people

who had suffered and survived, and we cannot belittle
Pacelli's efforts on the level of charitable relief,
notably his directive that enclosed religious houses in
Rome should take in Jews hiding from the SS.
By the same token, we must respect the voice
of Settimia Spizzichino, the sole Roman Jewish woman
survivor from the death camps. Speaking in a BBC
interview in 1995 she said. "1 came back from
Auschwitz on my own. . I lost my mother, two sisters and
one brother. Pius XII could have warned us about what was
going to happen. We might have escaped from Rome and
joined the partisans. He played right into the Germans'
hands. It all happened right under his nose. But he was
an anti-Semitic pope, a pro-German pope. He didn't take a
single risk. And when they say the Pope is like Jesus Christ, it is not true. He did not save a single child."
We are obliged to accept these contrasting
views of Pacelli are not mutually exclusive. It gives a
Catholic no satisfaction to accuse a Pope of acquiescing
in the plans of Hitler. But one of the saddest ironies of
Pacelli's papacy centers on the implications of his own pastoral self-image. At the beginning of a promotional
film he commissioned about himself during the war, called
The Angelic Pastor, the camera frequently focuses on the
statue of the Good Shepherd in the Vatican gardens. The
parable of the good shepherd tells of the pastor who so
loves each of his sheep that he will do all, risk all, go
to any pains, to save one member of his flock that is
lost or in danger. To his everlasting shame, and to the
shame of the Catholic Church, Pacelli disdained to
recognize the Jews of Rome as members of his Roman flock,
even though they had dwelled in the Eternal City since
before the birth of Christ. And yet there was still something worse. After the liberation of Rome, when
every perception of restraint on his freedom was lifted, he
claimed retrospective moral superiority for having spoken
and acted on behalf of the Jews. Addressing a Palestinian
group on August 3, 1946, he said, "We disapprove of
all recourse to force...Just as we condemned on various
occasions in the past the persecutions that a fanatical
anti-Semitism inflicted on the Hebrew people." His grandiloquent self-exculpation a year after the war had ended showed him to be not only an ideal pope for the
Nazis Final Solution but also a hypocrite.
The postwar period of Pacelli's papacy,
through the 1950s, saw the apotheosis of the ideology of

papal power as he presided over a triumphant Catholic Church in open confrontation with Communism. But it could not hold. The internal structures and morale of the church in Pacelli's final years began to show signs of fragmentation and decay, leading to a yearning for reassessment and renewal. In old age he became increasingly narrow-minded, eccentric. and hypochondriacal. He experienced religious visions, suffered from chronic hiccups, and received monkey-brain-cell injections for longevity. He had no love for, or trust in those who had to follow him. He failed to replace his secretary of state when lie died and for years he declined to appoint a full complement of cardinals. He died at the age of 82 on October 9,1958. His corpse decomposed rapidly in the autumnal Roman heat. At his lying-in-state, a guard fainted from the stench. Later, his nose turned black and fell off. Some saw in this sudden corruption of his mortal remains, a symbol of the absolute corruption of his papacy.

The Second Vatican Council was called by John XXIII who succeeded Pacelli, in 1958, precisely to reject Pacelli's monolith in preference for a collegial, decentralized, human, Christian community, the Holy Spirit, and love. The guiding metaphor of the church of the future was of a "pilgrim people of God." Expectations ran high, but there was no lack of contention and anxiety as old habits and disciplines died hard. There were signs from the very outset that papal and Vatican hegemony would not easily acquiesce, that the Old Guard would attempt a comeback. As we approach the end of this century, the hopeful energy of the Second Vatican Council, or Vatican II, as it came to be called, appears to many a spent force. The church of Pius XII is reasserting itself in confirmation of a pyramidal church model: faith in the primacy of the man in the white robe dictating in solitude from the pinnacle. In the twilight years of John Paul II's long reign, the Catholic Church gives a pervasive impression of dysfunction despite his historic influence on the collapse of Communist tyranny in Poland and the Vatican's enthusiasm for entering its third millennium with a cleansed conscience.

As the theologian Professor Adrian Hastings comments, "The great tide powered by Vatican II has, at least institutionally, spent its force. The old landscape has once more emerged and Vatican II is now being read in Rome far more in the spirit of the First

Vatican Council and within the context of Pius XII's
model of Catholicism." A future titanic struggle between
the progressives and the traditionalists is in prospect,
with the potential for a cataclysmic schism, especially
in North America, where a split has opened up between
bishops compliant with Rome and academic Catholicism, which is increasingly independent and dissident.
Pacelli,
whose canonization process is now well advanced, has
become the icon, 40 years after his death, of those
traditionalists who read and revise the provisions of the
Second Vatican Council from the viewpoint of Pacelli's
ideology of papal power--an ideology that has proved disastrous in the century's history.
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Chabad
The Chabad respect me because I keep a little distant from them. They can walk all over someone who is too close.

Yichus
“Merits of the family” literally. The immeditate family influences the child’s values and stability.

Image of G-d
Ribono shel Olam cares more for the well being of our marriages than towards his own recognition. This was the point of the test of adultery where Hashem permits His name to be wiped out for the sake of the marriage. Why is this the case? Why is our relationship to Hashem of less significance then to others?

Men must realize that to be in the “Image of G-d” is not to expect recognition from others. This is the reason that a good atheist may rate as high in the eyes of Hashem as a believer. The key is how benevolent we act towards others. For the sake of kindness for others, Hashem foregoes recognition. The way we treat our spouse falls in this category.

Now how will it be possible after death to feel closeness to Hashem if while we lived we did not achieve this? Those that live in the “Image of G-d” will be as a loving friend of Hashem in the world to come. The relationship of a friend is different from that of servant. Both are worthy goals.

A. Marriage

A husband must strive to be a ‘mench’. To do this he must be willing to suppress his own ego for the sake of his wife. If his wife criticizes him, he should not counter. As Hashem was willing to permit his name to be destroyed for the test of adultery or for the sake of the marriage so must a husband be prepared to do similarly for the sake of his wife.

How to be a mench and also a good Jew is the question? To daven with a minyan morning and evening can

take time from ones wife especially if the work schedule is demanding as well. Instead a husband may focus on his marriage with highest priority especially during the first year where both are learning about each other.

A husband should let his wife lead a conversation. This will encourage her personal expression and self-esteem. This will help a husband repair damage done by criticism. A wife wants to be looked upon well in her husband's eyes. She seeks his approval as we seek approval in the eyes of G-d.

Attention and affection is the role of a husband towards his wife.[395] When one wishes to leave his house he could ask permission of his wife. This adds to her sense of importance. It is good to sleep in the same room as one's wife.

It is a mitzvah to marry the daughter of one's sister. Because children resemble the wife's brother, there will be a natural affection between the uncle and niece. Hashem answer the prayers of this man immediately.[396]

B. Children

One should always shower ones children with love and hugs. This assists in the development of their self-esteem. Bedwetting is a problem that stems from lack of positive complements to the child. Each night when putting the child to sleep one should complement and state how one believes in them and their potential. Overlook mistakes and give encouragement.

One must spend time with ones child. If the child feels that she is the most important thing to the parents, then she will grow up close to her parents values. If a child is asking or behaving in a way completely out of the ordinary it is usually a cry that the parents notice them and give them attention.

As a teenager a child may rebel and be testy. One must encourage her with complements. This gives her confidence to be successful in all challenges. When the child comes from divorced parents one should accept the child's discussion of both sides so that the child feels right about her parents.

C. Getting Along with Others and Homeland

The sons of Bilhah were Dan and Naphtali and those of Zilpah were Asher and Gad. Joseph got along with the children of the maidens. Jerusalem is in the territory of Benjamin. North of there is the territory of Ephraim and north of Ephraim is Mannaseh's land extending to the southern tip of the Sea of the Galilee. North of Mannaseh is Issachar and Zebulin. Dan's portion is where Tel-Aviv is today along the central to northern coastline. Asher's is above that on the coastline.

Our Hebrew names are our spiritual roots. My cousin Avraham Ellenbogen lives in Beer Sheva, much like Abraham Avinu who chose that place as his home.

Maternal Grandparents

Aryeh Lev served as gabai of his shul, which meant he maintained the order of services, distributed service calls, gave out prayer books, and assisted guests. He was a quiet man with a good heart. His strength was calmness and a good temperament. He was not prone to anger.

My maternal grandmother was a charitable woman who sent care packages to her relatives in Israel at the beginning of Israel's statehood when there were few supplies. When I visited Israel, I found that she is well remembered by Sima Talmon of Kibbutz Maale HaHamisha. She was a dynamic lady who enjoyed entertaining guests and socializing.

Paternal Grandparents
My grandmother was a remarkable woman who would fast every Monday and Thursday while my grandfather sought for hiding places during the Holocaust. She read T'hillim and our Tanach in English for hours each day. She was a pious woman with a saintly heart. She died on Erev Rosh Hodesh before sunset on the last day of Adar.

I remember one particular story she would tell me taken from Ezekiel. This was the story of the valley of dry bones. G-d set Ezekiel down in a valley and all around were bones. G-d asked Ezekiel, "Can these bones yet live?" Ezekiel responded, "Oh G-d, only thou knowest." G-d said prophesy unto these bones that they should have flesh upon them and spirit within them. Ezekiel prophesied and it happened. G-d said:

Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel; although, they say, our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off; they will yet rise up and I will bring them back into the land of Israel.
(Ezekiel 37:11-12)

My grandmother's favorite saying was "Everything will work out for the best." One of her favorite charities was the Rabbi Meir Baal Haness school in Tiberias, Israel.

Great Uncles
My great uncle and his family were murdered in the holocaust. My grandmother's brother was very kind and caring for the needs of those around him. He was a good family man.

Yesod in Tiferets on the Counting of the Omer - April 24, 1996
Ira led the meditation at Beth Shalom. We started with Michael on the right, Gavriel on the left, Uriel in front, and Raphael behind. I had an experience of Nuriel descending directly upon me. I experienced tremendous power without emotion; the total balance of the Angel. The power was overwhelming and I opened my eyes to look at candle light. The light (NaRiel) of the candles balanced the Angel's energy within me and He ascended. The angels at my sides parted their hands and I inserted my own between them and we rose.

Around me the world of Malchuts was blue with the glistening of gem stone lights along cave walls. Above me the deep blue sky was parting and we passed through into the orange landscape of Yesod. The intrusion of the light of a living soul attracted the angels around. I then pronounced the name yy with the vowel '**ᴛ**' and ascended to Tiferets. There I stood in the Garden[397] and saw the bright light of a soul before me. I inquired who he was and he responded, "**Look into my soul and you shall know me.**" He wore a

continuous smile on his face and I saw that he was my great uncle Joseph, Z"l whose name I bear. He asked me if I would like him to show me around? I asked to see the Tree of Knowledge. It stood by the Tree of Life but was smaller. I asked what is the fruit it bears? He said look and you will know. I saw a red fruit. It was a pomegranate. I asked, why is the pomegranate the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge? **He said, each seed is like a fruit in its own right and this reflects all of creation. There are worlds within worlds.** I asked, what is the secret of peace and happiness? He took me up to the world of Daat and I saw the parting of Abba and Imma.[398] I entered the space between them. The space of Daat is not a world, but the revelation of knowledge. I saw the answer was in his smile. **To always where a smile is to give contentment to others and thus oneself**. I asked, what is the secret of how to where a smile? He said one must let negative energy leave the body. Negative energy can leave via the eyes. One's eyes can also bless others.

XXII. Appendix

A. Encounters on the Internet

1. Bnei Baruch Kabbalah Forum

a) RaZ

Here are some references in the Tanach for
the following which I stated:

: Moshe alludes to Netzah and Aaron to Hod. The
: source of the most esoteric of prophecy and
: divination is hidden in RaZ.

RaZ is mentioned in only one place in the entire
Tanach and that is in the book of Daniel:

6. O Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in you, and no mystery troubles you, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and its meaning.

Belteshazzar is Daniel's name from Nebuchadnezzar.
Here the word for mystery is RaZ and the
verse refers to visions of prophecy, hence
Netzah and Hod.

7. Thus were the visions of my head in my bed; I saw, and behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, and its height was great.
8. The tree grew, and was strong, and its height reached to heaven, and it was visible to the end of all the earth;

There may be an allusion here to the Tree of Life.

Now as for a reference to Moshe and Aaron, RaZ is mentioned in only two places in all of Rashi on the Tanach.

Numbers 17:11

11. And Moses said to Aaron, Take a censer, and put fire in it from the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly to the congregation, and make an atonement for them; for anger has come out from the Lord; the plague has begun.

Rashi comments on "atonement for them": "This secret did the angel of death give over to him when he (Moses) ascended to the heavens, that incenses stays a plague;"

RaZ is on the level of Netzah and Hod clearly from this verse, symbolized by Moshe and Aaron. The use of incense is an example of such a secret that Moshe learned by ascending to the level of RaZ.

And Rashi refers to Tractate Shabbas 88a which also mentions RaZ.

R. Eleazar said: When the Israelites gave precedence to ‘we will do’ over ‘we will hearken,’ a Heavenly Voice went forth and exclaimed to them, Who revealed to My children this secret, which is employed by the Ministering Angels, as it is written, Bless the Lord, ye angels of his. Ye mighty in strength, that fulfil his word, That hearken unto the voice of his word: first they fulfil and then they hearken?

RaZ is the way of the ministering angels. Moshe and Aaron together being on this level could understand these secrets.

: This knowledge is not meant for this world
: and hence the quasi-sefira
: is not revealed like Daat.

RaZ is more the knowledge of the world of
angels.

Followup

: Jeff,

: Up till now, have been working under the assumption that the
: Quasi Sefirah RaZ does not exist, while looking for proof
: that it does. However, your last couple of posts have given
: me reason to stop and think, what if it does exist?

:: Rashi says ...
::"This secret did the angel of death give
:: over to him when he (Moses) ascended to
:: the heavens, that incenses stays a plague;"

I consider the Rashi highly significant. The reason
is that it doesn't make too much sense. Whenever
Rashi says something that doesn't make sense
it is usually hiding the theme of the entire
matter (taught to me by Rabbi Gedahlia Meyer).

Rashi's reference to Shabbas 88a clears
the mystery which he explains with the statement,

"... Who revealed to My children this secret,
which is employed by the Ministering Angels ..."

RaZ is a level of prophetic revelation from
angelic knowledge.

: This would then brings up the question, if RaZ does exist, why
: is it so different from the well known Quasi Sefirah Daat? Is
: there some principle at work here that is not widely known?

: ----------

: Following is pure hypothetical guess work.

: The result of Daat is Knowledge, which flows freely down upon
: Malkhut - Kingship (physical earth). In Genesis we read how
: Adam & Eve ate the fruit of Knowledge of Good & Evil. Do you
: think, this might be the reason why Daat is always visible
: and working? Because Adam & Eve ate of it? And further, for
: this reason, it's referred to in numerous places in the Bible?

Daat refers to knowledge while RaZ is
secret knowledge from the world of the
angels. Until Adam and Eve ate from the
fruit of the Tree of Good and Evil, they may
have been permitted the understanding of
RaZ. After eating the fruit they lost
the easy accessiblity of RaZ but
gained a closer attachment to Daat. In some
ways Daat is a more intimate knowlege
of G-d produced out of great love and
longing. Sometimes committing a sin
can create this great longing for tshuvah
that I believe Daat represents. Our great
longing for tshuvah brings a longing by
Hashem for us.

In some sense this is quite different from
the angelic knowledge of RaZ. Perhaps
the knowledge at the level of RaZ appears
more powerful in terms of its direct effects
like the incense:

:: Num. 17:11. And Moses said to Aaron, Take a
:: censer, and put fire in it from the altar,
:: and put on incense, and go quickly to
:: the congregation, and make an
:: atonement for them; for anger has
:: come out from the Lord; the plague has
:: begun.

But, atonement through Daat, through knowing
Hashem, longing for Hashem,
and loving Hashem is quite beautiful.

Daat is closer to Hesed and Gevurah and
RaZ is closer to Netzah and Hod. They
are different aspects of a relationship with
Hashem. Both can effect atonement.
Both are important. One is more intimate,
the other more demonstrative. One is more
accessible, the other more a mystery.

: Considering your posts on RaZ.

: On the other hand, the result of RaZ is an understanding of
: deep mysteries, allusions, and prophesizing. The main difference
: between the way these Quasi Sefirah appear is, where Daat is
: always visible, RaZ only becomes visible, under meditation, and
: only when probed from the Sefirah Yesod - Formation. Further,
: in that case, it's only visible to the one who is doing the
: probing (receiving the results of RaZ).

: When one considers that very little is know about how the
: Prophets actually prophesied. The idea of a hidden Quasi
: Sefirah begins to make sense. And since this knowledge was
: deliberately kept from the world, hence so few references
: to RaZ.

I agree.

: ----------

: And finally, here's another big question. Considering the
: above, is there other Quasi Sefirah that we've not heard
: about? Is there more fruit on the Tree?

I think understanding all 22 of the connection
paths to be a highly valuable study and
meditation.

b) Poem

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on April 22, 1998 at 22:21:46:

In Reply to: Re: His Name,His Essense, and the Tzimtzum posted by zalman hakotan on April 22, 1998 at 12:24:27:

SG refers to the value 63 which points
to Hashem's name with this value. The four levels
above Keter are defined by the four different
spellings of the name of Hashem. At each level
are letters in chains spelling the expanded
name of Hashem respectively: BN, MH, SG, AV.
There are also discs of light which precede
the sefirot.

I went back before the trees to the days of

creation. I saw the creation of the animals, the grass and all plant life, the creation of the Sun, Moon, and Stars in the heaven. Finally I saw the creation of the first light and then the Tohu and Bohu that preceded. The first light was the first line of light that flowed into the empty space (the place of G-d's withdrawal in the tzimtzum). The chaos before was the emptiness of G-d's withdrawal. The emptiness represented the quality of Din, judgment or constriction.

I preceded into the emptiness and felt the withdrawal of Hashem. I knew the withdrawal was preceding at a speed beyond physical travel and I wondered how I would reach the receding point. The Kol told me to travel by spirit and will myself to reach the boundary. This I did and saw the edge of light in the distance. I willed myself through the edge and now I stood in the undifferentiated form of the first light. I could not comprehend what was around me. I tried to recall some daat - knowledge that would help me understand. This place was before and beyond the creation of the Sefirot. There was not even the place of Hashem's Ratzon - Will yet in this light. I glimmered above the sefirot and the Kol asked me what I saw. I told her I saw of BN, MH, SaG, and AV, the realm of the Hebrew letters.

I saw the Hebrew letters traveling in chains. There were also the 10 numerals but they were separate like flying disks in this space. I moved my mind to the source of the letters in the light and saw the primordial form of the Torah in the light. I heard this song:

Love the Torah, learn the Torah, dance with the Torah, dwell with the Torah ...

There were no angels yet created as there were no worlds but I still heard the Kol and wondered about its existence. I sought out the voice and noticed a small space in the light, a small tzimtzum. I saw a thread of light entering the space which was like a mouth transmitting the words. Here I learned how G-d speaks to Moses

and the angels face to face but to the rest of us
through angels. The Torah was one of 10 forms
that existed prior to all creation.

There was no sense of a personal G-d in the Ayn
Sof. I felt only Nothing and I didn't understand
why. I wanted to find my personal G-d but even
this is a result of creation! The Kol asked me
what I could know? I told him I could not know
anything else while in my separate spirit.
I realized that even beyond the heaven of G-d's
creation and man's comprehension lies the Ayn Sof
of G-d which dissolves all identity back into
itself.

I have noticed the bittul in your dual postings.
Now I see that it is bittul that creates the
space of the tzimtzum for the line of light to
enter the space.

: I'm sorry I don't know what "level" you are referring to when evrverthing was in chains. But what I've seen in seforim is that the 22 lettters plus the five final
mantzepach letters emenate from the gevuru elah of atik yomin called botzina d'krdinusah. In more simple words the letters in the upper worlds aren't actually forms,
rather the forms of the letters that we see hint or meramez to the different levels and forms of shefa from the Ain Sof to the low worlds. Therefore inorder for there
to be duality or difference in shefa it perforce requires tzimtzum. So again the question returns, how is it possible to have even letters before the Tzimtzum. I'd like to
quote from the Tikuney Zohar inorder that we can have a clear point of referance that sheds light on this topic, "Every sefirah has a known name... You have no
known name as You fill all the names. You are the perfection of all the names." As Hank pointed out earlier there is no name for Hashem that can describe his
Essence rather we give him a name according to how we percieve Him, but when we call him by that name we are not calling that attribute rather Him Himself.
But it still remains unclear how there was an existence of letters or names before the tzimtzum as I wrote earlier.

Shalom

c) Poem on mystic life

Posted by . on February 21, 1999 at 13:00:04:

been up and down the tree, all around mitzvot glow to keep
seen angels high above, the water fall between
looked down at the throne, stood before Unknown, now what is left of life

seen the cubic aleph, the letter chains in light
danced with the angels, seen the burning bush, glimpsed MT, now what to do

brought forth the demon AS, bound him to answer true, but what is left to know
traveled to the past, witnessed the creation, saw the first light

Spring is filled with beauty, the ocean shores of time,
the forests with their fragrance, the startlit skies with chimes
but what is left of life

I understand Solomon, Reb Meir, Ben Azi, Ben Zoma,
to have seen too much and then to fall away, to wonder what is left of life

to slip further and further away knowing all along the truth,
so Hashem spoke to Job and put him in his place, G-d save us from this fate

one day we will see how the 7th beggar without feet
heals the prince and princess with our dancing

d) Yetzirah Plane

Re: Yetzirah plane

Posted by jeff on May 21, 1997 at 15:30:45:

In Reply to: Re: Yetzirah plane posted by Jeff Spiegel on May 20, 1997 at 02:53:47:

: This plane is filled with immense angels. You will have no possibility of
: "manipulating" this plane. These angels can do
: with you as they like so it is best to behave. In
: order to reach the world of Yetzirah, one must
: have already achieve a high degree of humble
: perfection and would not be interested in
: "manipulation" at that level. As far as the
: sights, Yetzirah parallels our world in activities.
: The angels are busy in constructing palaces as
: we are in buildings. There are seven palaces in this
: world:

: 1. The Seven Palaces of Yetzirah

: Perkei Hekhalot - Chapters of the Palaces contains a formal description of these palaces. The following contains my own
personal experiences of these heavens. In the world of Yetzirah there are 7 heavens . These are:
: a) Shamayim (Sham - Mayim : There is water -> Firmament)
: This is the location of the Sun, Moon, planets, and stars. Yet how can this be since we see them in our world and know of
their places. I have seen a star in Yetzirah and its light source is a precious soul that serves Hashem like an angel . Some of
these souls were once from our world, others are of angelic source.
: b) Shemai Hashamayim (Water above the Waters -> Nehar Di-nur)
: In this heaven new angels are born each day to utter praises to Hashem. They are born from the spring of fire each morning.
They first dip their hands into the fiery waters and bring a taste to their mouths. Then they sing the holy Kadosh to Hashem and
praises from sunrise to sunset.
: c) Zevul (Habitation -> prince) lwbz
: This heaven is the place of the "prince". He is surrounded by his ministering angels. He is called Meattah for he is from G-d.
This heaven may be the residence of Zer Anpin in the world of Yetzirah.
: d) Araphel (Fog or mist -> Torah) lpru
: This is like the morning mists and clouds that cover mountain tops. Moshe’s tent was said to be enclosed in araphel when the
Shechinah dwelled within. It represents Mt. Sinai and the place of the giving of the Torah.
: e) Shehakim (Heavens) syqjc
: The rebuilt Jerusalem is prepared in this heaven. The Temple, Table, Ark, Menorah and all the utensils are here.
: f) Mahon -> Aravot
: It is five hundred year journey from Shehakim to Mahon. In the midst are the storehouses of snow and hail as well as the
rewards for the righteous and punishments for the wicked. Five hundred years further is the Aravot whose merkavah is called
Av bu which means cloud. There are some souls yet to be born.
: g) Throne of Glory
: This is the heaven of the Throne of G-d.

: The descent from the heaven of the ‘Throne of Glory’ leads to the place of the Merkavah or the ‘Throne of G-d’. Beneath
the throne souls await their entry into our world.

:
: There are angelic guards for each of these
: palaces that will turn one away unless key
: answers are known.

: The general landscape of Yetzirah is mountainous,

: the color is brown, brown-red, a touch of orange,
: and of course the white light of white angels and
: black light of dark angels. The angels are
: extremely tall such that a human in this world
: might bearly approach 1/6th the height of the
: smallest!

: The world of Yetzirah is associated with the
: morning service of Psukei D'zimra or the reciting
: of the Psalms of David. By reading the Psalms
: of David, one can prepare one's soul to be worthy
: of entering the world of Yetzirah while still
: in the land of the Living.

WHOA!! that was great, what an intense answer.
Is this kabbalah?
If so could you tell me how I can do such a thing?
Is the Yetzirah Plane another name for the 7 levels of heaven?

e) Colors

Re: Tree Of Life

[Follow Ups] [Post Followup] [BNEI BARUCH KABBALAH FORUM] [FAQ]

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on May 20, 1997 at 03:10:16:

In Reply to: Tree Of Life posted by Jonathan Blair on May 16, 1997 at 14:33:17:

The Jewish color system contains the following
associations:

D. Sefirot Colors and Lights
There are different colors associated with each sefirot. These colors can be visualized during meditations for enhancing the
realism of the vision. When the correct authoritative kabbalistic associations are adhered to the vision comes in loud and clear.
Similarly a radio receiver will exhibit a lot of static until it is finally tuned. The Gate of Kavannah describes the experience of the
quality of 8 types of light. Here is the description of the Crown:

Above it is the Crown. This is the light that crowns the desires of the mind and illuminates the paths of the

imagination,
enhancing the radiance (zohar) of the vision. This light has no end, and it cannot be fathomed. From the glory (Kavod) of its
perfection comes desire, blessing, peace, life (chaim), and all good (tov) to those who keep the way of its unification.

Table 16: Sefirot and Colors
Sefirah Color Light Quality Names Of G-d
Concealed Light Ayn Sof
Keter – crown,will, or desire blinding invisible light Crown Ehyeh asher Ehyeh
Hochmah – wisdom a color that includes all colors Yah
Binah – understanding yellow and green Hashem (Elohim)
Hesed – kindness white and silver Tov – Good El
Gevurah – judgment,discipline red and gold Nogah – Glow Elohim
Tiferet – Beauty yellow and violet Kavod – Glory Hashem
Netzah – eternity,victory, prophecy light pink— the color of the upper eyelid Bahir – Brilliance Hashem Tzavaot
Hod – thankfulness, acceptance, prophecy dark pink— the color of the lower eyelid Zohar – Splendor Elohim Tzavaot
Yesod – righteousness Orange Chaim – Life El Chai, Shadai Living G-d
Malchuts – kingdom, Shechinah Blue Adonai

Why is the light of Keter called a blinding invisible light? Blinding, since no objects can be seen in this place. Invisible since the
light does this without being seen. Light, since the vision is clear.
The color of wisdom includes all colors for
wisdom includes all knowledge in its synthesis.
Yellow is associated with illumination and
green with fertility which together represent the
understanding of Binah with the fertility of
the mother partzuf. White and silver are
traditional associations with kindness and red
and gold for judgement. With the sefirah of
splendor is the illumination of the truth, i.e.
Yellow, and mysteries of Torah, i.e. violet.

The light pink and dark pink colors of Netzah
and Hod are the colors of the upper and lower
eyelids which symbolize the experience of
prophecy, i.e. sunlight shining through ones
closed eyes. The orange of Yesod is the color
of righteousness which is based on the discipline
of gevurah, red, with the illumination of tiferets,
yellow, and the prophecy of Netzah and Hod combined,
pink, which together is Orange.

Kingship is blue, i.e. royal blue.

: Please could you explain the following :

: I have come across different Kabbalistic Tree Of Life's, with different colour arrangements eg. those which appear in
traditional plain Queen scale colours, those which appear speckled, and those with very different colour arrangements eg.
"School Of The Soul by Z'ev ben Shimon Halevi . Could you please explain to me their purpose, and use, or failing this point
me at literature that does explains this?

: Many thanks, Jonathan

f) Hashmal

Re: Hashmal

[Follow Ups] [Post Followup] [BNEI BARUCH KABBALAH FORUM] [FAQ]

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on May 20, 1997 at 03:29:51:

In Reply to: Hashmal posted by Gerard Zonus on May 15, 1997 at 02:28:47:

: Shalom,

: What do the Kabbalists say about the 'Hashmal' in Ezechiel vision.

Kabbalists say that the vision of the Hashmal should
not be openly discussed. Suffice it to say that
the Hashmal is the garment of G-d in our Universe,
has the sound of electrum, and the appearance of
a small voice.

: Is there still in Israel an hermetic tradition whose goal is the universal medecine needed for spiritual and physical regeneration

The use of herbs and grasses for healing is
definitely within the domain of Judaism. The Breslov
Hasidim practice a hermetic like tradition.

"KNOW that there is a field where the most beautiful
and pleasant trees and herbs grow. The precious beauty

of this field and its plants and trees is impossible to describe. Happy is the eye that has seen it! "
(Likutey Moharan I:65 quoted in Garden of the Souls, page 37)

He invests the grasses and herbage with healing properties.
He gave decaying mold the most powerful of healing properties
as He chose a lowly mountain to reveal the Torah,
a lowly people as his chosen nation,
an impaired speaker to be his greatest prophet,
and "the stone that was despised" to become the
cornerstone of His temple.

: Thank you for answering my question.

: Gérard Zonus
: gzonus@loansystem.com

g) Lag Ba Omer

> WHOA!! that was great, what an intense answer.
> Is this kabbalah?
> If so could you tell me how I can do such a thing?
> Is the Yetzirah Plane another name for the 7 levels of heaven?

You should congradulate yourself for recognizing
the true Kabbalah! I will try to give some instruction
on how to achieve the experience. It took me over
ten years of kabbalistic study before I had my
first experience, so patience is required as well
as hard study, good deeds, and a humble nature.
The name Yetzirah, means formation from the
Hebrew word, yotzer, meaning to 'form'.

The four worlds are associated with the following:

The Four Universes and Our Connection to Them
Expression Worlds Tetragrammaton
Ta’amim - Cantellation Notes Atzilut - Nearness Yod
Nekudot - Vowel Points Beriyah - Creation Heh
Tagin - Ornaments Yetzirah - Formation Vav
Otiot - Letters Asiyah - Making Heh

Asiyah is our physical world. Yetzirah is the world of the lower
angels that parallel our world. Beriyah is the world of the throne
of God. This is also the world of the upper angels and souls to

be born. There are seven chambers in the world of Beriyah which describe the process that the soul goes through before it is born into our world and after death when it returns to God. Atzulut the highest world contains the Ten Sefirot and the word Atzulut is from the Hebrew, Etzel which means 'adjacent'. I think learning Hebrew is important to Kabbalah study since much of the mysticism is based on the Hebrew alphabet, i.e. aleph - bet.

On Lab Ba Omer Rabbi Akiva's students died of a terrible plague. The plague was attributed to the conflicting opinions the students held towards one another. Some thought that Bar Kochbah was the Messiah. They differed on how to deal with the Romans. The lack of unity led to the plague.[399]

Today is Lag B'omer which is the 33rd day of the Counting of the Omer which associates with the sefirot combination of Hod in Hod. In general this would be an ominous day due to the passive nature of Hod which while representing peace and thankfulness also permits evil to exist in this world. Nevertheless Shimon bar Yochai helped rectify this day by revealing a great light of mystical knowledge to his followers which filled them with joy. Joy above all other emotions brings the Shekhinah into this world which is the presence of God.

There is also a tradition that his death on the same day also brought great light in this world as he died by the kiss of God.

Its a day of great light, dance with all your might!
(On Lag B'Omer weddings, davening inspiration 3/11/99)

2. Breslov Discussions

a) Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 27, 1998 at 20:17:22:
What is Novea mean in the statement? Does this mean a "a brook flowing with prophecy, source of wisdom"? If someone could elaborate on RebenuZ"L's inspiration on this passage, I would appreciate it.

Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 28, 1998 at 01:59:24:

In Reply to: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 27, 1998 at 20:17:22:
The simple explanation is that the letters
Nachal Novea Makor CHochmah spell NaCHMaN,
and that Rabbi Nachman wasn't the founder of a
chassidic dynasty rather a luminary in and of
himself, similar to the Arizal - that is
a source of wisdom.
Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 01:59:54:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 28, 1998 at 01:59:24:
I really needed to know that Reb. Nachman
was not intending to found a dynasty. I study
the teachings of Reb. Nachman regularly like
an inspirational text and have never seen
anything that would demand a dynasty
affiliation. Still, most Hasidim seem to be
organized in dynasties. How does Breslov
differ based on your explanation?

Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 29, 1998 at 11:23:10:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 01:59:54:
Breslov chasidus differs from most chasisidim in this point.
This is the explanation why there is no Breslov Rebbe today.
Breslov differs from most chasidim in that it is inclusive, rather
than exclusive. There is no particular Breslov nusach (prayer book),
no mandated dress code (some long coats and payos, some short coat,
some in knitted kipa), and encourages people to follow the minhagim of
their fathers (this is a major difference between Breslov & Chabbad
as practiced today). This has had the effect that the majority of
people who follow Rebbe Nachman are Sefardim (many Askenazim too).
The concept of Rebbe Nachman's role as leader of the Breslover
Chasidim is involved in the Mystical / Breslov concept of the
Tzaddik. There are many differing details on this inside
of Breslov, but basically it goes something like this: HaShem
created Man, and before the fall in the Garden of Eden, he was
refered to as the Perfect Man (or Primordial Man).
Mashiach either is, or is an aspect of this Perfect Man.
Mashiach is the living embodiment of Torah, and though
the light of Mashiach flows our understanding of Torah.
But we don't get it directly.
This light flows from Mashiach down to Joseph haTzadik,
Moshe Rabbenu, the Arizal, the True Tzaddik, the Tzaddikim of
each generation, to hidden Tzaddikim - hidden in every moment of
our life, down to us. (The order listed here isn't exact)

There are many Tzaddikim in the world, yet there is one
proto-typical Tzaddik who "breaks ground" allowing all
Tzaddikim to function, paving the way for Mashiach.
This is Rebbe Nachman. Some explain that Rebbe Nachman is a
recincarnation of the Arizal.
So, although no one would say that Rebbe Nachman was Mashiach,
for us (not just Breslover Chasidim), on our level, he is
a source of advice, guidance, and helps us to get plugged into
the flow of Torah down to this world, as Mashiach will do when
he comes, speedily in our days!
In this context Rebbe Nachman is "a brook flowing with prophecy,
source of wisdom"

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 21:53:51:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 29, 1998 at 11:23:10:
I am sure viewing Reb Nachman like the Arizal is appropriate but I don't
understand the idea of the Tzadik-Hasid relationship after a Tzadik
had died?
I always thought that one travels to hear the words of the Tzadik and
this is what elevates one. Of course learning his teachings does
remind one of his presense in the world. If Reb Nachman is still the
Tzadik of the Breslov Hasidim then they must still be hearing his words!
Is this correct?
This would suggest that it would be possible to have a Tzadik-Hasid
relationship with many of our ancestorial Tzadikim if we were extremely
familiar with their teachings. I guess what I don't understand is
what makes the Breslov's relationship with Reb Nachman unique.
> Mashiach either is, or is an aspect of this Perfect Man.
> Mashiach is the living embodiment of Torah, and though
> the light of Mashiach flows our understanding of Torah.
> But we don't get it directly.
Adam Kadmon was the universal soul of all people combined.
The Moshiach is an annointed leader of the people of Israel, i.e.
a righteous king. Why the idea that Torah can only flow through Mashiach?
I can understand that Hashem sends angels and other forces to reveal
Torah to Klal Israel, but where is it said that all these forces of
Torah revelation go through Moshiach?
> This light flows from Mashiach down to Joseph haTzadik,
> Moshe Rabbenu, the Arizal, the True Tzaddik, the Tzaddikim of
> each generation, to hidden Tzaddikim - hidden in every moment of
> our life, down to us. (The order listed here isn't exact)
I thought that the teaching of the Tzadik assumed that even he is not
perfect but that his challenges are on a much higher level like

Moshe Rabenu instead.
So what is the meaning and source of the concept "True Tzaddik"? In Israel I visited the tomb of the Arizal and was quite awed by feeling at the graveside. But I also was awed at the tombs of Shimon HaTzadik Z"l in Jerusalem, Rachel Z"l wife of Akiva, Jonaton ben Uziel Z"l, Rabbi Meir Baal HaNess Z"l, Yosef Karo Z"l, David HaMelech Z"l. What would make the Arizal the "True Tzaddik" before Reb Nachman?
You have described a line of light that passes through only one person in some generations. This is an interesting idea though why can there be only one. If this is the same as the potential Moshiach? Why do Breslov stop with Reb Nachman as the True Tzadik, instead of believing there may be a True Tzadik in a future generation?
> There are many Tzaddikim in the world, yet there is one
> proto-typical Tzaddik who "breaks ground" allowing all
> Tzaddikim to function, paving the way for Mashiach.
> This is Rebbe Nachman. Some explain that Rebbe Nachman is a
> recincarnation of the Arizal.
I guess I still have difficulty with the idea of a single True Tzadik. I am not aware of any traditional kabbalistic Torah teachings that say there is such a single person. There is much spoken on the idea of a potential Moshiach in each generation. Maybe the True Tzadik is more of the Moshiach ben Yosef that may be born in a generation and this is why there is only one. Is that what you mean?
The idea of a spiritual leader of all Tzadikim of a generation is quite reasonable, though I would think he would be amongst the living of the generation.
> So, although no one would say that Rebbe Nachman was Mashiach,
> for us (not just Breslover Chasidim), on our level, he is
> a source of advice, guidance, and helps us to get plugged into
> the flow of Torah down to this world, as Mashiach will do when
> he comes, speedily in our days!
His teachings and recorded writings definitely leave me with this feeling. When you say a "source of advice, guidance", do you mean from his teachings or is there a personal attachment that you feel and an inspiration from his will that you still sense in the land of the living.
Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 30, 1998 at 00:09:54:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 21:53:51:
This is not the place to go into any depth, but as far as a Kabalistic reference for Torah coming through Adam Kadmon / Mashiach, this is the aspect of the Histashelut of the "Kav" through each one of the Sefirot in turn, but first coming through Keter = Adam Kadmon ~= Meshiach (Meshiach is more formally Malchut)
As far as the Hasid / Tzadik relationship goes, Breslovers take two

views 1) that Rabbi Nachman is alive today, and just as gazing on
the Chosen Mishpat cause "truth" to become clear, learning Rabbenu's
works, davening at his tzion, and "speaking to another breslover at
least once everyday" clarifies "truth" 2) that Rabbi Nachman broke new
ground and provided insight that was previously lacking. He tapped
into and strengthened the place (Yesod) that enables us to connect to a
greater degree with *other* Tzaddikim, Rabbonim and Torah Scholars.
The Tzadik is Yesod, Mashiach is Malchut. One prepares for the other.
And although it is not explained explicitly, Rebbe Nachman had some
very close connection to the Supernal Sefirah of Yesod. Just as each
of the Ushpizin (Avraham, Yitzchak, Yaacov, Aaron, Moshe, Yosef and
David) are the physical embodiment, on one level, of the Sefirot.
By finding the Hidden Tzaddik in every situation (the good points),
by learning and connecting to a Rav in a Torah Shiur, by asking
shailos and advice from True Tzaddik, we are approaching the Sefirah
of Yesod (Foundation / Righteousness) along the path that was made
by Mashiach using the signposts that were put up by Rebbe Nachman.
By reading and following those signposts, were are connecting with
the work and essense of Rebbe Nachman, our Rebbe.
Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 30, 1998 at 03:02:21:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 30, 1998 at 00:09:54:
The associations of the Ushpazim with the sefirot teaches us to
see how the sefirot or tzelem manifest in our world
and how man at best behaves in the image of G-d. Nevertheless,
we do not say the sefirot are the Ushpazim. Joseph's qualities
are reprentative of the sefira of Yesod but the moral energy of
Hashem sustaining this world is not transmitted for eternity through
Joseph because of this association. And similarly the association
of an anointed king (Moshiach) with the sefira of Malchut.
What is your source for Adam Kadmon equivalenced with Mashiach?
Adam Kadmon is the primordial purpose of all creation and the concept
of the soul of man in totality. Certainly the Torah is part of this
initial blueprint. On the other hand, Moshiach is an annointed king
who will lead Israel. Your implication is that the Universe was
created for Moshiach if he is equivalent to Adam Kadmon
Instead the universe was created for imperfect man to raise himself
through hard soul work back to the level of Adam Kadmon with the
help of tzadikim and moshiachim.
The Breslov concept of Moshiach seems quite metaphysical. I always
look at Moshiach as an anointed king that we should expect and be
worthy to follow to live in the land of Israel with. The concept
seems so down to earth to me. The concept of Moshiach being
Adam Kadmon, the purpose of all creation, and encompassing the souls

of all people uniting them into an entirety seems beyond the
scope of an anointed king who wages G-d's battles and returns
victoriously.
> as far as a Kabalistic
> reference for Torah coming through Adam Kadmon / Mashiach, this is
> the aspect of the Histashelut of the "Kav" through each one
> of the Sefirot in turn, but first coming through Keter = Adam Kadmon
> ~= Meshiach (Meshiach is more formally Malchut)
Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 30, 1998 at 10:21:56:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 30, 1998 at 03:02:21:
Breslov has a tighter and more simplified scheme of the
Sefirot. A "Univesal story" as it were. The basic theme
is that if any two objects have the same quality, they are
at their root the *same objeect*. This is the whole premis
of Likutei Halachot, where rapid fire relationships are made
between many, many diverse objects. And is related to the
concept of Rabbi Nachmans ability to reunite the sparks / essense
of diverse objects and people.
Disclaimer, this is only one approach to a complex and complicated
set of teachings within Breslov.

3. Pluto

Jeffrey Wolf Green is the author of Pluto Volume, http://www.jeffreywolfgreen.com.

(Question) 22-Feb-1999 Male Souls/Female Souls
I purchased Pluto Volume II today. There is a reference to the soul being non-sex based and evolving by being both male and female in different life times.

I believe this would differ from the Jewish mystical perspective. The idea is that G-d's first thought is Adam Kadmon, the primordial man. Each of us represents a spark of this idea. Each of us is unique in our place on the body. Each place is unique with either a masculine tone or feminine tone to its function.

At the end of times G-d will make a new world wherein will be the resurection of the dead. Each of our souls will have its true body. Each of us will either be male or female in our true form. Hence our identity body and soul is male or female. Jeff Spiegel
(Answer)
it is stated in the book that our souls are equally male and female, as is that which is called God. God is the origin of all things, obviously. Thus the origin of male and female. Thus each of our souls is simultaneously male and female... that which you site is simply another version of patriarchal thinking..man first jeffrey
(Addition)
In Hebrew we call G-d's essence Ayn Sof which is beyond male and female.
The seferot or Tree of Life containing pillers of male character, female character and a central piller reveal

G-d's hightest image that we can know is equally male and female as you have pointed out to me.

We are created in the image of G-d so our soul contains both male and female aspects; the sefirot manifest in each of us reflecting the same image. Still we have a body which is not equally male and female. In Judaism the body is also an aspect of the soul, the Nefesh (body spirit) is the lowest level of the soul. The body is part of the soul's identity.

The concept of being male combined with male and female qualities or female combined with female and male qualities better matches the essence of who we are. This is also a reflection of the image of G-d where each sefira whether male or female has an aspect of each of the other sefirot within.

Getting back to your book: Your concept of a composite chart from Pluto Volume II helped me understand the dynamics of a couples direction together. Previously I had only looked at synastry for understanding.

Is there a place where you describe the soul affects of Pluto's place in the other party's chart (constellation and house)? Is this in Volume I which I haven't purchased yet? Currently I only see a description of the composite Pluto's connection. Jeff Spiegel

4. Greek Qabalah

Kieren Barry is the author of the Greek Qabalah.

To: 'Jeff Spiegel' <spiegel@telocity.com>
Subject: RE: The Greek Qabalah

Dear Jeff,

Nice to hear from you. I agree 100% with everything you say. My book in no way detracts from the glories of Hebrew Qabalah or its authenticity or value, and please do not think that is what I intend. That would be like saying Christianity means any less because it derives from Judaism. It only enriches Hebrew Qabalah even more to discover new depths in its historical origins and cultural sources, and my intention was only to make more people aware of those depths. I am pleased that you found the book interesting historically, and thank you very much for reading it.

Best regards,

Kieren Barry

-----Original Message-----
From: Jeff Spiegel [mailto:spiegel@telocity.com]
Sent: 27 March 2001 15:14
To: ISL HKG HK Barry Kieren
Subject: The Greek Qabalah

Kieren,

I read your book. Einstein realized that good science is applicable to ideas today no matter where it came from and he borrowed heavily from scientists such as Galileo in developing the theory of Relativity. You have shown some Jewish kabbalah to be similar. I think your book overlooks the prophetic experience as a form of kabbalah of the highest level.

Neitche's idea of eternal recurrence teaches that there is very little in this world that is a new idea and that what happens today has repeated itself ad-infinitum.

Jewish Kabbalah is authentic no matter its origin. It has been purified from the dross of other traditions to produce pure silver and gold. Today we know that circumcision was known by the Egyptians but it took Moses to purify the concept and invest the idea with divine meaning and the sign of the covenant.

So your book on Greek Qabalah is an interesting text historically.

B. Letters and Signs

Rabbi Nachman Letter - July 1, 1994

While fasting on the 17th of Tamuz, I ascended in a vision to the higher worlds. I was seeking Rabbi Nachman to ask him some questions. After passing Malchuts, Yesod, and Tiferets, I was stuck at the gates of Daat which I did not know how to enter. Eventually I saw Binah and Hochmah embrace like a mother and father and I was placed at the base of Keter. There I made it my will to find Rabbi Nachman.

I ascended to the worlds above Atzilut, passing through MH - hm - 45, BN - }b - 52, SaG - gs - 63, and arriving at AV - bu - 72.[400] There I beheld Rabbi Nachman who was radiant with joy to see me. I asked him what he was doing way up here. He told me if I continued studying his teachings I would understand.

The next day I am having dinner with a friend who has a letter from your settlement on his table. I noticed the name of your settlement contains the phrase Mekor Chochma (source of wisdom).

That night I'm reading at home the following: "Havayah expanded with Yods, adding up to 72 (AV) motivates the union of Hochmah - Wisdom (Father) and Binah - Understanding (Mother), through the Neshamah of the Neshamah of the saint. It is associated with Hochmah - Wisdom."[401] Now I know how I ascended through Daat. The saint is Rabbi Nachman of Breslov who lives through his Chaya[402] even in this world and is supporting the completion of Nachal Novea Mekor Chochma in the world of AV which is the source of the sefira of Hochmah in the worlds above Atzulut.

Encounter with the Astrological Signs - August 28, 1996

One can acquire knowledge of any subject through meditation. For example one can picture 12 rooms, each with one of the astrological glyphs above the doorway. By entering each room, one will encounter the essence of the sign. In the case of Aquarius, one can picture the water bearer who is always pouring forth, giving his resources for the world around him. The Aquarian lives to give. In the case of Pisces, one might see a room filled with sensuous tapestries, warm lights with thin shades of fabrics, and a warm carpet with nice furniture. The values of every sign can be understood better through meditative encounters.

Meditation for the Deaf – June 17, 2001

"And Isaac went out to meditate in the field before the evening; and he raised his eyes and saw and behold camels are coming." (Genesis 24:63) The word for mediate here is Suach, the word for grasses is Sicha, the word for conversation is also Sicha. Isaac was conversing with G-d in the fields. The camel is the letter Gimmel and it is a letter of good fortune for upon the camel rode Rachel, Isaac's intended wife.

Rabbi Nachman of Breslov says that we should say out every little concern we have to G-d, no matter how small. Tell him all our problems. G-d loves us more than anyone else in the whole world loves us. And he is more interested in hearing any little thing from us than anyone else. Some say, "How can I bother Hashem with this small problem?" The answer is we are not bothering Him. He wants to be bothered! This is the most powerful way to get close to Hashem.

In meditation we learn to act out what we are seeing or doing, to let the body become part of the visualization deepens the experience. This may be by letting the body dance if it feels like dancing or express itself with sign language. I will tell you it is possible for every person to get close to Hashem even while we are still in the land of the living, Bless Hashem.

There are many gateways, but study of authentic texts is essential. In your case, I recommend the Torah, Prophets, and Writings. Accompany this with walks in nature and conversations with G-d daily. Finally meditate on questions that have arisen in your mind from the Bible and let the Ribono Shel Olam, the Revered of the World teach you the answers with your signing.

C. Names of G-d [TABLES]

One principle source text for identifying the attributes associated with the key names of G-d is found in Exodus Midrash Rabbah 3:6:

6. AND G-D SAID UNTO MOSES (Exodus 3:14): R. Abba b. Mammel said: G-d said to Moses: ‘Thou wishest to know My name. Well, I am called according to My work; sometimes I am called “Almighty G-d”, “Lord of Hosts”, “G-d”, “Lord”. When I am judging created beings, I am called “G-d” (Elohim), and when I am waging war against the wicked, I am called “El Shadai” (Almighty G-d), and when I am merciful towards My world, I am called “Adonai”, for “Adonai” refers to the Attribute of Mercy, as it is said: The Lord, the Lord (Adonai, Adonai), *G-d, merciful and gracious*. Hence I am that I am in virtue of My deeds.’ R. Isaac said: G-d said to Moses: ‘Tell them that I am now what I always was and always will be’; for this reason is the word eheyeh written three times. Another explanation of I AM THAT I AM is

offered by R. Jacob b. Abina in the name of R. Huna of Sepphoris: G-d said to Moses: 'Tell them that I will be with them in this servitude, and in servitude will they always continue, but I will be with them!' Whereupon Moses said to G-d: 'Shall I tell them this? Is not this sufficient for the hour the evil thereof?' G-d replied: 'NO: THUS SHALT THOU SAY UNTO THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL: "I AM HATH SENT ME UNTO YOU." To thee only do I reveal this but not to them.' Another interpretation of I AM.

1. From the Gates of Light - Shaarey Orah

For the Lord your G-d is a merciful G-d

(Deut. 4:31 - Gates of Light p. 167)

The name El is associated with mercy from this passage. El Rahum is found in Exodus 34:6.
Uneraseable names p. 170:
Ehye, Elohim, El, Eloha, Shadai - these are attached to the name Hashem

Erasable names associated with above:
El - Hesed gadol, rachum , chanun, chasin, erech apayim, rav chesed, kadosh, chasid, soleyach

Elohim adir (mighty), shofet (judger), dayyan (judge), chazak (strong), kabir, koach (powerful)
ish miylchamah (man of war), gibor (courageous), poked avon (exacts sin),
meshalem gemul (repays in kind)

Hashem norah (awesome), noseh avon (carrier of sin), over al pesha (overlooker of transgression)
emet (truth), marom (on high), ram (exalted), notzar chesed (creator of compassion),
shochen ad (perpetual dweller) kadosh (holy).

Table 36: Pillar Names of G-d

El	**Hashem**	**Elohim**
gadol	norah	adir
rachum	noseh avon	shofet
chanun	over al pesha	dayyan
chasin	emet	chazak
erech apayim - *Long faced awaiting our return.*	marom	kabir
rav chesed	ram	koach
kadosh - *"You shall be holy for I the Lord am holy."* [403] *This refers to G-d removing himself from the world. We need to behave in the image of G-d removing ourselves from over involvement in materialism or superficial lusts.*	notzar chesed	ish miylchamah

chasid	shochen ad	gibor
soleyach	kadosh	poked avon, meshalem gemul

2. The 12 Letter Name

The name may be composed of the tetragrammaton three times or contain the initials of the twelve tribes of Israel.

3. The 42 Letter Name

Table 37: The 42 Letter Name in the Days of the Week

Weekday	Hebrew	Meaning	Sefira	Age Hebrew	Age English	Historical Basis
Sunday	xty gba	The first line of Genesis.	Hesed	0-999	3760-2761 BCE	The kindness of Eden and the sons of G-d and the sons of men. "Longevity of early generations"[404]
Monday	}fc urq	Rent the adversary	Gevurah	1000-1999	2760-1761 BCE	The purification of mankind with the Flood. "The Flood 1656 (2104 BCE)"[405]
Tuesday	cky dgn		Tiferets	2000-2999	1760-761 BCE	The splendor of Israel under the guidance of Moses and the period of the Judges. "Sinai: Year 2448 (1312 BCE)"[406]
Wednesday	gtx rfk		Netzah	3000-3999	760 BCE-239 AD	The period of kings and the 2nd Temple of Israel. "1st Temple: 2928-3338 (832-422 BCE). 2nd Temple: 3408-3328 (352 BCE-68 CE)"[407]

Thursday	unf dqj	241- larzg	Hod	4000-4999	240-1239	The age of trials and the acceptance of suffering (the dark and middle ages). "Massacres, expulsions, Crusades"[408]
Friday	kzp lgy	If we are worthy, we will be redeemed now. Rejoicing leads to redemption.	Yesod	5000-5999	1240-2239	The age of the Tzaddikim; the struggle for righteousness. "Preparation for the era of Mashiach"[409]
Saturday	tyx wqc	The eternal Shabbat for the righteous in the world to come is the end.	Malchuts	6000-6999	2240-3239	The new age of kingship.

This is one of the most obscure names of G-d.[410] Rashi comments that 'this name was not given over to us'.[411] Hence, the derivation of the name is not well known. The name of Moses's mother Yocheved - dbkwy has the gematria of 42. She is considered the mother of 600,000 souls, suggesting the name is related to creation.[412] The gematria for mother - ama is also 42. Other Kabbalists believed the name was composed from the first 42 letters of the Bible with each portion bearing the "magical potency" of the entirety.[413]

The 42 Letter Name is the force behind the mitzvah for a man to marry and have children.

And Isaiah ... came to him and said unto him:
'Thou shalt die, and not live'
(Kings 2 20:1)

"Thou shalt die" in this world "and not live" in the world-to-come.
When Hezekiah asked him, "Why is the punishment so severe?" Isaiah replied,
"Because you did not try to have children." Hezekiah replied,
"because it was shown to me by the holy spirit that children issuing from me
will not be worthy." Isaiah replied,
"What have you to do with the secrets of the Holy One?
What you have been commanded, you should have done,
and let G-d do what He pleases."

(Ber 10a. - Book of Legends 632:196)

Rabbi Nachman of Breslov taught that the secret of the 42-letter name is revealed in Nachman's fifth story, "The King Who Could Not Have Children, the Queen, the Daughter, and the Prince of Gems."[414] In this story, the King asks the Jews of his kingdom to pray on his behalf that he may have a child. The Jews reply to the King that he will need the prayer of a Tzaddik to accomplish this. They find a tzaddik who the king speaks to and the tzaddik agrees to pray on the kings behalf for the sake of the Jews in the Kingdom...

Table 38: The 42 Letter Name in the Counting of the Omer

Day	Counting of the Sefirot	Corresponding letter of the 42	Alternate Letter	Meaning (anyone who can fill in the blanks should contact me!)
1	Hesed in Hesed	a		
2	Gevurah in Hesed	b		
3	Tiferet in Hesed	g		
4	Netzah in Hesed	y		
5	Hod in Hesed	t		
6	Yesod in Hesed	x		
7	Malchuts in Hesed	xty gba		The energy of each of the six days is received by Malchuts.
8	Hesed in Gevurah	q		
9	Gevurah in Gevurah	r		
10	Tiferet in Gevurah	u		
11	Netzah in Gevurah	c		
12	Hod in Gevurah	f		
13	Yesod in Gevurah	}		
14	Malchut in Gevurah	}fc urq		
15	Hesed in Tiferet	n		
16	Gevurah in Tiferet	g		
17	Tiferet in Tiferet	d		
18	Netzah in Tiferet	y		
19	Hod in Tiferet	k		
20	Yesod in Tiferet	c		
21	Malchut in Tiferet	cky dgn		
22	Hesed in Netzah	k		
23	gevurah in netzah	f		

24	Tiferet in Netzah	r		
25	Netzah in Netzah	x		
26	Hod in Netzah	t		
27	Yesod in Netzah	g		
28	Malchut in Netzah	gtx rfk		
29	Hesed in Hod	j		
30	Gevurah in Hod	q		
31	Tiferet in Hod	d		
32	Netzah in Hod	f		
33	Hod in Hod	n		
34	Yesod in Hod	u		
35	Malchuts in Hod	unf dqj		
36	Hesed in Yesod	y	Friday	
37	Gevurah in Yesod	g		
38	Tiferet in Yesod	l		
39	Netzah in Yesod	p		
40	Hod in Yesod	z		
41	Yesod in Yesod	k		
42	Malchut in Yesod	kzp lgy	Friday	The Shechinah is within the protection of Zer Anpin. She rejoices and He bursts in love in return.
43	Hesed in Malchut	c	Shabbas	
44	Gevurah in Malchut	q		
45	Tiferet in Malchut	w		
46	Netzah in Malchut	x		
47	Hod in Malchut	y		
48	Yesod in Malchut	t		Zer Anpin descends and joins with Nukva, his eternal love.
49	Malchut in Malchut	tyx wqc		In the letters {yq – end, this is the last and highest state.

The name is associated with the 7 days of the week, 6 letters for each day.[415] The letters on each line correspond with the sefirot Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzah, Hod, and Yesod respectively with the whole

line corresponding to Malchut.[416] The line for Shabbat is:

tyx wqc

The letter vav is Tiferet in Malchuts. The tzaddik is in the place of Netzah in Malchuts.[417] Each line corresponds to a 1000 years of creation. The last line refers to the last 1000 years of creation. Each 1000 years is also associated with a sefira and the last 1000 years for the age of moshiach that is kingship and Malchuts.

The 42 Letter Name is associated with the 7 days of creation. The 'workings of creation' - Ma'aseh Bereshis begins with the letters Mem Bet in Hebrew. The gematria value of Mem Bet - bm is 42. Above I describe a vision of creation associated with the name hw la. The gematria value of this name is also 5+6+30+1 = 42. Since the name begins with Aleph - a, the first Hebrew letter and ends with Tav - t, the last Hebrew letter, we know that all creation is contained within this Name.[418]

The first seven words in Genesis comprise 28 letters.[419] There is a teaching that the first 42 letters of the bible contain the Forty Two Letter Name of G-d: [420]

"You should know a decryption [lit. kabbalah] of this second section in Genesis has been passed down to us, beginning from the verse 'In the beginning...' up to the letter b[beyt; the 42nd letter in Genesis] which contains a name of 42 letters that hints at God's activities before the creation--but only by means of 'many permutations.'
Bachya was referring to a little-known observation made two centuries earlier by another sage, Rabbenu Tam (and even earlier by one Nechunya ben HaKanah, discussed below). Tam had observed that encoded into the opening passages of Genesis was a 42-letter name of God. But more than that, Bachya claimed, there lay within its compass the necessary information for calculating the unfolding of the "days and seasons," starting with the moment of the creation of the sun and moon and ever after, according to the ancient tradition that "...the luminaries were created on the fourth day, and by them we count the years of the world." Tam did not commit the details of this calculation to writing, however.
Two centuries later, Rabbenu Bachya did so, by describing in one of his books what he called "the date which is the true starting point of all calculations of the astronomers" (hence the date to be used for "prophetic" calculations as well.) He explained:
"...if the eyes of your heart will be illumined, you will find this date encoded in the text, such that between each of its numbers lies as well 42 letters. The wise will understand that this is not by chance, but a clear sign involving the very birth of the world."

Table 39: The 42 Letter Name and First 42 letters of Genesis

Forty-two Letter Name	Bereshis
xty gba	tyc arb

}fc urq	hla arb
cky dgn	cht a\y
gtx rfk	taw \ym
unf dqj	hw{ rah
kzp lgy	tyh {ra
tyx wqc	bww hth

There are 42 places where Israel camped on their journey from Egypt to Israel. These rest stops represent a ladder of cleansing within the context of the 42 Letter Name of G-d. There are 42 days between the end of Passover and Shavuot.

Some consider that the name derives from the initial letters of Nehunia ben Hakanah's "Anah B'Coach" sung before L'chai Dodi. The Hai Gaon says that each of the individual six letter names is significant in its own right. The fifth has the gematria 241 equating to the angel Gzrel.[421] "Speaking this Name in its entirety counteracts an evil decree issued against one in Heaven."[422]

The 42 Letter Name begins with Av - ba – Father, associating with the sefira of Hochmah and Partzuf Abba. Rav in Tractate Kiddushin, 71a had the following comments on the 42 Letter Name:

That this Name is to be revealed only to a man who stands in the middle of his life, who is pious and modest, who never gives way to anger and to drink, who is not obstinate. Whoever knows that Name and preserves it in purity is beloved in heaven and beloved upon earth; is well considered by man and inherits both worlds.[423]

4. The 72 Letter Name

Urbach in "The Sages" describes a papyrus, which portrayed the Divine name in a triangular structure.[424] At the base were 12 positions for the 12 Letter Name, and then 42 positions for the 42 Letter Name and then the full 72 positions ending at top. Adjusting the rows one can see the pyramid structure.

Table 40: The 72 Letter Name Papyrus Structure

				69	70		71	**72**				
				64	65	66	67	68				
			58	59	60		61	62	63			
			51	52	53	54	55	56	57			
		43	44	45	46		47	48	49	50		

		34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	**42**		
	24	25	26	27	28		29	30	31	32	33	
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10	11	**12**

Three transcriptions of the Tetragrammaton make up the bottom row, while the Forty Two Letter Name makes up the bottom four rows and the whole structure, the Seventy Two Letter Name. The top row is the Tetragrammaton. Because the 12 Letter Name is not a subset of the Forty Two Letter Name, the papyrus does not explain the origin of the specific letters of these names. Since the papyrus was written in Greek, the structure represents the influence of Greek thought on Jewish mysticism.

The Song of Moses, Az Yshir Moshe, consists of eighteen repetitions of the Tetragrammaton, the hywh \c.[425] In Midrash Raba Genesis 15:14, G-d promised Moshe that he would save his descendants from Egypt with this name. Hence, this song sung after the victory at the Reed Sea alludes to the Name.

5. The 216 Letter Name

This name is made up of the composition of three versus of 72 letters each in Exodus. The Shaarey Orah brings down that these verses can also be composed into 54 names of 4 letters each. This would correspond to the gematria of Dalet Nun - nd, the center 2 letters in the name Adonai - ynda. The first letter of this name is Aleph corresponding to the name Ehyeh that begins with an Aleph as well. The last letter is a Yod, which begins the name of the Tetragrammaton. Adonai is associated with the sefira Malchuts. Malchuts is an entry point for prayer to the heavens.

6. Without Name

Ultimately Hashem is beyond all names or without Name. The Or HaMaor in Shoftim recognized:

Everything originates with G-d; therefore, He even gives existence to the four letters...
Even though we make use of the Tetragrammaton (YHVH) and speak of it as G-d's "proper name," it is only meant to be "for the world" so that people would be able to call Him by some name and thus bring His providence to bear upon them. G-d is actually above all names. I later heard this had been said in the name of the Baal Shem Tov.[426]

Rabbi Zev Wolf of Zitamer

All names are but part of His creation as well as the attributes that we have ascribed to Him even the Sefirot.[427]

Song Hopes of Tomorrow:
You can dream, you can dream of life's greatest things, and these are the hopes of tomorrow.
To see the point lights in the midst of the night is to glimpse the truth of the morrow.

To travel this world, on roads just unfurled is to live our hope of the morrow.
To see the beauty of the one that you love is good for the soul and brings grace to this world and hope in the future of our lives, so take someone and make h/er/im your life, have children or travel the world.
Learn the Torah, reveal the sweet words of life, practicing them is even sweeter.
In all this great world, with his glory unveiled, is to bask in the thoughts of tomorrow.

D. Sidhartha

Trees bow down, animals serving; these are the symbols of this time.

"If you tighten the string to tight it will snap; if you leave it to loose it will not play."
(Sidhartha's awakening from asceticism.)

XXIII. Glossary

Keter rtk Crown or highest sefira. Place of G-d's Will - }wxr - ratzon.
Hochmah hmkj Wisdom the second sefira. The singular purpose of creation.
Binah hnyb Understanding
Tzelem The image of the primordial man, Adam Kadmon. The image of G-d or the ideal man.
Guarding the Covenant Keeping continuous laws of the covenant like keeping kosher and speaking pleasantly.
Mitzvah Commandment
Mishkan The Tabernacle consisted of tent walls in a large rectangle.

1.

XXIV. Bibliography

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The Concise Book of Mitzvoth - Chafetz Chayim
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Meditation and the Bible

Meditation and Kabbalah
Inner Space
Sefer Yetzirah
Nachman's Short Stories
Jewish Meditation
Growth Through Torah

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[1] Soncino Talmud, Mas. T'mura 16a
[2] Soncino Talmud note: Through the holy spirit, that these forgotten laws should be taught anew (R. Gershom).
[3] Ibid: Deut. XXX, 12. The whole Torah has already been given.
[4] Ibid: Num. XXXVI, 13
[5] Form at the level of Yetzirah as opposed to create at the level of Beriyah.
[6] The finite Universe is now ever expanding from the Big Bang into eventual desolate space.
[7] Written Torah composed of the Five Books of Moses, the Prophets, and Writings
[8] Dialectic - Proposed Answer (thesis), follow up questions and analysis (antithesis), solution (synthesis). Suggestion, questioning, and answering approach found throughout the Talmud in halachic derivation.
[9] Hermeneutical - Explanatory, expository, interpretive, illustrative. Midrash. "Gadamer argues that a historian's own situation plays a role in determining the content of his interpretation of a historical event, i.e., a historian's own "prejudices" constitute necessary conditions for historical understanding."
[10] Yacov Neuman, Salt Lake City, Utah, (801) 581-9269. Yacov holds that there is only truth when there is doubt. Every great theory holds a counter theory. see Britannica Talmud and Midrash Article
[11] Soncino Talmud, Mas. T'mura 16a
[12] Pilpul in the Aramaic, a type of reasoning by example
[13] Soncino Talmud - Mas. Baba Metzia 59a-59b
[14] This word in Aramaic, whwkrbw, means they excommunicated him.
[15] Soncino Talmud note: I.e., commit a great wrong by informing him tactlessly and brutally.
[16] Soncino Talmud note: The Nasi and the prime mover in the ban against R. Eliezer.
[17] Soncino Talmud note: Ima Shalom feared that her husband might pour out his grief and feeling of injury in these prayers, and that God, listening to them, would punish R. Gamaliel, her brother.
[18] Berachot 28A
[19] Isaiah 30:7 and 45:20.
[20] Berachot 28B
[21] see Compound Number 18, Amidah
[22] Soncino Talmud note: So Rashi in Hor. 13a. Jast.: because his original character is bad — into which evil treatment might cause him to relapse.
[23] In those cases where they differ

[24] The motto of the Las Vegas Jewish News
[25] see 72 Letter Name
[26] Soncino Talmud note: Scripture and its complementary Oral Instruction, with special reference to the latter.
[27] Ibid: 'Joshua received from Moses'. The transmission and reception were done orally. All evidence goes to show that there was a continuous succession of 'schools' headed by the Elders, prophets and scribes of their respective generations, which maintained and developed the theoretical study and practical application of the Torah. For a full examination of the terms Mussar (transmitted) and Kabbalah (received) v. Bacher, Tradition und Tradenten, p. 1.
[28] Ibid: The Elders that outlived Joshua, Judges II, 7. 'Elders' in this Mishnah includes the Judges.
[29] Ibid: Kenesseth hagedolah: A body of 120 men founded by the leaders of the Jews who returned from the Babylonian captivity.
[30] Ibid: Whereby reverence for, the knowledge of, and the inviolability of the Torah might be secured (cf. Rashi).
[31] Ibid: The Torah is conceived as a garden and its precepts as precious plants. Such a garden is fenced round for the purpose of obviating wilful or even unintended damage. Likewise, the precepts of the Torah were to be 'fenced' round with additional inhibitions that should have the effect of preserving the original commandments from trespass.
[32] Midrash Rabbah Genesis I, Soncino, Ch. 1:10, page 9. Had it begun with an aleph, this is the first letter of the word cursed – arur - rwra.
[33] Sefer Yetzirah 3:2
[34] Raavad, Ramban, Etz Chayim Shaar Tanta 7 quoted in Kaplan Sefer Yetzirah page. 366.
[35] Midrash Rabbah Genesis, page 90.
[36] Gates of Light, Joseph Gikatilla, chapter "The Second Gate – The Ninth Sphere," p. 90.
[37] The Hebrew language rests on seven types of verb. They are referred to as a building – }ynb. The verb is also the means of creation. Hashem's tetragrammaton is a verb.
[38] The Knowing Heart, Luzzatto, page 191
[39] Perhaps this was the Gettysburg address.
[40] The lowest soul gives even a decaying body a human form. Without any soul presence there is no form. There is an etzem - bone that remains forever in the grave. From this Hashem will resurrect the soul. Hence, Jews do not believe in cremation. This bone contains an imprint of the soul.
[41] This place is Tohu. The absence of G-d is the definition of evil. While the sefirot initially existed in Tohu as point objects, they were incapable of giving, and they shattered with selfish overfilling energy. The shattered results were reconstructed into the Partzufim which are identified with Bohu.
[42] see Jewish Mysticism— An Anthology pp. 152-153
[43] Keter
[44] This Shabbas is Parsha Bereshis, 10/10/1996 and I ran across a teaching on the 231 gates which preceded the creation of the world. Two of the gates hw la are particularly key to the process. The name El is associated with G-d's creative power. There are 231 - alr cy is from the name Israel and refers to the 231 gates of creation described in Sefer Yetzirah, Kaplan trans., Weiser press, page 117. 231 is the number of combinations of 22 letters taken two at a time which is (22*21)/ 2 = 21*11 = 231. Kabbalists interpret the 231 gates as the forms remaining in the vacated space preceding creation. see Emek HaMelekh 6a,

Limudey Atzilut (Munkatch, 1897), 3a, 22a.
[45] The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Ktav, 1973, pp. 126-7. Metatron from mattara means service, post, watch, guard. Eleazar of Worms interprets Metatron from metator - rwfyfm, meaning leader from Gen. Rabbah v.4: "He, was made a metator for the waters,...for He is the Prince of the World." Ron - }wr means to utter praise to the Holy One.
[46] Merkabah Literature Books of Enoch I Enoch II Enoch III Enoch, Work of the Chariot, trans., page 7.
[47] Work of the Chariot Footnote 12: "In the text, the high angels protest that an impure human soul has been given access to the World of Emanation, where they cannot enter. This underscores that, unlike the Way of the Angels of *Elohi*m, extreme purity is not required to ascend the Central Column."
[48] Work of the Chariot Footnote 14: "This verse reflects the teaching in Qabalah (shared by Sufism and the Tantras) that the universe and everything in it is literally created from the letters of the alphabet as vibrational differentiations of the Alef of Unity." see Primordial Aleph XI.B
[49] Based on Am Echad Bereshis chumash class at 6:30 PM and Beth Shalom meditation after Mincha. Discussed the complexities of reconciling science's idea of creation with the Torah.
[50] Sha'are Orah, Yosef Gikatalia, page 200.
[51] Starting from first letter of first sentence, last letter of second sentence, and first letter of third sentence.
[52] David felt similarly and when he discovered that it was his son Adonijah was rising up against him. Berachos 7b comments that Adonijah did not want to kill his father.
[53] 3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Odeberg, page 160. The princes appointed over the camps of Shechinah are Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael.
[54] The Book of Enoch the Prophet, Enoch 1, Lawrence, 1892, Ch. 40, page 45. "After this I besought the angel of peace, who proceeded with me, to explain all that was concealed. I said to him, Who are those whom I have seen on the four sides, and whose words I have heard and written down? He replied, The first is the merciful, the patient, the holy Michael. The second is he who presides over every suffering and every affliction of the sons of men, the holy Raphael. The third, who presides over all that is powerful, is Gabriel. And the fourth, who presides over repentance, and the hope of those who will inherit eternal life, is Phanuel. These are the four angels of the most high God, and their four voices, which at that time I heard."
[55] Love thy Neighbor, Pliskin.
[56] Michael Walton, Salt Lake City, Utah.
[57] Mem from mayim – water is the right pillar. Shin from aish – fire is the left pillar of the Tree of Life.
[58] â as in "ah", ä as in "heh"
[59] Bahir.
[60] Rabbi Finkelman of Berkeley's Beth Israel suggested this meaning.
[61] An abbreviation for a phrase.
[62] The Taryag Mitzvos on the Shema.
[63] The Way of G-d, Luzatto, Aryeh Kaplan trans. P. 277.
[64] Ibid. p. 277.
[65] The souls of people wait in Beriyah to be born.
[66] Encyclopedia of Torah Thoughts, Rabbeinu Bachya, The Challenge of Wealth, page 486.
[67] A Call to the Infinite, Aryeh Kaplan, pp.146-147.
[68] Rabbi Goldberg, Ahavas Torah, June 3, 2001, San Jose, CA.
[69] Bernice Levy of the Matan Biblical Institute in Jerusalem spoke on this subject at Am Echad on June

15th, 1999. She said that there are three places in Israel specifically mentioned in the Torah as purchased by our ancestors: Schem, Arahat Hamechpalah in Hevron, and Jerusalem. She remembered feeling safe walking in all three of these places twenty years ago, but today she feels she can can only visit Schem and Hevron in armored vehicles and similarly in east Jerusalem.

[70] Rabbi Raphael Lapin spoke on this subject at his weekly shir after Shabbas services, July 13th 1996.

[71] See character traits, anger

[72] A Call to the Infinite, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 60.

[73] Rabbi Raphael Lapin, Congregation Am Echad, San Jose, California, 1998.

[74] **a-** fâr, fäte; **i-** jovîal; **o-** nöte

[75] see Table: Sevens

[76] Genesis 2.

[77] Genesis 3.

[78] The influences of the sefirot of Gevurah-judgment-north and Hesed-kindness-south are here.

[79] This is the mitzvah - commandment of Bikur Holim - visiting the sick. We are obliged to perform this positive commandment.

[80] Isaiah 61:10

[81] Likutey Moharan IV, Rabbi Nachman, page 123.

[82] Kad Hakemach by Rabbeinu Bachya Ben Asher, trans. Encyclopedia of Torah Thoughts, Chavel, page 200.

[83] Job 33:18-24.

[84] Job 33:25

[85] Job 33:28

[86] Job 33:29

[87] Encyclopedia of Torah Thoughts, Rabbeinu Bachya, page 201.

[88] Job 38:1

[89] see Hosea 6:1-3

[90] Fifteen alludes to the name of G-d, Yah – hy, G-d of Creation and the 15 songs of praise of the Psukei D'zimra as well as the Yishtabach.

[91] Strive for Truth: Giving and Taking, Rabbi Eliyahu Dessler, Part 1, page 131.

[92] Ibid. pp 132-133.

[93] Ibid. page 133.

[94] Judaism is a communal and family oriented religion. A single Jewish person who is alone should follow this axiom always since s/he does not have the support of a group for encouragement.

[95] Midrash Rabbah Genesis, Ch. 33. Noach .

[96] Mishnah Avot, Pinchas Kehati, Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora, Jerusalem, Page 130.

[97] For forming realities from truth, World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, pp. 54-56

[98] Berachot 28B

[99] Path of the Just, Shraga Silverstein translation.

[100] Encyclopedia of Judaism, Rabbeinu Bachaya, page 274.

[101] Meditation and the Bible, Aryeh Kaplan, page 30.

[102] Torah mystical study is a means to glimpse this light while still in this world.
[103] Psalm 73:28.
[104] Psalm 27:4.
[105] In this area divination is particularly useful for getting true feedback on one's behavior.
[106] Psalm 34:15.
[107] Pesach 4a.
[108] Proverbs 6:10.
[109] Ta'an 11a
[110] M'silat Ysharim, ch. 13.
[111] Perkei Avot 6:6, Quoted in M'silat Ysharim 19.
[112] Ibid 2.12.
[113] Yoma 86a
[114] M'silat Ysharim 22, Mordecai Kaplan trans. page 129.
[115] Ibid
[116] These numbers being according to the mental age in life.
[117] The Knowing Heart, Moshe Chayim Luzzatto, trans. Shraga Silverstein, pp. 199-201.
[118] Similar to the Hegelian Dialectic, see http://www.bartleby.com/65/he/Hegel-Ge.html.
[119] Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, Rabbi Nathan of Nemirov, trans. and annotated Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, edited by Rabbi Zvi Aryeh Rosenfeld, Breslov Research Institute, 1973, preface.
[120] In Kotels one often finds students suffering from depression. Halachic material in the Talmud intrinsically may have little that is spiritually inspiring and the legal argument methods day after day in these subjects may cause depression. Rabbi Gedahlia Meir, a talmud hocham residing in Tel Stone and who I studied Talmud with in San Jose in 1998 acknowledged that this could be the case.
[121] Perkei Avos 6:6.
[122] Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, page 173, saying 65.
[123] Zohar 1:14b
[124] Ibid. 3:227b.
[125] Likutey Moharan #4:3,4 page 123.
[126] Ezekiel.
[127] Likutey Moharan #4 note 1, page 115.
[128] Likutey Moharan #4 note 38, page 129 states:
That is: When my bones say their confession...then Malkhut is rectified. The commentaries point out that atzmtay ("mybones") can also be understood as "my self," referring to one's aetzem (essence). "All my bones" thus implies all of a person's inner thoughts and deeds (radak, loc. Cit.).
[129] Likutey Moharan #4:5, page 129.
[130] Ka R. 3:1. The Book of Legends Page 345.
[131] B. Yev 102b.
[132] Nati Elon lives in Caesaria, Israel. I see within him the spark of moshiach.
[133] The Palm Tree of Devorah – Tomer Devorah, Moshe Cordovero, trans. Rabbi Moshe Miller, Targum Press, page 48.
[134] The Palm Tree of Devorah, Moshe Cordovero, Targum Press, Chapter 4, page 78.

[135] Ibid, page 118.
[136] Ibid, pp. 78-82.
[137] The Palm Tree of Devorah, Moshe Cordovero, Targum Press, Chapter 5, page 84.
[138] Ibid, page 86.
[139] Tikkunim.
[140] IMHO this applies to a man before marriage. Hazal teach that one should remove himself to a place of Torah learning. This is to teach to travel to live where there are more Jews involved in Torah.
[141] Gates of Repentance, Rabbeinu Yonah of Gerona, Feldheim, page 39.
[142] Genesis describes G-d walking in the Garden. Song of songs describes G-d as a young husband. Shiur Komah describes G-d in mystical terms like the Zohar.
[143] The Kabbalah Unveiled, The Book of Concealed Mystery, pages 67-69.
[144] In fact I am writing this text on Rosh Hodesh Adar Sheni which is also the Hebrew day of my birth.
[145] The Kabbalah Unveiled, The Idra Rabba Kaddisha, the Great Sanctified Idra, page 134.
[146] Ibid. page 69.
[147] The Palm Tree of Devorah, Chapter 1.
[148] Art Scroll Siddur, page 771.
[149] A body containing fish.
[150] The horn is the shofar calling our soul back to Hashem in the trembling that proceeds a complete tshuvah or return. The beast is the yetzer hara or evil inclination which is separated from our soul and slain by Hashem.
[151] Sept. 6, 1996. At a visit to a diner, I noticed a homeless person who had come in off the street and was sitting at the counter near me. He ordered a hamburger making sure the waitress understood that he did not want any condiments. When he received his bill, I saw him check the price right away. As I was leaving I debated offering him money to pay for his lunch considering that he might be embarrassed. Then I placed myself in his position. Some rabbis would travel incognito as beggars to understand the plight of others better. I recalled my backpack trips through Europe where I would stop at a diner for rest as well as food. I paid the man's lunch and he was grateful.
[152] Lessons from our Teeth, Moshe Goldberger, Staten Island, NY, quoting Rav Avigdor Miller, p. 26.
[153] Sparks of Mussar, page 153.
[154] Kindness.
[155] Likutey Moharan, Volume IV, #31:1, page 331. Rabbi Nachman teaches that these blessings complete to seven for the seven planets and twelve for the twelve constellations when the reward of observing the Shabbas is added to both which overcomes them and hence charity saves from death. For example, Abraham's mazel was changed through charity so that he was permitted to have children.
[156] Rabbi Zvi Aryeh Rosenfeld, quoted in Likutey Moharan, Vol. IV, #31:2, note 15, page 333.
[157] Growth Through Torah, Pliskin, Portion Reah, subject Joy.
[158] Email 9/11/2001, not sure of the original source.
[159] Genesis 49:7 as brought forth by Rabbi Mordechai Katz, Joshua, page 157.
[160] Rashi, Parshas Vayechi as brought forth by Rabbi Mordechai Katz, Joshua, page 158.
[161] It's all a GIFT, Miriam Adahan.
[162] Pliskin. Eliahu Lopin discusses this in Lev Eliahu as well.
[163] Orchos Tzaddikim, pages 246-247.

[164] Paraphrased from Rabbi Doctor Joseph H. Gelberman, Kabbalah Instruction, San Francisco Yoga Center, 5/28/1997.
[165] M'silat Yesharim, Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto, translated by Mordechai Kaplan trans. Page 87.
[166] M'silat Yesharim, Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto, Chapter 11, Mordechai Kaplan trans. Page 113.
[167] Korah who was a Levite already had the privilege of ministering in all of G-d's services.
[168] See index entry 'image of G-d' for cross references.
[169] Day of Atonement, Hebrew Publishing Company, page 93.
[170] Chofetz Chaim, Guard Your Tongue, Ch. 6:9 - Calming down the speaker, page 87.
[171] The Jewish Marriage, Rabbi Tsvi Dov Travis, page 206.
[172] Likutey Moharan Vol. IV # 29:1,2 pp. 203-205
[173] Ibid
[174] Ibid
[175] Gems of Rabbi Nachman, Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, pages 66- 68.
[176] Ibid
[177] Likutey Moharan #148, Rabbi Nachman of Breslov, Volume 10, page 215.
[178] A Passion For Truth, Abraham Joshua Heschel.
[179] Orchos Tzaddikim, Feldheim, page 453.
[180] Shabbas 127b
[181] Vayikra 19:15
[182] David Lewis quoting Mannis Friedman, April 28, 2001
[183] Rabbi Isaac of Acco, Meir Eynayim – Light of the Eyes, Meditation and Kabbalah, page 143.
[184] Claudette Howerton made this suggestion August 8th, 1999 to the group on behalf of Lee while not inferring it be for any particular person. This was at Ira's yearly summer get together in the San Jose foothills at 4111 Higuerra.
[185] Sefer Yetzirah 5:4.
[186] Sefer Yetzirah 5:10.
[187] See The Palm Tree of Devorah
[188] This is the force of the Kelipot. Before any significant spiritual experience, there is a battle or test to be overcome.
[189] The Book of Our Heritage, Eliyahu Kitov, Book 1, pp 63-64.
[190] Sha'are Orah, Gates of Light. Harper Collins. Page 189.
[191] ibid. Page 263.
[192] Berachos 4b.
[193] The mirrors represent the reflection of the souls in each other since they were all of the same source root.
[194] Likutey Moharan 17:5 vol. 3, page 45 also Footnote 80. Giving charity to root souls encompasses other souls.
[195] The Book of Our Heritage, Feldheim Publishers, page 327.
[196] Berachos 6b.
[197] The 39 Avoth Melacha of Shabbath.
[198] **a-** fâr, fäte; **i-** jovîal; **o-** nöte

[199] Me'am Loez. Genesis. Page 70.
[200] The month of Heshvan ~ November has the sign of Akrav which is the Scorpio. The similarity of spelling with Arak signifies that scorpions are often found in the barren desert.
[201] On helping Orchids to flower, April 19, 1997
[202] BCI is a program offered by the Brandeis Bardin Institute. The program is aimed at college youth from the ages of 18-25 and consists of a 1 month intensive Jewish learning experience.
[203] see The Psalms of David by James Freemantle, William Morrow Press. This most beautiful work was published by the son of .... spent mostly of his life working on the calligraphy and illustrations in this work which was dedicated in love to whose wife.
[204] Bahir 95, 119
[205] Linda Goodman's Star Signs, Linda Goodman, St. Martin's Press pp. 65-80.
[206] Berachos 8a.
[207] Berachos 8a, towards bottom - "Amar lai rabbah."
[208] The World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, page 36.
[209] Ibid, page 121. Berachot 28b mentions the correspondence of 18 names of G-d in the listed prayers but does not mention that they multiply to 72 letters. Munk quotes Bereshis Raba 15:14 and Ramban on Exodus 6:3 to make this point on page 85.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Free – Sept. 4, 2000
[212] Bringing Rain – Feb 18, 1996, having the astrological sign of Pisces is like water calling for rain
[213] The Tallis is a prayer shawl warn in the mornings having strings called Tzitzit descending in the four corners. This also symbolizes the higher Tallis in the heavens but more importantly the presence of Hashem surrounding our lives.
[214] Sefer Yetzirah 6:1, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Page 231.
[215] Ibid. page 233.
[216] Jan 3, 1997
[217] Watching the stars at night eliminates eye strain headaches.
[218] The Holy Kabbalah, A. E. Waite, quoting Eliphas Levi p. 555. In general Waite discredits the ideas of Levi as being without fact and of imagination not inspiration.
[219] Ibid p. 556.
[220] Fool card which has number 0 but has been placed incorrectly in correspondence with the letter Aleph.
[221] see Linda Goodman's Star Signs
[222] Compare this with the Hierophant whose operating location is a sanctuary, a temple.
[223] The upper and lower gardens of Eden.
[224] Compare this with the Hierophant whose operating location is a sanctuary, a temple.
[225] Rabbi Goldberg, Ahavas Torah, June 3, 2001, San Jose, CA.
[226] Me'am Lo'ez, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Page 2.
[227] Berachos 2a, CD-Daf, audio commentary Rav Fishel Schachter.
[228] See Balak
[229] Interestingly, today as I am writing this–7/9/96, I saw in Border's Books a book called, "The Empty Chair" excerpts from Rabbi Nachman of Breslov. I opened the book to a teaching which said, "One must

make every effort to be joyful in life, even if one has to do something silly." Other quotes dealt with the destructive force that comes with depression, has v'shalom. This dream also parallels Reb Nachman's story of the 7 Beggars who were great healers. The greatest of the beggars was the one who healed by dancing but had no legs. The story concludes by Reb Nachman stating that the secret of this beggar's healing would only be revealed in the time of Moshiach.)

[230] Brandeis Camp Institute is a summer program for college age students from 18-25 in Simi Valley which is north of LA. The program was run by Dennis Prager when I attended in August 1980.

[231] See Stephen Leberge's books for proven methods for experiencing these dreams.

[232] This was Mike Liveright who in some ways has been a mentor in my life. Visions in dreams are more susceptible to image metamorphosis. see Ovid's Metamorphosis.

[233] In hypnosis we count down to deepen the state of a trance. The same technique deepens a lucid dream. Similarly, Stephen Leberg wrote about spinning out or disorienting oneself as a technique for maintaining a lucid dream.

[234] Magen David.

[235] A foot in length.

[236] The Focus is a meditative symbol for transforming reality. For example, on the day this was contemplated an Earthquake occurred at 10:15 AM in San Jose, California. A prophet's staff is a similar symbol. All staffs from a living tree are ultimately from the Tree of Life the source of all trees.

[237] From the sefira of Yesod.

[238] This is similar to the vision of the angel in Binah where I gave her a Heh that I had found in a river at the beginning of the journey. See Merkavah

[239] A Pisces should visit these types of places regularly or live there.

[240] Excuse the nationalistic message. In a conversation with the Arch-Bishop of Prague the Maharal records the Arch-Bishop saying, "You Jews claim that you are a good nation. Observably you seem to have a pension for trouble or evil. It is not that we accuse you of being evil to those outside your own tribe. It is not that we are accusing you of . You Jews are really bad. Not because you treat us badly or other nations; this we could understand, we don't like you, you don't like us; no because you are not good for each other. All of these teachings, you shall love the ne neighbor as yourself stuff and then the harm you inflict upon your neighbor. I submit that you treat your neighbor worse than we treat our neighbor. You guys don't hang together. The harms you guys can afflict on each other. I submit that you treat each other worse than we treat each other." The Maharal had three answers. Jews are at each others throats because galut (exile) is unnatural. Galut is divisiness between the Jewish people. The Arch bishop said that your wrong. It goes back to Yosef and your brothers. You have it in your bones." The Maharal said, "You have a prima-facea case. Yet, the source of this is not the impoversished state of the Jewish people. It is the nobility of the Jewish people gone awry. This nation by its nature tends to importance to the nobility of the soul more than other people. Hakodesh Baruch hu has elevated us above other nations but our sins have gotten in the way. The creation of the Jewish people dictated that the Jewish people have different yearnings. You can see that when we are up against the wall we come back to being one people. Jews are people into meaning, ideas. If we are on the right track we're into Torah, if not other ideas. The Galut is infighting and divisiveness. When we are an Am, a people, we are drawn back to our nation."
http://www.613.org/jsi/zion23-adlerstein-maharal.ram "Maharral, Israel, Exile, and Redemption" by Rabbi Adlerstein at Beth Jacob for the Jewish Studies Institute of the Yeshiva of Los Angeles on Jan. 13, 1998 taped by Dovid Silverstein.

[241] Raziel keeps the secrets of soul mates. He also knows the quality of different locations match each soul. He does not give these answers freely, but one must merge and become the angel to obtain the knowledge. Ironically, most often one will find that these answers will agree with what we each already know deep down in our soul.
[242] This meditation was led by Ira Brandell at Beth Shalom at the end of the 2nd day of Passover.
[243] G-d refers to Israel with this fond name which takes us back to the time when Joshua by the hand of G-d led us into Israel and we served G-d completely and wholeheartedly. The generation that entered Israel was like a new born child, innocent of the idolatrous ways of other peoples.
[244] Likutey Moharan I:65 quoted in Garden of the Souls, page 37.
[245] Praying an individual manner, often accompanied by standing and shifting one's weight side to side or forward and back. The movement is like the waves of a flag which catch the eye of Hashem to our needs.
[246] Stan Sussman leads the Minyan's Rashi shir each Saturday morning at 9 AM.
[247] Maimonides Principle 10: "I believe with complete faith in the coming of Messiah."
[248] G-d communicates with us through angels, i.e. the angel of the Burning Bush.
[249] Metatron is from Hanoch; Sandalfon is the angelic Elijah.
[250] Meditation and Kabbalah trans. Gates of Light, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 130.
[251] Ibid. page 128.
[252] See "I saw Heaven" by LDS publishing. LDS maintains a strong believe in prophecy even to this day. The person who wrote this work had a guide which showed him a heavenly city which looked like SLC.
[253] See Daniel 9:7-14, See Zohar river of fire descending from beard
[254] Berakhot 61b; Tikkuney Zohar, Addendum 3, p. 140b.
[255] Likutey Moharan, Ch. 19, pp. 185-187.
[256] Sha'are Orah, Gates of Light.
[257] Time is running out. Now is the time to return. The stamps are on the postcards that need to be sent. Concern for money is an obstacle.
[258] Midrash Rabbah Deuteronomy 8:1, Soncino addition, pp. 147-148.
[259] World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, page 129.
[260] Jewish Bulletin, "Women seeking basherit? Prayer, mitzvoth might help", 6/28/1996 issue.
[261] Me'am Lo'ez, page 107.
[262] A Call to the Infinite, Aryeh Kaplan, pp. 65-66.
[263] The Amidah is the quintessential prayer and is referred to as Tefillah.
[264] Berachos 4b.
[265] Likutey Moharan #36:3, Vol. 5, page 153
[266] Ibid, page 155.
[267] Ashrei, Moshe Goldberger et. al., Staten Island Yeshiva, page 4.
[268] Likutey Moharan #216, Vol. 11, page 101
[269] Spies, heretics, or atheists during the time of Rabbi Nachman
[270] Bahir 157 Aryeh Kaplan commentary, p. 176
[271] Bahir
[272] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 2.
[273] Likutey Moharan #31:14 Vol. IV, page. 387 quoted from the Zohar I, 85b.

[274] Ibid. page 391.
[275] A Call to the Infinite, Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, page 76.
[276] Ibid. Aryeh Kaplan quotes this from Eliahu Rabbah 132:3, Beer Hetiv 132:3.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid. pp. 77-78.
[279] Revealed with the name Adonay Tzavaot, the name of G-d associated with the sefira of Netzah. Netzah is the higher source for prophecy and revelation in this world. Moses, our teacher, epitomized the midos of Netzah.
[280] Siddur Avodat Israel, English Translation, Sinai publishing
[281] Strategic Self Hypnosis, Roger A. Straus, Second edition, 1988
[282] Ibid. pp. 3-6
[283] Ibid. pp. 42-48.
[284] Ibid. pp. 65-68.
[285] Creative Self-hypnosis, Roger A. Straus, First edition, 1989, page 32
[286] Strategic Self Hypnosis, Roger A. Straus, Second edition, 1989, pp. 197-198
[287] Ibid. page 200.
[288] Winning Tennis, Scott Perlstein, pp. 74-79
[289] Ugly Tennis.
[290] Props in a vision help in movement. Here a garment aids the visionary in ascent.
[291] Man was created in the "image (tzelem) of G-d". The sefirot are equated with this image and manifest themselves from the attributes of Hashem into the image of man.
[292] Similar to stories of Ovid.
[293] Eloah Beriyahot – G-d of Creation, is found in Parsha Vayigash.
[294] Sefer Yetzirah 1:1, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Weiser, page 5.
[295] Handbook of Jewish Thought II, Aryeh Kaplan, Mozanim, page 334.
[296] Mathers translation.
[297] The 6th hour is from midnight and corresponds to the 1st hour of daylight. The ruling planet of the first hour of the day dominates the influence of the day.
[298] The Sevens of Creation has associations from a different tradition. The metal and color here are from the Key of Solomon.
[299] Sefer Yetzirah. Page 96.
[300] Kol Emet meditation group, Palo Alto, CA.
[301] There is a tradition that Pinchas did not die and became Elijah who also never died. G-d took Elijah directly into heaven in a fiery chariot. Each Pesach - Passover, we leave a cup of Elijah out with the expectation that he may come and visit us soon with the dawn of a new age.
[302] Halacha or law literally means walking. Judaism equates keeping the commands with the way one walks in life.
[303] There is a Midrash that Isaac went out in the field to pray amongst the grasses. As the grasses wave in the wind so does Jew wave when he prays to G-d. The grasses prayed with Isaac and received Rebecca his wife.
[304] G-d created Lilith from the dust of the earth at the same time as Adam. Nevertheless Lilith was not a

help mate for Adam having a different nature entirely. Eventually she tried to rule over him without G-d between them. There is a teaching that the name of man in Hebrew is ish - cya and that of woman is ishah - hca. As long as G-d is between them they live as husband and wife. Nevertheless, if they remove G-d from the relationship, i.e. the letters from the name of G-d - hy, has vshalom, only fire - ca is left and the relationship consumes itself.

[305] Mido-cnegdo-mido, character trait begets character trait, for Adam's lust.

[306] The text used the reflexive version of kill, implying Cain killed himself as well as Abel.

[307] G-d's primordial thought and creation of first man.

[308] OU article, Jewish Thought Vol. 3 #2 page 62. Ber. Rabah 23:5 on Ber 4:25. Zohar 28b p. 108.

[309] Zohar 28b p. 108.

[310] After Hevel died, Adam avoided relations with his wife for 130 years. At that time Lamech's wives came in mourning to Adam. Lamech had killed Kayin and Tuval Kayin in a hunting accident. Lamech's two wives refused to have relations with their husband because of the murders and fulfillment of the prophecy over Kayin. Adam said that we are commanded to be fruitful and multiply and should not avoid this even because of prophecy. The women retorted, "Before you correct others correct yourself." Therefore he set an example with his wife so that Lamech's wives would not point out that he had given up relations with his wife over the death of Hevel. Seth is born after the death of Cain and Abel and replaces both.

[311] Lilith was very beautiful and Adam was proud of her and took her. This is the source of pride necessary for Kingship. The children of this marriage were demons. A marriage for appearance or wealth alone will not produce good offspring. Nevertheless, Seth had both the goodness of Abel and a touch of pride from Cain. Pride in one's wife is an ingredient for this balance. Women have the same dual choice and this is often the basis of their attraction to the 'wrong man'. In essence a touch of pride elevates goodness into leadership.

[312] Psalm 78:38, Zohar 23b, pp. 96-97.

[313] Ahavath Chesed, page 92. Chazal is a term referring to our sages of blessed memory.

[314] Abraham had not revealed the purpose of Eleazar's mission to Isaac before sending him away.

[315] Pirkey Hekhalot, Jewish Mysticism - An Anthology, Dan Cohn-Sherbok. pp. 72-75.

[316] I have placed them there with the highest heaven leading to the base of the world of creation.

[317] This is from a vision I had where I was placed as a star upon high point to transmit light in Yetzirah.

[318] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Weiser, 1990, page 186.

[319] Me'am Lo'ez, Genesis 6, page 182.

[320] These are mythological creatures.

[321] See Healing Meditations

[322] See Malachi

[323] Sefer Yetzirah The Book of Creation, Aryeh Kaplan trans., page 5.

[324] ibid page 298.

[325] See The Seven Double Letter Paths

[326] Bahir 96. Shaarey Orah Ch. 8.

[327] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 8.

[328] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan, page 166.

[329] Kabbalah Tradition of Hidden Knowledge, Z'ev Ben Shimon Halevi, page 70. The Temple Mount symbolizes the four worlds of creation each with an upper and lower part. This is a minimum and applies to

all planes of existence.

[330] I saw my past lives in other Yosefs before me and my future path in life to marriage. I saw Malchah in the place of Binah and myself below her. I saw her spirit sawing upward like a white sparrow shooting up. I realized that it was the freedom or Jubilee of Binah that would set her spirit soaring up to Hashem and she would lift me in this flight of joy. I also saw the publication of this work, Dancing with Angels.

[331] This vision completes the first 72 pages of Dancing with Angels in the original manuscript.

[332] The Gate of Kavannah: Meditation and Kabbalah pp. 119-122, Aryeh Kaplan translator

[333] The violet is the lowest part of Tiferet adjacent to the dark and light pings of Netzah and Hod. Together they are the boundary of RaZ.

[334] Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, pp 121, 181. Transcribed 7/11/96—torah learning, conversation, star watching at night inspire writing in the morning.

[335] In the first few minutes of any hypnotic session, one should remind oneself of one's goal.

[336] Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, pp. 119-122, 326. Jewish Theological Seminary Ms 1822:9 p 43a,b. Quoted in Shaarey Kedushah.

[337] Michael, Gabriel, Uriel.

[338] 3 Enoch – The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Ktav publishing, 1973, page 115. "Metatron is the reprsentative of the Holy One to individual men. 'It was Metatron who showed himself to Moses and to the prophets, for twlyuh tlyu did not show Himself to any man.'"

[339] Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael.

[340] The following ideas came after the meditation and are not significant.

Sunday is emphasized with Hesed by the letter aleph - a which rules air and is the symbol of the first day of the week and the first day of creation.
Monday is emphasized with Gevurah by the letter resh - r which rules peace. This is the inner peace which comes by learning to forgive others which releases anger.
Tuesday is emphasized with Tiferets by the letter dalet - d which rules over seed. Hence Tuesday was twice blessed for the fruitfulness of the world and Tiferets is the place of the Garden of Eden.
Wednesday is emphasized with Netzah by the letter tzaddik - x which rules over righteousness. In this case Moses is the example of this righteous energy
Thursday is emphasized with Hod by the letter nun - n which rules over death.
Friday is emphasized with Yesod by the letter caph - k which rules over life.

[341] This is also the manner in which one ascends and descends the bimah in shul for an aliya. One takes the shortest route when one goes up in order not to delay the service. This is the "running" in the description of Jacob's ladder. One takes the longer route upon returning to one's seat in order to meet more people, exchange more yash hacoahs, and to spread the blessing of Torah to others. This is "returning" in Jacob's ladder.

[342] This was the Torah portion of the week.

[343] Likutey Moharan I:282. Azamra - 'I will sing' pamphlet.

[344] By coincidence I am reentering this lesson on a Monday in Tevet into a word processor.

[345] I was born in the year of the tiger, 1962. The Chinese signs reflect our latent ego. When we manifest the qualities of the sign authentically we move towards our potential.

[346] See Merkavah

[347] The seraph was from the Plane of Fire as I would discover years later.

[348] The shape was a "teenage ninja turtle."

[349] There is never a waiting line here for "the wicked do not repent even at the entrance to Hell." (Eruvin

19a - quoted in Strive for Truth 1, p. 156) Free will is in this world and our opportunity for repentance is here and now.

[350] Zohar Terumah 150b quoted in Strive for Truth, Rabbi Eliyahu Dessler, Part 3, p. 210, "Gehinnom is fired by the fierce heat of the yetzer ha-ra of the wicked."

[351] There is no fire in hell except around the souls who create it. This also means that evil cannot exist in and of itself as a force separate from a divine soul. Likutey Moharan 27:10 volume IV, note 18, page 171 comments on our being forced to sing their songs while we were taken into Babylon, "This is because singing and playing their music separates the good in their song from the evil. Evil has no existence of its own, and survives only by virtue of the good in its midst. Removing the good leaves the enemy without any subsistence and in this way G-d saves us from him."

[352] The idea that Avraham can lift a Jew from Gehenom is found in Kabbalistic sources.

[353] I held a weekly class at the San Jose Chai House on Judaism.

[354] *Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say: 'Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?' But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it. See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy G-d, to walk in His ways, and to keep His commandments and His statutes and His ordinances; then thou shalt live and multiply, and the Lord thy G-d shall bless thee in the land whither thou goest in to possess it. (Deuteronomy 30:13-16)*

[355] Likutey Moharan 1B, #8:5, footnote 41, page 48.

[356] Proverbs 12:21

[357] Tikkuney Zohar 22.

[358] "Being attached to the very Source, to the YHVH, he transcends the origin of the wicked man's ruach. This explains why the perfect tzaddik remains unaffected by the wicked man's ruach." Likutey Moharan 1B #8:5, page 49, footnote 40.

[359] Genesis 13:1. "His going down into Egypt was in order to subdue and humble the wickedness of the land. After succeeding, he ascended from there, complete and without lack." Likutey Moharan 1B #8:5, page 48 footnote 42.

[360] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 199.

[361] The Light Beyond, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 294.

[362] In Back to the Beginning

[363] In Yesod, I saw the Nickelsburg Rebbe who like all living Tzaddikim ascend regularly to this sefira. Yesod which means foundation is symbolized by the Tzaddik Joseph. The gematria of Yesod - dwsy is 80. Sod which means secret is 70. Yesod is also the 8th sefira representing dedication. The temple was rededicated to Hashem on the 8 days of Hanukkah. Likewise, the tzaddik dedicates his entire life to Hashem. Yesod is the home of the tzaddikim (and the Living G-d) while they are living, El Chai.

[364] I saw him as in a portrait picture that can be found in the house of Chabad shalichim - messengers.

[365] Daat or knowledge is the quasi sefira which is the result of mastery of wisdom, understanding, kindness, and responsibility. It is the gateway to Keter, the crown of G-d, which is the place of G-d's will.

[366] A cherub came with a coal & placed it in my mouth and I was cleansed and my mouth opened. The place of Daat does not associate with a single name of G-d but one must open his mouth with wisdom to enter.

[367] The tapes of a Breslov teacher in Los Angeles, name unknown, and the tapes of Rabbi Aryeh

Rosenfield.
[368] In Rabbi Nachman Letter
[369] Palo Alto JCC meditation group under the direction of Ira Brandell meets Thursday at 7 PM.
[370] Shaar Ruach Hakodesh, p. 110. First Yichud. Quoted in Meditation and Kabbalah, Page 238.
[371] Likutey Moharan, Ch. 19, Page 188, bottom notes. Also see Chayeh Moharan i.e. Tzaddik #86.
[372] Midrash Rabbah Genesis 3:6
[373] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 7, page 272.
[374] Shaarey Orah associates Yesh with the sefirah Hochmah. The reward originates in Keter, is stored in Hochmah, descends to Hesed, and is held back in Gevurah.
[375] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 9, page 328.
[376] Klippot.
[377] Ezekiel vision.
[378] This meditation is a follow-up with greater future detail to the previous throne meditation to be included.
[379] Hemdat yamim, Moadim 24a. trans. in “Beyond Appearances, Stories from the Kabbalistic Ethical Writings,” Aryeh Wineman, Page 84.
[380] Bipolar Disorder FAQ, Barry Campbell, Marco Anglesio, http://www.moodswing.org/bdfaq.html.
Twelve things to do if your loved one has depression, manic-depression,
or some other mood disorder:

1. Don't regard this as a family disgrace or a subject of shame.
Mood disorders are biochemical in nature, just like diabetes, and
are just as treatable.

2. Don't nag, preach or lecture to the person. Chances are
he/she has already told him or herself everything you can
tell them. He/she will take just so much and shut out the rest.
You may only increase their feeling of isolation or force one
to make promises that cannot possibly be kept. (I promise I'll
feel better tomorrow honey; I'll do it then, okay?)

3. Guard against the "holier-than-thou" or martyr-like attitude.
It is possible to create this impression without saying a word.
A person suffering from a mood disorder has an emotional
sensitivity such that he/she judges other people's attitudes
toward him/her more by actions, even small ones, than by spoken
words.

4. Don't use the "if you loved me" appeal. Since persons with mood
disorders are not in control of their affliction, this approach
only increases guilt. It is like saying, "If you loved me, you
would not have diabetes."

5. Avoid any threats unless you think them through carefully and

definitely intend to carry them out. There may be times, of course, when a specific action is necessary to protect children. Idle threats only make the person feel you don't mean what you say.

6. If the person uses drugs and/or alcohol, don't take it away from them or try to hide it. Usually this only pushes the person into a state of desperation and/or depression. In the end he/she will simply find news ways of getting more drugs or alcohol if he/she wants them badly enough. This is not the time or place for a power struggle.

7. On the other hand, if excessive use of drugs and/or alcohol is really a problem, don't let the person persuade you to use drugs or drink with him/her on the grounds that it will make him/her use less. It rarely does. Besides, when you condone the use of drugs or alcohol, it is likely to cause the person to put off seeking necessary help.

8. Don't be jealous of the method of recovery the person chooses. The tendency is to think that love of home and family is enough incentive to get well, and that outside therapy should not be needed.

Frequently the motivation of regaining self respect is more compelling for the person than resumption of family responsibilities. You may feel left out when the person turns to other people for mutual support. You wouldn't be jealous of their doctor for treating them, would you?

9. Don't expect an immediate 100 percent recovery. In any illness, there is a period of convalescence. There may be relapses and times of tension and resentment.

10. Don't try to protect the person from situations which you believe they might find stressful or depressing. One of the quickest ways to push someone with a mood disorder away from you is to make them feel like you want them to be dependent on you.

Each person must learn for themselves what works best for them, especially in social situations. If, for example, you try to "shush" people who ask questions about the disorder, treatment, medications, etc., you will most likely stir up old feelings of resentment and inadequacy. Let the person decide for THEMSELVES whether to answer questions, or to gracefully say "I'd prefer to discuss something else, and I really hope that doesn't offend you".

11. Don't do for the person that which he/she can do for him/herself. You cannot take the medicine for him/her; you cannot feel his/her feelings for him/her, and you can't solve his/her problems for him/her; so don't try. Don't remove problems before the person can face them, solve them or suffer the consequences.

12. Do offer love, support, and understanding in the recovery, regardless of the method chosen. For example, some people choose to take meds; some choose not to. Each has advantages and disadvantages (more side-effects versus greater possibility of relapse, for example). Expressing disapproval of the method chosen will only deepen the person's feeling that anything they do will be wrong.

[381] **a-** fâr, fäte; **i-** jovîal; **o-** nöte

[382] Ira Brandell is a healer in the San Jose area. His meditations are gifted and tune automatically to each individual in the group.

[383] This parallel's the association of the angels with the sefirot assuming one is facing East like the encampment at Sinai. We face East while meditating in the Shul. East - Tiferet is the direction of the rising Sun and the angel of light is Uriel. To the Right is South - Hesed which is represented by Michael the protector of Israel who transmits kindness. To the Left is North - Gevurah which is represented by Gavriel who brings us to responsibility and discipline which is corrects us spiritually. Behind is West - Yesod which is represent by Raphael who like the Tzaddik heals his people.

[384] I was teaching a class at a senior home in San Jose called the Chai House. One student's name was Timber. During the meditation I got the message, "Timber is a precious soul to Hashem and his belief is his Tzaddik for him." Timber was a Jew who became a 7th day Adventist.

[385] In the hypnotic state, let the subconscious direct the movement of the body. The conscious mind will eventually realize the wisdom of the subconscious.

[386] I am typing this entry Rosh Hodesh Av 5756 - July 16, 1996.

[387] Leaping and bounding in the hypnotic state is like flying in a lucid dream. Taking time to experience pleasure will make future hypnotic sessions easier to enter.

[388] Understanding Judaism, The Basics of Deed and Creed, Benjamin Blech, Ch. 18, page 160

[389] Math and Music Harmonious Connections, Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughan Kahn, Dale Seymour Publications, page 40.

[390] Math and Music, page 62.

[391] Math and Music Harmonious Connections, Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughan Kahn, Dale Seymour Publications, page 132.

[392] A Brief History of Time, Stephen Hawking, 10th edition, page 20.

[393] Salt Lake City Community College lecture on astronomy, 9/07/2001.

[394] Tish B'Av 5760

[395] These are notes based on conversations with Rabbi Finehandler, author of Beloved Companions. June 12th 1999.

[396] Gemara Yevamos, Rabbi Aryeh Rosenfeld, Yevamos lecture

[397] Upper of Garden of Eden
[398] Father and mother.
[399] Added later.
[400] Traditional kabbalah places BN below MH.
[401] Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, page 238.
[402] The Neshamah of the Neshamah is the Chaya
[403] Torah Portion Ahrey Mos.
[404] From Exile to Redemption, Lubavitcher Rebbe Shlita, page 20.
[405] Ibid
[406] Ibid
[407] Ibid
[408] Ibid
[409] Ibid
[410] See Burning Bush that does not burn
There are seven groups of six letters. The seven groups are the seven days of the week. The six letters in each group are in the positions of the six sefirot Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzah, Hod, and Yesod. The combination of the letter and its position reveal the aspect of the sefira that is emphasized for that day.
[411] Kiddushin 71b.
[412] Nachman's short stories, trans. Aryeh Kaplan.
[413] Kabbalah, Charles Ponce, page 183.
[414] Rabbi Aryeh Rosenfield, Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, Tape 30.
[415] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan, Ch. 4. Also Ch. 5 for mix with letters of the name of G-d for 28 paths.
[416] Nachman's Short Stories, Aryeh Kaplan, page 126.
[417] Ibid. Reb Nachman is interpreted as assigning Moses to the letter vav and the Messiah to the tzaddik. The name Nachman has the gematria 149 which is the same as Netzah.
[418] This is the also found in the Greek concept of from Alpha to Omega
[419] The Holy Kabbalah, Arthur Edward Waite, page 618
[420] Cracking the Bible, Jeffrey Satinover, http://www.quantgen.com/ch06.htm, search for "42 letter name" Genesis
[421] Hebrew Amulets, Schrire
[422] http://members.aol.com/fegele/letters03.html
[423] M. Gaster, "Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic etc., vol. I, London 1925, pp. 295 ff.
[424] Urbach, "The Sages", page 130.
[425] The World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, page 85.
[426] The Light Beyond, Aryeh Kaplan, page 31.
[427] Nothing is the essence of G-d.
ity Community College lecture on astronomy, 9/07/2001.
[394]Tish B'Av 5760
[395]These are notes based on conversations with Rabbi Finehandler, author of Beloved Companions. June 12th1999.
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I. Introduction

This work summarizes a three-year study on developing mystical awareness. The purpose of this work is to provide the keys for developing a mystical relationship with G-d. Each of us has our own pathway to follow. Nevertheless, Jewish mystics throughout the ages have recorded an authentic map. Those who follow this map will find the greatest of mystical experiences! This is reassuring and a validation of the authenticity of the teachings of our prophets and sages.

All the trees, as it were, conversed with each other;
all the trees, as it were, conversed with mankind;
all the trees were created for man's companionship.
(Midrash Rabbah Genesis 13:2)

The word used for tree in Genesis 13:2 is 'siah' which also means conversation and grass. We need never feel lonely in this world if we go out and talk to the trees and pray amongst the grasses like Isaac. The Tree of Life is sometimes identified with the Torah and also the mystical tree of 32 paths containing the 10 sefirot. If we cling to this tree in this world we will find eternal life in the world to come. The key is discovering the eternal life while yet in this world, as King David said,

I will dwell in the House of the Lord while I yet live...

David danced before the Ark as the priests carried it up to Jerusalem. Simchas Torah is celebrated by dancing with the Torah. Lighting candles symbolizes freedom on Chanukah. In the end the candlelight, our souls, ascend to heaven to dance with the angels of G-d who will bring us to a new home in a new world.

II. Torah Prophetic Truth and Talmudic Dialectic Hermeneutical Reality

'Rab Judah reported in the name of Samuel:[1] *Three thousand traditional laws were forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses'. They said to Joshua: 'Ask';*[2] *(that they be revealed from heaven) he replied: It is not in heaven.*[3] *They [the Israelites] said to Samuel: 'Ask'; he replied: [Scripture says:] These are the commandments,*[4] *implying [that since the promulgation of these commandments] no prophet has now the right to introduce anything new.*

Said R. Isaac the Smith: Also the law relating to a sin-offering whose owners have died was forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses. They [the Israelites] said to Phinehas: 'Ask'; he replied to them: 'It is not in heaven'. They said to Eleazar: 'Ask'. He replied: 'These are the commandments', implying [that since the promulgation of these commandments] no prophet has now the right to introduce anything new.

G-d creates truth. Man forms reality.[5] The Word—Logos, reforms reality continuously. In science, our concept of the Universe evolves with each new empirical observation changing reality.[6] The past exists only in memories and recordings of history. We determine the reality of the past by our present memory and our focus on what existed.

Prophetic revelation is the gateway to truth. Hence, the Written Torah is entirely revelation of truth revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai.[7] On the other hand, the Oral Torah, which includes Mishnah, Midrash, and Gemara, is a mixture of G-d's truth and man's reality. Within the Gemara, there is Aggada (story), Halacha (law), and Kabbalah (received mysticism). When a sage writes with Ruach Hakodesh, he reveals truth. When he writes with dialectic[8] legal questioning and answering (Pilpul) or hermeneutical[9] exposition (Drash), he forms reality.[10] In the Midrash, there is Drash, explanation, based on conjecture and there is Drash based on Ruach Hakodesh as well. The Oral Torah sections on Halacha often read into the Written Torah to form reality. For this reason these sections are not found in heaven.[11]

Rab Judah reported in the name of Rab: When Moses departed [this world] for the Garden of Eden he said to Joshua: 'Ask me concerning all the doubts you have'. He replied to him: 'My Master, have I ever left you for one hour and gone elsewhere? Did you not write concerning me in the Torah: But his servant Joshua the son of Nun departed not out of the tabernacle? Immediately the strength [of Moses] weakened and [Joshua] forgot three hundred laws and there arose [in his mind] seven hundred doubts [concerning laws]. Then all the Israelites rose up to kill him. The Holy One, blessed be He, then said to him [Joshua]: 'It is not possible to tell you. Go and occupy their attention in war, as it says: Now after the death of Moses the servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake; and it further says; [Prepare you victuals for within three days, etc.].

It has been taught: A thousand and seven hundred kal wahomer and gezerah shawah and specifications of the Scribes were forgotten during the period of mourning for Moses. Said R. Abbuha: Nevertheless Othniel the son of Kenaz restored [these forgotten teachings] as a result of his dialectics,[12] *as it says:*

And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it; and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.

The dialectics of the Oral Law are not in heaven. Instead, they are man's formation and reality. With dialectic reasoning, the rabbis extract ideas for new applications of the Written Torah and with hermeneutical exposition they interpret the stories in the Torah. In this manner, the Torah adjusts itself over time with new situations. Nevertheless, we cannot be sure that the conclusions or explanations were in fact G-d's true intention or meaning. This reality is formed by man. Interestingly, the Rabbis hold these principles higher than the will of G-d when faced with revelation:[13]

R. Helbo said: One must always observe the honour due to his wife, because blessings rest on a man's home only on account of his wife, for it is written, And he treated Abram well for her sake. And thus did Raba say to the townspeople of Mahuza, Honour your wives, that ye may be enriched.

We learnt elsewhere: If he cut it into separate tiles, placing sand between each tile: R. Eliezer declared it clean, and the Sages declared it unclean; (end of 59a)
and this was the oven of 'Aknai. Why [the oven of] 'Aknai? — Said Rab Judah in Samuel's name: [It means] that they encompassed it with arguments as a snake, and proved it unclean. It has been taught: On that day R. Eliezer brought forward every imaginable argument, but they did not accept them. Said he to them: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let this carob-tree prove it!' Thereupon the carob-tree was torn a hundred cubits out of its place — others affirm, four hundred cubits. 'No proof can be brought from a carob-tree,' they retorted. Again he said to them: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let the stream of water prove it!' Whereupon the stream of water flowed backwards — 'No proof can be brought from a stream of water,' they rejoined. Again he urged: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let the walls of the schoolhouse prove it,' whereupon the walls inclined to fall. But R. Joshua rebuked them, saying: 'When scholars are engaged in a halachic dispute, what have ye to interfere?' Hence they did not fall, in honour of R. Joshua, nor did they resume the upright, in honour of R. Eliezer; and they are still standing thus inclined. Again he said to them: 'If the halachah agrees with me, let it be proved from Heaven!' Whereupon a Heavenly Voice cried out: 'Why do ye dispute with R. Eliezer, seeing that in all matters the halachah agrees with him!' But R. Joshua arose and exclaimed: 'It is not in heaven.' What did he mean by this? — Said R. Jeremiah: That the Torah had already been given at Mount Sinai; we pay no attention to a Heavenly Voice, because Thou hast long since written in the Torah at Mount Sinai, After the majority must one incline.

R. Nathan met Elijah and asked him: What did the Holy One, Blessed be He, do in that hour? — He laughed [with joy], he replied, saying, 'My sons have defeated Me, My sons have defeated Me.' It was said: On that day all objects which R. Eliezer had declared clean were brought and burnt in fire. Then they took a vote and blessed him off.[14] Said they, 'Who shall go and inform him?' 'I will go,' answered R. Akiba, 'lest an unsuitable person go and inform him, and thus destroy the whole world.'[15] What did R. Akiba do? He donned black garments and wrapped himself in black, and sat at a distance of four cubits from him. 'Akiba,' said R. Eliezer to him, 'what has particularly happened to-day?' 'Master,' he replied, 'it appears to me that thy companions hold aloof from thee.' Thereupon he too rent his garments, put off his shoes, removed [his seat] and sat on the earth, whilst tears streamed from his eyes. The world was then smitten: a third of the olive crop, a third of the wheat, and a third of the barley crop. Some say,

the dough in women's hands swelled up.

Hashem like a parent takes pleasure in the new works of His children. “Defeated Me” is as if to say, “my children have become smarter than me.”

A Tanna taught: Great was the calamity that befell that day, for everything at which R. Eliezer cast his eyes was burned up. R. Gamaliel[16] too was traveling in a ship, when a huge wave arose to drown him. ‘It appears to me,’ he reflected, ‘that this is on account of none other but R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus.’ Thereupon he arose and exclaimed, ‘Sovereign of the Universe! Thou knowest full well that I have not acted for my honour, nor for the honour of my paternal house, but for Thine, so that strife may not multiply in Israel! ‘At that the raging sea subsided.

Ima Shalom was R. Eliezer's wife, and sister to R. Gamaliel. From the time of this incident onwards she did not permit him to fall upon his face in the Tachnun prayer.[17] Now a certain day happened to be New Moon, but she mistook a full month for a defective one. Others say, a poor man came and stood at the door, and she took out some bread to him. [On her return] she found him fallen on his face. ‘Arise,’ she cried out to him, ‘thou hast slain my brother.’ In the meanwhile an announcement was made from the house of Rabban Gamaliel that he had died. ‘Whence dost thou know it?’ he questioned her. ‘I have this tradition from my father's house: All gates are locked, excepting the gates of wounded feelings.’

Rabbi Gamaliel held views similar to that of Shamai in terms of strictness. The following viewpoint was in contradiction to the teaching of Avos 1:1 to “educate many disciples.”[18]

For Rabban Gamaliel had issued a proclamation [saying]. No disciple whose character does not correspond to his exterior may enter the Beth ha-Midrash.

Rabbi Gamaliel also instituted the 19th blessing of the Amidah that cursed unbelievers, the Sadduces, and heretics in his time. Later, the blessing referred to Christian persecutors or to secular scoffers. For example, in the year 1400 a baptized Jew spread the slander that the words “for they bow to void and vanity and pray to a god who does not help”[19] in the Alenu prayer referred to the founder of Christianity. Hence, today the blessing or curse begins, “And for the slanders let there be no hope.” The first word beginning with a vav, “And”, combines the blessing with the previous blessing in order to maintain the eighteen blessing limitation of the Amidah according to the Mishnah, “RABBAN GAMALIEL SAYS: EVERY DAY A MAN SHOULD SAY THE EIGHTEEN BENEDICTIONS.” [20] Nevertheless, the Gemara explains the intention is that we recite the name of G-d specifically eighteen times to metaphorically compose the Great Name (the Seventy-two Letter Name). [21] With the 19th benediction, this is no longer the case!

Our Rabbis taught: He who wounds the feelings of a proselyte transgresses three negative injunctions, and he who oppresses him infringes two. Wherein does wronging differ? Because three negative injunctions are stated: Viz., Thou shalt not wrong a stranger [i.e., a proselyte], And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not wrong him, and ye shall not therefore wrong each his fellowman, a proselyte being included in ‘fellowman.’ But for ‘oppression’ also three are written, viz., and thou shalt not oppress him, Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger, and [If thou lend money to any of my people that

is poor by thee,] thou shalt not be to him as a usurer which includes a proselyte! — But [say] both [are forbidden] by three [injunctions].

It has been taught: R. Eliezer the Great said: Why did the Torah warn against [the wronging of] a proselyte in thirty-six, or as others say, in forty-six, places? Because he has a strong inclination to evil.[22] What is the meaning of the verse, Thou shalt neither wrong a stranger, nor oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt? It has been taught: R. Nathan said: Do not taunt your neighbour with the blemish you yourself have. And thus the proverb runs: If there is a case of hanging in a man's family record, say not to him, 'Hang this fish up for me.'

Rabbi Gamaliel teaches, "so that strife may not multiply in Israel!" the decree of the majority is upheld indifferent to the will of heaven. A legitimate question is whether strife multiplies when a minority with the truth is disregarded for the majority.[23] The Karite movement disregarded the entire Oral Law and formed its own people, because they did not believe the Oral Torah was authentic revelation. The Reform movement broke from Orthodox Judaism because they set out on their own search for the Truth. One man plus the Truth is greater than then the majority.[24]

The Torah sets out the role of the elders/judges to try cases with the "spirit of G-d."

NUM 11:16 And the LORD said unto Moses, Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and bring them unto the tabernacle of the congregation, that they may stand there with thee.

NUM 11:17 And I will come down and talk with thee there: and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.

The officers operated in the gates of the city, attempting to judge correctly with the spirit of G-d. To protect against biased influences, G-d forbids them from accepting gifts.

DEU 16:18 Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the LORD thy God giveth thee, throughout thy tribes: and they shall judge the people with just judgment.

DEU 16:19 Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous.

DEU 16:20 That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

The 70 elders would constitute the court of the Sanhedren with Moses serving as the President, Nasi. With the High Priest this is 72 and they parallel the 72 names of G-d.[25] The 70 elders represent 70 higher angels guiding 70 nations of the world. The Sanhedren served to clarify and unify the law of Israel, the Oral Law as well as to hear cases.

MISHNAH 1. MOSES RECEIVED THE TORAH[26] AT SINAI AND TRANSMITTED IT TO

JOSHUA,[27] JOSHUA TO THE ELDERS,[28] AND THE ELDERS TO THE PROPHETS, AND THE PROPHETS TO THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE.[29] THE LATTER USED TO SAY THREE THINGS:[30] BE PATIENT IN [THE ADMINISTRATION OF] JUSTICE, REAR MANY DISCIPLES AND MAKE A FENCE ROUND THE TORAH.[31]

Table 1: Truth and Reality

Written Torah	Mishnah	Gemara	Midrash	Kabbalah Texts
Prophetic Halacha	Prophetic Halacha	Prophetic Halacha – passed down from Sinai	Prophetic Aggadah - passed down from Sinai	Prophetic Aggadah
Prophetic Aggadah	Dialectic Halacha	Dialectic Halacha	Hermeneutical Aggadah	Hermeneutical Aggadah
Prophetic Kabbalah		Prophetic Aggadah	True Kabbalah	Prophetic Gematria
		Hermeneutical Aggadah	Real Kabbalah	Dialectic Gematria
		Prophetic Kabbalah		Prophetic Meditation, and Dreams
		Hermeneutical Kabbalah (Zohar)		Hermeneutical Meditation and Dreams
				Prophetic Astrology
				Dialectic Astrology
				Prophetic Chiromancy
				Dialectic Chiromancy

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[1] Soncino Talmud, Mas. T'mura 16a
[2] Soncino Talmud note: Through the holy spirit, that these forgotten laws should be taught anew (R. Gershom).
[3] Ibid: Deut. XXX, 12. The whole Torah has already been given.
[4] Ibid: Num. XXXVI, 13
[5] Form at the level of Yetzirah as opposed to create at the level of Beriyah.
[6] The finite Universe is now ever expanding from the Big Bang into eventual desolate space.
[7] Written Torah composed of the Five Books of Moses, the Prophets, and Writings

[8] Dialectic - Proposed Answer (thesis), follow up questions and analysis (antithesis), solution (synthesis). Suggestion, questioning, and answering approach found throughout the Talmud in halachic derivation.

[9] Hermeneutical - Explanatory, expository, interpretive, illustrative. Midrash. "Gadamer argues that a historian's own situation plays a role in determining the content of his interpretation of a historical event, i.e., a historian's own "prejudices" constitute necessary conditions for historical understanding."

[10] Yacov Neuman, Salt Lake City, Utah, (801) 581-9269. Yacov holds that there is only truth when there is doubt. Every great theory holds a counter theory. see Britannica Talmud and Midrash Article

[11] Soncino Talmud, Mas. T'mura 16a

[12] Pilpul in the Aramaic, a type of reasoning by example

[13] Soncino Talmud - Mas. Baba Metzia 59a-59b

[14] This word in Aramaic, whwkrbw, means they excommunicated him.

[15] Soncino Talmud note: I.e., commit a great wrong by informing him tactlessly and brutally.

[16] Soncino Talmud note: The Nasi and the prime mover in the ban against R. Eliezer.

[17] Soncino Talmud note: Ima Shalom feared that her husband might pour out his grief and feeling of injury in these prayers, and that God, listening to them, would punish R. Gamaliel, her brother.

[18] Berachot 28A

[19] Isaiah 30:7 and 45:20.

[20] Berachot 28B

[21] see Compound Number 18, Amidah

[22] Soncino Talmud note: So Rashi in Hor. 13a. Jast.: because his original character is bad — into which evil treatment might cause him to relapse.

[23] In those cases where they differ

[24] The motto of the Las Vegas Jewish News

[25] see 72 Letter Name

[26] Soncino Talmud note: Scripture and its complementary Oral Instruction, with special reference to the latter.

[27] Ibid: 'Joshua received from Moses'. The transmission and reception were done orally. All evidence goes to show that there was a continuous succession of 'schools' headed by the Elders, prophets and scribes of their respective generations, which maintained and developed the theoretical study and practical application of the Torah. For a full examination of the terms Mussar (transmitted) and Kabbalah (received) v. Bacher, Tradition und Tradenten, p. 1.

[28] Ibid: The Elders that outlived Joshua, Judges II, 7. 'Elders' in this Mishnah includes the Judges.

[29] Ibid: Kenesseth hagedolah: A body of 120 men founded by the leaders of the Jews who returned from the Babylonian captivity.

[30] Ibid: Whereby reverence for, the knowledge of, and the inviolability of the Torah might be secured (cf. Rashi).

[31] Ibid: The Torah is conceived as a garden and its precepts as precious plants. Such a garden is fenced round for the purpose of obviating wilful or even unintended damage. Likewise, the precepts of the Torah were to be 'fenced' round with additional inhibitions that should have the effect of preserving the

original commandments from trespass.

VII. In Search of the Gateway

A. Gematria [TABLE]

The table below lists the Hebrew letters, their values, and their names in Hebrew and English.

Table 13: Hebrew Letters and Numbers

	Unity	Couples	Fertility	Rigor	Action	Love	Shabbas	Spiritual	War
twa **Number** **rbd** **Letter** **Meaning**	a 1 [la aleph ox	b 2 tyb bet house	g 3 lmg gimel camel	d 4 tld dalet door	h 5 ah heh window	w 6 ww vav peg	z 7 }yz zayin weapon	j 8 tyj het fence	f 9 tyf tet serpent
twa **Number** **rbd** **Letter** **Meaning**	y 10 dwy yod hand	k 20 [k kaph palm of the hand	l 30 dml lamed ox-goad	m 40 \m mem water	n 50 }wn nun fish	s 60]ms samehk prop, support	u 70 }yu ayin eye	p 80 ap peh mouth	x 90 ydx tzadi fishing hook
twa **Number** **rbd** **Letter** **Meaning**	q 100 [wq kof back of head	r 200 cyr resh head	c 300 }yc shin tooth	t 400 wt tav cross	] 20 (500) typws [k final kaph	\ 40 (600) typws \m final mem	} 50 (700) typws }wn final nun	[80 (800) typws ap final peh	{ 90 (900) typws ydx final tzadi

Practicing Gematria requires the following:

- Calligraphy pens – find a Sheaffer Calligraphy Kit.
- Hebrew calligraphy book - Jay Greenspan who taught at BCI[202] in August 1981 has an excellent book.
- Memorize the numerical values of each Hebrew letter with the final letters having the same numerical value as their source letter.

There are really only 22 principle letters in the Hebrew alphabet. Scribes to make it easier to recognize word separation added final letters.

1. Amen

Meditation, calligraphy, and gematria go hand in hand. Here is the result of a meditation on the word Amen after reading the Psalms of David[203] and the Bahir.[204]

}ma

91

ax

}m = x

FROM }m = x THE TZADDIK BRINGS

G-D a INTO THE WORLD

{rab]rbtmh rca

}ma hlab]rbty

THAT WHICH HE BLESSES IN THE LAND

IS BLESSED THROUGH THIS— AMEN

YHVH + ynda

26 + 65 = 91

}lya

ROOT < LEAVES < SUN < G-D

THE TREE TRANSMITS ENERGY

FROM ROOT TO LEAVES

AND BACK DOWN AGAIN

2. 100 Blessings a Day

The Sha'are Orah teaches the importance of reciting 100 blessings a day. This practice was instituted by David when he noticed a higher degree of illness in the people. The Sha'are Orah brings down that there

were a hundred receptacles for the poles supporting the tabernacle. These receptacles are associated with Malchuts, the receptacle for G-d's energy entering our world. Reciting blessings helps to disperse this bounty to the rest of the world. Koof - q has the value 100 and is the result of the progression of G-d's energy from 1 - Aleph – a to 10 - Yod - y to 100 - Koof - q. The next step over is 2 - bet - b, 20 - caph - k, and 200 - resh - r. Rearranging the letters and putting the columns together spells one hundred bracha or blessings. Now, proceeding upwards from the Koof to the Aleph, the q represents Israel as they tithe to the Levites represented by y. Unless the Levites receive the proper tithe of 10 from the 100 they are unable to tithe the 1 - a to the Kohanim. The a represents the level of the Neshamah which requires the one hundred blessings to trigger the ten which trigger the single quanta of energy uniting our soul with Hashem.

3. Nature

The word, hateva, meaning "the nature" has gematria 86 that is the same as the Name, Elohim. Elohim sustains the physical forces of nature.

B. Numerology [TABLES]

After studying Gematria for a few years, I ran across "Linda Goodman's Star Signs" which describes an English version of Gematria that is based on the Hebrew phonetic sounds. Include program in appendix for doing this calculation.

1. Alphabet

Table 14: Development of the Alphabet and Numerical Values

English Letter	Hebrew Letter Source	Greek	Roman
A – 1	aleph - a – 1	alpha – A – α	A
B – 2	bet - b – 2	beta – B – β	B
C – 3	gimmel - g – 3	gamma – Γ – γ	C
D – 4	dalet - d – 4	delta – Δ – δ	D
E – 5	heh - h - 5	epsilon – E – ε	E
F – 8	Feh - p - 80	digamma – Φ – ϕ	F
G – 3	gimmel - g - 3	gamma – Γ – γ	G
H – 5	heh - h - 5	eta – H – η	H
I - 1	yod - y - 10	iota – I – ι	I

J – 1	yod - y - 10	iota – I – ι	J
K – 2	kaph - k - 20	kappa – K – κ	K
L – 3	lamed - l - 30	lambda – Λ – λ	L
M – 4	mem - m - 40	mu – M – •	M
N – 5	nun - n - 50	nu – N – ν	N
O – 7	ayin - u - 70	O – O – o	O
P –8	peh - p - 80	pi – Π – π	P
Q – 1	koof - q - 100	qopp – Θ – θ	Q
R – 2	resh - r - 200	rho – P – ρ	R
S – 3	shin - c - 300	sigma – – σ	S
T – 4	tav - t - 400	tau – T – τ	T
U – 6	vav - w – 6	upsilon – Y – υ	V
V – 6	vav - w – 6	vau – ς – ϖ	V
W – 6	vav - w – 6	upsilon – Y – υ	V
X – 5	heh - h - 5	xi – Ξ – ξ	X
Y – 1	yod - y - 10	psi – Ψ – ψ	Y
Z – 7	zayin - z - 7	zeta – Z – ζ	Z

Hebrew letters that are not in the English language are listed in the following table. Except for the het, which maintains a strong presence in English spelling, the other four letters have a diminished influence in English speaking countries.

Table 15: Hebrew Letters Missing Representation in the English Alphabet

English Letter	Hebrew Letter Source	Tarot
ght – 8	het - j – 8	chariot
? – 9	tet - f – 9	hermit
? – 60	samech – s – 60	devil
? – 70	ayin - u – 70	tower
? – 90	tzadik - x – 90	moon

2. Single Numbers

These are the associations of the principle numbers:[205]

Table 16: Principle Associations of the Numbers

#	**Planetary Ruler, Sign Ruled *and Trait***	**Vibration**	**Colors**	**Gems**	**Health**	**Treatments**	**Warnings**	**Foods**
1	Sun Leo *Initiate*	take charge, inventive, ego, protect the weak	sunny gold, yellow, royal purple	topaz, amber	Heart problems, lower back pain			
2	Moon Cancer *Sensitive*	imagination, romance, love						
3	Jupiter Sagittarius *Expand*	fruition, optimism, expansion						
4	Uranus Aquarius *Base*	inventiveness, individuality, genius, tolerance	Electric blue, cobalt blue, silver-gray, ocean green	Sapphire, quartz, azurite, malachite	mental disorders, melancholy, anemia, poor circulation, pains in the head and back	electrical treatments, hypnosis, mental suggestion, massage, whirlpools	Avoid all kinds of drugs, avoid highly seasoned foods, avoid red meat	Eat spinach Principle herbs - sage
5	Mercury Gemini Virgo *Move*		Pearl gray, light green, silver	Aquamarine, Platinum, Silver	nervous, insomnia. Phantom pains in shoulders, arms, and hands.	Practice grace under pressure. Patience, sleep, rest, quiet surroundings.		Carrots, parsnips, sea kale, oatmeal, parsley
6	Venus Taurus *Love*		Pastels, pink blue, brown green	Opals, copper	infections in the throat, nose, upper lungs	Visits to the country. Live in the country.		

7	Neptune Pisces *Spirit*		sea green light yellow aqua pink white					
8	Saturn Capricorn *Material*		Black					
9	Mars Aries *Conflict*			Diamond				

a) Number 1

1 is for G-d above. One entities take charge, can be inventive, do not like criticism, and may have a large go.

b) Number 2

2 are the Luhot.

c) Number 4

At the time of the destruction of the Temple, the people did not have the four arms, only the arm of halacha. They would learn at home and pray in the Temple. They did not learn in a house of a study, with others.[206]

Table 17: Number Four

Four concepts	Reference to:	Reference to:
L'lmod - to learn	Mikra - scripture	Pshat - simple interpretation
Lamed - to teach	Mishnah - six commentaries	Remez - allusion
Lishma - to guard over the things we shouldn't do	Talmud - the finishing, Gemara.	Drash - expounding
Laasot - to do the things we're supposed to do	Halacha - the law.	Sod - secret

The number four represents work. Reb. Chiya ben Avi said in the name of Hulla, “Greater is the person who has delight in living off of his own work than one who has fear of heaven.”[207] For a person with the fear of heaven, the passuk says, “happy is the man who fears G-d”, “Ashrei ish y’rat Hashem.” Further, for the one who lives by his own work the psalm says, “the person who eats by his own toil, he will be happy and his life good.” This means happy for him in this world and good for him in the world to come.

3. Compound Numbers

These parallel the 32 paths of wisdom from 10 to 32.

Table 18: Compound Numbers

Number	Description	Hebrew Meaning	Tarot Hebrew Letter	Tarot Interpretation
10	The Wheel of Fortune		yod - y – 10	
11	A Lion Muzzled - A Clenched Fist		kaph – k - 20	
12	The Sacrifice - The Victim		lamed - l - 30	
13	Regeneration - Change		mem - m - 40	Death tarot card. Death is change and the regeneration of life.
14	Movement ... Challenge		nun - n – 50	Temperance tarot card. Movement, change in life while bringing more failures brings more successes in life. Movement brings temperance and balanced perspective.
15	The Magician	Yah – hy, the Creator’s name, “With Yah, G-d created the world.” Songs of praise, Shir Amalot, there are 15. Yishtabach contains 15 praises of Hashem. “15 was used to reflect the highest degree attainable in the praise of G-d.”[208]	samech - s – 60	Creator tarot card.
16	The Shattered Citadel		ayin - u – 70	Tower tarot card.

17	The Star of the Magi		peh - p – 80	Immortality. Star tarot card.
18	Spiritual-Material Conflict	18 instances of the tetragrammaton compose 72 letters symbolizing the 72 Letter Name. This occurs in Psalm 29, the Shema, the Song of Moses, and the Amidah by intention.[209]	tzadik - x – 90	Moon tarot card.
19	The Prince of Heaven		koof - q - 100	Sun tarot card, victory over temporary failures and disappointment. Happiness and fulfillment, success.
20	The Awakening		resh - r - 200	Judgment tarot card, at some point there will be an Awakening for the person and a new clear path will be pursued.
21	The Crown of the Magi		shin - c - 300	The Universe or World tarot card. The Crown of the Magi. Success, advancement, elevation of a career.
22	Submission – and Caution		tav – t - 400	A Blind man, good, but fooled by others. The master architect who builds with the 22 letters in the Hebrew alphabet.
23	The Royal Star of the Lion			Success, protection from those in high places. Grace, no other number can stand in its way.
24	Love - Money - Creativity			
25	Discrimination and Analysis			
26	Partnerships			Compassion, unselfishness, ability to help others not always oneself.
27	The Scepter			

28	The Trusting Lamb			
29	Grace Under Pressure			
30	The Loner - Meditation			
31	The Recluse - the Hermit			
32	Communication			

The number 16 has a terminal association. The Hebrew source meaning of the number is from the verb, 'fall' - nofel - lpn with gematria:
lamed + peh + nun = 30 + 80 + 50 = 160 => which can be reduced to 16 with the law of zeros.[210]

In Genesis 6:1-4, the word refers to a people born of the result of the marriages of the Sons of G-d and the Sons of Men:

And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of G-d saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives, whomsoever they chose. And the Lord said: 'My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for that he also is flesh; therefore shall his days be a hundred and twenty years.' The Nephilim - \ylpn were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of G-d came into the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; the same were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.

The number 16 refers to the shattered citadel that was once great but now the King and Queen fall to their doom. In kind, the Nephilim no longer live and many great kingdoms no longer exist.

Who were the Nephilim? Who are the sons of G-d and sons of men? The sons of G-d are the descendants of Adam who bear the divine soul. The sons of men are people who were around at the time, the result of evolution. The sons of G-d being tempted by their bodies saw the beauty of the daughters of men and took them to be wives. Their sons became heroes pursuing greatness, but trait for trait like their father's lust, away from the spirit of Hashem.

4. Higher Compound Numbers

Table 19: Higher Compound Numbers

Number	Meaning
33	magnified 24
34	same as 25
35, 44	same as 26
36	same as 27

37	

Song
Recording songs and poems helps manifest ideas to change oneself and the world.

If you want to be free,
Open your heart to what you need[211]
Like calls to like and G-d sends the rain right down,
G-d sends the rain pouring down.
Rain on me, good rain on all my friends right now,
Like calls to like and rain pours down[212]

C. Star Wisdom [FIGURES]

1. Recording Star Patterns in a Journal

Kaplan's commentary on Sefer Yetzirah states the way to understand the meaning of the night sky is to see your own star patterns. This is similar to seeing shapes in cloud patterns; but one's own imagination will reveal the inner meaning of the constellation. There is reference to using Ptolemy's constellations as an accurate basis, but better yet, is go under the heavens oneself and examine the stars often.

July 10, 1996
Last night I noticed Draco serpenting its way up and around Ursala Minor and then up into its head. The North star is at the tail of Ursala Minor which is 69 to Ursala Major. All constellations hang off of Draco like a Tallis in Hebrew.[213] In the sky Draco swirls closely around the North star and its size and position give it the appearance that all other constellations descend from it.

Figure 3: The Dragon, Big and Little Dipper

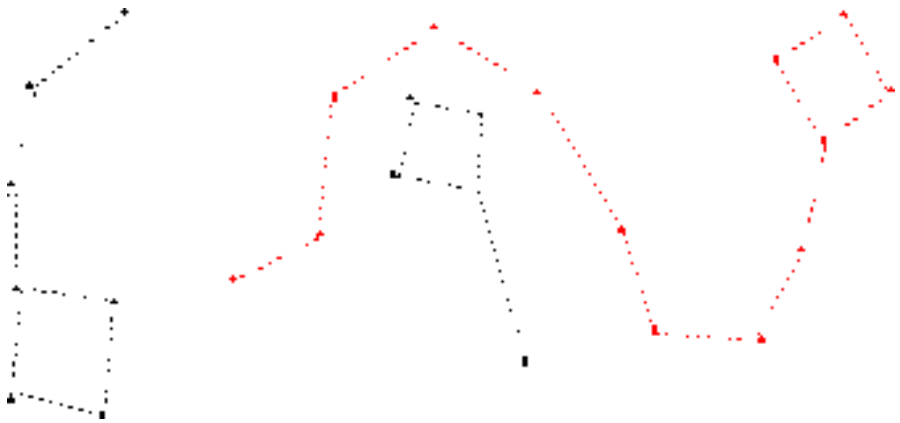

Sefer Yetzirah refers to the seven planets and twelve signs as set in the Teli.[214] The Teli may have originally meant a ball with a line attached to it for capturing animals and Draco is precisely in this shape. There is also the connotation of items hanging from the Teli from the word Tallis mentioned above. Other authorities identify the Teli with the Pole Serpent or Leviathan. Overall the Teli is the

Dragon of the Universe from which the guiding constellations descend.[215]

Corona Borealis - The Northern Crown - August 5, 1996

The crown can be found by first locating Arcturus and then looking higher up in the sky. The crown reminds me of the sefira Keter whose Hebrew name means crown.. There is a dual star system in this constellation that flares up once every 80 years for a single night!

Figure 4: The Northern Crown

The Southern Cross

The stars below the equator are also amazing to see. Perhaps most amazing of all is Procyon in Canis Minor below and between Gemini and Cancer. The star is 0.4 magnitude and filled with the colors cool blue, sparkling Red, and white (kind of like the US Flag). If you are at the equator (Singapore) and look up to the right you will see Canopus (white), and above to the right Achernar, and then Fomalhaut. Below and between the last two is the Southern Cross with its leader Al Nair.

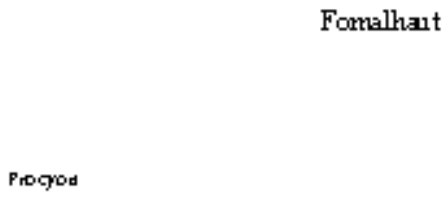

At 5:30 AM, August 27th, 1998, I see Procyon, Serius and Adhara, and Canopus, Achernar, and Fomalhaut rising to the right. They are G-d's lights in the Southern sky. They are beautiful. I learned in Singapore that G-d created all people with a special love and each is precious and has distinct importance.

August 27th, 1998 - 8:00 AM.

I dreamed of tracing my identity and another back through ancestors. I saw in myself different objects and in the other person objects that did not match. Finally, I saw an apple in me and then in her the same apple and I was as Adam and she as Eve. The apple turned into a tree with many fruits and the tree was growing as a fruitful vine extending into the reaches. I heard my father call my name, Jeff, with his youthful voice. Then I awoke refreshed and happy. I looked outside and the sun was shining. "When you can see the sunrise in Singapore you have found a prize" – Tao Cheng.

May 30th, 2001

Saw the pattern of the spade pointing towards the north in the night sky. The spade is the sword suit in Tarot or wind in astrology and is ominous. The north represents wealth. Forming constellations by gazing at the night sky is a form of divination.

2. Star Meditation

Kaplan's Jewish Meditation, P.67 describes:

One type of meditation mentioned in the Zohar (1:1b, 2:231b) involves contemplating the stars. The Zohar provides a biblical source for this type of meditation, from the verse, "Lift your eyes on high, and see who created these, the One who brings out their host by number, He calls them all by name . . ." (Is. 40:26).

> *Have you seen the stars in the night, they eliminate headaches with their twinkling light.*[216]

Looking at the stars at night is a healing activity. They remind us of the grandeur of the heavens and lift us beyond the daily stress of life.[217] For a life of contentment and simplicity, one should choose to live in a place where the stars shine bright. Looking at the stars bestows wisdom on the gazer. Learning the movements of the stars bestows understanding. Both together bring knowledge.

D. Divination

1. Tarot

The ability to do correct divination depends on the state of the diviner. In this manner, one catches obstructing angels off guard and obtains a more accurate reading. The Tarot as well as most fortune telling is inaccurate for predicting the future as we have free will. They are most accurate for learning the story behind past events. They are also accurate for revealing the present.

There are 56 cards for the Minor Arcana and 22 cards for the Major Arcana. The Minor Arcana include four suits of ten cards corresponding to the four elements and the ten sefirot reflected in each of them. Nevertheless the symbols on the Rider cards do not match in meaning. For the purpose of divination it matters little as long as the user has a clear understanding of each card. The four suits associate with the four letters of the tetragrammaton.[218] The Yod is Water or Cups from Abba-Father, Hochmah consciousness. The first Heh is Fire or Wands from Imma-Mother, Binah consciousness. The Vav is Air or Swords from Zer Anpin, the central six sefirot. The final Heh is Earth or Pentacles from Bat-daughter, Shechinah consciousness.

In addition, there are four court cards in each suit: Page, Knight, Queen, and King. They reflect messengers or personal representations in the divination. The Major Arcana include 22 cards corresponding to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The image on the card corresponds to the meaning of the associated Hebrew letter. The numbering of the major arcana should begin with the Magician as aleph - 1, the High Priestess as bet - 2, the Empress as gimmel -3, the emperor as dalet - 4. There are also overtures of numerology in the associations of the cards with these numbers. Intrinsically the cards have no power, even their symbols are subjective but they serve as a channel for divine

communication.

Waite had the following to say on the association of the Hebrew letters with the Tarot Cards: [219]

"The supposed Hebrew symbolism of the Tarot, which in justice to Papus, is laboriously elaborated –though apart from all inspiration- becomes disorganized if there is any doubt as to the attribution of its Trump Cards to the Hebrew Alphabet. Now there is one card which bears no number and is allocated therefore according to the discretion of the interpreter.[220] It has been placed in all cases wrongly, by the uninstructed because they had nothing but their private judgment to guide them, and by some who claimed to know better because they desired to mislead. It happens, however, that they also where at sea. I may go further and say that the true nature of Tarot symbolism is perhaps a secret in the hands of a very few persons, and outside that circle operators and writers may combine the cards as they like and attribute them as they like, but they will never find the right way."

The twelve elemental Hebrew letters correspond well with twelve of the Major Arcana trumps. The remaining ten trumps correspond better with a numerological meaning.[221] There has been some attempt to associate them with the seven Hebrew double letters with correspondence to the seven planets and three Hebrew mother letters, but the symbolic meaning is off. Instead, English numerology has a better fit.

Table 20: Hebrew Alphabet and the Tarot Sefirot Up

Numerology	Wands Up Fire	Pentacles Up Earth	Swords Up Air	Cups Up Water
1	Ace of Wands Keter, beginnings			
2				
3				
4				
5		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.		
vav - w – 6				
zayin - z – 7				
het - j – 8				
tet – f - 9				
yod - y – 10				

kaph – k - 20				
lamed - l - 30				
mem - m - 40				
nun - n – 50				
samech - s – 60				
ayin - u – 70				
peh - p – 80				
tzadik - x – 90				
koof - q - 100				
resh - r - 200				
shin - c - 300				
tav – t - 400				

Table 21: Hebrew Alphabet and the Tarot Major Arcana, Trumps, Up

Hebrew Letter Source	Wands Up Fire	Pentacles Up Earth	Swords Up Air	Cups Up Water	Hebrew Letter Source	Major Arcana Up
aleph - a – 1	Ace of Wands Keter, beginnings				aleph - a – 1	Magician The rod up is the upper yod and pointing downwards is the lower you.
bet - b – 2					bet - b – 2	High Priestess The bet is the home, the spiritual center of the high priestess.[222] The number two is akin to sensitivity, emotion, partnerships and the psychic.

gimmel - g – 3					gimmel - g – 3	Empress mother, creator, 3 suggests children, Gimmel associates with fortune from the dreidle.
dalet - d – 4					dalet - d – 4	Emperor
heh - h - 5		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.			heh - h - 5	Hierophant The upper and lower temples.[223]
vav - w – 6					vav - w – 6	Lovers
zayin - z - 7					zayin - z - 7	Chariot
het - j – 8					het - j – 8	Strength
tet – f - 9					tet – f - 9	Hermit
yod - y – 10					yod - y – 10	Wheel of Fortune new beginnings, auspicious time, like the yod is a point beginning. The tip of the yod is Keter as the full yod is Hochmah. Keter is the will or the primal thought of creation.
kaph – k - 20					kaph – k - 20	Justice
lamed - l - 30					lamed - l - 30	Hanged Man Hung up on learning and cannot act.

mem - m - 40					mem - m - 40	Death Rebirth, water washes clean and renews life. Mikvah experience of renewel.
nun - n – 50					nun - n – 50	Temperance There are 49 levels to fall before the 50th level of ultimate destruction or 49 levels to rise before the 50th level of ultimate salvation. The 50th day after the Counting of the Omer is Shavuot, revelation of God achieved through complete temperance with life.
samech - s – 60					samech - s – 60	Devil Magic Supports and connections, an allusion of magic, but is not magic at all but something real. Sometimes we hide behind the supports getting too dependent on what is secure. This too is the devil and letting

						go of security is the beginning of freedom.
ayin - u – 70					ayin - u – 70	Tower struck by lightning and king/queen falling from it. The Ayin Ra or evil eye is the Tower that brings others down.
peh - p – 80					peh - p – 80	Star Hope and nourishment from one place to the next. Peh is an opening, a pitcher that pours water upon the land.
tzadik - x – 90					tzadik - x – 90	Moon Associated with Pisces and the dreamer. This was Joseph Ha Tzadik. Psychic power is here but sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between prophecy and delusion. Upright the card represents deception. Self-righteousness is a deception for a person is not s/he seems.

						Also, the more righteousness, the greater the tests of temptation.
koof - q - 100					koof - q - 100	Sun
resh - r - 200					resh - r - 200	Judgment
shin - c - 300					shin - c - 300	World
tav – t - 400					tav – t - 400	Fool The cross, stepping off the cliff of self-sacrifice, or universal redemption.

Table 22: Hebrew Alphabet and the Tarot Reversed

Hebrew Letter Source	Wands Down Fire	Pentacles down Earth	Swords Down Air	Cups Down Water	Major Arcana Down
aleph - a – 1				A	Magician The rod up is the upper yod and pointing downwards is the lower you.
bet - b – 2				B	High Priestess The bet is the home, the spiritual center of the high priestess.[224] The number two is akin to sensitivity, emotion, partnerships and the psychic.

gimmel - g – 3				C	Empress
dalet - d – 4				D	Emperor
heh - h - 5		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.		Loss, destitution, shattered hopes and loss of faith.	Hierophant
vav - w – 6				F	Lovers
zayin - z - 7			Return of a possession or to the original state		Chariot
het - j – 8				H	Strength
tet – f - 9				I	Hermit
yod - y – 10				J	Wheel of Fortune new beginnings, auspicious time, like the yod is a point beginning. The tip of the yod is Keter as the full yod is Hochmah. Keter is the will or the primal thought of creation.
kaph – k - 20				K	
lamed - l - 30				L	
mem - m - 40				M	
nun - n – 50				N	
samech - s – 60					
ayin - u – 70				O	
Peh - p – 80				P	
Koof - q - 100				Q	
Resh - r - 100				R	
Shin - c - 300				S	

tav - t - 400				T	
vav - w – 6				V	
vav - w – 6				V	
vav - w – 6				V	
heh - h – 5				X	
yod - y - 10				Y	
zayin - z - 7				Z	

2. Urim and Tamim

Another example of divination occurs in the Torah when the High Priest would consult the Urim and Tamim - \ymt for a complete lighted answer to an important question. The King of Israel might ask for guidance with the Urim and Tamim in matters of national interest when meeting with the High Priest.

Saul then said to the Lord, the G-d of Israel, "Bring a complete answer."
Jonathan and Saul were indicated by lot, and the troops were cleared.
(Samuel I 14:41-42)

"Bringing a tamim" was a way for a king to uncover a hidden reason for G-d's will in a situation. The root of the word, Tam - \t means perfect, complete, or simple. Nevertheless, the greatness of Israel is summed up with the following:

No harm is in sight for Jacob, no woe in view for Israel.
The Lord their G-d is with them and their King's acclaim is in their midst.
G-d who freed them from Egypt is for them like the horns of the wild ox.
Lo, there is no augury in Jacob, no divining in Israel:
Jacob is told at once, yea Israel, what G-d has planned.
(Numbers 23:21-23)

3. Lots of Jonah

4. Page Turning

5. Verse of a Child's Study

6. Dream Questions

Shailot Holam, asking a question through a dream is a tool for divine inspiration. The method involved writing a question on a piece of paper, putting it under ones pillow and in the morning inspecting the paper for a succinct answer.[225]

E. Tzaddik

The term tzaddik means a righteous, holy person. Seeking out a "true" tzaddik is always a gateway to spiritual elevation. The "true" tzaddik is actually a person who has very little to say but when he speaks everyone feels that sHe is being directly spoken to even in a group setting. I present my own experience in meeting a true tzaddik:

January 12, 1993 - 9:30 AM

I had an audience with the Tzaddik of Nikelsburg, Rabbi M. Lebovits. He is spiritual heir and a descendent of Rabbi Smelke of Nikelsburg, a student of the Baal Shem Tov. His silence conveys understanding. He suggested reading Psalm 128 daily. He asked some questions, listened to answers and stories, and seemed to understand what was said and not said.

The assistant asked for a Hebrew name and mother's Hebrew name, address, and phone number before entering the room. The Rebbe asked for family origin.

When I discussed the Nothingness of Keter that I saw or the book Bahir that I studied, his face lit up and I heard a sigh. There was something in his silence. Even when he spoke to the congregation, a silence in him waited. This was like the silence of Keter, waiting for the word to come forth to manifest the will of G-d. This is a wonderous silence. I never saw his face turn from anyone who questioned him. His soul was safe from the outside world.

Before the tzaddik gives his blessing, he asks questions to raise within him the energy for the blessing.

Joseph represents the essence of the tzaddik. In Jacob's blessing over Joseph, he states, "GEN 49:24 But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob; from thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel - larcy }ba huwr \cm" The Bahir 91 explains:

"The stone that the builders rejected has become the head cornerstone."
It ascends to the place from which it was graven, as it is written,
"From there is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel."

The Bahir, section 187 describes the character of the Shepherd:

It is thus written (Isaiah 11:3), "I will grant him a spirit of the fear of G-d,
And he will not judge by the sight of his eyes,
He will not admonish according to what his ear hears."
He will incline all the world to the pan of merit.
From there counsel emanates, and from there health emanates to the world.

"From there is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel."
This is the place that is called "There."

The Bahir 193 shows that the Supernal Tzadik nourishes Israel:

"From There is nourished the Rock of Israel."
What is the meaning of "from There"?
We say that this is the Supernal Righteous One – }wylu qdx.
What is He (the Tzadik above)?
He is the Reward, the great hidden Light which is called Socher - rhws
And the splendid rock below is called Dar – rd
And the rays these are the rays from His Hand,
they are from the five fingers [of his right hand].

The Tzadik above refers to "the Reward, the great hidden Light," Socher, that is Hashem; the tzaddik below is as the splendid rock Dar, that is His representative in this generation. Habakkuk 3:3-6 is the biblical source text of the above:

G-d came from Texan, and the Holy One from mount Paran. Selah.
His Glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise.
And His brightness was as the light; and He had rays of light coming out of His hands;
And there was the Hiding of His Power.

Before Him went pestilence, and burning coals went forth at His feet.
He stood, and measured the earth: He beheld and drove asunder the nations;
And the everlasting mountains were scattered, and the perpetual hills did bow:
His ways are everlasting.

F. Intelligence

Memorization is a key to building a better memory. One must always strive to memorize new teachings and prayers. One can then recite them while one is driving or walking to Shul as a memory exercise. Once one has memorized one can review to make it permanent, but one should continue to seek out and memorize new teachings for this is the process of exercising the memory.

Studying Gemara is a key to increasing reasoning skills. Gemara trains one in the process of logical deduction and analysis. It also will improve inspiration in technical fields and reasoning in all matters.

"G-d commanded Moses that the written Torah should not be recited from memory, and that the Oral Torah should not be written down. The Oral Torah was recited from memory, and was thus given over from one person to another."[226] Hence, our sages focused on memorizing Mishnah. Others recite T'hillim from memory. Most have memorized the Shema. While we are permitted to memorize our prayers, others are careful to recite the Shema from the Siddur. The Shema says, "And you shall teach them to your children and speak of them when sitting in your house, when walking along your way and

when you lie down and when you rise up" implying these words are known by heart.

Why was the Oral Torah not written down? This was to teach us that the essence of learning Torah is by watching and living with religious people. We learn the details of Torah by observing their ways.[227] "Greater is the serving of talmudei hochamei than learning from them." This is the true way of understanding the meaning of the transmission of Torah Baal Peh.

G. Soul

Judaism presents five major levels to the soul:

Table 23: Five Levels of the Soul

Soul	Meaning	Manifestation
Nefesh	Body	Health
Ruach	Spirit	Positive morale
Neshamah	Soul	Moral sense
Chaya	Community Soul	Sixth sense
Yechidah	One soul with G-d	Prophecy

The Nefesh is our body, which is part of our soul. In the world to come, G-d resurrects us into an eternal body.

The Ruach is the spirit one feels by standing looking at the ocean or feeling G-d's breeze run with ones body. The ruach is the spirit we know and feel with Hashem.

The Neshamah is our moral consciousness. When we feel guilty for sin and know the right thing to do, it is from our Neshamah that we know this.

The Chaya is our community consciousness. The Chaya is our source of a sixth sense, of knowing how others are feeling without being there.

Yechidah is a part of our soul that is always with G-d. This is our direct channel of communication with Hashem.

H. Seven Tests

According to our qualities, we are tested. Abraham was tested in kindness by whether he would forsake Sodom or plead on their behalf. Sodom whose values differed utterly from Abraham's would have nothing redeemable in the eyes of Abraham.

Isaac was tested in strictness by his acceptance of the Akeidah, his personal sacrifice.

Jacob was tested in truth by living in the house of Lavan. He dealt with Lavan in a straight manner though he was treated in a crooked manner.

Moses was tested in eternity by rejecting the offer of his children starting a new chosen people to Hashem.

Aaron was tested in gratitude.

Joseph was tested in righteousness

David was tested in kingship.

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[202] BCI is a program offered by the Brandeis Bardin Institute. The program is aimed at college youth from the ages of 18-25 and consists of a 1 month intensive Jewish learning experience.
[203] see The Psalms of David by James Freemantle, William Morrow Press. This most beautiful work was published by the son of .... spent mostly of his life working on the calligraphy and illustrations in this work which was dedicated in love to whose wife.
[204] Bahir 95, 119
[205] Linda Goodman's Star Signs, Linda Goodman, St. Martin's Press pp. 65-80.
[206] Berachos 8a.
[207] Berachos 8a, towards bottom - "Amar lai rabbah."
[208] The World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, page 36.
[209] Ibid, page 121. Berachot 28b mentions the correspondence of 18 names of G-d in the listed prayers but does not mention that they multiply to 72 letters. Munk quotes Bereshis Raba 15:14 and Ramban on Exodus 6:3 to make this point on page 85.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Free – Sept. 4, 2000
[212] Bringing Rain – Feb 18, 1996, having the astrological sign of Pisces is like water calling for rain
[213] The Tallis is a prayer shawl warn in the mornings having strings called Tzitzit descending in the four corners. This also symbolizes the higher Tallis in the heavens but more importantly the presence of Hashem surrounding our lives.
[214] Sefer Yetzirah 6:1, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Page 231.
[215] Ibid. page 233.
[216] Jan 3, 1997
[217] Watching the stars at night eliminates eye strain headaches.
[218] The Holy Kabbalah, A. E. Waite, quoting Eliphas Levi p. 555. In general Waite discredits the ideas of Levi as being without fact and of imagination not inspiration.
[219] Ibid p. 556.
[220] Fool card which has number 0 but has been placed incorrectly in correspondence with the letter

Aleph.

[221] see Linda Goodman's Star Signs

[222] Compare this with the Hierophant whose operating location is a sanctuary, a temple.

[223] The upper and lower gardens of Eden.

[224] Compare this with the Hierophant whose operating location is a sanctuary, a temple.

[225] Rabbi Goldberg, Ahavas Torah, June 3, 2001, San Jose, CA.

[226] Me'am Lo'ez, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Page 2.

[227] Berachos 2a, CD-Daf, audio commentary Rav Fishel Schachter.

IX. The Power of Prayer

The Midrash explains[258]:
Great is prayer in the sight of G-d. R. Eleazar said: If you wish to know the power of prayer, know that if it does not achieve the whole of its object, it achieves at least half of it. Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him, and the decree went forth, *A fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou be in the earth* (Genesis 4:12); immediately he confessed before G-d, as it is said, *My punishment is greater than I can bear* (*ib.* 13); he said before Him: 'Master of the Universe, Thou bearest with the whole world, and yet with my sin Thou wilt not bear; Thou hast written, *Who is a G-d like unto Thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by transgression* (Micah 7:18); pardon my iniquity for it is great.' Immediately he found favor before G-d and He withheld from him the curse of 'fugitive'; that is half of the decree, for so it is written, *And he dwelt in the land of Nod* (Genesis 4:16). Hence you learn that prayer is great in the sight of G-d. And likewise it was with Hezekiah. When G-d said to him, *'Set thy house in order; for thou shalt die'* (Isaiah 38:1), immediately, Hezekiah turned his face to the wall (*ib.* 5). For so Scripture says:

He will fulfill the desire of them that fear Him;
He also will hear their cry, and will save them.
(Psalm 145:19)

Rabbi Chanina ben Dosa said, "Whenever prayer comes easily to my lips I know that it has been accepted. When it does not, then I know that it has been rejected."[259]

A. T'hillim

The psalms are a powerful form of prayer for changing one's life. Read each day they work their way into the subconscious and improve one's entire attitude towards life.

For R. Joshua b. Levi said: The Book of Psalms was uttered with ten synonyms of praise, viz.: nizzuah [victory], niggun [melody], maskil [instruction], mizmor [psalm], shir [song], ashre [happy], tehillah [praise], tefillah [prayer], hodayah [thanksgiving] [and] hallelujah. The greatest of all is 'hallelujah,' because it embraces the [Divine] Name and praise simultaneously. (Pesachim 117a)

1. Ten Psalms a Day

Rabbi Nachman of Breslov popularized the idea of reciting 10 psalms a day for a complete reparation or cleansing of the body and soul. His Tikkun Hakelei collection contains the ten types of song which together are particularly effective (see Tikkun Hakelai). Here is a list of different groups of ten.

Table 24: Ten Palms a Day for Healing

Rabbi Nachman's	My Own Revealed From On High In This Order	Short Ten Revealed In This Order	Short Alternates

16	123	100	6
32	67	128	13
41	126	131	71
42	43	23	95 – 99
59	93	24	100
77	117	8	101
90	134	146	110
105	130	4	111
137	87	149	112
150	113	150	138

2. Marriage Psalms

a) For Men – Psalm 128

This psalm is recommended by the Nichelsburg Rabbi:

A Lifting Song
Sing praise all ye who fear the Lord and walk in His way
By the toil of your hands you shall eat and it is a goodly praise to you.
Your wife shall be a fruitful vine in the innermost part of your house.
Your sons shall be like olive saplings (seated) around your table.
Thus, is blessed the man who fears Adonay.
Adonay will bless you from Zion
And you will see the good of Jerusalem all the days of your life.
And you will see your children's children.
Peace upon Israel

twlumh ryc
wykrdb]lhh yy ary-lk yrca
]l bwfw]yrca lkat yk]ypk uygy
]tyb ytkryb hyrp }pgk]tca
]njlcl bybs \ytyz yltck]ynb
yy ary rbg]rby }k-yk hnh
}wyxm yy]krby
]yyj ymy lk \lcwry bwfb harw
]ynbl \ynb-harw
larcy-lu \wlc

b) For Women – 31, 32, 70, 72, 124

These psalms appeared in an interesting newspaper article with the following description:[260]

A mystic rabbi in Israel suggested the five psalms, which are preceded by the words, “I’m reciting these psalms in the merit of King David and I wish blessings to come to these women. Then they say the group members’ Hebrew names and the members’ mothers’ Hebrew names. The goal is to pray for others.

3. The Songs of Ascent

Those seeking to elevate their spirit to G-d can recite Psalms 120-135 at Seudah Shelishis, the third meal on Shabbat, which is a holy time of the day. We recite Shir Amalot, the Songs of Ascent, after Mincha starting on Succoth until Pesach. From Pesach until next Succoth, we read Perkei Avots. Reading Shir Amalots is a preparation for a heightened state of spiritual awareness. The period after Mincha on Shabbas is the time of Zer Anpin who descends to join with the Shabbas Queen. Who is Zer Anpin? He is the Prince and masculine counterpart to Nukva who is identified with Shabbas. After the sefirot shattered because they had not learned to give, Hashem reformed them into the Partzufim. There are four lower ones consisting of father, mother, son, and daughter. Zer Anpin, the son, surrounds Nukva, the daughter and Shabbas Queen from six sides or directions: South, North, East, Up, Down, and West. Also Zer Anpin is associated with the six days of the work week while Nukva is the associated with Shabbas. In the Shabbas Amidah, we make a throne for the Shabbas Queen, this is the union of Zer Anpin and Nukva, or in their sefirot names Yesod and Malchuts. The Shabbas Queen when well supported by Zer Anpin rules over all her domain with blessing and spreads peace in the land and in the heavens above. We should view the Shabbat as the middle of the week with three days before and three days after. In this manner, we keep the Shabbas Queen in the center of our lives.

This is the same for a husband and wife. Placing the wife in the center of life with work on the periphery causes the wife to feel supported, loved, and cherished, which in turn brings the Shechinah or presence of G-d into the household. The Shechinah is the Shabbas Queen and the wife causes her presence to dwell in the house. When the husband is behaving properly serving his wife and his wife respects her husband’s Torah devotion, than there is a great unity in the home and the Shechinah descends through their joy and the family is blessed.

4. Hallel

These psalms are recited in gratitude after deliverance from a threat. They are also effective on holidays to elevate joy and healing.

5. Improving oneself - Midos

Psalm 15 is the corner stone of spiritual cleansing, while Psalm 13 is the cornerstone of longing to be close to G-d.

Psalm 15

A Psalm of David

Adonay, who will sojourn in your Tabernacle?
Who will dwell upon Your holy mountain?
He who walks in wholehearted integrity
and deals righteously
and speaks truth in his heart.
He who has no slander on his tongue,
who has done his friend no evil,
nor cast disgrace upon his fellow man.
In whose eyes a vile person is despised,
and those who fear Adonay he honors;
though he swears to his own hurt,
he does not change [his oath].
His money he has not lent out at usury
and a bribe against the innocent he has not taken;
whoever does these things will not be moved forever.

B. Siddur [FIGURE]

1. Introductory Prayers

During the reign of David a plague broke out that killed many of the people. David prayed for the cause and solution to the plague. He learned that the plague was due the people not recounting enough of their daily blessings. Consequently David mandated that everyone recite 100 blessings a today which would increase their appreciation for life. The plague ceased.[261] Amongst the blessings is the following commandment which we remind ourselves of every morning:

]wmk]url tbhaw lc hcu twxm ylu lbqm ynyrh

I hereby accept upon myself the commandment,
"You shall love your neighbor as yourself"
(Leviticus 19:18)

This recitation of this lesson reminds us that each day we must forgive any insult or harm that anyone has done to us, whether actual or perceived. We are reminded each day that we are forbidden to hold a grudge against anyone.

2. Offerings - Asiyah - World of Doing

This 1st level of the morning service is associated with the physical world. Karbanos or offerings/sacrifices during the time of the Temples were considered a principle means to come close to G-d. While the temple does not exist, we consider the reading of these offerings to bring a merit similar to the actual offerings. The word for sacrifice - Karban bears a similar spelling to the word for close in Hebrew, i.e. Krov, which implies a similarity in meaning.

Rabbi Chiya bar Abba said in the name of Rabbi Yochanan, “When a person relieves himself, washeshis hands, puts on Tefillin, says the Shema and then prays, it is counted as if he built an alter and offered a sacrifice on it. (Talmud, Berachot 14b, 15a)[262]

3. Psalms - Pseukei D’Zimra - Yetzirah - World of Formation

The 2nd level of the morning service consists of the recitations of various psalms and songs. The level parallels the angels in the World of Formation who are forever singing songs to Hashem.

Rabbi Yose said, “May my portion be among those who complete the Praise (Hallel) each day.” How could he have said this? We have learned, “One who completes the Praise each day is blaspheming and degrading.” When he said this, he was speaking of the Verses of Praise (Pesukei Dezimra). [Rashi: This refers to the two psalms of praise, “Praise G-d from Heaven” (Psalm 148), and “Praise G-d in His Sanctuary” (Psalm 150).]

Berachos 4b says that if one recites Ashrei three times a today he is assured of a place in Olam Habah. This is because of the passage, “thou openest thy hand and satisfieth everything that is living.” This passage contains the concept that we accept entirely our portion from Hashem. We accept that Hashem has given us everything we need to survive. This is also the reason that many religious people throw themselves into Torah study instead of planning their livelihood.. Ashrei is recited twice at Shachris and once at Mincha.

The Gemara goes on to discuss a similar benefit to connecting the concept of redemption (Goel Israel) with prayer (the Amidah).[263] If we begin the Amidah with a focus on our redemption from Egypt, we realize again that Hashem gives us all we need to survive. This is the reason that we attempt to connect the Redeemer of Israel with Adonay in the Amidah.

Overall, the Gemara[264] is teaching us that we can throw our burden onto Hashem and be His servants doing His will. This is the way to Olam Habah (The World to Come). We realize that everything Hashem has given us is for His service. All of our money, our wife, our children, our material possessions, our bodies, and our souls are for love of G-d.

4. Shema - Beriah - World of Creation

The World of Creation contains the Throne of G-d. Part of the reason we sit when reciting the Shema is to emulate the descent into the throne room of G-d where G-d’s presence rests upon the throne.

The first two verses of the Shema consist of twelve words and forty-nine letters:
So, when a person accepts upon himself the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven with these verses, through which his soul is encompassed in the Twelve Tribes of G-d, he separates his soul from the soul of the mixed multitude,[265]

Rabbi Nachman explains that there are 49 letters in the spelling of the twelve tribes of Israel as well as the first two lines of the Shema. Saying the Shema with ones eyes closed alludes to the faithful woman of God,

Sarah or the Shechinah, who follows her spirit rather than the desire of her eyes.

To turn the mind away from the promiscuous woman, we recite the Shema with great concentration binding us to the Twelve Tribes of G-d and turn our mind to the faithful woman, the Torah woman, or the wonderful woman.
By accepting the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven <with the two verses that are> an aspect of the sea of Shelomoh, he disengages from the souls of the mixed multitude/evil maidservant/promiscuous woman, and is encompassed in the souls of the Tribes of God, an aspect of "a God-fearing woman."[266]

5. Amidah - Atzilut - World adjacent to G-d

Before the Amidah, the cantor recites the Kaddish, the Sanctification prayer:
One who responds with "Amen, Yehei Shmei Raboh..." ("His great Name shall be blessed forever and for all eternity") with all of his strength (of concentration and aloud) nullifies any evil decree that may have been pending against him for the next seventy years.[267] (Shabbas 119b)

The Amidah consists of 18 principle blessings and is the core prayer in Judaism. This is the reason that its older name is the Shemone Esrei that means 18. Nevertheless, Rabbi Gamliel instituted a 19th blessing against heretics in his time. The 18 blessings allude to the recitation of the name of G-d 18 times consisting of 72 letters. Rabbi Nachman says that the 18 blessings allude to Chai or life. He associates this with the phrase Mother Nature or Mother of all that Lives, Em Kol Chay, claiming that this prayer changes the forces of nature.[268] Similarly, he states the 19th blessing overcomes the forces of the Menim – \ynymh.[269]

As the service approaches the Amidah, one recites, "True and Certain is our G-d" which leads to the blessing of G-d who redeems Israel. The word for redeem in Hebrew is Ga'al - lag and is associated with Yesod and Hashem's righteousness. When we begin the meditation before the Amidah, we say, "Adonai, open my lips so that I may declare thy praise." The Shaarey Orah suggests that we bind the redeemer to the name Adonai, which is associated with the sefirah of Malchuts. In fact, the redeemer becomes a throne for the Queen and when the Queen sits upon the throne the redeemer supports her instead of fleeing from her presence; and then she bestows all the blessing of the Amidah on the land and the people of her kingdom. If the redeemer should flee her presence, has vshalom, then she will go into exile and join with foreign rulers who do not appreciate her great worth.

In the Bahir, the sefirah Yesod is in the eighth position below Malchuts. The Bahir places Malchuts in the 7th position since she represents the Shabbas Queen on the seventh day of the week:[270]

Malkhut-Kingship is called the seventh rather than the tenth,
since it is represented as being in the center of the six Sefirot of Zer Anpin.
The six Sefirot represent the six directions, while Malkhut-Kingship is their center point.
In this aspect, the Sabbath is seen as the middle of the week,
preceded and followed by three days.
(Aryeh Kaplan in "The Bahir Illumination")

The eighth sefirah is associated with the brit milah, which is performed on the eighth day and was epitomized by Yosef who resisted the temptations of Potifer's wife. Netzah and Hod are seen as the 9th and 10th sefirot always acting together like Moshe and Aaron as the legs of the tree. They are associated with the Shehakim, the heavens that are the source of prophecy.[271]

Figure 7: The Kabbalistic Tree in Two Systems

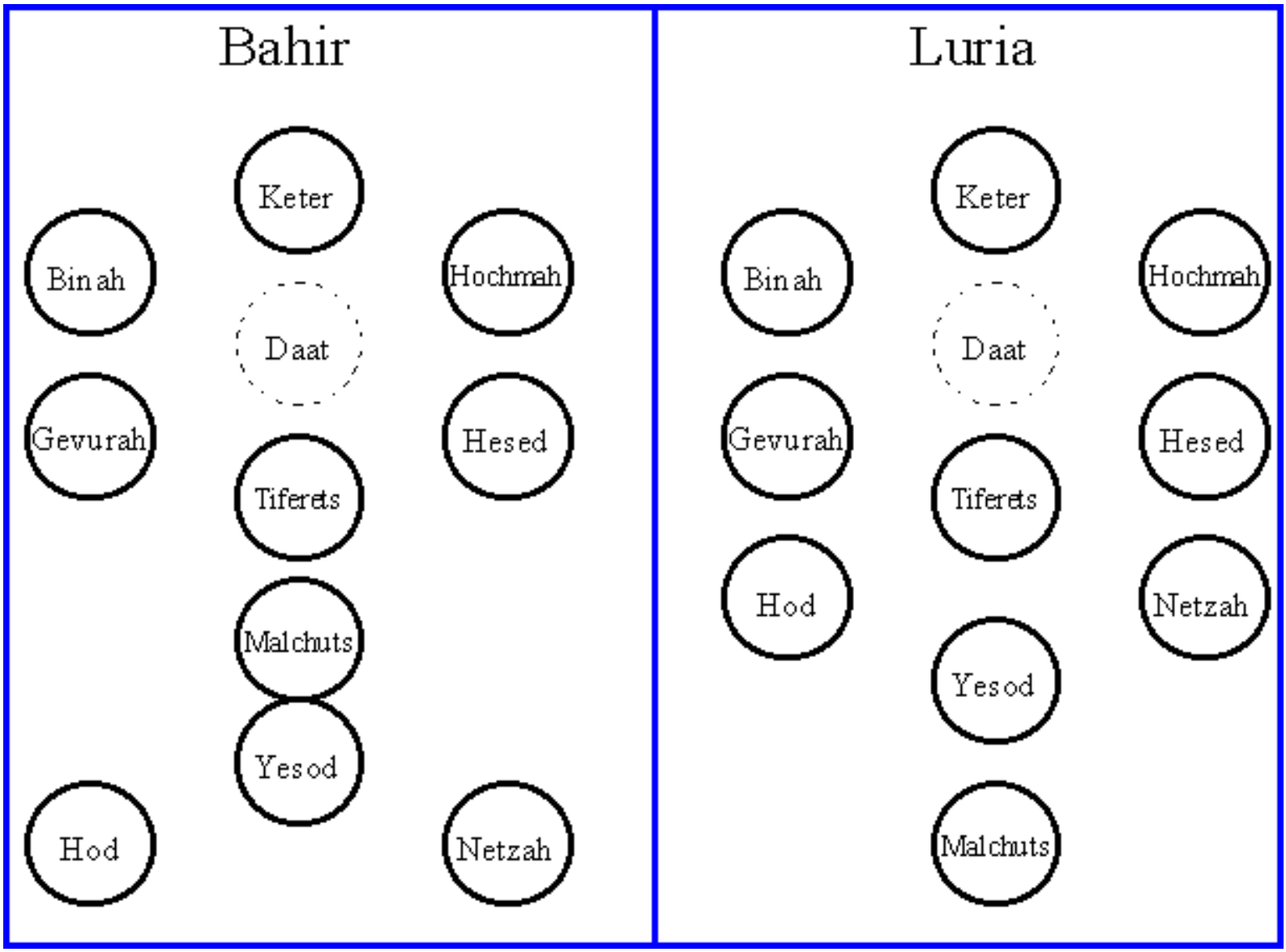

Nevertheless, in the Luria system, Yesod is in the 9th position with Malchuts in the 10th. How are we to reconcile these differences? The key is that Yesod has two names of G-d associated with it. It is called El Shadai when seen from the viewpoint of Malchuts below. When Malchuts has received enough sustenance she calls out 'Dai', enough. She then bestows what she has received upon the rest of the world. The sefirah is seen this way when ascending[272]. When Malchuts is above resting on Yesod, she calls Yesod, El Chai (Elohim Chaim), the living G-d, and the source of her creative energy. El Chai is the name of G-d associated with Malchuts looking down at her supernal spouse and represents the creative energy in process. She rests on the throne and prepares to bestow this energy as a blessing on all creation.

When Yesod is below, Netzah and Hod are in the 9th and 10th positions. When Yesod is above, Netzah and

Hod are the 7th and 8th. In the former Netzah and Hod represent a preliminary energy to ascending the sefirot. In the later case, Netzah and Hod are traversed after already ascending into the tree. Both configurations are reasonable. I have chosen to draw them removing the channels from Hochmah to Gevurah, and Binah to Yesod, instead replacing them with channels from Yesod to Hesed and from Yesod to Gevurah. These channels are the correct paths and can be traversed by the adept where Netzah and Hod become the source of prophecy. I have also traversed the tree with these sefirot in their Lurianic positions. However I have never found channels from Hochmah to Gevurah or Binah to Hesed and now believe these pathways exist only through the sefirah of Daat.

6. Concluding Prayers

a) Ntzor Lshoni

My G-d, guard my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile; and to such as curse me let my soul be dumb, yea, let my soul be unto all as the dust. Open my heart to thy Torah, and let my soul pursue thy commandments. If any design evil against me, speedily make their counsel of no effect, and frustrate their designs. Do it for the sake of thy Name, do it for the sake of thy power, do it for the sake of thy holiness, do it for the sake of thy Torah. In order that thy beloved ones may be delivered, O save by thy power and answer me. Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable before thee, O Lord, my Rock and my Redeemer. He who makes peace in his high places, may he make peace for us and for all Israel, and say ye, Amen.

This prayer is recited at the conclusion of the Amidah and reminds us not to mutter negative thoughts of others. Instead, we should focus on the positive and be “dumb” to the negative so that we do not remember the faults of others. By reciting this prayer meticulously at the end of every Amidah, one will overcome negativity towards others.

b) Tahanun

Rabbi Feinberg taught this prayer of supplication and confession is the prayer for a soldier going off to battle. By supplicating ourselves before Hashem, one strengthens his position against his enemies. Similarly Balak sought to destroy the children of Israel by demonstrating his zealousness in rising before dawn and saddling his donkey to gain an upper hand with Hashem by making himself appear righteous. In truth the children of Israel had their ancestor Avraham who was the source of this teaching and Balak had only adopted it from the children of Israel.

“The desire of the woman produces the soul of a female, the desire of the man produces the soul of a male.”[273] Feminine waters before masculine draw a male soul. Masculine waters before feminine draw a female soul. The goal of the prayer service is to elevate the feminine waters first drawing the masculine waters in response. The main prayer that does this is the Tahanun meaning “falling on one’s face.” This is the quintessential feminine prayer and draws the masculine bounty of G-d into this world.[274]

c) Alenu

Tradition holds that Joshua composed the Alenu before conquering Jericho.

Joshua recited Alenu seven times, backward and forward, and thus broke down the walls of Jericho. It is therefore beneficial for all things, helping for whatever trouble may occur. (Rabbi Moshe ibn Makhir of Safed, Seder HaYom p. 12d)[275]

We recite Alenu while standing before the King with strength for the unification of all creation under one G-d:

I found a manuscript relating a tradition that one should recite Alenu with awe and reverence.... All the hosts of heaven hear it, and the Blessed Holy One and His heavenly family rise and respond, "Happy is the one who has all this ..." (Rabbi Moshe Mat, Mateh Moshe)[276]

d) Kaddish

We recite Kaddish in Aramaic which is the language of Gevurah and the Other Side. It has the power to break the barriers of the other side and ultimately brings judgment and punishment to the left side of mercy, kindness, and a good ending.

Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi said: If one responds, "Amen, may His great Name be blessed" with all his might, then all decrees against him are torn.... (Talmud, Shabbat 119b)[277]

This [Aramaic] language is certain to subjugate the Other Side and break its strength, elevating the glory of the Blessed Holy One. It breaks the powerful locks, fetters, chains and all evil Husks. G-d then remembers His name and His children. (Zohar 2:129b)[278]

C. Requests

1. Bypassing Obstacles

(see Prayer on Rosh Hodesh Av)

2. Calling out to G-d

3. Amongst the Grasses

4. Shachris - Morning Prayer Answers - Jan. 21, 1994 - 9 AM

One can ask Hashem questions while praying. Yet one may ask, "How can I bother Hashem with small questions? A Breslov Rabbi responded, "You are not bothering him; he wants to be bothered. Tell Him all your smallest concerns."

Here are some answers to some peculiar questions.[279]

1. Prayer for guidance on Shabbas observance revealed that Shabbas is the time of the Shechinah descending into our world. It is not a time to be alone. I saw two pigeons eating near each other from the window. Shabbas is a time for an elegant meal to make and delight the Shabbas Queen and the lady of the home.
2. The mitzvah of tefillin should be done even if one doesn't have time to recite all of the morning prayers, even if none are said; it is still a mitzvah of value to be done.
3. A metal covered siddur should be kept by the bedside. Modeh [I thank ...] should be recited upon arising in the morning.
4. Forbidden scoffing includes if you disparage someone's actions even without intending to offend the person herself. Causes of scoffing: You think that your opinion is superior to others.
5. The Shema should be recited 3 times a day; reciting the first line even alone fulfills the mitzvah.
6. Sleep with water close to one's bed in order to perform n'tilats yadayim [the washing of the hands] upon awaking.
7. showing discontent for a decision that will help others. Be positive and of cheerful countenance.

D. Short Service

Often, reciting the entire morning service is too much for most of us to handle. There are various abbreviated paths set by our elders when time is short. Nevertheless, today the prayer service is also a learning path. Let Hashem guide you to the prayers you need to emphasize at this point in your life. A few examples are included here:

1. Short Prayer Service - Jan. 15, 1997

The morning service is lengthy to insure that each person find at least one prayer that is a source of inspiration. Part of the strength of a minyan is that each individual supports the group during his inspirational prayer. Siddur means order and while one may not necessarily say every prayer completely he should aim to follow their order. If one is short in time Hashem will reveal the prayers one needs to recite through the divination of turning pages. Here is an example service:[280]

1. Put on morning Tefillin and Tallis
2. The preliminary service Shema - p. 12
3. Recite the 'What Preciousness is Your Kindness' prayer which is normally said after putting on the Tallis - p. 21
4. Recite Psalm 100, 'A Thankful Song which Rises to the Lord of all the Land' - p. 28
5. Recite the Yishtabach - p. 60
6. Blessings before the Shema - p. 64
7. Shema
8. Blessing after Shema for the Redeemer of Israel - p. 74

9. Amidah
10. Alenu - p. 134
11. Psalm of the Day - p. 137
12. The Thirteen Articles of Faith (last 4) - p. 153
13. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name, takes cognizance of all the deeds of human kind, as well as of their thoughts; as it is said: He who fashioned all their hearts , understands all their actions
14. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name, recompenses those who observe his commandments, whilst he punishes those who transgress them.
15. I believe, with a perfect faith, in the coming of the Messiah, and though he tarry, I will daily await his appearance.
16. I believe, with a perfect faith, that there will be a resurrection of the dead, when such shall be willed by the Creator, blessed be his name, and exalted his memorial for ever and to all eternity.

E. Temple

Praying in a group strengthens ones prayers.

F. "Psalms for a Sunny Day" by Samantha Grier

These were composed by Samantha Grier, MSW and founding executive of "Caring for Children" San Francisco, CA. Samantha's inspired writing could be canonized if there was room for another book of psalms. Her masterful way of seeing G-d in nature, attaching to G-d, and expressing a longing for G-d, reveals her spiritual genius.

1. PSALM I

God is the sunshine of my life
the weather matters not
The day is always sunny
when we hold God in our heart

The storms of life are many
We can struggle if we please
But with acceptance
troubles fall away like autumn leaves

Our lesson is to know God's love
is with us all our days
although obscured it is truly there
to guide us through our daze

We need to see more clearly
what is in our hearts and know
what matters is not the tests or lessons
but our courage, and willingness to grow

2. PSALM II

I see God in the sunshine
I see god in the rain
I feel God when I'm happy
I feel God in my pain

It's clear that God does love me
and naught is good or bad
but rather lessons for my soul
and not to make me sad

So sleep is sweet no matter what
the day may have been
for when we live with open heart
there's no way that we can sin

3. PSALM III

God is my protector and
God is my friend
my shepherd and provider
His bounty has no end

God is my Father
and God is my peer
my lover and my playmate
with God there is no fear

Although the meaning is obscure
my life is God's to mold
for what may seem like mud to me
God can turn to gold

We can never know God's plan for us
It's only ours to trust
to seek the truth and
hold the faith

And when the veil lifts
revealing our purpose and our destiny
We will finally understand and accept
God's ultimate mystery

4. PSALM IV

Oh Lord lead me to the light
let your love illumine my path
guide me with your loving ways
Sustain me when I fall

Oh lord please lead me forth from
this barren plain of failed desires
free me from attachment to all but you for
I long for your tender touch
your gentle guidance

Thou art my rock and
my redeemer and the
restorer of my soul
your presence comforts and sustains me
your light shall lead the way

5. PSALM V

Lord, you are my source and my salvation
your love surrounds me when awake
and covers me when asleep

Your glory is in all things
large and small
insignificant moments and
chance encounters that are not so after all

Your profundity invites my soul
to taste the depth of your essence.
Please Lord, bless me and all my enterprises,
my goings and my comings
and all the affairs of my heart

6. PSALM VI

God of my fathers and my mothers
hold me in Your holy hand
surround me with your goodness
protected by your love

Although I am but a speck of dust
a spot of earth's horizon
a flower that fades, a dew drop that falls
I have a soul and a purpose in this world

May your light illumine the corners of my life
so that I may clearly see and gladly do
all that thou hast created me for

My soul submits to
Your wisdom and Your will
and welcomes Your sheltering presence

7. PSALM VII

Of God of all Creation, I surrender
to your wisdom and magnificence
Thy will be done

In vain I ponder Your divine plan
I sacrifice my ego to serve you
show me the way to
open my heart and my eyes

Welcome me into Thy dwelling by night
and Thy arms by day
know that I am devoted to Your will
I surrender all to follow the path that Thou
has laid out before me

Thy power and the glory fill the universe
and show me the way to come home

8. PSALM VIII

Oh Lord of nature's beautiful bounty
I view your marvelous creation with awe but
allow petty distractions to consume my piety so
I see not that the bush burns unconsumed

Your wonders surround me
every moment of every day;
If I would but lift up my head
I would see your Glory

Still my frantic heart with peace,
slow my hurried pace so that I can see that
wondrous treasures lie all around
and all my heart's desires
are fulfilled

9. PSALM IX

The violence all around us
profoundly shakes our calm;
Could it be our inner turbulence
that badly needs the balm?

For this world of lessons
and games for us to play
teaches us that peace comes with forgiving
and loving whatever comes our way

Our true home is God's Kingdom
We never can get lost
our souls are in his keeping
there never is a cost

10. PSALM X

Sometimes in the darkness
when life seems hard and bleak
the path unclear
the way obscure
God's voice begins to speak

You can hear His words by listening
to the quiet deep inside
It tells you all you need to know
and helps you loosen pride

Love is the salve that heals our wounds
calms our fears

and makes us strong
to fight the doubts and frights
and gives us courage
to bring them to the light

11. PSALM XI

Sometimes I'm lonely
Sometimes I'm sad
Sometimes I'm angry and feel very bad

These moments of blindness are closing my eyes
to God's loving presence and all that I prize

I try to remember that what I now feel
isn't what's true and isn't what's real

The truth is God's glory, his light and his love
and knowing I am protected by heaven above

12. PSALM XII

Sometimes in the shadows
When I'm down and feeling blue
divine light manifests to help me see anew

there are no skies of grey
only passing clouds
that cover bright and sunny days

So when illusions cover truth wit
cloudy thoughts of doom
remember all the good thoughts
that would fill our mind
if only there were room

13. PSALM XIII

When I sit and watch the sea,
I note the ebb and flow,
I see the moon move slowly and
glistening stars peeking out at me

Then morning sun bursts through the sky

Like a baby being born
a new day's promise
accompanies the coming of the dawn

In any moment each of us can be born anew
and manifest our heart's desire
If we accept God's purification
and baptism by fire

Our souls direct us
we cannot fail
with faith, hope and clarity we can all
prevail

Nature moves us forward
We can always reach our goal
If we hold fast to God's gift
and thank him for our soul

14. PSALM XIV

Blessed with inner vision
We no longer need be blind
nor miss the abundance of God's gifts in
all the sparkling beauty that abounds

To smell a flower, watch a bird,
hug a child is to honor
God's gifts

His will be done

15. PSALM XV

We find God in the strangest places
with friends, strangers and smiling faces

in hearts that are open and arms welcoming wide
love creeps in bearing treasures that nest deep inside

Lovers, honor each other,
be noble and true
be faithful and honest
and create joy anew

For we are all siblings,
children of God's light
resting on our mother's breast
nurtured with delight

Our family is forever,
We never have to mourn
for nothing is ever lost
it only changes form

If we love without attachment,
offering integrity and hearts that care
Our gifts will be community
with compassion always will be there

16. PSALM XVI

We often overlook the simple things
bearing hidden gifts galore
If only we recognized these treasures
We would never ask for more

We know not what we really want
moving blindly through our lives
like mindless bobbing reeds

Yet we can reclaim our riches,
when we look down deep inside
and see the peace and love
where all God's gifts reside

17. PSALM XVII

We know God in the sunshine
in the glories of our lives
but also in the shadows
and the sorrows of our mind

We overcome with love and faith
Knowing the light will lead the way;
Even though the path is steep,
and many obstacles slow us down each day

But with each new step we build new strength
until we can honestly say
Thank You God for all your gifts
It was the challenges that taught me how to pray

18. PSALM XVIII

Fill your heat with love
Open your arms to the Lord
Know that s/he is there for you
at all times and in all ways
you only need to be ready to receive

Know you are loved and cherished,
supported, guided, and protected,

Remember that you are led to the right place
at every moment in time
even the difficulties, challenges, losses, obstacles
bear their gifts

So open your eyes wide
See that all is love and light
and peace in our hearts
These are God's gifts to us,
To carry in our hearts,
So we can transform the world

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[258] Midrash Rabbah Deuteronomy 8:1, Soncino addition, pp. 147-148.
[259] World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, page 129.
[260] Jewish Bulletin, "Women seeking basherit? Prayer, mitzvoth might help", 6/28/1996 issue.
[261] Me'am Lo'ez, page 107.
[262] A Call to the Infinite, Aryeh Kaplan, pp. 65-66.
[263] The Amidah is the quintessential prayer and is referred to as Tefillah.
[264] Berachos 4b.
[265] Likutey Moharan #36:3, Vol. 5, page 153
[266] Ibid, page 155.
[267] Ashrei, Moshe Goldberger et. al., Staten Island Yeshiva, page 4.
[268] Likutey Moharan #216, Vol. 11, page 101
[269] Spies, heretics, or atheists during the time of Rabbi Nachman
[270] Bahir 157 Aryeh Kaplan commentary, p. 176
[271] Bahir
[272] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 2.

[273] Likutey Moharan #31:14 Vol. IV, page. 387 quoted from the Zohar I, 85b.
[274] Ibid. page 391.
[275] A Call to the Infinite, Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, page 76.
[276] Ibid. Aryeh Kaplan quotes this from Eliahu Rabbah 132:3, Beer Hetiv 132:3.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid. pp. 77-78.
[279] Revealed with the name Adonay Tzavaot, the name of G-d associated with the sefira of Netzah. Netzah is the higher source for prophecy and revelation in this world. Moses, our teacher, epitomized the midos of Netzah.
[280] Siddur Avodat Israel, English Translation, Sinai publishing

VI. Cycles of Time

A. Dimensions [TABLE]

The Hagim - \ygj - Holidays sanctify time in our world. Judaism emphasizes the sanctity of time over space. In the Tree of Life, time is denoted by the transition from Hochmah to Binah, past conscious to future conscious. Space is denoted by the six directions from Hesed to Yesod. The moral dimension is from Keter to Malchuts.

Table 8: Jewish Dimensions

Sefira	Sefira Meaning	Dimension
Keter	Crown	Goodness - spiritual
Hochmah	Wisdom	Past - unified consciousness
Binah	Understanding	Future - analytical consciousness
Hesed	Kindness	South
Gevurah	Severity	North
Tiferet	Beauty	East
Netzah	Victory	Up
Hod	Thankfulness	Down
Yesod	Foundation	West
Malchut	Kingdom	Baseness - physical

B. Months [TABLE]

The constellations were created with the 12 elemental letters in their respective order[185].

Table 9: Months

Months	Hebrew Letter	Constellation	Holidays	House
Nissan - }syn ~ April	heh - h	Aries the Ram T'leh - hlf	Pesach	Growth
Iyar - ryya ~ May	vav - w	Taurus the Bull Shor - rwc	Israel Independence	Possessions

Sivan - }wys ~ June	zayin - z	Gemini the Twins Teumim - \ymwat	Shavuos	Attraction
Tamuz - zwmt ~ July	het - j	Cancer the Crab Sartan - }frs	3 Mourning Weeks	Ancestors
Av - ba ~ August	tet - f	Leo the Lion Ari - hyra	Tish B'Av	Descendants
Elul - lwla ~ September	yod - y	Virgo the Virgin Betulah - hlwtb	Selichos	Healing
Tishrei - yrct ~ October	lamed - l	Libra the Scales Maznayim - \ynzam	Rosh Hashanah Yom Kippur Succoth	Coition
Cheshvan - }wcj ~ November	nun - n	Scorpio the Scorpion Akrav - brqu		Death
Kislev - wlsk ~ December	samech - s	Sagittarius the Archer Keshet - tcq	Hanukah	Travel
Tevet - tbf ~ January	ayin - u	Capricorn the Kid Gedi - ydg	Tenth of Tevet	Government
Shevat - fbc ~ February	tzadi - x	Aquarius the Water Drawer Deli - yld	New Year of Trees	Friends
Adar - rda ~ March	koof - q	Pisces the Fish Dagin - \ygd	Purim	Enemies

The Sefer Yetzirah describes the ruling personal qualities of the constellations. These however also correspond to the particularly trait in each sign that must be expressed regularly for this sign to feel a sense of joy and balance.[186] Of course in each of us there is a touch of each element below that must be satisfied. Nevertheless, the Sun sign does indicate the primary source of psychological balance for each sign. With the Hebrew letters Hashem endowed the heavens and identified qualities in people. When the twain meet there is a joyful bliss and complete harmony.

Table 10: Achieving Psychological Balance According to the Constellations

Constellation	**Quality**	**The Key to Balance For This Sign**
Aries The Ram T'leh – hlf	speech	Aries achieves joy and balance by speaking a lot.
Taurus the Bull Shor – rwc	thought	Taurus achieves joy and balance by active thought.
Gemini the Twins Teumim - \ymwat	motion	Gemini achieves joy and balance by motion. This includes active sports or physical work.
Cancer the Crab Sartan - }frs	sight	Cancer achieves joy and balance by pleasant sights. This includes living in a well-decorated house and seeing beautiful sights.
Leo the Lion Ari – hyra	hearing	Leo achieves joy and balance by hearing performances. This includes attending shows and musicals.
Virgo the Virgin Betulah - hlwtb	action	Virgo achieves joy and balance by action. This includes activities on a chore list.
Libra the Scales Maznayim - \ynzam	coition	Libra achieves a balanced state of mind through coition.
Scorpio the Scorpion Akrav - brqu	smell	Scorpio acquires a balanced state of mind through smell. This may be the smell of flowers, nature, or love.
Sagittarius the Archer Keshet - tcq	sleep	Sagittarius achieves a balanced state of mind by extra sleep.
Capricorn the Kid Gedi - ydg	anger	Capricorn achieves a balanced state of mind by expressing anger occasionally.
Aquarius the Water Drawer Deli – yld	taste	Aquarius achieves a balanced state of mind by tasting good foods. This includes cooking classes, eating out, and preparing tasteful meals.
Pisces the Fish Dagin - \ygd	laughter	Pisces achieves a balanced state of mind through laughter. This includes being with a group of friends regularly.

1. Nissan

And you shall count this as your first month, for I took you at of Egypt at this time. The letter h - heh denotes holiness since the letter occurs twice in the name of G-d representing both the attribute of Binah and Malchuts. The relationship here is G-d like a mother to her daughter Israel. There is a lot of conversation and differences of opinion but the two love each other and support each other through the trials of Egypt.

Make amends, repair our fences, we want moshiach now. The Baal Shem Tov called the last day of Pesach Moshiach Seudah. The 'Today is the Day' or in Hebrew the 'Hayom Yom' comments that the previous Chabad Rebbe made a meal and there were 310 students and 18 tables. The 310 students represent the 310 storehouses saved up for the righteous in the world to come and the 18 tables represent eternal life.

2. Iyar

The State of Israel is a Taurus! This has endowed the country with a green thumb. The state of Israel is also a place for hard work and productivity. Ironically, spirituality plays a secondary role to the physical sensations that pervade the land in this manifestation of its nationhood. Dance, song, agriculture, engineering, security, and monetary success preoccupy the nation.

Nevertheless, the letter w - vav is also a letter in the name of G-d and represents the outstretched arm of G-d to all who call upon Him, to all who call upon Him sincerely. Six midos [character qualities] compose the w, i.e. kindness, judgment, beauty, eternity, thankfulness, and foundation. These are also the principle values of the nation of Israel.

3. Sivan

The holiday of Shavuos falls out here. The letter z - zayin - 7 denotes the Shabbas or day of rest as Shavuos represents an end to the planting season and a resting period after 7 weeks.

4. Tamuz

July is represented by the letter j – het, which denotes a fence or limitation. The period, Between the Fences, refers to the three weeks before Tish B'Av. At the end of the Second Temple, these three weeks contained an inordinate amount of defeats during the siege of Jerusalem. The fences limited the area of operation necessary to properly defend the Holy Temple.

All her pursuers caught her between fences. (Eichah 1 - Lamentations 1)

5. Av

The letter f - tet denotes the serpent or adversary who punishes the Jewish people. On Yom Kippur, a goat was sent away to Azazel. Rabbi Nachman explains the meaning of this. This is like a bone thrown into the mouth of the great goat to quiet him while the Jewish people repent. For 364 days a year, the accuser presents himself before the Almighty, but on Yom Kippur, we are spared his accusations. This also relates to Pidyon that is an amount of money paid to redeem a person. The Pidyon is given to silence the adversary.

The name Azazel – lzazu has gematria 115 which is also qoof, yod, heh. We spell Azazel Ayin, Zayin, Aleph, Zayin, and Lamed. The Aleph represents G-d that stands in the middle of the name. Azazel is the dismissal of sin. The sin of the Jewish people is dismissed in the wilderness, the place of Azazel. What is in the wilderness? Is it not the 248 positive commandments of the Jewish people? BaMidbar is Bet, Mem, Dalet, Bet, and Resh that is 248. There is a force in the wilderness, and its name is Azazel and it is a servant of Hashem. Its function is to dismiss sin from the Jewish people. This is done by a goat wandering into the wilderness. How can we understand the goat? There is a teaching that a blessing needs something to rest on. When we recite the Birkat Hamazon, we do so at a table for a blessing needs an object to rest upon. When the Jewish people in the wilderness, sought a removal of their sins the Cohen rested his hands upon the goal such that their request would have something to rest on. Why a goat, so that it may wander away into the wilderness. In the wilderness, the sins are devoured and removed by the force of Azazel. The goat is more able to carry sins than a lamb or another animal. The intention is not that the goat dies but that it wanders into the wilderness and does not return. With the shitafot, the flash floods of winter, the land is washed clean and renewed. The sins that the goat carries will also be washed away.

Rosh Hodesh Av - The new month of Av

Rosh Hodesh Av is Ta'anis Tzaddikim - a fast day for very pious people since Aaron died on this day. During the first 9 days of Av, we refrain from rejoicing and actions that may lead to rejoicing. We avoid planting of trees, home improvement, purchasing of new clothes, sewing, haircuts, and washing clothes. These pleasures are avoided at of memory for the temple that was destroyed on the 9th of Av.

Prayer on Rosh Hodesh Av - July 16, 1996 - 8 PM

One may pray for answers on how to deal with any problem. By making a hypnotic suggestion one can prepare for involuntary responses to answer the questions..

I davened at Am Echad alone as services were an hour earlier. I tested my answers with subconscious hypnotic responses, i.e. raising my right arm for truth, left arm for falsehood. At the end of the prayer, I asked for an answer that would help me improve my overall behavior.

I saw in a vision the image of Rav Lapin z"l, the former rabbi of the synagogue. He was looking at me and there was a young student before him. He was guiding the hand of the student over a sefer and then resting it upon the sefer. The message here was to learn the seforim like a young student. Let the teachings become part of you. View the world with the unbiased view of a young student.

Today, I also received a Breslov tape that discussed the importance of the tallis. Every thread in the tallis

bears the imprint of the one who wears it. Reb Nachman poured out tears with his prayers to Hashem and said that there was a tear for every thread in the tallis when he gave his away to a choice student.

I picked up "Consulting the Wise" and opened it to page 246 which had the following statement:

INTERVIEWER: What sefer would you recommend for someone who wants to improve his midos?

RABBI YECHEZKAIL LEVENSTEIN: "Study the sefer Tomar Dvorah [Palm tree of D'vorah]. Rabbi Simcha Zissel Ziv of Kelm said that studying it is conducive to self-improvement. The sefer describes the thirteen attributes of the Almighty and elaborates on ways to integrate them into one's own life. Be prepared to spend sufficient time on this project because it is not light reading."[187]

Tisha B'Av - 9th of Av

Five things are prohibited:
eating
drinking
washing
wearing leather shoes
cohabitation

It is also prohibited to greet one's friend or acquaintance and even to say, "Good morning." However, one may respond to a greeting in a low tone in order to avoid resentment. Customarily we do not work for any length of time that may distract from the mourning.

After reading Eicha, Lamentations, we recite the following song:
Eli tzion vodecha, cmo isha btzarta.

Tish B'Av - July 27, 1993 - 5 PM

The following meditation illustrates the positive effect fasting has on meditation. While fasting facilitates meditation by weakening the physical binds on the soul, lengthy fasts can also be dangerous and it is easier to lose consciousness as illustrated at the mediation's end.

I decided to do a meditation to keep my mind off of food. Quickly I rose to the level of Malchuts. I felt the whole floor elevated as I entered this level on my own! I then lifted myself to Yesod. All around were towering angels. With only the slightest though Gavriel, Michael, Uriel, and Raphael descended to the four corners of my body. They lifted me as I looked upwards towards Tiferet like a spread sheet. A fifth angel joined by the name of Nuriel and Uriel took a center position under my body. We ascended above Tiferets and I felt as if I was floating in clouds and a blue sky.

As we rose higher, I thought about what I wanted to do. I wanted to know of the Messiah some more. I then saw one like the Son of Man coming down and there was a crown upon his head lowered quickly from above. I prostrated myself before him and he turned his head upward towards G-d saying, *"Why do you prostrate before me, there is only G-d."*

He lifted me up and we were the same height for he was a man not an angel. He told me to find the answers, I should look into his eyes. The eyes were a swirling blue and green like water currents and I began to feel faint. I felt like I might lose consciousness if I gazed to long upon them. I opened my eyes and said I must eat. The experience was too dangerous.

Dove - 7/23/98
Tonight is Rosh Hodesh Av. Today was Erev Rosh Hodesh. In the morning, I cleaned my hand tefillin. I had a blowout on the way to work and replaced two tires and rear brakes. That evening after I came out of shul, I saw a white dove resting on my rear window windshield wiper. It was very much at peace. I saw how it would find peace by looking away from me. Only when a change was imminent would it look towards me, otherwise it would rest.

To be at rest, we must turn away from the turmoil around us and find inner tranquility. As I began to drive off the dove stayed on my car.

6. Elul

The time of the holidays is approaching. The letter y - yod for this month indicates that this is the time that the righteous return completely to G-d. The righteous ones make a complete Tshuvah on the first of Elul. The yod is the first letter of the name of G-d and represents beginnings like Rosh Hashanah. It symbolizes wisdom and the source of the 32 paths. Out of the yod comes the heh, which represents the 50 gates of understanding in the place of Binah. These 50 gates are the permutations taken two out at a time of the seven children of Binah plus one for the revelation of G-d.

7. Tishrei

The letter l - lamed denotes the new cycle of learning that begins with Simchas Torah at the end of the holiday [when we begin reading the Torah scroll from the beginning]. dml - Lomed is also the word for learning in Hebrew. Tishrei is a month to renew Jewish learning which helps us with Tshuvah, i.e. returning to G-d. In addition, the constellation of the month is Libra whose scales symbolize the ten-day judgment period from Rosh Hashanah to Yom Kippur. In Hebrew, the word for scales is moznaim.

Rosh Hashanah 5757 - September 14, 1996 - 11 AM
During the morning service, I was inclined to leave several times.[188] During the Musaf (afternoon) service I had the following experience. I saw myself in a wedge of people advancing into the 1st and 2nd palaces of heaven. The palaces were like castles, the first a reflection of our own world; the second housing the activities of many angels. The 1st and 2nd palaces were chained together and were easy to pass through. Michael and Gabriel held the gates of each palace open to permit the throng to enter. I asked the angels to help me ascend a ladder in the throne room of the 2nd palace. The ladder was completely occupied on this high holiday with the souls of the righteous reaching into the heavens. The angels enabled me to rise beside the ladder upward though the channel of the eye of the cylindrical water fall. The ladder entered a chamber where a righteous one sat upon a throne. This was in the 3rd palace

which parallels the sefira of Hesed. The hands of the being were beautiful reflecting deeds of kindness and compassion. He was blessing each person who had ascended the ladder with mercy. I moved beside the person in the front of the line and noticed his right hand in front of me. I was afraid to look at his face, but I had learned from past visions to defeat my fear and that this leads to the highest truth. I looked into his face. At first I saw the reflections of people I knew in the community such as the owner of the Kosher deli, the Rabbi, and other members of the temple, but then the face turned into a doorway. I willed myself into the face of the angel and entered a tunnel which alternated between black and white corridor sections. At the end of the tunnel were ornately carved doors which I could not open. I knew these doors led to the 4th palace which would be the place of the sefira of Hochmah. I uttered in my mind the name of G-d associated with this sefira and the doors opened. I feared entering and then I saw the hand of a lady pass through the doorway towards me seeking my own. I took the hand and entered to be greeted by a beautiful lady in a relatively empty place. I danced with the lady who appeared petite with blonde hair and I wondered what she was doing here? Why was she at this level of the sefirot? I then realized she was the personification of the Shechinah and was associated with the Partzuf Nukvah or Sefirah Malchuts. The princess dwells in the palace of her father, who is Hochmah and that is why I saw her here. Wisdom is sometimes referred to as a woman in Proverbs, but in truth, it is Wisdom's daughter that is feminine while Wisdom is masculine. I danced with the Shechinah in circles and enjoyed the moment. I remembered the throng following me and I summoned the angels to hold open the gates of this world. The throng entered scaring the princess, but I told her they did not know where they were and could do no harm. As we spun in a circle with one arm extended inward from each of us, I noticed below our hands the singularity of the whole world. This is why there is nothing in Wisdom for all is yet undifferentiated. Looking upward I saw the singularity reflected downward from the gates of Keter which were black and almost impossible to recognize. The angels could not bring me higher. From here on out I was on my own. I uttered the name of G-d associated with Keter, and the black gates opened and I rose through the darkness into the radiating black light. I saw endless blackness all around. I recalled that sons, food, and clothing are left to mazel and descend from this level. Instead I willed myself upward to the next level or Mah in the world of letters. I saw white light and silver chains and knew that Mah parallels Malchut below. I willed upward into Ben which parallels Yesod. I preceded into Sag which parallels Binah, and then Av which parallels Hochmah. Above this was Adam Kadmon where I briefly stayed and then sought to know of higher worlds. I saw the name RaM - \r which means 'high above' and discerned the following expansion. 10*4 + 100*2 => BakDai - ydqb. BakDai means 'enough seeking' which clearly meant I had gone far enough. I ended the vision and swept down in a river flowing through all the sefirot and pouring out of Malchuts like a water fall.

Postscript: Fast of Gedaliah - September 16, 1996

After the destruction of the first Temple, the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnetzar allowed a remnant of the Jews to remain and appointed Gedaliah Ben Achikam to be their governor. Jews who had fled to neighboring lands began to return to tend the vineyards of Judah. The King of Ammon sent Yishmael Ben Netaniah to assassinate Gedaliah. Gedaliah disbelieved the rumors he had heard and went out to greet Yishmael in the town of Mitzpa where he was assassinated.[189]

And yet we read in the daily Alenu prayer:

And G-d will be King over all the earth,
(and) on that day G-d will be one and his name one.
(Zechariah 14:9)

And on Rosh Hashanah we read:

Then the righteous will see and be joyful,
and the forthright will be merry...'[190]

The Gates of Light quotes further:

The light of the moon will be like the light of the sun and the light of the sun will be intensified sevenfold like the light of seven days on the day when the Lord heals his people...
(Isaiah 30:26)

The waters of desire flow from Keter which is the place of ratzon or the will of G-d as He relates to our world. However, all judgments are determined in Gevurah except for three which flow from Keter[191]:

Children, life and food do not rely on merit but on mazel.
(Moed Katan 28a)

The death of Gedaliah is hard to understand. Yet life depends on mazel which is the word for constellation and fortune. Still the sages commemorated Gedaliah's death with a fast day to remember always the good of his life.

8. Heshvan

There are no holidays in this month which is represented by the letter n - nun. The letter nun does not occur in King David's great psalm Ashrei, thus denoting a level the Jews never descended to before leaving Egypt.[192] There is a teaching that there are 49 levels down followed by a 50th level from which there is no return. There are also 49 levels up and the 50th denotes the holiday of Shavuos or the Giving of the Torah and the revelation at Mt. Sinai.

9. Kislev

The letter s - samech denotes happiness or sameach. This month has the holiday of Hanukah.

Kislev 21, 5759 - December 9th - 9 PM
In this meditation, the four angels lifted me toward the sapphire firmament described by Ezekiel. I glimpsed the form of a man on the other side and then passed through. The man had a diadem on his forehead and was of youthful form with dark hair and a lean face, quite handsome. He was the Prince,

Zer Anpin and I had a discussion with him. He explained the nature of the longing of the Prince for the Princess. The Princess is joined to the Prince through the prayers of people, which elevates us to G-d. The Prince's situation is the paradigm, root source, of loneliness. I became friends with the Prince and I took him down to our world to see the beauty of mountains, the dessert, and small rivers with grass beds. He saw through my eyes and then assisted me in bringing down his Father and Mother. Everyone here but the Princess, I commented. He said that the Princess is here too but that her presence is in the spiritual form of the good feelings from our world, from us.

He said, now I will give you a gift and he pushed me upwards into the spiritual heavens. I beheld a white angel with a beautiful face. His robes were like a candle flame and I held them as we ascended. All around there were souls busying themselves and mirrors.[193] Eventually the angel brought me into a dark chamber higher up. Here was a man in dark robes with a small gray beard and gray hair and a pointed face. His appearance was scary. He was the root soul of the others. He was the root soul of myself.[194]

We all have a root soul and each of us must work to purify that part of the root's body which we represent. All our actions effect our root soul. Our actions effect other branches of the same root soul.

10. Tevet

The letter u - ayin denotes the adversary and many of Hillel's students died on the Tenth of Tevet which is a fast day. My Grandfather Moshe ben Ovadiah died on this day. Nebuchadnetzar, King of Babylonia, laid siege to Jerusalem on this day and 3 years later on the 9th of Tamuz the walls were breached. With the siege came terrible famine:

'And the city came under siege... and famine became intense in the city.' The daughters of Zion gathered in the market places, and upon seeing each other, one would say to the other: why have you come out to the market place, for you have never done so? The other answered and said: shall I hide it from you? The plague of famine is hard. I cannot bear it. They held on to each other, and went about the city seeking food, but did not find it. They embraced the pillars and died in every corner. Their suckling children crawled about on hand and foot, each one recognizing his mother, and seeking to nurse milk from her. When the child found no nourishment, his life was severed, and he died in his mother's lap' (Pesikta Raba 26)[195].

The 8th and 9th of Tevet are called 'fast-days-for-the-righteous' and observe the misunderstandings of the Greek translation of the Torah on the 8th, and the death of Ezra the Scribe on th 9th. The ultimate aim of the fast day as well at the 9 days leading up is repentance and return to G-d. This is a time to restrict pleasure and examine our deeds and improve for the future.

11. Shevat

The letter x - tzadi denotes the righteous one who is compared to a complete Tree. All of his her midos are in proper balance. This is also the time of Tu B'shvat which is the planting of new trees. Trees are planted at this time to keep track of the three-year requirement before one is permitted to eat the fruit of the tree.

Tu B'shvat - New Year of Trees - January 26, 1994

The following describes a meditation that cures paranoia. The visualization can be done at any time and in any place and should be effective.

On Tu B'shvat, search out apples or other fruit that appear like they are calling you. Part of the healing of the holiday is releasing the sparks in these fruit. Bring the person you wish to heal to a meditation that day. The meditation involves ascending through the sefirot of the person's body, focusing on healing those sefirot that are out of balance. In the case of paranoia, the sefira of Gevurah will be cold. Imagine a warm fuzzy white cloud encompassing the sefira softening its hardness moment by moment.

Next, begin to merge your mind into the mind of the other. Feel his or her thoughts. What do you hear? One may hear phrases like, "I don't want to be here," "Don't judge me," "I wish they cold stay together." These phrases will reflect the root causes of the development of the illness in the person's past.

Now, call upon the angel Raphael and he will place his hand on the left side of your head transmitting a healing energy from Hashem to the Gevurah in your soul.

Afterwards say the blessing over the fruit and release the sparks within.

Deep in Daas - Tu B'shvat - January 22, 1997 - 7:30 PM

I saw myself as a sapling being planted for the holiday. My brothers and sisters stood around in the soil beneath me. This was a simple life, yet beautiful and complete. Day to day I would follow the sun across the sky, turning my leaves in his direction always. After three years I saw there was fruit on my limbs and the first harvest was at hand. As the fruit was taken, I felt relief, a weight removed from me.

Just as the tree changes and moves in its life so should a person change and move. All movements bring knowledge. As the tree ages and its form changes, it becomes somewhat rigid, but there are still movements in the growth of its appearance. Our existence is eternal; though the life we have in this world is only a short span. We should not dwell on past mistakes for they are finite and fleeting. Our lives recur until we get it right.

Like a tree we should extend our branches far and wide. In this manner we meet more people and this interaction brings knowledge and happiness. Instead of striving to find the right person in life, we should strive to grow towards G-d which also means involvement in meeting new people and learning and having fun.

To find a mate, pursue activities that bring one together with other eligible partners rather than professional match makers.

I saw Jesus on the cross crying out to Hashem about being forsaken. I saw G-d respond that because of his great concern about the end of his life; he would magnify the meaning of his death.

At the end of the vision, I asked to see the source of the answers I was receiving. I saw the form of the Glory of G-d who was draped in regal robes with a scepter in His right hand; yet I could not see His face. He stood in a central area while above in a circle there were angels all around. He would turn from one to another assigning a mission and immediately the angel would depart.

12. Adar

Be Happy, its Adar

The month of Adar is symbolized by the letter q - koof which denotes laughter. One needs to make an extra effort to be happy in this month which like all year ends can bring back nostalgic memories and melancholy. The holiday of Purim occurs in this month and is one of 2 festive holidays where one is advised to get inebriated. The other holiday of this sort is Simhas Torah in the month of Tishrei.

C. Weeks [TABLES]

Each shavua - uwbc - week reminds of the process of creation. There are various correspondences with each day of the week.

Table 11: The Sevens of Creation

Sefirot	Qualities	Days of the Week	Double Letter	Foundation	Direction	Metals
Hesed	Kindness	Sunday	bet - b	Wisdom	South	Silver
Gevurah	Judgment	Monday	gimmel - g	Wealth	North	Gold
Tiferets	Beauty	Tuesday	dalet - d	Seed	East	Copper
Netzah	Victory	Wednesday	caph - k	Life	Up	Tin
Hod	Thankfulness	Thursday	peh - p	Rulership	Down	Lead
Yesod	Righteousness	Friday	resh - r	Peace	West	Mercury
Malchuts	Kingship	Shabbat	tav - t	Grace	Center	Iron

1. Rishon - Sunday

Kindness is associated with Sunday, the first day of the week. The planetary ruler of the first hour of the

day is the Sun from which the Romans gave it the name.

The fear of G-d is the beginning of Wisdom.
(Proverbs 1:7)

Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the LORD, and stay upon his G-d.
(Isaiah 50:10)

Ravin bar R. Adda said in the name of R. Isaac: He who regularly attends a house of prayer, but fails to come one day–the Holy One, blessed be He, inquires about him, saying, "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of His servant? Yet now walketh off in darkness and hath no light?" If [he walked off in darkness away from the house of prayer] for a religious purpose, he will continue to have light; if for a secular purpose, he will have no light.[196]

2. Sheni - Monday

Judgment associates with Monday. On Mondays and Thursdays, Hashem holds back some of the good light so that we may learn to return to him. In order to make up for this light, we recite the Torah portion in shul on those days to bring the light of G-d down through learning. In addition, Mondays and Thursdays are chosen for self-appointed fasts to return to G-d.

3. Shlishi - Tuesday

G-d blessed Tuesday twice in the creation story. Beauty and splendor associate with Tuesday. The energy of the day facilitates torah learning and knowing truth.

4. Revaee - Wednesday

Wednesday associates with the upper prophecy of Moses. The energy of the day facilitates victory in undertakings and the joy of success, which is required to experience prophecy. Wednesday evenings are particularly suited for meditation for at this time the upper prophecy descends to the lower prophecy in our world.

5. Hamishi - Thursday

Thursday associates with the lower prophecy of Aaron the priest. This manifestation of prophecy is in life lessons and service to Hashem. The energy of the day is particularly suited to remind us of the need to show gratitude to Hashem and others in our life.

6. Sheshe - Friday

Righteousness associates with Friday. The energy facilitates preparation for Shabbat. Towards the end of Friday, Hashem grants an extra energy to finish the work of the week.

7. Shabbat - Saturday

Observing the Shabbas is one of the keys to achieving closeness to Hashem. This is the day when Hashem releases an extra portion of blessing stored in Malchuts for our world. This is similar to the extra portion of manna that the Israelites had for Shabbas while wandering in the Wilderness. We call the extra portion released from Malchuts, the Shechinah that is the presence of G-d.[197]

- Whoever is careful with Shabbas observance will be forgiven for all his sins even idolatry.
- Respecting the Shabbas is greater than fasting a thousand days.
- If the children of Israel would observe one Shabbas properly, the Moshiach would immediately come.
- If your children accept the observance of the Shabbas, they will merit entering the land of Israel.
- Whoever takes pleasure in the enjoyment of the Shabbas will be granted all of his heart's desires.
- Observing the Shabbas is equal to fulfilling all the mitzvoth of the Torah.
- Proper Observance of one Shabbas is equivalent to having observed all the Shabbatoth since creation.

There are 39 types of work prohibited on Shabbat. These are based on the work that was done in setting up the tabernacle. The tabernacle or Mishkan was a moving sanctuary that could be set up with tent walls and other holy articles. The original concepts are interpreted in stricter ways today.[198]

Table 12: Creative Works Prohibited on Shabbas

Work – melacha	Torah examples	Rabbinical examples	Permitted examples
Plowing – horaesh – crwh	Turning soil, digging holes, and removing stones from a garden.	Sweeping may lead to leveling ground.	
Planting – zoreah – urwz	Planting a tree, watering plants, throwing seeds onto wet soil.		
Harvesting – kotzar – rxwq	Picking fruit	picking a flower	
Gathering – mamer – rmum [collecting natural produce into a bundle]	Putting together a bouquet, collecting natural produce into a field.		

Threshing – dash – cd [separating a natural product from its natural container]	Like English 'dash' as in a "dash of salt". Pressing grapes or olives for juice.	Squeezing fruits for juice.	
Winnowing – zoreh – hrwz [using the wind to separate wanted from unwanted objects]	Blowing away nutshells from a mixture of nuts and shells.		
Selecting – borear – rrwb [separating desirable items from undesirable ones in a mixture]	Picking out specific books, dishes, or toys to be put away. Using a slotted spoon for selecting vegetables in soup.		Peeling fruit for immediate use is permitted.
Grinding - Tohän - }jwf [breaking down a substance into small usable pieces]	Grating potatoes or carrots. Making sawdust.	Taking medicines. As they were once prepared by grinding there is a prohibition from using them on Shabbas accept under essential circumstances.	Crushing crackers or other previously ground foods is permitted on Shabbas. Vegetables may be cut with a knife into small pieces for prompt use.
Sifting – Mrakäd – dqrm [separating mixed objects with a strainer]	Sifting flower. Removing a tea bag from a cup if tea. Separating spaghetti from water with a strainer.		
Kneading – Lahsh - cl [combining particles with liquid to form a dough or paste]	Mixing cream of wheat or oatmeal cereal into a thick mixture.	Mixing cream of wheat or oatmeal cereal into a thin mixture.	
Baking – Opheh - hpwa [changing the physical state of a substance by heating it]	Turning on a hot water faucet (causing cold water to flow into the hot boiler).	Stirring cooked food on a flame.	Making sun tea. Re-heating dry, cooked solid food.
Shearing – Gozaz – zzwg [Detaching non-living parts from a living animal]	Cutting nails, cutting hair, pulling out whiskers.	Biting nails or skin, combing or brushing if hairs will be uprooted, pulling out wool by hand from a living animal.	A very soft brush does not pull out hairs and may be used,

Bleaching – Mlaban – }blm [Freeing material from unwanted dirt, stains, dust, etc.]	Shaking or cleaning visible dust from dark colored clothing, soaking clothing, wringing out wet clothing, scrubbing clothing.	Hanging up clothing to dry may lead people to think it was washed on Shabbath.	Barely visible dust may be removed from light-colored clothing, leather surfaces may be washed with water without scraping, wet mud may be removed with a knife.
Combing – Mnapatz – {pnm [Untangling clumps of raw material into separate strands.]	Raking wool, flax, cotton, etc.		
Dyeing – Tzoväah – ubwx [Changing or reinforcing color.]	Painting, dyeing, coloring with crayons, using oil-based make-up.		Food may be colored.
Spinning – Toveh – hwwf [Twisting a strand of fiber into thread.]	Using a spinning wheel or loom.		
Threading Loom – Masech –]sym [Tying the threads from the front to the back roller.]			

D. Seasons

The Earth is referred to by four names in the liturgy.[199] During the spring, the earth is Eretz from the word Ratz that means movement or running. During the springtime, the earth is busy replenishing life. In the summer, the earth is called Tevel, which comes from the Hebrew word for spices and taste. In the summer, the earth enriches vegetation with the flavor of spices. In the fall, the earth is called Adamah, which means soil. Adam was created in the fall at Rosh Hashanah. In the fall, the earth dries up and soil clumps together with decaying vegetation. In the winter, the earth is Arak that means empty since the earth lies barren at this time.[200]

So, wither the leaves of the past generation to produce the flowers of the next generation[201]

The orchid is showing us the proper way to live.

E. Aging

Old age does not take well to negative or unhappy thoughts. One should focus on the positive, see the good in what makes them happy, for joy is the source of their life. Recall the exciting and happy thoughts in life during conversation and leave the sadder subjects for conversations with younger folks.

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[185] Sefer Yetzirah 5:4.
[186] Sefer Yetzirah 5:10.
[187] See The Palm Tree of Devorah
[188] This is the force of the Kelipot. Before any significant spiritual experience, there is a battle or test to be overcome.
[189] The Book of Our Heritage, Eliyahu Kitov, Book 1, pp 63-64.
[190] Sha'are Orah, Gates of Light. Harper Collins. Page 189.
[191] ibid. Page 263.
[192] Berachos 4b.

[193] The mirrors represent the reflection of the souls in each other since they were all of the same source root.
[194] Likutey Moharan 17:5 vol. 3, page 45 also Footnote 80. Giving charity to root souls encompasses other souls.
[195] The Book of Our Heritage, Feldheim Publishers, page 327.
[196] Berachos 6b.
[197] The 39 Avoth Melacha of Shabbath.
[198] **a-** fâr, fäte; **i-** jovîal; **o-** nöte
[199] Me'am Loez. Genesis. Page 70.
[200] The month of Heshvan ~ November has the sign of Akrav which is the Scorpio. The similarity of spelling with Arak signifies that scorpions are often found in the barren desert.
[201] On helping Orchids to flower, April 19, 1997

IV. The Oral Law

Many details of Torah law were passed orally from the time of Moses. As new circumstances arose, the law was applied in new ways. The laws of the written Torah are called D'raissa and those passed orally are called Torah D'rabbanan.

There are many techniques in expounding the Written Torah with the Oral Torah. Many of the derivations are read into the text in ways that may not be significant. This is a creative manner as it is taught, the law is not in heaven that you should go up and seek it there, but man decrees and G-d fulfills. Truth evolves even absolute truth. This is the nature of Talmud. Right and wrong can change over time with interpretation. Absolute truth changes accordingly.

In observance, we strive to be the best we can be and follow the axiom '***Less guilt, more joy.***'[94]

A. Midrash

The Midrash is a commentary on the Bible and part of the Oral Law. The Midrash is rich in lessons and reveals the endless depth of meaning in Torah.

It is important that we not become depressed in daily sufferings. We should always remember the teaching of Akiba. R. Akiba said:

He deals strictly with both, even to the great deep. He deals strictly with the righteous, calling them to account for the few wrongs which they commit in this world, in order to lavish bliss upon and give them a goodly reward in the world to come; He grants ease to the wicked and rewards them for the few good deeds which they have performed in this world in order to punish them in the future world.[95]

King David wrote similarly in the Psalms:

Why do the wicked prosper in this world, so that they may be destroyed forever. Similarly, the righteous suffer in order that they may live forever in the world to come.

B. Mishnah

1. Perkei Avots

Avos 4:15 Rabbi Matya ben Harash said, "Be the first to greet every man; and be a tail amongst lions and be not a head to foxes."

The Midrash on the Book of Samuel says: "Whereas the lion habitually raises his tail above his head, the fox lowers his head below his tail. And so it is with men: The gentleman respects his inferiors and

discerns in them good qualities, whereas the lowbred despises and humiliates his superiors in honor and rank."[96] Ultimately the gentleman is distinguished by his temperance, by his absence of anger.

C. Talmud

Rabbi Ishmael listed thirteen principles by which the written Torah is expounded. These are principles of logic for forming Oral Laws from the Written Law:[97]

1. Kal Vhomer – rmwjw lq If a rule applies in a lighter case, in a more serious case the rule applies.
2. Gzera Shav – hwc hrzg
3. Binyan Av – ba }ynb
4. Klal vPrat – frpw llk
5. Prat vKlal

Rabbi Lapin taught from Chulin that wherever G-d gives us a prohibition, there is something permissible, which is similar enough to satisfy any inclination we may have. There are always permissible foods that have similar flavors to non-kosher foods.

Here are the last words of Rabbi Yochanan Ben Zakkai while he was with his disciples:[98]

They said to him: Master, bless us. He said to them,:
May it be [God's] will that the fear of heaven shall be upon you like the fear of flesh and blood.
His disciples said to him: Is that all?
He said to them: If only [you can attain this]!
You can see [how important this is], for when a man wants to commit a transgression,
he says, I hope no man will see me.
At the moment of his departure he said to them:
Remove the vessels so that they shall not become unclean,
and prepare a throne for Hezekiah the king of Judah who is coming.

Last words are spoken with truth. To heed them is everything.

D. Mishnah Torah

If a prophet prophesizes something bad and it doesn't happen, it does not indicate that he is a false prophet, but if the prophet prophesizes something good, it must come to pass or we know that he is a false prophet. The idea here is that Hashem does not recall his good decree. May this idea drive us to repentance and Tshuvah to G-d in the good times as well as the bad, has vshalom.

E. Luzatto's Works [TABLES]

1. The Way of G-d - Derech Hashem

The 'Way of G-d' explains G-d's cosmological interface with the world. This was my first introduction to Kabbalah and I recommend it for everyone. The work bridges all Torah teachings with the mystical. Some of the subjects Luzzatto covers include the existence of G-d, the purpose of creation, angels, root of evil, destiny or providence, reincarnation, heavenly courts, influence of the stars, soul levels, dreams, magic, miracles, and prophecy.

2. The Path of the Just - M'silat Yesharim

This work is dedicated to Midos development. It presents a ladder to holiness consisting of the following traits:[99]

Duty
Watchfulness
Zeal
Cleanliness
Separation
Purity
Saintliness
Humility
Fear of Sin
Holiness

The Talmud lists the order differently. Rabbi Pinchas ben Ya'ir said, "Heedfulness leads to alertness, alertness leads to cleanliness, cleanliness leads to restraint, restraint leads to purity, purity leads to holiness, holiness leads to fear of sin, fear of sin leads to humility, humility leads to saintliness, saintliness leads to the gift of the holy spirit."[100]

The ten levels also represent a manner in which one purifies the Nefesh[101] or lowest soul in order to prepare oneself for the experience of Ruach Hakodesh, the holy wind, which is the middle soul transmitting inspiration. The highest soul or Neshamah is directly connected to G-d.

Table 4: Ten Principle Steps for Spiritual Inspiration

Level	Mordecai M. Kaplan's translation	Aryeh Kaplan's translation	Shraga Silver-stein's translation	Summary

1	Of Man's Duty in the World	Study	Duty	Man was created to find delight in the Lord and to bask in the radiance of his presence. To obtain this end, we follow the commandments in this world to merit the good light saved up for us in the world to come.[102] "But for me, the nearness of G-d is my good"[103] "One thing have I asked of the Lord that I will seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the graciousness of the Lord."[104]
2	Of Watchfulness	Careful-ness	Watchful-ness	A person should be watchful of his conduct. He must know what is truly good and bad to correctly classify his actions.[105] He should not enter upon any course of action without first determining its character. Watchfulness pertains to the negative commandments.
3	Of Zeal	Diligence	Zeal	"Depart from evil and do good."[106] Zeal pertains to keeping the positive commandments. "Those who are zealous perform a commandment at the earliest possible time."[107] "Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep – so shall thy poverty come as a runner and thy want as an armed man."[108]
4	Cleanness	Clean-liness	Clean-liness	Do not taunt your neighbor. Do not insult your neighbor. Do not mislead your neighbor. Do not slander your neighbor. Do not hate your neighbor. Do not nurse revenge nor swear nor lie nor act sacrilegiously against your neighbor.
5	Abstinence	Absten-tion	Separation	Abstaining from what is permitted brings one to holiness. "Whoever observes a fast not prescribed by law is considered holy."[109] "Be ye holy", Leviticus 19:2 means "Be ye abstinent"[110]
6	Purity	Purity	Purity	Perfecting ones heart and thoughts so that the evil inclination cannot influence them.
7	Saintliness	Piety	Saintliness	Regarding the body, to be as much help to those weighted down with a burden. "Bearing the yoke with one's fellow."[111] Spare no effort to prevent neighbor from bodily injury. Regarding possessions, not to cause damage to public or private property. "Let the possessions of thy neighbor be as to dear to thee as thine own."[112] Regarding feelings, to actively or passively (by listening) increase the pleasure of thy neighbor is a mitzvah under the category of saintliness.

8	Humility	Humility	Humility	A man should be wholly persuaded of his unworthiness to be the recipient of praise and glory for intellectual achievements. A man should have humility in one's bearing, in enduring insults, in hating to exercise authority and shunning applause, and in honoring everyone. In speech: "Let a man always speak gently."[113] A person should always speak respectfully and never disdainfully. In walking: "Walk humbly before your G-d." In sitting: "Find a place among those of humble rank and not among the great."[114]
9	The Fear of Sin	Fear of Sin	Fear of Sin	Refraining from sin out of regard for the glory of G-d. Sensing the awe of G-d.
10	Holiness	Holiness	Holiness	Cleaving to the will of G-d in all ones thoughts and actions.

"According to this program, one begins with constant study and observance, leading to scrupulous care not to violate any religious law. The next step is constant diligence to obey every commandment, and then to live a completely clean life, both in thought and in deed. One then reaches a level where he avoids even permissible things when they can possibly lead to wrong, and once this is accomplished, he can purify himself of all evil, past and present."

"The person is then ready to live a life of piety dedicating himself to G-d far beyond the call of law, and this leads to humility, the negation of the ego. A person can then gain such a clear perception of good that he literally dreads sin, being totally aware of the banality of evil. He is then ready for the highest of these ten steps, holiness, the total negation of the physical."

"The very next level is that of Ruach Hakodesh. These ten steps thus provide a program of discipline for the individual who wishes to attain true enlightenment."[115]

3. The Knowing Heart – Daat T'vunot

The "Knowing Heart" is a refreshing course on the foundation of the spiritual in the physical world. The yeshiva education places this work in the realm of philosophy and studies the Path of the Just for self-improvement. The Way of G-d provokes the questioning mind, the Path of the Just sets the way of life and the Knowing Heart refines ones faith.[116] Luzatto reveals new teachings here that are not revealed in previous works. For example, on the importance of ecology:[117]

The Creator did not implant negation and deterioration in the nature of perfect creatures,
but in the nature of imperfect ones,
so that when the creatures will have perfected themselves in time to come,
they will not be subject to negation at all.
...
We speak of negation and deterioration as they apply to each species in itself.
Their inter-connection and conjunction towards the universal end, to the contrary,
is a correction for this because by virtue of it they leave the sphere of evil and are rescued from it.

...

In sum, it is in the species of nature in themselves and not in their inter-relationship that negation, lowering, and deterioration obtain.
In their inter-relationship is rooted their perfection and escape from evil!

Luzatto here presents his view that nature working together is good, but species isolating themselves from other species leads to evil. This is reflected in the sefirot where in their original form, they attempted to exist independently and shattered when they became to full of the flow from Hashem. Their shattered forms are rebuilt into the Partzufim, who transmit the energy to each other and in doing so permit the sefirot to exist in harmony.

F. Kaplan's Works

Kaplan's best introductory work on kabbalah is "Inner Space." While intended for instruction, the work also inspires and gives the ecstatic experience of a real work of kabbalah. While Kaplan's "Jewish Meditation" introduces one to the subject, I recommend the work only as supplementary material. Here is an example of one of Kaplan's uncanny ideas in "Jewish Meditation":

What is the real me? A hint to the answer can be found in the Hebrew word for "I," ani - yna. It is significant to note that if the letters of ani are rearranged, they spell the word ayn or ayin - }ya, which denotes nothingness. This would seem to imply that the real "me" is the nothingness within me *(Jewish Meditation P.87).*

Typically, the reverse spelling of a Hebrew word suggests an opposite meaning of a similar nature. For example, the word for 'heart' spelled reverse means 'owner'.

Kaplan's other major works include Meditation and Kabbalah, Meditation and the Bible, Sefer Yetzirah, and The Bahir Illumination. Bahir is one of the names of light in Hebrew along with Zohar, Nogah, Kavod, ... Bahir means brilliance and the work resembles a piercing light into the soul while the Zohar is more of a defused light. Let's look at the first verse which contains a classic Talmudic technique for resolving arguments:

Rabbi Nehunia ben HaKana said: One verse (Job 37:21) states, "And now they do not see light, it is brilliant (Bahir - ryhb) in the skies . . . [round about G-d in terrible majesty]." Another verse, however, *(Psalm 18:12)*, states, "He made darkness His hiding place." It is also written (Psalm 97:2), "Cloud and gloom surround Him." This is an apparent contradiction. A third verse comes and reconciles the two. It is written (Psalm 139:12), "Even darkness is not dark to You. Night shines like day — light and darkness are the same."

The description here is validated in the meditative experience where darkness can radiate like light. Another excellent Kaplan compilation is Rabbi Nachman's Stories which is a compilation of the stories told from Rabbi Nachman of Breslov. Kaplan complements the stories with a full blown commentary on the work explaining their meaning with Kabbalah and the meaning of the Kabbalah as well. Here is an

example of Kaplan's commentary on Rabbi Nachman's story, "The Ram and the Bull."

The story is about a King who dreams of a Ram and a Bull that will lead to his destruction. He is an enemy of Israel and imagines that the Ram and the Bull represent physical forms. Instead they are actually from the mazelot - constellations and represent the month of Nissan with the ram and Iyar with the bull. The Jews were redeemed from Egypt in Nissan and the state of Israel was established in Iyar. The Ram also represents the 4 tzitzit since they are made from a ram's wool. If a ram is stolen it must be repaid with 4 times its value symbolizing the 4 tzitzit. The Bull represents the tefillin with its 5 compartments since they are formed with leather. If a bull is stolen, 5 times its value must be repaid to the original owner. Iron or Barzel has the acrostic lzrb which can represent the 4 wives of Jacob, i.e. Bilnah, Rebecca, Zilpa, and Leah.

Aryeh Kaplan's Sefer Yetzirah commentary identifies Hochmah with the principle of thesis and Binah with the principle of antithesis resulting in Daat, the principle of synthesis.[118] In Hochmah there is a singular thought that transfers to Sefira Binah. In Binah consciousness, we analyze the thought extensively breaking it down into multiple categories. Finally, the Daat principle takes over selecting and combining the ideas from Binah into a synthesized solution.

G. Nachman's Works

1. Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom - Shevachey and Sichos HaRan

"Shevachey and Sichos HaRan" translated as the "Life and Conversations of Rabbi Nachman" is also known as Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, the wise sayings of Rebenuzal.[119]

As philosophy is the creation of the house of Esau, so Talmud is connected to the influence of Lilith. Rabbi Nachman warned incessantly on the dangers of the study of philosophy, that it leads to depression, which is rooted in evil. Similarly, Talmudic study in the area of halachic argument is rooted in philosophy based on the Thirteen Principles of Reason laid out by Rabbi Ishmael and may lead to depression.[120] The following gematria illustrates the connection:

dwmlt = 480 = tylyl

One cultivates intellect while studying talmudic law. By mastering the tools of reason, one grows in wisdom, but sometimes with a degree of depression.

For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow. (Ecclesiastes 1:18)

Agadah, kabbalah and Mussar when mixed with talmudic study temper this effect helping one develop the 48 qualifications by which the Torah is acquired.[121] The Talmud in its abundance includes all these areas and is hence, 480, a ten-fold magnification of these qualifications.

In the Sichos HaRan, Rabbi Nachman teaches:[122]

Joy can protect your children from death.
The evil force that destroys children is called Lilith.[123]
Joy is the antithesis of Lilith.

Aryeh Kaplan explains in the footnote, "Lilith comes from the root Laylay-night and is associated with dark moods and depression.[124]

2. Likutey Moharan

a) David's praise

David says something interesting in Psalm 56:11 which Reb Nachman builds upon.

In Elohim I will praise his work, in Hashem I will praise his work.

Elohim is the name of G-d in judgment and Hashem the name of G-d in mercy here. The psalm teaches, in both times of judgment and in mercy, we should sing praise to Hashem. Furthermore, the Shema teaches that Hashem's name is one. Thus, the names Elohim and Hashem are one.

dja yy wnyqla yy larcy umc
Hear O'Israel the Lord our G-d the Lord is One

How are we to understand this? The gematria of 'One', Echad is the same as that for 'Love', Ahavah. Thus, when G-d manifests the attribute of judgment, Elohim, this is out of love and so is the manifesting of the attribute of mercy, Hashem, out of love.

dja = 13 = hbha

Rabbi Nachman explains:

Knowing all this is called complete awareness. For the essence of awareness is the union of <chasadim (benevolence) and gevurot (severities)>. This is called Daat. In other words, he does not differentiate between loving kindness and judgment, but blesses "Who is good and beneficent" over everything. This is called "YHVH is one and His Name is one"[125]

b) Bones

Ezekiel writes:[126]

And their iniquities will be etched upon their bones.

There is fundamental idea that a person's sins are etched upon his bones. Even if a person is forgiven by G-d of his sins, there may still be traces on his bones. Reb Nachman teaches from the Baal Shem Tov,

that one needs to confess his sins in order for these traces to be removed.[127]

By means of spoken confession, however, the letters disappear from the bones into which they have been etched and are transformed into the words of confession. For speech emanates from one's bones, as is written (Psalms 35:10), "All my bones will say."[128] He tears down the negative structure and combination, and from the letters builds Malkhut d'Kedushah.[129]

Ezekiel is later asked by G-d, "can these bones yet live?" Ezekiel responds, "Oh Lord only thou knowest." The Lord responds, "All these bones are the whole house of Israel and though they have lost hope, they shall yet live and walk in the land of the living." Our bones are identified with our inner thoughts and deeds, which affect our hopes. There is also a teaching that in each of us there is a single bone, etzem, which is our essence and is not destroyed and from which a newly created body is made in the time of a resurrection. To preserve this bone is one reason that Jews do not to practice cremation.

R. Isaac bar Parnakh said: All of a man's iniquities are engraved upon his bones.[130]

The Lord will make strong thy bones
(Isaiah 58:11)
R. Eleazar said: This is the most perfect of blessings.[131]

3. Letter From Rebbe Nachman

In 1922 a letter was found that is from Rebbe Nachman. The letter reads:
Very hard it was for me to descend to you my precious student to tell you that I benefited greatly from your work and upon you I said, "My fire will burn until Messiah will come be strong and courageous. In your work, Na Nach, Nachma, Nachman Me'Uman.
And with this I shall reveal to you a secret and it is: Full and heaped up from line to line (pay, tzaddi, pay, tzaddi, you, hay)

And with strong service you will understand it and the sign is the 17th of Tamuz they will say that you will not fast.

I had a copy of this letter and had put it away with some papers. Strangely, on Shabbas morning, the 17th of Tamuz 5758, I was browsing some papers and stumbled upon the letter. When is the 17th of Tamuz not a fast day, when it is Shabbas I thought, so the finding of this letter on this Shabbas was not by chance. While the letter was originally sent to Rabbi Yisroel Dov-Ber Odesser Z"l of Tiberias, it is clear to me that it has a more significant reach. Part of the key is in the song, }mwam }mjn mjn jn n, which has gematria 137+148+98+58+50=491. This is also the gematria of }lyat. Ninety-one is the gematria of Hashem-Adonay that is Elon the last four letters. Elon refers to the Tree of Life. The Tav transforms Elon into a verb referring to establishing the tree. Nati Elon is founder of the Green Party in Israel. He teaches that the essence of moshiach is to see its potential in others. "It is like a seed planted waiting to grow."[132]

H. Moshe Cordovero [TABLES]

1. The Palm Tree of Devorah

The book provides training on improving one's midos - character traits by learning to behave in the image of G-d. In summary, the book presents the following associations:

Table 5: Mastering the Midos According to the Palm Tree of Devorah[133]

Sefirot	Midos
Keter crown, infinite mercy (The eight good qualities under the banner of humility —› These parallel the head in the following features: 1. Head 2. Mind 3. Forehead 4. Ears 5. Eyes 6. Nose 7. Face 8. Mouth)	1. A person must be humble. Humility derives from Keter. Keter is associated with the human head. 2. The wisdom (Hochmah) of Keter is to think good thoughts and to hold to a path of compassion. 3. A person's forehead should have no harshness. Even though certain people may arouse anger, one should conciliate them and placate them with good will for this is what G-d does. One should behave with pleasantness towards all creatures, for a harsh person is repaid in kind. 4. A person's ears should always turn to hear good, while falsehood or despicable things should be denied entry. Just as we expect Hashem to hear our good reports, we should behave in the same manner with our fellow. 5. A person's eyes should not gaze at anything despicable. Rather, one's eyes should watch over unfortunates and display compassion. One should distance oneself from noticing evil just as we hope that Hashem sees mostly our good. 6. The nose should never hold the breath of anger. Rather it should contain the breath of life, good will, and patience, even toward those who are unworthy. One should always exhale forgiveness of sin and pardon of iniquity. 7. A person's face should always shine and one should receive all people with a cheerful countenance. All who gaze upon it should find joy and cheerfulness. "Like in water one's face is reflected back, also the heart of a man is to a man" – Proverbs 27:19. 8. The mouth should express only good and the content of his words should be Torah and constant good will. No ugly words, curses, anger, frivolous talk should escape it. Rather, it should resemble the supernal 'Mouth,' which is uttering good at all times. Thus, one must speak well of everything, expressing benevolence and blessings constantly.
Hochmah wisdom	First, a person should commune with G-d in solitude in order to perfect his wisdom. Second a person should teach others what he has learned. A person should act as a father to all creatures showing mercy and helping them.

Binah understanding	Repentance and return to G-d. "Calling repentance to mind all the days of his life causes binah -understanding to illuminate all his days, the result being that all his days are spent in repentance. That is, he merges himself with binah, which is repentance, so that all the days of his life are crowned with the secret of the higher level of repentance."[134]
Hesed kindness	Love of G-d, which leads to love of people who are in the image of G-d. Practice Nachum Ish Gamzu's saying, "this too is for the good."
Gevurah might, power, severity	Buying clothes and providing a house for one's wife is the proper expression of might and power, sweetening severity. The desires of the Yetzer Hara, bad inclination, are intended for satisfaction of the wife by providing her with clothes, a house, and physical satisfaction. Afterwards one has brought gevurah to a good use and satisfied the Yetzer Tov, good inclination. The fine clothes and house model after the Temple. The satisfied wife brings the Shechinah, the divine presence of G-d into the home.
Tiferets beauty, truth	Obtained by studying Torah. This grants an understanding of the truth and provides a countenance of beauty. "One who teaches the Torah is on the level of Tiferets. When a man sits and learns for this purpose, Tiferets flows into Netzach and Hod and he actually attains their level."[135]
Netzah victory, eternity	Encourage students of Torah. Scripture comes from the right and associates with Netzah. Netzah and Hod are called 'those who adhere to it and support it.'
Hod gratitude	Financially assist and physically help students of Torah. Mishnah comes from the left and associates with hod. Talmud includes both Scripture and Mishnah.
Yesod righteousness	Be careful in speech. Avoid anger. ECC 5:6 Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin; neither say thou before the angel, that it was an error: wherefore should G-d be angry at thy voice, and destroy the work of thine hands?
Malchuts kingship	Apply ones wealth for the sake of Heaven. Behave humbly.

Moshe Cordovero revealed that each sefira has a leaning. Even the sefirot along the central trunk lean to either the left or the right and this leaning can be corrected. Cordovero teaches that we must strive to bring all the sefirot to lean to the right side.

Table 6: Sefirot Leanings

Sefira	Leaning
Keter	Right
Hochmah	Right

Binah	Left
Hesed	Right
Gevurah	Left
Tiferet	Right
Netzah	Right
Hod	Left
Yesod	Left
Malchut	Left

Sefirot that lean to the left have emotions that are easily applied in negative, destructive manners. It is our duty to find the positive in these sefirot and harness the emotions in service to Hashem. Moshe Cordovero in the following paragraphs describes this process.

a) Binah

The chapter begins:

How does man train himself in the quality of binah - understanding. He returns in complete repentance, for there is nothing like her, because she repairs all flaws - \gp. And just as binah sweetens all severities and neutralizes their bitterness, one should repent and rectify all flaws. A person who calls repentance to mind all the days of this life causes binah to illuminate all his days, the result being that all his days are spent in repentance. That is, he merges himself with binah, which is repentance, so that all the days of his life are crowned with the secret of the higher level of repentance.

Note that all existence is rooted in repentance, according to the secret of the Jubilee. In addition, the root of the external forces — expounded in the mystical teachings as the secret of the River Dinur — is also rooted therein and flows therefrom. (However, the River Dinur itself is included in Holiness, according to the mystical teachings regarding the severities.) This is called ‘the outflow of Divine Anger.’ But by means of the mystical teaching regarding the verse, “G-d smelled the pleasing scent of the sacrifices...” (Gen8:21), that ‘outflow’ returns to its source, the severities become sweetened, the anger ceases, and “G-d refrains from the evil...” (Ex32:14). Likewise, by means of the mystery of repentance, say that repentance benefits only the aspects of holiness in man. For his evil aspects are rectified as well, just as the severities are sweetened by this attribute.

Know that Kayin himself was evil, and he derived from evil, yet he was told, “If you do good, will you not be uplifted...?” (Genesis 4:7), meaning, “Do not think that, because you derive from evil, you have no hope. This is false. For ‘if you do good,’ anchoring yourself firmly in the good implanted there, via the root of your soul, and do yourself good.” For everything bitter has a sweet Supernal root, as the mystical teachings explain. Thus, a person’s evil actions may be turned into good, and his deliberate transgressions may be turned into merits. For when one returns in complete repentance, these selfsame evil deeds from the ‘Left Side,’ which were accusers enter the higher worlds and become rooted in holiness there,

transforming themselves into good rather than becoming nullified. This is what G-d told Kayin regarding his own self-betterment.

Thus, had Kayin repented, thereby becoming rectified, then the state of Adam's sin—in which Kayin was conceived (the name Kayin deriving from the phrase "kina demisavuta", meaning 'contaminated nest')—would have been to his credit, according to the mystical interpretation of the concept of 'the Son brings Merit to His Father.' However, Kayin did not desire to repent, and therefore the entire Left Side derives from there, but all its branches will eventually become sweetened, returning to perfection. The reason for this is exactly as we have explained—a person who caused evil to become rooted in himself can sweeten it and restore it to good.

Therefore, when a person purifies his evil inclination and transforms it into good, it becomes rooted in holiness. This is the elevated level of repentance that a person who wishes to conduct himself in this manner should contemplate every day, and he should also repent in some way, so that all his days will be spent in repentance.[136]

Understanding is symbolized by motherhood here. A mother corrects her child, sweetens the judgment, nullifies the bitterness, and helps the child fix any flaws.

b) Hesed

Cordovero explains that hesed can only be achieved by placing the love of God before all other loves:

How should a person train himself in the attribute of hesed (kindness)? The main way to enter into the secret of hesed is to love G-d so absolutely that one will never forsake His service for any reason; for, compared with the love of God, Blessed Be He, no other love has any worth. Therefore, he should first attend to the requirements of his Divine service; then, the remainder of his time may be used for other needs.[137]

The wants of ones own family may distract from an opportunity for hesed. Combine hesed with the family activity and all will be blessed from Hashem.

If one experiences a difficult event, has vshalom, it is also for the good.[138] This is a binding of Malchuts and hesed. Cordovero presents eight principles of mastering hesed. As they are between man and man they are between man and G-d. A person who loves G-d loves man.

One who loves man greatly loves G-d truly.

Table 7: Hesed for G-d

Principle/Binding	Leaning

One Tiferets and Binah	Providing the necessities of a child's sustenance from birth. This is the birth of Tiferet from Binah. An easy birth leans the child to the right and Tiferet leans to the right. A rigorous birth leans Tiferet to the left descent of Binah.
Two Yesod	Circumcising the child. "One should pursue all those who cause the foreskin to grow on Yesod, bringing them back in repentance in such a way that, by circumcising the foreskins of their hearts, he renders the Supernal Tzaddik (G-d's reflection to us) without a foreskin.
Three Malchuts and Tiferet	Visiting the sick and healing them. The Shechinah is love sick with desire for Tiferets. Tiferets in the world to come is love sick for Malchuts, the Shechinah in this world. As one treats ill people well one must also treat Malchuts and Tiferets well who are saddened by their isolation from each other. Tzedakah, tikkun, holiness, blessings, Torah practice and study heal the union of Malchuts and Tiferets above.
Four Binah and Tiferet Malchuts and Yesod Malchuts and Tiferet	Giving charity to the poor. The hqdx for G-d is to say amen 90 times a day, the Kedushah 4 times a day, 100 blessings a day, and to read from the 5 books of Torah each day.[139] For Tiferets we must draw down from Binah a supernal sheaf for it says, "we must leave them for the poor and the stranger", and Tiferet is as stranger to Malchut below. For Malchuts, we should draw down tzedakah (maser ani – the tithe to the poor) from Tiferets and this is given to Yesod, who is called poor, which raises Malchut. If one binds Malchut to Tiferet, he gives the tithe to the stranger.
Five Tiferets and Malchuts Yesod and Malchuts	Offering hospitality to strangers. This is to give Tiferet and Yesod a guest house to rest which is Malchuts. For Tiferets and Yesod are in exile. They are searching for what they have lost, the Shechinah. Fixing times for Torah study unifies Tiferets and Malchuts.
Six Keter and Malchuts- Hesed	Attending to the dead. Clothing the dead in white is cleansing the body of sin which elevates the sefirot one by one, limb by limb raising them to the level of Eden on high which is Hochmah of keter. The upper Eden is in tiferets so Cordovero is referring to even higher aspect of Eden. This is a mitzvah of faith.
Seven	Right. Making peace between peers from Hochmah to Binah, from Hesed to Gevurah, or from Netzah to Hod.
Eight	Left. Similarly making peace between peers from Binah to Hochmah, from Gevurah to Hesed, or from Hod to Netzah.

Sometimes I am certain that all of the sefirot really exist for the sake of Malchuts (reuniting the Shechinah) and Binah (repentance). In the same way man exists for the sake of women.

c) Malchut

Traveling leads to becoming a “vehicle for the exiled Shechinah.”[140]

A man should exile himself, wandering from place to place for the sake of Heaven, thereby becoming a vehicle for the exiled Shechinah. He should think to himself: “Behold, I am in exile, but I have all my implements with me. But what about the honor of the Supreme One, for the Shechinah is exiled without any implements, for they have gotten lost as a result of the exile?” For this reason, he should manage with as little as possible – as the verse states: “make yourself implements for exile (Yechezkel 12:3) – and let the exile humble his heart, while he binds himself to Torah. Then the Shechinah will be with him.

He should also impose an ‘expulsion order’ upon himself, always banishing himself from the comforts of home, just as Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai and his comrades banished themselves to toil in Torah. Better still, he should weary his legs by trudging from place to place without horse or wagon. Concerning such a person, it is stated: “...his hope shevaro - wrbc is with the Lord, his G-d” (Psalm 146:5), deriving from the word shevar - rbc, meaning ‘breaking,’ for he breaks his body for the honor of the Supreme One.

I. Yonah of Gerona

Rabbeinu Yonah is the author of Sharei Tshuvah - hbwct yruc, the Gates of Repentance:

XXVIII. The penitent is further obliged to humble himself and to undertake to conduct himself in the manner prescribed by our Sages of blessed memory: “And be lowly of spirit before all men” (Avoth 4:10 Rabbi Levitas Ish Yavne). So doing, he will not be angered by his neighbors nor take offense at them; nor will he take to heart all the things that he hears, overlooking injustices against himself in order to atone for his transgressions, as Hazal have said, “If one overlooks injustices against himself, all of his sins will be forgiven” (Rosh Hashanah 17a), G-d’s relationship with him corresponding to his relationship with others. This concept constitutes a highly significant opening for hope, as it is said, “Let him put his mouth in the dust; perhaps there may be hope. Let him give his cheek to him that smiteth him; let him be satiated with shame” (Lamentations 3:29).[141]

J. Sefer Yetzirah

1. Golem

The Maharal describes the following characteristics of the Golem.

- The golem has a pure soul..
- The golem has no physical lusts, thus does not sin, thus is immune from sickness.

- The golem is not obligated to the commandments of Torah and thus is less qualified than a Jewish woman to be counted in a minyan.

The practice of making a golem is the meditative exercise of drawing down a pure soul or creating a pure soul within oneself. In order to do this one must purify himself of any impure thoughts or emotions which is the spiritual counterpart of removing hametz on Passover from one's possessions.

K. Zohar

The Zohar, shining, is a work of Kabbalah. The major core is a commentary on the Five Books of Moses similar to the Midrash but instead, with an emphasis on mystical interpretations of the text. Three other works of the Zohar describe the G-dhead, and the physical form that corresponds to the crown of behavior of man in the image of G-d.[142] The following example text traces the meaning of the 'beard' of G-d from its physical form to the thirteen gates of repentance.

Note, the following translations are very difficult to follow. I will do my best to explain them.

Book of Concealed Mystery

Through thirteen springs are the fountains distributed. Four are separate but joined together, nine flow upon the body and encircle the garden. The ornamentation begins at the gate of the ears. It descends in beauty to the beginning of the lips; from the beginning of the ears to the beginning of the lips. There exists a path beneath the nostrils, in order that He may seek to pass over transgression; Proverbs 19:11 "And it is his glory to pass over a transgression."

Beneath the lips the beard goes into another beginning ...

The lips are free on every side. Blessed is he who shall become the receiver of their kisses. In that influence stream down thirteen drops of pure balm. In this influence, all things exist and are concealed.

At that time, when the seventh month draweth nigh, those months shall be found to be thirteen (for in the Codex, so often said to be correct, the word twelve is expunged to show it to be a year of thirteen months, according to the number of those thirteen divisions of influence) in the supernal world, and the thirteen gates of mercy are opened. At that time: Isaiah, 40:6 "Seek ye the Lord while He can be found."[143]

The leap year of the Hebrew calendar includes a 2nd month of Adar called Adar Sheni. In this particular year there are thirteen months and they afford and extra month to understand the concepts of the Idra.[144]

Idra Rabba Kaddisha

It is said in the 'Book of Concealed Mystery': That beard, the truth of all (truths), proceeds from the place of the ears, and descends around the mouth of the Holy One; and descends and ascends covering the

place of fragrance (the cheeks); white with ornament and it descends in equilibrium and furnishes a covering even unto the midst of the breast.

That is the beard of adornment, true and perfect, from which flow down thirteen fountains, scattering the most precious balm of splendor.[145]

The thirteen parts of the beard are thirteen aspects in the sefira of Keter in the world of Atzilut. They correspond to the primal ratzon, will or desire of G-d.

Mathers writes in his commentary on this passage[146],

The "thirteen divisions of the influence in the supernal world" are of course those thirteen parts of the beard of Macroprosopus considered in the sense of Atziloth, the archetypal world, the habitation of the pure Sephiroth alone: "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found."

I would like for a moment to trace the origins of this Zohar text to the prophet Micah. Moshe Cordovero writes in his Tomer Devorah[147]:

It is proper for man to emulate his Creator, for then he will attain the secret of the Supernal Form in both image (tzelem) and likeness (demut). For if a person's physical form reflects the Supernal Form, yet his actions do not, he falsifies his stature. People will say of him, "A handsome form whose deeds are ugly." For the essential aspect of the Supernal 'Form' and 'Likeness' is that they are the deeds of the Holy one, Blessed Be He. Therefore, what good is it for a person to reflect the Supernal Form in physical form only if his deeds do not imitate those of his Creator? Thus, it is proper that man's actions imitate the Thirteen Supernal Attributes of Mercy – the functions of the sefirah of keter – hinted at in these verses:

Who is G-d like Thee, who pardons iniquity and forgives the transgression of the remnant of His heritage? He does not maintain His anger forever, for He delights in kindness. He will again show us compassion, He will vanquish our iniquities, and Thou will cast all their sins into the depths of the sea. Show faithfulness to Yaakov, kindness to Avraham, which You have sworn to our fathers from days of old.

(Micah 7:18-20)

Consequently, it is proper that these Thirteen Attributes, which we will now explain, should also be found in man.

These Thirteen Attributes reveal the absolute desire of Hashem to forgive even above wisdom (Hochmah), understanding (Binah), and knowledge (Daat). Why is forgiveness in the highest of all places? Because all heavenly doors are opened after a person chooses to return to G-d and G-d accepts the repentance and forgives. How do we now that G-d will accept the repentance? Hence we learn that forgiveness is the highest of all G-d's desires (Keter). What are the doors that are opened? These are the Gates of Repentance, which reveal all the heavens as we learn from Moshe Rabbeinu:

Repentance

For how shall it be known that thy people have found grace in thy sight? By going with us (Lord) we are

distinguished.

Forgiveness
And the Lord said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for you have found grace in my sight, and I know you by name.

Opening the Gates of Repentance
And he said, I beseech thee, show me thy glory. And He said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and I will show mercy to whom I will show mercy.
...

The Thirteen Attributes of Forgiveness
And the Lord descended in the cloud and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed,

O G-d, my G-d, mighty, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands (of generations), forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation.

And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped. And he said, if now I have found grace in thy sight, O Lord, let my Lord, I pray thee, go among us; for it is a stubborn people; and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.
(Exodus 33:13 - 34:7)

Furthermore, the thirteen attributes from Exodus overlap the thirteen attributes from Micah. The Tashlich service for Rosh Hashanah contains these passages.[148] Tashlich is a service for cleansing of sins recited before a living body of water.[149]

Daniel describes his vision of the G-dhead. This vision is the basis for the G-dhead and the River of Fire that descends from the beard. The River of Fire that descends from absolute mercy eradicates sin above and beyond even repentance. The River of Fire reveals the sovereignty of G-d's mercy to purge sin from the repentant.

I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire.

A fiery stream (Nahar DiNar) issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened.

I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.[150]

As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.
(Daniel 7:9-14)

And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the holy ones of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

Hitherto is the end of the matter. ...
(Daniel 7:27:28)

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[94] Judaism is a communal and family oriented religion. A single Jewish person who is alone should follow this axiom always since s/he does not have the support of a group for encouragement.
[95] Midrash Rabbah Genesis, Ch. 33. Noach .
[96] Mishnah Avot, Pinchas Kehati, Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora, Jerusalem, Page 130.
[97] For forming realities from truth, World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, pp. 54-56
[98] Berachot 28B
[99] Path of the Just, Shraga Silverstein translation.
[100] Encyclopedia of Judaism, Rabbeinu Bachaya, page 274.
[101] Meditation and the Bible, Aryeh Kaplan, page 30.
[102] Torah mystical study is a means to glimpse this light while still in this world.
[103] Psalm 73:28.
[104] Psalm 27:4.
[105] In this area divination is particularly useful for getting true feedback on one's behavior.
[106] Psalm 34:15.
[107] Pesach 4a.
[108] Proverbs 6:10.
[109] Ta'an 11a
[110] M'silat Ysharim, ch. 13.
[111] Perkei Avot 6:6, Quoted in M'silat Ysharim 19.
[112] Ibid 2.12.
[113] Yoma 86a
[114] M'silat Ysharim 22, Mordecai Kaplan trans. page 129.

[115] Ibid
[116] These numbers being according to the mental age in life.
[117] The Knowing Heart, Moshe Chayim Luzzatto, trans. Shraga Silverstein, pp. 199-201.
[118] Similar to the Hegelian Dialectic, see http://www.bartleby.com/65/he/Hegel-Ge.html.
[119] Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, Rabbi Nathan of Nemirov, trans. and annotated Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, edited by Rabbi Zvi Aryeh Rosenfeld, Breslov Research Institute, 1973, preface.
[120] In Kotels one often finds students suffering from depression. Halachic material in the Talmud intrinsically may have little that is spiritually inspiring and the legal argument methods day after day in these subjects may cause depression. Rabbi Gedahlia Meir, a talmud hocham residing in Tel Stone and who I studied Talmud with in San Jose in 1998 acknowledged that this could be the case.
[121] Perkei Avos 6:6.
[122] Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, page 173, saying 65.
[123] Zohar 1:14b
[124] Ibid. 3:227b.
[125] Likutey Moharan #4:3,4 page 123.
[126] Ezekiel.
[127] Likutey Moharan #4 note 1, page 115.
[128] Likutey Moharan #4 note 38, page 129 states:
That is: When my bones say their confession...then Malkhut is rectified. The commentaries point out that atzmtay ("mybones") can also be understood as "my self," referring to one's aetzem (essence). "All my bones" thus implies all of a person's inner thoughts and deeds (radak, loc. Cit.).
[129] Likutey Moharan #4:5, page 129.
[130] Ka R. 3:1. The Book of Legends Page 345.
[131] B. Yev 102b.
[132] Nati Elon lives in Caesaria, Israel. I see within him the spark of moshiach.
[133] The Palm Tree of Devorah – Tomer Devorah, Moshe Cordovero, trans. Rabbi Moshe Miller, Targum Press, page 48.
[134] The Palm Tree of Devorah, Moshe Cordovero, Targum Press, Chapter 4, page 78.
[135] Ibid, page 118.
[136] Ibid, pp. 78-82.
[137] The Palm Tree of Devorah, Moshe Cordovero, Targum Press, Chapter 5, page 84.
[138] Ibid, page 86.
[139] Tikkunim.
[140] IMHO this applies to a man before marriage. Hazal teach that one should remove himself to a place of Torah learning. This is to teach to travel to live where there are more Jews involved in Torah.
[141] Gates of Repentance, Rabbeinu Yonah of Gerona, Feldheim, page 39.
[142] Genesis describes G-d walking in the Garden. Song of songs describes G-d as a young husband. Shiur Komah describes G-d in mystical terms like the Zohar.
[143] The Kabbalah Unveiled, The Book of Concealed Mystery, pages 67-69.
[144] In fact I am writing this text on Rosh Hodesh Adar Sheni which is also the Hebrew day of my birth.

[145] The Kabbalah Unveiled, The Idra Rabba Kaddisha, the Great Sanctified Idra, page 134.
[146] Ibid. page 69.
[147] The Palm Tree of Devorah, Chapter 1.
[148] Art Scroll Siddur, page 771.
[149] A body containing fish.
[150] The horn is the shofar calling our soul back to Hashem in the trembling that proceeds a complete tshuvah or return. The beast is the yetzer hara or evil inclination which is separated from our soul and slain by Hashem.

XXII. Appendix

A. Encounters on the Internet

1. Bnei Baruch Kabbalah Forum

a) RaZ

Here are some references in the Tanach for
the following which I stated:

: Moshe alludes to Netzah and Aaron to Hod. The
: source of the most esoteric of prophecy and
: divination is hidden in RaZ.

RaZ is mentioned in only one place in the entire
Tanach and that is in the book of Daniel:

6. O Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in you, and no mystery troubles you, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and its meaning.

Belteshazzar is Daniel's name from Nebuchadnezzar.
Here the word for mystery is RaZ and the
verse refers to visions of prophecy, hence
Netzah and Hod.

7. Thus were the visions of my head in my bed; I saw, and behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, and its height was great.
8. The tree grew, and was strong, and its height reached to heaven, and it was visible to the end of all the earth;

There may be an allusion here to the Tree of
Life.

Now as for a reference to Moshe and Aaron,
RaZ is mentioned in only two places in all
of Rashi on the Tanach.

Numbers 17:11

11. And Moses said to Aaron, Take a censer, and put fire in it from the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly to the congregation, and make an atonement for them; for anger has come out from the Lord; the plague has begun.

Rashi comments on "atonement for them":
"This secret did the angel of death give
over to him when he (Moses) ascended to
the heavens, that incenses stays a plague;"

RaZ is on the level of Netzah and Hod
clearly from this verse, symbolized by Moshe
and Aaron. The use of incense is an example
of such a secret that Moshe learned by
ascending to the level of RaZ.

And Rashi refers to Tractate
Shabbas 88a which also mentions RaZ.

R. Eleazar said: When the Israelites gave precedence to ‘we will do’ over ‘we will hearken,’ a Heavenly Voice went forth and exclaimed to them, Who revealed to My children this secret, which is employed by the Ministering Angels, as it is written, Bless the Lord, ye angels of his. Ye mighty in strength, that fulfil his word, That hearken unto the voice of his word: first they fulfil and then they hearken?

RaZ is the way of the ministering angels.
Moshe and Aaron together being on this level
could understand these secrets.

: This knowledge is not meant for this world
: and hence the quasi-sefira
: is not revealed like Daat.

RaZ is more the knowledge of the world of
angels.

Followup

: Jeff,

: Up till now, have been working under the assumption that the
: Quasi Sefirah RaZ does not exist, while looking for proof
: that it does. However, your last couple of posts have given
: me reason to stop and think, what if it does exist?

:: Rashi says ...

::"This secret did the angel of death give
:: over to him when he (Moses) ascended to
:: the heavens, that incenses stays a plague;"

I consider the Rashi highly significant. The reason
is that it doesn't make too much sense. Whenever
Rashi says something that doesn't make sense
it is usually hiding the theme of the entire
matter (taught to me by Rabbi Gedahlia Meyer).

Rashi's reference to Shabbas 88a clears
the mystery which he explains with the statement,

"... Who revealed to My children this secret,
which is employed by the Ministering Angels ..."

RaZ is a level of prophetic revelation from
angelic knowledge.

: This would then brings up the question, if RaZ does exist, why
: is it so different from the well known Quasi Sefirah Daat? Is
: there some principle at work here that is not widely known?

: ----------

: Following is pure hypothetical guess work.

: The result of Daat is Knowledge, which flows freely down upon
: Malkhut - Kingship (physical earth). In Genesis we read how
: Adam & Eve ate the fruit of Knowledge of Good & Evil. Do you
: think, this might be the reason why Daat is always visible
: and working? Because Adam & Eve ate of it? And further, for
: this reason, it's referred to in numerous places in the Bible?

Daat refers to knowledge while RaZ is
secret knowledge from the world of the
angels. Until Adam and Eve ate from the
fruit of the Tree of Good and Evil, they may
have been permitted the understanding of
RaZ. After eating the fruit they lost
the easy accessiblity of RaZ but
gained a closer attachment to Daat. In some
ways Daat is a more intimate knowlege
of G-d produced out of great love and
longing. Sometimes committing a sin

can create this great longing for tshuvah
that I believe Daat represents. Our great
longing for tshuvah brings a longing by
Hashem for us.

In some sense this is quite different from
the angelic knowledge of RaZ. Perhaps
the knowledge at the level of RaZ appears
more powerful in terms of its direct effects
like the incense:

:: Num. 17:11. And Moses said to Aaron, Take a
:: censer, and put fire in it from the altar,
:: and put on incense, and go quickly to
:: the congregation, and make an
:: atonement for them; for anger has
:: come out from the Lord; the plague has
:: begun.

But, atonement through Daat, through knowing
Hashem, longing for Hashem,
and loving Hashem is quite beautiful.

Daat is closer to Hesed and Gevurah and
RaZ is closer to Netzah and Hod. They
are different aspects of a relationship with
Hashem. Both can effect atonement.
Both are important. One is more intimate,
the other more demonstrative. One is more
accessible, the other more a mystery.

: Considering your posts on RaZ.

: On the other hand, the result of RaZ is an understanding of
: deep mysteries, allusions, and prophesizing. The main difference
: between the way these Quasi Sefirah appear is, where Daat is
: always visible, RaZ only becomes visible, under meditation, and
: only when probed from the Sefirah Yesod - Formation. Further,
: in that case, it's only visible to the one who is doing the
: probing (receiving the results of RaZ).

: When one considers that very little is know about how the
: Prophets actually prophesied. The idea of a hidden Quasi
: Sefirah begins to make sense. And since this knowledge was

: deliberately kept from the world, hence so few references
: to RaZ.

I agree.

: ----------

: And finally, here's another big question. Considering the
: above, is there other Quasi Sefirah that we've not heard
: about? Is there more fruit on the Tree?

I think understanding all 22 of the connection
paths to be a highly valuable study and
meditation.

b) Poem

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on April 22, 1998 at 22:21:46:

In Reply to: Re: His Name,His Essense, and the Tzimtzum posted by zalman hakotan on April 22, 1998 at 12:24:27:

SG refers to the value 63 which points
to Hashem's name with this value. The four levels
above Keter are defined by the four different
spellings of the name of Hashem. At each level
are letters in chains spelling the expanded
name of Hashem respectively: BN, MH, SG, AV.
There are also discs of light which precede
the sefirot.

I went back before the trees to the days of
creation. I saw the creation of the animals,
the grass and all plant life, the creation of
the Sun, Moon, and Stars in the heaven. Finally
I saw the creation of the first light and then
the Tohu and Bohu that preceded. The first light
was the first line of light that flowed into the
empty space (the place of G-d’s withdrawal in the
tzimtzum). The chaos before was the emptiness of
G-d’s withdrawal. The emptiness represented the
quality of Din, judgment or constriction.

I preceded into the emptiness and felt the withdrawal of Hashem. I knew the withdrawal was preceding at a speed beyond physical travel and I wondered how I would reach the receding point. The Kol told me to travel by spirit and will myself to reach the boundary. This I did and saw the edge of light in the distance. I willed myself through the edge and now I stood in the undifferentiated form of the first light. I could not comprehend what was around me. I tried to recall some daat - knowledge that would help me understand. This place was before and beyond the creation of the Sefirot. There was not even the place of Hashem's Ratzon - Will yet in this light. I glimmered above the sefirot and the Kol asked me what I saw. I told her I saw of BN, MH, SaG, and AV, the realm of the Hebrew letters.

I saw the Hebrew letters traveling in chains. There were also the 10 numerals but they were separate like flying disks in this space. I moved my mind to the source of the letters in the light and saw the primordial form of the Torah in the light. I heard this song:

Love the Torah, learn the Torah, dance with the Torah, dwell with the Torah ...

There were no angels yet created as there were no worlds but I still heard the Kol and wondered about its existence. I sought out the voice and noticed a small space in the light, a small tzimtzum. I saw a thread of light entering the space which was like a mouth transmitting the words. Here I learned how G-d speaks to Moses and the angels face to face but to the rest of us through angels. The Torah was one of 10 forms that existed prior to all creation.

There was no sense of a personal G-d in the Ayn Sof. I felt only Nothing and I didn't understand why. I wanted to find my personal G-d but even this is a result of creation! The Kol asked me what I could know? I told him I could not know

anything else while in my separate spirit.
I realized that even beyond the heaven of G-d's
creation and man's comprehension lies the Ayn Sof
of G-d which dissolves all identity back into
itself.

I have noticed the bittul in your dual postings.
Now I see that it is bittul that creates the
space of the tzimtzum for the line of light to
enter the space.

: I'm sorry I don't know what "level" you are referring to when evrverthing was in chains. But what I've seen in seforim is that the 22 lettters plus the five final
mantzepach letters emenate from the gevuru elah of atik yomin called botzina d'krdinusah. In more simple words the letters in the upper worlds aren't actually forms,
rather the forms of the letters that we see hint or meramez to the different levels and forms of shefa from the Ain Sof to the low worlds. Therefore inorder for there
to be duality or difference in shefa it perforce requires tzimtzum. So again the question returns, how is it possible to have even letters before the Tzimtzum. I'd like to
quote from the Tikuney Zohar inorder that we can have a clear point of referance that sheds light on this topic, "Every sefirah has a known name... You have no
known name as You fill all the names. You are the perfection of all the names." As Hank pointed out earlier there is no name for Hashem that can describe his
Essence rather we give him a name according to how we percieve Him, but when we call him by that name we are not calling that attribute rather Him Himself.
But it still remains unclear how there was an existence of letters or names before the tzimtzum as I wrote earlier.

Shalom

c) Poem on mystic life

Posted by . on February 21, 1999 at 13:00:04:

been up and down the tree, all around mitzvot glow to keep
seen angels high above, the water fall between
looked down at the throne, stood before Unknown, now what is left of life

seen the cubic aleph, the letter chains in light
danced with the angels, seen the burning bush, glimpsed MT, now what to do

brought forth the demon AS, bound him to answer true, but what is left to know

traveled to the past, witnessed the creation, saw the first light

Spring is filled with beauty, the ocean shores of time,
the forests with their fragrance, the startlit skies with chimes
but what is left of life

I understand Solomon, Reb Meir, Ben Azi, Ben Zoma,
to have seen too much and then to fall away, to wonder what is left of life

to slip further and further away knowing all along the truth,
so Hashem spoke to Job and put him in his place, G-d save us from this fate

one day we will see how the 7th beggar without feet
heals the prince and princess with our dancing

d) Yetzirah Plane

Re: Yetzirah plane

Posted by jeff on May 21, 1997 at 15:30:45:

In Reply to: Re: Yetzirah plane posted by Jeff Spiegel on May 20, 1997 at 02:53:47:

: This plane is filled with immense angels. You will have no possibility of
: "manipulating" this plane. These angels can do
: with you as they like so it is best to behave. In
: order to reach the world of Yetzirah, one must
: have already achieve a high degree of humble
: perfection and would not be interested in
: "manipulation" at that level. As far as the
: sights, Yetzirah parallels our world in activities.
: The angels are busy in constructing palaces as
: we are in buildings. There are seven palaces in this
: world:

: 1. The Seven Palaces of Yetzirah
: Perkei Hekhalot - Chapters of the Palaces contains a formal description of these palaces. The following contains my own
personal experiences of these heavens. In the world of Yetzirah there are 7 heavens . These are:
: a) Shamayim (Sham - Mayim : There is water -> Firmament)
: This is the location of the Sun, Moon, planets, and stars. Yet how can this be since we see them in our world and know of
their places. I have seen a star in Yetzirah and its light source is a precious soul that serves Hashem like

an angel . Some of
these souls were once from our world, others are of angelic source.
: b) Shemai Hashamayim (Water above the Waters -> Nehar Di-nur)
: In this heaven new angels are born each day to utter praises to Hashem. They are born from the spring of fire each morning.
They first dip their hands into the fiery waters and bring a taste to their mouths. Then they sing the holy Kadosh to Hashem and
praises from sunrise to sunset.
: c) Zevul (Habitation -> prince) lwbz
: This heaven is the place of the "prince". He is surrounded by his ministering angels. He is called Meattah for he is from G-d.
This heaven may be the residence of Zer Anpin in the world of Yetzirah.
: d) Araphel (Fog or mist -> Torah) lpru
: This is like the morning mists and clouds that cover mountain tops. Moshe’s tent was said to be enclosed in araphel when the
Shechinah dwelled within. It represents Mt. Sinai and the place of the giving of the Torah.
: e) Shehakim (Heavens) syqjc
: The rebuilt Jerusalem is prepared in this heaven. The Temple, Table, Ark, Menorah and all the utensils are here.
: f) Mahon -> Aravot
: It is five hundred year journey from Shehakim to Mahon. In the midst are the storehouses of snow and hail as well as the
rewards for the righteous and punishments for the wicked. Five hundred years further is the Aravot whose merkavah is called
Av bu which means cloud. There are some souls yet to be born.
: g) Throne of Glory
: This is the heaven of the Throne of G-d.

: The descent from the heaven of the ‘Throne of Glory’ leads to the place of the Merkavah or the ‘Throne of G-d’. Beneath
the throne souls await their entry into our world.

:
: There are angelic guards for each of these
: palaces that will turn one away unless key
: answers are known.

: The general landscape of Yetzirah is mountainous,
: the color is brown, brown-red, a touch of orange,
: and of course the white light of white angels and
: black light of dark angels. The angels are
: extremely tall such that a human in this world
: might bearly approach 1/6th the height of the
: smallest!

: The world of Yetzirah is associated with the
: morning service of Psukei D'zimra or the reciting
: of the Psalms of David. By reading the Psalms
: of David, one can prepare one's soul to be worthy
: of entering the world of Yetzirah while still
: in the land of the Living.

WHOA!! that was great, what an intense answer.
Is this kabbalah?
If so could you tell me how I can do such a thing?
Is the Yetzirah Plane another name for the 7 levels of heaven?

e) Colors

Re: Tree Of Life

[Follow Ups] [Post Followup] [BNEI BARUCH KABBALAH FORUM] [FAQ]

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on May 20, 1997 at 03:10:16:

In Reply to: Tree Of Life posted by Jonathan Blair on May 16, 1997 at 14:33:17:

The Jewish color system contains the following
associations:

D. Sefirot Colors and Lights
There are different colors associated with each sefirot. These colors can be visualized during meditations for enhancing the
realism of the vision. When the correct authoritative kabbalistic associations are adhered to the vision comes in loud and clear.
Similarly a radio receiver will exhibit a lot of static until it is finally tuned. The Gate of Kavannah describes the experience of the
quality of 8 types of light. Here is the description of the Crown:

Above it is the Crown. This is the light that crowns the desires of the mind and illuminates the paths of the imagination,
enhancing the radiance (zohar) of the vision. This light has no end, and it cannot be fathomed. From the glory (Kavod) of its
perfection comes desire, blessing, peace, life (chaim), and all good (tov) to those who keep the way of its unification.

Table 16: Sefirot and Colors
Sefirah Color Light Quality Names Of G-d
Concealed Light Ayn Sof
Keter – crown,will, or desire blinding invisible light Crown Ehyeh asher Ehyeh
Hochmah – wisdom a color that includes all colors Yah
Binah – understanding yellow and green Hashem (Elohim)
Hesed – kindness white and silver Tov – Good El
Gevurah – judgment,discipline red and gold Nogah – Glow Elohim
Tiferet – Beauty yellow and violet Kavod – Glory Hashem
Netzah – eternity,victory, prophecy light pink— the color of the upper eyelid Bahir – Brilliance Hashem Tzavaot
Hod – thankfulness, acceptance, prophecy dark pink— the color of the lower eyelid Zohar – Splendor Elohim Tzavaot
Yesod – righteousness Orange Chaim – Life El Chai, Shadai Living G-d
Malchuts – kingdom, Shechinah Blue Adonai

Why is the light of Keter called a blinding invisible light? Blinding, since no objects can be seen in this place. Invisible since the
light does this without being seen. Light, since the vision is clear.
The color of wisdom includes all colors for
wisdom includes all knowledge in its synthesis.
Yellow is associated with illumination and
green with fertility which together represent the
understanding of Binah with the fertility of
the mother partzuf. White and silver are
traditional associations with kindness and red
and gold for judgement. With the sefirah of
splendor is the illumination of the truth, i.e.
Yellow, and mysteries of Torah, i.e. violet.

The light pink and dark pink colors of Netzah
and Hod are the colors of the upper and lower
eyelids which symbolize the experience of
prophecy, i.e. sunlight shining through ones
closed eyes. The orange of Yesod is the color
of righteousness which is based on the discipline
of gevurah, red, with the illumination of tiferets,
yellow, and the prophecy of Netzah and Hod combined,
pink, which together is Orange.

Kingship is blue, i.e. royal blue.

: Please could you explain the following :

: I have come across different Kabbalistic Tree Of Life's, with different colour arrangements eg. those which appear in
traditional plain Queen scale colours, those which appear speckled, and those with very different colour arrangements eg.
"School Of The Soul by Z'ev ben Shimon Halevi . Could you please explain to me their purpose, and use, or failing this point
me at literature that does explains this?

: Many thanks, Jonathan

f) Hashmal

Re: Hashmal

[Follow Ups] [Post Followup] [BNEI BARUCH KABBALAH FORUM] [FAQ]

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on May 20, 1997 at 03:29:51:

In Reply to: Hashmal posted by Gerard Zonus on May 15, 1997 at 02:28:47:

: Shalom,

: What do the Kabbalists say about the 'Hashmal' in Ezechiel vision.

Kabbalists say that the vision of the Hashmal should
not be openly discussed. Suffice it to say that
the Hashmal is the garment of G-d in our Universe,
has the sound of electrum, and the appearance of
a small voice.

: Is there still in Israel an hermetic tradition whose goal is the universal medecine needed for spiritual and physical regeneration

The use of herbs and grasses for healing is
definitely within the domain of Judaism. The Breslov
Hasidim practice a hermetic like tradition.

"KNOW that there is a field where the most beautiful
and pleasant trees and herbs grow. The precious beauty
of this field and its plants and trees is impossible to describe. Happy is the eye that has seen it! "
(Likutey Moharan I:65 quoted in Garden of the Souls, page 37)

He invests the grasses and herbage with healing properties.
He gave decaying mold the most powerful of healing properties
as He chose a lowly mountain to reveal the Torah,
a lowly people as his chosen nation,
an impaired speaker to be his greatest prophet,
and "the stone that was despised" to become the
cornerstone of His temple.

: Thank you for answering my question.

: Gérard Zonus
: gzonus@loansystem.com

g) Lag Ba Omer

> WHOA!! that was great, what an intense answer.
> Is this kabbalah?
> If so could you tell me how I can do such a thing?
> Is the Yetzirah Plane another name for the 7 levels of heaven?

You should congradulate yourself for recognizing
the true Kabbalah! I will try to give some instruction
on how to achieve the experience. It took me over
ten years of kabbalistic study before I had my
first experience, so patience is required as well
as hard study, good deeds, and a humble nature.
The name Yetzirah, means formation from the
Hebrew word, yotzer, meaning to 'form'.

The four worlds are associated with the following:

The Four Universes and Our Connection to Them
Expression Worlds Tetragrammaton
Ta’amim - Cantellation Notes Atzilut - Nearness Yod
Nekudot - Vowel Points Beriyah - Creation Heh
Tagin - Ornaments Yetzirah - Formation Vav
Otiot - Letters Asiyah - Making Heh

Asiyah is our physical world. Yetzirah is the world of the lower
angels that parallel our world. Beriyah is the world of the throne
of God. This is also the world of the upper angels and souls to
be born. There are seven chambers in the world of Beriyah which

describe the process that the soul goes through before it is born into our world and after death when it returns to God. Atzulut the highest world contains the Ten Sefirot and the word Atzulut is from the Hebrew, Etzel which means 'adjacent'. I think learning Hebrew is important to Kabbalah study since much of the mysticism is based on the Hebrew alphabet, i.e. aleph - bet.

On Lab Ba Omer Rabbi Akiva's students died of a terrible plague. The plague was attributed to the conflicting opinions the students held towards one another. Some thought that Bar Kochbah was the Messiah. They differed on how to deal with the Romans. The lack of unity led to the plague.[399]

Today is Lag B'omer which is the 33rd day of the Counting of the Omer which associates with the sefirot combination of Hod in Hod. In general this would be an ominous day due to the passive nature of Hod which while representing peace and thankfulness also permits evil to exist in this world. Nevertheless Shimon bar Yochai helped rectify this day by revealing a great light of mystical knowledge to his followers which filled them with joy. Joy above all other emotions brings the Shekhinah into this world which is the presence of God.

There is also a tradition that his death on the same day also brought great light in this world as he died by the kiss of God.

Its a day of great light, dance with all your might!
(On Lag B'Omer weddings, davening inspiration 3/11/99)

2. Breslov Discussions

a) Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 27, 1998 at 20:17:22:
What is Novea mean in the statement? Does this mean a "a brook flowing with prophecy, source of wisdom"? If someone could elaborate on RebenuZ"L's inspiration on this passage, I would appreciate it.

Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 28, 1998 at 01:59:24:
In Reply to: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 27, 1998 at 20:17:22:

The simple explanation is that the letters
Nachal Novea Makor CHochmah spell NaCHMaN,
and that Rabbi Nachman wasn't the founder of a
chassidic dynasty rather a luminary in and of
himself, similar to the Arizal - that is
a source of wisdom.
Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 01:59:54:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 28, 1998 at 01:59:24:
I really needed to know that Reb. Nachman
was not intending to found a dynasty. I study
the teachings of Reb. Nachman regularly like
an inspirational text and have never seen
anything that would demand a dynasty
affiliation. Still, most Hasidim seem to be
organized in dynasties. How does Breslov
differ based on your explanation?

Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 29, 1998 at 11:23:10:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 01:59:54:
Breslov chasidus differs from most chasisidim in this point.
This is the explanation why there is no Breslov Rebbe today.
Breslov differs from most chasidim in that it is inclusive, rather
than exclusive. There is no particular Breslov nusach (prayer book),
no mandated dress code (some long coats and payos, some short coat,
some in knitted kipa), and encourages people to follow the minhagim of
their fathers (this is a major difference between Breslov & Chabbad
as practiced today). This has had the effect that the majority of
people who follow Rebbe Nachman are Sefardim (many Askenazim too).
The concept of Rebbe Nachman's role as leader of the Breslover
Chasidim is involved in the Mystical / Breslov concept of the
Tzaddik. There are many differing details on this inside
of Breslov, but basically it goes something like this: HaShem
created Man, and before the fall in the Garden of Eden, he was
refered to as the Perfect Man (or Primordial Man).
Mashiach either is, or is an aspect of this Perfect Man.
Mashiach is the living embodiment of Torah, and though
the light of Mashiach flows our understanding of Torah.
But we don't get it directly.
This light flows from Mashiach down to Joseph haTzadik,
Moshe Rabbenu, the Arizal, the True Tzaddik, the Tzaddikim of
each generation, to hidden Tzaddikim - hidden in every moment of
our life, down to us. (The order listed here isn't exact)

There are many Tzaddikim in the world, yet there is one
proto-typical Tzaddik who "breaks ground" allowing all
Tzaddikim to function, paving the way for Mashiach.
This is Rebbe Nachman. Some explain that Rebbe Nachman is a
recincarnation of the Arizal.
So, although no one would say that Rebbe Nachman was Mashiach,
for us (not just Breslover Chasidim), on our level, he is
a source of advice, guidance, and helps us to get plugged into
the flow of Torah down to this world, as Mashiach will do when
he comes, speedily in our days!
In this context Rebbe Nachman is "a brook flowing with prophecy,
source of wisdom"

Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 21:53:51:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 29, 1998 at 11:23:10:
I am sure viewing Reb Nachman like the Arizal is appropriate but I don't
understand the idea of the Tzadik-Hasid relationship after a Tzadik
had died?
I always thought that one travels to hear the words of the Tzadik and
this is what elevates one. Of course learning his teachings does
remind one of his presense in the world. If Reb Nachman is still the
Tzadik of the Breslov Hasidim then they must still be hearing his words!
Is this correct?
This would suggest that it would be possible to have a Tzadik-Hasid
relationship with many of our ancestorial Tzadikim if we were extremely
familiar with their teachings. I guess what I don't understand is
what makes the Breslov's relationship with Reb Nachman unique.
> Mashiach either is, or is an aspect of this Perfect Man.
> Mashiach is the living embodiment of Torah, and though
> the light of Mashiach flows our understanding of Torah.
> But we don't get it directly.
Adam Kadmon was the universal soul of all people combined.
The Moshiach is an annointed leader of the people of Israel, i.e.
a righteous king. Why the idea that Torah can only flow through Mashiach?
I can understand that Hashem sends angels and other forces to reveal
Torah to Klal Israel, but where is it said that all these forces of
Torah revelation go through Moshiach?
> This light flows from Mashiach down to Joseph haTzadik,
> Moshe Rabbenu, the Arizal, the True Tzaddik, the Tzaddikim of
> each generation, to hidden Tzaddikim - hidden in every moment of
> our life, down to us. (The order listed here isn't exact)
I thought that the teaching of the Tzadik assumed that even he is not

perfect but that his challenges are on a much higher level like
Moshe Rabenu instead.
So what is the meaning and source of the concept "True Tzaddik"? In
Israel I visited the tomb of the Arizal and was quite awed by feeling
at the graveside. But I also was awed at the tombs of Shimon HaTzadik Z"l
in Jerusalem, Rachel Z"l wife of Akiva, Jonaton ben Uziel Z"l, Rabbi Meir
Baal HaNess Z"l, Yosef Karo Z"l, David HaMelech Z"l. What would make
the Arizal the "True Tzaddik" before Reb Nachman?
You have described a line of light that passes through only one person
in some generations. This is an interesting idea though why can there
be only one. If this is the same as the potential Moshiach? Why
do Breslov stop with Reb Nachman as the True Tzadik, instead of
believing there may be a True Tzadik in a future generation?
> There are many Tzaddikim in the world, yet there is one
> proto-typical Tzaddik who "breaks ground" allowing all
> Tzaddikim to function, paving the way for Mashiach.
> This is Rebbe Nachman. Some explain that Rebbe Nachman is a
> recincarnation of the Arizal.
I guess I still have difficulty with the idea of a single True Tzadik.
I am not aware of any traditional kabbalistic Torah teachings that
say there is such a single person. There is much spoken on the idea
of a potential Moshiach in each generation. Maybe the True Tzadik is
more of the Moshiach ben Yosef that may be born in a generation and this
is why there is only one. Is that what you mean?
The idea of a spiritual leader of all Tzadikim of a
generation is quite reasonable, though I would think he would be amongst
the living of the generation.
> So, although no one would say that Rebbe Nachman was Mashiach,
> for us (not just Breslover Chasidim), on our level, he is
> a source of advice, guidance, and helps us to get plugged into
> the flow of Torah down to this world, as Mashiach will do when
> he comes, speedily in our days!
His teachings and recorded writings definitely leave me with this
feeling. When you say a "source of advice, guidance", do you mean
from his teachings or is there a personal attachment that you feel and
an inspiration from his will that you still sense in the land of the
living.
Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 30, 1998 at 00:09:54:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 29, 1998 at 21:53:51:
This is not the place to go into any depth, but as far as a Kabalistic
reference for Torah coming through Adam Kadmon / Mashiach, this is
the aspect of the Histashelut of the "Kav" through each one
of the Sefirot in turn, but first coming through Keter = Adam Kadmon

~= Meshiach (Meshiach is more formally Malchut)
As far as the Hasid / Tzadik relationship goes, Breslovers take two
views 1) that Rabbi Nachman is alive today, and just as gazing on
the Chosen Mishpat cause "truth" to become clear, learning Rabbenu's
works, davening at his tzion, and "speaking to another breslover at
least once everyday" clarifies "truth" 2) that Rabbi Nachman broke new
ground and provided insight that was previously lacking. He tapped
into and strengthened the place (Yesod) that enables us to connect to a
greater degree with *other* Tzaddikim, Rabbonim and Torah Scholars.
The Tzadik is Yesod, Mashiach is Malchut. One prepares for the other.
And although it is not explained explicitly, Rebbe Nachman had some
very close connection to the Supernal Sefirah of Yesod. Just as each
of the Ushpizin (Avraham, Yitzchak, Yaacov, Aaron, Moshe, Yosef and
David) are the physical embodiment, on one level, of the Sefirot.
By finding the Hidden Tzaddik in every situation (the good points),
by learning and connecting to a Rav in a Torah Shiur, by asking
shailos and advice from True Tzaddik, we are approaching the Sefirah
of Yesod (Foundation / Righteousness) along the path that was made
by Mashiach using the signposts that were put up by Rebbe Nachman.
By reading and following those signposts, were are connecting with
the work and essense of Rebbe Nachman, our Rebbe.
Posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 30, 1998 at 03:02:21:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 30, 1998 at 00:09:54:
The associations of the Ushpazim with the sefirot teaches us to
see how the sefirot or tzelem manifest in our world
and how man at best behaves in the image of G-d. Nevertheless,
we do not say the sefirot are the Ushpazim. Joseph's qualities
are reprentative of the sefira of Yesod but the moral energy of
Hashem sustaining this world is not transmitted for eternity through
Joseph because of this association. And similarly the association
of an anointed king (Moshiach) with the sefira of Malchut.
What is your source for Adam Kadmon equivalenced with Mashiach?
Adam Kadmon is the primordial purpose of all creation and the concept
of the soul of man in totality. Certainly the Torah is part of this
initial blueprint. On the other hand, Moshiach is an annointed king
who will lead Israel. Your implication is that the Universe was
created for Moshiach if he is equivalent to Adam Kadmon
Instead the universe was created for imperfect man to raise himself
through hard soul work back to the level of Adam Kadmon with the
help of tzadikim and moshiachim.
The Breslov concept of Moshiach seems quite metaphysical. I always
look at Moshiach as an anointed king that we should expect and be

worthy to follow to live in the land of Israel with. The concept
seems so down to earth to me. The concept of Moshiach being
Adam Kadmon, the purpose of all creation, and encompassing the souls
of all people uniting them into an entirety seems beyond the
scope of an anointed king who wages G-d's battles and returns
victoriously.
> as far as a Kabalistic
> reference for Torah coming through Adam Kadmon / Mashiach, this is
> the aspect of the Histashelut of the "Kav" through each one
> of the Sefirot in turn, but first coming through Keter = Adam Kadmon
> ~= Meshiach (Meshiach is more formally Malchut)
Posted by Benyamin Pilant on January 30, 1998 at 10:21:56:
In Reply to: Re: Nachal Novea Makor Hochmah posted by Jeff Spiegel on January 30, 1998 at 03:02:21:
Breslov has a tighter and more simplified scheme of the
Sefirot. A "Univesal story" as it were. The basic theme
is that if any two objects have the same quality, they are
at their root the *same objeect*. This is the whole premis
of Likutei Halachot, where rapid fire relationships are made
between many, many diverse objects. And is related to the
concept of Rabbi Nachmans ability to reunite the sparks / essense
of diverse objects and people.
Disclaimer, this is only one approach to a complex and complicated
set of teachings within Breslov.

3. Pluto

Jeffrey Wolf Green is the author of Pluto Volume, http://www.jeffreywolfgreen.com.

(Question) 22-Feb-1999 Male Souls/Female Souls
I purchased Pluto Volume II today. There is a reference to the soul being non-sex based and evolving by being both male and female in different life times.

I believe this would differ from the Jewish mystical perspective. The idea is that G-d's first thought is Adam Kadmon, the primordial man. Each of us represents a spark of this idea. Each of us is unique in our place on the body. Each place is unique with either a masculine tone or feminine tone to its function.

At the end of times G-d will make a new world wherein will be the resurection of the dead. Each of our souls will have its true body. Each of us will either be male or female in our true form. Hence our identity body and soul is male or female. Jeff Spiegel
(Answer)
it is stated in the book that our souls are equally male and female, as is that which is called God. God is the origin of all things, obviously. Thus the origin of male and female. Thus each of our souls is

simultaneously male and female... that which you site is simply another version of patriarchal thinking..man first jeffrey
(Addition)
In Hebrew we call G-d's essence Ayn Sof which is beyond male and female.
The seferot or Tree of Life containing pillers of male character, female character and a central piller reveal G-d's hightest image that we can know is equally male and female as you have pointed out to me.

We are created in the image of G-d so our soul contains both male and female aspects; the sefirot manifest in each of us reflecting the same image. Still we have a body which is not equally male and female. In Judaism the body is also an aspect of the soul, the Nefesh (body spirit) is the lowest level of the soul. The body is part of the soul's identity.

The concept of being male combined with male and female qualities or female combined with female and male qualities better matches the essence of who we are. This is also a reflection of the image of G-d where each sefira whether male or female has an aspect of each of the other sefirot within.

Getting back to your book: Your concept of a composite chart from Pluto Volume II helped me understand the dynamics of a couples direction together. Previously I had only looked at synastry for understanding.

Is there a place where you describe the soul affects of Pluto's place in the other party's chart (constellation and house)? Is this in Volume I which I haven't purchased yet? Currently I only see a description of the composite Pluto's connection. Jeff Spiegel

4. Greek Qabalah

Kieren Barry is the author of the Greek Qabalah.

To: 'Jeff Spiegel' <spiegel@telocity.com>
Subject: RE: The Greek Qabalah

Dear Jeff,

Nice to hear from you. I agree 100% with everything you say. My book in no way detracts from the glories of Hebrew Qabalah or its authenticity or value, and please do not think that is what I intend. That would be like saying Christianity means any less because it derives from Judaism. It only enriches Hebrew Qabalah even more to discover new depths in its historical origins and cultural sources, and my intention was only to make more people aware of those depths. I am pleased that you found the book interesting historically, and thank you very much for reading it.

Best regards,

Kieren Barry

-----Original Message-----
From: Jeff Spiegel [mailto:spiegel@telocity.com]
Sent: 27 March 2001 15:14
To: ISL HKG HK Barry Kieren
Subject: The Greek Qabalah

Kieren,

I read your book. Einstein realized that good science is applicable to ideas today no matter where it came from and he borrowed heavily from scientists such as Galileo in developing the theory of Relativity. You have shown some Jewish kabbalah to be similar. I think your book overlooks the prophetic experience as a form of kabbalah of the highest level.

Neitche's idea of eternal recurrence teaches that there is very little in this world that is a new idea and that what happens today has repeated itself ad-infinitum.

Jewish Kabbalah is authentic no matter its origin. It has been purified from the dross of other traditions to produce pure silver and gold. Today we know that circumcision was known by the Egyptians but it took Moses to purify the concept and invest the idea with divine meaning and the sign of the covenant.

So your book on Greek Qabalah is an interesting text historically.

B. Letters and Signs

Rabbi Nachman Letter - July 1, 1994

While fasting on the 17th of Tamuz, I ascended in a vision to the higher worlds. I was seeking Rabbi Nachman to ask him some questions. After passing Malchuts, Yesod, and Tiferets, I was stuck at the gates of Daat which I did not know how to enter. Eventually I saw Binah and Hochmah embrace like a mother and father and I was placed at the base of Keter. There I made it my will to find Rabbi Nachman.

I ascended to the worlds above Atzilut, passing through MH - hm - 45, BN - }b - 52, SaG - gs - 63, and arriving at AV - bu - 72.[400] There I beheld Rabbi Nachman who was radiant with joy to see me. I asked him what he was doing way up here. He told me if I continued studying his teachings I would understand.

The next day I am having dinner with a friend who has a letter from your settlement on his table. I noticed the name of your settlement contains the phrase Mekor Chochma (source of wisdom).

That night I'm reading at home the following: "Havayah expanded with Yods, adding up to 72 (AV) motivates the union of Hochmah - Wisdom (Father) and Binah - Understanding (Mother), through the Neshamah of the Neshamah of the saint. It is associated with Hochmah - Wisdom."[401] Now I know how I ascended through Daat. The saint is Rabbi Nachman of Breslov who lives through his Chaya[402] even in this world and is supporting the completion of Nachal Novea Mekor Chochma in the world of AV which is the source of the sefira of Hochmah in the worlds above Atzulut.

Encounter with the Astrological Signs - August 28, 1996

One can acquire knowledge of any subject through meditation. For example one can picture 12 rooms, each with one of the astrological glyphs above the doorway. By entering each room, one will encounter the essence of the sign. In the case of Aquarius, one can picture the water bearer who is always pouring forth, giving his resources for the world around him. The Aquarian lives to give. In the case of Pisces, one might see a room filled with sensuous tapestries, warm lights with thin shades of fabrics, and a warm carpet with nice furniture. The values of every sign can be understood better through meditative encounters.

Meditation for the Deaf – June 17, 2001

"And Isaac went out to meditate in the field before the evening; and he raised his eyes and saw and behold camels are coming." (Genesis 24:63) The word for mediate here is Suach, the word for grasses is Sicha, the word for conversation is also Sicha. Isaac was conversing with G-d in the fields. The camel is the letter Gimmel and it is a letter of good fortune for upon the camel rode Rachel, Isaac's intended wife.

Rabbi Nachman of Breslov says that we should say out every little concern we have to G-d, no matter how small. Tell him all our problems. G-d loves us more than anyone else in the whole world loves us. And he is more interested in hearing any little thing from us than anyone else. Some say, "How can I bother Hashem with this small problem?" The answer is we are not bothering Him. He wants to be bothered! This is the most powerful way to get close to Hashem.

In meditation we learn to act out what we are seeing or doing, to let the body become part of the visualization deepens the experience. This may be by letting the body dance if it feels like dancing or express itself with sign language. I will tell you it is possible for every person to get close to Hashem even while we are still in the land of the living, Bless Hashem.

There are many gateways, but study of authentic texts is essential. In your case, I recommend the Torah, Prophets, and Writings. Accompany this with walks in nature and conversations with G-d daily. Finally meditate on questions that have arisen in your mind from the Bible and let the Ribono Shel Olam, the Revered of the World teach you the answers with your signing.

C. Names of G-d [TABLES]

One principle source text for identifying the attributes associated with the key names of G-d is found in Exodus Midrash Rabbah 3:6:

6. AND G-D SAID UNTO MOSES (Exodus 3:14): R. Abba b. Mammel said: G-d said to Moses: 'Thou wishest to know My name. Well, I am called according to My work; sometimes I am called "Almighty G-d", "Lord of Hosts", "G-d", "Lord". When I am judging created beings, I am called "G-d" (Elohim), and when I am waging war against the wicked, I am called "El Shadai" (Almighty G-d), and when I am merciful towards My world, I am called "Adonai", for "Adonai" refers to the Attribute of Mercy, as it is said: The Lord, the Lord (Adonai, Adonai), *G-d, merciful and gracious*. Hence I am that I am in virtue of My deeds.' R. Isaac said: G-d said to Moses: 'Tell them that I am now what I always was and always will be'; for this reason is the word eheyeh written three times. Another explanation of I AM THAT I AM is offered by R. Jacob b. Abina in the name of R. Huna of Sepphoris: G-d said to Moses: 'Tell them that I will be with them in this servitude, and in servitude will they always continue, but I will be with them!' Whereupon Moses said to G-d: 'Shall I tell them this? Is not this sufficient for the hour the evil thereof?' G-d replied: 'NO: THUS SHALT THOU SAY UNTO THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL: "I AM HATH SENT ME UNTO YOU." To thee only do I reveal this but not to them.' Another interpretation of I AM.

1. From the Gates of Light - Shaarey Orah

For the Lord your G-d is a merciful G-d
(Deut. 4:31 - Gates of Light p. 167)

The name El is associated with mercy from this passage. El Rahum is found in Exodus 34:6.
Uneraseable names p. 170:
Ehye, Elohim, El, Eloha, Shadai - these are attached to the name Hashem

Erasable names associated with above:
El - Hesed gadol, rachum , chanun, chasin, erech apayim, rav chesed, kadosh, chasid, soleyach

Elohim adir (mighty), shofet (judger), dayyan (judge), chazak (strong), kabir, koach (powerful)
ish miylchamah (man of war), gibor (courageous), poked avon (exacts sin),
meshalem gemul (repays in kind)

Hashem norah (awesome), noseh avon (carrier of sin), over al pesha (overlooker of transgression)
emet (truth), marom (on high), ram (exalted), notzar chesed (creator of compassion),
shochen ad (perpetual dweller) kadosh (holy).

Table 36: Pillar Names of G-d

El	**Hashem**	**Elohim**
gadol	norah	adir
rachum	noseh avon	shofet
chanun	over al pesha	dayyan

chasin	emet	chazak
erech apayim - *Long faced awaiting our return.*	marom	kabir
rav chesed	ram	koach
kadosh - *"You shall be holy for I the Lord am holy."* [403] *This refers to G-d removing himself from the world. We need to behave in the image of G-d removing ourselves from over involvement in materialism or superficial lusts.*	notzar chesed	ish miylchamah
chasid	shochen ad	gibor
soleyach	kadosh	poked avon, meshalem gemul

2. The 12 Letter Name

The name may be composed of the tetragrammaton three times or contain the initials of the twelve tribes of Israel.

3. The 42 Letter Name

Table 37: The 42 Letter Name in the Days of the Week

Weekday	Hebrew	Meaning	Sefira	Age Hebrew	Age English	Historical Basis
Sunday	xty gba	The first line of Genesis.	Hesed	0-999	3760-2761 BCE	The kindness of Eden and the sons of G-d and the sons of men. "Longevity of early generations"[404]
Monday	}fc urq	Rent the adversary	Gevurah	1000-1999	2760-1761 BCE	The purification of mankind with the Flood. "The Flood 1656 (2104 BCE)"[405]

Tuesday	cky dgn		Tiferets	2000-2999	1760-761 BCE	The splendor of Israel under the guidance of Moses and the period of the Judges. "Sinai: Year 2448 (1312 BCE)"[406]
Wednesday	gtx rfk		Netzah	3000-3999	760 BCE-239 AD	The period of kings and the 2nd Temple of Israel. "1st Temple: 2928-3338 (832-422 BCE). 2nd Temple: 3408-3328 (352 BCE-68 CE)"[407]
Thursday	unf dqj	241- larzg	Hod	4000-4999	240-1239	The age of trials and the acceptance of suffering (the dark and middle ages). "Massacres, expulsions, Crusades"[408]
Friday	kzp lgy	If we are worthy, we will be redeemed now. Rejoicing leads to redemption.	Yesod	5000-5999	1240-2239	The age of the Tzaddikim; the struggle for righteousness. "Preparation for the era of Mashiach"[409]
Saturday	tyx wqc	The eternal Shabbat for the righteous in the world to come is the end.	Malchuts	6000-6999	2240-3239	The new age of kingship.

This is one of the most obscure names of G-d.[410] Rashi comments that 'this name was not given over to us'.[411] Hence, the derivation of the name is not well known. The name of Moses's mother Yocheved - dbkwy has the gematria of 42. She is considered the mother of 600,000 souls, suggesting the name is related to creation.[412] The gematria for mother - ama is also 42. Other Kabbalists believed the name was composed from the first 42 letters of the Bible with each portion bearing the "magical potency" of the

entirety.[413]

The 42 Letter Name is the force behind the mitzvah for a man to marry and have children.

And Isaiah ... came to him and said unto him:
'Thou shalt die, and not live'
(Kings 2 20:1)

"Thou shalt die" in this world "and not live" in the world-to-come.
When Hezekiah asked him, "Why is the punishment so severe?" Isaiah replied,
"Because you did not try to have children." Hezekiah replied,
"because it was shown to me by the holy spirit that children issuing from me
will not be worthy." Isaiah replied,
"What have you to do with the secrets of the Holy One?
What you have been commanded, you should have done,
and let G-d do what He pleases."
(Ber 10a. - Book of Legends 632:196)

Rabbi Nachman of Breslov taught that the secret of the 42-letter name is revealed in Nachman's fifth story, "The King Who Could Not Have Children, the Queen, the Daughter, and the Prince of Gems."[414] In this story, the King asks the Jews of his kingdom to pray on his behalf that he may have a child. The Jews reply to the King that he will need the prayer of a Tzaddik to accomplish this. They find a tzaddik who the king speaks to and the tzaddik agrees to pray on the kings behalf for the sake of the Jews in the Kingdom...

Table 38: The 42 Letter Name in the Counting of the Omer

Day	Counting of the Sefirot	Corresponding letter of the 42	Alternate Letter	Meaning (anyone who can fill in the blanks should contact me!)
1	Hesed in Hesed	a		
2	Gevurah in Hesed	b		
3	Tiferet in Hesed	g		
4	Netzah in Hesed	y		
5	Hod in Hesed	t		
6	Yesod in Hesed	x		
7	Malchuts in Hesed	xty gba		The energy of each of the six days is received by Malchuts.
8	Hesed in Gevurah	q		
9	Gevurah in Gevurah	r		
10	Tiferet in Gevurah	u		

11	Netzah in Gevurah	c		
12	Hod in Gevurah	f		
13	Yesod in Gevurah	}		
14	Malchut in Gevurah	}fc urq		
15	Hesed in Tiferet	n		
16	Gevurah in Tiferet	g		
17	Tiferet in Tiferet	d		
18	Netzah in Tiferet	y		
19	Hod in Tiferet	k		
20	Yesod in Tiferet	c		
21	Malchut in Tiferet	cky dgn		
22	Hesed in Netzah	k		
23	gevurah in netzah	f		
24	Tiferet in Netzah	r		
25	Netzah in Netzah	x		
26	Hod in Netzah	t		
27	Yesod in Netzah	g		
28	Malchut in Netzah	gtx rfk		
29	Hesed in Hod	j		
30	Gevurah in Hod	q		
31	Tiferet in Hod	d		
32	Netzah in Hod	f		
33	Hod in Hod	n		
34	Yesod in Hod	u		
35	Malchuts in Hod	unf dqj		
36	Hesed in Yesod	y	Friday	
37	Gevurah in Yesod	g		
38	Tiferet in Yesod	l		
39	Netzah in Yesod	p		
40	Hod in Yesod	z		
41	Yesod in Yesod	k		

42	Malchut in Yesod	kzp lgy	Friday	The Shechinah is within the protection of Zer Anpin. She rejoices and He bursts in love in return.
43	Hesed in Malchut	c	Shabbas	
44	Gevurah in Malchut	q		
45	Tiferet in Malchut	w		
46	Netzah in Malchut	x		
47	Hod in Malchut	y		
48	Yesod in Malchut	t		Zer Anpin descends and joins with Nukva, his eternal love.
49	Malchut in Malchut	tyx wqc		In the letters {yq – end, this is the last and highest state.

The name is associated with the 7 days of the week, 6 letters for each day.[415] The letters on each line correspond with the sefirot Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzah, Hod, and Yesod respectively with the whole line corresponding to Malchut.[416] The line for Shabbat is:

tyx wqc

The letter vav is Tiferet in Malchuts. The tzaddik is in the place of Netzah in Malchuts.[417] Each line corresponds to a 1000 years of creation. The last line refers to the last 1000 years of creation. Each 1000 years is also associated with a sefira and the last 1000 years for the age of moshiach that is kingship and Malchuts.

The 42 Letter Name is associated with the 7 days of creation. The ‘workings of creation’ - Ma’aseh Bereshis begins with the letters Mem Bet in Hebrew. The gematria value of Mem Bet - bm is 42. Above I describe a vision of creation associated with the name hw la. The gematria value of this name is also 5+6+30+1 = 42. Since the name begins with Aleph - a, the first Hebrew letter and ends with Tav - t, the last Hebrew letter, we know that all creation is contained within this Name.[418]

The first seven words in Genesis comprise 28 letters.[419] There is a teaching that the first 42 letters of the bible contain the Forty Two Letter Name of G-d: [420]

"You should know a decryption [lit. kabbalah] of this second section in Genesis has been passed down to us, beginning from the verse 'In the beginning...' up to the letter b[beyt; the 42nd letter in Genesis] which contains a name of 42 letters that hints at God's activities before the creation--but only by means of 'many permutations.'
Bachya was referring to a little-known observation made two centuries earlier by another sage, Rabbenu Tam (and even earlier by one Nechunya ben HaKanah, discussed below). Tam had observed that encoded into the opening passages of Genesis was a

42-letter name of God. But more than that, Bachya claimed, there lay within its compass the necessary information for calculating the unfolding of the "days and seasons," starting with the moment of the creation of the sun and moon and ever after, according to the ancient tradition that "...the luminaries were created on the fourth day, and by them we count the years of the world." Tam did not commit the details of this calculation to writing, however.
Two centuries later, Rabbenu Bachya did so, by describing in one of his books what he called "the date which is the true starting point of all calculations of the astronomers" (hence the date to be used for "prophetic" calculations as well.) He explained:
"...if the eyes of your heart will be illumined, you will find this date encoded in the text, such that between each of its numbers lies as well 42 letters. The wise will understand that this is not by chance, but a clear sign involving the very birth of the world."

Table 39: The 42 Letter Name and First 42 letters of Genesis

Forty-two Letter Name	Bereshis
xty gba	tyc arb
}fc urq	hla arb
cky dgn	cht a\y
gtx rfk	taw \ym
unf dqj	hw{ rah
kzp lgy	tyh {ra
tyx wqc	bww hth

There are 42 places where Israel camped on their journey from Egypt to Israel. These rest stops represent a ladder of cleansing within the context of the 42 Letter Name of G-d. There are 42 days between the end of Passover and Shavuot.

Some consider that the name derives from the initial letters of Nehunia ben Hakanah's "Anah B'Coach" sung before L'chai Dodi. The Hai Gaon says that each of the individual six letter names is significant in its own right. The fifth has the gematria 241 equating to the angel Gzrel.[421] "Speaking this Name in its entirety counteracts an evil decree issued against one in Heaven."[422]

The 42 Letter Name begins with Av - ba – Father, associating with the sefira of Hochmah and Partzuf Abba. Rav in Tractate Kiddushin, 71a had the following comments on the 42 Letter Name:

That this Name is to be revealed only to a man who stands in the middle of his life, who is pious and modest, who never gives way to anger and to drink, who is not obstinate. Whoever knows that Name and

preserves it in purity is beloved in heaven and beloved upon earth; is well considered by man and inherits both worlds.[423]

4. The 72 Letter Name

Urbach in "The Sages" describes a papyrus, which portrayed the Divine name in a triangular structure.[424] At the base were 12 positions for the 12 Letter Name, and then 42 positions for the 42 Letter Name and then the full 72 positions ending at top. Adjusting the rows one can see the pyramid structure.

Table 40: The 72 Letter Name Papyrus Structure

				69	70		71	**72**				
				64	65	66	67	68				
			58	59	60		61	62	63			
			51	52	53	54	55	56	57			
		43	44	45	46		47	48	49	50		
		34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	**42**		
	24	25	26	27	28		29	30	31	32	33	
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10	11	**12**

Three transcriptions of the Tetragrammaton make up the bottom row, while the Forty Two Letter Name makes up the bottom four rows and the whole structure, the Seventy Two Letter Name. The top row is the Tetragrammaton. Because the 12 Letter Name is not a subset of the Forty Two Letter Name, the papyrus does not explain the origin of the specific letters of these names. Since the papyrus was written in Greek, the structure represents the influence of Greek thought on Jewish mysticism.

The Song of Moses, Az Yshir Moshe, consists of eighteen repetitions of the Tetragrammaton, the hywh \c.[425] In Midrash Raba Genesis 15:14, G-d promised Moshe that he would save his descendants from Egypt with this name. Hence, this song sung after the victory at the Reed Sea alludes to the Name.

5. The 216 Letter Name

This name is made up of the composition of three versus of 72 letters each in Exodus. The Shaarey Orah brings down that these verses can also be composed into 54 names of 4 letters each. This would correspond to the gematria of Dalet Nun - nd, the center 2 letters in the name Adonai - ynda. The first

letter of this name is Aleph corresponding to the name Ehyeh that begins with an Aleph as well. The last letter is a Yod, which begins the name of the Tetragrammaton. Adonai is associated with the sefira Malchuts. Malchuts is an entry point for prayer to the heavens.

6. Without Name

Ultimately Hashem is beyond all names or without Name. The Or HaMaor in Shoftim recognized:

Everything originates with G-d; therefore, He even gives existence to the four letters...
Even though we make use of the Tetragrammaton (YHVH) and speak of it as G-d's "proper name," it is only meant to be "for the world" so that people would be able to call Him by some name and thus bring His providence to bear upon them. G-d is actually above all names. I later heard this had been said in the name of the Baal Shem Tov.[426]

Rabbi Zev Wolf of Zitamer

All names are but part of His creation as well as the attributes that we have ascribed to Him even the Sefirot.[427]

Song Hopes of Tomorrow:
You can dream, you can dream of life's greatest things, and these are the hopes of tomorrow.
To see the point lights in the midst of the night is to glimpse the truth of the morrow.
To travel this world, on roads just unfurled is to live our hope of the morrow.
To see the beauty of the one that you love is good for the soul and brings grace to this world and hope in the future of our lives, so take someone and make h/er/im your life, have children or travel the world.
Learn the Torah, reveal the sweet words of life, practicing them is even sweeter.
In all this great world, with his glory unveiled, is to bask in the thoughts of tomorrow.

D. Sidhartha

Trees bow down, animals serving; these are the symbols of this time.

"If you tighten the string to tight it will snap; if you leave it to loose it will not play."
(Sidhartha's awakening from asceticism.)

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[399] Added later.
[400] Traditional kabbalah places BN below MH.
[401] Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, page 238.
[402] The Neshamah of the Neshamah is the Chaya
[403] Torah Portion Ahrey Mos.
[404] From Exile to Redemption, Lubavitcher Rebbe Shlita, page 20.
[405] Ibid
[406] Ibid

[407] Ibid
[408] Ibid
[409] Ibid
[410] See Burning Bush that does not burn
There are seven groups of six letters. The seven groups are the seven days of the week. The six letters in each group are in the positions of the six sefirot Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzah, Hod, and Yesod. The combination of the letter and its position reveal the aspect of the sefira that is emphasized for that day.
[411] Kiddushin 71b.
[412] Nachman's short stories, trans. Aryeh Kaplan.
[413] Kabbalah, Charles Ponce, page 183.
[414] Rabbi Aryeh Rosenfield, Rabbi Nachman's Wisdom, Tape 30.
[415] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan, Ch. 4. Also Ch. 5 for mix with letters of the name of G-d for 28 paths.
[416] Nachman's Short Stories, Aryeh Kaplan, page 126.
[417] Ibid. Reb Nachman is interpreted as assigning Moses to the letter vav and the Messiah to the tzaddik. The name Nachman has the gematria 149 which is the same as Netzah.
[418] This is the also found in the Greek concept of from Alpha to Omega
[419] The Holy Kabbalah, Arthur Edward Waite, page 618
[420] Cracking the Bible, Jeffrey Satinover, http://www.quantgen.com/ch06.htm, search for "42 letter name" Genesis
[421] Hebrew Amulets, Schrire
[422] http://members.aol.com/fegele/letters03.html
[423] M. Gaster, "Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic etc., vol. I, London 1925, pp. 295 ff.
[424] Urbach, "The Sages", page 130.
[425] The World of Prayer, Elie Munk, Vol. 1, page 85.
[426] The Light Beyond, Aryeh Kaplan, page 31.
[427] Nothing is the essence of G-d.

XII. Up and Down the Tree of Life

A. The 32 Paths of Wisdom [TABLE]

The Sefer Yetzirah begins: [323]

With 32 mystical paths of Wisdom
engraved Yah
the Lord of Hosts
the G-d of Israel
the living G-d
King of the Universe
El Shadai
Merciful and Gracious
High and Exalted
Dwelling in eternity
Whose name is Holy
He is lofty and holy
And He created His universe
with three books (Seforim)
with text (Sefer)
with number (Sefar)
and with communication (Sippur)

The 32 paths of wisdom are related to the word 'heart'. In Hebrew, the word for heart is *Läv* – bl, which has a gematria value of 32. The Torah begins with the letter Bet - b and ends with the letter Lamed - l.

larcy-lk ynyul ... \yqla arb tycarb

These two letters, the 32 paths, the knowing heart contain the Torah. Nevertheless, the heart is directed by the intellect - sekhel. The heart that pumps blood and affects our exuberance and joy with life is related to the 32 paths of wisdom. The literature refers to the 32 in three different ways: the first 32 instances of the natural name of G-d - Elohim - \yqla in the book of Genesis, the 22 letters plus 10 principle numerals which G-d combined to create the world, and finally 32 levels of consciousness that Hashem displays in our world.

1. The 32 Names of G-d in Genesis

2. The 22 Letters 10 Numerals

3. The 32 Levels of Consciousness

These 32 Levels are mental attributes that operate in creating and sustaining our world. Genesis states that G-d created man in the image of G-d. The name for G-d, here, is Elohim. This is also the name for G-d in the 32 paths of creation at the beginning of Genesis. Since we are in the image (tzelem) of G-d, we have an opportunity to activate our mind on each of these 32 levels:

*18. Consciousness of the House of Influx (Sekhel Bet HaShefa). By probing with it, a secret mystery (raz) and an allusion are transmitted to those who "**dwell in its shadow**" and bind themselves to probing its substance from the Cause of Causes.*[324]

Those who 'dwell in the shadow' of the Almighty are those who trust in G-d (Psalm 91:1)

The name of G-d for Almighty is Shadai, which is associated with the sefirah of Yesod. The 18th level of consciousness is the gematria of chai - yh. The other name of G-d associated with Yesod is El Chai. The 'probing' done from Yesod reveals the secret mystery (raz) and allusion (ramez).

The quasi sefira RaZ is located above Yesod and between Netzah and Hod. When Netzah and Hod join during prophecy, the seeker can enter the gate of RaZ. The double letter connecting Yesod to Tiferets is the letter Resh representing RaZ.[325] Similarly, the double letter representing Tiferets to Keter is the Dalet representing Daat.

30. General Consciousness (Sekhel Kelali). It is called this because it is the means through which the "generalizers of the heavens" collect their rules regarding the stars and constellations, forming the theory that comprises their knowledge of the Ophan-orbits of the planets.

This is the knowledge of astrology in our world. Nevertheless, one is forbidden to worship the planets as described in the 32nd consciousness.

3. Sanctified Consciousness (Sekhel Mekudash). This is the foundation of the Original Wisdom, and it is called "Faithful Faith." Its roots are AMeN. It is the father of faith, and from its power faith emerges.

Amen is found Isaiah 25:1 with the reference Elohay Amen meaning G-d of Truth. AMeN is also the word for artificer and the word refers to craftsmanship and art. The word for belief is Emunah and we say AMeN after a blessing that is a Shevuah or vow binding ourselves to G-d through the content of the blessing. Truthfulness is the foundation of wisdom and is sanctified consciousness. Being truthful is more than honesty; it is behaving in an authentic manner with the values that one knows from his true heart, which contains the Torah.

32. Worshipped Consciousness (Sekhel Ne'evad). It is called this because it is prepared so as to destroy all who engage in the worship of the seven planets.

4. "These are the travels of B'nai Israel"

There are 32 resting places recorded of the children of Israel when they went forth from Egypt (Numbers 33:1-50). These travels also correspond to 32 stages of spiritual growth, which create a complete healing for the Jewish people. The Israelites mastered the midos of the 32 paths of wisdom. Here is a description of the places along that journey:

Table 28: The 32 Rest Places of Israel

Stop	Place	Hebrew Name	Comments
1	Succoth	tks	"And they journeyed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the Passover, the children of Israel went out with a high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians." (Numbers 33:1-3)
2	Etham	\ta	In the edge of the wilderness. The name contains the aleph and tav which is the beginning and end. The mem denotes water. Check Kaplan map.
3	Migdol	ldgm	literally 'from the great' - getting off the pedestal.
4	Marah	hrm	literally 'bitterness' - removing the bitterness in life.
5	Elim	hmlya	12 springs of water and 70 date palms.
6	Red Sea	[ws-\y	Reed sea.
7	Wilderness of Sin	}ys-rbdm	
8	Dophkah	hqpd	
9	Alush	cwla	
10	Rephidim	\dypr	
11	Sinai	ynys	
12	Kibroth-hattaavah	hwath trbq	
13	Hazeroth	trxj	
14	Rithmah	hmtr	
15	Rimmon-perez	{rp }mr	
16	Libnah	hnbl	
17	Rissah	hsr	

18	Kehelah	htlhq	
19	Mt. Shepher	rpc-rh	
20	Haradah	hdrj	
21	Makheloth	tlhqm	
22	Tahath	tjt	
23	Terah	jrt	
24	Mithkah	hqtm	
25	Hashmonah	hnmcj	
26	Moseroth	twrsm	
27	Bene-jaakan	}quy ynb	
28	Hor-haggidgad	dgdgh rj	
29	Jotbah	htbfy	
30	Abronah	hnrbu	
31	Ezion-geber	rbg }yxu	
32	Wilderness of Zin or Kadesh	cdq or }x-rdmb	“And they journeyed from Kadesh, and arrived at Mt. Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom. And Aaron the priest went up into mount Hor at the commandment of the Lord, and died there, in the fortieth year after the children of Israel came out of the land of Egypt, in the fifth month, on the first day of the month.” (Numbers 33:36-39)
33	Mt Hor	rhh rh	
34	Zalmonah	hnmlx	
35	Punon	}nwp	
36	Oboth	baw	
37	Ije-abarim	\yrbuh yyu	
38	Dibon-gad	dg }bydb	
39	Almon-diblathaim	hmytlbd }mlu	
40	mountains of Abarim in front of Nebo	\yrbuh yrh	
41	plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho	wjry }dry lu bawm tbrub	

42	And they camped by the Jordan from Beth-jeshimotheven unto Abel-shittim in the plains of Moab.	tmcyh tybm }dryh-lu wnjyw bawm tbrub \yfch lba du	"And the Lord spoke unto Moses in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho saying: 'Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them: When ye pass over the Jordan into the land of Canaan, then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their figured stones, and destroy all their molten images, and demolish all their high places.'" (Numbers 33:50-53)

"'And ye shall drive out the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein; for unto you have I given the land to possess it. And ye shall inherit the land by lot according to your families- to he more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer thou shalt give the less inheritance; wheresoever the lot falleth to any man, that shall be his; according to the tribes of your fathers shall ye inherit. But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then shall those that ye let remain of them be a as thorns in your eyes, and as pricks in your sides, and they shall harass you in the land wherein ye dwell. And it shall come to pass, that as I thought to do unto them so will I do unto you.'"
(Numbers 33:53-56)

B. The Sefirot [FIGURES]

The 32 paths originate from the first letter in the name of Hashem, the y - yod. This tip of the yod is associated with Keter, while the body with Hochmah. The energy of G-d is unity in Hochmah and flows into Binah, which divides it into seven children.

1. The Ten Sefirot

Figure 9: The Ten Sefirot

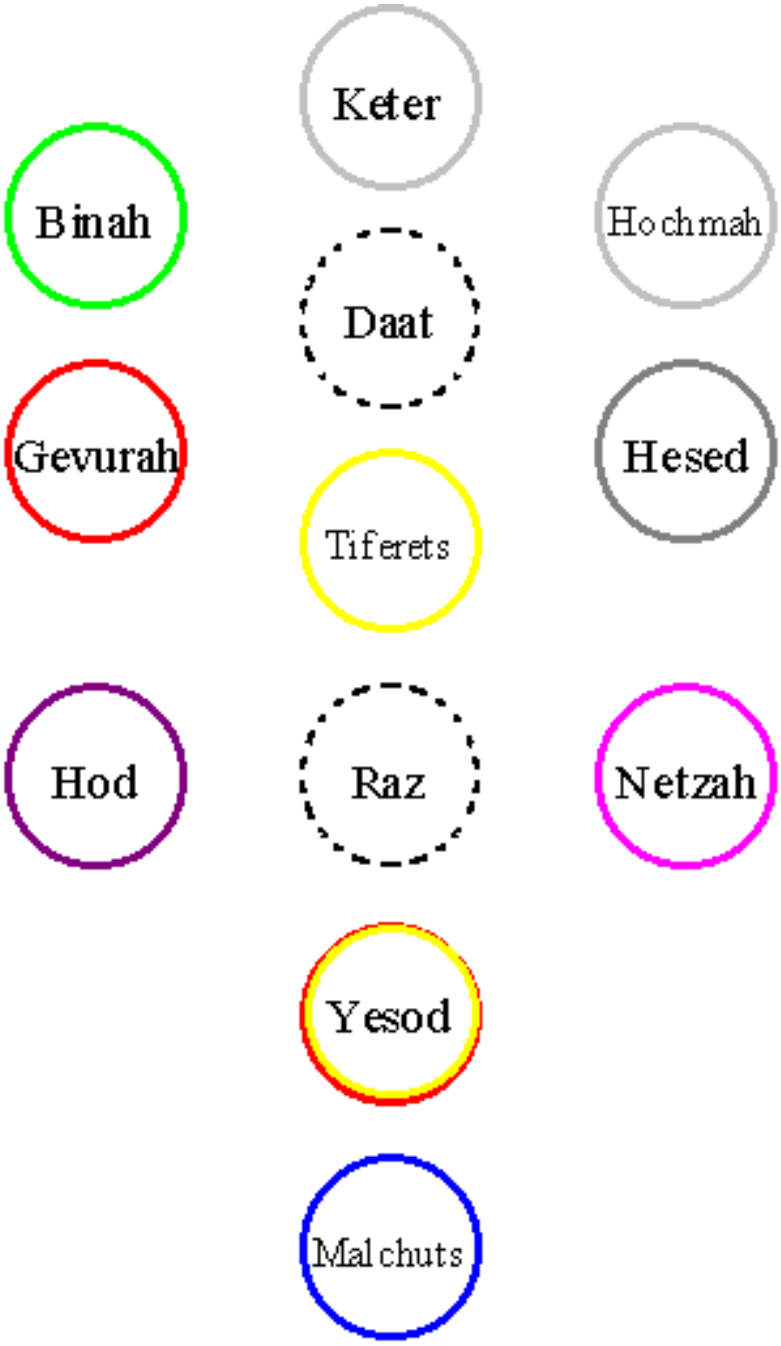

a) Binah

Binah is the place of the upper Shechinah as Malchuts is its lower place[326]. When the people of Israel do not fulfill the will of G-d, Has vshalom, the Shechinah is pulled back up into the higher sefirot and Hashem's bounty is held back. Binah, understanding, is associated with the name Hashem pronounced Elohim. Binah is also associated with the feminine aspect of motherhood while Malchuts would be a young feminine ruler. Praises with T'hilah, like the Hallel, are uttered only at the time that the upper Shechinah is revealed for example on Yom Tovim - festivals or Rosh Hodesh. Prayer, T'fillah, directs itself through the lower Shechinah in Malchuts and ascends from there. To utter T'hilah properly one must be in a highly elevated state of mind where one feels closeness to Hashem. T'fillah on the other hand can be uttered at regular times and helps bring one back to Hashem. Tshuvah is associated with

Binah since reward was stored up in this place for righteous souls and this level represents an intimacy with G-d. The year of the Yovel, Jubilee, is also associated with Binah since this represents freedom from slavery, which in our world is material bondage and must be achieved in order to have closeness to G-d. [327]

b) Daat

Either the sefirah Keter is seen or Daat but not both. Daat is a gateway to the 3 upper sefirot. Keter, Hochmah, and Binah are always complete and hold the reward of the world to come. The lower 7 sefirot have their bounty limited and there are obstacles to overcome in traversing them. Daat opens the pathway between the lower 7 and the upper 3. After the path is crossed, the sefirah ceases to exist below and above there is Keter. Daat specifically applies to the pathway Tiferets-Keter, which requires the union of Hochmah-Father and Binah-Mother to open, hence knowledge.

And Adam knew his wife and she conceived.

When father Hochmah and mother Binah join Daat opens for us to enter. The vertical pathway from Tiferets to Keter is the letter Dalet. Dalet means doorway in Hebrew. Daat lies upon this pathway and holds those below from entering above until they merit entry.

2. The Seven Double Letter Paths

These correspond to the seven double letters in the Hebrew alphabet: t”rpk d”gb. This is the Cloth of Atonement. And what is the t”rpk d”gb in this world? It is none other than the tallis. The married man wears the tallis and atones each day for his family. As the vertical path ascends the heavens in the spirit realm, the tallis ascends the heavens in the physical realm.

Figure 10: The Seven Vertical Paths

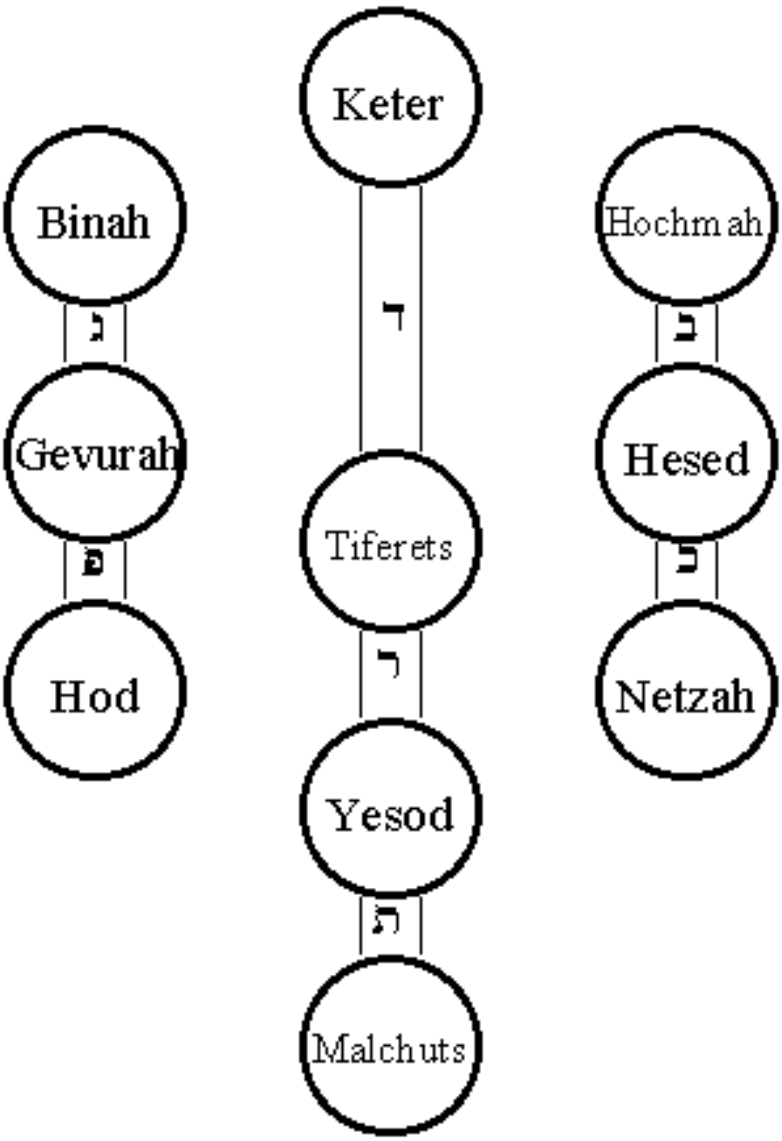

Each of the double letters has two pronunciations, a hard and a soft form, which constitute different meanings according to the Sefer Yetzirah. With the hard sounds one ascends the paths. With the soft ones one could descend.[328]

3. The Twelve Single Letter Paths

To seven vertical paths we add twelve diagonal paths which make up nineteen paths of traversal.

Figure 11: The Twelve Diagonal Paths

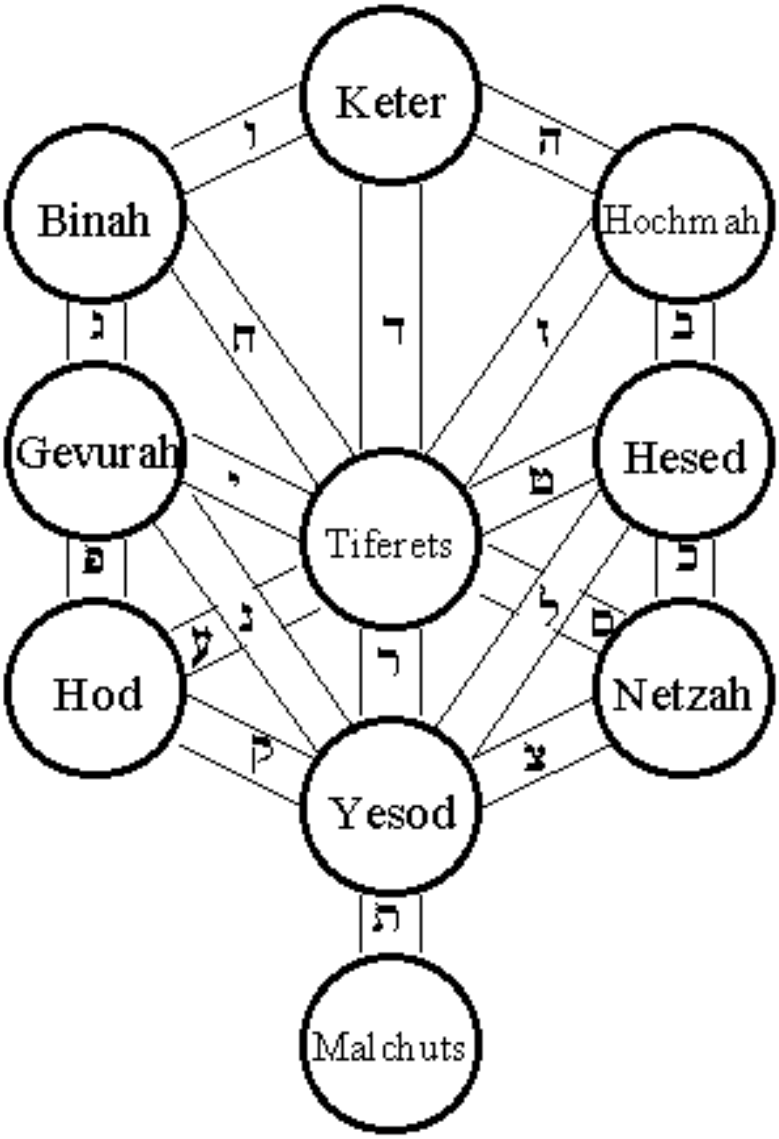

4. The 3 Mother Letter Paths

Shin - c connects Hochmah and Binah and is the elemental plane of fire. Aleph connects Hesed and Gevurah and is the elemental plane of air. Mem connects Netzah and Hod and is the elemental plane of water. These pathways preceded the other pathways and represent an earlier version of the name of G-d from which the name Yod Heh Vav descends. Mem is also associated with the right pillar, Shin with left, and air with the center.

Figure 12: The Three Horizontal Paths

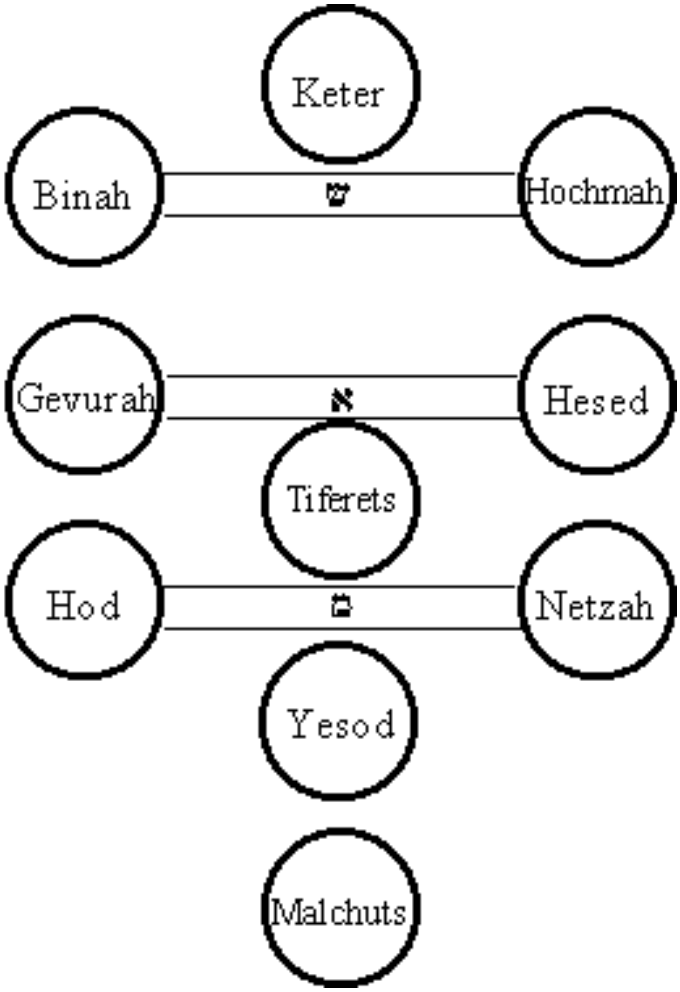

The Elemental Planes - Shemini Etzeret - Oct. 5th 1996 -6 PM

Introduction

Hypnotic Relaxation Tape Induction - All of the windows into the heavens were opened to me this Shemini Etzeret. I learned many things about my soul and others that I will share. The knowledge I obtained in this vision was within my own soul brought forth by the guidance of angels. I asked how could I know this much about the realms above. The answer is that my soul is a reincarnation from Yosef Gikatalia with a small portion of Yosef Caro. I saw myself in Italy as thin and tall with fair hair and eyes and so was my wife. I studied with Abraham Abulfaia and others of the time. I started writing in my teens for my knowledge was advanced even then, though perfected in my 30's when I started writing the Shaarey Orah.

The plane of water does indeed connect the sefirot of Netzah and Hod. The plane of air connects the sefirot of Hesed and Gevurah. The plane of fire connects the sefirot of Hochmah and Binah. The plane of water is the source of the seasons of the world. For as the world rotates around the Sun, the waters of the world change in motion and the 4 seasons arise. The plane of air controls the falling of rain. The plane of fire rules the lights in the heavens which include the constellations, planets, and stars.

The Plane of Water - m

I began in Malchuts and called upon the angel, Af-Bri, to lift me. Instead I began to see thunder clouds forming over mountains in the foreground. Lightning began and there was wind and rain. Af refers to anger which has its place in the nose which is also called 'af'. Bri refers to healing and a health which a benevolent rain brings. This angel acts through both Af and Bri. As I focused on the storm I realized that this was a place in the plane of water connecting the heavens Netzah and Hod, the Shehakim, across the sky. To be proper this is the upper plane of water. Later I discovered the lower plane which is in the seas, waterfalls, and other pools of water in the world.[329] The storm scared me but I held my ground for I knew my name and the names of Hashem. I called upon the angel Af-Bri to show me his place. I heard these words, "Who is calling me." I responded with my name Yosef Ben Tvi and Ben Ruth. He responded, "By what right do you call to me?" I said I am water from Pisces Sun and he said, "there are many others as well." I said I am also water from Pisces moon and he paused. I said, "like calls to like" and he responded, "it is so." I asked to know his place. Before me I saw a huge tornado form. He told me if you wish to know my place you must risk the danger of the tornado. I came close to the fulcrum which in this plane was as small as my hand. As I entered I felt myself spinning and pulled upward into the heavens.

The Plane of Air - a

The top of the tornado opened into blue sky and there were breezes all around. I called again to the angel Af-Bri and I heard him respond that he was here. I asked what is the Angel of Rain doing in the Plane of Air. "This is the place of my source. The rain is caused by the motions of the clouds and they move according to the deeds of mankind.

Who causes the wind to blow and the rain to fall — \cgh dyrwmw jwrh bycm

When they are righteous, good clouds bring rain from the seas and lakes. When they are not righteous, has vshalom, the clouds are not guided to their place and there is a drought. The wind controls the rain. The wind also controls the evaporation of waters and the temperature of the world in all places. This determines the weather and rain. Hence my source is in the Plane of Air." I walked along the plane and I knew to the right is Hesed which is associated with Bri and to the left is Gevurah which is associated with Af. I sought to understand the connections between the planes. I saw that I ascended from the water to air through a tornado. The tornado contained both water and great winds together. The connection between the planes is in their combined forms. I asked the angel how to ascend to the plane of fire. He told me enter the Sun.

Plane of Fire - c

I saw the Sun in the sky and moved towards it, falling into its flames. Again, I did not fear the fire though I had great trepidation as I moved into it. I saw the fire of the Sun around me and then I was in the flames. I saw flames swirling everywhere and there was a connection in the form with the river of fire. All fire is connected through this plane. I sought the angels in this place, noticed distinct flames and wondered what they were. I realized they were seraphim and they would help me. I chose a distinct one and asked to merge with the angel. I moved toward the angel and the angel toward me and we merged. Instantly my upper body became erect and my head straight and I sensed unlimited knowledge. The plane of fire holds the knowledge of the Universe. All the knowledge of science, crafts, and construction is contained here as well as the knowledge of the past and the future to come. I also saw that the plane of fire has an upper part

and a lower part. The lower part is described above. The upper part of the plane of fire is all of the lights in the heavens. I moved with the Seraph into the Universe and amongst the constellations and realized that I could know their essence.

As I moved towards the right on this plane, I could see into my past and as I moved to the left I could see the future. (Hochmah, which represents the past is on the right in the plane of fire and Binah which represents the future is on the left as one walks into the plane.) I could see where I came from in life and I could see where I was moving to in the future.[330] The essence of the Seraphim is motion. As the flame of the seraph is in continuous motion like the flame of a candle, so this plane represents time and the transition from past to future as motion is an aspect of time.

I also sought the meanings of the connections of the sefirot. I saw that my diagram was indeed the correct rectification of the tree. Still I sought to understand how then was Binah connected to Hesed. Instantly I saw Daat between the two and when Binah is connected to Daat then energy descends to Hesed. Likewise, when Gevurah is connected to Daat, only then with G-d's mercy is Gevurah pulled up into Hochmah and a harsh decree - Din is removed from the world.

The Return

I reviewed my travels while descending. In each plane, there is an upper and lower part. In the plane of water, I visited the lower part and discovered the presence of an angel in a waterfall. I saw that the plane of water is responsible for the renewal and rebirth of the whole world each year. In this way, the plane of water is the source of the seasons of the world. The plane of air is the source of rain. The plain of fire is the source of the constellations in the heavens and knowledge. There are other forms in the deeper waters of this plane that cause forgetfulness which is connected to forgiveness. It is because of the danger of forgetfulness, that the adept traveler should not gaze too long in the waters for he could lose himself. Nevertheless, **forgiveness is assisted by forgetfulness** and this too is part of the plane of water. I brought the three angels I met together and I got up from my recliner and danced with each one while under hypnosis. I danced first with the seraph of fire in a flame dance, then with the tornado angel of wind, and finally with the angelic waterfall. In the end I brought all of these elements down into Malchuts which is Earth and looked up emerging out of the journey. Earlier I was in danger of not knowing how to exit the plane of fire. The secret is to ground oneself in the plane of earth which is Malchuts and our world[331].

C. 50 Gates of Understanding

I posted the following response to a discussion on the meaning of the 50 Gates of Understanding.

From: jeffs@lsil.com (Jeff Spiegel)
Newsgroups: alt.magick
Subject: Re: 50 Gates of Understanding
Date: 8 Jun. 1994 04:45:28 GMT

My own knowledge of this subject is based on the biblical writings and

commentaries. The 50 gates are really 49 days or 7 weeks of self-elevation and self-evaluation (followed by one day of prophetic revelation) that the Israelites strove for from the time of the Exodus from Egypt until the time they received the Ten Commandments at Mt. Sinai. It is said that all of Israel experienced prophecy at this time and heard the voice of G-d (Kol Hashem) declare the first two commandments.

How is it possible for an entire nation to be able to experience prophecy? This is the secret of the 50 Gates of Understanding.

Being worthy of receiving prophecy requires character improvement. There are 49 aspects of character that the Israelites worked on developing while they wandered in the dessert of Sinai. These aspects correspond to the combinations of the 7 lower sefirot which are called midos or character qualities from the Hebrew.

The counting is done backwards from the highest level to the lowest since prophecy is energy transferred from G-d to man.

Hesed - kindness - Abraham (epitomized quality)
Gevurah - judgment power - Isaac
Tiferets - beauty - Jacob
Netzah - victory eternity - Moses
Hod - thankfulness - Aaron
Yesod - foundation - Joseph
Malchuts - kingdom - David

Shavuot - the day of the giving of the Ten Commandments, the revelation and prophecy. (Pentecost)

Hesed in Hesed 1. study
Gevurah in Hesed 2. attentive listening
Tiferets in Hesed 3. orderly speech
Netzah in Hesed 4. understanding
Hod in Hesed 5. intuitive insight
Yesod in Hesed 6. awe
Malchuts in Hesed 7. reverence

Hesed in Gevurah 8. humility
Gevurah in Gevurah 9. joy
Tiferets in Gevurah 10. purity
Netzah in Gevurah 11. attendance on scholars
Hod in Gevurah 12. debate with colleagues
Yesod in Gevurah 13. discussion with students

Malchuts in Gevurah 14. deliberation

Hesed in Tiferets 15. knowledge of the scriptures
Gevurah in Tiferets 16. moderation in business affairs
Tiferets in Tiferets 17. moderation in worldly affairs
Netzah in Tiferets 18. moderation in pleasure
Hod in Tiferets 19. moderation in sleep
Yesod in Tiferets 20. moderation in conversation
Malchuts in Tiferets 21. moderation in frivolity

Hesed in Netzah 22. patience
Gevurah in Netzah 23. good nature
Tiferets in Netzah 24. trust in the sages
Netzah in Netzah 25. uncomplaining acceptance of suffering
Hod in Netzah 26. knows his place
Yesod in Netzah 27. is content with his lot in life
Malchuts in Netzah 28. limits his words

Hesed in Hod 29. does not claim credit for his achievements
Gevurah in Hod 30. is beloved
Tiferets in Hod 31. loves G-d
Netzah in Hod 32. loves mankind
Hod in Hod 33. loves acts of charity and kindness
Yesod in Hod 34. loves straightforwardness
Malchuts in Hod 35. loves admonition

Hesed in Yesod 36. shuns honor
Gevurah in Yesod 37. is not conceited with his learning
Tiferets in Yesod 38. does not delight in dictating decisions
Netzah in Yesod 39. shares the burden of his fellow man
Hod in Yesod 40. and judges him favorably
Yesod in Yesod 41. directs him to the truth
Malchuts in Yesod 42. and to peace

Hesed in Malchuts 43. is composed in his learning
Gevurah in Malchuts 44. asks pertinent questions and answers to the point
Tiferets in Malchuts 45. listens and adds to his learning
Netzah in Malchuts 46. studies in order to teach
Hod in Malchuts 47. studies in order to practice
Yesod in Malchuts 48. increases the wisdom of his teacher
Malchuts in Malchuts 49. Notes accurately what he has learned
Shavuot 50. Quotes a thing in the name of the person
who said it

These teachings on character development are taken from the "Sayings of our Fathers 6:6"

The secret to understanding the correspondences is to recognize how the respective patriarchs perfected these character traits in their lives.

1. Abraham learned all he could of G-d and lived a life of kindness sharing this knowledge.
2. Isaac always listened attentively to his father.
3. Jacob never spoke hastily but was a master of speech.
4. Moses gained the highest level of understanding possible and was able to speak to G-d face to face.

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15. Abraham's knowledge of the Torah was so great that he revealed the Book of Creation which bestows kindness and truth.
16. Isaac avoided excess business dealings, and at the end of his life was judged favorably, and blessed his sons in truth.
17. Jacob abstained from worldly affairs and was rewarded with physical beauty and truth.
18. Moses abstained from pleasure with his wife in order to be ready to reveal Hashem's truth.
19. Aaron had little time for sleep as he spent his nights dissolving arguments of couples with the truth.
20. Joseph circumcised his lips by only speaking after careful thought in truth.

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1. Isaac was beloved by the people of the land of Caanan since he was friendly, displayed gratitude, and was carefree with his neighbors. This also led him to love his son Esau and his wild spirit.
2. Jacob's love for G-d brought him to Bet El, the house of G-d, where he beheld the angels ascending and descending. His love for G-d taught him to the importance of peace for to love G-d requires an environment without anger and hatred. He encouraged peace with his neighbors, his wives, between his children, and he pursued peace with his brother.
3. Moses's love for G-d brought him to a love for people.
4. Aaron displayed acts of charity and kindness his whole life sometimes beyond measure by fashioning the Golden Calf.

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39. Moses carried the burden of the whole house of Israel by answering their disputes in righteousness. Sharing the burdens of your fellow man means placing oneself in their position and not reacting spitefully to an inconvenience. For example, if a loud truck privately owned by a couple begins unloading and loading cars in a nearby parking a lot, one should look for a way to assist them instead of criticize them for the noise. If the president of the shul hints at the need for more tzedakah even though you may already be a large contributor, prepare a contribution instead of a contrary word.

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46. Moses learned all he could in order to teach the people.
47. Aaron learned all he could in order to be an example of practicing the commandments.
48. Joseph increased the wisdom of his father Jacob, his teacher.
49. David recorded his experiences in his Psalms.

D. Sefirot Colors and Lights [TABLE]

Each sefira associates with a different color. One may visual these colors during meditation for enhancing the realism of the vision. When one adheres to the authoritative associations, the vision comes in loud and clear. During a meditation, this is similar to tuning a radio station to eliminate the static noise.

In addition to colors, the "Gate of Kavannah" describes eight qualities of light.[332] Here is the description of the Crown:

Above it is the Crown. This is the light that crowns the desires of the mind and illuminates the paths of the imagination, enhancing the radiance (zohar) of the vision. This light has no end, and it cannot be fathomed. From the glory (Kavod) of its perfection comes desire, blessing, peace, life (chaim), and all good (tov) to those who keep the way of its unification.

Table 29: Sefirot and Colors

Sefirah	**Color**	**Light Quality**	**Names Of G-d**
		Concealed Light	Ayn Sof
Keter – crown, will, or desire	blinding invisible light	Crown	Ehyeh asher Ehyeh
Hochmah – wisdom	a color that includes all colors		Yah
Binah – understanding	yellow and green		Hashem (Elohim)
Hesed – kindness	white and silver	Tov – Good	El
Gevurah – judgment, Discipline	red and gold	Nogah – Glow	Elohim
Tiferet – Beauty	yellow and violet	Kavod – Glory	Hashem
Netzah – eternity, victory, prophecy	light pink— the color of the upper eyelid	Bahir – Brilliance	Hashem Tzavaot
Hod – thankfulness, acceptance, prophecy	dark pink— the color of the lower eyelid	Zohar – Splendor	Elohim Tzavaot
Yesod – righteousness	Orange	Chaim – Life	El Chai, Shadai Living G-d
Malchuts – kingdom, Shechinah	Blue		Adonai

Why is the light of Keter called a blinding invisible light? Blinding, since no objects can be seen in this place. Invisible since the light does this without being seen. Light, since the vision is clear.

The color of wisdom includes all colors, for wisdom includes all knowledge in its synthesis. Yellow is associated with illumination and green with fertility which together represent the understanding of Binah with the fertility of the mother Partzuf. White and silver are traditional associations with kindness, red and gold associate with judgment. The sefirah of Tiferet illuminates the truth, yellow, and holds the mysteries of Torah, violet.[333]

The light pink and dark pink colors of Netzah and Hod are the colors of the upper and lower eyelids, which symbolize the experience of prophecy, i.e. sunlight shining through ones closed eyes. The orange of Yesod is the color of righteousness that is based on the discipline of Gevurah, red, with the illumination of Tiferets, yellow, and the prophecy of Netzah and Hod combined, pink, which together is Orange.

Kingship is blue, i.e. royal blue.

Lights – January 14, 1993 – 8:30 PM

Review the associations of light and color with each sefira during the day.[334] The color associations are of background value. The light of Chaim assists in entering Yesod, but El Chai is the main gateway. The goal of the session is to visit the sefirot Netzach — Hod, and Hesed.[335]

The Gates of Kavanah[336] present the lights in order of encounter:

- Nogah - Glow
- Tov - Good
- Bahir - Brilliant
- Zohar - Splendor
- Kavod - Glory
- Chaim - Life
- Crown - Desire of the mind
- Concealed Light - cannot be seen, without boundary or end

In a prophetic experience, one must first overcome the Klipah Nogah, a fragment of the broken vessels in oneself. After repairing the vessels, one becomes a vessel for the higher lights.

Table 30: Lights and Quality

Light	Quality	Similarity
Concealed Light	Cannot be seen, without boundary or end	Ayn Sof - Keter
Crown	Desire of the mind	Keter - Hochmah
Chaim	Life	Yesod
Kavod	Glory	Tiferet - Malchut

Zohar	Splendor	Hod
Bahir	Brilliance	Netzah
Tov	Good	Hesed
Nogah	Glow	Gevurah

In the realm of Yesod, three white angels form a circle, providing the first level of purification.[337]

I focused on the light above to the realm of Netzah and ascended there. Before my eyes was the Mountain of the Lord with dark clouds at its peak. I saw a line of souls heading up the mountain. This was like Mt. Sinai in the world to come but one of the souls told me that they were all permitted to climb the mountain without fear of death. As I climbed, I saw a light on the mountain. This was like the burning bush that Moshe rabbenu had seen. When I got closer, a voice told me to come closer still. The color of the fire was orange in the middle with darker shades lower. The flame was not hot. A voice spoke, “This land where you stand is Holy, remove your shoes from here.” I complied spiritually. The Voice spoke again, “I am the G-d that took you out of Egypt. I am the G-d of Avraham, Yitzhak, Yakov, Yoseph, Ephraim and Manesseh.” I asked the Lord what shall I do to serve you. First, I was told to pick up six stones in front of me and position them in the shape of a Magen David. After placing the stones, a line of light sealed them and an angel of immense height rose out of the flame. He called himself Metatron, an angel most high that shields us from the direct light of Hashem that no one can withstand and live.[338]

Metatron said, “When all our people feel a closeness to G-d through these ways, the world will be united” He said teach out of your heart. As the angel returned, I too came off the mountain and rose higher towards the world of Hesed.

Hesed is the world where some of the light of Tov has been saved for us. There I beheld the tent of Avraham in the midst of the dessert. It was black but open from all sides. I saw a white light upon me and a soul mate beside me. Avraham came out to greet us and brought us into his tent. He said when he met us that he would provide us with food and water for cleaning and that we should come with him. In his tent he told Sarah to prepare food; that there were guests here. Afterwards, Avraham said we would travel, just him and myself. We took preparations and he began leading us towards a mountain. As we got to the top, I saw there was an opening that looked downward. As I gazed inside there was a bright light. The opening was covered by a large rock and he said, this is where one enters to descend into the Merkavah. This is the same place as the Akeidah and the Temple Mount, it is Mt. Moriah where the Lord appeared. I began to descend into the mountain. It was somewhat scary and there was brightness all around. At this point my subconscious faded and I woke up.

(This vision was completed at another time.)

Descent into Mt. Moriah - February 23, 1994

I envisioned four angels[339] lifting me while on my back looking upwards. The first two sons of Aaron rose in this manner as a thanksgiving offering to Hashem completing the Tabernacle.

1. In Malchuts I beheld the Circular Ladder which is the Tree of Life. All may climb the Tree from any direction, hence its circularity.
2. In Yesod, I saw a beacon of light, flashing out messages. I turned to my right and then retreated to the left encountering Aaron in Hod.
3. "What bothers you" was a question I heard from Aaron. I responded, "Nothing, everything is like a blessing from Hashem; what could possibly be on my mind." Aaron blessed me with the Three Fold Blessing.
4. I rose as a comet of light into Tiferets and descended into a cave under the Temple Mount. There in a large hall I saw a table and resting upon it was the Hoshen, the breast plate that Aaron wore with the 12 stones of light. The Urim vTumim was in a fold behind the plate being the true source of the light. I asked is it true that there is only one G-d. First, the stones lit up to form the shape of the Yod - y. (The tip of the Yod is the singular point of Keter. I asked again and only a single stone lit up; as D'varim 4:35 states ki Hashem, Hoo Ha elohim ayn od melvado - the Lord He is G-d there is none else beside Him. I asked where the ark of the covenant rests and all of a sudden the room lit up with a myriad of points of light and I saw an entrance to another chamber.
5. I preceded with Uriel leading the way. There before us were two large golden angels shielding the way to the Ark of the Covenant. They were the Cherubs or Cheruvim. As we tried to go forward, they stopped us saying, "he who is not clean may not approach the Ark." At this point a robe of point lights was lowered upon me and I felt myself cleansed again. As the Cheruvim continued to resist, I spoke up and said, "The contents of the Ark are given unto man. The commandments and tablets within are for us not the angels." I commanded, they parted and the ark curtains opened.
6. I lifted the tablets out.

The Burning Bush That Does Not Burn - Jan. 8, 1997 - 7:30 PM - Rosh Hodesh Shevat

Ira led the meditation:
First we envisioned the angels all around us and preceded with the descent of the Shechinah over and through our bodies, burning away all impurities. Ira asked us to visualize ourselves in a meadow with flowers on a trail. We were walking up the trail towards a mountain top and saw various shrubs. At one point we came to a place where we had to remove our shoes to cross. Beyond that line was the burning bush that the fire would not consume.

Now I will describe my own personal experiences:
I lowered my head down toward my knees, relieving all stress and tension. I had two questions which I set as my goals at the beginning of the meditation. They were:

1. What is the secret to achieving complete repentance without backsliding?

This can only be obtained by practicing complete forgiveness of everyone around. Achieving a pervasive attitude of forgiveness such that one never holds a grudge against others will prevent backsliding into an original sinful pattern.

1. What else does the 42 letter name of Hakodesh Baruch Hu direct?

There are 7 groups of 6 letters.. One point to note is the number 6 in this case is associated with the letter vav and the Partzufim of Ben which is Zer Anpin, or the supernal son. Together they represent the 6 directions in the Universe and the active aspect in life.[340]

After this point I found myself in the meadow and felt particularly happy with the beauty of a warm spring day. I visualized this meadow which appeared as a place I visited on Mount Shasta which is a spiritually inspiring place. Walking up the trail we ascended the mountain. Ira told us that the trees turned into shrubs as we ascended. In the distance I saw a burning bush. As I approached I heard a voice in my head saying, “I am that I am. I am calls you.” I wondered what was the source of the non-consuming fire in the bush. In my mind I heard that the fire is from the Plane of Fire driven by an elemental angel. The fire is a spiritual fire and its secret is contained in the pathway connecting Hochmah-Wisdom and Binah-Understanding on the Tree of Life. This path brings together the supernal father and mother resulting in Daat-knowledge. This True Knowledge is knowing G-d. and is the byproduct of learning Torah This knowledge is not the Torah, but like a flame resting on a candle wick is sublime and a byproduct of the formal knowledge and rests in the heart. In the heart from the word lav - bl are the 32 paths of wisdom. Gaining this True Knowledge is the byproduct of learning Torah. By Torah I mean any Jewish work of spiritual elevation. Wisdom is associated with the supernal husband and Understanding with the supernal wife. When the two join, there is Daat which is knowledge or the byproduct of Torah learning.

When the Israelites left Egypt, they journeyed 32 times before coming to rest in place where Aaron died. Aaron had mastered his own heart by always judging the people favorably. There are then 10 more paths mentioned to make 42 and these are the 42 resting places of the people of Israel when they left Egypt. This is a name of transformation, sometimes associated with the creation week. In these 42 journeys, the Israelites recreated their nation through movement, which is change, which leads to purification which leads to cleanliness.

The secret to obtaining purity is “less is more” i.e. less possessions, less money, and less spoils of life purifies the soul to Hashem. The less one has, the greater the ability to become pure of outside influences. Purity leads to cleanliness which is a very high state enabling a person to burn clean all impurities and return close to Hashem.

Returning to the idea of supernal fire I saw the Staff of Moses as a branch off of the Tree of Life. The staff had a supernal flame around one end to those who could see the supernal fire. Around the other end were buds and blossoms like those found on the Rod of Aaron indicating the staff was yet alive. The Staff embodied the idea of knowledge and life like the burning bush that is never consumed.

E. Sefirotic Worlds [FIGURES]

Star of Light – Jan. 1, 1993 - 6 PM

I had been reading ‘Meditation and Kabbalah’, Gates of Light - Shaarey Orah, Page 128 by Joseph Gikatalia and the Songs of Ascent - Shir Amalots in the Psalms.

Figure 13: Hypnotic Experience of Ascending the Sefirot

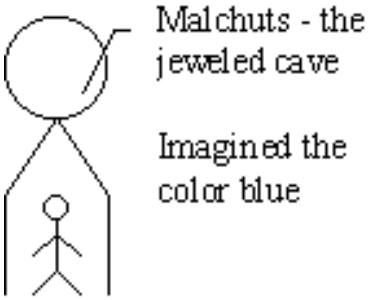

Vision of Malchuts

Entered realm of Malchuts, invoked the name, Adonai for the light to be revealed. I felt a funnel descending upon me. Whenever I searched for the light above, I would locate the next higher level. In this manner, I ascended the sefirot. The ascent was strictly through the central column while the descent took the longer route through all the spheres.[341] When I sought the source of light in Malchuts, I noticed a bright beam pouring in from above. I positioned myself in the beam and willed to be brought into the realm of Yesod. I invoked the name of Hashem [El Chai] and I ascended in the beam of light through a small hole at the top.

Vision of Yesod

As I passed through, I was amazed to see the world of Yesod. Here there are tall angels working hard away. There was a palace here. The Hebrew word for palace is Hechel that has the same gematria value as Adonai:

heh 5 + yod 10 + caph 20 + lamed 30 - lkyh = 65 = aleph 1 + dalet 4 + nun 50 + yod 10 -ynda

I was very small compared to the height of the angels, many of whom I could not see the tops of. One of the angels lowered his hand and picked me up. He asked, “What do we have here?” I said my name was Yoseph and that he should put me down. “Yoseph the righteous one. We shall use you to light our world for the patriarch, Yoseph symbolized the world of Yesod.” The angel put me in a high place and I became a five-pointed star of light. I said I couldn’t stay here for I have business on high and I began to pray. I said I must fulfill further mitzvoth in the physical world and I must ascend higher to beseech the Lord's will. Two angels came down beside the shining star and grabbed each of my arms. They were Gabriel on my left and Michael on my right. As they lifted me Gabriel looked down upon me and I looked upward. They lifted me out of my body like a white translucent spirit leaving its body and we headed upward towards Tiferet, the place of Gan Eden [Garden of Eden].

Vision of Tiferet

I could feel the warmth of the light above basking on me as the angels lifted me higher. Eventually, we passed through a hole in the top and there I beheld the Garden of Eden. Such a forest with bright light and lakes and wonderful grass as can only be glimpsed in our world. The souls of Adam and Eve came forth

to greet me. They were in ethereal white bodies and they were holding hands. Only the strength of the angels kept me up in this world. I beheld the Tree of Life on my left and the Tree of Knowledge on my right. They wanted me to stay and I stayed awhile out of respect for the avot - ancestors. Finally, I said I must ascend higher for I have a request that I must present in the realm of G-d's Will. I called upon the name Ehehyeh and the angels returned to lift me higher to the source of the light of the world of Gan Eden.

I will raise him up because he knows My Name. (Psalm 91:14)

Vision of Keter

As I slipped through the hole and into the world of Keter, I found a gray light not like the white light of Eden. In this gray world, I stood upon an impenetrable floor of blackness. Here is the world where G-d's will takes form.

Ascent to the Temple - July 24, 1996 - Erev Tish B'Av - 7 PM

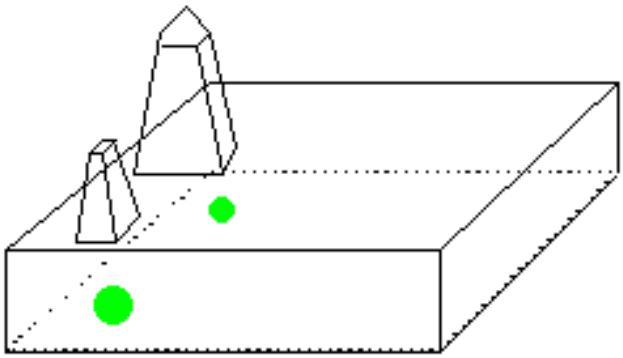

B"H

July 24, 1996

Erev Tish B'Av

7:30 PM

Temple Ascent

Preface

I attended the healing meditation at Beth Shalom. I arrived and Ira was outside watering the Roses. I volunteered to pick up all the trash that had been deposited amongst them. This opportunity led to the vision as well as powerful chanting from Ira. I washed my hands after the work and we began listening to Ira's tapes and humming a Ningun. I listened mostly until the end, when I participated at last with a touch of the tune of Aicha - Lamentations on my lips.

Attending the meditation was Rita at my right, Monte at my left and Ira in front of me. Rita, earlier, showed me a work by Reb Nachman called, "The Empty Chair." We discussed several positive anecdotes. During the evening service at Am Echad, I remembered all the details of the vision.

Vision

4 Angels

Ira brought down the 4 angels and I saw them vividly this time: Michael on the right in silver light; Gavriel on the left in gold light, Raphael behind in the color of green, and Uriel in front in white-yellow light like the Sun. I thought of a story that I read about the temple. After the destruction when Rabbi Gamliel was leaving, a peer of his looking at the temple saw a fox dwelling therein [Lamentation .:.] and commenting woe is us for having seen the temple occupied by animals now. Reb Gamliel commented it is not so. "I see only that G-d's prophecy concerning the destruction of the temple has come to pass and now I know just as this prophecy has been fulfilled so will the prophecy concerning it being rebuilt come to pass."

Temple

Michael and Gavriel lifted me overhead and pushed me above themselves directly up and through a white cloud before the base of the Third Temple. It loomed before me like in drawings except that their was a tower in the rear of the structure. {Include drawing here} The tower rose from the roof to a pointed top like a steeple. I explored the grounds and discovered 2 huge court yards in the back. One housed a great Esthrog tree corresponding to the Tree of Life (on the left looking from the West). The other was a pomegranate tree for the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

The top of the tower was made of glass and inside was a study with wall-to-wall books. At night the ceiling would open permitting the one within to gaze directly at the heavens and contemplate the stars. I saw a person pondering in this room over a Sefer - book and realized him to be the Messiah.

Messiah

The first thing I noticed is that he was standing with one of the arms of his glasses dangling in his mouth contemplating a book. He did not have a beard. While his intellect was not extraordinary, his wisdom was granted from Hashem and he was able to answer any spiritual question put forth to him. I asked him a few questions:

- I thought of the loneliness I saw in friends who had not married their soul mate and asked how long must we wait for an end of this situation? He responded,

"the question is not one of time at all for in each moment we can choose to love G-d with all our heart,

soul, and might and be lifted away from this."

- I asked about the commandment to be fruitful and multiply and how we are often led to involvement with partners with this driving thought. Again, I got the response, "the answer is to focus on loving G-d with all your heart, soul, and might." [A tape from a follower of Reb. Nachman spoke about how the great longing and love for G-d leads us to love of our fellow man and to great acts of Hesed - kindness.]

- I asked again, “what of the situation when partners of different backgrounds are merging their values in a relationship, how can we avoid the loneliness and difficulty here?” Again, the same response, "you shall love the Lord your G-d with all your heart, soul, and might." This is all you need to follow. Good will flow from this." The meaning here is that by seeking G-d, one will seek the right partner and the proper values will emerge in the relationship.

Ira mentioned that it was Tish B'av the time when the 1st and 2nd temples were destroyed. He said we should view our body as a temple and this replaces what was lost. [This is similar to the idea that our prayer service replaces the sacrificial offerings that were carried out in the temple.] I tried to see how the Moshiach standing in the future temple saw the previous temples. I saw in his mind (this is possible in the hypnotic state) the temples burning and the people dying. A guiding intellectual reason that the burning of the temple was a Karban - a sacrifice that atoned for that generation supplanted mourning. [In the Kinot we read how the priests and prophets served with ulterior motives and l'havdil how King Josiah was brought down because of the sins of his kingdom while he himself was holy unto G-d.]

After the questions, I prayed for the well being of those present and their friends, and relatives. I began to see prayers ascending in a spiral out of the head of the Moshiach like a tornado going up into the heavens. I saw the image of the four of us ascending in the spiral. There was a female part of the moshiach, his wife. They had or would have a son as well. [In the trance state- past, present, and future may merge.]

At this juncture I made one more request. [The Nach rabbi said that we should make a list of all our requests to Hashem and repeat them daily. Even the little requests should be said for Hashem. We should also meditate for 20 minutes a day and that this was a powerful way to change our lives.]

My request was to see Abraham again. Here I learned another technique of ascending the sefirot. The moshiach tilted his head to the ride and directed his consciousness toward the sefira of Hesed which is to the right and above Tiferet, the heavenly temple mount. With his thought I began the ascent. Ira began chanting at this point and I brought him up with me. We emerged upon a desert and I saw Abraham waiting for us. I shook with a brief spiritual chill from Ira's chanting. Abraham pointed and I looked up to behold an angel like myself ascending to the place of G-d where prayers are received. The angel said he was carrying my requests and the requests of others I had prayed for to higher levels. He was extremely beautify, straight forward in speech, and of singular purpose like a chunky version of myself with small

wings. [The chill indicated a separation of a small bundle of spiritual energy from myself which created an angel.] {add cross link to similar visions}

I was elated to see Abraham and greeted him with a hug. I said I missed you so much. Abraham is also my father's Hebrew name and I saw the likeness of my father in him as well. The patriarch was happy to see me and announced our presence to his wife. I asked what to do with Ira who was chanting away. He said it was fine, Ira was doing his thing and it was good. When we reached the tent, Ira was still chanting and Abraham sat down and began participating in Ira's meditation! The chanting was very good to Abraham as well! We continued the deep meditation until the end of the chanting. At this point Sarah brought out manna cakes from heaven as food to eat. The food had no physical taste but instead nourished and replenished spiritual energy of the soul.

At this juncture, Ira began to bring the meditation to a close since it was approaching 8 PM and time for Tish B'av evening services. I asked Abraham about the best way for descent. He told me to go down the diagonals from Hesed to Tiferet to Netzah across to Hod then to Yesod and Malchuts. I briefly saw the temple, Moshe on Mt. Sinai, Aaron at the base of Mt. Sinai, the surface rock of Yesod, and then found myself resting in the spherical cave of Malchuts. This was a fast effective grounding and I opened my eyes.

Postscript

I told parts of the vision to the others. The vision of the temple with the tower and moshiach's dwelling place. I said that the moshiach would be able to bear all the turmoil of the people by retreating to this tower each night and opening the glass ceiling to gaze out the stars. This would renew him with inspiration and calmness each night. I told them of the first question I asked concerning when the loneliness and difficulty of people would end and how the answer was not in the future but in each one of us. Monte spoke up at this point about how we should view the temple inside us and how the holiness within is the answer. I told them of the encounter with Abraham and what he said about Ira and there was chuckling.

I reached Am Echad at 8:15 and the service had not begun yet. Once, evening services began I was reminded of all the points in my vision at different points in the service. It is good to daven each day; this too is a teaching of Nach that even meditation cannot replace.

Gevurah - January 8, 1993 - 7 PM

1. I read the 49th Psalm on the need to transform material wealth for spiritual purposes.
2. Started hypnotic tape.
3. The effect was different from the previous week. I had been feeling some financial strains and my mind was lower.
4. I decided that I would go to the Sefirot of Gevurah, which I had avoided previously. After a slight entrance to the world of Malchuts, I uttered the name of Hashem associated with Gevurah, Elohim, and two angels came to take me. They were black and small in form

differing from previous experiences. These were angels dedicated to bring one to judgment unlike white angels.

5. The world of Gevurah appeared to me with walls of red and gold. Before me was a judge's dais of dark wood. The setting was like a court and was being judged for the "crimes of my youth," (Kohelet - Ecclesiastes ???) The name Elohim is judgment and the seal pictured below a form of prison with the letters at 5 points surrounding.

6. The seal is like a pentacle.
7. Meditations are safe even under such circumstances. One merely needs to will himself to the conscious state.
8. Next day we read of the death of Yoseph, the last portion in Genesis.[342] My prayer was stimulated by the idea that it is better to be accompanied by Elohim than to be alone in this world.
9. memorized colors associated with meditations on the sefirot. There are two Josephs of significance here: Joseph Tzayach on the colors, Joseph Gikatalia on Shaarey Orah.

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[323] Sefer Yetzirah The Book of Creation, Aryeh Kaplan trans., page 5.

[324] ibid page 298.

[325] See The Seven Double Letter Paths

[326] Bahir 96. Shaarey Orah Ch. 8.

[327] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 8.

[328] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan, page 166.

[329] Kabbalah Tradition of Hidden Knowledge, Z'ev Ben Shimon Halevi, page 70. The Temple Mount symbolizes the four worlds of creation each with an upper and lower part. This is a minimum and applies to all planes of existence.

[330] I saw my past lives in other Yosefs before me and my future path in life to marriage. I saw Malchah in the place of Binah and myself below her. I saw her spirit sawing upward like a white sparrow shooting up. I realized that it was the freedom or Jubilee of Binah that would set her spirit soaring up to Hashem and she would lift me in this flight of joy. I also saw the publication of this work, Dancing with Angels.

[331] This vision completes the first 72 pages of Dancing with Angels in the original manuscript.

[332] The Gate of Kavannah: Meditation and Kabbalah pp. 119-122, Aryeh Kaplan translator

[333] The violet is the lowest part of Tiferet adjacent to the dark and light pings of Netzah and Hod. Together they are the boundary of RaZ.

[334] Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, pp 121, 181. Transcribed 7/11/96—torah learning, conversation, star watching at night inspire writing in the morning.

[335] In the first few minutes of any hypnotic session, one should remind oneself of one's goal.

[336] Meditation and Kabbalah, Aryeh Kaplan, pp. 119-122, 326. Jewish Theological Seminary Ms 1822:9 p 43a,b. Quoted in Shaarey Kedushah.

[337] Michael, Gabriel, Uriel.

[338] 3 Enoch – The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Ktav publishing, 1973, page 115. "Metatron is the reprsentative of the Holy One to individual men. 'It was Metatron who showed himself to Moses and to the prophets, for twlyuh tlyu did not show Himself to any man.'"

[339] Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael.

[340] The following ideas came after the meditation and are not significant.

Sunday is emphasized with Hesed by the letter aleph - a which rules air and is the symbol of the first day of the week and the first day of creation.
Monday is emphasized with Gevurah by the letter resh - r which rules peace. This is the inner peace which comes by learning to forgive others which releases anger.
Tuesday is emphasized with Tiferets by the letter dalet - d which rules over seed. Hence Tuesday was twice blessed for the fruitfulness of the world and Tiferets is the place of the Garden of Eden.
Wednesday is emphasized with Netzah by the letter tzaddik - x which rules over righteousness. In this case Moses is the example of this righteous energy
Thursday is emphasized with Hod by the letter nun - n which rules over death.
Friday is emphasized with Yesod by the letter caph - k which rules over life.

[341] This is also the manner in which one ascends and descends the bimah in shul for an aliya. One takes the shortest route when one goes up in order not to delay the service. This is the "running" in the description of Jacob's ladder. One takes the longer route upon returning to one's seat in order to meet more people, exchange more yash hacoahs, and to spread the blessing of Torah to others. This is "returning" in Jacob's ladder.

[342] This was the Torah portion of the week.

III. The Written Law

In Hebrew the word for Bible is Tanach -]″nt. Tanach stands for Torah, Navi'im, and Ctovim - \ykwtk, \yaybn, hrwt. These are the three principal areas of the Bible. In order to develop an authentic meditative reference one should study all of the books of the Bible.

A. Torah

This includes Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

1. Bereshis -- In the Beginning – Genesis

a) Parsha Bereshsis

The first book of the Torah contains the description of creation. The first sentence encapsulates the order of creation in seven words.

In the beginning G-d created the heaven and the earth. (Genesis 1:1)
Bereshis Bara Elohim et hashamayim vet haaretz -- {rah taw \ymch ta \yqla arb tycarb

The first word contains the word Rosh - car that means head. The first three letters are the same as the second word, Bara - arb, which means create. Elohim - \yqla is the name of G-d as creator of natural law. Alternatively, we translate the first three words of Genesis as "G-d created the beginning."

Another explanation from the Bahir verse 3:
"And why does the Torah begin with the letter Bet? In order that it begin with a blessing *(Berachah - hkrb)*...[32] The word 'beginning' *(Reshit - tycar)* is nothing other then Wisdom. It is thus written *(Psalm 111:10)*, 'The beginning is wisdom, the fear of G-d.' Wisdom is a blessing. It is thus written, 'And G-d blessed Solomon.' It is furthermore written *(I Kings 5:26)*, 'And G-d gave wisdom to Solomon.'..."

Now the earth was unformed and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep
And the spirit of G-d hovered over the face of the waters. (Genesis 1:2)

vhaaretz haita tohu vbohu vhoshech al penai g'hom v rooach elohim mrahepet al pnai hamayim
\ymh ynp-lu tpjrm \yqla hwrw \wht ynp-lu]cjw whbw wht htyh {rahw

From the Bahir 2:
Rabbi Berachiah said: It is written *(Genesis 1:2)*, "The earth was Chaos *(Tohu - wht)* and Desolation *(Bohu - whb)*. What is the meaning of the word "was" *(haita - htyh)* in this verse? This indicates that the chaos existed previously [and already was]. What is Chaos *(Tohu - wht)*? Something that confounds

(Taha) people. What is Desolation *(Bohu - whb)*? It is something that has substance. This is the reason that it is called Bohu, that is, Bo Hu — ”it is in it”.

Chaos or Tohu is the place of the sefirot before the shattering. The sefirot received but did not give light which eventually caused their shattering. Tohu is the source of evil and the shattered components of the sefirot are called the Klipah Nogah, the glowing shell. After the shattering some of the vessels were reassembled into the Partzufim - group forms, which make up the sefirot as they behave today. The name of G-d in Tohu is associated with the letters aleph mem shin - cma – emesh.[33] In Bohu, the name of G-d is associated with the letters yod heh vav - why. The Sefer Yetzirah labels cma mother letters. The father letters why descend from them. The father letters make up the tetragrammaton name of G-d as we know it today. The mother letters represent the name of G-d in the preceding world of chaos. Aleph derives Vav, Mem derives Yod, Shin derives Heh.[34]

cacm - 381
hwhy - 26

And G-d said, Let there be light: and there was light. (Genesis 1:3)

The light created here preceded the creation of the Sun and refers to the good light Hashem has stored away for us in the world to come:

Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun,
and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold,
as the light of the seven days.
(Isaiah 30:26)

The creation story illustrates the progression from general to specific. The seven days associate with the seven lower sefirot and seven character qualities.

Table 2: Creation Concepts

Day (Corresponding Day)	**Creation**	**Sefira**	**Weekday**
1 (4)	Light	Hesed – kindness	Sunday
2 (5)	Sky, clouds, oceans	Gevurah – discipline	Monday
3 (6)	Land	Tiferet - beauty/splendor	Tuesday
4 (1)	Sun, Moon, and Stars	Netzah – victory	Wednesday
5 (2)	Sea creatures and birds	Hod – gratitude	Thursday
6 (3)	Land animals, insects, and man	Yesod – righteousness	Friday
7	Shabbas	Malchut – kingdom	Saturday

By drawing the creation process in the form of the Tree of Life, we can see the descent from general to

specific:

Figure 1: The 7 Days of Creation in Descent and the Form of the Partzuf Zer Anpin

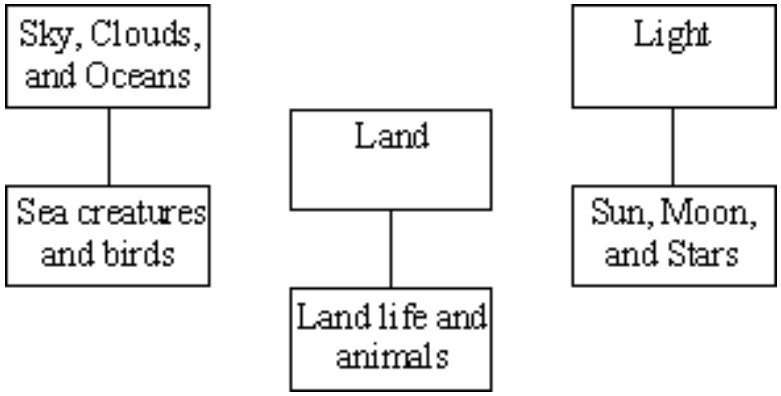

The creation of Light on the first day is completed on the fourth with the objects that manifest light. The creation of the Sky, Clouds, and Oceans is completed on the fifth day with sky and sea life. The creation of Land is completed on the sixth day with land life.[35]

All creation rests on the foundation of the seven days since each day sustains a seventh of creation. The Shaarey Orah teaches us that taking an oath - huwbc is to place creation upon ones words.[36] We should not break our word since this adversely effects the building – }ynb of creation.[37]

Wisdom has built her house; she has hewn out her seven pillars
hubc hydwmu hbxj htyb htnb twmkj
(Proverbs 9:1)

We must be careful with taking oaths and speaking words before those who attempt to ensnare, has vshalom. Hazal taught to avoid taking oaths. The place for oaths is in our relationship to G-d. The oath is intended to raise us above ourselves to commit to a greater level of observance.

Adam, Eve, and the Garden of Eden initially existed in the spiritual realm. According to Kabbalah, this place is in sefira Tiferet. Adam and Eve initially existed in spiritual bodies not unlike the angels. After eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, Adam and Eve became physical beings with physical temptations.

“Accordingly, we find that in the beginning, before his sin, Adam was on a very high level – first, in point of his existence, that is in terms of the results of his deeds, which rose to the worlds heights as we wrote previously and second in point his form and the form of his deeds.
...
Note, then; what the Garden of Eden was, it will unquestionably continue to be – rarefied, spiritual abode, where the spirits abide even now. And the Torah testifies concerning Adam that he dwelt there and ate and enjoyed the fruits that grew there. But since we see it to be the present habitation of the souls, it must be that its fruits were not earthy gross things, but far more delicate, being at least as air compared to earth. And the eating of them, too, was not by a body coarse and gross, as at present, but by a rarefied,

almost spiritual body, like that of Elijah or Hanoch, ..."[38]

Adam and Eve were not the first physical people in the world but the first people in the image of G-d. They existed in the spiritual realm until G-d placed them in exile in this world.

Reviewing the Week Meditation - Etiel Herring - November 13, 1998 - 8 PM

This meditation is for Shabbas in order to review the events of the week:

Remember back to last Saturday night through the following night. This is Yom Rishon, the first day of the week. This day is dominated by the sefira of hesed that is loving kindness. Recall acts of kindness and expressions of love you showed another on this day.

Remember back to Yom Sheni, this is the second day of the week from Sunday night through Monday. The day is dominated by the sefira of gevurah. Gevurah represents how we help others and ourselves grow through discipline, rigor, and organization. Try to remember what you did to help organize yourself or others that day. Recall any struggles and how those struggles served the purpose of helping people grow.

Remember back to Yom Shlishi, the third day in the week. This begins on Monday night through Tuesday. This day is dominated by sefira tiferets which is associated with compassion and balanced harmony. Recall events that brought you or others to a state of harmony on this day. Remember any acts of compassion you showed others.

Remember back to Wednesday, which is Yom Revaee, the fourth day in the week beginning Tuesday night through Wednesday. This day is dominated by the sefira netzah that represents the quality of enduring. Recall what events you saw this day that will have lasting impact on yourself and others. What did you do that required endurance for the day and served to rescue and help others?

Remember back to Thursday that is Yom Hamishi, the fifth day of the week from Wednesday night through Thursday. This day is dominated by Hod. Hod which represents humbleness is not a passive trait but requires one to go out and interact with other people keeping a sense of humility in ones personality. This helps others grow.

Remember back to Friday that is Yom Sheshe, the sixth day of the week from Thursday night through Friday. The day is dominated by the sefira of Yesod that represents joining and bonding with others. What did you do on Friday to promote your relationship with significant others.

Remember back to Saturday, Shabbat, the seventh day of the week. Shabbat is the receptacle for all the deeds of the rest of week. Shabbat is dominated by the sefira of Malchut that is the kingdom of G-d in this world. Malchuts is the sum total of whom we are which is our soul. There is a channel between Yesod and Malchuts and all of energy is deposited with Malchuts which determines the quality of our soul.

Back to the Beginning - August 3, 1996 - 8 AM

While reading Scholem's Jewish Mysticism and Cohn-Sherbok's Jewish Mysticism (pp. 152-156), Erev Shabbas, I ran across Luria's idea of the tzimtzum, the withdrawal and reentry of G-d in the process of creation. The following morning I did this meditation to unravel its secrets:

I began to regress myself with the intention of going back to the beginning of time. I saw when I was 25 and living in Israel. I saw further back to 1968 and the Vietnam war. I saw World War I and then back to Lincoln giving an address from a train.[39] I saw the War of 1812. I saw French ships entering US seas in order to stave off the English in the Independence War. I saw back into the history of England.

I saw the Jews living in Spain and how they were both a thorn and a blessing here. Their stubbornness was a thorn to the Spanish Inquisitors who attempted to force their conversion to Christianity by torture. I saw the Second Temple standing in its magnificence and then the First Temple in smaller form. Finally, I saw the tabernacle at Shilo of simplistic beauty, perfectly dedicated to Hashem's service. The tabernacle was a rectangular mound off the floor. There were stairs ascending from all sides. I saw an alter upon it with a pleasant smoke rising up to heaven. I heard G-d say:

How good is My nation, there is no other nation like them.

I heard a song like the following:

Dance with Israel, sing with Israel, pray with Israel, love with Israel ...

I wondered what made Israel so great and I heard the answer was in their simplicity of service to Hashem. Each tribe lived in its own area and had a unique service in the land of Israel. I saw tzitzits on their four-cornered garments but I also saw that their daily lives were not obsessed with learning. Instead, they learned to live, not lived to learn. They worked and kept the commandments, loved G-d and raised families, spending most of their lives nurturing one another and the land they lived on.

I went back further in time briefly glimpsing the life of Abraham, back to the time when Hanoch walked the land. Hanoch was righteous all his days:

And Enoch walked with G-d after he begat Methuselah three hundred years,
and begat sons and daughters:
And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years:
And Enoch walked with G-d: and he was not; for G-d took him.
(Genesis 5:22-24)

I saw when Hanoch became "not." His soul was drawn out of his body swiftly leaving no remnant in his body, his bones losing all form returning to earth.[40]

[At this point Hashem granted an angelic voice to ask questions on the rest of the journey. During the review of this vision while walking to shul, I wanted to know the name of the voice, which I called Kol. The voice asked, "Who am I?" I responded, "the angel Metatron who was formerly Hanoch." I asked to

understand how Moshe communicated with G-d face to face; how his prophesy was from a higher source than the prophesy of others? I saw that G-d filled Moshe with the first light of divine truth— a stream of light filling an empty sphere, the tzimtzum. Few receive prophecy directly from Hashem; most receive prophecy through the angels who are of the same form as Moshe. The messiah will be like Moshe again— see the Tish B'Av vision.]

I went back further to the Garden of Eden and saw the creation of Eve. I saw how Hashem drew forth a rib from Adam, and fashioned a woman and placed her beside him as he slept. I saw the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge in the garden. The later was like a fruit tree of modest height. On the other hand, the Tree of Life's height extended into the reaches of the sky and its width was too wide to fathom. The Tree called for an embrace. As I came close, a spiritual fire encompassed us and I felt myself cleansed of any taint of sin. [This was necessary to proceed further.]

I went back before the trees to the days of creation. I saw the creation of the animals, grass and all plant life; the creation of the Sun, Moon, and Stars in the heaven. Finally, I saw the creation of the first light and the preceding Tohu and Bohu. The first light was the first line of light that flowed into the empty space (the place of G-d's withdrawal in the tzimtzum). The chaos before was the emptiness of G-d's withdrawal.[41] The emptiness represented the quality of Din, judgment or constriction.[42]

I plunged into the emptiness and felt the withdrawal of Hashem. The rate of withdrawal was beyond physical travel and I wondered how I would reach the receding point. The Kol said to travel by spirit and will to reach the boundary. I saw the edge of light in the distance. I willed myself through the edge and now I stood in the undifferentiated form of the first light. I could not comprehend what was around me. I tried to recall some daat - knowledge that would help me understand. This place was before and beyond the creation of the Sefirot. Not even the place of Hashem's Ratzon - Will existed in this light.[43] I glimmered above the sefirot and the Kol asked what I saw. I told her I saw of BN, MH, SaG, and AV, the realm of the Hebrew letters.

I saw the Hebrew letters traveling in chains.[44] There were also the 10 numerals but they were separate like flying disks in space. I moved my mind to the source of the letters in the light and saw the primordial form of the Torah in the light. I heard this song:

Love the Torah, learn the Torah, dance with the Torah, dwell with the Torah ...

There were no angels yet created as there were no worlds but I still heard the Kol and wondered about its existence. I sought out the voice and noticed a small space in the light, a small tzimtzum. I saw a thread of light entering the space, which was like a mouth transmitting the words. Here, I learned how G-d speaks to Moses and the angels face to face but to the rest of us through angels. The Torah was one of 10 forms that existed prior to all creation.

There was no sense of a personal G-d in the Ayn Sof. I felt only Nothing and I didn't understand why. I wanted to find my personal G-d but even this is a result of creation! The Kol asked me what I could know? I told him I could not know anything else while in my separate spirit and that to know further would result in the end of my own identity. I did not fear this kind of death strange enough since it was a

merging with the Cosmos from whence I came. Nevertheless, I realized that even beyond the heaven of G-d's creation and man's comprehension, lies the Ayn Sof which dissolves all identity back into itself, the experience at the end of life. This 'final experience' is the end of knowledge and self-being, an utter nihilism of personal existence and yet beyond even thought or supreme consciousness as we imagine.

I asked the Kol to guide me and we preceded forward out of this light into consciousness, and yet, I remained in a waking trance to memorize the vision. I would have to wait until the end of Shabbas to write it down. The Kol asked me how I would do this. I answered that I would review it forward until the point after creation and than review it backward from my own life. I reviewed it as I walked to shul. This morning I picked up the "Book of Enoch" and brought it upstairs subconsciously, to begin a new learning.

Enoch became the angel Metatron, highest of the angels.[45] Rabbi Ishmael receives this explanation:[46]

III ENOCH: Chapter Four
"METATRON IS IDENTICAL WITH ENOCH WHO WAS TRANSFORMED AND ASCENDED TO HEAVEN AT THE TIME OF THE FLOOD."
1. I asked Metatron and said to him: " Why art thou called by the Name of Thy Creator, by seventy Names? Thou art greater than all the princes, higher than all the angels, beloved more than all the servants, honored above all the mighty ones in kingship, greatness, and glory. Why do they call thee 'Youth' in the high heavens?"
2. He answered me and said to me: "Because I am Enoch, the son of Yared."
3. "For when the generations of the Flood sinned and were confounded in their deeds, saying unto God **(Job** 21.14): **'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of Thy ways.** Then the Holy One, blessed be He, removed me from their midst to be a witness against them in the high heavens to all the inhabitants of the world, that they may not say: "The Merciful One is cruel'."
4. Hence, the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted me up in their lifetime before their eyes to be a witness against them to the future world. And the Holy One, blessed be He, assigned me as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels.
5. In that hour three of the ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, and Azzael came forth and brought charges against me in the high heavens, saying before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Said not the Ancient Ones (First Ones) rightly before Thee: Do not create man!" The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said unto them **(Isaiah** 46.4): **"I have made and I will bear, yea, I will carry and will delive**r."
6. As soon as they saw me, they said before Him: "Lord of the Universe! What is this one that he should ascend to the height of heights? Is he not one from among the sons of (the sons of) those who perished in the days of the Flood? What doeth he in the *Raqia* (ayqr, Firmament)?"[47]
7. Again the Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said to them: "What are ye, that ye enter and speak in My Presence? I delight in this one more than in all of you, and hence he shall be a prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens."
8. Forthwith all stood up and went out to meet me, prostrated themselves before me and

said: “Happy art thou and happy is thy father for thy Creator doth favor thee.”
9. And because I am small and a youth among them in days, months, and years, therefore they call me “Youth” (run, *Na’a*r).

Also Enoch III explains how the Hebrew letters transcend even the world of Atzulut:

III ENOCH: Chapter Forty One
“Metatron Shows Rabbi Ishmael the Letters Engraved on the Throne of Glory by Which Letters Everything In The Earth Has Been Created.”
Rabbi Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence said to me:
1. “Come and behold the letters by which heaven and the earth were created,[48]
the letters by which were created the mountains and hills,
the letters by which were created the seas and rivers,
the letters by which were created the trees and herbs
the letters by which were created the planets and constellations,
the letters by which were created the globe of the moon and the globe of the sun,
Orion, Pleides, and all the different luminaries of *Raqia* (Firmament).”
2. “The letters by which were created the Throne of Glory and the Wheels of the *Merkaba*h, the letters by which were created the necessities of the worlds;
3. The letters by which were created wisdom, understanding, knowledge, prudence, meekness, and righteousness by which the whole world is sustained.”
4. And I walked by his side and he took me by his hand and raised me upon his wings and showed me those letters, all of them, that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory. And sparks go forth from them and cover all the chambers of *Araboth*.

Pre Rosh Hashanah - September 11, 1996 - 7:30 PM

The birthday of the world approaches.[49] The Shaarey Orah describes the story of Abraham and Isaac as a battle between kindness and judgment.[50] The gematria of kindness – Hesed – dsj, 4+60+8 is 72, which parallels the 72 names of G-d in the Great Name of triplets. The Great Name is composed from three sequential sentences in Exodus, each having 72 letters.[51] Abraham associates with kindness and mercy, and Isaac with judgment. When Abraham bound Isaac, mercy was binding judgment to show that mercy is greater. Mercy is above judgment and acts first to release us as Abraham released Isaac. Isaac loved Esau for Esau would be the instrument of judgment for Israel. Isaac saw that Israel would go into exile and this would save them from utter destruction. They would atone with oppression in the exile - galut. Nevertheless, Isaac worried that the oppression would destroy Israel; until he saw the instrument of oppression would be the descendants of Jacob’s brother Esau.[52] Hence, Isaac delighted in the food that Esau brought and blessed him with physical rewards. Esau would judge Israel with his descendants the Edomites, Greeks, and Romans. Esau is the father of philosophy. Philosophy oppresses the spirit of Jacob; remember the Edomite who tormented Job.

I saw the angels descend around me each composed of a myriad of lights. I saw a cross-formed through me from Michael to Gavriel and from Uriel to Raphael.[53],[54] Eventually the outer lines were connected

into a square and lines rose from the vertices into a pyramid with a point intersecting over my head in the Shechinah.

Figure 2: The Angelic Meditative Focus

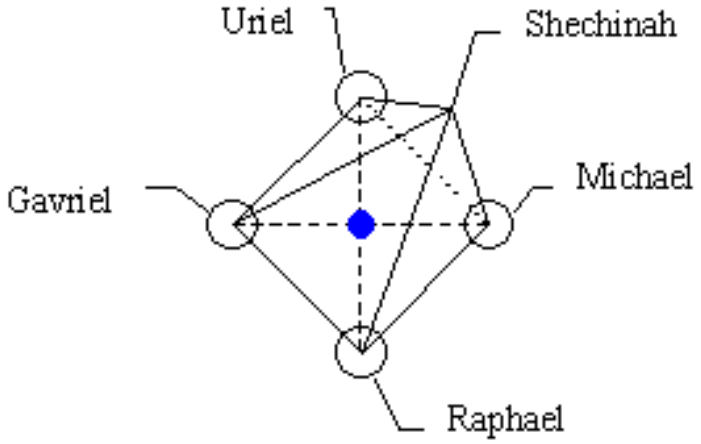

The meditation became cosmological and I saw the initial fiery expansion of the universe with packets of light turning into galaxies. I went back in time and I saw that this expansion was preceded by another Universe contracting and expanding, “And G-d made this King and he was not” (Genesis). Each universe was one of Hashem’s tested worlds expanding and contracting into nothing and recreation. I sought to understand the concept of the first seven days that the Rambam teaches are 7 days like our own in time. I saw this story played out on the higher spiritual plane. Kabbalah discusses the concept of an upper Eden that parallels the lower garden. This is like our upper soul, the neshamah, which exists in a higher plane while our body soul, the nefesh, exists here. Hashem modeled the spiritual counterpart of the physical world in seven days in the upper Eden. This is where Hashem placed the first soul – neshamah of Adam, 5756 years ago as well as the upper spiritual counterparts of all life. When Adam sinned, his nefesh dominated his mental reality and he found himself cast out into this world. Our whole world is the lower garden.

This world is paradise! We merely need to tend the Garden.

Rosh Hashanah – September 19, 2001

While attending services at Chabad, I saw my tallis like the color of angels white from heaven. Angels descended around lifting one to the world of Yetzirah. There, beautiful wreaths were weaved and placed on a stack to be carried to the throne of G-d. For awhile, I watched and then began to help out carrying the wreaths to an arch angel who would carry then to the throne of G-d. I heard a voice that said this one should be permitted to see where they go. New angels descended and brought with them a Merkavah, a magic carpet. The carpet lifted and ascended beyond Yetzirah to an overlook of the world of Beriyah. Below was the throne of G-d, purple with a clear diadem sitting in its midst. Tallis wrapped apparitions stood around the throne speaking prayers. Wreaths were laid upon the throne and then consumed in a light that descended from on high. The crowd parted and I came close to the throne. There was power and danger in the light that descended for those to close to the throne, but I embraced and merged into

the light. There was an embrace in the light like the presence of G-d and something else. The color around was white, without past, present, or future. There is the color of sky blue in one region. This is the Presence of G-d with the nation of Israel.

As the presence ascended, I ascended with it taking the prayer wreathes to the world of Atzulut. In Malchuts, the shefa of G-d descended with bounty and reward for the world below. With the name El Chai, El Shadai, the orange light of the setting sun I Yesod transmitted its bounty to Malchuts. In the green grasslands of Tiferet are tables with Torah scholars about learning and teaching under the Yellow sunlight of G-d. The Shechinah lifts the wreaths of prayers to the King and they join revealing the black infinite floor of Keter where the will of G-d takes form.

Three Seraphim speak for the past, present, and future. In the past, the seraph shows the waters of creation and the presence of G-d in lightning in the dark skies above. In the present, there is the Kotel and the Jewish prayers being submitted quickly before the sunsets. In the future is the Third Temple, built to enclose completely the Dome of the rock where the holy of holies rests inside.

Most important is the shimmering. Like ripples of water in a babbling brook over shallow stones in bright sunlight, our eyes look upon others creating the ether of G-d. What is the ether? It is none other than the shimmering, the shimmering of beatific light around creation. G-d has endowed mankind with the power to create the ether.

Creation of woman

And the Lord caused a deep sleep over Adam and He took from him a rib and made woman and brought her to him.

Adam was asleep when G-d took a rib from him and made the first woman. There is also a teaching that while Adam remained asleep G-d brought the woman to see him to see if she would accept him. From here we learn that a man must not criticize his wife for she accepted him first with all his faults. [55] Overall, a husband and wife should overlook each other's faults and accept each other.

b) Parsha Noach

Noach was a simple, righteous, man, \ymt qydx cya. The highest spiritual levels are achieved only through simplicity. Rabbi Nachman said that he achieved almost everything by simply reading the Psalms of David and talking to G-d. It is the same with all of tzaddikim.

Now the land – {ra was in a state of ruin – tjc. This is to say that that the areas of civilization were like a house infested with termites.[56] There is no manner of repair possible and the damage is to the core. As the behavior of man goes so the nature of the world is affected. Hashem sends a flood to cover the land. The word again is Eretz. If the whole world would be flooded, the word would have been Olam. From here, we learn that only the civilized place of the world is flooded.

When Ham, father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, he told – dgyw, in a giddy manner about the state of his father. Perhaps Canaan was involved here and Ham failed to reprove his son. When Noach awakes from his sleep, he realizes that which has been done – hcu-rca to him. The text does not say that he heard what had been said about him. This teaches that to make fun of someone 'does or makes' a situation that is not easily reparable. Similarly in a Chofetz Chaim story, a person came to him to ask for forgiveness about gossip he had spread. The Chofetz Chaim told him to take a pillow and cut it open in the window. When he returned, the Chofetz Chaim said, "Now gather the feathers that have spread for as difficult as it is to gather all of these feathers is as difficult as it is to repair the damage of gossip."

c) Parsha Lech L'hah

Take yourself out of your place. One of the hardest things to do is move. This was one of the ten tests given to Avraham Avinu. In this Torah portion Hashem reveals to Avraham the name ***El Shadai*** meaning Almighty. We call upon the Almighty to overcome our most difficult challenges. This name is associated with fruition and the sefira of Yesod.

The passage, "G-d will raise you up on wings of eagles to bring you back to the homeland." In operation Magic Carpet, Yemenite Jews felt that silver birds taking them to Israel fulfilled this prophecy.

2. Shemot - Names - Exodus

The book of Exodus in Hebrew is Shemot – Names- tmc. Mem - m represents wisdom. Shin - c represents understanding. Having wisdom and understanding together leads to knowledge.[57] When one knows the true name of a person or object one has complete wisdom and understanding. Knowledge leads to power as in the easing of the human struggle from the proper applications of science through engineering.

Aryeh Kaplan *(Jewish Meditation P.129)* has the following to say on the letters shin and mem that make up the word for name in Hebrew:

It is easy to understand why the shin and mem are important. The shin has the sound of *s* or *sh*, and hence, of all the letters in the alphabet, it has the sound closest to white noise. White noise is sound that contains every possible wavelength, and is usually heard as a hissing sound. On an oscilloscope, the *s* sound would appear as a totally chaotic jumble with no structure whatsoever.

The opposite of white noise is pure harmonic sound. This is a hum, like the sound of a tuning fork. On an oscilloscope, this would appear as a perfect wavy line, the epitome of order and regularity. This is the sound of the mem.

The shin thus represents chaos, while the mem represents harmony. The Sefer Yetzirah says that the shin represents fire, while the mem represents water. The shin denotes a hot, chaotic state of consciousness,

while the mem denotes a cool, harmonic state. This is significant, since in many meditative traditions, the m sound is seen as one that leads to tranquility and inner peace. The sound itself seems to be conducive to the harmony that one seeks in the meditative state. The s or sh sound, on the other hand, is more closely associated with our normal, everyday level of consciousness. It is also interesting to note that the "still small voice" (1 Kings 19:12) in which Elijah heard G-d is translated by the Sefer Yetzirah as a "fine humming sound." It appears that the *m* sound was closely associated with prophecy.

Many of the Hebrew words that tend to focus the mind on a single object are made up of these two mother letters. Thus, the Hebrew word for "name" is shäm - \c, which is spelled shin mem. Similarly, the word for "there" is shâm - \c.[58] Both of these words have the connotation of the transition from the chaos of the general to the harmony of the particular. A name separates a single object from the chaos of all objects, while "there" separates a place from the chaos of all places. Both words therefore denote the transition from the concept of the shin to that of the mem.

In Exodus 1 we read:

Now these are the names of the sons of Israel, who came into Egypt with Jacob; every man came with his household.
wab wtybw cya bquy ta hmyrxm \yabh larcy ynb twmc hlaw
Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah;
Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin;
Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher.
And all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob were seventy souls; and Joseph was in Egypt already.

The number seventy is the numerical value of the ayin - u which is the last letter of the word Shema - umc which begins the declaration, "Hear O Israel the Lord your G-d the Lord is One." The ayin is said to allude to the seventy nations of the world and the seventy languages.[59]

a) Parsha Terumah

We learn in Parsha Terumah that the ark was laid with gold both on the outside and the inside. This is analogous to our soul and behavior which must be pure as gold internally and externally. The ark was measured to a half unit to teach us that we must break our midos down to measure and improve.

3. Vayikra - And Called - Leviticus

And the Lord called unto Moses, and spoke unto him out of the tent of meeting saying:
rmal duwm lham wyla yy rbdyw hcm-la ªrqyw

The first word of Leviticus differs from the other words in that its last letter, the aleph - a is written smaller then the other letters. This is a carryover from the original text which did not have spaces and the

same letter could serve the purpose of ending the previous word and beginning the next. The letter aleph in Hebrew contains the Gematria for the name of G-d:

a

The aleph can be seen as composed of 2 yods - yy and a vav - w. Together they have the numerical value of 26 which is the same as the value of the tetragrammaton.

yod + vav + yod = 10 + 6 + 10 = 26
heh + vav + heh + yod = 5 + 6 + 5 + 10 = 26

Another type of gematria we can do is based on the name of the letter itself: aleph - [la has the gematria 80 + 30 + 1 = 111 => 3. This is depicted in the shape of the aleph as having 3 components. The bottom aleph can be seen as a person calling up to G-d. The vav is the channel or ladder to climb and the top aleph is the point from which G-d responds or calls out to man. This is the image of prayer, of Jacob's Ladder, and the process of revelation. Thus, the word yikra - arqy, calling out teaches us that speech in general is an act in the image of G-d.

The book of Leviticus contains the laws of holiness. On the subject of laws, there are 2 major categories, i.e. those given to the whole world, and the laws pertaining additionally to Israel. The laws for the whole world are:

Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth. (Genesis 9)
Not to eat flesh from a living animal.
Not to murder.
Not to worship idols.
Not to curse G-d.
To establish courts of justice.
Not to murder.
Not to commit adultery or incest.
Not to steal.
Not to eat flesh from a living animal.

Jewish laws fall into the following categories. The chukim - \yqj - decrees are laws of holiness. The karbanos - twnbrq - offerings are those that deal with sacrifices. The Hebrew root is karov - brq which teaches us that sacrifices bring us closer to G-d. The mishpatim - \yfpcm - ethical laws or sentences pertain to morality and the justice system. The edoth - twdu - testimonies are commandments that are associated with our history and/or remind us of religious truths: i.e. holidays, tefillin, mezuzahs.

4. Bamidbar - In the Wilderness - Numbers

And the Lord spoke unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying:

rmal \yrxm {ram \taxl tynch hncb ynch cdjl djab duwm lhab ynys rbdmb hcm-la yy rbdyw

The Book of Numbers begins similar to Leviticus. The English name derives from the second sentence where it says:, ‘Take ye the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, by their families, by their fathers’ houses, according to the number of names, every male, by their polls;’. An interesting Gematria that alludes to the purpose of the Israelites wandering the desert is contained in the word bamidbar - rbdmb:

resh + bet + dalet + mem + bet = 200 + 2 + 4 + 40 + 2 = 248

248 is the number of positive commandments identified in the Torah by our sages. The 248 positive commandments combine with the 365 negative commandments to make up the 613 - taryag - gyrt commandments identified by hazal - lzh - the elders of the Torah. The time spent in the wilderness gave the people of Israel the freedom to practice positive commandments like keeping Shabbas that were made difficult in the oppression of Egypt.

The gematria of the name of Abraham is also 248 representing his mastery of the positive mitzvoth.

a) The Positive Commandments (examples from the Concise Book of Mitzvoth)

1. To believe that there is a G-d.
2. To believe in the unity of G-d, i.e. that there is only one G-d.
3. To love G-d with all one’s heart, soul, and might. —Shema
4. To fear G-d.
5. To sanctify G-d openly.
6. To walk in the ways of G-d with all one’s ability.
7. To pray every day to G-d.
8. To recite the Sh’ma morning and evening.

Shema Yisrael Adonai Elohenu Adonai Echad
dja yy wnyqla yy larcy umc
Hear O’Israel the Lord our G-d the Lord is One

Baruch sham cavod malchuto l’olam vaed
duw \lwul wtwklm dwbk \c]wrb
Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom in this world forever

v’ohavta et Adonai Eloheha behal lvav’vha oovhal nafsheha oovhal m’odeha
]dam-lkbw]cpn-lkbw]bbl-lkb]yqla \ch ta tbhaw
And you shall love the Lord your G-d with all your heart and all your soul and all your might.

]bbl-lu \wyh]wxm ykna rca hlah \yrbdh wyhw
And these words which I command you this day shall be upon your heart

]mwqbw]bkcbw]rdb]tklbw]tybb]tbcb \b trbdw]ynbl \tnncw

And you shall teach them to your children and speak of them when sitting in your house, when walking along your way and when you lie down and when you rise up.

In the first line of the Shema, the letters du are larger than the rest spelling the word 'ad' or witness in English. The English word 'aid' originates from the Hebrew 'ad' and is closer to the Jewish concept of witness.[60] When we call out Shema Yisrael, when we hear Hashem's words; Hashem like a father will come to our aid. Hashem gives us what we need, not necessarily what we want. The Witness assists us even in the event of a crime.

Although a Holocaust survivor and witness, Grandmother would say, "There is nothing bad that does not turn out for the good." During the Holocaust, she fasted Mondays and Thursdays to save food for the rest of her family while they were in hiding in Poland. Grandfather would search out new places and move the family often to avoid being located by the authorities. In the end, they were amongst a handful of witnesses who survived from the city of Kolemeah in Poland-Ukraine whose original Jewish population numbered close to 60,000. Grandmother attributed their survival to the Witness G-d.

The word Shema - umc is an acrostic[61] for Shadai Melekh Olam - \lwu]lm ydc - Almighty King of the World. This is what we are witnessing. The word echad - dja - also has a meaning in its individual letters. Dalet stands for the four directions in our world. Het is the seven heavens and the earth below. Aleph says that there is only one G-d ruling over all.[62]

The Shema is also a meditation for rectifying the world:
One should have in mind to transmit the illumination of God's holiness and the yoke of His Kingdom to his children and all other descendants. The reading therefore goes on to say "You shall teach them to your children..." He should furthermore have in mind to rectify man's state in general, as it continues, "[and you shall speak of them] while you remain at home and when you go on your way."[63]

As a rectification for ones home Luzatto teaches:
Finally, one should have in mind to rectify his house, as it concludes, "You shall write them [in the Mezuzah] on the doorposts of your house..."[64] wlc tybh tnyjb }qtlw

When one focuses his mind on repairing the spiritual aspect of his house while reciting this passage of the Shema, he will in fact be writing these words upon the doorposts of his house and repairing all within.

b) Balak

Balak, king of Moab, sent messengers to try to induce Balaam, a prophet of the area to curse the people "that came out of Egypt and covers the face of the earth." In the first two instances Balaam refuses to go with them, finally acquiescing in the third instance in the story of the talking donkey. Here are the prophecies sent to Balaam concerning Israel in these instances:

And G-d said unto Balaam: 'Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people; for

they are blessed.'

(Numbers 12:12) awh]wrb yk \uh-ta rat al \hmu]lt al \ulb-la \yqla rmayw

Balak sent messengers that were more prestigious in the next round with offers of greater wealth and honor. Instead of sending these messengers away *right* away, Balaam said:

Wait here also this night, that I may know what more the Lord will speak to me. And G-d came unto Balaam at night, and said unto him: 'If the men are come to call thee, rise up, go with them; but only the word which I speak unto thee, that shalt thou do. *(Numbers 12:19-20)*

Here we see the danger of the will of a prophet impinging on the will of G-d.

And Balaam rose up in the morning, saddled his donkey, and went with the princes of Moab. G-d's anger was kindled because he went; and the angel of the Lord placed himself in the way as an adversary against him. Now he was riding upon his donkey, and his two servants were with him. And the donkey saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand; and the donkey turned aside out of the way, and went into the field; and Balaam smote the donkey, to turn her into the way. Then the angel of the Lord stood in a hollow between the vineyards, a fence being on this side, and a fence on that side. And the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, and she thrust herself unto the wall, and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall; and he smote her again. And the angel of the Lord went further, and stood in a narrow place where was no way to turn either to the right hand or to the left. And the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, and she lay down under Balaam; and Balaam's anger was kindled, and he smote the donkey with his staff. And the Lord opened the mouth of the donkey, and she said unto Balaam: 'What have I done unto thee, that thou hast struck me these three times?' And Balaam said unto the donkey: 'Because thou hast mocked me; I would there were a sword in my hand, for now I had killed thee.' And the donkey said unto Balaam: 'Am I not thine donkey, upon which thou hast ridden all thy life long unto this day? was I ever wont to do so unto thee?' And he said: 'Nay.' Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand; and he bowed his head, and fell on his face. And the angel of the Lord said unto him: 'Wherefore hast thou smitten thine donkey these three times? behold, I am come forth for an adversary, because thy way is contrary unto me; and the donkey saw me, and turned aside before me these three times; unless she had turned aside form me, surely now I had even slain thee, and saved her alive.'

At the point of Balak's requesting cursing, Balaam has this to say,

How shall I curse, whom G-d hath not cursed? And how shall I execrate, whom the Lord hath not execrated?

For from the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him:
Lo, it is a people that shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.
Who hath counted the dust of Jacob, or numbered the stock of Israel?
Let me die the death of the righteous, and let mine end be like his!

bchty al \ywgbw }kcy ddbl \u-}h wnrwca twubbmw wnara \yrx carm-yk

(Numbers 23:9-10) whmk ytyrja yhtw \yrcy twm ycpn tmt larcy ubr-ta rpsmw bquy rpu hnm ym

5. D'varim - Words - Deuteronomy

a) Musical Notes, Vowels, Crowns, and Letters

These are the words which Moses spoke unto all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah, over against Suph, between Paran and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab.

}dryh rbub larcy-lk-la hcm rbd rca \yrbdh hla
bhz ydw trxjw }blw lpt-}ybw }rap-}yb [ws lwm hbrub rbdmb

'Word' - rbd also means 'thing' in Hebrew because words manifest into material changes. The word structures the creative process. Torah words have four components. Letters represent the physical meaning of each word. The ornaments or crowns are like the angelic forces in the background. The vowel points correspond to the souls of the words. Finally we become part of the eternal song of G-d when we add melody to the words.

Table 3: The Four Universes and Our Connection to Them

Expression	Worlds	Tetragrammaton
Ta'amim - \ymat - Cantellation Notes	Atzilut - twlxa - Nearness	Yod
Nekudot - twdqn - Vowel Points	Beriyah - hyrb - Creation	Heh
Tagin - }ygt - Ornaments	Yetzirah - hrxy - Formation	Vav
Otiot - twtw - Letters	Asiyah - hycu - Making	Heh

The notes for chanting the Torah contain the melody. These notes also assist the reader in connecting related Torah ideas as well as separating different concepts. A song without words is called a ningun, i.e. tune. Tunes while popularized by the Hasidim represent a highly abstract way of connecting to G-d. Music raises our spirit, elevates love, joy, excitement, and spontaneity. These are all aspects of Atzilut, the highest world of being.

The Nekudot or vowel points are the souls of the letters.[65] The letters are the consonants which can form words but require vowel points to activate their meaning.

The Tagin or crowns on the letters represent the extra element that Hashem transmits into the physical. In the world of Yetzirah, the angels busy themselves with the spiritual dimension of the physical world.

The letters also represent the physical making of the world. The energy transmitted by Hashem is received in the physical world. Succinctly, the process is symbolized by the name of G-d, Yod is the coin, which Heh the hand holds, Vav extends the coin, and Heh is our hand receiving the gift. The giving

of Hanukah gelt - money is to reflect this image of G-d.

b) Avarice

Deuteronomy also contains a warning pertaining to wealth:

And when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied; Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Eternal thy G-d, who brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage;
(Deuteronomy 8:13-14)

Accumulating wealth for its own sake diminishes spiritual interest and charitable donations. In this case wealth waxes away as quickly as it came. The main problem is that wealth leads to arrogance.[66] In the subsequent verses G-d reminds us not to let wealth go to our heads.

Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint; Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that he might humble thee, and that he might prove thee, to do thee good at thy latter end; And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth. But thou shalt remember the LORD thy G-d: for it is he that gives thee power to get wealth, that he may establish his covenant which he swore unto thy fathers, as it is this day. (Deuteronomy 8:15-18)

The proper use of excess wealth is to serve G-d in charity and the rest for the benefit of one's wife for sweetening the rigors of gevurah.

Man is created in the image of G-d. Also the Tree of Life represents G-d in this world with its thirty-two paths.[67]

Man is a tree of the field.
(Deuteronomy 20:19)

c) Practicing the Mitzvoth, Living in the Land of Israel

Rashi brings from the Siphre Midrash the idea that we observe commandments outside of Israel so that we remember how to do them when we are in the land of Israel. Hence the purpose of keeping the commandments is for the days when we are in the land of Israel.

Therefore shall ye lay up these My words in your heart and in your soul;
and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand,
and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes.
(Deuteronomy 11:18)

Even after you have been exiled, be excellent in doing commandments, put on tefillin, prepare mezuzot, in order that it should not be new for you when you return.

(Rashi 11:18)

The Ramban explains the meaning of Rashi and says that he has hinted at the meaning before. The hint is located in Vayikra 18:25:

And the land was defiled, and I checked the iniquity upon it.
And the land threw out her inhabitants.
(Leviticus 18:25)

Israel is in the galut (outside of Israel) because of iniquity. The Ramban tells a story of a king who sent his queen away because of some error. Nevertheless after returning to her father's house she continued adorning herself though the king could not see her. It is the same for us. Though we are in exile we still adorn ourselves with the commandments, because we have our King, in mind and we think only of returning to His house in the land of Israel.

B. Prophets

The prophets were powerful people who possessed Hochmah – wisdom, Gevurah – physical strength, Asher – wealth, and Anav – humility. They were capable of supporting their students with their own funds. Physical strength was an essential ingredient as much as wisdom and humilty.[68]

1. Y'hoshua - G-d Saves - Joshua

Joshua's original name was Hoshua - ucwh, but Moses added a Yod - y to the front of his name after the victory over Amalek (Exodus 17:9). The Yod, the first letter from the name of G-d, transforms the name to mean "G-d saves." A Midrash states that Moses gave the name as a blessing to Joshua after the incident of the despondent spies, saying, "May G-d save you from the council of the spies."

At the end of his life, Joshua gathers the Jewish people in the city of Schem to bind a covenant between Israel and G-d.[69] Why did Joshua choose the city of Schem instead of Shiloh where the Ark of the Covenant rested? Bryna Levy explains that the sons of Jacob turned against their brother Joseph in Schem. Hence, Y'hoshua chose this place to remind B'nai Israel of the danger of senseless hatred. Y'hoshua is a descendent of Ephraim who is a descendent of Joseph. Joseph is buried in Schem. Y'hoshua would also come to rest here. At this point, the sin of the brothers is completely expiated and the story comes full circle from senseless hatred to brotherly love.

Eldav and Madav are speaking words of prophecy. Gersholm reported this to Moshe. What were they saying, "that Moshe will die and Joshua will lead them into Israel." Joshua spoke up and said, "My master Moshe", stop them, give them hard tasks so they will stop speaking words of prophecy. Because he spoke up before his teacher, he was given the death penalty. There are four types of punishment similar to death, person who is blind, a leper, who has no children. One who states a law in front of his rabbi receives the death penalty. There is a penalty that is worse then death where one loses Olam Habah, has vshalom, that is when one addresses his rabbi with his name attached. One should not say rabbi so

and so but simply rabbi when addressing ones teacher.

Joshua married the tzedekes of Jericho, Rahav, who delivered the city into the hand of Jericho. Because of Joshua's punishment, she did not have children. The number of children granted a wife is according to the merit of the husband. The amount of wealth a man acquires is according to his wife.

2. Shofteem - Judges

After the death of Joshua, the Israelites inquired of the Lord, "Which of us shall be the first to go up against the Canaanites and attack them?"
(Joshua 1:1)

wb \jlhl hljtb ynunkh-la wnl-hluy-ym rmal yyb larcy ynb wlacyw ucwhy twm yrja yhyw

Adoni-bezek had his thumbs and big toes cut off as he did to kings he took prisoner.
(Joshua 1:6)

This is the lesson of mido-cnegdo-mido - hdm-wdgnk-hdm, that a person's character and behavior will be repaid in kind.

3. Shmuel - Samuel

Hanna's Meditation

Hanna went to pray by the tabernacle because she had no children. Eli saw her davening without words and thought she was drunk. He asked why she was praying while drunk and Hanna replied that she wasn't drunk and instead described her situation calmly.[70] One should always let the Torah guide one's intellect which should guide one's emotions (Torah -> Intellect -> Emotions). There are two different phrases used in the Torah in this area, wbl lu - on ones heart. This phrase denotes that the emotions of the person are under the control of the intellect. This is the nature of a tzaddik - qdx - righteous person, whose intellect in addition, is under the control of the Torah. The emotions should rest on the heart and be circumventable by the intellect. wblb - In one's heart denotes that the emotions are controlling the intellect of the person. This is the nature of the Rasha - hcr - wicked person whose emotions control his thoughts and actions. This is extremely damaging in the case of anger.[71] There are three laws learned from Hanna.

- Prayer in a light voice is acceptable. Hanna's prayer was quiet which may have been unusual at that time but is now acceptable.
- Apologize and offer compensation for mistakenly rebuking another. This we learn from the response of Eli. While it is a mitzvah to correct a fellow Jew, if the person was innocent then one is required to appease that person. By way of apology, Eli offered Hanna a blessing that resulted in G-d granting her a child in a year.
- Explain to avert suspicion. Hanna did this with Eli. Hanna had the choice of ignoring Eli in this

case but she wanted to clear up the misunderstanding.

Nevertheless, Rav Raphael Lapin states that ignoring a person is a particularly effective way to deal with rude people. He said this helps a person correct his/her behavior. He said that in Rav Soltzvechik's Yeshiva, the Rav would pause when someone asked a question and if the question was not well thought out he would then continue with his shir - ryc - class. In this manner, he would be helping the students to think intensely before speaking.

Rav Hamnuna in Berachos 31a says many important rules can be derived by Hannah's behavior.[72]

- "She spoke in her heart" (Samuel I 1:13). This teaches that when one prays he must concentrate in his heart.
- "Only her lips moved." This teaches he must articulate the words with his lips.
- "Her voice could not be heard." He may not raise his voice in prayer.
- "Eli thought that she was drunk." One who is drunk is not permitted to recite the service.

a) King David and Avishalom

King David said that Avishalom should not be harmed. The Ramban comments that David knew that Avishalom was only acting as an agent for Hakodesh Barchu. This suggests the question of how does one know when one is acting as an agent for G-d versus acting out of free will. When an event is so out of the ordinary, as in the case of a son wanting to kill a father, it must be b'sheret.[73]

4. Y'shayahu - Isaiah

Isaiah describes six winged angels called Seraphim:

In the year that King Uzziah died, I beheld my Lord seated on a high and lofty throne; and the skirts of His robe filled the Temple. Seraphs stood in attendance on Him. Each of them had six wings: with two he covered his face, with two he covered his legs, and with two he would fly.

And one would call to the other,
Holy, holy, holy is
The Lord of Hosts
And all of the land is filled with his Glory!
(Isaiah 6:1-3)

Holy is the Lord in the past, holy is the Lord in the present, and holy is the Lord in the future. The name of the Angel of the Present is YöHöVîEL - lawhy. [74] The Angel of the Past is YâHâViEL - lawhy. The Angel of the Future is YäHäViEL - lawhy.

The doorposts would shake at the sound of the one who called, and the House kept filling with smoke. I cried,

"Woe is me; I am lost.
For I am a man of unclean lips
And I live among a people
Of unclean lips;
Yet my own eyes have beheld
The King Lord of Hosts."

Then one of the seraphs flew over to me with a live coal, which he had taken from the altar with a pair of tongs. He touched it to my lips and declared,

"Now that this has touched your lips,
Your guilt shall depart
And your sin be purged away."

The experience of an angel touching a hot coal to cleanse ones lips opens higher gates into the spiritual realm. One should always strive to visualize biblical images since they are the highest revealed truth we have in this world. When one does this correctly, the vision takes on a pure form and one becomes certain of a true revelation from Ribono Shalom.

Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord:
Though your sins are as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow,
though they are red like crimson, they shall be as wool.
(Isaiah 1:18)

This is our hope on Yom Kipper - the Day of Atonement. On that day the Gates of Mercy are opened and the truly repentant are brought to the highest level. There is a teaching that even a tzaddik - a righteous one cannot stand at the height of a Baal Tshuvah on Yom Kippur. The reason is that all the sins of a master of repentance are turned into blessings for him or her as G-d's forgiveness extends beyond justice into the realm of mercy and then into overflowing love for his children.

But there the Lord will be with us in Majesty,
In a place of broad rivers and streams
...
For the Lord is our Judge
The Lord is our Lawgiver
The Lord is our King
(Isaiah 33:21)

Isaiah speaks of the return to Zion and the good life that awaits us.

Fear not, for I am with you:
I will bring your seed from the East, I will gather you out of the West;

I will say to the North, "Give back!"
And to the South, "Do not withhold!"
Bring My sons from afar, And My daughters from the end of the earth.
(Isaiah 43:5-7)

The message here is that we will return to the land of Israel[75]. Whether from Babylonia, Europe, Russia, or Ethiopia, G-d will help us return to Eretz Israel - the land of Israel. Hashem causes us to multiply in the East, and to gather wealth in the West. The North tries to hold back its people from leaving, but the South releases freely.

For as the new heaven and the new earth
that I will make shall endure by My will, says the Lord
so shall your seed and your name endure.
And new moon after new moon, and Sabbath after Sabbath,
all flesh shall present themselves before me.
(Isaiah 66:22-23)

Isaiah's final words are a vision of the world to come. Our relationship with G-d today forms the paradigm of what will be again. Instead of transcending completely into a spiritual dimension, we appear in gratitude, worship, and thankfulness before the King of kings in all the weeks and months of our lives. Our world is a reflection of the best of all worlds. Time enhances our relationship with Hashem.

5. Hoshua - Hosea

The whole life of Hosea is a message of prophecy. From the name of the wife he chose to the names of his children, the microcosm of his life represents the whole house of Israel.

HOS 1:1 The word of the LORD came unto Hosea, the son of Beeri,
in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,
and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel.

HOS 1:2 The beginning of the word of the LORD by Hosea. And the LORD said to Hosea,
Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms:
for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the LORD.

The prophet's life depicts the nation of Israel. In the 6th century BC the kingdom of Israel was split between Ephraim and Judah. With Ephraim went the rest of the tribes of the North. They maintained aspects of cow worship from the religion of Baal and whored after the products and ways of their neighbors to the North:

HOS 2:5 For their mother hath played the harlot: she that conceived them hath done shamefully: for she said, I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink.

Israel went after the ways of her northern neighbors while Judah went after the ways of Torah and pursued G-d.

HOS 1:3 So he went and took Gomer the daughter of Diblaim; who conceived, and bore him a son.

Gomer was a son of Japheth in Genesis who was the father of the European peoples.[76] The sons of Gomer are Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmath. Ashkenaz is the ancestor of the German nation.[77]

HOS 1:4 And the LORD said unto him, Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel.

HOS 1:5 And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel, in the valley of Jezreel.

HOS 1:6 And she conceived again, and bare a daughter. And G-d said unto him, Call her name Loruhamah: for I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel; but I will utterly take them away.

HOS 1:7 But I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the LORD their G-d, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen.

There were two kingdoms in the Holy Land during the time of Hosea. The first, the Northern Kingdom of Israel where Hosea resided, was composed of eleven tribes excluding Judah. The Southern Kingdom was made up of the tribe of Judah, the largest of the tribes equaling all the others put together. While the house of Judah adhered to righteousness forged by the isolation of the desert, the house of Israel became tainted with the idolatrous practices of its neighbors. Hosea prophesied G-d's judgment upon the Northern Kingdom while sending a message of protection to Judah.[78]

Later in the Book of Hosea, the Lord allures Israel back from Baalim renewing her purity in the wilderness and states the following:

And I will betroth you forever:
I will betroth you with righteousness and justice, and with goodness and mercy,
And I will betroth you with faithfulness,
Then you shall know the Lord.
(Hosea 2:21-22)

The Lord is like a spouse to Israel. In the Song of Songs the Lord is our Husband. Each Shabbas he sends forth the Shechinah to dwell with us and She is our Bride. We view G-d at times as masculine and at other times as feminine.

Come, let us turn back to the Lord:
He attacked, and He can heal us;
He wounded, and He can bind us up.
In two days He will make us whole again;
On the third day He will raise us up,
And we shall be whole by His favor.

Let us pursue obedience to the Lord,
And we shall become obedient.
His appearance is as sure as daybreak,
And He will come to us like rain,
Like later rain that refreshes the earth.
(Hosea 6:1-3)

The Lord is the true Healer of the world. Sometimes we cannot heal ourselves and yet another can help.[79] The Gemara brings down the story about Rabbi Yochanan Ben Zakkai who went to visit Rabbi Chanina who was sick. When Rabbi Yochanan asked, "Are your sufferings for good." Rabbi Chanina replied, "Not now and not in the future." Rabbi Yochanan then extended his hand, raised up Rabbi Chanina and he was healed. Rabbi Yochanan was a healer and helped Rabbi Chanina in an area where he could not help himself. When Rabbi Yochanan was sick, Rabbi Chanina went to visit him. Rabbi Chanina asked the same question of Rabbi Yochanan who replied with the same answer. Nevertheless, Rabbi Chanina was not a healer and Rabbi Yochanan could not heal himself. Ultimately the mitzvah of Bikur Holim - visiting the sick rescues the sick with the help of G-d. With renewed health comes renewed obedience to G-d. Suffering brings Tshuvah, repentance and a return to Hashem. Our hope is renewed like the dawn of a day and rain is associated with the renewal of the Earth.

6. Yoel - Joel

In Kohelet, we read, "A time for war and a time for peace." We find the answer in Joel.

Joel tells of the exile of the Jews after the destruction of the first temple, the land being divided by lots, and the people sold into slavery. This is the time for war as G-d proclaims in Joel 4:9:

Proclaim this among the nations:
Prepare for battle! Arouse the warriors,
Let all the fighters come and draw near!
Beat your plowshares into swords, And your pruning hooks into spears.
Let even the weakling say, "I am strong."

In Isaiah 2:4 we read:

Thus he will judge among the nations and arbitrate for the many peoples,
And they shall beat their swords into plowshares
and their spears into pruning hooks:
Nation shall not take up sword against nation;
They shall never again know war.

A third verse reconciles the two. Joel 4:16-17 reads:

And the Lord will roar from Zion, and shout aloud from Jerusalem,
So that heaven and earth tremble, but the Lord will be a shelter to His people.

And you shall know that I the Lord your G-d dwell in Zion, My holy mount.
And Jerusalem shall be holy;

Faith in the Lord balances war and peace, and brings one back to Zion. Above war and peace is Hashem's shelter for his people at the base of Mt. Zion next to the city of Jerusalem.

7. Haggai

The Book of Haggai is short but the point is long. The message of this book holds the cure to greed and materialistic idolotry which is a plague afflicting many of today's generation. Akin to this illness is gambling which stems from greed. Which is worse who knows, but one thing is for sure much that happens in the houses of Wall Street is legalized gambling and the precious time lost to this preoccupation is a weight upon the soul.

HAG 1:6 Ye have sown much, and bring in little; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but ye are not filled with drink; ye clothe you, but there is none warm; and he that earneth wages earneth wages to put it into a bag with holes.

HAG 1:7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts; Consider your ways.

HAG 1:8 Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the LORD.

G-d is teaching us to apply our earnings to a good cause otherwise they will be blown away.

HAG 1:9 Ye looked for much, and, lo it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. Why? saith the LORD of hosts. Because of mine house that is waste, and ye run every man unto his own house.

HAG 1:10 Therefore the heaven over you is stayed from dew, and the earth is stayed from her fruit.

Building the temple and giving charity are the purpose of our silver and gold.

Now, the greatness of the Creator is revealed through the charity
that is given to a deserving person in need.
This is because the primary greatness and splendor is the revelation of the Colors.
And silver and gold are themselves the Colors, for the Supernal Colors are in them...

And when the Colors radiate, the Holy One then exults and takes pride in them,
as in (Hagi 2:8), "Mine is the silver, Mine is the gold."
From them "garments of yesha (salvation)"[80] *are made.*
(Likutey Moharan #25:4)[81]

Giving charity creates beautiful garments for our soul in the world to come.

HAG 2:3 Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?

HAG 2:4 Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the LORD; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the LORD, and work: for I am with you, saith the LORD of hosts:

HAG 2:5 According to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so my spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not.

HAG 2:6 For thus saith the LORD of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land;

HAG 2:7 And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of hosts.

HAG 2:8 The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the LORD of hosts.

HAG 2:9 The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the LORD of hosts.

All the nations came to see the Temple that Solomon finished. This is the rectification of money and the heart of materialism and is the source of peace, Shalom.

8. Malachi

The writings of Malachi detail the complete life. While widely known for the last line of his prophecy, Malachi's emphasis is on acting sincere, bearing responsibility in marriage, being sincere in charity and offerings and bearing up to the standard of behavior expected of the servants of G-d.

Proper rulings were in his mouth and nothing perverse was on his lips;
He served Me with complete loyalty and held the many back from iniquity.
For the lips of a priest guard knowledge and men seek rulings from his mouth;
For he is a messenger of the Lord of Hosts.

But you have turned away from that course: You have made many stumble through your rulings; you have corrupted the covenant of the Levites—said the Lord of Hosts.
And I, in turn, have made you despicable and vile in the eyes of all the people,
because you disregard My ways and show partiality in your rulings. (Malachi 2:6-9)

C. Writings

1. Yov - Job

The book of Job deals with the issues of providence i.e. the reasons why the rewards and punishments of people are not always clear. Eliphaz consoles Job with the following explanation:

5:17 As for righteous men like you [Job] who are stricken by evil,
it is the chastening of G-d, despise it not,
for the purpose of such chastening is like that of the trials of the righteous.

The sufferings that Eliphaz is referring to apply to the righteous only. For the rest of us suffering is often the direct result of our actions. For example, not giving charity diminishes wealth. Afflicting others brings similar affliction. Nevertheless, in the case of Job who was righteous before G-d in wealth and poverty these sufferings are difficult to understand. The "chastening of G-d" is seen by Eliphaz as an opportunity. The Gemara on Brachots speaks of asoras ahavah - sufferings from love. Our heavenly Father gives sufferings to his children for their sake so that they may return to him. As Rabbeinu Bachya[82] describes:

Thus, repentance and suffering saved the sinner *from going down the pit*,[83] but he will not merit to see the Supreme Light until the soul is reborn as at first. Thus, Elihu next said, *His flesh is more tender than a child's, He returneth to the days of his youth.*[84] When he grows up, he will pray to G-d, and through his repentance and suffering he will be accepted by G-d. His righteousness will then be restored [as at first] for he will not have sinned since the days of his rebirth. His afflictions will have ensued from his former transgressions, which should have brought about his utter destruction. However, G-d devised means so that he would not be banished from the World to Come, and he will then merit the Supreme Light, as Elihu said. *So He redeemed his soul from going into the pit, and his life beholdeth the light,*[85] a reference to the Supreme Light. This device [of rebirth] can be repeated three times, as it says, *Lo all these things doth G-d work, twice, yea thrice, with a man.*[86]

Here, Rabbeinu Bachya brings an explanation for reincarnation in up to 3 lives. The reincarnation serves to amend past wrongs and may explain the suffering of the righteous. Rabbeinu brings down the final benefit that happened to Job:[87]

Then the Eternal answered Job out of the whirlwind.[88] Job attained the degree of prophecy because he was *wholehearted, and upright, and one that feared G-d, and shunned evil,* and had been chastised by trial. Although in his lack of wisdom, he transgressed by doubting G-d's judgment, his trial brought him nearer to G-d, for he accepted Elihu's words and found them satisfactory. Thus, he was now one that feared G-d and was sincere in his righteousness.

The whirlwind is an interesting metaphor. Once I entered a whirlwind 20 feet in height and was amazed to feel the presence of a spiritual entity. I thought this was a soul lost on Earth needing to return to G-d but in some cases this may be an elemental angel bringing a message from G-d.

2. Mishle - Proverbs

Tradition records King Solomon as having written 3 works. In his youth he wrote the Song of Songs. This work characterizes the relationship between G-d and Israel like the love of a young husband and bride. The last work he wrote, Kohelet - Ecclesiastes, deals with philosophies of life gleamed from the sufferings of the wealthy. Proverbs, on the other hand, is a work of mid-life. Of the 3 it is strongest at setting the foundation of how a person should live. I will take a few verses to illustrate the greatness of this work.

Chapter 3:
3:11 The chastisement of the Lord, my son, do not despise, and do not reject His rebuke.
3:12 For whom the Lord loves He reproves, as a father conciliates his son.

From Gemara Berachoth 5a we read commentary on:

axm alw hlt \aw - rca ta yk
jykwy \ch bhay rca ta yk :rmanc ,\h hbha lc }yrwsyc uwdyb

12 For whom - If he attributed (the cause to neglect of Torah) but could not find (an instance) He should know that they are sufferings of love, as it is said, "For whom the Lord loves He reproves".

The concept of 'sufferings of love' is a principle in the oral law and is brought forth from the proverb as well as the story Job. The main hope of Hashem is that we improve like a father hopes in his son. Hence, the sufferings that we go through have this entire purpose. Often just by praying for Ribono shel Olam to heal us, we have turned back to Hashem and the purpose served.[89]

Chapter 11:
11:1 Deceitful scales are an abomination of the Lord, and a whole weight is His will.

This refers to inaccurate weights and scales that a storeowner might use to deceive a customer. In the month of Tishrei, which is overseen by the constellation of Libra, the scales have a deeper meaning. They are the scales of judgment that we must all undergo. We cannot deceive G-d with a false weight in this case but we can deceive ourselves when we act as a judge for our neighbor. We should judge each person fairly realizing that we are all human making mistakes. Our weight must not be so heavy that others fail to tip the scale to the side of merit. We must choose to forgive everyone of any harm that we perceive was inflicted on us. In this manner, Ribono Shalom, shall choose to forgive us and tip our scales for a favorable judgment in the year to come.

11:2 With insolent behavior comes shame and with the modest, there is wisdom

Insolent behavior, speaking out and talking back to others in an arrogant domineering way causes one to feel shame afterwards. By being modest and not provoking others, we gain wisdom.

11:3 Simple righteousness manages you, but a crooked treachery destroys.

Following a simple straight path in life will manage all the affairs of one's life. Simple faith and

choosing the good leads one on the right path of life. This is not reward and punishment but a direct consequence. Similarly, crooked treachery destroys one's mind and ability to choose to do well. This is also not a punishment but the nature of the effect of this attitude on the mind.

11:4 Wealth shall not avail in the day of wrath, but charity shall rescue from death.

This very powerful verse teaches that tzedakah can change the divine decree in our favor. Money should never be hoarded but instead given in charity and this saves a person from death. There is a story about a rabbi who was in charge of a charity fund for a particular city. A woman came to him asking for money to pay to feed her children, but he told her all the funds were currently depleted. She said that she had seven children and that they would begin to starve if she did not get money soon to buy food. The man gave her money from his own personal funds. Two weeks later, fate found this man on his deathbed. The angels above beseeched G-d to change the decree for this man. They claimed that his charity had enabled the woman and her seven children to survive and that this meant all their descendants would live as well which is how a world is saved. G-d rescinded the decree and the person lived an extra 15 years.[90] Hence, charity rescues from death - twmm lyxt hqdxw.

Chapter 1:
1:8 Hear my son the admonition of your father, and do not abandon the Torah of your Mother

Normally the mother admonishes the children while the father excels in Torah learning. This proverb teaches us that we should listen to the corrections of our father and not just receive his kindness. While our mother is an example of Torah and we should see her virtues in this area clearly and follow in those ways.

There is another teaching that long life and length of days is granted to one who honors ones mother and father.

When time is going by too fast it is because one is not spending enough time with ones parents.
(myself)

Chapter 9:
9:17 Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten secretly, more pleasing.

Some struggle to find true love. Others struggle for marriage to accept the true one. Many think that "stolen waters are sweet" and prefer relationships to marriage. On relationships Dessler says, "Together, they complement each other. This fact flows from the nature with which the Almighty has endowed them... the one who gives, loves."[91] "There are some people who do not want to enter into marriage. This is because they are unable to shake themselves free of the power of taking, and even their natural instincts cannot turn them into "givers," even temporarily..."[92] "To sum up: the best relationship between husband and wife will obtain when both achieve and practice the virtue of giving. Then their love will never cease and their lives will be filled with happiness and contentment for as long as they live on this earth."[93]

Chapter 27
1. Boast not yourself of tomorrow; for you know not what today may bring forth.
2. Let another man praise you, and not your own mouth; a stranger, and not your own lips.
3. A stone is heavy, and the sand weighty; but a fool's wrath is heavier than both of them.
4. Wrath is cruel, and anger is overwhelming; but who is able to stand before envy?
5. Open rebuke is better than secret love.
6. Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are profuse.
7. The soul who is sated loathes a honeycomb; but to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet.
8. As a bird that wanders from its nest, so is a man who wanders from his place.
9. Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart; so does the sweetness of a man's friend by hearty counsel.
10. Do not forsake your own friend, nor your father's friend; nor go into your brother's house in the day of your calamity; for better is a neighbor who is near than a brother who is far away.
11. My son, be wise, and make my heart glad, that I may answer him who reproaches me.
12. A prudent man sees the evil, and hides himself; but the simpletons pass on, and are punished.
13. Take his garment when he has given surety for a stranger, and take his pledge on behalf of an alien woman.
14. He who blesses his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him.
15. A continual dripping in a very rainy day and a quarrelsome woman are alike.
16. Whoever hides her hides the wind, like the ointment of his right hand, which betrays itself.
17. Iron sharpens iron; so a man sharpens another.
18. Whoever guards the fig tree shall eat its fruit; so he who waits on his master shall be honored.
19. As in water face answers face, so does the heart of man to man.
20. Sheol and Avaddon are never full; and the eyes of man are never satisfied.
21. The refining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold; and a man is judged according to his praise.
22. Though you should grind a fool with a pestle in a mortar among wheat, his folly would not depart from him.
23. Be diligent to know the state of your flocks, and look well to your herds.
24. For riches are not for ever; and does a crown endure to all generations?
25. When the grass sprouts forth, and the young grass appears, and herbs are gathered on the mountains,
26. Lambs shall provide your clothing, and goats the price of a field,
27. And you shall have goats' milk enough for your food, for the food of your household, and for the maintenance of your maidens

3. T'hillim - Psalms

The Psalms of David are our longings and prayers to G-d. Like the discarded stone that became the cornerstone of the Temple in Jerusalem, Psalm Thirteen is the cornerstone of the rest. Here it is in its entirety:

Psalm 13

To the Chief Musician, a Psalm of David
Until when, Adonay, will you forget me forever?
Until when, will You hide your face from me?
Until when, must I devise plans within my soul [to be free of] sorrow in my heart by day?
Until when, will my enemy rise high above me?
Look [at my troubled life and] answer me, Adonay, my G-d;
brighten my eyes lest I slumber into death.
Lest my enemy say, "I have prevailed against him;"
my tormentors rejoice when I waver.
I trust in Your loving kindness,
my heart will exult in Your deliverance.
I will sing to Adonay, for He has dealt kindly with me.

:dwdl rwmzm jxnml
jxn ynjkct yy hna-du
:ynmm]ynp-ta rytst hna-du
\mwy ybblb }wgy ycpnb twxu tyca hna-du
ylu ybya \wry hna-du
:twmh }cya-}p ynyu hryah yhla yy ynnu hfybh
:fwma yk wlygy yrx wytlky ybya rmay-}p
]tuwcyb ybl lgy ytjfb]dsjb ynaw
:ylu lmg yk yyl hryca

Lamnatzach, mizmor L'David
Ad anah | Adonay tshkihani netzah
Ad anah | tastir et panecha memeni
Ad anah | ashis atzot bnafshi ygon blvavi yoman
Ad anah | yarom oyvi alai
hebita anani Adonay elochai hairah anai pen ishan hamevet
Pen Yomar oyvi ychaltav zary ygylo cy amot
Vani bhadecha btachty ygl lby byshuatecha
Ashirah laAdonay cei gmal alai.

The word for lowly in Hebrew is Dal which is similar to the word dull in English. When we concern ourselves with the needs of others who are down, Hashem will remember us in kind when we are down.

Psalm 41

Fortunate is the person who concerns himself
with the needs of the lowly,

in his time of need,
Hashem will be there.

4. Divrei Hayamim Aleph - Chronicles 1

He is the Lord our G-d;
His judgments are in all the earth.
Remember His covenant forever, the word which He commanded to a thousand generations;
which he made with Abraham, and His oath with Isaac;
and he established it unto Jacob for a statute, to Israel for an everlasting covenant;
saying: 'Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance.'
(Chronicles 1 16:14-18)

David uttered these praises after selecting certain Levites including Asaph to minister before the ark of the Lord. Many of the praises in passages Chronicles 1 16:8-26 are found in our prayer book liturgy. The delegating of proper work to the Levites brought David great joy which brought forth these songs to Hashem:

Ascribe to the Lord, ye kindreds of the peoples,
Ascribe unto the Lord glory and strength,
Ascribe unto the Lord the glory due His name;
Bring an offering, and come before Him;
Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.
Tremble before Him, all the earth,
The world also is established that it cannot be moved.
Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice;
And let them say among the nations: 'The Lord reigneth.'
Let the sea roar, and the fullness thereof;
Let the field exult, and all that is therein;
Then shall the trees of the wood sing for joy,
Before the Lord for He is come to judge the earth.
O give thanks unto the Lord; for He is good; for his mercy endureth forever.
And say ye: 'Save us, O G-d of our salvation, and gather us together and deliver us from the nations,
That we may give thanks unto thy holy name that we may triumph in thy praise.'
Blessed be the Lord, the G-d of Israel, from everlasting even to everlasting.
And all the people said: 'Amen,' and praised the Lord.
(Chronicles 1 16:28-36)

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[32] Midrash Rabbah Genesis I, Soncino, Ch. 1:10, page 9. Had it begun with an aleph, this is the first letter of the word cursed – arur - rwra.
[33] Sefer Yetzirah 3:2
[34] Raavad, Ramban, Etz Chayim Shaar Tanta 7 quoted in Kaplan Sefer Yetzirah page. 366.

[35] Midrash Rabbah Genesis, page 90.
[36] Gates of Light, Joseph Gikatilla, chapter "The Second Gate – The Ninth Sphere," p. 90.
[37] The Hebrew language rests on seven types of verb. They are referred to as a building – }ynb. The verb is also the means of creation. Hashem's tetragrammaton is a verb.
[38] The Knowing Heart, Luzzatto, page 191
[39] Perhaps this was the Gettysburg address.
[40] The lowest soul gives even a decaying body a human form. Without any soul presence there is no form. There is an etzem - bone that remains forever in the grave. From this Hashem will resurrect the soul. Hence, Jews do not believe in cremation. This bone contains an imprint of the soul.
[41] This place is Tohu. The absence of G-d is the definition of evil. While the sefirot initially existed in Tohu as point objects, they were incapable of giving, and they shattered with selfish overfilling energy. The shattered results were reconstructed into the Partzufim which are identified with Bohu.
[42] see Jewish Mysticism— An Anthology pp. 152-153
[43] Keter
[44] This Shabbas is Parsha Bereshis, 10/10/1996 and I ran across a teaching on the 231 gates which preceded the creation of the world. Two of the gates hw la are particularly key to the process. The name El is associated with G-d's creative power. There are 231 - alr cy is from the name Israel and refers to the 231 gates of creation described in Sefer Yetzirah, Kaplan trans., Weiser press, page 117. 231 is the number of combinations of 22 letters taken two at a time which is (22*21)/ 2 = 21*11 = 231. Kabbalists interpret the 231 gates as the forms remaining in the vacated space preceding creation. see Emek HaMelekh 6a, Limudey Atzilut (Munkatch, 1897), 3a, 22a.
[45] The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Ktav, 1973, pp. 126-7. Metatron from mattara means service, post, watch, guard. Eleazar of Worms interprets Metatron from metator - rwfyfm, meaning leader from Gen. Rabbah v.4: "He, was made a metator for the waters,...for He is the Prince of the World." Ron - }wr means to utter praise to the Holy One.
[46] Merkabah Literature Books of Enoch I Enoch II Enoch III Enoch, Work of the Chariot, trans., page 7.
[47] Work of the Chariot Footnote 12: "In the text, the high angels protest that an impure human soul has been given access to the World of Emanation, where they cannot enter. This underscores that, unlike the Way of the Angels of *Elohi*m, extreme purity is not required to ascend the Central Column."
[48] Work of the Chariot Footnote 14: "This verse reflects the teaching in Qabalah (shared by Sufism and the Tantras) that the universe and everything in it is literally created from the letters of the alphabet as vibrational differentiations of the Alef of Unity." see Primordial Aleph XI.B
[49] Based on Am Echad Bereshis chumash class at 6:30 PM and Beth Shalom meditation after Mincha. Discussed the complexities of reconciling science's idea of creation with the Torah.
[50] Sha'are Orah, Yosef Gikatalia, page 200.
[51] Starting from first letter of first sentence, last letter of second sentence, and first letter of third sentence.
[52] David felt similarly and when he discovered that it was his son Adonijah was rising up against him. Berachos 7b comments that Adonijah did not want to kill his father.
[53] 3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Odeberg, page 160. The princes appointed over the camps

of Shechinah are Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael.

[54] The Book of Enoch the Prophet, Enoch 1, Lawrence, 1892, Ch. 40, page 45. “After this I besought the angel of peace, who proceeded with me, to explain all that was concealed. I said to him, Who are those whom I have seen on the four sides, and whose words I have heard and written down? He replied, The first is the merciful, the patient, the holy Michael. The second is he who presides over every suffering and every affliction of the sons of men, the holy Raphael. The third, who presides over all that is powerful, is Gabriel. And the fourth, who presides over repentance, and the hope of those who will inherit eternal life, is Phanuel. These are the four angels of the most high God, and their four voices, which at that time I heard.”

[55] Love thy Neighbor, Pliskin.

[56] Michael Walton, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[57] Mem from mayim – water is the right pillar. Shin from aish – fire is the left pillar of the Tree of Life.

[58] â as in “ah”, ä as in “heh”

[59] Bahir.

[60] Rabbi Finkelman of Berkeley’s Beth Israel suggested this meaning.

[61] An abbreviation for a phrase.

[62] The Taryag Mitzvos on the Shema.

[63] The Way of G-d, Luzatto, Aryeh Kaplan trans. P. 277.

[64] Ibid. p. 277.

[65] The souls of people wait in Beriyah to be born.

[66] Encyclopedia of Torah Thoughts, Rabbeinu Bachya, The Challenge of Wealth, page 486.

[67] A Call to the Infinite, Aryeh Kaplan, pp.146-147.

[68] Rabbi Goldberg, Ahavas Torah, June 3, 2001, San Jose, CA.

[69] Bernice Levy of the Matan Biblical Institute in Jerusalem spoke on this subject at Am Echad on June 15th, 1999. She said that there are three places in Israel specifically mentioned in the Torah as purchased by our ancestors: Schem, Arahat Hamechpalah in Hevron, and Jerusalem. She remembered feeling safe walking in all three of these places twenty years ago, but today she feels she can can only visit Schem and Hevron in armored vehicles and similarly in east Jerusalem.

[70] Rabbi Raphael Lapin spoke on this subject at his weekly shir after Shabbas services, July 13th 1996.

[71] See character traits, anger

[72] A Call to the Infinite, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 60.

[73] Rabbi Raphael Lapin, Congregation Am Echad, San Jose, California, 1998.

[74] **a-** fâr, fäte; **i-** jovîal; **o-** nöte

[75] see Table: Sevens

[76] Genesis 2.

[77] Genesis 3.

[78] The influences of the sefirot of Gevurah-judgment-north and Hesed-kindness-south are here.

[79] This is the mitzvah - commandment of Bikur Holim - visiting the sick. We are obliged to perform this positive commandment.

[80] Isaiah 61:10

[81] Likutey Moharan IV, Rabbi Nachman, page 123.

[82] Kad Hakemach by Rabbeinu Bachya Ben Asher, trans. Encyclopedia of Torah Thoughts, Chavel, page 200.
[83] Job 33:18-24.
[84] Job 33:25
[85] Job 33:28
[86] Job 33:29
[87] Encyclopedia of Torah Thoughts, Rabbeinu Bachya, page 201.
[88] Job 38:1
[89] see Hosea 6:1-3
[90] Fifteen alludes to the name of G-d, Yah – hy, G-d of Creation and the 15 songs of praise of the Psukei D'zimra as well as the Yishtabach.
[91] Strive for Truth: Giving and Taking, Rabbi Eliyahu Dessler, Part 1, page 131.
[92] Ibid. pp 132-133.
[93] Ibid. page 133.

XI. Meditation

A. Healing Meditations

Healing Technique – August 11, 1993 - 7:30 PM
I moved the cause of any bad dreams I'd been having into my finger tips and washed them off.

I visualized Raphael - lapr hovering above the waters of creation. The beating of his wings transmitted healing energy throughout our world. I felt Raphael behind and through me lifting up my hands to heal those I prayed for. I prayed for each individual in the room and those that were ill that could not be with us. I saw their ill parts between my hands and I felt a flow of energy between them. My hands began moving as I visualized them along side my head and then down my body with a healing ray between them. I saw a golden light around my head (sunlight of Tiferets) and felt a surge of energy with Raphael still with me. I saw scintillating lights dancing around me and providing joy and healing.

I wanted to expand the healing that G-d was working through me. I visualized a glowing ball and I saw a string of light extending from its top, upward into the heavens. G-d created the world in the tzimtzum though a line of light and I saw its color was opal or mother of pearl. Raphael began to spin counter-clockwise above my head and into the heavens through the string-pipe.

I walked off into the mountains which is the wilderness, the realm of the klipot. I visualized drawing klipot coming out from others. They would then strike me and snap like a fire cracker turning into a flower lining my path. I preceded in this manner healing those I knew. The klipot turned into the most beautiful multi-colored flowers as if our "sins were made as white as snow." I walked further into the dark realm and began to visualize the harm of words spoken negatively in other lands. Eventually the klippot were coming in the thousands against my body until I had no more energy from Hashem to turn them. There were flowers everywhere and my hands fell down to the ground. I needed protection and thought of the garment, Malbush - cblm, the small silent voice, whose gematria is lightning.

cblm = 372 = lmcj

I visualized the garment around me and wondered at the Klipah Nogah that separates us from annihilation. I felt safe and drained of all energy as I opened my eyes.

B. Space travel [FIGURE] [TABLES]

Primordial Aleph - July 22, 1992 - 7:30 PM

Asiyah First being given a drink
Angels lifting
Moving higher, soul leaves the body
Leaving all behind, forgetting the physical

Yetzirah Dancing before a symbolic man of G-d as a bright fairy light
Kissing gleefully, being a bright happy spark
Seeing the primordial Aleph smoking as the molting pot of creation
All beginnings lie here, freedom from all restraints
Falling into the Aleph, nullifying all restraints
Beriyah A dark angel extending hands pulled out from within, the Merkavah lies below
Barely seeing the chamber
Going higher now into the heavens
All the angels chatting about what good things they will do today
Some are making a white feathery garment, placing the garment
Ascending higher[290]
Atzilut Moving towards an object way out in space. Getting closer, seeing a triangle with
Orbs at the vertices, connected to the bottom of the sefirot tree.
Pulsating with energy, the energy that sustains all creation
Eyes begin to flutter because of the energy
Head is rolled up in total vision

Commentary
The space in the tzelem[291] was filled with plasma energy, the power generator of the Universe. In astronomy, this is analogous to a black hole at the center of the Universe. Before ascending to the tzelem, an angel led the way and there was a beam of light shining from its head, teaching, and empowering. The Merkavah mystics would talk while experiencing these visions and the students would record the teachings. As a final gift a crystal of light descended into my hands, a most spectacular beautiful light and I began to rise with the following vision:
I recall the unity of all creation, the black fire of the world against the white light of nothingness. All physical problems dissipate in the nothingness.
And there is something more, I recognize my soul and the other souls I have touched as part of me. There is no sadness only exchanged sparks and tokens of Love.
I remember my face lit with white light. This is the image I wanted to remain with: the white light and love of G-d, the world, and all people. Amen.
A relaxed jaw is a beginning to the meditative state.

Eloah – May 8, 1993 - 10 PM
I played the tape, “Further Suggestions For Induction.”[292]

I found myself being greeted by a white pelican. It told me to follow as it soared into the heavens. I transformed into this type of bird and flew upwards. I gazed at the world below and saw green hills. From a bird I changed back into a man though I remained dressed in white and my arms had the likeness of feathers on them. I lifted them upwards and called unto G-d. I found myself in the large cavity of Malchuts - twklm. I called upon the angel Michael - lakm to take my right arm and Gabriel - larbg my left and we began our ascent. I uttered the names in my mind associated with Yesod (El Chai, Shadai) and the heaven of rock (firmament) opened and the angels took me higher. We ascended to the realm of Tiferets. I said the Tetragrammaton, Hashem, and we entered. There they let me rest. I was led to one of

the academies of Kabbalists that reside there. I sat down in front of this book and opened it. On the first page, I saw the words:

YHVH - yy
ShaBaT - tbc

In Tiferet is the everlasting Shabbat of the world to come. This is the Shabbat of Hashem while in Malchuts is the Shabbas of mankind. The page was followed by many blank pages. I realized the book would reveal the answer to any question I had. In the academies of Heaven, the mysteries are revealed directly instead of veiled as in this world. I thought of the name, Eloah[293] and it appeared on the page. I meditated on the name and lifted the white page overhead. There I saw the name as black fire on white fire and the name parted:

The name begins with Yod and ends with Yod, and represents all creative energy. It is the power of Elohim brought into the creation of the world. Between the names came forth the image of a flower, like an orchid, one of the double flowers. I realized the Name is the source of youth and renewal in this world. Herein lies the fountain of youth. In my mind, I saw myself running in a wonderful dance and I stood up even while I was still meditating. I began to turn to my left and recalled the sefirot associated with the different directions and the creative forces of G-d they emit into this world. “To the east is Tiferets, the source of a new day. From the North comes G-d’s strength, Gevurah, riding forth. To the West is the foundation of the world, Yesod, where the world grows and is built up. And from the South comes G-d’s kindness, Hesed. Above is the source of prophecy, Netzah. And from below comes the praise of man to G-d, our thankfulness; Hod.”

As I rotated to the left, I saw the name ELOaH turning the clock of life backwards. Extending my arms outward in the shape of a five-pointed star energy entered my head in a beam of light and went forth into the world through my arms and legs. Next, as arms lowered, I became tzayr - ryx - young, a “nair,” a youth, a boy. This name is the source of youth and childhood. It is the means of preserving eternal life in the world to come. I saw between the two parts of the Name an endless stream of life pouring forth, the Genesis of the world. I made the following suggestions:

1. See the world new again with the eyes of a child.
2. See all people in a good light, trusting.
3. Grow younger in age.

I opened my eyes to see the youthful light of day. I picked up the Sefer Yetzirah and opened it to a

chance page. Before me were the names of G-d to descend and ascend the Elon - }lya - the Tree of Life.[294]

C. Letter Meditations [TABLES]

Double Letters - May 15,1993 - 8:40 PM

I was studying the Handbook of Jewish Thought[295] and Sefer Yetzirah towards the end of Shabbas. In the chapter Judgment (21:2), life, children, peace, and wealth are not covered under the daily judgments. Instead, they are sealed on Rosh Hashanah. The rainfall of the year is sealed on Succoth (New Year of Rain), grain is sealed on Pesach, and fruit trees have their well being sealed on Shavuot.

Table 25: New Years

New Years	Holidays - Hagim - \ygj	Items Sealed
New year for People	Rosh Hashanah	Life, children, peace, and wealth
New year of Rain	Succoth	Rainfall
New year for Grain	Pesach	Grain harvest
New Year for Trees	Shavuot	Fruit harvest

I recalled a meditation from Sefer Yetzirah on the double letters for influencing the four long-term human fates:

Table 26: Double Letters

Letters	Tav - t	Resh - r	Peh - p	Caph - k	Dalet - d	Gimel - g	Bet - b
Channel Upward	Malchuts To Yesod	Yesod to Tiferets	Hod to Gevurah	Netzah to Hesed	Tiferets to Daat	Gevurah to Binah	Hesed to Hochmah
Planet	Jupiter	Saturn	Mercury	Venus	Sun	Mars	Moon
Anatomy	Mouth	Left Nostril	Left Ear	Left Eye	Right Nostril	Right Ear	Right Eye
	The mouth speaks praise to G-d	The left nostril smells war	The left ears hears ways of dominance	The left eye sees life	The right nostril smells new life	The right ear hears wealth	The right eye sees wisdom
Day of the Week	Shabbas	Friday	Thursday	Wednesday	Tuesday	Monday	Sunday
Patriarch	David	Joseph	Aaron	Moses	Jacob	Isaac	Abraham
Sefirot Color	Blue	Orange	Lower Eyelid	Upper Eyelid	Yellow	Gold Red	Silver White

Vowel Names	(none)	Shurek	Koobbutz	Heriq	Holam	Sheva	Segol
Vowel Symbols							

Meditation uses
Permute DGBKPRT - trpk bgd with D - d in place with the sound “th” for children. p.177. Strengthen on Tuesday - twice blessed, good for marriages.

Interpretation Uses
Find day of birth (Wednesday)— planet (Venus), [ruling planet by starts (Venus)] ruling planet by name (Venus), first letter of name sound influences. Name influences - Jewish Thought (21:22).

Friday - April 16th, 1993 - 6:30 AM
I studied the Key of Solomon.[296] The 6th hour of Friday is ruled by the Angel Anael under the planet Venus. These are also the guiding forces of Friday alone.[297] The influences of Venus are empowered during prayers at this hour. Copper is the metal of Friday and the color is green.[298]

Table 27: Mother Letters

Upper Sefira	Vowel Name	Vowel Sound	Vowel Symbol	Letter	Elem	Elem meaning
Keter	Kametz	awe		Aleph	Air	“decree”
Hochmah	Patach	ah		Mem	Water	“merit”
Binah	Tzerey	ae		Shin	Fire	“liability”[299]

D. Biblical narratives [FIGURE]

Pinchas - July 24, 1995 - 8:30 PM - Entered July 13, 1996
A breathing meditation led to a visualization of colors (auras) behind others.[300] I journeyed to the time of Pinchas and saw the unruly crowd before Moshe and Aaron. They were parading their Midianite women as Zimri slept with one. Pinchas who was depressed was all of a sudden filled with the souls of the first two sons of Aaron and his head lifted. He knew clearly what to do and there was no rage or even anger. He slew Zimri and the Midianite woman for his jealousy for G-d and the crowd quieted. Pinchas’s composure was self-evident and his right to priesthood secured. As he [Pinchas] did not die, Elijah was also jealous for G-d and a Cohen.[301] Pinchas’s life will end when a full love of Israel fills his soul and the sanctity of G-d is secure in all Israel, (at the end of days?)

I also saw the tragic bus bombing in Ramat Gan in my mind and experienced the shock of the dead and

the sorrow of their relatives. It is G-d's intention to reveal the closeness of Am Israel with Eretz Israel and that only the Jews can have this relationship with this land. I also asked of what to do in life. Money is gathered in the west (US) to sow seed in the east (Israel). Yesod is in the west and Tiferet in the east. Joseph accumulated the wealth of Egypt; Jacob was the source of the seed of Israel in Israel. Gather in the west to sow in the east is the way.

Walking meditation is halacha[302], since walking makes one aware of following G-d's will. Blessed be the Lord, G-d, King of all the Universe who revealth all dvarim [words].

Adam and Eve - July 30, 1995 - 8 AM

I played the Progressive Relaxation Tape. I started in a beautiful meadow and prayed to Hashem with the grasses around me.[303] I ascended a tower of faces. This was the ladder through Yetzirah to higher worlds. I asked G-d of the mystery of Lilith. This was Adam's first wife, other half, separated from him[304]. She was the object of his lust, but he did not love her for his wife (Zohar 27b p. 105). Her children were winged demons of a thin body who spread throughout the world and one would be the tempter of Hava [Eve] in the garden.[305]

I asked G-d further on the meaning of this story. Adam rejected Lilith for a desire for someone similar to himself. But, there are deep mysteries why an opposite is a test of our choice in marriage. I pressed Hashem for the answer to this mystery. I pounded on the Gate of Knowledge that I may know it. The answer lies with David Hamelech who is a descendent of Ruth, of Moab, of Lot, of Seth who replaced Kayin.[306] Within every soul in this world is a unique part of Adam Kadmon.[307] The soul that David received, though tainted initially, brought with it great initiative that carried his ability to be king. This idea I learned yesterday on Shabbas from an article stating, "Kingship was not found in the Jewish people due to the lack of pride of Moav.[308]" Kayin descended from the first wife of Adam[309]. Hevel was from Hava. The source of the pride of Moshiach comes from Adam's opposite Lilith. Seth replaced both Hevel and Kayin and for this reason was not taken away by the demons of Lilith. How do we know that Seth replaces Kayin:

Eve said, "G-d has granted me *other* offspring in the place of Hevel." (Genesis 4:25)

The word 'other' alludes to Kayin. This occurred after the death of Kayin. [310]

Figure 8: Cain and Abel

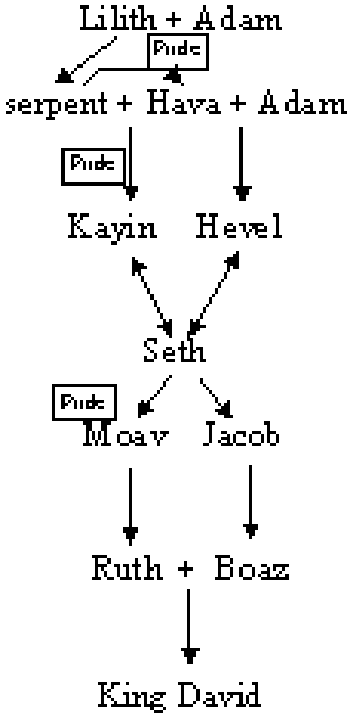

So the deep mystery of the choice of one's wife returns to the beginning and the choice repeats itself in every generation[311]. Praise to Hashem and much gratitude for being permitted this knowledge[312].

Isaac and Rebecca - August 14, 1996 - 7:30 PM - Rosh Hodesh Elul

I was studying Ahavas Chesed - loving kindness by the Chofetz Chaim in the morning. He quotes from Chazal, "He who only occupies himself with Torah study and not with kindness is as if he has no G-d."[313] That night Ira led the healing meditation at Beth Shalom.

I visualized Sarah pregnant with Isaac. I sensed her satisfaction with being B'rayon - pregnant and the good feeling about the child she carried. My search for Isaac brought me to a vision of him as a young man. I saw him in the fields amongst the grasses praying to G-d. He had long golden hair and was handsome in form. Nevertheless, what distinguished him most was the smile on his face and the joy in his heart. I was amazed by his energy in prayer and play in the fields and his joy and dance before Hashem. Isaac's blessings were multiplied by his fun loving spirit. I introduced myself to Isaac and we shook hands. Isaac asked me, "what do you do?" I told him I learn Torah. He said, "No, learning is not doing. I asked you what are you doing with your life?" I told him I work. He said, "No, what are your deeds? What are your actions in life? What are you doing that distinguishes your life?" I told him I once taught in a senior center. He said that was good and "what are you doing now?" I said I am writing a book. He said, "that's OK, but what else are you doing?" The point of these questions was the emphasis Isaac placed on doing and action in life as opposed to learning. For Isaac, even playing was an aspect of doing and an important part of life. I tried to reconcile this attitude with Isaac's childhood experience of almost being sacrificed. Isaac said that it was a long time ago and behind him. Ira suggested after the meditation that when a person has a near death experience, one develops a greater sense of urgency to enjoy every moment of life. Instead of an emotional scar, Isaac became a very happy child who enjoyed nature and the world around him.

Doing implies taking chances occasionally. Certainly we will all make mistakes, but without doing we will not find them, correct them, and lead a better life. Doing applies to marriage as well. Isaac married Rebecca without doing an intensive personal search himself. This was a risk; nevertheless, his marriage was joyful. People whose marriages do not work out should not be unhappy but should take what they learned with new joy into their life.

I saw Rebecca riding on her camel and then alighting before Isaac as he wondered who she was[314]. Eleazar led her to the camp and Rebecca took Sarah's tent and renewed the rituals of Sarah. Isaac was overjoyed with Rebecca, his wife and their love ran very deep. I asked Isaac to take me to meet his wife and he led me up a hill to what is know today as Hebron and I saw a tent in the distance. We came up to the tent and Isaac called his wife who came out to meet us. She was short with youth in height and she reached to cling to the side of her husband. Her face was also lit up with the joy of youth and love. Isaac mentioned something about food and drink and Rebecca said that the table is already prepared. I saw an ordered table set with light and food and drink within the tent. When I saw Rebecca, I saw her with a pitcher volunteering water for Eleazar to drink and for his camels. Her life was one of action as well.

I sought to know where they were residing and why I saw them so young. I saw the gold of the grasses blowing in the wind and realized with Isaac's guidance that this place too was found in Gevurah. Gevurah is the 5th sefirot and epitomizes action and doing in life. The number 5 is associated with movement. The angel Gavriel is the one associated with rescuing the Jewish people in the time of Daniel and calling out to Abraham to end the test of sacrificing Isaac. The world of Gevurah is associated with nature and enjoying life besides the rigor, discipline, and judgment as traditional associations. The name of G-d associated with Gevurah is Elohim which represents natural law in our world. Fun is part of the opportunities of life in this world and should be embraced wholeheartedly.

E. Blue Skies

Having an authentic vision requires careful preparation. By learning the descriptions of the Palaces of Yetzirah or the Chambers of Beriah one can attempt to duplicate the vision during a meditation and learn more details of these worlds. The descriptions are only a guideline and the journey is only for those whose longing is strong.

1. The Seven Heavens of Asiyah

Chagigah 12b
R. Judah said: There are two firmaments, for it is said: Behold, unto the Lord thy God belongeth heaven, and the heaven of heavens. Resh Lakish said: [There are] seven, namely, Wilon, Rakia', Shehakim, Zebul, Ma'on, Makon, 'Araboth. Wilon serves no purpose except that it enters in the morning and goes forth in the evening and renews every day the work of creation, for it is said: That stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in. Rakia' is that in which sun and moon, stars and constellations are set, for it is said: And God set them in the firmament [Rakia'] of the heaven.

Shehakim is that in which millstones stand and grind manna for the righteous for it is said: And He commanded the skies [Shehakim] above, and opened the doors of heaven; and He caused manna to rain upon them for food etc. Zebul is that in which [the heavenly] Jerusalem and the Temple and the Altar are built, and Michael, the great Prince, stands and offers up thereon an offering, for it is said: I have surely built Thee a house of habitation [Zebul], a place for Thee to dwell in for ever. And whence do we derive that it is called heaven? For it is written: Look down from heaven, and see, even from Thy holy and glorious habitation. Ma'on is that in which there are companies of Ministering Angels, who utter [divine] song by night, and are silent by day for the sake of Israel's glory, for it is said: By day the Lord doth command His lovingkindness, and in the night His song is with me.

2. The Seven Palaces of Yetzirah

Perkei Hekhalot - Chapters of the Palaces[315] contains a formal description of these palaces. The following contains my own personal experiences of these heavens. In the world of Yetzirah there are 7 heavens[316]. These are:

a) Shamayim (Sham - Mayim : There is water -> Firmament)

This is the location of the Sun, Moon, planets, and stars. Yet how can this be since we see them in our world and know of their places. I have seen a star in Yetzirah and its light source is a precious soul that serves Hashem like an angel[317]. Some of these souls were once from our world, others are of angelic source.

b) Shemai Hashamayim (Water above the Waters -> Nehar Di-nur)

In this heaven new angels are born each day to utter praises to Hashem. They are born from the spring of fire each morning. They first dip their hands into the fiery waters and bring a taste to their mouths. Then they sing the holy Kadosh to Hashem and praises from sunrise to sunset.

c) Zevul (Habitation -> prince)

lwbz
This heaven is the place of the “prince”. He is surrounded by his ministering angels. He is called Meattah for he is from G-d. This heaven may be the residence of Zer Anpin in the world of Yetzirah.

d) Araphel (Fog or mist -> Torah)

lpru
This is like the morning mists and clouds that cover mountain tops. Moshe’s tent was said to be enclosed in araphel when the Shechinah dwelled within. It represents Mt. Sinai and the place of the giving of the

Torah.

e) Shehakim (Heavens)

syqjc
The rebuilt Jerusalem is prepared in this heaven. The Temple, Table, Ark, Menorah and all the utensils are here.

f) Mahon -> Aravot

It is five hundred year journey from Shehakim to Mahon. In the midst are the storehouses of snow and hail as well as the rewards for the righteous and punishments for the wicked. Five hundred years further is the Aravot whose merkavah is called Av bu which means cloud. There are some souls yet to be born.

g) Throne of Glory

This is the heaven of the Throne of G-d.

The descent from the heaven of the 'Throne of Glory' leads to the place of the Merkavah or the 'Throne of G-d'. Beneath the throne souls await their entry into our world.

3. The Seven Chambers of Beriyah

In the world of Beriyah there are seven chambers.[318] The seven chambers are discussed in the work of the Me'am Lo'ez.[319]

a) Brickwork of Sapphire - First Chamber

The first chamber [is called the Brickwork of Sapphire (Livnath HaSappir)]

It contains two angels, one on each side, under the direction of a great angel [called Tahariel]. He stands at the gate of this Chamber; by his side are myriads of fiery angels, with eyes all over, each holding a burning rod.

When a soul leaves this world, it must pass before this angel. If it is not sullied by sin, the presiding angel opens the gate of this Chamber and allows it inside. But, if the soul is defiled by sin and naked, not clothed in good deeds, it is shoved to the other side of the chamber, where there is a great angel presiding over thousands of harmful angels. They grasp the soul and beat it severely, leading it to purgatory [Gehenom], which is the place of judgment.

Another duty of this holy angel is to oversee prayer. Each prayer passes through this chamber....

b) Essence of Heaven - Second Chamber

The second Chamber [is called the Essence of Heaven (Etzem HaShamayim).] It has three gates, two of which are closed, and one of which is open. [Overseeing the open gate] is an angel [called Orpeneyel, who is also] in charge of the three directions south, north, and east. Under his supervision, two other angels stand by the two closed gates.

In the time of the Holy Temple, the Sanhedrin (Supreme Court) had the power to inflict the death penalty. When a person is put to death by this Court, his soul ascends to this Chamber, where it is greeted by the presiding angel. The same is true of the soul of a person killed by gentiles.

If a person has been killed by the gentiles, his image is engraved on [the angel's] vestments, and he brings it to the highest heaven. There, this person is recorded in the Great Book.

If he has been put to death by the Jewish courts, the angel overseeing the open gate greets his soul. It then conducts this soul all around the Chamber, until it arrives behind the two closed gates where it is shown the good reward given to all those who keep the Torah. The soul experiences great jealousy and extreme anguish for not having kept the Torah.

The angel then opens the east gate, comforts this soul, and allows it to enter. It is welcome inside, since its sins were expiated when it was put to death by the court.

In this Chamber are many kinds of garments prepared for the ones who present themselves before G-d. Every time a person observes the commandments with good intentions, not with any ulterior motive, a beautiful garment is prepared for his soul by the supervisors of this Chamber. When he passes away, his soul arrives in this Chamber. The angel who made his garment sees this soul coming, takes the garment, and accompanies the soul to the River Dinur.

Every soul must immerse in this river to purify itself, since there is no one who has never sinned.

Some souls are burned in this fiery river. They cannot leave it until the morning hours when the south wind blows. This is the time when all such souls are restored, singing praise to G-d and returning to their place. In this manner, souls behave like angels.

If this soul is perfectly pure, it can emerge from the river immediately. It is then dressed in its garment, and brought up to the heavens, into the domain of Michael, the greatest of all angels, who oversees Israel. Michael then offers this soul as a sacrifice to G-d [on the altar on high]. The soul then attains high status, and is allowed to remain permanently in this holy place...

c) Luster - Third Chamber

d) Merit - Forth Chamber

e) Love - Fifth Chamber

The fifth chamber [is called Love (Ahavah)]. ...

In this chamber there is a Force [called Suriah] who has four colors white, black, green, and red. Under his direction are many angels who oversee all the gates. All the keys are in his hand and it is he who opens all the gates and locks them. All the mysteries are also given to him. Three times each day all the angels come into this Chamber, and he nourishes them.

In this chamber are all the souls which are destined to be born, as well as the form of every future body. Since the world was created this place of souls has never been empty.

Hakodesh Baruch directs Suriah who commands the gate keepers to open the gates of heaven which include the Gates of Repentance.

f) Desire - The Sixth Chamber

The sixth chamber [is called desire (Ratzon)]. ...

The presiding angel in this Chamber [Raziel] is the greatest and most important of them all. All the divine mysteries are given to him.

...
In this Chamber there are other angels [Shakhniel, Azuziah, Yehudiah, and Azriel,] who oversee the voices of young children who study Torah in school. The breath exhaled from these children's mouths is clear and pure, without sin. These angels take this breath and bring it up to heaven, where it sustains the entire universe. This is most precious in G-d's eyes.

g) Holy of Holies - The Seventh Chamber

The seventh Chamber, which is called the Holy of Holies (kodesh Ha Kadashim), is the most excellent of all. It is sealed and concealed from all eyes. It is to this chamber that holy souls come when they leave the world, and here they delight in the radiance [of the Divine Presence]. Here they remain until the coming of the Messiah [and the Resurrection].

Ascent of the Palaces - June 9, 1996 - 8 AM
I played the Earth, Wind, Water, and Fire tape for hypnotic induction. Initially I saw a pool of cool blue green waters and descended into a deep hypnotic state.

I descended the stairs and opened the door into Shamayim. I was below looking up at the stars of the night. Everything was quite spectacular.

Eventually I saw a waterfall of fire and swam up it into the 2nd heaven. I swam towards the source. I saw

two activities. First I saw a rope of angels being pulled out of the waters and as they parted each one took its own shape. Simultaneously there was a rope of angels returning into the waters. I placed myself into the form of one of the angels being born. I came to the water side and reached in lifting the liquid fire above my mouth so that my hand did not come into contact with my face. A few drops fell into my mouth and I began to sing praises to G-d. I was filled with joy and understood the pleasures of these angels. For them a day is eternity.

I then strove to enter the 3rd heaven, but found many barriers. There was no path to Zevul - lwbz and I remembered only two of the names of the "Prince". I tried Meattah and Metatron, but they had little effect. I gave myself a hypnotic suggestion to wake for 30 seconds, retrieve Cohn-Sherbok's Jewish Mysticism, lookup names and reenter the hypnotic state. This worked perfectly and I retrieved 2 names for the prince. They were Kimos and Sanas. The second is the name of the Guardian who appears like a manticore[320] with the head of a human and the body of a lion. He came down and swept my soul out of my body raising me to the entry point. I looked like a quasit with 2 thin wings and a mere spark of light for my head. It was a bit dehumanizing at first. I realized soon enough that he wasn't the Prince and would not let me pass. I asked to go beyond but he said wait, "I can give you any knowledge in the world that you would like to know." He claimed to be able to reveal the purpose and truth behind all my current struggles as well as the answers to what would happen in the future. I saw upon his shoulder and then above his head a snake hissing a way and realized the meaning of the tempter in the garden upon the Tree of Knowledge. I said that all knowledge I need to know has been given to us in our world and I took the position of the GRA and did not take the gift. Still I could not pass. I prepared another hypnotic suggestion and awoke and saw the name of the merkavah associated with this heaven. Once I knew this name, I felt the Guardian slipping away with the snake. I did not even need to utter the name.

A small angel came down and I raised my arms above my head and I was lifted into the third heaven proper and brought to the Prince. I gazed only at his beard and saw the 13 attributes of Hashem hanging there. I uttered them in my mind. I felt the appearance of the Prince like the emperor but of more whiteness and mercy sitting on the throne. There was an opportunity to ask questions here as well but I did not pursue it. At this point, I do not believe any harm would have ensued.

Instead I requested to ascend to the world of the Torah, since the Torah was given to us in this world to answer all of my questions. I focused on the name lpru and saw the mist at the entrance of Moshe's tent. I also saw the fog hanging on Mt. Sinai. At this point I decided to return. I was very tired.

Eventually I gave myself a suggestion to be refreshed and counted myself up to ten and into the awake state.

Journey Through the 7 Heavens - June 14, 1995 - 7 PM

Healing Meditation. Chant tape followed by instrumental. Discussed homeless situation prior to meditation. I saw that part of the healing process for homeless people would be to live in the rural country. Closeness to natural beauty heals the soul.[321]

1st Heaven

The 4 angels led us through the 1st palace. There resided the homeless who had suffered in this world

with walls of small angels playing soothing musical instruments. They walked stress-free in this world. We met the protector of the palace whose face was his full body. There was a staircase in the back that ascended to the second palace.

2nd Heaven
Here was Alyssum, a lake, and surrounding grasses. The world was guarded by a small druid with a keen mind. There were artists along the lake side drawing. He led us through the forest to the base of a mountain. After ascending the mountain, I passed through the clouds, the firmament into the 3rd world.

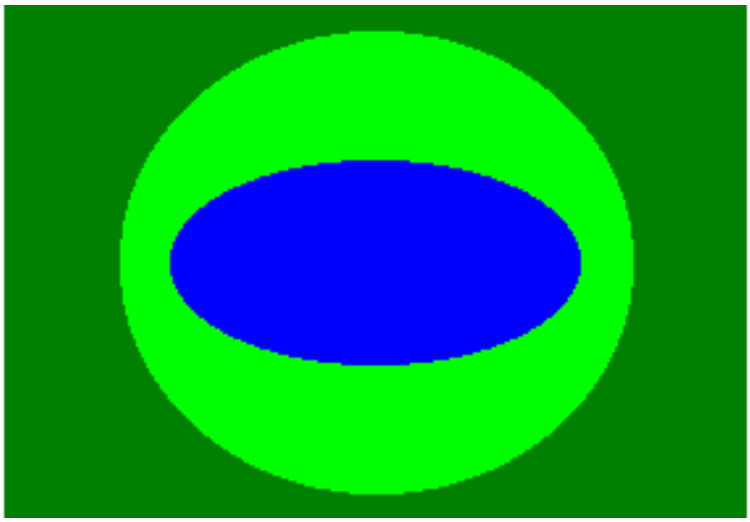

3rd Heaven
Here were astrologers and healers who had spent their lives on spiritual pursuits. The sky was dark and the piercing lights of the stars and planets was brilliant. The astrologers were in heaven. Passing through an arch led to the 4th world.

4th Heaven
This was a mirror of Israel, the dead sea and desert. Here the prophets of old walked. My guide was Isaiah who asked me what I had learned. He told me I understood the prophecies about the anointed well. He said I will find answers in Malachi.[322]

5th Heaven
All entities in this heaven were in a lightning energy. I held my guides hand for stability. [This world exists in raw visual energy.]

6th Heaven
The sixth world is entirely audio. The words of the Tzaddikim were all that I heard.

7th Heaven
This is the world of fragrance, closest to Hashem. The fragrance is that of goodly women whose souls are highest of all in heaven.

Follow up - June 16, 1995

When you share your bread with the hungry, bring the outcast poor to your home,
When you see the naked and clothe them, hide yourself not from your own flesh ...
Then you shall call, and G-d shall answer, You shall cry out, and He will say, "I am here."
(Isaiah 58:7,9)

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[290] Props in a vision help in movement. Here a garment aids the visionary in ascent.
[291] Man was created in the "image (tzelem) of G-d". The sefirot are equated with this image and manifest themselves from the attributes of Hashem into the image of man.
[292] Similar to stories of Ovid.
[293] Eloah Beriyahot – G-d of Creation, is found in Parsha Vayigash.
[294] Sefer Yetzirah 1:1, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Weiser, page 5.
[295] Handbook of Jewish Thought II, Aryeh Kaplan, Mozanim, page 334.
[296] Mathers translation.
[297] The 6th hour is from midnight and corresponds to the 1st hour of daylight. The ruling planet of the first hour of the day dominates the influence of the day.
[298] The Sevens of Creation has associations from a different tradition. The metal and color here are from the Key of Solomon.
[299] Sefer Yetzirah. Page 96.

[300] Kol Emet meditation group, Palo Alto, CA.
[301] There is a tradition that Pinchas did not die and became Elijah who also never died. G-d took Elijah directly into heaven in a fiery chariot. Each Pesach - Passover, we leave a cup of Elijah out with the expectation that he may come and visit us soon with the dawn of a new age.
[302] Halacha or law literally means walking. Judaism equates keeping the commands with the way one walks in life.
[303] There is a Midrash that Isaac went out in the field to pray amongst the grasses. As the grasses wave in the wind so does Jew wave when he prays to G-d. The grasses prayed with Isaac and received Rebecca his wife.
[304] G-d created Lilith from the dust of the earth at the same time as Adam. Nevertheless Lilith was not a help mate for Adam having a different nature entirely. Eventually she tried to rule over him without G-d between them. There is a teaching that the name of man in Hebrew is ish - cya and that of woman is ishah - hca. As long as G-d is between them they live as husband and wife. Nevertheless, if they remove G-d from the relationship, i.e. the letters from the name of G-d - hy, has vshalom, only fire - ca is left and the relationship consumes itself.
[305] Mido-cnegdo-mido, character trait begets character trait, for Adam's lust.
[306] The text used the reflexive version of kill, implying Cain killed himself as well as Abel.
[307] G-d's primordial thought and creation of first man.
[308] OU article, Jewish Thought Vol. 3 #2 page 62. Ber. Rabah 23:5 on Ber 4:25. Zohar 28b p. 108.
[309] Zohar 28b p. 108.
[310] After Hevel died, Adam avoided relations with his wife for 130 years. At that time Lamech's wives came in mourning to Adam. Lamech had killed Kayin and Tuval Kayin in a hunting accident. Lamech's two wives refused to have relations with their husband because of the murders and fulfillment of the prophecy over Kayin. Adam said that we are commanded to be fruitful and multiply and should not avoid this even because of prophecy. The women retorted, "Before you correct others correct yourself." Therefore he set an example with his wife so that Lamech's wives would not point out that he had given up relations with his wife over the death of Hevel. Seth is born after the death of Cain and Abel and replaces both.
[311] Lilith was very beautiful and Adam was proud of her and took her. This is the source of pride necessary for Kingship. The children of this marriage were demons. A marriage for appearance or wealth alone will not produce good offspring. Nevertheless, Seth had both the goodness of Abel and a touch of pride from Cain. Pride in one's wife is an ingredient for this balance. Women have the same dual choice and this is often the basis of their attraction to the 'wrong man'. In essence a touch of pride elevates goodness into leadership.
[312] Psalm 78:38, Zohar 23b, pp. 96-97.
[313] Ahavath Chesed, page 92. Chazal is a term referring to our sages of blessed memory.
[314] Abraham had not revealed the purpose of Eleazar's mission to Isaac before sending him away.
[315] Pirkey Hekhalot, Jewish Mysticism - An Anthology, Dan Cohn-Sherbok. pp. 72-75.
[316] I have placed them there with the highest heaven leading to the base of the world of creation.
[317] This is from a vision I had where I was placed as a star upon high point to transmit light in Yetzirah.
[318] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan trans. Weiser, 1990, page 186.

[319] Me'am Lo'ez, Genesis 6, page 182.
[320] These are mythological creatures.
[321] See Healing Meditations
[322] See Malachi

V. Character

In order to experience a close relationship to Hashem, one must work on character and attitude. Giving tzedakah - charity is the key to obtaining these qualities. Charity is not just in money or even gifts, but it is expressed in the way we speak to every person in need. Doing Hesed, practicing random acts of love and kindness[151], is another way to improve midos. Nevertheless, we must also take care of ourselves.

If I am not for myself, who am I
If I am only for myself, what am I
If not now, when.
(Perkei Avos)

Having a positive view of others and the world improves others and the world. "**The way one looks at the world is the kind of world one shall have**."[152]

A. Envy

When I came and told thereof to R. Akiba he said:
'Henceforth it is forbidden to speak of them in dispraise'
— Referring to this Ben Azzai said:
By your name you will be called, to your place you will be restored
and from what belongs to you will you be given.
No man can touch what is prepared for his fellow and
'One kingdom does not interfere with the other even to the extent of one hair's breadth'
(Yoma 38b)

Hashem ordains the reward that each person receives in this world. To envy there is no purpose. Often, the lack of a powerful position in society is a blessing, leaving one more time for Torah learning and developing true wisdom.

B. Chesed

Chesed is overflowing with good deeds for others. Abraham epitomizes this quality with his open tent policy towards strangers. The essence of chesed is to be aware of people, animal, and plant needs around and to perform a good deed when the opportunity arises. This should be done swiftly as if one is pursuing the glory of heaven.

Practice random acts of kindness and senseless acts of beauty

The Alter of Slobodka, Rav Nosson Zvi Finkel said:

All human beings are precious, for they contain the image of G-d. Man is therefore obligated to honor his fellowman and shower him with chesed for by so doing he is honoring G-d. He must be careful not to embarrass or abuse another person, for by so doing he is slighting G-d.[153]

C. Charity

The Orchos Tzaddikim discusses the ways of giving charity. To give with a smile or to purchase what a person needs in advance is charity with loving kindness, tzedakah with hesed. Giving frequently to those in particular need is greater than a single large gift. One should be prepared to recognize and execute on the opportunity of tzedakah. This is an aspect of zealousness according to the M'silat Ysharim. Giving in secret is greater with one's neighbor so that no one feels embarrassed by having their need recognized.

I have a friend who taught me the meaning of charity. She prepares for meeting those in need by purchasing food certificates in advance to give to the homeless. When seeing someone in need, she would stop to talk with the person to see what she wants, whether she is hungry. She would take her time talking to the person showing chesed,[154] while others find themselves simply giving charity.

The rewards for charity are enumerated in the Talmud and Bible:

twkrb hrcu-tjab]rbtm \yrbdb wsypmhw ,twkrb ccb]rbtm ynul hfwrp }twnh
The giver of a coin to the poor is blessed with six blessings, one who consoles him with words with eleven blessings. [155]
(Bava Batra 9b)

ISA 58:7 Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?

ISA 58:8 Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the LORD shall be thy reward.

ISA 58:9 Then shalt thou call, and the LORD shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity;

The rewards for charity in money are:

1. Shining light from ones own soul
2. Health
3. Righteous behavior will be easier.

4. Awareness of the glory of G-d.
5. Requests answered from G-d.
6. Cries heard and response from G-d.

ISA 58:10 And if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noonday:

ISA 58:11 And the LORD shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.

ISA 58:12 And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.

The rewards for consoling another with words are:

1. A personal radiant light
2. Darkness removed from ones soul
3. Guidance from G-d.
4. Quenching the thirst of the soul.
5. Fattening the bones, which purges the sin that weakens the bones.
6. Beautiful growth
7. An endless source of inspiration for others
8. Children who will rebuild downtrodden places.
9. Children who will build up later generations in wisdom.
10. Become known as one that repairs the divisions of the world.
11. Restore paths to dwell in.

The ‘paths to dwell in’ are the ways of Torah. Restoration of the paths is necessary when the people around are devoid of spiritual interests.

The Shabbat is likened to charity:

\yynul hqdx tbcb cmc

Sunshine on Shabbas is charity to the poor/homeless.

“When the Sun shines brightly on Shabbat, the pauper is spared appearing in the street in his tattered overcoat. The sun on Shabbat is thus a kindness/charity for him.”[156]

ISA 58:13 If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the LORD, honourable; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words:

ISA 58:14 Then shalt thou delight thyself in the LORD; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

The rewards for Shabbat described here are three:

1. Delight in G-d.
2. Walk upon the high places of the world, i.e. mountainous splendor or spiritual heights.
3. Receive the nourishment of the true life of Jacob, i.e. good children and family.

D. Joy

yy ynpl \tjmcw
And you shall rejoice before the Lord
(Deuteronomy 12:12)

The word sameach - jmc means happiness or joy. The root sahm - \c means put, suggesting that one must place joy in one's heart always. Joy brings love and closeness to G-d.[157]

The Orchos Tzaddikim writes that one should wake up each day amazed with the world around. To see the Sun move across the sky in its course, and the plants around growing, the stars above shining in their constellations, and the planets advancing according to their course brings one to an amazement with G-d's creation. If we wake up each day and remind ourselves of how precious the world is our joy with life will always grow and give us happiness.

hbwfl wz \g
This, too, is for the good
(Ta'anis 21a - Nachum Ish Gamzu)

dbu bfl anmjr dbud hm lk
All that the Merciful One does is for the good
(Berachos 60b)

All difficulty has a purpose if only to test our soul or to remind us of how thankful we need to be.

I AM THANKFUL FOR .....
THE PARTNER WHO HOGS THE COVERS EVERY NIGHT
BECAUSE HE/SHE IS NOT OUT WITH SOMEONE ELSE

THE TEENAGER WHO IS NOT DOING DISHES
BUT IS WATCHING TV, BECAUSE THAT MEANS

HE/SHE IS AT HOME AND NOT ON THE STREETS.

FOR THE TAXES THAT I PAY, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT I, AM EMPLOYED.

FOR THE MESS TO CLEAN AFTER A PARTY, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT I HAVE BEEN SURROUNDED BY FRIENDS.

FOR THE CLOTHES THAT FIT A LITTLE TOO SNUG, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE ENOUGH TO EAT.

FOR MY SHADOW THAT WATCHES ME WORK, BECAUSE IT MEANS I, AM IN THE SUNSHINE.

FOR A LAWN THAT NEEDS MOWING, WINDOWS THAT NEED CLEANING, AND GUTTERS THAT NEED FIXING, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE A HOME.

FOR ALL THE COMPLAINING I HEAR ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT WE HAVE FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

FOR THE PARKING SPOT I FIND AT THE FAR END OF THE PARKING LOT, BECAUSE IT MEANS I AM CAPABLE OF WALKING AND THAT I HAVE BEEN BLESSED WITH TRANSPORTATION.

FOR MY HUGE HEATING BILL, BECAUSE IT MEANS I, AM WARM.

FOR THE LADY BEHIND ME IN CHURCH THAT SINGS OFF KEY, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT I CAN HEAR.

FOR THE PILE OF LAUNDRY AND IRONING, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE CLOTHES TO WEAR.

FOR WEARINESS AND ACHING MUSCLES AT THE END OF THE DAY, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE BEEN CAPABLE OF WORKING HARD.

FOR THE ALARM THAT GOES OFF IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS, BECAUSE IT MEANS THAT I AM ALIVE.

AND FINALLY.....

FOR TOO MUCH E-MAIL, BECAUSE IT MEANS I HAVE FRIENDS WHO ARE THINKING OF ME.

(SEND THIS TO SOMEONE YOU CARE ABOUT, AND WHEN YOU THINK YOUR LIFE IS SO BAD, READ THIS AGAIN.)
(Jamie – 9/11/2001)[158]

E. Anger

Jacob had prophesied, "I will divide them in Yaakov, and disperse them in Israel" because of their anger and excessive punishment of the people of Shechem.[159] Levi was scattered throughout Israel in the Cities of Refuge. Though they were selected to be priestly servants, they were humbled by their dependence on charity, by the difficulties of those they would dwell amongst in these cities, and finally the distances between their families throughout the land. Similarly, Shimon was allocated a portion of land in the midst of Judah. In the end, they were forced to give up their land as Judah's numbers expanded and they became teachers of children and poor wanderers.[160] Nevertheless, the teaching of children helped them develop self-control. This is always the way of Hashem and we must always learn to see the gift and lesson in any suffering.[161]

The time to avoid anger is before it begins. The intellect should prevent this emotion from arising. There are three periods in anger:

- Before it begins. One should be aware of controlling anger at this point even before the emotion is even felt.
- After the emotion is felt but before one speaks or acts. This moment is likely to be too late.
- After one has already spoken or acted in anger. The damage has already been done, but one can still try to repair this damage.

According to 'Love the Neighbor'[162] there are three stages to anger:

- the cause
- one's interpretation of the cause

- one's reaction

The key to avoiding anger is to change one's interpretation of the cause. For example, one should not assume that an insult is directed towards them, but merely reflects that the other person is having a difficult day and perhaps has other problems on his mind. Fasting is a tikkun for anger. Fasting brings one back to return and repent.

We are taught from the "Ways of the Tzaddik":
Because Moshe our teacher, may peace be upon him, said to the children of Reuven and Gad (Numbers 32:14): "You are a brood of sinful men," his descendant became a priest of idols – even though he was angry for the sake of Heaven. All of man's actions require the proper measure. He must deliberate how to perform the mitzvos, both when angry and when in good spirits.
...
Know that the ripeness of a man's intellect is the governing of his anger, as it is written (Proverbs 19:11): "A man's intellect is the withholding of his anger."[163]

The following story describes the challenges of dealing with some people.[164]

I was told this story by my father who was told it by his father and is probably told by others as well. There was a Rabbi who was giving a lecture one Shabbas. In the audience there was a person who interrupted the Rabbi and said, "That is not correct." Others in the group were aghast and wanted to ask him to leave, but the Rabbi said it was OK, thought briefly, and than corrected himself continuing. Again this person spoke up and again the Rabbi corrected what he was saying. This went on for a period of a half an hour when finally the Rabbi asked someone to remove him from the audience.

Afterwards the Rabbi was praying and felt that G-d was dissatisfied with his behavior. He remarked to himself that he had been through 15 interruptions from this person in 30 minutes and had been patient. Nevertheless, he heard G-d saying, "I am disappointed in you. I've been putting up with this person for 50 years and you couldn't put up with him for just one Shabbas."

F. Taunting, insulting, misleading slander

Do not taunt your neighbor.
This means that you must neither do nor say to him that which might shame him,
though there be no one else present.
(M'silat Yesharim 11)[165]

G. Greeting Others

I was always first to greet another, both Jew and non-Jew. — Yoachanan Ben Zakkai

This will bring one to a greater concern about the welfare of his neighbor. A person should accustom oneself to seeing his neighbor and greeting him. Often people feel too shy and insecure to greet others. This is a lacking of self-esteem. They should give more charity, do more Hesed, and then they will come to greet their neighbor and learn from their teachers with greater enthusiasm.

H. Honor

One should not seek after higher positions for honor. The avoidance of honor permits one to grow into a better person. If one is asked to take a higher position with an increased service, one should consider acceptance with the thought of being a good person always in the back of one's mind. M'silat Ysharim has the following to say on the subject:[166]

Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, forfeited his share in the world to come only because he coveted honor. "The Holy One, blessed be He," said to him, 'Repent thee, and I, thou, and the son of Jesse will stroll together in the Garden of Eden.' 'Who will go first?' asked Jeroboam. 'The son of Jesse,' answered the Holy One, blessed be He. 'If so, I will not repent'" (Sanhedren 102a)

This teaches not to be jealous and seek after another's position of honor.

What caused the destruction of Korah and his whole company if not the lust for honor, as we may infer from the fact that Moses said to them, "And seek ye also priesthood?"[167] (Num. 16.10). And our Sages tell us that Korah rebelled because Elzaphan, the son of Uziel, had been made prince, an appointment which he had coveted for himself (Num. R. 18.2).

This teaches us to recognize the honor that G-d has already granted us and be satisfied. Honor is like the lust for money which can never be quenched.

What, if not the craving for honor, drove Saul to persecute David? We read, "And the women sang one to another in their play, and said, 'Saul hath slain his thousands and David his ten thousands.'

One cannot be a hold fast king, but one must always relinquish and let the superior of the next generation rise to leadership and honor.

I. Forgiveness

To forgive is to behave in the image of G-d.[168] There is a teaching from Talmud Tractate Rosh Hashanah that if one forgives slights or insults done to him, he will be forgiven of sins. This forgiveness is out of the side of divine justice since one is forgiven in kind for forgiving others. Forgiveness also

dissolves anger, which opens a gateway to mercy.

On Yom Kippur 5757, I became irritated by the behavior of children whose parents brought them to services and were not reproving them on the proper way to behave in the sanctuary. However, as I thought about my anger, I wondered how possibly Hashem could forgive me for my bad behavior throughout the year. The answer appeared in the prayer book.

}wnjw \wjr htaw \ynp yzu wna
\ypa]ra htaw [ru ycq wna
\ymjr alm htaw }wu yalm wna
rbwu lxk wnymy wna
wmty al]ytwncw awh htaw

We are hard faced, but You are merciful and compassionate;
We are stiff necked, but You are long in patience (long faced awaiting our return).
We are full of sin, but You are full of mercy
As for us, our days are a passing shadow; but your years are never ending.
(Yom Kippur liturgy[169])

I exclaimed, "How can we be so bad when you are so good!" At that moment, I chose to forgive these children in my mind. I then turned to Hashem and I said, "If I could forgive these children, and your mercy is so much greater than mine, surely you can see to forgive us all in the year to come."

J. Conversations

1. Calming a person down

Listening to negative opinions about another is a mitzvah when the person is angry or upset and one knows that by listening the speaker will feel better and will no longer feel the need to state negative opinions about the target person. Nevertheless, one must be sure not to believe what one has heard.[170] This is the mitzvah of calming a person down.

2. Showing respect to everyone

There is a mitzvah to show respect for everyone.[171] One should try to avoid ending a conversation first with another if the other person wishes to continue talking and there isn't improper speech. In this way, one shows respect for the other person. One is commanded to spend time with one's spouse. This means that it is a mitzvah to listen to her until she completes what she needs to say.

3. True Speech

Rabbi Nachman concisely sums up the subject:[172]

1. Not all words are considered speech. Words not heard or accepted are not called speech, as in (Psalms 19:4), “There is no speech and no words without their voice being heard.” Now the main reason words are accepted has to do with the good they contain, because everyone desires good. Therefore, when the words contain good, then speech is heard and accepted; but when the words have no good in them, they are not accepted. How do we create the good in the words? This is done by taking speech from daat (holy knowledge), then it will have good in it; but when speech is without daat, then it has no good, as in (Proverbs 19:2), “Also, for the soul to be without knowledge is not good.” The soul is speech, as it is written (Genesis 2:7), “Man became a living soul,” the Aramaic translation of which is a “a speaking spirit.”

2. Now, raising and enhancing daat is accomplished through praise of the tzaddikim. By praising and extolling the tzaddikim, daat is elevated, corresponding to (Deuteronomy 32:11), “Like a nesher (eagle) arousing its kein (nest).” Nishra is the spirit, the concept of tzaddik,...

“Footnote 8: praising...the tzaddikim, daat is elevated. By mentioning the praise and glory of the tzaddikim, a person invokes their merit and spiritual power. His daat is thereby elevated, so that his speech—now drawn from enhanced daat—contains the quality of good. His words are thus heard and accepted (Parparaot LeChokhmah). The Be’Ibey HaNachal explains that drawing speech from enhanced daat entails drawing close to the tzaddikim. By being close to them and personally witnessing their greatness, a person is consistently moved to praise the tzaddikim.”[173]

From other of Rebbe Nachman’s teachings it becomes clear that the quality of good in one’s speech can also be achieved by finding good in others and praising them. As Rebbe Nachman emphasized, all Jews are called tzaddikim.[174] (Rabbi Nachman of Breslov)

K. Quarrels

1. A Woman’s Nature

A woman’s nature is to plan. This is her Binah Yeserah (extra insight). Sometimes this can be disturbing to a man who has many things on his mind at once and does not want to be burdened with an extra plan. Nevertheless, he should realize that for the woman it is the plan itself that is important and not its contents. If the day should arrive and circumstances necessitate changes, these are acceptable to the woman if she sees that the man values her, her plans, and her needs.

2. A World Full of Strife

By lessening quarrels in our own families, we improve our community and we improve the world. The microcosm of our life affects the macrocosm of the world and living a Torah life improves the entire

world. As Rabbi Nachman teaches:[175]

The world is full of strife. There are wars between the great world powers. There are conflicts within different localities. There are feuds among families. There is discord between neighbors. There is friction within a household, between man and wife, between parents and children.

Life is short. People die every day. The day that has passed will never return, and death comes closer every day. But people still fight and never once remember their goal in life.

All strife is identical. The friction within a family is a counterpart of the wars between nations. Each person in a household is the counterpart of a world power, and their quarrels are the wars between those powers. The traits of each nation are also reflected in these individuals. Some nations are known for anger, others for bloodthirstiness. Each one has its particular trait. The counterparts of these traits are found in each household.

You may wish to live in peace. You have no desire for strife. Still you are forced into dispute and conflict. Nations are the same. A nation may desire peace and make many concessions to achieve it. But no matter how much it tries to remain neutral, it can still be caught up in war. Two opposing sides can demand its allegiance until it is drawn into war against its will. The same is true in a household.

Man is a miniature world. His essence contains the world and everything in it. A man and his family contain the nations of the world, including all their battles.

A man living alone can become insane. Within him are all the warring nations. His personality is that of the victorious nation. Each time a different nation is victorious, he must change completely, and this can drive him insane. He is alone and cannot express the war within him. But when one lives with others, these battles are expressed toward his family and friends.

There may be strife in the household of a tzaddik. This too is a war between nations. It is also the war between the twelve tribes, such as between Ephraim and Judah. When the messiah comes all wars will be abolished. The world will have eternal peace, as it is written (Isaiah 11:9) “They will neither hurt nor destroy ...”[176] (Rabbi Nachman of Breslov)

L. Fear

Apathy comes from depression. Apathy lessens the fear of G-d. What is the way out of apathy? We must focus on the fact that even Fear fears G-d as Rabbi Nachman teaches, “-The quality of fear itself fears G-d.”[177]

The baal tshuvah seeks closeness to G-d by soaring above apathy, above fear, above love, to a place that only his soul can fathom. What is this place? It is none other then Awe before the Presence of G-d. Kirkergaard spoke of this awe and is quoted on this subject in Abraham Joshua Heschel’s, “A Passion For Truth.”[178] Rudolf Otto also spent many years traveling and researching the universality of the

subject recording his ideas in “The Idea of the Holy.” In apprehending the “numinous” as Otto referred to G-d:

We are dealing with something for which there is only one appropriate expression, mysterium tremendum. . . . The feeling of it may at times come sweeping like a gentle tide pervading the mind with a tranquil mood of deepest worship. It may pass over into a more set and lasting attitude of the soul, continuing, as it were, thrillingly vibrant and resonant, until at last it dies away and the soul resumes its "profane," non-religious mood of everyday experience. . . . It has its crude, barbaric antecedents and early manifestations, and again it may be developed ito something beautiful and pure and glorious. It may become the hushed, trembling, and speechless humility of the creature in the presence of--whom or what? In the presence of that which is a Mystery inexpressible and above all creatures.

The Encyclopedia Britannica comments on this:
This content presents itself under two aspects: (1) that of "daunting awfulness and majesty," and (2) "as something uniquely attractive and fascinating." From the former comes the sense of the uncanny, of divine wrath and judgment; from the latter, the reassuring and heightening experiences of grace and divine love. This dual impact of awesome mystery and fascination was Otto's characteristic way of expressing man's encounter with the holy.

The fear and trembling which accompanies the Baal Tshuvah is awe. This is the quality of the fear itself that fears G-d.

M. Judging People

We must strive to judge others favorably.[179] “One who judges others on the scale of merit will be judged by the Almighty on the scale of merit.”[180] “In righteousness shall you judge your neighbor.”[181]

N. Observing Principles Consistently

Observing ones beliefs consistently is the trait of hasidut. This is item seven from M’silat Yesharim. There it is translated as saintliness or piety. Project Genesis in the explanation below shows how this trait is representative of Avraham but not of Lot.

Volume VI, Number 6 - Vayeira - Genesis 18:1 - 22:24

When a person adopts a set of principles and sticks by them, then other people will respect and honor him or her for adhering to them. People will, however grudgingly, understand that those principles guide the individual to behave in a certain way. But if a person is careless with his or her principles, then if one day he or she chooses to observe them in a difficult situation, people will not say that this is a moral choice --

they might rather assume the worst!

"Let some water be brought, and wash your feet, and relax under the tree." [18:4]

We see that Avraham wanted his visitors to wash their feet immediately, before entering his house. Rashi explains that Avraham thought that the three angels, who appeared to be ordinary men, were idolaters from the region who worshipped the dust of their feet. He was therefore careful to ensure that they did not bring the objects of their idolatry into his home. Rashi goes on to say that Avraham's nephew Lot was not careful about this, and therefore he brought two of these same guests into _his_ home before having them wash their feet.

If we look, however, at the verse later where Lot brings in the guests [19:2], Rashi provides a very different explanation. Although Avraham was extremely careful that they do so, it is, of course, quite normal for people to wipe the dust off their feet before going into someone's home. So why, then, did Lot deviate from this norm? The answer is that the evil people of S'dom did not allow people to shelter guests, leaving the guests to sleep outside where the residents could rob them at will. Rashi tells us that Lot was therefore concerned that if he would bring the guests in with their feet already clean, the people of the city would accuse him of having sheltered guests for several days. By having them go into his house with the dust still on their feet, anyone would see that these people had just come from the desert.

The Avnei Azel says that there is no contradiction between the two explanations offered by Rashi. When discussing the verse regarding Avraham, Rashi accentuates the difference between Avraham and Lot, but both reasons are correct -- the first is a prerequisite for the second.

Had Lot been careful to keep any possible idolatry out of his home, then he would have been obligated to think only about that, and not to worry about what the people of S'dom might think. A person is supposed to be willing to give up his life in order not to worship idols, and the Avnei Azel says that were Lot careful about objects of idolatry, he should have been willing to risk his life to keep them out of his home. Therefore we first need to know that Lot was not concerned about this, before understanding why he brought in his guests in a way which was unusual in any case.

The Avnei Azel goes on to point out that one could also say as follows: that had the people of S'dom known that Lot, like his uncle Avraham, was concerned about the prohibition of idolatry, then they would have concluded

that this was the reason the people were entering his house with clean feet, rather than accusing Lot of sheltering guests for several days without telling them. Given that Lot was worried about this accusation, it is clear that the people of S'dom already recognized him as someone who had never been careful about this at all.

Good Shabbos,

Rabbi Yaakov Menken

Project Genesis
http://www.torah.org/

O. Truth

Ones relationship with the Shechinah is from emet - truth. A woman's relationship with Kingship is dependent on emunah - faith. The relationship between lovers reflects this relationship on high. A man must speak truthfully on all his concerns to find the attribute of truth and union with his wife. A woman must have faith in G-d to develop faith in her husband.

See the work of Elohim for Who will be able to fix
that which he has made crooked.
(Ecclesiastes 7:13)

The paradox of G-d is that while there is free will Hashem is omniscient. Most understand the gift of free will and its essential role in our improvement. Nevertheless, Hashem's omniscience is also a gift. From omniscience, we know that the path Hashem has let us travel was done with his knowledge from beginning to end and that it is for the good. As a friend has told me, "there is nothing bad that happens, but only sad." [182] I will add that even the sad is for the good and that the vitality of life overcomes sadness and the song of love transcends all.

P. Humility

One must obtain the level of humility before being able to experience authentic kabbalah. And what is humility? This is none other then to be stoic, to be indifferent to one who complements as one who insults.[183]

Q. Consideration

Consideration is to accommodate others without them asking. For example if one is in a standing group talking and someone there has a cast on his ankle, then it is considerate to suggest that the group move to a table to sit to continue their conversation.[184] To do so without revealing the reason is even a finer level of consideration. Consideration without expecting anyone to notice or to become aware is a mitzvah par excellence.

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[151] Sept. 6, 1996. At a visit to a diner, I noticed a homeless person who had come in off the street and was sitting at the counter near me. He ordered a hamburger making sure the waitress understood that he did not want any condiments. When he received his bill, I saw him check the price right away. As I was leaving I debated offering him money to pay for his lunch considering that he might be embarrassed. Then I placed myself in his position. Some rabbis would travel incognito as beggars to understand the plight of others better. I recalled my backpack trips through Europe where I would stop at a diner for rest as well as food. I paid the man's lunch and he was grateful.
[152] Lessons from our Teeth, Moshe Goldberger, Staten Island, NY, quoting Rav Avigdor Miller, p. 26.
[153] Sparks of Mussar, page 153.
[154] Kindness.
[155] Likutey Moharan, Volume IV, #31:1, page 331. Rabbi Nachman teaches that these blessings complete to seven for the seven planets and twelve for the twelve constellations when the reward of observing the Shabbas is added to both which overcomes them and hence charity saves from death. For example, Abraham's mazel was changed through charity so that he was permitted to have children.
[156] Rabbi Zvi Aryeh Rosenfeld, quoted in Likutey Moharan, Vol. IV, #31:2, note 15, page 333.
[157] Growth Through Torah, Pliskin, Portion Reah, subject Joy.
[158] Email 9/11/2001, not sure of the original source.
[159] Genesis 49:7 as brought forth by Rabbi Mordechai Katz, Joshua, page 157.
[160] Rashi, Parshas Vayechi as brought forth by Rabbi Mordechai Katz, Joshua, page 158.
[161] It's all a GIFT, Miriam Adahan.
[162] Pliskin. Eliahu Lopin discusses this in Lev Eliahu as well.
[163] Orchos Tzaddikim, pages 246-247.
[164] Paraphrased from Rabbi Doctor Joseph H. Gelberman, Kabbalah Instruction, San Francisco Yoga Center, 5/28/1997.
[165] M'silat Yesharim, Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto, translated by Mordechai Kaplan trans. Page 87.
[166] M'silat Yesharim, Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto, Chapter 11, Mordechai Kaplan trans. Page 113.
[167] Korah who was a Levite already had the privilege of ministering in all of G-d's services.
[168] See index entry 'image of G-d' for cross references.
[169] Day of Atonement, Hebrew Publishing Company, page 93.
[170] Chofetz Chaim, Guard Your Tongue, Ch. 6:9 - Calming down the speaker, page 87.
[171] The Jewish Marriage, Rabbi Tsvi Dov Travis, page 206.
[172] Likutey Moharan Vol. IV # 29:1,2 pp. 203-205
[173] Ibid
[174] Ibid
[175] Gems of Rabbi Nachman, Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, pages 66- 68.

[176] Ibid
[177] Likutey Moharan #148, Rabbi Nachman of Breslov, Volume 10, page 215.
[178] A Passion For Truth, Abraham Joshua Heschel.
[179] Orchos Tzaddikim, Feldheim, page 453.
[180] Shabbas 127b
[181] Vayikra 19:15
[182] David Lewis quoting Mannis Friedman, April 28, 2001
[183] Rabbi Isaac of Acco, Meir Eynayim – Light of the Eyes, Meditation and Kabbalah, page 143.
[184] Claudette Howerton made this suggestion August 8th, 1999 to the group on behalf of Lee while not inferring it be for any particular person. This was at Ira's yearly summer get together in the San Jose foothills at 4111 Higuerra.

VIII. Dreaming

Dreaming is virtual life. Often times our dreams are a nutrient that we are deficient in that our subconscious mind is supplementing. Dreams can also be a spiritual gateway to visit the heavens, angels, or the rich beauty of our precious world. The collection of dreams below describes nutrients of the mind in unconscious dreams, how to achieve conscious lucid dreams, and the pursuit of prophetic dreams.

A. Unconscious Dreams

Healing by Dance - July 12, 1995

The previous night I studied the Torah, parsha Balak.[228] This morning I read in Kitzur Shulhan Aruch the importance of reading the morning blessings each day including those before studying Torah. The night before I had the following dream. In my dream, I saw a few people assembling a canopy that would be lifted by four pole bearers, one at each corner. One pole bearer was a rabbi, another a woman. As they raised the canopy, there was a woman in the center under it. She was attractive with an ailment of the legs inhibiting her ability to stand on her own. The canopy attached to her shoulders raised her up, and to her ankles helped her dance. There was music and she was dancing with the other four. Her dancing was great to see, greater than the other four alone. [Dancing is healing and no one must be left out of this joy.]

Now, as I beheld this, I felt some remorse at not participating, and a woman pole bearer fainted sick causing the canopy to collapse. Others ran to her side; I ran as well but the dancing did not continue. [A depressing thought causes instant sickness.][229]

A healer appeared. There were two sick. The pole bearer was treated physically as I was treated for negative thoughts. The healer led me to a place of crystals. There she took a few natural triangular stones of white base with blue tops and gave them to me. I assembled the stones and she said this would help keep depressing thoughts away.

The dancing brought me back to my youth at BCI[230] where we would dance the evenings away in circles and lines. Nothing is as rejuvenating as dance and we should do it often. How does the 7th beggar without legs heal by dancing; she is raised up by us holding a canopy giving us a reason to dance with her joy.

Dance - August 9, 1996 - Erev Shabbas

I had two dreams last night that were inspiring. The first was a test to see if I would perform the mitzvah of returning an item that did not belong to me.

I saw in my dream purchasing some goods at a house sale. The goods had some valuable stamps within them that were not part of the product I was purchasing. After I got home, I realized the stamps were there. With zealousness, I returned to the house and called up the owners. For some reason I felt they were aware that the stamps were in the item and that they were part of this test setting me up. They did not appear and the dream ended abruptly. I felt there was another around my bed who left quickly in a dark light.

This is the manner of spiritual tests. I went to Shachris that morning and was the tenth to arrive. I hadn't made the morning services in a few weeks, but I was up early that morning working. I saw two angels fighting to bless the congregation. The one on the right was trying to grant a blessing with his right hand while the one on the left with his left hand. The one on the right was from Hesed and he was being pushed a way by the one on the left from Gevurah. In the end, they both blessed. After the services, I went home and I just wanted to fall asleep in a sunbeam on the floor. My soul was calling out for this nap. Here I had the second dream.

I was at a spiritual Shabbaton. There was a lot of singing and youthful spirit in the temple service. It felt so good to be there. As the Shabbas came closer to the end, there were a few musicians who took up musical instruments and who wanted to begin a scheduled evening concert early. They started playing and it felt wrong. I took the initiative and went up to the guitarist who seemed like a religious guy. I told him it is not proper to begin playing before Havdalah. He agreed and told the rest of the musicians to put down their instruments. The singing took the place of the instruments, a singing with great fervor.

The previous d-ay I had gone home from work early and spent time catching up on cleaning at home. Everything in spiritual growth is connected. One proper act leads to the next ad infinitum. If we give G-d an opening miracles will begin happening. If we give G-d a small opening, he will open the whole world for us.

B. Lucid Dreaming

Lucid dreams are conscious dreams where one is able to control one's motion and action.[231] Lucid dreams are opportunities to acquire understanding and wisdom on spiritual subjects. I will give two examples. The first illustrates how wisdom can be drawn from a dream. The second show how one can progress from a meditative state into a spiritual dream.

Names of G-d - May 1, 1993 - 5:00 AM - Saturday

During the night of the dream, I read about the lives of the Ramak, Caro, and Gikatalia. In the dream, I spoke with a maggid, i.e. a guide. Initially, he was in the form of a coworker[232], but he metamorphosed into a form with an all seeing eye. I asked, "Could you be my Maggid? There was no answer. I asked whether I had to know all the Talmud before receiving a maggid. "No." The Ramak says a maggid comes

through repeated meditations on Torah verses. The maggid in the dream hinted there must be a unification of Torah, mind, soul, and body. I called out the following phrases in my mind:

Eheyeh asher Eheyeh is the crown of the Universe *(Keter)*. I rose from the world and soared past the planets.
Yah is the beginning of Wisdom *(Hochmah)*
YHVH *(pronounced Elohim)* ***is the source of Understanding, which divides the Universe into distinct components*** *(Binah)***.**
El is the source of goodness *(Hesed).*
Elohim brings forth justice and judgment and discipline *(Gevurah).*
YHVH (Adonai) is the splendor of the world *(Tiferets).*
YHVH (Adonai) Tzevaot is the eternity of eternities *(Netzah).*
Elohim Tzevaot is the source of eternal praise and thankfulness to Hashem *(Hod).*
El Chai, Shadai lays the foundation of the world *(Yesod).*
Adonai is the gateway to the heavens *(Malchuts).*

Hypnosis to Lucid Dreaming - June 5, 1993 - 5 AM

Entering a lucid dream is facilitated by practicing hypnosis early in the morning, which is the time we tend to be most aware of our dreams. Lucid dreams occur when one is refreshed and thus tend to happen more often when one is already rested, i.e. during morning sleep.

6/5/1993 - 5 AM

I listened to the Earth, Wind, Fire, and Air tape. Towards the end of the hypnotic session, I shifted slightly into a curled position and entered a lucid dream. I experienced rapid travel while gazing backwards over several green hills and bodies of water. I noticed the foam on ocean waves resembled clouds over the earth from an outer space perspective. I tried to maintain the lucid state by counting down.[233] I exited into a light sleep. The key to success in obtaining a lucid dream is alertness, energy, and concentration when one begins.

Hypnosis to Lucid Dreaming - April 9, 1997 - 9 AM

4/9/97 - 9 AM

I listened to the Letter Ascension tape. The tape's introduction brought me to a river and suggested that I see something in the water" and that I should take it out. At first, it was like a cross and than a double cross, but than it appeared like the Shield of David.[234] Finally, I saw the form of a rod[235] shaped as a small sword. Upon the face of the rod was the Star of David.[236]

Figure 5: The Focus

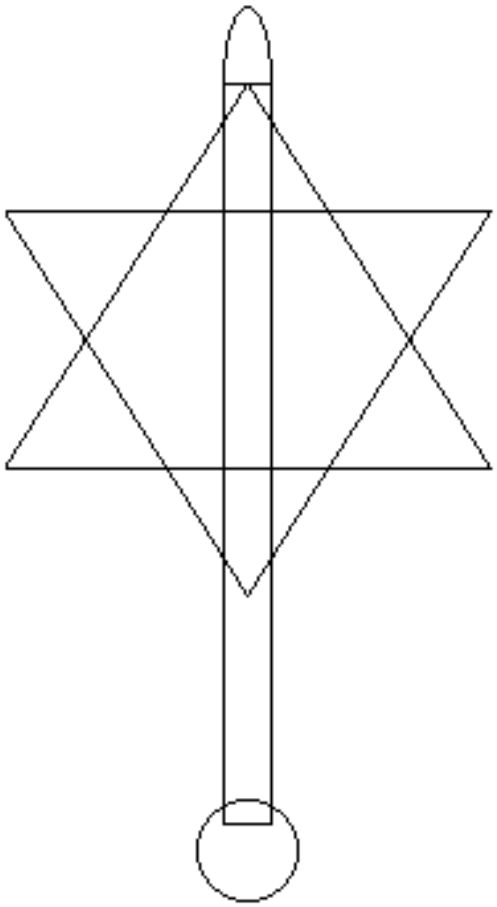

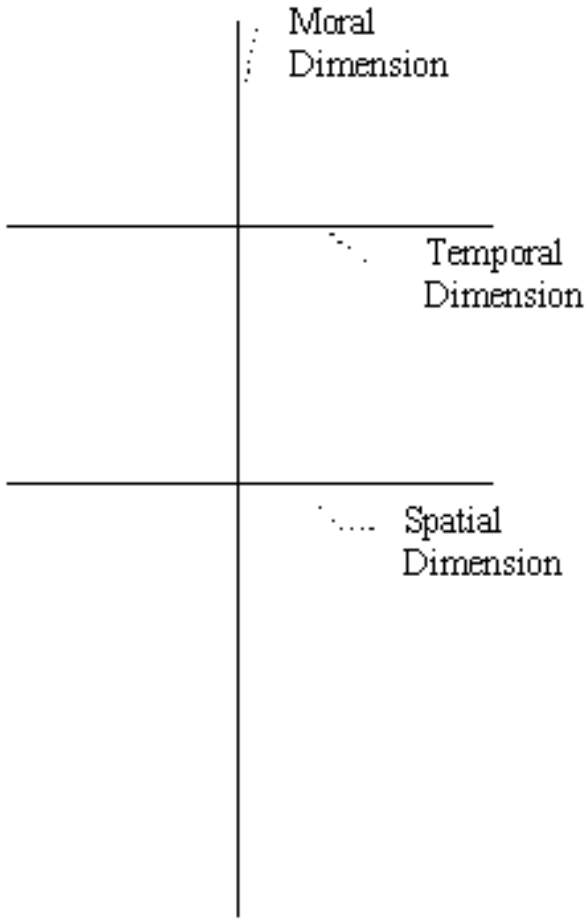

The goal for the hypnotic session was to discover the answer to a biblical question. I sought to understand the purpose of the high priest's role and hereditary class in Judaism. I rose into the sefira of Malchuts. I was in a large cavern and there was a ray of light from a point high above entering the room.[237] The tape guided one to visualize the letter Tav that connects Malchuts to Yesod. Through the Tav, I rose into the light of Yesod. The tape next asked to visualize the letter Yod. This brought me into the sefira of Netzah. This is the place of the spiritual Mt. Sinai and is symbolized by the patriarch Moses. To understand the priesthood, I knew I had to reach the sefira of Hod, which is the place of Aaron, the high priest. There is a mountain rising in Netzah whose base is in Hod. This is Sinai. Moses is on the mountain in communication with G-d. Aaron is in the valley with the people leading praises. The tape would continue to lead me upwards by visualizing the letter caph to go to Hesed, but I suggested to myself, "turn the tape off."

Now how does one reach Hod? An ocean connects Netzah and Hod represented by the letter Mem. An angel guards the ocean. His name is Mayimel. I called his name and he appeared huge, towering into the heavens. He is the ruler of the Water Elements and appears like a towering wave whose top lips over into a face. At first, I was struck by his great height and then I called his name, and he lowered to me. I climbed upon his top, his head, and he began to take me across the great ocean. The distance was far but this was his element and his travel was swift. Finally as we approached the place of Hod, he lowered and I dismounted. I was thankful for the transport and I tossed him the focus that I had found in the river at the beginning of the vision. He took it up in his mouth and departed.[238] I inquired again on the purpose of the priesthood. I saw with my own eyes the purpose. While Moses was on the mountain, the people needed a leader in his place. At first, I thought this might be Joshua, but he still served Moses and had

not been brought before them. Only Aaron had a similar status in their eyes. The priesthood is from Moshe's family as a symbol of an eternal connection with the Torah from Sinai. Even though our leaders depart, the priests descendent from Aaron continue to symbolize this eternal connection.

I turned and progressively entered a lucid dream. I felt myself rising off the ground into flight. All around the world was lit by the sunrise. I approached a place like Zion National Park near Cedar City in the South of Utah. There I beheld the modest red sandstone mountains of the park. I soared over them in various places. I desired to stay close to the ground for a better look and then soared straight up and over cliff faces. I was seeking to come close to G-d. I was wearing gloves and I removed the left to look at my hand and then the right to see the other hand. I saw their lines and their color was correct. I desired to be in the hand of G-d. All of a sudden I felt an incredible force pulling from behind me and I soared backwards; the wind passing swiftly by my sides. I then flew over the green land gazing at its harmony and beauty. I saw a large locomotive train and tennis courts as I came close to the ground. I sought to know the common denominator and I realized, "these are a few of my favorite things." I had been to Zion Park. I remember locomotives of various cities, Sacremento and Silverton. I played tennis regularly in my youth. There was another common factor, I have not seen such places or done this activity in a long time and my soul was yearning for them.[239]

We are only in this world for a short while; we must always remember to enjoy G-d's creation. This is a pathway to joy and a pathway to G-d.

Longing for Israel - July 16, 1998

Listened to hypnosis tape before going to sleep and then fell into lucid dream. In the Lucid dream, I let myself fly without control. This is the secret to control and prolong a dream in general. Let the subconscious direct the movement wherever it wills. In this manner, I rose abruptly over upcoming objects, and swoop close to the ground past other objects without harm. I would even have fun; for example, by bouncing off telephone lines. Before flying I chose a large towl to take with me, I thought to take a brown one, but it was a blue multicolored one instead. This helped in the flying.

I was moving and spoke to someone who was also moving. He was from Israel and we spoke briefly.

I found someone living alone, very depressed without legs. I saw an army uniform from Tzahal and asked to talk with him. He didn't want to, he didn't want pity. I said I know how it is to be alone and I said let us just talk. He still didn't want to, even after I said I want to talk for myself alone (no pity). Nothing, he sat on the floor without legs. I mentioned Israel and he perked up. I said I wanted to live there. He asked where. I said there is a place in the North, a small town next to Lake Kinneret, but I didn't know the name. (Probably this was a town like Yavne near the lake). Then I said K'far Channanya. He shook his head, but felt impelled to get up to show me something. Out of nowhere, legs sprouted as he stood. It was like they were always there but hidden. He went over to a filing cabinet. He was very organized. He pulled out a folder on Israel, which contained a map. We opened it and it was a map of Jerusalem. There was a small map of Israel in a corner and a funny small map of San Francisco on it like a sister city to Jerusalem. We could not find the name of the town.

Secrets - April 12, 1997 - 8 AM

I discovered a 12th quasi sefira, which is the location of remez or secret knowledge. The quasi-sefira Daat represents knowledge. Now a 12th quasi-sefira called RaZ is a place of secret knowledge.

I played the letter ascension tape. As I looked into the stream, I saw various symbols forming. First, I saw the Star of David focus from the previous vision. Than I saw the letter Z within it and then another Z mirrored. I composed them in my mind and then lifted the hour glass symbol out of the star.

Figure 6: Symbol of Raziel

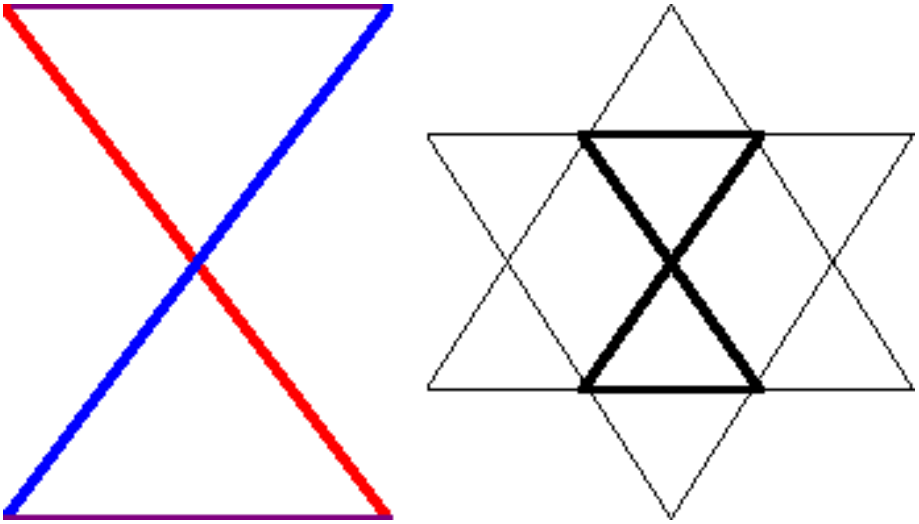

I visualized the letter Tav - t along with the tape and ascended from the level of Malchuts into Yesod. The goal for this hypnotic session was to find answers to mysteries. The tape led to a visualization of the letter Resh - r that is the vertical path to Tiferets. At this point, I combined the Resh with the letter 'Z' from the Zayin I saw in the stream, to make the Hebrew word, RaZ - zr which refers to allegories, secrets, or mysteries in the Torah. I called the angel Raziel to pursue this further. At the level of Yesod, an angel descended. In the white light, I saw an angel with black robes. He veiled his face with part of the robe as he landed and beckoned. I put my arms around his neck from behind and we ascended. From his backside, I could not see where we went and I sensed that the place we were traveling to is hidden from all mystic plane travelers. Upon landing in the dark world, the angel unveiled himself and I saw a frightening face. I realized this was not the angel Raziel and I called his name again. I turned to notice another angel in dark robes. As I approached him, I saw that his face was old and his head was balding, but that this angel bore the countenance of a man. He said not to be afraid. The angel that bore me here is a guardian who scares off the unwelcome. He told me to come close. He asked what I seek to know.

I sought to understand by what individual merit are the mysteries of the Universe bestowed. He responded:

By the knowledge of the seeker
By the seeker's deeds
By the longing in the seeker's heart

Occasionally, the seeker may fall into bad straits and his/her knowledge may become impaired and even

his/her good deeds may be lacking; still, there is a way back to discover the answers to the mysteries and purpose of life. This is by the longing in the seeker's heart.

Not by knowledge, nor by deed, but by the longing in your heart

The angel asked me to come close and I merged with the angel. At this moment, the answer to several mysteries became known. I sought a prophetic message to bring back to the people, but I learned that I was not the messenger. Still, I asked could I know the message and the response was yes:

The Jewish people must learn to love each other first above other peoples. Unlike other peoples, we do not usually look out for the interest of our brethren first. We must always support each other before the other nations.[240]

He said if there are more factual items that I want to know I should ascend to the angel Yedeiel who is in the quasi-sefira of Daat. I ascended. I sought to know the locations of certain misplaced items and saw visions of their location. I pulled out the symbol I had found in the stream and looked at it which caused me to return to the place of Raziel. I offered the symbol to the angel and Raziel placed it upon his forehead and told me that the symbol was his very own.[241]

After I descended and emerged from hypnosis, I realized that the location of the place of Raziel is in the pathway between Tiferets and Yesod. This place is the 12th quasi sefira, RaZ. The sefira is accessible when Netzah and Hod come together in unity like Hochmah and Binah for Daat. In this manner, Netzah and Hod symbolize prophecy and their joining opens the gateway to RaZ and the answer to mysteries.

Secrets II - April 23, 1997[242]

I focused my mind on the symbol of Raziel and ascended from Malchuts to his place. The angel taught its approach to demon and angel summoning for learning all secrets. First, he drew the following symbol:

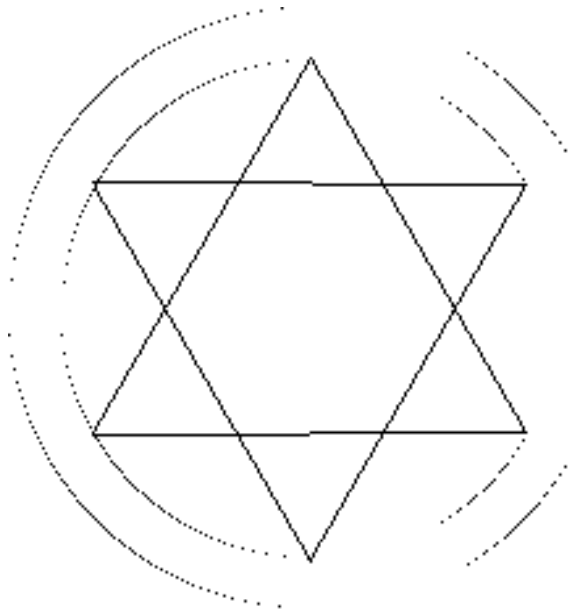

Then we both entered into the area together. The symbol was for protection from deception and other

trickery. He summoned the shedu, Asmodeus, who appeared as a short man with dark clothing. He showed that any answer pertaining to the material world could be extracted from the shedu. Nevertheless, these answers serve little benefit for the soul. In order to release the angel he erased his symbol in the air.

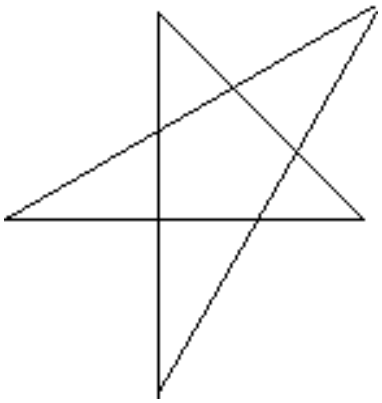

Next, he summoned the angel of love whose name is Anael. This angel appeared small, white, and feathery in a bright light. He asked the angel to show us 'love'. The angel opened a portal and inside created a picture. First, he waved his arm to display a rainbow of butterflies. A mountain was behind the butterflies and a grass valley with water was below. The meditation guide, Ira, spoke of bonds that need to be freed at this point disturbing the tranquil picture but forcing the angel to reveal that sometimes love does have binds that restrict. For everything, there is a balancing force. He then dismissed the angel by erasing its symbol, a heart:

Secrets III – May 10, 2001

The name Raziel has gematria 248. This is the number of positive commandments in the Torah. The gematria of Bamidbar – "in the wilderness" is also 248. The essence of the wilderness or desert is to make ones mind empty of mundane thoughts and to fill it with the wonder of G-d's world ready to receive inspiration. Pursuing the positive commands also empties the mind of the mundane and fills it with what is important to linking with Hashem.

There are 7 Palaces in Beriyah and 7 Heavens in Yetzirah. Raziel teaches that all the worlds have a one-to-one correspondence. In the world of Asiyah there are 7 Continents: N. America, S. America, Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, and Antarctica. In Atzulut there are 7 lower sefirot are: Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzah, Hod, Yesod, and Malchuts.

What are the sefirot? These are the 10 sayings of the creation of the world.

Sefer Raziel describes 390 heavens. This is from the Gematria of Shamayim. Also there are 390 skies, but this is less significant.

The Lamed Vavniks - The 36 Saints - December 12, 1994 - Rosh Hodesh Adar - Malava Malcah

The wl - Lamed Vavniks by tradition are 36 saintly souls whose z'chus - merits tip the scale of justice in favor of the preservation of mankind. The tradition is that there must always be 36 select individuals for the world to continue. While some might be leaders of the generation, others may be lesser known.

12/10 Thursday Morning:
On the early morning of 12/10, I had a dream of rising up and over the peaks of sunlit mountains with the colors of a sunrise (warm orange). The mountains were of a warm hue much like the sandstone rock gardens of Colorado [Garden of the G-ds, Colorado Springs, Colorado]. At the top I could see a valley on the other side with the tribes of Jeshurun[243]. I was way up, several miles high and the mountains formed a ring around the luscious green valley. I then descended in a swoop to the base and landed on the green grass.

KNOW that there is a field where the most beautiful and pleasant trees and herbs grow. The precious beauty of this field and its plants and trees is impossible to describe. Happy is the eye that has seen it![244]

12/11 Shabbat Evening Services:
On Shabbas eve at Chabad [in Palo Alto], I saw more of the vision. In the valley, there are righteous men davening[245] to Hashem. They are there for Kabbalas Shabbat. They have a leader, the Baal Koreh [the Master of Calling *out to G-d*] and the grass and mountains pray with them. The "mountains skip like lambs," (Psalm 114:4) but their minds are on Hashem, the source and reason for this joy!. The Shechinah descends and rests amongst them. I saw myself dancing with her, all dressed in white, a dance of joy, a dance to Hashem. She spun round and under about me and I was pleased to be there.

12/11 Evening Dinner: At dinner I saw the men in black around their Shabbas table. I wanted to know who they were? I learned that there are 36 including the leader and they are the Lamed Vavniks, the righteous ones whose prayers sustain the world. As my host made kiddush, I saw their leader doing the same and he drank first and then the rest of us followed, so it was with bread and each course of the meal. As my host brought and poured me water so did the leader for the others. The love of the others for their leader is great and their presence in the valley is eternal. The valley is a place from the world to come for living tzaddikim to meet together.

12/12 Shabbas Morning:
As I was walking to the Minyan, I felt a little down from the previous night's later discussions but I wanted to feel joyful for the Rashi Shir, so I began to sing.[246] I chose the "Morning has Broken" song as a base and built upon it with grasses singing and mountains dancing. I was again in the Valley, but this

time praying with them and realizing the support of all nature for my prayers and their object was Ribono Shalom. When walking home, I again sung and saw grasses rising up all around me and the thankfulness of the trees and my prayers were elevated. Now I am running, “May I run to you forever Hashem.

12/21:
This past Shabbas I was studying in the Bet Hamidrash when Hashem sent me a cherub who said, “What are you doing here?” I responded that I’m studying. He said, “Its kiddush time; its kiddish time.” Finally, I complied realizing its a greater mitzvah to partake in kiddush over wine with the Edut [congregation] than to study alone.
This morning I prayed on the subject of what I should tell my parents before making a shidduch. When one prays before the Almighty, it is better to ask the more important questions than to remind G-d of our daily aches and pains. With our parents it is more so; one should not cause them to worry.

Dissolving Violent Dreams - October 28, 1993

Face up and defeat fear.

I had a dream where I was being threatened by a person. I defended myself and grabbed the person’s hair. Tumah or impurity is in the hair. I then became lucid and resisted. I said, “I will not fight this person.” I released his hair. Only the evil adversary who is inspiring these dreams will I fight. As I sought for his face, a thousand faces appeared before me of others; the adversary hides behind the masks of others. I said, “they are not the source though they have fallen prey to the evil inclination.” I said, “show me your face, evil one.” The evil is not within us but is outside and it seeks an entry point. The entry can be greed, lust, superficial worries, or even depression. Eventually a slight face formed, totally evil but faint, powerless, and alone. He would not appear to me in strength and majesty for alone evil is weak and cowardly. His strength comes only from those who surrender, Has V’shalom, but when facing him in my dream his power dissolved and his countenance vanished.

Messiah I - October 28, 1996

During the night, I had the following dream:
I beheld a sunrise and before it I saw the image of One like the Son of G-d rising high. There was warmth of light upon his face and his arms were outstretched to receive me. I felt an incredible sense of comfort, safety, security, and peace as I moved towards the entity. I saw myself as a light soaring up to a point near his forehead. I felt the rise of kavanah, fiery truth in my soul that indicates a true vision. Being a Jew, this vision perplexed me. In the dream, I thought the being to be as the Christians claim their savior.

Earlier in the day, I was watching a program about the conflict in the Middle East where the Christian moderator said, “the conflict will not end until the Son of G-d comes again to bring all parties to peace.” Certainly, a great leader/messiah, that all parties respect and acknowledge as G-d’s anointed, could make us realize the futility of our struggles and the higher purposes of G-d. Nevertheless, the messiah will also have to show an acceptable resolution to the issues of the conflict.

The next morning I sought the meaning of the dream. Fundamentally, I believe that there is only one true divine power and that is G-d. Yet, I cannot deny the complete comfort I felt in the experience of this

spiritual being. Perhaps this is the reason for the principle that we are commanded as Jews to believe in the coming of Messiah.[247] This is to remind and comfort us with the idea of a saving leader who will also care about each of us as individuals. The three passages below shed some light on the meaning of the vision:

(Isaiah 62:1-3) For the sake of Zion I will not be silent, For the sake of Jerusalem I will not be still. Till her victory emerge resplendent and her triumph like a flaming torch. Nations shall see your victory, and every king your majesty. And you shall be called by a new name which the Lord Himself shall bestow. ***You shall be a glorious crown in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the palm of your G-d****. ...*

*(Isaiah 62:8-12) The Lord has sworn by His right hand, by his mighty arm, "Nevermore will I give your new grain to your enemies for food, nor shall foreigners drink the new wine for which you have labored. But those who harvest it shall eat it and give praise to the Lord. And those who gather it shall drink it in My sacred courts." Pass through, pass through the gates. Clear the road for the people; build up build up the highway, remove the rocks. Raise an ensign over the peoples. See, the Lord has proclaimed to the end of the earth, "****Announce to Fair Zion, Your Deliverer is coming! See, his reward is with Him, His recompense before Him****." And they shall be called, "The Holy People, the Redeemed of the Lord," and you shall be called, "Sought Out, A City Not Forsaken."*

The angelic entity I saw in my dream is an expression of G-d Himself.[248]

(Kings I 11:36) To his son I will give one tribe, so that there may be a lamp for My servant David forever before Me in Jerusalem—the city where I have chosen to establish My name.

This suggests that the Messiah, descendent of David will be the anointed. The final question I asked was to explain why I imagined an association with Jesus and the dream.

(Kings 20:41-43) Quickly he removed the cloth from his eyes, and the king recognized him as one of the prophets. He said to him, "Thus said the Lord: Because you have set free the man whom I doomed, your life shall be forfeit for his life and your people for his people." Dispirited and sullen, the king of Israel left for home and came to Samaria.

The prophet represents a messiah who is setting free the 'doomed' man, but in consequence forfeits his own life and descendants. The king of Israel is like Hashem, who watches the process unfold. In my dream, this prophet messiah became a great angel in the spiritual world, like Metatron and Sandalfon[249], yet different. As a result of the self-sacrifice and love he expressed in his lifetime, his angelic nature became an expression of Hashem's comfort and a message of redemption. This is the 'Right Hand' of Hashem, his messenger of deliverance in our world.

The messenger whether in the form of G-d as our Deliverer,
a righteous anointed king who cares for his subjects,
a prophet who risks his own life to save others,
is the essence of our belief in messiah.
May he come swiftly in our days even through our daily hopes and longing dreams.

C. Spiritual Dreaming

1. Hypnotic Dreaming

There are three steps here. Immediately after awakening study a kabbalistic or pure religious text for inspiration. Prepare the tape recorder with the hypnosis tape. Find a comfortable place for the meditation like a recliner. Begin the hypnotic meditation with the tape. Set as your goal an objective from the inspirational text.

City of Heaven - May 24th, 1997 - 8:00 AM

This day was the 32nd day of the Counting of the Omer corresponding to Netzah in Hod which is a complete day of prophecy revealing the 32 paths of wisdom. I was browsing through 'Meditation and Kabbalah' as my inspirational text and came across a passage translated from the Gates of Light:

Know and believe that there is a mystical method involving the purification of the limbs, through which it is possible for a human being to attach himself to the Divine Presence, even though it is a "consuming fire."[250]

The passage puzzled me and I selected it as an objective for my meditation.

I listened to a hypnosis tape I made that directed me to clear away any preoccupation's or worries. My goal for the meditation was to discover the meaning of the statement, "Know and believe that there is a mystical method involving the purification of the limbs, ..."

I spent most of the meditation on cleansing thoughts and shut off the tape in the middle which permitted me to enter a lucid dream shortly thereafter. As I attempted to ascend the sefirot I was confronted with numerous obstructing spirits. They were born out of the impurities of my own soul, magnified as always by heightened spiritual awareness. I destroyed these spirits by reminding myself in each encounter that "I am for G-d" and not for the values of this spirit.

I noticed snow falling around me and I looked up and saw a central cloud in a blue sky that was the source of the snow. I sensed that the snow was coming from the storehouses in heaven where the reward is stored up for the righteous in this world. I attempted to will myself upward to the cloud, but their was a strong back wind. I invoked the names in my mind of El Shadai and Eheyeh.[251] The first meaning 'All Mighty' to overcome any obstacle forces, the second meaning, 'I Will Be', corresponding to the name of G-d associated with the high place of Keter to request a lifting force. I rose up into the high clouds eventually emerging above them.

I saw buildings in a bright sunlight but no people. As I searched for the people I saw a city in a valley in the distance with mountains behind the city. I realized the good light stored up for us in the world to come is similar to our own world.[252] In fact the world we have here can be this paradise if we make it so.

The "consuming fire" is a reference to Deuteronomy 4:24.
For the Lord your G-d is a consuming fire, He is a jealous G-d.

This fire burns and destroys impurity. For the totally wicked nothing else would remain, but for the rest of us the fire cleanses us leaving only our pure soul.[253] What is the "mystical method involving the purification of the limbs." This is nothing other than high spiritual meditation that purifies the soul and cleanses the body.

2. Prophetic Dreams

Dreams can also be prophetic in nature. Food, learning, and purity all effect our ability to have and interpret prophetic dreams.

a) Food

The food that one eats, whether it is kosher or not, whether vegetarian or not, or whether milk based or not will all effect the dreams one has. Non-kosher meat is the greatest in danger for violent dreams from the slaughter and location of the meat result. These images are then combined with other stresses in our life to create nightmares. By keeping kosher we elevate the spirituality of our dreams so that the stress in our life have little impurity to hold on to and the dreams are clearer and better.

Now, like Yosef, someone who has achieved a perfection of his Holy Tongue is capable of interpreting the dreams of deep sleep, as explained there. This is because dreams are determined by foods that one eats, as is brought.[254] We've seen that in every thing there are letters. And so, when a person .lays down and sleeps, the vapors of the foods he's eaten ascend and rise to the brain. The letters which they contain are combined, and from this the dream is made.[255]

b) Learning

Dreaming the Bahir - The Brilliant Light
For a period of a 2 years I read the Bahir in the evening before falling asleep, particular on Friday night. Usually this led to a prophetic dream the same night on the subject I was studying.

c) Purity

Dreams can have important spiritual significance. At times when we are in a state of cleanliness, they can even point us in a direction we need to go.

Israel - March 30, 1994 - 4th day of Passover
At last to be a freeman in Israel is better than to be in exile. All night long I had dreamt of other countries and dreadful times. I awoke at 2 AM and read a little of the Fifth Sphere, Tiferets, in the Gates of

Light.[256] I read that we are judged by three names. Each has thirty garments which are the thirty years Ezekiel spoke of before Jerusalem was condemned to destruction. The 30 garments have 30 corresponding names that are like instruments in the hands of their ministers. The other nations of the world are identified with the instruments executing judgement. Some are judged by the name of Hashem alone without garments. This is the way of true love between G-d and us forever and ever - Amen!

Later that night I had the best of all dreams. I dreamt I had reached Israel on my travels. I walked past a post office thinking to buy a stamp to send a post card or to exchange money, but than I saw an Israel Discount Bank across and down the street. Inside the bank, I got on the fastest line which was the farthest right and saw that there were multiple tellers handling the line and one was already open, calling me. They do things so speedily in the banks in Israel! I told her I wanted to cash a hundred dollars in traveler's checks which I gave her and she asked for some ID. All I had was old ID cards from college and high school days. She accepted them in lew of my passport which I told her I must have left in my bag. She commented that the stamp is fading on these cards however.[257] I felt incredible joy to be in my homeland!

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[228] See Balak

[229] Interestingly, today as I am writing this–7/9/96, I saw in Border's Books a book called, "The Empty Chair" excerpts from Rabbi Nachman of Breslov. I opened the book to a teaching which said, "One must make every effort to be joyful in life, even if one has to do something silly." Other quotes dealt with the destructive force that comes with depression, has v'shalom. This dream also parallels Reb Nachman's story of the 7 Beggars who were great healers. The greatest of the beggars was the one who healed by dancing but had no legs. The story concludes by Reb Nachman stating that the secret of this beggar's healing would only be revealed in the time of Moshiach.)

[230] Brandeis Camp Institute is a summer program for college age students from 18-25 in Simi Valley which is north of LA. The program was run by Dennis Prager when I attended in August 1980.

[231] See Stephen Leberge's books for proven methods for experiencing these dreams.

[232] This was Mike Liveright who in some ways has been a mentor in my life. Visions in dreams are more susceptible to image metamorphosis. see Ovid's Metamorphosis.

[233] In hypnosis we count down to deepen the state of a trance. The same technique deepens a lucid dream. Similarly, Stephen Leberg wrote about spinning out or disorienting oneself as a technique for maintaining a lucid dream.

[234] Magen David.

[235] A foot in length.

[236] The Focus is a meditative symbol for transforming reality. For example, on the day this was contemplated an Earthquake occurred at 10:15 AM in San Jose, California. A prophet's staff is a similar symbol. All staffs from a living tree are ultimately from the Tree of Life the source of all trees.

[237] From the sefira of Yesod.

[238] This is similar to the vision of the angel in Binah where I gave her a Heh that I had found in a river at the beginning of the journey. See Merkavah

[239] A Pisces should visit these types of places regularly or live there.

[240] Excuse the nationalistic message. In a conversation with the Arch-Bishop of Prague the Maharal records the Arch-Bishop saying, "You Jews claim that you are a good nation. Observably you seem to have a pension for trouble or evil. It is not that we accuse you of being evil to those outside your own tribe. It is not that we are accusing you of . You Jews are really bad. Not because you treat us badly or other nations; this we could understand, we don't like you, you don't like us; no because you are not good for each other. All of these teachings, you shall love the ne neighbor as yourself stuff and then the harm you inflict upon your neighbor. I submit that you treat your neighbor worse than we treat our neighbor. You guys don't hang together. The harms you guys can afflict on each other. I submit that you treat each other worse than we treat each other." The Maharal had three answers. Jews are at each others throats because galut (exile) is unnatural. Galut is divisiness between the Jewish people. The Arch bishop said that your wrong. It goes back to Yosef and your brothers. You have it in your bones." The Maharal said, "You have a prima-facea case. Yet, the source of this is not the impoversished state of the Jewish people. It is the nobility of the Jewish people gone awry. This nation by its nature tends to importance to the nobility of the soul more than other people. Hakodesh Baruch hu has elevated us above other nations but our sins have gotten in the way. The creation of the Jewish people dictated that the Jewish people have different yearnings. You can see that when we are up against the wall we come back to being one people. Jews are people into meaning, ideas. If we are on the right track we're into Torah, if not other ideas. The Galut is infighting and divisiveness. When we are an Am, a people, we are drawn back to our nation."
http://www.613.org/jsi/zion23-adlerstein-maharal.ram "Maharral, Israel, Exile, and Redemption" by Rabbi Adlerstein at Beth Jacob for the Jewish Studies Institute of the Yeshiva of Los Angeles on Jan. 13, 1998 taped by Dovid Silverstein.

[241] Raziel keeps the secrets of soul mates. He also knows the quality of different locations match each soul. He does not give these answers freely, but one must merge and become the angel to obtain the knowledge. Ironically, most often one will find that these answers will agree with what we each already know deep down in our soul.

[242] This meditation was led by Ira Brandell at Beth Shalom at the end of the 2nd day of Passover.

[243] G-d refers to Israel with this fond name which takes us back to the time when Joshua by the hand of G-d led us into Israel and we served G-d completely and wholeheartedly. The generation that entered Israel was like a new born child, innocent of the idolatrous ways of other peoples.

[244] Likutey Moharan I:65 quoted in Garden of the Souls, page 37.

[245] Praying an individual manner, often accompanied by standing and shifting one's weight side to side or forward and back. The movement is like the waves of a flag which catch the eye of Hashem to our needs.

[246] Stan Sussman leads the Minyan's Rashi shir each Saturday morning at 9 AM.

[247] Maimonides Principle 10: "I believe with complete faith in the coming of Messiah."

[248] G-d communicates with us through angels, i.e. the angel of the Burning Bush.

[249] Metatron is from Hanoch; Sandalfon is the angelic Elijah.

[250] Meditation and Kabbalah trans. Gates of Light, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 130.

[251] Ibid. page 128.

[252] See "I saw Heaven" by LDS publishing. LDS maintains a strong believe in prophecy even to this day. The person who wrote this work had a guide which showed him a heavenly city which looked like

SLC.

[253] See Daniel 9:7-14, See Zohar river of fire descending from beard

[254] Berakhot 61b; Tikkuney Zohar, Addendum 3, p. 140b.

[255] Likutey Moharan, Ch. 19, pp. 185-187.

[256] Sha'are Orah, Gates of Light.

[257] Time is running out. Now is the time to return. The stamps are on the postcards that need to be sent. Concern for money is an obstacle.

XV. Back to the Future

A. The Storehouses of the Future

There is a tradition that G-d took the first light of creation and saved it away as a reward in the world to come.[372] The light created during the first day was not from the sun so where is it? "It is stored up for the righteous in the Messianic future as it says:"

Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun,
and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold,
as the light of the seven days.
(Isaiah 30:26)

Where is this light stored? Proverbs 8:21 says:

My loved ones will inherit from ***there*** *and I will fill their storehouses.* lyjnhl lma \hytrxaw cy ybha

The Shaarey Orah reveals to us the key word is 'there' - Yesh - cy which has the value of 310 and refers to 310 storehouses of reward in the world to come and a tithe in this world. The Torah states that one should give a 1/10th of what one earns to charity. Hashem in his kindness tithes from the good stored up for us. The name EL, gematria 31, associates with the sefirah of Hesed - kindness. This is 1/10th of Yesh.[373] The word Yesh associates with the presence of G-d, i.e. the ultimate reward:

ytudy al yknaw hzh \wqmb \ch cy }ka rmayw wtncm bquy {kyyw

And Jacob awoke from his sleep and said truly **there** is Hashem in this place and I knew it not.
(Genesis 28:16)

The Hebrew word Yesh appears superlative since a better translation world read, "And Jacob awoke from his sleep and said truly Hashem is in this place and I knew it not." Yesh is providing an additional emphatic thought. Yesh refers to something else that is stored away for us and experienced only fleetingly in our world. 'Yesh Hashem - There's Hashem' is the highest reward in the world to come.

The 310 storehouses are said to have 310 guards in the world of Gevurah that prevent the bounty from descending.[374] These guards were put in place because of doubt expressed by the Israelites in the desert:

Is there Hashem close to us or not? }ya-\a wnbrqb \ch cyh ...

And the name of the place was called Massah-trying, and Meribah-strive, because of the striving of the children of Israel, and because they tried the Lord saying: 'Is the Lord among us, or not?' (Exodus 17:7)

HaYesh YHVH in our midst or AYN

The Shaarey Orah associates AYN – }ya with absolute mercy and the highest sefira, since above Keter is the AYN SOF - without end. Yesh is the reward from Hochmah and is mixed slightly with judgment as it is held back. Why is it held back? “Know that if they had asked gently and nicely not in a petulant and quarrelsome manner, their request would have been appropriate.”[375]

Merkavah - July 10, 1993 - 9:30 AM

I played the letter ascension tape. After progressive relaxation I reached a deep trance state and began the ascent. I let my hands rise above my head coming together in the shape of an oak tree and I rose upward into this realm. I explored the cave somewhat but then rose higher into Yesod. I thought of the Living G-d, Almighty and saw the workings in the world of Yesod. All around angels were busy with their work transmitting and paralleling the work of our world. The tape directed me to a stream in a meadow. There I beheld a shiny object in the stream. I lowered my hand and it entered the cool water retrieving an amulet of a color like silver with a touch of gold. Upon the amulet was inscribed the letter heh, like the hand of G-d. I held the amulet in my right hand then rubbed it against my heart. It felt good. The angels Michael and Gavriel took me higher into Tiferets. There I floated alone through white clouds which occasionally parted letting sunlight through. I made several rotations with my body enjoying the pleasures I felt. I had some battles with shards of evil as I wrestled to go higher.[376] There were distractions and I rose to Hesed and then rose to a hidden plane finally descending back to escape from a questionable force who attacked my body. Earlier in Netzah an angel dangled me by my hair until I commanded him with the name of Hashem Tzevaot. He released me and became absolutely straight at attention. I told him to descend and help a particular person who was ill and was going in for an operation. I also prayed for a woman I knew that she should be able to have children. Eventually I ascended to the level of Binah. There I beheld the most beautiful angel I had ever seen. I saw her backside. With one arm held up to the heavens and one pointed down she was white with long hair and flowing white robes. There was a silent wind blowing past her. I rotated to see her front and beheld a face looking downwards with locks of golden curls beside it. I extended my hand and gave her the amulet I had found with the Heh. She took it and raised me up. I saw at the top of her upward hand, the end of a rod that was ornately engraved and yet the color of a grayish white. The light of the Almighty descended into this rod and out her hand pointed down. Occasionally she flung off small discs of light like small saucers in various directions transmitting G-d's energy in concentrated packets. Finally she began to rapidly rotate and ascended higher in a burst of light. I copied her, rotating and ascending in a similar manner. When I became aware of my surroundings, I saw above me the likeness of a man. He was wonderful to behold and there was an angel lowering a crown upon his head. The man did not want to be addressed as the Messiah, I thought of him as the anointed one instead. The crown of the angel passed all the way down his body and then up again and rested upon his head. From his eyes and crown came forth rays of light that made me feel warm and good. The Anointed took a small crown and passed it over my left arm leaving it there. My whole arm was purified with the crown or band. Eventually another was passed over onto my right arm. I began to feel purified. I asked the Anointed one whether he is the "staff that will come out of Judah and the rod from Israel." He was very humble and would not say. He held a staff in his right hand though and a rod in his left. I asked him what would become in the end of days. Things began to happen now. I felt a crown placed on my head and the staff and rod placed in my hands

and I began to prophesy the worlds of G-d.

I beheld a nation of Priest Kings and Queens, dressed in royal robes, and dwelling in the light of Hashem. I felt myself placed on a throne and then lifted up to a point looking down into the Merkavah. There, I beheld the throne of Hashem. Upon the throne rested the most beautiful crown I had ever seen upon a purple seat. Around the crown was His Presence, yet without image or form. There were angels around the throne singing praises. I too sung praises from my height. Below, I saw the children of men approach and the angels parted for them. They were all regally dressed, fit to approach the King of Kings. They too sung praises. As I watched, someone beseeched the King on Tahiyas haNefesh, the raising of the dead.

The desire was turned into a soul that came before G-d. I was in the place of that soul during this vision. I was thanking G-d so much for the beauty of our world. I was thanking Him for the trees and animals and mountains and rivers and I said that all things praise your name forever and ever. I said how beautiful your world was and though this vision is truly majestic, your world in its humbleness was a paradise as well. I described how our world permitted us to separate the dross from the silver and gold so that we could stand here today. It was your world with your help that made us what we could be. I asked in a small voice and a small desire, if we could experience it once more[377].

I then beheld this new world that G-d began to form for us. It was much larger then our current world, large enough to hold all those that had died. And each of us was a king and queen having our own castle and mated with our true soul mate. The world was lit by a great sun, and all people knew that the Lord was G-d, the Lord is G-d, the Lord will be G-d forever and ever. And Hashem put the laws in our heart and they were like a small candle and all the knowledge being revealed will be like the Sun in comparison. And we could learn the Torah all day long, and the teachings of the sefirot and angels, and Talmud, and all wisdom in this world and the structure of Hashem's higher worlds, and even science in all its depth will be permitted study.

For the earth will be full with the knowledge of Hashem as the waters cover the sea.
(Yeshayauh 11:9)

And all peoples will be permitted to visit one another and talk of the secrets of Hashem and share warmth and love for one another and G-d. Ahavah, our love to Hashem has gematria 13. And Hashem's love towards us makes 13. Together they are 26, the gematria of the name of G-d. Also the gematria of echad - unity is 13. There are the 13 attributes of mercy by which our sins are forgiven.

And we will have desires that manifest new souls and children from soul mates. And the children shall all be born of praise and knowledge of G-d and these souls shall dance before Hashem. At the end of the vision I said Hallel: Halleluyah, Hallel, Hallelyah, praise G-d praise G-d, Halleluyah!

Slowly I opened my eyes and there was a whiteness before me, though it was my white shirt on a white chair blocking the blackness of my stereo, it was like a last parting gift for my eyes to rest upon something white and holy.

Olam Habah[378] - May 22, 1994 - 9 AM

I played a taped called "What Hypnosis is Like." I had the following vision. Overall, the future can never be completely known and is certainly within our free will to change. Most of all the following vision represents trends that may be changed and we can make this world of ours into an optimistic, sun shining place for G-d to dwell amongst us now and forever more.

I sat on a throne and angels assembled at the legs of the throne, first at the left front, then the front right, then the right back, and finally the left back. They began to move me. At first I floated above this world gazing at the living places of my loved ones, than myself and I know that the presence of G-d was with me. I wanted to know about the connection of this world to the vision I had of Olam Habah. I felt the joy that we have in this world again; how beautiful it is, the seas and mountains and flowers and sky above and stars in heaven; that this world is truly a gift shared between us and Hashem. We shall transform this world from its gehenom of sufferings into a place of love and joy and adventure between our spirits and the freedom of discovering the spirit of G-d.

Still, this is not the world of Olam Habah - hbh \lwu - the world to come. I asked to be shown the future and the messiah to be. The year was 6000 by the Hebrew calendar, 2240 by the English. The world society is all linked by computer communication and there is a great celebration from the top of a tall building in New York. There a leader of the Jewish people is broadcasting a unifying song of joy to the rest of the world, a great ningun. All the world is listening many are singing, all feel connected. From the deserts of Africa to the peaks of the Andes, there is tranquility, peace and comfort. The skies churn at night and some can see spiritual lights in them but the physical world does not alter.

So I ask to go again into the future and now its the year 7000th Hebrew calendar year or the year 3240 in the Gregorian. I do not see any Jews. There are some watching a broadcast from the year 6000 like in a museum. The world is without faith now, there are no Jews in this place that I can see. Again this bothers me. The technology is great. There are roads on all different levels connecting every place. In the year 6000 I saw electric cars of sleek design minimizing air resistance as the main automobile. The year 7000 seemed to have many places in giant enclosures for preservation or perhaps protection. I asked to see Jerusalem, surely there would be Jews. As my throne approached, I was astounded to see the Dome of the Rock still standing. There were large walls built up around it as if there was an attempt to rebuild the Temple without its destruction. How strange? People were viewing the sites like a museum. There was a darkness around like a giant enclosure or could it be a spiritual void or perhaps just the darkness of an uncertain future that we may still improve.

I asked Hashem through the angels about the Jews, "Where are they?" My throne ascended upwards to the Garden of Eden where some still learn. The rest are in Olam Habah, a new spiritual world of utter joy and peace. G-d did not destroy this world after all, but still created a new place to put His chosen people. But what happened after the year 6000? There was a progressive loss of faith as people became more absorbed with technology. There were less Jewish children being born into the world as there were less Jewish souls which had not yet reached their waiting place next to the throne of G-d in Beriyah. This still bothers me for more children should bring us closer to the coming of the Moshiach, so I asked to know the Truth. I saw the kings of Israel on their thrones and each was anointed hope of their generation as was the Moshiach of the year 6000 as is the one today of 5754 (The other day I said that we must be ready to

see the potential for Moshiach in every person (Jew) and this will bring us to love for all our fellow Jews)

I know that the Jewish people will not cease from this world as long as it is here though I saw not Hasidim dancing in my vision or any other sign. Blessed be the Lord, G-d forever and ever and through the Torah is in our hands and we have revealed its meaning and hopes as taught by our sages, we shall never abandon our faith and love of You and Torah and Israel, Amen Selah.

B. Reincarnation

Take a counting of all the assembly of Israel by their families,
By their father's houses, according to the number of all the male names,
By their reincarnations.
(Numbers 1:2)

Gilgul which is from the word for wheel refers to the recycling of past lives in each generation. Each of us contains a fundamental soul that is often a reincarnation. Attached to that soul are smaller portions of other previous souls that uniquely combine with the fundamental soul to create each unique being in this world. From this we learn that no person is all bad but that we must work to rectify each part of our spiritual nature into good people. For example the person below contains 60% of the reincarnation of one principle person with 4 portions of 10% of portions of other previous souls needing rectification or to assist in rectification of other souls. The 'lofty soul' attaches itself to perform a mitzvah missed in a past life to help others.

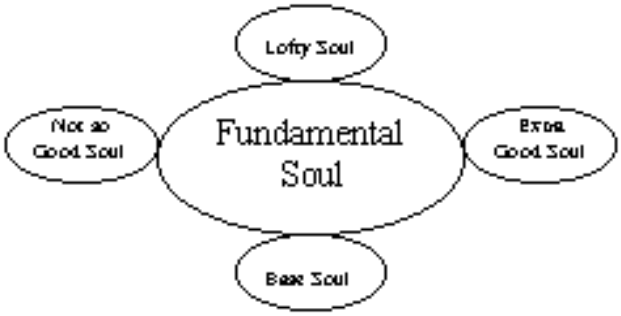

The 5 portions above combine into one unique individual with the soul existing on 3 fundamental planes of existence. The Nefesh is our physical body needs. Ruach is the energy and activity energy of our soul. The Neshamah is attached to G-d and is our divine spark. The previous incarnations of the soul select their primary residence in each of these three areas, but relocate daily based on learning and our actions. A person who does good deeds will bring the 'Lofty Soul' and 'Extra Good Soul' into the Nefesh and Ruach levels. The 'Base' and 'Not so Good Soul' become compressed at the bottom of the Nefesh and exert little influence. A person who does bad actions pushes the 'Lofty' and 'Good' souls to higher levels hiding their influence on our complete being while the 'Base' and 'Not so Good' souls occupy the majority of the Ruach and Nefesh levels, Has vshalom.

C. Psychotic

There are those in this world that bear in life severe psychological disorders. How are we to understand their circumstances in light of Torah. After a meditation which enlisted the angel Yediael to beseech G-d to reveal the answer, this is what I learned. There are souls in heaven which bear the mark of extreme moral and personal struggle in previous lifetimes. These souls need to be reborn, and they are drawn to a body with a mental chemical balance. This makes their struggle more difficult. The psychotic bear a combined soul as described above with a disturbed soul attached that challenges them. While responsible for any evil they commit, their challenges are also greater than the normal mind. Their delusions distract them and yet they have free choice not to commit crimes.

Many psychotics fall into this path after being hurt bad when younger. The psychotic interpretation represents a personal defense against a situation they do not understand and fall victim to repetively. Yet, they do not have to do evil; they have free will.

Paranoid schizophrenia is one of the most difficult mental illnesses. The schizophrenia prevents the patient from admitting the delusion and the paranoia questions explanations of what really happened. To help this person, gentle corrections may work. The Oral Torah describes possession and disavows mental illness. All are born with a difficult soul that is helped through a spiritual means, namely faith in Torah principles. The contrary soul will have difficulty with these principles. Meanwhile the paranoia will shield the person from help.

In the days of our Rabbi, the Ari—may his memory be for a blessing for the life of the world to come—it once happened that a spirit entered into a woman, causing her great distress. And when her relatives noted the extent of her pain they entreated the rabbi to save her. He then sent our teacher, Hayyim Vital, who went to the woman and asked the spirit numerous questions concerning himself and the reason that he was punished in this way. And the spirit told him that he was being punished for his in with a married woman and for bringing existence the offspring of an adulterous union. Rabbi H. Vital went on to inquire o f the spirit concerning the iniquity of the woman, which happened to the woman because her true self I s not as it appears. She did not believe in the Exodus from Egypt. And on the evening of Passover when all Israel rejoices in gladness, reciting the Hallel and relating the going out from Egypt, all this is as a laughing matter in her eyes for she thinks that this miracle never occurred.

The rabbi’s heart sank, as he could barely believe what he had heard. He trembled at hearing of her evil heart and said to her, “Have you not lost your hope? Behold you are as one of the pagan women, and for that reason this distress has come upon you and you are totally lost. Only if you will believe in perfect faith that the Holy One, blessed be He, created the heavens and the earth and that He has the capacity to do all that He desires and none can question Him concerning His doings can you be freed from this situation.” She responded with the words, “Yes, I believe completely.”

He continued, asking the woman, “Do you believe that the Holy One, blessed be He, brought us out from Egypt and split the sea for us?” And the woman said, “Amen, amen.” The rabbi continued, asking her, “Do you believe all this in perfect faith and do you repent with a complete repentance?” And he evoked in her remorse and regret concerning her prior sins. The woman answered “Yes” and began to cry. And so the rabbi pronounced a decree regarding that spirit, and it departed from her and went on its way.[379]

Similarly when we dream there is often a violent defense to an overblown circumstance. The psychotic has a similar challenge to avoid committing violence in these circumstances. How we learn to control our dream responses is similar to the challenge of the psychotic. This can be difficult on the subconscious level. A psychotic experiencing paranoid mania will have difficulty with reality and may be more likely to cross over the edge into violence.

Part of the solution to this problem is for the psychotic never to be isolated. We are isolated in our dreams unless our spiritual center reaches out for heavenly help. The psychotic needs feedback and communication from good people to overcome his/her distortion. Finally, medication may be the only way to reduce the manic delusional state to the point where a patient can be freed from hallucination.

Here are twelve steps to do if someone you know is diagnosed with a psychotic disorder.[380] Two of the key steps are:

2. Don't nag, preach or lecture to the person. Chances are he/she has already told him or herself everything you can tell them. He/she will take just so much and shut out the rest. You may only increase their feeling of isolation or force one to make promises that cannot possibly be kept. (I promise I'll feel better tomorrow honey; I'll do it then, okay?)

3. Guard against the "holier-than-thou" or martyr-like attitude. It is possible to create this impression without saying a word. A person suffering from a mood disorder has an emotional sensitivity such that he/she judges other people's attitudes toward him/her more by actions, even small ones, than by spoken words.

The old Jewish viewpoint on mental illness before medication may be summed up as:

We must defend ourselves from the evil, Psalm 59, but also reach out to the lowly, Psalm 41.

Today we must be careful to “guard against the ‘holier-than-thou’ or martyr-like attitude.” from above.

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[372] Midrash Rabbah Genesis 3:6

[373] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 7, page 272.

[374] Shaarey Orah associates Yesh with the sefirah Hochmah. The reward originates in Keter, is stored in

Hochmah, descends to Hesed, and is held back in Gevurah.
[375] Shaarey Orah, Chapter 9, page 328.
[376] Klippot.
[377] Ezekiel vision.
[378] This meditation is a follow-up with greater future detail to the previous throne meditation to be included.
[379] Hemdat yamim, Moadim 24a. trans. in “Beyond Appearances, Stories from the Kabbalistic Ethical Writings,” Aryeh Wineman, Page 84.
[380] Bipolar Disorder FAQ, Barry Campbell, Marco Anglesio, http://www.moodswing.org/bdfaq.html.
Twelve things to do if your loved one has depression, manic-depression,
or some other mood disorder:

1. Don't regard this as a family disgrace or a subject of shame.
Mood disorders are biochemical in nature, just like diabetes, and
are just as treatable.

2. Don't nag, preach or lecture to the person. Chances are
he/she has already told him or herself everything you can
tell them. He/she will take just so much and shut out the rest.
You may only increase their feeling of isolation or force one
to make promises that cannot possibly be kept. (I promise I'll
feel better tomorrow honey; I'll do it then, okay?)

3. Guard against the "holier-than-thou" or martyr-like attitude.
It is possible to create this impression without saying a word.
A person suffering from a mood disorder has an emotional
sensitivity such that he/she judges other people's attitudes
toward him/her more by actions, even small ones, than by spoken
words.

4. Don't use the "if you loved me" appeal. Since persons with mood
disorders are not in control of their affliction, this approach
only increases guilt. It is like saying, "If you loved me, you
would not have diabetes."

5. Avoid any threats unless you think them through carefully and
definitely intend to carry them out. There may be times, of
course, when a specific action is necessary to protect children.
Idle threats only make the person feel you don't mean what you say.

6. If the person uses drugs and/or alcohol, don't take it away from
them or try to hide it. Usually this only pushes the person into
a state of desperation and/or depression. In the end he/she will
simply find news ways of getting more drugs or alcohol if he/she

wants them badly enough. This is not the time or place for a power struggle.

7. On the other hand, if excessive use of drugs and/or alcohol is really a problem, don't let the person persuade you to use drugs or drink with him/her on the grounds that it will make him/her use less. It rarely does. Besides, when you condone the use of drugs or alcohol, it is likely to cause the person to put off seeking necessary help.

8. Don't be jealous of the method of recovery the person chooses. The tendency is to think that love of home and family is enough incentive to get well, and that outside therapy should not be needed.

Frequently the motivation of regaining self respect is more compelling for the person than resumption of family responsibilities. You may feel left out when the person turns to other people for mutual support. You wouldn't be jealous of their doctor for treating them, would you?

9. Don't expect an immediate 100 percent recovery. In any illness, there is a period of convalescence. There may be relapses and times of tension and resentment.

10. Don't try to protect the person from situations which you believe they might find stressful or depressing. One of the quickest ways to push someone with a mood disorder away from you is to make them feel like you want them to be dependent on you.

Each person must learn for themselves what works best for them, especially in social situations. If, for example, you try to "shush" people who ask questions about the disorder, treatment, medications, etc., you will most likely stir up old feelings of resentment and inadequacy. Let the person decide for THEMSELVES whether to answer questions, or to gracefully say "I'd prefer to discuss something else, and I really hope that doesn't offend you".

11. Don't do for the person that which he/she can do for him/herself. You cannot take the medicine for him/her; you cannot feel his/her feelings for him/her, and you can't solve his/her problems for him/her; so don't try. Don't remove problems before the person can face them, solve them or suffer the consequences.

12. Do offer love, support, and understanding in the recovery,

regardless of the method chosen. For example, some people choose to take meds; some choose not to. Each has advantages and disadvantages (more side-effects versus greater possibility of relapse, for example). Expressing disapproval of the method chosen will only deepen the person's feeling that anything they do will be wrong.

X. Hypnosis

A. Introduction

The Kabbalists achieved their prophetic-like experiences while in a mental state akin to the hypnotic state of mind. Their are many levels of hypnosis. If while driving a car or sewing one doesn't notice the passage of time, one is in a hypnotic state of mind. Today we call this subconscious state the meditative state of mind. Meditation really means focused. The kabbalist focuses his or her mind in the trance state to find Torah or personal answers and experience the mystical realms. In essence the conscience releases itself to the subconscious state which while immersed in Torah seeks the divine.

Hypnosis is the tool for directing the subconscious mind. Fundamentally the experiences of hypnosis, meditation, TM, progressive relaxation, etc. are all similar in that they represent semi-conscious experiences. Ironically, the full unconscious dream state is the most intense subconscious level and happens every night. Our purpose in learning hypnosis is to bridge the gap between an uncontrolled dream and a lucid dream to create an open channel for us to ascend and descend the spiritual realms manifesting in extra sensory perceptions in sight, sound, taste, and smell.

B. Keeping a Journal

One should keep a journal of ones progress. One can review the ideas that worked as well as those that didn't. The journal will become a record of your inspirations as well. I recommend writing an entry after each hypnotic session with the following form:

1. B"H - By the blessing of G-d

This acrostic denotes that everything you are writing is with G-d's help. By acknowledging Hashem, one will write with inspiration and truth. This is a key to recording prophecies. Place this in the upper right hand corner of every page you write. Besiadata Shemaya - d"sb - with the knowledge of heaven. Everything belongs to Hashem - }"hl.

2. Date

The date is useful for tracking one's meditation development. Sometimes a person is given a particular vision on a particular day which corresponds to a religious holiday in the vicinity, a Torah portion read that week, or some other event in your life. Knowing the date helps one track these correspondences. Record the date in the upper left hand corner of the page.

3. Time

Knowing the time of each meditation helps one track his/her best meditation times of the day. Meditations upon awakening can be extremely vivid since the mind is quite alert. This is also the best time for experiencing lucid dreams. At one point in my life I developed a technique for entering a lucid dream state from a deep hypnotic trance. I was only able to practice this in the morning which is often the time of greatest intensity in dreaming. The date, time, and place together specify a precise astrological instance, which may be interesting to examine occasionally. Record the time just below the date in the upper left hand corner.

4. Location

This is an optional entry indicating the place where the meditation was done if not mentioned in the text. The location entry is below the time.

5. Text

Try to write in your journal as soon after the hypnotic session as possible. It is important to review the entire hypnotic session in the last few minutes of hypnosis, in order to help oneself remember everything that happened. Unlike dreaming, the train of an entire hypnotic session is meaningful. The significance of the journey will become more evident by recording the session.

C. Trust Yourself

1. Fears

The key to experiencing hypnosis is to first realize there is nothing to fear. Many of us have preconceived notions about hypnosis. Maybe we saw a hypnotist at a show or have heard stories about someone being under another's hypnotic control. If one has seen a hypnotist at a show, one knows that s/he usually starts out with a group several times larger than the remaining group that is performing the antics in front of the audience. The reason for this is the final performers are really comfortable with doing the antics in front of the audience, while the others are not. Our ability to exercise free will and not to follow a suggestion is always available under hypnosis. In fact, one's mental control under hypnosis is far greater than the ability to resist a dream at night.

2. Self-hypnosis

Hypnosis done alone is called self-hypnosis though the effect is identical with having a partner. I recommend self-hypnosis for beginners because it is easier to trust oneself initially. The procedure in general is to plan, write, or use an existing script as a basis for the hypnotic session. If you are using someone else's script, read it over carefully to make sure you are comfortable with the ideas contained within. Next tape record the script at a slow pace. Leave plenty of pauses to let your imagination roam

free. Here are some guidelines from the book "Strategic Self-Hypnosis, How to Overcome Stress, Improve Performance, and Live to your Fullest Potential."[281]

- **Relax and let go.**
- **Imagine along with the suggestions.** One should be like a child in make believe land. Feel free to change any item in a story you hear at any time during hypnosis. This will enhance the make believe experience for you and let your subconscious guide you to the answers you seek.
- **Let it happen.** Don't try to induce the hypnotic state. Hypnosis like dreaming, opening and closing one's eyes, breathing or even walking is perfectly natural. Trying will interfere with this process. As an example try opening and closing your eyes instead of blinking. The conscious effort will be far more difficult then just letting your subconscious take over.
- **Whatever happens, whatever you experience is always appropriate.**
- **Don't worry, don't bother to think about what's happening, just let it flow.**
- **Take an experimental "give it the old college try and see what happens" attitude.**
- **Feel free to change suggestions into your own words and images.**

D. Exercises

The following exercises are intended to demonstrate the hypnotic phenomenon.

1. Cheveul's Pendulum

This technique involves attaching a coin to a thread and suspending it before one's face. The goal is to stare at the coin and concentrate on seeing it move. One has the choice of clockwise, counterclockwise, side to side and front to back.

Exercise:
Attach a thread with a piece of tape to a coin and practice concentrating on seeing it move clockwise or counterclockwise. If this difficult one can try concentrating on side-to-side or forward-back motion

This exercise demonstrates the hypnotic phenomenon, which is fundamentally for the mind to suggest physical or mental responses that appear to be happening autonomously.

2. Experiment 1: How does it Work?[282]

DIRECTIONS:
Tape this script. Pause a few seconds at the ellipses ... While always a good idea, for this exercise it is imperative that you don't stop listening and imagining to think about what you are doing. Just keep on imagining, pretending, making-believe, as if what your voice is describing were actually happening.

SCRIPT
"OKAY. I am closing my eyes now. I shut my eyes and focus my attention on what it feels like. I let myself feel what it feels like to feel my eyes closed, and when I do this I notice them closing more and more tightly shut . . . I tell myself my eyelids feel very heavy, very very heavy, tightly closed . . . I imagine that I can actually feel them become more and more tightly, tightly shut. . . .
"I want to see how closed I can think and feel and imagine my eyelids become . . .

a) Experiment 1 Results - June 9, 1992 - 10:30 PM

Completed experiment on closing eyes. By repeating ideas to myself, concentrating, and letting myself believe, the ideas become part of my reality. In fact, I cannot prevent this from happening if I choose to believe. I could not open my eyes but I was not afraid for I knew how the tape would end. I let myself be hypnotized, because I trusted myself and the ending would be good. I remember what happened. My eyes felt very relaxed when I let myself open them.

3. Experiment Six: What is Hypnosis Like?[283]

PURPOSE
To experience for yourself a conventional hypnosis session.

METHOD
Imagining along with your recorded voice, exactly as in previous experiments.

DIRECTIONS

SCRIPT
"To begin, I am going to look up with my eyes and find a spot on the ceiling somewhere above the center of my hairline. I am going to focus my attention on that spot with all might and keep staring at the spot for as long as I can.
"As I stare at my spot, I will take a deep breath and hold it for as long as I can and then breathe out slowly, as slowly as I can, and as I breathe out I let my body go limp and loose and relaxed . . . I breathe in starting now, even as I keep on staring at that spot on the ceiling . . . And I'll keep on staring at that spot while I breathe out, letting nothing distract me . . . and I'll keep staring at that spot as I begin breathing in and breathing out naturally, automatically . . . more and more slowly as I begin to relax. . . .

E. Hypnotic Induction Stages

1. Stare at a spot on the ceiling. Repeat suggestion that staring at the spot makes you feel tired. —This step sets up a loop that will help one close one's eyes autonomously.
2. Exhale negative thoughts. Inhale cool cleansing breaths.

3. Count down as a way of letting oneself enter a deeper state of hypnosis. —The number zero should be associated with entering the hypnotic frame of mind.
4. Review the goals for this session in your mind. —This should lead to the exploratory part of the session.
5. Have fun, explore any new ideas that you came up with in the session.
6. Mentally review the experiences chronologically.
7. Give yourself the suggestion that you will feel great as you count up and out of hypnosis. —This leads to counting up from 1-10 and becoming fully awake and feeling great.

F. Automatic Writing

Similar to the process of doing Gematria, automatic writing involves asking questions and writing the answers from the extra-sensory mind.

G. Improvement

1. Principles

There are six principles here:[284]

1. The way to be changed is to act changed.
2. When your imaginations (what you believe or define to be so) come into conflict with your will (what you consciously choose to feel or do), your imaginations always win.
3. In order to understand our problems, we must look at their practical dimension, and how to translate our goals into practical actions.
4. Using verbal suggestion, you develop imaginings in order to get at and shape your feelings.
5. The harder you try to force it, the less likely will be your success; instead apply imagination power rather than willpower.
6. Any idea or goal on which you focus or practice in imaginative rehearsal often enough over a long time become your spontaneous tendency.

Stated another way:[285]

1. The way to be changed is to act changed.
2. Expect resistance and outflank it.
3. The best place to start anything is here and now.
4. The power of the past flows from the imagination.
5. Don’t take anything for granted.
6. You create your future as you go along.

When we stop taking for "granted" we break the pattern of automatic behavior and change what we formerly considered, "only natural." We strive to break down our native hypnotic suggestions to transform into the being I always wanted to be.

2. Performance and Sports

When working to enhance performance, recall a cue suggesting improvement, such as the word **better**. At the same time, when you repeat your cue—whether better or another word—imagine what you want it to mean for you. You could either visualize actually performing the way you'd desire, or imagine seeing and hearing the audience or spectators bursting into applause. Just flash an image like this in your mind each time you think or say your cure.[286]

For example, in tennis I use the cue **LPS** to improve my backhand which reminds me to **L**ean forward, **P**oint with the rear foot as I follow through, and **S**nap my racket with the ball at my side. Prepare the racket pointing its head backward long before the stroke to insure taking a full swing.

To enhance performance focus on the object and the result as opposed to the means. For example, in tennis one observes the ball and nothing else in the area of location, movement, trajectory, spin, and all other features as one hits the ball with the racquet and sends it across the net. One then practices making the ball do the same thing. "The secret of this method is to focus on the means by which you attain your objective, not the mechanics of performance."[287]

Here are examples in tennis on how to focus the mind. Create a list of points to remember while playing.[288]

- Read the opponents shot – evaluate where it is going
- React to the shot – make your feet move where your eyes see the ball
- Move on balance – keep head quiet, shoulders on straight line over hips, eyes focused on hit point
- Shot mechanics – no matter how good the opponent shot, your goal is to hit it back. When chasing down balls, say "Got it, got it, hit with purpose" to remember to focus on the return.
- Reposition – after hitting ball return to center baseline or net
- One ball at a time – focus on each ball, do not become "loose" or "casual"

1. Present Tense – previous points mean nothing
2. No Past Tense – after shot prepare for next shot, no shot evaluation
3. No Future Tense – don't worry about point, score, game, or set position

- don't take eye off hit early
- don't check out opponent before hit
- watch ball, plan a target, and hit it

1. Present Tense After You Miss a Shot – don't worry about past shot, let it go.

It is easy to be distracted from proper focus in tennis. One should focus on hitting a ball back instead of an opponent standing at net.[289] To return a strong serve, one can choke up on a racket, increasing control or step three steps in to reduce the server's return time, or three steps back for more control. Playing inside the baseline will reduce the opponent's reaction time with a quicker return. From here, one can drive or half volley shots to shorten this time further. Professionals keep two hands on the racket during both backhand and forehand preparation. This is done by pulling the elbow back rotating the body. With the right forehand, one pulls the right elbow back while maintaining the left hand on the strings or racket. With the backhand, one pulls the left elbow back while holding the racket.

Actual Tape Scripts
Into the Heavens and Beyond
Fire, Earth, Air, and Water
Self-improvement

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[281] Strategic Self Hypnosis, Roger A. Straus, Second edition, 1988
[282] Ibid. pp. 3-6
[283] Ibid. pp. 42-48.
[284] Ibid. pp. 65-68.
[285] Creative Self-hypnosis, Roger A. Straus, First edition, 1989, page 32
[286] Strategic Self Hypnosis, Roger A. Straus, Second edition, 1989, pp. 197-198
[287] Ibid. page 200.
[288] Winning Tennis, Scott Perlstein, pp. 74-79
[289] Ugly Tennis.

XIII. The Other Side

The word evil exits in Hebrew in a few forms. *Evil* - lwu is a verb meaning 'to do injustice.' *Avel* - lwu is a masculine noun for 'injustice, wrong.' *Aval* - lwu is the masculine noun for 'wrongdoer.' Judaism does not have a concept of evil as a counterpart to good. Instead evil is the absence of G-d.

wnnyaw wmwqm lu tnnwbthw ucr }yaw fum dwuw

And in a little while the wicked shall not be; you shall reflect upon his place and he will not be there. (Psalm 37:10)

Evil cannot exist indefinitely but its separation from G-d removes itself from the world.

\wlc br-lu wgnuthw {ra-wcryy \ywnuw

And the humble will inherit the land and they will delight themselves in the abundance of peace. (Psalm 37:11)

On the other hand the humble in spirit attach themselves to G-d and their reward is the inheritance of the land.

Rabbi Nachman teaches another meaning to Psalm 37:10.[343] He understands the word wicked here to refer to the sinner. He teaches that we must look for the good in every person even a wicked person. When we find this spark of good, we must judge him favorably and he will return to G-d. This is the meaning of "In a little while he is not"; when we judge him favorably the sinner is gone and in his place a baal tshuvah, a master of repentance.

Gevurah and Hod - July 19, 1993, Monday 1st of Av, 7 AM

I woke up in a dream, which emphasized the importance of keeping vows. Monday is associated with Gevurah as is Av.[344]

I played the Relaxation Tape and prepared myself in Malchuts. There I saw the angels Gavriel and Michael descend to my sides. They lifted me to Yesod, the righteous foundation of the Living G-d, Almighty. Yesod relates to Yetzirah, the home world of angels. I turned to my left, looked at the face of Gavriel, and said, "I will go with you." With a swift push, I was climbing the channel into Hod with Gavriel behind me, pursuing like a tiger.[345] In the world of Hod stood Aaron, the Golden Calf, Gavriel, and myself. The 12th of Tamuz was the day of our sin with the Golden Calf - Egel Zahav. I raised my arms and said to the Lord, we repent, I repent; let it be no more and in a burst of light, the idol was turned to molten spreading like a liquid enveloping the light of the Sun. This connection is to teach us that we must be careful not to worship the Sun. Gavriel came over and held me with concern. I said everything is OK, you don't have to worry. SHe raised my face, and I stared at the tears in her eyes as she shook her head from side-to-side. I tried to comfort her and I confessed that it was all for the good. I had learned the message of vows from a dream. The pattern repeated and then I said let us ascend to the realm of judgment. Immediately we ascended and emerged in the Court of Gevurah. The robes of Gavriel changed from white to red with dark shades of gold, and her countenance was without mercy and her purpose was

firm. She drew a line and than a cross. Around the cross (fire), sHe connected a diamond and placed it under me in the center.

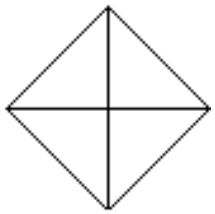

I was frozen and fixed as the pattern ascended through me. Finally a cover was placed on the top sealing me into the diamond. It was very tight and choking. She sat on the Throne of Judgment and watched unmoved by sufferings and I glimpsed the pain of Gehenom. I confessed to the Lord that it is better to be judged by the Almighty then to be without Him, Has Vshalom. Nevertheless, the pain did not subside and I became scared. This was a fatal position to contemplate and I searched for a way out. The Thirteen Attributes of Mercy then came to mind. To escape death. I said them aloud and the walls of the diamond fell to my side.

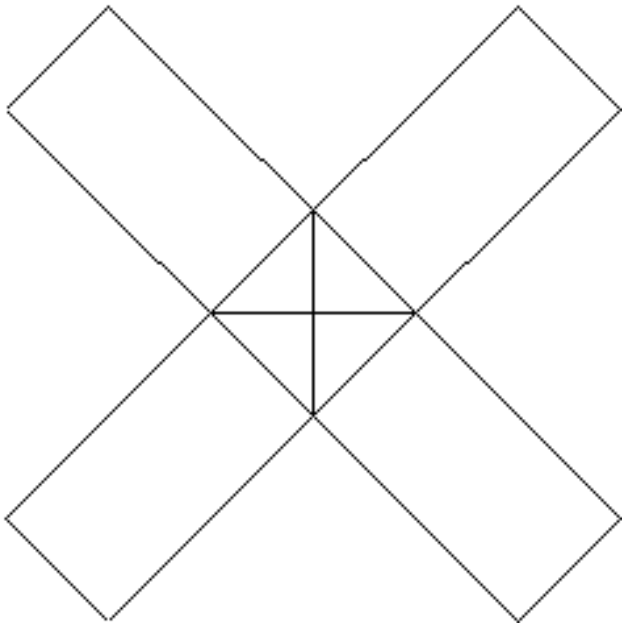

I was free and I chose quickly to ascend from Gevurah to Binah. I beheld the Angel in White from behind once more.[346] She held her left arm up to Hashem, which held a rod and her right arm down to this world channeling energy. She turned around, gave me her rod and my arms assumed the same position and she left. I stood alone feeling the vibrations of the energy coursing through the rod, but they nourished me not. I stood for a while and then contemplated a shift to Hochmah consciousness. I turned the rod to the right and moved into Hochmah. There was a well in the shape of a diamond with water within. I realized the danger of falling in and turned away. I began to forgive and prayed for anyone that harmed me or I had harmed. I saw a flame between Hochmah and Binah.[347] There were eyes within. This was a seraph and I moved into the flame. They became my eyes and the flames were a purgatory for my soul purifying it with my prayers. I turned my head to the left and the sunlight burned my face as the flames burned my soul. Everything is going to be OK. Finally, I saw a vision of an immense hill of sand with a slide. I jumped and landed down upon each dune until I reached the bottom and my eyes opened

upon the new day.

Everything is going to be all right Gabriel.
We will repent and return.
You do not need to cry for us anymore.
The stern decree has been turned aside.
Those we've harmed, we've prayed for.
Those that have harmed us, we've forgiven.
Through Judgment we have learned Love.
And through mercy we have found Hope.

Afterthought - July 20, 1993, 7:30 PM. The obstacles in a vision are formed out of klipot on the body and in the mind. Their danger and size magnify the closer one gets to Hashem.

To Hell and Back - November 27, 1993

The Jewish idea of hell is the absence of G-d. People create their own hells by their activities and worries in life. Ultimately G-d is ready to receive any person back. I played the tape, 'Achieving Maximum Human Potential' and entered the hypnotic state.

Fires of Gehenom - A large angel, shaped as a standing turtle,[348] invited me to enter the gates of hell.[349] He was waving to follow him. As he turned to lead, I noticed small wings of fire on his back. His body was luminescent without definite features other than body, arms, legs, and wings. I crossed under a gate and looked up to see it ringed with fire, ~ ten yards in height. Gehenom is not scary in itself. The flames exist only from the souls that are there.[350] The frightening part is encountering the burning souls. They wander aimlessly occasionally springing up on others by surprise. They are evil and the source of the fire that consumes them. The rest of this world is empty.[351] The angel kept asking that I follow and we went further inward. Eventually we arrived at a gate and the angel would go no further. Through the gate, I saw a raging furnace of fire that appeared solid unlike the spotted flames of souls before. I thought to myself (incorrectly) "Now I am approaching the worst of Gehenom." I entered alone as the angel could not lead me here. Crossing the threshold was a test of strength. The angel waived bye and I walked onward into the furnace.

Nahar DiNar (River of Fire) - I saw souls floating in a river of fire by waving their arms wildly as if caught in a fast current. I walked further and was greeted by a handsome woman swimming towards me. She had long black hair and dark eyes. She wanted to lead and she showed me how to swim after her. I followed her up the river, which entered the mouth of a cave. The fire river was a brilliant gold that lit up the walls and we swam onward. As we reached the end, which is actually the beginning of the river, she climbed out onto a bank. I burned in the headwaters and then climbed onto the opposite bank. I asked her about this place. She did not respond with words, but grabbed and placed me in the source of the fiery waters. My body regressed to that of an infant and she lifted me out again and put me on the bank. I was scared of my mind regressing with my body, but this did not happen. My yetzer hara burned away from me, and I now possessed the innocence of a child. I felt lonely and wanted to be held, and she lifted me to her and I played with the tresses of her hair. Later I learned her name, Sara Imanu - Sarah our mother,

and she helps souls through the river and prepares them for the Gate of Judgment. I beheld a ladder leading upwards and began to climb through the solid rock. I reached a clearing.

Gate of Judgment - I beheld a line of people (souls) waiting to pass through the gate one-by-one. Most were despondent with their heads down. I proceeded to the head of the line, as one living is free from the rules of this place. As an infant, I crossed over the threshold and entered the chamber of judgment. (The upper world was the color of a steely gray-silver unlike the gold of the river below.) I waited in the chamber until an old tall man entered. He was surprised to see me and looked discerningly at me. He said, "You are not really an infant, my son", and he lifted me up and my form returned to that of an adult. He asked me, what I wanted here. I told him that I wanted to pass through the gate and into the place beyond. He told me I could not do this. He always followed his statements with the trailer, my son. I deduced he was Avraham Avinu - Abraham our father, who could lift a soul out of Gehenom for the mitzvah of the brit milah alone.[352] I claimed that I needed to go beyond to bring back knowledge to teach.[353] He responded that all we need to know is in the Torah and I could not pass.

For this commandment which I command thee this day,
it is not too hard for thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say:
'Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?'
(Deuteronomy 30:11-12)[354]

In fact, I was shoved out of this place forcibly. I descended back to the River of Fire. Sarah returned me to an infant, placed me in a carriage that lifted me up the ladder into heaven. I beheld chariots of light descending on my left with many forms.

A. Turning Evil to Good

The four elements that compose a man lead him to sin in the following ways. Fire is the source of arrogance. Air is the source of idleness and idle chatter. Water is the source of evil passions. Earth is the source of melancholy.[355]

Likutey Moharan #8:5
Now, by sighing, a person draws the ruach-of-life to the lack for which he sighs. This makes it whole. Nevertheless, one should not attempt to provoke the wicked. When a person provokes the wicked man who then sighs, the wicked man draws ruach from his rav of the husks. In its moment, his ruach is mighty. "He blows down all his enemies," and is capable of harming them, G-d forbid.
Therefore, not everyone can antagonize the wicked. Only a perfect tzaddik can do this. A perfect tzaddik is someone who is on the level of "No sin will befall the tzaddik."[356] In other words, he has already expelled and eliminated whatever bad he may have had within him. He is certain that he will in no way be brought to sin.
This matter [of eliminating the bad] is as follows: There are four fundamental elements [of creation]: fire, air, water, earth. Above, in their transcendent root, they correspond to the four letters of G-d's holy name, YHVH.[357] But, below [in our world], they are a mixture of good and bad. The perfect tzaddik,

however, has completely distinguished and separated the bad from the good. He is without even a residue of bad from any one of these four elements. [These elements] encompass all the traits, as is known. So that when he is on this level, he [the tzaddik] can provoke the wicked.[358]
For every wicked man has to have a conduit through which he receives his ruach in order to provide wholeness [in place] of the lack. The conduit and pathway through which he receives the ruach-of-life needed to fill this lack is the particular bad trait from the four elements which he has drawn [upon himself] and empowered [himself with].

When the tzaddik wants to humble the wicked man, he must descend into the bad trait with which the wicked man has empowered himself.
This is how he can subdue and destroy the conduit from which the wicked man receives his life-force.

This is why the tzaddik must be perfect, without any bad whatsoever. Otherwise the wicked man's storm wind, which is also his ruach-of-life, can G-d forbid, overpower and harm the tzaddik when he descends into the bad trait in order to destroy it. The bad has no hold on or control over the perfect tzaddik. He hasn't any place to which the bad can attach itself.
{Even the bad quality into which the tzaddik descends in order to bring about its destruction has no hold on him. His entry there is solely for the purpose of humbling and subduing it; as in "And Avraham ascended from Egypt."}[359]

The "descent into the bad trait" means that the tzaddik reflects the bad trait of the other person. In this manner, the wicked person sees a mirror of his own behavior from this holy person. This reflection creates an affinity that will help the person realize his own wickedness. He will sense that perhaps the tzaddik was right after all in earlier arguments. As an example, consider a person on the verge of apikorsus considering all faith an illusion. After numerous arguments that have no effect on the person, the tzaddik descends into the bad trait and concedes, "all is illusion" to the other person. The effect is quite contrary. The other person feels a weight released off his chest and his obstinacy dissipate. Nevertheless, the elation of the tzaddik agreeing with his point leads to remorse. "Perhaps this great man's view is better. Perhaps it leads to a truer happiness. Perhaps I shall try faith and see for myself."

B. The Evil Eye

One who brags or shows off rouses the Evil Eye. Joseph and his descendants struggled with the consequence of this evil:

And the sons of Joseph spoke to Joshua, saying why have you given me but one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing I am a great people, because the Lord has blessed me so much? And Joshua answered them, if you are a great people, then go to the forest country, and cut down a space for yourself there in the land of the Perizzites and of the Refaim, if Mount Ephraim is too narrow for you. (Joshua 17:14-15)

Bava Batra 118a (end) explains:

The children of Joseph, surely, complained and did not benefit, and [yet] Scripture recorded their case. There, [it may be replied, Scripture desired] to impart to us good advice, [namely,] that a person should he on his guard against an evil eye. And this indeed is [the purpose] of what Joshua said unto them; as it is written, And Joshua said unto them: 'If thou be a great people, get thee up to the forest'. [It is this that] he said to them: 'Go and hide yourselves in the forests so that an evil eye may have no power over you'.

The children of Joseph countered:

They said unto him, 'We are of the seed of Joseph over whom the evil eye has no power'. As it is written, Joseph is a fruitful vine, a fruitful vine by a fountain, and R. Abbahu said: Do not render, 'by the fountain,' but 'those who transcend the eye'. R. Jose son of R. Hanina said, [this is inferred] from the following [verse]: And let them grow like fishes into a multitude in the midst of the earth (Genesis 48:16). [This means that] as the fishes in the sea are covered by the waters and no eye has any power over them, so, in the case of the seed of Joseph, no [evil] eye has [any] power over them.

Joseph and his descendents are under the influence of the sign of Pisces[360] based on this passage where Jacob is blessing Joseph and his sons:

:{rah brqb brl wgdyw qjxyw \hrba ytba ymc \hb arqyw \yrunh-ta]rby ur-lkm yta lag]almh

The Angel that has redeemed me from all bad will bless these lads
and call in them the name of their fathers Abraham and
Isaac and will make them plentiful like fish
in closeness to the land.
(Genesis 48:16)

Rashi comments on fish here: "Like fish that are fruitful and multiply and there is not an evil eye that has power in them." Here we learn that the effect of the evil eye is to limit reproduction, has vshalom. We also learn that the evil eye manifests within them. It is cast from outside but effects the target within. Now if this is the case why did Joshua say to their descendents to flee to the forest? For the descendents were proud of their numbers asking for a larger inheritance. Braging brought the evil eye upon Joseph from his brothers originally. Joseph's descendents have the same vulnerability. Abraham knew this well and would teach his great-grandson this in another incarnation.

C. Evil Thoughts

As Rabbi Nachmah teaches:[361]
It is important to realize that it is utterly impossible to think two thoughts at once. You can therefore easily chase evil thoughts away without any real effort. Just stop thinking about the subject, and concentrate on something else, whether it be Torah, worship, or even business. The evil thought will automatically vanish, since it is impossible to think two thoughts at the same time. (Likutey Moharan 232)

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[343] Likutey Moharan I:282. Azamra - 'I will sing' pamphlet.
[344] By coincidence I am reentering this lesson on a Monday in Tevet into a word processor.
[345] I was born in the year of the tiger, 1962. The Chinese signs reflect our latent ego. When we manifest the qualities of the sign authentically we move towards our potential.
[346] See Merkavah
[347] The seraph was from the Plane of Fire as I would discover years later.
[348] The shape was a "teenage ninja turtle."
[349] There is never a waiting line here for "the wicked do not repent even at the entrance to Hell." (Eruvin 19a - quoted in Strive for Truth 1, p. 156) Free will is in this world and our opportunity for repentance is here and now.
[350] Zohar Terumah 150b quoted in Strive for Truth, Rabbi Eliyahu Dessler, Part 3, p. 210, "Gehinnom is fired by the fierce heat of the yetzer ha-ra of the wicked."
[351] There is no fire in hell except around the souls who create it. This also means that evil cannot exist in and of itself as a force separate from a divine soul. Likutey Moharan 27:10 volume IV, note 18, page 171 comments on our being forced to sing their songs while we were taken into Babylon, "This is because singing and playing their music separates the good in their song from the evil. Evil has no existence of its own, and survives only by virtue of the good in its midst. Removing the good leaves the enemy without any subsistence and in this way G-d saves us from him."
[352] The idea that Avraham can lift a Jew from Gehenom is found in Kabbalistic sources.
[353] I held a weekly class at the San Jose Chai House on Judaism.
[354] *Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say: 'Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?' But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it. See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy G-d, to walk in His ways, and to keep His commandments and His statutes and His ordinances; then thou shalt live and multiply, and the Lord thy G-d shall bless thee in the land whither thou goest in to possess it. (Deuteronomy 30:13-16)*
[355] Likutey Moharan 1B, #8:5, footnote 41, page 48.
[356] Proverbs 12:21
[357] Tikkuney Zohar 22.
[358] "Being attached to the very Source, to the YHVH, he transcends the origin of the wicked man's ruach. This explains why the perfect tzaddik remains unaffected by the wicked man's ruach." Likutey Moharan 1B #8:5, page 49, footnote 40.
[359] Genesis 13:1. "His going down into Egypt was in order to subdue and humble the wickedness of the land. After succeeding, he ascended from there, complete and without lack." Likutey Moharan 1B #8:5, page 48 footnote 42.
[360] Sefer Yetzirah, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 199.
[361] The Light Beyond, Aryeh Kaplan, p. 294.

XIV. The Other Planes

A. Primordial planes

The Ari z”l, Isaac Luria, was the first to describe the cosmological structure above the world of Atzilut, the place of the sefirot. I described a journey that took me to the place of G-d before time and space in a previous vision[362]. That vision brought me to the limit of what is knowable about G-d and then into the Nothingness beyond, Ayn Sof. This vision focuses on the experience of the 4 worlds in the 5th universe residing above the apex of the Yod, what is known as Adam Kadmon.

1. Adam Kadmon

The following meditation was done to the Eye Closure Tape. I learned the following finger response techniques for obtaining answers from the subconscious. Answers with movements of the right hand are for the good (tov), those with the left hand are not so (ra). The lifting of the index finger means yes, the pinkie means no, and the fingers in between are degrees between yes and no.

17th of Tamuz 5754 - Morning

I ascended to Malchuts and then to Yesod[363] with the help of angels lifting me into the light. From Yesod I went to the Garden of Eden where I saw the Lubavitcher Rebbe shlita[364] standing outside the gates. I asked him the secret to getting married and he said, “Emunah, that one must believe with all one’s will for it to happen.” I asked if he were Moshiach and he answered again with Emunah, that he has done all he could, it is up to us to believe with all our mind for Moshiach to be.

I wanted to ascend higher to see the Tzaddik Emets, Rebenu z”l. I passed through Tiferets and was stuck at the Gates of Daat[365] which I did not know how to open. I did not know the Name of Hashem associated with this sefirah.[366] Eventually I saw Binah as a mother and Hochmah as a father embrace and the gates were opened and Binah lifted me up and showed her husband what she had found. I said, “I need to speak to the Tzaddik Emets and you should help me.” The father took me and passed me into the base of Keter. The entry to Keter opened inward like a hole punched upward through paper, like a new gate made for each who enters. I said, “I will to ascend to the level to see the Tzaddik Emets.” I was lifted through the blackness into the worlds above. I entered the level of MaH - 45 and the expansion of the Havayah was before me and then BN - 52, and then SaG - 63, and finally AV - 72 where I saw Rebenu z”l standing.

He was so happy. He said, “I am as proud of you as one of my finest students for though you live in the recesses of the world, you have learned so much of my teachings and have studied with my

teachers."[367] It is impossible to describe the joy he felt and I felt to reach him. I asked Rabbenu z"l to help me with a question and he put his hands upon my head to know the situation. I asked him what he is doing at this level and he said, "you should continue to learn my teachings and you will understand, but for now it is beyond you."[368] All of a sudden, I felt a vacuum pulling me down and I descended through the Tree in rapid progression through all of the sefirot and upper worlds.

May 4th, 2001

Regressed myself back to the point of conception and witnessed a spark of light like a shooting star back to its place in the heavens waiting to be born. As I followed the white star back into the night sky, I found its stationary location in the right wrist of Adam Kadmon. Like the rest of the sparks, it was motionless waiting to be reborn. I felt the incredible longing in the spark for the chance at life again, for the chance to improve its station. How long it waited to be born. Such a longing, the other sparks felt the same. All were waiting for suitable parents to provide a chance in life.[369]

2. Expansion of the name Hashem

19th of Tamuz 5754

I learned the secret of how I entered Daat and what Rabenu z"l was doing at the level of AV. From the Ari z"l:

YVD HY VYV HY yh wyw yh dwy

The Tetragrammaton expanded with Yods, adding up to 72 (Ab) motivates the union of Hochmah - Wisdom (Father) and Binah - Understanding (Mother), through the Neshamah of the Neshamah (i.e. Chaya) of the saint. It is associated with Hochmah - Wisdom.[370]

The saint in this case Rabbi Nachman of Breslov and he made it possible for me to enter Daat through his Chaya bringing Hochmah and Binah together for me to enter there. He was at the level of AV for it is Mekor Hochmah, the source of wisdom, and also part of the name of his new settlement in Israel, Nachal Novea Mekor Hochmah where his efforts on high in the spiritual realm parallel the physical construction in our world. The name of the settlement translates to "the source of wisdom is a flowing brook."

The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters,
and the wellspring of wisdom as a flowing brook.
(Proverbs 18:4)

Elsewhere Rabbi Nachman speaks of a 'Nachal Novea Mekor Chokhmah - hmkj rwqm ubwn ljn' where the initial letters spell at the name Nachman - }mjn.[371]

B. Astral and Ethereal Planes

The Astral plane is a place outside of all places and yet connecting all. When in the Astral plane, one is invisible to all beings in other planes and yet able to observe all. The Astral body is a glowing white light and is connecting to the physical source by a line of light. It is also possible to teleport the physical body to the location of the Astral body in the non-physical planes. In this way one can interact with the beings on other planes. The advantage of Astral travel is that it is possible to bypass gate keepers to reach spiritual destinations since one can only be seen by other beings on the Astral plane. The disadvantage to Astral travel is that it is difficult and one must achieve a high degree of purification and shed the physical body to enter this plane.

The Ethereal plane is an inner plane that is experienced while dreaming at night. The Ethereal plane connects all physical places in the Universe and enables the subconscious to explore their locations. One can enter the Ethereal plane from the Astral plane but not vice-versa.

Astral Travel - May 19, 1997 - 27th Day of Omer - 8 PM

Today is influenced by Yesod in Netzah which brings righteous foundation to eternal visions. I visited Berkeley and the Hochmat HaLev meditation center for their weekly meditation. I took the BART up to Berkeley from Fremont and read a little of Crowley's book on Magic. I had been trying to decipher the mystery of the Astral plane. I was late and jettisoned myself into the silent meditation.

I saw forms of the archangels descend and they pushed me higher from Malchuts to Yesod. The angels passed me to other angels in a chain fashion each pushing me higher. Each complained about my state of impurity and quickly pushed me to the next angel. Eventually something had to be done about the impure state and I beheld a boiling pool of water and sulfuric acid. There was a small sense of fear and then I was tossed into the pool. I sank into the waters and felt myself suffocating. As I sank, I noticed an angelic mermaid form near the bottom of the pool and she spoke to me, "You are safe here." I began to breath and I noticed that the bottom of the pool was pure acid. The color was a blue-green. Quickly my clothes were burned away by the acid. I asked the angel where I was and I was informed that I was in the Lower Plane of Water between the sefirot of Netzah and Hod. There are different types of liquids in the lower planes and this was a place of acid. I asked who she was and she said that her name would be the Hebrew word for acid with the suffix of an angel. I asked if she was an angel. She said that most beings are messengers of Hashem but that her role was more of an acid elemental. I noticed my skin was burning and pealing away and I beheld a pure white form of light emerging from the shell.

She told me that this was my Astral body and that I would be able to enter the Astral plane with it while she watched over the remains of my physical form. I traveled quickly out of the pool and noticed a new perspective on the Sefirotic Tree. I was outside of the tree now looking in while connected with a line of white light to my body in the Lower Plane of Water. I noticed that I could look into any world yet I could not be a part of any of them. I glanced into Tiferet and descended into the world. I saw Jacob there in discussion with other religious sages. None of them noticed me because I was not really in that world. I moved out of the sphere and then gazed into Hesed and saw Abraham and Sarah there performing eternal chores associated with their meeting tent and they too could not see me. I popped out and then gazed into Binah and beheld the great angelic mother transmitting light energy and above here chains of other angels in a eternal dance. Though I wanted to dance with the angels, they could not see me and I

understood the limitations of the Astral plane.

I asked about the Ethereal plane and found that I could enter it invisibly with the Astral body. I saw many dream souls within the beatific scenes of the ethereal world. Finally, I returned to Binah and asked what it would take to be seen so that I could dance with the angels. I understood that I could merge back with the physical body while within the sphere of Binah. I drew my body up from the Plane of Water and wrapped my body around my Astral form. Immediately I became physical in the World of Binah and the angels saw me and descended. I began to dance with them in great joy. I joined with their ascent to the world of Keter and we entered this world carrying the prayers of those singing into the realm of Will. I began to fall through a center column of the angels, each one closing its wings around me in a salute of departure. I unwrapped back into the astral body and the angels departed. Nevertheless, all alone I heard the Voice of G-d and I knew before G-d we are never invisible.

C. Space Travel

April 25, 2000

I ascended into Malchuts with the name Adonai. This was Malchuts of Asiyah, a round cave with an opening at the top into Yesod. With further ascent, I encountered Eloh the source of creation. “I was here before and I will be here after. All that is I created.” I asked about His relation to El Shadai? “She is my younger sister. She is within creation nurturing and helping to grow.” And what of El Chai? “He is the little brother, younger than El Shadai. He causes the motion and springiness of life.” And what do you know of Eheyeh asher Eheyeh. “He is before me and will be after me before and beyond the Creator.” And of YHVH? “He is the viaduct connecting all of the higher spiritual places to creation. We are all connected to the root of Names, Yuhoah.” And El? “El is the prefix of my name and is the kindness that bestowed creation.” And of Elohim? “This is the din balancing kindness.” And of Yah. “Ah Yah is in the crown and is the source of the higher energies sustaining the energies below.”

I asked to be shown a black hole that I may understand its role. I was shown an ocean of plasma before the creation of our world. I asked what is this? “Before your Universe existed, Hashem made previous universes. This is the remnants of the previous one. As the plasma cooled, gravity pulled particles together. Ultimately all was pulled into the great central light of the Universe. This is like the light of YHVH in Tiferets. This great star super nova(ed) spewing elements throughout the Universe.

I entered the black hole. According to general relativity, gravity slows down time. Hence within a singularity time slows, maybe even stops. Light doesn’t emminate from a black hole due to gravity. This is like the place of Keter. There is no surface. One can fall into the singularity and be one with G-d.

One can communicate with each individual name of G-d. In this manner one can explore the meaning of concepts within the subjective perspective of differing attributes.

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[362] In Back to the Beginning

[363] In Yesod, I saw the Nickelsburg Rebbe who like all living Tzaddikim ascend regularly to this sefira. Yesod which means foundation is symbolized by the Tzaddik Joseph. The gematria of Yesod - dwsy is 80. Sod which means secret is 70. Yesod is also the 8th sefira representing dedication. The temple was rededicated to Hashem on the 8 days of Hanukkah. Likewise, the tzaddik dedicates his entire life to Hashem. Yesod is the home of the tzaddikim (and the Living G-d) while they are living, El Chai.

[364] I saw him as in a portrait picture that can be found in the house of Chabad shalichim - messengers.

[365] Daat or knowledge is the quasi sefira which is the result of mastery of wisdom, understanding, kindness, and responsibility. It is the gateway to Keter, the crown of G-d, which is the place of G-d's will.

[366] A cherub came with a coal & placed it in my mouth and I was cleansed and my mouth opened. The place of Daat does not associate with a single name of G-d but one must open his mouth with wisdom to enter.

[367] The tapes of a Breslov teacher in Los Angeles, name unknown, and the tapes of Rabbi Aryeh Rosenfield.

[368] In Rabbi Nachman Letter

[369] Palo Alto JCC meditation group under the direction of Ira Brandell meets Thursday at 7 PM.

[370] Shaar Ruach Hakodesh, p. 110. First Yichud. Quoted in Meditation and Kabbalah, Page 238.

[371] Likutey Moharan, Ch. 19, Page 188, bottom notes. Also see Chayeh Moharan i.e. Tzaddik #86.

XVI. Dancing With Angels

Here are some visions on the highest form of praise to Hashem, which is through dancing. Unfortunately, this is often neglected today but in truth, all of us may praise Hashem in this manner. How does Nachman's 7th Beggar without legs heal the world? This is through dancing and he dances better than the rest of us. And how does he dance without legs, by making the rest of us dance in order to carry him into dancing. While we think we are helping him to dance, he is really helping us.

Angel of the Present - April 14, 1993

Discovered the Angel of the Present - The name is YöHöVîEL - lawhy [- the Presence of G-d].[381] The angel can direct true answers to a question requiring knowledge of the present time.

The Angel of the Past is YâHâViEL - lawhy.
The Angel of the Future is YäHäViEL - lawhy.

The derivation is from the vowels on the name of G-d, HaSheM - \ch assigned in the sefirot where Hochmah is past, Binah is future, and Tiferet is the present.

The name HaSHem is associated with the "verb" and hence related to activity in all time. (see Bahir 3)

I invoked the name before a 3 card reading for a Yes/No question and released the angel after the reading was over.

That night I was pursued by demons in my dreams for miraculous energy attracts opposing forces as well.

Child To Be - Jan. 12, 1994 - 7 PM

Ira Brandel[382] led this meditation after blowing the shofar, a ningun, washing the hands, and playing a background tape of music.

"Michael on right, Gavriel on left, Raphael behind, Uriel in front carrying a lamp and the Shechinah above descending as a cloud over you."[383] I felt my head turn into sparks and my body cleansed the cloud descended to my feet. I walked upon fresh grasses and they felt pleasant against my feet. As the Shechinah passed over my nose I smelled its fragrance; like the fragrance of flowers in a garden is the air of Hashem. The fragrance was like incense renewing my soul.[384]

Uriel led us forward carrying a lantern which swung side-to-side. Eventually the land turned rocky as we began to ascend a mountain. [385]

At the top of the mountain there was an amphitheater with seating. We looked up at the stars and they were so beautiful. Ira mentioned the moon which I looked towards but couldn't see for it was the new moon; the moon to be.[386] Ira led us to a central plateau where I took pleasure in skipping long leaps and bounds.[387]

Uriel lit his lamp again (extinguished earlier to see the stars) and led us into a cave. We talked about the beauty of the gems lining the walls. Uriel led us into a chamber and there Ira said we would find something that would heal us. I saw a light along the wall and as I got closer, I saw it was a beautiful light, orange in color, warm and medium in brightness. It was very bright at first when entering the chamber. I noticed the light was a baby. The baby sneezed then wiped its nose while it continued to sleep. It felt so good and its soul was good. I took one last look; now I realized the soul was sleeping waiting to be born.

More dependable then Earth is Hashem
More sensitive to our needs than Water
More active in this world than Fire
More filled with life than the wind that Blows

Postscript - 1/13/1994
Along the journey, before entering the cave, I recited praises to Hashem, words of tefilah flowed like a river each praise leading to the next. The praises felt like they would never end.

Dancing with Angels - August 23, 1994 - 3 PM
I prepared the induction with the "What Hypnosis is Like" tape.

We reached the location of the Tree of Knowledge in this world. Recalling the story of Adam and Eve and realizing that we were carrying their souls, I led her instead to the Tree of Life whose upper branches reached into the heavens. She wound herself about me with her hair 7 times making me into a base for her to climb the tree and ascended. I stood waiting for her return, knowing that I was making her ascent possible. She returned but did not tell me what she saw. I ascended alone next, past the highest branches and beheld a blue-green swirl world of space where small specks of white angels floated gracefully. As I entered from on high, the angels gathered around me realizing my mortal nature. They were singing to Hashem and I recorded their tune. They asked me what I was doing there. I explained that I was seeking to be close to G-d which meant ascending higher. They corrected me explaining closeness to G-d is obtained by following the mitzvos - commandments and that one doesn't need to ascend here for that. Realizing my mistake, I said it was to be close to the angels of G-d that brought me here and they began to circle around me counter-clockwise in elation. We began to spin endlessly in a circle. It was a great dance. Eventually I saw us walking along a cloud towards a gate that opened higher. In the end I returned gradually with the indescribable memory of the blue-green swirl of space with white specks of angels dancing endlessly with their songs of praise to Hashem.

Dancing with Indians - August 17, 1996 - 1 PM
American Indian dancing and teaching is very beautiful and inspirational. Indians dance in circles like Hasidic Jews and enjoy chanting which is the same as singing a ningun (wordless melody). One group of dancers calling themselves, the Intertribal Dancers were very beautiful to watch. They were Pawnee, Cherokee, and Sue. The leader of the group had the following to say after the dance:

I like dancing here before you.

When I dance, I feel my spirit before Grandfather, dancing on mother Earth.
I feel good presenting myself before Grandfather in these beautiful colored clothes.
(David was wearing red and white leather garments, carrying a spirit stick and dream catcher.)

The leader invited us out to dance and we did a left stepping circle dance to an Indian chant. There were 4 drummers seated around a large drum banging simultaneously on it showing their unity and brotherhood. In one dance the circle broke into a line which went facing each other and we shook each others' hand. As a last dance, David led us in the very spiritual Indian 2 step. When the Indians dance they look down at mother Earth as if they are concerned with where they place each step. Each step is down with a sense of asking permission to land on the grass below our feet. Occasionally when David would get low he would give a quick glance at the heavens acknowledging his awareness of Grandfather. It felt so good to dance, my soul pulled me out to dance again.

I saw an Indian family friend of mine from Beth Shalom. Her daughter danced beautifully and her son is very special. He has down's syndrome but is sensitive, smart, caring, and even wise. He insisted on waiting for a chair to sit on before eating and placing the other plate on another chair since a table wasn't around. He wouldn't eat his food with his hands. I went and brought forks and spoons. He chose a spoon. His mother tells me she has a Jewish child. She said since his youth he wouldn't eat junk food but only healthy foods that would be recognized kosher. We also learned from Erik when he attended services at Beth Shalom. Erik was always so well behaved. He was patient and quiet. He enjoyed our singing and seeing us happy. Today, I also found that he helped me see myself more clearly. He said good-bye to me while I was still talking with his mother. I realized subconsciously I was fidgeting with keys and perhaps giving an anxious impression. His mother spoke to me on healing foods. She said that one should eat a lot of alkaline foods: avocados, pecans to reduce anger. High protein drinks are good for the nerve connections in the brain. Sea foods are good for helping thyroid deficiencies: especially kelp.

Sefirotic Ascent and Indian Wisdom - May 14, 1997 - 8:30 PM

Ira led this meditation. With the summoning of the archangels, I backed into Raphael and merged with his identity. I understood his role in healing the word. He goes from person to person bestowing healing in a non-emotional manner. He invests the grasses and herbage with healing properties. He gave decaying mold the most powerful of healing properties as He chose a lowly mountain to reveal the Torah, a lowly people as his chosen nation, an impaired speaker to be his greatest prophet, and "the stone that was despised" to become the cornerstone of His temple. The color associated with Raphael is the green color of plants.

Next Ira led us on a journey. We were traveling through a forest and came upon an open clearing in the shape of a circle. The clearing was covered with grass. There were also trees and birds. There was one path out of the circle heading forward. Each path was bounded by forests. There was also an inclination on each path. Each clearing was circular shaped and covered with grass, a few trees, and animals.

Upon reaching the clearing that I associated with the sefira of Tiferets, Ira mentioned that there was someone sitting in the clearing. I walked up to meet the person. I noticed he was an elder American Indian in my vision. I greeted him and wondered where he came from. He said that he came from Ira. "You see how Ira describes these places, showing respect for nature and its harmony. Ira is my son." I

asked, “how can Ira be your son seeing that he is Jewish.” He said, “He is my Jewish son.” I asked who he was. He said he was Grandfather. I wondered whether this was the Indian concept of G-d. He said he was not and that he represented the ancestors of his people and their respect for the memory. I noticed that he was gazing towards the light of G-d shining down. He said that he too gazes out the light of G-d which is the spirit over all.

I understood better the Indian concept now. When an Indian dances before Grandfather, he is dancing before the spirits of all his ancestors in respect for their customs as well as the Great Spirit. I asked if he had any messages for Ira. He told me that Ira should not worry about the incident with his horses and that this was all part of his learning on nature. I asked about him finding a wife. Grandfather was seemingly confused by the question. This is part of nature. One does not need to seek her, when she is present, you will find her.

Finally, we began our descend and return to Beth Shalom. I saw the Indian turn his head back toward the light of G-d as I descended.

The First Nine Months - November 13, 1996 - 8 PM

This meditation occurred at Beth Shalom with Ira leading and Monte. The goal of the regression was to rediscover the teachings that are revealed to each of us during the pregnancy period. There is a teaching that before we are born we are taught the Torah for 9 months. At the time of birth, our memory of this experience is removed. My goal for this meditation was to relive and discover the essence of the teaching during these 9 months.

I prepared myself centered between the 4 angels Michael, Gavriel, Uriel, and Raphael. I viewed a line tied from myself to each one providing a secure base in the spiritual realm. I experienced the moment of my birth which was accompanied by an utter amazement with great size of the world around. I advanced briefly to the day of circumcision and realized that their is no trauma that can be relived from this experience since the fulfillment of a commandment ends trauma memories.

As I regressed back into the womb, I saw the place lit up from a book held by a small angel. The angel was the size of a cherub with a mature face and golden long wavy hair and he held a book with a cover of gold and silver. I asked to know what I learned during these nine months. He said I already knew since I had spent my current life learning the same items. I was amazed by the soft comfort and beauty of this place. He explained that it is Malchut that is in Malchut. I recalled the hard cave of Malchut where I’d been many times and noticed the similarities in the cavities. Yet, the walls in this place were soft and that this represented a pure emanation of the energy of Malchut. He invited me over to look into the book and I saw that the pages were all blank. He explained that the Torah one learns during these nine months are the answers to questions asked. I asked a personal question at this point and saw the answer formed in beautiful Hebrew calligraphy on the page. Before each new question, he would turn to a new blank page. I asked what is the higher meaning of the names of the 4 worlds. The blank page filled with an answer and he read, “There is deep significance in these names. They represent a spiritual cycle of life as well. The winter which is called Akra or barren represents the necessary emptiness that one must achieve internally in order to plant a seed for personal growth which is the spring.”

Questions and answers:

1. What are we supposed to learn in relationships? “These involve increasing patience and understanding, reducing criticism, and helping to create a harmonious environment to raise children.”
2. How do we know our soul mate? “The person that one marries has a deep purpose that is not always represented by ‘compatible disposition, personal view, or sensitivity’. Sometimes, the relationship is meant to bring a special child into the world who will achieve much good in spiritual leadership in the community.”
3. I asked what is your name? He told me it is the same as yours with El as the suffix. This meant that his name is Yosefiel. He told me that each person has a guide before they are born that bears their Hebrew name with the suffix El. The angel of the womb is created specially by G-d for each soul in the coming lifetime to prepare it with the answers to questions it will need to find in the coming lifetime. The questions are already known by the coming child so the angel need only turn the pages of the Book and read the answers.
4. I asked what happens to the angel after a child is born. He said naturally the angel remains available throughout the current lifetime to provide answers.

At this point, Ira began a summoning of an angelic guide for each of us. I was already ahead of Ira at this point and had to dismiss an intrusive angel that was appearing. The cherub angel extended his right forearm and told me to grasp it and he grasped mine. We began to spin in a wonderful dance in a clockwise circle. I felt other angels entering and dancing in a circle around us. The whole heaven was alive in my mind by the dancing of a myriad of angels in a wreath around us vertically as we spun. I also thought of those around me and there well being. The lesson here is that joy elevates the feelings of others in higher worlds as well as this world.

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[381] **a-** fâr, fäte; **i-** jovîal; **o-** nöte

[382] Ira Brandell is a healer in the San Jose area. His meditations are gifted and tune automatically to each individual in the group.

[383] This parallel’s the association of the angels with the sefirot assuming one is facing East like the encampment at Sinai. We face East while meditating in the Shul. East - Tiferet is the direction of the rising Sun and the angel of light is Uriel. To the Right is South - Hesed which is represented by Michael the protector of Israel who transmits kindness. To the Left is North - Gevurah which is represented by Gavriel who brings us to responsibility and discipline which is corrects us spiritually. Behind is West - Yesod which is represent by Raphael who like the Tzaddik heals his people.

[384] I was teaching a class at a senior home in San Jose called the Chai House. One student’s name was Timber. During the meditation I got the message, “Timber is a precious soul to Hashem and his belief is his Tzaddik for him.” Timber was a Jew who became a 7th day Adventist.

[385] In the hypnotic state, let the subconscious direct the movement of the body. The conscious mind will eventually realize the wisdom of the subconscious.

[386] I am typing this entry Rosh Hodesh Av 5756 - July 16, 1996.

[387] Leaping and bounding in the hypnotic state is like flying in a lucid dream. Taking time to experience pleasure will make future hypnotic sessions easier to enter.

XVII. Health

"Health is a Mitzvah."[388]
Body and soul in Judaism stand in a special relationship.
They are partners, jointly enabling us to serve the Lord.

The body is the Nefesh, which is the lowest part of the soul. Hence, it is incumbent upon us to maintain its health.

A. Organic Food

In order to avoid consuming growth hormones and antibiotics, consumers should buy organic products instead. These include milk, cheese, and eggs. Organic kosher meat has yet to become available. Organic eggs are noticeably lighter than regular eggs.

Pesticides are less of a problem since they are generally removed by washing and processing. Nevertheless organic foods do not contain pesticides and are likely to be healthier in the long term.

B. Dental

Electric toothbrushes are very effective at strengthening the gum line. While using a tooth paste is not always necessary, if one experiences reoccurring gum line pain, a good fluoride toothpaste during brushing will strengthen the area. Eating popcorn is a natural cleanser of plaque on teeth.

C. Skin

In order to reduce dry skin ailments, use a water softener, which will adjust the water's PH to a higher alkaline level that is more conducive to the skin.

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[388] Understanding Judaism, The Basics of Deed and Creed, Benjamin Blech, Ch. 18, page 160

XVIII. Music

A. Even-Tempered Scale

The piano has 88 keys which is 7 octaves and 4 extra keys. Each octave on the musical scale contains 7 white keys and 5 black keys. The notes increase in whole and in other cases half step multiples. The notes in brackets are black piano keys and are a half step above the previous note.

A [A+=B-] **B C** [C+=D-] **D** [D+=E-] **E F** [F+=G-] **G** [G+=A-]

Sometimes there are half steps between white piano keys as in B&C and E&F and between all white to black keys. The +'s denote sharps and the –'s flats. The note at each octave has double the frequency of the previous octave and is thus a harmonic. We add suffix numbers to the notes to specify a particular octave. For example, A4 is harmonic to A3 in the following table. A wave is harmonic to a lower frequency wave if the lower frequency waveform's zero amplitude points are also of amplitude zero in the higher frequency wave.

Table 31: Frequencies of the Third Octave

Note	Frequency (Hertz)
A3	220
B3	246.9
C3	261.6
D3	293.7
E3	329.6
F3	349.2
G3	392
A4	440

How can we calculate these steps? We denote a waveform with frequency f0 and its harmonic with frequency f1. By definition:

$$f1/f0=2.$$

We also note that all of the frequencies between will have the same multiple (denoted by h) from the previous frequency. Say f0 is A3 than A3+ = A3*h. Now to the computation of h:

$$f1 = h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * h * f0$$
$$f1/f0 = h^{12}$$
$$2 = h^{12}$$
$$h = 12^{th} \text{ root of } 2 = 1.059463094$$

The half step always has a fixed ratio in the Even-Tempered Scale that is h. For example C3/B3 =

261.6/246.9 = 1.059463094.[389] Now we can fill in the frequencies of the sharps and flats as well:

Table 32: Sharp and Flat Frequencies of the Third Octave

Note	Frequency (Hertz)
A3	220
A3+B3-	233.1
B3	246.9
C3	261.6
C3+D3-	277.2
D3	293.7
D3+E3-	311.1
E3	329.6
F3	349.2
F3+G3-	370.0
G3	392.0
G3+A4-	415.3
A4	440

B. Pythagorean Diatonic Scale

The Diatonic scale differs from the Equal tempered scale in that the multiples between frequencies are fractions. Pythagoras developed the scale based on fractions while studying the tonal relationships between string lengths on a monochord. He did not consider a multiple of length based on an irrational numbers. A frequency of the wave of a string will change inversely with its length. Hence given two strings, the second string half the length of the first; the frequency of the second string will be twice that of the first.

The frequencies of the First, Fourth, Fifth, and Octave are known through observation. The derivation of the rest follows based on the Fifth.

D2 = 3/2 f * 3/2 = 9/4 f
D1 = 9/4 f * ½ = 9/8 f

C2 = 4/3 f * 3/2 f = 2f

A3 = 9/4f * 3/2 = 27/8 f
A2 = 27/16 f

Table 33: Diatonic Frequencies of the Octave

Note	Position	String Length Ratio	Frequency
C1	First	l	f
D1	Second	8/9 l	9/8 f
E1	Third	64/81 l	81/64 f
F1	Fourth	¾ l	4/3 f
G1	Fifth	2/3 l	3/2 f
A2	Sixth	16/27 l	27/16 f
B2	Seventh	128/243 l	243/128 f
C2	Octave	½ l	2 f

Since there are six whole tones in the space of an octave, we'd expect 9/8 ^ 6 => 2 but it = 2.027, so the tones are not evenly distant. Equal temperament does away with this problem.

Pythagoras found that the octave, fifth, and forth had the most harmonious sounds. A song's key is the octave forward from the starting note. On the Diatonic Scale, the multiples between the same notes may vary with Octave. Hence, the same piece of music played in a different key tends to sound quite different unlike when playing a piece with the Even-Tempered Scale.

This problem with uneven multiples manifests itself in other areas. For example, 12 fifths doesn't equal 7 octaves, though they are the same key on the piano. This is known as the Pythagorean comma.[390] This imbalance in the frequency distance between keys means that it is impossible to construct Pythagorean tuned piano.

The frequency of C1 = f
The frequency of C8 = 2^7 f = 128f from Octave multiplication.
The frequency of C8 from multiples of fifths is 3/2 ^ 12 f = 129.74f

The problem doesn't manifest significantly when playing music in a single octave, but when playing music across octaves one cannot for example tune the 8th octave to the 7th fifth since they are not compatible. One cannot build a Pythagorean piano.

C. Fractals

In the kabbalistic Tree of Life, the microcosm reflects the macrocosm, the sefirot in man reflect the sefirot of G-d. Man is created in the image of G-d. This recursive principle is the essence of fractals, which are repeated images within images.

"The natural world is composed of fractals that are the trails, or visual representation, left by the dynamic

(continuously moving) systems that created them. A tree is fractal in nature – a single branch resembles the entire tree, a smaller twig resembles the branch, even the structures of the veins in the leaves exhibit the same branching process as the tree itself. Granted, the patterns at different scales are not exact replicas of one another, but the idea is the same. The patterns created by the rocks of a rugged coastline also repeat themselves at different scales – a snail crawling along the nooks and crannies of the rocks on the shore traverses a meandering path similar to the one you would take on a hike along the cliffs, which in turn is similar to the general outline of the coast viewed from an airplane. Natural fractals reach a point where the pattern (at the biological level, anyway) stops; however, in a true scaling fractal (for instance, the Koch snowflake), this detail continues ad infinitum."[391]

D. Fibonacci Ratio

The Fibonacci ratio has an aesthetic appeal to the human mind. There are five black keys for every 8 white keys in a piano Octave. The partitioning of great paintings is often done according to the ratio. Also the lengths of different movements in a classical piece of music will often follow this ratio.

1/1
½
2/3
3/5
5/8
8/13

133/377 = 0.618037

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[389] Math and Music Harmonious Connections, Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughan Kahn, Dale Seymour Publications, page 40.
[390] Math and Music, page 62.
[391] Math and Music Harmonious Connections, Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughan Kahn, Dale Seymour Publications, page 132.

XIX. Math

In the world of Asiyah, science is the body of the world and math its soul.

A. Euler's Theorem

B. Taylor Series Expansion

XX. Science

In the world of Asiyah, science is the body of the world and math its soul.

A. Special Relativity

Maxwell's equations predicted that light and radio waves have a fixed speed. Albert Michelson and Edward Morley showed that this fixed speed is independent of the movement of objects.[392] For example, an object moving towards the sun and an object moving away from the Sun would witness passing light beams to have the same velocity, the speed of light that is denoted ***c***.

Table 34: Speed of Light that is *c*

meters/sec	kilometers/sec	exp meters/sec	miles/sec
300,000,000	300,000	$3x10^8$	186,000

Since the upper limit of velocity is limited to the speed of light a second object moving at v_2 in relation to a first object v_1 has the following true velocity:

Equation 1: Theorem of Addition of Velocities

$$V = v_1 \pm v_2$$

Equation 2: Theorem of Addition of Velocities with Relativitity

$$V = \frac{v_1 \pm v_2}{1 \pm \frac{v_1 v_2}{c^2}}$$

So with v_1 = ***c***/2 and v_2 = ***c***/2, the actual velocity of the 2nd object is (***c***/2+ ***c***/2)/(1+(***c***^{2}/4 * 1/***c***^{2})) = 4/5 ***c.***

B. General Relativity

C. Astronomy

The position of a star is determined by its declination and right ascension.

The declination is measured in degrees north or south of the celestial equator, that is the projection of the equator.

The Right Ascension has a value of zero in Pisces and advances two hours though every constellation.[393] One can compute the passage of time by the advancement of the constellations across the sky.

The constellations rise in the East and set in the West. Hence, Virgo would have a RA of 12. Pisces lies directly over the projection of the equator and has a declination of zero. Orion's belt also lies directly over th equator with a declination of zero.

Table 35: Declination and Right Ascension of the Constellations

constellation	declination	right ascension (hours)
Pisces	0	0
Aries	20	2
Taurus	20	4
Gemini	22	6
Cancer	18	8
Leo	12	10
Virgo	-9	12
Libra	-18	14
Scorpio	-28	16
Sagittarius	-28	18
Capricorn	-18	20
Aquarius	-9	22

Stars that are always visible, are in the Polar Circle of the sky.

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[392] A Brief History of Time, Stephen Hawking, 10th edition, page 20.
[393] Salt Lake City Community College lecture on astronomy, 9/07/2001.

XXI. Family and Roles

There is a Midrash that before we are born, we have all the spiritual knowledge of our past lives and full comprehension about what we need to accomplish in this lifetime. Nevertheless, at the moment of birth an angel touches us just below the nose and we forget all we knew. We spend the rest of our lives trying to find what we lost. And it is extremely important to find what we have lost in this instance. There are many clues to discover one's role in life. A lot can be learned from our family. A soul will choose a family in order to improve itself in areas of weakness. While in this family there may be more conflicts, correction leads to greater personal growth. One may also learn about oneself from one's name. Who we are named after will effect our role in life. The day we are born will also have an effect.

Song of Myself – Walt Whitman

I celebrate myself, and sing myself,
For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you.

I loafe and invite my soul,
I lean and loafe at my ease observing a spear of summer grass.

My tongue, every atom of my blood, form'd from this soil, this air,
Born here of parents born here from parents the same, and their parents the same,
I, now thirty-seven years old in perfect health begin,
Hoping to cease not till death.

Creeds and schools in abeyance,
Retiring back a while sufficed at what they are, but never forgotten,
I harbor for good or bad, I permit to speak at every hazard,
Nature without check with original energy...

Avraham Tzvi ben Moshe
Jewish Movements
There is good and bad in each of the Jewish movements. Because of the Reform movement, there is pressure on the Vatican to release the archives of the WWII Pope Plus XII who allied with Hitler, mach shemo. Because of the Conservative and Reform movements, pressure was exerted on Truman to approve the State of Israel. While the Orthodox movement has kept us from adopting harmful modern ways, they have kept to themselves mostly. Leftists were the first to pick up the rifle to fight for Israel.[394]
Hitler's Pope
Recently the current Pope has come out with apologies to the Jewish people for the Cathloc Church during WWII. This is the result of pressure from the Reform movement and a publication by John Cornwell called Hitler's Pope:

HITLER'S POPE
Long-buried Vatican files reveal a new and shocking indictment of World War II's Pope Plus XII: that in pursuit of absolute power he helped Adolf Hitler destroy German Catholic political opposition, betrayed

the Jews of Europe, and sealed a deeply cynical pact with a 20th-century devil.

BY JOHN CORNWELL

One evening several years ago when I was having dinner with a group of students, the topic of the papacy was broached, and the discussion quickly boiled over. A young woman asserted that Eugenio Pacelli, Pope Pius XII, the Pope during World War II, had brought lasting shame on thc Catholic Church by failing to denounce the Final Solution. A young man, a practicing Catholic, insisted that the case had never been proved. Raised as a Catholic during the papacy of Pius Xll - his picture gazed down from the wall of every classroom during my childhood - I was only too familiar with the allegation. It started in 1963 with a play by a young German author named Rolf Hochhuth, Der Stellvertreter (Thc Deputy) which was staged on Broadway in 1964. It depicted Pacelli as a ruthless cynic, interested more in the Vatican's stockholdings than in the fate of the Jews. Most Catholics dismissed Hochhuth's thesis as implausible, but the play sparked a controversy which has raged to this day.

Disturbed by the anger brought out in that dinner altercation, and convinced, as I had always been, of Pius XII's innocence, I decided to write a new defense of his reputation for a younger generation. I believed that Pacelli's evident holiness was proof of his good faith. How could such a saintly pope have betrayed the Jews? But was it possible to find a new and conclusive approach to the issue? The arguments had so far focused mainly on his wartime conduct; however, Pacelli's Vatican career had started 40 years earlier. It seemed to me that a proper investigation into Pacelli's record would require a more extensive chronicle than any attempted in the past. So I applied for access to archival material in the Vatican, reassuring those who had charge of crucial documents that I was on the side of my subject. Six years earlier, in a book entitled A Thief in the Night, I had defended the Vatican against charges that Pope John Paul I had been murdered by his own aides.

Two key officials granted me access to secret material: depositions under oath gathered 30 years ago to support the process for Pacelli's canonization, and the archive of the Vatican Secretariat of State, the foreign office of the Holy See. I also drew on German sources relating to Pacelli's activities in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s, including his dealings with AdoIf Hitler in 1933. For months on end I ransacked Pacelli's files, which dated back to 1912, in a windowless dungeon beneath the Borgia Tower in Vatican City. Later I sat for several weeks in a dusty office in the Jesuit headquarters, close to St. Peter's Square in Rome, mulling over a thousand pages of transcribed testimony given under oath by those who had known Pacelli well during his lifetime, including his critics.

By the middle of 1997, 1 was in a state of moral shock. The material I had gathered amounted not to an exoneration but to an indictment more scandalous than Hochhuth's. The evidence was explosive. It showed for the first time that PaceIli was patently, and by the proof of his own words, anti-Jewish. It revealed that he had helped Hitler to power and at the same time undermined potential Catholic resistance in Germany. It showed that he had implicitly denied and trivialized the Holocaust, despite having reliable knowledge of its true extent. And, worse, that he was a hypocrite, for after the war he had retrospectively taken undue credit for speaking out boldly against the Nazi persecution of the Jews.

In the "Holy Year" of 1950, a year in which many millions of pilgrims flocked to Rome to catch a glimpse of Pacelli, he was at the zenith of his papacy. This was the Pius people now in their mid-50s and older remember from newsreels and newspaper photographs. He was 74 years old and still vigorous. Six feet tall, stick thin at 125 pounds, light on his feet, regular in habits, he had hardly altered physically from the day of his coronation 11 years earlier. He had beautiful tapering hands, a plaintive voice, large dark eyes and an aura of holiness. It was his extreme pallor that first arrested those who met him. His skin "had surprisingly transparent effect," observed the writer Gerrado Pallenberg, "as if reflecting from the inside a cold, white flame." His charisma was stunning. "His presence radiated a benignity, calm and sanctity that I have certainly never before sensed in

any human being." recorded the English writer James Lees-Milne. "I immediately fell head over heels in love with him. I was so affected I could scarcely speak without tears and was conscious that my legs were trembling."

But there was another side to his character, little known to the faithful. Although he was a man of selfless, monklike habits of prayer and simplicity, he was a believer in the absolute leadership principle. More than any other Vatican official of the century, he had promoted the modern ideology of autocratic papal control, the highly centralized, dictatoria1 authority he himself assumed on March 2, 1939, and maintained until his death in October 1958. There was a time before the advent of modern communications when Catholic authority was widely distributed, in the collective decisions of the church's councils and in collegial power-sharing between the Pope and the bishops. The absolutism of the modern papacy is largely an invention of the late 19th century It developed rapidly in the first decades of this century in response to the perception of the centrifugal breakup of the church under an array of contemporary pressures: materialism, increasing sexual freedom, religious skepticism, and social and political liberties. From his young manhood on, Pacelli played a leading role in shaping the conditions and scope of modern papal power.

Eugenio Pacelli was born in Rome in 1876, into a family of church lawyers who served the Vatican. He had an older sister and brother and a younger sister. His parents, devout Catholics, shared an apartment in central Rome with his grandfather, who had been a legal adviser to Pius IX, the longest-serving Pope in history. There was only one small brazier to supply heat for the whole family, even in the depths of winter. Eugenio was a modest youth, who never appeared before his siblings unless he was fully dressed in a jacket and tie. He would always come to the table with a book, which he would read after having asked the family's permission.

From an early age he acted out the ritual of the Mass, dressed in robes supplied by his mother. He had a gift for languages and a prodigious memory. He was spindly and suffered from a "fastidious stomach." He retained a youthful piety all his life. Politically and legally, however, he was capable of great subtlety and cunning.

The Pacelli's were fiercely loyal to the

injured merit of the papacy. From 1848, the Popes had progressively lost to the emerging nation-state of Italy their dominions, which had formed, since time immemorial, the midriff of the Italian peninsula. Six years before Eugenio's birth, the city of Rome itself had been seized, leaving the papacy in crisis. How could the Popes regard themselves as independent now that they were mere citizens of an upstart kingdom? Eugenio's grandfather and father believed passionately that the Popes could once again exert a powerful unifying authority over the church by the application of ecclesiastical and international law. In 1870, at a gathering in Rome of a preponderance of the world's bishops, known as the First Vatican Council, the Pope was dogmatically declared infallible in matters of faith and morals. He was also declared the unchallenged primate of the faithful. The Pope may have lost his temporal dominion, but spiritually he was solely in charge of his universal church.

During the first two decades of this century, papal primacy and infallibility began to creep even beyond the ample boundaries set by the First Vatican Council. A powerful legal instrument transformed the 1870 primacy dogma into an unprecedented principle of papal power. Eugenio Pacelli, by then a brilliant young Vatican lawyer, had a major part in the drafting of that instrument, which was known as the Code of Canon Law. Pacelli had been recruited into the Vatican in 1901, at the age of 24, to specialize in international affairs and church law. Pious, slender, with dark luminous eyes, he was an instant favorite. He was invited to collaborate on the reformulation of church law with his immediate superior, Pietro Gaspam, a world-famous canon lawyer. Packaged in a single manual, the Code of Canon Law was distributed in 1917 to Catholic bishops and clergy throughout the world. According to this code, in the future all bishops would be nominated by the Pope; doctrinal error would be tantamount to heresy; priests would be subjected to strict censorship in their writings; papal letters to the faithful would be regarded as infallible (in practice if not in principle}: and an oath would be taken by all candidates for the priesthood to submit to the sense as well as the strict wording of doctrine as laid down by the Pope.

But there was a problem. The church had historically granted the dioceses in the provincial states of Germany a large measure of local discretion and independence from Rome. Germany had one of the largest Catholic populations in the world, and its congregation was well educated and sophisticated, with hundreds of Catholic associations and newspapers and many Catholic universities and publishing houses. The historic autonomy of Germany's Catholic Church was enshrined in ancient church-state treaties known as concordats.

Aged 41 and already an archbishop, PaceIli was dispatched to Munich as papal nuncio, or ambassador, to start the process of eliminating all existing legal challenges to the new papal autocracy. At the same time, he was to pursue a Reich Concordat, a treaty between the papacy and Germany as a whole which would supersede all local agreements and become a model of Catholic church-state relations. A Reich Concordat would mean formal recognition by the German government of the Pope's right to impose the new Code of Canon Law on Germany's Catholics. Such an arrangement was fraught with significance for a largely Protestant Germany. Nearly 400 years earlier, in Wittenberg, Martin Luther had publicly burned a copy of Canon Law in defiance of the centralized authority of the church. It was one of the defining moments of the Reformation, which was to divide Western Christendom into Catholics and Protestants.

In May 1917, Pacelli set off for Germany via Switzerland in a private railway compartment, with an additional wagon containing 60 cases of special foods for his delicate stomach. The Pope at that time, Benedict XV, was shocked at this extravagance, but PaceIli had favored status as the Vatican's best diplomat. Shortly after he settled in Munich, he acquired a reputation as a vigorous relief worker. He traveled through war-weary Germany extending charity to people of all religions and none. In an early letter to the Vatican, however he revealed himself to be less than enamored of Germany's Jews. On September 4, 1917. PaceIli informed Pietro Gaspam, who had become cardinal secretary of state in the Vatican -- the equivalent of foreign minister and prime minister -- that a Dr. Werner, the chief rabbi of Munich, had approached the nunciature begging a favor. In order to

celebrate the festival of Tabernacles, beginning on
October 1, the Jews needed palm fronds, which normally
came from Italy. But the Italian government had forbidden
the exportation, via Switzerland, of a stock of palms
which the Jews had purchased and which were being held up
in Como. "The Israelite Community," continued
Pacelli, "are seeking the intervention of the Pope
in the hope that he will plead on behalf of the thousands
of German Jews." The favor in question was no more
problematic than the transportation of Pacelli's 60 cases
of food-stuffs had been a few months earlier.
Pacelli informed Gaspam that he had warned the
rabbi that "wartime delays in communication"
would make things difficult. He also told Gaspam that he
did not think it appropriate for the Vatican "to
assist them in the exercise of their Jewish cult."
His letter went by the slow route overland in the
diplomatic bag. Gaspatti replied by telegram on September
18 that he entirely trusted Pacelli's
"shrewdness," agreeing that it would not be
appropriate to help Rabbi Werner. PaceIli wrote back on
September 28, 1917, informing Gasparri that he had again
seen the Rabbi, who "was perfectly convinced of the reasons I had given him and thanked me warmly for all
that I had done on his behalf." Pacelli had done
nothing except thwart the rabbi's request. The episode,
small in itself, belies subsequent claims that Pacelli
had a great love of the Jewish religion and was always motivated by its best interests.
Eighteen months later he revealed his
antipathy toward the Jews in a more blatantly
anti-Semitic fashion when he found himself at the center
of a local revolution as Bolshevik groups struggled to
take advantage of the chaos in postwar Munich. Writing to
Gasparri, Pacelli described the revolutionaries and their
chief, Eugen Levien in their headquarters in the former
royal palace. The letter has lain in the Vatican secret
archive like a time bomb until now:
"The scene that presented itself at the
palace was indescribable. The confusion totally chaotic,
the filth completely nauseating; soldiers and armed
workers coming and going; the building, once the home of a king, resounding with screams, vile language,
profanities. Absolute hell. An army of employees were

dashing to and fro, giving out orders, waving bits of paper, and in the midst of all this, a gang of young women, of dubious appearance, Jews like all the rest of them, hanging around in all the offices with provocative demeanor and suggestive smiles. The boss of this female gang was Levien's mistress, a young Russian woman, a Jew and a divorcee, who was in charge. And it was to her that the nunciature was obliged to pay homage in order to proceed.

This Levien is a young man, about 30 or 35, also Russian and a Jew. Pale, dirty, with vacant eyes, hoarse voice, vulgar, repulsive, with a face that is both intelligent and sly."

This association of Jewishness with Bolshevism confirms that Pacelli, from his early 40s, nourished a suspicion of and contempt for the Jews for political reasons. But the repeated references to the Jewishness of these individuals, along with the catalogue of stereotypical epithets deploring their physical and moral repulsiveness, betray a scorn and revulsion consistent with anti-Semitism. Not long after this, Pacelli campaigned to have black French troops removed from the Rhineland, convinced that they were raping women and abusing children - even though an independent inquiry sponsored by the U.S. Congress, of which Pacelli was aware, proved this allegation false. Twenty-three years later, when the Allies were about to enter Rome, he asked the British envoy to the Vatican to request of the British Foreign Office that no Allied colored troops would be among the small number that might be garrisoned in Rome after the occupation.

Pacelli spent 13 years in Germany attempting to rewrite the state Concordats one by one in favor of the power of the Holy See and routinely employing diplomatic blackmail. Germany was caught up in many territorial disputes following the redrawing of the map of Central Europe after thc First World War. Pacelli repeatedly traded promises of Vatican support for German control of disputed regions in return for obtaining terms advantageous to the Vatican in Concordats. The German government's official in charge of Vatican affairs at one point recorded the "ill feeling" prompted by Pacelli's "excessive demands." Both Catholics and Protestants in Germany resisted reaching an agreement

with Pacelli on a Reich Concordat because the nuncio's concept of a church-state relationship was too authoritarian. In his negotiations, Pacelli was not concerned about the fate of non-Catholic religious communities or institutions, or about human rights. He was principally preoccupied with the interests of the Holy See. Nothing could have been better designed to deliver Pacelli into the hands of Hitler later, when the future dictator made his move in 1933.

In June 1920, Pacelli became nuncio to all of Germany, with headquarters in Berlin as well as in Munich, and immediately acquired a glittering reputation in diplomatic circles. He was a favorite at dinner parties and receptions, and he was known to ride horses on the estate of a wealthy German family. His household was run by a pretty young nun from southern Germany named Sister Pasqualina Lehnert. Pacelli's sister Elisabetta, who battled with the nun for Pacelli's affections, described Pasqualina as "scaltrissima"-- extremely cunning. In Munich it had been rumored that he cast more than priestly eyes on this religious housekeeper. Pacelli insisted that a Vatican investigation into this "horrible calumny" be conducted at the highest level, and his reputation emerged unbesmirched.

Meanwhile, he had formed a close relationship with an individual named Ludwig Kaas. Kaas was a representative of the solidly Catholic German Center Party, one of the largest and most powerful democratic parties in Germany. Though it was unusual for a full-time politician, he was also a Roman Catholic priest. Five years Pacelli's junior, dapper, bespectacled, and invariably carrying a smart walking stick, Kaas, known as "the prelate," became an intimate collaborator of Pacelli's on every aspect of Vatican diplomacy in Germany. With Pacelli's encouragement, Kaas eventually became the chairman of the Center Party, the first priest to do so in the party's 60-year history. Yet while Kaas was officially a representative of a major democratic party, he was increasingly devoted to Pacelli to the point of becoming his alter ego.

Sister Pasqualina stated after Pacelli's death that Kaas, who "regularly accompanied Pacelli on holiday" was linked to him in "adoration, honest love and unconditional loyalty." There were stories of acute jealousy and high emotion when Kaas

became conscious of a rival affection in Pacelli's
secretary, the Jesuit Robert Leiber, who was also German.

Kaas was a profound believer in the benefits
of a Reich Concordat, seeing a parallel between papal
absolutism and the FÜHRER- PRINZIP, the Fascist
leadership principle. His views coincided perfectly with
Pacelli's on church-state politics, and their aspirations for centralized papal power were identical. Kaas's adulation of PaceIli, whom he put before his party,
became a crucial element in the betrayal of Catholic
democratic politics in Germany.
In 1929, Pacelli was recalled to Rome to take
over the most important role under the Pope, Cardinal
Secretary of State. Sister Pasqualina arrived uninvited
and cunningly, according to Pacelli's sister, and along
with two German nuns to assist her, took over the management of his Vatican residence. Almost immediately
Kaas, although he was still head of the German Center
Party, started to spend long periods--months at a time
--in Pacelli's Vatican apartments Shortly before
Pacelli's return to Rome, his brother, Francesco had
successfully negotiated on behalf of Pius Xl, the current
Pope, a concordat with Mussolini as part of an agreement known as the Lateran Treaty. The rancor between the
Vatican and the state of Italy was officially at an end.
A precondition of the negotiations had involved the
destruction of the parliamentary Catholic Italian Popular
Party. Pius XI disliked political Catholicism because he
could not control it. Like his predecessors, he believed that Catholic party politics brought democracy into the
church by the back door. The result of the demise of the
Popular Party was the wholesale shift of Catholics into
the Fascist Party and the collapse of democracy in Italy.
Pius XI and his new secretary of state, Pacelli, were
determined that no accommodation be reached with Communists anywhere in the world - this was the time of
persecution of the church in Russia, Mexico, and later
Spain -but totalitarian movements and regimes of the
right were a different matter.
Hitler, who had enjoyed his first great
success in the elections of September 1930, was
determined to seek a treaty with the Vatican similar to
that struck by Mussolini, which would lead to the disbanding of the German Center Party. In his political

testament, Mein Kampf, he had recollected that his fear of Catholicism went back to his vagabond days in Vienna. The fact that German Catholics, politically united by the Center Party, had defeated Bismarck's Kulturkampf- the "culture struggle" against the Catholic Church in the 1870s--constantly worried him. He was convinced that his movement could succeed only if political Catholicism and its democratic networks were eliminated. Hitler's fear of the Catholic Church was well grounded. Into the early 1930s the German Center Party, the German Catholic bishops, and the Catholic media had been mainly solid in their rejection of National Socialism. They denied Nazis the sacraments and church burials, and Catholic journalists excoriated National Socialism daily in Germany's 400 Catholic ewspapers. The hierarchy instructed priests to combat National Socialism at a local level whenever it attacked Christianity. The Munich-based weekly Der Gerade Weg The Straight Path) told its readers, "Adolf Hitler preaches the law of lies. You who have fallen victim to the deceptions of one obsessed with despotism, wake up!"

The vehement front of the Catholic Church in Germany against Hitler, however, was not at one with the view from inside the Vatican--a view that was now being shaped and promoted by Eugenio Pacelli. In 1930 the influential Catholic politician Heinrich Briining, a First World War Veteran, became the leader of a brief new government coalition, dominated by the majority Socialists and the Center Party. The country was reeling from successive economic crises against the background of the world slump and reparations payments to the Allies. In August 1931, Briining visited Pacelli in the Vatican, and the two men quarreled. Brüning tells in his memoirs how Pacelli lectured him, the German chancellor, on how he should reach an understanding with the Nazis to "form a right-wing administration" in order to help achieve a Reich Concordat favorable to the Vatican. When Brüning advised him not to interfere in German politics, Pacelli threw a tantrum. Brüning parting shot that day was the ironic observation- chilling in hindsight-- that he trusted that "the Vatican would fare better at the hands of Hitler ... than with himself, a devout Catholic."

Briining was right on one score. Hitler proved to be the only chancellor prepared to grant Pacelli the sort of authoritarian concordat he was seeking. But the price was to be catastrophic for Catholic Germany and for Germany as a whole.

After Hitler came to power in January 1933, he made the concordat negotiations with Pacelli a priority. The negotiations proceeded over six months with constant shuttle diplomacy between the Vatican and Berlin. Hitler spent more time on this treaty than on any other item of foreign diplomacy during his dictatorship.

The Reich Concordat granted Pacelli the right to impose the new Code of Canon Law on Catholics in Germany and promised a number of measures favorable to Catholic education, including new schools. In exchange, Pacelli collaborated in the withdrawal of Catholics from political and social activity. The negotiations were conducted in secret by Pacelli, Kaas, and Hitler's deputy chancellor, Franz von Papen, over the heads of German bishops and the faithful. The Catholic Church in Germany had no say in setting the conditions.

In the end, Hitler insisted that his signature on the concordat would depend on the Center Party's voting for the Enabling Act, the legislation that was to give him dictatorial powers. It was Kaas, chairman of the party but completely in thrall to Pacelli, who bullied the delegates into acceptance. Next, Hitler insisted on the "voluntary" disbanding of the Center Party, the last truly parliamentary force in Germany. Again, Pacelli was the prime mover in this tragic Catholic surrender. The fact that the party voluntarily disbanded itself, rather than go down fighting, had a profound psychological effect, depriving Germany of the last democratic focus of potential noncompliance and resistance: In the political vacuum created by its surrender, Catholics in the millions joined the Nazi Party, believing that it had the support of the Pope. The German bishops capitulated to Pacelli's policy of centralization, and German Catholic democrats found themselves politically leaderless.

After the Reich Concordat was signed, Pacelli declared it an unparalleled triumph for the Holy See. In an article in L 'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican-controlled newspaper, he announced that the treaty, indicated the total recognition and

acceptance of
the church's law by the German state. But Hitler was the
true victor and the Jews were the concordat's first
victims. On July 14, 1933, after the initialing of the
treaty, the Cabinet minutes record Hitler as saying that
the concordat had created an atmosphere of confidence
that would be "especially significant in the
struggle against international Jewry." He was
claiming that the Catholic Church had publicly given its
blessing, at home and abroad, to the policies of National Socialism, including its anti-Semitic stand. At the same
time, under the terms of the concordat, Catholic
criticism of acts deemed political by the Nazis, could
now be regarded as "foreign interference." The great German Catholic Church, at the insistence of Rome,
fell silent. In the future all complaints against the
Nazis would be channeled through Pacelli. There were some
notable exceptions, for example the sermons preached in
1933 by Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber, the Archbishop of
Munich, in which he denounced the Nazis for their rejection of the Old Testament as a Jewish text.
The concordat immediately drew the German
church into complicity with the Nazis. Even as Pacelli
was granted special advantages in the concordat for
German Catholic education, Hitler was trampling on the
educational rights of Jews throughout the country. At the
same time, Catholic priests were being drawn into Nazi
collaboration with the attestation bureaucracy, which
established Jewish ancestry. Pacelli, despite the immense
centralized power he now wielded through the Code of
Canon Law, said and did nothing. The attestation
machinery would lead inexorably to the selection of millions destined for the death camps.
As Nazi anti-Semitism mounted in Germany
during the 1930's, Pacelli failed to complain, even on
behalf of Jews who had become Catholics, acknowledging
that the matter was a matter of German internal policy.
Eventually, in January 1937, three German cardinals and
two influential bishops arrived at the Vatican to plead
for a vigorous protest over Nazi persecution of the
Catholic Church, which had been deprived of all forms of
activity beyond church services. Pins XI at last decided
to issue an encyclical, a letter addressed to all the
faithful of the world. Written under Pacelli's direction,
it was called Mit Brennender Sorge
(With Deep Anxiety), and it was a forthright statement of the plight of the church in

Germany. But there was no explicit condemnation of anti-Semitism, even in relation to Jews who had converted to Catholicism. Worse still, the subtext against Nazism (National Socialism and Hitler were not mentioned by name) was blunted by the publication five days later of an even more condemnatory encyclical by Pins XI against Communism.

The encyclical Mit Brennender Sorge, though too little and too late, revealed that the Catholic Church all along had the power to shake the regime. A few days later, Hermann Göring, one of Hitler's closest aides and his commander of the Luffwaffe, delivered a two-hour harangue to a Nazi assembly against the Catholic clergy. However, Roman centralizing had paralyzed the German Catholic Church and its powerful web of associations. Unlike the courageous grass-roots activism that had combated Bismarck's persecutions in the 1870s, German Catholicism now looked obediently to Rome for guidance. Although Pacelli collaborated in the writing and the distribution of the encyclical, he quickly undermined its effects by reassuring the Reich's ambassador in Rome. "Pacelli received me with decided friendliness," the diplomat reported back to Berlin, "and emphatically assured me during the conversation that normal and friendly relations with us would be restored as soon as possible."

In the summer of 1938, as Pius XI lay dying, he became belatedly anxious about anti-Semitism throughout Europe. He commissioned another encyclical, to be written exclusively on the Jewish question. The text, which never saw the light of day, has only recently been discovered. It was written by three Jesuit scholars, but Pacelli presumably had charge of the project. It was to be called Humani Generis Unitas (The Unity of the Human Race). For all its good intentions and its repudiation of violent anti-Semitism, the document is replete with the anti-Jewishness that Pacelli had displayed in his early period in Germany. The Jews, the text claims, were responsible for their own fate. God had chosen them to make way for Christ's redemption, but they denied and killed him. And now, "blinded by their dream of

worldly gain and material success," they deserved the "worldly and spiritual ruin" that they had brought down upon themselves.
The document warns that that to defend the Jews as "Christian principles and humanity" demand could involve the unacceptable risk of being ensnared by secular politics--not least an association with Bolshevism. The encyclical was delivered in the fall of 1938 to the Jesuits in Rome, who sat on it. To this day we do not know why it was not completed and handed to Pope Pius XI. For all its drawbacks, it was a clear protest against Nazi attacks on Jews and so might have done some good. But it appears likely that the Jesuits, and Pacelli, whose influence as secretary of state of the Vatican was paramount since the Pope was moribund, were reluctant to inflame the Nazis by its publication.
Pacelli, when he became pope, would bury the document deep in the secret archives.
On February 10, 1939, Pius XI died, at the age of 81. Pacelli, then 63, was elected Pope by the College of Cardinals in just three ballots, on March 2. He was crowned on March 12, on the eve of Hitler's march into Prague. Between his election and his coronation he held a crucial meeting with the German cardinals. Keen to affirm Hitler publicly, he showed them a letter of good wishes which began, "To the Illustrious Herr Adolf Hitler." Should he, he asked them, style the Führer "Most Illustrious"? He decided that that might be going too far. He told the cardinals that Pius XI had said that keeping a papal nuncio in Berlin "conflicts with our honor." But his predecessor, he said, had been mistaken. He was going to maintain normal diplomatic relations with Hitler. The following month, at Pacelli's express wish, Archbishop Cesare Orsenigo, the Berlin nuncio, hosted a gala reception in honor of Hitler's 50th birthday. A birthday greeting to the Führer from the bishops of Germany would become an annual tradition until the war's end.
Pacelli's coronation was the most triumphant in a hundred years. His style of papacy, for all his personal humility, was unprecedentedly pompous. He always ate alone. Vatican bureaucrats were obliged to take phone calls from him on their knees. When he took his afternoon walk, the gardeners had to hide in the bushes. Senior officials were not allowed to ask him questions or present a point of view.

As Europe plunged toward war Pacelli cast himself in the role of judge of judges. But he continued to seek to appease Hitler by attempting to persuade the Poles to make concessions over Germany's territorial claims. After Hitler's invasion of Poland, on September 1, 1939, he declined to condemn Germany, to the bafflement of the Allies. His first public statement, the encyclical known in the English-speaking world as Darkness over the Earth, was full of papal rhetoric and equivocations.

Then something extraordinary occurred, revealing that whatever had motivated Pacelli in his equivocal approach to the Nazi onslaught in Poland did not betoken cowardice or a liking for Hitler. In November 1939, in deepest secrecy, Pacelli became intimately and dangerously involved In what was probably the most viable plot to depose Hitler during the war.

The plot centered on a group of anti-Nazi generals, committed to returning Germany to democracy. The coup might spark a civil war, and they wanted assurances that the West would not take advantage of the ensuing chaos. Pius XII agreed to act as go-between for the plotters and the Allies. Had his complicity in the plot been discovered it might have proved disastrous for the Vatican and for many thousands of German clergy. As it happened, leaders in London dragged their feet, and the plotters eventually fell silent. The episode demonstrates that, while Pacelli seemed weak to some, pusillanimity and indecisiveness were hardly in his nature.

Pacelli's first wartime act of reticence in failing to speak out against Fascist brutality occurred in the summer of 1941, following Hitler's invasion of Yugoslavia and the formation of the Catholic and Fascist state of Croatia. In a wave of appalling ethnic cleansing, the Croat Fascist separatists, known as the Ustashe, under the leadership of Ante Pavelic, the Croat Führer, embarked on a campaign of enforced conversions, deportations, and mass extermination targeting a population of 2.2 million Serb Orthodox Christians and a smaller number of Jews and Gypsies.

According to the Italian writer Carlo Falconi, as early as April, in a typical act of atrocity, a band of Ustashe had rounded up 331 Serbs. The victims were forced to dig their own graves before being hacked to death with axes. The local priest was forced to recite

the prayers for the dying while his son was chopped to pieces before his eyes. Then the priest was tortured. His hair and beard were torn off, his eves were gouged out. Finally he was skinned alive. The very next month Pacelli greeted Pavelic at the Vatican.

Throughout the war, the Croat atrocities continued By the most recent scholarly reckoning. 487,000 Orthodox Serbs and 27,000 Gypsies were massacred; in addition, approximately 30,000 out of a population of 45,000 Jews were killed. Despite a close relationship between the Ustashe regime and the Catholic bishops, and a constant flow of information about the massacres, Pacelli said and did nothing. In fact, he continued to extend warm wishes to the Ustashe leadership. The only feasible explanation for Pacelli's silence was his perception of Croatia as a Catholic bridgehead into the East. The Vatican and the local bishops approved of mass conversion in Croatia (even though it was the result of fear rather than conviction), because they believed that this could spell the beginning of a return {?} of the Orthodox Christians there to papal allegiance. Pacelli was not a man to condone mass murder, but he evidently chose to turn a blind eye on Ustashe atrocities rather than hinder a unique opportunity to extend the power of the papacy.

{Note from emperors-clothes.com: This is a very generous interpretation. In fact the Catholic Church, controlled the Independent State of Croatia. At one point it was in fact directly run by Archbishop Stepinac who answered to Pius XII. Stepinac has, in turn, been beatified by the current pope, in a Croatian ceremony attended by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.}

Pacelli came to learn of the Nazi plans to exterminate the Jews of Europe shortly after they were laid in January 1942. The deportations to the death camps had begun in December 1941 and would continue through 1944. All during 1942, Pacelli received reliable information on the details of the Final Solution, much of it supplied by the British, French, and American representatives resident in the Vatican. On March 17, 1942, representatives of Jewish organizations assembled in Switzerland sent a memorandum to Pacelli via the papal nuncio in Bern, cataloguing violent anti-Semitic measures in Germany and in its allied and conquered territories.

Their plea focused attention on Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, and unoccupied France, where, they believed, the Pope's intervention might yet be effective. Apart from an intervention in the case of Slovakia, where the president was Monsignor Josef Tiso, a Catholic priest, no papal initiatives resulted. During the same month, a stream of dispatches describing the fate of some 90,000 Jews reached the Vatican from various sources in Eastern Europe. The Jewish organizations' long memorandum would be excluded from the wartime documents published by the Vatican between 1965 and 1981.

On June 16, 1942, Harold Tittmann, the U.S. representative to the Vatican, told Washington that Pacelli was diverting himself, ostrichlike, into purely religious concerns and that the moral authority won for the papacy by Pius XI was being eroded. At the end of that month, the London Daily Telegraph announced that more than a million Jews had been killed in Europe and that it was the aim of the Nazis "to wipe the race from the European continent." The article was re-printed in The New York Times. On July 21 there was a protest rally on behalf of Europe's Jews in New York's Madison Square Garden. In the following weeks the British, American, and Brazilian representatives to the Vatican tried to persuade Pacelli to speak out against the Nazi atrocities. But still he said nothing. In September 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt sent his personal representative, the former head of U.S. Steel, Myron Taylor, to plead with PaceIli to make a statement about the extermination of the Jews. Taylor traveled hazardously through enemy territory to reach the Vatican. Still Pacelli refused to speak. Pacelli's excuse was that he must rise above the belligerent parties. As late as December 18, Francis d'Arcy Osborne, Britain's envoy in the Vatican, handed Cardinal Domenico Tardini, Pacelli's deputy secretary of state, a dossier replete with information on the Jewish deportations and mass killings in hopes that the Pope would denounce the Nazi regime in a Christmas message.

On December 24, 1942, having made draft after draft, Pacelli at last said something. In his Christmas Eve broadcast to the world on Vatican Radio, he said that men of goodwill owed a vow to bring society "back to its immovable center of gravity in divine law." He went on: "Humanity owes this vow to those hundreds

of thousands who, without any fault of their own,
sometimes only by reason of their nationality and race,
are marked for death or gradual extinction."
That was the strongest public denunciation of
the Final Solution that Pacelli would make in the whole
course of the war.
It was not merely a paltry statement. The
chasm between the enormity of the liquidation of the
Jewish people and this form of evasive language was
profoundly scandalous. He might have been referring to
many categories of victims at the hands of various belligerents in the conflict. Clearly the choice of
ambiguous wording was intended to placate those who urged
him to protest, while avoiding offense to the Nazi
regime. But these considerations are over-shadowed by the
implicit denial and trivialization. He had scaled down
the doomed millions to "hundreds of thousands"
without uttering the word "Jews," while making
the pointed qualification "sometimes only by reason
of their nationality or race." Nowhere was the term
"Nazi" mentioned. Hitler himself could not have
wished for a more convoluted and innocuous reaction from
the Vicar of Christ to the greatest crime in history.
But what was Pacelli's principal motivation
for this trivialization and denial? The Allies' diplomats
in the Vatican believed that he was remaining impartial
in order to earn a crucial role in future peace negotiations. In this there was clearly a degree of
truth. But a recapitulation of new evidence I have
gathered shows that Pacelli saw the Jews as alien and
undeserving of his respect and compassion. He felt no
sense of moral outrage at their plight. The documents
show that:
1. He had nourished a striking antipathy
toward the Jews as early as 1917 in Germany, which
contradicts later claims that his omissions were
performed in good faith and that he "loved" the
Jews and respected their religion.
2. From the end of the First World War to the
lost encyclical of 1938, Pacelli betrayed a fear and
contempt of Judaism based on his belief that the Jews
were behind the Bolshevik plot to destroy Christendom.
3. Pacelli acknowledged to representatives of
the Third Reich that the regime's anti-Semitic policies
were a matter of Germany's internal politics. The Reich

Concordat between Hitler and the Vatican, as Hitler was quick to grasp, created an ideal climate for Jewish persecution.

4. Pacelli failed to sanction protest by German Catholic bishops against anti-Semitism, and he did not attempt to intervene in the process by which Catholic clergy collaborated in racial certification to identify Jews.

5. After Pius XI's Mit Brennender Sorge, denouncing the Nazi regime (although not by name), Pacelli attempted to mitigate the effect of the encyclical by giving private diplomatic reassurances to Berlin despite his awareness of widespread Nazi persecution of Jews.

6. Pacelli was convinced that the Jews had brought misfortune on their own heads: intervention on their behalf could only draw the church into alliances with forces inimical to Catholicism. Pacelli's failure to utter a candid word on the Final Solution proclaimed to the world that the Vicar of Christ was not roused to pity or anger. From this point of view, he was the ideal Pope for Hitler's unspeakable plan. His denial and minimization of the Holocaust were all the more scandalous in that they were uttered from a seemingly impartial moral high ground.

There was another, more immediate indication of Pacelli's moral dislocation. It occurred before the liberation of Rome, when he was the sole Italian authority in the city. On October 16, 1943, SS troops entered the Roman ghetto area and rounded up more than 1,000 Jews, imprisoning them in the very shadow of the Vatican.

How did Pacelli acquit himself'?

On the morning of the roundup, which had been prompted by AdoIf Eichmann, who was in charge of the organization of the Final Solution from his headquarters in Berlin, the German ambassador in Rome pleaded with the Vatican to issue a public protest. By this stage of the war, Mussolini had been deposed and rescued by AdoIf Hitler to run the puppet regime in the North of Italy. The German authorities in Rome, both diplomats and military commanders, fearing a backlash of the Italian populace, hoped that an immediate and vigorous papal denunciation might stop the SS in their tracks and prevent further arrests. Pacelli refused. In the end, the

German diplomats drafted a letter of protest on the Pope's behalf and prevailed on a resident German bishop to sign it for Berlin's benefit. Meanwhile, the deportation of the imprisoned Jews went ahead on October 18.

When U.S. chargé d 'affaires Harold Tittmann visited Pacelli that day, he found the pontiff anxious that the "Communist" Partisans would take advantage of a cycle of papal protest, followed by SS reprisals, followed by a civilian backlash. As a consequence, he was not inclined to lift a finger for the Jewish deportees, who were now traveling in cattle cars to the Austrian border bound for Auschwitz. Church officials reported on the desperate plight of the deportees as they passed slowly through city after city. Still Pacelli refused to intervene.

In the Jesuit archives in Rome, I found a secret document sworn to under oath by Karl Wolff, the SS commander in Italy. The text reveals that Hitler had asked Wolff in the fall of 1943 to prepare a plan to evacuate the Pope and the Vatican treasures to Liechtenstein. After several weeks of investigation, Wolff concluded that an attempt to invade the Vatican and its properties, or to seize the Pope in response to a papal protest, would prompt a backlash throughout Italy that would seriously hinder the Nazi war effort. Hitler therefore dropped his plan to kidnap Pacelli, acknowledging what Pacelli appeared to ignore, that the strongest social and political force in Italy in late 1943 was the Catholic Church, and that its potential for thwarting the SS was immense.

Pacelli was concerned that a protest by him would benefit only the Communists. His silence on the deportation of Rome's Jews, in other words, was not an act of cowardice or fear of the Germans. He wanted to maintain the Nazi-occupation status quo until such time as the city could be liberated by the Allies. But what of the deported Jews? Five days after the train had set off from the Tiburtina station in Rome, an estimated 1,060 had been gassed at Auschwitz and Birkenau - 149 men and 47 women were detained for slave labor, but only 15 survived the war, and only one of those was a woman, Settimia Spizzichino, who had served as a human guinea pig of Dr. Josef Mengele, the Nazi medical doctor who performed atrocious experiments on human victims. After

the liberation, she was found alive in a heap of corpses.
But there was a more profound failure than
Pacelli's unwillingness to help the Jews of Rome rounded
up on October 16. Pacelli's reticence was not just a
diplomatic silence in response to the political pressures of the moment, not just a failure to be morally outraged.
It was a stunning religious and ritualistic silence. To
my knowledge, there is no record of a single public papal
prayer, lit votive candle, psalm, lamentation, or Mass
celebrated in solidarity with the Jews of Rome either
during their terrible ordeal or after their deaths. This
spiritual silence in the face of an atrocity committed at
the heart of Christendom, in the shadow of the shrine of
the first apostle, persists to this day and implicates
all Catholics. This silence proclaims that Pacelli had no
genuine spiritual sympathy even for the Jews of Rome, who
were members of the community of his birth. And yet, on learning of the death of AdoIf Hitler, Archbishop Adolf
Bertram of Berlin ordered all the priests of his
archdiocese "to hold a solemn Requiem in memory of
the Führer."
There were nevertheless Jews who gave Pacelli
the benefit of the doubt. On Thursday, November 29, 1945,
Pacelli met some 80 representatives of Jewish refugees
who expressed their thanks "for his generosity
toward those persecuted during the Nazi-Fascist period." One must respect a tribute made by people
who had suffered and survived, and we cannot belittle
Pacelli's efforts on the level of charitable relief,
notably his directive that enclosed religious houses in
Rome should take in Jews hiding from the SS.
By the same token, we must respect the voice
of Settimia Spizzichino, the sole Roman Jewish woman
survivor from the death camps. Speaking in a BBC
interview in 1995 she said. "1 came back from
Auschwitz on my own. . I lost my mother, two sisters and
one brother. Pius XII could have warned us about what was
going to happen. We might have escaped from Rome and
joined the partisans. He played right into the Germans'
hands. It all happened right under his nose. But he was
an anti-Semitic pope, a pro-German pope. He didn't take a
single risk. And when they say the Pope is like Jesus Christ, it is not true. He did not save a single child."
We are obliged to accept these contrasting

views of Pacelli are not mutually exclusive. It gives a
Catholic no satisfaction to accuse a Pope of acquiescing
in the plans of Hitler. But one of the saddest ironies of
Pacelli's papacy centers on the implications of his own pastoral self-image. At the beginning of a promotional
film he commissioned about himself during the war, called
The Angelic Pastor, the camera frequently focuses on the
statue of the Good Shepherd in the Vatican gardens. The
parable of the good shepherd tells of the pastor who so
loves each of his sheep that he will do all, risk all, go
to any pains, to save one member of his flock that is
lost or in danger. To his everlasting shame, and to the
shame of the Catholic Church, Pacelli disdained to
recognize the Jews of Rome as members of his Roman flock,
even though they had dwelled in the Eternal City since
before the birth of Christ. And yet there was still something worse. After the liberation of Rome, when
every perception of restraint on his freedom was lifted, he
claimed retrospective moral superiority for having spoken
and acted on behalf of the Jews. Addressing a Palestinian
group on August 3, 1946, he said, "We disapprove of
all recourse to force...Just as we condemned on various
occasions in the past the persecutions that a fanatical
anti-Semitism inflicted on the Hebrew people." His grandiloquent self-exculpation a year after the war had
ended showed him to be not only an ideal pope for the
Nazis Final Solution but also a hypocrite.
The postwar period of Pacelli's papacy,
through the 1950s, saw the apotheosis of the ideology of
papal power as he presided over a triumphant Catholic
Church in open confrontation with Communism. But it could
not hold. The internal structures and morale of the church in Pacelli's final years began to show signs of
fragmentation and decay, leading to a yearning for
reassessment and renewal. In old age he became
increasingly narrow-minded, eccentric. and hypochondriacal. He experienced religious visions,
suffered from chronic hiccups, and received
monkey-brain-cell injections for longevity. He had no
love for, or trust in those who had to follow him. He
failed to replace his secretary of state when lie died
and for years he declined to appoint a full complement of
cardinals. He died at the age of 82 on October 9,1958.
His corpse decomposed rapidly in the autumnal Roman heat.
At his lying-in-state, a guard fainted from the stench.
Later, his nose turned black and fell off. Some saw in

this sudden corruption of his mortal remains, a symbol of the absolute corruption of his papacy.

The Second Vatican Council was called by John XXIII who succeeded Pacelli, in 1958, precisely to reject Pacelli's monolith in preference for a collegial, decentralized, human, Christian community, the Holy Spirit, and love. The guiding metaphor of the church of the future was of a "pilgrim people of God."

Expectations ran high, but there was no lack of contention and anxiety as old habits and disciplines died hard. There were signs from the very outset that papal and Vatican hegemony would not easily acquiesce, that the Old Guard would attempt a comeback. As we approach the end of this century, the hopeful energy of the Second Vatican Council, or Vatican II, as it came to be called, appears to many a spent force. The church of Pius XII is reasserting itself in confirmation of a pyramidal church model: faith in the primacy of the man in the white robe dictating in solitude from the pinnacle. In the twilight years of John Paul II's long reign, the Catholic Church gives a pervasive impression of dysfunction despite his historic influence on the collapse of Communist tyranny in Poland and the Vatican's enthusiasm for entering its third millennium with a cleansed conscience.

As the theologian Professor Adrian Hastings comments, "The great tide powered by Vatican II has, at least institutionally, spent its force. The old landscape has once more emerged and Vatican II is now being read in Rome far more in the spirit of the First Vatican Council and within the context of Pius XII's model of Catholicism." A future titanic struggle between the progressives and the traditionalists is in prospect, with the potential for a cataclysmic schism, especially in North America, where a split has opened up between bishops compliant with Rome and academic Catholicism, which is increasingly independent and dissident. Pacelli, whose canonization process is now well advanced, has become the icon, 40 years after his death, of those traditionalists who read and revise the provisions of the Second Vatican Council from the viewpoint of Pacelli's ideology of papal power--an ideology that has proved disastrous in the century's history.

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Chabad
The Chabad respect me because I keep a little distant from them. They can walk all over someone who is too close.

Yichus
"Merits of the family" literally. The immeditate family influences the child's values and stability.

Image of G-d
Ribono shel Olam cares more for the well being of our marriages than towards his own recognition. This was the point of the test of adultery where Hashem permits His name to be wiped out for the sake of the marriage. Why is this the case? Why is our relationship to Hashem of less significance then to others?

Men must realize that to be in the "Image of G-d" is not to expect recognition from others. This is the reason that a good atheist may rate as high in the eyes of Hashem as a believer. The key is how benevolent we act towards others. For the sake of kindness for others, Hashem foregoes recognition. The way we treat our spouse falls in this category.

Now how will it be possible after death to feel closeness to Hashem if while we lived we did not achieve this? Those that live in the "Image of G-d" will be as a loving friend of Hashem in the world to come. The relationship of a friend is different from that of servant. Both are worthy goals.

A. Marriage

A husband must strive to be a 'mench'. To do this he must be willing to suppress his own ego for the sake of his wife. If his wife criticizes him, he should not counter. As Hashem was willing to permit his name to be destroyed for the test of adultery or for the sake of the marriage so must a husband be prepared to do similarly for the sake of his wife.

How to be a mench and also a good Jew is the question? To daven with a minyan morning and evening can take time from ones wife especially if the work schedule is demanding as well. Instead a husband may focus on his marriage with highest priority especially during the first year where both are learning about each other.

A husband should let his wife lead a conversation. This will encourage her personal expression and self-esteem. This will help a husband repair damage done by criticism. A wife wants to be looked upon well in her husband's eyes. She seeks his approval as we seek approval in the eyes of G-d.

Attention and affection is the role of a husband towards his wife.[395] When one wishes to leave his house he could ask permission of his wife. This adds to her sense of importance. It is good to sleep in the same room as one's wife.

It is a mitzvah to marry the daughter of one's sister. Because children resemble the wife's brother, there

will be a natural affection between the uncle and niece. Hashem answer the prayers of this man immediately.[396]

B. Children

One should always shower ones children with love and hugs. This assists in the development of their self-esteem. Bedwetting is a problem that stems from lack of positive complements to the child. Each night when putting the child to sleep one should complement and state how one believes in them and their potential. Overlook mistakes and give encouragement.

One must spend time with ones child. If the child feels that she is the most important thing to the parents, then she will grow up close to her parents values. If a child is asking or behaving in a way completely out of the ordinary it is usually a cry that the parents notice them and give them attention.

As a teenager a child may rebel and be testy. One must encourage her with complements. This gives her confidence to be successful in all challenges. When the child comes from divorced parents one should accept the child's discussion of both sides so that the child feels right about her parents.

C. Getting Along with Others and Homeland

The sons of Bilhah were Dan and Naphtali and those of Zilpah were Asher and Gad. Joseph got along with the children of the maidens. Jerusalem is in the territory of Benjamin. North of there is the territory of Ephraim and north of Ephraim is Mannaseh's land extending to the southern tip of the Sea of the Galilee. North of Mannaseh is Issachar and Zebulin. Dan's portion is where Tel-Aviv is today along the central to northern coastline. Asher's is above that on the coastline.

Our Hebrew names are our spiritual roots. My cousin Avraham Ellenbogen lives in Beer Sheva, much like Abraham Avinu who chose that place as his home.

Maternal Grandparents
Aryeh Lev served as gabai of his shul, which meant he maintained the order of services, distributed service calls, gave out prayer books, and assisted guests. He was a quiet man with a good heart. His strength was calmness and a good temperament. He was not prone to anger.

My maternal grandmother was a charitable woman who sent care packages to her relatives in Israel at the beginning of Israel's statehood when there were few supplies. When I visited Israel, I found that she is well remembered by Sima Talmon of Kibbutz Maale HaHamisha. She was a dynamic lady who enjoyed entertaining guests and socializing.

Paternal Grandparents
My grandmother was a remarkable woman who would fast every Monday and Thursday while my grandfather sought for hiding places during the Holocaust. She read T'hillim and our Tanach in English

for hours each day. She was a pious woman with a saintly heart. She died on Erev Rosh Hodesh before sunset on the last day of Adar.

I remember one particular story she would tell me taken from Ezekiel. This was the story of the valley of dry bones. G-d set Ezekiel down in a valley and all around were bones. G-d asked Ezekiel, "Can these bones yet live?" Ezekiel responded, "Oh G-d, only thou knowest." G-d said prophesy unto these bones that they should have flesh upon them and spirit within them. Ezekiel prophesied and it happened. G-d said:

Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel; although, they say, our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off; they will yet rise up and I will bring them back into the land of Israel.
(Ezekiel 37:11-12)

My grandmother's favorite saying was "Everything will work out for the best." One of her favorite charities was the Rabbi Meir Baal Haness school in Tiberias, Israel.

Great Uncles
My great uncle and his family were murdered in the holocaust. My grandmother's brother was very kind and caring for the needs of those around him. He was a good family man.

Yesod in Tiferets on the Counting of the Omer - April 24, 1996
Ira led the meditation at Beth Shalom. We started with Michael on the right, Gavriel on the left, Uriel in front, and Raphael behind. I had an experience of Nuriel descending directly upon me. I experienced tremendous power without emotion; the total balance of the Angel. The power was overwhelming and I opened my eyes to look at candle light. The light (NaRiel) of the candles balanced the Angel's energy within me and He ascended. The angels at my sides parted their hands and I inserted my own between them and we rose.

Around me the world of Malchuts was blue with the glistening of gem stone lights along cave walls. Above me the deep blue sky was parting and we passed through into the orange landscape of Yesod. The intrusion of the light of a living soul attracted the angels around. I then pronounced the name yy with the vowel '**ᴛ**' and ascended to Tiferets. There I stood in the Garden[397] and saw the bright light of a soul before me. I inquired who he was and he responded, "**Look into my soul and you shall know me.**" He wore a continuous smile on his face and I saw that he was my great uncle Joseph, Z"l whose name I bear. He asked me if I would like him to show me around? I asked to see the Tree of Knowledge. It stood by the Tree of Life but was smaller. I asked what is the fruit it bears? He said look and you will know. I saw a red fruit. It was a pomegranate. I asked, why is the pomegranate the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge? **He said, each seed is like a fruit in its own right and this reflects all of creation. There are worlds within worlds.** I asked, what is the secret of peace and happiness? He took me up to the world of Daat and I saw the parting of Abba and Imma.[398] I entered the space between them. The space of Daat is not a world, but the revelation of knowledge. I saw the answer was in his smile. **To always where a smile is to give contentment to others and thus oneself**. I asked, what is the secret of how to where a smile? He said one must let negative energy leave the body. Negative energy can leave via the eyes. One's eyes can

also bless others.

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[394] Tish B'Av 5760

[395] These are notes based on conversations with Rabbi Finehandler, author of Beloved Companions. June 12th 1999.

[396] Gemara Yevamos, Rabbi Aryeh Rosenfeld, Yevamos lecture

[397] Upper of Garden of Eden

[398] Father and mother.

XXIII. Glossary

Keter rtk Crown or highest sefira. Place of G-d's Will - }wxr - ratzon.
Hochmah hmkj Wisdom the second sefira. The singular purpose of creation.
Binah hnyb Understanding
Tzelem The image of the primordial man, Adam Kadmon. The image of G-d or the ideal man.
Guarding the Covenant Keeping continuous laws of the covenant like keeping kosher and speaking pleasantly.
Mitzvah Commandment
Mishkan The Tabernacle consisted of tent walls in a large rectangle.

1.

XXIV. Bibliography

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Star Signs
Strategic Self-hypnosis by Roger Strauss: This is the best work I have found for learning the subject on your own with a tape recorder.
The Concise Book of Mitzvoth - Chafetz Chayim
The Light Beyond
The Taryag Mitzvos
The Word - Mozeson
The World of Prayer
Meditation and the Bible
Meditation and Kabbalah
Inner Space
Sefer Yetzirah
Nachman's Short Stories
Jewish Meditation
Growth Through Torah

Notes

Chapter 1

1 See Eifring, MS a. Thanks are due to Shahzad Bashir, Augustine Casiday and Ole Gjems-Onstad for comments on an earlier version of this manuscript.
2 In 1989, the Vatican issued a letter to Catholic bishops addressing the challenge posed by the influence of 'eastern' meditation methods like Zen, Transcendental Meditation and Yoga.
3 See Merton, 1968; Johnston, 1971.
4 The Benedictine monk John Main (1926–82) advocated meditation on the Aramaic prayer *maranatha* (which he called a mantra), and the Trappist monks William Meninger, Basil Pennington (1931–2005) and Thomas Keating (1923–) developed Centering Prayer, partly inspired by Transcendental Meditation.
5 DuBay, 2002, p. 155.
6 Bispemøtet, 1979.
7 Acem protested that the Church had lost out on modern psychology, and devoted a whole issue of its periodical *Dyade* to a discussion of the relation between religion and psychology, see Grøndahl, 1980.
8 French, 1965, p. 60.
9 DeWeese, 1999, p. 504.
10 de Jong, 1999a, p. 313.
11 Bowen, 1993, p. 42.
12 Madelung, 1999, p. 133.
13 Homerin, 1999, p. 236.
14 See Khanna, MS.
15 Ambiguous attitudes towards techniques are also widespread in Asian meditative traditions, as in Tibetan Rdzogs chen and Chinese Zen.
16 Similar ideals are found in Zen meditation, see Schlütter, MS.
17 Benson, 2000.
18 Kohn, 2008.
19 See Eifring, MS b.
20 Wolters, 1978, ch. 7, pp. 69–70, and ch. 37–8, pp. 104–5.
21 In Asian traditions, the breath is understood as an expression of the transience of existence in certain Buddhist contexts, or as a link to cosmic energy in Daoist and Yogic contexts.

Chapter 2

1 Assuming that most readers of this volume would not be specializing in Hebrew studies, it was decided to use simple, non-technical transliteration of Hebrew terms.
2 See, for instance, in Zevit, 2001.

3 At the Cultural Histories of Meditation conference, Halvorsbøle, Norway, May 2010.
4 See Bronkhorst, MS.
5 This search as of 10 November 2010 produced 'around 58,700' hits.
6 Such practices were discussed also in early scholarship; see for instance Pedersen, 1934, p. 95f; Mowinckel, 1961 and for a more nuanced analysis Müller, 1969.
7 See further Kaplan, 1982 and for instance Schottroff, 1967, pp. 129–32.
8 See Severus, 1953, which however has the later Latin Vulgate and its implied practices as primary reference.
9 The term 'classical Hebrew' designates pre-Mishnaic Hebrew language. For practical purposes, this includes Hebrew and Aramaic texts written before the Common Era. For this demarcation, see Clines, 1993, pp. 14, 30–51. I assume that religion in the classical period was distinct from that reflected in later Jewish sources.
10 Further discussed in Stordalen, 2012c, 2013.
11 The classical study for this phenomenon was Wolff, 1984. His study was preceded by important books like Delitzsch, 1861; Pedersen, 1934; Eichrodt, 1944.
12 Non-experts might like to know that a Roman number after a Hebrew stem indicates that the classical Hebrew lexicon holds two or more homonymous stems, and the number names which one of them is under consideration.
13 For this and the following, see HALOT and Jastrow, 1950 *ad voc.*, and also Negotiă and Ringgren, 1978.
14 Augustin, 1983 includes animal 'murmuring'.
15 A community by the Dead Sea, its manuscripts broadly dating to the period 200 BCE to 120 CE. Adding to the conventional pattern of naming I include the element f*n* to indicate the fragment number, where relevant. Text in [brackets] means the manuscript evidence is obscure.
16 See further 4Q171:3; 4Q403 f1 i:36; 4Q405 f4&5, line 4.
17 See for instance 4Q417 f1 i:6.
18 See further 4Q412 f1 line 6.
19 Notably *hagûth* and *higgayôn*.
20 See still the valuable study of Müller, 1969.
21 As one example of a difficult decision, I ended up not considering a passage where a word from the stem *hagah* could be associated to mantic practices: Isa. 8.19 (NRSV): 'Now if people say to you, "Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that chirp and mutter (*hagah*); should not a people consult their gods, the dead on behalf of the living. . . .. . ."'
22 See Malley, 2004, pp. 45–8, 70–2, etc.
23 For more on this and the following, see Stordalen, 2008, pp. 668–77.
24 See for instance Exod. 24.3–7; Deut. 31.11; Josh. 8.34; 2 Kgs 23.2; Neh. 8.1–12, etc.
25 See Smith, 1993, p. 49, and see pp. 49–50, 130–31, 199–200, etc.
26 Broadly defined, Deuteronomic literature includes the books in the Protestant Old Testament from Deuteronomy through 2 Kings (Ruth not included), and editorial layers elsewhere in the Bible connected to this literature.
27 Introduction and text in Renz, 1995, pp. 447–56.
28 See already Burkitt, 1903.
29 The verb 'remember' (*zakar*) is used in the second person only in Deuteronomy: 5.15; 7.18; 8.2.18; 15.15; 16.3.12; 24.18.22. Exod. 13.9 names the texts to be worn on the body as *zikrôn*, 'memorial, reminder'. In Deuteronomic theology textual artefacts are more for remembering than for reflecting, see Schottroff, 1967, pp. 117–26; 339, etc.
30 See the classical discussion by Augustin, 1983; see Müller, 1969.

31 Tate, 1990, p. 268, see 270.
32 On the redactional function of the first psalms, see recently for instance Süssenbach, 2005, pp. 391–3.
33 See verses 23; 48; 78; 97; 99; 148.
34 Similar references are found for instance in CD 13.2; 1QSa 1.7; 4Q266 f8 iii.5.
35 Cited from the Accordance module *Qumran Non-biblical Manuscripts: A New English Translation*, ©2009 by Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr. and Edward Cook, Version 2.0, *ad loc*. Emphasis added.
36 Hebrew *chesed*, which would often translate 'mercy' or 'covenantal love'.
37 For such chant, see Weil, 1995; Yeivin, 1980.
38 For the following I am indebted to Halvor Eifring's various introductions through the history of this volume and also to Birgit Meyer, Utrecht, for critical and creative dialogue in developing my argument.

Chapter 3

1 Scholem developed these ideas further in Scholem, 1965.
2 All references to Hekhalot literature will be cited from the paragraph numbers and manuscript numbers of these editions. On the implications of these editions see Schäfer, 1983. For recent overviews of Merkavah mysticism see Schäfer, 2009; and Swartz, 2006.
3 See, for example, Schäfer, 1992, which, while making a forceful argument against seeing these texts as unitary documents still uses these titles for organizing its survey of the literature.
4 Schäfer's subsequent publication of Genizah fragments of Hekhalot literature (Schäfer, 1984) not only made some of the earliest manuscripts available, but served to advance the argument that this literature is highly fluid; in the Genizah fragments textual units appear in radically different order from those in the European manuscripts, thus supporting the argument that Hekhalot texts did not originate in a single version.
5 Schäfer (1986) argued that this was also true of Rabbinic literature in general, although this argument has been debated; see Milikowsky, 1988. Certainly there are well-established examples of this phenomenon in rabbinic literature, such as the Tanḥuma-Yelamdenu complex, the Mekhilta and Avot de-Rabbi Natan, which appear in multiple versions with significant variants; see Bregman, 2003; Kister, 1998 and Nelson, 1999. For overviews of this question, see Swartz, forthcoming, and Veltri, 2010.
6 Halperin's thesis rests on his argument that the *Sar-Torah* literature is the 'centre' of the Hekhalot corpus and predates the ascent texts; on this argument see Schäfer, 1992, pp. 151–2.
7 This argument is spelled out in Himmelfarb, 1988.
8 See, for example, Scholem, 1954, p. 49.
9 *Loḥesh*. Often used of incantations.
10 Lewin, 1931, p. 14.
11 On introductions to magical books and their rhetoric, see Swartz, 1996, pp. 190–205.
12 See Swartz, 1996, pp. 153–72.
13 See Schäfer, 1981, §489, in which the practitioner is to cast his eyes down so as to avoid gazing at the divine presence; for a translation of that text and an introduction to it, see Swartz, 2001.
14 On Hai's relationship to philosophy see Brody, 1998, p. 299.

15 Heb. *qefitṣat ha-derekh*, literally, 'jumping on the way.'
16 Lewin, 1931, pp. 18–19.
17 By this explanation the Gaon has also managed to put distance between himself and the mystics and the magicians without making them out to be utter heretics. He is no doubt aware of the Karaite polemicists, such as Salmon ben Yeruḥim, who had seized on the mystical texts, especially the extreme anthropomorphic treatise the *Shi'ur Qomah*, as examples of Rabbinic folly; see Cohen, 1983, p. 32, n. 29.
18 See especially Wolfson, 1994, pp. 38, 222.
19 On this point see especially Chernus, 1982, pp.123–45.
20 Janowitz, 1989; Swartz, 1992.
21 See for example Schäfer, 1981, §206.
22 Heb. *rov rashe ṣela'im*.
23 On this passage and its background in medical history, see Swartz, 1996, pp. 89–90.
24 On this point, see especially Chernus, 1982.
25 On this element of the narrative, see Boustan, 2005.
26 In the Babylonian Talmud (b. *Nid*. 67a), the term *lo ʿaltah lah tevilah* refers to an immersion invalidated by an interposing substance. See Lieberman, 1980, p. 243; Schiffman, 1976, p. 274.
27 Lieberman, 1980, p. 242 suggests that the minority would include Rabbi Eliezer, who was known to take a stricter position on purity.
28 The myrtle branch dipped in balsam would serve to disguise the odour of the cloth according to Lieberman, or, in Schiffman's view, act as a magic wand that would likewise affect the deposition and reinforce the action.
29 MS TS K1.21.95.C in the Taylor-Schechter Genizah collection of the Cambridge University Library, published in Gruenwald (1969a, b) and Schäfer (1984, pp. 97–111; there it is designated text G8). For translations of portions of the fragment see Halperin, 1988, pp. 368–9; Himmelfarb, 1988; and Swartz, 2000, from which this translation is taken. For discussions of this text, see those works as well as Gruenwald 1980, pp. 188–90; Swartz, 1996, pp. 125–6; and Wolfson, 1993, pp. 19–26, and 1994, pp. 82–5. For a translation and discussion of another text from the same fragment, see Swartz, 1996, pp. 126–30.
30 See Schäfer, *Synopse*, §554.
31 B. Ber. 60b; see also Birnbaum, 1949, pp. 15–16.
32 See B. Ber. 57b.
33 Hayman, 1986, pp. 176–82.
34 For a summary of the arguments for this dating as well as further evidence, see Steven Wasserstrom, 'Sefer Yeira and Early Islam: A Reappraisal'.
35 Hayman, 2004, pp. 60–1 (§4 in his edition); Hayman's translation is adapted here.
36 See Hayman, 1986. On the idea in rabbinic literature that human thought can affect the nature of God's sovereignty, see Idel, 1988, pp. 156–66.
37 This paradox was first pointed out to me in private conversation by Martin S. Cohen.
38 Heb. *YH*.

Chapter 4

1 Ben-Shlomo, 1965; Sack, 1995.
2 For basic introductions to the Kabbalah and its doctrine of the sefirot, see Ariel, 1988; Scholem, 1954; Tishby, 1989.

3 To master the forest of different names for the sefirot, see Gikatilla, 1994; Robinson, 1994.
4 Idel, 1995.
5 Ibid.
6 On Jewish meditation, see Giller, 2008; Idel, 1985; Kaplan, 1982; Verman, 1996.
7 On autohypnosis, see Shapiro et. al., 1984. On a brief mention in connection to Jewish meditation, see Garb, 2011.
8 *Pardes Rimmonim*, quoted in its entirety in Kaplan, 1982.
9 Kenig, 1996, p. 201, para. 490, from 'Tefilah Lemosheh Tefilat Rosh Hashanah Zivhei Shelamim', Introduction, **p. 336b.**
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Kenig, 1996, vol. 2, para. 53, from 'Or Yakar parashat vayakheil', Section 4, Group 11, p. 85.
13 Kenig, 1996, vol. 2, p. 206, para. 499; from '*Or Yakar Tikkunim*', Gate 2, Section 6, Group 1, p. 107.
14 Kenig, 1996, vol. 2, p. 228, paragraph 561; from '*Tefillah Le-Mosheh*', Gate 2, Section 5, pp. 22a–b.
15 Kenig, 1996, vol. 8, p. 109, paragraph 349, from '*Or Yakar*', introduction to the Zohar, Gate 2, Siman 6, p. 97.
16 Cordovero, 1892, p. 82b, gate 5, siman 3.
17 Ibid., p. 83a, gate 5, siman 3.
18 Ibid.

Chapter 5

1 Green, 2004, p. 72.
2 Concerning the emergence of Safed as a kabbalistic community in the sixteenth century, see Fine, 2003, chapter 2. For an overview of sixteenth-century Safed Kabbalah, see Fine, 2011.
3 Concerning Luria's biography, see Fine, 2003, chapter 3. On Lurianic Kabbalah, see also Magid, 2008.
4 See Fine, 2003, pp. 91–2, 384, n. 35. Luria was likely influenced by Moses Maimonides (1138–1204) who included in his great legal code, *Mishneh Torah* (*Hilchot De'ot* 6.3), the following: 'It is a *mitsvah* (precept) incumbent upon every individual to love each and every fellow Jew as he does himself, as it is written "and you shall love your fellow as yourself."'
5 For a valuable study of the development of this practice, and an enumeration of many of the texts in which it is found, see Hallamish, 2000, pp. 356–82.
6 For a full-length study of Bet El, see Giller, 2008.
7 See Giller, 2008, pp. 19–53.
8 See Fine, 2001, pp. 210–14.
9 Ibid., p. 212.
10 Quoted in Hallamish, 2000, p. 363.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid. See, as well, Benayahu, 1959, pp. 134–51.
13 For a brief, excellent introduction to Hasidic thought, see Green, 1982, pp. 1–27. For a full-length study, see Elior, 2006.

14 Altshuler, 2006, p. 81. Altshuler studies the Zlotchov school in this work, including a discussion of the practice under consideration.
15 For a full-length study of Meshullam Feibish, see Krassen, 1998.
16 Heller, 1974, section 33. *Hesed le-Avraham* (Amsterdam, 1685) is a kabbalistic work by Abraham Azulai (c. 1570–1643), an ancestor of Hayyim Yosef David Azulai, mentioned above. See Altshuler, 2006, p. 70.
17 Ibid. See Altshuler, 2006, p. 70.
18 Ibid., section 34.
19 Ibid. English translation based on Krassen, 1998, p. 133.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid. English translation based on Krassen, 1998, p. 134. *Gematria* refers to a technique whereby each letter of the Hebrew alphabet has a numerical equivalent (e.g. the first letter, *aleph*, is equal to one). In this case, the words for 'love' and 'one' have the same numerical equivalent, 13, thus 'proving' the inherent relationship between them.
22 *Or ha-Emet*, 1899, p. 102a. According to the printer's introduction to this book, it was published based on a manuscript in the possession of Tsvi Hasid. On the notion of telepathic transmission in Hasidism, see the valuable discussion in Garb, 2011, pp. 108–12, and the book more generally concerning the exercise of the imagination in Kabbalah and Hasidism. On visualization of the Divine and the imagination in Kabbalah, see also Wolfson, 1994. See Altshuler, 2006, p. 79.
23 Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk, 2011, Letter 6, p. 18.
24 Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk, 1911, Letter 18, 24b–25a ff. Translation based on Hallamish, 1996, p. 270.
25 Zev Wolf, 1798, 240a. See Altshuler, 2006, p. 71.
26 Quoted in Hallamish, 2000, p. 362 on the basis of Epstein's prayer book commentary, *Mishnat Gur Aryeh*, published in Konigsberg in 1765. Epstein was born in Grodno, Poland, but eventually became the rabbi of the east Prussian city of Konigsberg between 1744–55. The term *ger* is found in the Torah, Leviticus 19.33, in an echo of the injunction to love your neighbour: 'The *ger* who resides with you shall be to you like a citizen of yours, and you shall love him as yourself. . . . . .' As far back as the sixteenth century Hayyim Vital had written (*Sha'arei Kedushah*, part I, gate 5) that 'one should love all human beings (*kol briyot*), even Gentiles'.
27 Avraham Hayyim of Zlotchov, 1833, 39b.
28 On the merging with the shaykh (*fanā' fī'l shaykh*) as a prelude to the merging with God (*fanā' fī Allāh*), see Michel Boivin's essay in this volume.
29 The Qadiriyah sect, found by Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (1088–1166) in Baghdad, spread as far as Yemen, Egypt, Sudan, North and West Africa, India and Southeast Asia. The Naqshbandiyah was established by Baha al-Din Naqshband (d. 1388) in Bukhara and played an important role in India, China, Central Asia and the Middle East.
30 Fenton, 1994, pp. 170–9.
31 Ibid., p. 177.
32 Ibid., p. 178. Concerning the Lurianic practice of communion with deceased saints, see Fine, 2003, pp. 259–99.
33 Concerning Pure Land Buddhism see Tanaka, 1990.
34 Inagaki, 1995, p. 103.
35 Translation based on www.ling.upenn.edu/buddhist-practice/metta-sutta.html
36 *Siddur Avodat ha-Kodesh*, p. 74.
37 *Siddur Tefillah Yeshara ve-Keter Nehora*, 2011, p. 40.
38 *Kol Haneshamah*, 1994, p. 150. Commentary by Arthur Green.

Chapter 6

1 Liddell et al., 1996, s.v.
2 *AP*/GS I.32, see N 225.
3 *AP*/GS V.22, see N 168.
4 *AP*/GS V.29, N 127.
5 *AP*/GS XI.105, N 274.
6 *AP*/GS XII.9, see *AP*/G Jos Paneph, which in addition has 'the small *sýnaxis*' at the beginning of the list.
7 *AP*/GS X.93, see *AP*/G Poimen 168.
8 *AP*/G John the Short 35.
9 *AP*/GS III.55.
10 *AP*/GS VII.27.
11 Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones*, Letter 143.
12 Letter 730.
13 Dorotheus *Epistula* 4, 189.5.
14 Dorotheus *Epistula* 1, 180.8.
15 This is hardly surprising, since texts in antiquity were normally to be read aloud and *heard*, also when performed in solitude.
16 In the *Sources chrétiennes* edition, the French translation reads 'Mais celui qui ne peut garder sans cesse la presence de l'esprit à Dieu doit joindre et associer la meditation et la prière des lèvres'. The addition of the word 'prière' is an indication of the tendency of modern translators to project modern notions of meditation on the ancient texts, in this case refusing to treat *melétē* as a verbal exercise. On *melétē* in modern translations, see Wortley, 2006.
17 Translations from Greek are my own, unless otherwise stated.
18 For examples in other ancient texts of learning and reciting texts that were not understood by the student, see Carr, 2005, p. 32.
19 *AP*/G Achillas 5; Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones.* Letters 19, 115, 507, 517; Dorotheus, *Epistula* 12, 197.17.
20 *AP*/G Antony 9, *AP*/GS XVII.2.
21 Note that Barsanuphius, as far as we can tell from extant manuscripts of LXX, has altered the you shall talk of them (*lalēseis en autoís*) of the Septuagint to you shall 'meditate' on them (*melétēson autá*). There is no such variant attested in the critical apparatus of the Göttingen Septuagint, except for a citation by Theodoret of Cyrus (*PG* 82.620).
22 The sense of *AP*/GS X.20 is similar, referring to Luke 18.13: 'Always keep the words of the publican in your heart.' See Luke 18.13: 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'
23 For a study on the emergence of this prayer in early monastic texts, see Johnsén's contribution to the present volume.
24 This idea of meditating on, or practising one's own death is developed by Evagrius in *Rerum monachalium rationes*, 9.
25 Similar instructions in Letters 154 and 226.
26 This passage from *The Letter of Barnabas* is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.51.4; see 7.109.2. The same idea is expressed and developed further by Clement in *Paed.* 3.11.76, although the word *melétē* is not used.
27 See also Terje Stordalen's contribution to the present volume.
28 Hieronymus, 1970, p. 55.

29 Pierre Hadot picked up on Rabbow's conclusions without, it seems, really analysing the texts that Rabbow relied on, as shown by Newman (1989).
30 *Contra* Newman (1989, p. 1,476 n. 6).
31 See also Epictetus *Dissertationes* 2.9.18; 3.21.2f; 4.6.35. More references to the interiorization of philosophical thought in terms of digestion in pagan literature can be found in Rabbow (1954, p. 325f).
32 *AP*/GS III.4.
33 Barsanuphius and John, *Questiones* 639.
34 *AP*/GS VII.27; Barsanuphius and John, *Questiones* 256, Dorotheus *Doctrinae* 69.2, 90.13.
35 *AP*/GS V.37.
36 *AP*/GS XI.105.
37 John the Short 35.
38 *AP*/GS V.35, V.53.
39 *AP*/GS XII.2.
40 Dorotheus *Doctrinae* 105.34.
41 Dorotheus *Epistula* 4, 189.4–5.
42 See Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1.4.18; 1.6.40; 1.17.21; 1.25.1; 2.14.7; 2.23.25; 2.23.27; 2.26.4; 3.4.9; 4.1.81. *Encheridion* 1; 9.

Chapter 7

1 I am grateful to Samuel Rubenson, Per Rönnegård, Lillian Larsen, Bo Holmberg, Britt Dahlman, Benjamin Ekman and the rest of the research programme 'Early Monasticism and Classical Paideia' at Lund University, for valuable comments on this essay.
2 Here I understand meditation according to Eifring's defintion in this volume, as 'a self-administered technique for inner transformation'.
3 There is a great number of important works on the Jesus prayer in early monasticism, for example, Adnès, 1974; Bitton-Ashkelony, 2003; Guillaumont, 1980; Hausherr, 1960; Regnault, 1974; Stewart, 1998; Ware 1985, 1986.
4 I will mainly look at the tenth conference (and to some extent the ninth) of John Cassian's *Conlationes* ('Conferences'), where we have John Cassian's most elaborate discussion of unceasing prayer. See also Stewart, 1984, 1998.
5 For the Jesus prayer in Diadochus of Photike, see for example, des Places, 1966; Ware, 1985. Another early witness that will not be considered here is Nilus of Ancyra (fifth century), see *Epistulae* 2.140 (PG 79.260ab; 261d); 2.214 (312 cd); 3.273 (520b); 3.287 (521bc). The authenticity of the letters is somewhat uncertain, see Cameron, 1976.
6 For the Jesus prayer in John Climacus, see, for example, Chryssavgis, 1986, 2004; Ware, 1982.
7 Philo of Alexandria (d. c. 40 CE), who will be of some importance concerning the 'remembrance of God', was a Middle Platonist and not a Stoic.
8 This has been contested regarding Diadochus, but the contestations have been rightly refuted by Kallistos Ware, see Ware, 1985, pp. 560–2.
9 See, for example, 1 Thess 5.17.
10 See, for example, Adnès, 1974, pp. 1127–9; Guillaumont, 1980, p. 290; Hausherr 1960, pp. 174–5, 209–210; Stewart, 1998, pp. 100–13.

11 For Greco-Roman philosophy and early monasticism in recent scholarship, see Rubenson, 2012.
12 Hausherr, 1960, pp. 156–62; Sieben, 1980, pp. 1407–11, 1413.
13 Hausherr 1960, p. 170 (trans. Cummings, 1978): 'un surtout prélude à la melétè des Pères'.
14 See, for example, Adnès, 1974; Guillaumont, 1980, pp. 289–90; Stewart 1998, pp. 102–4. Stewart notes the use of *melétē* in Stoic philosophy, but does not seem to indicate any real connection with the monastic practice.
15 Augustine, *Epistula* 130.20 (ed. Goldbacher, 1904).
16 For common prayers in early monasticism, see, for example, Patrich, 1995, ch. 4.
17 See, for example, John Cassian, *Conlationes* 10.10.14 (ed. Petschenig, 1886).
18 See Rönnegård's contribution to this volume; Bacht, 1955; Wortley, 2006, pp. 322–3
19 See also, for example, AP/G Apollo 2 (PG 79.133); *The Virtues of Saint Macarius* 35 (ed. Amélineau, 1894): *meletē* (probably from seventh to eighth century; in Coptic).
20 *Conlationes* 10.10.14 (trans. Ramsey, 1997). See also 10.10.2: *incessabili. . . . . meditari*; 10.10.15: *omni tempore*; 10.11.1: *iugi meditatione*, see 10.10.1.
21 *Capita centum* 59 (ed. des Places, 1966; trans. Palmer et al., 1979–95, vol 1, modified). See also *Capita centum* 61.
22 *Capita centum* 97.
23 *Scala paradisi* 20.20 (PG 88.941c).
24 *Scala paradisi* 4.15 (685ab). See also 4.36 (700d); 6.16 (797c).
25 *Scala paradisi* 18.6 (933d).
26 *Scala paradisi* 26c.65 (1092b).
27 *Scala paradisi* 27.61 (1112c). For breathing, see the discussion below.
28 *aperispástōs*, *epimónōs*, *adialeíptōs*, *ennáou*, *apaústōs*, see, for example, *Scala paradisi* 28.25 (1133c); 28.27 (1133d); 28.29 (1136a); 28.31 (1136ab); 28.60 (1140ab).
29 *Conlationes* 10.10.14. See also 10.10.1; 10.10.2: *iugem dei memoriam*; 10.10.15: *omni tempore*; 10.11.1: *iugi meditatione*.
30 *Capita centum* 59; 85: *apaústōs*; 88: *ápauston*; 97: *érgon ápauston*.
31 *Scala paradisi* 18.5 (933d) and 21.7 (945c). See also 27.60–62 (1112c); 28.31 (1136ab).
32 See Rydell Johnsén 2007, pp. 30–122.
33 *Scala paradisi* 28.5–11 (1129d–1132b); 28.19 (1132d).
34 *Scala paradisi* 28.26–31 (1133c–1136b); 28.60–63 (1140ab).
35 See also Luke 18.1: *pántote proseúchesthai*.
36 See, for example, *Scala paradisi* 28.29 (1136a).
37 Origen, *De oratione* 12.2 (ed. Koetschau, 1899).
38 See Wortley, 2006, pp. 322–3, and Rönnegård's contribution to this volume.
39 See, for example, Regnault, 1974; Ware, 1986, pp. 176–7.
40 *Conlationes* 10.10.14; 10.10.2; 10.10.15; 10.11.1; *Capita centum* 59, 61, 97. For other early sources, see also, for example, AP/G Apollo 2 (PG 65.136a); *The Virtues of Saint Macarius* 35 (ed. Amélineau, 1894): *meletē* (in Coptic).
41 *Capita centum* 59: *Kyrios Jēsous*; 61: *tó Kýrie Iēsoú*.
42 See Barsansuphios and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones* 175: *Kýrie Iēsoú Christé eléēsón me* (ed. Neyt and Angelis-Noah, 1997–8).
43 *Queastioens et Responsiores* 39: *Iēsoú boēthei moi*.
44 Prayers addressed to Jesus Christ was not uncommon in the early church prior to the emergence of early monasticism (see, for example, Hausherr, 1960, pp. 180–7), but the repetitive use of such prayers seems to originate with early monasticism.
45 Ware, 1986, p. 177. See also, for example, Adnès, 1974, p. 1129; Regnault, 1974.

46 See Regnault, 1974. There is a variety even in Gaza in the sixth century, even though we find versions closer to the classical formula in Gaza. See also Hausherr, 1960, pp. 187–97. For other early versions see, for example, AP/G Elias 7 (PG 54.184d–185a); Nilus of Ancyra, *Epistula* 2.140 (PG 79.260ab); 2.214 (ibid., 312 cd); 3.273 (ibid., 520bc); *The Virtues of Saint Macarius* 13, 34, 35, 41, 42, 44. See also Grillmeyer and Hainthaler, 1996, pp. 184–9. Short formulas have also been found in seventh–eighth-century inscriptions in monastic settlements in Egypt, see, for example, Guillaumont, 1979.
47 *Scala paradisi* 4.112 (721d–724b).
48 *Scala paradisi* 21.7 (945c): *Iēsoú onómati* (trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1979).
49 *Scala paradisi* 15.54 (889cd) (trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1979, modified). See also the reference to *Iēsoú hē proseuchē* in 9.10 (841c).
50 See Bartelink, 1980.
51 *Scala paradisi* 14.32 (869a); 4.112 (721d–724b); 27.61 (1112c). For breathing see below.
52 *Scala paradisi* 28.10 (1132b).
53 *Scala paradisi* 28.19 (1132d). See also 28.5 (1129d); 28.10 (1132b).
54 See, for example, AP/G Achillas 5 (PG 54.125ab); and Wortley, 2006, pp. 317–21, 325–7, and Rönnegård's contribution to this volume for further references.
55 Besides the references below, see also *Virtues of Saint Macarius* 41: 'words welling up from your lips' (trans. Vivian, 2004); 42.
56 *Capita centum* 61: *sygkrázousan*, see also *Capita centum* 59, 61, where analogies implying that something is uttered are used to explain the practice.
57 See Lewis and Short, 1879, *decanto,* s.v. *Decanto* usually implies a sound in meanings like, for example, to sing, to repeat in a singing manner, to recite or to play (upon an instrument).
58 *Conlationes* 10.10.14 (trans. Ramsey, 1997, modified): *decantare non desinas*. See also 10.10.15: *decantare*; *decantatio*.
59 *Scala paradisi* 28.19 (1132d), see 28.17 (1132cd).
60 *Methodos tēs hieras proseuchēs kai prosochēs*, p. 164 (ed. Hausherr, 1927). The dating of the text is debated. Traditionally it has been attributed to Symeon the New Theologian in the tenth century, but Irénée Hausherr has questioned the attribution and argued for a dating as late as in the early fourteenth century, see Hausherr, 1927, pp. 133–4.
61 See Chryssavgis, 2004, pp. 230–1; Hausherr, 1960; Ware, 1982, pp. 49–50.
62 There is also a clear reference to breathing in *The Virtues of Saint Macarius* 42, which might be more or less contemporary (perhaps seventh–eighth century) with Climacus. Here the Jesus prayer is said to be something that one should 'say with each breath' (*ejos kata še pnifi*). For dating, see Guillaumont, 1974.
63 Trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1979, modified.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
66 As mentioned above, there is also a notable parallel but of somewhat uncertain date in Coptic in *The Virtues of Saint Macarius* 42, see note 62 above.
67 *Sententiae Sexti* 289*: tón Theón . . . . . anápnei* (ed. Chadwick, 1959); Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives salvetur* 26.6: *Théon anapneín* (ed. Früchtel et al., 1970).
68 Origen, *Fragmenta in Lamentationes* 116: *tón Christón anapnéousi* (ed. Klostermann, 1901).

69 *Vita Antonii* 91: *tón Christón aeí anapnéete* (ed. Bartelink, 2004).
70 Gregory of Nazianz, *De moderatione in disputando* 21 (PG 36.197): *tá toú Pneúmatos . . . anápnei*.
71 One exception is Gregory of Nazianz, *Oratio* 27.4 (PG 36.16b), where *anapneúō* is a verbal adjective with God as objective genitive.
72 *Scala paradisi* 28.23 (1133b) (trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1979).
73 *Scala paradisi* 15.81 (900cd) (trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1979, modified), see 28.23 (1133b); 25.58 (1000d).
74 See Furley, 1984; Temkin, 1977. For Galen, see, for example, *De usu respirationis* 5.4: 'the heart . . . . . has need of breathing to the same extent that we ourselves need regulation of heat. . . . . The breathing through the arteries [sic!] is enough for all other members, but for the brain and the heart two special organs of breathing are provided; for the first, the nostrils; for the second, the lung' (ed. and trans. Furley and Wilkie, in Furley and Wilkie, 1984). Considering his whole corpus, Galen is, however, ambiguous regarding in what *sense* air passes from the lungs to the heart, see Temkin, 1977, pp. 154–61. For the role of Galen in early Byzantine medicine, see Duffy, 1984.
75 *Conlationes* 10.14.3 (trans. Ramsey, 1997). See also 10.12; 10.10.2.
76 See *Conlationes* 10.10.2; 10.12: *dei memoriam*; *Capita centum* 61: *toú Kyríou Iēsoú mnēmē* and *Iēsoú mnēmē; Scala paradisi* 27.61 (1112c): *Iēsoú mnēmē*. For 'remembrance of God', see Sieben, 1980.
77 *Capita centum* 59.
78 *Capita centum* 61 (trans. Palmer et al., 1979–95, vol 1, modified), see also 59; 97. See also Ware, 1985, pp. 563–5.
79 *Scala paradisi* 28.31 (1136ab) (trans. Holy transfiguration Monastery, 1979, modified). See also 28.29 (1136a), 28.60 (1140ab), 28.10 (1132b), 28.17 (1132cd).
80 *Scala paradisi* 28.10 (1132b). See also 28.17 (1132cd).
81 *Conlationes* 10.12; 10.10.2. See 10.14.3.
82 *Capita centum* 59 (trans. Palmer et al., 1979–95, vol 1, modified). See also *Capita centum* 88; 97, and Ware, 1985, pp. 563–5.
83 *Scala paradisi* 14.32 (869a) (trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1979, modified).
84 Diadochus, *Capita centum* 59 (trans. Palmer et al., 1979–95, vol 1, modified), see also *Capita centum* 97.
85 *Capita centum* 85; 33 (demons, evils); 31 (deceptions); 88; 97 (worldly thoughts).
86 *Capita centum* 31.
87 *Capita centum* 97. See also Ware, 1985, pp. 562, 566.
88 *Conlationes* 10.10.11 (distractions, wandering thoughts, fantasies); 10.11.1 (thoughts); 10.10.14; 10.11.4 (demons).
89 *Conlationes* 10.10.3 (trans. Ramsey, 1997).
90 See also *Conlationes* 10.10.14; 10.11.1. It is notable that John Cassian also underscores the need to purge oneself from passions as a *preparation* for unceasing prayer, see, for example, *Conlationes* 9.2–6.
91 *Scala paradisi* 28.19 (1132d).
92 *Scala paradisi* 28.10 (1132b).
93 *Scala paradisi* 28.63 (1140bc). See the vocabulary in 18.5 and 21.7. See also 15.53–54 (889cd).
94 *Scala paradisi* 18.5 (933bc); 21.7 (945c).
95 *Scala paradisi* 28.10 (1132b). See also less clear statements in 28.21 (1133a); 28.25 (1133c).
96 *Scala paradisi* 28.31 (1136ab).

97 *Conlationes* 9.2.1–2: *inmobilem tranquillitatem mentis*; 10.14.3: *cordis atque animae puritatem*.
98 *Scala paradisi* 27.61 (1112c) (trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1979, modified).
99 See, for example, *Conlationes* 10.11.1–3; 10.10.14; *Capita centum* 59; *Scala paradisi* 28.19 (1132d). See also Ware, 1985, pp. 566–8.
100 For a general definition of *melétē* and for its development, see Rabbow, 1954; Hieronymus, 1970 and Rönnegård's contribution to this volume.
101 See, for example, Salem, 2009, pp. 15–16, 39–41. See also memorization and *meditatio* of a rhetorical speech in Quintillian, *Institutio oratioria* 11.2 (ed. Russel, 2001).
102 For Epicureanism, see, for example, I. Hadot, 1969, pp. 52–4; Nussbaum, 1994, pp. 132–3; Salem, 2009, pp. 15–16, 39–44; for Stoicism, see, for example, Armisen-Marchetti, 2004–5; Hadot, 1969, pp. 55–60; Newman, 1989.
103 See Newman, 1989, p. 1,476.
104 *Epistula* 16.1 (ed. Gummere, 1917–25); *De beneficiis* 7.2.1 (ed. Basore, 1928–35). See also Armisen-Marchetti, 2004–5, p. 162. For *melétē* as a daily practice in Stoic meditation in general, see Newman, 1989, p. 1,475.
105 *Epistula* 16.1; *De ira* 3.41.1 (ed. Basore, 1928–35). For a constant and repetitive practice in Stoic meditation in general, see Newman, 1989, pp. 1,475, 1,480. For Epicureanism, see Salem, 2009, pp. 16, 39–41.
106 For a repetitive and prolonged (*diu*) practice, see *Epistula* 71.31; *subinde*: *Epistula* 94.26; *saepe*: 94.52.
107 *De beneficiis* 7.1.3–4 (trans. Basore, 1928–35).
108 *Epistula* 2.4. For digestion, see also Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3.21.1–3 (ed. Schenkl, 1916).
109 *Epistula* 71.31.
110 Newman 1989: 1,493–4, see also 1,475, 1,484, 1,498.
111 *Epistula* 11.8; 94.26–8; 94.43.
112 *Epistula* 94.43 (trans. Gummere, 1917–25); see also 94.26–8. Epictetus refers to a short concise rule or principle (*kanōn*) instead of a *sententia*, see, for example, *Dissertationes* 4.4.29.
113 See Armisen-Marchetti, 2004–5, p. 164; Newman, 1989, p. 1,480. See also Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3.24.103.
114 *Epistula* 15.7–8 (trans. Gummere, 1917–25). See also *Epistula* 54.6.
115 *Epistula* 94.47: *sententiae familiariter in animum receptae*. See also *Epistula* 94.43: *saepe tecum sint*; 71.31: *alte descendit et diu sedit*; 7.11: *condenda in animum*. For interiorization in Stoic meditation in general, see Newman, 1989, pp. 1,475–6. For Epicureanism, see Salem, 2009, pp. 16–17.
116 *Epistula* 16.1: *firmandum et altius cotidiana meditatione figendum*; 11.8: *affigere*; *De beneficiis* 7.2.1: *adfigere*.
117 *Epistula* 71.31: *infecit*.
118 *Epistula* 71.30; 94.26; *De beneficiis* 7.13.4; 7.2.1. See also *Epistula* 16.1 and Newman, 1989, p. 1,476.
119 Newman, 1989, p. 1,475.
120 See notes 86, 87 and 89 above. For an exception, see *Institutiones* 2.13 (Guy, 1965).
121 For the importance of compunction, see, for example, Hausherr, 1960, pp. 219–34.
122 See Newman, 1989, pp. 1,486–8.

123 Armisen-Marchetti, 2004–5, 161–79, esp. 166; see also Seneca, *Epistula* 94.47–8.
124 *Epistula* 2.4; 16.1.
125 *De ira* 3.41.1; 2.12.6.
126 *Epistula* 16.1.
127 Brakke, 2006, pp. 38–41, esp. 40; see also Brown, 1989, pp. 53–4.
128 There is an ideal of remembering God in the Old Testament as well, and this is likely in some sense behind the 'remembrance of God' in Philo (see Sieben, 1980, pp. 1,408, 1,413–14), but the notion as such is not found in the Old Testament.
129 *Meditations* 6.7. 1 (ed. Farquharson, 1944): *mnēmē theoú*. See also 10.8.4: *tó memnēsthai theōn*.
130 Boccaccini, 1991, pp. 201–5.
131 *De vita contemplativa* 26 (ed. Cohn and Reiter, 1915). For Philo and 'remembrance of God', see Boccaccini, 1991, pp. 191–205. For the *therapeutae*, see Guillaumont, 1979, pp. 25–37.
132 Sieben, 1980, pp. 1,407–11, 1413. See also Hausherr, 1960, pp. 156–62 and Boccaccini, 1991, pp. 191–4. For further references, see Sieben, 1980.
133 Boccaccini, 1991, pp. 204–5.
134 See Adnès, 1974; Guillaumont 1980, pp. 289–90.
135 See, for example, Adnès, 1974, pp. 1,127–9; Guillaumont, 1980, p. 290; Hausherr 1960, pp. 174–5, 209–10; Stewart, 1998, pp. 100–13.
136 For memorization and *melétē*, see, for example, Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1.30.5; 2.2.25; I. Hadot 1969, pp. 55–60; P. Hadot, 1995, pp. 85–6; Salem, 2009, pp. 16–17, 39–44. See also Quintillian's discussion of *meditatio* and memory in *Institutio oratoria* 11.2 (ed. Russel, 2001).
137 For repetition and rumination related to 'remembrance of God', see Boccaccini, 1991, pp. 198–202.
138 See Newman, 1989, p. 1481, with reference to Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3.24.95–102.

Chapter 8

1 See the text of Simeon the Graceful in Mingana, 1934, pp. 188b–189a.
2 Isaac of Nineveh discusses the ambiguity in homily 22 (Bedjan's Syriac text), regretting that the same word is used for two different things, the standard form of prayer in which God is addressed with verbal requests (often with selfish motives), and the 'pure prayer' or 'spiritual prayer' that includes no petition.
3 Sebastian Brock (1999) has used the concept of 'geography of the spirit' to describe the art of comprehending the inner space in the Syriac mystical tradition.
4 Bedjan, 1909, p. 122. The use of *šeragrāgyātā* may be negative in Syriac authors under Greek influence; for example, Philoxenus of Mabbug in Lavenant, 1963, pp. 90, 92, 105 (pp. 834–7, 848–9).
5 As defined in my earlier study (Seppälä, 2003, p. 78).
6 Simon in Mingana Simnani, 1934Simnani, , pp. 53–4 (191a–191b).
7 John of Dalyatha; Syriac text and translation in Hansbury, 2006, pp. 272–3.
8 Concentration in the sense of abandonment of worldly thoughts is in fact a prerequisite of prayer in general, and applies to all Christians; see Barhebraeus in Teule, 1993a, pp. 10–14 (trans., Teule 1993b, pp. 9–12).
9 Teule, 1993a, p. 11 (trans., Teule 1993b, p. 10).

10 'Especially, when it receives a small part of the sweetness of prayer, then, it climbs higher than anything on earth and heaven and [they know] that it hurries to wonder only at its Lord and to converse with him.' Teule, 1993a, p. 11 (trans., Teule 1993b, p. 10).
11 St. Ephrem (d. 373) in his *Paradise Hymns* gives a vivid, detailed and psychologically accurate description of the meditative process between the reading of the Scriptures and the spiritual rapture resulting from it: 'Scripture brought me to the gate of Paradise / and the mind, which is spiritual / stood in amazement and wonder as it entered / the intellect grew dizzy and weak / as the senses were no longer able to contain its treasures /so magnificent they were / or to discern its savours / and find comparison for its colours / or take in its beauties so as to describe them in words.' *Hymnen de Paradiso* 6.2 (Syriac original in Beck, 1957; translation according to Brock, 1990, p. 109).
12 *A Letter sent to a Friend* is attributed to Philoxenus of Mabbug, but most likely written by Joseph the Seer, or someone from the seventh–eighth century East Syrian tradition. Olinder, 1950, p. 22 (16*).
13 Isaac of Nineveh states that a monk may define as his rule 'enthusiasm for inner meditations (*hergay mad`eh*)'. Bedjan, 1909, p. 98.
14 *A Letter sent to a Friend*. Olinder, 1950, p. 22 (16*).
15 Simon in Mingana, 1934, 169b, p. 289 (tr. 20).
16 Olinder, 1950, p. 22 (16*).
17 Isaac of Nineveh in Brock, 14.38 (1995a, pp. 68–9, 1995b, p. 79).
18 Isaac of Nineveh in Brock, 14.34–5 (1995a, pp. 67–8, 1995b, pp. 77–8). However, this does not mean individual arbitrary freedom where one follows his emotional impulses alone. Nor does Isaac mean that there was something wrong with the traditional forms of spirituality in the Church. On the contrary, those who 'abandoned prayer's venerable outward forms, turning instead to their own rules and special customs' have gone astray because they have neglected Holy Communion, and the teachings of the Fathers (Brock, 1995ab, 14.42).
19 Isaac of Nineveh in Brock, 14.35 (1995a, pp. 67–8, 1995b, p. 78).
20 de Halleux, 1960–5, 8.51.
21 Isaac of Nineveh in Bedjan, 1909, p. 43.
22 Mingana translated this as 'spiritual visions'.
23 Dadišoʿ in Mingana, 1934, 53b, p. 245 (trans. p. 139).
24 Ibid., 21b, p. 219 (trans. p. 101).
25 de Halleux, 1960–5, 8.51.
26 The eye of the *mind* and that of the *soul* are used interchangeably.
27 de Halleux, 1960–5, 8.52, 8.55.
28 For example, Teule, 1993a, pp. 54–6, 1993b, pp. 46–7.
29 Barhebraeus in Teule, 1993a, p. 54, 1993b, p. 46. (Quoting Evagrius, *Tractatus ad Eulogium*, PG 79, 1105 A.)
30 For Dadišoʿ on the cross, see Mingana, 1934, pp. 136–8; for Stephanos bar Sudhaile, see Marsh, 1927, 35, pp. 45–59; for Isaac of Nineveh, see Bedjan, 1909, p. 16; Brock, Chapter 11 (1995a, pp. 43–52, 1995b, pp. 53–62).
31 Isaac of Nineveh in Brock, Chapter 11 (1995a, pp. 43–52, 1995b, pp. 53–62). According to Isaac, the same *shekhina* that was in the Ark of the Covenant resides mysteriously in the Cross.
32 *A Letter Sent to a Friend* in Olinder, 1950, p. 32 (24*).

33 Dadišoʿ in Mingana, 1934, 52b–53a, p. 244 (tr. 138). The verse may seem to imply that the venerated image shows Christ crucified on the Cross. This, however, was unlikely in the seventh–eighth-century East, where crosses were usually depicted empty. It may well be that the notion refers to Christ in symbolic terms: the monk kisses an empty cross *as if* Christ himself (i.e. not his image!) was invisibly present on the cross. The eternal presence of Christ in the empty cross was also stressed in the Armenian tradition.
34 *A Letter Sent to a Friend* in Olinder, 1950, p. 26 (19*).
35 John of Ephesus (sixth century) gives a vivid description of a Syrian monk in prayer and prostrations. 'And, because intense noonday heat prevailed, he stood and prayed, and next he knelt down, and he stood up and stretched out his hands to heaven, expanding himself in the form of the cross; and he continued for a long time until about the ninth hour, and then he sat down to rest for a short time.' John of Ephesus, in Brooks, 1923, p. 132.
36 Isaac of Nineveh's homilies 12, 22 and 51 in Bedjan, 1909.
37 Simon in Mingana 1934, 169a–169b, pp. 288–9 (tr. 20).
38 For example, Isaac of Nineveh's homily 26 in Bedjan, 1909.
39 For example, Isaac of Nineveh's homilies 22, 51 and 56 in Bedjan, 1909.
40 Isaac of Nineveh in Bedjan, 1909, p. 123. The word *haggāgā* (pl. *haggāgē*) usually refers to imagination, even illusions.
41 Isaac of Nineveh in Bedjan, 1909, p. 555.
42 Ibid., p. 257.
43 Literally, 'to mix with God'. Isaac of Nineveh in Bedjan, 1909, p. 462.
44 John of Dalyatha in Beulay,1978, 38.4.
45 Quotations are from John's letter 38.3–4, according to the translation of Hansbury 2006.
46 For example, '. . . when left alone, He does not stay. When He goes with me to a place, He does not move from the place. But when I catch Him, He is full of sweetness. Then when I let Him go, He conceals Himself.' (Beulay, 1978, 38.4)
47 Mingana translates 'souls of the just departed'.
48 Dadišoʿ in Mingana, 1934, 23a–23b, pp. 220–1 (tr. 104; for more detailed instructions on prayer and meditations, see pp. 136–41).
49 For example, Isaac of Nineveh's homilies 11, 13 and 17 in Bedjan, 1909.
50 For example, Isaac of Nineveh's homily 4 in Bedjan, 1909, and Brock, 1995a, b, 10.11.
51 For example, Isaac of Nineveh's homilies 5, 9, 17 in Bedjan, 1909.
52 See Isaac of Nineveh in Bedjan, 1909, p. 138.
53 For example, Isaac of Nineveh in Brock, 1995a, b, 29.2, and homily 41 in Bedjan, 1909.
54 de Halleux, 1960, 3.151.
55 Isaac of Nineveh. See homily 35 in Bedjan, 1909.
56 Isaac of Nineveh in Brock, 1995a, b, 8.17. See also homily 53 in Bedjan, 1909.
57 Simon in Mingana, 1934, 173a, pp. 292–3 (trans. 26).
58 Isaac of Nineveh in Bedjan, 1909, p. 492.
59 Ibid., p. 486.
60 See Isaac of Nineveh's homily 1 in Bedjan, 1909.
61 See Isaac of Nineveh's homily 53 in Bedjan, 1909.
62 For an illustrative discussion on the corresponding phenomenon in Buddhist context, see Gimello, 1978.
63 Mingana 1934/ʿAbdišoʿ, 144b–145a, p. 263 (tr. 150).

64 For example, Isaac of Nineveh states that meditation leads to illumination; Brock, 1995a, b, 10.8.
65 Beulay, 1978, 4.9 (pp. 318–9).
66 The concept was used by Aryeh Kaplan in his discussion on Jewish mysticism with special attention to Ezekiel's panoscopic vision. See Kaplan, 1985, p. 35.
67 John of Dalyatha in Beulay, 1978, 13.1. English translation according to Hansbury, 2006, 64.

Chapter 9

1 There exist two numbering systems for Eckhart's sermons, one by Pfeiffer and one by Quint. Walshe, 1979, uses the former, Colledge and McGinn, 1981, the latter. I have followed the text from which I quote, hence using the Quint system in Sermons 5b, 12 and 86, and the Pfeiffer system elsewhere.
2 Denys Turner (1995, p. 166ff) develops more fully this conceptualization of incarnation in the thought of Meister Eckhart.
3 Meister Eckhart often takes liberties in his translation of scriptural text. The actual text coming from *Wisdom* 18.14 reads: 'For while gentle silence enveloped all things, and night in its swift course was now half gone, thy all-powerful word leaped from heaven, from the royal throne' (Revised Standard Version).
4 Eckhart's notion of 'living without a why' can be found in many of his vernacular sermons. Sermon 5b in Colledge and McGinn, 1981, pp. 183–4, offers the Meister's basic approach to this concept.
5 Eckhart references 'Ecclesiasticus', which in most contemporary biblical translations today is 'The Book of Sirach'. In Latin the quote reads: 'Qui audit me, non confundetur: et qui operantur in me, non peccabunt.'
6 The *cura monialium* is the Latin term for the pastoral care of women's religious communities. The Dominican friars had a long history of providing clerics for the sacramental and spiritual care of their own cloistered Dominican sisters, other cloistered religious women, as well as such lay pious women groups as the Beguines. Eckhart was assigned to this ministry between 1313–23/24, after his second term in the external Dominican chair at the University of Paris and before the more formal investigation into his teaching by the Cologne inquisition and eventually the Papal inquisition at Avignon between 1326–8.
7 In 1318, while stationed in Strassburg, Meister Eckhart wrote his *Book of Divine Consolation*. This was a pastoral treatise dealing with the problem of suffering and was written in Middle High German. In the third section of this work Eckhart concludes with a defence of his own teaching and teaching praxis indicating that he was already feeling some pressure from church authorities concerning his own orthodoxy.
8 In Sermon 12, Eckhart identifies the *vünkelin*, which is the Middle High German word often translated as the *spark*, or the 'something uncreated in the soul'. Eckhart develops this concept throughout his writings and sermons. It was one of the concepts that most raised concerns when Eckhart was summoned before the inquisition.
9 If Sermon 12 was delivered in September 1325, Eckhart was already by this time well aware of suspicions being raised concerning the orthodoxy of his preaching, so beginning a sermon with the loose translation of *confundetur* as *ashamed*, and encouraging his listeners to not be ashamed to 'hear' what he has to preach, could indicate something of that awareness.

Chapter 10

1 For the original text of Teresa's works, see Llamas et al., 1994.
2 Teresa uses the term 'mysteries' to refer to the actions by which God reveals himself within human history. The most central Christian mysteries are the events of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.
3 Hundersmarck, 1983.
4 Andres, 1976.
5 'Suspension of the faculties' is a traditional term for a prayer experience in which interior absorption is so intense that all ordinary human sensing, thinking, feeling and movement become impossible.
6 Teresa of Avila, *Vida* 23.12; Laredo, 1948, vol. 2, III, p. 27.
7 de la Cruz, 1969; Mommaers, 2003, p. 69.
8 Giles, 1981, pp. 131–2.
9 Andres, 1972, p. 32; Peers, 1952, p. 123.
10 References in this chapter to 'active' and 'passive' forms of prayer derive from this distinction between intentional, self-directed representations and representations that are experienced as arising from sources other than one's own intentions.
11 See Payne, 1990.
12 Howells, 2002, p. 81.
13 During Teresa's lifetime there was much controversy over the distinction between the orthodox 'recollected ones' [*recogidos*], and the allegedly heretical 'abandoned ones' [*dejados*], who stripped away not only thoughts but the humanity of Jesus, the teaching of the Church and basic morality in favour of 'abandoning' themselves to formless mysticism.
14 The language of 'acquired' and 'infused' prayer does not come from Teresa, but it has become traditional for distinguishing between prayer as active practice and prayer as grace of God.
15 See Howells, 2002, chs 5 and 6, for a thorough discussion of this.

Chapter 11

1 I would like to thank John O'Malley SJ (Georgetown University), Nicolas Standaert SJ (Leuven University) and Halvor Eifring for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this chapter.
2 In some – mainly Eastern (Orthodox) – traditions, such meditation was constant, practised during all activities, while in others – mainly Western (Catholic) – ones, specific times were set aside for such practices.
3 On the Devotio Moderna, see Debongnie, 1957.
4 The key text developed by this reform movement was itself entitled *Imitatio Christi*. The published version – no doubt derived from a collection of various texts by various authors – is attributed to Thomas à Kempis.
5 On Catholic meditation, see 'Méditation', in Viller et al., 1932–95, vol. 10.1 (1978), cols 906–34. On contemplation, see ibid., vol. 2.2, cols 1718 ff.
6 All citations will be made from the first edition, Richeome, 1611. My thanks to Anne-Bérangère Rothenburger, formerly librarian responsible for the fonds patrimoniaux, Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, for her assistance in an initial stage of this research.

7 Hitherto it has generally been assumed that the book was written for novices at the Jesuit noviciate on the Quirinal in Rome, but the language (French) and place of publication (Lyons) makes this highly unlikely, especially since, by this date, French novices trained in noviciates in France. Moreover, Richeome's own career at this point makes it most likely that he was originally writing for the new noviciate at Lyons, whose foundation he had recently overseen. For further details see Loach, 2012.
8 For illustrations, refer to the 1611 edition, for which a digitized version is available at www.jesuitica.be/fulltextbooks/
9 Translations are the author's own throughout.
10 Ignatius prescribed 'some passages from the Imitation of Christ, or from the Gospels, and from the Lives of the Saints' (*Spiritual Exercises*, no. 100).
11 For example de la Hire, 1682, in-12º, or Tassin, 1688, in-12º.
12 For historic etymology here and elsewhere in this paper, reference has been made to http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois for Jean Nicot, *Thresor de la langue françoyse, tant ancienne que moderne* (1606); *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Françoise* (1st edn: 1694); and Émile Littré: *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1872–7), which gives historic meanings.
13 For example, Theophilus, Argin and Thrasyllas (pp. 338–441), and types of illness, moral (pp. 287–91), natural (pp. 296–8) and imaginary (pp. 418–21).
14 Richeome, 1611, pp. 56–7.
15 Ignatius Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, 1: First Annotation: 'by the title Spiritual Exercises is meant every method of examining the conscience, of meditating, of contemplating, of praying vocally and mentally, and of other spiritual activities.'
16 The clearest introduction to this Ignatian concept of 'composition of place' is an essay by a Jesuit academic writing for practising Catholics, in the British Jesuits' own magazine, *The Way* (nevertheless based on the latest academic publications): Standaert, 2007. For a more extended, and more philosophical, analysis of the concept, see a revised version of a doctoral thesis, Fabre, 1992.
17 Richeome, 1611, p. 2.
18 Ibid., pp. 1–23.
19 Ibid., p. 3.
20 'contemplez ce tableau': Ibid., p. 5
21 Ibid., p. 5.
22 Ibid.
23 Section 2 : 'How St Andrew spoke to Argaeus, Proconsul of Achaia' (ibid., pp. 6–9) ; Section 3 : 'Discussion about the sacrifice of the holy Mass' (pp. 10–12) ; Section 4 : 'St Andrew put in prison, and condemned to the cross' (pp. 12–14).
24 Ibid., pp. 14–15.
25 Ibid., p. 15.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid., p. 17.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., pp. 17–21.
30 Ibid., p. 19. This affective description continues to the end of the section, midway through p. 21.
31 Ibid., pp. 47–62.
32 Nadal, 1595. For further information see Melion, 2003. The resemblance to Nadal is in fact most marked in Richeome's final engraving ('The Martyrdom of St. Vitalius', p. 690), since this, like Nadal's, has individual elements labelled with letters, each of which corresponds to a section within the text.

33 In 1605 the Jesuits in Rome had printed 2,000 copies of an image of Stanislas for the dedication of the painting fixed above his tomb, and these were all taken up within two days (Bailey, 2003, pp. 57–8). More significantly, in the context of Richeome's *Peinture Spirtuelle*, Matthaus Greuter, most likely the engraver responsible for all its plates, had in 1607 engraved a tiny plate – small enough to fit inside a missal – of 'scenes from Kostka's life' (my thanks to Mauro Brunello and Thomas Reddy SJ at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, for supplying me with a copy of this plate for study purposes). In addition, images of Stanislas seem to have been produced throughout Catholic Europe. For example, at least one Wierix engraving of Stanislas Kostka was available by this date (Hollstein, 2004, pp. 160–1, No. 1302, dated by Hollstein as prior to 1604 (p. 159)).

34 Moreover, all the plates appear to have been devised and executed by the same artist. Nevertheless, only the title page can actually be definitively attributed to Greuter, being signed 'Math. Greuter f.'; the engraving on p. 242, 'The Angels', is signed 'M.G.'.

35 Richeome, 1611, p. 690.

36 'Picture' C represents 'the mountain', simply the backdrop to the scene of Vitalius' martyrdom (see Richeome, 1611, p. 695); 'Picture' D represents Vitalius' enemy, the priest of the Apollonic cult, throwing himself into the river, under the impulsion of the devils who had taken possession of him (see ibid., pp. 695–6).

37 Richeome had used several different engravers for his only other book published in Lyons with several engraved plates, the *Catéchisme royal* (Richeome, 1607).

38 For illustrations of Agostino Ciampelli's paintings in the church of S. Vitale, see Bailey, 2003, Fig. 77 (the torture of St. Vitalius) and Fig. 76 (his martyrdom). See also De Marco, 2006.

39 Its full title includes the phrase 'Reveuës par l'Autheur avant sa mort'.

40 Richeome, 1601. For more detail, and discussion, of Richeome's usage of images in his *Tableaux Sacrez*, see Salliot, 2009.

41 For an illustration, see Loach, 2012, fig. 131, p. 372.

42 Significantly, this frontispiece contrasts with the Lyonese one in that the title is now in larger font than the subtitle following it, thus reversing the priority implied in the earlier edition of the book.

43 Richeome's dependence upon Philostratus has been noted by Fumaroli, 1980, pp. 262–3; and by Dekoninck, 2005, pp. 68ff.

44 Richeome, 1601, p. 4. In this instance Richeome is actually distinguishing between Philostratus and himself, in that in *Tableaux Sacrez* Richeome is presenting a different kind of image, the allegorical, taking that word as a Scholastic term, that is, as one of the four ways of reading Scripture; on that see Lubac, 1959–64.

45 The work had been relatively well-known in Italy from the early fifteenth century through manuscripts, albeit in considerably variant texts. See Crescenzo, 1999, pp. 59–67.

46 For example, Claude-François Menestrier (Ms 1514, fos.10r° and 11 r°, Bibliothèque municipal de Lyon).

47 Marc Fumaroli suggested that since the 1611 Tournon edition gives the monogram 'IHS' on its title page, it was apparently published under Jesuit sponsorship (Fumaroli, 1980, p. 261, n. 70). I could not see that monogram on the copies I have examined, but the fact that it was specifically published for the 'university' means that it was published for the Jesuits' college, since this had held the title of 'university' since its inauguration, due to the bull granted to the Collège de Tournon by Pope Julius III (Delattre, 1956, col. 1408).

48 de Vigenère, 1609.
49 Le Moyne, 1640.
50 de Vigenère, 1609, p. 8; see also Fumaroli, 1980, p. 261. The contemporary sense of *naïf* was 'without artifice', or else whatever 'représente bien la vérité, qui imite bien la nature'; see, for instance, *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*, 1694, and Littré, 1872–7.
51 *Prosopopia* includes personification, but also speech of an absent person, or the representation of a deceased person as if alive and present; *hypotyposis* is a form of description so animated and vivid as to make things not physically present seem as if they are in front of the hearer's or reader's eyes.
52 That such parallels might have been understood is evidenced by the format of a work by one of Richeome's near contemporary colleagues, de Cresolles, 1620, which takes the form of conversations filled with vivid descriptions and portraits, taking place during a series of walks.
53 In the Judaeo-Christian tradition the number seven is symbolic of completeness; hence, for example, the seven days of creation, or the seven mansions in Teresa d'Avila's *Castello Interiore*. The seven 'books' of Richeome's *Peinture Spirituelle* would thus have been perceived as constituting a complete course of 'spiritual exercises'.
54 The plate, 'Les Jardins' appears on p. 472 in a 790-page book.
55 Both Cicero and Quintilian referred to its use by the Hellenist poet Simonides: Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2, 86; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, book 11, chap. 2, sections 11–16. Roman writers also knew of it via Aristotle, notably his *De Anima*, book 3, and his *De Memoria et reminiscencia*. On the art of memory in general, from antiquity to the Renaissance, the classic text is Yates, 1966. See also Rossi, 1960.
56 Cicero, *De Oratore*, book 2, pp. 350–60; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, book 11, chap. 2. See also the earliest antique treatise treating the subject, and indeed treating it most fully, one formerly attributed to Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, book 3.
57 Carruthers, 1990, 1998; Carruthers and Ziolkowski, 2002.
58 Bolzoni, 1995; English edition: 2001.
59 See, for example, the case of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), one of the first Jesuit missionaries in China: Spence, 1984.
60 Paepp, 1618.
61 Ariosto, 1516, Canto 33.
62 For the fullest study on this, see Shore, 1998.
63 Several much-read authors of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries included references to mnemonic techniques drawn from antique rhetorical practice (i.e. comparable with Ariosto's usage), for example, the Spanish Golden Age playwright Felix Lope de Vega (1562–1635).
64 The application of this epithet to Richeome was commonplace, but a specific source, and no doubt influential one, would have been Ribadeneira, 1676, pp. 572–3: 'ut quidam eum meritò vocat, Gallicanus Cicero' (cit. Gijsbers, 1998, p. 35). Brémond uses this epithet without citing its source (Brémond, 1929, pp. 19–20).
65 Linzeler, 1932, p. 371.
66 Hence the preponderance of Jesuits among theorists of this genre, notably Nicolas Caussin, Maximilian van der Sandt, Silvestro Pietrasanta, Claude Clément, Andrès Mendo, Henry Engelgrave, Pierre Le Moyne, Jakob Masen, Pierre Labbé and Claude-François Menestrier.
67 Richeome, 1611, p. 2.
68 Ibid., p. 690.

69 Ibid., p. 682.
70 Ibid., pp. 783–90.
71 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II, II, Q124 (Martyrdom). Article 4: 'Whether death is necessary for martyrdom', notably Objection 1, Answer 1.
72 Richeome, 1611, p. 152.
73 Ibid., pp. 152–62.
74 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II, II, Q124 (Martyrdom), Article 4, Objection 4, Answer 5.
75 Jesus' words to his disciples, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me' (Matt. 16, 24; Mk 8, 34; Lk. 9, 23); Luke inserts the word 'daily'. And again, after an exhortation to leave behind all familial relationships, 'He who does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me' (Matt. 10, 38); 'Whoever does not bear his own cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple' (Lk. 14, 27).
76 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II, II, Q124 (Martyrdom), article 4.
77 Thomas Aquinas, *De sensu et sensato*, Tractatu II, 'De memoria et reminiscencia', Lectio 2.
78 Aristotle, *De Anima*, 3. 8
79 Richeome, 1597, p. 117. All citations will be from this edition. This reference falls within chap. 26 in all editions.
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid., pp. 118ff (chap. 27).
83 According to Aquinas, humility was the primordial Christian virtue, that is, that virtue which provided the necessary foundation for all others (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II, II, Q161).
84 Richeome, 1597, p. 118ff (chap. 27).
85 In this his explanation of *figures mystiques* takes the form of an application of Aristotelian philosophy: defining and classifying these figures, then stating their causes, uses and effects.

Chapter 12

1 For further coverage on the events at Esphigmenou, see Galpin, 2003.
2 His co-editor, St Makarios Notaras of Corinth (1731–1805), will not concern us directly in this paper, but on their relationship see Karasiaridis, 2001.
3 Evagrius, *On prayer* 35 (trans. Casiday, 2006a, p. 190)
4 Evagrius, *On prayer* 67 (trans. Casiday, 2006a, p. 193)
5 Clark, 1992, pp. 4, 75–6, 84; for a critique, see Casiday, 2004.
6 For example, Maximus the Confessor, *Four Hundred Texts on Love* 1.96–100 (Palmer et al., 1979–95, 2:64).
7 Nikodimos at this point refers the reader to a page in the *Philokalia*, where we find in the Xanthopouloi brothers' *Directions to Hesychasts* 64 a reference to Maximus the Confessor.
8 See Chamberas, 1989, pp. 150–1.
9 For biographical details on Nikodimos, see Citterio, 2002, pp. 907–14 and Karasiaridis, 2001, pp. 43–55.
10 But see Citterio, 2002, pp. 908–9; Makrides, 2000; Morini, 1991.

11 Casiday, 2007, pp. 28–31. See further Podskalsky, 1991.
12 Citterio, 2000, identifies Romanites' translation as ms. Patm. 561, but I have been unable to confirm this information and study the document.
13 See further Tsakiris, 2009, pp. 303–29.
14 Thus Scupoli, 1663, p. 79 = *Combattimento Spirituale* 14 (with emphasis added): 'Secondo. E non havendone tù colpa alcuna, rivolta il pensiero agli altri tuoi falli, ed' quail non ti hà Iddio ancora *dato il castigo*, nè tù, come si deve, gli hai puniti. E vedendo, che *la misericordia di Dio ti cangia la pena d'essi*, che sarebbe eterna, *ò pure temporale, mà del Purgatorio*, con una picciola presente, devi riceverla non solamente volontieri, mà con rendimento di gratie.'
15 For the discussion of Purgatory at the council and for Mark Eugenikos' anti-union works, see Petit, 1923 and 1927. On the Greek Church in the aftermath of the council, see Steven Runciman, 1968, pp. 109–11, 125–6.
16 Scupoli, 1663, pp. 169 and 321 = *Combattimento Spirituale* 30 and 55
17 Nikodimos, 2007, p. 196 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 2.2
18 Nikodimos, 2007, p. 164 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.45
19 Nikodimos, 2007, p. 212 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 2.6
20 Scupoli, 1663, p. 281 = *Combattimento Spirituale* 51
21 Nikodimos, 2007, p. 182 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.52
22 Scupoli, 1663, p. 134 = *Combattimento Spirituale* 23, and Nikodimos, 2007, p. 89 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.23
23 Scupoli, 1663, pp. 116–23 = *Combattimento Spirituale* 21.
24 Nikodimos, 2007, pp. 99–110 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.26; that we can attribute this material to Nikodimos rather than Romanites seems likely in view of Nikodimos' known familiarity with Maximus' works, as demonstrated by the *Philokalia*.
25 Nikodimos, 2007, p. 102 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.26.
26 See Nikidimos, 2007, pp. 77–83 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.21.
27 Nikidimos, 2007, pp. 83–6 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.22.
28 Nikidimos, 2007, p. 39 n. 1 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.10.
29 Evagrius, *On prayer* 73: 'When at length the mind is praying purely and imperturbably, then the demons no longer overtake it from the left, but from the right. They suggest to it the glory of God and some shape familiar from perception, so that it would seem to have attained the perfection of its goal with respect to prayer. An ascetic and knowledgeable man declared that this happens because of the passion of vainglory and the demon who, having attached himself to the area around the brain, plucks the veins.' (trans. Casiday, 2006a, pp. 192–3)
30 On the seat of the nous, see Rossi, 2000, pp. 176–8; and on the heart, ibid., pp. 218–26.
31 Nikiphoros the Monk, *On Watchfulness* (Palmer et al., 1979–95, 4.205); see further Rossi, 2000, pp. 262–7.
32 Vivian and Casiday, 2006, p. 59 = *Letter to Nicholas* §2(1); Mark's exhortation continues throughout that section and he returns to it at *Letter to Nicholas* §6.
33 See Vivian and Casiday, 2006, pp. 70–4 = *Letter to Nicholas* §§8(5)–10(5).
34 Diekamp, 1938, pp. 109–29. See also Belting, 1994, pp. 145–6.
35 Gregory of Sinai, *On Commandments and Doctrines* 130 (Palmer et al., 1979–95, 4.248), reformatted
36 Nikodimos, 2007, pp. 62–3 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.18.
37 Nikodimos, 2007, p. 47 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.13.
38 Nikodimos, 2007, p. 70 = *Ho Aoratos Polemos* 1.19.
39 Cassian, *Conference* 10.2(2)–5(2) (trans. Casiday, 2006b, pp. 37–40)

Chapter 13

1 By meditation I am referring to any contemplative technique intentionally undertaken with the goal of causing an interior (and perhaps also exterior) transformation; by prayer I mean any ritual behaviour performed as a means or gesture of engaging in a dialogic relationship with a deity.

2 Other references include: 'Remember your Lord much and praise him in the early hours of night and morning' (Q. 3.41); 'So when you have completed the prayers then remember Allah standing and sitting and lying down' (Q. 4.103); 'And remember your Lord within yourself humbly and with awe and under your breath by morning and evening' (Q. 7.205); 'And remember your Lord when you have forgotten' (Q. 18.25); 'And remember the name of your Lord and devote yourself with complete devotion' (Q. 73.8); 'And remember the name of your Lord by morning and evening' (Q. 76.25).

3 al-Iskandari, 1961, pp. 11–12.

4 Arberry, 1977.

5 Nicholson, 1911, pp. 154–5.

6 Arberry, 1977, p. 98.

7 Gardet and Anawati, 1968, p. 201.

8 Ibid., pp. 216–17.

9 al-Iskandari, 1961, pp. 6. The passage in the *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-jalāl* of Kubra reads: '*Dhikr* is a fire which neither abides nor spreads. When it enters an abode it says "It is I and no other!" and this is the meaning of *lā ilāha illa'llāh*. And if there is wood in the abode it burns [the wood] and it becomes fire; if there is darkness in the abode [the *dhikr*] becomes a light and destroys it [the darkness] and illuminates the abode; and if there is light in the abode it does not oppose it, but his light is also recollection (*dhikr*) and the one who recollects (*dhākir*) and the object of recollection (*madhkūr*) which abide together, light upon light' (Meier, 1957, pp. 4–5).In his *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, Ibn 'Ata Allah has borrowed extensively from the *Fawā'iḥ* of Kubra. The first three lines following his preliminary introduction (p. 6) are copied from Kubra (Meier, 1957, p. 4, sections 9 and 10). He continues with the chapter on immersions (*istighrāqāt*) in the *Fawā'iḥ* (Meier, 1957, p. 21, section 45) and proceeds from there. This obvious influence of Najm al-din Kubra on Ibn 'Ata Allah al-Iskandari throws interesting light on our understanding of *dhikr* ritual in the Shadhili Sufi order, notable since it would imply a significant degree of Central Asian influence on ritual practices in Syria and Egypt.

10 Simnani, *Shaqā'iq al-ḥadā'iq wa-ḥadā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, p. 77b. For a comprehensive treatment of Simnani's thought, see Elias, 1995. Simnani's views on *dhikr* are discussed in Chapter 7 of this book, sections of which are reproduced here.

11 Simnani, *Tafsīr najm al-qur'ān*, p. 73b.

12 A longer version of Junayd al-Baghdadi's list appears in Kubra's *Risala ila'l-hā'im al-khā'if min lawmat al-lā'im*, see Molé, 1963, pp. 23–37. See also Kubra's *al-Uṣūl al-'ashara* (Molé, 1963, pp. 15–22) and 'Abd al-Ghafur Lari's Persian translation (Hirawi, 1984). See Khurasani, 1989, pp. 134ff; Meier, 1957, pp. 2–3; Waley, 1991.

13 Algar, 1982, especially the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters. Simnani, *al-Wārid al-shārid*, pp. 34aff; Simnani, *Fatḥ al-mubīn li-ahl al-yaqīn*, pp. 4aff; Simnani, *Fuṣūl al-uṣūl*, MS. 1, pp. 49bff; Hirawi, 1990, pp. 279ff. The eight conditions do not appear in the same order in all texts.

14 Simnani, *al-Wārid ash-shārid*, p. 34a.
15 Simnani, *Fatḥ al-mubīn*, p. 4b.
16 Simnani, Sirr bāl al-bāl li-dhawi al-ḥāl, p. 239b; Simnani, Najm al-Qur'ān, p. 72a.
17 Simnani, *Najm al-Qur'ān*, pp. 72b, 164a.
18 Ibid., p. 69b.
19 Ibid., p. 72a. The attitude of the Sufi with regard to the soul changes at later stages along the path. The intermediate practitioner (*mutawassiṭ*) should befriend the soul because at this level it becomes a vehicle, serving an important purpose in progress along the Sufi path. The advanced practitioner should make sure the soul accords God his due, and guide it in the direction of piety and righteousness (ibid., pp. 72a, 110b).
20 Simnani, *Fatḥ al-mubīn*, p. 4b.
21 Ibid.
22 Simnani, *Khitām al-misk*, p. 142a. Here Simnani is using the term 'purification' (*ṭahāra*) with the connotation of the annihilation of the self (*fanā'*).
23 Simnani, *Fatḥ al-mubīn*, p. 4b.
24 Ibid., p. 5a.
25 Simnani, *al-Wārid al-shārid*, p. 34a.
26 Simnani, *Fatḥ al-mubīn*, p. 4b. See Gramlich, 1976, pp. 401ff, where a slightly different *dhikr* practice attributed to Simnani is described.
27 Simnani, *Fatḥ al-mubīn*, p. 5a.
28 Simnani, *Najm al-Qur'ān*, p. 74a–b.
29 Simnani, *Mawārid al-shawārid*, p. 147b.
30 Ibid., pp. 148b–149a.
31 In an untitled treatise, Sa'd ad-dīn-i Hamūya (d. 1252), an important figure from the Kubrawi tradition to which Simnani belonged, states that *dhikr* has seven stages: (1) *dhikr* of the tongue; (2) *dhikr* of the tongue along with the heart; (3) *dhikr* of the heart without the tongue; (4) *dhikr* of the heart with the spirit; (5) *dhikr* of the spirit without the heart; (6) *dhikr* of the spirit with the inmost being (*sirr*); (7) *dhikr* of the inmost being without the spirit (Hamūya, *Kitāb baḥr al-ma'ānī*, p. 120a). Simnani also refers to audition (*samā'*), or listening to music, in the context of his discussions on *dhikr*. He considers audition to be not without merit, but maintains that it contains serious pitfalls which render it dangerous for most mystics. 'Audition is a drug which, if eaten by itself without being prepared together with other good medicines, becomes a deadly poison' (Simnani, *Fuṣūl al-uṣūl*, p. 80b).
32 Simnani, *Najm al-Qur'ān*, p. 71a.
33 Simnani, *Fuṣūl al-uṣūl*, p. 74a.
34 Simnani, *al-Wārid ash-shārid*, p. 34b.
35 Simnani, *Najm al-Qur'ān*, pp. 66b, 59a, 46b.
36 Ibid., p. 46b.
37 Ibid., p. 100b.
38 Elias, 1995, p. 134.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid. There is a fourth formula that relates to the Realm of Divinity. This is the supreme name of God, which is unpronounceable, exalted above any form which would be comprehensible in the Human Realm and the Realm of Sovereignty.
41 Hirawi, 1985, p. 11.
42 Elias, 1995, 35.
43 Ibid.
44 Simnani, *Shaqā'iq al-ḥadā'iq*, p. 77a; Simnani, *Risāla-yi nūriyya*, p. 48a–b.

45 Simnani, *Risāla-yi nūriyya*, p. 48b.
46 A translation of this work is found in Elias, 1993.
47 Simnani, *Risāla-yi nūriyya*, p. 44b.
48 Simnani, *Najm al-Qur'ān*, p. 103a; Simnani, *Risāla-yi nūriyya*, p. 44b.
49 Simnani, *Najm al-Qur'ān*, p. 55a.
50 Simnani, *Risāla-yi nūriyya*, p. 45a.
51 Simnani, *Najm al-Qur'ān*, p. 66b.
52 Ibid., p. 70b.
53 Simnani, *Risāla-yi nūriyya*, p. 45a.
54 Ibid., p. 45b; Simnani, *Najm al-Qur'ān*, p. 132b. The visions described by Simnani correspond to Muslim eschatological events that are mentioned in the Qur'an and widely elaborated upon by Islamic theologians.
55 Simnani, *Risāla-yi nūriyya*, p. 46a.
56 Ibid.
57 Bennet, 1969–70. These techniques are quoted from an anonymous Naqshbandi pamphlet in Ottoman Turkish but are found in other works as well. In this particular treatise, coloured lights are also associated with each of the subtle substances in a manner reminiscent of Simnani: the heart is associated with red, the spirit with yellow, the secret with white light, the hidden self with green and the most-hidden self with black. This chromatic imagery clearly indicates a Kubrawi influence.
58 Keshavarz, 1998.
59 Other forms of prayer would be submissional prayers (the ritual prayer) and petitionary prayers. For more on prayer in Islam, see Toorawa, 2010.

Chapter 14

1 For a full picture of the social world to which these masters belonged see Bashir, 2011.
2 The 'pineal heart' (*qalb-i ṣanūbarī*) refers to the physical heart itself with its pine cone-like shape. Sufi authors differentiate the physical object from the heart as a complex metaphysical symbol in Sufi theoretical discussions. For the translation of a later and somewhat different description of the Naqshbandī dhikr that is clearer about its referents to human physiology see Netton, 2000, p. 80.
3 Although the author I am citing here does not go into such details, we do know that elaborate theoretical mappings of the human form were available in the Persianate milieu. For the details of one scheme, which divides the body into subtle substances (*laṭā'if*) that are correlated to elements of the cosmos as such, see Elias, 1995, pp. 81–100.
4 For citations for other versions of the Kubravī dhikr see Bashir, 2003, p. 140.
5 As reported in a later work, Naqshband's concern with numbers in this instance pertained both to keeping track of the times one did the dhikr and the number of times the formula was repeated in a single breath (Muʿīniyān, 1977, p. 1:48).
6 A later hagiography devoted to Hamadānī gives the story differently: the author states that Hamadānī first had the dream about Muḥammad and then saw his teacher performing the dhikr when he went to him seeking an interpretation. The eventual result is the same in both versions, in that Hamadānī ends up as a disciple of Mazdaqānī (Badakhshī, n.d., p. 349a–350a). It is worth noting that Hamadānī's followers disputed among themselves as well regarding the master's preference for silent or vocal dhikr (see Badakhshī, n.d., pp. 397a, 423b).

7 Sufi understanding of human beings' extraordinary religious experiences is premised on the notion that the cosmos has an interior, more desirable aspect. To experience the interior world (*bāṭin*), one needs to cultivate an alternative subtle body that has senses that mimic the function of ordinary senses. The Naqshbandī practice of imprinting the master's image on the heart constitutes a particular way of transitioning between exterior and interior senses. For details of this and other associated understandings of the body and their social ramifications see Bashir, 2011.
8 An extended account of this religious world is provided in Bashir, 2011.
9 For a good phenomenological exploration of these issues in the Sufi context see Kugle, 2007.

Chapter 15

1 The best introduction to *samāʿ*, although it mainly focuses on the Iranian world, is During 1988.
2 It is to be noted that during mediaeval times, the Indus Valley was known as Sindh. The name Sindh comes from a Sanskrit word Sindhu, meaning river.
3 See Mortazavi, 1988; Nicholson, 1999; Zhoukovskii, 1967.
4 Motilal Motwani has partly translated Shāh ʿAbd al-Karīm's *risalo* into English (Motwani, 1979, pp. 33–60). See also Poto, 1937.
5 The notion of *waḥdat al-wūjud* 'unity of being' was coined by Ibn ʿArabī and implies an existential monism according to which human beings, having been created by God, can also be merged into God, or, in other words, reach the divine state.
6 Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273) is the famous founder of the Mevlevīs, better known in the West as the Whirling Dervishes. He was also the author of mystical poetry in Persian. His Masnawī (a poetic form) is probably the most influential Sufi poetry in the non-Arab speaking Muslim world. He was obviously a source of inspiration for Shāh Laṭīf.
7 For a very comprehensive analysis of his work, see Schimmel, 1976.
8 In Modern Sindhi, secret is *ḡujho*. Shāh Laṭīf's language is difficult and very literary, sometimes using neologisms. Also, since his family originated from deltaic Sindh, Shāh Laṭīf is at times influenced by the local dialect known as laṛī, usually seen as somewhat archaic by some, and pure by others.
9 For this section devoted to contemporary Sindhi Sufi poetry, I warmly thank Dr Charu Gidwani, R. K. Talreja College, University of Mumbai, who was of great help in locating and accessing the works.
10 On *dhamāl*, see Abbas, 2002; Boivin, 2012; and, for an ethno-musicological approach, Wolf, 2006.
11 I do not include the female *dhamāl* because it is of a different nature, not related to meditation. Briefly, it is a process of exorcism resulting from the fact that a woman is possessed by a malevolent spirit, a *jinn*. For a description, see Boivin, 2012.
12 Bodlo Bahār is a somewhat mysterious figure. It is said that he was in Sehwan Sharif before Laʿl Shahbāz Qalandar's coming.
13 His father *imām* Husayn was slaughtered with his family. Laʿl Shahbāz Qalandar is his direct descendant.

POSTSCRIPT: Published version of the following article (Middle Persian *abāz-handāxtan*) in the Journal of Persianate Studies is not the final one which I submitted to the journal. Two lost key emendations are mentioned below. Furthermore, JPS had not updated internal automatic cross-references before publishing and I have, as far as possible, tried to fix them.

(p. 141) … considering the Avesta as the principle gauge which no other book could be compared with, but just according to it other things had to be (re)measured. In fact, Zoroastrianism was the predominant discourse in the Sasanian theocratic and perhaps state academic institutions, through which other thoughts were automatically looked at. It means, there were no need and it was technically not possible to collate a scientific text with religious ones in the exact meaning of *collation* which is to bring together different pieces of written information so that the similarities and differences can be seen. I think the clerical system "audited" other thoughts and writings, and *re-measured* (*abāz-handāxtan*) them *according to* (*abāg*) the spirit of Zoroastrianism which was their zeitgeist. In other words, there probably was a censorship administration which only gave publishing permission to *whatever was adjustable and reasonable inside* (probably translated) *foreign books, to be presented to the seekers of the knowledge* (Dēnkard IV (Dresden 1966, p. 497): *čē andar-šān wirāyišn(īg) ud abāg čim, ō xwāstārān ī ham āgāhīh ōh nimūd*).

In addition, the MP and NP prepositions of the phrasal verb don't change its meaning. …

(p. 147) ***Addendum***

1. Some of MP passages which are mentioned in this article have been also translated in Humbach 1991, pp. 49-55, but his translations could also offer no special semantic advantage on this word.

2. In Persian academic pieces MP *abāz-handāxtan* is usually translated into 'سنجیدن'; but "سنجیدن" simultaneously means '1. to measure; 2. to compare' and causes a Persian-speaker to incorporate both meanings, and attribute the second one to a verb (like *abāz-handāxtan*) which has only the first meaning.

3. All the New Persian evidences are found in the corpus which is provided in the Lexicography Department of the Persian Academy of Language and Literature.

(to be added to Bibliography)

H. W. Bailey: *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1971.

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Middle Persian *abāz-handāxtan*

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Abstract

the verb *abāz-handāxtan* is used in Dēnkard IV. Different definitions of the verb caused two divergent interpretations of the history of the Zoroastrians scriptures during Sasanian era. This article does not attempt to provide a third category of meaning, but tries to suggest a kind of modification to the traditionally accepted meaning of 'to collate'. The new proposed meaning is derived from New Persian texts, which include similar usage of the verb and were written not much later than Middle Persian ones. The suggested meaning is 'to (re-)measure'.

Keywords

abāz-handāxtan – *handāzišn* – Dēnkard IV – Middle Persian – Pahlavi – New Persian

The question is how exactly this verb should be glossed in a Middle Persian (MP) dictionary. Shaki introduces the two main interpretations of the polysemous verbal phrase *abāz-handāxtan* in the Middle Persian text Dēnkard IV, and their respective interpreters (Shaki, 1981, 121-2). In order to decide between those two widely diverging proposals (i.e. 'to add to, to re-incorporate, to bring back to'[1] and 'to collate with, to compare with') he examined the pertinent MP passages, in which the term occurs. Finally Shaki decides for the meaning of 'to collate' (and not 'to add') for the verb *abāz- handāxtan*, Shaki (ibid., 122) also refers to MP *handāxtan* as a simple verb, which occurs in several senses as 'measure, judge, project, compute, compare, allot (destiny)' and its derivatives *handāzišn*, *handāzag* as 'comparison, simile, analogy, similitude, extent,

1 I think this incorrect meaning might arise out of misunderstanding Bailey 's translation of the verb (Bailey 1971, 81; s. pp. 142-3, fn. 7).

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measure', etc. (but never in the sense of 'add, unite'), and the sense of 'throw, hurl' as it appears in New Persian (NP) and rarely in MP[2] (all of the above mentioned meanings of *handāxtan* attest for NP *andāxtan*). He also recites Arm. LW. andačem, endačem 'prove, examine', Arab. LW. *hindāz* 'measure', *hindaza* 'a measure of length', *handasa* 'geometry, engineering'.

His idea was clever and commonly accepted (e.g. see Cantera 2004, 109), but I think that NP can still be helpful for scrutinizing the definition of *abāz-handāxtan*. The below NP evidence points to a kind of difference between 'to collate' and what the MP verb actually meant. Obviously, the verb would finally take on the meaning 'to collate', but not as it is cited in MP, and not yet completely even in most of the NP contexts described below.

Tārikh-e Bayhaqi (Bayhaqi, 287)

وی آن چه داند بازگوید و ما می شنویم، آن گاه با خویشتن بازاندازیم و آن چه از رای واجب کند می فرماییم.

He says what he knows and we hear, then we by ourselves (re)measure [i.e., reassess it] and we will issue the order the wisdom necessitates.

Kashf al-Asrār (Maybodi, 10:277):

اودراندیشید و بازانداخت باخود.[3]

He thought of it and (re)measured [i.e, reassessed it] by himself.

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2 (*h*)*andāxtan* 'to throw, to hurl' may come from another root, but the etymology is not our issue here.

3 This is the translation of Koran, 74 (Surah Al-Muddaththir (المُدَّثِّر)), 18 (إِنَّهُ فَكَّرَ وَقَدَّرَ) 'Indeed, he thought and deliberated'). At some next pages, where Kašf ul-Asrār (p. 284) interpreted the story behind the Surah, so paraphrases this verse او ... تفکّر میکرد و باخود میانداخت که درکار وی چه تقدیر کند و چه گوید [*ō ... tafakkur mēkard u **bā** xwad **mēandāxt** ki dar kār i way či taqdīr kunad u či gōyad.*] 'He ... contemplated and himself [i.e. according to his wisdom] deliberated/ measured, how should he deal with him and what should he say'. Note the sameness of *andāxtan* and *bāz-andāxtan* (s. also MP examples on pp.143 & 145)in the same formula, of which one can conclude that *abāz-andāxtan* can (despite Shaki (1981, p. 122)) have no other meaning than *andāxtan* 'to measure, to deliberate' even in such a formula, which based on the above sentence in Kašf ul-Asrār and one in Husraw ud Rēdag (109;s. p. 144, fn. 9)can still be extended to NP "*bā/*ba/*bar ... (bāz-)andāxtan ... dar kār i* somebody *taqdīr kardan*" which comes from MP "**ābāg/*ō/ andar ... (abāz-)handāxtan ... andar kār ī* somebody nigarišn kardan" and yet (*abāz-*)*handāxtan* doesn't mean 'to collate, to compare'.

Kalila o Demna (Nasrollāh Monshi, 258-9):

اهل رای و تجربت باید که این باب را با خرد و ممارست خود بازاندازند و به حقیقت شناسند که مکتسب خود را، از دوستان و مال و جز آن، عزیز باید داشت.

Rationalists and experimentalists should (re)measure [i.e., reassess] this subject matter according to their own wisdom and expertise and really know that one should treasure one's own acquisitions, consisting of friends and wealth and the like.

Shehāb al-Akhbār (Qazā'i Maghrebi, 104):

لا عقل کالتدبیر: عقلی نیست بهتر که عقل آن کس که کارها به تدبیر کند و بازاندازد، و آن چه بهتر بُوَد و نیکوتر بُوَد برگزیند.

There is no better wisdom than practical reason. The best wisdom is that of a person who conducts the affairs and (re)measures [i.e., reassesses them] according to discernment and chooses what better is and fairer is.

Kalila o Demna (Nasrollāh Monshi, 322):

شیر سخن مادر نیک استماع کرد و آن را بر خرد خویش بازانداخت.

The lion hearkened to its mother attentively and (re)measured it according to its own wisdom.

Kalila o Demna (Nasrollāh Monshi, 130):

اگر در آن چه به مَلِک رسانیدند تفکّری رفتی . . . و آن را بر رای و عقل خویش بازانداختی، حقیقت حال شناخته گشتی.

If the information, with which the king was supplied, had been contemplated . . . and [the king] had (re)measured [i.e., reassessed] it according to his intellect and wisdom, the truth would have been known.

Tarjoma-ye Tārikh-e Yamini (Jorfādaqāni, 419):

زیرکان در این لفظ تأمّل کردند و به حساب جُمَل بازانداختند.

The wise men contemplated the utterance and (re)measured [it] according to *abjad* numerals.

Kalila o Demna (Nasrollāh Monshi, 199):

فاش گردانیدن اسرار از جهت پادشاهان ممکن باشد . . . یا طایفه‌ای که در مخارج رای و مواقع آثار تأمّل واجب بینند و آن را بر نظایر آن از ظواهر احوال بازاندازند و گمان های خود را بر آن مقابله کنند.

Revelation of mysteries may come by kings . . . or the people who find it necessary to contemplate the consequences of a thought and occurrences of effects, and (re)measure [i.e., reassess] them against the alike [phenomena] in outward indications and collate their [own] imaginations with them.

Kalila o Demna (Nasrollāh Monshi, 135):

چشم می دارم که . . . آن چه رود . . . مَلِک آن را بر رای جهان نمای خود، که آینهٔ فتح است و جام ظفر، بازاندازد.

I hope that . . . what happens . . . the king (re)measures [i.e., reassesses] it according to his own omniscient wisdom, which is the mirror of conquest and the chalice of triumph.

In the above sentences "*sth.* (*rā*) *bā* (< *abāg*)/ *ba*/ *bar*[4] *sth. bāz-andākhtan* (< *abāz-handāxtan*)" obviously means 'to (re)measure *s. th.* according/ against *s. th.*'. This expression is composed of *bāz* 'back, again, re-', *andākhtan* 'to measure', and *bā* 'with; upon, according to'/ *ba* 'at, on, according to'/ *bar* 'on, over'; i.e. 'to think again about sth. according to some criteria (to decide whether to change the way one feels about it or deals with it)'.

I think in MP [*abārīg nibēgān*] *abāg Abistāg abāz-handāxtan* one can find the ancestor of the above mentioned NP expression which would mean 'to (re) measure [other books] according/ against Avesta', i.e. 'to use Avesta as a gauge to appraise other books'. One may interpret such a process as '*collating*', but the text is not to say so; i.e. in a MP dictionary it may not be glossed by 'to collate'.[5]

4 Cf. NP *barandāz* (colloquial: *warandāz*) *kardan* 'to size up, to look over, to scan'.

5 My idea has been developed independently of Van Bladel's who finds "the purpose for the activity, described [as *collating*], unclear" (Van Bladel, 60). Van Bladel tries to show that "The

The preposition *abāg* here doesn't mean 'with' but, in an archaic manner like *ba* and *bar*, means 'to, according to, upon' (Natel-Khanlari 1365, 3:325-9), and this is the reason why, in the above NP archaic evidence, *ba* and *bar* are used parallel to *abāg*. So, in the sentence there is no appropriate preposition to verbs like *to collate* and *to compare*. Here, the definers have strayed far from considering the Avesta as the principle gauge, which no other book could be compared with, but, according to it, other things had to be (re)measured. See Postscript

I think the MP and NP prepositions of the phrasal verb don't change its meaning. In fact, the verb, with or without the prepositions, means 'to (re)measure'. Take a look at the next two pieces of evidence, and then a review of the already mentioned phrases may confirm this result:

Rasā'el-e Khʷāja 'Abdollāh (Ansāri, 1:385):

این کار نه به حجّ است و به عمره؛ به بازانداخت روز بای است تا هر کسی را چه بهره.

> That is not the matter of *hajj* and [nor is] the matter of *'mrah*; [but] the matter of the day of necessity [i.e. The Judgment Day]'s (re)measuring, to [determine] everyone's reward.

Nozhatnāma-ye 'Alāyi (Shahmardān, 373):

وجه آن است که هر دو به یک ثقبهٔ شمش آهنج زرگران بکشند و به وزن راست بدارند و طول هر دو بازاندازند؛ هر کدام کوتاه‌تر باشد، آن گرانتر.

> That is justified to draw both of them [i.e. to draw two silver ingots into wire] through the ingot-drawing hole of goldsmiths and equalize [the two wires] from the point of view of weight and (re)measure the length of both of them; each one [that] is shorter, [is] denser.

Now let us re-observe the passages of Dēnkard IV, which contain the verb:

Arabic History of Science of Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht" had Some MP Sources. He compares some parts of it with Dēnkard IV and shows that they are translated from MP. Nawbakht translated *abāz-handāxt* into Ar. *allafa*, which according to Van Bladel in the Arabic text it means '[He] harmonised (those books that were at variance with the Zoroastrians scripture, the Avesta)' (Van Bladel, 60). He finally concludes that "the sense of abāg X *abāz-handāxtan* here is 'to measure (something) against X'" (ibid, 51-60).

MS B (Dresden 1966, p. 511):

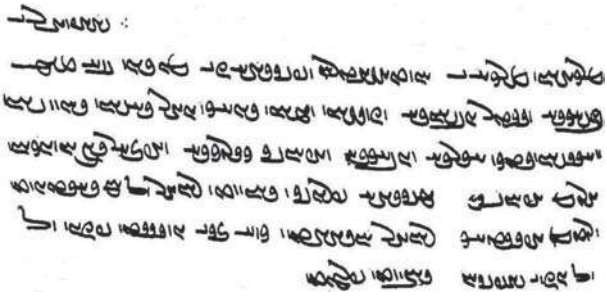

DkM, p. 412-3:

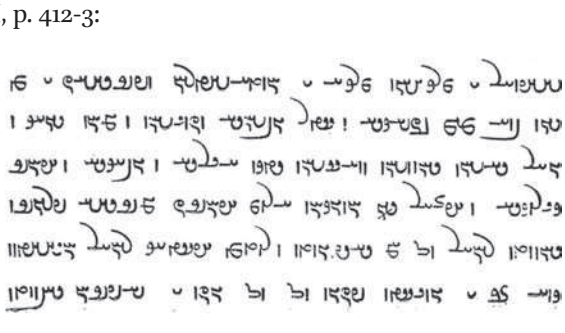

Šābuhr ī šāhān šāh ī Ardaxšīrān nibēgīhā-iz az dēn bē, abar bizeškīh ud star-gowišnīh ud čandišn ud zamān ud gyāg ud gōhr <ud> ǰahišn ud bawišn ud wināhišn ud ǰadag-wihīrīh ud gōwāgīh ud abārīg kirrōgīh ud abzār <ī> andar hindūgān, hrōm, abārīg-iz zamīgīhā pargandag būd, abāz ō ham āwurd ud ***abāg*** *Abistāg* ***abāz-handāxtan****, har ān ī drust, paččēn ō ganjˇ* [illegible] *dād*[*an*]*, framūd.*

Šābuhr, the king of kings, son of Ardaxšīr, further collected the non-religious writings on medicine, astronomy, movement, time, space, substance, accident, becoming, decay, transformation, logic and other crafts and skills which were dispersed throughout India, Rome [i.e. the Byzantine Empire] and other lands, and commanded to (re)measure them against Avesta, [and to deposit] a copy of all those [writings], which were flawless were, in the *Royal[6] (?) Treasury.[7]

6 After Shaki 1981, p. 115, fn. 2.

7 Šābuhr . . . further collected the non-religious writings on medicine, astronomy, . . . and [he] <u>collated</u> them <u>with</u> the Avesta, and commanded that a copy be made of all those (writings) which were flawless and be deposited in the Royal Treasury (Shaki 1981, 119).

MS B (Dresden 1966, p. 515):

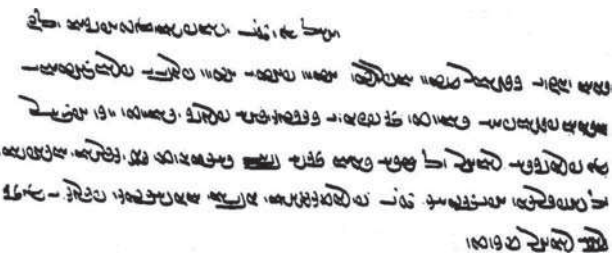

DkM, p. 406:

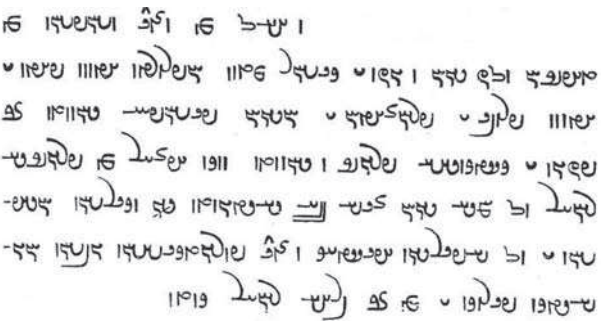

ud pas az wizend <ud> wišōbišn az Tāzīgān . . . hufraward Ādur-pād ī Ādur-farrōbay ī Farroxzādān, ī hudēnān-pēšōbāy būd, ān paččēn, ī kustagīhā pargandag būd, nōg abzār az pargandagīh abāz ō hamīh ud dēwān, ī-š dar, āwurd. andar nigerišn <ud> ***handāzišn***[8] *ī ō weh-dēn Abistāg ud zand, pōryōtkēšān gōwišn, hangōšīdag payrōg ī az ān brāh abāz* [illegible] *kard.*

Šāpuhr, king of kings, son of Artaxšahr, assembled and <u>*united with*</u> the Avesta books of the Dēn on medicine, astronomy, . . . and other . . . which had been scattered in India, Rome . . . and other countries . . . (Bailey 1971, 81).

OED (s.v. *unite*, vol. XIX, p. 79, col. 1) glossed the verb "unite" by '2. to make one in feeling or thought; to cause to agree . . . 3. Of person (or thing): To have, possess, or exhibit (qualities, etc.) in union or combination; to combine (features usually regarded as distinct)'. I think here Bailey meant "Šāpuhr assembled the [non-]religious books and made them and the Avesta one in feeling and thought, i.e. he caused them and the Avesta to agree (s. also p. 140, fn. 5); but Zaehner (1955, 8: 'add to'), Boyce (1979, 113: 'add to (?)'), de Menasce (1973, 379: 'colliger'), Duchesne-Guillemin (1964, 64: 'réunir'), Shaki (1970, 277: 're-incorporation'), and Tafazzoli (1376, 133: 'ملحق کردن' (= 'to add'), but *ibid.* 315: 'تطبیق کردن' (= 'to compare')!) consequently and based on a misunderstanding of Bailey's translation, have completely strayed from his idea, which wasn't that deviated from the real meaning.

8 For the sameness of *handāxtan* and *abāz-handāxtan* s. p. 138, fn. 3.

> And after Arabs' hurt and destruction . . . the blessed Ādurpād ī Adurfarrōbay, son of Farroxzād, who was the (religious) leader of the people of the Good Religion (i.e. Zoroastrianism), by new effort brought that dispersed copy, which was scattered in various regions, together and into an archive, which consisted of chapters. [Turning] attention[9] to and measuring against Avesta and Zand of the Good Religion and the oral tradition (transmitted) from the first teachers of the faith, he restored (?) it like a ray from that brilliance.

MS B (Dresden 1966, p. 497):

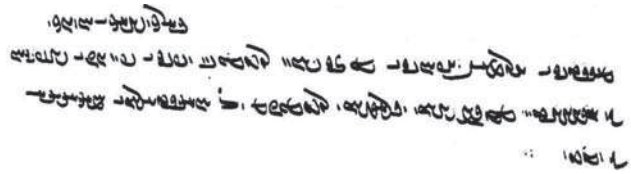

DkM, p. 428:

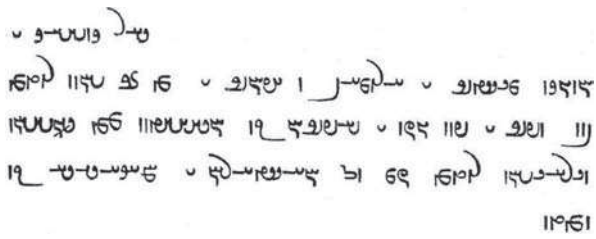

9 Shaki translates *nigerišn* as 'examining' and thinks "that *handāzišn* as an element of the hendiadys (*nigerišn ud handāzišn*) may only denote 'comparison or collation'" (Shaki 1981, 122). The collocation occurs also in Husraw ī Kawādān ud Rēdag (ibid, 109): {Rēdag writes in his letter to Husraw:} "**. . .** *ud ka-tān sahēd andar kār ī amā sazāgīhā* ***nigerišn*** *framāyēd kardan.* {Narrator:} *ud ka andar ān* ***handāzišn*** *šāhān-šāh hamāg* (/(Monchi-Zadeh 1982, 85:) **hamē*) *kard, *āxwarrbedān-sālār frāz šud ō šāhān-šāh guft kū* **. . .**" '{R. writes to H.:} and if it seems good to you(r majesty), command to show consideration for my case befittingly. {Narrator:} And whilst the king was judging it, the head groom came in (and) said to the king that **. . .**'. Here *nigerišn kardan* means 'to observe, to examine; (and maybe:) to show helpful attention/consideration' and *handāzišn* easily means 'measuring, appraisal'. In the same way, in the above Dēnkard sentence despite Shaki, *nigerišn ud handāzišn ō* can be translated 'considering Avesta, Zand and **. . .** and measuring (the scattered documents) against them'. The preposition *ō* belongs to both *nigerišn* and *handāzišn*; cf. NP *bāz-andāxtan ba*.

kāl kōšāk ī Hindūg ud Magistīg ī Hromāyīg ud abārīg ī az ān šōn[10](?) ***abāg*** *bun nibēg ī pad ganǰ ī* [illegible] *ōh* ***handāxt****. če andar-šān wirāyišn(īg) ud abāg čim, ō xwāstārān ī ham āgāhīh ōh nimūd.*

He measured *Kāla Kośa* of the Indians and the *Megistē* of the Greeks and other (writings) of that sort against the fundamental book (i.e. Avesta) which was in the Royal Treasury; and whatever in them were adjustable and reasonable, he presented to the seekers of that knowledge.

MS B (Dresden 1966, p. 516):

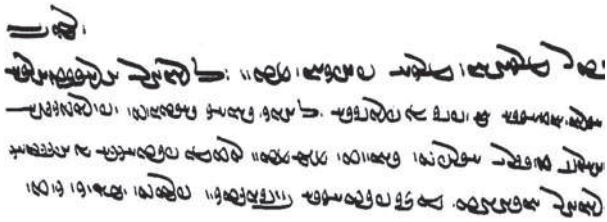

DkM, p. 406:

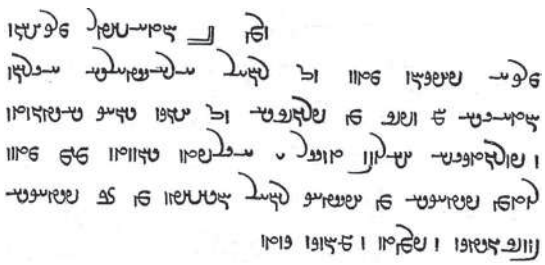

ōy bay Ardaxšīr, šāhān šāh, Pābagān mad ō abāz ārāstārīh ī Ērān-xwadāyīh. im nibēg az pargandagīh ō yak gyāg āwurd ud pōryōtkēš ahlaw Tōsar, ī hērbedān hērbed būd, abar mad ud ***abāg*** *paydāgīh ī az Abistāg* ***abāz-handāxt*** *az ān paydāgīh bawandagēnīdan framūd ud hamgōnag kard.*

His Majesty Ardaxšir, the king of kings, son of Pābag, assumed command (gained ascendancy) for the restoration of the kingdom of Iran. He collected this book which was in a state of dispersion. And Tōsar, the ancient teacher of the faith, the righteous, who was the chief hērbed, assumed command and (re)measured it against the exposition of Avesta, and

10 after Shaki 1981, p. 123 for [illegible]

commanded that it should be made perfect[11] on the basis of that same exposition; and thus did he do.

MS B (Dresden 1966, p. 516):

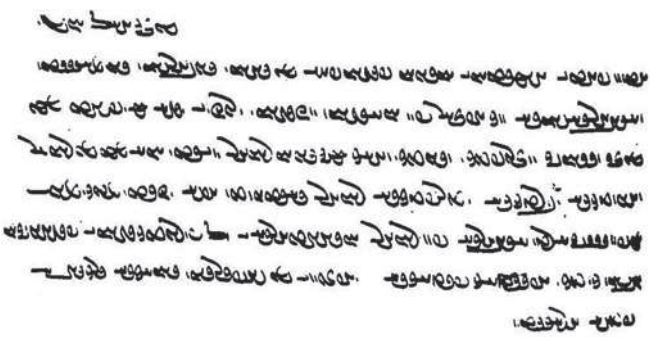

DkM, p. 406-7:

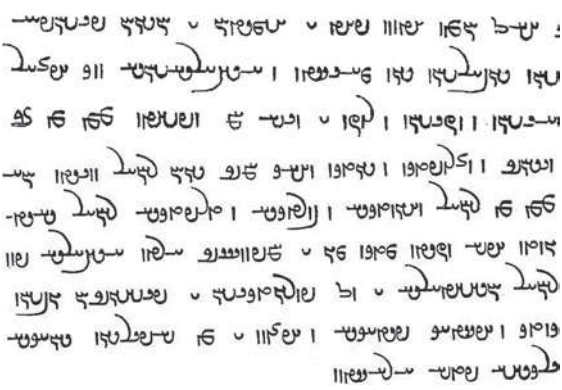

az ān pas, az, Ādurpād ī Ēmēdān, hudēnān pēšōbāy, . . . im nibišt . . . ēd čē az abāz-griftagīh ud burdagīh ud triftagīh abāz-āwurd, az-iš wizīd, . . . pad

11 Shaki says: "In this text *bawandagēnīdan* (lit. make perfect, i.e. expurgation or purifying from doctrines or teachings incongruous with the Mazdean precepts] of the collected folios of the Dēnkard (*nibēg*) on the basis of the revelation of the Avesta (*az ān paydāgīh*) is consequent upon *abāz-handāxtan* of the collected materials with that same revelation. It is, however, evident that expurgation on the basis of a standard text cannot result *but* from 'collation'" (Shaki 1981, 124). But I think that such an expurgation could easily be the result of '(re)measuring' against the standard text.

abāz-handāxtārīh *ī ō pōryōtkēšān ī pēšēnīgān gōwišn ud kardag, Abistāg paydāgīh; abzōn ī az weh-dēn dānāgīh, daragīhā pad-iš ārāst.*

after that, I, Ādurpād, son of Ēmēd, the leader of the Mazdeans, . . . wrote this [book] . . . from whatever I recovered from the pilferings, abstractions, and stolen (leaves), I made selections . . . through (re)measuring them against the oral tradition and dogmas (transmitted) from the ancient teachers of the faith and the expositions of the Avesta; [Then] I arranged them into chapters as an addition to the wisdom of the Good Religion.

See Postscript

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MITHRAIC SOCIETIES

From Brotherhood Ideal to Religion's Adversary

Abolala Soudavar

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MITHRAIC SOCIETIES

From Brotherhood Ideal to Religion's Adversary

by

Abolala Soudavar

2014

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همو که فرهنگِ ایران زمین را "یار شاطر" بود،

و شیفتگانَش را نار خاطر

To Professor Yarshater

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PREFACE

When I first decided to write this book a decade ago, my aim was to reverse a trend that presented Roman Mithraic societies as an indigenous Roman phenomenon unrelated to the Iranian world. Because elements of the Roman phenomenon could explain odd aspects of Iranian history and society, I had to find ways to bridge the gaps between the Iranian and Roman worlds, and between pre and post-Islamic Iran. In both cases, I had to counter existing theories by offering an alternative view that strove to demystify ancient accounts tainted by politico-religious considerations. The process itself guided me into territories that I had initially wished to avoid, especially Christianity, Judaism, and Freemasonry; but as it turned out, the widened scope of study provided crucial support for my conclusions.

Academia, however, does not readily accept contrarian views, and the few preliminary essays that I presented to scholarly journals drew the ire of the "experts." Anonymity in the review process of these journals seems to bring out the worst in the scholarly community. This should not be. Available web outlets provide alternative forums and circumvent the barriers that scholars sometimes create to protect their turf. My hope is that by adopting this path, I can generate further discussions on matters pursued in this study, and reemphasize that Iranian history is a continuum that should not be unduly compartmentalized.

In writing this book I had the help and support of many friends and colleagues. My sincere thanks goes to Burzine Waghmar for providing me with copies of Mithra-related publications, to Mehran Afshari, Ali Asadi, Claude Lepage, Bernard O'kane, Nasrollah Pourjavadi, Fazel Pakzad, and François Vallat for their precious advice, and to my daughter Sara for editing this text. I am indebted forever to the late Xavier Tremblay, a most erudite scholar with whom I spent hours discussing Zoroastrianism and the *Avesta.* But mainly, I owe the writing of this book to the pioneering works of insightful scholars such as Frantz Cumont and A.D.H. Bivar who saw Mithraism as the repercussion of an Iranian phenomenon in a distant world, which was as globalized and inter-connected as the world is today.

Abolala Soudavar
Houston, August 2014

Illustrative Diagram of the Roman *Mithraeum*

Mithraeum : the cave-like space that served as a gathering place for the adherents of Mithraic societies

Mithras : name given to the Roman Mithra

Mysteries : the Roman appellation of Mithraic societies, which were secretive and closed to the outsider

Tauroctony: the bull-slaying image of Mithra at the center of the *mithraeum*

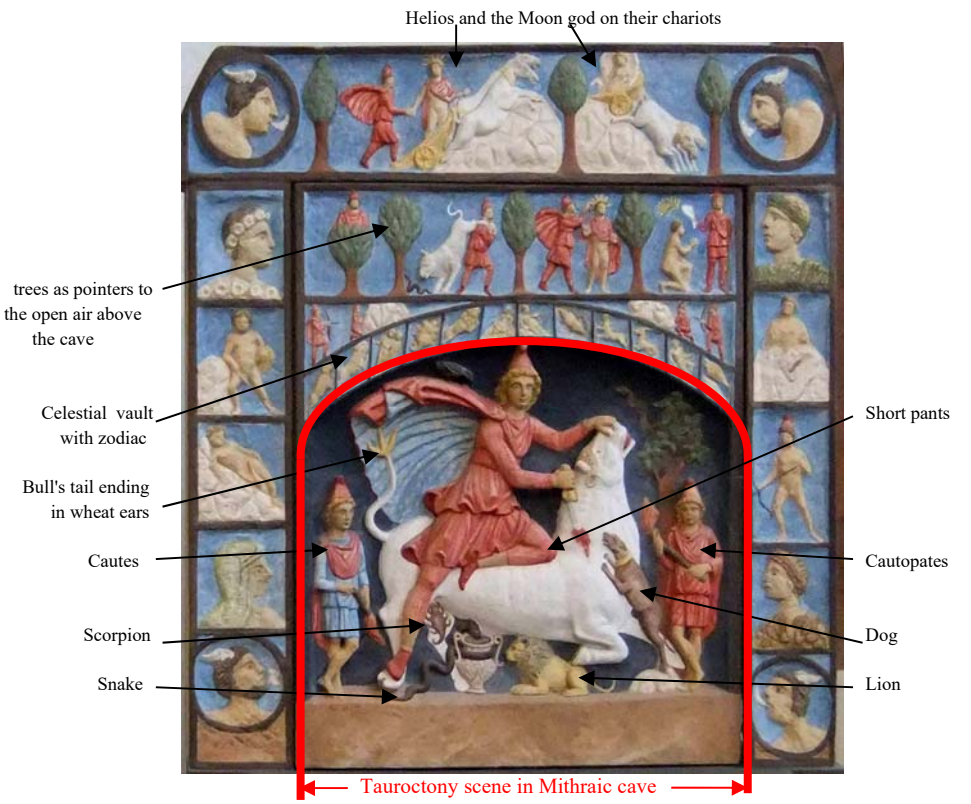

Fig. 1 - Modern rendering of the Hedernheim tauroctony panel (CIMRM 1083; see also Fig. 289). Inside the cave, the Tauroctony scene is mostly based on an Iranian tradition, but plastically rendered for a Roman audience. The images outside and above the cave (delimited by the thick red line) pertain to a more elaborate myth developed in the Greco-Roman world.

Mithraic Grades

The seven grades of the Mysteries are as follows:

1-Corax (raven), 2- *Nymphus* (bridegroom), 3- *Miles*, 4- *Leo*, 5-*Perses*, 6- *Heliodromos* (sun-courier), 7- *Pater*

A mosaic floor from the *mithraeum* in Ostia (Italy), depicts the symbols associated with each grade, and illustrates the pathway for hierarchical advancement (Figs. 2, 3)

Fig. 2 - Rendering of a fictitious Mithraic sanctuary. Museumpark Orientalis, Groesbeek, The Netherlands (wiki)

Fig. 3 - Mosaic floor fom Ostia, with grade emblems (wiki)

Abbreviations

For languages and texts:

NP: New Persian language and script
MP: Middle Persian language and script
OP: Old Persian language and script

Yt.: *Yasht* (Avestan hymn)
Y: *Yasna* (Avestan hymn)

For museums:

BNF: Bibliothèque National de France
MMA: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MFAB: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
TKSM: Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul

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Fig. 4 – The Borghese tauroctony scene, Louvre (Lens)

CHAPTER I

MODERN REVISIONISM

I.1 - Anti-Cumonism

There was a time when men of knowledge were curious, open minded, and insightful. Steeped as they were in their own culture, they did not hesitate to explore realms beyond their own in pursuit of explanations for oddities and the deeper understanding of their surroundings. One such person was Frantz Cumont. In his pioneering work on Roman Mithraism, he envisioned it as a blend of ancient Iranian traditions and Roman mythology. He saw the phenomenon as important per se, and also in relation to the evolution of Christianity in the Roman Empire.

But then came the latter part of the 20th century when deconstructivism became a trend, and increasing specialization resulted in a myopic approach toward history. Rather than looking at an ancient world with no frontier posts, one in which ideas travelled freely, they preferred to see segregated cultures, impervious to neighboring influences. Rather than looking at an evolutionary process over extended periods of time, they only valued contemporary evidence, preferably from the Greco-Roman world. Rather than trying to grasp the essential, they chose to grapple with the superfluous. Richard Gordon, for instance, attacks Cumont for holding:

> "the unitarian belief that evidence widely scattered in space and time could legitimately be fitted together to produce an account of a single, essentially unchanging, religion as evidence for the same unchanging reality."[1]

And yet, whatever faults can be imputed to Cumont's approach, a belief in "unchanging reality" is not one of them. If he and his followers sought the root of Mithraic Mysteries in ancient Iran, it is because they saw a complex phenomenon that had evolved over time, was encumbered with all sorts of transplants, and remained a mystery. For them, neither was Christianity an entirely new religion unconnected to its Judaic past, nor was Roman Mithraism a homespun phenomenon of the Greco-Roman world unconnected to the Iranian World. One cannot evaluate a tree by simply looking at its leaves from above, and ignore its trunk and roots. The quest to find the root of the Mithraic phenomenon was not an exercise to award originality or "copyrights" to Iranians, but to understand its very

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[1] Gordon 2005, 6090.

essence and the reason for its immense popularity. A popularity that stretched not only across the whole of the Roman Empire, but across a wide spectrum of its society, "among legionaries (of all ranks), and the members of the more marginal social groups who were not Roman citizens: freedmen, slaves, and merchants from various provinces," as Gordon himself observed.[2]

The said popularity becomes even more relevant considering that it was linked to a deity recognized as Iranian in the midst of a Roman Empire constantly at war with Iran, and a deity who wore Iranian garments and bonnets instead of the Roman tunics and headgear. But more serious is Gordon's general attack on "Iranists," in both content and tone:

> "the ever more hypothetical claims made by certain Iranists, for example Geo Widengren's (1907‑1996) theories about ancient, non-Zoroastrian, Iranian religion, including the role of Aryan warrior-societies (Mannerbunde) and supposed analogies with a Mazdakite revivalist sect, the al-Babakiyah,"[3]

He not only discredits a major source of information proposed by Geo Widengren—as offering "supposed" analogies—but belittles "Iranists" and by extension, Iranian studies in general, as irrelevant and unreliable, since they deal with such arcane names as Mazdakites and al-Bābakiyah! As we shall see in Chapter II, the story brought to light by Widengren, and further expounded in an extensive study on Mithraism by Hassan Pirouzdjou[4] (whom Gordon never mentions), actually offers a major parallel, and a solid bridge, between the eastern and western avatars of Mithraic societies.

Gordon seems to perceive himself as Alexander building the Wall of Gog and Magog against the intrusion of Iranists into the sacred domain of Romano-Hellenistic studies, and criticizes those who find explanations based on the interpretation of Iranian texts:

> "Perhaps even more seriously, texts were treated as atemporal sources, blithely disregarding the argumentative contexts within which the supposed information occurred."[5]

The question then is: How is it that a scholar feels free to disparage a whole group of Iranists in order to emphasize his point? And more generally, how can it be that phantasmal theories such as those proposed by David Ulansey (see next section), in support of Gordon's views, are readily accepted, and even hailed as the definitive

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[2] Gordon 2005, 6090.
[3] Gordon 2005, 6088, Beck 2006, 16.
[4] Pirouzdjou 1997.
[5] Gordon 2005, 6090.

explanation of Mithraic Mysteries? It almost seems as if Mithraic studies have become emblematic of a "West vs. East" battle, in which the merits of the former must be exalted, and the achievements of the latter minimized or negated. One feels surrounded by an atmosphere in which socio-political considerations overwhelm scholarly endeavors, and slogans take precedence over logical arguments.[6]

At the root of the problem may lie a controversy initiated by Ernest Renan's celebrated conjecture: "if Christianity had been stopped at birth by some moral illness, the world would have become Mithraic."[7] In the early twentieth century, Mithraism was recognized as the ancient rival of Christianity, and perceived to have greatly influenced its development. The idea that some of Christianity's most important emblems (e.g., the names "Pope," "Miter," and the Christmas celebrations; see sec. XIV.8) had Mithraic antecedents, and therefore Eastern roots, was perhaps not an appealing prospect to the Christian faithful. Thus, any attempt to sever its links with the Iranian world, and relocate its origin closer to Europe, was probably aided by a subconscious that favored a Eurocentric conception of the world, and a Christianity untainted by Iranian ideas. Ulansey, for instance, believes that:

> "The study of Mithraism therefore provides us with an insight into 'the road not taken' by Western civilization nearly two thousand years ago—insight that is, into an unrecognized part of who we are today."[8]

While he projects Mithraism as the "road not taken" by the Western World, he also anchors it in the kingdom of Pontus in Anatolia,[9] to the north of the area from where the founding figure of Christianity, Saul of Tarsus, otherwise known as St Paul, launched his campaign to propagate the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth; a campaign more in tune with a Greek mode of thinking than a Jewish one. The Pontus provenance subtly implies that Mithraic mysteries too must have been a Greek endeavor, despite its very Iranian designation.

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[6] North 1995: it first advises "A reader seeking one paper that would provide a sober assessment of what can be known about "our Mithraism" -- Roman Mithraism…" then continues "Several writers represented here were deeply impressed by the 1989 monograph by David Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World*, and accept, though not without qualifications, his theory that Mithras personified the force responsible for the precession of the equinoxes (discovered by Hipparchus in the second century B.C.). None had as yet had an opportunity to consider the review of Ulansey's book by N.M. Swerdlow in Classical Philology 86 (1991) 48-63, which is likely to engender second thoughts, especially about the identification of the torchbearers in the tauroctony with the equinoxes."
[7] Ulansey 1989, 4.
[8] Ulansey 1989, 4.
[9] Ulansey 1989, 89-90.

But religious bias comes into play from the opposite direction as well: Any attempt to explain a present day Iranian Sufi or guild phenomenon as an avatar of Mithraic societies is severely criticized on account of their Islamic appearances being incompatible with ancient rituals and beliefs. Thus, the late Mehrdād Bahār's cautious suggestion to link certain elements of the traditional wrestling practices of Iran (*zurkhāneh*) with a Mithraic past was strongly condemned—on religious grounds—by his own compatriots, but also gave rise to a blasting tirade by Philippe Richard who espoused those condemnations, and characterized Bahār's work as "imaginary" and "outdated," and his followers as "delirious."[10]

Religious considerations notwithstanding, political propaganda affected Mithraic studies, and Iranian studies in general. Following the 1979 Islamic revolution of Iran, a concerted effort by Arab nations to emphasize their Arabness and belittle the Iranian influence, was supplemented by intense anti-Iranian propaganda orchestrated by Western governments, and amplified beyond measure by the media. Academia was not impervious to such propaganda and eventually accommodated itself to the prevailing political winds. Its impact is nowhere more evident than on a recent work, A. Kuhrt's *The Persian Empire; A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period,* which is a collection of original sources pertaining to the Persian Empire. What was supposed to be an unbiased assembling of historical material for Achaemenid history produces instead a geographical map of that period in which the Persian Gulf is named "Arab-Persian Gulf" (Fig. 5), and characterizes Achaemenid inscriptions as instruments of deceit inscribed by the order of a liar Darius trying to falsify history.[11] Political propaganda, as well as oil money, can indeed subdue the best of scholarly minds to equate the mighty Achaemenid Empire with a Bedouin non-state, and transform Darius the Great into a petty liar.[12]

And then, there are those who, because of an idea expressed in the past and a stance once taken, think that they have to dig in and refuse any opinion to the contrary. Such is the case of the gatekeeper of the *Studia Iranica* journal who rejected the publication of an article that I had submitted, because it relied on topics invoked by A. D. Bivar on Mithraism, which they had condemned in the past and could not change their stance

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[10] "On ne peut que recommander la lecture des travaux de Partow-Beyzā'i —de loin la plus riche étude jamais faite sur l'histoire du zurkhāneh— ainsi que l'article d'Hasan Gusheh et les travaux récents de Sadreddin Elāhi (1994) qui apporte un original et indispensable regard critique, et remet à sa place les délires laudateurs de K. Kazemaini, ou l'hypothèse historiqueme datée des origines « mithraïque » du zurkhāne, qu'avait imaginée Mehrdād Bahār à la fin des années soixante-dix" ; http://tc.revues.org/document208.html

[11] Kuhrt 2007, I:136-37, II: 804.

[12] See section XI.3.

when presented with new arguments.[13] To this date, *Studia Iranica* still believes that any article hinting at a rapprochement between Roman and Iranian Mithraism should be rejected (see Appendixes II and IV).

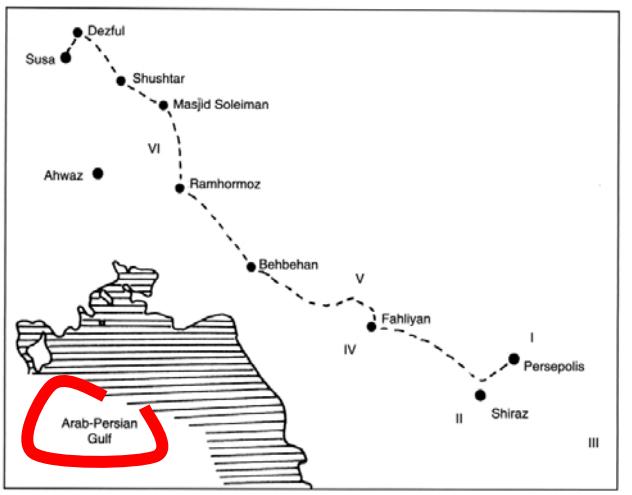

Fig. 5 - Map from Kuhrt 2007, II:804.

For Mithraic studies, the net effect of all these negative considerations is disdain for any approach that tends to look for common ground between Eastern and Western Mithraic societies. But such disdain is not without cost. It deprives both sides of valuable—and complementary—information pertaining to secretive institutions whose members took an oath not to divulge their secrets. This information is disseminated in bits and pieces among various avatars of these societies, each providing a clue for the reconstruction of their common past. For instance, the names of two grade holders in Roman Mithraism, *heliodromos* (6th grade) and *perses* (5th grade), have remained a mystery. As we shall see, the meaning of their respective names, as well as functions, can only be explained by considering their Iranian counterparts. Conversely, the structure and names of the leadership of different Iranian Sufi congregations and guild organizations can only be understood if the latter are perceived as avatars of Mithraic societies, and if the ranks of their leaders are juxtaposed with those of Roman Mithraism (see chapter V).

Furthermore, what the proponents of an autochthonous Roman Mithraism fail to see is the political power emanating from the organizational structure of these secretive "underground" societies. By concentrating on its cultic aspects, their congregational

[13] See Soudavar 2003, xiii.

potential for insurrections, or for action as pressure groups, is overlooked. Many political dynasties in the East and West actually built their power base around brotherhoods that were avatars of Mithraic societies. The philosophy and organizational structures that they inherited provided their leaders with a cohesive power base that, no matter what their apparent religious affiliation was, gave them enormous political clout.

The study of Mithraic societies should, therefore, primarily delve into the beliefs and rituals that bonded the members of these congregations together, and explain the reasons for their lasting and widespread appeal, which was both cross-cultural and intercontinental. Fictitious divides can only hinder such an endeavor.

I.2 - Problems of Methodology

The attacks on Cumont's point of view are generally based upon three observations and objections:[14]

1- The widespread dissemination of *mithraea* in the Roman World (Fig. 6), and the lack of any structure in the Iranian World resembling a *mithraeum*.
2- Cumont's arguments are elliptical and affected by his strong belief in the Iranian origin of Mithraism, to the extent that he sees the dog and the snake of the Tauroctony scenes as symbolizing the fight between good and evil in Zoroastrianism, whereas, in reality, there is no sign of such a conflict between the two (see Fig. 1, Fig. 4).
3- The absence of any reference to bull slaying or other aspects of the *mithraeum* in the *Avesta* or any other Zoroastrian text.

Unfortunately, these superficial observations are inherently misleading. A quick glance at the map in Fig. 6 can of course induce one to see Mithraism as an entirely Roman phenomenon. In the Roman world though, multiple statues of Mithra were bound to arise as it was deeply affected by Greek mythology and the Greek taste for the plastic representation of deities; whereas in the Iranian World, as already observed by Herodotus,[15] there was an aversion to represent gods as such.[16] Thus the absence of *mithraea* in the Iranian World was not unexpected. On the other hand, Mithraism's footprint on the Iranian side is substantial; but rather than being in the form of *mithraea*

[14] Ulansey 1989, 6-10.
[15] Herodotus (1: 131): Persians "have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly."
[16] Despite centuries of Hellenic domination, the depiction of gods in the Parthian and Sasanian era was symbolic, stylized, and an instrument of the glorification of the king rather than the worship of the deity.

and tauroctony sculptures, it can be detected in the numerous avatars of Mithraic societies that manifest themselves as Sufi congregations, guild formations, or wrestler communities, all carrying in their rituals remnants of a distant past.

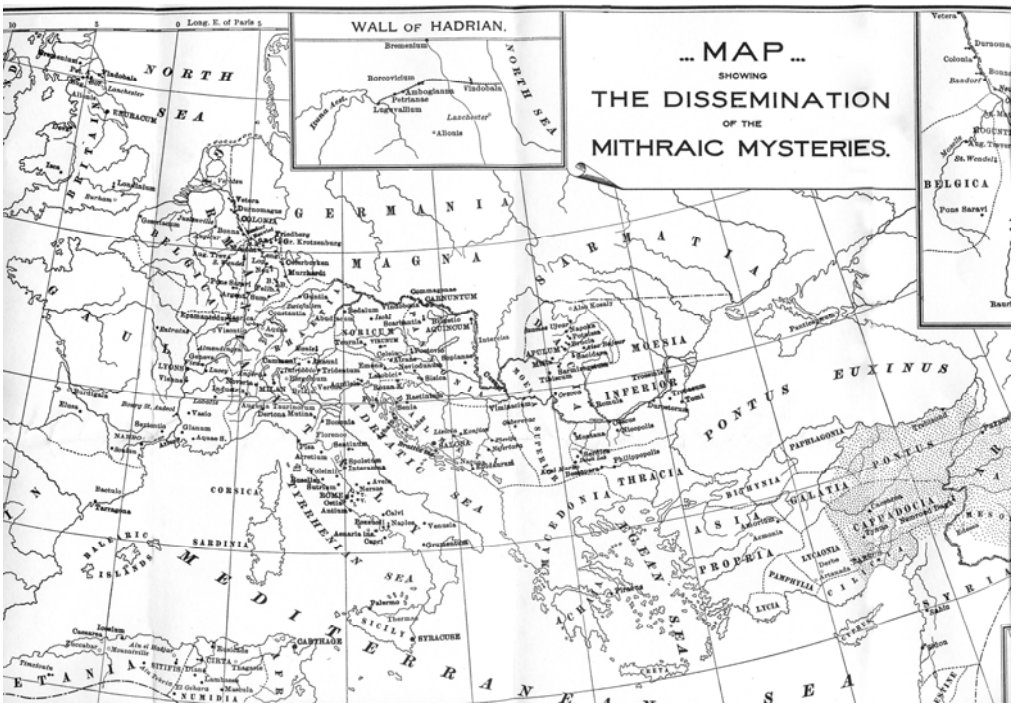

Fig. 6 - Spread of mithraea in the Roman Empire (Cumont 1903)

If one wants to play the numbers game, one should also acknowledge that the number of Iranian-related references in the Roman aspects of Mithraic societies is so high that it's almost impossible for Roman Mithraism *not to have* an Iranian counterpart or antecedent. A quick browse gives the following list:

a) the very Iranian name of Mithra, as well as his Iranian clothing,
b) the third highest grade is named *perses* (understood as "Persian"),
c) the deity name Arimanius, occasionally invoked with Mithras, is clearly derived from Ahriman, the evil deity who was the opponent of Ahura Mazdā,[17]
d) the use of Persian words, such as *nama* (MP *namāz*, Hail!) in their discourses,[18]

[17] Gordon 2005, 6089.

e) the fact that figures in many Mithraic scenes depicted on vessels found far outside Iran, often wear a "Persian dress" or a "Persian cap with ear flaps," [19]

f) Porphyry's *mithraeum* description (3rd-century): "*Similarly, the Persians call the place a cave where they introduce an initiate to the mysteries, revealing to him the path by which the souls descend and go back again. For Eubulus tells us that Zoroaster was the first to dedicate a natural cave in honor of Mithras, the creator and father of all…*"[20]

The above references are by no means exhaustive, and do not include the host of connections that we shall later produce in our study, but they are all invoked in passing by Cumont's opponents. Strangely, not only is the weight of their cumulative correlation with Iran and Iranian ignored, but the relevance of each is completely pushed aside by the flick of a hand. While Cumont is criticized for basing all of his arguments on an a priori stance favoring an Iranian origin, one clearly sees that his opponents do the same, but the other way around. For one only needs to look at the last reference to see that a learned person from antiquity, namely the Neo-Platonist Porphyry, at the height of Mithraic activities in the Roman Empire, unambiguously alludes to the Persian origin of the *mithraeum*'s cave-like structure; he explains that it was the Persians who called it a cave, and that Persians practiced the same rituals because they too introduced their initiates to the mysteries in their caves. More importantly, he attributes the creation of the first of these caves to Zoroaster. Even though the latter information is evidently incorrect, it still shows that Porphyry, rather than attributing the original cave to a Roman or Greek mythological figure, favors an Iranian one. In other words, the 3rd-century learned Porphyry believed that the phenomenon had Persian origins but 20th-century scholars who quote him don't!

Cumont may have used elliptical arguments based on his strong convictions about the Iranian origins of Mithraism. But so have his opponents. In neither case can these types of errors be used as proof of non-validity of a thesis as a whole.

As for the third objection, that no parallel can be found between *mithraeum* rituals and the practices described in the *Avesta* or other Zoroastrian texts, the fact is that Cumont negationists have been looking at the wrong Mithra. Because, the original Mithra was a mighty god, perhaps perceived as "the creator and father of all" as Porphyry suggests,

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[18] Gordon 2005, 6089.
[19] Beck 2004, 11, 59.
[20] Gordon 2005: 6091; Beck 2006, 41.

and a god who, by his very name,[21] supervised contracts and covenants, and therefore was the divinity in whose name initiates took an oath (see sec.V.9). The Mithra preserved in Zoroastrianism is one that has been sanitized, and whose prominent position among deities pushed down to make room for the ascendency of Ahura Mazdā. The Mithra of Mithraic societies thus maintained attributes that were stripped off in Zoroastrianism. The said Mithra was reviled in Iran, and its associated priesthood was persecuted and driven underground.

With the firm belief that Cumont was wrong, his negationists readily slide into biased and flawed arguments based on an erroneous Zoroastrian depiction of Mithra. Before investigating the Mithraic phenomenon, in what follows I have chosen to criticize, by way of example, the approaches taken by two of the most prominent champions of the autochthonous Roman Mithraism theory, namely David Ulansey and Roger Beck.

I.3 - The Ulansey Tale

In 1989 David Ulansey published *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries, Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World,* which in the then-prevailing anti-Iranian atmosphere was immediately hailed as a work that liberated the Roman Mysteries from Iranian influence, and relocated them squarely in the Hellenistic world. As a staunch follower of Gordon, he naturally began with the common attacks on Cumont's point of view, and went on to offer a tale that, as Italians would say, was *se none vero e ben trovato* (well-imagined, though not true).

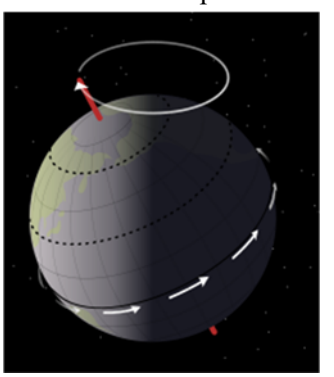

Fig. 7 - The Procession of the Equinoxes (wiki)

The lynchpin of his theory was a celestial phenomenon discovered by the Greek astronomer Hipparchus circa 126 BC, called the Precession of the Equinoxes, which describes the conical gyration of the Earth's daily rotational axis (Fig. 7). It's about a slow gyration that takes 25,920 years to complete a full cycle (!) and is not perceptible to the human eye. Nevertheless, Ulansey conceived the knowledge of this phenomenon as an important "secret" known to a hypothetical group of Stoics living in Tarsus some two centuries later, who must have attributed the shift in the Earth's axis to Perseus the god of their city. The latter, perceived as a most

[21] Originally, *mithra* meant covenant, and it has kept the same meaning in passages of the *Avesta* and later Pahlavi texts.

powerful god capable of changing the course of the universe, was then somehow equated with Mithra.[22]

The idea that immediately struck me after I began reading Ulansey's book was that he had probably never read the adventures of Tintin in Inca territory. For there is a scene in which Tintin is tied up to a post and ready to be sacrificed, and remembering that an eclipse had been predicted, he lifts his head toward the sun and commands it to disappear at the precise moment the eclipse was to occur.[23] When the sun went dark, and reappeared by the order of Tintin, the panic-stricken Incas prostrated themselves before the one whom they perceived as having sway over the Sun and the Heavens (Fig. 8).

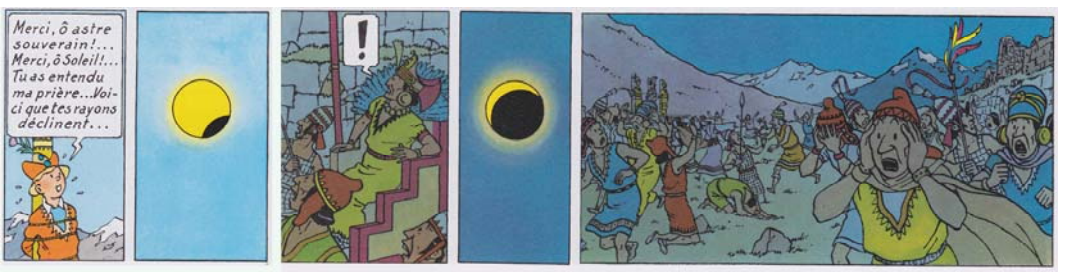

Fig. 8 - Tintin ordering the sun to disappear and reappear (Hergé 1949, *Temple du Soleil*, 58)

Unlike Tintin, Ulansey's Stoics, who presumably developed the Perseus-Mithra myth, do not claim to be in possession of an astral power by which they could punish or reward their followers. They simply claimed the knowledge of a "secret" that happened a long time ago and had no intrinsic value, because an astral phenomenon, imperceptible to the eye and incomprehensible to the average person, was neither a sellable nor attractive argument. If they were to act as apostles or priests, inviting people to worship this new god, they needed to claim powers akin to those ascribed to Jesus of Nazareth,[24] which they didn't.

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[22] Ulansey argues that the reason for equating the two deities was perhaps because, the Stoics found out that, prior to the Greco-Roman era, the last constellation in which the spring equinox occurred, was Taurus (the bull); and since the Constellation of Perseus is right above, it would have induced them to see it as Mithra (alias Perseus) killing the bull, because it symbolized the death of the Age of Taurus, now supplanted by the Age of Aries; Ulansey 1989, 82-83. But why would this be attractive to pirates and artisans alike?

[23] Hergé 1949, 58. I am indebted to Guiv Farmanfarmaian for the scan of these images.

[24] When Jesus's companions encountered a storm, they asked him to intervene, and he "rebuked the wind and the raging waters; the storm subsided, and all was calm," which prompted them to utter "Who is this? He commands even the winds and the water, and they obey him." (Luke 8:22-25).

Besides using a hodgepodge of arguments shuffled around by sleight of hand,[25] Ulansey tries to buttress his theory with the oft-quoted remark by Plutarch (c. 46-120) that in the year 67 BC, pirates who had more than a thousand sails and had captured more than four hundred cities, "offered strange rites of their own at Mount Olympus, and celebrated there, certain secret rites, among which those of Mithras continue to the present time, having been first instituted by them…"[26]

He uses the Plutarch story in two ways. First, since the date provided by Plutarch is the earliest evidence related to Mithras, the Mysteries must have started then and among this powerful group of pirates. Second, since the king of Pontus, Mithridates IV Eupator (r. 120-63BC), had used pirates in his wars against Rome, he argues that, in order to honor him, the pirates named their rites after Mithra rather than Perseus, because if Mithridates saw Perseus as his ancestor and his name meant Mithra-given (in Persian), then "it did not matter which of the two names was chosen."

Unfortunately, contrary to Beck's assessment that Ulansey's reconstruction "flows with great elegance,"[27] the latter's arguments are neither fluid nor solidly constructed. For there is obviously no proof that Mithraic activities did not exist prior to the year 67 BC. And it defies common sense to believe that pirates were the propagators of a cultic practice or doctrine that was embraced by such a wide variety of people, including the Roman military that were sent to annihilate these very pirates. Also, if the pirates wanted to give a name to their "secret rites" while honoring Mithridates, why didn't they simply adopt the name Mithridates? If they broke it in two, and kept the first part only, they were actually honoring Mithra, above Perseus, the all powerful god who could supposedly change the course of the universe. As for the assertion that Mithridates depicted Perseus on his coinage to claim descent from him, it is simply not true. The Greeks thought that Perseus, through his son *Perses*—whose name meant "Persian" in Greek—was the ancestor of the Persian kings, i.e. the Achaemenids,[28] and according to Diodorus of Sicily, the kings of Pontus traced their lineage to Cyrus the Great (r. 559 – 530 BC) on the one hand and Pharnakes, the ruler of Cappadocia, on the other, while, according to Justin (38.7), Mithridates descended from Cyrus and Darius on his father's side, and from Alexander the Great (r. 336-23 BC) and Seleucus Nikator (312-281BC) on his mother's

[25] Gordon berates Ulansey's claims, and states that his thesis "rests undeniably upon misunderstandings both of Hipparchus and of his ancient reception"; Gordon 2005, 6089; Swendlow (1991) too severely criticizes Ulansey's astronomical assumptions and extrapolations.
[26] Ulansey 1989, 40-41; Plutarch 2001, II:88.
[27] Beck 2006, 60.
[28] Roman & Roman 2010, 363.

side.[29] The Perseus on their coinage was basically chosen to bridge the gap between the Greek and Iranian worlds, because it was a Greek god with a Persian name.[30] Moreover, it is Gordon who delivers the fatal blow to Ulansey's theory by arguing that this cult—which remained in practice for a while on Mount Olympus—was actually Lycian and not Cilician. This obviously severs the imagined cultic affinity between the Cilician pirates and Mithridates.[31]

I.4 - Beck's "Star Talk" and his Universalist Approach

Seemingly tired of the controversies surrounding Mithraic studies, Beck proposes to start with a clean slate, and follows a synchronic approach rather than a diachronic one, because he believes that the uncertainties of the latter approach cannot be easily resolved and there is "not enough evidence" to reconstruct the path of Mithraism's historical evolution.[32] His synchronic approach rests on the analysis of the most manifest remnant of Mithraic Mysteries, i.e., the *mithraeum* itself. He conjectures that the iconography of this cave-like precinct is so spectacular that the message it conveys to the initiate must express the core belief of the Mysteries. The medium of the message is supposedly the astral imagery of the *mithraeum* (fig. 1), each station of which relied on the initiates' "store of knowledge" to facilitate the understanding of its symbolism.[33] He labels this imagery as "Star-Talk," and posits that "the primary star-talk meaning of Mithras killing the bull is the monthly conjunction of the Sun and Moon when the light of the former overwhelms the latter." The lunar eclipses were thus perceived as the Sun's victory over the Moon.[34] The *mithraeum*'s cave and astral imagery, he then concludes, provide an "intimate microcosm of the universe," isolated from the tangible world and one which is conducive to the actual mystical experience of "descent and return" of the soul, rather than just hearing about it.[35]

Although the *mithraeum* message is designated with the folksy "Star-Talk" label, a plethora of logico-technical terms, and allusions to scientific models and neuro-cognitive methods, are included to provide a scientific aspect to his arguments. And to add universality, he compares his model to the cosmogony adopted by the Chamulas Indians, who reside in the Chiapas region of Mexico. Their belief in the Sun as the force that

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[29] Briant 1996, 145; *www.attalus.org/translate/justin6.html#38.1*; also Badie 1991, 155.
[30] See for instance McGing 1986, p. 64.
[31] Gordon 2005, 6088.
[32] Beck 2006, 14.
[33] Beck 2006, 61.
[34] Beck 2006, 235
[35] Beck 2006, 145.

regulates their entangled universe, is used by Beck to highlight the inherent similarities of sun-cults. The sun-like orbit, which the officiating priests of the Chamulas follow in their rituals, is juxtaposed with the pattern that regulated the order of astral stations in the *mithraeum,* in order to emphasize how this processional order was essential to the comprehension of the Star-Talk. Also, the similarities between the list of ingredients—incense, candles, fireworks, etc—used in the Chamulas rituals as well as the Mysteries are proposed as necessary paraphernalia to "sanctify the actions" of the male-dominated hierarchy of their respective ceremony-officers, who all "engage in a mimesis of the Sun," presumably by replicating the Sun's movement.[36]

Fig. 9 - The Chichicastenango cathedral, Guatemala.

Counter examples can of course easily challenge this last claim, since many religions and cults, e.g. Buddhism, use the same ingredients for their ceremonies, without being a solar cult per se. As for the Chamulas, Beck rightly observes that their religion is a blend of "Christianity and Mayan sun cult," but focuses his attention on its Mayan aspects rather than exploring the intermingling of the two. I believe he would have been better served if he had delved into the Christian-Maya syncretism, such as the one that can be observed at the cathedral of Chichicastenango in neighboring Guatemala (Fig. 9).

The Chichicastenango cathedral has all the characteristics of a church, with a nave, and an apse with a standing cross. But it is built on an ancient Mayan holy site, and as you enter, you can see shamans performing their own rituals by chanting a non-Latin and incomprehensible hymn to the dead for clients who have lost a relative. White petals are spread on the ground, in the image of the Milky Way, in order to point the deceased to a

[36] Beck 2006, 74-81.

path to salvation. When the shaman looks to the right of the nave, he sees nine statuettes of saintly figures dressed in black and red that—for him—allude to the nine Mayan gods of the Underworld, and when he looks to the left he sees thirteen of them dressed in green and white, which recall the gods of the Heavens. A Christian who enters the cathedral, however, may see them as saints or bishops. Clearly, the "talk" that emanates from the statuettes depends on one's point of view. Some may perceive it as Mayan and others as Christian. Some, however, may see them as both.

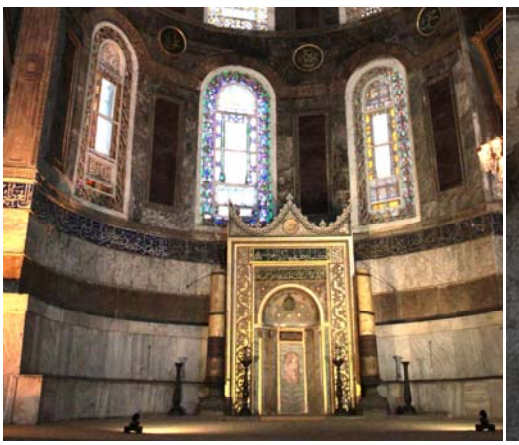

Fig. 10 - Aya Sofia *mihrāb* and Arabic inscriptions

Fig. 11 - Aya Sofia. Uncovered Byzantine mosaics

A better example, and closer to the epicenter of *mithraea*, is perhaps the Aya Sofia mosque of Istanbul. Its tall minarets, the prayer niche (*mihrāb*) oriented toward Mecca, the ablution bowls, the surface decoration, and the Islamic calligraphy, clearly establish the premises as a mosque (Fig. 10). In lieu of a Star-Talk, we have a "script-talk" in Arabic that displays Koranic verses on its walls, or the names of God, the Prophet Mohammad, and the Four Initial Caliphs. But if you scratch the surface you will find mosaic images of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and Byzantine emperors who had originally contributed to the erection—or restoration—of a monument that was conceived as a church named Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom) (Fig. 11). Obviously, the "image-talk" that one gets from these mosaics emphasizes the Christian past of the monument. But in the early twentieth century, the average visitor to Aya Sofia, whether literate or not, only saw the "script-talk," which vouched for its function as a mosque. The more curious people, those who like Cumont wanted to know what lay underneath, had layers removed to uncover the Christian mosaics. That is why, today, we have an "image-talk," side by side with the more prominent "script-talk," each telling a different story.

By the same token, the superficial astral decoration of the *mithraeum* may convey a symbolism that was superimposed on its original function, without fully explaining it. Beck suggests that the image of "Mithra slaying the Bull" was meant to show the triumph of the Sun over the Moon, with lunar or solar eclipses consolidating such a perception.[37] But here again, unlike the Tintin story, he cannot demonstrate by what means this brought added power to the Mysteries' hierarchy or made the initiates more docile and/or more dedicated to their cause. Surely, the average initiate to the Mysteries, whether pirate, military man or guild member, was neither acquainted enough with astrology to understand the astral imagery and its relational significance, nor literate enough to draw on the "antiquity's store of knowledge," as Beck proposes.

Fig. 12 - Guedra dancers in Goulimine (Web)

Fig. 13 - Qāderi dervishes in trance (Ph. K. Golestān)

Furthermore, the possibility that the *mithraeum* may have induced the "descent and return of the soul" is an interesting idea, but not one that could draw in pirates and military men alike. Said movement of the soul was neither Mithraic specific, nor was it exclusively induced by the *mithraeum* environment. The chant practices of the Qāderi dervishes in Iranian Kurdistan, as well as those of the Guedra dancers of Goulimine in southern Morocco, can push both of them into a state of trance in which they may experience the "descent and return" of their soul (Fig. 12). But, whereas the Qāderi dervishes are an avatar of Mithraic societies (Fig. 13), the Guedra dancers are not. And neither needs the *mithraeum* environment for their practice. What they need is chanting or rhythmic music to induce a cadenced movement of the head, with a guide to control the tempo of these

[37] Beck makes reference to a solar eclipse that occured on the 14th of Aug. 212 AD; Beck 2006, 234

movements, in order to let their minds flow in and out. One needn't understand Beck's neuro-scientific reasoning to see that this is not a solitary practice but a group act.[38]

Fig. 14 – The Lion Stele (web)

Fig. 15 – Reconstruction of Nemrud Dagh (web)

Finally, even though at first Beck chooses a synchronic approach for his study, he eventually comes back to a diachronic one, essentially for two reasons.[39] First is the fact that his Star-Talk construct is a theory that hovers in time and space, and needs to be anchored to a starting point to explain where, when, and why the phenomenon started. Beck also needs to give some explanation as to why many Iranian particularities and attributes penetrated the cultic practice that he wishes to portray as non-Iranian. By pinning down its starting point to the kingdom of Commagene in the first century BC, he tries to provide a solution to both problems and kill two birds with one stone; because, the ruling dynasty of Commagene was of mixed Helleno-Persian heritage, and the influx of the Iranian aspects of Roman Mithraism could be argued to have emanated from them without really being Iranian.[40] The lynchpin of his diachronic endeavor is the famous Nemrud Dagh monument of Antiochus I (r. 70-38 BC) that he calls the "Lion monument," which is a misnomer. The edifice was a sanctuary erected to the glory of Antiochus with colossal statues of gods as well as his presumed ancestors overlooking the sacrificial space next to his tomb, including statues of the Achaemenids Darius I (r. 522-486BC) and possibly Xerxes (r. 486 465BC). There is of course a Lion Stele (Fig. 14) with astrological symbols that pointed to a precise date corresponding to the year 62 BC. But as the reconstruction model of the site clearly shows (Fig. 15), this stele was a tiny element of the edifice, and its presence therein did not warrant calling the whole

[38] Beck 2006, 148.
[39] Beck 2006, 227.
[40] (Gordon 2005, 6089) on Beck: "The second scenario is that the cult emanated from the court of Commagene, which had both the requisite Irano-Hellenic culture and familiarity with astrological lore."

monument after its lion. In this site, where Antiochus's protectors cast such a large shadow, and he himself is portrayed next to deities whose names are given in both Greek and its Iranian equivalent—such as Mithra-Apollo—the Lion Stele provided a sophisticated medium to record the date of the edifice.[41] It was conceived in the way of literary conceits and chronograms that were only understandable to a learned king and the courtly elite, and not to the commoners. Therefore, Beck's assumption that the star-talk embedded in this plaque was the model by which later *mithraea* developed a Star-Talk for their initiates cannot be true, for, the former addressed the king and the elite, and the latter was for commoners. Furthermore, as Mithra is associated with Apollo in Nemrud Dagh, any impact of this monument on the subsequent development of Roman Mithraism would have resulted in the adoption of Apollo as the solar counterpart of Mithra, and not Helios. Finally, Antiochus emphasizes that he had the priesthood wear sumptuous "Persian robes" to perform rituals at his sanctuary, according to rituals established by his ancestors.[42] Why would he choose Persian robes if the rituals were not Persian in essence?

But Beck's arguments, like those of Ulansey, ultimately fail to address the fundamental questions about the *mithraeum*: What was it that attracted the elite as well as the commoner, pirates as well as military men? What bound them together? If it was good, why keep it a secret? And if it could not be revealed, how could it be effective? And what did initiation really mean? And how did Mithraic societies situate themselves *vis à vis* the rest of their society? What was their role in society, and what was their impact on the political scene?

I.5 - Brotherhood vs. Religion

My aim here is not to analyze or explain Roman Mithraism, but to use it as a mirror to explain the development of Iranian brotherhoods as avatars of Mithraic societies. I intend to show that these brotherhoods existed in Iran and migrated to Anatolia after the advent of the Achaemenids, and that they were driven underground by Darius, as a result of the monotheism that he advocated and the hatred he unleashed against the Mithraic magi.

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[41] O. Neugebauer and H.B. Van Hoesen have astutely construed the presence of the planet symbols of Mars, Mercury and Jupiter on the Lion plaque, together with the absence of Sun, Saturn and Venus, as a conjunction in Leo that could have only occurred in 62 BC; Beck 2006, 228. The lion stele was therefore a sophisticated dating device, and not a simple decorative element. See also Duchesne-Guillemin 1978, 195.

[42] Antiochus's inscription : " … the priest should don a Persian attire (*la tenue perse)* that we bestowed on him according to our ancestral customs"; (translated from Greek into French by G. Lambert) in *http://www.institutkurde.org/en/kurdorama/nemrud/nemrud.php*

At the 1975 conference on Mithraic Studies, M. Simon had aptly noted: "once initiated, a Roman didn't abandon any of his previous beliefs."[43] In other words, adhesion to a Mithraic society did not entail conversion to a new religion. One could remain a Christian or Zoroastrian even after initiation. Mithraic societies functioned as a brotherhood, membership to which required initiation rites and an oath, originally administered under the aegis of Mithra as the Lord of covenants. What survived through time were the brotherhood principles, hierarchy, initiation rites, and symbols, many of which were renamed or reinterpreted in order to conform to the prevailing politico-religious atmosphere. The non-dogmatic aspect of these brotherhoods proffered a chameleon-like quality that allowed them to constantly adapt to new situations, while keeping the more vulnerable practices hidden and cloaked in secrecy. We therefore do not have a description of the original Mithraic societies, and we need to reconstruct them in the way that philologists recreate a theoretical root for words, and mark that root with an asterisk. I shall do the same and denote the original/theoretical Mithraic society as *M-S. In my quest to understand the elusive *M-S, I shall use both a diachronic and synchronic approach, moving back and forth in time and space, in order to find tangible elements that can become stepping stones toward our understanding of this historical phenomenon. Essential to this understanding is the study of the formation of Zoroastrianism, its further development, and its antagonism toward older beliefs. Unfortunately, this matter too is fraught with controversies, and one needs to untangle present-day misconceptions one by one to get a better grasp of the evolution of events.

As Beck has emphasized,[44] the foremost test in the presentation of a theory is coherence. My hope is to present a coherent evolutionary pattern for the avatars of the *M-S, which not only explains their common characteristics but sheds light on the roles they played in shaping various historical events.

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[43] Simon 1978, 461.
[44] Beck 2006, 58.

CHAPTER II

ADAPTING OLD RITES TO NEW RELIGIONS

II.1- The Order of the Golden Fleece

In the year 1430, the Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (1397-1467) instituted the Order of the Golden Fleece, a knightly order that has survived today through two distinct branches—one presided by the Hapsburgs of Austria and the other by the Bourbons of Spain—each claiming to have inherited the mantle of the Duke Philip.

From its very inception, the Order of the Golden Fleece purported to be the guardian of the Christian faith, with a chancellor who had to be an ecclesiastic by statute, and its main seat located at the Sainte Chapelle (Holy Chapel) of Dijon.[45] And yet, this very Christian order used pagan emblems, and pursued rituals that clearly emanated from a non-Christian origin. There was of course the very emblem of the Golden Fleece that suggested a pagan origin (see further below), but a closer look into the gatherings—called *chapitres*—of the Order reveals much more, since many of their symbols and practices replicated those of the Mysteries.

II.2 - The *Mithraeum's* Organizational Space

Fig. 16 - Order of the Golden Fleece gathering in 1470

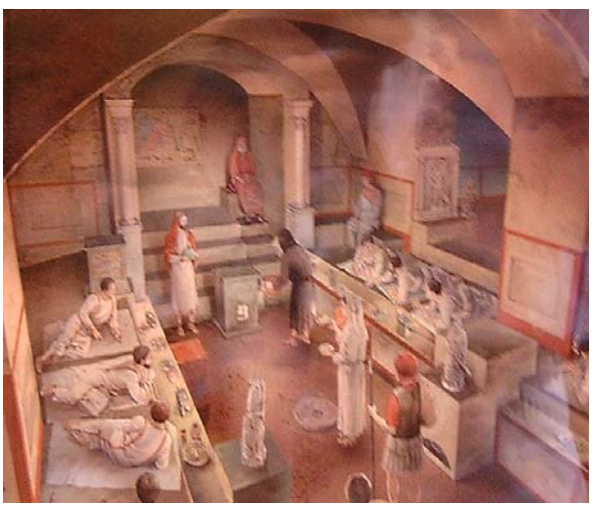

Fig. 17 - Crypta Balbi *mithraeum* reconstruction (Crypta Balbi)

[45] Paviot 1996; Soudavar 2008, 12-13.

A quick comparison of a manuscript illustration depicting the 1468 session presided by Philip's son Charles the Bold (1433-77), with a reconstructed image of the Crypta Balbi *mithraeum* in Rome (Figs. 16, 17), shows how much the former is indebted to the latter: a) The red cape and bonnet of the Order members recalls those of the Mithraic officials;[46] b) while in the Roman *mithraeum,* the *pater* presided by sitting on an elevated throne on the longitudinal axis of the room, the Sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece does the same; and c) while the *heliodromos*, or the second in command of the Mysteries, conducted the ceremonies, the second in command of the Order of the Golden Fleece, i.e., the chancellor—who was Bishop Guillaume Fillastre (1400-73) at the 1468 and 1473 sessions—was similarly in charge of the administrative seal of the Order and conducted its reunions.[47]

II.3 - Swearing by the Pheasant

More importantly, at the celebrated Banquet of the Pheasant that Philip the Good organized in view of recapturing Constantinople (after its fall to the Turks in 1453), the Duke and the knights of the Order had to swear, not by a cross or other Christian symbols, but by a pheasant whose neck was adorned with a "gold necklace with pearls." They vowed to take back Constantinople, which constituted the gateway to the Holy Lands. In the words of the master of ceremony who presented the pheasant to the Duke, it was an "old custom" of chivalry to make a vow by swearing over a "peacock or other noble bird."[48] The peacock and pheasant do not have deep-rooted Christian attributes, but their joint appearance on a 2nd-century Roman sarcophagus, along with the heads of Mithra and a sacrificial bull (Fig. 18), establishes a Mithraic antecedent for them. Moreover, the pearl necklace of the Burgundian pheasant evokes the three-pearl necklace of the auspicious pheasant Chamrosh (sec. IV.6), which frequently appears on Sasanian textiles as well as vessels (Figs. 19-20). It clearly links them to the Iranian world as well.

II.4 - The Three Pearls

As we shall explain (sec. IV.2), the three pearls of the bird Chamrosh symbolized the auspiciousness of the Iranian star-god Tishtrya, associated with the fixed star Sirius.

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[46] For the red cape and bonnet of Mithraic orders see Pirouzdjou 1995, 220.
[47] De Gruben 1996, 80-81.
[48] "Toison-d'Or, roy d'armes, lequel portoit en ses mains un phaisant en vie, orné d'un riche collier d'or, garny de pierres fines et de perles ; … ledit Toison-d'Or parla à icelui duc en ceste manière : « … et pour ce que c'est la coutume qui a esté anciennement instituée, après grandes festes et nobles assemblées, on présente aux princes et seigneurs et aux nobles hommes le paon ou quelque autre noble oiseau pour faire des vœux utiles et valables,»" de la Marche 1883-88, II : 340-380; de Coussy 1826, XI : 83-185.

Fig. 18 - Sarcophagus with Mithraic head, pheasant, peacock, and bull. Roman 2nd century, Trablos. Istanbul Archeological Museum

Fig. 19 - Pheasant bird with pearl necklace. 5th century. EMS coll.

Fig. 20 - Sasanian silver jug. 6th century. MFA Boston

Fig. 21 - Hilt of Charles the Bold gifted by his daughter to Maximilian. Kunstkammer, Vienna.

Fig. 22 - Dervish with triple burn marks. 17th century Safavid Iran. British Museum.

Fig. 23 - Anāhitā with triple-pearl ornaments. Bandyān.

Figs. 24 a, b - (a) Goblet of Mary of Burgundy with heraldic emblems and triple pearls, (b) Cross of the Order of the Golden Fleece with triple pearls. Kunstkammer. Vienna.

Tishtrya was seen not as one star but a triplet of luminous stars perceived to be responsible for the distribution of water on earth. It was thus a symbol of nighttime, light, and water, all at once. The three-pearl symbol admirably reflected all of these aspects. As such, it often adorned the robes of the Sasanian goddess of waters, Anāhitā (Fig. 23); but it also appeared as three dots on Sasanian coinage (see sec. X.9). As three pearls it became a heraldic symbol in the Order of the Golden Fleece, especially after the marriage of Charles the Bold's only daughter, Mary (1457-82), with Maximilian of Habsburg (r. 1493-1519). Initially, it appeared on the cross that the members of the order were sworn in upon (Fig. 24b); but was later set on gifts that Mary gave to Maximilian, on the hilt of her father's sword (Fig. 21), and on an ornate goblet (Fig. 24a).[49] On Charles's sword, the three pearls are juxtaposed with the Flaming Flint Stone emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and on the goblet, they figure among a series of emblematic symbols that include the Flaming Flint Stone, the Fleur de Lys that Mary had inherited from her mother,[50] and more importantly, the knotted letters M & A which symbolized the union of Mary and Maximilian, both of whose names started with these two letters.[51] But as three dots, the same emblem survived in dervish orders of Iran (Fig. 22), as well as in Freemasonry (Fig. 25).

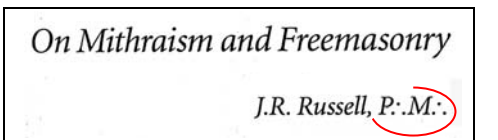

Fig. 25 - J. R. Russell signing his name with the three-dot Masonic emblem (Russell 1995)

Curiously, a two-legged *ankh* symbol, which, in Iran, represented Apam Napāt or the original Iranian god of waters (see sec. X.9), appears on Mary and Maximilian's seal of Fig. 27.[52] One may therefore question if this peculiar symbol of Apam Napāt, who as Lord of the Night had taken Tishtrya under his wings and given him his brightness, had not preceded the three pearls as an auspicious and aquatic symbol of chivalry. The

[49] Soudavar 2009b, 161-63.
[50] Soudavar 2008, xiv-xv.
[51] There was a Burgundian tradition to create a two-letter knotted symbol after each matrimonial alliance. Thus the marriage of Charles the Bold with Margaret of York resulted in a C&M symbol, and that of Mary and Maximilian's son Philip the Fair with Johanna the Mad in a P&J. The knotted letters of the goblet, although similar to those used by Philip the Good, are nevertheless different for they are in the shape of two super imposed M&A, while those of Philip are stylized and project the union of Philip with Isabella of Portugal, as well as the mythical union of Jason and Medea; Soudavar 2009b, 163-64. A medal of Mary of Burgundy at the MMA (no. 25.142.37) shows a pair of unknotted but intertwined "M" letters that also bear the illusion of two "A"s; see also Van den Bergen-Pantens 1996, 170.
[52] René Laurent, however, recognizes the sign on Maximillian's seal as the engraver's signature symbol; Laurent 1996, 27. But, considering that it appears with other heraldic symbols such as the *briquet*, it must have heraldic value as well. See also note 671 infra in sec. XIV.2.

presence of another symbol of Apam Napāt in Mithraic tauroctony scenes may indeed provide added support for such a supposition (Fig. 57). These symbols, whether as three pearls, three dots, or a two-legged *ankh* sign, stood for the aquatic and night aspects of a duality that was at the core of Mithraic symbolism.

II.5 - The Sun Symbol

Mithraism was based on an inherent duality that usually manifested itself as sun and moon, day and night, or fire and water, and is expounded in the opening verses of an oath found on a papyrus fragment that Frantz Cumont had deciphered:

In the name of God, who has separated *Earth* from *Heaven*
Light from *darkness*, the *day* from the *night*,
The *cosmos* from *chaos*, *life* from *death*
And *generation* from *corruption*, I swear
Indeed and in sincere good faith to preserve
As secrets the mysteries transmitted to me
By the most worshipful Father Sarapion…[53]

Figs. 26 a, b - Mithraic signet with solar emblems, and a bezel with winged bull referring to the sacrificial bull of tauroctony. Late Hellenistic or Roman period, EMS Collection.

This duality is also reflected on the signet of a senior official of the Mysteries (Fig. 26), most probably the *pater* whose set of symbols generally included a staff and a ring (Fig. 30). On the bezel of the signet is carved a winged bull alluding to the sacrificial bull of tauroctony (Fig. 26b); and on each side of its gold ring is incorporated a radiating sun, surrounded by triple gold granules set as filigree triangles. One triangle is placed between the muzzle and front paws of each of the running dogs on the sides of the ring (Fig. 64). Clearly, the latter combination alludes to the tri-star grouping that included Tishtrya as the Dog Star Sirius of Canis Major, also referred to as Canicula (see sec. IV.2). When its

[53] Russell 1995, 271.

rise in the sky occurred near sunrise, it was believed to fortify the heat of the Sun and produce the—hot—dog days of summer. Thus, by juxtaposing a symbol of Tishtrya next to a sun emblem, there was a clear reference to the luminous symbols of night and day, and a reminder of the duality on which Mithraic orders were based. Nevertheless, the sun symbol is the more prominent one in this duality, and it is the sun symbol that knightly orders mostly favored, as exemplified by the one that adorns the chest of a 15th-century knight-master wearing a Mithraic bonnet in Fig. 28.

II.6 - The Flaming Flint Stone

No wonder then that the most important emblem that adorns the necklace of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Fig. 29), as well as crowns and other Burgundian paraphernalia, was a sparkling flint stone, which evoked the Mithraic symbol of the sun (Fig. 31). Moreover, the transformation of the sparks emanating from the flint stone—from straight rays into curved flames—was a reminder of the prominence of the fire altar at the heart of the *mithraeum*.[54] It also reflected the motto, *Ante ferit quam flamma micet* (It strikes before it sparks flames) that Duke Philip adopted in 1421, in conjunction with a flint stone and fire steel (with a B-shaped metal handle) that he chose as his personal emblem. It was named *briquet* and, in due course, became the perpetual emblem of the house of Burgundy (Fig. 29).[55]

Philip the Good, however, adopted a new motto at the time he established the Order of the Golden Fleece: *Aultre Naray* (I shall have no other). There has been much discussion on the meaning of this motto, some even suggesting that it was a vow of fidelity to his new wife, Isabella of Portugal (1397-1471). But considering that Philip had some 30 mistresses and 17 bastards,[56] it is hard to imagine that it was meant to be a marital vow of fidelity, especially since it was incorporated in the decorative programs of princely Burgundian manuscripts as an emblem of the duchy (Fig. 32). Because similar pledges were pronounced by the initiates of the Iranian avatars of Mithraic societies,[57] it stands to reason that Philip's motto reflected an oath of allegiance to his Order, or to the person who entrusted him with the secrets of such an order. His motto becomes even more

[54] According to article III of the Statutes of the Order, the flint-stone had to throw "flaming sparks" (*étincelles ardentes*), Pastoureau 1996, 102.
[55] Paviot 2000, xix; Pastoureau 1996, 104.
[56] Calmette 1949, 179; Bourassin 1963 (47) mentions only 24 mistresses and 16 bastards. Lemaire 1996 (84) doesn't believe that the *Aultre Naray* motto—which was at times completed by *tant que je viveray* (as long as I'm alive)—was a gage of marital fidelity either.
[57] In some *fotovvat-nāmeh*s for instance, the initiate is required to avow his total dedication (*erādat*), and disavow (*towbeh*) his past behavior; Afshāri 2003, 172-74.

pertinent when we see that in the Germanic Copiale document that has recently been deciphered, the initiate to an order—which has all the trappings of Freemasonry—is asked to forgo his previous affiliations and take an oath not to join any other secret society or fraternity (see Appendix I) .

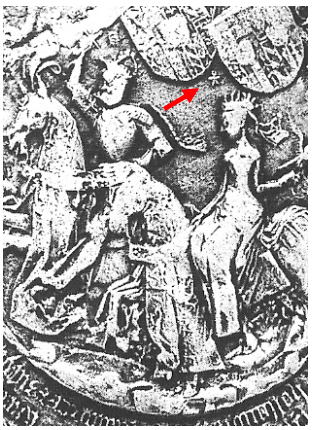

Fig. 27- Caricature of Apam Napāt (↑) on Maximilian's seal[58]

Fig. 28 - Knight master with solar emblem (↑) awarding knighthood (Meuleau 2010, 6)

Fig. 29 - Order of the Golden Fleece necklace. Kunstkammer, Vienna.

Fig. 30 - Emblems of the pater with signet, staff and bonnet. Ostia *mithraeum* (Web)

Fig. 31 - Detail of Burgundian crown with a flaming sunburst. Dijon Museum.

Fig. 32 - Philip the Good's Coat of Arms and motto "Aultre Naray". Photo: King's College, Cambridge.

II.7 - Artisanal Emblems and Christian Saints

The Duke Philip chose the *briquet* as his personal emblem, while his father Jean Sans Peur (John the Fearless, 1371-1419) had previously chosen a planer (Fig. 33a). It is rather odd for a princely house to adopt, as heraldic emblems, artisanal tools used by blacksmiths and carpenters. But judging by the Iranian avatars of Mithraic societies whose members were mostly artisans, and Western brotherhoods such as Freemasonry that originated in the milieu of stone cutters and cathedral builders, one is led to believe

[58] Laurent 1996, 27.

that these Burgundian symbols established an affiliation with a brotherhood of similar artisanal origin.

Figs. 33 a, b, c - Planer and level emblems of Jean Sans Peur, and headgear ornament. Tour Jean Sans Peur, Paris.

Even though the planer adorned Jean Sans Peur's throne and clothing, another artisanal tool, the leveler—which is essentially a mason's tool—figured prominently in the tower and residence he built in Paris in order to project his status as protector of France (Fig. 33b). Interestingly, both of these tools appear in a miniature of Jean Sans Peur's personal prayer book in which a crucified St Andrew is set against a background of levelers and planers (Fig. 33). It begs the question: What do these tools have to do with the saint, and what is the reason behind Jean Sans Peur's decision to adopt the Cross of St Andrew as one of the official emblems of Burgundy?

The example of later Iranian brotherhoods, which, in order to gain legitimacy, introduced Islamic saints into their past hierarchy (see sec. V.8), may suggest that Jean Sans Peur adhered to a sort of Masonic order that lacked Christian legitimacy, and brought St Andrew into the equation to gain religious respectability. The mason's leveler was perhaps his initial choice for an emblem, but the planer was then added to provide a linkage with the saint. Indeed, the Burgundian X-shaped Cross of St Andrew, rather than consisting of two regular planks used for the execution of the saint as in Fig. 34, consisted of two X-shaped tree trunks with visible remnants of cut branches (Fig. 35). The knotted tree trunks of the cross, in lieu of planks, were to link it to the planer whose function was to level out wooden surfaces.[59] The knotted tree trunks were then

[59] Since the emblem of the Duke d'Orléans (d. 1408) was a stick, legend says that his archenemy, Jean Sans Peur, adopted the planer so that it would shave away his opponent's emblem. In 1405, shortly after his accession to the ducal throne, and before the quarrel with the Duke of Orleans flared up, Jean Sans Peur had already struck silver coins with the arms of Burgundy on the obverse, and the planer in between two tree-trunks (similar to the cross of St Andrew) on the reverse; Chaumont 1887, 18. Also, this story does not

incorporated into the architecture of the spiral staircase that Jean Sans Peur created in his Parisian tower, since at the very top of the staircase, the central pillar turns into a bunch of knotted tree trunks from which more branches grow anew (Fig. 34). As the only architectural decorative element of the staircase, it uses the metaphor of St Andrew's tree trunks, to show how a masonry base transitioned into a thriving brotherhood of branches.[60] More generally, the Duke seems to have used Masonic symbols in a tongue-in-cheek manner, for besides trying to obscure the Masonic origin of his leveler, he also tucked a number of three-pearl elements under the larger and dominant pearl ornaments of one of his medallion (Fig. 33c).

Fig. 34 - St Andrew over a background of planers and levels. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Fig. 35 - Staircase twisting stone pillar with knotted branches. Tour Jean Sans Peur.

Fig. 36 - Knotted cross of St Andrew and Golden Fleece necklace, on Spain's royal coat of arms (wiki)

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explain the presence of the leveler so tightly linked to the planer. On the other hand, it is probable that Jean Sans Peur's motto (*Je le tiens*) was formulated in response to his rival's motto (*Je l'ennuis*).

[60] The knotted protrusions still appear on the X-shaped cross of the royal House of Spain (Fig. 36), which also incorporates the necklace of the Order of the Golden Fleece with its fire steels. They are both part of the Burgundian heritage of Spain that honor manual labor. Like the Masonic apron that was considered to be a "badge of honorable labor," (*masonicworld.com/education/files/artoct02/apron.htm*) the planer, the leveler and the cross of St Andrew may have represented the dual concept *laborare* and *orare* (work and prayer), a motto that 16th-century alchemists espoused (see Lemaire 1996, 85). Interestingly, a motto of uncertain origins that the Order of the Golden Fleece also used, *Pretium non vile laborum* (This is the non-vile price of labor), emphasized once again manual labor; *idem*. As we shall see, dervish orders too valued manual labor.

Another avatar of Mithraic societies, the Coquillards, were also active in Europe at the same time, especially in Burgundy (see sec. XIV.13). With their sheepskin, pouch, knife, wine gourd and leather shoes (Fig. 37), they had all the trappings that we shall recognize for their Persian counterparts, namely the *`ayyār*s and *shāter*s (Fig. 92). Whereas Jean Sans Peur adopted St Andrew as their patron saint, the Coquillards must have opted for St James of Compostela, and by marking the pilgrimage road to his supposed tomb with their sign (Fig. 342), they seem to have transferred their shell symbol to him (see sec. XIV.13).

Fig. 37 - Coquillard with sheepskin, pouch, gourde and *knife* (Mediavilla 2006, 23)[61]

Be that as it may, the Masonic sympathies of Jean Sans Peur, and the loyalty that his entourage displayed in the direst moments of his political life when he risked banishment from the French Court,[62] must have inspired his son Philip to create a more elaborate brotherhood that would bring together different warlords under his patronage.

II.8 - Sanitizing Pagan Elements

At the 1468 *chapitre* held in Bruges, certain knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece were expulsed for the sin of practicing "magic."[63] The gathering was the first one presided by Charles the Bold after the death of his father. Charles who was brought up under the influence of his very pious mother, the Duchess Isabella of Portugal, could not accept practices that perhaps his less god-fearing father tolerated. The sources do not describe the nature of the "magic" practices but, given that the word magic itself is derived from the name "magus" that referred to ancient Iranian priests, we can very well imagine that they too reflected some ancient pagan and most probably Mithraic rituals.

While non-Christian symbols and practices could gradually be abolished, there was one—an onerous one—that could not be discarded, i.e., the very name and symbol of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The reason for adopting it is not described in the statutes of

[61] This Coquillard is depicted next to the papyrus shop of Pietro Villola, circa 1351 (Bologna ms BUB1456).
[62] His entourage stood by Jean Sans Peur after he had the king's brother assassinated, and was being harassed by the French Court; Schnerb 2005, 235.
[63] The most important member to be excluded, for the sin of practicing magic (sorcellerie), was the Count of Estampes; Richard 1996, 69, see also Marti et als. 2009, 186.

the Order.[64] Whatever Philip's inspiration was in this regard, the Iliad's mythical story of Jason and the Argonauts pursuing the Golden Fleece—of a ram—in the distant land of Colchis gave an undeniable pagan flavor to it. It's therefore not surprising that as early as 1431, its first chancellor, the bishop Jean Germain (d. 1460), who saw a contradiction in representing a Christian order with a pagan emblem, sought to find a biblical interpretation for it. He did what a man of the Book would do: Try to find a fitting story in the Bible to justify the awkward situation at hand. He thus found a lamb in the story of Gideon from the Book of Judges, and proposed its fleece to be the true or hidden origin of the Order's symbol. Later on, Bishop Guillaume Fillastre, who succeeded him as chancellor, added four more biblical interpretations, but had to keep the Greek myth, since none of the fleeces in the biblical stories were golden, nor did any of them relate to a ram. But being more astute than his predecessor, Fillastre attached a virtue to each interpretation: Jason's fleece (of the Iliad) stood for magnanimity; that of Jacob (Genesis 30:40), for justice; that of Gideon (Judges 6:36-40), for prudence; that of Mesha (2 Kings 3:4), for fidelity; that of Job (Job 31:20), for patience; and that of David (2 Samuel 24:17), for clemency.[65] He thus created an all encompassing symbolism for the Golden Fleece that was fully wrapped in Christian virtues. It's a justification process that we shall see time and again on the Iranian side, regarding the practice of sanitizing Mithraic symbols that lingered on in brotherhoods. Among these, the sheepskin was the most important and an enduring symbol; it alluded to the central Mithraic theme of tauroctony and had to be redefined with changing religious environments.

Figs. 38 a, b - A pair of Hellenistic gilt silver bowls with a golden ram, and a pheasant carrying a pearl necklace

[64] Paviot 2000, xviii.
[65] Beltran and Prietzel 1996, 124; Lemaire 1996, 87-88. Gideon had one thing in common with Philip the Good and that was his lust for women: He had 70 children from multiple wives plus one from a concubine. Philip was no less active, see note 56 supra.

From the time when the Mithra-loving emperor Julian II ("the Apostate," r. 361–63) opted to worship Mithra, Mithraism had been perceived as the main rival to Christianity (see sec. XIV.8). Therefore, no Christian order could be tainted with Mithraism, and a Greek veneer would have served to dispel such a possibility. We may then think that the "Golden Fleece" appellation was an attempt to blur the sheepskin's Mithraic origin. But, for the sin of deceiving Medea with his infidelities, and ultimately for being responsible for the destruction of Troy, the Iliad's Jason had acquired a negative image in early French literature.[66] It therefore seems rather odd for a French chivalry order that emphasized loyalty to adopt Jason as its role model. Thus, the Hellenization of the myth must have occurred at an earlier date.

After Alexander's conquest, the Iranian world gradually became Hellenized, to the extent that Greek became the official script on coinage, and some Arsacid rulers even qualified themselves as "philhellene." More relevant is perhaps the anecdote that when the head of the defeated Roman general Crassus (ca. 115 BC - 53 BC) was brought to the Arsacid King Orodes (r. 57-38 BC), the latter was enjoying a performance of Euripides's Bacchae in Greek (Plutarch, *Crassus,* 33). One can well imagine that, in such an atmosphere, the Hellenization of the Mithraic myth may have taken place in Hellenistic Iran or Anatolia, especially since two bowls from this period, depict the very animals that the Order of the Golden Fleece held in esteem, namely, the golden ram and the pheasant with a pearl necklace (Figs. 38a, b). While the Iliad's story of Jason revolved around the golden fleece of a ram—an animal often considered as both "royal and solar"—it also had another solar component, since the king of Colchis, Aeetes, was purported to be the son of Helios.[67] It thus offered a suitable substitute for symbols and practices that related to the tauroctony of the sun god Mithra, at a time when the Zoroastrian clergy was trying to deemphasize the prominence of Mithra in the Iranian pantheon of gods (see sec. XI.20).

In any case, the enduring presence of a bovine's skin, whether as the emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece or as leather in the apron of the Freemasons, provides us with a good thread to follow in our quest to define the hypothetical *M-S, especially since they all seem to be interconnected, and the memory of one is embedded in the other, as the Freemasons, for instance, invoke the Golden Fleece in their sermons.[68]

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[66] This negative image was implanted as early as 1165; Queruel 1996, 91-98.
[67] Lemaire 1996, 86. The king's name, Aeetes, may have originally derived from the Iranian name *ātash* (fire). For the solar and royal significance of the ram in Iranian iconography, see Soudavar 2003, 19-25.
[68] See note 723 infra.

CHAPTER III

FOLLOWING THE SKIN

III.1 - The Louvre Stele

A most intriguing double-sided stele at the Louvre has a tauroctony scene on the front (Fig. 39 a) and a banquet scene on the back, in which, following the Roman manner, Helios and Mithra are seated in a reclining position on a couch covered by a bovine skin (Fig. 39 b). Two other characters, perhaps the ubiquitous pair Cautes and Cautopates, are present at the banquet scene, one advancing with a wine rhyton toward Helios, and the other, bringing fire to the fire-altar. Remnants of color pigments attest that both once wore a red Phrygian bonnet and a red cape.

Figs. 39 a, b -. (a) Tauroctony scene watched by the sun and moon from outside the cave . (b) Mithra and Helios seated on a bull skin inside the *mithraeum*. Back and front of a Mithraic stele. Louvre.

While in most Mithraic rock-reliefs the Sun and the Moon appear on the top corners, only the moon appears in Fig. 39 b, since Helios, as the personification of the sun, is invited to Mithra's banquet and sits next to him. As Robert Turcan suggests, it's as if Mithra and Helios are presiding over a solemn ceremony, such as initiation rites, to remind the initiates that their oaths were witnessed by two deities, who were perhaps personified in

the *mithraeum* by its two highest officers, the *pater* and the *heliodromos*.[69] Owing to the secretive nature of the Mysteries, we do not have a written account to verify this hypothesis. However, a story recounted by the historian Ebn-e Nadim (932-990), about the election of Bābak (d. 838) as the head of the Khorramdiniyyeh congregation, marvelously reflects the banquet scene on this stele and provides some insights into its overall composition. The relevance of the story was first pointed out by E. Wright in 1948, was taken up by G. Widengren in 1978 and further elaborated upon by H. Pirouzdjou in 1997, but was nonetheless pushed aside and neglected by Cumont negationists; perhaps because they were only "Iranists" as Gordon has labeled them.[70]

III.2 - The Enthronement of Bābak

Ebn-e Nadim recounts that upon the death of the Khorramdiniyyeh leader Jāvidān, his wife took the hand of Bābak and presented him as the chosen successor and the new leader of their congregation, and she:

> "revealed to them that Jāvidān had said that he had wished to die on that night so that his soul would leave his body and seek *unison* with that of Bābak, in order for him to accomplish for you and himself what nobody achieved before him, and what no one shall achieve after him; he shall conquer the world, kill the tyrants and shall restore the religion of Mazdak."

Once that was explained to the congregation members, they each repeated their motto "my only Word is my oath to you,"[71] and declared their allegiance to Bābak, at which time (1) Jāvidān's wife orders a bovine animal to be brought forward and slain; (2) it is then flayed and its skin set on the ground; (3) a bowl of wine and a loaf of bread cut in small pieces is then placed on the skin, after which (4) she asks the members to approach one by one, stand over the skin, take a piece of bread, dip it into the wine and eat it; and declare: "O spirit of Bābak, I believe in you as I believed in the spirit of Jāvidān"; (5) they then take the hand of Bābak and kiss it; (6) she then sits with Bābak on the skin; (7) she offers him a spray of basil and becomes his wife as the congregation extols their marriage and once again declares its full allegiance to the couple. Ebn-e Nadim further

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[69] Turcan 2000, 68.

[70] Pirouzdjou 1997, 215-17. Widengren uses for comparison a similar stele from Konjic in present day Bosnia and Herzegovina; *idem*. Another similar composition from Troyes in Italy is reproduced in Vermaseren 1956, fig. 217.

[71] Ebn al Nadim 1872, 344: فقالوا لها: " قولی ما عهد الیک "

qualifies the Khorramdiniyyeh as the *mohammara* or the red-clothed ones, and an offshoot of the Mazdakites, many of whom also wore red and had red banners (8).[72]

The above-described ceremony provides a host of useful information for our study, the most important of which is an actual account of bull slaying similar to tauroctony (1). Despite a multitude of tauroctony scenes, we do not have such a vivid account of bull-slaying for the Mysteries. This obviously negates the myth that tauroctony was solely a Roman practice and never existed in Iran. The fact that members of the congregation had to come, one by one, over to the skin and had to taste the bread and wine (3), recalls on the one hand, the left figure of the Louvre stele offering wine before the skin-throw, and on the other, the Eucharist that Justin thought was a practice that the Mysteries had copied from the Christians (see sec. XIV.8). The fact that the Khorramdiniyyeh wore red obviously ties in well with the red garments of this stele, as well as other *mithraea* (8). As for the members of the congregation finalizing their pledges of loyalty by taking the hand of Bābak, it recalls the final right-hand shake of the Mystery initiate called *dexiosis,* which Diodorus of Sicily and Xenophon described as a gesture that Persians used to seal a covenant. [73] What the Ebn-e Nadim narrative suggests is that the bovine-skin on which the couple sat had the actual function of a throne (6), which Pirouzdjou rightly connected to the *pust-takht* (skin-throne) of Persian dervishes, especially the *qalandar*s.[74]

A 17th-century miniature depicts the initiation of a *qalandar* before his master who is seated on a sheepskin (Fig. 40). The *qalandar*'s initiation process required eating a piece of bread sprinkled with salt, and drinking water from a bowl offered by his master.[75] The miniature reflects what the texts describe. The initiate is taking salt and bread from a small tablecloth laid on the ground, and an elongated blue vessel is set next to his master's sheepskin, presumably containing water. But as A.S. Melikian-Chirvani has demonstrated in his admirable series of studies that he qualifies as *archéologie en terrain littéraire*, these types of elongated vessels are in fact wine bowls called *kashti* (boat) in Persian literature. By digging further in the literary terrain, he also uncovers ample evidence that the wine itself was perceived as a substitute for the blood of the sacrificial bull—hence the multitude of *rhyta* and ewers in the shape of a bull (Fig. 41)—and that

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[72] Ebn an-Nadim 1872, 343-44; Yusofi 1988.
[73] Diodorus (XVI, 43): "the King, hearing what he said, again changed his mind and recalling the attendants directed them to release Thettalion, and then he gave him his right hand, *which is the surest pledge amongst the Persians*;" Xenophon mentions in his *Annabasis* (I:6.7 and II:5.3) that Iranians used the right hand shake to seal a pledge.
[74] Pirouzdjou 1997, 221. The *qalandar*s were wandering, semi-naked and disheveled ascetics.
[75] Afshāri & Mir`ābedini 1995, 22-23; Mahjoub 2000, 54-55.

wine drinking was always associated with the practice of "Magians" or ancient Iranian priests.[76] We thus see a substitution process: First from blood to wine that was brought about by the advent of Zoroastrianism (see sec. XVI.3) and next, from wine to water, which was exacerbated by Islam's forbiddance of alcoholic beverages.

Fig. 40 – Master dervish and initiate. School of Esfahan, 17th century. (Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva)

Fig. 41 – Bronze ewer. Khorāsān, 12th century. Private coll.

The young *qalandar* also wears two signs than can be traced back to an ancient—Mithraic—past. First is a bonnet that is an avatar of Mithra's Phrygian bonnet, variations of which we shall see more of in the Iranian avatars of Mithraic societies; and second, a three-dotted tattoo or burn mark that we shall explain to be a symbol of Tishtrya (see sec. IV.2). It's the same symbol that, as we previously noticed, appears on a Roman Mithraic ring, and on objects pertaining to the Order of the Golden Fleece. It also appears in the heading of an article on Freemasonry by James Russell, who avows to be a Freemason himself, and signs his name flanked by the three dots (Fig. 25).

While Moslem dervishes had to sanitize their ceremonial drink by simply substituting water for wine, the sanitization process of the sheepskin proved to be even easier: It was simply called *sajjādeh* or prayer rug. Nevertheless, as the below story demonstrates, the *sajjādeh* of the ruler had the symbolic function of a throne in dervish orders.

[76] Melikian-Chirvani 1990a, and Melikian-Chirvani 1992.

III.3 - The *Sajjādeh* as Symbol of Sufi Orders' Succession Rights

One of the greatest dynasties of Iran, the Safavids (r. 1501-1722), sprang from a splinter dervish order named after its eponymous founder, Shaykh Safi-od-din of Ardabil (1252–1334). As a youth, Safi-od-din had joined the ranks of the most powerful dervish order of its time, the Zāhediyyeh, which was headed by one Shaykh Zāhed from Gilān (1216-1301), a Sufi saint very much respected by the Mongol rulers of Iran, especially Ghāzān Khān (r. 1295-1304). As later Safavid chroniclers report, the succession of Shaykh Zāhed went to Safi-od-din who had married the *shaykh*'s daughter. This provided the Safavids with a justification to take over all the properties previously endowed to the Zāhediyyeh. A closer look at these chronicles, however, reveals that the succession stories are flawed and were fabricated at a later date. The document that really sheds light on the issue is an edict decreed by the last of the great Mongol rulers of Iran, Abu-Sa`id Bahādor Khān (r.1317-35), who intervened in the succession disputes that erupted among the progenies of Shaykh Zāhed, after the demise of his true successor, his son Jamāl-od-din `Ali. The Safavids, who had meticulously eradicated all documents pertaining to the succession of Shaykh Zāhed, had overlooked this edict for the simple reason that it was written in Uyghur and nobody could read it by the time they rose to power. In this edict, the successor is defined as the one who "inherited the *sajjādeh* of Shaykh Zāhed." In other words, the *sajjādeh* was really considered as the order leader's throne, and the document shows that the succession of Shaykh Zāhed actually went to his son, and not to his son-in-law, Safi-od-din.[77]

A number of documents pertaining to dervish orders, called *fotovvat-nāmeh,* provide information about the questions and answers incorporated in the initiation process of their members, called *fatā*s. Within that context, when the initiate is asked: "What is the *sajjādeh*?" the initiate must answer: "It's actually the *pust-takht*."[78] In other words, they understood that the *pust-takht* of old had been conveniently presented as an instrument of Islamic prayer. This, however, may not have been sufficient to Islamicize the ubiquitous sheepskin, which was part of the paraphernalia of dervishes, and of different guilds such as the cooks.[79] And that's why a number of quotes in praise of the *pust-takht* were fabricated and attributed to saintly figures, such as the 6th Shiite Imam, Ja`far as-Sādeq (702–765), who was a renowned Islamic jurist.[80] In addition, as we shall next explain, the

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[77] Soudavar 2006a, 235; Cleaves 1953, 67.
[78] Afshāri 2003, 179. Another text explains that "sitting on the *pust takht*" is like "sitting on the *sajjādeh*"; `Abd-or-rahim 1672, p. 94. بدانکه پوست تخته نشستن کنایه از سجّاده نشستن است
[79] Afshāri 2003, 65.
[80] Afshāri & `Ābedini 1995, 149

sheepskin was associated with Abraham who thus became one of the most revered figures of Iranian brotherhoods.

III.4 - The Stature of Abraham

Abraham, whom the *fotovvat-nāmeh*s refer to as *Abol-fetyān* (father of all *fatā*s), is often described as "the first point in the circle of *fotovvat.*"[81] The Arabic term *fotovvat* is a generic term that has been used to qualify a variety of brotherhoods that are Islamic in appearance: They profess to be Moslems; they invoke Koranic verses in their ceremonies, and revere Abraham as well as the Prophet Mohammad, the Imam `Ali, and a host of other Moslem saints. And yet, as in the case of the Order of the Golden Fleece, their rituals and symbols betray a tradition that goes back to pre-Islamic times. For instance, the short pants, *servāl* (pl. *sarāvil*), that the Caliph An-Nāser (caliph: 1160-1225) famously donned at his *fotovvat* initiation rites in Bagdad, couldn't have come from an Arab tradition, because Arabs did not wear trousers, but Iranians did; and the word *servāl* itself is the Arabicized version of the Persian *shalvār* (pants).[82]

Despite the secretive nature of these orders, a multitude of *fotovvat-nāmeh*s were prepared, primarily as initiation manuals describing the question and answer sequence in a process that very much reflected those of the Roman Mysteries.[83] Over time, the question and answer lists had grown so extensive that no one could memorize them, and the manuals served as aide memoires. But to put them in writing would inevitably invite scrutiny by religious zealots; their authors, therefore, tried to couch every procedure and odd phenomenon in Islamic garb.

As a result, the *fotovvat-nāmeh*s do not reflect the true history of these brotherhoods. But nevertheless, the sum total of the bits of information they provide directs us to a distant past, a past that was Iranian and non-Islamic. For instance, Ebn-e Rasuli (act. 12th century) declares that the *fotovvat* was created with Adam but "sprang to life under Abraham," then went into hiding and reappeared under Moses, who then transmitted it to the Prophet Mohammad.[84] Clearly, the author is asserting that it came from a lost pre-Islamic tradition that was resurrected by Abraham, and remained in the Jewish realm at

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[81] Dehkhodā: "fotovvat"

[82] Cahen 1959,72; Dehkhodā, "sarāvil." See also Āzarnush 2008, 59, where he argues that *servāl* (pl. *sarāvil*) was actually borrowed from Persian in pre-Islamic times.

[83] A papyrus from Hermopolis in Egypt indicates that the initiation process for Roman Mithraism also involved question and answers; Beck 2004, 14.

[84] Ebn-e Rasuli was actually quoting Ebn al-Jowzi; Mahjoub 2000, 39. Another manuscript entitled *Arbāb-ot-tariq* explains that the dervish bonnet (*kolāh*), which Adam first donned, got lost in Noah's Ark, and it was Abraham's hat that was transmitted anew; `Abd-or-rahim 1672, p. 32.

least until Moses. The question that obviously comes to mind is: How did Abraham enter into the equation, since the *fotovvat* is not a known Jewish phenomenon?

The key to understanding this question is the initiation procedure described in most *fotovvat-nāmeh*s, in which the initiate must be introduced by one of the brothers who must recite the name of all of his predecessors, i.e., those who had introduced previous generations to the brotherhood. Obviously, this chain of transmission (*selsela*) could not end with an ancient Iranian name. At the same time, the ubiquitous skin throw needed a more solid justification than just a name change. The solution was to open the Holy Book—as Bishops Jean Germain and Guillaume Fillastre had done to find a biblical interpretation for the Golden Fleece—and find a relevant Koranic passage. The sacrifice of Abraham was the obvious choice: The skin throw and its leather derivatives could be interpreted as reminders of the skin of the ram that Abraham sacrificed in lieu of his son. Two birds were thus killed with one stone.

Moreover, only the word *fatā* (meaning young—in the masculine mode), and not *fotovvat,* existed in ancient Arabic texts, as well as in the Koran.[85] Since Abraham was qualified as *fatā* in the Koran (XXI:60), it could be used to translate the Persian word *javān-mard* (young man), an adjective that defined the qualities of adolescents who espoused a certain code of conduct that was called *javānmardi*. As we shall later explain (sec. V.3), the concept of *javānmardi* was the inspiration and the reason for the creation of the Arabic word *fotovvat* that—structurally—only meant "youth," but came to mean "brotherhood." The two notions were so intertwined that one of the *fotovvat-nāmeh*s even claimed that "*javānmardi* began with Abraham."[86]

As a result, Abraham became the "Father of all *fatā*s," and gained a saintly status that popularized his name among dervishes. The celebrated Shaykh Abu-Es'hāq-e Kāzeruni (963-1035), for instance, upon conversion from Zoroastrianism to Islam, adopted—like so many other Sufis—the name Ebrāhim (Abraham) and the *konya* Abu-Es'hāq (father of Isaac).[87] In Urfa (ancient Edessa), in south Turkey, there is even a complex built around a cave that is supposedly the birthplace of Abraham (Fig. 42a). It has become a Sufi shrine where many dervishes are buried (Fig. 42b), all bearing epithets such as dervish, *bābā*, *qalandar*, or *dede* (i.e., father in Turkic). Their association with Abraham provided much needed protection in an Islamic environment.

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[85] Cahen 1959, 34.
[86] Afshāri & Madāeni 2006, 289.
[87] Soudavar 1992, 78-80.

Figs. 42 a, b – Abraham's "birthplace" complex. A list of dervishes and *qalandar*s buried in the complex. Urfa, Turkey

Since the proposed goal for this chapter was to pursue the skin-throw, we shall leave the discussions on these brotherhoods to later chapters and next visit the remains of Mithraic-inspired imagery within the Judeo-Roman world of circa 2-5th century.

III.5 - Mithraic Leather Tunics and Candelabras

Recently excavated mosaics in Sepphoris (Safuriyya) have been described as those of a "synagogue," but as I shall later argue, they actually belong to Mithraic edifices (sec. XIV.12), even more so since some of the mosaics depict figures with a Phrygian red bonnet, i.e., the most distinctive feature of Mithraic affiliation. In a scene where two huntsmen are charging forward with a spear in their hands, they both have a red Phrygian bonnet; the first is wearing a red Persian garment with trousers, of the type worn by the Roman *pater*, and the second one is wearing a white Roman tunic (Fig. 43a).

The most important aspect of these mosaics, however, is that they provide a unique depiction of Roman Mithraic initiates, who are naked to their waists and are sporting a red Phrygian bonnet as well as a Roman-type leather tunic (Fig. 43b). Even though the damaged frescoes of Santa Maria Capua Vetere *mithraeum* seem to depict a completely naked man subjected to the initiation ordeal,[88] in most other brotherhoods, the initiates had only a naked torso and wore a leather garment below the waist.[89] Such is the case, for instance, of Turkish wrestlers (Fig. 45), and an Indian warrior taking an oath in Fig. 44.

[88] Turcan 2000, 84 ; see also Yamauchi 1996, 511.
[89] Ebn-e Athir 1965, VI:275, in which `*ayyārs* are described as naked; Afshāri 2003, xxiii.

Thus, the mosaics of Fig. 43b must reflect Mystery initiates, perhaps the *miles*, since they hold a spear in their hands. They also display menorah-like candelabras, which were probably used as symbol of the fire that was placed at the heart of the *mithraeum* and that lit its cave-like environment. A similar symbol, a candlestick with five branches was used by Iranian dervish orders,[90] while the Freemasons used candelabras with three, five or even seven arms; in Judea though, it was normal to use a seven-branched one as it was in tune with the prevailing type of local candelabras (see sec. XIV.10).[91]

Figs. 43 a, b – a) Mithra hunting, b) Roman Mithraic initiates with leather tunics.
Mosaics from Sepphoris. 5-6th century (web)

Fig. 44 – Initiation ceremony of an Indian warrior.
India, 16th century (Soudavar 1992, 325)

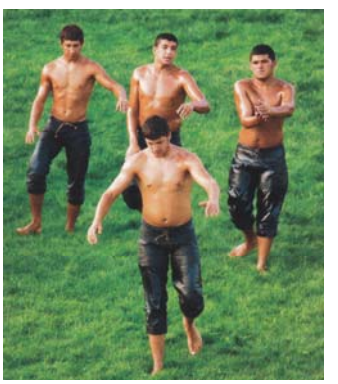

Fig. 45 – Turkish traditional wrestlers with leather pants (Turkish Airlines' magazine)

[90] Dehkhoda: "fotovvat"

[91] Arlene Fradkin of the Florida Museum of Natural History thinks "the mosaics are the work of traveling artisans who had books of patterns, as other scholars have suggested. The citizens of Sepphoris might have picked out the designs not because the animals were important to them but because they were fashionable (quoted in *Science News,* Apr. 12, 1997, vol.151, no. 15, 226). We beg to differ, see sec. XIV.12.

III.6 - The Spread of the Leather Garment

While the leather garment was a byproduct of sacrificial ceremonies, it also had to follow—as with the candlesticks—local fashion and tendencies. Thus, in keeping with Roman fashion, the leather garment of Roman initiates was a leather tunic, while that of Iranian initiates was a pair of trousers. The more common and easy to use leather garment, however, was the leather apron such as the one famously adopted by the Freemasons (Fig. 47). It was also worn by Indian warriors affiliated to the Jalāli dervish orders and by Iranian dervishes, who called it *tanureh* and had it decorated with nail-heads.[92] As such, the prominent full-hide apron of the French Foreign Legion members (Fig. 46) may have also derived from a brotherhood tradition that went back to Roman Legions affiliated with the Mysteries. These emblems, and certain elements of their paraphernalia, were all meant to induce a sense of unity among brotherhoods.

Fig. 46 – French Foreign Legionnaires marching the Champs Elysées, with a leather apron and an ax on their shoulder (web)

Fig. 47 - Plain Masonic leather apron. Musée de la Franc-Maçonnerie.

As pagan symbols they had to be justified, and for Moslem brotherhoods, the religious justification always went back to Abraham. Thus, as recounted in a *fotovvat-nāmeh* that, for instance, dealt with the activities of butchers (*qassābān*) and skinners (*sallākhān*):

> "After sacrificing a ram in lieu of his son, Abraham summoned some forty dervishes and gazed upon the skin of the sacrificial ram, at which time said skin expanded and split into several parts. One part became the skin-throne (*pust-takhteh*) of dervishes,

[92] Afshāri & Madāeni 2006, 203. Ebn-e Battuta 1958 (192) speaks of dervishes who wore 1000-nail garments *(hezār-mikh*). These garments were also made of leather as it is difficult to imagine that nails would be used on softer textiles. Poems cited in the Dehkhodā dictionary vouch for the association of the *hezār-mikh* garment with the *tanureh* apron, as well as the fact that it was worn at night-time ceremonies; Dehkhodā "*hezār-mikh*" :

1- چو پشت قنفذ گشته تنورش از پیکان هزارمیخ شده درعش از بسی سوفال
2- دلق هزارمیخ شب آنِ من است و چون روز سر ز صدره ٔ خارا برآورم

> another became the bonnet (*tāj*) of dervishes, another part became the pouch (*charas-dān*) of dervishes, and Abraham also gave parts of that hide to other congregations who transformed them into trousers (*kasvat*) and robes."[93]

Similarly, the *qantureh* or short tunic of the *shāter*s (foot messengers) is said to have been made with the wool of the ram sacrificed for Abraham's son, Esmā`il.[94] The most explicit explanation, however, is offered by Molla Hosayn-e Kāshefi (d. 1505) in his *Fotovvat-nāmeh-ye Soltāni*: When the initiate is asked about the provenance of the skin-throne, he must answer that "it is the skin of the *kabsh* (ram) of Esmā'il, which was slaughtered by Abraham on God Almighty's order, and which Esmā`il took home" and placed on the floor for his family to sit on.[95] In the section about the wrestlers, however, the same Kāshefi gives a different explanation. When the initiate is asked: "From whom are your short pants (*tonbān*)?" he must answer: "From Abraham who took the skin of Esmā`il's ram and cut it into short pants and wore it himself, but then passed it on to his progenies."[96] Thus, the justification for the use of unorthodox leather items, or entire skins, always reverted back to Abraham.

Furthermore, as Iranian dervish orders drifted eastward, the sheepskin was adopted by ascetics along the Silk Road all the way to China. We can see, for instance, a Chinese *lohan* (Buddhist holy man) depicted in a 16th century Persian miniature with an alms bowl in his hand and a sheepskin on his shoulders (Fig. 48).[97] To emphasize his affinity for Persian dervish orders, he is wearing under his sumptuous silk overcoat, the short and open robe of *qalandars* (Fig. 49).[98] Another painting, from the reign of the Emperor Qianlong (r. 1735-96) in Beijing, depicts a *lohan* seated on a sheepskin hovering over lush scenery (Fig. 50). A salient feature of this composition is the presence of a Sogdian figure seated in reverence before the *lohan*. For centuries after the introduction of Buddhism in the Eastern Iranian world, Sogdian merchants, who controlled trade on the Silk Road,[99] acted as a conduit for the spread of Buddhism, as well as Iranian ideas into

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[93] Afshari & Madāeni 2006, 180.
[94] Afshari & Madāeni 2006, 128. In the Koran, Abraham's son is named Esmā`il (Ishmael) rather than Isaac.
[95] Kāshefi 1971, 202.
[96] Kāshefi 1971, 310.
[97] Chinese *lohans* are Buddhist saints originally called *arhats*, the enlightened disciples of Buddha. Venerated as divinities in China, they are represented in Chinese painting with consistent iconography: "clean-shaved head or white hair, prominent eyes and nose, thick eyebrows, high cheekbones, unproportionally large hands and feet, large belly, long-lobed ears (which are a badge of honor), at times with conspicuous earrings'; Sugimura 1981, 84-119. See also Soudavar 1992, 256.
[98] Shafii, for instance, states that a prominent early Sufi, Mohammad b. Karrām, wore a sheepskin and that the Qalandariyyeh too wore some kind of skin, Shafii 2007, 144.
[99] De la Vaissière 2004.

China. Some of these merchants eventually settled in China, and commissioned funerary monuments—and other objects—with a decorative program that blended Chinese motifs with Iranian and Central Asian features (Fig. 87).[100] The presence of the Sogdian at the foot of the *lohan* points to a Buddhist holy figure originally revered in Sogdiana or in the Eastern Iranian world, who maintained the sheepskin tradition of his western brethren.

Fig. 48 – Chinese *lohan*. 16th century. (Soudavar 1992, 256)

Fig. 49 - *Qalandar* with bell. 16th century, (Martin 1912, pl. 120)

Fig. 50 –*Lohan* seated on a **sheepskin**, with Sogdian disciple. China, 18th century.[101]

Thus, if tauroctony lost its prominence within brotherhoods,[102] the sheepskin and leather garments, as byproducts of the sacrificial animal, had a much longer life and persisted as a brotherhood symbol, from the Mediterranean shores to the Sea of China. Moreover, the

[100] See also Delecour 2004.

[101] It has a descriptive note which states: "On the first day of the sixth month of the 59th year of the Qianlong [period], a lama painted an image of the blessed Bakula by official decree"; Sotheby's New York, sales catalogue of March 21, 2012, lot 350 (Photo courtesy of Sotheby's).

[102] The sacrificial animal still plays a role within ceremonies of certain dervish orders. For instance, the Ahl-e Haqq have ceremonies that end with the sacrifice of a cock, called *Khorus-koshān*, Arakelova 2011, 37; but they can also sacrifice a lamb, cow, or a camel, Khwāja-ad-din 1970, 77; in Hamzeh'ee 1992, 33-34, the sacrificial practices of the Yazidis and Ahl-e Haqq (Yāresān) are likened to those of the Zoroastrians.

very name Sufi, which has often been said to derive from the Arabic word *suf* (wool), may have originally alluded to those who wore the sheepskin on their shoulders.

III.7 - The Sacrificial Animal

While Mithra is killing a bull in tauroctony scenes, the skin elements that we have seen so far are mostly those of a lamb or ram. The reason for this discrepancy is that tauroctony scenes refer to a myth developed in the Greco-Roman world, which may have originally been inspired by sacrificial rituals but had subsequently taken on a meaning of its own. Indeed, the bull was being killed but not sacrificed in the *mithraeum*. On the other hand, the skins, as byproducts of the sacrifice, alluded to the original sacrificial rituals rather than the later myth.

A 5th-century BC stele from Dascylium in Anatolia (Fig. 51) shows bovines and sheep being led toward sacrifice. But as Antonio Panaino has noted, in Greek the word *πρόβατον* (forward going) designated the sheep as the most desired sacrificial animal, for it could gently be led to slaughter.[103] Sheep were more abundant than the cow, more economical, and more mobile, particularly for nomadic tribes such as those who had descended on the Iranian plateau. In the *Avesta,* bovines were called *gao,* a word that comes from the same Indo-European root that produced "cow" in English. But unlike English, in which the cow and the bull have two different names, the *Avesta* used *gao* as a generic term, i.e., cattle. Like modern Persian, in which the cow is *gāv* and the bull is designated as a "male cow" (*gāv-e nar*), only additional information, or context, explained the nature of the *gao.* By the same token, *gao-sepanta* or "holy-*gao*" denoted the sacrificial *gao,* which gradually came to mean "sheep," or *guspand* in New Persian, because, as a small size *gao,* it was the sacrificial animal of choice.[104]

Like "mink" in English, which can designate both the animal and its fur, in the *Avesta, gao* also referred to the cow's primal produce, i.e., milk.[105] That is why the Moon came to be qualified as *gao-chithra*, or "milk bright" (i.e., has a milk-like glow).[106] For nomadic and pastoral people, the white color of the most prominent stellar object of nighttime was equated with the color of a primordial substance, i.e., milk. Thus *gao* became closely associated with the moon and that is why the chariot of the Moon Goddess in Fig. 53 is

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[103] Panaino 2009, 111. See also Thayer's Greek lexicon: *http://concordances.org/greek/4263.htm.*
[104] Boyce 1990.
[105] See Soudavar 2009a, 449 (n. 104) ; Lubotsky 1998, 485; also Hamzeh'ee 1992, 34 n.23, where he gives examples such as *gao-jivya* that designates goat-milk for Persian Zoroastrians.
[106] Soudavar 2010b. The usual incongruous translation of the moon epithet *gao-chithra* as "carrying the seeds of the bull" stems from the incorrect understanding of *chithra* by philologists, see also note 111 infra.

being pulled by four flying horned cows[107] rather than four horses as in the case of the sun chariot in Fig. 52.

Fig. 51 – Bull and sheep driven for sacrifice. Archeological Museum Istanbul

Fig. 52 – Sun god riding a quadriga. Altes Museum. Berlin

Fig. 53 - Moon god riding a bull chariot led by Apam Napāt. Courtesy of A. Kevorkian.

More importantly, its cows are guided by an Eros-type figure symbolizing Apam Napāt, the Iranian aquatic deity who was the Lord of the Night, and was Mithra's counterpart in a duality that juxtaposed fire with water, sun with moon, and day with night (see secs. X.7, XI.12). While, according to Herodotus (I.31), Iranians had "no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly," Alexander's conquest changed the Iranian outlook on this matter, and the image of the winged Eros was adopted from the Greek repertoire, to represent Apam Napāt. As a key figure in the conveyance of *farr*, Apam Napāt was often depicted handing a *dastār* (i.e., a flying ribbon and symbol of victory) to kings (Figs. 54-55). Eros was a perfect fit since he had wings that designated him as supernatural (i.e., a deity), and could personify Apam Napāt whose very name meant "Child of the Waters,"[108] As Lord of the Night, Apam Napāt controlled all nocturnal movements, including that of the Moon; that's why the Moon's chariot is being pulled by the childlike Apam Napāt in Fig. 53. It should therefore come as no surprise if in a tauroctony scene from the *mithraeum* of San Stefano Rotundo (Fig. 57), the Moon's chariot is guided by Apam Napāt. The Roman myth, which laid the foundation for the tauroctony scene, was built around Mithra, but in other areas of the

[107] The cows of this plate are horned and humped zebus, also called Brahman, which are holy in India.
[108] For Apam Napāt's role in the conveyance of *farr*, and his position vis à vis Anāhitā as conceived in Fig. 56, see secs. X.7-10.

mithraeum, an allusion to the original Iranian deity pair was still very much in evidence, e.g., in the pairing of the sun and moon above tauroctony scenes, and the presence of *water* next to the *fire* of the *mithraeum*.[109] Sun and fire were linked to Mithra, while the moon and the waters related to Apam Napāt.[110] If the Roman Mithra dominated the tauroctony scene, he was implicitly accompanied by Apam Napāt, who had an equally important role as we shall further elaborate in sec. XI.12.

Fig. 54 - Apam Napāt handing a *dastār* with three pearls. Sasanian silver plate. (Miho Museum).

Fig. 55 - Apam Napāt handing a *dastār* with three pearls. Sasanian plate. Islamic Kunst Museum, Berlin.

Fig. 56 – Apam Napāt (Child of the Waters) held by Anāhitā (Lady of Waters). Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.

Fig. 57 - Apam Napāt (↑) guiding the moon's chariot pulled by cows. Tauroctony scene from San Stefan Rotondo (web)

[109] Turcan 2000, 76.
[110] See also note 122 infra.

Fig. 58 – Dervishes with sheepskin bonnets (↑), woven bonnets (↑) and sheepskin shoulder covers (↑), distributing the communal meal. Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg.

CHAPTER IV

THE EPICENTER OF MITHRAIC BROTHERHOODS

IV.1 - An Alternative "Image-talk"

The geographical distribution of *mithraea* within the Roman world, and the multiplicity of its tauroctony scenes, have induced many scholars to believe in a Roman origin for Mithraic societies. To paraphrase Beck, it's a conclusion based on "image-talk." But it is a restrictive and biased one, because it primarily focuses on a later-developed Roman phenomenon rather than fundamental symbols and indices that were common to both the Roman and Iranian sides. To counter it, I wish to present a substitute image, one that will show the spread of Mithraic symbols from the Mediterranean coast to the Sea of China, and one that will relocate the epicenter of the Mithraic phenomenon in Iranian lands.

The primordial example is that of the sheepskin, which, as we saw, appears in different congregations and brotherhoods, from Europe to China. It clearly transcends the boundaries of the Roman Empire, and has a prominent presence in Iran proper, in the guise of the dervishes' *pust-takht*. In what follows, I shall further investigate such indices.

IV.2 - The Three Dots

To my knowledge, the three-dot symbol first appeared on Sasanian coinage (Fig. 59), in tandem with the caricature sign of Apam Napāt (which as we saw in sec. II.4, was conceived as a two-legged *ankh* symbol). The two appear on opposite sides of the fire altar on the coin's reverse. Fire was at the center of Iranian religious ceremonies held in open air. For fire to be visible it had to be lit at nighttime, i.e., under the aegis of Apam Napāt as Lord of the Night. In such a setting, the officiating priest would have naturally tried to invoke the power of celestial elements above, in order to capture the attention of his flock. The most important one was the moon; and next was Sirius (named Tishtrya in the *Avesta*), the brightest of all visible stars. In the *Avesta,* they each have an epithet ending with *chithra,* a word that primarily means brilliance and is used in conjunction with celestial objects; the moon is qualified as *gao-chithra*, and Tishtrya as *afsh-chithra*.[111] The epithet *gao-chithra,* which meant "milk bright," was applied to the moon because it shines in the whitish color of milk. The moon was thus associated with the

[111] *Gao-chithra* is often translated as "which carries the seed of the bull," and *afsh-chitra* as "which carries the seed of water"; they are meaningless and provide too long a translation for a two-word adjective; Soudavar 2009, 427-29.

cow, and a cleverly devised cow caricature was adopted to reflect its different phases; [112] it too was placed opposite the caricature symbol of Apam Napāt as Lord of the night (Fig. 60). Similarly, the three-dot symbol was devised to provide a graphic symbol for Tishtrya's *afsh-chithra* epithet. Indeed, *afsh-chithra* meant "whose light is like a raindrop," and was applied to stars in general since they all scintillate like raindrops. The raindrop was then equated with a dot, which appeared on Sasanian coinage in association with other celestial symbols such as a crescent or stars (Fig. 61).[113] The dot was then tripled for Tishtrya because, as Antonio Panaino explains, its name meant "the one who belongs to the three stars."[114] Panaino further argues that, based on Vedic mythology, this tri-star concept may be attributed to a perceived relationship of Tishtrya with three stars from Orion's Belt (*delta*, *epsilon*, and *zeta Orionis*).[115]

Fig. 59 – Coin of Bahrām II (rev.), with triple dots and Apam Napāt caricature.

Fig. 60 - Coin of Bahrām II (rev.), with a Moon symbol and Apam Napāt caricature.

Fig. 61 – Coin of `Abdollāh b. Zobayr, with triple dots as emblem of Tishtrya, crescent, and simple dot as emblem of stars.

The *triskeles* sign that appears, for instance, on the coinage of the rulers of Persis, may symbolize this relationship, since it has a central element with three arms reaching outward (Fig. 62). If true, this must have been a secondary consideration, for it was difficult for the officiating priest to readily point to such a relationship among stars in the sky. Instead, I believe that Tishtrya's name mainly stemmed out of the discovery of a fixed triangle called the Winter Triangle, which comprised three fixed stars: Sirius, Betelgeuse, and Procyon (Fig. 63). They form a *perfect* equilateral triangle that is easily recognizable. This triangle better relates to Tishtrya's etymology through a tri-star grouping, instead of a linkage to the three Orion stars (which results in a quartet).

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[112] See sec. IV.3, and note 398 infra.
[113] Soudavar 2009, 428-31.
[114] *Afsh-chithra* is an adjective that was applied to stars in general and thus, single dots represented single stars; Soudavar 2009, 428-30.
[115] Panaino 2005.

As a perfect equilateral triangle, the Winter Triangle can lend itself to a number of magical interpretations, and must have been viewed as a source of power, perhaps superior to the moon, since it maintained a steady shape and intensity—every night—while the moon didn't. Furthermore, the three-dot symbol is primarily configured as an equilateral triangle, which clearly evokes the geometric configuration of the Winter Triangle. On a flat surface such as coins, the raindrops of Tishtrya had to be flattened as dots. But when the medium permitted, the raindrops took the form of granules, as on the gold ring of a Mithraic *pater* (Fig. 64). What's more, the positioning of the granules in between the legs of its dog clearly alluded to Tishtrya as the Dog Star of the Canis Major constellation, and ascertained that this triangular formation symbolized Sirius.

Fig. 62 - Triskeles in lieu of the three dots for Tishtrya.

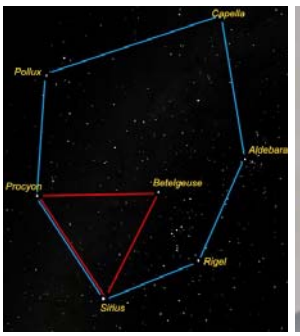

Fig. 63 – Sirius forming the *Winter Triangle* with two other stars (Wiki)

Fig. 64 – Three granules between a dog's legs. (same as Figs. 26a, b)

Fig. 65 – *Farr* emblem enclosed in a pearl circle. Islamic Museum Berlin.

A further step in the development of this symbol was from granules to pearls. It was a logical evolution; for the pearl not only scintillated like raindrops but had a clear aquatic connection. In addition, as we shall see in sec. XI.12, the pearl was considered to be the underwater receptacle of the *farr* and was therefore imbued with auspiciousness. It thus became an oft-used auspicious symbol (Fig. 65).[116]

What needs to be explained, however, is the reason for its adoption by Mithraic societies and their avatars. Was there a particular link to Mithra that justified its popularity in the Mithraic milieu? I believe the answer is yes, for two reasons. Even though the *Avesta* has been purged of many pre-Zoroastrian aspects of Mithra, it still contains useful information for our study. Stanza 143 of the *Mehr Yasht* (*Yt.10*), for instance, likens the brightness of Mithra's face to Tishtrya. In other words, Tishtrya's brilliance reflected

[116] See Soudavar 2003, 56-62.

Mithra's solar brilliance. Moreover, Tishtrya is strongly attached to the Aryan *farr* (*Yt.18.2-7*), which therefore makes it an associate of Mithra as the main purveyor of *farr* (*Yt.10.16, 10.27*). Furthermore, Tishtrya was directly linked to Apam Napāt as Lord of the Night, since *Yt.8.4* explains that it derives its brilliance (*chithra*) from this deity, and that's why in Sasanian coinage, the three dots are sometimes juxtaposed with the two-legged *ankh* sign of Apam Napāt (Fig. 59). In another instance, Apam Napāt—in the guise of an Eros-looking deity—is offering a *dastār* (symbol of victory and *farr*) with a three-pearl pendant to a Sasanian king (Figs. 54, 55). As emblem of Tishtrya, the pendant obviously increased the *farr* power of the *dastār*.

Since the *mithraeum* was based on a duality that encompassed water and fire, sun and moon, day and night, and ultimately Mithra and Apam Napāt, Tishtrya became the perfect celestial symbol to reflect this duality as it was linked to both Mithra and Apam Napāt. As such, it was an auspicious symbol adopted by the Order of the Golden Fleece (Figs. 24a, b), by Freemasons (Fig. 25), and by dervish orders (Fig. 22).

IV.3 - Tamerlane's Three Dots vs. the Ottoman *Cintamani*

In July of 1402, Tamerlane (Teymur, r. 1370-1405) defeated the Ottoman sultan, Yildirim Bayezid (r. 1389-1402), and put him in a cage, in which he later committed suicide. Bayezid had besieged Constantinople for more than two decades, and Tamerlane's intervention caused the retreat of the Ottomans, and postponed the fall of the Byzantine capital for half a century. Curiously, both Tamerlane and the Ottomans used a three-dot symbol as their imperial emblem. Tamerlane used it for the branding of his mounts, on his coinage (Fig. 66), and on his edicts,[117] while the Ottomans used it almost everywhere. It seems that Salim I (r. (1512–20) was the first to use it, initially as a solitary three-dot symbol (Fig. 67), and then in conjunction with undulated lines, in a combination that has been dubbed "*cintamani*" (Fig. 68). No satisfactory explanation has been hitherto proposed for this symbol. In adopting it, the Ottomans were certainly not trying to emulate Tamerlane who had inflicted a humiliating defeat upon them. But if they both integrated this pagan symbol into their imperial repertoire, it's because they both revered dervishes from the Eastern Iranian world. Tamerlane's patron saint was the celebrated Ahmad Yasavi (1093-1166), for whom he built a magnificent mausoleum (in

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[117] Ghazvini (Ghazvini 1953, 61-62) quotes Tamerlane's biographer Ebn-e Arabshāh:

كان نقش خاتمه ***راستی رستی*** يعنى صدقت نجوت، و ميسم دوابه و سرة سكته على الدرهم و الدينار ثلث حلق هكذا ∴

(The motto engraved on his signet reads "rāsty rasty" meaning "righteousness is deliverance" and the branding sign of his mounts as well as the emblem of his coinage, whether dinar or dirham, was a triple circle symbol like ∴)

southern Kazakhstan). Salim I, on the other hand, was much indebted to the Janissaries with whose help he had dethroned his father and eliminated a rival brother. The Janissaries had as patron saint the Khorāsānian Sufi master Hājji Bektāsh Vali (d. 1271) who belonged to the same tradition as Yasavi.[118] Since dervishes commonly sported a triple-dot burn mark, we may assume that the followers of Yasavi and Bektāsh Vali had it as well, hence Tamerlane and Salim's adoption of the same emblem.

Fig. 66 - Three dots on Teymur's coin. Private coll.

Fig. 67 – Robe of Salim I. 16th century, Turkey. Topkapi Saray Museum.

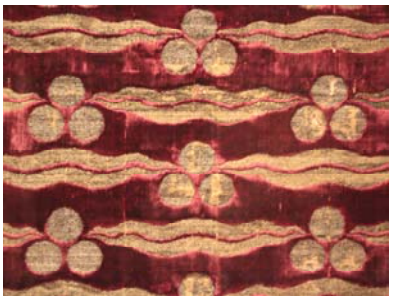

Fig. 68 – Turkish velevet with *cintamani* sign. 16th century. Metropoliatan Museum.

The so called "Tamerlane letter" of the Archives Nationales in Paris provides further information in this respect, despite being a forgery. As I have argued elsewhere, this supposed letter of Tamerlane to Charles VI of France was the work of the Dominican Monsignor Jean of Soltāniyyeh (d. 1412) who, upon receiving word of Tamerlane's victory, decided to present himself as his envoy to various European princes and announce the good news to them. Sylvestre de Stacy had first published it in 1822, and Mohammad Ghazvini published it again in 1921 in a Persian journal that included an illustration. A prominent round seal mark that appeared on Ghazvini's illustration has literally evaporated in the meantime, because of the bad ink and poor quality of the material the Monsignor had used.[119] The Archives Nationales has a duplicate of the photo supplied to Ghazvini for his article, but it has darkened with time and its seal mark is hardly legible (Fig. 70).[120] Ghazvini's description of the seal, however, provides valuable information. While the document is a forgery, its seal mark was probably a good imitation of Tamerlane's, for it conforms to Ebn-e Arabshāh's description that it had a

[118] Hājji Bektāsh Vali came from Khorāsān to Anatolia, was a contemporary of Mowlānā, and a follower of Bābā Elyās Khorāsāni; Afshāri & Mir Abedini 1995, 64 and 114.
[119] Soudavar 1999, 256-60; Soudavar 2013, 188-89.
[120] I am indebted to Mme. E. Marguin-Hamon of the Archives Nationales for providing me this photo.

"triple-circle mark" and the motto "*rāsty rasty*" (righteousness is deliverance).[121] The latter motto can also be found on Sasanian Mithraic seals and embodies a core principle of Mithraic societies (see sec. VII.3). Ghazvini confirms the existence of both of these on the seal mark, and describes that it also bore a wiggle sign that "looked like an ω." This wiggle sign is faintly visible next to the dots of the seal mark (Fig. 70), and is similar to the emblem on the Mithraic *pater*'s bonnet (Fig. 69). It looks like a curled wave. Wave lines convey—almost universally—the idea of water to the extent that they are often used as the symbol of Aquarius [♒].[122] Moreover, a seal from the Achaemenid period shows one such line above a blazing fire altar (Fig. 71). Since Apam Napāt presided over nighttime ceremonies, this wavy line must refer to him. It thus seems that prior to the Sasanian adoption of a two-legged *ankh* sign for Apam Napāt (Fig. 60), a less elaborate symbol was used to designate him, that of a water wave. The latter symbol must have lingered on in the more conservative parts of Central Asia to eventually reach Tamerlane and Salim. These water signs provide further confirmation for Tishtrya's close relationship with Apam Napāt, and are a testimony to the resilience of structures and symbols associated with Mithraic societies, from Rome to Central Asia.

Fig. 69 - Wiggle sign on *pater*'s bonnet (detail of Fig. 30)

Fig. 70 - Photo of Tamerlane's letter (from 1931) still showing the fake seal imprint.[123]

Fig. 71 - Fire altar and Apam Napāt's wave symbol (Curtis & Simpson 2010, 389)

[121] See note 117 supra.
[122] Because of the rise of the seas at nighttime, water is described in the *Bondahesh* as "associated with the moon"; Dādagi 1990, 110. There was therefore a natural association between the water, the moon, and Apam Napāt (as Lord of the Night).
[123] I am indebted to Mrs. Elsa Marguin of the Archives Nationales for providing me a copy of this photo.

IV.4 - The Solar Chariot

Since Mithra was associated with the sun, Mithra had to be able to follow it in its daily movement across the skies. Mithra was thus provided a *quadriga* with horses that had golden hoofs in the front and silver ones in the back (*Yt.10.125*). It created such a powerful image for the sun god that in the Roman World, Helios was often depicted with a *quadriga*, whether alone (Fig. 52) or part of the Zodiac (Fig. 72, see also sec. XIV.12).

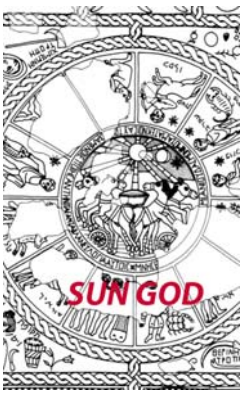

Fig. 72 – Mosaic floor in Sepphoris (Fig. 366, det.)

Fig. 73 - Chinese textile. Jin or Yuan period From Hebei province. Photo: courtesy of Dale Gluckman.

Fig. 74 – Sketch of Bāmiyān frescoes. (Courtesy F. Grenet)

But as Frantz Grenet has noticed, in Bāmiyān, the Buddha also stands, Mithra-like, on a *quadriga*, with a nimbus behind his head and a radiant disk around him (Fig. 74).[124] Additionally, we recognize in the hands of the angels in the top corners of the fresco, as well as flowing behind Buddha's head, flying ribbons called *dastār,* which we described as *farr* symbols associated with Mithra and Apam Napāt. Further east, we have the example of a Chinese textile in which not only a radiant Buddha is seated on a *quadriga*, but he is flanked by two servants that strongly resemble the Cautes and Cautopates pair of the *mithraeum* (Fig. 73).

Thus, the use of *quadrigae* for these eastern divinities is one more element that pushes the origin of Mithraic iconography out of Roman territories, and into Iranian ones.

IV.5 - The Mithraic Bonnet

Mithra, as well as most other *mithraeum* figures, typically wears the so called Phrygian bonnet, which was red. In Europe, not only the members of the Order of the Golden

[124] Soudavar 2003, 27; Grenet 1993, 87-92.

Fleece wore such a bonnet (Fig. 82),[125] but also Marianne, the symbol of the French Revolution (Fig. 84). Red headgear was a constant feature of brotherhoods and revolutionaries, especially the Safaviyyeh dervishes (Fig. 81) and Safavid princes (Fig. 79), who were called *qezelbāsh* (red hat). But ascetics, like the one depicted in a 17th-century tinted drawing from Esfahan, wore them as well (Fig. 132). In Iran, Mithra's own bonnet was more elaborate and bore solar emblems. A Parthian bronze bonnet of Mithra from the MFA in Boston, for instance, has a quilted texture adorned with sunflowers, with two prominent ones on its two sides (Fig. 75). Mithra's bonnet on the Sasanian rock-relief of Naqsh-e Rajab has a lion head (Fig. 78), and as shall we see, Shāpur I's Mithraic bonnet had a falcon head (Fig. 167). In Gandhara, an attendant among a group of gift bearers for the Buddha wears a Phrygian hat with a stylized falcon bird carved on its side (Fig. 77). Further east, the bonnet got thicker and more rigid, especially when it served to hide the long hair of brotherhood members (see sec. VIII.6). But to proclaim their Mithraic affiliation, Sogdian merchants, who traded goods with China, wore a sunflower emblem on their upright headgear, and a lion mask on their arms (Fig. 76).

Even though the spirit of equality was essential in brotherhoods, the more important orders had a tendency to differentiate the accoutrements of their leaders, especially their headgear. Thus, the headgear of Philip III of Spain (r. 1598-1621), as the Sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece, became substantially more elaborate (Fig. 83), while that of a Mevlevi dervish leader of Konya took the shape of a bishop's miter (Fig. 80).

A 16th-century tinted drawing by Mohammadi depicts a pastoral scene with dervishes distributing a communal meal (Fig. 58). It provides a catalog of dervish gear in the artist's native Khorāsān. We have of course a dervish with a red bonnet and the auspicious *dastār* (ribbon) tied around it (on the left side of the painting). Two bare-headed dervishes wear their sheepskins on their shoulders, as the *lohan* of Fig. 48 does, while many more have sheepskin bonnets tied with a ribbon. At the center is a master of ceremony who distributes the food, and wears a straight bonnet seemingly decorated with Islamic names and words, as in the case of the Mevlevi one in Fig. 80. We can thus see that the dervish paraphernalia, while constantly changing, maintained Mithraic elements, namely the bonnet, the sheepskin, and the *dastār*, often combining all of them into one single headgear.

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[125] This MMA painting by Simon Marmion depicts Charles the Bold's chamberlain, Jean d'Auxy, as Joseph of Arimathea wearing the red cape and red bonnet of the Order of the Golden Fleece; Soudavar 2008, 69-71.

Fig. 75 - Bronze Mithraic bonnet from Iran. MFA Boston.

Fig. 76 - Mithraic Sogdian bonnet. Tang, China. (Courtesy Gisèle Croës)

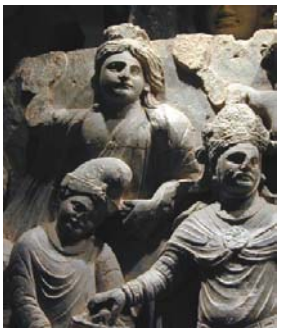

Fig. 77 - Mithraic bonnet. Gandhara, 4th century. (Courtesy: J. Tucker)

Fig. 78 - Mithra and Anāhitā. Naqsh-e Rajab.

Fig. 79 - Safavid prince Bahrām Mirzā. (TKSM, H2154/148)

Fig. 80 - Mevlevi order miter. Rumi Shrine, Konya.

Fig. 81 - Fur bonnet of the Safaviyyeh order with ribbon and plumes. (TKSM, H2160/85)

Fig. 82 - Jean d'Auxy with the red hat and red cape of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Soudavar 2008, 68)

Fig. 83 - Philip III as Sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece. J.Pantoja de la Cruz, 1608. Louvre (Lens)

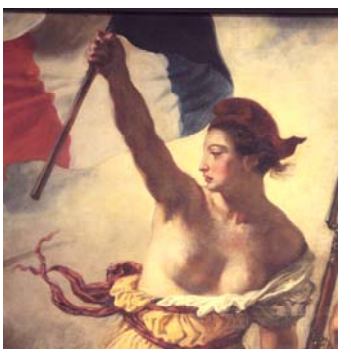

Fig. 84 - Marianne on the Barricades, by Delacroix, 1830. Louvre (Lens)

IV.6 - The Chamrosh Bird

The Chamrosh was an essential bird of the *farr* mythology, but a bird that Zoroastrianism put aside because of its affiliation with problematic gods, i.e., Mithra and Apam Napāt (sec. XI.19). Its memory, however, was kept alive in the popular mind to the extent that the Chamrosh became a prominent decorative motif, especially for Sasanian and Sogdian textiles, many of which found their way into Western ecclesiastic institutions.[126] A pheasant, wearing the same necklace as the Chamrosh, was used by the Order of the Golden Fleece for their swearing ceremony on the occasion of the Banquet of the Pheasant in 1454; it also appeared, in the company of a peacock, on a Roman Mithraic sarcophagus (Fig. 18). These two birds are also depicted on a silver bottle from the Iran Bāstān Museum of Tehran (Figs. 86a, b), and show that the pair portended the same auspiciousness in the Iranian world as in the Western one. But on this bottle, instead of wearing the pearl necklace, the Chamrosh holds it in his beak as if it was a gift to impart. Interestingly, a similar bird with a necklace in its beak is also depicted on an Italian church capital of the 10th century (Fig. 85). It is by no means an exceptional phenomenon, for as we shall see in sec. XIV.8, early on, Christianity incorporated many Mithraic motifs into its iconographic repertoire.

Finally, the appearance of the Chamrosh on the funerary beds of Sogdian merchants who had settled in China pushes once more the epicenter of the Mithraic symbols out of the Roman world and further east, into Iranian territories (Fig. 87).

Fig. 85 - Italian capital with necklace-carrying bird. Louvre

Fig. 86 – Sasanian silver jug depicting the Chamrosh and a peacock on its sides. Iran Bāstān Museum

Fig. 87 – Funerary stone. Tang China. MFA Boston

[126] Jeroussalimkaja 1993, 115-17; see also Fig. 229 here.

CHAPTER V

THE AVATARS OF MITHRAIC SOCIETIES

V.1 - *Luti* and *Lāt*

Growing up in Tehran of the 1950s, one was inevitably exposed to a popular sub-culture that was associated with a group of roaming young men known as the *lutis* or *lāts,* who represented both good and bad. While they were generally considered to be ruffians, hooligans and enforcers, many anecdotes circulated in praise of their qualities. It was said that the *luti* would spend his last *tumān* on friends, and to show his disregard for money, he wouldn't hesitate to light his girlfriend's cigarette by setting a 100-*tumān* bill ablaze! He was often penniless (*mofles*), but magnanimous as soon as he had money.

Lutis or *lāts* carried a knife, which they wielded as a weapon in their brawls, mostly to defend the "honor" of their friends which they addressed as *dādāsh* (or simply *dāsh*) meaning brother. For in reality they were part of a loose brotherhood with a certain code of conduct. They would drink alcohol only by turning their back to Mecca, because they considered themselves as Moslems, and that was their way to show some respect for their religion. They would not speak in terms of I but we (*mā*); not the royal we, but one that emphasized the bonds of friendship in their brotherhood and promoted the concept of "one for all and all for one." Because this concept had a wide—almost romantic—appeal, a large segment of the population emulated their language and mode of speech, including the higher strata of society. Of particular interest to us shall be their constant use of expressions such as *chāker-am* (I am your devotee), which proffered humility, but also, as we shall see, linked them back to earlier brotherhoods.

Willem Floor has suggested that there may be an etymological connection between *luti* and the Persian word *lavāte,* as well as the Arabic word *liwāt*, both of which meant sodomy.[127] This kind of homosexuality, though, was by no means a trademark of the *lutis,* but an almost natural phenomenon among tightly knit groups of men whose sexual desires—particularly aroused by excessive drinking—was oriented toward young men with whom they were in constant contact, rather than women whom they seldom saw. It was rampant, for instance, among the *qezelbāsh*, i.e., the dervishes of the Safavid order who also indulged in heavy drinking, to the extent that when Shāh Tahmāsb (r. 1524-76)

[127] Floor 2010.

repented from past sins and resorted to religious bigotry, he issued a decree banning his followers from engaging in wine drinking and *lavāte*.[128] That decree, however, neither stopped the Qezelbāsh nor the Safavid princes from continuing those practices, as Tahmāsb's son and successor, Esmā`il II (r. 1576-78), died from intoxication in the arms of one lover boy, and a subsequent heir to the throne, Hamza Mirzā (1566-86), was killed by another one.

Similar to the *fatā*s who carried a bowl called *kās ol-fotovvat*, the *lutis* carried, within a shawl tied around their waist, a brass bowl that they used in their drinking bouts.[129] While the dervishes carried a sheepskin, *lutis* kept a ram in their backyards and greeted each other by wishing long life for their respective rams.[130] A 17th-century drawing of such a ram depicts it with a turban tied around its horns—which was a symbol of the auspicious glory, or *farr,* associated with this animal (Fig. 88).[131] It was painted by the celebrated Rezā-ye `Abbāsi (d. 1635) who, as I shall later explain, mixed with the *lutis* and wrestlers, and was constantly penniless despite high demand for his artworks. The depicted ram was a living image of a similar Sasanian symbol that also portended *farr* and was associated with Mithra (Fig. 89). Here again, we have a brotherhood that cherished the symbolism of a bovine, and engaged in drinking bouts. And like the dervishes who adopted Abraham as their patron saint, the *lutis* may have found it opportune to link their name to the Koranic—and biblical—prophet Lot (Arabic: Lut).[132]

Generally speaking, the *lutis* didn't have a structured organization. They clung together as a group of men with similar ideals and demeanors. There was, however, a faction among them who frequented a wrestling forum, or *zurkhāneh*, which had a hierarchical structure. The measure of strength and technical prowess created a natural hierarchy among wrestlers. But besides these two qualities, the chief wrestler or *pahlavān* was also supposed to act like a caring father, similar to the *pater* of the *mithraeum*. In fact, as the late Mehrdād Bahār had noted, there are a few markers that clearly link the *zurkhāneh* to the Roman *mithraeum*, including its shallow stone pit (Fig. 90), the presence of water, and the leather short pants that the wrestlers wear (Figs. 90-91).[133]

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[128] Soudavar 1999, 51; Qomi 1980, I:386.
[129] Nafisi 1989, 145.
[130] Mo`in 1974, II:274 "سر قوچ شما سلامت باد"
[131] Soudavar 2003, 24.
[132] Dehkhodā 1994, "luti."
[133] Bahār 1997, 36

Fig. 88 – A ram depicted with a *dastār* tied to his horns. By Rezā-ye `Abbāsi, dated 1634. Private collection.

Fig. 89 – Ram with dastārs. Detail of Sasanian bronze plate. EMS Collection.

Fig. 90 – Wrestlers exercizing in the *zurkhāneh* (web)

Fig. 91 – Wrestler team of a truck plant. Iran 1976

As a cohesive urban group, strongly built, armed, and occasionally led by charismatic *pahlavān*s, the *lāt*s and *luti*s had the potential to wield enormous political power. There is a saying in Persian that *luti, tā sad tumān luti-ye* (a *luti* can only be magnanimous up to 100 *tumāns*), i.e., there was a limit to his magnanimity, and he could be bought if paid more. As it happened, their muscle power was often bought. Indeed, the main force that toppled the government of Mohammad Mossadegh, the elected Prime Minister of Iran in 1953, was generated by a group of *lutis* who were the beneficiaries of large sums of money distributed by the CIA.

But they could also act out of belief. A splinter group of the same people who participated in the 1953 event, was led by Tayyeb Hājji Rezāi in support of the unsuccessful 1963 uprising stirred by Āyatollāh Khomeini against the Shāh's regime. Tayyeb didn't receive money on that occasion, but paid instead with his life. On the other hand, his former companion, Sha`bān-e Ja`fari, who was a *pahlavān* of the *zurkhāneh*

and was on the government's payroll, remained a steadfast supporter of Shāh Mohammad-Rezā Pahlavi (r. 1941-78).

In sum, these groups were always perceived to have two sides to them, and the words *luti* and *lāt* were gradually used to differentiate these two sides, i.e., the good from the bad. *Luti* was synonymous with being chivalrous, giving, and a trustworthy friend, while *lāt* characterized the hooligan, the brut and the extortionist.[134] This dichotomy in perception also characterizes the accounts of earlier brotherhoods, for like the Roman Mysteries, they could attract disciplined military men as well as pirates. It shall therefore come as no surprise to us that the *`ayyār*s whom we shall next study, and to whom the *luti*s have often been likened, had the same type of dual reputation.

One must also note that *lut* and *lāt* are words that existed in Middle Persian. *Lut* and *lutag* meant naked,[135] and described a state of semi-nakedness similar to that of the Mysteries' initiates and Iranian wrestlers (Figs. 90-91),[136] whereas *lāti* meant "generosity" (sec.VII.3). Even though the *lāt* came to represent the brut and the extortionist, he was—by definition—generous and giving. As a result, he was always penniless (*mofles*).

V.2 - The *`Ayyārs*

In reading the chronicles of the post-Islamic era, one often comes across the name *`ayyār*, referring to a group of militia men, usually qualified as troublemakers, bandits, or highway robbers. Occasionally though, they were praised for their chivalry and magnanimity, especially if they achieved high status as did Ya`qub-e Laith-e Saffār (r. 840-79), the founder of the semi-autonomous Saffārid dynasty based in southeast Iran. His power base was a group of *`ayyārs*, most of whom were artisans and craftsmen. Ya`qub himself was in fact a coppersmith (*saffār*).

Etymologically, the name *`ayyār* derives from MP *ayār* (NP *yār*), meaning friend, and as Claude Cahen observed, *`ayyārism* covered a geographical expanse roughly equivalent to the Sasanian Empire.[137] It belonged to a pre-Islamic Iranian tradition that was more popular than aristocratic. A folkloric tale about the exploits of one of their legendary figures, namely Samak-e `Ayyār (Samak the *`ayyār*), gives much detail about this tradition as well as the milieu in which it flourished.

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[134] *Luti* also came to designate various performers, which previously were qualified as *shāter*s (sec. VIII.3).
[135] See Faravashi 2002, 348 in which he lists *lut, rut and lutag*, all meaning naked; also Afshāri 2003, Lxxiii.
[136] See for instance Afshāri 2003, Lxxiv; Kāshefi 1971, 86.
[137] Cahen 1959, [71]; Zakeri 1995, 7.

Like the knife-wielding *lutis* who called each other *dāsh/dādāsh* (brother), the *`ayyārs* carried a knife and addressed each other as *barādar* (brother). And they formed a brotherhood in which the bonds of friendship were strengthened through drinking bouts qualified as *shādi-khordan* (drinking to happiness).[138] And again, as in the case of *lutis*, there was mutual respect and intermingling between the *`ayyārs* and the wrestlers, as exemplified by the following anecdote:

> "after a few whirls, (the chief wrestler) Qāyem took a bowl of wine in his hands, stood up and uttered: "to the happiness (*shādi*) of the man whose name has been associated with *javānmardi* all over the world, namely Samak-e `Ayyār. Having said this, he drank his wine."[139]

Whereas the Mongols had a similar gesture called *kāseh-giri* (lit. to hold a bowl),[140] by which a prince offered wine to the *khān* or a prince of superior rank, the *shādi-khordan* of the *`ayyār* community was an expression of esteem or sympathy among peers, and could also go from superior to subordinate or the other way around. It was characterized as *shādi-ye barādari* (happiness in brotherhood) or *shādi-ye rafiqi* (happiness in friendship), and consequently, the followers of Samak would refer to themselves as his *shādi-khordeh*s, or "those who had drunk to his *shādi* (happiness)." A description of the pledge they made to each other describes the principles of camaraderie that they valued:

> "we shall be of help (*yār*) to each other and befriend each other, and shall not revoke it as long as alive; we shall not engage in deceit or double-crossing, nor be a traitor to one another, nor consent to such (deceitful) practices; we shall be a friend to friends, an enemy to enemies, and we shall strive for the well being of each other."[141]

Interestingly, there are no references to Koranic verses or Islamic values in their pledge. On the other hand, the *`ayyār*s often swore on "the life of the pure (*pākān*) and righteous (*rāstān*)," or "light, fire and Mehr (Mithra)," or "Mithra and the seven stars," which clearly points to a tradition stemming from Mithraic societies. Two other requirements further strengthen these connections: that they had to be instructed in the secrets of *`ayyāri* and they had to engage in nocturnal activities (*shab-ravi*). Nocturnal ceremonies and oaths of secrecy were a staple of Roman Mysteries, and as we shall see, one of the reasons for creating a cave-like atmosphere in the *mithraeum*. The oath and the various activities of the *`ayyārs* were supposed to develop "courageous and fearless" companions

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[138] Nātel Khānlari 1985, 39, 86-87.
[139] Nātel Khānlari 1985, 87-89
[140] Soudavar 1996a, 120-21.
[141] Nātel Khānlari 1985,92

in arms "who would not fault each other, would withhold criticism of each other, and above all be a *javānmard*."[142] The latter Persian word summed up the qualities that an *`ayyār* should have. It represented a code of conduct whose virtues were explicated in the *Qābus-nāmeh,* a mirror-for-princes manual composed in the 11th century by a ruler of northern Iran for his son.[143] It did not advocate allegiance to any particular political entity or religion, but emphasized an honor code that valued loyalty among free-spirited men. It prescribed a way of life that stood above religion or other moral codes, one that could be adopted by pirates, warriors, guardsmen, ascetics, and acrobats, as well as traveling entertainers.[144] The depiction of one of these entertainers from 17th-century India, a *shir-bān* or lion-tamer, gives us a visual image of the *`ayyār*'s accoutrements (Fig. 92). Indeed, the general description of the *`ayyār*, as stated in the Dehkhodā dictionary, reads as follows:

> In the old days, the *shāters* and the *`ayyārs* used to wear a tall hat with a pendant, had numerous leg-wraps, tied a wolf-skin around their waist, and had two knives hanging from their belt.[145]

It's a description that admirably reflects the details of our entertainer parading his lion, especially the grey color of the wolf-skin on his waist, in contrast with the brownish color of his leather pants, shoes and hat. And, in addition to his two knives, we can see a drinking bowl in the shape of a wine vessel hanging from his belt. It's also a description that has much in common with the Coquillard portrayed in Fig. 37. We thus observe similar attitudes, behaviors and paraphernalia among a wide category of social groupings that included the *`ayyārs, fatās, javānmards, shāters, lutis*, wrestlers, different artisans and travelers, all displaying characteristics that point to a common origin.

V.3 - *Fotovvat, `Ayyāri, Javānmardi* and the Link to the Imam `Ali

The historical chronicles often do not differentiate between the *`ayyār*, *fatā,* and *javānmard* appellations*,* and use them almost interchangeably. For instance, the chief of the *`ayyārs,* who was referred to as *sar-e `ayyārān* (head of *`ayyārs)* in Persian, was also named *ra'is al-fetyān* (head of the *fatā*s) in Arabic.[146] And we saw that Samak the *`ayyār* was renowned for his *javānmardi*, which designated qualities akin to the Western notion

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[142] Nātel Khānlari 1985, 94.
[143] Kaykāvus 1999, 243-64.
[144] Afshāri 2003, xix-xxiii.
[145] Dehkhodā 1994, "*`ayyār*"
[146] *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2- CD: "*`ayyār*"

of chivalry. As some of the *fotovvat-nāmeh*s explain, "in Persian, *fotovvat* is called *javānmardi*, and the essence of *javānmardi* is to help others."[147]

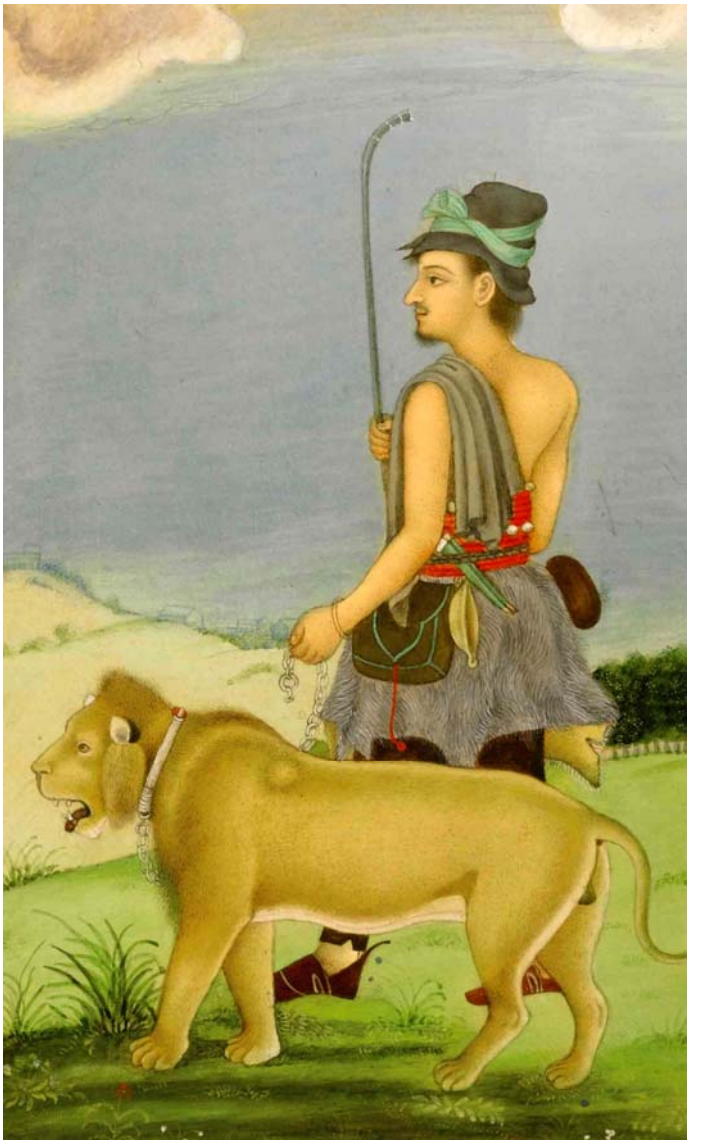

Fig. 92 – A lion tamer with *`ayyār*-like paraphernalia: A wolf skin, ribboned hat and leather pants, with two daggers, a drinking bowl and a pouch. 19th Century copy of a 16th century Mughal painting. Dehli, India. EMS Collecton

[147] Afshāri 2003, 31.

While many have tried to portray the *fotovvat* as an Islamic phenomenon,[148] Mohsen Zakeri suggests that it was in the year 683H/1285 that an Arab chronicler first used the word *fetyān* to translate the Persian word *javānmardān,* and to characterize the followers of a Persian militia leader of Basra named Māh-Afridun.[149] There are in fact several reasons to see the words *fotovvat/fetyān* as translations of *javānmardi/javānmardān* and not vice versa.

As noted, the word *fotovvat* neither appears in the Koran nor in ancient Arabic literature. On the other hand, the word *fatā* existed and designated "a youth" (in the masculine mode). Grammatically, *fotovvat* is an infinitive—derived from *fatā*—that has been turned into an abstract noun. It has a precise meaning "youth," which is neither associated with the masculine gender, nor imbued with qualities of chivalry. The Arabicization of the name was supposed to add an Islamic veneer to a phenomenon that ran counter to orthodox Islam; the *`ayyārs* and *fatā*s of Baghdad, for instance, were renowned for their drinking bouts, and for their skirmishes with religious authorities.[150]

But, in addition to its Arabic garb, the word *fatā* also offered a religious affiliation that was exploited by Abu-`Ali Bal`ami—in his Persian translation of the *History of Tabari* (c. 963)—where he proffers that "God Almighty called nobody a *javānmard* except for Abraham (in XXI:60) and the Seven Sleepers (in XXVIII:11-13)."[151] He seizes upon the appearance of the word *fatā* in these two verses to equate it with *javānmard*, and imbue this Arabic word with the ideals of *javānmardi*. Moreover, later literature uses the fortuitous appearance of *fatā* in conjunction with the name of Abraham in verse XXI:60, to reinforce Abraham's position as Abol-fetyān, or "Father of all *fatās*."[152] It also uses verse XVIII:13—describing the Seven Sleepers as "young men(*fatā*s) who believed in their Lord"—to claim that, since the Sleepers *believed* in God and were qualified as *fatā*s in the said verse, "true belief" was inherent to *fotovvat*.[153] There is, however, a major problem with these interpretations; the word *fatā* appears in another verse of the Koran,

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[148] See for instance Elāhi 1994, or even Mohammad-Ja`far Mahjoub who, despite all the pre-Islamic indice that he sees in the *fotovvat,* nonetheless claims that "its practical origin is undoubtedly based on the exemplary demeanor and personality of the Imam `Ali"; Mahjoub 2000, 15.
[149] Zakeri 2008.
[150] See section V.2. In 9th century Baghdad, many of them would drink and spill a cup of wine on the tomb of a revered Sufi poet, Abol-hendi Ghāleb b. Abdol-Qoddus, who had composed wine-related poems (*khamrya*), Mahjoub 2000, 28. For their skirmishes see note 163 infra.
[151] Bal`ami 1999, 3:169. Koran XXI:60 : "They said: we heard a youth (*fatā*) make mention of them, who is called Abraham"
[152] See note 81 supra.
[153] See for instance Afshāri 2003, 112. The Seven Sleepers are also known as The Companions of the Cave.

in verse XII:36, where two youths (*fatā*s) are incarcerated with Yusof (Joseph), one of whom says: "I saw myself pressing wine (*khamra*)." Although the wine-pressing image of this youth somehow reflected the *`ayyār*s' penchant for wine drinking, it nevertheless represented an activity banned by orthodox Islam, and did not confer virtuous qualities to the *fatā*.

Because these Koranic interpretations of the word *fatā* do not appear in the original Arabic work by Tabari (838-923), it is likely that Bal`ami was the first—or one of the firsts—to have elaborated a Koranic justification, even more so because he develops, in an earlier chapter of his book, a fictitious story to link the cousin `Ali of the Prophet Mohammad to *fotovvat*:

> When the Prophet gave the famous Zolfaqār sword to his cousin `Ali, the latter struck his enemy in such a way that the Zolfaqār blew apart his protective shield, and split his head and chest in two; the Prophet then exclaimed: "There is no *fatā* but `Ali, no sword but Zolfaqār."[154]

This spurious *hadith* is one of the main reasons for portraying `Ali as the role model of the *fetyān*, at times even displacing Abraham as the Father of all *fatās*. But as the theologian and *hadith* expert Ebn-e Taymiyyah (1263-1328) once noted, all of these stories that linked the *fotovvat* to the Prophet and his entourage were baseless and of later fabrication.[155]

In most *fotovvat-nāmeh*s these problems are conveniently bypassed, but not in the *Fotovvat-nāmeh-ye Soltāni* that the learned Molla Hosayn Kāshefi composed during the reign of the Teymurid Soltān-Hosayn Bāyqarā (r. 1469-1506). The court of Herāt under Soltān-Hosayn was heavily influenced by the presence of the celebrated Sufi poet Jāmi and his Naqshbandi entourage. Furthermore, the sultan, as well as his influential companion Amir `Ali-shir Navāi, were both literary figures who held dervish orders and similar congregations in high esteem. Thus, the etymological and Koranic justification problems that we previously cited could not be dissimulated from these learned patrons, and had to be addressed. Kāshefi tackles the first by avowing that *fatā* meant "a youth," and emphasizes that, in addition to this meaning, which he qualifies as "accurate" (*haqiqat*), one must also consider a figurative one (*majāz*) that pertains to the *javānmardi* traits of the *fatā*. To justify this dichotomy, he explains that: Uninitiated youth is like an

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[154] Bal`ami , I:576, لا فتى الّا علىّ و لا سيف الّا ذو الفقار
[155] Mahjoub 2000, 140.

uneducated child who can reach excellence through education. That excellence is the state of *majāz*, which reflects the excellence of *fotovvat*.[156]

This is at best an exercise in sophistry, and doesn't explain why nobody else came up with this argument or addressed the etymological issue. Kāshefi then cleverly uses the dichotomy between his accurate and figurative meanings to justify the use of *fatā* for Yusof's prison companions: It accurately described their youthful state, but at the same time projected the potential for excellence that they were about to gain from their companionship with Yusof.[157] By explaining that *fatā* in this case also referred to a future state, he could whitewash the wine-pressing problem associated with Yusof's prison companions. The wine problem was thus buried in the past and disregarded.

In most of the *fotovvat-nāmeh*s that trace the *fotovvat* chain of transmission back to the Prophet Mohammad, the latter's name is preceded by that of his cousin `Ali, who reputedly received his consecration from the Prophet himself. That was of course an appealing proposition to Shiites who venerated `Ali and considered him the legitimate successor of his cousin. `Ali had also displayed much valor on the battlefield and acquired a reputation for fairness, which were truly the most important characteristics of the *`ayyārs* and *javānmards,* and traits that even Sunnis recognized in him. But besides these merits, there was also a practical reason for his inclusion in that list. It emphasized brotherhood because of the oft-related Warning Hadith (حديث انذار), in which the Prophet Mohammad reputedly asked his following: "So who of you will help me in this mission and be my **brother** (*akhi*), my successor *(vasiyyi*), and my follower *(khalifati*) among you?" No one present responded except his young cousin `Ali.[158] Thus, in a *hadith* that even Sunnis accept as true, a bond of brotherhood was shown to have existed between Mohammad and `Ali, which allowed the *fotovvat* promoters to trace its roots to the immediate family of the Prophet.

V.4 - Nuh-e `Ayyār

An interesting character of the 2nd-3rd century, after the advent of Islam, was Nuh-e `Ayyār (Nuh the *`ayyār*). He was held in high esteem by many Sufi *shaykh*s who explained that Nuh was "renowned in his *fotovvat,* and all the *`ayyār*s of Neyshābur were at his command" or "he was the *pir* of Khorāsān in his own days, and renowned for his

[156] Kāshefi 1971, 98-102.
[157] Kāshefi 1971, 98-102.
[158] See for instance Tabari 1967, II:321; Ebn-e Athir 1965, II:63.

hospitality and *javānmardi*."[159] What these statements show is that, contrary to the negative image that certain texts associated with the *`ayyārs*, Nuh wielded power over a vast region and commanded the respect of renowned Sufi *shaykh*s who did not hesitate to qualify him as a *pir*, an epithet usually reserved for the head of Sufi orders. It clearly shows that all of these groups shared common ideals and practices, which brought them together and created a potential for the formation of larger congregations.

The *fotovvat-nāmeh*s, as well as Sufi literature, often made use of a charade type structure to explain the esoteric meaning of a name, or concept, through the association of a new word to each of its letters, provided that it began with the same letter. So, in trying to exalt the character of a *javānmard*, Nuh provides an explanation based on the spelling: ج- و- ا – م - ر- د (pronounced *joāmard* without the "n"), which was based on an Eastern dialect. It shows once again that the name *javānmard* and the concept of *javānmardi* were not borrowed from Arabic, but had firm roots in regional dialects, far away from Baghdad and outside the Arab-speaking centers of Iran.

As Nasrollah Pourjavadi astutely observes, the difference between the 9th-century "*joāmard*" charade of Nuh, and the one provided—six centuries later—by Kāshefi for "*fotovvat,*" is quite telling: The words enumerated for the latter are primarily esoteric and predicated on man's orientation toward god, while the former is predicated on the relationship of one brother to another. Indeed, Nuh explains *joāmard* with the following terms: generosity, fidelity, trustworthiness, manliness, mercy, adherence to religion (جوامرد: جود، وَفا، امانت، مروّت، رَحمت، دیانت), while Kāshefi explains *fotovvat* as: annihilation, detachment, fidelity, and foregoing attachments (فتوت: فنا، تجرید، وفا، تَرک).[160] It shows that, even though the original emphasis of these congregations was on brotherhood, they gradually developed a mystical flavor and ascetic tilt. While this tilt had more appeal to the learned and literati, the brotherhood concept remained strong and even expanded among the lower strata of society whose members acquired additional names such as *akhi* (mostly in Anatolia), or *kākā* (in Kordestān and Fārs), which all meant "brother."

V.5 - The Political Clout of the *`Ayyārs*

By the time An-Nāser was elevated to the Caliphate, Baghdad had lost its political clout, and power resided with the Turkic dynasties ruling over the most important centers of the Iranian Lands. The Caliph had little revenue and could not afford to maintain a standing

[159] Pourjavadi 2006, 109. The Sufi *shaykhs* who related these quotes about Nuh were the Malāmati Hamdun-e Qassār (Hamdun the cloth-washer) and Abol-fazl-e Meybodi, the author of *Kashf-ol-asrār*.
[160] Pourjavādi 2006, 112-3; see also Apendix II for the same technique of attributing meanings to letters.

army. But, from the day the Arab armies invaded the Iranian Lands to the time they were displaced by Turkic warlords, there always existed, below the ruling elite, *`ayyār*-like congregations that wielded enormous power at local levels.

Some of these congregations were actually offshoots of the Sasanian cavalry. In early chronicles, they were referred to as *asvārān* (lit. horsemen), and, for instance, as Balādhuri (d. *circa* 892) recounts in his *Fotuh,* there were 4000 of them with the Persian general Rostam at the battle of Qādesiyya in 636, who negotiated a surrender agreement by which, as a group, they could join whichever Moslem army they wanted, fight whatever enemy they accepted, and settle wherever they wished. They were headed by one Daylam-e Hamrā' (Daylam the Red), and some of them were later moved to Damascus where they were called the *Pārsi*s.[161]

Although the description is brief, it contains two points that illustrates the compatibility of the *asvārān* with the *`ayyārs*. First, they were a grouping that stuck together, and were free-spirited as they insisted on choosing for themselves, who to fight with or against, and on settling wherever they wanted. Second, their leader wore red, the color of choice for the leaders of Mithraic societies, such as the previously mentioned Khorramdiniyyeh.[162] And since many of the *`ayyār* groupings were described as marauders and highway robbers, one can very well imagine them as a mobile cavalry group.

Throughout the 10-11th century, these *`ayyārs* often rose up in rebellion, then looted and burned whole neighborhoods of Baghdad.[163] On one occasion, the governor of Baghdad, Bahā-od-dowleh Daylami (r. 989-1012), quelled the rebellion by sending in Ostād Hormoz, who was an *`ayyār* leader himself.[164] A few years later, the leader of the *`ayyārs* of Baghdad was one Abu-`Ali Borjami who grew so powerful that his followers told the Friday prayer leader: "If you want to deliver a sermon in Borjami's name, you can, but under no circumstances shall you mention the name of the Caliph or a king!"[165] Charismatic leaders such as Borjami of Baghdad, or Nuh-e `Ayyār who held sway over the *`ayyārs* of Khorāsān, or one Akhi Ahmad Shāh who headed the *fatā*s of Konya

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[161] Balādhuri 1958, 399. The same conditions for surrender are also mentioned for another group of *asvārān* who concluded an agreement with Abu Musā Ash`ari, (*ibid*, 522).
[162] See note 72 supra
[163] *`Ayyār* rebellions broke out in the years 919, 920, 930, 937, 946, 1002, 1024, 1032, 1097, 1101, 1104, 1119, 1121, 1122, 1136, 1140, 1141, 1158, 1162 and 1170; Gabashvili 2008, 132-33; Mahjoub 2000, 35-36.
[164] Mahjoub 2000, 35-36.
[165] Mahjoub 2000, 36.

(Anatolia) and had "thousands of *ronud-o-jonud* (libertines and militia men)" at his disposal,[166] were obviously viable allies for political leaders.

V.6 - The Nāserian *Fotovvat*

It is in assessing this political landscape that the young and ambitious caliph An-Nāser concluded that, if in lieu of an army that he could not afford, he attracted the loyalty of various *`ayyār* groupings and brought them under one umbrella, he could then dispose of a formidable force capable of defeating many a powerful army. And that is what he had in mind when he decided, in the year 1182, to be initiated through the offices of one Shaykh `Abdol-Jabbār, a Sufi *shaykh* who had a wide following in Baghdad.[167] In his quest for power, it did not matter that he, the Caliph and the Commander of the Sunni Faithful, bore allegiance to an order in which his mentor, the Shaykh `Abdol-Jabbār, linked his Sufi pedigree to the first Imam of the Shiites, i.e., `Ali. It didn't matter either that he had to go through a process in which he donned the short pants of *fotovvat,* named *servāl*, and drank water and salt from the hands of a lowly *shaykh*; actions that lacked true Islamic pedigree. To the contrary, An-Nāser saw in its symbols an instrument for the control of unruly *`ayyārs*, and in its procedures the possibility of creating a pyramidal hierarchy. He gathered different orders, unified them, instilled discipline in them, created a hierarchy, and placed himself at the top.[168] He also banned all other *fotovvat* and *javānmardi* associations in Baghdad. Meanwhile, he bribed his opponents to join his congregation. Some refused and chose exile rather than submission.[169] Those who stayed were forced to be reinitiated into his congregation. His instrument of control became the *servāl*: He would bestow it only on those he chose to.[170]

To a certain extent, An-Nāser's decision was not unlike that of the Duke Philip of Burgundy who instituted the Order of the Golden Fleece. As a cousin of the King of France, and ruler of the duchy of Burgundy, Philip had expanded his territories through

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[166] Mahjoub 2000, 96.
[167] Mahjoub 2000, 54, 142.
[168] Taeschner 1965, 986.
[169] Afshāri 2003, xxiv.
[170] Kāshefi 1971, LX. In addition to the *servāl*, An-Nāser popularized the *kamān-e goruheh* (i.e. slingshot) by presenting it as the weapon of choice for the *fatā,* one which he often practiced with, and encouraged others to follow his example. Despite the frequent mentioning of the *kamān-e goruheh* in the *javānmardi* literature, the only text that offers a semi-description of this weapon is the one published in Mahjoub 1996, 734, in which this *kamān* is used in addition to the regular slingshot, and as a more sophisticated one. It was probably a sort of mini catapult that used the spring power of bentwood in lieu of modern-day elastics. Hence the use of the word *kamān* (bow). In the *Borhān*-e Qāte`, the slingshot (*falākhān*) is described as the *shāter*'s weapon; Ebn-e Khalaf 185, 837.

inheritance and by matrimonial alliances. Although his expanded domain included the rich mercantile cities of the Netherlands, which generated much revenue, it lacked cohesiveness, because it was an amalgam of different nationalities, some Germanic, some Frankish, and some Flemish. In lieu of Sufi *shaykhs* with an *`ayyār* following, the feudal lords of his duchy were each capable of raising a small army from their dominions. To assure cohesiveness among such disparate entities, Philip created the Order of the Golden Fleece. His vassals and allies were invited to join the Order through an initiation process by which they swore allegiance to the Order and to its Sovereign, the Duke Philip. In lieu of the *servāl* that An-Nāser bestowed on the initiates, Philip used a golden chain with a golden-fleece pendant (Fig. 29) as the symbol of membership in the Order. The knights of the Order had to wear it at all times, and upon death or eviction, the chain had to be returned.[171]

An-Nāser used his *fotovvat* platform to forge alliances with neighboring princes who were sent *servāls*. The list includes the `Ayubbid Malek az-Zāher (r. 1186-1216) and his cousin Malek al-Kāmel (1218-1238), the Saljuq ruler of Anatolia Kay-Kāvus b. Kay-Khosrow (1211-19), as well as the Ghurid ruler of Ghazna, Shahāb-od-din Mohammad (1202-1206).[172] Similarly, Philip sent golden chains of the Order of the Golden Fleece to form alliances with a number of rulers and feudal lords, including the King of Aragon, the Duke of Cleves and the Duke of Guelders.[173] In both cases, the structure of their respective orders strengthened alliances, and brought together militia men and military commanders, bound by an oath of allegiance to their Sovereign, and committed to lead a life with "honor."

An-Nāser's decision had four main effects on the subsequent evolution of the *fotovvat*. First, it partially lifted the veil of secrecy from these congregations, and brought them into the open. Second, through the edict (*manshur*) that he issued to regulate the conduct of his *fatā*s, he paved the way for the dissemination of a multitude of plainly written *fotovvat-nāmeh*s (these texts are in sharp contrast with congregation manuals of the Western world that remained shrouded in secrecy; see Appendix I). Third, the association of the *fotovvat* with the Caliphate allowed it to gain fame and prestige at the expense of other congregations, such as the *`ayyārs*. Fourth, the structured organization created by An-Nāser was thereafter emulated by congregations that fostered a large membership.

[171] Paviot 2000, XXII.
[172] Kāshefi 1971, LVIII.
[173] Richard 2009, 68.

The *fotovvat* therefore became ennobled, and embodied thereafter the spiritual aspects of *javānmardi*, while *`ayyārism* remained populist and gathered negative dust.

V.7 - The Missing Link

All studies that have hitherto hinted at a possible link between later brotherhoods and a Mithraic past, have been unable to find similar organizations, or remnants of it, in the Sasanian era. This missing link, however, is essential for any theory that tries to demonstrate the continuity of the Mithraic phenomenon. In search of clues to this effect, one must concentrate on the most basic common traits and insignias, and not on later additions, such as the *paizeh* (a safe-conduct medal introduced by the Mongols) that some orders carried.[174]

Among insignias, we have already noted that the elaborate Roman (or Hellenistic) stone-mounted gold ring in Fig. 93 must have belonged to a high-ranking official of a Mithraic order, most probably to a *pater*. Interestingly, there exists a Persian parallel to it, with a similar gold ring and a jade bezel on which an Arabic dictum is carved (Fig. 94b):

عزّ من قنع و ذلّ من طمع

Powerful is the one who is content, and contemptible is the one who is greedy.

Fig. 93 - same as Fig. 26

Figs. 94 a, b- Gold ring of a Sufi leader with lion mask in lieu of a sunburst. (Christie's South Kensington. Sale of Apr. 7, 2011, lot 204)

This Arabic dictum, which is carved in an elaborate Persian *nasta`liq* script, datable to the 19th century, emphasizes detachedness from worldly goods, and promotes the state of *eflās* or pennilessness, so essential to Sufi teachings.[175] On the other hand, the gold ring itself is very similar to the Roman one, with one major difference: In lieu of the sunburst

[174] Kāshefi describes the *paizeh*, for instance, as an insignia of the *salleh-keshān* or food-transporters; Kāshefi 1971, 321.

[175] Kāshefi states that the Sufi neither possesses (anything) nor is possessed (by someone) الصّوفی لایَملِک و لایُملَک and must cherish the state of *eflās*; Kāshefi 1971, 44.

we have a lion mask that alludes to the Imam `Ali often referred to as Asadollāh (God's Lion). The lion, though, being a solar emblem, still connects the ring to a Mithraic past. And the rest of the composition mostly follows the pattern of the Roman ring, but instead of dogs embracing the three-dot symbol of Tishtrya, we now have a lion and a deer peering at it from a distance. Perhaps because the dog was considered unclean by Moslems, it was eliminated and replaced by more noble animals. As a result, the astrological significance of the three-dot sign is lost, and it becomes a mere decorative element, relegated to the rim of the ring (Fig. 94a). Nonetheless, when juxtaposed, the two rings demonstrate a number of points:

a) They marvelously reflect the split of the *M-S avatars into two parallel branches: one in the Greco-Roman world, and the other, in the Iranian world.
b) While the Roman side emphasized astrology and mythology, the Iranian side pursued Sufi ideals.
c) Judging by their sumptuous settings, these two seals must have belonged to high-ranking officials of their respective orders, and suggest that other members may have worn a ring too, especially since Sufi literature alludes to a ring worn by dervishes called *khātam-e tariqat* (the seal of the righteous path).[176]
d) Finally, because from time immemorial office ranks were engraved on seals, we may try to find a Mithraic hierarchy among the corpus of Sasanian seals.

Since the reading of legends carved on Sasanian seals is not always obvious, our task can be facilitated by first analyzing the hierarchy of the congregations described in this chapter, in order to have an idea for what to look for on Sasanian seals.

The congregations mentioned so far fall under three general categories, each using a different name for its leadership, as summarized in the table below:

Sufi and dervish orders	artisans, guilds, *`ayyārs*	militias, wrestlers, *`ayyārs*
[naqib]	*ostād*	*pahlavān*
pir, bābā		
ostād-e shadd		

[176] Dehkhodā "khātam-e tariqat"

V.8 - Naqib

In the 1970's when I visited a Sufi gathering in Tehran, I noticed that they had invited a *sayyed* Mollā by the name of Sabzevāri, who inaugurated the evening ceremony by discussing the merits of "giving" and "detachment from earthly goods." Although he commanded much respect, he was not a member of the congregation, nor did he have a role in the hierarchy. He was just a figurehead. In reading the *fotovvat-nāmeh*s of the Sufis and dervishes, one gets a clear feeling that the *naqib* too was a figurehead whose presence was occasionally necessary because of three factors: 1) since he was a *sayyed* and a descendent of the Imam `Ali, he brought a certain degree of legitimacy and prestige to the congregation; 2) because the *naqib* was supposedly knowledgeable about the genealogy of the *sayyed*s (i.e. descendants of the Prophet and the Imam `Ali), he had to certify the true *sayyed* claimants and reject the false ones; 3) he could also provide protection for the congregation. When the head of the congregation was himself a *sayyed* (as the Safavids claimed to be) there was evidently no need for a *naqib;* he could provide protection himself.

The *naqib* function thus represented an office dictated by circumstances and not by tradition. As a result, he had no Roman counterpart. We shall therefore consider him as a later addition and concentrate on the remaining ones.

V.9 - Bābā/Pir

All dervish and Sufi orders were headed by a *bābā* or *pir*, whose names meant father (NP *pe**d**ar*). Indeed, while *bābā* is still used in that capacity in New Persian, *pir* is the condensed pronunciation of *piyar* (written as پیر), a word that still means father in the Lori dialect of Western Iran, and is akin to the French *père* in its drop of the ***d***.[177] As such, they are the Iranian counterparts to the Roman Mithraic *pater* or *papa/pāp*, and represent a title and function called *bābāyi*, which at times was approved or bestowed by the king himself.[178] And whereas in the Mysteries there existed a *pater patrum*,[179] it had a counterpart among dervish orders as *pir-e pirān*, or *dede bābā*, which all meant "father of fathers" and obviously designated a leader of very high rank.

A derivative of *pir* is *pireh*, a title that is repeatedly encountered in the main accounts of the early Safavids, namely the *Safvat-os-safā* and the *Tazkereh-ye Shaykh Safi-od-din.*

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[177] Afshāri& Mir`ābedini 1995, 33.
[178] Shāh `Abbās II (r, 1642-66), for instance, bestowed it on a certain Bābā Soltān Qalandar-e Qomi of the Haydari sect; Afshāri 2003, LXVI.
[179] For a list of *pater patrum* titles see *www.tertullian.org/rpearse/mithras/display.php?page=pater_patrum*

Pireh is the modern pronunciation of MP *pir-ag*, which was defined as a "lesser *pir*." Out of deference for an existing *pir*, respected Sufi leaders opted for the diminutive *pireh*. The case of one Pireh Badr-od-din, qualified as *malek-ol-kholafā* (chief deputy), demonstrates my assertion, for despite his epithet of *pireh,* he was also a deputy (*khalifeh*) of the celebrated Safavid *shaykhs*; he was therefore a respected dervish leader, but lesser nonetheless than the *pir*, who in this case was the Safavid Shaykh himself.[180] A *pireh,* however, could gradually gather more of a following and be promoted to the status of *bābā*, as attested by several personalities called Pireh Bābā in the *Safvat*.[181] Moreover, both *pir* and *pirag* were epithets that were used in Sasanian times for commanders and congregational leaders, and qualified sometimes as *mehrān*, an adjective that obviously linked them to Mithra/Mehr (see sec. VII.2).

While *pir* designates the leader of a congregation, Kāshefi uses—interchangeably—two other terms, *shaykh* and *pedar-e `ahdollāh* (پدر عهدالله).[182] The first term designates an elderly person or a chieftain in Arabic. Similar to the name *sajjādeh* that was given to the *pust-takht*, the adoption of *shaykh* was to find an Arabic equivalent for *pir*. The second term describes *pir* as *pedar-e `ahdollāh* (i.e., father of *`ahdollāh*), and sheds more light on the Arabicization process of Mithraic terms. The *`ahdollāh* therein designates the initiate with a composite word inspired by the Koran; but it is a fabrication nonetheless. Indeed, whenever these two words appear in tandem in the Koran,[183] they refer to the Moslems' "covenant with God" (*`ahd allāh*); they don't refer to a person named *`ahdollāh* (even though it sounds like `Abdollāh).[184]

In reality, this composite word is a clever substitute for the name of the initiate who entered Mithraic orders by taking an oath in the name of Mithra. Etymologically, *mithra* meant covenant, and Mithra was the god who supervised all covenants. Those who broke a covenant were called *mehr-druj*, i.e., the ones who lied to Mithra. If there was a term for the one who broke a covenant, there must have been a word for the one who upheld it as well. I suggest that word to be *mehr-bān*, which etymologically means: The one who guarded or upheld the covenant. But it was a word that neither sat well with Zoroastrians

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[180] Neshāti Shirāzi 2009, 422-25. The name of other *pirehs* are stated as Pireh Jebre`il-e Kafshgar, Pireh Hājji Āqimuny, Pireh `Ajib Fargushi, Pireh Fakhr-od-din-e Varazqāni, Pireh `Abd-ol-karim Khalkhāli, Pireh `Abdollāh.

[181] See for instance Ebn-e Bazzāz 1994, 387, 771 : پیره بابا مراغی، پیره بابا عمروجانی

[182] Kāshefi 1971, 65-74; 94-95.

[183] For instance in verses II: 27, III:77, XIII:20, 25…

[184] A reason for the adoption of this combination may be that, sound-wise, '*ahdollāh* was similar to '*abdollāh*, which meant slave of God and was used as a name.

who saw Ahura Mazdā as their supreme deity, nor Moslems for whom the only god was Allāh. It was bound to disappear or be transformed. And that is why it gradually became an adjective and gained the meaning of "kind person," but was still used in the *Shāhnāmeh* to describe a "man of oath," or a member of the community of military leaders (*gav*, *pahlavān*).[185] And that is why a dynasty that ruled over Nimruz (Sistān) in the 14-15th century was referred to as the Mehr-bānids. More importantly, the poet Sa`di (1184-1283) makes direct references to the bond and honor code that existed among *mehr-bānān*, as upholders of the covenant:

شمشیر نگسلاند پیوند مهربانان
The sword will not break the bond between the *mehr-bānān*,
آبروی مهربانان پیش معشوق آب جوست
The honor of the *mehr-bānān* is worthless before the beloved.[186]

The word `*ahdollāh,* therefore, seems to be the Arabic substitute for *mehr-bān,* or the initiate who took an oath in the name of Mithra; Allah was just a substitute for the god who guaranteed the oath. Furthermore, as Kāshefi describes it, *pir* is the father of the `*ahdollāh.* By virtue of having the same *father*, all initiates were thus brothers; and that is why they addressed each other as *barādar, akhi, kākā, dādāsh, dāsh*, all meaning brother in different languages and dialects.

V.10 - Ostād

Along with the *pir*, Kāshefi deems the presence of a second figure, the *ostād*, essential for the guidance of the initiates through the path of righteousness (*tariqat*).[187] In dervish orders, this second person is called *ostād-e shadd*, i.e., the person in charge of administering the oath of *fotovvat* and the one who tied a cord, called the *shadd,* around the initiate's waist. While the *shadd* could also designate the ribbon that some dervishes knotted around their bonnet, the Dehkhodā dictionary attributes two other meanings that link it to a Mithraic past. First is the meaning of "running," which ties it to the *heliodromos* of the Mysteries whose name meant the "runner of the Sun," and second, the "activation of fire," which recalls the fire that lay at the heart of the *mithraeum* and needed to be activated for initiation ceremonies. As we shall see (sec. VII.2), the word

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[185] See Dehkhodā 1994, "*mehrbān*," for instance when *gav* (champion fighter) and *dalirān* (the bold fighters) are described as *mehr-bān* by Ferdowsi, i.e., "a man of oath" or one imbued with chivalry ideals:ای گو مهربان کند مهربان بادلیران تو را ,

[186] Ghazal no. 88 from the Bustānof Sa`di; *http://ganjoor.net/saadi/divan/ghazals/sh88/*

[187] Kāshefi 1971, 61-62. See also another *fotovvat-nāmeh* quoted by Afshāri 2003, 46, where it says that "our sons and the *javānmards* should know that no one can be without a *pir, morshed* or *ostād*,"

ostād derived from *mehr-astāt*, or the one who ran alongside Mithra's chariot, who was the Iranian counterpart of *heliodromos*. He was the second in command and in charge of the initiation process, in the same way that the Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece was responsible for administering the oath of allegiance to its knights. Already in late Sasanian times, the word was being used for a commanding position as Ebn-e Athir names one Ostād Khoshnush (?) (خشنش) who acted as an emissary between the Sasanian Shiroyeh (r. 628 AD) and his father Khosrow II (r. 590-628), and is qualified as a chancellor.[188]

But among guilds or artisans, *ostād* designated the master who taught a craft to his pupils. Interestingly, when describing the required qualities of the *ostād*, the texts usually enumerate moral values rather than technical prowess. Thus, in a Safavid cooking manual, written in the early seventeenth century by a certain Nurollāh, Shāh `Abbās's chief cook, the traits expected from a master cook are described as follows:

> A master (*ostād*) is one that shall devote full attention to his work from start to end without reliance on anybody else, and one who does not allow arrogance and selfishness (that are associated with the devil) to take hold of him and one who has purity [of soul] and honesty . . . and he should keep his outward and inward [soul] clean and pure . . . And a sense of dignity, and endurance and good humor and kindness and good treatment of the assistant is a necessity [to be acquired] but character and talent is God-given.[189]

And the same is repeated by Kāshefi for describing the virtues of a master wrestler (*ostād-e koshti*).[190] The good virtues of the *ostād*s provided an aura of respect that cut across different guilds and congregations. More than a teacher, the *ostād* was a leader, especially for the *`ayyārs*. Ebn-e Nadim, for instance, qualified the Khorramdiniyyeh leader Jāvidān, as the *ostād* of Bābak.[191] Similarly, Samak the `Ayyār would address his captain and teacher as *ostād*,[192] and as we already saw, a certain Ostād Hormoz was recruited in Baghdad to subdue his fellow *`ayyārs*. Another famous *`ayyār* leader was Ostād-sis who fomented a lasting rebellion after the death of Abu-Moslem-e Khorāsāni

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[188] Ebn-e Athir 1965, I:495. This Ostād was supposedly in charge of governmental decisions, i.e., essentially a chancellor or member of the High Council: (كان يلي تدبير المملكة)
[189] Afshar 1360, 194.
[190] Kāshefi 1971, 305.
[191] Ebn-e Nadim , 342: فان جاويدان وهو أستاذ بابک
[192] Samak's master was Shoghāl-e Pil-zur (the fox with elephant power) whose name emphasized two important qualities of the *`ayyārs*: wily as a fox and strong as an elephant; Khānlari , 87; Kāshefi 1971, 334. Ruse and wiliness was an important characteristic of the `ayyārs; Dehhkhodā "*`ayyār*."

(d. 755) in Eastern Iran. As "sis" meant "mount,"[193] *ostād-sis* was probably an epithet applied to the leader of a group of *`ayyār* horsemen, or *asvār*s.

On the other hand, in Anatolia where many brotherhoods were referred to as *akhi*s, their leader in Kırşehir was named Akhi Bābā (i.e., father of brothers), and he or his deputies were in charge of admitting apprentices into guilds, and tying a belt around their waist at initiation ceremonies.[194] Thus, *bābā, pir* and *ostād* were all leaders of congregations who ordained their initiates through the symbolic act of tying a cord or a ribbon, an act which is still prevalent among the Freemasons.

V.11 - *Pahlavān*

The champion of the wrestlers is called *pahlavān* nowadays, and so is the champion paladin of the *Shāhnāmeh*, Rostam. When a wrestler is ordained, he is given short leather pants called *kasvat* or *tonbān* (Fig. 90), similar to the *servāl* bestowed by An-Nāser to his *fatā*s. A *pahlavān* of high rank is sometimes called *kohneh-savār* or "old rider," which may allude to a term formerly used by mounted *`ayyārs*.[195] On the other hand, some of the *`ayyār* leaders who successfully grabbed the reins of power were also called *pahlavān*. Such is the case of Pahlavān Asad-e Khorāsāni (d. 1374) who had rebelled against his Mozaffarid overlords and ruled independently in Kermān, or the *pahlavān* brothers `Abd-or-Razzāq (r. 1332–1338) and Mas`ud (r. 1338-43) who rebelled against the Mongols and founded the Sarbedārid dynasty (see sec. IX.5).

Pahlavān is derived from *pahlav*, a word that is linked to Old Persian *pārsa*. The latter originally designated a fire priest, a function that the main branch of the Achaemenids proudly claimed as theirs. The name was eventually extended to the whole Achaemenid nation, which became the nation of the *Pārsa*s or Persians (see sec. XII.7). As such, we have a direct correspondence between *pārsa* and the third Mithraic rank *perses*, which probably referred to the official in charge of the fire in the *mithraeum*. In Greek, the name of this Iranian fire officer was pronounced *perses*, in the same way that they pronounced Persian as *perses* in their language. Hence the confusion. But more precisely, the *pahlav* is the one that, by virtue of his closeness to the fire that harbors the *farr*, is a leader of high rank, more often than not, in the military (see sec. VII.3).

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[193] Dehkhodā: "sis".
[194] Taeschner 1960a, 333-334. Kırşehir was named Justinianopolis under the Byzantines.
[195] Afshāri 2003, Lxxi; Mahjoub 2000, 160.

V.12 - *Rāsty*

In sum, the three top leaders of Iranian brotherhoods have names that can be identified with the three top ranks of Roman Mithraism, and we shall use them to find equivalent grades under Sasanian rule. There is, however, one last observation that may be of help to our Sasanian investigation, and that is the frequent appearance of the word *rāsty,* as well as its derivatives or translations, in *javānmardi*-related texts. The *Qābus-nāmeh*, for instance, states that man is in need of three virtues: Wisdom (*kherad*), truthfulness (*rāsty*), and closeness to people (*mardomi*). It then emphasizes that the *javānmard* must do as he says, not say what is not truthful (*rāsty*), and must act true to his promises (*sādeq-ol-va`d*); it also explains that if *javānmardi* is the body that shapes being, truthfulness (*rāsty*) is its soul.[196] So important was the *rāsty* concept that some dervish orders were called the *rāstān* (the true ones), which, in a switch to Arabic, became the Ahl-e Haqq.[197] On the other hand, rather than finding a Koranic interpretation for "truthfulness," early *fotovvat-nāmeh*s link it to the Prophet Mohammad by placing it at the very top of a list of virtues that he supposedly saw in the *javānmards*.[198] And so does the great Sufi poet `Attār (1142-1220) who puts *rāsty* before all other *fotovvat* requirements:

که هفتاد و دو شد شرط فتوّت * یکی زان شرطها باشد مروّت
نخستین، راستی را پیشه کن * چو نیکان، از بدی اندیشه کن
Seventy two conditions define the *fotovvat* * one of them being manliness (*morovvat*)
First, you must espouse truthfulness (*rāsty*) * and like the Good ones, avoid the bad

Finally, because the *Bondahesh* states that: Mithra's duty is to judge people on their truthful behavior (*rāsty kardan*),[199] whenever the word *rāsty* appears in Sasanian seals or documents, chances are that it is related to a Mithraic brotherhood.

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[196] Kaykāvus 1999, 243-49.
[197] See Pirouzdjou 1997, 115-116 where he recounts how, in his youth, Shaykh Safi was sent to see the legendary leader of the Ahl-e Haqq, Soltān Sahāk, who claimed that his congregation was that of the *Rāstāns;* and how Safi would later claim that his religion was based on *haqiqat* (truthfulness).
[198] The virtues that Ebn- Me`mār-e Hanbali enumerates as a quote from the Imam Ja`far, who supposedly attributes them to the Prophet Mohammad, are as follows: 1- speaking the truth (*rāst-guyi*), 2- honoring one's promise, etc.; Mahjoub 2000, 14.
[199] Dādaghi 1990, 113.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCORPION AND THE SNAKE

VI.1 - The Sasanian Evidence

Faulty perception of the Sasanian religious landscape lies at the root of wrong assumptions that have led to inaccurate conclusions. One such theory stipulates that Zoroastrianism was the state religion, and that all other Iranian religions or beliefs were persecuted and pushed out, as the Manicheans or Mazdakites were. Far from it. An important tenet of Zoroastrianism is that the scorpion and the snake are noxious animals (*khrafstar*) that must be eliminated. And yet, as we browse over Sasanian seals, we can see that snakes and scorpions appear on them, many belonging to dignitaries and men of high rank. Four distinct groups of seals are of interest to this study:

a) The scorpion in the company of auspicious symbols – In Fig. 95, for instance, the scorpion appears next to the auspicious bird Chamrosh with a ribbon tied around its neck; both are associated with the *farr*. In Fig. 96 it sits on top of a pair of wings that we have argued elsewhere to be imbued with *farr*.[200]

Fig. 95 – Scorpion with *chamrosh*. (Gignoux & Gyselen 1982, 30.87)

Fig. 96 – Scorpion with a pair of wings. (*Slpendeur* 1993, 289)

Fig. 97 – Scorpion with star and moon. Louvre.

Fig. 98 – Scorpion with sun cross and symbol of 10000 *farrs*. (Gyselen 2006, 57)

In Fig. 97 it is surrounded by the auspicious and ubiquitous symbols of the star and the moon;[201] and in Fig. 98, two scorpions complement a well-known Sasanian emblem representing ten thousand *farr/khvarrah*: A hand with two stretched fingers (symbol of 10000) surrounded by a flying ribbon or *dastār* (symbol of *farr*).[202] Through association, all of these symbols are auspicious, and project an abundance of *farr* for its owner.

[200] Soudvaar 2003, 19-25.
[201] Soudavar 2003, 61-62; Soudavar 2006b, 175.
[202] Soudavar 2003, 59-62; Soudavar 2009a, 435.

Therefore, a fourth sign, the four-legged cross, which appears on the latter seal, must also represent an auspicious symbol. Indeed, as Pirouzdjou has suggested, the four-legged cross is an ancient symbol of the Sun that Iranians called *chalipā* (derived from *chār-pā* meaning four-legged), and subsequently rendered as *salib* by the Arabs, because of the lack of "ch" and "p" in their alphabet.[203] As such, it can be seen next to a mountain goat (symbol of the rising sun) on the mountainous landscape of a first millennium BC seal belonging to the MFA in Boston (Fig. 99), and on a goblet from the same period at the Louvre, in which the *chalipā* is incorporated in a circle and provides an unequivocal link to the Sun next to a griffin marked by a sun symbol on its hind-quarters (Fig. 100). The *chalipā* of these seals was therefore not a Christian cross, as Gyselen has presumed, but a symbol of the sun associated with Mithra.[204] In fact, at the basilica of St Appolinare Nuovo of Ravenna, where the three Magi are depicted as Mithraic priests with red bonnets, the name of each is preceded by a *chalipā* in order to emphasize their sun-affiliated oriental origin (Fig. 101).[205]

Fig. 99 – Seal imprint. Sun cross next to a mountain goat and griffin. 1st Millenium BC. MFAB

Fig. 100 - Sun cross, next to griffin with sun symbol (↑). Iran, 800 BC. Louvre

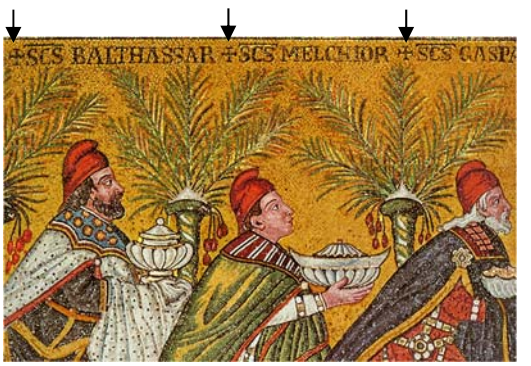

Fig. 101 – Sun cross (↑) in front of the names of the Mithraic magi (restored). 6th century. Mosaics of St Appolinare Nuovo, Ravenna

Since Mithra is the primary god who bestows the *farr*, all *farr* symbols invoked him indirectly; and so did the sun. We must therefore presume that the scorpion too was linked to Mithra. It's a linkage that finds additional support in the permanent presence of the scorpion in Roman tauroctony scenes.

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[203] Pirouzdjou , 217. If this *chār-pā* was spelled in MP as *čl'-p`*, it could indeed be read as *chalipā*.
[204] Gyselen 2006, 57.
[205] Before the Middle Ages, the Magi depicted as Mithraic priests paying homage to the newborn Jesus implied the victory of Christ over Mithra; Félix 2000, 15 and 25; see also Soudavar 2012a, 26-29.

b) Scorpion seals inscribed with the name of Mithra – When the name of a deity is mentioned on a scorpion seal, it's almost invariably that of Mithra (Mehr). For instance, one seal bears the name Mehrag (Fig. 102); and the name on another one is given as *Mehr-ādur Vishnasb [i] Ruwān-bin*, the *ruwān-bin* part of the name being an adjective that refers to an exalted state in which the soul of the priestly official is so elevated that it can see the wandering souls of his predecessors.[206] The latter seal not only connects the scorpion to Mithra's fire (Mehr-ādur) but provides an adjective that is seemingly appropriate for the Mithraic hierarchy.

Fig. 102 – Seal of *Mehr-ādur Vishnasb.* Gignoux & Gyselen 1982, 30.94

Figs. 103 a, b – (a) Seal of Mehrak, Yale; (b) Scorpions with lion and bull, MFA Boston. (Gignoux & Gyselen 1987)

Figs. 104 a, b – Sasanian seals, BNF. Legends evoking gods (*yazatān*) in (a), and *rāsty* in (b). (Gyselen 1997, 30.E.6, 30.T.1)

c) Scorpions with lions – The lion was the symbol of the sun par excellence, and on seals, the appearance of the scorpion in conjunction with lions, as in Fig. 103b and Fig. 104a, is one more clue for linking it to a Mithraic environment. The legend on both reads *"abestān o yazatān"* (support from gods),[207] and as such, refers, in an oblique way, to the deity pair Mithra and Apam Napāt, especially on the seal which displays the lion and the bull as a pair (see sec. XI.17).

***d) Scorpion and* rāsty** – Finally, scorpions on seals such as the one on Fig. 104b, which has a legend based on the word *rāsty*, are likely to peg this word to Mithraic sayings or precepts.[208]

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[206] Gignoux and Gyselen (1982, 4) propose that the legend on seal 30 should translate as "look at the soul of Mehr-ādur Vishnasb." Unfortunately such a command has neither a precedent nor a palpable meaning. In a forthcoming work, F. Pākzād suggests that *ruwān-bin* is an adjective similar to other combinations such as *menog-bin*, and one that implies an elevated state that allows seeing things that ordinary men cannot. Similar adjectives are used for priests in the *Shāhnāmeh*: *mowbad-e pish-bin* (the clairvoyant priest), as well as for army commanders: *jahān-bin* (world-seer) and *zharf-bin* (with deep understanding).

[207] Gyselen 1993, seal 30E.6; Gignoux and Gyselen 1982, seal 40.27.

[208] Gyselen 1993, seal 30T1 of the Bibliothèque Nationale was read as"*rāstih veh (i) pad baxt*" by Gyselen; it should be rectified to *rāstih veh por baxt* (The righteous path is better than full fortune).

VI.2 - The Elamite Connection

At the end of my book *Aura of Kings* (2003), I had tentatively linked the scorpion to the remnants of a proto-Elamite tradition that, later on, must have gotten enmeshed with Mithraic practices.[209] My only clue at that time was the abundance of scorpion images on 3rd-millenium BC artifacts from southeast Iran that were then known as "Kermān" stones, and are now dubbed "Jiroft stones," due to a multitude of similar objects that were unearthed in the Jiroft area a decade ago. The complex iconography of these objects vouched for a strong priestly tradition that could hardly disappear without leaving a trace. Indeed, the motif of the "master of animals," or a superhuman who holds two threatening animals in each hand, is one that originated in the Jiroft culture, survived the vicissitudes of history to strongly re-emerge in the bronze art of Luristan in early 1st-millennium BC, and finally landed in the Roman world. Of particular interest to us is the Jiroftian prototype of the "master of animals" who holds two serpents in his hands (Fig. 106), which is echoed in a bowl from the *mithraeum* of the Crypta Balbi in Rome (Fig. 107), as well as on a Roman Mithraic cameo in which snakes are wrapped around two sticks (Fig. 108); the double snake motif also appears among the symbols of the Ostia *mithraeum* (Fig. 112) as a stick with two serpents, called *caduceus*, which was the ancient symbol of messengers.[210] A similar *caduceus* is held by Cautopates on the Louvre stele of Fig. 39b.

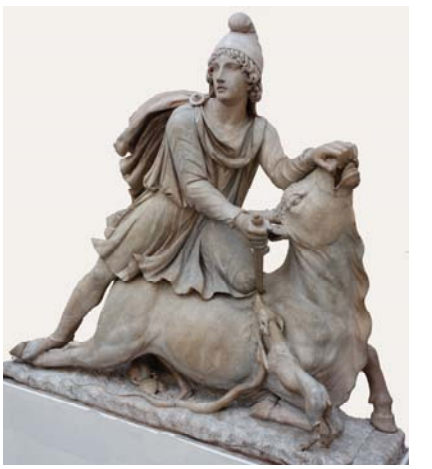

Fig. 105 - Snake and scorpion in tauroctony scene. British Museum

The above examples clearly show that the symbolism of the serpent somehow got enmeshed with Mithraic iconography, and was integrated into tauroctony scenes where a snake and a scorpion are crawling toward the genitals of the sacrificial bull (Fig. 105). Because the scorpion and the snake appear in tandem on Jiroft artifacts, their joint reappearance in tauroctony scenes may indicate an old auspiciousness that survived at least up to Sasanian times. Therefore, Sasanian seals that depict a shamanistic person who, like the master of animals, holds two sticks in his hands, around which a scorpion and a snake are intertwined (Fig. 109), may carry symbolism that dates back to the proto-Elamite period of Jiroft on the one hand, and to the Roman Mysteries on the other. The similarity between these seals cannot be accidental.

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[209] Soudavar 2003, 118-120.

[210] The *caduceus* was often mistakenly used in lieu of the Rod of Asclepius as a medicinal symbol.

Fig. 106 – Master of animals with two serpents. C. 2300BC. Louvre

Fig. 107 - Master of animals with two serpents. 1st century. Crypta Balbi, Rome.

Fig. 108 - Cameo with snakes, altar, cauldron. (Cumont 1903, 124)

Fig. 109 – Seal with scorpion and snake (Gyselen 1993, 10.D.2)

Fig. 110 - Seal imprint. Elamite king seated on snake throne. Louvre

Figs. 111 a, b- Jiroft crushing tool objects; c. 2300 BC. (a) abundant palmtrees; (b) scorpions. (Majidzadeh 2003, 127)

Fig. 112 - Symbols of the 1st rank of the Mysteries. Ostia (web)

An emblematic item from the Kermān/Jiroft series of objects is a handbag-shaped stone object, which is a crushing tool, probably used to crush grain in agricultural ceremonies and rituals.[211] Many of them feature serpents and scorpions (Fig. 111b). Because these creatures hibernate in winter, their awakening in springtime ushers in the rainy season. They were therefore considered as auspicious animals associated with water. The snake in particular became a god of water for the Elamites whose kings are sometimes depicted on a snake throne (Fig. 110). Other "handbags" show lush palm-tree plantations or water

[211] This type of item has often been described as a weight, but it is not, because it has a small and unstable base as standing weight, and cannot be a hanging one, since there are no signs of hook wear under its handle. They were probably ceremonial crushing tools, because: 1- there is usually extensive mechanical rubbing on the handle suggesting frequent handling, and also on the corners of the base, which indicates a movement like the sole of a shoe (it has the same kind of wear on its two ends), 2- that the motifs on these tools are mostly water motifs (e.g. water waves, serpent-shaped god of water) or dense palm-tree plantations, which augured abundant rain and crop; see also Soudavar 1992, 25.

waves (Fig. 111a) and convey the wish for good rains and an abundant harvest. We would therefore like to propose that the two sticks, which the shamanistic figure holds on these Sasanian seals (Fig. 109), were used to awaken the snake and the scorpion in their hibernation holes in order to precipitate the rainy season.[212]

Fig. 113 – Fully clad *kuseh*. (Mirshokrai 1978, cover)

Figs. 114 a, b – (a) Seal with 2 *kuseh*s; (b) Seal depicting the chasing of the *kuseh* (Gyselen 1993, 10.E.5, 14.2)

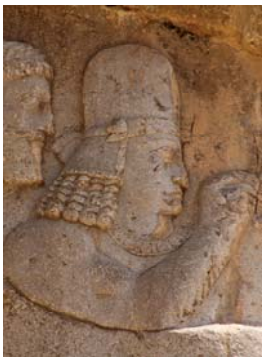

Fig. 115- Beardless portrait of Kerdir. Naqsh-e Rostam.

I believe that traces of these agricultural ceremonies can be found in a practice called *kuseh-gardi* (also *kuseh-galin,* or *kuseh bar-neshin*), still performed in various villages of Iran. The principal objective of the ceremony was to attract the clouds and the rain. As reported by Biruni (973-1048) and Gardizi (d. 1061), this practice goes back to Sasanian times when it was held on the first day of the month of Āzar, which according to the calendar of those days coincided with the first day of Spring.[213] On such a day, a *kuseh* (beardless man), who personified Winter, was put on a cow (or a donkey nowadays), then paraded around town and subsequently chased out, as if to clear the way for Spring. But more telling are the accoutrements of this *kuseh* (Fig. 113), which resemble that of the shamanistic man in Fig. 109, in the type of straw hat that he wears and the stick that he holds. In some villages the ritual involve two *kuseh*s, one black (for Winter) and one white (for Spring), which perhaps explains the appearance of the double shaman in Fig. 114a. The picture of the modern *kuseh* is revelatory in several respects. Firstly, his head-to-toe accoutrements were not to protect him against the cold, since they were worn at the beginning of spring when the weather was mild. They must have originally been devised

[212] A parallel can be drawn between these ceremonies and Groundhog Day in North America, where the weather conditions surrounding the emergence of the groundhog supposedly determines the coming of springtime.
[213] Krasnowolska 2006.

for protection against attacks and bites from noxious animal; if the *kuseh* had to wield his stick in snake pits or scorpion dens, he could have been exposed to such attacks and had to be protected. Secondly, the bells hanging from his belt may have been used as added instruments for awakening the hibernating creatures; but they also recall a similar bell used by *shāters* and performers (Figs. 137-38). Finally, a tail-like object hanging from his belt may allude to the snakes he was supposed to awaken. As for the name *kuseh* (MP *kusag*), today it can mean both a beardless man and a shark. Although, it may have originally referred to hairless beasts, it more probably alluded to the beardless faces of ancient Iranian priests (see for instance Fig. 115).

On the first day of the *kuseh-gardi* ceremonies, the *kuseh* walks around with a fan and complains about the heat. He asks for food and money, and if refused he spills ink on his interlocutors and beats them with his fan. On the second day, however, the roles are reversed. The *kuseh* is hunted down, and when found, he is beaten with his own stick and fan; he is then chased out of town. In a seal imprint published by Rika Gyselen and classified as "talismanic," we can recognize a *kuseh-gardi* scene, in which a man is chasing the *kuseh* and beats him with his own fan (Fig. 114b).[214] Moreover, the two tail-like objects hanging from his belts end with snake heads. Finally, the word *rāsty* is inscribed on the contour of the seal, which clearly links the snake to the Mithraic ideal of *rāsty* (truthfulness).

Whereas the tail of the sacrificial bull of tauroctony scenes ends in wheat ears—a symbol of fertility—the scorpion and the snake crawling toward its genitals may be interpreted as further signs of a fertility rite that somehow found its way into the Roman myth of Mithras. The chasing of the beardless *kuseh*—whom we suspect to represent the Mithraic magi—may be the result of a later conflation between these fertility rites and the yearly Magophonia beating (or massacre) of the *magi* that we shall explain in chapter XII.

Furthermore, the Armenians, who called their praying abodes *mehean* (lit. place of Mithra),[215] transferred substantial decorative elements from their Mithra-worshiping past to their churches.[216] Chief among them is the motif of two serpents converging toward a human head that is usually surmounted by a solar-disk emblem (Fig. 116). The combination clearly follows a Mithraic template, very much analogous to the Anatolian bronze object, which shows Mithra flanked by two lion headed reptiles (Fig. 117).[217]

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[214] Gyselen 1996, 243.
[215] Russell 1995, 277; Boyce 1993.
[216] For a similar phenomenon in Italy, see sec. XIV.8.
[217] See also sec. XIV.9.

Thus, from Elamite Iran, to Christian Armenia, to the Crypta Balbi in Rome, we have a recurring association of snakes with Mithraic entities. No wonder then that the Zoroastrian priesthood categorized the snake as a *khrafstar*, or noxious animal that had to be killed. As a distinctive symbol of Zoroastrians' opponents, it symbolized evil and that is why the head of Ahriman under the hoofs of Ahura Mazdā's horse, in Naqsh-e Rostam, is infested with snakes (Figs. 129, 176).

Fig. 116 – Mithraic head with converging snakes and a sun motif. St Poghos-Petros church, Tatev Monastery, Armenia (Ph. Sara Kuehn)

Fig. 117 – Mithra holding two lion snakes. Istanbul Archeological Museum

VI.3 - The Mithraic Scorpion from the Christian Perspective

As we shall argue (sec. XIV.8), the early Christians were probably sympathetic to Mithraic societies. But once Christianity became a state religion, the Emperor Julian's attempt to impose the cult of Mithra bought him the infamous "Apostate" epithet and marked Mithraism as the enemy of Christianity. In a painting by Fra Angelico (1395-1455), this animosity seems to have been transposed onto the Roman soldiers from the province of Judea in charge of Jesus's crucifixion. They operated under a banner of SPQR (*Senatus Populus Que Romanus*) that represented the Roman state, and wore capes marked by prominent scorpion signs that designated them as Mithraic practitioners (see Fig. 310). Thus, for Fra Angelico, the scorpion was the very symbol of the enemy of Christianity, i.e., Mithraism. Time and again, the scorpion was associated with Mithra, and the Zoroastrian priests decried it as a noxious animal that had to be killed.[218]

[218] See Appendix II/5.

CHAPTER VII

THE MITHRAIC SEALS

VII.1 - The *Bāp* or Father

Among the most impressive Sasanian seals, in size and weight, are two whose owners bear the title *bāp*. The first is 3.7 cm long and has the following legend engraved around the bust of its initial owner: *Bāp Haredār* (*b`p hld`l*), i.e., Bāp the Protector/Guardian (Fig. 118).[219] The second one, carved out of rock crystal (Fig. 119), reads: *Bāp Rok (b`p lky) i Mishan moghbed* (The Blunt Bāp who is the high-priest of Mishan).[220] On a third seal (Fig. 120), *bāp* is followed by the epithet *rad* (master, spiritual leader). It is less imposing than the previous two seals but has a winged lion—as symbol of the sun and Mithra—on it. We thus see that, on all three, the title *bāp* is followed by reverential adjectives proper to individuals of high spiritual and social standing.

Fig. 118 – Sasanian seal Bāp Haredār. EMS Collection

Fig. 119 – Seal of Bāp Rok. (*Cambridge History of Iran,* III:1114)

Fig. 120 – Seal of Bāp Rad (Dr. Busso Peus, sale 395, lot435)

On the hat of the first two *bāp*s appears a monogram that can be deciphered as *NWRA*, which is the Aramaic ideogram for "fire." Indeed, the individual components of the

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[219] Based on an image in which the end letter was not very clear, A.H. Bivar had read this legend as *Bāp sardām*, and Ph. Gignoux had read it as *Bāp khordād* (personal communications). For the meaning of *haredār* as guardian, see Cereti 2002, 35.

[220] Rika Gyselen has suggested (private correspondence) that this legend should be read as "*Bāffarag, mogbed de Mešūn."* However, the presence of the epithet *bāp* on so many other seals militates for a different reading. My reading of *rok* is based on the fact that, in New Persian, *rok* is usually accompanied with the word *rāst* (e.g., رک و راست), which constitutes a major tenet of Mithraism.

monogram can be dissected into N, W, R and A (Fig. 121). A similar monogram opposite a fire altar on a Sogdian coin brings added confirmation to our interpretation because, by virtue of their symmetrical positioning, the fire altar and the monogram must be equivalent in meaning (Fig. 122). But fire was always closely associated with Mithra, especially for sealing an oath. Mary Boyce sees Mithra's association with the Sun arising "through an original association of Mithra, lord of the covenant, with fire; for it appears from both Iranian and Indian sources that it was ancient custom to swear to covenants by Mithra, their personified power, in the presence of fire, which, as the flame on the hearth, sustaining life, or the sun in the sky, controlling times and seasons, represented *rta/asha*, the due order of things."[221]

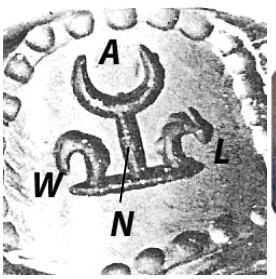

Fig. 121 – NWRA emblem on seal of Fig. 118

Fig. 122 – Coin of Khingila (S. Album sale 246, lot 175)

Fig. 123 – Seal of a *Pāpak* (Gyselen 1993, 70.29)

Fig. 124 – Seal of Pirag (Gyselen 2007, 256)

The fire monogram therefore alluded to the Mithraic oath. But it also evoked an important aspect of ceremonies held around a fire altar. For fire to be visible it had to be lit at nighttime; that is why the "A" of *NWRA* is represented as a moon emblem (i.e., the crescent) at the very top of the monogram. It placed the *bāp* under the aegis of the moon, and evoked his nocturnal activities. But more important is the choice of this ideogram as opposed to the more widely used spelling *`dwr* (*ādur*) to represent "fire," because this ideogram, like the Arabic word *nur* (light), emphasized the light aspect of the fire. It therefore alluded to the luminescence (*chihr*) of the *farr* that was embedded in the fire. Since the *farr* was considered a primordial source of power, the monogram implicitly projected the high rank and power of the *bāp*s.[222]

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[221] Boyce 1996, I:28-29.

[222] Monograms combined letters of a word into an elegant and often symmetrical sign. For more on the NWRA monogram, see Appendices IV and V.

The title *bāp*—meaning father—was in fact equivalent to the Roman *pater/pāp*, and a forerunner of the dervish leaders' names such as *bābā* and *pir*.[223] But in the same way that the lesser *pir* was named *pireh*, a lesser *bāp/pāp* was named *bāpak/pāpak*. It's a name that we can see on a seal with a prominent *NWRA* monogram complemented by a hybrid syntax that included words and symbols, in particular a roundel (○) as symbol of *farr* (Fig. 123).[224] This combination of letters and symbols can be deciphered as *p`pk ○ ZY NWRA apzwn* (*Pāpak - farr i ātash afzun*, meaning: Pāpak, May the *farr* of Fire increase). As in the case of Bābak-e Khorramdin—who must have taken the title of Bābak in deference to Jāvidān, the previous Lord of the Khorramdiniyyeh—the owner of this seal may have opted for the name Pāpak in deference to a *bāp* that he was replacing. A seal from the Saeedi collection, on which a certain Bāpak is qualified as *ruwān-bin* (similar to the seal in Fig. 102), establishes that the use of *bāpak* was not by chance but was adopted by a dignitary who could be characterized with such a lofty quality as "soul-perception."[225] As we shall see, the adoption of the name Pāpak by the first ruler of the Sasanians was also in deference to the master of his own congregation, i.e., Sāsān (see Chapter X).

More importantly, two other seals from the Saeedi Collection show that the *pir* and *pireh* epithets of dervish orders had an antecedent in Sasanian times as *pir* and *pirag*. A seal with a winged lion—similar to the one in Fig. 120 that is inscribed with the epithet *bāp*—displays the epithet *pir*,[226] and another one with an image of a crouching lion, has *pirag* engraved on it.[227] They suggest that, already in Sasanian times, the fatherly figure at the head of the brotherhood was addressed as both *bāp* and *pir*. We may then imagine that the second connotation of the word *pir,* as "old" in NP, was a natural extension of the father figure, who had to be an elderly person.

On another seal, the *pirag* is also an army commander (Fig. 124), in the same way that the *bāp* of the seal in Fig. 119 had another official title (that of a regional ecclesiastic priest). It should come as no surprise to us that the revered head of a brotherhood held official positions as well. Later examples prove that the sanitization process in each period often allowed the integration of brotherhood members into mainstream society,

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[223] For another seal of a *magu* with the *bābā* epithet, see Brunner 1978, 146.
[224] For the roundels as symbol of *farr* on seals, see Soudavar 2009, 436-40.
[225] Gyselen 2007, 318 (IVC/4).
[226] Gyselen 2007, 336-37. The winged lion of the Saeedi seal is similar to our Fig. 120, and is in the spirit of the winged bull on the *pater* seal of Fig. 38. They all evoke the deity pair of the *mithraeum*, namely Mithra and Apam Napāt (see sec. XI.17).
[227] Gyselen 2007, 318 (IVC/5).

and offered the possibility of appointment to high positions even though they could be persecuted later on.[228]

VII.2 - *Heliodromos/Mehr-astāt/Mehr-rān*

The second highest rank in the Mysteries was *heliodromos* whose name has been translated as the "runner" or "courier" of Helios, often without any understanding as to the origins of his name. In a lively discussion that occurred at the end of a conference in 1975 on Mithraism, in which various inconclusive explanations had been proposed, E.D. Francis pertinently remarked: "but why is it important that one should be a *courier* or messenger of the sun?"[229] In fact, the relevance of *heliodromos* can only be grasped through the name of its Iranian counterpart, *mehr-astāt*, which is engraved on a seal with a *NWRA* monogram (Fig. 125); it designates the person who stood on the chariot of Mehr/Mithra.[230] As the one who stood closest to Mithra, he was also in charge of relaying his instructions (Fig. 126). It's a role that was fulfilled in later times by the *shāter*, the person who was responsible for leading the ruler's horse (as in Fig. 127). The *shāters*, who have frequently been equated with the *`ayyārs*, formed a brotherhood with their own special *fotovvat-nāmeh*. They ran alongside their ruler on foot and were in charge of transmitting his orders, and as such they were also called *peyk* or courier (sec. VIII.2).

Fig. 125 – Seal of a *mehr-astāt* (Gyselen 2007, 70.7)

Fig. 126 – Gold chariot. Oxus Treasure. British Museum

Fig. 127 – *Shāter* leading a king's horse. Safavid, 16th century (Sotheby's, 18-11-2013, lot 79)

[228] Such is the case for instance of the *bābā*s appointed by the Safavids (note 178), or Hasan-e Juri (sec. IX.5) who was a *shaykh* and political leader of the Sarbedārids and eventually became their ruler, or the *pahlavān* Mohammad-e Havij whom Ebn-e Battuta names as an official Hajj leader (Ebn-e Batuta 1958, 233).
[229] Hinnells 1975, 131.
[230] Its monogram may be read as *NWRA ZY* (light of), and is followed by *mtr`st`t*, Gyselen though reads it as *mtr`šṭ`t* (mehr-ashtāt); Gyselen 2007, 70.7.

But the word *astāt* is derived from the verb *estādan* (to stand), which, in Middle Persian, was also spelled *awstādan*.[231] Thus, *mehr-astāt* could also be written and pronounced *mehr-awstāt*, the latter part of which provided the New Persian word *ostād* (master). Furthermore, as J. Cheung argues, the very word that appears as *`wst`t/ostād* in Middle Persian was transformed with a (+*fra) prefix into a word that meant "sent out" (*fresteh*), which could allude to the *ostād* functioning as a courier.[232] We thus see an etymological relationship between "standing" and message transmission. Even though the word *ostād* is nowadays understood as master or teacher, the function of *ostād-od-dār* (chamberlain) that we encounter in early Arabic histories clearly goes back to the original meaning of the word, since it designates the one who *stood* by the ruler's chambers (*dār*).[233]

As a title, *mehr-astāt* is only found—to my knowledge—on the Saeedi seal, but as a name, it appears in early manuscripts of Sasanian history such as the anonymous *Mojmal-ol-qesas vat-tavārikh*. It is corrupted later on into a meaningless name—*Mehrān-setād*—in Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*.[234] But its shortened form, i.e., *ostād*, may have already been in use in Sasanian times as we have a report that Shiroyeh, the son of Khosrow II, used a certain Ostād Khoshnush (?) as counselor.[235]

Moreover, Plutarch has a passage in which Alexander complains to Fortuna about the status of his opponent Darius III (r. 336-330 BC.): He asks why Darius was made king, he who was an "*astándes* and a slave" to the (previous Achaemenid) king?[236] *Astándes* is a Greek loanword from Old Persian often translated as runner or courier (i.e., the exact words that scholars have used to describe *heliodromos),* and "slave" is the translation of OP *bandaka*.[237] But, while Dominique Lenfant rightly guesses that *astándes* was a function that indicated a position of closeness to the sovereign, such as "lance-bearer" that Darius had once held,[238] its coupling with *bandaka* reminds us of another Persian word "*chākar*" that is constantly linked to the same word (*bandaka*/*bandeh*) in Persian

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[231] McKinsey 1971, 31.
[232] Cheung 2007, 358-59.
[233] See for instance Ebn-e Khaldun 1996, V:552-554.
[234] Bahār 1939, 77.
[235] Ebn-e Athir1965, I:494 . فأرسل إليه رجلا يقال له استاذ **خشنش** (؟) كان يلي تدبير المملكة
The word in bold may represent *Khosh-neshin* (well-seated), or alternatively *Chekhshnush*, it may be the same as the name of Zoroaster's great-great grandfather, but this is unlikely.
[236] *Life of Alexander*, chap. XVIII (674D): *Δαρεῖος ἦν σὸν ἔργον, ὃν ἐκ δούλου καὶ* ***ἀστάνδου*** *βασιλέως*; see also *remacle.org/bloodwolf/historiens/Plutarque/fortunealex.htm*
[237] *EIrO*, "Darius, v. Darius III." One suspects that *astandes* also provided "stand" in English although the latter is often described as being derived from Old English *standan;* akin to Old High German *stantan, stān* : to stand; Latin *stare;* Greek *histanai*: to cause to stand, set, *histasthai*: to stand, be standing.
[238] Lenfant 2009, 326.

literature. This coupling appears in the very first Persian verses that have come to us through the anonymous *Tārikh-e Sistān*:

> ای امیری که امیران جهان خاص و عام **بنده و چاکر** و مولای و سك بند و غلام
> O Amir for whom all the rulers of the world, without exception, are your ***bandeh***s (slaves) and ***chākar***s, loyal subjects, dog trainers, and servants[239]

It was regularly used afterwards to denote loyalty and submission. More importantly, similar to the *astándes* who stood next to the chariot, the *chākar* held the reins of the ruler's horse and carried out his messages and orders (see sec. VIII.2).[240] Proximity to the ruler was of course a position of prestige, but since the *chākar* stood on low grounds while the sovereign was mounted, he became the symbol of humility and devotion, i.e., two of the most important characteristics of brotherhoods. Eventually, his name became synonymous with these two qualities, and the expression *chāker-am* (I'm your *chāker,* i.e., your devoted servant), which the *luti*s frequently use to greet one another, became the ultimate statement of loyalty and friendship.

The Persian counterpart to *heliodromos* thus mutated into *ostād* (master), which referred to the second in command of dervish orders or master craftsmen. His role was similar to that of the Masonic "master," and the European guild master.[241]

Finally, the appearance of the qualification *mehrān* at the end of the legend on the seal of the aforementioned army commander Pirag (Fig. 124), may convey yet another type of affiliation to Mithraic brotherhoods:

> Pirag, the *shahrvarāz* (boar of the empire) and *spahbed* (general) of the Nimruz *kust* (South side) that the blessed Khosrow [created] from quartering Iran, the *mehrān*.[242]

Indeed, Gyselen has noted that the word *mehrān* did not exist on an earlier imprint and was added later as if a new title was given to him;[243] and according to the chronicler Dināvari, *mehrān* represented a rank (*martabat*) for Pirag.[244] *Mehrān* may then represent

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[239] Bahār 1987, 210.
[240] The word *chākar* is also used in conjunction with *rahi* (fellow traveler); Khʷāndmir 1374, VI:556.
[241] One wonders then, if the Latin *magister* that has provided both the English *master* and German *meister*, is not ultimately derived from a *mehr-astāt* title, perhaps described as the "standing magus."
[242] Rika Gyselen gives a different reading of this legend (Gyselen 2007, 254-56), that I had criticized in Soudavar 2009a, 433-34. However, one of the objections that I had raised, that the spelling of the name of kings must not vary, proved to be wrong (thanks to C. Cereti who pointed it out to me), and the *hwslwdy* read by Gyselen was correct. The new reading should therefore be: *pylky ZY štlwl`c W hwytk hwslwdy LBAy 'yl'n kwsty ZY nymlwc sp'hpty, mtr`n*, (*Pirag ī shahrwarāz ud hujadag-Khusrō- ¼- erān-kust ī nēmroz spāhbed).*
[243] Gyselen 2007, 49, 254-56.
[244] Dināvari 1989, 55: فیرك، الّذی تدعی **مرتبته** مهران (Pirag whose rank was called *mehrān*)

a title or function similar to *mehr-astāt*, which can perhaps be construed as *mehr-rān*, i.e., the one who conducts Mithra's chariot.[245]

Interestingly, by mixing philological considerations with literary comparisons, Philippe Swennen has taken issue with previous translations of *Yt.10.136* to conclude that the officiating priest therein impersonated Mithra's charioteer, in order to act as a liaison between the deity and the sacrificial ceremony. He calls him the "charioteer-priest" (*prêtre-cocher*), and draws a parallel with Xenophon's description of Cyrus the Younger's elaborate parade, in which Cyrus follows Mithra's chariot with the presence of a similar charioteer next to him. He then remarks that "for a Mazdean, it was impossible to imagine a god, especially Mithra, traveling without a charioteer."[246] But people, Mazdean or not, obviously imagined their gods according to the prevailing regal customs of their era. Like Cyrus the Younger, traveling gods needed a charioteer who could also act as a messenger or go-between, just as the *astàndes* and the *mehr-astāt* did. It then stands to reason that *mehr-rān* referred to this charioteer *qua* officiating priest (as in Fig. 126).

VII.3 - *Perses/Pārsā/Pahlav*

No satisfactory explanation has ever been provided by Mithraic specialists as to why the third ranked officer of the Roman Mysteries was named *perses* (meaning "Persian" in Greek), especially since the word "Persian" does not evoke any particular rank or function. It was in trying to find a relationship between the third category of Persian brotherhood leaders, the *pahlavān*, and the Roman *perses*, that I realized how Darius's boast, claiming that he was "*pārsa* son of *pārsa*," was key to the understanding of this relationship.

In his seminal work on Achaemenid inscriptions, Pierre Lecoq had come to the conclusion that *pārsava* and *parthava* were the Persian and Median dialectical names for the same group of people, and were words that eventually produced MP *pahlav* and NP *pahlu* (side). He suggested for *pārsa* a meaning related to the far side, i.e., "those from the frontier lands."[247] I believe that he went slightly too far, as *pahlu* implies the *near* side rather than a far one. The *pārsa* was the person who stood next to, or on the side of something, which Achaemenid iconography shows to be a fire altar, especially since it was carried on a moveable throne as the king's personal fire. He was thus a fire-keeper.[248]

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[245] The second part in Mehr-rān would be derived from the NP verb *rāndan*, to conduct, to steer.
[246] Swennen 2003, 432-33.
[247] Lecoq 1997, 146 ; Soudavar 2012b; 55-57. Also, there are a number of terms in the Iranian languages that provide a meaning for frontier people such as *marzbān* or *karān-pā*; another term was really unnecessary.
[248] Soudavar 2012b, 55-58.

Furthermore, Lecoq only investigated the right side of the equation, i.e., the evolution of *parthava* into NP *pahlu* (see Table 1). Had he investigated the left side of the equation, he would have discovered that OP *pārsa* had a clear phonetic similarity with NP *pārsā,* which means "pious/religious" and is mostly used as an epithet for renowned dervishes such as Shaykh Abu-Nasr-e Pārsā (d. 1461). Moreover, Fātemeh Jahānpur had drawn attention to a remark by Hamdollāh-e Mostowfi (1281-1349) about "*pārsā*s" who held *nighttime* ceremonies next to a high altitude lake called Chashmeh Sau near Tus in Khorāsān.[249] The term *pārsā* was clearly used by Mostowfi to designate non-Islamic priests, in lieu of the usual term *mowbad.* They were akin to the *pārsa* of old, because they too held their ceremonies at night, as attested by the moon above the fire altar in Fig. 130.

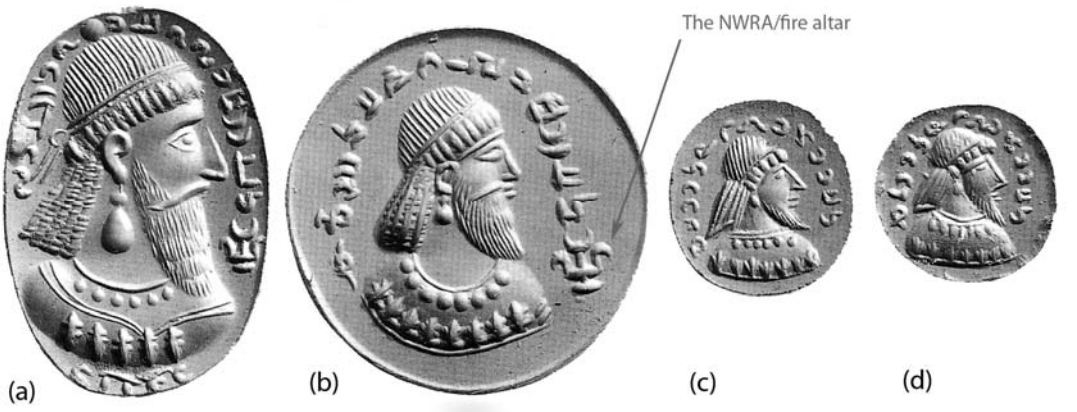

Figs. 128 a, b, c, d - Sasanian Mithraic seals (Gyselen 1993, seals 20.K.6 (a), 20.K.7 (b), 20.K.8 (c), 20.K.9 (d))

Logic dictates that, in between OP *pārsa* and NP *pārsā*, there must have been a Sasanian link, i.e., a fire priest that corresponded to the Roman *perses*. Indeed, four Sasanian seals from the Cabinet des Médailles of the BNF (Figs. 128a, b, c , d), belonging to dignitaries or officials, allow us to justify this contention.[250] The first two (a, b) are elaborate official seals that have a modified *NWRA* monogram, complemented by a little bar underneath

[249] //*web3.ehost-services.com/hemranib/articles.htm*; Mostowfi 1983, 148-49: پارسایان در شب بر کنار چشمه احیا داشته اند . For the mention of this lake in the *Bondahesh*, see Cereti 2007, 56.

[250] Gyselen thinks that these seals are fake because they are "copies of an *unknown prototype*" and were "purchased in the Middle East"; Gyselen1993, 22-23. By her first argument, anything can be declared fake, and by the second, anything that was not purchased in Europe. She seems to make a connection to seals declared as fake by Bivar on the basis of their *immitation* Pahlavi script. None of the legends here are immitations; one cannot declare them fake if one cannot decipher them.

that acts as a pedestal, in order to visually transform them into a fire altar. Interestingly, the letters of the word *rāsty* are placed directly above this fire symbol in order to convey a concept that appears in the *Avesta*'s hymn to Mithra (*Yt.* 10.3): Fire, which is presented therein as a companion to Mithra is said to grant "the most righteous path (*razishtem*) to those who do not deceive the contract." In other words, the *rāsty* that stems out of the fire symbol alludes to the "righteous path" of *Yt.10.3,* even more so since, etymologically, it derives from the same root as the Avestan "*razishtem.*" Within brotherhoods, those who did not "deceive the contract" were those who upheld the initiation oath, i.e., the *mehr-bāns* for whom truthfulness was an essential virtue.

Furthermore, the legend on seal (a) reads *rāsty ay rasty* (righteousness is deliverance). It's a literary conceit that combines *rāsty* with a similar sounding word derived from the verb *rastan* (to obtain salvation or freedom), and expresses the promise of the brotherhoods: Out of the oath taken over the fire will spring the righteousness that will lead to happiness and salvation.[251] It is this adage that Teymur (Tamerlane) will adopt as his motto and will incorporate, along with the three-dot symbol of dervish orders, into his seal (see sec. IV.3). All the elements of seal (a), therefore, reinforce brotherhood ideals that have a Mithraic tint, and the seal itself must have belonged to a brotherhood official. Likewise, the second seal (b) that displays a similar composition, but with a slightly different legend, must have belonged to another such official. Its legend reads *l`sty p`lswm*. A similar inscription appears on the other two seals, but with different spellings in their last word, engraved as *plswm* on (c) and *pls`m* on (d). For (c), Ryka Gyselen has read this word as *pahlom* (translated as: best, excellent), but has been unable to suggest a reading for the other two,[252] while Oktor P. Skjaervo believes that the difference in spelling must be due to engraving mistakes and slippage, and that all three were meant to be *plswm* (i.e., *pahlom*).[253] I think there are two problems with such a supposition. First, to blame oddities on the engraver is too facile a solution, and it makes abstraction of the fact that if he made careless mistakes, his learned patron, i.e., the seal owner, would not tolerate it, as the caste of Persian bureaucratic officials were very educated and meticulous. Second, to treat the spelling differences for the second word as engraving mistakes, even though the spelling of the first word is uniformly correct on all three, is statistically unacceptable. One must therefore find another explanation for this anomaly.

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[251] A variant of this legend is *rāst i rast*, which is engraved on a seal from the Saeedi collection, Gyselen 2007, 70.1.
[252] Gyselen 1993, 20.K.7-9.
[253] Personal communication.

Also, the spelling of *pahlom* itself is problematic, for occasionally it is spelled *plswm* or *plswmy* (as in the Paikuli inscriptions), but is read as *pahlom*.[254] Even though "l" and "s" are transposable, the transformation of *pls* into *pahl* is not a common phenomenon, and if it also occurs in relation to *pārsa* (which has given us *pahlav* and *pahlu*), chances are that the two phenomena are interconnected.

The solution to all of these problems lies in the very structure of *pahlom*, which incorporates an ordinal suffix *–om* that, for instance, transforms *panj* (five) into *panj-om* (fifth). It is applied here to *pahlav/pahlu,* which originally referred to the person standing next to the fire altar. The application of the ordinal suffix implies a hierarchy based on proximity to the fire, one that gave the highest rank to the closest person. Thus, *pahlu-om (pahlom)* designated the person closest to the fire. Figuratively, it acquired the meaning of best, excellent, or more generally, a person of high rank.

A legal sentence from a document that explains the succession process for the trusteeship of an endowed Fire supports our supposition. Maria Macuch has translated this passage as follows:

> "MHDS 16.8-11, *ka gōwēd kū ēn ātaxš hamē az frazandān-ī man mard-ē(w) ī pahlom dārēd hamē ān ī hast ān ī pahlom dārišn*. If he declares: 'This fire: let it always out of my children be held by the best man, (then) among the (children) he has it should always be held by the best (man)."[255]

There is, however, a basic problem with this translation because "best" is not a legally definable term (or condition) in the court of law. That is why, in most Islamic *vaqf* documents, which follow the models established in Sasanian times, the successor to the donor is the male progeny closest to him. Alternatively, it's the eldest son (*pus i meh*) as some MP legal documents suggest.[256] Thus the *pahlom* of the above succession condition must read as "the closest," i.e., the one who generation-wise, and age-wise, is closest to the endower.[257] The sentence should thus be translated as:

> If he has stipulated that this fire must be held by the closest male among his progenies, then, from among all those alive, it should be held by the closest (i.e., to the donor).

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[254] Humbach & Skjaervo 1983, A14.05, B11.02.
[255] Macuch 2005, 100. Macuch opines that *pahlom* might mean "pious," a meaning that is also suggested in Faravashi 2002, 430. But like the piety attached to NP *pārsā*, it's a tangential meaning and not original.
[256] See Boyce 1968, 274 where the *eldest* son is elected as the guardian of a pious Zoroastrian foundation.
[257] Typically, *vaqf* documents (as well as English trust documents) consider succession priority: First through generation levels (*tabaqeh*), and second by age. For instance, if the donor has an elder child **A** who himself has an child **Aa** early on, and the donor has a younger child **B**, younger than his nephew **Aa**, then upon the death of the donor, if **A** is no longer alive, between **Aa** and **B**, it is **B** who has priority.

With this in mind, we may have to revisit some of the translations of the Paikuli inscriptions where the words *p`ls`n* and *p`lswb`n* appear in tandem and have been translated as "Persians and Parthians" by Humbach & Skjaervo, as in the following passages:

> A4.03-A6.03: … the princes and grandees and nobles and *Persians and Parthians* were informed..
> B5.02-B11.02: … the remaining princes and grandees and governors (*ktkhwt`y*) and nobles and *Persians and Parthians* who were the greatest and of highest rank (*pahlom*) and the noblest subjects…[258]

Fig. 129 - Ardavān trampled by Ardashir's horse, and Ahriman trampled by Ahura Mazdā's horse. Naqsh-e Rostam.

In Paikuli, the Sasanian king Narseh (r. 293–302), who ascended the throne by displacing his grandnephew, is trying to prove his legitimacy by invoking the support of those who, in later Persian literature, are called *arkān-e dowlat* or Pillars of the State. His was not a democratic state where ordinary people, whether Persians or Parthians, had a voice that mattered. If anything, ordinary Persians and Parthians were rebels to the state, and not its pillars, especially the Parthians who constituted the power base of the Arsacids. And the Arsacids, who were portrayed as Ahrimanic in the rock relief of Ardashir at Naqsh-e

[258] Humbach & Skjaervo 1983, A4.03-B11.02. The two underlined words are translations that I have corrected: a) for *pahlom*, I have substituted the "highest rank"; b) for *kad-khodā*, which the authors have translated as "houselord," I have used "governor," because its first part (*kad*) refers to a dwelling or city and the whole word means "city-lord," even more so since *kadag-khodā* or Lord of a *kadag* (i.e., a lesser *kad*) appears as an official title on a seal (Gyselen 2007, 288). Houselords didn't need official seals.

Rostam (Fig. 129), could no longer figure among the grandees of the state. Nor could the Sasanian language or script ever be called "Pahlavi" with the meaning of "Parthian."

In the string of dignitaries that Narseh is enumerating, after the princes, nobles, grandees and governors, one should expect other persons of high rank. Conspicuously absent in this translated string of dignitaries are in fact members of the priesthood and the military. We may then assume that the *p`ls`n* therein refers to high priests (those who stood close to the fire), and that the *p`lswb`n* refers not to the Parthians but to army commanders whom the *Shāhnāmeh* calls *pahlav* or *pahlavān*.

زواره شدش برسپه، پهلوان
Zavāreh became the *pahlavān* (commander) of the army
سپه پهلوان بود با شاه جم
The army commander (*pahlavān*) was accompanying King Jamshid

The *Mojmal-ot-tavārikh val-qesas* further explains that *pahlavān* is to be equated with the Arabic term *amir* or army commander, while the title *jahān-pahlavān* (world-commander) designated the most important rank after kingship.[259] More importantly, in the *Shāhnāmeh*, the *mowbad* (priest), and the *pahlavān* were usually put on equal footing and considered as Pillars of the State:

نه موبد بود شاد و نه پهلوان Neither priest was happy nor *pahlavān* (commander)

Finally, when a prince is said to join the *pahlav* of Pārs:

سوی پهلو پارس بنهاد روی He set out toward the *pahlav* (commander) of Pārs.

one cannot translate this *pahlav* as the Parthian of Pārs, but rather "commander of the army of Pārs."[260] What's more, in describing the social hierarchy that the Sasanian Ardashir I instituted, the historian Mas`udi (d. 957) places the caste of fire keepers (سَدَنة بيوت النيران) right after the princes and nobles.[261] Clearly, the fire keepers had an important role and function in Iranian society. Similarly, the officer in charge of fire in the Mysteries was still called by his Iranian name *pārsa*, which for the Greeks and Romans sounded the same as Persian. He was thus called *perses*.

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[259] Bahār 1939, 420.

[260] While *pārsā* and *pahlav* stemmed from the same root and were both imbued with a notion of high rank, and whereas the shift from a fire priest to a pious person (NP *pārsā*) seems to be a natural one, a question remains as to how *pahlavān* gained a military specificity? and how should the *–an* ending be interpreted? as plural or an adjective? One possible answer may reside in its very MP spelling, *p`lswb`n*, which can be read as *pahlu-bān* (flank protector). Next to the king, who stood at the center, the flank commanders were the most important army officers. The plural form of *pahlav-ān* could be the result of a conflation with *pahlu-bān*.

[261] Mas`udi 1988, I:269.

In sum, the meaning of *pārsa* can be derived from a synthesis of NP *pahlu* (side), NP *pārsā* (religious), MP *pahlav* (commander), and the Achaemenid royal iconography in which the king stands bow in hand (as a warrior) on the *side* of a fire altar.

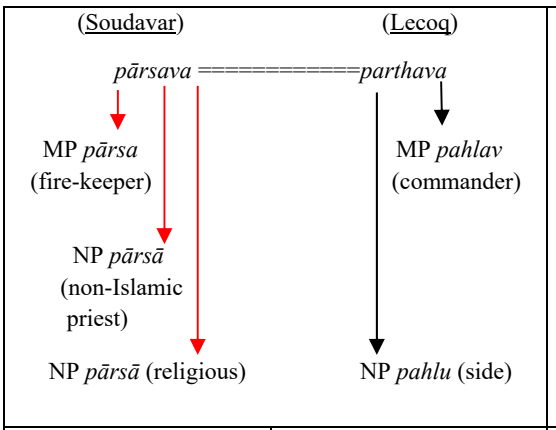

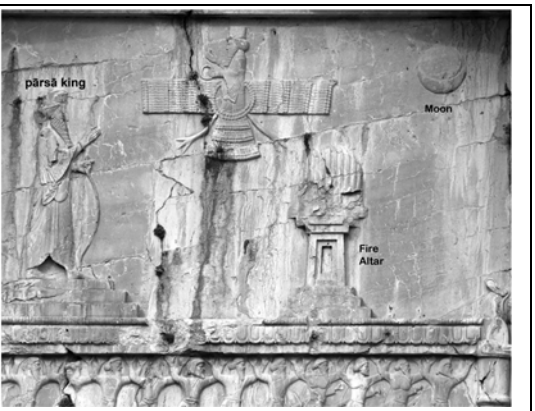

Paikuli F 11,01, Pahlavi	Paikuli F 11,01, Parthian
(30) : … *p'lrswm y*	(7): … *prtr*
*pahlom = pārsa-**om*** *i.e., closest (to the fire)* = excellent	*pahlom = part-**tar***[262] *i.e., more close (to the fire)* = excellent

Fig. 130 - The depiction of the Achaemenid king officiating a nighttime ceremony as *pārsā.* Naqsh-e Rostam

Table 1 – The evolution of *pārsa,* or fire priest

Moreover, after the early bifurcation between *pārsava* and *parthava,* they eventually generated the word *pahlom*. The word *pahlom* is spelled "*p`lrs wm*" in Middle Persian, i.e., *pārsa* + the ordinal suffix ***-om***, but is spelled as "*prtr*", i.e., *part* + the ordinal suffix ***-tar*** in Parthian. It clearly ties the two branches together, as its Middle Persian spelling is similar to the original *pārsava*, while its Parthian spelling is akin to *parthava*.

Coming back to the three seals (b), (c), and (d), which had different spellings for the word *pahlom*, we may conjecture that the engravers wished to deliver a double message. First, through an adage similar to the one engraved on seal (a), they projected that righteousness (*rāsty*)—which stemmed out of Fire—led to excellence (*pahlom*). Second, with full knowledge of the meaning of *pahlom*, they were imbedding the hierarchical title of the seal owner into this adage. Therefore, by modifying the spelling of *pahlom*, and

[262] The word *part* is colloquially used today as an adjective that means "to be off track," i.e., to pass by "the side" of a subject rather than addressing it head on (see Dehkhoda dictionary for expressions such as *part budan, part shodan* etc.). In the same vein, nonsense is referred to as *part-o-palā*.

through punning and the insertion of an additional "ā," the engravers of seals (b) and (d) were simply emphasizing the *pārsa* title of the seal owner, who supposedly was the closest person (to the Fire).

Finally, a more elaborate legend "*lāti be-rāsty pahlom*" is engraved on another seal (Fig. 131), which can be translated as "truthfully, generosity is the best" and/or "generosity is closest to truthfulness."[263] The word *lāti* therein sets the tone for dervish orders and all those who sought detachment from worldly goods. It defines the character of those who, by their generosity, were impoverished and were called *lāt*. As for the use of the word *rāsty* it was meant to remind the seal owner of one of the most cherished principles of brotherhood, that of truthfulness. These adages all reflected qualities that members of Mithraic societies were supposed to have, and like the seal of Fig. 120, the presence of a winged lion on this seal is a further indicator of its owner's Mithraic affiliation.

Fig. 131 – Sasanian seal (Gignoux & Gyselen 1982, 40.27)

VII.4 - The Dissemination of the Mithraic Model

What the above discussions clearly show is that the hierarchical leaders of post-Islam Iranian brotherhoods derived their epithets from Sasanian antecedents whose titles are engraved on various seals. The top rank, i.e., that of *bāp* or *pir*, which defined a fatherly figure, was transmitted to dervish orders; so was the practice of adopting diminutives such as *bāpak* and *pirag*. The second-ranked one, the *mehr-astāt*, transmuted into *ostād* who eventually became the master of ceremonies for dervish orders, or master of craftsmen, or guild leader. As for *pārsa*, it produced an adjective denoting piousness within dervish orders, but also provided the title *pahlavān* for the wrestlers and the military. The evolution of these titles shows a continuous process of adaptation for the structure and hierarchy of brotherhood organizations, from the pre-Islamic era into post-Islamic Iran.

[263] The legend of this seal reads as *l`tyhy P (WN) l`styhy p`lswmy* (Gignoux & Gyselen 1982, 40.27). The word *lāti* therein is the same as *rādi* (generosity). This legend was translated by Gignoux and Gyselen as: "la générosité (*lātih*) par la justice est excellente," which is nebulous and confusing.

CHAPTER VIII

REMNANTS OF A PAGAN TRADITION

VIII.1 - *Chākar, Shāter*

In describing the composition of the `Abbāsid army, Arab chroniclers often mention the *shākariyya* (i.e., the Arabic plural pronunciation of *chākar*) as an unruly military unit, who like the *`ayyār*s, frequently revolted in Baghdad.[264] Etienne de la Vaissière explains that the Chinese considered the *chākar*s as a formidable force against whom "no foe could stand," and emphasizes that "in Sogdiana the *chākar*s were the personal soldiers of the nobles and kings."[265] Numerous Persian texts also attest that rulers and viziers had their own personal *chākar*s.[266] We thus see two distinct, and almost contradictory, functions for the *chākar*: Belonging to a military unit, or attached to the personal services of an officer. Whereas de la Vaissière believes that they "were mainly horsemen," I suggest that they were foot soldiers, for, as we saw, the horsemen were called *asvārs;* and, where he sees a purely Sogdian phenomenon,[267] I see another avatar of Mithraic societies that roamed the Iranian territories.

If the *chākar*s were a formidable force, it was because they were trained to run fast. And for this ability, they were selected to run alongside their master's horse. In later times, they would be called *shāter*s. We not only have images for them (Fig. 127), but also *fotovvat-nāmeh*s that are indicative of their Mithraic origin. As such, we can readily understand the change of name. In order to make it more Islamic, the *chākar* (pronounced *chāker* in daily parlance) was switched to an Arabic and similar sounding name, *shāter*.[268] Indeed, a primary quality that dictionaries emphasize for the *shāter* is their ability to run fast.[269] And luckily, we have the account of Jean Chardin, the 17th-century

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[264] Ebn-e Athir 1965, 7:105, 131, 202.
[265] De la Vaissière 2006.
[266] See for instance Bayhaqi (1995, III:1156) where `Ali Rāyez is said to be the *chākar* of Bu-Sahl; or (Narshakhi 1984, 134) where `Amr-e Laith complains that his own *chākar* had betrayed him; or (Sajjādi 2006, 232) where a man refuses tip money because of being the *chākar* of somebody else.
[267] De la Vaissière 2007, 86-87.
[268] This name change process for socio-political reasons was first signaled in Francfort & Tremblay 2010 (89) and then expounded in Soudavar 2012b (65), where examples from post 1979 Tehran were given, such as the change of the name of Sorayyā street into Somayya (both pertain to women and begin with an "s").
[269] Dehkhodā: "*shāter*."

French traveler to the Safavid court, giving us an interesting description of the *shāter*, on the occasion of the Feast of the Shāter, or "Feat of the Footman of the King":

> "This is, when the Overseer of the Footmen has in mind to be received into the King's Service. He must go from the Gate of the Palace to a Pillar, which is a French League and a half from the Palace, and fetch twelve Arrows from thence one after the other, between the two Suns. He is not received as the King's Footman till after that Trial."

Chardin then explains how he himself accompanied the *shāter* on a horse through his seventh course, at a time when the *shāter* had slackened his pace because of extreme heat and fatigue. And yet, to keep up with him, Chardin had to gallop all the way. He further recounts that:

> "... it was said that he had not run well, because he had not brought the twelve Arrows in twelve Hours, but had taken near fourteen to do it in. They say that a Footman in the Reign of Chasefy (*Shāh Safi*), did it in that Time. It is a fine Foot-Course, to run six and thirty Leagues in twelve Hours."[270]

It is quite a feat to run a distance of 86 miles—equivalent to 3.5 Marathon runs—let alone in 12 to 14 hours.[271] Although we do not have a similar description for the *chākar*, historical accounts reveal that the *shāter*s and *chākar*s were used in the same capacities (for instance, they were both used as couriers).[272] On the other hand, the following anecdote about the Ziyārid warlord Mardāvij (d. 935) shows that the *chākar*s were in charge of quadrupeds and led them rein in hand (Fig. 133):

> Mardāvij, who was one night awakened by the noise of mules and horses as well as their *chākar*s, asks: Who are in charge of these animals? The answer he got was: The Turkic slaves. To punish them, he orders: "Have the saddles taken off the quadrupeds and let the *chākar*s carry them on their backs, and with reins still in their hand, it is they who should be led to the stables."[273]

It therefore seems that the personal *chākar*s, in addition to running and acting as couriers, were in charge of the mounts and guided them. That is why, in his rage against them, Mardāvij ordered a reversal of roles: The mules were to lead the *chākar*s. And the choice of Turkic slaves for *chākar*s was to be expected, since, reputedly, they were strongly

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[270] *http://www.iras.ucalgary.ca/~volk/sylvia/Chardin12.htm*.
[271] One French *lieue* of that time was approximately equal to 2.4 miles.
[272] For instance, in Shabānkāreh-yi 2002 (2:60), the governor of Damascus sends out a present at the hands of his *chākar*, and in Fumani-ye Gilāni 1970 (137), the *shāter* of a Gilān ruler arrives with a written message.
[273] Ebn-e Meskavayh 1976, 5:414.

built, and devoted to their masters. Like the *shāter*, the personal *chākar* would stand next to his master's horse, rein in hand.[274] They were thus one and the same.

The question then is: What was the difference between the *astàndes*/*mehr-astāt* and the *chākar*? It seems that the former, while occasionally acting as a courier, did not run alongside the chariot but stood on its foot rail (side-step); hence the appellation *mehr-astāt* for the one who stood on Mithra's chariot. A much used sentence to designate a loyal servant in Persian literature is "*gholām-e pā bar rekāb*" or the "slave who stood on the chariot's foot-rail," which provides further insight for this function. In fact, within the literature of the Ahl-e Haqq, there is a question and answer sequence—similar to those of the *fotovvat-nāmeh*s—in which, when the initiate is asked "who is the deputy (*khalifeh*)" of their *pir* called Benyāmin, he must respond: "his servant David, who is his *gholām-e pā bar rekāb*."[275] We thus have yet another equivalent to *heliodromos*, within a congregation whose members called each other "brother," broke bread into wine as a sign of friendship, and followed many customs that can be traced back to a Mithraic past.[276] Also, the devoted servant of the celebrated and martyred Sufi, Mansur-e Hallāj (858-922), was a certain Shākar-e Sufi (i.e., the Sufi *chākar*) who, like his master, was beheaded by the city gates.[277] Thus, similar to "*gholām-e pā bar rekāb*," the word *chākar* described the loyal servant of dervishes and Sufi leaders.

As already mentioned, the second hierarchical position in dervish orders was the *ostād-e shadd,* who tied a cord around the initiate's waist or a ribbon around his hat. The first part of his name (*ostād*) obviously came from *mehr-astāt*, or the one who stood next to Mithra. It entered Arabic as *ustādh*, and with the addition of the Arabic word *shadd* (to tie), the *ostād-e shadd* became a full-fledged Arabic compound that described the ceremonial function of the officer who tied ribbons and cords. Nevertheless, the Arabic *shadd* portends two other meanings: "running" and "the rise of fire,"[278] which connects it back to *heliodromos* and to the fire at the heart of the *mithraeum*. So resilient were the original symbols of Mithraic societies that despite all efforts to conceal them, they reemerged time and time again.

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[274] Other passages of Persian literature also hint at the fact that the *chākar* acted as a horse attendant; see for instance the following verse in Āsaf 2003, 98: "If you don't feed your horse and *chākar,* * your horse won't go, but your *chākar* will go (away)" (اسب و چاکر، چو نان و جو ندهی * نرود اسب و چاکرت برود)

[275] Khwāja-ad-din 1970, 128.

[276] Khwāja-ad-din 1970, 114; and notes 102, 197 supra. They also held their main festivities in the month of Mehr, *ibid*., 145.

[277] As-Solamy 2010, 34.

[278] Dehkhodā, "*shadd*."

All of these congregations emphasized the spirit of brotherhood and loyalty. The highest form of loyalty manifested itself in the relationship between master and *chākar* (or *shāter)*, to the extent that the latter was often equated with *bandeh, gholām,* and slave. But loyalty among brothers and peers was no less important, and that is why the poet Sa`di famously wrote that he was: "a faithful friend (*yār-e shāter*) in the service of men, and not an unnecessary burden" (که در خدمت مردان یار شاطر باشم نه بار خاطر ).[279] For Sa`di, the *shāter* epitomized loyalty and friendship.

VIII.2 - *Shāter, Peyk, `Ayyār, Wrestler*

As noticed in sections V.3-4, chronicles and literary texts often equate *`ayyār*s with *shāter*s. And in the same way that *javānmard* qualities were recognized in *`ayyār*s, the *shāter*s were also qualified as *javānmard*.[280] Similarly, wrestlers were called *`ayyār*,[281] and *shāter*s used the *`ayyār*s' slingshot (*kamān-e goruheh*), the one that had been popularized by the Caliph An-Nāser among the *fetyān*,[282] and like the Mazdakites and *qalandar*s (Fig. 132), they often wore red headgear, red robes or red pants (Fig. 133). There was, thus, much intermingling and many common traits between them.

Fig. 132 – *Qalandar* with red hat and red pants. Iran 17th cent. EMS coll.

Fig. 133 – A *shāter* with red headgear and red robe, and dagger and bells tied to his belt. Mughal India. MMA

[279] Dehkhodā, "*shāter.*"
[280] Dehkhodā, "*shāter*": زمین بوسه داد **جوانمردِ شاطر**
[281] Nasavi 2005, 83: یکی بود نام او کوه دروغان، مردی **عیّار** و **کشتی‌گیر** بود ; see also note 139 supra.
[282] Tabari 1967, 7:636; see also note 170 supra.

More important, however, is the respect that brotherhoods felt for each other, as if belonging to a wider—almost universal—congregation. Even though the concept of brotherhood thrived among the lowly, it could also permeate the highest strata of society. A case in point is the prevalence of dervish orders, and the Sufi spirit, at the court of the Teymurid Soltān-Hosayn Bāyqarā. The presence of the celebrated Jāmi and the sultan's childhood friend and chancellor, Amir `Ali-shir Navāi, had allowed for an atmosphere in which the Naqshbandi Sufi order had gained prominence and shaped the social behavior of the elite, who freely mixed with the literati, Sufis, artists, and wrestlers.

When Amir `Ali-shir was deeply hurt by the behavior of a former protégé seeking to dislodge him, he commissioned the painter Shāh Mozaffar to expose his scheme through the bias of an illustrated text. And Shāh Mozaffar used a story from the Golestān of Sa`di, about the perfidy of a young wrestler *vis à vis* his master (Fig. 134), to illustrate his patron's point.[283] Although he had to imagine a composition that combined Sa`di's story with the political situation at hand, one gets the impression that his illustration very much reflected a real gathering in which the sultan and his entourage were present. Indeed, the chronicler Vāsefi recounts a number of stories about the sultan's encounters with wrestlers, including a competition that he had organized between two renowned *pahlavān*s, Mohammad-e Abu-Sa`id and Mohammad-e Mālan, which was attended by all the grandees of Herāt.[284]

The *pahlavān* Mohammad-e Abu-Sa`id was much praised by Vāsefi for his literary ability, erudition, and noble character. He was a celebrity who many tried to befriend. In his praise, Amir `Ali-shir, had written the following quartet when exiled to Astarābād:

در کعبه و دیر، ما به ارشاد توایم * در صومعه و میکده، با یاد تو ایم
ذاکر، سحر و شام، به اوراد تو ایم * یعنی که یتیم نعمت آباد تو ایم

Whether at the Ka`ba or temple, we are guided by you * whether in church or tavern, our thoughts are with you
Our morning and night recitations are through your dicta * we are but an orphan at your House of Charity

And in reply, the *pahlavān* laments the Amir's exile through another quartet:

ای میر، تو پیر و ما به ارشاد تو ایم * دایم به دعاگویی و با یاد تو ایم
این شهر به تو خوش است و ما با تو خوشیم * مردیم و خراب استرآباد تو ایم

O Amir, you are our *pir*, and it is we who are guided by you * we are constantly praying for you and thinking about you

[283] For the complete story, see Soudavar 1992, 101-105.
[284] Vāsefi 1970, 498.

This city (Herāt) is happy when you are present; and we are (only) happy when with you * we are all dying, as the real victims of your Astarābād exile

Fig. 134 – Tw0 wrestlers before Soltān-Hosayn Bāyqarā (Soudavar 1992, 104)

One night, the sultan organizes a feast at the Jāhān-ārā Garden. The head of his *peyk*s (courier corps), a most handsome man named Teyfur, excuses himself for having to attend the *peyk*s' own gathering in a nearby building, at the end of the same garden. The

guest of honor at the sultan's feast was *pahlavān* Mohammad-e Abu-Sa`id who, after a few drinks, wandered off toward the *peyk*s' gathering place. He is greeted with much respect by the *peyk*s, and joins them for a few more drinks after which he forgets to go back, and falls asleep. Having not seen the *pahlavān* for a while, the sultan and Amir `Ali-shir are about to retire to their own quarters when an attendant informs them of the whereabouts of the *pahlavān*. The sultan is infuriated, because he himself had his eyes set on the handsome Teyfur and took it as an insult that the *pahlavān* had preferred the company of the *peyk*s to his. To show his displeasure, he orders another *peyk* to take his gear to the *pahlavān* and tell him: "Since this is what you like, you are henceforth to be a *peyk*." After being woken up, the *pahlavān* obliges; he shaves off his beard in the style of the *peyk*s and dons the paraphernalia sent to him. Upon seeing Abu-Sa`id emerge from his room in this fashion, Teyfur prostrates himself before him, and performs a whirling dance to honor the new addition to their ranks. Afterwards, they all go to the court, where the *pahlavān* asks for forgiveness through a poem that he had just composed. The sultan rejects his pleas, and, to belittle him further, proclaims the *pahlavān* to be his new *peyk*. At which time, Amir `Ali-shir rushes in and asks permission to wear the same outfit, for he had vowed to follow the *pahlavān* in whichever congregation (*tariqat*) he entered. Now that Abu-Sa`id had become a *peyk*, he too needed to be one. Confronted with such a display of solidarity between vizier and wrestler, Soltān-Hosayn had no choice but to reinstate the *pahlavān*.[285]

This episode is indicative of a few important points. First, not all brotherhoods wished to Arabicize their name, especially in Khorāsān. Since *chāker* had gradually taken on a lowly connotation, the word *peyk* (meaning "courier" in NP, and "foot-soldier" in MP) was adopted instead for a function that had much prestige at the court of Soltān-Hosayn. Second, we saw how the prestige of a *pahlavān* could attract the respect of viziers, and courtiers, as well as brotherhoods. Third, that the *peyk'*s initiation involved a whirling dance by existing members. More importantly, a powerful political figure such as the Sufi-minded Amir `Ali-shir, or a *peyk* such as Teyfur, could both recognize in *pahlavān* Mohammad-e Abu-Sa`id the noble qualities of a congregation leader who commanded respect. They all followed him to the court in order to express their devotion to him.

VIII.3 - Performers

The evolution from *chākar* to *shāter* was not only in name but also in function. The *shāter* gradually took on a ceremonial role, along with other performers who in Kāshefi's

[285] Vāsefi 1970, 496-97.

Fotovvat-nāmeh-ye Soltāni are all lumped into one category as the *ma`rekeh-girān* (performers). According to Chardin, some of the *shāter*s danced in the festivities. We may assume that their dance too involved a fair amount of whirling, for such a movement is common among dervish orders as well as wrestlers of the *zurkhāneh* (i.e., the traditional gymnasiums of Iran). An amusing anecdote by Chardin is about the visit of a Safavid envoy to France who is taken by his host to a ceremony in which Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) himself was dancing. And upon being asked about the king's performance, he replied, "By the Name of God, He is an excellent *shāter*!"[286]

Included among the *ma`rekeh-girān* were the *bildārān* (the shovel men), and the *zurgarān* (wrestlers and gymnasts) of whom we have miniature sketches (Fig. 135-38, 140-42). In a compilation of poets of his time, the Safavid prince Sām Mirzā (1517-67) inserted the following entry:

> Khājeh Khord-e *bildār* – He is the *pahlavān* of the age and the *ostād* (master) of the *bildār*s of Erāq and Khorāsān (east and west). In dancing, despite an enormous body, he had such technique (*osul*) that the learned would call him the "mountain of technique." And he was also a master *kamāndār* (bowman). He spent most of his time reading the Koran and praying…[287]

Once again, we see a fluid use of terms among various congregations. The leader of the *bildār*s is qualified as *ostād*, but at the same time he is a *pahlavān*, i.e., a master wrestler. He is also a dancer like the *shāter*s. In addition, he is said to be a *kamāndār*, not one who would shoot with a bow but rather one who would handle a heavy bow such as in Fig. 138 and 142. This bow-like instrument was used for muscle development, and has been transformed nowadays into the *kabādeh* of the *zurkhāneh*. Moreover, in the poem that Sām Mirzā quotes from Khājeh Khord, the *bildār*s are qualified as penniless (*mofles*) and estranged from society (*gharib*); these are adjectives that often qualified the *lāt*, the *luti*, the *`ayyār*, the *wrestler* and other people from the same milieu.[288]

Since the *shāter* handled a double-sided spear at times (Fig. 141), the *bildār* was most probably considered to be an offshoot of the *shāter*. That is why, in Iran, the bread maker who handles a wooden shovel (similar to the pizza shovel) is called a *shāter*. This

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[286] *http://www.iras.ucalgary.ca/~volk/sylvia/Chardin12.htm*. Louis XIV was an avid dancer and often had the lead role in ballets organized by his chief musician Jean-Baptiste Lully.
[287] Sām Mirzā 1973,190.
[288] Sām Mirzā 1973, 190: بیلداران که در جهان فاشند * مفلسند و غریب و قلاشند (despite being renowned in this world, the *bildārs* are - penniless, estranged and hooligans)

appellation connects the *shāter* back to the fire of the *mithraeum*, and the shovel held by the *leo* (lion) grade holder (see Fig. 139, also the 4th station of Fig. 3).

Fig. 135 – *Bildārs* performing (Martin 1912, pl. 102a)

Fig. 136 – A *bildār* (Robinson 1976, 65)

Fig. 137 – Acrobat (TKSM, H2154)

Fig. 138- A gymnast (TKSM, H2154)

Fig. 139 - The Leo with shovel and disheveled hair. Ostia (web)

Fig. 140 - Performers (Martin 1912, pl. 102b)

Fig. 141- *Shāter* with lance (Robinson 1976, 187)

Fig. 142 - A gymnast (Soudavar 1992, 226)

The Venetian traveler Michel Membré gives some added specificity about the *shāter*s of Shāh Tahmāsb:

> "When the king rides, about 10 footmen go before him, who are called *shāter*s; each of them wears a white cloth skirt, cut short to knees; and they wear trousers, and have plumes on their heads, and on the front of their belts, a little bell."[289]

Interestingly, the bell hanging from the *shāter*s' belt is a feature that we also see in the images of various performers, such as the *kuzeh-bāz* (juggler, Fig. 137) and *zurgar* (gymnast, Fig. 138), which once again vouches for practices that used symbols and rituals deriving from a common pre-Islamic origin.

VIII.4 - The Janissary Corps or the New *Chākar*s

A few years ago, in an article about the relationship of the early Safavids with their neighbors, I had focused on two paintings by Shāh Tahmāsb's (r. 1524-76) court painter Āqā Mirak, which I had suggested to be caricatures mocking the *shāh*'s enemies, the Uzbek `Obaydollāh Khān (r. 1512-39) and the Ottoman Solaymān the Magnificent (r. 1520-66) (Figs. 143-44).[290] Besides open warfare, the Ottomans and the Uzbeks had embarked on an intense propaganda campaign against the Safavids, sending out insulting letters and accusing them of being heretics. As it happened, Tahmāsb had repented from wine drinking at an early age, and had issued edicts for his officers to do the same.[291] This gave Tahmāsb a potent weapon to counter attack. Thus the message embedded in `Obaydollāh Khān's caricature focused on the Uzbek's vulnerability in this respect: How dare he, who indulges in wine and music, treat Tahmāsb as heretic? As for the second caricature, because of a hat that looked like those of the Janissaries, I had guessed that it was Tahmāsb's answer to Solaymān's insults, but could not decipher its full message, nor could I explain Solaymān's accoutrements. In view of our discussions about *chākar*s and *shāter*s, I now believe that Solaymān is portrayed as a *shāter* and head of the Janissaries.

This proposition rests on the fact that the highly trained Janissaries were essentially foot-soldiers, and their Turkish name, *yeni cheri* (new army), must reflect the Ottoman pronunciation of *yenge chakari* because of their tendency to suppress the "k" and the "g". In fact, the origin of this composite name can be found in a poem composed by Ruzbahān-e Khonji who had fled the Safavid court and resided in Herāt. His poem, which was delivered through an intermediary to the Ottoman Soltān Salim I (r. 1502-20),

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[289] Membré 1993, 24.
[290] Soudavar 2002, 101-105.
[291] Soudavar 1999, 52-53.

was a mix of Persian and Chaghatāy Turkish that echoed Central Asian traditions; and therein, he advocates the formation of a new army that he defines as *yenge chakar*.[292]

Fig. 143 – Caricature of Soltān Solaymān. By Āqā Mirak, 16th century (Ph.: J. Soustiel)

Fig. 144 – Caricature of `Obaydollāh Khān, by Āqā Mirak, 16th century (Soudavar 1992, 181)

Fig. 145 – Caricature of a courtier, attributable to Shāh Tahmāsb (Roxburgh 2005, 205)

The Janissary Corps was created in the nascent Ottoman state with the same aim and reasons that had compelled Phillip of Burgundy to institute the Order of the Golden Fleece, and the Caliph An-Nāser to join the circles of the *fotovvat*. By relying on a cohesive dervish order that had a hierarchical organization with a wide following in Anatolia and the Balkans, and had as patron saint the 13th-century Khorāsānian Sufi, Hājji Bektāsh Vali, the Ottomans had the possibility of creating a powerful Praetorian Guard based on the rigorous *chākari* training. Out of this mix was born the Janissary Corps of foot soldiers who were as formidable warriors as the Sogdian *chākar*s that the Chinese had so admired. Moreover, Hājji Bektāsh Vali was a *qalandar* dervish whose followers had much in common with those of the Ahl-e Haqq, and revered their spiritual

[292] Espenāqchi Pāshāzādeh 2000, 157, انتظار **ینگ چکر** خراسانلق * قیل خراساندا داقی سلطانلق
Doerfer however only explains the etymology of *yengi* ("new") and then relies on Persian sources to define the *yengicheri* as foot-soldiers without ant explanation for the second part; Doerfer 1963, IV:203-204.

leader as well as his successors.[293] The transplant of the Ottoman sultan onto their leadership, effectively directed their loyalty to him, in the same way that Baghdadian brotherhoods swore allegiance to the Caliph An-Nāser when he assumed the mantle of their leadership. [294]

There was much affinity between the Bektāshis and the Safavid dervishes, and as a result, the Safavid court had good knowledge about the origin of the Janissaries. Thus, to mock Soltān Solaymān, Āqā Mirak portrayed him not as the commander of the *chākar*s, but as a performing *shāter,* handkerchief in hand, and in the guise of an animal tamer parading a small dog rather than a mighty lion. His attire is indeed that of a *shāter,* with short pants and leather shoes; he also wears a Janissary hat that is similar to that of our lion tamer (Fig. 92). From his belt hangs the traditional dagger, the leather pouch called *charas-dān*, and more importantly, a gourd alluding to the drinking habits of the Janissaries. All of these are remnants of symbols that the avatars of Mithraic societies carried. The choice of the dog as the animal that Solaymān was parading, though, was not accidental. It was a substitute for the symbol of the three dots that had become an imperial Ottoman symbol (see sec. IV.3). The Safavids must have known that the three-dot tattoo of dervish orders was a symbol of the tri-star grouping of Sirius within the Winter Triangle, and a symbol that leaders of Mithraic brotherhoods used to wear on their signets, as on the ring of Fig. 93. The painter's aim was to show Solaymān in the most negative way, and thus alluded to every un-Islamic motif that he could think of, and the dog suited his purpose because it was an unclean animal with respect to the Islamic *shari`a*. Tahmāsb, who took much pleasure in drawing caricatures himself, and making fun of his own entourage (as in Fig. 145), must have been delighted to see these derogatory caricatures of his enemies.

More importantly, this caricature establishes the close link between *chākar* and *shāter,* and how they were looked upon as one and the same, at least by the Safavids.

VIII.5 - Of Painters and Wrestlers

The wide-ranging respect that later *pahlavān*s commanded derived from the popularity of wrestling among different strata of society, as well as the spiritual qualities that one expected their leaders to have. Indeed, the examples of two famous painters, one Teymurid and the other Safavid, are testimony to the attraction that the milieu of

[293] Algar 1989. It was said that Hājji Bektāsh Vali was "a man of gnostic and illumined nature who failed to follow the *sharīʿa* (*dar motābeʿat nabūd*)," *idem*.
[294] Soltān-Hosayn's elder son, Badi`oz-zamān Mirzā, became a dervish and after Salim I's capture of Tabriz in 1514, he greeted him in the company of the *qalandar*s of the city; Karamağaralı 2004, 30. He was obviously paying homage to Salim as the head of the Janissaries (of Bektāshi affiliation).

traditional wrestling had for painters and members of different guilds. Both had a disdain for monetary rewards and preferred the company of libertines to courtly people. And the style of both is characterized by an exuberance that matched their free-spirited nature.

One is the 15th-century painter Mirak-e Naqqāsh-e Khorāsāni who in the list of painters active at the court of Soltān-Hosayn Bāyqarā—provided by the Turco-Mongol historian Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt (1499-1551)—occupies the top spot and is praised with the following entry:

> He is one of the wonders of the age. He was Behzād's master. His sketching is more masterly than Behzād's, although his execution is not up to the latter's. However, all his works were done outside in the open air, whether traveling, at home, or at [Soltān Hosayn] Mirzā's court. And he never felt compelled to [work in] a studio nor [to use an] easel. This is strange enough, but further yet he practiced muscle building (*zurmandihā mikard*) that is absolutely at odds with being a painter. For muscle building, he practiced all kind of exercises, from wrestling to wielding the *tukhmāq*, and gained a reputation in this field.[295] It is quite strange to combine painting with such practices."[296]

Mirak's eagerness for wrestling was combined with a lack of interest in material rewards to the extent that Amir `Ali-shir once threatened him with imprisonment in order to induce him to work.[297]

A century later, the chronicler Qāzi Ahmad depicts a similar behavioral pattern for another painter, namely Rezā-ye `Abbāsi. Having praised his talents and his affiliation to the court of Shāh `Abbās in his first edition of the *Golestān-e Honar* (c. 1596), the Qāzi expressed concern about the artist's lifestyle in a revised version produced around 1606:

> The company of hapless people and libertines is spoiling his disposition. He is addicted to watching *wrestling* and to acquiring competence and instruction in this profession.[298]

And later on, the chronicler Eskandar Beyg echoed the same:

> "…on account of his uncouth ways, he (Rezā) has not prospered and remains *penniless* and distraught."[299]

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[295] The *tukhmāq* was a heavy mace-type object, which nowadays is called *mil*.
[296] There are several translations of this entry based on different manuscripts of the *Tārikh-e Rashidi* of Dughlāt. The best is the one provided in Melikian-Chirvani 1988, 99-100.
[297] Vāsefi 1970, 152-53.
[298] Minorsky 1959, 192.
[299] Eskandar Beyg 1971, I:176.

Fig. 146 – Wrestler, by Rezā `Abbāsi (Sotheby's sale 6-12-1967, lot 61)

Fig. 147 - Dervish Beheshti with three dot burn marks and wine bowl. Rezā `Abbāsi Esfahān, dated 1625. Golestān Palace Library.

Fig. 148 - Dervish Ghiāth-e Semnāni by Rezā `Abbāsi. Ex-Khosrovani Coll.

As a result, in the corpus of Rezā's work, we not only see drawings of wrestlers (Fig. 146) but also numerous *qalandar*s and dervishes (Figs. 147-48) The traditional wrestling community was infused with popular Sufism, and the same type of master-pupil relationship existed there as in the Sufi orders. Among these groups of people, the master was more than a mere teacher; he was a fatherly figure, a role model, and a spiritual leader. One such revered figure for Rezā may have been the dervish Ghiāth-e Semnāni (Fig. 148), whose image he often reproduced in various compositions. Rezā's body of work is in fact a testament to the close-knit relationship that existed among the guilds, wrestlers and dervish orders.

VIII.6 - Bonnet and Hair Style

A striking feature of the performers depicted in Figs. 135-38 is their hairstyle: Long hair, ponytailed toward the back. But long hair was a feature of dervishes and *qalandars* as well. A 17th-century treatise on dervish orders actually argues that long hair was in following the example set by the Prophet Mohammad and had to be "from ear to shoulder (از گوش تا دوش), no more and no less."[300] For active performers, the ponytail kept their long hair tidy. On the other hand, for dervishes and *qalandar*s, their tall hats helped them to dissimulate their long hair, and spared them aggravation from an unsympathetic public

[300] `Abd-or-rahim 1672, 33 : که موی سر ماندن صفت آن حضرت (محمد) ع است

(Fig. 150). As a general rule, miter-like hats and bonnets (Fig. 149) adorned the heads of dervishes, as well as most members of congregations that were avatars of Mithraic societies. While most started with a red-colored straight bonnet, they gradually opted for more complicated, and sometimes extravagant, shapes to distinguish themselves from their peers. The extravaganza included feathers (Fig. 151a), perhaps as a symbol that evoked the auspiciousness of the Chamrosh bird.

And yet, as we shall see in the Sasanian graffiti, many members of past Mithraic congregations sported their long hair without a cover; for them, wearing a bonnet seemed to be the prerogative of the rank holders. And it is, perhaps, in consideration of such practices that *Denkard III.29* qualifies the enemies of Zoroastrianism as the *div*s with "disheveled hair," because, in the parlance of the early Zoroastrian priesthood, those who had rejected the supremacy of Ahura Mazda, and honored Mithra instead, were treated as *divs* (sec. XII.6). An example of such a person could be the *chākar* leading the horse of Shāpur son of Pāpak in the Persepolitan graffiti (Fig. 162). Nevertheless, in Safavid times, members of the nobility also donned a sheepskin hat tied with a ribbon, to show their sympathy for dervish orders (as the polo-playing prince in Fig. 151b).

Fig. 149 – An *`ayyār*. A page from the *khāvarān-nāmeh*. MMA

Fig. 150 – Dervishes with long hair. (Detail of Fig. 13)

Figs. 151 a, b – (a) A Safavid *shāter* with short pants and axe. (b) Safavid noblemen wearing sheepskin bonnets with ribbon. (Soudavar 1992, 235 and 244)

VIII.7 - Camouflaged Wine Bowls and Wine Prohibition

Wine drinking constituted an essential part of the Mithraic oath, and Persian literature often associates wine with the sun and Mithra (*mehr*):

از آن ماه پروردهٔ مهربخت که از ماه تن دارد از مهر جان
چو بر کف گرفتیش گویی مگر همی بر سخن بشکفد ارغوان

Of that Moon-nurtured being that the Sun-released * whose body was given by the moon and its soul was given by Mithra

> When you shall lift a cup of it, you may wonder * whether it's a purple blossom responding to poetry[301]

And as we saw, drinking wine was an important feature of the enthronement ceremony of Bābak-e Khorramdin: His followers swore allegiance to him, and drank wine after sacrificing a bull (sec. III.2). By digging into the literary terrain, Melikian-Chirvani has relied on verses such as the ones here below to argue that wine was actually a substitute for the blood of the sacrificial animal:[302]

> ساقیا موسم عید است، بده جام شراب بنشان در دل ما آتش سی روزه به آب
> هین رگ خون بگشای از گلوی گاو سفال تا شوم مست و برانم نفس خر به خلاب
> O cupbearer it's the end of Ramadan, give me a cup of wine,* to put out my burning desire of thirty-days
> Ho! Open the blood artery in the throat of the pottery bull * So I get drunk, and cry out loud like an ass in the mud

According to Shafii-ye Kadkani, among the remnants of the Mazdakite movement, many drank wine and called themselves *parsiyān* (probably *pārsāyān*);[303] and according to Pirouzdjou, the Horufids, who were the followers of the dervish Fazlollāh Astarābādi (b. 1340), also drank wine.[304] Like the Khorramdiniyyeh, the Qezelbāsh followers of Shāh Esmā`il drank to be invigorated in battle; it was effective at times, but could also lead to catastrophe.[305]

Wine drinking was therefore very much part of a social ritual rooted in a pre-Islamic past. More often than not, dervishes and *qalandar*s didn't even feel obligated to hide such activities. The young dervish depicted by Rezā-ye `Abbāsi in Fig. 147 not only wears a red Mithraic bonnet but is drinking red wine from a cup. The 14th-century Najm-od-din-e Zarkub (the goldsmith) even avows in his *fotovvat-nāmeh* that, prior to the Prophet Mohammad, the *fetyān* drank wine and it was only on his urging that "forty of his youthful companions" switched from wine to water and salt.[306] The salt and water in the dervish initiation ceremonies were thus substitutes for the wine and bread of Mithraic

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[301] Dehkhodā 1973, 19345 ("wine")
[302] Melikian-Chirvani 1992, 132. Melikian provides numerous other examples combining blood (*khun*) with wine utensils such as *khun-e khom* (blood of the wine jar), *khun-e piyāleh* (blood of the bowl), *khun-e raz* (vine blood), Melikian-Chorvani 1992, 109.
[303] Shafii 2007, 58-59.
[304] Pirouzdjou 1997, 89.
[305] Esmā`il's son, Tahmāsb, complained in his memoirs about the Qezelbāsh troops who drank all night before the battle of Chāldirān (1514), and were defeated the next day by the Ottomans, because of their drunkenness; Tahmāsb ND, fol. 27v.
[306] Mahjoub 2000, 56.

societies. Others preferred a clean break with the past, and advocated that it was inappropriate to have water and salt from a bowl shaped like a wine vessel.[307] This criticism targeted elongated bowls hanging from the performer's belt (Fig. 92) or placed next to the skin throne (Fig. 40), which mimicked the shape of wine vessels. To avoid harassment, these vessels, which the initiates wanted to carry at all times, had to be concealed or camouflaged. Thus, in lieu of a wine vessel, a bowl-shaped bell hung from the belt of *shāter*s and performers (Fig. 138), which nevertheless incorporated subtle references to past symbols and practices. A particularly elaborate one has reached us from Safavid times (Fig. 153a). Among the symbols that adorn this bowl-shaped bell are the bull and lion in combat (Fig. 153b), the auspicious bird Chamrosh (Fig. 153c), and it also bears a lengthy poem by Hāfez in praise of wine:

می دمد صبح و کِلَّه بست سحاب * الصَّبوح الصَّبوح یا اصحاب
می چکد ژاله بر رخ لاله * المُدام المُدام یا اَحباب
می وزد از چمن نسیم بهشت * هان بنوشید دم به دم می ناب
تخت زمرّد زده است گل به چمن * راح چون لعل آتشین دریاب

Morning is breezing in, and clouds are setting up their dome, * A cup, (give me) a cup, O companions
Dews are dripping from the tulip's forehead, * Continue, continue, O friends
The scent of Paradise is blowing from the green grass, * Keep drinking the pure wine, time after time,
Flower has set its emerald throne on green grass, * Seek the wine that's like molten ruby

Fig. 152 – Hanging bowl. V. Kooros coll.

Figs. 153 a, b, c – Dervish drinking bowl camouflaged as a bell (Sotheby's, London, sale of 14-4-2010, lot 206)

Such an elaborate ode to wine establishes this semi-spherical object as a drinking cup camouflaged as a bell, rather than the other way around. It is in fact a modified version of

[307] Mahjoub 2000, 158

the wine cup that Mongols had hanging from their belts (Fig. 152). The strong association of wine with brotherhoods may in fact offer us a partial explanation as to the enigma of wine prohibition in Islam, for the Koran does not advocate a strict prohibition, nor does it prescribe penalties for drinking. As the thorough *Dictionnaire du Coran* now explains, such a prohibition poses numerous theological problems for Moslem jurists, since the Koran provides three different assessments of wine and inebriating substances that range from positive to negative. On the positive side, verse XLVII:15 promises to the faithful a paradise where inebriating liquors freely flow.[308] On the negative side, we have verse V:90 that associates wine with Satan (*Shaytān*). But by being both a rational angel and an evil one,[309] Satan is such a controversial character in the Koran that no prohibition can be strictly based on an association with him. Verse IV:43, on the other hand, places a strict restriction around prayer time: One cannot be drunk when praying. But such a specific restriction is no different than modern laws prohibiting driving when intoxicated. Driving, as well as praying, requires one to be in full possession of his or her faculties, and if interdictions are devised and penalties spelled out for such situations, they cannot be extrapolated to all other circumstances.

More importantly, in Islam "the Eloquence" of the Koran is often presented as a miracle that parallels the miracles attributed to Jesus and Moses. Therefore, the idea that an exegete is needed to extract a strict prohibition out of the Koran dents the very premise of its "Eloquence" as a miracle. If it was an important issue, God and his Messenger were fully capable of spelling out an absolute prohibition, and devise penalties.

All of these contradictions are resolved by the very balanced explanation that verse II:219 offers, if properly assessed. Unfortunately all present-day assessments are based on a tradition that has deliberately altered the meaning of this verse to allow a strict wine-prohibition policy. Verse II:219 is composed of three sections for which the middle one is crucial, in that it provides a bridge between the first and third sections, and advocates a compassionate approach to the problem. But the present-day redaction makes a mockery of this verse:

(1) يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الْخَمْرِ وَالْمَيْسِرِ قُلْ فِيهِمَا إِثْمٌ كَبِيرٌ وَمَنَافِعُ لِلنَّاسِ وَإِثْمُهُمَآ أَكْبَرُ مِن نَّفْعِهِمَا (2) وَيَسْأَلُونَكَ مَاذَا يُنفِقُونَ قُلِ **الْعَفْوَ** (3) كَذَلِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللهُ لَكُمُ الآيَاتِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَفَكَّرُونَ

[308] "Paradise which the pious have been promised, in it there are rivers of ... and rivers of wine," XLVII:15. In addition, XVI:67 seems to present the "inebriating juice of grapes" as a sign from God; Amir-Moezzi et al. 2007, 910-911.

[309] Satan was an angel who got expulsed from the heavens for refusing to prostrate himself before Adam (VII:11-12). Because prostration before any being but God was considered as idolatry, this refusal of Satan was deemed by some as the ultimate expression of belief in monotheism.

Persian translation (Khorramshāhi):

(1) از تو درباره شراب و قمار می‌پرسند، بگو در آنها گناهی بزرگ و نیز سودهایی برای مردم هست، ولی گناه آنها بر سودشان می‌چربد، (2) و از تو می‌پرسند که چه چیزی ببخشند، بگو آنچه **افزون بر نیاز** است، (3) بدین‌سان خداوند آیات خود را برایتان روشن می‌سازد، باشد که اندیشه کنید

English translation (Sahih - international):

"(1) They ask you about wine and gambling. Say, "In them is great sin and [yet, some] benefit for people. But their sin is greater than their benefit." (2) And they ask you what they should spend. Say, "**The excess [beyond needs]**." (3) Thus Allah makes clear to you the verses [of revelation] that you might give thought."

The primary meaning of *`afv* (عفو) in (2) is not superfluous or in-excess, but effacement, obliteration, or forgiveness, and, as such, it is clearly linked to the word "sin" in (1). In its present form, this tripartite *`āya* does not read well: (3) is severed from (1), even though the very purpose of this third section is to promote thinking among men through what God has revealed to them in (1). Clearly, by presenting drinking and gambling as activities that are both good and bad, a choice is put before Man that requires thinking. To have a coherent succession of sentences in this one *`āya*, (2) cannot jump to a subject unrelated to (1) and (3). If *`afv* is understood—as it should—as forgiveness, it profers a different consequence for drinking and gambling: Although sinful, it will be forgiven by God. It would then depict God as compassionate and merciful, which is what religion should be about. As for Man, he has to decide whether the good overwhelms the bad; and if he errs, he would be forgiven nonetheless. But as now written, we have a verb with an undefined "they" as its subject, so that the very awkward meaning of "surplus" for *`afv* could be introduced, in lieu of "forgiveness"; thus (2) becomes unrelated to (1).[310]

Two structural problems further militate against the accepted interpretation. Firstly, the Koran has twelve other verses that comprise question-and-answer sequences. In eleven of them, one Q&A sequence basically covers all the verse. In the twelfth, namely VII:187, we have two Q&A sequences that are complementary. In other words they all deal with one subject, and not unrelated ones. Secondly, the same question (ماذا ينفقون؟) is separately asked in II:215, and has a different answer. One cannot have two answers for the same question. As the two are just four verses apart, the Koranic compilers would have surely noticed the disparity in answers. If they didn't, it's because they saw two different verbs, therefore two different questions. I can only guess that the original verb of II:219 was ينافقون but written ينفقون as the *alef* and diacritical marks were omitted in early manuscripts. It explained God's reaction to the siners' deeds. Sentence (2) would then read: If they ask Thou, what outpour would they (siners) cause (from Allah)? Say: forgiveness.

[310] There is evidence that at least كثير was changed into كبير; see *quran.ksu.edu.sa/tafseer/qortobi/sura2-aya219.html*

It didn't sanctify wine drinking, but prohibited punishment: If God forgave, the Moslem jurist could not punish. Oddly, a verse that bore testimony to the mercifulness of Allah, and encouraged Man to think on his own, was deliberately misconstrued to give jurists an instrument of repression. If anybody merits lashes in this tragedy, it's the jurist and the exegete who have turned this verse on its head.

The question then is what was the real reason behind wine prohibition? Coercive rules based on false religious justifications are usually adopted for political reasons, and punitive rules are generally directed against combative adversaries. As noted, the unruly *`ayyār*s, *shāter*s, and brotherhood members were the real troublemakers in the early Islamic cities. And since wine drinking was part of their rituals, the imposition of penalties in this respect was a useful tool to punish and subdue this troublesome crowd. If not the main reason, it certainly contributed to the stiffening of rules and the wide application of penalties in this respect.

The dervishes' wine-drinking predicament and their adversarial attitude toward Islamic restrictions are nowhere better exposed than in a poem by Hāfez:

به می، سجاده رنگین کن گرت پیر مغان گوید که سالک بیخبر نبود زراه و رسم منزلها
Taint your prayer rug with the red color of wine, if so orders the magi *pir*
For the initiate should know about the requirements of his journey's stations

He beautifully weaves the initiate's quandary into one verse: Despite the promotion of his skin-throne as an Islamic prayer rug (*sajjādeh*), he might be asked by his *pir* to spill wine on it. Hāfez qualifies the *pir* not as an Islamic *shaykh*, but as a magi in clear reference to his Mithraic attributes and the choice of the color red that so characterized Mithraic societies.

Of all people, the learned poet Shams-od-din Mohammad, known as Hāfez (1317-90), should have understood whether the Koran really prohibited wine or not; for his very epithet, *hāfez*, meant that he was a reciter of the Koran and knew it by heart. If he, and so many other learned poets, wrote poems in praise of the wine, they must have known that its prohibition had political roots and not religious ones. They could all read and understand the Koran, perhaps even better than the jurists and exegetes. What's more, Hāfez not only explained the religious acceptability of wine, but also evoked a past in which blood was drunk instead of wine:

خون پیاله خور که حلال است خون او

Drink the blood of the cup, for that blood is *halāl* (religiously lawful)

CHAPTER IX

POPULARITY, HIERARCHY, AND POWER

IX.1 - Brotherhood Popularity

The most striking aspect of the congregations that we have discussed so far, from *lutis* to *`ayyārs*, dervishes and *chākar*s, is the political power that they wielded. Their power emanated from two main characteristics: 1- they formed a cohesive group bonded together by a code of friendship, 2- they had a hierarchy at the top of which sat a revered figure, who was their leader as well as spiritual father. Any group with such characteristics had the potential to grow militant, enter the political arena, and eventually seize power, especially if led by a charismatic and ambitious leader. A well-known example is that of the Safavid dervish order, but there are many more, and our study shall reveal that they existed in both the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods.

Shafii Kadkani has argued that the popularity of these congregations was in reaction to religious bigotry.[311] Since religious bigots usually gravitated around the power elite, the brotherhood congregations became a refuge for the oppressed and those who wanted to distance themselves from the powerful. More generally, these congregations attracted the lower tier of society and provided a social envelope that insulated them—to a certain extent—from the oppressive environment that they lived in. They offered protection but also gave their members a sense of identity, pride, and ultimately happiness. To understand their popularity we need to understand the principles that forged their identity and motivated their behavior.

IX.2 - The Fundamental Principle

Various studies have listed a number of characteristics that are common to almost all of these congregations. They can be summarized as follows: (a) truthfulness, fairness, humility, giving, (b) mutual support, loyalty, hospitality, keeping oaths and secrets, and defense of the weak.[312] The first set (a) enumerates personal qualities, and the second set (b) is about interacting with others. But the core principle, on which all these characteristics depend, is *generosity* or the ability to give, which necessitates detachment from worldly goods. As one author explains, it is "giving" (*ithār*) that generates *mardom-*

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[311] Shafii 2007, 34.
[312] Afshāri 2003, XLVI-LXIV; Mahjoub 2000, 13-14.

dusti (the love of mankind) for the *fatā*.[313] It is the precondition for establishing a relationship of trust and support, for if one is willing to give—whether worldly goods, effort, or even one's life—then one can think in terms of one for all and all for one. Pushed to the extreme, it can bring a state of pennilessness (*eflās*), which, as we saw, characterized the *luti*s and the likes of the painter Rezā-ye `Abbāsi. Within the congregation, it strengthens the bonds of loyalty, and in isolation it leads to asceticism. It also encourages hospitality, which is an act of giving toward friends as well as strangers. It brings humility because nothing is left to brag about; and it promotes the defense of the poor rather than their exploitation. These were all characteristics that enhanced the bonds of friendship. But `*ayyār*s such as the Saffārid Ya`qub-e Laith also acted much like Robin Hood: They robbed the rich and gave to the needy.

IX.3 - Hierarchy

As a congregation, the brotherhoods had a hierarchy that closely followed those of Mithraic societies, even though they were constantly under pressure to adapt their rituals and expressions to the prevailing politico-religious atmosphere. What was deemed necessary, but not permissible in the new environment, was often kept secret. Thus, many *fotovvat-nāmeh*s mention secrets that cannot be written down but must be transmitted orally. As a result, the oath to secrecy was an important part of the initiation procedure, and "keeping secrets" was a virtue much emphasized in this type of literature. For the Ahl-e Haqq, certain secrets could not be told because they were defined as "unspeakable secrets" (*serr-e magu*).[314] More generally, sharing a secret enhanced the sense of belonging to a privileged group, and reinforced the concept of brotherhood.

In addition, rituals, rules, and initiation procedures were used to strengthen the hierarchy, because the very existence of these congregations depended on the respect that the hierarchy commanded. Thus, a set of behavioral protocols were devised for members to observe, especially in the presence of their leader or *pir*: They had to sit on two knees before him, they could not gesticulate before him nor could they speak in his presence, and had to accept whatever he said.[315] These were spelled out as part of a literature genre called *adab* (pl. *ādāb*) that defined Sufi ethics and behavioral protocols.

Nasrollah Pourjavadi has unearthed an interesting anecdote about the early Sufi *shaykh* `Abdollāh b. Mobārak (736-97) who was seated uncomfortably on his knees before

[313] Shafii 2007, 27.
[314] Khwaja-ad-din 1970, vi.
[315] Afshāri & Mir`ābedini 1995, 167.

another Sufi master, Abu-`Omar Hafs b. Hamid al-Akkāf, and when asked to relax his legs he answered: *khord, pish-e Hafs pāy derāz nakonad* (the lowly cannot extend his legs before Hafs). On another occasion, `Abdollāh directed the question of one of his Khorāsānian disciples toward a learned man who was present, and when, after receiving his answer, the Khorāsānian turned to `Abdollāh for his opinion, the latter answered: *mā be majles-e mehtarān sokhan naguyim* (we will not utter a word in presence of the great ones).[316] What is interesting, though, is that both of these sentences were quoted untranslated, i.e., in Persian within an Arabic narrative. It's not that the narrator could not translate it into Arabic, but he left it as such because what seemed a sign of respect within the Khorāsānian context was not necessarily so in the Arab context. Expression of one's opinion was a virtue for Arabs, while silence was for Iranians; Persian *adab* differed from the Arab one. Thus, in these anecdotes, we have proof that a century and a half after the advent of Islam, the Khorāsānian Sufi *shaykhs* followed an *adab* that was rooted in their own cultural traditions and not adopted from the Arab conqueror. Moreover, in the Persian world, form and protocol often overshadowed the essence of actions, to the extent that `Abdollāh b. Mobārak once said: "The protocol (*adab*) of servitude (*khedmat*) was more important than servitude itself."[317] Arabs, however, preferred simplicity and had a more straightforward attitude.

Ultimately, like in any other hierarchical organization, titles were important for the projection of power. We have already seen how titles inherited from Mithraic societies were often Arabicized to fend off persecution. The Arabic *shaykh*, for instance, came to gradually supplant *bābā* or *pir*. When a dervish order aspired to compete with local rulers, however, temporal epithets such as *soltān* or *shāh* were added to the name of their *shaykh*s. And in Anatolia, where the Ottoman ruler was addressed as *khwāndgār* (a compressed form of the Persian *khodāvandegār*, meaning lord/majesty), the ultimate Sufi-*shaykh* epithet was *khwāndgār* as well. A dedicatory inscription on a Koran endowed to the shrine of Bālim Soltān (1457-1517) is quite revealing (Fig. 154). Bālim Soltān was the most respected figure of the Bektāshi order after Hājji Bektāsh Vali, who was the founder of the order and the patron saint of the Ottoman Janissaries. Because Bālim had gained a notoriety of his own, the epithet *soltān* was added to his name. In the

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[316] Pourjavadi 1999, 22-23. Afshāri (2003, 9) relates a similar saying from a much later *fotovvat-nāmeh*: the *fotovvat* practitioner "shall not speak among the great ones, and if he does, it must not be in a loud voice,"
"فتوت دار "در جمع اکابر سخن نگوید، چون سخن بگوید بلند نگوید

[317] Pourjavadi 1999, 24: ادب الخدمة اعزّ من الخدمة

shrine's Koran, though, the endower wants to make sure that he himself is recognized as a member of the Bektāshi congregation. He thus signs his name as:

> پوست نشین درگاه حنگار، حاجی بکتاش ولی، الحاج محمدعلی حلمی دده
> The skin-sitter of the court of the Hongār Hājji Bektāsh Vali, al-Hājj Mohammad-`Ali Helmi the Dede[318]

Fig. 154 – Last page of a Koran dedicated to the shrine of Bālim-Soltān. Turk ve Islam Museum, Istanbul.

Fig. 155 – Mevlevi dervish effigy. Rumi Shrine. Konya.

It is interesting to note that the endower, who is obviously a man of means for endowing such a precious Koran, uses the epithet al-Hājj in addition to the title *dede* (the Turkic equivalent of *bābā* or *pir*) in order to shore up his Islamic credentials. Symbols of a pre-Islamic past, such as the ubiquitous skin throne, were ever present in these congregations, and dervishes had to constantly protect themselves from orthodox Islam. A wax effigy of a dervish initiate at the shrine of Mowlānā Jalāl-od-din-e Rumi (1207-73) in Konya vividly illustrates the use of the skin throne by the initiate (Fig. 155). It also illustrates the ordinary dervish's seating posture—on two knees—within the congregation and in the presence of his master, as defined by the *adab* literature. Furthermore, the Dede qualifies himself as *pust-neshin* (seated on a skin) on his dedicatory legend, i.e., whether novice or master they all sat on a sheepskin. More importantly, the epithet *hongār*—a further compression of the already compressed *khwāndgār*—is posthumously bestowed on Hājji Bektāsh Vali to emphasize his supreme position as founder of the order.

[318] The seal imprint repeats the signature legend of Mohammad-`Ali Helmi the Dede (on the left margin).

Similarly, `Abdollāh b. Mobārak was called *shāhānshāh* (king of kings) by his followers;[319] and one often encounters in the Sufi literature of northeast Iran names with lofty titles and epithets, such as Pireh Shervān-Shāh-e Garmrudi.[320] The latter's string of titles is indicative of a gradual rise in the hierarchy of dervishes. He came from Garmrud and had initially been called a *pireh* (lesser *pir*), but eventually rose to prominence and was named *Shervān-shāh*, an epithet that competed with the temporal rulers of the Shervān area of the Caucasus, who bore the title Shervān-Shāh. As we shall see, these were by no means hollow titles but often reflected the power of the leaders of dervish congregations, who behaved at times like *shāh*s, *soltān*s and emperors.

IX.4 - The Network

When congregations were formed, their expansion depended very much on the network they could develop. The belief in hospitality played a major role in this respect.[321] Brotherhood members saw it as their duty to feed and shelter the passersby. Thus, hospices (*zāviyyeh*s) were erected for this purpose, and travelers, whether dervish or not, were invited to spend the night there. The Moroccan traveler Ebn-e Battuta relates an interesting story about his passage through Antalya (Turkey), where he comes across a congregation of bachelor men called *akhi*s (brothers), and who considered themselves as *fatā*s. Whatever they gained in the daytime, they brought to the hospice in the evening in order to buy food and other necessities, which were then shared with the others. Because they were in the habit of sheltering foreign travelers, they invited Ebn-e Battuta and all his retinue to their hospice. The Moroccan traveler marvels at their generosity and the fact that they often fought against tyranny, and remarks that these were traits that he had also seen among the young men of Esfahan and Shiraz.[322]

Whether in central Iran or Anatolia, these brotherhoods followed similar protocols and principles, which facilitated their networking and provided a fluidity that allowed easy displacement from one congregation to the other. And travelers such as Ebn-e Battuta helped to consolidate these networks by extolling their merits, and lauding the virtues of their *pir*s and *shaykh*s. Eventually, some of these networks came to mobilize a full-fledged army of militants, such as the Sarbedārs and the Safavids.

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[319] Pourjavadi 1999, 22.
[320] Ebn-e Bazzāz 1994, 425.
[321] Afshari 2008, 78.
[322] Ebn Battuta 1983, I:347-48.

IX.5 - The Sarbedārid Dynasty: A Reflection of Congregation Diversity

A major consequence of the Mongol invasions of the thirteen century was the weakening of Islamic orthodoxy. Mongols practiced a policy of religious tolerance, and held in high esteem holy people who had a following, especially Sufi *shaykh*s. It was an ideal situation for dervish orders; and many thrived under the Mongols. Because of the respect that they commanded, Sufi *shaykh*s could offer protection to their followers, and shield landowners from rapacious Mongol tax collectors. As a result they became a pole of attraction for the rich as well as the poor.

At the tail end of Mongol rule in the Iranian lands, when no prominent Changizid prince was left and Turco-Mongol commanders sought to enrich themselves by taxing the population more and more, a rebellion broke out in eastern Iran, near the city of Sabzevār, spearheaded by an *`ayyār* group called the *sar-be-dār*s (lit. "those whose head hung from the gallows"). By their very name, the Sarbedārs were militants who were ready to die for their cause. They were the followers of the Shiite Sufi *shaykh*, Shaykh Khalifeh (d. 1335), who was killed by the instigation of Sunni jurists attached to the Turco-Mongol ruling elite. His mantle was picked up by a member of the landed gentry, known as Pahlavān `Abd-or-Razzāq (d. 1338), who successfully led the Sarbedārs into battle against the Mongols. The Sarbedārid state that he founded became the first Iranian state of the post-Mongol era. He was killed by his own brother, the Amir Vajih-od-din Mas`ud (r. 1338-43). The latter joined forces with another follower of Shaykh Khalifeh, Shaykh Hasan-e Juri (d. 1342), to further combat the remaining Mongol satellite states. Mas`ud's successors included Amir Yahyā Karāvi (r. 1353-58), a member of the Sabzevāri aristocracy, as well as Haydar-e Qassāb (Haydar the Butcher, r. 1358-60), a prominent guild member.[323]

The leadership mix of the Sarbedārs is a reflection of the composition of dervish congregations, in which *pahlavān*s, Sufi *shaykh*s, guild members and *`ayyār*s sympathized with each other, and joined forces to combat the ruling elite. Pirouzdjou gathered much information in this respect, especially the fact that the followers of Shaykh Hasan-e Juri were "primarily artisans" and how the "*`ayyār*s and *javānmard*s gathered around Mas`ud."[324] The true nature of this dynasty, however, is nowhere better described as in the *Tārikh-e Rāqem*:

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[323] Amir Yahyā killed the last of the Mongol pretenders ruling over eastern Iran.

[324] Pirouzdjou 1997, 68: (quoting Hāfez Abru's *Joghrāfiā*) *moridān-e u aksar sāheb-e herfeh budand* (his followers were mostly artisans); also (quoting Zahiroddin-e Mar`ashi's *Tārikh-e Gilān, Māzandarān…*): هر جا برنا پیشه و عیّاری بود متوجه امیر مسعود گشت (*javānmard*s and *`ayyār*s gathered around Amir Mas`ud from all over)

بعد از نوبت سلطنت امیر یحیی ’ حیدر قصاّب در پوست تختهٔ امارت تکیه زد
After the reign of Amir Yahyā, Haydar the Butcher sat on the skin-throne of rulership[325]

By describing the throne of the Sarbedārs, as a skin throne (*pust-takhteh*), its author explains that they were in fact dervishes ruling as *amir*s.

IX.6 - The Morshediyyeh: Focusing on Mercantilism

One of the most organized dervish orders that prospered under the Mongols was the Morshediyyeh congregation, which had an extensive network of hospices (*zāviyyeh*s), with devotees reaching to Anatolia, India and China. The founder of the order was Shaykh Abu-Es'hāq Ebrāhim (963-1035) who was born into a family of Zoroastrians from Kāzerun in southwestern Iran. While Ebrāhim was still young, his father converted to Islam and encouraged him to study the Koran and Islamic jurisprudence, but he leaned toward Sufism. Eventually, he became a much respected and charismatic Sufi leader who converted many Zoroastrians and Jews to Islam.[326] The very choice of his name, Ebrāhim, and his *konya*, Abu-Es'hāq, may indicate that—like all other dervish orders—his congregation sat on sheepskins, and he needed the reference to Abraham to fend off potential attacks from Islamic jurists. But in deference to their spiritual leader, Shaykh Abu-Es'hāq's followers would only refer to him through the reverential formula: *hazrat-e moqaddaseh-ye monavvareh-ye morshediyyeh* (his holy guiding presence, filled with radiance), or simply Shaykh al-Morshed (the guiding *shaykh*); hence the Morshediyyeh appellation of his congregation.

His mausoleum in Kāzerun was the seat of the order and the center of an alms-gathering operation that mainly targeted traveling merchants who came to consider Abu-Es'hāq as their patron saint. Ebn-e Battuta, who visited the shrine in 1347, describes how representatives of the order would approach merchants in ports along the trade routes between the Persian Gulf and China and gather their pledges issued in the name of Shaykh Abu-Es'hāq whose spirit they thought was ever present. Each pledge was supposed to attract the goodwill of the Shaykh's spirit as insurance for shipment of goods. Because of a steady stream of pledges and donations, the Morshediyyeh was able to create a vast organization at the top of which sat the *khalifeh* (deputy), who was the acting successor of the Shaykh and ruled in his name. Even though the *khalifeh* vicariously led a dervish congregation, the edicts that he issued had all the trappings of

[325] Rāqem 2003, 14.
[326] See Lawrence 1983, where the number of converts ranges from 24,000 to 100,000.

imperial decrees, including a gold seal mark (*āltun tamghā*) that was the prerogative of Mongol rulers.[327] The Morshediyyeh acted in effect as a state within a state. And yet the order never grew militant. It simply focused on attracting more and more pledges, and on expanding its network. As a result, it was unable to withstand the onslaught of the Safaviyyeh who had their eyes set on their riches and could not tolerate the presence of a rival Sufi order, especially a Sunni one.

Within structured and rich dervish organizations, the principles of brotherhood were often overshadowed by the lust for power; one dervish order could decide to wipe out a rival one in order to ascertain its supremacy. And that is what happened when the Safavid Shāh Esmā`il conquered Iran; his followers simply eliminated the Morshediyyeh and confiscated their treasury.

Fig. 156 – *Farmān* of Abu-Sa`id. Iran Bāstān Museum.

Fig. 157 – The *khalifa* of the Morshediyyeh congregation issuing an order in the name of Shaykh Abu-Es'hāq (Soudavar 1992, 79)

Fig. 158 - Teymur before Soltān `Ali Siyāh-push, by Mo`in Mosavver, 17th century, Iran. EMS Collection.

IX.7 - The Safaviyyeh: A Violently Militant Order

The Safaviyyeh was an offshoot of the Zāhediyyeh order established in the thirteenth century by Shaykh Zāhed-e Gilāni, a venerated Sufi *shaykh* much respected by Ghāzān Khān. The eponymous founder of the Safaviyyeh was Safi-od-din Abu Es'hāq from

[327] Soudavar 1992, 78-80.

Ardabil,[328] who had joined the Zāhediyyeh as a novice, and had married the Shaykh's daughter, Bibi Fātema. Later Safavid historical accounts present Shaykh Zāhed as a respected leader who presided over a powerful and rich congregation based in Gilān.[329] They also portray Safi-od-din as his designated successor, who rightfully inherited the endowments of the Zāhediyyeh. In reality though, the succession of Shaykh Zāhed had gone to his elder son Jamāl-od-din `Ali, and it is only after his death that Safi was able to take control of the Zāhediyyeh. Had it not been for one surviving Mongol decree (Fig. 156), written in the Uyghur script, we would have never known the truth. Said decree clearly shows the rift that existed between the senior branch of Shaykh Zāhed's progenies and the junior branch, which sided with Safi-od-din in their fight over the control of the Zāhediyyeh endowments.[330] Both sides understood that he who controlled the endowments also controlled the network of hospices, and through them, the allegiance of their dervishes. The conflict must have been resolved in favor of Safi-od-din and the junior branch, since all Zāhediyyeh endowments were eventually absorbed by the Safaviyyeh.

To attract more endowments, Safaviyyeh propagandists had to exalt the status of their *shaykh*s; therefore, fabricated stories were propagated such as Teymur's visit to Safi-od-din's grandson, Soltān `Ali-ye Siyāh-push (d. 1429), whose blessings had supposedly brought him victories and conquests (Fig. 158).[331] And later on, a new genealogy was created to connect Safi's Kurdish ancestor, Firuz-Shāh Zarrin-kolāh to the seventh Shiite Imam, Musā al-Kāzem (745-799). They thus became *sayyed*s, i.e., descendants of the Prophet Mohammad and professed to be Shiites, even though Safi and his immediate progenies had been Sunnis.[332]

In many regions of Iran, successive confiscations of properties by raiding Turco-Mongols had blurred lines of land ownership. The unique position of Sufi masters, as spiritual leaders with political clout, allowed them to acquire land with contested titles and obtain

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[328] In the extant manuscript of *Safvat-ol safā* (Ebn-e Bazzāz 1994, 70), Safi's *konya* is written as Abol-fath Es'hāq, which is the result of applying the later epithet of Safavid kings, Abol-fath, to Safi. Sufi *shaykhs* were always named Abu Es'hāq (father of Isaac, i.e., Abraham) to justify their skin-thrones.

[329] The folkloric *`Ālam-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā`il,* for instance, states that Shaykh Zāhed had 100'000 followers, 12'000 of whom were with him in Gilān; Montazer-Sāheb 1970, 8.

[330] Because the decree was written in the Uyghur script, it must have eluded the attention of Safavid propagandists and censorship officials; Soudavar 2006a, 233-35. The junior branch was represented by Safi-od-din's brother-in-law Shams-od-din.

[331] Montazer-Sāheb 1970, 14-20.

[332] According to a contemporary historian Hamdollāh-e Mostowfi "the people of Ardabil adhered to the Shāfe`i branch of Sunnism and were followers of Shaykh Safi; Mazzaoui 1972, 6; Kasravi (n.d.), 218-53.

clearance from claim holders. As their wealth accumulated, they purchased more land at depressed values.[333] Accumulated wealth provided immense power, and matrimonial alliances further consolidated it. Such was the clout of the Safaviyyeh that the powerful Aq-qoyunlu sovereign, Uzun Hasan (r. 1453-78), gave his sister to Soltān Jonayd (d. 1460), and subsequently his daughter (Halimeh Begi) to Soltān Haydar (d. 1488), who were Shāh Esmā`il's grandfather and father respectively.

But matrimonial alliances had come into play at least once before. Indeed, it was no mere coincidence that the young Safi joined the Zāhediyyeh and married its leader's daughter. The sources clearly indicate that Safi's ancestor, Firuz-Shāh Zarrin-kolāh, was the head of a dervish congregation in Ardabil. The very title *shāh* added to his name and the epithet *zarrin-kolāh* (golden bonnet) prove that his congregation was modeled after Mithraic societies, for the word *zar* (gold) was often used as a substitute for the sun, as well as Mithra.[334] In giving his daughter to Safi, Shaykh Zāhed was probably trying to bring the Ardabil dervishes into his fold, especially since Safi had lost his father at a young age and the Ardabil congregation might have been in disarray. As it turned out, it was the Ardabil order that was able to absorb the Gilāni one, and not vice versa. The Ardabil power base of Safi played a crucial role in the outcome of these events.

With its strong power base and accumulated wealth, the Safaviyyeh was in want of a charismatic leader who could turn it into a militant one. That charismatic leader proved to be Safi's great grandson, Soltān Jonayd. In a split with the more conservative branch of the order in Ardabil, Jonayd journeyed westward as far as Syria, and gathered a following among the Turkaman tribes of western Iran and eastern Anatolia. The same Turkaman tribes would later become the core of the Safavid army, known as the Qezelbāsh (i.e., red heads). It is Ruzbahān Khonji, who first describes Jonayd as wearing red headgear.[335] In previous color descriptions of the Safaviyyeh, the sources refer to Soltān `Ali as *siyāh-push* (black-wearing) (Fig. 158), and to some dervishes from Tālesh as *kabud-jāmegān*

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[333] Aubin 1959, 37-81.

[334] The sources also insinuate that Firuz-Shāh came to Ardabil by the order of a certain Soltān Adham, a descendant of the famous mystical figure, Ebrāhim Adham. Clearly, Soltān Adham is not a monarch but the head of a Sufi congregation; Ebn-e Bazzāz 1994, 72, Montazer-Sāheb 1970, 1. Like in so many other instances, Firuz may have started as a regional deputy *shaykh* but ended up presiding over his own congregation. At the Sarajevo ASPS conference of Sept. 4, 2013, Behrooz Chamanara (*A Brief Survey of the Structure of the Triad-Divinities in the Kurdish Shahnameh*) explained the connection of *zar* to the sun, and provided examples of derivatives such as the names Zar-dād and Zar-`Ali, which parallel names such as Mehr-dād and Mehr-`Ali, and vouch for the use of *zar* as a substitute for Mehr.

[335] Pirouzdjou 1997, 137-38; Khonji 1992, 269:

و همچو شمع، با کلاه سرخ، سر خودرا در دهن گازِ آزِ سلطنت فکند

(blue shirts).[336] The switch to red headgear was a novelty that Jonayd introduced. As Pirouzdjou observes, it was accompanied by two major shifts in Safaviyyeh policies: One political, by which the pursuit of power became the primary goal of the order, and the other doctrinal, by which the Safaviyyeh abandoned regular Moslem religious practices and espoused behavior akin to the Khorramdiniyyeh.[337] The primary source on this double transformation is once again Khonji who describes Jonayd's son Haydar with the following:

> گویند همگنان او را معبود خویش میدانستند و از وظایف نماز و عبادات اعراض کرده جنابش را قبله و مسجود خود میشناختند . شیخ هم دین اباحت را برای ایشان ترویج داده قواعد شریعت خرمیان بابکی در میانشان نهاده از غایت مکّاری در سر کلاهی صوفیانی و در بر خرقهٔ درویشانه کرده، و جوشنها در خانه ساخته و تیغها برای جنگ پرداخته
>
> They say that his followers worshiped him, and turned away from *namāz* and praying duties, and considered him to be their Qibla and idol. And so, the Shaykh propagated among them the religion of *ebāhat*, and set forth for them the laws of the Khorramdiniyyeh of Bābak, and out of deceit wore a Sufi hat and dervish robe, but made armor at home and sharpened swords for battle. [338]

Khonji also claimed that they called Jonayd مجاهرة الله (God's revelator) and ابن الله (Son of God).[339] What's interesting, though, is the fact that more than five centuries after the death of Bābak, the memory of the Khorramdiniyyeh was still alive and Khonji saw much similarity between their practices and those of the Safaviyyeh. There was of course the color red of Jonayd's headgear that matched the red-color of the Khorramdiniyyeh who were known as the *mohammara* or the red-clothed ones. In addition, he labeled their religion as *ebāhat,* which pertained to the non observance of religious rites and the wine-drinking ceremonies of certain orders, such as the Horufids, that continued with a distribution of bread among congregation members, similar to the ceremony held for the enthronement of Bābak.[340] But more importantly, he emphasized their unconditional obedience to the supreme master of the order to the extent that they saw him as god incarnate, which is what Ebn-e Nadim had accused the Khorramdiniyyeh of. Khonji then continues to say that Jonayd's son Haydar spent his whole life doing "*pahlavāni*" exercises,[341] presumably wrestling and body building, which prepared him for military

[336] Pirouzdjou 1997, 139.
[337] Pirouzdjou 1997, 138.
[338] Khonji 1992, 274.
[339] Khonji 1992, 272.
[340] See for instance Pirouzdjou's description of the *ebāhat* as it pertains to the Horufids; Pirouzdjou 1997, 89.
[341] Khonji 1992, 275.

actions and raids. One way or the other, all of the preceding underlined peculiarities are reminiscent of Mithraic orders and their avatars.

But the *ebāhat* labeling also encompassed the belief in metempsychosis (*tanāsokh*) or the transmigration of the soul, which usually came into play after the death of a revered leader. In the case of the Khorramdiniyyeh, they believed that Jāvidān's soul migrated into Bābak's body. His very name (*Jāvidān*) literally meant eternal, and could be an indication of how his followers perceived him. As in most other religions and congregations, once a believer became attached to a leader, it was hard for him to accept his disappearance. If the body was no longer around, it was comforting to claim that his spirit was still watching over the congregation. Such was the charisma of Jonayd that when he died in battle and his follower saw his inert corpse, they still refused to admit that he was no longer there; the simple solution was to claim that his son Haydar now embodied his spirit. Thus, the fervor that the Safaviyyeh once displayed for Jonayd, was transferred to Haydar, and after his death, to the young Esmā`il.

Energized by Jonayd, the Safaviyyeh became militant and restless. A convenient outlet for the militancy of the order was to engage in *ghazā*s, or war with nonbelievers, up north, in Georgia. These forays, thinly disguised as missionary in purpose, were opportunities to loot and to capture Georgian women. To reach Georgia, the Safavids crossed the territories of the Shervān-Shāhs, wreaking havoc wherever they went. Weary of these destructive expeditions and apprehensive about the rising power of the Safavids, the Shervān-Shāhs first killed Jonayd, and later his son Haydar. When the young Esmā`il emerged in the year 1500 to take leadership of the order, his first battle was with the Shervān-Shāh Farrokhyasār to avenge the deaths of his father and grandfather. Barely twelve years old, but venerated by his followers as a semi-god, Esmā`il drove his troops from one victory to another, preaching a militant brand of Shiism that lauded the Imam `Ali to a degree that eclipsed the Prophet Mohammad himself. `Ali was almost seen as God and Esmā`il as god incarnate.

Unlike the congregations that Ebn-e Battuta had encountered, which emphasized brotherhood and fought against tyranny, the lust for power changed the Safaviyyeh outlook *vis à vis* other congregations and the rest of the people. They no longer fought against tyranny but became tyrants themselves. They raided and plundered Georgia under the pretext that they were non-Moslems, and robbed the Morshediyyeh by labeling them as Sunnis. But their attack on fellow Shiites left no doubt that their behavior was neither

conditioned by religious considerations nor self defense. Esmā`il's treatment of Hosayn-e Kiyā Cholāvi (d. 1504) is a case in point.

Hosayn-e Kiyā was a Shiite who ruled in the mountainous strongholds of Firuz Kuh and Damāvand in northern Iran.[342] Fearing the attack of Shāh Esmā`il, he had retreated into the fortress of Estā together with the Shiite Turkaman warlord, Morād Beg Jahānshāhlu. They had to capitulate when Esmā`il diverted the river that provided water to the fort. All of Kiyā's men were put to the sword and he himself was put in a cage and tortured until he committed suicide; his body was then incinerated. A more severe punishment was reserved for Morād Beyg who was tied to a long stick and put to roast (*kabāb*) on a fire; after which the "true believers" (*mo`taqedān*) among Esmā`il's Qezelbāsh troops were ordered to "take a bite."[343]

Shahzad Bashir who has analyzed this act of cannibalism, together with other instances reported in Safavid sources, sees a common purpose with the ritual of *chub-e tariq* (lit. "stick of the path"), "in which the Qezelbāsh received blows on their bodies by representatives of Safavid kings to symbolize their religious and political loyalty to the Safavid house," and concludes that:

> "The eventual social import of the *chub* ritual lies in the fact that it solidifies the relationship between the Shah and the Qezelbāsh in a highly corporeal way. The stick literally imprints the king's mark on the devotee's body, and the pain caused by the hit acts as a jolting affirmation of the allegiance the recipient owes to the Shah. In much the way the cannibalism is described, the ritual is highly communal, the attendees "from the first to the last" participate without individuation."[344]

Giorgio Rota sees Safavid cannibalism as "connected to the wish to prevent somebody else's resurrection and to beliefs which were widespread in the Turkic world in particular, and in Eurasia in general."[345] More simply, it could perhaps be associated with an act of vengeance, which a story from the *Hamza-nāmeh*—a text that was popular at the Teymurid and Safavid courts—well illustrates. Therein, a companion to Hamza named `Amr the *`ayyār* takes vengeance upon a rival by capturing him, dismembering his body and making a stew that was distributed among his troops.[346]

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[342] Ilchi 2000, 24.
[343] Ilchi 2000, 24-27; Qomi 1980, I:297
[344] Bashir 2006, 238-52. He insightfully sees cannibalism as "a negation and an affirmation: the devoured bodies mark a total obliteration of political alternatives consisting of other dynasties, even as the acts of consumption solidify the socio-religious relationship between the Shah and his troops."
[345] Personal communication.
[346] Zekāvati-Qarāgozlu 2013, 98-99. The stew is then fed to his victim's son, see note 654 infra.

The rowdy Turkaman tribes that Jonayd found in northern Syria and eastern Anatolia had become enamored with the Safavids and constituted their main power base; to the extent that when, later on, the Ottoman Salim I was preparing to march against Shāh Esmā`il, he had to kill some forty thousand of them to dry out this Safavid recruiting base.[347] The area where they resided was once the cradle of Roman Mithraism and had become the hotbed of extreme dervish orders (*ghollāt*). It stands to reason that the *ghollāt* were affected by certain practices of ancient congregations. Therefore, this form of cannibalism may be an offshoot of sacrificial rituals that they originally performed. In the Mysteries, for instance, the initiates had to endure much pain, with their bare torsos exposed to extreme cold or extreme heat, before acceptance. Dervishes too had to bear burn marks at initiation (Fig. 49, Fig. 147). To this date, many dervish congregations enact rituals by which a rooster or lamb is killed, cooked, and distributed as food among all its members.[348] And as we saw, the Khorramdiniyyeh had to partake in a ceremony in which they each had to dip bread into wine and eat it. More generally, wine seems to have been a facilitating agent for both pain endurance and the exaltation that was necessary to engage in the anomalous and abhorrent act of cannibalism. But as odd as it seems, it does fit the pattern of rituals that solidified the bonds of brotherhood. As Bashir remarks, it was "a jolting affirmation of the allegiance" they bore for their leaders, and a communal act that required the participation of many.

The proof of a Mithraic connection for these practices, however, resides with the description that a Safavid source provides about the accoutrements of two special "shock" units that Shāh `Abbās I (r. 1588-1629) had instituted. To stop the infighting among various Qezelbāsh tribes, and in order to place them under unitary command, `Abbās broke up the Qezelbāsh tribal system and organized them in units only accountable to himself. These two shock units were composed of ferocious Qezelbāsh individuals who would administer the worst kind of torture to the enemies of the *shāh*, and would occasionally eat them alive. The accoutrements of the first unit are described as:

> لباس مخصوص و مختار شیخ احمد آقای میر غضب و متابعانش بر آن نهج بود که تاجهای عظیم ضخیم، معمّم به عمامه‌های سرخ بر سر می‌گذاشتند و اطراف آن را به انواع پر کُلنگ و عُقاب آراسته اکثر لباس و اثواب سرخ پوشیدندی و به حلق محاسن و اطلاق مشارب اقدام می‌نمودند.
>
> The special accoutrements of the executioner Shaykh Ahmad Āqā as well as his followers were such that they wore tall and thick *bonnets* wrapped in *red* turbans,

[347] Bacqué-Grammont1987, 53.
[348] See note 102 supra.

> which they would adorn with crane and eagle feathers; most of them wore *red* clothing, and would shave their beards but sport long moustaches.

As for the second unit, which specialized in eating the victims alive "bite after bite," they are described as follows:

> این جماعت نیز لباسی مخصوص داشتند جهت امتیاز، بدان طریق که تاجهای بی‌عمامه ضخیم طویل به قدر یك ذرع بر سر می‌گذاشتند و اطراف آن را با تاغهای پر کلنگ و بوم می‌آراستند
> Members of this unit too had distinctive clothing, marked by thick bonnets on the head, almost three feet tall (*yek zar`*) and with no turbans, which were adorned with rows of crane and owl feathers.[349]

Figs. 159a,b – (a) Safaviyyeh officer holding the *chub-e tariq*; (b) Safaviyyeh officers being presented a golden plant (TKSM, albums H2153/38 and H2160/10)

These headgear descriptions remind us of those of the *shāter*s, and ultimately the Mithraic bonnet; and the color red of their clothing is a clear pointer to the Mithraic origin of this shocking tradition. An overwhelming number of indices, therefore, vouch for an affiliation with ancient Iranian rituals, rather than Turkic ones. Also, we have a detailed drawing of these Safaviyyeh officials (Fig. 151a), in which one is holding a *chub-e tariq,* and the other has red clothing and a headgear with an impressive golden cupola that indicates superior rank (Fig. 159a)*;* in a second one (Fig. 159b), we have a beardless novice offering a precious plant—depicted as golden—to his superiors wearing golden headgears of the type that may have been worn by Shaykh Safi's ancestor, Firuz-

[349] Jonābādi 2000, 724.

Shāh Zarrin-kolāh (Firuz Shāh whose bonnet is golden). [350] This precious plant is the mandrake, which, because of its medicinal qualities and hallucinogenic potentials was considered as magical by the Yazidis.[351] It has human-form roots, large leaves, and poppy-like flowers with long stems that usually hang down. What's more, it is called Mehr-giāh (Mithra's plant) in Persian. This appellation may explain its popularity among the avatars of Mithraic societies, including the Coquillards, who adopted it as an auspicious symbol for their patron saint (see Figs. 376-78).

Finally, in the Safaviyyeh we have the example of a dervish order that followed the principles of brotherhood and hospitality when it was of modest size, but became imperial and tyrannical when it grabbed the reins of rulership and power. Confronted with this new imperial phenomenon, other dervish orders were either swept away or had to adapt their practices to an atmosphere dominated by Safavid extremism.

IX.8 - The Ahl-e Haqq: Outlasting the Safaviyyeh

The Ahl-e Haqq, or Yāresān, is a congregation still very much alive among the Kurdish population of western Iran and northern Iraq. The members of this congregation follow a religion that they believe to have been founded by the mystic Soltān Sahāk in the 14th century. And yet, when you delve into their traditions you can see many indices that are reminiscent of a Mithraic past.

Similar to the Mysteries that had a hierarchy of seven grades, the revered characters of the Ahl-e Haqq form a heptad (*Haft Tan*), and are named: 1- Pir Benyāmin (i.e., Benjamin), 2- Dāvud (i.e., David), 3- Mostafā, 4- Pir Musā, 5- Shāh Hosayn, 6- Bābā Yādegār, 7- Khātun-e Ramz-bar. As already mentioned, the second figure of this heptad, Dāvud, is recognized as the *gholām-e pā bar rekāb* of Benyāmin (i.e., the slave who stood on his chariot's foot-rail) which mimics the functions of the Roman *heliodromos* and the Sasanian *mehr-astāt*.[352] We must also observe that the epithets *pir, shāh* and *bābā* of this heptad are common titles among most of the avatars of Mithraic societies. As for the seventh persona, she is Dayrak, the mother of Soltān Sahāk, who is also called Khātun-e Ramz-bar (lit. the secret-carrying lady). The latter epithet alludes to secrets that could not be revealed but were passed from mouth to ear, or in this case from mother to son.[353] Among their heroes, they recognize Shahāb-od-din `Ayyub-Shāh-e *charmineh-*

[350] All of this headgear predate the twelve-sided red baton introduced by Soltān Haydar.
[351] Arakelova 2014, 152-53.
[352] See note 275 supra.
[353] Khwāja-ad-din 1970, 171.

push (the leather wearing), which means that he dressed like the *shāter*s and *`ayyār*s. Furthermore, wine drinking is common among them, especially among a subgroup known as the Ilakhchis. Like the Khorramdiniyyeh, they dip bread in wine and eat it, and they call each other "brother."[354] As a matter of fact, the Ahl-e Haqq are often referred to as the Kākāis or "*the brotherlies*" (*kākā* = brother). For them, Sunday is the day of the "Mir," an obvious transformation of Mehr/Mithra into an Arabic name. Their main festivities are always celebrated in the Persian month of Mehr, and end up with an animal sacrifice that is cooked and distributed among congregation members.[355] Like all other avatars of Mithraic societies, they changed names and adapted their rituals to the requirements of Islamic laws. Occasionally though, they had to hide certain activities as in the story related by the *Shāhnāmeh-ye Haqiqat*, in which a *pir* had to hide the sacrificial meal upon learning of the imminent visit of Moslem jurists.[356] It must have been tainted by a practice unacceptable to Islam. In any case, the same *Shāhnāmeh-ye Haqiqat* avows that the true pioneers of their religion were the mythical kings of Iran.[357] They were thus well aware that their "religion" had pre-Islamic origins.

But the interesting question is: how did the Ahl-e Haqq survive as a congregation so close to the Safaviyyeh? There are probably a number of reasons, including affiliation and intermingling. The fact that Safi-od-din's ancestors were of Kurdish origin probably helped intermingling, even more so because in the *Safvat-os-safā,* both Shaykh Zāhed and Shaykh Safi are said to have described their religion as *mazhab-e haqq*, or "religion of truth."[358] What they preached and perceived as *haqq* must have been very close to what the Ahl-e Haqq believed.

More importantly, the Ahl-e Haqq saw themselves as part of the same tradition, and made sure that their stories and literature reflected that. In one of their stories, young Safi-od-din is sent by his master Shaykh Zāhed to Soltān Sahāk (sometimes spelled Es'hāq), for initiation. Because of the presence of women in the circle of Soltān Sahāk, Safi feels uncomfortable and returns back to his own master. Shaykh Zāhed scolds him and sends him back, whereupon Soltān Sahāk gives him a moral lesson. He tells him that in the presence of God, men and women are equal, even though they are different, and his congregation is the House of the *rāstān* (the truthfuls), where truthfulness is

[354] Khwāja-ad-din 1970, 90, 102, 114.
[355] Khwāja-ad-din 1970, 126, 145.
[356] Khwāja-ad-din 1970, 153-155.
[357] Khwāja-ad-din 1970, 15-25.
[358] Pirouzdjou 1997, 115.

advocated for all. Safi acknowledges his mistake, and he is then initiated and girdled by Soltān Sahāk. Within the story, there are several passages that not only reemphasize the Safaviyyeh connection but also enhance the prestige of the Ahl-e Haqq. In one instance, Shaykh Zāhed avows that Soltān Sahāk is of greater spirit than he, and in another, Safi is helped by Pir Benyāmin when lost in his mystical journey.[359] Moreover, in the list of 40 great dervishes that the Ahl-e Haqq revere, Shaykh Zāhed is ranked 29th, and Shaykh Safi, 30th.[360] There was thus a noticeable effort to portray the Ahl-e Haqq as related to the Safaviyyeh, in order to avoid harassment by their zealots.

Finally, the Ahl-e Haqq remained low-key, and in lieu of accumulating wealth, they looked after the welfare of their members. As a result, they neither posed a threat to the Safaviyyeh, nor had riches to rouse their greed. They remained a brotherhood, and as such, outlasted the Safaviyyeh.

IX.9 - The Esmā`ili Adaptation of the Brotherhood Precepts

A most interesting brotherhood document is a 15th-century manual entitled *Pandiyāt-i Javānmardi* (advice on *javānmardi*), prepared at the behest of the Esmā`ili Imam, Shāh Mostanser-bellāh II (1463-1475), for his followers.[361] He was from the line of the Imams who emerged in Iran after the Mongol conquests and who are buried in Anjedān. His mausoleum therein is known as "Shāh-e Qalandar," which is a testimony to the liking he had for dervishes and *qalandar*s and his status among the latter. By its very title, the manual is proffering advice based on the same principles of *javānmardi* that inspired brotherhoods such as the *fatā*s and *`ayyār*s. These principles were used to instill loyalty, obedience, and community spirit among the Imam's followers, and to prepare the ground for Esmā`ili doctrines, which tried to reveal the inner meaning of Koranic verses, the *bāten*.[362]

At the very beginning (p.2), a step by step path is presented to the believer (*mo`men*):

> … from the "observance of the rules of the *shari`at*, one arrives at the rules of *tariqat* (i.e. the Sufi path), and from the latter to *haqiqat* (the truth) which is the real inner meaning (*bāten*) of *shari`at*."

It astutely proclaims that the Islamic *shari`at* is the foundation of Esmā`ili thought, in order to avoid allegations of blasphemy. It then presents the Sufi path as an intermediary

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[359] Pirouzdjou 1997, 116.
[360] Khwāja-ad-din 1970, 10. Ahl-e Haqq is the translation of the word *rāstān*s (truthful).
[361] Ivanov 1953. I am indebted to Nasrollah Pourjavadi for lending me his copy of this book.
[362] Hence the appellation "*bātenids*" of the Esmā`ilis.

station on the way to acquiring the highest degree of truth, which comes from the revelation of the *inner meaning* of Islamic tenets (i.e., through Esmā`ili teachings). It implicitly invites dervishes to join his congregation in order to benefit from this higher degree of knowledge.

The necessary condition to attain that higher truth is said to be *ma`refat* (knowledge), which is then explained (p.9) as "the recognition of the Imam of the Time," i.e., the Esmā`ili Imam. To enhance loyalty, the initiation oath of brotherhoods is taken as a model (p. 3) and presented as a covenant (*`ahd*) with God, in the same way that the *fatā*s were called *`ahd-allāh*:

> "the real believer is one who never breaks a promise, whose promise is always sincere and reliable, who always remains faithful to the covenant (*`ahd*) with god into which he has entered."

To induce total devotion (p. 5), it advocates that the believer "is one who treats himself as already dead, and regards himself as non-existent (*nist*)." Total effacement is of course a necessary condition for total submission, and therefore, the dervish goal of reaching the stage of non-existence is used here as a way to bolster obedience. But only lip service is being paid to the principle of mutual help in brotherhoods (p. 35):

> "to attain salvation, the *dindār-e haqiqi* (the truly religious man) must help his religious brothers attain salvation as well. A real brother is one who assists his brother in religion."

Finally, it advocates (p. 10) detachment from worldly goods by stating that "pebbles or precious stones should look the same" to the believer, and that he should be hospitable and be able to give. The ground is thus prepared for establishing monetary obligations. Under the guise of recapitulating the principles of *javānmardi* (p. 54), the *Pandiyāt* places obedience to the Imam, first, and the payment of tithe, second:

> "from whatever you earn, you must put aside a tithe (*dah-yek*) which is your religious duty (*māl-e vājebāt*) and deliver it to the treasury of your *mowlā* who is `Ali, the Master of this world and of hereafter. You must do it with a feeling of perfect love…if not, your wealth is like a slaughtered sheep that has not been bled and therefore unclean (!) … The tithe was established by `Ali, and is necessary if one seeks his *didār* (seeing/encounter)."

In the same way that the Morshediyyeh received their pledges in the name of Shaykh Abu Es'hāq, the Esmā`ili treasury is presented as `Ali's, and the tithe (a 1/10th tax) is said to have been established by `Ali himself. Like the Christian Church, which sold

Indulgences (salvation certificates) at the time of Martin Luther (1483-1546), the Esmā`ili Imam was promising a reunion with `Ali, if the believer paid his tithe.

The brotherhood philosophy and organization therefore provided a very efficient model for congregations that sought unquestioned loyalty to the leadership, cohesion among its members, and more importantly, donations. Time and again the model was used for such a purpose.

IX.10 - Survival

The common denominator between all of the aforementioned congregations was that they emerged in the lower strata of society and away from the poles of power. They were popular among guilds and libertines, and provided social networking across cities and provinces. They became the refuge of the destitute and the oppressed, because it gave them a sense of belonging to an egalitarian community in which meals were shared, and rituals were performed in communal sessions. Together, they could withstand oppression and fight against tyranny. Their leader, whether *pir, bābā*, *dede* or *shaykh*, was a fatherly figure and a role model who embodied the virtues of brotherhood, and whose prestige was a source of protection.

But the expansion of these orders often created a lust for power, which was contrary to the egalitarian principles of brotherhood. The order could become rich and stately, as in the case of the Morshediyyeh, or grab the reins of power and become tyrannical like the Safaviyyeh. But even the tyranny of the Safaviyyeh could not wipe out the spirit of brotherhood in Iran. It was engrained in its cultural identity, and would survive in the low-lying Ahl-e Haqq congregation as well as the community of dervishes, wrestlers, *lāt*s, *luti*s, and all of the libertines and hooligans whose company the free-spirited Rezā `Abbāsi and Mirak-e Naqqāsh-e Khorāsāni preferred to royalty.

As Hāfez would say:

دولتی را که نباشد غم از آسیب زوال بی تکلف بشنو، دولت درویشان است

The fortunate kingdom that fears no destruction * hear well, it's that of dervishes

CHAPTER X

THE SASANIAN ERA: A SAFAVID PRECURSOR

X.1 - The Sasanian Enigma

The origin of the last pre-Islamic dynasty of Iran, i.e., the Sasanians, remained a mystery despite numerous attempts to explain the confusing situation at hand. Although the Arabic translations of Middle Persian sources give a detailed account of their lengthy reign, the stories pertaining to the forefathers of the dynasty, and their relationship with a man named Sāsān, are all muddled up. Moreover, these texts present the Sasanians as devout Zoroastrians, which is often contradicted by imagery and text. To wit:

- Shāpur I (r. 242-72), whose role in the founding of the dynasty was perhaps as important as his father Ardashir's, allowed the prophet Māni to come to his court, present a *new* religion, and prosper until he was killed by the order of Shāpur's grandson, Bahrām II, by the instigation of the Zoroastrian zealot, Kerdir.
- The Sasanian royal imagery is replete with allusions to Apam Napāt, the aquatic deity whom Zoroastrians saw as a rival to Ahura Mazdā, and replaced with Anāhitā.[363]
- As already mentioned, in Zoroastrianism, scorpions are characterized as *khrafstar* or noxious animals that must be annihilated; and yet, they appear as auspicious symbols on many Sasanian seals, along with Mithraic titles (see sec. VI.1, and chapter VII).

In addition, the advent of the Sasanians is accompanied with three major shifts from past practices:

- Ardashir opts for a new headgear dominated by a bulging cloth bonnet, the so-called *korymbos.*
- A new epithet, *baγ* (lord), is adopted for the king, which in ancient times used to qualify only deities.
- In lieu of claiming to possess the Aryan *chihr/chisa,* as the Achaemenid Darius had done, Sasanian kings were claiming to have obtained their *chihr* from the *yazatān* (gods), through a formula that has often been mistranslated and requires explanation.

In what follows, I shall argue that the Sasanians rose from a Mithraic-type congregation, and even though they officially embraced Zoroastrianism, they did not abandon the

[363] Soudavar 2003, 165.

Mithraic principles that gave strength to their power base, in the same way that the Safaviyyeh embraced Islam but also maintained pagan practices.

X.2 - Explaining a Convoluted Origin

The primary pointer to the existence of such a congregation is the very name of Ardashir's father, Pāpak, which meant lesser *bāp*/*pāp*, and provides a parallel with Bābak, Jāvidān's successor as the head of the Khorramdiniyyeh (sec. III.2). We must therefore try to seek the raison d'être of such an appellation, and understand the relationship of Pāpak to Sāsān. The latter relationship, however, is marred by a number of confusing tales, which are summed up in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*'s entry for Bābak/Pāpak:

> There are several traditions regarding the relationship of Pāpak to Sāsān, who gave his name to the dynasty. One tradition, reported by Tabari and other Islamic authors says that Pāpak was the son of Sāsān, while another tradition found in the Middle Persian *Kārnāmag*, Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*, and elsewhere claims that Pāpak's daughter was given in marriage to Sāsān, a shepherd who had royal blood, and from this union Ardashir was born. Variations of this theme occur in the *Bondahesh* where the genealogy of Ardashir is given "Ardashir son of Pāpak whose mother (was) the daughter of Sāsān son of Weh-āfrid, etc.," and in Agathias (2.27.5), where Pāpak is described as a shoemaker who allowed an itinerant soldier called Sāsān to sleep with his wife, from which Ardashir was born …
> Another version calls Ardashir the son of the daughter of Pāpak, for which reason he was called Ardashir Pāpakān.[364]

The above accounts are all secondhand and written centuries later. But we have two early official Sasanian documents (a & b) that give us partial information on Sasanian ancestry, which are unequivocal, and a third one (c) that is somehow confusing and needs elaboration:

a) On his early coinage, Ardashir produces the effigy of his father on the reverse side and gives his name as Pāpak (see fig. 161):

bgy artaxšer MLK` BRH bgy p`pk MLK
The lord *(bay)* Ardashir Shāh, son of the lord Pāpak Shāh

b) In the extensive inscription that Shāpur had engraved on the sacred fire edifice of Naqsh-e Rostam (SKZ), he refers to Sāsān as *khvadāy* (master, lord), omitting any family relationship with his father Ardashir and grandfather Pāpak.

[364] Frye 1988 (corrected 2011).

c) We also have a passage in the Paikuli inscriptions of King Narseh, where it is claimed (in Parthian) that:

(36) | *[y]'ztn GDE W hštr-h[wtwyp]y OL | twhm ME s'[s]nkn YNTNt*
yazatān farr o shahryāri be **tohm-i sāsānagān** dādand

which Humbach and Skjaervo translate as:

" …the gods gave glory and rulership to the **family of Sāsān**"[365]

The latter translation, in so far as *tohm-i Sāsānagān* is concerned, needs clarification and rectification, and we shall come back to it at a later stage. But what transpires from the above is that official Sasanian documents attest an ancestral relationship with Pāpak, but are only reverential toward Sāsān, and that later sources disparage that ancestry. Such a confusing situation most likely arises when, for one reason or another, later descendants of the founder are reluctant to refer to the movement that brought their dynasty to power. They thus engage in muddying up their origins in order to conceal what is subsequently deemed inappropriate. Later historians will then develop numerous stories trying to explain the confusing situation they are confronted with.

The most blatant example is that of the Safavids. They had to change the early account of their ancestry the *Safvat-os-safā* twice. The first occurred when the Safaviyyeh took over the Zāhediyyeh endowments. To legitimize these takeovers, they had to portray Shaykh Safi as the designated successor of Shaykh Zāhed-e Gilāni; numerous fictitious tales were thus added to the original text, in which Shaykh Zāhed denigrates his own son, and designates Safi as his successor.[366] The second was to justify the later Safavid claim that they were *sayyed*s, i.e., descendants of the Prophet Mohammad. All stories alluding to the non-Shiite origins of the Safavids had to be scratched or modified, and their genealogical tree was extended in order to link them to the seventh Shiite Imam, Musā al-Kāzem.[367] As a result, all the information about Firuz-Shāh Zarrin-kolāh and his congregation is lost, and what remains is a Kurdish leader said to be of Arab descent!

In the case of the Sasanians, things are even more complicated, for as David Frendo explains, adverse propaganda emanating from the Armenian Arsacids must have further distorted Sasanian ancestry. Since the Sasanians had dethroned the Arsacids, the latters' Armenian cousins had every incentive to depict the Sasanians as parvenus and of lowly

[365] Humbach & Skjaervo 1983, line 36.
[366] Soudavar 2006a, 234-35.
[367] See note 332 supra.

origin. A series of accusations, claims, and counterclaims in between the two neighboring countries would have then further distorted the picture.[368] In addition, Frendo traces back the use of the term "Sasanian" in Western scholarship to the 17th-century French ecclesiast de Tillemont, who adopted the dynastic name *les Sassanides* from a Latin translation of Bar Hebraeus's Arabic work entitled *Tārikh ad-doval*. In it, Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286) refers to the last pre-Islamic Iranian dynasty as "Banu Sāsān."[369] The dynastic name "*les Sassanides*" coined by de Tillemont—which replicates a designation that also existed in later Persian sources—generated the intuitive notion that Sāsān was the eponymous founder of the dynasty, and added another wrinkle to the problem. But as Edmund Bosworth explains, the name "Banu Sāsān" was:

> "frequently applied in medieval Islam to beggars, rogues, charlatans, and tricksters of all kinds, allegedly so called because they stemmed from a legendary Shaykh Sāsān. A story frequently found in the sources, from Ebn al-Moqaffa` onward, states that Sāsān was the son of the ancient Persian ruler Bahman b. Esfandyār, but, being displaced from the succession, took to a wandering life and gathered round him other vagabonds, thus forming the "sons of Sāsān."

The Banu Sāsān were dispersed in territories that ranged from southern Iran to India, and were often labeled as bandits and brigands, as well as "jugglers and conjurors," and "those who teach tricks to animals like bears, monkeys, goats and donkeys."[370] In sum, they seem to cumulate all the labels applied to the groups that we have described as *'ayyār*s or *shāter*s. Moreover, it was thought that they were affiliated to a spiritual leader named Sāsān, who, like our Sasanian mysterious figure, may have been a descendant of the legendary King Bahman. Furthermore, in his brilliant analysis of the correspondence between Khosrow II and his rebel general Bahrām Chobin (d. 591) who vaunted his Arsacid ancestry, Frendo brings out the name of a group of people referred to as Asones or Sasones, whom he proposes to be a "Sasanian" congregation distinct from the royal family, but whose services Khosrow II was supposed to have enlisted.[371] If such a group had a Sāsān-related name toward the end of Sasanian rule, it must surely be equated with the Banu Sāsān of Arabic sources. We thus have more than one reason to equate "Shaykh Sāsān" with the Sāsān of the Shāpur inscriptions, and assume that the Sasanian power base was a congregation akin to the Safaviyyeh. If true, we have at least two possible

[368] Frendo 2006, 21.
[369] Frendo 2006, 18. Frendo's assertion is based on the Arabic version published in 1663, but he emphasizes that in the Syriac version, the expression *beyth sāsān* is used. The present published Arabic work of Bar Hebraeus (Ebn- e Ebri 1992, 74) also uses the expression *beyt sāsān* (House of Sāsān).
[370] Bosworth 1988; Bosworth 1976, 24.
[371] Frendo 2006, 16-17.

solutions to the problem of Pāpak's relationship with Sāsān. The first is inspired by Shaykh Safi's assumption of power, and the second, by that of the Khorramdiniyyeh's Bābak.

By virtue of marrying Shaykh Zāhed's daughter, Safi managed to impose his leadership on the Zāhediyyeh, as well as on his own Ardabili congregation. This may provide one possible scenario for the situation at hand. But since marrying the Shaykh's daughter is not an oddity that could have generated so many rumors, I prefer the second alternative: The Khorramdiniyyeh model by which Bābak married Jāvidān's wife and became his successor. The latter can indeed generate all kinds of allegations. If Pāpak's path to leadership went through Sāsān's wife, the enemies of the Sasanians could have used it against them, and made it even more negative by reversing the roles of Pāpak and Sāsān in the transfer of wives. Sāsān's role as a congregation leader can therefore shed much light on the Sasanian enigma.

Up to now, we have relied on comparative material to propose our theory. To give it added credibility, we must seek direct evidence in the Sasanian realm. There are in fact many, and they jump to the eye as they arise from Sasanian imagery.

Fig. 160 – Coin of Shāpur son of Pāpak (Dr. Busso Peus, Sale 368, lot 364)

Fig. 161 – Coin of Ardashir son of Pāpak (Private coll.)

X.3 - The Persepolitan Graffiti

Pāpak himself did not strike any coins, but his effigy appears on the coinage of his two sons, Shāpur and Ardashir (Figs. 160, 161). On the coins of Shāpur, who was the eldest of the two, Pāpak is depicted with a peculiarly elaborate headgear. It is so unique that the figure of a high priest wearing the same headgear on the walls of Persepolis, cannot be but him (Fig. 163a).[372] We have already seen that multi-faceted hats, tall bonnets, and miter-like headgears, were often worn by the Mithraic priesthood. What's more, Pāpak wears a robe here with two solar emblems on his shoulders that recall the one on the signet of the Mithraic high priest illustrated in Fig. 26, the chest emblem of the knight

[372] See for instance Huff 2008, 33-34.

master in Fig. 28, as well as the emblems of a present day robber gang known as Vor v Zakone (Fig. 164, see sec. XIV.13). The combination of the headgear and the solar emblem clearly justifies the name Pāpak for a Mithraic leader who, out of deference for the founder of the congregation, could not claim to be a *bāp* himself. As in the case of the Khorramdiniyyeh, the successor to the paramount *bāp*—presumably Sāsān—chose a diminutive title, Pāpak/Bābak. It probably derived from the belief in the principle of metempsychosis (*tanāsokh*), similar to the one held by the Khorramdiniyyeh by which Jāvidān's soul had transmigrated into Bābak's body. And we also saw that the head of the Morshediyyeh acted as the deputy (*khalifeh*) of Shaykh Abu-Es'hāq, and issued orders in the *shaykh*'s name some four centuries after his death (Fig. 157). Because of his name, we suspect that Pāpak too purported to act as the deputy and successor to Sāsān and in unison with his spirit.

Fig. 162 – Persepolis graffiti (Huff 1993, fig. 1)

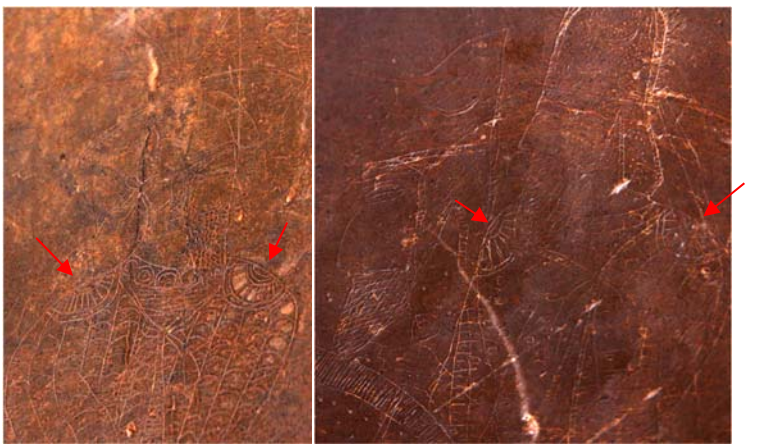

Figs. 163 a, b- (a) Effigy of Pāpak with shoulder stars; (b) effigy of Shāpur with shoulder stars (↑), riding next to a Mithraic priest. Persepolis window jamb.

According to Tabari, after defeating the king of Estakhr, Shāpur was placed on the throne of Estakhr by Pāpak, in his stead.[373] We may thus presume that Pāpak preferred to remain at the head of his congregation, while his son was consecrated king. The Persepolitan graffiti seem to support this contention, because opposite the window jamb on which Pāpak's effigy was carved, we have another set of graffiti that depict Shāpur riding in full regalia toward Pāpak. Shāpur too wears the sun symbols on his shoulders, and is accompanied by another rider who sports a miter-like headgear, which is most probably that of a Mithraic priest (Fig. 163b). Interestingly, the horses of these two riders are led

[373] Tabari 1967, 38-39.

by footmen with disheveled hair (Fig. 162-B). They depict an early prototype of the *chākar*s, i.e., the devoted servants who led their masters' horses, and who are often characterized as *div*s with "disheveled hair," by antagonistic Zoroastrian priests (*Dk III.29*). This group of Persepolitan graffiti provides a vivid image of a Mithraic ceremony that is almost unique in its display of sumptuous attire and paraphernalia, and very much reflects the Iranian taste for glamour and glitter. As we shall see, a similar but less elaborate scene is depicted for a Mithraic ceremony in Dura Europos (see sec. XIV.11).

Fig. 164 – A Vor v Zakone with shoulder stars (web)

X.4 - Sasanian Regal Headgear

Despite the fact that Shāpur and Ardashir had the same father, they seem to have had different views about his congregation. The choice of the headgear they chose for their father might be indicative of the difference in their outlooks. On his coinage, Shāpur casts his father Pāpak with a flamboyant headgear of the type carved on the Persepolis window jamb, while he himself is depicted with a tiara (as in Persepolis). Ardashir, on the other hand, who as a youth had been in the custody of the Parthian governor of Dārābgerd, may have been inculcated with Zoroastrian precepts. As a result, upon accession to the throne, he instituted a number of reforms to accommodate Zoroastrian dogmas, including an emphasis on his Mazdean affiliation and a change of the calendar (sec. XI.2). Perhaps that's why, rather than depicting his father as the leader of a Mithraic congregation, he has him wearing a kingly tiara (Fig. 161). Such a difference in attitude among two brothers probably depended on their upbringing. A good example is provided by Shāh Esmā`il's two elder sons. The crown prince Tahmāsb was primarily educated by an orthodox tutor, Qāzi-ye Jahān, while his brother Sām Mirzā was raised under the tutelage of the Qezelbāsh warlord, Hosayn Khān Shāmlu. Tahmāsb became a religious bigot and gave up wine drinking, while his brother favored Qezelbāsh traditions and remained a heavy drinker. Like Tahmāsb who, once enthroned, vacillated between Islamic orthodoxy and Sufi leadership, the religious-leaning Ardashir must have had an ambivalent attitude toward the congregation that he had inherited from his father.[374] He would continue to exert his leadership over the Sāsānagān, but would nevertheless accommodate Zoroastrianism. As Agathias explains, Ardashir "was a devotee of the

[374] Tabari (II:42) also relates that the Nabateans had a chieftain called Bābā with whom Ardashir made peace and left to rule his nation.

Magian religion *and* an official celebrant of its *mysteries*."[375] Agathias is making a clear distinction between the Magian religion (read Zoroastrianism) and its "*mysteries*": Ardashir is simply a "devotee" of Zoroastrianism, but a leader of its *mysteries*. The use of the term *mysteries* by the Byzantine Agathias cannot be accidental, it unmistakably refers to a Mithraic congregation that the Romans called Mysteries.

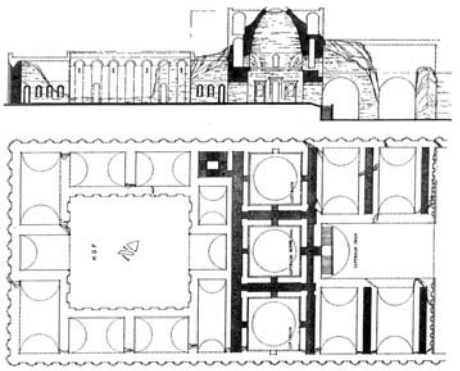

Fig. 165 – Drawings of Ardashir's palace at Firuzābād (Courtesy of D. Huff)

Fig. 166 – Shāpur I's effigy with crenelated crown and *korymbos* (Private coll.)

Fig. 167 – Shāpur I's Mithraic bonnet with symbol of Apam Napāt ↑ (Gyselen 2004, no. 78)

The structure of Ardashir's palace at Firuzābād may in fact be a reflection of his dual role, as a Zoroastrian king, as well as head of a Mithraic congregation. Dietrich Huff explains that Ardashir's palace therein had a vaulted sunken space, a sort of *ayvān*, that led to the throne room under the main cupola through two symmetrically-opposed staircases (Fig. 165).[376] And his throne was placed on top of the stairs, in a niche that had access to both the throne room and the *ayvān*. To me, the sunken *ayvān* mimics the *mithraeum*, particularly that of Crypta Balbi (Fig. 17), as its vault replicates the cave structure, and the throne niche on top of the stairs recreates the seat of the *pāp/pater*. The *ayvān* was, perhaps, where he received the congregation members, and the throne room, where he received state officials. The throne could face north or south depending on who was to be received.

While the preceding hypothesis may be mere supposition, the crowns of Ardashir and his son, Shāpur I, clearly reflect the same duality. Shāpur, for instance, wears two types of headgear on his coinage. The prominent one—which he also wears on his rock reliefs and must be his regal crown (Fig. 166)—has a crenellated metal element surrounding a

[375] Agathias 1975, 60 (26.3).
[376] Huff 2008, 48.

korymbos. The second one is essentially a Mithraic bonnet surmounted by a falcon head (Fig. 167). We shall explain its Apam Napāt insignia (↑) in section X.8, but at this juncture suffice it to note that its falcon top recalls bonnets that have a lion in lieu of a falcon, which appeared as identifiers of Mithra in Sasanian rock reliefs.[377]

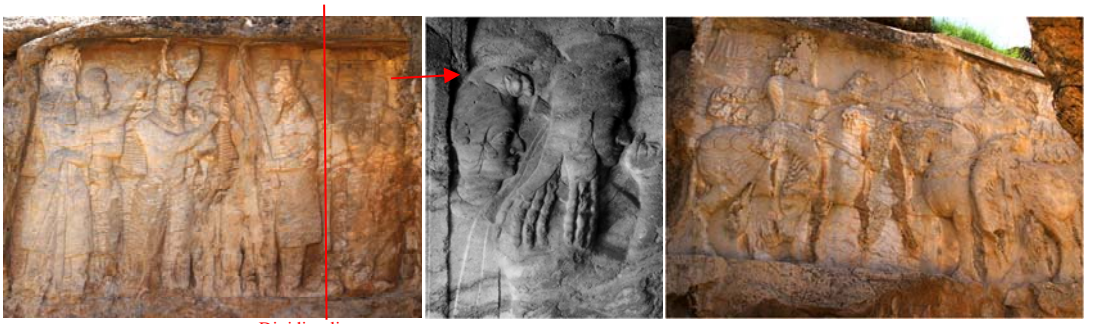

Figs. 168 a, b, c – Naqash-e Rajab. (a) The sanctification of Ardashir I, with a dividing line depicting: (b) Mithra and Anāhitā addressing their blessing to a supposed scene on the right, perhaps: (c) The sanctification of Shāpur I, now situated on its right side, on a separate rock surface, split from the previous one by a water torrent

The most important of these bonnets appears in the Naqsh-e Rajab enclave, a holy site that once enclosed a pond and water source. Its focal point is a sanctification scene in which Ardashir is receiving the *yāreh,* or support ring, from Ahura Mazdā (Fig. 168a).[378] Oddly enough, on the extreme right we have two figures—cut from the main scene by a separating vertical line—who are looking *away* from Ardashir, toward another sanctification scene in which Shāpur I is receiving a beribboned *yāreh* from a mounted Ahura Mazdā (Fig. 168c). These two isolated figures—one male and one female—represent Mithra and Anāhitā (Fig. 168b). As we shall see, the combination of a sun god with an aquatic one was always necessary to project maximum *farr*, i.e., the Auspicious Glory that invoked kingly power.[379] The dividing line and their orientation suggest that they were supposed to interact with an adjacent scene. It is not clear whether they were meant to be part of an adjoining victory scene for Ardashir, or were meant to create a link to his son's nearby relief. As presently positioned, however, the two deities seem to lend support from afar to Shāpur I's majestic relief (carved at a later date). A similar triad is subsequently used to celebrate Shāpur II's victory over the Romans in Tāq-e Bostān (Fig. 206), with one difference though: in lieu of the aquatic god Anāhitā, Mithra stands on a

[377] Soudavar 2012a, 39-43.
[378] For more on the *yāreh* as a ring-shaped emblem of support, see Soudavar 2012a, 43-44.
[379] The coupling of Mithra with an aquatic deity was so strong that Herodotus (I, 130) even calls "Mitra" the "female deity of the Persians," whom he qualifies as the "heavenly Aphrodite" (read Anāhitā).

lotus flower—symbol of Apam Napāt. At Naqsh-e Rajab, Mithra's bonnet is not only surmounted by a lion head but has a sunflower on the side (Fig. 168b). The same sunflower appears on a bronze bonnet of Mithra that probably came from northwest Iran (Fig. 75), and has a quilted pattern replete with sun emblems. Furthermore, Mithra appears with the same lion bonnet (↑) in a number of Sasanian scenes, including one in Naqsh-e Rostam, in which a row of deities express their approval of Bahrām II through a gesture of the hand (Fig. 169).[380]

Fig. 169 – Mithra (↑), Tishtrya and Anāhitā expressing support for Bahrām II. Naqsh-e Rostam

Fig. 170 - Sasanian seal. British Museum

Fig. 171 – Ardashir's *korymbos*. British Museum

As crown prince, Shāpur only wore a basic Mithraic bonnet (Fig. 184). On his coinage though, his Mithraic bonnet becomes more elaborate and has a falcon in lieu of Mithra's lion. Moreover, the famous *korymbos*, i.e., the forward-bulging *cloth* headgear, which Ardashir and Shāpur I incorporated into their regal crown (Figs. 166, 171), is clearly a variation of Mithra's red bonnet, especially since that of Shāpur was said to be red.[381] Thus, not only was the Mithraic bonnet integrated into the Sasanian crown, but time and again, other princes and dignitaries donned one, as in Fig. 170.

X.5 – The Testimony of Texts

In addition to the very succinct testimony of Agathias, certain ambiguous texts may now be better explained. For instance, Yāqut al-Hamawi mentions that Ardashir was the son of Pāpak whom he qualifies as Malek-e Sāsān (أردشير بن بابك ملك ساسان).[382] As written, it can only indicate that Pāpak ruled over the Sāsānagān congregation, which is in line with our suggestions. Other texts refer to the city of Ostād Ardashir.[383] The epithet *ostād* (master)

[380] The hand gesture projects the number twenty as a sign of excellence; see Soudavar 2009, 423-24.
[381] Bahār 1939, 33.; the *korymbos* of the Zoroastrian-minded Ardashir, however, was blue (*idem*).
[382] Yāqut 1995, II:181.
[383] For instance, Bahār 1939, 62 : مدينه استاد اردشير .

clearly referred to a Mithraic rank, and if used for Ardashir, it reveals that—for many—Ardashir was still a congregation master. Furthermore, what Tabari said about Sāsān doesn't seem so far-fetched anymore. Indeed, he relates that despite being of noble descent, "Sāsān went to Estakhr, and chose to forego worldly status and became a man of god (*`ābed*) who took care of a few sheep, as a result of which people said that he had become a shepherd."[384] Like St Francis, Sāsān seems to have favored an ascetic life over a comfortable one, and like later dervishes, he must have sat on a sheepskin. Hence the derogatory remark that he had become a shepherd. The sheepskin always invited association with shepherds, and was a recurrent offensive theme used against the avatars of Mithraic societies.

We must now go back to Paikuli and tackle the sentence in which the gods gave "*farr* and rulership" to the "*tohm* of *Sāsānagān,*" which Skjaervo and Humbach have translated as the "family of Sasan." Nicholas Sims-Williams is of the opinion that the "suffix *-agān* is very often used to form patronymics and family names," but Fazel Pakzad believes that, as a dynastic name, *Sāsānagān* is problematic and only appears in one or two error-laden manuscripts, while the more common and acceptable form is *Sāsānigān*.[385] The suffix –*agān,* however, is itself composed of the suffix *-ag* that forms an adjective from a noun, followed by *-ān* that makes it plural, as in *Erān-ag-ān* (i.e., Iranians). We can see the exact same structure applied to later congregations. A single follower of Shaykh Zāhed or Shaykh Safi was referred to as Zāhedi, or Safavi, and the name of their congregation was obtained by applying the Arabic plural form to that appellation, which gave Zāhediyyeh and Safaviyyeh. *Sāsān-ag-ān* too must have referred to a congregation, that of the *Sāsān-ag*s, which subsequently became known as the Banu Sāsān. But no matter how you look at it, *Sāsānagān* denotes a group or family, and therefore the word *tohm* that precedes it cannot bear the meaning of family, since it would make it superfluous and redundant. The primary meaning of *tohm* is seed, and if the gods are said to have given *farr* and rulership to the "*tohm* of Sāsānagān," it must mean that they placed it at the heart of their congregation, or planted it at the center of their circle. That heart and center metaphor may very well refer to the king as the heart of the congregation. In any case, it's a testimony to the continuing importance of the Sāsānagān. A number of problematic textual references about the Sasanians can thus gain a proper meaning if we acknowledge a parallel function for the king as head of a Mithraic type congregation.

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[384] Tabari 1967, I:569.
[385] Personal communication, with both.

X.6 - Reflecting the Gods

The Sasanians had a political slogan that was incorporated as a motto on their coinage, the famous "*chihr az yazatān*." It claimed that the king obtained his *chihr* from the gods. Due to an incorrect understanding of the word *chihr*, this slogan has long been translated as "who is from the seeds/family of gods," thereby conferring divine status to the Sasanian king. The primary meaning of *chihr*, however, is brilliance and radiance, and as such it is the manifestation of the king's *farr,* or Auspicious Glory. The *farr* (OP *khvarenah*) conferred power and victory to the king, and the lack of it led to his demise. It was therefore imperative to project the king's *farr* in the most potent way, whether through iconography or text. Thus, opposite the king's effigy we often have a deity perceived as the god who conferred the *farr* to him. Ardashir I, for instance, had a bust of Anāhitā opposite his own effigy (Fig. 172), projecting that his *farr* came from her.

Since *chihr* had also acquired a secondary meaning as image/figure, Shāpur I decided to take advantage of it and make the motto more powerful. He thus moved the obverse deity to the reverse, and placed it to the right of the fire altar while his own effigy was placed to the left (Fig. 173). Through that symmetry, he was projecting that the king reflected the opposite deity in both image and *farr*, i.e., majesty and power. Thus, in Shāpur I's issues, king and deity are identical and the mirror image of one another.

Fig. 172 – Ardashir I with bust of Anāhitā (Private coll.)

Fig. 173 – Coin of Shāpur I (Private coll.)

Fig. 174 –Hormoz opposite Mithra (Dr Busso Peus, sale 388, lot 740)

Fig. 175 – Bahrām II standing opposite Anāhitā (Private coll.)

The primary meaning of *chihr,* i.e., the radiance that served as a gauge of one's *farr,* became synonymous with *farr*, and was often used in lieu of *farr*, while a new word, *chihrag*, was created for the notion of image and figure.[386] As a result, the exact symmetry between king and deity was set aside, and kings began to depict specific gods on the reverse side of their coinage. They thus expressed which deity (*yazata*) they considered to be their primary purveyor of *farr*. Shāpur's eldest son Hormoz I, for

[386] Soudavar 2009, 449.

instance, depicted Mithra (Fig. 174), while his grandson Bahrām II favored Anāhitā (Fig. 175). The choice of these deities can be indicative of the religious tendencies of the king. Hormoz I honored the god that loomed large over his ancestral congregation and power base, i.e., Mithra. But Bahrām II, who was under the spell of the Zoroastrian zealot Kerdir, favored Anāhitā, the goddess that became Apam Napāt's substitute. Furthermore, like the Anatolian dervishes who addressed their leaders as *soltān, shāh,* and even *khwāndgār* (Lord) (see sec. IX.3), the Sāsānagān seem to have adopted the lofty epithet of *baγ* (Lord), to qualify their kings, who were also their congregation leaders.

X.7 - Apam Napāt and the Idea of Fire Rising From Water

The historical texts dealing with the Sasanian era are mostly translations of works transmitted by the Zoroastrian priesthood. They seldom reflect the true nature of kingly ideology as expressed on rock reliefs or as found in archeological sites. Since people were mostly illiterate but could intuitively relate to standardized imagery, a special iconographical vocabulary and syntax was developed to transmit political propaganda. The primary concern in this iconographical expression, whether on coinage or rock reliefs, was to show that the king was imbued with *farr*. The *farr* was an ancient Iranian tribal concept that Zoroastrianism had tried to appropriate without laying a theological foundation for it (sec. X.10). As a result, the concept of *farr* is ill-defined in the *Avesta.* There is just one small passage that tells how the mythological King Jamshid lost his *farr* when he strayed from the path of righteousness, and how the loss of *farr* resulted in a loss of power. His *farr* is then taken by a falcon bird, *vareγna*, to Apam Napāt who hides it for safekeeping in the waters of Lake Vourukasha. While Apam Napāt acts as the guardian of the *farr*, it is mostly Mithra who bestows it. As we shall further discuss in sec. XI.12, they had interchangeable as well as complimentary roles in respect of *farr*, and the presence of both was often necessary to show its full conveyance, because Apam Napāt first had to release it from the waters for Mithra to bestow it.

Nevertheless, this simplified myth underlines, three important aspects of *farr*: a) that it is not permanent and can be lost, b) when non-active it is kept underwater in a dormant state, c) for one to possess it, the *farr* must come out of water first. But here and there in the *Avesta* emerges another notion, that the most important source of *farr* was the Aryan *farr,* and that was the *farr* that Jamshid lost. One had to be empowered by it to vanquish non-Iranians, or the nations of *an-Erān*. [387]

[387] Soudavar 2009, 173-75; Soudavar 2012b, 58-60.

The primary reason for not having a clear definition of *farr* in the *Avesta* is that, in ancient times and prior to the Zoroastrian era, it was the aquatic god Apam Napāt who created beings. In Zoroastrianism though, creation was the prerogative of Ahura Mazdā. Apam Napāt was therefore a deity that had to be eliminated or replaced. Although the aquatic goddess Anāhitā was adopted as a substitute, so intertwined had become the role of Apam Napāt with the *farr* that kings—who wished to publicize their victories—had to resurrect him and show that it was he who released the *farr* to them.

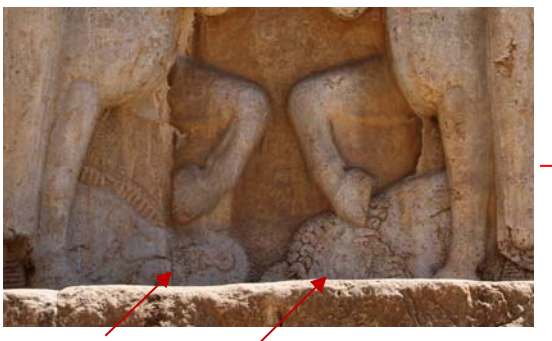

Fig. 176 – Ardavān and Ahriman under the hoofs of Ardashir and Ahura Mazdā's horse, respectively. Detail of Fig. 129, Naqsh-e Rostam

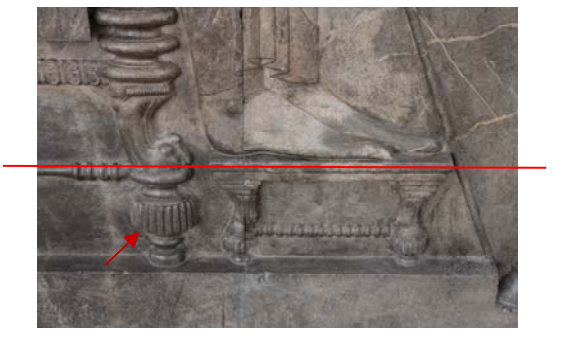

Fig. 177 – Darius's feet resting on pedestal at the level of the lion paws of his throne legs (which have an attached stand ↑ underneath). Iran Bāstān Museum

In Naqsh-e Rostam, by depicting the Arsacids as Ahrimanic (Figs. 129, 176), Ardashir insinuates that the Aryan *farr* had been dormant under their reign. While Ardashir invokes here the support of Ahura Mazdā for his victory over Ardavān, his grand project of Ardashir-khvarrah—the capital city he built in Fārs—divulges his fixation on Apam Napāt. Indeed, the very architecture of this circular city built on marshlands filled with water, projected the rise of fire from water, since at its very center stood a tall tower on top of which fires were lit (Figs. 178a, b); it's the very expression of what Georges Dumézil had once qualified as "fire rising from waters," which alluded to the release of the *farr* that Apam Napāt had guarded underwater; and it is in the image of *naphtha* (petrol) burning over water, a phenomenon whose name the ancient Greeks derived from the second component of Apam *Napāt*.[388]

The *Fārsnāmeh* specifies that there were actually two fires on top of that tower, each coming out of a water fountain.[389] Lacking the space to illustrate this entire concept on his coinage, Ardashir opted for a fire altar on the reverse side, incorporated on a movable

[388] Soudavar 2012b, 58-60 ; Dumézil 1973, 21-89.
[389] Soudavar 2012b, 60.

table placed on a pedestal. As such, it resembles the Achaemenid movable throne (Fig. 193) that also carried a fire altar. Throne legs usually ended with lion paws, at the level where the monarch's feet were supposed to hit the ground. If the monarch had a foot-rest or a pedestal before his throne, his throne legs rested on attached pompomed stands that raised its lion paws to the level of the king's feet (Fig. 177). What appears under the legs of Ardashir's movable altar table, though, cannot be qualified as stands since they are clearly separated from the legs and have a nippled top rather than a flat one (Figs. 179a, b).[390] These stand-like objects under the altar table are in fact water fountains that recall the water fountains from which sprang the fire on top of Ardashir's tower.

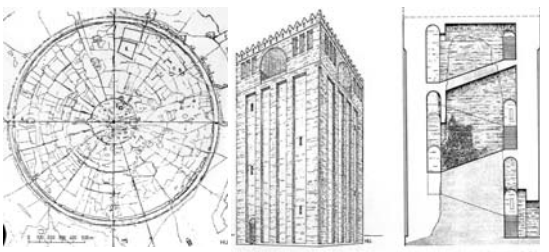

Figs. 178 a, b – (a) Plan of Ardashir-khvarrah; (b) Fire tower built at the very center of the city (Courtesy of D. Huff)

Figs. 179 a, b – Moveable fire altar resting on a pedestal and hanging above two water fountains; Coins of Ardashir I: (a) British Museum, (b) Private coll.

To qualify this imagery, Ardashir added the legend "*artštr NWRA*," which is usually translated as the "Fire of Ardashir." But considering that he chose the Aramaic ideogram *NWRA* in lieu of the more common MP *ādur* for "fire," one senses that it was meant to be both a symbol of the *farr* that the fire harbored, and the light that it emitted, because, like the Arabic word *nur, NWRA* primarily meant light. Indeed, the geographer Yāqut ascertains that Ardashir-khvarrah meant the "Light of Ardashir."[391] Ardashir was thus promoting the radiance (*chihr*) of his fire as the manifestation of his god-given *farr* that sprang from the waters.

Moreover, the fire altar on the Achaemenid moveable throne (*takht-e ravān*) represented the king's personal fire, and therefore, the fire on Ardashir's coinage must be his personal fire as well, i.e., the one that he carried along on his campaigns. But to show that this fire stemmed out of the kingly fire that he had lit in Ardashir-khvarrah, he placed his

[390] Following Pfeidel, Alram assumes that the legs of the altar table were copies after the Achaemenid throne legs (Alram 2003, 24). But these table legs end with paws that, unlike the Achaemenid throne legs that have a pompomed protrusion underneath, are *clearly unconnected* to the fountain-like objects below.
[391] Yāqūt 1995: 146; اردشير خوره، هو اسم مركب معناه بهاء أردشير

moveable altar on a fixed pedestal, with two fountains on each side. Together, they were supposed to convey the affiliation of his personal fire to the main fire positioned on the central tower of his new capital. As symbols of *farr*, the flying ribbons tied to the legs of the moveable fire altar echoed the symbolism of Ardashir-khvarrah, i.e., that it harbored the *farr* that had made Ardashir victorious, and was therefore called Ardashir's *Farr*, or Ardashir-khvarrah. The artifice also allowed Ardashir to subtly evoke the fire-water duality was so prevalent in the *mithraeum.*

X.8 - Apam Napāt as the Purveyor of the Aryan *Farr*

With the demise of the Achaemenids, there was a concerted effort among the Zoroastrian clergy to shift the balance of power from kingship to priesthood. In this context, it was necessary to elevate Zoroaster to the position of god's most powerful creature on earth. Since power derived from *farr*, the ultimate *farr*—i.e., the Aryan *farr*—was reallocated to him. A new *farr* was thereafter devised for kings, namely the *Kayānid farr*.[392] It created a highly confusing situation as to: Which source of *farr* was the most powerful? And whether kings could claim the Aryan *farr* or not? This confusing situation is nowhere better reflected than in Ardashir's geste, the *Kārnāmag of Ardashir Pāpakān.* Therein, Ardashir first wishes to receive the *khvarrah* of Irānshahr (i.e. Aryan *farr*), but the one he actually gets is qualified as the Kayānid *khvarrah* (*farr*), which is subsequently described as the *farr* that rose from the waters.[393] The *farr* that rises from the water, however, is precisely the Aryan *farr* that Jamshid had lost and Apam Napāt guarded underwater.

Despite the Zoroastrian priesthood's attempt to empower their prophet with the *Aryan farr*, popular perception still held that the king who was endowed with the ultimate *farr*, whether qualified as *Aryan* or *Kayānid*. Indeed, as Estakhri remarks, the people of Fars referred to Ardashir's fire tower as both *Aryan* and *Kayānid farr.*[394] For them, the two were one and the same. But for Ardashir himself, the Aryan *farr* must have belonged to Zoroaster. Like Shāh Tahmāsb who assumed the leadership of the Safaviyyeh but claimed to follow the *shari`at*, Ardashir must have donned the mantle of leadership of the Sāsānagān while being reverent toward Zoroastrian precepts. Rather than continuing Darius's motto by which the latter claimed possession of the Aryan *farr* (*Ariya chisa*), he devised a new formula that claimed his *chihr* (as radiance of *farr*) was given by the gods:

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[392] See Soudavar 2012b, 59-60.
[393] Grenet 2003, 66, 77 and 87.
[394] Estakhrī 1961,76 : (و هو بناء بناهُ اردشير و يعرف بلسان الفرس بايران و كياخره), as corrected and explained in Soudavar 2012b, 59-60.

ke chihr as yazatān (dārad). For him, the *Aryan farr* had been allocated to Zoroaster and the most he could wish for was the *Kayānian* one. His motto was cleverly crafted to avoid running afoul of the Zoroastrian priesthood while projecting power and majesty. He was claiming to have god-given *chihr* without specifying which *farr* it really was, and who gave it to him. His son Shāpur I, however, was more assertive about the *farr* that he received, and the deity who bestowed it on him.

X.9 - Symbols in Lieu of Deities

Having vanquished three successive Roman emperors, Shāpur needed to publicize his victories in the customary stone reliefs. As reflected in the *Avesta*'s *Yt.18:2-5*, victory over non-Iranians had to be empowered by the *Aryan farr*; and since it was Apam Napāt who guarded it underwater, he had to release it first. He was thus perceived as the primary purveyor of the dormant *Aryan farr*. The question was: How should this deity be represented? The Hellenistic period had given flesh to Iranian deities, and the winged Eros provided a suitable model for Apam Napāt, since his wings attested to supra-natural qualities and his childish figure was well suited to a deity whose very name meant the "Child of the Waters." It's therefore a childlike Apam Napāt who delivers the flying ribbon (*dastār*) as symbol of *farr* and victory to Shāpur (Fig. 182).[395]

Fig. 180 - Symbols of Apam Napāt and the Moon. (det. of Fig. 174)

Fig. 181 - Symbols of Apām Napāt and Tishtrya. (Gyselen 2004, 109)

Fig. 182 - Apam Napāt giving the *dastār* to Shāpur I. Bishāpur

Fig. 183 - The Moon chariot pulled by Apam Napāt. (det. of Fig. 53)

If large scale stone reliefs permitted the visualization of an anthropomorphic Apam Napāt, on coinage, bonnets, and limited surfaces, a substitute and smaller emblem had to be devised. Traditionally, the lotus flower was a symbol of the waters and of Apam Napāt; but with the aquatic goddess Anāhitā gaining ascendency, it became a symbol of both. A two-legged *ankh* sign was then devised as a caricature of the childlike Apam Napāt, and an emblem that solely represented this deity (Fig. 180).[396]

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[395] Soudavar 2012a, 31-33.
[396] Soudavar 2009, 426-27. Apam Napāt was previously alluded to with water waves (Fig. 71).

As Lord of the Night, Apam Napāt held sway over all other nighttime entities. On several silver plates, for instance, the chariot of the moon is being pulled and directed by an Eros-like symbol of Apam Napāt (Fig. 53). In *Yt.8.4*, another celestial entity, Tishtrya, is said to derive its light (*chithra*) from Apam Napāt. Tishtrya, which referred to Sirius as well as two other stars (Procyon and Betelgeuse), appeared in the form of an equilateral triangle known as the Winter Triangle (see sec. IV.2). In the *Avesta,* the epithet of Tishtrya is *afsh-chithra* (i.e., whose light was like rain drops), and that of the Moon is *gao-chithra* (i.e., bright as milk; see sec. III.7).[397] These two epithets gave rise to the creation of two other caricature symbols. Because *gao* meant both milk and cow, *gao-chithra* produced a "cow sign" that comprised three elements, each representing one phase of the moon: A crescent on top representing the early phase, a circle in the middle as symbol of the full moon, and a bar sign at the bottom as symbol of nothingness (Fig. 180).[398] *Afsh-chithra*, on the other hand, produced a three-dot symbol that mimicked the triangular shape of the Winter Triangle with each dot representing a rain drop or a pearl (Fig. 181).

Fig. 184 – Ardashir and Shāpur defeating the Arsacids. Sketch of Firuzābād relief (Overlaet 1993, 89)

All three caricature signs embodied the auspiciousness of *farr*, but also followed an inherent hierarchy in which the symbol of the Lord of the Night naturally came first. This hierarchy is reflected in the Firuzābād reliefs depicting Ardashir's victory over the last of the Arsacids (Fig. 184). Leading the charge is Ardashir whose horse is adorned with the two-legged *ankh* sign of Apam Napāt, and after him comes Shāpur riding a horse marked by the cow-sign.[399] For the same reason, Apam Napāt's symbol is placed next to the king

[397] Soudavar 2009, 428-31; see also sec. IV.2.
[398] Expanding on the Moon description of the *Avesta* (*Yt.7.2*), the *Bondahesh* describes how in a first phase called *andarmah*, it grows from a state of nothingness into a thin crescent, to subsequently reach a state of fullness called *por-mah*, and follows a reverse path in the second half of the month; Soudavar 2009, 427-29.
[399] As argued elsewhere, chances are that the Firuzābād victory relief was actually commissioned by Shāpur, for he is given prominence by appearing at the center of the composition. This supposition also ties in well

on Sasanian coinage (Fig. 180-81), while the Moon and Tishtrya symbols are placed on the opposite side of the fire altar.

With the rise of Zoroastrian orthodoxy, not only does reliance on Apam Napāt symbols become subdued, but an artifice is found to render him less important than Anāhitā who had gradually become the paramount deity of the Waters. Since the former was the Child of the Waters, and the latter was recognized as the Lady of the Waters, a composition was devised by which Apam Napāt would figure as a child next to his mother (Fig. 56). More powerful than any theological explication, the deity who conferred the ultimate *farr*—but had creative powers that were in conflict with those of Ahura Mazdā—was thus relegated to a secondary and childish position, in order to be gradually pushed out of the Zoroastrian pantheon.

X.10 - Gauging Sasanian Religiosity through the Effigies of Apam Napāt, Mithra and Anāhitā

The Sasanians' use of deities in their rock reliefs provides a visual gauge for the religiosity of their kings and their respect for orthodoxy. Within a society regulated by the Zoroastrian priesthood, both Ardashir and Shāpur I had rock reliefs in which Ahura Mazdā showed his *support* through the offer of the beribboned *yāreh* (ring) to them (Fig. 129, Fig. 168c). While Ardashir tried to accommodate the Zoroastrian priesthood with calendar changes and other religious reforms, Shāpur was less of a conformist since he accepted Māni into his court, and displayed his respect for the Sāsānagān constituency by adopting a Mithraic bonnet as official headgear (Fig. 167). Ardashir subtly invokes the intervention of Apam Napāt in the erection of his *farr* tower at the center of the circular city of Ardashir-khvarrah, while Shāpur depicts him anthropomorphically as the main purveyor of *farr* in his victory reliefs (Fig. 182). The latter's son, Hormuz I, also seems to have been lukewarm toward orthodoxy, since he depicted Mithra on his coinage and not Anāhitā or Ahura Mazdā (Fig. 175).

The appearance of Anāhitā on Sasanian coinage—as the deity from whom the king was claiming to obtain his *chihr*—may actually be a pointer to Zoroastrian orthodoxy. Indeed, Ardashir struck her effigy on some of his coins, while Shāpur and Hormoz did not. On the other hand, Anāhitā gained prominence in the reliefs and coinage of Bahrām I and II, both of whom approved of the Zoroastrian orthodoxy of the high priest Kerdir.

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with the fact that these celestial symbols are not found on Ardashir's coinage but appear on Shāpur's. The two-legged *ankh* for instance appears on his bonnet in lieu of the flying Eros of his rock reliefs (Fig. 167).

Fig. 185 – Victory relief of Narseh after initial victories over Galerius (unfinished after defeat). Naqsh-e Rostam

Figs. 186 a, b - a) Victory relief of Shāpur II over Julian showing Ahura Mazda with a pompom (↑).
b) Sanctification of Khosrow II by Anāhitā and Ahura Mazdā with a pompom (↑). Tāq-e Bostān

By the time Narseh ascends to power, it is Anāhitā who is presented as the paramount deity, especially in his rock relief of Naqsh-e Rostam (Fig. 185). This rock relief was to celebrate his early victories over Galerius (Caesar 293–305, Augustus 305–11), before being severely defeated in the third battle of 298. As a result of defeat, the completion of the relief was stopped, and it remained unfinished.[400] The gods that he is surrounded

[400] Soudavar 2012a, 44-45.

with—including the childlike Apam Napāt—are all purveyors of *farr,* expressing their satisfaction in regard to his initial victories. They show their approval through a finger sign of the number 20, which projected excellence.[401] By this time, Apam Napāt had clearly lost prominence and was being overshadowed by Anāhitā.

The Mithra and Apam Napāt tandem was resurrected for the last time in the victory relief of Shāpur II over the emperor Julian at Tāq-e Bostān, albeit the latter is invoked through the symbol of a prominent lotus (Fig. 186a). Facing Shāpur II is Ahura Mazdā who, like in the adjacent cave (Fig. 186b), has his hair knotted above his head. It is he who gives the beribboned *yāreh* to Shāpur. But to emphasize the importance of the victory over a Roman emperor, the traditional deity pair who guarded and bestowed the Aryan *farr,* namely Mithra and Apam Napāt, had to be included as well. They thus appear in a supporting role behind Ahura Mazdā: Mithra through an effigy, Apam Napāt through a lotus symbol.[402] The prominence of Mithra in this relief was in response to the propaganda campaign that Julian had launched prior to his campaign against Shāpur. Indeed, as the Roman emperor who established the supremacy of Mithra as Helios in the Roman pantheon, who would write treatises honoring Mithra on the occasion of his birthday on the 25th of December, who would sacrifice bovines to him and confess to having taken an oath not to divulge the Mithraic mysteries, and who would depict the bust of this solar divinity on the gate of his military camp, Julian must have tailored his war propaganda toward the Sasanian military by claiming that Mithra was on his side; and since Shāpur's brother Hormizdas (Hormoz) commanded part of the Roman cavalry, and Julian had plans to place him on the Persian throne, the Roman propaganda must have shaken the very legitimacy of Shāpur's right to rule.[403] Thus, in depicting Mithra behind Ahura Mazdā, Shāpur was emphasizing that the supreme deity venerated by his enemy was a mere second in the Persian pantheon, and one who had favored him over his opponent. Shāpur II was merely reciprocating Julian's taunt with one of his own. I do not believe that he was trying to resurrect Mithra (see also sec. XII.10).

By the 6th century, orthodoxy had settled in, and that's why when Khosrow II decided to celebrate his victory over the Byzantines in Tāq-e Bostān, he is only flanked by Ahura Mazdā and Anāhitā (Fig. 186b). Toward the end of the Sasanian era, Mithra and Apam Napāt had lost their grip on the *farr* that was once exclusively theirs.

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[401] In Soudavar 2003 (62-67), I had wrongly suggested that the deity behind Shāpur was Ahura Mazdā.
[402] Through misinterpretation of headgears, the scene has often been perceived as a pact between Shapur II and his brother, rather than the gods' support for Shāpur II for his victory over Julian; Soudavar 2012a, 16-19.
[403] Soudavar 2010a, 45-48.

X.11 - The Tribal Aspects of the *Farr*

In Tāq-e Bostān, far more eye-catching than the image of Khosrow flanked by two deities, are the two hunting scenes that dominate its *ayvān* space and allude to his victories against the Byzantines and the Hephtalites. They project increases in his own *farr* (added halo in Fig. 187a), as well as the Aryan *farr* (running rams with *dastār* in Fig. 187b).[404] They proclaim that his hunting grounds—as metaphor for empire—stretched from India (elephants) to the Nile (boars in marshlands), and included Bactria (camels).

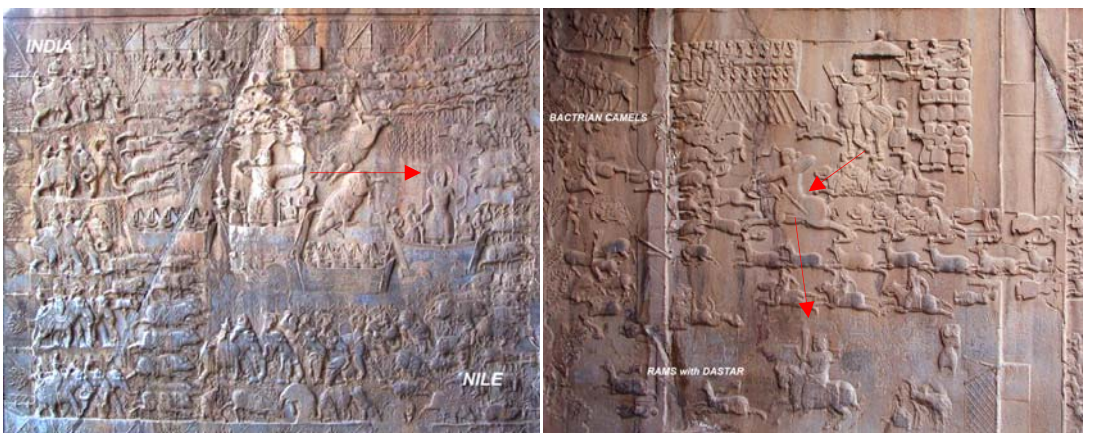

Figs. 187 a, b - (a) Khosrow haloed after a successful hunt, his hunting grounds (read empire) now stretching from India to the Nile. (b) The Aryan *farr* (ram with dastārs) increased because of Khosrow's hunting feats *qua* conquests. Tāq-e Bostān

This double action on the *farr* was the subject of propaganda that found its way onto the official seals of Sasanian bureaucrats. Indeed, the seals of two *āmārgar*s (tax collectors) from this period read as follows:

	Farreh (○) *afzud Khosrow ki shahrvinārd Yazdgerd, āmārgar* Khosrow's *farr* was increased when he rebuilt the citadel of Yazdgerd, *āmārgar*.
	Farreh (○) *Erān afzon kard, Khosrow ki niwisenid [?] ud Aruastān ud Arzon, āmārgar* Khosrow increased the Iranian *farr*, (when) he proclaimed (victory) over [?] and Aruastan and Arzon, *āmārgar*.

[404] Soudavar 2012a, 47-53.

One of them projects that Khosrow's own *farr* was increased due to the restoration—after conquest—of the citadel of Yazdgerd;[405] and the other proclaims that the Aryan *farr* was increased by the capture of new domains. As such they emphasize the true nature of the *farr* as a source of power belonging to the Iranian nation as a whole; one that can empower each of its individuals, while each individual's feats can in turn increase the nation's potential. It's a tribal concept that seems to be common among the hordes that came from the Asian steppes. The Iranians, Mongols and Turkamans, all believed in such a concept.[406] But where it's most palpable and well researched is among North American tribes who came from the same steppes by crossing the Siberian expanses. In a study of Sioux customs, Julian Rice describes a similar phenomenon for the Lakota tribes:

> "Though *wakan* is usually translated as "holy" "sacred" or mysterious, and *Wakan Tanka* is usually taken to mean "Great Mystery" or "God" the term probably resembles Robert Lowie's definition of the Crow equivalent, *maxpe*, an all-suffusing cosmic energy obtained through personal visions. According to Lowie, the Crow sought to maximize the tribal store of *maxpe* through individual reception."[407]

Thus the *wakan* of the Sioux, the *maxpe* of the Crow, and the Iranian *farr,* all designated a *tribal* source of power that must have existed prior to any later-devised theological framework.[408] The proponents of kingly ideology, as well as new religions, naturally sought to take advantage of it. As we shall see, the Medes attached the *farr* to the Mithra/Apam Napāt pair of deities, while Darius and the Zoroastrians sought to place it under the aegis of Ahura Mazdā.

X.12 - The Borz Mehr and *Yazatān* Dilemmas

Duality had always been a major tenet of Iranian ideology, and had permeated the *mithraeum* through the juxtaposition of fire and water. It reflected the division of the world into the two realms of day and night; each presided by its own deity, namely Mithra and Apam Napāt. As a tandem, these two deities posed a major problem for the monotheistic Mazdaism that Darius promoted, and for Zoroastrianism (see sec. XI.9): On the one hand, the division of the world into two realms ran counter to the ideology that saw Ahura Mazdā as the sole master of the universe, and on the other, the creative powers associated with the aquatic god Apam Napāt clashed with the creation

[405] The heading of one *Bondahesh* chapter reads: "On the citadels that the Kavis built with Glory (*farreh*)," and confirms the association of *farr* with citadel building; Dādagi 1990, 137; Pakzad 2005, 359.
[406] Soudavar 2010a, 131-33.
[407] Rice 1968, 21.
[408] Lecoq had already remarked that the later *Avesta* "est encore impregnée d'une pensée naturaliste qui confond les dieux et les élements de la nature" ; Lecoq 1997, 156. The *farr* was one such element.

prerogatives of Ahura Mazdā. Thus, Apam Napāt had to be eliminated. But as Mary Boyce has observed, such was Apam Napāt's stature that he could not be easily removed or wiped out. Not only did his name linger on, but he was even occasionally referred to with a lofty Avestan epithet, *bərəzantəm ahurəm* (High Lord), which was reduced to Borz in Pahlavi literature and even glossed in one Pahlavi text as *Borz ī Ābān-nāf* "The High One who is Son of the Waters."[409] What is interesting though is that Borz appears, at times, in tandem with Mehr/Mithra, and at others, as a qualifying adjective for Mehr—as in Borzen-Mehr, which is usually translated as "the Exalted Mehr." But Borzen-Mehr is primarily known as the Fire dedicated to farmers, and more generally agriculture. As such, it makes a lot more sense that it had something to do with both water (i.e., Apam Napāt) and Sun (i.e., Mehr), which provided the universally recognized necessary conditions for a good crop, rather than Mehr alone. Significant in this respect is a passage of the *Bondahesh,* which reveals that the Fire Borzen-Mehr underwent a radical change with the advent of Zoroastrianism. It recounts:

> The Fire Borzen Mehr was continuously alight until the reign of Goshtāsp, and stood watch over the world. And when Zoroaster of Eternal Soul brought his Religion, then … Goshtāsp took this Fire to the Rayovand Mountain.[410]

Goshtāsp (Vishtāspa) was the prince whom Zoroaster initiated to his religion, and what this passage insinuates is that the said fire was removed from its original location at the dawn of Zoroastrianism. It was thus Goshtāsp, or perhaps a member of his family, who imposed this change, but not Zoroaster. Since it specifies that it was alight *until* then, it must have been temporarily extinguished afterwards, or appropriated, or given a lesser status. Whatever occurred, it happened after the advent of Zoroastrianism and under the Achaemenids, since we shall explain that Goshtāsp was Darius's father (sec. XI.11).

We may then surmise that the expression Borzen-Mehr was actually a fusion of these two deities into one, dictated by the desire to eliminate the problematic Apam Napāt. Initially, the fire must have been in the name of Mithra *and* Apam Napāt; it was demoted by the Achaemenids but resuscitated later on as the Fire Borzen-Mehr. This has so confused scholars that in regard to the legend "*abestān o Borz Mehr*" (support from Borz Mehr) engraved on a Sasanian seal, Ryka Gyselen wonders "who Borz Mehr might be?" [411] She

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[409] Boyce 1986. Panaino affirms that from a surname, Borz actually became the *name* of Apam Napāt, and that *ābān-nāf*—which meant the navel of the waters—was only his attribute; Panaino 1995, 124.
[410] Dādaghi 1990, 91.
[411] Gyselen 2007, 252 & 284. Gyselen considers these two words as separate while Gignoux believes that Borz-Mehr refers to one deity, therefore a Fire name; Gignoux 2005, 39.

seems to envisage one deity, whereas the seal owner is actually invoking a tandem as he seeks support from "Borz *and* Mehr." Another seal bears the legend: *Dād-Borz-Mehr, aspbed i pahlav*, *panāh ō Borzen-Mehr,* which may be translated as "Dād-Borz-Mehr, the cavalry commander, (under) Borzen-Mehr protection." The seal owner's name, *Dād-Borz-Mehr* (Given by Borz Mehr), follows a well-known formula in which Borz *and* Mehr are credited to have brought him into this world.[412] On the other hand, he seeks the protection of *a* Borzen-Mehr (i.e., the exalted Mehr).[413] Chances are that the seal owner's name was given by unorthodox parents, but in seeking protection, he himself invokes Borzen-Mehr, i.e., the convoluted entity that was in tune with orthodox Zoroastrianism.

Fig. 188 – Seal with NWRA, lion and beaver (Gyselen 1993, 70.17)

Fig. 189 – Lion with scorpion and *farr* roundels. V. Kooros collection.

Fig. 190 - Praising the gods through the lion and scorpion (Gyselen 1993, 30.E.6)

A more telling example is a seal from the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 188), where the *NWRA* monogram is combined with a cryptic legend that reads: [*farr*] ZY *NWRA ZY borz mehr chihren* ((may) the *farr* of the Borz-Mehr Fire be radiant).[414] The word *chihren* (radiant) refers to the *farr* that the fire harbored, which is produced in the image of a pair of wings, the central element of which is shaped as the letters ZY. The name of the fire is then specified as Borz Mehr (i.e., Mithra and Apam Napāt). More importantly, the monogram is flanked by a lion and a beaver. The latter animal is described in the *Bondahesh* as: *babr-e ābi ke sag-e ābi khwānand* (the aquatic *babr* that is called water-dog),[415] and consequently, the aquatic *babr* is depicted as a dog with prominent beaver paws. Thus, in relation to the two named deities, we have two animals, a lion that always

[412] Well known examples of this type are *Khodā-dād* (god-given), or *Mehr-dād* (given by Mithra).
[413] Gyselen 2003, 134-135. According to Gyselen, if Borzen-Mehr was referring to the famous fire, it should have been preceded by the word "Fire."
[414] See Gyselen 1993, seal 70.17, where only the legend is read and not the monograms and symbols.
[415] Dādaghi 1990, 79; Pakzad 2005, 172.

referred to the sun and/or Mithra, as well as a beaver, the aquatic animal that was at other times associated with Anāhitā (*Yt.5.129*). It emphasizes Borz and Mehr's association with the *farr*, an association that persisted despite all the problems that Apam Napāt posed for Ahura Mazdā.[416] Finally, the lasting impact of the pairing of Mithra and Apam Napāt can be seen in the *mihrāb/mehr-āb* concept that we shall discuss in sec. XIV.9.

The same conflation that occurred for the Borz-Mehr tandem, can be observed for the word *yazatān* (gods), which is plural but was gradually used in the singular in expressions such as *abestān o yazatān* (support from gods), and the NP *yazdān* (which is the Persian substitute for Allāh) (Fig. 190). As such, it must have already been referring to a singular god in Pahlavi, before it was applied to Allāh in Persian.

Fig. 191 – Arab-Sasanian coin inscribed *mhmt pgt'mbl Y yzdt'*. (Courtesy of H. Rezai-Baghbidi)

As Hassan Rezai-Baghbidi has recently demonstrated, when the sentence (محمد رسول الله) was supposed to be engraved on Arab-Sasanian coins (Fig. 191), it was transcribed as *mahmad paygāmbar i yazad* (Mohammad the apostle of god).[417] The learned administration officials clearly understood that the unique god Allāh should be translated with *yazad* in the singular, but because the plural had been engrained in the popular mind, the oft-used *yazdān* eventually prevailed over *yazad* in Persian literature.

With this in mind, we can now revisit the motto that Sasanians adopted at the outset, the famous *chihr az yazatān* (whose Light/Farr is from the gods). The use of the plural *yazatān* was a clever ploy to deflect any criticism from the Zoroastrian clergy who probably suspected the Sāsānagān of favoring Mithra and Apam Napāt—at least insofar as the bestowing of *farr* was concerned. And in the same way that the Sasanians referred to their dynastic *farr* as the Kayānian one, but people continued to call it the Aryan *farr*,

[416] Two priests who assist Ardashir in his bid for power are named Borzag and Borz-ādur (Grenet 2003, 87-95), which shows their affiliation to a theological framework dominated by Borz (i.e., Apam Napāt).
[417] Rezai-Baghbidi 2011, 85-86.

it is probable that, for the general population, *yazatān* primarily represented the "Mehr/Apam Napāt" tandem, since they were considered as the main purveyors of *farr*. When these two were fused into one, so was *yazatān*. As such, its New Persian version, *yazdān*—although used in the singular—was in reality a reflection of the high powers that the general population associated with this traditional pair of deities.

Finally, there must be a reason for the scorpion to accompany the lion on seals bearing a reference to *yazatān* (Fig. 190) or depicted with numerous *farr* roundels as in Fig. 189. One can reasonably think that if the lion was a symbol of Mithra, the scorpion must have been a symbol of Apam Napāt, and equivalent to the snake; but the scorpion—being more compact than the snake—was easier to depict; hence the multitude of scorpions on Sasanian seals, all attesting to the parallel existence of a non-orthodox Zoroastrianism.

X.13 - The Sasanian Religious Landscape

The image that emerges from our above analysis depicts the religious tendencies of Sasanian kings as more complex than generally presented. Far from practicing a monolithic brand of Zoroastrianism, their religiosity was in a state of flux, as it needed to address different constituencies. Their initial power base was a Mithraic congregation that they had to deal with—as the Safavids had to—when they rose to power. They had liberal kings like Shāpur I who, while not rejecting Zoroastrianism, was more focused on his victories over the Romans and the Glory (*farr*) that it brought to the dynasty, than religious orthodoxy. Victories over the Romans played a major role because it reinforced kingship. The lack of it, or defeat, on the other hand, provided an opportunity for the priesthood to assert itself and promote orthodoxy. Thus, by the end of the Sasanian era, the priesthood managed to impose orthodoxy and bring kingship under its spell. The parallelism of the evolution of events with that of the Safavids is quite extraordinary. Both dynasties sprang from Mithraic-type congregations that remained outside religious orthodoxy, both had to contend with the rising power of the clergy, and both succumbed to their intransigence, and as a result, lost their empires.

And similar to the Safavid times, it seems that many congregations continued to exist with a Mithraic-type hierarchy under the Sasanians. The Sāsānagān, in particular seem to have been active all along and survived the Sasanian dynasty's downfall, since we can trace them to the Banu Sāsān of the Islamic era. Moreover, one wonders if the Mazdakites were not an offshoot of the Sāsānagān. How else could a "heretical" movement have easy access to the king and convert him to its cause? If Mazdak

persuaded the king to convert, he must have had good access over an extended period of time, as "heretic" members of the Safaviyyeh had access to Shāh Tahmāsb.[418]

Although we do not have a clear description of Mazdakite doctrines and practices, we can project back to Sasanian times the peculiarities attributed to post-Islamic groups labeled as "Mazdakites." They all seem to relate to Mithraic societies because of their red clothing, their communal philosophy, their cohesiveness, and their popular outlook. Among these, the Khorramdiniyyeh had solid Mazdakite credentials. While many Islamo-Persian sources qualify them as Mazdakites, a more telling Mazdakite label is the one used by Zoroastrian sources for this movement. As Touraj Daryaee has insightfully demonstrated, Zoroastrian sources had an ambivalent attitude toward the Khorramdiniyyeh. On the one hand, they welcomed their rebellion against Arab invaders, and on the other, considered them as heretic Mazdakites that needed to be annihilated. The Zoroastrians displayed even greater animosity, when the remnants of the Khorramdiniyyeh joined the Byzantines after the death of Bābak, and participated in a raid against Iranian territories.[419] Byzantines, who were known as *rumi* (Romans) in Iranian sources, were traditionally considered as the "enemy"; and the act of switching allegiance to them was more proof of the wickedness of the Khorramdiniyyeh in the eyes of the Zoroastrians. This switch of allegiance, however, demonstrates once again the self-contained ideology of these congregations, and their allegiance to their own oath, rather than any other religion, old or new.

In addition to the Sāsānagān, there is at least one other Sasanian-era congregation that survived the Arab invasions, namely the *sa`luks*.[420] They were known as poor dervishes, whose names were often mentioned with *`ayyār*s and *javānmard*s. In some sources, the name *sa`luk* (plural *sa`ālik* صعالیک) is spelled with the Arabic ص , whereas in others, it is spelled with the Persian س as سالوک;[421] but when it appears in a Jewish-Aramaic context, it is accompanied with an Iranian name.[422] It therefore seems to represent an original Iranian name that was later Arabicized, rather than the other way around. Besides the dervishes and the lowly, it was also applied to men in positions of power. A certain Saluk

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[418] These supposed “heretics” were also accused of *ebahat* and *cherāgh-koshān* (i.e., promiscuity) as the Mazdakites were, and were occasionally persecuted by Tahmāsb for political reasons, Riazul Islam 1970, 29.
[419] Daryaee 2004a, 64-76.
[420] We also saw a number of seals belonging to the hierarchy of Mithraic orders (sec. VII.1-3). The name of their congregations is not known, and we have no information on the extent of their organizations.
[421] Dehkhodā, "sāluk" and "sa`luk"; the *Tārikh-e Sistān* mentions سالوکان خراسان, Bahār 1987, 224.
[422] "Saluk son of Hormizdukh performed a magic act for me…" from ms 2053/198 in *www.schoyencollection.com/magical2.html*.

(*slwky*), for instance, was the judge of Kabul under Shāpur II,[423] and As-Solami names one Ostād Abu-Sahl-e Sa`luky, who was a highly regarded dervish master;[424] while Hamdollāh-e Mostowfi and Zahir-od-din Mar`ashi mention rulers from Gilān who were referred to as *sa`luk*, or *amira(g) sa`luk*.[425] Interestingly, we have a Sasanian seal with the following inscription: *Adur-saluk, khwesh-rāst* (Fig. 192). [426] It may be translated as the "Saluk-Fire, with its own righteousness." Once again we have a fire symbol on a seal, in conjunction with a legend based on the word *rāst*—which appears on so many Mithraic seals of the Sasanian era—and a name that designates Islamic dervishes as well as Persian rulers. The later *sa`luk*s, therefore, clearly had Mithraic roots that went back to the Sasanian era. Dynasties came and went, but dervish orders remained. We can marvel once again at Hāfez's insightful remark:

Fig. 192 – Saluk seal (Ginoux & Gyselen 1982, 20.79)

> "The Fortunate Power that fears no destruction * hear well, it's that of dervishes"

X.14 - Doctoring the Dynastic Background

We began this chapter by suggesting that the confusion in dynastic history usually arises when later rulers wish to expunge a past that does not conform to religious orthodoxy. And we offered examples of the successive modifications brought to the early Safavid chronicles to erase problematic aspects of their early movement. As it turns out, the *Kārnāmag of Ardashir-e Pāpakān,* which is supposedly an account of Ardashir's rise to power, provides the same kind of misinformation about his lineage and early encounters.

The first is about the relationship between Pāpak and Sāsān, in which Ardashir is presented as the issue of Sāsān's marriage to Pāpak's daughter, while Sāsān is ennobled through descent from the last of the Achaemenids. The Sasanian kings thus became direct progenies of the Sāsānagān's celebrated founder. However, it not only contradicts the numismatic evidence, but also the *Kārnāmag*'s own text where a few lines later Pāpak is said to have "a son" named Ardashir whom the Arsacid king wants to be sent to him.[427]

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[423] Daryaee 2004b.
[424] As-Solāmi 2010, 19.
[425] Mar`ashi 1985, 433; Soudavar 1996b, 89. It's interesting to note that the 14th-century historian Mostowfi asserts that one of these rulers is from the "*tokhm* of Sāsān," idem.
[426] *`twry slwky* "*NPŠH r`st*"; Gignoux & Gyselen 1982, seal 20.79. "*khwesh-rāst*" is my reading.
[427] Grenet 2005, 59.

Moreover, two other stories, half-true or totally invented, serve the purpose of distancing Ardashir from Mithraic congregations. In the first, he is said to have killed a rival by the name of Mehrag, and all his male progenies, after expressing that he did not want "anybody from the lineage of the 'corrupt-soul' Mehrag to ever rule Iran."[428] By his very name, Mehrag seems to have had Mithraic affiliation, and his assassination was supposed to show where Ardashir stood between orthodoxy and Mithraic sympathies. A young daughter of Mehrag, however, survives the massacre, and is later discovered by Ardashir's son Shāpur who marries her. The contrast in attitude toward Mehrag's progenies is perhaps reflective of the difference in outlook between Ardashir and Shāpur toward their Mithraic power base.

The other story is about a warlord by the name of Haftovād the Snake Lord (*haftovād-i kerm khvadāy*) who inflicted many casualties on Ardashir's troops while stationed in a mountain citadel. Frantz Grenet, who has edited the text of the *Kārnāmag,* seizes upon the expanded version of the same story in the *Shāhnāmeh* (in which it begins with a girl holding a spindle in her hands) and upon the NP meaning of *kerm* as worm, to suggest that it alluded to the Iranian quest for obtaining the secret of the Chinese cultivation of the silk worm.[429] And yet it's almost self-evident that a worm does not metaphorically project the image of a worthy adversary for Ardashir, and that *kerm* must be understood by its MP meaning of *snake*; even more so because Haftovād is said to have been fed daily with *bull's blood* and a *sheep*, which, as we shall see, characterizes the activity of the Mithraic magi. Once again, the story was meant to bolster Ardashir's orthodox credentials by demonstrating his animosity toward the radical Mithraic magi. These manipulations of Ardashir's early history only prove how uncomfortable the Zoroastrian priesthood felt about the Sasanian kings' relationship with their Mithraic powerbase.

X.15 - Carrying the Sasanian Flame: The Pārsis

The "Pārsi" appellation of the Zoroastrian Iranians, who migrated to India and mostly settled in Gujarat, has hitherto never been satisfactorily explained. The Gujarātis had seen quite a number of Iranian traders who came from the port of Sirāf in the southern province of Fārs (Pārs); and they may have referred to them as *pārsis*. But the Zoroastrians who settled there mostly came from inland Iran and the Greater Khorāsān. Some may have come overland and some may have taken a maritime route, through Hormuz. Either way, it is highly unlikely that they would have identified themselves as

[428] Grenet 2005, 85 and 109.
[429] Grenet 2005, 32.

*Pārsi*s, i.e., from Pārs (Fars). On the other hand, as reflected in their saga entitled *Qesseh-ye Sanjān*, their migration to India goes through different stages that revolve around the sacred fire that they were carrying. They move it first to the hill of Bahārut, then to Bānsdah, to finally settle in Navsāri.[430] Significantly, this fire was referred to as "Iran Shāh," i.e., the fire of Iranian Kings, and was characterized as *ātash-bahrām*, the victorious fire. Clearly, those who took such pains to transport this fire to India believed they were carrying the kingly fire that the Sasanians depicted on their coinage; the very fire that the Arsacids had dispersed, but Ardashir had reignited at the top of the tower that he had erected in the center of his circular capital of Ardashir-khvarrah. It then stands to reason that those who brought this fire to India would consider themselves as *pārsa*s, i.e., fire keepers. But for Gujarātis, there was no need to make a distinction between the fire-keeper *pārsa* and the *pārsi* traveler from Fars. They were all looked upon as Persians, in the same way that the Romans of the Mysteries called their fire keeper *perses*, i.e. Persian.

There is an intriguing verse in the *Qesseh-ye Sanjān* that describes the pilgrimage of certain Pārsis to the newly established Fire in Bānsdah:

> *bedinsān* ***pārsi*** *dar bānsdah niz ze har jā āmadandi bā basi chiz*
> In this way did **Persians** come to Bānsdah, from many places, with many offerings.[431]

While the word *pārsi* therein is not incompatible with the meter, and can hardly be construed as a plural noun that acts as the subject of the plural verb *āmadandi*, the plural *pārsān* is a better substitute for it, both in terms of grammar and the flow of the poem.

> *bedinsān* ***pārsān*** *dar bānsdah niz ze har jā āmadandi bā basi chiz*
> In this way did **fire-keepers** come to ….

This may indicate that they originally referred to themselves as Pārsāns rather than Pārsis. It's a tenuous argument, especially since no extant manuscript of the *Qesseh-ye Sanjān* reveals such a substitution.[432] But, on the slim chance that it can help to uncover an earlier use of the word *pārsā* in India, I thought it worthwhile to raise the question.

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[430] Williams 2012, 86; Eduljee 1996, 25-27
[431] Williams 2012, 86.
[432] Alan Williams who kindly confirmed (personal communications) that only *pārsi* appears in all the manuscripts, also believes that *pārsi* sits well in the poem. Having doubts about my own ability to dissect the meter of a poem, I put the question to a number of Persian colleagues (A. Karimi-Hakkak, B. Mokhtāriān, N. Motallebi-Kāšāni). While they concurred with Williams on the acceptability of *pārsi* (even though it creates a slight hiccup, or *sekteh*), they all thought that *pārsān* was a better fit and more fluent.

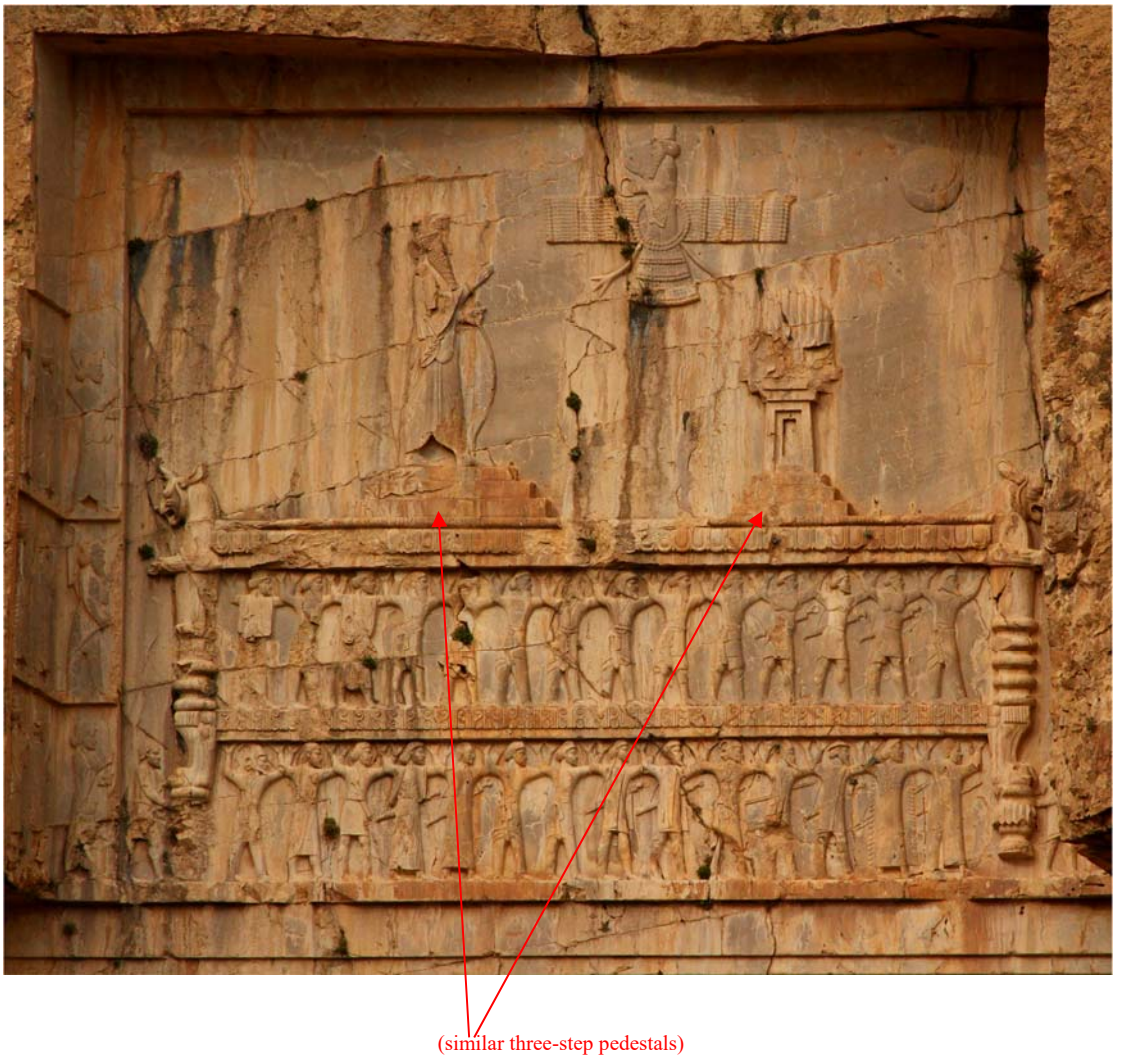

Fig. 193 – The Achaemenid king standing on his moving throne and greeted as a *pārsa* by Ahura Mazdā. Naqsh-e Rostam. The warrior king and the fire altar are both placed on a three-step pedestal to emphasize their equivalent roles in this setting, as well as the king's close association with fire.

CHAPTER XI

BLURRING THE PAST

XI.1 - The Predicament of Ancient Iranian Studies

In Chapter I, I criticized the revisionist theories advanced by the proponents of an autochthonous Roman Mithraic theory. To be fair though, the blame is not all theirs, because their mistakes have been exacerbated by a series of unwarranted theories afflicting the studies of pre-Islamic Iran, which deprived them of reference points for assessing their conclusions. Four sets of misguided theories, in particular, have derailed ancient Iranian studies in the past three decades. They contend that:

(A)- The Sasanian slogan of "*chihr az yazatān*" meant that the king claimed to be from the "family of gods," or from the "seeds of the gods."

(B)- Darius's proclamation that he was "*vishtāspahyā pusa, hakhāmanishiya, pārsa, pārsahyā pusa, ariya, ariya chisa,*" meant that he was: "the son of Vishtāspa, an Achaemenid, Persian son of Persian, Aryan and of Aryan origin," in which the underlined part supposedly described his clan affiliation and ethnicity.

(C)- Darius was a liar, had no relationship to Cyrus, had created a "fictitious" common ancestor for himself and Cyrus, namely Achaemenes, and all inscriptions in Pasargadae were forgeries produced by Darius.

(D)- Zoroaster either never existed, or if he did, he lived and preached circa 1000 BC, or much earlier.

(A) and (B) have been around for some time, but the other two have only gained momentum in the past thirty years; and yet, all four are somehow interrelated. If they are not dealt with together, one cannot grasp the full effect of the religious cataclysm that occurred in the early Achaemenid period, the one which Herodotus termed as Magophonia, or massacre of the magi. It had significant implications for the development of Zoroastrianism, the reformulation of its principal tenets, and the propaganda scheme that was devised to blur the past in order to further empower the Zoroastrian priesthood. It produced a Zoroastrian pantheon that incorporated sanitized gods, including Mithra, all placed under the aegis of Ahura Mazdā. This sanitized Mithra is not the one that can be

identified with the main god of the *mithraeum*. More importantly, if Zoroaster's era is pushed back to the stratosphere of the second millennium BC, it becomes very hard to imagine that an independent Mithra—with different preoccupations and qualities than the Zoroastrian one—ever existed as a revered deity.

XI.2 - Redundancy and Ridicule

Assertion (A) leads to a scenario by which Sasanian kings had supposedly adopted a pharaonic stance, and claimed to be of godly descent, whereas nowhere in Iranian literature—pre or post Islam—did a king ever have such a pretense. Unlike the Greeks or Egyptians, this idea was anathema to the Iranians. (A) was based on a Greek translation of a Sasanian slogan, in which, for lack of an equivalent notion in his own language, the translator had taken the liberty to present the king in a way that appealed to the Greek audience and not to an Iranian one. In 2003, I was the first to object to such a translation and proposed instead that the Sasanian slogan meant: The king "reflected the gods in power and Glory."[433] In two subsequent studies (2006 and 2009), I came to the conclusion that, more generally, *chihr* embodied the radiance of *farr*, and as such was a gauge for its intensity. It therefore became synonymous with it. But *chihr* also supported a second meaning, that of image, which was gradually relegated to a new word, *chihrag*, in order to better differentiate the two. Thus, *chihr* mostly meant radiance, while *chihrag* was exclusively used for "form" and "image."[434] By postulating that their *chihr* was from the gods, the Sasanians were claiming to reflect them in *farr* and radiance (see also sec. X.6).

In the meantime, by analyzing Latin and Greek texts, Antonio Panaino had reached a similar conclusion, and confirmed that the Sasanians did not claim to be from "the family of gods."[435] Since then, some have accepted it, while others cling to the erroneous translation of old. The misleading Greek translation notwithstanding, there was a redundancy problem that should have caught the attention of philologists, but did not. In Naqsh-e Rajab for instance, the slogan appears as a qualifier for both father and son, which O.P. Skjaervo had translated as:

> "I am the Mazdean Lord Shāpur,… whose seeds is from the gods, son of the Mazdean Lord Ardashir, …, whose seeds is from the gods," …,[436]

[433] Soudavar 2003, 41-48.
[434] Soudavar 2009; 442-50.
[435] Panaino 2004.
[436] Skjaervo1985, 594.

But if the father is from the family of gods, so must be the son. There was no need to repeat it. The caste of Persian scribes and administrators who devised these slogans were extremely savvy. Unnecessary redundancy was a sin of craft that they avoided at all cost, especially in a tight space. If they wanted to emphasize an issue, they would use synonyms but never repeat the same word or idiom twice. This insensitivity to redundancy has led to a similar mistake for (B) in the translation of *pārsa, pārsahyā pusa* as "Persian, son of Persian." Here again, if the father is Persian so must be the son, there is no need to emphasize it for both. The contrast with the use of the qualifier "Achaemenid" is telling. If either of the two is a descendant of Achaemenes, so is the other; that's why it is not repeated. Thus, if in (A) and (B) we have qualifiers that are repeated for father and son, they define a nonhereditary trait. Like *soltān ebn-e soltān*, they pertain to a status that a son may or may not inherit.

I had long suspected that the qualifier *pārsa* that Achaemenid kings used in their inscriptions was connected to NP *pārsā* (pious), but I could not bridge the gap between the two. What put me on the right track was Pierre Lecoq's observation that *pārsava* and *parthava* were the Median and Persian dialectical pronunciations of the same word that eventually produced MP *pahlav* and NP *pahlu* (side).[437] The *pārsa* had to be a person who stood next to, or on the *side* of, something, which Achaemenid iconography showed to be a fire altar (Fig. 193); every detail of the scene was meant to link the king as warrior priest to the fire. The Achaemenid king was thus a fire priest, or the officer in charge of the main fire of the kingdom. This conclusion, which I reached in 2012,[438] is now fully supported by the additional discoveries pertaining to *pārsa* derivatives, such as *pahlom* and *pahlav* (discussed in section VII.3). Since fire was at the center of all religious activities, a hierarchy was established in relation to proximity with fire: The closest person to the Fire had the highest rank.

The second element that binds (A) and (B) together is the presence of a particular word in both: It appears as OP *chisa* in the latter, and as MP *chihr* in the former. The erroneous translation of *chihr* in (A) as "seed" or "origin" had led philologists to translate Darius's second claim, i.e., *Ariya, Ariya chisa*, as "Aryan, and of Aryan origin." The problem is that no tribal person whether Kurd, Bakhtiyāri, Goth, Visigoth, Franc, or other, would say for instance I am a Kurd *and of* Kurdish *stock*. If one says he is a Kurd, he has said it all; there is no need to emphasize his DNA. Similarly, Richard the Lionhearted (r. 1189-99) wouldn't have insisted that he was a "Norman, son of a Norman," because it would

[437] Lecoq 1997, 146; see sec. VII.3.
[438] Soudavar 2012b, 55-58.

have insinuated the existence of Normans of Saxon descent! It was a ridiculous statement, whether in the English context or the Iranian one. Thus, by presenting himself as *Ariya chisa*, Darius was simply claiming to be in possession of the highest degree of *farr*, i.e., the Aryan *farr*, which radiated through its *chisa.*

There was no honor or distinction for Darius and his successors to repeatedly claim that they were Persians or Aryans, since their servants as well as enemies were mostly Persians and/or Aryans.[439] What Darius wished to emphasize was his status as *pārsa*, and his possession of the Aryan *farr,* especially after the conquest of non-Iranian territories.[440] These were not banal qualities such as Persian or Aryan, but two honorifics that gave him a distinct aura of power. The two were also interlinked, because the locus of the Aryan *farr* was the main fire of the kingdom, the one depicted on top of the king's moving throne (Fig. 194). As reported by Diodorus of Sicily, this Fire was named after the king and was only extinguished after his death.[441]

Fig. 194 – Achaemenid king as *pārsā*. Naqsh-e Rostam

Fig. 195 – Vadfrad II, opposite the Aryan *farr* standard with *vareγna*

Fig. 196 – Crown of Khosrow II with wings of *vareγna*

Fig. 197 – Shāpur I opposite deity

The same concept reappears on the coins of Persis. On these, the king stands, *bow in hand,* before the main fire edifice of his kingdom—presumably the so called Ka`ba of Zardosht—while Ahura Mazdā is depicted above and the Aryan *farr* standard is visible on the opposite side; to emphasize the *farr* symbolism of the standard, it is occasionally surmounted by the bird *vareγna* (Fig. 195).[442] It conveyed the idea that if the *vareγna* was there, the *farr* had not departed and resided with the standard. It's an artifice that had been previously used by Darius (see sec. XI.12); and one which the Sasanians frequently used through the bias of wings adorning the royal crown on the obverse of their coinage

[439] In Bisotun, for instance, a number of the chained rebels before Darius are recognized as Medes or Scythians, who are Aryans nevertheless.
[440] Soudavar 2010a, 129-30.
[441] Shahbazi 1993; Soudavar 2012b, 60-61.
[442] Soudavar 2012b, 57-58; Haerinck & Overlaet 2008.

(Fig. 196).[443] The reverse of the Sasanian coins conveys the same concept: The king stands weapon in hand, on the left side of his fire altar, but instead of a symbol of Ahura Mazdā hovering above, a deity appears on the opposite side of the fire altar, mostly as a mirror image of the king (Fig. 197). Slight changes in iconography do appear from one period to the other, but, remarkably, the underlying concept remains the same, i.e., that the king is the keeper of the main royal fire and the recipient of a powerful *farr*.

Significantly, Darius's claim of being endowed with the *Ariya chisa,* which appears in the OP version of the *DNa* inscriptions, is omitted in the Babylonian version. As for the Elamite version, it simply transcribes *chisa* with the Elamite alphabet. In other words, the Babylonian scribe could not find an equivalent notion and skipped it, while the Elamite one used the Old Persian word as a loanword. That's because the *khvarenah* was a tribal concept that the Aryan tribes brought to the Iranian plateau, and had no parallel among the urbanized people of the region. Although Wouter Henkelman argues that the Elamite word *kitin* represented a concept that ultimately influenced the Achaemenid ideology of royal power, the examples that he provides mainly suggest a meaning of "protection," especially when Humban is said to be the god "under whose *kitin* a king (stands)."[444] Because of the word "under" that precedes it, *kitin* can only mean something akin to protection or aegis. It certainly confers added power to its recipient, but it's basically different from the *khvarenah*, which was a live force belonging to the "Aryan nation" and was up for grabs; that's why many, including Afrāsiyāb and Azhi-dahāga, tried to seize it (*Yt.5.42, Yt.19.57-60*). Moreover, in most other cultures, divine blessing or protection is usually sacral and permanent. The most distinctive aspect of the *khvarenah,* however, is its varying nature. One can have it in various degrees or even lose it. If the Elamite scribe did not use *kitin* instead of *chisa*, it's because he did not see them as one and the same.

XI.3 - Darius's Lineage

In Bisotun, Darius's most important claim was to have brought back kingship to the main line of the Achaemenids. François Vallat astutely observes that Darius uses therein the Elamite word *numun* (family) when he claims that eight kings from his "family" had ruled before him, but uses the word *eippi* when talking about his lineage. This lineage, to which belonged Achaemenes, Teispes, Ariaramnes, and Arsames, was the principal one he considered to be legitimate within the Achaemenid *numun*.[445] For Vallat, Darius's lineage was paramount because of the title "King of Kings" that his grandfather and great

[443] Soudavar 2003, 19-25.
[444] Henkelman 2011b, 97 & 130.
[445] Vallat 2011, 274-75.

grandfather used on their gold plaques. One must add, however, that Darius's forefathers had another equally important distinction: They too were *pārsa*s. The plaque of his grandfather Arsames (Fig. 198), for instance, reads:

> *AsH:* "Arsames, the great king, king of kings, *pārsa* king,[446] son of king Ariaramnes, an Achaemenid. King Arsames says: the great god Ahura Mazdā, greatest of gods, made me king. He bestowed on me the land of Persia, with good people, with good horses. By the favor of Ahura Mazdā I hold this land. May Ahura Mazdā protect me, and my royal house, and may he protect this land which I hold."[447]

Fig. 198 - Plaque of Arsames

Like Darius, he proudly asserted his *pārsa* title and function on a par with kingship. Moreover, Jean Kellens postulates that the name Achaemenes meant that "he was a friend of Fire."[448] If true, Achaemenes must have been a *pārsa* himself, and the one who transmitted this function to his progenies.

But, as it happened, a member of the junior branch of the Achaemenids, Cyrus II, King of Anshan, defeated his maternal grandfather, the Median emperor Astyages. And similar to Alexander the Great who defeated the last of the Achaemenids to inherit their empire, he suddenly became the emperor of a vast empire that he further expanded through the conquests of Lydia and Babylon. His prestige must have overwhelmed his cousin, Arsames, who presumably recognized him as overlord, and was forced to abandon the title "King of Kings," as Cyrus now claimed to be "King of the World/Universe" as well as "King of Persia."[449]

As a result, Darius's father was never king but maintained his title of *pārsa*. When Cambyses II died with no direct heir to succeed him, the magus Gaumāta usurped the throne but was killed by a group of seven conspirators. They were led by the elderly statesman Otanes, who, according to Herodotus (3.61-79), was perhaps the most noble of the Persians, was brother-in-law to Cyrus and father-in-law to Cambyses, and the main instigator in the conspiracy to overthrow Gaumāta. Besides Darius, the rest of the conspirators were all noblemen, governors, and army commanders such as Gobryas. And

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[446] As per Soudavar 2012b, 70, I have translated the *khshāyathiya pārsa* therein as "Pārsa King."
[447] This gold plaque and that of Ariaramnes were thought to be fakes, or belonging to later periods, supposedly because of containing lexical "errors." Reverend Sharp (Sharp 1975: 21) and F. Vallat (Vallat 2011, 279) have not only refuted these claims, but have provided lexical and scriptural proofs of authenticity. As for physical problems, nothing has ever been said; and yet, nobody dares to refer to them. It was only written in Old Persian because Babylon had not yet been conquered to warrant a translation in Babylonian.
[448] Kellens 2013, 556.
[449] Gardizi explains that Arsames took refuge in religion, presumably as a *pārsa*; see sec. XII.11.

yet, it is the young Darius, twenty-eight years of age, who is elected king. As clever as he was, he could have never persuaded the other six to choose him as king, unless he had an impeccable legitimacy that no other could match. How could a young man persuade an elderly statesman such as Otanes, or a powerful commander such as Gobryas, that he merited the throne because of descent from a "fictitious" ancestor? How could Otanes swallow such a lie and pass on kingship to a meritless Darius?

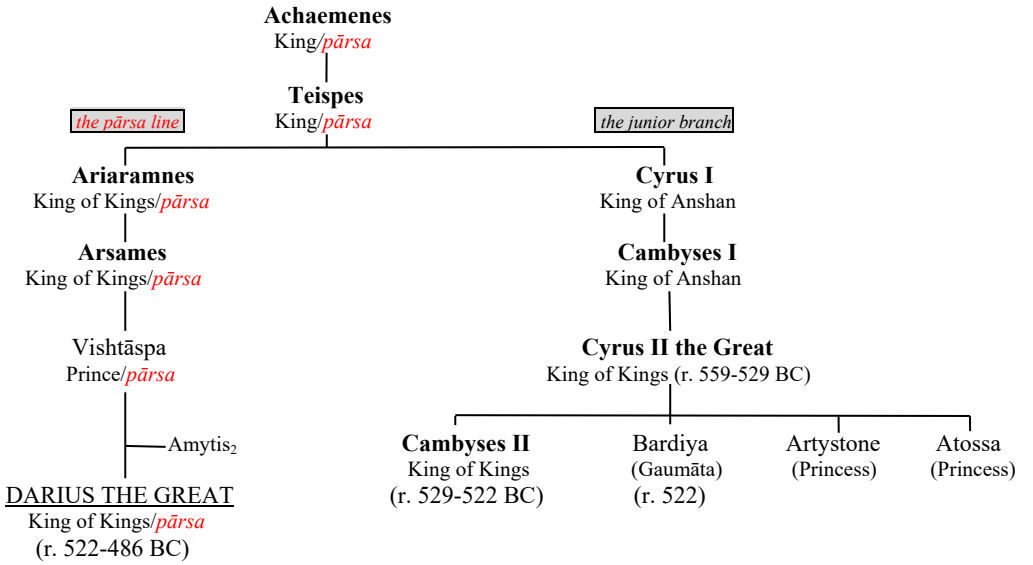

Table 2 – Darius's eight predecessor kings (in bold), who ruled as Achaemenids

Darius had been the quiver-bearer of Cyrus and the lance-bearer of Cambyses; [450] but those were credentials that, although important, were not enough to elect him king. If he became king, it's because, among all the conspirators, he was not only a descendant of Achaemenes, but he belonged to the principal dynastic line, the *pārsa* line.[451] His lineage was his legitimacy. Far from trying to create a fictitious link between Cyrus and himself, Darius proclaimed to be the rightful heir by boasting that he was not only an Achaemenid, but *pārsa* son of *pārsa*, a distinction that Cyrus did not have. In the process, he was almost portraying Cyrus as a usurper. That may explain his disdain for Cyrus; for it is a fact that Darius basically ignores Cyrus in his inscriptions, and only mentions his

[450] Briant 1996, 124-25. There is some evidence for Darius being a brother-in-law of Cyrus, and very much part of the inner circle of the Achaemenid royal household; see section XI.11, and Soudavar 2012b, 67-68.
[451] Soudavar 2012b, 70. According to Herodotus (III.2 & 68), Otanes was brother to Cyrus's wife Cassandane, and an Achaemenid through his father Pharnapses (perhaps through matrilineal descent).

name in passing.[452] As a member of the main branch of the Achaemenids, he looked down on members of the junior branch, even though they had left him an empire far larger than what his forefathers ever controlled.

XI.4 - The Fallacy of the "Liar Darius" Theory

Despite much concordant evidence for Darius's Bisotun narrative, a set of unfortunate circumstances have led to the development of a "Liar Darius" theory (assertion (C)), amplified by unsubstantiated hyperboles. At the root of the problem was the mistranslation of Darius's Bisotun inscriptions, supposedly suggesting that the Old Persian (OP) cuneiform script was invented by him.[453] It followed that any inscription in the OP script was either by Darius or his successors, but not by Cyrus. Consequently, it was asserted that the Pasargadae inscriptions, which proclaimed Cyrus to be an Achaemenid, promoted a lie concocted by Darius trying to create a common ancestor for Cyrus and himself, in order to justify his "usurpation" of the Persian throne. A corollary to this is that Darius must have killed the real Bardiya to ascend to the throne, while pretending that his victim was the usurper *magus* Gaumāta. Therefore, Bisotun, Herodotus and Ctesias were all wrong to assume that a magus by the name of Gaumāta ever usurped the Achaemenid throne. The second corollary is that Cyrus is not an Achaemenid, and perhaps not even a Persian!

In his analysis of the uprisings against Darius, Willem Vorgeslang concludes that four of the revolts, including that of Nidintu-Bel in Babylon whose seal imprints bare a date of *only four days* after Gaumāta's assassination, must have been underway *before* Darius's ascent to the throne. It therefore seems that, besides Darius and his co-conspirators, there were others who had doubts about the legitimacy of Cambyses's successor.[454] If this successor was really Bardiya, there should have been no contestation whatsoever, since he was the only living male progeny of Cyrus. Those early rebellions can only confirm Darius's version of events, and yet Vorgelsang opines that Darius must have killed the real Bardiya and not the usurper Gaumāta!

What baffles me is the general readiness to accept a bizarre theory, claiming that:

> Darius fabricated a false lineage, years after he had crushed his enemies, and when he was firmly seated on his throne! If Herodotus recognized Cyrus as an Achaemenid, he must have been fooled by Darius's alleged misinformation! The concordant stories of

[452] Vallat 2011, 278.
[453] Vallat 2011, 265-68.
[454] Vogelsang 1998, 197-200

Bisotun and Herodotus, in regard to the events that led to Darius's ascent to the throne, were fabrications that only modern historians could detect but not the people in antiquity! That to dupe everybody, Darius chose the less frequented site of Pasargadae, and not Persepolis—which was the seat of his empire—to inscribe his misinformation! And at a time when hardly anybody could read the Old Persian script, he chose a narrow strip of a robe in a door jamb to write his propaganda on (Fig. 199a)! Like an Easter egg hunt, the visitor had to first discover in Pasargadae that Cyrus was labeled an "Achaemenid" (but not Darius whose *name appears nowhere therein*), he then had to go to Bisotun and climb a steep vertical mountain to notice that Darius too had claimed to be an Achaemenid, after which the visitor had to connect these *two* affiliations together and exclaim Eureka, as he would suddenly realize what Darius had in mind: That Achaemenes was a common ancestor to him and Cyrus, and therefore Darius was legitimate! *What an absurd way to conceive propaganda*.

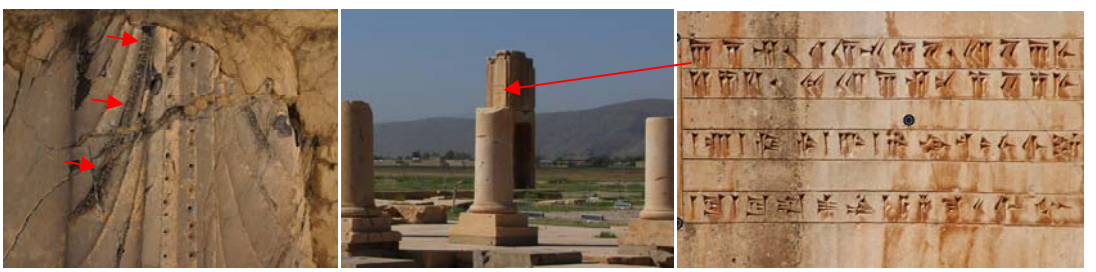

Figs. 199 a, b, c. scenes form Pasargadae. (a) Cyrus's minute inscription on the fold of a robe; (b) a corner pillar (*anta*) bearing the *CMa* inscription; (c) the deeply incised letters of the *CMa* inscription

These were assertions that defied common sense, and kept piling up like a house of cards on a philological theory that was supposed to be rock solid, but wasn't.[455] If anybody dared to characterize Cyrus as an Achaemenid, he was immediately chastised.[456] But thanks to Vallat's thorough analysis of the Elamite version of the Bisotun inscriptions—which was the first and primordial version among its three inscriptions[457]—we now know that the belief in the OP script being Darius's "invention" was wrong.[458]

[455] As argued in Soudavar 2012b (61-64), D. Stronach's art historical analysis of Pasargadae was flawed, and predicated on the supposed attribution of the OP script to Darius, which proved to be wrong as well.
[456] Garrison even apologizes in (2011, 378, n.4) to Henkelman for committing such a sin. Oddly, he does that in the same volume in which Vallat's article appears, contradicting this whole thesis, and for which Garrison is one of the editors.
[457] The other two languages being Old Persian and Akkadian.
[458] Vallat 2010; Vallat 2011.

Once the erroneous philological basis was removed, the house of cards should have collapsed. And yet, it seems that for those who have vested intellectual capital in this false theory, it is hard to accept the truth. Vallat's refutation is either totally ignored, or if acknowledged, it is done in a mere footnote where it is unduly belittled. Wouter Henkelman, for instance, characterizes Vallat's refutation as "an adventurous re-interpretation of the Bisotun" without explaining why, and delves into generalities rather than detailed logical rebuttal. Surely, Vallat's thorough arguments merit more than dismissive generalities; especially on the dating of Cyrus's Pasargadae inscriptions.[459] Instead, Henkelman adds:

> "Since dated contemporary Babylonian sources consistently label Cyrus "king of Anshan," and since there are no contemporary sources that identify Cyrus as a Persian (or an Achaemenid, for that matter), it has to be concluded that Cyrus was not a Persian, but the ruler of an independent polity centered on Anshan which was linguistically and culturally *Elamite*. In this view, Darius would be the first truly Persian king"; (my underlining).[460]

Fig. 200 – Egyptian plaque. (Louvre Museum)

It's an erroneous and self-serving approach to the problem. Henkelman's enunciated theory is based on inscriptions that solely appear in the Babylonian context and qualify Cyrus as "King of Anshan." Conveniently, the Pasargadae inscriptions have been rejected as fake, and what remains is only *one* royal inscription,[461] namely the Cyrus Cylinder, on which his theory is based. By the same token, and following this erroneous methodology, one can claim that: Darius was an

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[459] Henkelman 2011a, 582. A key element of Vallat's argument rests on the relationship between the three consecutive words *daae ikki hutta*, for which he demonstrates that that the middle *ikki* should not be the suffix of *daae*, but must be read in combination with *hutta* as "j'ai traduit." The key sentence in the Elamite inscription *DB L*, which is equivalent to *DB*§70, is then translated as: "I (Darius) translated this differently in Aryan; it did not exist here before.." Accordingly, Darius explains that his OP version of the Elamite text was translated differently, and was written where it did not exist before (i.e. at the time the Elamite version was first written); Vallat 2011, 265-68. This, Henkelman never addresses. Nor does he address the importance of the *CMc*'s Elamite characteristic that only appears in texts prior to Darius (see note 621 infra). Instead he faults Vallatfor the wrong use of Anshan and Parsa from the Nabonidus Chronicles, which appears nowhere in Vallat 2010 and 2011. His use of *coup d'état* in reference to Cyrus gaining the upper hand over his cousins, is also criticized. But no matter how you name it, Cyrus became an emperor by virtue of capturing the Median Empire, which prompted the *de facto* recognition of his supremacy.

[460] Henkelman 2011a, 597: Henkelman approving with minor caveats Potts 2005 and others.

[461] Henkelman acknowledges that Cyrus is not only called "King of Anshan" but also "King of Parsu" in the Nabonidus Chronicles, and is called "King of the Persians" by Berossus (Henkelman 2011a, 597) but treats them as inconsequential nevertheless (*ibid*, 582). In the process, the multiple references of Greek and Latin writers to Cyrus as "King of the Persians" are totally neglected (e.g., "Cyrus the Persian," (Diodorus IX:20)

Egyptian but never a Persian or an Achaemenid! It can be done by relying on the inscription on an Egyptian plaque in the Louvre, which reads: "The perfect god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius; life forever," (Fig. 200). With Henkelman's methodology, one can then pretend that all inscriptions ascribed to Darius were ordered by Xerxes, because he wanted to expunge his father's Egyptian identity! It uses the same fallacious argument as the one used for Cyrus. One can reach any desired objective with false arguments.

In regard to the *CMa* inscriptions, David Stronach advances another argument:

> "Cyrus would have violated standard Achaemenid building practice if he had indeed erected the CMa inscription on any part of the stone fabric of Palace P while that structure remained largely unfinished. Furthermore, the tenor of the CMa text can be seen to bear little if any resemblance to those titularies of Cyrus that are known from Mesopotamia."[462]

In other words, the engraver would have only added the inscription at the last moment, as a finishing touch. But anybody who has seen this inscription in situ knows that the carvings are deep, complicated, and needed advanced planning (Fig. 199c). Contrary to Stronach's assertion, any building planner in his right mind would have had the carving done while the slab was on the ground rather than erected at a height of several meters above ground (Fig. 199b).[463] As for the discrepancy in titulature, Antigoni Zournatzi has clearly demonstrated that the "King of Anshan" title made sense in the Babylonian context because it was following a local tradition.[464] Likewise, when Darius styled himself as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" in Egypt, without mentioning Persia, he was doing it for an Egyptian audience and not an Iranian one. One cannot make up a general rule based on one example alone, taken out of context.[465]

"Cyrus, the king of the Persians," or "Cambyses the Persian" (Diodorus X:13-14)), even though their words are elsewhere treated as gospel.

[462] Stronach & Gopnik 2009. In private correspondence, Stronach argues that "Stone masons …were assuredly trained to carve inscriptions on vertical stone faces, e.g. Bisitun and Naqsh-e Rustam." True, Michelangelo too painted the Sistine Chapel ceiling lying on his back; it doesn't mean that he always painted that way.

[463] The height of the *anta* is 6.14 m, and the inscription measures 90 x 40 cm; Pasargadae 2004, 14. What's more, it was perhaps repeated as many as 20 times, if not more. It was therefore a serial operation that was easier to work on, on the ground and side by side, rather than individually and up in the air.

[464] Zournatzi 2011.

[465] Even without Vallat's refutation of the premise by which Darius became the inventor of the OP script, there is a methodological flaw in the reasoning of the proponents of the "Liar-Darius" theory. They consider Darius's claim to be an "Achaemenid" as wrong, but his supposed boast to have invented the OP script as correct. If Darius had lied about his genealogy there is little reason to believe his other boasts. It's almost a

XI.5 - Crisis in Avestology

Despite my limited exposure to Avestology, I sense that this jealously guarded domain harbours a discipline in crisis, since it has severed all possible links with historical reality. It's a conclusion that I have reached after three random forays into the Avestan world. The first happened as I was investigating various iconographical representations of the *khvarenah/farr* and stumbled upon *Yt.13.94-95* that pegged the birth of Zoroaster to a political event that was clearly related to the conquest of Assyria by the Medes, and validated a dating of 6th century BC for Zoroaster's activities (see sec. XI.12).[466] Here were two stanzas talking about Zoroaster's *birth* and what happened afterward, and yet nobody wished to situate them in time and space.

The second occurred when, trying to establish a connection between the *chisa* of Darius's inscriptions and the *chihr* of the Sasanian slogan (sec. XI.1), I sought to examine its meaning in the *Avesta* as well. I came to realize that Av. *chithra*, OP *chisa,* and MP *chihr,* all defined a radiance that gauged the intensity of the *farr* and as such had become synonymous with it. Philologists, though, opted mostly for a meaning of nature, origin, or seed, and produced incongruent translations. More importantly, they failed to understand the cosmogony of light around which Zoroastrianism had built a reward and retribution system; one by which good deeds increased one's *farr*, while bad behaviour diminished it. The luminescence of *farr*, i.e., its *chithra*, followed the same pattern, and gave rise to a light concept that is omnipresent in Persian religious and philosophical works, and a system that Shahāb-od-din-e Sohravardi (1155-91) later borrowed for his famous *Hekmat-ol-Eshrāq* (Philosophy of Light).

The third came to me as a shock. I was asked to give an opinion on a paper that was criticizing Jean Kellens's interpretations of certain passages of *Yasna* 19 of the *Avesta*. Since Kellens had graciously sent me a copy of his publication on this subject, I had a peek at it and suddenly realized that, structurally, *Y.19* was following a well-known pattern used in the *qalandar-nāmeh*s. Familiarity with this pattern allowed me to guess the purpose of its compilation. As a result, I could not only provide a translation that revealed the true intentions of its compiler, but I could explain why Zoroaster had been presented as the omnipotent ruler of the world, how his opponents were branded as

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Kafkaesque reasoning to claim that his second boast is true, in order to ascertain that his claim to the throne was false. What's more, *where did Darius find the time to invent the OP script* in his first two years (which were entirely spent on fighting the rebels)?

[466] Soudavar 2003, 122.

scorpion men, and why Fire was labelled as the son of Ahura Mazdā.[467] My opinions were neither to the liking of the authors I had criticized, nor were they agreeable to those who had supported unfounded assertions. It was thus rejected by three successive journals. I produce it here as Appendix II, and further elaborate the issue hereunder. Time will tell if my translation and my contentions are right or wrong. Meanwhile, a wrong perception of the *Avesta* derails Achaemenid studies.

XI.6 - The Avestan Myth

While the *Avesta* is regarded as the foundation of Zoroastrianism, it is also looked upon as the repository of ancient Iranian beliefs and mythology. Thus, the root of all Iranian themes is often sought in the *Avesta.* To my surprise though, the more I looked for answers therein, the more I realized that many of its themes were fashioned with a political agenda in mind, namely to empower the priesthood and to weaken kingship. To achieve this, historical facts were erased, altered, or replaced, and contrary to Zoroaster's monotheistic vision, numerous deities were sanitized and thereafter integrated into one all-encompassing polytheistic ideology. It resulted in a confusing text that was an amalgam of existing popular hymns, all doctored according to this agenda. Its content, therefore, cannot be deciphered without the proper understanding of the motives that led to its compilation. Avestologists, though, seem to concentrate their efforts on philological techniques rather than the comprehension of its historical context. That is why situating Zoroaster in time is so crucial to our understanding of the religion that bears his name, as well as the chronicles of past kings that the Zoroastrian clergy transmitted down to us.

XI.7 - The Traditional Date

The birthdate of Zoroaster is an issue fiercely debated among two schools of thought. The first relies on the *Avesta,* and places Zoroaster in between 1800 BC and 800 BC (assertion (D)). The second argues for a birth date of 618 BC by relying on an axiom transmitted by 10th-century documents, which specified that 258 years elapsed between the coming of Zoroaster and that of Alexander, and provided a birthdate of circa 618 BC.[468] This later date is often referred to as the Traditional Date. Mary Boyce, who was

[467] One's task is much facilitated if one can somehow guess the purpose of a text. After all, hieroglyphs and the Old Persian script were deciphered through guessing: How repeated words in a hieroglyphic text pertained to Cleopatra and Ptolemy, and how repeated words in an OP inscription designated Darius and Hystaspes (Vistāshpa). Continuity being a staple of the Iranian culture, familiarity with Persian literature and bureaucratic correspondence can indeed be of help for deciphering ancient texts.

[468] The 258 years measures the time elapsed between the conquest of Iran by Alexander (i.e., the death of Darius III in 330 BC) and the 'Coming of Religion' that Gnoli has convincingly argued to refer to the year Zoroaster envisioned his new religion, and which the mini-calendar of *Zādspram* specifies to have occurred

the grand lady of Zoroastrian studies, always believed that Zoroastrianism was an inherently conservative religion for which preserved traditions had to be treated as primary sources. And yet it is she who cast the first stone against an axiom transmitted—in a plurality of forms—through Zoroastrian channels, making the "258 years" a core element of Zoroastrian writings. Indeed:

- It is quoted by Mas`udi (d. 957), in his *Moruj-oz-zahab*, and Biruni (973-1048), in his *Āthār-ol-bāqiyya*, who obtained the same information from two distinct Zoroastrian communities, one from southern Iran, and the other from the eastern Iranian world, while living a century apart.[469]

- It appears as an immutable time bracket in the chronology of Iranian kings who ruled prior to Alexander's invasion. The *Bondahesh,* for instance, fills the same 258-year time bracket with a different list than Mas`udi.[470]

- It correlates with information here and there, such as a remark by Mas'udi who states that the father of Vishtāspa—the prince whom Zoroaster converted to his religion—was a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar II (r. 605-562 BC). And Bar Hebraeus affirms that Zarathushtra, "who had predicted" the appearance of Jesus as the Messiah, was the *contemporary* of early Achaemenids,[471] while an earlier Syriac ecclesiast, Theodore Bar Konai (8-9th century AD), dated the birth of Zoroaster to 628 BC.[472] Furthermore, Tabari quotes another story that, while garbled and imprecise, still places Vishtāspa close to Cyrus: "some say that Keyrash (Cyrus) is actually Vishtāspa, while others negate this, and say that he was the uncle of his grandfather."[473] Gardizi even names a Cambyses as one of Vishtāspa's ancestors and provides additional concordant information (see sec.

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at the age of thirty; Gnoli 2000, 156. The mini-calendar of *Zādspram* suggests a lifespan of 77 years for Zoroaster(Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993, 87); it consequently puts his death at circa 541 BC.

[469] Biruni 1377, 20: "258 years from the beginning of Zoroaster's prophethood (*zohur*) to the beginning of Alexander's era (*tārikh-e eskandar*)"; Biruni 1377, 174 and Mas`udi 1988, I:313: "258 years from Vishtāspa until the advent of Alexander."

[470] The *Bundahishn* (Dādaghi, 1, 56) gives Kay Goshtāsp as 120-30= 90 years, Bahman 112, Homāy-e Bahman-dokht 30, Dārā-ye chehr-āzādan ('who is Bahman') 12, Dārā-ye Dārāyān (i.e. Darius III) 14. Mas`udi (*At-tanbih val-eshrāf*: 85-88) gives: Kay Goshtāsp 120-30=90 years, Bahman 112, Khomāni 30, Dārā 12, Dārā-ye Dārāyān 14. Both lists total to 258 years.

[471] Bar Hebraeus 1947, 31. The story is used to justify the appearance of the three magi who, as supposedly predicted by Zoroaster, followed a brilliant star. He could have placed the Prophet anywhere in time for his story; the more ancient he was, the more powerful his prediction would have been. But he nevertheless placed him in the Achaemenid time bracket.

[472] Herzfeld 1947, 19.

[473] Tabari 1967, 1:571

و قد زعم بعضهم ان كيرش هو بشتاسب، و انكر ذلك من قيله بعضهم، و قال: كي أرش انما هو عم لجد بشتاسب،

XII.11). Such a *variety* of information that *all* situate Vishtāspa and Zoroaster close to Cyrus's reign can only stem from a historical reality and not fiction.

- The same information in the *Zadspram* (23.5), and in another account of Mas'udi, the *Tanbih val eshrāf,* is rounded up to 300 years to accommodate a prediction by Zoroaster that, three centuries later, Iranian kingship would succumb to Alexander while Zoroastrianism would survive.[474] As Gherardo Gnoli had argued, this was an approximation within the millenary context, which envisioned history in centuries and millenniums. When it comes to the regnal years though, Mas`udi maintains—even in the *Tanbih*—the same regnal years tabulation that added to 258 years, as in his *Moruj*.[475]

- More importantly, the "258 Axiom" provides an explanation for a very odd historical question and otherwise *inexplicable* phenomenon: Why did the Sasanian Ardashir change the calendar, upon ascending to the throne in 224 AD, by cutting out a chunk of 206 years and reducing the Arsacid period to 266 years? Based on arguments previously advanced by Taqizādeh and Henning, Gershevitch demonstrated through a mathematical equation that the cut was due to a blind faith in the 258 Axiom, and the belief that the five-century-old calendar (which was the Seleucid calendar) actually began when Zoroaster revealed his religion.[476]

Year 538	=	**258 years**	+	14 years	+	266 years
Ardashir's ascension date in the Seleucid calendar (equated with the Zoroaster era)		Between Zoroaster and the death of Darius III		Reign of Alexander		Reduced Arsacid rule

Table 3 - Equation showing how Arsacid rule was decreased as per the 258 Axiom

Where I differ with the aforementioned scholars is on the reason the starting point of the Seleucid calendar (i.e., 312 BC) was adopted for the beginning of the Zoroastrian era. Whereas they believe that the turmoil following Alexander's conquest produced such confusion that later priests erroneously thought the 312 BC epoch date could not be anything but the year Zoroaster revealed his Religion, I have advocated that this was a deliberate attempt by the Zoroastrian priesthood to bring back one more trophy to their camp: They simply claimed that the starting point of this long existing calendar was the date of the introduction of Zoroastrianism, rather than the victory of a forgotten and

[474] Mas`udi 1386, 93.
[475] Gnoli 2000, 154; Mas`udi 1386, 87-88.
[476] For detailed reasoning, see Gershevitch 1995, 6-7, and also Taqizadeh 1947, 34-38, where the latter provides full explanation and extensive data on how the Seleucid era was equated with the tenth millennium of the Zoroaster era. See also Henning 1949, 38-39.

foreign Seleucid king.[477] It is very much in line with other appropriations—or rather misappropriations—that the Zoroastrian clergy undertook after the demise of the Achaemenids, in order to inflate the importance of their religion.[478]

Be that as it may, only faith and dogma can trump common sense in such a fashion. And since dogma does not develop overnight, the "258 Axiom" must have been well established by the time Ardashir rose to power. And yet there are many today who, because of their own dogmatic belief in an early date for Zoroaster, deflect this essential argument by claiming that "it's a Sasanian forgery." But one cannot claim forgery without explaining a beneficial motive.[479] The 258 dating offered no advantage, and only intervened as a constraint. It forced the Sasanians to wipe out more than half of Arsacid history, which many Iranians still remembered then. Rather than having a benefit, it brought *ridicule*, and that is not a good motive.

XI.8 - Negation of Facts

Against all of the above, a trend was initiated by some Avestologists to rationalize the antiquity of the *Avesta,* through comparative philological considerations. But as Gershevitch has argued, philology is not an exact science and the development speed of languages can vary.[480] English, for instance, which is an offshoot of Germanic languages, has evolved more than present day German, and Persian more than Afghani. In addition, I had argued that out of respect for tradition and/or to impress their followers, men of religion have always favored an archaistic or mysterious language. If one stumbles on a copy of *Divinus Perfectionis Magister* (dated Jan. 25th, 1983) by the late Pope John Paul II, one cannot declare it to be a very old document on the basis that no one spoke Latin in twentieth century Italy. The priestly style of the *Avesta* is archaistic but not necessarily archaic or ancient.

Philology, does not, and cannot, offer a methodology for measuring the evolution speed of languages. The only way to establish the date of the *Avesta* is to establish a correspondence between its text and historical events, a task at which the proponents of Avestan antiquity have miserably failed. They rely on a series of quotations by Greek authors who either propose that Zoroaster lived "6000 years before Xerxes's passage of

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[477] Soudavar 2012b, 69.
[478] Soudavar 2012b, 64-69.
[479] For instance, the reclaiming of the Seleucid calendar. Misrepresenting an event that was initiated five centuries earlier by a foreign ruler, gave added prestige to Zoroastrians and thus provided an incentive for forgery.
[480] Gershevitch 1995: 2-3

Hellespont in 480 BC" (as per Xanthos of Lydia, and Eudoxus of Cnidus) or "5000 years before the fall of Troy" (as per Hermodorus, Theopompus, and Plutarch), which are unrealistic numbers and beyond the historical horizon of any Greek philosopher.[481] Gherardo Gnoli, who has thoroughly analyzed these quotations, shows how, based on the Zoroastrian millenary concept, the Greeks were told that Zoroaster's *fravashi,* or primordial spirit, was conceived some 6000 years before his material birth.[482] What remains to be explained is how modern scholars use it in order to establish a circa 1000-BC date for Zoroaster. That is done, unfortunately, by quoting the principle of *lectio facilior* (the easier reading), which they take to mean: If a number bothers you, change it to what suits you! Thus, they conveniently quote Xanthos alone, and correct the 6000 to 600 by suggesting scribal error. But how can anybody argue that the accounts of four or five *different* Greek authors, from *different* centuries and *different* places, were subject to the same scribal error that added an extra zero to all of them? It seems that anything goes when defending the indefensible (see also Appendix II/7).

In the same way that Ardashir and the Zoroastrian priesthood had a dogmatic belief in the "258 Axiom," the 1000-BC dating of the *Avesta* has become a dogma that has blinded many modern specialists. Unable to counter historical and philological arguments, they deflect them by falling back on an erroneous suggestion by Boyce that the Avestan people were "stone-age people with only a confused notion of the distinction between stone and metal objects," which Malandra has demonstrated to be based on false assumptions and without merit.[483] But then came the discovery by anthropologists that the proto-Indo-Aryans, on their route to India, had settled down in the second millennium in an area that is situated between present day Uzbekistan and northern Afghanistan, known as the "Bactria Margiana Archaeological Complex," or BMAC.[484] In the emblematic BMAC, the believers in the antiquity of the *Avesta* claim to have found the missing link that justifies their theory, even though there is absolutely no tangible link between any of the BMAC characteristics and those of the *Avesta.* More importantly, a

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[481] Gnoli 2000, 47-48.
[482] The millenary conception alloted four 3000-year segments for the evolution of the world, and as per *Dk VII.2.16-17*, Zoroaster's *fravashi,* or primordial spirit, had been conceived at the end of the first segment, some 6000 years before his material birth at the end of the 3rd segment. *Dk V.2.1* adds the precision that he was then fashioned in a pure spiritual state, in pure light, similar to the Ameshaspentas.
[483] Malandra 2003: 273.
[484] Parpola 2002, 246-47.

text that talks about *quadrigae* or four-horsed chariots, as does the *Avesta* in *Y.57.27, Yt.5.13*, and *Yt.10.125*, can hardly be about primitive or Stone Age people.[485]

Again, in lieu of countering this objection, they switch to another issue: How come there are no names and personas in the *Avesta* that correspond to historical figures? That—we shall argue—is an irrelevant question, because, most of the *Avesta* was conceived for the purpose of empowering the Zoroastrian priesthood, and therefore, all those who could cast a shadow on Ahura Mazdā or Zoroaster were deliberately left out. Nevertheless, the *Avesta* does have names that relate to the Achaemenid period, and does incorporate concepts that clearly postdate the Achaemenid era. But one must set aside dogma in order to detect them and understand their purpose.

XI.9 - The Empowerment of Ahura Mazdā and Zoroaster

While the archaistic language of the *Avesta* is of no help to situate it in time, the fabricated aspects of certain themes can be revelatory. And the most important element in this respect is how the essentially tribal concept of *khvarenah* is incorporated in the *Avesta*'s theological framework, how it is referenced, how it is labeled, and whether the outcome is logically sound.

In the Gathas, Zoroaster uses the word *khvarenah* only once (in *Y.51.18*), with "auspiciousness" as its meaning. But in the non-Gathic *Avesta,* what jumps to the eye is the "Mazdā-created" refrain that qualifies the word *khvarenah* each time it is mentioned. Such overemphasis is often an indication to the contrary, even more so when accompanied by inconsistencies and contradictions. Indeed, as the "creator" of the *khvarenah*, the all-powerful Ahura Mazdā must be able to exert continuous control over its creation. In the *Avesta,* however, it's Mithra who bestows the *khvarenah* and the one who can take it back, while Apam Napāt is the one who guards it underwater, in its non-active phase; Ahura Mazdā does not, and cannot, interfere with their functions.

The most blatant contradiction, though, appears in the *Farvardin Yasht* where Ahura Mazdā is in need of the *khvarenah* of the *fravashis* of the Righteous to carry out various functions such as protecting Anāhitā (*Yt.13.4*) or the Earth (*Yt.13.9*). In another instance, in *Yt.13.12*, he even avows that if it weren't for the help of the *fravashis*—presumably through their *khvarenah*—he wouldn't have been able to protect the good people and beneficial animals. Logically, a god cannot be in need of what he can create. While "Mazdā-created" labels were added to project the omnipotence of Ahura Mazdā, all

[485] Soudavar 2010a, 113.

contradictions could not be ironed out. Contradictory notions were bound to appear in a manipulated text that was orally transmitted and not in writing.

By the same token, the strong concentration of the "Mazdā-created" label in some of the liturgies, such as *Y.4* and *Y.6,* seems to be an attempt to attribute to Ahura Mazdā, the creation of entities that may have been previously associated with rival deities. In *Y.4.10*, for instance, where the "Mazdā-created Waters" are praised in the same sentence as the aquatic deity Apam Napāt (whose name meant Child of the Waters), the label was introduced to sever the creation ties of Apam Napāt with the Waters. In dry areas such as the Iranian plateau, water is looked upon as the primary source of life, and in the polytheistic pre-Zoroastrian environment, the creator deity of choice would have naturally been an aquatic one.[486] In Zoroastrianism though, it had to be Ahura Mazdā. Apam Napāt had to be eliminated or demoted before Ahura Mazdā could be exalted. We are, therefore, lucky that in *Yt.19.52*, its author inadvertently characterises Apam Napāt with a legend of old, "who created men, who shaped men," which qualified him as a creator.[487] Without this slip of the tongue we may have never been able to grasp the real reason behind Apam Napāt's demotion: He had creative powers that clashed with those of Ahura Mazdā, whom Zoroastrianism was promoting as a unique creator.

Like Ahura Mazdā, Zoroaster too had to be empowered, for, the more powerful their prophet was, the more powerful the priesthood could become. Some of Zoroastrian writings reveal this thought process. In a laudatory exegesis of the ancient hymn of *Ahuna Vairya*, for instance, the author of *Y.19* ties the lot of the priesthood—qualified as *ratu*s (guides, masters)—to that of Zoroaster, qualified as *ahu* (lord), and explains that they were both created at the dawn of Creation in order to present the virtues of Ahura Mazdā to the people (see appendix II, *Y.19.12*). Within this perspective, they were bound to seek for their prophet the ultimate prize, i.e., the Aryan *khvarenah*. To do so, they claimed it indirectly in *Yt.5 & Yt.19*, within the story of Jamshid and through the mouth of one of its protagonists, the Turānian Afrāsiyāb (Frangrasyan). In that story, after Jamshid lost the *khvarenah*, it flew away and was hidden underwater by Apam Napāt; then came Afrāsiyāb who repeatedly tried to recover it (*Yt.5.42, Yt.19.57-60*), but was unsuccessful, and uttered each time:

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[486] In New Persian, the word *āb* (water) has generated a number of words such as *ābādāni* (developed areas), attesting to the essentiality of water for growth and prosperity.
[487] Boyce 1986.

> "I have not been able to conquer the *khvarenah* that belongs to the Aryan nations—to the born and the unborn (i.e., now and forever)—and to the holy Zoroaster"[488]

The problem though is that Jamshid's myth precedes Zoroaster because he himself alludes to it in his Gathas (*Y32.8*). Furthermore, in *Vendidad* 2.2, Ahura Mazdā tells Zoroaster that Jamshid was the *first* man he ever talked to, i.e., much before Zoroaster.[489] It was therefore impossible for Afrāsiyāb to have known Zoroaster, in order to attribute the Aryan *khvarenah* to him.

Moreover, by allocating the Aryan *khvarenah* to Zoroaster, the priesthood had to devise another one for kings. They thus created the Kayānid one, supposedly inferior to the Aryan one, as the attribute of the Achaemenids whom they referred to as the Kavis (see sec. XI.15). But as we saw, the tribal concept of *khvarenah* was deep-rooted in Persian culture, and the two appellations were considered one and the same by ordinary people, whether qualified as Aryan or Kayānid by the priesthood (sec. X.8).

Interestingly, Afrāsiyāb gave to Zoroaster what he avowed belonging to the Aryan nations. He thus shifted the recipient of the tribal Aryan *khvarenah* from temporal leaders to a religious one. If Zoroaster was to possess the Aryan *khvarenah,* he would indeed be more powerful than all temporal rulers. This new world order was explicitly projected in *Y.19.18*, where Zoroaster sits on top of a hierarchical pyramid of community leaders (see appendix II):

> *Y*19.18 "(Question) who are the leaders? (Answer) They are the masters of the house, of the village, of the tribe, of the nation, and Zarathushtra is the fifth"

A similar hierarchy is cited by A.D.H. Bivar, in an attempt to highlight different borrowings from "Mithraism."[490] It appears in the Mehr Yasht (*Yt.10.115*), where Mithra is hailed as "master of the house, of the village, of the tribe, of the nation, of the *zarathushtrot.*" The polity above "nation" is thus named *zarathushtrot*, or Zoroaster's domain. Supposedly, it's the same polity that Zoroaster is implicitly ruling in *Y.19.18*, where he's designated as a super king, above all nation-chiefs. The question that then comes to mind is: Who copied whom and which one came first?

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[488] In *Yt.18*, the Aryan *khvarenah* is both qualified as *airiianəm x^{v}arenō* (i.e. the Aryan *khvarenah*) and *airiianąm x^{v}arenō* (i.e. the *khvarenah* of the Aryans). The formula here, of a *khvarenah* that is emphasized to forever belong to the Aryan nations, is just a more explicit way of describing the same concept (I am indebted to the late Xavier Tremblay for this clarification).
[489] The myth of Yima can in fact be traced back to the Indo-European heritage; Malandra 1983, 175.
[490] Bivar 2005, 344.

It seems rather self-evident that in a hymn dedicated to the god Mithra, the ultimate realm of this important deity should not be confined to, or capped by, the domain of a mortal, i.e., Zoroaster. Therefore, the designation "master of *zarathushtrot*" must be replacing an older title of Mithra, one that Bivar argues to have been *khshathra-pati.*[491] He relies on the Xanthos inscriptions,[492] as well as analogy with a pentad of divinities in Māni's *Shāpurgān.* This pentad is modelled after the hierarchy presented in *Y.19.18*, and is listed as: 1- *mānbed* (house-chief), 2- *visbed* (village-chief), 3- *zanbed* (tribe-chief), 4- *dehbed* (nation-chief), 5- "*pahragbed*." Bivar who translated the 5th position ("*pahragbed"*) as "lord of the frontier-post," sees it as "out of place" in a "sequence of widening territorial responsibilities." But if this 5th position is corrected to *pahlav-bed* (the *w* and *g* are almost identical in written MP), it would refer to a super-*pahlav* (i.e., a super commander) of the caliber of the original *khshathra-pati*. In the Manichean context, the title of the ultimate Manichean leader was changed to *pahlav-bed*, or "commander in chief,"[493] whereas in Zoroastrianism, the title *khshathra-pati* (empire-chief) was replaced by "master of Zarathushtrot" and the whole world became the appanage of Zoroaster.

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
Yt.10.115	*nmān(-iia ratuuō)*	*vīs*	*zaṇtu*	*daxiiu*	*zaraθuštrōt* (replacing *kshathra)*
Y19.18	*nmān (-iio ratuuō)*	*vīs*	*zaṇtu*	*daxiiu*	*Zaraθuštrō*'s realm
Shāpurgān	*mān (-bed)*	*vis*	*zan*	*deh*	*pahlav-bed'*s realm

This 5-level hierarchy was based on an archetype that probably originated with the ancient hymn to Mithra, and was subsequently used by whoever wanted to empower his own prophet. All he had to do was change the definition at the top level (level 5) by substituting one to his liking. Interestingly, not only does the title *khshathra-pati* no longer appear in this—doctored—stanza of Mehr Yasht, but it was scratched from the whole of the *Avesta.* As a result, the highest temporal title that we can find in Zoroastrian texts is *dahyu-pati*, or nation-chief, which is applied to Vishtāspa, the friendly "king" of Zoroastrianism.[494] In a system where Zoroaster was supposed to be the ultimate ruler, the

[491] Bivar 2005, 344; Boyce: *www.iranchamber.com/religions/articles/mithra_khsathrapati_ahura.php*
[492] The Xanthos inscriptions are situated in Antalya; an area that was conquered by Cyrus's Median general Harpagus, who was instrumental in propagating pre-Zoroastrian Mithraic ideology in Asia Minor.
[493] This Manichean substitution confirms once more the importance of the *pahlav* in the Sasanian era, one akin to a local ruler or army commander.
[494] Soudavar 2012b, 71.

title *khshathra-pati* (empire-chief) had to be suppressed. These misappropriations of *Yt.10.115* and *Y.19.18* reveal a deliberate attempt to tilt the balance of power from kingship to religion. While kings were driven down, Zoroaster was pushed up to become a universal leader. The more Zoroaster was made powerful, the more his priesthood benefitted from his prestige. It was no different in Christianity; the more divine Jesus became the more important his clergy became. Zoroaster was in essence declared "King of Kings" or "King of All Lands," as Cyrus, and before him, the Assyrian kings had claimed to be. But this kingly Zoroaster is nowhere mentioned in Achaemenid inscriptions, nor does he or a Zoroastrian priest ever appear in Achaemenid iconography.

If the *Avesta* was as ancient as Kellens suggests, it would have already been canonized by the Achaemenid era. Zoroastrian priests had a daily obligation to recite its verses and to orally transmit them to their disciples. Imagine priests regularly chanting that Zoroaster was a super king. It was incompatible with the Achaemenids' claim to be *khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām* (King of Kings). Darius would have cut their tongues, noses, and ears off, as he did with those who had challenged his supremacy in Bisotun.

Even worse, imagine Darius was told that it was actually Zoroaster who possessed the Aryan *khvarenah*, and therefore, he could no longer use "Arya *chisa*" in his titulature. The rebellious satrap of Ionia, Datames (385–362 BC), who dared to portray himself with a symbol of *khvarenah* above his head, paid dearly with his life. The claim of *khvarenah* and sovereignty—for any other person but the Great King—was an affront that could not be tolerated. And that is why Zoroaster's exalted position in *Y.19.18* could not have been derived from an earlier tradition, for it could never pass through, and survive, the Achaemenid era.

The attempt to empower the priesthood, at the expense of kingship, could have only happened in the chaotic environment following Alexander's conquest; probably in the Seleucid era when Iran was ruled by Hellenic rulers who neither understood the *Avesta,* nor cared about how the Iranians reinterpreted ancient hymns. Such a supposition is strengthened by the fact that a similar power shift occurred in the chaotic situation that appeared in Iran after the fall of the Safavids and under the Afghan occupation. It provided the Shiite clergy with the opportunity to develop theories that gave them power at the expense of kingship, the ultimate manifestation of which is the theory of *Velāyat-e Faqih*, the backbone of the Islamic Republic of Iran.[495]

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[495] The steps undertaken by the Shiite clergy are very similar. 1) In lieu of Zoroaster, the position of the 12th Imam, the Mahdi, was exalted so as to be the ultimate savior of the world. 2) In the occultation period, the

XI.10 - The Zoroaster Seal

I believe that a seal from the Cabinet des Médailles at the BNF seals the discussion on the dating of the *Avesta* (Figs. 201, 232a-b).[496] For Alberto Cantera, the importance of this seal stems from the fact that it's the earliest representation of a Zoroastrian priest (on the right) performing the ritual of "sacrifice" to the fire as described in the *Nerangestān*.[497] Frantz Grenet qualifies it as the *ābzohr* ritual, and observes that the engraver has astutely placed a circle at the end of the stick held by the priest, in order to depict the spoon holding the holy liquid that had to be offered to the fire.[498]

Fig. 201 - The Zoroaster seal imprint (Bordreuil 1986, p. 104)

Fig. 202 - *Pārsa* king by the fire altar. Qizqapan (web)

Fig. 203 - Darius. Nemrud Dagh

Fig. 204 - Coin of Datames (web)

While there is no specificity pertaining to the priest on the right, the dignified status of the figure on the left is emphasized through a number of visual devices and conventions. First and foremost are two indicators—an inscription and a winged symbol—crammed together and placed above the head of the left figure. They are clearly meant to reveal his identity. Of the two, the more significant one is the winged symbol, which was a universally recognized regal emblem, and a symbol of the Aryan *khvarenah* in the Achaemenid context. In all of the Zoroastrian literature, the only religious personality said to be endowed with the Aryan *khvarenah* is Zoroaster himself. Not even the Sasanian high priest Kerdir ever pretended to be blessed with the *khvarenah,* let alone the Aryan *khvarenah*, the most important source of regal power.

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marja`-e taqlid, or the worthy-of-being-followed cleric, is man's only valid interlocutor on the Mahdi's behalf; to prepare the ground, these clerics must rule under the *Velāyat-e Faqih* umbrella.

[496] Bordreuil 1986, p. 104. I am indebted to Alberto Cantera for sending me the reference for this seal, and to Mss. M. Avisseau-Brousset and M. Pic for allowing me to take a picture of it.

[497] As per the paper he presented at the Collège de France on Nov. 7, 2013.

[498] Frantz Grenet is actually the one who wrote the entry for this seal in the Bordreuil catalog.

The left side of the BNF seal is in fact a vivid rendering of Zoroaster as universal ruler, for not only is he named ZRTŠTRŠ (Zoroaster) and endowed with the winged symbol of the *khvarenah*, but he also wears regal attire. Indeed, the overcoat he dons is a symbol of rulership: The rebel satrap Datames wears it, while seated on a throne and holding a bow and arrow as a sign of his sovereignty (Fig. 204); it is also worn by the elderly ruler in Qizqapan who holds a bow next to the fire altar (Fig. 202); and by Xerxes and Darius as ancestors of Antiochus in Nemrud Dagh (Fig. 203).[499] As for the *barsom* that the left figure holds in his hand, it does not indicate actual participation in the ceremony, but was an insignia of the authority under which the fire ceremony was conducted. If Mithra holds the *barsom* in Tāq-e Bostān (Fig. 185), it is not to depict him as a performing priest, but as the nominal head of fire ceremonies in addition to his role as the purveyor of *khvarenah*.

What needs to be emphasized, however, is the fact that the engraver of the seal did not use the winged symbol as a mere decorative device, but in full recognition of its significance. Same is true for Datames who claimed sovereignty by using the symbol of the *khvarenah* after two consecutive victories over Persian troops sent by Artaxerxes II (r. 404–359) to quell his rebellion. No vassal or subject of the Great King was allowed such a pretense; it was at odds with Achaemenid kingly ideology, and Datames had to be eliminated. Since it could not be done on the battlefield, Artaxerxes had him assassinated.

In sum, neither could Datames last as a sovereign within the Achaemenid Empire, nor could a holy text that gave the Aryan *khvarenah* to a person other than the Great King pass through the Achaemenid era. The *Avesta* could have only been assembled in the post-Achaemenid period.[500]

XI.11 - Changing the Kingly Chronology

The chronological oddities that the Zoroastrian priesthood created weren't only confined to the reduction of the Arsacids' length of reign. They inevitably created one each time they tampered with historical data, and simultaneously upheld the 258 time bracket between "the coming of the Religion and the reign of Alexander." One should note that the 258 Axiom had no *positive* implications whatsoever, but acted as a negative constraint that only highlighted the implausibility of their chronological tampering. Thus, when the priesthood decided to alter the chronological tables by wiping out "enemy"

[499] None of the priestly figures in Persepolis wear a long coat.
[500] The entry by Frantz Grenet in the BNF catalogue is mistyped as 4th century AD. Grenet believed that the seal was of the Achaemenid era (personal communication).

kings and plugging in spurious "friendly" ones, the 258 Axiom forced them to come up with implausible regnal years. As a result, the *Bondahesh* (XXXVI, 8) provides the following chronology: [501]

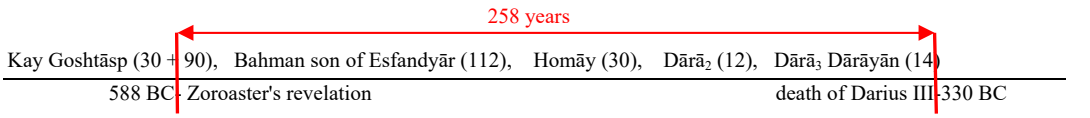

In looking at this string of regnal years, the first question that comes to mind is: How can anybody, let alone learned Zoroastrian priests, accept that a man's reign could last 120 years? Secondly: What happened to Cyrus, Cambyses, Xerxes and the Artaxerxeses? And thirdly: Who are Goshtāsp and Homāy for whom we otherwise have no historical evidence that they ever ruled. The answer to all three is that those who tabulated this chronology had no concern for historical veracity, but wished to engage in "religious cleansing" by which perceived enemies were suppressed while friendly-but-spurious rulers were inserted. In this quest, the 258 Axiom acted as a spoiler once again. Since they could not find enough "friends" to fill the void created by the suppression of supposed enemies in the 258 time bracket, the reigns of the remaining figures had to be inflated beyond plausibility.

If we go back 258 years from the death of Darius III (named as Dārā-ye Dārāyān), we reach the year 588 BC, which supposedly coincides with the 30th regnal year of Kay Goshtāsp. Goshtāsp, who is the Kavi Vishtāspa of the *Avesta,* is thus a contemporary of Darius's father, Vishtāspa, and therefore the same person. Although he never reigned, he was inserted in the list while Astyages, and his progenies, namely Cyrus and Cambyses, were suppressed. As I have argued elsewhere, the suppression of these three was mainly due to the sin that Astyages had committed: He had chased Zoroaster from his lands. Vishtāspa, on the other hand, had harbored him and was, therefore, praiseworthy.[502]

The list reflects the Zoroastrian priesthood's view of the Achaemenids. By their absence, many must have been considered unsympathetic to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, especially Artaxerxes II and III who invoked Mithra in their inscriptions. Darius, who so fervently promoted Ahura Mazdā but never mentioned Zoroaster, is called Bahman (*vohu manah,* of good thoughts); Ernst Herzfeld had already guessed in 1935 that Darius's full

[501] Dādāgī 1990, 156; see footnote 470 supra.
[502] Soudavar 2012b, 64-69.

name meant or evoked "*dāraya-vohumanah*," (he who has good thoughts).[503] What's more, Darius I's namesake, Darius II, is described in the *Bondahesh* list as "Dārā$_2$ son of Chihr-āzād *who is Bahman*."[504] Darius II is thus declared to be son of Chihr-āzād, who is immediately identified with Bahman (alias Darius I). Clearly, Darius I's epithet of *chihr-āryā* (endowed with the Aryan Light) was switched to *chihr-āzād* (endowed with the Light of the brave), since, in the meantime, the Aryan *farr* had been allocated to Zoroaster.[505] As for Darius III, he had to be mentioned because Alexander needed an adversary to wrest the Persian Empire from; he figures as Dārā-ye Dārāyān (Dārā$_3$, son of Dārā$_2$). While Dārā$_3$ corresponds to a real historical figure, and Dārā$_2$ relates name wise (but not date wise) to the historical Darius II, Bahman is a semi-real character conceived as an amalgam of Darius I with most of his missing successors. As a result, he is credited with a 112-year-long reign.

The mystery person of the list is the enigmatic queen Homāy, who is qualified as *Bahman-dokht* (daughter of Bahman). In trying to reconcile Greek sources with later Perso-Arabic chronicles, I had produced, in a previous study, a table that explained various Achaemenid relationships, and shed some light on the presence of four women named Homāy (Gr. Amytis, OP Umati, Av. Humaiti) in a short period of time, including one who was a daughter of Vishtāspa—therefore sister to Darius. The presence of so many Homāy/Amytis had been a source of much confusion, for past historians as well as modern ones. The one that Zoroastrians were likely to honor was obviously Vishtāspa's daughter who had a close relationship with Zoroaster. It's alluded to by more than one source, including the *Avesta* (*Yt.13.139*) where her name appears as Humaiti, right after her own mother Atossa (Hutaosā), and after Zoroaster's wife Hvovi, within a list of people to be praised in prayers.[506] Confounded by the existence of so many women

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[503] Herzfeld 1935, 40, more elaborated in Herzfeld 1947, 96-98. In trying to argue that Achaemenid names were inspired by the *Avesta,* Kellens reiterates the same, that Darius's name stem (OP *dārayavāu-*) is inspired by *Y.31.7* (*dāraiiat vahištem (mano)*), meaning "(he who) supports the good thought, " Kellens 2013, 556. It does strengthen our argument that Bahman was Darius's nickname, but to say that the Achaemenids chose their names as a variation of the *Avesta,* is to say that the Prophet Mohammad whose name appears in the Koran was named after the Koran. The *Avesta* and the Achaemenids had a common Iranian heritage and were inevitably linked by a common phraseology and common expressions.

[504] See footnote 470 supra. In Soudavar 2012b (65) I had surmised that the Dārā of the list was an amalgam of Darius I & II, and *chihr-āzād-an* was his epithet. I now prefer to see the suffix *–an* as a sign of affiliation and not an adjective. In either case, *chihr-āzād* was supposed to designate Darius I.

[505] For phonetically similar name changes see Francfurt and Tremblay (2010, 89), and also Soudavar (2012b, 65), where examples from modern day Tehran are given, such as the change of the name of *Vali-`ahd* (crown prince) to *Vali-ye `asr* (the 12th Imam).

[506] Tabari, for instance, confirms this relationship by stating that Homāti was a daughter of Goshtāsp (Vishtāspa); but her name in Arabic (خُماتی) is misspelled as خمانی (Khomāni), Tabari 1996, 2: 477-79.

named Amytis, the author of the *Bondahesh*, simply mistook Darius/Bahman's daughter $Amytis_3$ for his sister $Amytis_2$ (see Table 4).[507]

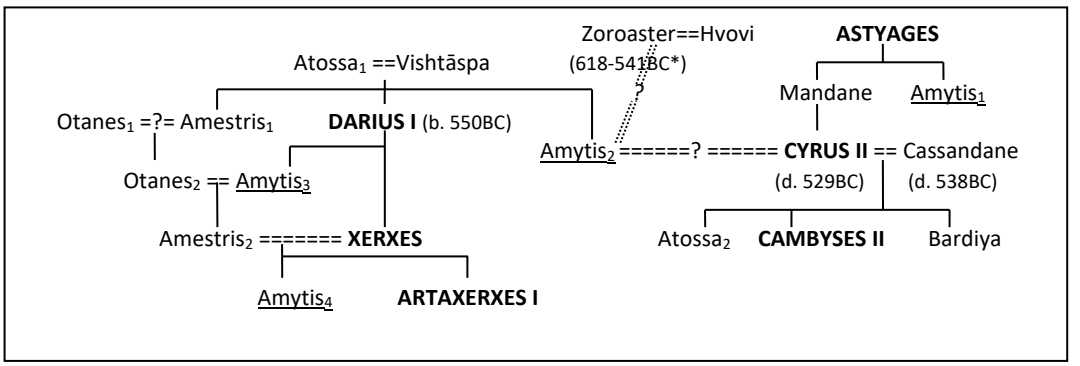

Table 4 – The possible relationship of Zoroaster with Cyrus and Darius through Vishtāspa's daughter $Amytis_2$
(*?* means only one source provides this information, i.e., Ctesias, but concords with much circumstantial evidence)

Ctesias, on the other hand, offers a story cited by no other, which despite being convoluted and garbled, has elements that seem quite pertinent, especially in consideration of the Magophonia massacres that we shall describe later. Ctesias was the court physician of Artaxerxes II, and wrote his *History of the Persians* some twenty years after he returned to his homeland, excerpts of which have survived in second hand accounts, including in the *Persica* of the 9th-century Byzantine ecclesiast, Photius. Errors were bound to creep into this chain of transmission. To begin with, Ctesias's memory must have been less than sharp when writing his observations twenty years after his return. And then, the plethora of repetitive names among the Persians and Medes (see Table 4) must have been confusing to him, as well as later scribes. After weeding out probable mistakes in a previous study, I retained two elements that I thought merited attention, since they could hardly be the fruit of pure imagination or an outright mistake.

[507] The primary information for this table is provided by Herodotus (VII, 61), who describes a commander by the name of Otanes as "father of Xerxes's wife and son of Amestris." This $Otanes_2$ is obviously not the elderly statesman $Otanes_1$, who led the conspiracy against Gaumata, was a contender to the throne, and got privileges that no other Persian had (Her. III.83). If Herodotus's sentence is not clear, it's because $Otanes_2$ was the son of one Amestris and the father of another one. The latter information is provided by Ctesias (fr. 13 §24) who says that "Xerxes married Amestris," the daughter of Otanes (or Onophas as Ctesias spells it), from whom he had a daughter called $Amytis_4$ named "after her grandmother." This last information, in conjunction with Herodotus's statement (V, 116) that a daughter of Darius was married to an $Otanes_2$, indicates that the wife of $Otanes_2$ was also named $Amytis_3$. As for the father of $Otanes_2$, Diodorus mentions that $Otanes_1$ (spelled Anaphas) who was one of the Seven Conspirators, had a successor by the same name.

The first concerns a woman by the name of $Amytis_2$, married initially to a Spitamas (read Spitama), and later to Cyrus II.[508] The name Spitama, being the clan name of Zoroaster, must allude to him. Ctesias's account thus confirms the closeness of Amytis (Homāy) to Zoroaster, and takes it one step further in proposing that they were actually husband and wife. The second is the fact that Cyrus's son Bardiya had an ongoing feud with the usurper magi Gaumāta, and was "put to death by being forced to drink bull's blood." It referred to a practice dear to the Mithraic magi, and one that Zoroaster abhorred (see sec. XVI.3). Bardiya's death is therefore blamed on these magi.

In the *Bondahesh* list, Bardiya is presented as a "semi-friend," not dear enough to be allocated regnal years but good enough to have his name appear as Esfandyār, father of Bahman. Because the reign of Gaumāta—as Bardiya—could not count, the latter is allocated no regnal years. But Ctesias informs us that the magus presented himself as Sphendadates (i.e., Esfandyār, which seems to be the name he adopted when ruling as Bardiya). Like the Esfandyār of the *Shāhnāmeh*, Darius's real father didn't rule either; but being the main supporter of Zoroaster, Vishtāspa is nonetheless included in that list as the most prominent king of the Zoroastrian era. Presenting Bahman (alias Darius) as son of Esfandyār was a clever ploy to allude to the fact that his father never reigned, while citing the name of Bardiya/Esfandyār who had sided against the Median magi and perished at their hands. Bahman's fictitious 112 years of rule is a testimony to Darius's pivotal role in the promotion of Ahura Mazdā, which paved the way for the advent of Zoroastrianism.

Despite its very odd composition, the regnal list of the *Bondahesh* acts as a mirror in which the attitude of the Zoroastrian priesthood toward past kings is reflected. It offers a falsified chronology, which is set according to a specific outlook—who it should include and who not—and a list that had to respect the 258 Axiom at all costs.

XI.12 - Mithra and Apam Napāt

It was in the course of my study of the iconography of the *farr* that I stumbled upon two stanzas of the *Farvardin Yasht* (*Yt.13*) that spoke about Zoroaster's birth and the new era that it ushered in. This new era was defined as a period in which Mithra and Apam Napāt shared the exact same responsibilities for upholding authority and vanquishing rebellion:

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[508] Ctesias's tramsmitted text most likely confuses $Amytis_1$ (wife of Nebuchadnezzar II, see note 587 infra) with $Amytis_2$; Soudavar 2012b, 67-68. There is, however, one other possibility, that as prince of Raga, Zoroaster had first married a daughter of Astyages, was then chased by him, went to Vishtāspa, and married his daughter.

Yt.13:94 *Let us rejoice, for a priestly man is **born**, the Spitamid Zarathushtra...* ***From now on** the good Mazdean Religion will spread through all the seven Climes of the Earth*[509]	birth of Zoroaster
Yt.13:95 ***From now on**, Mithra ... will promote all supreme **authorities** of the nations and will pacify those in **revolt**.* ***From now on,** strong Apam Napāt will promote all the supreme **authorities** of the nations and will subjugate all those in **revolt**.*	political event

Since power and authority emanated from *farr (khvarenah)*, these stanzas portrayed Mithra and Apam Napāt as purveyors of *farr*. The question then is why were there two deities performing the same exact tasks? Mary Boyce has explained that this duplication was because each of them held sway over a different realm: Mithra over daytime and Apam Napāt over nighttime.[510] This duality is also reflected in the Avestan myth of the *farr,* which describes it in two different states. When lost, it was kept in a dormant and dark state underwater, and its guardian was the aquatic god Apam Napāt; when resurrected, it shone like the sun and was bestowed by Mithra. In tandem, these two deities controlled the full cycle of the *farr*, from darkness to light and from sea to sky, and conveyed power and authority. A higher degree of *farr*, or *farreh-afzun,* could only be projected through symbols and repeat patterns, and to do so, many *khvarenah/farr* symbols had to be devised.

Fig. 205 -The *hamisheh beshgofteh* flower (web)

The most widely used symbols of the *khvarenah* were the sunflower (*gol-e hamisheh beshgofteh*) and the lotus (Fig. 205). As per the *Bondahesh*, the former was the symbol of Mithra and the latter the symbol of Apam Napāt—or aquatic gods (*ābān*) in general. Because of their appearance and their surroundings, one in the mountains and the other in water ponds, they were ideally suited to represent a sun god as well as an aquatic one.[511] As such, Mithra standing over a lotus flower in the victory relief of Shāpur II over Julian projects the full backing of the purveyors of *khvarenah* for the Sasanian king (Fig. 206).

[509] For further comments on this see note 517 infra.
[510] Boyce 1986.
[511] The *Bondahesh* names Mithra's flower as *hamag-wiškōfag*; Pakzad 2005, 219. In New Persian it translates as *gol-e hamisheh beshgofteh* or *hamisheh-bahār*, which is a sunflower with orange petals (Calendula persica), and grows *above* 2500m altitude; see //fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/گل همیشه بهار; also, Soudavar 2003, 55.

Fig. 206 - Shāpur II's rock relief. Tāq-e Bostān.

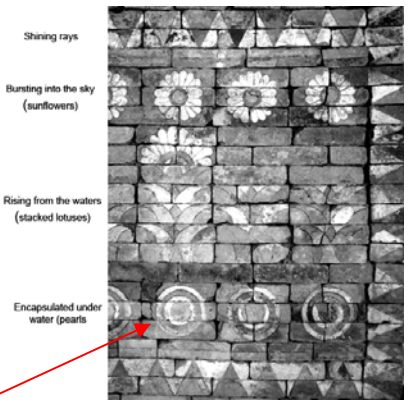

Fig. 207 - The cycle of the *khvarenah*. Persepolis

Fig. 208 - The encapsulated *khvarenah* depicted as a pearl engulfed in waves. Brick panel from Susa, Louvre.

Fig. 209 - The *khvarenah* symbol guarded by two sphinxes. Brick panel from Susa. Louvre.

Whereas, the Zoroastrian texts do not elaborate on the *khvarenah*, certain iconographical representations admirably complement the little information that is divulged in the *Avesta* about this very important concept. A brick panel from Persepolis, for instance, represents the full cycle of the *khvarenah*, from its encapsulated underwater state to its burst in the sky through stacked lotuses (Fig. 207). The ideal capsule in the underwater stage is of course the pearl because of its spherical perfection as well as its shiny surface.[512] A brick panel from Susa shows capsules, similar to those of Fig. 207, engulfed in water waves (Fig. 208). They can only be pearls. Sunflower, lotus and pearl come together in other brick compositions from Susa, attesting that these elements are homogenous in purpose, and all associated to one another. Finally, inspired by the presence of the flying-discus or

[512] As the guardian of the pearl (i.e., *farr*), Apam Napāt was often represented by a shell, see note 692.

flying-globe symbols in neighboring countries, especially Egypt, Darius picked as his principal symbol of *khvarenah,* a winged emblem that carried the *khvarenah* capsule on its chest (Fig. 209). It depicts the bird *vareγna* that had carried the *khvarenah*—lost by Jamshid—to Apam Napāt. The image of *vareγna* with the *khvarenah* capsule in its chest conveyed that it had not departed, but resided in the king's palace. And to further emphasize this point, two sphinxes were placed underneath as guards. If it was guarded, it had not departed.[513]

But, *Yt.13.94-95* clearly pegged Zoroaster's birth date to a political event: The time when Mithra and Apam Napāt were paired up to uphold authority and vanquish rebellion in a plurality of nations. The two underlined words pointed to the formation of an empire, which could only be that of the Median Empire toward the end of the 7th century BC. Such a conclusion is in perfect harmony with the 258 Axiom since it gives us a circa 618 BC birth date for Zoroaster. The validity of this deductive process, I had argued, was further strengthened by two independent observations. The first was purely iconographic: the pairing of the lotus and the sunflower (Fig. 210), as emblems of Mithra and Apam Napāt, occurred circa 7-6th century BC, confirming once more that these two deities were integrated into the Median kingly ideology at the time when the Medes created a vast empire after sacking Assyria and subjugating Urartu.

Fig. 210 - Kalmākareh plate. 7th century BC (Soudavar 2003, 167)

The second was explanatory; it provided a context for Darius's insistence on having his orders carried out by "day and by night" (*DB* §7-8). Indeed, it is rather odd for a king to emphasize such a point, as kingly orders are absolute and must not be constrained by time. This oddity can only be explained against the foil of a Median concept that considered night and day as two separate realms, one governed by Mithra and the other by Apam Napāt. Darius's monotheistic vision of a world presided by Ahura Mazdā alone, required an amalgamation of the two.[514]

In sum, these two stanzas of the *Avesta* that announce the auspicious birth of Zoroaster, not only situate it at the end of the 7th century BC, but also open a vista into the Median kingly ideology dominated by Mithra and Apam Napāt. They had developed such strong

[513] Soudavar 2003, 96-101, 174.
[514] Soudavar 2010a, 127.

ties with the *farr* that neither Darius's monotheistic fervor, nor subsequent Zoroastrian priests' attempts to link the *farr* to Ahura Mazdā, could easily sever those ties.

XI.13 - Celebrating Zoroaster's Birth

The fall of Assyria was a landmark in the history of the region, especially for the Iranian nations. For centuries, the Assyrians had bullied their neighbors, plundered their cities, and taken their entire population hostage. Victory over the Assyrians brought enormous prestige to the Medes. They had led the coalition that fought against them, and became a superpower overnight with an empire that stretched from Assyria to Afghanistan. Their fame was such that all neighboring countries sought matrimonial alliances with them. Thus, the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar II (r. 605-562 BC) married Astyages's daughter, while Croesus (r. 560-547 BC), king of Lydia, and Tigran (r. 560-535 BC), king of Armenia, gave their sisters to Astyages.[515]

Among hagiographers, it is almost standard practice to ascertain that the birth of prophets, or great rulers, ushered in a new era of peace, prosperity and justice. Iranian Moslem theologians, for instance, fabricated a *hadith* by which the Prophet Mohammad had proudly proclaimed that "I was born during the time of the most just king," alluding to the reign of the Sasanian Khosrow I (r. 531-79) renowned for his justice.[516] In so doing, they were associating the Prophet's birth with an era of justice, and at the same time moving the centre of gravity of the Islamic empire closer to the Iranian lands.

Since Zoroaster was born a few years before the Medes' victory over the Assyrians, that momentous event had to be credited to his birth. The problem was that the victors, i.e. the Medes, were Zoroaster's enemies, and had been wiped out of history. The solution the priesthood found was a clever one because it alluded to the event without mentioning the Medes. Indeed, as part of the Median propaganda, Mithra and Apam Napāt must have been introduced throughout the empire, and their symbols must have adorned many a monument or object, in lieu of Assyrian gods. The Medes' victory caused the rise in popularity of these two deities in tandem, which *Yt.13.94-95* credit to the auspicious birth of Zoroaster, along with the spread of the Mazdean Religion.[517] It's in line with other

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[515] Schmitt 1987; Khorenats`i 1978, 114.

[516] (ولدت فی زمن الملک العادل انوشیروان), Majlesi 1983, 5:250, 254, 275.

[517] Kellens notes (Kellens 1994, 167) that the expression *daēnā māzdaiiasni* in *Yt.13.94*, can only be translated as "Mazdean Religion" since *daenā* took the meaning of "religion" in the Young *Avesta.* But then, to justify the appearance of Mithra in the following stanza, he proposes a common auroral association between this divinity and the *daēnā*. As a result, he misses the hagiographic aspect of these stanzas that were supposed to glorify the birth of Zoroaster in light of the good things he supposedly ushered into this world.

attempts by the priesthood to aggrandize Zoroaster, and irrefutably ties his birth to the Median victories.

XI.14 - The non-Zoroastrian Achaemenid Calendar

If Zoroaster had existed some five centuries earlier, surely Zoroastrian priests would have established their own calendar. And yet, the calendar months that Darius uses in Bisotun are essentially non-Zoroastrian.[518] What's more, its seventh month was named *baγa-yadish* (i.e. god-worship) in which *baγa* (god) implicitly referred to Mithra, and thus made him—and not Ahura Mazdā—the god *par excellence* of that calendar.[519] This only confirms that prior to Darius, Ahura Mazdā was not the paramount god of the Iranians in Cyrus's empire, and that neither Mazdaism nor Zoroastrianism had had time to develop a calendar.

At a conference in Krakow (2011), I questioned Jean Kellens on how he would explain the supremacy of Mithra in the Achaemenid calendar, in a supposedly Zoroastrian environment; he pushed it aside by saying that calendars were agricultural in essence and devoid of political value. I beg to differ. Like coinage, an official calendar had a utilitarian aspect but was also a political instrument that reflected the state's religious ideology. That is why, upon ascent to the throne, the Sasanian Ardashir not only modified his coinage but also the basis of his calendar.

As Kellens himself acknowledges, the Achaemenid calendar was in use at least until the year 459 in Persepolis, whereas the first inscription bearing traces of the new Zoroastrian calendar is only datable to the reign of the last of the Seleucids, Antiochus Soter (d. 261 BC).[520] This strengthens our argument that only the post-Alexander period gave the priesthood the opportunity to manipulate religious hymns and the calendar, in order to buttress its position in the political arena.

XI.15 - Zoroastrianism in the Achaemenid Era

On the gold plaques of Darius's forefathers (Arsames and Ariaramnes), Ahura Mazdā is already evoked as the ultimate deity who lent his support to the Persian kings (see sec. XI.4). Since the *Avesta* avows that the first "king" to have espoused Zoroastrianism was Vishtāspa (whom we have argued to be Darius's father), Arsames and Ariaramnes couldn't have been Zoroastrian converts even though they worshiped Ahura Mazdā.

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[518] Lecoq 1997, 157.
[519] Herzfeld 1935,40 ; Razmjou 2003:22-24, 31-32; Soudavar 2010a:114.
[520] Kellens 1998, 512.

In Bisotun, Darius attributes his ascent to the throne, and the crushing of his enemies, to the support of Ahura Mazdā. He praises him 72 times but not once does he mention Zoroaster. Not only is Zoroaster never mentioned in any Achaemenid inscription, but no Zoroastrian priest ever appears in Achaemenid iconography. On Achaemenid royal tombs, from Darius onwards, the king stands as a *pārsa,* bow in hand, next to the fire altar. Because of the weapon he holds, and the *padām* he does not wear,[521] he cannot qualify as a Zoroastrian priest. If Zoroastrian priests existed, they certainly did not have the status of the Sasanian-era priest Kerdir to appear next to the king, or to be mentioned in the inscriptions. Ahura Mazdā was thus revered in Persis independent of Zoroaster.[522]

When I first explained the meaning of *pārsa* to the late Xavier Tremblay, he pointed out two anomalies of the *Avesta* that had bothered him for a long time, and for which he had found no explanation: 1) unlike all other priests of the Iranian world, who are called *magu*, the Avestan priest is called *athravan*; 2) despite the fact that the word "king" is derived, in all Iranian languages, from either the root *khshā* (NP *Shāh*) or *rāz* (Old Ind. *Rājā*), no such word exists in the *Avesta*; instead, there was the diminished title of *dahyu-pati (daiŋhu.paiti)* or nation-chief.

Of the two, we have already explained the second one. The kingly titles based on *khsha* were suppressed to allow Zoroaster be the master of the world, above the *dahyu-pati*s. Even the beloved Vishtāspa merited no higher title than *dahyu-pati*. That was the temporal title that Zoroastrian priests gave him when they inserted his name among the *Bondahesh* list of rulers. Zoroaster himself, though, only used the title *kavi* for Vishtāspa. As a word, *kavi* derives from an Indo-Iranian root that also gave the Vedic *kavi* (seer, sacrificer, hymn composer), and must have been used as a generic term to designate priests and shamans, but not kings. The priestly connotation of *kavi* is corroborated by *Y.46.11*, in which the *kavis* gang up as enemies of Zoroaster. Clearly, there couldn't have been a multitude of kings in Zoroaster's community to attack him. Zoroaster appropriately applied *kavi* to Vishtāspa, who was *pārsa* but not king. He used an archaic term in the archaistic language of the Gathas. And since the Achaemenids, from Darius onward, all claimed to be *pārsa*s, they were naturally referred to as *kavi*s by later Zoroastrians. As a matter of fact, the title *kavi* that certain Sasanian kings later adopted

[521] The Zoroastrian *padām* is a separate mouth piece to stop the official's breath from contaminating the fire; it is not to be confused with the chin cover of the Iranian headgear that, for instance, Anatolian satraps used to wear, which was an integral part of their headgear.
[522] Herzfeld provides additional arguments to show the exalted stature of Ahura Mazdā prior to Zoroaster, and insists that it was not him who "invented" Ahura Mazdā; Herzfeld 1947, 372-380.

should also be understood in the same vein. Those who used it wished to reemphasize, or perhaps reclaim, the king's role as fire priest and possessor of the main fire of the kingdom (see sec. XII.8).

When Zoroaster first started to preach, he obviously had no "church" and his priesthood was not established as yet. One notices that in his Gathas, Zoroaster mainly speaks about two categories of priests: the *kavi*s and the *karpan*s. While both are said to have acted against Zoroaster, the first category is not intrinsically bad since the friendly Vishtāspa is qualified as *kavi*. The term *karpan*, however, retains a negative connotation all along. As Bivar has observed, the Xanthos inscriptions refer to a cult that is qualified as *krp'*, which is a cognate of the Avestan *karpan*.[523] In the same inscriptions, Mithra is qualified as *khshathra-pati*, which clearly associates the *karpan*s with the pre-Avestan Mithra. In all probability, the *karpan*s referred to the Median magi who, if not the enemy of Mazdeans in general, were certainly despised by Darius.[524] Be that as it may, the revelatory word is the *"athravan"* that Tremblay had pointed out. It was a term that was artificially created for the *Avesta* and that Zoroaster himself did not use. It did not last long as it was pushed aside in the Sasanian era, when the *magu* of old was reapplied to the Zoroastrian priesthood. Attempts to designate Zoroaster as *ahu* (lord), and the priesthood as *ratu* (guide, master), didn't last either (see Appendix II, *Y.19.12*). People still thought of religious officers as *magu,* no matter what term the *Avesta* wanted to promote. If anything, the rejection of these terms indicates that the *Avesta* was not all that holy.

If the Zoroastrian priesthood did not adopt the *magu* appellation at first, it's because they could not, since it referred to the Median magi who were their enemies and were being massacred (see next chapter). The word *pārsa* couldn't be used either, since it was attached to the Achaemenid dynasty and had a kingly connotation. The solution was to create an equivalent term, *athravan,* which meant fire-keeper. In the Pahlavi language, it became *ādur-bād*, and Sasanian priests occasionally adopted it as a name; it persists today as *āzar-bād*, with the same meaning.[525] If Zoroaster had existed circa 1000 BC, Zoroastrianism would have certainly had a well-defined priesthood and a solid name for them by the time of Darius. It didn't. Neither had it, as yet, developed guidelines for

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[523] Bivar 1998, 13.
[524] Darius qualified his enemy, the usurper Gaumāta, as a mere *magu* in Bisotun.
[525] Mary Boyce downplays the connection of *athravan* to fire by suggesting that fire only acquired importance in Indo-Iranian religions in later times (see EIrO "*aθravan*"). Since she dogmatically believed in a 1700-1200 BC *Avesta,* she saw the designation of priests as fire-keepers in the *Avesta* as an impossibility. But once that dogma is set aside, and given the historical context, the Zoroastrian's choice of *athravan* made perfect sense: it simply emulated the Achaemenid *pārsa*.

turning Zoroastrianism into an all encompassing religion. As we shall see, many of these were actually developed by Darius and subsequently pursued by Zoroastrians.

Darius's zeal in promoting Ahura Mazdā was akin to the zeal with which the Safavid Shāh Esmā`il I exalted the Imam `Ali and promoted Shiism as the new religion of Iran in 1512 AD, without really knowing what it entailed, but with a marked antagonism toward Sunnism. It took more than a century and a half for Safavid Shiism to take shape, mostly through the intervention of foreign clerics who came from Lebanon; but Safavid kings maintained ultimate authority over religion and religious affairs. It was only after the demise of the Safavids, that the Shiite clergy emerged as a force capable of challenging royal authority. Similarly, Zoroastrianism may have gradually become popular among the Persian elite who, in contrast to the Medes, revered Ahura Mazdā but lacked a theological framework. And in the same way that a minority of Safavid Shiite zealots converted Iran to Shiism, and ultimately shaped their religion by adopting Sunni concepts as their own, Darius and his supporters may have paved the way for the development of a Zoroastrianism that ended up absorbing numerous pre-existing beliefs of Iranian communities.

XI.16 - Empowering Ahura Mazdā and Darius through the *Khvarenah*

Darius preached his monotheistic Mazdaism with a fervor that far surpassed that of Zoroaster himself. To do so, he almost had to start from scratch, as he did not dispose of any theological framework for his endeavor. Neither a Zoroastrian priesthood existed nor a Zoroastrian calendar was in use when Darius became king. His own *pārsa* clan was probably more involved in officiating fire ceremonies, than promoting a state religion. If not, they would have certainly tried to replace the month name of *baγa-yadish*, which designated Mithra as the ultimate god to be worshiped, with one that invoked Ahura Mazdā. The decisions that Darius took to remedy this situation are telling. They show on the one hand, a step by step approach, through trial and error, in order to establish a sound basis for his Mazdaism, and on the other, they serve as a mirror through which we can better assess the Median ideology that prevailed before him.

His first priority was to promote Ahura Mazdā. Inscriptions were not enough as most people were illiterate. He needed a universally recognizable symbol to complement the inscriptions. For lack of a suitable model in the Persian tradition, he chose a Mesopotamian one for the personification of Ahura Mazdā: A bearded man within a winged symbol (Fig. 212). The Assyrians had used it (Fig. 211); and the Babylonians, Urartuans, and perhaps the Elamites, had all produced their own version of it. It was an

instantly recognizable symbol that he used in Bisotun, where he repeatedly mentions the "support" of Ahura Mazdā in his victories against his enemies. How could he not have a visual translation of this idea in a composition where he stands—bow in hand—before his vanquished enemies? Whether the Persians previously had another symbol for Ahura Mazdā, within their own community and for their own ceremonies, we cannot tell. The fact is that Darius had now inherited an empire and needed to act accordingly. The choice of a foreign but universal symbol for Ahura Mazdā was dictated by a new situation that he had to confront. This choice does not reveal much about the state of maturity of Darius's brand of Mazdaism; but tentative changes in the attributes of Ahura Mazdā do: They reveal a weak foundation and an ideology in the making.

Fig. 211 – Symbol of the God Ashur (British Museum)

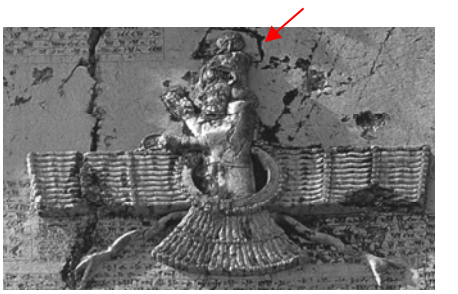

Fig. 212 – Symbol of Ahura Mazdā in Bisotun

Indeed, after being confronted with the popularity of solar deities among his various subjects,[526] Darius decided to empower his god with solar attributes, and thus added a *solar* emblem on Ahura Mazdā's hat in Bisotun (Fig. 213). It came as an *afterthought* since a new piece of stone had to be inset on top of Ahura Mazdā's hat, on a previously flattened surface that would otherwise not allow the carving of an additional emblem in relief. A noticeable gap line around it (↑) clearly shows that it was a later addition. Although the sunflower was the easier choice for a solar emblem, it was so associated with Mithra that Darius decided to use a foreign symbol—that of the Babylonian solar god Shamash with pointed rays (Fig. 214). This amalgam was neither to the liking of the Persians nor his other subjects. As it happened, this was the first and last time that such an attribute was given to Ahura Mazdā. Be that as it may, the insertion of this solar emblem clearly shows that not even the attributes of Ahura Mazdā were solidly defined by the time Darius rose to power, let alone Mazdaism or Zoroastrianism. Ahura Mazdā

[526] For the importance of sun gods in Anatolian and Mesopotamian cultures, see Beckman 2002, 37-40.

was being experimented with; solar attributes were given to him one day, and stripped off the next.

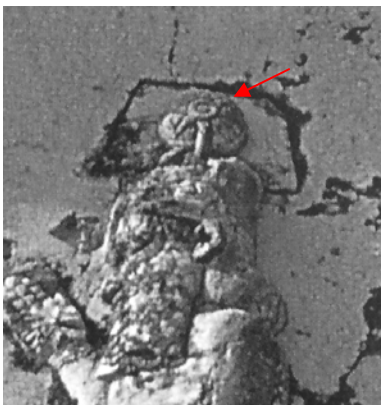

Fig. 213 - Later-added Shamash-like sun emblem on Ahura Mazdā's hat in Bisotun

Fig. 214 - Sun emblem on Shamash's hat Pergamon Museum, Berlin

Even though this early solar symbol experiment failed, Darius still needed to show that Ahura Mazdā was all-powerful; otherwise how could this god support him? For Iranians, power was linked to the tribal concept of the *khvarenah (farr)*. The Medes had successfully incorporated two deities into the myth of the *khvarenah*: Mithra as its purveyor, and Apam Napāt as its guardian. The *Avesta,* on the other hand, tried to appropriate this concept by attributing its creation to Ahura Mazdā, and giving a secondary role to Mithra and Apam Napāt. Nevertheless, some of the original tribal aspects of the myth are still reflected in the Avestan narrative and allow us to resurrect its original framework.

Indeed the *Avesta* explains that when Jamshid lost his *khvarenah*, it was taken by a falcon bird named *vareγna,* to Mithra (*Yt.19.35*). This ties in well with what the *Avesta* divulges elsewhere, that Mithra bestows the *khvarenah* and takes it back (*Yt.10.16 & 27*). But afterwards, the *vareγna* inexplicably takes the *khvarenah* to two mortals, Fereydun (Thraetona) and Garshāsb (Keresāspa), who are said to be the most victorious and powerful men "after Zoroaster." Thus, not only is Mithra equated with mortals and his hold on the *khvarenah* diluted, but Zoroaster is simultaneously presented as more powerful than two of the most victorious heroes of Iranian mythology. The artifice was only meant to reemphasize Zoroaster's prominence through the possession of the Aryan *khvarenah*, since nothing is disclosed as to what happened at each of these stations, and what was the role of these two mortals. After this calculated intercalation, the story seems

to fall back on its original track, as it next explains the fight, between Fire and the snake-monster Azhi-dahāga, over the possession of the *khvarenah*. Neither is successful, but Fire manages to scare away the snake-monster, as a result of which the *khvarenah* is dropped into the Farākh-kart Lake to be guarded by Apam Napāt (*Yt.19.35-52*).

If we strip this Avestan narrative of its seemingly added deities and mortals, three natural elements remain: fire, water and the bird *vareγna* as a go-between. Among American Indian tribes, extraordinary forces were always associated with natural elements. Such is also the case for the Iranian tribes, whose *khvarenah* we argued to parallel the Sioux' *wakan* and the Crows' *maxpe*.[527] Moreover, the concept of fire rising from water as a manifestation of the *khvarenah* was precisely the metaphor around which the Sasanian Ardashir built his city of Ardashir-khvarrah in order to project his newly acquired *khvarenah* (see sec. X.7). Therefore, to bypass the Median gods Mithra and Apam Napāt, all Darius had to do was rely on the original myth of the *khvarenah*, where it moved between water and fire, or, alternatively, between sea and sun. And that's precisely what his brick panel of Persepolis visualized (Fig. 207).

While we have no text to this effect, the iconography of Darius's palaces explicitly shows how he and his counsellors further relied on the original myth of the *khvarenah* to formulate an Achaemenid kingly ideology. We saw that, to show the presence of the *khvarenah*, Darius chose a winged-globe to represent *vareγna* carrying a pearl (as the encapsulated *khvarenah*) on its chest (Fig. 209). This symbol too had parallels among Hittites, Assyrians, and Babylonians (Fig. 218). The prototype that Darius opted for, however, was Egyptian, one which clearly depicted a sphere in the middle of its wings rather than a discus (Fig. 216). Moreover, what clearly distinguishes the Egyptian model from the others is the curved shape of its wing tips, while the others are rectangular.

Strangely, in his palaces, which he sprinkled with *khvarenah* symbols—winged-globes, sunflowers, lotuses and pearls—Darius abandoned the Bisotun prototype of Ahura Mazdā for one with curved wing tips similar to those of his *khvarenah*-carrying *vareγna* symbol (Fig. 215). It was by no means a casual decision. Darius would not have changed the symbol of a deity that he so prominently promoted in Bisotun—at the crossroad to all major provinces of the empire—for esthetic reasons only. If he did, it must have been for good reason. He must have realized that it was more important *vis à vis* his own constituency to associate Ahura Mazdā with the *khvarenah* rather than a solar emblem, and that a modified symbol of Ahura Mazdā could project just that.

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[527] See note 407 supra.

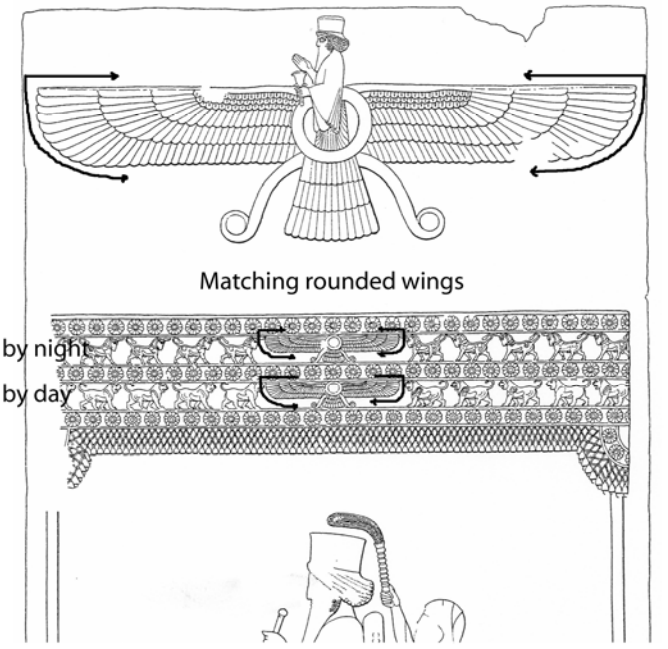

Fig. 215 - Matching the wing tips of Ahura Mazdā's symbol with that of the *khvarenah (*Soudavar 2010b, 125)

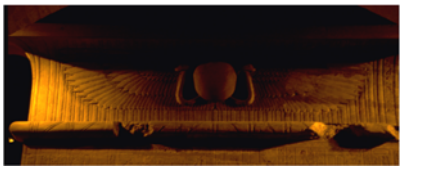

Fig. 216 – Egyptian winged-globe. Egyptian Museum, Berlin

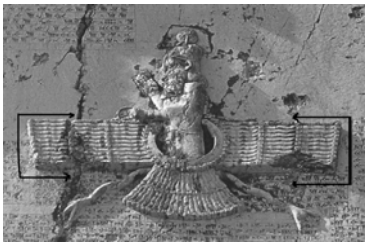

Fig. 217 – Squared wings. Bisotun

Fig. 218 - Assyrian winged symbol Istanbul Archeological Museum

Fig. 219 – Ahurā Mazdā riding the *khvarenah*'s winged symbol. Persepolis

In Persepolis, Ahura Mazdā looks as if he controls the *khvarenah* emblem from which he emerges (Fig. 215). In a later version Ahura Mazdā sits on top of it as if he was riding it (Fig. 219). The *khvarenah* supports Ahura Mazdā but also emanates from him. As a result, the empowerment of Darius could come from the *khvarenah*, instead of Ahura

Mazdā's solar-disk. Similar to Ardashir who, on his coinage as well as his city of Ardashir-khvarrah, projected the light of his Fire as the manifestation of his *khvarenah*, Darius emphasized the radiance of his *khvarenah*, both visually and textually. Indeed, many of his *khvarenah* emblems or panels displayed sun rays on their contour, in the guise of outwardly pointed triangles (Fig. 207); and as we saw, rather than mentioning the Aryan *khvarenah* in his inscriptions, he claimed to be *Ariya chisa*, i.e., possessor or reflector of the Aryan light. Because the word *khvarenah* was attached to Mithra in the popular mind, by focusing on its radiance (OP *chisa,* MP *chihr*), he was reassociating the *khvarenah* with the fire that he controlled as a *pārsa*. So did Ardashir by emphasizing, on his coinage, the light (*NWRA*) of its fire altar, and adding ribbons as symbols of *farr*.

The epithet that Darius thus created for himself must have stigmatized him, to the extent that when later priests gave the Aryan *khvarenah* to Zoroaster, they also had to modify Darius's epithet to a phonetically similar expression, from *chihr-āryā* to *chihr-āzād*.[528] Like *chihr* for the Sasanian Ardashir, *chisa* was a manifestation of Darius's *khvarenah*.

But unlike Ardashir, who could no longer claim the Aryan *khvarenah* (as it had been meanwhile allocated to Zoroaster), Darius naturally aimed for the highest degree of *khvarenah*, i.e., the Aryan one. The most important characteristic of the latter is to be found in *Yt.18.2*. It specifies that non-Aryan nations are vanquished through the Aryan *khvarenah.* Accordingly, Darius claimed to be Arya *chisa* only after he had conquered non-Aryan nations. In Bisotun, he made no such claim when he took control of an empire that he had only inherited. But in Naqsh-e Rostam, where he lists a series of non-Aryan nations that he had subsequently "conquered," such as the Thracians and the "Scythians From Beyond the Seas," he obviously felt that such a qualification was merited.[529]

Thus, for the Medes, as well as Darius and the Zoroastrian priesthood, the *khvarenah* was a source of power that each tried to appropriate for their own benefit. They all understood the basic concept of the original myth but tried to modify it according to their own philosophy and necessities. Darius's choice, however, in the use of the term *chisa* for the light that symbolized the *farr* had a lasting effect, since it gave rise to a parallel power concept in Zoroastrianism, and the Sasanians used it in their slogan (as *chihr*).

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[528] See note 505 supra

[529] *DNa*, §3 - Darius the King says: By the will of Ahura Mazdā here are the nations (*dahyu*) that I conquered beyond Persia: … the Mede, the Elamite, the Parthian, the Arien, the Arachosian, the Sattgydien, the Gandharian, the Indian, the Amyrgian Scythian, the Tigrakhoda Scythians, the Babylonian, Assyria, the Arab, the Egyptian, the Armenian, the Cappodocian, the Lydian, the Greek, the Scythians From Beyond The Seas, the Thracian, the Aspidophores Greeks, the Libyans, the Ethiopians, the Macians, the Carians.

XI.17 - Median Duality against the Foil of Darius's Monotheism

On ideological grounds, Darius's biggest challenge was to abolish the Median concept of the division of the world in the two realms of night and day, each presided by its own deity. His monotheistic religion necessitated the fusion of these two realms into one. As the "man" whom Ahura Mazdā chose to rule,[530] Darius had to establish his authority over both realms. He thus insisted in Bisotun that his orders had to be obeyed by night and by day (*DB* §7-8). Iconographically, two series of images conveyed the unification of these two realms. The first was Darius's canopy, which had two symbols of the *khvarenah*, one set within a row of lions, and the other, within a row of cows/bulls (Fig. 215). As the lion was a symbol of the sun and daylight, and the bull was a symbol of the moon and nighttime, this composition clearly insinuated that Darius was empowered by the *khvarenah*, by day as well as by night.

Fig. 221 – Entangled sun and bull symbolizing day and night's pepetual rotation (Soudavar 2010b, 129)

Fig. 220 – Sardis seal with lion and bull, sun and moon (Cahill 2010, 185)

Fig. 222 – Seals equating the sun and moon symbols with lion and bull (Bivar 1969, pl. 11)

A more clever attack on the night and day duality was the creation of the iconic lion-and-bull emblem in Persepolis, which is prominently on display on each staircase (Fig. 221). It hits any visitor about to take the stairs. As such it must have carried a message that was very dear to Darius. There are of course many variations on the theme of a lion attacking another animal. What distinguishes this composition from the others is that the bull, rather than being a prey, is springing back to its feet and ready to attack the lion. Through

[530] In *DSf* 8-22, Darius states that Ahura Mazdā chose him "as his *man* on earth."

the metaphor of an unsettled lion-bull combat, the composition evokes the perpetual day-night revolution, thus blurring the divide between the night and day realms. This interpretation is further confirmed by the imagery of several seals, which not only depict an entangled pair of lion and bull, but also bear sun and moon symbols that give added precision to their symbolism (Figs. 220, 222). Perhaps that is why Darius buried Lydian coins—with confronting heads of a lion and a bull—under the foundation slabs of his palace in Persepolis. These coins were tossed in along with two foundation plaques, one in gold and the other in silver, which Cyndy Nimchuck has argued to reflect "golden sunlight" and "silvery moonlight."[531] By these symbolic gestures, Darius was metaphorically burying the separation of the day and night realms.[532]

Fig. 223 – Lions converging toward a lotus-sunflower emblem. Tomb of Artaxerxes II, Persepolis.

Fig. 224 – Lion frieze without a flower emblem. Tomb of Artaxerxes III, Persepolis.

The lion-and-bull icon was part of a decorative program that was primarily concerned with abolishing Median duality. Remarkably, it used previously established symbols to interpret opposite themes. A similar use of previous motifs for a new ideology can be seen on the tomb of Artaxerxes II, north of Persepolis. It has a frieze of lions converging toward a lotus-sunflower combination (Fig. 223), which does not appear on any of his predecessors' tombs. This should come as no surprise since Artaxerxes II is also the first Achaemenid king to invoke Mithra and Anāhitā in his inscriptions.[533] Artaxerxes's

[531] Nimchuck 2010, 226. After noting that such a gesture was quite unusual in antiquity, Cindy Nimchuck tries to tie it to Zoroastrian cosmogony beliefs, but nevertheless emphasizes the association of gold and silver with day and night. As we have argued, Zoroastrianism was not developed as yet, and both the design of the Lydian coins and the metal composition of the buried material point to a simple dichotomy, rather than a complicated abstract cosmogony.
[532] Soudavar 2010a, 128.
[533] *A2Ha*: "Artaxerxes … says: this hall I built, by the support of Ahura Mazdā, *Anāhitā*, and *Mithra*. May Ahura Mazdā, *Anāhitā*, and *Mithra* protect me against evil…"

legitimacy must have been seriously challenged by his brother, Cyrus the Younger (d. 401 BC), who led an insurrection against him, but was unsuccessful in his bid for the Achaemenid throne. From the Achaemenids to the Sasanians, it was almost standard practice for the king whose legitimacy had been challenged, to not only show that he possessed the *khvarenah*, but also enjoyed the full backing of the deities most attached to it. As always, two deities were needed, one solar and one aquatic. For the Achaemenids as well as Zoroastrians, Apam Napāt's creation powers posed a problem *vis à vis* Ahura Mazdā, and was replaced by the aquatic goddess Anāhitā. Since the lotus was a symbol of the Waters, it could represent Apam Napāt as well as Anāhitā. The lotus-sunflower symbol inserted between the converging lions is, therefore, as much a symbol of the emergence of the *khvarenah* from the waters, as that of the deity pair Mithra and Anāhitā that Artaxerxes II invoked. Iconography precisely followed kingly ideology.

This precision is visible once again on the tomb of Artaxerxes III, who seems to have not accepted the introduction of Anāhitā in the Achaemenid pantheon, and only invokes Mithra after Ahura Mazdā in his inscriptions.[534] Unlike the tomb of Artaxerxes II, its throne frieze is devoid of the double flower symbol (Fig. 224), and is only adorned with converging lions as symbol of Mithra.

XI.18 - From Duality to Monotheism to Pantheism

In ruling a vast empire, Darius had to temper the monotheistic zeal that he had displayed early on in Bisotun. But unlike Cyrus who praised the Babylonian god Marduk on his famous cylinder, Darius merely acknowledged the existence of local deities. Thus, in Babylon (*DSw*) he says: "… Ahura Mazdā, the greatest of *the gods*, created me, made me king." Eventually, he also made a vague reference in Persepolis to other 'gods' after invoking Ahura Mazdā.[535]

This acknowledgment of a plurality of gods led to imagery in which Ahura Mazdā dominated all other deities. One example can be found on an earring from the MFA in Boston (Fig. 225).[536] A supernatural winged figure is depicted at its centre, riding a winged *khvarenah* symbol. It can only be Ahura Mazdā. On the contour, he is surrounded

[534] *A3Pa*: "King Artaxerxes says: May Ahuramazda and the god Mithra preserve me, my country, and what has been built by me."
[535] *DPd*: "May there never be upon this country an army, famine, or Lie! This I pray as a favor from Ahura Mazdā and the gods of the royal house. May Ahura Mazdā and the gods of the royal house do me this favor!"
[536] The six deities on the contour of this earring were said by Shāpur Shahbāzi to be representations of the Amesha Spentas, with a frame of mind that absolutely wanted to see Achaemenid art following Zoroastrian norms. It was rejected in Soudavar 2003, 102-03, especially in consideration of the Miho pectoral (Fig. 226 here) that displays a group of 16 deities; which obviously visciates his Amesha Spenta theory.

by a number of smaller bearded men riding a crescent. They too are deities, but obviously of lesser stature than the central figure. While they all salute Ahura Mazdā, he reciprocates with the same gesture. At the lowest point of the contour, we have a combined lotus-sunflower symbol—similar to the one on Artaxerxes II's tomb—which, like the aforementioned deities, sits over a crescent and is confined within a circle. One single motif had no decorative value. If the objective was embellishment, they would have interspersed one between every deity pair. On the other hand, associativity and homogeneity being important principles of Iranian iconography, this lone emblem placed among a string of deities had to be a deity symbol as well. It confirms once more our interpretation of the lotus-sunflower emblem on Artaxerxes's tomb as alluding to Mithra and Anāhitā. A more elaborate version of this imagery can be found on a magnificent pectoral of the Miho Museum, which has sixteen deities on its lower contour, all saluting Ahura Mazdā, who is consecrating the victory scene of its lower register (Fig. 226).

Fig. 225 – Achaemenid earring, with Ahura Mazdā presiding over 6+2 deities. MFA Boston.

Fig. 226 - Achaemenid necklace with Ahura Mazdā presiding over 16 deities (Miho Museum)

What the above analysis shows is that, far from having an established Zoroastrianism that regulated kingly ideology and popular beliefs, we had a constantly evolving situation in the Achaemenid era. For want of a developed state religion, Darius had to experiment with the ways he could project Ahura Mazdā as an omnipotent deity governing the whole world as one realm, in contrast to the Median ideology based on a night-day dichotomy. Whatever success he gained in this respect was ultimately compromised by Artaxerxes II, who, in order to buttress his legitimacy, had to claim the support of Mithra and Anāhitā,

in addition to Ahura Mazdā. Still, what must be noted is the substitution of one aquatic god for another, namely Anāhitā for Apam Napāt. More than the latter's linkage to the *khvarenah*, it was his creative powers that were incompatible with the Mazdaism that Darius had promoted. The introduction of Anāhitā fulfilled, on the one hand, the need for an *aquatic* deity to release the *khvarenah* from the seas, and on the other, avoided reliance on a direct rival of Ahura Mazdā.

XI.19 - Suppression of the Bird Chamrosh

A powerful bird of Iranian mythology is the *vareγna*, which acts as a transfer agent in the *Avesta*; when Jamshid strays from the path of righteousness and loses the *khvarenah*, it is the *vareγna* that takes it away and gives it to Apam Napāt for safekeeping underwater. Curiously, the opposite transfer agent, i.e., the one that delivers the *khvarenah* to a recipient, is missing in the Avestan myth. The *khvarenah* concept was a thorny issue for Zoroastrianism, and its incorporation into the *Avesta* required certain adjustments. It seems that the purveyor bird of the *khvarenah* was a victim of this process, most probably because of its strong ties to Apam Napāt who, if not totally eliminated, was stripped of most of his attributes. Luckily, this suppressed part of the *khvarenah* myth was not totally lost, and resurfaces in the *Bondahesh* in its description of the bird Chamrosh. Indeed, the *Bondahesh* describes the Chamrosh in the following terms:

> "It is on the summit of Mount Alborz that every three years many people of an-Erān gather, in order to go to Iran, to cause damage and devastation all over; but then Borz-*yazad* (the deity Borz), rises from the depths of the Lake Arang, and places that very bird Chamrosh on the top of that lofty mountain, who will dispose of all an-Erān people, in the way that birds dispose of seeds."[537]

What we immediately detect is that the name of Apam Napāt has been replaced by his pseudonym Borz, and that may explain the survival of this passage. Nevertheless, there are enough indications in this passage to identify Borz with Apam Napāt. Indeed, Borz is said to rise from the waters, which is where Apam Napāt resided (*Yt.19.52*). Moreover, Chamrosh is endowed with the power to vanquish the non-Iranian enemies of Iran, a power that necessitated the support of the Aryan *khvarenah* (*Yt.18.2-5*). As such, Chamrosh is clearly an active agent of Apam Napāt, and endowed with the *khvarenah*. So important was this bird that, despite its suppression in the *Avesta,* it was used as a major decorative motif throughout the Sasanian Empire and Sogdiana.

[537] Dādagi 1990, 102.

Fig. 227 –Sogdian textile displaying the chamrosh with a pearl necklace, above a pearl-carrying duck (EMS coll.).

Fig. 228 - Chamrosh bird on Mount Alborz, surrounded by *khvarenah* symbols. 5th century, Antakia. Louvre.

Fig. 229 – Chamrosh motif on a textile from the Vatican treasures. (*Splendeur* 1993, 116)

Fig. 230 – Late Sasanian silver plate. Rezā `Abbāsi Museum, Tehran.

Among these, the textile of Fig. 227 provides all the necessary elements to identify this pheasant-looking bird with the Chamrosh of the *Bondahesh*. Firstly, its head is placed

against a solar-disk, symbol of the *khvarenah*. Secondly, its neck is adorned with the three pearls of Tishtrya, which was also associated with the Aryan *khvarenah* (*Yt.18.2-7*). Thirdly, the Chamrosh is placed right above a similarly decorated duck. As a bird that rose from the waters with Apam Napāt, it clearly had an aquatic existence prior to its celestial flight. In its aquatic stage, the duck verily symbolized the Chamrosh, and once out of the waters, a multicolored pheasant seemed more appropriate. Hence the duck carrying a pearl necklace as symbol of the *khvarenah* that was kept underwater by Apam Napāt.

A 5th-century mosaic floor from a courtyard in Antioch (present day Antakya in Turkey), presents the Chamrosh in full glory. Perched on top of Mount Alborz, the Chamrosh is depicted by the local artist as a crane with a radiating solar-disk, in a landscape bordered by a series of motifs that are symbols of the *farr*: Rams, *dastār*s, and a pair of wings (Fig. 228).[538] It thus seems that the name Chamrosh did not define any specific type of bird, and it was left to the artist to depict it as he pleased.[539] The most popular prototype, however, was the pheasant, numerous specimens of which were depicted on precious textiles that landed in the European treasuries (Fig. 229).

The *Bondahesh* also reflects later attempts to minimize the importance of the Chamrosh, where it compares it to the Simorgh. Indeed, another passage from the *Bondahesh*, subordinates the Chamrosh to the Simorgh:

> "Of birds Chamrosh is the one valued higher than all other birds in between the Sky and the Earth, except for the three-toed Simorgh."

As a decorative motif, the Simorgh appears primarily in the early 7th century. This is a period of rising orthodoxy, when the Borz appellation of Apam Napāt was gradually suppressed, and Anāhitā replaced Apam Napāt for good (see sec. X.10). Concurrently, another bird of the *Avesta,* the Saena, was chosen to supplant the birds that were associated with the *farr*. Judging by the *Shāhnāmeh'*s description, it was a colorful bird whose feathers had magical powers, and was therefore a good candidate to overshadow the Chamrosh.

Two types of Simorgh prevailed in this period. The one that appears on a plate from the Rezā `Abbāsi Museum of Tehran (Fig. 230), conforms to the aforementioned *Bondahesh*

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[538] Soudavar 2003, 21.

[539] The etymology of Chamrosh is not known. One possible explanation may be to consider it as *cham-rosh*, in which *cham* is a diminutive of *chashm* (eye) as per the Dehkhoā dictionary, and *rosh* is a diminutive of *roshan* (bright), describing it as a "bright-eyed" bird.

description as it depicts a three-toed bird. In Tāq-e Bostān, however, the king's robe is adorned with a motif that is half dog/half bird, as if the *simorgh* was read *sag-morgh*, or dog-bird (Fig. 231).

Fig. 231 – Simorgh sketch from Tāq-e Bostān.(web)

But the question that comes to mind is: Were there two birds in the original myth or one? Logic dictates that only one bird must have acted as carrier of the *khvarenah*, and that *vareγna* was the Avestan appellation of *chamrosh*, in the same way that the *pārsa*s were referred to as *kavi*s in the *Avesta.* Be that as it may, we had argued that the *khvarenah* was based on a tribal concept that most probably incorporated three natural elements: Fire, water, and a bird (sec. X.11). The existence of so many firebirds in the Indo-European culture suggests that the Chamrosh too was perhaps conceived as a firebird. The Greek phoenix, which famously rose from its ashes, is often depicted with a nimbus, and the Slavic firebird, which is the subject of Igor Stravinsky's celebrated composition, is called *zhar-ptitsa* (fire-bird); but neither is associated with gods. We may thus assume that, in the original tribal lore, the Chamrosh and the *khvarenah* were not associated with any abstract god.

As such, it provides added context for the two Avestan stanzas *Yt.13.94-95* that situate the empowerment of Mithra and Apam Napāt right after the birth of Zoroaster circa 618 BC. As a solar and aquatic pair of deities, they were perfectly suited to be enmeshed into the *khvarenah* cycle. In the new kingly ideology that the Medes tried to establish after their victories over the Assyrians (c. 614 BC), and over the Urartuans (c. 612 BC), the *khvarenah* was subordinated to Mithra and Apam Napāt. It was only then that the *khvarenah* became associated with gods.

While Cyrus maintained the Median ideology, Darius, in full knowledge of the *khvarenah*'s appropriation by the Medes, tried to undo what they had done; he thus severed the *khvarenah*'s ties with the Median deity pair, and placed it under the aegis of his all-powerful Ahura Mazdā. But the Median scheme was so compatible with the *khvarenah* cycle, and so widely accepted, that the composers of the *Avesta* preferred to harmonize the two ideologies, by keeping Mithra and Apam Napāt, and placing them under the aegis of Ahura Mazdā. From no god at all, the *khvarenah* thus acquired the patronage of many different deities.

XI.20 - Assembling the *Avesta*

For years, many have tried to portray the Achaemenids as Zoroastrians.[540] Apart from Ahura Mazdā who was revered by both, no other solid correlation was ever found; but that did not stop certain scholars from doing their utmost to prove that Zoroastrianism predated the Achaemenid era.[541] Kellens, for instance, tries to do this through an analysis of the amalgamation process of Avestan hymns into liturgies.[542] He explains that the *Avesta* we have inherited is a grouping of liturgies, called Yasna, in which he detects two early strains that he names Proto-Yasna-A and Proto-Yasna-B.[543] While he dates Proto-Yasna-A to the early 6th-century BC, he situates the canonization of Proto-Yasna-B in the second half of the 5th-century BC, and a final canonization of the whole Avestan corpus in the second half of the 4th-century BC, after which, nobody was supposedly able to compose in the Avestan language.

In presenting this evolutionary scheme, Kellens follows Skjaervo in counting two different stages in the crystallization process of an orally transmitted text, "fixation" followed by canonization. For Kellens, fixation comes much later than composition and is the result of the incorporation of a text in religious rites; canonization occurs when the text becomes so holy that no further alteration is permitted.[544] But to bridge the long gap between an early composition date of circa 1200-1000 BC that he favors, and the assembly of the Avestan corpus, Kellens introduces a sequence that goes from fixation to canonization to "decanonization," and back to a newer canonization.

While his analysis of verse details is solid, he stumbles on the question of dating, as he dogmatically wants to fit it into an early time bracket. For starters, "de-canonization" is an oxymoron. Within the same religious tradition, a *canonized* text is not subject to manipulation. It must lose its sacredness before modification. If it becomes onerous or irrelevant, it can be marginalized or discarded all together, but not selectively; that can

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[540] By producing statistics based on the Fortification and Treasury tablets, Wouter Henckleman has recently showed that in the festivities and ceremonial activities that depended on the king's largesse, the number of "Ahura Mazdā" mentions in official ceremonies paled in comparison to that of other deities. What's more, most of the named deities therein did not belong to the Zoroastrian pantheon. In other words, despite heavy promotion of Ahura Mazdā at the top, government officials still had to cater to popular demand for past religious practices; Henkelman (forthcoming).

[541] O.P. Skjaervo had seized upon the appearance of the name of Spenta Armaiti in one of the tablets to claim that, as one of the Amesha Spentas, it constituted proof of Zoroastrianism (Skjaervo 2005, 52-53). It's a position that I had criticized in Soudavar 2010a (114) because said deity was clearly invoked in a non-Zoroastrian context.

[542] Zoroastrian liturgies consist of a string of hymns to be recited in the performance of religious rites.

[543] Kellens 1998.

[544] Kellens 1998, 492-93.

only happen in a shift of traditions, after a major political upheaval such as Alexander's conquest, or the advent of the Mazdaism championed by Darius who tried to break the hold of Mithra and Apam Napāt over the *khvarenah*.

Rather than representing two liturgies separated by centuries, Proto-Yasna-A and Proto-Yasna-B represent two parallel and competing trends trying to incorporate popular beliefs into Zoroastrianism. The parallelism of the two is suggested by their contrasting views as to who the god of waters was. Proto-Yasna-A relies on the *Zāmyād Yasht* (*Yt.19*), which refers to Apam Napāt in a muted fashion, while Proto-Yasna-B invokes Anāhitā through the *Abān Yasht* (*Yt.5*). The distinction is important and depends on how each construes the fundamental concept of *khvarenah,* in order to incorporate it in its liturgies.

Yt.5 follows the kingly ideology of Artaxerxes II, who, alongside the solar god Mithra, invoked the aquatic goddess Anāhitā in lieu of Apam Napāt. But not everyone was ready to discard the known for the unknown; there were probably those who preferred to keep Apam Napāt, by sanitizing him as much as possible; as we saw, Artaxerxes III did not favor Anāhitā, and only invoked Mithra. *Yt.19* of the Proto-Yasna-A reflects the latter tendency, especially where it recognizes Apam Napāt as the "god who resides in the waters" (*Yt.19.52*). On the other hand, in *Yt.5*, the control of the *khvarenah* is relegated to Anāhitā, and successive heroes sacrifice to this deity to seek her protection and help. She is so exalted that even Apam Napāt becomes an accessory in the sacrifices dedicated to her (*Yt.5.72*).[545] Nevertheless, both hymns use the exact same means to attribute the Aryan *khvarenah* to Zoroaster: It is done in both through exclamations by Afrāsiyāb, who seeks it but cannot obtain it.[546] Kellens observes a similar parallelism between *Yt.10* of Proto-Yasna-A, and *Yt.5* of Proto-Yasna-B, where he contends that *Yt.5.53* was copied from *Yt.10.11*.[547] These two liturgies are, therefore, very much intertwined, and present two different solutions for the same concern: Wresting the Aryan *khvarenah* from kingship. They were both conceived in the post Achaemenid era, not far from each other, and were most probably inspired by concepts that emerged under Artaxerxes II and III.

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[545] *Yt.5.72*: "To her did … the sons of Sayuzhdri, offer up a sacrifice, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, by Apam Napat, the tall lord, the lord of the females, the bright and swift-horsed."

[546] Afrāsiyāb utters the same in both hymns: "I have not been able to conquer the *khvarenah* that belongs to the Aryan nations—to the born and the unborn (i.e. now and forever)—and to the holy Zoroaster," once in *Yt.5.42*, but thrice in *Yt.19 (stanzas 57, 60, 63)*.

[547] Kellens saw an incompatibility in *Yt.5.53*, where the ajectives *raθaēštārō, jaiiδiaṇtō,* and *tanubiiō* that appear in a sentence describing the valors of the single hero Tus (Tusō) are plural (Kellens 1978, 265). The exact same sentence, with the same adjectives, is correctly applied in *Yt.10.11* to qualify warriors (plural) praising Mithra. The correct plural form of *Yt.10.11* was thus the original.

Because of the longstanding attachment of Apam Napāt to the *khvarenah*, Proto-Yasna A prefers to keep him, albeit in a subdued fashion, while Proto-Yasna-B prefers to replace him with Anāhitā.

The passages attributing the Aryan *khvarenah* to Zoroaster were not the only additions to the aforementioned hymns. Kellens himself argues that stanzas *Yt.10.119-122* and *Yt.10.137-138* were added to the *Mehr Yasht* (*Yt.10*), when liturgies were being formulated; what's more, they were done in full harmony with the ancient texts, at times even respecting their archaic "octo-syllabic meter."[548] But once one admits the possibility of later additions or alterations, one needs to forfeit the relevance of the archaic nature of the language to its dating. The archaic nature of the Avestan language offers no more proof of antiquity than the archaic aspect of papal treatises composed in Latin. The priesthood had probably maintained fluent knowledge of the Avestan language, long after the composition of its core components. It was a language that priests presumably thought of as being uttered in the "tongue of gods," and appropriate for sacrificial rites.[549] They cherished it as a "godly cant" that they alone understood (and their followers didn't). The power to communicate with the gods was what differentiated the priesthood from its flock. As Daniel Heller-Roazen has noted: "Whether one looks to Homer or to ancient Sanskrit hymns, to the Druids or to medieval Ireland, one finds that poets, scribes and priests have all laid claim to a godly cant, which they alone master."[550]

There is no philological method to measure the evolution speed of a language. One needs to peg undated texts to historical events in order to establish a date. Philology can only establish relativity in this evolution process, such as X>Y>Z, but cannot anchor them in time. Any pretense to the contrary is intellectually dishonest. And yet, by relegating the Avesta to the 2nd-millennium BC, Avestologists pretend to have such knowledge, but rather than providing compelling arguments, they try to establish it through repetition.

The goal of the *Avesta* was to attract as many Iranians as possible into the Zoroastrian fold. As a result, all major deities were brought in, and their differences ironed out so that believers would feel comfortable with this all-new all-encompassing religion.[551] The amalgamation of so many disparate deities in the *Avesta* was contrary to the monotheistic

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[548] Kellens 1998, 502-504.
[549] Heller-Roazen 2013, 89.
[550] *www.nytimes.com/2013/08/19/opinion/learn-to-talk-in-beggars-cant.html*
[551] The only problematic deity was Apam Napāt whose creation powers clashed with those of Ahura Mazdā who was brandished as the all-powerful creator, he is the only exception to the harmonization process, because he was basically forced out.

propaganda of Darius and to the Sufi-like lamentations that Zoroaster expresses in conversation with Ahura Mazdā. What is remarkable, though, is the harmonizing effort put into this amalgamation process, which ironed out conflicts and smoothed out differences. The seventh month of the existing Iranian calendar, for instance, belonged to Mithra and had been named *baγa-yadish* in his honor. In the amalgamation process, the seventh month of the Avestan calendar could no longer be called *baγa-yadish* since it made Mithra the absolute *baγa*; it was simply named Mehr/Mithra. This was an acceptable name because “Mehr” now referred to a deity who had been sanitized and incorporated into the *Avesta*; this went hand in hand with the cleansing of the *Mehr Yasht*, such as the replacing of the onerous *khshatra-pati* with the more Zoroastrian-friendly "master of the *zarathushtrot.*" Similarly, the *khvarenah* was labeled "Mazdā-created" while Mithra remained its purveyor under the aegis of Ahura Mazdā; it cleverly incorporated the tribal concept of *khvarenah* into Zoroastrianism. Most importantly, Apam Napāt, was almost squeezed out, and stripped of all of his attributes and acolytes, such as the bird Chamrosh. Finally, fire, which was at the heart of every ancient Iranian religious ceremony, had to be brought into the fold; it was astutely qualified as "Son of Ahura Mazdā" (see Appendix II/4). Thus, the *Avesta* brought a considerable amount of Iranian deities under one tent, and forged their disparate hymns into one comprehensive corpus to be used in Zoroastrian liturgies. More than a religious text, it's a testimony to the political savvy of the Zoroastrian priesthood in forging a new all-encompassing politico-religious ideology, in the chaotic aftermath of the Macedonian conquests. It is in this period that Zoroaster was visualized as a king under whose aegis the Zoroastrian clergy performed its rituals (see Figs. 232a, b).

Figs. 232 a, b –Religious ceremony conducted under the aegis of Zoroaster in Majesty.
Post-Achaemenid seal. Cabinet des Médailles, BNF

CHAPTER XII

A RELIGIOUS CATACLYSM: THE MAGOPHONIA

XII.1 - The pre-Achaemenid Geo-Political Landscape

Even though the Babylonian chronicles attribute the fall of Assyria to a joint Babylonian and Mede initiative, it is clear from the sequence of events that the main victors were the Medes, since they were the first to defeat the enemy, to plunder their riches, and to establish their hegemony over the northern Assyrian heartland up to Harran.[552] By virtue of these victories, the Medes controlled an empire that stretched from the borders of Lydia to the eastern parts of the Iranian plateau, where resided those whom the Assyrians called "the distant Medes." Our aim here is not to establish the exact boundaries of this empire but to concentrate on two entities, Raga and Persis, and to assess the Median hegemony over them. The Medes' control of these entities, or lack of it, is important to the understanding of the religious conflicts that pitted two priestly castes against each other, namely that of the Median magi and the Persian *pārsa*s.

While the far eastern limits of the Median Empire are not well defined, most scholars agree that it comprised the Badakhshān (in present day Afghanistan), the main producer of the lapis stone that the Medes supplied to the Assyrians. Raga was thus at the very heart of this empire, a fact that is confirmed by Darius who emphasized in Bisotun that Raga (present day Shahr-e Rey near Tehran) was "a district of Media."[553]

More complicated, however, was the situation in Persis (present day Fārs), which was the home of the Achaemenids. In his analysis of the uprisings against Darius, Willem Vorgeslang perceives two different patterns of behavior among the rebels, and depicts a Median Empire culturally split between "the Scythianized North and the non-Scythianized South."[554] He sees the main proof of such a division in the alternating Mede/Persian rows of guards in Persepolis, in which the Medes carry an *akinakes*, a short sword believed to be of Scythian origin. While such a split was likely to exist under Cyrus and Cambyses, I believe that it must be attributed to different polity affiliations rather than a hardly perceptible Scythian influence. The *akinakes* is too thin an evidence

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[552] Dandamayev & Medvedskaya 2006.
[553] *DB* 2:71-72, "Phraortes fled thence with a few horsemen to a district in Media called Raga."
[554] Vogelsang 1998, 212-16.

to build such a theory upon. And if the Median Empire stretched horizontally across the Iranian plateau, there is no tangible evidence that it encompassed Persis. To the contrary, the little information that we have shows a Median Empire in the north, bordered on its south side by some independent or semi-independent polities that *were not* Mede vassals.

Chief among these polities was the Persian state, perhaps organized as a confederacy. The plaques of Ariaramnes and Arsames are quite telling in this respect. Firstly, the mere fact that they had *a script of their own* (while the Medes apparently did not) vouches for a more developed and structured state. Secondly, its rulers are qualified therein as: *Great king, king of kings.* Whatever meaning the word king (*khshathya*) conjures up, the title "king of kings" is not one that a vassal would have used.[555] In other words, Ariaramnes and Arsames were not only independent rulers but semi-emperors or overlords in their own right; that is, until Cyrus II took over the Median Empire in 559 BC, and became king of kings and virtual emperor of western Asia. Prior to that date, the junior branch of the Achaemenids, who had established themselves as rulers of Anshan, may have only paid lip service to the suzerainty of the *pārsa* line of the Achaemenids.[556] But they were important enough for Astyages to give his daughter's hand to Cambyses I of Anshan. Since the Medes formed matrimonial alliances with sovereign neighbors (sec. XI.13), the kingdom of Anshan was probably considered as a sovereign state and not a Mede vassal.

In addition, two smaller states can be mentioned, which, like the Babylonians and Persians, had probably joined forces with the Medes in their conquest of Assyria. The first is the state of Eillipi whose constant skirmishes with the Assyrians are documented in Assyrian chronicles.[557] The second is the state of Samati, for which we had scant textual references until the fabulous silver hoard of Kalmākareh was unearthed.[558] Most items of the hoard have dedicatory inscriptions in the name of a series of Samati rulers, such as "Ampirish son of Dabala," that do not mention any Median overlord. Based on the epigraphic peculiarities of these inscriptions, Vallat has suggested a dating between 589 and 539 BC.[559] An interesting piece of the hoard is an Assyrian goblet (now in the al-Sabah Collection) that has two sets of inscriptions, one in the name Esarhaddon (r. 681-

[555] Herodotus (I.127): "The Persians had long been discontent that the Medes ruled them."
[556] A certain Kurash of Parsumash had accepted (c. 641 BC) to become a tributary of Assurbanipal and send his son as a hostage. But Vallat (Vallt 2010, 58), concurring with de Mirochedji, stipulates that this Kurash should not be confounded with Cyrus I of Anshan, grandfather of Cyrus II.
[557] See for instance Medvedskaya 1999. François Vallat enumerates Zamin, Zari, Samati and Parsa as small states that had correspondences with Susa in the early 6th century BC, Vallat 1998, 104.
[558] Among the sparse references to Samati and Samatians, there is one in an Old Babylonian administrative text from Susa dating back to 1932-1910 BC; Tavernier 2011, 193.
[559] Vallat 2000, 29.

669 BC) son of Sennacherib, and the other in the name of Ampirish (Fig. 233).[560] A silver bucket from the same hoard also has a dedicatory inscription in the name of Esarhaddon.[561] These pieces prove that the Samatians were indeed part of the coalition that defeated the Assyrians and took a big cut of the booty. The looted pieces were either preserved and rededicated, or melted down for new production. Most Kalmākareh pieces are neither Assyrian in design nor bare Assyrian inscriptions; their silver, though, must have come from the Assyrian loot, for one can hardly imagine a fringe state being capable of acquiring and accumulating such a large quantity of precious metal.

The victors came into possession of so much silver and gold that, in the Old Testament, Isaiah remarks that the "Medes" cared no more for silver (13:17).[562] This abundance of silver is also reflected in two technical characteristics of the Kalmākareh hoard: a) the silver is very thick, and, b) has a high degree of purity, to the extent that the slightest knock might create a dent on some pieces.[563] But aside from its silver content, what distinguishes the Kalmākareh hoard from Assyrian, or even Achaemenid, vessels is the boldness and variety of its designs. There are of course some highly complex zoomorphic compositions, specimens of which are in the Miho Museum, Iranian museums, and in private collections (Figs. 234-35). But more important is the shape of these vessels, which display an unprecedented array of geometric patterns informed by a sober and pure sense of esthetics (Figs. 236a, b, c). The elegance and boldness of their designs attest to a tradition of craftsmanship that was available long before "Achaemenid art" was developed. If anything, by standardizing some of these patterns, the Achaemenids lost the creative impulse that had allowed such a variety of vessels to be produced.

Furthermore, the Kalmākareh vessels show a distinct penchant for Mithraic symbols, including sunflowers, lions and mountain goats. The lion is the sun animal par excellence and the mountain goat heralded the rise of the sun over high mountains (Figs. 238-39); that is why they bore a sun sign on their hindquarters (Fig. 238). References to Apam Napāt are less prominent; they appear as a lotus flower, or a bovine, which are water or night symbols (Fig. 237). In other words, even though the Medes had based their kingly ideology on the parity of Mithra with Apam Napāt, some of the smaller western states favored Mithra. By all evidence, Mithra had a dominant status in Western Iran.

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[560] Freeman et al. 2013, 85.
[561] Seipel 2000, 205.
[562] "I will stir up against them the Medes, who do not care for silver and have no delight in gold"; Isaiah (13.17)
[563] The analysis conducted at Oxford in 1993 by Peter Northover on some Kalmākareh pieces reveal, for instance, a 92-96% silver purity on samples referred to as R718-19, and 98.35 % on sample A47.

Fig. 233 – Assyrian vessel from Kalmākareh (Al-Sabah Coll.)

Fig. 234 – Silver statuettes from Kalmākareh (Miho Museum)

Fig. 235 – Kalmākareh vessel with fire altar on its lid. (Mahboubian Coll.)

Figs. 236 - a, b, c – Three silver vessels with intricate geometric designs from Kalmākareh. EMS collection.

Fig. 237 – Kalmākareh vessel lid, with a lotus-shaped fire altar. Surena coll.

Fig. 238 – Lions with solar marks (↑) on their hindquarters (Mahboubian Coll.)

Fig. 239 – Kalmākareh vessel with goat over fire altar (Miho Museum)

In sum, although, because of common names and titulature,[564] these domains are usually assigned to Media, they were independent principalities and not Median satellites.

XII.2 - Cyrus's Kingly Ideology

Historians generally shy away from defining Cyrus's religion.[565] But the facts speak for themselves. Cyrus *never* mentions Ahura Mazdā in his inscriptions; and in stark contrast to the decorative program of the tombs of later Achaemenids who praised Ahura Mazdā, a colossal sunflower-lotus combination (49cm wide) is carved on Cyrus's tomb, which was the dual Median symbol of Mithra and Apam Napāt (Fig. 240).[566]

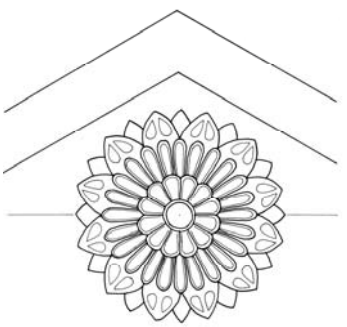

Fig. 240 – Lotus-sunflower combination on Cyrus's tomb (Roaf 1983, 137)

Fig. 241 – Drawing of Mithra by Ker Porter (Courtesy of P. Briant)

Fig. 242 - Lower part of door jamb depicting Apam Napāt. Pasargadae.

Furthermore, there are two figures in Pasargadae that, because of their impressive sizes, cannot be treated as mere decorative motifs. One is a winged anthropomorphic figure vaguely named "winged genius" by archaeologists and historians alike (Fig. 241), and the other, a half-broken fish-clad anthropomorphic figure that has received much less attention (Fig. 242). But if iconographic conventions are to inform one's perception, they must be categorized as deities, because one is a supernatural being by virtue of its wings, and the other has a bovine chimera standing guard behind it, spear in hand.[567] They both

[564] Potts 1999, 306.
[565] Briant 1996, 106-108.
[566] Stronach 1971, 155-58; Soudavar 2003, 88.
[567] David Stronach rightly argues that both the large bodied guardian sphinxes (found as shattered pieces) and the winged figures of Pasargadae were inspired by Assyrian prototypes, but then goes to great lengths to justify that even though the winged figures were facing "inwards and not outwards," they had apotropaic functions and were meant to "prevent malevolent forces to make their way in" (Stronach 2013, 66-69). But

belong to the realm of the gods, and since the double flowers on Cyrus's tomb point toward a Median ideology, we will try to prove that they indeed represent Mithra and Apam Napāt.

The winged figure wears royal Elamite attire;[568] and as such, it must represent the supreme deity of Cyrus—King of Anshan[569]—in the same way that Ahura Mazdā is clad like Ardashir I in Naqsh-e Rostam, and Jesus is often represented in the attire of Charlemagne (r. 768-814). This supreme deity must have been Mithra, to whom sacrifices continued to be made at his tomb site long after his death.[570] And indeed it can be perceived as such, provided we put aside the common misconception that Mithra's head must necessarily be adorned with shining rays.

Fig. 243 - Egyptian *hemhem*-type crown of Horus. Ptolemaic, Louvre

Fig. 244 - Syrian crown. 8th century BC, MMA

Fig. 245 - Crown of Mithra. Pasargadae

Mithra was first and foremost a god of covenant, but also associated with light and sun. He is the main purveyor of the *khvarenah*, and the qualities that *Yt.13:95* recognizes in him, namely to support authority and vanquish rebellion, are predicated on his control over the *khvarenah*. As such, the primary symbol of Mithra within the context of Median ideology should be in reference to *khvarenah* and not solar luminescence. In fact, the

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the Assyrian winged figures, and even their guardian sphinxes, whether inside or outside, were not apotropaic, but were there to project the king's majesty and grandeur rather than scare spirits off. Kings were inclined to display their strengths and not their weaknesses, especially in the Iranian context.

[568] See for instance Sekunda 2010, 268-71.

[569] For Cyrus's dynastic hold on the Elamite capital city of Anshan, see Potts 2005; for the use of this title in the Babylonian context, see Zournatzi 2011.

[570] Kuhrt 2007, I:87 (quoting Arrian); Briant 1996, 106 and 108.

regal crown of the winged figure projects just that (Fig. 245). Granted that the origin of this complex crown was foreign, i.e., the Egyptian *`atef* crown (single cone) or the *hem-hem* crown (triple cone) that entered Iranian iconography via Syria or Mesopotamia (Figs. 243-44),[571] but so were the origins of the lotus, sunflower, and the winged-disk. Although they are of foreign origin, they were adopted because they could represent the Iranian concept of *khvarenah*. Borrowing without adaptation simply had no value.

The Egyptian-type crown was adopted because it could admirably project the full cycle of the *khvarenah,* as in the Persepolis brick panel of Fig. 207. At the bottom of the crown we have pearl roundels with concentric circles on a slightly spherical surface. Instead of stacked lotuses, we have a cluster of reeds tied together to indicate the rise of the *khvarenah* from the waters. And finally, at the top we have solar-disks that radiate the *khvarenah* (Fig. 245). It is perhaps no mere coincidence that the *Bondahesh* states that the "*khvarenah* of Fereydun sat at the bottom of the *reed*."[572] Since Fereydun is the one who defeats and captures Zahhāk in the *Shāhnāmeh*, Cyrus's lore must have been partially transplanted onto this mythical hero of Indo-Iranian past. In addition, because the serpent was associated with the waters, especially in the Elamite tradition, the symbol of a solar-disk on the head of a rising snake projected the rise of the *khvarenah* from the waters.[573] The crown completed the *regal* outfit of Mithra, in tune with the title *khsathra-pati* that he formerly had (see sec. XI.9).

Fig. 246 – Seal with fish-clad deity behind the Moon god. Surena Collection

Fig. 247 – Neo Babylonian seal. Hermitage Museum

Fig. 248 – Assyrian basin. Pergamon Museum, Berlin.

As for the broken fish-clad figure, it clearly projected an aquatic deity. Even though it was inspired by Assyrian or Neo Babylonian prototypes (Figs. 247-48), in the Iranian context, it represented Apam Napāt, or the Child of the Waters. Like the plate of Fig. 53,

[571] For the origins and subsequent popularity of this crown in Egypt, see sec. XVI.4 and note 788 supra,
[572] Dādaghi 1990,151.
[573] It is interesting to note that, according to Kellens, the Vedic Apam Napāt was described as a serpent at the bottom of the sea; Kellens 2010-11, Cours 6.

in which Apam Napāt is associated with the moon god, an Elamite seal (Fig. 246) from the Surena collection shows a similar fish-clad deity following the Moon deity sitting on a crescent carried by hoofed creatures like the one depicted in Fig. 237. As Lord of the Night, Apam Napāt had always been associated with the moon, and had to be invoked for nighttime ceremonies held around the fire.

This once again exemplifies the adaptation of foreign ideas to Iranian needs, and provides visual proof for the Median ideology that, according to *Yt.13.95,* gave equal status to Mithra and Apam Napāt. If the effigy of one had to be displayed, so must have the other. As such, these two prominent bas-reliefs provide clear proof that Cyrus, and probably Cambyses,[574] adhered to the kingly ideology that the Medes had previously formulated and did not favor a Mazdean one. The preceding conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that Cyrus's generals had erected temples to Mithra and Anāhitā (as Apam Napāt's substitute), and not Ahura Mazdā.[575]

Finally, we have a 2nd-century Greek copy of Darius's letter to the *satrap* Gadatas in which he scolds him for his disrespect toward a sanctuary dear to his predecessors:

> … you have taxed the sacred gardeners of Apollo and compelled them to cultivate a profane land in disrespect of my ancestors' reverence for the deity who spoke to the Persians with words of truth.[576]

Even though Pierre Briant has suggested that this copy is a "fake," I have argued that forgery needs a motive, and one can hardly find any incentive for reproducing, in the midst of a Roman Empire at war with Iran, a translation of Darius's words concerning the temple of Apollo in Magnesia of Meander, unless its purpose was to assure the continued function of this sanctuary as one dedicated to a solar deity.[577] Darius was certainly not insinuating that any of his ancestors (read predecessors) were Apollo worshipers. When translating Persian texts, Greeks always took the liberty of changing concepts and names into more understandable ones. This temple was probably dedicated at first to Mithra, the deity that Cyrus's Median generals favoured. Apollo came to replace Mithra at a later

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[574] If Herodotus (III, 65) is to be trusted, when Cambyses asks his followers to seek revenge on Gaumāta, he does it "in the name of the *gods* of [his] royal house" and not Ahura Mazdā (or Zeus in the Greek context).
[575] Strabo (XI.8.4); Soudavar 2003, 107-111; Bivar 1998, 12-13; Razmjou 2005, 150.
[576] *DMM* (preserved in Greek); see Lecoq 1996, 277. The text appears on a stele from the Louvre (MA 2934). The Greeks regularly translated Mithra as Apollo, and in any case, Darius's predecessors could not have revered this Greek deity.
[577] Soudavar 2003, 108-111; for Briant's article, see: *www.achemenet.com/pdf/grecs/gadatas.pdf.*

date.[578] In any event, Darius was enraged by Gadatas's lack of sensitivity for a deity that members of his family had worshiped. *Vis à vis* an outsider, family pride and prestige was more important than ideology, even if it meant protecting a Mithraic sanctuary that was not to his liking.

Against this background, Darius's promotion of Ahura Mazdā at the expense of the Median deities must be regarded as a major religious upheaval. And like all such upheavals, it was accompanied by much turmoil, factional animosity, and infighting. It was in fact a true revolution, a revolution that Zoroaster had perhaps unsuccessfully attempted to bring about before him.

XII.3 - Situating Zoroaster in Time and Space

We have already produced much evidence in support of the Traditional Date for Zoroaster, according to which he must have been active in the first half of the sixth century BC (circa 618-541 BC). To fully understand the role he played in the spread of the religion that bears his name and the mechanism by which it spread across the Iranian plateau, we must first find his powerbase and assess his stature therewith.

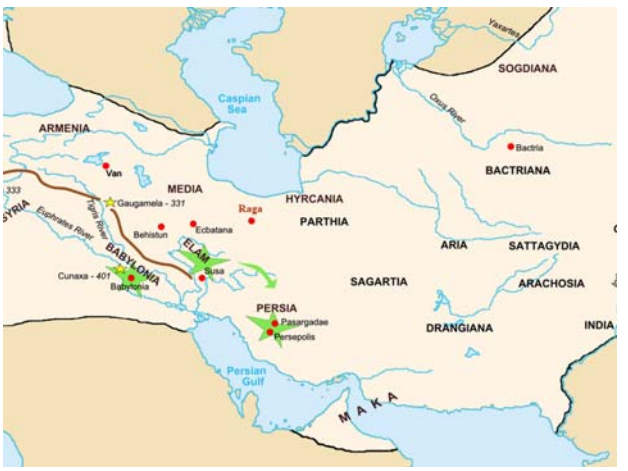

Fig. 249 – Raga within the Achaemenid Empire

The crucial evidence is offered by the author of *Y.19* (see Appendix II), who suggests that Ahura Mazdā gifted the world with five levels of leadership, which he then expounds through a series of questions and answers:

[578] Cyrus's general, Mazares, gave Magnesia along with the plain of Meander "to his army to pillage" (Her. I:108-10). If there ever was an Apollo sanctuary there, it probably didn't fare well. Harpagus, who then became satrap of Magnesia, either rededicated a ruined temple to Mithra or erected a new one in its stead.

> *Y.19.18*. (Q) Who are the leaders? (A.) They are the house-chief, the village-chief, the tribe-chief, the nation-chief, and Zarathushtra is the fifth, except for the nation in which Zarathushtra reigns. Zarathushtra's Raga has four chiefs (only).
> (Q) Who are the chiefs there? (A) (They are) the house-chief, the village-chief, the tribe-chief, and Zarathushtra is the fourth.

Since the author's aim was to make his Prophet more powerful than all rulers, he placed him above nation-chiefs in every region of the world, except in Raga where he saw no need for it. For Raga, he enumerated only four hierarchical levels, Zoroaster occupying the fourth as nation-chief. It clearly designates Zoroaster as the ruler of Raga.

Mary Boyce admits that already in the Achaemenid era the priesthood believed that Zoroaster was born in Raga; but trapped in her dogmatic beliefs about Zoroaster, she dismisses this information by relying on a presumed theory that there existed a similarly named region, somewhere in the Eastern Iranian World, which was his real birth place.[579] In other words, the very clear information of *Y.19.18* must be wrong because it doesn't fit the dogma; Zoroaster had to be from BMAC or its vicinity! In fact, the rulership of Zoroaster is corroborated by supporting evidence.

Firstly, by his own words where he laments in *Y.46* being chased from his land:

> *Y.46.1* - To what land shall I turn, and whither turning shall I go? For my kinsmen and my peers have deserted me. Not the people, nor their wicked rulers, favor me. How shall I satisfy Thee, O Ahura Mazda?

A simple priest might be chased from his temple, but Zoroaster complains about the loss of his land, and kinsmen who no longer support him. What's more, the animosity that he attracts comes from other nations and their rulers, beyond the borders of Raga. He is thus a man of stature and not a mere preacher unknown to the outside world.

Secondly, by the regal attire he wears on the BNF seal (Fig. 232). Indeed, if the engraver's aim was solely to follow the *Avesta* and emphasize Zoroaster's possession of the Aryan *khvarenah*, he would have simply put a winged-disk above him. But if in addition, he depicts him in regal attire, it's because he considered him as a ruler in his own right. Political or religious propaganda is seldom built on a non-existent foundation; there usually exists a basis, no matter how thin, which is then strengthened and amplified in successive stages. So much insistence on Zoroaster's rulership must therefore reflect a certain reality: He truly was the ruler of Raga, no matter how important or unimportant Raga was.

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[579] Boyce 1996, II:8.

Because of Raga's strategic position on the Silk Road (Fig. 249), and within the Median Empire, one can very well imagine that neither the Medes were happy with a zealot who praised Ahura Mazdā, nor neighboring kinglets and governors. Astyages must then have invaded Raga, and pushed Zoroaster to flee.[580] But where to? The only logical place was Persis, which was beyond the reach of Astyages, and where its rulers revered Ahura Mazdā. Zoroaster sought refuge there, with Darius's father Vishtāspa who was sympathetic to his cause:

> *Y.46.14* - O Zarathushtra, what man is thy faithful friend for the consummation of the Great Cause? Who wishes to have thy mission announced? Verily, he is Kavi Vishtāspa...

But not everybody applauded the arrival of Zoroaster. Although the caste of Persian fire-keepers, i.e., the *pārsa*s, whom Zoroaster calls the *kavi*s, were also Mazdā worshipers, they did not necessarily welcome him into Persis. That is why, along with the *karpan*s, Zoroaster complains about the tyranny of the *kavi*s, even though Vishtāspa himself was a *kavi*:

> *Y.46.11* - The Karpans and the Kavis have *tyrannized* over humanity. Their evil actions are destructive of Life. Verily, the conscience of such a one shall torment his soul. And thus, when they shall come to the Bridge of Judgment, their abode for endless ages shall be in the House of the Lie.

According to *Denkard VII.4.65* and *VII.5.4*, once at Vishtāspa's court, Zoroaster had to submit to numerous tests and ordeals, probably administered by the *kavi*s/*pārsa*s. His stature as a prince must have played an important role in his acceptance by Vishtāspa; to the extent that the latter's daughter, Amytis_2 (Humaiti), may have married Zoroaster (see Table 4). Although Ctesias's account is garbled, and confuses Amytis_1 (daughter of Astyages) with Amytis_2 (daughter of Vishtāspa), it emphasizes that she was married to a "Spitamas" and had two sons from him. Throughout the *Avesta* (e.g., *Yt.13.94*), Zoroaster is designated as a "Spitamaid" (*spitamō zaraθuštrō*); a designation that is akin to Darius's "Achaemenid" affiliation. It is confirmed by the *Bondahesh,* which says that Zoroaster's eighth ancestor was called "Spitaman." As such, Vishtāspa would have welcomed the marriage of his daughter to a neighboring prince, even though the latter was on the run. Ctesias's "Spitamas" can hardly refer to anyone but Zoroaster.

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[580] For texts that attribute Zoroaster's kingdom and birthplace to Raga, see Herzfeld, 1947, 61-65. The chasing of Zoroaster from his land must have coincided with the turmoils that afflicted Astyages's end of reign, and allowed Cyrus to topple him from the Median throne, circa 555 BC. The conversion date of Vishtāspa had to be modified within an unsubstantiated reign that reached 120 years in the *Bondahesh*.

Ctesias then purports that Cyrus killed Spitama and married Amytis. But one can very well imagine what Ctesias had heard, something like: "after Spitama's death, Cyrus married his wife," which in the course of successive transmissions was changed into a Greek-like tragedy in which Cyrus had to kill the husband in order to marry his wife. Zoroaster, however, died at the advanced age of seventy-seven; there was no need for Cyrus to kill him. On the other hand, it would have made perfect sense for Cyrus to marry $Amytis_2$ after Zoroaster's death, not only to consolidate his relationship with the main branch of the Achaemenids, but also to win the favor of Zoroaster's followers.

Zoroaster's sojourn in Persis must have paved the way for, if not the conversion of a few *pārsa*s to his cause, at least for bringing their ideology closer to his. *Pārsa*s held a weapon standing before the fire and were probably more involved with warfare than theology. On the other hand, the members of the Hvogva family, whom Zoroaster entrusted with spreading the tenets of his religion, seemed to have belonged to a caste of learned priesthood; they were urged to act as role models, and explain the laws of Ahura Mazdā to people (*Y.46.16-17*). By contrast, when addressing his own kinsmen (*Y.46.15*), Zoroaster encourages them to be able to distinguish between Right and Wrong. This, in conjunction with his earlier lament about them (*Y.46.1*), shows that they had neither totally espoused his teachings nor had followed him in exile.[581] He must have fled with only a few devotees.

Over the long run, if a Mazdean religion was to take root among Iranian nations, it had to be through the more theological-minded disciples of Zoroaster rather than the *pārsa*s. Like Shāh Esmā`il who imposed Shiism on the Iranian population, Darius promoted Mazdaism as a new state religion. But the task to popularize it befell the Zoroastrian priesthood, who, once the Achaemenids were removed from power, saw an opportunity to fashion it for its own glory. That is also what the Shiite clergy undertook after the fall of the Safavids. In both cases, the clergy had to patiently develop its theology under the aegis of monarchs who shared the same passionate veneration for Ahura Mazdā, or for `Ali, until a time when they could emerge from the shadow of their protectors.

XII.4 - Turning Astyages into Zahhāk

A major mystery of Iranian history is the infamous tyrant Zahhāk, whom the *Shāhnāmeh* and histories of ancient Iran describe as having two serpents springing out of his

[581] Zoroaster not only addresses his own kinsmen as "O ye Spitamaids," but also emphasizes that they were descendants of Haechtaspa (*Y.46.15*). Chances are that Haechtaspa is the one who first ruled over Ragae, and Zoroaster is reminding his progenies to defend his legacy *vis à vis* the Medes.

shoulders. A closer look at the sources, however, reveals that he is not all that evil, since he is described as more "powerful than pharaohs" with achievements "unequalled by any of the prophets," was more powerful than any known human being, and was a king whose lineage reached back to the primordial man/king Gayumarth. His Iranian "name" was said to be Bivarasp, which, by its very meaning (*bivar*=10000, ***asp***=horse), designated a man of immense fortitude and fortune;[582] it was more likely to be an epithet than a name and correlates with the **Asp**andas that Diodorus of Sicily purports to be the name of Astyages.[583] Furthermore, his descent from Gayumarth, who gave the Aryan people its *chithra/chisa* (i.e., *khvarenah*), qualified him as a legitimate Iranian ruler.[584] Without the *khvarenah*, he could not have reigned at all, let alone for a thousand years.

While later sources provide an Arab genealogy for him, the tenth-century historians Bal`ami and Ebn-e Meskavayh explain that Zahhāk, whom the Zoroastrian priests called Bivarasp, was nicknamed "Azh-dahāq" because he had two protrusions on his shoulders that looked like snakes (*azhdahā*).[585] The powerful Bivarasp had therefore been likened to the mythical three-headed Indo-Iranian snake-monster that the *Avesta* names "Azhi-dahāga." But why? And who was Bivarasp?

The answer is provided by the Armenian chronicler, Moses Khorenats`i. He mentions that the last King of the Medes, named "Azhdahak," married the sister of Tigran, the King of Armenia. Although he credits the actual killing of Azhdahak to Tigran, he acknowledges that he did it with the "willing help and encouragement of Cyrus." He also relates that because of intermarriage with the Medes, later kings of Armenia were said to be descendants of "Azhdahak," which he says "meant dragon in our tongue."[586]

As early as the 1900s, scholars had noticed a great similarity between Herodotus's story of Astyages and that of Azhi-dahāga, not only phonetically, but also in the narrative details, such as: They were both defeated by the defection or mutiny of their own people, and, both Astyages and Azhi-dahāga were left alive after defeat. And, whereas Berossus

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[582] Ṭabarī 1996, 1:136, Ibn al-Athīr 1996, I:264, Dādagī 1990, 128.
[583] Diodorus (IX:20): "When Astibaras, the king of the Medes, died of old age in Ecbatana, his son Aspandas (Ἀσπάνδαν), whom the Greeks call Astyages, succeeded to the throne."
[584] See *Yt.13:87*, and its interpretation in Soudavar 2006b,169-70.
[585] Bal`ami 1999, I:102; Ebn-e Meskavayh 1976, I:55.
[586] Khorenats`i 1978, 110-123. Martin Schwartz follows James Russell in suggesting that the identification of Astyages with Azhi-dahāga was due to a double conflation: A phonetic one between Azhidahak and the name of the last Median king "Astuag" that Khorenats`i supposedly got from Eusebius, and the confusion arising from the Armenian word *mar`k* (Mede) and Middle Persian *mār* (snake); Schwartz 2012, 276. Yet, no contradiction emerges from either of these conflations to invalidate them as evidence. To the contrary, they tie in well with the explanation we offer on the next page and the *Shāhnāmeh* (see note 637 infra).

attributes the construction of certain gardens in Babylon to Nebuchadnezzar II trying to recreate—in lower Mesopotamia—a Median climate for his wife Amytis, daughter of Astyages,[587] the *Bondahesh* and other Zoroastrian texts relate that Azhi-dahāga built a dwelling in Babylon.[588] There are simply too many correlating factors to ignore the possibility of common identity between Astyages and Azhi-dahāga.[589]

What is suggested by the above is that the last of the Medes, i.e., Astyages, otherwise called Bivarasp, was vilified by subsequent chroniclers who nicknamed him Azhi-dahāga, or snake-man.[590] They also wiped out his ancestors and predecessors, by giving their regnal years to Azhi-dahāga, in order to credit him with one long reign of one thousand years. Such a hypothesis meshes perfectly with our suggestion about Zoroaster being chased from his fiefdom of Raga by Astyages. In the eyes of Zoroastrians, Astyages had committed a cardinal sin and merited eternal damnation. He was thus equated with the mythical monster Azhi-dahāga. But such a vilification is never made up out of thin air. The question is: where did the Zoroastrian priesthood get the idea to turn Astyages into a snake-man?

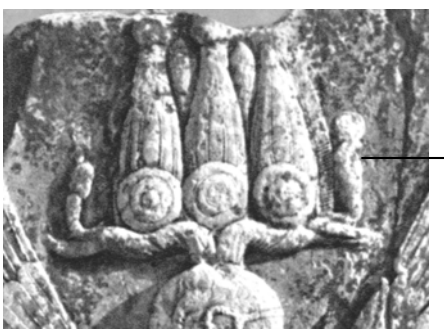

Fig. 250 - Astyages's crown on Mithra's head. Pasargadae

Fig. 251- Zahhāk with his shoulder snakes (Freer Gallery)

As far as I can tell, Astyages was nicknamed as such for two reasons. Firstly, the crown of the Pasargadae Mithra—which I explained to reflect Median kingly ideology—must have been his. For Astyages, who had to compete with neighboring kings with whom he had struck matrimonial alliances, it was essential to show pomp and grandeur, whereas

[587] Kuhrt 2007, II:44. Briant notes that Berossus's account of Amytis cannot be reconciled with facts (Briant 1996, 35), even though the name of Amytis concords with Ctesias's account, and despite the fact that Emily Kuhrt believes Berossus had access to "original documents." What is of interest to us, though, is that the Babylonian Berossus saw a tie between Astyages and Babylon, which concords with the *Bondahesh*.
[588] Pakzad 2005, 361; Dadagi 1990, 138: "Zahhāk's mansion in Babylon was just like a crane (*kolang*)."
[589] See Oldham 1905, 37-40, for an early identification of Astyages with Azhi-dahāga.
[590] Schwartz 2012.

for Cyrus, who had subjugated all his neighbours, there was no such need. On the other hand, Cyrus, who so highly praised a local god (Marduk) in the Babylonian context (i.e. on the Cyrus Cylinder), would have certainly done the same in the Iranian context. More than being his god, Mithra must have been the god of the Median Empire that he had inherited from his grandfather. It therefore made sense to adorn Mithra in the most regal fashion possible. Chances are that Cyrus hadn't had time to create a new imperial crown when he got to Pasargadae. He must have therefore opted for Astyages's crown to adorn Mithra's head. And that's where Zoroastrians got the idea to turn Astyages into a snake-man. They simply took the two snakes of Astyages's crown and planted it on his shoulders (Figs. 250-51).

Secondly, as we have explained,[591] in the game of changing names, people in general, and Iranians in particular, try to have a phonetic similarity between the old and the new, no matter how tenuous it is. Thus, Astyages's name Ishtevega (Babyl. *Iš-tu-me-gu*), which reflected the Old Iranian form **Ṛšti-vaiga-* (swinging the spear, lance-hurler) was switched to Azhi-dahāga, both ending with *–ga*, in order to turn him into a snake-man.[592]

XII.5 - Assessing the Magophonia

In describing a very odd event that he names Magophonia, Herodotus recounts (III:79) that after Darius and his six conspirators had killed the usurper magus Gaumāta/Smerdis:

> … five of them carrying the Magi's heads ran outside with much shouting and commotion, calling all Persians to aid, telling what they had done and showing the heads; at the same time *they killed every Magus that came in their way*. The Persians, when they learned what had been done by the seven and how the Magi had tricked them, resolved to follow the example set, *and drew their daggers* and killed all the Magi they could find; and if nightfall had not stopped them they would not have left one Magus alive. *This day* is the greatest holy day that all Persians alike keep; they celebrate a great festival on it, which they call the Massacre of the Magi (Magophonia); while the festival lasts no Magus may go outdoors, but during this day the Magi remain in their houses.

As unbelievable as such a general massacre of the magi may sound, Ctesias (who does not always see eye to eye with Herodotus), as well as Agathias, also relate the event and provide added credibility to it.[593] Agathias (2.26.4), however, explains that those who

[591] See note 505 supra.
[592] In post-Revolution Tehran, Vali-ye `ahd (Crown prince) square was changed to the Vali-ye `asr (the Mahdi) square; Sorayyā street was changed to Somayya (both women, with a name starting with an S sound), but Takht-e Jamshid avenue was changed to Tāleqani, only on account of the T sound at the beginning.
[593] de Jong 1997, 377.

were massacred were the usurper's "political and religious sympathizers." The story is further supported by the *Bondahesh,* which describes a state of chaos and fratricide when Darius (alias Bahman) ascended to the throne:

> "In that same millennium, when kingship came to Bahman son of Esfandyār, [Erān-shahr] was in a bleak state and Iranians destroyed one another."[594]

Moreover, there are a number of phenomena that can only be explained through the Magophonia. First and foremost is the fact that the *Avesta* does not use the term *magu*, despite its common use in Iranian languages to designate a priest (see sec. XI.15). Zoroastrians chose instead the artificial word *athravan,* which also meant fire-priest or fire-keeper. It did not last very long, since Zoroastrians gradually switched back to *magu.* But there was no such option in the aftermath of Magophonia when the *magi* were being massacred. *Pārsa* couldn't be used either as it designated the Achaemenid line of priests, whom Zoroaster referred to as *kavi*s. The only choice was to create an artificial word, *athravan.* It was modeled after the Achaemenid *pārsa* whom Zoroastrian priests tried to replace after Alexander's conquest of Iran.

Second is a set of emblematic compositions in the doorways of Persepolis, usually described as a "hero" or "royal hero" grappling with a chimera. But the decorative programs of ancient Iranian palaces were neither to illustrate mythology, nor to reflect a circus scene before the king. They were all conceived to project the majesty and power of the king, either through the support that was shown to him by deities and his own subjects, and/or through his own extraordinary deeds. They essentially served as propaganda tools; and the more dominant and impressive the composition was, the more important the message it was supposed to convey was. By their position in the doorways of a ceremonial hall, *and their impressive size*, this beast-killing series of bas-reliefs must have reflected Darius's most important concerns, i.e., the annihilation of the Median ideology on the one hand, and the killing of the usurper Gaumāta, on the other.

We have already explained that, as the most iconic motif of Persepolis, the lion-and-bull emblem projected day and night as a continuous revolution, in opposition to a world divided into two realms. But to establish this unified vision, the Median dual realms had to be annihilated first. And that's what the killing of the bull in one doorway of Darius's palace, and the lion in the other, were meant to convey (Figs. 252-53). In the same way that he buried Lydian coins struck with lion-bull motifs in the corners of his palace, Darius was projecting, above ground, the annihilation of the Median day-night division.

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[594] Dādagi 1990, 140; Pakzad 2005, 366.

Fig. 252 –Darius fighting a lion. Persepolis

Fig. 253 – Darius fighting a bull. Persepolis

Fig. 254 - Darius grappling with a lion chimera. British Museum caste

Fig. 255 – Assyrian lion hunt. British Museum

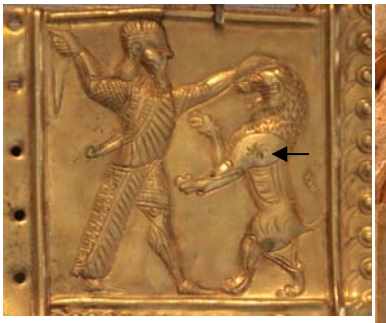

Fig. 256 – Urartuan killing a lion with a solar emblem (↑). Louvre

Fig. 257 - Griffin and scorpion-tailed chimera (↑). Ziviyyeh pectoral. MMA

Fig. 258 – Griffin on Nero's breast plate. Istanbul Archeological Museum

Fig. 259 – Darius grappling with a griffin. Persepolis

In ancient Assyrian traditions, the king was often portrayed hunting a lion, or occasionally a bull, but never the two in the same context (Fig. 255). A seal imprint from the British Museum, as well as palace drawings, shows an Assyrian king grabbing a lion by his mane and killing it with a dagger.[595] We also have an Urartu belt with a series of gold plaques depicting a similar composition; and as it most often happens in Northwest Iran, the lion is marked by a solar emblem (Fig. 256). Even though the prototype of these compositions may have been Assyrian or Urartuan, when adopted they were supposed to be relevant in the Persian context. These doorjamb images are neither about a hunt, nor a singular display of strength; rather they project a brawl ending in an assassination by single or double daggers. The brawl aspect is emphasized by the fact that the animals are *grappling* with the hero. As such, they recall Herodotus's description by which Darius and his co-conspirators stabbed the Magus Gaumāta, as well as every magus that they encountered afterwards, with a *knife* (III:78-79):

> …as Gobryas and the Magus wrestled together, Darius stood helpless in the darkness, afraid of stabbing Gobryas. Gobryas, seeing Darius stand helpless, asked why he did not lend a hand; and he said, "Because I am afraid for you, that I might stab you." And Gobryas answered, "Stick your sword even if it goes through us both." So Darius complying stabbed with his *knife* and somehow stuck the Magus.

Parivash Jamzadeh has noted that the hero's "mode of fighting is like subduing a human foe."[596] Her description befits the stabbing of the lion monster (Fig. 254), which must represent the Median magi in general, and Gaumāta in particular.[597] Indeed, this type of winged chimera with a lion face, bull's horns, bird feathers, ostrich feet, and a scorpion tail had long been associated with Mithra and the sun, as they often carried a sun emblem on their hindquarters (Fig. 417). In addition, since scorpions were always associated with Mithraic congregations (see sec. VI.1), it stands to reason that this scorpion-tailed chimera was emblematic of the magi that engaged in bull sacrificing ceremonies. Ctesias's remark (Fr.13 §12) that Gaumāta had Bardiya killed by feeding him bull's blood provides further confirmation for such an assumption.

Be that as it may, it is clear that as a group, these bas-reliefs were in praise of actions undertaken by Darius and not an imaginary hero. All credit was given to him for killing the reviled magus, and if Darius is portrayed in non-royal garb, it's because he was not yet a king when stabbing Gaumāta.

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[595] Curtis & Reade 2005, 188. To my knowledge, we don't have an Assyrian king killing the bull one-on-one.
[596] Jamzadeh 1995, 9.
[597] See also Soudavar 2012b, 53-55.

The propaganda tone in praise of Darius's deed seems to have increased from his palace to Xerxes's Hall of one Hundred Columns. The escalation is visible in two ways: a) the increase in size of the beasts relative to Darius (Fig. 399 vs. Fig. 254), b) the addition of a fourth doorjamb with a griffin (Fig. 259).[598] By virtue of its eagle head and wings, the griffin was supposed to fly high in the sky, and that's why the Greeks and the Romans associated it with the sun.[599] Apollo's chariot was said to be pulled by a griffin, and the Roman Emperor Nero (r. 54-68), whom Tiridates I of Armenia (r. 63-?) had likened to Mithra, had two griffins on his armor plate (Fig. 258).[600] Moreover, in Iran, the griffin had been traditionally associated with the scorpion-tailed chimera, with or without a sun-emblem (Figs. 99, 257, 417). Its stabbing thus conveyed the same animosity toward the Mithraic magi as did the stabbing of the scorpion-tailed chimera.

Fig. 260 – A *div* with a dragon tail from the Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmeh*. MMA

This escalation in form and content may go hand in hand with the zeal that Xerxes showed in pursuing those he saw as "*daiva*-worshipers" in his *XPh* inscriptions:

> And among these nations there was a place where previously demons (Av. *daeva*, OP *daiva*) were worshiped. Afterwards, by the grace of Ahura Mazdā I destroyed that sanctuary of demons, and I proclaimed: 'The demons shall not be worshiped!'

As such, the transformation of the Indo-Iranian *daeva* into the Persian *div* (Fig. 260) is crucial to the understanding of the Magophonia as a milestone of Persian history.

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[598] In a previous article (Soudavar 2012b, 54-55), I had mistakenly assumed that for maintaining symmetry, the group comprised four beasts in Darius's palace, as well as Xerxes's "harem" and Hall of One Hundred Columns. A closer look at the plans and images, however, revealed that the first two did not have the griffin. I am indebted to Shahrokh Razmjou for verifying this for me in situ.
[599] True 2002, 107; Wikipedia: "Griffin."
[600] Cassius Dio, 63.5.2; see the full quotation further below, on page 283.

XII.6 - Turning the Indo-Iranian *Daeva* into *Div*

A major dilemma of Iranian history is how a word, which in the early Indo-European context referred to divinities with a positive connotation, turned into the demoniac Persian *div,* but kept its original positive connotation in Sanskrit as *deva*, in Latin as *deus*, and in French as *dieu*.

Citing a number of previous studies, Clarisse Herrenschmidt and Jean Kellens conclude that in the Gathas, the *daiva*s hadn't as yet "become demons" but constituted a category of "genuine gods" who had been "rejected." While other scholars have suggested a gradual transformation, they foresaw the possibility of an abrupt change if "the survival of a positive sense for **daiva-*" could be detected somewhere in an Iranian dialect. They present four possibilities, but reject them all for not being "conclusive." Their most important one is the onomastic evidence. They proffer that names with a *div/daiva* component only existed in Sogdiana, where they insinuate Buddhism might have been of influence, and therefore, push it aside and leave the whole discussion in limbo.[601]

But their contention about the onomastic evidence is simply not true. Chronicles of the Mongol and Safavid eras name, for instance, Mohammad-e Div and Shams-od-din-e Div, who ruled in Māzandarān.[602] The Safavid chronicler Eskandar Beyk relates that a certain Mirak-e Div, who was from the "caste of the *div*s of Māzandarān," was appointed deputy governor to a prince.[603] For Eskandar Beyk, not only were these rulers part of a caste surnamed as "the *div*s," but they belonged to Māzandarān, the very region that the *Shāhnāmeh* says was ruled by *divs* (see also sec. XV.2). While these rulers proudly assumed the name Div, others associated the word *div* with demoniac creatures. A divide was thus created at one point in time, with some Iranians demonizing a certain category of divinities, while others refused to follow suit.

Such a crucial divide about religious beliefs could only happen as the result of a coercive policy implemented from above, over a *sustained* period of time. A one-time outbreak, no matter how intense, couldn't have provoked this. If the dogmas about Zoroaster belonging to the second millennium BC, and Cyrus being a Zoroastrian, are set aside, logic dictates that the only cataclysmic event capable of producing such a situation was

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601 Herrenschmidt & Kellens 1993.

602 Khorshāh 2000: 227; Qomi 1980, II:690-702. In Transoxiana, the name Div-dād (div-given) is found with some odd combinations: Div-dād b. Div-dast (Tabari 1996, XIV:6337), or Div-dād b. Zardosht (Gardizi 1984, 182).

603 Eskandar beyk, I:210 : میرک دیو را که از طبقهٔ دیوان مازندران بمزید عقل و کیاست ممتاز بود بوکالت شاهزاده تعیین کردند

the Magophonia, an event that Herodotus explains in detail, but nobody seems to assess its consequences.

The Magophonia was essentially the eruption of long-simmering animosity between the *pārsa*s, who revered Ahura Mazdā, and the Median magi who believed in the supremacy of Mithra and Apam Napāt. Imagine Cyrus conquering the Median Empire and trying to preserve its administration as well as religious institutions. Inevitably, members of the royal family and Cyrus's kinsmen must have tried to position themselves in the higher echelons of the hierarchy. Darius, for instance, managed to be "quiver-bearer" to Cyrus and "lance-bearer" to Cambyses. Along with the princes, the *pārsa*s must have asked for their fair share— or perhaps unfair share—of power.

In the same way that the Amon clergy of Egypt resented, under Akhenaten (r. 1351–1334 BC), the takeover of official functions by the Atonian priesthood, the Median Magi must have resented the rise in prestige and function of their Persian opponents. But unlike the Amon priests who were successful in recapturing their lost privileges after the demise of Akhenaten, the coup d'état that Gaumāta and the Median magi concocted after the death of Cambyses lasted only a few months. The Magophonia must have erupted in reaction to the harshness of the actions undertaken by Gaumāta and the Median magi.[604]

Herodotus, as well as Darius (in Bisotun), hints at the reign of terror implemented by Gaumāta. But it is Ctesias who provides us with a more vivid description of the harsh measures taken when he recounts that Bardiya was killed by making him drink bull's blood. He also relates that Vishtāspa's daughter, $\text{Amytis}_{2,}$ committed suicide in the process, but chances are that she and her two sons were actually killed by the instigation of Gaumāta.[605]

No matter how mild or intense the Magophonia was at first, it seems that it provoked a witch-hunting atmosphere that escalated under Xerxes, for in his *XPh* inscription he not only claims to have destroyed the sanctuary of demons in an undefined province of the empire, but to have forbidden the worship of rival deities branded as *daiva*s. By all indications, this province was the Māzandarān, which, throughout its history, always resisted sudden religious changes, mostly because of the formidable protection it enjoyed from the Alborz chain of mountains. It resisted conversion to Islam after the Arab

[604] As Herzfeld rightly points out, Herodotus emphasizes that the Magophonia massacre happened on a festival day, probably the Mithrakāna (Mehregān); Herzfeld 1947, 206-207. Throughout history, a festive day has often been chosen to mount an insurrection or stealth operation. See also note 636 infra.
[605] Soudavar 2012b, 68.

invasions, and must have equally resisted the imposition of Darius's brand of Mazdaism. Not only did we see that the names with a "*div*" component remained popular in that area, but the *Avesta*'s frequent references to "Mazandari *daeva*s," reflected the demonization of a category of people who refused Mazdaism and clung to earlier gods, especially Mithra.[606] They incarnated the heretic and the villain whom Zoroastrian prayers regularly sought to eliminate.[607] By their very name, the Mazandari *daeva*s indicate that the province Xerxes had singled out must have been the Māzandarān. Furthermore, while the early Achaemenids branded their religious opponents as *daiva* worshipers, Zoroastrian priests further escalated the rhetoric by labeling the Mithraic magi as *khrafstar*-ish *daeva*s (scorpion-like demons), thus associating snakes and scorpions with them (see Appendix II.5). Moreover, the provincial rulers of the Gilān and Māzandarān areas often had epithets such as *div, amirag/amira, mirak* and *sa`luk*, which all link back to the Mithraic societies (see sec. XVI.1). They clearly vouch for the strong survival of non-Zoroastrian beliefs in the northern regions of Iran.

XII.7 - The *Pārsa* Academy

In his Cyropaedia, Xenophon (c. 430-354 BC) asserts (8.1.23) that "for the first time the college of magi was instituted" under Cyrus. This college of the magi was certainly Pasargadae (Her.1.125: *Πασαργάδαι*), since Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) affirms (VI.39) that, in his days, "Pasargada" was "held by the Magi." This name must reflect OP *Pārsa-kadag* meaning "dwelling of the *pārsa*s," especially since, Pliny's contemporary, Quintus Curtius Rufus spells it as "Parsagada."[608] The fourth-century BC Greek writer, Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who relates that Pasargadae meant "Persian camp,"[609] only provides a half-truth because the suffix *kadag* implies residency.[610] Pasargadae was not

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[606] Gherardo Gnoli, taking his cue from Ilya Gershevitch, noted that Mithra and the goddess Anāhitā "besides being two *yazatas* for the authors of the Avestan Yashts and two *bagas* for Artaxerxes II, were also two *daevas* for the disciples of a religion that was repudiated by the Zoroastrians"; Gnoli, 2000, 32. Gnoli also refers to Gershevitch's analysis of *Yasht* 5:94, and *Yasht* 10:108, showing that those qualified as *daeva*-worshipers offered libations and sacrifices to Mithrā and Anāhitā.

[607] The "Mazandari *daeva*s" expression has no Vedic parallel, and appears in *Y.27.1, Y.57.17*, 32, *Yt.1.32, , Yt.5.22, Yt.9.4, Yt.11.12, Yt.15.8, Yt.17125, Yt.19.26*, i.e., mostly in the Late *Avesta.* As such, it is proper to the Iranian context. One can hardly imagine a situation by which a whole region accepted to be named after demoniac creatures, and proudly kept that name thereafter. The naming process usually follows the opposite pattern. It's because the people of Māzandarān were regarded as demoniacs, or more likely heretics, that the expression "Mazandari *daeva*s" came into being.

[608] Quintus Curtius (5.6.10): *Accessere ad hanc pecuniae summam captis Parsagadis sex milia talentum. Cyrus Parsagada urbem condiderat.* Pliny (VI.39): *inde ad orientem magi optinent phrasargida castellum, in quo cyri sepulchrum*. See also Soudavar 2012b, 56-58; Lecoq 1997: 146.

[609] Asher et al. 2007, 163.

[610] For instance *ātash-kadeh* is where the fire resides or is sheltered. Same for *dāneshkadeh*.

an encampment where Persians would come and go, but was a dwelling where certain *pārsa*s took residence.

The name *Περσεπόλεως* (Persepolis)[611] that Greeks used for Darius's capital could not have meant "Persian City" (*Περσεσ-πόλεως*), nor "City of the Persians" (*Πέρσαι-πόλεως*); it neither made sense nor represented a known formula, and if that was the Greek writers' intent, they would have probably called it Perso-polis. But the city founded by Darius should have borne his name; it was probably named Pārsa-gerd, i.e., the city of the *pārsa*, since Darius was the ultimate *pārsa*. Therefore, the Greek "Persepolis" was a translation that they understood to indicate the Pārsa's *polis*.

As Vogelsang had noted, the word "Persian" in Darius's inscriptions was not necessarily an indicator of ethnicity, and could have meant something else.[612] The Normans who came to England were from Normandy, but Normandy itself got its name from the Vikings who settled there and whom the Francs referred to as "North man." The Germanic Saxons who came from Saxony got their name because of the weapon ("sax") that they carried. Thus prior to meaning a "man from Persia," where the *pārsa*s had settled, *pārsa* must have had a meaning of its own. That we argued to be "fire priest."

It would be wrong to assume, as Stronach and Gropnick do,[613] that Pasargadae was Cyrus's capital. If it was meant to be his capital, it would have been named Kurosh-gerd, or something similar, but certainly not Pārsa-kadag, which referred to a priestly dwelling. Strabo (15.3.8) related that Cyrus built Pasargadae in the location where he first defeated Astyages, and referred to it as a "city" he founded, and not his capital.[614] Cyrus further honored that place by bringing the college of the *pārsa*s and building a pavilion or palace. That does not mean that he moved his harem and administration there; in fact, there is no archeological evidence to warrant a "capital" labeling for Pasargadae.[615] Cyrus's capital must have remained in Anshan, for he still styled himself "King of Anshan" on the Cyrus Cylinder, more than sixteen years later.

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[611] This is the spelling used by Strabo (2.1.24).
[612] Vogelsang 1998, 2001.
[613] Stronach and Gropnick 2009.
[614] Strabo Geography 15.3.8: "Cyrus held Pasargadae in honour, because he there conquered Astyages the Mede in his last battle, transferred to himself the empire of Asia, founded a city, and constructed a palace as a memorial of his victory."
[615] In private conversation, Rémy Boucharlat, who has extensively excavated in Pasargade, has confirmed to me that there is absolutely no evidence Pasargadae was an active city, let alone a capital.

Fig. 261 – Warrior priest. British Museum

Fig. 262 - Old and young (i.e., father and son) warrior priests in Qizqapan (web)

Fig. 263 – Autophradates I with Ahura Mazdā above fire edifice.

A famous votive plaque from the British Museum shows a Scythian priest wearing a short sword and holding the *barsom* wood sticks next to a fire (Fig. 261). It perfectly illustrates the double functions of the warrior priest called *pārsa*. In Qizqapan, we have a rendering of "*pārsa* son of *pārsa*" as two princes, one young and the other older, standing bow in hand by a fire altar (Fig. 262). Numerous seals reproduce similar compositions with one or two warrior priests standing by a fire altar.[616] As a group they attest to the high rank of the *pārsa* as an officiating priest presiding over fire ceremonies and/or as keepers of the fire. And the "*pārsa* son of *pārsa*" expression suggests that such a function, like so many other positions of prestige, was often hereditary.[617] Moreover, priestly positions required rigorous training, probably from a young age, which inevitably led to the formation of a privileged caste. Consequently, Herodotus's remark (I, 125) about the Persian tribes ("of these the *Pasargadae* are the most noble, of whom also the *Achaimenidae* are a clan") is really not off the mark. Even though he misapplies the name of the dwelling of the *pārsa*s to their caste, he correctly perceives that the *pārsa*s were a tribe within which the Achaemenids, or at least a certain branch of them, constituted a clan. Within this tribe, the bonds of loyalty must have been very strong. That is why

[616] For instance, on seals from Anatolia (Facella 2009, 406), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Kuhrt 2010, II:561), or from Persepolis (Garrison 2010, 384, fig. 32a).
[617] Certain offices seem to have been transmitted from father to son, like the guardianship of Cyrus's tomb as reported by Arrian; see Panaino 2009, 111.

Darius chose trusted *pārsa*s to quell the rebellions of strategic areas: Dādarshi to Bactria, Hydarnes to Media, and Vaumisa to Armenia.[618]

Fig. 264 – "Zendān" fire edifice. Pasargadae

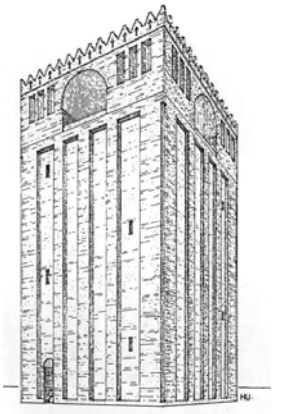

Fig. 265 – Fire tower at the center of Ardashir khvarrah (see Fig. 165)

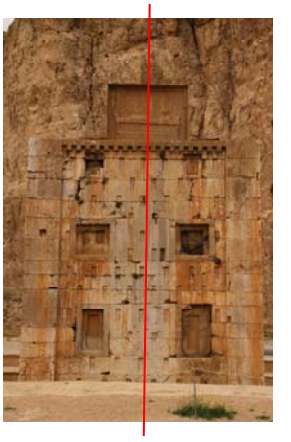

Fig. 266 – Tomb of Darius II aligned with the Ka`ba fire edifice.

The caste of the *pārsa*s probably wielded enormous political power within their territories and by creating Pasargadae, Cyrus was trying to win their support. If Achaemenes was the founder of this caste as we have suggested (see sec. XI.4), or at least one of its historically important figures, Cyrus had an incentive to remind the *pārsa*s that he was indeed his descendant. Thus, following the Elamite tradition, he wrote his name—as founder of the edifice—in numerous corners of Pasargadae.[619] These repetitive inscriptions read: "I, Cyrus the king, an Achaemenid" (*CMa*), or "Cyrus, the great king, an Achaemenid" (*CMc*).[620] They were not written to establish a common ancestor for Cyrus and Darius, *since the latter is nowhere mentioned in Pasargadae,* but they constituted an attempt by Cyrus to establish a *pārsa* pedigree for himself.[621]

The most logical place for the training of the *pārsa*s was a compound next to the main fire of the realm. The monument that is generally known as the Zendān-e Solaymān in Pasargadae is, by all appearances, the edifice where this fire was kept (Fig. 264). The Ka`ba of Zardosht in Naqsh-e Rostam (Fig. 266), the central tower of Ardashir-khvarrah

618 They are all qualified as *pārsa* in *DB* col.3, line 13, and col. 2, lines 18 and 49.
619 Soudavar 2012b, 63-64.
620 The *CMc* is on the border of a man's robe.
621 Further proof of the validity of these inscriptions is provided by Vallat who notices that at the beginning of the Elamite version of the *CMc* inscription (*é ku-raš* ...), appears the determining adjective *é* that was used in the Neo-Elamite period, but never in Darius's inscriptions nor in any of his successors'; Vallat 2011, 278.

(Fig. 265), and the tower on the reverse of Persis coins (Fig. 263) are all similarly square-shaped. The fact that on the Persis coins the king stands, bow in hand, before such a monument (Fig. 263), clearly indicates that it is a fire edifice similar in function to the fire altar before which stood the Achaemenid king, bow in hand. As for the Ka`ba, the Sasanian high priest Kerdir referred to it as a *bon-khānak* (lit. fundamental house), i.e., the locus of the fundamental fire from which all other fires were derived.[622] The "Zendān" must have been built for the same purpose. As a matter of fact, aerial and magnetic surveys conducted by Rémy Boucharlat, indicate that the Zendān was by no means an isolated monument because a substantial edifice existed behind it.[623] Chances are that part of this edifice was meant to be a *pārsa* academy.

If Darius decided to place his tomb next to the Ka`ba, and Darius II decided to align his tomb with the axis of the Ka`ba (Fig. 266), it's probable that this is where the main fire of the realm was located. In other words, Darius I must have decided to move this main fire from Pasargadae to Naqsh-e Rostam; and that tallies with the pattern of animosity that Darius displayed all along toward Cyrus and what he perceived as usurpation of a privilege that belonged to his own lineage. There was, however, a more important reason to move the fire. The Zendān was located in an area where symbols of Mithra and Apam Napāt were prominently on display, in the palace next door, and perhaps on the academy walls as well. The transfer of the Achaemenid fire from Pasargadae to Naqsh-e Rostam re-established the preeminence of the *pārsa* line of the Achaemenids, in a new Mazdean environment untainted by Cyrus's Median ideology.

XII.8 - The *Kavis*: A Historical Perspective

Zoroaster addressed the *pārsa*s as *kavi*s, especially Vishtāspa. Since kingship remained with the *pārsa* line of the Achaemenids, their dynasty became known as the *kavi*s in Zoroastrian circles. Antonio Panaino remarks that, in Iran, *kavi* was "strongly linked to the sphere of power and authority." He further notes that even in the Vedic tradition the *kavi* could embody both a "sage-priest" as well as a "sage-ruler." He then foresees:

> "a framework in which a tribal leader, lord of a territory and chief of a clan, might patronize the most important rituals as the main *yazəmna-*. In doing so he should have been trained according to a secular consuetudinary ritual tradition, and most probably

[622] Von Gall 2009. In Bishāpur, this main fire is designated as "King of Fires"; Herzfeld 1947, 12. The actual fire was in the open air, either on top of a tower, like in Ardashir-khvarrah, or on an outdoor fire altar, as on the Achaemenid tombs.
[623] Boucharlat 2002, 281; and personal communication.

> also through a kind of special initiation, which, as in the case of the Indian *dīkṣā-*, gave him a higher qualification." (my underlining)[624]

In the underlined words, we can find the main elements of what we suggested in the previous section: The *pārsa*s belonged to a clan—possibly founded by Achaemenes—who had to be trained in a special academy, and among whom existed a special bond of loyalty. It provided the king with a strong institution through which he could exert his authority in both the secular and religious spheres. In contrast, Zoroastrian priests never wielded a weapon and were never addressed as *kavi*.

Thus, the Sasanian kings, who centuries later adopted the *kavi* title, must have wished to reemphasize, or perhaps reclaim, the king's role as warrior priest and possessor of the main fire of the kingdom. A case in point is King Peroz's (r. 457-84) adoption of this title.

Fig. 267 – Seal of Peroz with shoulder stars (Freeman et al. 2013, 176)

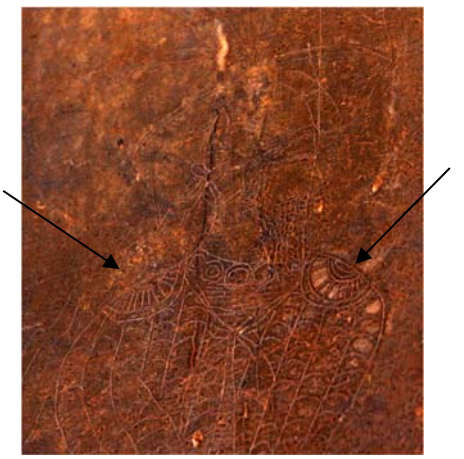

Fig. 268 – Pāpak with shoulder stars. Persepolis

Peroz had a tumultuous reign. He first allied himself with the Hephtalites to ascend to his father's throne, then fought the Hephtalites only to become their prisoner, and was liberated after ransom payment, only to lead another series of inconclusive wars with different enemies. Typical of rulers in want of legitimacy, his seal reveals his attempt to refurbish his glory and offset his failures with propaganda (Fig. 267). It is a large and impressive seal, with a lengthy inscription, and a beautiful effigy of Peroz with elaborate

[624] Panaino (forthcoming). I am grateful to Antonio Panaino for sending me an advanced copy of his article; Herzfeld also opines that *kavi* "is not an office bound to a place, but a rank"; Herzfeld 1947, 101.

paraphernalia. A prominent pair of wings proclaims as usual that the *farr* is with him and has not abandoned him. More importantly, he sports two prominent Mithraic solar emblems on his shoulders (↑), as his ancestor Pāpak once did (Fig. 268). They were probably meant to reemphasize his leadership of the Sāsānagān.[625] Its inscription reads:

> "Signet (*nishān*)[626] of the Mazdean Lord—the one who keeps the land at peace—Kay Peroz, King of Kings,…, son of the Mazdean Lord Kay Yazdgerd, King of Kings,…, grandson of Lord Warahrān, King of Kings,…"

Not only is he using the title Kay (i.e., *kavi* = *pārsa*) for himself, but repeats it for his father, in the same way that Darius was referring to himself as *pārsa* son of *pārsa.*[627]

XII.9 - Animosity toward Anshan

In her recent analysis of Persepolis bas-reliefs, Margaret Root advances interesting theories that deserve further elaboration. She might have further developed these theories had she not been sidetracked by the "Liar Darius" theory.[628] Within the frieze of Elamite gift bearers, Root detects the odd appearance of a "full-teated (nursing) lioness" with no parallel in "pre-Achaemenid Greater Mesopotamia" (Figs. 269-70). She also notices that, in contrast with all the other animals in the procession friezes, the two lion cubs behind the lioness are *carried* rather than walking on their own. Lions, she argues, were, in the eyes of the Assyrians, "surrogates for Elamites" and, therefore, appropriate gifts from Elam in the Persepolitan context. As a gift, one would have normally expected a male lion, symbol of royal power, in lieu of a lioness; to explain this oddity, Root proposes different allegorical meanings for the frieze, including the possibility that the cubs

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[625] Similar sun emblems appear on the shoulders of Shāpur II & III, on silver plates that are now at the British Museum and the Hermitage, respectively.

[626] Skjaervo offers the spelling *nycny* for the first word, and correctly guesses that it must refer to the actual object; Skjaervo 2003, 283. I believe that it is the predecessor of NP *neshān* (signet), which was used at the beginning of Ottoman *farmān*s: *Nishān-e sharif-e `āli-sha`n…* (This noble and lofty signet …). Despite their Turkic background, the Ottomans kept using traditional Iranian bureaucratic terms.

[627] Peroz's main Hephtalite adversary, as named by the sources, was Khoshnavāz who perhaps ruled in Central Asia. Khingila ruled over Kushan and Bactria, and was either the latter's *tegin* (governor), or a semi-independent ruler. By claiming to be a *kavi* and leader of the Sāsānagān, Peroz was probably trying to impress his Hephtalite rivals more than his own constituencies. That may be because his rivals had similar claims, for as we saw in the case of the Hephtalite Khingila, his coins depicted both a fire altar and a *NWRA* monogram (Fig. 122).

[628] Root 2011, 420. She wrongly assumes that "Cyrus was not an Achaemenid except in Darius's reinvention of his genealogy" (emphasis added).

evoked the princely brothers Cambyses and Bardiya and the tragedies leading to Darius's ascent to the Achaemenid throne.[629]

Root's propositions are interesting but she seems to have overlooked the most obvious and the most plausible explanation: That the depicted lioness is a pointer to the gender of the two cubs as two princesses rather than princes. Since Darius married Cyrus's daughters, namely the Anshanite princesses Atossa and Artystone, the cubs must represent the "gifts" that Elam had sent to Darius. As such, two of Root's important observations fall into place: That the "lioness has command, poise, and regal bearing," and the fact that the princesses are being carried, i.e. handled with deference. Following Herzfeld, Root also proposes that "the queen" in the British Museum's *Banquet of Assurbanipal* was a captured Elamite princess.[630] If Assurbanipal took pride in marrying an Elamite princess, so would have Darius. The grouping of a lioness with two cubs must therefore represent the transfer of the Anshanite "harem" to Persepolis, and as such, it denotes a complete transfer of power.[631] Gaumāta had appropriated all of Cambyses's wives, and Darius was following suit by doing the same.

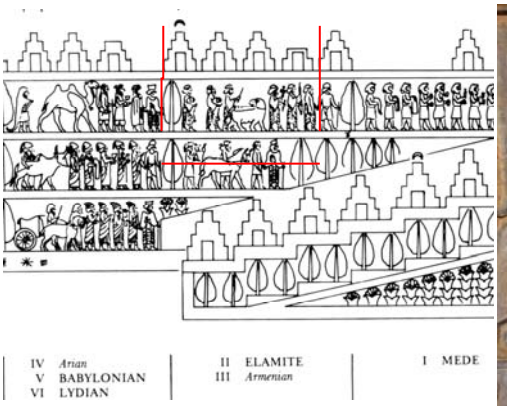

Fig. 269 – Sketch of Persepolis gift bearers with the Elamites following the Medes (Roaf 1983, 51)

Fig. 270 – A lioness and two cubs as gifts from Elam. Persepolis (Photo courtesy of Ali Asadi)

What is striking in this composition, though, is the angry gesture of the lioness turning her head back toward the cubs. Atossa was the full sister of Cambyses and Bardiya,

[629] Root 2011, 422-57. The Persepolis reliefs represent various delegations that had attended Darius's court, at one point or another, and brought presents. But Cambyses and Bardiya never attended his court, nor did they bring him anything. Moreover, each element of the procession was supposed to add to the glory of Darius; the Cambyses-Bardiya episode, however, was all negative, and didn't convey added glory.
[630] Root 2011, 450-53.
[631] In some dynasties such as the Mongols, a new ruler inherited his father's harem as a sign of sovereignty.

whose mother Cassandane had died in 538 BC. If Artystone had a different mother, the lioness might represent that mother. Alternatively, she might represent the elder princess Atossa, and the two cubs would then stand for Artystone and Bardiya's daughter Parmys, whom Darius also married. According to Herodotus (III.88), Artystone was a virgin when married to Darius. She must have been in her teens and Bardiya's daughter couldn't have been any older. Cubs were thus befitting symbols for both.

The composition follows the pattern of disdain that Darius exhibited all along toward Cyrus and the junior branch of the Achaemenids, especially in the way that the lioness is leashed and accompanied by ordinary Elamites, none of them wearing a princely outfit. But if Darius looked down on the Anshanites, chances are that they too, or at least some of them, had the same attitude at first toward the one who now ruled the empire created by Cyrus; hence the angry lioness.

Darius had more than one axe to grind with the Anshanites. He resented the junior branch's ascendency at the expense of the *pārsa* branch of the Achaemenids, their commitment to Mithra and Apam Napāt rather than Ahura Mazdā, and their eventual support of some of his enemies within the Magian community. This lion frieze is only one expression of Darius's animosity toward Anshan; Daniel Potts points out to a more important one by demonstrating that Anshan fell in desuetude after the ascent of Darius to power.[632] His massacre of the Median magi, his disdain for the Anshanites, and the discipline that Darius imposed on the population, had probably created a latent hatred that was bound to explode. A catalyst was needed, and that, we shall argue, was provided by Alexander's invasion of Iran.

XII.10 - The Backlash

Throughout history, there have been many attempts to condemn a hated predecessor to oblivion by defacing his effigies. In Egypt, Thutmosis III (r. 1479–1425 BC) defaced the statues of Queen Hatchepsut (r. 1479–1458 BC) who was nominally his co-regent, but had kept the reins of power for twenty-two years (Fig. 273). The Romans even had an expression for this practice: *damnatio memoriae.* Closer to Iran, Assyrian kings were defaced in bas-reliefs that celebrated their past victories over the Elamites. One such example is the banquet scene of Assurbanipal (r. 668-627 BC) in which the head of the defeated Elamite king Teumman (d. 657 BC) is hanging—untouched—from a tree at the far left of the bas-relief (Fig. 272a), while the head of Assurbanipal is defaced (Fig. 272b). As it has been suggested, the defacing must have been the work of Elamite

[632] Potts 2011.

soldiers accompanying the Medes in their conquest of Assyria. It was a targeted measure aimed at "punishing" those who had humiliated the Elamites. [633]

A curious phenomenon in Persepolis is the fact that many of the royal faces have been damaged. By way of explanation, various theories have been advanced. The blame was first put on Moslem iconoclasts who tend to destroy or vandalize figural statues, and second, on robbers, who, in seeking to steal the encrusted gold and jewellery of the bas-reliefs, must have damaged the effigies. Neither theory measures up to the weight of the physical evidence.

If it was the work of orthodox Moslems, they would have attacked all the faces indiscriminately, and not those of royalty alone. As for the theft theory, the extent of the physical damage is indicative of a different motive. Although many of the bas-reliefs have suffered extensive natural degradation, there are a number of better-preserved doorjambs, especially in the Hall of Xerxes (the so-called Harem), which show that the destruction went deep into the stone where no gold or jewellery could ever be found (Fig. 271). The destruction of the faces is so systematic and thorough that no purpose but defacing can be counted as a motive. The question then is: Who had such a motive?

Fig. 271 - Darius and Xerxes defaced (or Xerxes and his sons). Persepolis

Figs. 272 a, b - a) Teumman's head hung on a tree, b) Ashurbanipal defaced (two details of a bas-relief, British Museum)

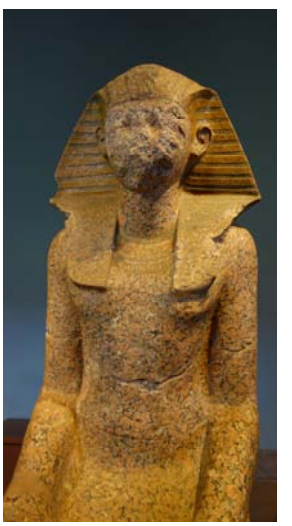

Fig. 273 – Hatchepsut defaced. MMA

[633] Henkelman 2003, 90; Root 2011, 453.

It seems that, in the same way the Elamites took revenge on Assurbanipal upon the conquest of Assyria, some elements of Alexander's army took revenge on Darius and Xerxes by savagely defacing their effigies. I suggest that these must have been the persecuted followers of the Mithraic magi, i.e., those labelled as *daiva*-worshipers.

Herodotus's account of Magophonia clearly shows a continuous process of witch-hunting for years after. The reason for such a sustained display of animosity was that the *pārsa*s and the Zoroastrians were in minority, and Mithra continued to command the respect of most of the population, to the extent that, in the end, a sanitized version of Mithra had to be integrated into the Zoroastrian pantheon, a pantheon that clearly negated the monotheistic outlook of Zoroaster, as well as Darius. While this sanitized Mithra may have provided the means to woo the majority of people, there was certainly a sizeable portion of the population that nevertheless did not accept the subordination of Mithra to Ahura Mazdā, and continued to be persecuted.

In every subsequent invasion of Iran, whether by the Arabs or Turco-Mongols, some locals joined the invading army to settle the score with their neighbors. The Macedonian invasion of Iran must have been no different. Many of those who felt persecuted by the Achaemenids probably joined Alexander's army, especially from Eastern Anatolia, which was the hotbed of Mithraic brotherhood societies. This may also partly explain the relative ease with which Alexander marched into Persian territories. Alexander must have exploited the disgruntled *daiva*-worshipers to his full advantage.

This backlash also shows how the animosity between the Mazdeans and the Mithraic magi was very much alive at the end of the Achaemenid era, and would continue for years to come. It's against this background of continued animosity that the Zoroastrian reformulation of older hymns, and their doctoring, makes sense. They too sought *damnatio memoriae* for their enemies and were successful at it because, as it turned out, Astyages, Cyrus, and many more were erased from Iranian histories. Finally, we may also speculate that the propaganda campaign that Julian mounted against Shāpur II, with its strong Mithraic penchant, resonated positively in Iran and had the potential to rally those whom the Zoroastrians had alienated. If Alexander could attract such dissidents, so could have Julian. Hence Mithra's prominence in Shāpur II's rock-relief (see sec. X.10).

XII.11 - Turning History into Myth

Napoleon (r. 1804-15) conquered most of Europe but subsequently lost whatever he had gained, including his throne. The Bourbon kings who took back the throne of France did everything to efface the memory of Napoleon; and yet, to this day, he remains the most

popular and remembered ruler of France. Alexander conquered a vast empire that lasted less than two decades, but his saga is still sung about the four corners of the world, especially among the Greeks.

Oddly, Cyrus, who founded the first great empire of antiquity, who is praised in the Bible as the Anointed One, and whom the Greeks eulogized as a magnanimous ruler despite their generally negative attitude toward the Persians, was completely wiped out from Iranian histories and Persian memory. As already explained, the main culprit was the Zoroastrian priesthood who, in the post-Achaemenid period, had a chance to glorify Zoroastrianism at the expense of kingship.[634] It's hard to imagine, though, that one concentrated effort could have achieved such a result. The process had probably started under the Achaemenids, albeit in a subdued fashion. Despite Darius's negative attitude toward Cyrus, the latter still enjoyed considerable prestige in the Achaemenid era, to the extent that the enthronization of kings, such as Artaxerxes II, took place by his tomb in Pasargadae.[635] Astyages the Mede, however, must have been fair game, and his demonization must have started early on, when he was equated with the snake-monster Azhi-dahāga. By the same token, the archenemy of Darius, the Mede Gaumāta, was also labeled a snake-man or dragon. Any myth involving a dragon needs a dragon slayer. The dragon slayer of old, i.e., the Thraetona (Fereydun) of Indo-European lore, naturally fulfilled that role. That is why in the stories of Fereydun vs. Zahhāk, we have a reflection of two sets of antagonists: Cyrus capturing Astyages, and Darius eliminating Gaumāta. Indeed, we have already cited the similarities of the Zahhāk story with that of Cyrus and Astyages (see secs. XII.2, XII.4). As for the second set, Zahhāk very much resembles Gaumāta in the harshness of his rule and the fact that he had married all the wives and sisters of his predecessor. Moreover, in later chronicles we have the additional information that Fereydun captured Bivarasp (alias Astyages) on the Mehr day of the month of Mehr, called Mehregān, a day that was celebrated every year thereafter.[636] It clearly indicates a conflation of Astyages's defeat by Cyrus and the yearly celebration of the Magophonia on the day Gaumāta was killed.

Once Astyages was labelled a snake, his progenies were treated as pariahs. Thus, in the *Shāhnāmeh*, when Zāl is about to marry the daughter of the king of Kabul called Mehrāb,

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[634] Ehsan Yarshater believes that the "historical amnesia" developed in the Parthian era, after the loss of the Achaemenid annals and documents, while we suggested the Seleucid era because of their probable lack of interest in religious matters (see sec. XI.9); Yarshater 1983, 389.
[635] Plutarch, *Life of Artaxerxes* I.3.
[636] See, for instance, Ibn al-Faqīh 1970 : 115; Ṭabarī 1996, 1 :138.

the *shāh* of Iran orders Zāl's father to slay Mehrāb, because he is an offspring of Zahhāk the Dragon:

> Set fire to Hindustān, and burn Kabul and the castle of **Mehrāb**
> He should not go unharmed, for he is an offspring of the **Dragon**
> Cut off his head, and clean the earth from the strand of **Zahhāk** and his progeny. [637]

This ties in with the fact that Armenian kings were also called "dragon" for the sin of being descendants of Astyages.[638] Moreover, the name Mehrāb (Mehr + *āb* (water)) incorporates an obvious reference to Mithra and Apam Napāt (who was the god of waters, and whose name meant Child of the Waters). It categorized him not only as a person to be killed, but one whose "filth" should not sully the earth. It reveals, on the one hand, the high level of antagonism toward the Medes, and on the other, how the snake and scorpion came to be characterized as *khrafstar*s in Zoroastrianism.[639]

The suppression of Cyrus's exploits inevitably led to their resurgence as myths. But these narratives must have been so powerful that they generated not one, but a multitude of myths, with a lot of "cut and pastes" from one story to the other.[640] Since myth and *topoi* always carry elements of the original stories, they can indeed reveal past secrets. A case in point is Gardizi's account of Esfandyār and Goshtāsp. As a follower of Biruni, the 11th-century historian Gardizi had gone to India where he must have had access to sources different from those available to Tabari and Mas`udi, since this section of his history is more explicit than theirs.[641] A number of important points in his account confirm our reasoning about the appearance of Goshtāsp and Esfandyār on the *Bondahesh* list of regnal years (see sec. XI.11).

We had suggested that Esfandyār stood for Bardiya who never reigned, and if his name appeared therein, he must have been a supporter of Zoroastrianism. This finds an echo in Gardizi's account of Esfandyār where he is portrayed as a steadfast supporter of

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[637] Ferdowsi 1988: 226:

به هندوستان آتش اندر فروز همه کاخ مهراب و کابل بسوز
نباید که او یابد از بد رها که او ماند از بچه‌ی اژدها
سر از تن جدا کن زمین را بشوی ز پیوند ضحّاک و خویشان اوی

[638] See note 586 supra.

[639] The kings of Ghor were also considered as descendents of Zahhāk; Oldham 1905, 116.

[640] The story of Kay Khosrow, for instance, closely follows the Cyrus sagas reported by various non-Iranian sources, and reflects yet another version of the Cyrus story. For a detailed study of this parallelism, see Zarghamee 2013, 538-39.

[641] Gardizi 1984, 50-53. Indian sources have provided much pertinent information on Iran's pre-Islamic past even though compiled between the 10th and 16th century; see, for instance, Soudavar 2003, 2,3, and 60.

Zoroastrianism, without any further elaboration. According to Gardizi, when Esfandyār is sent to convert Rostam to Zoroastrianism, it's on behalf of his father Goshtāsp (i.e., Vishtāspa) and not by his own initiative. This, he explains, was a ploy by Goshtāsp to renege on his earlier promise of kingship to Esfandyār—who finally dies by the hands of Rostam without ever being king.

Goshtāsp's promise was in reward for Esfandyār's valiant campaign against the Turanian invaders who had occupied Balkh. Esfandyār's Balkh campaign links him once more to Bardiya whom Cyrus had appointed on his deathbed as "governor of Bactria, Chorasmia, Parthia, and Carmania, free from tribute" (Ctesias, Fr.13 §8). Balkh was the capital of Bactria, and if later episodes of Iranian history give us any insight, it must have been the seat of the viceroy; for, traditionally, the Northeast was the most strategic frontier because of its exposure to the Central Asian hordes. Herat, for instance, was the seat of the viceroy of the Mongols as well as the Safavids, and was the vanguard battle-station against Chaghatāy and Uzbek invaders. The situation must have been no different in Achaemenid times, since Cyrus finally died combating intruders from the same area. The Northeast was the territory where the mettle of a prince was tested. It therefore seems that either Bardiya proved his valor in Bactria and had been promised a partial kingdom (if not Cyrus's throne), or in retrospect, his appointment to the governorship of Bactria—free of any tribute—was perceived by later historians as a promise of kingship.[642]

Gardizi further informs us that at the time Esfandyār fought in Balkh, Goshtāsp was in Gorgān. This corresponds with the fact that Darius had sent his father Vishtāspa to quell a rebellion in Hyrcania (present day Gorgān) and Parthia (*DB* §35).[643] It clearly links the Zoroastrian Goshtāsp to Darius's father Vishtāspa. Gardizi also refers to Goshtāsp's father as Lohrāsp son of Kayuji (کیوجی), which is an obvious corruption of Cambujiya (کمبوجی), i.e., Cambyses; Kayuji himself is then presented as son of Kay-Manesh son of Kay-Qobād.[644] In actuality, Darius's grandfather was not a son of Cambujiya (Cambyses I) but his cousin. Even though Gardizi's information is not totally accurate, it still connects the Zoroastrian Goshtāsp to a member of the junior branch of the Achaemenids (see Table

[642] Even though Cyrus appointed Cambyses early on as ruler of Babylon and made him co-regent only in the very last months of his reign (Dandamayev 1990), it is hard to imagine that he ever intended to push aside his first son as his successor. On the other hand, if Bardiya's fiefdom was "free from tribute," it was semi-autonomous and almost a separate kingdom; for a slightly different persepective see Zarghamee 2013, 377.
[643] Chances are that Vistāshpa was sent there because of past involment with Hyrcania under Cyrus.
[644] Gardizi 1984, 50: کی لهراسپ بن کیوجی بن کی منش بن کیقباد . Tabari though gives another sequence Kay-Lohrāsb, son of Kayuji, son of Kay-Manesh, son of Kay-Fāshin, Tabari 1996, II:453. Kay-manesh may be a corruption of the name Hakhāmanesh (Achaemenes).

2). On the other hand, he correctly qualifies Goshtāsp and Lohrāsp as *Kay* (*kay=kavi=pārsa*) since Darius's father and grandfather were both *pārsa*s. What's more, he gives the additional information that Kay Lohrāsp had retired into a fire temple where he was leading a monastic life. It stands to reason that when Cyrus became emperor, his cousin Ariaramnes (alias Lohrāsp), would retire from kingship and devote himself to his *pārsa* obligations. According to Herodotus (I.125), the *pasargadae* (read *pārsa*s) were one of the three clans that immediately joined Cyrus against the Medes. Thus, unlike Darius, his forefathers must have been supportive of Cyrus, who must have reciprocated their early support by creating Pasargadae in their honor.

Whether through myths or chronicles, we have a fair amount of information that attests to the common identity of Goshtāsp and Vishtāspa on the one hand, and of Esfandyār and Bardiya, on the other. As Ehsan Yarshter has noted, the mythological Kayānian dynasty of Iran is divided into two strains: A later one starting with Lohrāsp, and an earlier one starting with Kay-Qobād and ending with Kay-Khosrow.[645] This division was not arbitrary. The Zoroastrian priests, who reconfigured the past history of Iran, deliberately opted for a division based on Mazdean affinity and not chronological order. The Achaemenids of the line that began with Ariaramnes were not only Mazdeans, but forefathers of Vishtāspa who was the main supporter of Zoroaster. They are all qualified as *Kay*s; oddly, so are the members of the other strain. Early Zoroastrians would not use such a title in vain; their prophet had only used *kay* (i.e., *kavi*) to designate the *pārsa*s, especially the Achaemenid Vishtāspa. If it was extended to all of the Achaemenids, it must have been done at a later date when they were only remembered as one dynasty, as the *Kay*s or the Kayānian dynasty. The early strain thus reflected the junior branch of the Achaemenids that ended with Cyrus and his sons, and the second strain represented the *pārsa* line of the Achaemenids. It does not mean that events pertaining to one branch were not partially recombined with the other. As already argued, veracity was not the purpose of this exercise. To the contrary, the past had to be blurred so that Zoroastrianism could be glorified beyond measure.

Nevertheless, in Gardizi's account, Vishtāspa's lineage reverts back to Kay-Qobād who is therefore presented as the founder of both lines, and supports the parallelism that we suggested among the two strains of *kavi*s, because both strains emanated from a common ancestor. This Zoroastrian rearrangement of Achaemenid history gave free rein to mythology to develop and replicate itself *ad infinitum* in later histories.

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[645] Yarshater 1983, 437.

CHAPTER XIII

FROM CYRUS TO REZĀ SHĀH: THE SPIRIT OF BROTHERHOOD

XIII.1 - Rezā Shāh's Road to Kingship

A most daunting figure of Iran's recent history is Rezā Shāh who rose from the low ranks of the Iranian army to be its Supreme Commander (Sardār-e Sepah), and eventually king of Iran. Like Peter the Great (r. 1682-1725), he was impressive in stature, as well as charismatic. But unlike the Russian king, he was not born into a princely family and had to work his way up, the hard way. He was astute, bold, and had an innate sense of management, with a strong emphasis on verification and feedback. Besides personal qualities, external factors facilitated his bid for power, of which the collapse of the Qajar regime, the devastations brought by World War I, and the backing of the English general Ironside, have often been cited. But the circumstances that led to his rise through the rank and files of the Cossack Brigade that he served have generally been neglected. We shall argue that, as in the case of almost all previous Iranian dynasties, the brotherhood spirit played an important role.

Rezā Shāh was born in the Alasht district of Savād-kuh, in the province of Māzandarān. As we saw, this was the province that was associated with the *div*s because of their adherence to pre-Zoroastrian beliefs and practices. Traces of these ancient beliefs still persist as the people of Alasht, to this day, swear by the sun and keep an archaic calendar with ancient names. More importantly, even though they pronounce the Islamic Besmellāh at the start of a task, they refer to this process as *mehr-kardan* (doing *mehr*).[646] The fact that in NP the word *mehr* refers to both Mithra and "kindness" created of course an ambiguity that provided protection against attacks by Islamic bigots. But the "*mehr-kardan*" expression goes back to a time when it was customary to invoke the name of Mithra for protection and auspiciousness, when embarking on a new task. The Islamic "*Besmellāh* (In the name of God)" was later substituted for "*mehr-kardan*" as in other parts of Iran, but remarkably, in Alasht, the invocation *process* itself still carries the name of the ancient deity.[647]

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[646] Niāzmand 2007, 12-13. I'm indebted to J. Davoody for lending me his copy of this book.
[647] Today, Shiite Iranians prefer to invoke the Imam `Ali by uttering *"yā`Ali."*

The family of Rezā Shāh was known in Alasht as the Pahlavāni, or Pālāni in the local dialect, which pointed to a tradition of brotherhood leadership.[648] What's more, Rezā Shāh's father was known as Dādāsh Beyg, which is composed of the Turkish words *dādāsh* (brother) and *beyg*, an honorific that was applied to tribal leaders, and which was ultimately derived from the *bayγ* that the Sasanians used for their kings as leaders of the Sāsānagān.[649] As such, he must have been a leader of a certain group of *dādāsh*es or *luti*s. Rezā Shāh lost his father at a young age and left Alasht early on, but continued to frequent the *luti* and the brotherhood milieus. As a son of Dādāsh Beyg he might have enjoyed a certain prestige among the *luti*s, for as we saw, respect for fatherly leaders was not just confined to their own congregation. He carried a knife (*shushkeh*), and often got into fights and brawls. In fighting with a knife, *luti*s typically don't aim to kill but want to mark their adversary with a scar. In one of his brawls, the young Rezā was left with a knife scar that he carried for the rest of his life.[650]

While Rezā did not have his own congregation to conquer Iran with, his closeness to his subordinates and peers built a loyal following that proved to be valuable in the midst of a disintegrating political situation. In that very volatile environment of the early 20th century, a small group of dedicated supporters was all that he needed.[651] And with that, he achieved what, in retrospect, was a seemingly impossible task: In a mere time span of seventeen years he catapulted Iran from backwardness to modernization, not only by building the necessary infrastructures, but by creating institutions such as universities, academies, the national registry, and also revamping the judicial system.

We thus have two models by which brotherhoods gained power. One is the Safaviyyeh model of a well-organized congregation that turned militant, and eventually gained power through insurrection. The Sasanians, Khorramdiniyyeh, and Sarbedārs, all followed this model. The other model is that of the Saffārid Ya`qub-e Laith, who built his power base on a less formal structure of camaraderie among the *`ayyār*s, and maintained the principles of brotherhood through sharing and self-sacrifice. Rezā Shāh belonged to this second category, and I dare suggest that Cyrus's road to kingship must have followed the same road.

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[648] Niāzmand 2007, 44. As we argued in sec. VII.3 the word *pahlavān* designated the leader of a certain group of brotherhoods.
[649] Turkish speaking nomads had penetrated many remote areas of Iran and affected local expressions. Rezā Shāh himself spoke Turkish as a film of his meeting with Ataturk well shows.
[650] Niāzmand 2007, 82, and 90-91.
[651] The initial tight group of Cossack officers included Khodāyār Khān, Karim Aghā Buzarjomehri, Yazdānpanāh, Amir-Ahmadi.

But Rezā Shāh's story can also shed light on how Cyrus was pushed into oblivion in Iran proper. Rezā Shāh's son and feeble successor, Mohammad-Rezā Pahlavi, could not tolerate comparison with his capable father, nor did he like to be reminded of his modest origins. As a result, Rezā Shāh became an almost unknown entity for the younger generation of Iranians who grew up under his son. Now imagine Darius ascending the throne of Cyrus, with the grudge he held against him and with the monotheistic religion that he was promoting in contrast to Cyrus's dualistic ideology. He did not even have to issue an order to censor Cyrus; courtiers simply knew what was expected from them, as they knew not to mention Rezā Shāh before his son.

XIII.2 - The Cyrus Saga

Our aim in this section is to provide a plausible scenario for Cyrus's rise to kingship, no matter how speculative it might look. We have little reliable information available and most of it seems contradictory. But if the models that we have seen up to now can be of guidance, there is a good chance that Cyrus too relied on a brotherhood structure to achieve his goals.

As Muhammad Dandamayev describes it, two basic accounts of Cyrus's early years have reached us: A sympathetic one from Herodotus, and a biased one from Ctesias.[652] According to Herodotus (I.107-115), he was the son of Astyages's daughter Mandane (married to Cambyses I). Fearful about a dream in which he saw a vine growing "out of the genitals" of his daughter, covering "the whole of Asia," Astyages orders his trusted advisor Harpagus to dispose of Mandane's newborn son. Harpagus though, instead of killing the baby himself, gives it to one of the king's shepherds named Mithridates. But the shepherd's wife Spako (which Herodotus explains to mean "dog" in Median) switches Cyrus with her own stillborn baby, thus sparing his life and providing Harpagus with proof of a baby corpse devoured by wild beasts in the wilderness. Years later, when Cyrus is brought by chance before Astyages, he has such an air of nobility that it makes Astyages wonder whether he's really the shepherd's son. Under pressure, the shepherd reveals the true story, at which point Astyages is happy to have a grandson, but furious at Harpagus for having disobeyed his orders. To punish him, Astyages has Harpagus's son killed and served as a stew to the unsuspecting father, on the occasion of a feast he organized to celebrate the recovery of his grandson. Cyrus is then sent back to his parents in Persia, and when he becomes king in his own land, Harpagus invites him to take

[652] Dandamayev 1993.

possession of the Median throne. And, in revenge for Astyages's cruel act against him, Harpagus then defects with his whole army to Cyrus.

A century and a half later, Herodotus picks this story—out of four circulating in his days—as the most "plausible" one about Cyrus's early years. If so many versions existed and the most "plausible" one was still wrapped in a fairy tale, it's because Darius and his early successors didn't encourage Cyrus's true story to circulate. The grudge that Darius held toward the junior branch of the Achaemenids notwithstanding, the fact that Cyrus had favored Mithra and Apam Napāt over Ahura Mazdā went counter to the ideology that Darius was promoting, especially in an atmosphere in which the Median magi was chased and persecuted. Cyrus's story had to be altered. It is a testimony to the genius of bards and storytellers that, through metaphors and myths, they could still allude to politically unacceptable notions. In the instant case, the baby-killing scheme was devised to reveal Cyrus's religious affiliations through the introduction of the shepherd and his wife under whose aegis he grew up. The very names of the shepherd, Mithridates (Mithra-given), and his wife Spako (dog), insinuated that Cyrus grew up under the protection of the Median deity pair Mithra and Apam Napāt. Indeed, as we have indicated on several occasions, for the Achaemenids, Apam Napāt was a problematic deity who had to be suppressed because of his creation powers, which undermined those of Ahura Mazdā. In the days of Artaxerxes II, Anāhitā became his substitute. Before that, the Dog-Star Tishtrya may have provided another alternative, because as the brightest star of nighttime, it was closely associated with Apam Napāt, who was the Lord of the Night and to whom it owed its brightness (*Yt.84*); in addition, Tishtrya was responsible for moving the *waters* on earth (*Yt.8.18*), and as such was a good substitute for an aquatic deity. Thus, the names of the shepherd and his wife provided a subtle reference to the ideology that Cyrus had favored and that Darius and his progenies had tried to suppress.

An intriguing aspect of the story is the gruesome episode about the killing of Harpagus's son, as a consequence of which Harpagus defected to Cyrus. A massive Median defection on the eve of the battle with Cyrus is independently reported by the Babylonian Chronicles.[653] We may therefore assume that Harpagus's defection did actually occur, especially since, afterwards, he becomes a trusted general of Cyrus and the lead commander in the conquest of Lydia. But the question is why did he defect? In Herodotus's story, Harpagus is entrusted with the army that was supposed to quell the rebellion of Cyrus. But no king in his right mind would have taken such a risk after so

[653] Babylonian Chronicles: "The army rebelled against Astyages and he was taken prisoner. *Th*[*ey handed him over*] to Cyrus. ([...])"; see *http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/abc7/abc7_nabonidus2.html*

deeply hurting a subordinate. Therefore, if Harpagus's son was killed it was possibly after the defection of his father, and in revenge for his treason. We can then envisage a possible flesh-eating scenario not by the father of the victim, but by his enemies. Indeed, such horrific acts may have been the staple of a certain group of extremist magi, like those who killed Bardiya by feeding him bull's blood, and those from whom the Safavids might have inherited their cannibalism (see sec. IX.7).[654]

Be that as it may, the Herodotus story provides two clues as to why Harpagus defected to Cyrus. When captured, Astyages admonishes Harpagus—who had boasted to be a kingmaker—for putting a Persian on the throne rather than himself. Harpagus must have been of noble birth if Astyages entertained the idea that Harpagus could have been king himself. In all probability, he was Mandane's maternal uncle, or cousin, since one of the reasons that he gives for not executing Astyages's order to kill Cyrus is that "the child is related to me" (Her I.109). Thus, by soliciting Cyrus to take over the Median throne, Harpagus was actually backing a prince of his own blood, perhaps with the hope of becoming himself the strongman of the new empire. Such a scenario is even more credible if Astyages had a son—from a wife other than Mandane's mother—who was about to succeed him.[655]

A second set of stories, fundamentally transmitted by Ctesias and Nicholas of Damascus, is unsympathetic to Cyrus and considered by Dandamayev as "derived from a Median tradition devised to discredit Cyrus."[656] And yet, in its negativity, it follows a pattern that enemies of brotherhoods often pursued by labeling them as bandits, and by introducing a shepherd in their tale. In this other version, it is Cyrus's father who is described as a bandit and his mother as a shepherd.[657] These are pointers to a possible brotherhood milieu that we need to investigate.

XIII.3 - Pointers to a Brotherhood Milieu

Of all the Greek writers, it is Xenophon who gives us an extensive analysis of Cyrus's character and upbringing. Even though his Cyropaedia has often been described as a clever "mirror for Princes" destined for a Greek audience, it was undeniably based on a real person. As in every other myth or embellished story, it cannot be all *topoi* and devoid

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[654] It's interesting to note that in the *Hamza-nāmeh* story (note 346 supra), `Amr gives the stew to the son of his victim, for him not to commit the same treachery as his father had done.
[655] If Xenophon is to be believed, Astyages did have a son by the name of Cyaxares whose daughter Cyrus had married (1.4.10-8.5.28).
[656] Dandamayev 1993.
[657] See also sec. X.2 and X.5.

of reality. One should not throw out the baby with the bathwater because it smells like *topoi*. There may be relevant indices that one can recover. First among these is Xenophon's insistence on several occasions about Cyrus's penchant for sharing food and gifts with his followers and friends. On two occasions (1.3.6-7 and 1.4.10-11) he is said to have distributed hunted animals among friends, after first proposing them to Astyages. And before leaving his grandfather, Cyrus asks permission to give all his Median belongings to his friends (1.4.26). Xenophon then concludes (8.2.7) that "Cyrus far surpassed all others in the art of making much of his friends by gifts of food." One can hardly imagine that such a strong emphasis on food sharing was solely developed to gratify a Greek audience, whose penchant was usually for wittiness and heroic deeds. Cyrus's generosity also finds an echo in the Old Testament where he is said to have returned the looted gold and silver of the Temple of Jerusalem back to the Jews, decreed a new Temple to be built and paid for it from his own treasury.[658] Thus, even if it became a *topos* afterwards, it must have been based on traits that made Cyrus famous and well-liked, among his own subjects as well as conquered people.

Food sharing and generosity were the main characteristics of brotherhoods; it is therefore hardly a coincidence that Herodotus says (III.89.3) that Cyrus was called "father" by the Persians. The head of a brotherhood was always considered as a father, *pater* or *bābā.* Moreover, Herodotus (I.71) gives an important clue in his description of Cyrus's army about to engage the Lydians: They wore "*breeches of leather.*" As we saw, from wrestlers, to *fatā*s, to *shāter*s, leather breeches (i.e., short-pants) were the hallmark of Mithraic-type brotherhoods.

A final clue may be provided by the story of Zahhāk. As previously argued, the triumph of Fereydun over Zahhāk reflected a conflation of the victories of Cyrus over Astyages on the one hand, and Darius over Gaumāta, on the other. Fereydun's march against Zahhāk was sparked by the revolt of a blacksmith by the name of Kāveh, who mysteriously disappears afterwards. In a forthcoming article I shall argue that Kāveh was a conflation of two personalities, Harpagus and Otanes, each of whom initiated action against a reigning tyrant. But for the purpose of this study, suffice it to say that to lead his revolt, the blacksmith Kāveh hoisted his leather apron on a stick and marched forward. That leather apron was then adopted as the Achaemenid standard. The rank and file of

[658] Ezra 6.45: "…and let the expenses be given out of the king's house. Also let the gold and silver vessels of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took forth out of the temple which is at Jerusalem, and brought to Babylon, be restored, and brought again to the temple which is at Jerusalem, everyone to its place; and you shall put them in the house of God."

brotherhoods was usually constituted by artisans, and if Kāveh is described as a blacksmith, it was meant to emphasize the artisan following of Cyrus; and if a *leather* banner was hoisted as his standard, it too was the mark of a Mithraic brotherhood. Cyrus must have acted as their *bāp* or father.[659] To his credit, Cyrus maintained this fatherly approach long after his initial victories. Xenophon sees him as unparalleled in magnanimity and wonders (8.2.8): "who, besides Cyrus, ever gained an empire by conquest and even to his death was called '*father*' by the people he had subdued?"

XIII.4 - The Red and the Black

Karl Marx saw Asian societies as backward and devoid of the proletariat that was necessary to push them into class warfare. And yet, Iranian history has always been dominated by a class conflict that has pitted the "reds" against the "blacks." Black was the color of the banner of the Khorāsānian Abu Moslem (d. 755) in the service of the `Abbāsids, and black was the color of the Safavids when they were essentially acting as landed gentry (see Fig. 158). It was the color of the ruling elite that comprised warlords, the landed gentry, members of the administration, and the clergy. The latter two were usually educated in the same channels, were often intermarried, and provided the backbone of an administrative system that survived a multitude of invasions, and at the same time, assured cultural continuity. The "blacks" were in control of the tax levies, which could become oppressive. Those whom the "blacks" oppressed often took refuge in brotherhoods that were avatars of Mithraic societies, and therefore wore "red." They vied for an egalitarian society, and were labeled as Mazdakites, or simply "reds."

Dervish orders and brotherhoods were inherently egalitarian since their communal meals emphasized the equal sharing of what was available. They could attract the poor as well as people from the highest echelons of society. We thus see a famous member of the Qajar aristocracy, Alikhān-e Zahir-od-dowleh (1864-1924), respectfully seated behind the celebrated Sufi Safi-`Ali-shāh (1835-99), who was his Master and *pir*, and whom he eventually succeeded as head of his congregation (Fig. 274); or the Zand prince Rostam Khān wearing a three-dot mark on his hand, in a portrait of circa 1779 (Fig. 275).[660]

Moreover, detachment from worldly goods had a liberating effect. The very cries of "*liberté, egalité, fraternité*" that shook French society emanated from such a milieu; the French Revolution was infused with the spirit of brotherhood *(fraternité)*, and French

[659] Xenophon (2.1.30) says that he often dined with small groups of soldiers and officers. But that is perhaps a characteristic shared by many good generals rather than a sign of brotherhood.
[660] For a full image and description see Diba & Ekhtiar 1998, 154-55.

revolutionaries wore the red Phrygian bonnet of Mithra (Fig. 84). It naturally attracted, as an early supporter, the Marquis de Lafayette (1754-1834), who was a Freemason and whose flaming sword (Fig. 276) had symbols that recall the Burgundian ones, such as the Flaming Flint Stone and the Masonic emblems of Jean Sans Peur.[661] The red color, and the egalitarian aspirations of successive French revolutions of the 19th century, which so marked the communism that Marx advocated, clearly followed a tradition set by the Mithraic brotherhoods and the "red" Mazdakites.

Fig. 274 – Zahir-od-dowleh seated next to Safi-`Ali-shāh. Ink drawing. EMS Collection

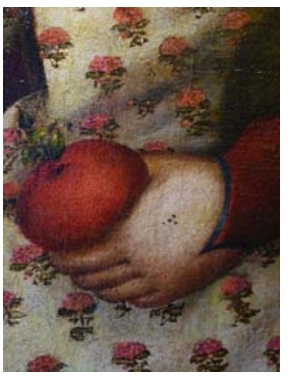

Fig. 275- Three-dot mark on the hand of Rostam Khān-e Zand. Shirāz, c.1779. Private Coll.

Fig. 276 – Sword of Lafayette (Marcos et al. 2011, 161)

Marx was not only muddled in his assessment of Asian societies, but also in his vision of the utopian state brought about by the rule of the proletariat. For a fundamental lesson of history is that power corrupts, and whenever the oppressed took the reins of power, it quickly became an oppressor itself. The red headgear of the Qezelbāsh Safavids became as much a symbol of oppression in Iran, as the red robe of Christian bishops was in the Middle Ages, and the red flag of the Soviets was in the Stalinist era. They all carried in their reds the inherent problem of brotherhoods: A membership oath that was conducive to a hierarchy at odds with the egalitarian spirit of the brotherhood. Sooner or later, ambitious leaders would use their organization for power and fortune. Mithraic societies attracted the prince and the pauper, but also had the potential to move from the "good" to the "bad." This inherent duality has been the source of much confusion about secretive Mithraic societies. It has also been a source of confusion about Persian polities as a whole, from Cyrus to Rezā Shāh.

[661] Lafayette created the red, white and blue cockade for the revolutionaries, colors which were adopted for the French Republic's flag.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WESTWARD SPREAD OF BROTHERHOODS

XIV.1 - Dual Deities of Anatolia

A previous influx of Indo-Europeans had prepared the ground for the introduction of Median deities in Anatolia, because they revered similar deities to the Medes. First were the Hittites who established a powerful empire in Anatolia in the second millennium BC, followed by the Mitanni, who settled below them, in southern Anatolia and present day Syria, between the 18th and 14th centuries BC. In regard to the Mitanni, we have the text of treaties—they concluded with their neighboring countries—that name their deities. The two most important ones were Mitra and Varuna, who, in the Vedic context of India, were the guarantors of oaths and contracts, and were probably invoked by the Mitanni for the same reason.[662] But as Mary Boyce remarks, this "divine pair are so closely knit that it has been said that the only trait which makes a palpable difference between them is that Mitra dwells in fire, Varuna in water."[663] Varuna was also referred to as Apam Napāt, i.e., Child of the Waters, and it is this name that prevailed in the Iranian context. Moreover, the Mithra/Apam Napāt tandem was not only associated with fire and water, but also with the sun and moon, as well as the lion and bull. These were dualities that remained ever-present in the *mithraeum*.

Fig. 277 – Hittite Moon God and Sun God assisting King Pugnus-mili in a ritual ceremony. Ankara National Museum.

[662] Thieme 1960, 308-10.
[663] Boyce: *www.iranchamber.com/religions/articles/mithra_khsathrapati_ahura.php*.

As per the Neo-Hittite rock-reliefs of the 8th-century BC, the Hittites worshiped a deity tandem personifying the moon and the sun (Fig. 277). More importantly, they had a winged solar emblem, which carried a sunflower (Fig. 278), or a solar-disk (Fig. 279). These were used like the Achaemenid *farr* symbols, and seem to be emblematic of an analogous concept, because, when the Anatolian satrap Datames rebelled against the Achaemenids, he placed a similar Neo-Hittite emblem next to his enthroned effigy (Fig. 280). Anatolians must have believed in the same concepts of authority as Iranians did, since their winged solar symbols were often accompanied by a crescent or water waves.

Fig. 278 – Hittite Sun disk with crescent (↑)
Ankara National Museum

Fig. 279 – Hittite Sun disk below water waves (↑)

Thus, Cyrus's conquest of Anatolia did not provoke a cultural shock, but introduced a Median dualistic ideology that found itself on compatible and sympathetic grounds. An early impact of this Median ideology can be seen in the minting of new Lydian coins, which are adorned with a lion-bull pair (Fig. 282). Prior to Cyrus's conquest of Lydia, its ruler Croesus (r. 595-546BC) had minted coins with a single lion head (Fig. 281). As king of the plains, the lion symbolized royal power. Therefore, the sudden change in iconography, from a single lion to a lion-bull pair, could not be fortuitous but represented a major shift in ideology. Two confronting animals, neither subjugating the other, did not project sovereign power. Its sole purpose was to reflect the dualistic Median ideology, in which the bull was a nighttime symbol associated with Apam Napāt, while the lion symbolized daytime and Mithra. What's more, the shift in iconography was accompanied with a stylistic change by which the Lydian "light-bulb" nose of the lion was abandoned (Fig. 281), and an Iranian/Mesopotamian model was adopted for these animals.[664] It was precisely for this reason that Darius chose to symbolically bury these Lydian coins under

[664] In two recent papers (Soudavar 2010b, 137-38; Soudavar 2012b,75-76), I have rejected the claims of Cahill and Kroll who attribute this lion-bull Lydian coin to Croesus (Cahill & Kroll 2005).

the Persepolis foundation slab.[665] The lion-and-bull imagery was the lynchpin of a Median ideology that saw the world divided into day and night realms, and constituted the antithesis of the monotheistic Mazdaism that Darius was trying to promote. Their minting was abandoned as soon as Darius rose to power.

Fig. 280 – Coin of Datames
British Museum

Fig. 281 – Pre-Cyrus Lydian coin
Private collection

Fig. 282 – Post-Cyrus Lydian coin
Private collection

With so many sun gods worshiped in Anatolia, one would expect that any Mithraic cult or practice introduced by the Medes would have been diluted in a pool of indigenous sun-god-related practices, and would have gradually lost its original slant. Surprisingly though, it did not, and most elements of the *mithraeum* still reflect their Median origin.

XIV.2 - The Median Aspects of the *Mithraeum*

The most important ceremony of brotherhoods was the initiation process that culminated in an oath. In Indo-Iranian cultures, oath ceremonies were conducted as much over fire as over water; and they are both present in the *mithraeum* for this very purpose.[666] A fire altar in the *mithraeum* of Jajce in Bosnia (Fig. 283) emphasizes the linkage between these two elements through the lotus petals depicted on its rim; it recreates the symbolism associated with Apam Napāt, as the fire that sprang out of water like burning *naphtha* (see sec. X.7, also Fig. 257). Moreover, the shape of this fire altar is closely associated with those depicted on Achaemenid tombs and Iranian seals (Fig. 284), and indicates an Iranian origin for this pedestal-shaped stone object that stood at the heart of the *mithraeum*.

The oath over fire was taken in the name of Mithra, because his very name meant contract and covenant. As Mary Boyce has suggested (see sec. VII.1), fire and light were so associated with Mithra (as Lord of the Covenant) that he was eventually identified with the Sun God in the Iranian pantheon. Furthermore, the spelling of Mithra with a "th"

[665] See Soudavar 2010b, 128.
[666] Boyce 1975, 33-34. In fact, fire and water became ceremonially so entangled that *Denkard* (V, 19. 24) says: "Because Water accompanies Fire, it must be praised and handled with deference."

or (θ) in the Greco-Roman world offers a clue as to its Median origin, since the Hittite and Vedic versions of this name are spelled with a "t" only ("Mitra"), and its Old Persian name would have been "Misa" and not Mithra.[667] Thus, the Greek spelling "Mithra" of this deity's name clearly points to a Median origin.

Fig. 283 – Fire altar from the mithraeum in Jajce, Bosnia.

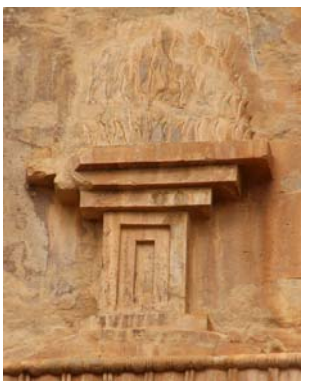

Fig. 284 – Fire altar on the tomb of Artaxerxes III. Persepolis

Figs. 285 a, b – Cautes and Cautopates statues. Louvre Museum

Fig. 286 – Mithraic seal (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore)

Moreover, Mithra's popularity was such that Zoroastrians ended up incorporating a sanitized version of this deity into their pantheon. And the *Mehr Yasht* (i.e., the Avestan hymn dedicated to Mithra) still reflects original themes sung in his praise. Stanza 10.104 of this hymn is particularly relevant to the *mithraeum,* for it explains the presence of Mithra's two acolytes, the torch bearers Cautes and Cautopates. Jean Kellens interprets this stanza as describing the two arms of Mithra, one upward, toward the East, and the other plunging downward, toward the West.[668] Cautes and Cautopates stand, so to speak, for the two "arms" of Mithra, one heralding the rising sun, and the other, announcing the setting sun (Figs. 285a, b).[669] But on a seal imprint from the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore where, for lack of space, Cautes and Cautopates could not be depicted, fire altars are placed on

[667] Lecoq 1997, 48.
[668] Kellens 1994, 165.
[669] Of all the tauroctony scenes, one from Esquiline (CIMRM 368) and one in the Louvre are among the very few in which the two torch bearers keep their torches downward.

both sides of the tauroctony scene instead (Fig. 286). Cautes and Cautopates torches were obviously equated with the fire altar, and their light, with that of the sun.

Similarly, the *Avesta* contains scattered references about the Aryan *farr* that was once closely associated with Mithra. The stanzas *Yt.18.2-7*, for instance, specify that the Aryan *farr* was accompanied by the Strong Wind. Thus, in the victory rock-reliefs of the Sasanian Shāpur I, his *dastār*s (flying ribbons) have an amplified wave pattern to project the action of the Strong Wind and to show a high degree of *farr* for the sovereign (Fig. 288).[670] We may then surmise that Mithra's windblown cloak in tauroctony scenes was also meant to project his association with the *farr*. Furthermore, the lion, which as a sun symbol was affiliated to Mithra in the Iranian context, is often present in the *mithraeum*, as in Jajce (Fig. 287), or as in Hedernheim (Fig. 289).

Fig. 287 – The lion from the Jajce *mithraeum*.

Fig. 288 – Shāpur I's billowing ribbons as sign of his powerful *farr*. Naqsh-e Rajab

Fig. 289 - Mithra's cape blown as sign of his powerful *farr,* with a lion below. Hedernheim (web)

The duality that juxtaposed water with fire was also reflected in the depiction of the sun and the moon on the upper corners of tauroctony stone-reliefs in the *mithraeum*. In the Iranian context, many deities—especially Mithra—rode a *quadriga* (sec. VII.2). Same is true in the Roman context, where Sun and Moon are often depicted with a *quadriga*, as on the Borghese tauroctony monument of the Louvre (Figs. 290 a, b). Moreover, since the moon was qualified as *gao-chithra* (brilliant as milk/cow) in the *Avesta,* its *quadriga* was often pulled by horned cows. That is why the moon chariot of the 2nd-century *mithraeum* found under the church of San Stefano Rotondo in Rome (Fig. 291) is pulled by cows. Furthermore, an Eros-type Apam-Napāt, similar to that of Sasanian rock-reliefs

[670] Soudavar 2006b, 175; Soudavar 2010b, 440.

and silver plates of Figs. 54, 55, and 292, is hovering over the cows of its Moon chariot. As Lord of the Night, Apam Napāt was often invoked in Iranian nighttime ceremonies, and its presence in the San Stefano monument only confirms that *mithraeum* ceremonies were essentially based on Median ideology.[671] As such, they were bound to suffer from the persecution frenzy that accompanied the Magophonia, especially since they contained elements that became associated with the enemies of Darius's Mazdaism.

Figs. 290 a, b – Top corners of the Borghese tauroctony scene (details of Fig. 4)

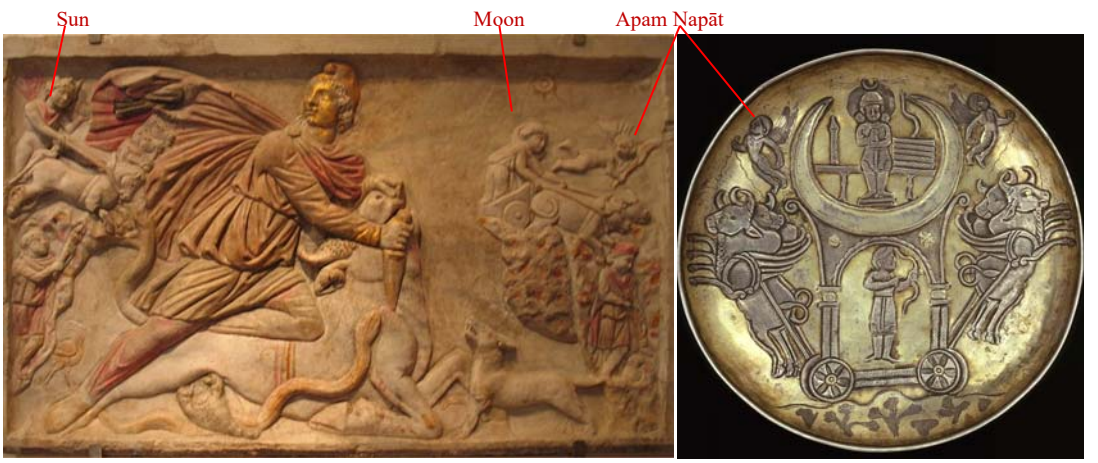

Fig. 291 – Tauroctony stele from San Stefan Rotondo with Apam Napāt directing the Moon's chariot (web)

Fig. 292 – Apam Napāt pulling the flying cows/bulls of the Moon's chariot. Sasanian silver plate

[671] When I first encountered the double-legged *ankh* symbol on the seal of Maximilian of Habsburg, I was not sure whether it was meant to be a symbol of Apam Napāt or not (see note 52 supra). But the appearance of Apam Napāt's symbol on the San Stafano monument seems to indicate that some member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, either understood its significance, or at least knew that it was an auspicious brotherhood symbol.

XIV.3 - The Median Demoniac Symbols

The very symbol of the Median magi whom Darius was killing in Persepolis was a standing lion-headed chimera with wings and a scorpion tail (Fig. 293). It provided the prototype for the representation of *div*s, whom Zoroastrians came to consider as demoniac creatures and opponents of Ahura Mazdā. Several *mithraea* display statues of a standing lion-headed creature with wings, and a snake wrapped around it, in lieu of the scorpion tail (Fig. 294). They occasionally label it as Arimanius, perhaps to mark their disagreement with Zoroastrians, for whom, Ahriman was the embodiment of evil.

Fig. 293 – Darius killing the *div* (Gaumāta)

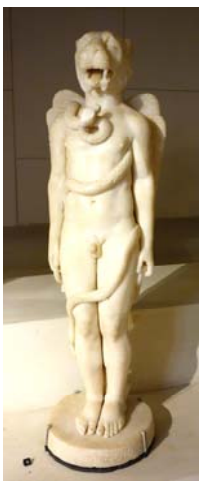

Fig. 294 – The snake-wrapped, lion-headed and winged chimera. Louvre

Fig. 295 – A *div* from the Tahmāsb Shāhnāmeh (Courtesy of S.C. Welch)

Fig. 296 – A giant snake from the Bordeaux *mithraeum*

In Zoroastrianism, the snake and scorpion were considered as *khrafstar,* or noxious animals that had to be killed, and the priesthood of Mithraic congregations was labeled as "*khrafstar*-ish" (see Appendix II.5). Yet, Mithraic congregations of the Sasanian era continued to consider these animals as auspicious species (as witnessed by their numerous seals). And tauroctony scenes illustrate the prominence of these two symbols within the *mithraeum*. The Bordeaux *mithraeum* once harbored a gigantic stand-alone coiled snake (Fig. 296) that recalls the Elamite snake throne of Fig. 110. On the Louvre stele of Fig. 39, a snake encircles the fire altar, as if to emphasize that fire rises out of the waters that the snake represents. Moreover, the Crypta Balbi image of a man holding two snakes (Fig. 299) establishes a clear connection with the "master of animals" figural type that long existed on the Iranian plateau (e.g., Fig. 298). A more imaginative composition of this type is a bronze object from the Archeological Museum of Istanbul in which

Mithra holds two lion-headed serpents (Fig. 300). Similarly a Mithraic cameo, with snakes wrapped around two sticks (Fig. 297), echoes the Sasanian seals and the *kuseh-gardi* ceremonies of Iran that are reminiscent of Elamite fertility rites, as argued in sec. VI.2.

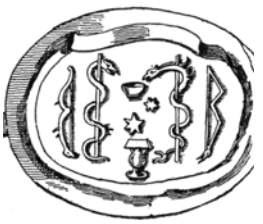

Fig. 297 –Mithraic cameo (from Fig. 108)

Fig. 298 – Master of animals with two snakes. Louvre

Fig. 299- Vase from Crypta Balbi

Fig. 300 – Mithra holding two lion-snakes (from Fig. 115)

While it is not clear how these Elamite symbols and traditions were fused into the Median ones, it is nevertheless obvious that most of the symbols of the Roman *mithraeum* belonged to an Elamo-Median tradition that Darius and later Zoroastrians abhorred and tried to eradicate.

XIV.4 - Going Underground

As Darius and his *pārsa*s decided to persecute the Median magi—after the demise of Gaumāta—any brotherhood or organization with a Mithraic affiliation had to hide and "go underground." In Anatolia, they literally did so and chose the cave as their gathering place. Since fire was at the heart of their ceremonies, once underground, they recreated in the cave the star-studded sky under which they were used to conducting their nighttime ceremonies and performing their rituals next to the fire altar that was now situated inside the *mithraeum*.[672] In a sense, Roger Beck is right to say that the *mithraeum* was an "intimate microcosm of the universe"; in going underground, Mithraic societies were replicating, in their caves, the universe they used to see at nighttime above ground. To emphasize this even more, some tauroctony scenes depict a few trees above the cave (Figs. 1, 4). As for Porphyry's statement that "Zoroaster was the first to dedicate a natural cave in honor of Mithras," it may reflect an attempt by Mithraic societies to have made

[672] Bjørnebye rsays of the cave that its "ceiling was often painted blue, and sometimes 'stars' of precious stones or metals were inserted with the express purpose of turning the ceiling into the vault of heaven"; Bjørnebye 2007.

their practices acceptable to Zoroastrianism,[673] in the same way that dervish orders falsely ascribed the principles of *fotovvat* to the Prophet Mohammad.

Fig. 301 – Tauroctony scene from Dura Europos (Yale University Museum)

Fig. 302 – Tauroctony scene. Römermuseum, Osterburken (wiki)

Be that as it may, the placing of zodiac symbols above the tauroctony scenes provided an additional way to project the celestial vault within the cave. As such they were placed on the rim of the vaulted ceiling of the cave (Figs. 301, 302). Later on, the zodiac signs may have served to invoke astral power in initiation ceremonies. Since the Sun and the Moon were prominently figured on the top corners, and the dog, as symbol of the Dog Star, was present below, it made sense to expand the celestial imagery with zodiac symbols.

XIV.5 - Sacrificial Utensils

Three interrelated bronze objects may shed some light on *mithraeum* activities. The first is a tripod from Berlin's Altes Museum that is adorned with sacrificial animals, namely the bull and the horse,[674] as well as with the snake and the lion that were affiliated to Mithra and were usually present in the *mithraeum* (Fig. 304a). The functional purpose of this tripod is demonstrated by an earlier (7th century BC) tripod from the Ankara National Museum that carries a cauldron on top, with bull heads on its rim (Fig. 303). A similar cauldron from the Altes Museum—but without a tripod—has four ram heads on its rim, in lieu of bull heads. As both the cow/bull and the ram were sacrificial animals, one can guess that these cauldrons contained the sacrificial meal that had to be distributed among

[673] J. Russell, "Imagery of Zarathushtra: continuity and change in tradition," paper delivered at the Oct. 14, 2013, conference at SOAS: *Looking Back: Zoroastrian Identity Formation Through Recourse to the Past.*
[674] Horses were sacrificed in the name of Mithra at Cyrus's tomb; Briant 1996, 106.

congregation members (see also Fig. 366).[675] But the Altes cauldron is so shallow that it can hardly be used for preparing a stew for an entire congregation. One can only speculate that it was meant to capture the blood of the sacrificial animal to be offered to the congregation members or to the initiates.

Fig. 303 – Tripod with cauldron. Ankara National Museum

Figs. 304 a, b – (a) Roman Mithraic tripod, (b) Mithraic cauldron Altes Museum Berlin

XIV.6 - Mithraic Silver Plates as Tools of Diplomacy

Shāpur I's successive victories over the Romans stabilized—for a while—the rapport de force between the Sasanian and Roman empires. The Romans acknowledged the superior strength of the Persians, and chose to engage Shāpur with diplomacy rather than war. In diplomacy, common grounds are always exploited. Since Shāpur cherished his Mithraic power base, and even wore a Mithraic bonnet (see sec. X.4), the Romans saw therein the opportunity to send an emissary of high rank affiliated, or at least familiar, with Mithraic societies. The *Historia Augusta* provides an anecdote about how this diplomatic avenue was explored, and how the Persians reacted to it. It's about the visit of the Roman Emperor Aurelian (r. 270-275) *prior* to his ascent to the throne, therefore at a time when Shāpur I (d. 270) was still reigning in Iran:

> … when he (Aurelian) had gone as an envoy to the Persians, he was presented with a sacrificial saucer, of the kind that the king of the Persians is wont to present to the emperor, on which was engraved the Sun god in the same attire in which he was worshiped in the very temple where the mother of Aurelian had been a priestess.[676]

[675] Soudavar 2003, 111-12.
[676] Magie 1998, III:201.

The story conveys two interesting points. The first is that the Sasanians must have given Aurelian a silver plate, with an engraved effigy of Mithra, in full knowledge of Aurelian's family ties with a Mithraic temple; and the second is the fact that said Mithra's attire was similar to what this deity wore in the Roman Empire. We can thus only speculate that the gift of silver plates similar to the pair of the Altes Museum would have been appropriate for the occasion.[677] One of these plates has an effigy of Mithra as the sun god (Fig. 305a), and the other, an effigy of his aquatic counterpart depicted as Anāhitā (in lieu of Apam Napāt). Mithra has a bonnet with sunflowers similar to the bronze bonnet of Boston (Fig. 305b), and a crescent behind him to indicate that he is but one god of a deity pair that symbolized the Sun/Moon duality. Conversely, the effigy of Anāhitā has a solar emblem in its background to confirm her belonging to the same duality. [678]

Figs. 305 a, b – Two silver plates from a hoard datable to Tiberius's reign. Altes Museum, Berlin
(a) Mithra against a moon crescent, (b) Anāhitā against a sun emblem

Be that as it may, the existence of Mithraic societies in both empires must have facilitated rapprochement between the two, especially when their rulers and their high elite were affiliated with the same type of congregations.

[677] These two silver objects were part of a silver hoard found in northern Italy. The hoard has been dated to the 1st century AD, based on a coin from Tiberius's reign (r. 14-37 AD).
[678] The eight-sided crown of this female deity, and the sun emblem behind her head, can hardly refer to Artemis as the twin sister of Apollo, because otherwise the crescent of Mithra should refer to a twin brother, or sister, that Mithra did not have. Identification with Aphrodite/Venus does not work either.

XIV.7 - From Persian God to Romanized Mithras

The spread of the *mithraea* across the Roman Empire only attests to the enormous popularity of the Mysteries among Romans (Fig. 6). Thousands of people, from every strata of society, were accustomed to taking an oath in Mithra's name. Such a popular deity was bound to enter the Greco-Roman pantheon of gods, and blend itself into Greek mythology. A mid 2nd-century sarcophagus from Konya illustrates this blending process, as it integrates Mithra into the Herakles cycle (Figs. 306a, b).

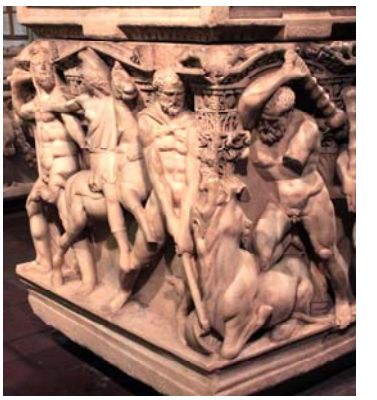

Figs. 306 a, b – Roman sarcophagus depicting the feats of Herakles. 2nd century. Konya Museum.

Herakles was sent by the King of Mycenae to perform a series of difficult tasks. His seventh task was to bring back the Bull of Crete that was terrorizing the island. The décor of the sarcophagus was meant to illustrate this whole series, but as Herakles is about to kill the bull, he is seemingly prevented by a Mithraic rider (Fig. 306a). The latter is pushing Herakles back with his hand, as if to say that the killing of the bull is Mithra's prerogative. It was a futile attempt, because on the following corner, Herakles manages to kill the bull (Fig. 306b). It's not clear whether the rider—who is wearing a Mithraic bonnet, but not the Persian garb of Mithra—was meant to represent Mithra himself or an emissary. This rider, however, has features that reappear in Sepphoris, in a Mithraic environment (see sec. XIV.12). If it was meant to represent Mithra himself, it would indicate one more step in the Hellenization of Mithra as he is stripped of his Persian clothing and is wearing a Greek tunic.

Mithra eventually entered the Roman pantheon, in large part through the intervention of rulers of Iranian origin who straddled the border zone between the Roman and Iranian empires. Mithridates I of Commagene (109-70 BC), whose name meant Mithra-given,

had erected statues of himself shaking hands with Mithra (Fig. 307), in which the sun god wears the same bonnet—with the same sunflowers—as on the silver plate of Fig. 305a. Mithridates's son, Antiochus I, shook hands with Herakles (Fig. 309a), but his paraphernalia was nonetheless replete with Mithraic symbols such as lions and sunflowers (Figs. 309a, b). The Commagene dynasty obviously considered Mithra as a protector, and a deity who had to be revered on a par with Greco-Roman ones such as Herakles. On another stele, on which Antiochus is shaking hands with Mithra, this deity is given the double name of Apollo-Mithras (Fig. 308).

Fig. 307 - Mithridates and Mithra (Dorner 1978, p. V)

Fig. 308 – Antiochus and Apollo-Mithras (web)

Figs. 309 a, b – (a) Antiochus and Herakles. Nemrud Dagh; (b) Sunflowers on Antiochus's arm and lion on his hat

The Arsacid Tiridates I of Armenia came to Rome in 66 AD and famously said to Nero: "I have come to you, my god, worshiping you as I do Mithra"; he also brought along his magi to perform Mithraic rituals (Cassius Dio, 63.5.2). Thereafter, Commodus (r. 180-192) was initiated into the Mysteries, and Aurelian erected a magnificent temple to Sol Invictus (i.e. Mithra) in Rome, with its own special college of priests.[679]

But the emperor who raised Mithra to the top of the Roman pantheon of gods was Julian. As Dominique Hollard has recently demonstrated, Julian, who had been initiated into the Mysteries, was so enamored with Mithra that he often sacrificed bovines to him, wrote a treatise in his honor (on the occasion of Mithra's birthday on the 25th of December), and placed his bust at the gate of his military encampments.[680] The importance that Julian accorded to Mithra can be evaluated by the reactions it drew from two antagonist camps, namely the Persians and the Christians.

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[679] *Historia Augusta*, XXV.6, XXXV.3, XXXIX.6
[680] Hollard 2010, 147-63.

On the Persian side, Julian so provoked Shāpur II that, on the Sasanian king's victory relief at Tāq-e Bostān, Mithra stood behind Ahura Mazdā to emphasize that the supreme deity that Julian had venerated had ultimately favored Shāpur II over his opponent, even though he was a mere second in the Persian pantheon (Fig. 206).[681] Mithra had never had such prominence in Sasanian rock reliefs, and his presence in Tāq-e Bostān was only in response to Julian's propaganda.

On the Christian side, the reaction was even stronger. Julian was branded the "Apostate" and the Mithraic congregations were perceived as enemies, although, as we shall next argue, Christianity must have initially joined forces with them. If Julian was declared an apostate, it is not that he was ever a Christian and renounced his faith to deserve such a label. It was because he took the Roman Empire—which Christians had considered as theirs since Constantine I (r. 306-37)—back to paganism. It's the Roman state that slid into apostasy and not Julian; but he got branded as such for causing it. Julian's Mithra-oriented actions prompted a severe rift among two interconnected movements, with all the animosity and venom that often spills out when betrayal is felt, or imagined, among next of kin or comrades in arms. It is thus that the centurions of Judea in charge of Jesus's crucifixion in Fra Angelico's *Scenes from the Life of Christ* operate under the Roman SPQR banner, but wear capes adorned with scorpions as symbols of their Mithraic affiliation (Fig. 310). Fra Angelico is insinuating that it was not the Roman state that committed this crime, but a Mithraic faction within that state. Fifteenth-century Italy was still under the spell of that 4th-century rift between two former allies.

Fig. 310 - Scenes from the Life of Christ, by Fra Angelico, circa 1451. Museo di San Marco, Florence

Fig. 311 - St Peter with red miter. 15th century Burgundy. MMA

[681] Julian must have tailored his war propaganda toward the Sasanian military by claiming that Mithra was on his side; and since Shāpur's brother, Hormizdas (Hormoz), commanded part of the Roman cavalry, and Julian had plans to place him on the Persian throne, the Roman propaganda must have shaken the very legitimacy of Shāpur's right to rule; Hollard 2010, 147-63, Soudavar 2012a, 46.

The rift between the two also produced a rivalry that, from the Christian perspective, manifested itself as a desire to project Christianity's triumph over Mithraism. Thus the Magi who came to visit the infant Jesus were portrayed as Mithraic priests in early Christian artifacts (Figs. 312-13). This was based on *Matthew* 2.12:

> "After Jesus was born in Bethlehem in Judea, during the time, of King Herod, magi (Gr. *μαγοι*) from the east came to Jerusalem,"

and conceived to show the subordination of the Mithraic magi to Christianity.[682] The Magi were imagined as a threesome, so that each could carry one of the three gifts that they supposedly brought.[683] Centuries later, as Mithraism was left behind, the image of the gift-bearing Mithraic priests was set aside and the *μαγοι* were imagined as kings paying homage to the newborn Jesus (Fig. 314). Mithraism was no longer a threat; instead the Church's authority was challenged by kings. As with Zoroastrianism, subduing kingship became a major concern. Kings submitting their offering to the infant Jesus reflets such a concern, and projects the subordination of kingship to the Church.

Fig. 312 - Three Mithraic Magi visiting Jesus. 6th century AD, San Vitale, Ravenna

Fig. 313 - The Mithraic Magi visiting Jesus 6th century. British Museum

Fig. 314 - Sigismund of Luxembourg, Manuel Paleologos II & Jean Sans Peur in lieu of the three Magi, 1423. Uffizi[684]

XIV.8 - Adoption of Mithraic Rites and Symbols in Christianity

Marvin Meyer once wrote that "early Christianity ... in general, resembles Mithraism in a number of respects – enough to make Christian apologists scramble to invent creative

[682] Félix 2000, 15, 25.
[683] *Matthew* 2.10-12 explains that the magi brought gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The number of magi varied between 2 and 12 but got fixed at 3 in consideration of the gifts; Félix 2000, 84.
[684] This image is a detail of the *Adoration of the Magi* by Gentile da Fabriano at the Uffizi, Florence. For an explanation, see Soudavar 2008, 110-27.

theological explanations to account for the similarities."[685] Indeed, similarities abound. The Eucharist, for instance, was so similar to the Mysteries' rituals that Justin (d. 165 AD) imagined them copying the Christians, rather than the other way around:

> "…the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same thing to be done. For that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated…"[686]

Furthermore, the name of the Pope is directly derived from the Mithraic leader *pater/papa*, and the bishop, who wears a red robe like the *pater*, has a headgear named *miter* after Mithra (Fig. 311) that is often shaped like those of dervishes (Figs. 80, 147). The very concept of a *pater* presiding over a congregation of brothers was the model that inspirited ascetic Christian orders such as the Franciscans who referred to themselves as friars (i.e. brothers). The celebration of Christmas on the 25th of December—first attested in 354—had its origin in the celebration of the winter solstice, which in the Julian calendar fell on that very day.[687] The Emperor Aurelian had dedicated that date to the Romanized Mithra (i.e., Sol Invictus) in the same way that Iranians recognized in the winter solstice the awakening of the sun god Mithra.

Moreover, early Christians gathered in caves, i.e., the very environment that also harbored the original *mithraeum*. Mithraic societies had gone underground for fear of persecution, so did the Christians. Gary Wills who characterizes early Christianity as "only a Jesus movement within the Jewish community," recognizes that its principal activity was "a communal meal in which memories of Jesus were shared."[688] He also notes that a spirit of brotherhood prevailed among them as Jesus said to his companions:

> "You, however, should not be addressed as "Rabbi," since you have only one teacher, and you are *brothers* to each other. Do not address any man on earth as *father*, since you have only one father, and he is in heaven" (*Matthew* 23.8-9).[689]

Thus, the cave, the communal meal, and the brotherhood spirit that prevailed in the early Christian communities provided a common ground for a rapprochement with Mithraic congregations: To meet, to learn from one another, to emulate each other, and to

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[685] Meyer 2010, 179. See also Simon 1978, 464.
[686] Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, ch. 66. It is not clear why Justin describes the Eucharist as the practice of breaking bread into water, for the Christians as well as Mithraic initiates dipped their bread into wine. But as in the case of dervish orders, some of whom used water, and others wine, in their initiation ceremonies, Christians and Mithraic societies may have used both.
[687] Yamauchi 1996, 520.
[688] Wills 2013, 7.
[689] Some Nabatean congregations addressed their leaders as *bābā*, see note 374 supra.

eventually join forces. One can readily understand that besides the communal meal, the practice of secrecy, the initiation procedures, and the Mithraic hierarchy would have been of interest to the early Christian activists. But as far as Jesus was concerned, *Matthew* 23.9 clearly reveals that he was aware of congregations that addressed their leaders as "father," but rejected that practice. Later priesthood, however, saw great benefit in that type of hierarchy, and espoused it in contravention of the spirit of simplicity and brotherhood that Jesus had preached.

Fig. 315 – Portal of the 13th-century Parma Baptistery (Photo: Nasrin Soudavar)

Fig. 316 – Byzantine ivory plaque. MMA

In sections XIV.11-12 below, we shall see that Mithraic societies were popular within Jewish/Christian communities, and a fair amount of intermingling may have occurred in that context; to the extent that Jesus's warning in *Matthew* 23.9 may have been in consideration of what he had actually observed in such societies. Our aim here is not to study the full impact of Mithraism on Christianity, but to find elements that provide a better comprehension of Iranian Mithraism, and the array of symbols and practices that originated within that sphere. We shall therefore concentrate on duality symbols that permeated Christianity, despite its strong emphasis on monotheism. The Mithraic sun and moon symbols, for instance, often appear in church architecture, as well as its decorative elements. One can of course consider them as celestial symbols or signs of the heavens. But when *personified* as a sun god and a moon god—as in the *mithraeum*—they obviously had a pagan tint, and should have been rejected. If they were not, it's because Mithraic symbols were so enmeshed with Christianity that they could not be discarded overnight. The portal of the 13th-century Parma Baptistery displays the sun god and the

moon god, each riding a *quadriga* driven by four horses and four cows respectively (Fig. 315). It's a feature that has a meaning in the Mithraic context but none whatsoever in Christianity. Similarly, the sun and moon gods that appear on an ivory plaque from the MMA (Fig. 316), are featured with crowns like those of the *mithraeum*, and are located in the same corners.

Fig. 317 – Apse of the San Clement Basilica in Rome.

Fig. 318 - *Mihrāb* of the Al-Mansur mosque (web)

These pagan settings and symbols had to be modified or reinterpreted over time. Thus, in the top row of the apse of the San Clemente Basilica in Rome, the emblems of the four Evangelists are set in a way that the lion (symbol of Mark) is situated on the top left corner, and the ox (symbol of Luke), on the top right corner (Fig. 317). But in *Revelations* 4:7, which provided the inspiration for attributing these symbols to the four Evangelists, the ox comes right after the lion.[690] The San Clemente re-ordering of the symbols is a clear attempt to blur the Mithraic heritage of Christianity, especially since the Basilica was actually built on top of a *mithraeum*. Shortly after San Clemente—which is datable to the 12th century—a similar blurring scheme was attempted on the portal of the Parma Baptistery. Over the sun and moon gods riding their *quadriga*, a lion is inserted into a medallion that contains another effigy of the sun god, on the left, and an ox is inserted into the medallion of the moon god, on the right (Fig. 315). Through the lion and the ox, the sun and the moon were being justified as symbols of Mark and Luke. More than eight centuries after the rift caused by Julian, Christianity was still trying to divest itself from the sun and moon symbolism that it had inherited from Mithraism. It

[690] *Revelations* 4.7: "the first living creature like a LION, the second living creature like an OX, the third living creature with a face like a HUMAN face, and the fourth living creature like a flying EAGLE," (4.8): "And the four living creatures, each of them with six wings, are full of eyes all around and inside."

could never do it completely, since "Sunday" and "Monday" are constant reminders of the prominent role that the sun and the moon once played in Christianity.

Fig. 319 – Byzantine platter with a shell between lamps. Dumbarton Oaks Museum

Fig. 320 – Virgin and Child under a shell. Bordeaux Museum

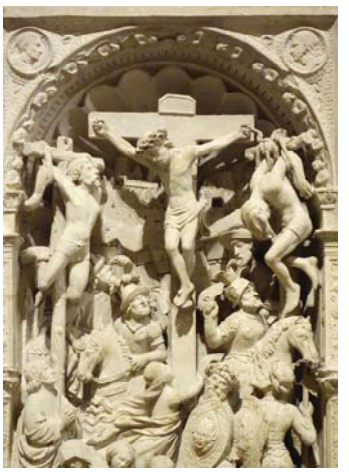

Fig. 321 – Malta Order Altar piece. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

Furthermore, a striking feature of the Metropolitan ivory plaque is a shell-like dome under which the Virgin Mary is seated (Fig. 316). It's a motif that is often used in Christianity, not only with respect to the Virgin Mary (Fig. 320), but in other circumstances such as the Last Supper scene of a Byzantine silver platter (Fig. 319), or the 1522 crucifixion altar of a Malta Order monument (Fig. 321).[691] As such, the shell must have been a symbol that portended auspiciousness. We shall further elaborate this topic in the next section, but, for the time being suffice it to say that its meaning is divulged by the name of the prayer niche of Islamic mosques, i.e., *mihrāb* (Fig. 318), which originally referred to a holy space adorned with the dual symbols of Mithra (*mehr*) and Apam Napāt (*āb*). Mithra could be symbolized by the sun, fire, or candle light; Apam Napāt, however, was represented by the shell, an elegant aquatic symbol that also conveyed his role as guardian of the *farr,* when encapsulated underwater as a pearl.[692] An elaborate sun motif set at the heart of a shell niche from an 8th-century monastery of El-Tod in Egypt (Fig. 325) clearly vouches for a tradition related to a Mithra/Apam Napāt symbolism.

[691] It's interesting to note that the stone altar which came from the Commanderie of the Order of Malta in Soulz (Alsace), has kept the basic Mithraic architecture with the two sun and moon medallions on the top replaced by the effigies of the Order's founders.
[692] See note 512 supra.

Fig. 322 –San Simeon with a Mithraic bonnet under a shell. 6th century Syria. Louvre

Fig. 323 – *Chi-Rho* symbol placed under a shell. MMA

Fig. 324 – Sun cross and shell above archangel Michael (British Museum)

Fig. 325 – Sun emblem at the center of a shell. Architectural fragment from El-Tod, Egypt. Louvre

Fig. 326 –Mithraic head between snakes and a sun motif (same as Fig. 116)

Fig. 327 – Sun emblem between two snakes, 13th century, Anatolia. Ince Minar Madrasa, Konya

But a more telling setting for the shell is a 6th-century silver plaque from northern Syria dedicated to San Simeon, who is said to have lived for thirty seven years on top of a pillar (Fig. 322). The saint wears a Mithraic bonnet and seems to be preaching from the top of his pillar, which is depicted as a combination of a fire altar and the *pater*'s throne in the *mithraeum*. More importantly, a prominent snake is coiled around the pillar, while the whole scene is dominated by a shell placed above the saint. There cannot be more vivid proof of Mithraism's intermingling with Christianity.

The shell on the silver Byzantine platter (Fig. 319) is incorporated into a structure held by *two* columns and adorned with *two* lamps that replicate the Islamic *mihrāb*, with its *two*

side columns and *two* candlesticks. This pattern of a shell, in combination with two columns, is not Christian-specific and seems to replicate itself across various religious settings. In another variation, a Byzantine ivory plaque has a sun cross at the center of a shell (Fig. 324, see also Fig. 364). When the sun cross was turned into the *Chi-Rho* monogram of Christ, it was again placed under a shell and between two columns (Fig. 323). Furthermore, the previously discussed sun symbol of an Armenian church flanked by a pair of snakes (Fig. 326) provides a link to a similar architectural element from a mosque in Konya that has a sun symbol flanked by two snakes (Fig. 327).[693] We thus have a number of common motifs between Christianity and Islam, which, because of their sun, shell, and snake motifs, betray a Mithraic heritage.

Figs. 328 a, b– Church of Ana Meryem. Diyarbakir.
(a) portal with shell décor over suncross
(b) sun and moon emblems

Fig. 329 - Jesus's monogram and cross within sunburst. Bordeaux Museum

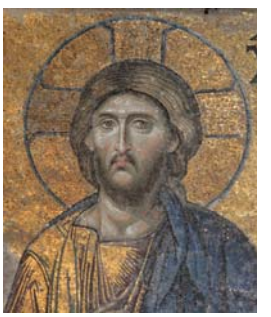

Fig. 330 - Sun-cross within Jesus's nimbus. Aya Sofia

At the Syriac Church of the Virgin Mary (Meryem Ana *kilisesi*) in Diyarbakir, besides sun-and-moon symbols that are prominently on display (Fig. 328b),[694] there is a portal with a shell-like domed structure, at the heart of which is placed a Greek cross (Fig. 328a). We had previously argued that this type of four-legged cross was a sun symbol. Christians themselves recognized it as such, since it appears next to the names of the Mithraic magi in Ravenna (Fig. 101). The same cross is incorporated in the sun-disk behind Jesus's head in Aya Sofia, and leaves no doubt as to the equivalence of this cross with the sun (Fig. 330). Sun and light were very much Mithra's attributes, which Christianity borrowed because of the powerful imagery that it provided. A 17th-century architectural element from Bordeaux, for instance, incorporates Jesus's IHS monogram in a sunburst that is reminiscent of the Flaming Flint Stone of the Order of the Golden

[693] The snake on the right is partly destroyed.
[694] The sun symbol next to the crescent recalls similar ones on the hindquarters of the Mithraic lions as in Fig. 100, Fig. 238, and Fig. 256.

Fleece (Fig. 329), as well as the sunburst of a Masonic leader (Fig. 348b).[695] The most important use of this imagery, however, occurs in the text of the Nicene Creed:

> We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father the only-begotten; that is, of the essence of the Father, God of God, *Light of Light*, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father…

The Nicene Creed is Christianity's fundamental doctrine of faith, proclaimed by the first ecumenical council in 325 AD. The council had been convened by Constantine in Nicaea to establish Christianity's superiority in a Hellenized Roman world, where many mortals were regularly deified, including Emperor Hadrian's (r. 117-138) young lover Antinous. The proclamation's objective was to ascertain that Jesus was as divine as possible, within a monotheistic religion where God was supposed to be the sole Supreme being. Jesus was presented as God incarnate, based on the appellation "Son of God" that St Paul had advocated.[696] But what Jesus meant by addressing God as "father" was not what the Nicene Council proclaimed, since in *Matthew* 23.9, Jesus says that God was *father to all the apostles* and by extension to all humanity. And that's why there was strong dissent in Nicaea, and the dissenters, led by Bishop Arius (d. 336), were verbally condemned in the proclamation.[697]

More problematic, however, was the *Light of Light* qualification. Supposedly, it was based on *1 John* 8:12, where Jesus says: "*I am the light* of the world." But the use of "light" in this verse is metaphoric, and to accept it literally creates enormous theological problems, even more so if extended to God himself. Because, if God is light, how did darkness appear? If God is creator of all, how can he be equated with only light and not darkness? If God "separated the light from the darkness," as per *Genesis* 1:4, did he do it within his own substance? i.e., did he also carry darkness at one point in time?

These are questions that do not arise in a dualistic framework, where you have a day god and a night god. Mithra, for instance, could be equated with light and not be associated with nighttime, which was the domain of his counterpart, Apam Napāt. That is why God

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[695] See sec. II.6. "IHS" stood for *"Iesus Hominum Salvatore."*

[696] As Reza Aslan argues, the appellation "Son of God" was not an unusual title in ancient Judaism. It was the Greek-speaking Hellenist Saul of Tarsus (i.e., St Paul) who promoted the literal meaning, by which Jesus was understood to be the actual son of God; Aslan 2013; 186, 266.

[697] Their objections can be deduced from the condemnation that appears at the end of the Nicene Creed: "But those who say: 'There was a time when he was not;' and 'He was not before he was made;' and 'He was made out of nothing,' or 'He is of another substance' or 'essence,' or 'The Son of God is created,' or 'changeable,' or 'alterable'—they are condemned by the holy catholic and apostolic Church."

was never identified with light in the Old Testament.[698] Light can be an instrument in the hands of a monotheistic god, but not his essence. Moreover, it was not essential for conveying Jesus's divine status.[699] If *Light of Light* was inserted in the Nicene Creed, it was probably in competition with Mithraism. God, and his Son, had to have all the attributes of Mithra, and more.

In sum, many elements of Median ideology had permeated Christianity via Roman Mithraism. They are all based on a duality that manifested itself as sun and moon, or fire and water. Through the pagan symbols that Christianity adopted, such as the shell and the sun cross, we find an enduring presence of the dualistic ideology that Darius and Zoroastrianism had once banned in Iran; and through the divergences that developed between Christianity and Mithraism, we have yet another gauge for measuring the latter's popularity in the Roman world; and through rituals such as the Eucharist, we can assess the attractiveness of brotherhood initiation rituals for a wide variety of congregations.

XIV.9 - Explaining the Islamic *Mihrāb* as *Mehr-āb*

In pursuit of his *archéologie en terrain littéraire*, Melikian-Chirvani has dug out much evidence to show that two of the most important components of the Islamic mosque, namely the minaret and the *mihrāb*, were borrowed from pre-Islamic Iran. For the minaret, he follows Robert Hillenbrand in suggesting that it does not originate in "functional use," and if it is perceived today as a tower from which the call to prayer (*azān*) is announced, its etymology, as well as the meanings that early dictionaries attribute to it, suggest a columnar structure that carried fire on its top, such as a light house, road indicator, or lamp stand.[700] The fire, up high, signaled where believers had to gather for prayer in the dark of the night.

Similarly, Melikian-Chirvani argues that the Islamic *mihrāb*, or the prayer niche, was an adaptation from a fire edifice that stood at the heart of Zoroastrian monuments. His first observation is etymological. In contrast to the traditional explanation of the word *mihrāb* (محراب) as a derivative of حرب (battle), i.e., as the battlefield between good and evil, Melikian-Chirvani relies on early lexicons to explain this word as the "heart" of an edifice and its most important spot.[701] He then uses numismatic evidence and the

[698] 2 *Samuel* 22:29 : "the Lord turns *my* darkness into light."; 2 *Samuel* 23:4: "he is *like* the light of morning at sunrise on a cloudless morning"; (*Psalm* 76:4) "*You* are radiant with light"
[699] The question of God or his Son being equated with Light does not appear as a point of contention between the antagonists of Nicaea, for it is not mentioned in the final threat against the dissidents; see note 697 supra.
[700] Melikian-Chirvani 1990b, 109-112.
[701] Melikian-Chirvani 1990b, 110; see also Porter 2007, 555.

Shāhnāmeh to argue that it actually referred to a domed structure that harbored a fire underneath, which was called *chahār-tāq* in Sasanian times.[702] In Persian, *tāq* meant arch and the *chahār-tāq* referred to a four-arched edifice with a dome on top. If in open air, the structure warranted heavy corner pillars as in Fig. 331, but if inside, it looked more like a domed canopy supported by four columns. To this day, the Zoroastrian fire altar is called *dar-e Mehr* (Mithra's gateway); and that may be the reason why the Islamic *mihrāb* is conceived as a portal or gateway. What's more, a Zoroastrian tradition states that *dar-e mehr* or "place of fire" should have four doors.[703]

Fig. 331 - Roknābād *chahār-tāq* (web)

Fig. 332 – *Mihrāb* with lamp. MMA

Fig. 333 – Stone *mihrāb*. Ince Minar Madrasa. Konya

Fig. 334 – Aya Sofia *mihrāb* with sun symbol on top

Fig. 335 – *Mihrāb* of Dome of the Rock (Melikian 1992, 118)

Since the fire-harboring *chahār-tāq* was the focal point of pre-Islamic religious ceremonies, the same structure was used to orient the Moslem believer within the mosque, and to direct his prayer toward Mecca. Thus the *mihrāb* was conceived as the two-dimensional image of the *chahār-tāq* fire altar on a wall, and it became the "heart" of the mosque. And that's why numerous *mihrāb*s have the image of a lamp hanging under the arch (Fig. 332), or the image of a pair of lamps at ground level (Fig. 333), or two actual mosque lamps set in front of them (Fig. 334).

More importantly, Melikian-Chirvani uses the example of the *mihrāb* at the Dome of the Rock to show that its fire symbol could be replaced by a sunburst called *shamseh*, which

[702] Melikian-Chirvani shows through numerous examples how loan words in Arabic would conform to the Arabic pronunciation, in this case by turning the soft Persian "ه" into the guttural Arabic "ح"; and the relevant *Shāhnāmeh* verses that he quotes are (Melikian-Chirvani 1992, 113-117):

که آتش بدان گاه محراب بود پرستنده را دیده پر آب بود

For fire stood then as the *mihrāb* * And worshipers' eyes were full of tears

[703] Boyce 1993.

obviously alluded to the sun (*mehr*) (Fig. 335).[704] But he falls short of grasping the full meaning of *mihrāb* by thinking that its second component (*āb*) only meant water, rather than alluding to Mithra's eternal companion, Apam Napāt. As noted before, the king of Kabul (who was thought to be a descendant of Astyages) was similarly named Mehrāb in the *Shāhnāmeh* to emphasize his Median religious affiliation as opposed to a Zoroastrian one.[705] And pre-Achaemenid objects display this duality with the appropriate dual symbols, such as water waves and sunburst on an Elamite silver beaker from the Sackler (Fig. 336), as well as fish and sunburst on a Ziwiyyeh beaker from the Louvre (Fig. 337).

Fig. 336- Elamite beaker with wave and sun motifs. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Fig. 337 – Ziwiyyeh beaker with sun and fish motif (8th cent. BC). Louvre

Fig. 338 - Sasanian shell vessel. EMS coll.

Zoroastrians incorporated existing expressions into their all-encompassing religion by simply sanitizing them, which in great part consisted of eradicating Apam Napāt who stood as a rival to Ahura Mazdā. Where his name appeared in tandem with Mithra, it was mostly changed to the neutral and inconspicuous *āb* (Av. *ap*); at the same time, various appellations such as Borz-Mehr, or even *yazatān*, were devised to refer to them as a pair, without openly naming Apam Napāt (see sec. X.12.). What's more, shell-shaped vessels remained popular in the Sasanian era, as obvious symbols of Apam Napāt (Fig. 338).

While Iranian *mihrāb*s frequently incorporate a lamp motif, they rarely display a recognizable water symbol, despite the fact that water always accompanied fire in ancient Iranian religious rites.[706] Outside Iran however, especially where Zoroastrianism was never strong, or was supplanted by Christianity, the dual symbols of Mithra and Apam

[704] An interesting observation that Melikian makes is that the Dome of the Rock sunburst is a jadeite piece that must have previously belonged to another structure, but was reused again because of its preciousness, Melikian-Chirvani 118.
[705] See note 637 supra.
[706] See note 666 supra.

Napāt were often on display. We already saw that in Armenia, where churches were still called *mehean* after Mithra,[707] sun and snakes—as symbols of Mithra and the waters—adorned their portals (Fig. 326). Moreover, the two-dimensional *mihrāb*-like design was also used in the Christian context, for instance, on the Armenian wooden door of Fig. 339. In lieu of the mosque lamp, it has a Greek cross—that was once viewed as a sun symbol—and lush vegetation, which may or may not be perceived as a water symbol. The two medallions above the *mihrāb*-like arch, however, are undoubtedly in lieu of the Mithraic sun *and* moon placements, since they are not symmetrical and incorporate two different geometrical sunbursts.[708] On a *mihrāb*-like marble slab from a Gujarati monument, a lamp is hanging from a lotus flower that may have also been designed with the aim of producing this dual symbolism, since we have two sunburst medallions on its top corners (Fig. 340).[709] Symmetry being an important principle of Islamic architecture, the two Gujarati medallions are designed to be identical; so are the protruding globular medallions of a stone *mihrāb* from Konya (Fig. 341). Nevertheless, they all occupy positions (↑) similar to the corner spots of the sun and the moon in Mithraic edifices.

Fig. 339 – Armenian wooden door (Courtesy of Sam Fogg)

Fig. 340 – Gujarāti *mihrāb*-like motif (Melikian 1992, 118)

Fig. 341 – Shell motifs adorning the *muqarnas* of the *mihrāb*. Ince Minar Madrasa, Konya

Fig. 342 – Shell symbol on the road to St James of Compostela (web)

[707] See note 215 supra.

[708] On the Islamic *mihrāb*s of Anatolia, however, the two medallions are transformed into two identical hemispherical designs for the sake of symmetry (Fig. 333).

[709] Melikian-Chirvani who reproduced this slab as a *mihrāb* in Melikian-Chirvani 1990b, subsequently found out that this was one slab out of several that came from a dismantled monument, and therefore, it was not a *mihrāb,* but a *mihrāb*-like wall decoration (personal communication).

The very presence of the sun-and-moon-like medallions, in tandem with the hanging lamp of this Konya *mihrāb*, implies affiliation with a *mehr-āb* tradition. If so, its hanging lamp must have had a water counterpart somewhere. At first glance, the design elements of its *muqarnas* squinches can look like lotus leaves (which can be interpreted as water symbols). But a closer look reveals that they are stylized shells, similar to the Sasanian vessel of Fig. 338, and to the shell markings (Fig. 342) that pave the pilgrimage road to St James of Compostela—the saint after whom the "Coquilles St Jacques" shell and scallop were named. They were elongated to fit the squinches and/or to look more vegetal and more Islamic. As such, one possible explanation for the hitherto unexplained *muqarnas* is to see it as a replacement of the shell niche, especially since the earliest known *mihrāb*, the one made circa 709 for the Medina mosque, was reportedly conceived as a shell niche flanked by two columns.[710] It may have looked like the circa 762 *mihrāb* of the Al-Mansur mosque in Baghdad (Fig. 318), and probably followed a pre-Islamic model, a specimen of which was found in the mosque of Estakhr, as a reused element from a Partho-Sasanian monument (Fig. 343).[711]

Fig. 343 – Reused shell structure from Estakhr. Arasacid or Early Sasanian. Persepolis Museum.

Fig. 345 - Baldachin of the Santo Spirito cathedral, Florence

Fig. 346 – Bernini baldachin at St Peter's Cathedral (web)

Fig. 344 – Raphael's rendering of the earlier twisted columns (web)

What the above analysis allows us to conclude is that, through the spread of Mithraic congregations, the canopied fire structure with a shell motif became a design model for the focal point of various religious structures, be it in Zoroastrianism, Christianity or Islam. As symbol of Apam Napāt, the shell niche was lost or pushed aside in Iran, and

[710] Porter 2007, 555-56. The squinches of the Kairouan's mosque are shell-shaped; O'kane 2012, 4.
[711] A 3rd-century shell niche was also found in Bishāpur. I am indebted to Ali Asadi for this information.

may have been replaced by the *muqarnas* in later times. Christianity though continued to use it as an optical device for establishing an architectural focal point.[712]

Interestingly, many churches, such as the Santo Spirito of Florence, have a baldachin that is a replica of the Sasanian *chahār-tāq* (Fig. 345). A famous baldachin is Bernini's bronze canopy in St Peter's in Rome (Fig. 346), which replaced an earlier structure whose columns were supposedly from Solomon's Temple, sent to Rome by Constantine. It is now proven that these columns are from the 2nd-century AD, and their Solomonic attribution happened in conjunction with a forged imperial decree by which Constantine was said to have transferred authority over Rome and the western part of the empire to the Pope.[713] A circa 1524 painting from Raphael's workshop illustrates the four Solomonic columns in a linear format (Fig. 344); but the Bernini baldachin—which replicates their twisted shape—suggests that the linear format was a convention to project a canopied structure in a two-dimensional setting; the same convention was used to depict "Solomon's Temple" on Byzantine plates (Fig. 347). Be that as it may, what is of interest to us here is the "Solomonic" attribution. To justify a pagan structure within a holy Christian setting, the Temple of Solomon provided the necessary excuse, and cover up. Similarly, as Melikian-Chirvani has explained, when Cyrus's tomb in Pasargadae was incorporated in early 13th century into a mosque, and a *mihrāb* was carved inside its tomb chamber, it was purported to be the Mosque of Solomon's mother.[714] Time and again, canopied structures, or columns that were symbolically used by various congregations, were justified through a Solomonic attribution. Such is also the case for the Masonic iconography that we shall study next.

Fig. 347 - Solomon before his Temple. Byzantine plate, 7th century. MMA

XIV.10 - Freemasons

The earliest documents on the history of Freemasonry are usually traced back to 18th-century England, or more precisely Scotland. It's not that the order did not exist before, it certainly did, but as its name indicates, it must have consisted of a group of artisans, stone cutters, and cathedral builders that did not share their secrets with outsiders, and left no written documents explaining their rituals and organization. At one point in time, perhaps early 15th century, Freemasonry must have had a rebirth that opened it up and

[712] Like the three pearls, and sunbursts, the shell eventually became a staple of European royal iconography.
[713] *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Donation_of_Constantine*
[714] Melikian-Chirvani 1990b, 120-121.

allowed nobility to join them. We already saw that Jean Sans Peur used purely Masonic symbols in his Parisian residence (Figs. 32a, b); and although there are no written documents to this effect, the artisanal tools that Jean Sans Peur and his son Philip chose as their ducal emblems, and the Order of the Golden Fleece that the latter instituted, indicate that they were close to a milieu that had kept a Mithraic-type formalism alive.

The oath to secrecy usually concealed the activities of these congregations, and only factionalism provided outsiders with a glimpse into their organizations. An early rift among English Freemasons, for instance, caused one faction to publicly deride the other, through the printed press and in the form of a caricature with commentaries. The rift occurred when the Duke of Wharton (1698 –1731) was excluded from the Grand Lodge, and a rival faction, who styled themselves as the Gormagons, rallied to his cause against the Freemasons. A certain William Hogarth (1697-1764) then decided to mock the Masons by publishing a parody (Figs. 348a, b). It was published as an etching that is quite revealing, with a versified commentary below it entitled *The Mystery of Masonry Brought to Light by Gormagons:*

From Eastern Climes, transplanted to our Coasts,
Two Oldest Orders that creation boasts,
Here meet in Miniature, expos'd to view,
That by their Conduct, Men may Judge their Due,
The Gormagons, a venerable race,
Appear Distinguished with peculiar Grace,
What Honour! *Wisdom! Truth! & Social Love*!

Sure such an Order has its Birth Above,
But Mark Free Masons! What a farce is this
How wild their Myst'ry! What a Bum they kiss
Who would not Laugh when such Occasion's had?
Who should not Weep, to think y^{r} World so Mad.

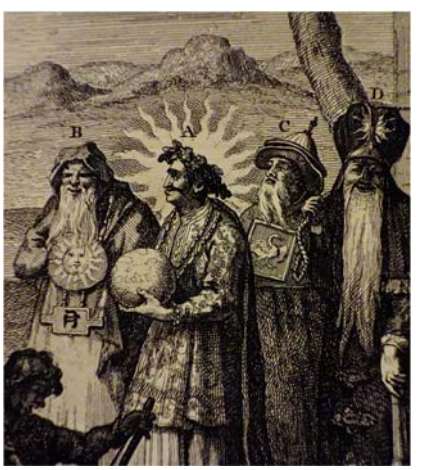

Figs. 348 a, b - Printed parody on the Freemasons, which alludes to the virtues of their rivals, the Gormagons

The caricature offers several points of interest for our study. We saw that on the Iranian side, the avatars of Mithraic societies included street performers such as the lion tamer of Fig. 92, as well as guild members such as butchers (see sec. III.6). Here too, in addition to the butcher standing with his large apron on the far right, we have a monkey with an apron representing street performers and animal tamers. The supposed forefathers of the Masons are depicted on the left, and include (A) Chin-Quaw-Ki-Po, the legendary first Emperor of China, (B) Confucius, (C) the Grand Master In-chin.[715] Even though the origin of their order is placed in China, the Chinese emperor has a Mithra-like sunburst emanating from his head, and Confucius is wearing a sun emblem. It clearly acknowledges a non-European origin for the Masons. But more important are the noble virtues that Hogarth recognizes for the Gormagons: *wisdom, truth,* and *social love*; they are the exact virtues that the *Qābus-nāmeh* enumerated as principles of *javānmardi*: *kherad* (wisdom), *rāsty* (truthfulness), *mardomi* (to be of the people, i.e., social love).[716]

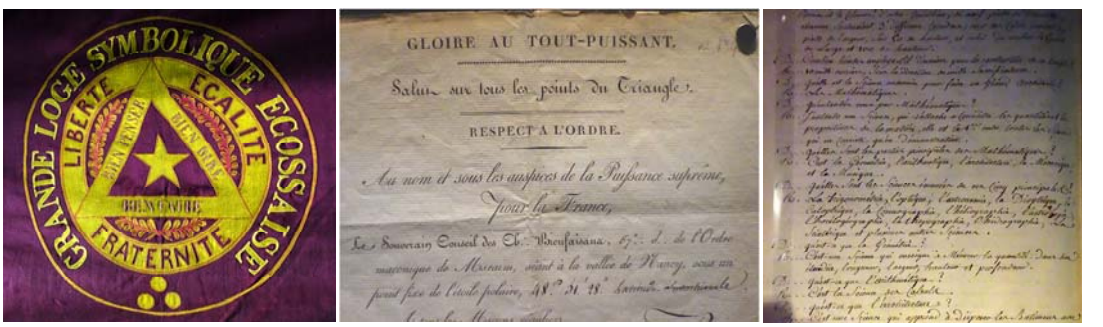

Figs. 349 a, b, c - Documents from Musée de la Franc-Maçonnerie ; (a) Triangular emblem with the three-dot symbol and an ancient Iranian motto, (b) Letterhead honoring the three dots as triangle, (c) written manual

These are not the only set of virtues that have a counterpart on the Persian side. A Masonic triangular emblem from the Grand Orient Museum in Paris (Fig. 349a), for instance, incorporates the auspicious three-dot symbol of Tishtrya, as well as a tripartite motto (*Bien penser, Bien dire, Bien faire*) that replicates the famous Zoroastrian motto:

[715] After (A), (B) and (C), comes the Mandarin Hang-chi (D) who is pulling a donkey on which is sitting the Venerable Old Gentlewoman, as a parable for the craft of masonry. Supposedly, the Masons, such as the one with his head emerging from the ladder behind the seated woman, had to kiss her bum, i.e., that of her effigy. Wharton is looking on as Don Quixote, while his Pancho—as the epitome of common sense—is laughing at this disheveled crowd of artisans who are all wearing an apron, as symbol of their allegiance to Freemasonry; Marcos et al. 2011, 54-55.

[716] See note 196 supra.

Good thought, Good speech, Good action.[717] Since it's hardly conceivable that Freemasonry borrowed anything from Zoroastrianism, we are pushed to envisage this triple motto as words of wisdom that Zoroastrianism itself borrowed from an older tradition, most certainly the Mithraic one, especially since dervish orders had espoused it as well.[718] The mottos that travelled westward, along with brotherhood symbols and hierarchical structures, can therefore provide further elements for our understanding of the original nature of Mithraic congregations.

In our discussion of the three-dot symbol of Tishtrya, we had argued that Sirius and two other stars formed the Winter Triangle; it was an exact equilateral triangle that was perceived as auspicious, and perhaps magical. A document from the Grand Orient Museum puts these assertions into perspective (Fig. 349b). While, according to Freemasonry customs, the triple-dot replaces many abbreviations that appear in the text, its second title line invokes the power of these points as a triangle.[719] As a result, the equilateral triangle itself became an auspicious motif that Freemasonry used in a variety of ways, for medals as well as different emblems (Fig. 349a).

Another document in the same museum is a manual that lists the question and answer sequence of the initiation procedures (Fig. 349c); it is organized very much like the *fotovvat-nāmeh*s of Persian guilds and the *qalandar-nāmeh*s of dervish orders, and provides justifications and explanations for the symbols that they use. To justify their skin throws and leather utensils in Islamic terms, Persian congregations linked them to the sacrifice of Abraham in the Koran.[720] Similarly, the easiest way to make the Masonry emblems acceptable in the Judeo-Christian world was to evoke the Temple of Solomon. But like the Islamic *mihrāb,* which has two side columns (Figs. 332-35), and like the Byzantine plate that has two columns under a shell dome (Fig. 319), the double columns that appear in various Freemasonry artifacts cannot allude to Solomon's temple. Even though marked with the Solomonic initials J and B,[721] they are freestanding and not temple pillars; what's more, there is often a temple structure next to them (Fig. 350d). That this pair of columns were linked to a Mithraic tradition is suggested by the fact that they often carry on their top: Three globes (as symbol of Tishtrya), fire, or the sun and

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[717] See also Appendix II.1.

[718] See, for instance, Jalāli & Bāng 2010, 74: "know O dervish that the motto of all god-fearing people in the circle of prophethood and *velāyat* is *good thoughts, good words, good deeds*" بدان ای درویش که آیین و شعار مجموع خداپرستان و خداشناسان در دایرۀ نبوت و ولایت، **اذکار نیک وگفتار نیک و کردار نیک** بوده است

[719] The line reads: "Salut sur tous les points du triangle "

[720] See sec. III.4.

[721] Two of the Temple's columns were named **J**achin and **B**oaz by a worker from Tyre (*1 Kings* 7:13-22).

the moon (Figs. 350a, b, c). What's more, the supposed temple itself often looks more like a *chahār-tāq* than a temple (Fig. 350d).

Figs. 350 a, b, c, d – Objects from Musée de la Franc-Maçonnerie ; (a) plate, (b) floor mat, (c) cup, (d) apron

In the *mithraeum*, its mosaic floor often depicted a procedural order (Fig. 352). Freemasons used a floor mat instead, which they could roll or unroll depending on the type of ceremonies they held. A series of 18th-century etchings (known as the Gabanon) illustrates initiation ceremonies organized around floor mats that display elaborate Masonic compositions. Not only do many of these floor mats depict candelabras, but they also had actual candlesticks placed all around them; as in the *mithraeum*, fire was a necessary element for initiation, and was provided in various forms, mostly as candlesticks and candelabras with three, five, or seven arms (Figs. 353a, b).

Furthermore, the sun and moon of tauroctony scenes is also a staple motif of Freemasonry, as it appears on their plates and aprons, as well as floor mats (Figs. 350a, b, c, d). The leather apron was the main attribute of Mason initiates, as the leather *servāl* was for the *fatā*s, and the leather tunic was for the members of the Mysteries. And it is on these aprons that we find further links to Mithraism. An apron of the Grand Orient Museum, for instance, has a fire altar in between its pair of columns that is reminiscent of Persian fire altars, and is set on a pedestal on which a snake is crawling toward its fire (Fig. 354b). On another one, the fire of the altar turns into blazing lotus leaves that hold a cauldron framed by two twisting snakes (Fig. 354a); it is reminiscent of the vase at the bottom of the Hedernheim tauroctony scene, toward which a snake is crawling (Fig. 1). Similar to the *mehr-āb* that became the focal point of mosques and Byzantine churches, both of these aprons incorporate the dual symbolism of water and fire at their focal points.

Figs. 351 a, b – Masonic ceremonies held around a floor mat with candlesticks placed around it. Scenes from the Gabanon etchings, Musée de la Franc-Maçonnerie

Fig. 352 - Mithraic symbols as floor mat (see Fig. 2)

Figs. 353 a, b – Floor mats with different candelabras. Musée de la Franc-Maçonnerie

Fig. 354 a,b – Aprons with: (a) snake cauldron, (b) fire altar under a *chahār-tāq*. Musée de la Franc-Maçonnerie

In Chapter III, when we followed the skin to establish a common thread between various congregations, we began with the Golden Fleece, which, as a pagan motif, posed a serious problem for the Order of the Golden Fleece. Bishops Jean Germain and Guillaume Fillastre strove to justify it in biblical terms. So did the Freemasons, who explained their symbols as pertaining to a tradition that went back to the construction of Solomon's Temple. It must have been quite effective, since as early as 1691, a Scottish pastor by the name of John Kirk described their organization as deriving from a "rabbinical tradition."[722] Nevertheless, because of a sense of competition that prevailed among these congregations, when the Mason's apron is first explained to the initiate, it is said to be "more ancient that the Golden Fleece."[723] They all understood that the biblical references only served as window dressing, and their orders derived from a pagan and much older tradition.

Finally, an interesting aspect of Freemasonry is how an artisanal congregation morphed into an elitist club. As we saw in the Persian case, the principles that prevailed in brotherhood congregations attracted artisans as well as nobility, to the extent that the

[722] Marcos et al., 2011, 30.
[723] Mackey 1917, 355.

Qajar nobleman Zahir-od-dowleh felt honored to be seated next to his dervish master (Fig. 274). Besides the leveling effect that congregations had on the strata of society, it seems that the enormous building activities that Europe experienced in the 18th century allowed a further rapprochement between the builders and the nobility.

A case in point is the city of Bordeaux, which prospered not only through wine exportation, but also trade with the Americas. As a result, major construction projects were undertaken in the 18th century. More than six hundred quarries were actively exploited to provide the stones for its buildings. In Roman times, Bordeaux had a *mithraeum*, which may have paved the way for the establishment of Freemasonry among its stone cutters. Judging by one of their funerary stelae (Fig. 355), the stonecutting craft must have been a respectable one. As a matter of fact, it's the son of one of these stone cutters, the architect Victor Louis (1731-1800), who designed the sumptuous Grand Théatre of Bordeaux. When visiting it, city guides explain how Louis, who was a Freemason, built the Grand Théatre on Masonic principles, with black and white flooring imitating that of Solomon's Temple (Fig. 356a). So strong was Bordeaux's Masonic tradition that the modern emblem of this city is a triple Masonic eye, arranged as a triangle. In using this emblem in the theater, the architect further accentuated its Masonic symbolism by placing it over a sunburst (Fig. 356b). Moreover, in the entry hall, he provided a shell-domed niche, underneath which a statue has now been placed; it most probably had a candelabrum in the old days (Fig. 356c). By Louis's time, the shell-domed niche had perhaps become a standard architectural ornament, but it's not beyond the realm of possible to imagine that he placed it there in full recognition of what it originally meant, i.e., a water symbol above a fire niche.

Fig. 355- Stone cutter's tombstone. Bordeaux Museum

Figs. 356 a, b, c - Grand Théatre of Bordeaux. (A) Solomonic floor pavement, (b) Bordeaux's Masonic emblem set in a sunburst, (d) Shell niche

XIV.11 - The Judeo-Mithraic Blend in Dura Europos

Built by the Seleucids on the banks of upper Euphrates in eastern Syria, Dura Europos was a trade counter that often changed hands between Iranians and Romans. As a result its cultural backbone was an amalgam of all the tendencies and religions that crisscrossed this region. It has two interesting monuments, a *mithraeum* whose elements are now at Yale University (Fig. 301), and a larger premise that has been labeled as a "synagogue," even though it's not. Certain scholars tend to explain the anomalies of this supposed synagogue in terms of "necessity and adaptation to local conditions,"[724] while others note that it has multiple frescoes in contravention of the Second Commandment, and that it has a single hall, where men and women could not be segregated. As a matter of fact, nobody has been able to discern "an overall pattern to these scenes," or provide a coherent explanation as to why they were part of a synagogue.[725]

Fig. 357 - Main hall wall of Dura Europos, with shell niche, and images delineated by three-dotted bands

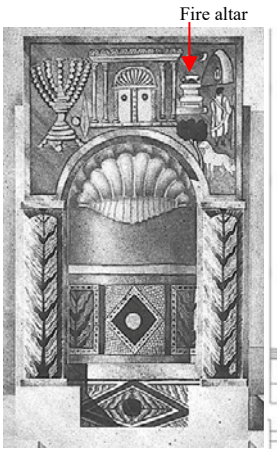

Fig. 358 – Rendering of the shell niche (web)

Fig. 359 - Integration of the sanctuary into the city grid

What is labeled as a synagogue is in fact a big hall in the far back of a larger complex. This hall has a central niche surrounded by frescoes, for each of which a biblical interpretation has been advanced (Fig. 357).[726] Judging by available images, they do not all seem to be of the same period; but since the building underwent major repairs prior to its burying by Roman soldiers circa 256 AD, it is difficult to judge which of the images came first. Two elements therein are of interest to us, the niche and a fresco next to it.

[724] Lambert 2006-2007.
[725] Levine 2005, 255.
[726] See *divdl.library.yale.edu/dl/Browse.aspx?qc=Eikon&qs=379*

The niche is regularly explained as a "Torah niche in the direction of Jerusalem." But as the plan of the building shows (Fig. 359), it is completely integrated into the city grid of Dura, and its wall—on which the niche is situated—follows the street line, in continuation of adjacent buildings. It is hard to imagine that the Seleucids, Parthians or Romans had any desire to orient a whole city toward Jerusalem. The orientation of the niche is dictated by the city grid and has nothing to with Jerusalem; it just so happens that it follows that general direction. More importantly, it is conceived as a typical *mehr-āb*; it not only has a shell dome with two side columns, but its upper imagery clearly shows Mithraic elements (Fig. 358). Granted that there is a menorah-like candelabrum on the left, but as we saw in Freemasonry, different sorts of candelabras were used in lieu of the Mithraic fire altar, and in Byzantine Judea it made sense to choose one with seven arms. On the opposite side, however, there is a Persian-style fire altar (↑) that counterbalances the candelabrum and emphasizes the importance of the fire to this setting. Like in Freemasonry, the twisted columns of the latter edifice may evoke Solomon's Temple. But these were evocations that were necessary for protection from religious adversaries. As for the lamb on the right side, it is not clear whether it alludes to the Mithraic sacrificial lamb, or the story of Abraham, or both. And if the Christian and Islamic examples can be of guidance, candlesticks, rather than a Torah, must have been placed under the shell dome.

Fig. 360- Mithraic *pater* seated on a **skin throne** next to his wife; arrival of the *pater* or his deputy (on the left); **three-dotted** black border ↑; lion and bull. (web)

Fig. 361 – Arrival of Shāpur with a Mithraic priest (det. of Fig. 162)

The second element whose Mithraic aspects can further strengthen our previous interpretation is the fresco immediately to the left of the niche (Fig. 360). Again, it's not

of uniform composition since the people on the left and on the right are wearing Mithraic garments, and those in the middle seem to wear Roman togas. Either the two outer sections were initially separate, and were then patched together through the addition of people dressed in togas, or the latter were simply added to cover damages underneath. In biblical terms, the fresco has been described as a rendition of the Purim episode from the Book of Esther, in which the Achaemenid king Ahasuerus (Xerxes)[727] marries Esther, the Jewish girl who had been brought up by Mordecai. The king's chancellor, Haman, plans to kill Mordecai but providence reverses the outcome of events. The king orders Haman to honor Mordecai and to lead "him on horseback through the city streets," and has his chancellor killed afterwards (Esther 6:11). Thus the left part is interpreted as Mordecai being paraded on horseback, and the right part as Ahasuerus enthroned next to Esther.

But this cannot be, for if we look attentively, the image has Mithraic peculiarities that preclude such an interpretation. To begin with, the "king" is wearing the full regalia of the Mithraic *pater*, which replicates that of Mithra in tauroctony scenes: A red Phrygian bonnet and a red cape bordered by a band of square motifs that also appear on his pants. More importantly, he is seated on a series of bovine skins, which is reminiscent of the Louvre stele, or the enthronement story of Bābak as head of the Khorramdiniyyeh, even more so since his wife is seated next to him (see sec. III.1). The horseman on the left is dressed like the seated *pater*, and it may show a prior episode in which the new leader of the congregation was ushered in to occupy his throne. Alternatively, the horseman on the left may depict the leader's successor who is ushered in to swear allegiance. As such, it recalls the Persepolitan graffiti that depicted Shāpur riding toward his father Pāpak (Fig. 361). One must note that in both cases, the rider is being led by a *chākar* with disheveled hair, who is generally qualified as *div* by Zoroastrians (see sec. X.3). What's more, all the images are bordered with a wave line, sprinkled with Mithraic triple dots, like the *cintamani* that we described in Fig. 68.[728] We thus have a fresco that vividly illustrates a Mithraic enthronement scene, and brings together Ebn-e Nadim's story of Bābak, the Louvre's Mithraic stele, the Persepolitan graffiti, and the *cintamani*.

XIV.12 - The Judeo-Mithraic Blend in Sepphoris

A number of 5-7th-century floor mosaics recently excavated by Israeli archeologists have been dubbed as "synagogues," despite the fact that their imagery is in clear violation of

[727] Xerxes's son, Artaxerxes I, was named "Keyrash" (i.e., Cyrus) (Tabari 1996, 2: 486), who, according to Ebn-e Balkhi 1995, (154-55), was the son of Akhshvāresh (?) (read *khashāyār*=Ahasuerus=Xerxes) and a Jewish mother. Touraj Daryaee mistook this Keyrash for Cyrus the Great (Daryaee 2006, 499).
[728] See sec. IV.3. I am indebted to Claude Lepage for pointing out these bands to me.

the Second Commandment. The most exotic one is from Sepphoris.[729] It has two menorahs that appear on top of an elaborate composition dominated by a gigantic circular zodiac at the center of which the Sun rides a *quadriga* (Fig. 366). In a synagogue, there was no need to remind the visitor that he was in such a premise by depicting a menorah on the floor rather than placing a real one on an altar. And wouldn't walking on such a floor be improper, if not sacrilegious? And why should a synagogue have Greek inscriptions on some of the images, and Hebraic ones on others? More generally, Judaic scholars have noticed a "gap between the appearance of certain symbols," such as the menorah, and their lack of prominence in "rabbinic sources,"[730] and yet, they still want to see the menorah as a signifier of the synagogue. But one menorah does not make a synagogue; nor can the short shovel that appears on these mosaics only be seen as a Judaic "incense shovel," since a shovel is also included among the 4th grade symbols of the *mithraeum* (Fig. 3, Fig. 139). As for the horn (referred to as *shofar* in Jewish literature), it could represent the corn of abundance (*cornucopia*), or be related to the 3rd grade symbols, i.e., those of the *miles*. In Ostia we have, for the *miles,* a lance and a helmet, and a third emblem that has been likened to a pouch (Fig. 3). This third emblem may actually be a marshal sound instrument, such as the horn, since dervishes and *shāter*s had a similar horn, along with a lance and sheepskin (Fig. 368).

As Beck has observed, the Zodiac was a dominant feature of the Roman *mithraeum*, and the presence of a sun god on a *quadriga* alluded primarily to Mithras/Helios on his stellar chariot rather than a synagogue, especially since the Zodiac is under the aegis of two lions, each resting a paw on a bull's head (Fig. 366). Because of the lion's association with Mithra and the sun,[731] the image of its paw on a bull's head refers to Mithra overcoming the bull—as in tauroctony scenes. It's a composition that also appears under the Mithraic enthronization scene of Fig. 360, and goes back to the pre-Achaemenid era, when Mithra was revered as the most powerful deity of the Median Empire and the lion was a symbol of the sun, while the bull was a symbol of the moon (and nighttime). A zoomorphic silver container from the Median period vividly illustrates the same concept as it depicts a standing lion, marked by a sun emblem on his hindquarters, crushing a bull's head with his paws (Fig. 363).[732] Other mosaic floors, such as the one from Hammat Tiberias, also display lions. But the question is: Why should there be lions in a synagogue at all?

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[729] Weiss et al. 2005. Weiss's tenuous arguments are summarized in *www.isjm.org/jhr/nos3-4/sepmos.htm.*
[730] Levine 2005, 484.
[731] Soudavar 2010a, 126-27; Soudavar 2012b, 40-43, see also note 91supra.
[732] It is presently at the Miho Museum, and comes from the 6th-century-BC Kalmākareh silver hoard.

Fig. 362 – Top mosaic panel (i.e., the heading) in Ostia, depicting a communal meal cauldron (web)

Fig. 363 – Kalmākareh container (Miho Museum)

Fig. 365 – Mosaic floor from Beth Shean (web)

Fig. 364 – Door beam from the Coptic monastery of Baouit. 6th century. Louvre

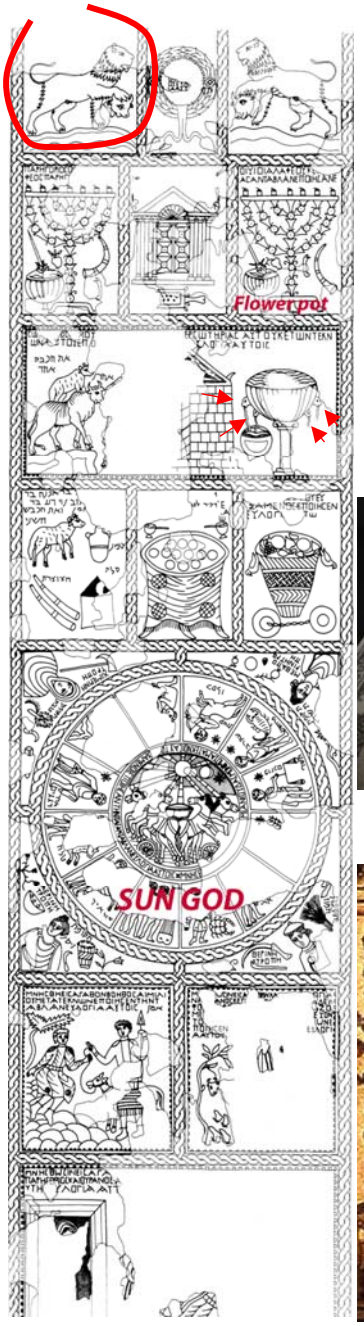

Fig. 366 – Sepphoris mosaic floor (Weiss 2005, 240)

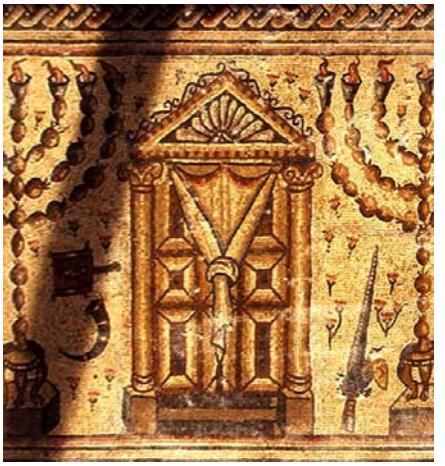

Fig. 367 – Mosaic floor from Hammat Tiberias (web)

Fig. 368 – Qalandar with horn (Louvre)

Furthermore, as Lee Levine has argued, these facades do not fit the description of Solomon's Temple.[733] The supposed Temple of this floor has a middle element conceived as a gateway. The gateway concept is even more pronounced in Hammat Tiberias where a door appears behind curtains (Fig. 367). On the mosaic floor of the Beth Shean "synagogue," this curtained gateway is incorporated into a canopied structure underneath a temple edifice (Fig. 365); it cannot be a temple *within* a bigger temple. The gateway must therefore symbolize a focal point similar to the *mihrāb*. Whether gateway or canopied structure, they are all topped by a shell that confirms their *mihrāb*-like purpose, especially since the same edifice has a shell and sun-cross in a Christian monastery (Fig. 364). Moreover, the Sepphoris floor has two rows (above its Zodiac) that show bovines, food baskets, and a cauldron with four protruding animal heads (↑), similar to the bronze ones from the Berlin and Istanbul cauldrons (Figs. 303, 304b).[734] It is not beyond reason to suppose that these two rows define the main activity of the premises, i.e., the distribution of sacrificial meals, especially since a similar food basket appears at the very top square of the Ostia mosaics—which functions as its heading (Fig. 362).

Fig. 369 - Initiate with a strong breast and tunic

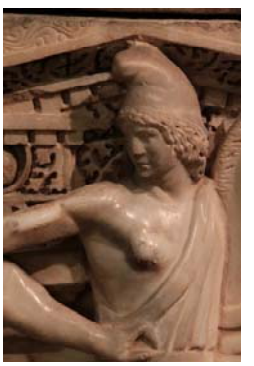

Fig. 370 - Mithra with a strong breast (Fig. 304)

Fig. 371 - Mosaic floor from Naro (web)

Fig. 372 - Cauldron on Masonic apron (from Fig. 346c)

Some of these so called synagogues, like the one in Beth Alpha, have a pair of lions and a pair of peacocks similar to the Yazidi shrine of Shaykh Adi (see sec. XV.1). And the floor of the supposed Naro "synagogue" (Fig. 371) has a cauldron that is the replica of the one on the Masonic apron of Fig. 372, with some minor modifications: The pedestal under the cauldron is smaller, and the two snakes have been turned into handles. What's more, above the cauldron register, there is a panel with a sunburst within a fish pond, very much in the spirit of the pre-Achaemenid beaker from the Louvre (Fig. 337).

[733] Levine 2005, 233.
[734] See sec. XIV.5.

These mosaics were found in an area with numerous sites, including the supposed Merot "synagogue" that depicts a Roman Mithraic warrior with a solar emblem on his upper arm as well as his tunic (Fig. 373).[735] He may be a legionnaire affiliated to a *mithraeum* (which may be this very Merot building). Sepphoris has other monuments such as the "Villa" and the "Nile Festival Building,"[736] where two sets of Mithraic mosaics were found; one set displays two Mithraic riders (Fig. 43b), and the other, depicts Mithraic initiates wearing a leather tunic (Fig. 369). No other *mithraeum* provides such a clear image of Roman initiates.

Fig. 373 – Roman warrior with solar emblems from Merot (web)

Two aspects of these mosaics connect it to the Roman sarcophagus from Konya (Fig. 370), and further strengthen the Roman character of the imagery as opposed to a Jewish one. One is the men's protruding breasts, and the other is Mithra's Roman tunic. Was the latter a stylistic change, or was it the tail end of the Romanization of Mithra? We cannot tell. What we can conclude, however, is that Byzantine Palestine is uniquely important for Mithraic studies, and its socio-religious mix in the 3rd-7th century is more complicated than it seems. In trying to rationalize the bizarre aspects of these premises as synagogues, many scholars have proposed that they were either erected by Samaritans or Hellenistic Byzantine Jews. But these so called synagogues may simply have been gathering places for Jews or Christians who were attracted to Mithraism and to the principles of brotherhood, as well as sharing. These principles were after all compatible with the Jewish religion, if not its very essence. As Edmund Bosworth explains, the Old Testament preaches that man does not profit from treasures and riches whereas "righteousness delivers from death,"[737] and that the Hebrew *ṣᵉḏāqa,* like the Arabic *sadaqa*, meant "righteousness" but later acquired the meaning of "alms."[738] They both encompass the notion of *rāsty* (righteousness), so prevalent in Mithraic literature, and reflect the almsgiving activity of brotherhoods. Jews thus had a propensity to emulate Mithraic activities. But, whereas Jews were an accepted minority in the early days of the Roman Empire, the Christians were not; professing Christianity in the Roman Empire was for long an act of sedition punishable by death.

[735] The same sunburst appears on the white tunic of the rider in Fig. 43a, which may represent Helios hunting behind Mithra; it also appears on plates made for Heraclius (Fig. 319), especially on shields.
[736] Weiss et al. 2005, 170.
[737] Proverbs 10.2, 11.4 (New King James Version).
[738] Bosworth 1996, 1-2.

Thus, Christians who had espoused the organizational structure of Mithraic societies at first had an incentive to enrobe it in Jewish garb. It produced a cultural mix that must have continued under the Byzantines. Mithraism's role in that mix is not clear, but it is certainly present and merits more attention in future studies.

XIV.13 - The Outlaws : the Coquillards and the Vor v Zakone

Throughout this study we have emphasized how the structural organization of Mithraic societies attracted both the good and the bad, pirates as well as Roman legionaries, *lāt*s as well as *luti*s. It's mainly because the oath of secrecy, and the resulting devotion toward the master, could equally serve Sufi orders and gangs of robbers. Of the latter, two groups are of interest, since they can shed more light on Mithraic emblems and practices. They are the 15th-century Coquillards, and the present day Vor v Zakone.

The Coquillards - They appeared in Burgundy in parallel to the Order of the Golden Fleece. Like the *`ayyār*s, they wore a sheepskin and leather shoes, and had a knife, a wine gourde, and a pouch that hung from their belt; they also wore a shell insignia (Fig. 37). Normally, no detailed account of a lowly band of secretive robbers should have survived, but as it happened, many of them were tried and condemned in Dijon in the year 1455. We not only have a list of their crimes in the court proceedings—breaking locks, plundering coffers, and robbing travelers—but, thanks to an enthusiastic magistrate who characterized their jargon as "an exquisite language that people could not understand," we have a recording of the words they used and their meanings.[739] A contemporary poet, François Villon, even wrote poems in the peculiar jargon of the Coquillards. Like present-day upper class Iranians who show a penchant for the jargon of the *lāt*s and *luti*s, the "exquisite" jargon of the Coquillards seems to have seduced at least one magistrate and a poet. Exquisite or not, their jargon was incomprehensible to others, and gave them the means to communicate in a crowd, to transmit orders, or sound the alarm.

While their language has often been studied, no plausible explanation has hitherto been advanced for the name "Coquillards," which is usually translated as "People of the Shell" or "Holsters."[740] But considering our identification of the shell as an emblem of Apam Napāt, and a dominant symbol of the *mehr-āb* duality, we can readily guess that they had named themselves after Apam Napāt's shell sign (Fr. *coquille*). Moreover, their leader was called le Grand Coësre, which Edmund Bosworth explains to mean the Great

[739] Heller-Roazen 2013, 19-21.
[740] Heller-Roazen 2013, 20.

Khosrow, i.e., the name of Sasanian kings.[741] Khosrow II, for instance, had claimed to be the leader of the Asones (i.e., the Banu Sāsān or Sāsānagān congregation),[742] which ties in well with the fact that Safavid kings were also the leaders of the Safaviyyeh order. It is not clear, however, whether in adopting Khosrow's name, the Coquillards continued the Sāsānagān tradition of recognizing the king as their leader, or, like the Bektāshis, they simply adopted the epithet of a powerful monarch for him. In any case, similar to the dervishes who revered the Imam `Ali, the Coquillards chose St James as their patron saint, and it is their shell that got affixed to him.[743] Not much else is known about them.

The Vor v Zakone- Unlike the Coquillards, the Vor v Zakone is a secretive organization that still exists, and has even thrived after the breakup of the former Soviet Union. Their inroads and expansion in European countries, especially France and Spain, has allowed Western investigative journalists to provide certain details about them.[744] "Vor v Zakone," which is usually translated as "Thief in Law," describes thieves who follow a law that is their own law, and adhere to their own code of conduct. By their law, they:

- cannot lie, and cannot deny being a "*vor*" (especially before the police),
- must make good on promises given to other *vor*s, and must help them,
- must keep secrets and not divulge the whereabouts of accomplices,
- never have a legitimate job or significant property (e.g. a house)
- must not marry and must have no children, and must abandon their family.

This code of conduct was clearly devised to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood by stressing detachment from family and worldly goods, as in all Mithraic circles.

Fig. 374 – Star-tattooed Vor (web)

The *Vor*s provide two points of interest for our study. The first is their sunburst tattoo that denotes high rank (Fig. 374). The placement of these tattoos on their shoulders links this practice to the sunburst insignia worn by Pāpak and his son Shāpur in Persepolis (Figs. 163a, b), and ties it to a Mithraic tradition. Second, the very name (and background) of one of their godfathers who was recently assassinated, provides further linkage to this tradition.[745] He was called Dede

[741] Bosworth 1997, 7.
[742] See note 371 supra.
[743] The myth of St James the Elder, supposedly buried in Compostela, was created during the 11th century by mixing chivalry lore with ascetic values.
[744] See for instance: *www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2012/08/21/vory-v-zakone-une-organisation-criminelle-ultrahierarchisee_1748141_3224.html*
[745] *http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/22375068.asp*. I am indebted to Garnik Asatrian for this information.

Hasan Aslan Usoyan (1937- 2013), and although born in Georgia, he was a Yazidi of Kurdish origin. His Georgian name was Leo, but he subsequently switched it to the Turkish "Aslan"; both meaning "lion." [746] The lion was of course a symbol of the sun and Mithra, and the Yazidis were often tied to a Mithraic tradition. The fact that Usoyan was named Dede (i.e., father in Turkish), further reinforces the Mithraic aspect of the *vor*s. The very name "*vor*," which nowadays means thief in Russian, only applies to high ranking individuals and godfathers of the Vor v Zakone organization. Interestingly, it is spelled as "*bop*" in Cyrillic, which recalls the Mithraic *pāp, bāp,* or *pater*.

XIV.14 - Truthfulness in Trade

Artisans, pirates and legionnaires were all attracted to Mithraic congregations because of the concept of mutual support that it advocated, and because of the oath that sealed their bond of brotherhood. But these congregations were also popular among merchants, mainly because Mithra—as the Lord of the Covenant—was the guarantor of truthfulness and rectitude; and these were qualities that traders and merchants, who had to trust each other, needed in order to conduct transactions. Through the merchant guilds, Mithraism has left us two symbols of transaction rectitude. The first is the hand shake with the right hand, a practice that was named *dexiosis* in the *mithraeum*,[747] and was later interpreted and referred to as *fides*, i.e., mutual trust. The "hand shake" is still, to this day, the contractual jesture that binds the parties to a transaction.

Fig. 375 – A meter standard of Paris in its original setting

The second is the "meter," which owed its name to Mithra and provided a correct measurement standard for guilds to adhere to, especially textile merchants. The city of Paris had several "meter standards" placed in various corners of its boroughs, one of which is still in its original setting in the rue de Vaugirard, opposite the French Senate (Fig. 375).

In sum, even though Christianity subdued Mithraism, it could not eradicate it completely. Mithraism so profoundly marked Western Civilization that it's still affecting it today, for good and bad.

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[746] I am indebted to Garnik Asatrian for informing me about Usoyan's name and epithets.
[747] See note 73 supra.

CHAPTER XV

THE HITTITO-MEDIAN CORRIDOR

XV.1 - Occult Activities and Symbolism

The Alavi-Qezelbāsh congregations - In a split with the conservative branch of the Safaviyyeh congregation, Shaykh Safi's great grandson Jonayd had travelled westward, to Anatolia and Damascus. It is there that he discovered a more militant brand of Turkaman dervishes who recognized him as the leader of the Safaviyyeh, and it is there that he first wore a red headgear (see sec. IX.7). Even though the Safaviyyeh were based in Ardabil and eventually conquered all of Iran, most of their Qezelbāsh followers came from Turkaman tribes that had settled in a corridor stretching from Anatolia to Syria and Iraq. These Turkaman tribes supplied the bulk of the Safavids' fighting forces;[748] to the extent that, before engaging Shāh Esmā`il in battle, the Ottoman Soltān Salim decided to dry up the Safavid recruiting bases by massacring some forty thousand Qezelbāsh militants and sympathizers, and blocking the passage of the rest to Iran.[749]

Despite two centuries of Safavid-Ottoman warfare, Alavi-Qezelbāsh communities perdured in Anatolia, and maintained rituals that reveal their linkage to a Mithraic past. A recently published story is most interesting in this respect.[750] It narrates a circa-1914 visit to an Alavi-Qezelbāsh community in Kistim (now called Avcilar), a village in the province of Erzinjan. The narrator was led into a room in which a huge stick hung, coil-wrapped with a green ribbon. As the stick was unwrapped, the head of a snake emerged, which people addressed as the Snake of Kistim (*Kistim Mār-i*) or the Saintly Being of Kistim (*Kistim Evliyasi*). The Snake mesmerized the crowd, who prostrated themselves and greeted it with *Khodā yā* (O god) exclamations, while the crippled and the sick touched it in the hope of being healed. It's interesting to note that the Snake was greeted with the Iranian cry of *Khodā yā* rather than the Islamic clamor of *Allāh Akbar*. Its prominent presence in the room recalls that of the massive snake of the Bordeaux *mithraeum;* but to give it an Alavite garb, it was wrapped with a green ribbon, i.e., the very color of the Imam `Ali's descendants.

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[748] Some of the Qezelbāsh tribes such as the Shāmlu (i.e., from Damascus), or the Mosulu (i.e., from Mosul), who originated from the same corridor had been moved earlier on to Iran by Tamerlane.
[749] See note 347 supra.
[750] The anecdote is from the *Dersim Tarikhi* written by Nuri Dersimi, as related by Riza Yildirim; Yildirim 2012, 2. I am indebted to Riza Yildirim for telling me about this, and sending me a copy of his article.

This episode is a testimony to the persistence of Mithraic symbols such as the snake and the scorpion in the rituals of esoteric dervish congregations.

The Yazidis - Another congregation, spread over the same corridor, is that of the Yazidis who have much in common with the Ahl-e Haqq.[751] They too are predominantly Kurdish, i.e., descendants of the Medes. And like the Ahl-e Haqq who switched their name from Rāstān (the righteous ones) to an Arabic equivalent, the Yazidis created an Islamic veneer by naming themselves after the second Omayyad caliph, Yazid (647-83). As Percy George Badger who visited their dwellings in 1850 observed, it was a switch from the Persian *yazad* (god) to a similar sounding Arabic name, and a "stratagem" to fend off Moslems.[752] *Yazad* must have referred to Mithra, as it mostly did in regions where Zoroastrianism did not hold sway, even more so in the Yazidi context. The Yazidis paid daily homage to the rise and setting of the sun, by facing the sun and kissing the ground;[753] and the saintly figure of Shaykh Adi (d. 1162), whom they revered, was thought to be conceived by Light, and envisaged as god incarnate (i.e., Mithra incarnate).

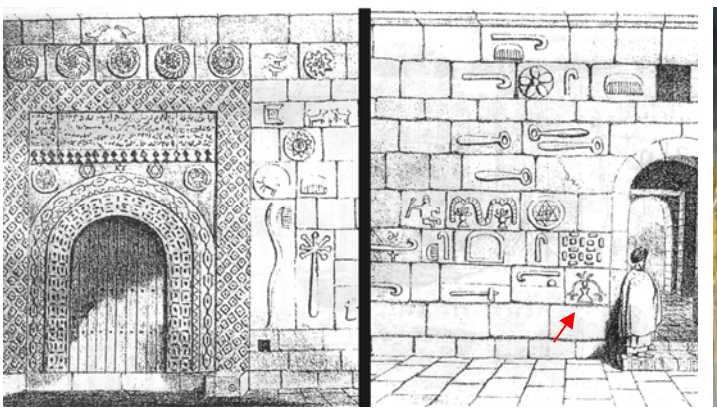

Figs. 376 a, b – The Yazidi shrine of Shaykh Adi (Badger 1857, courtesy of M.I. Mochiri)

Fig. 377- St James MMA Cloisters

Fig. 378- Flower pot of Fig. 365

The Yazidis developed a fairly elaborate functional hierarchy for their community, which contains many of the titles that Mithraic societies and their avatars used, namely *bābā, pir, shaykh* and *ostād* (written as *hosta*). As with the *mithraeum*, fire and water are

[751] Kreyenbroek 1995, 45; see also note 102 supra.
[752] Badger 1987, 112. We have previously observed similar name changing processes in note 268 supra.
[753] Badger 1987, 109 and 116. As Kreyenbroek demonstrates, Shaykh Adi was a historical figure and a Sufi saint by the name of Adi b. Mosāfer; Kreyenbroek 1995, 5. Like Bābak within the Khorramdiniyyeh, and Shāh Esmā`il within the Safaviyyeh, charismatic leaders can initiate a new direction within a congregation and become revered figures and god incarnate themselves.

sacred, and they leave a lamp burning near the fountains or springs of their shrines;[754] and they sacrifice a cow, and at times a sheep, during a yearly festival celebrated in the month of Mehr.[755] The shrine of Shaykh Adi was adorned with a snake (symbol of water), lions (symbol of the sun), and dual sunbursts over an arched portal (Fig. 376a), in lieu of the Mithraic sun and moon. The snake is described as huge, and black, by various visitors who have seen it, and to its right was an object that no longer exists, but based on Badger's image, was often referred to as a "seven-branched scepter."[756] One can perhaps imagine a seven-headed mace, but not a scepter. On the other hand, the Masonic imagery and the Sepphoris mosaics seem to suggest that what Badger sketched was a seven-branched candlestick. Iranian dervish orders use five-branched ones for their rituals, and as we saw, the Masons used an entire gamut of candelabras. Aslo, the image of the snake precludes any Zoroastrian connection, while its presence next to a candelabrum establishes a *mehr-āb* duality that points to the Yazidis' Mithraic heritage.

Fig. 379 – Wooden door and *mihrāb* sidings from the Ankara Ethnography Museum.
(a) A pair of lions over a solar motif, (b) A pair of peacocks over a solar motif

The most peculiar aspect of the Yazidi ceremonies is one related to Malek Tāvus, i.e., King Peacock, and a brass symbol this peacock is circulated during their *Tāvusgerān* festival. As a sacred symbol, the peacock has no counterpart in other congregations, except for the Order of the Golden Fleece, where, as we saw, the master of ceremony explained that it was an "old custom" of chivalry to take an oath by swearing over a "peacock or other noble bird" (see sec. II.3). A pair of doors and a wooden *mihrāb* from the Saljuq period vouch for the Mithraic symbolism of the peacock (Fig. 379 a, b).

[754] Badger 1987, 117.
[755] For the extended list see Kreyenbroek 1995, 127-36 and 152-54.
[756] Kreyenbroek 1995, 81-82.

Indeed, both are designed as *mihrāb* portals that—instead of a lamp—have a sunburst (*shamseh*) under the arch, similar to the *mihrāb* of the Dome of the Rock (Fig. 335). One has a pair of lions above the sunburst, and the other has a pair of peacocks. This cannot be accidental. As per Philip Kreyenbroek, Shaykh Adi's shrine had a pair of lions flanked by peacocks, which seems to confirm the parallel symbolism of the lion and the peacock in these congregations. Since the lion was a symbol of the sun, the peacock may represent the Chamrosh, as the bird of Apam Napāt (sec. XI.19). The flower pot (↑) that appears on the right wall also appears in the hand of a Safavid devotee, as an offering to his superiors (Fig. 159b), as well as on the Sepphoris mosaic floor (Figs. 366, 378), and on St. James of Compostela's robe (Fig. 377). It represents the mandrake, which the Yazidis cherished for its medicinal and hallucinogenic powers; it is called Mehr-giāh in Persian and as such, leaves no doubt about its Mithraic affiliation.[757] Finally, even though some scholars reject the oft-used "devil-worshipers" epithet for Yazidis as erroneous,[758] the Kurdish scholar Taufiq Wahby has suggested that *Dasni* (i.e., the ethnic self-designation of Yazidis) derives from *daeva-yasne* (i.e., *daeva*-worshiping) used by Zoroastrians to label their enemies.[759] Mithraic societies were indeed labeled as devil-worshipers by Xerxes, and thereafter by Zoroastrians. What's more, their priests were labeled "*khrafstar*-ish devils" (Appendix II.5), an appellation that connected the snakes to the *daeva*s (*div*s). Such a labeling had a lasting effect; to the extent that, as we shall see next, certain dervish congregations were indeed depicted as *div*s in Persian miniatures.

XV.2 - *Div*s and Dervishes: the Siyāh Qalam Drawings

A great number of Persian albums were sent by successive Safavid rulers as a present to the Ottomans. They are now kept at the Topkapi Saray Museum of Istanbul, and contain works that Shāh Esmā`il had inherited from the Aq-qoyunlus, after conquering their capital of Tabriz. A most fantastic series of drawings and paintings from this lot are those bearing an attribution to the painter Siyāh Qalam (the Black Pen) whose epithet was *ostād* (master). Art historians have mostly described them as reflecting Central Asian shamanistic activities, and datable from the 14th century to the 15th.[760] But stylistic uniformity suggests a single atelier, attached to the court of Soltān Ya`qub Aq-qoyunlu (r. 1478-90) as these paintings accompany other works by artists who signed their names with a *ya`qubi* epithet. These paintings mostly depict *qalandar*-type figures, and I shall

[757] For a description, see note 351 supra. A similar vase appears on a Mazdakite coin of the 7th century (Mochiri 2003, fig. 3). In Persian lore, the Mehr-giāh is said to worsip the sun; Dehkhodā: "Mehr-giāh".
[758] Kreyenbroek 1995, 1.
[759] *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yazidi#cite_note-6*
[760] For a complete survey of publications in this respect see Karamağaralı 2004.

argue that they reflect the activities of dervish congregations from the Aq-qyunlu kingdom, rather than *shamanistic* and Turkic traditions imported from Central Asia.[761]

The corpus can be divided into two general categories; one depicts humans and the other, demon-like creatures. Those of the first category include fully clad dervishes who have peculiar accoutrements of the type prevalent among previously discussed congregations. In Fig. 380, for instance, we see master dervishes with a tall bonnet wrapped with a ribbon of the type we have already seen (Figs. 381-82). Because of a golden element on top, it must designate high rank, probably a Sufi master. Furthermore, they hold ornate sticks that cannot be for walking. Their gold ornaments are indicative of a ceremonial instrument, one akin to the *chub-e tariq* that the Safavids used (sec. IX.7).

Fig. 380 – Two Safaviyyeh officers (TKSM, albums H2153/38)

Fig. 381 – Bonnet of a lion tamer (detail of Fig. 92)

Fig. 382 – Janissary hat of the Ottoman sultan (Malek Library)[762]

The more problematic drawings however, are those of the second category involving demon-like creatures. They all have human-like expressions, as if the demoniac features were only a camouflage for real human beings. Siyāh Qalam must have had a specific group in mind, a group that could be characterized as demoniac. Wine and intoxicants created such a state of ecstasy in the Safaviyyeh ceremonies that they indulged in

[761] Many of the previous studies have alluded to the possibility of *qalandar*s being the conduits of Central Asian shamanistic rituals to Anatolia, Karamağaralı 2004.
[762] This drawing is a circa-1650 copy of Fig. 143, when Safavids were once again mocking the Ottomans.

activities unacceptable to civil society, whether Islamic or not. The cannibalistic behavior of the later Safavid shock units can only suggest that such egregious behavior also existed among the Safaviyyeh militants. Similar to the Janissaries, these militants must have had *shāter* training for warfare, and like the *`ayyār*s and *shāter*s, they wore short pants and drank wine. It is this group that Siyāh Qalam must have portrayed as *div*s, wearing short pants and drinking wine (Fig. 384).

Fig. 383 – Soltān Ya`qub giving audience to Qāzi `Isā and Chinese ambassadors (TKSM, H2153)

Fig. 384 – Siyāh Qalam drawings of *div*s with short pants (↑) and wine cups (↑). Freer Gallery

Under Ya`qub, the court of Tabriz was pressured from two directions. One was initiated by his *sadr* (i.e., the head of religious affairs), the notorious Qāzi Isā Sāvaji (d. 1490) who was pushing the realm toward religious orthodoxy.[763] The other was due to the rising power of the Safavid *shaykhs*, with whom the Aq-qoyunlus had intermarried. Traditionally, the Aq-qoyunlus had tolerated Safavid militancy, as long as it could be channeled against Georgia under the guise of war with the infidels. But fearing the growing prestige of Soltān Haydar, who was once again leading the Safaviyyeh toward Georgia, Ya`qub joined forces with the ruler of Shervān to bar his route. Haydar was defeated and killed in battle in 1488. His sons, including the young Esmā`il (the future Shāh Esmā`il), were sent to Estakhr; his wife Halimeh then left Ardabil and followed her sons into exile. The Safaviyyeh dervish-warriors were thereafter perceived by the Aq-qoyunlus as enemies, troublemakers, and un-Islamic.

[763] Such was Qāzi `Isā's prestige and power that he once had the *soltān* remove his gold-embroidered coat in public, before foreign ambassadors. He told Soltān Ya`qub: "It is forbidden [by religion] for men to wear gold-embroidered clothes," and had his assistant take the sultan's coat away, and replace it with a khaki-colored dervish robe; Kh^{w}āndamir 1974, 432.

But Qāzi Isā's strict application of Islamic law created such resentment among the population that no sooner had Ya`qub died than riots broke out and the *qāzi* was hung. In an atmosphere in which the court resented the Sufi dervishes, and the population perhaps sympathized with them, the talented painter Mohammad Siyāh-Qalam created a style of painting that portrayed these dervishes as *divs*, i.e., the traditional enemies of royalty, but, at the same time, depicted them with so much humor and realism that they seemed sympathetic. Siyāh Qalam, who was also referred to as Darvish Mohammad and Shaykh Mohammad, must have been close to the milieu of the dervishes and wrestlers. As such, he was no different than a contemporary painter at the court of Soltān-Hosayn Bāyqarā, Mirak-e Naqqāsh-e Khorāsāni, who also engaged in wrestling and frequented the wrestler milieu. No wonder then that, among the Siyāh Qalam paintings, we have wrestling *div*s depicted in the classical position by which one is grounding the other (Fig. 386-87).

Fig. 385 – Two wrestlers (detail of Fig. 134)

Fig. 386 – Two *div*s wrestling (TKSM, H2153/109)

Fig. 387 - Two *div*s wrestling (TKSM, H2153/165)

What triggered these series of paintings must have been the embassies sent to the Ming Court, which came back accompanied by Chinese envoys. We have two testimonies for these visits. The first is a painting that may be attributed to Siyāh Qalam's fellow painter who signed his works as Shaykhi-ye Ya`qubi (Fig. 383).[764] Ya`qub is seated under a tree, with the white-bearded Qāzi Isā kneeling before him and two Chinese ambassadors on the far right wearing a Chinese hat and a Ming insignia on their chest. The second is an entry in the Ming annals for embassies from Esfahān and Shirāz (i.e., Aq-qoyunlu territories) in 1483.[765] They probably brought back Chinese paintings as presents, for we have a number of Ming paintings in the Aq-qoyunlu albums of the Topkapi, with

[764] By his very name, Shaykhi must have been affiliated with dervish circles as well.
[765] Bretschneider 1888, II:293-95.

imitations drawn by Ya`qubi court artists. A Chinese man riding on a donkey (copied twice), for instance, replicates a popular Ming model depicting the "demon queller" Zhong Kui (Fig. 388). Another popular theme was the procession marriage of Zhong Kui's sister, illustrations of which are kept at the MMA and the Freer Gallery (Fig. 389-90). They seem to have inspired the Ya`qubi painters to depict the Safaviyyeh dervishes as demons, and Ya`qub as a demon-queller who had given his sister in marriage to them.

Fig. 388 – Copy by Siyāh Qalam of the traveling Zhong Kui (TKSM, 2153/15)

Fig. 389 – Marriage Procession of Zhong Kui's sister (MMA)

Fig. 390 – Marriage Procession of Zhong Kui's sister (Freer Gallery of Art)

Fig. 391 – Marriage procession of Ya`qub's sister, Halimeh Begi, accompanied by demonized *shāter*s. Painted by Siyāh Qalam (TKSM, H2153/77)

Fig. 392 - A regular *shāter* (TKSM, H2153)

One scroll-like painting depicts Ya`qub's sister, Halimeh Begi, on her way to marry Soltān Haydar (Fig. 391); in lieu of Chinese demons, she is accompanied by demon-like *shāter*s of the Safaviyyeh order, but whose paraphernalia are very much like that of regular *shāter*s (Fig. 392). Another painting depicts a distraught Halimeh Begi leaving Ardabil, with the dome of its octagonal abode painted in black, and a black horsehair standard (*tuq)* planted in front, in mourning of Soltān Haydar; a dervish master with a golden bonnet is left behind grieving in his black cloak (Fig. 393). In a more barbaric scene, *div*s are devouring an animal (Fig. 395), perhaps as a pointer to the Safaviyyeh militants who devoured their enemies. More generally, the *div*s are shown engaging in activities that Moslem jurists severely condemned, such as wine drinking and debauchery (Fig. 396). Similar to the caricatures drawn for Tahmāsb (Figs. 143-44), these paintings were to mock the Safaviyyeh dervishes at Ya`qub's court; it's otherwise inconceivable to have so many paintings in a royal album, without a courtly audience for them.

Fig. 393 - A distraught Halimeh Begi leaving a black-domed Ardabil, with a black *tuq* (↑) planted in front, in sign of mourning. By Shaykhi (TKSM, 2153/130)

Fig. 394 - Zhong Kui scroll detail of Fig. 389 (as model for Fig. 393)

Fig. 395 – *Div*s devouring a horse (TKSM, 2153/40)

Fig. 396 – Dancing *div*s. (TKSM, 2153/64)

The fact that some of the Safaviyyeh dervishes were actually called "*div*" facilitated their assimilation with the Zhong Kui demons. Among Shāh Esmā`il's officers, for instance, was one `Ali Beg Rumlu (d. 1531), entitled Div-Soltān, who occupied the important positions of *vakil* and *amir-ol-omarā*.[766] His epithet—sultan of *div*s—was clearly used as an honorific and not in a derogatory way. Unlike other regions of Iran, where under the influence of Zoroastrianism, the word *div* had acquired a negative connotation, in Northern Iran and close to the Safavid stronghold of Ardabil, it still resonated positively. Also, a host of names with a *div* component indicated that many congregations had defiantly maintained the Mithraic tradition that the Achaemenids had branded as *daiva*s and *daiva*-worshipers .[767] Two millenniums after Darius and Xerxes, the *div*s had not been eliminated, and were still very much active.

XV.3 - A Possible Hittite Influence

From Gaumāta to the Qezelbāsh, the avatars of the Mithraic congregations, especially the militant ones, seem to have concentrated in a corridor that stretched from north-east Turkey, to Syria and western Iran. The top section of this corridor coincided with the Hittite dominions. We noticed that the Hittites invoked the powers of the sun and the moon in tandem, as did the Medes; it's therefore not beyond reason to think that some Hittite practices eventually found their way into Mithraic societies. We have no textual information in this respect but iconography may provide a clue. Indeed, some of the Hittite rock reliefs from Yazilikaya in Turkey (Figs. 397a, b) depict a series of guards who look like *shāter*s (Fig. 398), insofar as they have similar tall bonnets, wear short pants, and carry an axe on their shoulders. These similarities may be purely coincidental, but experience proves that one cannot overlook such visual indices. It's an avenue that must be further explored in the future.

Figs. 397 a, b – Hittite relief replica, Altes Museum

Fig. 398 - *Shāter* (Golestān Library)

[766] Savory 1995. The *vakil* was the *shāh*'s delegate, and the *amir-ol-omarā* was his commander in chief.
[767] A summer camp, for instance, was named Div-khāneh (Khonji 1992, 150); a Safavid prince was called Div-Mirzā (Allāmi 1996, 325); Alvand-e Div was a Qezelbāsh commander (Eskandar Beyk 1971, I:243), so was Div-dorāq (Espenāqchi 2000, 76). See also sec. XII.6.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ELUSIVE *M-S

XVI.1 - The *Marīka* : An Antecedent of the *Javānmard*

In our quest to find the origins of Mithraic societies, we have been able to identify a number of common traits and principles that defined them, and we have tried to establish that their primary purpose was to instill a spirit of brotherhood among the members of their congregations. Etienne de la Vaissière has produced an interesting document concerning a rebel Turco-Sogdian warlord whom the Chinese named "An Lushan," with the name Lushan being an obvious Sinization of the Persian word *roshan* (i.e., luminous). To consolidate his position, An Lushan built a fortress for the military training of his *chākar*s who were considered to be "his adoptive *sons* and loyal servants."[768] It describes a Mithraic congregation in which its leader acted as a *pater/father* to his devotees. The "loyal servant" qualification unambiguously translates the *chākar'*s main characteristic, and the name Roshan of their leader resonates with the light that was associated with Mithra. Bonding was thus instigated through Mithraic rites, while military training was provided by specialists.

In the early Islamic period, the principles that governed these congregations were defined as *javānmardi,* but, to give them an Islamic veneer, they were redefined through the Arabic term *fotovvat*. In the same vein, it seems that *javānmardi* itself was the result of a previous name change, possibly from a term that also pertained to young men, as the Arabic *fatā* and the Persian *javānmard* both did. Indeed, in an article that is a synopsis of past researches, including those by S. Wikander and G. Widengren, Bahār Mokhtāriān has shown how the root **maryaka-* had derivates that in most Indo-Iranian languages referred to "young men" or "young warriors," except in the *Avesta* where, as *mairiia-*, it had gathered a negative connotation, and stood for the enemy of the Zoroastrian religion. In *Yt.10.2*, these young men are even qualified as *mehr-druj*—or those who broke their covenant with Mehr/Mithra—even though they are acknowledged as Mithra worshipers; clearly, their worshiping was different than what was allowed within the framework of Zoroastrianism.[769] This, the above-mentioned scholars note, is in contrast with the positive connotation that this word carried in its later derivates, a contrast that they

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[768] De la Vaissiere 2007, 78-79.
[769] Mokhtāriān 2006, 89. See also Gnoli's comment in note 606 supra.

attribute to the antagonism that the Zoroastrian community must have developed against these groups of young men, mostly characterized as bachelors.

If the Magophonia turned the *daeva*s into demons, chances are that these Mithra-worshiping young men and warriors were affiliated with the magi whom Darius drove underground, and whom Zoroastrians continued to persecute, especially since Mokhtāriān points to common traits between them and the later *`ayyār*s: First, the drinking of a special potion during initiation; second, their state of semi-nakedness in combination with a leather garment; third, their long hair. All three are of course traits that we have previously discussed for various avatars of Mithraic societies.

But a lot more can be said on the subject. In OP, these young men were referred to as *marīka*-, a term that emphasized "devotion" and was used to qualify "military servants," similar to *bandaka* (i.e., devoted servant).[770] It's clearly a synonym of *chākar,* a term that, as we saw, was often used in tandem with *bandeh/bandaka*, and symbolized devotion. In MP, it becomes *merak* (young man), which, like *chākar*, also meant "courier." Similar to the *chākar*s and the *shāter*s, running was an essential part of the training that the Iranian nobility received as youths (i.e., as a *marīka*) in the Achaemenid period;[771] and as Herodotus noted (I.136), they were taught to speak the "truth," a virtue that Mithraic societies always emphasized. The *marīka*/*merak* was thus akin to the *chākar* and was a member of groupings structured as Mithraic societies presided by a fatherly figure. No wonder then that as late as the 15th century, we have names such as Bābā-Mirak,[772] which defined the paternity of a *bābā* in relation to the *merak*s. As such, *merak* must have been an antecedent of *javānmard,* of the *`ayyār,* and the *fatā*. It survived in New Persian as *mirak* and *amira/amirak*, the former as a name frequently encountered among guild members such as painters (see secs. V.8, VIII.5), and the latter as an Arabicized epithet that was applied to the rulers of Gilān,[773] as well as guild members.[774] In fact, the name of a Safavid warlord, Amira Pahlavān-e Gilān,[775] epitomizes the survival of Mithraic epithets within dervish orders as well as ruling families of this northern region of Iran, and the intermingling of the *marikā* tradition with that of Mithraic societies. Moreover,

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[770] Mokhtāriān 2006, 91, quoting Schmitt and Widengren.
[771] Shahbazi 1986.
[772] Vāsefi 1970, II:160. The name *merak* also survived among some dervish orders, as attested by the name of the Malāmatiyyeh dervish, Mira-ye Neyshāburi (Mokhtāriān 2006, 92-93)
[773] See sec. XII.6 and note 425 supra.
[774] In the *Safvat,* for instance, we have names such as Amira Kolāh-duz (the hat maker) or Amira Kahriz-can (the waterway digger); Ebn-e Bazzāz 1994, 1311. Despite its Arabic appearance, *amira* was a widely used epithet that was not a derivative of the Arabic *amir*.
[775] Ebn-e Bazzāz 1994, 796. He built the *zāviyyeh-ye bozorg* (the Great Abode) for the Safavid *shaykh*s.

the *marikā*s were at times described as energetic fighters who donned wolf skins;[776] which may suggest that the wolf skin of the *`ayyār*s and performers (Fig. 92) also belonged to a tradition that went back to the *marīka*.

XVI.2 - The Upbringing of Cyrus as a *Marīka*

Herodotus (I,136) gives a general description of the Achaemenids' upbringing: "they educate their children, beginning at five years old and going on till twenty, in three things only, in riding, in shooting, and in speaking the *truth*." Xenophon offers an expanded version that concurs with Herodotus, but with more emphasis on the hunt (Cyr. 1.2.10). He then continues by stating that Cyrus received the same education until the age of twelve but, afterwards, was summoned to the court of Astyages. From thereon, he elaborates a tale that caters to the Greek taste but nevertheless provides details pointing to Cyrus's strong penchant for camaraderie, very much in tune with that of the *marīka*s (see sec. XIII.2). But it is Ctesias that once again provides interesting details. As previously mentioned, he described Cyrus's background in wholly negative terms, but in so doing he qualified him in Greek as *meirakiskos*, which, like Gr. *meirakion* and Gr. *marikās* referred to "young men" and was equivalent to OP *marīka* and derived from a common root;[777] what's more, Ctesias described Cyrus's father as a bandit and his mother as a shepherd, two negative qualifications that enemies of brotherhoods often used to discredit them (sec. X.1). We thus have a congruence of elements that seem to define the *marīka*s as a group of young men who valued brotherhoods, and gathered around Cyrus who was addressed as "father" by his subjects (Her. III.89.3).

XVI.3 - The Median Synthesis

Troop cohesion has always preoccupied army commanders, and every general has tried to develop his own recipe to enhance bonding among the soldiery. While the Medes may have initially favored a military upbringing similar to that of the Persians, their conquest of Assyria and subjugation of neighboring countries allowed them to infuse foreign trends into their own practices. Assyrians, for instance, seem to have had troops that entered the battlefield bare-chested, wore short pants, and sported long hair;[778] these are traits often encountered in Mithraic societies. Also, if Hittite accoutrements left an imprint on these societies, so could have some of their practices. More importantly, we saw that Elamite fertility rites had a probable impact on Mithraic societies, especially

[776] Mokhtāriān 2006, 90.
[777] Mokhtāriān 2006, 92-93; Schmitt 2003.
[778] Mokhtāriān 2006, 91. The Assyrians themselves seem to have adopted this from Indo-Europeans (*idem*), perhaps the Hittites, as Figs. 397a, b may suggest.

with respect to the omnipresence of snakes and scorpions. But ultimately, the one element that distinguished Mithraic societies from other associations of men was the oath that its members had to take. As Mary Boyce has surmised, Indo-Iranians took an oath over both the fire and the water.[779] If Mithra, by his very name, was the Lord of the Covenant, and the guarantor of oath, the participation of his aquatic counterpart, i.e., Apam Napāt, was no less necessary in initiation ceremonies. Water and fire were present in tandem in the *mithraeum*; the initiations of Masons, for instance, included a candelabrum and a bowl of water (Fig. 353b). If dervishes drank only water for their oath—while the Khorramdiniyyeh drank wine—it was not necessarily to conform to Islamic precepts, since Justin specified that even some of the Mystery initiates used a cup of water in their ceremonies.[780] What these various practices indicate is that there were at least two trends: One more subdued and content with water, and the other bent on wine. But as Melikian-Chirvani has demonstrated, wine itself was a substitute for bull's blood, and therefore, there must have been others who indulged in more egregious behaviors.[781]

In other words, some had tried to conform to the prevailing religious tendencies, and some hadn't. The Sasanian Ardashir I, for instance, headed the Sāsānagān congregation while upholding Zoroastrianism. But one of his opponents, Haftovād, was depicted in the *Kārnāmag* as a serpent (*kerm*) who was fed daily with bull's blood.[782] The very appellation *kerm* categorized him as a *khrafstar* and perceived enemy of Zoroastrians. Gaumāta too seems to have indulged in similarly cruel acts, for he and his acolytes choked Bardiya to death by feeding him bull's blood. The Avestan hymn of the *Lament of the Cow* (*Y.29*) reflects Zoroaster's revulsion against such practices. Even though he seems to profess vegetarianism elsewhere,[783] the thrust of *Y.29* is against the savagery that the cow is subjected to in sacrificial ceremonies, and not carnivorous activities in general; what the Cow wishes for is to be "sacrificed" under the aegis of a new *ratu* (master), who shall be Zoroaster (Appendix III). From Zoroaster's perspective, certain sacrificial rites were improper, and others acceptable. As a result, the animosity that Zoroastrians felt toward the Mithraic brotherhoods was partly due to Zoroaster's refutation of their improper practices, and partly to the historic confrontation of the Median magi with the *pārsa*s, which erupted as the Magophonia.

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[779] Boyce 1996, 27-33.
[780] See note 686 supra.
[781] See note 302 supra.
[782] Grenet 2003, 93.
[783] In *Y.32: 8*, Zoroaster reproaches Yima for introducing flesh eating: "Among these sinners, we know, Yima was included, Vivanghen's son, who desiring to satisfy men gave our people flesh of the ox to eat."

The common denominator for all of these congregations was the brotherhood oath that bonded its members into a formidable cohesive entity, with the potential to become politicized or belligerent. That, I believe, was institutionalized under the Medes, when they promoted Mithra and Apam Napāt as the deities that regulated the world. Stanzas *Yt.13.94-95*—through which Avestan compilers tried to demonstrate the auspiciousness of Zoroaster's birth—clearly peg the ascendancy of these two deities to the formation of the Median Empire, toward the end of the 7th century BC (see sec. XI.12). Not only was the tribal concept of *khvarenah* associated with these deities, but they became the ultimate guarantors of oath, with Mithra gaining the upper hand by virtue of his name.

XVI.4 – *Daiva* symbols in Iran, Sogdia, and Egypt

As Dinon has related, the magi sacrificed in the open air while considering "water and fire as the only images of gods."[784] So intertwined had these two symbols become for sacrificial ceremonies that Zoroastrians couldn't untangle them and adopted them as their own, while in the *mithraeum* they continued to represent Mithra and Apam Napāt.

Fig. 399 – Lion monster representing Gaumāta

Fig. 400 – Lion monster from the Bordeaux *mithraeum*. Bordeaux Museum

Fig. 401 - Div monster with dragon tail and a *chub-e tariq*. (TKSM, 2153)

[784] Lenfant 2009, 238: based on Dinon, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria.

The most enduring aspects of this duality can be seen in the *mehr-āb* symbolism that Christianity and Islam incorporated into their architecture as the focal point of their religious edifices. If the *mehr-āb* symbolism resurfaced in Iran in the guise of the Islamic *mihrāb*, the scorpion and snake—as the notorious symbols of the banned Mithraic congregations—became very much associated with the notion of *div*, or the demoniac creatures that came to represent the enemies of Zoroastrianism. Interestingly, from Persepolis, to the *mithraeum,* to the Aq-qoyunlu court of Tabriz, these demoniac entities maintained the same physiognomy, except perhaps for a switch of the tail from scorpion to snake or dragon (Figs. 399-401).

A Sogdian drawing from Dunhuang that F. Grenet and G. Zhang have recently published puts into perspective the divide that was created between the followers of Zoroastrianism and the adherents of Mithraic societies (Fig. 402). Since these two scholars could not find any Sogdian text explaining their drawing, they used the *Avesta* to interpret the figure on the left as the "good Dēn," i.e., the good religion, on the basis of a passage that describes her accompanied by two dogs at the Chinwad Bridge; then, reading the symbols held by the left figure as negatives, they inferred that she must represent the "bad Dēn." They observe, however, that the four-armed figure on the right is a replica of the goddess Nana, and of the two globes that she holds in her upper hands, one bears the image of a three-footed phoenix and the other a cinnamon tree, which, in the Chinese context, symbolized the sun and the moon.[785] These Sinicized symbols replaced the regular sun and moon symbols that Nana holds in her upper hands on other Sogdian plates.

Religious imagery is usually conceived to convey a quick impression, and the clear impression that one gets from the appearance of these two goddesses is that the right one, if not superior to the other, is in no way inferior. Therefore, the "good" and "bad" dichotomy does not hold up, especially since they argue that the drawing was meant to be hung during special ceremonies, perhaps as part of a procession of divine statues and images.[786] I see no reason to parade a bad divinity on a par with a good one. On the other hand, what this drawing conveys is that the symbols accompanying the right deity are all associated with Mithraic rites: The sun and moon symbols are on the upper corners, as in tauroctony scenes; the snake and scorpion she holds are symbols that Mithraic societies cherished; the wolf behind her is the animal whose skin was worn by the *`ayyār*s and *shāter*s, and, which, the *Bondahesh* associates with the *khrafstar*s and the *kuseh*.[787] It

[785] Grenet & Zhang 1998, 176. I am indebted to F. Grenet for having sent me a copy of this image.
[786] Grenet & Zhang 1998, 179-81.
[787] Dādagi 1990, 99-100; the *kuseh* therein is described as *gorg-e ābi* (water-wolf).

seems that, even if the Sogdians accepted Zoroastrianism, they did not reject Mithraic brotherhoods; because they probably did not consider them as incompatible doctrines. In other words, the Zoroastrianism that they favored may have been a Mazdaism devoid of all the animosity that it had gradually developed against Mithraic societies. The Zoroastrian priesthood doesn't seem to have convinced the peripheral provinces to join the fight against the "*khrafstar*-ish devils" that cherished the snake and the serpent.

Fig. 402 – Sogdian drawing honoring both Zoroastrianiism and Mithraism (BNF, Courtesy of F. Grenet)

Fig. 403 – Horus holding Mithraic symbols. MMA

A similar use of Mithraic symbols for a local deity occurred earlier on in Egypt, under Nectanabo II (r. 360-343), the last of the pharaohs who temporarily supplanted the Achaemenids. In a magical stele that was supposed to provide protection against various diseases and poisoning, the power of the young god Horus is enhanced by appropriating an array of symbols seldom used as a group in the Egyptian repertoire (Figs. 403-404). They included scorpions, snakes, a lion, and an animal usually described as an oryx. But an oryx has horns, while the stele animal has long ears instead, similar to the beavers of the Sasanian seal in Fig. 188 (which is also coupled with a lion), and the dog on the signet of Fig. 26, or the wolf in Fig. 402. In any case, lions were royal animals and not noxious like scorpions and snakes. These were clearly symbols introduced in Egypt by Cambyses, as they all reflected the powers of Mithra and Apam Napāt. What's more, Horus is placed under the aegis of the sun god Ra whose nighttime sojourn through the

Netherworld is marked by a sun disk at the very top of this stele. Within the sun disk (Fig. 404b), Ra is depicted in his nocturnal form, as a ram-headed deity wearing a triple-coned crown; this is in lieu of the sun-disk that usually adorned his falcon-headed effigy in daytime. This is the same Egyptian-looking crown (the *hem-hem*) that was adopted for Mithra in Pasargadae (Fig. 245). Its association with the sun god of Egypt reinforces the appropriateness of such a crown for Mithra. Furthermore, as far as I can tell, this particular variant of the crown, which first appeared in the Amarna period, becomes popular only after the Achaemenid conquest of Egypt, during the 30th dynasty, and mostly in the Ptolemaic period (as in Fig. 243).[788] It stands to reason that it was Cambyses's conquest of Egypt that revived the use of the three-coned crown there once again.

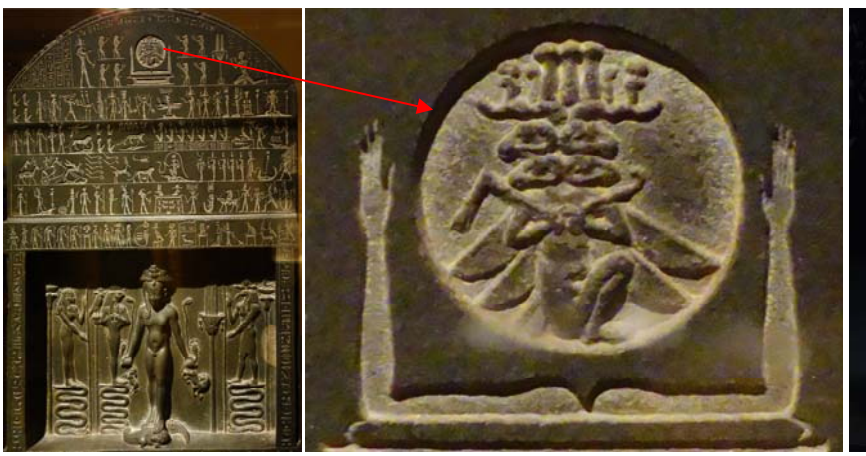

Figs. 404 a, b– Details of the Metternich Stele, circa 360-343 BC. MMA.

Fig. 405- Sarapis lifted by snake. Louvre

This may also provide a context for A.D.H. Bivar's insightful proposition that the sun-related cult of Sarapis in Egypt was affiliated to Mithra, and that its very name was derived from Mithra's pre-Zoroastrian title *kshathra-pati,* eventually turned into *satrap* (*shahr-bed*).[789] Perhaps out of spite for their Achaemenid overlords, the Egyptians welcomed an Iranian "cult" persecuted by the Achaemenids themselves. There is just too much common symbolism to ignore such a possibility. The statuette of a snake carrying

[788] The *hemhem* crown first appears under Akhenaten in association with the worship of the sun disk, Aton. Said crown, however, had two more pairs of *uraei* hanging from it (see, for instance: Freed 1999, 180, fig. 139). It may be that the adoption of this crown was in full knowledge of its solar connotations.
[789] Bivar 1998, 14-23.

Sarapis's head (Fig. 405), for instance, relates to the image of San Simeon sitting on a platform supported by a snake (Fig. 322), and the small crown of Sarapis is clearly modeled after that of Anāhitā in Fig. 305a, or vice versa. Two centuries of Achaemenid occupation of Egypt was bound to leave a footprint somewhere.

XVI.5 - An Amalgam with a Complex Origin

As the most dominant celestial body visible from earth, the sun has always played a major role in ancient rituals. The Trundholm Sun Chariot of the National Museum of Copenhagen, which has been dated between 1600BC-550 BC, is the ultimate example of sun veneration in the form of a sun disk paraded on a chariot (Fig. 406). It also allows the visualization of an important element in the procession organized by Cyrus the Younger, as described by Xenophon (Cyr. 8.3.12):

> Next after the bulls came horses, a sacrifice for the Sun; and after them came a chariot sacred to Zeus; it was drawn by white horses and with a yoke of gold and wreathed with garlands; and next, *for the Sun,* a chariot drawn by white horses and wreathed with garlands like the other. After that came a third chariot with horses covered with purple trappings, and behind it followed men carrying *fire on a great altar*.

Fig. 406 - Sun Chariot of the National Museum of Copenhagen (web)

Fig. 407 - Elamite silver vessel for bull-blood libation MMA

Fig. 408 - Elamite priest with sun symbols holding a sacrificial lamb. Louvre.

As an Achaemenid, the young Cyrus had to honor Ahura Mazdā (named Zeus by Xenophon); thus, the first chariot in his procession was dedicated to Ahura Mazdā. But to have it followed by a chariot dedicated to the Sun (i.e., Mithra) was in contravention of Darius's monotheistic policy aimed at the eradication of the Median ideology. The inclusion of the Sun chariot becomes even more significant in light of the prince's

decision to have his Persian entourage don "Median robes"; Xenophon emphasizes (8.3.1) that it was done "for the first time"—presumably in Achaemenid territories. It shows a deliberate policy of bringing to the fore Median practices that must have been popular in the young Cyrus's fiefdom of Asia Minor. Cyrus initiated a theological shift that ultimately pushed his brother Artaxerxes II to take the same path. In the ideological battle that pitted the two brothers against each other, both had to claim the backing of a solar and aquatic tandem of gods that, in the popular mind, controlled the *khvarenah*; hence Artaxerxes II invoking Mithra and Anāhitā in his inscriptions.

The reinstatement of Mithra in the Achaemenid pantheon had little bearing on the Mithraic societies, except, perhaps, for some temporary relief from persecution. Mithraic society members, however, were not Mithra-worshipers; they invoked Mithra and Apam Napāt as guarantors of their oath. What was essential to them was the oath itself, and if need be, it could be taken in the name of another revered entity. If the structure and principles of Mithraic societies have survived to this day, it's because they did not adhere to a particular religion, and did not worship a particular deity. Their "religion" was based on the principles of brotherhood consolidated by an oath. It allowed them to adapt their rituals and practices in order to survive under successive political and religious regimes. This built-in flexibility hinders our aim to describe the original *M-S, for not only did Mithraic societies have multiple avatars, but it seems that their original constituents were multiple as well. Whereas brotherhood principles may have been primarily developed within an Iranian warrior class such as the *marīka*s, bull sacrifice and blood libation may be traced back to the Elamites, as a proto-Elamite silver object from the Metropolitan Museum and the statuette of a sun priest from the Louvre may suggest (Figs. 407-408); also the scorpion and the snake, so associated with Mithraism, were ubiquitous symbols of Elamite rituals. An amalgam was created under the Medes from these various practices, and a Mithraic oath was instituted that ultimately gave these loose organizations a lasting structure, with tendencies that ranged from brutal to docile and from cannibalistic to spiritual. This amalgam is the *M-S, or the original Mithraic Society, that we have tried to identify even though its constituents remain elusive. It represented an organizational structure with rituals that best suited underground movements and congregations that wished to distance themselves from the ruling elite. As such, they provided a counterbalance to the power of the rulership, and were a force to be reckoned with. The ever presence of these congregations on the Iranian political scene shows what a powerful mix the *M-S was; a mix that offered an alternative to "religion" and became its nemesis.

EPILOGUE

Scholars who had a global vision of history intuitively made correct assumptions, and occasionally explained them with less than compelling arguments. Duchesne-Guillemin, for instance, had correctly sensed Cyrus's reverence for Mithra, but rationalized it by linking the lotus flower depicted on Cyrus's tomb to the one under Mithra's feet in Tāq-e Bostān (Figs. 186).[790] He saw it as a flower associated with Mithra, whereas in reality it was a symbol of Apam Napāt. Mithra's flower was the sunflower, which became so intertwined with the lotus that the two formed an inseparable tandem. If Duchesne-Guillemin was not totally right, he wasn't all that wrong either.

It's a predicament of ancient Iranian studies that Henkelman, to counter Duchesne-Guillemin's intuitive assertion, faults him for comparing the motif on Cyrus's tomb with a "more than 900 years younger relief";[791] and Skjaervo evokes historical amnesia to justify the discrepancy that he wrongly sees in the meaning of the words *chisa/chihr* when used by the Achaemenids as opposed to the Sasanians.[792] They both seem to be oblivious to the importance of thematic continuity in Iranian history. Iranian culture adopts and adapts, but evolves within a formulaic framework that is amazingly stable.

It was mind-boggling—even for me who has long insisted on the importance of historical continuity—to discover pronounced stylistic similarities between the Avestan hymn of *Y.19* and the *qalandar-nāmeh*s, composed some two millenniums apart (Appendix II). Because of the template that the *qalandar-nāmeh*s provided for the deciphering of this Avestan hymn, I could immediately understand its purpose; and at the same time, I realized how misguided Avestologists were in their myopic focus on details at the expense of overall purpose. Context and purpose often provide better understanding than grammatical and philological analysis. The *Avesta* that they present is an idealized entity, unrelated to historical reality; it is supposedly the repository of ancient Iranian myths and social ethos, and it is said to reflect the essence of Zoroastrianism. Far from it. The *Avesta* is a politically-motivated assembly of texts that distorts historical reality.

To begin with, today's *Avesta* incorporates a pantheon of gods that wholly negates the pure-hearted vision that Zoroaster expounded in his Gathas, where he is in conversation

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[790] Duchesne-Guillemin 1974.
[791] Henkelman 2011, 578.
[792] Skjaevo et al. 2007, 34-37; see assertions (A) and (B) in sec. XI.1.

with the sole god that he approves of, i.e., Ahura Mazdā. Many religions of the world have ended up being a distorted version of what their originator had formulated. Christianity is not what Jesus of Nazareth wanted to achieve, nor is the Avestan multiplicity of gods what Zoroaster had in mind. The *Avesta* was assembled with the aim of bringing the maximum number of believers under one tent, while elevating the status of its priesthood. It has effectively turned Zoroaster's monotheistic vision into a polytheistic one, with a hodgepodge of old and new hymns, all doctored to accommodate the priesthood's political aspirations.

The notions that the Zoroastrian priesthood propagated were in fact not wholly theirs. They were initiated by Darius who tried to impose Mazdaism through the Magophonia he unleashed. Such a violent outburst, followed by a long period of witch hunting, was inevitably accompanied by negative propaganda; Zoroastrians only continued the process that Darius had initiated. For posterity, the main victim was historical reality. Cyrus was wiped out from history, along with whoever was perceived as irrelevant, unsympathetic, or antagonistic to Zoroastrianism. More importantly, it created a divide within society that has lasted to this day, and by which the political elite's opponents were cast as *div*s.

But, as is customary with Iranians, the population reacted by reviving past history through metaphors and allegories, which in due process turned into myths and fables. Such was the propensity for disguising reality that no less than four versions of Cyrus's birth reached Herodotus (I.95.1), none of them providing the real story. And the deities that were incorporated into the Zoroastrian pantheon were stripped of their original attributes, and sanitized to conform to the new religion that Zoroastrians were promoting. No wonder then that scholars who sought to find similarities between the Roman Mithras and the Zoroastrian Mithra, couldn't do it. The Zoroastrian Mithra had long been divested of the *khrafstar*-ish attributes that its namesake maintained in the *mithraeum*.

The Achaemenids initiated a religion—later called Zoroastrianism—that, by virtue of the dominance of their empire, was bound to influence many a culture. Its impact on Judaism and Christianity, for instance, has been well documented. Less known, however, is the wide-ranging effect of its nemesis, i.e., that of the Mithraic brotherhoods. Their flight from persecution had provided them with the opportunity to create an underground organization that became the perfect model for those trying to operate in a hostile environment. From the Mysteries to the Masons, and from the Banu Sāsāns to the Safaviyyeh, the avatars of Mithraic societies gained strength through their cohesiveness and the devotion that they showed to their leaders. Despite the shroud of secrecy that

enveloped their activities, their organizational model survived the vicissitudes of time, and many of them rose to prominence. They could become introverts like the Ahl-e Haqq and the Yazidis, or accumulate riches like the Morshediyyeh, or grab the reins of power like the Sarbedārs. They could go from passive to militant, or switch from ascetic to feudal lord. No matter what path they chose, they always had political clout and the potential to become active in the political arena. They thus attracted the ire of the ruling elite, and had to go into hiding, and/or had to dissimulate their beliefs and practices. Ironically, their persecuted members were often dervishes and Sufis who, like Zoroaster, sought unison with their Creator, and engaged in lamentations that were not very much different than the Gathas. Zoroaster himself would have been ill at ease in the environment that his priesthood had created and perpetuated.

History cannot be understood without an intimate knowledge of how people confronted ideological and religious adversity, and how they found ways to circumvent official propaganda. The Zoroastrian priesthood who attributed the Aryan *khvarenah* to Zoroaster, invented a new one—the Kayānid one—for kings. For the people, though, they were both one and the same, and they did not differentiate between the two in their parlance. Similarly, when a new name was invented for Zoroastrian priests, i.e., the *athravan*, people continued to call them by what they were used to, namely *magu*, even though it designated Darius's and Zoroastrians' enemies. Despite multiple attempts to eradicate Apam Napāt, Iranians found ways to keep his memory alive by using substitutes. Whereas Anāhitā was supposed to replace him for good, Apam Napāt survived in camouflaged tandems such as Borz-Mehr, *yazatān,* or *mehr-āb*. It is a testimony to the enduring importance of the Mithra/Apam Napāt tandem that the *mehr-āb* niche was adopted as the focal point of Christian and Islamic edifices, and perhaps even Jewish ones.

Throughout Iranian history, learned administrators, in alliance with the clergy, devised propagandistic slogans in the service of their masters—whether Iranians or foreign conquerors—while the people continued their practices of old under a new camouflage. Camouflaged realities create a major obstacle for understanding the past, and one should not declare any document that cannot be understood, and/or contradicts established theories, as fake. Unsubstantiated forgery allegations, which are now reaching epidemic proportions, only further obscure reality. The unveiling of the truth requires, among other things, the breaking of artificial barriers erected between pre and post Islamic studies. New generations of scholars must be allowed, and even encouraged, to broaden the scope of ancient Iranian studies to its widest possible limits.

APPENDIX I

THE COPIALE CIPHER

The Copiale Cipher is a wholly encrypted manuscript that was recently deciphered through the efforts of a team led by Kevin Knight.* As per the sample image below (Fig. 409), the encryption contains all sorts of letters as well as "abstract symbols."

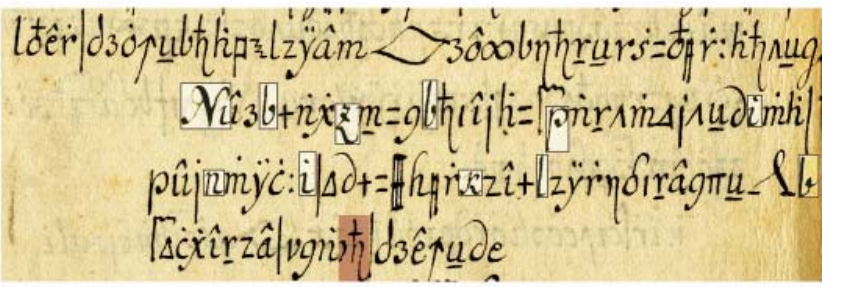

Fig. 409 – Sample of the Copiale Cipher encryption

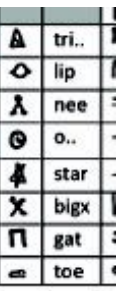

Fig. 410 – symbols used in the Cipher

All but the "abstract symbols," or logograms, have been deciphered. The team has also provided a tentative explanation for the symbols tabulated in Fig. 410:

> *o*= society, *star*=secret/knowledge?, *nee*=master, *tri*=lodge, *bigx* or X=Freemasons, *gate*=table shaped as U, *lip*=oculist *bigL*=position of feet, *tribig*=lodge, *sci*="God", *toe*=power.

The deciphered text proved to be written in German, and was subsequently translated into English. It has been explained as pertaining to a "18th century secret society, namely the 'oculist order'," akin to the Freemasons. Based on our analysis of brotherhood rituals we can advance further clarifications on the issue of its symbols. Their assessment of **O** as society is correct, since the brotherhoods considered themselves as a circle around their leader; he was the center point of their

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* I am indebted to Kevin Knight who has generously put online all the information pertaining to this manuscript and graciously provided me the link to it: *http://stp.lingfil.uu.se/~bea/copiale/* . Therein, the manuscript is described in the following terms: "The Copiale Cipher is a 105 pages manuscript containing all in all around 75 000 characters. Beautifully bound in green and gold brocade paper, written on high quality paper with two different watermarks, the manuscript can be dated back to 1760-1780. Apart from what is obviously an owner's mark ("Philipp 1866") and a note in the end of the last page ("Copiales 3"), the manuscript is completely encoded. The cipher employed consists of 90 different characters, comprising all from Roman and Greek letters, to diacritics and abstract symbols. Catchwords (preview fragments) of one to three or four characters are written at the bottom of left–hand pages."

circle. More important is the symbol dubbed as **nee**, which represents in fact a ribbon. Most initiation rites, whether for dervishes or *fatā*s, involved the tying of a ribbon, around the waist or the hat, by the *ostād* or Master. As for **bigx** (X) which they have proposed to designate Freemasons, I wonder if it does not designate secret organizations in general, and whether it has anything to do with the Cross of St Andrew that Jean Sans Peur adopted in addition to his Masonic emblems.

The general format of the text comprises question and answers similar to those we have encountered in the *fotovvat-nāmeh*s as well as Freemasonry manuals. Of particular interest is the issue of pledges to other orders and circles, for as we saw in the case of Philip the Good of Burgundy, he chose the motto *Aultre Naray* (I shall have no other). Astonishingly, the text envisages the possibility of the candidate belonging to circles qualified as *X-thieves*, which we may assume to be orders similar to that of the Coquillards; it shows the common structure and affinities that existed among brotherhoods, whether respectable or not (according to present-day standards). Finally, I believe that they use the expression *rey* (Roy), meaning "king," to designate the leader of the order, which is akin to the lofty titles of *soltān* and *shāh* for the dervishes, "Sovereign" for the Order of the Golden Fleece, or "Grand Coësre" for the Coquillards.

In what follows I shall present a sample of the translation the team of Kevin Knight has produced, and for the sake of better comprehension, I shall substitute "Oculist," "Lodge," "Master" and "Circle" in lieu of their respective signs.

THE BOOK OF LAW OF THE VENERABLE OCULIST CIRCLE (SECRET PART).

"Secret lessons for the apprentices.

Ceremonies of initiation.

If the security of the Lodge is ensured by a doorkeeper and the Lodge is opened by the conducting Master by putting his hat on, the candidate is taken from another room by a younger doorkeeper and led by hand to the table of the conducting Master, he asks him:

First of all if he desires to be Oculist. Secondly to subject himself to those regulations of Circle and without any recalcitrance to endure the period of apprenticeship. Thirdly, to conceal the **star** of the Circle and to pledge himself, to obligatory keep the secrecy. The candidate answers yes. Fourthly: if he is already part of another secret Circle, for example amongst those **X**-*thieves* or similar to this, in comparison to confessing to honor and reputation, he must answer: yes, so the conducting Master asks him.

Fifth: *if he has not promised his previous brothers to disclose the Oculist to them*. He may answer here whatever he pleases, so he must repeat the following which the conducting Master is saying "however big the obedience and loyalty is, which I promised to them ... so then shall this honorable Oculist cross I promise not to come to any disadvantage except the

one Oculist I pledge commitment to, I will not excess during the oath which I ... took for them, so that I will be equally faithful to the Oculist Circle, as faithful as it is possible, even more faithful than the ... is and to happen in such a way as all punishment according to ... the oath to be carried out if I will reveal in any way even the smallest part of the Oculist *rey* to the ... . "

The conducting Master speaks thereupon to the ceremony Master: "Hereby I pass to the brother the candidate in body and soul, so that he sees if one cannot help his weak face with an operation." He carries him thereafter to a secondary table where, next to a lot of candles, several instruments and eye glasses, microscopic perspective, a cloth and a glass of water must be present. He has to lower himself on to a tabouret and to look upon an unwritten piece of paper for a while. If, after a while, he answers that he cannot see anything written on there, than the master of ceremonies puts him a pair of eye glasses and asks him again if he is not able to read the writing. Answer no. During this time the master of ceremonies comforts him as good as he can, raises his hopes for improvement washes his eyes with a cloth and if nothing helps, he will announce that they have to proceed with the operation then all those present members reach for the candles place themselves around the candidate and the master of ceremonies Master plucks a hair from the eyebrow with a pair of small tweezers under constant urging, comfort and encouragement and concludes herewith the operation thereupon calls the conducting Master the candidate to him and says to him: "he is perhaps in thought that somewhat serious matters are to be found at the Circle "but he should be assured of the opposite" and during the ceremony he should not think further about the shells but the core even at the end "those symbolic actions out of which none" are without meaning. hereafter the conducting Master asks him again the three questions mentioned at the beginning and if he answers them conveniently also the conducting Master must call all present as witnesses he must place his right hand over the eye so the conducting Master carries it around his neck and must repeat that which the secretary reads to him the commitment formulation is this: " *In ... n ... promise as confidently as I care about my honor that I will never divulge any secret* of this Circle and of all what I have seen, heard and felt, to anybody, whomever it may be, and in any way it may happen; tell something other than I am permitted to. *Moreover, I promise that I will never be part of any other secret Circle*, conceivable fraternity, without special permission of the venerable great Master, this I promise to the entire Oculist Circle of which nations they may be, both to the present as well as to the future members. If I will act against my pledge, I will indulge this in such a way as to be a disgrace to the {male female} sex and of the entire honorable world even for the most unworthy member of these venerable and respectable Circle, in whichever way will be decided for me. I declare myself willing and will hold to this without complaining about it. After this, the conducting Master adorns the guard with the apprentice decoration around the right arm and leads him again to the secondary table, where, instead of the secretary's unwritten piece of paper, the entire teaching for the apprentices is placed, which everything was translated by the secretary even before the

closure of the Lodge, so that by taking off of the hat, everybody has to tear it up, all present would congratulate the brother, and the guard explains to him in so far about the emblem above, that it symbolizes the blindness and subtleness, he instructs the apprentice - based on the essay - about what he has to know as an apprentice, and teaches him about what is to be used against strangers and false brothers. The most important of them are: not to dispute the Oculist *rey* not to advocate it, and not to brag about it to anybody without any important cause v Lodge r, to recognize a brother in the company of strangers not to give a sign to anybody and so on.

Indicators of an apprentice.

First of all one needs to rotate the head first to the left side, then to the right side, as one does when one looks after something. Use the handkerchief and look to the next inquirer.

Secondly, if one does not touch one hand but if one makes an arbitrary movement with the other one, and one looks to the other one. I also make an arbitrary movement, however with the other hand.

Thirdly, one takes tobacco with the thumb and the middle finger of the left hand. Touch with the left hand your left eye. Accordingly, each question has its own answer, and is not subject to any other order, but the questions are arbitrary. However, one shall never ask more than one question, as long as the answerer is not asking another question. Also, a brother, which lets himself be recognized, has to tell the entire ceremony of his acceptance, and has to know the names of the persons which were present. If there are strange people present, and if one speaks or acts careless, then the answer is that I know already.

Secret lesson for the apprentices.

Acceptance of an apprentice.

When the apprentices Lodge are together, have taken care of safety and they have opened accordingly, the younger doorkeeper brings the apprentice inside and he will be asked by the conducting Master: what is it that he wishes, he answers that his masterly clarity shall acquit him and make him an apprentice. The conducting Master asks further: if he, the Circle, was loyal until now, if he has kept his promise not to befall in any other secret Circle, kept it private and if he, in front of the publicly gathered Lodge with honor and conscience can freely confess no, or he will otherwise be convinced, that he has acted contrary to it, thus will he be rejected with a strong reprehension due to his disobedience and will be forever excluded from the function as an apprentice. If, on the other hand, he can prove his obedience, then the conducting Master asks further if he subjects himself freely to something which should be done to him, answer yes if he can recall correctly the above mentioned first pledge and if he wants to reiterate the same, yes, the conducting Master calls therefore all those present as witnesses, which place themselves around them, whereupon he places again

his right hand around the neck hanging eye of the conducting Master and the secretario has to repeat after him.

"I recall now to what I have pledged already as an apprentice and oblige myself once again to those previous punishments, most solemnly I don't want - not even once - to discover a novice, that I learned as an apprentice." The conducting Master stands then up and swings the scepter onto the left armpit and says to him: "this swing is the symbol and the beginning toward that privacy which the brother starting now, as an apprentice, has to expect from us and, according to his skills and other important work, to follow, according to the degree of aptitudes and obedience like this" in order for him to be allowed. Thereupon the ceremony Master places the apprentice decoration, namely a similar *band* as the previous one, so that he keeps it on his left arm, to which he accepts the good wishes from all those present and the conductor teaches him about the following apprentice indicator.

….

The true** star**, namely the story about the origin of the Oculist Circle.

Curiosity is inherited with mankind. Frequently we want to know something only because it needs to be kept secret. Once a few good friends came to talk about this subject in England. Each of them gave special examples from the Circle of a curiosity driven too far. Finally they came to think about creating a fraternity, about which only those who would be accepted should know about its purpose. In order to see how many of the impertinences he would apply to enter a Circle without knowing beforehand to what they would be bound to. They would agree immediately as they would like to pretend that a great **star** would be behind their unification and decided to come up with certain arbitrary signs, by which a brother should recognize another. But due to the fact that the time did not allow it to arrange everything with accuracy, another appointment was set and it was then when the guild of the **X** was set up, and when its strange name was ascribed. Only one did not appear at this appointment and after he arrived a while later, he found the **X** already all set, so that a great part of these *masons* couldn't even know, and the others could not remember that the newly come would understand something about their engineering, and if he was present when the first plans were made. Therefore, he did not want to uncover himself to them and since he particularly did not like that the female sex was completely excluded and that the in selection of brothers so little caution was practiced, he was prompted to found our present flourishing Oculist Circle. To entrust the arrangement of **X** *rey* an entire Circle in form of a real **star** and to commit every member of the secret intentions stated in the fifth title, but so that nobody should know anything about the secret institution of the Circle, so that our Circle would benefit that the **X star** by our brothers respect, but ours to be and remain a true and still undiscovered **star**…. "

APPENDIX II

This uneditted article, which I had submitted for publications to specialized journals, was refused based on comments that I have reproduced at the end of this appendix. Readers may judge on their own the validity of those comments.

FROM THE *AVESTA* TO SUFI TREATISES: A STANDARD LITERARY TECHNIQUE

Abstract: Two accidental encounters with Jean Kellens' translations of *Y.58.1* and *Y.19* allowed me to discover how interdependent the Avestan literary format was with that of Sufi treatises. This perception allowed in turn the understanding of the motives of the Zoroastrian priesthood in composing a *Y.19* type of text, the careful step by step escalading pattern built in, and the use of recurrent slogans and propaganda for their own glory. Essential to this analysis was the comprehension of the historic environment in which various actors fought each other. It is inevitably linked to the confrontation between the *pārsā*s and the Zoroastrian priesthood on the one hand, and the Median magi on the other. As such, it negates once more the dogmatic belief in an ancient Zarathushtra, living at the dawn of the 2nd millennium BC.

1. Introduction

My first foray into the Avestan world was in pursuit of the meaning of *chithra*. I had sensed that by adopting a meaning of origin, seed or nature for this word, Avestan translations often lacked clarity, and bypassed an important concept, that of *chithra,* reflecting as light, the intensity of the *khvarenah* that empowered different beings. It took me several years to assert this conclusion,[1] and thereafter, I continued to check its validity each time I encountered a sentence that included *chithra*. Thus, when in 2010, I attended by chance one of Jean Kellens' lectures at the Collège de France, where *Yasna 58.1* was translated with yet another meaning for *chithra*, I naturally sought to reassess the situation at hand. In doing so, I not only found more assurance in my own thesis, but also found confirmation for a thought that I had nurtured for some time: that Western specialists would be better served if they could also consult Persian translations of the *Avesta.* For if Western specialists are more competent in philological technicalities, their Persian counterparts enjoy a natural advantage in sensing the form and flow of sentences. But whenever I expressed this idea, the response was that Western Avestologists often don't know Persian, and in any case, the *Avesta* is so distant from New Persian that no reverse projection can be of help.

[1] Soudavar 2009, 442-50.

The present article is to prove the contrary. It was sparked by the fortuitous preview of an article written by Amir Ahmadi in refutation of translations previously offered for parts of *Yasna* 19, by Kellens and others.[2] I suddenly realized that treatises written for dervish orders, called *fotovvat-nāmeh* or *qalandar-nāmeh*, had a structural format similar to the one used in *Y.19*, a format that was essential to the understanding of each of these types of texts. [3]

In what follows, I shall first tackle the problems associated with *Y.58.1*, and then, after exploring the format of *qalandar-nāmeh*s, I shall delve into the particularities of *Y.19* and show its stylistic parallelism with the latter, while highlighting the general lack of understanding for the structure and purpose of *Y.19*. The use of particular expressions by the author of *Y.19* will also provide the opportunity to reassess the historical process that affected the development of the *Avesta,* a process that inevitably brings to fore the late date for Zarathushtra.

The *Yasna 58.1*

I shall compare hereafter two translations of the first stanza of *Y.58*:

Y.58.1 taṯ sōiδiš taṯ vərəϑrəm dadəmaidē
hiiaṯ nəmā huciϑrəm ašiš.hāgəṯ ārmaitiš.hāgəṯ
yeŋ́hē nəmaŋhō ciϑrəm humatəmcā hūxtəmcā huuarštəmcā

Translation by Kellens :

> « Nous tenons pour un manteau et une cuirasse l'Hommage qui a bonne caractéristique, qui s'associe à la Chance, qui s'associe à la juste-Pensée. La caractéristique de l'Hommage est la (pensée) bien pensée, le texte bien dit et le (geste) bien fait. »[4]

The Persian translation of the same, by Jalil Dustkhāh is:[5]

> این نماز نیک بنیادِ به اشه و به آرمیتی پیوسته، این نمازی را که بنیادش اندیشهٔ نیک و گفتار نیک و کردار نیک است، رزم افزار پیروزی می دانیم.

Which translates as : "This prayer (homage), of good foundation, which is linked to *Asha* and *Armaiti,* this prayer whose foundation rests on good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, we hold it as a weapon of victory."

In comparing these two translations, one can immediately see a difference in form: While the latter considers the stanza as one sentence, the former divides into two. For the Persian writer, the tone of the text naturally induced him to see it as a sentence in which, the power that the prayer is supposed to confer is defined along with explanations about the sources of its power.

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[2] Ahmadi 2013.
[3] I am indebted to Prof. Jean Kellens for having graciously sent me a copy of his book (Kellens 2010b), the content of which I must criticize in this article.
[4] Kellens 2010a, 27.
[5] Dustkhāh 2002, 229.

Kellens' technically more precise translation of the first line—as referring to robe and armor—is evoking the protective power of the prayer; it's fully supported by the subsequent stanzas of the prayer as they evoke protection from demons.[6] It's also a better fit than Dustkhāh's aggression-oriented "weapon of victory," and in line with the usually more passive tone of prayers. On the other hand, Kellens' insistence on translating *humatəmcā hūxtəmcā huuarštəmcā* as "the thought, well-thought; the word, well-spoken; the gesture, well-performed" adds an unnecessary complication that goes against the usage of the famous triple Persian motto "*pendār-e nik, goftār-e nik, kerdār-e nik"* (good thoughts, good words, good deeds). It is so engrained in Persian and Zoroastrian literature that one must believe that this is how the original Avestan motto was understood.

The translations of both authors, however, is eschewed by the everlasting *chithra* predicament. I have criticized elsewhere, instances in which philologists had extrapolated the meaning of *chithra*, from "origin" to "nature," "semen," "seed," or even "offspring."[7] Here, while Dustkhāh has opted for "foundation," Kellens has used "characteristic." Both are problematic, especially the latter. Because a prayer is essentially an utterance, it can consist of "good words", but it cannot "think," and therefore cannot have good thoughts. Should we envisage that "good thoughts" went into the *composition* of a prayer, it would then define a characteristic of the composer and not the song. No matter how we twist it, we will end up with an illogical proposition.

Dustkhāh's adoption of "foundation" for *chithra* is somehow less illogical, since a foundation can eventually be considered as the creation of a composer. But it leaves us up in the air as to who the composer might be, while pushing *chithra* toward a meaning that is attached to a foreign agent (the composer), rather than rooted in the prayer. If the starting point for *chithra* is "nature" or "origin," it must not be extrapolated to a foreign agent.

In reality, *chithra* is the manifestation of the *khvarenah* as light, and the source of all power. It can empower deities, humans as well as prayers. But since it is variable, one needs to increase it through good deeds and through the performance of religious duties. *Denkard III:361*, specifically explains that the *kharrah (khvarenah)* increases or diminishes according to one's performance of religious duties.[8] And throughout Zoroastrianism, the recurring theme of "good thoughts, good words, and good deeds" appears as a motto that defines religious duty. It's almost self-evident then that, in order to increase the protection-effectiveness of the prayer, one needs to concentrate on the three "good" things to increase one's *chithra*.

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[6] Kellens' translation of *Y.58.2* "Qu'un tel Hommage nous protège de la nocivité des démons et des hommes. A un tel Hommage nous confions nos biens-vivants et nos corps, pour qu'il les protège, les garde, les préserve et les surveille"; Kellens 2010a , 28-29.
[7] See Soudavar 2006b, 166-67; Soudavar 2009, 442-50.
[8] Soudavar 2009, 444-46.

Like the Sanskrit word *karma*, perhaps *chithra* should not be translated in English, but simply understood as the radiance of this prayer's *khvarenah*, and the measure of its power. The stanza would then read:

> *Y*.58.1: "We hold it as a robe and armor (of protection), this prayer of good *chithra* (radiance) linked to Ashi and Armaiti, whose *chithra* (is derived from) good words, good deeds and good thoughts"

The problem of *chithra* notwithstanding, the comprehension of *Y.58.1* primarily depends on the correct perception of its literary format. If you break it into two separate sentences, *you lose the raison d'être of the second part*: How the prayer can become more effective. It's a point that will become more apparent when analyzing *Y.1*9. But to do that, we shall first explore some relevant passages of Sufi literature.

2. A Literary Format

Among various treatises composed for dervish orders, there is a genre called *fotovvat-nāmeh* or *qalandar-nāmeh*. They were supposed to be simple manuals for initiation procedures of dervish orders, but gradually adopted a stratified structure that allowed different writers to show their prowess by ever expanding the stratifications. In one such a treatise, the author tries to explain the worthiness of Sufism by presenting his arguments as reflecting justifications proffered by the sixth Shiite Imam, Ja`far as-Sādeq (702-765).[9] The essence of Sufism is then explained to encompass the three principles of *shari`at* (religion), *tariqat* (the Sufi path) and *haqiqat* (truth), which are then expanded by the following stratification process:

a) If you are asked: What is *shari`at*, and what is *tariqat*, and what is *haqiqat*?
b) Say: *Shari`at* is Islam, and *tariqat* is *imān* (faith), and *haqiqat* is *ehsān* (kindness)

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c) If they ask what is Islam?
d) Say Islam is based on : "I swear that there is no god but God (اشهد ان لا اله الا الله)" and "present your prayer (اقيموا الصلوة)" and "donate your *zakāt* (آتوا الزكوة)" and "fast in Ramadan (الصوم الرمضان)" and …
e) and if they ask what is *imān*?
f) say: It is to acknowledge the uniqueness of God Almighty, in relation to which the Prophet has proclaimed: "Faith is to believe in God, and his angels, books, messengers, and the Day of Judgment, and precise assessment by God Almighty, and resurrection after death,"[10]
g) and if they ask what is *ehsān*?
h) say: It is to know the Creator through your inner eye since the Prophet has said: "*ehsān* (kindness) is in reality the worship of God,…";

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i) also the Imam has said: that the *shari`at* is to be uttered, the *tariqat* is to be taken, and the *haqiqat* is to be known, as the Prophet has said that "the *shari`at* is my sayings, the *tariqat* is my deeds, and the *haqiqat* is my being" and the Imam said again, that "the *shari`at* is a road, the

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[9] Afshāri & Mir`ābedini 1995, 106-107. The attribution of these arguments to the Sixth Imam is without any substantiation or reference.

[10] It is a fabricated saying attributed to the Prophet Mohammad: الايمان أن تومن بالله و ملائكته و كتبه و رسله و اليوم الاخر و القدر خبيره من الله تعالى و البعث بعد الموت

tariqat is to engage that road, and the *haqiqat* is to reach the ultimate goal"; and the Imam also said that "the *shari`at* is a boat, the *tariqat* is the sea, and the *haqiqat* is the pearl (in the sea)."

j) if they ask: How many letters has *shari`at* (شریعت)?
k) say that *shari`at* has five letters and each letter has meanings: The ش of *shari`at* is a pointer to the acceptance of the *conditions* (شرایط)of Islam; and its "ر" is to distinguish between *permissible* (روا) and not permissible; and its ی is to *remember* (یاد کردن) God; and its ع points to *worship* (عبادت); and its ت is to *repent* (توبه) from sins.
l) and *tariqat* too has five letters: …
m) and *haqiqat* too has five letters: …

Of the three principles evoked in (a), the *tariqat* is what really defines Sufism, while the other two have been adjoined to give it a well-rounded definition, and better protection against accusations of non-religiosity. The reason being, dervish orders carried symbols and procedures from a pagan era, which made them vulnerable to attack by orthodox Moslems. Thus, the association of the *shari`at* with the *tariqat* was a good insurance policy. In addition, they not only rhymed together, but also with *haqiqat*. The resulting rhyming triplet became a motto that defined Sufism in a way that "good thoughts, good words, good deeds" characterized Zoroastrianism. But once this triplet was enunciated at the top level, the literary genre required further explanation for each of its components in subsequent levels. This was achieved through (b). The explanations provided in (b) were, in turn, further expanded through three pairs of question and answers: (c-d), (e-f) and (g-h). At this stage, to enhance the importance of the triplet, the author interjects in (i) three additional sets of metaphors, each of which cloak the three principles with a mystical aura. They are seemingly not his own, but borrowings from other writers. He then engages in a new process, one in which he uses the technique of revealing the inner meaning of each word by providing an explanation for each of its letters through a word that begins with the same letter. He applies this letter dissecting technique, first to *shari`at*, in (k), and then to the other two principles *tariqat* and *haqiqat,* in (l) and (m) respectively.

The question and answer sequence provides a tempo, and the stratification provides an arithmetic veneer of orderly, perhaps divine, structure. The global effect was meant to dazzle the interlocutor. Because the process is artificial, it provides *a posteriori* explanations that are forcibly fed into the literary format. They provide fanciful explanations that are seldom meaningful.

But so important is the format that if the writer cannot apply it directly, he would try to introduce it through a detour. In the following example, since the writer could not dissect the word *kherqa* (the dervish robe) directly, he first equates it with *faqr* (poverty) and then proceeds with the stratification of the latter's meaning:

A) if they ask "what is the *kherqa*?" say that it represents *faqr*
B) and if they ask what is *faqr* (فقر) and how many meaning it has? Say that it has three letters and seven meanings:
C) the ف of *faqr* points to *paucity* (فاقه), and the ق of *faqr* indicates *contentment* (قناعت), and its ر is for *hardship* (ریاضت)
D) and *faqr* is described by its (seven) states and qualities:

> 1) *faqr* is nothingness, and one disappears in nothingness in order to reappear in the kingdom of eternity
> 2) *faqr* breaks the neck of all drunkenness, and then achieves its goal
> 3) the nothingness of all pure things has been gathered and thus named *faqr*
> 4) *faqr* is a mirror that never rusts
> 5) it is contentment in a kingly state, because it emanates from the Kingdom of Solomon
> 6) it's a precious gem that cannot be priced or evaluated, and one that the Imam `Ali has approved of (to be worn)
> 7) *faqr* is (to have) a lightweight mind and an empty stomach, and if the stomach is empty it will really smell *faqr*.[11]

In (C) the three letters of *faqr* are individually explained, and then, seven baseless and arbitrary qualities are proclaimed for *faqr,* because seven is a fundamental number for dervish orders. More generally, this is a literary genre that sacrifices meaning for form, and therefore it's almost futile to try to find esoteric meanings hidden in each of the above sentences.

Finally, this question and answer game, that was meant to dazzle the initiate, also emphasized the utterance of words and sentences. Thus, to each dervish symbol, such as *kherqa*, was associated a Koranic verse that the initiate was required to utter before using it.[12] Priests and religious officials always promoted the power of the word. And that is what *Yasna 19* is all about.

3. The *Yasna* 19

The *Yasna 19*, which is occasionally referred to as *Bagān Yasht*, is in praise of a Gathic prayer hymn, the *Ahuna Vairya*. There have been many attempts to translate it, the latest being that of Kellens as part of his analysis of preliminary recitations before the ritual of sacrifice (Kellens 2010b). It has drawn partial criticism from Amir Ahmadi who has focused on the illogical implications of many of the propositions advanced by Kellens.[13] While Kellens qualifies *Y.19* as "cosmogonie mentale," Ahmadi sees it imbued with "eschatological purposes," but also emphasizes its grammatical merits in terms of "how the exegete understood the syntax" of the *Ahuna Vairya.* My own views on the matter, however, are less grandiose and more cynical. I see it as a priestly composition, along the lines of the aforementioned *qalandar-nāmeh*s, in which meaning is sacrificed to form. Its purpose was to induce the initiate to perform religious recitations and incantations. It thus emphasized the importance of the *Ahuna Vairya* as an empowered word, through the artificial techniques of explanation by stratification, quantification, as well as step by step escalation. It was meant to dazzle the initiate but at the same time elevate the position of priesthood. It also included rewards for good recitation, or even a deficient one. And where Kellens sees similarities with other hymns as an imbedded reference to them, I only see plagiarism.[14] Either the composer of this hymn copied certain passages from the others, or vice

[11] Afshāri & Mir`ābedini 1995,110-111.
[12] Afshāri & Mir`ābedini 1995, 146.
[13] Ahmadi 2013, 874-76. .
[14] See for instance note 22 infra on how Kellens jumps from one text to another.

versa, for as we saw in the case (i) of the *qalandar-nāmeh*, these authors often used borrowings from others to embellish their own.

The text of *Y.19* can be divided into five parts, each following a different literary technique and promoting a different agenda.[15] I shall present, hereunder, a translation of each part with an eye on various existing translations,[16] as well as the precisions advanced by Ahmadi. The more the general orientation of the text became clear, the less I needed to add explanatory words and sentences beyond the direct translation of each word. Like Iranian languages, English offers the possibility of expressing ideas in a concise manner. *I have thus opted for a more fluent English translation than what Avestologists prefer, which is a word by word translation that is more often than not incomprehensible, and at times utterly wrong.* They spend an enormous time to justify semantics only to fall short on meaning. The objective here is to explain Yasna 19 as a whole, i.e., its purpose and the logic imbedded in it, through a readable translation. Anomalies and particularities that need further elaboration will be explained afterwards in sections IV-VIII.

3.1. Yasna 19 –Part 1

The first part establishes the merits of this hymn, by explaining the value of its invocation, as well as situating its first utterance in the very early stage of Creation. Except for *Y.19*.2 and *Y.19*.4 whose meaning I shall elaborate later on, the translation of the first part does not present any particular problem, and most translations agree with each other.

One can note, however, that similar to the author of our *qalandar-nāmeh* who attributed his baseless arguments to the Sixth Shiite Imam, the author of *Y.19* puts his grandiose claims in the mouths of no less witnesses than Ahura Mazdā and Zoroaster, who are in conversation with each other:

> *19.1.* Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazdā: O Ahura Mazdā, thou most bounteous Spirit, maker of the corporeal world, O Righteous one, which was that Word that you recited to me,
>
> *19.2.* which came before (*para*) the sky, before the water, before the earth, before the cow, before the plants, before *Fire son of Ahura Mazdā*, before the righteous man, before the *khrafstar*-ish devils and their men (i.e., followers); and before all of the corporeal world, and those good things fashioned by Mazdā and imbued with the *chithra* (Light) of righteousness?
>
> *19.3.* Thereupon Ahura Mazdā said: That was the *Ahuna-vairya* hymn, O Spitama Zarathushtra, which I recited for you,
>
> *19.4.* before (the creation) of the sky, before the water, before the earth, before the cattle, before the plants, before *Fire son of Ahura Mazdā*, before the righteous man, before the *khrafstar*-ish devils and

[15] Kellens (2010b, 27-51) has opted for a slightly different partition.

[16] I have relied on H.H. Mills' text (www.avesta.org/yasna/yasna.htm), Dustkhāh's (2002,173-77), as well as Kellens (2010b, 27-51). But more importantly, I found the word translations provided in the online dictionary of *Avesta*.org to be sufficiently precise—in most cases—as to not need any further extrapolation.

their men (i.e., followers); and before all of the corporeal world, and those good things fashioned by Mazdā and imbued with the *chithra* (Light) of righteousness.

19.5. This *Ahuna-vairya* hymn of mine, O Spitama Zarathushtra, if incanted without mistakes and omissions, is worth a hundred other chants that are likewise well recited without mistake and without omissions; and even if incanted with mistakes and omissions, its effect will be equivalent to ten other prominent chants.

19.6. And whoever in this corporeal world, O Spitama Zarathushtra, shall memorize the godly *Ahuna-vairya*, and recite its memorized words in undertone,[17] or whisper them as a chant, or chant them for worship, then I, Ahura Mazdā, will bring his soul over the Bridge (of Chinvat), to reach accordingly the three Heavenly stages of Excellent Life, Excellent Righteousness, and Excellent Lights.[18]

19.7. And whoever in this corporeal world, O Spitama Zarathushtra, while whispering by heart the *Ahuna-vairya*, omits one half, or one third, or one fourth, or one fifth, I who am Ahura Mazdā will pull away his soul from the heavenly world; yea, so far off as the earth is large and wide; and this earth is indeed long and broad.

3.2. Yasna 19 - Part 2

In this part the author introduces *ahu* and *ratu* as part of an eschatological projection that has been generally misunderstood because of the wrong translation of *Y.19*.9. Although his real agenda is only revealed in Part 3, in this section, he already tries to prepare the ground for it.

19.8. Thus, the verse[19] that contained the word *ahu* and the word *ratu* was proclaimed before the appearance of the sky above, and before the appearance here of the waters, plants, bovine quadrupeds, before the birth of the righteous two-legged man, and before the body of the sun was made visible; but after the appearance of the *Amesha Spentas*.

19.9. And these bounteous spiritual beings of mine (i.e. the *Amesha Spentas)* proclaimed that the righteousness of the entire creation, existed in the past, exists now, and will exist in the future by the power of *šiiaoϑənanąm aŋhāuš mazdāi*. [20]

19.10. And this Word (i.e., hymn) is the most emphatic of the words which have been pronounced before, or which are now spoken, or which shall be spoken in future; for its power is such that if all the

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[17] Zoroastrian recitations are done as an undertone, i.e., in a low voice, as a whisper (*dreŋj*).

[18] Compare with Kellens' less concise translation of same (2010b, 30) : "Quiconque en cet état osseux, ô Spitama Zarathušθra, mémorise la version analysée de l'*Ahuna Variia*, moi Ahura Mazdā je ferai passer son âme-moi par-dessus le pont vers l'excellent état de trois manières : jusqu'á l'excellent état s'il mémorise pour en métriser la diction, jusqu'à l'excellent Agencement s'il en maitrise la diction pour la réciter, jusqu'aux excellentes lumières s'il la récite pour l'offrir en sacrifice. ». See also note 38 for my comments on the "version analysée" qualification.

[19] Within the primarily oral world of the *Avesta,* sentences are mostly referred to as "saying" rather than text as Kellens suggests (Kellens 2010b, 32). This paragraph, however, refers to the utterance of the first two verses of the *Ahuna Vairya* in which these two words appear.

[20] Having evoked the Amesha Spentas in the previous stanza, it seems logical that the *frā mē spaniiå mainuuå* of *Y.19*.9 (see next note) refers to them as "bounteous spiritual beings of mine" i.e., those that he, Ahura Mazdā, had created.

beings of the corporeal world should memorize it, and learn it, they would be redeemed from their mortality.

19.11. And this Word of ours has been proclaimed in order to be memorized and learned by all beings, for the sake of (establishing) best Righteousness.

We can sense that in 19.8, he is attaching a certain importance to the words *ahu* and *ratu* by emphasizing that they were pronounced basically before life came on earth. He presents it as a logical consequence of 19.1-2, because if the whole hymn was uttered before Creation, so would be the words *ahu* and *ratu* contained in its first two verses (see below). But then, at the end of the stanza, he seemingly backtracks a little bit, and rectifies his earlier statement by emphasizing that they were actually uttered after the appearance of the Amesha Sepentas. This added precision is to avoid blasphemy. By *ahu* and *ratu* he must have referred to mortals who could not be higher ranked than the Amesha Sepentas. As we shall see, the first stanza (*Y19.12*) of Part 3 clarifies this matter.

Once he introduces the Amesha Sepentas in *Y.19.8*, he uses them in the subsequent stanza, as upholders of *asha* (Righteousness) who vouch for its ever presence, which they attribute to the power of *šiiaoϑənanąm aŋhəuš mazdāi* sentence of the *Ahuna Vairya*, supposedly because it proclaims that the creation of the whole world was Ahura Mazdā's.[21] The *Y.19*.9-10 stanzas reiterate then the fundamental eschatological idea of Zoroastrianism that Righteousness shall prevail over Evil, and present the power of the *Ahuna Vairya* as the main instrument of Righteousness' final triumph. Whereas in Part 1, our *Yasna* author used as witnesses Ahura Mazdā and Zoroaster, he uses here the Amesha Spentas to give more weight to his assertions.

3.3. Yasna 19 – Part 3

Having praised the value and power of the *Ahuna Vairya* hymn as a whole, the author pushes his praise to another level, one in which he can explain the role of each of its components individually. It's a technique similar to the one used in the aforementioned Sufi treatise, in (k), (l), (m), which not only explained the merits of a name as a whole, but described the benefits associated with each of its letters. In what follows, I have juxtaposed the *Ahuna Vairya* with *Y.19.12-14*, and underlined their common elements.

The Ahuna Vairya (Ahuna Variia).

Yaϑa ahu vairiiō
aϑā ratuš aš̌āṯcīṯ hacā

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[21] *Y.19*.9: "*frā-mē spaniiå maniuuå vauuaca vīspąm ašaonō stīm haitīmca bauuaiṇtīmca būšiieiṇtīmca šiiaoθnō.tāitiia šiiaoϑənanąm aŋhəuš mazdāi*."
Kellens' translation of *Y.19*.9 (2010b, 32): "Celui des deux avis [sur moi] qui est bénéfique a proclamé tout l'état existant du soutient de l'Agencement aurait un passé, un présent et un futur sous l'action des mots *šiiaoϑənanąm aŋhəuš mazdāi* ». Because of the undefined « deux avis [sur moi] », his whole translation is meaningless, and cannot be integrated into the chain of ideas that bind the stanzas together; see also note 20.

vaŋhāuš dazdā manaŋhō
šiiaoϑənanam aŋhāuš mazdāi
xšaϑrəmcā ahurāi.ā
yim drigubiiō dadaṯ vāstārəm

Y19.12: (1) yaθa1 frā iδa āmoraoṯ yaṯ dim ahūmca ratūmca ādadaṯ, iθa dim para cinasti yim ahurəm mazdąm manas.paoiriiaēibiiō dāmabiiō
(2) *yaθa2 īm vīspanąm mazištəm cinasti,*
(3) *aθa ahmāi dāmąn cinasti.*

Y19.13 (1) *yaθa3 mazdå hujītīš*
(2) *vaŋhāuš iδa θritīm ṯkaēšəm ādrəŋjaiieiti*
(3) *dazda manaŋhō para im iδa manaŋ́he cinasti*
(4) *Yaθa4 fradaxštārəm manaŋ́he*
(5) *manaŋhō aētauuaitia īm kāraiieit.*
(6) *šiiaoθənanąm iδa ahūm kāraiieiti*

Y.19.14 (1) *yaṯ dim damabiiō cinasti mazdā[i] iθa təm yaṯ ahmāi dāmąn,*
(2) *xšaθrəm ahurāi cinasti, taṯ mazda tauua xšaθrəm,*
(3) *drigubiiō vāstārəm cinasti, yaθa5 uruuaθəm spitamāi,*
(4) *paṇca ṯkaēša, vīspem vacō frauuākəm haurum vacō ahurahe mazdå*

As their translation will show, each sentence of *Y.19.12-14* boasts the effect of the initial utterance of a component of the hymn, supposedly by Ahura Mazdā. Of these elements, only *yaθa*, which is the very first word of the hymn, is repeated five times. *yaθa* appears therein in its own capacity and on behalf of the whole hymn. To clarify the matter, the author of *Y.19* cleverly insinuates—in the last sentence of *Y.19.14*—that this number five corresponds to the five times that the hymn was recited at the dawn of creation by Ahura Mazdā himself. If Ahura Mazdā recited it five times then the initiate and believer should do the same. He is implicitly inviting them to whisper this hymn five times a day on the occasion of the Zoroastrian daily prayer, the *nemāz*. Having praised the merits of the hymn in the earlier stanzas, he now justifies the five time recitals as a standard set by Ahura Mazdā himself. In between, however, he interjects his hidden agenda in the very first line of *Y.19.12*.

There has been much confusion about the meaning of the first two lines of this stanza, and Kellens' recent translation complicates matters even further:

> Y19.12 "(Le vers qui commence par) *yaθa* a proclamé que (les créations) le faisaient seigneur (*ahu*) et maitre (*ratu*). Ainsi ce vers pose en doctrine que lui, Ahura Mazdā, est préalable aux créations dont la (Bonne) Pensée est la première, comme (Y45.6a) pose en doctrine qu'il est le plus grand de tous…".[22]

[22] Kellens 2010b, 42. Kellens introduces an unwarranted artifice by which the devotee must suddenly jump in the midst of reciting *Y.19.12* to a sentence pertaining to another Yasna, namely *Y45.6*a. One can hardly find any rational for the introduction of such an artifice.

Not only his translation is awkward, but one wonders about the merits of introducing—unjustifiably—the created (*les créations*) in order to call Ahura Mazdā a mere *ratu,* a generic term that in *Y.19.15* is applied to the head of families, clan or tribe. For Ahmadi, the subject of *ādadaṯ* must be the Amesha Sepentas since he believes that "according to *Y.19*.8, at the first utterance of the *Ahuna Vairya* they alone exist[ed]."[23] In truth, the subject of *ādadaṯ* (to create, to give) is neither *les créations* nor the Amesha Sepentas, but the *words* of the hymn. These words were imbued with power and gave to Ahura Mazdā the *ahu* and *ratu*, whose necessity is explained by the second line. Whereas the aforementioned authors consider these two lines as two separate sentences, the *iθa* (i.e., "so that") therein is to link the two together, and explain the reason for the appearance of the *ahu* and *ratu*: They were appointed in order to teach the virtues of knowing Ahura Mazdā. The *ahu* (lord) and *ratu* (master, leader) therefore represent, for the author of *Y.19*, the cast of Zoroastrian priesthood, which encompassed Zoroaster himself. They were needed at the very beginning and the *Ahuna Vairya* brought them into being. It's self-promotion through a clever artifice. If you break the sentence in two, as in the case of *Y.58.1*, you lose the purpose of the verse.

The question then is: Who were they to teach? Thanks to the analysis provided by Ahmadi, it is now clear that the addressees were a "sub-set" of the created, those who were foremost thinkers (*manas.paoiriia-*).[24] It implicitly chastises those who did not accept the teachings of the priesthood, and labels them in effect as those-who-could-not-think! Only good thinkers were worthy of teaching.

While this first sentence is astutely organized and pertains to the first utterance of the hymn, the rest follows the literary technique of ascribing a meaning to the components of the hymn without a precise purpose. By exploring the possible meanings of each of its components, the author develops a fictional creation process in which he projects what Ahura Mazdā had created, and what existed beforehand, in order to bring relevancy to the teachings of the priesthood. As other examples of this literary format show, not all of the supposed explanations can be coherent or meaningful.

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[23] Ahmadi's translation of the first two lines of *Y.19.12*: "(the word) *yaθā* he (i.e., Mazdā) pronounced as they (i.e., the Aməša Spəṇtas) made him the *ahu* and the *ratu*. In the same way one appoints him, Ahura Mazdā, for the creations whose first existence is mental"; Ahmadi 2013, 873.

[24] For Ahmadi *manas.paoiriia- dāman-* would be the 'c*r*eature for whom the mind is the first (existence); Ahmadi 2013, 867-68.. I have preferred to substitute a more simple translation "those who are primarily thinkers" because the author is trying to define interlocutors for the priesthood who are basically the great thinkers of society.

Translations of Y.19.12-14:

Y19.12 (1) When "*yaϑa₁*" was so forth uttered, it gave him (i.e. Ahura Mazdā) *ahu* and *ratu* so that they could teach who Ahura Mazdā was, to those of the created who are the foremost thinkers;[25] (2) "*yaθa₂*" teaches that he (i.e., Ahura Mazdā) is the greatest; (3) "*aθa*" teaches that creation is his.

Y19.13 (1) "*yaθa₃*" (teaches that) Mazdā (provides) good life, (2) as "*vaŋhāuš*" (provides) the undertone for the third incantation (*ṯkaēša*).[26] (3) "*dazda manaŋhō*" teaches that before this, Good Thought existed.[27] (4) "*yaθa₄*" (teaches) the characteristics of Good Thought, (5) and "*manaŋhō*" much cultivates them (*kāraeiiti*). (6) "*šiiaoθənanąm*" ploughs the ground for the Lord (i.e., prepares the ground for Zarathushtra).[28]

Y19.14 (1) (As to) teaching "what he created," "*mazdaī*" infers that all creation was his. (2) "*xšaθrəm ahurāi*" teaches (to say): O Mazdā, power is yours. (3) "*drigubiiō vāstārəm*" teaches that "*yaθa₅*"[29] is a friend of Spitama.[30] (4) This incantation (*ṯkaēša*) was uttered five times in its entirety, all words of which were by ahura Mazdā.

3.4. Yasna 19 - Part 4

In this rather isolated stanza, the *Ahuna Vairya* is presented as an instrument that Ahura Mazdā had created to fight Evil.

Y19.15 As Ahura Mazdā, who is the greatest, recited the *Ahuna Vairya*, he fully cultivated it for greatest (future effect), as the evil one appeared, and He (Ahura Mazdā) told the wicked one: Neither our minds are in harmony, nor our precepts, nor our comprehensions, nor our beliefs, nor our words, nor our deeds, nor our consciences, nor our souls.

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[25] Although I argue in the text that the subject of *ādadaṯ* are the words (plural) of the hymn, in translation I use "it" in accordance with the single word *yaϑa₁*, as representative of all the words of the hymn.

[26] The incantation of the hymn is referred to as *ṯkaēša,* which Kellens translates as "doctrine" (Kellens 2010b: 38). Cheung favors "teaching," but because he argues that NP *keš* (religion) is derived from it, we may consider it to have religious content; Cheung 2007: 30. Since it is religious, and recited, it is a religious utterance; it is also chanted, and as such "incantation" may be a more appropriate translation. In the context of *Y.19*, however, it is more than a mere utterance or incantation: it is a religious manifesto.

[27] Because *dazda manaŋhō* means "giver of the Thought," the author uses it, as a whole, to deduce that Thought existed before the utterance of the hymn. It goes back to the very notion of the complex nature of Thought as imbedded in *Yasna* 30.3, so lucidly explained by Ilya Gershevitch as the twin-egg that justified "good" against the foil of evil. (Gershevitch 1995: 6 & 16-19). It is these two opposing aspects of Thought that are brought up again in *Y.19.15*.

[28] Because *šiiaoθənanąm* is about "doing deeds," it establishes Ahura Mazdā's deeds as examples to be followed, by the "Lord." The Lord here does not refer back to Ahura Mazda because he created the *ahu* (Lord). It can only refer to Zarathushtra who will be the chief-created to transmit Ahura Mazda's messages as teachings.

[29] This *yaθa* refers to the *Ahuna Vairya* hymn in its fifth recitation.

[30] The relevance of *drigubiiō vāstārəm* is that it invokes protection, and the author seizes upon that to say that the *Ahuna Vairya* acts as a protector for the one who recites it since it was a friend/companion to Zoroaster. It thus emphasizes the protection power of the hymn.

3.5. Yasna 19 - Part 5

In this part, the author is stratifying the merits of the hymn by categorizing them in an escalading order. He suggests that the hymn initiates a world order predicated on three concepts (presented as mottos), four vocations and five positions of leadership. The stratification follows a mathematical order to give it a logical tint, but I believe the main purpose of the process was to arrive to the last station, the fifth and highest rank among men, in which is placed Zarathustra. It was therefore created to induce an exalted position for Zarathustra. If Zarathustra's position was elevated, so would be that of the Zoroastrian priesthood.

But once the stratification was initiated, the literary format required the further explaining of each category (it is done from the end of 19.16 through 19.18).

> *Y19.16*. And this saying (i.e. hymn), uttered by Mazda, offered the gifts (*rāiti.haṇkaraθəm*) of three mottos, four vocations,[31] and five leaders (*ratu*).
>
> (Q): What are the mottos? (A) : (They are) good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.
>
> *Y19.17*. (Q) Which are these vocations ? (A) (Those of) the fire-priest (*aθrauua*), the army commander (*raθaēsta*),[32] the farmer cattle-breeder, and the artisan. Good ones, among them all, will assist the brave Righteous with their right thoughts, right words, and right deeds. (These are) conscientious mortal guides/masters whose actions push the living creatures toward Righteousness.[33]
>
> *Y19.18*. (Q) who are the leaders? (A.) They are the house-chief, the village-chief, the tribe-chief, the nation-chief, and Zarathushtra is the fifth; except for the nation in which Zarathushtra reigns. Zarathushtra's Raga has four chiefs (only). (Q) Who are the chiefs there? (A) (They are) the house-chief, the village-chief, the tribe-chief, and Zarathushtra is the fourth.
>
> *Y19.19*. (Q) what is good thought? (A) (it is that of) the Righteous man who is a foremost thinker. (Q) What is the well-spoken word? (A) (it is the) Mathra Spenta (i.e., Holy Words).[34] (Q) What is the deed well done? (A) It is the one (considered) praiseworthy by the created-ones who are the foremost righteous.[35]

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[31] Dustkhāh is right to equate *pištrəm* with MP *pishag*, NP *pisheh* (vocation), Dustkhāh 2002:176.
[32] *raθaēsta* means literally: the one who stands on the chariot.
[33] *Y.19.17 kâiš pištrāiš, āθrauua raθaēštå vāstriiô fšuiiãs hûitiš vîspaiiaeirina hacimna naire ašaone arš.manaŋha arš.vacaŋha arš.šiiaoθna, ratuš.mərəta daēnō-sāca ýeŋhe šiiaoθnāiš gaēθå aša frādəṇte*.
[34] The answer here is not unlike the answers in d, f, h of the *qalandarnāmeh*, where they invoked mantras or Koranic quotations rather than provide explanatory sentences.
[35] *Y.19.19* (a) *kaṯ humatəm aṣauuanəm manas.paoiriiō*, (b) *kaṯ hūxtəm mąθrō spəntō*, (c) *kaṯ huuarštəm staotāiš aṣa.paoiriiāišca dāmābīš*

> *Y19.20*. Mazdā said; to whom did he say? (A) To the Righteous, whether spiritual or earthly (i.e. all of the *ashavān*s). (Q) What did he convey to the Righteous in his proclamation? A: Excellence in leadership. (Q) What is excellence for the Righteous?[36] A: (it is) Leadership without selfishness.[37]
>
> *Y19.21*. We praise the godly *AhunaVairya*.[38] We praise the recital of the *Ahuna Vairya* in undertone, in regular chant, and in full prayer.

As we can see, *Y.19.19* is the formal expansion of 19.16, since it provides explanations for the three mottos therein. But this expansion process also provides the means to bring out the topic of the *ashavans* (the Righteous), as a stepping stone for his next topic. Indeed, under the guise of defining the ideal *ashavan,* the author then uses yet another graduated pattern in Y.19.20, to couch a warning to the priesthood's main rivals, i.e., worldly rulers. To do so, he moves step by step from the *ashavan*s as interlocutors of Ahura Mazdā; to the need for excellence if they want to achieve a position of leadership; to a worldly advice: that excellence in leadership must be without selfishness. Through these words of wisdom, the author is warning against authoritarianism, but also casting the Zoroastrian priesthood as moral judges over god-fearing rulers.

Although *Yasna 19* might appear as an exegesis of the *Ahuna Vairya*, a closer look reveals a priestly attempt to encourage the Zoroastrian believers into prayer recitation, while peppering it with subtle hints about the special role of priesthood. The author proceeds step by step, with each step preparing the ground for the next statement. It's carefully constructed, but hollow nevertheless, because it is primarily an exercise in sophistry with sentences devoid of true meaning, and an escalating tempo with a cabalistic tint, which was supposed to dazzle the initiate. More importantly, it was a propaganda tool for the glory of the Zoroastrian priesthood.

4. The Personification of Fire in the *Avesta*

In trying to establish the primordial nature of the *Ahuna Vairya*, *Y.19*.2 enumerates a string of basic elements of the corporeal world that were created after the first utterance of this hymn by Ahura Mazdā. While all of these elements—such as sky, water, earth, etc—are defined by a single word, "fire" stands out because of an extra label that qualifies it as the *son of Ahura Mazdā.* It's a slogan that was part of the propaganda scheme that Zoroastrian priests elaborated to assure the supremacy of their religion. To expand its appeal, they had to integrate all other religious and

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[36] The author of *Y.19* clearly considers the Righteous people as leaders.

[37] *Y.19*.20. (a) *mazdå frāmraoṯ*, (b) *cīm frāmraoṯ ?aṣauuanəm mainiiaomca gaēθīmca*, (c) *cuuąs frāmraoṯ frauuākəm ? vahištō xšaiiamnō*, (d) *cuuaṇtəm aṣauuanəm vahištəmca ? auuasō.xšaθrəmca*.

[38] In translating *baγam ahunahe variia* as "la version analysée de l'*Ahuna Variia*" Kellens seems to believe that the interlocutors of *Y.19* are philology apprentices who absolutely need a technical adjective to qualify the hymn! If the whole of this *yasna* is about glorifying the *Ahuna Vairya,* one should normally expect a laudatory adjective instead of a technical one. Since the hymn emanated from Ahura Mazdā, *baγam* simply means godly or god gifted.

sacrificial activities into the Mazdean fold. Their supreme god, Ahura Mazdā, was a late comer to the Iranian pantheon and they had to devise ways to impose him on the general population.

As I have explained in a previous study, the process began under the Achaemenid Darius I (r. 522-486 BC), who had promoted a monotheistic ideology and needed to claim the Aryan *khvarenah*, the ultimate source of kingly power. As the *khvarenah* had been previously associated with Mithra and Apam Napāt, he had to dissociate it from them, and link it to Ahura Mazdā. His inscriptions as well as the iconography of his palaces show that, to address the first concern he opted to emphasize *ciça/chithra* as the manifestation of *khvarenah*. And to link it to Ahura Mazdā, he found an easy solution: He insinuated that the *khvarenah*, or rather its *chithra*, was Mazdā created.[39] Whether Darius was the source of this inspiration or Zoroastrian priests devised it on their own, it is a fact that in the Later *Avesta,* the *khvarenah* is systematically labeled "Mazdā-created." It was an unprecedented propaganda aimed at driving an unfamiliar concept into the heads of their constituents. Like Mao's Cultural Revolution, propagandistic slogans had to be repeated ad nauseam, and the little Red Book constantly brandished. Concurrently, the Aryan *khvarenah*, the ultimate power source of leadership, was given to Zarathushtra while creating a new source, the Kayanid *khvarenah*, for kings. Such a baseless propaganda was bound to lead to contradictory and illogical situations. In *Yt.s* 13.4, 13.9 and 13.12, the Creator Ahurā Mazdā is in need of his own created (!); and in *Yt.s* 5:42 & 19:57, the Turānian Afrāsiyāb (Frangrasyan), who recognizes Zarathushtra as the possessor of the Aryan *khvarenah*, actually belongs to the myth of Jamshid that the Prophet himself alludes to in his Gāthās (*Y.32.8*), and who was the first man that Ahura Mazdā spoke to, even before Zarathushtra (*Vend.2.2*).[40] As for the general population, while they may have paid lip service to such a propaganda, they never abandoned the original concepts, as the example of the fire tower that the Sasanian Ardashir (r. 224-42) built to his own glory fully demonstrates: People referred to this very symbol of Ardashir's *khvarenah*, as both the Aryan *khvarenah* and Kayanid *khvarenah,* because for them it was one and the same.[41]

By the same token, the creation of water that had been the very symbol of Apam Napāt was appropriated for Ahura Mazdā, and usually accompanied with a "Mazdā-created" epithet.[42] The earth too was often labeled as "Mazdā-created" (e.g., *Yt.13.9*). Thus, two sets of questions come to mind concerning the elements enumerated in *Y.19.2*. First, why have water and earth lost their epithet in here? The answer to this question is straightforward: All the elements in *Y.19*.2 are presented as Ahura Mazdā's primordial creation, and therefore a "Mazdā-created" label in front of each would have been redundant in this context. But fire's label as "son of Ahurā Mazdā" did not create any redundancy, and was therefore not scratched. The more pertinent question, however, is: Why was fire's epithet different than the one for water and earth? That I believe pertains to the

[39] Soudavar 2010,119-25.
[40] For more on these contradictions, see Soudavar 2010, 122-23.
[41] Soudavar 2012, 14-16.
[42] Soudavar 201, 137 n. 26.

special status that fire had in all Iranian sacrificial rituals: It was a conduit for communications with the gods. Through the sacrifice before the fire, one's wishes were conveyed to the gods, and through the *khvarenah* that was imbedded in the fire, gods empowered mortals who stood next to fires. It was thus not a natural element left at the disposal of mortals that could be simply labeled as "Mazdā-created," but an extension of god's reach over the universe, which required a different epithet. The "son of Mazdā" epithet linked fire to Ahura Mazdā in a permanent and active fashion. The artifice is not unlike the adoption of the "Son of God" qualification for Jesus Christ prior to the Council of Nicaea; it elevated his status from a mere mortal to one who was in effect from the family of gods with a mission on earth. He was a conduit of heavenly precepts on earth, and at the same time the savior of man through his interventions on his behalf.

Fig. 411 - Coin of Ohrmazd II (rev.) (Private collection)

By the adoption of the "Son of Ahura Mazdā" epithet though, fire became personified and that is why on a number of Sasanian coin issues (Fig. 411), a bust is situated in the midst of the flames of the fire altar. It represents Fire, Son of Ahura Mazdā.

5. The *Khrafstar*-ish Priests

In both *Y.19*.2 and 19.4, the creation of Righteous men is juxtaposed with the *daēuuāišca xrafstrāiš maŝiiāišca* that Kellens translates as "*les démons infectes et leurs hommes-liges*," and I translated as the "*khrafstar*-ish devils and their men (i.e., followers)."[43] A simple translation is not good enough. One must try to explain who are meant by such a characterization. The *khrafstar* therein needs clarification, because it's not a vague adjective but a very specific term that applies to noxious animals, mainly the snake and the scorpion. Its correct translation is not a matter of guessing but understanding the historic context by which these animals were labeled as such, as well as their relationship with *daevas*. For as C.F. Oldham explains, the labeling of Indian kings or dynasties as *ahi* (i.e. serpent) must have been the result of the hostility of the local tribes against invaders.[44] We know of one such a king in the Iranian context: The last of the Medians, Astyages, who was nicknamed Azhi-Dahāga, probably for the sin of running Zarathushtra off his dominions.[45] As Martin Schwartz has argued, Azhi-Dahāga was actually understood as "snake-man."[46] In the *Shāhnāmeh* for instance, Zahhāk (alias Azhi-Dahāga), the king with two snakes on his shoulders, is considered to be a serpent himself (*azhdahā* اژدها), and his progeny is called Mehr-āb, an obvious reference to his affiliation with Mithra and Apam Napāt (as god of waters,

[43] Initially I had translated it as "devilish *khrafstar*-men and their likes" but then realized that the attack was mainly aimed at enemy priests and their followers.
[44] Oldman 1905, 31-35.
[45] Soudavar 2012, 4-8
[46] Schwartz 2012, 276.

āb).[47] It clearly indicates a possible linkage between snakes and the followers of Mithra and Apam Napāt.

This brings out once again the controversy of Zarathushtra's date and the historical events that led to what Herodotus called Magophonia, or the massacre of the Median magi. The latter was not a fiction of Herodotus's imagination but a phenomenon also reported by Ctesias and Agathias, and reflected in Iranian sources. Its impact is nowhere more felt than in the *Avesta* itself. For as the late Xavier Trembaly had pointed out to me, the *Avesta* is the only Iranian religious text in which the priesthood is not designated by the generic term *magu*. They chose instead an artificial one, *athravan* or fire keeper, which mimicked *pārsā* that designated the cast of Achaemenid fire-priests to whom belonged Darius. *Pārsā* designated the one "close to the fire," and Zarathushtra himself referred to the *pārsā*s as *kāvis*.[48] The only valid explanation for such an anomaly is the Magophonia. If the magi were massacred and reviled, the Zoroastrian priesthood had to adopt another term for themselves. The fact that on the tombs of Darius, and his progenies, it's the king who stands bow in hand next to the fire altar clearly shows that the *pārsā*s were in control, and the Zoroastrian priesthood held at best a secondary position. While Darius' progenies ruled and continued to boast the "Pārsā son of Pārsā" title, no Zoroastrian priest would have dared to claim the ownership of the fire and call himself an *athravan*. This was an invented and artificial term, which usurped the *pārsā* role of the Achaemenids. The very proof of its artificiality lies in the fact that it was discarded later on, as Zoroastrian priests were once again called *magu* in the Sasanian era. It was all part of a campaign to shift the balance of power from kingship to priesthood, which could only occur after the fall of the Achaemenids.

The Magophonia was essentially the eruption of a long-simmering animosity between the *pārsā*s (who revered Ahura Mazdā) and the Median magi (who believed in the supremacy of Mithra and Apam Napāt). A vivid expression of this animosity is displayed on the door jambs of Persepolis, where Darius is killing with a dagger a chimera monster with a scorpion tail. The scorpion and snake were of course ever present in tauroctony scenes (Fig. 412).[49] But their association with Mithra goes beyond that, as we have a number of objects in which Mithra is represented in the so called "master of the animal" mode, holding lion-serpents in his two hands (Fig. 413). What's more, in a forthcoming publication on Mithraic Societies, I demonstrate how a number of Sasanian seals with scorpions or snake emblems belonged to the hierarchy of Mithraic Societies in the Iranian context. Therefore, from Astyages who was labeled as the snake-man, to Roman Mithraic scenes, to the scorpions of Sasanian Mithraic seals, we have a clear association of the *khrafstar*s with those perceived as enemies and rivals of Zoroastrians, i.e., those who revered Mithra.

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[47] See note 637 supra.
[48] Soudavar 2012, 27.
[49] See Soudavar 2012, 9-14.

Fig. 412 – Details of tauroctony scene
British Museum

Fig. 413 – Bronze object. Mithra holding two lion-serpents.
Archeological Museum, Istanbul

The question then is: Could this Mithra be labeled *daiva*? Citing a number of previous studies, Clarisse Herrenschmidt and Jean Kellens conclude that in the Gathas, the *daiva*s had not as yet "become demons" but constituted a category of "genuine gods" who had been "rejected." This, they argue could be the basis of an abrupt or gradual change in belief for the Iranians, except "for the fact that no known Iranian dialect attests clearly and certainly the survival of a positive sense for **daiva-*." Four possible such cases are presented and quickly rejected for not being conclusive. The most important one is the onomastic evidence. They remark that names with a *div/daiva* component only pertain to Sogdiana, where they insinuate Buddhism might have been at play.[50] This is simply not true. Titles and names of the rulers of Māzandarān and Gilān, clearly vouch for a strong survival of non-Zoroastrian beliefs in Iran proper. Chronicles of the Mongol and Safavid era, often name provincial rulers of the Gilān area with epithets such as *amirag, merak* and *sa`luk*, which, as I shall argue in my forthcoming book, link back to Mithraic Societies and its avatars. More pertinent to our study, though, are names such as Mohammad-e Div and Shams-od-din-e Div who were local rulers of Māzandarān and Gilān.[51] Furthermore, the Safavid chronicler Eskandar Beyk relates that a certain Mirak-e Div, who was from the "cast of the Divs of Māzandarān," was appointed deputy governor to a prince.[52] For Eskandar Beyk, not only these rulers were part of a cast surnamed "The Divs," but they belonged to Māzandarān, the very region that the *Shāhnāmeh* says to have been ruled by *divs*. While these rulers proudly assumed the name Div, others associated the word *div* with demoniac creatures. And throughout the ages, the projection of the *div* (e.g., Fig. 414) remained very similar to one of the chimera monsters that Darius was killing in Persepolis (Fig. 415). In all likelihood the "Mazandari *daiva*s" expression, used for instance in *Yt.5.22*, and *Yt.17.25,* reflected a demonization of that Supreme Mithra and its followers. Interestingly, both of the chimera monsters that Darius is killing in Persepolis—the horned one of Fig. 415, and the griffin on the opposite side—have an earlier prototype in the gold pectorals from Ziwiyeh of circa 8-7th century BC. While the horned chimera of Ziwiyeh has a

[50] Herrenschmidt & Kellens 1993.
[51] Khorshāh 2000, 227; Qomi 1980, II:690-702
[52] See note 603 supra.

scorpion tail (Fig. 416), as in Persepolis, the griffin of Ziwiyeh has a solar emblem on its hindquarters (Fig. 417).[53] It clearly classifies both as guardians of a solar and Mithraic pantheon.

Fig. 414 - Divs from the Tahmasb *Shahnameh*. MMA

Fig. 415 - Darius killing a chimera monster[54]

Fig. 416 - Ziwiyeh pectoral (det.). MMA

Fig. 417 - Detail of Ziwiyeh pectoral. Tehran Museum[55]

The event that gave a negative connotation to a certain number of Iranian deities and at the same demonized their followers was not initiated by Zoroaster, for as we saw, in the Gathas they are still respectable entities. Such a major upheaval necessitated a cataclysmic event. It can only be the Magophonia that pitted the *pārsā*s against the Mithraic magi. In the process, the Zoroastrian priesthood sided with the *pārsā*s for two reasons: 1) They shared the same veneration for Ahura Mazdā, and 2) their Prophet, and perhaps family members of his, had been chased and persecuted by the same Mithraic magi.[56] In revenge, not only the magi were massacred when Darius and his co-conspirators killed the usurper Gaumata, but that event was celebrated as a yearly festival during which no magus could venture outside and all of them had to stay home the entire day (Herodotus III:79). It clearly shows a continued process of witch hunting by which the enemy was

[53] This solar emblem mostly adorns lion effigies, from those found on the Kalmākareh grotto objects, all the way to 20th century Bakhtiyāri tombstones.
[54] From Curtis & Tallis, 2005, 82.
[55] From Godard 1950, 26.
[56] Soudavar 2012, 22.

constantly vilified, and demonized. The reason for such a continued display of animosity was that the *parsā*s and the Zoroastrians were in minority, and Mithra continued to command the respect of most of the population, to the extent that at the end, a sanitized version of Mithra was integrated into the Zoroastrian pantheon—a pantheon that the monotheistic Zarathushtra would have certainly disapproved of. While this sanitized Mithra may have provided the means to woo a good portion of the population, there was certainly a sizeable portion that did not accept the subordination of Mithra to Ahura Mazdā. The duel and skirmishes between the two factions must have endured for a long time, for as I mentioned before, the scorpion that Zoroastrians abhorred still adorned many Sasanian seals.

Combining *daiva* with *khrafstar* was thus the very natural outcome of the vilification process against those who were perceived as holding a doctrine that posed a major threat to Zoroatrianism. That is, those for whom Mithra remained the ultimate *baγa*—as he still was in the calendar that Darius himself had used.[57] Because the followers of this supreme *daiva* were vilified, so was eventually the word *daiva* itself, which Xerxes himself had used in a negative way in *XPh*, against a region that had strong reserves in accepting the supremacy of Ahura Mazdā, most probably the Māzandarān.

The *daēuuāišca xrafstrāiš* must therefore refer to priests who cherished scorpions or snakes, and are therefore branded as *khrafstar*-ish devils. They should be simply referred to as snake-priests or scorpion-priests. The term can apply to the Ahrimanic figure—with a snake-wrapped head—who is trampled by Ahura Mazdā's horse in Ardashir I's rock relief of Naqsh-e Rostam, as well as the serpent wrapped Arimanius of Roman Mithraism.[58]

6. A Problem of Methodology

I cannot criticize neither Jean Kellens, nor any other Avestologist, for not being familiar with the *qalandar-nāmeh* genre, which would have perhaps facilitated the comprehension of Yasna 19. What I must criticize, however, is the contradictions that are apparent in his translations, some of which were pointed out by Ahmadi, and others that I have referenced in this study. But more importantly, I must criticize his cavalier attitude to break rules and change meanings wherever it suits him. Kellens rightly remarks that the author of *Y.19* "takes the liberty to make the texts say things that he wishes them to say."[59] But so does Kellens himself in his translation of *Y.19*.

In *Y.19*.12(1), he postulates that Ahura Mazdā's own creations called him a mere master (*ratu*). But then takes the liberty to change *ratu*'s meaning in 19.16 to a totally unexplained "mots clés,"

[57] Duchesne-Guillemin 1974, 17 ; Soudavar 2010, 114.
[58] See for instance Turcan 2000, 62-67, pls. 9 and 10b.
[59] Kellens 2010b, 40.

to produce a recitation stratification for a supposed offering ritual, rather than a worldly structure that the proclamation of the *Ahuna Vairya* provided as a gift to mankind.[60]

For the same *Y.19*.12(1), he argues that the adverbial *para* affects not the time sequence of the verb immediately after it (i.e., *cinasti*), but creates an order of things way beyond. He then arbitrarily moves the effect of *para* (i.e. "prior, before") further down, to state that Ahura Mazdā was *prior* to "créations" (supposedly *dāmabiiō*). It's stating the obvious through an arbitrary artifice.[61]

(normally)

iθa dim para cinasti yim ahurəm mazdąm manas.paoiriiaēibiiō dāmabiiō

(Kellens)

And because of a dogmatic belief in the non-existence of Zarathushtra he posits that "the editors of the Ancient *Avesta* were *indifferent* to the historic Zarathushtra, or didn't know him."[62] To the contrary, next to Ahura Mazdā, the most important witness that *Y.19*'s author invokes for his propositions, is Zarathushtra. He is a pivotal actor not only for *Y.19*, but for whatever the priesthood invented. To say that they were indifferent to Zarathushtra, or didn't know him, is like saying that Jesus Christ was a non-entity for Christianity! Moreover, like in Christianity, which tried to place the Pope above kingship, in *Y.19*.16 Zarathushtra is placed at the highest echelon of temporal hierarchy, above kings and other rulers. It was by no means an isolated effort, but paralleled the—previously mentioned—attempt to make Zarathushtra the possessor of the Aryan *khvarenah*. They both had the same effect and made the Prophet more powerful than kings. Aggrandizing Zarathushtra was in fact a constant preoccupation of priesthood, which Kellens cannot—or doesn't want to—see it as he reshuffles *Y.19*.16 into a meaningless sacrificial procedure. The crux of the matter is that placing Zarathushtra above kings defines a post-Achaemenid context. Nobody would have dared to proclaim this under the Great Kings, and no Achaemenid imagery shows a Zoroastrian priest. One cannot simply sweep this evidence under the rug because of a dogmatic view on the era of Zarathushtra.

Kellens faults Antonio Panaino for believing that the Gathic teachings are based on a "monotheistic faith and inner religiosity that is emphatically anti-ritualistic and anti-sacrificial." He proclaims that it is in fact a "negation of existing evidence."[63] I wonder which evidence. For the most superficial reading of the Gathas reveals that it's about the lamentation of a pure hearted

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[60] "Le texte qu'(Ahura) Mazdā a prononcé dispense une organisation parfaite de l'offrande an trois vers, quatre figures de style, et cinq mots clés"; Kellens 2010b : 47. For yet another extrapolation of *ratu* by Kellens see Appendix IV.

[61] See for instance *Y.19*.2 for the repeated use of *para* as "before."

[62] Kellens 2010b, 74.

[63] Kellens 2010b, 70.

man with his beloved Creator. It is a text imbued with gnostic and monotheistic fervor that displays "spiritual esoterism" down to its inner core;[64] and is fundamentally at odds with the pantheon that the Zoroastrian priesthood later erected for their religion. One cannot judge the Gathas by later propaganda that only paid lip-service to the Prophet's vision.

7. The "258" Dating

The dogmatic belief in an old or inconsequential Zarathushtra, prompts Kellens to deride the "258" on every occasion without giving a plausible argument. Sensing that the monotheistic vision of the Gathas could not have been developed early on, he wonders at the very end of his analysis whether "it did not reflect a more recent religiosity," close to the "258 years before Alexander?"[65] The purpose of his question is nothing but one extra gratuitous stab at an argument that he cannot refute otherwise.

The problem with 258-negationists, in general, is that they have never bothered to read or understand its development, from the very thorough calendar analysis of Taqizādeh to all the supportive material and analysis advanced by Gershevitch and Gnoli. What I have heard them say—and I have heard many—is that "we don't believe in it," or "it's a Sasanian forgery." They don't believe in it, because it's contrary to their dogmatic belief in the antiquity of the *Avesta,* even though they have never been able to prove it. They freely jump from a circa 1200 BC, to 1000 BC or 800 BC date for Zarathushtra, without methodology and without ever presenting a shred of evidence to that effect. As for the forgery argument, it's the best refuge for scholars who cannot understand or decipher a phenomenon.[66] But one cannot claim forgery without explaining a beneficial motive. For the Sasanians, the 258 dating forced them to restate past history by cutting 266 years of Arsacid history. Rather than having a benefit it brought ridicule, and that is not a good motive.

Helmut Humbach's opinion in this respect is quite revealing. He states:

> "All transmitted dates for Zoroaster's life are speculative, obviously ranging the prophet in a religious history of salvation. The traditional date of 300 years before Alexander's invasion is transmitted in several variants, all of which are of the same type as Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī's 258 years before Alexander's invasion, which was taken by Walter B. Henning (p. 41) as a precise and reliable date but which is just derived by deducing the traditional 42 years of Zoroaster's age at Vištāspa's conversion from the round number of 300 years. In the view of the present author the only date of some historical plausibility is that of Xanthos the Lydian, a contemporary of Herodotus, according to whom Zoroaster lived 600 years (*lectio facilior* 6000 years) before Xerxes's expedition against Greece."[67]

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[64] Humbach 2000.
[65] Kellens 2010b, 74.
[66] See Soudavar 2012, 25-27.
[67] Humbach 2000.

Firstly, the multitude of sources stating the 258 are all bundled up into one category because they are thought to be variants of the same type, and then dismissed en bloc. In terms of logic, my understanding is that multiplicity is an argument for higher probability and not the other way around. Moreover, these supposed variants of the same come from independent sources, because they are related by authors from different geographical areas, different centuries and different traditions: Mas`udi (9th century SE Iran), Biruni (10th century NE Iran), *Bundahishn*. These are sources that directly give us the 258 time period from "the coming of the religion," i.e., when it was revealed to the prophet, until Alexander. And it is not repeated as just a figure but given as a time bracket in which regnal years are fitted. In addition, it concords with other type of information provided by these sources: Mas`udi for instance states that the father of Vishtāspa was the contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar, which clearly situates Vishtāspa in 6th century BC.[68] And Bar Hebraeus affirms that Zarathushtra, "who had predicted" the appearance of Jesus as the Messiah, was the contemporary of early Achaemenids.[69] Second, the claim that 42 (as Zarathushtra's age when Vishtāspa was converted) is the pivotal number, and that 258 is a derivative because it is the result of the subtraction from the "round number" 300, is to turn the available information on its head. Because, the basic information that appears in the sources is 258, both as a number and as a bracket, while 42 does not appear systematically, and when available it is through calculation, and therefore cannot be labeled as "traditional."[70] In any case, Humbach's main objection is the "roundness" of the number 300, which makes it invalid or at best suspicious. The problem is that for him, roundness is suspicious only when it concerns an Iranian source, because if a Greek source mentions the astronomical number of 6000 years it is based on truth and must be corrected, *lectio facilior* oblige. Therefore, the right number is 600. That 600 is a round number is inconsequential for him because it preserves the dogma. A Greek number, adjusted by a Latin dictum, is enough to validate the dogma and discard the multitude of 258 evidence![71]

The belief in an ancient Zarathushtra is a dogmatic choice that the 258-negationists have made, the byproduct of which are uninspired translations of the type I have criticized in this study.

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[68] Mas'ūdi 1962, I: 202.

[69] Bar Hebraeus 1947: 31. The story is used to justify the appearance of the three magi as following a brilliant star predicted by Zarathushtra. He could have placed the Prophet anywhere in time for his story; the more ancient he was, the more was powerful would have been his prediction. Nevertheless, he placed him in the Achaemenid time bracket.

[70] *Dk 7.5.1* for instance gives the age of Zarathushtra as 77 at death, and 35 years after Vishtāspa accepted the religion, which by inference gives the Prophet's age as 42 at this moment. The same number in the Zadspram is presented in an even more convoluted way (24.5): 2 years after the conversion of a certain Medyomāh, which itself occurred 10 years after the Revelation, Zarathushtra submitted to a test before Vishtāspa, at the end of which, the latter accepted the Prophet's religion. These 12 years must now be added to Zoroaster's age at revelation (30) obtained from another section to get 42. The number 42, therefore, constitutes by no means a pivotal element to build the rest on it.
For reasons as to why we have the 300 years figure, see Gnoli 2000, 138-39.

[71] For detailed arguments refuting the validity of the 6000 years dating, and its irrelevance to the correct dating of Zarathushtra's era, see Gnoli 2000, 43-79.

8. Conclusion

I am neither an Avestologist nor a philologist, but the translations of the few passages that I have delved into, are truly disappointing. If these are symptomatic of the rest of the corpus, then the field is seriously in need of revaluation. Three problems come to mind. The first is a lack of interest in later Persian literature, especially in the structuring of sentences and literary formats. Second, the lack of understanding for the general subject and purpose of texts. These are texts prepared by a priesthood who are preaching with an agenda. One must perceive the agenda in order to comprehend the text. Third, the development of the corpus that was added to the Gathas, stem from political aspirations that can only be understood if the ideological position of the main actors is determined. As long as the dogmatic belief in an old date for Zarathushtra prevails, the historic dimension and the political aspects of the *Avesta,* which are so essential to its comprehension, will not be understood and will lead to unwarranted exegetic speculations.

Equally important is the correct understanding of *chithra* as the essential element of a cosmogony of light that empowers all beings, including deities. In my persistent effort to sway away philologists from meanings such as seed, origin or nature, I had finally persuaded the late, and most erudite, Xavier Tremblay to alter his views. In a review of Avestan terms, he proposed that perhaps my views on *chithra* should be taken into account for future Avestan translations.[72] Those who will persist on ignoring *chithra* as light and/or manifestation of the *khvarenah* will continue, at their own risk and peril, to produce incomprehensible translations.

Finally, I have no hope in changing the dogmatic belief of Avestologists in a circa 1000-BC Zarathushtra, because dogma is neither overturned by logical argument nor by a preponderance of evidence. But my hope is that a younger generation of students will finally emerge from the shadows of their tutors, and will espouse a more open-minded and logical approach.

The above was refused publication by *Studia Iranica* with the following comments:

> Remarks concerning the proposed article « From the *Avesta* to Sufi treatises : a standard literary technique ».
> An eminent Avestologist has been consulted and has given the following opinion :« One cannot translate an Avestan text, however simple (and the *Bagān Yašt* is a sophisticated text), without taking into account the difference between singular and plural, masculine and feminine, noun and adjective, as emerges from footnotes 19-20 and 36 ».
> The second reviewer has checked this opinion concerning note 39, by looking directly into the Avestan passage *Y.19*.21. It is obvious that the author takes *baγąm* as an adjective whereas it is a substantive in the Accusative Singular, and the Genitive case ending of the following words *ahunahe vairiiehe* is ignored. These cumulative mistakes ruin his understanding of the passage. It is obvious also, as early as p. 2, that the author (following the Persian translator Dustkhāh) does

[72] Tremblay 2008: 36. His observations came even before I published Soudavar 2009 in refutation of objections raised by O.P. Skjaervo.

not differentiate between such fundamental theological notions as *aša-* «Arrangement, Order» et *aši-* «Reward, Luck».
In fact he is consistent when he admits deriving his inspiration largely from Persian translations : like the modern Persian language, he ignores gender differences and case inflexions. The basis for his re-translations is purely lexicological (the way he proposes to understand such and such word), or intuitively contextual (« sensing the form and flow of sentences »), but they are never backed by morphological and syntaxical facts *stricto sensu*.
The final sections, about a sacerdotal body of the *Pārsā* supposedly opposed to the Magi and to which the Achaemenid kings would have belonged, or about the rehabilitation of the traditional date of Zoroaster, take up previous published contributions by A. Soudovar and have no obvious logical link with the re-translations proposed for the *Bagān Yašt*.
Any attempt at dealing with Avestan material can never be more than distinguished amateurism, as long as there is no commitment to learning the language methodically; this is now very accessible through Oktor Skjaervø's online teaching or Celine Redards's initiation classes at the EPHE.

The reviewer for the *Iranian Studies* offered the following comments:

This article is not publishable.
First, it is made of disparate themes. It is not clear to me how the last three substantive sections (on the dating of Zoroaster, on the phrase *daēuuāišca xrafstrāiš maṣiiāišca*, and on the idea of fire as the son of Ahura Mazdā) are related to the topic of the article, which is to show how the knowledge of the (later) Sufi literature can shed decisive light on the understanding of obscure Avestan passages and ideas.
Second, the article makes a number of controversial claims without any supportive evidence or argument. Notably: 1) on page 19 the Gāthās are described as a Gnostic text. Gnosticism (as represented, say, in the Nag Hammadi library, or in Marcionism or even Manichaeism) is a specific intellectual tradition. It is usually understood on the most general level as the doctrine of the evilness of the material world. I do not see how the Gāthās can be described in this way. 2) The interpretation of the word *pārsa-* from the Bīstūn Inscriptions as the Achaemenid caste of fire-priests (page 15) is extremely idiosyncratic. The evidence presented in Soudavar 2012, which purports to connect it with the Middle Persian adjective *pārsā*, is not probative. No other scholar as far as I know has taken this view. 3) The phrase *daēuuāišca xrafstrāiš maṣiiāišca* cannot mean 'devilish khrafstar-men' (page 14ff.). Nor does Kellens translate it as 'les infects hommes-liges' (page 14) but as 'les démons infects et leurs hommes-liges' (Kellens 2010, 29). The enclitic particle ^{o}*ca* coordinates two substantive nouns: the *daēvas* and the men, and the adjective *xrafstra-* describes the former. 4) The *daēvas* are certainly not 'respectable entities' (page 17) in the Gāthās, if they are meant by 'a certain number of Iranian deities'. 5) On *x^{v}arənah-* the scholarship is ignored (e.g., Bailey 1971, Hintze 1994, Lubotsky 2002, Oettinger 2009, Kellens 2012). 6) The translation of *ciθra-* as 'light' (in the Later *Avesta*) may be right (I disagree though) but the idea that as the manifestation of the *x^{v}arənah-* it designates the source of all power (including divine) is idiosyncratic (page 3). In Y 58.1, Kellens' translation of the term as 'characteristic' or mark seems right to me and in keeping with the generally accepted 'appearance'.
Third, there are serious problems of method. Contrary to the claim made in the abstract (which is central to the article), the 'Avestan literary format' (by which, it seems, the *frašna-* genre is meant) and the later 'Sufi literature' *cannot* be 'interdependent', obviously. This claim underlies the tendentious analysis of the syntax and ideas of *Y.19* (see below). The question-answer form and the attribution of some kind of potency to sacred or otherwise significant words (e.g., to their

phonetic components) are common phenomena in the ancient world, and in themselves do not show genetic connection. The author brings to his analysis what he purports to demonstrate, namely the priests' attempt at self-aggrandizement through manipulating or playing with words that have a religious valence. In my view, the 'argument' basically assumes the conclusion. Fourth, and most importantly, the translations given of *Y.19* text are unacceptable. There are quite a number of elementary mistakes. *Y.19.12 ādadaṯ* is an imperfect or injunctive plural, and not singular, (page 11: 'it gave'). *dazda manaŋhō* does not mean 'gift of the Thought' (page 11) but, if *dazda* is interpreted as a noun, as the *Y.19* commentator seems to do, it means the 'establisher of thought', a *nomen agentis*. The term *fradaxštar-* cannot mean 'characteristics' (page 11), since it is a *nomen agentis* by virtue of its form and meaning, and moreover used in the singular in *Y.19.13*. The pivot of the interpretation of *Y.19* is the translation of *manas.paoiriia-* as 'who is primarily a thinker', which the author takes to be a self-designation of the priestly caste. The compound is a possessive adjective and it must mean something like 'for whom the mind is the first'. Whether the name of the divinity *vohu- manah-* should be read into it is a different matter. But the meaning the author attaches to it requires the word 'mind' (or 'thinking') to have the sense that it has in, say, Arendt's famous 'life of the mind', i.e., intellectual life. The compound, according to the author, denotes the 'caste of priests'. Now, in no place in the *Avesta* does the word *manah-* mean anything like the word 'mind' does in the 'life of the mind'. In *Y.19*.19 the accusative and nominative cases are confounded. *Y.19.19 staotāiš aṣ̌a.paoiriiāišca dāmə̄bīš* cannot mean '(considered praiseworthy by the created-ones who are primarily righteous' (page 12). Whatever *staota-* and *aṣ̌a.paoiriia- dāman-* may mean, they denote two different entities coordinated by the enclitic particle. The compound adjective *aṣ̌a.paoiriia-* cannot mean 'who are primarily righteous' but something like 'for whom *aṣ̌a* is the first'. *Y.19.20 vahištō xšaiiamnō* cannot mean 'excellence in leadership' (page 12). The two adjectives in the nominative refer to the same (elliptical) noun. There are more mistakes. The author admits he does not have a good knowledge of *Avesta* n, which raises the question why he insists on translating Avestan texts.
The project is not worth pursuing in my mind.

The reviewers are off the mark in their comprehension and in their analysis. But to answer the last reviewer's question: I delve into the *Avesta* to explain what the Avestologists seem incapable of. In the Iranian culture, substance is often sacrificed for form, and if Persian poetry can be of guidance, rules of grammar are often set aside for poetical reasons. Understanding Persian poetry is to guess the metaphors and to understand the context. Same is true for the *Avesta*; to concentrate on grammar alone and forgo the context will inevitably result in the incomprehensible translations that some Avestologists offer. I also think that if the reviewer really believes that "gnostic" cannot be used as an adjective, she needs to notify Encyclopaedia Britannica, as well as Encyclopaedia Iranica and a host of other publications that they have erred in using it.

APPENDIX III

YASNA 29 – THE LAMENT OF THE COW

In a recent analysis of the Yasna 29 (*The Lament of the Cow*), Jean Kellens correctly proposes that the Cow's first interlocutor (*Gāuš Tašan*) is the Sacrificer of the Cow (or his "menuisier" as he calls him, i.e., the one in charge to cut him into pieces).[1] But then, the word *ratu* that he had translated as "maitre" in *Y.19.12*, and "mots-clés" in *Y.19.16*, gets a new twist and is translated as "moment du temps"! As a result, he cannot well define the rest of the Cow's addressees in that hymn. If one looks at *Y.29*'s translation on *Avesta.org*, one finds a very sensible translation, except for the 1st interlocutor who is perceived therein as "Ox-Creator". If we just substitute "sacrificer" for "Ox-creator," we have a perfectly logical text: The Cow laments that, up to then, its sacrifice followed an improper procedure, and wants it to be conducted correctly, under the aegis of a worthy *ratu*. After some back and forth discussions with various interlocutors, Zoroaster is presented as the proper *ratu* (master/guide/presiding official). The Cow is skeptical at first, but embraces Zoroaster after he presents himself as acting on behalf of Ahura Mazdā.

Yasna 29.

1. Unto you (the *Sacrificer)* wailed the Ox-soul, "For whom did ye fashion me? Who created me? Violence and rapine (and) savagery hath oppressed me, and outrage and might. I have no other herdsman than you; prepare for me then the blessings of pasture."

2. Then the *Sacrificer* asked of the Right (*Asha*): "Hast thou a judge for the Ox, that ye may be able to appoint him zealous tendance as well as fodder? Whom do ye will to be his lord, who may drive off violence together with the followers of the Lie?"

3. To him the Right replied: "There is for the Ox no helper that can keep him away. Those yonder have no knowledge how right-doers act toward the lowly".(The *Sacrificer*): "Strongest of beings is he to whose help I come at call".

4. (Asha) "Mazda knoweth best the purposes that have been wrought already by demons and by mortals, and that shall be wrought hereafter. He, Ahura, is the decider. So shall it be as he shall will."

5. (The Sacrificer) "To Ahura with outspread hands we twain would pray, my soul and that of the pregnant cow, so that we twain urge Mazda with entreaties. Destruction is not for the right-living, nor for the cattle-tender at the hands of Liars."

6. Then spake Ahura Mazda himself, who knows the law with wisdom: "There is found no lord or judge according to the Right Order for the Creator hath formed thee for the cattle-tender and the farmer."

7. This ordinance about the fat hath Ahura Mazda, one in will with Right, created for cattle, and the milk for them that crave nourishment, by his command, the holy one. (The Ox and Cow:) "Whom hast thou, O Good Thought, among men, who may care for us twain?"

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[1] Kellens, College de France, course of 7-12-2012.

8. (Vohu Manah:) He is known to me here who alone hath heard our commands, even Zarathushtra Spitama; he willeth to make known our thoughts, O Mazda, and those of the Right. So let us bestow on him charm of speech.

9. Then the Ox-Soul lamented: "That I must be content with the ineffectual word of an impotent man for my protector, when I wish for one that commands mightily! When ever shall there be one who shall give him (the Ox) effective help?"

10. (Zarathushtra:) Do ye, O Ahura, grant them strength, and O Asha, and O Good Thought, that dominion, whereby he (the Savior) could produce good dwellings and peace. I also have realized thee, Mazda, as the first to accomplish this.

11. "Where are Right and Good Thought and Dominion? So, ye men, acknowledge me, for instruction, Mazda, for the great society." (The Ox and Cow:) "O Ahura, now is help ours, we will be ready to serve those that are of you."

APPENDIX IV - ADVERSE OPINIONS

The arguments and conclusions from secs. V.9, VII.1-3, and X.13 of the present volume were assembled in a concise article entitled *Pārsā, Pārsi, Pahlom: Defining Status Through Proximity with Fire,* and presented to *Studia Iranica* and to *Iranian Studies;* it was rejected by both. It's interesting to see how people react when they have no valid arguments. Without properly negating any of my arguments, the *Iranian Studies*'s reviewer is basically of the opinion that if specialists have read and explained something, a non-specialist has no right to do otherwise, especially a "common person" like me.

The gatekeepers of the *Studia Iranica*, on the other hand, for want of counterarguments, revert to the classical ploy of crying fake for the seals that I have produced. It's symptomatic of today's scholarship to declare any object or document that is not understood as "fake".

Iranian Studies's reviewer*:*

> I have now read "Pârsâ, Pârsi, phalom" and would like to make the following comments on it. This article is ingeniously trying to provide a link between certain Old Persian and Middle Persian words and the Mithraic tradition in the Roman world. However interesting the article is, the argumentation and the evidence does not support this hypotheses.
>
> Among such unsubstantiated suggestions is that Old Persian pârsâ meaning "Persian" which is translated as "pious." Then the connection is given for the Pârsa as someone who is in charge of the fire and the Roman Mithraic perses. This hypothetical etymology is the basis for what the article builds upon. But the author should know that the etymology of Pârsa is clear and has been shown by Eric Pirart, "les noms de Perses" in Journal Asiatique, 1995, fol. 283, pp. 57-68. Pârsa simply means "next," or better yet, "side." Indeed the Persians were known as "pious" because Herodotus tells us they were known as Arteens which the author should look into, but this goes back to Old Persian Arta and not Pârsa.
>
> The author provides further corrections to the reading of Sasanian seals by experts in the field: for example, he reads a word as Rok which I am not certain of. Also another reading, NWRA which the author refers to a previous work by Soudavar (common person which the author goes to as her/his evidence). Still, here, we have only circumstantial evidence.
>
> Again, she/he provides a hypothetical reconstruction mihr-bân as the anthetsis of mihr-druj which can not be. If there was such a term which we have no evidence for, it would not be mihr-bân. Mithra/Mihr simply means "oath" or "contract" (see "Mithra" in Ency. Iranica by H.-P. Schmidt), and druj is used for one who breaks the oath or contract.
>
> Again, she/he provides a hypothetical reading of three dots on seals which is connected to Tishtrya. Soudavar is given as the evidence for the suggestion. I am not competent to say anything about this matter.
>
> As for Pahlom "righteous" is usually transcribed in MP plswm/y and is read phalom (see Nyberg's dictionary). This is simply a rule of Middle Persian transcription which has historical reasoning (article by MacKenzie is at the beginning of his dictionary). It can't simply be that pahlom is related to Persian pahlû, which is actually related to Partav/Pahlav.

Finally, a new etymology is given for the Indian Zoroastrians, called the Pârsis. It may be that they called themselves Pârsâ "righteous" in Persian, but it can also mean the are from the province of Fars (still holding on to the original p, rather under the influence of Arabic f).

Again, the article raises some very interesting possibilities and connections, but none of them are substantiated and the conclusions are based on false homonyms and other etymological errors. I do not think that the article should be published as such.

Studia Iranica's reviewer:

RAPPORT / REPORT (St.Ir., réunion printemps 2013)

Remarques critiques:

a) Concernant la terminologie, l'article affirme que le mot pārsā a le sens de 'personne qui se tient à côté de quelque chose', et qu'il se réfère à la proximité avec le Feu. Mais comment et pourquoi peut-on justifier cela à partir d'un ethnique (qui n'a rien à voir avec le Feu) ?

b) Certaines affirmations philologiques sont erronées. Par exemple, pourquoi le changement de –rs- en –hl- serait-il une évolution rare, peu commune (?). Il a été démontré depuis longtemps qu'elle est normale par suite d'une métathèse des consonnes qui ont subi une évolution attendue.

c) Le monogramme NWRA :

- L'objet illustré ici en Fig. 118 a été reconnu comme un faux.
- Légende de la Fig. 119 doit normalement être lue comme « Bāffarag ». D'où vient, sur quel base, la lecture « Bāp Rok » ? L'Auteur prend bāp pour un titre, mais la position du mot dans les inscriptions sur les sceaux montre qu'il s'agit plutôt d'un nom.
- Problème avec la lecture du monogramme NWRA : « w » et « r » pour NWRA peuvent se justifier, mais il semble n'y avoir aucune raison pour prendre le croissant pour un « ā ».[1] Il n'est pas clair non plus ce que l'Auteur désigne comme « n ».
- Le fait que ce monogramme figure sur une monnaie de Khingila sur laquelle figure également un autel du feu n'est pas un argument suffisant pour dire que le monogramme représente le terme NWRA = ādur 'feu'.

d) Le paragraphe sur les « pārsā seals » ne peut pas être maintenu : depuis plus d'un siècle, les quatre sceaux (Figs. 128) sont considérés comme des copies.

Conclusion :

-Il y a un sérieux doute sur l'authenticité des objets qui veulent servir d'appui à la théorie élaborée.

-Bien sûr il y a eu quelque part un modèle pour ces sceaux et la formule rāst pahlom est bien attestée.

-Du point de vue philologique, trop d'affirmations (non ou mal argumentées) restent discutables. Il manque ici une pratique très minutieuse de la philologie iranienne en diachronie.

-Le rapprochement entre pahlom (plswm) et 'Parthes' (p'lwb'n) et 'Perses' (p'ls'n) ne convainc pas.

CONCLUSION :

Le Comité de Rédaction de Studia Iranica considère qu'il y a trop de spéculations, trop d'objets douteux, et regrette de ne pas pouvoir prendre en considération la publication de cet article sous cette forme.

[1] See Appendix V.

APPENDIX V - ON MONOGRAMS

The rejection of my reading of the NWRA monogram in Fig. 121 (as stated by the reviewers of *Studia Iranica* and *Iranian Studies* in Appendix IV) coincides with the recent publication of a major article on Sasanian monograms (Gyselen & Monsef 2012); which I suppose is a sample of the standard they call "pratique très minutieuse de la philologie iranienne en diachronie". Nevertheless, they seem to ignore the basic rules of monogram construction. *Studia Iranica*'s reviewer argues that the crescent on top of the NWRA can "in no way" represent the letter A (written almost as "u" in Middle Persian). Presumably, a curve cannot be rendered as a square or angular form, and vice versa. But a monogram is, by definition, a rearrangement of letters in an elegant and compact form, for which many liberties are usually taken to achieve balance and symmetry. The monograms of the French kings Louis VI and IX, for instance, use a square C on their right leg to balance the L on the left leg of a monogram to be read as LVDOVICVS (Figs. 418a, b). Moreover Jean de Menasce had read the monogram in Fig. 420 as "*afzun*" by attributing the value "Z" to the crescent.[1]

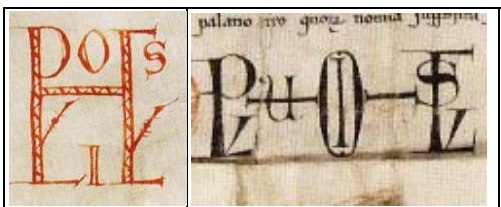

Figs. 418 a, b - Monograms of Louis VI and Louis IX (Marguin-Hamon 2012, 134 and 57)

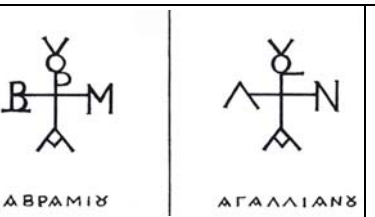

Fig. 419 - Byzantine seals (Zacos & Veglery, I: pl. 229)

Fig. 420-(det. of Fig. 64) *apzwn* monogram

While the crescent is an auspicious symbol, its presence within a monogram is only justifiable if it also represents a letter, whether A or Z. There are no superfluous elements in a monogram, except for the lines that interconnect them. In Byzantine seals, some letters were even read twice, or thrice, as in Fig. 419. The lack of appreciation for this principle has led R. Gyselen and Y. Monsef to suggest readings by discarding many signs, including the "crescent" symbol. For Fig. 421a, they offer the reading *wyh* (*vēh*), instead of *ādur,* if all signs were to be included, as they should have. More bizarre is their reading of Fig. 421b in which they drop both the crescent and the "heart" symbols, but add 5 letters out of the blue to get *`dw<ynd`t>* (Even-dād). What's more, they elsewhere assign the values (*t, p,* or *č*) to the heart sign as a whole, even though there is no affinity between the letters they propose and the "heart." To become meaningful, the "heart" must be *split*

[1] De Menasce 1985, 159; Soudavar 2003, 20.

into two, which will then produce *ādurān* (fires). Furthermore, in Fig. 421c, they attribute the value "p" to one "circle," and not the other, to get *Pāpak*; whereas, if signs 5 and 6 were properly considered, the monogram would yield *Pāpakān*. In Sasanian monograms, the "circle" is consistently used in lieu of "p" and therefore Fig. 421d should be read as *dpyr* (*dabir*, scribe) and not *yazad* or *veh* as they have proposed. A word of caution is however warranted with respect to the "circle" sign. It takes the value "p" if fully integrated in the monogram; but if unconnected to the rest (as in Fig. 123), it represents the pearl as symbol of *farr* within a hybrid syntax in which symbols and words are mixed.[2]

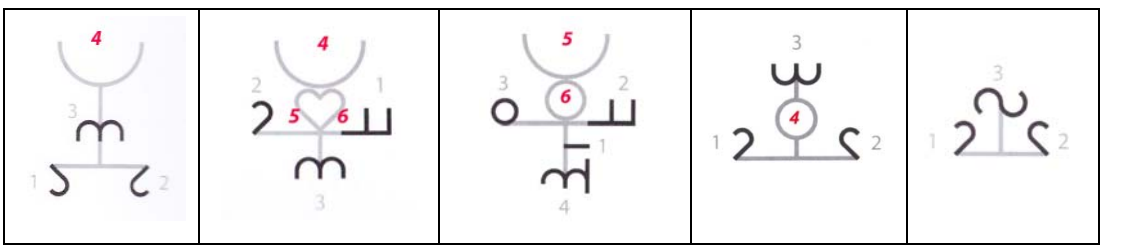

(a) *ādur*: 4=a, 3=d, 2=w, 1=l	(b) *ādurān*:[3] 1=`, 3=d, 6=w, 5=l, 4=`, 2=n	(c) *Pāpakān*: 3=p, 2=`, 6=p, 4=k, 5=`, 1=n	(d) *dabir*: 3=d, 4=p, 1=y, 2=l	(e) *khor*: 3:h, 1=w, 2=l

Fig. 421 - Corrections for proposals given by Gyselen & Monsef 2012, 160-64.
(The light grey numbers are theirs, and the red ones are my additions)

Finally, Gyselen and Monsef have assigned the value "y" to the sign 2 in Fig. 421e; it can only be done by flipping it horizontally and changing the direction of its convexity, which is not permissible. Letters can be rotated but not flipped. Sign 2 should be read as "l", which will give *hwl=khor* (sun). As such, it is in tune with a number of other auspicious monograms like *NWRA, ādurān,* and *ādur,* which are all about light and fire.

What I have exposed here are methodological errors afflicting their readings. I am afraid they need to reconsider most, if not all of them. But given the reluctance of the editors and reviewers of *Studia Iranica* and *Res Orientalia* to acknowledge alternative views, let alone correct their errors, I expect more articles perpetuating the same mistakes.[4]

[2] See note 224 supra. For a discussion on this hybrid syntax, see Soudavar 2009a, 436-42.
[3] An alternative reading can be *`dwr`ny* by considering the line segment below the "heart" as "n," and sign 6 as "y." We would still get *ādurān.*
[4] Ryka Gyselen, for instance, keeps asserting that *hujadag Khosrow* (well-omened Khosrow) is a title (!) despite an alternative reading that I proposed; my own mistake therein is now rectified in note 242 supra.

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Volume 5

PAHLAVI TEXTS

Part 1

The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, And Shâyast Lâ-Shâyast

Edited by
F. MAX MÜLLER

Translated by
E.W. WEST

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

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VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

Edited by
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PAHLAVI TEXTS

THE BUNDAHIS, BAHMAN YAST, AND SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

Translated by

E.W. West

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RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,
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I am very glad to know that the Sacred Books of the East, published years ago by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, which have been out-of-print for a number of years, will now be available to all students of religion and philosophy. The enterprise of the publishers is commendable and I hope the books will be widely read.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

First, the man distinguished between eternal and perishable. Later he discovered within himself the germ of the Eternal. This discovery was an epoch in the history of the human mind and the *East was the first to discover it.*

To watch in the Sacred Books of the East the dawn of this religious consciousness of man, must always remain one of the most inspiring and hallowing sights in the whole history of the world. In order to have a solid foundation for a comparative study of the Religions of the East, we must have before all things, complete and thoroughly faithful translation of their Sacred Books in which some of the ancient sayings were preserved because they were so true and so striking that they could not be forgotten. They contained eternal truths, expressed for the first time in human language.

With profoundest reverence for Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, who inspired us for the task; our deep sense of gratitude for Dr. C. D. Deshmukh & Dr. D. S. Kothari, for encouraging assistance; esteemed appreciation of UNESCO for the warm endorsement of the cause ; and finally with indebtedness to Dr. H. Rau, Director, Max Müller Bhawan, New Delhi, in procuring us the texts of the Series for reprint, we humbly conclude.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

PAHLAVI TEXTS.

1. The Parsi Scriptures.

Though we must look to the Avesta for information regarding the main outlines of the Parsi religion, it is to Pahlavi writings we must refer for most of the details relating to the traditions, ceremonies, and customs of this ancient faith, which styles itself emphatically 'the good religion of the Mazdayasnians,' and calls its laity bahdinân, or 'those of the good religion.' In the fragments of the Avesta which still exist, we may trace the solid foundations of the religion, laid by philosophic bards and lawgivers of old, with many a mouldering column and massive fragment of the superstructure erected upon them by the ancient priesthood. These are the last remnants of the faith held by Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord (Isaiah xlv. 1), the righteous one (Is. xli. 2), or eagle (Is. xlvi. 11), whom He called from the east, and the shepherd who performed His pleasure (Is. xliv. 28); scattered fragments of the creed professed by Darius in his inscriptions, when he attributes his successes to 'the will of Aûramazdâ;' and mouldering ruins of the comparatively pure religion of oriental 'barbarism,' which Alexander and his civilising Greek successors were unable wholly to destroy, and replace by their own idolatrous superstitions. While in the Pahlavi texts we find much of the mediæval edifice built by later Persian priestcraft upon the old foundations, with a strange mixture of old and new materials, and exhibiting the usual symptom of declining powers, a strong insistence upon complex forms and minute details, with little of the freedom of treatment and simplicity of outline characteristic of the ancient bards.

To understand the relationship between these two classes of Parsi sacred writings, it must be observed that the Avesta and Pahlavi of the same scripture, taken together, form its Avesta and Zand, terms which are nearly synonymous with 'revelation and commentary.' Both words are derived from verbal roots implying 'knowledge;' Avesta being the Pahlavi avistâk, which may most probably be traced to the past participle of â, 'to,' + vid, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'what is announced' or 'declaration;' and Zand, being the Pahlavi form of Av. zaiṅti (traceable in the word âzaiṅtis), must be referred to the root zan, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'knowledge, understanding[1].' European scholars, misled probably by Muhammadan writers, have converted the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' into 'Zend-Avesta,' and have further identified Zand with the language of the Avesta. This use of the word Zand is, however, quite at variance with the practice of all Parsi writers who have been independent of European influence, as they apply the term Zand only to the Pahlavi translations and explanations of their sacred books, the original text of which they call Avesta. So that when they use the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' they mean the whole of any scripture, both the Avesta text and Pahlavi translation and commentary. And the latter, being often their only means of understanding the former, has now become of nearly equal authority with the Avesta itself. It is probable, indeed, that the first Zand was really written in the Avesta language, as we find many traces of such Avesta commentaries interpolated both in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the Parsi scriptures; but this is rather a matter of European inference than of Parsi belief. The later (or Pahlavi) Zand appears also, in many places, to be merely a translation of this earlier (or Avesta) Zand, with additional explanations offered by the Pahlavi translators.

Regarding the sacredness of these Pahlavi translations, in the eyes of the Parsis, there can be no manner of doubt, so far as they cannot be shown to be inconsistent with the

[1] See Haug's Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, second edition, London, 1878; pp. 121, 122.

original Avesta text. But besides these translations there is another class of Pahlavi religious writings whose authority is more open to dispute. These writings are either translations and Zands of Avesta texts no longer extant, or they contain the opinions and decisions of high-priests of later times, when the Pahlavi language was on the decline. Such writings would hardly be considered of indisputable authority by any Parsi of the present day, unless they coincided with his own preconceived opinions. But for outsiders they have the inestimable value either of supplying numerous details of religious traditions and customs which would be vainly sought for elsewhere, or of being contemporary records of the religious ideas of the Parsis in the declining days of their Mazdayasnian faith. It is with a few of such writings this volume has to deal; but before describing them more minutely it will be desirable to give some account of the Pahlavi language in which they are written.

2. The Pahlavi Language and Literature.

The term 'Pahlavi,' in its widest extent, is applied to all the varying forms of the mediæval Persian language, from the time when the grammatical inflexions of ancient Persian were dropped, till the period when the modern alphabet was invented, and the language became corrupted into modern Persian by the adoption of numerous Arabic words and phrases. Some traces of Pahlavi words and phrases, written in old Semitic characters, have been found in the legends of coins struck by certain kings of Persian provinces, subordinate to the Greek successors of Alexander, as early as the third century B. C.[1] Further traces have been discovered in the legends on some provincial coins of the time of the Arsacidan dynasty. But, practically, our acquaintance with Pahlavi commences with the inscriptions, on rocks and coins, of Ar*d*akhshîr-i Pâpakân (A.D. 226–240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, and ends with certain religious

[1] See Levy's Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Eran's, und zur Kunde der ältern Pehlewi-Schrift; Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1867; XXI, 421-465.

writings of priests and other devout Parsis of post-Muhammadan times, among the latest of which is one dated A.Y 250 (A.D. 881). Any fragments of Pahlavi composition of later date than A.D. 1000, must be considered merely as modern imitations of a dead language, and cannot be quoted as authorities for the use of any particular Pahlavi words construction.

With regard to the origin of the word Pahlavî, or language of Pahlav, many suggestions have been offered; but the most probable explanation[1] is that which connects it with the Parthva of the cuneiform inscriptions, the land of the Parthians known to the Greeks and Romans, and of the Pahlavâs mentioned by Sanskrit writers; the change of Parthva into Pahlav being very similar to that of Av. Mithra into Pers. Mihr. No doubt the language of the Parthians themselves was not Pahlavi, but they were the actual rulers of Persia for some centuries at the time when the Pahlavi language was forming there; and, being formidable to their neighbours, it is not surprising that their name became identified with everything Persian, in the same way as the Roman name has been applied by the Persians, not only to the later Greek empire of Constantinople, but even to the earlier conqueror, Alexander the Great.

Strictly speaking, the mediæval Persian language is only called Pahlavi when it is written in one of the characters used before the invention of the modern Persian alphabet, and in the peculiarly enigmatical mode adopted in Pahlavi writings. Whenever it is transcribed, either in Avesta characters, or in those of the modern Persian alphabet, and freed from this peculiarity, it is called Pâzand.

The peculiar mode of writing Pahlavi, here alluded to, long made the character of the language a standing puzzle for European scholars, and was first satisfactorily explained by Professor Haug, of Munich, in his admirable Essay on the Pahlavi Language already cited.

Like the Assyrians of old, the Persians of Parthian times appear to have borrowed their writing from a foreign race.

[1] See Haug's Essay on the Pahlavi Language, Stuttgart, 1870; pp. 33–37.

But, whereas the Semitic Assyrians adopted a Turanian syllabary, these later Aryan Persians accepted a Semitic alphabet. Besides the alphabet, however, which they could use for spelling their own words, they also transferred a certain number of complete Semitic words to their writings, as representatives of the corresponding words in their own language. These Semitic representatives (the number of which might at any time be increased or diminished at the discretion of the writer) were probably never very numerous, and not more than four hundred of them are to be found in the Pahlavi writings now extant; but, as they represent nearly all the commonest words in the language (excepting those specially relating to religious matters), they often constitute more than half the bulk of a Pahlavi text.

The use of such Semitic words, scattered about in Persian sentences, gives Pahlavi the motley appearance of a compound language; more especially as Persian terminations are often added to the Semitic words. But there are good reasons for supposing that the language was never spoken as it was written. The spoken language appears to have been purely Persian; the Semitic words being merely used as written representatives, or logograms, of the Persian words which were spoken. Thus the Persians would write malkân malkâ, 'king of kings,' but they would read shâhân shâh. This is still the mode in which most Parsis read their Pahlavi literature; and it is only by assuming it to have been their universal practice, in former times, that we can account for the total and immediate disappearance of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi, from their language, when the Persians adopted their modern alphabet. As the Semitic words were merely a Pahlavi mode of writing their Persian equivalents (just as 'viz.' is a mode of writing 'namely' in English), they disappeared with the Pahlavi writing, and the Persians began at once to write all their words, with their new alphabet, just as they pronounced them.

In the meantime, the greater part of the nation had become Muhammadans, and a new influx of Semitic words commenced, but of a very different character. The Semitic

portion of the Pahlavi writing was nearly pure Chaldee, and was confined (as already stated) to the graphic representation of most of the simplest and commonest words unconnected with religion; but it seems to have formed no part of the spoken language, at all events in later times. Whereas the Semitic portion of modern Persian is borrowed from Arabic, and includes most words connected with religion, science, and literature; in fact, every class of words except that which was usually Semitic in Pahlavi writings; and these Arabic words form an essential part of the spoken language, being as indispensable to the modern Persian as words of Norman-French origin are to the English.

In Pahlavi writings, moreover, besides the four hundred Semitic logograms already mentioned, we also find about one hundred obsolete forms of Iranian words used as logograms; much in the same way as 'ye' may be used for 'the,' and 'Xmas' for 'Christmas' in English. The use of all these logograms was, however, quite optional, as their usual Persian equivalents might be substituted for any of them at any time, according to each particular writer's taste and discretion. But whenever they are employed they form what is called the Huzvâris portion of the Pahlavi; while the other words, intended to be pronounced as they are spelt, form the Pâzand portion.

Many attempts have been made to explain the word Huzvâris, but it cannot be said that any satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed. Like the word Pahlavî it seems hardly to occur in any old Pahlavi text, but only in colophons, chapter-headings, and similar notes of modern writers; it seems, therefore, more reasonable to trace it to modern Persian than direct to any more ancient source. Its Pahlavi form, hûzvâris or aûzvârisn, appears to represent the modern Persian uzvâris, which is rarely used; the usual Persian form of the word being zuvâris. Now zuvâris is precisely the form of an abstract noun derived from the crude form of a verb zuvârîdan, which has been admitted into some Persian dictionaries on the authority of Golius[1],

[1] See Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, Pars altera, London, 1669.

with the meaning 'to grow old, to become thread-bare.' If such a verb really exists in Persian, although its meaning may imply 'decrepitude or decay' rather than 'antiquity or obsoleteness,' yet its abstract noun would not be altogether inapplicable to the logograms used in Pahlavi, which are, in fact, last remnants of older writings.

The word Pâzand is probably derived from Av. paiti-za*n*ti, with the meaning 're-explanation,' that is, a further interpretation of the Pahlavi Zand in the Persian vernacular. This term is applied not only to the purely Persian words in Pahlavi texts, but also (as already noticed) to transliterations of the said texts, either in Avesta or modern Persian characters, in which all the Huzvâri*s* words are replaced by their Pâzand equivalents. These transliterations form what are called Pâzand texts; they retain the exact idiom and construction of the Pahlavi original, and represent the mode in which it was read. It may be remarked, however, that all such Pâzand texts, as have been examined, seem to have been written in India, so that they may be suspected of representing some corrupt Gugarâti pronunciation of Persian, rather than the peculiar orthography of any period of the Persian language.

This theory of the origin and development of Pahlavi writing could hardly be upheld, unless we could trace the same artificial mixture of Huzvâri*s* and Pâzand in all accessible Pahlavi records, from their earliest appearance to the present time. This we are able to do, even in the scanty materials afforded by the legends on the provincial Persian coins of the third century B.C. and second century A.D. already mentioned. But we can trace it with greater certainty not only in the coin legends, but also in the rock inscriptions of the earlier Sasanian kings (A.D. 226–388), in the latest of which we find the written language differing very slightly from that contained in the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis of the present day, although the characters differ very much in form. And, finally, in the legends on the coins of the later Sasanian kings (A.D. 388–651) and on seals of their times, we find even this difference in the shapes of the letters disappearing by degrees. In

fact, all the materials at our disposal tend to show that Huzvâris has been an essential constituent of all Pahlavi writings from the time of Alexander's successors to that of the disuse of Pahlavi characters; but we have no reason to suppose that the spoken language of the great mass of the Persian people ever contained the Semitic words which they thus used as Huzvâris in their writings.

Although the use of Huzvâris, until explained recently, rendered the nature of the Pahlavi language very obscure, it added very little to the difficulty of understanding the Pahlavi texts, because the meaning of nearly every Huzvâris logogram was well known; being recorded in an old glossary preserved by the Parsis, in which every logogram is explained by its proper Pâzand equivalent. The extant copies of this old glossary generally contain the Huzvâris and Pâzand words written in the Pahlavi character, together with their traditional pronunciation, either in Avesta or modern Persian letters; there is, therefore, no particular difficulty in reading or translating the Huzvâris portion of a Pahlavi text, although doubts may often be entertained as to the accuracy of the traditional pronunciation.

The real difficulty of reading Pahlavi texts lies in the Pâzand portion (so far as it may be unexplained by existing vocabularies), and is chiefly occasioned by the ambiguity of some of the Pahlavi letters. The alphabet used in Pahlavi books contains only fourteen distinct letters, so that some letters represent several different sounds; and this ambiguity is increased by the letters being joined together, when a compound of two letters is sometimes exactly like some other single letter. The complication arising from these ambiguities may be understood from the following list of the sounds, simple and compound, represented by each of the fourteen letters of the Pahlavi alphabet respectively:—

a, â, h, kh. b. p, f. t, *d*. *k*, *g*, *z*, *v*. r, l. z. s, yî, yad, yag, yag, dî, dad, dag, dag, gî, gad, gag, gag, *gî*, *gad*, *gag*, *gag*. sh, *s*, yâ, yah, yakh, îh, îkh,

dâ, dah, dakh, gâ, gah, gakh, *g*â, *g*ah, *g*akh. ج gh. ك k. م m. ن n, v, w, û, ô, r, l. ى y, î, ê, d, g, *g*.

From this list it is easy to see the confusion produced by the letter س s being exactly like the letter ى y doubled, and by the letter ش sh being identical with a compound of ى y and ا â; and there are, in fact, some compounds of two letters which have from ten to fifteen sounds in common use, besides others which might possibly occur. If it be further considered that there are only three letters (which are also consonants, as in most Semitic languages) to represent five long vowels, and that there are probably five short vowels to be understood, the difficulty of reading Pahlavi correctly may be readily imagined.

When Pahlavi writing was in common use this difficulty was probably no more felt by the Persians, than the complexity of Chinese characters is felt as an evil by a Chinese mandarin, or the corrupt system of English orthography by an educated Englishman. It is only the foreigner, or learner, who fully appreciates the difficulty of understanding such cumbrous systems of writing.

With regard, however, to their Huzvâri*s* logograms the Persians seem to have experienced more difficulty. As the actual sounds of these Semitic words were rarely pronounced, in consequence of their Pâzand equivalents being substituted in reading, there must have been some risk of their true pronunciation being forgotten. That this risk was understood by the Persians, or Parsis, is proved by the existence of the Huzvâri*s*-Pâzand glossary already described, which was evidently compiled as a record both of the pronunciation and meaning of the Huzvâri*s* logograms. But its compilation does not appear to have been undertaken until the true pronunciation of some of these logograms had been already lost. Thus, although the traditional readings of most of the Semitic portion of the Huzvâri*s* can be readily traced to well-known Chaldee words, there are yet many other such readings which are altogether inexplicable as Semitic

words. In most such cases, however, European scholars have found that the Huzvaris word can be easily read in some other way which at once connects it with some ordinary Chaldee equivalent. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the compilers of the glossary had in some instances lost the correct pronunciation of these old Semitic words, and that, in such cases, they adopted (as a Parsi would probably do at the present day) the most obvious reading of the letters before them, which thenceforth became an artificial word to be handed down to posterity, by successive generations of writers, with all the authority of old tradition.

In the same manner the artificial pronunciation of the Iranian portion of the Huzvâris may be explained. The compilers of the glossary found a number of words in the Pahlavi texts, which were written in some obsolete or contracted manner; they knew the meanings of these words, but could not trace the true readings in the altered letters; they, therefore, adopted the most obvious readings of the written characters, and thus produced another series of artificial words, such as anhômâ for aûharmazd, yahân for yazdân, madônad for maînôk, shatan for shatrô, &c.

Naturally enough the Parsis are loth to admit the possibility of any error in their traditional readings of Huzvâris, and very few of them have yet adopted the views of European scholars further than to admit that they are ingenious hypotheses, which still require satisfactory proof. They are quite right in demanding such proof, and they may reasonably argue that the conflicting opinions of various European scholars do not tend to increase the certainty of their explanations. But, on the other hand, they are bound to examine all proofs that may be offered, and to consider the arguments of scholars, before utterly rejecting them in favour of their own preconceived notions of traditional authority.

Fortunately, we possess some means of ascertaining the ancient pronunciation of a few Huzvâris words, independent of the opinions of comparative philologists, in the inscrip-

tions already mentioned as having been engraved on rocks, and impressed on coins, by the earlier kings of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia. The earliest of these rock inscriptions records the name and titles of Artakhshatar son[1] of Pâpak, the first Sasanian monarch (A. D. 226–240); it is engraved in Greek and two kinds of old Pahlavi characters, which have been called Chaldæo-Pahlavi and Sasanian-Pahlavi, because the one bears more resemblance to Chaldee, both in its letters and the language they express, and the other is more frequently used by the subsequent Sasanian monarchs. A similar tri-lingual inscription records the names and titles of his son and successor Shahpûhar I (A. D. 240–271), who has also left a long bi-lingual inscription, in Chaldæo and Sasanian-Pahlavi, in a cave near Persepolis. Another long bi-lingual inscription, fragments of which have been found on stones among the ruins of Pâî Kûlî, is attributed to his early successors, who have also left us several uni-lingual inscriptions in Sasanian-Pahlavi, two of which are of great length, but none later than the end of the fourth century.

The language of the earlier of these inscriptions differs from that of the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis, chiefly in the use of several Semitic words unknown to the manuscript Huzvâri*s*, the non-existence of Iranian Huzvâri*s* (which is evidently a growth of later times), and the less frequent use of Persian terminations affixed to Semitic words. These differences however, are hardly greater than those which distinguish the English of Chaucer from that of our own day. Moreover, they gradually disappear in process of time, as we find the later inscriptions of the fourth century approaching much closer, in language, to the manuscripts.

As the alphabets of these inscriptions are less imperfect and ambiguous than that of the Pahlavi manuscripts, they render the pronunciation of many words much more certain. They consist of eighteen letters, having the following sounds :—

[1] So stated in the inscription, but Pahlavi MSS. call him the son of Pâpak's daughter and of Sâsân (see Bund. XXXI, 30).

1. a, â. 2. b. 3. p, f. 4. t, *d*. 5. *k*, *g*, ɣ. 6. kh, h. 7. d. 8. r, v, w, û, ô. 9. z. 10. s. 11. sh, *s*. 12. k. 13. g. 14. l, r. 15. m. 16. n. 17. y, î, ê. 18. doubtful, being equivalent to Chaldee ּנ and to Pahl. MS. -man[1].

Comparing this list of sounds with that of the sounds of the manuscript alphabet (pp. xvi, xvii) it is evident that the inscriptions must afford a means of distinguishing â from kh, s from any binary compound of y, d, g, or *g*, sh from any compound of y, d, g, or *g* with â, h, or kh, n from v, r, or l, and y, d, g from each other; all which letters and compounds are left in doubt by the manuscript alphabet. Unfortunately we do not possess trustworthy copies of some of the inscriptions which are evidently the most important from a linguistic point of view[2]; but such copies as have been obtained supply corrections of traditional misreadings of about twenty-five Huzvâris logograms, and at the same time they confirm the correctness of three traditional readings which have been called in question by most European scholars. So far, therefore, the inscriptions would teach the Parsis that the decisions of comparative philologists are not likely to be right more than seven times out of eight, even when they are tolerably unanimous.

The Chaldæo-Pahlavi character appears to have soon

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[1] Whether the sound of this letter can ever be satisfactorily settled remains doubtful. Levy, in his Beitrage, cited on p. xi, considers it to be the Semitic ן, on palæographical grounds; but there are serious objections to all the identifications that have been proposed.

[2] The Sasanian inscriptions, of which new and correct copies are most urgently wanted, are:—1. An inscription of thirty-one lines high up in the left side-compartment (behind the king) of the centre bas-relief of Naqs-i Ragab, near Persepolis. 2. Two inscriptions, of eleven and twelve lines respectively, on the stones of the edifice near the south-west corner of the great platform at Persepolis, south of the Hall of Columns (see Ouseley's Travels in Persia, vol. ii. p. 237 and plate 42). 3. All the fragments of the Pâî Kûlî inscription, of which probably not more than half have yet been copied.

Of the very long inscription behind the king's horse in the bas-relief of Naqs-i Rustam, containing more than seventy lines very much damaged, a copy taken by Westergaard in 1843, with his usual accuracy, probably gives nearly all that is legible. And of the Hâgîâbâd and shorter inscriptions, little or nothing remains doubtful.

gone out of use, after the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty, as the latest known inscription, in which it occurs, is that of Pâî Kûlî, which contains the name of Aûharmazd I (A. D. 271–272); while the long inscriptions of Naqs-i Rajab and Naqs-i Rustam, which contain the name of Varahrân II (A. D. 275–283), are engraved only in Sasanian-Pahlavi. From these facts it seems probable that Chaldæo-Pahlavi went out of use about A. D. 275. The Sasanian characters continue to appear, with very little alteration, upon the coins until the end of the fifth century, when most of them begin to assume the cursive form of the manuscript Pahlavi, which appears to have altered very slightly since the eighth century.

The oldest Pahlavi manuscript known to be extant, consists of several fragments of papyrus recently found in a grave in the Fayûm district in Egypt, and now in the Royal Museum at Berlin; it is supposed to have been written in the eighth century. Next to this, after a long interval, come four manuscripts written on Indian paper, all by the same hand, in A. D. 1323–1324; they are two copies of the Yasna and two of the Vendidad, containing the Avesta with its Zand, or Pahlavi translation and commentary; two of these old MSS. are now preserved in Kopenhagen, one in London, and one in Bombay. Next to these in age are two MSS. of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, written probably about fifty years later; one of these is now in Kopenhagen and one in Bombay. Another MS. of nearly the same age is also a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi texts, written in A. D. 1397, and now in Munich; where there is also one of the oldest Pâzand-Sanskrit MSS., a copy of the Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak, written in A. D. 1410. Another Pâzand-Sanskrit MS., a copy of the Khurdah Avesta, of about the same age, exists in Bombay. Pahlavi and Pâzand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are rather more numerous.

Pahlavi literature reached the zenith of its prosperity about thirteen centuries ago, when it included the whole literature of Persia. Seventy years later its destruction commenced with the fall of the Sasanian dynasty (A. D.

636–651); and the subsequent adoption of the modern Persian alphabet gave it its death-blow. The last remnants of Pahlavi writings are now contained in the few manuscripts still preserved by the Parsis in Western India, and their almost-extinct brethren in Persia. A careful estimate of the length of these remnants, so far as they are known to Europeans, has shown that the total extent of existing Pahlavi literature is about thirty-six times that of the Bundahis, as translated in this volume. One-fifth of this literature consists of translations accompanying Avesta texts, and the remaining four-fifths are purely Pahlavi works which are nearly all connected with religion. How much of this literature may have descended from Sasanian times can hardly be ascertained as yet; in fact, it is only very recently that any trustworthy data, for determining the age of a few Pahlavi writings, have been discovered, as will be explained hereafter, when considering the age of the Bundahis.

3. The Bundahis.

The term Bundahis, 'creation of the beginning,' or 'original creation,' is applied by the Parsis to a Pahlavi work[1] which, in its present state, appears to be a collection of fragments relating to the cosmogony, mythology, and legendary history taught by Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered, in any way, a complete treatise on these subjects. This term is applicable enough to much of the earlier part of the work, which treats of the progressive development of creation under good and evil influences; but it is probably not the original name of the book. Its adoption was no doubt partly owing to the occurrence of the word bûn-dahisn, or bûn-dahisnîh, twice in the first sentence, and partly to its appropriateness to the subject. But the same sentence seems to inform

[1] When this work forms part of a collection of Pahlavi texts, the whole manuscript is sometimes called 'the great Bundahis.' There also exists a Sad-dar Bundahis, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which is a comparatively modern compilation, detailing the chief customs and religious laws of the Parsis in a hundred sections.

us that the actual name of the treatise was Zand-âkâs, 'knowing the tradition.'

The work commences by describing the state of things in the beginning; the good spirit being in endless light and omniscient, and the evil spirit in endless darkness and with limited knowledge. Both produced their own creatures, which remained apart, in a spiritual or ideal state, for three thousand years, after which the evil spirit began his opposition to the good creation under an agreement that his power was not to last more than nine thousand years, of which only the middle three thousand were to see him successful. By uttering a sacred formula the good spirit throws the evil one into a state of confusion for a second three thousand years, while he produces the archangels and the material creation, including the sun, moon, and stars. At the end of that period the evil spirit, encouraged by the demons he had produced, once more rushes upon the good creation, to destroy it. The demons carry on conflicts with each of the six classes of creation, namely, the sky, water, earth, plants, animals represented by the primeval ox, and mankind represented by Gâyômar*d*; producing little effect but movement in the sky, saltness in the water, mountains in the earth, withering in plants, and death to the primeval ox, and also to Gâyômar*d* after an interval.

Then follows a series of chapters describing the seven regions of the earth, its mountains and seas, the five classes of animals, the origin of mankind, generation, the five kinds of fire and three sacred fires, the white Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds, the three-legged ass, the ox Hadhayôs, the bird *K*âmrôs, and other birds and animals opposed to the evil creation, the rivers of the world, the seventeen species of liquids, the lakes, the origin of the ape and bear, the chiefs of the several kinds of creatures and creations, the calendar, lineal measures, trees and plants, the characteristics of various demons, the spiritual chiefs of the various regions of the earth, and the resurrection and future existence; all which descriptions are given on the authority of the Dîn, which may have been some particular

book, or revelation generally. The concluding chapters give the genealogies of the legendary Persian kings and heroes, and of Zaratûst and certain priests, together with an epitome of Persian chronology from the creation to the Muhammadan conquest.

As the work now stands it is evidently of a fragmentary character, bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations; and the extant manuscripts, as will be seen, differ among themselves both as to the extent and arrangement of the text. Many passages have the appearance of being translations from an Avesta original, and it is very probable that we have in the Bundahis either a translation, or an epitome, of the Dâmdâd Nask, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. This may be guessed from a comparison of the contents of the Bundahis with those of the Dâmdâd Nask, which are detailed in the Dînî-vagarkard as follows[1]:—'It contained an explanation of the spiritual existence and heaven, good and evil, the material existence of this world, the sky and the earth, and everything which Aûharmazd produced in water, fire, and vegetation, men and quadrupeds, reptiles and birds, and everything which is produced from the waters, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, the production of the resurrection and future existence; the concourse and separation at the Kinvad bridge; on the reward of the meritorious and the punishment of sinners in the future existence, and such-like explanations.' Moreover, the Dâmdâd Nask is twice quoted as an authority in the Selections of Zâdsparam (IX, 1, 16), when treating of animals, in nearly the same words as those used in the Bundahis.

The first manuscript of the Bundahis seen in Europe was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761, and he published a French translation of it in his great work on the Zend-Avesta in 1771[2]. This manuscript,

[1] See Haug's Essays, &c., second edition, pp. 127, 128.

[2] Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c., par Anquetil Duperron; Paris, 1771. Tome seconde, pp. 343-422, Boun-dehesch.

which is now in the National Library at Paris, was a modern copy, written A.D. 1734, and contained a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi writings besides the Bundahis. And Anquetil's translation, though carefully prepared in accordance with the information he had obtained from his Parsi instructor, is very far from giving the correct meaning of the original text in many places.

In 1820 the very old codex from which Anquetil's MS. had been copied was brought to Europe, from Bombay, by the Danish scholar Rask, and was subsequently deposited in the University Library at Kopenhagen. This most important codex, which will be more particularly described under the appellation of K20, appears to have been written during the latter half of the fourteenth century; and a facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, which it contains, was very carefully traced from it, lithographed, and published by Westergaard in 1851[1].

In a review of this lithographed edition of the Pahlavi text, published in the Gottinger Gelehrte Anzeigen in 1854[2], Haug gave a German translation of the first three chapters of the Bundahis. And Spiegel, in his Traditional Literature of the Parsis[3], published in 1860 a German translation of many passages in the Bundahis, together with a transcript of the Pahlavi text of Chaps. I, II, III, and XXX in Hebrew characters. But the complete German translation of the Bundahis by Windischmann, with his commentary on its contents, published in his Zoroastrian Studies[4] in 1863, was probably the most important step in advance since the time of Anquetil, and the utmost

[1] Bundehesh, Liber Pehlvicus. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descripsit, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit, N. L. Westergaard; Havniæ, 1851.

[2] Ueber die Pehlewi-Sprache und den Bundehesh, von Martin Haug; Göttingen, 1854.

[3] Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen in ihrem Zusammenhange mit den angränzenden Literaturen, dargestellt von Fr. Spiegel; Wien, 1860.

[4] Zoroastriche Studien. Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagengeschichte des alten Iran, von Fr. Windischmann (nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Fr. Spiegel); Berlin, 1863.

that could be done on the authority of a single MS. which is far from perfect.

In 1866 another very old codex, containing the Pahlavi texts of the Bundahis and other works, was brought to Europe by Haug, to whom it had been presented at Surat in 1864. It is now in the State Library at Munich, and will be more minutely described under the appellation of M6. In this codex the Bundahis is arranged in a different order from that in K20, and Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI–XXXIII are omitted.

A second complete German translation of the Bundahis, with a lithographed copy of the Pahlavi text, a transliteration of the text in modern Persian characters, and a glossary of all the words it contains, was published by Justi in 1868[1]. Its author, having had access to other MSS. (descended from M6) at London and Oxford, was able to rectify many of the deficiencies in Windischmann's translation; but, otherwise, he made but little progress in elucidating difficult passages.

Other European writers have published the result of their studies of particular parts of the Bundahis, but it does not appear that any of them have attempted a continuous translation of several chapters.

Whether the existence of previous translations be more of an assistance than a hindrance in preparing a new one, may well be a matter of doubt. Previous translations may prevent oversights, and in difficult passages it is useful to see how others have floundered through the mire; but, on the other hand, they occasion much loss of time, by the necessity of examining many of their dubious renderings before finally fixing upon others that seem more satisfactory. The object of the present translation is to give the meaning of the original text as literally as possible, and with a minimum of extra words; the different renderings of other translators being very rarely noticed, unless there be some probability of their being of service

[1] Der Bundehesh, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, übersetzt, und mit Glossar versehen, von Ferdinand Justi; Leipzig, 1868.

to the reader. Some doubtful words and passages still defy all attempts at satisfactory solution, but of these the reader is warned; and, no doubt, a few oversights and mistakes will be discovered.

With regard to the original text, we have to recover it from four manuscripts which are, more or less, independent authorities, and may be styled K20, K20b, M6, and TD. The first three of these have evidently descended, either directly or through one or more intermediate copies, from the same original; but the source of TD, so far as it can be ascertained, seems to have been far removed from that of the others. All the other MSS. of the Bundahiś, which have been examined, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand, are descended either from K20 or M6, and are, therefore, of no independent authority.

K20 is the very old codex already mentioned as having been brought from Bombay by Rask in 1820, and is now No. 20 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen. It consists now of 173 folios of very old and much-worn Indian paper of large octavo size, but five other folios are certainly missing, besides an uncertain number lost from the end of the volume. This MS. contains twenty Pahlavi texts, written twenty lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; the Bundahiś is the ninth of these texts, and occupies fols. 88–129, of which fol. 121 is missing. Three of the texts, occurring before the Bundahiś, have dated colophons, but the dates are A.Y. 690, 720, and 700, all within 36 folios; it is, therefore, evident that these dates have been copied from older MSS.; but at the same time the appearance of the paper indicates that the actual date of the MS. cannot be much later than A.Y. 720 (A.D. 1351), and there are reasons for believing that it was written several years before A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), as will be explained in the description of M6. Owing to its age and comparative completeness this MS. of the Bundahiś is certainly the most important one extant, although comparison with other MSS. proves that its writer was rather careless, and frequently omitted words and phrases. The

loss of fol. 121, though it has hitherto left an inconvenient gap in the text (not filled up by other MSS.), is more than compensated by the three extra chapters which this MS. and its copies have hitherto alone supplied. The text on the lost folio was supposed by Anquetil to have contained a whole chapter besides portions of the two adjacent ones; this is now known to be a mistake, Anquetil's Chap. XXVIII being quite imaginary; the end of Chap. XXVII has long been supplied from other MSS., but the beginning of the next chapter has hitherto been missing.

Only two copies of K20 appear to be known to Europeans; the best of these is the copy brought from Surat by Anquetil, No. 7 of his collection of manuscripts, now in the National Library at Paris; this was written in A. D. 1734, when K20 appears to have been nearly in its present imperfect state, though it may have had some 15 folios more at the end. This copy seems to have been carefully written; but the same cannot be said of the other copy, No. 21 in the University Library at Kopenhagen, which is full of blunders, both of commission and omission, and can hardly have been written by so good a Pahlavi scholar as Dastûr Dârâb, Anquetil's instructor, although attributed to him.

K20b consists of nineteen loose folios[1], found by Westergaard among some miscellaneous fragments in the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen, and now forming No. 20b in that collection. The first two folios are lost, but the third folio commences with the Pahlavi equivalent of the words 'knew that Aharman exists' (Bund. Chap. I, 8), and the text continues to the end of Chap. XI, 1, where it leaps at once (in the middle of a line on the fifteenth folio) to Chap. XXX, 15, 'one brother who is righteous,' whence the text continues to the end of Chap. XXXI, 15, which is followed by Chaps. XXXII, XXXIV, as in K20. This

[1] I am indebted to the late Professor N. L. Westergaard for all information about this MS., and also for a tracing of the Pahlavi text of so much of Chap. XXXI as is contained in it.

MS. is not very old, and contains merely a fragment of the text; but its value consists in its not being a descendant of either K20 or M6, as it clearly represents a third line of descent from their common original. It agrees with K20 in the general arrangement of its chapters, so far as they go, and also in containing Chap. XXXI; but it differs from it in some of the details of that chapter, and agrees with M6 in some verbal peculiarities elsewhere; it has not, however, been collated in any other chapter. The omission of nearly twenty chapters, in the centre of the work, indicates that some one of the MSS. from which it is descended, had lost many of its central folios before it was copied, and that the copyist did not notice the deficiency; such unnoticed omissions frequently occur in Pahlavi manuscripts.

M6 is the very old codex brought to Europe by Haug in 1866, and now No. 6 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich. It consists of 240 folios of very old, but well-preserved, Indian paper of large octavo size (to which thirteen others, of rather later date, have been prefixed) bound in two volumes. This MS. contains nineteen Pahlavi texts, written from seventeen to twenty-two lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; eleven of these texts are also found in K20, and the Bundahis is the fourteenth of the nineteen, occupying fols. 53–99 of the second volume. Two of the other texts have dated colophons, the dates being fifty days apart in A. Y. 766 (A. D. 1397), and as there are 150 folios between the two dates there is every probability that they are the actual dates on which the two colophons were written. The arrangement of the Bundahis in this MS. is different from that in K20, giving the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, and omitting Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI. These omissions and the misplacement of Chaps. I–XIV render it probable that the MS., from which the Bundahis in M6 was copied, was already in a state of decay; and this supposition is confirmed by upwards of fifty peculiar mistakes, scattered over most parts of the

text in M6, which are evidently due to the illegibility of the original from which it was copied, or to its illegible words having been touched up by an ignorant writer, instances of which are not uncommon in old Pahlavi MSS. Eliminating these errors, for which the writer of M6 cannot be held responsible, he seems to have been a more careful copyist than the writer of K20, and supplies several words and phrases omitted by the latter. The close correspondence of K20 and M6 in most other places, renders it probable that they were copied from the same original, in which case K20 must have been written several years earlier than M6, before the original MS. became decayed and difficult to read. It is possible, however, that K20 was copied from an early copy of the original of M6; in which case the date of K20 is more uncertain, and may even be later than that of M6.

Several MSS. of the Bundahi*s* descended from M6 are in existence. One is in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and contains the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–VII, 17 (to 'Arag river'), XII–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, VII, 12–XI; followed by Sls. Chap. XX, 4–17, also derived from M6. Another is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji at Bombay, and contains the chapters also in a dislocated state (due to the misplacement of folios in some former MS.) as follows:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–XI, 5 (to 'and the evil spirit'), XII, 2 (from 'Si*k*idâv')–XII, 12 (first word), XI, 5 (from 'produced most for Khvanîras')–XII, 2 (to '*and* Kôndras, Mount'), XXX, 32 (from 'the renovation arises in')–XXX, 33, XXXII, XXXIV, Sls. Chap. XVIII, Bund. Chaps. XII, 12 (from 'Aîra*k*')–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX. A third is in the library of Dastûr Nôshirvânji Jâmâspji at Poona, and contains the text in the same order as M6. A fragment of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahi*s*, also descended from M6, occupies eight folios in the Additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378 in the Library of the British Museum; it contains Chaps. XVIII, XIX, 17, and XX, 1–2 (to 'one from the other').

There are also several Pâzand manuscripts of the Bun-

dahis, written in Avesta characters, and likewise derived from M6. One of the best of these is No. 22 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlâvi MSS. in the India Office Library at London; it is old, and has the date A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567) in a Pahlavi colophon on fol. 111, but this may have been copied from an older MS.; its contents are arranged as follows:—Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, followed by several short Pâzand texts, only part of which are derived from M6, and the last of them being left incomplete by the loss of the folios which originally formed the end of the volume; instead of these lost folios others, containing Chaps. XV–XVII, have been added and bound up with the rest. Another MS., No. 7 in the same collection, which is dated A.Y. 1174 (A.D. 1805), is a modern copy derived from No. 22 through one or more intervening MSS.[1]; it contains precisely the same text, but with many variations in orthography, indicative of the very uncertain character of Pâzand spelling. Two fragments of the Pâzand text are also contained in the MSS. No. 121 at Oxford, already mentioned; they consist of Chaps. V, 3–7 (to 'would have known the secret') and XXV, 18–22. Another fragment, evidently copied from an old MS., is found on fols. 34, 35 of the Rivâyat MS. No. 8 of the collection in the India Office Library; it consists of Chap. XVIII, 1–8.

The Pâzand text of the Bundahis, derived from M6, is also written in Persian characters in M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection at Munich), dated A.Y. 1178 (A.D. 1809). It is interlined by Persian glosses, word for word, and consists of Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, and XXX on fols. 81–119, with Chaps. XV–XVII on fols. 120–126, a repetition of Chap. XV and part of XVI on fols. 223-227, and Chap. XXXII on fol. 232.

Thus far, it will be noticed, we have two good independent authorities, K20 and M6, for ascertaining the text of the Bundahis in the fourteenth century, so far as Chaps. I–

[1] This is proved by an omission in fol. 40, which clearly indicates the loss of a folio in an intermediate MS.

XXVII, XXX, XXXII, and XXXIV are concerned; and we have also, in K20b, a second authority for so much of Chap. XXXI as occurs in K20; but for Chaps. XXVIII and XXIX we have nothing but K20 to rely on, and part of Chap. XXVIII is lost in that manuscript. Such was the unsatisfactory state of that part of the text until Dec. 1877, when information about the MS. TD was received, followed by further details and a copy of Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI–XXXIII in Oct. 1878[1].

TD is a manuscript of the Bundahis which contains a much more extensive text than the MSS. already described, but whether it be an extension of the hitherto-received text, or the received text be an abridgement of this longer one, is likely to be a matter of dispute among Pahlavi scholars until the whole of the new text has been thoroughly examined. At any rate, the contents of this MS., combined with those of some MSS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk, afford a means of fixing the date of this recension of the Bundahis, as will be seen hereafter.

This MS. belongs to a young Mobad named Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria in Bombay, and was brought from Persia a few years ago by a Mobad named Khodabakhsh Farod Abadan. It occupies the first 103 folios of the volume containing it, and is followed by 112 more folios containing the Nîrangistân. The first original folio, which contained the text as far as Chap. I, 5 (to 'endless light'), has been lost and replaced by another (which, however, is now old) containing some introductory sentences, besides the missing text. The last original folio of the Bundahis, containing the last five lines of the last chapter, has also been lost and replaced by another modern folio, which contains the missing text followed by two colophons, both expressing approval of the text, and asserting that the MS. was written by Gôpatshah Rûstâm Bôndâr. The first of these colophons

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, of Bombay (who is well known for the interest he takes in all matters relating to the ancient customs and history of his fellow-countrymen), for obtaining this information, and to the owner of the MS. for his liberality in supplying me with all the details and extracts mentioned in the text.

is undated, but gives the testimony of Dastûr Rûstâm[1] Gûstâsp Ardashîr, who is known to have written another MS dated A.Y. 1068 (A.D. 1699). The second colophon is by Dastûr Jamshîd Jâmâsp Hakim, and is dated A.Y. 1113 (A.D. 1743), which was probably the date when this last folio was supplied to complete the old defective MS.

With regard to the age of the older part of this MS. we can arrive at an approximation in the following manner:—A valuable MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînik, which also belongs to Tehmuras Dinshawji, was written (according to a colophon which it contains) by Gôpatshah Rûstôm[2] Bandâr Malkâ-mardân in the land of Kirmân, who was evidently the same person as the writer of TD. Another MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînik was written by Marzapân Frêdan Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, also in the land of Kirmân, in A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572). Comparing these two genealogies together it seems evident that Gôpatshah was a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of Marzapân, and, therefore, a grand-uncle of Marzapân himself. Allowing for these two generations, it is probable that Gôpatshah wrote TD about A.Y. 900 (say A.D. 1530); although instances have occurred in which a son has written a MS. at an earlier date than that of one written by his father.

The introductory sentences on the first restored folio are evidently a modern addition to the text, after it had acquired the name of Bundahis; but they seem to have been copied from some other MS., as the copyist appears to have hardly understood them, having written them continuously with the beginning of the text, without break or stop. The spelling is modern, but that may be due to the copyist; and the language is difficult, but may be translated as follows[3]:—

'The propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd, the radiant,

[1] This Dastûr is said to have sprung from the laïty, and not from a priestly family.

[2] The vowels â and ô (or û) often interchange in Pahlavi MSS. from Persia, probably owing to peculiarities of dialect, and the very broad sound of Persian â, like English a in call.

[3] English words in italics are additions to complete the sense.

glorious, omniscient, wise, powerful, and supreme, *by what is* well-thought, well-said, *and* well-done in thought, word, *and* deed, and the good augury of all the celestial angels *and* terrestrial angels upon the virtuous creation, I beseech.

'Written at the second fortunate conjunction (akhtar) in the high-priestship (dastûrîh) of the God-devoted, all-sagacious cultivator of righteousness, the lover of good works who is God-discerning, spirit-surveying, *and* approved by the good, the high-priest of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, the glorified[1] Spendyâd *son* of Mâh-vindâd, *son* of Rûstôm, *son* of Shatrôyâr.

'The writing[2] of the Bûndahis *was* set going by the coming of the Arabs to the country of Iran, whose heterodoxy (dûs-dînîh) and ignorance have arisen from not understanding the mysteries of Kayân[3] orthodoxy (hûdînôîh) and of those revered by the upholders of the religion. From their deep seats it draws the purport of benedictions, *and* from dubious thinking of actions *it draws* words of true meaning, the disclosure of which is entertaining knowledge.

'On account of evil times, even he of the undecayed family of the Kayâns and the Kayân upholders of the religion are mingled with the obedient and just of those heterodox; and by the upper *class* the words of the orthodox, uttered in assembled worship, are considered as filthy vice. He also whose wish was to learn propriety (varâg) through this treatise (farhâng), might provide *it* for himself, from various places, by trouble and day and night painstaking, *but* was not able.'

The text of Chap. I then commences (without any intermediate stop) with the words zak zand-âkâsîh, 'that knowledge of tradition.' As the whole text of the Bundahis occupies about 203 pages in TD, and each page contains

[1] Literally, 'immortal-soulled,' a term implying generally that the person is dead; but it seems to have been applied to King Khûsrô I (Nôshirvân) during his lifetime. The time when this priest lived has yet to be discovered.

[2] Reading zektîbûn-i, equivalent to Pâz. nivîs-i; the MS. has zak tîbnâ.

[3] The hero tribe or princely race of the Kayânian dynasty, from which later Persian rulers have fancied themselves descended.

seventeen lines rather longer than those in K20, it is evident that the text in TD must be more than twice the length of that in K20, which occupied originally about eighty-three pages of twenty lines each. This additional text consists not only of additional matter in many of the chapters but also of extra chapters, which give the work a more complete appearance than it presents in the manuscripts hitherto known. The whole number of chapters in TD appear to be forty-two, the general character of the contents of which may be gathered from the following list of the headings of each chapter, with the space it occupies in TD, and a reference to the corresponding chapter of the translation in this volume (such chapters as seem to be entirely wanting in K20 being marked with an asterisk):—

1. The knowledge of tradition, first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit, afterwards about the nature of the creatures of the world, from the original creation till the end; 19 pages; see Chap. I.

2. On the formation of light; 11 pages; see Chap. II.

3. The rush of the destroyer at the creatures; 6 pages; see Chaps. III, IV.

4. On the opposition of the two spirits, that is, in what manner the arch-fiends have come spiritually in opposition to the celestial angels; 10 pages; see Chap. V for two of the middle pages.

5. On the waging of the conflict (àr*d*ik) of the creations of the world, encountering the evil spirit; 1 page; see Chap. VI.

6. The second conflict the water waged; 3 pages; see Chap. VII.

7. The third conflict the earth waged; 1 page; see Chap. VIII.

8. The fourth conflict the plants waged; ½ page; see Chap. IX.

9. The fifth conflict the primeval ox waged; ⅓ page; see Chap. X.

*10. The sixth conflict Gàyòmar*d* waged; 1⅓ page.

*11. The seventh conflict the fire waged; ⅓ page.

*12. The eighth conflict the constellations waged; ⅓ page.

*13. The ninth conflict the celestial angels waged with the evil spirit; three lines.

*14. Tenth, the stars practised non-intermeddling (agûmêgisn); ½ page.

*15. On the species of those creations; 2⅓ pages.

16. On the nature of lands; 1⅓ page; see Chap. XI.

17. On the nature of mountains; 4½ pages; see Chap. XII.

18. On the nature of seas; 2½ pages; see Chap. XIII.

19. On the nature of rivers; 5⅓ pages; see Chaps. XX, XXI.

20. On the nature of lakes; 1⅓ page; see Chap. XXII.

21. On the nature of the five classes of animals; 5⅓ pages; see Chap. XIV.

22. On the nature of men; 7½ pages; see Chap. XV[1].

23. On the nature of generation of every kind; 5 pages; see Chap. XVI.

24. On the nature of plants; 3½ pages; see Chap. XXVII.

25. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing; 2⅓ pages; see Chap. XXIV.

26. On the nature of fire; 4⅔ pages; see Chap. XVII.

*27. On the nature of sleep; 2⅓ pages.

*28. On the nature of wind and cloud and rain; 9⅔ pages.

*29. On the nature of noxious creatures; 4½ pages[2].

*30. On the nature of the wolf species; 2 pages.

31. On things of every kind that are created by the spirits[3], and the opposition which came upon them; 7¾ pages; see Chaps. XVIII, XIX.

32. On the religious year; 4 pages; see Chaps. XXV, XXVI.

*33. On the great exploits of the celestial angels; 17½ pages.

34. On the evil-doing of Aharman and the demons; 7 pages, as in Chap. XXVIII.

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[1] TD contains half a page more near the beginning, and a page and a half more at the end.

[2] Probably Chap. XXIII of the translation forms a part either of this chapter or the next.

[3] This word is doubtful.

*35. On the body of man *and* the opinion of the world[1]; 7 pages.

36. On the *spiritual* chieftainship of the regions *of the earth;* 3½ pages, as in Chap. XXIX.

*37. On the *Kinvad* bridge *and* the souls of the departed; 5⅔ pages.

*38. On the celebrated provinces of the country of Iran, the residence of the Kayâns; 5 pages[2].

*39. On the calamities of various millenniums happening to the country of Iran; 8⅔ pages[3].

40. On the resurrection and future existence; 6⅓ pages; see Chap. XXX.

41. On the race and offspring of the Kayâns; 8⅔ pages, as in Chaps. XXXI–XXXIII.

42. On the computation of years of the Arabs; 2¼ pages; see Chap. XXXIV.

Comparing this list of contents with the text in K20, as published in Westergaard's lithographed facsimile edition, it appears that TD contains, not only fifteen extra chapters, but also very much additional matter in the chapters corresponding to Chaps. I, II, V, XVI, XXVIII, and XXXI of the translation in this volume, and smaller additions to those corresponding to Chaps. III, IV, XV, XVII, and XXXIV. The arrangement of the chapters in TD is also much more methodical than in the Indian MSS., especially with regard to Chaps. XX, XXI, XXII, and XXVII, which evidently occupy their proper position in TD; and so far as Chap. XX is concerned, this arrangement is confirmed by the insertion of its first sentence between Chaps. XIII and XIV in the Indian MSS., which indicates that the whole chapter must have been in that position in some older copy. In fact, the Indian MSS. must probably be now regarded merely as collections of

[1] The meaning is doubtful and must depend upon the context.

[2] This chapter begins with a translation of the first fargard of the Vendidad, and concludes with an account of buildings erected by various kings.

[3] Containing an account of the kings reigning in the various millenniums, and concluding with prophecies similar to those in the Bahman Yast.

extracts from the original work; this has been long suspected from the fragmentary character of the text they contain, but it could hardly be proved until a more complete text had been discovered.

Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined; it is, therefore, to be hoped that its owner will be induced to publish a lithographed facsimile of the whole, after the manner of Westergaard's edition. So far as appears in the lengthy and valuable extracts, with which he has kindly favoured me, no decided difference of style can be detected between the additional matter and the text hitherto known, nor any inconsistencies more striking than such as sometimes occur in the Indian MSS. On the other hand, it will be noticed that heading No. 25 in the list of contents seems to be misplaced, which is an argument against the text being in its original state; and the style of the Bundahi*s* is so much less involved and obscure than that of the Selections of *Zâd*-sparam (see Appendix to the Bundahi*s*), which treat of some of the same subjects, that it may be fairly suspected of having been written originally in a different age. But the writer of the text, as it appears in TD, calls *Zâd*-sparam[1] one of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11 of the translation); it may, therefore, be suspected that he merely re-edited an old text with some additions of his own, which, however, are rather difficult to distinguish from the rest. No stress can be laid upon peculiarities of orthography in TD, as they are, in all likelihood, attributable to copyists long subsequent to *Zâd*-sparam's contemporaries.

Any future translator of the Bundahi*s* will probably have to take the text in TD as the nearest accessible approach to the original work; but the present translation is based, as heretofore, upon the text in K20, corrected in many places from M6, but with due care not to adopt

[1] He writes the name *Zâd*-sparham.

readings which seem due to the illegibility of the original from which M6 was copied, as already explained. In Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII, however, TD has been taken as a principal authority, merely checked[1] by K20, and having its additional passages carefully indicated; and in Chap. XXXI, K20b has also been consulted.

Since the present translation was printed, any lingering doubts, as to the genuineness of the text in TD, have been, in a great measure, dissipated by the discovery that a small fragment[1] of an old MS. of the Bundahi*s*, which has long been in Europe, is evidently a portion of a text of similar character to TD, and of exactly the same extent. This small fragment consists of two folios belonging to an old MS. brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843–44, and which is evidently the codex mentioned by him in the preface to his Zend-Avesta, p. 8, note 3. These two folios, which are numbered 130 and 131 in Persian words, now form the commencement of this old mutilated MS., of which the first 129 folios have been lost. They contain very little more than one page of the Bundahi*s* text, namely, the last sentences of the last chapter (corresponding to Bund. XXXIV, 7–9), followed by a colophon occupying less than two pages. This fragment of the text contains some additional details not found in the Indian MSS., as well as a few other variations of no great importance. It may be translated as follows:—

'[. . . . Sâhm[2] was in those *reigns of* Aûzôbô, Kavâ*d*, and Mânû*sk*ihar.] Kaî-Kâyûs, till *his* going to the sky, seventy-five years, and after that, seventy-five years, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kai-Khûsrôbô sixty

[1] I am indebted to Professor G. Hoffmann, of Kiel, for directing my attention to this fragment, and also for kindly sending me a facsimile of it. It had been recognised as a portion of the Bundahis by Dr. Andreas some years ago, and probably by the owner of the MS., the late Professor Westergaard, long before that.

[2] See Bund. XXXI, 27. As the beginning of this sentence is lost, its translation is uncertain. Details not found in K20 and M6 are here enclosed in brackets, and words added by the translator to complete the sense are printed in italics.

years; Kaî-Lôharâsp a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years; [total (mar) one thousand years[1]. Then the millennium reign came to Capricornus, and Zaratûhast[2] the Spîtâmân, with tidings (pêtkhambarîh) from the creator Aûharmazd, came to King Vistâsp; *and* Vistâsp *was* king,] after receiving the religion, ninety years.

'Vohûman, *son* of Spend-dâd, a hundred and twelve years; Hûmâî, daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâî, son of Kihar-âzâd, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâî, son of Dârâî, fourteen years; and Alexander the Rûman[3] fourteen years.

'The Askânians should bear the title in an uninterrupted sovereignty two hundred and so many[4] years; and Artakhshatar, son of Pâpak, and the number of the Sâsânians *bear* it four hundred and sixty years, until the withering Arabs obtained a place[5] [as far as the year 447 of the Persians; now *it is* the Persian year 527][6].'

The colophon, which follows, states that the MS. was finished on the thirteenth day of the ninth month A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, *son* of Anôshak-rûbân, *son* of Rûstâm. This MS. is, therefore, of nearly the same age as TD; but there has been no opportunity of collating the fragment of it, which is still extant, with the corresponding portion of TD. That it was a MS. of the same character as TD (that is, one containing the same text as K20, but with much additional matter) appears clearly

[1] From the beginning of Frêdûn's reign, when the millennium of Sagittarius commenced.

[2] The usual way of spelling Zaratûst in old MSS., excepting K20 and a few others.

[3] Here written correctly Alaksandar-i Arûmâî.

[4] Reading va and; as the final letter is d and not *d* it cannot be read nâvad as a variant of navad, 'ninety.'

[5] The words are, vad gînâk ayâft khûskô-i Tâzîkânŏ, but the exact meaning is rather doubtful

[6] The last date is doubtful, as the Pahlavi text gives the ciphers only for 'five and twenty-seven,' omitting that for 'hundred.' These Persian dates must either have been added by some former copyist, or Chap. XXXIV must have been appended to the Bundahis at a later date than the ninth century, when the preceding genealogical chapters were probably added to the original work (see p. xliii). The Persian year 527 was A.D. 1158.

from the fragment translated above. Regarding its original extent, it is possible to make an approximate estimate, by calculating the quantity of text which the 129 lost folios must have contained, from the quantity actually existing on folio 130. According to this calculation, the original extent of the text of the Bundahis in this MS. must have been very nearly 30,000 words; and it is remarkable that a similar calculation of the extent of the text in TD, based upon the actual contents of ten folios out of 103, gives precisely the same result. This coincidence is a strong argument in favour of the absolute identity of the text lost from Westergaard's MS. with that actually existing in TD; it shows, further, that the original extent of the Bundahis may now be safely estimated at 30,000 words, instead of the 13,000 contained in K20 when that MS. was complete.

That this fragment belonged to a separate MS, and is not the folio missing from the end of TD, is shown not only by its containing more of the text than is said to be missing, but also by the first folio of the fragment being numbered 130, instead of 103, and by its containing fifteen lines to the page, instead of seventeen, as would be necessary in order to correspond with TD.

Regarding the age of the Bundahis many opinions have been hazarded, but as they have been chiefly based upon minute details of supposed internal evidence evolved from each writer's special misinterpretation of the text, it is unnecessary to detail them. The only indication of its age that can be fairly obtained from internal evidence, is that the text of the Bundahis could not have been completed, in its present form, until after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia (A. D. 651). This is shown not only by the statements that the sovereignty 'went to the Arabs' (Chap. XXXIV, 9), that 'now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they (the negroes) are again diffused through the country of Iran' (Chap. XXIII, 3), and that 'whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer' (Chap. XXV, 19, referring probably to the Muhammadan year not corresponding with the seasons), but also, more positively

by the following translation of an extract from Chap. 39 in TD:—

'And when the sovereignty came to Yazdakar*d* he exercised sovereignty twenty years, *and* then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude. Yazdakar*d* did not prosper (lâ *s*âkaftō) in warfare with them, *and* went to Khûrâsân and Tûrkistân to seek horses, men, and assistance, and was slain by them there. The son of Yazdakar*d* went to the Hindûs and fetched an army of champions; before it came, conducted unto Khûrâsân, that army of champions dispersed. The country of Iran remained with the Arabs, and their own irreligious law was propagated by them, and many ancestral customs were destroyed; the religion of the Mazdayasnians was weakened, *and* washing of corpses, burial of corpses, *and* eating of dead matter were put in practice. From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this *has* not happened, for through their evil deeds—on account of want, foreign habits (Anirânîh), hostile acts, bad decrees, and bad religion—ruin, want, and other evils have taken lodgment.'

None of these passages could have been written before the Muhammadan conquest; but the writer, or editor, of the text as it appears in TD, supplies the means of approximating much more closely to the date of his work, in a passage in Chap. 41 of TD, in which he mentions the names of several of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11). Among these, as already noticed, he mentions 'Zâ*d*-sparham *son* of Yûdân-Yim,' who must have been the writer of the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, a translation of which is added as an appendix to the Bundahi*s* in this volume. This writer was the brother of Mânûs*k*ihar son of Yûdân-Yim, who wrote the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînik[1], and from colophons found in certain MSS. of the Dâ*d*istân (which will be more particularly described in the next section of this introduction) it appears that this Mânûs*k*ihar was

[1] It is quite possible that Mânûs*k*îhar was also the reviser of the Bundahis; see the note on Dâ*d*akîh-i Ashôvahistô in Chap. XXXIII, 10.

high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân in A. Y. 250 (A. D. 881). This date may, therefore, be taken as a very close approximation to the time at which the Bundahis probably assumed the form we find in TD; but that MS., having been written about 650 years later, can hardly have been copied direct from the original. Whether that original was merely a new edition of an older Pahlavi work, as may be suspected from the simplicity of its language, or whether it was first translated, for the most part, from the Avesta of the Dâmdâd Nask, in the ninth century, we have no means of determining with certainty. Judging, however, from Chap. I, 1, the original Bundahis probably ended with the account of the resurrection (Chap. XXX), and the extra chapters, containing genealogical and chronological details (matters not mentioned in Chap. I, 1), together with all allusions to the Arabs, were probably added by the revising editor in the ninth century. The last, or chronological, chapter may even have been added at a later date.

A Gugarâti translation, or rather paraphrase, of the Bundahis was published in 1819 by Edal Dârâb Jamshêd Jâmâsp Âsâ, and a revised edition of it was published by Peshutan Rustam in 1877[1]. In the preface to the latter edition it is stated that the translator made use of two MSS., one being a copy of a manuscript written in Iran in A. Y. 776 by Rustamji Meherwanji Margabân Sheheriâr[2], and the other a MS. written in India by Dastûr Jamshêdji Jâmâspji in A. Y. 1139[3]. It is also mentioned that he was four years at work upon his translation. The editor of the new edition states that he has laboured to

[1] Bundehes ketâb, iâne duniâ-ni awal-thi te âkher sudhi pedâes-ni sahruât-ni hakikat; bigi-vâr sudhârine *kha*pâwanâr, Peshutan bin Rustam; Mumbai, 1877.

[2] There is no doubt whatever that the writer of the preface is referring to M6, although his description is incorrect. M6 was written at Bhrôk in India A. Y. 766 by Pêshôtan Râm Kâmdîn Shaharyâr Nêryôsang Shâhmard Shaharyâr Bâhrâm Aûrmazdyâr Râmyâr; but some portion of it (probably not the Bundahis) was copied from a MS. written A. Y. 618 (A. D. 1249) by Rûstam Mihirâpân Marzapân Dahisn-ayâr, who must be the copyist mentioned in the preface to the Gugarâti translation.

[3] This is probably the copy derived from M6, and mentioned in p. xxx as being now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji.

improve the work by collecting all the further information he could find, on the various subjects, in many other Pahlavi works. The result of all this labour is not so much a mere translation of the Bundahis, as a larger work upon the same subject, or a paraphrase more methodically arranged, as may be seen from the following summary of its contents:—

The headings of the fifty-nine chapters, which form the first part of the work, are:—Ahuramazd's covenant, account of the sky, of the first twelve things created, of Mount Alborg, of the twelve signs of the zodiac, of the stars, of the soul, of the first practices adopted by the creatures of the evil spirit Ahereman, of Ahereman's first breaking into the sky, of Ahereman's coming upon the primeval ox, of Ahereman's arrival in the fire, of Ahereman's coming upon Gaiomard, of the coming of Ahuramazd and Ahereman upon Gaiomard at the time of his creation, of the lustre residing in both spirits; further account of the arrangement of the sky, another account of all the mountains, of depressions for water, of great and small rivers, of the eighteen rivers of fresh water, of the seven external and seven internal liquids in the bodies of men, of the period in which water falling on the earth arrives at its destination, of the three spiritual rivers, of the star Tchestar's destroying the noxious creatures which Ahereman had distributed over the earth, of the prophet Zarathost's asking the creator Ahuramazd how long these noxious creatures will remain in the latter millenniums, of driving the poison of the noxious creatures out of the earth, of the divisions of the land, of the creator Ahuramazd's placing valiant stars as club-bearers over the heads of the demons, of all the things produced by the passing away of the primeval ox, of the 282 species of beasts and birds, of the bird named *K*amros, of the bird named Karsapad and the hollow of Vargamkard, of the birds who are enemies opposed to the demons and fiends, of the bitter and sweet plants among the fifty-five kinds of grain and twelve kinds of herbs, of the flowers of the thirty days, of the revolution of the sun and moon and stars, and how

night falls, and how the day becomes light, of the seven regions of the earth, of depressions, of the creatures of the sea, of the flow and ebb of the tide, of the three-legged ass, of the Gâhambârs, of Rapithvan, of the revolution of the seasons, of the production of mankind from the passing away of Gaiomard, of the production of offspring from the seed of men, of all fires, of all the clever work produced in the reign of King Jamshed and the production of the ape and bear, of the production of the Abyssinian and negro from Zohâk, of the splendour and glory of King Jamshed, of the soul of Kersâsp, of Kersâsp's soul being the first to rise, of the names of the prophet Zarathost's pedigree, of his going out into the world, of his children, of the orders given by Ahereman to the demons when the creator Ahuramazd created the creatures, of the weeping and raging of the evil spirit Ahereman, of the weeping of the demon of Wrath in the presence of Ahereman when the prophet Zarathost brought the religion, of the computation of twelve thousand years.

The headings of the thirteen chapters, which form the second part, are: — Account of the last millenniums, of the appearance of Hosedar-bâmi, of his going out into the world, of the appearance of Hosedar-mâh, of Sosios, of the fifty-seven years, of giving the light of the sun to men on the day of the resurrection, of the rising again of the whole of mankind on that day, of the resurrection, of the means of resurrection, of the annihilation of the evil spirit Ahereman and the demons and fiends on the day of resurrection, of the creator Ahuramazd's making the earth and sky one after the resurrection, of the proceedings of all creatures after the resurrection.

The third part contains an abstract of the contents of the hundred chapters of the Sad-dar Bundahis, and concludes with an account of the ceremonial formula practised when tying the kusti or sacred thread-girdle.

4. The Selections of Zâd-sparam.

In some manuscripts of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk the ninety-two questions and answers, which usually go by that name, are preceded and followed by Pahlavi texts which are each nearly equal in extent to the questions and answers, and treat of a variety of subjects, somewhat in the manner of a Rivâyat. Of the texts which follow the questions and answers the following are the principal :—

Incantations for fever, &c.; indications afforded by natural marks on the body; about the hamîstakân ('the ever-stationary,' or neutral state of future existence) and the different grades in heaven; copy of an epistle[1] from Herbad Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim[2], which he addressed to the good people of Sîrkân[3], about the decisions pronounced by Herbad Zâd-sparam son of Yûdân-Yim; copy of a letter from Herbad Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim to his brother, Herbad Zâd-sparam, on the same subject, and replying to a letter of his written from Nivshâpûhar; copy of a notice by Herbad Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim and high-priest (rad) of Pârs and Kirmân, of the necessity of fifteenfold ablution on account of grievous sin, written and sealed in the third month A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881); memoranda and writings called 'Selections of Zâd-sparam son of Yûdân-Yim,' the first part treating of many of the same subjects as the Bundahis, together

[1] This long epistle contains one statement which is important in its bearing upon the age of certain Pahlavi writings. It states that Nîshahpûhar was in the council of Anôshak-rûbân Khûsrô, king of kings and son of Kavâd, also that he was Mobad of Mobads and a commentator. Now this is the name of a commentator quoted in the Pahlavi Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VIII, 64, and very frequently in the Nîrangistân; it is also a title applied to Ardâ-Vîrâf (see AV. I, 35). These facts seem to limit the age of the last revision of the Pahlavi Vendidad, and of the composition of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân and Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak to the time of King Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). The statement depends, of course, upon the accuracy of a tradition three centuries old, as this epistle must have been written about A.D. 880.

[2] Some Parsis read this name Gôshnajam, others Yûdân-dam.

[3] Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji thinks this is the place now called Sîrgan, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, on the road to Bandar Abbâs, which is no doubt the case.

with legends regarding Zaratûst and his family; the second part about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul; and the third part about the details of the renovation of the universe. The last part of these Selections is incomplete in all known MSS., and is followed by some fragments of a further series of questions and answers regarding the omniscient wisdom, the evil spirit, Kangdez, the enclosure formed by Yim, &c.

A translation of so much of the Selections of Zâd-sparam as treats of the same subjects as the Bundahis, has been added as an appendix to the translation of that work in this volume, because the language used in these Selections seems to have an important bearing upon the question of the age of the Bundahis. The time when the Selections themselves were written is fixed with considerable precision by the date (A. D. 881), when their author's brother, Mânûskihar, issued his public notice, as mentioned above. But Zâd-sparam uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the Bundahis, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style; it is, therefore, evident that he had the Bundahis before him to quote from, and that work must consequently have been written either by one of his contemporaries, or by an older writer. So far the Selections merely confirm the information already obtained more directly from TD (see p. xxxviii); but the involved style of their language seems to prove more than this. In fact, in none of the text of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk and its accompaniments is there much of the simplicity of style and directness of purpose which are the chief characteristics of most of the language of the Bundahis. So far, therefore, as style can be considered a mark of age, rather than a mere personal peculiarity of a contemporary writer, the contrast between the straightforward language of the Bundahis and the laboured sentences of Mânûskihar and Zâd-sparam, sons of Yûdân-Yim, tends to prove that the bulk of the Bundahis was already an old work in their days, and was probably saved from oblivion through their writings or influence. That this original Bundahis or Zand-âkâs was an abridged translation of the Avesta of the

Dâmdâ*d* Nask appears pretty evident from Zâ*d*-sparam's remarks in Chap. IX, 1, 16 of his Selections.

The first part of these Selections consists of 'sayings about the meeting of the beneficent and evil spirits,' and the first portion of these 'sayings' (divided into eleven chapters in the translation) is chiefly a paraphrase of Chaps. I–XVII of the Bundahi*s* (omitting Chaps. II, V, and XVI). It describes the original state of the two spirits, their meeting and covenant, with a paraphrase of the Ahûnavar formula; the production of the first creatures, including time; the incursion of the evil spirit and his temporary success in deranging the creation, with the reason why he was unable to destroy the primitive man for thirty years; followed by the seven contests he carried on with the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man, and fire, respectively, detailing how each of these creations was modified in consequence of the incursion of the evil spirit. In the account of the first of these contests the Pahlavi translation of one stanza in the Gâthas is quoted verbatim, showing that the same Pahlavi version of the Yasna was used in the ninth century as now exists. The remainder of these 'sayings,' having no particular connection with the Bundahi*s*, has not been translated.

With regard to the Pahlavi text of the Selections, the present translator has been compelled to rely upon a single manuscript of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, brought by Westergaard from Kirmân[1] in 1843, and now No. 35 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen; it may, therefore, be called K35. This MS. is incomplete, having lost nearly one-third of its original bulk, but still contains 181 folios of large octavo size, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page; the first seventy-one folios of the work have been lost, and about thirty-five folios are also missing from the end; but the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers, together with one-third of the

[1] That is, so far as the late Professor Westergaard could remember in 1878, when he kindly lent me the MS. for collation with my copy of the text, already obtained from more recent MSS. in Bombay, the best of which turned out to be a copy of K35.

texts which usually precede them, and three-fifths of those which usually follow them, are still remaining. This MS. has lost its date, but a copy[1] of it exists in Bombay (written when it was complete) which ends with a colophon dated A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572), as detailed in p. xxxiii; this may either be the actual date of that copy, or it may have been merely copied from K35, which cannot be much older. The latter supposition appears the more probable, as this colophon seems to be left incomplete by the loss of the last folio in the Bombay copy, and may, therefore, have been followed by another colophon giving a later date.

This copy of K35 was, no doubt, originally complete, but has lost many of its folios in the course of time; most of the missing text has been restored from another MS., but there are still twelve or more folios missing from the latter part of the work; it contains, however, all that portion of the Selections which is translated in this volume, but has, of course, no authority independent of K35. The other MS. in Bombay, from which some of the missing text was recovered, is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji; it is a modern copy, written at different periods from forty to sixty years ago, and is incomplete, as it contains only one-fourth of the texts which usually follow the ninety-two questions and answers, and includes no portion of the Selections of Zâd-sparam.

Another MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dinîk and its accompaniments, written also at Kirmân, but two generations earlier than K35 (say, about A.D. 1530), has been already mentioned (see p. xxxiii). It is said still to contain 227 folios, though its first seventy folios are missing; it must, therefore, begin very near the same place as K35, but extends much further, as it supplies about half the text still missing from the

[1] The fact of its being a copy of K35 is proved by strong circumstantial evidence. In the first place, it contains several false readings which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35, so that it is evidently descended from that MS. But it is further proved to have been copied direct from that MS., by the last words in thirty-two of its pages having been marked with interlined circles in K35, the circle having been the copyist's mark for finding his place, when beginning a new page after turning over his folios.

Bombay copy of K35, though it has lost about fourteen folios at the end. This MS. must be either the original from which K35 was copied, or an independent authority of equal value, but it has not been available for settling the text of the Selections for the present translation.

5. The Bahman Yast.

The Bahman Yast, usually called the 'Zand of the Vohûman Yast,' professes to be a prophetical work, in which Aûharmazd gives Zaratûst an account of what was to happen to the Iranian nation and religion in the future.

It begins with an introduction (Chap. I) which states that, according to the Stûdgar Nask, Zaratûst having asked Aûharmazd for immortality, was supplied temporarily with omniscient wisdom, and had a vision of a tree with four branches of different metals which were explained to him as symbolical of four different periods, the times of Vistâsp, of Ardakhshîr the Kayânian, of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and of certain demons or idolators who were to appear at the end of a thousand years. It states, further, that the commentaries of the Vohûman, Horvadad, and Âstâd Yasts mentioned the heretic Mazdak, and that Khûsrô Nôshirvân summoned a council of high-priests and commentators, and ordered them not to conceal these Yasts, but to teach the commentary only among their own relations.

The text then proceeds (Chap. II) to give the details of the commentary on the Vohûman Yast as follows:—Zaratûst, having again asked Aûharmazd for immortality, is refused, but is again supplied with omniscient wisdom for a week, during which time he sees, among other things, a tree with seven branches of different metals, which are again explained to him as denoting the seven ages of the religion, its six ages of triumph in the reigns of Vistâsp, of Ardakhshîr the Kayânian, of one of the Askânian kings, of Ardakhshîr Pâpakân and Shahpûr I and II, of Vâhrâm Gôr, and of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and its seventh age of adversity when

Iran is to be invaded from the east by hordes of demons or idolators with dishevelled hair, who are to work much mischief, so as to destroy the greater part of the nation and mislead the rest, until the religion becomes nearly extinct. The details of this mischief, written in a tone of lamentation constitute the greater part of the text, which also notices that the sovereignty will pass from the Arabs, Rûmans, and these leathern-belted demons (Tûrks) to other Tûrks and non-Tûranians who are worse than themselves.

Distressed at this narrative Zaratûst asks Aûharmazd (Chap. III, 1) how the religion is to be restored, and these demons destroyed? He is informed that, in the course of time, other fiends with red banners, red weapons, and red hats, who seem to be Christians, will appear in the north-west, and will advance either to the Arvand (Tigris) or the Euphrates, driving back the former demons who will assemble all their allies to a great conflict, one of the three great battles of the religions of the world, in which the wicked will be so utterly destroyed that none will be left to pass into the next millennium.

Zaratûst enquires (III, 12) how so many can perish, and is informed that, after the demons with dishevelled hair appear, Hûshêdar, the first of the last three apostles, is born near Lake Frazdân; and when he begins to confer with Aûharmazd a Kayân prince is born in the direction of Kînistân (Samarkand), who is called Vâhrâm the Vargâvand, and when he is thirty years old he collects a large army of Hindu (Bactrian) and Kînî (Samarkandian) troops, and advances into Iran, where he is reinforced by a numerous army of Iranian warriors, and defeats the demon races with immense slaughter, in the great conflict already mentioned, so that there will be only one man left to a thousand women.

The writer then proceeds to describe the supernatural agencies employed to produce this rêsult: how the evil spirit (III, 24) comes to the assistance of the demon-worshippers; how Aûharmazd sends his angels to Kangdez, to summon Pêshyôtanû, the immortal son of Vistâsp, with his disciples, to re-establish the sacred fires and restore the

religious ceremonies; and how the angels assist them against the evil spirits, so that Vâhrâm the Var*g*âvand is enabled to destroy the fiendish races, as already detailed, and Pêshyôtanû becomes supreme high-priest of the Iranian world.

Finally, the writer gives some details regarding the missions of the last three apostles, returning for that purpose (III, 44) to the birth of Hûshê*d*ar, the first of the three, whose millennium witnesses both the invasion and the destruction of the fiendish races. Hûshê*d*ar proves his apostolic authority, to the satisfaction of Var*g*âvand and the people, by making the sun stand still for ten days and nights. His mission is to 'bring the creatures back to their proper state;' and it is not till near the end of his millennium that Pêshyôtanû appears, as before described. As this millennium begins with the invasion of the fiendish races and the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, it must have terminated in the seventeenth century, unless it was to last more than a thousand years. A very brief account is then given of the millennium of Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, the second of the three apostles, whose mission is to make 'the creatures more progressive' and to destroy 'the fiend of serpent origin' (A*z*-i Dahâk). During his millennium (which appears to be now in progress) mankind become so skilled in medicine that they do not readily die; but owing to their toleration of heretics the evil spirit once more attains power, and releases A*z*-i Dahâk, from his confinement in Mount Dimâvand, to work evil in the world, till Aûharmazd sends his angels to rouse Keresâsp the Sâmân, who rises from his trance and kills A*z*-i Dahâk with his club at the end of the millennium. Afterwards, Sôshyans, the last apostle, appears to 'make the creatures again pure;' when the resurrection takes place and the future existence commences.

Whether this text, as now extant, be the original commentary or zand of the Vohûman Ya*s*t admits of doubt, since it appears to quote that commentary (Chap. II, 1) as an authority for its statements; it is, therefore, most probably, only an epitome of the original commentary. Such an epitome would naturally quote many passages verbatim

from the original work, which ought to bear traces of translation from an Avesta text, as its title zand implies a Pahlavi translation from the Avesta (see p. x). There are, in fact, many such traces in this epitome, as indicated by the numerous sentences beginning with a verb, the mode of addressing Aûharmazd, the quotation of different opinions from various commentators, and other minor peculiarities. Some of these might be the result of careful imitation of other commentaries, but it seems more likely that they are occasioned by literal translation from an original Avesta text. In speculating, therefore, upon the contents of the Bahman Ya*s*t it is necessary to remember that we are most probably dealing with a composite work, whose statements may be referred to the three different ages of the Avesta original, the Pahlavi translation and commentary, and the Pahlavi epitome of the latter; and that this last form of the text is the only old version now extant.

With regard to the age of the work we have the external evidence that a copy of it exists in a manuscript (K20) written about five hundred years ago, and that this copy is evidently descended from older manuscripts as it contains several clerical blunders incompatible with any idea of its being the original manuscript, as witness the omissions noted in Chaps. II, 10, 13, 14, 22, 27, 45, III, 30, 32, the misplacement of II, 18, and many miswritings of single words. Owing to the threefold character of the work, already noticed, the internal evidence of its age can only apply to its last recension in the form of an epitome, as an oriental editor (to say nothing of others) generally considers himself at liberty to alter and add to his text, if he does not understand it, or thinks he can improve it. That this liberty has been freely exercised, with regard to these professed prophecies, is shown by the identification of the four prophetical ages of the Stû*d*gar Nask in the first chapter of the Bahman Ya*s*t being different from that given in the Dînkar*d*. The Dînkar*d* quotes the Stû*d*gar Nask (that is, its Pahlavi version) as identifying the iron age with some period of religious indifference subsequent to the time of Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mâraspend, the supreme high-priest and

prime minister of Shahpûr II (A.D. 309–379); but the Bahman Yast (Chap. I, 5) quotes the Nask as identifying the same age with the reign of an idolatrous race subsequent to the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). This example is sufficient to show that the compiler of the extant epitome of the Bahman Yast commentary largely availed himself of his editorial license, and it indicates the difficulty of distinguishing his statements from those of the former editors. At the same time it proves that the epitome could not have been compiled till after Iran had been overrun by a foreign race subsequent to the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân. It is remarkable that the compiler does not mention any later Sasanian king, that he does not allude to Muhammadanism, and speaks of the foreign invaders as Turanians and Christians, only mentioning Arabs incidentally in later times; at the same time the foreign invasion (which lasts a thousand years) is of too permanent a character to allow of its having reference merely to the troublous times of Nôshirvân's successor.

Perhaps the most reasonable hypotheses that can be founded upon these facts are, first, that the original zand or commentary of the Bahman Yast was written and translated from the Avesta in the latter part of the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, or very shortly afterwards, which would account for no later king being mentioned by name; and, secondly, that the epitome now extant was compiled by some writer who lived so long after the Arab invasion that the details of their inroad had become obscured by the more recent successes of Turanian rulers, such as the Ghaznavîs and Salgûqs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is hardly possible that the epitomist could have lived as late as the time of Gingiz Khân, the great Mongol conqueror (A.D. 1206–1227), as that would bring him within 150 years of the date of the extant manuscript of his work, which has no appearance of being an immediate copy of the original; but the rule of the Salgûqs would certainly have afforded him sufficient materials for his long description of the iron age. The Avesta of the Bahman Yast was probably compiled from older sources (like the rest of the Avesta) during

the reigns of the earlier Sasanian monarchs; but it was, no doubt, very different in its details from the epitome of its commentary which still exists.

These hypotheses, regarding the threefold origin of the present form of this Yast, derive some confirmation from the inconsistencies in its chronological details; especially those relating to the periods of the invaders' reign and of Hûshêdar's birth. The Zoroastrians have for ages been expecting the appearance of Hûshêdar, the first of their last three apostles, but have always had to postpone their expectations from time to time, like the Jews and other interpreters of prophecy; so that they are still looking forward into the future for his advent, although his millennium has long since expired according to the chronology adopted in the Bahman Yast. This chronology, of course, represents the expectations of Zoroastrians in past times, and seems to express three different opinions. First, we have the statement that the last great battle of the demon-races is to take place at the end of Zaratûst's millennium (see Chap. III, 9), when the wicked will be so destroyed (compare III, 22, 23) that none will pass into the next millennium (III, 11), which is that of Hûshêdar (III, 43). And that the reign of evil is to precede the end of Zaratûst's millennium is evidently assumed also in Chap. II, 41, 63. Such opinions may reasonably be traced to the original Avesta writer, who must have expected only a short reign of evil to arise and fall near the latter end of Zaratûst's millennium, which was still far in the future, and to be followed by the appearance of Hûshêdar to restore the 'good' religion. Secondly, we are told (I, 5, II, 22, 24, 31) that the invasion of the demon-races, with its attendant evils, is to take place when Zaratûst's millennium is ended; on their appearance Hûshêdar is born (III, 13), and when he is thirty years old (compare III, 14 with III, 44) Vâhrâm the Vargâvand is also born, who at the age of thirty (III, 17) advances into Iran with an innumerable army to destroy the invaders. Such statements may be attributed to the original Pahlavi translator and commentator who, writing about A.D. 570–590, would have before his eyes the disastrous

reign of Aûharmazd IV, the son and successor of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, together with the prowess of the famous Persian general Bahrâm *K*ôpîn, which drove out all invaders. This writer evidently expected the reign of the demon-races to last less than a century, but still at some period in the near future; merely illustrating his theme by details of the disasters and wars of his own time. Thirdly, we find it stated (III, 44) that Hûshê*d*ar will be born in 1600, which seems to mean the sixteen hundredth year of Zaratûs*t*'s millennium, or six hundredth of his own (say A.D. 1193–1235), also that the reign of the demon-races is to last a thousand years (III, 34), and that Pêshyôtanû does not come to restore the religion till near the end of the millennium (III, 51); it also appears (III, 49) that Var*g*âvand occupies a prominent position when Hûshê*d*ar comes from his conference with Aûharmazd at thirty years of age (III, 44, 45). Such details were probably inserted by the compiler of the epitome, who had to admit the facts that the reign of the demon-races had already lasted for centuries, and that Hûshê*d*ar had not yet appeared. To get over these difficulties he probably adopted the opinions current in his day, and postponed the advent of Hûshê*d*ar till the beginning of the next century in his millennium, and put off the destruction of the wicked, as a more hopeless matter, till near the end of the millennium. Both these periods are now long since past, and the present Zoroastrians have still to postpone the fulfilment of the prophecies connected with their last three apostles, or else to understand them in a less literal fashion than heretofore.

For the Pahlavi text of the Bahman Ya*s*t the translator has to rely upon the single old manuscript K20, already described (p. xxvii), in which it occupies the 13½ folios immediately following the Bundahi*s*; these folios are much worn, and a few words have been torn off some of them, but nearly all of these missing words can be restored by aid of the Pâzand version. The Pahlavi text is also found in the modern copies of K20 at Paris and Kopenhagen, but these copies (P7 and K21) have no authority independent of K20. In India this text has long been exceedingly rare.

and whether any copy of it exists, independent of K20, is doubtful.

The Pâzand version is more common in Parsi libraries, but contains a very imperfect text. Of this version two modern copies have been consulted; one of these occupies fols. 38–62 of a small manuscript, No. 22 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich; the other is a copy of a manuscript in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay. Both these MSS. are evidently descended from the same original, which must have been a very imperfect transliteration of a Pahlavi text closely resembling that of K20, but yet independent of that MS., as a few words omitted in K20 are supplied by these Pâzand MSS. (see B.Yt. II, 13, 14, 22, &c.) To a certain extent, therefore, these Pâzand MSS. are of some assistance in settling the text of a few sentences, but the greater part of their contents is so imperfect as to be utterly unintelligible; they not only omit Chaps. I, 1–8, II, 17, 30–32, 40, III, 9, 12, 17–44, 58–63 entirely, but also words and phrases from nearly every other section of the text. Adhering scrupulously to the Pahlavi original for a few consecutive words, and then widely departing from it by misreading or omitting all difficult words and passages, this Pâzand version is a complete contrast to the Pâzand writings of Nêryôsang, being of little use to the reader beyond showing the extremely low ebb to which Pahlavi learning must have fallen, among the Parsis, before such unintelligible writings could have been accepted as Pâzand texts.

There is also a Persian version of the Bahman Yast, a copy of which, written A. D. 1676, is contained in a large Rivâyat MS. No. 29, belonging to the University Library at Bombay. According to the colophon of this Persian version it was composed in A.D. 1496 by Rustam Isfendiyâr of Yazd, from an Avesta (Pâzand) MS. belonging to his brother Jamshêd. This Persian version contains less than three per cent of Arabic words, and is more of a paraphrase than a translation, but it adheres very closely to the meaning of the Pahlavi text from Chaps. I, 1 to III, 9, where a dislocation occurs, evidently owing either to the displacement

of two folios in an older MS., or to the second page of a folio being copied before the first, so that §§ 10–14 follow §§ 15–22. From the middle of § 22 the folios of the older MS. seem to have been lost as far as the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (§ 51), to which point the Persian version leaps, but the remainder of this paraphrase is much more diffuse than the Bahman Yast, and is evidently derived from some other Pahlavi work.

This conclusion of the Persian version describes how adversity departs from the world, and ten people are satisfied with the milk of one cow, when Hûshêdar-mâh appears and his millennium commences. On his coming from his conference with Aûharmazd the sun stands still for twenty days and nights, in consequence of which two-thirds of the people in the world believe in the religion. Meat is no longer eaten, but only milk and butter, and a hundred people are satisfied with the milk of one cow. Hûshêdar-mâh destroys the terrible serpent, which accompanies apostasy, by means of the divine glory and Avesta formulas; he clears all noxious creatures out of the world, and wild animals live harmlessly among mankind; the fiends of apostasy and deceit depart from the world, which becomes populous and delightful, and mankind abstain from falsehood. After the five-hundredth year of Hûshêdar-mâh has passed away, Sôshyans (Sâsân) appears, and destroys the fiend who torments fire. The sun stands still for thirty days and nights, when all mankind believe in the religion, and the year becomes exactly 360 days. Dahâk escapes from his confinement, and reigns for a day and a half in the world with much tyranny; when Sôshyans rouses Sâm Narîmân, who accepts the religion and becomes immortal. Sâm calls upon Dahâk to accept the religion, but the latter proposes that they should together seize upon heaven for themselves, whereupon Sâm kills him. All evil having departed from the world mankind become like the archangels, and the resurrection takes place, which is described with many of the same details as are mentioned in Bund. XXX.

Accompanying this Persian version in B29 is another

fragment from the same source, which treats of the same subjects as the third chapter of the Bahman Yast, but is differently arranged. It confines itself to the millennium of Hûshêdar, and may possibly be some modification of the contents of the folios missing from the version described above. After some introductory matter this fragment contains a paraphrase (less accurate than the preceding) of Chap. III, 23–49 of the Bahman Yast; it then proceeds to state that Hûshêdar destroys the wolf race, so that wolves, thieves, highway robbers, and criminals cease to exist. When Hûshêdar's three-hundredth year has passed away the winter of Malkôs arrives and destroys all animals and vegetation, and only one man survives out of ten thousand; after which the world is repeopled from the enclosure made by Yim. Then comes the gathering of the nations to the great battle on the Euphrates, where the slaughter is so great that the water of the river becomes red, and the survivors wade in blood up to their horses' girths. Afterwards, the Kayân king, Vargâvand, advances from the frontiers of India and takes possession of Iran to the great delight of the inhabitants, but only after a great battle; and then Pêshyôtanû is summoned from Kangdez to restore the religious ceremonies.

A German translation of some passages in the Bahman Yast, with a brief summary of the greater part of the remainder, was published in 1860 in Spiegel's Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, pp. 128–135.

6. The Shâyast lâ-shâyast.

Another treatise which must be referred to about the same age as the Bundahis, though of a very different character, is the Shâyast lâ-shâyast or 'the proper and improper.' It is a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general. Its name has, no doubt, been given to it in modern times [1], and has pro-

[1] But perhaps before the compilation of the prose Sad-dar Bundahis, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which seems to refer to the Shâyast lâ-shâyast

bably arisen from the frequent use it makes of the words shâya*d*, 'it is fit or proper,' and lâ shâya*d*, 'it is not fit or proper.' And, owing to its resemblance to those Persian miscellanies of traditional memoranda called Rivâyats, it has also been named the Pahlavi Rivâyat, though chiefly by Europeans.

It consists of two parts, which are often put together in modern MSS., and bear the same name, but are widely separated in the oldest MSS. These two parts, consisting respectively of Chaps. I–X and XI–XIV in the present translation, are evidently two distinct treatises on the same and similar subjects, but of nearly the same age. That they were compiled by two different persons, who had access to nearly the same authorities, appears evident from Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13–16, 18, 20 being repetitions of Chaps. I, 1, 2, X, 4, 20–23, 7, 31, with only slight alterations; such repetitions as would hardly be made in a single treatise by the same writer. Minor repetitions in the first part, such as those of some phrases in Chaps. II, 65, IV, 14, repeated in Chap. X, 24, 33, might readily be made by the same writer in different parts of the same treatise. To these two parts of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast a third part has been added in the present translation, as an appendix, consisting of a number of miscellaneous passages of a somewhat similar character, which are found in the same old MSS. that contain the first two parts, but which cannot be attributed either to the same writers or the same age as those parts.

The first part commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, and the names of the chief commentators on the Vendidad. It then gives long details regarding the precautions to be taken with reference to corpses and menstruous women, and the impurity they occasion; besides mentioning (Chap. II, 33–35) the pollution

in its opening words, as follows:—'This book is on "the proper and improper" which is brought out from the good, pure religion of the Mazdayasnians;' though this term may possibly relate to its own contents. There is also a Persian treatise called Shâyast na-shâyast, which gives a good deal of information obtained from the Persian Rivâyats, and copies of which are contained in the MSS. Nos. 56 and 116 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

caused by a serpent. It next describes the proper size and materials of the sacred thread-girdle and shirt, giving some details about the sins of running about uncovered and walking with one boot, and thence proceeding to the sin of unseasonable chatter. Details are then given about good works, and those who can and cannot perform them; in which reference is made to Christians, Jews, and those of other persuasions (Chap. VI, 7). The next subjects treated of are reverencing the sun and fire; the sin of extinguishing fire, confession and renunciation of sin, atonement for sins, especially mortal sins, both those affecting others and those only affecting one's own soul; with a digression (Chap. VIII, 3) prohibiting the rich from hunting. The remainder of this first treatise is of a miscellaneous character, referring to the following subjects:—The Hâsar of time, priests passing away in idolatry, the discussion of religion, ceremonies not done aright, throwing a corpse into the sea, evil of eating in the dark, the four kinds of worship, when the angels should be invoked in worship, the ephemeral nature of life, proper looseness for a girdle, when the sacred cake set aside for the guardian spirits can be used, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant, providing a tank for ablution, the Gâthas not to be recited over the dead, food and drink not to be thrown away to the north at night, unlawful slaughter of animals, how the corpse of a pregnant woman should be carried, forgiveness of trespasses, evil of walking without boots, when the sacred girdle is to be assumed, breaking the spell of an inward prayer, ten women wanted at childbirth, and how the infant is to be treated, sin of beating an innocent person, evil of a false judge, men and women who do not marry, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, prayer on lying down and getting up, Avesta not to be mumbled, doubtful actions to be avoided or consulted about, evil of laughing during prayer, crowing of a hen, treatment of a hedgehog, after a violent death corruption does not set in immediately, necessity of a dog's gaze, putrid meat and hairy cakes or butter unfit for ceremonies, when a woman can do priestly duty, &c.

The second part also commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, followed by the proper meat-offerings for various angels and guardian spirits. Next come miscellaneous observations on the following subjects:—The simplest form of worship, necessity of submitting to a high-priest, advantage of a fire in the house, sin of clothing the dead, presentation of holy-water to the nearest fire after a death, nail-parings to be prayed over, advantage of light at childbirth, offerings to the angels, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant and a child is born, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, evil of drawing well-water at night, food not to be thrown away to the north at night, advantage of prayer at feasts, treatment of a hedgehog, praying when washing the face, the proper choice of a purifying priest, no one should be hopeless of heaven, necessity of a wife being religious as well as her husband, the ceremonies which are good works, and the cause of sneezing, yawning, and sighing. These are followed by a long account of the mystic signification of the Gâthas, with some information as to the errors which may be committed in consecrating the sacred cakes, and how the beginning of the morning watch is to be determined.

The third part, or appendix, commences with an account of how each of the archangels can be best propitiated, by a proper regard for the particular worldly existence which he specially protects. This is followed by a statement of the various degrees of sin, and of the amount of good works attributed to various ceremonies. Then come some account of the ceremonies after a death, particulars of those who have no part in the resurrection, the duty of submission to the priesthood, whether evil may be done for the sake of good, the place where people will rise from the dead, Aêshm's complaint to Aharman of the three things he could not injure in the world, the occasions on which the Ahunavar formula should be recited, and the number of recitals that are requisite, &c. And, finally, statements of the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, blessings invoked

from the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month, and the special epithets of the same.

With regard to the age of this treatise we have no precise information. All three parts are found in a MS. (M6) which was written in A.D. 1397 (see p. xxix), and nearly the whole is also found in the MS. K20, which may be a few years older (see p. xxvii), and in which the first part of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast is followed by a Persian colophon dated A.Y. 700 (A.D. 1331), copied probably from an older MS. The text in both these old MSS. seems to have been derived almost direct from the same original, which must have been so old when M6 was written that the copyist found some words illegible (see notes on Chaps. VIII, 19, X, 34, XII, 14, 15, &c.) Now it is known from a colophon that a portion of M6, containing the book of Ar*d*â-Virâf and the tale of Gô*s*t-i Fryânô, was copied from a MS. written in A.D. 1249; and we may safely conclude that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast was copied, either from the same MS., or from one fully as old. So far, therefore, as external evidence goes, there is every reason to suppose that the whole of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, with its appendix[1], was existing in a MS. written about 630 years ago.

But internal evidence points to a far higher antiquity for the first two parts, as the compilers of those treatises evidently had access, not only to several old commentaries, but also to many of the Nasks, which have long been lost. Thus, the first treatise contains quotations from the commentaries of Afarg, Gôgô*s*asp, Kûshtanŏ-bûgè*d*, Mè*d*ôk-mâh, Rôshan, and Sôshyans, which are all frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad (see Sls. I, 3, 4, notes); besides mentioning the opinions of Mar*d*-bû*d*, Nêryôsang, Nôsâî Bûr*z*-Mitrô, and Vand-Aûharmazd, who are rarely or never mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It also quotes no less than eleven of the twenty Nasks or books of the complete Mazdayasnian literature which are no longer extant, besides the Vendidad, the only Nask that still survives in the full extent it had in Sasanian times.

[1] Except Chaps. XXII, XXIII (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXII).

The Nasks quoted are the Stûdgar (Sls. X, 8), the Bagh (X, 26), the Dâmdâd (X, 22), the Pâzôn (IX, 9), the Ratûstâitîh (X, 29), the Kîdrast (X, 28), the Spend (X, 4), the Nihâdûm (X, 3, 22, 23), the Dûbâsrûgêd (X, 13), the Hûspâram (X, 21), and the Sakâdûm (X, 25), very few of which are mentioned even in the Pahlavi Vendidad. The second treatise mentions only one commentator, Vand-Aûharmazd, but it quotes eight of the Nasks no longer extant; these are the Stûdgar (Sls. XII, 32), the Dâmdâd (XII, 5, 15), the Spend (XII, 3, 11, 15, 29), the Bâg-yasnô (XII, 17), the Nihâdûm (XII, 15, 16), the Hûspâram (XII, 1, 7, 14, 31, XIII, 17), the Sakâdûm (XII, 2, 10, 12, XIII, 30), and the Hâdôkht (XII, 19, 30, XIII, 6, 10).

Of two of these Nasks, the Bagh and Hâdôkht, a few fragments may still survive (see notes on Sls. X, 26, Haug's Essays, p. 134, B. Yt. III, 25), but those of the latter Nask do not appear to contain the passages quoted in the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. With regard to the rest we only know that the Dâmdâd, Hûspâram, and Sakâdûm must have been still in existence about A.D. 881, as they are quoted in the writings of Zâd-sparam and Mânûskihar, sons of Yûdân-Yim, who lived at that time (see pp. xlii, xlvi); and the Nihâdûm and Hûspâram are also quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It is true that the Dînkard gives copious information about the contents of all the Nasks, with two or three exceptions; and the Dînkard seems to have assumed its present form about A.D. 900 (see Bund. XXXIII, 11, notes); but its last editor was evidently merely a compiler of old fragments, so there is no certainty that many of the Nasks actually existed in his time.

Thus far, therefore, the internal evidence seems to prove that the two treatises called Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which constitute the first two parts of the present translation, are more than a thousand years old. On the other hand, they cannot be more than three centuries older, because they frequently quote passages from the Pahlavi Vendidad which, as we have seen (p. xlvi, note 1), could not have assumed its present form before the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). As they contain no reference to any

interference of the governing powers with the religion or priesthood, it is probable that they were written before the Muhammadan conquest (A.D. 636–651), although they do not mention the existence of any 'king of the kings,' the usual title of the Sasanian monarchs. And this probability is increased by there being no direct mention of Muhammadanism among the contemporary religions named in Chap. VI, 7, unless we assume that passage to be a quotation from an earlier book. We may, therefore, conclude, with tolerable certainty, that the Pahlavi text of the first two parts of the present translation of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast was compiled some time in the seventh century; but, like the Bundahi*s* and Bahman Yast, it was, for the most part, a compilation of extracts and translations from far older writings, and may also have been rearranged shortly after the Muhammadan conquest.

The fragments which are collected in the appendix, or third part of the present translation, are probably of various ages, and several of them may not be more than seven centuries old. The commentator Bakht-âfri*d*, whose work (now lost) is quoted in Chap. XX, 11, may have lived in the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (see B. Yt. I, 7). And Chap. XXI must certainly have been written in Persia, as the lengths of noonday shadows which it mentions are only suitable for 32° north latitude. As regards the last two chapters we have no evidence that they are quite five centuries old.

For the Pahlavi text of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast and its appendix we have not only the very old codex M6 (see p. xxix) for the whole of it, but also the equally old codex K20 (see p. xxvii) for all but Chaps. XV–XVII, XX, XXII, and XXIII in the appendix. In M6 the first two parts are separated by twenty folios, containing the Farhang-i Oim-khadûk, and the second part is separated from the first three chapters of the appendix by four folios, containing the Patit-i Khû*d*; the next three chapters of the appendix are from the latter end of the second volume of M6. Chap. XXI is from the middle of the same, and the last two chapters are from some additional folios at the beginning of the

first volume. In K20 the first two parts are separated by ninety-two folios, containing the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and several other Pahlavi and Avesta texts; Chap. XVIII precedes the first part, Chap. XIX precedes the second part, and Chap. XXI is in an earlier part of the MS.

Derived from K20 are the two modern copies P7 and K21 (see p. xxviii). Derived from M6 are the modern copy of the first two parts in M9 (No. 9 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), a copy of Chaps. XIV, XV in L15 (No. 15 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London), a copy of Chap. XX, 4–17 in O121 (No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, see p. xxx), and a copy of Chap. XVIII in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis at Bombay. While an independent Pahlavi version of Chap. XXIII occurs in a very old codex in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay, which version has been used for the text of the present translation, because that chapter is incomplete in M6.

Pâzand versions of some of the chapters, chiefly in the appendix, are to be found in some MSS., but all derived apparently from M6. Thus, in the Pâzand MSS. L7 and L22 (Nos. 7 and 22 in the India Office Library at London, see p. xxxi), written in Avesta characters, Chaps. XVIII, XX, XV follow the last chapter of the Bundahis, and Chap. XIV occurs a few folios further on. And in the Pâzand MS. M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), written in Persian characters, the following detached passages occur in a miscellaneous collection of extracts (fols. 126–133):—Chaps. XX, 14–16, X, 18, 19, IX, 9, 10, XX, 12, 13, 4, 5, VIII, 2, 4–14, XX, 11. A Persian version of Chap. XVIII also occurs in M5 (No. 5 of the same collection) on fol. 54.

It does not appear that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast has ever been hitherto translated into any European language[1], nor

[1] Except Chap. XVIII, which was translated into German by Justi, as the last chapter of his translation of the Bundahis (see p. xxvi).

is any Persian or Gugarâti translation of it known to the present translator, though a good deal of the matter it contains may be found in the Persian Rivâyats, but generally given in a different form. Owing to the technical character of the treatise, it is hazardous for any one but a Parsi priest to attempt to translate it, so that errors will, no doubt, be apparent to the initiated in the present translation. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the laws and customs mentioned in the text were those current in Persia twelve centuries ago, which may be expected to differ, in many details, from those of the Parsis in India at the present day. This is a consideration which a Parsi translator might be too apt to ignore; so that his thorough knowledge of present customs, though invaluable for the decipherment of ambiguous phrases, might lead him astray when dealing with clear statements of customs and rules now obsolete and, therefore, at variance with his preconceived ideas of propriety.

7. Concluding Remarks.

The Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are specimens of three distinct species of writings. Thus, the Bundahis and its appendix, which deal chiefly with cosmogony, myths, and traditions, may be roughly compared to the book of Genesis. The Bahman Yast, which professes to be prophetical, may be likened unto the Apocalypse. And the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which treats of religious laws regarding impurity, sin, ritual, and miscellaneous matters, bears some resemblance to Leviticus. But, though thus dealing with very different subjects these texts appear to have all originated in much the same manner, a manner which is characteristic of the oldest class of the Pahlavi writings still extant. All three are full of translations from old Avesta texts, collected together probably in the latter days of the Sasanian dynasty, and finally rearranged some time after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; so that, practically, they may be taken as representing the ideas entertained of their prehistoric religion by Persians in the

sixth century, but modified so far as to suit the taste and exigencies of the tenth.

But, notwithstanding the wide range of subjects embraced by these texts, it would be rash for the reader to assume that they afford him sufficient information for forming a decided opinion as to the character of the Parsi religion. The texts translated in this volume contain barely one-eleventh part of the religious literature extant in the Pahlavi language, without taking the Pahlavi versions of existing Avesta texts into account, which latter are even more important than the former, from a religious point of view, as they are considered more authoritative by the Parsis themselves. What proportion the literature extant may bear to that which is lost it is impossible to guess; but, omitting all consideration of the possible contents of the lost literature, it is obvious that the remaining ten-elevenths of that which is extant may contain much which would modify any opinion based merely upon the one-eleventh here translated. What the untranslated portion actually contains no one really knows. The best Pahlavi scholar can never be sure that he understands the contents of a Pahlavi text until he has fully translated it; no amount of careful reading can make him certain that he does not misunderstand some essential part of it, and were he to assert the contrary he would be merely misleading others and going astray himself. How far the translations in this volume will enable the reader to judge of the Parsi religion may perhaps be best understood by considering how far a careful perusal of the books of Genesis, Leviticus, and the Revelation, which constitute one-eleventh part of the Protestant Bible, would enable him to judge of Christianity, without any further information.

But, though these translations must be considered merely as a contribution towards a correct account of mediæval Zoroastrianism, the Bundahis does afford some very definite information upon one of the fundamental doctrines of that faith. The Parsi religion has long been represented by its opponents as a dualism; and this accusation, made in good faith by Muhammadan writers, and echoed more

incautiously by Christians, has been advanced so strenuously that it has often been admitted even by Parsis themselves, as regards the mediæval form of their faith. But neither party seems to have fairly considered how any religion which admits the personality of an evil spirit, in order to account for the existence of evil, can fail to become a dualism to a certain extent. If, therefore, the term is to be used in controversy, it behoves those who use it to define the limits of objectionable dualism with great precision, so as not to include most of the religions of the world, their own among the number.

If it be necessary for a dualism that the evil spirit be omnipresent, omniscient, almighty, or eternal, then is the Parsi religion no dualism. The Bundahis distinctly asserts that the evil spirit is not omniscient and almighty (Chap. I, 16); that his understanding is backward (I, 3, 9), so that he was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd till he arose from the abyss and saw the light (I, 9); that he is unobservant and ignorant of the future (I, 19) till it is revealed to him by Aûharmazd (I, 21); that his creatures perish at the resurrection (I, 7, 21), and he himself becomes impotent (I, 21, III, 1) and will not be (I, 3, XXX, 32). Nowhere is he supposed to be in two places at once, or to know what is occurring elsewhere than in his own presence. So far, his powers are considerably less than those generally assigned by Christians to the devil, who is certainly represented as being a more intelligent and ubiquitous personage. On the other hand, Aharman is able to produce fiends and demons (Chap. I, 10, 24), and the noxious creatures are said to be his (III, 15, XIV, 30, XVIII, 2); in which respects he has probably rather more power than the devil, although the limits of the latter's means of producing evil are by no means well defined.

The origin and end of Aharman appear to be left as uncertain as those of the devil, and, altogether, the resemblance between these two ideas of the evil spirit is remarkably close; in fact, almost too close to admit of the possibility of their being ideas of different origin. The only important differences are that Zoroastrianism does not believe in an

eternity of evil as Christianity does, and that Christianity has been content to leave all its other ideas about the devil in a very hazy and uncertain form, while Zoroastrianism has not shrunk from carrying similar ideas to their logical conclusion. If, therefore, a belief in Aharman, as the author of evil, makes the Parsi religion a dualism, it is difficult to understand why a belief in the devil, as the author of evil, does not make Christianity also a dualism. At any rate, it is evident from the Bundahis that a Christian is treading on hazardous ground when he objects to Zoroastrianism on the score of its dualism.

Another misrepresentation of the Parsi religion is shown to have no foundation in fact, by a passage in the Selections of Zâd-sparam. Several writers, both Greek and Armenian, contemporaries of the Sasanian dynasty, represent the Persians as believing that both Aûharmazd and Aharman were produced by an eternal being, who is evidently a personification of the Avesta phrase for 'boundless time.' This view was apparently confirmed by a passage in Anquetil Duperron's French translation of the Vendidad (XIX, 32–34), but this has long been known to be a mistranslation due to Anquetil's ignorance of Avesta grammar; so that the supposed doctrine of 'boundless time' being the originator of everything is not to be found in the Avesta; still it might have sprung up in Sasanian times. But the Selections of Zâd-sparam (I, 24) distinctly state that Aûharmazd produced the creature Zôrvân (precisely the term used in the phrase 'boundless time' in the Avesta). Here 'time,' although personified, is represented as a creature of Aûharmazd, produced after the first appearance of Aharman; which contradicts the statement of the Greek and Armenian writers completely, and shows how little reliance can be placed upon the assertions of foreigners regarding matters which they view with antipathy or prejudice.

With reference to the general plan of these translations of Pahlavi texts a few remarks seem necessary. In the first place, it will be obvious to any attentive reader of this introduction that a translator of Pahlavi has not merely to translate, but also to edit, the original text; and, in some

cases, he has even to discover it. Next, as regards the translation, it has been already mentioned (p. xxvi) that the translator's object is to make it as literal as possible; in order, therefore, to check the inevitable tendency of free translation to wander from the meaning of the original text, all extra words added to complete the sense, unless most distinctly understood in the original, are italicised in the translation. And in all cases that seem doubtful the reader's attention is called to the fact by a note, though it is possible that some doubtful matters may be overlooked.

The notes deal not only with explanations that may be necessary for the general reader, but also with various readings and other details that may be useful to scholars; they are, therefore, very numerous, though some passages may still be left without sufficient explanation. References to the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad are made to Spiegel's edition of the original texts, not because that edition is superior, or even equal, in accuracy to that of Westergaard, but because it is the only edition which gives the Pahlavi translations, because its sections are shorter and, therefore, reference to them is more definite, and because the only English translation of the Avesta hitherto existing[1] is based upon Spiegel's edition, and is divided into the same sections.

No attempt has been made to trace any of the myths or traditions farther back than the Avesta, whence their descent is a fact that can hardly be disputed. To trace them back to earlier times, to a supposed Indo-Iranian personification or poetic distortion of meteorological phenomena, would be, in the present state of our knowledge, merely substituting plausible guesses for ascertained facts. In many cases, indeed, we have really no right to assume that an Avesta myth has descended from any such Indo-Iranian origin, as there have been ample opportunities for the infiltration of myths from other sources, yet unknown,

[1] Bleeck's Avesta; the Religious Books of the Parsees; from Professor Spiegel's German Translation; London, 1864. Not much reliance can be placed upon the correctness of this translation, owing to defects in the German one.

among the many nations with which the religion of the Avesta has come in contact, both before and since the time of Zaratûst. For, notwithstanding the ingenious rhetoric of the expounders of myths, it is still as unsafe, from a scientific point of view, to disbelieve the former existence of Zaratûst as it is to doubt that of Moses, or any other practically prehistoric personage, merely because mythic tales have gathered about his name in later times, as they always do about the memory of any individual who has become famous or revered.

In many cases the original Pahlavi word is appended, in parentheses, to its English equivalent in the translation. This has been done for the sake of explanation, when the word is technical or rare, or the translation is unusual. For, with regard to technical terms, it has been considered best, in nearly all cases, to translate them by some explanatory phrase, in preference to filling the translation with foreign words which would convey little or no distinct meaning to the general reader. Some of these technical terms have almost exact equivalents in English, such as those translated 'resurrection' and 'demon,' or can be well expressed by descriptive phrases, such as 'sacred twigs' and 'sacred cakes.' Other terms are only approximately rendered by such words as 'archangel' and 'angel;' others can hardly be expressed at all times by the same English words, but must change according to the context, such as the term variously rendered by 'worship, ceremonial, prayer, or rites.' While the meaning of some few terms is so technical, complicated, or uncertain, that it is safer to use the Pahlavi word itself, such as Tanâpûhar, Frasast, Gêtî-kharî*d*, Dvâ*z*dah-hômâst, &c.

The following is a list of nearly all the technical terms that have been translated, with the English equivalents generally used to express them:—Âfrîn, 'blessing;' aharmôk, 'apostate, heretic;' aharûbŏ, 'righteous;' aharûbŏ-dâ*d*, 'alms, almsgiving;' akdînô, 'infidel;' ameshôspend, 'archangel;' armê*s*t, 'helpless;' ast-hômand, 'material;' aûsôfrî*d*, 'propitiation, offering;' baghô-bakhtô, 'divine providence;' baresôm, 'sacred twigs or twig bundle;'

baresômdân, 'twig stand;' dakhmak (Huz. khazân), 'depository for the dead;' dashtânistân, 'place for menstruation;' dînô, 'religion, revelation, religious rites;' drâyân-*gûyisnîh*, 'unseasonable chatter;' drevand, 'wicked;' drônô, 'sacred cake;' drûg, 'fiend;' frashakar*d*, 'renovation of the universe;' fravâhar, 'guardian spirit;' fravar*d*ikân, 'days devoted to the guardian spirits;' ganrâk mainôk, 'evil spirit;' gar*z*is*n*, 'confession of sin;' gâs, 'period of the day, time;' gâsânbâr, 'season-festival;' *gas*nŏ, 'feast;' gâûs-dâk (Av. gâus hudha*u*), 'meat-offering, sacred butter;' *gavi*d-rastakân, 'the heterodox;' *g*iv (Av. gâus *g*ivya), 'sacred milk;' gômê*z*, 'bull's urine;' hamêmâl, 'accuser;' hamrê*d*, 'direct pollution, contagion;' ha*z*ârak, 'millennium;' hikhar, 'bodily refuse;' kâr, 'duty;' kêshvar, 'region;' khayebit, 'destroyer;' khrafstar, 'noxious creature;' khvêtûk-das, 'next-of-kin marriage;' kirfak, 'good works;' kûstik, 'sacred thread-girdle;' magh, 'stone ablution-seat;' mainôk, 'spirit;' marg-ar*g*ân, 'worthy of death, mortal sin;' myazd, 'feast, sacred feast;' nasâî, 'corpse, dead matter;' nasâî katak, 'corpse chamber;' nirang, 'religious formula, ritual;' nîrangistân, 'code of religious formulas;' niyâyis*n*, 'salutation;' padâm, 'mouth-veil;' pâ*d*iyâ*v*ih, 'ablution, ceremonial ablution;' pâhlûm ahvân, 'best existence;' paîtrê*d*, 'indirect pollution, infection;' parâhôm, 'hôm-juice;' parîk, 'witch;' patitih, 'renunciation of sin;' patîyârak, 'adversary;' pôryô*d*kêshih, 'primitive faith;' ra*d*, 'chief, spiritual chief, primate, high-priest;' rîstâkhê*z*, 'resurrection;' satûih, 'the three nights;' *s*êdâ, 'demon;' shapîk, 'sacred shirt;' shnâyis*n*, 'propitiation, gratification;' shnûman, 'dedication formula, propitiation;' spênâk maînôk, 'beneficent spirit;' tanû-i pasînŏ, 'future existence;' tô*g*is*n*, 'retribution;' tôrâ-i khadû-dâ*d*, 'primeval ox;' vâ*g*, 'inward prayer;' vi*g*âris*n*, 'atonement for sin;' vishâ*d*-dûbâris*n*ih, 'running about uncovered;' yasnô, 'ritual;' ya*s*t, 'prayers, ritual, form of prayer, worship, consecration;' ya*s*tanŏ, 'to consecrate, solemnize, propitiate, reverence;' yâtûk, 'wizard;' yazdân, 'angels, sacred beings, celestial beings, God;' ya*z*is*n*,

'ceremonial, ceremony, sacred ceremony, ceremonial worship, worship, reverence, rites, prayer;' yêdatô, 'angel;' zand, 'commentary;' zôhar or zôr, 'holy-water;' zôt, 'officiating priest.'

With regard to the orthography of Pahlavi names and words, advantage has been taken of the system of transliteration adopted for this series of Translations of the Sacred Books of the East, by making use of italics for the purpose of distinguishing between certain Pahlavi letters which were probably pronounced very nearly alike. Thus, besides the usual letters ۱ for v and ʃ for z, the Pahlavi letter ۹ is often used to denote those same sounds which, in such cases, are represented by the italic letters *v* and *z*. An extension of the same mode of distinction to the letters l and r would be desirable, but has not been attempted in this volume; these two letters are usually written ل, but in a few words they are represented by or by ل, in which cases they would be better expressed by the italics *l* and *r*. Some attempt has been made to adhere to one uniform orthography in such names as occur frequently, but as there is no such uniformity in the various languages and writings quoted, nor even in the same manuscript, some deviations can hardly be avoided.

In conclusion it may be remarked that a translator of Pahlavi generally begins his career by undervaluing the correctness of Pahlavi texts and the literary ability of their authors, but he can hardly proceed far without finding abundant reason for altering his opinion of both. His depreciatory view of Pahlavi literature is generally due partly to want of knowledge, and partly to his trusting too much to the vile perversions of Pahlavi texts usually supplied by Pâzand writers. But as his knowledge of Pahlavi increases he becomes better able to appreciate the literary merits of the texts. If the reader should have already formed some such low estimate of the ability of Pahlavi writers, it may be hoped that these translations will afford him sufficient reason for changing his opinion; if not, they will have signally failed in doing those writers justice.

BUNDAHIS

OR

THE ORIGINAL CREATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the original text is written continuously, with very few stops marked.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Oriental words are usually 'spaced.' Italics occurring in them, or in names, are intended to represent certain peculiar Oriental letters. The italic consonants *d*, *n*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like j, *hv* like wh, *k* like ch in 'church,' ɴ like ng, *s* like sh, *z* like French j. For further information, see 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East' at the end of the volume.

4. In Pahlavi words all circumflexed vowels and any final ŏ are expressed in the Pahlavi original, but all other vowels are merely understood.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Dâ*d*. for Dâ*d*istân-i Dînik. Huz. for Huzvâri*s*. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khar*d*, ed. West. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Sp. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Sp. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

K20b (uncertain date), a fragment of the text, No. 20b in the same library.

M6 (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

BUNDAHIS.

Chapter I.

0. In the name of the creator Aûharmazd.

1. The Zand-âkâs ('Zand-knowing or tradition informed')[1], which is first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit[2], *and* afterwards about the nature of the creatures from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence (tanû-î pasînŏ). 2. As *revealed* by the religion of the Mazdayasnians, so it is declared that Aûharmazd is supreme in omniscience and goodness,

[1] The Pâzand and most of the modern Pahlavi manuscripts have, 'From the Zand-âkâs,' but the word min, 'from,' does not occur in the old manuscript K20, and is a modern addition to M6. From this opening sentence it would appear that the author of the work gave it the name Zand-âkâs.

[2] The Avesta Angra-mainyu, the spirit who causes adversity or anxiety (see Darmesteter's Ormazd et Ahriman, pp. 92–95); the Pahlavi name is, most probably, merely a corrupt transliteration of the Avesta form, and may be read Ganrâk-maînôk, as the Avesta Spe*n*ta-mainyu, the spirit who causes prosperity, has become Spênâk-maînôk in Pahlavi. This latter spirit is represented by Aûharmazd himself in the Bundahi*s*. The Pahlavi word for 'spirit,' which is read madônad by the Parsis, and has been pronounced mînavad by some scholars and mînôî by others, is probably a corruption of maînôk, as its Sasanian form was minô. If it were not for the extra medial letter in ganrâk, and for the obvious partial transliteration of spênâk, it would be preferable to read ganâk, 'smiting,' and to derive it from a supposed verb gandan, 'to smite' (Av. ghna), as proposed by most Zendists. A Parsi would probably suggest gandan, 'to stink.'

and unrivalled[1] in splendour; the region of light is the place of Aûharmazd, which they call 'endless light,' and the omniscience *and* goodness of the unrivalled Aûharmazd is what they call 'revelation[2].' 3. Revelation is the explanation of both *spirits* together; one is he who is independent of unlimited time[3], because Aûharmazd and the region, religion, and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be; *while* Aharman[4] in darkness, with backward understanding and desire for destruction, was *in* the abyss, and it is *he* who *will* not be; and the place of that destruction, and also of that darkness, is what they call the 'endlessly dark.' 4. And between them was empty space, *that* is, what they call 'air,' in which is now *their* meeting.

5. Both are limited and unlimited spirits, for the supreme is that which they call endless light, and the abyss that which is endlessly dark, so that between them is a void, and one is not connected with

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[1] Reading aham-kaî, 'without a fellow-sovereign, peerless, unrivalled, independent.' This rare word occurs three times in §§ 2, 3, and some Pâzand writers suggest the meaning 'everlasting' (by means of the Persian gloss hamîsah), which is plausible enough, but hâmakî would be an extraordinary mode of writing the very common word hamâî, 'ever.'

[2] The word dînô (properly dênô), Av. daêna, being traceable to a root dî, 'to see,' must originally have meant 'a vision' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. p. 152, note 2), whence the term has been transferred to 'religion' and all religious observances, rules, and writings; so it may be translated either by 'religion' or by 'revelation.'

[3] This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of § 3 is altogether rather obscure, and suggestive of omissions in the text.

[4] The usual name of the evil spirit; it is probably an older corruption of Angra-mainyu than Ganrâk-maînôk, and a less technical term. Its Sasanian form was Aharmanî.

the other; and, again, both spirits are limited as to their own selves. 6. And, secondly, on account of the omniscience of Aûharmazd, both things are in the creation of Aûharmazd, the finite and the infinite; for this they know is that which is in the covenant of both spirits. 7. And, again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Aûharmazd is in the future existence, and that also is unlimited for ever and everlasting; and the creatures of Aharman will perish at the time when[1] the future existence occurs, and that also is eternity.

8. Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that Aharman exists, *and* whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; *and* because He accomplishes the end by many means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, *and* they remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking[2] and unmoving, with intangible bodies.

9. The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd; and, afterwards, he arose from the abyss, and came in unto the light which he saw. 10. Desirous of destroying, and because of *his* malicious nature, he

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[1] Substituting amat, 'when,' for mûn, 'which,' two Huzvâris forms which are frequently confounded by Pahlavi copyists because their Pâzand equivalents, ka and ke, are nearly alike.

[2] Reading aminî*d*âr in accordance with M6, which has amînî*d*âr in Chap. XXXIV, 1, where the same phrase occurs. Windischmann and Justi read amûîtâr, 'uninjured, invulnerable,' in both places. This sentence appears to refer to a preparatory creation of embryonic and immaterial existences, the prototypes, fravashis, spiritual counterparts, or guardian angels of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced.

rushed in to destroy that light of Aûharmazd unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; *so* he fled back to the gloomy darkness, and formed many demons and fiends; *and* the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence.

11. Aûharmazd, by whom the creatures of the evil spirit were seen, creatures terrible, corrupt, and bad, also considered them not commendable (bûrzisnîk). 12. Afterwards, the evil spirit saw the creatures of Aûharmazd; they appeared many creatures of delight (vâyah), enquiring creatures, and they seemed to him commendable, and he commended the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd.

13. Then Aûharmazd, with a knowledge[1] of which way the end of the matter *would be*, went to meet the evil spirit, and proposed peace to him, *and* spoke thus: 'Evil spirit! bring assistance unto my creatures, and offer praise! so that, in reward for it, ye (you and your creatures) may become immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless.'

14. And the evil spirit shouted thus[2]: 'I *will* not depart, I *will* not provide assistance for thy creatures, I *will* not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I *will* destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I *will* force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.' 15. And the explanation thereof is this, that the evil spirit reflected in this manner, that

[1] The Huz. khavîtûnast stands for the Pâz. dânist with the meaning, here, of 'what is known, knowledge,' as in Persian.

[2] Literally, 'And it was shouted by him, the evil spirit, thus:' the usual idiom when the nominative follows the verb.

Aûharmazd was helpless as regarded him[1], therefore He proffers peace; and he did not agree, but bore on even into conflict with Him.

16. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are not omniscient and almighty, O evil spirit! so that it is not possible for thee to destroy me, and it is not possible for thee to force my creatures so that they *will* not return to my possession.'

17. Then Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that: If I do not grant a period of contest, then it *will* be possible for him to act *so* that he *may* be able to cause the seduction of my creatures to himself. As even now there are many of the intermixture of mankind who practise wrong more than right. 18. And Aûharmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period! so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.' For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit *would* be undone.

19. Then the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like two men quarrelling together, who propose a time thus: Let us appoint such-and-such a day for a fight.

20. Aûharmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, *for* three thousand years everything proceeds *by* the will of Aûharmazd, three thousand years *there is* an intermingling of the wills of Aûharmazd and Aharman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away[2] from the creatures.

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[1] The words dên val stand for dên valman.

[2] That is, 'the adversary is kept away.' In Pahlavi the third

21. Afterwards, Aûharmazd recited the Ahunavar thus: Yathâ ahû vairyô ('as a heavenly lord is to be chosen'), &c.[1] once, *and* uttered the twenty-one words[2]; He also exhibited to the evil spirit His own triumph in the end, and the impotence of the evil spirit, the annihilation of the demons, and the resurrection *and* undisturbed future existence of the creatures for ever and everlasting. 22. And the evil spirit, who perceived his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded, and fell back to the gloomy darkness; even so as is declared in revelation, that, when one of its (the Ahunavar's) three *parts* was uttered, the evil spirit contracted *his* body through fear, and when two parts of it were uttered he fell upon *his* knees, and when all of it was uttered he became confounded

person plural is the indefinite person, as in English. These 9000 years are in addition to the 3000 mentioned in § 8, as appears more clearly in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

[1] This is the most sacred formula of the Parsis, which they have to recite frequently, not only during the performance of their ceremonies, but also in connection with most of their ordinary duties and habits. It is neither a prayer, nor a creed, but a declaratory formula in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows:—

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratu*s*, ashâ*d* *kîd* ha*k*â,
Vangh*e*u*s* dazdâ mananghô, *s*kyaothnanãm angh*e*u*s* mazdâi,
Khshathrem*k*â ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dada*d* vâstârem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide), for the sake of righteousness, *to be* a giver of the good thoughts of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. pp. 125, 141).

[2] The word mârîk must mean 'word' here, but in some other places it seems to mean 'syllable' or 'accented syllable.'

and impotent as to the harm he caused the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* he remained three thousand years in confusion[1].

23. Aûharmazd created *his* creatures in the confusion of Aharman; first he produced Vohûman ('good thought'), by whom the progress of the creatures of Aûharmazd was advanced.

24. The evil spirit first created[2] Mitôkht ('falsehood'), and then Akôman ('evil thought').

25 The first of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world *was* the sky, and his good thought (Vohûman), by good procedure[3], produced the light of the world, along with which was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; this *was* because the renovation (frashakar*d*)[4] which happens to the creatures *was* known to him. 26. Afterwards *arose* Ar*d*ava-

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[1] This is the first third of the 9000 years appointed in §§ 18, 20, and the second 3000 years mentioned in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

[2] It is usual to consider dâ*d*an (Huz. yehabûntan), when traceable to Av. dâ = Sans. dhâ, as meaning 'to create,' but it can hardly be proved that it means to create out of nothing, any more than any other of the Avesta verbs which it is sometimes convenient to translate by 'create.' Before basing any argument upon the use of this word it will, therefore, be safer to substitute the word 'produce' in all cases.

[3] Or it may be translated, 'and from it Vohûman, by good procedure,' &c. The position here ascribed to Vohûman, or the good thought of Aûharmazd, bears some resemblance to that of the Word in John i. 1–5, but with this essential difference, that Vohûman is merely a creature of Aûharmazd, not identified with him; for the latter idea would be considered, by a Parsi, as rather inconsistent with strict monotheism. The 'light of the world' now created must be distinguished from the 'endless light' already existing with Aûharmazd in § 2.

[4] The word frashakar*d*, 'what is made durable, perpetuation,' is applied to the renovation of the universe which is to take place about the time of the resurrection, as a preparation for eternity.

his*t*, and then Shatvaîrô, and then Spendarma*d*, and then Horvada*d*, and then Amerôda*d*[1].

27. From the dark world of Aharman *were* Akôman and Andar, and then Sôvar, and then Nâkahê*d*, and then Tâîrê*v* and Zâîrî*k*[2].

28. Of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world, the first *was* the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.

Chapter II.

0. On the formation of the luminaries.

1. Aûharmazd produced illumination between the sky and the earth, the constellation stars and those also not of the constellations[3], then the moon, and afterwards the sun, as I *shall* relate.

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[1] These five, with Vohûman and Aûharmazd in his angelic capacity, constitute the seven Ameshaspends, 'undying causers of prosperity, immortal benefactors,' or archangels, who have charge of the whole material creation. They are personifications of old Avesta phrases, such as Vohû-manô, 'good thought;' Asha-vahi*s*ta, 'perfect rectitude;' Khshathra-vairya, 'desirable dominion;' Spe*n*ta-ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion;' Haurvatâ*d*, 'completeness or health;' and Ameretâ*d*, 'immortality.'

[2] These six demons are the opponents of the six archangels respectively (see Chap. XXX, 29); their names in the Avesta are, Akem-manô, 'evil thought;' I*n*dra, Sauru, N*a*unghaithya, Tauru, Zairi*k*a (see Vendîdâd X, 17, 18 Sp., and XIX, 43 W.), which have been compared with the Vedic god Indra, *S*arva (a name of *S*iva), the Nâsatyas, and Sans. tura, 'diseased,' and *g*aras, 'decay,' respectively. For further details regarding them, see Chap. XXVIII, 7–13.

[3] The word akhtar is the usual term in Pahlavi for a constellation of the zodiac; but the term apâkhtar, 'away from the akhtar,' means not only 'the north,' or away from the zodiac, but also 'a

2. First he produced the *celestial* sphere, and the constellation stars are assigned to it by him; especially these twelve whose names *are* Varak (the Lamb), Tôrâ (the Bull), Dô-patkar (the Two-figures or Gemini), Kala*k*ang (the Crab), *S*êr (the Lion), Khû*s*ak (Virgo), Tarâ*z*ûk (the Balance), Gazdûm (the Scorpion), Nîmâsp (the Centaur or Sagittarius), Vahîk[1] (Capricornus), Dûl (the Waterpot), and Mâhîk (the Fish); 3. which, from their original creation, *were divided* into the twenty-eight subdivisions of the astronomers[2], of which the names are Padêvar, Pêsh-Parvîz, Parviz, Paha, Avêsar, Be*s*n, Rakhva*d*, Taraha, Avra, Nahn, Miyân, Avdem, Mâshâha, Spûr, Husru, Srob, Nur, Gêl, Gara*f*sa, Vara*n*t, G*a*u, Goî, Muru, Bunda, Kahtsar, Vaht, Miyân, Kaht[3]. 4. And all his original creations,

planet,' which is in the zodiac, but apart from the constellations. The meaning of akhtar, most suitable to the context here, appears to be the general term 'constellation.'

[1] Written Nahâzîk here, both in K20 and M6, which may be compared with Pers. nahâz, 'the leading goat of a flock;' but the usual word for 'Capricornus' is Vahîk, as in Chap. V, 6. None of the other names of the signs of the zodiac are written here in Pâzand, but it may be noted that if the ah in Vahîk were written in Pâzand (that is, in Avesta characters), the word would become the same as Nahâzîk in Pahlavi.

[2] Literally, 'fragments of the calculators,' khur*d*ak-i hâmârîkân. These subdivisions are the spaces traversed daily by the moon among the stars, generally called 'lunar mansions.'

[3] All these names are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their eccentric orthography, in which both K20 and M6 agree very closely. The subdivision Parviz is evidently the Pers. parvên, which includes the Pleiades, and corresponds therefore to the Sanskrit Nakshatra K*ri*ttikâ. This correspondence leads to the identification of the first subdivision, Padêyar, with the Nakshatra A*s*vinî. The Pâzand names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, and the first step towards recovering the true

residing in the world, are committed to them[1]; so that when the destroyer arrives they overcome the adversary *and* their own persecution, and the creatures are saved from those adversities.

5. *As* a specimen of a warlike army, which is destined for battle, they have ordained every single constellation of those 6480 thousand small stars as assistance; and among those constellations four chieftains, appointed on the four sides, are leaders. 6. On the recommendation of those chieftains the many unnumbered stars are specially assigned to the various quarters and various places, as the united strength *and* appointed power of those constellations. 7. As it is said that Tîstar is the chieftain of the east, Satavês the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, *and* Haptôk-rîng the chieftain of the north[2]. 8. The great *one* which they

Pahlavi names would be to transliterate the Pâzand back into Pahlavi characters. The ninth subdivision is mentioned in Chap. VII, 1 by the name Avrak.

[1] That is, to the zodiacal constellations, which are supposed to have special charge of the welfare of creation.

[2] Of these four constellations or stars, which are said to act as leaders, there is no doubt that Haptôk-ring, the chieftain of the north, is Ursa Major; and it is usually considered that Tîstar, the chieftain of the east, is Sirius; but the other two chieftains are not so well identified, and there may be some doubt as to the proper stations of the eastern and western chieftains. It is evident, however, that the most westerly stars, visible at any one time of the year, are those which set in the dusk of the evening; and east of these, all the stars are visible during the night as far as those which rise at daybreak, which are the most easterly stars visible at that time of the year. Tîstar or Sirius can, therefore, be considered the chieftain of the eastern stars only when it rises before daybreak, which it does at the latter end of summer; and Haptôk-ring or Ursa Major is due north at midnight (on the meridian below the pole) at about the same time of the year. These stars, there-

call a Gâh (period of the day), which they say is the great *one* of the middle of the sky, till *just* before the destroyer came was the midday (or south) *one* of the five, that is, the Rapîtvîn[1].

fore, fulfil the conditions necessary for being chieftains of the east and north at the end of summer, and we must look for stars capable of being chieftains of the south and west at the same season. Now, when Ursa Major is near the meridian below the pole, Fomalhaut is the most conspicuous star near the meridian in the far south, and is probably to be identified with Vanand the chieftain of the south. And when Sirius rises some time before daybreak, Antares (in Scorpio) sets some time after dusk in the evening, and may well be identified with Satavês the chieftain of the west. Assuming that there has been a precession of the equinoxes equivalent to two hours of time, since the idea of these chieftains (which may perhaps be traced to Avesta times) was first formed, it may be calculated that the time of year when these leading stars then best fulfilled that idea was about a month before the autumnal equinox, when Ursa Major would be due north three-quarters of an hour after midnight, and Fomalhaut due south three-quarters of an hour before midnight, Sirius would rise three hours before the sun, and Antares would set three hours after the sun. In the Avesta these leading stars are named Ti*s*trya, Satavaêsa, Vana*n*t, and Hapto-ri*n*ga (see Tî*s*tar Yt. 0, 8, 9, 12, 32, &c., Rashnu Yt. 26–28, Sîrôz. 13).

[1] This translation, though very nearly literal, must be accepted with caution. If the word mas be not a name it can hardly mean anything but 'great;' and that it refers to a constellation appears from Chap. V, 1. The word khômsâk is an irregular form of the Huz. khôm*s*yâ, 'five,' and may refer either to the five chieftains (including 'the great one') or to the five Gâhs or periods of the day, of which Rapîtvîn is the midday one (see Chap. XXV, 9). The object of the text seems to be to connect the Rapîtvîn Gâh with some great mid-sky and midday constellation or star, possibly Regulus, which, about B.C. 960, must have been more in the daylight than any other important star during the seven months of summer, the only time that the Rapîtvîn Gâh can be celebrated (see Chap. XXV, 7–14). Justi has, 'They call that the great one of the place, which is great in the middle of the sky; they say that before the enemy came it was always midday, that is, Rapîtvîn.'

9. Aûharmazd performed the spiritual Yazisn *ceremony* with the archangels (ameshôspendân) in the Rapîtvîn Gâh, and in the Yazisn he supplied every means necessary for overcoming the adversary[1]. 10. He deliberated with the consciousness (bôd) *and* guardian spirits (fravâhar) of men[2], and the omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men, spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advantageous, when[3] I shall present you to the world? *that* you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend (drûg), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end I *shall* have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and in the end give you back to the world, *and* you *will* be wholly immortal, undecaying, and undisturbed; or *that* it be always necessary to provide you protection from the destroyer?'

11. Thereupon, the guardian spirits of men became of the same opinion with the omniscient wisdom about going to the world, on account of the evil *that* comes upon them, in the world, from the fiend (drûg) Aharman, and *their* becoming, at last, again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect, and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting.

Windischmann has nearly the same, as both follow the Pâzand MSS. in reading hômîsak (as a variant of hamîsak), 'always,' instead of khômsâk.

[1] Or 'adversity.'

[2] These were among the fravashis already created (see Chap. I, 8).

[3] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

CHAPTER III.

1. On the rush of the destroyer at the creatures it is said, in revelation, that the evil spirit, when he saw the impotence of himself and the confederate[1] (hâm-dast) demons, owing to the righteous man[2], became confounded, *and* seemed in confusion three thousand years. 2. During that confusion the arch-fiends[3] of the demons severally shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for we *will* cause a conflict in the world, the distress and injury from which *will* become those of Aûharmazd and the archangels.'

3. Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up *his* head until the wicked *Gêh*[4] came, at the completion of the three thousand years. 4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for I *will* cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Aûharmazd and the archangels *will* arise.' 5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit

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[1] The Pâzand MSS. have garôist, for the Huz. hêmnunast, 'trusted.' Windischmann and Justi have 'all.'

[2] Probably Gâyômar*d*.

[3] The word kamârakân is literally 'those with an evil pate,' and is derived from Av. kameredha, 'the head of an evil being,' also applied to 'the evil summit' of Mount Arezûra (Vend. XIX, 140, 142), which is supposed to be at the gate of hell (see Chap. XII, 8). That the chief demons or arch-fiends are meant, appears more clearly in Chap. XXVIII, 12, 44, where the word is kamârîkân.

[4] The personification of the impurity of menstruation.

rose not from that confusion, through fear of the righteous man.

6. And, again, the wicked *G*êh shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for in that conflict I *will* shed thus much vexation[1] on the righteous man and the labouring ox that, through my deeds, life *will* not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls (nismô)[2]; I *will* vex the water, I *will* vex the plants, I *will* vex the fire of Aûharmazd, I *will* make the whole creation of Aûharmazd vexed.'

7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed *G*êh upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in *G*êh.

8. He shouted to *G*êh thus: 'What is thy wish? so that I may give *it* thee.' And *G*êh shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give *it* to me.'

9. The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's (vazak) body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to *G*êh, and that brought the thoughts of *G*êh to him[3].

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[1] The word vêsh or vîsh may stand either for bêsh, 'distress, vexation,' as here assumed, or for vish, 'poison,' as translated by Windischmann and Justi in accordance with the Pâz. MSS.

[2] That this is the Huzvâris of rûbân, 'soul,' appears from Chap. XV, 3–5, where both words are used indifferently; but it is not given in the Huz.-Pâz. Glossary. It is evidently equivalent to Chald. nismâ, and ought probably to have the traditional pronunciation nisman, an abbreviation of nismman.

[3] This seems to be the literal meaning of the sentence, and is confirmed by Chap. XXVIII, 1, but Windischmann and Justi understand that the evil spirit formed a youth for *G*êh out of a toad's body. The incident in the text may be compared with Milton's idea of Satan and Sin in Paradise Lost, Book II, 745–765.

10. Afterwards, the evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky; and he led them up, fraught with malicious intentions. 11. He stood upon one-third[1] of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth.

12. *In* the month Fravar*d*în and the day Aûharmazd[2] he rushed in at noon, and thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him, as a sheep by a wolf. 13. He came on to the water which was arranged[3] below the earth, and then the middle of this earth was pierced *and* entered by him. 14. Afterwards, he came to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gâyômar*d*, and then he came to fire[4]; so, just like a fly, he rushed out upon the whole creation; and he made the world quite as injured and dark[5] at midday as though it were in dark night. 15. And noxious creatures were diffused by him over the earth, biting and venomous, such as the snake, scorpion, frog (kalvâk), and lizard (vazak), so that not so much as the point of a needle remained *free* from noxious creatures. 16. And blight[6] was diffused by him over the

[1] Perhaps referring to the proportion of the sky which is overspread by the darkness of night. The whole sentence is rather obscure.

[2] The vernal equinox (see Chap. XXV, 7).

[3] Literally, 'and it was arranged.'

[4] For the details of these visitations, see Chaps. VI–X.

[5] Reading khûst tôm; but it may be hangî*d*tûm, 'most turbid, opaque.'

[6] The word makhâ, 'blow, stroke,' is a Huzvâri*s* logogram not found in the glossaries; M6 has dâr, 'wood,' but this may be a misreading, due to the original, from which M6 was copied, being difficult to read.

vegetation, and it withered away immediately. 17. And avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, lust, and lethargy were diffused by him abroad upon the ox and Gâyômar*d*.

18. Before *his* coming to the ox, Aûharmazd ground up the healing fruit[1], which some call 'bînâk,' small in water openly before *its* eyes, so that *its* damage *and* discomfort from the calamity (zani*s*n) might be less; and when it became at the same time lean and ill, as *its* breath went forth and it passed away, the ox also spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, *and* their work, labour, and care are to be appointed.'

19. And before *his* coming to Gâyômar*d*, Aûharmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gâyômar*d*, so long as he might recite a prayer (vâ*g*) of one stanza (vi*k*ast); moreover, Aûharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall. 20. When Gâyômar*d* issued from the sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained *free from* noxious creatures; the *celestial* sphere was in revolution, *and* the sun and moon remained in motion: *and* the world's struggle, owing to the clamour of the Mâzinikân demons[2], was with the constellations.

21. And the evil spirit thought that the creatures of Aûharmazd were all rendered useless except

[1] The word mîvang is an unusual form of mîvak, 'fruit.' It is probably to be traced to an Av. mivangh, which might mean 'fatness,' as Windischmann suggests.

[2] The Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta, and Mâzendarân demons, or idolators, of Persian legends.

Gâyômar*d*; and Astô-vîdâ*d*[1] with a thousand demons, causers of death, were let forth by him on Gâyômar*d*. 22. But his appointed time had not come, *and* he (Astô-vîdâ*d*) obtained no means of noosing (âvizî-*d*anŏ) *him;* as it is said that, when the opposition of the evil spirit came, the period of the life and rule of Gâyômar*d* was appointed for thirty years. 23. After the coming of the adversary he lived thirty years, and Gâyômar*d* spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer *has* come, mankind *will* be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty and good works.'

24. And, afterwards, he (the evil spirit) came to fire, and he mingled smoke and darkness with it. 25. The planets, with many demons, dashed against the *celestial* sphere, and they mixed the constellations; and the whole creation was as disfigured as though fire disfigured every place and smoke arose over *it*. 26. And ninety days *and* nights the heavenly angels were contending in the world with the confederate demons of the evil spirit, *and* hurled *them* confounded to hell; and the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.

27. Hell is in the middle of the earth; there where the evil spirit pierced the earth[2] and rushed in upon it, as all the possessions of the world were

[1] The demon of death, Astô-vîdhôtu in the Avesta (Vend. IV, 137, V, 25, 31), who is supposed 'to cast a halter around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, but if their good works have exceeded their sins they throw off the noose and go to heaven' (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 321). This name is misread Asti-vihâ*d* by Pâzand writers.

[2] See § 13.

changing into duality, *and* persecution, contention, and mingling of high and low became manifest.

Chapter IV.

1. This also is said, that when the primeval ox[1] passed away it fell to the right hand, *and* Gâyômar*d* afterwards, when he passed *away*, to the left hand. 2. Gôsûrvan[2]; as the soul of the primeval ox came out from the body of the ox, stood up before the ox *and* cried to Aûharmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus: 'With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin *has* broken into the earth, and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled? Where is the man[3] of whom it was said by thee thus: I *will* produce *him*, so that he may preach carefulness?'

3. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are made ill[4], O Gôsûrvan! you have the illness which the evil spirit brought on; if it were proper to produce that man in this earth at this time, the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it.'

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[1] Literally, 'the sole-created ox' from whom all the animals and some plants are supposed to have proceeded (see Chaps. X and XIV), as mankind proceeded from Gâyômar*d*. It is the ox of the primitive creation, mentioned in Chap. III, 14, 18.

[2] The spiritual representative of the primeval ox, called G*eus*-urvâ, 'soul of the bull,' in the Avesta, of which name Gôsûrvan is a corruption. The complaint of Gôsûrvan is recorded in the Gâthas, the oldest part of the Avesta (see Yas. XXIX).

[3] Referring to Zaratûst.

[4] In K20, 'You are ill.'

4. Forth Gôsûrvan walked to the star station (pâyak) *and* cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station *and* cried in the same manner, *and* forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst was exhibited to her, *and Aûharmazd said* thus[1]: 'I will produce for the world *him* who will preach carefulness.' 5. Contented became the spirit Gôsûrvan, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures;' that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world.

CHAPTER V.

1. Seven chieftains of the planets have come unto the seven chieftains of the constellations[2], as the planet Mercury (Tîr) unto Tîstar, the planet Mars (Vâhrâm) unto Haptôk-rîng, the planet Jupiter (Aûharmazd) unto Vanand, the planet Venus (Anâhîd) unto Satavês, the planet Saturn (Kêvân) unto the great *one* of the middle of the sky, Gôkîhar[3]

[1] As the text stands in the MSS. it means, 'and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst demonstrated to her thus;' but whether it be intended to represent the fravâhar as producing the creature is doubtful. The angel Gôs, who is identified with Gôsûrvan, is usually considered a female, but this is hardly consistent with being the soul of a bull (see Chap. X, 1, 2), though applicable enough to a representative of the earth. In the Selections of Zâd-sparam, II, 6, however, this mythological animal is said to have been a female (see Appendix to Bundahis).

[2] Five of these are mentioned in Chap. II, 7, 8, to which the sun and moon are here added.

[3] As this name stands in the MSS. it may be read Gûrgdâr (as in the Pâz. MSS.), Gûrkîhar, or Dûrkîhar; the reading is very uncertain, and Windischmann suggests Gûrg-kîhar, 'wolf progeny' (compare vehrkô-kithra in Ardabahist Yast 8). A shooting star,

and the thievish (dûggun) Mûspar[1], provided with tails, unto the sun and moon and stars. 2. The sun has attached Mûspar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm (vinâs).

3. Of Mount Albûrz[2] it is declared, that around the world and Mount Têrak[3], which is the middle of the world, the revolution of the sun is like a moat[4] around the world; it turns back in a circuit[5] owing to the enclosure (var) of Mount Albûrz around Têrak. 4. As it is said that *it is* the Têrak of Albûrz from behind which my sun and moon *and* stars return again[6]. 5. For there are a hundred

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or meteor, is probably meant (see Chap. XXX, 18, 31), and as it is the special disturber of the moon, it may be Gô-*k*îhar (Av. gao-*k*ithra, 'of ox-lineage'), a common epithet of the moon; the Pahlavi letter *k* being often written something like the compound r*k*; and this supposition is confirmed by the Gôk-*k*ihar of TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44.

[1] This is written Mûs-parîk in TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44, and seems to be the mûs pairika of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 23, as noticed by Windischmann; it is probably meant here for a comet, as it is attached to the sun. The zodiacal light and milky way have too little of the wandering character of planets to be considered planetary opponents of the sun and moon.

[2] The hara berezaiti, 'lofty mountain-range,' of the Avesta, which is an ideal representative of the loftiest mountains known to the ancient Iranians, the Alburz range in Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian. See Chaps. VIII, 2, XII, 1, 3.

[3] The Taêra of Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6. See Chap. XII, 2, 4.

[4] The word mayâ-gîr is a Huz. hybrid for âv-gîr, 'a water-holder, or ditch.'

[5] The word may be either âvêgak or khavîgak, with this meaning.

[6] This appears to be a quotation from the Rashnu Yast, 25. The Huz. word for 'month' is here used for the 'moon.'

and eighty apertures (rôgîn) in the east, and a hundred and eighty in the west, through Albûrz; *and* the sun, every day, comes in through an aperture, and goes out through an aperture[1]; *and* the whole connection and motion of the moon and constellations and planets is with it: every day it always illumines (or warms) three regions (kêshvar)[2] *and* a half, as is evident to the eyesight. 6. And twice in every year the day and night are equal, for on the original attack[3], when[4] it (the sun) went forth from its first degree (khûrdak), the day and night were equal, it was the season of spring; when it arrives at the first degree of Kalakang (Cancer) the time of *day* is greatest, *it is* the beginning of summer; when it arrives at the sign (khûrdak) Tarâgûk (Libra) the day and night are equal, *it is* the beginning of autumn; when it arrives at the sign Vahik (Capricorn) the night is a maximum, *it is* the beginning of winter; and when it arrives at Varak (Aries) the night and day *have* again become equal, as when it

[1] This mode of accounting for the varying position of sunrise and sunset resembles that in the Book of Enoch, LXXI, but only six eastern and six western gates of heaven are there mentioned, and the sun changes its gates of entrance and exit only once a month, instead of daily.

[2] See § 9 and Chap. XI.

[3] The reading of this word is doubtful, although its meaning is tolerably clear. The Pâz. MSS. read har dô, 'both;' Justi reads ardab, 'quarrel;' and in the Selections of Zâd-sparam it is written ârdîk. It seems probable that the word is kharah, 'attack,' which being written exactly like ardê (Av. ashya, see Yas. LVI, 1, 1) has had a circumflex added to indicate the supposed d, and this false reading has led to the more modern form ârdîk (Pers. ârd, 'anger'). But probabilities in obscure matters are often treacherous guides.

[4] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which,' throughout the sentence (see note to Chap. I, 7).

went forth from Varak. 7. So that when it comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gâtha days[1], it goes in *and* comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret, and been able to introduce disaster.

8. From there where the sun comes on on the longest day to *where* it comes on on the shortest day is the east region Savah; from there where it comes on on the shortest day to *where* it goes off on the shortest day is the direction of the south regions Fradadafsh and Vîdadafsh; from there where it goes in on the shortest day to *where* it goes in on the longest day is the west region Arzah; from there where it comes in on the longest day to there where it goes in on the longest day are the north regions Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst[2]. 9. When the sun comes on, it illumines (or warms) the regions of Savah, Fradadafsh, Vîdadafsh, and half of Khvanîras[3]; when it goes in on the dark side, it illumines the regions of Arzah, Vôrûbarst, Vôrûgarst, *and* one half of Khvanîras; when *it is* day here *it is* night there.

[1] The five supplementary days added to the last of the twelve months, of thirty days each, to complete the year. For these days no additional apertures are provided in Albûrz, and the sun appears to have the choice of either of the two centre apertures out of the 180 on each side of the world. This arrangement seems to indicate that the idea of the apertures is older than the rectification of the calendar which added the five Gâtha days to an original year of 360 days.

[2] This sentence occurs, without the names of the kêshvars or regions, in the Pahl. Vend. XIX, 19. For the kêshvars see Chap. XI.

[3] Often corrupted into Khanîras in the MSS.

Chapter VI.

1. On the conflict[1] of the creations of the world with the antagonism of the evil spirit it is said in revelation, that the evil spirit, even as he rushed in and looked upon the pure bravery of the angels and his own violence[2], wished to rush back. 2. The spirit of the sky is himself like one of the warriors who has put on armour; he arrayed the sky against the evil spirit, and led on in the contest, until Aûharmazd had completed a rampart around, stronger than the sky and in front of the sky. 3. And his guardian spirits (fravâhar) of warriors and the righteous, on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky; such-like as the hair on the head is the similitude (ânguni-aîtak) of those who hold the watch of the rampart. 4. And no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back; and he beheld the annihilation of the demons and his own impotence, as Aûharmazd *did* his own final triumph, producing the renovation *of the universe* for ever and everlasting.

Chapter VII.

1. The second conflict was waged with the water, because, as the star Tîstar *was* in Cancer, the water which is in the subdivision they call Avrak[3] was

[1] This is the doubtful word translated 'attack' in Chap. V, 6 (see the note there); it also occurs at the beginning of each of the following four chapters.

[2] Reading zôrîh; but it may be zûrîh, 'falsity.'

[3] The ninth lunar mansion (see Chap. II, 3) corresponding with the middle of Cancer. Tîstar (Sirius) being in Cancer probably

pouring, on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, *and* came again into notice for mischief (âvârak) in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constellation; the month Tîr is the fourth month[1] of the year, *and* Cancer the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer, into which Tîstar sprang, *and* displayed the characteristics of a producer of rain; and he brought on the water aloft by the strength of the wind. 3. Co-operators with Tîstar were Vohûman and the angel Hôm, with the assistance of the angel Bûrg and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement.

4. Tîstar was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull[2]; thirty days *and* nights he was distinguished in brilliance[3], and in each form he produced rain ten days *and* nights; as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms. 5. Every single drop of that rain became as big as a bowl, and the water stood the height of a man over the whole of this earth; *and* the noxious creatures on the earth being all killed by the rain, went into the holes of the earth[4].

means that it rises about the same time as the stars of Cancer, as is actually the case.

[1] See Chap. XXV, 20.

[2] See Tîstar Yt. 13, 16, 18, where it is stated that Tîstar assumes the form of a man for the first ten nights, of a bull for the second ten nights, and of a horse for the third ten nights. Also in Vend. XIX, 126 Tîstar is specially invoked in his form of a bull.

[3] Or it may be translated, 'he hovered in the light,' as Windischmann and Justi have it.

[4] In comparing the inundation produced by Tîstar with the Noachian deluge, it must be recollected that the former is represented as occurring before mankind had propagated on the earth.

6. And, afterwards, the wind spirit, so that it may not be contaminated (gûmîkht), stirs up the wind *and* atmosphere as the life stirs in the body; and the water was all swept away by it, and was brought out to the borders of the earth, and the wide-formed[1] ocean arose therefrom. 7. The noxious creatures remained dead within the earth, and their venom and stench were mingled with the earth, and in order to carry that poison away from the earth Tîstar went down into the ocean in the form of a white horse with long hoofs[2].

8. And Apâôsh[3], the demon, came meeting him in the likeness of a black horse with clumsy (kund) hoofs; a mile (parasang)[4] away from him fled Tîstar, through the fright which drove *him* away. 9. And Tîstar begged for success from Aûharmazd, and Aûharmazd gave *him* strength and power, as it is said, that unto Tîstar was brought at once the strength of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers[5]. 10. A mile away from him fled Apâôsh, the demon, through fright at *his* strength; on account of this they speak of an arrow-*shot* with Tîstar's strength in the sense *of a mile.*

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[1] The term farâkhû-kar*d*, 'wide-formed,' is a free Pahlavi translation of Av. vouru-kasha, 'wide-shored,' or 'having wide abysses,' applied to the boundless ocean (see Chap. XIII, 1).

[2] For the Avesta account of this expedition of Tîstar, see Tîstar Yt. 20–29.

[3] Miswritten Apav*s* or Apava*s* in Pâzand, by all MSS. in this chapter, but see Chap. XXVIII, 39.

[4] The word parasang is here used for Av. hâthra, which was about an English mile (see Chap. XXVI, 1).

[5] A quotation from Tîstar Yt. 25.

11. Afţerwards, with a cloud for a jar (khûmb)—thus they call the measure which was a means of the work—he seized upon the water *and* made it rain most prodigiously, in drops *like* bull's heads and men's heads, pouring in handfuls *and* pouring in armfuls, both great and small. 12. On the production of that rain the demons Aspengargâk[1] *and* Apâôsh contended *with it*, and the fire Vâzist[2] turned *its* club over; and owing to the blow of the club Aspengargâk made a very grievous noise, as even now, in a conflict with the producer of rain, a groaning and raging[3] are manifest. 13. And ten nights and days rain was produced by him in that manner, and the poison and venom of the noxious creatures which were in the earth were all mixed up in the water, and the water became quite salt, because there remained in the earth *some* of those germs which noxious creatures ever collect.

14. Afterwards, the wind, in the same manner *as before*, restrained the water, at the end of three days, on various sides of the earth; and the three great seas *and* twenty-three small seas[4] arose therefrom, *and* two fountains (*k*ashmak) of the sea thereby became manifest, one the *K*ê*k*ast lake, and one the Sôvbar[5], whose sources are connected with the

[1] Mentioned in Vend. XIX, 135, thus: 'thou shouldst propitiate the fire Vâzista, the smiter of the demon Spengaghra.' It is also written Spêngargâk in Chap. XVII, 1, and Aspengarôgâ in Chap. XXVIII, 39.

[2] That is, the lightning (see Chap. XVII, 1).

[3] Or, 'a tumult and flashing.' Justi has 'howling and shrieking;' the two words being very ambiguous in the original.

[4] See Chap. XIII, 6.

[5] See Chap. XXII, 1–3.

fountain of the sea. 15. And at its north side[1] two rivers flowed out, *and* went one to the east *and* one to the west; they are the Arag river and the Vêh river; as it is said thus: 'Through those finger-breadth tricklings do thou pour *and* draw forth two such waters, O Aûharmazd!' 16. Both those rivers wind about through all the extremities of the earth, and intermingle again with the water of the wide-formed ocean. 17. As those two rivers flowed out, *and* from the same place of origin as theirs, eighteen[2] navigable rivers flowed out, and after the other waters have flowed out from those navigable *streams* they all flow back to the Arag[3] river and Vêh river, whose fertilization (khvâpardârîh) of the world *arises* therefrom.

Chapter VIII.

0. On the conflict which the evil spirit waged with the earth.

1. As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook[4], *and* the substance of mountains was created in the earth. 2. First, Mount Albûrz arose; afterwards,

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[1] Probably meaning the north side of the Arêdvîvsûr fountain of the sea, which is said to be on the lofty Hûgar, a portion of Albûrz, from the northern side of which these two semi-mythical rivers are said to flow (see Chaps. XII, 5, XX, 1).

[2] See Chap. XX, 2.

[3] Here written Arêng, but the usual Pahlavi reading is Arag; the nasal of the Av. Rangha being generally omitted in Pahlavi, as other nasals are sometimes; thus we often find sag for sang, 'stone.'

[4] The word *g*udnî*d* is a transposition of *g*undî*d*, a graphical variant of *g*unbî*d*, 'shook.'

the other ranges of mountains (kôfânîhâ) of the middle of the earth; for as Albûrz grew forth all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Albûrz. 3. At that time they came up from the earth, like a tree which *has* grown up to the clouds *and its* root[1] to the bottom; and their root passed on that way *from* one to the other, *and* they are arranged in mutual connection. 4. Afterwards, about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands; *and* the passage for the waters within the mountains is the root which is below the mountains; they forsake the upper *parts* so that they may flow into it, just as the roots of trees pass into the earth; a counterpart (ânguniaîtak) of the blood in the arteries of men, which gives strength to the whole body. 5. In numbers[2], apart from Albûrz, all the mountains grew up out of the earth in eighteen years[3], from which *arises* the perfection[4] of men's advantage.

Chapter IX.

1. The conflict waged with plants was that when[5] they became quite dry. 2. Amerôdad the arch-

[1] M6 has rakâk, but this and many other strange words are probably due to the copyist of that MS. having an original before him which was nearly illegible in many places.

[2] Or, 'as it were innumerable;' the word amar meaning both 'number' and 'innumerable.'

[3] See Chap. XII, 1.

[4] The word must be farhâkhtagân, 'proprieties,' both here and in Chap. IX, 6, as farhâkhtisn is an ungrammatical form.

[5] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note to Chap. I, 7).

angel, as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, *and* mixed *them* up with the water *which* Tîstar seized, and Tîstar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. 4. Ten thousand[1] of them grew forth of one special description, for keeping away the ten thousand species of disease *which* the evil spirit produced for the creatures; *and* from those ten thousand, the 100,000 species[2] of plants have grown forth.

5. From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs[3] was given forth, *and* grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants ever increased. 6. And near to that tree of all germs the Gôkar*d* tree[4] was produced, for keeping away deformed (dûspa*d*) decrepitude; *and* the full perfection of the world arose therefrom.

CHAPTER X.

0. On the conflict waged with the primeval ox.

1. As it passed away[5], owing to the vegetable principle (*k*îharak) *proceeding* from every limb of the ox, fifty and five species of grain[6] *and* twelve species of medicinal plants grew forth from the earth, and their splendour and strength were the

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[1] See Chap. XXVII, 2.

[2] Here 120,000 are mentioned, but see Chap. XXVII, 2, and Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, VIII, 2.

[3] Or, 'of all seeds' (see Chap. XVIII, 9).

[4] The white-Hôm tree (see Chaps. XVIII, 1–6, XXVII, 4).

[5] See Chap. IV, 1. [6] See Chaps. XIV, 1, XXVII, 2.

seminal energy (tôkhmîh) of the ox. 2. Delivered to the moon station[1], that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, fully prepared in every way, and produced life in a body. 3. Thence *arose* two oxen, one male *and* one female; and, afterwards, two hundred and eighty-two species of each kind[2] became manifest upon the earth. 4. The dwelling (mânîst) of the birds is in the air, and the fish are in the midst of the water.

Chapter XI.

1. On the nature of the earth it says in revelation, that *there* are thirty and three kinds[3] of land. 2. *On* the day when Tîstar produced the rain, when its seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions; this portion[4], as much as one-half, is the middle, *and* six portions are around; those six portions are *together* as much as Khvanîras. 3. The name

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[1] See Chap. XIV, 3. In the Mâh Yt. 0, 7, blessings are invoked for 'the moon of ox lineage' (gaokithra) in conjunction with the 'sole-created ox and the ox of many species.' In the Avesta the gender of these two primeval oxen appears doubtful, owing probably to the dual gen. masc. of their epithets being of the same form as a sing. gen. fem.

[2] That is, of each sex. See Chap. XIV, 13, 27. In all three occurrences of this number K20 has 272, but all other MSS. have 282 (except M6 in this place only).

[3] K20b has 'thirty-two kinds.'

[4] That is, Khvanîras; or it may be 'one portion,' as hanâ, 'this,' is often used for aê, 'one,' because the Pâzand form of both words is *e*.

kêshvar ('zone or region') is also applied to them, and *they* existed side by side (kash kash)[1]; as on the east side of this portion (Khvaniras) is the Savah region, *on* the west is the Arzah region; the two portions on the south side are the Fradadafsh *and* Vîdadafsh regions, the two portions on the north side are the Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst regions, *and* that in the middle is Khvaniras. 4. And Khvaniras has the sea, for one part of the wide-formed ocean wound about around it; *and from* Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst a lofty mountain grew up; so that it is not possible for any one to go from region to region[2].

5. And of these seven regions every benefit was created most in Khvaniras, and the evil spirit also produced most for Khvaniras, on account of the superiority (sarîh)[3] which he saw in it. 6. For the Kayânians and heroes were created in Khvaniras; and the good religion of the Mazdayasnians was created in Khvaniras, and afterwards conveyed to the other regions; Sôshyans[4] is born in Khvaniras, who makes the evil spirit impotent, and causes the resurrection *and* future existence.

[1] Possibly an attempt to connect the term kêshvar with kash; but the sentence may also be translated thus: 'and *they* formed various districts like this portion; on the east side is the Savah region,' &c.

[2] In the Pahlavi Vend. I, 4a, and in the Mainyô-i-khard, IX, 6, it is added, 'except with the permission of the angels' or the demons.

[3] So in M6; but K20 has zadârîh, which would imply, 'for the destruction of what he saw of it.'

[4] Always spelt so in the Bundahis MSS. K20 and M6, and corrupted into Sôshyôs in Pâzand; but it is more usually written Sôshâns in other Pahlavi works, and its Avesta form is Saoshyãs (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

Chapter XII.

1. On the nature of mountains it says in revelation, that, at first, the mountains have grown forth in eighteen years; and Albûrz ever grew till the completion of eight hundred years; two hundred years *up* to the star station (pâyak), two hundred years to the moon station, two hundred years to the sun station, and two hundred years to the endless light[1]. 2. While the other mountains have grown out of Albûrz, in number 2244 mountains, *and* are Hûgar the lofty[2], Têrak of Albûrz, Kakâd-i-Dâîtîk, and the Arezûr ridge, the Aûsîndôm mountain, Mount Apârsên which they say is the mountain of Pârs, Mount Zarid also which is Mount Mânûs, Mount Airak, Mount Kaf, Mount Vâdgês, Mount Aûshdâstâr, Mount Arezûr-bûm, Mount Rôyisn-hômand, Mount Padashkhvârgar which is the greatest in Khvârîh, the mountain which they call Kînŏ, Mount Rêvand, Mount Dârspêt the Bakyir mountain, Mount Kabed-sikaft, Mount Siyâk-mûî-mand, Mount Vafar-hômand, Mount Spendyâd *and* Kôndrâsp, Mount Asnavand *and* Kôndras, Mount

[1] These are the four grades of the Mazdayasnian heaven.

[2] In all the geographical details, mentioned in the Bundahis, there is a strange mixture of mythical tradition with actual fact. The author of the work finds names mentioned in the Avesta, by old writers of another country, and endeavours to identify them with places known to himself; much in the same way as attempts have been made to identify the geographical details of the garden of Eden. Most of the names of these mountains occur in the Zamyad Yast, or in other parts of the Avesta, as will be noticed in detail further on. The number 2244 is also mentioned in § 7 of that Yast. A very able commentary on this chapter will be found in Windischmann's Zoroastriche Studien, pp. 1–19.

Si*k*idâv [1], a mountain among those which are in Kangdez [2], *of* which they say that they are a comfort and delight of the good creator, the smaller hills.

3. I *will* mention them also a second time; Albûr*z* [3] is around this earth and is connected with the sky. 4. The Têrak [4] of Albûr*z* is that through which the stars, moon, *and* sun pass [5] in, and through it they come back. 5. Hûgar the lofty [6] is that from which the water of Arêdvîvsûr [7] leaps down the height of a thousand men. 6. The Aûsîndôm [8] mountain is that which, being of ruby

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[1] The Av. Si*k*idava of Zamyâd Yt. 5.

[2] See Chap. XXIX, 4, 10; the name is here written Kan*k*e*z* in K20. In M6 the word is kôf, 'mountain,' which is almost identical in form; if this be the correct reading, the translation will be, 'a mountain among those in the mountain which they say is agreeable and the delight,' &c. This mountain is, however, probably intended for the Av. A*n*tare-kangha, 'within Kangha,' of Zamyâd Yt. 4.

[3] The Haraiti-bare*s* of Zamyâd Yt. 1; but it is more usually called Hara berezaiti (see Chap. V, 3).

[4] A central peak of the mythic Albûr*z*, around which the heavenly bodies are said to revolve (see Chap. V, 3). It is the Av. Taêra, mentioned in Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6.

[5] So in M6, but K20 has 'go in.'

[6] This appears to be another peak of the mythic Albûr*z*, probably in the west, as it is connected with Satavês, the western chieftain of the constellations (see Chaps. XXIV, 17, and II, 7). It is the Av. Hukairya berezô, of Yas. LXIV, 14, Âbân Yt. 3, 25, 96, Gôs Yt. 8, Mihir Yt. 88, Rashnu Yt. 24, Fravardîn Yt. 6, Râm Yt. 15.

[7] See Chap. XIII, 3–5.

[8] In Aûharmazd Yt. 31 and Zamyâd Yt. 2, 66, an Ushidhâo mountain is mentioned as having many mountain waters around it, but this seems to be a near neighbour of the Ushidarena mountain (see § 15). The details in the text correspond with the description of the Hindva mountain, given in Tîstar Yt. 32, thus: us Hindva*d* paiti garôi*d* yô histaiti maidhîm zrayanghô vouru-kashahê. 'up on the Hindva mountain, which stands amid the wide-shored

(khûn-âhinŏ), of the substance of the sky[1], is *in* the midst of the wide-formed ocean, so that its water, which is from Hûgar, pours down into it (the ocean). 7. *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâîtîk ('the judicial peak') is that of the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the *K*învar bridge[2] stands; and they take account of the soul at that place. 8. The Are*z*ûr[3] ridge [of the Albûr*z* mountain] is a summit at the gate of hell, where they always hold the concourse of the demons. 9. This also is said, that, excepting Albûr*z*, the Apârsên[4] mountain is the

ocean;' and the Pahlavi name, Aûsîndôm, has probably arisen from the us Hindva*d* of this passage, as suggested by Justi. (See Chaps. XIII, 5, and XVIII, 10, 11.)

[1] The sky is considered to be a true firmament, or hard and indestructible dome.

[2] The *K*învatô-peretu of the Avesta, mentioned even in the Gâthas. In the Pahlavi Vend. XIX, 101, it is stated that 'they pass across by the *K*înva*d* bridge, whose two extremities are their own heavenly angels, one stands at *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâîtîk, and one at Albûr*z*;' the former mountain seems not to be mentioned in the Avesta, but the bridge is the path of the soul to the other world; if righteous the soul passes by it easily over Albûr*z* (the confines of this world) into paradise, but if wicked it drops off the bridge into hell.

[3] See Vend. III, 23, XIX, 140. The words in brackets may perhaps be inserted by mistake, but they occur in all MSS. examined, and there is nothing inconsistent with tradition in supposing Are*z*ûr to be the extreme northern range of the mythic Albûr*z* which surrounds the earth, being the place where demons chiefly congregate.

[4] Justi adopts the reading Harpârsên, which occurs in K20 four times out of eleven, but is corrected thrice. Windischmann suggests that this mountain is the Av. *s*kyata (or i*s*katâ) upairi-saêna of Yas. X, 29, and Zamyâd Yt. 3, which the Pahlavi translator of the Yasna explains as 'the Pârsên crag.' It seems to be a general name for the principal mountain ranges in the south and east of Iran, as may be seen on comparing this passage and Chap. XXIV,

greatest; the Apârsên mountain they call the mountain of Pârs, and its beginning is in Sagastân[1] and its end in Khûgistân. 10. Mount Mânûs[2] is great; the mountain on which Mânûskihar was born.

11. The remaining mountains have chiefly grown from those; as it is said that the elevation (afsârih) of the districts had arisen most around those three mountains[3]. 12. Mount Airak[4] is in the middle from Hamadân to Khvârizem, and has grown from Mount Apârsên. 13. Mount [Kînô][5], which is on its east, on the frontier of Tûrkistân, is connected also with Apârsên. 14. Mount Kaf[6] has grown from the same Mount Apârsên. 15. Mount Aûshdâs-

28, with Chap. XX, 16, 17, 21, 22, where the Haro, Hêtûmand, Marv, and Balkh rivers are said to spring from Mount Apârsên; but its application to the southern range is perhaps due to the etymological attempt, in the text, to connect it with Pârs. The Selections of Zâd-sparam, VII, 7, have Kînistân for Khûgistân.

[1] This name can also be read Sîstân.

[2] In § 2 it is also called Zarid, but in Zamyâd Yt. 1 Zeredhô and Aredhô-manusha are mentioned as neighbouring mountains. The word 'great' is omitted in M6.

[3] That is, around the ranges of Albûrz, Apârsên, and Mânûs.

[4] Perhaps intended for the Erezishô of Zamyâd Yt. 2. The description would apply to any of the mountains near Nisâpûr.

[5] This name is omitted in the MSS., but is taken from § 2 as suggested by Justi. Perhaps it may be connected with 'the country of Sênî' (Chap. XV, 29), which is explained as being Kînistân, probably the land of Samarkand, which place was formerly called Kîn, according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabarî's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298.

[6] Not Kâf, nor is it mentioned in the Pahlavi Vend. V, 57, as supposed by Justi; the kâf kôp ârâyad of Spiegel's edition of the Pahlavi text being a misprint for kâfakŏ pârâyad, 'it traverses a fissure' (see Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 326, note 2).

târ[1] is in Sagastân. 16. Mount Arezûr[2] is that which is in the direction of Arûm. 17. The Padash-khvârgar[3] mountain is that which is in Taparîstân and the side of Gîlân. 18. The Rêvand[4] mountain is in Khûrâsân[5], on which the Bûrzîn fire[6] was established; and its *name* Rêvand *means* this, that *it* is glorious. 19. The Vâdgês[7] mountain is that which is on the frontier of the Vâdgêsians; that quarter is full of timber *and* full of trees. 20. The Bakyîr[8] mountain is that which Frâsiyâv of Tûr used as a stronghold, and he made his residence within *it;* and *in* the days of Yim[9] a myriad towns and cities were erected on its pleasant *and* prosperous territory. 21. Mount Kabed-sikaft[10] ('very rugged')

[1] The Av. Ushi-darena of Yas. I, 41, II, 54, III, 55, IV, 45, XXII, 31, XXV, 22, Aûharmazd Yt. 31, Zamyâd Yt. 0, 2, 97.

[2] Called Arezûr-bûm in § 2, which name stands for the sixth and seventh mountains, Erezurô and Bumyô, in Zamyâd Yt. 2. The land of Arûm was the eastern empire of the Romans.

[3] Evidently the mountain range south of the Caspian, now called Albûrz; but whether this actual Albûrz is to be considered a part of the mythic Albûrz is not very clear.

[4] The Av. Raêvaus, 'shining,' of Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is also called the Ridge of Vistâsp (see § 34).

[5] Or, 'the east.' [6] See Chap. XVII, 8.

[7] The Av. Vâiti-gaêsô, the twelfth mountain in Zamyâd Yt. 2; Bâdghês in Persian.

[8] In § 2 it is Bakyir, which Justi thinks is another name for Mount Dârspêt ('white poplar'); the latter name not being repeated here makes this supposition probable.

[9] K20 has rûm and M6 has lanman, but both explained by the Pâz. gloss Yim, which is also the reading of the Pâz. MSS. If the gloss be rejected the most probable translation would be, 'and *in* our days Shatrô-râm (or râmisn), the victorious, erected on it a myriad towns and cities.'

[10] Windischmann suggests that this may be intended for the Av. skyata or iskatâ mentioned in the note on Apârsên in § 9.

is that in Pârs, out of the same Mount Apârsên. 22. Mount Siyâk-hômand ('being black') *and* Mount Vafar-hômand ('having snow')[1], as far as their Kâvûl borders, have grown out of it (Apârsên) towards the direction of *K*'inŏ. 23. The Spend-yâ*d*[2] mountain is in the circuit (var) of Rêvand[3]. 24. The Kôndrâsp[4] mountain, on the summit of which is Lake Sôvbar[5], is in the district (or by the town) of Tûs. 25. The Kondrâs[6] mountain is in Aîrân-vêg. 26. The Asnavand[7] mountain is in Âtarô-pâtakân. 27. The Rôyi*s*n-hômand[8] ('having growth') mountain is that on which vegetation has grown.

28. Whatever[9] mountains are those which are in every place of the various districts *and* various

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[1] The Av. Syâmaka and Vafray*a*u of Zamyâd Yt. 5; and probably the Siyâh-kôh and Safêd-kôh of Afghânistân. With regard to *K*'inŏ, see the note on § 13. The former mountain is called Sîyâk-mûî-mand, 'having black hair,' in § 2, which is certainly a more grammatical form than Sîyâk-hômand.

[2] The Av. Spe*n*tô-dâta of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

[3] The term var often means 'lake,' but we are not informed of any Lake Rêvand, though a mountain of that name is described in § 18; so it seems advisable to take var here in its wider sense of 'enclosure, circuit, district.'

[4] The Av. Kadrva-aspa of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

[5] See Chap. XXII, 3. All MSS. have Sôbar here.

[6] If the circumflex be used in Pahlavi to indicate not only the consonant d, but also the vowel î, ê when it follows a vowel, as seems probable, this name can be read Kôirâs; in any case, it is evidently intended for the Av. Kaoirisa in Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is written Kôndras in § 2.

[7] The Av. Asnav*a*u of Zamyâd Yt. 5, Âtash Nyây. 5, Sirôz. 9. See also Chap. XVII, 7.

[8] The Av. Raoidhitô, the eighth mountain of Zamyâd Yt. 2.

[9] So in M6 and the Pâz. MSS., but K20 has, 'The country mountains.'

countries, and cause the tillage *and* prosperity therein, are many *in* name and many *in* number, *and* have grown from these same mountains. 29. *As* Mount Ganâvad, Mount Asparôg, Mount Pâhargar, Mount Dimâvand, Mount Râvak, Mount Zarîn, Mount Gêsbakht, Mount Dâvad, Mount Mîgîn, *and* Mount Marak [1], which have all grown from Mount Apârsên, of which the other mountains are enumerated. 30. For the Dâvad [2] mountain has grown into Khûgîstân likewise from the Apârsên mountain. 31. The Dimâvand [3] mountain is that in which Bêvarâsp is bound. 32. From the same Padashkhvârgar mountain unto Mount Kûmîs [4], *which* they call Mount Madôfryâd ('Come-to-help') — that in which Vistâsp routed Argâsp — is Mount Mîyân-i-dast ('mid-plain') [5], *and* was broken off from that mountain there. 33. They say, in the war of the religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, *and* slid down *into* the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by

[1] This list is evidently intended to include the chief mountains known to the author of the Bundahis, which he could not identify with any of those mentioned in the Avesta.

[2] This is the Pâzand reading of the name, on which very little reliance can be placed; the Pahlavi can also be read Dânad, and it may be the Deana mountain, 12,000 feet high, near Kaski-zard.

[3] See Chap. XXIX, 9. This volcanic mountain, about 20,000 feet high and near Teheran, still retains this ancient Persian name, meaning 'wintry.' It is the chief mountain of the Padashkhvârgar range, which the Bundahis evidently considers as an offshoot of the Apârsên ranges.

[4] The present name of a mountain between Nîsâpûr and the desert.

[5] The name of a place about midway between Astarâbâd and Nîsâpûr. This mountain is called Mîgîn in § 29, probably from a place called Mezinan in the same neighbourhood.

it, and it was called 'Come-to-help' by them. 34. The Ganâvad[1] mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân)[2] at the abode of the Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire, nine leagues (parasang) to the west. 35. Râvak Bîsan[3] is in Zrâvakad; this place, some say, is Zravad, some call *it* Bîsan, some Kalâk; from this the road of two sides of the mountain is down the middle of a fortress; for this reason, that is, because it is there formed, they call Kalâk a fortress; this place they also call within the land of Sarak. 36. Mount Asparôg[4] is established from the country of Lake Kêkast[5] unto Pârs. 37. Pâhargar ('the Pâhar range') is in Khûrâsân. 38. Mount Marak[6] is in Lârân. 39. Mount Zarîn is in Tûrkistân. 40. Mount Bakht-tan[7] is in Spâhân.

41. The rest, *apart* from this enumeration, which they reckon *as* fostering hills of the country in the religion of the Mazdayasnians, are the small hills, those which have grown piecemeal in places.

Chapter XIII.

1. On the nature of seas it says in revelation, that the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Albûrz[8], *and* so

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[1] The Pers. Kanâbad, or Gunâbad, is near Gumin.

[2] Another name for Mount Rêvand (§ 18). See Chap. XVII, 8.

[3] Probably in Kirmân.

[4] The mountain ranges of western Persia, including the Mount Zagros of classical writers.

[5] See Chap. XXII, 2.

[6] Probably the Merkhinah range in northern Lâristân.

[7] The Bakhtiyârî range in the province of Ispahân.

[8] Or perhaps better thus: 'the wide-formed ocean is in the

wide-formed is the ocean that the water of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Arêdvîvsûr[1], *which* some say is the fountain lake. 2. Every particular lake is of a particular kind[2], some are great, and some are small; some are so large that a man with a horse might compass *them* around in forty days[3], which is 1700 leagues (parasang) in extent.

3. Through the warmth and clearness of the water, purifying more than other waters, everything continually flows from the source Arêdvîvsûr. 4. At the south of Mount Albûrz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, *and* that water goes with warmth and clearness, through the channels, on to Hûgar the lofty[4]; on the summit of that mountain is a lake[5]; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. 5. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with Mount Aûsîndôm[6] amid the wide-formed ocean; from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, *and* one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of Aûharmazd acquire

direction of the south limit of Albûrz, *and* possesses one-third of this earth.'

[1] The Av. Ardvî sûra of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.

[2] Literally, 'for every single lake *there is* a single kind;' but we may perhaps read lâ, 'not,' instead of the very similar râî, 'for,' and translate as follows: 'every single lake is not of one kind;' which expresses very nearly the same meaning.

[3] Compare Âbân Yt. 101.

[4] See Chap. XII, 5.

[5] Lake Urvis (see Chap. XXII, 11).

[6] See Chaps. XII, 6, and XVIII, 10, 11.

health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere.

6. Of the salt seas three are principal, *and* twenty-three are small. 7. Of the three which are principal, one is the Pûtîk, one the Kamrûd, and one the Sahî-bûn. 8. Of all three the Pûtîk[1] is the largest, in which is a flow *and* ebb, on the same side as the wide-formed ocean, *and* it is joined to the wide-formed ocean. 9. Amid this wide-formed ocean, on the Pûtîk side, it has a sea which they call the Gulf (var) of Satavês[2]. 10. Thick and salt the stench[3] wishes to go from the sea Pûtîk to the wide-formed ocean; with a mighty high wind therefrom, the Gulf of Satavês drives away whatever is stench, *and* whatever is pure and clean goes into the wide-formed *ocean* and the source Arêdvîvsûr; *and* that flows back a second *time* to Pûtîk[4]. 11. The control[5] of this sea (the Pûtîk) is connected with the

[1] The Av. Pûitika of Vend. V, 52, 57, and evidently the Persian Gulf.

[2] So called from the constellation Satavês (§ 12), see Chap. II, 7. The details given in the text are applicable to the Gulf and Sea of 'Umân, the Arabian Sea of Europeans. The description of this Gulf, given in the Pahl. Vend. V, 57, which is rather obscure, is as follows: 'In purification *the impurities* flow, in the purity of water, from the sea Pûtîk into the wide-formed ocean; at the southernmost side *the water* stands back in mist, and the blue body of Satavês stands back around it. Pûtîk stands *out* from the side of Satavês, this is where *it is*. From which side it stands is not clear to me. The water comes to Satavês through the bottom; some say that it traverses a fissure.'

[3] Perhaps a better reading would be stûrg sûr-i gôndakîh, 'the intense saltness which is stench.' The author appears to have had some vague idea of the monsoon.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'the other (the stench) flows back to Pûtîk.'

[5] Reading band; but it may be bôd, 'consciousness, sensitiveness.'

moon and wind; it comes again *and* goes down, in increase and decrease, because of her revolving. 12. The control[1] also of the Gulf of Satavês is attached to the constellation Satavês, in whose protection are the seas of the southern quarter, just as *those* on the northern side are in the protection of Haptôk-rîng[2]. 13. Concerning the flow *and* ebb it is said, that everywhere from the presence of the moon two winds continually blow, whose abode is in the Gulf of Satavês, one they call the down-draught, and one the up-draught; when the up-draught blows *it is* the flow, and when the down-draught blows it is the ebb[3]. 14. In the other seas there is nothing of the nature of a revolution of the moon therein, *and* there are no flow *and* ebb. 15. The sea of Kamrûd[4] is that which they pass by, in the north, in Taparîstân; that of Sahî-bûn[5] is in Arûm.

16. Of the small seas that which was most whole-

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[1] See p. 43, note 5.

[2] See Chap. II, 7.

[3] This is not a confused attempt to explain the tides as the effect of the land and sea breezes, as might be suspected at first, but is a reasonable conclusion from imaginary facts. Assuming that the wind always blows eastward and westward from the moon, it follows that as the moon rises an easterly wind must blow, which may be supposed to drive the flood tide westward into the Persian Gulf; until the moon passes the meridian, when the wind, changing to the west, ought to drive the ebb tide eastward out of the Gulf, thus accounting for one flow and ebb every day, dependent on the position of the moon.

[4] Evidently the Caspian, which lies north of Taparîstân, a province including part of Mâzendarân.

[5] Or perhaps Gâhî-bûn, meaning probably the Mediterranean or Euxine, if not both of them; the author appears merely to have heard of the existence of such a sea in Asia Minor (Arûm). In the Selections of Zâd-sparam, VI, 14, it is called Gêhân-bûn.

some[1] was the sea Kyânsîh[2], *such* as is in Sagastân; *at* first, noxious creatures, snakes, and lizards (vazagh) were not in *it*, *and* the water was sweeter *than in* any of the other seas; later (da*d*îgar) *it became* salt; at the closest, on account of the stench, it is not possible to go so near as one league, so very great are the stench and saltness through the violence of the hot wind. 17. When the renovation *of the universe* occurs it *will* again become sweet[3].

Chapter XIV.

1. On the nature of the five classes of animals (gôspend) it says in revelation, that, when the primeval ox passed away[4], there where the marrow came out grain grew up[5] of fifty and five species, *and* twelve[6] species of medicinal plants grew; as it says, that out of the marrow is every separate creature, every single thing whose lodgment is in the marrow[7]. 2. From the horns *arose* peas (mîgûk),

[1] Comparing nîstûm with Pers. nist, 'healthy.'

[2] The Av. Kăsu of Vend. XIX, 18, and Zamyâd Yt. 66, 92 (see also Chaps. XX, 34, and XXI, 7). A brackish lake and swamp now called Hâmûn, 'the desert,' or Zarah, 'the sea,' and which formerly contained fresher water than it does now.

[3] The MSS. here add the first sentence of Chap. XX, and there is every reason to believe that Chaps. XX–XXII originally occupied this position, between XIII and XIV, (see the list of the contents of TD in the Introduction.)

[4] See Chaps. IV, 1, and X, 1.

[5] All MSS. have lakhvâr, 'again,' but this is probably a blunder for lâlâ, 'up.'

[6] K20 has 'fifteen' here, but 'twelve' in Chaps. X, 1, and XXVII, 2.

[7] K20 has 'of every single thing the lodgment is in the marrow.'

from the nose the leek, from the blood the grape-vine[1] from which they make wine—on this account wine abounds with blood—from the lungs the rue-like herbs, from the middle of the heart[2] thyme *for* keeping away stench, *and* every one of the others as revealed in the Avesta.

3. The seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station[3]; there it was thoroughly purified, *and* produced the manifold species of animals[4]. 4. First, two oxen, one male and one female, and, afterwards, one pair of every single species was let go into the earth, *and* was discernible in Aîrân-vêg *for* a Hâsar ('mile'), which is like a Parasang ('league')[5]; as it says, that, on account of the valuableness of the ox, it was created twice, one time as an ox, and one time as the manifold species of animals. 5. A thousand days and nights they were without eating, and first water and afterwards herbage (aûrvar) were devoured by them.

6. And, afterwards, the three classes (kar*d*ak) of animals were produced therefrom, as it says that first were the goat and sheep, and then the camel

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[1] Probably ka*d*ûk-i raz may mean 'the pumpkin and grape.'

[2] Reading dîl; but the word may also be read sar, 'the head,' or jigar, 'the liver.'

[3] See Chap. X, 2.

[4] This translation suits both text and context very well, but gôspend pûr-sar*d*ak is evidently intended for the Av. gâus pouru-saredhô, 'the ox of many species,' of Mâh Yt. 0, 7, and Sîrôz. 12.

[5] Reading mûn aê parasang humânâk; if 3 be read for aê the translation must be, 'three of which are like a Parasang,' for a Hâsar cannot be equal to three Parasangs (see Chaps. XVI, 7, and XXVI). The phrase in the text probably means merely that a Hâsar is a measure for long distances, just as a Parasang is.

and swine, and then the horse and ass. 7. For, first, *those* suitable for grazing were created therefrom, those are now kept in the valley (lâi); the second created were those of the hill summits (sar-i dêz)[1], which are wide-travellers, *and* habits (nihâdak) are not taught to them by hand; the third created were *those* dwelling in the water.

8. As for the genera (khadûînak), the first genus is that which *has* the foot cloven in two, *and is* suitable for grazing; of which a camel larger than a horse is small *and* new-born. 9. The second genus is ass-footed, of which the swift[2] horse is the largest, *and* the ass the least. 10. The third genus is that of the five-dividing paw, of which the dog is the largest, *and* the civet-cat the least. 11. The fourth genus is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures[3] is the largest, and the chaffinch[4] the least. 12. The fifth genus is that of the water, of which the Kar fish[5] is the largest, *and* the Nemadu[6] the least.

13. These five genera are apportioned out into

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[1] Justi reads gîrîsa*k*, the Av. gairishâ*k*ô, 'mountain-frequenting,' of Tîstar Yt. 36; but this is doubtful.

[2] Pahl. zibâl = Pers. zîbâl.

[3] The Pâz. sin-i se avinâ is the Pahl. sên-i 3 khadûînak of Chap. XXIV, 11, 29, the Sîn bird or Sîmurgh of Persian legends, the Av. saêna. The word avinâ is a Pâz. misreading either of âînak, 'kind, sort,' or of anganâk, 'dividing.' The mixture of Pâzand and Pahlavi in this and some other chapters is rather perplexing, but the Pâzand misreadings can usually be corrected after transliterating them back into Pahlavi characters.

[4] Reading va taru (Pers. tar).

[5] See Chaps. XVIII, 3, and XXIV, 13.

[6] If this Pâzand word be written in Pahlavi letters it may be read va magan, which may stand for va magil, 'and the leech;' but this is very uncertain.

two hundred and eighty-two[1] species (sar*d*ak). 14. First are five species of goat, the ass-goat[2], the milch-goat, the mountain-goat, the fawn, *and* the *common* goat. 15. Second, five species of sheep, that with a tail, that which has no tail, the dog-sheep, the wether, *and* the Kûri*s*k sheep, a sheep whose horn is great; it possesses a grandeur[3] like unto a horse, *and* they use *it* mostly for a steed (bâra), as it is said that Mânû*sk*îhar kept a Kûri*s*k as a steed. 16. Third, two species of camel, the mountain *one and that* suitable for grazing; for one is fit to keep in the mountain, *and* one in the plain; they are one-humped *and* two-humped. 17. Fourth, fifteen species of ox, the white, mud-coloured[4], red, yellow, black, *and* dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard ox, the fish-chewing[5] ox, the Far*s* ox, the Ka*g*au, *and* other species of ox. 18. Fifth, eight species of horse, the Arab, the Persian, the mule[6], the ass, the wild ass (gôr), the hippopotamus (asp-i âvî), *and* other species of horse. 19. Sixth, ten species of dog, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog which is the house-protector, the blood-hound, the slender hound[7], the water-

[1] K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3).

[2] The khar-bûz (see Chap. XXIV, 2).

[3] Supposing se koh to be a Pâz. misreading of Pahl. *s*ukûh. Justi's translation is: 'it inhabits the three mountains, like the horse.'

[4] Pâz. ashgun is evidently for Pahl. ha*s*gûn.

[5] Transcribing the Pâz. mâhi khu ushân into Pahlavi it may be read mâhîkân-khvashân (khashân?).

[6] Instead of these first three species M6 has 'the white, black, yellow, bay, *and* chestnut.' K20 omits 'the ass' by mistake.

[7] These first four species are the Av. pasu*s*-haurvô, vi*s*-haurvô, vôhunazgô, and taurunô of Vend. V, 92–98, XIII, 21, 26–74, 117, 164, 165.

beaver[1] which they call the water-dog, the fox, the ichneumon (râsu), the hedgehog which they call 'thorny-back,' the porcupine[2], *and* the civet-cat; of which, two species are those accustomed[3] to burrows, one the fox *and* one the ichneumon; *and* those accustomed to jungle are such as the porcupine which has spines on *its* back, *and* the hedgehog which is similar. 20. Seventh, five species of the black[4] hare; two are wild species, one dwelling in a burrow[5] *and* one dwelling in the jungle. 21. Eighth, eight species of weasel; one the marten, one the black marten, the squirrel, the Bez ermine[6], the white ermine, *and* other species of weasel. 22. Ninth, eight species of musk *animals;* one is that which is recognised by *its* musk[7], one

[1] The Av. bawr*is* upâpô of Âbân Yt. 129.

[2] The word indra has usually been taken as a Pâz. misreading of the Pahl. aûdrak (Av. udra, 'otter,' of Vend. XIII, 48, 167, 169, XIV, 2), but this would be more probably read andra. The Pahl. sûgar, 'porcupine,' is just as likely to be misread indra, and its meaning suits the context better.

[3] The Pâz. âmokhte*s*n, which is an ungrammatical form, is evidently a misreading of the Pahl. âmûkhtagân.

[4] K20 has seyâ, M6 has zyâgi hest. Perhaps some old copyist has corrected sîyâk-gôsh into khar-gôsh, and so both the epithets have crept into the text, the word 'black' being superfluous.

[5] Reading khan-mâni*s*t, the Pâz. khu being an obvious misreading of khan.

[6] The Pâz. b*e*z is written bedh in the Pâzand MS. (the z in M6 being shaped something like dh), and Justi supposes it represents the Arabic abyadh or baîdhâ, 'white,' and is explained by the Pers. sapêd, 'white,' which follows; but there is nothing in the text to indicate that the second name is an explanation of the first. It is more probable that b*e*z represents the Pers. bîgâd, 'reddish, rufous, variegated,' an epithet quite applicable to the ermine in its summer fur.

[7] Or, 'is known as the musk *animal*.'

the musk *animal* with a bag in which is their pleasant scent, the Bis-musk[1] which eats the Bis-*herb*, the black musk which is the enemy of the serpent *that is* numerous in rivers, *and* other species of musk *animals*. 23. Tenth, one hundred and ten species of birds; flying creatures (vey = vâî) such as the griffon bird[2], the Karsipt[3], the eagle, the Kahrkâs[4] which they call the vulture, the crow, the Ardâ, the crane, *and* the tenth[5] is the bat. 24. There are two of them which have milk in the teat *and* suckle *their* young, the griffon bird and the bat which flies in the night; as they say that the bat is created of three races (sardak), the race (âyina) of the dog, the bird, *and* the musk *animal;* for it flies like a bird, has many teeth like a dog, *and* is dwelling in holes like a musk-rat. 25. These hundred and ten species of birds are distributed into eight groups (khadûînak), mostly as scattered about as when a man scatters seed, *and* drops the seed in *his* fingers to the ground, large, middling, *and* small. 26. Eleventh[6], fish were created of ten

[1] A kind of musk-rat; the bis it eats is said to be the Napellus Moysis.

[2] Pahl. sênô mârûk, the sîmurgh of Persian tradition, and Av. mereghô saênô of Bahrâm Yt. 41.

[3] See Chap. XIX, 16. [4] See Chap. XIX, 25.

[5] Counting the 'flying creatures' and 'the vulture' as distinct species, 'the bat' is the tenth. It has been generally supposed that we should read 'eleventh,' and consider the bats as an eleventh group, especially as the MSS. call the next group (the fish) the 'twelfth;' but this view is contradicted by the remarks about the bats being mingled with those about the birds, and also by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14 (see App. to Bund.), not mentioning any group of bats among the other animals.

[6] All the MSS. have 'twelfth,' but they give no 'eleventh' nor 'thirteenth,' though they have 'fourteenth' in § 29. These irre-

species; first, the fish Ariz[1], the Arzuvâ, the Arzukâ, the Marzukâ, *and* other Avesta names[2]. 27. Afterwards, within each species, species within species are created, so the total is two hundred and eighty-two species[3].

28. Of the dog they say that out of the star station, that is, *away* from the direction of the constellation Haptôk-rîng, was given to him further by a stage (yôgist)[4] than to men, on account of *his* protection of sheep, *and* as associating with sheep *and* men; for this the dog is purposely adapted[5], as three more kinds of advantage are given to him than *to* man, *he has* his own boots, his own clothing[6], *and* may wander about without self-exertion. 29. The twelfth[7] is the sharp-toothed beast of

gularities seem to indicate that part of this chapter has been omitted by some old copyist.

[1] See Chaps. XVIII, 5, and XXIV, 13.

[2] None of these names are found in the portion of the Avesta now extant.

[3] K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3). The actual total number of species mentioned is 186, leaving ninety-six for the 'species within species.' Zâd-sparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14, differs from the numbers given in the text merely in giving ten species of ox, instead of fifteen; so the total of his details is 181, leaving 101 sub-species to make up his grand total of 282 (see App. to Bund.)

[4] A yôgist (compare Sans. yogana) was probably from fifteen to sixteen English miles, as it consisted of sixteen hâsar, each of one thousand steps of the two feet (see Chap. XXVI, 1). This sentence seems to imply that on account of the useful qualities of the dog he has a part of the lowermost grade of paradise allotted to him, further from the demon-haunted north than that allotted to the men whose inferior order of merit does not entitle them to enter the higher grades of paradise.

[5] Reading âhang-hômand, 'having a purpose.'

[6] Compare Vend. XIII, 106.

[7] All the MSS. have 'fourteenth,' but they give no 'thirteenth.'

which the leader of the flock is in such great fear, for that flock of sheep is very badly maintained which has no dog.

30. Aûharmazd said when the bird Vâresha[1] was created by him, *which* is a bird of prey, thus: 'Thou art created by me, O bird Vâresha! so that my vexation may be greater than *my* satisfaction with thee, for thou doest the will of the evil spirit more than that of me; like the wicked man who did not become satiated with wealth, thou also dost not become satiated with the slaughter of birds; but if thou be not created by me, O bird Vâresha! thou wouldst be created by him, the evil spirit, *as* a kite[2] with the body of a Varpa[3], by which no creature would be left alive.'

31. Many animals are created in all these species for this reason, that when one shall be perishing *through* the evil spirit, one shall remain.

Chapter XV.

1. On the nature of men it says in revelation, that Gâyômar*d*, in passing away[4], gave forth seed; that seed was thoroughly purified by the motion of

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[1] No doubt 'a hawk' (Pers. vâ*s*ah or bâ*s*ah), as mentioned by Justi; Av. vâre would become vâ or bâ in Persian.

[2] Compare gûrîk with Pers. varik, varkâ, varkâk, varkak, vargâh, 'an eagle, falcon, kite, or hawk.'

[3] Transcribing the Pâz. varpa êyi into Pahlavi we have varpak-aê, which is very nearly the same in form as varî*k*ak-aê, 'a hut or cottage' (Pers. gurî*k*ah-ê); so the formidable bird which the evil spirit might have created was 'a kite with a body like a cottage.'

[4] See Chap. IV, 1.

the light of the sun, and Nêryôsang[1] kept charge of two portions, and Spendarmad[2] received one portion. 2. And *in* forty years, with the shape of a one-stemmed Rîvâs-*plant*[3], *and* the fifteen years of *its* fifteen leaves, Matrô and Matrôyâô[4] grew up from the earth in such a manner that their arms rested behind on *their* shoulders (dôsh), and one joined to the other they were connected together and both alike. 3. And the waists of both of them were brought close *and* so connected together that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the *one* whose living soul (nismô) of Aûharmazd is not away[5]. 4. As it is said thus: 'Which is created before, the soul (nismô) or the body? And Aûharmazd said that the soul is created before, and the body after, for him who was

[1] Av. Nairyô-sangha of Yas. XVII, 68, LXX, 92, Vend. XIX, 111, 112, XXII, 22, &c.; the angel who is said to be Aûharmazd's usual messenger to mankind.

[2] The female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Chap. I, 26).

[3] A plant allied to the rhubarb, the shoots of which supply an acid juice used by the Persians for acidulating preserves and drinks.

[4] These names are merely variants of the Mâshya and Mâshyôî of the latter part of this chapter (nom. dual, m. and f., of Av. mashya, 'mortal'). This is shown by the Pandnâmak-i Zaratûst, saying: 'and my human nature is from Matrôih *and* Matrôyâôih, *from* which first generation and seed from Gâyômard I have sprung.' And the names are also found in the more Persian forms Maharîh and Maharîyâôyîh (see the note to § 22). Windischmann considered the meaning to be that 'they grew up on the day Mitrô of the month Mitrô,' that is, the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the Parsi year; this is not confirmed, however, by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. X, 4 (see App. to Bund.)

[5] That is, whether they had souls or not. That nismô is the Huzvâris for rûbân, 'soul,' appears clearly in § 4, where both words are used for the same thing.

created; it is given into the body that it may produce activity, and the body is created only for activity;' hence the conclusion is this, that the soul (rûbân) is created before and the body after. 5. And both of them changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man, *and* the breath (nismô) went spiritually into them, which is the soul (rûbân); and now, moreover, in that similitude a tree had grown up whose fruit was the ten varieties of man[1].

6. Aûharmazd spoke to Mashya *and* Mashyôî thus: 'You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion[2] by me; perform devotedly the duty of the law, think good thoughts, speak good words, do good deeds, and worship no demons!' 7. Both of them first thought this, that one of them should please the other, as he is a man for him; and the first deed done by them was this, when they went out they washed[3] themselves thoroughly; and the first words spoken by them were these, that Aûharmazd created the water and earth, plants and animals, the stars, moon, and sun, and all prosperity whose origin and effect are from the manifestation of righteousness[4]. 8. And, afterwards, antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were

[1] This evidently refers to another tree, which is supposed to have produced the ten varieties of human monstrosities (see § 31).

[2] This would be a translation of the Avesta phrase, 'the best of Ârmaiti (the spirit of the earth).'

[3] Comparing mêgîd with Pers. magîd; but the verb is very ambiguous, as it may mean, 'they feasted themselves,' or 'they made water.'

[4] The last phrase appears to be quoted from the Pahlavi Hâdôkht Nask, I, 2.

thoroughly corrupted, and they exclaimed that the evil spirit created the water and earth, plants and animals, *and* the other things as *aforesaid*. 9. That false speech was spoken through the will of the demons, *and* the evil spirit possessed himself of this first enjoyment from them; through that false speech they both became wicked, and their souls are in hell until the future existence.

10. And they had gone thirty days without food[1], covered with clothing of herbage (giyâh); *and* after the thirty days they went forth into the wilderness, came to a white-haired goat, and milked the milk from the udder with their mouths. 11. When they had devoured the milk Mâshya *said* to Mâshyôi thus: 'My delight was owing to it when I had not devoured the milk, and my delight is more delightful now when it is devoured by my vile body.' 12. That second false speech enhanced the power of the demons, and the taste of the food was taken away by them, so that out of a hundred parts one part remained.

13. Afterwards, in another thirty days and nights they came to a sheep, fat[2] *and* white-jawed, and they slaughtered *it;* and fire was extracted by them out of the wood of the lote-plum[3] and box-tree, through the guidance of the heavenly angels, since both woods were most productive of fire for them;

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[1] Reading akhûrisn instead of the khûrisn of all MSS. which is hardly intelligible. Perhaps âv-khûrisn, 'drinking water,' ought to be read, as it is alluded to in Chap. XXX, 1.

[2] Comparing gefar with Av. garewa and Pers. garb, but this identification may not be correct.

[3] The kûnâr, a thorny tree, allied to the jujube, which bears a small plum-like fruit.

and the fire was stimulated by their mouths; and the first fuel kindled by them was dry grass, kendâr, lotos, date palm leaves, *and* myrtle; and they made a roast of the sheep. 14. And they dropped three handfuls of the meat into the fire, *and* said: 'This is the share of the fire [1].' One piece of the rest they tossed to the sky, *and* said: 'This is the share of the angels.' A bird, the vulture, advanced *and* carried *some* of it away from before *them*, as a dog ate the first meat. 15. And, first, a clothing of skins covered them; afterwards, it is said, woven garments were prepared *from* a cloth woven [2] in the wilderness. 16. And they dug out a pit in the earth, and iron was obtained by them and beaten out with a stone, and without a forge they beat out a cutting edge [3] from it; and they cut wood with it, *and* prepared a wooden shelter from the sun (pê*s*-khûr).

17. Owing to the gracelessness which they practised, the demons became more oppressive, and they themselves carried on unnatural malice between themselves; they advanced one against the other, *and* smote and tore *their* hair *and* cheeks [4]. 18. Then the demons shouted out of the darkness

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[1] Most of this sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

[2] Reading khê*s*-i-i ta*d*, which Pahlavi words might be easily misread ashâbê tad, as given in Pâzand in the text. That Pâz. tadha stands for Pahl. ta*d*ak (Pers. tadah, 'spun, woven') is quite certain.

[3] Or 'an axe,' according as we read têkh or tash. The order of the foregoing words, barâ tapâk-i, 'without a forge,' appears to have been reversed by mistake.

[4] Reading rô*d* as equivalent to Pers. rûî, 'face,' but it ought to be rôd. Perhaps the word is lût, 'bare,' and the translation should be, 'tore *their* hair bare.'

thus: 'You are man; worship the demon! so that your demon of malice may repose.' 19. Mâshya went forth and milked a cow's milk, *and* poured *it* out towards the northern quarter; through that the demons became more powerful, and *owing to* them they both became so dry-backed that in fifty winters they had no desire for intercourse, and though they had had intercourse they would have had no children. 20. And on the completion of fifty years the source of desire arose, first *in* Mâshya and then *in* Mâshyôî, for Mâshya said to Mâshyôî thus: 'When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Mâshyôî spoke thus: 'Brother Mâshya! when I see thy great desire I am also agitated[1].' 21. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, as they reflected thus: 'Our duty even for those fifty years was this.'

22. From them was born in nine months a pair, male and female; *and* owing to tenderness for offspring[2] the mother devoured one, and the father one. 23. And, afterwards, Aûharmazd took tenderness for offspring away from them, so that *one* may nourish a child, and the child may remain.

24. And from them arose seven pairs, male *and*

[1] This is merely a paraphrase of the original.

[2] Or, 'the deliciousness of children' (shîrînîh-i farzand). Justi has, 'owing to an eruption on the children the mother deserted one,' &c.; but the legend of devouring the first children is still more clearly mentioned in the Pahlavi Rivâyat, which forms the first book of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk (preceding the ninety-two questions and answers to which that name is usually applied) as follows: Maharîh va Maharîyâôyîh dûshâram râî nazdistô farzand-i nafsman barâ vastamûnd, 'Mâshya and Mâshyôî, through affection, at first ate up their own offspring.'

female, *and* each was a brother and sister-wife; and from every one of them, in fifty years, children were born, and they themselves died in a hundred years. 25. Of those seven pairs one was Sîyâkmak, the name of the man, and Nasâk[1] of the woman; and from them a pair was born, whose names were Fravâk of the man and Fravâkaîn of the woman. 26. From them fifteen pairs were born, every single pair of whom became a race (sardak); and from them the constant continuance of the generations of the world arose.

27. Owing to the increase (zâyisn) of the whole fifteen races, nine races proceeded on the back of the ox Sarsaok[2], through the wide-formed ocean, to the other six regions (kêshvar), and stayed there; and six races of men remained in Khvanîras. 28. Of those six races the name of the man of one pair was Tâz and of the woman Tâzak, and they went *to* the plain of the Tâzîkân (Arabs); and of one pair Hôshyang[3] was the name of the man and Gûzak of the woman, and from them arose the Airânakân (Iranians); and from one pair the Mâzendarâns[4] have arisen. 29. Among the number (pavan aĉ mar) were those who are in the coun-

[1] Or 'Vasâk.'

[2] See Chaps. XVII, 4, XIX, 13; the name is here written Srisaok in the MSS., and is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

[3] Av. Haoshyangha of Âbân Yt. 21, Gôs Yt. 3, Fravardîn Yt. 137, Râm Yt. 7, Ashi Yt. 24, 26, Zamyâd Yt. 26. His usual epithet is paradhâta (Pahl. pês-dâd), which is thus explained in the Pahlavi Vend. XX, 7: 'this early law (pês-dâdîh) was this, that he first set going the law of sovereignty.' For this reason he is considered to be the founder of the earliest, or Pêsdâdian, dynasty. See Chaps. XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4.

[4] The people of the southern coast of the Caspian, the Mâzainya daêva, 'Mâzainyan demons or idolators,' of the Avesta.

tries of Sûrâk[1], those who are in the country of Anêr[2], those who are in the countries of Tûr, those who are in the country of Salm which is Arûm, those who are in the country of Sênî, that which is *K*înîstân, those who are in the country of Dâî[3], *and* those who are in the country of Sîn[4]. 30. Those, indeed, throughout the seven regions are all from the lineage of Fravâk, *son* of Siyâkmak, *son of* Mâshya.

31. As there were ten varieties of man[5], *and* fifteen races from Fravâk, there were twenty-five races all from the seed of Gâyômar*d*; *the varieties are such* as *those* of the earth, of the water, the breast-eared, the breast-eyed, the one-legged, those also who have wings like a bat, *those* of the forest, with tails, *and* who have hair on the body[6].

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[1] Not Syria (which is Sûristân, see Chap. XX, 10), but the Sûrîk of the Pahlavi Vend. I, 14, which translates Av. Sughdha, the land east of the Oxus (see Chap. XX, 8). Windischmann reads it as Pâz. Erâk.

[2] Probably for Av. anairya, 'non-Aryan,' which seems specially applied to the lands east of the Caspian.

[3] The countries of Tûr, Salm, Sênî, and Dâî are all mentioned successively in Fravardîn Yt. 143, 144, in their Avesta forms Tûirya, Sairima, Sâini, and Dâhi. The country of Tûr was part of the present Turkistân, that of Salm is rightly identified with Arûm (the eastern Roman Empire, or Asia Minor) in the text; the country of Sênî (miswritten Sênd), being identified with *K*înistân, was probably the territory of Samarkand, and may perhaps be connected with Mount *K*înŏ (see Chap. XII, 2, 13); and the land of Dâî must be sought somewhere in the same neighbourhood.

[4] Bactria or any part of north-western India may be intended; wherever Brahmans and Buddhists existed (as they did in Bactria) was considered a part of India in Sasanian times.

[5] Grown on a separate tree (see § 5).

[6] Only seven varieties of human monsters are here enumerated,

Chapter XVI.

1. On the nature of generation it says in revelation, that a woman when she comes out from menstruation, during ten days and nights, when they go near unto her, soon becomes pregnant. 2. When she is cleansed from her menstruation, *and* when the time for pregnancy has come, always when the seed of the man is the more powerful a son arises from it; when that of the woman is the more powerful, a daughter; when both seeds are equal, twins and triplets. 3. If the male seed comes the sooner, it adds to the female, and she becomes robust; if the female seed comes the sooner, it becomes blood, *and* the leanness of the female *arises* therefrom.

4. The female seed is cold and moist, and *its* flow is from the loins, and the colour is white, red, and yellow; and the male seed is hot and dry, *its* flow is from the brain of the head, *and* the colour is white and mud-coloured (ha*s*gûn). 5. All[1] the seed of the females *which* issues beforehand, takes a place within the womb, and the seed of the males will remain above it, *and* will fill the space of the womb; whatever refrains therefrom becomes blood again, enters into the veins of the females, *and* at the time any one is born it becomes milk and

for the last three details seem to refer to one variety, the monkeys. The Pârsî MS. of miscellaneous texts, M7 (fol. 120), says, 'The names of the ten species of men are the breast-eyed, the three-eyed, the breast-eared, the elephant-eared, the one-legged, the web-footed, the leopard-headed, the lion-headed, the camel-headed, *and* the dog-headed.'

[1] M6 has 'always.'

nourishes him, as all milk arises from the seed of the males, *and* the blood is that of the females.

6. These four things, they say, are male, *and these* female: the sky, metal, wind, *and* fire are male, *and* are never otherwise; the water, earth, plants, *and* fish are female, *and* are never otherwise; the remaining creation consists of male and female.

7. As regards the fish[1] it says that, at the time of excitement, they go forwards and come back in the water, two *and* two, the length of a mile (hâsar), which is one-fourth of a league (parasang), in the running water; in that coming *and* going they then rub *their* bodies *together*, and a kind of sweat drops out betwixt them, *and* both become pregnant.

Chapter XVII.

1. On the nature of fire it says in revelation, that fire is produced of five kinds, namely, the fire Berezi-savang[2], the fire which shoots up before Aûharmazd the lord; the fire Vohu-fryăn[3], the fire which is in the bodies of men and animals; the fire Urvâzist[4], the fire which is in plants; the fire

[1] K20 has 'the male fish,' which is inconsistent with the preceding sentence.

[2] These Avesta names of the five kinds of fire are enumerated in Yas. XVII, 63–67, and the Pahlavi translation of that passage interchanges the attributes ascribed to the first and fifth in the text, thus it calls the first 'the fire of sublime benefit in connection with Varahrân (Bahrâm).' See also Selections of Zâd-sparam, XI, 1.

[3] 'The fire of the good diffuser (or offerer), that within the bodies of men' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 64).

[4] 'The fire of prosperous (or abundant) life, that within plants' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 65).

Vâzist[1], the fire which is in a cloud *which* stands opposed to Spêngargâk in conflict; the fire Spênist[2], the fire which they keep in use in the world, likewise the fire of Vâhrâm[3]. 2. Of those five fires one consumes both water and food, as that which is in the bodies of men; one consumes water *and* consumes no food, as that which is in plants, which live and grow through water; one consumes food *and* consumes no water, as that which they keep in use in the world, and likewise the fire of Vâhrâm; one consumes no water and no food, as the fire Vâzist. 3. The Berezi-savang is that in the earth and mountains *and* other things, which[4] Aûharmazd created, *in* the original creation, like three breathing souls (nismô); through the watchfulness and protection *due* to them the world ever develops (vakhshê*d*).

4. And in the reign of Takhmôrup[5], when men continually passed, on the back of the ox Sarsaok[6], from Khvanîras to the other regions, one night

[1] 'The fire Vâzist, that which smites the demon Spengargâ' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 66). See Chap. VII, 12.

[2] 'The propitious fire *which* stands in heaven before Aûharmazd in a spiritual state' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67).

[3] The Bahrâm fire, or sacred fire at places of worship.

[4] M6 has min, instead of mûn, which alters the translation, but not the meaning. This appears to be a different account of the fire Berezi-savang to that given in § 1, but it merely implies that it is fire in its spiritual state, and the name can, therefore, be applied to any natural fire which can be attributed to supernatural agency, such as burning springs of petroleum, volcanic eruptions, ignis fatuus, phosphorescence of the sea, &c.

[5] The second Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

[6] Written Srisaok in the MSS. in Chap. XV, 27; where it also appears that the sea was 'the wide-formed ocean.' See likewise Chap. XIX, 13.

amid the sea the wind rushed upon[1] the fireplace—the fireplace in which the fire was, such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox—which the wind dropped with the fire into the sea; and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shot up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox, so that it becomes quite light, *and* the men pass again through the sea. 5. And in the reign of Yim[2] every duty was performed more fully through the assistance of all those three fires; and the fire Frôbak[3] was established by him at the appointed place (dâ*d*-gâs) on the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem[4], which Yim constructed for them; and the glory of Yim saves the fire Frôbak from the hand of Dahâk[5]. 6. In the reign of King Vistâsp, upon revelation from the religion[6], it was established, out of Khvârizem, at the Rôshan ('shining') mountain in Kâvulistân, the country of Kâvul (Kâbul), just as it remains there even now.

7. The fire Gûsasp, until the reign of Kaî-Khûsrôb[7], continually afforded the world protection in the manner *aforesaid*[8]; *and* when Kaî-Khûsrôb[7] was

[1] Compare staft with Pers. sitâftan, 'to hasten.'

[2] The third Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 3, 4, XXXIV, 4).

[3] Also written Frôbŏ, Frôbâ, Frôbâk, or Frôbâg.

[4] The Av. *Hv*âirizem of Mihir Yt. 14, a province east of the Caspian.

[5] It is doubtful whether va gadman, 'and the glory,' or nismô, 'the soul, reason' (see Chaps. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4), should be read. And it may even be that 'the fire Frôbak saves the soul of Yim,' &c. For Dahâk see Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

[6] Or, 'upon declaration from revelation.'

[7] Here written Kaî-Khûsrôbî.

[8] In § 3. The 'three breathing souls' of spiritual fire are sup-

extirpating the idol-temples of Lake *K*ê*k*ast[1] it settled upon the mane of *his* horse, and drove away the darkness and gloom, and made *it* quite light, so that they might extirpate the idol-temples; in the same locality the fire Gû*s*asp was established at the appointed place on the Asnavand mountain[2].

8. The fire Bûr*z*în-Mitrô, until the reign of King Vi*s*tâsp, ever assisted[3], *in* like manner, in the world, *and* continually afforded protection; *and* when the glorified[4] Zaratû*s*t was introduced to produce confidence in the progress of the religion, King Vi*s*tâsp and *his* offspring were steadfast in the religion of God[5], *and* Vi*s*tâsp established *this fire* at the appointed place on Mount Rêvand, where they say the Ridge of Vi*s*tâsp (pû*s*t-i Vi*s*tâspân) is[6].

9. All those three fires are the whole body of the fire of Vâhrâm, together with the fire of the world, and those breathing souls are lodged in them; a counterpart of the body of man when it forms in the womb of the mother, *and* a soul from the spirit-*world* settles within *it*, which controls the body while living; when that body dies, the body mingles with the earth, *and* the soul goes back to the spirit.

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posed to be incorporated in its three earthly representatives, the fires Frôbak, Gû*s*asp, and Bûr*z*în-Mitrô respectively.

[1] That is, of the province around that lake (see Chap. XXII, 2).

[2] See Chap. XII, 26. Compare Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, VI, 22.

[3] Taking va*g*î*d* as equivalent to Pers. guzîd; but it may be equivalent to Pers. vazîd, 'grew, shot up.'

[4] The epithet anôshak-rûbân (Pers. nôshirvân) means literally 'immortal-souled.'

[5] Or, 'of the angels,' which plural form is often used to express 'God.'

[6] See Chap. XII, 18, 34.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. On the nature of the tree they call Gôkar*d*[1] it says in revelation, that *it was* the first day when the tree they call Gôkar*d* grew in the deep mud[2] within the wide-formed ocean; *and* it is necessary as a producer of the renovation *of the universe*, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. 2. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those which enter as opponents, a lizard[3] as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hôm[4]. 3. And for keeping away that lizard, Aûharmazd has created there ten Kar fish[5] which, at all times, continually circle around the Hôm, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard. 4. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed[6], that is, no food is necessary for them; *and* till the renovation *of the universe* they remain in contention. 5. There are places *where* that fish is

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[1] A corruption of the Av. gaokerena of Vend. XX, 17, Aûharmazd Yt. 30, Haptân Yt. 3, Sîrôz. 7. In the old MSS. of the Bundahi*s* the form gôkar*d* occurs thrice, gôkarn once, and gogrv once.

[2] Reading gil, 'mud.' Windischmann and Justi prefer gar, 'mountain,' and have 'depth of the mountain.'

[3] That the writer of the Bundahi*s* applies the term vazagh to a lizard, rather than a frog, appears from the 'log-like lizard's body' of Chap. III, 9.

[4] That is, the Gôkar*d* tree, which is the white Hôm (see Chap. XXVII, 4).

[5] The Av. karô masyô of Vend. XIX, 140, Bahrâm Yt. 29, Dîn Yt. 7; see also Chap. XXIV, 13.

[6] Windischmann and Justi prefer translating thus: 'Moreover, the lizard is the spiritual food of those fish;' but this can hardly be reconciled with the Pahlavi text.

written *of as* 'the Ariz[1] of the water;' as it says that the greatest of the creatures of Aûharmazd is that fish, and the greatest of those *proceeding* from the evil spirit is that lizard; with the jaws of *their* bodies, moreover, they snap in two whatever of the creatures of both *spirits has* entered between them, except that one fish which is the Vâs of Pan*k*âsa*d*varân[2]. 6. This, too, is said, that those fish are so serpent-like[3] in that deep water, they know the scratch (mâli*s*n) of a needle's point by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing.

7. Regarding the Vâs of Pan*k*âsa*d*varân it is declared that it moves within the wide-formed ocean, and its length is as much as what a man, while in a swift race, will walk *from* dawn till when the sun goes down; so much that it does not itself move[4] the length of the whole of its great body. 8. This, too, is said, that the creatures of the waters live also specially *under* its guardianship.

9. The tree of many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say *it is* the proper-curing, some the energetic-curing, some the all-curing[5].

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[1] See Chaps. XIV, 26, and XXIV, 13.

[2] The Av. vâsîm yâm pa*n*kâsadvarâm of Yas. XLI, 27.

[3] Transcribing the Pâz. mârâdu into Pahlavi we have mâr âyin, 'snake's manner.' Compare the text with Bahrâm Yt. 29.

[4] K20 omits the words from 'walk' to 'move.'

[5] This is the tree of the saêna or Simurgh, as described in Rashnu Yt. 17, and these three epithets are translations of its three titles, hubi*s*, eredhwô-bi*s*, and vîspô-bi*s*. See also Chap. XXVII, 2, 3.

10. Between[1] these trees of such kinds[2] is formed the mountain with cavities, 9999 thousand myriads *in number*, each myriad being ten thousand. 11. Unto that mountain is given the protection of the waters, so that water streams forth from there, in the rivulet channels, to the land of the seven regions, as the source of all the sea-water in the land of the seven regions is from there[3].

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Regarding the three-legged ass[4] they say, that it stands amid the wide-formed ocean, and its feet are three, eyes six, mouths[5] nine, ears two, and horn

[1] This must have been the original meaning of the Huz. dên (bên in the Sasanian inscriptions) before it was used as a synonym of Pâz. andar, 'within.' The mountain is between the white-Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds.

[2] Transcribing the Pâz. oînoh into Pahlavi we have ân-gûnak, 'that kind;' or the word may be a miswriting of Pâz. ânô, 'there.'

[3] This description of the mountain seems to identify it with the Aûsîndôm mountain of Chaps. XII, 6, and XIII, 5.

[4] The Av. khara, 'which is righteous *and* which stands in the middle of the wide-shored ocean' (Yas. XLI, 28). Darmesteter, in his Ormazd et Ahriman (pp. 148–151), considers this mythological monster as a meteorological myth, a personification of clouds and storm; and, no doubt, a vivid imagination may trace a striking resemblance between some of the monster's attributes and certain fanciful ideas regarding the phenomena of nature; the difficulty is to account for the remaining attributes, and to be sure that these fanciful ideas were really held by Mazdayasnians of old. Another plausible view is to consider such mythological beings as foreign gods tolerated by the priesthood, from politic motives, as objects worthy of reverence; even as the goddess Anâhita was tolerated in the form of the angel of water.

[5] This is the traditional meaning of the word, which (if this

one, body white, food spiritual, *and* it is righteous. 2. And two of its six eyes are in the position of eyes, two on the top of the head, and two in the position of the hump[1]; with the sharpness of those six eyes it overcomes *and* destroys. 3. Of the nine mouths three are in the head, three in the hump, and three in the inner part of the flanks; and each mouth is about the size of a cottage, and *it is* itself as large as Mount Alvand[2]. 4. Each one of the three feet, when it is placed on the ground, is as much as a flock (gir*d*) of a thousand sheep comes under when they repose together; *and* each pastern[3] is so great in its circuit that a thousand men with a thousand horses may pass inside. 5. As for the two ears *it is* Mâzendarân which they will encompass. 6. The one horn is as it were of gold *and* hollow, and a thousand *branch* horns[4] have grown upon it, some befitting[5] a camel, some befitting a horse, some befitting an ox, some befitting an ass, both great and small. 7. With that horn it will vanquish *and* dissipate all the vile corruption *due to* the efforts of noxious creatures.

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meaning be correct) ought probably to be read yông, and be traced to Av. *ce*aungh (Yas. XXVIII, 11). In the MSS. the word is marked as if it were pronounced gûnd, which means 'a testicle.'

[1] The hump is probably supposed to be over the shoulders, as in the Indian ox, and not like that of the camel.

[2] Near Hamadân, rising 11,000 feet above the sea, or 6000 above Hamadân. It may be one of the Av. Aurva*n*tô of Zamyâd Yt. 3. The Pâzand MSS. read Hunavand.

[3] Literally, 'the small of the foot,' khûr*d*ak-i ragelman.

[4] Or, 'a thousand cavities (srûbŏ, Pers. surub, 'cavern') have grown in it.'

[5] Reading zîyâk; compare Pers. ziyîdan, 'to suit, befit.'

8. When that ass shall hold *its* neck in the ocean *its* ears will terrify (asahmêd), *and* all the water of the wide-formed ocean will shake with agitation, *and* the side of Ganâvad[1] will tremble (shîvanêd). 9. When it utters a cry all female water-creatures, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, will become pregnant; and all pregnant noxious water-creatures, when they hear that cry, will cast *their* young. 10. When it stales in the ocean all the sea-water will become purified, which is in the seven regions of the earth—*it is* even on that account when all asses which come into water stale in the water—as it says thus: 'If, O three-legged ass! you were not created for the water, all the water in the sea would have perished from the contamination which the poison of the evil spirit has brought into its water, through the death of the creatures of Aûharmazd.'

11. Tîstar seizes the water[2] more completely from the ocean with the assistance of the three-legged ass. 12. Of ambergris also (ambar-ik) *it* is declared, that it is the dung of the three-legged ass; for if it has much spirit food, then also the moisture of the liquid nourishment goes through the veins *pertaining* to the body into the urine, *and* the dung is cast away.

13. Of the ox Hadhayôs[3], which they call Sarsaok[4], it says, that in the original creation men passed from region to region *upon it*, *and* in the

[1] A mountain (see Chap. XII, 29, 34).

[2] See Chap. VII, 11.

[3] Written Hadayâvs in the MSS. in Chap. XXX, 25, and Hadhayãs in the Dâdistân-i Dînîk, Part II, reply 89; it is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

[4] See Chaps. XV, 27, XVII, 4.

renovation *of the universe* they prepare Hûsh (the beverage producing immortality) from it. 14. It is said, that life is in the hand of that foremost man, at the end of *his* years[1], who has constructed the most defences around this earth, until the renovation *of the universe* is requisite.

15. Regarding the bird *K*âmrôs[2] it says, that *it is* on the summit of Mount Albûr*z*; *and* every three years many come from the non-Iranian districts for booty (gir*d*)[3], by going to bring damage (zîyân) on the Iranian districts, and to effect the devastation of the world; then the angel Bûr*g*[4], *having* come up from the low country of Lake Arag[5], arouses that very bird *K*âmrô*s*, *and* it flies upon the loftiest of all the lofty mountains, *and* picks up all those non-Iranian districts as a bird *does* corn.

16. Regarding Kar*s*ipt[6] they say, that it knew how to speak words, *and* brought the religion to the enclosure which Yim made, and circulated *it*; there they utter the Avesta in the language of birds.

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[1] Transcribing the Pâz. *s*vadyi into Pahlavi we have *s*natîh, 'term of years.' The whole sentence is very obscure.

[2] Written *K*amrô*s* in Chap. XXIV, 29. It is the Av. *K*amrao*s* (gen. of *K*amru) of Fravardîn Yt. 109. See also Chap. XXVII, 3.

[3] Or, 'to an assembly.'

[4] The Av. Beregya of Yas. I, 21, II, 27, III, 35, 'a spirit co-operating with the Ushahina Gâh, who causes the increase of herds and corn.'

[5] Or, 'of the district of Arag' (see the note on Chap. XII, 23). Although no Lake Arag is described in Chap. XXII, some of the epithets referring to its Avesta equivalent Rangha are more applicable to a lake than to a river, as in Bahrâm Yt. 29. Possibly the low lands between the Caspian and Aral, or on the shores of the Caspian, are meant.

[6] The Av. vi*s* kar*s*ipta of Vend. II, 139, where, however, vi*s*

17. Regarding the ox-fish they say, that it exists in all seas; when it utters a cry all fish become pregnant, and all noxious water-creatures cast *their* young.

18. The griffon bird [1], which is a bat, is noticed (kar*d*) twice in another chapter (babâ).

19. Regarding the bird Ashôzust [2], which is the bird Zobara[3]-vahman *and* also the bird *S*ôk [4], they say that it has given an Avesta with *its* tongue; when it speaks the demons tremble at it *and* take nothing away there; a nail-*paring*, when it is not prayed over (afsû*d*), the demons *and* wizards seize, *and* like an arrow it shoots at *and* kills that bird. 20. On this account the bird seizes *and* devours a nail-*paring* when it is prayed over, so that the demons may not control *its* use; when it is not prayed over it does not devour *it*, *and* the demons are able to commit an offence with it.

21. Also other beasts and birds are created all in opposition to noxious creatures, as it says, that when the birds *and* beasts are all in opposition to noxious creatures and wizards, *&c.*[5] 22. This, too, it says, that of all precious[6] birds the crow (valâgh) is the most precious. 23. Regarding the white falcon it

does not mean 'bird,' and the Pahlavi translator calls it 'a quadruped.' In the Pahl. Visp. I, 1, 'the Karsipt is the chief of flying creatures,' and the Bundahi*s* also takes it as a bird (see Chaps. XIV, 23, XXIV, 11).

[1] See Chaps. XIV, 11, 23, 24, XXIV, 11, 29.

[2] The Av. Ashô-zusta of Vend. XVII, 26, 28.

[3] Compare Pers. *z*ûlah, 'a sparrow or lark.'

[4] Compare Pers. *s*ak, 'a magpie.'

[5] This quotation is evidently left incomplete.

[6] The Pahlavi word is ambiguous; it may be read zîl, 'cheap, common,' or it may be zagar = yakar, 'dear, precious,' but the

says, that it kills the serpent with wings. 24. The magpie (kâskînak) bird kills the locust, *and* is created in opposition to it. 25. The Kahrkâs[1], dwelling in decay, which is the vulture, is created for devouring dead matter (nasâî); so also are the crow (valâk)[2] and the mountain kite.

26. The mountain ox, the mountain goat, the deer, the wild ass, *and* other beasts devour all snakes. 27. So also, of other *animals*, dogs are created in opposition to the wolf species, *and* for securing the protection of sheep; the fox is created in opposition to the demon Khava; the ichneumon is created in opposition to the venomous snake (garzak) *and* other noxious creatures in burrows; so also the great musk-*animal* is created in opposition[3] to ravenous intestinal worms (kadûk-dânak garzak). 28. The hedgehog is created in opposition to the ant which carries off grain[4], as it says, that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants; when the grain-carrier travels over the earth it pro-

latter seems most probable, although the crow is perhaps as 'common' as it is 'precious,' as a scavenger in the East. Singularly enough Pers. arzân is a synonym to both words, as it means both 'cheap' and 'worthy.'

[1] The Av. kahrkâsa of Vend. III, 66, IX, 181, Âbân Yt. 61, Mihir Yt. 129; its epithet zarmân-mânisn, 'dwelling in decay,' is evidently intended as a translation of the Av. zarenumainis, applied to it in Bahrâm Yt. 33, Dîn Yt. 13.

[2] The text should probably be valâk-i sîyâk va sâr-i gar, 'the black crow and the mountain kite,' which are given as different birds in Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, II, 5.

[3] K20 omits the words from this 'opposition' to the next one.

[4] The môr-i dânak-kash is the Av. maoiris dânô-karshô of Vend. XIV, 14, XVI, 28, XVIII, 146.

duces a hollow track[1]; when the hedgehog travels over it the track goes away from it, and it becomes level. 29. The water-beaver is created in opposition to the demon which is in the water. 30. The conclusion is this, that, of all beasts and birds and fishes, every one is created in opposition to some noxious creature.

31. Regarding the vulture (karkâs) it says, that, even from his highest flight, he sees when flesh the size of a fist is on the ground; and the scent of musk is created under his wing, so that if, in devouring dead matter, the stench of the dead matter comes *out* from it, he puts *his* head back under the wing *and* is comfortable again. 32. Regarding the Arab horse they say, that if, in a dark night, a single hair occurs on the ground, he sees *it*.

33. The cock is created in opposition to demons *and* wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with Srôsh[2], in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog. 34. This, too, it says, that it would not have *been* managed if I had not created the shepherd's dog, which is the Pasus-haurva[3], *and* the house watch-dog, the Vis-haurva[3]; for it says in revelation, that the dog is a destroyer of such a fiend as covetous-

[1] Comparing sûrâk with Pers. surâgh in preference to sûrâkh or sûlâkh, 'a hole.'

[2] Av. Sraosha, the angel who is said specially to protect the world from demons at night; he is usually styled 'the righteous,' and is the special opponent of the demon Aêshm, 'Wrath' (see Chap. XXX, 29).

[3] These are the Avesta names of those two kinds of dog (see Chap. XIV, 19).

ness, among those which are in the nature (aîtîh) of man and of animals. 35. Moreover it says, that, inasmuch as it will destroy all the disobedient, when it barks it will destroy pain[1]; and its flesh and fat are remedies for driving away decay and pain from men[2].

36. Aûharmazd created nothing useless whatever, for all these (kolâ aê) are created for advantage; when one does not understand the reason of them, it is necessary to ask the Dastûr ('high-priest'), for his five dispositions (khûk)[3] are created in this way that he may continually destroy the fiend (or deceit).

Chapter XX.

1. On the nature of rivers it says in revelation, that these two rivers flow forth from the north, part from Albûrz *and* part from the Albûrz of Aûhar-

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[1] Or it may be thus: 'For it says thus: Wherewith will it destroy? When it barks it will destroy the assembly (gird) of all the disobedient.'

[2] This is the most obvious meaning, but Spiegel (in a note to Windischmann's Zoroastrische Studien, p. 95) translates both this sentence and the next very differently, so as to harmonize with Vend. XIII, 78, 99.

[3] The five dispositions (khîm) of priests are thus detailed in old Pahlavi MSS.: 'First, innocence; second, discreetness of thoughts, words, and deeds; third, holding the priestly office as that of a very wise and very true-speaking master, who has learned religion attentively and teaches *it* truly; fourth, celebrating the worship of God (yazdân) with a ritual (nîrang) of rightly spoken words and scriptures known by heart (narm naskîhâ); fifth, remaining day and night propitiatingly in *his* vocation, struggling with his own resistance (hamêstâr), and, *all* life long, not turning away from steadfastness in religion, and being energetic in *his* vocation.'

mazd[1]; one towards the west, that is the Arag[2]; *and* one towards the east, that is the Vêh river. 2. After them eighteen rivers flowed forth from the same source, just as the remaining waters have flowed forth from them in great multitude; as they say that they flowed out so very fast, one from the other, as when a man recites one Ashem-vohû[3] of a series (pa*d*îsâr). 3. All of those, with the same water, are again mingled with these rivers, that is, the Arag river *and* Vêh river. 4. Both of them continually circulate through the two extremities of the earth, and pass into the sea; and all the regions feast owing to the discharge (zahâk) of both, which, after both arrive together at the wide-formed ocean, returns to the sources whence they flowed out; as it says in revelation, that just as the light comes in through Albûr*z* *and* goes out through Albûr*z*[4], the

[1] So in K20, and if correct (being only partially confirmed by the fragment of this chapter found in all MSS. between Chaps. XIII and XIV) this reading implies that the rivers are derived partly from the mountains of Albûrz, and partly from the celestial Albûrz, or the clouds in the sky. M6 has 'flow forth from the north part of the eastern Albûrz.'

[2] For further details regarding these two semi-mythical rivers see §§ 8, 9.

[3] The sacred formula most frequently recited by the Parsis, and often several times in succession, like the Pater-noster of some Christians; it is not, however, a prayer, but a declaratory formula in 'praise of righteousness' (which phrase is often used as its name in Pahlavi). It consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows:

Ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî,
u*s*tâ astî; u*s*tâ ahmâi
hya*d* ashâi vahi*s*tâi ashem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to perfect rectitude' (Asha-vahi*s*ta the archangel).

[4] See Chap. V, 5.

water also comes out through Albûrz and goes away through Albûrz. 5. This, too, it says, that the spirit of the Arag begged of Aûharmazd thus: 'O first omniscient creative power[1]! from whom the Vêh river begged for the welfare that thou mightest grant, do thou then grant *it* in my quantity!' 6. The spirit of the Vêh river similarly begged of Aûharmazd for the Arag river; *and* on account of loving assistance, one towards the other, they flowed forth with equal strength, as before the coming of the destroyer they proceeded without rapids, and when the fiend shall be destroyed[2] they *will* again be without rapids.

7. Of those eighteen principal rivers, distinct from the Arag river *and* Vêh river, and the other rivers which flow out from them, I *will* mention the more famous[3]: the Arag river, the Vêh river, the Diglat[4] river they call also again the Vêh river[5], the Frât river, the Dâîtîk river, the Dargâm river, the Zôndak river, the Harôî river, the Marv river, the Hêtûmand river, the Akhôshir river, the Nâvadâ[6] river, the Zîsmand river, the Khvegand river, the Balkh river, the Mehrvâ river they call the Hendvâ river, the Spêd[7] river, the Rad[8] river which they call also the Koir, the Khvaraê river which they call

[1] So in M6, but K20 has, 'First is the propitiation of all kinds.'

[2] Literally, 'when they shall destroy the fiend.'

[3] For details regarding these rivers see the sequel.

[4] The Pâz. Deyrid is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Diglat or Digrat, which occurs in § 12.

[5] So in K20, but M6 (omitting two words) has, 'they call also the Didgar.'

[6] No further details are given, in this chapter, about this river, but it seems to be the river Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6, the Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

[7] K20 has 'Spend.'

[8] Called Tort in § 24.

also the Mesrgân, the Harhaz[1] river, the Teremet river, the Khvanaidis[2] river, the Dâraga river, the Kâsîk river, the *S*êd[3] ('shining') river Pêdâ-meyan *or K*atru-meyan river *of* Mokarstân.

8. I *will* mention them also a second time: the Arag[4] river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Albûrz in the land of Sûrâk[5], *in* which they call it also the Âmi; it passes on through the land of Spêtos, which they also call Mesr, and they call it there the river Niv[6]. 9. The Vêh[7] river

[1] Miswritten Araz in Pâzand, both here and in § 27.

[2] M6 has Khvanaînidis, but in K20 it is doubtful whether the extra syllable (which is interlined) is intended to be inserted or substituted; the shorter form is, however, more reconcilable with the Pahlavi form of Vendeses in § 29.

[3] As there is no description of any *S*êd river it is probably only an epithet of the Pêdâ-meyan or *K*atru-meyan (pê*d*âk being the usual Pahlavi equivalent of Av. *k*ithrô). Justi suggests that Mokarstân (Mokarsta rû*d* in M6) stands for Pers. Moghulstân, 'the country of the Moghuls,' but this is doubtful.

[4] Sometimes written Arang or Arêng, but the nasal is usually omitted; it is the Av. Rangha of Âbân Yt. 63, Rashnu Yt. 18, Râm Yt. 27, which is described more like a lake or sea in Vend. I, 77, Bahrâm Yt. 29. This semi-mythical river is supposed to encompass a great part of the known world (see Chap. VII, 16), and the Bundahis probably means to trace its course down the Âmû (Oxus) from Sogdiana, across the Caspian, up the Aras (Araxes) or the Kur (Cyrus), through the Euxine and Mediterranean, and up the Nile to the Indian Ocean. The Âmû (Oxus) is also sometimes considered a part of the Vêh river or Indus (see §§ 22, 28).

[5] Sogdiana (see Chap. XV, 29), the country of the Âmû river.

[6] The combination of the three names in this clause, as Justi observes, renders it probable that we should read, 'the land of Egypt,' which is called Misr, and where the river is the Nile. The letter S in Pâz. Spêtos is very like an obsolete form of Av. g, or it may be read as Pahl. îk or îg, so the name may originally have been Gpêtos or Ikpêtos; and the Pâz. Niv, if transcribed into Pahlavi, can also be read Nîl.

[7] The 'good' river, which, with the Arag and the ocean, completes

passes on in the east, goes through the land of Sînd[1], *and* flows to the sea in Hindûstân, and they call it there the Mehrâ[2] river. 10. The sources of the Frât[3] river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed *upon it* in Sûristân, *and* it flows to the Diglat river; and of this Frât *it is*[4] that they produce irrigation over the land. 11. It is declared that Mânûskîhar excavated the sources, *and* cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânûskîhar excavated for *the benefit of* his own soul, *and* he seized the water *and* gave to drink[5].' 12. The Diglat[6] river comes out from Salmân[7], *and* flows to the sea in Khûgistân. 13. The Dâîtîk[8] river is the river

the circuit of the known world, and is evidently identified with the Indus; sometimes it seems also to include the Âmû (Oxus), as Bactria was considered a part of India; thus we find the Balkh and Teremet rivers flowing into the Vêh (see §§ 22, 28).

[1] See § 30.

[2] No doubt the Mehrvâ or Hendvâ river of § 7, and the Mihrân of Ouseley's Oriental Geography of the pseudo Ibn 'Haûqal, pp. 148–155, which appears to combine the Satlig and lower Indus. The final n is usually omitted by the Bundahis after â in Pâzand words. This river is also called Kâsak (see § 30).

[3] The Euphrates, which rises in Armenia (part of the eastern empire of the Romans), traverses Syria, and joins the Tigris.

[4] Or, 'and its convenience is this;' a play upon the words farhat and Frât, which are identical in Pahlavi.

[5] Referring probably to canals for irrigation along the course of the Euphrates.

[6] The Tigris (Arabic Diglat), Hiddekel of Gen. ii. 14, Dan. x. 4, and perhaps the Av. tighris of Tîstar Yt. 6, 37; misread Dêîrid in Pâzand.

[7] The country of Salm (see Chap. XV, 29), son of Frêdûn (see Chap. XXXI, 9, 10). The name can also be read Dîlmân, which is the name of a place in the same neighbourhood.

[8] The Av. Dâitya of Vend. XIX, 5, Aûharmazd Yt. 21, Âbân Yt. 112, Gôs Yt. 29. The 'good dâitya of Airyana-vaêgô' is also

which comes out from Airân-vêg, *and* goes out through the hill-country[1]; of all rivers the noxious creatures in it are most, as it says, that the Dâitik river is full of noxious creatures. 14. The Dargâm river is in Sûde. 15. The Zend[2] river passes through the mountains of Pangistân, *and* flows away to the Haro river. 16. The Haro[3] river flows out from the Apârsên range[4]. 17. The Hêtûmand[5] river is in Sagastân, and its sources are from the Apârsên range; this is distinct from that which Frâsîyâv conducted away[6]. 18. The river Akhôshir is in Kûmîs[7]. 19. The Zîsmand[8] river, in the direc-

mentioned in Vend. I, 6, II, 42, 43, Âbân Yt. 17, 104, Râm Yt. 2, but this may not be a river, though the phrase has, no doubt, led to locating the river Dâîtîk in Aîrân-vêg.

[1] Pâz. gopestân in K20, which is evidently Pahl. kôfistân, but not the Kôhistân of southern Persia. M6 has 'the mountain of Pangistân,' which must be incorrect, as according to §§ 15, 16, this is in north-east Khurâsân, and too far from Airân-vêg in Âtarô-pâtakân (Âdar-bîgân), see Chap. XXIX, 12. Justi proposes to read Gurgistân (Georgia), and identifies the Dâîtîk with the Araxes. But, adhering to the text of K20, the Dâîtîk rises in Âdar-bîgân and departs through a hill-country, a description applicable, not only to the Araxes, but also more particularly to the Safêd Rûd or white river; although this river seems to be mentioned again as the Spêd or Spend river in § 23.

[2] Written Zôndak in § 7. This can hardly be the Zendah river of Ispahan, but is probably the Tegend river, which flows past Meshhed into the Heri river.

[3] This is the Heri, which flows past Herat.

[4] See Chap. XII, 9.

[5] The Etymander of classical writers, now the Hêlmand in Afghânistân. The Av. Haêtumat of Vend. I, 50, XIX, 130, Zamyâd Yt. 66, is the name of the country through which it flows.

[6] See § 34 and Chap. XXI, 6.

[7] The district about Dâmaghân.

[8] Perhaps the Zarafsân.

tion of Soghd, flows away towards the Khvegand river. 20. The Khvegand[1] river goes on through the midst of Samarkand *and* Pargâna, and they call it also the river Ashârd. 21. The Marv[2] river, a glorious river in the east[3], flows out from the Apârsên range. . 22. The Balkh river comes out *from* the Apârsên mountain of Bâmîkân[4], *and* flows on to the Vêh[5] river. 23. The Spêd[6] river is in Âtarôpâtakân; they say that Dahâk begged a favour[7] here from Aharman and the demons. 24. The Tort[8] river, which they call also the Koir, comes out from

[1] This is evidently not the small affluent now called the Khugand, but the great Syr-darya or Iaxartes, which flows through the provinces of Farghânah and Samarkand, past Kokand, Khugand, and Tashkand, into the Aral. The Pâz. Ashârd represents Pahl. Khshârt, or Ashârt (Iaxartes).

[2] The Murghâb.

[3] Or, 'in Khûrâsân.'

[4] Bâmian, near which the river of Balkh has its source.

[5] Justi observes that it should be 'the Arag river;' but according to an Armenian writer of the seventh century the Persians called the Oxus the Vêh river, and considered it to be in India, because Buddhists occupied the country on its banks (see Garrez in Journal Asiatique for 1869, pp. 161-198). It would seem, therefore, that the Oxus was sometimes (or in early times) considered a part of the Arag (Araxes), and sometimes (or in later times) a part of the Vêh (Indus).

[6] So in M6, but K20 has 'Spend,' both here and in § 7. The name of this river corresponds with that of the Safêd Rûd, although the position of that river agrees best with the account given of the Dâîtîk in § 13.

[7] Compare Râm Yt. 19, 20. K20 has 'there,' instead of 'here.'

[8] Called Rad in § 7 (by the loss of the first letter of the original Pahlavi name); by its alternative name, Koir, Justi identifies it as the Kûr in Georgia, flowing into the Caspian, or sea of Vergân, the Av. Vehrkâna (Hyrcania) of Vend. I, 42, which is Gûrgân in Pahlavi.

the sea of Giklân[1], *and* flows to the sea of Vergân[2]. 25. The Zahâvayi[3] is the river *which* comes out from Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* flows to the sea in Pârs. 26. The sources of the Khvaraê[4] river are from Spâhân[5]; it passes on through Khûgistân, flows forth to the Diglat[6] river, and in Spâhân they call it the Mesrkân[7] river. 27. The Harhaz[8] river is in Taparistân, and its sources are from Mount Dimâvand. 28. The Teremet[9] river flows away to the Vêh river. 29. The Vendeses[10] river is in *that part of* Pârs which they call Sagastân. 30. The Kâsak[11] river comes out through a ravine (kâf) in the province of Tûs[12], and they call it there the Kasp river; more-

[1] M6 has Pâz. Keyâseh, but this is in Sagastân (see Chap. XIII, 16).

[2] The MSS. have Vergâ, but the final nasal after â is often omitted in Pâzand readings in the Bundahis.

[3] Not mentioned in § 7. Possibly one of the rivers Zâb, which rise on the borders of Âdarbîgân, flow into the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf, the sea on the coast of Pârs. Or it may be the Shirvân, another affluent of the Tigris, which flows through the district of Zohab.

[4] The Kuran, upon which the town of Shûstar was founded by one of the early Sasanian kings, who also dug a canal, east of the town, so as to form a loop branch of the river; this canal was called Nahr-i Masrûqân by Oriental geographers (see Rawlinson, Journal Roy. Geogr. Soc. vol. ix. pp. 73–75).

[5] Ispahân in Persian.

[6] Miswritten Dayrid in Pâzand (see § 12).

[7] Written in Pâzand without the final n, as usual. This is the old name of the canal forming the eastern branch of the Kuran at Shûstar; it is now called Âb-i Gargar.

[8] Flows into the Caspian near Amûl.

[9] Probably the river which flows into the Âmû (Oxus) at Tarmaz; but, in that case, the Oxus is here again identified with the Vêh (Indus) as in § 22, instead of the Arag (Araxes) as in § 8.

[10] Called Khvanaîdis, or Khvanaînidis, in § 7.

[11] Called Kâsîk in § 7.

[12] Close to Meshhed.

over, the river, which is there the Vêh, they call the Kâsak[1]; even in Sîn d they call *it* the Kâsak. 31. The Pêdâk-mîyân[2], which is the river Katru-mîyân, is that which is in Kangdez[3]. 32. The Dâraga river is in Aîrân-vêg, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratûst[4]. 33. The other innumerable waters and rivers, springs *and* channels are one in origin with those[5]; so in various districts *and* various places they call *them* by various names.

34. Regarding Frâsîyâv[6] they say, that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea Kyânsîh[7], suitable for horses, suitable for camels, suitable for oxen, suitable for asses, both great and small[8]; and he conducted the spring Zarinmand (or golden source), which is the Hêtûmand[9] river they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the source of the Vakaêni[10] river into the same sea, *and* made men settle *there*.

[1] Or, 'this same Vêh river they call there the Kâsak; even in Sênî they call *it* the Kâsak;' Sênî is apt to be miswritten Sênd or Sînd (see Chap. XV, 29).

[2] See § 7. The latter half of both names can also be read mâhan, mâhô, or mahân. Pêshyôtan, son of Vistâsp, seems to have taken a surname from this river (see Chap. XXIX, 5).

[3] See Chap. XXIX, 10.

[4] See Chaps. XXIV, 15, XXXII, 1, 2.

[5] Or, 'are from those as a source.'

[6] The MSS. have 'Pôrûshasp,' but compare § 17 and Chap. XXI, 6. The two names are somewhat alike in Pahlavi writing.

[7] See Chap. XIII, 16.

[8] Compare Chap. XIX, 6. K20 omits the words 'suitable for asses here.

[9] Another Hêtûmand according to § 17. Possibly a dried-up bed of that river.

[10] K20 has Vataêni; *k* and t being much alike in Pâzand. The

CHAPTER XXI[1].

1. In revelation they mention seventeen[2] species of liquid (mayâ), as one liquid resides in plants[3]; second, that which is flowing from the mountains, that is, the rivers; third, that which is rain-water; fourth, that of tanks *and* other special *constructions*; fifth, the semen of animals and men; sixth, the urine of animals and men[4]; seventh, the sweat of animals and men; the eighth liquid is that in the skin of animals and men; ninth, the tears of animals and men; tenth, the blood of animals and men; eleventh, the oil in animals and men, a necessary in both worlds[5]; twelfth, the saliva of animals and men, with which they nourish the embryo[6]; the thirteenth is that which is under the bark[7] of plants, as it is said that every bark has a liquid, through which a drop *appears* on a twig (têkh) *when placed* four finger-breadths before a fire[8]; fourteenth, the milk of animals and men. 2. All these, through growth, or

'navigable (nâvtâk) waters' may be 'the Nâvadâ river' of § 7, 'the river Nâhvtâk' of Chap. XXI, 6, and Nâivtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

[1] This chapter is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

[2] Only fourteen are mentioned in the details which follow.

[3] Most of these details are derived from the Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 7–9, 13, 14; and several varieties of water are also described in Yas. LXVII, 15.

[4] This sixth liquid is omitted by K20.

[5] Departed souls are said to be fed with oil in paradise.

[6] K20 omits the word pûs, 'embryo.'

[7] The meaning 'bark' for Pâz. ayvan is merely a guess; Anquetil has 'sap' (compare Pers. âvînâ, 'juice'), but this is hardly consistent with the rest of the sentence.

[8] See Chap. XXVII, 25.

the body which is formed, mingle again with the rivers, for the body which is formed *and* the growth are both one.

3. This, too, they say, that of these three rivers, that is, the Arag river, the Marv river, *and* the Vêh[1] river, the spirits were dissatisfied, so that they would not flow into the world, owing to the defilement of stagnant water (armêst) which they beheld, so that they were in tribulation through it until Zaratûst was exhibited to them, whom I (Aûharmazd) will create, who *will* pour sixfold holy-water (zôr) into it *and* make *it* again wholesome; he will preach carefulness[2]. 4. This, too, it says, that, of water whose holy-water is more and pollution less, the holy-water has come in excess, *and* in three years it goes back to the sources[3]; *that* of which the pollution *and* holy-water have both become equal, arrives back in six years; *that* of which the pollution is more and holy-water less, arrives back in nine years. 5. So, also, the growth of plants is connected, in this manner, strongly with the root[4]; so, likewise, the blessings (âfrîn) which the righteous utter, come back, in this proportion, to themselves.

6. Regarding the river Nâhvtâk[5] it says, that Frâsîyâv of Tûr conducted it away; *and* when[6]

[1] K20 has 'Hêtûmand,' but M6 has 'Sapîr,' the Huz. equivalent of 'Vêh,' which is more probable.

[2] Or, 'abstinence *from impurity*.'

[3] The source Arêdvîvsûr (see Chap. XIII, 3, 10).

[4] That is, by the sap circulating like the waters of the earth. The greater part of this sentence is omitted in K20.

[5] Probably 'the Nâvadâ' and 'navigable waters' of Chap. XX, 7, 34, and Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

[6] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

Hûshêdar[1] comes it *will* flow again suitable for horses; so, also, *will* the fountains of the sea Kyânsîh[2]. 7. Kyânsîh[2] is the one where the home (*g*înâk) of the Kayân race is.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. On the nature of lakes it says in revelation, that thus many fountains of waters have come into notice, which they call lakes (var); counterparts of the eyes (*k*ashm) of men are those fountains (*k*ashmak) of waters; such as Lake *K*ê*k*ast, Lake Sôvbar, Lake Khvârizem[3], Lake Frazdân, Lake Zarînmand, Lake Âsvast, Lake Husru, Lake Satavês, Lake Urvis.

2. I *will* mention them also a second time: Lake *K*ê*k*ast[4] is in Âtarô-pâtakân, warm is the water *and* opposed to harm, so that nothing whatever is living in *it;* and its source is connected with the wide-formed ocean[5]. 3. Lake Sôvbar is in the upper district and country on the summit of the mountain of Tûs[6]; as it says, that the Sû*d*-bâhar[7] ('share of benefit') is propitious and good from which abound-

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[1] Written Khûrshê*d*ar, as usual in Bundahi*s* (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

[2] Written Kayâseh in Pâzand (see Chap. XIII, 16).

[3] Pâz. Khvârazm both here and in § 4.

[4] Av. *K*aê*k*asta of Âbân Yt. 49, Gô*s* Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, Sîrôz. 9. The present Lake Urumiyah in Âdarbîgân, which is called Khegest, or *K*egest, by 'Hamdu-l-lâh Mustaûfî.

[5] Implying that the water is salt.

[6] The Kôndrâsp mountain (see Chap. XII, 24). This lake is probably a small sheet of water on the mountains near Meshhed.

[7] Evidently a punning etymology of the name of this lake.

ing liberality is produced. 4. Regarding Lake Khvârizem[1] it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, *that is*, Arshisang[2] the rich in wealth, the well-portioned *with* abounding pleasure. 5. Lake Frazdân[3] is in Sagastân; they say, where a generous man, *who is* righteous, throws anything into it, it receives *it;* when not righteous, it throws *it* out again; its source also is connected with the wide-formed *ocean.* 6. Lake Zarînmand is in Hamadân[4]. 7. Regarding Lake Âsvast it is declared that the undefiled[5] water which it contains is always constantly flowing into the sea, so bright and copious[6] that *one* might say that the sun had come into it *and* looked at Lake Âsvast, into that water which is requisite for restoring the dead in the renovation *of the universe.* 8. Lake Husru[7] is within fifty[8]

[1] The province of Khvârizem was between the Aral and Caspian, along the ancient course of the Oxus (see Chap. XVII, 5). This lake has been identified with the Aral.

[2] Av. ashis vanguhi, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel whose praises are celebrated in the Ashi Yast; in later times she has been considered as the angel dispensing wealth and possessions. She is also called Ard (Av. areta, which is synonymous with asha), see Chap. XXVII, 24.

[3] The 'Frazdânava water' of Âbân Yt. 108 and Farhang-i Oîmkhadûk, p. 17. Justi identifies it with the Âb-istâdah ('standing water') lake, south of Ghaznî. It is here represented as a salt lake.

[4] K20 adds, 'they say.' This lake cannot be the spring Zarînmand of Chap. XX, 34.

[5] Pâz. avnasti transcribed into Pahlavi is avinastag, 'unspoiled,' the equivalent of Av. anâhita in Yas. LXIV, 1, 16, Visp. I, 18.

[6] K20 has 'glorious' as a gloss to 'copious.'

[7] The Av. Haosravangha of Sîroz. 9, 'the lake which is named Husravau' of Zamyâd Yt. 56. It may be either Lake Van or Lake Sevan, which are nearly equidistant from Lake Urumiyah.

[8] M6 has 'four leagues.'

leagues (parasang) of Lake *Kêk*ast. 9. Lake (or, rather, Gulf) Satavês[1] is that *already* written *about*, between the wide-formed ocean *and* the Pûtik. 10. It is said that in Kamindân is an abyss (zafar), from which everything they throw in always comes *back*, and it *will* not receive it unless alive (gânvar); when they throw a living creature into it, it carries *it* down; men say that a fountain from hell is in it. 11. Lake Urvis is on Hûgar the lofty[2].

Chapter XXIII.

1. On the nature of the ape *and* the bear they say, that Yim, when reason (nismô) departed from him[3], for fear of the demons took a demoness as wife, and gave Yimak, who was *his* sister, to a demon as wife; and from them have originated the tailed ape and bear *and* other species of degeneracy.

2. This, too, they say, that in the reign of Az-i Dahâk[4] a young woman was admitted to a demon, and a young man was admitted to a witch (parik), and on seeing them they had intercourse; owing to that one intercourse the black-skinned negro arose from them. 3. When Frêdûn[5] came to them they fled from the country of Iran, *and* settled upon the sea-coast; now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they are again diffused through the country of Iran.

[1] See Chap. XIII, 9–13.

[2] See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 4.

[3] See Chap. XXXIV, 4. This is the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah. Perhaps for 'reason' we should read 'glory.'

[4] See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

[5] See Chap. XXXIV, 6.

Chapter XXIV.

1. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing it says in revelation, that first of the human species Gâyômar*d* was produced, brilliant and white, with eyes which looked out for the great *one*, him who *was* here the Zaratûstrôtûm (chief high-priest); the chieftainship of all things was from Zaratûst[1]. 2. The white ass-goat[2], which holds *its* head down, is the chief of goats, the first of those species created[3]. 3. The black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep; it was the first of those species created[3]. 4. The camel with white-haired knees *and* two humps is the chief of camels. 5. First the black-haired ox with yellow knees was created; he is the chief of oxen. 6. First the dazzling white (arûs) horse, with yellow ears, glossy hair, *and* white eyes, was produced; he is the chief of horses. 7. The white, cat-footed[4] ass is the chief of asses. 8. First of dogs the fair (arûs) dog with yellow hair was produced; he is the chief of dogs. 9. The hare was produced brown

[1] So in all MSS., but by reading mûn, 'who,' instead of min, 'from,' we should have, 'him who *was* here the chief high-priest *and* chieftainship of all things, who was Zaratûst.' The Pahlavi Visp. I, 1, gives the following list of chiefs: 'The chief of spirits is Aûharmazd, the chief of worldly existences is Zaratûst, the chief of water-creatures is the Kar-fish, the chief of *land*-animals is the ermine, the chief of flying-creatures is the Karsipt, the chief of the wide-travellers is the . . . , the chief of those suitable for grazing is the ass-goat.'

[2] See Chap. XIV, 14.

[3] It is doubtful whether the phrase, 'the first of those species created,' belongs to this sentence or the following one.

[4] Or, 'cat-legged.'

(bûr); he is the chief of the wide-travellers. 10. Those beasts which have no dread whatever of the hand are evil. 11. First of birds the griffon of three natures[1] was created, not for here (this world), for the Karsipt[2] is the chief, which they call the falcon (*k*ark), that which revelation says was brought to the enclosure formed by Yim. 12. First of fur animals the white ermine was produced; he is the chief of fur animals; as it says that *it is* the white ermine which came unto the assembly of the archangels. 13. The Kar-fish, *or* Ariz[4], is the chief of the water-creatures. 14. The Dâitik[4] river is the chief of streams. 15. The Dâraga[5] river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of the father of Zaratûst was on its banks[6], *and* Zaratûst was born there. 16. The hoary forest[7] is the chief of forests. 17. Hûgar the lofty[8], on which the water of Arêdvivsûr flows *and* leaps, is the chief of summits, since *it is that* above which is the revolution of the constellation Satavês[9], the chief of reser-

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[1] The Sîmurgh (see § 29 and Chap. XIV, 11, 23, 24). In Mkh. LXII, 37–39, it is mentioned as follows: 'And Sinamrû's resting-place is on the tree which is opposed to harm, of all seed's; and always when he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom.'

[2] See Chap. XIX, 16. In § 29 *K*amrôs is said to be the chief.

[3] See Chaps. XIV, 12, 26, XVIII, 3–6.

[4] See Chap. XX, 13.

[5] See Chap. XX, 32.

[6] The MSS. have 'in Balkh' instead of 'on the banks.'

[7] The arûs-i razur is the Av. spaêtitem razurem of Râm Yt. 31.

[8] See Chap. XII, 5.

[9] See Chap. II, 7.

voirs[1]. 18. The Hôm which is out-squeezed is the chief of medicinal plants[2]. 19. Wheat is the chief of large-seeded[3] grains. 20. The desert wormwood is the chief of unmedicinal[4] *plants*. 21. The summer vetch, which they also call 'pag' (gâvirs), is the chief of small-seeded grains[5]. 22. The Kûstîk (sacred thread-girdle) is the chief of clothes. 23. The Bâzâyvâna[6] is the chief of seas. 24. Of two men, when they come forward together, the wiser and more truthful is chief.

25. This, too, it says in revelation, that Aûharmazd created the whole material world one abode, so that all may be one; for there is much splendour and glory of industry in the world. 26. Whatsoever he performs, who practises that which is good, is the value of the water of life[7]; since water is not created alike[8] in value, for the undefiled water of Arêdvîvsûr is worth the whole water of the sky and earth of Khvanîras[9], except the Arag river[10], created by Aûharmazd. 27. Of trees the myrtle *and* date,

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[1] The meaning of Pâz. gobarâ is doubtful, but it is here taken as standing for Pahl. gôbalân, equivalent to the plural of Pers. gôl or kôl, 'a reservoir;' Satavês being a specially 'watery' constellation (see Tîstar Yt. 0). Justi traces gobarân to Av. gufra, and translates it by 'protecting *stars*.'

[2] Pâz. khvad and ba*k*agâ evidently stand for Pahl. hû*d* (Av. huta) and be*z*ashk.

[3] Compare Av. a*s*-dânunãm-*k*a yavananãm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

[4] Pâz. aba*k*agâ stands for Pahl. abe*z*ashk.

[5] Compare Av. kasu-dânunãm-*k*a vâstranãm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

[6] Justi identifies this with Lake Van, but perhaps Lake Sevan may be meant.

[7] Or, 'its value is water.' K20 omits the word 'water.'

[8] Reading ham instead of hamâk, 'all.'

[9] See Chap. XI, 2–6.

[10] See Chap. XX, 8.

on which *model*, it is said, trees were formed, are worth all the trees of Khvaniras, except the Gôkar*d* tree[1] with which they restore the dead.

28. Of mountains Mount Apârsên's beginning is *in* Sagastân *and* end in Khûgistân, some say *it is* all the mountains of Pârs, *and* is chief of all mountains except Albûr*z*. 29. Of birds *K*amrô*s*[2] is chief, who is worth all the birds in Khvaniras, except the griffon of three natures. 30. The conclusion is this, that every one who performs a great duty has then much value.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. On matters of religion[3] it says in revelation thus: 'The creatures of the world were created by me complete in three hundred and sixty-five days,' that is, the six periods of the Gâhanbârs which are completed in a year. 2. It is always necessary first to count the day *and* afterwards the night, for first the day goes off, *and* then the night comes on[4]. 3. And from the season (gâs) of Mê*d*ôk-shêm[5],

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[1] See Chap. XVIII, 1–4.

[2] See Chap. XIX, 15, where it is written *K*âmrô*s*. This § is at variance with § 11, which gives the chieftainship to Kar*s*ipt.

[3] That is, 'on the *periods for* observance of religious duties.'

[4] The Jewish and Muhammadan practice is just the contrary.

[5] The Av. maidhyô-shema of Yas. I, 27, II, 36, III, 41, Visp. I, 3, II, 1, Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr 2, 8. It is the second season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 105th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midsummer, according to the Bundahi*s*. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of water.

which is the auspicious[1] day Khûr of the month Tîr[2], to the season of Mêdîyârêm[3], which is the

[1] A dispute as to the meaning of this word formed no small part of the Kabîsah controversy, carried on between the leaders of the two rival sects of Parsis in Bombay about fifty years ago. Dastur Edalji Dârâbji, the high-priest of the predominant sect (who adhered to the traditional calendar of the Indian Parsis), insisted that it meant 'solar,' or 'belonging to the calendar rectified for solar time by the intercalation of a month every 120 years;' Mullâ Fîrûz, the high-priest of the new sect (who had adopted the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which is one month in advance of the other), asserted that the word had no connection with intercalation, but meant 'commencing,' or 'pertaining to New-year's day,' as translated into Sanskrit, by Nêryôsang, in Mkh. XLIX, 27. Anquetil translates it either as 'inclusive' or 'complete;' Windischmann simply skips it over; and Justi translates it everywhere as 'inclusive.' Dastur Edalji reads the word vehîgakî or vehîgak; Nêryôsang has vahêza; Mullâ Fîrûz reads nâîkakîk in the Bundahis, but vêhîgakîk in the Dînkard, where the word also occurs; Justi has nâîkakîk. The meaning 'inclusive' suits the context in nearly all cases in the Bundahis, but not elsewhere; if it had that meaning the most probable reading would be vikhêgakîk or nikhêgakîk, 'arising, leaping over, including.' It is nearly always used in connection with dates or periods of time, and must be some epithet of a very general character, not only applicable to intercalary periods, but also to New-year's day and dates in general; something like the Arabic epithet mubârak, 'fortunate,' so commonly used in Persian dates. Dastur Edalji compares it with Pers. bîhrak or bihtarak, 'intercalary month,' which is probably a corruption of it; and this suggests veh, 'good,' as one component of the epithet. The word may be read veh-yazakîk, 'for reverencing the good,' but as veh, 'good,' is an adjective, this would be an irregular form; a more probable reading is veh-îkakîk, 'for anything good,' which, when applied to a day, or any period of time, would imply that it is suitable for anything good, that is, it is 'auspicious.' Sometimes the word is written vehîkak, vêhîkakîk, or vêhîkŏ; and epithets of similar forms in Pahlavi are applied by the writers of colophons to themselves, but these should be read vakhêzak or nisîvak, 'lowly, abject.'

[2] The eleventh day of the fourth month, when the festival commences.

[3] The Av. maidhyâirya of Yas. I, 30, II, 39, III, 44, Visp. I,

auspicious day Vâhrâm of the month Din[1]—the short*est* day—the night increases; and from the season of Mê*d*îyârêm to the season of Mê*d*ôk-shêm the night decreases *and* the day increases. 4. The summer day is as much as two of the shortest[2] winter days, *and* the winter night is as much as two of the shortest summer nights[3]. 5. The summer day is twelve Hâsars, the night six Hâsars; the winter night is twelve Hâsars, the day six; a Hâsar *being* a *measure of* time *and*, in like manner, of land[4]. 6. In the season of Hamêspamadâyêm[5], that is, the

6, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 11. It is the fifth season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 290th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midwinter, according to the Bundahi*s*. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of animals.

[1] The twentieth day of the tenth month, when the festival ends.

[2] The word kah-aît is merely a hybrid Huzvâri*s* form of kahist, 'shortest,' which occurs in the next phrase.

[3] This statement must be considered merely as an approximation. The longest day is twice the length of the shortest one in latitude 49°, that is, north of Paris, Vienna, and Odessa, if the length of the day be computed from sunrise to sunset; and, if twilight be included, it is necessary to go still further north. In Âdarbîgân, the northern province of Persia, the longest day is about 14½ hours from sunrise to sunset, and the shortest is about 9½ hours.

[4] According to this passage a hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes; it is the Av. hâthra of the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 43, ed. Hoshangji), which says, 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day, *and* the day *and* night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least—an enumeration of the several measures of the Hâsar.' For the hâsar measure of land, see Chap. XXVI.

[5] So in K20, but this name is rarely written twice alike; it is the Av. hamaspathmaêdaya of Yas. I, 31, II, 40, III, 45, Visp. I, 7, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 12. It is the sixth season-festival, held on the five Gâtha days which conclude the Parsi year, just before

five *supplementary* days at the end of the month Spendarma*d*, the day *and* night are again equal.

7. As from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Fravar*d*în to the auspicious day Anîrân of the month Mitrô[1] is the summer of seven months, *so* from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Âvân to the auspicious month Spendarma*d*, on to the end of the five *supplementary* days[2], is the winter of five months. 8. The priest fulfils the regulation (va*k*ar) about a corpse *and* other things, by this calculation as to summer and winter. 9. In those seven months[3] of summer the periods (gâs) of the days and nights are five—since *one* celebrates the Rapîtvîn—namely, the period of daybreak is Hâvan, the period of midday is Rapîtvîn, the period of afternoon is Aûzêrîn, when the appearance of the stars *has* come into the sky[4] until midnight is the period of Aîbisrûtêm, from midnight until the stars become imperceptible is the period of Aûshahîn[5]. 10. In winter are four periods, for *from* daybreak till Aûzêrîn is all Hâvan, *and* the rest as I *have* said; and the reason of it is this, that the appearance[6] of winter is in the direction of the

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the vernal equinox, according to the Bundahi*s*. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of man.

[1] That is, from the first day of the first month to the last day of the seventh month.

[2] That is, from the first day of the eighth month to the last of the five Gâtha days, which are added to the twelfth month to complete the year of 365 days.

[3] All MSS. have 'five months' here.

[4] K20 has 'when the stars *have* come into sight.'

[5] The Avesta names of the five Gâhs are Hâvani, Rapithwina, Uzayêirina, Aiwisrûthrema, and Ushahina.

[6] Pâz. ashâri*s* is evidently a misreading of Pahl. âshkârîh.

north, where the regions Vôrûbarst[1] and Vôrûgarst are; the original dwelling of summer, too, is in the south, where the regions Fradadafsh *and* Vidadafsh are; on the day Aûharmazd of the auspicious month Âvân the winter acquires strength *and* enters into the world, *and* the spirit of Rapitvin goes from above-ground to below-ground, where the spring (khânî) of waters is, *and* diffuses[2] warmth and moisture in the water, *and* so many roots of trees do not wither with cold and drought. 11. And *on* the auspicious day Âtarô of the month Dîn[3] the winter arrives, with much cold, at Airân-vêg; *and* until the end, in the auspicious month Spendarmad, winter advances through the whole world; on this account they kindle a fire everywhere *on* the day Âtarô of the month Dîn, *and* it forms an indication that winter *has* come. 12. In those five months the water of springs *and* conduits is all warm[4], for Rapîtvîn keeps warmth *and* moisture there, *and one* does not celebrate the period of Rapîtvîn. 13. As the day Aûharmazd of the month Fravardîn advances it diminishes the strength which winter possesses, *and* summer comes in from its own original dwelling, *and* receives strength *and* dominion. 14. Rapîtvîn comes up from below-ground, *and* ripens the fruit of the trees; on this account

[1] See Chaps. V, 8, XI, 3. The north, being opposed to the south or midday quarter, is opposed to the midday period of Rapîtvîn, which, therefore, disappears as winter approaches from the north.

[2] If, instead of khânî for khânîk, 'spring,' we read ahû-i, 'lord of,' the translation will be, 'so that the angel of waters may diffuse,' &c.

[3] The ninth day of the tenth month.

[4] That is, warmer than the air, as it is cooler in summer.

the water of springs is cold in summer[1], for Rapîtvîn is not there; *and* those seven[2] months *one* celebrates the Rapîtvîn, *and* summer advances through the whole earth. 15. And yet in the direction of Hindûstân, there *where* the original dwelling of summer is nearer, it is always neither cold nor hot; for in the season which is the dominion of summer, the rain always dispels most of the heat, *and* it does not become perceptible; in the winter rain does not fall, *and* the cold does not become very perceptible[3]. 16. In the northern direction, where the preparation of winter is, *it is* always cold[4]; for in the summer mostly, on account of the more oppressive winter there, it is not possible so to dispel the cold that *one* might make *it* quite warm. 17. In the middle localities the cold of winter *and* heat of summer *both* come on vehemently.

18. Again, the year *dependent* on the revolving moon is not equal to the computed year on this account, for the moon[5] returns one time in twenty-nine, *and* one time in thirty *days*, and there are four

[1] K20 has 'winter' by mistake.

[2] K20 has 'six,' and M6 'five,' instead of 'seven.'

[3] This is a fairly accurate account of the effect of the monsoons over the greater part of India, as understood by a foreigner unacquainted with the different state of matters in a large portion of the Madras provinces.

[4] M6 has khûrâsân instead of ârâyisn, 'preparation,' which alters the sense into 'that is, Khûrâsân, of which the winter is always cold.'

[5] The MSS. have the Huzvâris term for 'month,' which is sometimes used, by mistake, for 'moon.' It is doubtful which word the author intended to use here, but it is usual to count the days of a lunar month from the first actual appearance of the new moon, which usually occurs a full day after the change of the moon.

hours (zamân) more than such a one of its *years*[1]; as it says, that every one deceives where they speak about the moon (or month), except when they say that it *comes* twice in sixty days. 19. Whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer[2].

20. This, *too*, *it says*, that the auspicious month Fravar*d*în, the month Ar*d*avahist, *and* the month Horvada*d*[3] are spring; the month Tîr, the month Amerôda*d*, *and* the month Shatvairô are summer; the month Mitrô, the month Âvân, *and* the month Âtarô are autumn; the month Dîn, the month Vohûman, *and* the month Spendarma*d* are winter[4]. 21. And the sun comes from the sign (khûr*d*ak) of Aries, into which it proceeded in the beginning, back to that *same* place in three hundred and sixty-five days and six short times (hours), which are one year. 22. As every three months it (the sun) advances through three constellations, more or less, the moon comes, in a hundred and eighty days, back to the place out of which it travelled in the beginning[5].

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[1] Meaning, probably, that the lunar year is four hours more than twelve months of 29 and 30 days each, alternately. It should be 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 37 seconds. The sentence seems defective, but it is evident from § 21 that zamân means 'hour.'

[2] That is, the lunar year being eleven days shorter than the solar one, its months are constantly retrograding through the seasons.

[3] Generally written Avardâ*d* in Pâzand, and Khurdâd in Persian.

[4] The names of the months are selected from the names of the days of the month (see Chap. XXVII, 24), but are arranged in a totally different order.

[5] Probably meaning, that the new moon next the autumnal

Chapter XXVI.

1. A Hâsar[1] on the ground is a Parasang of one thousand steps of the two feet. 2. A Parasang[2] is a measure as much as a far-seeing man may look out, see a beast *of burden, and* make known that *it* is black or white. 3. And the measure of a man is eight medium spans[3].

equinox is to be looked for in the same quarter as the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, the moon's declination being nearly the same in both cases.

[1] Av. hâthra of Vend. II, 65, VIII, 280, 287, 291, Tîstar Yt. 23, 29. The statements regarding the length of a Hâsar are rather perplexing, for we are told that it 'is like a Parasang' (Chap. XIV, 4), that 'the length of a Hâsar is one-fourth of a Parasang' (Chap. XVI, 7), and that 'a medium Hâsar on the ground, which they also call a Parasang, is a thousand steps of the two feet when walking with propriety' (Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hosh. p. 42). To reconcile these statements we must conclude that the Hâsar is like a Parasang merely in the sense of being a long measure of distance, that it is really the mille passus or mile of the Romans, and that it is a quarter of the actual Parasang. At the same time, as it was usual to call a Hâsar by the name of a Parasang, we are often left in doubt whether a mile or a league is meant, when a Hâsar or Parasang is mentioned. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) also mentions other measures of distance, such as the takar (Av. takara) of two Hâsars, the asvâst (or aêast) of four Hâsars, the dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) of eight Hâsars, and the yôgêst (Av. yigaiasti or yugaiasti) of sixteen Hâsars.

[2] A Parasang is usually from 3½ to 4 English miles, but perhaps a Hâsar is meant here.

[3] Reading vitast-i miyânak instead of vitast damânak. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) mentions three kinds of spans, the Av. vitasti (Vend. VIII, 243, 245, XVII, 13) of twelve finger-breadths (angûst), or about 9 inches, which is a full span between the thumb and little finger (the one mentioned in the text); the Av. disti (Vend. XVII, 13) of ten finger-breadths, or about 7½ inches, which is a span between the thumb and middle finger; and the

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. On the nature of plants it says in revelation, that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it; and, afterwards, when the destroyer came, it became coated with bark *and* thorny[1], for antagonism mingled with every single thing; owing to that cause vegetation is also much mixed with poison, like Bîs the height of hemp (kand)[2], that is poisonous, for men when they eat *it* die.

2. In like manner even as the animals, with grain of fifty and five species *and* twelve species of medicinal plants, have arisen from the primeval ox[3], ten thousand[4] species among the species of principal

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Av. uzasti (Pahl. lâlâ-ast) of eight finger-breadths, or about 6 inches, which is a span between the thumb and fore-finger. Other measures mentioned by the same authority are the pâî (Av. padha, Vend. IX, 15, 20, 29), 'foot,' of fourteen finger-breadths, or about 10½ inches; the gâm (Av. gâya, Vend. III, 57, &c.), 'step,' which 'in the Vendîdâd is three pâî,' or about 2 feet 7½ inches, 'and in other places is said *to be* two frârâst' (Av. frârâthni in Vend. VII, 76, 79, 87); so the frârâst, which is probably the distance from the neck to the extended elbow, is half a gâm, or from 15 to 16 inches. Two other measures are mentioned in Vend. VII, 79, 87, 90, IX, 8, the Av. frâbâzu, 'fore-arm or cubit' from elbow to finger-ends, which is about 18 inches (or it may be a half fathom); and Av. vîbâzu, which is probably the 'fathom,' or extent of the two arms out-stretched, from 5½ to 6 feet.

[1] M6 has 'poisonous,' but is evidently copied from an original almost illegible in some places.

[2] Perhaps 'hemp the height of Bîs' would better express the Pahlavi words, but Bîs (Napellus Moysis) is often mentioned as a poisonous plant. The phrase may also be translated 'like Bîs *and* tall hemp.'

[3] See Chap. XIV, 1.

[4] M6 has 'a thousand,' but marks an omission. See Chap. IX, 4.

plants, *and* a hundred thousand species among *ordinary* plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm[1], the many-seeded, *which* has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird[2] strips that tree *and* mingles all the seeds in the water; Tîstar seizes *them* with the rain-water *and* rains *them on* to *all* regions. 4. Near to that tree the white Hôm, the healing and undefiled, has grown at the source of the water of Arêdvîvsûr[3]; every one who eats *it* becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkar*d*[4] tree, as it is said that Hôm is expelling death[5]; also in the renovation *of the universe* they prepare its immortality therefrom[6]; *and* it is the chief of plants[7].

5. These are as many genera of plants as exist: trees and shrubs, fruit-*trees*, corn, flowers, aromatic herbs, salads, spices, grass, wild plants, medicinal

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[1] See Chaps. IX, 5, XVIII, 9, XXIX, 5.

[2] The apparently contradictory account in Chap. IX, 2, refers only to the first production of material plants from their spiritual or ideal representative. The bird here mentioned is *K*amrôs (see Chaps. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29), as appears from the following passage (Mkh. LXII, 40–42): 'And the bird *K*amrôs for ever sits *in* that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is opposed to harm, and conveys *it* there where Tîstar seizes the water, so that Tîstar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain *it* on the world with the rain.'

[3] See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 3–5.

[4] Here written Gôkarn in all MSS. See Chaps. IX, 6, XVIII, 1, 2.

[5] That is, in Yas. IX, where Haoma is entitled dûraosha.

[6] See Chap. XXIV, 27.

[7] See Chap. XXIV, 18.

plants, gum *plants*, *and* all producing[1] oil, dyes, *and* clothing. 6. I *will* mention them also a second time: all whose fruit is not welcome as food of men, *and* are perennial (sâlvâr), as the cypress, the plane, the white poplar, the box, and others of this genus, they call trees and shrubs (dâr va dirakht). 7. The produce of everything welcome as food of men, *that* is perennial, as the date, the myrtle, the lote-plum[2], the grape, the quince, the apple, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the almond, *and* others in this genus, they call fruit (mîvak). 8. Whatever requires labour with the spade[3], *and* is perennial, they call a shrub (dirakht). 9. Whatever requires that they take its crop through labour, *and its* root withers away, such as wheat, barley, grain, various kinds[4] of pulse, vetches, *and* others of this genus, they call corn (*gûrdâk*). 10. Every *plant with* fragrant leaves, *which* is cultivated by the hand-labour of men, *and* is perennial (hamvâr), they call an aromatic herb (siparam). 11. Whatever sweet-scented blossom arises *at* various seasons through the hand-labour of men, or has a perennial root *and* blossoms in *its* season *with* new shoots *and* sweet-scented blossoms, as the rose, the narcissus, the jasmine, the dog-rose (nêstarûn),

[1] Comparing this list with the subsequent repetition it appears probable that hamâk barâ is a corruption of aesam bôd (see §§ 19, 21), and that we ought to read 'gum *plants*, woods, scents, *and plants* for oil, dyes, *and* clothing.' M6 has 'oil *and* dyes for clothing.'

[2] The kûnâr (see Chap. XV, 13).

[3] The Pâz. pêhani (which is omitted in K20) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. pashang, 'a hoe-like spade.'

[4] M6 adds Pâz. gavina (Pahl. gûnak) to gvî*d* gvî*d* mungân, without altering the meaning materially.

the tulip, the colocynth (kavastîk), the pandanus (kêdi), the *k*amba, the ox-eye (hêri), the crocus, the swallow-wort (zarda), the violet, the kârda, *and* others of this genus, they call a flower (gûl). 12. Everything whose sweet-scented fruit, or sweet-scented blossom, arises in *its* season, without the hand-labour of men, they call a wild plant (vahâr or nihâl). 13. Whatever is welcome as food of cattle and beasts *of burden* they call grass (giyâh). 14. Whatever enters into cakes (pê*s*-pâra*k*îhâ) they call spices (âvzârîhâ). 15. Whatever is welcome in eating of bread, as torn shoots[1] of the coriander, water-cress (kakî*g*), the leek, *and* others of this genus, they call salad (têrak)[2]. 16. Whatever is like spinning[3] cotton, *and* others of this genus, they call clothing *plants* (*g*âmak). 17. Whatever lentil[4] is greasy, as sesame, dûshdâng, hemp, zandak[5], *and* others of this genus, they call an oil-*seed* (rôkanô). 18. Whatever *one* can dye clothing with, as saffron, sapan-wood, za*k*ava, vaha, *and* others of this genus, they call a dye-*plant* (rag). 19. Whatever root, or gum[6], or wood

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[1] Reading stâk darî*d*; Justi has 'baked shoots;' Anquetil has 'the three following;' M6 has stâk va karafs, 'shoots and parsley.'

[2] Or târak in § 5, Pers. tarah.

[3] Reading Huz. neskhunân, 'twisting,' but the word is doubtful; Justi has 'sitting *on the plant*,' which is a rather singular description for cotton.

[4] Reading ma*k*ag; Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi read mazg, 'marrow,' but this is usually written otherwise.

[5] Perhaps for zêtô, 'olive,' as Anquetil supposes, and Justi assumes.

[6] Reading tûf (compare Pers. tuf, 'saliva').

is scented, as frankincense[1], varâst[2], kust, sandal-wood, cardamom[3], camphor, orange-scented mint, *and* others of this genus, they call a scent (bôd). 20. Whatever stickiness comes out from plants[4] they call gummy (za*d*ak). 21. The timber which proceeds from the trees, when it is either dry or wet, they call wood (*k*ibâ). 22. Every one of all these plants which is so, they call medicinal (dârûk)[5].

23. The principal fruits are *of* thirty kinds (khadûinak), and ten species (sar*d*ak) of them are fit to eat inside and outside, as the fig, the apple, the quince, the citron, the grape, the mulberry, the pear, *and* others of this kind; ten are fit to eat outside, *but* not fit to eat inside, as the date, the peach, the white apricot, *and* others of this kind; those which are fit to eat inside, *but* not fit to eat outside, are the walnut, the almond, the pomegranate, the cocoa-nut[6], the filbert[7], the chesnut[8], the pistachio nut, the vargân, *and* whatever else of this description are very remarkable.

24[9]. This, too, it says, that every single flower is appropriate to an angel (ameshôspend)[10], as the

[1] Pâz. kendri for Pahl. kundur probably.

[2] Justi compares Pers. barghast.

[3] Pâz. kâkura may be equivalent to Pers. qaqulah, 'cardamoms,' or to Pers. kâkul or kâkûl, 'marjoram.'

[4] K20 omits a line, from here to the word 'either.'

[5] The line which contained this sentence is torn off in K20.

[6] Pâz. anârsar is a misreading of Pahl. anârgîl (Pers. nârgîl, 'cocoa-nut').

[7] Pâz. pendak, a misreading of Pahl. funduk.

[8] Pâz. shahbrôd, a misreading of Pahl. shahbalût; omitted in M6.

[9] M6 begins a new chapter here.

[10] These are the thirty archangels and angels whose names are applied to the thirty days of the Parsi month, in the order in

white[1] jasmine (saman) is for Vohûman, the myrtle *and* jasmine (yâsmin) are Aûharmazd's own, the mouse-ear (or sweet marjoram) is Ashavahist's[2] own, the basil-royal is Shatvaîrô's own, the musk flower is Spendarṃa*d*'s, the lily is Horvada*d*'s, the *k*amba is Amerôda*d*'s, Dîn-*pavan-Âtarô has* the orange-scented mint (vâ*d*rang-bôd), Âtarô *has* the marigold[3] (âdargun), the water-lily is Âvân's, the white marv is Khûrshê*d*'s, the ranges[4] is Mâh's, the violet is Tîr's, the mêren[5] is Gô*s*'s, the kâ*r*da is Dîn-pavan-Mitrô's, all violets are Mitrô's, the red chrysanthemum (khêr) is Srôsh's, the dog-rose (nestran) is Rashnû's, the cockscomb is Fravar*d*în's, the sisebar is Vâhrâm's, the yellow chrysanthemum is Râm's, the orange-scented mint is Vâ*d*'s[6], the trigonella is Dîn-pavan-Dîn's, the hundred-petalled rose is Dîn's, all kinds of wild flowers (vahâr) are Ar*d*'s[7], Âstâ*d has* all the white Hôm[8], the bread-baker's basil is Âsmân's, Zamyâ*d has* the crocus, Mâraspend *has the flower*[9] of Ardashîr,

which they are mentioned here, except that Aûharmazd is the first day, and Vohûman is the second.

[1] M6 has 'yellow.'

[2] Synonymous with the Ar*d*avahist of Chap. I, 26.

[3] Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi have 'the poppy.'

[4] M6 has Pâz. lg as only the first part of the word, and Justi translates it by 'red lac,' which is not a plant. Transcribing the Pâzand into Pahlavi, perhaps the nearest probable word is rand, 'laurel.'

[5] M6 has Pâz. mênr; Anquetil has 'vine blossom,' and is followed by Windischmann and Justi, but the word is very uncertain.

[6] The remainder of this chapter is lost from K20.

[7] This female angel is also called Arshisang (see Chap. XXII, 4).

[8] See § 4.

[9] M6 leaves a blank space for the name of the flower; perhaps it is the marv-i Ardashîrân.

Anîrân *has* this Hôm of the angel Hôm[1], of three kinds.

25. It is concerning plants that every single kind *with* a drop of water on a twig (teh) they should hold four finger-breadths in front of the fire[2]; most of all it is the lotos (kûnâr) they speak of.

CHAPTER XXVIII[3].

[1. On the evil-doing of Aharman *and* the demons it says in revelation, that the evil which the evil spirit has produced for the creation of Aûharmazd it is possible to tell by this winter[4]; and his body is that of a lizard (vazagh)[5] *whose* place is filth (kalk). 2. He does not think, nor speak, nor act *for* the welfare (nadûkîh) of the creatures of Aûharmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this *welfare*, so that the creatures which Aûharmazd shall increase he will destroy; and *his* eyesight (*k*ashm mî*k*isn)[6] does not refrain from doing the creatures harm. 3. As it says that, 'ever

[1] Reading, in Pahlavi, Hôm yêdatô aê hôm.

[2] See Chap. XXI, 1. Referring to the necessity of drying fire-wood before putting it on the fire. The kûnâr is specially mentioned, as one of the first fire-woods used by mankind, in Chap. XV, 13.

[3] Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI are omitted in M6 and all MSS. descended from it, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand; and, owing to the loss of a folio from K20 before any of its extant copies were written, the first quarter of Chap. XXVIII has hitherto been missing, but is here supplied (enclosed in brackets) from TD, a MS. belonging to Mobad Tahmuras Dinshaw (see Introduction).

[4] Winter being one of the primary evils brought upon creation by Angra-mainyu (see Vend. I, 8–12).

[5] See Chap. III, 9. [6] Referring to 'the evil eye.'

since a creature was created by us, I, who am Aûharmazd, have not rested at ease, on account of providing protection for my own creatures; and likewise not even he, the evil spirit, on account of contriving evil for the creatures.' 4. And by *their* devotion to witchcraft (yâtûk-dînôîh) he seduces mankind into affection for himself and disaffection to Aûharmazd[1], so that they forsake the religion of Aûharmazd, and practise that of Aharman. 5. He casts this into the thoughts of men, that this religion of Aûharmazd is nought, and it is not necessary to be steadfast in it. 6. Whoever gives that man anything, in whose law (dâ*d*) this saying is established, then the evil spirit is propitiated by him, that is, he has acted by his pleasure.

7. The business of Akôman[2] is this, that he gave vile thoughts and discord to the creatures. 8. The business of the demon Andar is this, that he constrains the thoughts of the creatures from deeds of virtue, just like a leader who *has* well-constrained (sardâr-i khûp afsâr*d*ŏ); *and* hè casts this into the thoughts of men, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and thread*-girdle. 9. The business of the demon Ṡâvar[3], that is a leader of the demons, is this, that is, misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness. 10. The business of the demon Nâîkîyas[4] is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures; as it says, that should this *one*

[1] Compare Chap. I, 14.

[2] The six arch-fiends of this paragraph are those mentioned in Chaps. I, 27, XXX, 29.

[3] Written Sôvar in Chap. I, 27.

[4] Written Nâkahê*d* in Chap. I, 27, Nâîkîya*s* when repeated in this sentence, and Pâz. Nâûnghas in Chap. XXX, 29.

give anything to those men whose opinion (dâ*d*) is this, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and thread*-girdle, then Andar, Sâvar, and Nâîkîyas are propitiated by him. 11. The demon Taprêv[1] is he who mingles poison with plants and creatures; as it says thus: 'Taprêv the frustrater, *and* Zâirik the maker of poison.' 12. All those six, it is said, are arch-fiends[2] of the demons; the rest are co-operating and confederate with them. 13. This, too, it says, that][3] should *one* give [anything to] a man who says [that it is proper to have one boot], and in his law walking with one boot [is established, then][4] the fiend Taprêv is propitiated [by him].

14. The demon Tarômat[5] [is he who] produces disobedience; the demon Mitôkht[6] is the liar (drô*g*an) of the evil spirit[7]; the demon Ara*s*k[8] ('malice') is the spiteful fiend of the evil eye. 15. Theirs are the same[9] appliances as the demon Aeshm's[10], as it

[1] Written Tâîrêv in Chap. I, 27. [2] See Chap. III, 2.

[3] From this point the Pahlavi text is extant in K20, except some illegible words, the translation of which (supplied from TD) is here enclosed in brackets.

[4] Anquetil, misled by the lacuna in his MS., thought that there was a change of subject here, and began a new chapter at this point. On this account the numbers of his chapters are henceforth one in excess of those in this translation.

[5] Written Tarôkmatŏ in TD, and identified with Nâûnghas (Nâîkîyas) in Chap. XXX, 29; a personification of the Av. tarômaiti, 'disobedience,' of Yas. XXXIII, 4, LIX, 8.

[6] A personification of the Av. mithaokhta, 'false-spoken,' of Yas. LIX, 8, Vend. XIX, 146, Visp. XXIII, 9, Zamyâd Yt. 96.

[7] TD has drûg gûmânîkîh, 'the fiend of scepticism.'

[8] Av. araska of Yas. IX, 18, Râm Yt. 16, personified.

[9] The word hômanam in K20 is a false Huzvâris reading of ham, owing to the copyist reading am, 'I am;' TD has ham-afzâr, 'having like means.'

[10] Or Khashm, 'wrath;' so written in K20, but it is usually

says that seven powers are given *to* Aeshm[1], that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith; with those seven powers he will destroy seven[2] of the Kayân heroes in his own time, *but* one will remain. 16. There where Mîtôkht ('falsehood') arrives, Arask ('malice') becomes welcome, [and there where Arask is welcome][3] Aeshm lays a foundation[4], and there where Aeshm has a foundation[5] many creatures perish, *and* he causes much non-Iranianism[6]. 17. Aeshm mostly contrives all evil for the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* the evil deeds of those Kayân heroes have been more complete through Aeshm, as it says, that Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, causes them most[7].

18. The demon Vîzarêsh[8] is he who struggles with the souls of men which *have* departed, those

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Aêshm elsewhere; the Av. aêshma of Vend. IX, 37, X, 23, 27, &c. The Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit appears to be the Av. Aêshmô daêvô, 'demon of wrath.'

[1] TD has 'there were seven powers of Aêshm.'

[2] TD has 'six,' which looks like an unlucky attempt to amend a correct text. Tradition tells us that only five Kayâns reigned (see Chap. XXXIV, 7), and the Shâhnâmah also mentions Siyâwush (Pahl. Kaî-Siyâvakhsh), who did not reign; but eight Kayâns, besides Lôharâsp and Vistâsp, who were of collateral descent (see Chap. XXXI, 28), are mentioned in the Avesta, whence the author of the Bundahis would obtain much of his information (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74).

[3] The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD.

[4] Reading bunak as in TD; K20 has 'sends down a root.'

[5] So in TD; K20 has 'where Aeshm keeps on.'

[6] That is, 'many foreign customs.'

[7] The word vêsh, 'most,' is only in TD.

[8] So in TD; K20 has Vigêsh. He is the Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who is said to convey the souls of the departed to the *K*inva*d* bridge.

days and nights[1] when *they remain* in the world; he carries *them* on, terror-stricken, *and* sits at the gate of hell. 19. The demon Uda[2] is he who, when a man sits in a private place, or when he eats at meals, strikes *his* knee spiritually on *his* back[3], so that he bawls out [*and* looks out, that chattering he may eat, chattering] he may evacuate (riê*d*), and chattering he may make water (mêzê*d*), so that he may not attain [unto the] best existence[4].

[20. The demon Akâtâsh[5] is the fiend of perversion (nikîrâyîh), who makes the creatures averse (nikîrâî) from proper things; as it says, that whoever *has* given anything to that person (tanû) whose opinion (dâ*d*) is this, that it is not necessary to have a high-priest (dastôbar), then the demon Aeshm is propitiated by him. 21. Whoever *has* given anything to that person whose opinion is this, *and* who says, that it is not necessary to have a snake-killer (mâr-van), then Aharman, with the foregoing demons, is propitiated by him; this is said of him who, when he sees a noxious creature, does not kill *it*. 22. A snake-killer (mârô-gnô)[6] is a stick on the end of which a leathern *thong* is

[1] TD has 'those three nights,' referring to the period that the soul is said to remain hovering about the body after death (see Hâ*d*ôkht Nask, ed. Haug, II, 1–18, III, 1–17).

[2] So in K20; TD has Aû*d*ak (see Pahl.Vend. XVIII, 70).

[3] TD has merely 'strikes a slipper (pa*d*în-pôsh) spiritually,' that is, invisibly, for the purpose of startling the man.

[4] The short phrases in brackets are taken from TD to supply words torn off from K20, which passes on to Chap. XXIX at this point, but TD supplies a continuation of Chap. XXVIII, which is added here, and enclosed in brackets.

[5] The Av. Akatasha of Vend. X, 23 Sp., XIX, 43 W.

[6] See Pahlavi Vend. XVIII, 5, 6.

provided; and it is declared that every one of the good religion must possess one, that they may strike *and* kill noxious creatures *and* sinners more meritoriously with it.

23. Zarmân[1] is the demon who makes decrepit (dûspa*d*), whom they call old age (pîrîh). 24. *K*'îshmak[2] is he who makes disastrous (vazandak), and also causes the whirlwind[3] *which* passes over for disturbance. 25. The demon Varenô[4] is he who causes illicit intercourse, as it says thus: 'Varenô the defiling (âlâî).' 26. The demon Bûsh-âsp[5] is she who causes slothfulness; Sê*g* is the fiend (drû*g*) who causes annihilation; and the demon Nîyâz is he who *causes* distress.

27. The demon Âz[6] ('greediness') is he who swallows everything, and when, through destitution, nothing has come he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied; as it says, that the eye of the covetous is a noose (gamand), and *in* it the world is nought. 28. Pû*s*[7] is the demon who makes a hoard, *and*

[1] A personification of the Av. zaurva of Vend. XIX, 43 W., Yas. IX, 18 Sp., Gô*s* Yt. 10, Râm Yt. 16.

[2] The reading of this name is uncertain.

[3] The small whirlwinds, which usually precede a change of wind in India, are commonly known by the name of shaîtân, which indicates that such whirling columns of dust are popularly attributed to demoniacal agency.

[4] A personification of Av. varena, 'desire,' in an evil sense.

[5] Av. Bûshyãsta of Vend. XI, 28, 29, 36, 37, XVIII, 38, &c. The names of the three demons in this sentence are Persian words for 'sloth,' 'trouble,' and 'want.'

[6] Av. Âzi of Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Â*s*tâd Yt. 1.

[7] Compare Pers. payû*s*, 'covetous,' and piyûs, 'avarice.' Pû*s* is evidently the demon of misers, and Âz that of the selfish.

does not consume *it*, *and* does not give to any one; as it says, that the power of the demon Âz is owing to that person who, not content with his own wife, snatches away even those of others.

29. The demon Nas[1] is he who causes the pollution and contamination (nisrûstîh), which they call nasâî ('dead matter'). 30. The demon Friftâr ('deceiver') is he who seduces mankind. 31. The demon Spazg[2] ('slander') is he who brings *and* conveys discourse (milayâ), *and* it is nothing in appearance such *as* he says; and he shows that mankind fights *and* apologizes (avakhshînêd), individual with individual. 32. The demon Arâst[3] ('untrue') is he who speaks falsehood. 33. The demon Aîghâsh[4] is the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with *his* eye. 34. The demon Bût[5] is he whom they worship among the Hindûs, and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse *as* an idol[6]. 35. Astô-vîdâd[7] is the evil flyer (vâê-i sarîtar) who seizes the life; as it says that, when

[1] Av. Nasu of Vend. V, 85–106, VI, 65, 72, 74, 79, VII, 2–27, 70, VIII, 46, 48, 132–228, IX, 49–117, &c.

[2] Av. spazga of Ardabahist Yt. 8, 11, 15.

[3] Always written like anâst.

[4] Av. aghashi of Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24, which appears to be 'the evil eye;' but see § 36.

[5] Av. Bûiti of Vend. XIX, 4, 6, 140, who must be identified with Pers. but, 'an idol,' Sans. bhûta, 'a goblin,' and not with Buddha.

[6] Reading afas vakhsh pavan bûtîhâ mâhmânŏ, kîgûn bût asp parastêdŏ, which evidently admits of many variations, but the meaning is rather obscure.

[7] Here written Astî-vîdâd (see Chap. III, 21). Vend. V, 25, 31 says, 'Astô-vîdhôtu binds him (the dying man); Vayô (the flying demon) conveys him bound;' from which it would appear that Astô-vîdâd and 'the evil flyer' were originally considered as distinct demons.

his hand strokes a man *it is* lethargy, when he casts *it* on the sick *one it is* fever, when he looks in his eyes he drives away the life, and they call it death. 36. The demon of the malignant eye (sûr-*k*ashmîh) is he who will spoil anything which men see, *when* they do not say 'in the name of God' (yazdân).

37. With every one of them are many demons *and* fiends co-operating, to specify whom a second time *would be* tedious; demons, too, who are furies (khashmakân), are in great multitude it is said. 38. They are demons of ruin, pain, and growing old (zvârân), producers of vexation and bile, revivers of grief (nîvagîh), the progeny of gloom, and bringers of stench, decay, and vileness, who are many, very numerous, and very notorious; and a portion of all of them is mingled in the bodies of men, *and their* characteristics are glaring in mankind.

39. The demon Apâôsh[1] and the demon Aspen-*g*argâk[2] are those who remain in contest with the rain. 40. Of the evil spirit[3] are the law of vileness, the religion of sorcery, the weapons of fiendishness, and the perversion (khâmîh) of God's works; and

[1] Av. Apaosha of Tîstar Yt. 21, 22, 27, 28, Âstâd Yt. 2, 6; see also Chap. VII, 8, 10, 12.

[2] Here written Aspengarôgâ, but see Chaps. VII, 12, XVII, 1. He is the Av. Spengaghra of Vend. XIX, 135, and, being a demon, is not to be confounded with the demon-worshipper, Spi*n*gauru*s*ka, of Gô*s* Yt. 31, Ashi Yt. 51.

[3] The 'evil spirit,' Ganrâk-maînôk, seems to be here treated as a demon distinct from Aharman, which is inconsistent with what is stated in §§ 1–6, and is contrary to general opinion. This inconsistency would indicate the possibility of this continuation of Chap. XXVIII in TD, or a portion of it, having been added by an editor in later times (although it is difficult to discover any difference of style in the language), if we did not find a similar confusion of the two names in Chap. XXX, 29, 30.

his wish is this, that is: 'Do not ask *about* me, and do not understand me! for if ye ask *about* and understand me, ye *will* not come after me[1].' 41. This, too, it says, that the evil spirit remains at the distance of a cry, even at the cry of a three-year-old cock (kûlêng), even at the cry of an ass, even at the cry of a righteous man when *one* strikes *him* involuntarily *and* he utters a cry[2]. 42. The demon Kûndak[3] is he who is the steed (bârak) of wizards.

43. Various new demons *arise* from the various new sins the creatures may commit, *and* are produced for such *purposes;* who make even those planets rush *on* which are in the *celestial* sphere, *and* they stand very numerously in the conflict. 44. Their ringleaders (kamârikân) are those seven *planets*, the head and tail of Gôkihar, and Mûspar[4]

[1] Compare Mkh. XL, 24–28: 'The one wish that Hôrmezd, the lord, desires from men is this, that "ye shall understand me (Hôrmezd), since every one who shall understand me comes after me, and strives for my satisfaction." And the one wish that Aharman desires from men is this, that "ye shall not understand me (Aharman), since whoever shall understand me wicked, *his* actions proceed not after me, and, moreover, no advantage and friendship come to me from that man."'

[2] The sentence is rather obscure, but it seems to imply that such cries keep the evil spirit at a distance; it is, however, just possible that it means that the cry of the evil spirit can be heard as far as such cries.

[3] Av. Kunda of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138.

[4] TD has Gôk-kihar and Mûs-parîk here, but see Chap. V, 1, where these beings are included among the seven planetary leaders, and not counted in addition to them. This is another inconsistency which leads to the suspicion that this continuation of the chapter may have been written by a later hand. According to this later view, the sun and moon must be included among those malevolent orbs, the planets.

provided with a tail, *which* are ten. 45. And by them these ten worldly creations, *that* is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vileness; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation, and the other creations which exist *in* the world, owing to the fiendishness of those ten. 46. They whom I *have* enumerated are *furnished* with the assistance and crafty (afzâr-hômand) nature of Aharman.

47. Regarding the cold, dry, stony, and dark interior of mysterious (târîk dên afrâ*g*-pê*d*âk) hell it says, that the darkness is fit to grasp with the hand[1], and the stench is fit to cut with a knife; and if they inflict the punishment of a thousand men within a single span, they (the men) think in this *way*, that they are alone; *and* the loneliness is worse than its punishment[2]. 48. And its connection (band) is with the seven planets, be it through much cold like Saturn[3] (Ḱêvân), be it through much heat like Aharman; and their food is brimstone (gandak), and of succulents the lizard (vazagh); *and* other evil *and* wretchedness (patyân).]

[1] Compare Mkh. VII, 31: 'and always their darkness is such-like as though it be possible to grasp with the hand.'

[2] Compare Ar*d*â-Virâf-nâmak (LIV, 5–8): '*As close* as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, so *close and* many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, but they see not, and hear no sound, one from the other; every one thinks thus, "I am alone."'

[3] Or, 'with more cold than Saturn.'

CHAPTER XXIX[1].

1. On [the *spiritual* chieftainship[2] of the regions *of the earth*] it says in revelation, that every one of those six chieftainships[3] has one *spiritual* chief; as the chief of Arzah is Ashâshagahad-ê *H*vandkân[4], the chief of Savah is Hoazarôdathhri-hanâ Parêstyarô[5], the chief of Fradadafsh is Spitôid-i Aûspôsinân[6],[the chief of Vidadafsh is Atriz-râsp Aûspôsinân[7],] the chief of Vôrûbarst is Huvâsp[8], the chief of Vôrûgarst is *K*akhravâk[9]. 2. Zaratûst is

[1] For this chapter, which is numbered XXX by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20 and TD (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXVIII); and the words enclosed in brackets are supplied from TD, being either illegible or omitted in K20.

[2] Perhaps 'patriarchate' or 'episcopate' would be a better translation of radîh, and 'patriarch' or 'bishop' of rad, in this chapter, as the chief high-priest (dastûr-i dastûrân) and his office are evidently meant by these words.

[3] Of the six other regions, distinct from this one of Khvanîras, see Chap. XI, 2–4.

[4] TD has Ashashâg,had-ê aîgh Nêvandân; both MSS. giving these names in a barbarous Pâzand form which cannot be relied on. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Ashâvanghu Bivandangha of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

[5] TD has Hôazarôkakhhr-hanâ Parêstyrô, all in Pâzand in both MSS., except Huz. hanâ, which stands for Pâz. ê, here used for the idhâfat i. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Garô-danghu Pairistîra of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

[6] So in TD; K20 has Pâz. Spaitanid-i Huspâsnyân. This Dastûr is, no doubt, the Av. (gen.) Spitôis Uspâsnaos of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

[7] Omitted in K20, but, no doubt, this Dastûr is the Av. Erezrâspa Uspâsnu of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

[8] Av. Hvaspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

[9] So in both MSS. As in the case of each of the preceding two pair of regions, two consecutive names of Dastûrs have been taken from the Fravardîn Yast, it may be supposed that the names

spiritual chief of the region of Khvanîras, and also of all the regions; *he is* chief of the world of the righteous, *and* it is said that the whole religion was received by them from Zaratûst[1].

3. In the region of Khvanîras are many places, from which, in this evil time of violent struggling with the adversary, a passage (vidarg) is constructed by the power of the spiritual world (maînôkîh), *and one* calls *them* the beaten tracks[2] of Khvanîras.

4. Counterparts of those other regions[3] are *such places* as Kangdez, the land of Saukavastân, the plain of the Arabs (Tâzîkân), the plain of Pêsyânsaî, the river Nâîvtâk[4], Aîrân-vêg, the enclosure (var) formed by Yim, *and* Kasmîr in India[5]. 5. And one immortal chief acts in the government of *each*

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taken for this third pair of regions will also be consecutive, and this Dastûr must, therefore, be identified with the Av. *K'athwaraspa* of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

[1] TD has 'Zaratûst is chief of this region of Khvanîras, and also of the whole world of the righteous; all chieftainship, also, is from Zaratûst, so that the whole religion,' &c.

[2] Justi has 'zones, climates;' but transcribing Pâz. habâvanhâ back into Pahlavi we have a word which may be read khabânŏhâ, pl. of khabân, 'a trampling-place' (comp. Pers. khabîdan). TD has khvabîsnŏ-gâs, which has the same meaning.

[3] Meaning, probably, that they resemble the six smaller regions in being isolated and difficult of access; in other words, either mythical, or independent of Iranian rule.

[4] So in TD, which also omits the second, third, and fourth of these isolated territories. In K20 we might read rad va khûdâk, 'chief and lord,' as an epithet of Aîrân-vêg. This river must be the Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6.

[5] Reading Kasmîr-i andar Hindû, but TD has Kasmîr-i andarûnŏ; perhaps the last word was originally anîrânak, in which case we should read 'the non-Iranian Kasmîr.'

of them; as it says, that Pêshyôtanû[1] *son* of Vistâsp, whom they call *K*itrô-mainô[2], is in the country of Kangdez[3]; Aghrêra*d*[4] *son* of Pashang is in the land of S*a*ukavastân[5], and they call him Gôpatshah[6]; Par*s*adgâ[7] *Hv*embya is in the plain of

[1] The Av. Peshôtanu of Vishtâsp Yt. 4, where he is described as free from disease and death. TD has Pêshyôk-tanû. See also Chaps. XXXI, 29, XXXII, 5.

[2] TD has *K*itrô-mâônô, and it may be doubted whether the latter portion of the name be derived from Av. mainyu, 'spirit,' or m*a*unghô, 'moon.' The Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk (Reply 89) calls him 'Patshâyôtanû who is called from the *K*itrôk-mâhanô (or mîyânô),' the *K*atru-mîyân river of Chap. XX, 7, 31.

[3] See § 10. TD has Kangdez-i bâmîk, 'Kangdez the splendid.'

[4] The Av. Aghraêratha Narava of Gô*s* Yt. 18, 22, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Ashi Yt. 38, Zamyâd Yt. 77; he is Aghrîrath, brother of Afrâsiyâb, in the Shâhnâmah; see also Chap. XXXI, 15.

[5] TD has Pahl. Sakîkstân here, but Sôkapastân in § 13 (the letters îk and p being often much alike in Pahlavi writing). K20 has Pâz. Sâvkavatân, S*a*ukâvasta, and Sâvkavastăn.

[6] TD has Gôpat-malkâ, 'king of Gôpat;' and Dâ*d*. (Reply 89) states that 'the reign of Gôpatshah is over the country of Gôpatô, coterminous with Aîrân-vê*g*, on the bank of the water of the Dâîtîk; *and* he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayă*s*, on whom occurred the various emigrations of men of old.' Mkh. (LXII, 31–36) says, 'Gôpatshâh remains in Aîrân-vê*g*, within the region of Khvanîras; from foot to mid-body *he is* a bull, and from mid-body to top *he is* a man; at all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God, and always pours holy-water into the sea; through the pouring of that holy-water innumerable noxious creatures in the sea will die; for if he should not mostly perform that ceremonial, and should not pour that holy-water into the sea, and those innumerable noxious creatures should not perish, then always when rain falls the noxious creatures would fall like rain.' In Chap. XXXI, 20, he is said to be a son of Aghrêra*d*.

[7] So in K20; and Av. Parsha*d*ga*u* occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 96, 127; but TD has Fradakh*s*tar Khûmbîkân, and Dâ*d*. (Reply 89) mentions 'Fradhakh*s*tô son of Khûmbîkân' as one of the seven

Pêsyânsaî[1], *and he* is *Hv*embya for this reason, because they brought *him* up in a *hv*emb ('jar') for fear of Khashm ('Wrath'); [Asâm-i[2] Yamâhust is in the place which they call the River Nâîvtâk]; the tree opposed to harm[3] is in Aîrân-vêg; Urvatadnar[4] *son* of Zaratûst is in the enclosure formed by Yim. 6. Regarding them it says, they are *those* who are immortal, as are Narsih[5] *son* of Vîvanghâû, Tûs[6] *son* of Nôdar[7], Gîw[8] *son* of Gûdarz, Ibairaz[9] the causer of strife, *and* Ashavazd son of Pourudhâkhst[10]; and they will all[11] come forth, to the

immortal lords of Khvanîras, which name corresponds with the Av. Fradhâkhsti Khunbya of Fravardîn Yt. 138.

[1] TD has always Pahl. Pêsânsih. No doubt the Pisîn valley is meant (see § 11).

[2] Or it may be read Aêshm-i. This phrase occurs only in TD, but Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'the Avesta Yakhmâyîsad, son of the same Fryânô,' as one of the seven immortal lords of Khvanîras.

[3] See Chap. XXVII, 2.

[4] See Chap. XXXII, 5.

[5] Or Narsâe in TD; K20 has Pâz. Narêî, but see Chap. XXXI, 3, 5.

[6] Av. Tusa of Âbân Yt. 53, 58, and an Iranian warrior in the Shâhnâmah.

[7] Av. Naotara, whose descendants are mentioned in Âbân Yt. 76, 98, Fravardîn Yt. 102, Râm Yt. 35.

[8] Av. Gaêvani of Fravardîn Yt. 115 is something like this name of one of the Iranian warriors in the Shâhnâmah.

[9] TD has Pâz. Bairazd. Perhaps it is not a name, but a Pâzand corruption of Pahl. aêvarz, 'warrior, trooper' (traditionally); in which case we should have to read 'the warrior who was a causer of strife.'

[10] So in TD; K20 has 'Ashavand son of Porudakhst,' and Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'Ashavazang son of Pôrûdakhstôîh' as one of the seven immortal lords of Khvanîras. He is the Av. 'Ashavazdangh the Pourudhâkhstiyan' of Âbân Yt. 72, Fravardîn Yt. 112.

[11] So in TD, but K20 has 'always.'

assistance of Sôshyans, on the production of the renovation *of the universe.*

7. Regarding Sâm[1] it says, that he became immortal, *but* owing to his disregard of the Mazdayasnian religion, a Tûrk whom they call Nihâg[2] wounded *him* with an arrow, when he was asleep there, in the plain of Pêsyânsaî; and it had brought upon him the unnatural lethargy (bûshasp) *which* overcame *him in* the midst of the heat[3]. 8. And the glory (far) of heaven stands over him[4] for the purpose that, when Az-i Dahâk[5] becomes unfettered (arazak), he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him. 9. Of Dahâk, whom they call Bêvarâsp, this, too, it says, that Frêdûn when he captured Dahâk was not able to kill *him*, and afterwards confined him in Mount Dimâvand[6]; when he becomes unfettered, Sâm arises, and smites and slays him.

10. As to Kangdez, *it is* in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed (var)[7] of the

[1] This is not Sâm the grandfather of Rustam, but the Av. Sâma, who appears to have been an ancestor of Keresâspa (see Yas. IX, 30), called Sam, grandfather of Garsâsp, in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah (compare Chap. XXXI, 26, 27). Here, however, it appears from the Bahman Yast (III, 59, 60) that Keresâspa himself is meant, he being called Sâma Keresâspa in Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136.

[2] It can also be read Nihâv or Nîyâg in K20, and Nihâv or Nihân in TD.

[3] TD has '*as* he lay *in* the midst of the heat.'

[4] TD has 'and the snow (vafar) has settled (nishast) over him.'

[5] See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

[6] See Chap. XII, 31.

[7] TD has agvar, 'above,' instead of min var, 'from the bed.'

wide-formed ocean towards that side. 11. The plain of Pêsyânsaî is in Kâvulistân, as it says, that the most remarkable upland (bâlist) in Kâvulistân is where Pêsyânsaî is; there it is hotter, on the more lofty elevations there is no heat[1]. 12. Aîrân-vêg is in the direction of Âtarô-pâtakân[2]. 13. The land of Saukavastân is on the way from Tûrkistân to Kînistân, in the direction of the north. 14. [The enclosure][3] formed by Yim is *in* the middle of Pârs, in Sruvâ[4]; thus, they say, that *what* Yim formed (Yim-kard) is below Mount Yimakân[5]. 15. Kasmîr is in Hindûstân.

Chapter XXX[6].

1. On the nature of the resurrection and future existence it says in revelation, that, whereas Mâshya and Mâshyôî, who grew up from the earth[7], first fed upon water, then plants, then milk, *and* then meat, men also, when their time of death *has* come, first desist from eating meat, then milk, then from

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[1] Or, 'the hottest there, through the very lofty elevation, is not heat.'

[2] Pers. Âdarbîgân.

[3] The word var is omitted in K20.

[4] TD has Pahl. Srûbâk.

[5] Or it may be read Damakân, but TD has Kamakân. It can hardly be Dâmaghân, as that is a town and district in Khurâsân; Justi also suggests the district of Gamagân in Pârs, and thinks Sruvâ means 'cypress wood,' there being a Salvastân between Shîrâz and Fasâ.

[6] This chapter is found in all MSS., and has been numbered XXXI by former translators.

[7] See Chaps. XV, 2–16, XXXIV, 3.

bread, till when[1] they shall die they always feed upon water. 2. So, likewise, in the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh[2], the strength of appetite (âz) will thus diminish, when men *will* remain three days and nights in superabundance (sîrîh) through one taste of consecrated food. 3. Then they will desist from meat food, *and* eat vegetables *and* milk; afterwards, they abstain from milk food *and* abstain from vegetable food, *and* are feeding on water; *and* for ten years before Sôshyans[3] comes they remain without food, *and* do not die.

4. After Sôshyans *comes* they prepare the raising of the dead, as it says, that Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd thus: 'Whence does a body form again, which the wind *has* carried *and* the water conveyed (vazîd)[4]? *and* how does the resurrection occur?' 5. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'When through me the sky *arose* from the substance of the ruby[5], without columns, on the spiritual support of far-compassed light; when through me the earth arose, which[6] bore the material life, *and* there is no

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[1] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Chap. I, 7).

[2] Written Khûrshêdar-mâh, or Khûrshêd-mâh, in the Bundahis; see Chap. XXXII, 8, and Bahman Yt. III, 52, 53.

[3] See Chaps. XI, 6, XXXII, 8, Bahman Yt. III, 62.

[4] Compare (Vend. V, 26) 'the water carries *him* up, the water carries *him* down, the water casts *him* away.'

[5] Compare Mkh. IX, 7.

[6] All MSS. have min, 'out of,' but translators generally suppose it should be mûn, 'which,' as the meaning of 'brought out of material life' is by no means clear. Perhaps the two phrases might be construed together, thus: 'there is no *other* maintainer of the worldly creation, brought from the material life, than it.' Windischmann refers to Fravardîn Yt. 9.

maintainer of the worldly creation but it; when by me the sun and moon *and* stars are conducted in the firmament (andarvâî) of luminous bodies; when by me corn was created so that, scattered about in the earth, it grew again *and* returned with increase; when by me colour[1] of various kinds was created in plants; when by me fire was created in plants *and* other things[2] without combustion; when *by me* a son was created *and* fashioned[3] in the womb of a mother, *and* the structure (pîsak) severally of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, ears, and other things was produced; when by me legs were created for the water, so that it flows away, *and* the cloud was created which carries the water of the world *and* rains there where it has a purpose; when by me the air was created which conveys *in one's* eyesight, through the strength of the wind, the lowermost upwards according to *its* will, *and one* is not able to grasp *it* with the hand out-stretched; each one of them, when created by me, was herein more difficult than causing the resurrection, for[4] *it is* an assistance to me in the resurrection that they exist, *but* when they were formed it was not *forming* the future out of the past[5]. 6. Observe that when that which was not was then produced, why is it not possible to

[1] Former translators all read rag, 'vein, pore;' but it probably stands for rang, 'colour, dye,' as in Chap. XXVII, 5, 18.

[2] See Chap. XVII, 1, 2.

[3] Pâz. srahtîd is evidently a misreading of Pahl. srîstîd, 'formed, shaped.' Windischmann compares Fravardîn Yt. 11, 22, 28.

[4] Here kîm is the Pâzand of Huz. mamanam, 'for to me;' being a different word from the interrogative kîm, 'why?' of the next §.

[5] Literally, '*what* becomes out of *what* was.'

produce again that which was? for at that time *one will* demand the bone from the spirit of earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, *and* the life from fire, since *they* were delivered to them in the original creation.'

7. First, the bones of Gâyômar*d* are roused up, then those of Mâshya *and* Mâshyôi, then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years *of* Sôshyans[1] they prepare all the dead, *and* all men stand up; whoever is righteous *and* whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs. 8. Afterwards, when all material living beings assume again their bodies *and* forms, then they assign (barâ yehabûnd) them a single class[2]. 9. Of the light accompanying (levatman) the sun, one half will *be* for Gâyômar*d*, and one half will give enlightenment among the rest of men, so that the soul *and* body will know that this is my father, and this is my mother, and this is my brother, and this is my wife, and these are some other of my nearest relations.

10. Then is the assembly of the Sa*d*vâstarân[3], where all mankind will stand at this time; in that assembly every one sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds; *and* then, in that assembly, a wicked *man* becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black. 11. In that

[1] K20 omits 'Sôshyans.'

[2] The phrase is obscure, and K20 omits the numeral 'one' (the idhâfat of unity); but the meaning is probably that all former distinctions of class, or caste, are abolished.

[3] Windischmann suggests that it may be 'the assembly of Isa*d*-vâstar,' the eldest son of Zaratû*s*t (see Chap. XXXII, 5); perhaps supposed to be presided over by him as the first supreme high-priest after Zaratû*s*t's death.

assembly whatever righteous *man* was friend of a wicked *one* in the world, *and* the wicked *man* complains of him who is righteous, thus: 'Why did he not make me acquainted, when in the world, with the good deeds which he practised himself?' if he who is righteous did not inform him, then it is necessary for him to suffer shame accordingly in that assembly[1].

12. Afterwards, they set the righteous *man* apart from the wicked; *and* then the righteous is for heaven (garô*d*mân), and they cast the wicked back to hell. 13. Three days *and* nights they inflict punishment bodily in hell, *and* then he beholds bodily those three days' happiness in heaven[2]. 14. As it says that, on the day when the righteous *man* is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one, thereupon, run down unto *his* legs. 15. When, after they set apart a father from his consort (hambâ*z*), a brother from his brother, and a friend from

[1] In the Ar*d*â-Vîrâf-namak (Chap. LXVIII) it is related that Ar*d*â-Vîrâf saw the souls of a husband and wife, that of the husband destined for heaven, and that of the wife for hell; but the wife clung to her husband and asked why they should be separated, and he told her it was on account of her neglect of religious duties; whereupon she reproached him for not teaching and chastising her. 'And, afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. And owing to the repentance of that woman she was in no other affliction in hell but darkness and stench. And that man sat in the midst of the righteous of heaven in shame, from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.'

[2] As an aggravation of his punishment in hell. It has generally been supposed that this last phrase refers to the reward of the righteous man, but this cannot be the case unless akhar be taken in the sense of 'other,' which is unlikely; besides, beholding the happiness of others would be no reward to an Oriental mind.

his friend, they suffer, every one for his own deeds, *and* weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked about himself; for there may be a father who is righteous *and* a son wicked, *and* there may be one brother who is righteous *and* one wicked. 16. Those for whose peculiar deeds it is appointed, such as Dahâk and Frâsîyâv of Tûr, *and* others of this sort, as those deserving death (marg-argânân), undergo a punishment no other men undergo; they call *it* 'the punishment of the three nights[1].'

17. Among his producers of the renovation *of the universe*, those righteous men of whom it is written[2] that they are living, fifteen men and fifteen damsels, will come to the assistance of Sôshyans. 18. As Gôkîhar[3] falls in the *celestial* sphere from a moonbeam on to the earth, the distress of the earth becomes such-like as *that of* a sheep when a wolf falls *upon it.* 19. Afterwards, the fire and halo[4] melt the metal of Shatvaîrô, in the hills *and* mountains, *and* it remains on this earth like a river.

[1] According to the Pahlavi Vend. VII, 136 (p. 96, Sp.) it appears that a person who has committed a marg-argân or mortal sin, without performing patît or renunciation of sin thereafter, remains in hell till the future existence, when he is brought out, beheaded three times for each mortal sin unrepented of, and then cast back into hell to undergo the punishment tishrăm khshafnăm ('of the three nights') before he becomes righteous; some say, however, that this punishment is not inflicted for a single mortal sin. This period of three nights' punishment is quite a different matter from the three nights' hovering of the soul about the body after death.

[2] See Chap. XXIX, 5, 6. As the text stands in the MSS. it is uncertain whether the fifteen men and fifteen damsels are a portion of these righteous immortals, or an addition to them.

[3] Probably a meteor (see Chap. V, 1).

[4] Reading khîrman; M6 has 'the fire and angel Aîrman (Av. Airyaman) melt the metal in the hills,' &c.

20. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure; when *one* is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; *but* when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal.

21. Afterwards, with the greatest affection, all men come together, father and son and brother and friend ask one another thus: 'Where has it[1] been these many years, and what was the judgment upon thy soul? hast thou been righteous or wicked?' 22. The first soul the body sees, it enquires of it with those words (gûft). 23. All men become of one voice *and* administer loud praise to Aûharmazd and the archangels.

24. Aûharmazd completes *his work* at that time, *and* the creatures become so that it is not necessary to make any effort about them; *and* among those by whom the dead are prepared, it is not necessary *that* any effort be made. 25. Sôshyans, with his assistants, performs a Yazisn *ceremony* in preparing the dead, *and* they slaughter the ox Hadhayôs[2] in that Yazisn; from the fat of that ox and the white Hôm[3] they prepare Hûsh, *and* give *it* to all men, and all men become immortal for ever *and* everlasting. 26. This, too, it says, that whoever has been the size of a man, they restore him then with an age of forty years; they who have been little *when* not dead, they restore then with an age of fifteen years; and they give every one *his* wife, and

[1] K20 has 'have I;' probably hômanîh, 'hast thou,' was the original reading.

[2] See Chap. XIX, 13.

[3] See Chap. XXVII, 4.

show *him his* children with the wife; so they act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children.

27. Afterwards, Sôshyans *and his assistants*, by order of the creator Aûharmazd, give every man the reward and recompense suitable to *his* deeds; this is even the righteous existence (aît) where it is said that they convey *him* to paradise (vahist), and the heaven (garôdmân) of Aûharmazd takes up the body (kerp) as itself requires; with that assistance he continually advances for ever *and* everlasting. 28. This, too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship (yast), and has ordered no Gêtî-kharîd[1], and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there; and he performs the worship (yast) of Aûharmazd, and the heavenly angels[2] provide him the use of his clothing.

[1] The Sad-dar Bundahis says that by Gêtî-kharîd 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.' The Rivâyat of Dastûr Barzû (as quoted in MS. 29 of Bombay University Parsi Collection) gives the following details in Persian: 'To celebrate Gêtî-kharîd it is necessary that two hêrbads (priests) perform the Nâbar, and with each khshnûman which they pray it is fit and necessary that both hêrbads have had the Nâbar; and the first day they recite the Nônâbar yast, and consecrate the Nônâbar drôn and the Nônâbar âfrîngân which they recite in each Gâh; in the Hâvan Gâh it is necessary to recite fravarânê (as in Yas. III, 24 W. to end), ahurahê mazdau raêvatô (as in Aûharmazd Yt. o, to) frasastayaêka, then Yas. III, 25 W., XVII, 1–55 Sp., ashem vohû thrice, âfrînâmi khshathryãn (as in Âfrîngân I, 14, to end). The second day the Srôsh yast and Srôsh drôn and âfrîngân are to be recited; and the third day it is necessary to recite the Sîrôzah yast, the Sîrôzah drôn and âfrîngân dahmân; and it is needful to recite the second and third âfrîngâns in each Gâh, and each day to consecrate the barsom and drôn afresh with seven twigs, so that it may not be ineffective.'

[2] Pâz. gehân is probably a misreading of Pahl. yazdân, as

29. Afterwards, Aûharmazd seizes on[1] the evil spirit, Vohûman *on* Akôman[2], Ashavahi*s*t *on* Andar[3], Shatvaîrô *on* Sâvar, Spendarma*d* *on* Tarômat who is Nâûnghas[4], Horvada*d* *and* Amerôda*d* *on* Tâîrê*v* *and* Zâîrî*k*[5], true-speaking *on* what is evil-speaking, Srôsh[6] *on* Aeshm[7]. 30. Then two fiends remain at large, Aharman[8] and Â*z*[9]; Aûharmazd comes to the world, himself the Zôta and Srôsh the Râspî[10], and holds the Kûstî in *his* hand;

neither 'the spirit of the world,' nor 'the spirit of the Gâhs' is a likely phrase. It is possible, however, that maînôk gehân is a misreading of min aîvyahân, 'from the girdle,' and we should translate as follows: 'and out of its girdle (that is, the kûstî of the barsom used in the ceremony) he produces the effect of his clothing.'

[1] Instead of vakhdûnd, 'seize on,' we should probably read vânend, 'smite,' as in the parallel passages mentioned below.

[2] Compare Zamyâd Yt. 96. Each archangel (see Chap. I, 25, 26) here seizes the arch-fiend (see Chaps. I, 27, XXVIII, 7–12) who is his special opponent.

[3] Here written Pâz. Inder. Compare Pahlavi Yas. XLVII, 1: 'When among the creation, in the future existence, righteousness smites the fiend, Ashavahi*s*t *smites* Indar.'

[4] Written Nâkahê*d* in Chap. I, 27, and Nâîkîyas in Chap. XXVIII, 10, where he is described as a distinct demon from Tarômat in XXVIII, 14.

[5] Here written Târê*v* and Zârî*k*.

[6] Av. Sraosha, a personification of attentive hearing and obedience, who is said to watch over the world and defend it from the demons, especially at night; see Vend. XVIII, 48, 51, 70, &c., Yas. LVI, Srôsh Yt. Hâdôkht, &c.

[7] See Chap. XXVIII, 15–17.

[8] Comparing § 29 with § 30 it is not very clear whether the author of the Bundahi*s* considered Aharman and the evil spirit as the same or different demons; compare also Chap. XXVIII, 1–6 with 40, 41.

[9] See Chap. XXVIII, 27.

[10] The Zôta is the chief officiating priest in all ceremonies, and the Râspî is the assistant priest.

defeated by the Kûstî[1] formula the resources of the evil spirit and Âz act most impotently, *and* by the passage through which he rushed into the sky[2] he runs back to gloom *and* darkness. 31. Gôkîhar[3] burns the serpent (mâr)[4] in the melted metal, *and* the stench and pollution *which* were in hell are burned in that metal, *and* it (hell) becomes quite pure. 32. He (Aûharmazd) sets the vault[5] into which the evil spirit fled, in that metal; he brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world[6]; the renovation arises in the universe by *his* will, *and* the world is immortal for ever *and* everlasting.

33. This, too, it says, that this earth *becomes* an iceless[7], slopeless plain[8]; even the mountain[9],

[1] The words zak g,hâni, for ân gehâni, are probably a misreading of aîvyahân, 'the kûstî or sacred thread-girdle,' which is tied round the waist in a peculiar manner, during the recital of a particular formula, in which Aûharmazd is blessed and Aharman and the demons are cursed.

[2] See Chap. III, 10–12. [3] See § 18 and Chap. V, 1.

[4] Probably referring to Âz, which means both 'greediness' and 'serpent.' It is, however, possible to read 'Gôkîhar the serpent burns in' &c., and there can be no doubt that Gôkîhar is represented as a malevolent being.

[5] Or, perhaps, 'hiding-place.' Comparing K20 and M6 together the word seems to be alôm, which may be compared with Heb. אולָם 'a vault,' or Chald. אולָמָא 'a porch;' it may, however, be vâlôm, which may be traced to עלם 'to conceal.' In the old MSS. it is certainly not shôlman, 'hell,' which is an emendation due to the modern copy in Paris.

[6] Or, 'to the prosperity of the world.'

[7] Former translators read anhîkhar, 'undefiled,' but this does not suit the Pahlavi orthography so well as anhasâr, 'iceless' (compare Pers. hasar, khasar, or khasâr, 'ice'); cold and ice, being produced by the evil spirit, will disappear with him.

[8] Pâz. âmâvan is a misreading of Pahl. hâmûn, so the reading is ansîp (compare Pers. sîb) hâmûn. Mountains, being the work of the evil spirit, disappear with him.

[9] Kakâd-i-Dâîtîk, see Chap. XII, 7.

whose summit is the support of the *K*învar *bridge*, they keep down, *and* it *will* not exist.

Chapter XXXI[1].

0. On the race and genealogy of the Kayâns.

1. Hôshyang[2] *was son* of Fravâk, *son* of Sîyâkmak[3], *son* of Mâshya[4], *son* of Gâyômar*d*. [2. Takhmôrup[5] *was son* of Vîvanghâû[6], *son* of Yanghad[7], *son of* Hôshyang. 3. Yim,][8] Takhmôrup, Spîtûr[9], *and* Narsih[10], whom they also call 'the Rashnû of *K*înŏ[11],'

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[1] For this chapter, which is numbered XXXII by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20, TD, and K20b (a fragment evidently derived from the same original as K20 and M6, but through some independent line of descent).

[2] So in K20, but usually Hôshâng (see Chaps. XV, 28, XXXIV, 3, 4).

[3] See Chap. XV, 25, 30.

[4] See Chaps. XV, 2–24, 30, XXXIV, 3.

[5] Av. Takhmô-urupa of Râm Yt. 11, Zamyâd Yt. 28, Âfrîn Zarat. 2; written Tâkhmôrup in TD, which is the only MS. in which the passage enclosed in brackets is found, the omission of which by K20 was suspected by Windischmann (Zoroastriche Studien, p. 199). This king is the Tahmûras of the Shâhnâmah. See also Chaps. XVII, 4, XXXIV, 4.

[6] Av. Vîvangh*a*u of Yas. IX, 11, 20, XXXII, 8, Vend. II, 8, 28, 94, Fravardîn Yt. 130, Zamyâd Yt. 35.

[7] As this Pâzand name or title begins with a *medial* y, its initial vowel is probably omitted (see p. 141, note 8).

[8] Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, &c., the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah (see Chaps. XVII, 5, XXXIV, 4).

[9] Av. Spityura of Zamyâd Yt. 46.

[10] Here written Nârsî in K20 and K20b, and Nôsîh in TD; but see § 5 and Chap. XXIX, 6. Windischmann suggests that he may be the Av. Aoshnara pouru-*g*îra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2.

[11] An epithet equivalent to 'the Minos of China;' Rashnû being the angel of justice, who is said to weigh the meritorious deeds of

were all brothers. 4. From Yim and Yimak [1], who was *his* sister, was born a pair, man *and* woman, and they became husband *and* wife together; Mîrak the Âspiyân [2] and Zîyânak Zardâhim were *their* names, *and* the lineage went on. 5. Spitûr was he who, with Dahâk, cut up Yim [3]; Narsih [4] lived then [5] also, *whom* they call Nêsr-gyâvân [6]; they say that such destiny (gadman) is allotted to him [7], that he shall pass every day in troubles, and shall make all food purified *and* pure.

6. Dahâk [8] *was son* of Khrûtâsp, *son* of Zâinigâv,

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the departed soul against its sins. Neither word is, however, quite certain, as rashnûk may stand for rasnîk, 'spear,' and has also been translated by 'light' and 'hero;' Ainŏ, moreover, was probably not China, but Samarkand (see Chaps. XII, 13, 22, XV, 29).

[1] See Chap. XXIII, 1.

[2] Av. Âthwyâna of Âbân Yt. 33, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Zamyâd Yt. 36, &c., where it is the family name of Thraêtaona, who is said to be a son of Âthwya in Yas. IX, 23, 24. In the text this name seems to be used rather as a title than a patronymic, and in § 7 it appears to be a family surname.

[3] As stated in Zamyâd Yt. 46.

[4] Here written Nârsak in K20 and K20b, and Nôsîh in TD.

[5] TD has 'together,' instead of 'then.'

[6] So in K20, but K20b has Narst-gyâvân, and TD has Nôsîh-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk). Perhaps we may assume the epithet to have been nîgîr-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk), 'one with a bewildering (or longing) glance.'

[7] Justi supposes this clause of the sentence refers to Yim and the disease which attacked his hand. If this be the case it may be translated as follows: 'they say aîghash is produced on his hand (yadman), so that,' &c.; aîghash being a disease, or evil, mentioned in Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24; compare Chap. XXVIII, 33.

[8] Or Az-i Dahâk, the Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' of Yas. IX, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 29, 34, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Zamyâd Yt. 46–50. A name applied to a foreign dynasty (probably Semitic) personified as a single king, which conquered the dominions of Yim (see Chap. XXXIV, 5).

son of Virafsang, *son* of Tâz, *son* of Fravâk, *son* of Sîyâkmak[1]; by *his* mother Dahâk *was* of Udaî[2], *son* of Bayak, *son* of Tambayak, *son* of Owokhm[3], *son* of Pairi-urvaêsm[4], *son* of Gadhwithw[5], *son* of Drûgâskân[6], *son* of the evil spirit.

7. Frêdûn the Âspiyân[7] *was son of* Pûr-tôrâ[8] the Âspiyân, *son* of Sôk-tôrâ[9] the Âspiyân, *son* of Bôr-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Sîyâk-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Spêd-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Gefar-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Ramak-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of

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[1] For the last three names, see Chap. XV, 25, 28.

[2] Pahl. Aûd in TD; compare 'the demon Uda' of Chap. XXVIII, 19. The following two names look like 'fear' and 'gloom-fear,' both appropriate names for demons.

[3] TD has Pâz. Owôikh; compare Av. aoiwra, 'a species of nightmare,' observing that r and ô are often written alike in Pahlavi.

[4] TD and K20b have Pâz. Pairi-urva-urvaêsm, and K20 has Pai-urvaêsm.

[5] TD has Pâz. Gawithw.

[6] So in TD, but K20 has Pâz. Drus-i ayaskâ, and K20b has Drug-i ayaskâ. It corresponds to Av. drugaska in Vend. XIX, 139, Vistâsp Yt. 26. This genealogy appears to trace Dahâk's maternal descent through a series of demons.

[7] Av. Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya, but generally called 'the Âthwyânian,' who slew the destructive serpent (azi dahâka), see Yas. IX, 24, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 33, 61, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Râm Yt. 23, Ashi Yt. 33, Zamyâd Yt. 36, 92, Âf. Zarat. 2. In the Shâhnâmah he is called Ferîdûn son of Abtîn.

[8] This name is omitted in K20, but occurs in the other two MSS.; it is a Huzvâris hybrid equivalent to Pâz. Pûr-gau and Av. Pourugau, which is a title of an Âthwyânian in Âf. Zarat. 4, Vistâsp Yt. 2. This genealogy consists almost entirely of such hybrid names, which have a very artificial appearance, though suitable enough for a race of herdsmen, meaning, as they severally do, 'one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, with the black ox, with the white ox, with the fat ox, and with a herd of oxen.'

[9] So in TD, but the other two MSS. have Sîyâk-tôrâ, which is probably wrong, as the same name occurs again in this genealogy.

Vanfraghesn[1] the Âspiyân, *son* of Yim, *son* of Vîvanghâû; as these, apart from the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ, were ten generations, they every one lived a hundred years, which becomes one thousand years; those thousand years were the evil reign of Dahâk. 8. By the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ was begotten Frêdûn, who exacted vengeance for Yim; together *with him*[2] also were the sons Barmâyûn *and* Katâyûn, *but* Frêdûn was fuller of glory than they.

9. By Frêdûn three sons were begotten, Salm and Tûg and Aîrîk[3]; and by Aîrik one son *and* one pair[4] were begotten; the names of the couple of sons were Vânîdâr *and* Anastokh[5], *and* the name of the daughter was Gûzak[6]. 10. Salm *and* Tûg slew *them* all, Aîrîk and *his* happy sons, *but* Frêdûn kept the daughter in concealment, *and* from that daughter a daughter was born[7]; they became aware *of it*, and the mother was slain by them. 11. Frêdûn provided for the daughter[8], also in concealment, for

[1] In TD this name can be read Vanfrôkisn or Vanfrôkgân.

[2] TD has 'as well as *him*.' K20b omits most of this sentence by mistake.

[3] These sons, as Windischmann observes, are not mentioned in the extant Avesta, but their Avesta names, Sairima, Tûirya or Tûra, and Airya or Airyu, may be gathered from the names of the countries over which they are supposed to have ruled (see Fravardîn Yt. 143).

[4] TD has 'two sons *and* one daughter.'

[5] TD has Anîdâr and Anastabŏ.

[6] Or Gûgak, in TD; the other MSS. have Pâz. Ganga here, but Guzak in § 14; it is identical with the name of Hôshyang's sister and wife in Chap. XV, 28. In the Pâzand Gâmâsp-nâmah the name of Frêdûn's grand daughter is written Vîrak.

[7] Reading min zak dûkht dûkht-i zâd, as in K20b and TD; some uncertainty arises here from the words dûkht, 'daughter,' and dvâd, 'pair,' being written alike in Pahlavi.

[8] TD has bartman, 'daughter,' indicating that the word in K20 must be read dûkht, and not dvâd, 'pair.'

ten generations, when Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînîk was born from *his* mother, [*so called* because, as he was born, *some* of][1] the light of the sun (khûrshêd) fell upon *his* nose (vînîk). 12. From Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînîk *and his* sister[2] was Mânûs-khûrnar, *and* from Mânûs-khûrnar [*and his* sister] was Mânûskîhar born[3], by whom Salm and Tûg were slain in revenge for Aîrîk[4]. 13. By Mânûskîhar were Fris, Nôdar[5], and Dûrâsrôb[6] begotten.

14. Just as Mânûskîhar *was* of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk[7], who was Mâm-sozak[8], of Aîrak, of Thritak, of Bîtak, of Frazûsak, of Zûsak[9], of Fragûzak, of Gûzak, of Aîrîk, of Frêdûn, *so* Frâsîyâv[10] *was*

[1] The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD; and the whole passage from 'vînîk' to 'sun' is omitted in K20, evidently by mistake.

[2] TD has 'from Mânûs and *his* sister,' and K20b has 'from Mânûs-hûkîhar *and* Mânûs-khûrshêd.'

[3] The words in brackets occur only in TD, and K20b has 'from Mânûs-khûrnar also was Mânûs-khûrnâk, *from* Mânûs-khûrnâk was Mânûskîhar born,' but this introduction of an extra generation is not confirmed by the list of names in § 14. The term khûrnâk (or khûrnak) seems to be merely a transcript of the Avesta word of which khûrshêd-vînîk, 'sun-nose,' is a translation. The other term khûrnar can also be read khûrvar, but K20 has Pâz. *hv*arnar. Mânûskîhar is the Av. Manuskithra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, where he is styled the Airyavan, or descendant of Airyu (Aîrîk).

[4] TD has '*and* vengeance exacted for Aîrîk.'

[5] See Chap. XXIX, 6.

[6] Pâz. Durâsro, but the Pahlavi form, given in the text, occurs in § 31 and Chap. XXXII, 1 in TD, which MS. omits this § by mistake.

[7] The same as Mânûs-i khûrshêd-vînîk, as noted above.

[8] This Pâzand epithet seems to mean 'mother-burning,' and may have some connection with the legend mentioned in § 11. TD has mûn am Gûgak, 'whose mother was Gûgak.'

[9] K20b omits the five names from Aîrak to Zûsak.

[10] Av. Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, of Yas. XI, 21, Âbân Yt. 41,

of Pashang, of Zaêsm[1], of Tûrak, of Spaênyasp, of Dûrôshasp, of Tûg, of Frêdûn. 15. He (Frâsiyâv) as well as Karsêvaz[2], whom they call Kadân[3], *and* Aghrêrad[4] were all three brothers.

[16[5]. Pashang and Vîsak were both brothers. 17. By Vîsak were Pîrân[6], Hûmân, Sân[7], and other brothers begotten. 18. By Frâsiyâv were Frasp-i Kûr, Sân, Shêdak[8], and other sons begotten; *and* Vispân-fryâ[9], from whom Kaî-Khûsrôb was born, was daughter of Frâsiyâv, *and* was of the same mother with Frasp-i Kûr. 19. From Frasp-i Kûr *were* Sûrâk, Asûrîk, and other children; *and* by them were Khvâst-aîrikht, Yazdân-aîrikht, Yazdân-sarâd, Frêh-khûrd, Lâ-vahâk[10], and others begotten, a recital of whom *would* be tedious.

20. By Aghrêrad *was* Gôpatshah[11] begotten. 21. When Frâsiyâv made Mânûskîhar, with the Iranians, captive in the mountain-range (gar) of Padashkh-

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Gôs Yt. 18, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 42, Zamyâd Yt. 56–63, 82, 93; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmah.

[1] Zâdsam in the Shâhnâmah.

[2] Garsîvaz in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] TD has Pahl. Kîdân.

[4] See Chap. XXIX, 5.

[5] The remainder of this chapter is found only in TD.

[6] Pîrân Vîsah is Afrâsiyâb's chief general in the Shâhnâmah, and Hûmân and Pîlsam are his brothers.

[7] This name is very ambiguous in Pahlavi, as it can be read many other ways.

[8] Shêdah in the Shâhnâmah.

[9] She is called Farangîs in the Shâhnâmah.

[10] The reading of several of these names is more or less uncertain, but the object of the author is evidently to apply opprobrious epithets to all the male descendants of Afrâsiyâb.

[11] TD has Gôpat-malkâ here, as also in Chap. XXIX, 5, where it is said to be a title of Aghrêrad (always written Agrêrad in TD).

vâr[1], *and* scattered ruin *and* want among them, Aghrêra*d* begged a favour of God (yazdân), and he obtained the benefit that the army and champions of the Iranians were saved by him from that distress. 22. Frâsîyâ*v* slew Aghrêra*d* for that fault; *and* Aghrêra*d*, as his recompense, begat *such* a son as Gôpatshah.

23. Aûzôbô the Tûhmâspian[2], Kanak-i Barzi*s*t, Arawi*s*anasp, *and* Vaêta*nd*-i Râghinôi*d* *were* the three sons *and* the daughter of Agâima*s*vâk[3], the *son* of Nô*d*ar, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar, who begat Aûzôbô. 24. Kavâ*d*[4] was a child in a waist-cloth (kuspû*d*); they abandoned *him* on a river, *and* he froze upon the door-sills (kavâ*d*akân); Aûzôbô perceived and took *him*, brought *him* up, *and* settled the name of the trembling child.

25. By Kavâ*d* *was* Kaî-Apîvêh begotten; by Kaî-Apîvêh *were* Kaî-Arsh, Kaî-Vyârsh, Kaî-Pisân, and Kaî-Kâûs begotten; by Kaî-Kâûs *was* Sîyâvakhsh begotten; by Sîyâvakhsh *was* Kaî-Khûsrôb[5]

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[1] The mountains south of the Caspian (see Chap. XII, 17).

[2] Av. Uzava Tûmâspana of Fravardîn Yt. 131, called Zav, or Zâb, son of Tahmâsp, in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] None of these names, which TD gives in Pâzand, are to be found in the portion of the Avesta yet extant.

[4] Av. Kavi Kavâta of Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, called Kaî-Qubâd in the Shâhnâmah. There appears to be an attempt, in the text, to derive his name from the 'door-sill' on which he is said to have been found.

[5] The Avesta names of these seven other Kayâns are, respectively, Kavi Aipi-vanghu, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Byârshân, Kavi Pisanangh, Kavi Usadhan, Kavi Syâvarshân, and Kavi Husravangh (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74); omitting the third, they are called, respectively, Armîn, Ari*s*, Pa*s*în, Kaî-Kâvûs, Siyâvush, and Kaî-Khusrô in the Shâhnâmah. TD, omitting the first letter, has Sânô for Pisân; it also writes Kaî-Kâyûks and Kaî-Khûsrôvî.

begotten. 26. Keresâsp[1] *and* Aûrvakhsh[2] were both brothers. 27. Athrat[3] *was son* of Sâhm, *son* of Tûrak, *son* of Spaênyasp, *son* of Dûrôshasp[4], *son* of Tûg, *son* of Frêdûn. 28. Lôharâsp[5] *was son* of Aûzâv[6], *son* of Mânûs, *son of* Kaî-Pîsîn[7], *son of* Kaî-Apîvêh, *son of* Kaî-Kavâd. 29. *By* Kaî-Lôharâsp were Vistâsp, Zarîr[8], *and* other brothers begotten; by Vistâsp were Spend-dâd[9] and Pêshyôtanû[10] begotten; and by Spend-dâd were Vohûman[11], Âtarô-tarsah, Mitrô-tarsah, *and* others begotten.

30. Artakhshatar *descendant* of Pâpak—of whom his mother *was* daughter—*was son* of Sâsân[12], *son* of

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[1] Av. Keresâspa of Yas. IX, 31, 36, 39, Vend. I, 36, Âbân Yt. 37, Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38–44, Âf. Zarat. 3; he is called Garsâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

[2] Av. Urvâkhshaya of Yas. IX, 31, Râm Yt. 28, Âf. Zarat. 3. These brothers were sons of Thrita or Athrat, mentioned in the next §.

[3] Av. Thrita of the Sâma race (see Yas. IX, 30, Vend. XX, 11) and father of Keresâspa, whose genealogy is given in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah as follows: Garsâsp, Atrat, Sam, Tûrag, Sîdasb, Tûr, Jamshêd.

[4] Written Dûrôshap in TD, both here and in § 14.

[5] Av. Aurvad-aspa of Âbân Yt. 105, Vistâsp Yt. 34, 46, called Luhrâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

[6] Reading doubtful.

[7] Written Ka-Pîsîn here, but he is the same person as Kaî-Pisân of § 25; the latter part of the name is written both Pisanangh and Pisina in the Avesta.

[8] Probably Zargar (being Av. Zairivairi of Âbân Yt. 112, 117, Fravardîn Yt. 101), but called Zarîr in the Shâhnâmah.

[9] Av. Spentô-dâta of Fravardîn Yt. 103, Vistâsp Yt. 25, called Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

[10] See Chaps. XXIX, 5, XXXII, 5.

[11] Called Bahman in the Shâhnâmah, and Ardashîr the Kayânian in Bahman Yt. II, 17; the successor of his grandfather Vistâsp (see Chap. XXXIV, 8).

[12] The text is rather obscure, but the Kârnâmak of Ardashîr-i Pâpakân states clearly that Ardashîr was son of Sâsân by the

Vêh-âfrî*d* and[1] Zarîr, *son* of Sâsân, *son* of Artakhshatar who *was* the said Vohûman *son* of Spend-dâ*d*.

31. The mother of Kaî-Apîvêh was Farhank[2], *daughter* of *him who is* exalted on the *heavenly* path[3], Urva*d*-gâi-frâ*s*t[4], *son* of Râk, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar. 32. This, too, it says, that the glory[5] of Frê*d*ûn settled on the root of a reed (kanyâ) in the wide-formed ocean; *and* Nôktargâ[6], through sorcery, formed a cow for tillage, *and* begat *children* there; three years he carried the reeds there, *and* gave them to the cow, until the glory went on to the cow; he brought the cow, milked *her* milk, *and* gave *it* to his three sons; as *their* walking *was on* hoofs, the glory did not go to the sons, but to Farhank. 33. Nôktargâ wished to injure[7] Farhank, *but* Farhank went with the glory *away* from

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daughter of Pâpak, a tributary ruler of Pârs under Ardavân, the last of the A*s*kâniyân monarchs.

[1] So in the Pahlavi text, which therefore makes Vêh-âfrî*d* a woman's name (like Pers. Beh-âfrîn); but this is doubtful, as the MSS. often confound va, 'and,' and i, '*son* of.'

[2] In the Shâhnâmah Farhang is mother of Kaî-Kâvûs. The Pahlavi name can also be read Farânak, the name of the mother of Ferîdûn in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] Pâz. vîdharg-âfrâ*s*taka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'Urva*d*-gâ *son* of Frâ*s*t.'

[5] The divine glory which was supposed to accompany all legitimate sovereigns of Iran, from the time of Hôshyang even to that of the Sasanian dynasty; it is the Av. *hv*arenangh of the Zamyâd Ya*s*t, and is said to have fled to the ocean for refuge during the reign of foreign dynasties and wicked kings (see Âbân Yt. 42, Zamyâd Yt. 51, 56, 59, 62).

[6] The last syllable is so written, in Pâzand, in § 33.

[7] Reading hangî*d*anŏ, 'to injure,' instead of khun*gd*anŏ, which may mean 'to embrace;' the difference between the two words being merely the letter î.

the fierce (tîb) father, and made a vow (patyastâk) thus: 'I will give *my* first son to Aûshbâm[1].' 34. Then Aûshbâm saved her from the father; and the first son, Kaî-Apîvêh, she bore and gave to Aûshbâm, was a hero associating with Aûshbâm, and travelled in Aûshbâm's company.

35. The mother of Aûzôbô was the daughter of Nâmûn the wizard, when Nâmak[2] was with Frâsîyâ*v*.

36. And, moreover, together with those begotten by Sâm[3] were six children in pairs, male *and* female; the name of one *was* Damnak, of one Khûsrôv, *and of one* Mârgandak, *and* the name of *each* man and woman together was one. 37. And the name of one *besides* them was Dastân[4]; he was considered more eminent than they, and Sagânsîh[5] and the southern quarter were given to him; and Avar-shatrô[6] and the governorship were given by him to Avarnak. 38. Of Avar-shatrô this is said, that *it is* the district of Avarnak, *and* they offered blessings *to* Srôsh and Ar*d*avahi*s*t in succession; on this account is *their* possession of horses and possession of arms; and on account of firm religion, purity, and manifest joy, good estimation and extensive fame are greatly

[1] This name means 'the dawn;' perhaps it may be identified with Av. Usinemangh or Usenemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 113, 140, whose wife Fr*e*ni may possibly be the Farhank (or Frânak) of the text.

[2] So in TD, but it is probably only a variant of Nâmûn.

[3] The grandfather of Rustam (see § 41). In the Avesta he is usually called Sâma Keresâspa with the title Nairiman*a*u; while in the Shâhnâmah Sâm is son of Narîmân.

[4] Another name for Zâl, the father of Rustam, in the Shâhnâmah.

[5] The same as Sagastân.

[6] Or, perhaps, 'the upper district.'

among them. 39. To Damnak the governorship of Asûristân was given; sovereignty and arranging the law of sovereignty, wilfulness and the stubborn defects they would bring, were among them. 40. To Sparnak[1] the governorship of Spâhân[2] was given; to Khûsrôv the governorship of Râi[3] was given; to Mârgandak the kingdom, forest settlements, and mountain settlements of Padashkhvârgar were given; *where* they travel nomadically, and *there are* the forming of sheep-folds, prolificness, easy procreation, and continual triumph over enemies. 41. From Dastân proceeded Rû*d*astâm[4] and Hûzavârak[5].]

Chapter XXXII[6].

1. On the kindred of Pôrûshasp[7], *son* of Paîtirâsp[8], *son* of Aurvadasp[9], *son* of Hâê*kad*âsp[10], *son* of

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[1] He would seem not to have been a son of Sâm, as he is not mentioned before. The reading of all these names is uncertain.

[2] The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

[3] Av. Ragha of Yas. XIX, 51, Vend. I, 60, whose ruins are near the modern Teherân.

[4] The usual Pahlavi form of Rustam.

[5] Or Aûzvârak; Rustam's brother is called Zavârah in the Shâhnâmah.

[6] This chapter, which is numbered XXXIII by previous translators, is found in all MSS., but in TD it forms a continuation of the preceding chapter, beginning with the name Pôrûshasp.

[7] Av. Pourushaspa of Yas. IX, 42, 43, Vend. XIX, 15, 22, 143, Âbân Yt. 18, &c.

[8] K20 has Pâz. Spitarsp, and M6 has Pâz. Pirtrasp (see note on Chap. XXXIII, 1). The reading in the text is doubtful.

[9] Omitted in K20 and TD.

[10] Av. Haê*kad*aspa of Yas. XLV, 15, LII, 3.

*K*akhshnûs [1], *son* of Pâîtîrasp, *son* of Hardarsn [2], *son* of Hardâr [3], *son* of Spîtâmân [4], *son* of Vîdast [5], *son* of Ayazem, *son* of Ragan [6], *son* of Dûrâsrôb [7], *son* of Mânûs*k*îhar [8]. 2. As Paîtirâsp *had* two sons, one Pôrûshasp *and* one Ârâsti [9], by Pôrûshasp was Zaratûst begotten for a sanctuary of good religion [10], *and* by Ârâsti was Mê*d*yôk-mâh [11] begotten. 3. Zaratûst, when he brought the religion, first celebrated

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[1] Windischmann suggests Av. *K*âkhshnôis (gen.) of Fravardîn Yt. 114.

[2] K20 has Pâz. Harsn and TD has Haraki*d*ârsnŏ.

[3] TD has Harâî*d*âr, or Arâî*d*âr.

[4] Or Spîtâm (as the last syllable is the patronymical suffix), Av. Spitâma, the usual patronymic of Zaratûst.

[5] May be read Vâdist in TD.

[6] Possibly the same person as Râk in Chap. XXXI, 31; but see XXXIII, 3.

[7] So in TD, but Pâz. Durâsrun in K20, M6.

[8] This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the Vagarkar*d*-i Dînîk (pp. 28, 29), as published in Bombay by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjânâ in 1848; and is extended back, through the generations mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 1, 2, 7, 14, to Gâyômar*d*, as follows: 'Pôrûshâspô *son* of Paîtîrâsp, *and* Arâspô son of Paîtîrâsp, Urvandasp, Haê*k*a*d*asp, *K*îkhshnus, Paêtirasp, Hardrsn, Haridâr, Spîtâmânŏ, Vaêdist, Nayâzem, Ragisn, Dûrâsrôb, Mânûs*k*îhar sovereign of Iran, Mânus-khûrnar, Mânus-khûrnâk, Nêryôsang, Varzî*d*-dîn, Vîzak, Airyak, Aithritak, Ibitak, Frazîsak, Zisak, Frasizak, Izak, Aîrî*k*, Frê*d*ûn lord of Khvanîras, Pûr-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Nêvak-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Sôg-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Gêfar-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Vanô-i-fravisn the Âspîkân, Yim lord of the seven regions, Vîvanghâû, Ayangha*d*, Ananghad, Takhmôrup, Hôshâng the Pêsdâ*d*, lord of the seven regions, Fravâk, Sîyâmak, Mashyô whose wife was Mashyăk, Gâyôkmar*d* the first man, and father of all mankind in the material world.'

[9] Av. Ârâstaya of Fravardîn Yt. 95; TD has Ârâstih.

[10] The Pâzand words dargâ hidainis appear to be merely a misreading of Pahl. dargâs-i hûdînôîh.

[11] Av. Maidhyô-maungha of Yas. L, 19, Fravardîn Yt. 95, 106. He is said to have been Zaratûst's first disciple.

worship[1] *and* expounded in Aîrân-vêg, and Mêdyôkmâh received the religion from him. 4. The Môbads[2] of Pârs are all *traced* back to this race of Mânûskîhar.

5. Again, I say, by Zaratûst[3] *were* begotten three sons and three daughters[4]; one *son was* Isadvâstar[5], one Aûrvatad-nar[6], *and* one Khûrshêd-kîhar[7]; as Isadvâstar *was* chief of the priests he became the Môbad of Môbads, *and* passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; Aûrvatad-nar *was* an agriculturist, *and* the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim[8], which is below the earth; Khûrshêd-kîhar *was* a warrior, commander of the army of Pêshyôtanû, *son* of Vistâsp, *and* dwells in Kangdez[8]; *and* of the three daughters the name of one was Frên, of one Srît, *and* of one Pôrukîst[9]. 6. Aûrvatad-nar and Khûrshêd-kîhar were from a serving (kakar) wife[10], the rest were from a privileged (pâdakhshah) wife.

[1] Reading frâg yast; but it may be frâg gast, 'wandered forth.'

[2] The class of priests whose special duty is to perform all religious rites and ceremonies.

[3] This paragraph is quoted, with a few alterations, in the Vagarkard-i Dînîk, pp. 21–23.

[4] K20 omits the 'three daughters' here, by mistake.

[5] Av. Isad-vâstra of Yas. XXIII, 4, XXVI, 17, Fravardîn Yt. 98.

[6] Av. Urvatad-nara of Vend. II, 143, Fravardîn Yt. 98. K20 and M6 have Aûrvartad-nar, and TD has Aûrvâtad-nar.

[7] Av. Hvare-kithra of Fravardîn Yt. 98; TD has Khûr-kîhar.

[8] See Chap. XXIX, 5. Windischmann and Justi consider the clause about Pêshyôtanû as inserted by mistake, and it is omitted in the Vagarkard-i Dînîk (p. 21); it is found, however, in all MSS. of the Bundahis.

[9] These daughters are the Av. Freni, Thriti, and Pouru-kista of Fravardîn Yt. 139; the last is also mentioned in Yas. LII, 3.

[10] The following is a summary of the Persian descriptions of the five kinds of marriage, as given in the Rivâyats:—

A pâdshâh ('ruling, or privileged') wife is when a man marries,

7[1]. By Isa*d*vâstar was begotten a son *whose* name was Ururvi*g*a[2], and they call him Aran*g*-i Bîrâ*d*ân[3] ('fore-arm of brothers') for this reason, that, as they

with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds.

A yûkan or ayûk ('only child') wife is an only child, married with the parents' consent, and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a pâdshâh wife. She is entitled to one-third of her parents' property for giving up the child.

A satar ('adopted') wife is when a man over fifteen years of age dies childless and unmarried, and his relatives provide a maiden with a dowry, and marry her to another man; when half her children belong to the dead man, and half to the living, and she herself is the dead man's wife in the other world.

A *k*akar or *k*âkar ('serving') wife is a widow who marries again; if she had no children by her first husband she is acting as a satar wife, and half her children by her second husband belong to her first one; and she herself, in any case, belongs to her first husband in the other world.

A khûd-*s*arâî or khûd-sarâî ('self-disposing') wife is one who marries without her parents' consent; she inherits no property from her parents until her eldest son has given her as a pâdshâh wife to his father.

[1] Instead of this sentence the Va*g*arkar*d*-i Dînîk (pp. 21, 22) has the following, which appears to rest upon a misinterpretation of the text:—

'And Zaratû*s*t the righteous had three wives; all three were in the lifetime of Zaratû*s*t, and all three wives were living throughout the lifetime of Zaratû*s*t; the name of one was Hvôv, of the second Urvi*g*, of the third Arni*g*-baredâ. And from Urvi*g*, who was a privileged wife, four children were born; one was the son Isa*d*-vâstar, and the three daughters, namely, Frên, Srîtak, and Pôru*k*ist; these four were from Urvi*g*. And from the wife Arni*g*-baredâ two sons were born, one Aûrvart-nar, and the second Khûrshê*d*-*k*îhar; and Arni*g*-baredâ was a serving wife, and the name of the former husband of Arni*g*-baredâ was Mitrô-ayâr. And from Hvôv, who was a privileged wife, *were* three sons, namely, Hûshê*d*ar, Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, and Sôshâns, as it says,' &c. (as in § 8).

[2] TD has Pahl. Aûrvarvî*g*ak or Khûrûrûpak.

[3] So in TD.

were from a serving wife, *she* then delivered them over to Isa*d*vâstar through adoption. 8. This, too, *one* knows, that three sons of Zaratû*s*t, namely, Hûshê*d*ar, Hûshê*d*ar-mâh[1], and Sôshyans[2], were from Hvôv[3]; as it says, that Zaratû*s*t went near unto Hvôv three times, *and* each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang[4] received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered *it* with care to the angel Anâhî*d*[5], *and* in time will blend *it* with a mother. 9. Nine thousand, nine hundred, and ninety-nine, and nine myriads[6] of the guardian spirits of the righteous are intrusted with *its* protection, so that the demons may not injure *it*[7].

10. The name of the mother of Zaratû*s*t was Dughdâ[8], *and* the name of the father of the mother of Zaratû*s*t was Frahimravâ[9].

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[1] Av. Ukhshya*d*-ereta and Ukhshya*d*-nemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 128.

[2] Av. Saoshyãs of Vend. XIX, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 129, &c. See Chaps. XI, 6, XXIX, 6, XXX, 3, 4, 7, 17, 25, 27.

[3] Av. Hvôvi of Fravardîn Yt. 139, Dîn Yt. 15; the Pahlavi form of the name, as given once in TD, is Hûvâôbŏ.

[4] See Chap. XV, 1.

[5] Av. anâhita of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.; a female personification of 'unsullied' water, known generally by the epithet ardvî sûra (the Arêdvîvsûr of Chap. XIII), and whose name is also applied to the planet Venus (see Chap. V, 1).

[6] So in M6; other MSS. have '9,999 myriads,' but see Fravardîn Yt. 62.

[7] This last phrase, about the demons, is omitted in TD and the Va*g*arkar*d*-i Dînîk.

[8] The Avesta word for 'daughter.'

[9] TD has Pâz. Fereâhimruvânâ.

[CHAPTER XXXIII[1].

0. The family of the Môbads ('priests').

1. Bahak[2] *was* son of Hûbakht, *son* of Âtarôbôndak, *son* of Mâhda*d*, *son* of Mê*d*yôk-mâh, *son* of Frâh-vakhsh-vindâ*d*[3], *son* of Mê*d*yôk-mâh, *son* of Kâ*d*[4], *son* of Mê*d*yôk-mâh, *son* of Ârâstîh, *son* of Paîtirâsp[5]. 2. As Bahak was Môbad of Môbads (high-priest) unto Shâhpûhar[6], son of Aûharmazd, *so* Kâ*d* was the great preceptor (farmâ*d*âr) unto Dârâî[7].

3. Âtarô-pâ*d*[8] *was son* of Mâraspend, *son* of Dâ*d*ar*d*â, *son* of Dâ*d*îrâ*d*, *son* of Hûdînô, *son* of Âtarôdâ*d*, *son* of Mânûs*k*îhar, *son* of Vohûman-*k*îhar, *son* of Fryânô[9], *son* of Bâhak[10], *son* of Frê*d*ûn, *son* of Fra-

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[1] This chapter is found only in TD, where it forms a continuation of the preceding, and affords a means (see §§ 10, 11) for determining the age of the recension of the text contained in that MS. As nearly all the names are written in Pahlavi letters, the pronunciation of many of them is merely a matter of guess.

[2] Here written Bôhak, but it is Bahak or Bâk in § 2; compare Bâhak in § 3, and Av. B*a*ungha of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

[3] Compare Av. Frashâvakhsha of Fravardîn Yt. 109.

[4] Compare Av. Kâta of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

[5] See Chap. XXXII, 2, for the last three generations; TD has Pîrtarâsp here, like the variant of M6 in Chap. XXXII, 1.

[6] The Sasanian king Shâpûr II, who reigned A.D. 309–379.

[7] According to the chronology of the Bundahi*s* (Chap. XXXIV, 8, 9), Dârâî lived only some four centuries before Shâpûr II, for which period only seven generations of priests are here provided. This period, moreover, is certainly about three centuries less than the truth.

[8] This priest was prime minister of Shâpûr II.

[9] Compare Av. Fryâna of Yas. XLV, 12.

[10] This name is repeated in TD, probably by mistake (compare Bahak in §§ 1, 2).

shâîtar[1], *son* of Pôrushasp, *son* of Vînâsp, *son* of Nivar, *son* of Vakhsh, *son* of Vahidhrôs, *son* of Frast, *son* of Gâk[2], *son* of Vakhsh, *son* of Fryân, *son* of Ragan, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânûskîhar[3].

4. Mitrô-varâz *was son* of Nîgâs-afzûd-dâk, *son* of Shîrtashôsp, *son* of Parstva, *son* of Urvad-gâ, *son* of Tâham, *son* of Zarîr, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânûs[4]. 5. Dûrnâmîk *was son* of Zâgh, *son* of Masvâk, *son* of Nôdar[5], *son* of Mânûskîhar.

6. Mitrô-akâvîd *is son* of Mardân-vêh[6], *son* of Afrôbag-vindâd, *son* of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, *son* of Vâê-bûkht[7], *son* of Bahak, *son* of Vâê-bûkht. 7. The mother from whom I was born is Hûmâî, daughter of Freh-mâh, who also *was* the righteous daughter[8]

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[1] This is probably a semi-Huzvâris form of Frashôstar.

[2] Perhaps this name should be read along with the next one, so as to give the single Pâzand name Skinas or Skivas.

[3] See Chap. XXXII, 1, for the last three generations. According to this genealogy Âtarôpâd-i Mâraspendân was the twenty-third in descent from Mânûskîhar, whereas his contemporary, Bahak (§ 1), was twenty-second in descent from the same.

[4] No doubt Mânûskîhar is meant; if not, we must read Mânûs-dûrnâmîk in connection with § 5.

[5] Here written Nîdar, but see Chaps. XXIX, 6, XXXI, 13.

[6] Here written Mard-vêh, but see § 8.

[7] Here written Aê-vûkht, but see § 8; it may be Vîs-bûkht, or Vês-bûkht.

[8] The text is amîdar mûnas li agas zerkhûnd Hûmôî dûkht-i Freh-mâh-ik aharôb vûkht (dûkht?). We might perhaps read 'Freh-mâh *son* of Kahârôb-bûkht,' but it seems more probable that §§ 7, 8 should be connected, and that the meaning intended is that Hûmâî was daughter of Freh-mâh (of a certain family) and of Pûyisn-shâd (of another family); she was also the mother of the editor of that recension of the Bundahis which is contained in TD; but who was his father? The singularly unnecessary repetition of the genealogy of the two brothers, Mitrô-akâvîd and Pûyisn-shâd, in §§ 6, 8, leads to the suspicion that if the latter

of Mâh-ayâr *son* of Mâh-bôndak, *son* of Mâh-bûkht. 8. Pûyisn-shâd *is son* of Mardân-vêh, *son* of Afrôbag-vindâd, *son* of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, *son* of Vâê-bûkht, *son* of Bahak, *son* of Vâê-bûkht.

9. All the other Môbads who have been renowned in the empire (khûdâyîh) *were* from the same family it is said, *and* were of this race of Mânûskîhar[1]. 10. Those Môbads, likewise, who now exist are all from the same family they assert, and I, too, they boast, whom they call[2] 'the administration of perfect rectitude' (Dâdakîh-i Ashôvahistô)[3]. 11. Yûdân-Yim *son* of Vâhrâm-shâd, *son* of Zaratûst Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend, *son* of Zâd-sparham[4],

were his mother's father, the former was probably his own father or grandfather. Unfortunately the text makes no clear statement on the subject, and § 10 affords further material for guessing otherwise at his name and connections.

[1] Compare Chap. XXXII, 4.

[2] Reading va lîk laband-i karîtûnd.

[3] This looks more like a complimentary title than a name, and if the editor of the TD recension of the Bundahis were the son or grandson of Mitrô-akâvîd (§ 6) we have no means of ascertaining his name; but if he were not descended from Mitrô-akâvîd it is possible that §§ 10, 11 should be read together, and that he was the son of Yûdân-Yim. Now we know, from the heading and colophon of the ninety-two questions and answers on religious subjects which are usually called the Dâdistân-i Dînîk, and from the colophons of other writings which usually accompany that work, that those answers were composed and certain epistles were written by Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, who was high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881), and apparently a more important personage than his (probably younger) brother Zâd-sparham, who is mentioned in § 11 as one of the priests contemporary with the editor of the TD recension. If this editor, therefore, were a son of Yûdân-Yim (which is a possible interpretation of the text) he was most probably this same Mânûskîhar, author of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk (see the Introduction, § 4).

[4] The last name is very probably superfluous, Zâd-sparham

Zâd-sparham *son* of Yûdân-Yim[1], Âtarô-pâd son of Hâmîd[2], Ashôvahist *son* of Freh-Srôsh, *and* the other Môbads have sprung from the same family.

12. This, too, it says, that 'in one winter I *will* locate (gâkînam) the religion of the Mazdayasnians, *which* came out into the other six regions.']

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having been written twice most likely by mistake. This Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend was probably the one mentioned in the following extract from the old Persian Rivâyat MS., No. 8 of the collection in the Indian Office Library at London (fol. 142 a):—

'The book Dînkard which the dastûrs of the religion and the ancients have compiled, likewise the blessed Âdarbâd son of Mahrasfend, son of Asavahist of the people of the good religion, in the year three hundred of Yazdagard Shahryâr, collected some of the more essential mysteries of the religion as instruction, and of these he formed this book.' That is, he was the last editor of the Dînkard, which seems to have remained unrevised since his time, as the present copies have descended from the MS. preserved by his family and first copied in A.Y. 369.

[1] Zâd-sparham was brother of the author of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk; he was high-priest at Sîrkân in the south, and evidently had access to the Bundahis, of part of which he wrote a paraphrase (see Appendix). His name is usually written Zâd-sparam.

[2] In the history of the Dînkard, given at the end of its third book (see Introd. to Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, p. xxxiv), we are told as follows:—

'After that, the well-meaning Âtarô-pâd son of Hêmîd, who was the leader of the people of the good religion, compiled, with the assistance of God, through inquiry, investigation, and much trouble, a new means of producing remembrance of the Mazdayasnian religion.' He did this, we are further told, by collecting all the decaying literature and perishing traditions into a work 'like the great original Dînkard, of a thousand chapters' (mânâk-i zak rabâ bûn Dînô-kartô 1000-darakŏ). We thus learn from external sources that the group of contemporary priests, mentioned in the text, was actively employed (about A.D. 900) in an attempted revival of the religious literature of the Mazdayasnians, to which we owe either the revision or compilation of such works as the Dînkard, Dâdistân-i Dînîk, and Bundahis.

CHAPTER XXXIV[1].

0. On the reckoning of the years[2].

1. Time was *for* twelve thousand years; *and* it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual *state*, where the creatures were unthinking, unmoving, *and* intangible[3]; *and* three thousand years[4] was the duration of Gâyômar*d*, with the ox, in the world. 2. As *this* was six thousand years the series of millennium reigns[5] of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo had elapsed, because it was six thousand years when the millennium reign came to Libra, the adversary rushed in, and Gâyômar*d* lived thirty years in tribulation[6]. 3. After the thirty years[7] Mâshya *and* Mâshyôî grew up; it was fifty years while they were not wife *and* husband[8], *and* they were ninety-three years together *as* wife *and* husband till the *time* when Hôshyang[9] came.

4. Hôshyang *was* forty years[10], Takhmôrup[11] thirty years, Yim till *his* glory[12] departed six hundred and

[1] This chapter is found in all the MSS.

[2] TD adds 'of the Arabs (Tâzîkân).'

[3] See Chap. I, 8. [4] See Chaps. I, 22, III, 1.

[5] This system of a millennium reign for each constellation of the zodiac can hardly have any connection with the precession of the equinoxes, as the equinoxes travel backwards through the zodiac, whereas these millennium reigns travel forwards.

[6] See Chap. III, 21–23.

[7] That is, forty years after the thirty (see Chap. XV, 2).

[8] See Chap. XV, 19, 20. [9] See Chaps. XV, 28, XXXI, 1.

[10] K20 omits, by mistake, from 'together' in § 3 to this point.

[11] See Chap. XXXI, 2.

[12] So in K20, but M6 has nismô, 'soul, reason,' as in Chap. XXIII, 1; the word 'glory' would refer to the supposed divine glory of the Iranian monarchs (see Chap. XXXI, 32).

sixteen years and six months, *and* after that he was a hundred years in concealment. 5. Then the millennium[1] reign came to Scorpio, and Dahâk[2] ruled a thousand years. 6. After the millennium reign came to Sagittarius, Frê*d*ûn[3] *reigned* five hundred years; in the same five hundred years of Frê*d*ûn *were* the twelve years of Aîrî*k*; Mânû*sk*îhar[4] *was* a hundred and twenty years, *and* in the same reign of Mânû*sk*îhar, when he was in the mountain fastness (dûshkhvâr-gar)[5], *were* the twelve years of Frâsîyâ*v*; Zôb[6] the Tûhmâspian *was* five years.

7. Kaî-Kabâ*d*[7] *was* fifteen years; Kaî-Kâûs, till he went to the sky, seventy-five years, *and* seventy-five years after that, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôv sixty years; Kaî-Lôrâsp[8] a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years[9], altogether a hundred and twenty years.

8. Vohûman[10] *son* of Spend-dâ*d* a hundred and

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[1] The seventh millennium, ruled by Libra, is computed by Windischmann as follows: $30 + 40\frac{1}{2} + 50 + 93 + 40 + 30 + 616\frac{1}{2} + 100 = 1000$. The eighth millennium, ruled by Scorpio, is the thousand years of Dahâk.

[2] See Chap. XXXI, 6.

[3] See Chap. XXXI, 7–11.

[4] See Chap. XXXI, 12–14.

[5] See Chap. XXXI, 21.

[6] Written Aûzôbô in Chap. XXXI, 23, 24.

[7] Usually written Kaî-Kavâ*d* in Pahlavi (see Chap. XXXI, 24, 25).

[8] Also written Kaî-Lôharâsp (see Chap. XXXI, 28, 29).

[9] This is the end of the ninth millennium, ruled by Sagittarius, which is computed by Windischmann as follows: $500 + 120 + 5 + 15 + 150 + 60 + 120 + 30 = 1000$.

[10] See Chap. XXXI, 29, 30, where he is said to have been also called Artakhshatar, which seems to identify him with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that Hûmâî may perhaps be identified with Parysatis, and Dârâî *K*îhar-âzâ*d*ân with Artaxerxes Ochus, as Dârâî Dârâyân must be

twelve years; Hûmâî, who *was* daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâî son of *K*îhar-â*z*â*d*[1], that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâî son of Dârâî fourteen years; Alexander the Rûman[2] fourteen years.

9. The A*s*kânians bore the title in an uninterrupted (a-arûbâk) sovereignty two hundred and eighty-four years[3], Ardashîr son of Pâpak *and* the number of the Sâsânians four hundred and sixty years[4], *and* then it went to the Arabs.

Darius Codomannus, while the reign of Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes.

[1] A surname of Hûmâî.

[2] Sikandar-i Arûmâk, that is, Alexander the Roman (of the eastern or Greek empire), as Pahlavi writers assume.

[3] This period is nearly two centuries too short.

[4] The actual period of Sasanian rule was 425 years (A. D. 226–651). According to the figures given in the text, the tenth millennium, ruled by Capricornus, must have terminated in the fourth year of the last king, Yazdakar*d*. This agrees substantially with the Bahman Ya*s*t, which makes the millennium of Zaratû*s*t expire some time after the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân; probably in the time of Khûsrô Parvîz, or some forty years earlier than the fourth year of Yazdakar*d*. According to the text we must now be near the end of the first quarter of the twelfth and last millennium.

APPENDIX TO THE BUNDAHIS.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM,

BROTHER OF THE DASTÛR OF

PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,

A. D. 881.

PART I, CHAPTERS I–XI.

(PARAPHRASE OF BUNDAHIS, I–XVII.)

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Ya*s*t, as translated in this volume. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khar*d*, ed. West. Pers. for Persian. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The MS. mentioned in the notes is K35 (written probably A.D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

SELECTIONS

OF

ZÂD-SPARAM.

THEY call these memoranda *and* writings the Selections (*kîdakîhâ*) of Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim.

CHAPTER I.

0. In propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd and all the angels—who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (yazdân)—*are* the sayings of Herbad Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim, who is of the south[1], about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light *was* above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. 2. Aûharmazd *was* in the light, and Aharman in the darkness[2]; Aûharmazd *was* aware of the existence of Aharman and of *his* coming for strife; Aharman was not aware of the existence of light *and* of Aûharmazd[3]. 3. It happened to Aharman, in the gloom *and* darkness, *that*

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[1] Zâd-sparam appears to have been dastûr of Sîrkân, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, and one of the most southern districts in Persia (see Ouseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 138, 139, 141, 143–145).

[2] See Bund. I, 2–4.

[3] Or 'of the light of Aûharmazd' (compare Bund. I, 8, 9).

he was walking humbly (frô-tanû) on the borders, *and* meditating other *things* he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him; and because of *its* antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. 4. And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others[1], Aûharmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Aharman away from His territory; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

5. For protection from the fiend (drûg) the spirits rushed in, the spirits of the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, mankind, and fire He *had* appointed, and they maintained it (the protection) three thousand years. 6. Aharman, also, ever collected means in the gloom; and at the end of the three thousand years he came back to the boundary, blustered (patîstâd), and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* smite thee, I *will* smite the creatures which thou thinkest *have* produced fame for thee—thee who art the beneficent spirit—I will destroy everything about them.'

7. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend[2]!'

8. And, again, Aharman retorted thus: 'I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself[3].'

9. Aûharmazd perceived, through the spirit of wisdom, thus: 'Even the blustering of Aharman is capable of performance, if I do not allow disunion

[1] Reading pavan *k*atârânŏ ham-tanû, but the phrase is somewhat doubtful, and rather inconsistent with Bund. I, 10.

[2] Bund. I, 16. [3] Bund. I, 14.

(lâ barînînam) during a period of struggle.' 10. And he demanded of him a period for friendship [1], for it was seen by him that Aharman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, *and* the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship *and* just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. 11. Aharman relied upon *it*, and Aûharmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Aharman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; *and* from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises [2].

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahûnavar *formula* [3]; and in his Ahûnavar these [4] kinds of benefit were shown:— 13. The first is that, of all things, that is proper which is something declared *as* the will of Aûharmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Aûharmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Aûharmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature. 14. The second is this, that whoever shall do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, his reward *and* recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, the punishment at the bridge [5] owing thereto

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[1] Bund. I, 17, 18.

[2] Or 'the poison of the serpent, which is much diffused, becomes endless strife.'

[3] Bund. I, 21.

[4] The word ân, 'those,' however, is probably a miswriting of the cipher for 'three.'

[5] The *K*înva*d* or *K*învar bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

is his own; which is shown from this[1] *formula; and* the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven *and* hell are from it. 15. Thirdly, *it is* shown that the sovereignty of Aûharmazd increases that which is for the poor, *and* adversity is removed; by which *it* is shown that there are treasures for the needy *one*, *and* treasures are to be *his* friends; as the intelligent creations *are* to the unintelligent, so also *are* the treasures of a wealthy *person* to a needy *one*, treasures liberally given which are his own. 16. And the creatures of the trained hand of Aûharmazd are contending *and* angry (âr*d*îk), one with the other, as the renovation *of the universe* must occur through these three things. 17. That is, first, true religiousness in oneself, *and* reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (nav-barhâm), that Aûharmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent; *and* Aharman is all vileness without goodness. 18. Secondly, hope of the reward *and* recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge *and* the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, *and* abstaining from sin. 19. Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, *their* collective warfare; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation[2].

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[1] The MS. has hûman, 'well-meditating,' instead of denman, 'this;' but the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

[2] This commentary on the Ahûnavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by Zâ*d*-sparam, and is much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows:—

20. By this formula he (Aharman) was confounded, *and* he fell back to the gloom[1]; *and* Aûharmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world; first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind[2]. 21. Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on *their* navels; *and* the sun, moon, *and* stars stood still. 23. In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Aûharmazd observed thus: 'What advantage is there from the creation of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving *or* mischievous?' 24.

'As is the will of the living spirit (as is the will of Aûharmazd) so should be the pastor (so excellent should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as excellent as the will of Aûharmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which among living spirits is the work of Aûharmazd (that is, they would do that which Aûharmazd requires); there are *some* who say it is thus: Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense which they will give to good thought, they would give also unto him); Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Zaratûst said that by the gift of good thought, when among living spirits, they comprehend the doing of deeds. The sovereignty is for Aûharmazd (that is, the sovereignty which is his, Aûharmazd has kept with advantage) who gives necessaries [or comfort, or clothing] to the poor (that is, they would make intercession for them).'

Additional phrases are sometimes inserted, and some words altered, but the above is the usual form of this commentary.

[1] Bund. I, 22. [2] Bund. I, 28.

And in aid of the *celestial* sphere he produced the creature Time (zôrvân)[1]; and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Aûharmazd moving, distinct from the motion of Aharman's creatures, for the shedders of perfume (bôî-dâ*d*ân) were standing one opposite to the other while emitting *it*. 25. And, observantly of the end, he brought forward to Aharman a means out of himself, the property of darkness, with which the extreme limits (vîrûnakŏ) of Time *were* connected by him, an envelope (pôstô) of the black-pated and ash-coloured kind. 26. And in bringing it forward he spoke thus: 'Through their weapons the co-operation of the serpent (a*z*ŏ) dies away, *and* this *which* is thine, indeed thy own daughter, *dies* through religion; and if at the end of nine thousand years, as it is said *and* written, is a time of upheaval (madam kar*d*anŏ), *she is* upheaved, not ended.'

27. At the same time Aharman came from accompanying Time out to the front, out to the star station; the connection of the sky with the star station *was* open, which showed, since it hung down into empty space, the strong communication of the lights and glooms, the place of strife in which is the pursuit of both. 28. And having darkness with himself he brought it into the sky, *and* left the sky so to gloom that the internal deficiency in the sky extends as much as one-third[2] over the star station.

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[1] This is the Av. zrvâna akarana, 'boundless time or antiquity,' of Vend. XIX, 33, 44. He is a personification of duration and age, and is here distinctly stated to be a creature of Aûharmazd. This throws some doubt upon the statements of Armenian writers, who assert that the two spirits sprang from Zrvâna.

[2] Compare Bund. III, 11.

Chapter II.

1. On the coming in of Aharman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that *in* the month Fravar*d*în *and* the day Aûharmazd, at noon[1], he came forth to the frontier of the sky. 2. The sky sees *him* and, on account of *his* nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; *and* Aharman came on, scorching *and* burning into it. 3. Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth[2], and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. 4. The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the height of which *was* several feet, and *it was* without branches and without bark, juicy *and* sweet; and to keep the strength of all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the middle of the earth; and at the self-same time *it became* quite withered[3].

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created[4], as it stood as high as Gâyômar*d* on the

[1] Bund. III, 12. [2] Bund. III, 13.

[3] Bund. III, 14, 16.

[4] The primeval ox, or first-created representative of animals, as Gâyômar*d* was of mankind; from which two representatives all mankind and animals are said to have been afterwards developed. There seems to have been some doubt as to the sex of this mythological ox; here it is distinctly stated to have been a female, but from Bund. X, 1, 2, XIV, 3, it would appear to have been a male, and this seems to be admitted by Zâ*d*-sparam himself, in Chap. IX, 7.

bank of the water of Dâîtih[1] *in* the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gâyômar*d* being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Dâîtih by the same measure; and it was a female, white *and* brilliant as the moon. 7. As the adversary came upon *it* Aûharmazd gave *it* a narcotic, which is also called 'bang,' to eat, and to rub the 'bang' before the eye[2], so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, *and* fell upon its right breast[3] trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gâyômar*d*, who was then about one-third the height of Zaratûs*t*, *and* was brilliant as the sun, Aûharmazd forms, from the sweat[4] on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall, and sends it on to Gâyômar*d*; and he also brings his sweat[5] on to him as long as one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[6] is *being* recited. 9. When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw the world when it was dark as night[7]; on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (vazak), and noxious creatures of many kinds; *and* so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the

[1] The Dâîtîk river (see Bund. XX, 13).

[2] This is a misunderstanding of the corresponding phrase in Bund. III, 18. The narcotic here mentioned is usually prepared from the hemp plant, and is well known in India and the neighbouring countries.

[3] See Bund. IV, 1.

[4] The word which, as it stands in the MS., looks like hômanâe, is here taken as a transposition of min khvâe, in accordance with Bund. III, 19; but it may be a variant of anumâe, 'embryo,' in which case the translation should be, 'forms an embryo into the shape of a man of fifteen years.'

[5] Or it may be 'sleep,' both here and in § 9.

[6] See Bund. I, 21.

[7] Bund. III, 20.

reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle's point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. 10. *There were* the coming of a planetary *star* into planetary conjunction, and the moon and planets at sixes and sevens[1]; many dark forms with the face and curls of Az-i Dahâk suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; *and* he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Aharman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it[2].

Chapter III.

1. And Gôsûrvan, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamour of a cry to Aûharmazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together[3]. 2. And Aûharmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gâyômard, went from the earth up to the sky. 3. And Gôsûrvan continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: 'With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?'

Chapter IV.

1. This was the highest predominance of Aharman, for he came on, with all the strength which he

[1] Literally, 'in fours and fives.'

[2] Bund. III, 24.

[3] Bund. IV, 2.

had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky[1], in a downward direction, into a confined *and* captive state, so that it was all dark *and* apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, *his* enemy among the struggles for creation. 2. And this is opposing the renovation *of the universe*, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he *has* come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep[2] of the renovation, *as on* that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Aharman, *crying* thus: 'My victory *has* come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gâyômar*d* is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving[3] are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one *has* remained for me to take *and* pervert in combat except Aûharmazd, and of the earth *there* is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?'

4. And he sends Astô-vîdâ*d*[4] upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (aûzvârânŏ) *and* diseases

[1] Compare Bund. III, 11. The involved style of Zâ*d*-sparam is particularly conspicuous in this chapter.

[2] The word seems to be khvâpi*s*nŏ.

[3] Meaning probably the zodiacal signs, but the word is doubtful, being spelt var*d*i*s*nânŏ instead of var*d*i*s*nânŏ. A very small alteration would change it into varôi*s*nânŏ, 'believers,' but there were no earthly believers at the time alluded to.

[4] See Bund. III, 21, and XXVIII, 35.

which are his own, sicknesses of various kinds, so that they may make him ill *and* cause death. 5. Gâyômar*d* was not secured by them, and the reason was because it was a decree of appointing Time (zôrvânŏ) in the beginning of the coming in of Aharman, that: 'Up to thirty winters I appoint Gâyômar*d* unto brilliance and preservation of life.' 6. And his manifestation in the *celestial* sphere was through the forgiveness of criminals *and* instigators of confusion by *his* good works, and for that reason no opportunity was obtained by them during the extent of thirty years.

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (Aûharmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of *its* being within the control (band) of the luminaries[1]; and Saturn (Kêvân) was death towards the creatures. 8. Both were in their supremacy (bâlîst)[2] at the beginning of the crea-

[1] These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bund. II, 0–4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being employed by Aharman for that purpose (see Mkh. VIII, 17–21, XII, 7–10, XXIV, 8, XXXVIII, 5).

[2] The most obvious meaning of bâlîst is 'greatest altitude,' and this is quite applicable to Jupiter when it attains its highest northern declination on entering Cancer, but it is not applicable to Saturn in Libra, when it has only its mean altitude. At the vernal equinox, however, which was the time of the beginning mentioned in the text, when Aharman invaded the creation (see Chap. II, 1), Libra is in opposition to the sun, and Saturn in Libra would be at its nearest approach to the earth, and would, therefore, attain its maximum brightness; while Jupiter in Cancer would be at its greatest altitude and shining with four-fifths of its maximum brightness. Both planets, therefore, were near their most conspicuous position (which would seem to be the meaning of bâlîst

tures, as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called *G*îvân ('living')[1], for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it; *and* Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness *became* more evident and more dominant thereby. 9. And it was when both shall not be supreme *that* Gâyômar*d* was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years[2] Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, *to* Libra. 10. And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricornus[3], on account of whose own lowness[4], and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, Gâyômar*d* suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Aharman can bring upon the creatures of Aûharmazd.

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here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.

[1] This reading suits the context best, but the name can also be read Snahan, and in many other ways. It may possibly be the tenth lunar mansion, whose name is read Nahn in Bund. II, 3, by Pâzand writers, and which corresponds to the latter part of Cancer.

[2] Saturn revolves round the sun in about 29 years and 167 days, so it cannot return into opposition to the sun (or to its maximum brightness), at or near the vernal equinox, in less than thirty years.

[3] That is, while Saturn performs one revolution round the sun, Jupiter performs two and a half, which is very nearly correct, as Jupiter revolves round the sun in about 11 years and 315 days. Therefore, when the supposed deadly influence of Saturn has returned to its maximum, the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter is at its minimum, owing to the small altitude of Capricornus, and no longer counterbalances the destructive power of Saturn.

[4] There seems to be no other reasonable translation, but the MS. has lâ instead of râî, and ni*s*kasp instead of ni*s*î*v*.

Chapter V.

1. When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Aûharmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky[1] he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armour[2]; and the sky in its fortress[3] spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Aharman, thus: 'Now when thou shalt have come in I *will* not let thee back;' *and* it obstructed *him* until Aûharmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, *which* is called 'righteous understanding' (ashôk âkâsîh). 2. And he arranged the guardian spirits[4] of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries *to* an enemy descended from the inside.

3. Immediately, Aharman endeavours that he may go back to his own complete darkness, but he found no passage; and he recapitulated, with seeming misgiving, his fears of the worthiness which is to arise at the appearance of the renovation *of the universe at* the end of the nine thousand years.

4. As it is said in the Gâthas, thus[5]: 'So also

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[1] See Chap. III, 2. [2] Compare Bund. VI, 2

[3] Or 'zodiacal signs,' for bûrgŏ means both.

[4] Bund. VI, 3, 4.

[5] This quotation from the Gâthas is from the Pahlavi Yas. XXX, 4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastûr Jâm-

both those spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation—that is, both spirits have come to the body of Gâyômar*d*. Whatever is in life *is so* through this purpose of Aûharmazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness *is so* through this purpose[1] of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked *their* destruction is fully seen, *and* so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of Aûharmazd.'

5. And this was the first contest[2], *that of* the sky with Aharman.

Chapter VI.

1. And as he (Aharman) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, *on* the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tîstar; the equally watery *one*, that is called Avrak[3], gave forth a cloud *and* went down in the day; that is

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âspji's old MS. of the Yasna in Bombay, very nearly as closely as Spiegel's edition does. It appears, therefore, that Zâ*d*-sparam used the same Pahlavi translation of the Yasna as the Parsis do at the present day.

[1] The MS. here omits the words 'through this purpose,' by mistake.

[2] The word âr*d*îk, which Zâ*d*-sparam uses instead of the kharah, 'conflict,' of Bund. V, 6, VI, 1, &c., may be connected with Pers. ârd, 'anger.'

[3] The ninth lunar mansion (see Bund. II, 3, VII, 1).

declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. 2. Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation *of the zodiac* for this reason, because the month Tîr is the fourth month of the year[1].

3. And as Tîstar begged for assistance, Vohûman and Hôm are therefore co-operating with him in command, Bûrg of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. 4. He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, *and* the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. 5. The drops became each separately *like* a great bowl in which water is drawn; and as to that on *which* they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles[2], who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

6. Afterwards, the wind spirit, in the form of a man, became manifest on the earth; radiant *and* tall he had a kind of wooden boot (mûkvŏ-aê-i dârînô) on *his* feet; *and* as when the life shall stir the body, the body is advancing with like vigour, *so* that spirit of the wind stirs forth the inner nature of the atmospheric wind, the wind pertaining to the whole earth is forth, and the water in its grasp is flung out from it to the sides of the earth, and its wide-formed ocean arose therefrom.

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth[3],

[1] Bund. VII, 2–6 is paraphrased in §§ 2–6.

[2] Reading neksûnd barâ min khasandakânŏ instead of the MS. barâ nasûnd min khasandakânŏ.

[3] Compare Bund. XIII, 1, 2.

and among its contents are a thousand sources *and* fountains, such as are called lakes (var); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes *and* are poured forth into it. 8. And the size of some of all the lakes and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, *who* continually compasses *and* canters around *them*, will attain in forty days, which is 1900[1] long leagues (parasang-i akarîk), each league *being* at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died[2], and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tîstar went down into the ocean; and Apâôsh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and *at* the alarm of the first contest Tîstar was in terror (pard). 10. And he applied unto Aûharmazd, *who* brought such power unto Tîstar *as* arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name[3], and they call forth such power unto Tîstar as *that of* ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. 11. And without alarm he drove out Apâôsh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

12. And with a cup and measuring bowl, which possessed the diligence even of a guardian spirit (fravâhar), he seized many more handfuls of water,

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[1] Bund. XIII, 2 has 1700, but as neither number is a multiple of forty in round numbers, it is probable that both are wrong, and that we ought to read 1600.

[2] Bund. VII, 7–14 is paraphrased in §§ 9–14.

[3] The Av. aokhtô-nâmana yasna of Tîstar Yt. 11, 23, 24.

and made *it* rain down[1] much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great and small. 13. And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement *and* beating which Tîstar and the fire Vâzist *inflicted* on the opposition of Apâôsh; the all-deciding (vispô-vi*k*îr) fire Vâzist struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (kêbarânŏ).

14. Ten days *and* nights there was rain, and its darting[2] *was* the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove *it* to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Pûitîk, the Kamîri*d*, and the Gêhân-bûn[3]. 15. Of these the Pûitîk itself is salt water, in which is a flow *and* ebb[4]; and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up *and* going down, that of the moon is manifested. 16. The wide-formed *ocean* stands forth on the south side as to (pavan) Albûr*z*[5], and the Pûitîk stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (var) of Satavês, whose connection is with Satavês, which is the southern quarter. 17. In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow *and* ebb; of the

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[1] Or perhaps 'made the cloud rain,' if madam vârânini*d* stands for a*v*ar vârânînî*d*.

[2] Reading partâ*v* instead of the MS. patûtâ*v*, 'powerful fury.'

[3] This is a variant of the *S*ahî-bûn or *G*âhî-bûn of Bund. XIII, 7, 15; the other two names differ but little from those given in Bund. XIII. In the MS. Pûîtîk occurs once, and Puitîk twice.

[4] Compare §§ 15–18 with Bund. XIII, 8–14.

[5] Compare Bund. XIII, 1.

curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, *and* have an abode in Satavês; one is the up-drag *and* one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, *and* through the down-drag occurs the ebb[1]. 18. And Satavês itself is a gulf (var) and side *arm* of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity *and* turbidness which *come* from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind[2], while that which is clear through purity goes into the Arêdvisûr sources of the wide-formed ocean. 19. Besides these four[3] there are the small seas[4].

20. And, afterwards, *there* were made to flow from Albûrz, out of its northern border, two rivers[5], which *were* the Arvand[6]—that is, the Diglît, *and* the flow

[1] This is even a more mechanical theory of the tides than that detailed in Bund. XIII, 13. Whether the 'curving tails' (gagak dunbak) are the 'horns' of the crescent moon is uncertain.

[2] By an accidental transposition of letters the MS. has âtarô, 'fire,' instead of vâtô, 'wind.'

[3] The ocean and three principal seas.

[4] Said to be twenty-three in number in Bund. XIII, 6.

[5] Bund. VII, 15, 16, XX, 1.

[6] This appears to be a later identification of the Arag, Arang, or Arêng river of Bund. XX with the Tigris, under its name Arvand, which is also found in the Bahman Yast (III, 21, 38) and the Âfrîn of the Seven Ameshâspends (§ 9). The Bundahis (XX, 8) seems to connect the Arag (Araxes?) with the Oxus and Nile, and describes the Diglat or Tigris as a distinct river (Bund. XX, 12). This difference is one of the indications of the Bundahis having been so old a book in the time of Zâd-sparam that he sometimes misunderstood its meaning, which could hardly have been the case if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. As the Persian empire has several times included part of Egypt, the Nile must have then been well known to the Persians as the great western river of their world. The last time they had possession of part of Egypt was, for about half a century, in the reigns of Khusrô

of that river *was* to those of the setting *sun* (val frôd-yehevundânŏ)—*and* the Vĕh[1] was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. 21. After them eighteen[2] great rivers came out from the same Albûrz; *and* these twenty rivers, whose source is in Albûrz, go down into the earth, and arrive in Khvaniras.

22. Afterwards, two fountains of the sea are opened out for the earth[3], which are called the *Kĕk*ast[4]—a lake which has no cold wind, *and* on whose shore rests the triumphant fire Gûsnasp[5]—and, secondly, the Sôvar[6] which casts on *its* shores all turbidness, and keeps its own salt lake clear *and* pure, for it is like the semblance of an eye which casts out to *its* edges every ache and every impurity; and on account of its depth it is not reached to the bottom, for it goes into the ocean; and in its vicinity rests the beneficial fire Bûrzin-Mitrô[7].

23. And this was the second contest, which was with the water.

Chapter VII.

1. And as he (Aharman) came thirdly to the earth, which arrayĕd the whole earth against him—

Nôshirvân, Aûharmazd IV, and Khusrô Parviz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.

[1] See Bund. XX, 9.

[2] Bund. XX, 2, 7.

[3] Bund. VII, 14.

[4] Bund. XXII, 2.

[5] Written Gûsasp in Bund. XVII, 7, and Gûsnâsp in B. Yt. III, 30, 40, while the older form Visnâsp occurs in B. Yt. III, 10.

[6] The Sôvbar of Bund. VII, 14, XII, 24, XXII, 3.

[7] Bund. XVII, 8.

since *there was* an animation of the earth through the shattering — Albûrz grew up[1], which is the boundary of the earth, *and* the other[2] mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number[3]. 2. And by them the earth *was* bound together and arranged, and on them *was* the sprouting *and* growth of plants, wherefrom *was* the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth—especially as antagonism came on the earth, *and* settled on *it* with injury—*and* it came up over the earth just like a tree *whose* branch *has* grown at the top and its root at the bottom. 4. The root of the mountains is passed on *from* one to the other, *and* is arranged in connection *with them*, and through it is produced the path *and* passage of water *from* below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all *parts* of the body to the heart, the latent vigour which they possess. 5. And, moreover, in six hundred years[4], at first, all the mountains apart from Albûrz were completed. 6. Albûrz was growing during eight hundred years[5]; in two hundred years it grew up to

[1] Bund. VIII, 1–4 is paraphrased in §§ 1–4.

[2] The MS. has âvânŏ, 'waters,' instead of avârîk, 'other,' which alters the meaning into, 'which is the boundary of the waters of the earth, *and* the mountains,' &c.

[3] Bund. XII, 2.

[4] Bund. VIII, 5, and XII, 1, have 'eighteen years.' As both numbers are written in ciphers it would be easy for either to be corrupted into the other.

[5] Bund. XII, 1.

the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, *and* two hundred years up to the sky. 7. After Albûrz the Aparsên mountain[1] is the greatest, as it is also called the Avar-rôyisn[2] ('up-growth') mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastân and its end unto Pârs *and* to *K*'inistân[3].

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation[4], *and* the wind's sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions[5] a little above *it*, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind *in* various places. 9. One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in *each of* the six portions around is as much as Sagastân; moreover, as much as Sagastân is the measure *of what* is called a kêshvar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kêsh ('furrow'). 10. The middle *one* is Khvaniras, of which Pârs is the centre, and those six regions are like a coronet (avîsar) *around it*. 11. One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, *and* a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, *and* imperceptible.

12. This is the third contest, about the earth.

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[1] The Apârsên of Bund. XII, 9.

[2] Written Apû-rôyisn, as if it were an Arabic hybrid meaning 'father of growth.'

[3] Bund. XII, 9. XXIV, 28, have Khûgîstân instead of *K*'inîstân; the latter appears to be an old name of the territory of Samarkand (see note to Bund. XII, 13).

[4] Literally, 'creature.'

[5] Bund. XI, 2–4 is paraphrased in §§ 8–11.

Chapter VIII.

1. As he (Aharman) came fourthly to the plants—which have struggled (kûkhshî-aîtŏ) against him with the whole vegetation—because the vegetation *was* quite dry [1], Amerôda*d*, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation [2] was seized upon, pounded it up small, and mixed *it* up with the rain-water of Tîstar. 2. After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand [3] special species and a hundred thousand [4] additional species (levatman sar*d*akŏ) so grew as if *there were* a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for [5] keeping away the ten thousand [3] diseases.

3. Afterwards, the seed was taken up from those hundred thousand species of plants, *and* from the collection of seed the tree of all germs, amid the wide-formed ocean, was produced, from which all species of plants continually grow. 4. And the griffon bird (sênô mûrûvŏ) has his resting-place upon it; when he wanders forth *from* within it, he scatters the dry seed into the water, *and* it is rained back to the earth with the rain.

5. And in its vicinity the tree was produced *which is* the white Hôm, the counteractor of decrepitude,

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[1] This chapter is a paraphrase of Bund. IX.

[2] Or, perhaps, 'the worldly characteristics of vegetation.'

[3] Written like 'one thousand,' but see the context and Bund. IX, 4.

[4] In Bund. IX, 4, the MSS. have '120,000,' which is probably wrong, as Bund. XXVII, 2, agrees with the text above.

[5] The MS. has barâ instead of pavan, a blunder due probably to some copyist reading the Huzvâris in Persian, in which language bih (= barâ) and bah (= pavan) are written alike. In Pâzand they are usually written b*e* and pa, respectively.

the reviver of the dead, *and* the immortalizer of the living.

6. This was the fourth contest, about the plants.

Chapter IX.

1. As he (Aharman) came fifthly to cattle—which struggled against him with all the animals—and likewise as the primeval ox[1] passed away, from the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five[2] species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from *its* various members; *and* forasmuch as they should see from which member each one *proceeds*, it is declared in the Dâmdâd *Nask*[3]. 2. And every plant grown from a member

[1] See Chaps. II, 6, III, 1, and Bund. IV, 1, X, 1, XIV, 1.

[2] The MS. has 'fifty-seven' in ciphers, but Bund. X, 1, XIV, 1, XXVII, 2, have 'fifty-five' in words.

[3] This was the fourth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which gives a very short and superficial account of its contents. But, according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah, Narîmân Hôshang, and Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn, it was the fifth nask, and was called Dvâzdah-hâmâst (or homâst). For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. The Rivâyat of Kâmah Bahrah, which has a few more words than the other Rivâyats, gives the following account (for the Persian text of which, see 'Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre,' par Olshausen et Jules Mohl):—

'Of the fifth the name is Dvâzdah-homâst, and the interpretation of this is "the book about help" (dar imdâd, but this is probably a corruption of dâmdâd). And this book has thirty-two sections (kardah) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and *it is* a description of the whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and

promotes that member, as it is said that there *where* the ox scattered *its* marrow[1] on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn[2] and sesame, vetches[3] *and* peas; so sesame, on account of[4] *its* marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. 3. And it is also said that from the blood is the vine[5], a great vegetable thing—as wine itself is blood—for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. 4. And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (mây*s* or mâsah) which is called dônak, and was a variety of sesame (*s*amagâ)[6], *and it is* for other noses.

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fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying *animals*, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and *heavenly* path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil.'

This description corresponds very closely with what the Bundahi*s* must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and Zâ*d*-sparam mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the Dâmdâ*d* which also occur in the Bundahi*s* (XIV, 2, 14–18, 21–24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the Bundahi*s* was originally a translation of the Dâmdâ*d*, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahi*s*, or Zand-âkâs. Whether the Avesta text of the Dâmdâ*d* was still in existence in the time of Zâ*d*-sparam is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.

[1] Or 'brains.'

[2] Supposing the MS. galôlag is a corruption of gallak (Pers. ghallah).

[3] Assuming the MS. alûnŏ or arvanŏ to be a corruption of alûm or arzanŏ.

[4] Reading râî instead of lâ. [5] Compare Bund. XIV, 2.

[6] Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be

5. And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs[1] *which* heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. 6. This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohûman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akôman[2], and *it is* for that which *proceeds* from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed *which* was the ox's, they would carry *off* from it, *and* the brilliance was intrusted to the angel of the moon[3]; in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (gânvar-hômand). 8. Forth from there it produced for Aîrân-vêg, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female[4], *and*, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species[5]; and they were discernible as far as two long leagues *on* the earth. 9. Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, *and* birds flew *in* the atmosphere; *in* every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (âvdahân) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

10. Secondly, their subdivision is thus:—First, they are divided into three, that is, quadrupeds walking on the earth, fish swimming in the water,

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reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bund. XIV, 2. Altering dônak and gûnak into gandanak, and *s*amagâ into *s*ama*s*dar, we might read, 'from the nose is mây*s*, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;' but this is doubtful, and leaves the word mây*s* unexplained.

[1] The MS. has gôspendânŏ, 'cattle,' instead of sipandânŏ, 'rue herbs.'

[2] See Bund. I, 24, 27, XXVIII, 7, XXX, 29.

[3] Bund. X, 2, XIV, 3.

[4] Bund. X, 3, XIV, 4.

[5] Bund. X, 3, XIV, 13.

and birds flying in the atmosphere. 11. Then, into five classes[1], that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, *and* the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, *and* which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-travelling, *and* suitable for grazing. 12. The aquatic are fish *and* every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, *and* bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samûr) and musk *animals*, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of every kind; the wide-travelling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, *which* is all called 'horse;' the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, *and* others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk *animals*, marten, *and* others; then are the birds, and then the fish. 14. And then they were divided into species[2], as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten[3] species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk *animals*, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared *and* all those undeclared *there were*, at first, 282 species[4]; *and* with the species within species *there were* a thousand varieties.

[1] Bund. XIV, 8–12.

[2] Bund. XIV, 13–23, 26, 27.

[3] Bund. XIV, 17 says 'fifteen,' which is probably correct.

[4] Only 181 species are detailed or 'declared' here.

15. The birds are distributed[1] into eight groups (rîstakŏ), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest *they* are so spread about as *when* a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad *that of* heavy weight, then that which is middling, *and* afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Dâmdâ*d Nask*[2], and written by me in the manuscript (nipîk) of 'the summary enumeration of races[3]'—this is a lordly[4] summary—the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them[5] is white *and* yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, *and* others. 17. Of the camel *there are* specially two, *that for* the plain, *and* the mountain *one which* is double-humped. 18. Among the species of ox are the white, mud-coloured, red, yellow, black, and dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard[6], the ox-fish, *and* others. 19. Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kûri*s*k *which*, because of its trampling the hills, *its* great horn, and also being suitable

[1] Bund. XIV, 25.

[2] See § 1; the particulars which follow are also found in Bund. XIV, 14–18, 21–24, showing that the Bundahi*s* must be derived from the Dâmdâ*d*.

[3] The title of this work, in Pahlavi, is Tôkhm-aû*s*mari*s*-nîh-i hangar*d*îkŏ, but it is not known to be extant.

[4] Reading marâk (Chaldee מָרָא), but this is doubtful, though the Iranian final k is often added to Semitic Huzvâri*s* forms ending with â. It may be minâk, 'thinking, thoughtful,' or a corruption of manîk, 'mine,' in which last case we should translate, 'this is a summary of mine.'

[5] Bund. XXIV, 6.

[6] Literally, 'camel-ox-leopard.'

for ambling, became the steed of Mânûs*k*îhar. 20. Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varîkŏ), the roe, *and* the mountain goat. 21. Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. 22. Of musk *animals* with a bag, one is the Bîsh-musk—which eats the Bîsh poison and does not die through it, and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bîsh, *and* less *of it* should succeed in poisoning the creatures—*and* one is a musk *animal* of a black colour which they desired (ayûftŏ) who were bitten *by* the fanged serpent—as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makŏ) is called—which is numerous on the river-banks; *one* throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, *and* then the serpent enters its body, when his[1] serpent, at the time *this* happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. 23. Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffon bird *and* the bat, which have teeth *in* the mouth, *and* suckle *their* young with animal milk from the teat.

24. This is the fifth contest, as to animals.

Chapter X.

1. As he (Aharman) came sixthly *to* Gâyômar*d* there was arrayed against *him*, with Gâyômar*d*, the

[1] This appears to be the meaning here of amat zak garzakŏ, but the whole sentence is a fair sample of Zâ*d*-sparam's most involved style of writing. By feeding the black musk animal with snakes the effect of a snake-bite, experienced by the feeder, is supposed to be neutralized.

pure propitious liturgy (mânsarspend), as heard from Gâyômar*d*; *and* Aûharmazd, in pure meditation, considered that which is good and righteousness as destruction of the fiend (drûgô). 2. And when he (Gâyômar*d*) passed away eight kinds of mineral of a metallic character arose from *his* various members; they are gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver (âvginakŏ), and adamant; *and* on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.

3. Spendarma*d* received the gold of the dead Gâyômar*d*[1], *and* it was forty years in the earth. 4. At the end of the forty years, *in* the manner of a Rîvâs-*plant*, Mashya *and* Mashyôî[2] came up, and, one joined to the other, *were* of like stature *and* mutually adapted[3]; and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature[4], *was* such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which Aûharmazd created. 5. This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in revela-

[1] Compare Bund. XV, 1.

[2] The MS. has Mashâî Mashâyê, but see Bund. XV, 6. The Avesta forms were probably mashya mashyôi (or mashyê), which are regular nominatives dual, masculine and feminine, of mashya, 'mortal,' and indicate that they were usually coupled together in some part of the Avesta which is no longer extant. Pâzand writers have found it easy to read Mashyanî instead of Mashyôî.

[3] Reading ham-basnŏ ham-dakhîk, but whether this is more likely to be the original reading than the ham-badisn va ham-dasak of Bund. XV, 2, is doubtful. The last epithet here might also be read ham-sabîk, 'having the same shirt,' but this is an improbable meaning.

[4] It is evident that ham-bandisnîh, 'mutual connection,' in accordance with Bund. XV, 3, would be preferable to the ham-basnŏîh, 'like stature,' of this text.

tion: 'Which existed before, the glory[1] or the body?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created, the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.' 6. And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man[2], *and* the glory went spiritually into them.

Chapter XI.

1. As he (Aharman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together *against* him, the fire *separated* into five kinds[3], which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aûrvâzîst, the Vâzîst, *and* the Supremely-*benefiting*. 2. And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (garô*d*mân); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. 3. *The Good diffuser* is that which is in men and animals[4], and its business *consists* in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the

[1] The old word nismô, 'soul' (see Bund. XV, 3, 4), has become corrupted here (by the omission of the initial stroke) into gadman, 'glory.' This corruption may be due either to Zâd-sparam not understanding the word (in which case the Bundahis must have been an old book in his time), or else to some later copyist confounding the old word for 'soul' with the better-known 'glory' of the Iranian sovereigns.

[2] Bund. XV, 5.

[3] Bund. XVII, 1. Three of the Avesta names are here translated, the first two being the Spênist and Vohu-fryân, which are the fifth and second in the Bundahis, and the fifth being the Berezisavang, which is the first in the Bundahis.

[4] See Bund. XVII, 2.

body, *and* the brightening of the eyes. 4. The Aûrvâzîst is that which is in plants, in whose seed *it* is formed, and its business *consists* in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water[1] and producing the qualities and fragrance of plants and blossoms therefrom, and elaborating the ripened produce into many fruits. 5. And the Vâzîst is that which has its motion in a cloud, and its business *consists* in destroying the atmospheric gloom and darkness, and making the thickness of the atmosphere fine and propitious in quality, sifting the hail, moderately warming the water which the cloud holds, *and* making sultry weather showery. 6. The Supremely-benefiting, like the sky, is that glory whose lodgment is in the Behrâm fire[2], as the master of the house is over the house, *and* whose propitious power *arises* from the growing brightness of the fire, the blazing forth in[3] the purity of the place, the praise of God (yazdânŏ), *and* the practice of good works. 7. And its business is *that* it struggles with the spiritual fiend, it watches the forms of the witches—who walk up from the river[4], wear woven clothing, disturb the luminaries by the concealment of stench, *and* by witchcraft injure the creatures—and the occurrences of destruction, burning, and celebration of witchcraft, especially at night; being an assistant of Srôsh the righteous.

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[1] Reading mayâ-i afsar*d*înî*d*ŏ tâftanŏ instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayâ a*s*ar*d*înî*d*ŏ âftanŏ of the MS.

[2] The Verehrânŏ âtâsh, or sacred fire of the fire-temples.

[3] Reading pavan instead of barâ (see p. 176, note 5).

[4] Or 'sea' (darîyâ*v*ŏ). This long-winded sentence is more involved and obscure in the original than in the translation.

8. And in the beginning of the creation[1] the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Frôbak fire, the mighty Gûsnasp fire, and the beneficial Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire[2], *which* are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. 9. The place of the fire Frôbak was formed *on* the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem[3], the fire Gûsnasp *was* on the Asnavand mountain in Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô on the Rêvand mountain which is in the Ridge *of* Vistâsp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hôshâng[4], when men were continually going forth to the *other* regions (kêshvar) on the ox Srûvô[5], one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, *and* in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire *which* was manifest, is divided into three, *and* they established *it* on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Frôbak fire, the Gûsnasp fire, and the Bûrzîn-Mitrô[6].

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[1] Literally, 'creature.'

[2] The epithets of these three sacred fires are, respectively, vargân, tagîkŏ, and pûr-sûdŏ in Pahlavi.

[3] See Bund. XVII, 5, 7, 8.

[4] Bund. XVII, 4 says, 'in the reign of Takhmôrup,' his successor.

[5] Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahis.

[6] The remainder of 'the sayings of Zâd-sparam, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit,' have no special reference to the Bundahis. They treat of the following matters:—

The coming of the religion, beginning in the time of Frâsîyâv and Mânûskîhar, with an anecdote of Kâî-ûs and the hero Srîtô (Av. Thrita). The manifestation of the glory of Zaratûst

before his birth. The begetting of Zaratûst through the drinking of hôm-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory, as declared in the manuscript on 'the guidance of worship.' The connection of Zaratûst with Aûharmazd, traced back through his genealogy as far as Gâyômard. The persistent endeavours of the fiends to destroy Zaratûst at the time of his birth, and how they were frustrated. His receiving the religion from Aûharmazd, with another anecdote of Kâi-ûs and Srîtô, and of Zaratûst's exclamation on coming into the world. The enmity borne to him by five brothers of the Karapân family, and how it was frustrated; his own four brothers, and some of his wonderful deeds. The worthiness of his righteousness; his compassionate and liberal nature; his giving up worldly desires; his pity; his good selection of a wife; and what is most edifying for the soul. What occurred when he was thirty years old, and his being conducted by the archangel Vohûman to the assembly of the spirits. The questions asked by Zaratûst, and Aûharmazd's replies thereto. The seven questions he asked of the seven archangels in seven different places, in the course of one winter. [Westergaard's MS. K35 ends in the middle of the second of these questions.] The five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions. The three preservatives of religion, with particulars about the Gâthas and the connection of the Ahunavar with the Nasks. Zaratûst's obtaining one disciple, Mêdyôk-mâh, in the first ten years, and the acceptance of the religion by Vistâsp two years afterwards.

The second of the writings of Zâd-sparam consists of his 'sayings about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul;' and the third (which is imperfect in all known MSS.) contains his 'sayings about producing the renovation *of the universe*.'

BAHMAN YAST,

OR

ZAND-I VOHÛMAN YASNO,

OF WHICH ZAND, OR COMMENTARY,

THIS WORK SEEMS TO BE AN EPITOME

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in this volume. Dâ*d*. for Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk. Gr. for Greek. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâri*s*. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as translated in this volume. SZS. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, as translated in this volume. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

Pâz. MSS. (modern), No. 22 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, and a copy of one in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay.

Pers. version (composed A. D. 1496, copied A. D. 1679) in a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

BAHMAN YAST.

Chapter I.

0. *May* the gratification of the creator Aûharmazd, the beneficent, the developer, the splendid, and glorious, and the benediction of the archangels, which *constitute* the pure, good religion of the Mazdayasnians, *be* vigour of body, long life, and prosperous wealth for him whose writing I am [1].

1. As [2] it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* [3] that

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[1] Or, possibly, '*for* whom I am written,' the meaning of mûn yektîbûnîhêm being not quite clear. In fact, the construction of the whole of this initial benediction is rather obscure.

[2] It is possible that this is to be read in connection with Chap. II, 1, with the meaning that 'as it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* that Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, *so* in the Vohûman Yast commentary it is declared that he asked for it a second time.' This introductory chapter is altogether omitted in both the Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, but it is given in the Pers. version. It is also omitted in the epitome of the Bahman Yast contained in the Dabistân (see Shea's translation, vol. i. pp. 264–271).

[3] This was the first nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Sûdkar; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the second nask, called Stûdgar or Istûdgar. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard (which agrees with the account in the Rivâyats), see Haug's Essays, p. 126. In the Dînkard, besides a short description of this Nask, given in the eighth book, there is also a detailed account of the contents of each of its fargards, or chapters, occupying twenty-five quarto pages of twenty-two lines each, in the ninth book. From this detailed statement it appears

Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, then Aûharmazd displayed the omniscient wisdom to Zaratûst, and through it he beheld the root of a tree, on which were four branches, one golden, one of silver, one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron. 2. Thereupon he reflected in this *way*, that this was seen in a dream, and when he arose from sleep Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Lord of the spirits and earthly existences! it appears that I saw the root of a tree, on which were four branches.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân[1] thus: 'That root of a tree which thou sawest, and those four branches, are the four periods which *will*

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that the passage mentioned here, in the text, constituted the seventh fargard of the Nask, the contents of which are detailed as follows:—

'The seventh fargard, Tâ-ve-ratŏ (Av. tâ ve urvâtâ, Yas. XXXI, 1), is about the exhibition to Zaratûst of the nature of the four periods in the Zaratûstian millennium (hazangrôk zim, "thousand winters"). First, the golden, that in which Aûharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratûst. Second, the silver, that in which Vistâsp received the religion from Zaratûst. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Âtarô-pâd son of Mârspend, was born. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate *and* other villains (sarîtarânŏ), along with destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness *and* virtue, *and* the departure of honour *and* wisdom from the countries of Iran. In the same period is a recital of the many perplexities and torments of the period for that desire (girâyîh) of the life of the good which consists in seemliness. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. ashem vohû vahistem astî, Yas. XXVII, 14, W.).'

If this be a correct account of the contents of this fargard, the writer was evidently consulting a Pahlavi version of the Nask, composed during the later Sasanian times.

[1] Generally understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' who was his ancestor in the ninth generation (see Bund. XXXII, 1).

come. 4. That of gold is when I and thou converse, *and* King Vistâsp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, *but* they *themselves* remain for[1] . . . concealed proceedings. 5. And that of silver is the reign of Ardakhshîr[2] the Kayân king (Kaî shah), and that of steel is the reign of the glorified (anôshak-rûbân) Khûsrô son of Kêvâd[3], and that which was mixed with iron is the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair[4] of the race of Wrath[5], and when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter (satô zim) of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!'

6. It is declared in the commentary (zand)[6] of the Vohûman Yast, Horvadad Yast, and Âstâd Yast

[1] A word is lost here in K20 and does not occur in the other copies and versions, nor can it be supplied from the similar phrase in Chap. II, 16. The meaning of the sentence appears to be that Vistâsp destroyed the idols, but the demons they represented still remained, in a spiritual state, to produce evil.

[2] See Chap. II, 17.

[3] Khusrô Nôshirvân son of Qubâd, in modern Persian, who reigned in A. D. 531–579. Kêvâd is usually written Kavâd.

[4] The epithet vigârd-vars may also mean 'dressed-hair,' but the term in the text is the more probable, as the Persian version translates it by kushâdah muî, 'uncovered hair.' That it is not a name, as assumed by Spiegel, appears clearly from the further details given in Chap. II, 25.

[5] Or, 'the progeny of Aêshm,' the demon. Wrath is not to be understood here in its abstract sense, but is personified as a demon. It is uncertain whether the remainder of this sentence belongs to this § or the next.

[6] If there were any doubt about zand meaning the Pahlavi translation, this passage would be important, as the Avesta of the Horvadad (Khordâd) and Âstâd Yasts is still extant, but contains nothing about the heretic Mazdîk or Mazdak (see Chap. II, 21). No Avesta of the Vohûman Yast is now known.

that, during this time, the accursed Mazdîk son of Bâmdâd, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God (yazdân). 7. *And* he, the glorified *one*[1], summoned Khûsrô son of Mâh-dâd and Dâd-Aûharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Âtarô-pâtakân, and Âtarô-frôbâg the undeceitful (akadbâ), Âtarô-pâd, Âtarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfrîd to *his* presence, and he demanded of them a promise[2], thus: 'Do not keep these Yasts in concealment, *and* do not teach the commentary except among your relations[3].' 8. *And* they made the promise unto Khûsrô.

Chapter II.

1. In the Vohûman Yast commentary (zand) it is declared[4] that Zaratûst asked for immortality from

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[1] That is, Khusrô Nôshirvân. As the names of his priests and councillors stand in K20 they can hardly be otherwise distributed than they are in the text, but the correctness of the MS. is open to suspicion. Dâd-Aûharmazd was a commentator who is quoted in Chap. III, 16, and in the Pahl. Yas. XI, 22; Âtarô-frôbâg was another commentator mentioned in Sls. I, 3; and Âtarô-pâd and Bakht-âfrîd are names well known in Pahlavi literature, the former having been borne by more than one individual (see Sls. I, 3, 4).

[2] The Pers. version says nothing about this promise, but states that Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so the king put him to death immediately.

[3] A similar prohibition, addressed to Zaratûst, as regards the Avesta text, is actually found in the Horvadad Yt. 10.

[4] This seems to imply that this text is not the commentary

Aûharmazd a second time, *and* spoke thus: 'I am Zaratûst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O creator! when *thou* shalt *make* me[1] immortal, as the tree opposed to harm[2], and Gôpatshah, Gôst-i Fryân, *and* Kîtrôk-miyân son of Vistâsp, who is Pêshyôtanû, were made[3]. 2. When thou shalt make me immortal they in thy good religion *will* believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aûharmazd his pure *and* good religion of the Mazdayasnians, will become immortal; then those men *will* believe in thy good religion.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke[4] thus: 'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! then Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap[5] will become immortal, and

itself, but merely an epitome of it. The Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, begin with this chapter.

[1] Or, 'when I shall *become;*' the verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

[2] Three of these immortals are mentioned in Bund. XXIX. 5, and Gôst-i Fryân is included in a similar enumeration in Dâd. (Reply 89). The tale of Gôst-i Fryân (Av. Yôistô yô Fryananām, of Âbân Yt. 81 and Fravardîn Yt. 120) has been published with 'The Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf,' ed. Hoshangji and Haug.

[3] Or, 'became;' most of this verb is torn off in K20.

[4] The verb is placed before its nominative in the Pahlavi text, both here and in most similar sentences, which is an imitation of the Avesta, due probably to the text being originally translated from an Avesta book now lost, or, at any rate, to its author's wish that it might appear to be so translated. In such cases of inverted construction, when the verb is in a past tense, the Pahlavi idiom often requires a pronominal suffix, corresponding to the nominative, to be added to the first word in the sentence; thus, gûftŏs Aûharmazd, or afas gûft Aûharmazd, does not mean 'Aûharmazd spoke to him (or said it),' but merely 'Aûharmazd spoke' (lit. 'it was said by him, Aûharmazd').

[5] According to an untranslated passage in the Selections of Zâd-sparam, mentioned in the note on p. 187, this is the name of

when Tûr-i Brâ*d*arvash the Karap shall become immortal the resurrection *and* future existence are not possible.'

4. Zaratû*s*t seemed uneasy about *it* in *his* mind[1]; *and* Aûharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân with the righteous spirit, and he[2] took hold of Zaratû*s*t's hand. 5. And he, Aûharmazd the propitious spirit, creator of the material world, the righteous *one*, even he put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water, on the hand of Zaratû*s*t, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.'

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one of the five brothers in the Karapân family of sorcerers, who were enemies of Zaratû*s*t during his childhood. Their names, as written in SZS., may be read as follows, 'Brâ*d*arvakhsh, Brâ*d*rôyi*s*nŏ, Tûr Brâgrêsh, Azânŏ, and Nasm,' and the first is also called 'Tûr-i Brâ*d*arvakhsh;' they are described as descendants of the sister of Manû*sk*îhar. In the seventh book of the Dînkar*d* a wizard, who endeavours to injure Zaratû*s*t in his childhood, is called 'Tûr-i Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh, the Karapŏ,' and was probably the third brother, whose name (thus corrected) indicates brâthrô-raêsha as its Avesta form. Karap or Karapân in all these passages is evidently the name of a family or caste, probably the Av. karapanô which Haug translates by 'performers of (idolatrous) sacrificial rites,' in connection with Sans. kalpa, 'ceremonial ritual' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 289–291).

[1] K20 has 'among the spirits;' the word mînisn having become maînôkân by the insertion of an extra stroke.

[2] Reading afa*s* instead of mina*s* (Huz. of a*g*a*s*, 'from or by him,' which is written with the same letters as afa*s*, 'and by him'), not only here, but also in §§ 5, 7, 9. The copyist of K20 was evidently not aware that afa*s* is a conjunctive form, but confounded it with the prepositional form a*g*a*s*, as most Parsis and some European scholars do still. The Sasanian inscriptions confirm the reading afa*s* for the conjunctive form; and Nêryôsang, the learned Parsi translator of Pahlavi texts into Pâzand and Sanskrit some four centuries ago, was aware of the difference between the two forms, as he transcribes them correctly into Pâz. va*s* and a*z*a*s*.

6. And Zaratûst devoured *some* of it; thereby the omniscient wisdom was intermingled with Zaratûst, and seven days and nights Zaratûst was in the wisdom of Aûharmazd. 7. And Zaratûst beheld the men and cattle in the seven regions of the earth, where the many fibres of hair of every one are, and whereunto the end of each fibre holds on the back. 8. And he beheld whatever trees and shrubs *there were*, and how many roots of plants were in the earth of Spendarmad, where *and* how they had grown, *and* where they were mingled.

9. And the seventh day and night he (Aûharmazd) took back the omniscient wisdom from Zaratûst, and Zaratûst reflected in this *way*, that I have seen *it* in a pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd, *and* I am not surfeited with the dream. 10. And he took both hands, rubbed his body (kerp) again, *and spoke*[1] thus: 'I have slept a long time, *and* am not surfeited with this pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd.'

11. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst thus: 'What was seen in the pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd?'

12. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous creator! I have seen a celebrity (khunîd) with much wealth, whose soul, infamous in the body, was hungry (gurs)[2] and jaundiced and in hell, and he did not seem to me exalted; and I saw a beggar with no wealth and helpless, and his soul was thriving (farpîh) in paradise, and[3] he seemed to me exalted.

[1] This verb is omitted in K20 by mistake.

[2] Or else 'dirty.'

[3] Reading afam instead of minam, both here and in § 14; the

13. [And I saw a wealthy *man* without children, and he did not seem to me exalted;][1] and I saw a pauper with many children, and he seemed to me exalted. 14. And I saw a tree on which were seven branches, one golden, one of silver, one brazen, one of copper, [one of tin][2], one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron.'

15. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I say beforehand, the one tree which thou sawest is the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; and those seven branches thou sawest are the seven periods which *will* come. 16. And that which was golden is the reign of King Vistâsp, when I and thou converse about religion, *and* Vistâsp shall accept that religion and shall demolish the figures of the demons, and the demons desist from demonstration into concealed proceedings; Aharman and the demons rush back to darkness, and care for water, fire, plants, and the earth of Spendarmad[3] becomes apparent. 17. And that which was of silver[4] is the reign of Ardashîr[5] the

copyist of K20 having confounded these two words, like those mentioned in the note on § 4.

[1] The passage in brackets is omitted in K20, but is supplied from the Pâz. MSS., being evidently necessary to complete the contrast. It occurs also in the Pers. version.

[2] Supplied from the Pâz. and Pers. versions, being omitted here in K20, though occurring in § 20.

[3] The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Bund. I, 26).

[4] The Pâz. MSS. omit the description of the silver age.

[5] Usually identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus, but his long reign of 112 years may include most of the Achæmenian sovereigns down to Artaxerxes Mnemon, several of whom are called Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes in the biblical books of Ezra and Esther. See Bund. XXXI, 30, XXXIV, 8.

Kayân (Kaî), whom[1] they call Vohûman son of Spend-dâ*d*[2], who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters *them* about, and makes the religion current *in* the whole world. 18. And that which was brazen[3] is the reign of Ar*d*akhshîr[4], the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpûr, when he arranges the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; he makes happiness (bûkhtakîh)[5] prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Âtarô-pâ*d* of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass[6], brings this religion, together with the transgressors, back to the truth. 19. And that which was of copper is the reign of the A*s*kânian king[7], who removes from the world

[1] Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

[2] Contracted here into Spendâ*d*, as it is also in Bund. XXXIV, 8 in the old MSS. This name of the king is corrupted into Bahman son of Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] This brazen age is evidently out of its proper chronological order. The Pâzand and Persian versions correct this blunder by describing the copper age before the brazen one here, but they place the brazen branch before the copper one in § 14, so it is doubtful how the text stood originally.

[4] Artakhshatar son of Pâpakî and Shahpûharî son of Artakhshatar are the Sasanian forms of the names of the first two monarchs (A.D. 226–271) of the Sasanian dynasty, whose reigns constitute this brazen age.

[5] Literally, 'deliverance *from sin*' or 'salvation' by one's own good works, and, therefore, not in a Christian sense.

[6] Referring to the ordeal of pouring molten brass on his chest, undergone by Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mâraspend, high-priest and prime minister of Shâpûr-II, for the purpose of proving the truth of his religion to those who doubted it.

[7] It is uncertain which of the A*s*kânian sovereigns is meant, or whether several of the dynasty may not be referred to. The Greek

the heterodoxy (*g*avî*d*-rastakîh) which existed, and the wicked Akandgar-i Kilisyâkîh[1] is utterly destroyed by this religion, *and* goes unseen and unknown from the world. 20. And that which was of tin is the reign of King Vâhrâm Gôr[2], when he

successors of Alexander were subdued in Persia by A*s*k (Arsaces I), who defeated Seleucus Callinicus about B.C. 236. But the third book of the Dînkar*d* (in a passage quoted by Haug in his Essay on the Pahlavi Language) mentions Valkha*s* (Vologeses) the A*s*kânian as collecting the Avesta and Zand, and encouraging the Mazdayasnian religion. This Valkha*s* was probably Vologeses I, a contemporary of Nero, as shown by Darmesteter in the introduction to his translation of the Vendidad.

[1] I am indebted to Professor J. Darmesteter for pointing out that Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Yas. IX, 75, explains Kala*s*iyâkâ*h* as 'those whose faith is the Christian religion;' the original Pahlavi word in the oldest MSS. is Kilisâyâîk, altogether a misunderstanding of the Avesta name Keresâni, which it translates, but sufficiently near the name in our text to warrant the assumption that Nêryôsang would have translated Kilisyâkîh by 'Christianity;' literally it means 'ecclesiasticism, or the church religion' (from Pers. kilisyâ, Gr. ἐκκλησία). Akandgar is probably a miswriting of Alaksandar or Sikandar; though Darmesteter suggests that Skandgar (Av. ske*n*dô-kara, Pers. *s*ikandgar), 'causer of destruction,' would be an appropriate punning title for Alexander from a Persian point of view. The anachronisms involved in making Alexander the Great a Christian, conquered by an A*s*kânian king, are not more startling than the usual Pahlavi statement that he was a Roman. To a Persian in Sasanian times Alexander was the representative of an invading enemy which had come from the countries occupied, in those times, by the eastern empire of the Christian Romans, which enemy had been subdued in Persia by the A*s*kânian dynasty; and such information would naturally lead to the anachronisms just mentioned. The name Kilisyâkîh is again used, in Chap. III, 3, 5, 8, to denote some Christian enemy.

[2] This Sasanian monarch (A. D. 420–439), after considerable provocation, revived the persecution of the heretics and foreign creeds which had been tolerated by his predecessor, and this conduct naturally endeared him to the priesthood.

makes the sight[1] of the spirit of pleasure manifest, and Aharman with the wizards rushes back to darkness *and* gloom. 21. And that which was of steel is the reign of King Khûsrô son of Kêvâ*d*[2], when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdîk[3], son of Bâmdâ*d*, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox. 22. And that which was mixed with iron [is the reign of the demons with dishevelled hair[4] of the race of Wrath, when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter of thy millennium], O Zaratû*s*t the Spitâmân!'

23. Zaratû*s*t said thus: 'Creator of the material world! O propitious spirit! what token would you give of the tenth hundredth winter?'

24. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Righteous Zaratû*s*t! I *will* make *it* clear: the token that it is the end of thy millennium, and the most evil period is coming, is *that* a hundred kinds, a thousand kinds, a myriad of kinds of demons with dishevelled hair, of the

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[1] Reading vênâp (Pers. bînâb), but it may be va davâ*g*, in which case the phrase must be translated as follows: 'when he makes the spirit of pleasure and joy manifest.'

[2] See Chap. I, 5. The characteristic of the steel age, like that of the tin one, was the persecution of heretics who had been tolerated by the reigning monarch's predecessor.

[3] Generally written Mazdak, a heretic whose teaching was very popular in the time of King Kêvâ*d* (or Kavâ*d*, A. D. 487–531). His doctrine appears to have been extreme socialism built upon a Mazdayasnian foundation. He was put to death by Khûsrô I, as hinted in the text. It is remarkable that none of the successors of Khûsrô Nôshirvân are mentioned in the Bahman Ya*s*t, so that a Parsi, who even did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the book, might possibly consider the remainder of it as strictly prophetical.

[4] The passage in brackets is omitted in K20 by mistake, and is here supplied from Chap. I, 5, in accordance with the Pâz. and Pers. versions.

race of Wrath, rush into the country of Iran (Aîrân shatrô) from the direction of the east[1], which *has* an inferior race and race of Wrath. 25. They have uplifted banners, they slay those living in the world[2], they have *their* hair dishevelled on the back, and they are mostly a small and inferior (nîtûm) race, forward in destroying the strong doer; O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the race of Wrath is miscreated (vishûd) and its origin is not manifest. 26. Through witchcraft they rush into these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, since they burn and damage many things; and the house of the house-owner, the land of the land-digger, prosperity, nobility, sovereignty, religion[3], truth, agreement, security, enjoyment, and every characteristic which I, Aûharmazd, created, this pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, and the fire of Vâhrâm, which is set in the appointed place, encounter annihilation, and the direst destruction and trouble will come into notice. 27. And that which is a great district will become a town; that which is a great town, a village; that

[1] Or 'of Khûrâsân.' It is difficult to identify these demons with the Arabs, who came from the west, though a dweller in Kirmân might imagine that they came from Khûrâsân. In fact, hardly any of the numerous details which follow, except their long-continued rule, apply exclusively to Muhammadans. It appears, moreover, from § 50 and Chap. III, 8, that these demons are intended for Tûrks, that is, invaders from Turkistân, who would naturally come from the east into Persia.

[2] Reading gêhân-zîvŏ zektelûnd, but the beginning of the latter word is torn off in K20, and the other versions have no equivalent phrase. The Pâzand substitutes the phrase 'black banners and black garments.'

[3] This word, being torn off in K20, is supplied from the Pâz. MSS.

which is a great village, a family; and that which is a [great][1] family, a single threshold. 28. O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! they will lead these Iranian countries of Aûharmazd into a desire for evil, *into* tyranny *and* misgovernment, those demons with dishevelled hair who are deceivers, so that what they say they do not do, and they are of a vile religion, so that what they do not say they do. 29. And their assistance and promise have no sincerity, there is no law, they preserve no security, and on the support they provide no one relies; with deceit, rapacity, and misgovernment they will devastate these my Iranian countries, *who am* Aûharmazd.

30. 'And at that time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! all men will become deceivers, great friends will become of different parties, and respect, affection, hope[2], and regard for the soul will depart from the world; the affection of the father will depart from the son; and *that of* the brother from *his* brother; the son-in-law will become a beggar (kîdyak or kasîk) from his father-in-law[3], and the mother will be parted and estranged from the daughter.

31. 'When it is the end of thy tenth hundredth winter, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun is more unseen and more spotted (vasangtar); the year, month, and day are shorter; and the earth of Spendarma*d* is more barren, and fuller of highway-

[1] This word is omitted in K20, but supplied from the Pâzand. The whole section is omitted in the Pers. version.

[2] This word, being torn off in K20, is doubtfully supplied from the Pers. paraphrase. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 30–32.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'parents-in-law;' the original is khûsrûînê, followed by some word (probably nafsman) which is torn off in K20. The Pers. version gives no equivalent phrase.

men[1]; and the crop will not yield the seed, *so* that of the crop of the corn-fields in ten *cases* seven will diminish and three[2] will increase, and that which increases does not become ripe[3]; and vegetation, trees, and shrubs will diminish; when one shall take a hundred, ninety will diminish and ten will increase, and that which increases gives no pleasure and flavour. 32. And men are born smaller, and their skill and strength are less; they become more deceitful and more given to vile practices; they have no gratitude and respect for bread and salt, and they have no affection for their country (dêsak).

33. 'And in that most evil time a boundary has most disrespect[4] where it is the property of a suffering man of religion; gifts are few among their deeds, and duties and good works proceed but little from their hands; and sectarians of all kinds are seeking mischief for them[5]. 34. And all the world will be burying *and* clothing the dead, and burying the dead *and* washing the dead *will be* by law; the burning, bringing to water and fire, and eating of dead matter they practise by law and do not abstain from. 35. They recount largely about duties and good works, and pursue wickedness and the road to hell; and through the iniquity, cajolery, and craving of wrath and avarice they rush to hell.

36. 'And in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the

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[1] Or, 'tax-collectors;' Pahl. tangtar va râs-vânagtar.

[2] In K20 'va 3' is corrupted into the very similar va vâi, 'and a portion.'

[3] Literally, 'white.'

[4] Reading anâzarm instead of hanâ âzarm.

[5] That is, for the Iranians in general, who are the 'they' in §§ 32–35.

Spîtâmân!—the reign of Wrath with infuriate spear[1] and the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of Wrath,—the meanest slaves walk forth with the authority of nobles of the land; and the religious, who wear *sacred thread*-girdles on the waist, are then not able *to perform* their ablution (pâdîyâvîh), for in those last times dead matter and bodily refuse become so abundant, that *one who* shall set step to step walks upon dead matter; or when he washes in the barashnûm *ceremony*, and puts down a foot from the stone *seat* (magh)[2], he walks on dead matter; or when he arranges the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) and consecrates the sacred cakes (drônô) in their corpse-chamber (nasâî katak)[3] it is allowable.

[1] The Av. Aêshmô khrvîdrus, 'Aêshma the impetuous assailant' (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17); this demon's Pahlavi epithet is partly a transcription, and partly a paraphrase of the Avesta term.

[2] According to Dastûr Hoshangji (Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 65) the term magh is now applied to the stones on which the person undergoing purification has to squat during ablution in the barashnûm ceremony. Originally, however, Av. magha appears to have meant a shallow hole dug in the earth, near or over which the person squatted upon a seat, either of stone or some other hard material (see Vend. IX). The term for the hole was probably extended to the whole arrangement, including the seat, which latter has thus acquired the name of magh, although magh and maghâk still mean 'a channel or pit' in Persian.

[3] The Av. kata of Vend. V, 36–40; a special chamber for the temporary reception of the corpse, when it was impossible to remove it at once to the dakhma, owing to the inclemency of the weather. It should be large enough for standing upright, and for stretching out the feet and hands, without touching either walls or ceiling; that is, not less than six feet cube. The text means that those times will be so distressing, that it will be considered lawful to perform the sacred ceremonies even in a place of such concentrated impurity as a dead-house not actually occupied by a corpse.

37. Or, in those last times, it becomes allowable to perform a ceremonial (ya*z*i*s*n) with two men, so that this religion may not come to nothing and collapse[1]; there *will* be only one in a hundred, in a thousand, in a myriad, who believes in this religion, and even he does nothing of it though *it be* a duty[2]; and the fire of Vâhrâm, which will come to nothing and collapse, *falls* off from a thousand to one care-taker, and even he does not supply it properly with fire-wood and incense; or when a man, *who* has performed worship and does not know the Nîrangistân[3] ('code of religious formulas'), shall kindle *it* with good intentions, it is allowable.

38. 'Honourable[4] wealth will all proceed to those of perverted faith (kêvî*d*-kêshân); it comes to the transgressors, and virtuous doers of good works, from the families of noblemen even unto the priests (môg-mar*d*ân), remain running about uncovered; the lower orders take in marriage the daughters of nobles, grandees, *and* priests; and the nobles, grandees, and priests come to destitution *and* bondage. 39. The misfortunes of the ignoble will overtake greatness and authority, and the helpless and ignoble will come to the foremost place *and* advancement; the words of the upholders of religion, and the seal and decision of a just judge will become the

[1] The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and helplessness.'

[2] The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and the prayers and ceremonies that he orders of priests and disciples they do not fulfil.'

[3] The name of a work which treats of various ceremonial details, and appears to be a portion of the Pahlavi translation of the seventeenth or Hûspâram Nask, containing many Avesta quotations which are not now to be found elsewhere.

[4] The Pâz. MSS. have misread azîr damîk, 'underground,' instead of âzarmîk.

words of random speakers (andêzŏ-gôkân) *among* the just *and* even the righteous; and the words of the ignoble and slanderers, of the disreputable *and* mockers, and of those of divers opinions they consider true and credible, about which they take[1] an oath, although with falsehood, and thereby give false evidence, and speak falsely and irreverently about me, Aûharmazd. 40. They who bear the title of priest and disciples wish evil concerning[2] one another; he speaks vice and they look upon vice; and the antagonism of Aharman and the demons is much brought on by them; of the sin which men commit, out of five[3] sins the priests and disciples commit three sins, and they become enemies of the good, so that they may thereby speak of bad faults relating to one another; the ceremonies they undertake they do not perform, and they have no fear of hell.

41. 'And in that tenth hundredth winter, *which* is the end of thy millennium, O righteous Zaratûst! all mankind will bind torn hair, disregarding revelation[4], so that a willingly-disposed cloud and a

[1] Literally, 'devour an oath,' which Persian idiom was occasioned by the original form of oath consisting in drinking water prepared in a particular manner, after having invoked all the heavenly powers to bear witness to the truth of what had been asserted (see the Saûgand-nâmah).

[2] Reading râî instead of lâ, 'not.' The whole section is omitted by the Pâz. MSS., possibly from politic motives, as the language is plain enough.

[3] The Persian paraphrase has 'eight.'

[4] Referring probably to the injunctions regarding cutting the hair and paring the nails, with all the proper precautions for preventing any fragments of the hair or nails from lying about, as given in Vend. XVII. One of the penalties for neglecting such precautions is supposed to be a failure of the necessary rains. The

righteous wind are not able to produce rain in its proper time and season. 42. And a dark cloud makes the whole sky night, and the hot wind and the cold wind arrive, and bring along fruit and seed of corn, even the rain in its proper time; and it does not rain, *and* that which rains also rains more noxious creatures than water; and the water of rivers and springs will diminish, and there will be no increase. 43. And the beast *of burden* and ox *and* sheep bring forth more painfully[1] and awkwardly, and acquire less fruitfulness; and *their* hair is coarser *and* skin thinner; the milk does not increase and has less cream (*k*arbi*s*t); the strength of the labouring ox is less, and the agility of the swift horse is less, and it carries less in a race.

44. 'And on the men in that perplexing time, O Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân! who wear the *sacred thread*-girdle on the waist, the evil-seeking of misgovernment and much of its false judgment have come as a wind in which their living is not possible, and they seek death as a boon; and youths and children will be apprehensive, and gossiping chitchat and gladness of heart do not arise among them. 45. And they practise the appointed feasts (*g*a*s*nŏ) of *their* ancestors, the propitiation (aûsôfrî*d*) of angels, *and* the prayers and ceremonies of the season festivals and guardian spirits, in various places, yet that which they practise they do not believe in unhesitatingly; they do not give rewards lawfully, and

words anâstak dînô can also be translated by 'despising the religion.'

[1] The word appears to be dar*d*aktar, but is almost illegible in K20; it may possibly be kûtaktar, 'more scantily,' as the Pâz. MSS. have kôdaktar bahô*d*, 'become smaller.'

bestow no gifts and alms, and even those [they bestow][1] they repent of again. 46. And even those men of the good religion, who have reverenced the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, proceed in conformity with (bar-hamakŏ rûbisn) those ways and customs[2], and do not believe their own religion. 47. And the noble, great, and charitable[3], who are the virtuous of their own country and locality, will depart from their own original place and family[4] as idolatrous; through want they beg something from the ignoble and vile, and come to poverty and helplessness; through them[5] nine in ten of these men will perish in the northern quarter.

48. 'Through their way of misrule everything comes to nothingness and destitution, levity and infirmity; and the earth of Spendarma*d* opens *its* mouth wide, *and* every jewel and metal becomes exposed, such as gold and silver, brass, tin, and lead. 49. And rule *and* sovereignty come to slaves, such as the Tûrk and non-Tûranian (Atûr) of the army[6], and are turbulent as among the moun-

[1] This verb is omitted in K20.

[2] It is rather doubtful whether their own customs are meant, or those of their conquerors.

[3] Or dahâkân may mean 'the skilful.'

[4] Reading dû*d*ak instead of rû*d*ak. At first sight the miswriting of r for d seems to indicate copying from a text in the modern Persian character, in which those two letters are often much alike; but it happens that the compounds dû and rû also resemble one another in some Pahlavi handwriting.

[5] Whether through poverty and helplessness, or through the conquerors, is not quite clear.

[6] Very little reliance can be placed upon the details of this sentence, but it is difficult to make any other complete and consistent translation. Darmesteter suggests the reading hênô, 'army,' but another possible reading is Khyôn (Av. *Hv*yaona), the old name

taineers[1]; and the *K*înî[2], the Kâ*v*ûlî, the Sôftî, the Rûman (Arûmâyak), and the white-clothed Karmak[3] then attain sovereignty in my countries of Iran, *and* their will and pleasure will become current in the world. 50. The sovereignty will come from those leathern-belted ones[4] and Arabs (Tâ*z*îgân) and Rûmans to them, *and* they will be so misgoverning that when they kill a righteous man who is virtuous and a fly, it is all one[5] in their eyes. 51. And the security, fame, and prosperity, the country and families, the wealth and handiwork, the streams, rivers, and springs of Iran, and of those of the good religion, come to those non-Iranians; and the army and standards of the frontiers come to them, and a rule with a craving for wrath advances in the world. 52. And their eyes of avarice are not sated with wealth, and they form hoards of the world's wealth, and conceal *them* underground; and through wickedness they commit sodomy, hold much intercourse with menstruous *women*, and practise many unnatural lusts.

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of some country probably in Turkistân, as Argâsp, the opponent of Vistâsp, is called 'lord or king of Khyôn' in the Yâ*d*kâr-i Zarîrân (see also Gôs Yt. 30, 31, Ashi Yt. 50, 51, Zamyâd Yt. 87).

[1] Or, 'as the mountain-holding Khûdarak.' Darmesteter suggests that Khûdarak may be an 'inhabitant of Khazar.'

[2] Probably the people of Samarkand, which place was formerly called *K*în according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabarî's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298. See also Bund. XII, 22.

[3] The Kâbulî and Byzantine Rûman are plain enough; not so the Sôftî and Karmak (Kalmak or Krimak).

[4] That is, the Tûrks, as appears more clearly from Chap. III, 8, 9. The Arabs are mentioned here, incidently, for the first time, and again in Chap. III, 9, 51.

[5] Literally, 'both are one.'

53. 'And in that perplexing time the night is brighter[1], and the year, month, and day will diminish one-third; the earth of Spendarmad arises, and suffering, death, and destitution become more severe in the world.'

54. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spitâmân: 'This is what I foretell: that wicked evil spirit, when it shall be necessary *for him* to perish, becomes more oppressive and more tyrannical.'

55. So Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spitâmân thus: 'Enquire fully and learn by heart[2] thoroughly! teach *it* by Zand, Pâzand, and explanation! tell *it* to the priests and disciples *who* speak forth in the world, *and* those who are not aware of the hundred winters, tell *it* then to them! so that, for the hope of a future existence, *and* for the preservation of their own souls, they may remove the trouble, evil, and oppression which those of other religions cause in the ceremonies of religion (dînô yêsnân). 56. And, moreover, I tell thee this, O Zaratûst the Spitâmân! that whoever, in that time, appeals for the body is not able to save the soul, for *he is* as it were fat, and *his* soul is hungry *and* lean in hell; whoever appeals for the soul, *his* body is hungry *and* lean through the misery of the world, and destitute, and his soul is fat in heaven.'

57. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world who art righteous!'—He is Aûharmazd through righteous invocation, and the rest through

[1] The Pâz. version adds, 'the motion of the sun is quicker.'

[2] Literally, 'make easy.'

praise; some say 'righteous creator[1]!'—'O creator! in that perplexing time are they righteous? and are there religious people who wear the *sacred thread*-girdle (kûstîk) on the waist, and celebrate religious rites (dînô)[2] with the *sacred* twigs (baresôm)? and does the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das) continue in their families?'

58. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst thus: 'Of the best men is he who, in that perplexing time, wears the *sacred thread*-girdle on the waist, and celebrates religious rites with the *sacred* twigs, *though* not *as* in the reign of King Vistâsp. 59. Whoever in that perplexing time recites Itâ-â*d*-yazam (Av. ithâ â*d* yazamaidê, Yas. V and XXXVII)[3] *and* one Ashem-vohû[4], *and* has learned *it* by heart, is as though, in the reign of King Vistâsp, *it were* a Dvâzdah-hômâst[5] with holy-water (zôhar). 60. And by

[1] This interpolated commentary is a pretty clear indication that the writer is translating from an Avesta text.

[2] Both Pâz. and Pers. have drônô, 'sacred cakes.'

[3] The third hâ or chapter of the Yasna of seven chapters. It worships Aûharmazd as the creator of all good things.

[4] See Bund. XX, 2.

[5] For the following explanation of the various kinds of hômâst I am indebted to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji Jâmâsp-Âsâ-nâ of Bombay:—

There are four kinds of hômâst recited by priests for the atonement of any sin that may have been committed by a woman during menstruation, after her purification:—

1. Hômâst consists of prayers recited for 144 days, in honour of the twelve following angels: Aûharmazd, Tistar, Khûrshêd, Mâh, Âbân, Âdar, Khurdâd, Amerdâd, Spendarmad, Bâd, Srôsh, and Ardâ-fravash. Each angel, in turn, is reverenced for twelve days successively, with one Yasna each day.

2. Khadûk-hômâst, 'one hômâst,' differs from the last merely in adding a Vendidad every twelfth day, to be recited in the Ush-

whomever prayer is offered up, *and* the Gâtha *hymns* are chanted, *it is* as though the whole ritual had been recited, *and* the Gâtha-*hymns* consecrated by him *in* the reign of King Vistâsp. 61. The most perfectly righteous of the righteous is he who remains in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, and continues the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage in his family.'

62. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst: 'In these nine thousand years which I, Aûharmazd, created, mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time; for in the evil reigns of Az-i Dahâk and Frâsîyâv of Tûr mankind, in those perplexing times, were living better and living more

ahin Gâh (12 P. M. to 6 A. M.) in honour of the angel whose propitiation ends that day.

3. Dah-hômâst, 'ten hômâsts,' differs from the preceding merely in having a Vendidad, in addition to the Yasna, every day.

4. Dvâzdah-hômâst, 'twelve hômâsts,' are prayers recited for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels, namely, the twelve aforesaid and the following ten: Bahman, Ardibahist, Shahrivar, Mihir, Bahrâm, Râm, Dîn, Rashnû, Gôs, and Âstâd. Each angel, in turn, is reverenced as in the last.

The celebration of hômâst costs 350 rûpîs, that of khadûk-hômâst 422 rûpîs, that of dah-hômâst 1000 rûpîs, and that of dvâzdah-hômâst 2000 rûpîs; but the first and third are now no longer used. The merit obtained by having such recitations performed is equivalent to 1000 tanâpûhars for each Yasna, 10,000 for each Visparad, and 70,000 for each Vendidad recited. A tanâpûhar is now considered as a weight of 1200 dirhams, with which serious sins and works of considerable merit are estimated; originally it must have meant a sin which was 'inexpiable' by ordinary good works, and, conversely, any extraordinary good work which was just sufficient to efface such a sin.

The amount of merit attaching to such recitations is variously stated in different books, and when recited with holy-water (that is, with all their ceremonial rites) they are said to be usually a hundred times as meritorious as when recited without it.

numerously, and their disturbance by Aharman and the demons was less. 63. For in their evil reigns, within the countries of Iran, there were not seven[1] towns which *were* desolate as they *will be* when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! for all the towns of Iran *will* be ploughed up by their horses' hoofs, and their banners *will* reach unto Pa*d*ashkhvârgar[2], and they *will* carry away the sovereignty of the seat of the religion I approve from there; and their destruction comes from that place, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell.'

64. Whoever[3] of those existing, thus, with reverence unto the good, performs much worship for Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd, aware of *it* through righteousness, gives *him* whatsoever Aûharmazd is aware of through righteousness, as remuneration *and* reward of duty *and* good works, and *such* members of

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[1] So in the Pâzand, but 'seventeen' in Persian; in K20 the word is partly illegible, but can be no other number than *s*ibâ, 'seven.'

[2] The mountainous region south of the Caspian (see Bund. XII, 2, 17).

[3] This section is the Pahlavi version of an Avesta formula which is appended to nearly two-thirds of the hâs or chapters of the Yasna, and, therefore, indicates the close of the chapter at this point. The version here given contains a few verbal deviations from that given in the Yasna, but none of any importance. The Avesta text of this formula is as follows:—

Yêʜhê hâtãm â*d*, yêsnê paitî,
vanghô mazd*a*u ahurô vaêthâ, ashâ*d* ha*k*â,
*y*aunghãm*k*â, tãs*k*â t*a*us*k*â *y*azamaidê.

And it may be translated in the following manner:—

'Of whatever male of the existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.'

the congregation, males and females, I reverence; and the archangels, who are also male and female, they are good.

CHAPTER III.

1. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one!* whence do they restore this good religion of the Mazdayasnians? and by what means will they destroy these demons with dishevelled hair[1], of the race of Wrath? 2. O creator! grant me death! and grant my favoured ones death! that they may not live in that perplexing time; grant *them* exemplary living! that they may not prepare wickedness and the way to hell.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spitâmân! after the ill-omened[2] sovereignty of those of the race of Wrath[3] there is a fiend, Shê*d*âspih[4] of the Kilisyâkîh, from the countries of Salmân[5];' Mâh-

[1] The Pâz. MSS. insert, 'and black clothing' here.

[2] Literally, 'black-marked,' or possibly, 'black standard.'

[3] The Pâz. MSS. add, 'the leathern-belted Tûrks,' that is, people of Turkistân.

[4] This fiend appears to be a personification of Christianity or 'ecclesiasticism' (Kilisyâkîh, see Chap. II, 19), and the writer seems to place his appearance some time in the middle ages, probably before the end of the thirteenth century (see the note on § 44). Darmesteter suggests that Shê*d*âsp may have been intended as a modern counterpart of Bêvarâsp (A*z*-i Dahâk), the ancient tyrant; and that this Christian invasion may be a reminiscence of the crusades.

[5] I have formerly read Mûsulmân instead of min Salmân, and hence concluded that the text must have been written long

vand-dâ*d* said that *these people* are Rûman (Arûmâyîk), and Rôshan[1] said that they have red weapons, red banners, *and* red hats (kûlâh). 4. 'It is when a symptom of them appears, as they advance, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun and the dark show signs, and the moon becomes manifest of various colours; earthquakes (bûm-gu*z*and), too, become numerous, and the wind comes more violently; in the world want, distress, and discomfort come more into view; and Mercury and Jupiter advance the sovereignty for the vile[2], *and* they are *in* hundreds and thousands and myriads. 5. They have the red banner of the fiend Shê*d*âspîh of Kilisyâkîh, and they hasten much their progress to these countries of Iran *which* I, Aûharmazd, created, up to the bank of the Arvand[3],' some have said[4] the Frât[5] river, 'unto the Greeks (Yûnân) dwelling in Asûristân;' they are Greeks by strict reckoning[6],

after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; but this reading is irreconcileable with the context. The position of Salmân (Av. Sairima) is defined by Bund. XX, 12, which places the sources of the Tigris in that country.

[1] The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad, and other texts. Mâhvand-dâ*d* is mentioned in the Pahlavi Yasna (see Sls. I, 4).

[2] The Pâz. MSS. state that 'Mercury and Jupiter beat down the strength of Venus.'

[3] Here written Arang, Arand, or Arvad, but as it is Arvand in §§ 21, 38, that reading seems preferable, the difference between the two names in Pahlavi being merely a single stroke. The Arvand is the Tigris, and the Arang probably the Araxes (see SZS. VI, 20, Bund. XX, 8).

[4] Literally, 'there are *and* were *some* who said;' this phrase occurs several times in the latter part of this text.

[5] The Euphrates.

[6] Or, 'of strict reckoning,' reading sâkht amâr, but both reading and meaning are very uncertain. As it stands in K20 it

and their Assyrian dwelling is this, that they slay the Assyrian people therein, and thus they will destroy their abode, some have said the *lurking*-holes (grêstak) of the demons.

6. 'They turn back those of the race of Wrath[1] in hundreds and thousands and myriads; *and* the banners, standards, and an innumerable army of those demons with dishevelled hair will come to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 7. And the army of the invader[2] is an extending enemy of the Tûrk[3] and even the Karm[4], be it with banners aloft when he shall set up a banner, be it through the excessive multitude which will remain—like *hairs in* the mane of a horse—in the countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created.

8. 'The leathern-belted Tûrk *and* the Rûman Shê*d*âspîh of Kilisyâkîh come forth with simultaneous movement[5], and in three places, with similar strife, there was and *will* be three times a great contest (âr*d*îh), O Zaratûst the Spitâmân! 9. One in the reign of Kaî-Kâûs[6], when through

may be sâkht *g*umâl, 'extreme beauty,' or Sâkhtîmâr (the name of a place), or this may stand for sâkht tîmâr, 'severe misfortune;' and other readings are possible.

[1] It is not quite clear which party will turn the other back.

[2] Literally, 'extender,' that is, one engaged in extending his own dominions.

[3] The remainder of this § (except the verb 'remain') is Pâzand written in Persian characters in K20.

[4] Possibly the Karmak of Chap. II, 49. In § 20 the Kur*d* and Karmân (or Karms) may refer to the Tûrk and Karm of this §, so it is doubtful whether Tûrk or Kur*d* is meant.

[5] Or, 'for the encounter,' pavan ham-rasisnîh.

[6] See Bund. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7. The letters are here joined together, so as to become Kaî-gâûs, and this form of the name is

the assistance of demons *it was* with the archangels; and the second when thou, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! receivedst the religion and *hadst* thy conference, *and* King Vistâsp and Argâsp[1], miscreated by wrath, *were*, through the war of the religion, in the combat of Spêd-razûr ("the hoary forest[2]"),' some have said *it was* in Pârs; 'and the third when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when all the three, Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, come to this[3] place,' some have said the plain of Nîsânak[4]. 10. 'And all *those of* the countries of Iran, which I, Aûharmazd, created, come from their own place unto Padashkhvârgar[5], owing to those of the race of Wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! so that a report of something of the cave dwellings, mountain dwellings, and river dwellings of these people will remain at Padashkhvârgar and Pârs; some have *said* the fire Visnâsp[6], on the deep Lake *Kêk*ast which has medicinal water opposed to the demons, is there (in Padashkhvârgar?) as it were conspicuous,' some have said 'originating[7],' 'so that

often read Kâhûs or Kahôs in Pâzand (see Mkh. VIII, 27, XXVII, 54, LVII, 21). The Pâz. MSS. omit § 9.

[1] See Bund. XII, 32, 33.

[2] See Bund. XXIV, 16.

[3] Perhaps 'one' is meant, as hanâ, 'this,' is sometimes substituted for aê, 'one,' both being read *e* in Pâzand.

[4] The reading of this name is quite uncertain.

[5] See Chap. II, 63. The whole of the final clause of this section, about the fire Visnâsp, is inserted parenthetically at this point in the Pahlavi text.

[6] Elsewhere called Gûsnasp, Gûsnâsp, or Gûsasp (see SZS. VI, 22).

[7] The most obvious reading of this word is mâhîk, 'fish,' which can hardly be reconciled with the context. The view here taken is that the writer was translating from an Avesta text, and met

they may use *it* anew, *and* the fire may become shining in these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created.' 11. For when one shall be able to save his own life, he has then no recollection of wife, child, and wealth, that they may not live, *in* that perplexing time, O Zaratûst! yet the day when the hundredth winter becomes the end of thy millennium, which is *that* of Zaratûst, is so that nothing wicked may go from this millennium into that millennium[1].'

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with the word *k*ithra, which means both pê*d*âk, 'clear,' and tôkhmak, 'originating,' but to express the latter meaning he used the synonym mâyakîk, which can be written exactly like mâhîk. Owing to the involved character of this section it is not very clear in English, but it is still more obscure in the Pahlavi text, in which the whole of this clause about the fire is inserted parenthetically after the first mention of Pa*d*ashkhvârgar.

[1] This last clause may be read several ways, and it is by no means easy to ascertain clearly the chronological order of the events which are jumbled together in this last chapter. But it would appear that Zaratûst's millennium was to end at a time when the religion was undisturbed, and just before the incursion of the demons or idolators, the details of which have been given in Chap. II, 22–III, 11, and which is the first event of Hûshê*d*ar's millennium (see § 13). Now according to Bund. XXXIV, 7–9, the interval from 'the coming of the religion,' in the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp, to the end of the Sasanian monarchy was 90 + 112 + 30 + 12 + 14 + 14 + 284 + 460 = 1016 years. If by 'the coming of the religion' be meant the time when Zaratûst received it, as he was then thirty years old, he must have been born 1046 years before the end of the Sasanian monarchy (A. D. 651), and the end of his millennium must have been in A. D. 605, the sixteenth year of Khûsrô Parvîz, when the Sasanian power was near its maximum, and only a score of years before it began suddenly to collapse. This close coincidence indicates that the writer of the Bahman Yast must have adopted the same incorrect chronology as is found in the Bundahis. If, however, 'the coming of the religion' mean its acceptance by Vistâsp, which occurred in Zaratûst's fortieth or

12. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one!* when they are so many in number, by what means will they be able to perish[1]?'

13. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, *and* Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst is born on Lake Frazdân[2]. 14. It is when he comes to his conference *with* me[3], Aûharmazd, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!' *that in* the direction of *K*înistân[4], *it* is said—some have said among the Hindus—'is born a prince (kaî); it is his father, a prince of the Kayân race, approaches the

forty-second year, his birth must have been ten or twelve years earlier, and his millennium must have ended A. D. 593–595. But according to the imperfect chronology of Bund. XXXIV the tenth millennium of the world, that of Capricornus, commenced with 'the coming of the religion,' and ended, therefore, in A. D. 635, the fourth year of Yazdakard, the last Sasanian king, when the Muhammadans were just preparing for their first invasion; so the millennium of Aquarius is very nearly coincident with that of Hûshêdar, and may probably be intended to represent it. It appears, therefore, that the millennium of Hûshêdar is altogether past, having extended from A. D. 593–635 to A. D. 1593–1635.

[1] The Pâz. MSS. omit § 12. The writer having detailed the evils of the iron age, now returns to its commencement in order to describe the means adopted for partially counteracting those evils.

[2] See Bund. XXII, 5, XXXII, 8. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'they bring him up in Zâvulistân and Kâvulistân;' and the Pers. version says, 'on the frontier of Kâbulistân.' With regard to the time of Hûshêdar's birth, see § 44. His name is always written Khûrshêdar in K20.

[3] The Pâz. and Pers. versions say, 'at thirty years of age,' as in § 44.

[4] Possibly Samarkand (see Chap. II, 49, note 2).

women, and a religious prince is born to him; he calls *his* name Vâhrâm the Vargâvand[1],' some have said Shahpûr. 15. 'That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky; when that prince is born the star shows a signal.' 16. It is Dâ*d*-Aûharmazd[2] *who* said that the month Âvân and day Vâ*d*[3] is his father's end; 'they rear *him* with the damsels of the king, *and* a woman becomes ruler.

17. 'That prince when he is thirty years old'—some have told the time—'*comes* with innumerable banners *and* divers armies, Hindu and *K*'ini[4], having uplifted banners—for they set up *their* banners—having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed[5] as far as the Vêh river'—some have said the country of Bambô[6]—'as far as Bukhâr and the Bukhârans within *its* bank,

[1] Bahrâm the illustrious or splendid (Av. vare*k*anghan*d*, compare Pers. var*g*), an epithet applied, in the Avesta, to the moon, Tistrya, the scriptures, the royal glory of the Kayânians, the Kayânians themselves, and the hero Thrita. This personage may possibly be an incarnation of the angel Bahrâm, mingled with some reminiscences of the celebrated Persian general Bahrâm *K*ôpin; but see §§ 32, 49.

[2] A commentator who is quoted in the Pahlavi Yas. XI, 22; see also Chap. I, 7.

[3] The 22nd day of the eighth month of the Parsi year, corresponding to October 7th when the year began at the vernal equinox, as the Bundahi*s* (XXV, 6, 7, 20, 21) describes.

[4] That is, Bactrian and Samarkandian.

[5] Or, 'light up with glitter,' according as we read tâ*g*end or tâ*v*end. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 17–44, except one or two isolated phrases.

[6] Spiegel was inclined to identify this name with Bombay, but this is impossible, as the MS. K20 (in which the name occurs) was written some two centuries before the Portuguese invented the name of Bombay. Its original name, by which it is still called by

O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 18. When the star Jupiter comes up to *its* culminating point (bâlist)[1] and casts Venus down, the sovereignty comes to the prince. 19. Quite innumerable are the champions, furnished with arms *and* with banners displayed,' some have said from Sagastân, Pârs, and Khûrâsân, some have said from the lake of Pa*d*ashkhvârgar[2], some have said from the Hirâtîs[3] and Kôhistân, some have said from Taparistân[4]; and from those directions '*every* supplicant for a child[5] comes into[6] view. 20. It is concerning the displayed banners and very numerous army, which were the armed men, champions, and soldiers from the countries of Iran *at* Pa*d*ashkhvârgar—whom *I* told thee[7] that they call both Kur*d* and Karmân—it is declared

its native inhabitants, being Mumbaî. The locality mentioned in the text is evidently to be sought on the banks of the Oxus near Bukhârâ; the Oxus having been sometimes considered the upper course of the Arag, and sometimes that of the Veh (see Bund. XX, 22, note 5). It is hardly probable that either Bâmî (Balkh) or Bâmiyân would be changed into Bambŏ, and the only exact representative of this name appears to be Bamm, a town about 120 miles S. E. of Kirmân; this is quite a different locality from that mentioned in the text, but it is hazardous to set bounds to the want of geographical knowledge displayed by some of the Pahlavi commentators.

[1] Compare SZS. IV, 8. Here the triumph of Jupiter over Venus appears to be symbolical of the displacement of the queen dowager by her son.

[2] That is, from the southern shore of the Caspian.

[3] Reading Hiriyân, but this is doubtful, as it may be 'from the citadels (arigânŏ), or defiles (khalakânŏ), of Kôhistân.'

[4] See Bund. XII, 17, XIII, 15.

[5] That is, every man able to bear arms.

[6] Reading pavan, 'into,' instead of barâ, 'besides' (see SZS. VIII, 2, note 5).

[7] See § 10, but as nothing is said there about Kur*d* or Karmân, it is possible that the writer meant to say, 'of whom I told thee,

that they will slay an excessive number, in companionship *and under* the same banner, for these countries of Iran.

21. 'Those of the race of Wrath and the extensive army[1] of Shêdâspîh, *whose* names are the two-legged wolf and the leathern-belted demon on the bank of the Arvand[2], wage three battles, one in Spêd-razûr[3] and one in the plain of Nisânak;' some have said that *it was* on the lake of the three races, some have said that *it was* in Marûv[4] the brilliant, *and* some have said in Pârs. 22. 'For the support of the countries of Iran is the innumerable army of the east; its having exalted banners[5] is that they have a banner of tiger skin (bôpar pôst), and their wind banner is white cotton[6]; innumerable are the mounted troops, and they ride up to the *lurking*-holes[7] of the demons; they will slay so that a thousand women can afterwards see and kiss *but* one man.

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and whom they call both Kurd and Karmân.' It is more probable, however, that he is referring to § 7.

[1] Compare § 7. The 'extensive army' and 'two-legged wolf' are terms borrowed apparently from Yas. IX, 62, 63.

[2] That is, 'the rapid' (Av. aurvand). The other names of this river, Tigris and Hiddekel, have the same meaning. See §§ 5, 38.

[3] See § 9, of which this is a recapitulation, but the first of the three battles is here omitted by mistake.

[4] Marv in the present Turkistân.

[5] Referring to § 17.

[6] Supposing that bandôk may be equivalent to Pers. bandak, but the usual Pahlavi term for 'cotton' is pumbak (Pers. punbah).

[7] Reading grestak as in § 5, but the word can also be read dar ḍîdak, 'gate watch-tower.' It is possible that the drugô geredha, 'pit of the fiend,' of Vend. III, 24, may be here meant; the gate of hell, whence the demons congregate upon the Arezûr ridge (Bund. XII, 8).

23. 'When it is the end of the time[1], O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! those enemies will be as much destroyed as the root of a shrub when *it is* in the night on which a cold winter arrives, and in this night it sheds *its* leaves; and they *will* reinstate these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created[2].

24. 'And with speed rushes the evil spirit, with the vilest races of demons and Wrath with infuriate spear[3], *and* comes on to the support and assistance of those demon-worshippers and miscreations of wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 25. And I, the creator Aûharmazd, send Nêryôsang the angel and Srôsh the righteous[4] unto Kangdez[5], which the illustrious Sîyâvakhsh[6] formed, *and to* Kîtrô-mîyân[7] *son* of Vistâsp, the glory of the Kayâns, the just restorer of the religion, *to speak* thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; consecrate the fire *and* waters for the Hâdôkht[8] *and* Dvâzdah-hômâst!

[1] Compare, 'and at the time of the end' (Dan. xi. 40). The writer appears to be here finally passing from a description of the past into speculations as to the future, which he has hitherto only casually indulged in.

[2] The supernatural means supposed to be employed for the destruction of the wicked and the restoration of the good are detailed in the following paragraphs.

[3] See Chap. II, 36.

[4] The two angels who are the special messengers of Aûharmazd to mankind (see Bund. XV, 1, XXX, 29). This message was expected to be sent to Pêshyôtanû near the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 51).

[5] See Bund. XXIX, 10.

[6] See Bund. XXXI, 25.

[7] A title of Pêshyôtanû, written Kîtrô-maînô in Bund. XXIX, 5.

[8] This was the twentieth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but the Dînîvagarkard and the Rivâyats make it the twenty-first, and say very

that is, celebrate *them* with the fire *and* waters, and such *as* is appointed about the fire and waters!"

little about its contents (see Haug's Essays, pp. 133, 134). The Dînkar*d*, in its eighth book, gives the following account of this Nask :—

'The Hâ*d*ôkht as it exists *has* three divisions among its 133 sections. The first *has* thirteen (twelve?) sections, treatises upon the nature of the recital of the Ahunavar, which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject. Admonition about selecting *and* keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, *and* maintaining even those of various high-priests. On the twenty-one chieftainships of the spirits in Aûharmazd, and of the worldly existences in Zaratû*s*t, among which are the worship of God *and* the management of the devout. On the duty *requisite* in each of the five different periods of the day and night, and *the fate at* the *celestial* bridge of him who shall be zealous in the celebration of the season-festivals; he who does not provide the preparations for the feast of the season-festivals, and who is yet efficient in the other worship of God. On how to consider, *and* what to do with, a leader of the high-priest class *and* a man of the *inferior* classes; he who atones for unimportant sin, and he who does not atone even for *that which* is important, *and* whatever is on the same subject. On the apparatus with which ploughed land (?) is prepared. On the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from uttering good words *for blessing* the eating and drinking of food and drink, and rebuking the inward talk of the demons. On the recitations at the five periods of the day, and the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels, each separately, *and* great information on the same subject; the worthiness of a man restrained by authority, the giving of life and body to the angels, the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction which *proceeds* from a fiend. On all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, and all precedence (?), leadership, foresight (?), worthy liberality, virtue (?), and every proper cause and effect of righteousness; the individuality of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of Aûharmazd's opinion, and also much other information in the same section.

'The middle *division has* 102 sections, treatises on spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership of the diligent, and their mighty

26. 'And Nêryôsang proceeds, *with* Srôsh the righteous, from the good *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâîtîk[1] to Kang-de*z*, which the illustrious Sîyâvakhsh formed, and cries out from it thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! O *K*îtrô-mîyân son of Vi*s*tâsp, glory of the Kayâns, just restorer of the religion! walk forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion!"

27. 'Those spirits move on, and they propitiate them; with holy-water the illustrious Pêshyôtanû celebrates the Dvâ*z*dah-hômâst, with a hundred and fifty righteous who are disciples of Pêshyôtanû, in black marten fur, and they have garments as it were of the good spirit. 28. They walk up with *the words:* "Hûmat, hûkht, hûvar*s*t[2]," and consecrate

means, all former deeds of righteousness; righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is adapted by it for that *of* which it is said that *it is* the Hâ*d*ôkht which is the maintaining of righteousness, so that they may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.

'The last *division has* nineteen sections of trusty remedies, that is, remedies whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource among the creatures of God; also the nature of sayings full of humility, well-favoured, most select, *and* adapted for that *of* which it is said that I reverence that chief, the excellent and eminent Hâ*d*ôkht, of which they trust in the sustaining strength of every word of Zaratû*s*t. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî).'

According to tradition three chapters of this Nask are still extant, being the Ya*s*t fragments XXI, XXII of Westergaard's edition of the Avesta Texts; but they do not correspond to any part of the description in the Dînkar*d*. For a description of Dvâzdah-hômâst see Chap. II, 59.

[1] See Bund. XII, 7.

[2] That is, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' a formula often uttered when commencing an important action.

the fire of the waters; *with* the illustrious Hâ*d*ôkht they bless me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; and after that it demolishes one-third of the opposition. 29. And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth, with the hundred and fifty men who wear black marten fur, and they celebrate the rituals (yasnân) of the Gadman-hômand ("glorious") fire, which they call the Rôshanô-kerp ("luminous form")[1], which is established at the appointed place (dâtô-gâs), the triumphant ritual of the Frôbâ fire, Horvada*d*, *and* Amerôda*d*, and the ceremonial (ya*z*i*s*n) with his priestly co-operation; they arrange and pray over the *sacred* twigs; *and* the ritual of Horvada*d* *and* Amerôda*d*, in the chapter of the code of religious formulas (nîrangistân)[2] demolishes three-thirds of the opposition. 30. Pêshyôtanû son of Vi*s*tâsp walks forth, with the assistance of the Frôbâ *fire*, the fire Gû*s*nâsp, and the fire Bûr*z*în-Mitrô[3], to the great idol-temples, the abode of *the demons*[4]; and the wicked evil spirit, Wrath with infuriate spear[5], and all demons and fiends, evil races and wizards, arrive at the deepest *abyss* of hell; *and* those idol-temples are extirpated by the exertions of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû.

31. 'And I, the creator Aûharmazd, come to Mount Hûkaîryâ*d*[6] with the archangels, and I issue

[1] See Bund. XVII, 5, 6. This appears to be an allusion to the removal of the sacred fire by Vistâsp, from the 'glorious' mountain in Khvârizem to the 'shining' mountain in Kâvulistân.

[2] See Chap. II, 37.

[3] Regarding these three manifestations of the sacred fire, see Bund. XVII, 3–9, SZS. XI, 8–10.

[4] Supplying the word *s*êdâân, 'the demons,' in accordance with §§ 36, 37; there being clearly some word omitted in K20.

[5] See Chap. II, 36. [6] Hûgar the lofty in Bund. XII, 2, 5.

orders to the archangels that they should speak to the angels of the spiritual existences thus: "Proceed to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû!" 32. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures, Srôsh the vigorous, Rashn the just, Vâhrâm[1] the mighty, Âstâd the victorious, *and* the glory of the religion of the Mazdayasnians, the stimulator of *religious* formulas (nîrang), the arranger of the world, *proceed*[2] to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, through the order of which I, the creator, have just written[3].

33. '*Out* of the demons of gloomy race the evil spirit cries to Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures thus: "Stay above in truth[4], thou Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures!"

34. 'And then Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries thus: "Of these nine thousand years' support, which during its beginning produced Dahâk of evil religion, Frâsîyâv of Tûr, *and* Alexander[5] the Rûman, the period of one thousand years of those leathern-belted demons with dishevelled hair is a more than moderate reign to produce[6]."

35. 'The wicked evil spirit becomes confounded when he heard this; Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures will smite Wrath of the infuriate spear with

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[1] The fact that the angel Vâhrâm goes in his spiritual form to the assistance of Pêshyôtanû, rather militates against the idea that he also goes in the form of Vâhrâm the Vargâvand.

[2] This verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

[3] Literally, 'arrive at the writing.'

[4] Or, 'stand up with honesty!'

[5] The latter two names are here written Frâsâv and Alasandar.

[6] From this it appears that the writer expected the evil reign of the unbelievers to last a thousand years, that is, till the end of Hûshêdar's millennium, about A.D. 1593–1635, which corresponds very closely with the reign of the great Shâh 'Abbâs.

stupefaction; *and* the wicked evil spirit flees, with the miscreations and evil progeny he flees back to the darkest *recess* of hell. 36. And Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to the illustrious Pêshyôtanû thus: "Extirpate *and* utterly destroy the idol-temples, the abode of the demons! proceed to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion over the wicked! when they see thee they will be terrified."

37. 'And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû advances, and the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnasp, and the triumphant fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô will smite the fiend of excessive strength; he will extirpate the idol-temples that are the abode of demons; and they celebrate the ceremonial (yazisn), arrange the *sacred* twigs, solemnize the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and praise me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; this is what I foretell[1]. 38. The illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, to the Arvand and Vêh river[2]; when the wicked see him they will be terrified, those of the progeny of gloom and those not worthy.

39. 'And regarding that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand it is declared that he comes forth in full glory, fixes upon Vandîd-khîm[3] ("a curbed temper"), and *having* intrusted *him* with the seat of mobadship of the

[1] Or, perhaps, 'what I said before,' being already narrated in § 29 as performed by Pêshyôtanû before advancing far into Iran.

[2] The Tigris and the Oxus—Indus (see §§ 5, 21).

[3] Probably a title of Pêshyôtanû; a more obvious translation would be, 'restrains a curbed temper, and is intrusted,' &c., but it is hardly probable that the warrior prince Vâhrâm could become a priest. It is Vâhrâm's business to restore the empire, leaving Pêshyôtanû to restore the religion.

mobads[1], and the seat of true explanation of the religion, he restores again these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; and he drives[2] away from the world covetousness, want, hatred, wrath, lust, envy, and wickedness. 40. And the wolf period goes away, and the sheep period comes on; they establish the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnâsp, *and* the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô again at their proper places, and they will properly supply the firewood and incense; and the wicked evil spirit becomes confounded and unconscious, with the demons and the progeny of gloom. 41. And so the illustrious Pêshyôtanû speaks thus: "Let the demon be destroyed, and the witch be destroyed! let the fiendishness and vileness of the demons be destroyed! and let the gloomy progeny of the demons be destroyed! The glory[3] of the religion of the Mazdayasnians prospers, and let it prosper! let the family[4] of the liberal and just, who are doers of good deeds, prosper! and let the throne of the religion and sovereignty have a good restorer!" 42. Forth comes the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, forth he comes with a hundred and fifty men of the disciples who wear black marten fur, and they take the throne of their own religion and sovereignty.'

43. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spitâmân: 'This is what I foretell, when it is the end of thy millennium it is the beginning of *that* of Hûshêdar[5].

[1] The supreme high-priesthood, or primacy.

[2] Merely a guess, as the verb varafsêd is difficult to understand.

[3] K20 has nismô, 'soul,' but the very-similarly written gadman, 'glory,' is a more likely reading here (see § 32).

[4] Reading dûdak instead of rûdak, as in Chap. II, 47.

[5] The writer having detailed the supernatural means employed for restoring the religion, now returns to the birth of Hûshêdar

44. Regarding Hûshêdar it is declared that he will be born in 1600[1], and at thirty years of age he comes to a conference with me, Aûharmazd, *and* receives the religion. 45. When he comes away from the conference he cries to the sun with the swift horse[2], thus: "Stand still!"

46. 'The sun with the swift horse stands still ten

(§ 13) for the purpose of mentioning some of his actions, and making the chronology of his millennium rather more clear. Nothing is said here about his miraculous birth, the details of which are given in the seventh book of the Dînkard very much as they are found in the Persian Rivâyats. The Dînkard states that thirty years before the end of Zaratûst's millennium a young maiden bathing in certain water, and drinking it, becomes pregnant through the long-preserved seed of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8, 9), and subsequently gives birth to Hûshêdar.

[1] There seems to be no other rational way of understanding this number than by supposing that it represents the date of Hûshêdar's birth, counting from the beginning of Zaratûst's millennium. According to this view Hûshêdar was to be born in the six hundredth year of his own millennium, and not at its beginning, as § 13 seems to imply, nor nearly thirty years earlier, as the Dînkard asserts. As the beginning of his millennium may be fixed about A.D. 593–635 (see note on § 11), the writer must have expected him to be born about A.D. 1193–1235; a time which was probably far in the future when he was writing. And as Vâhrâm the Vargâvand was to be born when Hûshêdar was thirty years of age (compare §§ 14, 44), and was to march into Iran at the age of thirty (§ 17), the great conflict of the nations (§§ 8, 19–22) was expected to begin about A.D. 1253–1295, and to continue till near the end of the millennium, about A.D. 1593–1635, when Pêshyôtanû was expected to appear (§ 51) and to restore the 'good' religion (§§ 26, 37, 42). An enthusiastic Parsi interpreter of prophecy might urge that though this period did not witness any revival of his religion, it did witness a restoration of the Persian empire under Shâh 'Abbâs, and also the first beginning of British power in India, which has been so great a benefit to the scanty remnant of his fellow-countrymen.

[2] The usual epithet of the sun in the Avesta.

days and nights; and when this happens all the people of the world abide by the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 47. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to Hûshê*d*ar, *son* of Zaratû*s*t, thus: "O Hûshê*d*ar, restorer of the true religion! cry to the sun with the swift horse thus: 'Move on!' for it is dark in the regions of Arzâh and Savâh, Frada-*d*afsh *and* Vîda*d*afsh, Vôrûbar*s*t *and* Vôrû*g*ar*s*t, and the illustrious Khvanîras[1]."

48. 'Hûshê*d*ar *son* of Zaratû*s*t cries, to the sun he cries, thus: "Move on!" 49. The sun with the swift horse moves on, *and* Var*g*âvand[2] and all mankind fully believe in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians.'

50. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell, that this one brings the creatures back to their proper state. 51. When it is near the end of the millennium Pêshyôtanû[3] son of Vi*s*tâsp comes into notice, who is a Kayân that advances triumphantly; and those enemies who relied upon fiendishness, such as the Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, and the vile ones who control[4] the Iranian sovereign with insolence and oppression and enmity to the sovereignty, destroy the fire and make the religion weak; and they convey *their* power and success to him and every one who accepts the law and religion willingly; if he

[1] The seven regions of the earth (see Bund. XI, 2, 3).

[2] It is just possible to read, 'the sun with the swift horse, the splendid, moves on, and all mankind fully believe,' &c. But if the reading in the text be correct it effectually disposes of the idea of Vâhrâm being an incarnation of the angel, as an angel would require no miracle to make him believe in the religion.

[3] See §§ 25–30.

[4] This verb is doubtful, as most of the word is torn off in K20.

accept it unwillingly the law and religion ever destroy *him*[1] till it is the end of the whole millennium.

52. 'And, afterwards, when the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh comes, through Hûshêdar-mâh[2] the creatures become more progressive, and he utterly destroys the fiend of serpent origin[3]; *and* Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp becomes, in like manner, high-priest and primate (rad) of the world[4]. 53. In that millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh mankind become so versed in medicine, and keep and bring physic and remedies so *much* in use, *that* when they are confessedly at the point of death they do not thereupon die, nor when they smite and slay *them* with the sword and knife[5].

54. 'Afterwards, *one* begs a gift of *any* description out of the allowance of heretics, *and* owing to depravity *and* heresy they do not give *it*. 55. And Aharman rises through that spite[6] on to the moun-

[1] This appears to be the meaning, but the latter part of the sentence is not very clear.

[2] See Bund. XXXII, 8. The name is written Khûrshêd-mâh in K20. The Dînkard gives the same account of the miraculous birth of Hûshêdar-mâh as of the first Hûshêdar (see note on § 43); it also repeats the legend of the sun standing still, but for the longer period of twenty days; all which details are also found in the Persian Rivâyats.

[3] Av. azikithra; such creatures are mentioned in Ardavahist Yt. 8, 10, 11, 15; but Az-i Dahâk, 'the destructive serpent,' is probably meant here (see §§ 56–61).

[4] As in the previous millennium. According to the chronology deduced from § 44 the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, which corresponds to the twelfth and last millennium of Bund. XXXIV, is now near the middle of its third century.

[5] The sentence is either defective or obscure, but this appears to be its meaning.

[6] The evil spirit is encouraged, by an act of religious toleration, apparently, to recommence his manœuvres for injuring mankind.

tain of Dimâvand[1], which is the direction of Bêvarâsp, *and* shouts thus: "Now it is nine thousand years, *and* Frêdûn is not living; why do you not rise up, although these thy fetters are not removed, when[2] this world is full of people, and they have brought them from the enclosure which Yim formed[3]?"

56. 'After that apostate shouts like this, *and* because of it, Az-i Dahâk[4] stands up before *him*, *but*, through fear of the likeness of Frêdûn in the body of Frêdûn, he does not first remove those fetters and stake from *his* trunk until Aharman removes *them*. 57. And the vigour of Az-i Dahâk increases, the fetters being removed from *his* trunk, *and his* impetuosity remains; he swallows down the apostate on the spot[5], and rushing into the world to perpetrate sin, he commits innumerable grievous sins; he swallows down one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Aûharmazd; he smites the water, fire, and vegetation, and commits grievous sin.

58. 'And, afterwards, the water, fire, and vegetation stand before Aûharmazd the lord in lamentation, and make this complaint: "Make Frêdûn alive again! so that he may destroy Az-i Dahâk; for if thou, O Aûharmazd! dost not do this, we cannot

[1] Here written Dimbhâvand (see Bund. XII, 31).

[2] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

[3] The var-i Yim kard (see Bund. XXIX, 14). The men and creatures who are supposed to be preserved in this enclosure are expected to replenish the world whenever it has been desolated by wars and oppression.

[4] Whose surname is Bêvarâsp (see Bund. XXIX, 9).

[5] The Pâz. MSS. end here.

exist in the world; the fire says thus: I *will* not heat; and the water says thus: I *will* not flow."

59. 'And then I, Aûharmazd the creator, say to Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel: "Shake the body of Keresâsp the Sâmân, till he rises up!"

60. 'Then Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel go to Keresâsp[1]; three times they utter a cry, and the fourth time Sâm rises up with triumph, and goes to meet A*z*-i Dahâk. 61. And[2] Sâm does not listen to his words, and the triumphant club strikes him on the head, and smites and kills *him*; afterwards, desolation *and* adversity depart from this world, while I make a beginning of the millennium[3]. 62. Then Sôshyans[4] makes the creatures again pure, and the resurrection and future existence occur.'

63. May the end be in peace, pleasure, and joy, by the will of God (yazdânŏ)! so may it be! even more so may it be!

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[1] Also called Sâm in this same section; he was lying in a trance in the plain of Pê*s*yânsaî (see Bund. XXIX, 7–9).

[2] Reading afa*s* instead of mina*s* (see Chap. II, 4, note 2).

[3] The thirteenth millennium, or first of the future existence, when Sôshyans appears. The Dînkar*d* and the Persian Rivâyats recount the same legends regarding the miraculous birth of Sôshyans, and of the sun standing still (for thirty days), as they do with regard to Hûshê*d*ar (see note on § 43).

[4] See Bund. XXXII, 8.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

OR

THE PROPER AND IMPROPER.

AN OLD

PAHLAVI RIVÂYAT

OR

MISCELLANY OF TRADITIONAL MEMORANDA.

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Âf. for Âfrîngân. Av. for Avesta. AV. for the Book of Ar*d*â-Vîrâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Bund. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Ya*s*t, as translated in this volume. Chald. for Chaldee. Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâri*s*. Lev. for Leviticus. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khar*d*, ed. West. Nîr. for Nîrangistân. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as here translated. SZS. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, as translated in this volume. W. for Westergaard. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

B29 (written A.D. 1679), a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

L7, L15, L22, &c. are MSS. No. 7, 15, 22, &c. in the India Office Library at London.

M5 (written A. D. 1723), No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M6 (written A. D. 1397), No. 6 of the same Collection.

M9 (modern), No. 9 of the same Collection.

TD (written about A. D. 1530), a MS. of the Bundahi*s* belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

PART I.—*The Original Treatise.*

CHAPTER I.

0. In the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation may there be the good health, long life, and abundant wealth of all the good and the right-doers specially for him whose writing I am[1].

1. As revealed by the Avesta, it is said in the Vendidad[2] that these seven degrees (pâyak) of sin

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[1] See the note on B. Yt. I, 0.

[2] Referring to Vend. IV, 54–114, where seven classes of assault and their respective punishments are detailed. In our text eight classes of sin are named, although only seven degrees are mentioned; the second and third classes being apparently arranged together, as one degree of sin in § 2. Or the inconsistency may have arisen from the addition of the Farmân, a class of sin or crime not mentioned in the Vendidad, unless, indeed, it be the farmân spôkhtanŏ, 'neglect of commandment' (referring probably to priest's commands), of Pahl. Vend. VI, 15. The other seven classes are thus described in Pahl. Vend. IV, 54–57, 79, 85, 93, 99, 106 :—

'By the man whose weapon (or blow) is upraised for striking a man, that which is his Âgerept is thus implanted in *him*. When it *has* moved forward—that is, he makes *it* advance—*it* is thus his Avôirîst, that is, Avôirîst is implanted in him *and* the Âgerept merges into it, some say that it does not exist. When he comes on to him *with* thoughts of malice—that is, he places a hand upon him—*it* is thus his Aredûs, that is, Aredûs is implanted in him and the Avôirîst merges into it, some say that it does not exist. *At* the fifth Aredûs the man even becomes a Tanâpûhar; *things* at

are mentioned in revelation, *which* are Farmân, Âgerept, Avôirîst[1], Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâî, Yât, and Tanâpûhar[2]. 2. A Farmân is the weight of four

sunrise (avar-khûrshêdîh) and in the forenoon (kâîtîh = kâstîh) are no more apart. . . . Whoever inflicts the Aredûs blow on a man *it is* one-fifth of a wound (rêsh). . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a cruel Khôr ('hurt') on a man *it is* one-fourth of a wound. . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a bleeding Khôr on a man *it is* one-third of a wound. . . . Whoever shall give a man a bone-breaking Khôr *it is* half a wound. . . . Whoever strikes a man the blow *which puts him* out of consciousness shall give a whole wound.'

This description does not mention Bâzâî and Yât, unless they be the two severer kinds of Khôr; but Bâzâî occurs in Pahl. Vend. IV, 115, V, 107, XIII, 38, though Yât seems not to be mentioned in the Vendidad. Aredûs occurs again in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, and Khôr in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, XIII, 38, and Yas. LVI, iv, 2.

[1] Also written avôîrist, avîrist, aîvîrist, avôkîrist, and avakôrist in other places.

[2] Five of these names are merely slight alterations of the Av. âgerepta, avaoirista, aredus, *hv*ara, and tanuperetha (peretôtanu or peshôtanu). The last seven degrees are also noticed in a very obscure passage in Farh. Okh. pp. 36, 37 (correcting the text from the old MSS. M6 and K20) as follows:—

'Âgerept, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent *person;* Avôirîst, "turning," is that when *one* turns the weapon upon an innocent *person;* when through sinfulness *one* lays the weapon on a sinner the name is Aredûs; for whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; *one* explains Bâzâî *as* "smiting," *and* Yât *as* "going to," *and* the soul of man ought to be withstanding, *as* a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it *has* been so much *away* from the abode of life. *In* like manner Âgerept, Avôirîst, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâî, and Yât are also called good works, *which* are performed in like proportions, *and* are called by the names of weights and measures *in* the same manner. Of peshôtanus tanûm pairyêitê the meaning is a Tanâpûhar; as they call a good work of three hundred a Tanâpûhar, on account of the three hundred like proportions of the same kind, the meaning of its name, Tanâpûhar, thereupon enters into sin. . . . A Khôr is just that description of wound from which

stîrs, and each stîr is four dirhams (*gûgan*)[1]; of Âgerept and Avôirîst that which is least is a scourging (tâzânŏ), and the amount of them which was specially *that* which is most is said *to be* one dirham[2]; an Aredûs is thirty *stîrs*[3]; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâî is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs; and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs[4].

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the blood comes, irrespective of where, how, how much, *and* wherewith it is inflicted; *it is* that which is a wound from the beginning, *and* that which will result therefrom.'

The application of this scale of offences is, however, not confined to these particular forms of assault, but has been extended (since the Avesta was compiled) to all classes of sins, and also to the good works which are supposed to counterbalance them.

[1] The dirham has been variously estimated, at different times, as a weight of forty-five to sixty-seven grains, but perhaps fifty grains may be taken as the meaning of the text, and the stîr may, therefore, be estimated at 200 grains. The Greeks used both these weights, which they called δραχμή and στατήρ.

[2] The amounts of these first three degrees of sin are differently stated in other places (see Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 1–3, 5). It is difficult to understand why the amounts of Âgerept and Avôirîst should here be stated as less than that of Farmân, and some Parsis, therefore, read vîhast (as an irregular form of vîst, 'twenty') instead of vês-ast, 'is most,' so that they may translate the amount as 'twenty dirhams;' but to obtain this result they would have to make further alterations in the Pahlavi text. In a passage quoted by Spiegel (in his Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, p. 88) from the Rivâyat MS. P12, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, it is stated that Farmân is seven stîrs, Âgerept twelve stîrs, and Avôirîst fifteen stîrs. Another Rivâyat makes the Farmân eight stîrs.

[3] All MSS. have Aredûs sî 30, 'an Aredûs is thirty (30),' leaving it doubtful whether dirhams or stîrs are meant; and the same mode of writing is adopted in Chap. XI, 2.

[4] All authorities agree about the amounts of the last five degrees of sin. These amounts are the supposed weights of the several sins in the golden scales of the angel Rashnû (see AV. V, 5), when the soul is called to account, for its actions during life, after the

3. In the administration of the primitive faith[1] there are *some* who have been of different opinions

third night after death (see Mkh. II, 114–122). Its sins are supposed to be then weighed against its good works, which are estimated by the same scale of degrees (see the passage already quoted from Farh. Okh. in p. 240, note 2), and it is sent direct to heaven, or hell, or an intermediate place, according as the good works or sins preponderate, or are both equal. In the Avesta of the Vendidad, however, whence these degrees are derived, we find them forming merely a graduated scale of assaults, extending from first lifting the hand to smite even unto manslaughter; and for each of these seven degrees of assault a scale of temporal punishments is prescribed, according to the number of times the offence has been committed. These punishments consist of a uniform series of lashes with a horse-whip or scourge, extending from a minimum of five lashes to a maximum of two hundred (see Vend. IV, 58–114); each degree of assault commencing at a different point on the scale of punishments for the first offence, and gradually rising through the scale with each repetition of the offence, so that the more aggravated assaults attain the maximum punishment by means of a smaller number of repetitions. Thus, the punishments prescribed for Âgerepta, from the first to the eighth offence, are 5, 10, 15, 30, 50, 70, 90, and 200 lashes respectively; those for Avaoirista, from the first to the seventh offence, extend on the same scale from 10 to 200 lashes; those for Aredus, from the first to the sixth offence, are from 15 to 200 lashes; those for a bruised hurt (*hv*ara), from the first to the fifth offence, are from 30 to 200 lashes; those for a bleeding hurt, from the first to the fourth offence, are from 50 to 200 lashes; those for a bone-breaking hurt, from the first to the third offence, are from 70 to 200 lashes; and those for a hurt depriving of consciousness or life, for the first and second offences, are 90 and 200 lashes. The maximum punishment of 200 lashes is prescribed only when the previous offences have not been atoned for, and it is to be inflicted in all such cases, however few or trifling the previous assaults have been.

[1] In M6 pôryô*d*kêshîh, but pôryô*d*kêshân, 'of those of the primitive faith,' in K20; from the Av. paoiryô*d*kaêsha of Yas. I, 47, III, 65, IV, 53, XXII, 33, Fravardîn Yt. 0, 90, 156, Âf. Rapithwin, 2. It is a term applied to what is considered as the

about it, for Gôgôsasp[1] spoke otherwise than the teaching[2] (*k*âstak) of Âtarô-Aûharmazd[3], and Sôshyans[4] *otherwise* than the teaching of Âtarô-frôbâg Nôsâî[5], and Mê*d*ôk-mâh[6] *otherwise* than the teaching of Gôgôsasp[7], and Afarg[8] *otherwise* than the teaching

true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

[1] One of the old commentators whose opinions are frequently quoted in Pahlavi books, as in Chap. II, 74, 82, 119, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 138, 151, IV, 35, V, 14, 121, VI, 9, 64, VII, 6, 136, VIII, 64, 236, XV, 35, 48, 56, 67, XVI, 5, XVIII, 98, 124, and thirteen times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Gôsasp (as it is here both in M6 and K20) and sometimes Gôgôsôsp.

[2] Probably a written exposition or commentary is meant.

[3] This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân as Âtarô Aûharmazdân.

[4] This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 56, 74, 80, 118, 119, III, 13, VI, 4, 5; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, 151, IV, 6, V, 48, 80, 107, 121, 146, 153, VI, 15, 64, 73, VII, 4, 136, 168, VIII, 28, 59, 303, IX, 184, XIII, 20, XVI, 7, 10, 17, 20–22, 27, XVIII, 98, and forty-six times in the Nîrangistân. He was a namesake of the last of the future apostles and sons of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8), and his name is often written Sôshâns and read Saoshyôs or Sôsyôs by Pâzand writers.

[5] This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân, and may probably be the Âtarô-frôbâg of B. Yt. I, 7; compare also Nôsâî Bûrz-Mitrô, the name of another commentator, in Chap. VIII, 18.

[6] This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 1, 11, 12, 89, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 6, 58, 107, VIII, 48, 110, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 37, and four times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Mê*d*yôk-mâh or Mâî*d*ôk-mâh, and he was a namesake of Zaratûst's cousin and first disciple (see Bund. XXXII, 2, 3). The Vagarkar*d*-i Dînîk professes to have been compiled by Mê*d*yôk-mâh, but there appear to have been several priests of this name (see Bund. XXXIII, 1).

[7] Gôsasp in M6.

[8] This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 2, 64, 73, 88, 115, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 115, V, 6, 14, 22, 58,

of Sôshyans. 4. And all those of the primitive faith rely upon these six[1] teachings, and there are *some* who rely more weakly and some more strongly *upon some* of them.

146, VI, 9, VII, 6, 61, 93, 136, VIII, 48, 64, 110, 250, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 14, 37, XIX, 84, Pahl. Yas. LXIV, 37, once in Farh. Okh., and thirty-eight times in the Nîrangistân.

[1] Both MSS. have 'three,' although four teachings and six commentators are mentioned in the previous section, and a fifth 'teaching' is mentioned in Chap. II, 2. The original reading was more probably 'six' than 'four,' as a Pahlavi 'six' requires merely the omission of a cipher to become 'three,' whereas a Pahlavi 'four' must be altered to produce the same blunder.

Several other commentators are mentioned in Pahlavi books, such as Âtarô-pâ*d*, son of Dâ*d*-farukh, twice in the Nîrangistân; Âzâ*d*-mar*d* nine times in Nîr.; Barôshand Aûharmazd once in Nîr.; Dâ*d* Aûharmazd in B. Yt. I, 7, III, 16, Pahl. Yas. X, 57, XI, 22; Dâ*d*-farukh in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, VI, 64, and twice in Nîr.; Dâ*d*-i-vêh seventeen times in Nîr.; Farukhŏ thrice in Nîr.; Kîrâtanŏ-bûgê*d* in Pahl. Vend. V, 80, VI, 15, IX, 184, XIII, 20, he is called the Kirmânîk in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, and Dastûr Hoshangji thinks his name is merely a variant of the next; Kûshtanŏ-bûgê*d* in Sls. II, 57, 81, 118, VI, 6, VIII, 17, Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, IV, 6, V, 48, VI, 53, 64, 73, VIII, 28, XVI, 17, 21, 22, 27, and twenty-two times in Nîr.; Mâh-Aûharmazd in Pahl. Vend. VII, 82; Mâh-gôsaspŏ, Mâh-gôsôspŏ, Mâh-gôspŏ, or Mâh-vasp in Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, Pahl. Vend. III, 138, and ten times in Nîr.; Mâhvand-dâ*d* or Mâh-vindâ*d* in B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, X, 57, XI, 22, XIX, 27; Mar*d*-bû*d* in Sls. II, 86, and twice in Nîr., where he is called the son of Dâ*d*-gun; Nêryôsang in Sls. VIII, 13, Pahl. Vend. V, 22; Nikhshâ-pûhar, or Nîshapûhar in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in Nîr.; Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô in Sls. VIII, 18; Parîk or Pîrîk in Pahl. Vend. III, 138, V, 14, 134, VII, 82, 93, VIII, 64, and once in Nîr.; Rôshan or Rôshanô (which, as the Sikand-gûmânî states, was the name of a commentary written by Rôshan son of Âtarô-frôbâg) in Sls. II, 39, 86, 107, B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 5, 14, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, V, 112, 134, 176, VII, 93, XVII, 11, and eleven times in Nîr.; disciples of Vakht-âfrî*d*ŏ (possibly the Bakht-âfrî*d* of Sls. XX, 11, B. Yt. I, 7) are mentioned once in Nîr.; Vand-Aûharmazd in Sls. II, 2, 6, 44, XIV, 5, Pahl. Vend. VI, 73; and Vêh-dôst once in

CHAPTER II.

1. For in the third fargar*d* ('chapter') of the Vendidad of Mê*d*ôk-mâh[1] *it* is declared that when life is resigned without effort[2], at the time when the life departs, when a dog is tied to his foot, even then the Nasû*s*[3] rushes upon it, and afterwards, when seen by it, the Nasû*s* is destroyed by it. 2. This is where *it is stated* which is the dog which destroys the Nasû*s*[4], the shepherd's dog, the village-dog, the blood-hound, the slender hound[5], and the rûkûnîk[6]:

the Nîrangistân. It must, however, be observed that the reading of some of these names is very uncertain.

[1] Alluding probably to Mê*d*ôk-mâh's complete commentary on the Vendidad (now no longer extant), as the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48, which treats of Sag-di*d* or dôg-gaze, does not mention Mê*d*ôk-mâh or any of the details described here in the text; these details, however, are to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

[2] Reading amat barâ zôr *g*ân dâ*d*. This phrase occurs only in M6 (as a marginal note) and in the text of its descendants. Assuming that barâ may be a miswriting of pavan (see p. 176, note 5), we might read amat pavan zôr shûyâ*d*, 'when he shall wash with holy-water.'

[3] The 'corruption' which is supposed to enter a corpse shortly after death, whence it issues in the form of a fiend and seizes upon any one who touches the corpse, unless it has been destroyed, or driven away, by the gaze of a dog, as mentioned in the text (compare Vend. VIII, 38–48). The carcase of a dog is considered equally contagious with the corpse of a human being, and when the fiend of corruption (Nasû*s* or Nas of Bund. XXVIII, 29) has seized upon any one, it can be driven out only by a long and troublesome form of purification described in Vend. VIII, 111–228, IX, 4–117.

[4] This statement is now to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

[5] See Bund. XIV, 19. The Persian Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah and Kâûs Kâmân (quoted in B29) describe these dogs as 'the shepherd's dog, the house-dog, the strange or tame (gharîb) dog, and the puppy.'

[6] Probably the Av. sukuruna of Vend. V, 100, XIII, 48, which

and as to the rûkûnîk there have been divers opinions, *as* Vand-Aûharmazd[1] asserted, from the teaching of Afarg, that it does not destroy *it*. 3. The dog destroys the Nasûs at the time when it sees the flesh, and when it sees the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*[2]. 4. A blind dog also destroys *it*, at the time when it places a paw[3] on the corpse; and when it places *it* upon the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*[4]. 5. The birds which destroy the Nasûs are three: the mountain kite, the black crow, and the vulture[5]; the bird, moreover, destroys *it* at the time when *its* shadow falls upon it; when it sees it in the water, a mirror, or a looking-glass, it does not destroy *it*[6].

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is translated by hûkar or hûkûr in the Pahlavi version. This fifth kind of dog is called 'the blind (kûr) dog' in the Persian Rivâyats; but Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 asserts that 'Sôshâns said the rûkunîk also destroys it,' and then speaks of the blind dog as in § 4.

[1] See the note on Chap. I, 4.

[2] This is also stated in Pahl. Vend. III, 138.

[3] See Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

[4] The Persian Rivâyats say this is because the Nasûs is concealed beneath the hair and nails (compare Vend. VII, 70).

[5] These are the birds 'created for devouring dead matter (see Bund. XIX, 25). Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 substitutes an eagle (dâlman) for the vulture.

[6] This sentence is probably defective, as the last clause evidently refers to the dog's gaze (see Pahl. Vend. III, 138), and not to the bird's shadow; the rule, however, is applicable to both. Thus the Persian Rivâyats state that if the bird's shadow falls upon the hair or the nails of the corpse, or if the bird's shadow, or the dog's gaze falls upon a corpse in the water, or upon its reflection in a mirror, the Nasûs is not destroyed. Dastûr Jâmâspji is of opinion that the utility of the bird's shadow is intended to apply only to cases of death in uninhabited places, where a dog is not procurable. As all three birds are such as feed upon corpses, it seems probable that the rule as to their utility was intended to pre-

6. Vand-Aûharmazd said, where a pregnant woman is to be carried by two men[1], both are to be cleansed by the Bareshnûm *ceremony*[2], and the head of the corpse, when they carry it away, is to be set towards the Dakhma[3]. 7. And on account of contamination

vent any neglect of corpses found in wild places, where some of these birds would be sure to approach and let their shadows fall upon the dead, after which the finder of the corpse would suppose that the Nasûs was destroyed or driven away, and the corpse safer to approach.

[1] This is an exceptional case, when not more than two men are available; the usual custom (see Chap. X, 10) is to employ four men and two dogs (double the usual number) in disposing of the corpse of a pregnant woman, on account of the double risk of contamination, owing to the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, having seized upon two corpses at once. In consequence of the exceptional nature of the case, the mode of purification is also exceptional.

[2] A long purification ceremony lasting nine nights, and described in Vend. IX, 1–145. Its name, according to Dastûr Hoshangji, is derived from the first word of the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person, which commence (Vend. IX, 48) as follows: Bareshnûm hê vaghdhanem paourum paiti-hi*nk*ôis, 'sprinkle in front on the top of his head.' As it is usual to quote chapters by their initial words, the initial word of these instructions for the ceremony became a name for the ceremony itself.

[3] The building in which the dead are finally deposited; here called by its Huzvâris name, khazân. The Dakhmas used by the Parsis in India are like low circular towers in external appearance, and consist of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller circular space which is open to the sky. The only opening in the wall is a small doorway, closed with an iron door. In the centre of the circular area is a circular well a few feet in depth, and the space around it is paved so as to slope gently downwards from the enclosing wall to the brink of the well. This paved annular area is divided (by shallow gutters grooved into its surface) into spaces, each large enough for one corpse to be laid upon it, with the head towards the wall and the feet towards the well. These spaces are arranged in two or more concentric rings around the well, and the gutters (which isolate each space on all four sides) drain into the

(pa*d*vîshak)[1] two are not to be carried at one time, and two by one person are not proper; one dog and one person are proper[2]. 8. Every one who understands the care of a corpse is proper; two boys of eight years old, who understand the care, are proper; a woman free from menstruation, or free from dead

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well. After a sufficient time has elapsed the dry bones are said to be thrown into the well, and when the well is full the Dakhma ought to be finally closed, and another one brought into use. These Dakhmas are erected upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water; upon the summit of a hill, if possible, as prescribed in Vend. VI, 93, and usually more than a mile from the town. In Bombay the town has gradually approached the Dakhmas, and to some extent surrounded them, but has been kept away from their immediate vicinity by the judicious measures of influential Parsis, who have acquired all the neighbouring land, and refrain from building on it. The reason for thus exposing their dead to the sun and carnivorous birds is that the Parsis consider fire, water, and earth too sacred to be defiled by corp es; and they have less consideration for the air. Next to burning, the Parsi mode of disposing of the dead is the most rapid and effectual, as it avoids most of the concentrated evils which must accumulate in crowded cemeteries in the course of time, and which require ages to dissipate. As it is, most of the offensive effluvium in the immediate vicinity of a Dakhma arises not from direct contamination of the air, but indirectly through the ground, which becomes polluted, in the course of time, by impure filtrations.

[1] Dastûr Jâmâspji prefers reading patôshak, and thinks it means 'necessity,' as in cases where two deaths occur nearly simultaneously in the same house, when both corpses cannot be removed the same day. Such a meaning might suit this passage, but the word occurs again, in § 33 and Chap. IX, 7, where it can refer only to 'contamination,' and the etymology of pa*d*vîshak (Av. paiti + vish) is plain enough.

[2] That is, when two persons cannot be found to carry a corpse, one can do it alone, provided he holds a dog by a string. This course is adopted, Dastûr Jâmâspji says, when a person happens to die in a place where only one Parsi is available.

matter[1], or a man, with a woman or a child of eight years old, is proper.

9. It is not to be carried all covered up[2], for *that* is burying the corpse; to carry *it* in the rain is worthy of death[3]. 10. When clouds have been around[4], it is allowable to carry *it* away from the house; and when rain sets in upon the road it is not allowable to carry *it* back to the house; *but* when it is before a veranda (dâhliz) *one* should put *it* down there; that is allowable when he who owns the veranda is apprehensive, *and* when he does not allow *it* inside; and, afterwards, it is to be carried away to its place, and when the water stands the height of a javelin (nîzak) inside[5], *one* puts *it* down *and* brings *it* away yet again. 11. Mèdôk-mâh[6] says that there should be a shelter (var)[7] *one* should

[1] In the terms arî-dashtânô and arî-nasâi the compound ar is written in an obsolete manner, both in M6 and K20. The meaning of the text is that either or both of the corpse-carriers may be any Parsi man, woman, or child who understands the proper precautions. Compare Pahl. Vend. VIII, 28.

[2] K20 has 'when curved it is not to be carried.'

[3] That is, it is a mortal sin to allow rain to fall upon a corpse before it is deposited in the Dakhma.

[4] Or 'withheld,' or 'continuous,' according as we compare hâmûn with Pers. âmûn (âman), amân, or hâmân.

[5] Inside the Dakhma apparently. The meaning seems to be, that when the Dakhma is flooded the corpse is to be laid down in some dry place in its vicinity until the flood has abated. But according to Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17, it is allowable to throw the corpse in when the Dakhma is full of water.

[6] See Chaps. I, 3, II, 1. Here, again, the quotation must be from his complete commentary, as it is not extant in the present Pahlavi Vendidad.

[7] From Av. var, 'to cover, to shelter;' compare Pers. gullah, 'a bower or shed.' Nowadays the Parsis have a permanent shelter near the Dakhma. Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17 says, 'to carry

fasten above that place, *and* it would make *it* dry below[1]; *one* should place the corpse under that shelter, and they may take the shelter *and* bring *it* away.

12. From the fifth fargar*d* of the Vendidad of Mê*d*ôk-mâh[2] they state thus, that at the place where one's life goes forth, when he shall die upon a cloth, and a hair or a limb remains upon the bed-place and the ground[3], the ground conveys the pollution, even not originating with *itself* (ahambûni*k*), in like manner down unto the water[4]. 13. And when *he is* on a bedstead, and *its* legs are not connected with the ground, when a hair or a limb remains behind on the bedstead, it does not convey *the pollution* down. 14. When he shall die on a plastered floor the plaster is polluted, and when they dig up that plaster and spread *it* again afterwards, it is clean. 15. When he shall die on a stone, and the stone is connected with the ground, the stone will become clean, *along* with the ground, in the length of a year; and when they dig up the place, the stone *being* polluted is to be washed at the time. 16. When a stone is connected with the ground, or is separated, and *one* shall die upon it, so much space of the stone as the corpse occupied is polluted[5];

an umbrella (a*v*argash) from behind, *or* to hold up a shelter, is of no use.'

[1] Or, 'it would make *it* very dry,' if we read a*v*îr, 'very,' instead of a*g*îr, 'below;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

[2] Quoting again from his lost commentary.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'floor.'

[4] This translation is somewhat doubtful, but the text seems to imply that the ground is polluted as deep as it contains no water.

[5] K20 has had, 'the stone is all polluted, *and* will become clean at the time when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, in so

when they shall leave it, in the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground; and when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time; when the stone is not made *even* with the ground, above the ground the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time.

17. Dung-fuel *and* ashes, when the limbs of a menstruous woman come upon them, are both polluted; and the salt and lime for washing *her* shift (kartak-shûî) are *to be treated* just like stone[1].

18. If *one* shall die on a terrace roof (bân)[2], when one of his limbs, or a hair, remains behind at the edge of the roof, the roof is polluted *for* the size of the body as far as the water; and they should carry down all the *sacred* twigs (baresôm)[3] in the house, from the place where the pollution is, until there are thirty steps of three feet[4] to the *sacred* twigs, so that the *sacred* twigs may not be polluted; and when his hair or limb has not come to the eaves (parakân) the roof is polluted to the bottom (tôhik).

19. And when *one* shall die on a rîtâ[5] *it* is polluted

much space as the corpse occupied *it is* polluted;' but the additional matter seems to be struck out. Something analogous to the details in this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. VI, 9.

[1] This section would be more appropriate in Chap. III.

[2] Or 'an upper floor;' Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 has, 'when he shall die on an upper floor, when nothing of him remains behind at the partitions (pardakân), the floor is polluted as far as the balcony (âskûp) *and* the balcony alone is clean; when anything of him remains behind at the partitions, the floor is polluted as far as the balcony, the ground is polluted as far as the water, *about* the balcony alone it is not clear.'

[3] See note on Chap. III, 32.

[4] The gâm, 'step,' being 2 feet 7½ inches (see note on Bund. XXVI, 3) these thirty steps are about 79 English feet.

[5] Meaning uncertain; the word looks like Huzvâris, but it is possible to read rî*d*-aê instead of rîtâ-1.

for the size of the body as far as the water; *in* the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground. 20. A built bridge is *liable* just like a terrace roof. 21. When *one* shall die on the terrace roof of a trellised *apartment* (varam), that is also *liable* just like a terrace roof. 22. When he shall die in a trellised *apartment*, when one of his limbs, or a hair, does not remain on the borders (parakân), it does not convey the pollution down, but when *any* of him remains behind it conveys *it* down; it is allowable when they dig *it* up[1], and *one* also spreads *it* again afterwards, and *it* is clean.

23. When *one* shall die by strangulation and a rope in a crowd, when *there* is no fear of his falling down they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is a fear of his falling down, when that fear is as regards one side of him, they should carry *him* down on that side; and when *he has* fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he has* fallen. 24. When *one* is seated upright *and* shall die, when *there* is fear of his falling on one side they should carry *him* down *on* that one side, and when there is fear on all four sides, *then* on all four sides; and when *he has* fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such place as *he has* fallen[2].

25. And when *one* shall die on a tree, when its

[1] That is, the floor of the apartment; which would probably be formed of earth beaten down, which, in India, is nearly always overspread with diluted cow-dung to hinder cracks in the smooth surface. A better class of floor is spread with lime plaster on a stony surface.

[2] The object of these rules is evidently to avoid disturbing the corpse more than is absolutely necessary, provided there be no fear of its polluting more of the ground by falling upon it.

bark is green and *there* is no fear of falling off, they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is fear of it, they should carry down the whole of the body (tanû masâi). 26. And when the bark of the tree is withered, when *there* is fear of it and when *there* is no fear of it, they should carry *it* down. 27. When he shall die on a branch of a tree which is green, when *there* is no fear of his falling off they should not carry *him* down. 28. And when *there* is fear of it, or *it is* a branch of a withered tree, when also, a hair originating with him, or a limb, remains behind on the particular tree, they should carry down the whole of the body [1]. 29. And when it does not remain behind him on the particular tree, but when *there* is fear of its falling off, they should not carry it below (vad frôd)[2].

30. When a corpse (nasâî-i)[3], from outside of it, remains behind on a jar (khûmbŏ) in which *there* may be wine, the jar is polluted, *and* the wine is clean. 31. And when *one* shall die inside, in the wine in the jar, if not even a hair or a curl originating with him remains behind on the jar, the wine is polluted and the jar not polluted [4]. 32. When *it is*

[1] K20 has a portion of § 30 inserted here by mistake.

[2] The object of these rules is likewise to prevent the risk of the corpse defiling more of the ground than is absolutely necessary by falling upon it, as it might do by the breaking of a dead branch.

[3] Nasâî (Av. nasu) means not only a corpse or carcase of a human being, dog, or other animal of the good creation, but also any portion of such corpse or carcase; that is, *solid* 'dead matter' in general, as distinguished from dirt or refuse from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a corpse or carcase, which is called hîkhar (Av. hikhra).

[4] Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 states, that 'when *one* shall die on a jar of wine, the jar is useless, and the wine becomes just as though *its*

a jar in which *there* is oil [1], and dead matter (nasâî), from outside of it, remains behind on it, this is even *as* though it remains inside it, because the oil comes outside and goes back to the inside, *and* both are polluted, the jar and the oil; and even on making the jar dry [2] it is not fit to put anything in.

33. When a serpent (garzak) is in a jar in which *there* is wine, both are useless and polluted, for it makes *them* contaminated (padvîshak). 34. And when corn shall be in *it*, the jar is polluted and the corn clean; and when nothing originating with *the serpent* inside the jar remains behind on the jar, so much of the corn as includes the serpent, and upon *which* the touch (mâlisn) of the serpent has gone—because the touch of the serpent's seed might be the death of one—is to be taken out *and* to be thrown away. 35. And when hair or dead matter, even not originating with *the serpent*, remains behind on the jar, the jar is polluted, but is serviceable (shâyad) on making *it* dry [3].

36. Brick, earth, and mortar are separated by

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course (ravisn) had been within three steps *of the corpse*. And when he shall die in the wine, when nothing of him remains behind on the jar, the jar is proper on making *it* dry' (or, perhaps, 'the jar is fit for bran-flour').

[1] Or 'clarified butter;' in this case the 'jar' is probably a globular vessel, or carboy, made of hide, through which the oil, or liquid butter, penetrates so far as to keep the outer surface greasy, which accounts for the remark about the oil passing in and out. Such vessels, called *d*abar, are commonly used for oil and liquid butter in India.

[2] Assuming that khûskar stands for khûsk-kar, as it does in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71; otherwise we should have to read thus: 'and the jar is not even fit to put any bran-flour in.'

[3] Again assuming as in § 32; otherwise we must read thus: 'but is fit for bran-flour (khûskar).'

their own substance (pavan mindavam-i nafs-man), and are connected with the ground; being separated by their own substance is this, that so much space as dead matter[1] comes upon is polluted; being connected with the ground is this, that they would convey the pollution down unto the water. 37. Dung-fuel, ashes, flour, and other powdered things are connected with their own substance, and are separated from the ground; being connected with their own substance is this, that when dead matter comes upon them the whole of them is polluted; and being separated from the ground is this, that when dead matter comes upon them it does not make the ground polluted[2].

38. *At* a house *in* which the *sacred* ceremony (yazisn) is prepared, and a dog or a person passes[3] away in it, the first business to be done is this, that the fire is to be preserved from harm; moreover, if it be only possible to carry the fire so that they would carry *it* away within three steps of the corpse[4], even then it is to be carried away, *and* the

[1] Or 'a corpse;' K20 has 'stands upon.' The meaning is that these substances do not communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but only downwards to the ground, which conveys it farther down, so far as it contains no water.

[2] That is, these substances communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but not down to the ground.

[3] The verb vidardanŏ (Huz. vabrûntanŏ), 'to cross over, to pass away' (Av. vi + tar, Pers. gudhastan), can only be used when referring to the death of *good* people or animals; but the verb mûrdanŏ (Huz. yemîtûntanŏ), 'to die, to expire' (Av. mar, Pers. murdan), can be used generally, though usually applied to the wicked and to evil creatures. Pahl. Vend. V, 134 contains nearly the same text as §§ 38, 39.

[4] Under ordinary circumstances fire must not be brought within thirty steps, or about 79 English feet, of a corpse (see Vend. VIII,

wall is not to be cut. 39. Rôshan[1] said that an earthen *one* is to be cut into, *but* a mortar *one* is not to be cut; below and above no account *is taken* of damaging (bôdôzêdîh)[2] the wall[3]. 40. To bring the fire within[4] the three steps from the corpse is a Tanâpûhar sin; and when exudation happens to the corpse, it is worthy of death[5]. 41. The prepared food in that house is all useless, and that which is not prepared is usable in the length of nine nights

17). But the spirit of the Mazdayasnian law is reasonable, and, although strict, it allows for practical difficulties and chooses the least of two evils in a more judicious manner than might be expected (a fact which it would be well for Parsis and others to observe in doubtful cases). Here, breaking through the wall of a house is considered a greater evil than the possible pollution of the fire by passing at a distance of three steps, or eight English feet, from a corpse.

[1] The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in Pahlavi translations (see the note on Chap. I, 4).

[2] Literally, 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdôzêd or bôdyôzad is a particular kind of sin which appears to consist chiefly of the ill-treatment of animals and injury of useful property. It is mentioned in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1b, Pahl. Vend. V, 107, XIII, 38, Farh. Okh. pp. 32, 33; and in some editions of the Khurdah Avesta it is defined as selling stolen men or animals into misery, or one's own domestic cattle to the butcher, also spoiling and tearing up good clothing, or wasting and spoiling good food.

[3] The meaning is, that if it became necessary to break through the wall in order to remove the fire unpolluted, the sin committed through damaging the wall will not be punished either in this world or the next.

[4] That is, nearer than three steps, which is considered to be the minimum distance at which any degree of purity can be maintained.

[5] A marg-argân sin, on committing which the sinner is required to place his life at the disposal of the high-priest (see Chap. VIII, 2, 5, 6, 21). It is usually considered equivalent to fifteen Tanâpûhars (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

or a month[1]. 42. Clothing also *in* like manner, except that which *one* wears on the body; that, even in that time, is not clean, since it remains in use. 43. And the holy-water (zôhar)[2], too, which is taken and remains *in* that place, is to be carried away immediately to the water; also the sacred milk (gîv)[3] *and* butter (gum)[4] *in* like manner. 44. Of the prayer[5] clothing Vand-Aûharmazd[6] said that it is usable in the length of nine nights *or* a month; the writer[7] (dapîr) said that it is when they perform the washing of hands, and wash *it* thoroughly, it will become clean at the time.

45. If in a house there are three rooms (gungînak), and *one* shall die in the entrance place (dargâs), if *it be* so that they may set the door open, and the corpse comes to this side, only this

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[1] According to the season of the year, the period of uncleanness being nine nights in the five winter months, and a month in the seven summer months (see Vend. V, 129).

[2] Av. zaothra; this holy-water is consecrated by the priest reciting certain prayers while holding the empty metal cups in his hands, while filling them with water, and after filling them (see Haug's Essays, p. 397).

[3] The Av. gâus gîvya, '*product of* the living cow,' which is kept in a metal saucer during the ceremonies, and used for sprinkling the sacred twigs (baresôm), and for mixing with the holy-water and Hôm-juice in the mortar (see Haug's Essays, pp. 403, 405, 406).

[4] Compare Pers. kûm, 'fat;' it is the Av. gâus hudhau, '*product of* the well-yielding cow,' a small piece of which is placed upon one of the sacred pancakes, or wafers (drôn), during the ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407).

[5] Reading yast; but it may be gast, 'changed.'

[6] See the note on Chap. I, 4.

[7] There appear to be, as yet, no means of ascertaining the name of the writer of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, who gives his own opinion here.

side is polluted; and if the corpse comes to that side, only that side is polluted; when it comes to both sides at once (aêvâk), only the entrance place is polluted alone, both the dwelling-rooms (khânak) are clean.

46. And the vault of the sacred fires[1] alone does not become polluted.

47. If *one* shall die in a wild spot (vaskar), prepared food which is within three steps is all useless, and beyond four steps it is not polluted. 48. Prepared food is this, such as bread, boiled and roast meat, and prepared broth[2].

49. And the ashes (var) of the sacred fire[3] become in a measure polluted.

50. Should they carry in the fire into that house in which the length of nine nights *or* a month is requisite for becoming clean, *there* is a sin of one Tanâpûhar[4] through carrying *it* in, and one Tanâpûhar through kindling *it;* and every trifling *creature* (khûr or khûl) which shall die and shall remain *causes* a sin of one Tanâpûhar. 51. Also through carrying water in, *there* is a sin of one Farmân; and to pour water on the place where *any* one's life departs is a sin of one Tanâpûhar, and to pour *it* on a different place is a sin of one Yât. 52. And to

[1] Literally, 'the vault of the fires of Vâhrâm.' Pahl. Vend. V, 134 says 'the vault of the fires is *liable* just like an empty house.' Both this section and § 49 seem out of place.

[2] See Pahl. Vend. V, 134.

[3] Literally, 'the produce of the fire of Vâhrâm,' a term for 'ashes,' which is used in Pahl. Vend. V, 150 along with the equivalent phrase, 'clothing of the fire' (see Chap. III, 27).

[4] See Chap. I, 1, 2 for the degrees of sin mentioned in §§ 50, 51, 53.

undergo ablution[1] inside *the unclean house* is all non-ablution. 53. And whoever goes into it needlessly, *his* body *and* clothes are to be every time thoroughly washed, and his sin is one Tanâpûhar; and when he goes in needfully *it* is neither good work nor sin[2].

54. And this pollution is all in the sharp account (tîkhak amâr) when the life departs[3]; the only *thing* which amounts to polluting is contact with the flesh, and even with the hair and nails. 55. Of the contact which is stated in the Avesta[4], the account is *that it is* from one side, and it ever cleaves to *one;* the curse (ga*z*i*s*n)[5] which is stated in the Avesta advances from all four sides. 56. Sôshyans[6] said it is, until its exhibition to a dog, just as it becomes at the time when its life departs[7]; a priest, a

[1] That is, the ceremonial ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh), or 'washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles,' whilst a certain form of prayer is recited (see AV. p. 148, note).

[2] Here again, as in § 38, the strict letter of the law is relaxed in case of necessity.

[3] Meaning, apparently, that any pollution is taken into account, as a sin, in the investigation the soul has to undergo upon entering the other world. Much of this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 107.

[4] Referring to Vend. V, 82–107, which gives an account of the number of persons through whom the pollution of a corpse or carcase will pass, which is in proportion to the importance of the dead individual. The statement here made is that the infection, passing from one to the other, enters each person only on one side, but the demon of corruption attacks them on all sides.

[5] Meaning, probably, the Nasû*s*, or demon of corruption (see § 1), who is said to rush upon all those polluted as detailed in Vend. V, 82–107.

[6] See Chap. I, 3.

[7] That is, until seen by the dog the corpse remains pervaded by the demon of corruption and hazardous to approach (see §§ 1–4).

warrior, and a husbandman are no use, for merely a dog is stated. 57. Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd[1] said the account is at the time when its life departs; and that which Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd specially said is, 'when anything is inside it (the place) the pollution is as far as to the place where that thing stands.' 58. When a dog, or a goat, or a pig is requisite (dârvâî)[2] it is proper, for *the pollution* does not attack further there; and the pollution of a child in the womb is *along* with the mother.

59. The direct pollution of a hedgehog[3] cleaves to *one*, and not the indirect pollution. 60. Direct pollution (hamrêd)[4] is that when the body is in contact with a corpse, and indirect pollution (paît-

[1] See Chap. I, 4, note. This name is nearly always written Kushtanŏ-bûgêd in Sls. in K20 and M6; it is not mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 107, although the details here quoted are there given in part.

[2] The meaning is not quite clear, but this sentence is probably to be read in connection with the preceding one, as implying that where such domestic animals are kept they can be used for stopping the infection, as effectually as any inanimate object. The pig is here mentioned as a common domestic animal, but Parsis have long since adopted the prejudices of Hindus and Muhammadans as regards the uncleanness of the pig.

[3] As Vend. V, 108–112 says the same of the dog urupi, it would seem that the writer of our text considered the urupi to be a hedgehog (zûzak); the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad renders it by rapuk or rîpûk, which appears to be merely an approximate transcript of the Avesta word; traditionally, this is read raspûk and compared with Pers. râsû, 'ichneumon;' its identification with the hedgehog is certainly doubtful, although it appears to be admitted in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, where the same words are used as in this section.

[4] The technical terms hamrêd and paîtrêd, for contagion and infection, are merely corruptions of Av. hãm-raêthwayêiti and paiti-raêthwayêiti. The definition of the latter one is omitted in K20 by mistake.

rêd) is that when[1] *one* is in contact with him who touched the corpse; and from contact with him who is the eleventh[2] indirect pollution cleaves to *one in* the same manner. 61. The indirect pollution of an ape[3] and a menstruous woman, not acting the same *way*, remains. 62. The shepherd's dog, and likewise the village-dog, and others also of the like kind carry contamination to eight[4]; and when they shall carry *the carcase* down on the ground *the place*[5] is clean immediately; and that, too, which dies on a balcony (âskûp), until they shall carry *it* down to the bottom, is polluted *for* the length of a year.

63. Whoever brings dead matter (nasâi) on any person is worthy of death; he is thrice worthy of

[1] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Bund. I, 7).

[2] Vend. V, 86, 87 limits the pollution to the eleventh person infected, in the extreme case of the corpse having been a priest; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 quotes the opinion of Sôshâns that until a dog has gazed at the corpse the pollution extends to the twelfth, but only the first ten require the ceremonial purification of the bareshnûm, the others being cleansed by ordinary washing with bull's urine and water.

[3] Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, however, that 'everything of the ape (kapik) is just like mankind.' The meaning of § 61 is very uncertain, as the text can be both read and translated several ways, and none of them are very satisfactory.

[4] That is, in the case of the shepherd's dog (see Vend. V, 92, 93); the carcases of other dogs occasion the indirect pollution of fewer persons, in proportion to their inferior importance; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, with regard to this importance, that when 'in doubt, every man is to be considered as a priest, and every dog as a shepherd's dog,' so as to be on the safe side, by exacting the maximum amount of purification in all doubtful cases.

[5] The Pahlavi text leaves it doubtful whether the place, the people, or the carcase becomes clean, but the first is the most probable.

death[1] at the time when a dog *has* not seen the corpse (nasâî); and *if* through negligence of appliances and means (*k*âr va tûbânŏ) he disturbs *it*, and disturbs *it* by touching it, he knows that *it is* a sin worthy of death; and *for* a corpse that a dog *has* seen, and *one that* a dog *has* not seen, the accountability is to be understood *to be* as much[2], and *for* the death and sickness[3] of a feeble man *and* a powerful *one*. 64. Afarg has said there is no account of appliances and means[4], for *it* is not allowable to commit a sin worthy of death in *cases of* death and sickness.

65. When they move a corpse which a dog *has* not seen with a thousand men, even then the bodies of the whole *number* are polluted[5], and are to be washed for them with ceremony (pî*s*ak)[6]. 66. And *for* that which a dog *has* seen, except that one only when a man shall move *it* all[7] by touching *it*, his washing is then not *to be* with ceremony. 67. And when he is in contact *and* does not move *it*, he is to be washed with bull's urine *and* water. 68. And

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[1] That is, he has committed a sin equivalent to three mortal sins (marg-ar*g*ân).

[2] Reading ve*s* as equivalent to vê*s*.

[3] Reading râkhtakîh (compare Pers. rakhtah, 'sick, wounded').

[4] This opinion of Afarg (see Chap. I, 3) is also quoted in Pahl. Vend. III, 48.

[5] This statement is repeated in Chap. X, 33.

[6] That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

[7] This exception (which is repeated in §§ 68, 71) seems to imply that §§ 66, 68, 71 refer to the collection of any fragments of a corpse found in the wilderness, or in water; and the exemption from the troublesome purification ceremony in such cases, is probably intended to encourage people to undertake the disagreeable duty of attending to such fragments.

when he shall move with a stake (dâr)[1] a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, except that one only when he shall move *it* all, the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

69. And when a man shall move a corpse, which a dog *has* not seen, by the hand of another man, *he* who moves it by the hand of a man, *and* he also whose own hand's strength *does it* are polluted in the bodies of both; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar[2] *sin* for him himself and of a Tanâpûhar for the other one, for this *reason*, because his own body and that also of the *other* are both made polluted through sinfulness. 70. And when there is not in him, nor even originating with *him* (ahambûnik), the strength of him whose own hand *it is*, it is just as though he would move it (the corpse) with a stake[3]; and he who held *it* in the way of contact with his hand is to be washed with ceremony; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin for him whose own hand *it is*, and of a Khôr[4] for himself. 71. When he shall move a corpse by the hand of a man, and the corpse is of those which a dog *has* seen—except that one only when he shall move it all[5]—the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

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[1] The interposition of the stake, or piece of wood, prevents the direct attack of the Nasûs, or demon of corruption, which has not been driven away by a dog. That inanimate objects are supposed to stop the progress of the pollution appears from § 57.

[2] See Chap. I, 1, 2. A sin is figuratively said to take root in the body, when it has to be eradicated, or figuratively dug up.

[3] See § 68. If he employs another man to move the corpse merely because he is physically unable to do it himself, he escapes with less pollution than when he is able to do the work himself; but the man employed suffers the same in both cases.

[4] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[5] See § 66.

72. When *one* is going *by* a place at night, and comes back there *on* the morrow, and a corpse lies there, and he does not know whether the evil (dûs) was there when he came by[1], or not, it is to be considered by him that it was not there.

73. Of a flock in which is a sheep by whom dead matter is eaten, of a forest in which is a tree with which dead matter is mingled, and of a firewood-stand (aesamdân) in which is a stick of firewood with which grease is mingled, Afarg said that it is not proper to make the flock and the forest fruitful, and the firewood is useless[2].

74. *About* a door on which a corpse impinges; as to the door of a town and city they have been of the same opinion, that *it* is to be discarded by *his* comrades (hamkâr)[3]; as to a door which is mostly closed (badtûm)[4] they have been of different opinions,

[1] Literally, 'when I came by;' the usual Persian idiom in such phrases.

[2] This statement of Afarg's, so far as it relates to greasy firewood, will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

[3] Or, 'by the community.' The same rule is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

[4] There is some uncertainty about this word. It is not the Pers. badtum, 'worst, vilest,' because that is written va*d*tûm or vatûm in Pahlavi; besides, the rule must apply to other than the vilest doors, otherwise it would not harmonize with § 75. It is not a miswriting of nîtûm, 'lowest, most debased,' for the same reason, and because it occurs elsewhere. It is not a miswriting of bêtman, a possible variant of bêtâ, 'a house' (although 'a house-door' would suit the context very well), because it occurs also in Pahl. Vend. V, 14, XI, 10, in which latter place it is clearly an adjective partially translating Av. b*e*ndvô. And it would be hazardous to connect it with Pers. bîdûn, 'outside,' which seems merely a corruption or misreading of bîrûn. The view taken here is that badtûm stands for bandtûm, 'most shut up,' the nasal being often dropped in Pahlavi, as in sag for sang, 'stone,' &c.

Gôgôsasp[1] said that discarding *it* by *his* comrades is likewise proper, and Sôshyans said that it is not proper; and as to other doors they have been of the same opinion, that it is not proper. 75. The door of one's own chief apartment (shah-gâs) is fit for that of the place for menstruation (dastân-istân), and that of the place for menstruation is fit for that of the depository *for the dead* (khazânô)[2], and that of the depository of the dead is not fit for any purpose whatever[3]; that of the more pleasant is fit for that of the more grievous.

76. Any one who, through sinfulness, throws a corpse into the water, is worthy of death on the spot[4]; when he throws only one *it is* one *sin* worthy of death, *and* when he throws ten at one time *it is* then one *sin* worthy of death; when he throws *them* separately *it is* a *sin* worthy of death for each one. 77. Of the water, into which *one* throws dead matter, the extent of pollution is three steps of three feet *in* the water advancing, nine steps of three feet *in* the water *passed* over, and six steps of three feet *in* the water alongside[5]; six steps of three feet in the depth of the water, and three steps of three feet in the water pouring over the dead matter are polluted as regards the depth[6]. 78. When it is thrown *into* the midst of a great standing water, in like manner, the proportion it comes is ever as much as it goes, *and*

[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] The Huz. equivalent of Pâz. dakhmak (see § 6).

[3] See Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

[4] Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 66. [5] See Vend. VI, 80.

[6] That is, the pollution extends about eight English feet up-stream and upwards, sixteen feet sideways and downwards, and twenty-four feet down-stream. Some of the latter part of the sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

is the proportion of it they should always carry *away* with *the dead matter* [1].

79. And when a man comes forth, and a corpse lies in the water, when he is able to bring it out, and it is not an injury to him, it is not allowable to abandon *it* except when he brings *it* out [2]. 80. Sôshyans [3] said that, when it is an injury, it is allowable when [4] he does not bring *it* out; and when it is not an injury, and he does not bring *it*, his sin is a Tanâpûhar [5]. 81. Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd [6] said that even in *case of* injury it is not allowable to abandon *it*, except when he brings *it* out; when he does not bring *it he* is worthy of death. 82. And Gôgôsasp [7] said that it is even in *case of* injury not allowable, except when he brings *it* out; and when, in *case of* injury, he does not bring *it* out his sin is a Tanâpûhar; and when it is no injury to him, and he does not bring *it*, *he* is worthy of death.

83. And when he shall wish to bring *it* his clothing is to be laid aside [8], for it makes the clothing

[1] The sentence is obscure, but this seems to be the meaning; that is, when a corpse or any dead matter is thrown into a pond or tank, the pollution extends sixteen feet from it in all directions; and that quantity of water ought to be drawn off, in order to purify the tank (see Vend. VI, 65–71). As the corpse, in nearly all cases, must be either at the bottom or on the surface, the quantity of polluted water to be drawn off must be a hemispherical mass sixteen feet in radius, or about forty-eight tons of water.

[2] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64, where it states that bringing it out is a good work of one Tanâpûhar, and leaving it is a sin of the same amount.

[3] See Chap. I, 3.

[4] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[5] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[7] See Chap. I, 3.

[8] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

polluted, and whatever *he* is first able *and* best able *to bring* is to be brought out by him. 84. When, too, he is able to bring *it* out through the breadth of the water, then also it is to be brought out so[1]; and when he is not able, it is to be brought out through the length of the water; and showing *it to* a dog *and* the two men are not to be waited for[2].

85. And it is to be carried by him so much away from the neighbourhood of the water that, when he puts *it* down, the water which comes out dropping from the corpse does not reach back to the water; for when the water which comes out from the corpse reaches continuously back to the water *he* is worthy of death; and after that (min zak frâg) it is to be shown *to* a dog, and it is to be carried away by two men. 86. And when he wishes to throw *it* out from the water, Mar*d*-bû*d*[3] said it is allowable to throw *it* out thus, so that the water of the dripping corpse does not reach continuously back to the water; Rôshan said it would be allowable to throw *it* out far.

87. To drag *it* over the water is allowable, to grasp and relinquish *it* is not allowable[4]; and when it is possible to act so that he may convey *it* from a great water to a small water, when the water is

[1] So that less water may be polluted by the corpse taking the shortest route through it; but if that be impossible it must come out quickly, at any rate.

[2] That is, the otherwise indispensable dog's gaze and two bearers must be dispensed with, if not at hand, in order to save time, until the corpse is out of the water (see § 85).

[3] It might be, 'there was a man *who* said,' but Mar*d*-bû*d* occurs in the Nîrangistân as the name of a commentator (see Chap. I, 4, note).

[4] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for this prohibition.

connected *it* is allowable, and when separated *it* is not allowable. 88. Afarg[1] said it is allowable to drag *it* below through the water, but to drag *it* over is not allowable, for this has come *on* the water *as* a danger[2], and that has not come on *it as* a danger. 89. Mê*d*ôk-mâh[1] said it is allowable to drag *it* above, *but* to drag *it* below is not allowable, for the danger has gone out across the water, and the danger is not now to be brought upon it; and on that which is below, *on* which the danger has not come, the danger will at last arrive.

90. When he goes into the water he is to go into it with this idea, that 'should there be many below, then I will even bring all;' for whoever goes in not with this idea, and shall disturb any other one which lies there, will become polluted[3]. 91. And if the corpse be heavy *and* it is not possible to bring *it* out by one person, *and* he goes out with this idea, that 'I *will* go and prepare means, and bring this corpse out of the water;' and when through sinfulness[4] he does not go back his body is polluted *and* worthy of

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[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] Or 'fear.' The difference of opinion between the two commentators on this question in casuistry, appears to have arisen from Afarg regarding the water merely as the representative of a spirit, who might be endangered or frightened by the source of impurity becoming more visible when above the water, while Mê*d*ôk-mâh considered the water in its material aspect, and wished to save it from the further pollution consequent upon drawing the corpse through more of it.

[3] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

[4] These rules generally distinguish clearly between offences committed 'through sinfulness,' that is, wilfully, and those arising from accidental inability; more stress being laid upon the intention than upon the action.

death, and when he is unable to go back he is not polluted.

92. When the corpse is so decomposed (pûdak), when *it* is thus necessary to bring it out, that he must cut off various fragments, even after he cuts *them* off *they* are to be brought out; and for every fragment his hands and knife are to be washed with bull's urine (gômêz), and with dust and moisture (nambŏ) *they* are clean[1]. 93. And *they* are to be torn off[2] by him, and for every single fragment which he brings out his good work is one Tanâpûhar.

94. And when rain is falling the corpse lies in the water; to take *it* from the water to deposit *it* in the rain is not[3] allowable.

95. Clothing which is useless[4], this is that in which they should carry a corpse, and that even when very much *or* altogether useless; of that on which they shall decompose[5] (barâ vishûpênd), and of that on which the excretions (hikhar) of the dead come, so much space is to be cut away[6], and the rest is to be

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[1] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for §§ 92, 93.

[2] Or 'twisted off;' the Huz. neskhûntanŏ must be traced to Chald. נְסַח 'to pluck out, to tear away,' and seems to have a similar meaning in Pahlavi; its Pâz. equivalent vîkhtanŏ (Av. vig) ought to be compared rather with Pers. kîkhtan, 'to bruise or break,' than with bêkhtan or pêkhtan, 'to twist.'

[3] This negative is omitted in M6 by mistake.

[4] Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

[5] Or 'go to pieces;' that this is the meaning of vishûpênd appears clearly from Pahl. Vend. VII, 123, but a Persian gloss in the modern MS. M9 explains it as 'deposit fragments from the beak of a bird,' meaning, of course, fragments of dead matter dropped by a carrion bird.

[6] As useless, being incapable of purification; such cuttings are to be buried, according to the Avesta of Vend. VII, 32, though the Pahlavi commentary explains that they are to be thrown away.

thoroughly washed for the six-months' *period*[1]. 96. That which a menstruous woman has in wear (mahmânîh)[2] is to be discarded in like fashion.

97. The clothing which is to be washed for the six-months' *period* is such as is declared in the Avesta[3]. 98. If the clothing be leathern it is to be thoroughly washed three times with bull's urine (gômêz), every time to be made quite dry with dust, and to be thoroughly washed three times with water, and to be laid out three months in a place to be viewed by the sun[4]; and then it is proper for an unclean person (armêst)[5] who has not performed

[1] Khshvâs-mâûgôk is merely a corruption of the Av. khshvas maunghô, 'six months,' of Vend. VII, 36, where this form of cleansing is thus described: 'If (the clothing) be woven, they should wash *it* out six times with bull's urine, they should scour *it* six times with earth, they should wash *it* out six times with water, they should fumigate *it* six months at the window of the house.'

[2] See Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

[3] That is, woven clothing, as declared in Vend. VII, 36 (quoted above in note 1).

[4] See Vend. VII, 35.

[5] A Persian gloss defines armêst as 'a woman who has brought forth a dead child,' and this is the general opinion; but that seems to be only a particular example of an unclean person who would be included under the general term armêst, for according to Pahl. Vend. IX, 133, 137, 141 a man when only partially purified must remain apart in the place for the armêst (Av. airima, compare Sans. il or rî) for a certain time. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Mkh. (XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, LI, 7), explains armêst as 'lame, crippled, immobility;' it also means 'stagnant,' when applied to water; and its primitive signification was, probably, 'most stationary,' an appropriate term for such unclean persons as are required to remain in a particular place apart from all others, as well as for helpless cripples, and insane persons under restraint (see Chap. VI, 1). The meaning 'most polluted' would hardly apply to tank water.

worship, or it is proper for a menstruous woman. 99. Other clothing, when hair is on *it*[1], is *liable* just like woven *cloth* (ta*d*ak); all the washing of wool, floss silk, silk, hair, and camel's hair is just like *that of* woven *cloth;* and woven clothing is to be washed six times[2].

100. Wool which is connected together, when one *part* is twisted over another, and a corpse rests[3] upon it, is all polluted on account of the connection; and when fleece (mêsh) rests upon fleece, then so much space as the corpse rests upon is polluted. 101. When *one* shall die upon a rich carpet (bûp) when the carpet is on a coarse rug (nama*d*) *and* is made connected, the rug and carpet are both polluted, and when separated the rug is clean. 102. When several cushions are heaped (ni*k*î*d*) one upon the other, and are not made connected, and dead matter comes upon them, they have been unanimous that only that one is polluted on which the dead matter came. 103. A cushion *together* with wool[4] is *liable* just like a carpet with a rug[5]. 104. Of several cushions which are tied down together, when dead matter comes to the tie, both are polluted, the cord *and* the cushions; and when the dead matter comes to a cushion, and does not come to the tie, the cushions are all polluted on account of the connection, and the tie is clean[6].

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[1] Pahl. Vend. VII, 35 says 'when a single hair is on it.'

[2] As mentioned in a note on § 95.

[3] Literally, 'impinges.' Here, as in many other places, 'dead matter' may be read instead of 'corpse,' as nasâî means both or either of them.

[4] That is, laid upon wool.

[5] See § 101.

[6] See Pahl. Vend. VII, 27.

105. A pregnant woman who devours dead matter through sinfulness is polluted *and* worthy of death, and there is no washing for her[1]; and *as for* the child, when it *has* become acquainted with duties (pîsak-shinâs), ashes[2] and bull's urine are for its eating and for its washing. 106. *As for* a child who is born of solitary carriers *of the dead*[3], although its father and mother may both have devoured dead matter through sinfulness, that which is born is clean on the spot, for it does not become polluted *by* birth.

107. Rôshan[4] said that every one, who, through sinfulness, has become polluted by means of dead matter, is worthy of death, and his polluted body never becomes clean; for this *one* is more wretched than the fox which *one* throws into the water living, and in the water it will die. 108. *One* worthy of death never becomes clean; *and* a solitary carrier *of the dead* is to be kept at thirty steps from *ceremonial* ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh).

109. Whichsoever of the animal species has eaten their dead matter[5], its milk, dung, hair, *and* wool are polluted the length of a year; and *if* pregnant when it has eaten *it*, the young one has also eaten *it*, and the young one is clean after the length of a year from being born of the mother. 110. When a male which has eaten *it* mounts a female, the female is not polluted. 111. When dead matter is eaten by it,

[1] That is, she cannot be purified.

[2] Reading var (see note on § 49).

[3] Carrying a corpse by a single person being prohibited (see §§ 7, 8); but why he is supposed to devour it is not clear.

[4] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[5] Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 192.

and even while it is not digested it shall die, it is *liable* just like a leathern bag (anbân) in which is dead matter.

112. Gold, when dead matter comes upon it, is to be once thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gô-mêz), to be once made quite dry with dust, and to be once thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean[1]. 113. Silver is to be twice thoroughly washed with bull's urine, and to be made quite dry with dust, and is to be twice thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean[2]. 114. And iron, *in like manner*, three times, steel four times, and stone six times[3]. 115. Afarg said: 'Should it be quicksilver (âvgînak)[4] it is *liable* just like gold, and amber (kahrupâi) just like stone, and all jewels just like iron.' 116. The pearl (mûrvârid)[5], amber, the

[1] The purification here detailed is prescribed for golden vessels in Vend. VII, 186.

[2] This is the purification prescribed for silver vessels in Vend. VII, 74 W.; it is found in the Vendidad Sâdah, but is omitted (evidently by mistake) in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and has, therefore, been omitted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. By this accidental omission in the MSS. silver is connected with the purification for stone (see § 114).

[3] See Vend. VII, 75 W., much of which is omitted in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and in Spiegel's edition (see the preceding note), the sixfold washing of stone being erroneously applied to silver (see Vend. VII, 187 Sp.), owing to this omission of the intervening text. It appears from this section that the Av. haosafna, which has usually been translated as 'copper,' was understood to be pûlâvd, 'steel,' by the Pahlavi translators.

[4] Or 'a mirror' (Pers. âbgînah), but the word is evidently used for a metal in SZS. X, 2, and very likely here also.

[5] Most of the substances mentioned in §§ 115, 116 are detailed in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188, where it is stated that 'as to the pearl *there* have been different opinions, some say that it is *liable* just like gold, some say that it is just like the other jewels, *and* some say that there is no washing *for it*.'

ruby (yâkand) gem, the turquoise[1], the agate (shapak), coral-stone (vasadîn sag), bone, and other substances (gôhar) which are not particularly mentioned, are to be washed just like wood[2]; and when they are taken into use there is no washing[3], and when they are not taken their washing is once. 117. Of earthen *and* horny *articles* there is no washing; and of other substances which are not taken for use the washing is once, and *they are* declared out of use.

118. Firewood, when green, is to be cut off the length of a span (vitast), one by one, as many *sticks* as there are—and when dry one span and two finger-*breadths*[4]—and is to be deposited *in* some place the length of a year, and water is not to be dropped upon *it;* and *it is* drawn out *after* the length of a year; Sôshyans[5] said that it is proper as firewood for *ordinary* fires, and Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd[6] said that *it is* just as declared in the Avesta: 'The

[1] This is doubtful; the word can be read pirînak, and has the Pers. gloss pîrûzah, 'turquoise,' in some MSS. If read pilînak it might perhaps be taken for 'ivory.' But in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 it is vafarinô, 'snowy,' and the reading there seems to be 'jet-black *and* snow-white stone-coral;' so here the original meaning may have been 'snow-white and jet-black coral-stone.'

[2] Vend. VII, 188 says that 'earthen or wooden or porcelain *vessels* are impure for everlasting.'

[3] Meaning, apparently, that they cannot be purified for immediate use.

[4] That is, one-sixth longer than when green, the vitast being twelve finger-*breadths*, or nine inches (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note). The purification of firewood, here prescribed, is simply drying it for a year in short lengths; but Vend. VII, 72–82 requires it also to be sprinkled once with water, and to be cut into longer pieces.

[5] See Chap. I, 3.

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

washed *one*, even then, is proper in dried clothing[1].' 119. About corn[2] they have been unanimous that so much space is polluted as the dead matter comes upon; and of that which is lowered into pits[3], or is wanted *to be so*, and of that which is scattered (afsîd) at such a place *there are* different opinions; Sôshyans said: 'Should it be of such a place *it* is polluted as much as the dead matter *has* come upon it;' and Gôgôsasp[4] said: 'Should it be *so it* is all polluted, *and* the straw is all polluted.'

120. A walnut[5], through *its* mode of connection, is all polluted, and the washing of both its shell and kernel (pôst va mazg) is just like *that of* wood. 121. A pomegranate also is of such nature as a walnut. 122. *As to* the date, when its stalk[6] is not connected the date is polluted and the stalk *and* stone (âstak) are clean; the washing of the date is just like *that of* corn; and when it is touched upon the stalk, when the stalk, stone, and date are connected, the whole is polluted; *as to* the date when not connected with the stalk, *and* touched at the

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[1] Something similar is said in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71.

[2] According to Vend. VII, 83–93 polluted corn and fodder are to be treated like polluted firewood, but to be cut into pieces of about double the length.

[3] Reading dên gôpân farôstak; the practice of storing corn in dry pits underground is common in the East and in some parts of Europe. In Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 it is dên gôpân âvist, 'concealed in pits.'

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

[5] Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 classes the almond with the walnut as a connected fruit, and the date with the pomegranate as a separated one.

[6] The word is kûrâpak or kûrâzak, but its meaning is doubtful.

stalk, the date is clean, and the washing of the stone is just like *that of* wood. 123. The pomegranate, citron, quince, apple, pear, and other fruit, when in bearing and the rind (pazâ*v*i*s*nŏ) is perceptible on it, when dead matter comes upon it *there* is no pollution of it; and when the rind (pazâmi*s*nŏ) is not perceptible on it, its washing is just like *that of* corn; and rind is ever with the citron[1]. 124. *For* meat, butter, milk, cheese, and preserves (rî*k*âr) there is no washing[2].

Chapter III.

1. The clothing of a menstruous woman which they shall take new for her use is polluted, and that which is in use is not polluted[3]. 2. When a bedchamber (shâ*d*-aûrvân) is overspread, and a carpet (bûp) is laid upon it and a cushion *on* the two[4], *and*

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[1] Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, 'fruit whose rind (pazâ*v*) exists is also just like that in a pod (kûvak), and *for* that which does not remain in a rind, when *pollution* shall come upon it, *there* is no *cleansing* whatever. Afarg said that *there* is ever a rind (pazâ*v*i*s*nŏ) with the citron.'

[2] Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, '*for* everything separated *there* is a washing, except meat *and* milk.' Articles for which there is no washing cannot be purified.

[3] Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5 says, 'when in the place she remains in for the purpose, she does not make the clothing she wears on *her* body polluted, it remains for use within the place.' The meaning is, probably, that clothing already set apart for the purpose does not become further polluted, so as to be unfit for her use. It appears also (Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5) that on the spot where menstruation first appears, not even the twigs uplifted in the sacred ceremony are polluted, unless the circumstances are abnormal.

[4] This phrase, about the carpet and cushion, is omitted in K20 by mistake.

a woman sits upon *it* and menstruation occurs, when she puts a foot from the cushion on to the carpet, and from the carpet out into the bed-chamber, the carpet and bed-chamber are both polluted, for *they are* taken newly for her use, *but* of the cushion *there* is no pollution for this reason, because *it is* in use. 3. And when she sits on the cushion so that she shall have both the carpet and cushion in use, the bed-chamber is polluted by itself; and when all three shall be in use *there* is no pollution whatever [1].

4. Just as she knows that *it is* menstruation, in the place *she is* in for the purpose [2], first the necklace, then the ear-rings, then the head-fillet (*k*ambar), and then the *outer* garments (*g*âmak) are to be put off by her. 5. When in the place she remains in for the purpose, even though she may remain a very long time for that purpose, yet then the *outer* garments are clean, *and there* is no need of leather covering and leather shoes [3].

6. When she knows for certain (aêvar) that *it is* menstruation, until the complete changing (gûhari-*d*anŏ) of all *her* garments, and she shall *have* sat down in the place for menstruation [4], a prayer is to

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[1] §§ 2, 3 are merely corollaries from § 1.

[2] Or, possibly, 'on the spot *she is* in on the occasion;' although it would appear from § 5 that the place referred to is the dashtânistân, or place of retirement for the unclean.

[3] Reading m*a*sk va *s*almîhâ, but both reading and meaning are doubtful. The first word may be m*u*skŏ, 'musk,' and the other can be read sharmgâh, but, if so, the construction of the sentence is defective, as it stands in the MSS.

[4] The dashtânistân, a comfortless room or cell provided in every Parsi house for unclean persons to retire to, where they can see neither sun, moon, stars, fire, water, sacred vessels, nor righteous men; it ought to be fifteen steps (39½ feet) from fire,

be retained *inwardly*[1]. 7. When worship is celebrated a prayer is to be retained[2] *inwardly*, and should menstruation occur the prayer is to be spoken out by her. 8. When in speaking *out* the prayer should menstruation occur, both afterwards, when the time was certain (a*v*îgûmân), and now *she* is certain[3]. 9. When she retains a prayer *inwardly*, *and* a call of nature arises, there is no need for her to speak *out* the prayer, for the formula for the call is to be spoken by her[4].

10. Hands sprinkled in *ceremonial* ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*), when a menstruous woman sees *them*, become quite unclean (apâ*d*îyâ*v*) by *her* look[5], and even when she looks hastily, and does not see the *sacred* twigs (baresôm), it is the same. 11. And *on* the subject of a house (khânak-ı babâ), when a menstruous *woman* is above *in* it, and the *sacred* twigs

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water, and the sacred twigs, and three steps (8 feet) from righteous men (see § 33 and Vend. XVI, 1–10).

[1] This kind of prayer (Av. vâ*k*, 'a word or phrase,' Pahl. vâ*g*, Pers. bâ*z*) is a short formula, the beginning of which is to be muttered in a kind of whisper, or (according to the Pahlavi idiom) it 'is to be taken' and 'retained' inwardly (as a protection while eating, praying, or performing other necessary acts) by strictly abstaining from all conversation, until the completion of the act, when the prayer or vâ*g* 'is to be spoken out,' that is, the conclusion of the formula is to be uttered aloud, and the person is then free to speak as he likes. Different formulas are used on different occasions.

[2] K20 has, 'she retains a prayer.' See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

[3] The meaning is, however, uncertain.

[4] The Pahlavi text is as follows: Amat vâ*g* yakhsenunê*d*, pê*s*inkâr (Pers. pê*s*yâr) barâ yâtûnê*d*, a*s* vâ*g* gûftanŏ kâr lôît mamana*s* nask-i pavan *k*ami*s*n yemaleluni*s*nŏ. Compare Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

[5] See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10.

stand right below, if even fully fifteen steps below, even then the *sacred* twigs are unclean (apâdîyâv)[1]; but when not right *below* fifteen steps are plenty.

12. Prepared food which is within three steps of a menstruous woman is polluted by her, and food which she delivers up (barâ pardazêd) from her morning meal (kâsht) is not fit for the evening meal (sâm), nor that which she delivers up from her evening meal for the morning meal; it is not fit even for the same woman[2]; and water which is within three steps of her, when they shall put *it* into a pail (dûbal) or ablution-vessel (pâdîyâvdân), and shall do *it* without handling (ayadman), is *fit* for the hands in *ceremonial* ablution. 13. When she touches the bedding[3] and garments of any one, Sôshyans[4] said that so much space is to be washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water; her bedding which touches the bedding of any one does not make *it* polluted.

14. A menstruous woman who becomes clean in three nights is not to be washed till the fifth day; from the fifth day onwards to the ninth day, when-

[1] Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10 says, 'everything, when at the right distance, is proper, except only that one *case*, when uncleanness is above and cleanness also right below; although it be even much below, yet it is not proper.' In such a case the prescribed distance of fifteen steps is not sufficient; therefore, the dashtânistân should be on the ground floor, not over an underground water-tank, nor within fifteen steps of the water in such a tank.

[2] Or, possibly, ham nêsman may mean 'a companion woman,' when two or more are secluded at the same time. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17 says, 'food delivered up by a menstruous woman is of no use whatever, it is not proper; in *parts* free from pollution (gavîdvasnŏ), in those likewise it is not proper;' the reading gavîdvasnŏ (proposed by Dastûr Hoshangji) is, however, doubtful.

[3] Or 'clothing,' vistarg.

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

ever she becomes clean, *she* is to sit down in cleanliness one day for the sake of her depletion (tihîk), and then *she* is *fit* for washing; and after nine nights the depletion is no matter[1].

15. A woman who *has* brought forth or miscarried (nasâî), during forty days sees whenever *she* is polluted; but when she knows for certain that *she* is *free* from menstruation *she* is, thereupon, to be associated with meanwhile (vadas), from the forty days[2] onward; but when she knows for certain that *there is something* of it, she is to be considered meanwhile as menstruous.

16. A menstruous woman when she *has* sat one month as menstruous, and becomes clean on the thirtieth day, when at the very same time she became quite clean she also becomes again menstruous, her depletion (tîhîk) is from *its* beginning, and till the fifth day washing is not allowable. 17. And when she is washed from the menstruation, *and has* sat three days in cleanliness, and again becomes menstruous as from the beginning, four days are to be watched through by her, and the fifth day is for washing[3]. 18. When she *has* become *free*

[1] See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22. The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 19) prescribes a fixed period of seven days, except in abnormal cases.

[2] The same period of seclusion as appointed by the Hebrew law, after the birth of a man child (see Lev. xii. 2–4). The Avesta law (Vend. V, 135–159) prescribes only twelve nights' seclusion, divided into two periods of three and nine nights respectively, as the Hebrew woman's seclusion is divided into periods of seven and thirty-three days.

[3] The substance of §§ 16, 17 is given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22, but in language even more obscure than here. The washing mentioned here is merely for the first menstruation; that for the second one being prescribed in § 18.

from the second menstruation she is not in cleanliness *for* nine days *and* nights,—these days *and* nights are for watching,—*and* then *she* is to be washed; when the nine days *and* nights are completed, on the same day washing is good [1].

19. Of leucorrhœa (*k*îharak)[2], when it *has* quite changed colour, that which comes on before *and* also that which is after menstruation, the pollution is just like *that of* menstruation.

20. When she *has* become so completely clean from menstruation that her washing may be as usual (dastôbarag hâe), she does not make the *sacred* twigs (baresôm), *nor* even other things, polluted *when* beyond three steps.

21. On account of severe cold it is allowable *for her* to sit out towards [3] the fire; and while she washes a prayer (vâ*g*) is to be taken *inwardly* by her [4], and the washing of her hands, except with bull's urine (gômê*z*), is not proper till *then;* and when *they are* washed by her, two hundred noxious creatures are to be destroyed by her as atonement for sin.

22. A woman who goes beyond the period of menstruation [5], and, afterwards, sees *she* is polluted, when her pregnancy is certain—except when her

[1] In such abnormal cases the Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 25–28) prescribes seven days' seclusion after recovery.

[2] Av. *k*ithra, see explanation of *k*îharak-hômand (Av. *k*ithravan*d*) in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 1, 34.

[3] Dastûr Jâmâspji reads val bavan-i âtâsh, 'to the part of the fire.' From what follows it would seem doubtful whether this distant approach to the fire is allowable until she is ready for washing.

[4] See § 6, note.

[5] Or, 'goes up from the place of menstruation.'

miscarriage (nasâî yehevûntanŏ) is evident—is then to be washed with bull's urine and water; when her pregnancy is not certain *she* is to be considered as menstruous. 23. Some say[1], moreover, that when miscarriage is certainly manifest *she* is, meanwhile, to be considered as menstruous. 24. Some say that when *she* is doubtful about the miscarriage she is to be washed with ceremony[2].

25. And for any one[3] who comes in contact with a menstruous woman, or with the person whom it is necessary to wash with water and bull's urine, *it* is the root of a sin of sixty stîrs[4]. 26. And for whomever knowingly has sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman *it* is the root of a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars and sixty stîrs[5].

27. Of a menstruous *woman* who sees a fire the sin is one Farmân[6], and when she goes within three steps *it* is one Tanâpûhar, and when she puts a hand on the fire itself[7] *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and *in* like manner *as to* the ashes[8] and *water* goblet[9]. 28. When she looks at water *it* is a

[1] Literally, 'there is *one* who says thus.'

[2] See Chap. II, 65.

[3] Reading aîs instead of adînas, 'then for him.'

[4] That is, the sin is a Khôr (see Chap. I, 2).

[5] According to the Avesta (Vend. XV, 23, 24) he becomes a peshôtanu (Pahl. tanâpûhar). The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 24) makes him unclean for seven days.

[6] See Chap. I, 2. That it was sinful for her to look at fire, even in Avesta times, appears from Vend. XVI, 8.

[7] Literally, 'on the body of the fire.'

[8] That libûsyâ means 'ashes' appears from Pahl. Vend. V, 150; literally it is Huzvâris for 'clothing or covering,' and is so used in Pahl. Vend. VI, 106, VII, 122. Metaphorically, ashes are the clothing of the fire.

[9] Reading dûbalak; but the word is doubtful. Possibly it

sin of one Farmân; when she sits in water *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and when through disobedience she walks out in the rain every single drop is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars for her. 29. And the sun and other luminaries are not to be looked at by her, and animals and plants are not to be looked at by her, and conversation with a righteous man is not to be held by her; for a fiend so violent is that fiend of menstruation[1], *that*, where another fiend does not smite anything with a look (akhsh), it smites with a look.

30. *As to* a house[2] in which is a menstruous woman, the fire of that house is not to be kindled; food which is delivered up from before a menstruous woman is not proper for the same woman[3]. 31. A tray-cloth (khvânŏ *g*âmak) which stands before *her*, when it is not in contact with her, is not polluted; a table-napkin (pata*s*khûr) when apart from *her* thigh, *and* contact does not occur, is proper[4].

32. When *one*[5] wishes to consecrate the sacred cakes (drôn)[6], when *one* holds up the *sacred* twigs

should be read gôbarak for gâv-bar, 'bull's produce,' referring to the bull's urine which, with ashes, is prescribed (Vend. V, 148) as the first food for a woman after miscarriage.

[1] The demoness *G*êh (see Bund. III, 3–9).

[2] By khânak, 'house, abode,' must here be understood merely the woman's place of seclusion. K20 inserts âtâ*s* dên after mûn, which renders it possible (by assuming another preposition) to translate as follows: '*As to* a house in which is a fire, the fire in that house is not to be kindled by a menstruous woman.'

[3] See § 12.

[4] Fit to use again.

[5] Perhaps we should read '*she*' throughout this section, as a woman can perform these rites among women (see Chap. X, 35).

[6] The drôn (Av. draona, corrupted into drûn or darûn by

(baresôm)[1] from the twig-stand (baresôm-dân), and menstruation occurs, and just as it came to *one's* knowledge *one* puts down the *sacred* twigs and goes out, the *sacred* twigs are not polluted.

Pâz. writers) is a small round pancake or wafer of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. It is made of wheaten flour and water, with a little clarified butter, and is flexible. A drôn is converted into a frasast by marking it on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while thrice repeating the words humat hûkht huvarst, 'well-thought, well-said, well-done,' one word to each of the nine cuts. Any drôn or frasast that is torn must not be used in any ceremony. In the drôn ceremony two drôns are placed separately by the priest upon a very low table before him, on its left side, the nearer one having a small piece of butter (gâus hudhau) upon it; two frasasts are similarly placed upon its right-hand side, the farther one having a pomegranate twig (urvarâm) upon it; and between this and the farther drôn an egg is placed. The sacred twigs (baresôm) must also be present on their stand to the left of the priest, and a fire or lamp must stand opposite him, on the other side of the table. The priest recites a certain formula of consecration (chiefly Yas. III, 1–VIII, 9), during which he uplifts the sacred twigs, and mentions the name of the angel, or of the guardian spirit of a deceased person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed. After consecration, pieces are broken off the drôns by the officiating priest, and are eaten by himself and those present, beginning with the priests (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407, 408, AV. p. 147).

[1] The baresôm (Av. baresma) consists of a number of slender rods or tâî (Pahl. tâk), formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these twigs varies according to the nature of the ceremony, but is usually from five to thirty-three. These twigs are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the recital of certain prayers by the officiating priest, during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk or girdle formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together; this girdle, being

33. And during her menstruation *she* is to be so seated that, from her body, *there* are fifteen steps of three feet to water, fifteen steps to fire, fifteen steps to the *sacred* twigs, and three steps to a righteous man[1]. 34. And her food is to be carried forth in iron or leaden *vessels;* and the person (valman) who shall carry forth the food stands at three steps away from her[2]. 35. When worship is celebrated, every time at the dedication (shnûmanê)[3] of the consecration of sacred cakes (drôn yast) *it* is to be uttered aloud *by her;* some say the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû[4].

CHAPTER IV.

1. A *sacred thread*-girdle (kûstik), should it be made of silk (parvand), is not proper; the hair (pashm) of a hairy goat and a hairy camel is

passed twice round the twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the kûstîk or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396–399).

[1] See Vend. XVI, 9, 10. All the ceremonial apparatus must be kept as far removed as the sacred twigs.

[2] See Vend. XVI, 11–14, which states that the food is to be carried forth on iron, lead, or the basest metal.

[3] This is the time when the name of the angel or spirit is mentioned, in whose honour the cakes are consecrated (see § 32, note on drôn, and Chap. VII, 8).

[4] The Ithâ is Yas. V (so called from its first word), which forms a part of the drôn yast or formula of consecration (see § 32, note on drôn). The Ashem-vohû is probably that in Yas. VIII, 9, which concludes the consecration. The same details are given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17. These prayers also form a portion of all ceremonial worship, including the Yazisn.

proper, and from *other* hairy *creatures* (mûyînô) it is proper among the lowly (nakhêzîk). 2. The least fulness[1] necessary for *it* is exactly three finger-*breadths;* when *it* is exactly three finger-*breadths* altogether[2] from one side, *and* when the rest is cut off, it is proper. 3. When *one* retains the prayer *inwardly*[3] and has tied his girdle, and ties *it* anew once again, he will untie that which he has tied, *and* it is not proper[4].

4. Cloth of thick silk brocade (dîpâkŏ) and figured silk (parnîkânŏ) is not good for girdling[5]; and *cloth* of hide when the hair is stripped from it, of wool, of hair, of cotton, of dyed silk, and of wood[6] is proper for shirting (*s*apîkîh). 5. Four finger-*breadths* of shirt[7] is the measure of *its* width *away*

[1] Literally, 'width;' that is, *extra* width, or slackness round the waist, as the girdle sits very loosely over a loose shirt; or, as the text implies, the slackness ought to admit three fingers together, projecting edgeways from the waist. After tying it so loosely, any unnecessary length of string may be cut off, when the girdle is put on for the first time. The necessary looseness is again mentioned in Chap. X, 1.

[2] Literally, 'extreme to extreme;' rôê*s*man-â-rôê*s*man being Huzvâri*s* for sarâsar.

[3] That is, has begun the prayer formula (requisite while tying on the girdle) with a bâ*z* or muttered prayer (see Chap. III, 6, note).

[4] The meaning appears to be that he must not tie the girdle a second time without recommencing the prayer formula.

[5] This word, ayîbyâêg,hânîh, is chiefly a transcript from the Avesta name of the kûstîk or girdle, aiwy*a*unghana. Probably garments in general are meant.

[6] Perhaps dârîn may mean cloth of bark, hemp, or flax here.

[7] The sacred shirt, worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted) in India, is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm. It is called sadaro (Pers. sudarah) in Gu*g*arâti, and shapîk (Pers. shabî) in Pahlavi.

from each side, from the neck to the skirt (parîk); and *as to* the length before and behind, as much as is proper to cover up is good. 6. So much length and breadth, when it is double or thickened [1], are not proper; when on the separation (dûrmânak) of the two folds *one* remains clothed on one side, both when he wears the girdle (kûstîk), *and* when he does not wear the girdle, even then it is not undress (vishâ*d*akîh) [2].

7. When a shirt of one fold is put on, *and* the skirt has concealed both sides, the girdle is tied over it, *and* it is proper. 8. When two shirts are put on, and they shall tie the girdle over that which is above, then *it* is for him a root of the sin owing to [3] running about uncovered [4].

9. By a man and woman, until fifteen years of age, *there* is no committal of *the sin of* running about uncovered [5]; *and* the sin of unseasonable

[1] Assuming that aîtabarî*d* stands for astabarî*d*; the Huz. aît being substituted for the Pâz. ast. The text appears to refer to lined or stuffed shirts, such as would be very suitable for the cold winters of Persia, like the clothing padded with cotton wool used by natives of the cooler parts of India in the cold season.

[2] That is, the degree of nakedness which is sinful (see §§ 8–10).

[3] K20 has lâ, 'not,' instead of râî, 'owing to;' this would reverse the meaning of the sentence, but it is not the usual place for the negative particle.

[4] This sin is called vishâ*d*-dûbârisnîh; it is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 167, VII, 48, but not described there. The usual definition of the sin is 'walking about without the sacred thread-girdle;' and it is generally classed with the two other Parsi sins of 'walking with one boot' and 'making water on foot' (see AV. XXV, 5, 6); sometimes a fourth Parsi sin, 'unseasonable chatter,' is associated with them, as in the text, but this is supposed to be punished in a different manner in hell (see AV. XXIII).

[5] Indicating that it is not absolutely necessary to wear the sacred thread-girdle till one is fifteen years old (see Chap. X, 13).

chatter[1] arises after fifteen years of age[2]. 10. The sin of running about uncovered, as far as three steps, is a Farmân each step; at the fourth step *it* is a Tanâpûhar[3] *sin.*

11. A girdle to which *there* is no fringe is proper; and when they shall tie a woman's ringlet (gurs)[4] *it* is not proper.

12. Walking with one boot[5] as far as four steps is

[1] This sin is called drâyân-*g*ûyi*s*nîh, literally, 'eagerness for chattering,' and consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (vâ*g*) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; many details regarding it are given in the next chapter. The sin consists in breaking the spell, or destroying the effect, of the vâ*g*.

[2] This is modified by Chap. V, 1, 2.

[3] See Chap. I, 1, 2. These particulars are deduced by the Pahlavi commentator from Vend. XVIII, 115, which refers, however, to a special case of going without girdle and shirt. He says (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116), 'so that as far as the fourth step it is not more than (aî) a Srôshô-*k*aranâm, and at the fourth step it amounts to the root of a Tanâpûhar within him; some say that *he* is within what is allowed him in going three *steps*. When he walks on very many steps it is also not more than a Tanâpûhar, *and* when he stops again *it is counted* from the starting-point' (compare § 12).

[4] Probably referring to the possibility of tying the girdle over a woman's hair, when hanging loose down to her waist. The present custom among Parsi women in India is to cover up the whole of their hair with a white handkerchief tied closely over the head; but whether this is an ancient custom is uncertain.

[5] This sin, which is mentioned in Bund. XXVIII, 13, is called aê-mûk-dûbâri*s*nîh or khadû-mûk-dûbâri*s*nîh, literally, 'running in one boot,' and is usually so understood, but how there can be any risk of the committal of so inconvenient an offence is not explained. Dastûr Hoshangji thinks that aê-mûk, 'one boot,' was formerly written avî-mûk, 'without boots;' and no doubt avî is sometimes written exactly like khadû, 'one,' (indicating, possibly, a phonetic change of avî into agvi). Perhaps, however, the word alludes to the Persian practice of wearing an outer boot

a Tanâpûhar *sin*, when with one[1] movement; and after the fourth step as much as *one* shall walk is a Tanâpûhar; and when he sits down and walks on the sin is the same that *it would be* from his starting-point (bûnîh); and *there* were *some* who said *it* is a Tanâpûhar for each league (parasang).

13. At night, when they lie down, the shirt *and* girdle are to be worn, for *they are* more protecting for the body, and good for the soul. 14. When they lie down with the shirt and girdle, before sleep *one* shall utter one Ashem-vohû[2], and with every coming and going of the breath (vayô) is a good work of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[3]; and if in that

(mûk) over an inner one of thinner leather, when walking out of doors; so that the sin of 'running in one pair of boots' would be something equivalent to walking out in one's stockings; and this seems all the more probable from the separate account of walking 'without boots or stockings,' avîmûgak, given in Chap. X, 12. But whatever may have been the original meaning of the word, Parsis nowadays understand that it forbids their walking without shoes; this should be recollected by any European official in India who fancies that Parsis ought to take off their shoes in his presence, as by insisting on such a practice he is compelling them to commit what they believe to be a serious sin.

[1] Assuming that hanâ, 'this,' stands for aê, 'one' (see p. 218, note 3). The amount of sinfulness in walking improperly shod appears to be deduced from that incurred by walking improperly dressed (see § 10).

[2] See Bund. XX, 2. The same details are given in Chap. X, 24.

[3] The Av. sraoshô-*k*arana appears to have been a scourge with which offenders were lashed by the assistant priests (see Vend. III, 125, 129, IV, 38, &c.), and a Srôshô-*k*aranâm was, therefore, originally one lash with a scourge. As the gravity of an offence was measured by the number of lashes administered, when this term was transferred from the temporal to the spiritual gravity of sin, it was considered as the unit of weight by which sins were estimated; and, by a further process of reasoning, the good works

sleep decease occurs, his renunciation *of sin* is accomplished[1].

Chapter V.

1. Of unseasonable chatter[2] that of children of five years of age has no root; and from five years till seven years, when *one* is under the tuition of his

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necessary for counterbalancing sins were estimated by the same unit of weight. Regarding the amount of a Srôshô-*k*aranâm there is much uncertainty; according to Chap. XVI, 5 and Pahl. Vend. VI, 15 it is the same as a Farmân, and this appears to be the case also from a comparison of § 10 with Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116 (see note on § 10); but according to Chap. XI, 2 it is half a Farmân, and the Farmân is also probably the degree meant by the frequent mention of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms as the least weight of sin or good works that will turn the scale in which the soul's actions are weighed after death (see Chap. VI, 3). This uncertainty may perhaps have arisen from aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi. But, besides this uncertainty, there is some discordance between the various accounts of the actual weight of a Srôshô-*k*aranâm, as may be seen in Chaps. X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 5. As a weight the Srôshô-*k*aranâm is not often mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad, for wherever it translates the Av. sraoshô-*k*arana it means 'lashes with a scourge;' but the weight of one Srôshô-*k*aranâm is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. VI, 15, three Srôshô-*k*aranâms in IV, 142, VII, 136, XVII, 11, XVIII, 55, 116, and five Srôshô-*k*aranâms in XVI, 8.

[1] Patîtîkîh, 'the dropping' or renunciation of sin, is effected by confessing serious offences to a high-priest, and also by the recitation of a particular formula called the Patit, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. The priest ordains such atonement as he thinks necessary, but the remission of the sins depends upon the after performance of the atonement and the effectual determination to avoid such sins in future (see Chap. VIII, 1, 2, 8).

[2] See Chap. IV, 9.

father *and* innocent[1], it has no root *in* him, and when sinful it has root *in* the father[2]. 2. And from eight years till *they are* man and woman of fifteen years, if even *one* is innocent during the performance of the ritual (yastô), but is able to say its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû[3], and does not say *them*, *it* is the root of unseasonable chatter for him[4]; and when *he* is able to perform *his* ritual by heart (narm), and says *only* the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû, some *have* said that such is as when his ritual is not performed *and there* is no offering (yastôfrîd), and some *have* said that it is not unseasonable chatter.

3. Unseasonable chatter *may* occur at every ceremonial (yazisnŏ); *for* him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâpûhar *sin*[5]; *for* him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less, some *have* said three Srôshô-karanâms[6]. 4. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin*; this is where every ceremony, or every morsel, or every *drop of* urine is not completed[7]. 5. Of the unseasonable chatter of

[1] That is, intending no harm, as contrasted with sinful or wilful chatter in defiance of instruction.

[2] Because the father is supposed to be responsible, in the next world, for the sins of the child, even as he will profit by its good works (see Chaps. X, 22, XII, 15).

[3] See Chap. III, 35.

[4] Inattention to prayers evinced by improper silence is thus put upon the same footing as inattention evinced by improper talking. This portion of the sentence is omitted in K20.

[5] See Chap. I, 1, 2. It is a greater sin in the officiating priests than in the other persons present at the ceremony.

[6] Probably a Farmân sin (see Chap. IV, 14, note).

[7] Referring to the three principal occasions when a prayer (vâg) is taken inwardly and retained until the completion of the action; during which time it is unlawful to say anything but the prescribed prayers (see Chap. III, 6, note).

him who has not performed the ritual Afarg[1] said this degree is slighter; Mê*d*ôk-mâh[1] said both are alike, and he spoke further of this, since for him who has not performed the ritual, and does not attend to[2] saying its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû, it is more severe than for him who has performed the ritual, and does not attend to consecrating its sacred cake (drôn). 6. Mê*d*ôk-mâh said that it (the ceremonial)[3] does not become Gêtô-kharî*d*[4]; Afarg said that it amounts to an offering (yastôfrî*d*)[5] for every one, except for that person who *knows* the ritual by heart, and through sinfulness will not perform *it;* and it becomes *his* at the time when, during his life *and* by his command, it is recited with this intention, namely: 'I wish to do *it*, my faith (astôbânîh) is in the religion[6].'

7. The deaf and dumb when it is not possible for him to say an Ashem does not commit unseasonable chatter[7]; and when it is possible for him to say an Ashem he shall three times say of it, 'Ashem, ashem, ashem;' and if it be possible for him to say

[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] Literally, 'believe or trust to.'

[3] During which unseasonable chatter occurs.

[4] Generally written Gêtî-kharî*d* (see Bund. XXX, 28); but, perhaps, we should here read yastôfrî*d*, 'offering,' though gêtôk-kharî*d* occurs in Chap. XII, 30.

[5] The MSS. have merely stôfrî*d*, which differs from the foregoing gêtô-kharî*d* only in one Pahlavi letter, so we should probably read the same word in both cases, but which of them it ought to be is uncertain.

[6] Meaning, apparently, that he can obtain the benefit of any past ceremony, forfeited by wilful negligence, by repentance and a repetition of the ceremony during his lifetime.

[7] By omitting to say it (see § 2). This clause of the sentence is omitted in K20.

'ithâ' and 'ashem-vohû' it is well, and when it is only possible for him to say 'ithâ' it matters not[1].

CHAPTER VI.

1. The deaf and dumb and helpless (armêst)[2], though of unblemished conduct and proper disposition, is incapable of doing good works, and from the *time* when he is born till the *time* when he shall die, all the duty and good works which they may perform in the world become his property (nafsman) as much as his even by whom *they* are performed; some say that it is thus: as much as they belong to Zaratûst[3]. 2. Though he does not do the good works not really originating with (ahambûnik) him, and does not commit the sin not really originating with *him*, *it* is better than though *he were* able to do the good works not really originating with him, *and* should not do *them;* but should commit the sin not really originating with *him;* when, afterwards, he passes away, and then also comes to *his* account as to sin and good works, when the good works not really originating with him are more *he is* in heaven (vahist), when the sin

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[1] That is, any one barely able to speak must repeat so much of the indispensable prayers as he is able to pronounce, otherwise he will commit sin.

[2] That is, any one compelled to remain stationary or secluded, owing to bodily or mental infirmity (see Chap. II, 98); an idiot, or insane person, is probably meant here.

[3] This comment seems to imply that its writer was translating from an Avesta text, and here met with a word which some persons thought contained a reference to Zar[illegible]st, but which he first translated so as to suit the context; perhaps Av. zarazdâiti may be suggested.

not really originating with *him* is more *he is* in hell, and when both are equal *he is* among the ever-stationary (hamîstakân)[1]. 3. When the good works are three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[2] more than the sins *he is* in heaven (vahi*s*t), when the good works are one Tanâpûhar more he attains to the best existence (pâhlûm ahvân)[3], when his ceremony (ya*s*t) is per-

[1] That is, he is treated, with regard to the actions merely imputed to him, precisely as all others are with regard to their own actions. With reference to the hamîstakân, Ar*d*â-Vîrâf states (AV. VI, 2, 5–12) that on his journey to the other world he 'saw the souls of several people who remain in the same position,' and he was informed that 'they call this the place of the Hamîstakân ("those ever-stationary"), and these souls remain *in* this place till the future existence; and *they are* the souls of those people whose good works and sin were equal. Speak out to the worldlings thus: "Consider not the easier good works with avarice and vexation! for every one whose good works are three Srôshô-*k*aranâms more than *his* sin is for heaven, *they* whose sin is more are for hell, they *in* whom both are equal remain among these Hamîstakân till the future existence." And their punishment is cold or heat from the changing of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

[2] Probably equivalent to a Farmân sin (see Chaps, I, 1, 2, IV, 14, note).

[3] This appears to be another name for Garô*d*mân, 'the abode of song,' which is the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd. The lower heaven is here called Vahi*s*t, which is a general term for heaven in general. AV. VII–X, XVII, 27, and Mkh. VII, 9–12, 20, 21 describe four grades in heaven and four in hell, besides the intermediate neutral position of the Hamîstakân (AV. VI, Mkh. VII, 18, 19). The four grades of heaven, proceeding upwards, are Hûmat for good thoughts in the station of the stars, Hûkht for good words in the station of the moon, Hûva*r*st for good deeds in the station of the sun, and Garô*d*mân where Aûharmazd dwells (Vend. XIX, 121). And the four grades of hell, proceeding downwards, are Dû*s*-hûmat for evil thoughts, Dû*s*-hûkht for evil words, Dû*s*-hûva*r*st for evil deeds, and the darkest hell (Vend. XIX, 147) where the evil spirit dwells. The pâhlûm ahvân of

formed[1]. 4. Sôshyans[2] said that to come into that best existence it is not necessary to perform the ceremony, for when his good works are one[3] Tanâpûhar more than the sin he attains to the best existence, and no account is *taken* of performing his ceremony; because in the heavenly existence (garô*d*mânîkîh) it is not necessary to perform a ceremony, for an excess of good works must attain Garô*d*mân[4]. 5. As Sôshyans said, in heaven (vahi*s*t) he who is below is elevated to him who is above; *and* it says thus: 'Happy indeed art thou, O man! who art in any way near unto that imperishable existence[5].'

6. Kûshtanŏ-bûgê*d*[6] said that an infidel (akdînô)[7], when *his* good works are one Tanâpûhar more than *his* sin, is saved from hell.

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the text is merely the Pahlavi form of Av. vahi*s*tem ahûm (Vend. VII, 133, XVIII, 69, XIX, 120, Yas. IX, 64), whence the term vahi*s*t (Pers. bahi*s*t) is also derived.

[1] That is, when his surviving relatives have performed the proper religious ceremonies after his death.

[2] See Chap. I, 3.

[3] Reading aê, 'one,' and supposing that this Pâz. form has been substituted for an original Huz. khadûk, 'one.' This supposition being necessary to account for the aê preceding its noun, instead of following it; and without it we ought to read 'three' instead of 'one,' which seems, however, hardly reconcileable with the context (but compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 136). This is an instance of the ambiguity occasioned by aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi, as already noticed in p. 289, note 3. The word might also be taken as the conditional verbal form aê, 'shall be,' but in that case it is likewise misplaced.

[4] See note on pâhlûm ahvân in § 3.

[5] A somewhat similar exclamation to that in Vend. VII, 136.

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[7] That is, one of another religion; not an apostate, nor an atheist.

7. Of a pure law (dâ*d*) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are *those of* the Sînîk congregation[1]; of a vile

[1] It is not easy to identify this Sînîk va*s*kar*d*îh, but Professor J. Darmesteter suggests that the term may have been applied to the Manicheans settled in eastern Turkistân and western China, whence they may have been called Sînîk (the country of the Sênî, Av. Sâini, being identified with *K*înîstân or China in Bund. XV, 29, because *TS*în is the Arabic name of the latter). This is confirmed, to some extent, by a passage in the Dînkar*d* (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's edition of the Pahlavi text, p. 27), where three foreign religions are mentioned, that of the Jews from Arûm, that of the Messiah from the west, and that of Mânih from Turkistân. Darmesteter further points out the following passages in Barbier de Meynard's French translation of Mas'aûdî, which show that the Manicheans had considerable influence in eastern Turkistân as late as A.D. 944:—

(Meynard, I, 268): '. . . the Turks, the Khuzlu*g*, and the Taghazghaz, who occupy the town of Kû*s*ân, situated between Khurâsân and China, and who are now (A.D. 944) the most valiant, most powerful, and best governed of all the Turkish races and tribes. Their kings bear the title of îrkhân ("sub-khân?"), and they alone, among all these nations, profess the religion of Mânî.'

Again, after stating that the Chinese were at first Samanians (Buddhists), it is added (Meynard, II, 258): 'Their kingdom is contiguous to that of the Taghazghaz, who, as we have said above, are Manicheans, and proclaim the simultaneous existence of the two principles of light and darkness. These people were living in simplicity, and in a faith like that of the Turkish races, when there turned up among them a demon of the dualist sect, who showed them, in tempting language, two opposing principles in everything that exists in the world, such as life and death, health and sickness, riches and poverty, light and darkness, union and separation, connection and severance, rising and setting, existence and non-existence, night and day, &c. Then, he spoke to them of the various ailments which afflict rational beings, animals, children, idiots, and madmen; and he added that God could not be responsible for this evil, which was in distressing contradiction to the excellence which distinguishes his works, and that he was

law are the Zandîk[1], the Christian (Tarsâk), the Jew (Yahûd), and others of this sort (sanŏ)[2].

CHAPTER VII.

1. The morning sun it is necessary to reverence (yastanŏ) till midday, and that of midday it is necessary to reverence till the afternoon time, and that of the afternoon time it is necessary to reverence till night[3]; whenever *one* is quite prepared

above any such imputation. By these quibbles, and others like them, he carried away their minds, and made them adopt his errors.'

The tenets of the Manicheans ought, no doubt, to have been considered by the Zoroastrians as a mixture of truth and error, just as those of the Sînîk congregation are represented to be in our text; but such tenets being an heretical offshoot of Zoroastrianism, it argues unusual liberality in the priests if they preferred Manicheans to Christians, that is, heretics to infidels.

K20 has altered sînîk vaskardîh into nisînîk (or vîdînîk) sikaftîh, which appears to be an attempt to bring the words within the limits of the writer's knowledge, without paying much attention to their collective meaning.

[1] A sect which (according to its name) probably adhered to a certain heretical interpretation (zand) in preference to the orthodox Avesta and Zand. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit version of Mkh. XXXVI, 16, explains a Zandîk as one who 'thinks well of Aharman and the demons.'

[2] Unless this paragraph be a continuation of the quotation from Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd's commentary, which seems unlikely, its contents have an important bearing upon the age of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. As it does not mention Muhammadanism by name it could hardly have been written after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, when that new faith had become much more important, in Persia, than those of the Christians and Jews.

[3] Referring to the recitation of the Khûrshêd Nyâyis, or 'salutation of the sun,' which should be performed thrice a day, in the Hâvan, Rapîtvîn, and Aûzêrîn Gâhs, or periods of the day (see

for activity (khvêskârîh), and shall then do reverence, it is proper. 2. And when anything of that happens which *indicates* when it is not proper to wash the hands, and about this he considers that when he does not reverence the sun it will stop[1], *at* the time previous *to that* in which it occurs the sun is to be fully reverenced by him, and, afterwards, when *his* hands are washed, it is to be reverenced again; and when he does not reverence *it*, except when innocent through not reverencing *it*[2], then it becomes irreverence (lâ yast) of the sun *for* him[3].

3. *As to* the sun it is better when *one* reverences *it* every time at the proper period (pavan gâs-i nafsman); when he does not reverence *it for* once *it* is a sin of thirty stîrs[4]. 4. Reverencing the sun is every time a good work of one Tanâpûhar[5]; and *so* of the moon and fire *in* like manner[6]. 5. When on account of cloudiness the sun is not visible (pêdâk), and *one* shall reverence *it*, it is proper.

Bund. XXV, 9); a few sentences in the Nyâyis, or formula of salutation, are altered to suit the particular Gâh in which it is recited.

[1] K20 has, 'it will protect *it*;' having read netrûnêd instead of ketrûnêd in its original. To pray with unwashed hands would be sinful (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 84).

[2] That is, except when the omission is to avoid a worse evil, as in the instance just mentioned.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'it does not become a Khûrshêd Yast ("a formula of praise in honour of the sun") *for* him.' This Yast forms a part of the Nyâyis.

[4] That is, an Aredûs sin (see Chap. I, 2). M6 has, 'when he does not reverence *it* again.'

[5] That is, a good work sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin, which puts the performance of a Nyâyis on the same footing as the consecration of a sacred cake or drôn (see Chap. XVI, 6).

[6] The moon and fire have each a separate Nyâyis.

6. And while *one* does not reverence the sun, the good works which they do that day are not their own; some say that of the good works which they do within the law (dâ*d*) of the good religion he has no share. 7. While they do not wash dirty hands any good work which they do is not their own, for while *one* does not utterly destroy corruption (nasûs)[1] *there* is no coming of the angels to his body, and when *there* is no coming of the angels to his body he has no steadfastness in the religion, and when he has no steadfastness in the religion no good work whatever reaches unto him.

8. When *one* wishes to perform the propitiation (shnûman)[2] of fire, it is allowable to perform one 'âthrô' by itself, and, when two *and* the 'ma*d* vîspaêibyô âterebyô,' these three are thus the propitiation everywhere[3]; some say that it would be proper to perform *it* while allowable, except that of the heterodox.

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[1] That is, the demon of corruption, who is supposed to enter and reside in all filth of the nature of dead matter, until expelled or destroyed by cleansing.

[2] A shnûman or khshnûmanŏ (Av. khshnûman) is a short formula of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirit intended to be propitiated by it, and is used for dedicating the prayers or ceremony specially to his service (see Chaps. III, 35, X, 2, XIV, 3). The propitiatory formulas for the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month constitute the Sîrôzah, or form of prayer 'relating to the thirty days.'

[3] The propitiation of fire (as given in Sîrôz. I, 9, Âtar Nyâyis 5, 6) consists of five sentences, each beginning with the word âthrô, 'of the fire,' and the last sentence also contains the words ma*d* vîspaêibyô âterebyô, 'with all fires.' The meaning of the text appears to be that it is allowable to use only one of these sentences (probably the last), but if two are used besides the last they are amply sufficient for practical purposes.

9. Whoever shall extinguish[1] a fire, by him ten fires are to be gathered together, by him ten punishments are to be endured, by him ten ants are to be destroyed[2], and by him holy-water (zôhar) is to be presented to the sacred fire (âtâs-i Vâhrâm).

Chapter VIII.

1. Sin which *affects* accusers[3] is to be atoned for (vigârisn) among the accusers, and that *relating* to

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[1] Literally, 'kill.'

[2] The ant being a creature of the evil spirit, on account of its carrying away corn.

[3] Vinâs-i hamêmâlân, 'sin *relating* to adversaries.' Sins appear to be divided into two great classes, hamêmâl and rûbânîk. A hamêmâl sin seems to be any secular offence which injures some person or animal who, thereupon, becomes a hamêmâl, 'accuser' (Av. hameretha, 'opponent,' Yas. LVI, x, 10), and who must first be satisfied by atonement, before confession to the high-priest, or renunciation of sin, can be of any avail for removing the sin (compare Matthew v. 23–26). The Rivâyats assert that if a person dies without atoning for a hamêmâl sin, his soul will be stopped at the *Ainvad* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7) on its way to the other world, and kept in a state of torment until the arrival of the 'accuser,' and after he is satisfied the sinner's soul will be disposed of, in the usual manner, according to the balance of its good and bad actions. It is also probable that only a man of 'the good religion,' or an animal of the good creation, can be an 'accuser.' A rûbânîk sin, on the other hand, seems to be one which affects only the sinner's own soul, and for which the high-priest can prescribe a sufficient atonement. It is doubtful, however, whether the Parsis nowadays have any very clear notions of the exact distinction between these two classes of sins, although aware of their names, which are mentioned in their Patit, or renunciation of sin. The explanations given in some editions of their Khurdah Avesta, or prayer-book, are confined to mentioning certain special instances of each class of sin; thus,

the soul is to be atoned for among the high-priests (ra*d*ân), and when they do whatever the high-priests of the religion command the sin will depart, and the good works which they may thenceforth do will attain completion (avaspôrîk). 2. The sin of him who is worthy of death (marg-ar*g*ân) is to be confessed (gar*z*i*s*nŏ) unto the high-priests, *and he* is to deliver up *his* body[1]; except *to* the high-priests he is not to deliver up *his* body.

3. On account of the dexterity (farhâng) of horsemen it is not *their* business to hunt (nakh*k*îr kar*d*anŏ); and it is not allowable for any one else to hunt for game, except *for him* whose wealth is less *than* three hundred stîrs[2].

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murder, seduction, unnecessary slaughter of cattle, embezzlement, slander, seizing land by force, and a few other evil deeds are stated to be hamêmâl sins; while unnatural offences and intercourse with women of another race and religion are said to be rûbânîk sins. In the Pahlavi Vendidad these classes of sins are rarely mentioned, but hamêmâlân occurs in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, IV, 23, XIII, 38; hamêmâlîh in III, 119; and rûbânîk in XIII, 38; although, perhaps, not always in the sense of sin.

[1] By committing a marg-ar*g*ân or mortal sin, that is, a sin worthy of death, he has forfeited his life, and ought to place it at the disposal of the ra*d*, or high-priest.

[2] This section, intended to preserve game for the poor, is evidently out of place here, as it has no connection with the context. With reference to the property qualification for hunting, it appears, from a passage in the Persian MS. M5 about the proper dowry for a privileged wife, that 2000 dirhams of silver were worth 2300 rûpîs, and that 2 dirhams were 2¼ tolas; this was written in A.D. 1723, when neither the rûpî nor the tola were of uniform amount, though now the rûpî is exactly a tola weight of silver. As the stîr was four dirhams (see Chap. I, 2), three hundred stîrs would have been 1380 rûpîs or 1350 tolas of silver, according to the standards mentioned in M5; so that hunting was intended to be confined to those whose property was less than 1350–1380 rûpîs; but how

4. The ceremonial worship (yazisn) of those worthy of death, which they do not perform by way of renunciation *of sin*[1], is the ceremonial *which* is demon worship; and when the *officiating* priest (aêrpat) does not know *it* the merit (kirfak) of the ceremonial goes to the store (gang) of the angels, and they give the enjoyment which *arises* from that merit in the spiritual *existence* to the soul of that person who *has* at once (aêvâk) become righteous in mind.

5. When the mortal sinner (marg-argânŏ) *has* delivered his body and wealth at once to the high-priests, and engages mentally in renunciation as to the sin which *has* occurred, and the high-priests give him *their* decision (dastôbarîh) as to duty and good works, the duty and good works which *were* before performed by him come back *to him;* and when they inflict punishment for three nights[2], he does not enter hell. 6. And if the high-priest orders the cutting off of *his* head *he* is righteous on the spot[3], and the three *nights'* (satûîh) *ceremony* is to be celebrated for *him*, and the account of the

this limitation is to be reconciled with the fact that hunting was a favourite pursuit of kings and nobles does not appear, unless it be considered as a sacerdotal protest against that practice.

[1] That is, in those cases when they do not have the yazisn performed as an atonement for sin, by order of the high-priest after confession.

[2] This appears to refer to temporal punishment, inflicted by order of the high-priest, for the purpose of saving him from the 'punishment of the three nights' in the other world, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

[3] Reading pavan gînâk; but M6 marks the phrase as pavan dînâk (for dînâ), 'through the decree,' which is probably an error.

three *nights* (satûîh) does not affect him [1]. 7. And if *he does* not *engage* in renunciation *he is* in hell till the future existence; and in *his* future body they will bring *him* from hell, and for every mortal *sin* they will cut off *his* head once, and the last time they *will* make *him* alive again, and will inflict (numâyend) three nights' severe punishment [2].

8. However a man engages in renunciation of sin the duty of his state of renunciation (patîtîh) is to be engaged therein openly and mentally in renunciation; the duty of openness is this, that the sin which he knows *has* assailed him [3], is to be specially confessed (barâ gôbisnŏ) by him; *and* the mental duty is this, that he engages in renunciation with this thought, that 'henceforth I *will* not commit sin.' 9. And that which occurs before the renunciation, except pious alms, it is well for him not to be overlooked [4] by him, *and* not to be kept [5] secret by him; for when he shall overlook [6], or shall keep secret, about sin committed, it becomes for him as

[1] That is, the usual ceremonies after death are not to be withheld in this world, and his soul is able to pass through the usual investigation, as to his sins and good works, on its way to the other world, without delay. This period of three nights (satûîh, 'the triplet'), which Pâzand writers miscall sedôs or sadis, is the time during which the soul is supposed to hover about the body, before finally departing for the other world (see Mkh. II, 114, 158–160, AV. IV, 9–14, XVII, 2–9).

[2] The same statement is made in nearly the same words in Pahl. Vend. VII, 136. This is the future three nights' punishment for impenitent sinners, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

[3] Literally, 'which he knows thus: "It assailed me."'

[4] Reading avênisnŏ, but the word can also be read khunînisnŏ, 'to be made celebrated, to be boasted of.'

[5] Literally, 'carried on, borne away.'

[6] Reading avênêd, but it may be khunînêd, 'boast of.'

much, some say, as three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[1]; some say that when he keeps secret about a sin of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms he is worthy of death; some say much otherwise[2]. 10. Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Zaratû*s*t[3] had remarked (pê*d*âkînî*d*) *to* a disciple, about this duty, thus: 'Conform to the renunciation *of sin!*' and one[4] time a secret was kept by him, and he ordered him thus: 'Henceforth be thou never apparent in this duty!' and after that he looked upon the supplication (avakhshîh) and much repentance of that disciple, and even then he did not become the high-priest (dastôbar) over him.

11. *The rule is*[5] this, that *of those* who would be proper for this priestly duty (dastôbarîh), that person is proper who is perfect in (narm) the commentary (zand) of the law, and the punishment of sin is easy for him, and he has controlled himself; some say thus: 'By whom a course of priestly studies (aêrpatastân) is performed.' 12. And the punishment of sin *being* easy for him, and his *having* controlled himself are proper; and when, in danger before a menstruous woman, he engages in renunciation it is proper.

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[1] Probably the same as a Farmân sin (see Chaps. I, 1, 2, IV, 14).

[2] Or 'many other *things*.'

[3] This Âtarô-pâ*d*-i Zaratû*s*tân is mentioned in a manuscript about 500 years old, belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji, in Bombay, as having lived for 160 years, and having been supreme high-priest for ninety years: he is also mentioned in the sixth book of the Dînkar*d*. He may, possibly, have been the Âtarô-pâ*d* mentioned in B. Yt. I, 7, but it is hazardous to identify an individual by a single name so common as Âtarô-pâ*d* used to be.

[4] Reading aê, 'one,' instead of hanâ, 'this' (see p. 218, note 3).

[5] Assuming that the word âînak has been omitted at the beginning of this section (see Chap. X, 1).

13. Nêryôsang[1] said thus: 'Thou deemest *it* most surprising that, of the renunciation *of sin* with energy, whatever may be its efficacy, they have been so *much* of the same[2] opinion, so that whenever they perform renunciation, however they perform *it*, and before whomever they perform *it*, whenever *a sin* is not even mentally originating with one[3] a renunciation should be performed by him; and when very many mortal sins (marg-argân) are committed by him, and he engages mentally in renunciation of every one separately, he is not on[4] the way to hell, owing to his renunciation; and if there be one of which he is not in renunciation the way to hell[5] is not closed to him, for he does not rely upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd, and it is allowable to appoint a priestly retribution (rad tôgisn) to fully atone for it, and when thou appointest a priestly retribution for it, and dost not fully atone, it is allowable to inflict *it* justly and strongly (drûbô).'

14. When his sin is committed against (dên)

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[1] This cannot be the learned Parsi translator of several Pahlavi texts into Sanskrit, who bore the same name, and is supposed to have lived in the fifteenth century. Being quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad (see Chap. I, 4, note) he must have been one of the old commentators.

[2] K20 has hômanam, 'I am,' instead of ham, 'the same;' a mistake arising from reading am, 'I am,' for ham.

[3] This applies to all cases of merely imputed sin, such as those committed by children, which are imputed to the father, and for which he is spiritually, as well as temporally, responsible.

[4] Reading pavan, 'on,' instead of barâ, 'out of' (see p. 176, note 5).

[5] Most of this clause is omitted in K20 by mistake.

accusers[1] it will be necessary to act so that the head of the family (mîrak) shall not become evil-minded[2], and shall not divorce the wife from matrimony, and they shall not bring[3] *him* on unto him; before his accusers *he* is to be engaged in renunciation, and when not, *he* is to be engaged in renunciation *of the sin* before the high-priests (ra*d*ân), and it will become debts, and debt does not make a man wicked[4]; its effect is this, that in the future existence they may quite forsake him, and this becomes a great shame, and they disturb (kâ*v*ênd) his enjoyment. 15. *As to* the sin which *affects* the accusers, when the female *has* atoned for it, its stem (pâyak) is atoned for; some say that the stem (pâyakghîh) has no root; some say that *it is* just like a tree whose leaves wither away.

16. Sin *relating* to the soul[5], when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him; when it shall be fully atoned for *it* is well, and when he does not fully atone they will make him righteous by the three *nights'* (satûîh) punishment. 17. Kûshtanŏ-bûgê*d*[6] said that even that which *affects* accusers, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him.

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[1] Hamêmâlân (see § 1); the particular instance of hamêmâl sin here referred to is seduction.

[2] Reading dû*s*mînân instead of the unmeaning dû*s*mîyân of the MSS.

[3] Reading yâîtyûnã instead of the unmeaning yâîtam of the MSS.; ã being often written very much like m in Pahlavi.

[4] This clause about the hamêmâl sin becoming a debt, to be settled with the 'accuser,' either here or hereafter, is taken from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

[5] That is, rûbânîk sin (see § 1, note).

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

18. Nôsâî Bûrz-Mitrô[1] spoke these three sayings, that is, 'Next-of-kin marriage will extirpate mortal sins (marg-argânân), and the *sacred* twigs when their ablution is *such* as *renders them* improper for firewood, and a man when his wife *becomes* pregnant by him.'

19. Whoever commits a sin against (dên) water, *and* kills a lizard, or other noxious water-creature, has atoned for it; also when thou atonest to (dên) fire for that *against* water it is proper[2], *and* when thou atonest to water for that *against* fire it is proper; some say that even a scorpion is proper *to be killed.* 20. And when a sin of one Tanâpûhar[3] is committed by him, and he shall consecrate a sacred cake (drôn), or shall accomplish a good work of one Tanâpûhar[4], it has atoned for it.

21. When he has committed a mortal *sin* (marg-argân), and engages mentally in renunciation, and the high-priest (rad) knows that, though he ought to give up his body, he *will* not give *it* up, it is allowable when he shall kill him; that is, because he relies upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd. 22. Moreover, from the rule (mank) 'yazemna[5] kad nâ hakad' ('through being worshipped what then at

[1] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[2] A blank space is left for this verb in M6, indicating that that MS. was copied from an original already old and not very legible.

[3] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[4] Consecrating a sacred cake is a Tanâpûhar good work (see Chap. XVI, 6). The theory of counterbalancing sins by good works of the same weight is here clearly enunciated.

[5] Written izimn in the MSS. This quotation appears to be, from some part of the Avesta, no longer extant, and being only the first words of the passage its exact meaning is very uncertain. The section, generally, seems to refer to the beneficence of Aûharmazd.

once,' &c.) it is evident, and it becomes his through *ceremonial* ablution of the hands; it amounts to a whole quarry (kânŏ) of good works, and the worship of God (ya*z*i*s*n-i yazdânŏ) is to be performed for him[1]. 23. Âtarô-pâ*d*[2] son of Mâraspend said that it is always necessary to be more diligent in performing one's worship of God *at* the time that many mortal *sins* are committed; all sins *being* admissible into renunciation, when thou shalt atone by complete self-sacrifice (pûr-*g*ân-dâ*d*îhâ), *and* when *one* engages in renunciation of the sin from *its* root, he becomes *free* from the sin in renunciation of which sin he engaged; for Aûharmazd will not leave his own creatures unto the evil spirit, unless on the path of non-renunciation.

Chapter IX.

1. The greater Hâsar is one part in twelve parts of the day and night, and the lesser Hâsar is one part in eighteen parts[3].

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[1] It seems that the execution of the sinner after repentance is here considered as furnishing him with a store of good works, so that it is allowable to perform such ceremonies for him, after death, as are usually performed for righteous men; the reason being given in § 23. The end of this section and beginning of the next are omitted in K20.

[2] Whether the prime minister of Shâpûr II, or the last editor of the Dînkar*d* (see Bund. XXXIII, 3, 11), is not clear.

[3] The Hâsar is not only a measure of distance (see Bund. XXVI, 1), but also a measure of time (see Bund. XXV, 5). According to the text here the greater Hâsar must be two hours, and the lesser Hâsar (which is not mentioned in M6) must be one hour and twenty minutes. But Farh. Okh. (p. 43) says, 'dvada-sang-hâthrem asti aghrem ayare, "of twelve Hâsars is the

2. The priest (âsrûk) who passes away in idolatry[1] (aûzdâyakîh) thou hast considered as desolate (vîrân)[2]; and there is a high-priest (dastôbar) who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *he is as* a non-Iranian (anâîrân) country[3]. 3. It is declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in idolatry, an apostate (aharmôk) will be born in that dwelling, and a rumour of this calamity is uttered[4] by that supreme high-priest.

4. In order to be steadfast in the good religion it is to be discussed with priests *and* high-priests, and when *one* does not discuss it is proper that he do not teach it.

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longest day;" the day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the greatest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least;' according to which statement there are three kinds of Hâsar, that are respectively equivalent to two hours, one hour and twenty minutes, and one hour. As the longest day is said (Bund. XXV, 4) to be twice the length of the shortest day, and the greatest Hâsar is twice the length of the least one, it may be conjectured that the Hâsar varied with the length of the day, being a subdivision (one-eighth) of the time the sun was above the horizon; this would account for the greatest and least Hâsars, which are one-eighth of the longest and shortest days, respectively; but it does not account for the medium Hâsar, which is not a mean between the two extremes, but one-ninth (instead of one-eighth) of the mean day of twelve hours. If the Hâsar of distance were really a Parasang, as is sometimes stated, the connection between it and the Hâsar of time would be obvious, as the average Hâsar of one hour and twenty minutes is just the time requisite for walking a Parasang, which seems indeed to be stated in Farh. Okh. p. 42.

[1] Or it may be 'passes over into idolatry.'

[2] K20 has girân, 'grievous.'

[3] That is, he reads anâîrân instead of vîrân in the foregoing statement.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'this calamity is at once announced.'

5. The ceremonial worship (ya*z*i*s*n) which they perform in a fire-temple[1], when not *done* aright, does not reach unto the demons; *but* that which they perform *in* other places, when they do not perform *it* aright, does reach unto the demons; for there is no medium in worship, it reaches either unto the angels or unto the demons. 6. Of a man who has relinquished a *bad* habit, and through his good capabilities *engages* in renunciation *of sin*[2], the good work advances unto the future existence.

7. Any one who shall die in a vessel (ka*s*tîk) it is allowable, for fear of contamination (pa*d*vîshak), to throw into the water; some say that the water itself is the receptacle for the dead (khazânîh).

8. This, too, *is declared:* 'When in the dark it is not allowable to eat food; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark;' and it is declared by that passage (*g*înâk) which Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratû*s*t, thus: 'After the departure of the light let him not devour, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d*[3]; for if after the departure of the light thou devourest, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d*, the fiend seizes away from thee two-thirds of the existing original wisdom

[1] Literally, 'in the dwelling of fires.' The fire must always be sheltered from the sun's rays, and in a fire-temple it is kept in a vaulted cell, with a door and one or two windows opening into the larger closed chamber which surrounds it.

[2] K20 has, 'and it shall happen through his good capabilities.'

[3] The two archangels whose chief duties are the protection of water and plants, respectively (see Chap. XV, 5, 25–29, Bund. IX, 2).

which, when he seizes *it* away, is the glory and religion which are auspicious for thee that day, so that diligence becomes a vexation this day[1].'

9. In a passage of the fifth fargar*d* of the Pâzôn *Nask*[2] it is declared that *one* mentions these charac-

[1] This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Avesta.

[2] This was the sixth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Pâzî or Pâzag; but according to the Dînî-vagarkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the seventh nask, called Pâgam. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, pp. 128, 129. The following is a short summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d* (that published in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185, being taken from the fifteenth nask, whose contents were mixed up with those of the seventh through the abstraction of several folios from the Iranian MS. of the Dînkar*d* before M13, or any other copy, was written in India):—

The Pâzî (or Pâzag) is about the lawful slaughtering of animals in the ceremonial rites of fire and water at the season-festivals; also where, when, and how the festivals are to be celebrated, their advantages, and the duties of the officiating priests. The rotation of days, months, and years, summer and winter, the ten days at the end of the winter, when the guardian spirits visit the world, and the ceremonies to be then performed. The time for gathering medicinal plants. The retribution necessary for the various sins affecting the soul, the advantage of providing for such retribution, and the harm from not providing it. The thirty-three principal chiefs of the spiritual and worldly existences. The miracles of great good works, and the heinous sinfulness of apostasy. How far a wife can give away her husband's property, and when it is lawful for him to recover it. Whither winter flees when summer comes on, and where summer goes when winter comes on. The amount of disaster (vôighn) in one century, and the duration of everything connected with such disaster. The summer and winter months, the names of the twelve months, their meaning, and the angels they are devoted to; also the thirty days of the month, and the five Gâtha days at the end of the year, when the guardian spirits are to be reverenced.

The fifth fargar*d*, quoted in the text, was probably that portion of the Nask which described the duties of the officiating priests.

teristics of four kinds of worship of the celestial beings (yazdân) :—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty (zîfânŏ)[1], *but* the man is good; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty *and* the man is bad. 10. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to, *but* do not accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man good, the archangels *and* angels[2] will approach, *but* do not listen to, *and* will accept; *that* whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man good, the archangels *and* angels will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.

11. In every ceremonial (ya*z*i*s*nŏ), at the beginning of the ceremony[3], and the beginning of the sacred-cake *consecration* (drôn)[4], the angels *and* guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invited to the ceremony. 12. When they invoke the angels they will accept the ceremony, and when they do

[1] K20 has hûzvân, 'tongue, speech,' for zîfân, 'faulty' (compare Pers. zîf, 'sin'), in all occurrences of the word.

[2] K20 omits from this word to 'will approach' in the next clause of the sentence.

[3] That is, shortly before beginning the regular recitation of the Yasna, the angels, in whose honour the ceremony is being performed, are invited to approach by reciting their proper Khshnûmans, or propitiatory formulas (see Chap. VII, 8, and Haug's Essays, p. 404).

[4] This begins with Yas. III, 1, and the spirits are to be invited by adding their proper Khshnûmans to those contained in Yas. III, 3–20 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408).

not invoke them, all the guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invoked at the beginning of 'staomi[1];' and when not, they watch until *the words* 'frashô-*k*arethrãm saoshya*n*tãm[2],' and when they shall invoke them there they will accept the ceremony; and when not, they will watch until *the words* 'vîsp*a*u fravashayô ashaonãm yazamaidê[3],' *and* when they shall invoke *them* there they will accept[4] the ceremony; and when not, *they will watch* until *the words* 't*a*us*k*â yazamaidê[5];' and when they invoke them[6] *at* the threefold 'ashem vohû' and *the word* dâmanãm[7],' at the twice-*told* 'aokhtô-nâmanô[8],' the 'ashâ*d* ha*k*â[9],' *or* the 'yâtumanahê *g*asaiti[10],'

[1] This may be at the 'staomi' of Yas. XII, 6, which is recited before the Yasna is commenced; but K20 alters the meaning (by inserting the relative particle) into '*they* are to be invoked at "staomi," the beginning of "all the guardian spirits of the righteous" (Yas. XXVI, 1).'

[2] Yas. XXVI, 20.

[3] Yas. XXVI, 34.

[4] K20 has, 'shall not invoke,' and 'will not accept.'

[5] The concluding words of the yêxhê hâtãm formula, probably of that one at the end of Yas. XXVII, just preceding the recital of the Gâthas, up to which time the spirits wait, but, if not invoked, they are then supposed to ascend, away from the ceremony, as mentioned in the text.

[6] K20 has, 'when they do not invoke them.'

[7] Yas. VIII, 10; which is preceded by a thrice-told 'ashem vohû,' at which the officiating priest tastes the sacred cake, being the end of the Drôn ceremony (see Haug's Essays, pp. 404, 408).

[8] Yas. XXII, 33 (§§ 14–33 being recited twice). At this point the officiating priest brings out the mortar for pounding the Hôm twigs (see Haug's Essays, p. 405); Yas. XXII being called the beginning of the Hômâst in the Vistâsp Yast Sâdah.

[9] Yas. XXIV, 30, when the officiating priest turns the mortar right side upwards.

[10] Yas. VIII, 9, which is practically the same place as the threefold 'ashem vohû' before mentioned.

they will accept[1]; and when not, they go up the height of a spear (nîzak) and will remain. 13. And they speak thus: 'This man does not understand that it will be necessary even for him[2] to go from the world, and our prayer (apistân) is for reminding men; it is not *that* our uneasiness *arises* from this, that we are in want of their ceremony, but our uneasiness *arises* from this, that when they do not reverence and do not invoke us, when evil comes upon them it is not possible for us to keep *it* away.'

14. 'O creator! how much is the duration in life of him who is dead?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As much as the wing of a fly, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! or as much as the hearing a wing unto a sightless *one*[3].'

Chapter X.

1. The rule[4] is this, that a *sacred thread*-girdle (kûstîk) be three finger-*breadths loose* transversely

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[1] K20 has, 'they will not accept.'

[2] Literally, 'for me,' which seems to refer to the man, and not to the spirits.

[3] This appears to be the complete translation of the Avesta sentence partially quoted in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64: 'yatha makhshyau perenem, yatha vâ perenahê,' &c. The last clause is doubtful; the reading adopted here is *k*and zak-i shinavâk-*i* par andarg avênâk, as nothing more satisfactory suggests itself; it might also be translated by 'as much as the sound of a wing in the invisible.'

[4] Reading âînak; Pâzand writers convert it into yak, which can, however, have the same meaning, though they evidently take the word to be Huz. khadûk, 'one,' which is written precisely like âînak in Pahlavi characters. Most of the miscellaneous statements, contained in the latter part of Sls., commence with this phrase.

(pavan targûn)[1], *as* is said in every teaching (*k*â*s*tak)[2], and when it is less it is not proper.

2. The rule is this, that the sacred cake (drôn), set aside at the dedication *formula* (shnûmanê) *on the days devoted to* the guardian spirits[3], is to be used *at* the season-festivals, the Nônâbar[4], the three *nights' ceremony*[5], the Hôm-drôn, and other *rites of* the righteous guardian spirits; and when they shall not do *so*, according to some teachings, it is not proper.

3. In the exposition (*k*â*s*tak) of the Nihâ*d*ûm Nask[6] it says that a man is going to commit rob-

[1] That is, round the waist (see Chap. IV, 1).

[2] That is, 'interpretation or exposition' (see Chap. I, 3, 4). K20 has, '*and* by every teaching it is proper.'

[3] These fravar*d*îkân are, strictly speaking, the five supplementary days at the end of the Parsi year, but the last five days of the last month are usually added to them, so as to make a period of ten days at the end of the year, during which the guardian spirits of the departed are supposed to revisit their old homes, and for whom the sacred cake is set aside.

[4] The initiatory ceremony of a young priest (see Chap. XIII, 2).

[5] The ceremonies performed by the survivors for three nights after a death (see Chaps. VIII, 6, XVII, 3, 4).

[6] This was the fifteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Nikâ*d*ûm; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the sixteenth nask, called Niyârum. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*, where it occupies twenty-five quarto pages of that work:—

The beginning of the law (dâ*d*) is the Nîkâ*d*ûm of thirty far-gar*d*s. The section Patkâr-ra*d*istân ('the arbitrator's code') is about umpires and arbitration, contracts by words of four kinds and by signs of six kinds; and twelve sorts of arbitrators are described in four sub-sections, according as they decide by hearing or seeing, and with regard to women and children, foreigners and

bery, *and* a wall falls in upon him, *it is* his destroyer; when a man strikes at him *he is* his adversary, *and* both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the worship of God (ya*z*i*s*nŏ-i yazdânŏ) both of them are in innocence.

4. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, the fire is to be maintained most carefully in the dwelling, because it is declared in the Spend *Nask*[1] that *towards*

those worthy of death. The second section, Za*d*amistân ('the assault code'), is a treatise on assault and the consequences of assault, pain, blood, and unconsciousness; on blows and conflicts, man with man, women with women, and child with child, with their proper penalties; also the murder of slaves and children. The third section, Rêshistân ('the wound code'), is a treatise on various kinds of wounds and their characteristics. The fourth section, Hamêmâlistân ('the accuser's code'), is a treatise on accusation and false accusation of various specified crimes, on lying and slander, the care of pregnant women, impenitence and various offences against priests and disciples, remitting penalties, abetting and assisting criminals, mediation, punishment of children, smiting foreigners, murder, medical treatment, and many other things (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 184, where they are erroneously ascribed to the Pâzôn Nask, owing to the defective text of the MS. M13). The fifth section contained twenty-four treatises on miscellaneous subjects connected with crime and sin (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185).

The passage mentioned in the text cannot be recognised in any of the details supplied by the Dînkar*d*.

[1] This was the thirteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, but is called Sfend in the Rivâyats. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, pp. 131, 132. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*:—

The Spend is a treatise on the origin and combination of the existence, guardian spirit, and glory of Zaratû*s*t; on his generation and birth; on the coming of the two spirits, the good one to sustain, and the bad one to destroy him, and the victory of the good

Dûkdâv[1], the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, *for* three nights, every night a leader (khûdâ)[2] with a hundred and fifty[3] demons rushed for the destruction of Zaratûst, *but* owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling they knew no means of accomplishing *it*.

5. The rule is this, that they have a tank (môg) for the disciples, when they are going to perform the worship of God, *and* are sprinkling the stone *seat* (magôk)[4]; and lest they should make a wet *place* by that sprinkling through taking *water* out from it, it is to be done sitting; for in the Vendidad[5] the high-priests *have* taught, about making

spirit; on his going, at thirty years of age, to confer with Aûharmazd, and his seven conferences in ten years; on the seven questions he proposed to the archangels on those occasions; on the conveyance of the omniscient wisdom into him, showing him heaven and hell, and the intermediate place of those 'ever-stationary,' the account taken of sin and good works, the future existence, and the fate of the religion on earth till the renovation of the universe, with the coming of his future sons, the last three apostles.

[1] The Pâz. Dughdâ of Bund. XXXII, 10 would indicate Pahl. Dûkdân, but the Dînkard has Dûkdâûbŏ and Dûkdâûbag (pointing to Av. Dughdhavan), and the Persian forms are Dughdû and Dughdavîh. Here the name is Dûkdâvŏ, which is transposed into Dûdkâv in Chap. XII, 11; it must have meant either 'milk-maid' or 'suckler' originally.

[2] K20 has sêdâ, 'a demon,' and in Chap. XII, 11, where this section is repeated, the word can be read either sêdâ, 'a demon,' or shâh, 'a king or ruler;' of course 'an arch-fiend' is meant.

[3] M6 appears to have 'sixty,' instead of 'fifty,' but see Chap. XII, 11.

[4] Or magh, on which they squat in the purification ceremony (see B. Yt. II, 36).

[5] Referring probably to Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98; the ground is not to be wetted further than the length of the fore-part of the foot beyond the toes, that is, not more than a hand's breadth; this

water *when standing* on foot[1], that the measure it refers to applies to everything else, not even of a like origin; by him who makes water the Avesta[2] for making water is to be uttered, *and* then *it* is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin[3] for *him*, and when he does not utter *it he* is more grievously sinful.

6. The rule is this, that to recite the Gâthas over those passed away is not to be considered as beneficial, since it is not proper to recite the three Hâs[4] which are the beginning of the Aûstûvat Gâtha whenever *one is* on the road; whenever *one* recites *them* over a man in the house *they are* healing.

7. The rule is this, that in the night wine and aromatic herbs (sparam) and anything like food are not to be cast away towards the north quarter, because a fiend[5] *will* become pregnant; and when *one* casts *them* away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[6] is to be uttered.

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measure is here extended to washing water, hence the necessity of squatting during such ablutions.

[1] This is a sin which is usually classed with 'running about uncovered' and 'walking with one boot' (see Chap. IV, 8, note).

[2] This Avesta is prescribed in Vend. XVIII, 97, and is still in constant use; it consists of three Ashem-vohûs (see Bund. XX, 2), two Humatanâms (Yas. XXXV, 4–6), three Hukhshathrôtemâis (Yas. XXXV, 13–15), four Ahunavars (see Bund. I, 21), and one Yênhê-hâtâm (see B.Yt. II, 64).

[3] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[4] The three chapters (Yas. XLII–XLIV) which begin the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII–XLV).

[5] A drûg, or fiend, is usually considered as a female demon (see Vend. XVIII, 70–77); and the demons are supposed to come from the north, where they congregate on the summit of Arezûr, at the gates of hell (see Vend. XIX, 1, 140, 142, Bund. XII, 8).

[6] See Bund. I, 21. This statement is repeated in Chap. XII, 18.

8. The rule is this, that reverential *should be* the abstinence from unlawfully slaughtering of *any* species of animals; for in the Stûdgar *Nask*[1] it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (têkh), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain. 9. Of animals, the slaughtering of the lamb, the goat (vahîk), the ploughing ox, the war-horse, the hare, the bat (*k*îharâz), the cock or bird of Vohûman, and the magpie (kâskînak) bird, and of birds *that of* the kite, eagle (hûmâî), and swallow is most to be abstained from.

10. A pregnant woman who passes away is not to be carried away by less than four men[2], who are at it constantly with united strength; for *with* other corpses, after a dog's gaze, when they carry *them* along by two men with united strength, they do not become polluted; *but* for a pregnant woman two dogs are necessary, to whose united power *she* is to be exposed; *and* they carry *her* along by four men with united strength, *and* they do not become polluted; *but* when they carry *her* along by two men *they* are to be washed with ceremony (pîsak)[3].

11. The rule is this, that when they beg forgiveness for a person (mard*ûm*) who *has* passed away,

[1] See B.Yt. I, 1. The passage here referred to is probably one in the middle of the seventeenth fargard of this Nask, which is mentioned as follows, in the ninth book of the Dînkard: 'And this too, namely, those who unlawfully slay sheep and cattle, which diminishes their life and glory.'

[2] This is the usual custom, while that mentioned in Chap. II, 6 is the exceptional case, mentioned at the end of this section, which necessitates extraordinary purification.

[3] That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6).

such *a prayer* is more significant when *one* says thus: 'Whenever a trespass (vinâs) of mine *has* occurred against him, you will take account *of it along* with those of his *which have* occurred against me, and the trespasses *have* passed away one through the other; *any* further trespasses of his *which have* occurred against me are then made a righteous gift by me[1].'

12. The rule is this, that *one* should not walk without boots[2]; and his advantage therefrom is even this, that when a boot (mûgak) is on *his* foot, *and* he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb the dead matter, he does not become polluted; when a boot is not on *his* foot, and he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb *it*, *he is polluted*[3], except when he knows for certain (aêvar) that a dog *has* seen *it*, or *if* not it is to be considered *as* not seen by a dog[4].

13. The rule is this, as revealed *in* the Dûbâsrûgêd *Nask*[5], where a day in the year is indicated,

[1] That is, I pardon them in charity.

[2] Or, perhaps, 'without stockings,' avîmûgak; this seems to be something different from the sin of aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh, 'running in one boot' (see Chap. IV, 12).

[3] Without these words, which do not exist in the MSS., the sentence seems to have no clear meaning.

[4] And, therefore, still containing the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, who will enter into any one who merely touches the dead matter, without disturbing it, and can be driven out only by the tedious and troublesome Bareshnûm ceremony.

[5] This was the sixteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Dûbâsrûgd or Dûbâsrûd; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard, which calls it Dvâsrûzd, and the Rivâyats, which call it Dvâsrûgad, Dvâsrûngad, or Dvâsrûb, it was the eighteenth nask. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 132, 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given

that the *sacred thread*-girdle of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years *and* three months *old* is to be tied on—*it is* better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, *and then* ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than a five-months' child[1], on whom they should put *it* in the womb of *its* mother.

14. The rule is this, that when *one* retains a prayer *inwardly*[2], *and* wind shall come *from* below, *or* wind shall come from the mouth, it is all one[3].

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in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*, which occupies ten quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first eighteen sections of the Dûbâsrûg*d* the first is a treatise on thieves, their arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, with the various kinds of robbery; the second section is about the irresponsibility of a father for the crimes of a grown-up son, and of a husband for those of a separated wife, about the time for instructing children, and when they first become responsible for sin, the crime of giving weapons to women, children, and foreigners, about warriors plundering, the various kinds of judges and their duties, and offences against accusers. Of the twelve next sections one, called Pasû*s*-hôrvistân ('the shepherd's dog code'), is about shepherd's dogs, their duties and rights. Of the last thirty-five sections the first, called Stôristân ('the beast of burden code'), is about the sin, affecting the soul, of unlawfully beating and wounding cattle and beasts of burden, birds and fish; the second section, Ar*g*istân ('the value code'), is a treatise on the value of animate and inanimate objects; the third section, Aratê*s*târistân ('the warrior code'), is a treatise on warriors, arms, armies, generals, battles, plunder, &c.; the fourth section is about warm baths, fires, clothing, winter stores, reaping fodder and corn, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that part of the second section which referred to the responsibility of children. The words from 'as revealed' to 'indicated' are omitted in K20.

[1] K20 has 'nine-months' child.'

[2] See Chap. III, 6.

[3] Literally, 'both are one;' that is, in either case the spell of the vâ*g* or prayer is broken.

15. Also this, that ten women are necessary for affording assistance *to* a woman who is in labour: five women for directing the making of the cradle (gavârak), one woman should be opposite the left shoulder, and one to hold the right shoulder, one woman to throw a hand on her neck, one woman to hold her waist, and one woman, when the infant shall be born, to take *it* up and cut the navel cord, and to make the fire blaze[1]. 16. Three days and three nights no one is to pass between the fire and the child, nor to show the child to a sinful man *or* woman; *they are* to triturate a little sulphur in the sap (mayâ) of a plant, *and* to smear it over the child; *and* the first food to give *it* is Hôm-juice (parâhôm) and aloes (shapyâr).

17. The rule is this, that in case any one shall beat an innocent man, until the pain shall cease it becomes every day the root of a Tanâpûhar sin[2] for him.

18. The rule is this, that when in a country they trust a false judge, and keep *him* among *their* superiors, owing to the sin and breach of faith which that judge commits, the clouds *and* rain, in that country, are deficient, a portion (bavan) of the deliciousness, fatness, wholesomeness, and milk of the cattle and goats diminishes[3], and many children become destroyed in the mother's womb.

19. The rule is this, that a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death; *but* when a woman does not wed a husband it

[1] Literally, 'make the fire high.'

[2] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[3] Most of these evils are also ascribed (see B. Yt. II, 41–43) to neglect of the precautions prescribed with regard to hair-cuttings.

amounts to *a sin* worthy of death; because *for* a woman *there* is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; *but for* a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the Vendidad[1], *there may be* a lineage which proceeds onwards *to* the future existence.

20. The rule is this, that a toothpick is to be cut out clear of bark (pôst pâk)[2], for the high-priests *have* taught that when one's toothpick—made for the mouth with the bark—shall fall, and when a pregnant woman puts a foot upon it, *she* is apprehensive about *its* being dead matter[3].

21. The rule is this, that in accepting the child of a handmaid (*k*akar)[4] discrimination is to be exercised; for in the fourteenth *of the* Nask Hûspâram[5]

[1] This reference is probably to the circumstances detailed in Vend. XVIII, 99–112, but the Pahlavi commentary on §§ 111, 112 of that passage is missing in all MSS. The Avesta to be recited in such cases is precisely the same as that detailed in a note on § 5.

[2] This translation is in accordance with the seventeenth chapter of the prose Sad-dar Bûndahi*s*, or 'Bûndahi*s* of a hundred chapters,' a Pâzand work of later times; but the text here might be translated 'cut out of clean skin,' and in Chap. XII, 13, where the statement is repeated, the word used is also ambiguous.

[3] The Sad-dar Bûndahi*s* says, 'the fear arises that the infant may come to harm.' This section and the three which follow are repeated in Chap. XII, 13–16.

[4] This might mean a *k*akar, or 'serving' wife (see Bund. XXXII, 6), but the further details given in Chap. XII, 14, where this statement is repeated, make it more probable that a concubine is meant.

[5] As this was the seventeenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, it is probable that the word 'fourteenth,' in the text here, refers to some particular chapter or fargar*d*, most likely to the last group of fourteen

the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter.'

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sections, mentioned below, in the summary of its contents; and this is confirmed by another reference in Chap. XII, 7. This nask is called Aspâram in the Rivâyats, and Aspârûm in the Dînî-vagarkard; for its contents, as given by the latter, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies sixteen quarto pages of that work :—

Of the first thirty sections of the Hûspâram, one is the Aêrpatistân ('the priest's code'), a treatise on priestly studies, priests, disciples, and their five dispositions. One section is the Nîrangistân ('religious formula code'), a treatise on the formulas of worship, the Avesta to be recited by the officiating priests twice, thrice, and four times, the five periods of the day and their proper ceremonies, the season-festivals, the sacred girdle and shirt, cutting the sacred twigs, reverencing water, the families of Zaratûst, Hvôv, and Vistâsp, &c. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('quality code'), a treatise on nobility and superiority, buying and selling, cattle, slaves, servants, and other property, houses where men or dogs have been sick, dealings with foreigners, &c. And other sections are about appropriating the property of others, obedient and disobedient wives, foreign wives, advantages of male and female offspring, breeding of cattle, treatment of labourers and children, the evil eye, judges, the origin and cultivation of corn, the degrees of crime and punishment, &c. Of the next twenty sections, one is about the treatment of furious cattle and mad dogs, and the damage they may do. One section on the means of accumulating wealth, the giving of sons and daughters in marriage, the goodness of charity and evil of waste, the five best actions and the five worst, unlawful felling of trees, the sin of burying the dead, &c. And one section on the begetting, birth, and treatment of children. Of the last fourteen sections, one is a treatise, in six fargards, on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c. And a section of seven fargards, at the end, is a treatise on the sufferings of men, women, children, and dogs, on the connection of owner and herds, priest and disciple, on various offences and sins, spiritual and worldly healing, physic and physicians, astrology,

22. The rule is this, that *one* perseveres much in the begetting of offspring, for the acquisition of abundance of good works at once; because, in the Nihâ*d*ûm Nask[1], the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâ*d Nask*[2] it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like measure, which come into the father's possession.'

23. The rule is this, that they shall give to the worthy as much of anything as is proper for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâ*d*ûm *Nask*[3] the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'A man gives a hungry *one* bread, *and it is* too much, yet all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

24. The rule is this, where *one* lies down, in circumstances of propriety and innocence, one Ashemvohû is to be uttered[4], and *in* like manner when he

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the proper feeding of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, the duty of a frontier governor during a foreign invasion, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that portion of the last group of fourteen sections which treated of wives, children, and adoption.

[1] See § 3; the passage mentioned here cannot be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkar*d*.

[2] See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted cannot be traced in any of the short accounts of the contents of this Nask. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 15.

[3] See § 3; the passage here quoted is also not to be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkar*d*. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 16.

[4] Compare Chap. IV, 14, where much the same is stated as what occurs in this section.

gets up well; when he does so, every single drawing of the breath (vayô) becomes a good work of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms, that is, a weight of ten dirhams of the full weight of four mads[1].

25. The rule is this, that when an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible it is to be abandoned *and* not executed by him; as it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[2] that Zaratûs*t* *has*

[1] Reading i mad-4, instead of va maz-4; the word mad (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 21) being Huz. for the dâng or quarter-dirham. The amount of the Srôshô-*k*aranâm, as deduced from this statement, differs from those given in Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 5, and must be awkwardly fractional, unless the sentence be altered into 10 *g*ûgan sang nêm zî*s* pûr sang yehevûnê*d*, 'a weight of ten dirhams *and* a half, which is its full weight;' in which case one Srôshô-*k*aranâm would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, as in Chap. XVI, 5.

[2] This was the eighteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*; but according to the Dînî-vagarkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the nineteenth nask, called Askârûm or Askâram. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*, where it occupies twenty quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first thirty sections of the Sakâ*d*ûm one is a treatise on the necessity of obedience and understanding the laws, on new-born infants and their proper treatment, on the care of fire and sharp-pointed things, on race-courses, the use of water, salt and sweet, warm and cold, flowing and stagnant, &c. One section is the Ha*k*i*d*akânistân ('annoyances code'), a treatise on irritating words and ill-treatment of living creatures and trees, the finding of buried treasure at various depths and in different places, &c. And one section is the Zîyânakistân ('damage code'), a treatise on damage to animate and inanimate objects. Of the last twenty-two sections, one is the Vakhshistân ('increase code'), a treatise on the progress of growth, breeding of cattle and other animals, pleadings regarding debts, growth of corn, &c. One section is the Varistân ('ordeal code'), a treatise on the detection of witchcraft by ordeal, by heat and cold, &c. One section on asking assistance

not provided about everything whatever, but three times *it has been done* by Zaratûst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta *and* Zand, when *one has* learned it thoroughly by heart[1], is for recitation, *and* is not to be mumbled[2] (*g*ûyi*s*nŏ), for in mumbling (*g*û*d*anŏ) the parts of the Ahunavar[3] are more chattering[4]. 26. As it says in the Bagh *Nask*[5]

and rewarding it, on the unjust judge and the sagacious one, on daughters given in marriage by mothers and brothers, on the disobedient son, &c. And one section on the spirits of the earthly existences, the merit of killing noxious water-creatures, the animal world proceeding from the primeval ox, the evil spirit not to be worshipped, and much other advice.

The passage mentioned in the text appears to have been in the first section of this Nask, as the Dînkar*d* says it treated, among other matters, 'about a man's examining an action before doing it, *and* when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible, *he* is to set it aside *and* not to do *it*.' But nothing is said there about Zaratûst, and what is said here seems to have very little connection with the 'rule' laid down in this section.

[1] Literally, 'made it quite easy.'

[2] Literally, 'not to be devoured or gnawed.'

[3] The formula commencing with the words Yathâ ahû vairyô (see Bund. I, 21); its parts or bagha are the phrases into which it may be divided (see Yas. XIX, 4, 6, 9, 12).

[4] Reading drâîtar, 'more clamourous or chattering;' but the word is ambiguous, as it may be darâktar, 'more rending,' or girâîtar, 'more weighty, more threatening,' &c.

[5] M6 has Bak. This was the third nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Bakô; but according to the Dînî-vagarkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the fourth nask. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. In the Dînkar*d*, besides a very brief account of it, in the eighth book, which states that it was a treatise on the recitation of the revealed texts, there is, in the ninth book, a long description of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargar*d*s, occupying fifty quarto pages in the MSS. of the Dînkar*d*. From this it appears that the passage quoted in our text probably occurred in the first

thus: 'Whoever shall mutter, O Zaratûst! my allotment of the Ahunavar[1]—that is, shall softly take *it inwardly—and* shall let *it* escape[2] again—that is, shall utter *it aloud*—so much as a half, or one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, his soul will I shield, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence—that is, I *will* keep it away—by so much of an interval as the width of this earth.'

27. The rule is this, that *one* is to proceed with great deliberation when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, that is, it is not to be done.

28. The rule is this, that an opinion (andâzak) of anything is to be formed through consultation

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fargard. It also occurs, in nearly the same words, in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12–15, and as Yas. XIX is called 'the beginning of the Bakân' in some MSS., it is possible that the three Hâs (Yas. XIX–XXI) which relate to the three short Avesta formulas are really the first three fargards of the Bagh Nask, which are said to have treated of the same subjects.

[1] The text is corrupted into min zak-i li, Zaratûst! bêstârîh-i min Ahunavar drûgist, which might be translated, in connection with the following phrase, thus: 'Of my vexation, O Zaratûst! from the Ahunavar, the most fiendish is that *one* shall softly take *it*,' &c. But very slight alterations of the Pahlavi letters (in accordance with Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12) convert min into mûn, bêstârîh into bâkhtârîh, and drûgist into drengâd. Instead of 'allotment of the Ahunavar' we might read 'predestination, or providence, from the Ahunavar;' because the Pahlavi translator, by using the word bâkhtârîh or bakhtârîh, appears to have understood the Av. bagha in its sense of 'divinity, providence,' rather than in that of 'part, portion.'

[2] Reading rânînêd or rahôînêd. The Pahlavi translator seems to think the sin consists in breaking the spell of the vâg or inward prayer (see Chap. III, 6) by speaking part of it aloud; but the original Avesta of this passage attributes the sin to obscuring the meaning by imperfect recitation.

with the good; even so it is revealed in the *Kîdrast Nask*[1] that Spendarmad spoke to Mânûskihar thus: 'Even the swiftest horse requires the whip (tâzâ-

[1] This was the twelfth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it *Kîdrastô* or *Kîdrôstô*; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fourteenth nask called *Girast*. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 131. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

The *Kîdrôstô* is a treatise on the race of man; how Aûharmazd produced the first man, Gâyômard, how the first pair, Mashya and Mashyôî, arose, with their progeny, till the region of Khvanîras was full, when they supplied the six surrounding regions, till they filled and cultivated the whole world. The Pêsdâdian dynasty of Hôshâng, Tâkhmôrupŏ, and Yim, the evil reign of Dahâk, descended from Tâz, the brother of Hôshâng and father of the Arabs, then Frêdûn who divided Khvanîras between his three sons, Salm, Tûg, and Aîrîk, who married the daughters of Pâtsrôbô (compare Pahl. Vend. XX, 4) king of the Arabs, then Mânûskihar, descendant (nâpô) of Aîrîk, the penal reign of Frâsîyâv ruler of Tûrân, then Aûzôbô the Tûmâspian, descendant of Mânûskihar, then Kaî-Kavâd and the penal reign of Karsâspô. The Kayânian dynasty of Kâî-Us, Kaî-Khûsrôb son of Sîyâvakhsh, with many tales of the specially famous races of Iran, Tûrân, and Salmân, even to the reigns of Kaî-Lôharâsp and Kaî-Vistâsp. The apostle Zaratûst, and the progress of time and events from the reign of Frêdûn till Zaratûst's conference with Aûharmazd. The race of Mânûskihar, Nôdar, and others. Avarethrabau's (see Fravardîn Yt. 106) father, Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend. On future events and the reign of the renovation of the universe; the origin of the knowledge of occupation, and the care and industry of the period; the great acquaintance of mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, and the deliverance of the soul, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

As Mânûskîhar is several times mentioned there are several places in this Nask where the statement, quoted in the text as a saying of Spendarmad, the female archangel who has special charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20–24, and Bund. I, 26), may have occurred.

nak), the sharpest steel knife requires the whetstone (afsân), and the wisest man requires counsel (hampûrsîh).'

29. The rule is this, that when *one* laughs outright (barâ khandê*d*) the Avesta and Zand are not to be mumbled, for the wisdom of Aûharmazd is omniscient, *and* good works are a great exercise of liberality, but an extreme abstinence from producing irritation (han*g*î*d*âr-dahî*s*nîh); because in the Ratû*s*tâîtîh *Nask*[1] many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of producers of irritation, in the spiritual *existence.*

30. The rule is this, that *as* there *may* be *some* even of those of the good religion *who*, through unacquaintance with the religion, when a female *fowl* crows in the manner of a cock, will kill the

[1] This was the seventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Ratû*s*tâîtî; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the eighth nask called Ratu*s*tâî. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 129. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*:—

The Ratû*s*tâîtî is a treatise on indispensable religious practices, the reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a purifying priest, and how to distinguish worthiness and superexcellence from unworthiness, in the priesthood of each of the seven regions of the earth; on the indication and manifestation of an assemblage of the archangels, the formulas and means to be employed in reverencing the angels, the position and duties of the two officiating priests in the ceremonies, and all the business of the orderers of ceremonies, with their various duties; on the greatness and voluntariness of good works, the kinds of voluntariness, and the proximity of Aûharmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world.

It is uncertain under which of these heads the passage mentioned in the text may have occurred.

fowl, so those of the primitive faith[1] *have* said that there *may* be mischief (vinâstârîh) from wizards in that dwelling, *which* the cock is incapable of keeping away, and the female *fowl* makes that noise for the assistance of the cock[2], especially when the bringing of another cock into that dwelling is necessary.

31. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog, then *along* with it[3] a place in the plain, free from danger, is to be preserved; for in the Vendidad[4] the high-priests *have* taught that it is when the hedgehog every day voids urine into an ant's nest that a thousand ants will die.

32. The rule is this, that in the Vendidad[5] seven kinds of things are mentioned, *and* when they are the cause of a man's death, until the forthcoming period *of the day* (gâs-i levîn) comes on, contami-

[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] The cock is considered to be an opponent of demons and wizards (see Bund. XIX, 33), and to warn men against the seductions of the demoness of lethargy (see Vend. XVIII, 33–42, 52).

[3] Assuming that levatman val means levatman valman, but the reading 'he takes *it* back to (lakhvâr val) the plain,' which occurs in the repetition of this section in Chap. XII, 20, seems preferable.

[4] The details which follow are to be found in Bund. XIX, 28, but they appear to be no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidad; though the hedgehog is called 'the slayer of the thousands of the evil spirit,' in Vend. XIII, 5, of which passage the statement in our text seems to be an illustration. The ant is considered noxious.

[5] Vend. VII, 5, 6, where, however, eight modes of death are mentioned, which delay the arrival of the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, till the next period of the day; these are when the person has been killed by a dog, a wolf, a wizard, anxiety, falling into a pit, the hand of man as sentenced by law, illegal violence, or strangulation. In all other cases it is supposed that the fiend of corruption enters the corpse immediately after death (see Vend. VII, 2–4).

nation (nisrûst)[1] does not rush upon him; and for this reason, this, too, is well *for* the good, that is, to show a dog rightly again a previous corpse in the forthcoming period *of the day*[2].

33. The rule is this, that by those who attend to a corpse among the pure *it* is then to be shown *to* a dog very observant of the corpse; for when even a thousand persons shall carry away a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, they are all polluted[3].

34. The rule is this, that meat, when there is stench or decomposition not even originating with *it*, is not to be prayed *over*[4]; *and* the sacred cake (drôn) and butter (gâûs-dâk) which are hairy are also not to be prayed over[5].

35. A woman is fit for priestly duty (zôtîh) among women[6], and when she is consecrating[7] the sacred

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[1] See Bund. XXVIII, 29.

[2] In order that there may be no risk of the fiend of corruption having entered the corpse after it was first exhibited to a dog.

[3] This statement has been already made in Chap. II, 65.

[4] That is, it is not to be used in any religious ceremony. Small pieces of meat are consecrated, along with the sacred cakes, in the Drôn and Âfrîngân ceremonies at certain festivals.

[5] So in K20; but M6 has, 'the sacred cake they present, even that is not to be prayed over.' Although M6 is more carefully written than K20, it seems to have been copied from an original which was hardly legible in some places, of which this is one. The presence of a hair in the cake or butter would render it useless for religious purposes.

[6] But only for some of the minor priestly offices, such as consecrating the sacred cake. According to Avesta passages, quoted in the Nîrangistân, any man who is not a Tanâpûhar sinner can perform certain priestly duties for virtuous men, and any woman who is not feeble-minded (kasu-khrathwa) can perform them for children.

[7] M6 has, 'when she does not consecrate.'

cake (drôn), and one Ashem-vohû[1] is uttered by her, she puts the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) back on the twig-stand, brings *them* away, and the utterance of another one is good; when she says it is not expedient to do *it* with attention before a meal, it is proper. 36. The sacred cake of a disreputable woman is not to be consecrated, but is to be rendered ineligible (avigînakŏ).

37. When *one* places a thing before the fire observantly, and does not see the splendour itself, 'tava âthrô[2]' is not to be said.

38. At night, when[3] *one* lies down, the hands are to be thoroughly washed. 39. That which comes from a menstruous woman to any one, or to anything, is all to be thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water[4].

[40. The rule is this, as Âtarô-pâd *son of* Mâraspend[5] said when every one passed away:—'The mouth-veil[6] and also the clothing are to be well

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[1] See Bund. XX, 2; it is rather doubtful whether we should read 'one' or 'two.'

[2] These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when presenting anything to the fire, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.)

[3] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[4] Here ends the original Shâyast lâ-shâyast. § 40 is found only in M6, and is evidently a later addition to that MS. by another hand. Then follows the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, both in M6 and K20; this is an old Avesta-Pahlavi Glossary which has no connection with Sls., although it may be of the same age, as it quotes many Avesta sentences which are no longer extant elsewhere, and amongst others passages from the Nihâdûm Nask (see Sls. X, 3) and the commentary of Afarg (see Sls. I, 3).

[5] See Bund. XXXIII, 3.

[6] The padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm) 'consists of two

set *apart* from the gifts (dâsarân), so that his soul may become easier.' Completed in peace and pleasure.]

Part II.—*A Supplementary Treatise*[1].

Chapter XI.

1. The degrees of sin are these[2], such *as* a Farmân, Srôshô-*k*aranâm, Âgerept, Aîvîri*s*t, Aredû*s*, Khôr, Bâ*z*âî, Yât, and Tanâpûhar, and I *will* mention each of them a second time. 2. A Farmân is the weight of three dirhams of four mads[3]; a

pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire. On certain occasions a layman has to use a substitute for the penôm by screening his mouth and nose with a portion of his muslin shirt.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1; see also Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 1–4.)

[1] This second part is evidently by another writer, for he not only repeats several passages (Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13–16, 18, 20), which are given in the first part, but he also writes generally in a less simple style. In some MSS. of Sls. alone, such as M9, the second part immediately follows the first, as in this translation; indicating that it has been accepted as a part of the same work. But in M6 the two parts are separated by the Farh. Okh., occupying twenty folios; and in K20 there is an interval of ninety-two folios, containing the Farh. Okh., Bund., B. Yt., and several other texts.

[2] §§ 1, 2 are a repetition of Chap. I, 1, 2, with a few variations. The number of degrees is here raised to nine by the addition of the Srôshô-*k*aranâm (see Chap. X, 24), which is written Srôsha*k*aranâm in both these sections.

[3] Reading i mad-4, instead of va m-4; the mad being a quarter-dirham (see Chap. X, 24, note); or we can read 'weight and quantity (mâyah) of three dirhams.' The amount of the Farmân

Srôshô-*k*aranâm is one dirham *and* two mads; three Srôshô-*k*aranâms are the weight of four dirhams and two mads[1]; an Âgerept is thirty-three stîrs[2]; an Aîvîri*s*t is the weight of thirty-three dirhams; an Aredû*s* is thirty *stîrs*[3]; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâ*z*âî is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs, and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs.

3. Every one ought to be unhesitating *and* unanimous about this, that righteousness is the one thing, and heaven (garô*d*mân)[4] the one place, *which* is good, and contentment the one thing more comfortable.

4. When a sheep[5] is slaughtered and divided, its meat-offering (gâvûs-dâk)[6] is to be thus presented:—the tongue, jaw, and left eye are the

here given appears to agree with that stated in Chap. XVI, 1, but differs very much from the sixteen dirhams mentioned in Chap. I, 2, and the twenty-eight dirhams quoted by Spiegel.

[1] That is, one Srôshô-*k*aranâm is one dirham and a half, and three of them, therefore, are four dirhams and a half; the mad being a quarter-dirham. This computation differs considerably from the amounts stated in Chaps. X, 24, XVI, 5, but corresponds better with the supposition (see Chap. IV, 14, note) that a Srôshô-*k*aranâm is one-third of a Farmân.

[2] Both this amount and the next are evidently wrong, and no doubt the Pahlavi ciphers have been corrupted. Chap. XVI, 5 gives 'sixteen' and 'twenty-five' stîrs, which are probably correct, though the computation in Chap. I, 2 is very different.

[3] Written Aredû*s* 30 sî, 'an Aredû*s* is 30 (thirty),' as in Chap. I, 2; with which also all the remaining amounts correspond.

[4] See note on pâhlûm ahvân in Chap. VI, 3.

[5] Or 'goat.'

[6] Av. gâu*s* hudh*a*u, which is generally represented by a small piece of butter placed upon one of the sacred cakes; but on certain occasions small pieces of meat are used. The object of this section is to point out what part of the animal is suitable for use in a ceremony dedicated to any one of the angels, or spirits, mentioned.

angel Hôm's[1] own; the neck is Ashavahi*s*t's[2] own; the head is the angel Vâê's[3] own; the right shoulder (arm) is Ardvîsûr's[4], the left is Drvâsp's[5]; the right thigh (hakht) is *for the guardian spirit*[6] *of* Vi*s*tâsp, and the left *for* the guardian spirit of *G*âmâsp[7]; the back is *for* the supreme chief[8]; the loin is the spirits' own; the belly is Spendarma*d*'s[9]; the testicles[10] are *for* the star Vanand[11]; the kidneys are

[1] Av. haoma, the angel of the Hôm plant (see Yas. IX–XI, Bund. XVIII, 1–3, XXVII, 4, 24), the juice of which is used in ceremonial worship by the Parsis.

[2] The same as Ar*d*avahi*s*t (see Bund. I, 26).

[3] M6 has 'Râm' as a gloss; he is the Vayô of the Râm Yt., 'the good Vaê' of Mkh. II, 115, who assists the righteous souls in their progress to the other world; his name, Râm, is given to the twenty-first day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 21).

[4] Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters (see Bund. XXXII, 8). This title is written Arêdvîvsûr in the Bundahi*s*, and applied to the source of pure water (Bund. XIII); while the name Âvân, 'waters,' is given to the eighth month and the tenth day of each month in the Parsi year.

[5] Av. Drvâspa of the Gô*s* Yt., the name of the female angel of cattle, called Gô*s*ûrvan in Bund. IV; her alternative name, Gô*s*, is given to the fourteenth day of the Parsi month.

[6] The word fravash-i, 'the guardian spirit of,' is evidently omitted here, as it occurs with the next name. For Vi*s*tâsp, see Bund. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 7.

[7] Av. *G*âmâspa of Yas. XIII, 24, XLV, 17, XLVIII, 9, L, 18, Âbân Yt. 68, &c., the prime minister of Vi*s*tâsp.

[8] Ratpôk berêza*d* stands for the Av. rathwô berezatô of Yas. I, 46, &c., a 'supreme chief' who is often associated with the chiefs of the various subdivisions of time, and seems to be Aûharmazd himself (see Yas. LVI, i, 10).

[9] The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20–24, and Bund. I, 26).

[10] The word gûnd has here, in most MSS., the usual Persian gloss dahân, 'mouth' (see Bund. XIX, 1), which is a very improbable meaning in this place.

[11] Probably Fomalhaut (see Bund. II, 7, note).

Haptôîring's[1]; the ventricle (naskadakŏ)[2] is *for* the guardian spirit of priests; the lungs are *for* the guardian spirit of warriors; the liver is *for* compassion and sustenance[3] of the poor; the spleen is Mânsarspend's[4]; the fore-legs (bâzâî) are *for* the waters; the heart is *for* the fires; the entrail fat is Ardâî-fravard's[5]; the tail-bone (dunb-gazakŏ) is *for* the guardian spirit of Zaratûst the Spitâmân[6]; the tail (dunbak) is *for* Vâd[7] the righteous; the right eye is in the share of the moon[8]; and any[9] *that* may be left over from those is *for* the other archangels. 5. *There* have been *those* who may have spoken about protection, and *there have* been *those* who *may have done so* about meat-offerings; whoever *has* spoken about protection is such as *has*

[1] Ursa Major, called Haptŏk-rîng in Bund. II, 7.

[2] Translating in accordance with the Persian gloss kustah, given in the modern MS. M9; but nas-kadakŏ may perhaps mean 'the womb.'

[3] Reading sar-âyisnŏ, 'maturity,' the usual equivalent of Av. thraosta (see Yas. XXXIV, 3), and not srâyisnŏ, 'chanting.'

[4] Av. mâthra spenta, 'the beneficent sayings, or holy word,' of which this angel is a personification; his name is often corrupted into Mahraspend or Mâraspend, and is given to the twenty-ninth day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 29).

[5] A personification of the Av. ashaonâm fravashayô, 'guardian angels of the righteous' (see Fravardîn Yt. 1, &c.), whence the first month, and the nineteenth day of each month, in the Parsi year, are called Fravardîn.

[6] This clause and the next are omitted in K20.

[7] The angel of the wind, whose name is given to the twenty-second day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 22).

[8] Or its angel, Mâh, whose name is given to the twelfth day of the Parsi month.

[9] M6 has va aê-maman = va aêk (Pers. îk, 'any'); K20 has kolâ maman, 'whatever,' and omits the words 'may be left over' and 'other.'

spoken well, and whoever *has* spoken about meat-offerings has not spoken everything which is noteworthy[1]. 6. When *one* shall offer up[2] *what* pertains to one (khadûkag) on account of another it is proper; except the tongue, jaw, and left eye, for *that* those are the angel Hôm's own is manifest from the passage: 'Hizvãm fr*e*renao*d*[3],' *&c.*

Chapter XII.

1. The rule is this, that when one's *form of* worship (ya*s*t)[4] is performed, and it is not possible for him to prepare *it*, the practice of those of the primitive faith[5] is, when the girdle (aîpiyâûng) is twined about a *sacred* twig-bundle (baresôm)[6] of seven twigs (tâk), to consecrate a sacred cake (drônô) thrice, which becomes his *form of* worship that is performed one degree better through the sacred cake; and of the merit of a threefold *consecration*

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[1] Meaning, apparently, that to pray for protection as a favour is better than to pray for it as a return for an offering.

[2] K20 has 'shall give up.'

[3] It is doubtful if this passage can be found in the extant Avesta; but a passage of similar meaning, and containing the words fr*e*renao*d* and hizvô, occurs in Yas. XI, 16, which states that 'the righteous father, Ahuramazda, produced for me, Haoma, as a Draona, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye;' and it then proceeds (Yas. XI, 17–19) to curse any one 'who shall deprive me of that Draona, or shall himself enjoy, or shall give away what the righteous Ahuramazda gave me, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye.'

[4] A Yast is a formula of praise in honour of the sun, moon, water, fire, or some other angel, as well as a term for prayers and worship in general.

[5] See Chap. I, 3.

[6] See Chap. III, 32, note.

of the sacred cake the high-priests *have* specially taught, in the Hûspâram *Nask*[1], that *it* is as much as *that* of a lesser *form of* worship.

2. The rule is this, that he who is himself more acquainted with religion is he who considers him who is more acquainted with religion than himself as high-priest, and considers *him* as high-priest[2] so that he may not destroy the bridge of the soul[3]; as it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[4] that no one of them, that is an inattentive (asrûshdâr) man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence[5], not though his recitations should be so many that they have made his duty and good works as much as the verdure (sapdak) of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which Aûharmazd *has* given abundantly.

3. The rule is this, that they keep a fire[6] in the house, because, from not keeping the fire properly, *there* arise less pregnancy of women and a weeping (â*v*-dî*d*anŏ) for the loss of strength (tanû) of men[7]; and the chilled charcoal (angi*s*t) and the rest which are without advantage (bar) are to be

[1] See Chap. X, 21. The passage mentioned in the text was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

[2] K20 omits this repetition.

[3] That is, may not render the passage of his soul to heaven, over the *K*inva*d* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7), impossible, owing to the sin of arrogance in this world.

[4] See Chap. X, 25; the passage alluded to was probably at the beginning of the Nask, which treated of 'the reward of the precepts of religion, and the bridge of the destroyers of good preceptors, adapted to their destruction.'

[5] See Chap. VI, 3.

[6] K20 has 'that a fire is to be properly kept.'

[7] K20 has 'and a loss of the strength and wealth of men.'

carried away from the fire; and in the Spend *Nask*[1] *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they should make clean.

4. The rule is this, that when any one passes away it is proper to render useless[2] as much as the smallest mouth-veil[3], for it says in the Vendidad[4] that 'if even those Mazdayasnians should leave on him who is dead, in parting with him, as much as that which a damsel would leave in parting with the *food*-bowl (pa*d*mânakŏ)—that is, a bag (anbânakŏ-hanâ)[5]'—the decree is this, that *it* is a Tanâ-

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[1] See Chap. X, 4; the passage mentioned was probably in that part of the Nask which described the protection afforded by the fire to the new-born Zaratûst.

[2] Probably a negative is omitted, or akârînî*d*anŏ should be translated 'to make no use of.'

[3] See Chap. X, 40. K20 has 'garment.'

[4] Always written Vadîkdâ*d* in this second part of Sls., except in Chap. XIII, 7; whereas in the first part it is written in its uncorrupted form *G*avî*d*-dêſ-dâ*d* or *G*avî*d*-*s*êdâ-dâ*d*, 'the law opposed to the demons.' The passage here quoted is Pahl. Vend. V, 171, 172, with one or two verbal variations.

[5] Standing for anbânak-aê, which is corrupted in the Vendidad MSS. into the unintelligible form andanakŏ-ı, so that this old quotation throws a rather unexpected light upon a passage in the Vendidad which translators would be almost certain to misunderstand. The allusion is to the bags used by a menstruous woman, when eating, to prevent contamination of the food. The Persian Rivâyats state that three bags (kîsah) are made of two thicknesses of strong linen, one bag to wear on each hand, and the third, which is larger, to hold the metal food-bowl and water-goblet. After thoroughly washing her hands and face, she puts the two bags on her hands, taking care that they do not touch her food, or clothes, or any other part of her body. She then feeds herself with a metal spoon, which must not touch her nose; and when the meal

pûhar *sin*[1] at root, which is hell; *and* in the Vendidad[2] it says that the clothing of the charitable (dahisn-hômand) soul, and even the clothing which they will give *it*, are out of almsgivings (dâsarân)[3].

5. The rule is this, that when any one passes away, after keeping fasting the three *nights*[4], still the presentation of holy-water (zôhar) to the fire is to be performed, which is the presenting of the holy-water to the nearest fire; for in the Dâmdâd *Nask*[5] *it* is revealed that when they sever (tebrûnd) the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the

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is finished the food-bowl and water-goblet are placed on the large bag, and the two smaller bags inside it, till wanted again.

[1] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[2] This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Vendidad, and it is possible to read Nask Dâd instead of Vadîkdâd. The Dâdî or Dâdak Nask was the eleventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which merely says that its 'Avesta and Zand are not communicated to us by the high-priest.' According to the Dînî-vagarkard, which calls it Khûstô, and the Rivâyats, which call it Khast, it was the twelfth Nask, and they give its contents in more detail than usual (see Haug's Essays, pp. 130, 131).

[3] Meaning that the dead require no clothing, as their future bodies will be clothed out of the garments they have given away in charity. The resemblance of this statement to that contained in Bund. XXX, 28, which must have been abridged from the Dâmdâd Nask (see SZS. IX, 1), renders it possible that it may have been taken from that Nask.

[4] No fresh meat is to be cooked or eaten for the first three days after a death in the house, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, LXXVIII (compare Chap. XVII, 1–3).

[5] See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted may perhaps be found in the complete text of the Bundahis, as given in TD (Chap. 37; see Introduction, p. xxxvii).

moon, and then out to the sun[1]; and *it* is needful that the nearest fire, which is that to which it *has* come out, should become stronger (zôr-hômand-tar)[2].

6. The rule is this, that they should not leave a nail-*paring* unprayed over (anâfsû*d*ak), for if it be not prayed over (afsând)[3] it turns into the arms *and* equipments of the Mâzanân demons[4]; *this* is explicitly shown in the Vendidad[5].

7. The rule is this, that the labour of child-birth[6] is not to be accomplished at night, except while with the light of a fire, or the stars and moon, upon *it;* for great opposition is connected with it, and in the twentieth of the Hûspâram *Nask*[7] it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.

8. The rule is this, that they should allow the egg and other food[8] for those gifts *and* favours of the

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[1] A righteous soul is supposed to step out first to the star station, then to the moon station, and then to the sun station, on its way to Garô*d*mân, the highest heaven; but if its righteousness is imperfect it has to stop at one of these three stations, which are the three lower grades of heaven (see note on pâhlûm ahvân, Chap. VI, 3).

[2] Or 'more provided with zôr,' which may mean 'holy-water,' as the two words zôr and zôhar are occasionally confounded.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'if they shall not pray over *it*.'

[4] See Bund. III, 20, XIX, 19, 20.

[5] Vend. XVII, 29.

[6] Barman-zerkhûni*s*nîh may also mean 'begetting a son.'

[7] See Chap. X, 21. The word 'twentieth' appears to refer to the second group of twenty sections, one of which treated of the begetting, birth, and treatment of children.

[8] Referring to the egg, drôns, frasasts, and gâu*s* hudh*a*u or 'meat-offering' (which may be either butter or meat, see Chap. XI, 4) that are used in the drôn ceremony, or consecration of the sacred cakes (see note on drôn, Chap. III, 32). The object of

sovereign moon (mâh-i khûdâi) and the other angels; if so, it is to be allowed by them thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' and not thus: 'One sacred cake (drônô) in so much food.' 9. And the reason of it is this, that *they* who shall allow thus: 'One sacred cake out of so much food,' and of which *it* is one thing less, even though *one* shall consecrate *it* many times, still then he *has* not repaid; and *they* who should allow thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' though *one* shall reverence *him* with many sacred cakes, it is proper. 10. And in the twenty-two *sections* of the Sakâdûm *Nask*[1] grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings (aûstôfrid) unto the angels.

11. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, a fire *one* cares for well is to be maintained in the house, because it is revealed[2] in the Spend Nask that *to* Dûkdâv[3], the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, for three nights, every night a leader (shâh)[4] with a hundred and fifty demons came for the destruction of Zaratûst, and yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means *for it*.

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this paragraph is, evidently, to reprove niggardliness in such offerings, and to prevent their being mere pretexts for feasting.

[1] See Chap. X, 25. The passage alluded to here was probably in that section, of the last twenty-two, which treated of the spirits of the earthly existences, one portion of which was 'about preparing offerings (aûstôfrîtô) to the angels.'

[2] M6 has 'the fire of Aûharmazd is to be fully maintained, *and* it is revealed,' &c. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 4, with a few variations.

[3] Here written Dûdkâv.

[4] Or it may be read sêdâ, 'a demon,' meaning 'an arch-fiend.'

12. The rule is this, where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until day*light*, and is to be maintained there in the day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth of the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[1].

13. The rule is this[2], that from a toothpick the bark[3] is to be well cut off, for there are *some* of those of the primitive faith[4] who *have* said that, when[5] they shall make it for the teeth *with* the bark on, and they throw *it* away, a pregnant woman, who puts a foot upon it, is doubtful about *its* being dead matter.

14. The rule is this, that *it* is well *if any one of* those who have their handmaid (*k*akar) in cohabitation (zanîh), and offspring is born of her, shall accept all those who are male as sons; *but* those who are female are no advantage, because an adopted *son* (satôr) is requisite, and in the fourteenth of the Hûspâram *Nask*[6] the high-priests

[1] That is, in the first thirty sections of the Nask (see Chap. X, 25); the passage alluded to must have been in that portion which treated of new-born infants and their proper treatment.

[2] §§ 13–16 are a repetition of Chap. X, 20–23, with a few variations.

[3] The word appears to be tôpŏ or tûfŏ, which would rather mean 'scum' or 'gum' (see Bund. XXVII, 19), unless it be considered a miswriting of tôgŏ or tôzŏ, which would mean 'thin bark' or 'bast.' It can also be read tûpar, 'a leather bag,' and the sentence can be so translated as to imply that a toothpick should be cut out of a leather bag, an alternative similar to that suggested by the text of Chap. X, 20.

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

[5] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[6] See Chap. X, 21.

have taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter;' and *there* are many who[1] do not appoint an adopted *son with* this idea, that: 'The child of a handmaid may be accepted by us as a son.'

15. The rule is this, that *one is* to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since *it is* for the acquisition[2] of many good works at once; because in the Spend[3] and Nihâ*d*ûm Nasks[4] the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâ*d Nask*[5] it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like manner, which come *to* the father as his own.'

16. The rule is this, that what they shall give to the worthy is as much as is proper and beyond, for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâ*d*ûm *Nask*[6] the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'When a man gives bread to a man, even though that man *has* too much bread, all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

17. The rule is this, that in the night water is

[1] The writer of M6 evidently found his original illegible at this place, as he wrote . . . maman instead of mûn denman.

[2] M6 has 'performance,' which is probably a misreading, due to the original of that MS. being partially illegible.

[3] See Chap. X, 4. This Nask is not mentioned in Chap. X, 22, and the passage here alluded to is not to be traced in any of the short accounts of its contents.

[4] See Chap. X, 3, 22.

[5] See SZS. IX, 1, and Chap. X, 22.

[6] See Chap. X, 3, 23.

not to be drawn[1] from a well, as in the Bâg-yasnô[2] notice is given about the uncleanness (ayo*s*dâsarîh) of well-water at night.

18. The rule is this, that in the night anything eatable is not to be cast away to the north, because a fiend *will* become pregnant; and when it is cast away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[3] is to be uttered. 19. Those of the primitive faith[4] who *used* to act more orthodoxically (hû-rastakîhâtar), when food *was* eaten by them in the night, for the sake of preservation from sin owing to the coming of strainings *and* sprinklings *on* to the ground, directed a man to chant the Ahunavar[5] from the beginning of the feast

[1] K20 has 'that water is not to be drawn on foot.'

[2] Probably the Bakân-yastô is meant, which was the fourteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the fifteenth nask, called Baghân-ya*s*t. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*:—

'The Bakân-yastô is a treatise, first, on the worship (yastô) of Aûharmazd, the most pre-eminent of divinities (bakân a*v*artûm), and, secondly, the worship of the angels of the other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are even the names of the days, and the glory, power, triumph, and miraculousness of their life also is extreme; the angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention *and* salutation *due* to them; the worthiness *and* dispensation of favour for worshippers, *and* the business of their many separate recitations unto the angels; the business of unlimited acquaintance with knowledge about the promoters of the treasures of the period, unto whom the creator Aûharmazd *is* to intrust them, *and* they remain to cause industry. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

[3] See Bund. I, 21. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 7, with a few variations.

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

[5] That is, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see Bund. I, 21).

(myazd) unto the end, more especially at the feast of the season-festivals; as it says in the Hâdôkht *Nask*[1], that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavar is that *which is* most triumphant.

20. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog he takes *it* back to the plain, and its own place is to be preserved free from danger; for in the Vendidad the high-priests *have* taught, that every day, when the hedgehog voids urine into an ant's nest, a thousand ants will die[2].

21. The rule is this, that some who are of the good religion *say*, where *one* is washing *his* face, one Ashem-vohû[3] is always to be uttered, *and* that Ashem-vohû is to be uttered before the *washing;* for when he utters *it* while washing *his* face, *he* is doubtful (var-hômand) about the water coming to *his* mouth.

22. The rule is this, that they select from the purifiers[4]—when their business (mindavam) is as important (rabâ) as purity and impurity—*him* with whom the control[5] of ablution (pâdîyâvih)[6] and non-ablution is connected; they select *him* especially

[1] See B.Yt. III, 25. The passage here quoted must have been in the first division of the Nask.

[2] This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 31.

[3] See Bund. XX, 2.

[4] The yôsdâsarân, 'purifiers' (Av. yaozdâthrya), are those priests who retain so much of the purifying effect of the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6) as to be able to assist in purifying others by means of the same ceremony. When that effect has passed away a priest can no longer perform the sacred rites, until he has again undergone the nine nights' purification of the Bareshnûm.

[5] Reading band, but it may be bôd, 'vitality, essence.'

[6] See Chap. II, 52.

with regard to the good disposition and truthful speaking of the man, and *to* the particular work; and on account of *his being* in innocence *he* is to be considered more righteous. 23. As in the Vendidad[1] it says, about the two shares of righteousness, how *one* should tell that *he is* 'a righteous man, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who is a purifier, who should be a speaker that speaks truly, an enquirer of the *sacred* texts—that is, he has performed his ritual (yast)—a righteous *one* who specially understands purification from the religion of the Mazdayasnians, that is, he understands its *religious* formulas (nîrang).' 24. When *it* is so that the control of their ablution is connected with him, so that they consider what *pertains* to the *purifying* bowl (zak-i tâstîk) as his, and ever abstain from it, though the angels hear and consider *them* as clean, and they select for him those who consecrate the water and bull's urine (gômêz) on account of *their* control of purification (yôsdâsarkarîh), *and it* is to be performed very observantly by the consecrators at the place which is to be measured with a measure and very exactly (khûptar)[2]. 25. And the purifier is so much the better when washed again, and when *it is* by some one through whose periodic (zamânîk)

[1] The passage here quoted is from Pahl. Vend. IX, 4–6.

[2] Referring to the Bareshnûm-gâh, or place prepared for the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification with bull's urine and water, which are handed to the person undergoing purification by an officiating priest (see Chap. II, 6). The place is marked out with furrows in the ground, and furnished with stones (magh) to squat upon during the ablutions (see B. Yt. II, 36). The construction of this paragraph is very obscure in many places, and its proper division into sentences is, therefore, uncertain.

care *he* is thus done; for in the periodic interval many secret[1] kinds of pollution are produced. 26. Of the celebrators of the Vendidad the good are *they* who shall again perform the Navashâ*d*ar rite[2]; for, on account of the same nicety (nâ*z*ûkîh) which is written above by me, *and* on account of much also *that is* secret, which has happened *and* mostly arises about it, *there* is no harm from performing *it*. 27. And *any one* of those who shall receive the water and bull's urine *it* is very important to wash beforehand (pavan pê*s*)[3]; because, if *there* be impurity *about* him[4], *and* he puts a hand to the cup (*g*âmak), the water, *and* the bull's urine, *they* are unclean (apâ*d*âv*v*ŏ)[5]; when *it is* so that *there* be some one, when so, *it* is better *that* they always wash his eyelids (môyak gâs), *and* to wash them by the clean is good.

28. The rule is this, that thou shouldst not consider even any one hopeless (anâîmê*d*) of heaven,

[1] Reading nihân, but we might perhaps read 'causes (vahân) of pollution of many kinds.' The meaning of the section is, that it is necessary for the purifying priest to maintain his own purity by frequently undergoing the Bareshnûm ceremony himself.

[2] Ya*s*t-i Navashâ*d*ar in all MSS., but the latter word is most probably a corruption of Av. navakhshapara, 'a period of nine nights,' for which length of time the Bareshnûm ceremony must be continued (see Vend. IX, 144, XIX, 80). The 'Navashâ*d*ar rite' is, therefore, 'the ceremony of the nine nights,' which should be frequently undergone by the priests who celebrate the Vendidad ceremonial.

[3] M6 has pavan pî*s*ak, 'with ceremony.'

[4] M6 has 'them.'

[5] M6 has '*one* knows it is unto the cup and bull's urine;' but as M6 was evidently copied from a MS. already nearly illegible in some places, it is generally safer to follow K20, except when M6 supplies words omitted by the more careless writer of K20.

and they should not set *their* minds steadfastly on hell; thereby much sinfulness for which *there* is a desire would be undesirable, because *there* is nothing which is a sin *in* my religion for which *there* is no retribution, as it says in the Gâthas[1] thus:—'Of those who are aware that thou art, O Aûharmazd! is even he who is infamous (raspakŏ); and they know the punishment of him even who is very sinful.' 29. And *as to* him even who is a very sinful person, through the desire[2] of good works which is entertained by him, *there* then comes more fully to him the joy of a soul newly worthy (nuk shâya*d*); as in the Spend *Nask*[3] *it* was shown to Zaratûs*t* about one man, that all *his* limbs were in torment, and one foot was outside; *and* Zaratûs*t* enquired of Aûharmazd about the reason *of it; and* Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns[4] by name; he was ruler over thirty-three[5] districts, and he never practised

[1] The passage here quoted from the Gâthas will be found in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7.

[2] M6 has merely 'through the good works which are practised by him;' but K20 has 'i hamak' inserted at this point, which seems to indicate the existence of the nearly identical Pahlavi letters kâmak, 'desire,' in the original from which it was copied.

[3] See Chap. X, 4. The passage here quoted was no doubt contained in that part of the Nask which treated of the exhibition of heaven and hell to Zaratûs*t*, which must have been very similar to the Ar*d*â-Vîrâf-nâmak, in which most of the details of this story about Davâns are given (see AV. XXXII).

[4] This is, no doubt, the Av. davãs of Yas. XXXI, 10, which may be translated 'hypocrite.' The Pahlavi translation of the line in which the word occurs is thus rendered in Haug's Essays (p. 351): 'Aûharmazd does not allot to him who is an idler, the infidel who is any hypocrite (davãs) in the sacred recitations. In the good religion it is asserted that even as much reward as they give to the hypocrite they do not give to the infidel.'

[5] K20 has 'thirty-four.'

any good work, except one time when fodder *was* conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.

30. The rule is this, that when a man has performed his *form of* worship (yast), and his wife has not performed *it*, *it* is extremely necessary to perform the suitable *form of* worship, or to order a Gêtô-kharî*d*[1], so that they may become such as are dwelling more closely *together* in the spiritual *existence* than in the world; and in the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[2] it says that a woman (nâîrîk) who shall be reverent (tarsak) is to be considered as much as she who is suitable (zîyâk).

31. The rule is this, that these five ceremonies (ya*z*is*n*), when they shall perform *them*, are good works[3]; when *one* does not perform *them*, and the time is manifest to him, and when he shall set *them* aside to perform *them* out of the proper time, they shall go to the bridge[4] *as* sin; the ceremonies which go to the bridge are these, and in the Hûspâram *Nask*[5] it says that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites (lâ ya*s*tanŏ) of the season-festivals[6], the

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[1] Here written gêtôk-kharî*d*, but see Chap. V, 6, and Bund. XXX, 28.

[2] See B. Yt. III, 25; but the passage here quoted is not clearly indicated in the accounts we have of the contents of this Nask.

[3] The distinction between these ceremonies and those whose values as good works are given in Chap. XVI, 6, appears to be that any omission in performing these five at their proper times amounts to an absolute sin, whereas the others are not so indispensable.

[4] That is, they will be taken into account at the judgment on the soul's actions at the *K*inva*d* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

[5] See Chap. X, 21. The passage here quoted was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

[6] The Gâsânbârs or Gâhanbârs (see Bund. XXV, 1–6).

Rapîtvîn[1], the three *nights*[2] *after a death*, the *days devoted* to the guardian spirits[3], and the sun and moon[4].

32. The rule is this, that at every one of these three things, *which* come through hungry living, that is, sneezing, yawning, and sighing, *one* is to speak out a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and one Ashem-vohû[5]; and also when *one* hears the sneezing of any one, to speak *in* like manner is so considered as an action of the good[6]; *and* in the Stûdgar *Nask*[7] it says thus: '"What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?" And Aûharmazd said thus: "Hungry living, O Zaratûst! because the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavar, O Zaratûst! *and* righteousness[8]."'

Chapter XIII.

0. The signification of the Gâthas[9].

1. These three Ashem-vohûs (Yas. XI, end) which

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[1] The midday period (see Bund. II, 8, 9, XXV, 9–14).

[2] See Chap. VIII, 6.

[3] See Chap. X, 2.

[4] See Chap. VII, 1–5.

[5] See Bund. I, 21, XX, 2.

[6] That is, it is commendable, though not obligatory. The practice of uttering a blessing on hearing a sneeze is still common in many parts of Europe.

[7] See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here quoted is not to be traced in any of the accounts of this Nask.

[8] 'The Ahunavar and praise of righteousness' would be a Pahlavi equivalent for 'the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and Ashem-vohû.'

[9] That is, the mystical meaning or influence supposed to attach to various parts of the ancient hymns, or to the manner in which they are chanted. The term Gâtha or 'hymn' (Pahl. gâs) is applied, in this chapter, not only to the five Gâthas properly so called, but also to the Yasna of seven chapters, and apparently to

represent[1] the Fravarânê (Yas. XI, end) of the preliminary ritual (pê*s* nîrang) and the rotation of these three Hâs ('chapters'), the Fravarânê, Frastuyê, and Âstuyê—fravarânê *being* the beginning of the Fravarânê[2] *which extends* as far as frasastayaê*k*a[3], frastuyê[4], the beginning of the Frastuyê (Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26) *which extends* up to the Âstuyê, and âstuyê[5], the beginning of the Âstaothwanem[6] (Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, end) *which extends* as far as âstaothwanem*k*â daênay*a*u Mâzdayasnôi*s*—*also represent* the Visâi-v*e*-ameshâ-spe*n*tâ (Yas. XV), *which is* the beginning of the Stôtânyasnô ('the ritual of praisers')[7], and these three Hâs of the Baghăm (Yas. XIX–XXI).

2. In the exposition (*k*ashî*d*ak) and through the

other portions of the Yasna written in the Gâtha dialect of the Avesta.

[1] This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of this section is altogether very obscure, and the text is more or less corrupt in all MSS. In the celebration of the Yasna or Yazi*s*n the officiating priest tastes the Hôm juice during the recitation of Yas. XI (see Haug's Essays, p. 404), and shortly afterwards he commences the preliminary prayers mentioned in the text.

[2] Both K20 and M6 have Frerân in Pâzand.

[3] Both K20 and M6 omit the initial f.

[4] M6 has âstuyê.

[5] M6 omits this word.

[6] This is the Avesta name of the Hâ or chapter consisting of Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, 19; as Fraoreti is the name of the preceding Hâ, consisting of Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26.

[7] Probably consisting of the three Hâs, Yas. XV–XVII; in which case, the meaning seems to be that the three Ashem-vohûs, at the beginning of this preliminary ritual, are symbolical of each of the three triplets of chapters which follow them; first, of the Fravarânê, Fraoreti, and Âstaothwanem chapters; secondly, of the three chapters of the Stôtân-yasnô; and thirdly, of those of the Baghân Ya*s*t.

evidence of revelation (dînô) the wise of those of the primitive faith[1] *have* thus said, that a man of fifteen years[2], and a son and brother of Mazdayasnians—when he confesses *his* failings (mândak) to the high-priests (ra*d*ân), and they shall bring him the whip and scourge[3], and these five Gâthas[4] are chanted and the good waters consecrated by him, and the whole of the renewed-birth *ceremony* (navî*d*-zâ*d*îh)[5] is performed by him—*becomes* a mature youth and not a child, and a share of the prayers of initiation (nâpar) and of the fires is to be given over to him[6]; and when thus much is not performed by him, a share is not to be given. 3. These five[7] Gâthas are made up from the body of a righteous man.

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[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] Referring to one about to become a priest.

[3] The Av. astra and sraoshô-*k*arana of Vend. IV, 38–114, &c., which were formerly used for the temporal punishment of sinners. Whether they are here brought to the neophyte as a token of his admission to the priesthood, or are administered to him as a punishment for his offences, is not quite clear.

[4] The five Gâthas are the Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLII–XLV), the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI–XLIX), the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), and the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII); these collections of hymns are thus named from the words with which each of them commences, excepting the first, which derives its name from the Ahunavar (see Bund. I, 21) which is written in the same metre.

[5] This is the Pahlavi form of the Parsi navazûdî, a term applied to the whole initiatory ceremonial of a nônâbar, or newly initiated priest; the term evidently implies that the ceremony is considered somewhat in the light of 'regeneration.'

[6] That is, he can take his part in the regular priestly duties, including the initiation of other neophytes.

[7] Both K20 and M6 have four in ciphers, which can hardly be right; the sentence is clear enough, but the idea of its writer is rather obscure.

4. Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII), Khshmaibyâ (Yas. XXIX), and A*d*-tâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XXX) *have*, severally, eleven stanzas (va*k*êst), because eleven things move spiritually within the bodies of men, as life, consciousness, religion, soul, guardian spirit, thought, word, deed, seeing, smelling, and hearing; and the bodies of men and other creatures are formed of water, fire, and wind[1].

5. Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâm (Visp. XV) is *to be recited*[2] three times before the coming of Hûshê*d*ar, Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, and Sôshyans; and when they also recite the chapter (hâ*d*) well, and by line (gâs) and stanza, those *apostles* are present[3], and the

[1] These first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti collection of hymns are here supposed to symbolize the three material elements, whose union distinguishes a man's body from inorganic substances; while the eleven stanzas, which each of these chapters contains, symbolize the eleven immaterial existences said to be contained in the same body.

[2] This is doubtful, as no verb is expressed, and the word bâr, 'time,' is struck out in M6, so it is possible to read 'the "three foremost" of the Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâm are the coming of Hûshê*d*ar,' &c. The 'three foremost' (3 levînŏg) would be a possible Pahlavi translation of the Av. ti*s*rô paoiryô and ti*s*ra paoirya of Visp. XV, 4–6, instead of the actual 'three first' (3-i fratûm), as may be seen from Pahl. Visp. VIII, 17, 20, where both pê*s* (= levînŏ) and fratûm are used indifferently for Av. paoiryô. At any rate the idea embodied in the text is that these 'three first' have some reference to the three future apostles of the Parsi religion (see Bund. XXXII. 8, B. Yt. III, 13, 44, 52, 62). In fact, however, they seem to refer to the first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, immediately after which this chapter (Visp. XV) is recited in the full Parsi ritual; the phrase being rendered in the Pahlavi translation thus:—'I reverence the three first by not speaking out, that is, I do not say anything during them, and not wearing out, that is, I do not doze away during them.'

[3] K20 has 'arrive early.'

country becomes more flourishing and more dominant in the world.

6. The twenty-two stanzas of Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ (Yas. XXXI) are the twenty-two judgments (dâ*d*istân) of which it speaks in the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[1] thus:—'Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?' ('where are *they* to be produced beyond every thought? *and* where before?') 'Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just;'—so that when they pray the Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ chapter well, and recite *it* by line and stanza, the judges possess those twenty-two judgments more correctly, and judiciousness is more lodging *in them.*

7. The sixteen stanzas of the *Hv*aêtumaithi *chapter* (Yas. XXXII)[2] are lodging in warriors, so that it becomes possible, during their good protection, to force the enemy *away* from those sixteen countries which the Vendidad[3] mentions in *its* first fargar*d.*

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[1] See B. Yt. III, 25. Both the Avesta text here quoted and the translation suggested must be received with caution, as the MSS. do not agree in the three central words; K20 has manaNhê dya vîspâi kaua, and M6 has manaNhê kya vîsâi kaia. The former reading has been adopted, with very slight correction, as it seems the more intelligible; but the meaning of the preceding word, anaomô, is far from certain. The writer seems to have been quoting from a Pahlavi version of the Nask which contained this Avesta quotation.

[2] This Hâ, which begins with the words a*hv*yâ*k*â *hv*aêtu*s*, is not called by its initial words, as the preceding chapters are, but has this special name (see the prayers at the end of it) derived from its second word, and which is corrupted in Pahlavi into Khvêtmanŏ.

[3] Here written *G*avî*d*-*s*êdâ-dâ*d* as in Sls. Part I, and not Vadîkdâ*d* as in other parts of Sls. Part II (see § 19 and Chap. XII, 4, 6, 20, 23, 26). Vend. I contains an account of the sixteen

8. The fourteen stanzas of Yathâ-âi*s* (Yas. XXXIII) are for this reason, because seven archangels are more diligent in activity *for* the spirit, and seven archangels[1] for the world, so that they may attain 'to heaven, the home (mêhônŏ) of Aûharmazd, the home of the archangels, the home of those righteous ones,' avi garô-nmânem, maêthanem Ahurahê mazd*a*u, maêthanem ameshanãm spe*n*tanãm, maêthanem anyaêshãm ashaonãm[2]. 9. The three repetitions (dânar) of Y*e*-*s*e*v*istô (Yas. XXXIII, 11)[3], *and* the holding up of the holy-water (zôhar) at these *repetitions*, are for the four classes[4], and for this *reason* at Ahurâi mazdâi *and* ashem*k*â frâda*d*[5] the holy-water is

'best of regions and countries' where the Iranian power and religion extended at an early date.

[1] The seven archangels besides their spiritual duties have severally charge of the seven worldly existences, man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, and plants (see § 14 and Chap. XV). But perhaps we should read 'angels,' as they are often mentioned as 'the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

[2] This quotation, of which the Pahlavi translation is first given, and then the Avesta text, is from Vend. XIX, 107.

[3] This stanza is recited thrice, and about the same time the officiating priest strains the Hôm juice, and prepares to pour holy-water into the mortar in which the Hôm twigs were pounded (see Haug's Essays, pp. 402, 406).

[4] Or 'professions' of the community, of which there were originally only three, the priest, warrior, and husbandman; but at a later date the artizan was added. Both K20 and M6 have 'four classes,' but this is inconsistent with the 'three repetitions' The Avesta generally knows only three classes, but four are mentioned in the Baghân Yast (Yas. XIX, 46).

[5] That is, probably, at the words Ahurô mazd*a*us*k*â in the first line, and ashem*k*â frâda*d* in the second line of the stanza; but this is doubtful, as the MSS. give the words corruptly, in a mixture of Av. and Pahl., as follows: pavan Ahurâi mazdâi ahârayih-i da*d*ŏîh.

to be held level with the heart of him who is the officiating priest (zôt), and at sraotâ[1] *it* is to be held level with the arm of him who is the officiating priest, so that while the warriors are in battle with foreigners (anâîrân) they may be fuller of breath (vayô-gîrtar), and the husbandmen stronger-armed in the tillage and cultivation of the world.

10. The fifteen stanzas of Yâ-*s*kyaothanâ (Yas. XXXIV) are for this reason, because it is given[2] for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are disclosed in the medical part (bêshâ*z*) of the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[3]. 11. The four repetitions (bâr) of Mazdâ-a*d*-môi (Yas. XXXIV, 15)[4] are for the right coming on of the share of these five chieftainships (ra*d*îh), the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratû*s*t[5].

12. The two repetitions of Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1)[6] are for this reason, that the sovereign (dahyûpat) may not at once seize body, conscious-

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[1] The first word in the third line of the stanza; but this, again, has to be guessed from a Pahlavi version in the MSS. which may be read va vâ-srôdâân.

[2] Or 'produced.'

[3] In the last division of that Nask (see B. Yt. III, 25, note).

[4] This last stanza of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha is recited four times.

[5] See Yas. XIX, 50–52. The last of these rulers must have been the supreme pontiff or patriarch of the province, and in the province of Ragha (Rages or Raî, near Teheran) he was both temporal and spiritual ruler.

[6] This first stanza of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha is recited twice, not only in its proper place (as the first stanza of each chapter is, in the Gâthas), but also at the end of every chapter of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, while the officiating priest sprinkles the sacred twigs with the sacred milk or gâu*s* gîvya, 'living-cow *produce*' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 405, 406).

ness, and soul. 13. Those four Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs of the first *Gâtha*[1] are for this reason, that is, so that inferiors may become more tolerant of the commands of superiors, and good thoughts, good words, and good deeds be more domesticated (mâh-mântar) in the world, and the fiend more powerless (apâ*d*akhshâhtar).

14. In short (aê-mar)[2], Ahyâ-yâsâ is as (pavan)[3] Aûharmazd and the righteous man, Khshmaibyâ as Vohûman and cattle, A*d*-tâ-vakhshyâ as Ar*d*avahi*s*t and fire, Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ as Shatvairô[4] and metal, the *Hv*aêtumaithi as the Gâtha of Spendarma*d* and the earth, Yathâ-âi*s* as Horvada*d* and water, and Yâ-*s*kyaothanâ as Amerôda*d* and plants.

15. The progress which is in[5] the Ahunavaiti Gâtha the house-rulers should carry on; that which is in the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha the village-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû[6] Gâtha the tribe-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha the province-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Vahi*s*tô-i*s*ti Gâtha the supreme Zaratû*s*ts should carry on; and

[1] After the two Ahyâ-yâsâs, at the end of each chapter of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see Bund. I, 21) is recited four times.

[2] Or 'to sum up.'

[3] It is not quite clear how pavan, 'in, on, with, by, through, as, for,' &c., should be translated in each clause of this section; but the intention is evidently to compare the seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha with the seven archangels and the seven earthly creations which they severally protect (see Chap. XV).

[4] Here written Shatrîvar.

[5] Meaning probably 'the prosperity which is *occasioned* by;' but the exact signification of the word frâk-shâm or frêh-kashâm (or however it may be read) is uncertain.

[6] Spendômat or Spendamat in Pahlavi.

that which is in the Yasna, which is the place of righteous blessing[1], these four classes themselves should carry on.

16. Of the Yasna *of seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–XLI, 17) the beginning section (kar*d*akŏ) *has* nine stanzas; and its beginning[2] is Humatanãm (Yas. XXXV, 4), and its end is Humatanãm (Yas. XLI, 17 supl.)

17. The six stanzas of Ahyâ-thwâ-âthrô (Yas. XXXVI) are owing to the six hot ordeals (var) which, in the Hûspâram *Nask*[3], are effected by *k*athrayâim âthraiãm[4].

18. The five stanzas of Ithâ-â*d*-yazamaidê (Yas. XXXVII) are thanksgiving and praise for the production of the good creations by Aûharmazd.

19. The five stanzas of Imãm-âa*d*-zãm (Yas. XXXVIII) are owing to those five comforts and five discomforts of the earth, which, it is declared in the third fargar*d* in the Vendidad[5], are accomplished

[1] That is, the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–XLI), which is called simply 'the Yasna' in this chapter. This last clause, which is omitted in M6, connects these later hymns with the four classes of the community (see § 9), just as the five older hymns are connected with the five chiefs of the community (see § 11) in the former clauses. This section may be a translation from the Avesta, as the verbs precede their nominatives.

[2] That is, the beginning of the Yasna of seven chapters.

[3] See Chap. X, 21; but the Sakâ*d*ûm Nask (see Chap. X, 25) is probably meant, as it contained a section on ordeals by heat and cold.

[4] These Avesta words are evidently corrupt, but perhaps 'a quadruple fire' is meant. K20 has *k*athrâyâim âthraiãm.

[5] Here written Vandîkdâ*d* (see § 7). The passage here cited is not a quotation, but only a brief summary of Vend. III, 1–37; and appears to have been derived direct from the Avesta, without the assistance of the Pahlavi version, as several words differ from that translation.

thus:—'The first comfort of the earth is from the land on which a righteous man walks forth; the second is when they shall make the dwelling of the good and fires upon it; the third is when they sow corn upon it, and shall take heed of dead matter; the fourth is when all beasts *of burden* are born upon it; the fifth is when every beast *of burden* is on it[1]; and its first discomfort is from the Arezûr ridge[2] and the gate of hell; the second is when they dig[3] it up *for* a dead *body;* the third is when *one* constructs a depository *for the dead* (khazân)[4] upon it; the fourth is from the holes of its noxious creatures; the fifth is when they shall forsake a man in affliction (var*d*akîh) upon it, who is righteous.'

20. The five stanzas of Ithâ (Yas. XXXIX) are just as those which *go* before.

21. The four stanzas of Âhû-a*d*-paiti (Yas. XL) are about the benefit (ar*g*-hômandîh) which is on account of water, earth, plants, and animals.

22. The six stanzas of Stûtô-garô (Yas. XLI, 1–17), the two repetitions of Humatanâm (Yas. XXXV, 4–6), *and* the three repetitions of Hukhsh-athrôtemâi (Yas. XXXV, 13–15) are on account of the existence of the sons of Zaratû*st*[5].

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[1] The verb is probably omitted by mistake, and we ought to read 'voids urine upon it,' in accordance with Vend. III, 20.

[2] See Bund. XII, 8.

[3] Reading kalêndend (Pers. kalandand), as Vend. III, 27 refers to burial of the dead, and the same idea might be obtained, more fancifully, by reading kilînênd, 'they turn to clay' (compare Pers. gil, 'clay'); but the most obvious reading is karînênd, 'they cut,' and as the sentence stands it would imply that 'they cut up its dead.'

[4] See Chap. II, 6.

[5] The three apostles expected in the future (see § 5 and Bund. XXXII, 8). It is doubtful whether these three passages in the

23. The two repetitions of Ashahyâ-âa*d*-sairî[1] (Yas. XXXV, 22, 23) are for the laudation of righteousness and the destruction of the fiend. 24. The two repetitions of Yênhê-hâtãm[2] are for the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the destruction of the evil spirit and the miscreations (vishû*d*akân). 25. *The two repetitions of*[3] Thwôistaotaras*k*â (Yas. XLI, 12–14) are for the laudation of ceremonial worship (ya*z*is*n*ŏ) and the *sacred* feast (mâzd).

26. The two repetitions of Âtarem*k*a (Visp. XIX, 1–8)[4] are for the laudation of the Frôbâk fire and the fire Vâzi*s*t[5].

27. Of the sixteen stanzas of the U*s*tavaiti *chapter* (Yas. XLII)[6] it is related just as about the *Hv*aêtumaithi *chapter*[7].

Yasna are here intended all to refer to the same subject, but no other subject is mentioned for the two former. Having completed the enumeration of the sections of the Yasna of seven chapters, the writer is now proceeding to notice those passages which are recited more than once in the performance of the ritual.

[1] M6 has gairî, 'in a song,' with the obsolete g, which is very like s, and is also used in the word garô in § 22; this is a variant well worth consideration by translators of the Avesta. K20 has only Ashahyâ.

[2] This formula (see B.Yt. II, 64) is recited after every chapter of the Gâthas, but does not appear to be anywhere recited twice; so the words 2 dânar, 'two repetitions,' may perhaps be inserted here in the wrong place, as they are wanting in § 25.

[3] These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, evidently through mistake.

[4] Visp. XIX, XX follow Yas. XLI in the full Parsi ritual, and the first of them is recited twice.

[5] The Frôbâk is the oldest sacred fire on earth, and the Vâzist is the lightning (see Bund. XVII, 1, 5, SZS. XI, 5, 8–10).

[6] The first chapter of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (see § 2, note 4), so called from its first word ustâ.

[7] See § 7.

28. The twenty stanzas of Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ (Yas. XLIII) are the twenty judgments (dâ*d*istân) between the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit; and for this *reason* they should every time utter Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ again[1], because they should utter the original judgment again, and the twentieth time the evil spirit becomes confounded.

29. The eleven stanzas of A*d*-fravakhshyâ (Yas. XLIV) are made up from the six chieftainships[2] and the five accomplishments (farhâng) owing to religion; one is thus, not to do unto others[3] all that which is not well for one's self; the second is to understand fully *what* is well-done and not well-done; the third is to turn from the vile and their conversation (andarag-gûftanŏ); the fourth is to confess *one's* failings to the high-priests, and let them bring the whip; the fifth is not to neglect the season-festivals at *their proper* hour (dên hâsar), *nor* the other things which go to the bridge[4]; and the six chieftainships are not his property who has not these

[1] That is, the first line (ta*d* thwâ peresâ ere*s* môi vao*k*â Ahurâ! 'that I shall ask thee, tell *it* me right, O Ahura!') is repeated at the beginning of each of the first nineteen stanzas, and the first stanza being recited twice (as in all chapters of the Gâthas) these words are recited twenty times before the last stanza is reached. The phrases 'and for this *reason*' and 'because they should utter the original judgment again' are omitted in M6.

[2] These cannot be the same 'chieftainships' (ra*d*îh) as those mentioned in § 11, of which there are only five; but perhaps they are the spiritual chieftainships, or primacies, of the six other regions of the earth (see Bund. XXIX, 1).

[3] Assuming that aî*s*an stands for aî*s*ân.

[4] The *K*inva*d* bridge, or route of the soul to the other world (see Chap. XII, 31). Part of these fourth and fifth clauses is omitted in K20 by mistake.

five accomplishments, and he is not fit even for teaching.

30. The nineteen stanzas of Kãm-nemôi-zãm (Yas. XLV) are for this reason, that every one may so persevere in his own duty (khvê*s*akânîh)[1], that while those are our nineteen propitiations (aû*s*ô-frî*d*)[2], which it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[3] should be my own, the strength and power of the angels shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.

31. The U*s*tavaiti Gâtha is a Gâtha (gâs) of four chapters[4], and each stanza of five lines (gâs), except Haê*k*a*d*-aspâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XLV, 15)[5]. 32. The two repetitions of U*s*tâ-ahmâi (Yas. XLII, 1)[6] are, one *as* a retention *and* embrace of Aûharmazd, and one *as* a destruction of the fiends; *and* U*s*ta-Ahurem-mazdãm (Visp. XXI, 1–5)[7] *in* like manner.

33. Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI) *has* six stanzas, Yêzî-adâi*s* (Yas. XLVII) twelve stanzas, A*d*-mâ-yavâ (Yas. XLVIII) twelve stanzas, *and* Ka*d*-môi-urvâ (Yas. XLIX) eleven stanzas. 34. The Spe*n*tâ-mainyû Gâtha is a Gâtha of four chapters[8], and

[1] Or, it may be, 'through his own intellect (khvê*s*ak hûsh),' or merely another mode of writing khvê*s*kârîh, 'industry.'

[2] Considering each of the stanzas as an offering to, or propitiation of, (Av. usefriti) the angels.

[3] See Chap. X, 25.

[4] Those detailed in §§ 27–30.

[5] Which stanza has only four lines. Pahl. gâs means both the whole hymn and also each line of the hymn.

[6] The first stanza of the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

[7] Visp. XXI follows Yas. XLV in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

[8] Those detailed in § 33.

each stanza of four lines; it is made up from the five chieftainships and four classes[1]. 35. The two repetitions of Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI, 1)[2] are, one *for* the laudation of the beneficent spirit (spendamat), and one for that of the earth[3].

36. One Spe*n*tem-Ahurem-mazdâm (Visp. XXII, 1–11)[4] is the laudation of the creatures of the beneficent spirit, and one is the destruction of the creatures of the evil spirit.

37. The twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha (Yas. L) are those twenty-two judgments which are lodging within judges, as written above[5]. 38. The two repetitions of Vohû-khshathrem (Yas. L, 1)[6] are, one the laudation of living (zîndakîh), and one of the supreme Zaratûst.

39. One Vohû-khshathrem yazamaidê (Visp. XXIII, 1–9)[7] is for the laudation of Shatvairô[8], and one of metal. 40. The two repetitions of Avi-

[1] See §§ 9, 11.

[2] The first stanza of the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

[3] It seems probable that the Pahlavi writer has here confounded Spendamat, 'the beneficent spirit,' with the archangel Spendarmad who has special charge of the earth; their names being even more alike in Pahlavi than in English, though corrupted from the distinct Avesta forms spe*n*ta mainyu and spe*n*ta ârmaiti, respectively.

[4] Visp. XXII follows Yas. XLIX in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

[5] See § 6.

[6] The first stanza of the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

[7] Visp. XXIII, 1–9 follows Yas. L in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

[8] The archangel who has special charge of metal (see § 14, Chap. XV, 5, 14–19, and Bund. I, 26, XXX, 19); the name is here written Shatrîvar.

apãm (Visp. XXIV, 1–12)[1] are, one for the laudation of waters, and one of plants.

41. The nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII) are on account of those nine things which are[2] . . . the supreme Zaratûstship lodging in the supreme Zaratûsts, the source of fountains, the bridge *over* waters, and even the navigable river, the righteous man, and the righteous woman. 42. And *it is* a Gâtha of one chapter, *and* each stanza of four lines, except Ithâ-î-haithyâ-narô (Yas. LII, 6)[3], for *there* is always one lord and sovereign in the world. 43. And those four lines are for this *reason*, because *it* is declared: *k*athrus hamay*a*u khshapô dahmayâ*d* parô âfritôi*d*[4], 'four times every night is the "blessing of the holy" (Yas. LIX),' and three *times* Srôsh[5], twice Bûshâsp[6], and once Aêshm[7] will come

[1] After the two recitations of Visp. XXIII, 1–9 there follow Vend. XV, XVI, and Visp. XXIII, 10, and then Visp. XXIV, 1–12 is recited twice, in the full Parsi ritual, followed by Visp. XXV.

[2] Some words are evidently lost here; M6 has m followed by a blank space, and K20 has madam, 'on.' It is not quite certain whether the things mentioned are to be reckoned as four, five, or six; but assuming they are five, it is possible that the four things missing in the text are the four remaining chieftainships (see § 11), the rulerships of the house, village, tribe, and province lodged in the rulers of the same, respectively.

[3] Which stanza has five lines, and is, therefore, here considered symbolical of the ruling monarch, or pontiff.

[4] This Avesta passage does not appear to be extant elsewhere, and its Pahlavi translation, given in the text, is not quite correct; it would be better thus: 'through the "blessing of the holy" four times every night;' dahma âfriti (Pahl. dâhmân âfrînô, 'blessing of the holy') is the technical name of Yas. LIX.

[5] See Bund. XIX, 33, XXX, 29. This angel, invoked by the 'blessing' (Yas. LIX, 8), comes to defend mankind against the wiles of Bûshâsp and Aêshm.

[6] The demoness of sloth (see Bund. XXVIII, 26).

[7] The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17, 20).

to the material world. 44. And the five *lines* of that one *stanza* (Yas. LII, 6) are for this *reason*, because the assistants of the supreme Zaratûst are five, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and she even who is his own wife (nârîk)[1]. 45. The two repetitions of Vahistâ-istis (Yas. LII, 1)[2] are, one *for* the laudation of sovereigns, and one for the laudation of peace (pa*d*mân).

46. The two repetitions of Vahistem-Ahurem-mazdãm (Visp. XXVI)[3] are, one *for* the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and one for the destruction of the fiends. 47. The four repetitions of the Airyamana (Yas. LIII)[4] are for the existence of more submission (aîrmânîh) in the house, village, tribe, and province. 48. The four repetitions of Ava*d*-mizdem (Visp. XXVII) are for the healing of those[5] *who* dwell in the house, village, tribe, and province.

49. The section (kar*d*akŏ) whose beginning is Ta*d*-sôidhis (Yas. LVII, 1–9)[6] is, for the completion

[1] Though bound to be strictly obedient to her husband or guardian, a Mazdayasnian woman occupied a more honourable position in the community than was sanctioned by any other oriental religion.

[2] The first stanza of the Vahistôisti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

[3] Visp. XXVI follows Yas. LII in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice, followed by Vend. XIX, XX.

[4] So called from its first words â airyemâ; it is recited four times after Vend. XX, and shortly afterwards Visp. XXVII is also recited four times, as mentioned in § 48.

[5] M6 has 'of the soul,' which is, no doubt, a blunder due to the illegibility of the MS. from which it was copied.

[6] This is the Fshûshô-mãthra ('a spell or prayer for prosperity')

of the Gâthas, taught as *pertaining* to the Gâthas (gâsânîk *k*âs*t*).

50. The beginning of the Gâthas is Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1), and their end is drigavê vahyô (Yas. LII, 9, end); and *there* are 278 stanzas, 1016 lines, 5567 words (vâ*k*ak), 9999 mârîk, and 16,554 khûr*d*ak[1]. 51. For the lines and stanzas of the Gâthas *were* collected by us, and were:—one hundred stanzas of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), of which each stanza is three lines; forty stanzas of the Yasna *of seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–

of Visp. I, 28, II, 30, Yas. LVI, ix, 6, LVIII, 13. Whether the remainder of Yas. LVII is to be considered as pertaining to the Gâthas is uncertain; it is recited in seven sections by the assistant priest, each section from a different position; these seven positions being the stations of the seven assistant priests who are supposed to be present spiritually, and to be arranged three on each side, and one at the south end, of the ceremonial area, while the chief officiating priest occupies the north end (see Haug's Essays, p. 332).

[1] The numbers of the stanzas and lines are correct, as may be seen from the details given in § 51. Regarding the words there is the uncertainty as to what constitutes a compound word, but, taking each compound in Westergaard's edition of the texts as a single word, the total number of words in the 1016 lines is about 6147; and this could be reduced to 5567 only by omitting the Yasna of seven chapters, and somewhat relaxing the rule as to compound words. The meaning of the last two terms, mârîk and khûr*d*ak, is doubtful, but they are certainly not syllables and letters, as the number of syllables exceeds 13,000. In other places (see Bund. I, 21) mârîk usually means 'a word,' but that meaning is expressed by the term vâ*k*ak here. If the number 9999 be correct, mârîk must signify some particular class of syllable which would include about three-fourths of the whole number of syllables. It may be noted, however, that Zâ*d*-sparam, in the particulars he gives about the Gâthas (see SZS. XI, 10, note 6), states the number of mârîk at 6666. The khûr*d*ak or 'small' things are probably the consonants.

XLI, 17), of which each stanza is three lines; sixty-six stanzas of the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII–XLV), of which each stanza is five lines, except Haê*k*a*d*-aspâ (Yas. XLV, 15), for that one is four lines; forty-one stanzas of the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû Gâtha (Yas. XLVI–XLIX), of which each stanza is four lines; twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), of which each stanza is three[1] lines; *and* nine stanzas of the Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti (Yas. LII), of which each stanza is four lines, except Ithâ-î (Yas. LII, 6), for that one is a stanza of five;—the amount of the foregoing[2] is 278 stanzas[3].

Chapter XIV[4].

0. May it be in the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation!

1. When they consecrate a sacred cake (drônô), *and* it becomes demon worship[5], what and how many *things* are not proper?

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[1] All MSS. have 'four,' and then add the exception about Ithâ-î to the account of this Gâtha, instead of mentioning it in the details of the Vahistôisti; which blunder is here corrected.

[2] Reading kadmon yehevûni*s*nŏ, but the latter word, with part of the ciphers which follow, is torn away in K20, and in M6 it is written so as to resemble the Avesta letters gnn gnn, which are unintelligible, though something like Pahl. yehevûni*s*nŏ; there can, however, be little doubt as to the general meaning of the phrase.

[3] The number of lines is easily computed from the same details, as follows:—300 + 120 + 329 + 164 + 66 + 37 = 1016 lines, as stated in § 50, and as they still exist in the Gâtha texts.

[4] This chapter is also found in L15, fols. 1–4, and a Pâzand version of §§ 1–3 exists in L22, fols. 126, 127, and L7, fols. 78, 79.

[5] That is, it becomes desecrated through some fault in the cere-

2. The decision is this:—Whoever knowingly consecrates a sacred cake with unpurified *sacred* twigs (baresôm-i apâ*d*iyâ*v*)[1], or with a twig-bundle the number of whose twigs (tâk) is *too* many or *too* few, or of another plant not proper *for sacred* twigs; or holds the end of the twig-bundle to the north[2] *and* utters the Avesta attentively; or whoever consecrates with efficacy unawares, *it* is not to be considered as uttered by him. 3. *Nor by him* who advertently or inadvertently takes a taste (*k*âshnîk), not from the sacred cake with the butter (gâû*s*-dâê)[3], *but* from the frasast; or takes the prayer (vâ*g*)[4] *inwardly* regarding that cake (drônê) before the officiating priest (zôt) takes a taste from the same cake; or shall utter the length of a stanza *in* excess, *and* does not again make a beginning of the *consecration of the* sacred cake; or takes *up* the

mony, for any ceremony, which is too imperfect for acceptance by the celestial beings, is supposed to be appropriated by the demons, as performed for their benefit (see Chap. IX, 5). Demon worship is a term also applied to many other evil actions which are supposed to give the demons special power over the perpetrator of them.

[1] See Chap. III, 32, note.

[2] The supposed direction of the demons (see Chaps. X, 7, XII, 18). When praying, a Parsi must face either the sun, or a fire or lamp; and when the direction of the sun is doubtful, or when it is nearly overhead, he must face to the south, even when he is in so low a latitude that the sun may be somewhat to the north of him.

[3] Which usually takes the place of the meat-offering mentioned in Chap. XI, 4–6, and is placed upon one of the cakes on the left side of the table during consecration, while the frasasts are the cakes on the right-hand side of the table (see Chap. III, 32, note).

[4] That is, prepares for eating by muttering the portion of the grace which is to be recited in a low murmur before eating (see Chap. III, 6, note). This clause is omitted in K20.

dedication *formula* (shnûmanŏ)[1] *too* soon or *too* late; or does not utter the Avesta for the fire when he sees the fire.

4. This is how it is when the period *of the day* (gâs)[2] is retained, and how it should be when *one* may relinquish *it;* that is, when even one of the stars created by Aûharmazd is apparent, *it* is retained, *and* when not *it* is relinquished. 5. It is Vand-Aûharmazd[3] *who* said that when, besides Tîstar, Vanand, *or* Satavês[4], one of the zodiacal *stars* (akhtarîk) is apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished. 6. *There* have been *some* who said that when, besides one of those three, three zodiacal *stars* are apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished[5].

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[1] See Chaps. III, 35, VII, 8.

[2] See Bund. XXV, 9. The text appears to refer to the transition from the Ushahina to the Hâvani Gâh at daybreak; and as certain portions of the prayers are varied according to the period of the day, it is very necessary to know precisely when each period commences, so as to avoid vitiating the whole ceremonial by the use of a wrong prayer.

[3] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[4] Three of the leading stars, probably Sirius, Fomalhaut, and Antares (see Bund. II, 7).

[5] This chapter is followed (in both the old MSS. M6 and K20) by the Pahlavi text of the Patît-i Khûd, or renunciation of one's own *sin*, a translation of which will be found in Bleeck's English version of the Avesta, London, 1864, III, pp. 159–162, derived from Spiegel's German translation of the Pâzand text. This translation is fairly correct on the whole, although some passages might be improved, thus (p. 162), instead of 'all sins which may attack the character of man [or] have attacked my character, if I, on account of much death, have not recognised the death,' &c., we should read 'of all sins which may become the lot of men, and have become my lot, on account of whose excessive number I do not know the number,' &c.

PART III.—*Appendix*[1].

CHAPTER XV[2].

1. *It* is revealed by a passage of the Avesta that Zaratûst, seated before Aûharmazd, always wanted information (vâk) from him; and he spoke to Aûharmazd thus: 'Thy head, hands, feet, hair, face, and tongue are in my eyes just like those even which are my own, and you have the clothing men have; give me a hand, so that I may grasp thy hand.'

2. Aûharmazd said thus: 'I am an intangible spirit; *it* is not possible to grasp my hand.'

3. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Thou art intangible, and Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvaîrô[3], Spendarmad, Horvadad, and Amerôdad are intangible, and when I depart from thy presence, and do not see thee *nor* even them—since of the person whom[4] I see and worship *there* is something—*should* thou and the seven archangels be worshipped by me, or not[5]?'

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[1] This Appendix consists of a number of fragments found in the old MS. M6, and of somewhat the same character as the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, but they have no claim to be considered as a portion of that work. Excepting Chaps. XVIII, XIX, XXI, they are not found in the other old MS. K20, and beyond the fact that they must be more than five centuries old their age is quite uncertain, though some of them are probably older than others.

[2] This chapter follows the Patît-i Khûd in M6, and is also found in L15, fols. 16–28; for a Pâzand version of it, see L22, fols. 113–122, and L7, fols. 70–76.

[3] Written Shatrôîvar throughout this chapter; these six (see Bund. I, 26) with Aûharmazd himself, are the seven archangels.

[4] Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[5] Zaratûst is doubtful whether he ought to worship beings of

4. Aûharmazd said thus: 'They *should* be; I tell thee, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that each individual of us has produced his own one creation (dâyak) for the world, by means of which they may set going in its body, in the world, that activity which they would exercise in the spiritual existence. 5. *In* the world that which is mine, who am Aûharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohûman are the cattle, of Ar*d*avahi*s*t is the fire, of Shatvaîrô is the metal, of Spendarma*d* are the earth and virtuous woman, of Horvada*d* is the water, *and* of Amerôda*d* is the vegetation. 6. Whoever has learned[1] the care of all these seven, acts and pleases well, his soul never comes into the possession of Aharman and the demons; when he *has* exercised his care of them, he has exercised his care of the seven archangels, *and* ought to teach all mankind in the world.

7. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Aûharmazd in the world, wishes to promote the things of Aûharmazd; *and* whoever he be, with whom Aûharmazd ever is in every place (gâs)[2], it is necessary *that* he should[3] propitiate the righteous man, in whatever

whose existence he had had no tangible evidence, when he no longer saw them; fearing, perhaps, that they might have been mere dreams or optical illusions. But he is told that each of these spiritual beings is the protector of one class of worldly existences, and that the proper treatment of these existences is a man's best means of reverencing the spiritual beings interested in their welfare.

[1] Or 'taught,' for the verb has both meanings.

[2] Or 'at all times;' it is always doubtful whether gâs means 'time' or 'place.'

[3] Throughout this chapter a conditional meaning is given to the verbs by prefixing hanâ, aê, or 1 (all representing Pâz. aê or *e*) to the present tense, instead of affixing it.

has happened *and* whatever occurs to him, and should act for his happiness, and afford him protection from the vile. 8. Since the righteous man is a counterpart of Aûharmazd the lord, *and* when the righteous man acts it is caused by him who is Aûharmazd, whoever propitiates the righteous man, his fame and welfare exist a long time in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd and pleasure and joy become his own *in* heaven (vahi*s*t).

9. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Vohûman in the world, *and* wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Vohûman; and it is necessary for him, so that Vohûman may be ever with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place (gâs) *and* time, the well-yielding (hûdhâk) cattle, in whatever has happened *and* whatever occurs, and should act for *their* happiness; and in the terrible days and the hurried times (gâs) which *befall* them, he should afford them protection from the oppressive and idle. 10. He should not give *them* as a bribe to a man who is a wicked tyrant, *but* should keep *them* in a pleasant and warm locality and place (gâs); and in summer he should provide them a store of straw and corn, so that it be not necessary to keep *them* on the pastures (*k*arak) in winter; and he should not deliver them *up* for this purpose, that is, "So that I may give them up to the vile," because it is necessary to give to the good; and he should not drive them apart from *their* young, and should not put the young apart from their milk. 11. Since they are counterparts of him (Vohûman) himself in the world, the well-yielding cattle, whoever propitiates those which are well-yielding cattle his fame subsists in the world, and

the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* the best existence[1].

12. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Ard*a*vahi*s*t in the world is *he* who wishes to promote his things; and it is necessary for him, so that Ard*a*vahi*s*t may be with *him* at every place (gâs) and time, *that* he should propitiate the fire of Aûharmazd, in whatever has happened and whatever occurs, *and* should act for *its* happiness; he should not put upon *it* wood, incense, and holy-water[2] which are stolen and extorted, and he should not cook at it a ration (bâhar) which is violently extorted from men. 13. For it is a counterpart of him (Ard*a*vahi*s*t) himself in the world, the fire of Aûharmazd; and whoever propitiates those which are fires of Aûharmazd his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

14. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Shatvairô in the world, and wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Shatvairô; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Shatvairô may be with him at every place and time, *that* he should propitiate melted metal[3] at every place and time. 15. And the propitiation of melted metal is this, that he shall practise habits (âîyînô) of the

[1] See Chap. VI, 3.

[2] Holy-water is not put upon the fire, for that would be sinful, but it is presented to the fire, and the outside of the fire-place is sprinkled or washed with it (see Haug's Essays, p. 403). The 'fire of Aûharmazd' means any fire, whether sacred or used for household purposes.

[3] The word may be read either aîyên or asîn (Av. ayangh, Pers. âyan, âhan, or âhîn), which is usually translated 'iron,' but also means 'metal' generally, as it certainly does here, and very probably likewise in B. Yt. I, 1, 5, II, 14, 22.

heart so unsullied and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon *it*, it does not burn. 16. And Âtarôpâ*d* son of Mâraspend[1] even acted in this priestly fashion (dastôbarîh), so that the melted metal, when they drop *it* upon the region (khânŏ) of *his* pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though[2] they were milking milk upon it. 17. When they drop *it* upon the region of the heart of the wicked and sinners, it burns, and they die. 18. And *one* should not commit sin with metal, and with its burning; and should not give gold and silver to the vile. 19. For it is a counterpart of Shatvaîrô himself in the world for him, *and* since he propitiates those which are melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

20. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Spendarma*d* in the world, wishes to promote the things of Spendarma*d*; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Spendarma*d* may be with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the earth and virtuous woman, in whatever has happened and in whatever occurs, *and* should act for *their* happiness. 21. For when he does not spread out (barâ lâ vêshê*d*) this earth, and it does not separate one *piece* from another, his body also *will* not be always

[1] The primate and prime minister of Shâpûr II (A.D. 309–379), who is said to have undergone the ordeal of having melted metal poured upon his chest, in order to prove the truth of the Mazdayasnian religion. The metal used is generally called rûî, 'brass,' but here it is aîyên, 'iron,' though a more fusible metal than either was, no doubt, used.

[2] Reading amat, 'though,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

living upon *it at* every place and time[1]. 22. On account of the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth, when a robber, violent and worthy of death, and wives who are disrespectful to *their* husbands walk about in sinfulness in the world, and their husbands are active *and* virtuous, it becomes much distressed (zanŏîk). 23. This, too, is declared, that, whenever this *earth* becomes distressed (zanîk), it is most *so* at the time when sinners worthy of death are most; for *it* is declared, when sinners worthy of death walk upon *it*, *its* pain and uneasiness become as distressing (dûskhvâr) to it as the dead son on *her* bosom *to* a mother; *and* the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth is little *in* that place whereon sinners worthy of death walk. 24. And her[2] happiness arises from that place when they shall perform tillage and cultivation on it, and a virtuous son is born upon it, and they rear cattle upon it; and it is so one's fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes one's own *in* heaven.

25. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Horvadad and Amerôdad in the world, whereas that is necessary which promotes their things, whoever he be it is necessary *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the water and vegetation of Horvadad and Amerôdad, in whatever has happened and in

[1] Meaning that the earth must be tilled in order to support its inhabitants, but there is some doubt as to the exact wording of the translation.

[2] Spendarmad is a female archangel: perhaps, however, the earth is meant here, as it is said to be most pleased by the existence of fire-temples, dwellings of righteous people, cultivation, stables, and pastures (see Vend. III, 1–20).

whatever occurs, *and* should seize upon those who consume *and* steal water and vegetation[1]. 26. And he should not act oppressively, he should not walk the world in sinfulness, and should not bring bodily refuse (hîkhar), dead matter (nasâî)[2], *or* any other pollution to water; he should not destroy vegetation unlawfully, and should not give fruit to the idle and vile. 27. For when he commits sin against water and vegetation, even when it is committed against merely a single twig of it, and he has not atoned for it, when[3] he departs from the world the spirits of all the plants in the world stand up high in front of that man, and do not let him go to heaven. 28. And when he has committed sin against water, even when it is committed against a single drop of it, and he has not atoned for *it*, that also stands up as high as the plants stood, and does not let him go to heaven. 29. Since they are counterparts of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d* themselves, the water and vegetation, whoever propitiates those which be water and vegetation, his fame subsists in the world, and a share of the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his *in* heaven.'

30. Aûharmazd said this also to Zaratûs*t*, namely:

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[1] Reading mûn, 'who,' instead of amat, 'when,' and dûgend, 'they steal,' instead of dûgd (perhaps for dûgak, 'thievish'); and supposing the verb to be vakhdûnê*d*, 'takes, seizes,' and not vâdûnê*d*, 'makes, acts.' If the reverse be assumed, the translation would be thus: 'should act for their *happiness*. When they consume water and vegetation he should not act thievishly and oppressively.'

[2] For the meaning of hîkhar and nasâî, see note on Chap. II, 30.

[3] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

'My will and pleasure is *that* the observance and propitiation of these seven archangels shall be *as I have* told thee; and do thou, too, speak thus unto men, so that they may commit no sin and may not become wicked, and the splendour of Aûharmazd may become their own *in* heaven.'

31. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy[1].

CHAPTER XVI.

0. In the name of God (yazdân) I write a paragraph (babâ) where the sins which are as it were small are *mentioned* one *by* one.

1. The least sin is a Farmân; *and* a Farmân is three coins of five annas[2], some say three coins. 2. An Âgerept is, as regards whatever weapon (snês) men strike with in the world, whenever the weapon is taken in hand; and taken up by *any* one four finger-*breadths* from the ground *it is* the root[3] of an

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[1] This is the most usual concluding phrase of short Pahlavi texts, and indicates that this account of the best mode of propitiating the archangels is to be considered as a separate text. It is followed in M6 by the paragraphs which constitute the next two chapters.

[2] Reading 3 nûmâî-i 5 ânak, but this is uncertain, and if correct must have been written in India, as the anna is an Indian coin worth nearly three halfpence. The coin of five annas was probably a dirham, as the dirham being about fifty grains of silver (see note on gûgan in Chap. I, 2), and the rûpî having formerly been less than 180 grains in Gugarât, the former would be nearly five-sixteenths of the latter, that is, five annas. It may, therefore, be assumed that the amount of the Farmân is here taken at three dirhams, as in Chap. XI, 2; but in § 5 it appears to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, and in Chap. I, 2 as much as sixteen dirhams.

[3] See Chap. II, 69, note.

Âgerept for him; *and* the retribution and punishment for an Âgerept should be fifty-three dirhams (*g*ûgan)[1]. 3. When the weapon turns downwards *it is* the root of an Avôîri*s*t for him, and his sentence (dînâ) is to be changed; his retribution *and* punishment should be seventy-three dirhams[2], which is when anything further occurs. 4. When he shall lay the weapon on *any* one *it is* the root of an Aredû*s* for *him*, and his retribution *and* punishment are thirty stîrs; if the wound thereby made by him be one-fifth of a span (dî*s*t)[3] *it is* no root of an Aredû*s for* him, and his retribution *and* punishment are the same thirty stîrs.

5. I write the degrees of sin:—A Srôshô-*k*aranâm[4] is three coins and a half, a Farmân is a Srôshô-*k*aranâm, an Âgerept is sixteen stîrs, an Avôîri*s*t is twenty-five stîrs, an Aredû*s* is thirty, a Khôr is sixty, a Bâ*z*âî is ninety, a Yât is a hundred and eighty, *and* a Tanâpûhar is three hundred[5].

6. The good works which are in the *ceremonial*

[1] § 5 says sixteen stîrs, which, if equivalent to these fifty-three dirhams, would imply $3\frac{5}{16}$ dirhams to the stîr, instead of four as usually stated (see Chap. I, 2). The amounts mentioned in Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2 are very different.

[2] § 5 says twenty-five stîrs, which, at $3\frac{5}{16}$ dirhams to the stîr (as in the case of Âgerept), would be very nearly eighty-three dirhams, which is probably the number we ought to read in the text, and also, possibly, in Chap. XI, 2.

[3] The dî*s*t is a span of ten finger-breadths (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches) between the thumb and middle finger (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note).

[4] See Chap. IV, 14, note. Comparing the amount here mentioned with that of the Farmân in § 1, the Srôshô-*k*aranâm, which is here made equal to the Farmân, appears to amount to $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, which agrees very nearly with the statement in Chap. X, 24, but differs from that in Chap. XI, 2.

[5] For similar scales of degrees, see Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2.

worship of the sacred beings (yazisn-i yazdân):—*Consecrating* a sacred cake (drôn)[1] is a good work of one Tanâpûhar[2]; a *form of* worship (yast)[3] is a hundred Tanâpûhars; a Visparad[4] is a thousand Tanâpûhars; a Dô-hômâst[5] is ten thousand; a Dvâzdah-hômâst is a hundred thousand, *and* the merit (kirfak) of every one which is *performed* with holy-water is said *to be* a hundred to one; a Hâd-ôkht[6] is two thousand Tanâpûhars, *and* with holy-water it becomes a hundred to one[7].

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[1] See Chap. III, 32. The Persian Rivâyats explain that this is when the proper ritual is merely recited, without using the sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus; when the twigs are used the merit is ten times as great.

[2] That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

[3] A Yast is a formula of praise in honour of some particular angel; when recited with all the accessories of sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus, the merit is ten times as great as is mentioned in the text.

[4] The Visparad service includes the Yasna, and when performed with the use of the sacred twigs, holy-water, and other ceremonial apparatus the merit is ten times as great as here stated; some authorities say it is a hundred times as great.

[5] This kind of Hômâst is not mentioned in Dastûr Jâmâspji's explanation of this species of religious service (see B. Yt. II, 59, note); it occurs, however, in the Nîrangistân as a distinct kind, though called merely Hômâst in the Persian Rivâyats.

[6] See B. Yt. III, 25.

[7] The merits of other prayers and ceremonies are detailed in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, that of the ordinary recital of a Vendidad (which includes both Yasna and Visparad) is sixty thousand Tanâpûhars, and when with sacred twigs and holy-water it is a hundred thousand; that of the recital of any Nyâyis (see Chap. VII, 4), or of taking and retaining a prayer (vâg, see Chap. III, 6) inwardly, is one Tanâpûhar.

Chapter XVII.

1. This, too, Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Which is the time when *one* must not eat meat?'

2. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'In a house when a person shall die, until three nights are completed, nothing whatever of meat is to be placed on a sacred cake (drôn) therein and in *its* vicinity[1]; but these, such as milk, cheese, fruit, eggs, and preserves, are to be placed; *and* nothing whatever of meat is to be eaten *by* his relations[2]. 3. In all the three days it is necessary to perform the ceremonial (yazisn) of Srôsh for this *reason*, because Srôsh will be able to save his soul from the hands of the demons *for* the three days[3]; and when *one* con-

[1] Reading va hamgôshak, the latter word being apparently used in a parallel passage in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64 in old MSS.; this reading is, however, somewhat doubtful here, and perhaps we ought to read 'on a sacred cake in that roofed place (pavan zak vâmkînîh);' the last word being a possible term for 'roofing' as it stands, though it may be a miswriting of vâmpôs (Pers. bâmpôs, 'roofing').

[2] The Parsis, nowadays (Dastûr Hoshangji says), do not cook for three days under a roof where a death has occurred, but obtain food from their neighbours and friends; but if the cookroom be under a separate roof, as often happens in India, they have no objection to cooking there.

[3] The soul is supposed to hover about the body for the first three nights after death, during which time it has to rely upon the angel Srôsh (see Bund. XXX, 29) for protection from the demons, which the angel, it is presumed, will afford more efficiently if properly propitiated by the surviving relatives. At the third dawn after death (that is, the dawn of the fourth day inclusive of the day of death) the soul is supposed to depart finally for the other world (see AV. IV, 8–36, XVII, 5–27).

stantly performs a ceremonial *at* every period (gâs)[1] in the three days *it* is *as* good as though they should celebrate the whole religious ritual (hamâk dînô) at one time. 4. And after the third night, *at* dawn, *one* is to consecrate three sacred cakes (drôn), one *for* Rashnû *and* Âstâd, the second *for* Vâê the good[2], *and* the third *for* the righteous guardian spirit (ardâî fravard); and clothing[3] is to be placed upon the sacred cake of the righteous guardian spirit. 5. For the fourth day it is allowable to slaughter a sheep[4], *and* the fourth day the ceremonial (yazisn) of the righteous guardian spirit is to be performed; and afterwards are the tenth-day, the monthly, and, then, the annual *ceremonies;* and the first monthly is exactly on the thirtieth day, and the annual on the particular day[5]. 6. When he

[1] These periods of the day are five in summer, and four in winter (see Bund. XXV, 9, 10).

[2] The usual name of the angel Râm (the Vayu of Râm Yt.) who, with the angels Rashnû and Âstâd, is supposed to be stationed at the *K*'invad bridge, where the soul has to give an account of its actions during life shortly after the dawn following the third night after death (see AV. V, 3, CI, 21, note, Mkh. II, 115).

[3] This clothing must be new and good, and is supposed to be supplied to the spirit to prevent its appearing unclothed in the other world, where the clothing of the soul is said to be formed 'out of almsgivings' (Chap. XII, 4); to fulfil which condition the clothes provided are presented to the officiating priests (see Saddar Bundahis LXXXVII).

[4] Or 'goat.'

[5] That is, on the exact anniversary of the death; the sentence is rather obscure, but this appears to be the meaning. With regard to the ceremonies after a death, the Persian Rivâyats give more details, which may be summarized as follows:—On each of the first three days a Srôsh Yast is performed and a Srôsh Drôn consecrated (see Chap. III, 32, note). On the third night, in the middle of the Aiwisrûthrem Gâh (dusk to midnight), a renuncia-

shall die *at* a place distant *from that* where the information arrives, when the three *days' ceremonies* (satûîh) are celebrated *at* that place where he shall die *it* is well, when not, their celebration is *to be at* this place, *and* from the *time* when the information arrives, until three nights are completed, it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of Srôsh, *and* after three days and nights it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.'

7. *In* one place *it* is declared, that of him whose begetting is owing to the demons, of him who commits sodomy, and of him who performs the religious rites (dînô) of apostasy, of none of the three do

tion of sin is performed in the house of the deceased; and in the Ushahin Gâh (midnight to dawn) four Drôns are consecrated, one dedicated to the good Vâê (Nâ-î veh), one to Rashn and Âstâd, one to Srôsh, and one to the righteous (ashôân), and in front of the last are placed new and clean clothes with fruit, but without an egg. On the fourth day, at sunrise, the Dahmân Âfrîngân (Yas. LIX) is recited, and then the Khûrshêd and Mihir Nyâyis, after which the people in the house can first eat fresh-cooked meat. During the fourth day also the Yast of the righteous is performed, and the Drôn of the righteous is consecrated; and the same again on the tenth day, together with the recitation of the Dahmân Âfrîngân. On the thirtieth day the Sîrôzah (praise of the thirty days) is to be celebrated, with the dedication to the thirty days; thirty-three beans (lûvak) and thirty-three eggs, with fruit, being placed in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; and, afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh. The next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous; a suit of clothes and fruit being placed in front of the Drôn. And each day a Yast of the righteous is performed, a Drôn of the righteous is consecrated, and an Âfrîngân recited. On the same day every month the same Yast, Drôn, and Âfrîngân are celebrated; a priest also undergoes the Bareshnûm for the deceased, a Gêtî-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28) is performed, and three Vendidads dedicated to Srôsh. On each day at the end of a year the Sîrôzah Yast is performed, and a Drôn

they restore the dead[1], for this *reason*, because he whose begetting is owing to the demons is himself a demon[2], and the soul of him who commits sodomy will become a demon[3], and the soul of him *who* performs the religious rites of apostasy will become a darting snake[4].

8. This, too, is revealed by the Avesta[5], that Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Give ye up the persons of all men, with the submissiveness of worshippers, to that man *to* whom the whole Avesta and Zand is easy[6], so that he may make you acquainted with duties and good works; because men go to hell for this *reason*, when they do not submit *their* persons to priestly control (aêrpatistân), and do not become acquainted with duties and good works.'

9. Query:—There is an action which, according to the Avesta[7], is not good for a person to do, *and* the sentence of 'worthy of death' is set upon *it;* for *one's* better preservation is *one* not to do that action,

dedicated to the thirty days is consecrated, thirty-three beans being placed, with one Drôn, one Frasast (see Chap. III, 32, note), one pentagonal Drôn as the sun, one crescent-shaped as the moon, thirty-three eggs, and fruit, in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân, and the next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous, a suit of clothes being placed before the Drôn, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân.

[1] That is, there is no resurrection for them.

[2] And, therefore, not immortal according to the Parsi faith.

[3] Compare Vend. VIII, 98–106.

[4] Which being a creature of the evil spirit is doomed to destruction.

[5] But it is doubtful if the passage be extant.

[6] That is, the man who knows the whole scripture and commentary by heart.

[7] Reading pavan Avistâk, instead of Avistâk pavan.

or to accomplish *and* urge *it* on, for the advance of religion in a state of uncertainty (var-hômandîh)? 10. The answer is this, that when they act well for *their* better preservation *there* is no fear, on account of acting well, but *one* is not to forsake that[1], too, though *it* be not goodness; a forsaken duty is very bad, for a contempt of it enters into one.

11. This, too, is declared, that Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'From what place do these people rise again? from that place where they first went into *their* mothers, or from that place where the mothers have given *them* birth, or from that place where *their* bodies happen *to be* (aûftêd)?' 12. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'Not from that place where they have gone into *their* mothers, nor from that place where they have been born from *their* mothers, nor from that place where *their* bodies and flesh happen *to be*, for they rise from that place where the life went out from their bodies.' 13. And this, too, he asked, that is: 'Whence do they raise[2] *him* again who is suspended from anything, *and* shall die in the air?' 14. The reply *was:* 'From that place where his bones and flesh first fall to the ground; hence, except when he shall die on a divan (gâs) or a bed (vistarg), before they carry him away, whatever *it*

[1] The religion in a position of difficulty appears to be the meaning, but the reply to this question of casuistry is by no means clear.

[2] Literally, 'they rise,' both here and in the next section, but the change to the plural number is perplexing, unless it refers to those who prepare the resurrection of the dead (Bund. XXX, 4, 7, 17), as here assumed by reading 'they raise.'

is, a fragment[1] is to be taken and to be laid across his limbs; for when the usage is not so, they raise him again from that place where his body arrives at the ground.'

15. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy[2].

CHAPTER XVIII[3].

1. It is said in revelation that Aêshm[4] rushed into the presence of Aharman[5], and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* not go into the world, because Aûharmazd, the lord, has produced three things in the world, *to* which it is not possible *for* me to do anything whatever.'

2. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Say which are those three things.'

3. Aêshm exclaimed thus: 'The season-festival

[1] Apparently a fragment of the place whereon the death took place is meant by ka*d*âm-ı pârak.

[2] The miscellaneous passages which follow Sls. in M6 terminate at this point, which is the end of the first volume of that MS. The next three chapters are taken from the latter end of the other volume of M6.

[3] Both this chapter and the next are also found in K20, the first being placed before the first part of Sls., and the second before the second part. Chap. XVIII also occurs in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahi*s*, just after Chap. XXXIV of that text (see Introduction, p. xxx), and a Pâzand version of it occupies the same position in L7 and L22, and is translated by Justi as the last chapter of the Bundahi*s*, in his German translation of that work (see Introduction, p. xxvi).

[4] The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17).

[5] See Bund. I, 3. Aêshm, as the chief agent of the evil spirit in his machinations against mankind, rushes into his master's presence in hell to complain of the difficulties he encounters.

(gâsânbâr)[1], the *sacred* feast (myazd), and next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das).'

[1] See Bund. XXV, 1, 3, 6. The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. An explanation of the cause of the inequality of these intervals has been proposed by Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, which is well worthy of attention, and appears to have been first published in 1867 in Nos. 7 and 8 of his Zartosti Abhyas. His view is that the mediæval Zoroastrians, beginning their year at the vernal equinox (Bund. XXV, 6, 13, 21), recognised originally only two seasons, a summer of seven months and a winter of five (Bund. XXV, 7), and they held a festival, not only at the end of each season, that is, on the 210th and 365th days of their year, but also in the middle of each season, that is, on the 105th and 290th days of their year. That these two latter were mid-season festivals is proved by their Avesta names, Maidhyô-shema and Maidhyâirya, beginning with the word maidhya, 'middle.' Later on, the Zoroastrians divided their year into four equal seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter (Bund. XXV, 20), and without interfering with their old festivals, they would, no doubt, have wished to celebrate the end and middle of each of their new seasons. The ends of these four seasons occur on the 90th, 180th, 270th, and 365th days of the year, and their mid-points are the 45th, 135th, 225th, and 320th days; but the Zoroastrians already held a festival on the 365th day, and celebrated midsummer and midwinter (the 135th and 320th days of their new calendar) on the 105th and 290th days of their year, and they would consider the 90th, 225th, and 270th days too close to their old festivals of the 105th, 210th, and 290th days to allow of the former being held as new festivals; so that they would have only the midspring festival, on the 45th day, and that of the end of summer, on the 180th day, to add to their old festivals. It may be objected that the end of summer was already celebrated on the 210th day, and, for this reason, it is more probable that the festivals were intended to celebrate the beginnings and mid-points of the seasons, rather than their ends and mid-points. According to this view, the six season-festivals were intended, respectively, to celebrate midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring. That they were also intended to commemorate, respectively, the

4. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Enter into the season-festival! if one of those *present* shall steal a single thing the season-festival is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with[1] thy wish; enter into the *sacred* feast[2]! if only one of those *present* shall chatter the *sacred* feast is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with thy wish; *but* avoid next-of-kin marriage[3]! because I do not know a remedy for it; for whoever *has* gone four times near to *it will* not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels[4].'

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creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man, is a belief of later times, derived probably from a foreign source.

[1] Reading pavan, 'with,' instead of barâ, 'beyond,' as in the next clause of the sentence (see p. 176, note 5).

[2] By the sacred feast is meant the consecration of sacred cakes, with meat-offerings and the recital of the Âfrîngâns or blessings (see Chaps. III, 32, XI, 4).

[3] By next-of-kin marriage Parsis nowadays understand the marriage of first cousins, which they consider a specially righteous act; and the passages in Pahlavi texts, which appear to approve of marriages between brother and sister, father and daughter, and mother and son, they explain as referring to the practices of heretics (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's English translation of the Dînkard, p. 96, note). How far this explanation may be correct has not been ascertained, for the passages in question are rather obscure, and have not been thoroughly examined. But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood, about the time of the Muhammadan conquest (when the practice of next-of-kin marriage was most extolled), were anxious to prevent marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith; and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants.

[4] The object of this chapter is evidently to extol the religious merit of next-of-kin marriage. A Persian version of the passage, contained in M5, fols. 54, 55, adds the following details: 'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium

Chapter XIX.

1. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô [1] *formulas* that are necessary in each place, and how *they* are to be spoken in performing anything [2].

2. One *by him* who goes forth to an assembly, or before grandees *and* chieftains, or on any business; or when he goes to ask for what he wants (val khvahîsnŏ); also when he quits any business; in each of these situations *he* is to say only one *formula*, so that his business may proceed more promptly [3].

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next-of-kin marriage is that of a brother's son and a younger (dîgar) brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who contracts a next-of-kin marriage, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary (see Chap. VI, 2), if it is one of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added; if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the next-of-kin marriage betrothal (paîvand) of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûhars; if any one strives to break off a next-of-kin marriage betrothal he is worthy of death.'

[1] See Bund. I, 21.

[2] It appears from the ninth book of the Dînkar*d*, that the contents of this chapter are derived from the first fargar*d* of the Sû*d*kar Nask (see B. Yt. I, 1, note). The account given by the Dînkar*d* contains fewer details, but, so far as it goes, it is in accordance with our text, except that it seems to transfer the object of § 10 to § 12, and removes the objects of §§ 12, 13 one step onwards; it also adds 'going on a bridge' to § 2. The Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah gives further details, as will be mentioned in the notes below.

[3] The Persian Rivâyat adds to these occasions, when he goes on the water, or a river, or goes to borrow, or to ask repayment of a loan, or goes out from his house, or comes into it.

3. *That* a blessing (âfrînô) may be more benedictory, for this *reason one* utters two *formulas;* for *there* are two kinds of blessing, one is that which is in the thoughts[1], and one is that which is in words.

4. Four are for coming out more thankfully when at a season-festival[2].

5. Five *by him* who goes to atone for sin, in order to expel the fiend; because it is necessary to undergo punishment by the decision (dastôbarih) of these five persons, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, *the tribe-ruler*[3], the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratûst; and five Ashem-vohûs[4] are to be uttered by him at the end.

6. Six *by him* who goes to seek power, and to battle, so that he may be more successful.

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[1] The words pavan mînisn are guessed, for this first clause is omitted by mistake in M6, and these two words are illegible in K20, except part of the last letter.

[2] K20 substitutes for val, 'at,' the following mutilated phrase: [. . . . axhau khshapô kadârkâî pavan kadârkâî] madam vazlûnêd râdîh-i; the portion in brackets being evidently a fragment from the Hâdôkht Srôsh Yt. 5 with Pahlavi translation (a passage which treats of the efficacy of reciting the Yathâ ahû-vairyô). If this fragment be not merely a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text by mistake, we must translate the whole section as follows: 'Four are for the more thankful coming out of the liberality of a season-festival, when the *passage*, "*on that day nor* on that night *comes there* anything whatever on any one," goes on.' The Dînkard has merely: 'Four by *him* who is at the invocation of the chiefs *of creation and* the celebration of a season-festival.' The Persian Rivâyats omit the section altogether.

[3] This person is omitted both in M6 and K20, but he is wanted to make up the five. This section is omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

[4] See Bund. XX, 2. These are to be recited after the punishment is over.

7. Seven *by him* who goes to perform the worship of God (yazdân), *so that* the archangels may come more forward[1] at the worship.

8. Eight *by him* who goes to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.

9. Nine *by him* who goes to sow corn; these he utters for this *reason*, because the corn will ripen (rasêd) in nine months, *and* so that the corn may come forward he will make the mischief of the noxious creatures less[2].

10. Ten *by him* who goes to seek a wife, so that the presents may be favourable for the purpose. 11. Ten *by him* who wishes to allow the male *access* to beasts *of burden* and cattle, so that it may be more procreative[3].

12. Eleven *by him* who goes to the lofty mountains, so that the glory of mountains and hills may bless him *and* be friendly[4].

13. Twelve *by him* who goes to the low districts, so that the glory of that country and district may bless him and be friendly[5].

14. Thirteen *by him* who shall become pathless; *at* that same place he shall utter *them;* or *by him*

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[1] Or 'may arrive earlier;' there being seven archangels has suggested the number seven. This section and the next are omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

[2] The Persian Rivâyats add general cultivation, planting trees, and cohabitation with one's wife.

[3] Instead of §§ 10, 11 the Persian Rivâyats have buying quadrupeds, and driving pegs into the ground for picketing them.

[4] The Persian Rivâyats substitute conference with a maiden, seeking a wife, giving one's children in marriage, and obtaining anything from another.

[5] The Persian Rivâyats add going up hills, mounting anything lofty, going on a bridge, and losing one's way.

who shall pass over a bridge and a river, so that the spirit of that water may bless him[1]; because the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is greater and more successful *than* everything in the Avesta as to all rivers, all wholesomeness, and all protection.

15. Religion is as connected with the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as the hair is more connected with the glory of the face; any one, indeed, would dread (samâd) to separate hairiness *and* the glory of the face.

CHAPTER XX[2].

1. *In* one place it is declared that it is said by revelation (dînô) that a man is to go as much as possible (kand vês-ast) to the abode of fires[3], and the salutation (nîyâyisnô) of fire[4] is to be performed *with* reverence; because three times every day the archangels form an assembly in the abode of fires, and shed good works and righteousness there; and then the good works and righteousness, which are shed there, become more lodged in the body of *him* who goes much thither, and performs many salutations of fire *with* reverence.

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[1] The Persian Rivâyats substitute going to and entering a city or town; they also add twenty-one recitations on setting out on a journey, so that the angel Bahrâm may grant a safe arrival.

[2] The contents of this chapter conclude the MS. M6; a few lines even having been lost at the end of that MS., though preserved in some of its older copies. A more modern copy, in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains §§ 4–17, appended to the Bundahis. Complete Pâzand versions, derived from M6, occur in L7 and L22, immediately following the Pâzand of Chap. XVIII.

[3] The fire-temple.

[4] That is, the Âtâs Nyâyis is to be recited.

2. This, too, that the nature of wisdom is just like fire; for, in this world, *there* is nothing which shall become so complete as that thing which is made with wisdom; and every fire, too, that they kindle and *one* sees from far, makes manifest *what is* safe and uninjured (aîrâkht); whatever is safe in fire is safe for ever, and whatever is uninjured in fire is uninjured for ever.

3. This, too, that a disposition in which is no wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied (anâhûk) fountain which is choked (bastŏ) and never goes into use; and the disposition with which *there* is wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied fountain, over which an industrious man stands *and* takes *it* into use; cultivation restrains *it*, and it gives crops (bar) to the world.

4. This, too, that these three things are to be done by men, to force the *demon of* corruption (nasûs)[1] far away from the body, to be steadfast in the religion, and to perform good works. 5. To force the *demon of* corruption far away from the body is this, that before the sun *has* come up *one* is to wash the hands[2] and face with bull's urine and water; to be steadfast in the religion is this, that *one* is to reverence the sun[3]; and to perform good works is this, that *one* is to destroy several noxious creatures.

6. This, too, that the three greatest concerns of men are these, to make him who is an enemy a friend, to make him who is wicked righteous, and to make him who is ignorant learned. 7. To make

[1] See Chap. II, 1. [2] See Chap. VII, 7.
[3] See Chap. VII, 1–6.

an enemy a friend is this, that out of the worldly wealth *one* has before him he keeps a friend in mind; to make a wicked *one* righteous is this, that from the sin, whereby he becomes wicked, *one* turns him away; and to make an ignorant *one* learned is this, that *one* is to manage himself so that he who is ignorant may learn of him.

8. This, too, *that* the walks of men are to be directed chiefly to these three places, to the abode of the well-informed, to the abode of the good, *and* to the abode of fires[1]. 9. To the abode of the well-informed, that so *one* may become wiser, and religion be more lodged in *one's* person; to the abode of the good for this *reason*, that so, among good and evil, he may thereby renounce the evil and carry home *the good*[2]; and to the abode of fires for this *reason*, that so the spiritual fiend may turn away from him.

10. This, too, that *he* whose actions are for the soul, the world is then his own, and the spiritual *existence* more his own; and *he* whose actions are for the body, the spiritual *existence* has *him* at pleasure, *and* they snatch the world from him compulsorily.

11. This, too, that Bakht-âfrî*d*[3] said, that every Gâtha (gâsân)[4] of Aûharmazd has been an opposi-

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[1] The fire-temple.

[2] Assuming that the word *s*apîrîh, 'the good,' has been omitted by mistake; the sentence appearing to be unintelligible without it.

[3] See B. Yt. I, 7.

[4] The word gâsân being plural, Gâtha must be taken in its collective sense as an assemblage of hymns. The word can also be read dahî*s*n, 'creation,' but this meaning seems improbable here.

tion of the one adversary, and the renunciation *of sin* (patîtîk)[1] for the opposition of every fiend.

12. This, too, that, regarding the world, anxiety is not to be suffered, it is not to be considered as anything whatever, and is not to be let slip from the hand. 13. Anxiety is not to be suffered for this *reason*, because that which is ordained will happen; it is not to be considered as anything whatever for this *reason*, because should it be expedient it is necessary to abandon *it;* and it is not to be let slip from the hand for this *reason*, because it is proper, in the world, to provide a spiritual *existence* for oneself.

14. This, too, that the best thing is truth, and the worst thing is deceit; and *there* is *he* who speaks true *and* thereby becomes wicked, and *there* is *he* who speaks false *and* thereby becomes righteous.

15. This, too, that fire is not to be extinguished[2], for *this* is a sin; and *there* is *he* who extinguishes *it*, *and* is good.

16. This, too, is declared, that nothing is to be given to the vile; and *there* is *he by* whom the best and most pleasant ragout (khûrdîk) is to be given to the vile.

17. On these, too, is the attention of men *to be fixed*, because *there* is a remedy for everything but death, a hope for everything but wickedness, everything will lapse[3] except righteousness, it is possible

[1] That is, the Patit or formula of renunciation (see Chap. IV, 14).

[2] Literally, 'killed.'

[3] M6 ends at this point, the next folio being lost. The remainder of the chapter has been recovered from a copy in Bombay, checked by the Pâz. MSS. L7 and L22, all of which must have

to manage everything but temper (gôhar), and it is possible *for* everything to change but divine providence (bakô-bakhtô).

18. This, too, is declared, that Frêdûn[1] wished to slay Az-i Dahâk[2], *but* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Do not slay *him* now, for the earth will become full of noxious creatures.'

Chapter XXI[3].

1. I write the indication of the midday shadow, may it be fortunate!

2. Should the sun come[4] into Cancer *the shadow* is one foot of the man, *at* the fifteenth *degree* of Cancer *it* is one foot; *when* the sun is at Leo *it* is

been derived from M6 before it lost its last folio; whereas the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection at Oxford, which ends at the same point, must have been written after the folio was lost.

[1] See Bund. XXXI, 7.

[2] See Bund. XXIX, 9, XXXI, 6, B. Yt. III, 55–61.

[3] The contents of this chapter, regarding the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, immediately follow a tale of Gôst-i Fryânô, which is appended to the book of Ardâ-Virâf's journey to the other world, both in M6 and K20. As will be seen from the notes, these details about shadows were probably compiled at Yazd in Persia, as they are suitable only for that latitude.

[4] Reading âyad-ae (a very rare form), or it may be intended for hômanâe, 'should it be,' but it is written in both MSS. exactly like the two ciphers for the numeral 5. Mullâ Fîrûz in his Avîgeh Dîn, p. 279 seq., takes 5 khadûk pâî as implying that the shadow is under the sole of the foot, or the sun overhead; but neither this reading, nor the more literal 'one-fifth of a foot,' can be reconciled with the other measures; though if we take 5 as standing for pangak, 'the five *toes* or sole,' we might translate as follows: '*When* the sun is at Cancer, *the shadow* is the sole of one foot of the man.'

one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Leo *it* is two feet; *when* the sun is at Virgo *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Virgo *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Libra *it* is four[1] feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Libra *it* is five feet and a half[2]; *at* Scorpio *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Scorpio *it* is seven[3] feet and a half; *at* Sagittarius *it* is eight feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Sagittarius *it* is nine feet and a half; *at* Capricornus *it* is ten feet, *at* the fifteenth of Capricornus *it* is nine[4] feet and a half; *at* Aquarius *it* is eight[5] feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aquarius *it* is seven feet and a half; *at* Pisces *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Pisces *it* is five feet and a half; *at* Aries *it* is four feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aries *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Taurus *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Taurus *it* is two feet; *at* Gemini *it* is one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Gemini *it* is one foot[6].

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[1] K20 has 'three' by mistake.

[2] M6 omits 'and a half' by mistake.

[3] K20 has 'six' by mistake.

[4] Both MSS. omit one cipher, and have only 'six,' but the shadow must be the same here as at the fifteenth of Sagittarius.

[5] Both MSS. have 'seven,' which is clearly wrong.

[6] It is obvious that, as the length of a man's shadow depends upon the height of the sun, each of these observations of his noonday shadow determines the altitude of the sun at noon, and is, therefore, a rude observation for finding the latitude of the place, provided we know the ratio of a man's foot to his stature. According to Bund. XXVI, 3 a man's stature is eight spans (vitast), and according to Farh. Okh. p. 41 a vitast is twelve finger-breadths, and a foot is fourteen (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note), so that a man's stature of eight spans is equivalent to $6\frac{6}{7}$ feet. Assuming this to have been the ratio adopted by the observer, supposing the obliquity of the ecliptic to have been 23° 35′ (as it

3. The midday shadow is written[1], may *its* end be good!

4. I write the indication of the Aûzêrin (afternoon)[2] *period of the day;* may it be well *and* fortunate by the help of God (yazdân)!

5. When the day is at a maximum (pavan afzûnŏ), *and* the sun comes unto the head[3] of Cancer, *and one's* shadow becomes six feet and two parts[4], he makes *it* the Aûzêrin period (gâs). 6.

was about A. D. 1000), and calculating the latitude from each of the thirteen different lengths of shadow, the mean result is 32° 1′ north latitude, which is precisely the position assigned to Yazd (the head-quarters of the small remnant of Zoroastrians in Persia) on some English maps, though some foreign maps place it 15′ or 20′ farther south. With regard to the rough nature of this mode of observation it may be remarked that, as the lengths of the shadows are noted only to half a foot, there is a possible error of a quarter-foot in any of them; this would produce a possible error of 2° 4′ in the midsummer observation of latitude, and of 39′ in the midwinter one; or a mean possible error of 1° 22′ in any of the observations; so that the possible error in the mean of thirteen observations is probably not more than 6′, and the probable error is even less, provided the data have been assumed correctly.

[1] Reading nipist, but only the first and last letters are legible in M6, and the middle letter is omitted in K20.

[2] See Bund. XXV, 9.

[3] The word sar, 'head,' usually means 'the end,' but it must be here taken as 'the beginning;' perhaps, because the zodiacal signs are supposed to come head-foremost.

[4] What portion of a foot is meant by bâhar, 'part,' is doubtful. It can hardly be a quarter, because 'two quarters' would be too clumsy a term for 'a half.' But it appears from §§ 5–7 that the shadow, necessary to constitute the Aûzêrîn period, is taken as increasing uniformly from six feet and two parts to fourteen feet and two parts, an increase of eight feet in six months, or exactly one foot and one-third per month, as stated in the text. And, deducting this monthly increase of one foot and one-third from the seven and a half feet shadow at the end of the first month, we have six feet and one-sixth remaining for the shadow at the

Every thirty days it always increases one foot *and* one-third, therefore about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot [1], *and when* the sun is at the head of Leo the shadow is seven [2] feet *and* a half. 7. In this series every *zodiacal* constellation is *treated* alike, and the months alike, until the sun comes unto the head of Capricornus, *and* the shadow becomes fourteen feet and two parts. 8. In Capricornus it diminishes again a foot *and* one-third [3]; *and* from there *where* it turns back, because of the decrease of the night and increase of the day, it always diminishes one foot *and* one-third every one of the months, *and* about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot, until it comes back to six feet and two parts; every *zodiacal* constellation *being treated* alike, and the months alike [4].

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beginning of the month. Hence we may conclude that the 'two parts' are equal to one-sixth, and each 'part' is one-twelfth of a foot.

[1] Meaning that the increase of shadow is to be taken into account as soon as it amounts to half a foot, that is, about every ten days. Practically, half a foot would be added on the tenth and twentieth days, and the remaining one-third of a foot at the end of the month.

[2] Both MSS. have 'eight,' but this would be inconsistent with the context, as it is impossible that 'six feet and two parts' can become 'eight feet and a half' by the addition of 'one foot and one-third,' whatever may be the value of the 'two parts' of a foot.

[3] Both MSS. have 3 yak-1 pâî, instead of pâî 3 yak-1.

[4] This mode of determining the beginning of the afternoon period is not so clumsy as it appears, as it keeps the length of that period exceedingly uniform for the six winter months with some increase in the summer time. In latitude 32° north, where the longest day is about 13 hours 56 minutes, and the shortest is 10 hours 4 minutes, these observations of a man's shadow make the afternoon period begin about $3\frac{3}{4}$ hours before sunset at mid-

CHAPTER XXII[1].

1. May Aûharmazd give *thee* the august rank and throne of a champion[2]!

2. May Vohûman give thee wisdom! may the benefit of knowing Vohûman[3] be good thought and mayest thou be acting well, that is, saving the soul!

3. May Ar*d*avahist, the beautiful, give thee understanding and intellect!

4. May Shatvairô grant thee wealth from every generous one!

5. May Spendarma*d* grant thee praise through the seed of *thy* body! may she give thee *as* wife a woman from the race of the great!

6. May Horvada*d* grant thee plenty and prosperity!

7. May Amerôda*d* grant thee herds of four-footed *beasts!*

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summer, diminishing to 2¾ hours at the autumnal equinox, and then remaining very nearly constant till the vernal equinox.

[1] These last two chapters are found written upon some folios which have been added to the beginning of M6; but, though not belonging to that MS. originally, they are still very old. The first of these two chapters has not been found elsewhere; it is an elaborate benediction, in which the writer calls down, upon some one, a series of blessings from each of the thirty archangels and angels whose names are given to the days of the Parsi month in the order in which they here stand (compare the same names in Bund. XXVII, 24).

[2] The meaning of the word pâ*d*rôg or pâ*d*rang (which occurs also in §§ 12, 26, and appears to be a title) may be guessed from the following passage in the Yâ*d*kâr-i Zarîrân, or Vistâsp-shâh-námak: Pavan har razm va pâ*d*razm-i lak pîrôg va vêh pâ*d*rô-sem yâîtyûnî-ae, 'in every attack and counter-attack of thine mayest thou bring *away* the title of conqueror and good champion!'

[3] The reading is uncertain.

8. May Dînô always secure[1] *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

9. May the light of the sublime Âtarô[2] hold thy throne in heaven!

10. May Âvân grant thee wealth from every generous one!

11. May Khûr hold thee without mystery *and* doubt among the great and *thy* compeers (hambu*d*îkân)!

12. May Mâh give thee an assistant, who is the assistant of champions!

13. May Tî*s*tar hold thee a traveller in the countries of the seven regions!

14. Gô*s*ûrvan the archangel[3] is the protection *of* four-footed *beasts.*

15. May Dînô always remain *for thee as* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

16. May Mitrô be thy judge, who shall wish thy existence *to be* vigorous!

17. May Srôsh the righteous, the smiter of demons, keep greed, wrath, and want[4] far from thee! may he destroy *them*, *and* may he not seize thee *as* unjust!

18. May Rashnû be thy conductor[5] to the resplendent heaven!

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[1] This verb is doubtful; here and in § 23 it is netrûnâ*d*, 'may she guard,' but in § 15 it is ketrûnâ*d*, 'may she remain.'

[2] Bûr*z* âtarô, 'the sublime fire,' seems to be a personification of the fire Berezi-savang of Bund. XVII, 1, 3, the Supremely-benefiting of SZS. XI, 1, 6.

[3] She is usually called an angel. Either the verb is omitted in this section, or it is not a blessing; and the same may be said of §§ 20, 25.

[4] These are the three fiends, Â*z*, Aeshm, and Nîyâz (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17, 26, 27).

[5] It is very possible that the verb should be yehabûnâ*d*,

19. May Fravar*d*in give thee offspring, which may bear the name of *thy* race!

20. Vâhrâm the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike.

21. May Râm, applauding the life of a praiser of the persistent[1] lord, keep thee perfect (aspar), that is, living three hundred years[2], undying and undecaying unto the end of *thy* days!

22. May Vâ*d* bring thee peace[3] from the resplendent heaven!

23. May Dînô always secure *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

24. May Dînô become thy guest in thy home and dwelling!

25. Arshi*s*ang, the beautiful, is the resplendent glory of the Kayâns.

26. May Â*s*tâ*d* be thy helper, who is the assistant of champions!

27. May Âsmân bless thee with all skill and wealth!

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instead of yehevûnâ*d*, in which case we should have 'give thee a passport.'

[1] The meaning of khvâpar (Av. *h*vâpara) is by no means certain; it is an epithet of Aûharmazd, angels, and spirits, and is then often assumed to mean 'protecting;' but it is also a term applied to the earth and offspring; perhaps 'self-sustaining' would suit both its etymology and its various applications best, but the root par has many other meanings.

[2] That is, two great cycles. It is usual for the copyists of Pahlavi MSS. to wish, in their colophons, that the persons for whom the MSS. are written, whether themselves or others, may retain the MSS. for a hundred and fifty years before leaving them to their children; which period is mentioned because it is supposed to constitute a great cycle of the moon and planets.

[3] Written drûd instead of drû*d*.

28. May Zamyâ*d* destroy for thee the demon and fiend out of thy dwelling!

29. May Mâraspend hold thee a throne in the resplendent heaven!

30. May Anîrân the immortal, with every kind of all wealth, become thy desire! the horses of God (yazdân)[1] who shall come that he may go, and thou mayest obtain a victory.

31. May destiny give thee a helper! he is the guardian of the *celestial* sphere for all these archangels whose names I have brought *forward*; may he be thy helper *at* all times, in every good work and duty!

32. Homage to Srît[2] the teacher! may he live long! may he be prosperous *in* the land! may *his* be every pleasure and joy, *and* every glory of the Kayâns, through the will of the persistent Aûharmazd!

Chapter XXIII.

0. In the name of God and the good creation be health[3]!

1. Aûharmazd is more creative, Vohûman is more

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[1] Both nouns are in the plural, and both verbs in the singular. Anîrân is a personification of Av. anaghra rao*ka*u, 'the beginningless lights,' or fixed stars (which, however, are said to have been created by Aûharmazd in Bund. II, 1), and these stars appear to have been considered as horses of the angels (Bund. VI, 3, SZS. VI, 1). There are several uncertain phrases in §§ 30–32.

[2] This would appear to be the name of the person to whom the benediction is addressed, as it can hardly be meant for the ancient hero Thrita, the Athrat of Bund. XXXI, 27, and the Srîtô of SZS. XI, 10, note.

[3] Two versions of this chapter, detailing the qualities of the

embellished [1], Ar*d*avahi*s*t is more brilliant [2], Shatvaîrô is more exalted [3], Spendarma*d* is more fruitful [4], Horvada*d* is moister [5], Amerôda*d* is fatter [6]. 2. Dîn-pa-Âtarô is just like Aûharmazd [7], Âtarô is hotter [8], Â*v*ân is more golden [9], Khûr is more observant [10], Mâh is more protective [11], Tîr is more liberal, Gô*s* is swifter [12]. 3. Dîn [13]-pa-Mitrô is just like Aûharmazd, Mitrô is more judicial, Srôsh is more vigorous, Rashn is more just, Fravar*d*în is more powerful, Vâhrâm is more victorious, Râm is more pleasing, Vâ*d* is more fragrant. 4. Dîn-*pa-Dînô* is just like Aûharmazd, Dînô is more valuable, Ar*d* [14] is more beautiful, Â*s*tâ*d* is purer, Âsmân is more lofty, Zamyâ*d* is more conclusive, Mâraspend is more

thirty angels and archangels, are extant; one in M6, which has lost §§ 3–5, and the other in a very old MS. in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay. This latter, being complete, is here taken as the text, while the variations of M6, which occur in nearly every epithet, are given in the notes. Which version is the oldest can hardly be ascertained with certainty from the state of the MSS. M6 omits this opening benediction.

[1] M6 has 'more nimble.'

[2] M6 has 'more discriminative.'

[3] M6 has 'more active.'

[4] M6 has 'more complete.'

[5] M6 has 'fatter.'

[6] M6 has 'more fruitful.'

[7] M6 has 'Dînô is more desirous.'

[8] M6 has 'more heating.'

[9] Referring perhaps to the golden channels (Bund. XIII, 4, 5) through which the water of Arêdvîvsûr (a title of the angel Â*v*ân, 'waters') is supposed to flow. M6 has 'more glittering.'

[10] M6 has 'more embellished.'

[11] M6 has varpântar, the meaning of which is uncertain.

[12] M6 has 'more listening.'

[13] The version in M6 ends here; the next folio being lost.

[14] The same as Arshi*s*ang (see Bund. XXII, 4).

conveying the religion, Anîrân is the extreme of exertion *and* listening [1].

5. May it be completed in peace and pleasure!

[1] The reading of both these nouns is uncertain. The days of the Parsi month, which bear the names of these thirty angels, are divided, it will be observed, into four nearly equal divisions, resembling weeks, which are here separated in §§ 1–4. The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, and called by his own name; and each of the three other weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, but called by the name of Dîn, 'religion,' with the name of the following day added as a cognomen. The first week, therefore, consists of the day Aûharmazd followed by six days named after the six archangels respectively (see Bund. I, 23, 26). The second week consists of the day Dîn-with-Âtarô followed by six days named after the angels of fire, waters, the sun, the moon, Mercury, and the primeval ox. The third week consists of the day Dîn-with-Mitrô followed by seven days named after the angels of solar light, obedience, and justice, the guardian spirits, and the angels of victory, pleasure, and wind. And the fourth week consists of the day Dîn-with-Dînô followed by seven days named after the angels of religion, righteousness, rectitude, the sky, the earth, the liturgy, and the fixed stars.

INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pahlavi forms are always given in preference to Pâzand and Persian, when only one is mentioned; but where only a Pâzand form occurs it is printed in italics, as Pâzand orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters, which would elsewhere be italic, are printed in roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta word; Bd. for Bundahi*s*; Byt. for Bahman Ya*s*t; ch. for chapter of Visparad; com. for commentator and commentary; Gu*g*. for Gu*g*arâti; Huz. for Huzvâri*s*; Int. for Introduction; lun. man. for lunar mansion; m. for mountain; meas. for measure; n for foot-note; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; r. for river; Sl. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast; trans. for translation; wt. for weight; zod. for zodiacal constellation; Zs. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam.

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*S*am, man, Bd. **31**, 27n.
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Tambayak, demon, Bd. **31**, 6.
Tanâpûhar good work, Sl. **1**, (1n;) **2**, 79n, 93; **6**, 3, 4, 6; **7**, 4; **8**, 20; **16**, 6; **18**, 4n.
— sin, Sl. **1**, 1, (2;) **2**, 40, 50, 51, 53, 69, 70, 79n, 80, 82; **3**, 26-28; **4**, 10, 12; **5**, 3, 4; **8**, 20; **10**, 5, 17, 35n; **11**, 1, 2; **12**, 4; **16**, 5.
Tanuperetha, Av., Sl. **1**, 1n.
Taparistân, land, Bd. **12**, 17; **13**, 15; **20**, 27; Byt. **3**, 19.
Taprê*v*, demon, Bd. **28**, 11, 13. See Tâirê*v*.
Taraba, lun. man., Bd. **2**, 3.
Tarâzûk, zod., Bd. **2**, 2; **5**, 6.
Tarmaz, town, Bd. **20**, 28n.
Tarômat, demon, Bd. **28**, 14; **30**, 29.
Tashkand, town, Bd. **20**, 20n.
Taurus, zod., Bd. **2**, 2; Sl. **21**, 2.
Tâ-*v*e-urvâtâ hâ, Sl. **13**, 6, 14.
Tâz, man, Bd. **15**, 28; **31**, 6; Sl. **10**, 28n.
Tâzak, woman, Bd. **15**, 28.
Tegend r., Bd. **20**, 15n.
Teherân, town, Bd. **12**, 31n; **31**, 40n; Sl. **13**, 11n.

Têrak m., Bd. **5**, 3, 4; **12**, 2, 4.
Teremet r., Bd. **20**, 7, 9n, 28.
Thraêtaona, king, Bd. **31**, 4n, 7n.
Three-legged ass, Bd. **19**, 1-12.
Three-nights' ceremony, Sl. **8**, 6; **10**, 2; **12**, 5, 31.
— — punishment, Bd. **30**, 13, 16; Sl. **8**, 5, 7, 16.
Thrita, man, Bd. **31**, 26n, 27n; Zs. **11**, 10n; Byt. **3**, 14n; Sl. **22**, 32n.
Thritak, man, Bd. **31**, 14.
Thriti, woman, Bd. **32**, 5n.
Tides, Bd. **13**, 8, 11, 13, 14; Zs. **6**, 17.
Tigris r., Bd. **20**, 10n, 12n, 25n; Zs. **6**, 20n; Byt. **3**, 3n, 5n, 21n, 38n.
Time personified, Int. 70; Zs. **1**, 24-27; **4**, 5.
Tin age, Byt. **2**, 20.
Tîr, angel (for Tîstar), Bd. **27**, 24; Sl. **23**, 2; month, Bd. **7**, 2; **25**, 3, 20; Zs. **6**, 2; planet, Bd. **5**, 1.
Tîstar, angel, Bd. **7**, 2-4, 7-10; **9**, 2; **11**, 2; **19**, 11; **27**, 3; Zs. **6**, 1, 3, 9, 10, 13; **8**, 1; Byt. **2**, 59n; **3**, 14n; Sl. **22**, 13; see Tîr; star, Bd. **2**, 7; **5**, 1; **7**, 1; Sl. **14**, 5.
Toothpick, how to be cut, Sl. **10**, 20; **12**, 13.
Tôrâ, zod., Bd. **2**, 2.
Tort r., Bd. **20**, 7n, 24.
Translations of Bd., Int. 24-26, 43-45; of Byt., Int. 57, 59; of Sl., Int. 66, 67; plan of these, Int. 70-74.
Tree of all germs, Bd. **9**, 5, 6; **18**, 9; **27**, 2; **29**, 5; Zs. **8**, 3.
Tribe-ruler, Sl. **13**, 11, 15, 41n, 44; **19**, 5.
Tûg, prince, Bd. **31**, 9, 10, 12, 14, 27; Sl. **10**, 28n.
Tûhmâspian, title, Bd. **31**, 23; **34**, 6; Sl. **10**, 28n.
Tûirya, tribe, Bd. **15**, 29n; **31**, 9n.
Tûr, land, Bd. **12**, 20; **15**, 29; **21**, 6; **30**, 16; **31**, 27n; Byt. **2**, 62; **3**, 34.
— Brâgrêsh, Byt. **2**, 3n.
— i Brâdarvash, Byt. **2**, 3.
Tûrak, man, Bd. **31**, 14, 27.
Tûrân, land, Sl. **10**, 28n.
Turanian syllabary, Int. 13.
Tûrk, tribe, Bd. **29**, 7; Byt. **2**, 49; **3**, 7-9, 51.
Tûrkîstân, land, Bd. **12**, 13, 39; **15**, 29n; **29**, 13; Byt. **2**, 24n, 49n; **3**, 21n; Sl. **6**, 7n.
Tûrks, Byt. **2**, 24n, 50n.
Tûs m., Bd. **22**, 3; land, Bd. **12**, 24; **20**, 30; man, Bd. **29**, 6.

Uda, demon, Bd. **28**, 19; **31**, 6n.
Udaî, demon, Bd. **31**, 6.
Ukhshyad-ereta, apostle, Bd. **32**, 8n.
— nemangh, apostle, Bd. **32**, 8n.
'Umân gulf, Bd. **13**, 9n.
Uncleanness, period of, Sl. **2**, 41, 42, 44, 62, 105-109; **3**, 14-18.
Unseasonable chatter, see Sin.
Ursa major, Bd. **2**, 7n; Sl. **11**, 4n.
Urumiyah lake, Bd. **22**, 2n, 8n.
Urupi dog, Sl. **2**, 59n.
Ururviga, man, Bd. **32**, 7.
Urvad-gâ, man, Bd. **31**, 31n; **33**, 4.
Urvad-gâi-frâst, man, Bd. **31**, 31.
Urvâkhshaya, man, Bd. **31**, 26n.
Urvandasp, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.
Urvarâm, twig, Sl. **3**, 32n.
Urvatad-nar, man, Bd. **29**, 5; **32**, 5n.
Urvâzist fire, Bd. **17**, 1. See Aûrvâzîst.
Urvig, woman, Bd. **32**, 7n.
Urvis lake, Bd. **13**, 4n; **22**, 1, 11.
Usefriti, Av., Sl. **13**, 30n.
Ushahina gâh, Bd. **19**, 15n; **25**, 9n; Byt. **2**, 59n; Sl. **14**, 4n; **17**, 5n.
Ushidarena m., Bd. **12**, 6n.
Ushidhau m., Bd. **12**, 6n.
Usinemangh, man, Bd. **31**, 33n.
Uspâsnu, title, Bd. **29**, 1n.
Usta-Ahurem-mazdâm ch., Sl. **13**, 32.
Ustavaiti gâtha, Sl. **13**, 2n, 15, 27-31, 51.
— hâ, Sl. **13**, 27.
Uzasti, span, Bd. **26**, 3n.
Uzava, king, Bd. **31**, 23n.

Vâd, angel, Bd. **27**, 24; Sl. **11**, 4; **22**, 22; **23**, 3; day, Byt. **3**, 16.
Vâdgês m., Bd. **12**, 2, 19.
Vâdgêsians, Bd. **12**, 19.
Vâê the bad, demon, Bd. **28**, 35.
— the good, angel, Sl. **11**, 4; **17**, 4, 5n.
Vâê-bûkht, man, Bd. **33**, 6, 8.
Vaêdist, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.

Vaêtand-i Râghinôid, woman, Bd. **31**, 23.
Vafar-hômand m., Bd. **12**, 2, 22.
Vâg, Sl. **3**, 6n; **16**, 6n. See Inward prayer.
Vagarkard-i Dînîk, quoted, Bd. **32**, 1n, 5n, 7n; its author, Sl. **1**, 3n.
Vahidhrôs, man, Bd. **33**, 3.
Vahîk, zod., Bd. **2**, 2; **5**, 6.
Vahist, see Heaven.
Vahistem-Ahurem-mazdām ch., Sl. **13**, 46.
Vahistôisti gâtha, Sl. **13**, 2n, 15, 41-45, 51.
Vâhrâm, angel, Bd. **27**, 24; Byt. **3**, 32; Sl. **22**, 20; **23**, 3; day, Bd. **25**, 3; planet, Bd. **5**, 1.
— fire, Bd. **17**, 1, 2, 9; Byt. **2**, 26, 37; Sl. **2**, 46n, 49n. See Sacred fire.
— Gôr, king, Byt. **2**, 20.
— i Vargâvand, king, Byt. **3**, 14, 32n, 39, 44n, 49.
— shâd, man, Bd. **33**, 11.
Vaht, lun. man., Bd. **2**, 3.
Vakaêni r., Bd. **20**, 34.
Vakhsh, man, Bd. **33**, 3.
Vakht-âtrîd, com., Sl. **1**, 4n.
Valkhas, king, Byt. **2**, 19n.
Van lake, Bd. **22**, 8n; **24**, 23n.
Vanand, star, Bd. **2**, 7; **5**, 1; Sl. **11**, 4; **14**, 5.
Vand-Aûharmazd, com., Sl. **1**, 4n; **2**, 2, 6, 44; **14**, 5.
Vandîd-khîm, priest, Byt. **3**, 39.
Vanfraghesn, man, Bd. **31**, 7.
Vânîdâr, man, Bd. **31**, 9.
Vanô-i-fravisn, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.
Varak, zod., Bd. **2**, 2; **5**, 6, 7.
Varant, lun. man., Bd. **2**, 3.
Varenô, demon, Bd. **3**, 17; **28**, (25.)
Vâresha bird, Bd. **14**, 30.
Varzîd-dîn, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.
Vâs-i pankâsadvarân, fish, Bd. **18**, 5, 7.
Vayô, demon, Bd. **28**, 35n.
Vâzist fire, Bd. **7**, 12; **17**, 1, 2; Zs. **6**, 13; **11**, 1, 5; Sl. **13**, 26.
Vêh r., Bd. **7**, 15, 17; **20**, 1, 3, 5-7, 8n, 9, 22, 28, 30; **21**, 3; Zs. **6**, 20; Byt. **3**, 17, 38.
Vêh-âtrîd, woman, Bd. **31**, 30.
Vêh-dôst, com., Sl. **1**, 4n.
Vendeses r., Bd. **20**, 29.
Vendidad, ritual, Byt. **2**, 59n; Sl. **12**, 26; **16**, 6n; **17**, 5n; oldest MSS. of, Int. 21; referred to, Sl. **1**, 1; **2**, 1, 12, 55n, 118n; **10**, 5, 19, 31, 32; **12**, 6, 20; **13**, 7; quoted, Sl. **12**, 4, 23; **13**, 8, 19; Av. passage translated, Sl. **2**, 95n; Pahl. do. do., Sl. **1**, 1n; **2**, 18n, 31n, 123n, 124n; **3**, 1n, 11n, 12n; **4**, 10n.
Venus, planet, Bd. **5**, 1; Byt. **3**, 4n, 18.
Vergân sea, Bd. **20**, 24.
Vîbâzu, meas., Bd. **26**, 3n.
Vidadafsh, region, Bd. **5**, 8, 9; **11**, 3; **25**, 10; **29**, 1; Byt. **3**, 47.
Vîdast, man, Bd. **32**, 1.
Village-ruler, Sl. **13**, 11, 15, 41n, 44; **19**, 5.
Vînâsp, man, Bd. **33**, 3.
Vindâd-i-pêdâk, man, Bd. **33**, 6, 8.
Virafsang, man, Bd. **31**, 6.
Vîrak, princess, Bd. **31**, 9n.
Virgo, Bd. **2**, 2; **34**, 2; Sl. **21**, 2.
Vîsak, man, Bd. **31**, 16, 17.
Vis-haurva dog, Bd. **14**, 19n; **19**, 34.
Visnâsp fire, Zs. **6**, 22n; Byt. **3**, 10. See Gûsasp.
Vispân-fryâ, woman, Bd. **31**, 18.
Visparad, ritual, Byt. **2**, 59n; Sl. **16**, 6; chapters cited, Sl. **13**, 5, 26, 32, 36, 39, 40, 46, 48.
Vistâsp, king, Bd. **12**, 32; **17**, 6, 8; **20**, 31n; **28**, 15n; **29**, 5; **31**, 29; **32**, 5; Zs. **11**, 10n; Byt. **1**, 1n, 4; **2**, 1, 16, 49n, 58-60; **3**, 9, 25, 26, 29n, 30, 51, 52; Sl. **10**, 21n; **11**, 4. See Kai-Vistâsp.
Vitast, span, Bd. **26**, 3n; Sl. **21**, 2n.
Vîvanghâû, man, Bd. **29**, 6; **31**, 2, 7; **32**, 1n.
Vîzak, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.
Vîzarêsh, demon, Bd. **28**, 18.
Vohu-fryân fire, Bd. **17**, 1; Zs. **11**, 1n.
Vohû-khshathra gâtha, Sl. **13**, 2n, 15, 37, 38n, 51.
Vohû-khshathrem-yazamaidê ch., Sl. **13**, 39.
Vohûman, angel, Bd. **1**, 23, 25, (26n;) **7**, 3; **27**, 24; **30**, 29; Zs. **6**, 3; **9**, 6; **11**, 10n; Sl. **13**, 14; **15**, 3, 5, 9-11; **22**, 2; **23**, 1; his bird, Sl. **10**, 9; king, Bd. **31**, 29, 30; **34**, 8; Byt. **2**, 17; month, Bd. **25**, 20.

Vohûman-*k*îhar, man, Bd. **33**, 3.
— yaſt, ritual, Byt. **1**, 1 n, 6; **2**, 1.
Vologeses I, Byt. **2**, 19 n.
Vôrûbarſt, region, Bd. **5**, 8, 9; **11**, 3, 4; **25**, 10; **29**, 1; Byt. **3**, 47.
Vôrûgarſt, region, Bd. **5**, 8, 9; **11**, 3, 4; **25**, 10; **29**, 1; Byt. **3**, 47.

Walking with one boot, Bd. **28**, 13; Sl. **4**, 8 n, (12.)
— without boots, Sl. **4**, 12 n; **10**, 12.
Washing the face, Sl. **12**, 21.
— the hands, Sl. **7**, 2, 7; before sleep, Sl. **10**, 38.
Weeks, Sl. **23**, 4 n.
Well-water unclean at night, Sl. **12**, 17.
Westergaard, Professor, Int. 20 n, 25, 28 n, 37-39, 41, 48, 71.
Wife to worship with her husband, Sl. **12**, 30.
Windischmann, Int. 25, 26.
Winter, Bd. **25**, 5, 7, 8, 10-13, 15-17, 19, 20; **28**, 1.
Wisdom, like fire, Sl. **20**, 2; effect on the mind, Sl. **20**, 3.
Wives, five kinds, Bd. **32**, 6 n.
Woman, after child-birth, Sl. **3**, 15; menstruous, Sl. **2**, 17, 96; **3**, 1-14, 16-22, 25-35; **8**, 12; **10**, 39; **12**, 4 n; miscarriage, Sl. **3**, 15, 22, 23; pregnant, Sl. **2**, 6, 105; **3**, 22; **10**, 4, 10, 20; **12**, 11, 13; priest, Sl. **10**, 35.
Worship, four kinds, Sl. **9**, 9, 10; of God, Sl. **8**, 22, 23; **10**, 3, 5; **19**, 7; form of, Sl. **12**, 1.
Worthy of death, Bd. **30**, 16; Sl. **2**, 9, (40,) 63, 64, 76, 81, 82, 85, 105, 107, 108; **8**, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 18, 21, 23; **10**, 19; **15**, 22, 23; **18**, 4 n.
Wrath, race of, Byt. **2**, 22, 24, 25, 36; **3**, 1, 6, 10, 13, 21; — with infuriate spear, Byt. **2**, 36; **3**, 24, 30, 35. See Aêshm, Khashm.

Xerxes, Bd. **34**, 8 n.

Yâ*d*kâr-i Zarîrân, book, Byt. **2**, 49 n.
Yamâhuſt, man, Bd. **29**, 5.
*Yangha*d, man, Bd. **31**, 2. See *Ayangha*d.
Yâ-ſkyaothanâ hâ, Sl. **13**, 10, 14.
Yasna, ritual, Byt. **2**, 59 n; Sl. **9**, 11 n, 12 n; **13**, 1 n; **16**, 6 n; oldest MSS. of, Int. 21; chapters cited, Sl. **13**, 1, 2 n, 4, 6-12, 16-23, 25, 27-33, 35, 37, 38, 41-45, 47, 49-51; of seven ch., Sl. **13**, 0 n, 15-25, 50 n, 51.
Yaſt, ritual, Sl. **12**, 1, 30; **16**, (6;) **17**, 5 n.
Yastôfrî*d*, rite, Sl. **5**, 2, 6. See Aûstôfrî*d*.
Yât sin, Sl. **1**, 1, 2; **2**, 51; **11**, 1, 2; **16**, 5.
Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, Bd. **1**, (21;) Zs. **1**, (19 n;) **2**, 8; Sl. **10**, 7; **12**, 18, 32; **13**, 13; recitations of, Sl. **19**, 1-15.
Yathâ-âiſ hâ, Sl. **13**, 8, 14.
Yawning, cause of, Sl. **12**, 32.
Yazd, town, Sl. **21**, 0 n, 2 n.
Yazdakar*d*, king, Int. 42; Bd. **33**, 11 n; **34**, 9 n; Byt. **3**, 11 n.
Yazdân, see Angels, God.
— aîrikht, man, Bd. **31**, 19.
— ſarâ*d*, man, Bd. **31**, 19.
Yaziſn, rite, Bd. **2**, 9; **30**, 25; Sl. **3**, 35 n; **13**, 1 n; **17**, 3, 5. See also Ceremonial.
Year, solar, Bd. **25**, 1, 21; lunar, Bd. **25**, 18, 19.
Yênhê-hâtăm formula, Byt. **2**, (64 n;) Sl. **10**, 5 n; **13**, 24.
Yêzî-adâiſ hâ, Sl. **13**, 33.
Yim, king, Bd. **12**, 20; **17**, 5; **23**, 1; **31**, 3-5, 6 n, 7, 8; **32**, 1 n; **34**, 4; Sl. **10**, 28 n; his enclosure, Bd. **19**, 16; **24**, 11; **29**, 4, 5, 14; **32**, 5; Byt. **3**, 55.
Yimak, queen, Bd. **23**, 1; **31**, 4.
Yimakân m., Bd. **29**, 14.
Yôgêſt, meas., Bd. **14**, 28; **26**, (1 n.)
Yûdân-Yim, man, Int. 42, 46, 47, 64; Bd. **33**, 10 n, 11; Zs. **1**, 0.
Yûnân, see Greeks.

Zâb, king, Bd. **31**, 23 n.
— r., Bd. **20**, 25 n.
Zâdſam, man, Bd. **31**, 14 n.
Zâ*d*-sparam, priest, Int. 38, 42, 46-49; Bd. **33**, 10 n, 11; Zs. **1**, 0, 19 n; **2**, 6 n; **4**, 1 n; **5**, 4 n, 5 n; **6**, 20 n; **9**, 1 n, 22 n; **10**, 5 n; **11**, 10 n; Byt. **2**, 3 n; Sl. **13**, 50 n.

Zaêsm, man, Bd. **31**, 14.
Zâgh, man, Bd. **33**, 5.
Zagros m., Bd. **12**, 36 n.
Zahâvayi r., Bd. **20**, 25.
Zâînîgâv, man, Bd. **31**, 6.
Zâîrî*k*, demon, Bd. **1**, 27; **28**, 11; **30**, 29.
Zairivairi, prince, Bd. **31**, 29.
Zâl, man, Bd. **31**, 37 n.
Zamyâ*d*, angel, Bd. **27**, 24; Sl. **22**, 28; **23**, 4.
Zand (com.), Int. (10,) 21; Byt. **1**, 6, 7; **2**, 1, 55.
Zand-âkâs, book, Int. 23; Bd. **1**, 1; Zs. **9**, 1 n.
Zandîk, sect, Sl. **6**, 7.
Zaothra, Av., Sl. **2**, 43 n. See Holy-water.
Zara'sân r., Bd. **20**, 19 n.
Zarah sea, Bd. **13**, 16 n.
Zaratûst, apostle, Bd. **4**, 2 n; **17**, 8; **21**, 3; **24**, 1, 15; Zs. **11**, 10 n; Byt. **1**, 7 n; **2**, 4-7, 9; Sl. **1**, 3 n; **6**, 1; **10**, 25, 28 n; chief, Bd. **29**, 2; his family, Bd. **20**, 32; **29**, 5; **32**, 1-10; Byt. **3**, 13, 47, 48; Sl. **10**, 4, 21 n; **13**, 22; his guardian spirit, Bd. **4**, 4; Sl. **11**, 4; his millennium, Bd. **34**, 9 n; Byt. **1**, 5; **2**, 22, 24, 31, 41; **3**, 11, 43 n, 44 n; attacked by demons, Sl. **10**, 4; **12**, 3 n, 11; addresses Aûharmazd, Bd. **30**, 4; Byt. **1**, 1, 2; **2**, 1, 12, 23, 57; **3**, 1, 12; Sl. **12**, 29; **15**, 1, 3; **17**, 1, 11; addressed by Aûharmazd, Byt. **2**, 58; **3**, 11; Sl. **9**, 8; **10**, 26; **12**, 32; **15**, 30; called righteous, Byt. **2**, 11, 24, 41, 62; called the Spîtâmân, Byt. **1**, 3, 5; **2**, 3, 4, 15, 22, 25, 28, 30, 31, 36, 44, 54-56, 63; **3**, 3, 4, 8-10, 13, 14, 23, 24, 43, 50; Sl. **9**, 14; **11**, 4; **12**, 23; **15**, 4.
Zaratûst, man, Bd. **33**, 11.
Zaratûstrôtûm, Bd. **24**, 1. See also Supreme high-priest or Zaratûst.
Zardâhim, title, Bd. **31**, 4.
Zari*d* m., Bd. **12**, 2, 10 n.
Zarîn m., Bd. **12**, 29, 39.
Zarînmand lake, Bd. **22**, 1, 6; spring, Bd. **20**, 34.
Zarîr, man, Bd. **31**, 30; **33**, 4; prince, Bd. **31**, 29.
Zarmân, demon, Bd. **28**, 23.
Zav, king, Bd. **31**, 23 n.
Zavârah, man, Bd. **31**, 41 n.
Zâvulistân, land, Byt. **3**, 13 n.
Zend r., Bd. **20**, 15.
Zendah r., Bd. **20**, 15 n.
Zisak, man, Bd. **32**, 1 n.
Zîsmand r., Bd. **20**, 7, 19.
Zîyânak, woman, Bd. **31**, 4.
Zôb, king, Bd. **34**, 6. See Aûzôbô.
Zobara-vahman, bird, Bd. **19**, 19.
Zodiacal signs, Bd. **2**, 2; Sl. **21**, 2. 7.
Zohab, land, Bd. **20**, 25 n.
Zôhar, see Holy-water.
Zôndak r., Bd. **20**, 7, 15 n.
Zôta (priest), Bd. **30**, 30.
Zravad, place, Bd. **12**, 35.
Zrâvaka*d*, place, Bd. **12**, 35.
Zrvâna, Av., Zs. **1**, 24 n.
Zûsak, man, Bd. **31**, 14.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	...	....	क	[illegible]	[illegible]	ك	ك	כ	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	...	....	ख	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	כ	kh
3 Media	g	...	....	ग	[illegible]	[illegible]	گ	...	ג	...
4 „ aspirata	gh	...	....	घ	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	ג	...
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	...	....	...	....	...	ق	ق	ק	...
6 Nasalis	ṅ (ng)	...	....	ङ	ng (ng) / ng (ng)	...	...	...	...	...
7 Spiritus asper	h	...	....	ह	[illegible] (hv)	[illegible]	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 „ lenis	'	...	....	...	....	...	ا	ا	א	...
9 „ asper faucalis	'h	...	....	...	....	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	ה	...
10 „ lenis faucalis	'h	...	....	...	....	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	ה	...
11 „ asper fricatus	...	'h	....	...	....	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	ה	...
12 „ lenis fricatus	...	'h	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	...	k	....	च	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	k
14 „ aspirata	...	kh	....	छ	....	...	...	...	...	kh
15 Media	...	g	....	ज	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...
16 „ aspirata	...	gh	....	झ	....	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...
17 „ Nasalis	ñ	...	....	ञ	....	...	...	...	...	...

CONSONANTS (*continued*)	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . . .	य	𐬬 [init.]	𐭥	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(*y*)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 „ lenis	. . .	(*y*)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 „ asper assibilatus . .	. . .	*s*	. . . .	श	𐬱	𐭩	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 „ lenis assibilatus . .	. . .	*z*	. . . .	. . .	𐬰	𐭪	ژ	. . .	. . .	*z*
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . . .	त	𐬙	𐭬	ت	ت	ת	t
24 „ aspirata	th	. . .	. . . .	थ	𐬚	. . .	. . .	. . .	ת	th
25 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ث	ث	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . . .	द	𐬛	𐭭	د	د	ד	. . .
27 „ aspirata	dh	. . .	. . . .	ध	𐬜	. . .	. . .	. . .	ד	. . .
28 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ذ	ذ	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . . .	न	𐬡	𐭩	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . . .	ल	. . . .	𐭥,𐭩,𐭬	ل	ل	ל	l
31 „ mollis 1	. . .	*l*	. . . .	ळ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 „ mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . . .	स	𐬲	𐭢	س(ث)	س	ש	s
34 „ asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (*ʃ*)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ס	. . .
35 „ lenis	z	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬵	𐭡	ز (ذ)	ز	ז	z
36 „ asperrimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ص	ص	צ	ʒ, ʒh

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)										
38 Tenuis	...	*t*	....	ट	....	...	ط	ط	ט	...
39 „ aspirata	...	*th*	....	ठ	....	...	ظ	ظ	...	...
40 Media	...	*d*	....	ड	ڍ	ڈ	...	...	...	...
41 „ aspirata	...	*dh*	....	ढ	....	...	...	ض	...	...
42 Nasalis	...	*n*	....	ण	ڼ	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	r	...	....	र	ڑ	ڑ	ر	ر	ר	...
44 „ fricata	...	*r*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	*r*
45 „ diacritica	...	...	R	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	sh	...	....	ष	ش	ش	...	...	...	sh
47 „ lenis	zh	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
Labiales.										
48 Tenuis	p	...	....	प	پ	پ	ب	...	פ	p
49 „ aspirata	ph	...	....	फ	....	...	...	...	פ	ph
50 Media	b	...	....	ब	ب	ب	ب	ب	ב	...
51 „ aspirata	bh	...	....	भ	....	...	...	...	ב	...
52 Tenuissima	...	*p*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	m	...	....	म	م	م	م	م	מ	m
54 Semivocalis	w	...	....	...	ڈ	...	...	...	...	w
55 „ aspirata	hw	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	f	...	....	...	ف	ف	ف	ف	...	f
57 „ lenis	v	...	....	व	و	و	و	و	ו	...
58 Anusvâra	...	*m*	....	अं	ں	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	...	*h*	....	अः	....	...	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
1 Neutralis	0	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	־	ă
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ĕ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
3 „ labialis	ŏ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	ا fin.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	. . .	. . . .	अ	𐬀	𐬀 init.	َ	َ	ַ	a
5 „ longa	â	(*a*)	. . . .	आ	𐬁	𐬁	َا	َا	ָ	â
6 Palatalis brevis	i	. . .	. . . .	इ	𐬃	. . .	ِ	ِ	ִ	i
7 „ longa	î	(*i*)	. . . .	ई	𐬄	و	ِي	ِي	ִי	î
8 Dentalis brevis	*li*	. . .	. . . .	ऌ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
9 „ longa	*lí*	. . .	. . . .	ॡ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
10 Lingualis brevis	*ri*	. . .	. . . .	ऋ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
11 „ longa	*rí*	. . .	. . . .	ॠ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
12 Labialis brevis	u	. . .	. . . .	उ	𐬅	. . .	ُ	ُ	ֻ	u
13 „ longa	û	(*u*)	. . . .	ऊ	𐬆	ا	ُو	ُو	ו	û
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . . .	e	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬇 (e) 𐬈 (*e*)	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֶ	e
15 „ longa . . .	ê (ai)	(*e*)	. . . .	ए	𐬉, 𐬊	و	. . .	. . .	ֵ	ê
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi	(*a*i)	. . . .	ऐ	. . . .	. . .	َيْ	َيْ	. . .	âi
17 „ „	ei (ĕi)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ei, êi
18 „ „	oi (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬋	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֹ	o
20 „ longa	ô (au)	(*o*)	. . . .	ओ	𐬌	ا	. . .	. . .	ו	. . .
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(*a*u)	. . . .	औ	𐬍 (*a*u)	. . .	َوْ	َوْ	. . .	âu
22 „ „	eu (ĕu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
23 „ „	ou (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
25 Palatalis fracta	ï	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Labialis fracta	ü	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ü

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On Pāzand: Philological comparison with Pahlavi

Hamid Moein

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for the Degree of Master of Arts (SIP - Classics, Language, and Literature) at
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CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Hamid Moein

Entitled: On Pāzand: Philological comparison with Pahlavi.

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Historical Linguistics**)**

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

On Pāzand: Philological comparison with Pahlavi

Perhaps sometime around the 10th century Pāzand manuscripts started to appear among the Zoroastrian communities in India even though the oldest surviving original manuscripts date back to as early as 15th century. Many philologists such as Friedrich Von Spiegel and E.W. West in the 19th century thought of them as being in a different language than Pahlavi when they first found these texts. However, later in the 20th century scholars dismissed Pāzand as being a different language.

This thesis will analyze a portion of one of these Pāzand texts and determine whether the language of this text was a later regional variety of Pahlavi, another language, or perhaps just a wrong transcription of Pahlavi. In order to do so a Pāzand text will be compared to the exact same text (word by word) in Pahlavi and try to record and analyze all philological differences. In addition I have created a glossary list for both Pāzand and Pahlavi words that occur in the text analyzed. The text chosen for this philological comparison is the **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** (Spirit of Wisdom), a Zoroastrian religious text.

As part of this project, it will be very important to do a brief comparison with New Persian, since it could be relevant to understand the relationship between Pāzand and Pahlavi. This comparison will try to also answer the question of whether New Persian really is a direct descendant of Pahlavi or not.

One of the most interesting and less ventured grammatical units in these languages is the Ezafe enclitic, a form of a suffix often not written. This thesis would try to also provide a new explanation about Ezafe and how stress patterns could affect the semantic value of it.

Finally, there will be an attempt to establish a rough date for the **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** text as well as to determine whether the Pāzand version was copied from the Pahlavi version or vice versa.

Acknowledgement

It gives me great pleasure to take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to my supervisory committee Professor Charles Reiss and Professor Madelyn Kissock. I am truly indebted and thankful to Professor Mark Hale for his unconditional support and encouragement over the years, since the day I took my first lesson in introduction to Linguistics back in 2003, and also for being a great source of inspiration.

I would like to thank Ursula Sims Williams for helping me get access to the original manuscript L19 in the British library of London. I would like to also thank Dr. Nawaz Mody from the K.R.Cama Oriental Institute in Mumbai who facilitated me access to the original manuscripts D41 and D42.

Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to the SIP department for providing me with a grant so that I could travel to India and UK in order to better conduct my research and work closely with original manuscripts.

List of Pahlavi and Pāzand (Avestan) characters

The following is an inventory of the Pahlavi characters:

Pahlavi character	Transliteration	Arameogram
𐭠	’, a, ā	A
𐭡	h - x	H
𐭢	b	B
𐭣	i, ī, e, ē	--
𐭤 *	d - g - ǰ – y	Y, D, G
𐭥	u, ū, o, ō	O
𐭦	n - w - r	N, W, R
𐭧	z	Z
𐭨	k	K
𐭩	ɣ	K
𐭪	r, l	L
𐭫	m	M, Q
𐭬	p	P
𐭭	č	C
𐭮	š	Š
𐭯	t	T
𐭰	l	--
𐭱	s	S
𐭤 + 𐭤	s	--
𐭯𐭤	-yt	--
𐭤𐭯	-ty	--
𐭫𐭠	m + n/w/r	E

* Since the character - 𐭤 – can be read as four different consonants (d - g - ǰ – y), in the later Pahlavi texts such as Psalters, the scribes invented few diacritics to distinguish between them as shown here: 𐭤 [y] , 𐭤 [d], 𐭤 [ǰ], 𐭤 [g].

The following is an inventory of the Avestan characters used for writing Pāzand:

Pāzand characters	**Transcription**
𐬀	a
𐬁	ā
𐬂	i
𐬃	ī
𐬄	u
𐬅	ū
𐬆	e
𐬇	ē
𐬈	o
𐬉	ō
𐬊	å
𐬋	ə
𐬌	ə̄
𐬍	ą
𐬎	k
𐬏	x
𐬐	g
𐬑	ɣ
𐬒	č
𐬓	ǰ

[illegible]	t
[illegible]	ṯ
[illegible]	θ
[illegible]	d
[illegible]	ð
[illegible]	p
[illegible]	f
[illegible]	b
[illegible]	β
[illegible]	ńj
[illegible]	ŋ
[illegible]	n
[illegible]	ṇ
[illegible]	m
[illegible]	y
[illegible]	ẏ
[illegible]	r
[illegible]	l
[illegible]	v
[illegible]	s
[illegible]	š
[illegible]	ṣ
[illegible]	ś / š̌

ⵣ	z
ⵥ	ž
ⵀ	h
ⵅ	xᵛ
ⵛⵛ	šc
ⵜⵛ	št

Introduction to Pāzand

What is Pāzand? Is it just transcribed Pahlavi in to an Avestan alphabet? Is it a dialect or something else?

It is difficult to know when the word Pāzand came to be used or what exactly is its etymology since there has been many interpretation and suggestions of this word by several scholars. According to Mary Boyce the word ***'pa-zand'*** means '**by interpretation**'.[1] As she mentions: "*He (Neryosang) further transcribed the original Middle Persian into the clear Avestan alphabet, for the ambiguous Pahlavi script had become additionally difficult for Parsis to read, because the Middle Persian language which it enshrined, though still readily comprehensible to speakers of New Persian, was a dead church language now for them. Since this rewriting in Avestan characters was a form of interpretation, it came to be referred to as '**pa-zand'** that is, '**by interpretation'**, and then simply as Pāzand*."

E.W. West provides us another etymology by stating what Pāzand could mean:[2] "*When the Pahlavi translation or Zand became obsolete it was necessary to interline it with a more modern explanation, which was called Pāzand, probably from being written beneath, or at the foot (**pâ**) of, the **Zand*** ".

In a paper by Professor Albert de Jong titled; *Pāzand and "retranscribed" Pahlavi* (2003, footnote 8), he mentions two other suggestions on the etymology of the word by other scholars

[1] Mary Boyce (1979), Zoroastrians Their Religious Beliefs and Practices, 2 edition Routledge Publisher.
[2] E.W. West (1871), A Sketch of Pāzand Grammar, and an Introduction, Messrs. Trübner and CO.

which are; the Avestan word * *pati-zaiṇtī,* and the other would be **pati zan-* "to recognize".[3] Furthermore, Professor de Jong adds" *To add yet another attempt, I believe the long [ā] in the first syllable suggests a connection with the Avestan* ***āzaiṇti****- which is known from the compound* ***maṯ- āzaiṇti****-, '* **together with the commentary** *' , and specially refers to a commentary on sacred texts. One could suggests that* ***maṯ- āzaiṇti****- itself is the origin of the word or think of a word like* ****apa- āzaiṇti****-* ". I personally believe that this last interpretation of the word is the best etymology so far.

Nowadays, it is considered by most scholars that Pāzand is just Pahlavi transcribed into an Avestan alphabet and that is why philologists have shown very little interest in the subject. Therefore there has been very little work done on it. Initially Pāzand was thought to be another language that was chronologically between Pahlavi and New Persian. In fact scholars such as Friedrich Von Spiegel in 1851 even wrote a grammar book on Pāzand called "*Grammatik der Pârsi-Sprache* "but without a glossary. [4] Later E.W. West *wrote A Sketch of Pāzand Grammar, an introduction,* in 1871. However, one thing that is evident is the fact that the Pāzand initially did not refer to Pahlavi transcribed into an Avestan alphabet. Perhaps the only time the word Pāzand has been attested in the Iranian literature was in a 6th century text called *Zand-i Bahman Yašt.*[5] In chapter two, line 55 one can observe the following passage:

" ēdōn gūft ōhrmāzd ō špitāmān zārtūšt kū bē xwāh ūd wārm bē kūn, pād zānd ūd ***pāzand*** *wizārišn bē čāš, ō bērbēdān ūd hāwištān gōwūd pād gēhān frāz gōwēnd "*

[3] J.C. Tavadia (1956), *Iranische Texte und Hilfsbücher*.
[4] Encyclopedia Iranica : http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/spiegel
[5] Albert de Jong (2003), *Pāzand and "retranscribed" Pahlaavi*.

Which translates to: "*Ahura Mazda said to Spitaman Zaraϑuštra; recite and memorize it, teach its explanations by Zand and* ***Pāzand****, tell it to the priests and students so that they can tell it around the world*".

The word Zand usually refers to the commentaries and translation of Avestan verses in Pahlavi which is usually written in the form of addition in the Avestan manuscripts. In this passage the word Pāzand clearly does not refer to the Pahlavi transcribed in Avestan characters, in fact it may refer to explanation and deeper interpretation of the translation. Professor de Jong compares this to translations and commentaries of the Quran: "*Where they are specified by Muslim authors, Zand is most often identified as Tafsīr (the exegetical commentary on the Qur'an) and Pāzand as šarḥ (explanation) or ta'wīl (allegorical exegesis)*".

I believe that Professor de Jong so far has given the best explanation about the word Pāzand and its function, however in this thesis I will refer to Pāzand as the Pahlavi texts written in Avestan characters.

The Pāzand texts started to be written when large number of Zoroastrians emigrated from Persia to Gujarat, India following the Arab conquest of Persia. While many Persian converted to Islam, some communities of Zoroastrians refused and in order not to be persecuted they fled to India. After a long period of living in India and perhaps linguistically assimilating, reading Pahlavi texts became very hard or almost impossible for them, since the Pahlavi writing system is even hard for trained professionals. Consequently they commissioned new manuscripts to be sent over to them from the Zoroastrian communities in Yazd and Kerman, in southern Persia. At this point the best way to be able to read these manuscripts was to use a phonetic alphabet. They

have tried to use many alphabets such as Arabic, Sanskrit, Gujarati and of course the Avestan. Nevertheless, the latter seemed to be somewhat more efficient than the others even though it also presented many issues of its own. The very first of these problems is the fact that the Avestan alphabet has many more vowels and consonants than needed.

The Avestan alphabet was previously invented to write down the religious verses of the Avesta that were handed down by Zoroastrian priests in form of oral tradition, especially after the Arab invasion in the 6th century when the texts ran the risk of extinction. This form of writing was designed to be highly phonetic.[6]

Another notable issue with the Pāzand texts is the fact that the scribes did not consistently spell the words and it seems that every time a manuscript was copied from another copy, there would just be additional scribal errors. A clear example of that is a word like **mēnōg** which in Pāzand it is written as: *mainiiō /mainiiōi/mainiō/mainīō.* Furthermore there are cases of building false archaic words in Pāzand, such as the word ***ča*** (from) for Pahlavi **az**. This is perhaps modelled on the Avestan form ****hača*** (this form occurs only once in this texts). Moreover, there are numerous influences of both New Persian and Gujarati. For instance the Pahlavi word Rīvayat is an Arabic loan word (روايات = stories, anecdotes) that made its way into Pahlavi and Pāzand text via New Persian. A very common Gujarati influence may be the phonological rule that the Pahlavi long vowels + [n] show up in Pāzand as long vowels + [m].[7] Finally, due to few similarities to the New Persian, Pāzand was once thought to be a missing link between Pahlavi

[6] Professor Jean Kellens believes that the Avestan characters [ə] and [ÿ] were designed based on the Greek [ε] epsilon and [Y] upsilon.
[7] Albert de Jong (2003), *Pāzand and "retranscribed" Pahlaavi*.

and New Persian, but later most philologists lost interest in it since they thought of it as just a bad transcription of Pahlavi texts in Avestan characters.

On the other hand scholars such as Gilbert Lazard believe that Pāzand was the way late Pahlavi was pronounced and perhaps some version of a regional dialect of late Pahlavi. The argument he presents concerns the verbs ***bawēd*** (to be) and ***šawēd*** (to go). These forms consistently appear in the Pāzand texts as ***bahōṯ*** and ***šahōṯ***. In addition to this, these two forms also appear in other non-Pāzand texts (late Pahlavi and the early New Persian epoch) such as the Judeo-Persian texts. Lazard states:[8] *"Parmi les plus étrange figurents les forms de troisième personne de singulier du présent du verb "devenir, être" et du verb "aller"respectivement bahōṯ et šahōṯ, qui s'opposent d'une part à mp. bawēd ou bēd "devient, est" et šawēd "va", et d'autre part à pn. bovad et šavad"*. [9]

Amongst the strangest forms are the present tense, third person, singular of the verbs to "to be, to become" and "to go" respectively ***bahōṯ*** *and* ***šahōṯ****. On one hand they oppose to Pahlavi verbs* ***bawēd*** *or* ***bēd*** *(to be) and* ***šawēd*** *(to go), on the other hand to New Persian* ***bovad*** *and* ***šavad.***

To support Lazard's theory regarding that the pronunciation of Pāzand most likely reflected a late Pahlavi, I would like to add other examples. The Pahlavi word **bawam** (I may be/become) in the Pāzand texts, is written as ***bom***. This at first glance might look as another scribal mistake but a very similar form is observed in the Pahlavi Psalter manuscript which is **bam** that resembles a lot more the Pāzand form than the traditional Pahlavi.

[8] Gilbert Lazard (1995*), La formation de la langue persane*, Peeters Publishers. Page 133
[9] Here mp refers to *moyen-perse* or Pahlavi, and *nouveau-perse* or new Persian.

In the Pahlavi Psalter texts, Psalm 125, verse 2-5, line 18[10] we can observe:

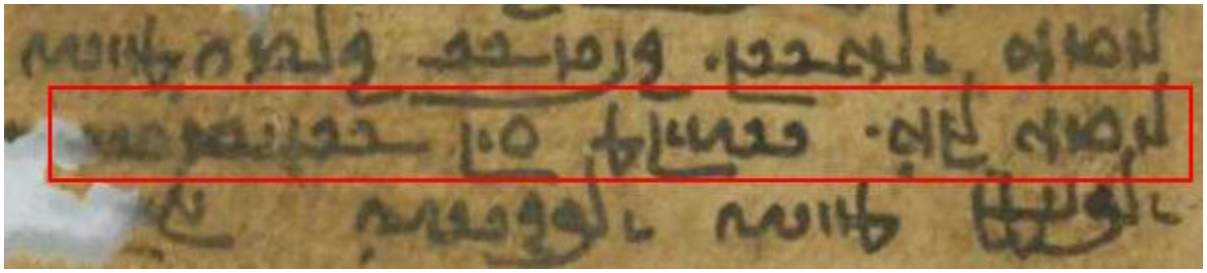

This can be transliterated into the Arameograms: <**LWTE LNE YHWWNm PWN štyh(y)**> and would be transcribed as: *abāg amāh* ***bam*** *pad šādīh* = together with us I am happy (?). Once again we observe that Pāzand shows features of a late Pahlavi since the Psalter texts date back to the mid 6th century A.D.

In addition to the examples above there are other forms that are seen consistently which perhaps reflect a certain dialectal form of the language that was spoken at the time, for example the word **tā** (until) is written constantly as ***aṇdā***. At first it seemed to be perhaps a conjunction of the word **and + tā** (so much until...) but after carefully analyzing every occurrence of the word in the text it became clear that ***aṇdā*** is a word on its own and its used to represent the Pahlavi **tā** every time. Other changes include the Pahlavi [z] as in the enclitic **-iz** showing up as [č] and a possible palatalization of [g]. These perhaps are not a forms attested in the late Pahlavi or early new Persian but it is a feature very specific of Pāzand that makes it be thought of as perhaps a regional dialect or reflecting a late pronunciation of Pahlavi. However, realistically speaking this is way too little evidence to classify Pāzand as a dialect on its own.

[10] Middle Persian Psalter: MPPs., 6r, 18 (125, 2-5) http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/miran/mpers/psalter/psalt.htm

On the other hand, an important fact regarding the transcription of Pahlavi that often has been overlooked is the question of diachronic language change. One of the oldest remaining attestations of Pahlavi is the Kartir (Kerdīr) inscriptions which date back to the 3rd century A.D.[11] Furthermore, some of the latest attested Pahlavi texts including the Šikand-ī gumanik Vičar, the epistles of Zadspram and the letters of Manučihr, date as late as the 9th century. As we can observe there is over 600 years of difference between the first text and the later texts. Perhaps the reason why most scholars transcribe the later texts almost the same as the earlier version is the fact that the Pahlavi writing system is a very inefficient one, but we cannot disregard the fact that the Pahlavi of the 3rd century was indeed very different from that of the 9th century.[12] I can confidently say that the Pahlavi transcriptions done by most scholars or as taught in academic institutions certainly reflects the earlier form of the language. Therefore it may not be far from reality to believe professor Lazard's hypothesis, that perhaps Pāzand reflected a much later form of Pahlavi pronunciation. By this time Pahlavi most likely was just an archaic liturgical language influenced by the pronunciation of 9th century. The same can be said about the late church Latin, whose pronunciation was far from classical Latin and a very common example of these sound changes was the palatalization of the velars [k] and [g].

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to mention the list of Pāzand texts available today as they are not too many. This list is based on an inventory made by E. K. Antia in 1909.[13] Antia has divided the texts in five groups. These are; texts of known Pahlavi books, texts used as parts of the prayer

[11] It has been suggested by Mary Boyce that some Pahlavi inscriptions are as old as 138 BC. from the time of Mithridates I (Mary Boyce (2002), "*The Parthians*", in Godrej, Pheroza J., A Zoroastrian Tapestry, New York: Mapin)
[12] This is considering the fact that whether Pahlavi was still spoken by the 9th century.
[13] E. K. Antia (1909), Pāzand Texts Collected and Collated, Bombay, Duftur Ashkara Press.

books, Incantations (Nirangs), Rīvâyets, Praises of the Yazatas (Setâyaš) and finally miscellaneous.

Pāzand texts of the known Pahlavi manuscripts:

i. Bundahišn.
ii. Menog-i Khrad.
iii. Vohuman Yašt.
iv. Arda Viraf Nameh.
v. Aogemadaeca.

Pāzand texts used as parts of the prayer books:

i. The Patets (Repentance)
ii. Dibæčeh-e Afrinagâns
iii. Afrīns (Blessings)
iv. Doas (Benedictions)

Pāzand texts under Incantations (Nirangs) category of Yašt type:

i. Ohrmazd
ii. Ardwahišt
iii. Sroš
iv. Haoma
v. Vanand

There are two other major Pāzand manuscripts which are ǰamasp Namag and Šikand-ī gumanik Vičar. ǰamasp Namag is a manuscript regarding a debate between two of Zaraϑuštra's disciples, Vištasp and ǰamasp. Šikand-ī gumanik Vičar is one of the most interesting texts in Zoroastrian

literature which is regarding the religious argument of a pious Zoroastrian who is defending his faith against Judaism, Christianity Islam and Atheism.[14]

[14] The word used in this text is " [illegible] " which in Pāzand reads as " *daharī* " this same word is also attested in the AK and PB3 texts. The Pahlavi version is written as " [illegible] " and it reads as " daharī ". The Sanskrit version, used the word " digambarā" (दिगंबर) which is a sect of sects of Jainism. Later in the text (line 35) the word " *daharī* " is no longer used and instead we see the word "*suβastāī*" in a sentence that says : " [illegible] " which reads as : " *īñča . i . suβastāī . gōyãnd* " . The word *suβastāī* was translated by West as Sophistry (Σόφισμα) a concept mentioned by Plato in his works *Theaetetus and Sophist*.

Chapter 1 - From Pahlavi/Pāzand to New Persian (Dari)?

The term Pahlavi refers to a western middle Iranian language that shares common ancestor with Xotanes, Bactrian, Soghdian and Parthian. These languages are part of the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) language family, belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch as it can be observed in the chart below:

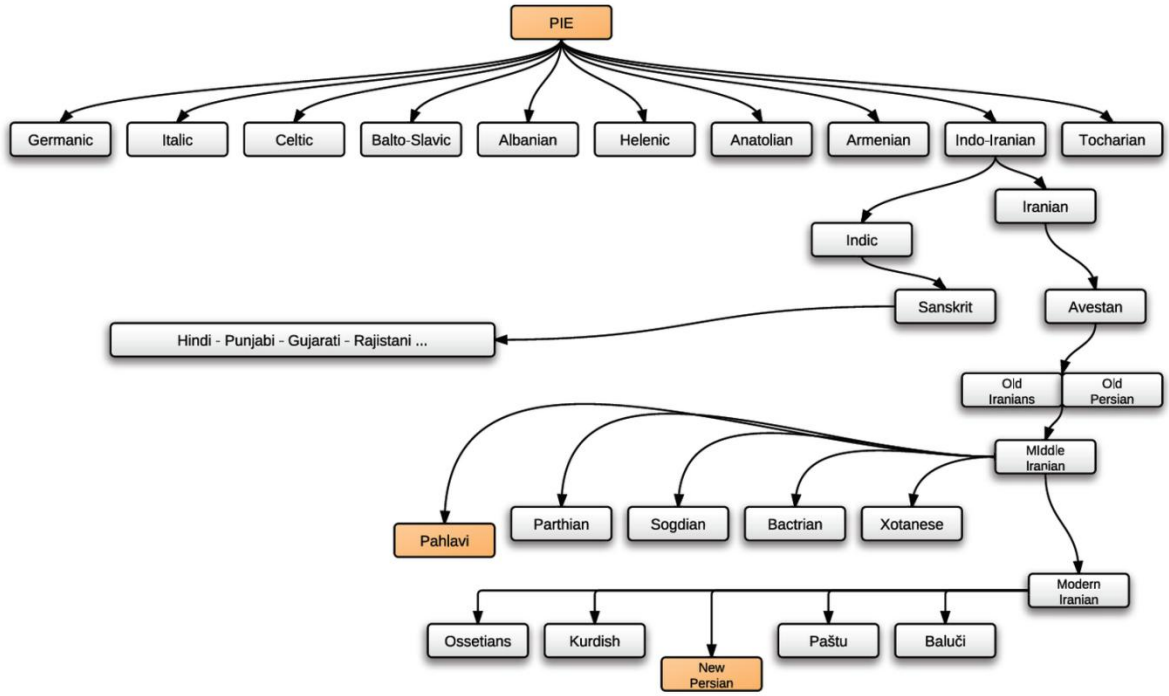

The scripture is inspired by a form of cursive Aramaic script, writing from right to left,[15] and almost no vowels are written most of the time. Perhaps the first people to incorporate this writing system in the Iranian royal courts were Arameans since in addition to the alphabet there are a large number of the words which were written in Aramaic. [16] Even though these

[15] Mark Hale (2008), *The Ancient Languages of Asia and the Americas*, Pahlavi, Cambridge University Press
[16] Most likely a shorthanded form of Aramean.

words were written in Aramaic, at the time of reading them out-loud they were pronounced in Pahlavi. These forms of writing are known as Arameograms. One example of these Arameograms would be:

Pahlavi	Arameogram	Transcription	Translation
𐭥𐭩𐭥	<MYA>	*āb*	Water

Most likely, the early scribes were bilinguals, but later scribes who did not understand Aramaic had to simply memorize the shape of the characters that did not represent the letters in the word ***āb*** and know that it meant 'Water', just like logograms.

It is very hard to know when Pahlavi (if here we refer to it as a language as opposed to a scripture) stopped being spoken and when it was replaced by New Persian, also known as Dari. Some scholars have referred to New Persian as a daughter language of Pahlavi.[17] However, there is evidence that these two languages at some stage in history were contemporary to each other, Pahlavi being a Southwestern Middle Iranian language and new Persian being a Northwestern Iranian language.

As it has been mentioned in the previous chapter the latest Pahlavi texts are from the late 9th century and an example of that would be "*Vizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* " written by Zadspram who is believed to have lived around 881 AD. At the same time one of the oldest surviving literatures written in new Persian (Dari) is the collection of poetry by Rudaki who lived 858 - 941, a contemporary of Zadspram. Prior to this there is evidence of New Persian loan words in Syriac

[17] Josef W. Meri (2006), *Medival Islamic Civilization Volume 1*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. Page 602-603

Christian texts,[18] such as *The Commentaries* by Isho'dad of Merv, which dates back to the 8th century, providing evidence that this language already existed. Going back to the initial question, when did Pahlavi perish in the favour of New Persian? It is often believed that the fall of the Sassanian Empire in 651 A.D. marked the beginning of Pahlavi's extinction, but what if this is not true and by this period Pahlavi was already a dead language? It is true that Zadspram wrote his epistles in the late 9th century but it is also significant to mention that many European scholars wrote their literary works in Latin long after Latin was considered a dead language. The Zoroastrian priests (Mobads) learned to read and write in Pahlavi and recited the ancient prayers long after this language was no longer anyone's native language. The same pattern can be observed in the Christian church where the mass was held in Latin up until mid 1960s right before the Second Vatican Council. Therefore in the same fashion Pahlavi could have been long gone as the language of the masses in the late Sassanian period.

Another fact that usually is overlooked is the case of mistaken identities; that perhaps the names we used to refer to some of these languages are not the correct names therefore creating even more confusion. One of the oldest first-hand accounts that we know of is that of the Rūzbeh pūr-Dādūya (721-757), a Zoroastrian who converted to Islam and later changed his name to Ibn al-Muqaffa. His accounts are quotes in the book of *Fihrist,*[19] by Ibn al-Nadim (early tenth century). Rūzbeh made one of the oldest surveys of the languages spoken in the Persian Empire. Gilbert Lazard provides us a French translation of the Arabic text which reads as: [20] *"Ibn*

[18] Mauro Maggi (2003), *New Persian Glosses in east Syriac Texts of the Eighth to Tenth Century*. page 1-27
[19] Bayard Dodge (1998), Ibn al-*Nadim The Fihrist: A 10th Century Ad Survey of Islamic Culture*, Kazi Pubns Inc

[20] Gilbert Lazard (1995), *La formation de la langue persane*, Peeters Publishers – page 49.

al-Muqaffa'dit: La langue pârsi [comprend] le Pahlavi, le dari, le pârsi, le xuzi et le soryâni. Le Pahlavi se rapport au Pahlah, nom qui s'applique à cinq regions, à savoir Ispahan, Rey, Hamadan, Māh Nihāvand et Azerbaïdjan. Le dari est la langue des villes de Madā'in; il était parlé par ceux qui étaient à la cour du roi; [son nom] se rapporte à la presence à la cour; parmi les langues des gens du Khorassan et de l'Orient c'est celle des gens de Balkh qui y domine. Le pârsi est la langue que parlaient les mowbad, les savants et leurs semblables; c'est la langue des gens du Fars. Le Xuzi est la langue que parlaient les rois et les nobles dans le privé et dans les moments de jeu et de plaisir, et avec leur entourage. Le Soryâni est la langue parlée par les gens du Sawād; le correspondence se faisait dans une sorte de langue en Soryâni [appelée?] pârsi."

He names five languages as the main languages in the country, these are: Pahlavi, Dari, Parsi, Xuzi and Soryani. He continues by saying that Pahlavi is the language of the region of Pahlav which is the sum of five cities. These are Isfahan, Rey, Hamadan, Nihavand and Azerbaijan; this would put the region of Pahlav in the North West (former Median Empire).

Dari is said to be the language of east, (greater) Xorāsān and all the way to Balx, modern day Afghanistan and the language of the king's court (this would place Dari in the northeast, in the Parthian territory). Parsi is the language of the Mobads (Zoroastrian priests) and scholars, similar to the language of the people of Fars province. Xuzi (from the south western province of Xuzistan) is the language of the kings and noblemen,[21] which they speak in private and their leisure time with their closed circle.

[21] He does not specify whether Iranian Kings and nobles or the Arab ruling class dominating Iranian territories.

Finally Soryâni, this is the language spoken by the people of Sawād,[22] and correspondence is done in a similar language.

One thing that becomes a bit clear here is that perhaps the modern names we have given to some these languages were not really the way the speaker of these languages called them, a very common mistake. For instance historians often called a group of people by their neighbour's name or by the way neighbouring regions called them and not by their own self-nomination, as it happened with the Hittites, named after the Hattis.

From this account there are three points that come to attention. Firstly, the language that Rūzbeh is referring to as Parsi is not in fact what we call today New Persian, and it is most certainly what we call Pahlavi. He is clearly saying that the Parsi language is the language of the Priests and scholars, meaning that it is a language no longer spoken by common people, which reminds us once again of the wonderful example of Latin. After Latin stopped being anyone's native language, it became used only by two groups of people, scholars and priests.
The other piece of information that can be detected from the same sentence is where he explains: "*(Parsi) is similar to the language of the people of the Fars province*". Before proceeding further it is very important to mention that the word Parsi means belonging to the Pars region,[23] or Fars as the Arabs pronounced it.[24] Now by indicating that Parsi is similar to the Fars dialect, he is saying that this dialect is unlike any of the other of five he mentioned as the

[22] Brill Online reference work (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-1/sawad-SIM_5206?s.num=0): it's a name of the ʿIrāḳ [q.v.]. While the name ʿIrāḳ has been proved to be a Pahlavi loanword (from **Ērag**, "*low land, south land*", occurring in the Turfan fragments, with assimilation to the semantically connected stem ***ʿrḳ*** ; cf. A. *Siddiqi, Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klass. Arab., p. 69; H. H. Schaeder, Isl., xiv. 8—9; J. J. Hess, Zeitschr. f. Semitistik, ii*.
[23] This is also how the Zoroastrians of India refer to themselves.
[24] This is due to the lack of [p] sound in the Arabic phonetic inventory.

main languages of the country. The fact that he mentions the similarity of Parsi with this dialect and not the other languages raises the suspicion that perhaps this dialect was a daughter language of Pahlavi, a later Pahlavi that by the 8th century was reduced to only one province.

Secondly, what he refers to as Dari, the language of the Parthian territory also known as greater Xorāsān, is indeed the language that today we call New Persian. This includes the Iranian province of Xorāsān (northeast), most of today's Turkmenistan, all northern Afghanistan, south and southeast of Uzbekistan and the entire Tajikistan as approximately seen in the map below.

Almost every single piece of literature that has been produced from 9th to 12th century in New Persian is from this region, including Rudaki and Ferdowsi's *Šāhnāmeh* which is one of the icons of New Persian literature.

Lazard believes it is likely that Dari is a descendent of Parthian, perhaps due to its geographical location. A point that should be clarified here is that; even though I agree with Lazard in the geographical origin of New Persian, I cannot evaluate his claim that it is a descendent of

Parthian due to my lack of knowledge in Parthian.

It is important to mention that Ferdowsi often refers to his language as Parsi but it is very likely that the reason why he does it is to link the reader with nationalistic intentions to a glorious past that has been taken away from them by the invading Arabs.

A similar point has also been mentioned by Gilbert Lazard: *"... Comment donc a-t-il pu se faire qu'une langue bien connue et appelée depuis des siècles Pârsi se trouvât désormais désignée par le nom dúne autre langue? En fait, ce n'est pas tout a fait ainsi que la question se pose. Le mot Pahlavi n'était pas seulement un nom de langue. C'était aussi un qualificatif chargé de riches connotations, qui toutes réfèrent à l'antiquité: Ferdowsi l'emploie souvent pour évoquer des choses ou des comportements de l'Iran préislamique, de tems glorieux des nobles Pahlavans. Il est probable que verse les IX-X siècles la langue Parthe était oubliée*..."[25]

"*How is it possible that a language well known for centuries to be called Parsi, now takes the name of another language? In fact this is not how the question is posed. The word Pahlavi is not only the name of the language. It is also a qualifier packed with rich connotations referring to the antiquity. Ferdowsi often uses it to evoke things or behaviour from pre-Islamic Iran and the time of the noble Pahlavans (heroes). It is possible that around 9-10th century Parthian language has been forgotten*..."

Finally, the language Rūzbeh refers to as Pahlavi, spoken in the so called Pahlav region (ancient Median territory) is not really identifiable with any of the two languages that we intend to analyze here.

[25] Gilbert Lazard (2003), *Du Pahlavi a Persan: diachronie ou diatopie*? Persian origins - early Judaeo-Persian and the emergence of new Persian: collected papers of the symposium, Wiesbaden Harrassowitz Publisher. Page 97

There are few conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis. Firstly and most importantly, the Language today we call New Persian (Dari) is not a descendent of what we now call Pahlavi (Parsi) and it is most likely a sister language, or descendent of a northeastern sister language of Pahlavi.

Secondly, the Middle Iranian Pahlavi as we know it today most likely no longer existed as a spoken language by the end of the Sassanian period and it only existed as an archaic language for ceremonies. However given if we suppose that this hypothesis is wrong, and this language still existed by the 7th century, the spoken language must have been far from its archaic orthography as we know it today (this can be compared to the case of Modern French orthography that does not at all reflect the spoken Modern French). Therefore it would not be too farfetched to say that perhaps the Pāzand texts might have reflected the pronunciation of a very late version of Pahlavi or a living daughter language of that time.

Nevertheless, the reason why Pāzand texts don not look authentic is due to the difficulties of its transmission. This means that Zoroastrian scribes of 9th century on, were trying to decipher a script that was first attested over 600 years before them, with all its logograms and Arameograms (which most likely required knowledge of Aramaic) and then rewrite it in a different alphabet which hasn't been attempted before (very experimental). It should be taken into consideration that this was done by more educated of them, keeping in mind that by the 9th century Zoroastrians were a minority and socio-politically marginal due to overwhelming majority of Muslim converts around them. This would have made it very hard for them to receive a proper education. In addition to that, there are many scribal errors. Once the scripts were sent to India they made copies of the copies of the copies... and just adding more and

more orthographical mistakes. Moreover the influence of New Persian started to tamper with these texts even more, creating additional confusion. However, among all its philological clutter some evidence shines through linking Pāzand to a late Pahlavi pronunciation. Finally regarding the closer relation of these languages I would classify Pāzand and Pahlavi as in the same group (here I use the term Pāzand as a name of a dialect to facilitate the explanation). The other two groups would be New Persian and Judeo-Persian which are languages descending from two different sister languages of Pahlavi. In term of timeline I believe that Pāzand, early New Persian and Judeo Persian are from a much closer time period to each other as opposed to Pahlavi which is more archaic.

Chapter 2 - Observations on Pāzand and Pahlavi text comparison

As it has been explained previously, Pahlavi and Pāzand use two different orthographical systems. Pahlavi used a not completely phonetic style of alphabet which uses plenty of Arameogram and logograms. In addition to that most vowels are not written. On the other hand the Avestan alphabet used, for writing Pāzand is completely phonetic and in fact uses a very sophisticated vowel system. However the number one issue with Pāzand (late Pahlavi) is that, it does not contain enough consonant and vowels as the Avestan language.

A very common issue that is observed in transcribing Pahlavi into Pāzand is that some Pāzand words have way too many variants. These variants are so abundant that it gives the impression that they are not really variants; in fact they are scribal mistake made during the transmission, as opposed to the Pahlavi version of the text that almost consistently spell most words exactly the same throughout the text.

One of the first and most obvious of these inconsistencies is the alternation between [s], [š], [ṣ], and [š] without following any specific pattern. This may raise the question that whether or not there was any influences of Guajarati. However in Guajarati { 𐬱 = š} and { 𐬰= ṣ} are distinctively different sounds from { 𐬯 = s}. In addition it has been suggested by Albert de Jong,[26] that some of these texts were sent from the Zoroastrian community in Iran to the Parsis of India, reducing the chance that the Zoroastrians in Iran would have any exposure to Guajarati. This perhaps could mean that the texts were transcribed from Pahlavi to Pāzand (if this was the order of the

[26] Albert de Jong (2003), *Pāzand and "retranscribed" Pahlaavi*.

transcription) by several scribes on the same text and perhaps each scribe decided an alternative spelling according to their own criteria and also accidental mistake.

Here are some examples of alternation between [s], [š], [ş], and [š]:

1. (pz) *āstī / āštī* --- (plv) **āštīh**: peace
2. (pz) *āsānī /āšānī* --- (plv) **āsānīh**: ease
3. (pz) *rōşnāī /rōšnī* --- (plv) **rōšnīh**: light
4. (pz) *ātaš /ātaş* --- (plv) **ātaxš** (ādur): fire
5. (pz) *rōišn/ rōişn* --- (plv) **rōyišn**: growth
6. (pz) *ϑis/ ϑiš/ ϑisə/ ϑišə/ ϑisi* --- (plv) **tis**: thing,
7. (pz) *aigis / aigiš* --- (plv) **ēg+iš** : then you/your
8. (pz) *pursīt/ purščīt/ purščīt* --- (plv) **pursīd**: asked
9. (pz) *azbāeşn /azbāŷašn* --- (plv) **azbāyišn** : invocation
10. (pz) *ašō / aşō / aşōi* --- (plv) **ahlaw**: righteous, blessed
11. (pz) *ašhī /ašahī / aşahī* --- (plv) **ahlāyīh** : righteousness
12. (pz) *asagahan / ašagāhan* --- (plv) **ajgahān**: lazy, indolent
13. (pz) *avasōsgar /aвasōsagar/aвasōsgar* --- (plv) **afsōsgar**: mocker
14. (pz) *rasat/ rašat/ rasət/ rasāt/ rašət/ rasit/rsət* --- (plv) **rasēd**: arrived
15. (pz) *avaš/vaš/azaš / ažaš / azaš / ažaš /aвaš* --- (plv) **aziš**: from him/her/it
16. (pz) *garōisn/garōišni /garōişni /gaōişn/groišni* ---- (plv) **wurrōyišn**: belief, faith
17. (pz) *gavasn/gavašn /gavasni /gavəšn /gavəşn* --- (plv) **gōwišn**: speaking, speech
18. (pz) *avasōš / avašōs / avasōš / avašōs / aвasōšā* --- (plv) **afsōs**: scorn, mockery, pity
19. (pz) *rāmaşna/rāmašn/rāməsn/ rāməšn/rąməsn* --- (plv) **rāmišn**: at ease, joy, happiness
20. (pz) *havaš / vaš / hajāš / havaš / hazaš /hajaš / hajaš / havas / hažš /hazaš/haвš / habaš / ha vaš/ ha-baš / haizas /hajaš /hajāš/havas /havaš /havas /havaš/hazaš/hažš/haвš* --- (plv) **awiš**: from, by, to
21. (pz) *dahəsn/dahəšn /dahəsna /dahəsnə / dahəšnə / dahəsni/dahišn /dahisni / dahişnī* --- (plv) **dahišn**: established

In example 18, the initial [a] of the Pahlavi word **awiš** is consistently treated as a consonant [h] except by the variant *(pz) vaš*, however the rest of the varieties show extreme inconsistency. The Pahlavi word **awiš** shows twenty four different variants of spelling in Pāzand. Among all languages in the world there is almost no orthographical system that would show these many varieties of the same word. Also in the case of the example 21 nine different varieties can be observed. This proves that it could be that there were many scribes working on the same text

since it would be very difficult for once person to write twenty four different mistakes in the same text, trying to convey the same word. In addition to that it also shows that Pāzand was not really an established form of writing. Perhaps only used among a limited group of people, and it did not last for too long in order for it to have established rules of transcription from Pahlavi.

In example 15, the voiceless post-alveolar fricative [š] consistently occurs in word ending position; however the other consonants in the word alternate. A similar example would be number 13; where the Pahlavi word **afsōsgar** is transcribed in three different ways in Pāzand but [s] occurs with no variants, yet the rest of the words have a no pattern alternation of consonants.

After noticing that the alveolars and postalveolars [s], [š], [ṣ], and [š̌] seem to be exchangeable with a lack of pattern in Pāzand, the next thing that comes to attention is the Pahlavi word final [d] which is represented as [ṯ] in Pāzand (with the exception of *āβāiiad* which only occurs once in this form and the second time that this word is seen, it is written as expected: *āβāiiaṯ*). Here are some examples:

1. (pz) *āxəžaṯ* --- (plv) **āxēzēd** to rise up, stand up (3p, sing)
2. (pz) *varzəṯ* --- (plv) **warzēd** work, act, practise (3p, sing)

The character [ṯ] is also seen to represent the Pahlavi [t] before another [t]. An example of that would be: (pz) vaṯ tar --- (plv) **wattar** = bad.

The next sets of consonants that are observed to be interchangeable are [z], [ž], [č] and [ǰ].

Some examples are:

1. (pz) *avāz / avāž* --- (plv) **abāz** back backward
2. (pz) *bož /baza /baža /bāža* --- (plv) **bazag** sin, evil
3. (pz) *hargāča /hargiži/*harigizi --- (plv) **hagriz** never
4. (pz) *aspaṇž / aspṇǰ / aspṇž* --- (plv) **aspinǰ** hospitality, Inn
5. (pz) *būražišnī / burǰasnī / buržišnī* --- (plv) **burzišnīg** praiseworthy
6. (pz) *anāzarməh/anāzarmī/anāžarmī* --- (plv) **anāzarmī** dishonoured
7. (pz) *daruǰ / darūǰ /drūǰča/daruž /darūz /darūž/drūza* --- (plv) **druz** lie-demons (female)

As the example number 7 shows all four consonants [z], [ž], [č] and [ǰ] are used to transcribe the Pahlavi [z] with no apparent phonological pattern. Also the seven different transcriptions of the Pahlavi word **druz** once again may suggest that the text might have been transcribed by more than one scribe. One of the transcriptions that seem to be consistent however, is the Pahlavi enclitic **-iz** which has been transcribed as *ča* across the text. What comes to attention in example number 3 is the fact that, even though the Pahlavi word **hagriz** has been transcribed in three different ways, using interchangeably the consonants [z], [ž] and [č], as well as inconsistencies in vowels in the second and third syllables, the initial character in 𐭥𐭧𐭩𐭦, [27]has been treated as [h] in all instances as opposed to [a] as it supposed to be.

Furthermore, one of the most predictable transcription errors in the Pahlavi language is the confusion between [n], [r] and [w]. The Pahlavi character- **𐭩** - represents all these three consonants which makes it very hard to read Pahlavi texts. Some examples are:

1. (pz) *risast* --- (plv) **nišast** he sat
2. (pz) *rīmārī* vs --- (plv) **wēmārīh** sickness

[27] <**hk(w)lc**>

This indicates that the Pahlavi text was written first and the Pāzand text was later transcribed from the Pahlavi version and not the other way around. Otherwise the word ***rīmārī*** - in Pāzand should have been observed as ***vīmārī*** or ***βīmārī*** and the word ***risast*** should have been ***nisast***.

Continuing with predictable scribal mistakes, it is almost expected to see the confusion between [d] and [k] as both Pahlavi and Pāzand [k] are written with the same character - و - and the Pāzand [d] is written as - ﻭ -. Here are some examples:

1. (pz) *kušəṇṯ/ daṣəṇṯ* --- (plv) **kēš-** to pull, to drag
2. (pz) *kāeštą* --- (plv) **dādestān** law, judgement
3. (pz) *padāma* --- (plv) **pad kām** with desire

The approximant [w] in Pahlavi has shows several outcomes in Pāzand transcriptions as well. For example in some cases like in the Pahlavi word **wurrōyišn** (belief, faith) which repeats five times in our text, [w] shows up as [g] in word initial position in all instances, even though the rest of the word is spelled in five different ways as shown below:

(pz) *garōisn/garōišni /garōiṣni /gaōiṣn/groišni* --- **wurrōyišn** belief, faith

However other Pahlavi words such as **dēwān** have other outcomes as [w] is not in word initial position as shown in the example:

(pz) *dāvą /dāvąn/dāβa /dāβą / dāβąn* --- (plv) **dēwān** demons

The alternation between [*β*] and [*v*] can also be observed to write the Pahlavi [b] as it's seen here: (pz) *avarāča / avarači /aβarača / aβarāča* --- (plv) **abārīg+iz** and also the other

Strangely in the Pahlavi word **pāy** (foot/leg) [p] has been transcribed as [*β*] and [*v*] with the outcome: *βāe* and *vāe*.

Other notable scribing forms in Pāzand are what I will call **compressed words**. Here I use this term to mean that in some cases two or three Pahlavi words are compressed into one Pāzand word. These compressed forms are rarely random, meaning that usually is the same words that get compressed. There are of course few random compressions which occur only once and I believe these might be scribal mistakes, but others are almost predictable and occur more than once hinting that the scribe wrote them either intentionally or made the mistake based on his own dialect, even though the Pahlavi text had them separately. These could also be a clue that Pāzand had some proper dialectal features of its own. Here are some examples; I have separated these examples in groups:

The most common of these compressions is with the Pahlavi enclitic **-iz** which in Pāzand writes consistently as **-ča** (too):

1. *aigain*	(plv) **ēg+iz** then + too
2. *āmārə-ča*	(plv) **āmār+iz** consideration + too
3. aβarəča / aβarəča	(plv) **abārīg+iz**
4. *āϑiča / āžiča*	(plv) **āz+iz**
5. *čai*	(plv) **-īz/ -iz + ī**
6. *čanq*	(plv) **az + iz + nūn**
7. *čatōdīṯ*	(plv) **-+ z + it + dīd**
8. *čaϑu*	(plv) -**īz/ -iz + tō**
9. *darača*	(plv) **dar + iz**
10. *iča*	(plv) **-īz/ -iz**
11. *iṇča*	(plv) **ēn+iz**
12. *ṇči*	(plv) **ān + iz**
13. *ōiča*	(plv) **ōy + iz**
14. *pasəm-diča*	(plv) **passand + iz + ī**
15. *pasi ča / pasiča*	(plv) **pas + iz**
16. *paϑisiča*	(plv) **pad + tis + iz**

17. *tarča* (plv) **-tar + iz**
18. *ϑisiča / ϑisiči* (plv) **tis + iz**

Obviously, Pāzand writes **-ča** together with the preceding word for the same reason Pahlavi (as well as Avestan) does: "**-ča**" is enclitic and thus forms a tight phonological connection to the preceding word, with the difference that Pāzand sometimes connects more than two units.

The next group which is also very common and even in some cases are seen in the Pahlavi texts is the personal pronoun enclitics. Here are some examples that consistently occur:

1. *aināšą* (plv) **enyā+šān** their way
2. *aigis / aigiš* (plv) **ēg+iš**
3. *aigišą* (plv) **ēg+išān**
4. *aigit* (plv) **ēg+it**
5. *aināšą* (plv) **enyā+šān** *their way*
6. *čaṇdašąn* (plv) **čand + šān** how many of them
7. *dušą* (plv) **kū + šān** (here the scribal mistake is writing *[k]* instead of *[d]*)
8. *ǰaš /ǰaṣ* (plv) **u + š**
9. *ǰašą/vasą/ vašą* (plv) **u + šān**
10. *kaš* (plv) **ka + š**
11. *kašą* (plv) **ka + šān**
12. *kat/kaṯ/kāt /kut* (plv) **ka + t**
13. *kəm* (plv) **kē + m**
14. *kəš/ kāš* (plv) **kē + š**
15. *kus/kuš* (plv) **kū + š**
16. *kušą* (plv) **kū + šān**
17. *vaem* (plv) **u + m**
18. *vaǰ* (plv) **u + š**
19. *vasą/ vašą* (plv) **u + šān**
20. *vašruą* (plv) **u + š + ruwān**
21. *vat* (plv) **u + t**

Once again, the reason for the 'compressed' writing is clear: we are dealing with an enclitic (i.e., a tight phonological connection) between the host and the following clitic.

Next we consider three sets of compressions with the Ezafe. The first set with the Ezafe attached before the word, the second set after the word and the third in between two words.

In the third case, it might seem at first glance that all cases involve the word **ān**, and thus it might be something special about that word when followed by the Ezafe. However, the sequence **ān ī** occurs 31 times in the first 26 chapters of our text, and in 22 of those cases the Ezafe is not "compressed", but written separately just like Pahlavi, twice compressed and the other 7 times omitted. These are rare forms and most of the time the Ezafe is not attached therefore I believe these are scribal mistakes. Here are all the examples that occur in the text.

Set 1:

1. *əvəh /əvəhə* (plv) **ī + weh**
2. *iō* (plv) **ī + ō**
3. *ipa* (plv) **ī + pad**
4. *irā* (plv) **ī + rāy**
5. *iṣahamagun* (plv) **ī + sahmgen**
6. *istāiidār* (plv) **ī + stāyīdār**
7. *ixūnāhin* (plv) **ī + xwēn-āhan**

Set 2:

1. *čai* (plv) **-iz + ī**
2. *pardazašnī* (plv) **pardazišn + ī**
3. *pasəm-diča* (plv) **passand + iz + ī**
4. *parastasni* (plv) **paristišn + ī**

Set 3:

1. *aimainiiō* (plv) **ān+ ī+ mēnōg**
2. *ągarāmī* (plv) **ān + ī + grāmīg**

Another group would be the merger of the Ezafe and the personal pronoun enclitics. It is expected to see these enclitics merged in the form of suffix. However an interesting point is the fact that the Ezafe (**ī**) almost always shows up as a semivowel + a sequence.

1. *iiašą* (plv) **ī + šān**
2. *iϑō* (plv) **ī + tō**

3. *ўam* (plv) **ī + m**
4. *yaš* (plv) **ī + š**
5. *ўaš* (plv) **ī + š**
6. *yasą* (plv) **ī + šān**
7. *yašą* (plv) **ī + šān**
8. *yat* (plv) **ī + t**
9. *ўat̲* (plv) **ī + t**

The next group contains word compressions involving the word **čē** (which). This word occurs 61 times in the first 26 chapters. From these 61 times 48 times it is written separately 11 times compressed and twice omitted.[28] This provides us evidence that some of these compressed forms are scribal mistakes. The exceptions are first the word ***čirā*** (čē + rāy - why). This form occurs 4 times, 3 in the form of **čē + rāy** and once as ***ārāči*** (rāy + čē). This same form is observed in New Persian **čērā** (چرا). I believe that the example 5 and 6 are also intentional and not mistakes since they involve personal pronoun enclitics. The sequence **čē + ān** occurs 4 times in the text and the compressed form is only seen once. The sequence **čē + tō** occurs only once and it is compressed, making it hard to know whether it was intentional or not. Finally 2 and 3 are certainly scribal mistakes as they only occur once and there no other similar cases.

1. *čią* (plv) **čē + ān**
2. *čiguft* (plv) **čē + guft**
3. *čimust* (plv) **čē + must**
4. *čirā* (plv) **čē + rāy**
5. *čiš* (plv) **čē + š**
6. *čit* (plv) **čē + t**
7. *čiϑi* (plv) **čē + tō**

The word **ēn** occurs 21 times in the text, of which it is written 13 times separate, 5 times compressed and 2 times omitted. This clearly seems to be a scribal mistake. However what

[28] By omitted I mean that it occurs in the Pahlavi version but not in the Pāzand version of the text.

seems interesting is the fact that all these mistakes were made before coronal sounds [d] and [t]. In the case of **gēhān** (world), knowing that [g] is a velar and not a coronal, it is very possible that at this stage [g] became palatalized and eventually sounded like [ǰ]. Curiously enough, the counterpart of the word **gēhān** in New Persian is **ǰæhan**. Clearly this one example may not be enough evidence however, supposing that this is a fact, it could be due to New Persian influence or real features of a late form of Pahlavi.

1. *aṇdąm* (plv) **ēn + dām**
2. *iṇdīn* (plv) **ēn + dēn**
3. *iṇgāhą* (plv) **ēn + <u>gēhān</u>**
4. *iṇϑisrā* (plv) **ēn + tis + rāy**
5. *iṇϑuš* (plv) **ēn + tis**

The following group of compressed words occur only few times during the text as opposed to many more instances when they do not appear as compressed and they seem to be simply scribal mistake. The first group is with **ēd** (this), second with **pad** (with) and third with **tā** (until).

1. *ārā* (plv) **ēd + rāy**
2. *ārāči* (plv) **ēd + rāy + čē**
3. *ārāinaṣan* (plv) **ēd + rāyēnišn**

1. *padu ϐāeą* (plv) **pad + dōpāyān**
2. *pahāča* (plv) **pad + ēč**
3. *panąm čištą* (plv) **pad + nāmčišt**
4. *patan* (plv) **pad + tan**
5. *paxir* (plv) **pad + xīr**

1. *aṇdā* (plv) **tā (and+tā)**
2. *aṇdābūṇṯ* (plv) **tā + bowandag**
3. *aṇdāfrašā*gard (plv) **tā +frašegird**
4. *aṇdāmāh* (plv) **tā + māh**

The next set of compressions is with the particle **ēw** (that specific one). This occurs 12 times in our text, once written separately, once omitted and 10 times compressed. The Pahlavi version

has been transcribed as a separate word even though in Pahlavi script is written together. Whether in all instance the Pahlavi texts write this particle attached or not, clearly Pāzand does and it does not seem to be a scribal mistake. I believe that **ēw** becomes an Ezafe type suffix in later Pahlavi very similar to the New Persian Ezafe [é]. Often **ēw** has been translated as an indefinite article however it is very important to mention that in the majority of the cases where this has been translated as an indefinite article, **ēw** is followed by [**ī**].

1. *dəhā* (plv) **deh+ēw**
2. *hamā/hāmā* (plv) **hamēw**
3. *ǰāmae* (plv) **ǰāmag+ēw**
4. *kanikāe* (plv) **kanīg+ēw**
5. *kərəbae* (plv) **kirbag+ēw**
6. *mūi* (plv) **mōy+ēw**
7. *vādae* (plv) **wād+ēw**
8. *ϑišə / ϑəsā* (plv) **tis+ēw**

These certainly seem like “scribal mistake”, however this term has been used here without indicating what kind of scribal mistakes as they maybe different classifications. In the case of word ***risast*** and ***nisast*** we could say that the scribe had a reasonable knowledge of Pahlavi and perhaps at the time of writing the Pāzand text he thought of Pahlavi, a simple orthographical mistake we all make and as it could be observed it only occurred once. However in the case of other compressed forms such as ***čē +xxx***, ***ī + enclitics*** or ***xxx+ēw*** which are seen often in the text, I believe that we cannot classify them in the same category. These kind of scribal mistakes are revealing linguistic information about the speaker’s dialect (scribe’s dialect).

Another common type of compressed form is the negation that occurs very often and which is mostly written as **nē** (<LA>) and occasionally as **ma** (<AL>). In the Pāzand version the long [ē] becomes [ə]. Here are some examples:

1. *mabar* (plv) **ma + bar**
2. *mabāš* (plv) **ma + bāš**
3. *masō* (plv) **ma + šaw**
4. *nəāržum* (plv) **nē + āmurzēm**
5. *nəča* (plv) **nē+z**
6. *nədīṯ* (plv) **nē + dīd**
7. *nəfrəǰə* (plv) **nē + frēbēd**
8. *nəkunəṯ* (plv) **nē + kunēd**
9. *nəmadan* (plv) **nē + madan**
10. *nəmaṯ* (plv) **nē + mad**
11. *nərasaṯ /nərsaṯ* (plv) **nē + rasēd**
12. *nəsəiiaṯ /nəṣəiiaṯ* (plv) **nē + šāyēd**
13. *nəxūb* (plv) **nē + xūb**

Finally the following group is just another few words that do not repeat in our text and are only seen once therefore testifying to further scribal mistakes.

1. *qϑis* (plv) **ān + tis**
2. *čaṇdo* (plv) **čand + ud**
3. *ərə* (plv) **ēd + rāy**
4. *ərəči* (plv) **ēd + rāy + čē**
5. *iṇϑisrə* (plv) **ēn + tis + rāy**
6. *nṇgrə* (plv) **nang + rāy**
7. *ϑəsə* (plv) **tis + ēw**
8. *ϑisarə/ ϑisrə* (plv) **tis + rāy**

Although there is not a great deal of consistency in the use of "compressed words" in our text, it does seem that the vast majority of cases involve words which are likely candidates for

'unstressed' pronunciation, and thus that the compressed writing reflects actual contemporary aspects of the phonological phrasing of word sequences in the scribes spoken language.

The Pāzand compressed writings thus indicate that Pāzand reflects actual speech of the scribes for if they were pronouncing each word in isolation, in an artificial "church Latin" style, there would be no reason why these specific word sequences, which involve weakly-stressed lexical items, would be "compressed" as opposed to many others.

I turn next to a consideration of another common anomaly that can be observed, and that is the disregard for vowel length as shown in the examples below:

1. (pz) *baž /baza /baža /bāža* --- (plv) **bazag** sin, evil
2. (pz) *ādqmi /ədūm/ādum /ādūm/āduṇ* --- (plv) **ēdōn** thus,
3. (pz) *daruṇd /darūṇda /daruṇt /daruuaṇd /daruuṇda* --- (plv) **druwand+ān** evil (plr)
4. (pz) *əstat/āstat/āstāt /āštāt/əstət/əstāt/əštət/āstət/āstāt /āštət* --- (plv) **ēstēd (ēstādan)** to stand, to be , Auxiliary of the perfect continuous tense.

As it can be observed there is absolutely no pattern in transcribing the vowel length even though the Avestan alphabet has all the necessary characters to write all vowels and vowel lengths. Example number 4 shows one of the most common words in Pahlavi which consistently is written (𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭲) yet the Pāzand transcription shows ten different forms and once again hinting at the fact that the Pahlavi text was written previous to the Pāzand text.

Moreover, there are a series of random scribal errors that occurs in our text worthy of mentioning. The first one is the Pahlavi word **abestāg** which means the book of Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians. This word has been consistently written (𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭲) in most Pahlavi texts however in our Pāzand text it has been transcribed as ***avastā*** and ***aβāsta***. This is one of the most important words in the Zoroastrian religion and yet it contains transcription

errors proving once more that Pāzand was not really an established form of writing.

Nevertheless, another unforgivable scribal error is seen in the very title of our text. The Pahlavi version of it is **mēnōg-e xrad** (spirit of wisdom). However the word **mēnōg** shows four different varieties across our text and the word **xrad** shows up in ten different varieties:

mainiiō /mainiiōi/mainiō/mainīō
xaraṯ/ xarad/ xard/ xarda/ xarəd/ xarid/ xarṯ/ xrada/ xraṯ/ xū-rad

Here are few other examples of scribal varieties:

1. (pz) *ailāṯ /aiiāṯ* --- (plv) **ayād**: comes
2. (pz) *āina / āinā/āinii* --- (plv) **ēwēnag**: mirror
3. (pz) *avarāča / avarəči /aвarəča / aвarāč*a --- (plv) **abārīg+iz**: and also the other
4. (pz) *čiṇi /čuq / čum / čun / čuṇ / čūṇ / čuṇda* --- (plv) **čiyōn**: like such as similar to
5. (pz) *xᵛadāe/ xᵛaðāe/ xᵛadāī/ xᵛaðāi/ xᵛaðāī/ xᵛaðāiu/ xuðāi/ xuðāe* --- (plv) **xwadāy**: lord, ruler

Finally, three curious cases of scribal varieties are:

1. (pz) *āвārəṯ* (plv) **dāraṯ : dār- dāšt**: he has
2. (pz) *aiвai* (plv) **aya**: remember
3. (pz) *aiвaiāsīṯ / aiвiā šīṯ* (plv) **ayāsīdan (ayāstan):** to remember

In example 1, the insertion of [*в*] seems to be just a random error but in the examples 2 and 3 it is noticeable that the insertion of [*в*] occurs three times in the same exact vowel environment, which raises the question of whether or not the Pahlavi or whichever daughter language of Pahlavi spoken at the time of the this transcription had [*в*] sound in words in the vowel environment of /*ai_ia*/.

Chapter 3 - Enclitics and Ezafe

Two of the most common features that Pahlavi, Pāzand and New Persian (Dari) share are the enclitics and the Ezafe. However these features are difficult to observe as both Pahlavi and New Persian do not always write all their vowels. In the case of Pahlavi, the instances where the vowels are actually written can cause major confusion as seen below:

Pahlavi character	Vowel	Consonant
ـه	a, ā	h, x
ـد	i, ī, e, ē	d, g, ǰ, y ([s] if double)
ا	u, ū, o, ō	n, w, r

As it can be observed from the chart above, distinguishing the exact intended sound could be somewhat problematic, especially in the case of -ـد- because not only it represents eight different sounds but also when there are two in a row (ـد +ـد) it represents the [s] sound. This creates even more confusion because two of this character in a row also means *d+g* or *d+ ǰ* or *d+y*... or any other two combinations of the sounds it represents.

In New Persian as well as in Pahlavi most vowels are not written. The only vowels that are written are [i] and [a] which are represented by [ي] and [ا]. The reason for this is the fact that New Persian adopted the Arabic alphabet. The Arabic language has three vowels [a], [i] and [u] which they also appear in long forms [ā], [ī] and [ū]. In almost all Arabic texts the short version of the vowels are not written, however the long forms are always written. Therefore the recognition of the missing vowels is a lot easier since it is three out of six possibilities.

Nonetheless, this process is not very useful for New Persian since it contains six vowels [æ], [a], [e], [i], [o], [u] plus their long versions.

On the other hand for Pāzand it is much easier to write all its vowels and even indicating vowel length however since Pāzand was mostly used to transcribed Pahlavi texts and Pahlavi has the tendency of either not writing vowels or because of its confusing nature, misrepresent vowels, therefore the Pāzand text might also be full of words lacking vowels or having the wrong vowels.

Regarding the enclitics in Pahlavi it could be said that there are many types of enclitics which based on the data in the text of **Menog-e Xrad** one can say that Pāzand shares the same types of enclitics. One of the most common of these enclitics is personal pronoun enclitics such as -(i)m, -(i)t and -(i)š... creating among other things accusatives and genitives. For example:

1. **baxš-(i)m** : he/she forgives me
2. **baxt-(i) š** : his/her destiny

These enclitics can also be used with conjunction words such as “with” or “from”. Here are two examples:

1. **az-iš** : from him/ her/ it
2. **pad-iš** : with him/her/ it

New Persian and Pahlavi are two very different languages, and in fact I personally believe that New Persian is not a direct descendent of Pahlavi, and most likely a descendent of a sister language of Pahlavi. Nevertheless there are sticking similarities between these two languages

both in grammar and vocabulary. One of the most important similarities is that New Persian and Pahlavi seem to have almost the same enclitic system.

The next type of enclitic which is very important to mention is the Ezafe. The word Ezafe means both "add-on" or "leftover". The Pahlavi Ezafe often has been explained as type of genitive marker. In order to better understand the formation of the Ezafe in Pahlavi we should observe the changes in the historical phonology of the language. It seems that in the earlier form of the language isosyllabic nouns lost their final syllable causing the genitive case to acquire a new form. Alberto Cantera explains this phenomenon in the following way: [29] "*As a consequence of the disappearance of the last syllable in isosyllabic nouns, only the genitive (and perhaps also partially the instrumental) retained a distinct form. All other inflectional forms merged. This lack of formal distinction caused difficulties for the nominative and the accusative, while other cases began early on to be marked by propositions* ".

Later the genitive case also changed forms, being replaced by a new form of genitive. He continues by stating: *"Before the formation of the new genitive, there was a three case system represented by a different stem:*

Nom.	**pitā > pid*
Acc.	**pittaram > pidar*
Gen./obl.	**piθarah > *pis*

[29] Alberto Cantera (2009), On the history of the middle Persian nominal inflections, Exegisti Monumenta Festschrift in Honor of Nicholas Sims-Williams, Harrassowitz Verlag. Wiesbaden. Page 26-29

*Once the old genitive was at least partially substituted by a new one by attaching the -**ahi̯al- ē** ending to the accusative system, but with more paradigmatic genitive:*

Nom.	*pid*
Acc.	*pídar*
Gen./obl.	**pídarē*

*Due to the influence of the isosyllabic nouns, the **- ē** ending extended to the accusative and probably also the nominative: "*

Nom.	**pid(ē)*
Acc.	**pidarē*
Gen./obl.	**pidarē*

The character to write the Pahlavi Ezafe is - ʾ -, which as it was mentioned above it can be read as [i], [ī], [e] and [ē]. However this is more often transcribed as a long [ī] and less often as a short [e]. Assuming that the New Persian shares the same similarities as in Ezafe with Pahlavi as it does with the rest of the enclitics, it would be much easier to analyse the New Persian Ezafe in order to better understand the Pahlavi Ezafe, since of all the languages in question New Persian is the only living language.

I believe when it comes to explaining Ezafe in New Persian the most important element to

describe Ezafe is always left out. This important element is stress, and here I would like to try to demonstrate how important it is not to overlook the stress patterns in Ezafe.

In New Persian there are two primary kinds of Ezafe, the [i] type and the [e] type. The [e] type Ezafe depending on the stress position could be vocative, genitive or the definite article. On the other hand the [i] type Ezafe depending on the stress position could mean the indefinite article or abstract noun.

Here are some examples of the [e] type article:

1. **Vocative:** *pésar-e* = hey boy
2. **Genitive:** *pesár-e* = the boy of ... / son of ...
3. **definite article:** *pesar-é* = the boy / that boy (usually pejorative)

As it can be observed here only by moving the stress in different syllables of the word could have three different meanings using the same type of Ezafe. The genitive Ezafe could also show up as: *pesár-e dana* = smart boy. Here *intelligence* belongs to the boy as opposed to the previous example where the boy belonged to someone else. Another example of genitive would be: *koštæn-e mardom* = *the killing of people*. Here the Ezafe has been added to the gerund,[30] linking the action to People.

Now let's use the same word with [i] type Ezafe:

1. **Indefinite article***: pesár-i* = a boy
2. **abstract noun***: pesar-í* = the state of being a boy

[30] Not **Infinitive**, as it might look at first glance.

Once again by moving the stress, two totally different results are obtained. Both kinds of Ezafe change when a word ends in a vowel as shown in the examples below with the word *Xane* (house):

1. **Genitive**: *Xane-je* = house of...
2. **Definite Article** : *Xane-hé* = the house
3. **Indefinite Article**: *Xané-i* = a house
4. **Abstract noun** : Xane-gí = homey
5. **Vocative**: Xánē (or *Xáne-hé*) = hey house

As it can be observed in the genitive form the glide [j] has been inserted before the Ezafe, in the case of the definite article the consonant [h] has been inserted before the Ezafe, the indefinite article does not change, the abstract noun form receives the consonant [g] before the Ezafe and finally in the case the final vowel just becomes longer.

Unfortunately it is impossible to know the stress patterns in Pahlavi since it is a dead language and sadly its confusing orthography does not help making matters more transparent, but assuming that if the Ezafe in Pahlavi is as similar to New Persian as the other enclitics this might be a clue to better explain the Pahlavi Ezafe. Regarding the Ezafe functioning as article, the little evidence that we could collect from this text show us that Pahlavi has the enclitic **ēw** which is not considered to be an Ezafe by most scholars however it shows similar features as the New Persian definite article [é]. This in Pāzand is transcribed as [ə̄] or [e]. The enclitic **ēw** sometimes is translated as indefinite article but in the vast majority of those cases this enclitic is followed by a long [ī].

Pahlavi	Pāzand	New Persian	Translation
kanīgēw	*kanikāe*	kæniz-é	That maiden

Pahlavi also has another Ezafe which is often transcribed [ī]. Pāzand often writes it as a short [i]. This Ezafe in Pahlavi is translated as genitive marker most of the time however there are instances where it can mean the indefinite article. If the indefinite article and genitive marker really had different pronunciations we would never know due to the obscure orthography of Pahlavi.

Below are two examples of these two types:

Indefinite article:

Pahlavi	Pāzand	translation
mard ī ahlaw	*mard i aṣō*	a righteous man

Genetive marker:

Pahlavi	Pāzand	translation
mēnōg ī xrad	*mainiiō i xard*	Spirit of wisdom

Chapter 4 - The text analyzed, "Mainiiō-i Xraṯ"

The text used for analysis here is called **Dadestan ī Mēnōg- ī Xrad** (Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom) in Pahlavi or by its short form just **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** ([illegible]) which just traditionally has been translated as *Spirit of Wisdom*. Prods Oktor Skjaervø explains this title as followed:[31] *"The title is usually cited as Menoy i xrad 'the spirit of wisdom' but menoy never means 'spirit' It is an adjective referring to things in the other world, also in expressions such as* ***menoy asman*** *the sky (located) in the other world*". This title has many different forms of writing in Pāzand but in order to avoid confusion, the form **Mainiiō-i Xraṯ** can be used which in Avestan characters would written as: "[illegible] " . This same title has been translated by him as "*Judgement of the Divine Wisdome*"[32].

The reason I have chosen this text to analyse is because the Pāzand version of this text is one of least studied texts and also because I was interested to compare it to the Pahlavi version, word by word in order to recognize their inconsistencies. The version of the text used here is from E. K. Antia , *Pāzand Texts Collected and Collated*, Bombay 1909. Regarding the sources of this text, Antia states: [33] "For *the Menokhrad, I have taken as my text an old manuscript belonging to Ervad Maneckjee Rustamjee Unwalla, it is about 335 years old*." The other sources that were used for this text as described by him are: "... *1- A recent a recent manuscript in the Mulla*

[31] Skjærvø, Prod Oktor (2009), *Introduction to Pahlavi*, page 4, footnote 5
[32] Skjærvø, Prod Oktor (2011) *The spirit of Zoroastrianism.* Page 6

[33] E. K. Antia (1909), *Pāzand Texts Collected and Collated*, Bombay, Duftur Ashkara Press, vi-vii

Firoze Library named MF by me, it was written by myself from an old copy. 2- A manuscript belonging to Ervad Maneckjee Rustamjee Unwalla which I called MU and which bears no colophon." One of the greatest advantages of this version is the fact that includes orthographical inconsistencies of the two other texts which are the MU and the MF.

In order to perform a philological comparison between Pāzand and Pahlavi, for every line that was transcribed from Antia's Pāzand into Romanized characters, I have inserted the exact same line in Pahlavi underneath. Each word was compared one by one. The greatest advantage of this method was the fact that Pāzand words which were written in an unrecognizable form due to scribal errors were easily recognized based on their Pahlavi counterparts. The Pahlavi transcription I used is the one done by Professor David N. MacKenzie,[34] and the reason why this version was used is to keep Pahlavi transcription standard.

In addition to Antia's version, I have also read and analyzed the original manuscript **L19** from the British Library.[35] Furthermore I was able to have access to other two original manuscripts from the *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute* In Mumbai. These two manuscripts are **D41** and **D42**, which there is no certainty about how old they are.

The manuscript **D41** from the *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute* is written in both Pahlavi and Pāzand. This manuscript seems to show many orthographical issues as expected. For instance one of the most notable of these examples is the word *hōrmazd* (Ahura Mazada) which has been written 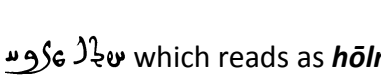 which reads as ***hōlmazd*** as opposed to which reads as ***hōrmazd****.* Another

[34] Göttingen 1993; corrections by Thomas Jügel, Frankfurt 2007-2008
[35] This Manuscript is now called: MS Avestan 19

detail to be mentioned is the fact that the majority of the short [o]s are written as long [ō]s, using the character instead of . However, overall this manuscript seems a lot more

consistent in orthography than the one provided by Antia. The second manuscript from the *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute* is **D42**. The most important characteristic of this manuscript is the fact that it has been written in Arabic alphabet used for writing New Persian, hence this raises a very important issue and that is the fact that the Arabo-Persian alphabet does not write vowels and this causes the same issue as reading Pahlavi but on the plus side this alphabet contains more characters to represent consonants than Pahlavi. Other details that come to attention are the fact that the word ***Mainiiō*** has been written as **Mīnū** (this actually is the New Persian word for ***Mainiiō***). Also the word ***u*** (and) is written as ***væ*** throughout the manuscript.[36] The character used here is (و) which could be read as both [u] and [v] in New Persian however if the character is on its own, it could not be read as [u] unless it is written (او), in addition to that in New Persian when this character is written alone without any vowel, it is implied that the only vowel that goes with it is [æ]. Furthermore in many places the long [ē] has been written as [ī], in words such as ***ēdon*** which is written as ***īdon***.[37] Finally the most interesting feature of this manuscript is the addition of a glottal stop [ʔ] to the consonant inventory. For instance the word ***dānāī*** (wisdom, knowledge) has been written as ***dānāʔī*** (دل اعي). All these details point to an interesting fact which is, the scribe must have been someone who spoke New Persian very well and also thought this text was pronounced a lot more like New Persian and most likely had a lack of complete knowledge of Pahlavi.

[36] Pahlavi *ud*.
[37] Antia uses a long Schwa [ə] instead.

Amongst the Zoroastrian literature has **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** been classified under the genre of ***Andarz*** (advise) by scholars such as Mary Boyce and A. Tafazzoli. The text talks about a character called **Dānāg** (wise man), perhaps a symbolic representation of a pious Zoroastrian, who talks to the Spirit of Wisdom asking questions on how to live a pious life. The Spirit of Wisdom advices **Dānāg** on many religious matters such as the harm in overindulging, excess of drinking, as well as few pointers on Zoroastrian dress code and not to urinate standing. Spirit of Wisdom continues among other things by emphasizing on the importance of libation, performing the **Yasna** ceremony, belief in dualism (**Ohrmazd** the divine creator and the evil **Ahreman**), reward and punishment in the afterlife, and in between it briefly mentions Iranian historical mythology and cosmology. **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** has been written in Pahlavi, Pāzand, Sanskrit, Guajarati and New Persian before being translated into European languages.

Very little is known about when book of **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** was written or who the author was. Mary Boyce however believes that this book might have been written during the reign of Xosrau Anushirwan (531-579) by saying: "... *the **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** may be assigned with some confidence to the reign of **Xosrau 1st**. It is perhaps an ecclesiastical counterpart to the political treatises of this period, which also appear to owe something to the **andarz** tradition*".[38]

I personally believe that there are small clues in this text that might imply that the text was written prior to the reign of Xosrau Anushirwan (531-579). Two of these clues are the following lines: Chapter 8, line 8: "*kū: dādār ohrmazd ēn dām ud dahišn ud amahraspandān ud mēnōg ī xrad az ān ī xwēš rōšnīh ud pad āfrīn ī **zurwān** ī akanārag brēhēnīd*..." which reads as: "*thus: The*

[38] Mary Boyce*, Persian literature*, (1968*) Iranistik. Zweiter Abschnitt. Literatur Lieferung 1. (Hanbuch Der Orientalistik - Abeteilung - Der Nahe Und Der Mittlere Osten*, E.J. BRILL Leiden. page -54

creator, Ohrmazd, produced these creatures and created the archangels and the spirit of wisdom from that which is his own light and with the blessing of boundless ***Zurvan***".

Again in chapter 27, line 10 we can observe the following: "čē *kār ī gēhān hāmōyēn pad brēh ud zamānag ud wizīr ī brīn rawēd, ī xwad ast* ***zurwān*** *ī pādixšā ud dagrand-xwadāy*..." which reads as: "*due to world's affairs every kind proceed through destiny and time and the supreme decree of* ***Zurvan****, the king and long-dominating lord*".

Here the word **Zurvan** has been translated by West, once as "*unlimited time*" and in the second sentence as "*self-existent eternity*". However Zurvan is the God of time and worshiped by the followers of the Zurvanite religion. According to the Zurvanites, the God Zurvan is the father of the twin brothers, *hōrmazd* (Ohrmazd/ Ahura Mazada) and Ahriman. This idea of course could seem as a heresy by Zoroastrians since it implies that the creator of the universe has a father. Throughout history heretics have been punished by Zoroastrian rulers, therefore mentioning Zurvan in a religious text would have been heresy by orthodox Zoroastrian kings.

Zurvanism seems to have been very common practice among some Iranians of the late Achaemenid dynasty.[39] This was true even in the case of some non-Iranian neighbouring kingdoms. For example In the Inscriptions of **Antiochus I** there is a passage that indicates: "*it is commanded to the generations of all men who* ***Chronos Apeiros*** *shall through its destiny for the life of each set in later possession of this land that they keep it inviolate*". As it has been explained by Mary Boyce is the exact Avestan rendering of ***Zurvan Akarana***.[40] This same

[39] Mary Boyce (1984), *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism*, University of Chicago Press. Page 96
[40] Mary Boyce (1990), Further Reflection on Zurvanism, Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor E. Yarshater.E.J. BRILL Leiden. Page-24

rendering is seen in the -text of **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** 289.07 as:

*(PZ) i xᵛāš rōšnī u pa āfrīṇ u **zuruqn aknāra** brəhnīṯ . ārā*

*(plv) ī xwēš rōšnīh ud pad āfrīn ī **zurwān ī akanārag** brēhēnīd, ēd rāy*

*...of his own light and with the blessing of **boundless Zurvan**.*

According to R.C. Zaehner, this religion enjoyed a short period of freedom of practice during the reign of Bahram V (420-438) and Yazdegerd II (438-457) of the Sassanid dynasty.[41] The start of Sassanid dynasty (224 A.D.) meant the restoration of a Persian rule after over five centuries and this also meant the restoration of the Zoroastrian church even though this might have taken some time. Shahpur I (241-272), the second Sassanid monarch is known to have been tolerant with religious minorities. His name is mentioned in the Talmud, [42] and it was during his reign that Manichaeism flourished and enjoyed freedom of preaching and practicing. After his death the Orthodox Zoroastrian clergy with the support of less tolerant monarchs tried to eradicate all religions other than their own. However during the reign of Bahram V (420-438) and Yazdegerd II (438-457) Zurvanism seem to have flourished again. According to Zaehner in fact Yazdegerd II seems to have been openly Zurvanite, he even named one of his sons Zurvandad. Another clue in the manuscript **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** is the mention of struggles with the Byzantines and the Turks (...*kū anērīh ī **hrōmāyīgān** ud **turkān**+iz abāg ērānagān bun az ān kēn būd ī+šān pad ōzadan ī ēraǰ kišt*...).

[41] R.C. Zaehner (1971), Zurvan a Zoroastrian Dilemma, Biblo and Tannen. Page 7-35
[42] Berakoth - 56a

It is known that Yazdegerd **II** fought Emperor Theodosius II of Byzantium and to have battled the invading Huns.[43] On the other hand there are no records of Xosrau Anushirwan fighting the Turks. Finally it was during the reign of Yazdegerd II that Yeznik of Kolb wrote his refutation of sects against Zurvanism.

On the other hand Xosrau Anushirwan is known to have tried to restore a more Orthodox Zoroastrianism to his subjects by punishing other believe systems. As a matter of fact he was the chief instigator in the massacre of the Mazdakite sect around 528 A.D.[44] therefore in his time any mention of **Zurvan** in a religious text could have meant heresy. Furthermore, we can observe in the fourth book of Denkart, **Xosrau I** in fact is said to have commissioned scribes to write done the Avesta, whether from oral traditions of the magi or from surviving fragments of earlier texts that they might have possessed. Alberto Cantera states regarding this passage in Denkart:[45] "... *En este texto se introduce a Xosraw I con la fórmula* ***im bay xusraw ī šāhān šāh kawādān****. Su Majestad aquí presente Xusraw, rey de reyes, hijo de Kawad. La expression* ***im bay*** *se aplica en este texto solo a Xusraw e implica que es el monarca reinante en el momento de composición de texto. Para el resto de los reyes se utiliza la expression* ***ōy bay***".

"... *In this text Xosrau* ***I*** *is introduced with the formula* ***im bay xusraw ī šāhān šāh kawādān*** *meaning, his majesty here present Xosrau, king of kings son of Kawad. The expression* ***im bay*** *in*

[43] Touraj Daryaee (2009), *Sasanian Persia: The Rise and fall of an Empire*, I. B. Tauris Publisher.

[44] Richard N. Frye (1963) *The Heritage of Persia*, page 212, The World Publishing Company.

[45] Alberto Cantera (2001) *Revisión crítica de las noticias pahlavíes acerca de la trasmisión prealejandrina del Avesta*, Universidad de Salamanca.

this text applies only to Xosrau and it implies the current monarch at the time of the composition of the text. For the rest of the kings the expression ***ōy bay*** *is used*."

In short, I believe that the chances might have been a lot higher that this text could have been composed during the reign of Yazdegerd II (421–438 A.D.), almost one century before, instead of during Xosrau Anushirwan's time.

4.1 Sample of an Original manuscript

The following is a digitalized version of the original manuscript **L19** from the British Library in London. This manuscript contains the Pāzand version of **Mainiiō-i Xraṯ (Dadestan ī Mēnōg- ī Xrad*),*** *Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom*, as well as Afrīns (Blessings) and Aogemadaeca.

This text dates back to 1520 which was copied by Neryōsang.

In order to access and study this relic I had to travel to London UK and request permission from the British Library. With the help of Mrs Ursula Sims-Williams I was finally fortunate enough to be working with an authentic (almost) five hundred years old manuscript which thanks to the British Library has been conserved in excellent condition. However I was only allowed to scan 20 pages.

In addition to this manuscript I was able to travel to Mumbai India and be able to study other original manuscripts, the D41 and D42 from the K.R.Cama Oriental Institute however I was not granted permission to scan or photograph these manuscripts. Finally I had the opportunity to work with other original manuscripts from The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune India. These manuscripts were Vendidad BH2, BH3, BH4 and Ravayat BH12 which I was able to photograph limited pages of each manuscript. Even though this may not seem a lot, it is a great tool for me and my fellow students to be working with an original manuscript and I am very glad to be able to offer this tool to them.

The manuscript **L19** is written in Pāzand with Sanskrit colophons which are written upside down. The most apparent reason why the Sanskrit translation was written upside down is due

to the direction of the writing systems. Pāzand is written from right to left and therefore the book would start also from right to left. However the Devanagari alphabet used by Sanskrit writes from left to right, therefore in order to keep the flow of the direction the Sanskrit colophons have been written upside down. According to the descriptions of this manuscript it dates back to 1520 A.D. and it seems to have been originated in Navsari India.

One of the most notable features of this manuscript is the fact that the word *Xrad* (wisdom) is written *Xard* repeatedly throughout the text. In fact in the first 16 pages of the L19 manuscript presented in this thesis the word *Xard* is repeated 20 times and not even once is written as *Xrad*. These can be observes in 2.5,[46] 3.7, 3.10, 7.8, 10.13, 12.8, 12.10, 13.2, 13.4, 13.7, 13.11, 13.12, 14.3, 14.7, 14.10, 14.12, 15.5, 15.13, 16.2, 16.5.

At first this may seem to be an orthographical mistake as it is seen in Pāzand text very often. In Antia's texts the word alternates between *Xrad* and *Xard* but *Xrad* is seen more often. However in L19 it is constantly seen as *Xard* which suggest that the scribes wrote it that way intentionally due to the fact that in all likelihood this was the way they pronounced it in their dialect. This is a clear case of metathesis of [r] ↔ [a] which indicates a dialectal feature of Pāzand. The word *Xrad* has been seen in Avestan as *Xratu* (insight)[47], in Pahlavi texts it has been seen as

Xrad ( )and finally in New Persian as *Xeræd* ( ). In all these related languages, both older and contemporary or younger, the consonant [r] always follows [x] except for the manuscript L19. This metathesis is another reason to believe that perhaps Pāzand had its own specific linguistic features.

[46] To be read as "page.line"
[47] Or "having great guiding thought", as described by P. Oktor Skjærvø in his old Avestan glossary.

Overall the L19 is much more consistent in its spelling conventions that the text presented to us by Antia. Other examples include the character representing the [j] sound is constantly showing up as [ ] as opposed to [] except by one instance in line 13.14 /šāyaṯ/. In Anti's text we see the character [] representing the [š] sound is often written at random as [] which transcribes as [š̌] or written as [] which transcribes as [ṣ], and all these characters randomly interchangeable with [] transcribed as [s]. In contrast in L19 the [] and [] are not used and instead we only see [] representing the [š] which it is not randomly interchangeable with [= s]. In Antia's text the word for '*from*' is written as both /iž/ or /əž/ while in L19 we see it written consistently as /āž/ throughout the text. Finally the vowels [e] written as[] is only used about four times and its long variety [ē] written [] is not used at all. However the [ə] and [ā] which are written as [] and [] are used abundantly. Finally many of [z]s in Antia's text are written as [ʒ] such as /*guzurg*/ vs /*guʒurg*/, /*namaz*/ vs /*namaʒ*/ and /*fraz*/ vs /*fraʒ*/. The order of the pages in this sample is in sequence up until page 13 which the last line is equivalent to Antias 276.07. Pages 14 and 15 are equivalent to line 280.07 till 280.15 and after that they are at random. There is also a brief Pahlavi insertion on page 16.

4.2 Partial transcription of L19 manuscript

The following is a transcription of the manuscript L19 which has been provided in order to both facilitate reading the manuscript and also to compare it with Antia's text.

1.1- pa nåmi ẏazdå
1.2- pa nåm u šnaiši vīspąsūṯ da-
1.3- -dar horməzd ...stk...
1.4- ...skt...[48] *u harvəst m-*
1.5- -āniiō u gəṯī dahəšną ẏazdą ...skt...
1.6- ...skt...
1.7- farahṇgą farhṇg dīn mahəst
1.8- ...skt... kəš ā
1.9- ādum bunxån i dānāī fraʒ vaǰīdār
1.10- vaš ...skt...
1.11- ...skt... . paxᵛərahə u kam
1.12- duaxāṇ avazūniå āfrādār hōr-
1.13- -məzd . ...skt...
1.14- ...skt... u ha-
1.15- -rvəst məh avǰą ẏazdaą ...skt...
1.16- ...skt... u pur aså parda-

2.1- -šnī i ẏazdaå vāspihargå čimīv
2.2- arzišnå ...skt...
2.3- pāda baxšnihā nō nō ō xᵛāušn-
2.4- -i u xard ...skt...
2.5- ...skt... pa sta variha nīrnaṯ
2.7- vṇdašnī duaxānī o tan u ruuąn baš
2.8- (?)aʒgartum ...skt...
2.9- ...skt... ču-
2.10- -ṇ ṇdar aviʒa aβadaą abad a-
2.11- vāgumaṇ u hūṇ gōšīda vəhədīn
2.12- i mahəstn pagavəšni i dadar

[48] Sanskrit

2.13- hōrməzd u spitamaṇ zaraϑušt pa
2.14- vas ǰa vaǰirinīṯ əstəṯ ...skt...
2.15- ...skt...

3.1- ...skt...
3.2- ...skt...
3.3- ...skt... ku oivīspa
3.4- vəhə dādār iṇ dåm pa xard dāṯ
3.5- ...skt...
3.6- ...skt... vaš aɣīn gardihā dastār-
3.7- -i pa xard ...skt...
3.8- u asāʒašnī u apatiāra pa å
3.9- i hamā u hamāravəšnī ha anaos -
3.10- -aī nīrmaṯmṇdtum aвazar i xard
3.11- -rā aвaʒ ōxᵛāš kunəṯ ...skt...
3.12- ...skt...
3.13- ...skt...
3.14- ...skt... ham čim rā pādā ...skt...
3.15- ...skt... ku dānā ā būṯ kəš g-

4.1- -uft ...skt... ku agar
4.2- iṇ āšnā ku ẏazdå dīn rāstī d-
4.3- āṯ frārūṇnī u aвar dāmå nākī
4.4- kāma u aвu(h)xšani šnī ...skt...
4.5- ...skt...
4.6- ...skt...
4.7- ...skt... čira frahāst mardum vs kā-
4.8- -š u vs garoišni u vs bunẏast
4.9- həṇod ...skt...
4.10- ...skt... u frəh-
4.11- əst å kə kāš u dāṯ u groišini pa
4.12- xīr i ẏazdå vazṇdgār u nā xūb
4.13- ...skt...
4.14- ...skt... u iṇča ṇ-
4.15- -dāšīdan ku vazīdar būdan ...skt...

5.1- ...skt... pa iṇ
5.2- ϑis ra rṇʒ aϐar barəšni ...skt...
5.3- ...skt... u pa
5.4- iṇ ϑis āgāh aϐaẏaṯ būdan
5.5- ...skt...
5.6- ...skt... či pa farǰåm gārī tan o-
5.7- xākī gumāǰihəṯ u aϐaštåm o-
5.8- ruå bahuṯ ...skt...
5.9- ...skt... u har ka -
5.10- ruå rā rṇʒ aϐar barəšn ...skt...
5.11- ...skt... u aʒ
5.12- kar kərba agah buəšn ...skt...
5.13- ...skt... či å kurba i
5.14- mard anāgahā kunəṯ kə rba kim
5.15- ...skt...

6.1- ...skt... u å gināh mard anāg-
6.2- -ahihā kunəṯ gunāh a bun o bah-
6.3- -ṯ ...skt...
6.4- ...skt... u əʒ aϐastā pār-
6.5- -ā ...skt... kuš nā ϑis
6.6- grft[49] kən ā ruå girft ...skt...
6.7- ...skt... ṇda uṇ u nā
6.8- ϑis gīrət kə nā ruå gīrāṯ ...skt...
6.9- ...skt... əʒ
6.10- ča nuṇ fraʒ ...skt...
6.11- ...skt... či mainiiō u g-
6.12- -āϑī ādum humānā čūṇ drūpuštī
6.13- du ...skt...
6.14- ...skt... ẏak āϐar pādā ku
6.15- bā kstaṇd u ẏad stadan nā šāii

7.1- aṯ ...skt...
7.2- ...skt... pas ṇbārā å

[49] This seems to be a misspelling of /*girft*/

7.3- kunašni i vəhə kə əβar pādā ku
7.4- stadan nā šāẏaṯ ...skt...
7.5- ...skt...
7.6- ...skt... u ku pa ā rāinašn aβ-
7.7- -ar nigərīṯ ...skt...
7.8- pa xard xᵛāstarī aṇdar iṇ g-
7.9- āhā šahar šahar u paṯdos p-
7.10- -aṯkōs farnaft . ...skt...
7.11- ...skt... u ə-
7.12- -ʒ har dāš u grōšni i āšå mar-
7.13- damå ẏašå pa dānāī aβīr t-
7.14- -ar manīṯ u pursīṯ u vaǰost u a-
7.15- -βar maṯ ...skt...

8.1- ...skt...
8.2- ...skt... u ka[50] dī-
8.3- -ṯ ku ẏak aṇdardiṯ ādum ṇbaṇså u
8.4- haməmāl həṇd ...skt...
8.5- ...skt...
8.6- ...skt... aigin[51] dānāst ku iṇ kāš u gr-[52]
8.7- -ō šni u ǰuṯ rastaī i pa iṇ gāh-
8.8- -å ẏak āṇdar dīṯ ədum ṇbaså həṇ-
8.9- -d nā āʒ dahišni i ẏṇazdån[53] sazəṯ
8.10- bīṯan ...skt...
8.11- ...skt...
8.12- ...skt...
8.13- ...skt... či
8.14- ẏazdå dīn rāstī dāṯ frāruånī
8.15- ...skt...

9.1- ū: u pa iṇ avāgumąn[54] buṯ ki har ki n-
9.2- -ā pa iṇ aβīǰa dīn aigišå pa n-

---

[50] Antia writes it /*ki*/
[51] Antia writes it /*agin*/
[52] Antia writes it /*garōisn*/
[53] Here the word /*ẏazdån*/ is written as / *ẏṇazdån* / with an extra[ṇ] after [ẏ].
[54] Antie uses a [β] instead of [v].

9.3- -ar ϑis gumanī . ...skt...
9.4- ...skt...
9.5- ...skt... u pa ha-
9.6- -ma čim šāβašnivīnəṇd . ...skt...
9.7- ...skt... pas əʒ å p-
9.8- -a purusīdārī u varzīdarī dīn
9.9- taxšātar būṯ ...skt...
9.10- ...skt...
9.11- u āʒ dasturå i pa iṇ dīn dānāt-
9.12- -ar u dīn āhāhtar[55] *būṯ həṇṯ pu-*
9.13- rəʒsīṯ[56] *...skt...*
9.14- ...skt...
9.15- ku ō dārəšn tan u bōʒašn ruå ϑi-

10.1- -sā či vəhə u pahalumtar ...skt...
10.2- ...skt...
10.3- ...skt... vašå pa pādāī u əʒ dī-
10.4- -n guft ...skt...
10.5- ku (?)əʒ[57] *nākī i ō mardomå rasəṯ xa-*[58]
10.6- -d vəhə ...skt...
10.7- ...skt... čig əϑī pa nīrō i
10.8- xard šāẏaṯ rāinīdan ...skt...
10.9- ...skt... u mainiō ča
10.10- pa nirō xard u xᵛəš šāẏāṯ dard
10.11- -an ...skt...
10.12- ...skt... u iṇča pādā ku hōrməzd iṇ dåm
10.13- dahəšni āṇdar gəϑī pa āsnxard
10.14- dāṯ əstəṯ ...skt...
10.15- ...skt...

11.1- ...skt... u gəϑī ča u mainiō
11.2- rāinīdārī pa xard ...skt...

---

[55] Antia writes it /*āgāhtar*/
[56] [ʒ] seems to be a mistake.
[57] The character before /*əʒ*/ is not clear.
[58] It seems that /*xard*/ has been written as /*xad*/.

11.3- ...skt... u ka gu-[59]
11.4- -ʒurg sudaī[60] *u arəʒamṇdī xard p-*
11.5- -a å āina dīṯ aṇdar horməzd i xu-
11.6- daš u aməšāspṇdån mainiiō i
11.7- xard spāsdar būṯ ...skt...
11.8- ...skt...
11.9- ...skt...
11.10- ...skt... mainiiō i
11.11- xard pa nāhī kard ...skt...
11.12- ...skt... u mainiiō i xard rānam-
11.13- -aʒ u parstašnivāš kard ku aв-
11.14- arə aməšāspṇdån ...skt...
11.15- ...skt...

12.1- ...skt... u iṇča dānəst k-
12.2- -u hamā kār u kərba kunišn frārū-
12.3- -ṇ pa nirō i xard o xᵛāš šāẏṯ k-
12.4- -ardan ...skt...
12.5- ...skt...
12.6- u tuxšā aвa ẏaṯ būdan xᵛašn-
12.7- ūdī i mainiiō i xrad ...skt...
12.8- ...skt...
12.9- u əʒå fraʒ ẏazišn i mainaō i
12.10- xard kardan tuxšātar būṯ ...skt...
12.11- ...skt...
12.12- ...skt... pas əʒ å mainiiō i xard
12.13- manišn u kāma i ådānāra tan h-
12.14- -aвaš pādinīṯ ...skt...
12.15- ...skt...

13-.1- ...skt... vaš ha vaš guft
13.2- ...skt... ku dōst i stāīdā-
13.3- -rvəhə əʒ ašahī i pahalim ...skt...
13.4- ...skt... āfrāh
13.5- xᵛāh əʒ mən mainiiō i xard ...skt...

[59] Antia writes it /*guzurg*/
[60] Antia does not include [a]

13.6- ...skt... kut rāh-
13.7- nmāš bom ō xᵛašnūdī i ẏazdå u
13.8- gahaą u pa gāϑī darəšnii tan u
13.9- pa mainiiō buxtārīī[61] ruå ...skt...
13.10- ...skt...
13.11- ...skt...
13.12- ...skt... pursīṯ dānā ō mainiiō
13.13- xard ...skt...
13.14- ku čuṇ šāyaṯ[62] xᵛāstan dārəšn
13.15- u padīxᵛī i tan ǰaṯ əʒ aią i ruą

14.1- -matar buṯ hāṯ ku ri stāxəʒ u
14.2- ...an i pasin kardan nā šāiast
14.3- ...skt...
14.4- ...skt...
14.5- ...skt...
14.6- ...skt...
14.7- ...skt...
14.8- ...skt...
14.9- ...skt...
14.10- ...skt...
14.11- ...skt...
14.12- ...skt... pa hamvāl kardan i kərba tux-
14.13- -ša bāš ...skt...
14.14- kut pamainiuå ō friāṯ rasəṯ
14.15- ...skt... pa xhā [63]

15.1- ča nākī gəmī vstāx ma bās
15.2- ...skt...
15.3- nākī i gəϑī ādum humānā čum aβar i
15.4- pa aβastarå rōʒ āet[64] kə pa hā
15.5- ča ~~aβastarå rōʒ āet kə pa hā~~[65]

---

[61] It is very strange to see an [i] right after a [ī].
[62] This is the only time that [y] is used instead of [ẏ].
[63] [ȣ] has two dots on top as if they were some kind of diacritics.
[64] The vowel [e] has been used only here and in the line 15.6, 15.9, 15.10.
[65] Here the scribe rewrote the previous line by mistake and then crossed it off.

15.6- kūh aвaʒ nā paeṯ ...skt...
15.7- ...skt...
15.8- ...skt... vas gāϑī
15.9- ārāe mabāš ...skt...
15.10- či gāϑī ārāe mard mainiiō vašō-
15.11- вbahōṯ ...skt...
15.12- ...skt... pa xir u xᵛastā i v-
15.13- -as vastāx mabāš ...skt...
15.14- ...skt... čut pa farʒåm
15.15- -hamā āвāiaṯ hištan ...skt...

XIX. MINOKHIRAD (Paz., Skt.)

19·8 × 13·4 cm.

Fols. 148, marked in Guj., but mostly cut off in the margin.

15 lines to a page.

The Skt. version appears in alternate sentences and in an upturned script.

Fols. 133–48 contain Av., Paz., Skt. fragments of Āfrīn and Aogemadaecā.

A Phl. colophon appears on fol. 132, which, according to West (SBE., 24, Intr., p. xxi), is copied from some older MS., and which says that the MS. was completed by Ervad Shatroyar, contemporary (?) of Neryosangh. This is followed by a Skt. colophon reading: Finished on the 18th day of the 2nd month of the year 890 A.Y. (= 1520 A.D.) by Mihrvan Mahyar, grandson of Padam at Navsari.

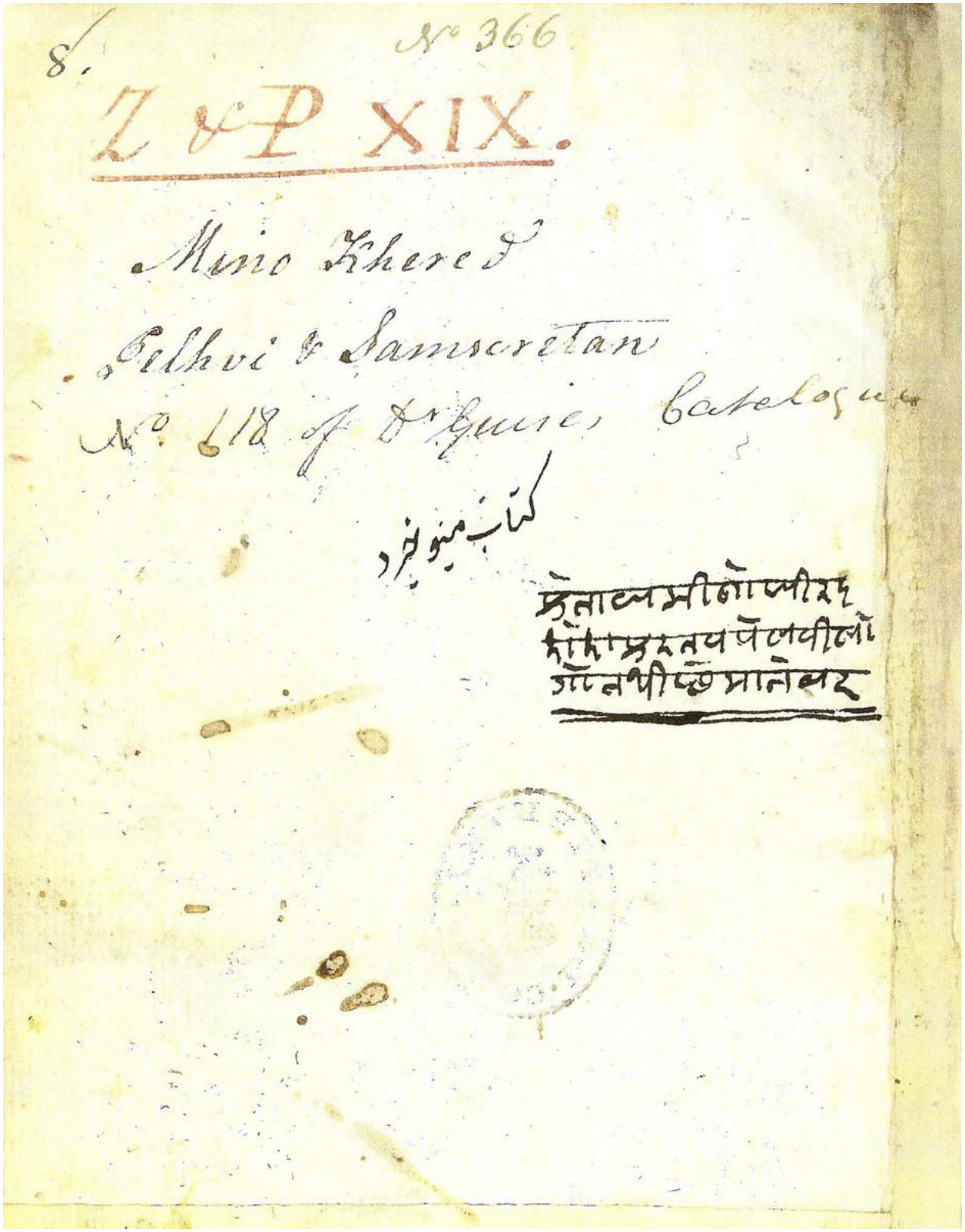

8.

No 366

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Pelhvi & Samscretan

No. 118 of Dr Gunie, Catalogue

کتاب منوچهر

ग्रन्थालय श्रीगोपीनाथ
कविराज शोध प्रतिष्ठान
गोयनपीठ प्रतापनगर

The Avenokhered a Word that signifies the Divine Spirit, is a Kind of dialogue, the Persons of which are not certainly known. some think that they are the Divine Being and Zoroaster: its purport is to shew the utility of the Law, and the necessity of fulfilling it, notwithstanding the objections of unbelievers. —

Mr. Anquetil De Perron says it is not now extant in the Pelvic but this Copy controverts his assertion, there is no Copy of this Book hitherto brought to Europe and it is with great Difficulty to be procured in India. —

महाबलानांइत्यादानां: [illegible] सार्वभौम=

सिखाएकस्यप्रभु: स्वामिनामहाज्ञानिन: [illegible]

[illegible] प्रियाकामिनश्च उन्नायाजीवनाशगुरुणां=

[illegible]

कुर्वेविचारकातमु: [illegible]

[illegible] याइंद्रसंमूलनिस्वातंत्र्यतुज्ञानतायाप्र

[illegible]

विद्यानांविद्यायाहीनश्चमाहइत्यस्यो: [illegible]

[illegible]

पांचपालाकइहालाकहायकानांइत्यादानां:

[illegible] सार्व

स्यप्रभु: स्वामिनामहाज्ञानिन: [illegible]

[illegible] नाम्नामान्यतयाचसार्वभौमान

[illegible]

निर्मलायाः गुरूणां गुरुतरायाः सुनिश्चितायाः सुद

[illegible] यथा अतः

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

हाता नांप्रकटं

स्वीयांकारांतिः

इति

इत्त्रअक्षयताप्रसादमत्रमांबुद्धिशास्त्रणपुनरपि

मतांअप्रतिविद्यातां तांयांसर्वदिवतथासर्वदायु

तथाअमृत

तस्यअनालाकत्रमधारणाचबुद्धाः

अदद्दतुः

यतुआसायःसर्वस्यउत्तमस्यदातानांप्रबुद्धाः

वबद्धुप्रस्थानविचारितोपः

अभुः स्वामिनामहाज्ञानिनःसिंतमडरघुअःमयः

सानिद्धानायाःउत्तमदीनमहिईअस्याःवचसा

[illegible] तथाइदं

द्वः स्वामिनाहानिकरश्चानासुद्वः [illegible]

तथा च द्वश्चाताचर्षीदर्शनंआचारः प्राबाधश्च [illegible]

बद्धप्राबाधः बद्धमूलास्यदाः संति। [illegible]

[illegible] किमर्थं बद्धावामनुष्याः बद्धदर्शनाः

[illegible]

सदाचारः उपरिचर्षीनांसुनाभिलाषः प्रतिपा

इदंप्रसिद्धंकिलस्वामिनादीनिसत्याआचारश्च

[illegible] किलयदि

[illegible]

[illegible] यत्ज्ञानीअयंबन्धवायनउकं [illegible]

स्त

यत्सम्तमुष्यंयत्मनुष्यः अप्रबुद्धतयाकारा

ण्याद्यस्मप्रबुद्धनवितवां । कार्यितुम्

किरायआत्माणीकासाऽधकंविधयः

सम्मिलतिसंदहअआत्मनिन्नवति । यतः निर्माणकालतः धूला

नवित्रं । आननवकीडशस्यचित्सम्प्रबुद्धरूपमुआतन

दशस्यचित्आवीकाशाऽधकंविधयः आननकी

चचिंतनीयंकिलक्यारोकः नवितवां

[illegible]

यथा प्राकारादि। [illegible]

[illegible] यत् परलोकइहलोकाईद्रशोऽन्यमीया

[illegible]

यान आमान गृहीष्यति। [illegible]

[illegible] किलनकिंचित् गृहीष्यति

नीनकिंचित् गृह्णाति यान आमानं गृह्णाति। [illegible]

[illegible] आवश्यइदा

गृहीतं यन्न आमा गृहीता [illegible]

[illegible] यत् नकिंचित्

[illegible] तथा अवस्थावाग्यः प्रकहै। [illegible]

पं अस्य मूलनवति। [illegible]

[illegible] तद्यथा पंयत् मनुष्याः अप्रबुद्धतया कारातिया

[illegible]

तिपुरुषं किंचित् [illegible]

प्रबोधप्रा

समग्राणि द्रव्यानि न्यायप्राप्तानि

स्वायुषि यानि नगारादिसिद्धिसिद्धयर्थं टितः॥ ८.३

बुद्धिकौशल्यात्तः

आनन्यप्रयत्नाधिकं निरीक्षितं

त्रिनसघात॥ ८.

यः उत्तमः यानि संदिग्धं प्रकटः यत्दाचनहं

एष्यात् संचयः सकः

कं यदाचनहं त्रिनसघातः

एकानि संदिग्धं प्रकटः यत्दाचनहं रंतिए

[illegible] यत् स्वामिनास्य दीनिः सन्मात्राचारश्च सदाया

[illegible]

संतिनादातः स्वामिनः सक्रवंतिनविन्नं ॥ [illegible]

कारः अंतः द्वितीयानां ईदृशाः परस्परविरोधिनः

बाधश्च विक्रम्य वर्त्तश्च यथा अस्यां पृथिव्यां ए

[illegible] ततश्च परिज्ञातं यत् इमानि दर्शनानि प्र-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

द्वितीयानां ईदृशाः परस्परविरोधिनः प्रतिवादिन

[illegible] यदि वा इमं यत् कारः अंतः

[illegible]

तानि पृथ्वीनि सोधितानि उपरि आयुश्च [illegible]

यीषां मनुष्याणां यथा ज्ञानतया अधिकतरं चिति

[illegible] यतास्त्रिंशीणास

६६८ [illegible] राया: परवसकीमानवा [illegible]

[illegible] रुद्र: लक्ष्माश्रज

नासाकान्तवति [illegible]

२६८ [illegible] यइहालाकमंडानामन्नुष्य: परलोकवि

[illegible]

६६८ [illegible] प्रभुरंइहालाकमंडानामानवा

आयातिय: कमपिपवेतंनसंरहति [illegible]

०६८ लाकीयइदिरंउयामयंयथामद्य: याहस्रिदिवासुष

[illegible] यत्: सुनयवइह

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

२१६८ कस्यचिस्मनस्यइहालाकीयसाप्रवसकीमानवा

[illegible]

यतास्तपरालोकिनांसाधूंप्राप्नोति॥ [illegible]

[illegible] सर्वेवारंकर्त्रेप्रेष्यंपवसायीनवा॥

ष्यतु॥ [illegible]

वासकानंतंनाः अक्षयचैवकर्त्रेनसाक्षाद्भवि

तिद्यातः एवंबलिसुतारायातादत्तविष्यतुयथास

ङ्कांस्यात् अंतःद्वीपविशेषातानिहतितदाप्र॰

थिव्यामुनरपिपटयतिमित्रवादिनश्चयतिमायू॰

षसदृशाणांअंतअमीषांएकःआयातियःकार्यिपु

स्यसंनेशिसस्यचायविछिन्नोविछिन्नाःसाधोंव

त्रयाणांवर्यसदृशाणांकासदस्यकासदस्माद

चर्यीचस्तरांपसमुद्यातंनात्तविष्यात् अंतःअमीषां

[illegible] किलयदिकुःमुश्रावनराज्ञादवायत्नेयत

[illegible]

[illegible]

निनराः दीनिव्यबुद्धतराः यातः संतिपृष्ठं ॥ः

[illegible] आचार्यनाश्रायत्रस्यां दीनाज्ञा

[illegible]

यांकर्मकारतार्थ्यिदीनः व्यवसायितारायातः

[illegible]

स्मिन्नप्रार्थसंदिष्टुंपश्यति [illegible] सर्वः

षांसर्थस्मिन्नकस्मिंश्चित्रजांतिः ॥ [illegible]

यानः यत्सार्थायनत्रस्यांनिर्मलायां दीनातः

[illegible] तयाएतस्मिन्नुनिश्चाता

[illegible]

द्वनत्रयं शृष्टिर्गतिश्चयात्रं तं पृष्टिर्यानिसर्गि

तथाइदं चप्रकटं यतुत्रक्रम

ं पराक्रांचबालनबुद्धः स्त्रीयंसक्यातक

ालनबुद्धः सक्यातप्रचारित्रं

यतुः पृथ्वीब

प्राप्तिबुद्धिः उत्तमा

यतुएतस्मातसुनातुयतुमनुष्याणां

गतिश्चप्रकटतयायतुत्रस्यादीनः उ

तः परतरं

णायतानाः सुद्धायचा मनः किंचितुकिं उत्तमं

यतुग्रह

बुद्धः नमस्कृतं पूजोचपत्तुरांअकारान्अप

[illegible] परालाकीयायाश्च

[illegible]

रक्षांअकारात [illegible]

[illegible] परालाकीयायाबुद्धः

बुद्धः त्रिधा पुद्गलकारितारायातः [illegible]

स्वा

मद्दस्यमिनः आमशास्यिंतानां च परालाकीयायाः

मूलमत्वाचबुद्धः तन्यप्रकारणदष्टांतः अद्भुत

[illegible] यदिचमद्दालाभा

[illegible]

[illegible]

र

परालाकस्यवपद्दत्तिकारिणीबुद्धि [illegible]

[illegible] तथाद्दद्दालाकस्य

कबुद्धदत्ताआस्त्रा [illegible]

त्रिः ब्राह्मः मनासः अशक्तिलाषायचतस्यज्ञानिनः तमुः

पश्चात्ततः अदृश्यमु

यितासयातः । इदंचइडिसिंअदृस्यमातः ब्राह्मः कर्त्तव्यवसा

तस्मा

यपुद्यातनविक्रेसंत्रुष्टायपरालाकीयायाः ब्राह्मः

व्यवसायिनिश्चुन

चयत्सदाचारिबालनब्राह्मः स्त्रीयंसक्यातकर्त्री

इदंचपरिज्ञातंयत्सार्थेकार्यंपुण्यंचकम

रान्नाडमिशास्यीतन्नः

[illegible]

[illegible] अप्रकृतज्ञानीनांपरालोकीयांयीबुद्धिं॥०

द्वायआमनः॥[illegible]

नांचइहालोकचयहणाद्यतानाःपरालोकचश्रु

ग्रदेशीयित्रीन्तवामिसंत्रुपपइअऊदानांउत्तमा

[illegible] यतास्तमाः

[illegible]

[illegible] यिचस्यमत्रापरालोकीयायाःबुद्धिः[illegible] सिस्वीअः

त्रस्तुतिकरउत्तमपुरुषात्रअतःपरात[illegible] यतुमि

तस्यसम्मुखंवचनकं[illegible]

सम्मुखंअपकटयतु[illegible]

री आरोडरसीमादबह्मनंन ॥ यहमयोच
सालडस्सवदअडसंइनसादईडदडरदसहि
अधदश्रीनागममंडलकरसैयासीसंवत्
संवत१५७७वर्षे कार्तिकशुदि अष्टमीवारशुक्रे

1577

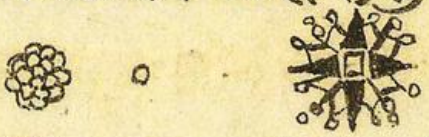

विद्यार्थे अपतबुद्धिः अजंगाता॥
अअपतविद्यादुर्बला॥ बुद्धि-
महागुणानबुद्धिः तस्यरसामहागुणा एतस्मात्सर्वति॥
तस्यचसाया
तु॥ स्वामिनः शासनं॥

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

4.3 Interlinear Pāzand / Pahlavi transcription

The following is the Romanized transcription of Antia's Pāzand text of the manuscript **Dadestan ī Mēnōg- ī Xrad,** chapters 1 to 26 in both Pāzand and Pahlavi. [66] In addition to that for every transcribed Pāzand line I have inserted the same exact sentence in Pahlavi transcription, using Mackenzie's transcription, in order to facilitate the comparison.

This was an extremely time consuming task as the total of all line between Pahlavi and Pāzand sum up to 1368 line. The Pahlavi version did not have the same line breaks as the Pāzand text therefore for the Pahlavi text I have inserted line breaks to match the Pāzand sentences.

The greatest result achieved from this method was the identification of all the different alternative spelling and grouping them together. This tool was also an excellent aid in order to create my Pāzand glossary. Ultimately the goal is also to provide a tool to my fellow students in the field in order for them to further analyze this text.

The numbers that appear before each Pāzand sentence represent the page and line in Antia's book. For example 298.06 means page 298, line 6.

[66] Initially I was interested in an IPA transcription but I preferred to use the traditions Romanized transcription in order to keep it standard.

Dadestan ī Mēnōg- ī Xrad
Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom

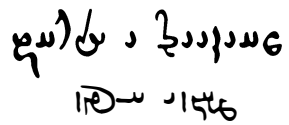

Chapter: i

273.04 panąmi u šnāisni vīspąn sūṯ dāðār hōrməzd
pad nām ud šnāyišn ī wispān-sūd dādār ohrmazd
273.05 u harvast mainiiō u gāϑī dahəšną ẙazdą frahṇ-
ud harwisp mēnōg ud gētīg dahišnān yazadān ud frahan
273.06 gą frahṇg dīn mahəst kəš ā ādum bun xąn(axąn MF) i dānāī
gān frahang ī dēn ī māzdēsn,kē+š ēd ast bun-xān ī dānāgīh
273.07 frāž vaǰīdār vaš pa xᵛarahe(xᵛara MU) u kąm i duaxāną
frāz-wizīdār aziš, pad xwarrah ud kām ī dō axwān
273.08 avazūnīą āfrā dādār hōrməzda . u harvəst məh aoǰą
abzōnīgān, āfrāh ī dādār ohrmazd
273.09 ẙazdą . u pura(pur MF) āsą pardazašnī i ẙazdą vāspą
ud harwisp meh-ōzān yazadān,ud pad rāyēnišn ud pardazišn ī yazadān-ēzišnīh
273.10 hargą čimīvarzasną dānagą . pāda baxšnihā nō nō ō
ō čimīg-warzišnān dānāgān pādāšnīhā nōg nōg ō
273.11 xᵛāsnī(xᵛāšī MF) dārī i xrada . pa sta varəhā nīrmaṯ vaṇdašnī
xwēšēnīdārīh ī xrad,pad stabrīhā nirmad-windišnīh
273.12 i duaxānī ō tan u ruuą baeš ažgartum . čuṇ(MF adds əž) aṇdar
ī dō-axwānīg, ī ō tan ud ruwān bēšazgartom. čiyōn andar
273.13 avīspa(aβīža MF) aβdą aβad avāgumą hūṇgōšīda vəhədīn i
abēzag abdān abd abēgumān ud huhangōšīdag weh dēn ī
273.14 məhəstą pagvəšni i dādār hōrməzda u spitamą zaraϑuš-
māzdēsnān pad gōwišn ī dādār ohrmazd ud spitāmān zarduxšt
273.15 tr vasǰā vaǰirinīṯ əstəṯ ku ōi vīspa vəhədādār iṇ
pad was gyāg wizīrēnīd ēstēd kū ōy ī wisp-weh dādār ēn
273.16 dąm pa xaraṯ dāṯ . kāš avīngardihā dāstāī(dāstārī MF) pa

dām pad xrad dād, u+š *wanīgardīh-dāštārīh pad
273.17 xarṯ . u ašāžašnī u apatīāra ą hamā u hamā ravaš-
xrad ud asazišnīg ud apetyārag pad ān ī hamēw-ud-hamēw-rawišnīh
273.18 nihā anōšī nīrmaṯ maṇdtum aвazār i xard rā aвāž
anōšagīh nirmadōmandtom abzār ī xrad rāy abāz
273.19 ō xᵛāš kunāṯ . ham čim rā pādā . ku dānā ā būṯ kāš guf-
ō xwēš kunēd.ham čim rāy paydāg kū dānāg+ēw būd kē+š guft
273.20 ta . ku agar iṇ āšnā ku yazdą dīn rāstī u dāṯ frārūṇnī
kū agar ēn āšnāg kū yazadān dēn rāstīh ud dād frārōnīh
273.21 u aвar dāmąn nākī kāma u aвuxṣāišnī . čirā frahāst
ud abar dāmān nēkīh-kāmag ud abaxšāyišnīg,čē rāy frahist
274.01 mardum vs kāš u vs garōišni vs nun yast hāṇda .
mardōmān was-kēš ud was-wurrōyišn ud was-buništ hēnd?
274.02 u frəhəstą kānāš(kəš MF) u dāṯ u groišni pa xīr i yazdą
ud frahist ān kēš ud dād ud wurrōyišnīh pad xīr ī yazadān
274.03 vaǰṇdgār u nāxūb . u iṇča aṇdāṣīdan(aṇdəšīða MF) ku vazīdār
wizendgar ud nē xūb?ud ēn+iz handēšīd kū wizīdār
274.04 būdan . pa iṇϑisrā rṇž aвar barəṣnī . u pa iṇϑuš
būdan pad ēn tis rāy ranǰ abar barišn ud pad ēn tis
274.05 āgāh āвāiiaṯ būdan . či pa(MF omits) fraǰąm gārī tan ō
āgāh abāyēd būdan čē pad frazām-kārīh tan ō
274.06 xākī gumāǰəhāṯ u aвastąm o rumą bahōṯ o u har kaš
xākīh gumēzīhēd ud abestām ō ruwān bawēd,ud harw kas
274.07 ruą rā rṇž aвar barəšna . u əž kār u kərba āgāh
ruwān rāy ranǰ abar barišn ud az kār ud kirbag āgāh
274.08 buišni . či ą kərba i mard anāgāhihā kunāṯ kərba kəm .
bawišn,čē ān kirbag ī mardōm anāgāhīhā kunēd kirbag kem
274.09 u ągunāh i mard anāgāhihā kunəṯ gunāh bun(abun MF) ōbahōṯ .
ud ān wināh ī mardōm anāgāhīhā kunēd wināh pad bun ī ōy bawēd.
274.10 u əž aвāsta pādā . kuš nāϑəs grəfta kənā ruą grifta .
ud az abestāg paydāg . kū nē kas tis kard kē+š nē ruwān kard tā nūn
274.11 aṇdā nuṇni nāϑis gīraṯ kənəruągīrəṯ . əž čaną(ča nuh MF) frāž .
ud nē tis kunēd kē nē ruwān kunēd az+iz nūn frāz,
274.12 či mainiiō gāϑī ādum humānā čūṇ drūpastī(dru pust MF) du . ẙak
čē mēnōg ud gētīg ēdōn homānāg *čiyōn drubuštīh dō, ēk
274.13 āвar pādā ku bāstanṇd u yak stadan nāsāiiaṯ . pas ṇbārā
ēwar paydāg kū be stānēnd ud ēk stadan nē šāyēd. Pas hambār
274.14 ą dunasni əvəhə kə āвra pādā ku stadan(studan MF) nāṣāiiaṯ . u ka
ān kunišn ī weh, kē ēwar paydāg kū stadan nē šāyēd. Ud ka

274.15 pa ārāinaşan aвar nəgrīṯ . pa xarda xᵛāstārī ṇdār(aṇdar MF) iṇ
pad ēd rāyēnišn abar nigerīd pad xrad-xwāstārīh andar ēn
274.16 gāhą şahar şahar u paṯ kōs paṯ kōs franaft . u žhar (əž har MF)
gēhān šahr šahr ud pāygōs pāygōs franaft. ud az was
274.17 kāšu garōišni i āsą mardumą yašą pa dānāī aвīrtar
kēš ud wurrōyišn ī awēšān mardōmān ī+šān pad dānāgīh abērtar
274.18 minīṯ u purašīṯ u vaǰōst u aвar maṯ . u kidīṯ ku(u MF)
menīd, pursīd ud wizōst ud abar mad, ud ka dīd kū
274.19 ẙak ṇdar diṯ(duṯ MF) ādum ṇbasą u haməmāl həṇd . agin
ēk andar did ēdōn hambasān ud hamēmāl hēnd. Ēg
274.20 dānəst ku iṇ kəš u garōisn u ǰaṯ rastī i pa iṇgā- hą
dānist kū ēn kēš ud wurrōyišn ud ǰud-ristagīh ī pad ēn gēhān
274.21 ẙak ṇdar duṯ ādum ṇbastą(aṇbasą MF) hād nā əž dahəsni i
ēk andar did ēdōn hambasānīg hēnd nē az dahišn ī
275.01 ẙazdą sazəṯ būṯan . či ẙazdąn dīn rāstī dāṯ
yazadān sazēd būd, čē yazadān dēn rāstīh ud dād
275.02 frārūṇni . u pa iṇ aвāgumą būṯ(būdan MF) ku har kə na pa iṇ
frārōnīh,ud pad ēn abēgumān būd kū harw *kē nē pad ēn
275.03 aвīǰa(aвīǰah MF) dīn aigišą pa har ϑiš gumą . u pa hamā
abēzag dēn ēg+išān pad harw tis gumānīgīh. ud pad hamāg
275.04 čim smaāвašn(šāвašni MF) vīnəṇd u pa səž(pas əž MF) ą pa pursīdārī u i
čim šēbišn wēnēnd. pas az ān pad pursīdārīh ud warzīdārīh ī
275.05 dīn(MF and MU add u varzīdārī) taxšātar dīṯ(būṯ MF) u əž dastūrą u pa iṇdīn(MF adds dīn dānātar) āgāh- tar
dēn tuxšāgtar būd ud az dastwarān ī pad ēn dēn dānāgtar ud dēn-āgāhtar
275.06 būṯ həṇṯ pursīṯ . ku ōi dārəšn tan u bōžasni ruuą
275.07 ϑisə či vəhə u palumtar . vasą pa pādāī i əž dīn
tis čē weh ud pahlomtar? u+šān pad paydāgīh ī az dēn
275.08 gufta . ku əž nākī iō mardumą rsəṯ(rasəṯ MF) xard vəhə . či gā-ϑī
guft. kū az nēkīh ī ō mardōmān rasēd xrad weh,čē gētīg
275.09 pa nīrōi xard şāiiaṯ rāinīdan u mainiō ča pa
pad nērōg ī xrad šāyēd rāyēnīdan ud mēnōg+iz pad
275.10 nīrōi xarda ō xᵛāš şāiiaṯ karadan . u iṇča pādā ku
nērōg ī xrad ō xwēš šāyēd kardan, ud ēn+iz paydāg kū
275.11 hōrməzda iṇ dąm u dahəsnə iṇdar gāϑī pa āsn xard
ohrmazd ēn dām ud dahišn ī andar gētīg pad āsn xrad
275.12 dāṯ āstaṯ(āstəṯ MF; MU) . gāϑī ča u mainiō rāinīdārī pa xard . ku
dād ēstēd ud gētīg+iz ud mēnōg rāyēnīdārīh pad xrad. ud ka
275.13 guzurg sūdī u aržamṇdī i xarda pa ą āina dīṯ aṇdar

wuzurg sūdīh ud arzōmandīh ī xrad pad ān ēwēnag dīd andar

275.14 hōrməzda i xᵛaDāiu aməšāspəṇdąn mainiiō xarṯ spās-dār

ohrmazd ī xwadāy ud amahraspandān ud mēnōg ī xrad spāsdārtar

275.15 būṯ . u mainiiō i xard panāhī karaṯ . u mainiiō i

būd . ud mēnōg ī xrad pad *panāh grift . ud mēnōg ī

275.16 xard rā namāž u parstašni vās karda ku aβrə aməṣās-pəṇdąn

xrad rāy namāz ud paristišn wēš kard kū abārīg amahraspandān,

275.17 u iṇča dānəsta ku hamā kār u kərəba u kunišni

ud ēn+iz dānist kū hamāg kār ud kirbag ud kunišn ī

275.18 frārūṇ pa nīrō i xard ō xᵛāš ṣāiiaṯ kardan . u tux-sā

frārōn pad nērōg ī xrad ō xwēš šāyēd kardan. ud tuxšāg

275.19 āβāiiaṯ būdan ō xaṣnūdī i mainiiō i xard . u əž

abāyēd būdan pad hušnūdīh ī mēnōg ī xrad, ud az

275.20 frāž yazisni mainiiōi xard kardan tuxšātar būṯ .(MF and MU add pas) əž

ān frāz pad ēzišn ī mēnōg ī xrad kardan tuxšāgtar būd. pas az

275.21 ą mainiiōi xard mainišn u kāma i ą dānārā tan havaš

ān mēnōg ī xrad menišn ud kāmag ī ān dānāg rāy tan awiš

276.01 pədāinīṯ . u vaš ha vaš gufta . ku dōsta istāiidār

paydāgēnīd u+š awiš guft kū dōst ī stāyīdār

276.02 vəhə əž ašhī i pahalūm . āfrāh xᵛāh(MF omits) əž mən main-iiō

weh az ahlāyīh ī pahlom. āfrāh xwāh az man, mēnōg

276.03 I xard . kut rāh nmāe bom ō xᵛušnūdī i yazdą u

ī xrad, kū+t rāh-nimāy bawam ō hušnūdīh ī yazadān ud

276.04 vahą u pa gəϑī dārəsni tan u pa mainiiō buxtār i ruą .

wehān ud pad gētīg dārišn ī tan ud pad mēnōg bōxtārīh ī ruwān.

Chapter: ii

276.05 purshīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xraṯ . ku čuṇ šā-iiaṯ

pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū čiyōn šāyēd

276.06 xᵛāstan dārəsn padīxᵛī i tan ǰa əž zəą i ruą

xwāstan dārišn ud padēxīh ī tan ǰud az zyān ī ruwān ud bōxtārīh ī ruwān

276.07 u buxtārī i ruą ǰaṯ əž zəą(ziiąn MF) i tan . mainiiōi xard pā-šux

ǰud az zyān ī tan? mēnōg ī xrad passox

276.08 kard . ku ą i əž ϑo kəh pa hamtāk kār u hama-tāk

kard kū ān ī az tō keh pad hamtāg, ud hamtāg

276.09 pa vaš məhā . məh pa ǰaš sālār(sālārī MF) u šālār pa

pad aziš-meh, ud aziš-meh pad sālār, ud sālār pad

276.10 xᵛaðāe dār . u iṇdar(aṇdar MF; MU) xᵛaðāi ą āgāna u framą burdār u

xwadāy dār ud . andar xwadāyān ēkānag ud framān-burdār ud

276.11 rāstī gavəšn bāš u aṇdar hamaiārą ār tan čarβ u
rāst-gōwišn bāš. andar hamahlān ēr-tan ud čarb ud
276.12 hučasma bāš . spazagī ma kun kut dusrūbī daruṇdī ha-
hučašm bāš. spazgīh ma kun, kū+t dusrawīh ud druwandīh
276.13 baš nārsaṯ . čigufta āstaṯ . ku spazgī garątar(vanāhtar MF) ku
awiš nē rasēd, čē guft ēstēd kū spazgīh garāntar kū
276.14 ǰākuī . u ṇdar kōzax har drūza kuārašn̊ ō pāš
ǰādūgīh, ud andar dušox harw druz dwārišn ō pēš
276.15 darūǰ(drūǰča MF; MU) . spazgī garą gunāhī rā duārəsn ō(MF and MU add əž) pas . āž
ud druz ī spazgīh, garān-wināhīh rāy, dwārišn ō pas. āz
276.16 kāmaī ma kun . kut āž dāβ nāfrāǰā . ǰaṯ(vaṯ MU) xīr i gāϑ ī
kāmagīh ma kun, kū+t āz dēw nē frēbēd u+t xīr ī gētīg
276.17 aβāmīža u aimainiiō avīn nā bahōṯ . xᵛaşamaganī ma
abēmizag ud ān ī mēnōg wany nē bawēd. xešmīh ma
276.18 ku . či mard ka xaşm kunāṯ aigiš kār u kərəba u nmāž u
kun, čē mard ka xešm gīrēd ēg+iš kār ud kirbag ud namāz ud
276.19 parastasni yazdą framōš bahōṯ . ǰaš(čaš MF; MU) hamōīn gunāh u
paristišn ī yazadān framōš bawēd. u+š hāmōyēn wināh ud
276.20 baža ō manişn ōftaṯ ṇdābā nastastan xaşm . xaşm
bazag ō menišn ōftēd ud tā be nišastan ī xešm.
276.21 havṇd āhāraman guft əstaṯ . beš madār . či ōi i beš
hāwand ahreman guft ēstēd. bēš ma bar, čē ōy ī bēš
277.01 burdār rā manşn(rāmaşna MF) i gāϑī u mainiiō avīn bahōṯ . vaš(čaš MF; MU) xāhaşn
burdār rāmišn ī gētīg ud mēnōg wany bawēd u+š kāhišn
277.02 ō tan u ruą ōftāṯ . varunī ma kun . kāt əž xᵛāš
ō tan ud ruwān ōftēd. waranīgīh ma kun, kū+t az xwēš
277.03 kunəsn zią paşāmąnī bā(nā MF; MU) rašaṯ . arašk i aβārūṇ madār .
kunišn zyān ud pašēmānīh nē rasēd. arešk ī abārōn ma bar,
277.04 kut zəṇdaī(ziṇdī MF) aβāmīž nā bahōṯ . nṇgrā gunāh ma kun . či
kū+t zīndagīh abēmizag nē bawēd. nang rāy wināh ma kun, čē
277.05 nākī ūaṇyaidī u pādašāhī u xunar u sāiṇdaī nā padāma(pa dāma MF)
nēkīh ud ārāyišn ud hangadīh ud pādixšāyīh ud hunar ud šāyendagīh nē pad kām
277.06 u kunišni i mardumąn bā pa barhīnaşn u spi hir u(MF omits) kāmai
ud kunišn ī mardōmān, bē pad brēhēnišn ī spihr ud kāmag ī
277.07 yazdą bahōṯ . bušīāsp ma varz . ku ta kāra u kərəba
yazadān bawēd . būšāsp ma warz . kū+t kār ud kirbag
277.08 i āvāīaṯ karadan kard(akardan MF; MU) nā māraṯ(mānəṯ MF) zana i pa gōhar va-ǰīn(vaǰīṯ MF; varzīn MU)
ī abāyēd kardan akard nē mānēd. zan ī padgōhr wizīn,

277.09 čiq vəh i pa avadum xusrūbtar . darāəq ǰōisnī
čē ān weh ī pad abdomīh husrawtar. drāyān-ǰōyišnīh
277.10 ma kun . kut ṇdar u amərədāṯ aβərPdāṯ u mārəspəṇṯ āstār
ma kun, kū+t andar hordād ud amurdād amahraspand āstār
277.11 u garq nā ǰahāṯ . kušāṯ duārəsnī ma kun . kut(ku MF) padu-βāeq
ī garān nē ǰahēd. wišād-dwārišnīh ma kun, kū+t pad dōpāyān
277.12 u čihār βāeq ziqi pa frazṇdq vazṇd nāra-saṯ
ud čahārpāyān zyān ud pad frazandān wizend nē rasēd.
277.13 āmōka ma raβ . kut āstār igərq ō ruq nā rasāṯ .
ēw-mōg ma raw, kū+t āstār ī garān ō ruwān nē rasēd.
277.14 əž pāe pāšiiār ma kun . ku pa dāṯ i dāβq gərəftār
az pāy pēšārwār ma kun, kū pad dād ī dēwān griftār
277.15 nā bāš(bāe MF; bāie MU) vat(at MF; ǰaṯ MU) q gunāh ā dāβa ō dōžax nā kušə-ṇṯ(daşəṯ MF; daşəṇṯ MU) .
nē bawē u+t ān wināh rāy dēw ō dušox nē kešānd.
277.16 tuxšā u paemānī bāš u əž frārūṇ tuxšāī
tuxšāg ud paymānīg bāš ud az frārōn-tuxšāgīh ī
277.17 xᵛās xᵛar . u yazdq u vəhq bahar kun . ǰaṯ(čaṯ MF; MU) ā āduṇ
xwēš xwar, ud yazadān ud wehān bahr kun,
277.18 varzīdārī ṇdar xᵛāškārī mahāst kərəba . əž xᵛāsta i
u+t ēd ēdōn-warzīdārīh andar xwēškārīh mahist kirbag. az xwāstag ī
278.01 kasq ma par(apar MF; MU) . kut frāruṇ tuxšāī i xᵛāš avīn nā
kasān ma appar, kū+t frārōn-tuxšāgīh ī xwēš wany nē
278.02 bahōṯ . čiguft āstaṯ . ku kə nā až frāruṇ tuxšāī
bawēd, čē guft ēstēd kū, kē nē az frārōn-tuxšāgīh
278.03 i xᵛāš bā əž han miš(ϑiš MF; MU) xᵛrāṯ ō i ādum humānā čun kəsar
ī xwēš, bē az any, tis xwarēd ōy ēdōn homānāg čiyōn kē sar
278.04 i mardumq pa dast dāraṯ u magz i mardumq xᵛarəṯ .(MF; MU add əž) zan i
ī mardōmān pad dast dārēd ud mazg ī mardōmān xwarēd. az zan ī
278.05 kasq parhəxtār bāš . čit iṇ har sə avīn şāiiaṯ
kasān pahrēxtār bāš, čē+t ēn har sē wany šāyēd
278.06 budan ham xᵛāst u ham tan u ham ruq . aβādusmanq
būdan, ham xwāstag ud ham tan ud ham ruwān. abāg dušmenān
278.07 pa dāistq kōxš . aβā dōstq pasṇd i kōstq raβ .
pad dādestān kōxš. abāg dōst pad passand ī dōstān raw.
278.08 aβā xūn(xᵛūn MF; MU) var marda naβard mabar . ǰaş paϑisiča āin
abāg kēnwar mard nibard ma bar u+š pad tis+iz ēwēnag
278.09 ma āzār . avā āǰūr mard ham bāe ma bāš . ǰaš pa
ma āzār. abāg āzwar mard hambāy ma bāš u+š pad
278.10 sālārī ma gumār . abā spazg mard ō kar pādašāhq
sālārīh ma gumār. abāg spazg mard ō dar ī pādixšāyān

278.11 masō . avā dusrūb mard paeuuaṇd ma ku . avā dusā- gāh
ma šaw. abāg dusraw mard paywand ma kun. abāg dušāgāh
278.12 mard hamkār ham ϑōǰī ma bāš . avā(MF adds viiāžąn) hala
mard hamkār ud hamtōzag ma bāš. abāg halag
278.13 mard patkār ma kun . avā mastūk mard pa rāh ma raв .
mard pahikār ma kun. abāg mastōg mard pad rāh ma raw.
278.14 əž vaṯ gōhar mard aвām ma stan . pa spāsdārī i
az wad-gōhr mard abām ma stān. pad spāsdārīh ī
278.15 ṇdar yazdąn u yast niāeaşni u yazašn u azbāeşn
andar yazadān ud yašt ud niyāyišn ud ēzišn ud azbāyišn
278.16 u āmōxtārī i frahṇg kardan tuxšā u ǰąn aвaspār
ud hammōxtārīh ī frahang kardan tuxšāg ud gyān-abespār
278.17 bāš . či guft əštəṯ . ku pa zahişn aiiārī i pa
bāš, čē guft ēstēd kū pad ǰahišn-ayārīh ī pad
278.18 mardumąn xard vəh . u pa nąm xᵛāsta(xᵛastan MF; MU) u ruą boxtan(bōxttan MF)
mardōmān xrad weh ud pad nām xwāstan ud ruwān bōxtan
278.19 rādī vəh . u pa rāinīdārī i dār(kār MF; MU) u dāištą buṇda manişnī
rādīh weh ud pad rāyēnīdārīh ī kār ud dādestān bowandag-menišnīh
278.20 vəh . u pa oštią gavəsnī ǰādaṇgō barşnīhā rāštī
weh ud pad ōstīgān-gōwišnīh ǰādangō-barišnīhā rāstīh
278.21 vəh . u pa kār raptārī tuxšāī vəh . u har kaš
weh ud pad kār-raftārīh tuxšāgīh weh ud pad harw kas
279.01 padaš vaštāx būdan xᵛāštārī vəh . u pa nākī ha- вaš
padiš wistāx būdan awestwārīh weh ud pad nēkīh-awiš
279.02 madārī spāsdārī vəh u pa xᵛāš tan anārəṇg
madārīh spāsdārīh weh ud pad xwēštan anērang
279.03 dāstan paemą gavəsnī i pa rāštī vəh . u pa aвāž
dāštan paymān-gōwišnīh ī pad rāstīh weh ud pad abāz
279.04 dāštan aibigaṯ u patīār əž xᵛāš tan xᵛāš dārī(kārī MF; MU)
dāštan ī ēbgat ud petyārag az xwēštan xwēškārīh
279.05 vəh . u pāš i xᵛaðāią pādaşāhą paemą gavəsnī u
weh ud pēš ī xwadāyān ud pādixšāyān paymān-gōwišnīh ud
279.06 həṇzaman xūb darəǰaşnī vəh . u pa dōštą āšānī ma- dāðārī nasnī dōstī vəh
pad hanǰaman xūb-dranǰišnīh weh ud pad dōstān āsānīh-menišnīg dōstīh weh
279.07 u pa āi ār(har āišr MF) ō xᵛāš kardārī savak
ud pad hamahl-ō-xwēš-kardārīh sōg-dādārīh
279.08 vəh . u ṇdar vas məhąn čarvī u ārtanī vəh .
weh ud andar aziš-mehān čarbīh ud ēr-tanīh weh
279.09 u aṇdar vas kəhṇ sāxtārī u hū(h MU) вāžī vəh . u ṇdar
ud andar aziš-kehān sāxtārīh ud huēwāzīh weh ud andar

279.10 kard karą spās gavəsnī u āǰādī kardārī vəh u ṇdar
kardagārān spās-gōwišnīh ud āzādīh-kardārīh weh ud andar
279.11 ham tuxmigą humatī vəh . u ṇdar tandarustī paemąnī
hamtōhmagān humānīh weh ud andar tan-drustīh paymānīg x
279.12 xᵛarəsnī u tan pa kārdāstan vəh . u ṇdar spāš nāsą(šnāsą)
warišnīh ud tan pad kār dāštan weh ud andar spās-ešnāsān
279.13 dardārī(kardārī MF; MU) vəh . u ṇdar ṣālārą āugānaī u sūṯ xᵛāstārī
kardārīh weh ud andar sālārān ēkānagīh ud sūd-xwāstārīh
279.14 vəh . u ṇdar āugąnigą bṇdagą niak dāstārī u bīm namū-dārī
weh ud andar ēkānagān ud bandagān nēk-dāštārīh ud bīm-nimūdārīh
279.15 vəh . u ṇdar xᵛāš tan kam rṇž dāštārī xᵛarsṇdī
weh ud andar xwēštan-kem-ranǰ-dāštārīh hunsandīh
279.16 vəh . u ṇdar sālārī vəhą pa vahī u vatarą pa va-tarī
weh ud andar sālārīh wehān pad wehīh ud wattarān pad wattarīh
279.17 bāsnāxtan vəhą pādāēṣn u vatarą ǰīhaṣni
be šnāxtan, wehān pādāšn ud wattarān āwēnišn
279.18 kardan vəh . u pa haragāh u zamą xᵛāš tan əž gunāh
kardan weh ud pad harw gāh ud zamān xwēštan az wināh
279.19 paharəxtan u pa kərabaī kār tuxṣā būdan vəh . u pa
pahrēxtan ud pad kirbagīg kār tuxšāg būdan weh ud pad
279.20 har rōž hōrməzda pa dāðārī u āharman marōčinī dārī
harw rōz ōhrmazd pad dādārīh ud ahreman pad murnǰēnīdārīh
279.21 mənīdan u ṇdar ailāṯ dāstan vəh . pa anāzarmī haǰāš(havaš MF; hazaš MU)
menīdan ud andar ayād dāštan weh ud pad anāzarmīh awiš
279.22 nāmadan xᵛāš tan ṣnāsaī vəh . iṇ hamā durust u rāst
nē madan xwēštan-ešnāsīh weh. ēn hamāg drust ud rāst
279.23 hamgūna hast . bā xᵛāškārī u pāṯ huzunī aβa var(aβar MF) har
ud hamgōnag ast, bē xwēškārīh ud pād-uzwānīh azabar harw
280.01 ϑiš . u əž uzdāst parastaṣnī u dāvāžaī dūr paharāza .
tis. az uzdēs-paristišnīh ud dēw-ēzagīh dūr pahrēz,
280.02 či pādā . ku agar ka ixusraβ i uzdā zār i pa vari čae- čist
čē paydāg kū, agar kay husraw uzdēszār ī pad war ī čēčist
280.03 nā xa hāṯ aṇdar iṇ sā hazār husādar u hušā-dar
nē kand hād, andar ēn sē-hazārag ī hušēdar
280.04 māh u ṣaošiiaos(MF adds ki) ǰaṯ ǰaṯ pa har har hazār əž
ud hušēdarmāh ud sōšāns, kē ǰud ǰud pad harw hazārag sar az
280.05 āsą yak āeṯ kədār(kə dār MF; MU) i gāϑī avāž vīrāeṯ u məhərą darūzą
awēšān ēk āyēd kē harw kār ī gēhān abāz wirāyēd ud mihrōdruǰān
280.06 u uzdāst parstą i ṇdar kəšβar bā aβaǰanəṯ
ud uzdēs-paristān ī andar kišwar be zanēd,
280.07 aigin patiiāra ədūm stahamatar būṯ hāṯ ku rastāxāž

ēg petyārag ēdōn stahmagtar būd hād kū rist-āxēz
280.08 u tan i pasīn kardan nā sāiiast hāṯ pa ham vār kardan
ud tan ī pasēn kardan nē šāyist hād. pad hambār kardan
280.09 i kərəba taxšā bāš . kut pa(MF omits) mainiiuq frəāṯ . pa
ī kirbag tuxšāg bāš, kū+t pad mēnōgān ō frayād rasēd. pad
280.10 hāči nikī i gāϑī vaštāx ma bāš . či nākī i gəṯī
ēč nēkīh ī gētīg wistāx ma bāš, čē nēkīh ī gētīg
280.11 ādum humānā čum(čim MF; čuq MU) aβra i pa āβasārq rōž āeṯ kə pa
ēdōn homānāg čiyōn abr ī pad afsālān rōz āyēd, kē pad
280.12 hāči kōh abāž nā pāeṯ . vaš gāϑī ārāi ma bāš .
ēč kōf abāz nē pāyēd. was gētīg-ārāy ma bāš,
280.13 či gāϑī ārāe mard mainiiō vasōβž(vašōβ MF; MU) bahōṯ . paxir u
čē gētīg-ārāy mard mēnōg-wišōb bawēd. pad xīr ud
280.14 xᵛāst vaş vastāx ma bāš čit pa(MF omits) fražqm hamā
xwāstag ī was wistāx ma bāš, čē+t pad frazām hamāg
280.15 āvāiiaṯ histan . pa pādasāhī vastāx mabāš . čit
abāyēd hištan. pad pādixšāyīh wistāx ma bāš, čē+t
280.16 pa frazqm avā disāh āβāiiaṯ būṯan . pa āzaram i
pad frazām abādixšā abāyēd būdan. pad āzarm ud
280.17 garqmī vastāx mabāš . či pa mainiiō āzarmī nā frəā-dəṯ .
grāmīgīh wistāx ma bāš, čē pad mēnōg āzarmīgīh nē frayādēd.
280.18 pa paevṇd u taxma i guzrg vastāx mabāš .
pad paywand ud tōhmag ī wuzurg wistāx ma bāš,
280.19 či pa fražqm avstqm ō kunşn xᵛāš bahōṯ . pa zaṇdaī
čē+t pad frazām abestām ō kunišn ī xwēš bawēd. pad zīndagīh
280.20 vastāx ma bāš . či aβdum maragī avar rasəṯ . u nasāi
wistāx ma bāš, čē+t abdom margīh abar rasēd ud nasā
280.21 sag u vae xᵛurəd . u ast ō zamī ōfətəṯ . u ṇdā sā
sag ud way kirrēnēd ud astag ō zamīg ōftēd ud tā sē rōz
280.22 rōz šavq ruuq pa bālīn i tan nisīnaṯ . rōz i čihārəm
šabān ruwān pad bālēn ī tan nišīnēd ud rōz ī čahārom
281.01 ṇdar hōšbqm pa aβāgī i sarōš aşō u vae vihə
andar ōšbām pad abāgīh ī srōš-ahlā ud way ī weh
281.02 u vahirqm i amāvaṇd u hamāstārī i asta vahāṯ
ud wahrām ī amāwand ud hamēstārīh ī astwihād
281.03 u vae vatar u frəhazi stadāv(frəhazist dāv MF) u nīzəsta dāv u
ud way ī wattar ud frazēšt dēw ud nizēšt dēw ud
281.04 duš u kqmkardārī i xšmi anākaradārī xuruīṯ raoš(xuruīdraoš MF; MU) ṇdā
duškām-kardārīh ī xešm ī anāg-kardār ī xurdruš tā
281.05 ō čṇdōr pauhal in bulṇd işahamagun kə har aşō u
ō *činwad puhl ī buland ī sahmgen, kē harw ahlaw ud

281.06 daruṇd haǰaš madār ṣahōṯ . vas hamāstār ānō pād
druwand awiš madār, *šawēd. ud was hamēstār ānōy pād
281.07 āstəṇd pa anākāmī xšm i xru daraos u astavahāṯ kə-
ēstēnd. pad anāgīh-kāmagīh ī xešm ī xurdruš ud astwihād, kē
281.08 hamōīn dąm huparəṯ(hupārəṯ MF) u sārīnā dānāṯ . u mihąžī i mahir u
hāmōyēn dām ōbārēd ud sagrīh nē dānēd, ud mayānǰīgīh ī mihr ud
281.09 sarōš u rasn u tarāzinīdārī rasna rāst . ki tarāza i
srōš ud rašn ud tarāzēnīdārīh ī rašn ī rāst pad tarāzūg ī
281.10 mainiuą pa hāča kusta arāsta nākunāṯ nā aṣōą rā u nā i
mēnōgān, kē ēč kustag ōgrā nē kunēd nē ahlawān rāy ud nē+z
281.11 ča daruṇdą nā xuðāią rā u nāča dahivadą . čṇd mūi
druwandān, nē xwadāyān rāy ud nē+z any dahibedān, čand mōy+ēw
281.12 tāk bā nā varadaṯ u āzarm nā kunāṯ . u ą ixuðāe u dahi-vaṯ
tāg be nē wardēd ud āzarm nē dārēd ud ān ī xwadāy ud dahibed
281.13 aвā ą i xuradatum maradum padāeštą rāst dāraṯ .
abāg ān ī xwurdagtom mardōm dādestān rāst dārēd.
281.14 u ka ruą i aṣōą ą puhal vadərəṯ ā farsaṇg humānā
ud ka ruwān ī ahlawān pad ān puhl widerēd ēg frasang homānāg
281.15 ą puhal pahanāe bahōṯ . u ą i aṣōą ruą āвāgī
ān ī puhl pahnāy bawēd . ud ān ī ahlaw ruwān pad abāgīh ī
281.16 šrōs aṣō bā vadərəṯ . vasą(ǰaš ą MF; MU) i xᵛāš niak kunasna pa
srōš-ahlā be widerēd u+š ān ī xwēš nēk-kunišn pad
281.17 kanīk karaf . padīra āeṯ . i əž har kanīk i pa gāϑī
kanīg kirb ō padīrag āyēd, ī az harw kanīg ī pad gēhān
281.18 hūčihartar u vahə . u ą i aṣō ruą gōiṯ . ku ϑi kə hāṯ
hučihrtar ud weh, ud ān ī ahlaw ruwān gōwēd kū tō kē hē,
281.19 kəm haragiǰiča kanīk i až ϑō hūčihartar u vəha
kē+m hagriz kanīg ī az tō hučihrtar ud weh
281.20 pa gāϑī nādīṯ . pa pāsux pada vāǰāṯ ą kanīk
pad gētīg nē dīd. pad passox paywāzēd ān kanīg
281.21 karaf . ku hōm nā kanīk bā kunəṣni niak iϑō hom iūąn i
kirb kū az* nē kanīg bē kunišn ī nēk ī tō ham, ǰuwān ī
281.22 hūmanəsn i hūgavasn i hūkunasn i būdīn . čiϑi ka pa
humenišn ī hugōwišn ī hukunišn ī hudēn, čē tō, ka+t pad
281.23 gāϑī dīṯ kə dāvą āžaī karadan aigin ϑo nisast hae
gētīg dīd kē dēw-ēzagīh kard ēg tō nišast hē
282.01 vat ůazasni i ůazdą karadan . u kaṯ dīṯ u ku kas
u+t ēzišn ī yazadān kard . ud ka+t dīd kū kas
282.02 kə sta(sataham MF) mahama u apara(pari MF) kardan u xāsta əž baž aṇdōx-tan
stahm ud appar kard ud weh mardōm bēšīd ud tar kard ud xwāstag az bazag handōxt
282.03 aigin ϑō staham apar i xᵛāš əž dāmąn aвāž

ēg tō stahm ud appar ī xwēš az dāmān abāz
282.04 dāst . vaṯ vahə mardum mainīṯ u aspṇž padiraftārRi karṯ
dāšt u+t weh mardōm menīd ud aspinǰ ud padīriftārīh kard
282.05 vat dahəsni(vahəšni MF) dāṯ . ki əž dūra(MF; MU omit) nazdīka frāž maṯ u ki
u-t dāšn dād, kē az nazdīk frāz mad ud
282.06 ča əž dūr vat xᵛāstača əž frārūnī ṇdōxt . u ka ϑō
kē+z az dūr, u+t xwāstag az frārōnīh handōxt ud ka tō
282.07 dīṯ kə darōg dāβrī pārastānašnī ča karadan vaš(v MF) gu-vāī
dīd kē drō-dādwarīh ud pārag-stānišnīh kard u+š gugāyīh
282.08 ipa drōg dādan aigin ϑō nisastahae vat darəṇšašn
ī pad drō dād ēg tō nišast hē u+t dranǰišn
282.09 i rāst u frārūm guftan ao mən hōm ā i ϑō hamat u
ī rāstīh ud frārōnīh guft. az* ham ēd ī tō humat ud
282.10 huxta u hūarəsta ẙaṯ manīṯ u guft u kard . či ka
hūxt ud huwaršt ī+t menīd ud guft ud kard, čē ka
282.11 buržišnī būṯ hōm . aigit būražišnī tar bā dard(kard MF; MU) hōm .
burzišnīg būd ham ēg+it burzišnīgtar be kard ham ud ka grāmīg būd ham ēg+it grāmīgtar+iz be kard ham
282.12 u ka xᵛarəhmaṇṯ būṯ hom aigit xᵛarəhmaṇṯ tar bā karṯ
ud ka xwarrahōmand būd ham ēg+it xwarrahōmandtar+iz be kard
282.13 hōm . u kə əž ānō frāž ravāṯ auϑguš(aigiš MF) vādae xᵛaš
ham. ud ka az ānōy frāz rawēd ēg+iš wād+ēw
282.14 bōi . padīra aeṯ əž hamā hū bōī hūbōitar . purasəṯ
ī hubōy ō padīrag āyēd ī az hamāg hubōyīh hubōytar. pursēd
282.15 i ṇ aṣōą ruuą əž sarōš . ku iṇ ča vāṯ hast ẙam
ān ī ahlawān ruwān az srōš kū ēn čē wād ast ī+m
282.16 hargiži ča pa gəϑī vāṯ i ādum hūbōi ō mālšn nāmaṯ
hagriz pad gētīg wād ī ēdōn hubōy ō mārišn nē mad.
282.17 aigin šrōš ašō ō ą i ašōą ruuą pakvāzāṯ . ku iṇ
ēg srōš-ahlā ō ān ī ahlaw ruwān paywāzēd kū ēn
282.18 vāṯ əž vahāst hast kə ādum hūbōi . pas fradum gām
wād az wahišt ast kē ēdōn hubōy. pas fradom gām
282.19 pa humaṯ u daðīgar pa hūxta u šdīgar pa hurəst avar
pad humat ud dudīgar pad hūxt ud sidīgar pad huwaršt abar
282.20 ārāmaṯ . u čihārum gām bāō ą i aṣar rōṣnāī i hamā
āxrāmēd ud čahārom gām be ō ān ī asar rōšnīh ī hamāg
282.21 xᵛārī aβar rasəṯ vas hamōīn ẙazdą u aməṣāspəṇdąn
xwārīh abar rasēd u+š hāmōyēn yazadān ud amahraspandān
282.22 ō padīra āeṇd . u saxun vaṣ pursṇdi . kučūṇ əž ą i
ō padīrag āyēnd ud saxwan aziš pursēnd kū čiyōn az ān ī
283.01 səžmṇṯ i bīmmṇd i vas anāī axąn ō iṇ i asəž axąn

sēǰōmand ī bīmōmand ī was-anāgīh axwān ō ēn ī asēǰ axwān
283.02 i apatīāramaṯ hae ẙūąn(yūǰąn MF) i hū manasni hūgavasni
ī apetyārag mad hē, ǰuwān ī humenišn ī hugōwišn ī
283.03 hūkunəsni hūdīn . pas hōrməzda xᵛuðāe gōe . kaš ma
hukunišn ī hudēn? Pas ōhrmazd ī xwadāy gōwēd kū+š ma
283.04 saxun vas pursəṯ(purəṯ MF) či əž ągarāmī tan ǰuðā u pa
saxwan aziš pursēd, čē az ān ī grāmīg tan ǰudāg ud pad
283.05 ą i bīmgin rāh āmaṯ əstāṯ vas xᵛarsną xᵛastum ą i
ān ī bīmgen rāh āmad ēstēd u+š xwarišnān xwaštom, ān ī
283.06 maidiiōzarm raogan haǰaš barāṯ . kus āsānəṯ ruą əž ą
mēdyōzarm rōγn, awiš barēd, kū+š āsāyēd ruwān az ān
283.07 i sā šaβa puhal ẙaš əž ast vahāṯ u aβarā dāβ
ī sē-šabag puhl ī+š az astwihād ud abārīg dēwān
283.08 hazaš maṯ . vaš pa gāhā harvisp pāšīṯ aβar nisā-
awiš mad, u+š pad gāh ī harwisp-pēsīd abar nišānēd.
283.09 nāṯ . čuṇ pādā . ku ašō nar u nāirīk pas əž tan u bōi bā -
čiyōn paydāg kū ahlaw nar ud nārīg pas az bē-
283.10 vadīrasnī xᵛāstum(xᵛuštum MF; MU) əž xᵛarəsną mainiuą ẙazdą hae
widerišnīh xwaštom az xwarišnān, ahy ān ī mēdyōzarm rōγn, mēnōgān yazadān awiš barēnd
283.11 imai-dīōzarm raogan hazaš barəṇd vaš pa gāhi harvisp
u+š pad gāh ī harwisp
283.12 pāsīṯ bā nasnṇṯ u ṇdā hamā hamā ravasnīhā pa har-visp
...pēsīd be nišānēnd, tā hamēw-ud-hamēw-rawišnīh pad harwisp
283.13 xᵛārī āstāṯ avā mainiiuą yazdą hamā raβašnihā .
xwārīh ēstēd abāg mēnōgān yazadān hamēw-rawišnīhā.
283.14 u ka ōī i daruṇd mīrəṯ aigiš ruą sə rōz šavą pa
ud ka ān ī druwand mīrēd ēg+iš ruwān sē rōz-šabān pad
283.15 nazdīka i kamār i ōi daruuṇda duāraṯ u vągināṯ . ku ō kaš-avom
nazdīkīh ī kamāl ī ōy druwand dwārēd ud griyēd kū ō kū šawam
283.16 u nū makə panāh kunōm . u hamōīn gunāh u baza
ud nūn kē pad panāh gīram? ud hāmōyēn wināh ud bazag
283.17 ẙaš pa gāϑī kard aṇdar ą sə rōz šavą pa časma
ī+š pad gētīg kard andar ān sē rōz-šabān pad čašm
283.18 vīnəṯ . rōz čihārəm vīzraš dāβ āeṯ u ruą i daruuṇdą
wēnēd. rōz ī čahārom wizarš dēw āyēd ud ruwān ī druwandān
283.19 pa ą vaṯ baṇd baṇdāṯ . u pa hmāstārī i srōš ašō
pad ān ī wattar šōn bandēd ud pad hamēstārīh ī srōš-ahlā
283.20 nīeṯ ṇdā ō čṇdōr pahal . u aigin rasn rāst ą ruą i
nayēd tā ō *činwad puhl. ēg rašn ī rāst ān ruwān ī
283.21 daruṇdą pa daraṇdī āškārā kunāṯ . pas vizarš dāv ą

druwandān pad druwandīh āškārag kunēd. pas wizarš dēw ān
283.22 ruq i daruṇdq gīrəṯ u anāzarməhā u xašm kāmihā zarāṯ
ruwān ī druwandān gīrēd ud anāzarmīhā ud xešm-kāmagīhā zanēd
283.23 u vanāsəṯ . u q i daruṇdqn ruq burzāvṇdihā vaṇgīnāṯ
ud wināhēd ud ān ī druwandān ruwān borz-wāngīhā griyēd
283.24 u vārāmāṯ u vas xᵛāhišni rāvagirīhā xᵛāhāṯ u vas
ud burāmēd ud was xwāhišn lābakkarīhā xwāhēd ud was
284.01 kōšasni ǰqn apatūi hā kunāṯ . u kaš ϑisiča kōšīdārī
kōxšišn gyān-apattūgīhā kunēd ī ka+š tis+iz kōxšīdārīh
284.02 u rāvagarī nā tār vaǰ əž vahqn u əž ča dāvqn kaš
ud lābakkarīh nē čār u+š az bayān ud az+iz dēwān kas
284.03 ō friāṯ nā rasəṯ bāš vīzarš dāϐ anāaomədihā ō q i
ō frayād nē rasēd, bē+š wizarš dēw akōmandīhā ō ān ī
284.04 azər dōzax dəsiṯ . u pas kanikāe iō kanīkq nā humānā
nizm dušox kešēd. ud pas kanīg+ēw ī ō kanīgān nē homānāg ō
284.05 padira āeṯ . gōeṯ q i daruṇdq ō duš kanīk . ku ϑō kə
padīrag āyēd ud gōwēd ān ī druwandān ruwān ō ān duškanīg kū tō kē
284.06 hae kəm harigizi ča pa gāϑī duš kanīk i əž ϑō duštar
hē, kē+m hagriz pad gētīg duškanīg ī az tō duščihrtar
284.07 u zīstatar nā dīṯ . vaš pa pāšux havas gōeṯ q duš
ud zišttar nē dīd? u+š pad passox awiš gōwēd
284.08 kanīk . ku mən nā kanīk bā duš kunəsni i ϑō hōm zist duš- manəsn
kū man nē kanīg, bē kunišn ī tō ham, zišt ī dušmenišn
284.09 I duš gavasni duš kunəsni duš dīn . či kača ϑo
ī dušgōwišn ī duškunišn ī duǰdēn, čē ka+z tō
284.10 gāϑī dīṯ kə yazasni yazdq kardan aiginϑō nisast hae
pad gētīg dīd kē ēzišn ī yazadān kard ēg+iz tō nišast hē
284.11 vat dāv āžaī kardan . u dāvqn u darūzqn parastīdan .
u+t dēw-ēzagīh kard ud dēwān ud druzān paristīd
284.12 u ka čatōdīṯ kə vəh maradum aspṇǰ u parīraftārī kardan
ud ka+z+it dīd kē weh mardōm aspinǰ ud padīriftārīh kard
284.13 dahəsn dādan kə əž dūr frāž maṯ kə əž nazdīk . aigin
ud dāšn dād, kē az nazdīk frāz mad ud kē+z az dūr, ēg
284.14 ϑō vəh maradum ϑar u anāžarma kard u dahəsn nā dāṯ
tō weh mardōm tar ud anāzarmīg kard ud dāšn nē dād
284.15 u darača bā bast . u ka ϑō dīṯ kə(MF omits) dāϐarī i rāsta
ud dar+iz be bast ud ka tō dīd kē dādwarīh ī rāst kard
284.16 u pāra nā stadan(stādan MF) guvāī rāst dādan u durəṇžiṣn u
ud pārag nē stad ud gugāyīh ī rāst dād ud dranǰišn ī
284.17 frāruṇ guftan . aigain čaϑu risast hae vat dāvarī
frārōn guft ēg+iz tō nišast hē u+t dādwarīh

284.18 i darōg kardan vat guβāī pa darōg dādan vat daraṇ-žasn
ī drō kard u+t gugāyīh ī pad drō dād u+t dranǰišn
284.19 I aβāruṇ guftan . ao mən hōm ā i ϑō dušmata
ī abārōn guft. az* ham ēd ī tō dušmat
284.20 duzuxta duǰūarəsta yat manīṯ u gufta u karda . či ka
ud dušhūxt ud dušxwaršt ī+t menīd ud guft ud kard, čē ka
284.21 mən aburžiṣnī būṯ hōm aigit u burǰasnī tar ča bā
man aburzišnīg būd ham ēg+it aburzišnīgtar+iz be
284.22 kard hōm . u ka anāžarmī būṯ hōm aigit anāžarmī tarča
kard ham ud ka anāzarmīg būd ham ēg+it anāzarmīgtar+iz
284.23 bā karaṯ hōm . u ka pa gāha i časmxāhisna
be kard ham ud ka pad gāh ī čašmagāhān
284.24 nisast hōm aigit časmxᵛāhisna tarča bā karda hōm .
nišast ham ēg+it čašmagāhtar+iz be kard ham.
285.01 pas fradum gąm pa dušmat u dadīgar gąm pa dužūxt
pas fradom gām pad dušmat ud dudīgar pad dušhūxt
285.02 u sidīgar gąm pa pa dužvarəst ṇdar zarovəṯ . u čihārum
ud sidīgar gām pad dušxwaršt andar šawēd ud čahārom
285.03 gąm ō pāš ganā mainiiō i daruuaṇd aβarəča dāβąn ṇdar
gām ō pēš gannāg mēnōg ī druwand ud abārīg+iz dēwān andar
285.04 kuāraṯ . vas dāβ avasōš u riārī padas kunəṇṯ . kut əž
dwārēd ud dēwān afsōs ud riyahrīh padiš kunēnd kū+t az
285.05 hōrməzda i xᵛaðāe u əmaṣāspəṇdąn u vahəst i hu bōi
ōhrmazd ī xwadāy ud amahraspandān ud wahišt ī hubōy
285.06 hūrm čimust u gula būṯ i kat ō vīnasn i āhārman u
ud hurām čē must ud gilag būd ka+t ō wēnišn ī ahreman ud
285.07 dāvą u dōžax i tarīk aiβiā šīṯ . u kat āmā anāī
dēwān ud dušox ī tārīk ayāst, ka+t amā anāgīh
285.08 padaš kunōm u nā āmuružum u dāra ǰamąn anāī vīnaē . u
padiš kunēm ud nē āmurzēm ud dagr zamān anāgīh wēnē? ud
285.09 darāeṯ ganāmainiiō o kāvąn . kuš ma saxun aβaš pura- sāṯ .
drāyēd gannāg mēnōg ō dēwān kū+š ma saxwan aziš pursēd
285.10 či əž ą i garąmītan ǰudā u ą i vaṯ tar vadarg
čē az ān ī grāmīg tan ǰudāg ud pad ān ī wattar widarag
285.11 bā āmaṯ āstaṯ . bāš hažš barəṯ rīmantum u vatartum əž
be āmad ēstēd, bē+š awiš barēd rēmantom ud wattartom az
285.12 xᵛarasną xᵛarṣn i pa dōžax fravāraṯ . āvarəṇd vaš
xwarišnān, xwarišn ī pad dušox frawārd ēstēd. āwarēnd wiš
285.13 u zahar u mār u guzdum u aβrā xarβastar i pa dōžax .
ud zahr ī mār ud gazdum ud abārīg+iz xrafstar ī pad dušox
285.14 vaṣ xᵛaradan dahəṇd . u aṇdā rastāxāǰ u tan i pasīn

u+š xward dahēnd. ud tā rist-āxēz ud tan ī pasēn
285.15 pa vas anāī u pāṯ frāh i āina āina pa dōžax ara- zānī bahōṯ.
pad was anāgīh ud pādifrāh ī ēwēnag ēwēnag pad dušox abāyēd būd
285.16 u frəhəst ānō xᵛarəṣn ṣāiiaṯ būdan bāpūṯ
ud frahixt kū ānōy xwarišn šāyēd xward, bē pad ān
285.17 aṇgōṣīṯ hamānā . mainiiō āsna xard ō dānā guft . ku
hangōšīdag homānāg. mēnōg ī āsn xrad ō dānāg guft kū
285.18 yat pa dārəsn i tan u bōžasn i ruą rā puršīṯ vaem
ēd ī+t pad dārišn ī tan ud bōzišn ī ruwān rāy pursīd, u+m
285.19 xᵛūbahā hazaš guft aṇdaržinīṯ hae . haizas niak
xūbīhā awiš guft ud handarzēnīd hē,awiš nēk
285.20 frīž u pa kār dār . čit ā hast mahāst rāh i pa dā- rəsn
pardaz (frēz ?) ud pad kār dār,čē+t ēd ast mahist rāh pad dārišn
285.21 I tan u bōžasni ruą .
ī tan ud bōzišn ī ruwān.

Chapter: iii

285.22 purašīṯ dānā o mainiiō xraṯ . ku rādī vah
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū rādīh weh,
285.23 aiiå rāstī . aiiå spāš dārī vəh aiiå xrad . aiiå
ayāb rāstīh, ayāb spāsdārīh, ayāb xrad, ayāb
285.24 buṇda manəsnī vəh aiiå xarasaṇdī . mainiiō xard pāsux
bowandag-menišnīh, ayāb hunsandīh? mēnōg ī xrad passox
286.01 kard . ku pa ruą rādī u pa hamā gāhąm rāsti . u
kard kū pad ruwān rādīh ud pad hamāg gēhān rāstīh ud
286.02 aṇdar yazdą sapāsdārī u pa tan mard xard . u pa hamā
andar yazadān spāsdārīh ud pad tan ī mard xrad ud pad hamāg
286.03 kār buṇda manasnī u pa āsānī i tanu zanṣn i āhārə- man
kār bowandag-menišnīh ud pad āsānīh ī tan ud zanišn ī ahreman
286.04 dāvąn xᵛarasaṇdī vəh .
ud dēwān hunsandīh weh.

Chapter: iv

286.05 pursīṯ dānā ō mainiiō i xard ku kərəbae
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū kirbag+ēw
286.06 kadām məh u vəh . mainiiō i xard pāsux kard .

kadām meh ud weh? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard
286.07 ku mahəst kərəba rādī u dadīgar rāstī u xaeϑuuōdaϑa .
kū mahist kirbag rādīh ud dudīgar rāstīh ud xwēdōdah,
286.08 sadīgar gahsṇbār čiharum hamā dīn . paṇǰum yazasni
sidīgar gāhānbār, čahārom hamāg-dēn, panǰom ēzišn
286.09 yazdą u spaṇǰ kāra dabagą kardan . šašum har kas
ī yazadān ud aspinǰ ī kārdāgān kardan, šašom harw kas
286.10 rā nākī āvāiiastan . haftum hūčašmī i pa vəhą .
rāy nēkīh abāyistan, haftom hučašmīh ī pad wehān.

Chapter: v

286.11 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xard . ka zamī kadām
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū zamīg kadām
286.12 ṣādatar . mainiiō xard pāsux kard . u zamīą ṣādatar
šādtar? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū zamīg ān šādtar
286.13 kəš mard i aṣō i rāst gavəṣn mānəsn padaš kunəṯ .
kē+š mard ī ahlaw ī rāst-gōwišn mānišn padiš kunēd,
286.14 dadīgar kə mąni ātaṣą padaš kunəṇd . u sadīgar kaš
dudīgar kē mān ī ātaxšān padiš kunēnd, sidīgar ka+š
286.15 gāvą u gōspaṇdą padaš xᵛafṣəṇṯ . čihārum avarazīṯ
gāwān ud gōspandān padiš xufsēnd, čahārom awarzīd
286.16 u anavaṇdą zamī avāz ō varž u āvādānī āvarəṇṯ .
ud anābādān zamīg ka abāz ō warz ud ābādānīh āwarēnd,
286.17 paṇǰum kə grīsta i xarvastarą avaš xanəṇṯ . šaṣum
panǰom kē gilistag ī xrafstarān aziš kanēnd, šašom
286.18 kə yazasn u raṣsni yazdą u niṣīnasn i vahą avar
kē ēzišn ud rasišn ī yazadān ud nišastan ī wehān abar
286.19 bahōṯ . haftum ka ą i avīrą āϐādą kunəṇṯ . hastum
bawēd, haftom ka ān ī awērān ābādān kunēnd, haštom
286.20 kə əž xᵛāšī vatarą xᵛāšī i vahą rasaṯ . nahum ka
ka az xwēšīh ī wattarān ō xwēšīh ī wehān rasēd, nohom ka
286.21 bar i bīṯ(būṯ MF) azaš bahōṯ yazdą u vaihą arazątnią bahar
az bar ud bīz* ī aziš bawēd yazadān ud wehān ud arzānīgān bahr
286.22 kunaṯ . dahum kə zōr yazasn padasa kunāṯ .
kunēnd, dahom kē zōhr ud ēzišn padiš kunēnd.

Chapter: vi

287.01 purasīṯ dānā u mainiiō i xard . ku zamī
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū zamīg
287.02 kadām duṣarāmtar . mainiiō xard pāsux kard . ku zamī
kadām dušrāmtar? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū zamīg
287.03 ą bāsīṯtar kə dōžax padaš xarnīṯ əstaṯ . dadīgar
ān bišttar kē dušox padiš kirrēnīd ēstēd, dudīgar
287.04 kaš mard aṣōi avāgunāh padaš aβazənṇṯ . sadīgar kə
ka+š mard ī ahlaw ī awināh padiš ōzanēnd, sidīgar kē
287.05 dāv u daruǰ aṇdurun padaš kunəṇd . čihārum kə uzdāžār
dēw ud druz handwaran* padiš kunēnd, čahārom kē uzdēszār
287.06 padaš kunəṇṯ . paṇǰum ka mard u daruṇd i anāk kardār
padiš kunēnd, panǰom ka+š mard ī druwand ī anāg-kardār
287.07 manəṣn padaš kunəṯ . šašum ka naṣāe azār nagą kərd
mānišn padiš kunēnd, šašom ka+š nasā azēr nigān kard
287.08 əstəṯ . haftum kə xarastar garīst padaš kārṯ . hastum
ēstēd, haftom kē xrafstar gilistag padiš dārēd, haštom
287.09 ka əž xᵛāšī i vəhą ō xᵛāšīi vatarą rasəṯ . nahum ka
ka az xwēšīh ī wehān ō xwēšīh ī wattarān rasēd, nohom ka
287.10 ą i āvādą avīrą kunəṇṯ . duhum kə šīn u mūǰaī pa-
ān ī ābādān awērān kunēnd, dahom kē šēwan ud mōyag padiš

287.11 daš kunəṇṯ .
kunēnd.

Chapter: vii

287.12 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xard . kə vahāst čum
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū wahišt čiyōn
287.13 čaṇd . u hamāstagą čum u čaṇdo u dōǰax čuṇ u čaṇd .
ud čand ud hamēstān čiyōn ud čand ud dušox čiyōn ud čand?
287.14 u aṣōą aṇdar vahāst dāestą či nākī əž či . u daruṇ-
ud ahlawān andar wahišt dādestān čē ud nēkīh az čē ud druwandān
287.15 dą aṇdar dōžax anāī patiār či . u āsą kə hamāstgą
andar dušox anāgīh ud petyārag čē ud awēšān kē pad hamēstān
287.16 həṇd dāestą čiṇi . mainiiō xard pāsux kard . ku va-hāst
hēnd dādestān čē ud čiyōn? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū wahišt
287.17 fradum əž astara pāẙa aṇdāmāh pāiia .
fradom az star pāyag tā māh pāyag,
287.18 u dakī-gar əž māh pāẙa aṇdā xᵛarṣāṯ . sadīgar əž xᵛara-šəṯ

dudīgar az māh pāyag tā xwarxšēd pāyag, ud sidīgar az xwarxšēd

287.19 pāẙa aṇdā garoϑamąn ku dāðār hōrməzda avar

pāyag tā garōdmān, kū dādār ohrmazd abar

287.20 nisīnəṯ vahāst i fradum humaṯ u dadīgar hūxt u sidī-gar

nišīnēd. ud wahišt fradom humat ud dudīgar hūxt ud sidīgar

287.21 hūarəst . aşōą aṇdar vahəst azarmą u amarg u

huwaršt. ahlawān andar wahišt azarmān ud amarg ud

287.22 abāš u abīm apatīāra həṇd . u har gāh pur xᵛarəh

abīm ud abēš ud apetyārag hēnd ud harw gāh purr-xwarrah

287.23 hūbōi u xᵛūram u pur rāməšn u pur nākī həṇd . u har ǰamąn

ud hubōy ud hurām ud purr-rāmišn ud purr-nēkīh hēnd. ud harw zamān

287.24 vāṯ hūbōi u bōi sparhamą humānā ō padīra āeṯ i əž

wād ī hubōy, bōy ī sprahmagān homānāg ō padīrag āyēd ī az

288.01 har xᵛaši xᵛaštar u əž hūbōi hubōitar . ǰašą əž būdan

harw xwašīh xwaštar ud az harw hubōyīh hubōytar, u+šān az

288.02 i pa vahəst sərīnəst . ǰašą našstan u ravasna u vīnşn

būdan ī pad wahišt sagrīh nēst, u+šān nišast ud rawišn ud wēnišn

288.03 u rāməsn aϐā ẙazdą u aməşāspəṇdą u ašōą aṇdā

ud rāmišn abāg yazadān ud amahraspandān ud ahlawān tā

288.04 hamā u hamā raϐšnī . hamāstagą rā pādā ku əž ǰamī

hamēw-ud-hamēw-rawišnīh. hamēstagān rāy paydāg kū az zamīg

288.05 u aṇdā star pāẙa . u bā sarmā u garmā aināšą ϑisi – ča

tā star pāyag ud bē sarmāg ud garmāg enyā+šān tis+iz

288.06 paitīāra nāst . dōžax fradum dušamata u dadīgar

petyārag nēst. dušox fradom dušhumat ud dudīgar

288.07 dužūxta sədīgar dužvarhd . čihārum gām daruṇd mardum

dušhūxt ud sidīgar dušxwaršt ud čahārom gām druwand mardōm

288.08 ō ą tārīk tum dōžāx rasiṯ . vaş frāž ō nazdīkī i

ō ān ī tārīktom dušox rasēd u+š frāz ō nazdīkīh ī

288.09 āhārman i daruṇd nī(īn MF) ẙṇd . vaš āhārman u dāvą

ahreman ī druwand nayēnd u+š ahreman ud dēwān

288.10 avašōs u riārī padaš kunəṇd . kut əž hōrməzda u amə-şāspəṇdąn

afsōs ud riyahrīh padiš kunēnd kū+t az ohrmazd ī xwadāy ud amahraspandān

288.11 u vahāst hu bōi hūrām či must i gula būṯ

ud wahišt ī hubōy ī hurām čē must ud gilag būd

288.12 kat ō vīnasni i āmā u dōžax i tārīk aiϐaiāsīṯ . kut

ka+t ō wēnišn ī amā ud dušox ī tārīk ayāsīd ka+t

288.13 āmā anāī paš(haraša MF, padaš MU) kanom u nāāržum u dārǰamąn anāī vīnaṯ .

amā anāgīh padiš kunēm ud nē āmurzēm ud dagr zamān anāgīh wēnē?

288.14 vaš pas pādfrāh u anāī i gūna padaš kunəṇd .
u+š pas pādifrāh ud anāgīh ī gōnag gōnag padiš kunēnd.
288.15 u hast dānā ku pa sardī ādum čuṇ ą i sardtum ẙah
ud hast gyāg kū pad sardīh ēdōn čiyōn ān ī sardtom snēxr
288.16 u vafr . u hast dānā ku pa garmī ādum čuṇ ą i garmatum
(ay, wafr) ud hast gyāg kū pad garmīh ēdōn čiyōn ān ī garmtom
288.17 u šōzātum(šō hātum MF) ātum(MF; MU add ataš) . u hast dānā dušą(duš ą MF; MU) xaruastar ādum
ud sōzāgtom ātaxš ud hast gyāg kū+šān xrafstar ēdōn
288.18 xarāninṇd čuṇ sag astuxąn . u hasta dānā ku pa gaṇ-dī
kirrēnēnd čiyōn sag astuxān ud hast gyāg kū pad gandagīh
288.19 ādum ku bā rāžiṇd u bā ōftəṇṯ . u ham vāraşą tārīkī
ēdōn kū be larzēnd ud be ōftēnd ud hamwār+šān tārīkīh
288.20 ādum humānā čuṇda pa dast bā şāiiaṯ gariftan .
ēdōn homānāg čiyōn ka pad dast be šāyēd griftan.

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288.21 purasīṯ dānā u mainiiō xarad . ka(ku MF; MU) hōrməzda
Pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū ohrmazd
288.22 iṇ dąm u dahəsna čuṇ u pa či āina . vaš aməşāspəṇdąn
ēn dām ud dahišn čiyōn ud pad čē ēwēnag dād u+š amahraspandān
289.01 u mainiiō xard čuṇ u pa či(MF; MU add āīna) tāšīṯ(MU omits) u dāṯ . u āhārman
ud mēnōg ī xrad čiyōn ud pad čē ēwēnag tāšīd ud dād? ud ahreman
289.02 i daruṇd dāvąn u darūǰąn u avarəči vasa ūdagąn(va aūdagąn MF; MU) čuṇ
ī druwand dēwān ud druzān ud abārīg+iz wišūdagān čiyōn
289.03 vasūṯ həṇd . u har nākī vatarī i ō mardumąn u aвarāča
wišūd hēnd? ud harw nēkīh ud wattarīh ō mardōmān ud abārīg+iz

289.04 dąmąn čūṇ rasaṯ . u ϑiš i baxtəst(baxta əštəṯ MF; MU) vardīnīdan şāiiaṯ
dāmān čiyōn rasēd? ud tis ī baxt ēstēd wardēnīdan šāyēd
289.05 aiiå nā . mainiiōi xarda pāsux kard . ku dādār hōrməzda
ayāb nē? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū dādār ohrmazd
289.06 aṇ dąm dahəšn u aməşāspəṇdąn u mainiiōi xard iž ą
ēn dām ud dahišn ud amahraspandān ud mēnōg ī xrad az ān
289.07 i xᵛāš rōšnī u pa āfrīṇ u zuruąn aknāra brəhnīṯ . ārā
ī xwēš rōšnīh ud pad āfrīn ī zurwān ī akanārag brēhēnīd, ēd rāy
289.08 či zuruąn aknāra azamąn u amarg u adard u aşōišn apō- išna
čē zurwān ī akanārag azarmān ud amarg ud adard ud asōhišn

289.09 u apatiiāra u aṇdā hamā hamā ravašnī hāč kaš
ud apōhišn ud apetyārag ud tā hamēw-ud-hamēw-rawišnīh ēč kas
289.10 bāstadan u iž xᵛāškārī aβādaṣāhī kardan nā tuąn .
be stadan ud az xwēškārīh abādixšā kardan nē tuwān.
289.11 āhrman i daruuaṇd u dāvąn u drūǰąn u avarāča vašūda-šąn
ud ahreman ī druwand dēwān ud druzān ud abārīg+iz wišūdagān
289.12 əž kunmarž xᵛāš vašūṯ . vaš nuh haǰār damaš-tąn
az kūn-marz ī xwēš wišūd u+š nō hazār zamestān
289.13 (mastąn MF) pa zamąn i akanāra aβā hōrməzda paemąn karda .
pad zamān ī akanārag abāg ohrmazd paymān kard
289.14 u aṇdābūṇṯ bā būdan hāča kaš vardinīdan u vatar kar-dan
ud tā bowandag be būdan ēč kas wardēnīdan ud ǰuttar kardan
289.15 dan nā tuąn . ku nuh hazār ṣāl būdaṇṯ(būṇda MF; MU) būṯ āhārman
nē šāyēd ud ka nō hazār sāl bowandag būd ahreman
289.16 nā(bā MF; MU) āṣārihəṯ . u srōs aṣō xšm bā aβazanəṯ . məhər u
be agārīhēd ud srōš-ahlā xešm be zanēd ud mihr ud
289.17 zurąn i akanara(akanāra MF; MU) u mainiiō daeštąn ki pa həča kašnə
zurwān ī akanārag ud mēnōg ī dādestān, kē pad ēč kas nē
289.18 drūžiąd . u baxt u baγō baxta hamōīn dąm dahišn
drōzēd, ud baxt ud baγōbaxt hāmōyēn dām ud dahišn
289.19 i āhārman u pa avadumī āϑiča(āžiča MF; MU) dāv bā aβazanṇṯ . u
ī ahreman ud pad abdomīh āz+iz dēw be zanēnd ud
289.20 hamā dąm dahisni i hōrməzda apatiiāra ādum avāž
hamāg dām ud dahišn ī ohrmazd apetyārag ēdōn abāz
289.21 bahōṯ čūṇ qůaš pa fradumī barahinīṯ dāṯ . har nākī
bawēd čiyōn ān ī+š pad fradomīh brēhēnīd ud dād. harw nēkīh
290.01 u vatarī i ō mardumąn u avarāča dāmąn rasəṯ pa haft ą u
ud ǰuttarīh ī ō mardōmān ud abārīg+iz dāmān rasēd pad haftān ud
290.02 duāzdahe rasəṯ . u ą duāzdah axtar pa dīn duāzdah spāh – vaṯ
dwāzdahān rasēd ud ān dwāzdah axtar, čiyōn pad dēn dwāzdah spāhbed ī
290.03 əž kušta aihōrməzda guftəstaṯ . u ą hafta avāx- tar
az kustag ī ohrmazd guft ēstēd, ud ān haft abāxtar
290.04 haft(MF omits) spāh vāṯ əž kasta i āhrman gufta āstəṯ .
haft spāhbed ī az kustag ī ahreman guft ēstēd,
290.05 u harvist dām dahəšnə ōi hafta avāxtarą ϑraminṇd
ud harwisp dām ud dahišn ōy haft abāxtarān tarwēnēnd
290.06 u margī u har anāī avāsparəṇṯ . u(MF omits) čūṇ āšą duāzdah
ud ō margīh ud harw anāgīh abespārēnd, čiyōn awēšān dwāzdah
290.07 axtar brihīnā u rāinā i gāhą həṇṯ . hōrməzda nākī - dąma

axtar ud haft abāxtar brēhēnāg ud rāyēnāg ī gēhān hēnd. ohrmazd nēkīh-kāmag
290.08 u hargāča anāī nā padīrəṯ u nā šīhəṯ . u āhā-raman
ud hagriz anāgīh nē padīrēd ud nē menēd ud ahreman
290.09 anākąma u ϑisiča nākī nā mināṯ u nā padīraṯ . hōr-
anāgīh-kāmag ud tis+iz nēkīh nē menēd ud nē padīrēd.
290.10 məzda kas kāmaṯ pa kąm(dąm MF) i āharman ča hast i kas
ohrmazd ka+š kāmēd pad dām ī ahreman ud ahreman+iz hast ī ka+š
290.11 kāmaṯ pa dąm i hōrməzda vardinīdan tuą . bā ādum tuą
kāmēd pad dām ī ohrmazd wardēnīdan tuwān bē ēdōn tuwān
290.12 vardanīdan u ku pa fraząm gārī hōrməzda zəąnā bahōṯ .
wardēnīdan kū pad frazām-kārīh ohrmazd zyān nē bawēd,
290.13 ča fraząm pārōzgarī hōrməzda xᵛāš . či pādā ku hōrməzda
čē frazām-pērōzīh ohrmazd xwēš, čē paydāg kū ohrmazd
290.14 ǰəm frādūn kahōs axōš dāṯ . u āhārman ādum vardanīṯ
ǰam ud frēdōn ud kāwōs ahōš dād hēnd ud ahreman ēdōn wardēnīd
290.15 čum āsnā . u āhārman baevarāsp u frāsiiāk u arasaṇgar(arakaṇdar MF; MU)
čiyōn āšnāg ud ahreman bēwarasp ud frāsyāg ud aleksandar
290.16 ādum sīhast du(ku MF; MU) anōša həṇṯ . hōrməzd u məh sūṯai- rā
ēdōn sahist kū anōšag hēnd ud ohrmazd ō meh-sūdīh
290.17 ādum vardinīṯ čuṇ ą i pādā .
ēdōn wardēnīd čiyōn ān ī paydāg.

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290.18 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xard . ku əž kəšvar
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū az kišwar
290.19 ō kəšϐa ṣāiiaṯ šudana aiiā nā . u āsamąn əž či
ō kišwar šāyēd šudan ayāb nē? ud asmān az čē
290.20 gōhar kard əstəṯ . u gamāzasni i āv aṇdar ǰamī čuṇ
gōhr kard ēstēd? ud gumēzišn ī āb andar zamīg čiyōn
290.21 u pa či āina . mainiiōi xard pāsux kard . ku əž kəšvar
ud pad čē ēwēnag? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū az kišwar
290.22 ō kəšvara pa farxᵛāvąn(fraǰϐąnī MF; MU) aī i ẏazdą aiiå fravąn
ō kišwar bē pad parwānagīh ī yazadān ayāb parwānagīh
291.01 aī i dāvąn ainā šudan nā ṣāiiaṯ . u āsmąn əž gōhar
ī dēwān enyā šudan nē šāyēd. ud asmān az gōhr
291.02 ixūnāhin dardəštəṯ čūṇ almāstača xᵛānəṇṯ . u gamāzsni
ī xwēn-āhan kard ēstēd čiyōn almāst+iz xwānēnd. ud gumēzišn
291.03 i āv aṇdar ǰamī ādūm čūṇ xūn aṇdar tan i madrumąn .

ī āb andar zamīg ēdōn čiyōn xōn andar tan ī mardōmān.

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291.04 purasīd dānā ō mainiiōi xard . ku āhāraman
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū ahreman
291.05 daruṇṯ vaš dəVą u vaşūdagą avā hōrməzda u aməşās-pəṇdąn
ī druwand u+š dēwān ud wišūdagān abāg ohrmazd ud amahraspandān
291.06 ϑisiči āštī u dušārum yak avāduṯ būdan şā-iiaṯ
tis+iz āštīh ud dōšāram ēk abāg did būdan šāyēd
291.07 aiiå nā . mainiiōi xada pāsux kard . u(ku MF) pa hāča
ayāb nē? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū pad ēč
291.08 mar būdan nā şāiiaṯ . či āhāraman mīduxut(muduxt MF; MU) i vaṯ minəṯ
mar+iz būdan nē šāyēd, čē ahreman mihōxt ī wad menēd
291.09 vas kār xišm u xᵛūn(xīn MF; MU) u anāštī . u hōrməzda aşahī
u+š kār xešm ud kēn ud anāštīh ud ohrmazd ahlāyīh
291.10 mənəṯ vaş kār kərəba u vahī u rāštī . u har ϑiš varanīdan
menēd u+š kār kirbag ud wehīh ud rāstīh ud harw tis wardēnīdan
291.11 şāiiaṯ bā(nə MF) gōhar i nīaka u avaṯ . u gōhar u nīak
šāyēd bē gōhr ī nēk ud wad ud gōhr ī nēk
291.12 pa ϑišiča čāra ō vatarī u gōhar i vaṯ pahāča āina .
pad tis+iz čārag ō wattarīh ud gōhr ī wad pad ēč ēwēnag
291.13 vahī vardinīdan nā sāiiaṯ . hōrməzda niiak gōharī rā hāči
ō wehīh wardēnīdan nē šāyēd. ud ohrmazd nēk-gōhrīh rāy ēč
291.14 vatarī u daružanī nā pasaṇdəṯ . u āhārman vaṯ gōharī
wattarīh ud drōzanīh nē passandēd ud ahreman wad-gōhrīh
291.15 rā hāči vahī u rāst nā padīrəṯ ǰašą ārā yak avā-duṯ
rāy ēč wehīh ud rāstīh nē padīred u+šān ēd rāy ēk abāg did
291.16 ϑisiči āštī u dusārm būdan nā şāiiat .
tis+iz āštīh ud dōšāram būdan nē šāyēd.

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291.17 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō i xard . ku xard vah
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū xrad weh
291.18 aiiå hanar(xᵛanar MF; xunar MU) . mainiiōi xard pāsux kard . ku xard kəš

ayāb hunar? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū xrad kē+š
291.19 vahī nā avā pa xard(xanar MF) nā dāraşnī . u xunar kəš xard
wehīh nē abāg pad xrad nē dārišn ud hunar kē+š xrad

291.20 nā avā pa xunar nā dārəšni .
nē abāg pad hunar nē dārišn.

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292.01 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiōi xard . ku čirā ka
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū čē rāy ka
292.02 xīr i mainiiō ādūm rāst u ą i gāϑī ādum darōg baxt
xīr ī mēnōg ēdōn rāst ud ān ī gētīg ēdōn drō baxt
292.03 āstaṯ . mainiiō i xard pāsux kard . ku xīr i gāϑī pa
ēstēd? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū xīr ī gētīg pad
292.04 bun dahişnī ādum rāst baxt āštāṯ čuṇ ą mainiiō . u
bun-dahišnīh ēdōn rāst baxt ēstēd čiyōn ān ī mēnōg ud
292.05 dāðār hōrməzda hamōīna nākī i pa aṇdąm dahəsn ō bun
dādār ohrmazd hāmōyēn nēkīh ī pad ēn dām ud dahišn ō bun
292.06 i mihir māh u āšą duāzdh axtar əž dīn duāzdh spāh-vaṯ
ī mihr ud māh ud awēšān dwāzdah axtar, ī az dēn dwāzdah spāhbed
292.07 guft āštaṯ kard . u āstąn(əşąn MF; MU) ača rāštihā u sažā-ihā
guft ēstēd, kard ud awēšān+iz rāstīhā ud sazāgīhā
292.08 baxtan rā əž hōrməzda padīraft . u pas āhārman
baxtan rāy az ohrmazd padīrift. ud pas ahreman
292.09 ą hfta avāxtra čuṇ hafta spāh paṯ i āhārman guft
ān haft abāxtar, čiyōn haft spāhbed ī ahreman guft
292.10 əstəṯ pa vasōft an u bā stadan i ą nākī əž dāmąn
ēstēd, pad wišuftan ud be stadan ī ān nēkīh az dāmān
292.11 i hōrməzda pa patiiāraī i mahir u māh uşą duāzdh
ī ohrmazd, pad petyāragīh ī mihr ud māh ud awēšān dwāzdah
292.12 axtrą dāṯ(MF adds əstəṯ) . u har nākī i āsą axtarą pa dāmąn
axtarān dād. ud harw nēkīh ī awēšān axtarān pad dāmān
292.13 hōrməzda haxšəṇṯ . āsą avaxtrą čaṇdašąn tuą
ī ohrmazd baxšēnd awēšān abāxtarān čand+šān tuwān bawēd
292.14 ažaš aparaṇd . u bā u nīrō dāvą u darūǰą u vatar- ą
az+iš apparēnd ud be ō nērōg ī dēwān ud druzān ud wattarān
292.15 dəhəṇd . u xīr i mainiiō ārā ādąmi rāst či hōrməzda
dahēnd. ud xīr ī mēnōg ēd rāy ēdōn rāst čē ohrmazd

292.16 i xᵛaðāe avā haravišt ẙazdą u aməşāspəṇdąn
ī xwadāy abāg harwisp yazadān ud amahraspandān
292.17 apitiāra həṇṯ . u kōšasni avā āhārman u dəβą u
apetyārag hēnd ud kōxšišn ī abāg ahreman ud dēwān ud
292.18 āmārāča i ruą mardamą pa rāstī kunəṇṯ . u kaš kərba
āmār+iz ī ruwān ī mardōmān pad rāstīh kunēnd ud kē+š kirbag
292.19 vāš gāh pa βahāst . kəš karba u gunāh aganīn
wēš gāh pad wahišt ud kē+š kirbag ud wināh āgenēn
292.20 rāst gāh pa hamastagą . u kabaž vəš aigiš rāh
rāst gāh pad hamēstān ud ka bazag wēš ēg+iš rāh
292.21 ō kōzx . .
ō dušox.

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292.22 purasīṯ dānā u mainiiō xard . ku čirā ka
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū čē rāy ka
292.23 gāvą u gōspəṇdą u muruą u vāiṇdagą u māhigą ẙak
gāwān ud gōspandān ud murwān ud wāyendagān ud māhīgān ēk
293.01 ẙak pa i xᵛāš dānasn sažāihā dąnašn maṇd həṇd
ēk pad ān ī xwēš dānišn sazāgīhā dānišnōmand hēnd
293.02 u mardumą aṇd āšą āmōžašn avar nā barəṇd u vaš
ud mardōmān tā+šān hammōzišn abar nē barēnd ud was
293.03 raṇž u xᵛažīna padaš nā kunəṇd . dānəšn i mardumī aiā-ftan
ranǰ ud uzēnag padiš nē kunēnd dānišn ī mardōmīh ayāftan
293.04 u dānastan nā tuą . mainiiō i xard pāsux harda .
ud dānistan nē tuwān? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard
293.05 ku mardumą pa bundahəšnī ādum dānā būṯ hāṇṯ kušą kərəba
kū mardōmān pad bun-dahišnīh ēdōn dānāg būd hēnd kū+šān kirbag
293.06 u bazaikard agišą pādāšn i kərəba u pādafrāh i ba-za
ud bazag ī kard, ēg+išān pādāšn ī kirbag ud pādifrāh ī bazag
293.07 pa xᵛāš čašm dīṯ . i ϑisiča baža əž murdamą nā
pad xwēš čašm dīd ud tis+iz bazag az mardōmān nē
293.08 rafta . u pas āhārman idaruāṯ pādāšn kərəba u pāṯ – frāh
raft ud pas ahreman ī druwand pādāšn ī kirbag ud pādifrāh
293.09 I gunāh aβar nahuṇbaṯ . u āčirā aṇdar dīn guft
ī wināh abar nihumbīd ud ēd+iz rāy andar dēn guft
293.10 āstəṯ . ku əž har anāī i gaǰasta ganā i daruṇd pa
ēstēd kū az harw anāgīh ī gizistag gannāg mēnōg ī druwand pad

293.11 dąmąn i hōrməzda karəd čihār ϑis iṇvaṯ-atar u garą-tar
dāmān ī ohrmazd kard čahār tis ēn wattar ud garāntar
293.12 I kaš kərəba mazda i gunāh pādafrāh u manəşn i
ka+š kirbag mizd ud wināh pādifrāh .....
293.13 mardumą u fraząm kār bā nahuṇbaṯ . u hamačirā vas
.....be nihumbīd. ud ham čim rāy was
293.14 kāsi u gaōiş̧n i avāruṇ aṇdar gāhą ravā kard . u murda-mą
kēš ud wurrōyišn ī abārōn andar gēhān rawāg kard ud mardōmān
293.15 nā dānaštan(dāraşni MF) i kār u kərəba rā harkasą vās garōiṯ
nē dānistan ī kār ud kirbag rāy harw kas ān wēš wurrōyēd
293.16 u vahi dāraṯ ẙaš āmōžašn pa kāš aϐra būṯ āstaṯ .
ud pad weh dārēd ī+š hammōzišn pad kēš abar būd ēstēd
293.17 u panąm čištą kəš pādi vaṇdatar(pāri vṇ zatar MF) kāš pādiş̧āhī
ud pad nāmčišt ān kēš pādyāwandtar kē+š pādixšāyīh
293.18 avā bahōṯ . bā ą yak xᵛaðāī u pādašāhī i guuštā-sp
abāg bawēd. bē ān ēk xwadāyīh ud pādixšāyīh ī wištāsp
293.19 šąhą šāh . kāš dīn durašt u rāšt i pa gavasn
šāhān šāh, kē+š dēn ī drust ud rāst ī pad gōwišn
293.20 i dāðār hōrməzda avā gamąnihā u avā har i hā dąnas-tan
ī dādār ohrmazd abēgumānīhā ud ēwarīhā dānistan
293.21 rā əž āžadā zaraϑušt i spətamą frāž padīrafta .
rāy az ēw-tāg zarduxšt ī spitāmān frāz padīrift,
293.22 kə har āina xīr i gāϑī u mainiiō əž dīn i vəh i mazda-iiasną
kē harw ēwēnag xīr ī gētīg ud mēnōg az dēn ī weh ī māzdēsnān
293.23 rōšan u gaoguzār u agumąm pādā ẙehəṯ . ainā
rōšn ud gōwizār ud agumān paydāgīhēd, enyā
293.24 hāči garōiş̧ni nāst kəš xīr i gāϑī u mainiiō ādum
ēč wurrōyišn nēst kē+š xīr ī gētīg ud mēnōg ēdōn
294.01 gaovazāra u rōšan padaš ş̧āiiaṯ aiiāftan dānaštan .
gōwizār ud rōšn padiš šāyēd ayāftan ud dānistan,
294.02 bā vāš vīnaftaī rā xasasta u pāčīṯ aϐą həṇd kuš
bē wēš winaftagīh rāy āγištag ud pēčīdag owōn hēnd
294.03 gavašn i bun ō miąn u miąn ō fraząm aīr ahumānā . .
kū+šān gōwišn ī bun ō mayān ud mayān ō frazām abēr ahomānāg.

Chapter: xiv

294.04 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xard . ku panāh ka-dąm darūpušttar .
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū panāh kadām drubušttar

294.05 dōštą kudąm vəh . u nąm burdār kadąm
ud dōst kadām weh ud nāmburdār kadām
294.06 vəh . u rāmašn i aiiār kadąm vəh . u xᵛāšta kadąm xᵛas- tar.
weh ud rāmišnayār kadām weh ud xwāstag kadām xwaštar
294.07 u rąməšni əž har rąməsn frāǰatum(fražąm MF) kadąm . mainiiō
ud rāmišn ī az harw rāmišn frāztom kadām? mēnōg
294.08 xard pāsux kard . ku panāh ẙazṯ darūpašttar .
ī xrad passox kard kū: panāh yazad drubušttar ud
294.09 dōst barāṯ i niiak vəh u nąm buradār fražaṇd u
dōst brād ī nēk weh ud nāmburdār frazand ī
294.10 niiak dīn burdār vəh . u rāmašni aiiār zan i niiak
nēk ī dēnburdār weh ud rāmišnayār zan ī nēk ī
294.11 hūhīm vəh . xᵛāsta ą vəh u xᵛastar u əž frārūṇnī
huxēm weh ud xwāstag ān weh ud xwaštar ī az frārōnīh
294.12 aṇduxt əstəṯ u aβā kār u kərba xᵛarəṯ u dārəṯ . u
handōxt ēstēd ud abāg kār ud kirbag xwarēd ud dārēd ud
294.13 rāmašni əž har rāmašn frāžatr tandurəstī u aβābīmī
rāmišn ī az harw rāmišn frāztar tandrustīh ud abēbīmīh
294.14 u xusrūbī u ašhī .
ud husrawīh ud ahlāyīh.

Chapter: xv

294.15 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō i xarṯ . ku darīōšī
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: driyōšīh
294.16 vəh aiiå tuṇgarī aiiå pādaṣāhī . mainiiō i xard pā- sux
weh ayāb tuwāngarīh ayāb pādixšāyīh? mēnōg ī xrad passox
294.17 kard . ku darīōšī i pa frāruṇnī vəh ku tuṇgarī i
kard kū: driyōšīh ī pad frārōnīh weh kū tuwāngarīh ī
294.18 əž xīr i kasą(MF & MU add či) guft āstəṯ . ku ōi i darīōštum arməstum
az xīr ī kasān, čē guft ēstēd kū: ōy ī driyōštom ud armēšttom
294.19 kaš hamā kaš manəsnə u gavašn u kunəsn frāruṇ
kas hamēw ka+š menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn frārōn
294.20 pa kār i ẙazdą dārəṯ əž har kār u kərba u
ud pad kār ī yazadān dārēd az harw kār ud kirbag
294.21 mardumą aṇdar gāhą kunəṇd ōiča dādihā ba har
ī mardōmān andar gēhān kunēnd ōy+iz dādīhā bahr
294.22 aṇdar bahōṯ . u ōi ča i tuṇgar i vas xᵛāsta mard
andar bawēd ud ōy+iz ī tuwāngar ī wasxwāstag mard,

295.01 ka xᵛāšta nā əž frāruṇnī kard āstəṯ ka pa kār u
kē+š xwāstag nē az frārōnīh kard ēstēd, ka pad kār ud
295.02 kərba u ašō dāṯ xuzina kunəṯ aigiš kərba xᵛāš nā
kirbag ud ahlawdād uzēnag kunēd ēg+iš kirbag xwēš nē
295.03 bahōṯ . či kərba ōi xᵛāš kə ažaš apurd āstəṯ . u ōi vas – xᵛāsta
bawēd, čē kirbag ōy xwēš kē az+iš appurd ēstēd, bē ōy ī wasxwāstag
295.04 kə əž frāruṇ tuxšāī aṇdōxt āstəṯ u avākār
mard kē+š xwāstag az frārōntuxšāgīh handōxt ēstēd ud abāg kār
295.05 u kərəba u rąməsn xᵛarəṯ dārəṯ ṇči ažaš vəh nāst . či ą
ud kirbag ud rāmišn xwarēd ud dārēd ān+iz aziš weh nēst, čē ān
295.06 pa pahlum āvāiiaṯ dāštan . bā ōi i vas xᵛāšt əž frā-rūṇ
pad pahlom abāyēd dāštan. ud ān+iz ī pādixšāyīh
295.07 tuxšāī aṇdōxt əstəṯ u avā kār u kərəba u rąmašn

295.08 xᵛarṯ dārəṯ ą məh vəh u pahalumtar . u ą či pādaṣāhī

295.09 rā gōeṇd . ku dəhā hū pādasāhī vəh kəš varəduš pā-dašāh
rāy gōwēnd kū: kē pad deh+ēw hupādixšā weh kū kē pad
295.10 či dāðār hōrməzda pānāī kardārī i dąmąn rā
čē dādār ohrmazd pānagīhkardārīh ī dāmān rāy
295.11 hū pādašāhī dāṯ . u āhārman darūṇda duṣ pādašā- hī
hupādixšāyīh dād ud ahreman ī druwand dušpādixšāyīh
295.12 pa patīār i hū pādašāhī dā āstəṯ . hū pāda- šāhī
pad petyārag ī hupādixšāyīh dād ēstēd. hupādixšā
295.13 ą bahōṯ . kə šahira āvādą u darīōšą avāmust
ān bawēd kē šahr ābādān ud driyōšān abēmust
295.14 dāṯ u āīn rāst dārəṯ u framāeṯ . u dāṯ u šīn(āīn MF; MU) i āβā- rūṇ
ud dād ud ēwēn ī rāst dārēd ud framāyēd ud dād ud ēwēn ī abārōn
295.15 spōǰəṯ . u āβ u ātaš xūb dārəṯ . u izisni
spōzēd ud āb ud ātaxš xūb dārēd ud pad ēwēn ēzišn ī
295.16 ẙazdą u kār u kərb pa raβā dārəṯ . dariōšą aiiārmaṇ- dī
yazadān ud kār ud kirbag rawāg dārēd ud driyōšān ayārōmandīh
295.17 u ǰādaṇgōī kunəṇd . dīn əvəh mazdaiiasną rā tan u
ud ǰādaggōwīh kunēd ud dēn ī weh ī māzdēsnān rāy tan ud
295.18 ą ča xᵛāš ǰą bā aβaspāraṯ . u agar hast kas kə əž
ān+iz ī xwēš gyān be abespārēd ud agar hast kas kē az
295.19 rāh i ẙazdą bā əstəṯ aigiš vīrāišn padaš kardan
rāh ī yazadān bē ēstēd ēg+iš wirāyišn padiš kardan
295.20 framāiiaṯ . vaš garəptār kunəṯ u aβāž ō rāh i ẙaz-

framāyēd u+š griftār kunēd ud abāz ō rāh ī yazadān
295.21 dą āβrəṯ . u əž xᵛāst ẙaš hast ba har i ẙazdą
āwarēd ud az xwāstag ī+š hast bahr ī yazadān
295.22 u arzą̊niią u kəraba u dariiōšą bā baxšəṯ . tan ruą rā bā
ud arzānīgān ud kirbag ud driyōšān be baxšēd ud tan ruwān rāy be
295.23 avaspārəṯ . hū pādašāhī pa ą āinā hamatāk ẙazdą
abespārēd. hupādixšā ī pad ān ēwēnag hamtāg ī yazadān
295.24 u aməṣāspəṇdą guft əštəṯ . duš pādašāhī ą bahōṯ .
ud amahraspandān guft ēstēd. dušpādixšā ān bawēd
296.01 kə dāṯ u āīn i rāst u frāruṇ vašōvəṯ . u staham u ap-ar
kē dād ud ēwēn ī rāst ud frārōn wišōbēd ud stahm ud appar
296.02 u adāistą̊nī aṇdar kār āβārəṯ . u xīr i mainiiō
ud adādestānīh andar kār dārēd ud xīr ī mēnōg
296.03 vaṣōvəṯ . u kār kərba pa āž bāš dārəṯ . u kərba gar mardum
wišōbēd ud kār ud kirbag pad abandīh dārēd ud kirbakkar mardōm
296.05 əž kərba kardan aβāž dārṯ . u padaš vazaṇṯ kardār
az kirbag kardan abāz dārēd ud padiš wizendkardār bawēd u+š
hāmōyēn handāzišn ō tan ī xwēš ud ārāyišn
296.06 xīr i gāϑī . u aṇgidī u buržišn i vatarą . u zanəṣn i
ī xīr ī gētīg ud hangadīh ud burzišn ī wattarān ud zanišn

296.07 vīnaṣn i vəhą . avaṣīnasn i darīōšą . duš pādišāh
ud āwēnišn ī wehān ud abesīhēnīšn ī driyōšān. dušpādixšā
296.08 i pa ą āinii hamatāk āhārman u dāβą̊n guft əstāṯ . .
ī pad ān ēwēnag hamtāg ī ahreman ud dēwān guft ēstēd.

Chapter: xvi

296.09 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xarṯ . ku əž xᵛarəṣni
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: az xwarišn
296.10 i mardumą xᵛarəaṇd u vastrag i mardumą patmōžaṇd ka-
ī mardōmān xwarēnd ud wastarag ī mardōmān paymōzēnd ka
296.11 dą̊m arzmaṇṯtar vəh . mainiiō i xard pāsux karṯ . ku
dām arzōmandtar ud weh? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū:
296.12 əž xᵛarəṣn i mardumą xᵛarəṇd ṣīr gōspəṇdą vəh dāṯ
az xwarišn ī mardōmān xwarēnd šīr ī gōspandān weh dād
296.13 āstaṯ . či mardum u čahār vāe ka əž māṯ bā zāeṇd
ēstēd, čē mardōm ud čahārpāy kē az mādar be zāyēnd
296.14 aṇdā ą i kašą xᵛarəšn tuą xᵛardan aigišą rōiṣn u

tā ān ī ka+šān xwarišn tuwān xwardan ēg+išān rōyišn ud
296.15 fravaršn əž ş̌īr . u pa ş̌īra šāeṇd zīvastan . u
parwarišn az šīr ud pad šīr weh šāyēnd zīwistan. ud
296.16 agar mardum ka əž šīr i mādar avāž kunəṇd bā šīr i
agar mardōm, ka az šīr ī mādar abāz kunēnd, be ō šīr ī
296.17 gōspəṇdą āmōžaş̌n kunəṇd . aigišą nąn pa kār aṇdar
gōspandān hammōzišn kunēnd ēg+išān nān pad kār andar
296.18 nā āvāiiaṯ . či pādā . ku mardum i pa arzahi u savhi
nē abāyēd, čē paydāg kū: mardōm ī pad arzah ud sawah
296.19 frakadafš vikadafs u vōrabarst vōrazast həṇd xᵛarə-
ud fradadafš ud widadafš ud wōrūbaršt ud wōrūǰaršt hēnd xwarišn
296.20 ş̌n pīm i gōspəṇdą u gāvą . ham xᵛarsn nā xᵛaraṇd .
pēm ī gōspandān ud gāwān, any xwarišn nē xwarēnd,
296.21 u ōi i pīm xᵛaršn mardum tan dureštatar u zoraməṇdatar u
ud ōy ī pēmxwarišn mardōm tandrusttar ud zōrōmandtar ud
296.22 zāisn ča i frazaṇdą aвāva zaṇṯ-atar bahōṯ . u əž
zāyišn+iz ī frazandān abēwizendtar bawēd. ud az
296.23 zōrdāeą gaṇdum məh u vəh gufta əstāṯ . či raṯ zarō-dāeą
ǰōrdāyān gandum meh ud weh guft ēstēd, čē rad ī ǰōrdāyān
296.24 hast . u əž ča avastā aigis nąm pa radī i
ast ud az+iz abestāg ēg+iš nām pad radīh ī
297.01 zōrdāeą pādā . əž mīāвa xᵛuramā u aṇgura məh u vəh
ǰōrdāyān paydāg. ud az mēwag xurmāg ud angūr meh ud weh
297.02 guft āstəṯ . u ka nąn nā maṯ āstəṯ māвa rā darūn āвāiiaṯ
guft ēstēd ud ka nān nē mad ēstēd mēwag rāy drōn abāyēd
297.03 yastan . u ka mīвa xuramā aiiå aṇgūr ẙast har
yaštan ud ka mēwag xurmāg ayāb angūr yašt harw
297.04 mīвa pādašāha xᵛardan . u ka ną nā maṯ əstəṯ ą māva
mēwag pādixšā xwardan ud ka ān nē mad ēstēd ān mēwag
297.05 āвāiiaṯ xᵛaradan i yast əstəṯ . mae rā pādā ku gōhar
abāyēd xwardan ī yašt ēstēd. may rāy paydāg kū gōhr
297.06 u niiak u vaṯ pa mae ō pādāī šāiiaṯ kardan (madan MF; MU) . vəhī i
ī nēk ud wad pad may ō paydāgīh šāyēd madan ud wehīh ī
297.07 mard andar xšm xard i mard aṇdar varūn i avārūnuą
mard andar xešm ud xrad ī mard andar abārōnīhhangēz waran,
297.08 pādā i hāṯ . či kə xašma xuštāvāṯ vaš xᵛāš tan
.....čē kē xešm awištābēd, u+š xwēš tan
297.09 vīrāstan pa vaəhī . u kə varan (varun MF) xᵛastā vāṯ vaš xᵛās
wirāstan tuwān, pad wehīh, ud kē waran awištābēd, u+š xwēš

297.10 tan vīrāstan tuą pa xarṯ . u kə mae xᵛašta āvāṯ
tan wirāstan tuwān, pad xrad, ud kē may awištābēd,
297.11 vaš xᵛāštan vīrāstan tuą pa gōhar . pa vazōštan nā
u+š xwēš tan wirāstan tuwān, pad gōhr *wizōstan nē
297.12 āвāiiaṯ . či ōi niiak gōhar mard ka mae xᵛarəṯ ādum
abāyēd. čē ōy ī nēkgōhr mard ka may xwarēd ēdōn
297.13 humānā čuṇ ǰāmae zarīn u sīmīn i aṇd čaṇd vās
homānāg čiyōn ǰāmag+ēw ī zarrēn ud asēmēn ī and čand wēš
297.14 avarōzaṇd pākatar u rōsantar bahōṯ . u manəšn u gavašn
abrōzēnd pāktar ud rōšntar bawēd ud menišn ud gōwišn
297.15 u kunəsn frāruṇtar (MF adds xᵛāš) dārəṯ u aṇdara zan u frazaṇd hama-
ud kunišn frārōntar dārēd ud andar zan ud frazand ud hamahlān
297.16 iiārą u dōštąn čaraвatar u šīrīntar bahōṯ . u pa har (MF adds kār)
ud dōstān čarbtar ud šīrēntar bawēd ud pad harw kār
297.17 u kərəba . tuxšātar bahōṯ . u ōi вaṯ gōhar mard ka
ud kirbag tuxšāgtar bawēd. ud ōy ī wadgōhr mard ka
297.18 mae xard xᵛāštan əž paemą frəhəminaṯ u dārəṯ .
may xwarēd xwēš tan az paymān frēh menēd ud dārēd
297.19 u aвā hmaiiārą naвard barṯ u čārī namāeṯ u avsōs u riiārī
ud abāg hamahlān nibard barēd ud čērīh nimāyēd ud afsōs ud riyahrīh
297.20 kanāṯ . u vəh mardum (MF adds rā) tar kunəṯ . u zan frazəṇṯ u baṇda u
kunēd ud weh mardōm tar kunēd ud zan ud frazand ud mizdwar ud bandag ud
297.21 paraştār i xᵛāš bāṣəṯ . huruuāxam vəhą vašōvəṯ . u
paristār ī xwēš bēšēd ud xwaran ī wehān wišōbēd ud
297.22 āstī bā baraṯ u anāštī aṇdar āvarṯa . bā har kəs pa
āštīh be barēd ud anāštīh andar āwarēd. bē harw kas pad
298.01 paemą xᵛardan i mae hōšiiār āвāiiaṯ būdan . či əž
paymān xwardan ī may ōšyār abāyēd būd čē az
298.02 paemą xᵛardan i mae īaṇ əṇd nākī haвš rašt . či
paymān xwardan ī may ēn and nēkīh awiš rasēd čē
298.03 xᵛarəṣn guhāraṯ . u ātaš aвrōzaṯ . u hōš u vīr u
xwarišn gugārēd ud ātaxš abrōzēd ud ōš ud wīr ud
298.04 tuxm u xūn aвazāeṯ (aвāeṯ MF) . u bāš spōzaṯ . u gūn aвarōzad .
tōm ud xōn abzāyēd ud bēš spōzēd ud gōnag abrōzēd
298.05 ϑis i framōst aiiāṯ kunəṯ (aвərəṯ MF) . u vəhī pa manəšn gāh
ud tis ī framušt ayād kunēd ud wehīh pad menišn gāh
298.06 gīrəṯ . u vīnašn i časm u ṣanvašn i gōš u guftārī
gīrēd ud wēnišn ī čašm ud ašnawišn ī gōš ud guftārīh
298.07 i hizūą aвazāeṯ . u kār i kardan u rāinīdan āвāiiad

ī uzwān abzāyēd ud kār ī kardan ud rāyēnīdan abāyēd
298.08 raβātar bahōṯ . u pa xᵛaftan gāh xᵛaš xᵛaftaṯ u
rawāgtar bawēd ud pad *bālēngāh xwaš xufsēd ud
298.09 šbak āxəžaṯ . vašą bahara rā xusrūbī ō tan ō aš-hī
sabuk āxēzēd u+š ān bahrag rāy husrawīh ō tan ud ahlāyīh
298.10 ō ruą pasəm-diča vəhą avar rašəṯ . u kə mae pae-mą
ō ruwān ud passand+iz ī wehān abar rasēd. ud kē may
298.11 frəh xᵛarəṯ iṇ aṇd āhō (aṇdōh MF) padaš bahōṯ . čiš
frēh az paymān xwarēd ēn and āhōg padiš paydāg bawēd čē+š
298.12 xū-rad u hōš u vīr u xūn xᵛāəṯ . U rīmārī aṇdāžəṯ . u
xrad ud ōš ud wīr ud tōm ud xōn kāhēd ud ǰagar wināhēd ud wēmārīh handōzēd ud
298.13 gūna avardinəṯ . u zōr u patūī xāhaə . u namāz u stā-
gōnag wardēnēd ud zōr ud pattūgīh kāhēd ud namāz ud stāyišn
298.14 išn i ўazdą framōst bahōṯ . u vīnašn i časm u šan-vadan
ī yazadān framušt bawēd ud wēnišn ī čašm ud ašnawišn
298.15 i gōš u guftārī i hazuą (hizuuąn MF; MU) kam bahōṯ . u avardāṯ
ī gōš ud guftārīh ī uzwān kem bawēd ud hordād
298.16 u amərdāṯ bəšəṯ . būšīąsp kāma varzəṯ . vašą u guf-tan
ud amurdād bēšēd ud būšāspkāmagīh warzēd u+š ān ī guftan
298.17 u kardan āβāiiaṯ akard (kardan MF) mānəṯ . u pa dušūārī xᵛaftəṯ
ud kardan abāyēd akard mānēd ud pad dušwārīh xufsēd
298.18 u axᵛašihā āxāzaṯ . u ą bahara rā xᵛāštan u zan frazaṇd
ud axwašīhā āxēzēd ud ān bahrag rāy xwēš tan ud zan ud frazand
298.19 u dōst u xᵛāsāvəṇṯa bāsṯ u dusrąm . u vustāvarmąd (u mustā varmaṇṯ MF; MU) u
ud dōst ud xwēšāwand bēšēd ud dušrām ud mustabarmānd ud
298.20 dušman šāṯ . u ўazdą ažaš nā xᵛašnūda . vaš duš- rūba
dušmen šād ud yazadān aziš nē hušnūd u+š dusrawīh
298.21 ō tan darūaṇdī ō ruą rasəṯ u əž paṯmōžašn (padmōžan MF) i
ō tan ud druwandīh+iz ō ruwān rasēd. ud az paymōzan ī
298.22 mardumąn maǰmōžaṇd dārəṇṯ patan far niiāk u pa ruą
mardōmān dārēnd pad tan parnagān ud pad ruwān
299.01 paṇba vəh . irā či franiiāk əž xarastar bahōṯ . u
pambag weh, ēd rāy čē parnagān az xrafstar bawēd
299.02 paṇba frvaršn əž āβ u rōišn əž zamī u pa xir u
ud pambag parwarišn az āb ud rōyišn az zamīg ud pad xīr ī
299.03 ruą məh u vəh u arzamaṇṯ tar guft əstāṯ .
ruwān meh ud weh ud arzōmandtar guft ēstēd.

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299.04 purasīṯ dānā u mainiiō xarid . ku (MF omits) kadąm ą (MF omits)
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: kadām ān
299.05 šādī əž dušāramī vaṯ tar . mainiiōi xard pāsux kard .
šādīh ī az dušrāmīh wattar? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard
299.06 ku kə xᵛāst əž bāža aṇdōxt əstəṯ vaš padaš ṣāṯ
kū: kē xwāstag az bazag handōxt ēstēd u+š padiš šād
299.07 bahōṯ aigiš ą šādī əž dušrąmī vaṯ tar (vaɣətar MF) .
bawēd ēg+iš ān šādīh az dušrāmīh wattar.

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299.08 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xard . ku čirā mar-
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: čē rāy
299.09 dumą iṇ čihār ϑis yasą pa vāš (vəh MF) āVāiiaṯ maniidan
mardōmān ēn čahār tis ī+šān pad daxšag wēš abāyēd ham
299.10 iṇ kamtar mənṇd . varədišnī i ϑis i gāϑī u marg i tan
ēn kemtar menēnd + + wardišnīgīh ī tis ī gētīg ud margīh ī tan
299.11 u āmār i i ruą u bīm i dōǰax . mainiiōi xard pāsux
ud āmār ī ruwān ud bīm ī dušox. mēnōg ī xrad passox
299.12 kard . ku viāivānī i āž dāβ u axᵛaradī rā .
kard kū: wiyābānīh ī āz dēw ud ahunsandīh rāy.

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299.13 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xard . ku pa bīm u
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: pad bīm ud
299.14 mīduxta zīvastan vaṯ tar aiiå margī . mainiiōi xard
mihōxt zīwistan wattar ayāb margīh? mēnōg ī xrad
299.15 pāsux kard . ku pa bīm i mīduxt ǰīvastan əž maragī
passox kard kū: pad bīm ud mihōxt zīwistan az margīh
299.16 vaṯ tar . či har kas zandaī rāmašn u xᵛasī i gāϑī rā
wattar. harw kas zīndagīh rāy rāmišn ud xwašīh ī gētīg
299.17 āβāiiaṯ . kas rāmašn u xᵛašī i gāϑī nāst vaš bīm
abāyēd ud ka+š rāmišn ud xwašīh ī gētīg nēst u+š bīm
299.18 mīduxt aβā margī vaṯ-tar guft āstaṯ .
ud mihōxt+iz abāg az margīh wattar guft ēstēd.

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299.19 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xarṯ . ku pādašāhą
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: pad pādixšāyān
299.20 ϑišə či sūdamaṇd tar u ziiągārtar . mainiiōi xard pāsux
tis+ēw čē sūdmandtar ud čē zyāngārtar? mēnōg ī xrad passox
300.01 kard . ku pādašāhą rā ϑəsā hama parsaī (ham pursī MF; ham pursīṯ MU) aвā dānāgą
kard kū: pādixšāyān rāy tis+ēw hampursagīh ī abāg dānāgān
300.02 u vəhą sūdmaṇdatar . vašą gavašn u ham pursī i aвā
ud wehān sūdmandtar u+šān gōwišn ud hampursagīh ī abāg
300.03 spažgą duš saxuną ziiągartar . .
spazgān ud dōsaxwanān zyāngārtar.

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300.04 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiōi xard . ku gāϑī ārāe
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: gētīgārāy
300.05 u mainiiōi vašōv mard fraząm či . u ōi i avasōsgar mard
ud mēnōgwišōb mard frazām čē? ud ōy ī afsōsgar mard
300.06 fraząm či . u ō i axᵛāškār mard fraząm či . u ōi i xīnvar
frazām čē? ud ōy ī axwēškār mard frazām čē? ud ōy ī kēnwar
300.07 mard fraząm či . u ōi i asagahan mard fraząm či . u ōi
mard frazām čē? ud ōy ī aǰgahān mard frazām čē? ud ōy
300.08 mīduxt manəsn mard fraząm či . mainiiōi xard pāsux kard .
ī mihōxtmenišn mard frazām čē? ud ōy ī tarmenišn mard frazām čē? mēnōg ī xrad passox kard
300.09 ku ōi gāϑī ārāe u mainiiō vasōv mard andar pādafrāe
kū: ōy ī gētīgārāy ud mēnōgwišōb mard andar pādifrāh
300.10 škis ādum taвāha hāṯ čum ṇ ātaš i vaxšiṇda kaš
ī stōš ēdōn tabāhīhēd čiyōn ātaxš ī waxšendag ka+š
300.11 āv (āвā MF) aвar rasəṯ . u ōi i aвasōsgar mard pa tan u ruą
āb abar rasēd. ud ōy ī afsōsgar mard pad tan ud ruwān
300.12 xᵛarahə nā bahōṯ . u har bār ka zafr aвāž kunəṯ aigiš
xwarrah nē bawēd ud harw bār ka zafar abāz kunēd ēg+iš
300.13 daruṇdī avazāeṯ . ǰaš (čaš MF; vaš MU) har darūǰ tan ādūm mahamą
druwandīh abzāyēd u+š harw druz pad tan ēdōn mehmān
300.14 bəṇd kuš hāči vahī tan nā hālaṇd . vəhą riārī u
bawēnd kū+š ēč wehīh ō tan nē hilēnd ud wehān riyahrīh ud
300.15 vatarą astāišn (atāišn MF) kunəṯ . vaš pa gāϑī tan dusrūb u
wattarān stāyišn kunēd u+š pad gētīg tan dusraw ud

300.16 mainiiō ruą daruṇṯ bahōṯ . vaš aṇdar dōžax pādafrāh
pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawēd u+š andar dušox pādifrāh
300.17 kardan rā (MF omits) bā (nə MF) ō darūž i aвasōsagar aвaspārəṇd . ōi
kardan rāy be ō druz ī afsōsgar abespārēnd ud ōy
300.18 darūž har pādafrāe aвasōšā u riārie pada kušnəṯ (kunəṇṯ MF; MU) .
druz pad harw pādifrāh afsōs *ēw ud riyahrīh *ēw padiš kunēd.
300.19 u ōi i axᵛāškār mard zadiča əž daruṇdī vaš ka pa
ud ōy ī axwēškār mard, ǰud+iz az druwandīh, was ka pad
300.20 gāϑī anāī u margī aвar rasəṯ vaš əž ą diṯ (duṯ MF; MU) xᵛaš
gētīg margīh abar rasēd, aziš did xwaš
300.21 zāeṯ . ōi xīnavar mard puhal i pa ruą garątar ku
zāyēd. ud ōy ī kēnwar mard puhl ī pad ruwān garāntar kū
301.01 aвarə daruṇdą i pa dōžax . ārā či xīn pa paevaṇd
abārīg druwandān ī pad dušox ēd rāy čē kēn pad paywand
301.02 ravəṯ . u har gunāh vīrāsta vəhə šāiiaṯ ku xīn . či
rawēd ud harw wināh wirāstan weh šāyēd kū kēn, čē
301.03 xīn pa paevaṇd bā mānəṯ (MF omits) . u hasti ka aṇdā frašāgard
kēn pad paywand be mānēd ud hast ī ka tā frašegird
301.04 paevṇṯəd . či əž iṇ aвīža dīn rōšn pādā . ku anārī i
paywandēd, čē az abēzag dēn rōšn paydāg kū anērīh ī
301.05 arūm-āigą u turuką ča avā ārąnigą bun əž xīn būṯ
hrōmāyīgān ud turkān+iz abāg ērānagān bun az ān kēn būd
301.06 iiašą pa aвazdan i āraz zāṯ . u aṇdāfrašāgard
ī+šān pad ōzadan ī ēraǰ kišt ud tā frašegird
301.07 hāmā paevaṇṯad . u ōi i ašagāhan mard gard anarzą-nī tum
hamēw paywandēd. ud ōy ī aǰgahān mard anarzānīgtom
301.08 əž mardumą guft āstaṯ . či əž iṇ dīn . pādā ku
az mardōmān guft ēstēd čē az dēn paydāg kū
301.09 dāðār hōrməzda ōi i ašgāhan mard rā zōr dāe rā
dādār ohrmazd ōy ī aǰgahān mardōm rāy ǰōrdā
301.10 narəhnīṯ . u ōi ašagāhan mard rā aigis ϑis zīvasni
nē brēhēnīd ud ōy ī aǰgahān mardōm rāy ēg+iš tis
301.11 padahəšsn ašōdāṯ nā dahəšn . vaš aspaṇž u padīraf-
pad dāšn ud ahlawdād nē dahišn u+š aspinǰ ud padīriftārīh
301.12 tārī nā kunəṯ . ārāči ą xᵛarəşni (xᵛaraəṯ MF) mard i ašagāhan xᵛarəṯ
nē kunišn, ēd rāy čē ān xwarišn ī mardōm ī a gahān xwarēd
301.13 əž aвārūnī u adāestąnī xᵛarəṯ . vaš ašgāhanī u
az abārōnīh ǰ ud adādestānīh xwarēd u+š aǰgahānīh ud
301.14 adāestą xᵛarəšni rā tan dasrūb ruą daruṇd bahōṯ . u

adādestānxwarišnīh rāy ēg+iš tan dusraw ud ruwān druwand bawēd. ud

301.15 ōi i mīduxt manəšn mard pa vəhą ādum varōmaṇd čuą pa

ōy ī mihōxtmenišn mard pad wehān ēdōn warōmand čiyōn pad

301.16 vatarą . u pa xīr i mainiiō i gāϑtī u pača ẙazašn

wattarān ud pad xīr ī mēnōg ud gētīg ud pad+iz ēzišn

301.17 u azbāẙašn u parstašn u ẙazdą varōmaṇd . vašą

ud azbāyišn ud paristišn ī yazadān warōmand u+š

301.18 bahara rā ẙazdą u aməşāspəṇdą ẙazašn u azbā-

ān bahrag rāy yazadān ud amahraspandān ēzišn ud azbāyišn

301.19 ẙašn i kunəṯ kim padīraṇṯ . u aiiāftača i xᵛāhəṯ

ī kunēd kem padīrēnd ud āyaft+iz ī xwāhēd

301.20 havaš kim dahəṇd . u pa dihąn i vahą hamvār dusrūb .

awiš kem dahēnd ud pad dahān ī wehān hamwār dusraw

301.21 vašruą daruṇd bahōṯ . ōi i ϑra-manəşn mard kōst aṇdak

u+š ruwān druwand bawēd. ud ōy ī tarmenišn mard dōst andak

301.22 ǰaš duš manavas . u dahəšni ča ō kas dahəṯ u yaza-

u+š dušmen was ud dāšn ī ō kas dahēd ud ēzišn+iz ī yazadān

301.23 şni ča yazdą rā kunəṯ ϑar-manaşnī rā kim padīrəṇṯ .

.....rāy kunēd tarmānīh rāy kem padīrēnd

301.24 u aiiāfta i xᵛāhəṯ kim dahəṇd . ǰaš aṇdar dōžax

ud āyaft+iz ī xwāhēd kem dahēnd u+š andar dušox

302.01 pādafrā i ruą čardan rā (ō MF) ō darūz ϑarmanasni aϐaspārəṇd .

pādifrāh ī pad ruwān kardan rāy ō druz ī tarmenišnīh abespārēnd

302.02 u daruž čai ϑara-manəšnī gunā (MF omits) gūna gūn (MF omits) pādafrāha

ud druz ī tarmenišnīh gōnag gōnag pādifrāh

302.03 padaš kunəṯ u bā āiiāihəṯ . .

padiš kunēd ud nē āsāyēd.

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302.04 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xarəd . ku pa taxšāī

pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: pad tuxšāgīh

302.05 xīr u xᵛāst gāϑī ōi (MF omits) dast sāiiaṯ karadan aiiå nā .

xīr ud xwāstag ī gētīg ō xwēš šāyēd kardan ayāb nē?

302.06 mainiiō xard pāsux kard . u ku pa tuxšāii ą nākī

mēnōg ī xrad passox kard pad tuxšāgīh ān nēkīh

302.07 i nā barəhanīṯ āstəṯ ō xᵛāš kardan nā šāiiaṯ . bā ą

ī nē brēhēnīd ēstēd ō xwēš kardan nē šāyēd, bē ān

302.08 i barəhanīṯ āstəṯ txšāī rā hae bā rasāṯ . bā

ī brēhēnīd ēstēd tuxšāgīh rāy ahy be rasēd, bē
302.09 tuxšāī kašą pa yazdą nā aβā pa gəϑī aβā - bar
tuxšāgīh ka+š zamān nē abāg pad gētīg abēbar,
302.10 nā pasiča pa mainīō ō frīāṯ rasaṯ u pa tarāž
bē pas+iz pad mēnōg ō frayād rasēd ud pad tarāzūg
302.11 aβazāeṯ . .
abzāyēd.

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302.12 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō xard . ku pa xard u
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: pad xrad ud
302.13 dānāī aβā barəh kōxšidan šāiiaṯ (MF omits) aiiå nā . mainiiōi
dānāgīh abāg brēh kōxšīdan šāyēd ayāb nē? Mēnōg
302.14 xard pāsux kard . ku avā iča ϑagī u zōrmaṇdī u
ī xrad passox kard kū: abāg+iz tagīgīh ud zōrōmandīh ī
302.15 xard u dānāī pasi ča aβā barəh kōxšīdan nā šāiiaṯ
xrad ud dānāgīh pas+iz abāg brēh kōxšīdan nē šāyēd,
302.16 či ka barəhnašn nākī aiiå pa ǰatarī frāž rasaṯ dānā
čē ka brēhēnišn, pad nēkīh ayāb pad ǰuttarīh, frāz rasēd dānāg
302.17 pa kār vīāvą bahōṯ duš dānā pa kār āgāh bahōṯ .
pad kār wiyābān bawēd ud dušāgāh kārāgāh ud
302.18 vadadil dil ārtar bahōṯ u dil ārtar vadaṯel bahōṯ . u
waddil *dilēr ud dilēr waddil ud
302.19 tuxsā ašagāhan bahōṯ u ašgāhan tuxšā bahōṯ .
tuxšāg aǰgahān ud aǰgahān tuxšāg kunēd,
302.20 ādum čuṇ pa qϑis barəhanīṯ əstəṯ vahāna padaš aṇdar
ēdōn čiyōn pad ān tis ī brēhēnīd ēstēd wihānag padiš andar
302.21 āeṯ . u aβarə har ϑis bā spōžəṯ . .
āyēd ud abārīg harw tis be spōzēd.

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303.01 purasīṯ dānā u mainiiō xard . ku aiiāfta xᵛā-
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: āyaftxwāstārīh
303.02 stārī u kərəba varzīdārī u arazānī rā yazdą ō mardumą
ud kirbagwarzīdārīh ud arzānīgīh rāy yazadān ō mardōmān

303.03 dīda ča ϑis baxşəṇṯ aiiå nā . mainiiō xard pāsux
did+iz tis baxšēnd ayāb nē? mēnōg ī xrad passox
303.04 kard . ku baxşəṇṯ . či ādum čuṇ gōeṇd ku baxta u
kard kū: baxšēnd, čē ēdōn čiyōn gōwēnd kū "baxt ud
303.05 bagōbaxt . baxt ą bahōṯ əž fradumī baxt əstəṯ . u
baγōbaxt". ēg *baxt ān bawēd ī az fradomīh baxt ēstēd ud
303.06 bagōbaxt ą didiča baxšåṇd . bā yazdą ą bax-šašn
baγōbaxt ān ī did+iz baxšēnd,bē yazadān ān baxšišn
303.07 ārā dim (kim MF) kunəṇd u mainiiō kim pādāinəṇd āhārma
ēd rāy kem kunēnd ud pad mēnōg paydāgēnēnd čē ahreman+iz ī
303.08 daruṇd pa nīrōi haft aβāxtar xᵛāsta u aβarāča har
druwand ud dēwān pad nērōg ī haft abāxtar xwāstag ud abārīg+iz harw
303.09 nākī i gāϑī əž vahą u arazącią apurəṇd u ō vatarą u
nēkīh ī gētīg az wehān ud arzānīgān apparēnd ud ō wattarān ud
303.10 arazącią aβītar baxşəṇd .
anarzānīgān abērtar baxšēnd.

Chapter: xxv

303.11 purasīṯ dānā ō mainiiō i xard . ku əž tuą-
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: az tuwāngarān
303.12 gar ą kə dariiōštar u əž dariiōšą tuągartar . mainiiō
kē driyōštar ud az driyōšān kē tuwāngartar? mēnōg
303.13 i xard pāsux kard . ki əž tuṇgar ą ōi dariiōštar kā
ī xrad passox kard kū: az tuwāngarān ōy driyōštar kē
303.14 pa yaš hast nā xᵛarsaṇd . vāš būdan i ϑisarā tīmār
pad ān ī+š hast nē hunsand ud wēš būdan ī tis rāy tēmār
303.15 barəṯ . u əž dariiōšą ōi tuągartar kə pa ą imaṯ āstəṯ
barēd, ud az driyōšān ōy tuwāngartar kē pad ān ī mad ēstēd
303.16 xᵛarsaṇd . u vāš bādan i ϑisrā nā aṇdāšāṯ . .
hunsand ud wēš būdan ī tis rāy nē handēšēd.

Chapter: xxvi

303.17 purasīṯ . dānā ō mainiiōi xard . ku kōračašm
pursīd dānāg ō mēnōg ī xrad kū: kōrčašm
303.18 vaṯ tar aiiå kōrdil . duša āgāh vaṯtar aiiå vaṯ
wattar ayāb kōrdil? ud dušāgāh wattar ayāb wadxēm?

303.19 xīm . mainiiō i xard pāsux kard . ku ōi kōr čašm kaš
mēnōg ī xrad passox kard kū: ōy ī kōrčašm ka+š
303.20 šn-āsaī i ϑis hast āmōžašn kunəṯ pa durast čašm
*šnāsagīh ī pad tis hast ud hammōzišn kunēd pad drustčašm
303.21 dārəṯ . u ōi i durast čašm kaš dānəšn i ϑis nāst u ą
dārišn, ud ōy ī drustčašm ka+š dānišn ī *tis nēst ud ān+iz
303.22 ča yaš āmōžaṇd nā padīrəṯ aigišą əžičakōr čašm
ī+š hammōzēnd nē padīrēd ēg ān az+iz kōrčašm
304.01 vaṯ tar . duša xīm vəh ku daš āgāh . duš xīm ǰaṯ
wattar. ud dušāgāh kem wattar kū dušxēm, čē dušāgāh ǰud
304.02 əž kāeštą əž kas ϑis bā stadan nā tuą . u duš
az dādestān az kas tis be stadan nē tuwān ud dušxēm
304.03 āgāh mard aigiš hamōīn kāma ō stahm u har .
mard ēg+iš hāmōyēn kām ō stahm ud appar.

4.4 Pāzand glossary

The following is a Pāzand glossary of the **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** text that I have created. Creating this glossary was extremely time consuming as I have listed almost 1600 entries. In addition to that I have also listed all other forms of alternative spelling or scribal mistakes. In some cases there were up to ten different alternative spellings.

For this glossary I have listed every single word that was mentioned in the manuscript **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** from chapter 1 to 27 and compared each word one by one to their Pahlavi counterparts and finally use the English translation of the Pahlavi glossary that I have previously put together.

In this glossary I have also included the Pahlavi version of the words in order to reduce confusion since some Pāzand word occur many times with alternative spelling and also to provide tools of comparison. This way the reader can recognize the scribal errors.

Besides using this glossary as a tool conduct my research I hope it could also be useful in order to facilitate the work of fellow students who are in this field.

PAZAND	PAHLAVI	ENGLISH
A		
ā	**a-**	prefix to make antonyms
ą / ṇ	**ān**	that
abā	**abāg**	(together) with
abāž	**abāz**	back backward
abəš	**abēš**	free of harm
abīm	**abīm**	fearless
aburžiṣnī	**aburzišnīg**	not praiseworthy
adāestą	**adādestān**	unjust
adāestąnī / adāistąṇī	**adādestānīh**	injustice, false judgement
adard	**adard**	painless
āeṇd /aeṯ/āeṯ	**āy- (āmadan)**	to come
āfrā / āfrāh	**āfrāh**	teaching
āfrīṇ	**āfrīn**	blessing
agāh / āgāh	**āgāh**	aware knowledgeable
aganīn	**āgenēn**	together
agar	**agar**	if
ągarāmī	**(ān ī) grāmīg**	dear, precious
agin / aigin	**ēg**	then
agišą	**ēg+išān**	then+them
agumąm	**agumān**	doubtless, certain
ągunāh	**awināh**	free from sin
āhāraman / āhārəman/āhrman	**ahreman**	Ahriman, Angra Mainyu
āhō	**āhōg**	fault, blemish
ahumānā	**ahomānāg**	unlike
aī	**..īh**	suffix indicating the quality or condition of being...
āi ār (?)	**ahl**	the same element as in **hamahl** (people of equal social standing)
aiā- (aiāftan)	**ayāb- (ayāftan)**	to obtain
aibigaṯ	**ēbgat**	the adversary
aigain	**ēg+iz**	*then* + enclitic particle **-iz** *too*
aigin / agin	**ēg**	then
aiginθō	**ēg+iz tō**	the you too
aigis / aigiš	**ēg+iš**	then+ third person singular
aigišą	**ēg+išān**	then+ third person plural
aigit	**ēg+it**	then you/your
aihōrməzda	**ohrmazd**	Ahura Mazda
aiiā / aiiå	**ayāb**	or
aiiāfta (aiiāftan /aiiāftą)	**ayāftan**	to obtain
aiiāftača	**āyaft+iz**	obtain+ and, too, also
aiiāfta xᵛāstārī	**āyaft-xwāstārīh**	wishing to obtain

āiiāihəṯ	**āsāy (asudan)**	rest, repose
aiiār / aiiārī	**ayārīh**	assistance
aiiārmaṇdī	**ayārōmandīh**	helpfulness
aiiāṯ	**ayād**	memory
aiiōxšusta-ča	**ayōxšust**	metal
ailāṯ	**ayād**	memory
aimainiiō	**ān+ ī+ mēnōg**	
āīn	**ēwēn**	Way, manner
ainā	**enyā**	otherwise, moreover
āina / āinā	**ēwēnag**	mirror
aināšą	**enyā+šān**	their way
āinii	**ēwēnag**	mirror
aīr	**abēr**	very, much
āišr (āi ār)	**ahl**	the same element as in **hamahl** (people of equal social standing)
aiβaiāsīṯ(ą) /aiβiā šīṯ(ą)	**ayāsīdan (ayāstan)**	to remember, to be mindful
āǰādī	**āzādīh**	freedom
āǰūr	**āzwar**	greedy
akanara / akanāra	**akanārag**	without borders, unlimited
akard	**akard**	undone
aknāra	**akanārag**	without borders, unlimited
almāsta-ča	**almāst**	diamond
āmār	**āmār**	consideration, reckoning
āmārə-ča	**āmār+iz**	consideration, reckoning + enclitic particle : and, too, also
amarg	**amarg**	undying
amargī	**amargīh**	immortality
āmaṯ	**āmad- (āmadan)**	came (to come)
amāvaṇd	**amāwand**	powerful
amərdāṯ / amərədāṯ	**amurdād**	the sixth amahraspand, representing immortality
aməşāspəṇdą / aməšāspəṇdąn	**amahraspandān**	the holy seven immortals
āmōxtārī	**hammōxtārīh**	learning
āmōžaṇd	**hammōxtan / hammōz-**	teaching
āmōžašn / āmōžaşn	**hammōzišn**	education
āmuružum	**āmurzēm (āmurzīdan)**	to forgive
aṇ	**ēn**	this
... - ąn /- ą	**...ān**	plural marker
anāaomədiha	**akōmandīha**	harmfulness (plural)
anāgāhihā	**anāgāhīhā**	unawareness (plural)
anāī	**anāgīh**	evilness, badness
anāk	**anāg**	bad, evil
anāk kardār	**anāg-kardār**	evil doer
anākąma	**anāgīh-kāmag**	with malicious intentions
anākāmī	**anāgīh-kāmagīh**	evil wishing
anākaradārī	**anāg-kardārīh**	evil doing

anarzą̨nī	**anarzānīg**	unworthy
anaspās	**anespās**	ungrateful
anāštī	**anāštīh**	discord, unrest
anavaṇdą	**anābādān**	uncultivated (plural)
anāžarma	**anāzarmīg**	dishonoured
anāzarməh/anāzarmī/anāžarmī	**anāzarmīg**	dishonoured
aṇd	**and**	so much, many
aṇdā	**tā**	until
aṇdābūṇṯ	**tā + bowandag**	until full
aṇdāfrašāgard	**tā +frašegird**	until the end of times
aṇdak	**andak**	some
aṇdą̨m	**ēn + dām**	this creation
aṇdāmāh	**tā + māh**	to the moon
andar / aṇdar / aṇdara	**andar**	in inside, during
aṇdaržinīṯan	**handarzēnīdan**	to advice
aṇdāžəṯ- (aṇdōx-)	**handōz- handōxtan**	to acquire , to gain
aṇdəšāṯ (3p, sing)	**handēšēdan**	to think
aṇdəṣīdan	**handēšēdan**	to think
aṇdōx-	**handōz- handōxtan**	to acquire , to gain
aṇdurun	**handwaran**	?
anərəṇg	**anērān**	not Iran, the world outside of Iran
anərī	**anērīh**	barbarity
aṇgidī	**hangadīh**	wealth
aṇgōṣīṯ	**hangōšīdag**	like, also
aṇgūr / aṇgura	**angūr**	grape
ānō	**ānōy (ānōh)**	there
anōša	**anōšag**	immortal
anōšī	**anōšagīh**	immortality
ao	***az**	from
aoǰą̨	**?**	?
apar (apara)	**appar**	theft, robbery
aparaṇd (3p, PL)	**appar- (appurdan)**	to steal
apatīāra / apatiiāra /apitiāra	**apetyārag**	lacking adversity
apatīāramaṯ	**apetyārag + mad**	
apatīāra / apatiiāra /apitiāra	**apetyārag**	lacking adversity
apatūi	**apattūgīh**	impatience
apitiāra / apatīāra / apatiiāra	**apetyārag**	lacking adversity
apōišna	**asōhišn**	unfeeling
apurd-	**appar- (appurdan)**	to steal
ārāe / ārāi	**ārāy (ārāstan)**	to prepare , to equip, attire, adorn
ārāmaṯ	**āxrām- (āxrāmīdan)**	to stride
arasaṇgar (arakaṇdar)	**aleksandar**	Alexander the Macedonian
arašk	**arešk**	envy

arāsta	**ōgrā(y)**	dipping
arazānī	**arzānīgīh**	worth
arazą̈nią (anarzą̈nī)	**anarzānīg**	unworthy
arūm-āigą	**hrōmāyīgān**	Romans (Byzantine)
arzahi	**arzah**	the eastern continent of the earth
arzamaṇṯ	**arzōmand**	worthy
aržamṇdī	**arzōmandīh**	worth
arzą̈niią	**anarzānīgān**	the unworthiness
ašhī /ašahī / aṣahī	**ahlāyīh**	righteousness
āsą	**?**	?
āšą	**... šān**	on them (suffix)
asagahan / ašagāhan	**aǰgahān**	lazy, indolent
ašahī / aṣahī / ašhī	**ahlāyīh**	righteousness
āsamą̈n / āsmą̈n	**asmān**	sky
āsānəṯ (3p,Sng)	**āsāy (asudan)**	rest, repose
āsānī /āšānī	**āsānīh**	ease
aṣar	**asar**	endless
āṣārihəṯ (3p,Sng)	**agārīh- (agārīhstan)**	to become powerless
asəž	**asēǰ**	safe, free from danger
ašəžašnī	**asazišnīg**	permanent
ašgāhan	**aǰgahān**	lazy, indolent
ašgāhanī	**aǰgahānīh**	laziness
ašhī /ašahī / aṣahī	**ahlāyīh**	righteousness
āškārā	**āškārag**	openly, evident, unveiled
aškum	**aškom(b)**	belly
āsmą̈n	**asmān**	sky
āsn / āsna	**āsn**	innate wisdom
āsnā / āšnā	**āšnāg**	known
ašō / aṣō / aṣōi	**ahlaw**	righteous, blessed
ašōdāṯ	**ahlawdād**	charity
aṣōišn	**asōhišn**	unfeeling
aspaṇž / aspṇǰ / aspṇž	**aspinǰ**	hospitality, Inn
ast	**astag**	bone, stone
asta vahāṯ /astavahāṯ	**astwihād**	the demon of death
astāišn	**stāyišn**	praise
āstār	**āstār**	sin
astara	**star(ag)**	star
astavahāṯ	**astwihād**	the demon of death
āstī / āštī	**āštīh**	peace
astuxą̈n	**astuxān**	bone
ātaš /ātaṣ	**ātaxš (ādur)**	fire
ātum / hātum	**?**	?
aūdagą̈n / ūdagą̈n (plural)	**wišūdag**	abortion, a demonic creation

auθguš / aigiš	**ēg+iš**	then+ third person singular (*auθguš, seems to be a misspelling)
āv	**āb**	water
avā	**abāg**	(together) with
āvādą	**ābādān**	habitation
āvādānī	**ābādānīh**	habitable
avā disāh	**abādixšā (apādixšā)**	without authority
avadum / avadumī	**abdomīh**	finality, end
avāduṯ	**abāg + did**	with other
āvāīaṯ / āvāiiaṯ	**abāyēd**	must should
āvāiiastan	**abāyistan**	to be necessary (infinitive)
avākār	**abāg + kār**	with work, with effort
avar	**abar**	on
avarazīṯ	**awarzīd**	uncultivated
āvard / āβrəṯ	**āwar- (āwurdan)**	to bring
avardāṯ	**hordād**	perfection, the fifth Amehraspanta guardian of water also the third month of the year
avardinəṯ (3p, sng)	**wardēnīdan**	cause to turn, alter
avarəča / avarəči /aβarəča / aβarəča	**abārīg+iz**	and also the other
āvarəṇd / āvarəṇṯ / āvarṯa	**āwar- (āwurdan)**	to bring
avarōz- / aβrōz-	**abrōz- abrōxtan**	illuminate
avāruṇ	**abārōn**	bad (morally)
avārūnuą	**waran**	lust, desire, concupiscence, also a demon
avaš/vaš/azaš / ažaš	**aziš**	from him/her/it
avaṣīnasn	**abesīhēnišn**	destruction
avasōš / avašōs / aβasōšə	**afsōs**	scorn, mockery, pity(?)
avasōsgar /aβasōsagar/aβasōsgar	**afsōsgar**	mocker
avāsparəṇṯ	**abespār-**	consign, to give over
avastā / aβāsta	**abestāg**	Avesta
avaṯ / vaṯ	**wad**	bad, evil
avāxta /avāxtra	**abāxtar**	north
avāxtarą /avaxtrą (plural)	**abāxtar**	north
avāz / avāž	**abāz**	back backward
avazāeṯ	**abzāy- (abzūdan)**	to grow, to increase
avazūnīą	**abzōnīgān**	making increase
avə gamąnihā	**abēbūdīh**	deficiency
avəgumą	**abēgumān**	free of doubt
avəgunāh	**awināh**	free from sin
avəmust	**abēmust**	uncomplaining, content
avīn	**wany (wanīy)**	destroyed
avīngardihā	**wanīgardīh**	waste
avīngardihā dāstāī(dāstārī)	**Wanīgardīh-dāštārīh**	waste keeping
avīrą	**awērān**	ruined

avīspa / aβīža	**abēzag**	pure
avstąm	**abestām**	support / trust
āxəžaṯ / āxəzaṯ	**āxēz- (āxistan)**	to rise up, stand up
axōš	**ahōš**	immortal
axtar	**axtar**	star
axtarą / axtrą	**axtaran**	stars
axᵛaradī	**ahunsandīh**	discontent
axᵛašihā	**axwašīhā**	unhappiness
axᵛəškār	**axwēškār**	undutiful, impious
ąŷaš	**ān + ī +š**	of that, that of it
až	**az**	from
āž bəš	**abandīh**	error
āžaī	**ēzagīh**	worshipping
azamąn	**azarmān**	ageless
āzār	**āzār**	torment, bother
āzaram / āzarm	**āzarm**	injury, respect, honour
azarmą /azarmąn	**azarmān**	ageless
āzarmī	**āzarmīgīh**	honour, respect
azaš / ažaš /aβaš	**aziš**	from him/her/it
azbāeṣn /azbāŷašn	**azbāyišn**	invocation
azər dōzax	**nizm dušox**	lowest level of hell
azər	**azēr**	below, under
ažgartum	**bēšazgar**	healer, medicine-man
āβ	**āb**	water
aβa / aβar	**abar**	on
aβā	**abāg**	with it
aβą	**owōn**	so, as
aβad	**abd**	marvelous wonderful
āβādą /aβdą	**abdān**	marvelous wonderful PLURAL
aβādaṣāhī	**abādixšā (apādixšā)**	without authority
aβādusmaną	**abāg + dušmenān**	with the enemies
aβāgī / āβāgī	**abāgīh**	Accompaniment, together with
āβāiiad / āβāiiaṯ	**abāyēd**	must should
aβaǰanəṯ / aβazanəṯ	**be + zanēd (zan-)**	to kill, to strike
aβām	**abām**	loan, debt
aβarə / aβarə/	**abārīg**	the other, the remaining
aβarəča / aβarəča	**abārīg+iz**	and also the other
āβārəṯ	**dār- dāšt**	misspelling of ***dāraṯ*** , hold, have
aβarōzad /aβāeṯ	**abzāy- (abzūdan)**	to grow, to increase
aβāruṇ / aβārūṇ	**abārōn**	bad (morally)
aβārūnī	**abārōnīh**	Badness (morally)
aβaš	**aziš**	from him/her/it
āβasārą	**afsālān**	Springtime

aβasōsagar / aβasōsgar	**afsōsgar**	mocker
aβasōšə	**afsōs**	scorn, mockery, pity(?)
aβaspār-	**abespār-**	consign, to give over
aβāsta	**abestāg**	Avesta
aβastąm	**abestām**	support / trust
aβāxtar	**abāxtar**	north
aβāž	**abāz**	back backward
aβazadan	**be + zanēd (zan-)**	to kill, to strike
aβazāeṯ / aβazaṯ	**abzāy- (abzūdan)**	to grow, to increase
aβazanəṯ	**be + zanēd (zan-)**	to kill, to strike
aβazanṇṯ	**be + zanēnd**	
aβazār	**abzār**	tool
aβazdan	**ōzadan (ōzan-)**	to kill
aβdą	**abdān**	marvelous wonderful PLURAL
aβdum	**abdom**	last, final
aβəbar	**abēbar**	fruitless
aβəbīmī	**abēbīmīh**	fearlessness, bravery
aβəgumą	**abēgumān**	free of doubt
aβəmīž	**abēmizag**	tasteless
aβəmīža	**abēmizag**	tasteless
aβəva zaṇṯ	**abēwizend**	invulnerable, safe
aβəva zaṇṯ-atar	**abēwizendtar**	safer
aβīǰa / aβīǰah	**abēzag**	pure
aβīr	**abēr**	very, much
aβīrtar / aβītar	**abērtar**	very much (more)
aβīža	**abēzag**	pure
aβra	**abr**	cloud
aβra	**abar**	on
aβrə / aβrə	**abārīg**	the other, the remaining
āβrəṯ	**āwar- (āwurdan)**	to bring
aβrōzaṯ	**abrōz- abrōxtan**	illuminate
aβuxṣāišnī	**abaxšāyišnīg**	forgiveness
āθiča / āžiča	**āz+iz**	also from
ąθis	**ān + tis**	that thing

B

ba har	**bahr**	part, share
bāe / bāie	**bawēd**	be
bāe (as in : *ham bāe*)	**hambāy**	sharing, partnership
baeš ažgar-tum (-*tum*: superlative)	**bēšazgar**	healer, medicine-man
baevarāsp	**bēwarasp**	ten thousand horses
baγō baxta / bagōbaxt	**baγōbaxt**	allotted by the god

bahar	**bahr**	part, share
bahara	**bahrag**	on that account
bahōṯ	**bawēd**	be
bālīn	**bālēn**	Bed's headboard, pillow
baṇd	**band**	bond, tie, rope / as verb : to close
baṇda	**bandag**	slave,
baṇdəṯ	**bandēd**	ties up
bar / bār	**bār/bar**	load, burden, fruit
barahinīṯ /barəhənīṯ/barəhanīṯ	**brēhēnīd (brēhēn-)**	fashioned (to fashion)
baraṯ / barāṯ / barṯ	**barēd (burdan)**	carries (to carry)
barəh	**brēh**	fashion
barəhnašn / barhīnaṣn	**brēhēnišn**	assignment
barəšna / barəṣnī	**barišn**	getting rid of (?)
bāš	**bāš**	be! (imperative)
bast	**bastan**	to close
baxšåṇd /baxṣəṇd/baxṣəṇṯ/baxšəṯ	**baxš-**	to forgive
baxšnihā	**pādāšnīhā**	rewards (plural)
baxt / baxta	**baxt**	fate, destiny, divided, shared
baxtan	**baxtan**	to apportion, to divide
baž /baza /baža /bāža	**bazag**	sin, evil
bazaikard	**bazag + ī + kard**	evil doing (he committed an evil act)
bə	**bē**	but, out
bədan / bədąn / būdan	**baw- (būdan)**	to be
bəṇd	**bawēnd (būdan)**	to be
bəō	**be + ō**	
bəpūṯ	**bē + pad**	
beš / bəš	**bēš**	harm
bəšəṯ /bəṣəṯ	**bēšīd**	to be hurt (3rd , sing, past)
bəsīṯtar	**bišttar**	more harm(?)
bəsnāxtan	**be + šnāxtan (ešnas)**	to recognize
bəstadan	**be + stadan**	to take
bīm	**bīm**	fear
bīm namūdārī	**bīm-nimūdārīh**	showing fear, showing respect
bīmgin	**bīmgen**	scary
bīmmṇd	**bīmōmand**	frightful, fearful
bīṯ / būṯ	**bīz***	* no entry listed
bṇdagą	**bandagān**	slaves, servants
bōi / bōī	**bōy**	smell, fragrance
bom	**bawam / bam**	I shall be
boxtan / bōxttan	**bōxtan**	deliver
bōžasn / bōžasni	**bōzišn**	salvation
brəhnīṯ	**brēhēnīd-**	to fashion
brihīnā	**brēhēnāg**	intent, destining

buṇda manəsnī	**bowandag-menišnīh**	in appropriate measure, full-mindedness, common rendering of Av. Ārmaiti
dan / būdan	**baw- (būdan)**	to be
būdaṇṯ	***bowandag**	in MX. ***bowandag***full is the counterpart, but it doesn't seem correct
būdīn	**hudēn**	of good religion
buišni	**bawišn**	is to become
buluṇd	**buland**	tall, high
bun	**bun**	beginning
bundahəšnī	**bundahišn**	Primal Creation
burdār	**burdār**	the bearer of...
būražišnī / burǰasnī / buržišnī	**burzišnīg**	praiseworthy
burzāvṇdihā	**borz-wāngīh**	aloud
buržišn / buržišnī	**burzišnīg**	praiseworthy
bušīāsp / būšīąsp	**būšāsp**	sloth, the demon of sloth (procrastination)
būṯ	**būd**	was
būṯan	**būdan**	to be
buxtār	**bōxtār**	deliverer
buxtārī	**bōxtārīh**	deliverance

β

βāe/vāe	**pāy**	leg, foot
βāeą	**pāyan**	legs, feet
βahəst	**wahišt**	paradise
βaṯ	**wad**	bad, evil
βaṯ gōhar	**wad-gōhr**	being of a bad essence

č

ča	**az**	from
ča / čai	**...īz/ -iz**	enclitic particle : and, too, also
čaečist	**čēčist (čēčast)**	name of a lake
čahār	**čahār**	number 4
čahār vāe	**čahārpāy**	four legged (animal)
čai	**...īz/ -iz + ī**	enclitic particle : and, too, also + ezafeh
čaną	**az + iz + nūn**	even now, still
čaṇd / čṇd	**čand**	as much as, how much/many
čaṇdašąn	**čand + šān**	how many of them
čaṇdo	**čand + ud**	
čāra	**čārag**	means, remedy, help
čaraβatar	**čarbtar**	more amenable

čardan	**kardan**	misspelled with a [č] instead of a [k]
čarvī	**čarbīh**	Amenable , grease
čarβ	**čarb**	amenable
časm / čašm / časma	**čašm**	eye
časmxāhisna / časmxᵛāhisna	**čašmagāhīh**	public, notorious
čatōdīṯ	**...+ z + it + dīd**	
čaθu	**...īz/ -iz + tō**	
čərī	**čērīh**	valor
či	**čē**	which
čią	**čē + ān**	what is it that...
čiguft / čigufta	**čē + guft**	what was said, what he/she said
čihār βāeą	**čahārpāyan**	four legged animals
čihārəm / čiharum / čihārum	**čahārom**	fourth
čim	**čim**	why
čimīvarzasną	**čimīg-warzišnān**	(warzišnān = making)(čimīg = sense)
čimust	**čē + must**	which + violence, oppression, force
čiṇi /čuą / čum / čun / čuṇ / čūṇ / čuṇda	**čiyōn**	like such as similar to
čirā	**čē + rāy**	why
čiš	**čē + š**	that which
čit	**čē + t**	everything you... / which you ...
čiθi	**čē + tō**	everything you... / which you ...
čṇd	**čand**	as much as, how much/many
čṇdōr	**činwad**	name of the bridge that connects this world to the afterlife
čuą / čum / čun / čuṇ / čūṇ / čuṇda	**čiyōn**	like such as similar to

D

dā / dādan/dāṯ	**dād**	law
dādār / dāðār	**dādār**	creator
dāðārī	**dādārīh**	creating
dadīgar / daðīgar/dakīgar	**dudīgar**	second, second time.
dādihā	**adādīhā**	breaking the law,
dāestą /dāištą / dāištą	**dādestān**	law, judgement
dāhāka	**azdahāg**	dragon, the mythical dragon king Dahag
dahəsn/dahəšn /dahəsna /dahəsnə	**dahišn**	established
dahəšnə / dahəsni/dahišn /dahisni / dahiṣnī		
dahəšni	**dāšn**	gift
dahi-vaṯ /dahivad	**dahibed**	ruler
dahivadą	**dahibedan**	rulers
dahum	**dahom**	tenth

dāištą / dāištą	**dādestān**	law, judgement
dakīgar	**dudīgar**	second, second time.
dām / dąm /	**dām**	creation
dāmąn / dąmąn	**dāmān**	creations
damaštąn	**zamestān (zam)**	winter
dānā	**dānāg**	wise
dānagą /dānāgą	**dānāgan**	wise (plural)
dānāī	**dānāgīh**	wisdom, knowledge
dānārā	**dānāg + rāy**	wise + post positions: for / for the sake of
dąnastan / dānastan /dānaštan	**dānistan**	to know
dānasn maṇd /dąnašn maṇd	**dānišnōmand**	knowing
dānastan /dānaštan	**dānistan**	to know
dānəšn	**dānišn**	knowledge
dānəst /dānəsta/dānət̲	**dānist**	he/she knew
darača	**dar + iz**	door + iz
darāəą ǰōisnī	**drāyān-ǰōyišnīh**	eating while speaking
darāet̲	**drāyēd**	speaks (daevic), chatter
daraṇ-žasn	**dranǰišn**	recitation. Speech.
daraṇdī	**druwandīh**	wickedness
daraos	**xurdruš**	bloody mace (it referrers to demon **Xēšm**'s mace)
dāraşnī	**dārišn**	upkeep, holding
dāraṯ /dārəṯ/ dārṯ	**dārēd (dāštan , dār-)**	to have, to hold, to keep
dard	**dard**	pain
dard	***kard-**	*to do, to make (due to the similarities between [d] and [k] the word kard has been mistakenly spelled dard)
dardārī / kardārī	***kardārīh**	*activity, ([d] and [k] error)
dardəštət̲	**kard ēstēd**	made, did
darəǰaşnī / darəṇšašn	**dranǰišnīh**	reciting
dārəṇt̲	**dārēnd (dāštan , dār-)**	to have, to hold, to keep
dārəsn / dārəšn / dārəšni	**dārišn**	upkeep, holding
dārī	**...-dārīh**	....having
dariiōšą / dariōšą /darīōšą	**driyōš + ān**	poor (plural)
dariiōštar	**driyōš + tar**	poorer
darīōšī	**driyōšīh**	poverty
darīōštum	**driyōš + tom**	poorest
darōg dāβrī	**drō-dādwarīh**	false judgment
dārṯ	**dārēnd (dāštan , dār-)**	to have, to hold, to keep
darūaṇdī	**druwandīh**	wickedness
daruāṯ	**druwand**	evil, wicked
daruǰ / darūǰ / drūǰča/daruž	**druz**	lie-demons (female)
darūz /darūž/drūza		

darūǰą / darūǰąn /drūǰąn	**druzān**	lies
darūn	**drōn**	a ceremony
daruṇdą /daruṇdąn /daruuṇdą/darūzą̄n/	**druwand+ān**	evil, wicked (plural)
daruṇd /darūṇda /daruṇṯ	**druwand**	evil, wicked
daruuaṇd /daruuṇda		
daruṇdī	**druwandīh**	wickedness
darūpaštt̄ar /darūpušt̄tar	**drubušt +tar**	fortress + more, stronger(?)
darūzą̄n /daružanī	**druwand+ān**	evil, wicked (plural)
daṣəṇṯ	**kēšīdan , kēš-**	to pull, to draw * this seems to be a spelling mistake the correct form should be kušəṇṯ in Pāzand
dasrūb	**dusraw**	dishonoured
dast	**dast**	hand
dāst	**dāšt <d'št'> YHSNN-**	hold
dāsta	**dastān**	hands
dāstāī /dāstārī /dāštārī	**dāštārīh**	keeping
dāstan /dāštan	**dāštan , dār-**	to have, to hold, to keep
dastūrą	**dastwarān**	guide in religious mattes, teacher
dāṯ	**dād**	law
dāvarī /dāβarī /dāβrī	**dādwarīh**	judgement
dəhə	**deh+ēw**	that specific village
dəhəṇd	**dahēnd**	they give
dāra	**dagr**	Later , long, long-lasting
dərǰamą̄n	**dagr + zamān**	long-lasting time
dəsiṯ	**kešēd (kēšīdan , kēš-)**	to pull, to draw * there should be a [k] instead of [d]
dəv /dəβ	**dēw**	demon
dəvą /dəvą̄n/dəβa /dəβą / dəβą̄n	**dēwān**	demons
dəvāžaī	**dēw-ēzagīh**	demon-worshiping
dīda /didiča	**did+iz**	other + enclitic particle : and, too, also
dihą̄n	**dahān**	mouth
dil	**dil**	heart
dil ər	**dilēr**	breave
dim /kim	**kem**	little (*there should be a [k] instead of [d])
dīn	**dēn**	religion
diṯ /duṯ	**did**	other
dīṯ	**dīd**	saw
dōǰax/dōzax /dōžax /dōžāx	**dušox (dōšox)**	hell
dōst / dōsta	**dōst**	friend
dōstą / dōštą/dōšt̄ą̄n	**dōstān**	friends
dōstī	**dōstīh**	friendship
dōzax /dōžax /dōžāx	**dušox (dōšox)**	hell
darāəą ǰōisnī	**drāyān-ǰōyišnīh**	eating while speaking

drōg	**drō**	deception, lie
drūǰąn /darūǰą / darūǰąn	**druzān**	lies
drūpastī	**drubuštīh**	fortress
drūza	**druz**	lie-demons (female)
drūžiąd	**drōzēd**	lies (3rd p,)
duāraṯ	**dwārēd (dwār-)**	run
duārəsn	**dwārišn**	running
duārəsnī	**dwārišnīh**	running
duaxāną	**dō axwān**	the two existences
duaxānī	**dō-axwānīg**	the two existences
duāzdah	**dwāzdah**	twelve
duāzdahe	**dwāzdahān**	the zodiac
duāzdh	**dwāzdah**	twelve
duhum	**dahom**	tenth
duǰūarəsta	**dušxwaršt**	evil deed
dunasni	**kunišn**	doing (*there should be a [k] instead of [d])
duβāeą	**dōpāyān**	two legged creatures (plural)
dūr /dūra	**dūr**	far
durast /durašt/ durust	**drust**	correct
durast čašm	**drust-čašm**	seeing well. A well intentioned person
durəṇžiṣn	**dranǰišn**	recitation. speech.
durəštatar	**drust +tar**	correct
duš dīn	**duǰdēn**	of an evil religion
duṣ pādašāhī	**dušpādixšāyīh**	evil ruling, misruling
duša/duṣ/duš	**dōš- / duǰ-**	bad, wrong
dušą	**kū + šān**	that + he/him/his/she/her (*there should be a [k] instead of [d])
dusāgāh	**dušāgāh**	foolish. Stupid
dušamata	**dušhumat**	evil thought
dušāramī /duṣarām	**dušrāmīh**	unhappiness
dusārm / dušārum /dusrąm	**dōšāram**	desire, love
dušman	**dušmen**	enemy
dušmat / dušmata	**dušmat**	evil thought
dusrąm	**dōšāram**	desire, love
duš saxuną	**dō-saxwanān**	two-tongued, deceitful speech
dušrąmī	**dušrāmīh**	unhappiness, uneasiness
dusrūb	**dusraw**	dishonoured
dusrūbī	**dusrawīh**	dishonour
duštar	**duščihrtar**	uglier
dušūārī	**dušwārīh**	difficulty
dušrūba	**dusraw**	dishonoured
duṯ/ diṯ	**did**	other
dužūxt / duzuxta /dužūxta	**dušhūxt**	evil speech
dužvarəst /dužvarhd	**dušxwaršt**	evil deed

ə

ā	**ēd**	this too
ā	**... +ēw**	...that very specific...
ā	**ēg**	then
āčirā	**ēd + iz + rāy**	
ādąmi /ədūm/ādum /ādūm/āduṇ	**ēdōn**	thus, in this way
āgāna	**ēkānag**	Submissive / single, identical, unique
āmā	**amā**	we, us
āmōka	**ēw-mōg**	walking with one shoe
əṇd	**and**	so much, many
ār tan	**ēr-tan**	humble
ārā	**ēd + rāy**	this (accusative)
ārāči	**ēd + rāy + čē**	this wich... (accusative)
ārāinaṣan	**ēd + rāyēnišn**	this action / this function arrangement
ārąnigą	**ērānagān**	iranians
āraz	**ēraǰ**	a personal name
ārtanī	**ēr-tanīh**	humbleness
āsą /āšą /āstąn	**awēšān**	they, those, them
əstaṯ/āstaṯ/āstāṯāštāṯ/əstəṯ	**ēstēd (ēstādan)**	to stand, to be , Auxiliary of the perfect continuous tense.
əstāṯ/əštəṯ/āstəṯ/āstāṯ /āštəṯ		
āugānaī	**ēkānagīh**	submission, uniqueness, oneness
āugąnigą	**ēkānagān**	submission, uniqueness (plural)
əvəh /əvəhə	**ī + weh**	
əž	**az**	from
āžadā	**ēw-tāg**	single, lonely, unique
āβar /āβra	**ēwar**	for sure, certainly

F

farsaṇg	**frasang**	unit to measure distance, about 4 Roman miles, ± 5.916km
farxᵛāvąn /fravąnaī	**parwānagīh**	leadership
frārūṇ	**frārōn**	honest
fradum	**fradom**	first
fradumī	**fradomīh**	the beginning
frahāst	**frahist**	much more, most
frahṇg	**frahang**	Learning / education
fraǰąm /fraząm /fražąm	**frazām**	complete, finish (something), end
frāǰatum	**frāztom**	the most forward
frakadafš	**fradadafš**	the south-eastern continent of the world
framą	**framān**	order

framāeṯ /framāiiaṯ	**framāyēd**	he/she commands
framōš	**framōš**	forgetting
framōst	**framušt-**	to forget
franaft	**franaft**	to go forth
franiiāk	**parnagān**	polychrome Damask, a reversible figured fabric of silk, wool or cotton with a pattern formed by weaving.
frārūm /frārūnī/frāruṇnī frārūṇni/frārūṇnī	**frārōnīh**	(moral) goodness / good behavior
frāruṇ /frārūṇ	**frārōn**	honest
frāruṇtar	**frārōntar**	more honest
frašōgard	**frašegird**	the end of times
frāsiiāk	**frāsyāg**	Afrasiab (Avestan: Fraŋrasyan) mythical king of Turan
fravąnaī	**parwānagīh**	leadership
fravāraṯ	**frawārd**	offer, bastion
fravaršn	**parwarišn**	nourishment
frāž	**frāz**	forth forward
fraząm /fražąm	**frazām**	complete, finish (something), end
frazaṇd /fražaṇd/frazəṇṯ/frazṇdą	**frazand**	offspring, child
frəādəṯ	**frayādēd (frayād-)**	to help
frəāṯ /friāṯ /frīāṯ	**frayād**	help
frādūn	**frēdōn**	mythical Iranian king (AV: Θraētaona) who killed the dragon
frəh	**frēh**	more, superior
frəhazi sta	**frazēšt**	the name of a dēw
frəhəminaṯ	**frēh menēd**	to consider + more, superior
frəhəst	**frahist**	much more, most
friāṯ /frīāṯ /frəāṯ	**frayād**	help
frīž	**pardaz**	to be done with / to be freed of
frvaršn	**parwarišn**	nourishment

G

gāh /gāhā/gāhi/	**gāh**	(a special) place, throne
gahsṇbār	**gāhānbār**	a ritual associated with the five times of the day
gaiiōmard	**gayōmart**	the first man
gaǰasta	**gizistag**	accursed, hateful
gām /gąm	**gām**	step
gamąn /gumą	**gumān**	doubt
gamāzasni /gamāzsni	**gumēzišn**	mixture
gaṇdī	**gandagīh**	stench, foulness
ganā	**gannāg**	foul(-smelling), corrupt
ganāmainiiō	**gannāg + mēnōg**	corrupt spirit
gaṇdum	**gandum**	wheat

gaoguzār /gaovazāra	**gōwizār**	explicit, more in detail
gaōiṣn /garōisn/garōišni /garōiṣni	**wurrōyišn**	belief, faith
garą	**garān**	heavy
garąmī	**grāmīg**	dear, precious
garąmītan	**grāmīg + tan**	precious body
garəptār /gərəftār	**griftār**	trapped, prisoner
gārī	**kārīh**	...doing
gariftan	**griftan**	to take
garīst /grīsta	**gilistag (?)**	den, burrow, dwelling of demons
garmā	**garmāg**	warmth
garmī	**garmīh**	heat
garōisn/garōišni /garōiṣni	**wurrōyišn**	belief, faith
gaōiṣn/groišni		
garōiṯ	**wurrōyēd**	believe
garoθamąn	**garōdmān**	the house of Ohrmazd, Paradise
gāvą	**gāwān**	cows
gavasn/gavašn /gavasni	**gōwišn**	speaking, speech
gavəšn /gavəṣn		
gavəsnī	**gōwišnīh**	speaking
gəhą /gəhąm	**gēhān**	living beings, world (of living beings)
gərəftār	**griftār**	trapped, prisoner
gəṯī /gəθī /gəθī/gəθtī	**gētīg (gētīy)**	this world, of this world
gīraṯ / gīrəṯ	**gīrēd (gīriftan)**	seizes (to take, to hold, to restrain)
gōeṇd	**gōwēnd**	say
gōeṯ /gōiṯ	**gōwēd**	says
gōhar	**gōhr**	essence, jewel
gōharī	**gōhrīg**	essential, natural
gōš	**gōš**	ear
gōspaṇdą /gōspəṇdą	**gōspandān**	domestic animal, sheep
grəfta /grifta	**gīriftan**	to take, to hold, to restrain
grīsta	**gilistag**	den, burrow, dwelling of demons
groišni	**wurrōyišnīh**	belief faith
guftan /guft / gufta	**guftan**	to say
guftārī	**guftārīh**	speech
guftəstaṯ	**guft + ēstēd**	
guhāraṯ	**gugārēd (gugār-)**	to digest
gula	**gilag**	complains, lamentations
gumą	**gumān**	doubt
gumār	**gumār-**	to entrust
gumāǰəhāṯ	**gumēzīhēd (gumēxtan)**	to mix
gūn /gunā / gūna	**gōnag**	sort, kind, form
gunāh	**wināh**	sin
gunāhī	**wināhīh**	sinfulness

guuštāsp	**wištāsp**	a historical king
guvāī	**gugāy**	witness
guzdum	**gazdum**	scorpion
guzrg /guzurg	**wuzurg**	big
guβāī	**gugāyīh**	witnessing

H

ha vaš/ ha-baš / haizas haǰaš /haǰāš/havas /havaš	**awiš**	from, by, to
hā	**hā**	plural marker
ha-baš	**awiš**	from, by, to
hae	**hē**	auxiliary to make Pluperfect (past tenses of “to be.” 2nd sing)
haft /hafta	**haft**	seven
haftum	**haftom**	seventh
haizas /haǰaš /haǰāš	**awiš**	from, by, to
haǰār	**hazār**	thousand
hala	**halag**	mad, fool
ham	**ham**	also
hamā	**hamāg**	all everything
hama parsaī / ham pursī	**hampursagīh**	conversation
hamačirā	**ham + čim + rāy**	for the same reason, for that very reason
hamaiārą	**hamahlān**	people of equal social standing
hamānā	**homānāg**	similar to
hamastagą /hamāstagą/hamāstgą	**hamēstān**	mixed
hamat	**humat**	good thought
hamatāk	**hamtāg**	equal, peer
hamā /hāmā /hamtāk	**hamēw**	the same way
haməmāl	**hamēmāl**	opponent (war and law)
hamāstagą/hamastagą/hamāstgą	**hamēstān**	mixed
hamāstār	**hamēstār**	always
hamāstārī	**hamēstārīh**	eternity
hamāstgą/hamāstagą/hamastagą	**hamēstān**	mixed
hamgūna	**hamgōnag**	like wise
hamkār	**hamkār**	collaborator, complies
hamōīn /hamōīna	**hāmōyēn**	all, altogether
hamtāk /hamā /hāmā	**hamtāg**	equal, peer
hamvār	**hamwār**	always
ham vāraşą	**hamwār + šān**	
hanar	**hunar**	skill
haošiṇg /hōšiaṇg	**hōšyang (hōšang)**	a mythical king
har	**harw**	each / every

haragāh	**harw + gāh**	each / every + (a special) place, throne
haragiǰiča	**hučihr + tar**	pretty, good looking + more
haravišt / harvisp	**harwisp**	every all
harvisp pəsīṯ	**harwisp-pēsīd**	adorned with every adornment
harda	**kard**	made, did (it seems to be a case of misspelling [**h**] instead of [**k**]
hargəča /hargiži/harigizi	**hagriz**	never
harkasą	**harw + kas**	each person, everybody
harvəst /harvisp /haravišt	**harwisp**	every all
hast /hasta	**ast**	is, exist
hasti	**hastīh**	existence
hastum	**haštom**	eighth
hāṯ	**hād**	now, then, that is
havadą /havṇd	**hāwand**	equal, counterpart
havas /havaš/hazaš/hažš/haβš	**awiš**	from, by, to
hazār	**hazār**	thousand
hazuą /hizuuąn/hizūą	**uzwān**	tongue, language
haβš	**awiš**	from, by, to
hāč /həča/hāča/hāči	**ēč**	not any
hālaṇd	**hilēd (hil-)**	to abandon, to let go, to permit
hāṇda/hənṭ /hāṇṭ	**hēnd**	they are, (to be, 3rd-plural, auxiliary to make simple past)
həṇzaman	**hanǰaman**	assembly
hfta	**haft**	seven
histan	**hištan**	to abandon, to let go
hizūą /hazuą /hizuuąn/	**uzwān**	tongue, language
hmaiiārą	**hamahlān**	people of equal social standing
hmāstārī	**hamēstārīh**	eternity
hom /hōm	**ham**	also
hōrməzd /hōrməzda	**ohrmazd**	Ahura Mazda
hōš	**ōš**	Consciousness, intelligence /dawn/death
hōšbąm	**ōšbām**	Bright dawn, from ōš ”dawn” + bām “brightness
hōšiaṇg /haošiṇg	**hōšyang (hōšang)**	a mythical king
hōšiiār	**ōšyār**	conscious, intelligent
hūarəst /hūarəsta	**huwaršt**	good deed
hūbōi /hubōi	**hubōy**	fragrance, perfume
hūβāžī	**huēwāzīh**	with loud voice, with good voice
hučasma	**hučašm**	benevolent, good intentioned
hūčašmī	**hučašmīh**	good intention
hūdīn	**hudēn**	of good religion
hūgavasn	**hugōwišn**	of good speech
hūhīm	**huxēm**	good nature, good character
hūkunasn	**hukunišn**	of good actions
humānā	**homānāg**	similar to

hūmanəsn	**humenišn(īh)**	good thought
humaṯ	**humat(a)**	good thought
humatī	**humānīh**	good-mindedness, benevolence
hūṇgōšīda	**huhangōšīdag**	(hu = good) good resemblance
huparəṯ	**ōbārēd (ōbārdan)**	to swallow
hūrām /hūrm	**hurām**	happy, elated, blissful
hurəst /hūrast	**huwaršt**	good deed
huruuāxam	**xwaran**	banquet (???)
hušādar /husādar	**hušēdar**	son of Z., born 1000 years after Z
hūxt /huxta /hūxta	**hūxt**	good speech

I

i /ī	**...ī**	ezafeh
īaṇ	**ēn**	this
ič̌a	**...īz/ -iz**	enclitic particle : and, too, also
iiašą	**ī + šān**	ezafeh + enclitic suffix **them**
imaṯ	**mad (madan)**	to come
iṇ	**ēn**	this
iṇč̌a	**ēn+iz**	also this
iṇdar	**andar**	in inside, during
iṇdīn	**ēn + dēn**	this + religion
iṇgāhą	**ēn + gēhān**	this + living beings, world (of living beings)
iṇvaṯ-atar	**ēn + wattar**	this + bad
iṇθisrā	**ēn + tis + rāy**	this + thing (accusative)
iṇθuš	**ēn + tis**	this thing
iō	**ī + ō**	ezafeh + to
ipa	**ī + pad**	ezafeh + with
irā	**ī + rāy**	ezafeh + rāy
iṣahamagun	**ī + sahmgen**	ezafeh + terrible
išn	**...īšn**	suffix to make action nouns from present stems of verbs
istāiidār	**ī + stāyīdār**	ezafeh + the one who praises
iūąn	**ǰuwān**	young
ixuðāe	**xwadāy**	lord, ruler
ixūnāhin	**ī + xwēn-āhan**	ezafeh + shining metal
ixusraβ	**husraw**	of good fame, famous, alternative spelling of Xosrow
iž	**az**	from
izisni	**ēzišn**	worship
iθō	**ī + tō**	

ǰ

ǰa/ǰaṯ	**ǰud(a)**	apart from

ǰą /ǰąn /	**gyān**	soul, spirit, life,
ǰādaŋgō barşnīhā	**ǰādangō-barišnīhā**	defence
ǰādaŋgōī	**ǰādag-gōwīh**	the action of intervening on behalf of another, defence, protection
ǰahāṯ	**ǰahēd (ǰastan)**	to happen, to jump
ǰākuī	**ǰādūgīh**	sorcery
ǰamą /ǰamąn	**zamān**	time
ǰāmae	**ǰāmag**	garment
ǰamašīṯ	**ǰamšēd**	a mythical king deposed by Dahāg (Avestan: Yima)
ǰamī	**zamīg**	earth
ǰaš /ǰaş	**u + š**	
ǰašą	**u + šān**	
ǰaṯ	**ǰud(a)**	apart from
ǰatarī	**ǰuttarīh**	reverse
ǰəm	**ǰam**	ǰamšēd (Avestan: Yima) a mythical king deposed by Dahāg
ǰīhaşni	**āwēnišn**	blame, reproach
ǰīvastan	**zīwistan**	to live
ǰudā /ǰuðā	**ǰudāg**	separated

K

ka	**ka**	when, since
kabaž	**bazag**	sin, evil
kač /kača	**ka+z**	
kadām /kadąm	**kadām**	which
kāeštą	**dādestān**	law, judgement
kahōs	**kāwōs**	nightmare
kam/kim	**kem**	little
kąm	**kām**	wish
kāma/ kāmai/	**kamag**	little
kāmaī	**kāmagīh**	the wish to...
kamār	**kamāl**	chief, head (daevic)
kāmaṯ	**kāmēd**	wants, wishes
kamtar	**kemtar**	less
kanāṯ	**kunēd**	to do (3rd sing)
kanīk	**kanīg**	young woman
kanīką	**kanīgān**	young women
kanikəe	**kanīg+ēw**	that girl
kanom	**kunēm**	to do (1P, plural)
kar /kār	**kār**	work
kardan /karadan/kardan	**kardan**	to do, to make
kāra dabagą	**kārdāgān**	those who employ/practice
karaṯ/kard/karda	**kard**	did, made

karba	**kerbag (kirbag)**	good deed
kardār	**kardār**	activity
kardārī	**kardārīh**	activeness
kārdāstan	**kār + dāštan**	work + to have
karəd/karṯ /karṯ/	**kard**	did, made
kas/kəs	**kas**	person -body
kaš	**ka + š**	
kasą	**kasān**	people
kašą	**ka + šān**	
kasta	**kustag**	side, direction
kat/kaṯ	**ka + t**	when, since + enclitic YOU
kə/ kā	**kē**	who, whom, whose (relative and interrogative)
kəh	**keh**	small
kəhṇ	**kehān**	small (plural)
kəm	**kē + m**	
kānāš	**kēš**	teaching
kəraba/kərba/kərəba/ kərəba	**kerbag (kirbag)**	good deed
kərabaī	**kerbagīh**	doing good deeds
kərd	**kard**	did
kərəbae	**kirbag+ēw**	that good deed
kəš/ kāš	**kē + š**	
kəsar	**kē + sar**	whose + head
kāsi	**kēš**	teaching
kəšvar/kəšvara/kəšβa/kəšβar	**kišwar**	region, realm , country
kāt /kut	**kū + t**	
kāvąn	**dēwān**	demons (spelled wrong)
ki	**kē**	who, whom, whose (relative and interrogative)
kim/kam	**kem**	little
kōh	**kōf**	mountain
kōr	**kōr**	blind
kōračašm	**kōrčašm**	blind eye
kōrdil	**kōr-dil**	blind heart
kōšasni	**kōxš /kōxšišn**	struggle
kōšīdārī	**kōxšīdārīh**	struggling
kōst	**dōst**	friend (K / D wrong spelling)
kōstą	**dōstān**	friends (K / D wrong spelling)
kōxš /kōxšidan /kōxšīdan	**kōxš /kōxšišn**	struggle
kōzax /kōzx	**dušox (dōšox)**	hell (K / D wrong spelling)
ku	**kū**	that
kuārašn	**dwārišn**	running (K / D wrong spelling)
kuāraṯ	**dwārēd**	runs (K / D wrong spelling)
kučūṇ	**kū + čiyōn**	that + like, such as, similar to
kudąm	**kadām**	which

kun	**kun**	to do imperative
kunasna/kunəsn/kunəsni	**kunišn**	making, doing
kunəşni/kunišni/kunşn		
kunaṯ/kunəṯ/kunāṯ	**kunēd**	does
kunəṇd/kunəṇṯ	**kunēnd**	they do
kunmarž	**kūn-marz**	sodomy
kunōm	**kardan (kun-)**	I do (in PLV the verb ***giram*** is used 'I take')
kunşn/kunasna/kunəsn	**kunišn**	making, doing
kunəsni/kunəşni/kunišni		
kus/kuš	**kū + š**	
kušą	**kū + šān**	
kušāṯ duārəsnī	**wišād-dwārišnīh**	going about without tying the kusti (the Zoroastrian holy girdle)
kusta /kušta	**kustag**	side, direction
kut/kāt	**kū+t**	

M

ma	**ma**	not
mabar	**ma + bar**	do not bear, do not carry
mabāš	**ma + bāš**	do not be
madan	**madan (mad-)**	to come
madār /mādar	**madār**	comer, coming
madārī	**madārīh**	coming
madrumąn	**mardōmān**	people
mae	**may**	wine
magz	**mazg**	brain, marrow
māh	**māh**	moon, month
mahamą	**mehmān**	guest, intimacy
mahəst/mahāst	**mahist**	greatest
māhigą	**māhīgān**	fish (plural)
mahir	**mihr**	love, Mithra
maidiiōzarm	**mēdyōzarm**	spring
mainiiō /mainiiōi/mainiō/mainīō	**mēnōg**	Spirit (of the other world)
mainiiuą/mainiuą	**mēnōgān**	Spirits
mainišn	**menišn**	try, intent, intention
mainīṯ	**menīd**	he scorned
mainiuą	**mēnōgān**	Spirits
maǰmōžaṇd		no corresponding Pahlavi word listed
malkōsą	**malkōsān**	loan word from Hebrew ***malkoš*** meaning rain, but in Pahlavi it meant the biblical deluge of Noah, ***malkōs,*** a demon who will bring a furious winter on the earth to destroy it

mālšn	**mārišn**	perception
man	**man**	I, me
manavas	**dušmen was**	not really a word, seems to be a spelling error
manəšn/manəsnə/maniṣn/maniṣnī	**menišn**	try, intent, intention
manəṣn/mānəsn	**mānišn**	dwelling
mānəṯ/manīṯ	**mānēd**	remains, she/he waits
mąni	**mān + ī**	us + ezafeh
mar	**mar**	number, reckoning
mār	**mār**	snake
maradum	**mardōm**	people
maragī	**margīh**	death, mortality
māraṯ /mənəṯ	**mānēd**	remains, she/he waits
mard	**mard**	man
mardamą/mardum	**mardōmān**	people
mardumą/mardumąn		
mardumī	**mardōmīh**	popular
māməspəṇṯ	**amahraspand(ān)**	the holy seven immortals
marg /margī	**margīh**	death, mortality
marōčinī dārī /marōčinīdārī	**murnǰēnīdārīh**	destruction
masō	**ma + šaw**	don't go
mastūk	**mastōg (mast)**	drunken, intoxicated
maṯ /māṯ	**mad**	came
māzaṇtar	**māzandar**	Arch-demon , giant(evil)
mazdaiiasną /mazdaiiasną	**Māzdēsn / māzdēsnān**	Mazdayasnian, Mazda worshipers
məh	**meh**	bigger
məh sūṯai	**meh-sūdīh**	gaining more benefits
məhər	**mihr**	love, Mithra (god of contracts & promises)
məhərą darūzą	**mihrōdruǰ**	contract breaker
məhəstą	**māzdēsnān**	Mazda worshipers
mən	**man**	I, me
mənəṯ/minəṯ/minəṯ/minīṯ	**mānēd**	remains, she/he waits
mənīdan /mənṇd	**menēdan (menīdan)**	to consider
məva /məβa/	**mēwag**	fruit
miąn	**mayān**	middle
mīduxt/mīduxta/mīduxta/mīduxut	**mihōxt**	falsehood
mīəβa/məva /məβa/mīβa	**mēwag**	fruit
mihąžī	**mayānǰīgī**	mediator
mihir	**mihr**	love, Mithra (god of contracts)
minəṯ/minəṯ/minīṯ	**mānēd**	remains, she/he waits
mīrəṯ	**mīrēd**	dies
mīβa/mīəβa/məva /məβa/	**mēwag**	fruit

mūi	**mōy + ēw**	hair
mūǰaī	**mōyag**	lamentation, sob
murdamą	**mardōmān**	people
muruą	**murwān**	birds
must	**must**	violence, oppression, force
mustā varmaṇṯ /vustāvarmąd	**must-abarmānd**	Violent inheritance

N

ṇ /ą /ną	**ān**	that
na/nē	**nē**	not
ną	**ān**	that (occurs only once)
nagą	**nigān**	buried
nahum	**nohom**	ninth
nahuṇbaṯ	**nihumbīdan (nihuftan)**	to hide
nāirīk	**nārīg**	lady, woman
nāirīką	**nārīgān**	lady, woman (plural)
nąm	**nām**	name
namāeṯ	**nimāyēd**	he shows
namāz /namāž/nmāž	**namāz**	prayer
nąn	**nān**	bread
nar	**nar**	male
narəhnīṯ	**nē brēhēnīd**	did not fashion
nāsą (šnāsą)	**ešnāsān (šnāxtan)**	to recognize (3-plural)
naṣāe/nasāi	**nasā**	corps, carcass
nasnī	**āsānīh**	ease
nasnṇṯ	**nišānēnd (nišān- nišāst)**	settle, set down
našstan/nastastan	**nišastan**	to sit
nazdīk	**nazdīk**	near
nazdīkī / nazdīka	**nazdīkīh**	proximity
naβard	**nibard**	battle
ṇbārə	**hambār**	store
ṇbasą /ṇbastą / aṇbasą	**hambasān**	enemies, opponents
ṇči	**ān + iz**	
ṇdā/aṇdar/ṇdar/ṇdār	**andar**	in inside, during
ṇdābə	**ud + tā + be**	
ṇdar/ṇdār	**andar**	in inside, during
ṇdōxt-	**handōz- handōxtan**	to acquire , to gain
nə	**nē**	not
nāāržum	**nē + āmurzēm**	not forgive+ personal ending
nəča	**nē+z**	
nədīṯ	**nē + dīd**	did not see
nāfrəǰə	**nē + frēbēd**	did not deceive ***frēb (frēftan)***

nəgrīṯ	**nigerīd (nigerīdan)**	To observer, to see,
nəkī	**nēkīh**	goodness
nəkunəṯ	**nē + kunēd**	doesn't do
nəmadan	**nē + madan**	don't come
nəmaṯ	**nē + mad.**	doesn't come
nərasaṯ /nərsaṯ	**nē + rasēd**	doesn't arrive
nəsāiiaṯ /nəṣāiiaṯ	**nē + šāyēd**	may not
nəst	**nēst**	is not
nəxūb	**nē + xūb**	not good
nəθəs /nəθis	**nē tis**	nothing
niāeaṣni	**niyāyišn**	prayer
niak /nīak/nīak/niiak /niiāk	**nēk**	good
nīeṯ	**nayēd**	lead
niiak /niiāk	**nēk**	good
nikī	**nēkīh**	goodness
nīrmaṯ maṇdtum	**nirmadōmandtom**	the most profitable
nīrmaṯ vaṇdašnī	**nirmad-windišnīh**	acquisition / earning
nīrō/nīrōi	**nērōg**	strength
nisānəṯ	**nišānēd (nišān-, nišāst-)**	settle, set down
nisast	**nišast**	sat, resided
nisastahae	**nišast hē**	he/she sits
niṣīnasn	**nišastan**	to sit
nisīnaṯ /nisīnəṯ	**nišīnēd**	sits
nīzəsta	**nizēšt**	the name of a dēw
nmāe	**nimāy-**	to show
nmāž/namāz /namāž	**namāz**	prayer
nṇgrā	**nang + rāy**	shame + postposition
nō	**nōg**	new
nū /nuh	**nūn**	now

O

o /ō	**ō**	to
ōbahōṯ	**bawēd**	there will be
ōfətəṯ /ōftaṯ/ōftəṯ	**ōftēd**	fell
ōftəṇṯ	**ōftēnd (ōftādan)**	to fall (plural)
ōi /ōī	**ōy**	he /she
ōiča	**ōy + iz**	
oštią	**ōstīgān**	reliable, firm

P		
pa /pād	**pad**	with
pača	**pad+iz**	
pada vāǰəṯ	**paywāzēd**	answered
pāda	**pādāšn**	gift, reward
pāda-šāhī	**pādixšāyīh**	reining
pādāēşn	**pādāšn**	gift, reward
padāeštą	**?**	?
pādafrā/pādafrāe	**pādifrāh (pādofrāh)**	punishment
pādafrāh/pādafrāha		
padahəšsn	**pad dāšn**	gift, reward
padāma	**pad kām**	with desire ([**k**] has been written [**d**])
padas/padaš/padasa	**padiš**	postposition from, by, to / with it , with him/her
pādašāha/pādaşāh	**pādixšā**	king
pādasāhī/pādašāhī	**pādixšāyīh**	reining
pādaşāhī/pādişāhī		
pādāšn	**pādāšn**	gift, reward
pādfrāh	**pādifrāh (pādofrāh)**	punishment
pādi vaṇdatar	**pādyāwandtar**	stronger
padira/padīra	**padīrag**	towards, against
padīraftārī	**padīriftārīh**	reception
padīraft	**padīriftan**	to oppose
padīrafta	**padīr- padīrift**	receive
padiraftāri	**padīriftārīh**	reception
padīraṇṯ/padīrəṇṯ	**padīrēnd**	
padīraṯ/padīrəṯ	**padīrēd**	
pādisāh/pādišāh	**pādixšā**	king
pādişāhī	**pādixšāyīh**	reining
pādi vaṇdatar(pāri vṇ zatar)	**pādyāwandtar**	stronger
padīxᵛī	**padēxīh**	prosperity
padu βāeą	**pad + dōpāyān**	with the two legged creatures
pāe	**pāy**	leg, foot
paemą/paemąn	**paymān**	pact
paemānī/paemąnī	**paymānīg**	moderate
pāeṯ	**pāyēd (pāyēdan)**	to guard, to take care
paeuuaṇd/paevaṇd/paevṇd	**paywand**	connection, lineage
paevaṇṯad /paevṇṯəd	**paywandēd**	connects
paevṇd /paeuuaṇd/paevaṇd	**paywand**	connection, lineage
pagvəšni	**pad + gōwišn**	with + speech
pahal	**puhl**	bridge

pahalūm	**pahlom**	foremost, best
pahanāe	**pahnāy**	width, wide
paharəxtan	**pahrēxtan**	guard
paharāza	**pahrēz**	care, protection
pahāča	**pad + ēč**	with nothing
pahlum	**pahlom**	foremost, best
pāiia	**pāyag**	place, level
paitīāra	**petyārag**	adversity, opposition of the Evil Spirit
pākatar	**pāktar**	cleaner
pakvāzāṯ	**paywāzēd (paywāz-)**	reply, answer
panāh/panāhī	**panāh**	refuge
pānāī	**pānagīh**	protection
panąm čištą	**pad + nāmčišt**	with + specially, in particular
paṇba	**pambag**	cotton
paṇǰum	**panǰom**	fifth
par	**appar**	theft, robbery
pāra	**pārag**	bribe
pārastānašnī	**pārag-stānišnīh**	taking bribe
paraştār	**paristār**	maidservant
parastasni	**paristišn + ī**	worship + ezafe
parastaşnī	**paristišnīh**	worshiping
parastīdan	**paristīdan**	to worship
pardazašnī	**pardazišn + ī**	undertaking, freedom
parhəxtār	**pahrēxtār**	staying away from, to guard from
parīraftārī	**padīriftārīh**	reception
parstą (parastīdan)	**paristīdan**	to worship
parstašn/parstašni	**paristišn**	worship
pas	**pas**	after
paš	**padiš**	postposition from, by, to / with it , with him/her
pasaṇdəṯ	**passandidan**	approve, like
paşəmąnī	**pašēmānīh**	repentance
pasəm-diča	**passand + iz + ī**	
pasi ča / pasiča	**pas + iz**	
pasīn	**pasēn**	final, about the Final Body after the resurrection
pasṇd	**passand**	pleasure, liking
pāsux/pāšux	**passox**	answer
paṯ kōs	**pāygōs**	district
pāṯ frāh	**pādifrāh (pādofrāh)**	punishment
pāṯ huzunī	**pād-uzwānīh**	Reticence , unwillingness
patan	**pad + tan**	
patiār /patīār/patiiāra	**petyārag**	adversity, opposition of the Evil Spirit
patiiāraī	**petyāragīh**	adversity
patkār	**pahikār**	battle, struggle, fight

patmōžaṇd	**paymōzēnd-**	to measure
paṯmōžašn/padmōžan	**paymōzan**	dress, garment
patūī	**apattūgīh**	impatience
pauhal /pahal /puhal	**puhl**	bridge
paxir	**pad + xīr**	with + matter, things
pāẙa	**pāyag**	place, level
paθisiča	**pad + tis + iz**	
pəčīṯ	**pēčīdag**	twisted
pədā /pədā	**paydāg**	to be revealed to appear to find
pədāī	**paydāgīh**	appearance
pədāinīṯ	**paydāgēnīd(an)**	to reveal
pārōzgarī	**pērōzīh**	victory
pəš	**pēš**	before
pəšiiār	**pēšārwār**	urination
pəsīṯ /pəšīṯ	**pēsīd**	adorned with
pīm	**pēm**	milk
puhal /pauhal /pahal	**puhl**	bridge
pur/ pura	**purr**	full
purasəṯ/ purasīd	**pursēd**	asked
purasīṯ/ purašīṯ/ pursəṯ		
pursīdārī	**pursīdārīh**	asking
pursīṯ/ puršīṯ/ purŝīṯ	**pursīd**	asked
pursṇdi	**pursēnd**	asked (plural)

R

rā manṣn	**rāmišn**	at ease, joy, happiness
radī /rādī	**radīh**	the office of rad
raft/ rafta	**raft**	went
rāh	**rāh**	way, road
rāinā	**rāyēnāg**	arranger
rāinīdan	**rāyēnīdan**	to arrange
rāinīdārī	**rāyēnīdārīh**	direction, organization
rāmaṣna/rāmašn/rāməsn	**rāmišn**	at ease, joy, happiness
rāməšn/rąməsn /rąməšni		
rāmašni aiiār	**rāmišn ayār**	causer of happiness
rāməsn/ rāməšn/rąməsn /rąməšni	**rāmišn**	at ease, joy, happiness
raṇž	**ranǰ**	toil, trouble, suffering
raogan	**rōγn**	oil
rasaṯ/ rašaṯ/ rasəṯ	**rasēd**	arrived
rasāṯ/ rašəṯ/ rasiṯ/rsəṯ		

rasn/ rasna	**rašn**	one of the divinities in the afterlife, who has a balance weighting the good and bad deeds of humans
rašt/ rāst/ rāšt/ rāsta	**rāst**	truthful
rastāxəǰ /rastāxəž	**rist-āxēz**	resurrection of the dead
rāsti/ rāstī/ rāštī	**rāstīh**	straightness, truth
rāštihā	**rāstīhā**	straightness, truth (plural)
raṯ	**rad**	chief, master
ravā	**rawāg**	current
rāvagarī	**lābakkarīhā**	supplication
ravaš nihā /ravasnīhā/ ravašnī/raβšnī	**rawišnīh**	behavior
ravasna	**rawišn**	going, motion
ravəṯ/ ravāṯ	**rawēd**	goes
raβ	**raw (raft)**	to go
raβā	**rawāg**	current
raβašnihā /ravaš nihā ravasnīhā/ ravašnī/raβšnī	**rawišnīh**	behavior
rəžiṇd	**larzēndan**	to shiver
riārī/ riārie/ riiārī	**riyahrīh**	mockery, derision
rīmantum	**rēmantom**	the dirtiest , filthiest, most polluted
rīmārī	**wēmārīh**	sickness (seems to be a spelling mistake [**r**] instead of [**w**])
risast	**nišast**	sit (seems to be a spelling mistake [**r**] instead of [**n**])
rṇž	**ranǰ**	toil, trouble, suffering
rōišn/ rōiṣn	**rōyišn**	growth
rōšan/rōšn	**rōšn**	brightly
rōsantar	**rōšntar**	brighter
rōṣnāī /rōšnī	**rōšnīh**	light
rōz/ rōž	**rōz**	day
rsəṯ/ rasəṯ	**rasēd**	arrived
ruą/ rumą/ ruuą	**ruwān**	soul

S

sadīgar/ sədīgar/sidīgar/ šdīgar	**sidīgar**	third
sag	**sag**	dog, stone
sāiiast	**šāyist**	it is/was possible, it is/was proper
sāiṇdaī	**šāyendagīh**	to be worthy of
sālār	**sālār**	leader, chief, superior
sapāsdārī	**spāsdārīh**	to be grateful
sardī	**sardīh**	the coldness of ...
sardtum	**sardtom**	coldest

sarmā	**sarmāg**	cold
sarōš/srōs/srōš	**srōš**	a divinity seen in the afterlife who is related to obedience
saṯ	**sad**	hundred
savak	**sōg (?)**	the divine spirit that helps Mithra
savhi	**sawah**	the western continent of the earth
sāxtārī	**sāxtārīh**	the hardness, the difficulty, tolerance
saxun	**saxwan**	word, speech
sažāih(ā)	**sazāgīh(ā)**	fitness, worthiness (plural)
sazəṯ	**sazēd**	It is appropriate, suitable or possible
sə/ sā	**sē**	three
sədīgar/ sadīgar	**sidīgar**	third
sārī	**sagrīh**	satisfaction
səžmṇṯ	**sēǰōmand**	dangerous
sidīgar/sadīgar/ sədīgar	**sidīgar**	third
sīmīn	**asēmēn**	silver
smaəβašn/ šāβašni	**šēbišn**	confusion
spāhvaṯ/ spāh vaṯ	**spāhbed**	army general
spaṇǰ	**aspinǰ**	hospitality, Inn
sparham	**sprahmag**	flower, fragrant herb
spās/ spāš	**spās**	thanks
spās nāsą (šnāsą)	**spās-ešnāsān**	those who recognize gratitude
spāsdārī	**spāsdārīh**	to be grateful
spazagī/ spazgī	**spazgīh**	slanderous
spazg	**spazg**	slander
spətamą/ spitamą	**spitāmān**	Zaraθuštra's last name
spi hir	**spihr**	firmament, sky, sphere
spōǰəṯ /spōzaṯ/ spōžəṯ	**spōzēd (spōz- /spōxt-)**	push back
srōs/sarōš/srōs/	**srōš**	a divinity seen in the afterlife who is related to obedience
sta varəhā	**stabrīhā**	strengths
stadan	**stadan**	to take
stadāv (frəhazi stadāv)	**frazēšt dēw**	name of a demon
staham/ stahm	**stahm**	oppression
stahamatar	**stahmagtar**	more oppressed
stāišn	**stāyišn**	praise
stan	**stān-**	to take
star	**star**	star
sūd/sūṯ	**sūd**	benefit
sūdamaṇd	**sūdmand**	the one who receives the benefits
sūdī	**sūdīh**	advantage
sudīgar	**sūdgar (nask)**	a text found in the Dēnkard
sūṯ/ sūd	**sūd**	Benefit

Ş

ş̱ādatar	**šādtar**	happier
ş̱ahar/ šahira	**šahr**	realm, land, city
ş̱ahōṯ	**šawēd**	go!
ş̱āiiat /ş̱āiiaṯ	**šāyēd**	possibly, maybe
ş̱āl	**sāl**	year
ş̱ālārą	**sālār(an)**	leader, chief, superior (plural)
ş̱anvašn	**ašnawišn**	have knowledge of...
ş̱aošiiaos	**sōšāns**	Zarathustra's son, born 3000 years after him
ş̱āṯ	**šād**	happy
ş̱īr/ ş̱īra/ šīr	**šīr**	milk
ş̱nāsaī	**ešnāsīh**	recognition

Š

šādī	**šādīh**	happiness
šāeṇd	**šāyēnd**	they can (?)
šāh	**šāh**	king
šąhą	**šāhān**	kings
šahira	**šahr**	realm, land, city
šāiiaṯ	**šāyēd**	possibly, maybe
šanvadan	**ašnawišn**	have knowledge of...
šašum/ šaş̱um	**šašom**	sixth
šāṯ	**šād**	happy
šavą	**šabān**	nights
šaβa	**šabag**	night
šbak	**sabuk**	easy, light (the opposite of heavy)
šdīgar/ sadīgar/ sədīgar/sidīga	**sidīgar**	third
šīhəṯ	**?**	?
šīn (āīn)	**ēwēn**	way, manner
šīr/ ş̱īr/ ş̱īra	**šīr**	milk
šīrīntar	**šīrēn(tar)**	sweeter
škis	**stōš**	the fourth morning after death
šn-āsaī	**šnāsagīh**	knowledge
šōzātum / šō hātum	**sōzāgtom**	burning + most
šrōs/ šrōš/ sarōš/srōs/srōš	**srōš**	a divinity seen in the afterlife who is related to obedience
šudan/ šudana	**šaw (šudan)**	to go

T

ta	**...+t**	enclitic suffix indicating 2nd person singular
tahmōraf	**tahmōrub(?)**	ǰamšid's brother (Bundahišn 35.3)
tāk	**tāg**	item, unit, branch
tan/ tanu	**tan**	body
tandarustī/ tandurəstī	**tan-drustīh/ tandrustīh**	health
tanu/ tan	**tan**	body
tar/ θar	**...+tar**	enclitic suffix indicating comparison
tarāž/ tarāza	**tarāzūg**	scale, balance
tarča	**...tar + iz**	
tarīk/ tārīk	**tārīk/g**	dark
tārīkī	**tārīkīh**	darkness
tāšīṯ	**tāšīdan**	to fashion, to carve out of ...
taxma	**tōhmag**	seed, descent, family
taxšā/ tuxsā/ tuxṣā	**tuxšāg**	diligent
taxšāī/ tuxšāī/ tuxšāii/ txšāī	**tuxšāgīh**	diligence
taβāha	**tabāhīhēd (tabāhīhistan)**	to be ruined
tīmār	**tēmār**	sorrow, grief
tuą	**tuwān**	be able
tuągar/ tuṇgar	**tuwāngar**	rich, capable
tuągartar	**tuwāngartar**	richer, more capable
tuąn	**tuwān**	be able
tum	**...+ tom**	superlative suffix
tuṇgarī	**tuwāngarīh**	to be able to...
turuką	**turkān**	the Turks
tuxm	**tōhm(ag)**	seed, descent, family
(ham)tuxmigą	**hamtōhmagān**	relatives, those of the same seed
tuxsā/ tuxšā/ tuxṣā	**tuxšāg**	diligent
tuxšāī/ taxšāī/ tuxšāii/ txšāī	**tuxšāgīh**	diligence

θ

θagī	**tagīgīh**	speed, strength
θar/ tar	**...+tar**	enclitic suffix indicating comparison
θara-manəšnī	**tar-menišnīh**	scorning, scorn
θarmanasni/ θar-manaṣnī		
θəsə	**tis + ēw**	that thing
θis/ θiš/ θisə/ θišə/ θisi	**tis**	thing, something
θisarā/ θisrā	**tis + rāy**	
θisiča / θisiči	**tis + iz**	
θo/ θō	**tō**	thou, thee, you

θōjī	**tōzag**	atonement
θra-manəşn	**tar-menišn/ tarmenišn**	perverse, contemptuous
θraminṇd	**tarwēnīdan**	overcome, conquer

U

u	**ud**	and
ūaṇγaidī	**ud+ ārāyišn**	and + adornment
ūdagąn	**wišūdag (an)**	abortion, a demonic creation (plural)
uşą	**awēšān**	they, those, them
uzdə zār	**uzdēszār**	temple of idols (***-zar*** : place of)
uzdəst	**uzdēs**	idol
uzdəžār	**uzdēszār**	temple of idols (***-zar*** : place of)

V

vaǰīn	**wizīn**	choose
vadadil/ vadaṯel	**wad-dil/ waddil**	Coward, a person of bad intention
vādae	**wād + ēw**	that wind
vadan	**ašnawišn**	have knowledge of...
vadarg	**widarag**	path
vadaṯel/vadadil	**wad-dil/ waddil**	coward, a person of bad intention
vadərəṯ	**widerēd (widerdan)**	to pass, to cross over
vadīrasnī	**widerišnīh**	passing
vae	**way**	bird, air
vaəhī	**wirāstan**	to prepare, to arrange
vaem	**u + m**	
vafr	**wafr**	snow
vąginəṯ/ vanāsəṯ	**griyēd (griyistan)**	cried, (to weep)
vah/ vahə	**weh**	good
vahą	**wehān**	goods (good people)
vahąn	**bayān**	gods, majesty
vahāna	**wihānag**	cause, reason
vahə/ vah/ vahi	**weh**	good
vahəst/ vahəst	**wahišt**	paradise
vahī/ vəhī	**wehīh**	goodness
vahirąm	**wahrām**	personal name
vaihą	**wehān**	goods (good people)
vāiṇdagą	**wāyendag(an)**	bird(s)
vaǰ	**u + š**	
vaǰīdār	**wizīdār**	the one who has the choice
vaǰirinīṯ	**wizīrēnīd (wizīristan)**	to be able to dispense
vaǰṇdgār	**wizendgar**	chooser, selective

vaǰōst	**wizōstan**	to investigate
vanāsəṯ/ vaṇgīnəṯ	**griyēd (griyistan)**	cried, (to weep)
varadaṯ	**ward- (waštan)**	to turn away
vārāməṯ	**burāmēd (bram-)**	to weep
varan	**waran**	lust, desire, concupiscence, also a demon
varanīdan/ vardanīdan/ vardīnīdan	**wardēnīdan**	cause to turn, alter
vardanīṯ/ vardinīṯ	**wardēnīdan**	cause to turn, alter
varədišnī	**wardišnīgīh**	transience, mutability
varəduš	**?**	?
vari	**war + ī**	lake, breast, oath, shelter
varmaṇṯ	**abarmānd**	inheritance
varōmaṇd	**warōmand**	doubtful
varūn/ varunī	**abārōnīh**	badness (morally)
varž	**warz**	miracle, cultivation
varzəṯ	**warzēd**	work, act, practise
varzīdārī	**warzīdārīh**	performance
varzīn	**wizīn**	choose
vas kəhṇ	**aziš-kehān**	Younger or smaller than him/her/it
vas məh(ąn)	**aziš-meh**	older or larger than him/her/ it
vaš/ vaṣ	**was**	much, many, a lot
vasa ūdagąn/ va aūdagąn	**wišūdag**	abortion, a demonic creation
vašūdašąn/ vaṣūdagą		
vasą/ vašą	**u + šān**	
vasǰā	**was + gyāg**	many places
vasōft	**wišuftan**	destroy, disturb, tousle (hair)
vasōv/ vašōv/ vasōβž/ vašōβ	**wišōb**	disturbance
vašōvəṯ/ vaṣōvəṯ	**wišōbēd**	disturbed
vašruą	**u + š + ruwān**	
vastāx/ vaštāx	**wistāx**	confident
vastrag	**wastar(ag)**	garment
vašūdašąn/ vasa ūdagąn	**wišūdag**	abortion, a demonic creation
va aūdagąn/ vaṣūdagą		
vasūṯ/ vašūṯ	**wišūdan**	to bear a daevic offspring
vat	**u + t**	
vaṯ tar/ vatar/ vaṯtar	**wattar**	bad
vāṯ	**wād**	wind
vatarą	**wattarān**	bad people
vatarī	**wattarīh**	evil-doing
vaṯxīm	**wad-xēm**	of an evil character or nature
vaxšiṇda	**waxšendag**	blazing
vazaṇṯ kardār	**wizend-kardār**	a harmful person, instigator of evil
vazīdār	**wizīdār**	the one who has the choice

vazṇd	**wizend**	harm
vazōštan	**wizōstan**	to investigate
vəh/ vəha/ vəhə/ vihə	**weh**	good, good people
vəhą	**wehān**	good, good people (plural)
vəhədādār	**wisp-weh dādār**	the creator of all good, entirely good
vəhədīn	**weh dēn**	(of the) good religion, zoroastrian
vəhī/ vahī	**wehīh**	goodness
vəš/ vəs/vəš	**wēš (bēš)**	more
viāivānī	**wiyābānīh**	deception, delusion
vīāvą	**wiyābān-**	to lead astray
vihə/ vəh/ vəha/ vəhə	**weh**	good, good people
viiāžąn	**?**	?
vikadafs	**widadafš**	southwestern continent of the earth
vīnaē/ vīnaṯ	**wēnē- (dīdan)**	to see
vīnaftaī	**winaftagīh**	being shapely
vīnasn/ vīnašn/ vīnasni/ vīnṣn	**wēnišn**	seeing
vīnaṣn	**āwēnišn**	blame, reproach
vīnaṯ/ vīnaē	**wēnē- (dīdan)**	to see
vīnəṇd/ vīnəṯ	**wēnēnd**	sees
vīnṣn/ vīnasn/ vīnašn/ vīnasn	**wēnišn**	seeing
vīr	**wīr**	man, hero, memory, mind, thunderbolt
vīrāeṯ	**wirāyēd (wirāstan)**	to prepare, to arrange
vīrāišn	**wirāyišn**	arrangement
vīrāsta/ vīrāstan	**wirāstan**	to prepare, to arrange
visp/ vīspa	**wisp**	every, all
vizarš/ vīzarš/ vīzraš	**wizāriš(n)**	explaining
vōrabarst	**wōrūbaršt**	the northwestern continent of the world
vōrazast	**wōrūǰaršt**	northeast
vustāvarmąd	**mustabarmānd**	Violent inheritance

X

xa	**kand(an)**	to dig, to destroy
xada	**.....**	misspelling of (***xrad***)
xaeθuuōdaθa	**xwēdōdah**	next-of-kin, marriage
xāhaə	**kāhēd (kāstan)**	to decrease
xāhaṣn	**kāhišn**	to diminish
xākī	**xākīh**	earthy
xanəṇṯ	**kanēnd (kandan)**	to dig, to destroy,
xarad/ xaraṯ	**xrad**	wisdom
xarāninṇd	**kirrēnēnd (kirrēn-)**	to cut up
xarasaṇdī	**hunsandīh**	happiness
xarastar	**xrafstar**	noxious being, creep, harmful

xaraṯ/ xarad/ xard/ xarda xarəd/ xarid/ xarṯ/ xrada/ xraṯ	**xrad**	wisdom
xarnīṯ	**kirrēnīd (kirrēn-)**	to cut up
xarvastarą	**xrafstarān**	noxious being, creep, harmful (plural)
xarβastar	**xrafstar**	noxious being, creep, harmful
xasasta	**āγištag (āgištag)**	mixed
xašm/ xaşm/ xašma/ xešm	**xešm (hešm)**	anger , also the demon of fury, ***Xēšm*** is made the commander of the east by Ahriman (Dēnkard)
xaşnūdī	**hušnūdīh**	happiness
xāsta	**xwāstag**	property, to seek, request
xīm	**xēm**	character, nature
xīn / xᵛūn	**kēn**	hate, malice
xīnavar/ xīnvar	**kēnwar**	vindictive
xir/ xīr	**xīr**	matter, things
xišm/ xašm/ xaşm/ xašma/ xšm/ xšmi	**xešm**	anger
xrada/ xraṯ/xū-rad	**xrad**	wisdom
xru daraos	**xurdruš**	bloody mace (it referrers to demon ***Xēšm***'s mace)
xšm/ xšmi	**xešm**	anger
xū-rad	**xrad**	wisdom
xūb	**xūb**	good
xuðāią	**xwadāyān**	lords, rulers
xūn	**xōn**	blood
xunar/ hanar/ xᵛanar	**hunar**	skill
xuradatum	**xwurdagtom**	smallest
xuramā	**xurmāg (xormā)**	dates (fruit)
xuruīṯ raoš	**xurdruš**	bloody mace (it referrers to demon ***Xēšm***'s mace)
xusrūbī	**husrawīh**	having good fame
xuštāvəṯ	**awištābēd**	oppress, hasten
xuzina	**uzēnag**	price, cost

xᵛ

xᵛadāe/ xᵛaðāe/ xᵛadāī xᵛaðāi/ xᵛaðāī/ xᵛaðāiu	**xwadāy**	lord, ruler
xᵛāəṯ	**kāhēd (kāstan)**	to decrease
xᵛafşənṯ	**xufsēnd (xuftan)**	to sleep
xᵛaftan	**xuftan**	to sleep
xᵛaftaṯ/ xᵛaftəṯ	**xufsēd**	slept
xᵛāh	**xwāh- (xwāstan)**	seek, request, summon, to want
xᵛāhəṯ/ xᵛāhāṯ	**xwāhēd**	wants

xᵛāhišni	**xwāhišn**	desire, attraction
xᵛānəṇṯ	**xwānēnd**	they call
xᵛar/ xᵛaradan	**xwar- (xwardan)**	to eat, to take(an oath)
xᵛarahe/ xᵛarahə	**xwarrah**	fortune
xᵛaraṇd/ xᵛaraəaṇd/ xᵛarəṇd/	**xwarēnd**	they eat
xᵛarasaṇdī	**hunsandīh**	happiness
xᵛarasną/ xᵛarəşn/ xᵛarəšn/ xᵛarəşn	**xwarišn(ān)**	dish, food (plural)
xᵛarašəṯ/ xᵛarşəṯ	**xwarxšēd**	the Sun
xᵛardan	**xwardan**	to eat, to take(an oath)
xᵛarəh	**xwarrah**	glory
xᵛarəhmaṇṯ	**xwarrahōmand**	endowed with fortune
xᵛarəšn/ xᵛarəşn	**xwarišn**	dish, food
xᵛarəsnī/ xᵛarəšni	**xwarišnīg (?)**	edible (?)
xᵛarəşni/ xᵛarsn		

xᵛarəṯ/ xᵛarṯ/ xᵛrəṯ	**xwarēd**	eats
xᵛārī/	**xwārīh**	discomfort
xᵛarsaṇd	**hunsand**	content
xᵛarşəṯ /xᵛarašəṯ	**xwarxšēd**	the Sun
xᵛarsn/ xᵛaršn/ xᵛarşn	**xwarišn**	dish, food
xᵛarsṇdī	**hunsandīh**	happiness
xᵛaš	**xwaš**	sweet, happy, nice
xᵛastar	**xwaštar**	happier
xᵛaşamaganī	**xešmīh**	being angry
xᵛasī/ xᵛaši/ xᵛašī	**xwašīh**	pleasantness, happiness
xᵛašnūda	**hušnūd**	happy
xᵛāst/ xᵛāšt	**xwāstag**	property, to seek, request
xᵛastā vəṯ /xᵛašta āvəṯ	**awištābēd (awištāb)**	oppression
xᵛāsta/ xᵛāšta	**xwāstag**	property, to seek, request
xᵛāstan	**xwāstan**	to want, to seek
xᵛastar/ xᵛaštar	**xwaštar**	happier
xᵛāstārī	**xwāstārīh**	seeking
xᵛāštārī	**awestwārīh**	reliability
xᵛastum/ xᵛāstum	**xwaš+tom**	sweet, happy, nice (+ superlative)
xᵛaṯ	**xwad**	self
xᵛažīna	**uzēnag**	price, cost
xᵛəs/ xᵛəš	**xwēš**	self, one's own
xᵛəsāvəṇṯa	**xwēšāwand**	a relative
xᵛəšī dārī/ xᵛəsnī dārī	**xwēšēnīdārīh**	proper function
xᵛəšīi	**xwēšīh**	possession, belonging to
xᵛəškārī	**xwēškārīh**	duties
xᵛəštan	**xwēš tan**	one self
xᵛrəṯ	**xwarēd**	eats

xᵛūbahā	**handarzēnīdan**	to advice
xᵛuðāe	**xwadāy**	lord, ruler
xᵛūn	**kēn**	hate, malice
xᵛūram	**hurām**	happy, elated, blissful
xᵛuramā	**xurmāg (xormā)**	dates (fruit)
xᵛurəd	**kirrēnēd**	to cut up
xᵛušnūdī	**hušnūdīh**	happiness

Y

yāhą		
yak/ ẙak	**ēk**	one
yaš	**ī + š**	ezafeh + 3rd, sing. enclitic
yasą	**ī + šān**	ezafeh + 3rd, PL. enclitic
yašą	**ī + šān**	ezafeh + 3rd, PL. enclitic
yast/ ẙast	**yašt**	Avestan hymn
yat	**ī + t**	ezafeh + 2nd, sing. enclitic
yazaşni/ ẙazašn/ yazasn	**ēzišn**	worship
yazašn/ yazasni/ yazisni		
yazdą/ yazdąn	**yazadān**	gods
ẙazdą/ ẙazdąn		
yazisni/ yazaşni/ ẙazašn	**ēzišn**	worship
yazasn/ yazašn/ yazasn		

Y̊

ẙah	**ay**	that is to say
ẙak	**ēk**	one
ẙam	**ī + m**	ezafeh + 1st, sing. enclitic
ẙaš	**ī + š**	ezafeh + 3rd, sing. enclitic
ẙast/ yast	**yašt**	Avestan hymn
ẙat̲	**ī + t**	ezafeh + 2nd, sing. enclitic
ẙazdą/ ẙazdąn	**yazadān**	gods
ẙazašn/ ẙazasni	**ēzišn**	worship
ẙazt̲	**yazad (yzad)**	God
ẙūąn	**ǰuwān**	young

Z

zadiča	**ǰud + iz**	apart from + also
zāeṇd	**zāyēnd**	they are born
zāet̲	**zāyēd**	he/she is born
zafr	**zafar**	mouth (daevic), The jaws or throat of a voracious animal

zahar	**zahr**	poison, venom
zahiṣn	**ǰahišn**	chance, destiny
zāisn	**zāyišn**	birth, being born
zamą/ zamąn	**zamān**	time
zamī/ zamīą	**zamīg**	earth
zan/ zana	**zan**	woman
zandaī/ zaṇdaī	**zīndagīh**	life
zanəṣn/ zanṣn	**zanišn**	smashing
zaraθušt/ zaraθuštr	**zarduxšt**	Zaraθuštra
zarə̄t̰	**zanēd (zan-)**	to kill, to strike
zarīn	**zarrēn**	golden
zarōdāeą/ zōrdāeą/ zōrdāeą	**ǰōrdāyān**	grains
zarovət̰	**?**	?
zāt̰	**zad-**	strike, smite, smash
zatar	**?**	?
zəą/ zəąnə̄/ zią/ziąi	**zyān**	damage, harm
zəṇdaī	**zīndagīh**	life
žhar	**?**	?
zią/ ziąi/ zəą/ zəąnə̄	**zyān**	damage, harm
ziiągartar/ ziiągārtar	**zyāngārtar**	more harmful
zist	**zišt**	ugly
zīstatar	**zišttar**	uglier
zīvasni	**zī(w)išnīh**	life, living, livelihood
zīvastan	**zīwistan**	to live
zōr	**zōhr**	libation
zōr	**zōr**	power, strength
zoramənḍatar	**zōrōmandtar**	stronger
zōrdāeą/ zarōdāeą/ zōrdāeą/	**ǰōrdāyān**	grains
zōrmaṇdī	**zōrōmandīh**	being strong, powerful
zurąn/ zuruąn/ zuruąni	**zurwān**	the God of time (Kronos), the father of the twins Ahura Mazda and Ahriman

4.5 Pahlavi glossary

In order to obtain this glossary I have listed ever single Pahlavi word that occured in the manuscript **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** from chapter 1 to 27. For The English translation I used in most part David N. MacKenzie's Concise Pahlavi dictionary. In addition I have also consulted the glossary list of *Intro to Pahlavi* by Prod Oktor Skjærvø and very little of A. Tafazzoli's *Glossary of Menog-i Xrad* and finally I have also added my own input in some words. Finally for all the names of geographical regions and mythological names I have consulted other Pahlavi books such as Denkart and specially Bundahishn.

PAHLAVI	ENGLISH
A	
a-	prefix to make antonyms
ā	Then(usually with a suffix such as: ā+š)
āb	water
ābādān / ābādānīh	habitation
abādixšā (apādixšā)	without authority
abāg	(together) with
abāg	with it
abāgīh	Accompaniment, together with
abām	loan, debt
abandīh	error
abar	on
abarmānd	inheritance
abārīg	the other, the remaining
abārōn	bad (morally)
abārōn-dranǰišnīh	badly reciting
abārōnīh	badness (morally)
abārōnīh-hangēz	raise of moral badness (?)
abar	on,over, superior
abar-tanīh	arrogance
abaxš-	forgive
abaxšāyišnīg	forgiveness

abāxtar	north
abaydāg	invisible
abaydāgīh	invisibility
abāyēd	must should
abāyišnīgtar	most attractive to look at
abāyist	it was necessary
abāyistan	to be necessary (infinitive)
abāz	back backward
abāz-dāštār	with-holder
āb-čihrag	holding the seed, essence of water
abd	marvelous wonderful
abdān	marvelous wonderful PLURAL
abdom	last, final
abdomīh	finality, end
abēbar	fruitless
abēbīm	fearless
abēbīmīh	fearlessness, bravery
abēbūd	deficient
abēbūdīh	deficiency
abēgumān	free of doubt
abēmizag	tasteless
abēmust	uncomplaining, content
abēr	very, much
abērtar	very much
abēš	free of harm
abesīhēdan	to destroy
abesīhēnīdan	to be destroyed, perish
abesīhēnišn	destruction
abespārag	consign, give over
abespār-	consign, to give over
abestāg	Avesta
abestām	support / trust
abēsūd	profitless
abēsūdīh	none-profitability
abēwizend	invulnerable, safe
abēzag	pure
āb-gōnag	kind of water
Āb-hanǰīh	body of water, accumulation of water(?)
ābīg	aquatic, living in water, blue(?)
abīm	fearless
abr	cloud
abrōz- abrōxtan	light (verb), illuminate
aburnāy	child, underage

aburzišnīg	not praiseworthy
abzār	tool
abzārōmand	expert
abzārōmandān	experts
abzāy- (abzūdan)	to grow, to increase
abzāyišn	growth
abzōnīgān	making increase
abzūdan	to grow, to increase
adād	unjust, illegal, not according to the law
adādestān	wrong judgement
adādestānīh	injustice, false judgement
adādestān-xwarišnīh	to pass/give a wrong judgement (?)
adādīhā	breaking the law,
adānīh	ignorance
adard	painless
ādarōg	a simple kind of sacred fire
āfrāh	teaching
āfrīd- (āfrīdan)	to create
āfrīn	blessing
*afsālān	Springtime (?)
afsōs	scorn, mockery, pity(?)
afsōsgar	mocker
āgāh	aware knowledgeable
āgāhēnīdan	to inform
agar	if
agārīh- (agārīhstan)	to become powerless
āgenēn	together
agumān	doubtless, certain
ahlaw	righteous, blessed
ahlawdād	charity
ahlaw-dād	charity
ahlawīh	righteousness
ahlāyīh	righteousness
ahlomōγīh	heresy
āhōg	fault, blemish
ahomānāg	unlike
ahōš	immortal
ahreman	Ahriman, Angra Mainyu
ahunawar	the holiest prayer
ahunsandīh	discontent
ahy	soon(est), first
aǰgahān	lazy, indolent
aǰgahānīh	laziness

akanārag	without borders, unlimited
akard	undone
akōmandīh	harmfulness
aleksandar	Alexander the Macedonian
almāst	diamond
amā	we, us
āmad-	came
āmadan	to come
amahraspandān	the holy seven immortals
amar	countless
āmār-	calculate, reckon
āmār	consideration, reckoning
amarg	undying
amargīh	immortality
amāwand	powerful
amurdād	the sixth amahraspand, representing immortality
āmurzīdan	to forgive
..ān	plural marker
ān	that
anābādān	uncultivated
anabzār	unskilled, incapable, lacking tools
anāgāhīhā	unawareness (plural)
anāgīh	evil, bad
anāgīh-kāmag	with malicious intentions
anāgīh-kāmagīh	evil wishing
anāg-kardār	evil doer
anāg-kardārīh	evil doing
anāg-kunišn	evil-doing
anarzānīg	unworthy
anāštīh	discord, unrest
anāzarm	disrespectful
anāzarmīg	dishonoured
anāzarmīh	dishonour
and	so much, many
andak	some
andar	in inside, during
andarōn	inside, within
andarwāy	space, air, atmosphere
anērān	not Iran, the world outside of Iran
anērang	blameless
anēr	not Iranian
anērīh	barbarity
anespās	ungrateful

anespāsīh	ungratefulness
angūr	grape
angust (angušt)	finger, toe, unit of measurement
anōšag	immortal
anōšagīh	immortality
anōšmār	countless
ānōy (ānōh)	there
any	other
apetyārag	lacking adversity
apōhišn	incorruptible
appar	theft, robbery
appār	taken away, removed
appar- (appurdan)	to steal
apparišn	theft, robbery
apattūgīh	impatience
ārāy (ārāstan)	to prepare , to equip, attire, adorn
ārāyišn	adornment
arešk	envy
armēšt	inactive
arōyišnīg	inactivity
artēštār	soldier, warrior
arwand	swift, valiant, name of a river
arzah	the eastern continent of the earth
arzānīg	worthy
arzānīgīh	worth
arzōmand	worthy
arzōmandīh	worth
arzūr	name of a daemon, name of a mountain at the mouth of hell
āsān	easy,
āsānīh	ease
āsānīh-menišnīg	ease of thought , peaceful thinking
asar	endless
āsāy (asudan)	rest, repose
asazišnīg	permanent
asēǰ	safe, free from danger
asēmēn	silver
āškārag	openly, evident, unveiled
aškom(b)	belly
ašmā	you (plural)
asmān	sky
āsn	innate wisdom
āšnāg	known

ašnawišn	have knowledge of...
ašnūd- (ašnaw-)	to hear, to listen
asōhišn	unfeeling
asp	horse
aspinǰ	hospitality, Inn
āsrōn	priest
ast	is, exist
astag	bone, stone
āstār	sin
āstawān	faithful (in religious matters)
āštīh	peace
astuxān	bone
astwihād	the demon of death
āšyān	nest
ātaxš (ādur)	fire
āwām	period of time, age , season
āwar- (āwurdan)	to bring
awarzīd	uncultivated
āwēnišn	blame, reproach
awērān	ruined
awēšān	they, those, them
awestād	teacher,
awestām	province, district
awestwār	firm, reliable
awestwārīh	reliability
awināh	free from sin
awiš	Post-position meaning simply *from, by, to*, used with all personal pronouns and the relative pronouns
awiš-madārīh	coming to...
awištāb	oppression
āwurdan	to bring
āxēz- (āxistan)	to rise up, stand up
āxrām- (āxrāmīdan)	to stride
axtar	star
axwān	(the two)existences
axwašīhā	unhappiness
axwēškār	undutiful, impious
āy- (āmadan)	to come
ay	that is to say
ayāb	or
ayāb- (ayāftan)	to obtain
ayād	memory
ayāftan	to obtain

āyaft-xwāstārīh	wishing to obtain
ayār (hayār)	helper
ayārīh	assistance
ayārōmand	helpful
ayārōmandīh	helpfulness
ayāsīdan (ayāstan)	to remember, to be mindful
ayōxšust	metal
az	from
āz	the demon of lust
azabar	above
āzādīh	freedom
āzādīh-kardārīh	to free, to give thanks(?)
āzār	torment, bother
āzārišn	injury, torment
āzarm	injury, respect, honour
azarmān	ageless
āzarmīgīh	honour, respect
azbāyišn	invocation
azdahāg	dragon, the mythical dragon king Dahag
azēr	below, under
aziš	from him/her/it
aziš-kehān	Younger or smaller than him/her/it
aziš-meh	older or larger than him/her/ it
āz-kāmagīh	lust, desire for lust
āzwar	greedy
āzwarīh	greed
āγištag (āgištag)	mixed

B

babrag	beaver
bahr	part, share
bahrag	on that account
bahrwarīh	providing, endowment
bālēn	Bed's headboard, pillow
Bāmdād / bām	dawn
band	bond, tie, rope / as verb : to close
bandag	slave,
bandēd	he/she closed
bar	Fruit , load / as verb: to carry
bār	load, burden, fruit
bārag	mount, horse
barēd	carries

barišn	getting rid of (?)
barišnīh	getting rid of
barsom	ritual grass, twigs
bāš	be! (imperative)
bastan	to close
baw- (būdan)	to be
bawišn	is to become
baxš	portion, distribution
baxšēd	3rd person sing to forgive
baxšišn	distribution
baxt	fate, destiny
baxtan	to apportion, to divide
bayān	gods, majesty
bazag	sin, evil
baγōbaxt	allotted by the god
bē	but, out
bēš	harm
bēšazgar	healer, medicine-man
bēš-burdār	carrier of harm
bēš- (bištan)	to torment
bēšīd	to be hurt (3rd , sing, past)
bēšišn	affliction
bēwar	ten thousand
bēwarasp	ten thousand horses
be-widerišnīh	passing away
bīm	fear
bīmgen	scary
bīmgent	fearful
bīm-nimūdārīh	showing fear, showing respect
bīmōmand	fearful
borz-dōš	high shoulders (?)
borz-wāngīh	aloud
bowandag	full
bowandagīh	fullness, completeness
bowandag-menišnīh	in appropriate measure, full-mindedness, common rendering of Av. Ārmaiti
bōxtan	deliver
bōxtārīh	deliverance
bōy	smell, fragrance
bōzišn	salvation
brād	brother
brēh	fashion
brēhēnāg	intent, destining

brēhēnīd-	to fashion
brēhēnišn	assignment
brīdan	to cut
brīn / brīd	cut
būd	was
būdan	to be
buland	tall, high
būm	earth
bun	beginning
bunag	camp
bun-xān	source
buništ	place of origin
burām- (bram-)	to weep
burd	carried (3rd, sing, past)
burdan	to carry
burdār	someone who carries, womb
burzīdan	to praise
burzišnīg	praiseworthy
burzišnīgtar	more praiseworthy
būšāsp	sloth, the demon of sloth (procrastination)
Būšāsp-kāmagīh	the wish to procrastinate (?)

Č

čahār	number four
čahārdahom	fourteenth
čahārom	fourth
čahārpāy	four legged (animal)
čahārpāyān	four legged animals
čamrōš	
čand	as much as, how much/many?
čār	able, capable
čārag	means, remedy, help
čarb	amenable
čarbtar	more amenable
čarbīh	Amenable , grease
čāš- (čāštan)	to teach
čāšišn	teaching
čašm	eye
čašmag	well-spring, source
čašmagāhīh	public, notorious
čašm-areškīh	evil eye, envious look,
čāšt	teaching

čē	which
čēčist (čēčast)	name of a lake
čehel	forty
čē + rāy	why
čērīh	valor
čihrāb	some kind of birds of prey, perhaps falcon
čihrag	this form/type of, of this form/type, face
čim (rāy)	why
čim	reason
čimīg-warzišnān	(warzišnān = making)(čimīg = sense)
čīn- (čīndan)	to collect, to gather, to pile up
činwad	name of the bridge that connects this world to the world of afterlife
čiyōn	like, such as, similar to
čiyōnīh	howness, how things are

D

dād	law
dadān	wild animals
dādār	creator
dādārīh	creating
dādestān	law, judgement
dādīhā	according to the law
dādwar	judge
dādwarīh	judgement
dagr	Later , long, long-lasting
dagrand	having long-lasting...
dagrand-xwadāy	having long-lasting lordship
dah-	giving
dah	number ten
dahāg	a mythical evil ruler of Iran
daham	I shall give
dahān	mouth
dahībed	lord of the land
dahišn	established
dahibed	ruler
dahom	tenth
dām	creation
dām- dahišn	establishment of the creation
damāwand	name of a mountain
dān	know
dānāg	wise
dānāg+ēw	(-ēw = a specific one) one wise

dānāgīh	wisdom
dānāgtar	wiser
dānišn	knowledge
dānišnōmand	knowing
dānistan	to know
dar	door, chapter
dār- dāšt	hold, have
dard	pain
darīhā	door, palace, chapter, subject
dārišn	upkeep, holding
darmān	cure
dārūg	remedy
dāšn	gift
dast	hand
daštān	menstrual discharge
dāštan , dār-	to have, to hold, to keep
dāštār	keeper
dastkārīh	manipulation
dastwar	guide in religious mattes, teacher
daxšag	to forget
deh	village
deh+ēw	that specific village
dēn	religion, the religion
dēn-āgāh	knowledgeable in religious matters
dēn-āgāhtar	More knowledgeable in religious matters
dēn-āstawān	religiously faithful
dēn-burdār	the one who carries the religion
dēn-padīriftār	the receiver of the religion
dēw	demon
dēw-ēzagīh	Demon-worshiping
dibīr	scribe
did	other
dīd	saw
dīdan	to see
dil	heart
dilēr	brave
dō	two
dō-axwānīg	the two existences
dō-pāy	two legged creature
dōpāyān	two legged creatures (plural)
dōšāram	desire, love
dō-saxwanān	two-tongued, deceitful speech
dōšox	hell

dōst	friend
dōstīh	friendship
dramanag	wormwood (Artemisia absinthium)
dranǰīdan	to recite. To give a speech
dranǰēnd	they recite
dranǰišn	recitation, speech
draxt	tree
drayā, drayāb	sea, ocean
drayā-bār	sea shore
drayāīhā	those belonging to the sea, aquatic creatures
drāyān-ǰōyišn	the one who speaks while eating
drāyān-ǰōyišnīh	eating while speaking
drāyēd	speaks (daevic), chatter
drāyīdan	to speak (in daevic way)
driyōš	poor
driyōšīh	poverty
driyōštar	poorer
driyōštom	poorest
drō	deception, lie
drō-dādwarīh	false judgment
drōn	a ceremony
drōš	mark, branding, punishment
drōz- , druxtan	to lie
drōzanīh	falsehood
drōzēd	lies (verb, 3rd p, sing)
drubuštīh	fortress
drust	whole, healthy, sound
drust-čašm	seeing well. A well intentioned person
drust-gōhr	Of a good essence
druwand	evil, wicked
druwandīh	wickedness
druz	lie-demons (female)
dudīgar	second. Second time.
duǰdānāg	ignorant
duǰdēn	of an evil religion
dušpādixšāyīh	evil rule, misrule
dūr	far, distant
dušāgāh	foolish. Stupid
duščihr	ugly
duščihrtar	uglier
dušēwāzīh	A false and slanderous statemen
dušfarrag	unfortunate
dušgōwišn	Ill-spoken

dušhumat	evil thought
dušhūxt	evil speech
dušīh	dishonour
duškām	one who has evil intentions
duškām-kardārīh	having bad intentions
duškanīg	witch. ugly old woman
duškunišn	evil behaviour
dušmat	evil thought
dušmen	enemy
dušox (dōšox)	hell
dušpādixšā	a bad king
dušrām	unhappy
dušrāmīh	unhappiness, uneasiness
dusraw	dishonoured
dusrawīh	dishonour
dušwār	difficult
dušwārīh	difficulty
dušwurrōyišnīh	heresy
dušxēm	of an evil nature
dušxwaršt	evil deed
duz(z/d)	thief
duz-abāyistīh	necessity to steal (?)
duzīh	theft
dwār	run
dwārišn	running
dwāzdah	twelve
dwāzdahān	the zodiac
dwāzdahom	twelfth

E

ēbārag	evening
ēbgat	the adversary
ēč	not any, nothing
ēd	this
ēd	this too
ēdōn	thus, in this way
ēg	then
ēgān	submissive, obedient
ēk	one
ēkānag	Submissive / single, identical, unique
ēkānagīh	submission
ēmēd	hope

ēn	this
enyā	otherwise, moreover
ēraǰ	a personal name
ērān	Iran
ērānagān	iranians
ēranǰ	blame, condemn, dispute
ērānšahr	Iran
ērānwēz	mythical homeland of the Iranians
ēr-tan	humble
ēr-tanīh	humbleness
ēstādan	to stand. be. Continue. Auxiliary of the perfect continuous tense.
ēstišn	performance. Lasting. Dwelling.
ēw	one (specific one)
ēwar	for sure, certainly
ēwāz	word. Utterances
ēwāz	sole. Only.
ēwēn	way, manner
ēwēnag	mirror
ēw-mōg	walking with one shoe
ēw-tāg	single, lonely, unique
ēzagīh	worshipping
ēzišn	worship
ēzišngarīh	worshipping

F

farrox	fortunate
fradadafš	the south-eastern continent of the world
fradom	first
fradomīh	the beginning
frahang	Learning / education
frahangān	Education (plural)
frahist	much more, most
frahixtan	to educate, training
framān	order
framān-burdār	obedient
framāyēd	he/she commands
framōš	forgetting
framōšīdārīh	oblivion
franaft	to go forth
frārōn	honest
frārōnīh	(moral) goodness / good behavior
frārōn-tuxšāgīh	honest diligence

frasang	unit to measure distance, about 4 Roman miles, roughly 5.916 km
frašegird	the end of times
frašegird-kardārān	those who cause the end of times(?)
frāsyāg	Afrasiab (Avestan: Fraŋrasyan) mythical king of Turan, enemy of Iran
frawahr	fravashi, men's immortal soul
frawārd	offer, bastion
frawardīgān	festival of the spring equinox and the beginning of the new year
frayād	help
frāz	forth forward
frazām	complete, finish (something), end
frazām-kārīh	complete a work /duty/function
frazām-pērōzīh	final victory
frazand	offspring, child
frāztar	more forward, future
frāztom	the most forward
frāz-wizīdār	having or showing good judgment
frēb (frēftan)	deceive
frēdōn	mythical Iranian king (avestan: Θraētaona) who killed the dragon
frēftag	deceived
frēftan	to deceive
frēh	more, superior
frōd	downward, ascend
frōd-mānd	deficiency, shortcoming

G

gādan, gāy	to have sex, to mate
gāh	(a special) place, throne
gāhānbār	a ritual associated with the five times of the day
gām	step
gandagīh	stench, foulness
gandarw	name of a demon
gandum	wheat
ganǰag	treasure
gannāg	foul(-smelling), corrupt
gannāg-menog	evil spirit
garān	heavy
garān-wināh	a heavy sin
garān-wināhīh	committing a heavy sin
garmāg	warmth
grāmīg	dear, precious
garmīh	heat
garmtar	warmer

garmtom	warmest
garōdmān	the house of Ohrmazd, Paradise
gāw	bull, cow
gāyīh	sex
gayōmart	the first man
gazdum	scorpion
gēhān	living beings, world (of living beings)
gēhān-murnǰēnīdār	destroyer of the world or living beings
gētīg (gētīy)	this world, of this world
gētīg-ārāy	the one who arranges the world
gētīgīg	worldly
gilag	complains, lamentations
gilistag	den, burrow, dwelling of demons
gīr- (gīriftan)	to take, to hold, to restrain
giyā(h)	grass, plant
giyāhīzag	straw, blade of a grass
gizistag	accursed, hateful
gōbedšāh	The mythical king of Gobedestan, according to Bundahišn 29.13, it is located between Turkestan to Činestān (central Asia and China)
gōhr	essence, jewel
gōhrīg	essential, natural
gōnag	sort, kind, form
gōš	ear
gōspand	domestic animal, sheep
gōspand-čihrag	seed of a domestic animal (?)
gōw(gōwēd – gōwēnd)	to say
gōwišn	speaking, speech
gōwizār	explicit, more in detail
grāmīg	dear, precious
grift	took
griftan	to take
griftār	trapped, prisoner
grīw	neck, throat, self
griyēd (griyistan)	cried, (to weep)
guft	to say (3rd , sing, past)
guftan	to say
guftārīh	speech
gugānam	I will destroy
gugār-	to digest
gugāy	witness
gumān	doubt
gumānīgīh	casting doubt
gumār-	to entrust

gumārd	entrusted, appointed
gumēzīhēd (gumēxtan)	to mix
gumēzišn	mixture
gurd	hero
gurdīh	heroic
gurg	wolf
gursagīh	hunger
gyāg	place
gyān	soul, spirit, life,
gyān-abespār	reckless, desperate
gyān-apattūgīh	impatient soul (?)
gyānwar	animals, the animated ones

H

hād	now, then, that is
haft	seven
haftān	the seven planets
haftdahom	seventeenth
haftom	seventh
haftōring	big Dipper in the Ursa Major constellation (AV. ***Haptōiriṇga*** / SNK: ***Saptarishi***)
hagriz	never
halag	mad, fool
halagīh	madness
ham	also
ham čim rāy	for the same reason for that very reason
ham+	as prefix = together with / of the same as
hamāg	all everything
hamāg-dēn	a complete religious ceremony
hamahlān	people of equal social standing
hambār	store
hambasān	enemies, opponents
hambasānīg	opposing
hambāy	sharing, partnership
hamēmāl	opponent (war and law)
hamēšag	always
hamēstagān	the intermediate resting place of the souls
hamēstār	always
hamēstān (hōmīgān)	mixed
hamēstārīh	eternity
hamēw	the same way
hamēw-ud-hamēw-rawišnīh	for ever and ever

hamgōhr	of the same nature
hamgōnag	like wise
hāmīn	summer
hamkār	collaborator, complies
hammōxtan / hammōz-	teaching
hammōxtārīh	learning
hāmōyēn	all, altogether
hampursagīh	conversation
hamtāg	equal, peer
hamtōhmagān	relatives, those of the same seed
hamtōzag	sharing atonement
hamwār	always
hamwārag	always
handarz	advice
handarzēnīdan	to advice
handāzišn	measure, manner
handēšēdan	to think
handēšīd	think about / consider (3rd sing past)
handōz- handōxtan	to acquire , to gain
handwaran*	
hangadīh	wealth
hangārag	reckoning
hangārdan	to consider
hangēz	raise
hangirrīh	compilation, summary
hangōšīdag	like, also
hanǰaman	assembly
hannāmān (handām)	limb, member
har	each / every
harborz	a mountain range in northern Iran stretching from Armenia to Afghanistan
harw	each, every
harwisp	every all
harwispīn	all of them
harwisp-pēsīd	adorned with every adornment
hašāgird	pupil, disciple
haštdahom	eighteenth
hastīh	existence
haštom	eighth
hāwand	equal, counterpart
hazār	thousand
hazārag	millennium
hēnd	they are, (to be, 3rd-plural, auxiliary to make simple past)

hilēd (hil-)	to abandon, to let go, to permit
hištan	to abandon, to let go
hixr	excrement
hōm	the sacred plant of Haoma (Ephedra)
homānāg	similar to
hōmīgān	mixed
hordād	perfection, the fifth Amehraspanta guardian of water
	the third month of the year
hōšyang (hōšang)	a mythical king
hrōmāyīgān	Romans
hubōy	fragrance, perfume
hučašm	benevolent, good intentioned
hučašmīh	good intention
hučihr	pretty, good looking
hudēn	of good religion
huēwāzīh	with loud voice, with good voice
hugōwišn	of good speech
huhangōšīdag	(hu = good) good resemblance
hukunišn	of good actions
humānīh	good-mindedness, benevolence
humat(a)	good thought
humenišn(īh)	good thought
hunar	skill
hunarāwandīh	skillfulness, artfulness
hunsand	content
hunsandīh	happiness
hupādixšā	a good king
hupādixšāyīh	reining rightfully
hurām	happy, elated, blissful
huramag	having good flock
hurust	Well-grown
hušēdar	son of Z., born 1000 years after Z
hušēdarmāh	son of Z., born 2000 years after Z.
hušnūd	happy
hušnūdag	satisfied
hušnūdagīh	happiness
hušnūdīh	happiness
huspās	grateful
husraw	of good fame, famous, alternative spelling of Xosrow
husrawīh	having good fame
hutuxš	artisan
huwaršt	good deed
huxēm	good nature, good character

hūxt	good speech

I

...ī	ezafeh
...īh	suffix indicating the quality or condition of being...
...īšn	suffix to make action nouns from present stems of verbs
...īz/ -iz	enclitic particle : and, too, also

ǰ

ǰādag	omen
ǰādag-gōw	Advocate , defender, protector
ǰādag-gōwīh	the action of intervening on behalf of another, defence, protection
ǰādangō-barišnīhā	defence
ǰādūgān	sorcerer
ǰādūgīh	sorcery
ǰagar	liver
ǰahēd (ǰastan)	to happen, to jump
ǰahišn-ayārīh	to have good luck,
ǰahūdān	the jews
ǰām	goblet
ǰam	ǰamšēd (Avestan: Yima) a mythical king deposed by Dahāg
ǰāmag	garment
ǰamkard	an enclosure built by ***ǰamšēd*** (Yima) that saved the remaining humans and creatures of Ohrmazd from the global flood
ǰamšēd	a mythical king deposed by Dahāg (Avestan: Yima)
ǰast (ǰastan)	to jump
ǰōrdā	barley
ǰōrdāyān	grains
ǰud(a)	apart from
ǰudāg	separated
ǰud-bēš	harmless
J̌ud-ristag	heretic
ǰud-ristagīh	heresy
ǰuttar	opposite, different
ǰuttarīh	reverse
ǰuwān	young

K

ka	when, since
kabōd	blue, dark blue
kadag	house, room
kadag-abrōz	what lights up the house
kadām	which
kaft (kaftan)	to fall
kāhēd (kāstan)	to decrease
kālbod	body, shape
kām	wish
kamag	little
kāmagīh	the wish to...
kāmag-widār	successful
kamāl	chief, head (daevic)
kamān	bow
kāmēd	wants, wishes
kanār	side
kandan	to dig, to destroy,
kangdiz	name of a castle
kanīg	young woman
kār	work
kār-āgāh	skilled
kār-āgāhīh	experience
karān	side, limit
kārān	people
kard (kerd)	did / made
kardagān	practices
kardagār	mighty
kardan	to do, to make
kardār	activity
kardārīh	activeness
kārezār	battle
kāhišn	to diminish
kār-raftārīh	***Kār***: work + ***raftār*** : goer (?)
kas	person -body
kasān	people
kawād	a person's name
kāwōs	nightmare
kay	when, title of the dynasty of the Kayanian
kē	who, whom, whose (relative and interrogative)
keh	small

kem	little
kemtar	less
kēn	hate, malice
kerbag (kirbag)	good deed
kēnwar	vindictive
kēš	teaching
kēšīdan , kēš-	to pull, to drag, to draw
kirbag (kerbag)	good deed
kirbag-warzīdārīh	to practice good deeds
kirbakkar	good doer
kirrēnēd	to cut up
kišt	sow
kišwar	region, realm , country
kōf	mountain
kōfīhā	all the (individual) mountains
kōr	blind
kōr-čašm	blind eye
kōr-dil	blind heart
kōxš /kōxšišn	struggle
kōxšīdan	to struggle
kū	that
kun	to do imperative
kunēd	to do (3rd sing)
kunišn-arzānīgīh	make worthwhile
kūn-marz	sodomy
kustag	side, direction

L

lābakkar	supplicant
lābakkarīhā	supplication
larzēndan	to shiver
larzēnd	they shiver
luhrāsp	Kay Luhrāsp name of a mythical ruler

M

ma	not
mād	mother
mādagwar	essential, important
madan	to come
mādar	mother
madār	comer, coming

madārīh	coming
māh	moon, month
māhīg	fish, Pisces
māhīgān	fish(plural)
mahist	greatest
mālēd (mālīdan/muštan)	to rub , to smear
malkōsān	loan word from Hebrew **malkoš** meaning rain, but in Pahlavi it meant the biblical deluge of Noah, ***malkōs***, also the name of a demon who will bring a furious winter on earth to destroy it.
man	I, me
mānd	house
mānd (māndan)	remained (to stay)
mānišn	dwelling
māništ	dwelling
manuščihr	ruler of Ērān, of the family of **Ērīǰ**
mar	number, reckoning
mar	felon
mār	snake
marag	number
mard	man
mardān	men
mardōm	people
mardōmān	people (plural)
mardōmīh	popular
mardōm-zādag	human being
mardōm-zādagīh	humanity
margīh	death, mortality
mārišn	perception
mastōg (mast)	drunken, intoxicated
may	wine
mayān	middle
mayānǰīgīh	being a mediator
māzandar	Arch-demon , giant(evil)
māzdēsn / māzdēsnān	Mazdayasnian, Mazda worshipers
mazg	brain, marrow
mēdyōzarm	spring
meh	bigger
meh-dādestānīhā	agreement
mehmān	guest, intimacy
meh-ōzān	(ōz = power) bigger power

meh-sūdīh	gaining more benefits
menēdan (menīdan)	to consider
menišn	try, intent, intention
mēnōg	Spirit (of the other world)
mēnōg-wišōb	spirit of disturbance
mēwag	fruit
mihōxt	falsehood
mihōxt-menišn	intention of falsehood
mihr	love
mihr	Mithra the god of contract
mihrōdruǰ	contract breaker
mihrōdruǰīh	broken faith
mīr- (murdan)	to die
mīrēd	dies
mizag	taste
mizd	fee, reward, payment
mizdwar	A person employed to undertake work
mōy	hair
mōyag	lamentation, sob
mōzag	shoe
murnǰēnīdān	to destroy
murnǰēnīdārīh	destruction
murw	bird
must	violence, oppression, force
must-abarmānd	Violent inheritance
mustōmand	oppressed

N

nakkīrā	denying
nām	name
namāz	prayer
nām-burdār	heir, bearer of the name
nāmčišt	specially, in particular
nān	bread
nang	shame
nar	male
nārīg	lady, woman
nasā	corps, carcass
nawad	ninety
naydan	to lead
nayēd	lead
nazdīk	near

nazdīkīh	proximity
nē	no not
nēk	good
nēk-dāštārīh	keeping goodness
nēk-gōhr	good essence
nēkīh	goodness
nēkīh-awiš-madārīh	more goodness would come to him/her
nēkīh-kāmag	good wish
nēk-kunišn	well doing
nēm	half
nēm-dēw	Semi-demon
nēm-rōz	noon
nērōg	strength
nēst	is not
nēzag	lance
nibard	battle
nibēg	book, scripture
nigāhdārīh	keeping, holding, protecting
nigān	buried
nigerīdan	to observer, to see,
nigerišn	observation
nihāndan	to establish
nihānīg	secret
nihumbīdan (nihuftan)	to hide
nimāyēd	he shows
nimūdan	to show
nimūdārīh	by the guidance
nirmad	profit
nirmadōmand	profitable
nirmadōmandtom	the most profitable
nirmad-windišnīh	acquisition / earning
nišānēd (nišāstan)	to set, to plant
nišastan	to sit
nišēm	seat, perch
nixwārišn	hurry, haste
niyāg	forefather, grandfather
niyāyišn	prayer
niyāzōmandīh	poverty, necessity
niyōšēdan	to hear
nizm dušox	lowest level of hell
nō	nine
nō+bēwar	ninety thousand
nō+hazār	nine thousand

nō+sad	nine hundred
nōg	new
nohom	ninth
nōzdahom	nineteen
nūn	now

O

ō	to
ōbārdan	to swallow
ōftan (ōftādan)	to fall
ōftēd	fell
ōgrā(y)	dipping
ohrmazd	Ahura Mazda
ōš	Consciousness, intelligence
ōš	dawn
ōš	death
ōsān-	to through down
ōšastar	east
ōšbām	Bright dawn, from ***ōš*** dawn + ***bām*** brightness
ōstīgān	reliable, firm
Ōstīgān-gōwišnīh	speaking firmly
ōšyār	Conscious, intelligent
owōn	so, as
ōy	he she it
ōzadan (ōzan-)	to kill

P

pad	with
pādāšn	gift, reward
pādāšnīhā	rewards (plural)
padēxēnīdan	make flourish, prosper
padēxīh	prosperity
pādēz	autumn
pādifrāh (pādofrāh)	punishment
padīr- padīrift	receive
padīrag	towards, against
padīrāndan	To held back
padīriftan	to oppose
padīriftārīh	reception
padīrišn	against

pādīrišn	accept
padiš	postposition from, by, to / with it , with him/her
padišxwārgar	name of an ancient geographical region in Iran,east of Mazandaran (perhaps the modern Gurgan)
pādixšā	king
pādixšāyīh	to rule
pad-kār	with work
pad-nērōgtar	with more strength
Pad-nigerišntar	with more observation
Pad-pānagtar	with more protection
pād-uzwānīh	Reticence , unwillingness
pad-wizēntar	harmful
pādyāwandtar	stronger
pad-zyāntar	harmful, hurtful
pahikafēd (pahikaftan)	to pierce, drive through
pahikāftan	To fight
pahikār	battle, struggle, fight
pahlom	foremost, best
pahnāy	width, wide
pahrēxtan	guard
pahrēxtār	staying away from, to guard from
pahrēz	care, protection
pāk	clean, pure
pambag	cotton
pānagīh	protection
pānagīh-kardārīh	the action of protecting
panāh	refuge
panǰ	five
panǰom	fifth
pānzdahom	fifteen
pārag	bribe
pārag-stānišnīh	taking bribe
pardaz	to be done with / to be freed of
pardazišn	undertaking / freedom
pargandan	To scatter, to distribute
pargandag	scattered
parīg	witch
paristār	maidservant
paristēdan	to worship
paristišn	worship
parnagān	polychrome Damask, a reversible figured fabric of silk, -wool or cotton with a pattern formed by weaving.

parwānagīh	leadership
parwardan	to nourish, foster
parwarišn	nourishment
pas	after
pas az	after
pašēmān	regret
pašēmānīh	repentance
pasēn	final, about the Final Body after the resurrection
passandidan	approve, like
passand	pleasure, liking
passandišnīg	pleasing
passox	answer
pattūg	endure
pattūgīh	endurance
pāy	leg, foot
pāyag	place, level
paydāg	to be revealed to appear to find
paydāgīh	appearance
paydāgēnīdan	to reveal
pāyēdan	to guard, to take care
pāygōs	district
paymān	pact
paymān-gōwišnīh	talking about the pact, verbal pact
paymānīg	moderate
paymānīgīh	moderation
paymānīg-xwarišnīh	to take an oath (?)
paymōzan	dress, garment
paymōzēndan	to measure
paywand	connection, lineage
paywand- (paywastan)	to join
paywandēd	He/she joins
paywāz-	reply, answer
pazzāmēnīdan (pazzāftan)	causative: cause to mature or ripen
pazzāmišn	maturation
pēčīdan	to twist
pēčīdag	twisted
pehn (pahn)	Wide (?)
pēm	milk
pērāmōn	around
pērōzgar	victorious, victor
pēš	before
pēšag	limb, member
pēšārwār	urination

pēšdād	established before all others, also a personal name (son of king ***hōš(y)ang***)
pēšēnīgān	foremost, noble
pēškār	servant
petīt	penance
petītīg	Feeling or showing sorrow and regret for having done wrong
petītīgīh	the state of feeling or showing sorrow and regret for having done wrong
petyārag	adversity, opposition of the Evil Spirit
pid	father
pīl	elephant
pīr	old
pīrīh	old age
pōryōtkēšīh	the teachings of old
puhl	bridge
purr-	full, complete,
purr-ēmēdīh	hopefulness
purr-nēkīh	full of goodness
purr-rāmišn	great peace
purrtar	fuller
purr-xradīh	state of being full of wisdom
purr-xwarrah	full of glory
pursēdan	to ask
pursīdārīh	asking
pušt	behind, back, support
puštībānīh	protection
pūtīk	name of a lake

R

rād	generous
rad	chief, master
radīh	the office of rad
raft	went
rāh	way, road
rah	chariot, wagon
rahīg	children
rāh-nimāy	the one who shoes the way
ramag	herd, flock
ramagōmand	The one who has the herd/ flock
rām	calm
rāmēnīdan	to give peace, to domesticate
rāmēnīdārīh	giving pleasure, being pleasant
rāmišn	at ease, joy, happiness
rāmišn-ayār	the one who helps calming, or causes happiness (ayār = helper)

rang	colour
ranǰ	toil / trouble / suffering
rasēd	arrived
rasišn	coming to, to become mature
rašn	one of the divinities in the afterlife, who has a balance -weighting the good and bad deeds of humans
rāst	truthful, truth, straight, right
rastan	to escape
rāst-gōwišn	truth-telling
rāstīh	straightness, truth
raw (raft)	to go
rawāg	current
rawišn	going, motion
rāy	post positions: for / for the sake of
rāyēnāg	arranger
rāyēnīdan	to arrange
rāyēnīdārīh	direction, organization
rāyēnišn	Action / function arrangement
rēmantom	the dirtiest , filthiest, most polluted
rēz- (rēxt)	to pour
rēzēd	to pour (3rd , pres, sing)
rēzišn	the action of pouring
rist	dead
Rist-ārāstār	The one who prepares the dead
rist-āxēz	resurrection of the dead
rist-wirāstār	The one who prepares/arranges the dead
riyahrīh	mockery, derision
rōn	direction
rōšn	brightly
rōšnīh	light
rōšntar	brighter
rōstāg	village
rōyišn	growth
rōz	day
rōzēnīdārīh	to have the quality of holding the light
rōz-šabān	days and nights
rōγn	oil
rust- (rōydan)	to grow
ruwān	soul
ruwān-bōxtārīh	the deliverance of the soul

S

sabuk	easy, light (the opposite of heavy)
sad	hundred
sad+u+panǰāh	hundred and fifty
sāg	number
sag	dog, stone
sagr	satisfy
sagrīh	satisfaction
sag-sardagān	Dog-species, dog-kind
sahēd	seems
sahišn	satisfaction
sahist	to seem
sahm	terror
sahmgen	terrible
sāl	year
sālār	leader, chief, superior
sālārīh	Leadership , superiority
salm	mythical king son of Frēdōn
sām	boundary
sām	mythical warrior, grandfather of Rostam and the champion of ***Frēdōn***
sar	head, top
sard	cold
sardag	specie
sardīh	the coldness of ...
sardtar	colder
sarmāg	cold
sawah	the western continent of the earth
saxt	strong, hard, difficult
sāxtārīh	the hardness, the difficulty, tolerance
saxwan	word, speech,
šāyēd	possibly, maybe
sazāgīh	fitness, worthiness
šāzdahom	sixteen
sāz- (sāxtan)	to make, to build, to tolerate
sē	three
sē+sad	three hundred
sē-hazārag	three thousand
sēǰōmand	dangerous
sēn	breast, chest,
sē-pāy	three legged
sē-šabag	three-night
sēzdahom	thirteenth

sidīgar	third
sīh	thirty
sīh+u+dowom	32nd
sīh+u+seyom	33rd
sīh+u+yakom	31st
sīhom	thirtieth
šnāyišn	satisfaction satisfying
snēxr	snow
sōg	the divine spirit that helps Mithra
sōg-dādārīh	creating sōg
sōšāns	Zarathustra’s son, born 3000 years after him
sōzāg	burning
spāhbed	army general
spar (spurd)	hand over, transfer
spās	thanks
spāsdār	grateful
spāsdārīh	to be grateful
spās-ešnāsān	those who recognize gratitude
spās-gōwišnīh	expressing gratitude
spazg	slander
spazgīh	slanderous
spihr	firmament, sky, sphere
spinǰānagīh	hospitality
spitāmān	Zaraθuštra's last name
spōz- (spōxt)	push back
sprahmag	flower, fragrant herb
srešk	drop, tear
srōš	a divinity seen in the afterlife who is related to obedience
srōš-ahlā	srōš of rewards
srūwar	horned
stabrīhā	strength
stad- (stan-)	to take
stadan	to take
staft-tag	attacking harshly
stahm	oppression
stahmagīh	oppressing
stān-	to take
star	star
stārag	star
stāragān	stars
stard (sturd)	stunned
stāyīdār	the one who praises
stāyišn	praise

stō	Distressed , defeated
stōr	large domestic animal
stōš	the fourth morning after death
stūr	guardian
stūrīh	trusteeship
stūr-rāyēnīdārīh	preparing the trustee (?)
sūd	benefit
sūdgar (nask)	a text found in the Dēnkard
sūdagīh	negligence
sūdīh	advantage
sūdmand	the one who receives the benefits
sūd-xwāstārīh	the action of wanting to be benefited
syāwaxš	Kai Khosrow's father (from the Kayanian dinasty)

Š

šād	happy
šādīh	happiness
šādtar	happier
šāh	king
šāhān	kings
šahr	realm, land, city
šarm	shame
šarmgenīh	ashamed
šaš	six
šašom	sixth
šaw (šudan)	to go
šāyendag	able, worthy
šāyendagīh	to be worthy of
šāyist	it is/was possible, it is/was proper
šāyistan	to rest
šāzdahom	sixteen
šēbišn	confusion
šēwan	lament
šīr	milk
šīrēn	sweet
škastan	to split, burst
šken- (škastan)	to break
šnāsagīh	knowledge
šnāsēd	he/she recognizes
šnāxtan (ešnas)	to recognize
šnāyišn	satisfaction
šnōmag	satisfaction

šōn	kind, manner
šōy (šustan)	to wash
šudan	to go

T

tā	until / for as long as / so that/ in order that
tabāh	damage, destroy
tabāhīhēd (tabāhīhistan)	to be ruined
tābestān	summer
tag	running, attacking
tāg	item, unit, branch
tagīgīh	speed, strength
tahmōrub(?)	ǰamšid's brother (Bundahišn 35.3)
tan	body
tan-drustīh	health
tan ī pasēn	the Final Body
tandīh	languor, faintness
tan-drust	able-body
tanōmandīh	corporeality, of a material nature, tangible
...tar	suffix to form comparative adjective
tarāzēnīdan	to weight
tarāzēnīdār	the one who weights
tarāzūg	scale, balance
tārīk/g	dark
tārīkīh	darkness
tārīktar	darker
tārīktom	darkest
tar-mānīh	perversity
tar-menišn/ tarmenišn	perverse, contemptuous
tar-menišnīh	scorning, scorn
tarwēnēndan	to overcome, conquer
tāšīdan	to fashion, to carve out of ...
tēmār	sorrow, grief
tēz	sharp
tēztar	sharper
tigr	arrow
tis	thing, something
tišnagīh	thirst
tištar	Sirius(the brightest star in the sky)
tō	thou, thee, you
tōhmag	seed, descent, family
...tōm	suffix to form superlative

tuhīgt	emptiness
tuhīgtar	emptier
tūǰ (Tūr, Tūč, Tūž, Tūz	the forefather of Afrasiab (*Tūr-č)
tūr	villain
turkān	the Turks
tuwān	be able
tuwāngar	rich, capable
tuwāngarīh	to be able to...
tuwāngartar	richer, more capable
tuwān-sāmānīhā	the boundaries of power
tuxšāg	diligent
tuxšāgīh	diligence
tuxšīdan	strive, endeavour

U

u+m	to me
u+š	to him/her/it
u+(i)šān	to them
u+t	to you
ud	and
ul	up
ūrišlem (ūrišlīm)	Jerusalem
urwar	plant, vegetables
urwar-čihrag	herb-looking (?)
uzdēs	idol
uzdēs-paristān	idol-worshippers
uzdēs-paristišnīh	idol-worshipping
uzdēszār	temple of idols (-zar : place of)
uzēnag	price, cost
uzīdan	to go out
uzmāyišn	testing
uzwān	tongue, language

W

wad	bad, evil
wād	wind
wad-abzār	bad tool, instrument of evil(?)
wadaγān (wadag)	evil, wicked
wad-dil/ waddil	coward, a person of bad intention
wad-dōšāramīh	to be in the state of having bad desires
wad-gōhr	being of a bad essence

wād-hangēxtār	stimulating/stirring up evil, instigator
wad-xēm	of an evil character or nature
wafr	snow
wahāg	value, worth
wahār	spring
wahišt	paradise
wahrām	personal name
wak	frog
wani	to perish / wanī+ kerdan = to destroy
wanīgardīh	waste
wanīgardīh-dāštārīh	waste keeping
wanand	Vega, a grassy plain or valley
wany (wanīy)	destroyed
war	1-lake, 2-breast, 3-oath, 4-shelter
wārīdan	to rain
wārād	it rains, it may rain
wārān	rain
waran	lust, desire, concupiscence, also a demon
warān	ram
waranīgīh	greed, + kardan: be greedy
waran-kāmagīh	the desire of being greedy
ward- (waštan)	to turn away
wardēnīdan	cause to turn, alter
wardišnīgīh	transience, mutability
wārēd	it rains
wārendag	that which contains rain(?), abr ī wārendag: rain-cloud
warišn	the action of raining
warkaš	the name of a sea
warōmand	doubtful
...warz	the one who practices, the performer of... (when used as a suffix)
warz	miracle, cultivation
(g)warz	mace, club
wurrōyišn	belief, faith
warzīdan	to practice, to cultivate
warzīdan	to perform, to cultivate
warzīdārīh	performance
warzīdar	laborer
warzīgar	farmer
was	much, many, a lot
was-anāgīh	much evil
was-buništ	many places
was-kēš	many teachings
wastār	wilful

wāstar	pasture
wastar(ag)	garment
wastārīh	over-confidence
wāstaryōš	husband
was-tōhmag	having many seeds/descendents
was-wurrōyišn	very faithful
was-xwāstag	very rich
wasyār	much, many
wattar	bad, evil
wattarīh	evil-doing
wattartom	the worst
waxšendag	blazing
waxšišn	growth
way	bird, air
wāy	woe
wāy-	fly
wāyendag	bird
wazr	club, mace(?)
weh	good
wehān	the good (people)
weh-dēn	A person of the good religion (usually referring to their own religion)
wehīh	goodness
wihānag	cause, reason
wehtar	better
wēmār	sick
wēmārīh	sickness
wēnē- (dīdan)	to see
wēnišn	seeing
wēš (bēš)	more
wēxtan	shift, cleanse, select
widadafš	southwestern continent of the earth
widarag	path
widardan	to pass by, to cross
widardag	the one who passed by (?)
widerišnīh	passing
wiftag	passive sodomite
wihān(ag)	cause, reason, excuse
wihēz(ag)	movement, progression
wimand	limit, the border of...
wimēhgen	shapely
winaftagīh	being shapely
wināh	sin
wināhīdan	to harm, to sin

wināhgār	sinner, criminal
wināhgārīh	sinfulness
windādan	to find, to acquire
winnārd	someone who holds up
winnārišn	arrangement
wīr	man, hero, memory, mind, thunderbolt
wirāstan	to prepare, to arrange
wirāy- (wirāstan)	to prepare, to arrange
wirāyišn	arrangement
wirēxtan	to flee
wiš	poison, venom
wišād-dwārišnīh	going about without tying the kusti (the Zoroastrian holy girdle)
wišāy- (wišāyēd)	to open, loosen , free
wišōb-	disturb, tousle the hair
wispān	every all
wispān-sūd	All-benefiting (the maker of the benefits)
wisp-weh	all good / entirely good
wīst	twenty, 20
wištāsp	a historical king
wistāx	confident
wīstom	20th
wišūdan	to bear a daevic offspring
wišūdag	abortion, a demonic creation
wišuftan	destroy, disturb, tousle (hair)
wiwanghān (Vivangha)	ǰamšēd's father
wixšayiš-	to forgive
wixšayišnīgtar	the one who forgives, forbearing
wixšayišnīh	forgiveness,
wiyābān- (wiyābānīdan)	to lead astray
wiyābān	desert
wiyābānīg (wiyābāngarih)	wandering
wiyābānīh	deception, delusion
wizārišn	explaining
wizar (wičar,wijar)	explanation
wizend	harm
wizendgar	chooser, selective
wizend-kardār	a harmful person, instigator of evil
wizīd	choose
wizīdār	the one who has the choice
wizīn	choose
wizīr	judgment
wizīrēnīd (wizīristan)	to be able to dispense
wizōstan	to investigate

wōrūbaršt	the northwestern continent of the world
wōrūǰaršt	northeast
wurrōy- (wurrōyistan)	to believe
wurrōyišn	belief
wurrōyišnīh	belief faith
wuzurg	big, great

X

xāk	earth, dirt
xākīh	earthy
xar	donkey
xār	thorn
xargōš	rabbit
xāyag	egg, testicle
xāyag-dēs	oval-shaped
xēm	nature, character
xešm (hešm)	anger , also the demon of fury, ***Xēšm*** is made the commander of the east by Ahriman (Dēnkard)
xešmēn	angry
xešmīh	being angry
xešm-kāmagīhā	having angry wishes
xīr	matter, things
xōg	disposition
xōn	blood
xrad	wisdom
xradōmand	a wise person
xrad-xwāstārīh	seeking wisdom
xrafstar	noxious being, creep, harmful
xrīdan	to buy
xūb	good
xūb-dranǰišnīh	receiving good
xūbīhā	the goodness (plural)
xūbtar	better
xufs- (xuftan)	to sleep
xurdruš	bloody mace (it referrers to demon **Xēšm**'s mace)
xurmāg (xormā)	dates (fruit)
xwābarīh	generosity
xwad	self
xwadāy	lord, ruler
xwadāyīh	by one self, royalty, rule
xwad-dōšagīhā	self-indulgence
xwah	sister

xwāh- (xwāstan)	seek, request, summon, to want
xwāhēd	wants
xwāhišn	desire, attraction
xwāhrīh	happiness
xwānēnd	they call
xwāndan	to call
xwaniras (Xwanirah)	the central continent of the world
xwar- (xwardan)	to eat, to take(an oath)
xwaran	banquet
xward	consume
xwārīh	discomfort
xwarišn	dish, food
xwarišnīg	edible
xwarrah	fortune
xwarrahōmand	endowed with fortune
xwarxšēd	the Sun
xwarxšēd-nigerišn	Sun-gazing
xwaš	sweet, happy, nice
xwašīh	pleasantness, happiness
xwāstag	property, to seek, request
xwāstan	to want, to seek
xwaštar	happier
xwēdōdah	next-of-kin, marriage
xwēn-āhan	shining metal
xwēš	self, one's own
xwēšāwand	a relative
xwēšēnīdārīh	proper function
xwēšīh	possession, belonging to
xwēš-kāmīhā	desire to belong
xwēškārīh	duties
xwēštan	oneself
xwēštan-ešnāsīh	self-recognition
xwēštan-kem-ranǰ-dāštārīh	to inflict less pain to oneself(?)
xwēš-xradīhā	Self-wisdom
xwurdag-	small
xwurdagtom	smallest

Y

yašt	Avestan hymn
yazad (yzad)	God
yazadān	Gods
yazadān-ēzišnīh	Yazdan worshiping

yāzdahom	eleventh, 11th
yōǰdahr	ritually clean

Z

zadan (ōzadan)	to kill, to strike
zādan	to bear offspring, to give birth, to be born(?)
zadār	smiter, destructive
zafar	mouth (daevic), The jaws or throat of a voracious animal
zahr	poison, venom
zamān	time
zamestān (zam)	winter
zamīg	earth
zamīg-čihrag	earthly appearance, earthly essence (?)
zan-	to kill, to strike
zan	woman
zandīk	heretic
zandīkīh	heresy
zanišn	smashing
zardag	egg yolk
zarduxšt	Zaraθuštra
zargōnīh	Greenness
zarr	gold
zarrēn	golden
zāyišn	birth, being born
zāyišnīg	to be born
zēn	saddle
zīndagīh	life
zišt	ugly
zīwēd	lived
zīwēnīdān	to revive
zīwēnīdār	resuscitated (?)
zīwēnīdārīh	resuscitation (?)
zīwišnīh	living
zīwistan	to live
zofāy	deep
zofāytom	deepest
zōhr	libation
zōhr-rēzišnīh	a drink poured out as an offering
zōr	power, strength
zōrōmandīh	being strong, powerful
zrēh	armour

zurwān	the God of time (Kronos), the father -of the twins Ahura Mazda and Ahriman
zyān	damage, harm
zyāngār	harmful
zyāngārtar	more harmful

Summary

In conclusion, I have argued that Pāzand was not really a language but rather only an attempt to provide a more phonetic orthography for the reader. However there are patterns repeatedly observed in the Pāzand texts that reflect the pronunciation of either a much later dialect of Pahlavi or a daughter language of Pahlavi. Either way Pāzand shows dialectal forms such as compressing unstressed monosyllabic words which reveal certain information about the scribe's dialect. However the heavy influence of the New Persian in the Pāzand texts could suggest that, this later version of Pahlavi was perhaps already fusing or being replaced with the rapidly expanding New Persian. As I mentioned in the beginning of this thesis Pahlavi was first attested in 3rd century AD and the later texts date back to the 9th century. I would be inconceivable to believe that a language would be pronounced the same way during 600 years even if in today's philology we transcribe and transliterate the earlier versions and the later versions in the same way. In addition to that I believe that perhaps the reason why some philologist might find Pāzand uninteresting is due to its extreme variety of spelling which in most part is contributed to the mistakes made by scribes.

For example Antia wrote this manuscript based on an old manuscript belonging to Ervad Maneckjee Rustamjee Unwalla, which he claims to be 335 years old (in 1909), another manuscript from the Mulla Firoze Library named MF which was originally copied by himself from another unknown manuscript and finally a manuscript called MU. Even though he used all these sources we still see all this variety of spelling for some words which could be a mixed of scribal errors in the sources plus the scribal errors that Antia himself might have added (in the

case of MF manuscript he wrote it twice). However in a manuscript like L19 which is the oldest manuscript of the Mēnōg- ī Xrad the orthography is by far much more consistent and thus by far more interesting than any other Pāzand text. Perhaps this disinterest by philologists has been caused by the lack of attention to details caused by eastern scribes including Antia himself.

Moreover it has been argued that New Persian is not really a direct descendent of Pahlavi as it has been thought in the past. While Pahlavi is a southwestern language, New Persian is a Northeastern language and perhaps a descendent of one of the Pahlavi's sister languages. More importantly if Pahlavi was still spoken between 8th to 9th centuries, in all likelihood it was contemporary to New Persian.

Furthermore, in an attempt to date our text, I have proposed that there are higher chances that the original Pahlavi version of the book of **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** would have been written between 438-457 AD (during the reign of Yazdegerd II), and not at the time of Xosrau Anuširwan (531-579 A.D), as the mention of Zurvan would have meant heresy by this later time.

It was also observed that the version of the text **Mēnōg- ī Xrad** used here was surely either copied from a Pahlavi manuscript or copied from another Pāzand manuscript which was copied from Pahlavi. As the scribal inconsistencies show, all original Pāzand versions must have been copied from an original Pahlavi version. There are few cases of retranscribed Pahlavi from Pāzand but these are a modern phenomena, easily recognized and of no interest.

Moreover it has been proposed that the version of Pahlavi that scholars today use to transcribe it, even the latest texts, is in fact the earliest and more archaic form of the language dating back

perhaps to 3rd century A.D. In all likelihood the later Pahlavi texts could have been written intentionally archaic as it has been seen by many European scholars writing in Latin, way after Latin was a dead language.

Finally, it has been shown here that the patterns of stress in the Ezafe enclitic, has been long overlooked.In addition to provide evidence supporting my claims I have presented the following tools to facilitate my analysis and for fellow students interested in the further study of the language.

1. A sample of the original manuscript L19 dating back to 1520.
2. An interlinear Pahlavi /Pāzand transcription that contains 1386 lines in total.
3. A Pahlavi glossary list that contains 1720 entries.
4. A Pāzand glossary list of 1600 entries which includes orthographical varieties and Pahlavi version of the words.

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Apendix 1 – Translation of the text

The following is the translation of the text **Dadestan ī Mēnōg- ī Xrad** (Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom) which has been done by Edward William West in 1885, in a book titled *Sacred Books of the East,* volume 24.[67]

CHAPTER 1.

Through the name and power and assistance of the creator Ohrmazd, the archangels who are good rulers and good performers, and all the angels of the spiritual and the angels of the worldly existences, by a happy dispensation (dahishn) and well-omened we write the *Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom* through the will of the sacred beings.

1. In the name and for the propitiation of the all-benefiting creator Ohrmazd, (2) of all the angels of the spiritual and worldly creations, (3) and of the learning of learnings, the Mazda-worshipping religion, (4) forth from which this, which is such a source of wisdom, is a selector. 5. Through the glory and will of the creator Ohrmazd who is promoting the prosperity of the two existences -- (6) and of all the greatly powerful angels, (7) and through the completely calm repose of the sacred beings, the princely, purpose-fulfilling sages, (8) presentations of various novelties for the appropriation of wisdom, (9) through largely acquiring reasoning thought, are most wholesome for the body and soul in the two existences.

10. As in the pure marvel of marvels, the unquestionable and well-betokened good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, by the words of the creator. Ohrmazd, and Zartosht the Spitaman, it is in many places decided, (11) that he, who is the all-good creator, created these creatures through wisdom, (12) and his maintenance of the invisible revolutions is through wisdom; (13) and the imperishable and undisturbed state, in that which is immortality for ever and everlasting, he reserves for himself by means of the most deliberative means of wisdom. 14. For the same reason it is declared, (15) that there was a sage who said, (16) that 'if this be known, that the religion of the sacred beings (yazdan) is truth, and its law is virtue, and it is desirous of welfare and compassionate as regards the creatures, (17) wherefore are there mostly many sects, many beliefs, and many original evolutions of mankind? 18. And, especially, that which is a sect, law, and belief, causing harm to the property (khel) of the sacred beings, and is not good? 19, 20. And this, too, one has to consider, that, in border to become a chooser in this matter, trouble to be undergone; (21) and it is necessary to become acquainted with this matter, (22) because, in the end, the body is mingled with the dust, and reliance is on the soul. 23. And every one is to undergo trouble for the soul, (24) and is to become acquainted with duty and good works; (25) because that good work which a man

[67] Oxford University Press, 1885.

does unwittingly is little of a good work, (26) and that sin which a man commits unwittingly amounts to a sin in its origin. 27. And it is declared by the *Avesta* (28) thus: "Nothing was taken by him by whom the soul was not! taken (29) hitherto, and he takes nothing who does not take the soul (30) henceforward likewise; (31) because the spiritual and worldly existences are such-like as two strongholds, (32) one it is declared certain that they shall capture, and one it is not possible to capture."'

33. After being replete with those good actions of which it is declared certain that it is not possible to capture, (34) and when he surveyed the incitement for this, (35) he started forth (fravafto), in search of wisdom, into the various countries and various districts of this world; (36) and of the many religions and belief of those people who are superior in their wisdom he thought and inquired, and he investigated and came upon their origin. 37. And when he saw that they are so mutually afflicting (hanbeshin) and inimical among one another, (38) he then knew that these religions and beliefs and diverse customs, which are so mutually afflicting among one another in this world, are not worthy to be from the appointment of the sacred beings; (39) because the religion of the sacred beings is truth, and its law is virtue. 40. And through this he became without doubt that, as to whatever is not in this pure religion, there is then doubtfulness for them in everything, (41) and in every cause they see distraction.

42. After that he became more diligent in the inquiry and practice of religion; (43) and he inquired of the high-priests who have become wiser in this religion and more acquainted with the religion, (44) thus: 'For the maintenance of the body and preservation of the soul what thing is good and more perfect?'

45. And they spoke, through the statement from revelation, (46) thus: 'Of the benefit which happens to men wisdom is good; (47) because it is possible to manage the worldly existence through wisdom, (48) and it is possible to provide also the spiritual existence for oneself through the power of wisdom. 49. And this, too, is declared, that Ohrmazd has produced these creatures and creation, which are in the worldly existence, through innate wisdom [asn khrad]; (50) and the management of the worldly and spiritual existences is also through wisdom.'

51. And when, in that manner, he saw the great advantage and preciousness of wisdom, he became more thankful unto Ohrmazd, the lord, and the archangels of the spirit of wisdom; (52) and he took the spirit of wisdom as a protection. 53. For the spirit of wisdom one is to perform more homage and service than for the remaining archangels. 54. And this, too, he knew, that it is possible to do for oneself every duty and good work and proper action through the power of wisdom; (55) and it is necessary to be diligent for the satisfaction of the spirit of wisdom. 56. And, thenceforward, he became more diligent in performing the ceremonial of the spirit of wisdom.

57. After that the spirit of wisdom, on account of the thoughts and wishes of that sage, displayed his person unto him. 58. And he spoke to him (59) thus: ' O friend and glorifier! good from perfect righteousness! (60) seek advancement from me, the spirit of wisdom, (61)

that I may become thy guide to the satisfaction of the sacred beings and the good, and to the maintenance of the body in the worldly existence and the preservation of the soul in the spiritual one.'

CHAPTER 2.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How is it possible to seek the maintenance and prosperity of the body without injury of the soul, and the preservation of the soul without injury of the body?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Him who is less than thee consider as an equal, and an equal as a superior, (5) and a greater than him as a chieftain, and a chieftain as a ruler. 6. And among rulers one is to be acquiescent, obedient, and true-speaking; (7) and among accusers [or associates] be submissive, mild, and kindly regardful.

8. 'Commit no slander; (9) so that infamy and wickedness may not happen unto thee. 10. For it is said (11) that slander is more grievous than witchcraft; (12) and in hell the rush of every fiend [druj] is to the front, but the rush of the fiend of slander, on account of the grievous sinfulness, is to the rear.13. 'Form no covetous desire; (14) so that the demon of greediness may not deceive thee (15) and the treasure of the world may not be tasteless to thee, and that of the spirit unperceived. 16. 'Indulge in no wrathfulness; (17) for a man, when he indulges in wrath, becomes then forgetful of his duty and good works, of prayer and the service of the sacred beings, (18) and sin and crime of every kind occur unto his mind, and until the subsiding of the wrath (19) he is said to be just like Ahriman.

20. 'Suffer no anxiety; (21) for he who is a sufferer of anxiety becomes regardless of enjoyment of the world and the spirit, (22) and contraction happens to his body and soul.
23. 'Commit no lustfulness, (24) so that harm and regret may not reach thee from thine own actions. 25. 'Bear no improper envy; (26) so that thy life may not become tasteless.
27. 'Commit no sin on account of disgrace; (28) because happiness and adornment, celebrity (khanidih) and dominion, skill and suitability are not through the will and action of men, but through the appointment, destiny, and will of the sacred beings.

29. 'Practice no sloth; (30) so that the duty and good work, which it is necessary for thee to do, may not remain undone. 31. 'Choose a wife who is of character; (32) because that one is good who in the end is more respected. 33. 'Commit no unseasonable chatter; (34) so that grievous distress may not happen unto Hordad and Amurdad, the archangels, through thee. 35. 'Commit no running about uncovered; (36) so that harm may not come upon thy bipeds and quadrupeds, and ruin upon thy children.

37. 'Walk not with one boot; (38) so that grievous distress may not happen to thy soul.
39. 'Perform no discharge of urine (peshar-var) standing on foot; (40) so that thou mayst not become a captive by a habit of the demons, (41) and the demons may not drag thee to hell on account of that sin. 42. 'Thou shouldst be (yehevunes) diligent and moderate, (43) and eat of thine own regular industry, (44) and provide the share of the sacred beings and the good; (45) and, thus, the practice of this, in thy occupation is the greatest good work.

46. 'Do not extort from the wealth of others; (47) so that thine own regular industry may not become unheeded. 48. For it is said (49) that: "He who eats anything, not from his own regular industry, but from another, is such-like as one who holds a human head in his hand, and eats human brains."

50. 'Thou shouldst be an abstainer from the wives of others; (51) because all these three would become disregarded by thee, alike wealth, alike body, and alike soul. 52. 'With enemies fight with equity. 53. With a friend proceed with the approval of friends. 54. With a malicious man carry on no conflict, (55) and do not molest him in any way whatever. 56. With a greedy man thou shouldst not be a partner, (57) and do not trust him with the leadership. 58. With a slanderous man do not go to the door of kings. 59. With an ill-famed man form no connection. 60. With an ignorant man thou shouldst not become a confederate and associate. 6I. With a foolish man make no dispute. 62. With a drunken man do not walk on the road. 63. From an ill-natured man take no loan.

64. 'In thanksgiving unto the sacred beings, and worship, praise, ceremonies, invocation, and performing the learning of knowledge thou shouldst be energetic and life-expending. 65. For it is said (66) that: "In aid of the contingencies (jahishno) among men wisdom is good; (67) in seeking renown and preserving the soul liberality is good; (68) in the advancement of business and justice complete mindfulness is good; (69) and in the statements of those who confess (khustivan), with a bearing on the custom of the law, truth is good. 70. In the progress of business energy is good, (71) for every one to become confident therein steadfastness is good, (72) and for the coming of benefit thereto thankfulness is good. 73. In keeping oneself untroubled (anairang) the discreet speaking which is in the path of truth is good; (74) and in keeping away the disturbance of the destroyer from oneself employment is good. 75. Before rulers and kings discreet speaking is good, and in an assembly good recital; (76) among friends repose and rational friends are good; (77) and with an associate to one's own deeds the giving of advantage (suko) is good. 78. Among those greater than one (ajas masan) mildness and humility are good, (79) and among those less than one flattery and civility are good. 80. Among doers of deeds speaking of thanks and performance of generosity are good; (81) and among those of the same race the formation of friendship (humanoih) is good. 82. For bodily health moderate eating and keeping the body in action are good; (83) and among the skilled in

thanksgiving performance is good. 84. Among chieftains unanimity and seeking advantage are good; (85) among those in unison and servants good behavior and an exhibition of awe are good; (86) and for having little trouble in oneself contentment is good. 87. In chieftainship to understand thoroughly the good in their goodness and the vile in their vileness is good; and to make the vile unseen, through retribution, is good. 88. In every place and time to restrain oneself from sin and to be diligent in meritorious work are good; (89) and every day to consider and keep in remembrance Ohrmazd, as regards creativeness, and Ahriman, as regards destructiveness, is good. 90. And for dishonor not to come unto one a knowledge of oneself is good." 91. All these are proper and true and of the same description, (92) but occupation and guarding the tongue (pat-huzvanih) above everything.

93. 'Abstain far from the service of idols and demon-worship. 94. Because it is declared (95) that: "If Kay Khosraw should not have extirpated the idol-temples (aujdes-char) which were on the lake of Chechast, then in these three millenniums of Ushedar, Ushedarmah, and Soshyant -- of whom one of them comes separately at the end of each millennium, who arranges again all the affairs of the world, and utterly destroys the breakers of promises and servers of idols who are in the realm -- the adversary would have become so much more violent, that it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence."

96. 'In forming a store of good works thou shouldst be diligent, (97) so that it may come to thy assistance among the spirits. 98. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through any happiness of the world; (99) for the happiness of the world is such-like as a cloud that comes on a rainy day, which one does not ward off by any hill. 100. 'Thou shouldst not be too much arranging the world; (101) for the world-arranging man becomes spirit-destroying.

102. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through much treasure and wealth; (103) for in the end it is necessary for thee to leave all. 104. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through predominance; (105) for in the end it is necessary for thee to become non-predominant. 106. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through respect and reverence; (107) for respectfulness does not assist in the spiritual existence. 108. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through great connections and race; (109) for in the end thy trust is on thine own deeds.

110. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through life; (111) for death comes upon thee at last, (112) the dog and the bird lacerate the corpse, (113) and the perishable part (sejinako) falls to the ground. 114. During three days and nights the soul sits at the crown of the head of the body. 115. And the fourth day, in the light of dawn with the cooperation of Srosh the righteous, Vae the good, and Warharan the strong, the opposition of Astwihad, Vae the bad, Frazishto the demon, and Nizishto the demon, and the evil-designing action of Eshm, the evil-doer, the impetuous assailant it goes up to the awful, lofty Chinwad bridge, to which every one,

righteous and wicked, is coming. 116. And many opponents have watched there, (117) with the desire of evil of Eshm, the impetuous assailant, and of Astwihad who devours creatures of every kind and knows no satiety, (118) and the mediation of Mihr and Srosh and Rashn, (119) and the weighing of Rashn, the just, (120) with the balance of the spirits, which renders no favor (hu-girai) on any side, neither for the righteous nor yet the wicked, neither for the lords nor yet the monarchs. 121. As much as a hair's breadth it will not turn, and has no partiality; (122) and he who is a lord and monarch it considers equally, in its decision, with him who is the least of mankind.

123. 'And when a soul of the righteous passes upon that bridge, the width of the bridge becomes as it were a league (parasang), (124) and the righteous soul passes over with the cooperation of Srosh the righteous. 125. And his own deeds of a virtuous kind come to meet him in the form of a maiden, (126) who is handsomer and better than every maiden in the world. 127. 'And the righteous soul speaks (128) thus: "Who mayst thou be, that a maiden who is handsomer and better than thee was never seen by me in the worldly existence?"

129. 'In reply that maiden form responds (130) thus: "I am no maiden, but I am thy virtuous deeds, thou youth who art well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, and of good religion! 131. For when thou sawest in the world him who performed demon-worship, then thou hast sat down, and thy performance was the worship of the sacred beings. 132. And when it was seen by thee that there was any one who caused oppression and plunder, and distressed or scorned a good person, and acquired wealth by crime, then thou keptest back from the creatures their own risk of oppression and plunder; (133) the good person was also thought of by thee, and lodging and entertainment provided; and alms were given by thee to him (134) who came forth from near and him, too, who was from afar; and wealth which was due to honesty was acquired by thee. 135. And when thou sawest him who practiced false justice and taking of bribes, and false evidence was given by him, then thou hast sat down, and the recitation of truth and virtue was uttered by thee. 136. I am this of thine, the good thoughts, the good words, and the good deeds which were thought and spoken and done by thee. 137. For when I have become commendable, I am then made altogether more commendable by thee; (138) when I have become precious, I am then made altogether still more precious by thee; (139) and when I have become glorious, I am then made altogether still more glorious by thee."

140. 'And when he walks onwards from there, a sweet-scented breeze comes then to meet him, which is more fragrant than all perfume. 141. The soul of the righteous inquires of Srosh (142) thus: "That breeze is this, that never in the world so fragrant a breeze came into contact with me?"

143. 'Then Srosh, the righteous, replies to that righteous soul (144) thus: "This breeze is from heaven, which is so fragrant."145. 'Afterwards, on his march, the first step is set on the place of

good thoughts, the second on that of good words, the third on that of good deeds, (146) and the fourth step reaches up unto the endless light which is all-radiant. 147. And angels and archangels of every description come to meet him, (148) and ask tidings from him (149) thus: "How hast thou come, from that which is a perishable, fearful, and very miserable existence, to this which is an imperishable existence that is undisturbed, thou youth who art well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, and of good religion?"

150. 'Then Ohrmazd, the lord, speaks (151) thus: "Ask ye from him no tidings; for he has parted from that which was a precious body, and has come by that which is a fearful road. 152. And bring ye unto him the most agreeable of eatables, that which is the mid-spring butter [Maidyozarem roghan], (153) so that he may rest his soul from that bridge of the three nights, unto which he came from Astwihad and the remaining demons; (154) and seat him upon an all-embellished throne."

155. 'As it is declared (156) that: "Unto the righteous man and woman, after passing away, they bring food of the most agreeable of eatables -- the food of the angels of the spiritual existences -- that which is the mid-spring butter; and they seat them down on an all-embellished throne. 157. For ever and everlasting they remain in all glory with the angels of the spiritual existences everlastingly."

158. 'And when he who is wicked dies, his soul then rushes about for three days and nights in the vicinity of the head of that wicked one, and sobs (159) thus: "Whither do I go, and now what do I make as a refuge?" 160. And the sin and crime of every kind, that were committed by him in the worldly existence, he sees with his eyes in those three days and nights. 161. The fourth day Vizaresh, the demon, comes and binds the soul of the wicked with the very evil noose; (162) and with the opposition of Srosh, the righteous, he leads it up to the Chinwad bridge. 163. Then Rashn, the just, detects that soul of the wicked through its wickedness.

164. 'Afterwards, Vizaresh, the demon, takes that soul of the wicked, and mercilessly and maliciously beats and maltreats it. 165. And that soul of the wicked weeps with a loud voice, is fundamentally horrified, implores with many supplicating entreaties, and makes many struggles for life disconnectedly. 166. Whom -- when his struggling and supplication are of no avail whatever, and no one comes to his assistance from the divinities (bagan), nor yet from the demons -- moreover, Vizaresh, the demon, drags miserably to the inevitable hell.

167. 'And then a maiden who is not like unto maidens comes to meet him. 168. And that soul of the wicked speaks to that evil maiden (169) thus: "Who mayst thou be, that never in the worldly existence was an evil maiden seen by me, who was viler and more hideous than thee?"

170. 'And she speaks in reply to him (171) thus: "I am not a maiden, but I am thy deeds, thou monster who art evil-thinking, evil-speaking, evil-doing, and of evil religion! 172. For even when

thou sawest him who performed the worship of the sacred beings, still then thou hast sat down, and demon-worship was performed by thee, (173) and the demons and fiends were served. 174. And also when thou sawest him who provided lodging and entertainment, and gave alms, for a good person who came forth from near and him, too, who was from afar, (175) then thou actedst scornfully and disrespectfully to the good person, and gave no alms, and even shut up the door. 176. And when thou sawest him who practiced true justice, took no bribe, gave true evidence, and uttered virtuous recitation, (177) even then thou hast sat down, and false justice was practiced by thee, evidence was given by thee with falsehood, and vicious recitation was uttered by thee. 178. I am this of thine, the evil thoughts, the evil words, and the evil deeds which were thought and spoken and done by thee. 179. For when I have become uncommendable, I am then made altogether still more uncommendable, by thee; (180) when I have become unrespected, I am then made altogether still more unrespected by thee; (181) and when I have sat in an eye-offending position, I am then made altogether still more really eye-offending (chashm-kah-ichtar-ich) by thee."

182. 'Afterwards he enters, the first step on the place of evil thoughts, the second on that of evil words, the third step on that of evil deeds, (183) and the fourth step rushes into the presence of the wicked evil spirit and the other demons. 184. And the demons make ridicule and mockery of him (185) thus: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Ohrmazd, the lord, and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of Ahriman and the demons and gloomy hell, (186) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?"

187. 'And the evil spirit shouts to the demons (188) thus: "Ask ye no tidings from him (189) who is parted from that which was a precious body, and has come on by that which is a very bad road. 190. But bring ye unto him the foulest and vilest of eatables, the food which is nurtured in hell."

191. 'They bring the poison and venom of the snake and scorpion and other noxious creatures that are in hell, (192) and give him to eat. 193. And until the resurrection and future existence he must be in hell, in much misery and punishment of various kinds. 194. Especially that it is possible to eat food there only as though by similitude.'

195. The spirit of innate wisdom spoke to the sage (196) thus: 'This which was asked by thee, as to the maintenance of the body and concerning the preservation of the soul, is also spoken about by me, and thou art admonished. 197. Be virtuously assiduous about it, and keep it in practice; (198) for this is thy chief way for the maintenance of the body and preservation of the soul.'

CHAPTER 3.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus; 'Is liberality good, or truth, (3) or gratitude, or wisdom, (4) or complete mindfulness, or contentment? 5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus: 'As to the soul it is liberality, as to all the world it is truth, (7) unto the sacred-beings it is gratitude, as to a man's self it is wisdom, (8) as to all business it is complete mindfulness, and as to the comfort of the body and the vanquishing of Ahriman and the demons contentment is good.'

CHAPTER 4.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom? thus: Which is a good work that is great and good?'
3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The greatest good work is liberality, and the second is truth and next-of-kin marriage. 5. The third is keeping the season festivals [Gahambars], and the fourth is celebrating all the religious rites. 6. The fifth is the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and the providing of lodging for traders. 7. The sixth is the wishing of happiness for every one. 8. And the seventh is a kind regard for the good.'

CHAPTER 5.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which land is the happier? 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'That is the happier, in which a righteous man, who is true-speaking, makes his abode. 5. The second, in which they make the abode of fires. 6. The third, when oxen and sheep repose upon it. 7. The fourth is uncultivated and uninhabited land when they bring it back to cultivation and habitableness. 8. The fifth, from which they extirpate the burrows of noxious creatures. 9. The sixth, on which exist the ceremonies and coming of the sacred beings, and the sitting of the good. 10. The seventh, when they make populous that which was desolate. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the bad it comes into the possession of the good. 12. The ninth, when of the produce and yield (beto) which arise from it they provide the share of the sacred beings, the good, and the worthy. 13. And the tenth in which they provide holy-water and ceremonies.'

CHAPTER 6.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which land is the unhappier? 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'That land is the more afflicted, in which hell is formed. 5. The second, when they slay in it a righteous man who is innocent. 6. The third, for whose sake the demons and fiends work. 7. The fourth, in which they construct an idol-temple. 8. The fifth,

when a wicked man, who is an evil-doer, makes an abode in it. 9. The sixth, when the interment of a corpse is performed below. 10. The seventh, in which a noxious creature has a burrow. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the good it comes into the possession of the bad. 12. The ninth, when they make desolate that which was populous. 13. And the tenth, in which they make lamentation and weeping.'

CHAPTER 7.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How is heaven, and how many? 3. How are the ever-stationary (hamistagan), and how many? 4. And how is hell, and how many? 5. What is the decision about the righteous in heaven, and from what is their happiness? 6. What are the misery and affliction of the wicked in hell? 7. And what and how is the decision about those who are among the ever-stationary? 8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: 'Heaven is, first, from the star station unto the moon station; (10) second, from the moon station unto the sun; (11) and, third, from the sun station unto the supreme heaven (garothman), whereon the creator Ohrmazd is seated. 12. Of heaven the first part is that of good thoughts (humato), the second is that of good words (hukhto), and the third is that of good deeds (huvarshto).

13. 'The righteous in heaven are undecaying and immortal, unalarmed, undistressed, and undisturbed. 14. And, everywhere, they are full of glory, fragrant, and joyful, full of delight and full of happiness. 15. And, at all times, a fragrant breeze and a scent which is like sweet basil come to meet them, which are more pleasant than every pleasure, and more fragrant than every fragrance. 16. For them, also, there is no satiety owing to the existence in heaven. 17. And their sitting and walking, perception and enjoyment are with the angels and archangels and the righteous for ever and everlasting. 18. 'Regarding the ever-stationary it is declared, that they are from the earth unto the star station; (19) and its affliction for them is then nothing whatever except cold and heat. 20. 'Of hell the first part is that of evil thoughts (dush-humato), the second is that of evil words (dush-hukhto), and the third is that of evil deeds (dush-huvarshto). 21. With the fourth step the wicked person arrives at that which is the darkest hell; (22) and they lead him forwards to the vicinity of Ahriman, the wicked. 23. And Ahriman and the demons, thereupon, make ridicule and mockery of him (24) thus: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Ohrmazd and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of us and gloomy hell, (25) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?" 26. And, afterwards, they execute punishment and torment of various kinds upon him. 27. 'There is a place where, as to cold, it is such as that of the coldest frozen snow. 28. There is a place where, as to heat, it is such as that of the hottest and most blazing fire. 29. There is a place where noxious creatures are gnawing them, just as a dog does the bones. 30. There is a place where, as to stench, it is

such that they stagger about (bara larzhend) and fall down. 31. And the darkness is always such-like as though it is possible for them to seize upon it with the hand.'

CHAPTER 8.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How and in what manner has Ohrmazd created these creatures and creation? 3. And how and in what manner were the archangels and the spirit of wisdom formed and created by him? 4. And how are the demons and fiends and also the remaining corrupted ones of Ahriman, the wicked, miscreated? 5. How do every good and evil happen which occur to mankind and also the remaining creatures? 6. And is it possible to alter anything which is destined, or not?' 7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus: 'The creator, Ohrmazd, produced these creatures and creation, the archangels and the spirit of wisdom from that which is his own splendor, and with the blessing of unlimited time (zurvan). 9. For this reason, because unlimited time is undecaying and immortal, painless and hungerless, thirstless and undisturbed; and for ever and everlasting no one is able to seize upon it, or to make it non-predominant as regards his own affairs.

10. 'And Ahriman, the wicked, miscreated the demons and fiends, and also the remaining corrupted ones, by his own unnatural intercourse. 11. A treaty of nine thousand winters in unlimited time (daman) was also made by him with Ohrmazd; (12) and, until it has become fully completed, no one is able to alter it and to act otherwise. 13. And when the nine thousand years have become completed, Ahriman is quite impotent; (14) and Srosh, the righteous, will smite Eshm, (15) and Mihr and unlimited time and the spirit of justice, who deceives no one in anything, and destiny and divine providence will smite the creatures and creation of Ahriman of every kind, and, in the end, even Azho [i.e. Az], the demon. 16. And every creature and creation of Ohrmazd becomes again as undisturbed as those which were produced and created by him in the beginning.

17. 'Every good and the reverse which happen to mankind, and also the other creatures, happen through the seven planets and the twelve constellations. 18. And those twelve constellations are such as in revelation are the twelve chieftains who are on the side of Ohrmazd, (19) and those seven planets are called the seven chieftains who are on the side of Ahriman. 20. Those seven planets pervert every creature and creation, and deliver them up to death and every evil. 21. And, as it were, those twelve constellations and seven planets are organizing and managing the world.

22. 'Ohrmazd is wishing good, and never approves nor contemplates evil. 23. Ahriman is wishing evil, and does not meditate nor approve anything good whatever. 24. Ohrmazd, when he wishes it, is able to alter as regards the creatures of Ahriman; and Ahriman, too, it is, who,

when he wishes it, can do so as regards the creatures of Ohrmazd, (25) but he is only able to alter so that in the final effect there may be no injury of Ohrmazd, (26) because the final victory is Ohrmazd's own. 27. For it is declared, that "the Yim [Jamshed] and Faridoon and Kay Us of Ohrmazd are created immortal, (28) and Ahriman so altered them as is known. 29. And Ahriman so contemplated that Bevarasp [= Azi Zohak] and Frasiyav and Alexander should be immortal, (30) but Ohrmazd, for great advantage, so altered them as that which is declared."'

CHAPTER 9.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is it possible to go from region to region [karshwar], or not? 3. From what substance is the sky made? 4. And how and in what manner is the mingling of the water in the earth?' 5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus: 'Without the permission of the sacred beings, or the permission of the demons, it is then not possible for one to go from region to region. 7. 'The sky is made from the substance of the blood-stone, such as they also call diamond (almast). 8. 'And the mingling of the water in the earth is just like the blood in the body of man.'

CHAPTER 10.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Can there be any peace and affection whatever of Ahriman, the wicked, and his demons and miscreations, with Ohrmazd and the archangels, one with the other, or not?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'There cannot be, on any account whatever; (5) because Ahriman meditates evil falsehood and its deeds, wrath and malice and discord, (6) and Ohrmazd meditates righteousness and its deeds, good works and goodness and truth. 7. And everything can change, except good and bad nature. 8. A good nature cannot change to evil by any means whatever, and a bad nature to goodness in any manner. 9. Ohrmazd, on account of a good nature, approves no evil and falsehood; (10) and Ahriman, on account of a bad nature, accepts no goodness and truth; (11) and, on this account, there cannot be for them any peace and affection whatever, one with the other.'

CHAPTER 11.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is wisdom good, or skill, or goodness?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Wisdom with which there is no goodness, is not to be considered as wisdom; (5) and skill with which there is no wisdom, is not to be considered as skill.'

CHAPTER 12.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: Wherefore is it when the treasure of the spiritual existence is allotted so truly, and that of the worldly existence so falsely?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The treasure of the worldly existence was a allotted as truly, in the original creation, as that of the spiritual existence. 5. And the creator, Ohrmazd, provided the happiness of every kind, that is in these creatures and creation, for the use (bun) of the sun and moon and those twelve constellations which are called the twelve chieftains by revelation; (6) and they, too, accepted it in order to allot it truly and deservedly.

7. 'And, afterwards, Ahriman produced those seven planets, such as are called the seven chieftains of Ahriman, for dissipating and carrying off that happiness from the creatures of Ohrmazd, in opposition to the sun and moon and those twelve constellations. 8. And as to every happiness which those constellations bestow on the creatures of Ohrmazd, (9) those planets take away as much of it as it is possible for them (the constellations) to give, (10) and give it up to the power of the demons and fiends and the bad.

11. 'And the treasure of the spiritual existence is so true on this account, because Ohrmazd, the lord, with all the angels and archangels, is undisturbed, (12) and they make the struggle with Ahriman and the demons, and also the account of the souls of men, with justice. 13. And the place of him whose good work is more is in heaven, (14) the place of him whose good work and sin are equal is among the ever-stationary, (15) and when the crime is more, his path is then to hell.'

CHAPTER 13.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore is it when oxen and sheep, birds, flying creatures, and fish are, each one, properly learned in that which is their own knowledge, (3) and men, so long as they bring no instruction unto them, and they do not perform much toil and trouble (anjino) about it, are not able to obtain and know the learning of the human race?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'Men have been so wise, in the original creation, that, as to the good works and crime which were performed by them, the recompense of the good works and the punishment of the crime were then seen by them with their own eyes, (6) and no crime whatever proceeded from men. 7. But, afterwards, Ahriman, the wicked, concealed the recompense of good works and the punishment of sin. 8. And on this account, moreover, it is said in revelation (9) that: "These four things are worse and more grievous than every evil which the accursed evil one, the wicked, committed upon the creatures of Ohrmazd, (10) that is, when the reward of good works and punishment of sin, the thoughts of men, and the consequence of actions were quite concealed by him."

11. 'And, for the same reason, he made many devotions and improper creeds current in the world. 12. And, on account of men's not knowing of duty and good works, every one believes that most, and considers it as good, which his teaching in devotion has included. 13. And that devotion, in particular, is more powerful, with which sovereignty exists. 14. But that one is the lordship and sovereignty of Vishtasp, the king of kings, (15) by whom, on account of knowing it unquestionably and certainly (aevariha), the perfect and true religion, which is in the word of the creator Ohrmazd, was received from the unique Zartosht, the Spitaman, (16) who has manifested clearly, explicitly, and unquestionably the treasure of the worldly and spiritual existences, of every kind, from the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 17. There is then no other creed, through which it is possible for one to obtain and know the treasure of the worldly and spiritual existences so explicitly and clearly, (18) but, on account of much controversy, they are so cut up (agishtako) and entangled, that the statements of their beginning are much unlike to the middle, and the middle to the end.'

CHAPTER 14.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which protection is the more defensive? 3. Which friend (4) and which supporter of fame are good? 5. Which helper of enjoyment is good? 6. Which wealth is the pleasanter? 7. And which is the supremest pleasure of all pleasures?' 8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: 'The sacred being is the more defensive protection. 10. A virtuous brother is a good friend. 11. A child, who is virtuous and an upholder of religion, is a good supporter of fame. 12. A virtuous wife, who is well-disposed, is a good helper of enjoyment. 13. That wealth is better and pleasanter which is collected by honesty, and one consumes and maintains with duties and good works. 14. And the pleasures which are superior to all pleasures are health of body, freedom from fear, good repute, and righteousness.'

CHAPTER 15.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is poverty good, or opulence?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Poverty which is through honesty is better than opulence which is from the treasure of others. 5. For it is stated (6) thus: "As to him who is the poorest and most secluded (armeshttum) person, whenever he keeps his thoughts, words, and deeds honest, and in duty to the sacred beings, for him even there is lawfully a share of all the duties and good works which mankind shall do in the world. 7. As to him, too, who is opulent, who is a man of much wealth, when the wealth is not produced by honesty, though he takes trouble (anjinako) in duties and good works and righteous gifts, his good work is then not his own, (8) because the good work is his from whom the wealth is abstracted."

9. 'And as to that much wealth which is collected by proper exertion, and one consumes and maintains with duties and good works and pleasure, even that is no better thereby, (10)

because it is necessary to consider that as perfect. 11. But as to him who is a man of much wealth, whose wealth is collected by proper exertion, and he consumes and maintains it with duties and good works and pleasure, he is great and good and more perfect'.

12. 'And regarding even that which is sovereignty they state (13) thus: "What is good government in a village is better than what is bad government in a realm. 14. Because the creator Ohrmazd produced good government for effecting the protection of the creatures, (15) and Ahriman, the wicked, has produced bad government as the adversary of good government."

16. 'Good government is that which maintains and directs a province flourishing, the poor untroubled, and the law and custom true, (17) and sets aside improper laws and customs. 18. It well maintains water and fire by law, (19) and keeps in progress the ceremonial of the sacred beings, duties, and good works. 20. It causes friendliness and pleading for the poor, (21) and delivers up itself, and even that which is its own life, for the sake of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 22. And if there be any one who desists from the way of the sacred beings, then it orders some one to effect his restoration thereto; (23) it also makes him a prisoner, and brings him back to the way of the sacred beings; (24) it allots, out of the wealth that is his, the share of the sacred beings and the worthy, of good works and the poor; (25) and delivers up the body for the sake of the soul. 26. A good king, who is of that kind, is called equal to the angels and archangels.

27. 'Bad government is that (28) which destroys the true and proper law and custom, (29) and brings oppression, plunder, and injudiciousness into practice. 30. It dissipates the treasure of the spiritual existence, (31) and considers duty and good works a vexation, through greediness. 32. It keeps back a person performing good works from doing good works, (33) and he thereby becomes a doer of harm. (34) Its disbursement, too, of every kind is for its own self, (35) the administration of the treasure of the worldly existence, (36) the celebrity and exaltation of the vile, (37) the destruction and neglect of the good, (38) and the annihilation of the poor. 39. A bad king, who is of that kind, is called equal to Ahriman and the demons.'

CHAPTER 16.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Of the food which men eat, and the clothing which men put on, which are the more valuable and good?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Of the food which men eat, the milk of goats is produced good. 5. Because, as to men and quadrupeds, who are born from a mother, until the time when food is eaten by them, their growth and nourishment are then from milk, (6) and on milk they can well live. 7. And if men,

when they withdraw from the milk of the mother, make thorough experience of the milk of goats, (8) then bread is not necessary for use among them. 9. Since it is declared, (10) that "the food of mankind, who are in Arezahi and Sawahi, Fradadhafshu and Widadhafshu, Wourubareshti and Wourujareshti, is the milk of goats and cows; (11) other food they do not eat." 12. And he who is a milk-consuming man is healthier and stronger, and even the procreation of children becomes more harmless.

13. 'Of grains wheat is called great and good, (14) because it is the chief of grains, (15) and even by the Avesta its name is then specified in the chieftainship of grains. 16. 'And of fruit the date and grape are called great and good. 17. When bread has not come, it is necessary to consecrate the sacred cake by means of fruit; (18) when the fruit to consecrate is the date or grape, it is allowable to eat every fruit; (19) and when those have not come, it is necessary to eat that fruit which is consecrated. 20. 'Regarding wine it is evident, that it is possible for good and bad temper to come to manifestation through wine. 21. The goodness of a man is manifested in anger, the wisdom of a man in irregular desire. 22. For he whom anger hurries on (aushtavet) is able to recover himself from it through goodness, (23) he whom lust hurries on is able to recover himself from it through wisdom, (24) and he whom wine hurries on is able to recover himself from it through temper.

25. 'It is not requisite for investigation, (26) because he who is a good-tempered man, when he drinks wine, is such-like as a gold or silver cup which, however much more they burn it, becomes purer and brighter. 27. It also keeps his thoughts, words, and deeds more virtuous; (28) and he becomes gentler and pleasanter unto wife and child, companions and friends, (29) and is more diligent in every duty and good work. 30. 'And he who is a bad-tempered man, when he drinks wine, thinks and considers himself more than ordinary. 31. He carries on a quarrel with companions, displays insolence, makes ridicule and mockery, (32) and acts arrogantly to a good person. 33. He distresses his own wife and child, slave and servant; (34) and dissipates the joy of the good, (35) carries off peace, and brings in discord.

36. 'But every one must be cautious as to the moderate drinking of wine. 37. Because, from the moderate drinking of wine, thus much benefit happens to him: (38) since it digests the food, (39) kindles the vital fire, (40) increases the understanding and intellect, semen and blood, (41) removes vexation, (42) and inflames the complexion. 43. It causes recollection of things forgotten, (44) and goodness takes a place in the mind. (45) It likewise increases the sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue; (46) and work, which it is necessary to do and expedite, becomes more progressive. 47. He also sleeps pleasantly in the sleeping place, and rises light. 48. And, on account of these contingencies, good repute for the body, righteousness for the soul, and also the approbation of the good come upon him.

49. 'And in him who drinks wine more than moderately, thus much defect becomes manifest, (50) since it diminishes his wisdom, understanding and intellect, semen and blood; (51) it injures the liver and accumulates disease, (52) it alters the complexion, (53) and diminishes the strength and vigor. 54. The homage and glorification of the sacred beings become forgotten. 55. The sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue become less. 56. He distresses Hordad and Amurdad (57) and entertains a desire of lethargy. 58. That, also, which it is necessary for him to say and do, remains undone; (59) and he sleeps in uneasiness, and rises uncomfortably. 60. And, on account of these contingencies, himself, wife, and child, friend and kindred are distressed and unhappy, (61) and the superintendent of troubles and the enemy are glad. 62. The sacred beings, also, are not pleased with him; (63) and infamy comes to his body, and even wickedness to his soul. 64. 'Of the dress which people possess and put on, silk is good for the body, and cotton for the soul. 65. For this reason, because silk arises from a noxious creature, (66) and the nourishment of cotton is from water, and its growth from earth; and as a treasure of the soul it is called great and good and more valuable.'

CHAPTER 17.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which is that pleasure which is worse than unhappiness?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Whoever has acquired wealth by crime, and he becomes glad of it thereby, then that pleasure is worse for him than unhappiness.'

CHAPTER 18.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore do people consider these very little, these four things which it is necessary for them to consider more, as warnings (dakhshak), (3) the changeableness of the things of the worldly existence, the death of the body, the account of the soul, and the fear of hell?' 4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'On account of the delusiveness (niyazanih) of the demon of greediness, and of discontent.'

CHAPTER 19.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is living in fear and falsehood worse, or death?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'To live in fear and falsehood is worse than death. 5. Because every one's life is necessary for the enjoyment and pleasure of the worldly existence, (6) and when the enjoyment and pleasure of the worldly existence are not his, and fear and even falsehood are with him, it is called worse than death.'

CHAPTER 20.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'For kings which is the one thing more advantageous, and which the more injurious?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'For kings conversation with the wise and good is the one thing more advantageous, (5) and speaking and conversation with slanderers and double-dealers are the more injurious for them.'

CHAPTER 21.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the end of the world-arranging and spirit-destroying man? 3. What is the end of him who is a scoffing man? 4-6. What is the end of the idle, the malicious, and the lazy man? 7. What is the end of a false-hearted one, (8) and the end of an arrogant one?' 9. The spirit of wisdom answered (10) thus: 'He who is a world-arranging and spirit-destroying man is as injured, in the punishment of the three nights [i.e. the final judgment], as a raging fire when water comes upon it.

11. 'Of him who is a scoffing man there is no glory in body and soul; (12) and every time when he opens his mouth his wickedness then increases. 13. All the fiends, too, become so lodged in his body, that they leave no goodness whatever for his body; (14) and he makes mockery of the good, and glorification of the vile. 15. Also in the worldly existence his body is infamous, and in the spiritual existence his soul is wicked. 16. And, for effecting his punishment in hell, they deliver him over to the scoffing fiend; (17) and that fiend inflicts a ridicule and a mockery upon him with every single punishment.

18. 'As to him who is an idle man, yet devoid of wickedness, mostly when death comes on in the worldly existence, he thereupon (ajash) begets pleasantly for the sake of another. 19. 'The bridge [Chinwad] which is for the soul of him who is a malicious man is more difficult than for the other wicked who are in hell. 20. For this reason, because malice proceeds by lineage; (21) and it is possible to manage every sin better than malice, (22) because malice will abide in a lineage. 23. There are instances when it adheres until the renovation of the universe; (24) for it is clearly declared by the pure revelation, (25) that the origin of the estrangement (aniranih) of the Arumans, and even the Turanians, from the Iranians, was owing to that malice which was generated by them through the slaughter of Airik; (26) as it always adheres until the renovation.

27. 'He who is a lazy man is said to be the most unworthy of men. 28. Because it is declared by revelation, (29) that the creator Ohrmazd produced no corn for him who is a lazy man; (30) for him who is a lazy man there is then no giving of anything in gifts and charity, (31) and lodging and entertainment are not to be provided for him. 32. For this reason, because that food which a lazy man eats, he eats through impropriety and injustice; (33) and, on account of his laziness and unjust eating, his body then becomes infamous and the soul wicked.

34. 'He who is a false-hearted man is as dubious in good things as in bad; (35) he is dubious as to the treasure of the spiritual and worldly existences, and also as to the ceremonial, invocation, and service of the sacred beings. 36. And, on account of these circumstances, the angels and archangels shall accept little of the ceremonial and invocations which he performs, (37) and give unto him little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 38. And in the mouth of the good man he is always infamous, (39) and his soul becomes wicked.

40. 'The friends of him who is an arrogant man are few, and his enemies many. 41. And even of the gifts which he gives to any one, and the ceremonial, too, which he performs for the sacred beings, they shall accept little, on account of his arrogance, (42) and give little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 43. And in hell they deliver him to the fiend of arrogance, in order to inflict punishment upon his soul; (44) and the fiend of arrogance inflicts punishment of various kinds upon it, and is not pacified.'

CHAPTER 22.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is it possible to provide, for one's own hand, the treasure and wealth of the worldly existence through exertion, or not?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'It is not possible to provide for one's self, through exertion, that benefit which is not ordained; (5) but a morsel (kazd) of that which is ordained comes on by means of exertion. 6. Yet the exertion, when it is fruitless in the worldly existence, through the sacred beings not being with it, still comes, afterwards, to one's assistance in the spiritual existence, and outweighs in the balance.'

CHAPTER 23.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus; 'Is it possible to contend with destiny through wisdom and knowledge, or not?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Even with the might and powerfulness of wisdom and knowledge, even then it is not possible to contend with destiny. 5. Because, when predestination as to virtue, or as to the reverse, comes forth, the wise becomes wanting (niyazan) in duty, and the astute in evil becomes intelligent; (6) the faint-hearted becomes braver, and the braver becomes faint-hearted; (7) the diligent becomes lazy,

and the lazy acts diligently. (8) Just as is predestined as to the matter, the cause enters into it, (9) and thrusts out everything else.'

CHAPTER 24.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'On account of the begging of favors, and the practice and worthiness of good works, do the sacred beings also grant anything to men otherwise, or not?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'They grant; (5) for there are such as they call thus: "Destiny and divine providence." 6. Destiny is that which is ordained from the beginning, (7) and divine providence is that which they also grant otherwise. 8. But the sacred beings provide and manifest in the spiritual existence little of that grant, on this account, because Ahriman, the wicked, through the power of the seven planets extorts wealth, and also every other benefit of the worldly existence, from the good and worthy, and grants them more fully to the bad and unworthy.'

CHAPTER 25.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Of the rich who is the poorer, and of the poor who is the richer?' 3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Of the rich he is the poorer who is not content with that which is his, (5) and suffers anxiety for the increase of anything. 6. 'And of the poor he is the richer who is content with that which has come, (7) and cares not for the increase of anything.'

CHAPTER 26.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is a blind eye worse, or a blind mind (dil)? 3. Is the ill-informed worse, or the bad-tempered?' 4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'He who is blind-eyed, when he has understanding in anything, and accomplishes learning, is to be considered as sound-eyed. 6. And he who is sound-eyed, when he has no knowledge and understanding, and even that which they teach him he does not accept, then that is worse than even a blind eye. 7. 'The ill-tempered is less evil than the ill-informed; (8) because the ill-tempered, except by a decree, is not able to seize anything away from any one; (g) and as to the ill-informed man, his desire of every kind is then for oppression and plunder. 10. Concerning him who is ill-informed it is declared that, apart from predestination, he is born free from fresh understanding.

Apendix 2 - Transcription of the MX manuscript D42

The manuscript D42 is owned by K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in Mumbai India. Unfortunately I did not obtain permission to photograph this manuscript, but I was able to transcribe part of it and here I include the first 21 lines. There is not much known about this manuscript especially how old it could be. However one of the main differences with the other manuscripts is that it has been written in Arabic alphabet usig Nastaʿlīq script, which is of the main caligraphy styles used in Perso-Arabic script, developed in Iran perhaps around 9th century and used even up till today in Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Few notes:

- (±) means: not sure what vowel goes there
- [æ] & [a] are written different
- [g] & [k] are both written as [k]
- The word for 'and' is written as ***væ*** (و) and not [u] which is written (او)
- There is a glottal stop [ʔ] which wasn't noticed in other manuscripts.
- mainiiu is written minu
- ēdon is written īdun
- The title is written ***minu(e) xr(æ)d***, no ezafe is added

D42

be nam(e) izæd(e) bæxšayændeh(e) mehrban(e) dad kær

1. *P(e)nam væ snafiš væ span sud dadar hurmzd hrvsp minu væ kiti væ hæstan yæzdan frhkan*

2. *færhænk(e) din m(æ)h(æ)t kš īdun bn xan danaʔi f(æ)raz v(±)zidar v(±)š pe čuze væ kam(e) d o/u xanan*

3. *æfzuniam afra dadar hurmæzd væ h(±)rusf ... vyan yæzdan væ p(±)rastan p(±)rd(±)ršnī*

4. *yæzdan vaspu hærkan čmi væ rzstan danakan padbæxšiha nu nu væ xᵛišnidari xræd*

5. *pe sturha yz...d væ nidšni do/u xani tæn væ ruan pšnrkrtm čo/un æz ændær uisp udan*

6. *uda væ yekman hankufid vehdīn m(±)hstan be kušni*

7. *dadar hurmazd vsftman zærtošf pe v/us*

8. *ǰar y(±)rnid īstd kvadi visp veh dadar ændam pe xræd dad k(±)š uin kærdha æštaʔi*

9. *pe xræd (æ or e)sniršni væ e/æptiarān*

10. *hæmi væ hami rušniha ænvšnī y(±)zu m(æ)nd t(±)m uzar xræd rauaǰ*

11. *u xᵛiš k(o)næd hæm čm ra peyda*

12. *kudanaʔi bud k(±)š k(o)ft kvakrān (kuakrān) ešnaku yæzdan dīn rastī*

13. *væ dadfrarunī væ urdaman nikī kam væ ū xšayešni čra færhit mærdom us(vas) kiš vš krušni vsbnist hænd*

14. *frhit ænke kiš væ dad væ k(±)ru/v yešni pe xeyr-e yæzdan væ zendkaruni xub væ īnče ændišdæn ka værzidar (vrzdar) budæn īn tš rar(±)nǰ urbæršn væ be īntš avaid budæn*

15. *če be færǰam kari tæn væ xaki komizd væ usnam væ ruan behud væ hær kæs væ ruamrarnǰur*

16. *bršn væ æz kar be agah bušin če am k(æ)rfe mærdana kahha krb kæm væ ān k(o)nah mardanakahha*

17. *k(o)næd knah bn <u>bhud</u> væ æz e(æ)sta p...da(peyda) kune nš kreft ke ne ruan (ænda ræ ni tš kird kemi)*

18. *ruam kird æz č(e)nuan fraz če minu væ kiti idun h(±)ma čun drv/u šiti do yek ur p...da kube stanand*

19. *væ yek stdn n(±)šayæd pæs ænbārī ān k(±)n(æ)š Veh ke ur pe...da (peyda) ku stdn ne/æšayæd væ ke pe raneš ur*

20. *nækird be xræd xᵛastari ændæran keyhan šæhr šæhru pd kus pd kus frnft væ æz hær kīš*

21. *væ k(±)ruiš mærdoman bešan be danaʔi ū yrtr mnid væ p(o)rsīd væ ǰt urmd ke dīd ku yek ændær didaīdun æbnsān ræ hmimal ænd*

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CHAPTER FOUR

MIDDLE WEST IRANIAN

Prods Oktor Skjærvø

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Middle Persian (MPers.) and Parthian (Parth.) constitute the western branch of the known Middle Iranian languages.* The term 'Pahlavi' (Pahl.) refers to the Middle Persian of the Zoroastrian texts, but is also sometimes used for Middle Persian in general. The indigenous words for the languages may have been Pārsīg and Pahlawānag 'Parthian' (found in a Manichean text). This usage was sometimes adopted by Western scholars, as well (Herzfeld, Nyberg: Pārsīk, Pahlavīk). Still earlier, Pahlavi and Chaldeo-Pahlavi were used.

The two languages are closely similar in structure, though Parthian shares some features with its eastern neighbors, notably with Bactrian, rather than with Middle Persian (see Sims-Williams 2007). The fact that Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian were two separate languages with different linguistic affinities was first shown by Tedesco (1921).

Parthian was spoken in Parthia, east of the Caspian Sea, and became an official language under the Parthian (Arsacid) rulers of Iran (ca. 247 BCE–224 CE). It is known mainly from a large corpus of short, formulaic, Parthian inscriptions mostly on potsherds from the Parthian capital of Nisa dating from the first century BCE (see Skjærvø 1995a, 1999); a few royal Parthian inscriptions from the last couple of centuries of Parthian rule; Parthian versions of the inscriptions of the third-century Sasanian kings Ardashir I, Shapur I, and Narseh; and from the Manichean (Man.) texts found at Turfan in north-eastern Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang) in the early nineteenth century. On the language of the mostly Aramaic inscriptions from north-western Iran and the Awrōmān document see Skjærvø (1995a).

Middle Persian is descended from Old Persian (OPers.) and is the ancestor of New Persian (NPers.). Its proper homeland was the area of Pārs in south-western Iran (Gk. Persis), and it was the official language of the local Perside kings (ca. 200 BCE–224 CE) and their successors, the Sasanians (224–651 CE). After the fall of the Sasanians, it continued to be used by the Zoroastrians long after the spoken language had become New Persian in the centuries following the Arab conquest (ca. 650). Middle Persian is known mainly from inscriptions, documents on parchment and papyrus, a translation of the *Psalms* of David (the 'Pahlavi *Psalter*' [Ps.]) found at Turfan, the Zoroastrian scriptures, and the Manichean texts from Turfan. A page from a Pahlavi text containing verb forms was also found there (Barr 1936).

*For reasons of space, Parthian could not be discussed as fully as Middle Persian. All descriptions and examples therefore apply to Middle Persian only, unless explicitly marked as Parthian.

The earliest inscriptions are those on the coins of the Perside rulers and on a silver bowl from the second half of the first century BCE (Skjærvø 1997b). There are royal and private inscriptions by high officials and travelers, most of them from the third century, a few from the fourth–fifth centuries; the earliest ones were bilingual (trilingual) Middle Persian, Parthian, (Greek). There are inscriptions on objects (silver bowls, seals, etc.) from the entire Sasanian period (see Brunner 1974; Skjærvø 1993). The Zoroastrian and Christian funerary inscriptions are from the late Sasanian and early Muslim period (see Gignoux 1978: 14); some are from as far away as India (that on the Thomas Cross from the seventh century, see Gignoux 1995) and Xi'an, China (from 874, see Humbach and Wāng Shìpíng 1988; Sundermann and Thilo, 1966). The papyri are probably from the sixth–seventh centuries (see Weber 1992, with bibliography pp. ix–x). A large corpus of mostly legal documents on parchment from the seventh century has recently surfaced and is currently being deciphered and studied (see, e.g. Gignoux 1991, 2001, 2002–3 with refs.; Weber 2007 with refs.).

The earliest Manichean texts may have been composed in the mid-third century, but the manuscripts are much later, and texts were still composed in Turfan in the eighth century (e.g. the *Mahrnāmag* is dated in 762, see Boyce 1975: 52); the *Psalter* manuscript probably dates from the seventh century, although the text is probably older (Skjærvø 1983: 178–79).

The Zoroastrian 'Pahlavi books' were written down in the ninth–tenth centuries, but contain texts that were transmitted orally for centuries. The corpus can be divided roughly into three categories (see Tavadia 1956; Boyce 1968): 1. translations of Avestan texts, 2. texts with religious contents, sometimes incorporating translations from the extant or lost Avesta; and 3. secular texts, including word lists.

1.2 Writing systems

The non-Manichean Middle Persian texts are written in scripts derived from Achaemenid Aramaic ('Imperial Aramaic'; Henning 1958; Skjærvø 1995a, 1996); the Manichean texts are written in a Syriac script more closely related to the Palmyrene script than to Estrangelo, as traditionally thought (Durkin-Meisterernst 2000a). In both, the consonants <', w, y> are also used to express vowels (*matres lectionis*, see section 2.3.1). See Tables 4.1–3.

The Persian variant of the Aramaic script evolved in Pārs in the late Parthian period, as can be seen from coins. There is a clear change at the end of the second century CE, and the standard form appears under Ardashir I's older brother Shapur (Skjærvø 1991b, 1997b). An advanced form of the script is seen in the *Psalter* manuscript, while, in the earliest funerary inscriptions, we have the cursive forerunner of the Pahlavi script used in the later funerary inscriptions and in the Pahlavi books ('Book-Pahlavi'). The final stage of the script is found in the documents on papyri and parchment (Weber 2007 with refs.).

In Tables 4.1–2, the order of the letter forms is right-to-left. Letter forms preceded by a line are final (or post-vocalic in the Pahlavi script). Manichean letters with a left-side flourish or lengthening lose these when connected with a following letter.

In the Pahlavi column, letters in parenthesis are alternative forms: those of <k> and <l> are used in a few arameograms.

TABLE 4.1: ALPHABETS. PARTHIAN AND MIDDLE PERSIAN SCRIPTS DERIVED FROM IMPERIAL ARAMAIC

Semitic alphabet	*Hebrew*	*Translit. values*	*Parthian inscrips.*	*MPersian inscrips.*	*Psalter*	*Pahlavi*
' (*alef*)	א	a A				
b	ב	b B				
g	ג	g G				
d	ד	d D				
h	ה	- E				
w	ו	w W		2 [= O, r]		
z	ז	z Z				
ḥ	ח	h H				
ṭ	ט	- Θ			-	-
y	י	y Y				
k	כ ך	k K				
l	ל	l L				
m	מ ם	m M				
n	נ ן	n N				
s	ס	s S				
' (*'ayin*)	ע	O	[= r]	2 [= r, w]		
p	פ ף	p P				
ṣ	צ ץ	c C				
q	ק	Q				
r	ר	r R	[= O]	2 [= O, w]		
š	ש	š Š				
t	ת	t T				

1.2.1 Merger of letter shapes

In the Parthian and Middle Persian scripts derived from Imperial Aramaic, some of the original 22 letters began merging early on, and the Book-Pahlavi script contains only 12 distinct letters, but even these are often ambiguous. In the Parthian inscriptions, <ʿ(*'ayin*) = r>, and <b>, <k>, and <r = ʿ> are sometimes indistinguishable (e.g. in the Paikuli inscription, <OBDt> *kerd* is often written so as to look like <krd-t>. In the Middle Persian inscriptions and the *Psalter*, <w = r = O>, and, in Book-Pahlavi, <n = w = r = O>; in the inscriptions and the *Psalter*, < '(*alef*)>, <ḥ>, <g>, <d>, and <y> were still distinct, but, in Book Pahlavi, <'= ḥ>, <g = d = y>, and in the *Psalter* and Book Pahlavi, <s = yy>.

TABLE 4.2: ALPHABETS. THE PAHLAVI SCRIPT

Pahlavi	Values
	<'> = <h>, <y̲y̲>
	<b>
	<g> = <d, y>
	<d> = <g, y>
	<-d̲>
	d, g, y, ǰ
	<-E>, <mn>
	<w> = <n, O, r>
	<z> = <d̲>
	<h> = <'>

Pahlavi	Values
	<y> = <g, d>
	<k>
	<K>, γ
	<l>
	l
	<L>
	<m> = <Q>
	<n> = <w, O, r>
	<s> = <yy>

Pahlavi	Values
	<O> = <w, n, r>
	<p>
	<c>
	<-c> = <-p>
	<Q> = <m>
	<r> = < w, n, O>
	<š>
	<š> = <y'>
	<t> (= <yn>)

TABLE 4.3: ALPHABETS. THE MANICHEAN SCRIPT

	' (*alef*)
	b
	β
	g
	γ
	d
	-h
	w
	z

	ḥ
	ṭ
	y
	k
	x
	l
	m
	n
	s

	' (*'ayin*)
	p
	f
	č
	q
	r
	š
	t
	j (ž)

In Pahlavi, which is a cursive script, the letters also have variant forms when combined and, in certain words, they take on special forms or the shapes of other letters, e.g. <z> can represent <y = d>; <y = d> can represent <b>; and, so, <z> can represent <b>: <YZLWN> for <YBLWN> 'carry', etc. This is indicated in transliteration by an underbar: <YB̲LWN>. In Pahlavi manuscripts written in India, <š> is indistinguishable from <y>. The letter <> is frequently used for <yy, zd>: <y'n'> = <yzd̲n0> *yazdān* 'the gods'; note also <m'yyt'> (or m'yyyt') for <mz̲dys̲n'> (= mhyst') > 'Mazdayasnian' with <> for <zd> and <yt> for <sn>.

Note that the Aramaic letters <E> (only final), <O (*'ayn*)>, <Q>, and <Θ> (Aram. <ṭ>) were used only in arameograms (see below). In Pahlavi, they merged with other letters: <E = mw>; <O = w>; <Q = m> (only in <QDM> = *abar* 'on'); <Θ = t> (e.g. Aram. <ṭb>, MPers. inscr. <ΘB>, Pahl. <TB̲ = td> = *nēw* 'good').

In the Manichean script, all the letters are distinct and the spelling is near-to phonetic (with a few exceptions: Man. MPers. <p> = *p* and *f*; <Vc> = MPers. *Vz*, <Vc, Vj> = Parth. *Vž*).

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

By cross-referencing Middle Persian with Old Persian and New Persian, the vowel and consonant phonemes that can be posited for Middle Persian (see MacKenzie 1967) are set out in Tables 4.4–5. The Parthian vowel system was probably of the same type, but the consonant system was more complex.

TABLE 4.4: PHONOLOGY. VOWELS

	Front		Back	
High	*ī*	*i*	*u*	*ū*
Mid	*ē*	*(e)*	*(o)*	*ō*
Low		*a ā*		

TABLE 4.5: PHONOLOGY. CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops, Affricates	*p b*	*t d*	*č ǰ*	*k g*	—
Fricatives	*f v*	*s z*	*š (ž)*	*x (γ)*	—
[*Parthian*	*β*	*δ*	*ž*	*γ*]	—
Rounded	—	*xw*	—	—	—
[*Parthian*	—	x^{o}]			—
Nasals	*m*	*n*	—	*(ŋ)*	—
Continuants	*w*	*r; l*	*y*	—	*h*

2.1.1 Vowels

Since the script does not distinguish between *ē* and *ī*, *ō* and *ū*, these values can only be determined by etymological considerations and their distribution in early New Persian and modern dialects of Persian (in standard New Persian they have merged into *i* and *u*), and a few instances remain uncertain.

The existence of the phonemes *(e)* and *(o)* is suggested by alternate spellings with or without *mater lectionis* and is also posited for etymological reasons in words such as *kerd* <krt'> 'did' (OPers. *kṛta* with syllabic *r*, Man. MPers. <kyrd>, NPers. *kard*, dial. *kerd*) and *ox* <ʾhw'> 'mind' (Av. *aŋʷhā*, Man. MPers. <ʾwx>; see MacKenzie 1967: 23–25). The question remains, however, whether we have any *e* and *o* contrasting with *a* ~ *i* and *a* ~ *u*, respectively, as there do not seem to be any minimal pairs/triples of the type *kird* ~ *kerd* ~ *kard* or *widurd* ~ *widord* ~ *widerd* <wtwlt', wtlt'> 'crossed over'.

2.1.2 Consonants

The consonant phonemes Middle Persian *(γ)* and *(ž)* are found mainly in learned (Avestan) words, but perhaps also in words of non-Persian origin, and so probably represent marginal phonemes */γ/* and */ž/* (see MacKenzie 1967: 20–23)

(ŋ) is an allophone of *n* before velars (not expressed in the script). The opposition *n* ~ *m* is neutralised before labials, as evidenced by the alternate spellings <np, mp, nb, mb>.

The voiceless stops and affricates are found in initial position and after voiceless sibilant, but only sporadically after vowels (other than after prefixes such as *a-* 'non'). In intervocalic position, they are the result of gemination (geminates, apparently, do not contrast with non-geminates, and so were not phonemic): *appār-* 'rob' (< **apa-pāra-*), *pat-tāy-* > *pattāy-* 'endure (something)', *waččag* 'child'; *kerbag-kar* > *kerbakkar* 'well-doer'. In final position, they are found in the suffixes *-ak* and the rare *-īk* (contrasting with *-ag* and *-īg*); as a result of early syncope in *ēk* (*yak*) 'one' (< **ēw-k*), *ēč* 'any' (< **ēw-č*), and *pāk* 'pure' (<*pāw-k*, cf. Parth. *pawāg*); in a few words such as *kayk* 'flea', *sabuk* 'light, easy'; and after *h* in Man. <bšyhk>. For the comparative and superlative suffixes *-tar* and *-tom*, Man. MPers. has *-dar* and *-dom* after voiced sounds, but New Persian has forms with *-t-* throughout, and it is likely that this was already so in Pahlavi. Examples of other geminates: *passand-* 'please' (< **pati-sand-*), *škenn-* 'break' (< **škandaya-*), and *andar-rōn* 'in-side'.

(ǰ) is essentially limited to the initial position and the position after *n*: *panǰ* 'five', Man. MPers. <pnz>. Before voiced consonants, it is indistinguishable from *(ž)*: *duǰdēn* ~ *duždēn* 'unbeliever'.

The phoneme *(l)* is common in non-initial position, but also occurs sporadically in initial position (judging by the New Persian equivalents of these words and the occasional explicit Pahlavi spelling with <l> with diacritic). In Manichean Middle Persian, it is rarer, being often replaced by *r*: Pahl., NPers. *sāl* 'year', *larz-*'tremble', Man. MPers. *sār, rarz-*, but Pahl., NPers., and Man. MPers. *dil* 'heart'.

Parthian probably also had the phonemes *δ* and *γ* (mainly from older intervocalic *d*, *g*) perhaps also *β* (but old intervocalic *b* had become *w*) contrasting with *d*, *g*, *b*, cf. minimal pairs such as *pāδ* 'foot' ~ *pād* 'protected' and contrasting structures such as *bay-ān* 'gods', but *frēšt-ag-ān* 'prophets', as well as words such as *aβr* 'cloud'.

Note also that Manichean Parthian usually writes <wx> where Middle Persian has <xw>, which may indicate an indivisible phoneme *x*°: <wxybyh> *"xēbēh*, MPers. *xwēbaš*.

In inscriptional Parthian, initial *č-* is written <š> before *i* (<šyhr> = Man. Parth. *čihr*), which perhaps reflects a local sound change. Another difference between the two dialects is the form of the abstract ending inscr. Parth. *-īf* = Man. Parth. *-īft* (both probably from **-ītf*).

2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant groups

Middle Persian initial, medial, and final groups usually contain fricatives, sibilants, and *r*. The initial groups 'sibilant + stop' early on acquired prosthetic vowels, globally in Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian, but sporadically as early as the third century, judging from inscr. Parth. *(a)spāδ-bed* 'general', spelled <'sp'dpty> and <spdpty> (cf. Man. Parth. *ispāδ* <'sp'd> 'army').

Parthian also had the non-initial groups *df* and *šf* (not found in Middle Persian):

nidfār- 'hurry' (Pahl. <nswbl-> *nixwār-*); *sadf-ān* 'beings' (<Skt. *sattva*), *kišfar* 'continent' (MPers. *kišwar*), *padišfar* 'honour' (MPers. *padixšar*).

A small problem is posed by the phonological analysis of initial <C-y-V>, which is best analysed as *Ci-* plus a non-phonemic glide: *ni(y)āy-* 'to sing', *zi(y)ān* 'harm' (there is no phonemic contrast between [CyV-], [CiyV-], and [CīyV-]). Similarly, the final *-y* in words such as <'ny> 'other', <mhy> (beside <myh>) should perhaps be analysed as *-ī* (rather than *-y*); cf. the Pahlavi spellings <AHRNyd> and <ZKyd>, with <-yd> = *-īy*; here, this final will be spelled *-īy*, with *-y* reflecting the spelling with (*-d*), *anīy* for MacKenzie's *any*.

2.2 Non-segmental aspects

The theory that Middle Persian may had a system of 'light' and 'heavy' stems (like Sogdian) proposed by Back (1978: 39–61) was disputed by MacKenzie (1982: 294–95). A similar theory was also proposed by Huyse (2003), which still needs to be assessed.

Words such as *anīy* and *mahīy* may have been stressed on the first syllable, since the final syllable was later lost (*ánīy*, later *an*; *máhīy* later *meh*).

2.3 Relationship between orthography and phonology in Pahlavi

Two features complicate the phonological interpretation of Pahlavi orthography: 1. conservatism, resulting in an orthography based on that of the first two centuries of our era (cf. English, French); 2. the use of arameograms.

2.3.1 Vowels

All the Parthian and Middle Persian alphabets contain consonants only, with three of the consonants used as *matres lectionis*: <',"> = *ā*, <w> = *ō, u, ū*; <y> = *ē, i, ī*. In the Manichean script, <'y-> is used in initial, and sometimes in internal, position, to distinguish *i-*, *-ī-* from *ē-* spelled <'y->.

2.3.2 Consonants

In non-Manichean Middle Persian, few letters regularly spell the corresponding consonants: <m, n, z> = *m, n, z*. In initial position, all the letters usually express the corresponding consonants: <p k'> *pāk* 'clean', <c l> *čār* 'able', <gl> *gar* 'mountain', etc. In the Middle Persian inscriptions, <l> and <r> are used according to the whim of the scribe to spell *r*. In Pahlavi, <r> is relatively rare and limited to certain types of words (especially arameograms); the <l> with a diacritic stroke can be used when it spells *l* (rather than *r*).

After vowels and voiced consonants, the unvoiced stops express the corresponding voiced stops: <'p'> *āb* 'water', <w't'> *wād* 'wind', *kerd* <krt'> 'did', etc. and <c> is used to spell *z* (but <nc> *nj*): <tyc'> *tēz* 'sharp', <lnc'> *ranǰ* 'toil' (Man. <rnz>). In intervocalic and final position after vowels, the voiced stops <b (wb)> and <d (yd), g> spell *w* and *y*, respectively: <lwbk'> *rawāg* 'current', <dlwb'> *drō(w)* 'deceit', *mayān* <myd'n> 'middle', <mynwd> *mēnōy* 'the world of thought (the other world)'.

2.3.3 *Historical and pseudo-historical orthography*

Pahlavi orthography reflects a phonology closer to Old Persian than to Manichean Middle Persian, and consonants that had been lost or changed were still written as they were originally. Thus, what the Manicheans wrote as <by, rʾy, xrd, šhr, sʾrʾr>, i.e. *bay, rāy, xrad, šahr, sālār*, one would write <bg, l'd, hlt', štr', srd'l> (OPers. *baga-, rādiy, xratu-*, Av. *xšaθra-*).

Analogical (also called 'pseudo-historical') spellings are also common. For instance, since old *b* and *d* had become *w* and *y* between vowels, <b> and <d> were used for any *w* and *y*, e.g.: *ruwān* <lwbʾn> 'soul' (Av. *uruuānəm*), *ziyān* <zydʾn> 'harm' (Av. *ziiāni-*) = Man. <rwʾn>, <zyyʾn>; since old *s* and *θ* had both become *h* between vowels, *h* could be written as <h> or <s>: *gāh* <g'h, gʾs> 'throne' (Av., OPers. *gāθu-*), Man. <g'h>; *puhl*, inscr. <pwhly, pwlsy> 'bridge' (Av. *pərəθu-*) = Man. <pwhl>.

In many Pahlavi manuscripts, a letter identical with <w>, but with no phonetic meaning, is written at the end of the word (the 'final stroke'). The form developed from a final <-y>, also with no phonetic (but perhaps historical) significance, used in inscriptional Middle Persian and the *Psalter*, but their distribution is different; in Pahlavi, it is only used after consonants with which it is not combined (<b, c, k, t, w/n/r>). It is commonly transliterated as <-'>.

In addition, *ē* is often spelled <yw>: <nywk'> *nēk* 'good', etc., and final *-ī* (*-īy*) <-yd̲>: <gytyd̲> *getī(y)* 'the world of the living'. In learned words, *ō* and *ū* are often spelled <wk>: <yt"hwkwylywk> *Yatā-ahū-wēryō*, an Avestan prayer.

Letter forms differ from scribe to scribe and develop throughout the centuries.

2.3.4 *Arameograms*

Parthian and Pahlavi (including the inscriptions and the *Psalter*) used a large number of, more or less faithfully rendered, Aramaic words, also called 'ideograms' or 'heterograms', but here: 'arameograms' (Skjærvø 1995a; Nyberg 1988). Iranian endings were added to the arameogram as 'phonetic complements'. To distinguish the arameograms from Middle Persian words spelled 'phonetically' arameograms are now transliterated in upper case, e.g.: <OLE> = *ōy* 'he, she, it', <GBRA> = *mard* 'man', with phonetic complements: <OLE-šʾn'> = *awē-šān* 'they', <GBRA-ʾn'> = *mard-ān* 'the men('s)', <OBYDWN-d> = *kun-ēnd* and Parth. <OBDW-nt> = *kar-ēnd* 'they do'. Parthian still has a few Aramaic plurals, where Middle Persian uses phonetic complements, e.g. MPers. <GBRA-ʾn'> = *mard-ān*, Parth. <GBRYN> 'the men('s)'.

For the phonetic complements of verbal arameograms, see Skjærvø 1989, 1995a.

2.3.5 *Transliteration and transcription systems*

Throughout the history of Pahlavi studies, many transliteration and transcription systems have been used. This is due to two facts: the correct interpretation of the Pahlavi orthography did not become known until the inscriptions and the Pahlavi *Psalter* were fully deciphered, and the actual pronunciation of Pahlavi did not become known until the discovery of the Manichean texts.

Different opinions among scholars then resulted in basically two systems of transcription: one that remained faithful to the actual spelling as seen in the inscriptions and the *Psalter* and one that was based on the assumption that the spelling was largely historical and did not reflect the actual pronunciation, as evidenced by the Manichean texts. These

two systems were implemented in Nyberg's *Manual* (1964–74) and MacKenzie's *Concise Dictionary* (1971), respectively, which set the standards for them (see also MacKenzie 1967). Here, MacKenzie's system will be adhered to throughout with only minor departures. While the differences in transliteration systems today remain small (see Table 4.2), those between the two major transcription systems produce two rather different-looking languages, e.g.: *āp* ~ *āb* 'water', *wāt* ~ *wād* 'wind', *sakān* ~ *sagān* 'of Sakas', *mātagdān* ~ *mādayān* 'specifically', *hač* ~ *az* 'from', *mi0r* ~ *mihr* 'Mithra'.

The main innovation in MacKenzie's transliteration system was the use of only capital letters in the arameograms, that is, also <A, E, O> for <'(*alef*), H (H̲), ʿ(*ayin*)>, to which Humbach added <Θ> for <Ṭ>, e.g. <AB> vs. <'B> 'father', <BYTA> vs. <BYT'> 'house', <ZNE> vs. <ZNH>) (<ZNH̲>) 'this', <OLE> vs. <ʿLH> (<'LH̲>) 'he', <ΘB> vs. <ṬB> 'good'.

Another common system, especially in French publications: <', H, ʿ> = <A, E, O>, <ḥ> = <h>, and <Ṣ> = <C>, e.g. <l'ḥ> vs. <l'h> *rāh* 'road', <ʿRḤY'> vs. <ORHYA> *bay* 'god, majesty', <ṢBW> vs. <CBW> *xīr* 'possessions', <YṢBH-> vs. <YCBE-> *kām-* 'wish'. In some personal transliteration systems, <x> is used for <h> and <H> for <E>, e.g. <XWH-> for <HWE-> *h-* 'be'.

3 MORPHOLOGY

With the loss of Old Iranian final syllables in Middle West Iranian, the original gender and case distinctions were to a large extent lost. Nevertheless, third-century inscriptional Middle Persian and Parthian still had a two-case system, which had largely been given up in the Manichean texts, but is still present in early Pahlavi, especially in the translations of the Avesta. In contrast, the verbal system is quite archaic.

There is a rich derivational morphology, including sequences of more than one derivational marker, which often leads to nominalised constructions that straddle the boundaries between word class, noun phrase syntax, and sentence syntax, a process which is complemented by the derivational verbalisation of simple and derived nominals. As word order is relatively free, it is often difficult to distinguish adverbs, adpositions, and preverbs.

3.1 Nominal morphology

Morphological categories in nominals include number, case, person, and deixis and marginally feminine gender, definiteness and animacy.

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Gender

Animate and inanimate is distinguished in the interrogative pronouns *kē* 'who?' versus *čē* 'what?' and the indefinite pronouns *kas* 'somebody' and *tis* 'something' (Parth. *kē, čē, keč, čiš*), as well as compound forms of these (see section 3.1.4.5).

Feminine gender can be marked by *-ag* in Middle Persian proper names (Jam and Jamag) and by *-ānīy* (*-ēnīy*) in imitation of Avestan (*ahlaw* and *ahlawēnīy* 'righteous'). In Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian, *-čān* denotes female members of a group: *niγōšāg-čān*, Parth. *niγōšāg-čān* 'hearer *female*'.

3.1.1.2 Number and case

In the early texts (inscriptions and the *Psalter*), there are two cases and two numbers, and there are sufficient examples in Pahlavi of the old system to show that it probably survived until quite late. The cases are regularly distinguished in the plural, but in the singular only in the *r*-stem family terms ('father', etc.) and in the 1s pronoun. The enclitic personal pronouns are only used as oblique. See Sims-Williams 1981; Skjærvø 1983; Cantera Glera 1999, 2004: 270–73. Table 4.6 (the forms are also Parthian).

TABLE 4.6: NOMINAL NUMBER AND CASE MARKING IN THE THIRD-CENTURY INSCRIPTIONS

	'man'	'father'
DIRs	*mard*	*pid*
OBLs	*mard*	*pid-ar*
DIRp	*mard*	*pid-ar*
OBLp	*mard-ān*	*pid-ar-ān*

In the Pahlavi texts, the forms in *-ān* are used freely as marked general plurals, and the forms with *-ar* alternate with those without.

Archaisms include the plural (obl.) endings *-īn* and *ūn* (from original *i*- and *u*-stems, but there is much analogy): inscr. *mow-ūn* <mgwny> 'Magians' and Man. MPers. *dušmen-ūn* 'enemies' (old *u*-stems), Ps. *pidar-ūn* <ptlwny> 'fathers' (old *r*-stem), *frazend-ūn* <plcndwny> 'children' (old *i*-stem), Man. Parth. *dušmen-īn, frazend-īn*. On the reflexes of old final vowels before enclitics, see Sims-Williams 1981.

This case system eventually collapsed into a no-case system, with cases surviving marginally in the pronouns; in Pahlavi, the originally plural oblique case marker, *-ān*, became the unmarked plural marker, next to which a new ending *-īhā* (Man. *-īhān*) expressing individual plurality is found: *kōf-ān* 'the mountains' vs. *kōf-īhā* 'the various/individual mountains', *pad sūrāg-īhā ī kōf-ān* 'in the various holes in the mountains' (Bd. 21E.7), *pad anǰoman-īhā* 'throughout the congregations' (Ps. 131 canon). The plural was used mainly when plurality was emphasised, not when a class of objects was referred to, e.g. 'stones are heavy'.

3.1.1.3 Definiteness

There are no definite and indefinite articles, but the numeral *ēw* <-1, -HD> 'one' can be used to express 'one specific X, a certain X' (see also section 3.1.4.5):

aswār-[ēw] šahryār wēn-ēm
'horseman-[one] prince we see' = 'we see/saw a princely rider';
ud nūn zan-[ēw] paydāg
'and now woman-[one] manifest (COP)' = 'and now a woman appeared';
u-š tarāzūg-[ēw] pēšīy est-ēd
'and-him scales-[one] before stand-PRES/IPF-3s' = 'and a scales stood before him' (KNRm 34–37).

3.1.1.4 Address

In Manichean texts, a particle *-ā* may be used to express address:

[rōšn-ā] ǰāyēdān '[O light] eternal!' (M729 II V i, line 6, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 333). Man. MPers. *pid-ā-n* 'our father!' may be a frozen vocative *pidā* plus the old enclitic 1p pronoun *-n*.

Parthian

kaδ tō šaw-ē [xwadāy-ā] amāh-iž až zād-murd bōž
'when you go-PRES-2s [o lord!] us-too from born-dead save-IMP-2s'
= 'when you go, o lord, save us, too, from rebirths!' (M5779c, lines 3–5, BBB, p. 45).

Pahlavi has the particle of address *ay* (*hay*): *ay druwand* 'O wicked (one)!' (Bd. 30.20).

Man. Parth. *ōn* <ẉn> is a particle of address or means something like 'hail!': *ōn xwaršēd wuzarg* 'hail, great sun!' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text e 15–16).

3.1.2 Adjectives and comparison

The endings of the comparative and superlative are *-tar* and *-tom* (Man. MPers. *-dar* and *-dom* after vowels and voiced consonants): simple adjective: *abēzag, abēzag-tar, abēzag-tom* 'pure, purer, purest'; participle of necessity: (*zan-išn*)*-tar* 'more worthy of being killed'; adverbial: *frās-tar* (from *frāz*, in *frās-tar zamān* 'in the future'), derived adverbial: (*gōwizār-īhā*)*-tar* 'more in detail' see section 3.1.3. Irregular formations include the following, which preserve fossilised forms showing vowel gradation (see Old Iranian Chapter 3, section 3.1.2) *gar-ān* 'heavy (serious)', comp. *grāy*, superl. *grāy-ist*; comp. *frāy, freh* 'more', superl. *frāy-ist, frah-ist* 'most'; *was* 'much', *wēš* 'more'; *bul-and* 'high,' superl. *bāl-ist*. Note also *kam* 'little' *kem* 'less', *kamist* 'least'.

There is a small set of suppletive comparatives and superlatives: *wazurg* 'great', *mah-īy/meh, mah-ist* 'greater, greatest'; *kōdag* 'small', *keh* 'smaller'; *xōb* 'good', *wah-īy/weh* 'better', *pahlom, pāšom* 'best'.

Forms such *abdom* 'last' (Av. *apa-tama-*) are mere lexical items in Middle Persian.

Parthian has *-istar* and *-istom*, but *-istar* is used for both comparative and superlative: The suffix *-tar* (*-dar*) survives sporadically: *masā-dar* 'elder', *abar-dar* 'higher'. Note *baγ-ān baγ-istom* 'the highest god' (Sogd. *βaγ-ān βaγ-tam-i*). Irregular: *qmbyg, kamb, kambist* 'little, less, least, fewer, fewest'; Parth. *kalān* 'big', *mas* 'bigger', *mas-išt* 'biggest'.

Simple comparisons are expressed by *čiyōn* 'like', *ēdōn čiyōn* 'like', *mānāg* (*i*) 'like', and the postposition *homān-āg* 'resembling, like' (also *pad homānāg ī* and *ēdōn čiyōn–homānāg* 'just like').

3.1.3 Adverbs and particles

Adverbs are formed from simple adjectives and other adjectival forms by the productive ending *-īhā*. They can take the comparative and superlative endings.

From simple adjectives: *xūb-īhā* 'well'; – from compond adjectives: *(abē-brahm)-īhā* '(walking) (without clothes)-ADV' = '(walking) without clothes', *(arešk-kāmag)-īhā* '(envy-desire)-ADV' = 'out of envious desire'; *was-īhā* 'much/many-ADV' = 'greatly'; *(a-fraǰūd-az-iš)-īhā* 'non-diminished-from-it)-ADV' = 'so that nothing has been diminished from it' (Dk. 5.2.1, 7.1.41); *(a-padīr-išn)-īhā* '(non-reception)-ADV' = 'without receiving'; – from the reflexive pronouns: *xwēš-īhā* 'by oneself'; *xwad-īhā* 'of oneself'; – from adjectival verbal forms: verbal noun in *-āg*: *(tuxš-āg)-īhā-tar* '(striv-ing)-ADV-COMP' = 'more diligently', *(dān-āg)-īhā-tom* '(knowing)-ADV-SUP' = 'most

knowingly'; participle in *-ag*: *(zad-ag)-īhā* '(strick-en)-ADV' = 'having been struck down'.

3.1.3.1 Adverbs of time, place and manner

These include simple and combined forms:

Time or duration of event: *ahīy* 'first, originally' (Parth. *has*); Man. *az nox* 'from the beginning'; *fradom* (*pad fradomīh*), *nazdist* 'first, at first'; *abdom* 'last, at last' (*pad abdomīh* 'at last, in the end'); *nūn* 'now' (Parth. *awās*); *ahanūz* 'still, yet' (see also section 4.1); *hamēw* (later *hamē*), *hamēšag*, and *hamwār* 'always', *hamēy-īhā* 'forever'; Man. *and(om)* 'for so long'. Adverbial phrases formed with *zamān* 'time', *gāh* 'time (of the day)', *bār* 'time; *fois*' (Parth. *yāwar*): *(pad) ōylān zamān* 'at that time', *(pad) ham zamān* 'at the same time, immediately', *andar zamān* 'immediately', *harw gāh* 'every time', *pad ēw bār* 'once'.

Location or direction of event: *ēdar* 'here' and *ānōh* 'there' (Parth. *ēd* and *ōδ*), note *pad ham ānōh* 'also in that place'; *awar* 'hither, come here!' (see section 4.3.7.3a), *bē* 'out, away'; adverbial phrases formed with *rōn* 'side, direction' (Parth. *āgōž*) and *gyāg* 'place', e.g. *anda(r)rōn* 'inside', *bērōn* 'out(side)', *az–ō(r)rōn* 'from–hither, from–until now', *ulrōn* 'upward'; *harw gyāg* 'everywhere', *kadām gyāg*, *kū gyāg* 'where?', *abar gyāg* 'on the spot'; Parth. *harwāgōž* 'to all sides, wherever'.

Time or location: *pēš* (*ō pēš*) 'before, *pēšīy* 'before, in front'; *pas* (Parth. *paš*) 'after, afterward, then, next', *az ān pas* 'after that, afterward', *pasīy* (*azlō pasīy*) 'after, behind' (Parth. *až paš* 'behind, after'); – bare nouns: *bāmdād* 'at dawn', *was frasang zamīg šud* 'he went a ground (= distance) of many *frasangs*'.

Manner of event: *ēdōn* 'thus, in this way', *ōwōn* (Man. *āwōn*, Parth. *awāγōn*), *ēd-ōwōn*, *ēn-ōwōn*, *ān-ōwōn* 'in this/that way'; *ōh* 'thus, in the usual way'; *ēwar* 'for sure, certainly' (also *ēwar-īhā*); *saxt* 'firmly, intensely'; – adverbial phrases formed with *ēwēnag*, *hangōšīdag* 'manner, how', and *čim* 'reason': *pad ēnlān ēwēnag* 'in this/that way', *ham-ēwēnag* 'in the same manner, likewise'; *pad ēn hangōšīdag* 'in this manner'; *imlham čim rāy* 'for this/the same reason', *pad ēdlān čim* 'for this/that reason, therefore'.

Degree: *abēr* (+ adjectives, adverbs), 'very', *was* (+ adjectives, adverbs, verbs) 'very, greatly, in great numbers' and Man. MPers. *frahīd* (= Parth.).

3.1.3.2 Adverbs formed by repetition

Middle Persian typically uses repetition to signify distribution. The repeated word is usually a noun: *gyāg gyāg* 'in various places, from place to place' (also *gyāg ō gyāg*), *āwām āwām* 'in various ages, from age to age', *ǰār ǰār* 'from time to time', Parth. *yāwar yāwar*; an adjective: *nōg nōg* 'ever anew, again and again' (Parth. *nawāg nawāg*); an adverb: *andak andak* 'little by little', *ǰud ǰud* 'separately, individually' (Parth. *yud yud*); a pronoun: *kas kas* 'each one individually'; a numeral: Man. *yak yak* 'one by one', *se se* 'three each'; phrases: *ast ī ka–ud ast ī ka* 'sometimes–sometimes'; Parth. *bāδ bāδ* 'again and again'.

3.1.4 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.4.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have full forms and enclitic forms. Case distinctions survive in the 1st singular in both Middle Persian and Parthian and, perhaps, in the 2nd singular in

Parthian. In Pahlavi, cases are only sporadically distinguished, especially in Pahlavi translations of Avestan texts. Table 4.7

TABLE 4.7: PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Middle Persian		Parthian		Enclitic
	DIR	OBL	DIR	OBL	OBL
1s	*an* <ANE>	*man* <L>	*az* <ANE>	*man* <LY>	*-Vm*
2s	*tō* <LK>		**tū* <ANT>	**tō* <LK>	*-Vt*
3s	*ōy* <OLE>		*hō* <LHw>		*-Vš*
1p	*amāh* <LNE>		*amāh* <LN>		*-Vn*, *-Vmān*
2p	*ašmāh* <LKWM>		*ašmāh* <LKM>		*-Vtān*
3p	*ōy*	*awēšān* <OLEš'n'>	*hawīn* <LHwyn>		*-Všān*
	awīn (Man.)				

The enclitic forms of the personal pronouns are the same in Middle Persian and Parthian, except the 1st plural *-n*, which is found only in the third-century inscriptions as royal plural and, perhaps, in Manichean *pid-ā-n* 'O, our father!'. They are only used as oblique, never as subject. The vowel preceding the enclitic pronouns appears to have varied according to phonetic and morphological context (Sims-Williams 1981). After consonants, the connecting vowel was mostly *-i-* (*-im*, etc.), sometimes *-u/o-* (*-um*, *-om*, etc.).

Parthian inscriptions also have the arameograms <OLY> 'to me' and <OLYN> 'to Us', the readings of which are uncertain (**aw-im*, **aw-in*?).

3.1.4.2 Possessive pronouns

In both Middle Persian and Parthian, the oblique forms of the personal pronouns are used to express possession, also in predicative position. They also have special possessive prounouns used substantivally, but they are quite rare: Pahlavi 1s *man-īg-ān*, 1p *amā-g-ān*; Parthian 1s *man-ān*, 2s *taw-ān* (see section 4.2.3). The Parthian forms appear to be derived from the personal pronouns by means of the suffix *-ān* denoting appurtenance (see section 6.1.2.6).

3.1.4.3 Reciprocity and reflexitivy

Reciprocity is expressed by the combination *ēk–did* (*didān*), Man.-Parth. *ēw–bid* (*bidān*) 'one–another'.

The reflexive pronouns are *xwad* (Man. Parth. **xad*) '(my-, your-, him-, etc.) self/selves'; and *xwēbaš* (Man.), *xwēš* (Man. Parth. **xēbēh*) '(my, etc.) own'. Note the adverbs *xwad-īhā* 'of oneself, (of one's own accord)', *xwēš-īhā* 'by oneself, (alone)'; *xwēšīhā-gāh* 'place for being on one's own' = 'toilet'. The combination *xwēš tan* 'own body' is common, and sometimes to be analysed as a simple reflexive pronoun as in New Persian:

> *[xwēš tan] pad bandag-īh ō kas ma abespār*
> '[own body] to slave-ry to somebody do-not hand-over-IMP-2s' = 'do not give your own body over to slavery!' (AAM. 7).

[xwēš tan rāy] zan xwad xwāh
'[own body for] wife self seek-IMP-2s'
= 'seek yourself for a wife for yourself!' (AAM. 42).

3.1.4.4 Demonstrative pronouns

The unmarked (weakly deictic) demonstrative pronouns are identical with the 3rd person personal pronouns in both Middle Persian and Parthian. In Parthian the personal pronoun is also far-deictic. Table 4.8.

TABLE 4.8: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

	MPers.	Parth.	MPers.	Parth.
	Near-deictic	Near-deictic	Far-deictic	
Singular	*im* <LZNE>	*im* <ZNE>	*ān* <ZK>	*hō* <LHw>
Plural	*im-ēšān* <LZNE-š'n>	*im-īn* <ZNHn>		*haw-īn* <LHwyn>
	ēn <ZNE>			
	ēd <HNA>	*ēd* <ZK>		

Spatial and temporal deixis is usually expressed by MPers. *ēn . . . ān*, Parth. *im . . . hō* 'this . . . that'. They are also used in the sense of 'one . . . the other', and, by extension, *ān* can be used alone in the meaning of 'another':

čārag ī ardaxšīr [az ān dar] xwāh-ēd
'means CNCT Ardašīr [from that door] seek-IMP-2p'
= 'seek a means (to deal) with Ardašīr elsewhere!' (KN.3.20).

Note also the deictic particle *ēn-ak* 'look here; voici':

ēnak āy-ēd nāwāz ī nēw
'look-here comes skipper CNCT good'
= 'look, here comes the good skipper!' (M224 I R 6–7, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 322).

MPers. *ēd* expresses 'this one in question', referring to the written or spoken context. MPers. *im* is used in Pahlavi mainly in adverbial phrases such as *im rōz* 'today'.

In Manichean Parthian, a few old oblique pronominal forms survive in adverbial phrases: *(ō) yahm* 'until' (< **yahmāt*?), *amābar* 'hereafter' (< **ahmāt aparam*):

ud ham haw-īn-iž kē [amābar] āžay-ēnd
'and also those-too REL [hereafter] be born-PRES-3p'
= 'and also those who will be born hereafter' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text b 95–96).

3.1.4.5 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns and related adverbials

Interrogative pronouns function as indefinite pronouns when doubled or in combination with demonstratives, indef. *-ēw*, or *-iz* 'also, -ever'.

Animate/inanimate: *kē* 'who?'; *čē* 'what?'; paired, *kē–kē* '(whether) someone who–or someone who'.

Individual animate: *kas* 'somebody' (also noun: 'person'); – inanimate: *tis* 'something' (also noun: 'thing'); *ēč* (*hēč*) 'any (at all)' (Parth. *keč*, *čiš*, *ēwiž*). Combined: *kas kas*

'each one'; *ān kas* 'that person, that someone'; *ān tis* 'that (some)thing'; *anīy/anī-z kas/tis* 'somebody/something else (too)'. These three occur frequently in questions and negated clauses: *kas–nē* 'nobody, no one'; *tis-iz–nē* 'nothing'; *ēč–nē* 'not any = nothing'.

Inclusive: *har(w)* 'every' (pl. *harw-īn*); *wisp* (pl. *wisp-ān*, also Parth.), *harwisp* (*harwist*) 'every, all' (pl. *harwisp-īn*, Man. *harwisp-ān*); *hāmōyēn* 'all, in entirety'; *hamāg* 'all, entire, whole'; – composite: *harw čē* 'everything (that)'; *harw kas* 'everybody (who)'; *harw tis* 'everything'; *harw N-ēw* 'each and every N'; note *harw dō*, plur. *harw dō'īn*, *dō(n)ān* 'both' (see section 3.1.6.1).

Selective: *kadām* 'which?'; *kadār* 'which (of two)?'. Composite: *kadār-iz(-ēw)* 'which-ever'; *čēgām-iz(-ēw)* 'what-ever'.

Quantitive: *čand* 'several; how much?'; *and* 'so much/many'; *and čand* and *and–čand* 'as/so (much/many)–as' (Parth, *āwend*, *čāwend*, **čawend*, **čwand*); *andak* 'a little' – composite: *andak andak* 'little by little'; *ēn-and*, *ēd-and* 'this much/many'; *ān-and* 'that much/many'; *čand-ēw* 'several, a few'.

Adverbial: *kū* 'where?'; *kay* 'when?'; *čiyōn*?'; *čim* 'why?' (see also section 3.1.3.1).

3.1.5 Adpositions

Adpositions comprise prepositions, postpositions and ambipositions. Prepositions are either simple or compounded. Postpositions are always simple, and ambipositions consist of a preposition plus a postposition or a postposed adverb/nominal. Note that prepositions are lowered when governing an enclitic pronoun attached to the first word of a clause (see section 4.2.5.1). In some instances this makes it almost impossible to distinguish between postpositions and preverbs.

Only pre/postpositions: prepositions: *az* 'from, than', *ō* 'to', *pad* 'on, with, by means of'; Man. *hambadīz* 'corresponding to', *padisāy* 'on account of'; – postpositions: *hammis(t)* 'together with' (usually *az–hammis*); *rāy* 'on account of, for the sake of', *tā* 'except', etc.

Prepositions that are also adverbs and preverbs: *abāg* '(together) with', *abar* 'above, on, about', *andar* 'in', *bē* 'except' *pas, pasīy* 'after', *pēš* (*pēšīy*) 'before', *tar, tarist* 'across, through', *tā* 'to, until'.

Ambipostions: *az–rāy*, *pad–rāy* 'on account of'; *az–hammis(t)* 'together with'; *az–rōn* 'from (the direction of)'; *az–ō(r)rōn* 'from–in this direction'; *ō–tarist* 'into'; *ō–rōn* 'toward, in the direction of'; *bē–ēnyā* 'except'; *bē–tā* 'except'.

Parthian: *aδ (–ham)* '(together) with', *frahāh* 'for the sake of', *nīrδ* (*niyarδ*?) 'near, with', *parwān* 'before', *wasnāδ* 'for the sake of', *yad (yad ō)* 'to, until', *yahm* 'until' (in *yahm [yahm ō yahm] yāwēdān* 'forever'), etc.

3.1.5.1 Nouns and adjectives as adpositions

Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs used as prepositions usually take the connector *ī* or are combined with *az* or other simple prepositions. In Pahlavi, it is not always possible to decide whether the relative particle should be present or not.

Prepositional phrases with or without the connector *ī*: with adverbs: *pēš (ī)* 'before, in front of, in the eyes of'; *mayān (ī)* 'between, in the middle of'; *pērāmōn (ī)* 'around'; *az pas (ī)* 'behind, after' (local); *az abar (ī)* 'above'; *azēr (ī)* 'below'; – with adjectives: *mānāg (ī)* 'like'.

Prepositional phrases with *az*: *pēš az* 'before' (time); *pas az* 'after' (local, temporal);

abardar az 'farther above'; *ō(r)rōn az* 'on this side of'; *bērōn az* 'outside'; *parrōn az* 'beyond'; *bēdandar az* 'outside', etc.

3.1.6 Numerals

Pahlavi numerals are usually written with numbers, and some are only known from the corresponding ordinals. The vocalisation of 30 and 40 is uncertain. Tables 4.9–10.

TABLE 4.9: CARDINALS

1–9		11–19		10–90		100+	
MPers.	Parth.	MPers.	Parth.	Mpers.	Parth.	MPers.	Parth.
ēw, ēk, yak	*ēw*	*yāzdah*	*ēwandas*	*dah*	*das*	*sad*	*sad*
dō	*dō*	*dwāzdah*	*dwāδes*	*wīst*	*wīst*	*dwēst*	*dwēsad*
sē̆	*hrē*	*sēzdah*	**hrēδas*	*sī*	**hrīst*	**tīrēst*	*hrēsad*
čahār	*čafār*	*čahārdah*	*čafārδas*	*čihl*	**čafarast*	*čahār sad*	
panz	*panǰ*	*pa̅nzdah*	**panǰδas*	*panǰāh*	*panǰāst*	etc.	
šaš	*šwah*	*šāzdah*	*šwahδas*	*šast*	*šašt*		
haft	*haft*	*hafdah*	*haftād*				
hašt	*hašt*	*haštdah*	*haštād haštād*				
nō	**nah*	*nōzdah*	*nawad*				

MPers., Parth. *hazār* 'thousand'
MPers., Parth. *bēwar* 'ten thousand'.

TABLE 4.10: ORDINALS

	Middle Persian	Parthian
1st	*fradom, naxwist (naxust)*	*afradom, naxwišt, naxwēn*
2nd	*didīg, dō̆wom*	*bidīg*
3rd	*sidīg, sēyom*	*hridīg*
4th	*tasom, čahārom*	*čuhrom*
5th	*panǰom*	*panǰom*
	etc.	
9th	*nohom*	*nahom*
13		*hrēδesomīg* 'thirteenth'
etc.		

3.1.6.1 Cardinals and ordinals

Cardinals take the plural (obl.) ending *-ān* (also Parth.), except '2', which, in Pahlavi, takes *-īn* or *-ān* (<2-yn′, 2-ʾn′>): *ō-mān harw dō-īn* (*dō-nīn*?) 'to both of us' (Bd. 1.21). Manichean Middle Persian has *dō-nān* (= Parth.) and **si-nān* from *dō* and *sē*. Parthian also has *panǰ-enān*.

The forms **sinān*, and *panǰenān* are presumably from old *i*-stems as in other Middle Iranian languages (Khotanese *dvīnu, draiṇu, paṃjinu*, etc.):

az [si-nān] (āy-āg)-ān (zīw-ēn-āg)-ān im-īn gyān
'from [three-PL] (com-er)-PL (vivi-fi-er)-PL this-PL soul'
= 'from these three who shall come and vivify the soul' (M31 I V 1–2, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 37 [328])

Parthian:

awāyōn ohrmezd-bay ō [panǰ-enān] rōšn-ān dār-ēd
'in-that-way Ohrmezd-god DO [five-PL] light-PL holds'
= 'in that way, god Ohrmezd keeps the five lights' (KPT 941–3).

Combined numerals:

čahār sad šast ud hašt sār '(one thousand) and four hundred sixty-eight years' (Šāb. 289).
pad hazār-ān ud bēwar-ān wyāg-ān 'in thousands and ten thousands (of) places' (M206 II V 4–5, GW § 144).

Parthian:
panǰwīst '25', *wīst ud čafār* '24', *sad ud wīst* '20';
hrē hazār dwēsad haštād ud [. . .] 'three thousand two hundred eighty-[. . .]' (KawT 8);
šwah yāwar hrēsad ud ēwandas bēwar ud čafār sad frēsta-ān 'six times 311 × 10,000 + 400 messengers' (M33 I R i 2–5, *Mir. Man.* iii h 2–5).
Composition forms:
Man. MPers. *tas-kerb* 'four-shaped'; Parth. *čuhr-pāδ* 'four-footed'.

3.1.6.2 Distributives

Distributive numerals are formed by repetition (see section 3.1.3.2).

3.1.6.3 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives are formed with the suffix *-(a)gānag*: *ē(w)-gānag* 'single(-minded)', *dō-gānag* 'two-fold, double, twin' *hazār-(a)gānag* 'a thousand-fold'.

3.1.6.4 Fractions

Fractions include *nēm* 'one half', formations like *se ēk-ēw* 'one third', and expressions with *bahr* 'part, share': *ēn xwāstag se bahr ēw bahr* '(of) this property: (of) three parts one part (= 1/3)' (MHD. 54.3); *az 100 bahr ēw bahr mānd* 'of 100 parts one part (= 1%) remained' (Bd. 14.20).

3.1.6.5 Quantity

Words specifying quantity include *was* 'many', Man. MPers. *frahīd* 'many', *abārīg* 'the other(s), the remaining', *and* 'so many', *čand* 'some, as many'. These words are construed like normal adjectives, but note also the typical, distracted, word order:

[mardōm] andar gumēz-išn [was] kē
'[people] in mix-ture [many] (COP) REL . . .' = 'there are many people in the Mixture who . . .' (Bd. 1.25);

hannām-ān rōšn-ān ānōh [frahīd]
'limb-PL light-PL there [many] (COP)' = 'there, the limbs of light (are) many' (BT 11, 2232–3).

3.2 Verb morphology

Morphological categories include person and number, tense, mood and various stem formations.

3.2.1 Stem formation and semantic modification

The Old Iranian conjugations (present stems) are no longer (see Old Iranian Chapter 3, section 4.1.1). The only derived stems are the causative/denominative and passive. For derivatives from verbal stems, see section 3.2.1.2.

3.2.1.1 Present and past stems

Conjugation is based upon the present and past stems of the verb. The past stem always ends in a dental stop, *-d* after vowels and voiced consonants, otherwise *-t*. Verbs with past stems ending in *-ist*, *-īd* (not Parthian), or *-ād* (rare in Middle Persian, common in Parthian) are 'regular', and the present stem is found by removing these endings, e.g. *dwār-/dwār-ist* 'run'; *purs-īd* 'ask'; *frēst-īd* 'send'; *est-ād* (*ēst-ād*) 'stand'.

Verbs with past stems ending in only *-d* or *-t* are 'irregular' and have unpredictable present stems, e.g.: *šaw-/šu-d* 'go'; *āy-/āma-d* 'come'; *stan-/sta-d* 'take'; *ǰah- /ǰas-t* 'jump'; *xwāh-/xwās-t* 'seek, ask for'; *nišīn-* (Ps., Man. *nišīy-*)*/nišas-t* 'sit (down); *gīr-/grif-t* 'take, seize'; *kun-/ker-d* 'do, make', etc. The past stem *mad* (= *āmad*) has no corresponding present stem; similarly Parthian *gad* (= *āγad* 'came', present stem *ās-*).

3.2.1.2 Causative and denominative verbs

Causative and denominative verbs derived from present stems and nouns/adjectives by *-ēn-* are common. In the *Psalter*, these causatives are written with *-n-* only; NPers. has *-ān-*, but dialects only *-n-* (see, e.g. 'Dezfūlī and Šūštarī Dialects' in *En Ir*, vol. VII, esp. p. 353b).

Causative verbs made from transitive verbs (doubly transitive verbs) are quite rare, e.g.: *ōzan-ēn-* 'to cause (somebody) to kill (somebody else)', *dān-ēn-* 'to cause to know' (Pahl. Y. 31.17).

Causative verbs made from intransitive verbs are common, e.g.: *šaw-ēn-* 'to cause to go, send off', *abesīh-ēn-* 'to cause to perish, destroy', *est-ēn-* 'to make stand, establish, place', *zīy-ēn-* 'vivify' (spelled <*zyw-yn-*>, cf. Man. *zīw-ēn-*).

Denominative verbs are made freely from nouns and adjectives, including those derived from verbs:

- from nouns: *tarāzūg-ēn-* 'weigh' (from *tarāzūg* 'scales'), Ps. *afsōs-īy-* 'be ridiculed' (from **afsōs-ēn-* from *afsōs* 'ridicule'); *rōyišn-ēn-* 'make grow' (Dk. 9.12.5; from *rōy-išn* 'growth' from *rōy-* 'grow');
- from adjectives: *āgāh-ēn-* 'make aware' (< *āgāh* 'aware'); *paydāg-ēn-* 'make appear, manifest' (from *paydāg* 'manifest); *(ham-ǰuxt)-ēn-* '(make a) pair' (<*ham-ǰuxt* 'together-joined, partner');
- from past stems (past participles), e.g.: *zād-ēn-* 'cause to be born' (*zād* 'born').

3.2.1.3 Compound verb phrases

Compound verb phrases with prenominals are frequent: *āgāh kerdan* 'to inform', *nigāh kerdan* 'to look', *ranǰ burdan* 'to suffer', prepositional *pad ēd dāštan* 'to think, imagine', etc.

3.2.1.4 Preverbs

Verbs can be modified by particles that are either exclusively used with verbs or also are pre/postpositions. As postpositions often end up before the verb, they can become indistinguishable from the verb modifiers.

The following common place words modify the sense of verbs beyond their intrinsic meaning:

abar 'up, on(to)' expresses upward movement and movement onto or toward. In some cases *abar* may continue an Old Iranian preverb and have no specific meaning:

> *pas ō ātaxš [abar mad]* (= Av. *upā.jasaṯ* Y. 30.6)
> 'next to fire [upon come-PRET-3s]' = 'next, he came upon the fire' (Bd. 4.10);

> *[abar raft h-ēnd] pad xwēškārīh*
> '[upon go-PRET-3p] to duties' = 'they went about their duties' (Dk. 7.1.10);

andar 'in(side)' expresses movement inside (and similar) and is used idiomatically with some verbs:

> *wāy-iz abzār-ēw ī-š padkār [andar abāy-ist]*
> 'Wāy-too tool-one REL-him-IO for work [be-needed-PRET]'
> = 'Wāy, too, (was) a tool that he needed for the work' (Bd. 1.46);

abāz 'back(ward)' and *frāz* 'forth, forward' express backward and forward movement and 'backward' action and return (local or temporal), repetition, remainder, and retention (hold back): *abāz est-* 'to cease' (e.g. rain):

> *pad dast [frāz] šāy-ēd [griftan]*
> 'with hand [forth] be-possible-PRES-3s [take-INF]'
> = 'it is possible to seize (it) with the hand(s)' (AWN. 18.4);

frōd 'down' and *ul* 'up' express downward and upward movement, but are also idiomatic with a few verbs:

> *ēg ān [frōd murd]*
> 'then that one [down die-PRET-3s]' (Dk.7.3.45);

> *[ul] ō ān [zād] mard ī rāy-ōmand* (cf. Av. *us.zaiia-* 'up-be born', Y.9.4, etc.)
> '[up] to that [be-born-PRET-3s] man CNCT glori-ous'
> = 'a glorious man was born to *him*' (Dk. 7.2.58);

bē 'out, away' and aspect:

The preverb *bē*, besides being used as 'aspectual' modifier (see section 4.3.8.3), is still used in its original meaning of 'out, away', but also as a less specific modifier of the sense of the verb: *bē est-* (+ *az* 'from') to desist from (= stop)'.

3.2.2 Nominal verb forms

From both the present and past stem nouns and adjectives can be derived, which can function as such but which also have verbal function. The adjectival forms can be classified as participles, although their occurrences are limited. On their verbal uses, see 4.3.10. On the infinitives, see 4.3.10.2; on the agent and action nouns in *-tār*, *-tār-īh/-dār*, *-dār-īh*, see section 6.1.2.3; on verbal nouns in *-išn* from past stems, see section 6.1.2.2.

3.2.2.1 Nominal forms derived from the present stem

From the present stem, three adjectival forms with active meaning are made: the productive agent noun in *-āg*, the rare *-endag* (*-andag*) (descendant of the Old Iranian active present participle), and *-ān* (descendant of the Old Iranian middle present participle); and the participle of necessity in *-išn*. On their verbal uses, see section 4.3.10.1–3.

3.2.2.1a Agent noun in -āg

The form in *-āg* is an agent noun mostly used adjectivally: *šaw-āg* '(who/which is capable of) going', *dān-āg* 'one who knows, a wise man', *saz-āg* 'fitting, appropriate'.

Derived forms are common: *raw-āg* 'current': abstract noun *(raw-āg)-īh* 'currency'; denominal verb *(raw-āg)-ēn-* 'to make current, propagate'.

3.2.2.1b Participle in -andag

The form in *-endag* (*-andag*) is mostly used adjectivally: *ādur sōz-endag / xwar-endag* 'burning / consuming fire', *(mān-endag)-ān* 'those similar (to)', *zī-ndag* (< *zīy-endag*) 'living'.

Parthian has forms in *-end-*: *harw-īn (adīh-end)-ān* 'all those going in' (Huy. V, strophe 4).

3.2.2.1c Active participle in -ān

This form has only verbal function.

3.2.2.1d Partciple of necessity in -išn

This form can be derived from any present stem and functions like the Latin gerundive (see section 4.3.10.1). It must be carefully distinguished from the derived noun in *-išn* (see section 6.1.2.2).

3.2.2.2 The verbal adjective in *-ag* from the past stem

The verbal adjective in *-ag* is intransitive(-passive) and expresses state resulting from a past event: *paywast-ag* 'something connected, continuous(ly)' (< *paywand-* 'to connect to'), *āfrīd-ag* 'someone/something created', *būd-ag* 'something that has (always) been'. On its verbal use, see section 4.3.10.3d.

3.2.2.3 Infinitives

Infinitives are either identical with the past stem ('short' infinitives) *or* identical with the past stem plus *-an* (endings *-tan/-dan*, *-īdan*, *-istan*, *-ādan*). The two forms cannot always be distinguished in the Pahlavi script since the only orthographic difference between the short and the long infinitives is the final stroke. On their uses, see section 4.3.10.2.

3.2.3 'To be'

3.2.3.1 'To be'

The present stem is *h-*, the imperfect stem *ǎnā-* in the inscriptions and Manichean Middle Persian (3s *anā-d*, 3p *anā-nd*); Parthian has 3s *ahāz* (Skjærvø 1991a). The other tenses and moods, including the imperative and preterite, are supplied by *baw- būd* 'to be, become', with 'allegro' forms such as *b-ēd* = *baw-ēd*, *bād* = *baw-ād* (*Psalter* also 1s *b-am*); in Pahlavi, these are mostly hidden by arameograms, but the occurrence of the phonetic spelling <byt'> in series with <YHWWNyt'> suggests they were quite common.

The 3rd singular indicative copula is mostly gapped, the 3rd plural often, and the subjunctive 3rd singular sometimes. The 3rd singular *ast* usually denotes existence.

Parthian does not appear to have an imperative, and the subjunctive is used instead.

See Tables 4.11–12. Table 4.13 gives the arameograms used in the inscriptions.

On the use of 'be' as copula, existential verb, and in possessive constructions, see section 4.3.1.

TABLE 4.11: MIDDLE PERSIAN 'TO BE'

	Indicative	Imperfect	Subjunctive	Optative	Imperative
1s	*h-am* (Man. *h-ēm*)	**ǎnā-n*	*h-ān*		
2s	*h-ē*				*bāš*
3s	*ast*, *nēst* 'is not'	*ǎnā-d*	*h-ād*	*h-ē*	
1p	*h-ēm* (Man. *hom*)				
2p	*h-ēd*				*baw-ēd*
3p	*h-ēnd*	*ǎnā-nd*	*h-ānd*	*h-ēnd hē*	

TABLE 4.12: PARTHIAN 'TO BE'

	Indicative	Imperfect	Subjunctive	Optative	Imperative
1s	*h-ēm*, *ah-ēm*	**ah-ā-n*	*ah-ā-n*		
2s	**ay-ē*			*ah-ē-ndē*	*baw-āh*
3s	*ast*, *nē ast*	*ahā-z*	*ah-ā-d*	*ah-ē-ndē*	
1p	*h-ēm* (Man. *h-ēm-āδ*)				
2p	*h-ēd*				*baw-ēd*
3p	*ah-ēnd*		*ah-ā-nd*	*ah-ē-ndē*	

TABLE 4.13: MIDDLE PERSIAN AND PARTHIAN 'TO BE': ARAMEOGRAMS

	MPers.	Parth.
Present	<HWE>	<HWY>
3s	<AYTY>, <LOYTY>	<AYTY>
Imperfect	<HWYTN>	<HWE>
Preterite	<YHWWN>	<YHW>

3.2.3.2 Enclitic forms

Enclitic forms are also found, e.g. 1s *-am*, 2p *-ēd*:

guft ō awēšān ka-š dād būd hēnd kū [mard-ēd]
'say-PRET to them when-he-AG create-PAST PRET-3p that [man-be-2p]'
= '(Ohrmazd) said to them when he had created them: You are men' (Dk. 7.1.9).

Cf. *Psalter*: *kōdak-am* <kwtkm> 'I am small' (Ps. 118.141), *kerd-am* <kltm> 'we have been made' (Ps. 96 canon).

3.2.4 On the endings

Forms from the present stem have endings indicating the 3 persons and two numbers. In the past tenses, the auxiliaries ('be, stand') have the endings, e.g.:

3s pres. ind. *šaw-ēd* 'he goes,' subj. *šaw-ā-d*, opt. *šaw-ē*;

3p pret. ind. *šud h-ēnd*, past pret. *šud būd h-ēnd*, perf. *šud est-ēnd*, pluperf. *šud est-ād h-ēnd*.

3.2.4.1 Notes on the present endings

In non-Manichean Middle Persian, the 1st singular is usually spelled with the phonetic complement <-m>, contrasting with <-ym> in the 1st plural, which indicates a distinction between *-am* and *-ēm* (as in NPers.). In Manichean Middle Persian the 1st singular ending is *-ēm* <-ym>.

In the Pahlavi manuscripts (especially of the Pahlavi Avesta), the 1st singular subjunctive ending is frequently written <-ʾny, -ʾnd>, sometimes also <-ʾnyd̲>, which I interpret as an archaising spelling for *-ānīy* imitating Av. *-ānī* (differently Cantera 1999, 2004: 295–96).

The optative is extremely rare, but may have ended in *-ē* (see AZ. 40 in section 4.3.8.5).

The 2nd singular ending *-ē* was originally spelled <-ydy> (Ps. *pāy-ē* <NTLWN-ydy>), which in Pahlavi became <-yd̲> and, in the oldest manuscripts, is regularly spelled with the final <-d̲> resembling a stunted <-b>. In later manuscript, the ending is also spelled <-y', -ỳ, -", -y>.

The 2s optative ending *-ēš* is relatively frequent in *Dēnkard* book 9. In Indian manuscripts, it is indistinguishable from *-ē*. It needs to be investigated whether it is only used in imitation of Avestan.

The 2s imperative has no ending, but the original *-a* appears to be preserved as *-ā-* before enclitics in the *Psalter* and in Manichean Middle Persian (Sims-Williams 1981): *ahrām-ā-m* <ʾhrʾmʾ-m> 'raise me (*-m*) up!'. The 2s indicative is frequently used for the imperative in Middle Persian, the 2s subjunctive in Manichaen Parthian. See also section 4.3.7.3a on *awar* 'come!'.

A small group of verbs have only the ending *-dl-t* in the 3s: Pahl., Man. MPers. *kun-d* 'does', Pahl. **da-d* <dt'>, Man. MPers. <dt> and <td> (for **dah-(a)d*), Pahl. *raw-d* <lpd> 'moves about', *bar-d* <bld> 'carries', *čāš-t* 'teaches', Ps. *hōš-t* 'dries', *fragen-d* <plkyndy> from *fragan-* 'lay the foundation'. See Gershevitch 1970.

The 1p indicative has the ending *-om* in the inscriptions (<-wmy>; it may be restricted to the imperfect) and in Manichean Middle Persian (<-wm>). Pahlavi regularly has <-ym> in both phonetically written forms and arameograms.

The 3p optative has the ending *-ēnd-(h)ē*, with *-ē* spelled <HWE> = *hē* and <HNA> = *ē* (< *ēd*).

There are two special, 'shorthand' forms of the endings of the 3s and 3p derived from <-yt> and <-ynd> (see the facsimiles in Barr 1936). In some Pahlavi texts, these endings

tend to be used indiscriminately, and MacKenzie therefore introduced the transcriptions as <-x_1> and <-x_2>. Other endings are sometimes added, e.g. <YBLWN-x_2-ynd> *bar-ēnd* 'they carry'.

For the phonetic complements of verbal arameograms, see Skjærvø 1989, 1995a.

For the endings in inscriptional Parthian, see Skjærvø 1986. For the Parthian verb in general, see Durkin-Meisterernst 2000.

3.2.5 System of tenses and moods

The Parthian and Middle Persian verbal systems are more or less identical. On the Parthian verb, see Ghilain 1939; Durkin-Meisterernst 2000b, 2002. The Old Iranian moods and inflection by six persons were preserved, but the old past tenses, with the exception of the imperfect in the earliest inscriptions, were replaced by the new, composite forms we see adumbrated in Old Persian.

From the present stem are made the present indicative and subjunctive, optative, and imperative. From the past stem are made the preterit and perfect tenses, both with the moods indicative, subjunctive and optative.

The imperfect and its accompanying past imperfect survive in the inscriptions, but only the imperfect of 'to be' in Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian (see section 3.2.3.1). It was then lost.

The past tenses other than the imperfect are made with the past stem plus 'to be' (preterite and past preterite) or 'to stand' (perfect and pluperfect).

There is a terminological problem with the past tenses of Middle Persian and Parthian, authors using a variety of different terms. I shall use the terminology set out in Table 4.14.

TABLE 4.14: BASIC VERB SYSTEM

From the present stem:			
present:	+ present endings	*šaw-am*	'I go'
imperfect:	+ imperfect endings	**šaw-ēn*	'I went'
From the past stem:			
preterit:	+ present of 'to be'	*šud h-am*	'I went, have gone'
past imperfect:	+ imperfect of 'to be'	**šud anā-n*	'I had gone'
past preterit:	+ preterit of 'to be'	*šud būd h-am*	'I had gone'
perfect:	+ present of 'to stand'	*šud est-am*	'I have gone'
		nibišt est-ēd	'it is (stands) written'
pluperfect:	+ preterit of 'to stand'	*šud estād h-am*	'I had gone'
		nibišt estād	'it was (stood) written'

Note that, instead of 'preterite', the term 'simple past' is also used on the model of French *imparfait* and *passé simple*; instead of 'past imperfect' and/or 'past preterite', 'pluperfect' is also used; and instead of 'perfect' and 'pluperfect', 'present/past perfect' is also used. Brunner (1977), for instance, uses the term 'perfect' for the preterite, 'pluperfect' for both the past preterite and the pluperfect, and 'present perfect' for the perfect.

See the complete Middle Persian paradigms in Tables 4.15–17. Table 4.18 lists the Parthian present forms only, as the past tenses follow the same pattern as the Middle Persian ones.

TABLE 4.15: MIDDLE PERSIAN PRESENT: 'to do'

	Indicative	Imperfect	Subjunctive	Optative	Imperative
1s	*kun-am, -ēm*	*kun-ē-n*	*kun-ā-n*		
2s	*kun-ē*		*kun-ā*	*kun-ēš*	
3s	*kun-ēd (kun-d)*	**kun-ē (-ēd)*	*kun-ā-d*	*kun-ē*	*kun*
1p	*kun-ēm*	**kun-om*	*kun-ā-m*		
2p	*kun-ēd*		*kun-ā-d*		*kun-ēd*
3p	*kun-ēnd*		*kun-ā-nd*	*kun-ē-nd hē*	

TABLE 4.16: MIDDLE PERSIAN PAST: 'to go'

	Preterit			Past preterit		
	Indicative	Subjunctive	Optative	Indicative	Subjunctive	Optative
1s	*šud h-am*	*šud h-ā-n*		*šud būd h-am*	*šud būd h-ā-n*	
2s	*šud h-ē*			*šud būd h-ē*		
3s	*šud-ø*	*šud h-ā-d*	*šud h-ē*	*šud būd-ø*	*šud būd h-ā-d*	*šud būd h-ē*
1p	*šud h-ēm*			*šud büd h-ē-m*		
2p	*šud h-ēd*			*šud būd h-ēd*		
3p	*šud (h-ēnd)*	*šud h-ā-nd*	*šud h-ē-nd hē*	*šud būd h-ē-nd*	*šud būd h-ā-nd*	*šud būd h-ē-nd hē*

TABLE 4.17: MIDDLE PERSIAN PERFECT: 'to go'

	Perfect Indicative	Pluperfect Indicative
1s	*šud est-am*	*šud estād h-am*
2s	*šud est-ē*	*šud estād h-ē*
3s	*šud est-ēd*	*šud estād-ø*
1p	*šud est-ēm*	*šud estād h-ēm*
2p	*šud est-ēd*	*šud estād h-ēd*
3p	*šud est-ēnd*	*šud estād h-ē-nd*

TABLE 4.18: PARTHIAN PRESENT: 'to do'

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Optative	Imperative
1s	*kun-ām, -am*	*kun-ā-n*		
2s	*kun-ē*	*kun-ā*	*kun-ēndē*	*purs(-ā)*
3s	*kun-ēd*	*kun-ā-(δ)*	*kun-ēndē*	
1p	*kun-ām*	*kun-ā-m*		
2p	*kun-ēd*	*kun-ā-d*		*kun-ēd*
3p	*kun-ēnd*	*kun-ā-nd*	*kun-ēndē*	

3.2.6 Intransitive and transitive

The Middle Persian verb system is dominated by the opposition intransitive vs. transitive. In the present and imperfect, intransitive and transitive verbs are construed in the same way, but in the preterite and perfect (see below), intransitive verbs are construed as in the

TABLE 4.19: INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

	Present	Preterit
Intransitive:	Subject + Verb-INTR	Subject + Verb
Transitive non-agential:	Subject + Verb-PASS	Subj. + Verb
Transitive agential:	Subj./Agent + Dir. obj. + Verb	Agent + Dir. obj./Subj. + Verb
Examples:	Present	Preterit
Intransitive:	*an šaw-am* 'I-SBJ go-PRES-1s' = 'I go'	*an šud h-am* 'I-SBJ go-PRET-1s' = 'I went'
Transitive non-agential:	*rōz baxš-īh-ēd* 'day divide-PASS-PRES-3s' 'the day is divided' *nĕkīh dād bawēd* 'goodness give-PASS-3s' 'goodness is given'	*rōz baxš-īh-ist* 'day divide-PASS-PRET-3s' 'the day was divided' *nēkīh dād* 'goodness give-PRET-3s' 'goodness was given'
Transitive agential:	*an tō wēn-am* 'I-SBJ you-DO see-PRES-1s' 'I see you'	*man tō dīd h-ē* 'I-AG you-SBJ see-PRET-2s' 'I saw you'

present, but transitive verbs with an ergative (agential/passive) construction (Skjærvø 1985). This system is commonly referred to as a 'split-ergative' system (see section 4.3.3.1). Thus, the preterite has the following meanings:

- intransitive verb of state or action: active meaning;
- transitive verb without agent: passive meaning;
- transitive verb with agent: active and passive meaning, corresponding to active and passive constructions in English ('I killed him' = 'he was killed by me').

3.2.6.1 Intransitive-transitive verbs

Middle Persian has intransitive-transitive pairs of two main types:

1. the transitive stems are characterised by *-ā-* (OIran. causatives in *-aya-*), e.g.: *ahram-* 'go up' (Man.) – *ahrām-* 'lead up', *nibay- nibast* 'lie down' – *nibāy- nibāst* 'lay down', *nišīn-* (*nišīy-*) *nišast* 'to sit (down)' – *nišān-* (Man. *nišāy-*) *nišāst* 'to seat', etc.;
2. the present takes the suffix *-s-* (OIran. inchoatives in *-sa-*); this type is only Manichean Middle Persian and is also common in Parthian, e.g.: *buxs-* 'be saved' – *bōz-* (Parth. *bōž-*) 'save', with past stem <bwxt>, which was probably **buxt* for both stems. In Pahlavi this type was replaced by stems in *-t-*: *bōxt-* (see next).

3.2.6.2 Morphological passive

There is a small set of synthetic passive stems in Middle Persian surviving from Old Iranian, among them *kir-* 'be done', inscr. 3s *kir-ēd* <klyty> (Man. *kirīh-*); Pahlavi *abesīh-* (*abesīy-*) 'be destroyed' and *škīh-* (*škīy-*) 'be broken' (act. *škenn-* 'break'; see Skjærvø 1997b: 178–79).

Productive passive stems are formed by the suffix *-īh-* (older also *-īy-*) to the present stem:

- suffix *-īy-*: *wizand-* 'shake': pass. Ps. *wizand-īy-ēnd* <wcnd-yd-yndy> 'they are shaken'; *kun-* 'do': pass. imperf. 3s inscr. *a-kir-īy* < k(y)lydy> 'it was made';
- suffix *-īh-*, past stem *-īh-ist* (*-īh-īd*): imperf. 3s inscr. *abzāy-īh* 'was increased', *gugān-īh* 'was destroyed'.

The passive of causative and denominative verbs (see section 3.2.1.2) is formed by replacing *-ēn* with *-īh* (Skjærvø 1997a: 179–80): *afsōs-ēn-* 'ridicule': pass. Ps. *afsōs-īy-ēnd* < psws-yd-yndy> 'they are ridiculed'; *rawāg-ēn-* 'propagate': pass. *rawāg-īh-* 'be propagated', *zād-ēn-* 'give birth to': pass. *zād-īh-* 'be given birth to'.

A small set of verbs with past stem in *-xt-* and *-ft-* have passive present stems also in *-xt-* and *-ft-*, e.g. *bōxt-ēd* 'he is delivered', *nē frēft-ēd* 'he is not (to be) deceived' (see Dhabhar 1955). These forms correspond to Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian 'inchoatives' in *-xs-*, *-fs-*, e.g. *buxs-ēd* 'he is delivered', *wīfs-ēd* 'he is deceived' (see section 3.2.6.1).

3.2.6.3 Periphrastic passive

In both Middle Persian and Parthian, the passive of any transitive verb can be formed with *baw-* 'to become':

	guft baw-ēd		*bōxt baw-ēd*
beside	*gōw-īh-ēd*	beside	*bōxt-ēd*
	'it is being said'		'he is saved'

4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Coordination and negation

The main coordinating conjunction is *ud* (*u-*) 'and' and the disjunction *ayāb* 'or' (Parth. *āgām*). The enclitic *-iz* 'also, as well, even' is used for coordination and emphasis, for which see section 5.2.2.1. The common negation is *nē*; *ma* is used with (a) the imperative, (b) the particle of exhortation *ēw* (*ma ēw*) and (c) the subjunctive of exhortation. They can be distracted from the verb.

The negations combine with indefinites such as: *kas/ēč—nē* 'no-body/not any = no-one, nothing'; *ahanūz—nē* 'still not, not yet'; *hagriz—nē* 'never'; *hambun-iz—nē* 'not at all' (see section 3.1.4.5).

4.2 Noun phrase structure

4.2.1 Modification of nouns by adjectives and nouns

The modifying noun or adjective (pronoun, numeral) can be placed before the head noun (the older and rarer construction) or added after the head noun by means of the 'relative connector' *ī* (Man. *īg*, *ī*), descendant of the Old Persian relative connector and forerunner of the New Persian *ezāfe* (CNCT).

Dependent nouns are in the *oblique case* where retained. The 'possessive' relations thus expressed include all those of the ancient genitive: possession, subjective and objective genitives, etc. (see also section 4.2.4):

Without connector	With connector
Singular	
[weh] dēn	*šāh [ī wazurg]*
'the [good] religion'	'king [CNCT great]' = 'a/the great king'
Plural-OBL	
pad [yazd-ān] nām	*pad pušt [ī yazd-ān]*
'in the [gods'] name'	'with support [CNCT gods']' = 'with the gods' support'

The plural of the modifier can be used with collective nouns and, regularly, with superlatives: *abar [was-ān mardōm]* 'over [many-OBLp people]' (KN.1.45); *mard-ān pahlom* 'man-OBLp best' = 'the best of/among men', *yazd-ān mahist* 'the greatest of/among gods'.

The degree of *agreement* between noun and adjective, including pronouns and numerals, varies throughout the history of the language as well as between the different corpora. In the earliest texts, agreement is relatively strict, but in the later texts, where the case system is loosened up or abandoned, agreement tends to serve the function of clarity (see Boyce 1964b).

Several nouns and adjectives can be connected with relative particles:

kār-nāmag [ī ardašīr] [ī pābag-ān]
'the book-of-deeds [CNCT Ardašīr] [CNCT Pābag-(son-of)]'
= 'the book of deeds of Ardašīr son of Pābag';

marg [ī alaksandar] [ī hrōmāyīg]
'death [CNCT Alexander] [CNCT Roman]'
= 'the death of Alexander, the Roman'.

Frequently, adjectives so connected are separated from the noun:

pābag rāy [pus]-ēw būd [ī abāyišnīg]
'Pābag for [son]-one was [CNCT comely]'
= 'Pābag had a comely son' (KN.1.24).

The adjective can be replaced by a prepositional phrase:

afsā ī dibīr [ī az harrān šahrestān]
'Afsā [CNCT scribe] [CNCT from Harrān town]'
= 'Afsā, the scribe, from the town of Harrān' (Bīš.9–10).

Enclitic pronouns (see below) can be attached to the relative particle:

harwisp rōz [ī-t zīndagīh]
'every day [CNCT-your life]'
= 'every day of your life' (Ps.122.4).

In Parthian, the relative connector *čē* (rarely *kē*) is used less than in Middle Persian and to some extent for the sake of disambiguation (Boyce 1964b; Brunner 1977: 16):

"xad ast šahrδār [čē] harw-īn šahr-ān]
'himself is ruler [CNCT all-PL realm-PL]'
= 'he himself is the ruler of all realms' (M32a V, lines 9–10, Boyce 1975: 120, text bo 2);

rōšn-īft ay-ē [čē-mān]
'light-ness be-2s [CNCT-us]' = 'you are our light' (M83 I R, line 28, Boyce 1975, text au).

4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns and numerals

Demonstrative pronouns and numerals are usually preposed, but occasionally postposed, though without the relative particle:

[pahikar ēn] man
'[this image] (is) of me . . .' (ANRm a);

ud [čahār-dah dar] ud [mān panz] ud [gāh sē]
'and [fourteen doors] and [houses five] and [thrones three]' (M98 R, lines 20–22, Hutter 1992: 11).

4.2.3 Possessive pronouns

The oblique forms of the personal pronouns are used to express possession, also in predicative position, while the rare possessive pronouns are used substantively:

kē mizd ō [manīg-ān] frāz dah-ē
'who fee to [my-OBLp] forth give-PRES-2s'
= 'you who give the fee to mine (= my people)' (Y. 40.1);

ōy kē [amāg-ān] tan ud ǰān zīy-išn u-š yaz-am
'he who [our-OBLp] body and soul liv-ing (COP) and-him-IO sacrifice-PRES-1s'
= 'and I sacrifice to him who is our people's body and soul (i.e.) livelihood' (Y. 37.3)

ud pad [taw-ān] farrox-īh nēw framen-ām-ā
'and at [your] fortunate-ness well rejoice-PRES-1p-Exclamation'
= 'and we do rejoice in your good fortune!' BBB (425–7).

Parthian:

tō žīr-īft až [man-ān] abar-dar ast
'you-IO wis-dom than [mine] high-er there-is'
= 'you have wisdom superior to mine' (BT 11, lines 1401–2);

harw [taw-ān] kām kirbag ispurr būd
'all [your] wish good-deed complete became'
= 'all your desired good deeds were completed' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text m 20–22)

4.2.4 Periphrastic adnominal constructions

The construction with preposed adjective or genitive can be replaced by *ān ī*, *ōy ī*, *ēd ī* 'the . . . one; that of, the one of, the one belonging to, this . . . of (mine, etc.)':

[a-sar] rōšn-īh > [ān ī a-sar] rōšn-īh
'[without-head] light' > [that CNCT without-head] light'
= 'the light without beginning' (Bd. 1.7);

[star-ān ī] axtar-īg ud [ān-iz ī] nē axtar-īg
'[star-PL CNCT] zodiac-al and [those-too CNCT] not zodiac-al'
= 'the stars of the zodiac and also those not of the zodiac' (Bd. 2.1);

[ōy ī druwand] gannāg mēnōy
'[he CNCT wicked] Foul Spirit'
= 'the wicked Foul Spirit; he, the wicked Foul Spirit' (PN. 11);

pad [ēd ī tō kerb]
'in [this CNCT you(r) shape]'
= 'in this shape of yours' (Bd. 13.29);

pad [ān ī xwēš (hu-kunišn)-īh]
'by [that CNCT own (good-doing)-ness]'
= 'by my/your/his (etc.) own good deeds' (PN. 32).

4.2.5 The use and word order of adpositions

The regular use and word order of adpositions calls for no comments.

Following are two special cases: enclitic pronouns governed by adpositions and adpositions governing complex noun phrases.

4.2.5.1 Enclitic and relative pronouns governed by adpositions

Prepositions can usually take enclitic pronouns:

warrag-ēw [abāg-iš] pad asp nišast est-ād
'ram-one [with-him] on horse be-seated-PLUPF-3s'
= 'a ram was sitting with him on the horse' (after KN. 3.18);

u-m kām-ist [pad pēš-iš] namāz bur-dan
'and-me wished [to before-him] homage carry-INF'
= 'and I wished to do homage before him' (AWN. 11.4),
cf.
ka-m kām-ist namāz bur-dan [ohrmazd pēš]
'when-me wished homage carry-INF [Ohrmazed before]' = 'when I wished to do homage before Ohrmazd' (AWN. 101.2).

The prepositions *az* 'from', *ō* 'to', and *pad* 'on, with' regularly govern the 3rd singular enclitic pronoun, more rarely other enclitic pronouns. In these functions, the prepositions are usually written phonetically: *az-im* <hcm> 'from me', *pad-išān* <ptšʾn'> 'on + them', *aw-iš* <ʾwbš> 'to + him' (only form):

zarduxšt [az-išān] ān ī ōy dōysar ī pad men-išn bē nē bast
'Zarathustra-AG [from-them] that CNCT him eye CNCT in thought *BĒ* NEG closed'
= 'Zarathustra did not close his mental eye to them' (Dk. 7.3.33).

When the enclitic pronoun is not governed by the preposition, the preposition is written with the arameogram:

ō-[mān <OL-m'n'> *harw dō' ān]*
'to-[us-OBLp all two-OBLp]'
= 'to the two of us' (Bd. 1.21);

abar-[iš waxšwar-īh]
'about-[his prophe-cy]' (Dk. 7.2.61).

When used as *postpositions*, these three appear as *aziš*, *awiš*, *padiš* (spelled phonetically), where *-š* is an empty suffix. In that case, they usually govern an enclitic personal pronoun or a relative pronoun (see also Boyce 1964a):

u-[š] āsmān [aziš] bē tars-īd
'and-[him] sky [from] *BĒ* feared'
= 'and the sky was afraid of him' (Bd. 4.10);

spazg-īh ma kun kū-[t] dusraw-īh . . . [awiš] nē rasēd
'slanderous-ness NEG do-IMP-2s, that-[you] infam-y [upon] NEG comes'
= 'do not slander, so that infamy may not come [upon you]' (MX. 1.8).

In relative clauses, they may govern the relative pronoun directly or a resumptive pronoun:

pēm [kē] tan-gōhr ī zarduxšt [awiš] mad estād
'milk [REL] body-substance CNCT Zarathustra [into] come-PLUPF-3s' = 'the milk into which the body substance of Zarathustra had come' (Dk. 7.2.46);

ān mēnōy ī-[š] gannāg-īh ī dām-ān ī ohrmazd [aziš] būd
'that spirit REL-[him] foul-ness CNCT creature-OBLp CNCT Ohrmazd [from] be(come)-PRET-3s'
= 'that spirit, from whom stench came to Ohrmazd's creatures' (Bd. 1.49).

4.2.5.2 Adpositions governing complex noun phrases

Nouns governed by prepositions can take all kinds of modifiers, including adjectives, possessives and relative clauses. In such cases, the postposition *rāy* comes at the end of the complex phrase:

gōšurūn [pad gōspand (abāz ō gētīy dah-išn)-īh] ham-dādestān būd
'Gōšurūn [for cattle (back to world-of-the-living establish-ing)-ness] agreed was'
= 'Gōšurūn agreed to the re-establishment of (= to re-establish) cattle in the world of the living' (Bd. 4A.6);

ud paydāg kū dēw-ān
'and manifest (COP) that the demon-PL
[zan-išn ī-šān az ān xwarrah rāy]
'[strik-ing CNCT-them-IO from that Fortune on-account-of]'
[pad kanīg (petyār-gār)-īh]
'[for young-woman-IO (adversity-mak)-ing]'
ō hān deh 3 xēn abar bar-ēnd
'to that village 3 plague upon carry-PRES-3p'
= 'and it is manifest: the demons, on account of the beating they took from that Fortune, in order to provide adversity for that young woman, will bring three plagues upon that village' (Dk. 7.2.6);

spandarmad abaxšāy-ēd
'Spandarmad (have-mercy)-PRES-3s'
abar ahlaw-ān [(duš-xwār)-īh ī-šān abar tan rāy]
'upon righteous-OBLp [(dis-comfort)-ness CNCT-them upon body on-account-of]'
ud abar druwand-ān [pādifrāh ī-šān abar ruwān rāy]
'and upon wicked-OBKp [punishment CNCT-them upon soul on-account-of]'
= 'Spandarmad (the Earth) has mercy on the righteous on account of the discomfort to their bodies and on the wicked on account of the punishment (exacted) upon their souls' (WZ. 35.47).

4.3 Semantics and use of verb forms

See Table 4.15 for a survey of verbal constructions.

4.3.1 'To be'

The 1st and 2nd person copula are usually expressed; in the present indicative, the 3s copula is mostly, the 3p often, and the 3s subjunctive sometimes gapped.

4.3.1.1 'To be' and the existential verb

Usually *ast* denotes existence or possession, but we also find it in certain contexts (not yet entirely defined) referring to some preceding discussion or explanation, meaning something like 'that is (*id est*)' or 'and that is X':

ān ast ohrmazd
'(Wahman said:) That/he is Ohrmazd';

az asarag kerb ahunwar frāz būd. ast dēn
'From the headless form, the *Ahunwar* originated, that is, the *dēn*'.

Parthian: *"xad ast šahrδār* 'he himself is the ruler'.

4.3.1.2 'Belonging to'

The adjectival reflexive pronoun (section 3.1.4.3) is commonly used to express possession:

ohrmazd xwēš h-am
'Ohrmazd's his-own be-PRES-1s'
= 'I belong to Ohrmazd';

pad ān ī xwēš (hu-kunišn)-īh
'by that CNCT own (good-doing)-ness'
= 'by his own good deeds' (PN.32).

4.3.1.3 'To have'

'To have' is expressed by the verb of existence *h-*, pret. *baw-* and an oblique form of nominals (originally indirect object):

agar-[it] hambun-iz mihr ī amāh [ast]
'if-[you-IO] at-all love CNCT us [there-is-PRES-3s]'
= 'if you have any love for us at all'.

In some texts, the postposition *rāy* is used to mark the possessor (as in early New Persian):

[ardawān rāy] kanīzag-ēw abāyišnīg [būd]
'[Ardawān IO] servant-girl-one comely [there was]'
= 'Ardawān had a pretty servant-girl' (KN. 2.1).

Parthian:

*merd-ēw ahāz *ud haft puhr [būd]*
'man-one be-IMPERF-3s and seven son(s) was'
'there was a man, and (he) had seven sons' (BT 11, lines 83–84).

4.3.2 Agreement between (grammatical) subject and verb

When the subject is the plural of an animate noun (humans or animals) the predicate is usually in the plural, but in the preterite the auxiliary is often omitted. When the subject is not expressed, the auxiliary cannot usually be omitted. In sequences of verbs, the auxiliary may be added to one or more of the forms:

ān-iz-im bē [stad]
'[those]-too- I-AG [seize-PRET(-3p)]'
u-m abāz'ō xwēš šahr [hišt h-ēnd]
'and I-AG back to own land [let-PRET-3p]'
= 'those, too, I seized, and I let them return to their own land(s)' (KKZ 13)

Collective nouns in the singular can take a plural verb:

[grōh-ēw āy-ēnd]
'[group-one come-3p]'
= 'a group will come' (Bd. 33.24).

When the subject is an *inanimate* noun, the predicate is usually in the plural when the individuality is emphasised, also when the noun has no plural ending:

pas [hamāg kōf] frāz [rust h-ēnd] pad 18 sāl
'afterward [all mountain(s)] forth [grow-PRET-3P] in 18 years'
= 'afterward, all the mountains grew up in 18 years' (Bd. 9.1).

There are occasional differences between Middle Persian and Parthian, as in the conclusion of the Hajiabad inscription (see section 8.1).

4.3.3 The ergative construction

In the 'ergative' construction, the performer of the action (the subject in the present) becomes the agent and is in the oblique case (frequently an enclitic pronoun), and the direct object of the action becomes the 'grammatical' subject and is in the direct case. The verb then normally agrees with the direct object of the action (the grammatical subject):

pas [pōrušāsp] ān hōm [kust]
'next [Pōrušasp-AG] that *hōm*-SBJ [grind-PRET-3s]'
u-[š] ō ān gāw pēm [gumēxt]
'and-[he-AG] (in)to that cow milk [mix-PRET-3s]'
= 'next Pōrušasp ground that *hōm*, and he mixed (it) into the milk of that cow' (after Dk. 7.2.46);

ka frabih būd h-am ā-[t] frabihtar [kerd h-am]
'when fat I was then-[you-AG make-PRET-1s]'
= 'when I was fat, then you made me fatter'

guft ō awēšān ka-[š dād būd hēnd] kū mard-ēd
'said to them when-[he-AG create-PAST-PRET-3p] that: man-be-2p'
= '(he) said to them when he had created them: You are men' (Dk. 7.1.9).

Consecutive intransitive and transitive verbs:
When a noun is the agent of a sequence of coordinated or subordinated clauses with transitive verbs, it can be resumed by an enclitic pronoun:

[pābag] (ka-[š] nāmag [dīd]) andōh-gen [būd]
'Pābag-SBJ (when-[he-AG] letter [see-PRET-3s]) sorrow-ful [become-PRET-3s]'
u-[š] pad passox (ī ō ardaxšīr [kerd]) [nibišt] kū
and- [he-AG] in answer (REL to Ardaxšīr made) [write-PRET-3s] that'
= 'when Pābag saw the letter, he became sad, and, in the answer he made to Ardaxšīr, he wrote that . . .' (KN. 1.41–2).

Transitive and intransitive verbs often alternate in one and the same sentence:

ud pas [ōy wirāz] ([čiyōn-išān ān saxwan āšnūd) abar ō pāy [est-ād]
'and then [that Wirāz-SBJ] (as-their that word hear-PRET-3s) on to foot [stand-PRET-3s]'
ud dast pad kaš [kerd] ud [guft]
'and hand in arm-pit [do-PRET-3s and [say-PRET-3s]'
= 'and then that Wirāz, when he heard [transitive] that speech of theirs, got up [intransitive], placed [transitive] his hands under the armpits, and said [transitive]' (AWN. 1.20).

Here, the agent pronoun is left out, but could have been included, e.g. *u-š dast pad kaš kerd* 'and-he-AG . . .'.
In late texts, New Persian-type constructions are also found, in which the preterite of transitive verbs is construed actively like the present:

ud andar [šud h-ēnd] ud ō wištāsp-šā namāz [burd h-ēnd]
'and inside [go-PRET-3p] and to Wištāsp-king homage [bring-PRET-3p]'
ud frawardag bē [dād h-ēnd]
'and letter *BĒ* [give-PRET-3p]'
= 'and they went inside, did homage to King Wištāsp, and gave (him) the letter' (AZ. 8)

Here *burd hēnd* and *bē dād hēnd* (for *-šān . . . burd* 'they-AG brought' and *-šān . . . dād* 'they-AG gave') reflect New Persian (active) *burd-and* and *be-dād-and*.

4.3.4.1 Reflexive pronouns in ergative constructions

Reflexive pronouns normally refer to the agent of the sentence:

[ohrmazd] nēryōsang [xwēš aštag] paydāg-ēn-īd est-ēd
'[Ohrmazd-AG] Nēryōsang [own messenger] manifest-CAUS-PERF-3s'
= 'Ohrmazd has revealed Nēryōsang as his own messenger' (Dk. 5.4.6).

Occasionally, they refer to the ('logical') direct object when it is grammatical subject:

u-m abāz ō [xwēš] šahr hišt [h-ēnd]
'and I-AG back to [own] land [let-PRET-3p]'
= 'and I let them return to their own land(s)' (KKZ 13).

4.3.4 The use of the tenses

4.3.4.1 Present indicative

The present indicative is the 'unmarked' tense and is used for events taking place in the present or soon in the future and for general statements including in subordinate clauses. It is used with the particle *ē(w)* to express exhortation (see section 4.3.8.2) and with expressions of time to indicate the duration of an event from a point in the past until the present, 'since', 'for' (similar to New Persian):

*im rōz haft *māhīgān ast [tā] ābustan [h-am]*
'this day seven month there-is [while] pregnant [be-PRES-1s]'
= 'today I have been pregnant for seven months' (KN. 9.19).

4.3.4.2 Imperfect and past imperfect

In the inscriptions, the imperfect is used as a narrative past tense and still contrasts to some degree with the preterite, which is often used in subordinate clauses to express priority (Skjærvø 1985, 1989):

ud uzdēs [gugān-īh]
'and idol [destroy-PASS-IPF]'
ud gilist ī dēw-ān [wišōb-īh],
'and dens CNCT demon-OBLp [ruin-PASS-IPF]'
ud yazd-ān gāh ud nišēm [a-kir-īy]
'and god-OBLp throne and seat [make-PASS-IPF]'
= 'and the idols were destroyed, and the dens of the demons were ruined and were made into a throne and seat for the gods'. (KKZ 10).

In the Manichean texts, the imperfects of 'to be' are used parallel with regular preterites:

ud awēšān zōr-ān kē ōy zamān hān zahag zāy-ēn-ād
'and those power-PL-AG REL that time that child gave-birth'
harwisp-ān wuzarg šād-īh [būd]
'all-PL great happi-ness [be-PRET-3s]'
u-š harw padiš gaš [anānd]
'and-it all at joyful [be-IPF-3p]'

= 'and all those powers (archons), who had given birth to that child at that time, they all felt great happiness, and rejoiced at it' (KPT 510–16);

Parthian:

abāw nē hō zāwar [ahāz] kē zān-ād . . .
'but not that power [be-IPF-3s] who-AG knew . . .'
'but it was not that power, (the one) that knew . . .' (M2 II R i, lines 34–35, *Mir. Man.* iii, text a).

The past imperfect is a regular pluperfect:

u-m pad ān spās
'and-me-DO for that service
ī-m pad yazd-ān ud šābuhr šāhān šāh [kerd anā-d]
'REL-I-AG to god-OBLp and Šābuhr king-OBLp king [do-PAST-IPF-3s]'
ān-im kunē(d) šābuhr šāhān šāh . . . kām-kār ud pādixšāy
'that-me-DO make-IPF-3s Šābuhr king-OBLp king acting-at-will and authoritative'
= 'and for the service I had performed for the gods and to Šābuhr, king of kings, (for) that Šābuhr, king of kings, put me in complete charge' (KKZ 1);

[sīrīd anā-d] āz . . . u-š az nas īg dēw-ān
ud az rēm ī druxš-ān [kerd anā-d] ēn nasāh . . .
'Āz [be-angered-PAST-IPF-3s] . . . and-she-AG from carcass CNCT demon-OBLp and from filth CNCT she-demon-OBLp [make-PAST-IPF-3s] this corpse'
= 'Āz had been angered . . . and from the impurity of the demons and from the filth of the she-demons she had made this corpse . . .' (S 13 a6 + S 9 a, lines 4–8, Boyce 1975: 100, text aq 2).

Parthian:

maran [kaft ahā-z] ud yōbahr abnaft
'death [fall-PAST-IPF-3s] and sickness [retreat-PRET]'
= 'death had fallen and sickness retreated' (AR. VII, strophe 1).

4.3.4.3 Preterite and past preterite

The preterite and the past preterite must originally have contrasted with that of the imperfect and past imperfect, but, in Pahlavi, the preterite is the only past tense (beside the historical present). The past preterite is used to indicate that an action or incipient state was completed before something else happened in the past.

Intransitive verbs:

az mēnōy [mad h-am]
'from world-of-thought [come-PRET-1s]'
nē pad gētīy [būd h-am]
'not in world-of-the-living [be-PRET-1s]'
= 'I came from the world of thought; I have not (always) been in the world of the living' (PN. 1).

With gapped auxiliary:

u-mān ō padīrag [āmad] awēšān widerdagān ruwān
'and-us to-meet [come-PRET-(3p)] those-OBL departed-OBL souls'
= 'and the souls of those departed came to meet us' (AWN. 10.2).

Transitive verbs without agent:

nē abāg tan dād
'not with body [establish-PRET]'
čē ka tan [dād būd] xwāb az pas būd
'for when body [establish-PAST-PRET] sleep after [be-PRET]'
= '(sleep) was not established together with the body, for when the body had been established, sleep came into existence after (it)' (Bd. 19.2).

Transitive verbs with agent:

u-[š] hamāg dām ud dah-išn az ān bē [kerd]
'and-[he-AG] all creature and creat-ion from that *BĒ* [make-PRET-3s]'
ud ka-[š] bē [kerd būd]
'and when-[he-AG] *BĒ* [do-PAST-PRET-3s]'
ā-š andar ō tan burd
'then-[he-AG] inside to body bring-PRET-3s]'
= 'and he made all the creatures and creations from that (body); and, when he had made (them), then he brought (them) into (his own) body' (PR. 46.3).

4.3.4.4 Present and past perfect

The original function of the present and past perfect was to express a state resulting from a previous event, e.g. *nibišt est-ēd* 'it is written', with emphasis on the *presence* of writing, not on the fact that it was written at some specific moment in the past. The perfect was originally intransitive-stative and non-agential:

pad nibišt abar stān [nibišt est-ēd]
'in inscription on *monument [write-PREF-3s]'
= 'it is/stands written in the inscription on the *monument' (ŠKZ 27);

tā ma-dan ī petyārag 6000 sāl zamān [widerd estād]
'until come-INF CNCT adversary 6000 year time [pass-PLUPF-3s]'
= 'until the coming of the adversary a period of 6000 years had passed (and was now over)' (Bd. 5B.15).

Parthian:

garān mast-īft kū [xuft išt-ē]
'heavy drunkenness (COP) where [sleep-PERF-2s]'
= 'heavy (is) the drunkenness in which you are asleep' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text g 91).

mardōm pad ān wiyābān-īh
'people by that being-led-astray'
ō (uzdēs-[parist-išn])-īh [mad estād h-ēnd],
'to (idol-[worship-ing])-ness [come-PLUPF-3p]'
= 'by being led astray by those, people had come to (and were then) worshipping idols' (Dk. 7.4.72).

In Pahlavi, however, the perfect began to be construed like the preterite:

ēk čand tis ī widēmās ī dahāg pad ǰādūg-īh andar bābēl [kerd estād]
'one some thing CNCT wonderful REL [Dahāg-AG] by sorcer-y in Babylon [make-PERF-PAST-3s]'
= 'several wonderful things that Dahāg had made by sorcery in Babylon' (Dk. 7.4.72);

ud ka man a-franāft būḏ h-am [kē] wad [dāšt estād h-am],
'and when I un-propagated was [who-AG] bad [hold-PLUPF-1s]'
ā-t a-franāft-tar kerd h-am
'then-you-AG un-propagated-COMP make-PRET-1s'
= 'and when I was unpropagated by those who had considered me bad(ly) (held me in low esteem), then you made me more unpropagated' (AWN. 17.15).

4.3.5 Passive and agency

Most passive sentences were originally agent-less, although the means of an action was regularly expressed (by the instrumental in Old Iranian, see section 6.4.7). In Pahlavi, passive constructions were also influenced by the ergative construction.

4.3.5.1 Instrument

The instrument of an action is regularly expressed by a preposition, usually *pad*:

gōw-išn ud warz [kē padiš] andar mardōm
pad waxšwar-īh wābar-īh-ist h-ēnd
'say-ing and wonder [REL by] among people
in prophet-hood true-(CAUS-)PASS-PRET-3p'
= '(their) sayings and wonders, by which they were revealed among men as true prophets' (Dk. 7.1.3).

4.3.5.2 Passive agent

Agents are occasionally used in passive constructions with *baw-*:

ēd wād murnǰēn-ēd čē ka-[tān] wād murnǰēn-īd
'this wind destroy-IMP-2p for when-[you-AG] wind destroyed (ERG)'
ā-[tān] harwisp dām [murnǰēn-īd baw-ēd]
then-[you-AG] entire creation [destroy-PASS-PRES-3s]'
= 'destroy this wind! For, when you have destroyed this wind, then you will have destroyed the entire creation' (after Bd. 21.4).

4.3.5.3 Unspecified agent

In subjectless sentences, a passive form can be translated using 'one, somebody':

kū pad gyān ī xwadāy-ān [kōxš-īh-ēd]
'when upon life CNCT lord-OBLp [make-effort-PASS-3s]'
= 'when an attempt is made = when somebody makes an attempt upon the life of lords' (KN.9.15).

When the agent is unknown, it can also be expressed by a 3rd plural, e.g. *gōw-ēnd* 'they say' = 'it is said'; *u-[šān] ōzad* 'they killed (him)' = 'he was killed'.

4.3.6 Direct and indirect object marking

Nouns as direct and indirect objects were in the oblique case in early Middle Persian and can be unmarked in later texts, as well. They can also be marked by adpositions, the direct object more frequently in Manichean, the indirect object frequently in all texts.

4.3.6.1 Unmarked and adpositional direct object

Nouns as direct object are regularly unmarked in Zoroastrian Middle Persian. In late Pahlavi, we occasionally find, presumably under the influence of New Persian, the postpososition *rāy* used to indicate the direct object, even in agential constructions:

u-šān zan [rāy] nē ōzad
'and-he-AG that woman-[DO] not killed'
= 'and he did not kill that woman' (KN.9.22).

4.3.6.2 Direct object marked by the preposition *ō*

In the *Psalter* and Manichean Middle Persian, as well as in Parthian, the direct object is often indicated by the preposition *ō*, including in agential constructions, but the use may be restricted to certain verbs, since verbs such as 'to see, bind', etc., apparently do not take it. It is not clear to what extent this usage may have been influenced by the Aramaic/Syriac use of the preposition *li-*:

āfur-ēm [ō ēn xwān yōǰdahr]
'we bless [DO this table pure]'
ud istāy-ēm [ō tō] sārār ī hu-ǰadag
and we praise [DO you] leader CNCT of-good-fortune'
= 'we bless this pure table, and we praise you, (our) fortunate leader' (after M729 I R, lines 2–3, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 330);

u-š nē padīrift [ō nabīy-ān] ud [ō payāmbar-ān]
'and-it-AG NEG received [DO prophet-OBLp] and [DO messenger-OBLp]'
= 'and it did not receive the prophets and messengers' (Ps. 136 canon).

Parthian:

az [ō tō] bōž-ān až harwīn aβnās
'I-SBJ [DO you] deliver-SUBJ-1s from all-OBLp harm'
= 'I shall deliver you from all kinds of harm' (AR. VII, strophe 43).

4.3.6.3 Indirect object

In early Middle Persian, nouns as indirect objects are marked simply by being in the oblique case. Later, they were regularly marked by the adpositions *rāy* 'for the sake of, for the benefit of' and *ō* 'to'.

4.3.6.4 Indirect object and possessor raising

With some verbs that are normally transitive and take a direct object plus a personal indirect object or prepositional phrase in the present, in the agential construction, the grammatical subject does not correspond to the direct object, but to the person affected by an action (Mackenzie 1964, who named it the 'indirect affectee'). These constructions may be compared to passive constructions in English where an indirect object becomes the grammatical subject: 'he gave me a book' > 'I was given a book by him':

wēmār h-ē gōšurūn az ān ī gannāg mēnōy wēmār-īh
'sick you are Gōšurūn from that CNCT Foul Spirit sick-ness'
ud kēn ī dēw-ān [abar burd h-ē] (pres.: *kēn ī dēw abar tō bar-ēnd*)
'and malice REL demon-OBLp-AG [upon bring-PRET-2s]' (upon . . .-2s = 'upon you')
= 'you are sick, Gōšurūn, with the Foul Spirit's sickness and the malice the demons have brought upon you' (Bd.4.31)

ēd ī-[t] . . . pursīd
'this REL-[you-AG] asked'
u-[m] xūb-īhā [awiš guft] (for: *u-m-[it] xūb-īhā [awiš] guft*)
and-[I-AG] well-ADV [to] told-PRET(-2s)'
ud [handarz-ēn-īd h-ē] (pres.: *ō tō handarz-ēn-am*)
and [instruction-DENOM-PRET-2s]' (to . . .-2s = 'to you')
= 'this which you asked about and which I told (you) well and (in which) I instructed you' (MX. 196);

u-š men-išn bē [āhōg-ēn-īd h-ēnd],
'and-he-AG think-ing *BĒ* [sin-DENOM-PRET-3p]'
= 'and he made their thought(s) sinful' (Bd.14.15).

4.3.7 The use of the moods

4.3.7.1 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is the mode of eventuality, and expresses future, wishes, purpose, indefiniteness ('whatever', etc.), etc. (see Lazard 1984, Skjærvø 1986).

4.3.7.1a Main clauses

In main clauses, the subjunctive regularly expresses exhortations to all persons. It is often accompanied by subordinate clauses also in the subjunctive:

āfrīn kerd kū
'vow made that':
šābuhr anōšag ud ǰāwēd-šahr [baw-ād] . . .
'Šābuhr immortal and eternal-rule [be-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
ud an-iz bandag ēd kerd [kun-ān] . . .
'and I-DIR-too servant this done [do-PRES-SUBJ-Is]'
ud az ēdar drust frāz ō dar ī awēšān bay-ān [ras-ān]
'and from here safely forth to court CNCT their-OBLp divinitie-s-OBLp [arrive-PRES-SUBJ-1s]'

= 'He vowed: Let Šābuhr be immortal and rule for ever! And let me, (His) servant, also succeed in doing this . . .! And let me arrive safely at His Majesty's court' (ŠPs. II 5–9, cf. section 4.3.10.3e).

In Manichean Middle Persian, this is negated with the particle *ma-bēz* 'lest, however':

ba ma-bēz [h-ād] kas kē gōw-ād
'but NEG-EXH [be-PRES-SUBJ-3s] somebody who say-PRES-SUBJ-3s'
= 'but let there be nobody who shall say' (M9 I V, line 8, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 298).

Parthian:

kadām žamān [ah-ād] kaδ hō āxrāw društ baw-āh
'which time [be-PRES-SUBJ-3s] when that itch healthy be(come)-PRES-SUBJ-3s'
kū pad hamag tanbār društ ud abē-dard baw-āh
'that in entire body healthy and without-pain [be(come)-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
= 'when will the time come when that itch shall be healed, so that he will be healthy and painless in the entire body?' (BT 4, lines 2047–49).

4.3.7.1b Subordinate clauses

In subordinate clauses the subjunctive is used to express future, especially in relative and final clauses:

[kē] ēn nāmag [wēn-ād] ud [pahiburs-ād],
'who this document [see-PRES-SUBJ-3s] and [read-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
*ān pad yazd-ān ud xwadāy-ān ud xwēš ruwān rād ud rāst ēw *baw-ēd*
'that-one for god-OBLp and lord-OBLp and own soul generous and truthful EXH be-PRES-3s'
= 'whoever shall see and read this document, let him be generous and truthful toward the gods, the lords and his own soul!' (KKZ 18);

[kū tā] gōhr ī zarduxšt bē ō pidar-ān [ras-ād]
'[so that] substance CNCT Zarathustra *BĒ* to fathers [arrive-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
= 'so that the substance of Zarathustra should come to his parents' (Dk. 7.2.39);

čiyōn [dān-ā] kū kerd yazd-ān ud amā weh ōwōn kun
'as [know-PRES-SUBJ-2s] that: done gods-IO and us-IO better thus [do-IMP-2s]'
= 'as you shall know that (something) is done in the best way for the gods and Us, act in that way!' (KKZ 3).

Parthian:

u-t grīw až hō pāy-ēd [kū]-š mehgār nē [kar-ā]
'and-your soul from that protects [that]-it-DO harm NEG [do-PRES-SUBJ-2s]'
= 'and he protects your soul from that (fire), so that it does not harm it' (BT 11, lines 775–6);

[kē] buxtag-īft až andar [kišt ah-ād]
'[who] deliver-ance from inside [sow-PRET-SUBJ-3s]'
= '(those) in whom deliverance may have been sown' (BT 19, §54);

ōn ō tō gyān rōšn pand dah-ā-m [kū] bōγ [wind-ā]
'hail to you soul light advice give-IMP-2s-me-IO [so-that] deliverance [find-SUBJ-2s]'
= 'hail! to you, Light soul, give me advice, so that you may find deliverance!'
(M4a R i, lines 2–4).

In late Pahlavi texts, the subjunctive is used instead of the optative as irrealis:

[agar] nē ēdōn [kerd h-ād],
'[if] NEG in-this-way [do-PRET-SUBJ-3s]'
ān rōšn-īh ō gētīy nē [tāb-ēn-īd h-ād]
'that light-ness on world-of-the-living NEG [shine-CAUS-PRET-SUBJ-3s]'
= 'if it had not been done in this way, that light would not have been made to shine upon the world' (Bd. 7.9).

4.3.7.2 Optative

The optative is used in main clauses to express a wish. In the Manichean texts it survives in some set formulas with 3rd singular present optative of 'be': Man. MPers. *ōh b-ē*, Parth. *ōh baw-ēndē* 'so be (it)!'; MPers. *āfrīd b-ē*, Parth. *āfrīd baw-ēndē* 'blessed be . . .!'.

The 2nd singular is found in Pahlavi, perhaps in imitation of Avestan (see section 3.2.4.1):

ohrmazd ō zardušt guft kū ōy ī dān-āg [men-ēš]
'Ohrmazd-AG to Zardušt said that: he CNCT know-ing [think-OPT-2s]'
= 'Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: You should think the Knowing one!' (Dk. 9.24.11);

was tō awēšān zardušt [ēz-ēš] u-šān [franām-ēš]
'much you them Zardušt [sacrifice-OPT-2s] and-them [further-OPT-2s]'
= 'You should sacrifice to them much, Zardušt, and promote them!' (Dk. 9.35.20)

Cf. Y. 65.10 *āpō [jaiδii-ōiš] zaraθuštra* 'may you implore the waters, Zarathustra' and *[yaz-aēša] mē zaraθuštra* 'may you sacrifice to me, Zarathustra' (passim).

4.3.7.2a Impossible conditions (irrealis)

In conditional as well as relative clauses the optative is used to express impossible conditions and imaginary situations (irrealis; see Lazard 1984, Skjærvø 1986; see also Texts 8.1–2):

ud ka nē pānāgīh awēšān rāy [h-ē]
'and if NEG protection their on-account-of [be- OPT-3s]
ahrimen ud wišūdag-ān hāmōyēn ruwān ī druwand-ān
'Ahrimen and abortions all soul CNCT wicked'
andar dōšox bē [marnǰ-ēnd-ē] (-*ē* spelled <HNA>)
'in hell *BĒ* [destroy-PRET-OPT-3p]'
= 'and if it were not for their protection, Ahrimen and (his) abortions would be destroying all the souls of the wicked' (PT, p. 124 §23);

agar man nē [dād h-ē] mēnōy ī būm ud deh
'if I-AG NEG [establish-PRET-OPT-3s] spirit CNCT earth and land'
harwisp mardōm bē ō ērānwēz [šud h-ēnd h-ē] xwašīh ī ānōy rāy
'all men away to Ērānwēz [go-PRET-OPT-3p] nice-ness CNCT there on-account-of'
= 'if I had not established the 'spirit' of earth and land, all men would have gone to Ērānwēz, because it is so pleasant there' (Bd. 31.1);

ardaxšīr asp dō az bārag-ān ī ardawān
'Ardaxšīr-AG horse two from steeds-OBL CNCT Ardawān'
kē pad rōz-ēw 70 frasang bē [āy-ēnd h-ē] zēn kerd
'which in day-one 70 frasang *BĒ* [come-PRES-OPT-3p] saddle did'
= 'Ardaxšīr saddled two of Ardawān's horses, which would come 70 frasangs in one day' (KN.2.14);

čē ka hamāg gēhān ābādān-īh [būd h-ē]
'for if all world-of-the-living inhabited-ness [be-PRET-OPT-3s]'
agar-išān was-iz [zad ud stō kerd h-ēnd h-ē]
'if-they-AG much-too [strike-PRET and ruin do-PRET-OPT-3p]'
az dām-ān wizend-īh bērōn nē [šud h-ēnd h-ē]
'from creatures NEG harm-ing outside NEG [go-PRET-OPT-3p]'
čē-šān nē [tuwān-ist h-ē] šu-dan
'because-them NEG [be-possible-PRET-OPT-3s] go-INF'
= 'for, if the entire world were inhabited, even if they had smashed and destroyed a lot, harm would not depart from the creations, because it would not be possible for them to go (away)' (Bd.28.19);

4.3.7.2b Irrealis in questions

The present optative is used in questions to indicate unlikely possibilities:

kē bē-z-ušān sar az hāyān [ul hannār-ē]
'who out-too-their head from *resting-place [up raise-PRES-OPT-3s]'
u-šān ēn šād-īh [nizēh-ē]
'and-them this happi-ness [teach-PRES-OPT-3s]'
'who would lift their head(s) out and up from their *resting-place and teach them this happiness?' (Šāb. esch., lines 151–3).

Parthian:

kē-m [abdāž-ēndē] až harw [. . .]
'who-me [deliver-PRES-OPT-3s] from all . . .'
= 'who would deliver me from all [. . .]?' (AR. IIIb, strophe 12).

4.3.7.2c The 'parabolic' optative

The optative is commonly used in relative and comparative clauses together with their main clauses to express assumptions and imaginary comparison:

mān-āg ī ōy čiyōn
'resembl-ing CNCT he like]
kē pus ī dōst ī (2-sāl)-ag (3-sāl)-ag pad (tōšn-dārišn)-īh [bar-ē]
'REL son CNCT dear CNCT 2-year-ling 3-year-ling by ?-hold-ing [carry-OPT-3s]'
= 'just like someone who were to carry his dear two-year-old (or) three-year-old son by holding him?' (Dk. 7.2.34);

awēšān wēn-išn ōwōn tēz kū ān ī ■ryand-tom dōšox ōwōn wēn-ēnd
'their sight thus sharp that that CNCT murki-est hell thus see-PRES-3p'
*čiyōn mard-ēw kē čašm abēr wēn-āg andar ēwēnag [*niger-ē]* (ms. <nkylnd>)
'like man-one whose eye very see-ing in mirror look-OPT-3s'
*tan ī xwēš [*wēn-ē]* (ms. <HZYTWNd>)
'body CNCT own [see-OPT-3s]'

= their sight is so so sharp that they see the most murky hell like a man with a very 'seeing' eye were to look in a mirror and see his own body' (PT, p. 124 §22);

ud āwōn čeʾōn zīr merd
'and thus like wise man'
kē draxt-ēw nēw ud bār-war tōhm [wind-ē]
'who tree-one good and fruit-ful seed [find-OPT-3s]'
= 'and just like a wise man, who were to find the seed of a good and fruit-bearing tree' (after M49 II V, lines 10–13, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 308);

āwōn mān-āg čeʾōn iškōh merd
'thus resembl-ing like poor man'
kē duxt ī nēk [zād h-ē]
REL-IO daughter CNCT good [be-born-PRET-OPT-3s]'
ud abēr hu-čihr [h-ē]
'and . . . very good-looking [be-OPT-3s]'
= 'like a poor man, to whom a good daughter were born, and who were very beautiful' (BT 4, 2010–13).

Parthian:

kē až maδyān was-ān dušmen-īn wirēxt
'who from middle many-OBLp enemies-OBL fled'
ud . . . ō dašt ēw wazurg ud wiyābān [yād-ēndē] . . .,
'and . . . to plain-one large and deserted [come-OPT-3s]'
aδyān až dūr maδyān dašt kadag ēw [wēn-ēndē]
'then from far middle plain house-one [see-OPT-3s]'
= '(like a man) who (had) escaped from the middle of many enemies, and were to come to a large plain and desert . . . and then from afar were to see a house in the middle of the plain . . .' (BT 11, 791–801).

4.3.7.3 Imperative

The imperative exhibits no special features. It is negated with *ma*. Commands to 3s and 3p and 1p are usually expressed with the particle *ēw* + indicative (see section 4.3.8.2):

ēč zamān ma pāy u-š ōzan
'any time NEG [wait-IMP-2s] and-him [kill-IMP-2s]'
= 'do not wait, but kill him!' (KN. 9.21).

The 2nd singular indicative is not infrequently used as imperative:

ma man abar [zan-ē] srid
'NEG me upon [strike-PRES-2s] Srid'
= 'do not strike me, Srid!' (Dk. 7.2.64).

Parthian:

gyān-um frih-istom ō kū franaft ay-ē abāž [izwart-ā]
'soul-my dear-est to where go-forth-PRET-2s back [turn-PRES-2s]'
= 'O my dearest soul, return to where you went forth!' (M4b R i, lines 6–8, Boyce 1975: 160).

4.3.7.3a The 'pseudo-imperative' *awar*, *awar-ēd*

The original adverb *awar* (*ō*) 'hither' is used in expressions of greeting in the function of imperative of *āy- āmad* 'come' and is then inflected like an imperative: *awar*, *awar-ēd* 'come here!' (Nyberg 1932). It is negated by *ma*:

drīst ud weh ud pad drōd [awar-ēd]
'healthy and good and in health [come-IMP-2p]!'
= 'welcome!' (KN. 12.4);

[ma] drīst [awar]
'[NEG-EXH] healthy [come-IMP-2s]'
= 'you are not welcome!' (M3 R, line 22, Boyce 1975: 45).

Parthian:

[awar] bay ō man wēn
'[come-IMP-2s] god DO me [see-IMP-2s]'
= 'come, god! look at me!' (M4b I V 19).

4.3.8 Aspectual and modal particles

Aspectual and modal nuances can be rendered explicit by particles (see Lazard 1984, Skjærvø 1986):

4.3.8.1 *hamē*

The adverb *hamē* (inscr., Man. *hamēw*) 'for ever' is used to express ongoing, progressive, state or action:

kāmag ī gannāg mēnōy [hamē warz-ēnd]
'wish CNCT Foul Spirit [*HAMĒ* perform-PRES-3p]'
= 'they keep doing the Foul Spirit's wish' (Bd. 1.25);

[hamēw nimāy-ēd ud xand-ēd]
'[*HAMĒ* show-PRES-3s and smile-PRES-es]'
= 'he keeps pointing (at him) and smiling' (KSM 51).

4.3.8.2 *ēw*

The particle *ēw* (inscr., Ps. <ỳw>, Man. *hēb*; Pahl. *ē*), negated *ma ēw*, expresses exhortation/warning to 3rd person singular and plural and 1st person plural:

šāh-ān šāh ō ēr-ān šahr [ēw wihēz-ēd]
'kings-OBL king to Iranians-OBL land [EXH move-PREE-3s]'
= 'let the King of Kings move hither to the land of the Iranians (= Iran)!' (after NPi 9);

burdešnōhr [ēw baw-ēm]
'thankful [EXH be-PRES-1p]'
= 'let us be thankful!' (Ps. 135 canon);

drōzan [ma hēb baw-ēnd]
'deceitful NEG [EXH be-PRES-3p]'
= 'they [should] not [be] deceitful' (M5794 II R, lines 15–16, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 297);

mard uzwān az saxwan ī nē abāy-ēd guf-tan bē [ē pahrēz-ēd]
'man tongue from speech REL NEG ought-to say-INF away [EXH keep-PRES-3s]'
= 'a man should keep his tongue from saying things he should not say!' (PR. 10j1).

4.3.8.3 *bē*

The particle *bē* (Man. <b'>) often appears to express the singularity and completion of an event and to be to some extent complementary to *hamē*, but this is not always the case. In Middle Persian, it is homonymous with the preverb *bē* 'out, away', from which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish. It can be separated from the verb, notably by the negation:

ka zamān brēhēn-ēd dām-iz ī ahrimen raw-āg [bē baw-ēd]
'when time fashions creation-too CNCT Ahrimen mov-ing [*BĒ* be(come)-PRES-3s]'
= 'when he fashions time, Ahrimen's creation, too, will start moving' (Bd. 1.36);

azēr ēn zamīg hamāg gyāg āb [bē est-ēd]
'under this earth all place water [*BĒ* stand-PRES-3s]'
= 'under this earth, in every place, there stands water' (Bd. 1A.10)

dā ka hān kanīg az zarīg [ba murd]
'until when that girl of sorrow [*BĒ* die-PRET-3s]'
= 'until that girl died of sorrow' (M2 V ii, lines 27–29, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 306).

wināh andar hāsr [bē ma hil-ēd]
'sin within "mile" [PART NEG-EXH let-IMP-2p]'
= 'do not let a sin within a mile (of you)!' (PN. 36).

4.3.8.4 *ōh*

The particle *ōh* 'thus' is used as a verbal particle meaning approximately 'in the usual, well-known way' (Skjærvø, forthcoming):

u-š dān-ist kū hōm [ōh ras-ēd]
'and-he-AG knew that Hōm [*ŌH* arrive-PRES-3s]'
= 'and he knew: the Hōm will come in the usual way' (Pahl. Y. 9.1).

4.3.8.5 *kāč*

The particle *kāč (ka)* 'if only' is used with the preterite indicative or optative to express an impossible wish:

ruwān ī kersāsp bē ō zardušt guft kū
'soul CNCT Kersāsp *BĒ* to Zardušt said that:'
[kāč] man hērbed-ēw [būd h-am]
'if-only I priest-one [be-PRET-1s]'
kē-m tuwān-ēw pad pušt [h-ē] . . .
'REL-me power-one in back [be-OPT-3s]

ud gēhān man zišt pad čāsm [būd h-ē]
and world me ugly in eye [be-PRET-OPT-3s]'
= 'Kersāsp's soul said to Zardušt: If only I were a priest and I had a power in my back (?) and the world had seemed ugly to my eye(s)' (PR. 18f3);

[kāč ka] man az mādar nē [zād h-am]
'if-only I from mother NEG [be-born-PRET-1s]'
ayāb ka zād h-am pad xwēš baxt pad rahīgīh bē [murd h-ē]
'or when I was born by own destiny in child-hood *BĒ* [die-PRET-Opt-1s]'
ayāb murw-ēw [būd h-ē] ō drayāb [ōbast h-ē]
'or bird-one [be-PRET-Opt-1s] to ocean [fall-PRET-Opt-1s]'
ayāb ašmāh bay-ān ēn frašn az man nē [purs-īd h-ē]
'or you-PL divinity-PL this question from me NEG [ask-PRET-OPT-3s]'
= 'if only I had not been born from a mother or, once born, I had not reached childhood or I had been a bird (and) and had fallen into the ocean or Your Majesty had not asked me this question' (AZ. 40; readings follow the manuscript MK).

4.3.9 Impersonal constructions

Various modalities can be expressed by verbal phrases involving impersonal verbs in the 3rd singular or constructions with nouns and adjectives. These constructions can take a subordinate clause in the subjunctive (see section 4.3.7.1b) or an infinitive (short or long, see section 4.3.10.2). To express necessity, a derivative in *-išn* from the present stem is used. In both cases, if an agent is expressed, it is in the oblique case, but in the first case it is an indirect object (historically also direct object), in the second case, it is an agent.

4.3.9.1 Impersonal verbs

These include *abāy-ist* 'be proper/necessary', *andar abāy-ist* 'need', *kām-ist* 'wish', *sah-ist* 'seem', *saz-* 'be proper', *šāy-ist* 'can, be possible', *wurrōy-ist* 'believe':

tō kē h-ē kē [man] ēdōn [sah-ēd] kū
'you who are REL [me] thus [seem-PRES-3s] that'
-t harwisp xwār-īh ud āsān-īh padiš
-you all comfort and easy in'
= 'who are you, in whom—it seems to me—there is all happiness and ease' (Bd. 30.15);

kē-š [wurrōy-ēd] xwar-ēd
'who-him [believe-PRES-3s] eats'
ud kē-š nē [wurrōy-ēd] nē xwar-ēd
'who-him NEG [believe-PRES-3s] NEG eats'
= 'he who believes shall eat, and he who does not believe shall not eat' (PR. 48.60);

bē ka-tān purs-īd ēg-[im] nē [kām-ē]
'but when-you-AG asked then-[me] NEG [wish-PRES-OPT-3s]
bē ka rāst gōw-am
'except when truth speak-PRES-1s'
= 'but since you have asked me, I would wish for nothing except that I (should) speak the truth' (AZ. 40).

bē [abāy-ēd] [abesīh-ād] wis ī pōrušāsp
'but [be-necessary-PRES-3s] [be-annihilated-PRES-SUBJ-3s] house CNCT Pōrušāp'
= 'but it is necessary (that) the house of Pōrušāsp should be annihilated' (Dk.7.2.57).

Active forms with a personal subject are occasionally found (*šāy-ēm* 'we can', *wurrōy-ēnd* 'they believe', etc.):

pad dastwar [abāy-ēnd dāš-tan]
'as spiritual-guide [be-proper-PRES-3p hold-INF]'
= 'they should be regarded as spiritual guides' (Dk. 7.4.47).

4.3.9.2 Impersonal constructions with adjectives

These including expressions meaning 'possible (for)' (*dastan, tuwān*), Parth. *čār* 'necessary' (for additional examples see section 4.3.10.2):

ud ahīy framāy-ēn kū
'and at-first order-IPF-1s that:'
-[m] agar [dastan h-ād]
'-me-IO if [possible be-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
ēg ādur-ēw ēdar nišāy-ān
'then fire-one here found-PRES-SUBJ-1s'
= 'and, at first, I gave an order (saying): if it becomes possible for me, then I shall found a fire here' (Abnun);

anāy-om pid-ar-ān tawān ud dastan kū
'but-my father-OBLp possible and possible that
-tān pāddāšin ī (ēw-rōz)-ag rāy day-ānd šād-īh ī ǰāyēdān
'-you-IO CNCT one-day for give-PRES-SUBJ-3p happi-ness eternal'
= 'but for my fathers it was possible and possible (= my fathers were able and capable) to give you eternal happiness as reward for one day's (good work)' (*Mir. Man.* ii M95/R/4–5 [GGZ]).

4.3.10 The use of verbal nouns and adjectives

4.3.10.1 The participle of necessity in *-išn*

The participle of necessity in *-išn* takes a regular agent:

u-[š] čē [kun-išn]
'and-[he-AG] what [do-NEC]
= 'and what should/must he do?' (KN.9.15);

[mardōm-ān] pad ēn sē rāh saxt [est-išn] . . .
'[people-AG] on these three path firmly [stand-NEC]'
mizd ī mēnōy [bē nē hil-išn]
'reward CNCT other-world *BĒ NEG* [relinquish-NEC]'
= 'people must stand firmly on these three paths; (they) must not relinquish (their) reward in the other world' (PN.28).

4.3.10.2 Infinitive constructions

The infinitive is used largely as in English: as a noun; with verbs meaning 'to order, command' and 'to send, allow'; with impersonal constructions such as 'it is necessary to' (often short infinitive), 'it is time to', etc.; with adpositions, as well as in enumerations and summaries of contents (see Sample Text 8.5).

4.3.10.2a Infinitive as subject

The infinitive is commonly used as subject in impersonal constructions:

čē xwad-iz pad nahčihr [franaf-tan] būd
'for himself-too to hunt [go-forth-INF] was'
= 'for, for himself, it was (time) to go hunting' (M3 R, lines 14–15, Boyce 1975, text n);

[harw kas] bē [abāy-ēd dān-istan] kū az kū bē mad h-am
'[every person-DO it-is-necessary know-INF] that: from where *BĒ* come-PRET-1s'
= 'everybody should know from where he comes' (PT, 57 §11);

ēk ka-[š] tis [kām-ēd guft-an]
'one when-[him] something' [wish-PRES-3s say-INF]
= 'one (Ahunwar), when he wishes to say something' (Dk. 9.2.4);

čē-m [ašmāh kām] kun-išn
'which-I-AG [you-IO wish (COP)] do-NEC'
man (āgāh-ēn)-īdan framāy-ēd
'me-IO make-known-INF order-IMP-2p'
= 'that which it is your wish I should do (= you wish me to do), please make known to me!' (DD. Intro. 27.2);

ēk-ēw kū bē nē mīr-ēnd
'one-one (COP) that *BĒ* NEG die-PRES-3p'
ēk-ēw kū [ōza-d] nē [šāy-ēnd]
'one-one (COP) that [kill-INF] NEG [can-PRES-3p]'
= 'one (reason) is this: they (the *amahrspands*) do not die; another is this: they cannot be killed';

ka-t ahanūz [āma-d zamān nē būd]
'when-you-IO yet [come-INF time NEG be-PRET-3s]'
= 'when it was not yet the time for you to come' (AWN. 4.1).

4.3.10.2b Infinitive as direct object

The infinitive as direct object is most often found with verbs meaning 'command', 'permit', 'begin', 'finish', etc., but also with other verbs:

abāz [dwār-istan nē hišt]
'back [run-INF NEG permit-ted]'
= 'he was not allowed to run back' (Bd. 1A.6);

u-t [nimāy-am būd-an] ī ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn
'and-you-IO [show-PRES-1s be(come)-INF] CNCT resurrection and body CNCT final'

= 'and I shall show you the coming about of the resurrection and the Final Body' (AWN.5.7);

nihang-ēw azēr [nibiš-tan niwist estēd]
'section-one below [write-INF begin-PERF-3s]'
= 'a section (on . . . .) has begun to be written below' (Dk. 7.1.42)

u-[š] nē [tuwān būd hanzaf-tan] nibiš-tan
'and-him-IO NEG [able be-PRET-3s finish-INF] write-INF'
= 'and he was not able to finish writing' (M1 177–8).

With *ādūg* 'able':

pad ān zamān čē ǰeh xwāh-ēd gannāg mēnōy [ādūg dād]
'at that time what Jeh requests Foul Spirit [able give-INF] (COP)'
= 'at that time the Foul Spirit was able to give Jeh what she requested' (Bd. 4.7).

Parthian:

ast žamān kaδ dēnāβar "xēbēh grīw ōh burz [čār dir-dan]
'there-is time when faithful own soul thus high [able hold-INF]'
čwāγōn samīr kōf
'like Samīr mountain'
= 'there will be a time when the faithful will be able to hold his soul just as high as Mount Sumeru' (*Mir. Man.* iii b 28–31).

4.3.10.2c Infinitive with adpositions

The infinitive is commonly used with adpositions, like the *ing*-forms in English:

[az ma-dan] ī tāzīg-ān ō ēr-ān šahr
'[from come-INF] CNCT Arabs-OBL to Iranians-OBL land'
[(rawāg-ēn)-īdan] ī ān-išān duš-dēnīh
'[propagate-INF] CNCT that-their (bad-*dēn*)-ness'
= 'from the coming of the Arabs to Iran (and) the propagation of their evil religion' (Bd. 0.2);

[pad (marnǰ-ēn)-īdan] tag abar kerd
'[to destroy-INF] attack upon made'
= 'he attacked to destroy (it)' (Bd. 1.16);

[gumān ker-dan] ī mardōm-ān . . . [rāy]
'[doubtful make-INF] CNCT people [in-order-to]'
= 'in order to make people doubt' (AWN. 1.3).

4.3.10.3 Participial constructions

The nominals derived from verbs function largely like participles in other languages.

4.3.10.3a Present agent noun in -āg.

The present agent noun in *-āg* occasionally has verbal function but is construed like a noun:

čiyōn awēšān dwāzdah axtar ud haft abāxtar
'as those twelve constellation and seven planet'
[(brēh-ēn)-āg ud (rāy-ēn)-āg] ī gēhān h-ēnd
'[determine-*ĀG* and govern-*ĀG*] CNCT world-of-the-living are'
= 'as those twelve constellations and seven planets are the ones that determine (the destiny) and govern the world of the living' (MX 21);

šahriyār ī xwarāsān-īg [dār-āg] ī dēn [winnār-āg] ī ardāw-ān
'prince CNCT east-ern [hold-*ĀG*] CNCT *dēn* [establish-*ĀG*] CNCT righteous-PL'
= 'ruler of the East, upholder of the *dēn*, establisher of the righteous; ruler of the East, who upholds the *dēn* and settles firmly the righteous' (MIK36 R i 8–10 [IB 6371]).

Parthian:

narah-īg [wāδ-āg]
'hell-ADJ [lead-*ĀG*]'
= 'who leads to hell' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text g 128–37).

4.3.10.3b Present verbal adjective (participle) in -andag

The present verbal adjective in *-andag* (*-endag*) has verbal function in late Pahlavi texts (only?):

[dūr kun-andag] ast man ardwahišt amahrspand
[far mak-ing] is I Ardwahišt *amahrspand*
kē [bahr-ēw dah-andag] ast man . . .
'REL [share-one giv-ing] is I . . .'
= 'the one who removes, that is I, the *amahrspand* Ardwahišt; he who gives (people their) shares, that is I . . .' (Pahl. Yt. 3.13).

4.3.10.3c Active participle in -ān

The form in *-ān* is used as a free participle and after *niwis-tan* 'to begin' (more common in Manichean Middle Persian):

zarduxšt [griy-ān] passox guft
'Zarathustra-AG [weep-ing] answer spoke'
= 'Zarathustra answered, weeping' (PR. 36.7);

ka est-ān xēz-ān ayāb nišīn-ān ayāb nibay-ān ayāb bar-ān ayāb wāz-ān
'when stand-ing, ris-ing or sitt-ing or ly-ing or rid-ing or driv-ing' (*Pursišnīhā* 10 [11]);

[niwist] mahīy [baw-ān]
'[begin-PRET-3s] big-ger [becom-ing]'
= 'it began to become bigger' (BT 4, lines 568–69).

4.3.10.3d Past verbal adjective in -ag

The verbal adjective in *-ag* from the past stem is sometimes (mostly in 'late' texts?) used as in New Persian as a 'conjunctive participle' (gerund), meaning 'after having done such and such':

ardaxšīr 4000 mard ārāst
'Ardaxšīr 4000 man equipped'
[abar awēšān taxt-ag] šabīxōn kerd
'[upon them run-*AG*] night-raid made'
= 'Ardaxšīr equipped 4000 men (and), having set upon (the enemy), he made a night raid' (KN. 5.10);

ud az kurd-ān mard 1000 ōzad
'and of Kurds man 1000 killed'
[abārīg xast-ag] dast-gīr kerd
'remaining [wounded-*AG*] captive made'
= 'and he killed 1000 men of the Kurds; having wounded the rest, he took them captive' (KN. 5.10–11).

4.3.10.3e Past participle

The past participle can be used in figura etymologica with the present, to express something like 'succed (in doing), finish doing':

šābuhr . . . hamē [kerd kun-ād] . . .
'Šābuhr . . . ever [done do-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
ud an-iz bandag ēd [kerd kun-ān] . . .
'and I-DIR-too servant this [done do-PRES-SUBJ-1s]'
= 'Let Šābuhr for ever succeed in doing! And let me, (his) servant, also succeed in doing this!' (ŠPs. II 6–7, cf. section 4.3.7.1);

harw kē weh-tar dān-ēd [guft gōw-ēd]
'every who better-COMP knows [said say-PRES-3s]'
= 'whoever knows better let him succeed in saying it!' (PT, 159).

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Clause structure and word order

The normal word order is Subject/Agent Object Verb (SOV), but the verb is frequently raised, and, not infrequently, a subject, direct object, or another part of the sentence may be lowered to the position after the verb:

ud [purs-īd] ān ī ahlaw-ān ruwān
'and ask-PRET that CNCT righteous-OBLp soul'
= 'and the soul of the righteous ones asked' (AWN. 4.10);

sidīgar hazārag bun būd ka frēdōn kišwar baxt [salm ud tūz]
'third millennium bottom was when Frēdōn(-OBL) land shared [Salm and Tūz-AG]'
= 'it was the beginning of the third millennium when Salm and Tūz divided Frēdōn's land' (Bd. 33.3);

mard ī wēn-āg abar nigāh ē dār-ēd [deh]
'man CNCT see-ing over look EXH keep-3s-IND [village]!'
= 'let a "seeing" man watch over the village!' (after Dk. 7.7.29);

kōf frāz rust h-ēnd [pad 18 sāl]
'mountain forth grow-PRET-3p [in 18 year]'
= 'the mountains grew up in 18 years' (Bd.9.1).

5.1.1 Word order in ergative constructions

The word order in the ergative construction normally parallels that of the present (see above): Agent-Grammatical Subject-Verb. But we also find inversion, i.e. Grammatical Subject-Agent-Verb:

Agent = noun:

u-t wars ud rēš [wād-ān wišuft]
'and-you(r) hair and beard [wind-OBLp-AG tousle-PRET]'
= 'and the winds have tousled you hair and beard' (AZ. 86);

pas az ān ī [ardaxšīr] ān kirm [ōzad būd abāz āmad
'after-from-that CNCT [Ardaxšīr-AG] that Kirm [kill-PAST-PRET-3s] back came'
= 'after Ardaxšīr had killed that Kirm, he came back (KN. 9.1).

Agent = non-enclitic pronoun:

[kē] tō [dād h-ē] [kē] man [dād h-am]
'[who-AG] you-S [make-PRET-2s] [who-AG] I-S [make-PRET-1s]'
= '[who] made you, [who] made me?' (Dk. 7.3.60).

Agent = enclitic pronoun:

ud az awēšān agrā-dar kē-[mān] ahīy [dīd h-ēnd]
'and than those excellent-COMP who-[we-AG] first [see-PRET-3p]'
= 'and he was more excellent than those whom we saw at first' (KNRm 39);

u-[š] kōf-īhā az ān gōhr bē [rōy-ēn-īd]
'and-[he-AG] mountains from that substance out [grow-CAUS-PRET]'
= 'and he made the mountains grow from that substance' (PR. 46.5).

5.1.1.1 Sequence of enclitics

In chains of enclitic pronouns, the agent is in various positions:

ān-ōwōn-im-[iš] wahišt . . . [nimūd]
'that-manner-me-IO-[he-AG] paradise [show-PRET-3s]'
= 'in that manner he showed me paradise' (KNRb 7–9);

harw kē ēn mizdagtāzī az man padīrift hād
'every REL this good-news from me receive-PRET-SUBJ-3s'
ud ō ēn āfrāh . . . ī-[m]-iš nizist hunsand hād . . .
'and DO this instruction REL-[me-AG]-him-IO] taught content be-SUBJ-3s'
= 'everyone who may have received this good news from me and may be content with this instruction, which I taught him . . .' (BBB., lines 12–17).

5.1.1.2 Fronted verb

If the verb is fronted, the agent can be enclitic to the verb:

guft-[iš] ohrmazd ka-š zan brēhēnīd kī
'said-[he-AG] Ohrmazd-AG, when-he-AG woman fashioned that:'
dād-iz-[im] hē tō kē-t ǰeh-ān sardag petyārag
'established-too-[I-AG] be-PRES-2s you who-your-IO whore-OBLp species adversary (COP)'
= 'Ohrmazd said, when he fashioned the woman: I established you, too, whose adversary is the whore species' (Bd. 14A.1).

Other instances of agent enclitic to the verb:

u-t anīy xīr dād-[om]
'and-you-IO other possessions give-PRET-[I–AG]'
= 'and I gave you other possessions (as well)' (M49 II R, line 3, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 307).

When the verb is fronted and the agent is a noun, it is usually anticipated by a pronoun proclitic (with *u-*) or enclitic to the verb:

guft-[iš zarduxšt]
'said-[he-AG *Zarduxšt*-AG]'
= 'Zarduxšt said' (Dk. 7.4.58);

u-[šān] dīd [frawahr] ī mardōm-ān anāgīh
'and-[they-AG] saw [pre-souls-AG] CNCT men-OBL evil'
= 'and they, the pre-souls of men, saw the evil' (after Bd. 3.22).

Note the attachment to the preposed past preterite auxiliary *būd* in the poetic Parthian sample text VI below, Text, (8.7):

[būd-iš sānād] až žafr ahrīwar ō hō ayāg abrang-īft až kū ōsaxt
'[raise-PAST-he-AG-PRET] from pool dark to that place pur-ity, from where came-down'
= 'he had raised (it) from the dark pool to that place of purity, from where it had come down'.

5.1.1.3 Agent resumption

When a noun is the agent of a sequence of coordinated or subordinated clauses, it may or may not be resumed by an enclitic pronoun:
Coordinate, not resumed:

pas [srōš ahlaw ud ādur yazd] dast ī man frāz [grift ud guft]
'then [righteous Srōš and the divine Fire took] my hand [and said]' (AWN.5.4), instead of *grift u-šān guft*.

Embedded in subordinate clause:

pābag ka-[š] pad ān ēwēnag [dīd] abd [sah-ist]
'[Pābag-AG/IO] when-[he-AG] in that way [see-PRET] marvellous [seem-PRET]'
= 'When Pābag saw how it was, it seemed marvelous (to him)' (KN. 1.12).

Here *Pābag* is the actual agent of *dīd* represented by *-š*, but also the indirect object of the impersonal verb *sahist* 'it seemed'.

5.1.1.4 Fronted agent and resumptive pronoun

A similar pattern is found in main clauses, where the noun is resumed by an enclitic pronoun by means of the particle *ā-*:

ēg [ōy mar] ā-[š] ō pasīy gaw abāz [rān-ēn-īd]
'then [that villain-AG] *Ā*-[he-AG] to back hands [move-CAUS-PRET]'
= 'then that villain brought his hands to the back' (Dk. 7.3.6).'

5.1.2 Questions

Questions without interrogative pronouns or adverbs are indistinguishable from positive statements. For indirect question, see section 5.3.3.1.

Most often questions are introduced by interrogative pronouns and adverbs (see section 3.1.4.5). These can be placed at the beginning (but frequently *after* a raised subject, etc.) or at the end of the question:

rad ī mard-ān [kē] rad ī zan-ān [kē]
'model CNCT men [who?], model CNCT women [who?]'
= 'who is the model for men, and who is the model for woman?' (MX. 60.1);

war ī ǰam-kard [kū kard est-ēd]?
'bunker CNCT Jam-made [where? made-PERF-3s]
tan ī sām [kū gyāg nibay-ēd]?
'body CNCT Sām [where? place lie-3s]'
ud mānišn ī srōš [kū]?
'and dwelling CNCT Srōš [where?]'
= 'Where was the bunker that Jam made built? In what place lies the body of Sām? And where is the dwelling of Srōš?' (MX. 61.3–5);

ān dō aswār ī ō ēn kustag-rōn mad h-ēnd [kay bē widerd]
'those two horseman REL to this side-ward come-PRET-3p [when? *BĒ* pass-PRET]'
= 'Those two horsemen who came hither, when did they pass?';

mihr-druz [čand ēwēnag ast]
'contract-cheater [how-many kind there-is]'
= 'how many kinds of contract-cheaters are there?'

Parthian:

[až kū ay-ē]
'[from where? be-PRES-2s]'
= 'where are you from?'

Disjunctive questions are formed with *ayāb* 'or'. A negated repeated verb can be gapped:

ēn yaz-išn ō yazd-ān ras-ēd [ayāb] ō dēw-ān
'this sacrific-ing to gods-OBL arrives [or] to demons-OBL'
ud ō frayād ī ruwān ī amāh ras-ēd [ayāb nē]
'and to help CNCT soul CNCT us arrives [or not]'
= 'does this sacrifice come to the gods or the demons? and does it come to the help of our soul?' (after AWN. 1.15).

5.2 Coordination and connectors

Middle Persian and Parthian have the usual types of sentences. What is most noteworthy is the frequent use of sentence-introducing particles and sentence connectors.

5.2.1 Sentence connectors

The most common of these is the conjunction *ud* (*u-*) 'and', which is often introduced, it seems, to serve as 'chair' for an enclitic pronoun. Less frequent, but with similar function, is *ā-* (rarely independent).

Adverbs such as *ēg* 'then', *pas* 'afterward, then' and *did* 'next' have their full meaning:

[ka] šābuhr sagān šāh . . . ēdar ō sad stūn āmad
'[when] šābuhr sakas-OBL king here to hundred columns came'
[u]-š nān andar im xān xward
[and]-he-AG food in this house ate'
= 'When Šābuhr, king of Sakas, came hither to the Hundred Columns (= Persepolis), he ate food in this house' (ŠPs. I, lines 2–6);

sē sāl urwar harw čē nē abāy-ēd [ā] nē hōš-ēd
'three year plant all which NEG be-proper-PRES-3s then NEG dries'
= 'for three years, all the plants that ought not to, do not dry out' (Bd. 48.3);

ān ī ō dām ras-ēd tā fraškerd
'that CNCT to creation arrives until perfectioning'
[ā]-š dānist
[then]-he-AG knew'
= 'what comes upon the world until the perfectioning (of the existence) he knew' (Bd.1.53);

[agar] dēn nē stay-ē
'[if] religion NEG praise-PRES-2s'
[ēg]-it ēn tigr pahikāf-om
'[then]-you this arrow pierce-PRES-1s'
= 'if you do not praise the religion, then I shall drive this arrow through you' (PR. 48.50);

[did] harwisp-āgāh-īh ī ohrmazd rāy
'[next], omni-science CNCT Ohrmazd about
= 'next, about the omniscience of Ohrmazd' (Bd. 1.10).

u-š [pas] mayānag ī zamīg suft
'and-he-AG [then] middle CNCT earth pierced'
= 'then he pierced the middle of the earth' (Bd. 4.10);

u-š [pas] bē ō gyāg bar-išn
'and-he-OBL [afterward] *BĒ* to place to-be-carried'
[pas]-iz bē nih-ēd
'[afterward]-too *BĒ* places'
= 'and he should carry (it) to a place, and then he puts it down, too' (after ŠnŠ 2.10)

Note the frequent use of *pas* in the Abnun inscription, which recalls that of *pasāva* in Darius's Bisotun inscription (simplified text):

[pas] ka abar sāl 3 šābuhr ka hrōmāy āy-ēnd
'[then] when in year 3 Šābuhr . . . when Romans-DIR come-PRES/IPF-3p'
*[pas] an ēdar *anā-n*
'[then] I-DIR here be-IPF-1s'
[pas] kū āšnaw-ēn kū hrōmāy āy-ēnd
'[then] when hear-IPF-1s that: Romans-DIR come-PRES/IPF-3p'
*[pas] an yazd-ān *pādwēh-ēn kū . . .*
'[then] I-DIR gods-IO implore-IPF-1s that: . . .'
[pas] kū āšnaw-ēn kū hrōmāy šābuhr zad h-ēnd . . .
'[then] as hear-IPF-1s that: Romans-DIR Šābuhr-AG smash-PRET-3p [then . . .]'.
= 'Then, in year three of Šābuhr, when the Romans were coming, then I was here. Then, when I heard that the Romans were coming, then I implored the gods: . . . Then, when I heard that Šābuhr had smashed the Romans [then I . . .]'.

In Manichean Middle Persian, *gahīy* <ghy> is used in similar functions:

ud [gahīy] hāmšahr dudīy hāmīn baw-ēd
'and [then] universe again summer be(come)-PRES-3s'
= 'and then, there will again be summer in the universe' [literally: 'the universe will be summer'] (M7981 II R ii, lines 28–30, Hutter 1992: 64).

Parthian has *aδyān* 'then' and *bid* 'next, again':

[aδyān] ohrmezd-bay padwah-ād ō mād ʷxwēbēh
'[then] Ohrmezd-god-AG implored to mother own'
= 'then god Ohrmezd implored his own mother' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text p, lines 4–5);

[bid] mārī mānī wāxt
'[then] Lord Mani-AG said'
= 'then Lord Mani said' (BT 11, line 903).

5.2.2 Coordination and disjunction

Particles and conjunction connecting clauses include words meaning 'and', 'too', 'both . . . and'; 'nor', 'neither . . . nor'; 'or', 'either . . . or' and similar.

5.2.2.1 Coordination

Coordination is expressed by *ud* 'and', the enclitic *-iz* 'and, too', and the adverb *ham* 'also' (literally: 'same'), often in combination; *ud . . . ud, ud . . . ud . . . -iz, -iz . . . -iz, ham . . . (ud) ham* 'both . . . and'.

pādixšāy-īh bē-[iz] dah-ē [ud] bē-[iz] čāš-ē
'king-ship *BĒ*-[too] give-PRES-2s [and] *BĒ*-[too] teach-PRES-2s'
= 'you both give kingship and teach' (Dk. 9.35.5);

*ud [ham] awēšān andar *andarwāy āb ul bar-ēnd*
'and [both] they in atmosphere water up carry'
[ud ham] andar zamīg frōd bar-ēnd
'and [and] in earth down carry'

kū nēm-rōz wār-ēd
'that mid-day rains'
= 'and those both carry the water up into the *atmosphere and also carry (it) down into the earth, so that it rains at midday' (Bd. 21C.20).

Coordination can also be effected by the periphrastic adnominal constructions (see section 4.2.4):

pādāšn ī ahlaw-ān [ān-iz] ī druwand-ān pādifrāh
'reward CNCT righteous-OBLp that-too CNCT wicked-OBLp punishment' (after AWN. 11.6), beside:
pādāšn ī ahlaw-ān pādifrāh-[iz] ī druwand-ān
'reward CNCT righteous-OBLp wicked-OBLp-[too] punishment'
= 'the reward of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked'

5.2.2.2 Adversative conjunctions

The conjunctions *bē* 'but' and Man. *anāy* express contrast and are often coupled with negations:

andar deh [nē]
'in village [NEG]'
[bē] pad kustag-ēw ī deh widard
'[but] to side-one CNCT village passed'
= 'he passed, not through the village, but to one side of the village' (KN. 2.16);

ō(r)rōn [ma] awar [anāy] ānōh pattāy
'hither [NEG-EXH] come-IMP-2s [but] there wait-IMP-2s'
= 'do not come here, but wait there!' (M2 I R i, lines 12–13, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 301).

Parthian has *abāw* and *bēž* 'but' expressing contrast:

[abāw] nē hō zāwar ahā-z kē zān-ād
'[but] NEG that power be-IPF-3s REL-AG knew . . .'
[bēž] hō zāwar rōšn kē . . .
'[but] that power light REL . . .'
[abāw]-iš hām-čihrag nēst
[but]-it of-the-same-form NEG-COP'
= 'but it was not that power, (the one) that knew . . . but (rather) that light power which . . . but (that one) is not of the same *form as it' (M2 II R i, lines 16–20, 34–35, *Mir. Man.* iii, text a);

čē tō ō anīy keč abwēn-āh ʷxad ma kar
'what you to other person blame-PRES-2s self NEG do-IMP-2s;
[bēž] pattūd čār až masā-dar-ān
[but] endure-INF ought-to from old-er-OBLp'
= 'do not do yourself what you blame somebody else for, but (rather) you should endure (it) from those older (than you)!' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text b, lines 9–11).

5.2.2.3 Correlative negation

Correlative negation 'neither . . . nor' is expressed by *nē . . nē*, *nē . . nē-iz* 'neither . . . nor':

ān tarāzūg ēč kustag ōgrāy nē kun-ēd
'that balance any side dip NEG does'
[nē] ahlaw-ān rāy [ud nē-iz] druwand-ān
'NEG righteous-OBLp for [and NEG-too] wicked-OBLp'
= 'that balance does not dip to any side (i.e. is not biased), neither for the righteous nor for the wicked' (after MX. 1.120).

5.2.2.4 Coordination and negation by repetition

Clauses can be coordinated by repeating a preverb or a negation. These constructions may imitate Avestan ones (see Old Iranian, Chapter 3, 8.1.2):

[bē] abar ō ān deh ān ī abārōn an-(āšt-īh) [pad-ēd]
'[*BĒ*] up on that village that CNCT evil non-peace [fall-PRES-3s]
bē ān ī abārōn snōh-išn bē ān ī abārōn spazg-īh
'[*BĒ*] that CNCT evil *bad-weather [*BĒ*] that CNCT evil sland-er
ud [nē-iz] az ān deh ān ī abārōn anāštīh frāz [abesīh-ād]
'and NEG-too from that village that CNCT evil non-peace [be-cut-off-PRES-SUBJ-3s]
[ud nē] ān ī abārōn snōhišn ud nē ān ī abārōn spazgīh
'and NEG that CNCT evil *bad-weather and NEG that CNCT evil sland-er'
= 'and upon that village evil discord, evil *bad weather, and evil slander will fall; and neither evil discord, evil *bad weather, nor evil slander will be cut off from that village' (Dk. 7.7.17).

5.2.2.5 Disjunction

Disjunction is normally expressed by *ayāb* 'or' (Parth. *āgām*), *ayāb . . . ayāb* 'whether—or'. In questions it is preceded by *kadār* 'which (of two)':

ast kamāhī [ayāb] wazaγ [ayāb] sang wārēd
'there-is when fish [or] frog [or] stone rains'
= 'there are times when fish, frogs, or stones rain' (Bd. 21E.1);

kadār pēš dād xwarrah [ayāb] tan
'which (of the two) first established Fortune [or] body'
= 'which was established first: the (divine) Fortune or the body?' (Bd. 14.8);

kadār [ayāb] ahlaw [ayāb] druwand wurrōy-ēd meh
'whether [either] righteous [or] wicked believes much-COMP' [see section 4.3.9.1]
kū kas-ān [ayāb] ān ī ahlaw tuxšāg-īhā-tar wurrōy-ēd [ayāb] ān druwand
'i.e. people-OBLp, whether that CNCT righteous zealous-ly-COMP believes [or] that CNCT wicked
= 'does the righteous or the wicked one believe the most: i.e. among people, does the righteous or the wicked one believe the more zealously' (Pahl. Y. 31.17).

5.2.2.6 Restriction

To express 'other than, or else' (*bē . . .*) *ēnyā* (Man. *ba . . . anāy*) is used:

nūn [bē] ka rāst gōw-ē [ēnyā]
'now [except] if truthfully you-speak [otherwise]
ham-dādestān nē baw-ēm
'agreed NEG be(come)-PRES-1p'
= 'now, unless you speak the truth, we will not agree' (KN. 12.18);

dān-išn [ba] pad ēn dar-ān ī-m az abar nibišt [anāy]
'knowl-edge [except] by these doors-OBL REL-I-AG from-above wrote [otherwise]'
ō mardōhm-ān madan nē šāy-ēd
'to people-OBLp come-INF NEG be-possible-PRES-3s'
= 'knowledge cannot come to people other than by these doors which I have written above' (M9 I V, lines 9–11, *Mir. Man.*, p. 298).

5.2.2.7 Parataxis

Various relationships can be expressed without connectors (parataxis), e.g. contrast and consequence:

ēdōn bē kun-ē
'thus *BĒ* you-do'
kas abar ōy ī did rēš ud ziyān kardan nē tuwān baw-ād
'anybody unto him CNCT other harm and damage do-INF NEG able be-SUBJ-3s'
= '(if) you do thus, (then) nobody will be able to do harm and damage to another' (Dk. 7.1.21).

5.2.2.8 Particles introducing exegetical passages

In the Pahlavi translations and commentaries on Avestan texts, the particles *ay*, *hād* and *kū* all can mean approximately 'that is', but, more specifically, *ay* can mean 'the meaning is', *hād* 'yes (and/but)'; to point out varying opinions, the expression *ast ēlkē (ēdōn) gōwēd* or *ast ēlkē* 'there is someone who (says) (thus)' are used:

xwaršēd ī a-marg ī rāyōmand ī arwand-asp
'sun CNCT death-less CNCT wealth-y CNCT fleet-horse(d)'
[kū]-š asp nēk;
'[i.e.]-it horse good (COP)'
[ast kē] ēdōn gōw-ēd
'[there-is who] thus says'
[ay] asp ī nēk bē dah-ēd
'[the meaning is] horse CNCT good gives'
= '[translation of the Avestan:] the sun, immortal, shining, with fleet horses; [Pahlavi:] i.e. it has good horses; there is one who says: the meaning is "he gives good horses" ' (Pahl. Y. 0.9);

hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš
'Hōm CNCT righteous CNCT *durōš*';
[hād] dūrōš-īh-iš
'[i.e.] *durōš*-ness-his'

ēd kū ōš az ruwān ī mardōm-ān dūr dār-ēd;
'this (COP) that death (*ōš*) from soul CNCT people-OBLp far-away (*dūr*) holds'
rōšn guft
'Rōšn said'
[hād] a-hōš-īh pad hōm baw-ēd
'[yes, and] death-less-ness through *hōm* is'
= '[translation of the Avestan:] Hōm, the righteous, the *durōš*'; [Pahlavi:] i.e. it is called *durōš* for this reason that it holds death far away from men's souls'; Rōšn said: yes, and (also) because deathlessness comes about through Hōm'. (Pahl. Y. 9.2).

5.3 Subordination

Subordinate clauses usually precede or follow main clauses and other subordinate clauses, but embedding is also found (see Relative clauses).

5.3.1 Conjunctions

Among subordinating conjunctions, we can distinguish between those with one specific function and those with multiple functions, e.g. *agar* 'if' and *ma agar* 'lest, let not' (with verbs of fearing), *čē* 'because', *ka* 'when, if'; *kū* 'that, so that, than, where, etc.', *čiyōn* 'as, when, because; that is', *tā* 'so that, until'. There is further ambiguity in Pahlavi, where *ka*, *kē*, and *kū* are sometimes confused under the influence of New Persian *ke*. Composite conjunctions are common.

Nominal 'that' -clauses introduced by *kū* are the most common subordinate clauses in Middle Persian; *kū* introduces reported speech (see Section 5.3.3.1).

5.3.2 Relative clauses

The relative pronouns are *ī*, *kē* and *čē*. They can function by themselves as subject, direct object and indirect object, and be governed by pre/postpositions. Their grammatical function (other than as grammatical subject) may be expressed by (independent or enclitic) personal or demonstrative pronouns. Thus, an enclitic pronoun attached to a relative pronoun can be independent or simply resume the relative pronoun, i.e. *kē-š* 'who his = whose' or 'who . . . him/his, 'who to him = to whom', etc.':

ōy [kē-š] zan nē būd
ā-š zan dah-ēnd
'he who-him wife NEG was
CNCT-him wife give-PRES-3p'
= 'to him who had no wife they will give a wife' (PR. 48.63).

As enclitic pronouns tend to 'spread' throughout the clause, doing duty for whatever they are needed for (agent, possessive pronoun, etc.), it is sometimes difficult or impossible to determine their precise attribution:

nēk-raw-išn-īh ān mēnōy
[ī]-š/[ī-š] tan ī xwēš padiš weh bē kerd
'good-go-ing-ness that spirit (COP)
which-it body CNCT own thereby better made'
= 'goodness is that spirit by which he made his body better' (Bd. 1.35).

With *[ī-š] . . . padiš* 'which-it . . . thereby = with which' or 'which-his . . . thereby = by which . . . his'.

The relative pronoun *čē* is rare and mainly used when the referent is not specific ('whatever, everything that, that which'), corresponding to *kē* animate references ('whoever, someone who, he who'):

ud [čē] andar ān dar
'an [what] in that chapter (COP)'
= 'and whatever (else is) in that chapter'.

5.3.2.1 Generic statements

Relative clauses containing generic statements take the subjunctive (cf. section 4.3.7.1b) and parabolic relative clauses take the optative (see section 4.3.7.2c).

5.3.2.2 Complex relative clauses

Relative clauses can combine with other clauses:

pas ō āb mad [ī]-m guft kū azēr ī ēn zamīg winnārd est-ēd
'next to water came [which = water]-I-AG said that: (water) below CNCT this earth set up-PERF-PRES-3s'
= 'next he came to the water, which I said is set up below this earth' (Bd. 4.10);

u-m anī-z kerdagān ī yazd-ān was kerd
'and-I-AG other-too ritual-S CNCT gods-OBL many did'
[ī]-m agar abar ēn nāmag nibišt h-ē ēg was būd hē
'[which = ritual-S]-I-AG if in this inscription write-PRET-OPT-3s then (ritual-S) much be-PRET-OPT-3s'
= 'and I performed also many other rituals for the gods, which, if I had written (them) here, would have been too much' (KNRm 48–49);

čiyōn mard-ēw [kē]
'like man-one [who]'
tā pad gētīy būd [aziš] huram-tar nē būd
'as-long-as (man-S) in world-of-the-living was [than (man)] happi-er NEG was'
= 'like a man than whom, while he was in the world, there was none happier' (AWN. 4.6);

ān frazend [ī-š] ašmāh framūd kū bē ōzan
'that child [which-him-DO] you-AG commanded that: *BĒ* kill-IMP-2s'
u-mān nē ōzad
'and-we-AG (child-S) NEG killed'
= 'that child which you ordered us to kill we did not kill' (KN. 10.11).

5.3.3 Nominal clauses

Nominal 'that' -clauses introduced by *kū* are the most common subordinate clauses in Middle Persian.

5.3.3.1 Reported speech

Pahlavi, like New Persian, does not have indirect speech; instead, reported speech is phrased as direct statements or questions introduced by *kū* and is therefore identical with nominal 'that'-clauses. The governing verbs include verbs of utterance, thought, and various kinds of perception (seeing, hearing), but also fear, etc.:

tars-īd kū [ma agar mardōm ī deh wēn-ēnd šnās-ēnd]
'he feared: Let not people CNCT this village see-PRES-3p recognise-PRES-3p'
= 'He feared that the people of the village might see (them) and recognise (them)' (KN. 2.16).

Indirect questions:

gōw kū [ān 3 tis čē]
'say-IMP-2s that: [that three thing (COP) what?]'
= 'tell (me) what those three things are'.

Parthian:

aδyān warrag wāxt kū
'then Warrag-AG said that:'
[-š az až kū zān-ām bay] kū [čē ast]
'[-it I-DIR [from where? recognise-PRES-1p lord] that: [what? COP]'
= 'then Warrag said: wherefrom am *I* to recognise, lord, what it is?' (BT 11, lines 719–21).

Disjunctive indirect questions:

ašmāh dān-ēd kū
'you-PL know that:'
[ēn yaz-išn ayāb ō yazd-ān ras-ēd ayāb ō dēw-ān]
'[this sacrific-ing either to gods-OBL arrives or to demons-OBL]'
= 'do you know whether this sacrifice comes to the gods or the demons?' (after ŠnŠ. 9.5).

Occasionally, the conditional conjunction *agar* 'if' is used in indirect questions to express 'whether':

frōd ward šnās-am [agar] tō h-ē spandarmad
'down turn-IMP-2s know-PRES-1s [whether] you are Spandarmad'
= 'turn around (so) I may know whether you are Spandarmad' (Dk. 7.4.58).

5.3.4 Adverbial clauses

The main types of adverbial clauses and their conjunctions are the following:

- Time: *(ī) ka* 'when' and *ast īka* 'sometimes'; *čiyōn* 'as when'; *ēw-bār* 'once, as soon as'; *pas az ān ka* 'after'; *pēš* 'before'; *tā* (Man. *dā*) 'as long as, until' (also with infinitive; see also *kū tā*, below), and 'since' (expressing duration in the past: Germ. *seit*, Fr. *depuis*), *tā ka*, *tā (pēš) ka*, *tā ān īka* 'before, until'.
- Place: *kū* 'where' or combinations such as *ānōh kū* 'there where', *ān gyāg kū* 'the place where', etc.

- Reason and cause: *čē* 'because, for'; *az ān čiyōn* 'for the reason that'.
- Purpose and result: *(kū) tā* 'so that, in order that'.
- Comparison: *čiyōn* 'as, in the way that'; *harw čiyōn* 'in every/whatever way that'; *čiyōn ka* 'as if'.
- Condition: *agar* and *ka* 'if', with indicative.

For examples, see on the uses of the tenses (see section 4.3.4) and the moods (see section 4.3.7).

5.3.4.1 Adverbial phrases

Adverbs in *-īhā*, especially those from compound adjectives, can qualify a verb more broadly:

daw-ēnd [abē-brahm-īhā]
'they run [without-dress-ADV]'
= 'they run about undressed' (M28 I V ii, line 19, Skjærvø 1995b: 251).

spāh ī kirm . . . ō bērōn mad
'army CNCT Kirm to-outside came'
abāg aswār-ān ī ardaxšīr kārēzār [gyān-abespār-īhā] saxt kerd
'with horsemen-OBL CNCT Ardaxšīr battle [soul-surrendering-ADV] hard did'
= 'Kirm's army came out and fought (such) a hard battle with Ardaxšīr's cavalry as to (as if they were willing to) surrender their souls' (after KN. 6.16);

ahrimen ud māzanīg-ān ud āz spāh-bed ī abārīg dēw-ān
'Ahrimen and Māzanīg(-demons) and Āz army-chief CNCT remaining demons-OBL'
[(stard homānāg)-īhā]
'[(stunned like)-ADV]'
[(pad xwēš hamēstār-īh wānīd-ag)-īhā]
'[(by own oppos-ition conquered)-ADV]'
bē ō mardōm-ān dīdār-īg baw-ēnd
'*BĒ* to people-OBLp seen-ADJ be(come)-PRES-3p'
= 'Ahrimen and the Māzanīg demons and Āz, general of the other demons, as if stunned, having been conquered by their own opponents, become visible to people' (WZ. 35.35);

was dēw-ān druz-ān pad (bīm-nimāy-išn)-īh . . . aw-iš āmad h-ēnd
'many demons lie-demons for (fear-show-ing)-ness . . . to-him came'
ud hamāg [(a-padīr-išn)-īhā] ud [(zad-ag)-īhā] [stōw-īhā] az-iš wašt h-ēnd
'and all [(non-receiv-ing)-ADV and [(strick-en)-ADV] and [defeated-ADV] from-him turned'
pad ān ī ōy abēzag (frāz gōw-išn)-īh ī abestāg
'by that CNCT him pure (forth-say-ing)-ness CNCT Avesta'
= 'many demons and lie-demons came against him (Zarathustra) to induce fear in him, and all turned back from him without (him) receiving (them), having been struck down, and overcome, by that pure one's recitation of the Avesta' (Dk. 5.2.6).

5.3.5 'Subordination' by means of derived nouns and adjectives

Infinitives (see 4.3.10.2a) and the derived nouns in *-īh* (see 6.1.2.4), in particular, are often used instead of subordinate clauses, especially with prepositions like *pad* 'for', etc. and the postposition *rāy* ', in order to, on account of':

sag-ān [pad hamēstār-īh] ī gurg-sardagān
'dogs [for oppos-ition] CNCT wolf-species-OBLp'
ud [pānag-īh] ī gōspand-ān [kerdan rāy] dād estēd
'and [protect-ion] CNCT cattle-OBLp [do-INF in-order-to] establish-PERF-PRES-3s'
= 'dogs have been established (in the world) for the opposition of (= in order to oppose) the wolf species and for the protection of (= in order to protect) the domestic animals' (Bd. 24.38);

andar dōšox druj ī spazg-īh [(garān-wināh)-īh rāy] dwār-išn ī pas
'in hell lie-demon CNCT slander [(heavy-sin)-ness on-account-of] runn-ing to back (COP)'
= 'in hell every lie-demon runs in front (of the damned), but the lie-demon of slander runs behind because it is such a heavy sin' (after MX. 1.12).

Compound adjectives are often used as alternatives for subordinate clauses, for instance, relative clauses:

ud anī-z ērbed-ān ud mowmard-ān ī ōšmurd-mānsr
'and other-too teachers and priests CNCT recited-(holy-text)'
ī (dranjēn-īd)-zand ī uskārd-dādestān
'CNCT memorised-*zand* CNCT studied-law'
ī āgāh-dēn ī (nimū-dār)-čim ī (wizī-dār)-kirbag
'CNCT aware-*dēn* CNCT (show-er)-meaning CNCT (discrimin-ator)-good-deeds'
pad čand gyāg h-ēnd
'in several place are'
= 'and there are other teachers and priests, too, in many places, who have recited the holy texts, who have memorised the *zand* (the Pahlavi versions), who have studied the law, who are aware of the *dēn* (tradition), who can show the meaning, and who can say what are good deeds and what are not (DD. Intro. 9.3).

5.3.6 Dating

In Middle Persian, dates are expressed by the names of the days and months and the year according to the Yazdegerd era (631 CE):

frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud rāmišn
'completed in good health and happiness and joy'
andar rōz šahrīwar ud az māh ābān 908 ī yazdgerd ī šāhān šāh
'on the day of Šahrīwar and the month of Ābān (in the year) 908 of King of Kings Yazdegerd' = 908+631 = 1639';

ēn ayādgārīhā nibištag būd estād pad māh wahman ī andar sāl 324 rōz day pad ādur
'these stories were written in the month of Wahman in the year 324 on the day of Day before Ādur' = 955;

ēn ayādgār andar rōz xwaršēd māh šahrīwar kadīm wihēzagīh sāl ī šaš-sad nawad-ēk nibišt
'this story was written on the day of Xwaršēd, month of Šahrīwar in the intercalary year (according to the) Qadim (calendar) of 691' = 1321.

Parthian inherited the dating formula seen in Old Persian, Sogdian, etc.:

pad čafār saxt šahrīwar māh
'on four passed Šahrīwar month'
= 'on the fourth of the month of Šahrīwar' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text c 23–24);

pad saxt čuhram māh šahrīwar pad dōšambat ud žamān ēwandas
'on passed fourth month Šahrīwar on Monday and hour eleven'
= 'on the fourth of the month of Šahrīwar, on Monday, at 11 o'clock' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text d 57–60).

6 LEXIS: WORD FORMATION

The main strategies for word formation are the use of prefixes, affixes, compounds, and combinations of these.

6.1 Nominal derivation

6.1.1 Prefixation

The following are some of the most common prefixes making adjectives from nouns or verbal stems:

- *a-* (*an-* before vowel) and *abē-* denote lack of something; antonyms include adjectives in *-ōmand* (from nouns) and *-āg* (from verbal stems): *sēǰ* 'danger': *sēǰ-ōmand* 'full of danger', *a-sēǰ* 'without danger'; *dān-* 'to know': *dān-āg* 'knowledgeable', *a-dān* 'without knowledge, stupid'.
- *ham-* ~ *ǰud-* 'being of the same X', 'being of different/opposite X' (Parth. *hām-* ~ *yud-*): *ham-dēn* 'having the same religion'; *ǰud-dēn* 'having a different (the opposite) religion'; Parth. *hām-tōhm-ag* 'of the same family', *yud-āwend-ag* 'without equal'.
- *hu-* ~ *duš-* (*du(s)-* before *s*, *duǰ-* before voiced stops) 'having good X', 'having bad X' [or: 'very bad' if already bad]: *čašm* 'eye' > *hu-čašm* 'benevolent' (from *čašm* 'eye'), *duš-čašm* 'envious'; *sraw* 'reputation' > *hu-sraw* 'of good fame, famous', *dusraw* 'of bad fame, infamous'; *gand* 'stench' > Man. *duǰ-gann* 'foul'; Parth. *hu-čihr* 'pretty', *dur-čihr* 'ugly'.
- *pad-*: forms adjectives expressing possession: *pad-bēš* 'with hostility, incensed' (cf. *a-bēš*); *pad-parr-ag* 'with wings, winged'.

6.1.2 Suffixation

The following are common suffixes used to form adjectives and nouns from verbal stems, nouns, and adjectives.

6.1.2.1 Nouns

The two most common nominalising suffixes are *-išn* (also Parthian), which makes action nouns from present (occasionally past) verbal stems, and *-īh* (Parth. *-īf*, *-īft*), which makes abstract nouns from nouns or adjectives (including compounds). Others:

-stān makes nouns of place: *hindūg* 'Indian': *hindū-stān* 'India'. Other: *dād* 'law': *dādestān* 'law, judgement'; *hērbed* 'priest': *hērbed-estān*, title of Avestan texts containing rules connected with priestly studies.

6.1.2.2 Action nouns in *-išn*

The action noun in *-išn*, which differs from the passive participle of necessity (see section 4.3.10.1) by syntax and word order, can be made from any present stem and a few past stems:

- from simple present stems: *men-išn*, *gōw-išn*, *kun-išn* 'thinking, speaking, doing';
- from derived present stems: *(paydāg-ēn)-išn* 'reaveal-ing', *(āgāh-īh)-išn* 'being made aware, being informed', *hammōxt-išn* 'being taught';
- from past stems: *āmad-išn* 'the coming' (Man.), *zād-išn* 'being born, birth' (Dk. 5.2.2).

It frequently forms compound verbs with *kerdan* 'to do': *rām-išn ud āsāy-išn kerdan* 'enjoy-ing and relax-ing make' = 'having a good time and relaxing' (PN. 8).

6.1.2.3 Agent nouns in *-tār/-dār*

This agent noun is formed from the past stem: *warz-īd* 'work, labour, perform': *warz-īdār* 'one who performs/does sth., a labourer'; *xwar-d* 'eat': *a-(xwar-dār)* 'not eating, without eating'; *kar-d*: 'do, make': *margīh-(ker-dār)* 'death-maker'; *dā-d* 'give': *(ātaxš-dādār)-tar* 'more fire-giving', *ma-d* 'come': *madār-tom* 'who comes most (often)'.

A few forms have passive meaning: *grif-t* 'seize': *grif-tār* 'prisoner', *frēf-t* 'deceive': *frēf-tār* 'easily deceived'.

6.1.2.4 Abstract nouns in *-īh*

The abstract noun in *-īh* can be made from any nominal:

- nouns: *xwadāy* 'lord': *xwadāy-īh* '(over)lord-ship, rule';
- adjectives: *frārōn* 'morally good': *frārōn-īh* 'good-ness';
- verbal nouns and adjectives: *dān-āg* 'knowing, wise': *(dān-āg)-īh* 'wis-dom';
- agent nouns in *-tār/-dār*: *nimū-dār*: 'show-ing': *(nimū-dār)-īh* 'guid-ance'; *bōx-tār* 'deliver-er': *(bōx-tār)-īh* 'deliver-ance'; *(tarāzūg-ēn)-īdār* 'a weigh-er': *(tarāzūgēn-īdār)-īh* 'weigh-ing'.
- compounds (see below): *(rāst-gōw-išn)-īh* 'speaking of truthful speech', *(dēw-ēzag)-īh* '(demon-worshipp)-ing'; Parth. *(abē-āstār)-īft* 'being (free from sins)'.

It is common with action nouns in *-išn*: *(āgāh-īh)-išn* 'being made aware': *(āgāh-īh-išn)-īh* 'the fact of being made aware', *(hammōxt-išn)-īh* 'the act of being taught', *(āmad-išn)-īh* 'the act of coming' (Man.). In compounds: *a-(bōxt-išn)* 'having no salvation': *(a-bōxtišn)-īh* 'the fact of/state of having no salvation'; *a-(srāy-išn)* '(someone) without recit-ing': *pad (a-srāyišn)-īh* 'in a state of being someone who does not recite' = 'while not reciting'; *anāg-(raw-išn)* 'of evil behaviour': *(anāg-rawišn)-īh* 'having evil

behaviour'; *gišnag-(zīy-išn)* 'having short living, short-lived': *(gišnag-zīyišn)-īh* 'short-lived-ness'. The nouns in *-išn-īh* are sometimes almost indistinguishable from those in *-išn* (see Josephson 1998).

6.1.2.4a Quotational -īh

In exegetical texts, *-īh* is often used to 'quote' a word to explain it:

mihr ī frāgōyōd ī hazār-gōš . . .
'Mihr CNCT "with-wide-grazing-grounds" CNCT thousand-eared'
u-š [(hazār-gōš)-īh] ēd kū
'and-his "(thousand-ear)-ness" this (COP) that:'
-š 500 mēnōy ō sar nišīn-ēnd,
'-him-IO 500 spirit on head sit-PRES-3p'
u-š kār ī [gōš-īh] kun-ēnd
and-him-IO action CNCT "ear-dom" do-PRES-3p'
= '[translation of Avestan:] Mihr with wide grazing grounds, with a thousand ears . . .; and his (being said) to have a thousand ears (means) this that 500 spirits sit on his head and perform the task of being ears for him' (Pahl. Y. 4.8).

6.1.2.5 Nouns and adjectives

-ag: nām 'name': *nām-ag* 'written document'; *(sē-šab)-ag* 'lasting three nights'; with no discernable function or the unsuffixed word no longer exists: *xān*, *xān-ag* 'house', *kanār-ag* 'limit, border' (cf. *kanārag-ômand* 'limited').

-gar (*-kar*), *-gār* (*-kār*) 'doer of X, making X': *yōǰdahr* 'ritually pure': *yōǰdahr-gar* 'who makes ritually pure'; *bazzag* 'bad deeds ': *bazzak-kar* 'doer of bad deeds, evil-doer'; *wināh* 'sin, crime' *wināhgār* (*wināhkār*) 'sinful, criminal'.

6.1.2.6 Adjectives

-ak (*-k*) makes diminutives: *and* 'so much': *and-ak* 'a little'; *nēw* 'good': *nēk* 'good'; Man. MPers. *kōdak* and *kōdag* 'small'.

-ān forms adjectives denoting appurtenance, especially filiation: *ardašīr-ān* 'son of Ardashir', *razm ī wištāsp-ān* 'the battle fought by Wištāsp'; the expanded form *-ag-ān* commonly denotes 'son of': *šābuhr-ag-ān* 'son of Shabuhr' (also the name of the book Mani presented to king Šābuhr); *pābagān* is ambiguous, 'son of Pāb/Pābag'.

-āw Parth. suffix denoting language: *frōm-āw* '(in) "Roman" (= Greek)'.

-īg (rarely *-īk*), the most common suffix for forming adjectives from nouns: *(burz-išn)-īg* 'praise-worthy'; *nazd* 'near(ness)': *nazd-īk* 'near'.

-ōmand (Man. MPers., Parth. *-āwend*), forms adjectives meaning (things) 'full of . . .': *bīm-ōmand* 'fearful' (cf. *abē-bīm* 'without fear'); *kanārag-ōmand* 'limited' (cf. *a-kanārag* 'limitless'); *padixšar-āwend*, Parth. *padišfar-āwend* 'honourable'.

-gen, similar to *-ōmand*, but less common: *bīm-gen* 'scary'; Parth. *zēn* 'armour, weapons': *zēn-gen* 'weaponed'.

-ēn: adjectives denoting material and similar: *zarr-ēn* 'of gold, golden'; Parth. *ādur-ēn* 'fiery'.

-gōn 'kind, species': colour adjectives: *zarr-gōn* 'golden', and adjectives made from indefinite pronouns and adverbs, e.g. *harw-gōn*, *wisp-gōn* 'of all kinds/colours'.

-wār: adverbs of manner from adjectives and nouns: *sazāg* 'fitting, appropriate': *(saz-āg)-wār* 'fittingly, appropriately'; *xwadāy* 'lord, ruler': *xwadāy-wār* 'in a manner befitting a lord'.

6.2 Compounding

Compounds are formed by combining other words, with or without suffixes. Following are some common types.

6.2.1 Nouns

noun + noun: *kār* 'work' + *nāmag* 'written document': *kār-nāmag* 'book of deeds';

noun + verbal noun: *uzdēs* 'idol' + *parist-* 'to worship': *uzdēs-parist* 'idol-worshipper' (*uzdēs-paristišnīh* 'idol-worship').

6.2.2 Adjectives

adjective + noun: *rāst-gōwišn* 'of truthful speech'; *was-anāg* 'who has (commits) much evil'; Parth. *"xaš-bōy* 'fragrant';

noun + noun: *drō-dādwar* 'whose judgements are deception (false)';

noun + verbal noun: *gyān-abespār* 'surrendering one's life, reckless, desperate'; *pārag-stanišn* 'who takes bribes'; *anāg-kerdār* 'evil-doing, evil-doer'; *(dēw-ēz)-ag* 'who sacrifices to the *dēw*s'; Parth. *razm-yōz* 'battle-stirring';

noun, adjective + past participle: *yazd-āfrīd* 'god-created'; *ohrmazd-dād* 'given, established (created) by Ohrmazd'; *harwisp-pēsīd* 'adorned with every (adornment)'; Parth. *(šarγ-zād)-ag* 'lion cub'.

numeral + noun: *(panzdah-sāl)-ag* 'fifteen-year-old'; Man. MPers. *tas-kerb* 'four-shaped'; Parth. *čuhr-pāδ* 'quadruped'.

7 LEXICON AND STYLES

7.1 Dialectology and loans

Many of the 'Medisms' of Old Persian have been inherited, e.g. *asp* 'horse'. The *Psalter* and Manichean Middle Persian sometimes have purer Perside dialect forms than Pahlavi, e.g. Man. MPers. *damestān* 'winter' ~ Pahl. *zamestān* <z/dmst'n'>.

There are some loan words:

- from Indic: *semspār* 'astrologer' < *sāmvatsara* (MacKenzie 1984);
- from Greek: *stēr* 'stater' (via Central Asian *stadēr*); Pahl. *kālbod/kālbed* < *kalapódion* (Bailey 1943: 96);
- from Aramaic: *nakkīrā* 'repudiating' (Henning 1946: 732 = 1977, II: [250]).

7.2 Religious terminology

A special problem is presented by determining the meaning of the religious terminogy inherited from Avestan in Pahlavi or Pahlavised form, sometimes also in Perside from inherited from Old Persian Examples:

Avestan Ahura Mazdā, the name of the supreme deity, originally meant, literally, 'omniscient lord', but the adjective *mazdā* (*maz-da' ah-* 'who places [all] in [his] mind') is not otherwise used in the Avesta, and, already in the Young Avesta and, a fortiori, in the Old Persian inscriptions, where it is univerbated as Ahuramazdā, as well as in Pahlavi Ohrmazd, where the individual parts are no longer recognisable, it was just a name. In the tradition, however, the original epithets had been preserved as *harwisp-āgāh* 'all-aware' and *xwadāy* 'lord' (Bd. 1.1, 34 etc.).

Avestan *raēuuaṇt xᵛarənanʿhaṇt*, approximately 'wealthy and fortunate' (blessed by the divine fortune) has the Pahlavi equivalent *rāyōmand xwarrahōmand*; here, for instance, the Zoroastrian exegetes disagreed about the meaning of *rāyōmand*, which was interpreted as *rād* 'generous' (S. 1.1), *tuxšāgīh* 'diligence' or *abzār-ōmandīh* 'possession of "means" ' (S. 1.11), while 'being *xwarrahōmand*' was equated with *xwēškārīh* 'performance of one's duties' (according to station in life).

Avestan *aṣ̌auuan-* clearly referred to being in accordance with the cosmic (true) order (*aṣ̌a-*) as established by god (Ahura Mazdā); the Pahlavi term *ahlaw*, on the other hand, while referring to being in accordance with the Ohrmazd's creation and the teachings of Zarathustra, probably had a more general meaning, which we cannot define ('righteous' is a stop-gap translation that is often inapplicable). In addition, the Old Persian form *artāvan-*, which characterised those who went to paradise, the 'blessed' dead, survives as *ardā* in some phrases, e.g. *ardā zardušt*, *ardā frawahr*, where it is not much more than a standing epithet.

Avestan *daēnā-* denoted a mental faculty, probably that of 'seeing' in the beyond; she is also personified as sacrificer's guide in the ritual race and as a women who appears to the departed in the beyond and guides him/her to the Bridge of the Accountant and beyond to paradise or hell. Pahlavi *dēn* preserves this last function in the inscriptions of Kerdir and in the Pahlavi books, but, in addition, *dēn* also refers to the entire (orally transmitted) religious tradition, as expressed in the term *gōwēd pad dēn* 'it says in the *dēn*', and similar phrases. Only in the late Sasanian and Islamic periods does the term probably acquire a meaning comparable to 'religion' in the Christian discourse of that time.

Pahlavi *mēnōy* and *gētīy* are nouns and adjectives referring to the other and this world and their inhabitants, respectively. Translations such as 'spirit, spiritual' and 'material' associate them with modern meanings they probably did not have.

7.3 Sociolinguistic aspects: styles and levels of speech

A wide variety of styles are found in the Middle Persian corpus. Some of these are genuine Middle Persian, while others are clearly influenced by the language they were translated from. Thus, the word order in the *Psalter* follows that of the Syriac original. Some of the Manichean texts may also have been translated or adapted from Aramaic and so preserve some of the originals' style.

The simplest style is the colloquial seen in narrative texts. It is characterised by short, paratactic sentences and sparse use of anaphora and conjunctions:

> *pas abar suft mad*
> 'then (he) bored up (through it and) came (inside)' (Bd. 7.10).

A typical feature of Middle Persian style is variation:

war ī ǰam-kard [kū] kard est-ēd?
tan ī sām [kū gyāg] nibay-ēd?
ud mān-išn ī srōš [kū]
'where is the bunker that Jam made built, in what place lies the body of Sām, and where is the dwelling of Srōš?' (MX. 61.1).

Close to this style is the didactic prose of texts such as the *Mēnōy xrad*, the *Pand-nāmag*, and the *Bundahišn*. The most complex style is the elaborate prose of the *Dēnkard* and some other texts. The complexity of the prose of the *Dēnkard* is compounded by the fact that it is, to a large extent, based on Pahlavi versions of the *Avesta* and its exegesis.

The elevated polite style is seen in the royal inscriptions (especially the Paikuli inscription) and the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*. The king uses, is addressed, and referred to in the royal plural and with titles such as *ōy bay* (obl. *awēšān bay-ān*) 'His Majesty', *ašmāh bay-(ān)* 'Your Majesty'. The verb *framū-dan* 'order' is used as a dummy verb or auxiliary for the speech and action of a superior:

ahīy az abārīg xwar-išn framāy-ē xwar-dan
'first from the other food order-PRES-2s eat-INF'
= 'first deign eat some of the other food!' (KN. 93).

8 SAMPLE TEXTS

The following are samples of texts from inscriptional Middle Persian and Parthian, the Middle Persian Psalter and Book Pahlavi, and Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian, each given in parallel transliteration and transcription, together with interlinear and idiomatic translation (ERG = ergative; AG = agent; IMP = imperfect; SBJ = subjunctive; OPT = optative).

8.1–2 Middle Persian and Parthian inscriptions of Šābuhr I at Hajiabad

tgl'hy	ZNE	LY	mzdysn	bgy	šhpwhry	(Middle Persian)
tigrāh	*ēn*	*man*	*mazdēsn*	*bay*	*šābuhr*	
wt'wny	ZNE	LY	mzdyzn	ALHA	šhypwhr	(Parthian)
widāwan(ī)	*im*	*man*	*mazdēzn*	*baγ*	*šābuhr*	
arrow-shot	this	me	Mazdean	god	Šābuhr	

= 'This arrow-shot (is that) of me, the Mazdean divine Šābuhr,'

MLKAn	MLKA	'yr'n	W	'nyr'n	(Middle Persian)
šāh-ān	*šāh*	*ēr-ān*	*ud*	*an-ēr-ān*	
MLKYN	MLKA	'ry'n	W	'ny'ry'n	(Parthian)
šāh-ān	*šāh*	*ēr-ān*	*ud*	*an-ēr-ān*	
of-Kings	king	of-Iranians	and	non-Iranians	

= 'king of kings of Iranians and non-Iranians,'

MNW	ctry	MN	yzt'n	(Middle Persian)
kē	*čihr*	*az*	*yazd-ān*	
MNW	šyhr	MN	y'ztn	(Parthian)
kē	*šihr*	*až*	*yazd-ān*	
who	seed	from	gods	

= 'whose seed is from the gods,'

BRE	mzdysn	bgy	'rthštr	MLKAn	MLKA	'yr'n	(Middle Persian)
pus	*mazdēsn*	*bay*	*ardaxšahr*	*šāh-ān*	*šāh*	*ēr-ān*	
BRY	mzdyzn	ALHA	'rthštr	MLKYN	MLKA	'ry'n	(Parthian)
puhr	*mazdēzn*	*baγ*	*ardaxšahr*	*šāh-ān*	*šāh*	*ēr-ān*	
son	Mazdean	god	Ardaxšahr	of-kings	king	of-Iranians	

= 'whose seed is from the gods, son of the Mazdean divine Ardaxšahr, king of kings of Iranians,'

MNW	ctry	MN	yzt'n	(Middle Persian)
kē	*čihr*	*az*	*yazd-ān*	
MNW	šyhr	MN	y'ztn	(Parthian)
kē	*šihr*	*až*	*yazd-ān*	
who	seed	from	gods	

= 'whose seed is from the gods,'

npy	bgy	p'pk	MLKA	(Middle Persian)
nab	*bay*	*pābag*	*šāh*	
pwhrypwhr	bg	p'pky	MLKA	(Parthian)
puhrīpuhr	*baγ*	*pābag*	*šāh*	
grandson	god	Pābag	king	

= 'the grandson of the divinity Pābag, the king.'

AP	-n	AMT		ZNE	HTYA	ŠDYTN	(Middle Persian)
u	*-n*	*ka*		*ēn*	*tigr*	*wist*	
and	-we-AG	when		this	arrow	shot	
W		AMT	LN	ZNE	HΘYA	ŠDYt	(Parthian)
ud		*kaδ*	*amāh*	*im*	*tiγr*	**wist*	
and		when	we-AG	this	arrow	shot	

= 'And when We shot this arrow,'

ADYN	-n	LOYNY	štldl'n	W	BRBYTAn	(Middle Persian)
ēg	*-in*	*pēš*	*šahryār-ān*	*ud*	*wispuhr-ān*	
then-	we-AG	before	rulers	and	princes	
		QDMTE	hštrdryn		BRBYTAn	(Parthian)
		parwān	**šahrδār-īn*		*wispuhr-ān*	
		before	rulers		princes	

W	wclk'n	W	'zt'n	ŠDYTN	(Middle Persian)
ud	*wuzurg-ān*	*ud*	*āzād-ān*	*wist*	
	RBAn	W	'z'tn	ŠDYt	(Parthian)
	**wazurg-ān*	*ud*	*āzād-ān*	**wist*	
and	great men	and	nobles	shot	

= 'then We shot it before the rulers, princes, great men, and nobles.'

AP-	n	LGLE	PWN	ZNE	drky	HNHTWN	(Middle Persian)
u	*-n*	*pāy*	*pad*	*ēn*	*darrag*	*nihād*	
		NGRYN	pty	ZK	wym	HQAYMWt	(Parthian)
		pāδ	*pad*	*ēd*	*wēm*	*awestād*	
and-	we-AG	foot	on	this	cleft	placed	

= 'And We placed (Our) foot/feet on this cleft (Parth. 'stone'),'

AP-	n	HTYA	LCDr	ZK	cyt'k	BLA	LMYTN	(Middle Persian)
u	*-n*	*tigr*	*tar*	*ān*	*čīdāg*	*bē*	*abgand*	
W		HΘYA	LCD	LHw	šyty	LBRA	RMYt	(Parthian)
ud		*tiγr*	*tar*	*hō*	*šīd*	*bēh*	**abgand*	
and-Us-AG		arrow	past	that	cairn	away	threw	

= 'and We threw (= shot) the arrow beyond that cairn.'

BLA	OLE	wy'k	AYK	HTYA	LMYTN	(Middle Persian)
bē	*ōy*	*gyāg*	*kū*	*tigr*	*abgand*	
byš	TME		ANW	HΘYA	NPLt	(Parthian)
bēž	*ōδ*		*kū*	*tiγr*	*kaft*	
but	that	place	where	arrow	fell	

= 'But, the place (Parth. 'there') where the arrow was thrown (Parth. 'fell'),'

TME	wy'k	ZK-'wgwn	LA	YHWWN	AYK	(Middle Persian)
ānōy	*gyāg*	*ān-ōwōn*	*nē*	*būd*	*kū*	
there	place	that-manner	not	was	that	
	LHw-znk	ATRE	LA	YHWt	AYK	(Parthian)
	hō-zanag	*wyāg*	*nē*	*būd*	*kū*	
	that-manner	place	not	was	that	

= 'there the place was not such that,'

HT	cyt'k	cyty	HWE	(Middle Persian)
agar	*čīdag*	*čīd*	*h-ē*	
'k	šyty	BNYt	HWYndy	(Parthian)
ag	*šīd*	**dišt*	*ah-ēndē*	
if	cairn	erected	were-OPT	

= 'if a cairn had been raised'

ADYN	by-lwny	pty'k	YHWWN	HWE	(Middle Persian)
ēg	*bē-rōn*	*paydāg*	*būd*	*h-ē*	
	OL LBRA ŠΘRA	'ksy	YHWt	HWYndy	(Parthian)
	ō bēh ārag	*āgas(ī)*	*būd*	*ah-ēndē*	
then	to out-side	visible	would-be-OPT		

= 'then it would have been visible outside.'

AHR	LNE	prm't	MNW	cyt'k	'wlndly	cyty	(Middle Persian)
pas	*amāh*	*framād*	*kē*	*čīdāg*	*ōr-andar*	*čīd*	
'dyn	LN	'wpdšt	MNW	šyty	PNEstr	BNYt	(Parthian)
aδyān	*amāh*	*ubdišt*	*kē*	*čīd*	*ōr-istar*	*dišt*	
then	We-AG	ordered-ERG	who	cairn	more-hither	erected	

= 'Then, We commanded (someone) who raised the cairn *on this side (Parth. 'further in this direction').'

	MNW	YDE	ΘB	HWE	ZK	LGLE	(Middle Persian)
	kē	*dast*	*nēw*	*h-ād*	*ān*	*pāy*	
'ws	MNW	YDA	ΘB	HWY-nt		NGRYN	(Parthian)
awās	*kē*	*dast*	*nēw*	*ah-ānd*		*pāδ*	
'(now)	who	hand(s)	good	be-SBJ-3s/p	that	foot'	

PWN	ZNE	drky	'yw	HNHTWN	(Middle Persian)
pad	*ēn*	*darrag*	*ēw*	*nih-ēd*	
pty	ZNE	wym	hyp	HQAYMWd	(Parthian)
pad	*im*	*wēm*	*hēb*	**awest-ēδ*	

= '(Now) he whose hand is (Parth. 'hands are') good, let that one place his foot on his cleft (Parth. 'stone')

W	HTYA	OL	ZK	cyt'k	'yw	ŠDYTN	(Middle Persian)
ud	*tigr*	*ō*	*ān*	*čīdāg*	*ēw*	*wih-ēd*	
W	HΘTYA	OL	hw	šyty	hyp	ŠDYW	(Parthian)
ud	*tiγr*	*ō*	*hō*	*šīd*	*hēb*	**wih-ēδ*	
'and	arrow	to	that	cairn	EXH	shoot'	

= 'and let him shoot the arrow to that cairn!'

AHR	MNW	HTYA	OL	ZK	cyt'k	LMYTN	(Middle Persian)
pas	*kē*	*tigr*	*ō*	*ān*	*čīdāg*	*abgan-ēd*	
	MNW	HΘYA	OL	hw	šyty	z'mywd	(Parthian)
	kē	*tiγr*	*ō*	*hō*	*šīd*	*žām-ēδ*	

'then who arrow to that cairn throws (Parth. 'leads, makes reach')'
= 'Then, he who shoots the arrow to (Parth. 'makes the arrow reach') that cairn,'

OLE		YDE	ΘB		(Middle Persian)
ōy		*dast*	*nēw*		
LHw	-p	YDA	ΘB	HWYN	(Parthian)
hō	*-b*	*dast*	*nēw*	*ah-ēnd*	
'he	indeed	hand(s)	good	(are)	

= 'his hand is (Parth. 'hands are') good (indeed)!'

8.3 Pahlavi Psalter, from *Psalm* 127

NYŠEt	cygwn	st'hy	ZY	st'dytky	PWN	d'mny	ZY	BYTA.
zan-it	*čiyōn*	*stāx*	*ī*	*stāyīd-ag*	*pad*	*dāman*	*ī*	*xān.*
wife-your	like	vine		praised	at	bosom	of	house

= 'Your wife is like a praised vine in the bosom of the house.'

plcndt	cygwn	nm'mk[y]	ZY	zyty	pyl'mwn	-t	hw'ny.
frazend-it	*čiyōn*	*nimāmag*	*ī*	*zayt*	*pērāmōn*	*ī-t*	*xwān.*
child-your	like	tree	of	olive	around	of-your	table.

= '(And) your children (are) like a tree of olive oil(?) about your table.'

LHNAš	'wgwn	'plyny	klyty	GBRA	MNW	tlsyt	MN	MROHY
**ēd-iš*	*ōwōn*	*āfrīn*	*kir-ēd*	*mard*	*kē*	*tars-ēd*	*az*	*xwadāy.*
this-him	thus	blessing	is made	man	who	fears	from	lord

= 'In this way he is blessed, the man who fears the Lord.'

'plynt	OBYDWN't	MROHY	MN	chywny
āfrīn-it	*kun-ād*	*xwadāy*	*az*	*čihyōn (ṣiḥyōn)*
blessing-you	will-make	lord	from	Zion

= 'The Lord shall bless you from Zion.'

W	wyn'y	PWN	klpky	ZY	'wlšlmy
ud	*wēn-ā*	*pad*	*kerbag*	*ī*	*ūrišalm*
and	see-SBJ-2s	by	grace	of	Jerusalem

= 'And you shall see by the grace of Jerusalem.'

KRAwspy	YWM	ZYt	zywndkyhy
harwisp	*rōz*	*ī-t*	*zīndagīh*
all	day	of-your	life

= 'all the days of your life.'

W	wyn'y	plcndy	OLt	plcndwn
ud	*wēn-ā*	*frazend*	*ō-t*	*frazend-ūn.*
and	you-see-SBJ	child	to-your	children

= 'And you shall see children unto your children.'

8.4 Pahlavi *Bundahišn* (Bd.33.0–4)

abar	*wizend*	*ī*	*hazārag*	*hazārag*	*ō*	*ērān-šahr*	*mad.*
on	harm	that	millennium	millennium	to	Ērān-šahr	came

= 'On the harm that befell the land of the Iranians in each millennium:'

ka	*gannāg*	*mēnōy*	*andar*	*dwār-ist*	*pad*	*bun,*
when	Foul	Spirit	in	rushed	in	beginning

= 'When the Foul Spirit rushed in in the beginning,'

nazdist	*hazārag*	*ī*	*andar*	*gumēz-išn-īh*
first	millennium		in	mixture

= 'the first millennium in the mixture,'

gāw	*ud*	*gayōmard*	*būd h-ēnd.*
Bull	and	Gayōmard	were

= 'there were the Bull and Gayōmard.'

ka	*mašīy*	*ud*	*mašyānīy*	*ān*	*huspāsīh*	*kerd*	*50 sāl*
when	Mašīy	and	Mašyānī-AG	that	good-worship	made	50 year

= 'When Mašīy and Mašyānī had performed that good worship/service for 50 years,'

ēg-išān	*zāy-išn*	*aziš*	*nē*	*būd.*
then-them	birth	from	not	was

= 'then there was no birth from them (*-išān . . . aziš*).'

andar	*ham*	*hazārag*	*pad*	*70 sāl*
in	same	millennium	for	70 year

= 'In the same millennium, for 70 years,'

hōšang	*ud*	*tahmūraf*	*harw*	*dō*	*dēw-ān*	*bē*	*ōzad.*
Hōšang	and	Tahmūraf	each	two	demons		killed

= 'Hōšang and Tahmūraf both killed demons.'

andar	*hazārag*	*sar*	*dēw-ān*	*ǰam*	*kirrēn-īd.*
in	millennium	head/end	demons-AG	Jam	cut

= 'At the end of the millennium the demons cut Jam (in half).'

didīgar	*hazārag*	*bun*	*būd*
second	millennium	bottom/beginning	was

= 'At the beginning of the second millennium was.'

ažidahāg	*duš-xwadāy-īh*	*abar*	*kerd.*	*100 sāl*	*bē*	*kerd.*
Ažidahāg	evil-rule	began		100 year		did

= 'when Ažidahāg began (his) evil-rule. He did (so) for a hundred years.'

čiyōn	*hazārag*	*sar*	*būd*	*frēdōn*	*grift*	*bast.*
as	millennium	end	became	Frēdōn-AG	took	bound

= 'When the end of the millennium came, Frēdōn seized and bound (him).'

sidīgar	*hazārag*	*bun*	*būd*
third	millennium	beginning	was

= 'It was the beginning of the third millennium'

ka	*frēdōn*	*kišwar*	*baxt*	*salm*	*ud*	*tūz.*
when	Frēdōn	land	divided	Salm	and	Tūz

= 'when Salm and Tūz divided Frēdōn's land (between them).'

ēg-išān	*ērij*	*ōzad*	*frazend-ān*	*ud*	*āwādag-ān*	*abesīh-ēn-īd.*
then-they-AG	Ērij	killed	children	and	families	destroyed

= 'Then they killed Ērij and destroyed (his) children and family.'

andar	*ham*	*hazārag*	*mānuščihr*	*zād*
in	same	millennium	Mānuščihr	was-born

= 'In the same millennium, Mānuščihr was born'

ud	*kēn*	*ī*	*ērij*	*xwāst.*
and	vengeance	of	Ērij	sought

= 'and sought (exacted) vengeance for Ērij.'

8.5 Pahlavi *Dēnkard* (*Dk*.9.45.4)

(DkM II, pp. 870–71; DkDH, p. 235)

abar	*stāy-išn*	*ī*	*pōručist*	*ī*	*zarduxšt-ān*
on	praise	of	Pōručist		Zarathustrid

= 'On the praise of Pōručist, daughter of Zarathustra'

pad	*dōš-īdan*	*ī*	*weh-dēn*	*pad*	*xrad*
for	loving	of	Good Dēn	with	wisdom

= 'for loving the Good Dēn with wisdom'

ud	*ker-dan*	*ī*	*ān*	*ī*	*dēn*	*handarz*	*hunsand-īhā.*
and	making	of	that	of	*dēn*	advice	happi-ly

= 'and for happily performing the advice of the Dēn.'

dā-dan	*ī*	*tan*	*pad*	*zan-īh*	*ō*	*zarduxšt*
giving	of	body	in	matrimony	to	Zarathustra

= 'How she gave her body in wife-hood to Zarathustra'

ud	*spurrīg*	*warz-īdan*	*ī*	*kār*	*ud*	*tarsagāh-īh*	*ī*	*ōy.*
and	fully	performing	of	work	and	respect	of	him

= 'and fully performed "work" and respect for him.'

pas	*az*	*zarduxšt*	*zan-īh-iz*	*ud*	*tarsagāh-īh*	*ī*	*ǰāmāsp*	*ker-dan*
after		Zarathustra	wife-hood-also	and	respect	of	Jāmāsp	mak-ing

= 'After Zarathustra, how she also performed wife-hood and respect for Jāmāsp.'

ud	*(wazurg-mizd)-īh*	*ī-š*	*az*	*ohrmazd*
and	(great-reward)-ing	of-her	from	Ohrmazd

= 'And the fact that a great reward (came) to her from Ohrmazd'

pad	*ān*	*dēnīg-īh*	*ud*	*yazd-ān*	*xwēš-īh.*
for	that	*dēn*-following	and	gods'	own-being

= 'for following the Dēn and being the gods' own.'

8.6 Manichaean Middle Persian

(*Mir. Man.* i, text e, M7984 I R ii, line 34 v ii, line 1)

gahīy	*hān*	*wīftōb*	*āz*	*garān*	*xešm*	*pahikand,*
then	that	lusty	Āz	heavy	rage	was-filled

= 'Then that *lusty Āz was filled with heavy rage,'

u-š	*niwist*	*gām*	*xwāh-ān*
and-it-AG	began	step	seeking

= 'and it began to seek (her next) step.'

u-š	*framād*	*kū*	*pad*	*hān*	*dō*	*dēs*
and-she-AG	ordered	that:	by	that	two	forms

= 'And she ordered: 'According to those two forms,'

ī	*srīgar*	*ud*	*nar*	*ī*	*narēsah-yazd*	*ī-m*	*dīd*
	female	and	male	of	Narēsah-god	that-I-AG	saw

= 'male and female, of god Narēsah, which I saw,'

hān	*dō*	*dām*	*nar*	*ud*	*māyag*	*dēs-ān*
that	two	creatures	male	and	female	I-shall-form

= 'I will form those two creatures, male and female,'

kū-m	*paymōg*	*ud*	*niyām*	*baw-ānd . . .*
that-me	garment	and	covering	be-SBJ-3p

= '(in order) that they may be a garment and covering for me.'

pas	*hān*	*āz*	*az*	*hamāg*	*hān*	*zahag*	*ī*	*dēw-ān*
then	that	Āz	from	all	that	brood	of	demons

= 'Then that Āz, of all that brood of the demons'

kē	*az*	*asmān*	*ō*	*zamīg*	*kaft h-ēnd*
who	from	sky	to	earth	fell

= 'that fell from the heaven upon the earth,'

hān	*āsarēštār*	*ī*	*nar*	*āsarēštār*	*ī*	*māyag,*
that	archon		male	archon		female

= 'that male Archon (and) that female Archon,'

šagr-kerb-and	*axšōz*	*ud*	*xešm-ēn*	*bazzag*	*ud*	*appar*	*anā-nd*
lion-shaped	*lusty	and	of-wrathful	sins	and	thievish	was-IPF

= '(who) were lion-shaped, *lusty, of wrathful sins, and thievish,'

awēšān	*paymōxt.*
those	donned

= 'those it donned.

u-š	*xwēš*	*niyām*	*ud*	*paymōg*	*kerd h-ēnd*
and-it-AG	own	covering	and	garment	made-them

= 'And it made them its own covering and garment.'

u-šān	*andar*	*axšōz-īh-ist*
and-them	inside	lusted

= 'And she lusted inside them.'

8.7 Manichaean Parthian poetic text

(*Mir. Man.* iii, text k, M104 R lines 1–17; Boyce 1975: 127, text bx)

warm	*ādur-ēn*	*frasis-tan*	*kām-ād*
cloud	fiery	breaking	it-wished

= 'It wished for the fiery cloud to break forth'

kū	*hamag*	*pad*	*ādur*	*hāw-āh.*
that	all	by	fire	consume-SBJ-3s

= '(in order) that it might consume everything by (its) fire.'

šahrδār	*arγāw*	*"xēbēh*	*padmōžan*	*izwašt*
prince	noble	own	garment	changed

= 'The noble prince changed his garment'

ud	*pad*	*sezd-īft*	*būd*	*āgas*	*ō*	*sātān.*
and	in	power	was	revealed	to	Satan

= 'and was revealed to Satan in his power.'

hampad	*zamīg*	*ud*	*asmān*	*wilarz-ād,*
*immediately	earth	and	sky	trembled

= 'Immediately, the earth and heaven trembled,'

ud	*samēl*	*kaft*	*ō*	*žafr-ān.*
and	Samēl	fell	to	depths

= 'and Sammēl fell down into the depths.'

tarkumān	*rāšt*	*būd*	*abaxšāh-išn*	*rōšn*	*wasnāδ*
interpreter	true	was	forgiveness	light	for the sake of

= 'The true interpreter had pity for the sake of the light'

čē	*dušmen-īn*	*xāz-ād.*
which	enemies	swallowed

= 'that the enemies (had) swallowed.'

būd-iš	*sān-ād*	*až*	*žafr*	*ahrīwar*
was-he-AG	raised	from	deep	pool

= 'He had raised-(it) from the deep dark pool'

ō	*hō*	*ayāg*	*abrang-īft*	*až*	*kū*	*ōsaxt.*
to	that	place	puri-ty	from	where	came-down

= 'to that place of purity from where it had come down.'

namāž	*ō*	*tō*	*(wazarg-īft)-(zād-ag)*
Homage	to	you	(great-ness)-child

= 'Homage to you, O child of greatness,'

kē	*abdāž-ād*	*"xēbēh*	*ardāw-īft.*
who	delivered	own	righteous-dom

= 'who delivered your congregation of the righteous!'

awās-iž	*pāy*	*āmōž-ag*	*marī zakkō*
now-also	stay	teach-er	Mārī Zakō

= 'So stay now, (our) teacher Mari Zakō,'

pān-ag	*wazarg*	*čē*	*tō*	*čar-ag*	*nisāg-ēn*
protection	great	of	your	flock	shining

= '(as) a great protection of your shining flock!'

ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS

Abnun	Inscription of Abnun, ed. Skjærvø (1992).
ANRm	Inscription of Ardaxšīr at Naqš-e Rostam, ed. Herzfeld (1924: 84–85), Back (1978: 281–82)
AR.	*Angad rōšnān*, ed. Boyce (1954).
AWN.	*Ardā Wirāz-nāmag*, ed. Haug and West (1872), Gignoux (1984).
AZ.	*Ayādgār ī Zarērān*, ed. Monchi-Zadeh (1981).
BBB.	Henning (1936).
Bd.	*Bundahišn*, ed. Anklesaria (1956).
BT 4, 11, 19	Sundermann (1973, 1981, 1997).
Bīš.	Inscription of Šābuhr at Bīšāpūr, ed. in Nyberg (1964: 124–25), Back (1978: 378–83).
Dk.7	*Dēnkard*, book 7, ed. Molé (1967).
Huy.	*Huyadag-mān*, ed. Boyce (1954).
KKZ	Inscription of Kerdīr on the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, ed. Back (1978: 384–489)
KN.	*Kār-nāmag ī ardaxšīr ī Pābagān*, ed. Sanjana (1896).
KSM	Inscription of Kerdīr at Sar-e Mašhad, ed. MacKenzie (1989).
M	Manichean manuscript in the Turfan collection of the Berlin-Brandenburgishe Akademie der Wissenschaften.
MHD.	*Mādayān ī hazār dādestān*, ed. Macuch (1993).
Mir. Man. i–iii	The texts edited in Andreas (1932–1934).
NPi	Inscription of Narseh at Paikuli, ed. Herzfeld (1924), Humbach, H., and P. O. Skjærvø (1983).
Pahl. Y.	Pahlavi *yasna*, ed. Dhabhar (1949).
Pahl. Yt.	Pahlavi *yašts*, ed. Dhabhar (1927).
PN.	*Pand-nāmag*, ed. Kanga (1960).
PR.	*Pahlavi rivāyat*, ed. Williams (1990).
Ps.	The Pahlavi *Psalter*, ed. Andreas and Barr (1936).
PT.	*Pahlavi Texts*, ed. J. M. Jamasp-asana (1897).
Šāb. esch.	*Šābuhragān*, the eschatological part, ed. MacKenzie (1979–80).
ŠH	Inscription of Šābuhr at Hajiabad, ed. MacKenzie (1978).
ŠKZ	Inscription of Šābuhr on the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, ed. Huyse (1999).
ŠPs. II	Inscription of Šāpūr Sagān-šāh at Persepolis, ed. Back (1978: 495–97).

LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS

The most recent descriptions of phonology, morphology (and some syntax) are Rastorgueva (1966 and 1981) and Sundermann (1989), with extensive bibliographies. See also Klingenschmitt's (2000) miscellany. Older works include Haug (1870), E. W. West in Geiger and E. Kuhn (1895: 249–332); Bartholomae (1911–15 and 1916–22). For the phonology, see Weber (1997) with bibliography. For the morphology of the verb, see Henning (1933) for Middle Persian and Ghilain (1939) for Parthian. For the syntax see Brunner (1977). Introductions to Pahlavi: Nyberg's (1928–31) *Hilfsbuch* (see Henning's [1935] review) and the revised (1964–74) *Manual*. Hansen (1963) contains select texts as excercises in reading Pahlavi. Henning (1958) is a survey of the place of Middle Persian and Parthian among the Middle Iranian languages. Many of the Manichean texts

published before Sundermann (1973) were published in transliteration by Boyce (1975) accompanied by a glossary (1977). Dictionaries: MacKenzie (1971: Pahlavi) and Durkin-Meisterernst (2004: Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian).

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Pahlavi *tōšn* (*tušn*) in Denkard VII

Amir Zamani and *Milad Abedi*

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PAHLAVI, GUJARATI AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

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પેહેલવી-ગુજરાતી અને ઇંગ્રેજી શબ્દકોષ.

૨ . . ૨,

જમાસ્પજી દસ્તુર મીનોચેહેરજી જમાસ્પ આસાના,

મુંબઈની યુનીવરસીટીનાં ફેલો, અને મુંબઈની રાયલ એસીઆટીક સોસાઈટીના મેમ્બર.

દફતર ૩ જું.

સને ૧૨૫૧ યજદજરદી. સને ૧૮૮૨ ઈસવી.

મુંબઈ—જેહાંગીર બેજનજી કરાંની
ના૦ ૧૮, પારસી બજાર.

લંદન—મીસીઅરસ ત્રુબનરની કુંપની,
૫૭ અને ૫૯, લદગેત હીલ.

(તરજુમો કરવાનો તથા બીજા સર્વે હક્કો ગ્રંથકર્તાએ પોતાને સ્વાધીન રાખેલા છે.)

મુંબઈ મધ્યે

એજ્યુકેશન સોસાઇટીનાં છાપખાનામાં છપાવી પ્રગટ કરયું છે.

OPINIONS ON THE WORK AFTER THE PUBLICATION OF ITS SECOND VOLUME.

Pahlavi, Gujarati and English Dictionary, Vol. II. By JAMASPJI DASTUR MINOCHEHERJI JAMASP

(*Deccan Herald*, June 10, 1879.)

We have the pleasure to acknowledge receipt of [illegible] abbreviated [illegible]ically rep[illegible]rati and English Dictionary, the work of Mr. Jama[illegible]ghe to [illegible]nocheherjee Jamasp Asana. Pahlvi scholars will deul[illegible] Zen[illegible] glad to welcome this book as a very great aid to them in their studies. The Parsis are not far behind in the work, which has been so attractive to Danish and German students of Oriental literature. The importance of such a work has long been felt, and we are glad to notice that this help to the Oriental student has now been furnished. It will be useful to Europeans, as the meanings are given both in Gujarati and English. The peculiarities of the language have been very carefully explained. In the body of the work the words are arranged in their phonetic rendering into Gujarati and English, and then their meaning is given. The Pahlavi language is the most ancient and difficult of all the languages spoken in Persia, though many recent words are derived from the Avesta, Sanscrit, and other languages. This book will be exceedingly useful to every Pahlavi student, and we trust it will be well patronized by students generally in Western India.

(*Indian Daily News*, June 18, 1879.)

There are some languages that are called dead, which yet live, there are some dying that can well be spared, and there would be some advantage if some that are dying could be helped in the process. There would be a gain to mankind if humanity could approach a little nearer to unity of speech, and the Babel of tongues be reduced once more to harmony. It will always happen, however, that as threatened men live long, threatened languages will die hard. The tendency to extinction as regards the Welsh tongue roused the patriotic fire of the people, and to preserve their distinctness as a people, they immediately set to work to cultivate the Welsh language,

and gave prizes for Welsh songs and books. Whether they will be able to preserve their language for popular use is doubtful in this age of Board Schools. No doubt it was similar inspiration that led Jamaspjee Minocheherji Dastur to compile a Pahlavi, Gujarati, and English Dictionary. The work seems to have been undertaken in the same spirit, and the second volume has just been published. The language is quite strange to people on this side of India, and we cannot pretend to give any critical notice of it. We may observe, however, the first volume was highly spoken of by Oriental authorities [illegible] Mars and students of the language will doubtless find it a us[illegible] ceptable work.

(*Ma[illegible] Athenæum and Daily News*, June 20, 1879.)

We have received a copy of the above work which is published at the Education Society's Press, Byculla. It is beautifully printed and well got up, and reflects great credit on the publishers. It has been compiled by Jamaspji Dastur Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, a Fellow of the University of Bombay and a Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. We do not profess to be acquainted with the Pahlvi and Gujarati languages, and have therefore referred the work to a native scholar in Madras, a graduate of the University, whose opinion we give below. The author tells us in his preliminary note "that owing to the study of the language having been almost abandoned by the people, and to the negligence and unwillingness of its teachers in imparting its knowledge to some praiseworthy few who desire to penetrate the mysteries of their ancient tongue, it has day by day sunk into obscurity, and finally has become almost obliterated." It appears that the work was designed and commenced by the author's father, whose death made it incumbent on the son to complete it. Several individuals, including the late Dr. Wilson, appear to have taken much interest in its compilation, and to have rendered some assistance to the compiler, who is afraid that several errors may have crept into the work, as it is the first attempt of its kind. The native gentleman to whom we showed the work says that it is conscientiously compiled, and as a book of reference it should be received with favour in the Gujarati country, where it is likely to prove a useful and explanatory guide, both to classical students and to the boys in public schools in Bombay as well as to ordinary readers and men of business in that Presidency.

(*Bombay Review and Daily Advertiser*, June 28, 1879.)

We have before us a work which has been too long needed not to meet with a cordial welcome; for though the learned Dastur may have left something to be desired from a scientific point of view, his book cannot fail to be of immense value to all who aspire to a practical knowledge of the Pahlavi tongue. In order to form an idea of the advantage accruing to students by the publication of a work of this description, it must be remembered that the Pahlavi language, though generally written in a character very similar to its parent, the Zend, has, by a traditional system of abbreviation, to contain a vast number of words only symbolically represented. To illustrate this by an example, it is enough to open the Dictionary at the first page, where we find the Zend form of the letter ـَ used in Pahlavi as the eqivalent of the Zend sounds *ă*, *ā*, *i. e.*, *kha* and *ha*; and glancing down the following pages we find this single symbol employed to represent no less than twenty-five words and prefixes of the most varied nature. Until a few years ago these readings were known only by tradition and by the aid of a few imperfect glossaries, and although Dr. West and the late Dr. Martin Haug laboured in this field, it was without any immediate result, for the former never completed his book and the latter died in the midst of his work. Moreover, it is to be feared, that owing to the small attention bestowed on the study of English and German by the majority of the Parsi priesthood, the works of European scholars would be of little or no use to the very class who would in reality most require their assistance. The learned Dastur has therefore not only bestowed a boon on Oriental scholars as a whole, but has fully doubled the value of his work by giving a full version with the pronunciation, in the Gujarati language, thus rendering the Pahlavi Dictionary perfectly accessible to his own nation.

The lexicography itself appears to be the result of a much more extensive perusal of Pahlavi works than is usually possible, and the compiler has had access to many rich private libraries; so that in all probability his work contains a larger number of words than a European scholar would have been able to collect. It seems to us a matter to be regretted that the references to the authorities have been given only in a limited number of instances, though the author tells us that this has been done wherever the meaning of a word

appeared to him doubtful. It must indeed be evident to scholars that, by a more copious quotation of the sources used, the Dictionary, though essentially a popular work chiefly designed for the use of the Parsis themselves, would make a valuable foundation upon which to construct a more elaborate and scientific work.

The author, in his preliminary note, makes a brief statement of the system he has followed, which is an excellent one; indeed it is impossible to overrate the advantages gained by an alphabetical arrangement of the Pahalvi words according to their initial symbols, independently of their pronunciation . . . . . As a popular and reliable guide and assistant to the native student Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji's Dictionary stands alone, while to the European scholar it will prove itself to be of the greatest value in any future attempt to compile a thoroughly scientific Pahalvi Lexicon.

(*The Contemporary Review*, October, 1879.)

A *Pahlavi Dictionary*, by Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, of which the first two volumes have just appeared (London, Trübner & Co., 1879), supplies a want long felt by students of the old Persian speech. Pahlavi is the name applied to the old Persian tongue, and more particularly to that phase of it which was spoken during the reigns of the Sassanian kings. It is of great interest to the philologist, inasmuch as it contains a large admixture of Semitic words, derived, however, from a different source than the Arabic element in modern Persian, and appears to be akin to the Assyrian. . . . . Dastur Jamaspji Asana interprets the word *Huzvaresh* to mean the "language of Assyria"—a suggestion which, if correct, throws some light on the origin of the language. The etymology of the word Pahlavi has been the subject of much discussion, but the latest as well as the most reasonable conjecture is that of Dr. Haug (followed by the author of this Dictionary), that it is identical with *Parthva*, the Parthia of the classical writers; the most warlike and important nation having given its name to the language, just as the province of Pars has given the name to the language of modern Iran. The great difficulty in compiling such a Dictionary as the present, apart from the unsatisfactory nature of the available texts, is that the alphabet is so very vague and confused. The language

contains a very great number of sounds which the alphabet, borrowed from the Semitic, is incapable of expressing; the same letter, therefore, is often used for different sounds, and combinations of the various letters again often express simple sounds. This makes the arrangement very difficult, but the author of this work has adopted the only safe method—that of arranging the words according to the alphabetical order of the letters rather than in order of sounds. A table, in which the various combinations of the letters are explained, also much simplifies reference. The author has in all cases followed the traditional reading and interpretation of words, leaving to the more critical scholars of Europe the task of investigating them from a scientific point of view.

(*Native Opinion*, June, 1879.)

The second volume of this valuable work, compiled by Mr. Jamaspji Dastur Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, Fellow of the Bombay University and Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, is now before the public. It continues the Dictionary from page 169 to page 440 in the same painstaking, detailed and instructive manner which had been pursued in the first volume in four different characters and languages; a peculiarity which alone is calculated to impart to this Dictionary a marked pre-eminence over any other hitherto published work. The opinions of the late Professor Westergaard, of Dr. Haug, as well as of the living scholars, such as Darmesteter, West, &c. prefixed to this volume are of more weight than anything we could say of its value, so that we may be excused for not adding our poor eulogy. The clearness of the various types used is conspicuous and the paper good, which external recommendations will also contribute to enhance the intrinsic worth of the book to students.

From a private letter dated January 26, 1880, from Dr. WILH. GEIGER, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Erlangen (Germany).

. . . . . I am quite of the same opinion as our authorities—West, Darmesteter, &c., who find your Dictionary to be of great value and advantage to all people studying the Pahlavi. The thing I especially appreciate is your arrangement of the words, by their signs and not by their sound; in a similar way as West has done it in his capital Dictionary to Arda Viraf Nameh. By this way your

Pahlavi Dictionary has become a valuable and quite indispensable book. At the same time you have opened to your learned men fresh resources, so far unknown to them, smoothing especially many disputes with regard to the Ritualism. . . . . .

Accept, dear Sir, my best thanks for having sent to me your valuable work. You may be sure that I use it constantly in my studies, and that I take it for a great honour to have made your acquaintance in this way. I am convinced that, especially by working together (the Parsee and European learned men), the investigations of your religious and the sacred documents of the old Iranian nation will be more and more brought to perfection. . . . . .

Yours, &c.

DR. WILH. GEIGER.

Translation of a Review of the second part of Pahlavi Dictionary written in the "Revue Critique" of 31st May 1880, by Dr. James Darmesteter, Professor of Iranian Languages at Paris.

The learned Dastur Jamaspji has now published the second part of his Pahlavi Dictionary, (see the review of the first part in the *Revue Critique* of 15th September 1877), in which he takes us as far as the group *ash*. For this part we have to repeat the same remarks that we said for the previous one. . . . . .
When this work will be finished the Pahlavi scholars will have an immense material. At first it may not have been easy for them to find everything in it, but they will surely find a great deal at last. We unfortunately learn that it is very improbable that it would be finished. The third volume is in the press, but it is to be feared that this would be the last. The times have been hard at Bombay it appears, and the subscribers of the Dastur seem to withdraw their promises. The subscription of the English Government is not sufficient to cover its expenses. We hope that the fellow countrymen of Mr. Jamaspji will come to better feelings, more in keeping with the commandments of Vendidad and with the interests of that beautiful and great Zoroastrian literature of which they have the sacred trust, because the subscription is in fact a kind of contract of the kind *Zasta marshto Mithra* (𐬰𐬀𐬯𐬱𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬁𐬌𐬥 - 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬁𐬌𐬥) and is not less sacred, and it would be unworthy on the part of the intelligent

community of Bombay to neglect and lose by its lethargy the treasures which are bequeathed to them by their ancestors. Should they mind spending a few rupees every year? The work of their learned Dastur will for a great part contribute to make the word of Zoroaster and the good law of Mazda better understood in the whole of Europe, as they have before them such a prosperous wealth. What would the soul of Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy say in the Gurothman?

JAMES DARMESTETER.

Translation of the Review of the Second Part of the Pahlavi Dictionary written in a German periodical called "Das Literarische Centralblatt," of June 1880.

It is the want of a clerical hand-book, which makes the study of the Pahlavi Literature so very difficult. It is true we have a few special Dictionaries, such as Arda Viraf of West, and the Bundehesh of Justi; but a Dictionary of the whole literature, containing especially the translations of the Avesta, has always been a great necessity for all Iranists. For this reason we may well express our joy, that the learned Parsee Priest Jamaspji, whose knowledge in the Pahlavi literature surpasses by far all Europeans, has continued and finished the great work of the Pahlavi Dictionary, begun by his father.

This Dictionary contains 440 pages, about 4,000 words, written in original types, as well as in Gujarati and Roman letters, with their meaning in the Gujarati and the English languages. The whole book is arranged in the same way as Dr. West's Dictionary of Arda Viraf; the last word of the 2nd volume being *áshuftan*. . . . .

We sincerely hope that this Dictionary will progress more and more; it will certainly meet with great success. . . . . A certain number of letters, just printed, prove that the completion of this Dictionary is looked for with interest by all learned men.

Translation of a Review by Dr. C. DE HARLEZ, of the University of Louvain (Belgium), in the *Bulletin Critique* of 1st January 1881.

. . . . . The religious books of the ancient Persians and of the Zoroastrians of the posterior times are still in obscurity. A complete Dictionary of the Pahlavi language is one of the principal

desiderata of Oriental science. Certainly there are some special lexicons explaining certain texts; but a complete glossary of the language has not yet been compiled. It is therefore very satisfactory that a Zoroastrian priest, a Dastur of Gujarat, has undertaken this work so difficult and important.

It is evidently not a long time since Europe taught India to understand its religious books. The Indian Parsis, instructed by our great masters, have taken the lead in their turn, and are now the pioneers of science. But their zeal could only be admired chiefly because a religious sentiment and some opinion of their faith instigates them.

It was therefore with a lively sympathy that the commencement of the work of Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji was received. Two volumes of the Pahlavi Dictionary are already published, notwithstanding the material difficulties which detained our author up to this moment. We sincerely hope that his work may be brought to a successful end.

Although the method of the author is not that of European science, yet his book constitutes a collection of the most precious materials. Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji was perfectly prepared for the execution of this great work. He possesses numerous Pahlavi works and manuscripts, several of which were yet unexplored; he has studied them thoroughly; and knows the whole of the contents. His work is received with great favour, as could be seen from the Introduction of the 2nd volume, where the opinions of some princes of European science are given. In fact we see among them the editors of our principal reviews: West in the *Academy*, Angelo de Gubernatis in the *Bulletino*, Ferd. Justi in the *Bibliographisches Anzeigen*, and Haug in his *Essays*.

In his preliminary notes he first gives the explanation of his method of compilation, on reading which the student must engrave it in mind if he wishes to profit by the use of the book. . . . . It is sufficient for us to say that the work of the author has all the characters of a true scholarship, and that it will render good service to Oriental science. Everybody like us will wish that it may be finished soon, and will be thankful to its talented author for his efforts and his services.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(*Revue Critique Internationale, of April*, 1881.)

When a report of the two first volumes of this important work was published, the learned author informed us that the third part is on the point of appearing. We content ourselves to-day to communicate to our readers this excellent new hope that the third volume will be obtained by us.

A complete Pahlavi dictionary is certainly one of the principal desiderata of the Oriental science; many parts of the version of the Avesta and some other books of the Parsis are yet obscure, and consequently many Pahlavi words are left unexplained and also cannot be read with certainty. The learned head of the Dasturs of Bombay is one of the scholars, the best prepared to bring to a good end this difficult enterprise. He possesses numerous manuscripts, several of which have not yet been explored by any one but him, and he is the sole inheritor of books of his father who left behind him an illustrious name in the learned world. He is wholly destined to accomplish the commenced monument. The most distinguished Iranists—as West, Haug, Justi, and Westergaard—have given their unanimous eulogies to the first volume of the Pahlavi Dictionary. We cannot but associate ourselves with it, and wish the most happy success to the work of the learned Dastur.

(*From a private letter dated 2nd December* 1881 *from* Dr. MEURIN, *Roman Catholic Bishop of Bombay.*)

"The *Pahlavi Dictionary* is undoubtedly of the greatest and, indeed, of an everlasting importance, and for which the scientific world is highly indebted to you."

(Translation of an article from the *Journal Asiatique of* 1881.)

A complete Dictionary of the Pahlavi of the Persian books is still one of the principal desiderata of the Oriental science. It exists well in the form of special lexicons, explaining the texts of certain books in particular, such as the Pandnameh, the Ardaviraf Nameh, the Goshte Farian and of certain fragments, such as are given in the second volume of the "Traditional Literature of the Parsis" by Spiegel, and our "Pahlavi Manual," but a complete one of the

language has not yet been attempted, and arranged in order. Many important books are, therefore, in some measure obscure up to this time. It was therefore with a lively satisfaction that European savants learnt that a Zoroastrian priest, a Dastur of Gujarat, had undertaken this task, equally difficult and important. They now see that the time when Europe taught the Indian Zoroastrians to understand their religious books has passed away. The Indian Parsis, instructed by our own qualified masters, have taken the lead in their turn, and the science will be soon indebted to them for the remarkable progress.

Amongst the books destined to favour this progress we can mention the Pahlavi Dictionary of the Chief Dastur of Bombay. His rank as a Fellow of the University of Bombay already tells us that we have to do with a man of science.

It will not at all be astonishing, therefore, for the favour with which the commencement of the work of Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji was received. The author was besides perfectly able for the execution of this great work. He possesses a rich library and precious manuscripts, several of which are still unknown to Europe. He has managed to turn his literary riches to good account. The savants of India as well as of Europe are pleased to give their unanimous eulogium to this new Dictionary. The reviews taken by Drs. West, Justi, Angelo de Gubernatis, Haug, and Westergaard are to be found in the Introduction of the 2nd volume. It is also with profound surprise that we have learnt that this interesting work is threatened to be interrupted by want of perseverance of its supporters It would do honour to the Indian Government if it should take such means as could bring the work to a successful end—the learned Europeans would certainly co-operate with all the power that lies in them.

In the beginning of his work, Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji gives some indications relating to the alphabetical order adopted in the Dictionary. It is not at all an easy thing to arrange the Pahlavi words in such an order as could make the reference easy. The author, according to our notion, has followed here the most wise plan, and it is likewise what we are resolved upon. He has only taken into account the form of letters—the scholar has thus an assured guide. In the arrangement of letters the author has followed, contrary to the adopted usage, the linguistic order (order relating to the Science of

language), placing first the vowels, then the gutterals, palatals, dentals, &c., following. The Dictionary of the Dasturan Dastur of Bombay will certainly be a rich thesaurus of the Zend (Pahlvi) language, and the most precious assistance for the Iranists. Numerous are the words for which one could vainly search in the usual lexicons printed as well as unprinted. With a modesty which honours him greatly, the author recognizes how it is easy to be misled in a work of this kind, undertaken for the first time, and he begs of his readers to point him out his errors. He has tried to rectify the readings adopted by his co-religionists, and has, for this purpose, very much compared them with the system adopted in Europe. However, we think, it would have been better if he had followed it completely. . . . . The Introduction, which is not at all without scientific value, treats of the Pahlavi language and of the signification of the words *Pahlavi* and *Huzvâresh*. The author naturally follows the Zoroastrian and Avestic traditions—he takes the origin of the language from the Kayanian and the Peshdadian Kings. We are not to discuss here the questions of this kind which only indirectly concern the Dictionary. Everybody like us would wish that the learned Dastur may be able to finish the work soon, and will eagerly recognize the services which it would render to the science. We have learnt that he has been able to overcome the difficulties which retarded his publication, and that the third volume of the Pahlavi Dictionary is now on the point of appearing.

આઝે પુસ્તકનો બીજો ભાગ છપાઈ બાહેર પડીઆ પછી તે ઉપર અપાયલાં મતો.

પહેલવી-ગુજરાતી અને ઇંગ્રેજી શબ્દ કોષ, ભાગ ૧લો અને ૨-જો, રચનાર દસ્તુર જામાંસ્પજી મીનો-ચેહરજી જામાસ્પ આસાના.

જામેજમશેદ—તા૦ ૧૧ મી જુન ૧૮૭૯.

પેહલવી જેવી પુરાણી અને મરણ પામેલી ભાષાને રાજીવન કરનારા તથા એવી એક ભાષાનો શબ્દકોષ બનાવનારા તરીકે દસ્તુરજી શાહેબ જામાસપજી મીનોચેહેરજી જામાસપઆસાનાનું નામ હવે પછીની તવારીખમાં અને અકરાર કરીને જરથોશતી ફીરકામા અમરગ રેહેશે. દસ્તુરજી શાહેબનું આ બીજું વાલમ માન રાહીત સ્વીકારતાં હમોને તેમની તારીફમાં થોડાક શબ્દો લખવાની ફરજ પડેછે. આ પુસ્તક બનાવવામાં તેમને જર અને જેહેમત બેનો મોટો ખરચ કરવો પડતો હશે, એવું એ પુસ્તક હાથમાં લેતાંજ વાચનારને જહત માલમ પડી આવેછે. આ પુસ્તકની તારીફ હમો પોતેજ કરીએછે એમ નથી, બીજાં વરતમાન પતરોએજ કરીછે એમ નથી, પણ પ્રોફેશર વેસ્ટ, ડાકટર હાઉગ અને જરમનીના બીજા કામેલ વીદ્વાનો અને જરતોશતી ધરમના અભ્યાશીઓએ કરી છે. એ ગ્રંથ જરથોશતી પુસ્તકોનાં કેતાબખાનાંને શારી જેબ દેશે એમાંતો કશી નવાઈ નથી. જુની ચોપડીઓ અને બીજાં પુસ્તકોમાંથી ઉતારા કરી તેને નવી ધપમાં બનાવવાં શેહલ છે, પણ એક મરણ પામેલી ભાષાને રાજીવન કરી તેનો કોષ બનાવવો કાંઇ શેહલ કામ નથી. દસ્તુર જામાશજીએ એ કોષના ગુજરાતી શાથ અંગરેજી અરથો પણ આપીઆછે, અને તેથી ઇંગ્રેજીના વીદ્યારથીઓની પણ તેઓએ એક મોટી અગત પુરી પાડીછે. એવણના મરનાર બાવા દસ્તુરજી શાહેબ મીનોચેરજીનાં પગલાં ઉપર ચાલી તેમનીજ માફક તેઓએ જરથોશતી કોમની શેવા બજાવવી જારી રાખીછે તે જોઈ હમોને આનંદ ઉપજેછે. પોતાના ધંધાના કામથી એવણને ફુરશદ ઘણી થોડી મલતી હશે અને તેનો ઉપીઓગ આવાં એક અગતનાં પણ બીકત કામ પાછલ તેઓએ રાખેલો જોઈ હમો તેવણને મુબારકબાદી આપીએ છીએ તો પણ જરથોશતી ધરમના એક વડા ધરમ ગરૂ તરીકે એવણની ફરજ એવાં કાંમ પાછલ ચીત

લગોડવાની હમો તો રાહમજીએ છીએ. દરાતુરજી શાહેબે ઘણાક ભાષણો આપીઆંછે, ધરમ બાબદ ઉપર ઘણાક નીબંધો છપાવીઆંછે. અને બીજાં ઘણાં પુરાતકો બાહાર પાડીઆંછે તેમાં આ પેહલવી શબ્દ કોષ પેહલી અગત ધરાવનારો છે એવું હમો કહીએછીએ. તેમનાં પેહલાં વાલમ ઉપર તેઓએ જેટલી અડાગ મેહનત લીધેલી માલમ પડી છે, તેટલીજ આ બીજાં ઉપર પણ એવણે લીધેલી જણાએછે, અને હમો વકી રાખીએછે કે તેવણ તેમનાં બાકીનાં રાઘલાં વાલમો ઉપર પણ તેવીજ કાલજીથી મેહનત લઇ એ ભાષાને રામપુરણપણે પરજા અને વીદ્યારથીઓ હજુર મેલવાને પછાત પડશે નહી. એ પુરાતકનો રાંગરહ કરવા તથા બોંમબે એજીઉકેશન શોશાએટી પરેરા જેવાં મોઘાં છાપખાનામાં શકાઇદાર અને રારરા રીતે છપાવવા પાછલનો તેમનો ખરચ, તથા એ ઉપરની તેમની મેહનત જોતાં એની જે કીમત એઓએ રાખીછે તે હમો નજીવી રાહમજીએછીએ. મુંબઇની, મંઘરાજની અને ખુદ હીંદુસ્તાનની સરકારે એ પુરાતક ખરીદી દરાતુરજીની મેહનતની કદર બુજીછે, અને પારશી કોમે એ પુરાતકને જરૂર આસારો આપી તેમનાં ઘરમાં અને પુરાતકખાનાંમાં તેને જાલવી રાખવું એવી ભલામણ હમો દરેક જરથોશતી ભાઇને કરીએછીએ. એ કોશના પેહલા વાલમ વીશે જરમનીના ઘણાક કાબેલ વીદ્વાનોએ આપેલાં મત આ બીજાં વાલમમાં આપવામાં આવેલાંછે, અને તે વાંચી જોતાં મોટી ખુશાલીતો એ પેદા થાએછે કે, શરવે કોઇએ એ પુરાતકની અગત કબુલ રાખતી વખતે તે ઉપર કશા ટીકા કીધા નથી, અથવા એક પણ ચુક કાહાડી નથી, એજ દરાતુરજીની રાઘલી કાબેલીઅત બતાવી આપેછે, તથા તેમની મેહનતનો બદલો તેમાં વલેલો દરાતુરજી શાહેબ જામારાપજી બેશક રાહમજતા હોવા જોઇએ.

બોંબે ગેજેટ—તા૦ ૧૨ મી જુન ૧૮૭૯.

દસતુર જામાસજી મીનોચેહેરજી જામાસપ આશાનાએ બનાવેલા પેહેલવી ગુજરાતી અને ઇંગ્રેજી શબ્દકોષની પોંહોચ હમો ખુશીસાથે સ્વીકારીએ છઇએ. પેહેલવી ભાષાના વીદીઆરથીઓ પોતાના અભ્યાસમાં એક મોટી મદદ તરીકે આએ કેતાબને આવકાર દેવાને બેશક ઘણા ખુશી થશે. પુર્વ દેશની ભાષા જાનનાં દેનીશ અને જરમન અભ્યાશીઓનું ધીઆન જે કામપર લાગું છે તે કામમાં પારશીઓ પણ કોઇરીતે પછાત નથી. એવા એક ગ્રંથની અગત ઘણી મુદત થઇ ચાલતી આવી છે અને હમે જાણીને ખુશી છઇએ જે પુર્વ દેશની ભાષાના અભ્યાશીને એ મદદ હવે પુરી પાડવામાં આવી છે. ગુજરાતી તથા ઇંગ્રેજી ભાષાઓમાં બોલોના અર્થ આપીઆ છે તેથી યુરોપીઅન વીદ્યાર્થીઓને પણ એ ગ્રંથ કામનો થઇ પડશે. પેહેલવી ભાષાની વીશેષતા એમાં ઘણીજ સંભાલથી સમજાવામાં

આવેલી છે. એ ગ્રંથમાં બોલોને ઉચાર પરમાણે ગુજરાતી અને ઇંગ્રેજીમાં ગોઠવીઆ છે અને પછી તેઓના અર્થ આપીઆ છે. પેહેલવી ભાષાના જોકે કેટલાક નવા બોલો અવસતા, સંસ્કૃત અને બીજી ભાષાપરથી ઉપજાવવામાં આવીઆ છે તોપણ એ ભાષા સઘલી ઇરાની ભાષાઓમાં સરવેથી અસલ અને બીકટ છે. આ એ કેતાબ દરએક પેહેલવી અભ્યાશીને ઘણીજ અગત્યની થશે અને હમે આશા રાખીએ છઇએ જે પશ્ચીમ હિંદુસ્તાનમાંના સઘલા અભ્યાશીઓ તરફથી એને સારો આશારો મલશે.—**દેકન હેરલદ.**

નેટીવ ઓપીનીઅન—તા૦ ૧૫ મી જુન સને ૧૮૭૯.

દસતુર જામાસ્પજી મીનોચેહેરજી જામાસ્પ આસાના, તે મુંબઇની યુનીવરસીટીના ફેલો અને બોંબે બ્રાંચ રાયલ એશીઆટીક સોસાયટીના એક મેમબર એવને રચેલા આ એ કીમતી ગ્રંથનો બીજો ભાગ હવે બાહાર પડીઓછે. જેવી મેહનતથી અને તપસીલવાર અને ઉપદેશ કરીને પેહેલો ભાગ રચીઓ હતો તેજ ધોરણથી ચાર જુદી જુદી લીપી અને ભાષામાં આ એ બીજો ભાગ ૧૬૬ થી ૪૮૦ મો સફેસુધી રચીઓ છે; એકલી એજ વીશેષતાના સબબથી આ એ શબ્દકોષને બીજા કોઇબી આગલ પ્રગટ થયા હોય તેના કરતાં વધારે પ્રસિધ શ્રેષ્ઠપણ ધરે છે. મરહુમ પ્રોફેસર વેસતરગાર્ડ અને દાક્તર હાઉગ તેમજ વલી હાલના વીદ્યાર્થીઓ જેવા કે દારમેસતેતર, વેસ્ત વગેરે એ આપેલાં મત જે આ એ દફતરના પેહેલા ભાગમાં આપીઆં છે, તેમતે એ કેતાબની અગત્ય વીશે હમારા કાંઇબી વીચાર કરતાં વધારે વજનદાર છે; એટલા વાસતે હમારી તરફની નાંખેરા તારીફ કરી તેમાં વધારો કરતા નથી. એની છપાઇની સફાઇ ઘણી સારી અને પ્રસીધ્ધ છે અને વલી કાગળ ઘણા સારાં વાપરીઆં છે; એવી બાહારની ભલામણથી પણ અભ્યાશીઓની નજરમાં એ ગ્રંથની ખરેખરી કીમતમાં વધારો કરશે.

ઇંડિયન દેલી ન્યુજ—તા૦ ૧૮મી જુન ૧૮૭૯.

કેટલીક ભાષાઓ કે જે મુવેલી સમજવામાં આવે છે તે હજુર જીવતી છે; કેટલીક ભાષાઓ મરતી હોય તેનો બચાવ સારી રીતે થઈ શકે છે અને તેઓમાંની કેટલીકોને મરતી બચાવવામાં જો મદદ મલી શકે તો તેથી કેટલોક ફાયદો છે. માણસજાત પોતાના ભાષણને સેહેજ વધારે નજદીકીથી એક સરખુ કરી શકે અને પોતાની જુદી જુદી વાચાને ફરીથી એકસરખી અને એક સંપ કરે તો તેને ઘણુ ફાયદાકારક છે. તોપણ જેમ બીહીવેડાવેલાં માંણસો લાંબી મુદત સુધી જીવે છે તેમ તેવી ભાષાઓનુ મરવું ઇચ્છા નાબુદ થવું પણ હમેશાં ઘણુ કઠણ છે. વેલરા ભાષા નાબુદ થવા લાગી ત્યારે રઇ-

અનો સ્વદેશાભીમાની જુસ્સો ઉસકેરાયો, અને પોતાની રઇએત તરીકેની કીર્તી સાચવવા સારૂ તેઓ તરતજ તે ભાષાને પાછી સુધારીને તાજી કરવા અને તે ભાષામાં છાપેલાં ગીત અને બીજી કેતાબો સારૂ ઇનામ આપવા લાગા. તેઓ પોતાની ભાષાને સર્વોપયોગી વપડાસ સારૂ સાચવી રાકશે કે નહીં તે વીદ્યાલય સંબંધી હાલના જમાનામાં શક ભરેલું છે. બેશક દસતુર જામાસજી મીનોચેહેરજીએ એવીજ બસારત ઇઆ કલ્પનાથી એક પેહેલવી ગુજરાતી અને ઇંગ્રેજી શબ્દકોષ રચ્યો છે. એવીજ કીમત અને ઉલટથી એ કામ એમને માથે લીધું છે અને એનો બીજો ભાગ હમણાજ છપાઇને બાહાર પડીઓ છે. હિંદુસ્તાનની આએ તરફના લોકોને એ ભાષા તદન અનજાણી છે અને એ વીશે ઘણા બારીકીથી વીચાર આપવાને હમે અશક્ત છઇએ. તોપણ એટલું તો કહી શકીએ છઇએ જે પુર્વદેશની ભાષાના વીદ્યાર્થીઓએ એ કેતાબના પેહેલા ભાગપર ઘણા શ્રેષ્ઠ અને ઉત્તમ મત આપ્યાં છે; અને એ ભાષાના વીદ્યાર્થી અને અભ્યાશીઓને બેશક એક ઘણોજ ઉપયોગી અને પસંદ પડતો ગ્રંથ થશે.

"એથીન્યમ એન્ડ દેલી ન્યુજ"—સુકરવાર, તા. ૨૦મી જુન સને ૧૮૭૯

ઉપલી કેતાબ, કે જે એજ્યુકેશન સોસાયટી પ્રેસ, ભાયખલા મધે છપાઇછે, તેની એક નકલ હમુને મલીછે. એની છપાઇ ઘણી સુંદર અને બનાવટ ઘણી સારી છે, તેથી એને છાપી પ્રગટ કરનારાઓને ઘણુ જેબ આપેછે. એ કેતાબ દસતુર જામાસપજી મીનોચેહેરજી જામાસપ આસાનાએ બનાવીછે, કે જે વન મુંબઇની યુનીવરસીટીના ફેલો, અને બોંબે ફ્રેંચ રાએલ એસીઆટીક સોસાટીના મેંમબેર છે. પેહેલવી અને ગુજરાતી ભાષાઓની હમુને માહીતી નહી હોવાના સબબથી હમોએ એ પુસતક મદરાસના એક વીદ્યારથી અને યુનીવરસીટીના ગ્રાજયુએટને સોંપીઉ હતું અને તેવનનુ મત હમો નીચે આપીએ છઇએ. એ કેતાબના બનાવનાર દીબાચામાં એમ લખેછે કે લોકોએ હાલ એ ભાષાનો અભીઆસ ઘણો ખરો છોડીદેવાના સબબથી અને જે થોડાક કીર્તીવાન લોકો જેઓ પોતાની અસલી ભાષાનો ભેદ સમજવાની ખાહેશ રાખેછે તેઓને એ ભાષાનું જ્ઞાન આપવાની તેઓના શીક્ષકોની બેદરકારી અને નાખુશીના સબબથી એ ભાષા દહાડે દહાડે અંધારામાં દુબી જવા માંડીછે અને સેવટે નજદીક મર્દુદ થઇ પડીછે. એ ગ્રંથ એના બનાવનારના બાવાએ પહેલ વેહેલું શુરૂ કીધું હતું, પણ તેવનના મરણથી એને સંપુર્ણ કરવાની ફરજ તેવનના પુત્ર ઉપર ઉતરી છે. એ કેતાબની બનાવટમાં ઘણા એક સાહેબોએ ઉલટ તથા કાલિજી બતાવી હતી કે જેઓમાં મરહુમ ડાકતર વીલસનખી હતા; વળી તેઓએ એના બનાવનારને એ બાબદમાં કાંઇક મદદ કીધેલી પણ દીસેછે. એવાં દીકત કામમાં પેહેલ વેહેલુંજ પગલું હોવાને લીધે એ ગ્રંથ-

કરતાં ધાસતી રાખેછે જે અેમાં ઘણીઅેક ચુક દાખલ થઇ હશે. જે દેશી ગ્રહસ્થને હમોઅે અે કેતાબ દેખાડી હતી તેવન કેહેછે કે અે કેતાબ દેઆનતદારીથી અને પાક દીલથી બનાવવામાં આવીછે, અને અેક સાધનની ચોપડી તરીકે ગુજરાતી દેશમાં અેને મેહેરબાની ભરેલો આવકાર મલવો ઘટેછે, કારણ કે તે, દેશમાં પ્રવીણ વીદ્યાર્થીઅોને અને મુંબઇના જાહેર મકતબખાનાઅોના નીશાલીઆઅોને અને વળી તેમજ તે ઇલાકાના સાધારણ વાંચનારાઅોને અને અે ધંધાના માણસોને અેક અગત્યનો સહમજ આપનારો ભોમ્યો થઈ પડશે."

બોંબે રિવ્યુ અેન્ડ ઇન્ડિયન અેડવરતાઇસર—તા૦ ૨૮ મી જુન ૧૮૭૯.

આઅે અેક કેતાબ હમુને અેવી મલી છે કે જેને અેક દીલથી આવકાર મલવાની ઘણી અગત્ય છે; કારણ કે જો અે પહેલા દસતુરજીઅે કોઈ રીતે વીદ્યા હુનરની બાબદ અેમાં બતાવવાનુ રાખ્યું હોય, તોપણ પેહેલવી ભાષા શીખનારાઅોને અે કેતાબ ઘણીજ કીમતી થયા વગર રેહેનાર નથી. અેવીઅેક કેતાબ છપાઇને બાહાર પડવાથી અભ્યાશીઅોને થતા ફાયદાનો વીચાર કરવા સારૂ ઈઆદ રાખવું જોઇઅે, જે પેહેલવી ભાષા જોડે અેની વડીલ જંદ ભાષાને ઘણી ખરી અેક મલતી રીતે લખવામાં આવે છે તોપણ અસલથી સંક્ષેપમાં લખાતી આવેલી રીતથી હાલ તરત અે ભાષાના ઘણાઅેક બોલોને ફકત અેકજ આકારથી અોલખવામાં આવે છે. અેનો અેક દાખલો અે કોપને પેહેલેજ પ્રાને માલમ પડશે કે જ્યાં જંદનો **આ** શબ્દ પેહલવીમાં જંદના **અ આ ઈ અે ખ** અને હ તરીકે આપીઆ છે; અને વલી આગળ કેટલાંક પાનાપર જોઇ અે છઇ અે તો અેજ શીકલથી અોછામાં અોછા પચીસ જુદા જુદા બોલો લખવામાં આવીઆ છે. થોડાંક વરસોની અાગમજ તો અે ભાષાનું વાંચણ અસલી રેવાજ માફક અને થોડાક અધુરા શબ્દ કોષની મદદથી ઉકલાવામાં આવતું હતું અને જો કે દાકતર વેસતે અને મરહુમ દાકતર મારતીન હાઉગે અેવા કોષની બાબદમાં કેટલીક મેહનેત કીધી તોપણ કોઈખી રીતે અેનુ પરીણામ મનમાનતું નીવડીઉ નહી કારણ જે દાકતર વેસતે પોતાની કેતાબ સંપુરણ કીધી નહીં અને દાકતર હાઉગ પોતાના કામની અધવચમાંજ મરણ પામીઅો. વલી અેવી ફીકર રાખવામાં આવે છે જે પારસી કોમના મોબેદોમાં ઘણો ખરો ભાગ અંગ્રેજી અને જરમન ભાષાના અભ્યાસપર ધેઆન થોડું આપે છે તેથી યુરોપીયન વીદ્યારથીઅોઅે રચેલાં કામો જે વર્ગને ખરેખર મદદના થવાં જોઈઅે તેઅોને તો તે ઘણાંજ થોડાં અથવા તદન નકામાં થઈ પડશે. વાસતે અે પહેલા દસ્તુરજીઅે અે પુર્વ દેશની ભાષાના વીદ્યાર્થીઅોપર અેક પુરેપુરી બખશીશ કીધી છે અેટલુંજ નહીં પણ પોતાની કેતાબમાં બોલોના અર્થ અને ઉચ્ચાર ગુજરાતી ભાષામાં

આપીઆ છે તેથી પોતાના કામને મેવડી કીમત અને ઉપયોગનુ કીધું છે અને એ પેહેલવી દીક્શનેરી પોતાની કોમને પુરેપુરી અગત્યની અને મદદની કીધી છે.

સાધારણ પેહેલવી કેતાબો કરતાં વધારે બોહોલાં વાંચણથી આએ કોષ રચવામાં આવ્યો છે એવું એ ખુદ કોષપરથી માલમ પડે છે અને એના રચનારને ઘણા એક કીમતી ખાનગી કેતાબખાનાની મદદ મલી છે. તેથી એક યુરોપીઅન વીદ્યાર્થી બોલ એકઠા કરી શકે તે કરતાં વધારે મોટી સંખીઆ આએ કોષમાં સમાવેલી છે. એટલું દલગીર ઘવાજોગ છે જે બોલોને જે કેતાબોપરથી ઉપજાવવામાં આવ્યા છે તેઓના સાધનો એ કોષમાં ચોકસ ઠેકાણેજ આપ્યાં છે, જો કે એના રચનાર આપણને જણાવેછે જે જે બોલોના અર્થ વીશે શક ભરેલું જણાવું છે તેજ બોલો જ્યાંથી મલીઆ છે તેના સાધનો જણાવીઆ છે. વીદ્યાર્થીઓને ખુલું માલમ હશે જે એથી વધારે બોલોના સાધનો એ કોષમાં આપીઆથી એ કેતાબ, જો કે મુખ્ય કરીને પારસીઓનાજ વપરાસનો જરૂર કરીને એક લોકપ્રીય અને સર્વોપયોગી ગ્રંથ છે, તોપણ એક વધારે બોહોલો ગ્રંથ એપરથી રચવાને એ એક કીમતી મુળ થઈ પડતે.

એ કેતાબના મુળ વીષયમાં એના બનાવનારે જે ઢપથી એ ગ્રંથ રચ્યો છે, તેનો ટુકખુલાસો કીધો છે; એ રીત ઘણીજ સારી છે. પેહેલવી બોલોને તેઓના ઉચ્ચાર વતરોગે તેઓના પેહેલા શબ્દોની શીકલ પ્રમાણે મુલાક્ષરના કાયદામુજબ ગોઢવીઆથી થતા ફાયદા વીશે વધારે કહેલું અશક્ય છે. .....દસતુર જામાસપજીની દીક્શનેરી દેશી અભ્યાશીઓને એક વખણાયેલો અને ભરૂશાદાર ભોમીયો છે, અને યુરોપીયન વીદ્યાર્થીને હવે પછી એક બીજો સંપુર્ણ પેહેલવી કોષ રચવામાં એ સઉથી મોટી કીમતનો થઈ પડશે.

વિદ્યામિત્ર—જુલાઈ ૧૮૭૯.

Great works are performed not by strength, but by perseverance
JOHNSON.

દસ્તુરજી સાહેબ જામાસ્પજીનાં પેહેલવી શબ્દ કોષનાં પેહેલા વાલમની ખબર લેતાં જોકે અમોએ સને ૧૮૭૭ નાં અકટોબર મહીનાનાં અંકમાં અમારા વિચાર લંબાંનથી જણાવ્યા હતા, તોપણ આ ઠેકાણે વલી તેજ બુજરગ પહેરેજગાર તરફથી નીકલેલાં પુસ્તકનાં બીજાં વાલમની પોહોચ ઘણાં મોટા માન શાથે સ્વીકારતાં અમોને જણાવ્યા વગર ચાલતું નથીકે તેજોઈ અમોને ભારે હર્ષ પેદા થાયછે. એક દેશની ચાલુ ભાષામાં તે ભાષાનો શબ્દ કોષ રચવો એ કામ કેટલું બીકટ છે તે એટલા ઉપરથી માલમ પડશે કે ડાકટર જાનસન જેવા સખ્શને પોતાની માતુશ્રી ભાષાનો શબ્દ કોષ રચવાને એક

દાયકો કરતાં વધારે વર્ષ લાગાં હતાં; પણ એક નજદીક નાબુદ થયલી ભાષાનો શબ્દ કોષ રચવો, અને તેબી વલી તેનાં વ્યાકરણ વગેરે ઉતપત્તીઓ સાથ, એ કામ કાંઇ થોડું બીકટ નથી. આ કામમાં, અલબત, દસ્તુરજી જામાસ્પજીને કેટલી બધી ધીરજ અને માથાદુઃખ ખમવું પડયું હશે, તેનો વીચાર ઘણા થોડાઓનેજ આવશે. આ શબ્દ કોષ રચી આપણા દસ્તુરજી એક ગોયા નારા પામેલી ભાષાને હસ્તીમાં લાવ્યાછે. ડાકતર જોનશન, જેના મથાલે મુકેલા ઇંગરેજી બોલો ઉપરથીજ માલમ પડેછે કે એવું એક માહાભારત અને બીકટ કામ કંઇ અંગ બલથી થઇ શકતું નથી પણ તેતો એક દીલથી તે કામની પાછલ લાગવાથી પાર પડેછે, તેમજ દસ્તુરજી સાહેબ જામાસ્પજીને આ કામ પાછલ ખંતીને લાગવા સારૂ કેટલી બધી ધીરજ અને વીચાર શકતી વાપરવી પડતી હશે? એટલુંજ કરીને આપણા દસ્તુરજી બેશી નથી રહયા, પણ આ ફરહંગપરથી માલમ પડેછે કે તેનાવોએ તેને સંપુર્ણ બનાવાને તેનાવોથી બની આવ્યું તેટલું કીધુંછે કેટલેક ઠેકાણે સંસ્કૃત શબ્દો જ્યાં મલી આવ્યા ત્યાં તેપણ ટાંકી બતાવાની કોશોશ તેનાવોએ કીધીછે. અમો હીમતથી કહીએ છે કે આપણા બુજરગ જામાસ્પજી જેને પેહેલવીમાં અહુએ-રદ કહેછે તે નક્કી ઠરી ચુકાછે, જે બોલનો અરથ દસ્તુરાંન દસ્તુર થાયછે, અને જે બોલ અમોએ આ બાબદને મથાલે લાગુ પાડવાને દરૂસ્ત વીચાર્યું છે.

હીંદુસ્થાનમાં વિદ્યા કેટલી મોઘી પડે છે, તે જે ઘરહસ્થો ચોપડીઓ બાહાર પાડે છે તેઓનેજ ખબર પડેછે. ઘણીખરીવાર હીંદુસ્થાનનાં દેશી વિદ્વાનોને પોતાનાં પુસ્તકો અધુરાં મુકી નાશીપાસીથી હારી બેસવું પડેછે, તે તરફ વીચાર કરતાં અને આ પુસ્તક તરફ નજર ફેરવતાં અમોને વધારે સંતોષ એટલા માટે થાયછે કે આપણા દસ્તુરજી સાહેબે પોતે માથે લીધેલાં કામમાં તેવો ફતેહમંદ ઉતર્યા છે.

જરથોસ્તી ધર્મનાં ફરમાંનોનું મુલ તત્વ "સફાઇ" છે, તે સફાઇ ગોયા દસ્તુરજી સાહેબે પોતાનું પુસ્તક રચવામાં પણ વાપરી હોય એવું દેખાયછે. ફકત આએજ પુસ્તક નહી, પણ તેવોનાં બીજાં પુસ્તકો અને વાએજો વટીક જે અમોને જોવાને ઘણીવાર તક મલેલી છે તે સઘલાં છપાવાનો તેનાવોનો સવાદ ઘણો વખાણવા લાયક છે.

આજના પારસી વિદ્યાર્થીઓ જેઓ પોતાની બીજી ભાષાઓમાં તરેહવાર ભાષાઓ પસંદ કરેછે, તેઓને લાજેમ છે કે આ એક પુરાણી ભાષા જે તેઓનાં વડવાઓએ ઇરાંન સરજમીન ઉપર એકવાર પોતાની માતુશ્રી ભાષા તરકિ વાપરી હતી, અને જેના નાદર નમુના અને લેખો હાંલ પણ આપણને આ ફાની દુનિયામાં કેટલાક બેમુલ ધડા શીખવેછે, તેનો અભ્યાસ કરી આ ભાષાને એકવાર ફરીથી સજીવન કરવી યોગ્ય છે. એમ થવાથી તેઓ પોતાનાં પુરાતન અને ભારે બોજ આપવા લાયેક પુસ્તકો, જેવાં કે

દાદેસ્તાંન, નીરંગસ્તાંન, અને પેહેલવી રેવાયેતો વગેરે જે આજે ગોયાં અંધારામાં પડેલાંછે તેઓ ઉપર પ્રકાશ નાંખવાને તેઓ શકતીવાંન થશે; દીનકરદ અને બુહુનદેશ જેવી નામીચી કેતાબોના તેઓ ધણી થશે; અને આ દુનીયાંના કેટલાક છુપા ભેદો આ ભાષાની મદદથી તેઓ જાંણતાં શીખશે.

અમોએ આ પુસ્તકનાં પેહેલા વાલમને માટે જે વીચારો જણાવ્યા હતા તે આ ઠેકાણે પણ એકવાર ફરીથી લાગુ પાડી અમો આપણા બુજરગ દસ્તુરજીને તેઓએ હાથ ધરેલાં એક બીકટ કામમાં ખરાં જીગરથી મુબારકબાદીસાથે ફતેહ ઈછીએ છે.

યજદાં પરસ્ત.

"પેહેલવી ફરહંગ"—દસતુરજી સાહેબ જામાસપજી મીનોચેરજી જામાસપ આમાનાએ બનાવેલી પેહેલવી ફરહંગનો બીજો ભાગ છપાઈ બાહેર પડયો છે, તેની એક નકલ અમોને મલીછે, જેની પોંહોચ માન સાથ સ્વીકારીએછે. દસતુરજી સાહેબ જામાસપજીના આ પુસ્તકની ખુબી પર યુરપના નામીચા વીદ્વાનોએ જે મત જાહેર કરીયાં છે, તે આ બીજા ભાગમાં સંઘલાં દાખલ કરવામાં આવીયાંછે, જે ઊપરથી માલમ પડેછે કે દસતુરજી સાહેબજામાસપજીના આ કામને મોતેબર અને ઊત્તેજન આપવા લાયક ગણવાને એ વીદ્વાનો પછાત પડયા નથી. દસતુરજી સાહેબના આ બીજા ભાગ પર અમો જોગવાઈએ ધીઆન આપીશું.

"યજદાં પરસ્ત" ૩૧ મી આગસ્ત ૧૮૭૯.

પેહેલવી ફરહંગ, ભાગ બીજો—દસતુરજી સાહેબ જામાસપજી મીનોચેરજીએ બનાવા માંડેલી પેહેલવી ફરહંગનો બીજો ભાગ છપાઈ બાહેર પડયોછે. જેમ એ ફરહંગના પેહેલા ભાગપર સરવે તરફથી સારા વીચારો બાહર પડયા હતા, તેમ આ બીજા ભાગને પણ તેટલીજ રેહેમ નજરથી પુરવ ભાષાના અભ્યાસીઓ અંગીકાર કરશે એ ચોકસ છે. દસતુર સાહેબ જામાસપજીએ ઊઠાવેલું કામ કાંઈ નાહનું જેવું નથી. તે કાંઈ એકાદ રસાલો લખી કાહાડવાનું અથવા એકાદ વાઆજ લખવા જેટલું સેહેલું નથી. પણ તે ઊંડા અભ્યાસ, બોહોલી શોધ, અને ખરી દીલસોજીનું કામ છે, જે કામમાં એ દસતુર સાહેબ હમણા શુધી જે રીતે ફતેમદ ઊતરેલા દીશીયા છે તે રીતે જોતાં તેમને હાથ ધરેલું આ "પેહેલવી શબ્દ કોષ" નું કામ અછી રીતે સરનજામ ઊતરવાની આપણે આશા રાખીશું. પેહેલવી ફરહંગ આજ શુધી કોઇએ બાહેર પાડી નથી, જેથી દસતુર જામાસપજીનુ કામ નવું તેમજ માહાભારત છે. તેમના એ કામની ખરી કદરદાની પીછાનનારા જેમ આ દેશમાં તેમજ યુરોપમાં છે, એ જાણીને કેટલોક સંતોષ પેદા થાય

છે. તેમના કાંમને યુરપના વીદ્વાનો જેવા કે પ્રોફેસર ઈ. ડબલ્યુ. વેસ્ટ, જે મસ દારમેસતેતર, એફ. યુસતી, પ્રોફેસર વેસતરગારદ, અને ડાકટર મારટીન હાઉગ જેવાઓએ પસંદ રાખ્યુંછે, અને તેમાં તેઓએ એ દસતુર સાહેબને ફતેહ ઈછીછે. હંમેશાં હરેક નવું કાંમ તેની શરૂઆતમાં ખાંમી વગરનું તો હોવું નહીં જોઇયે. તેમાં કાંઇ નહી ને કાંઈ ખામી તો દેખાવીજ જોઇયે. અને તે પ્રમાણે જો કે દસતુરજી સાહેબના આ શબ્દ કોષમાં થોડી ઘણી ખાંમી રહેલી હોય, પણ તેટલા માટે તે કાંમ નાપસંદ તરકિ ગણવા લાયક અથવા દ્વેષભાવી ટીકાને પાત્ર ઠરતું નથી. તેપર ખાલિસ ટીકાઓ થવાથી અને ખરાં દીલથી તે માહેલી ખાંમીઓ બતાવી આપવાથી તે શુધારવાને એ દસતુર સાહેબ જેટલા મધન થશે તેટલાજ તેઓ એવા ખાલિસ ટીકા કરનારાઓના આભાર તલે જશે.

"જ્ઞાનવર્ધક" સપતેમબર ૧૮૭૯.

પોણાએ વરશની લાંબી મુદત વેર દોલા તનાવી મજકુર પેહલવી-ગુજરાતી અને ઇંગ્રેજી શબ્દકોષનું દફતર બીજું હાલ બાહેર પડયું છે, જેની એક નકલની પોંહચ અત્રે માન સાથે સ્વીકાર્યે છીએ. આ પુસ્તકના પેહલા ૩૨ સફાઓમાં જે મજકુર ૪૨હંગના પેહલા ભાગ ઉપર અપાયલાં મતો ઉતારી લીધાંછે, તેપરથી માલમ પડેછે કે એ કેતાબ અત્રેની તેમજ યુરોપ ખંડની ભણેલી પ્રજાને પસંદ પડતી થઈછે. તથા યુરોપના નામીચા ઉગમણુ તરફની ભાષા જાણનારાઓએ એની કદર બ્રુજી સારાં વખાણ કર્યાં છે. આ કદર સનાસીથી આપણા જાણીતા દસ્તુરજી સાહેબ જામાસપજીને એવનની ભારે મેહનતનો જોકે પુરતો ને અવેજદાર બદલો મલ્યો નથી તોપણ એવને માથે ઉઠાવી લીધેલાં બોહલા ઉપયોગના આ કામમાં આ મીઠા સખુનોથી એવનને પોતાનો રસ્તો જોસભરી ઊલટથી કાપવાને બની આવસે. વલી હીંદુસ્થાનના ત્રણે ઇલાકાઓની નામદાર સરકારે આ પુસ્તક ખરીદીજે નાહનો આરારો આપણા ગ્રંથકર્તા દસ્તુરજીને આપ્યોછે, તે એક મુવેલી પણ કદીમ, નામીચી, પાદશાહ પેહલવાંનોની જબાંનને સજીવન કરવામાં મદદ કરવાની ખાહેશનો સરકારને જેબ દેનારો માત્ર નમુનો છે, જે ખાહેશ, આશા છે જે આપણી માયાલુ સરકાર, ઉત્તેજન આપી વધારવાને ચુકશે નહીં.

એજ્યુકેશન સોસાઈટીના મોઘા પ્રેસના બીજાં કામો માફક આ વૉલમની છપાઇ સફાઈદાર તથા બાંધણી સારી છે. આ તકે હમો એક સુચના કરવાની રજા લીજીએ છીએ કે હવે પછી બાહેર પડતાં વૉલમની પીંઠ પર, તેમાં જે બોલો સમાયલા છે તે કયા અક્ષરથી તે કયાં વેરછે, તે જણાવનારા અક્ષરો નાખવા, જેથી એને વપરાસમાં લેતાં અમસથાં વૉલમો ખોલવાની જરૂર પડે નહીં. સેવટે, આ લોકોપયોગી શુભ કામમાં દસ્તુરજી સાહેબ

જામાસ્પજીને પુર ફતેહ ઇચ્છતાં, તેને જહડપ સાથ ચોકસાઇથી સંપુર્ણ કરવાને હમો તેમને મજબુત ભલામણ કરીએ છીએ.

કાનતેમપ્રરી રીવ્યુ.—અક્તોબર સને ૧૮૭૯ નો અંક.

દસતુર જામાસ્પજી મીનોચેહેરજી જામાસ્પ આસાનાએ રચેલી પેહેલવી દીકશનેરી કે જેના પેહેલા બે ભાગ હાલ બહાર પડીઆછે (લનડનઃ ટ્રુબનર અને કુંપની, ૧૮૭૯) તેથી અસલ ઇરાની જબાનના અભીઆશીઓની એક ઘણી લાંબી મુદતની ગરજ પુરી પડીછે. "પેહેલવી" એ નામ અસલી ઇરાની ભાષાને અને ચોકસ કરીને સાસાની વંશના રાજાઓનાં વખતમાં જે ભાષા ચાલુ બોલીમાં વપરાતી હતી તેને આપવામાં આવ્યું છે. એ દીકશનેરી ભાષા શાસ્ત્રીઓને ઘણી અગતની છે, કારણ જે એમાં ઘણાએક સેમેતીક બોલોનો ભેલી કરવામાં આવ્યોછે અને તે બોલો હાલની ફારસી ભાષાના આરબી તત્વ ઊપરથી નહી પણ એક બીજીજ રીતે કાહાડવામાં આવ્યા છે, અને એસીરીઅન ભાષાને મલતાછે. ..... દસતુર જામાસ્પજી "હુજવારેશ" એ બોલનો અર્થ "પારથીઅન ભાષા" એવો કહેછે, કે જે સુચના જો ખરી હોય તો એ ભાષાના અસલીઅત પર કાંઇક અજવાલું નાખેછે. "પેહેલવી" બોલના ધાતુ વીશે ઘણી એક તકરાર ચાલી રહીછે, પણ છેહેલો અને સઉથી વાજબી ગણવાજોગ અટકલો, દાકતર હોગનો છે, કે જેને મલતોજ વીચાર આએ ડીકશનેરીના બનાવનારનો બી છે, કે એ બોલ "પેરેથ્વ" ઇઆને અસલી મોટા ગ્રંથકારોના લંખાણ મુજબ "પારથીઆ" પરથી નીકલેલોછે, કારણ કે જે મુજબ "પારસ"ના પરગણાપરથી હાલની ઇરાન દેશની ભાષાને પોતાનુ નામ મલેલું છે તેજ મુજબ એ સરવેથી બાહાદુર અને ભારદસ્ત પ્રજાએ પેતાનુ નામ એ ભાષાને આપ્યું હતું. એવી એક દીકશનેરી બનાવવામાં મોટી અડચણ એ છે જે એ ભાષાના અસલ બોલો તથા લખાણો મનમાનતી રીતે મલી આવતા નથી, એટલુંજ નહી પણ એના પુરતા અક્ષરો ઘણાજ અસ્પષ્ટ અને ગુચવારા ભરેલાછે. એ ભાષાના ઉચ્ચારો ઘણી એક તરાંહથી થાએછે, કે જે ઉચ્ચારો એના સેમેતીક પરથી લીધેલા મુળાક્ષરો પરથી બરાબર નીકલી શકતા નથી. એટલા વાસતે એક શબ્દને વારે ઘડીએ જુદા જુદા ઉચ્ચારોને વાસતે વાપરવામાં આવેછે, અને તેમજ જુદા જુદા શબ્દોની મેળવણીથી વારેઘડીએ સાદા ઉચ્ચારો નીકલેછે. એથી કરીને એ દીકશનેરીની ગોઠવણ ઘણી અઘડી થઇ પડેછે, પણ એના બનાવનારે એકજ સાબેત ધોરણ પકડી છે તે એ જે બોલોને તેના ઉચ્ચાર પ્રમાણે નહી પણ તેના મુળાક્ષરો પ્રમાણે ગોઠવીઆછે. વળી એક કોઠો કે જેમાં શબ્દની જુદી જુદી જોડની સમજાવામાં આવીછે તેથી પણ બોલોનું સંધાન સેહેલથી બનેછે. એના બનાવનારે બોલોનું વાંચણ અને તેનાં અર્થ સઘલી બાબદોમાં પુર્વેથી

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ચાલતી આવેલી રીત મુજબ આપી છે, અને તેઓના વીદ્યા શાસ્ત્રના નીયમ પ્રમાણે નીકલતા અર્થને શોધવાનું કામ યુરોપના વધારે પરીક્ષક વીદ્યાર્થીઓને સોપ્યુંછે.

જરમની દેશનાં એરલાનઝન શહેરની યુનિવરસીતીનાં પ્રોફેસર વિલહેમ ગએગરનાં એક કાગજ ઉપરથીઃ—

.....દાકતર વેસ્ટ, દારમેસટેટર વગેરે જેઓ તમારા શબ્દ કોષને સઘલા પેહેલવી ભાષાના અભીઆશી થકી ઘણો કીમતી અને ફાયદા કારક સમજે છે તેઓના મતને હું તદન મલતો છું. જે બાબદને હું ખાસ પસંદ કરૂંછું તે તમોએ કીવેલી બોલોની ગોઠવણ છે અને તે એ છે જે જેમ દાકતર વેસ્ટે પોતાનો અરદાએ વીરાફનો કીમતી શબ્દ કોષ રચીઓ છે તેમજ તમોએ પણ બોલોને તેઓના ઉચ્ચાર પ્રમાણે નહી પણ તેઓની શીકલ પ્રમાણે ગોઠવીઆ છે. એથી કરીને તમારો પેહેલવી શબ્દ કોષ એક કીમતી અને અગત્યનો ગ્રંથ બનીઓછે. વલી આપણા કોબેલ વીદ્વાનોને જે ઉપાયો હજુર સુધી બેમાલમ હતા તેવા નવા ઉપાયો તથા મારગો તમોએ તેઓ હજુર ખુલ્લા કીધા છે, અને ચોકસ કરીને ધરમને લગતી ક્રીયાઓની રીતભાત સંબંધી ઘણીએક તકરારો તથા વીદ્વાનો તમોએ સાંત કીધાછે.

પ્યારા સાહેબ, તમોએ જે તમારી કીમતી કેતાબ મારી પર મોકલીછે તે વીશેનો મારી તરફનો ઘણો મોટો એહેશાન માન્ય કરજો. તમે નિશ્ચય જાણજો કે એ તમારી કેતાબ હું મારા અભ્યાસમાં હમેશાં વાપરૂંછું, અને એ બાબદમાં તમારી સાથે ઓલખાન થવાથી મને મોટું માન સમજુંછું. મારી ખાતરી છે જે પારસી અને યુરોપીઅન વીદ્વાનોના સાથે મલીને કામ કરવાથી તમારા ધરમ સંબંધી અને અસલી ઇરાનીઓના પવીત્ર દસ્તાવેજોની શોધ વધારે સંપુર્ણ થશે. તમારો નમનતાઇ ભરેલો સેવક.

ડબલ્યુ. ગેએગર—(ડાકતર.)

એરલાનાઝન, તા૦ ૨૬ મી જાનેવારી ૧૮૮૦.

પેરીસવાલા ઈરાની ભાષાના પ્રોફેસર મો. જેમસ દારમેસતેતેરે સને ૧૮૮૦ ના મે મહીનાના "રેવુ ક્રીટીક" માં છપાવેલા પેહેલવી દીકશનેરીના બીજા ભાગના રીવ્યુનો તરજુમાઃ—

દસતુર જામાસ્પજીએ હવે પોતાની પેહેલવી દીકશનેરીનો બીજો ભાગ બાહાર પાડીઓછે. (પેહેલા ભાગનો રીવ્યુ ૧૫ મી સપતેંબર ૧૮૭૭ના "રેવુ ક્રીટીક"માં જુવો.) આ એ બીજા ભાગમાં એવણે આપણને અશ સુધી

બોલો આપ્યાછે. પેહેલા ભાગને વાસતે હમે જે વીચાર આગલ આપ્યા છે, તેજ વીચાર આએ બીજા ભાગને વાસતે પણ પ્રગટ કરીએ છઇએ. જ્યારે એ કામ પુરૂં થારો ત્યારે પેહેલવી ભાષાના અભ્યાસીઓને અતીશય બોલોની સામગ્રી મલશે. પેહેલ વેહેલે તેઓને કદાચ સઘલું સેહેલાઇથી નહી મલશે, તોપણ આખરે એ કામ પુરૂં થવાથી તેઓને બોલોનો ઘણોજ મોટો જથ્થો મલી શકશે.

• નરસા ભાયગે હમુને એવી ખબર મલીછે જે એ કામ પુરૂં થવું ઘણું અસંભવીત છે. એનો તીજો ભાગ છપાયછે પણ એ ભાગ છહેલોજ બાહેર પડશે એવી ધાસતી રાખવામાં આવેછે. મુંબઇમાં હાલ વખત ઘણો કઠણ છે અને એ કેતાબના કેટલાએક આગમજથી નોધાયલા ખરીદદારો પોતાની કબુલાતથી પાછા ફરી જાયછે. અંગ્રેજ સરકારનો આસરો ઇઆ ઉધરાણું એનો ખરચ પુરો કરવાને પુરતાં નથી. હમે આશા રાખીએ છીએ જે "વદીદાદ" માં જણાવેલાં ફરમાન મુજબ ચાલવાને અને જે રસીલી અને મહાભારત જરથોસતી ધરમની વીદ્યાનો હવાલો તેઓને સર છે તે વીદ્યાના લાભને ખાતર દસતુર જામાસ્પજીના સ્વદેશી ભાઇઓને એ બાબદમાં વધારે લાગની તથા કાલજી રેહેશે, કારણ જે, એ કેતાબ ખરીદવાનું આગમજથી ભરાએલું ઉધરાણું એ ખરૂં જોતાં તો એક જાતનો કોલ આપીઆ બરોબર ઇઆ ઇજારો લીધા બરોબર છે (ગોઠવણ કરવામાં આવ્યા) અને એ કોલ ઘણો પવીત્ર છે. મુંબઇના ચાલાક અને ચંચલ લોક (જરથોશતીઓ) ને લાયક નથી જે પોતાના મુડદાર વીચારોથી પોતાના વડવાઓએ અર્પણ કીધેલો ખજાણો ઓહી દીએ. સારો ખજાણો તેઓની સનમુખ હોવાથી તેઓ દર વરશે થોડાક રૂપીઆ ખરચશે તો તેઓના પઢેલા વડા ધરમ ગુરૂના આએ કામથી આખાં યુરોપમાં જરથોસતનું ભાષણ અને મજદના નેક કાયદાઓ વધારે સારી રીતે સમજવામાં આવશે. સર જમશેદજી જીજીભાઇનું રવાન ગરોથમાનમાં એ વીશે શું કહેશે.

જેમ્સ દારમેસ્તેતર.

તારીખ ૧ લી જાનેવારી ૧૮૮૧ ના "બુલેતીનકિતીક" માં બેલજીઅમની લુવેનવાલી યુનીવરસીટીના દાકતર સી. ડી. હારલેએ પ્રગટ કીધેલો પેહેલવી ડીકશનેરીના રીવ્યુનો તરજુમોઃ—

અસલી ઇરાનીઓની અને ત્યાર પછીના જરથોરાતીઓની ધરમ સંબંધી કેતાબો હજુર ઘણી અપ્રસીધ છે. પુર્વ દેશની વીદ્યામાં પેહેલવી ભાષાના એક સંપુર્ણ શબ્દ કોષની એક મુખ્ય ખુટ છે. એટલું તો ખરૂં છે જે કેટલાંએક ચોકસ મુળ પુસતકોની સમજણ સારૂં થોડીક ખાસ ફરહંગો

છપાઈ બાહેર પડીછે, પણ એ ભાષાનો એક પુરેપુરો કોષ હજુર સુધી રચવામાં આવ્યો નથી; અને તેથી કરીને જરથોશતીઓના એક ધર્મ ગુરૂ, કે જેવન ગુજરાત તરફના એક દસતુર છે, તેવણે એ બીકટ અને અગત્યનું કામ પોતાને માથે લીધાથી ઘણું ખાતરી પુર્વક અને સંતોષ ઉપજાવેછે.

એટલું તો ખુલ્લું છે જે યુરોપના વિદ્વાનોએ હિંદુસ્તાનના લોકોને તેઓની ધર્મ સંબંધી કેતાબો સમજવાને શીખવ્યું તેને કાંઈ લાંબી મુદત થઈ નથી. હિંદુસ્તાનના પારસીઓ આપણા મોટા શીક્ષકોથી કેલવઇને હવે પોતાની વારીએ તેઓ પેહેલ કાહાઢી વિદ્યાના આગેવાન થયા છે. પણ મુખ્ય કરીને ધર્મ સંબંધી વીચારોથી અને તેઓના મહજબને લગતાં અનુમતથી તેઓને એ બાબદમાં ઉસકેરની મલેછે, તેથી તેઓની ઉલટ વખાણવા લાએક છે. એટલા વાસતે દસતુર જામાસ્પજી મીનોચેહેરજીના આએ કામ તરફ તેની શરૂઆતથીજ ઘણી ઉલટ ભરી મમતા દેખાડવામાં આવી હતી. એ કોષના બનાવનારને અત્યારસુધી કેટલી મોટી અડચણો નડવા છતાં એના બે દફતરો બાહાર પડીઆં છે. અંતઃકરણથી આશા રાખીએ છીએ જે એવનનું કામ ફતેહમંદીથી પાર પડે.

જોકે ગ્રંથકરતાએ એ કામમાં વાપરેલી રીત યુરોપીઅન વિદ્વાનોની માફક નથી તોપણ એ ગ્રંથ ઘણાજ કીમતી મજમુનોથી ભરપુર છે. દસતુર જામાસ્પજી એ માહાભારત કામ પાર પાડવાને પુરતા યોગ્ય અને પ્રવીણ છે. એવણના અસતકમાં પુષકલ પેહેલવી કેતાબો અને અસલી લખાણો છે કે જેમાંનાં ઘણાએક હજુર બીન માહીત છે. એવને તેનો પુરેપુરો અભ્યારા કરયોછે અને તેના આખા માયાને પુરતીરીતે સમજેછે. બીજાં દફતરના દીબાચામાં આપેલાં યુરોપીઅન વિદ્યારથીઓના મત પરથી માલમ પડેછે જે એવનના એ કામને ઘણો ખુશી ભરેલો આવકાર મલીઓ. તેમાં બેરાક આપણા મુખ્ય "રિવ્યુ" ઓના અધીપતીઓના મત જોવામાં આવેછે,—જેવા કે "એકેદેમી" માં "દાકતર વેસ્ટ," "બુલેતીનો"માં "એનજેલો દી ગુબરનેતીસ," "બીબ્લીઓ ગ્રાશીકીરો એનજાઇગિન" માં "ફરદીનોન્દ યુસ્તી" અને દાકતર હૉગે પોતાના લખેલા રસાલાઓમાં એ વીશે લખીઉછે.

ગ્રંથકર્તા પોતાના દીબાચામાં એ કેતાબની રચના અને વાંચણની સમજણ આપેછે, અને જો અભીઆશી એ કેતાબના વપડાસથી ફાયદા મેલવવા ચાહે તો એ સમજણ તેણે પોતાના મનમાં કોતરી રાખવી જોઇએ. હમોએ એટલું કેહેવું બસ થશે જે એ કેતાબમાં ખરેખરાજ વિદ્વાનપણાના અને પંડીત્યના ગુણ સમાવેલાછે, અને પુર્વ દેશની વિદ્યાને એ ઘણી કામની થશે. હમારી માફક દરએક જણ ચાહશે જે એ કેતાબ જલદીથી પુરી થાએ, અને એના કાબેલ બનાવનારની મેહેનત અને સેવા વીશે તેઓ આભારી થશે.

(સહી) સી. ડી—હારલે.

રેવુ કિટીક એંતરનાશીઓનાલ—એપરેલ સને ૧૮૮૧.

આએ અગતની કેતાબના પેહેલા બે ભાગનો હેવાલ લખાયો ત્યારે એના પઢેલા બનાવનારે હમુને લખી જણાવ્યું જે એનો ત્રીજો ભાગ છપાવાની તઇઆરી પર છે. એથી કરીને હમોથી વાંચનારાઓને આજે આએ નવી આશાની ખબર આપવાને હમુને સંતોષ ઉપજેછે, કે એનો ત્રીજો ભાગ હવે આપણને મલી શકશે. પુર્વ તરફની વીદ્યામાં પેહેલવી ભાષાના એક સંપુરણ કોષની ચોકસ કરીને મુખ્ય અગત છે. પારસીઓની અવસતા ભાષાના અને બીજી કેટલીક કેતાબોના ભાષાંતરના ઘણાએક ભાગો હજુર ઘણા અધુરા અને અપ્રસિધ છે, તેથી કરીને ઘણાએક પેહેલવી બોલો અર્થ વગરના રહીગયાછે અને વળી તેઓ ખાતરીથી વાંચી શકાતા નથી. મુંબઇના દસતુરોના કાબેલ પ્રમુખ એક શીખેલા વીદ્યાર્થી છે અને આએ બીકટ કામને સરંજામ પોહોંચાડવાને સઉથી હુશીઆર અને પ્રવીણ છે. હાથની લખેલી પુષ્કલ કેતાબોના એવન માલેક છે, કે જે માની ઘણીએક ફકત એવન શીવાય બીજા કોઇએ ઉકલાવી નથી; એવનના મુરબી બાવા કે જેવન દુનિયાના વીદ્યાર્થીઓમાં પોતાનુ નામ પ્રખ્યાત કરી ગયા તેવનના કેતાબખાનાના એવન વારસ છે. આએ ઇઆદગારીનુ કામ જે શુરૂ કરવામાં આવ્યું છે તે પાર પાડવાની પુરેપુરી સરજત એવનને છે. વળી ઇરાની ભાષાના સઉથી જાણીતા વીદ્યાર્થીઓ જેવા કે વેસ્ત, હોગ, યુસ્તી અને વેસ્તરગાર્ડ એઓએ એ પેહેલવી દીકરાનરીના પેહેલા ભાગની એક મતથી તારીફ કીધીછે: હમે પણ તે તારીફની સાથે એક મલતા છઇએ અને એ વીદ્વાન દસતુરના કામને ઘણી ખુશીભરેલી ફતેહ ઇછીએ છઇએ.

મુંબઇના રોમન કેથલીકોના વડા બીશપ દાકતર મ્યુરીનનો અભીપ્રાય.

...તમારી પેહેલવી દીકરાનરી બેરાક એક સરવેથી મોટી અને ખરેખર સર્વ કાલ અગત્યની કેતાબ છે, કે જે વીશે દુનિયાના શાસ્ત્રજ્ઞઓ તમારા ઘણાજ આભારી છે. .....

મુંબઇ, તારીખ ૨૭ ડીસેમબર ૧૮૮૧.

૧૮૮૧. નાં સાલના "જુરનાલ આસીઆતીક" નામના ફ્રેંચ છોપાણીઆંમાં છપાએલી એક આરતીકલનો તરજુમો.

પુર્વ દેશની વીદ્યાની મુખ્ય અગત્યો માહેલી એક અગત્ય, તે ઇરાનદેશની કેતાબોમાંની પેહેલવી ભાષાનો એક સંપુરણ શબ્દકોષ છે. કેટલીક ચોકસ

કેતાબો જેવીકે "પંદનામું," અરદાવીરાફનામું, "ગોરાતેફરીઆન" અને સ્પીગલની "ત્રેદીશનલ લીટરેચર આફ ધી પારસીસ" બીજું વાલમ અને "પેહેલવી મેન્યુઅલ" માંના ચોકસ નાંધલા ભાગોના લખાણો સમજાવા સારૂ ખાસ ફરહંગોના આકારમાં એ દીકરાનરી જો કે બાહાર પડેલીછે તો પણ એ ભાષાનો એક સંપુર્ણ કોષ બનાવવાનો અને તેને કાયદાસર રચવાનો યત્ન હજુર સુધી કરવામાં આવ્યો નથી. એથી કરીને ઘણીએક અગતની કેતાબો હજુ શુધી કેટલે દરજજે અંધારામાં રહેલીછે. યુરોપીઅન વીદ્વાનો એ ઘણીજ ખુશીભરી ખાતરીથી સાંભલીઉં કે એક જરથોશતી પાદરી કે જેવન ગુજરાત તરફના એક દસતુર છે તેવને એ ખીકટ તેમજ અગતનુ કામ માથે લીધું. તેઓ (હઆને યુરોપીઅન વીદ્વાનો) હવે જુવેછે કે, જે વખતે યુરોપે હીંદુસ્તાનના જરથોસતીઓને તેઓની ધરમ સંબંધી કેતાબો શીકવી હતી તે વખત હવે જતો રહયો છે. હીંદુસ્તાનના જરથોસતીઓ, કે જેવો હમારા પોતાના કેલવાએલા શીક્ષકોથી ભણેલા છે, તેઓની હવે પોતાની એ બાબદમાં આગેવાની કરવાની વારી આવીછે અને સેહેજ વખતમાં વીદ્વાનો એ નામીચા સુધારાને લીધે તેઓના આભારી થઈ પડશે. મજકુર સુધારાને મદદ કરનારી જે કેતાબો છે તે કેતાબો માહેલી એક કેતાબ તે આપણા મુંબઈના વડા ધરમ ગુરૂની આએ પેહેલવી દીકરાનરી છે. મુંબઈની યુનીવરસીટીના એક ફેલો તરીકેની એવનની એક પદવીજ આપણને ખુલું દેખાડેછે જે આપણને એક ભણેલા શાસ્ત્રજ્ઞ સાથે એ બાબદમાં વહીવટ પડયો છે. વલી તેથી કરીને દસતુર જામાસપજી મીનોચેહેરજીના આએ ખીકટ કામની શરૂઆતને જે સારો આવકાર મલીઓ તે કોઇબી રીતે આશ્ચર્યકારક નથી: કારણ કે એ અઘડું કામ બજાવવામાં એવન પુરતા સામર્થવાન હતા. એવનના અસતકમાં એક ઘણું મોતેબર કેતાબખાનું અને કીમતી લખાણો છે કે જેમાના ઘણાએક વીશે હજુ શુધી યુરોપમાં કોઇનેબી ખબર નથી. એવને પોતાના વીદ્યાધનનો ઘણો સારો ઉપયોગ કીધોછે. હીંદુસતાન તેમજ યુરોપના વીદ્વાનો ખુશીથી એકમત થઈ આએ નવા શબ્દ કોષની તારીફ કરેછે. **દાકતર વેસત, યુસ્તી, એનજીલો દી ગુબરનાતીસ**, હોગ, અને **વેસરગારડે** એ કોષની જે તપાસ લીધી છે તે એના બીજા વાલમના દીબાચામાં આપેલીછે. વળી હમુને સાંભલીને અત્યંત ગભરાટ પેદા થયોછે જે એ અગતના કામને આગલે વધવામાં તેને અન્સરો આપનારાઓની ખામીથી કાંઇક અડચણ પડશે. જો હીંદુસ્તાનની સરકાર હેવા કોઇ ઉપાયો લે કે જેથી એ કામ ફતેહમંદીથી પાર પડે તો બેશક તેને ઘણું માનભારેલું છે, અને વલી ચોકસ કરીને યુરોપના વીદ્વાનો પણ પોતાથી બનતી મદદ એ કામને આપશે.

દસ્તુર જામાસ્પજીએ પોતાની દીકરાનરીમાં મુલાક્ષરોની કેવી રીતે ગોઠવણ કીધીછે તે વીશે કાંઇક સમજણ એ ચોપડીની શરૂઆતમાં આપી-

છે. પેહલવી બોલોને સોધી કાહાડવાનું સેહેલ બની શકે એવી ગોઠવણ કરવાનું કામ કાંઇ સહેલું નથી. એવણે જે ગોઠવણ કીધીછે તે ગોઠવણ હમારા વીચાર પ્રમાણે ઘણીજ ડાહાપણ ભરેલીછે અને તેજ હમો પણ મુકરર કરીએ છઇએ. એવણે ફકત શબ્દોને તેના આકાર પ્રમાણેજ ગોઠવીઆછે, અને તેથી કરીને વીદ્યાર્થીને એ એક ખાતરી પુરવક બોમ્યો થઈ પડેછે. શબ્દોની ગોઠવણ એવને ચાલુ કાયદાથી ઉલટીરીતે જઇને "ભાષાની રીત" અખત્યાર કીધીછે, ઈઆને ભાષાની વીદ્યાને લગતો કાયદો પકડીઆછે અને પેહેલ વેહેલે સ્વર, અને ત્યાર પછી "કંઠસ્થ," "તાલુસ્થ" અને "દંતસ્થ" ઇત્યાદી આપીઆછે. મુંબઇના આએ દસતુરાને દસતુરની બનાવેલી દીકરાનરી ચોકસ કરીને જંદ (પેહેલવી) ભાષાનો એક કીમતી ભંડાર, અને ઇરાની ભાષા શીખનારાઓને સઉથી મોટી મદદ થઇ પડશે. પેહેલવી ભાષામાં ઘણાએક બોલો છે કે જે સાધારણ છાપેલી તથા લખેલી ફરહંગોમાં કોઇને મલી શકે નહી. એ કેતાબના બનાવનાર પોતાની બુજોરગીને વધારનારી અને માન આપનારી સભ્યતા તથા સાલિસાઇથી સારી રેવેરાથી સમજેછે જે એવું એક બીકટ કામ કે જેમાં પેહેલે વહેલેજ પગલું ભરવામાં આવેલું છે તેવાં કામમાં ભુલચુક પડવી ઘણી સેહેલ છે અને તેથી કરીને પોતાની કેતાબના વાંચનારાઓને અરજ કરેછે જે કાંઇબી ચુક તેઓની નજરે પડે તો તેવનને દેખાડવી. એવને પોતાના જાત ભાઇઓના વાંચણ તથા ઉચ્ચારો સુધારવાની કોશીશ કીધીછે, અને તે કારણસર યુરોપીઅનોની વાંચવાની ધોરણ સાથે ઘણીએક સરખામણી કીધીછે. તોપણ હમો ધારીએ છઇએ જે એ ધોરણ એવને પુરેપુરી અખત્યાર કીધી હતે તો વધારે સારૂં થતે, ... એ કેતાબનો દીબાચો કે જે કોઇબી રીતે કાબેલીઅતથી ખાલી નથી, તેમાં પેહેલવી ભાષા વીશે અને "પેહેલવી" અને "હુજવારેશ" બોલ વીશે સમજણ આપેલી છે. એ કેતાબના બનાવનાર, જરથોસતી અને અવસતાની અસલી કથા પ્રમાણે પોતાના વીચાર આપેછે, અને એ ભાષાનો જનમ કેયાની અને પેશદાદી વરાના પાદશાહોથી આપેછે. એવી જાતના સવાલો કે એ દીકરાનરીને લગતા નથી તે સવાલો વીશે અહીઆં હમે તકરાર કરતા નથી. એ ભણેલા ધરમગુરૂ પોતાની કેતાબ જલદીથી પુરી કરે એવું હમારી માફક દરએક જણ ચાહારો, અને વલી વીદ્યાનાહકમાં એ કેતાબ જે ઉપયોગની થશે તે વીશે પણ તેઓ હોંશથી તેની કદર બુજશે.

હમારા સાંભલવામાં આવીઉંછે જે એવનની કેતાબના કામને જે અડચણો નડતી હતી તે સઘલી અડચણો એવન મટાડી શક્યા છે અને વલી એ દીકરાનરીનો ત્રીજો ભાગ છપાવાની તઇઆરી ઉપર છે.

લીતરશીશે સેનત્રાલબ્લાંત એવે નામનાં જરમન ચોપાન્યા ઉપરથીઃ—

ઍક સંપુર્ણ શબ્દ કોષની ખુટને લીધે પેહેલવી ભાષાનો અભ્યારા ઘણો બીકટ થઈ પડયો છે. ઍટલું તો ખરૂં છે જે આપણી પાસ થોડાક ખાસ નાઘલા કોષ હાલ છે, જેવા કે—વેસ્તની અરદાવીરાફ અને ઘુસ્તીની બુન્દેહેશનાં, પણ આખી ભાષાનો ઍક કોષ કે જેમાં મુખ્ય કરીને અવસતાના સઘલા બોલોના અર્થ, સમાયલા હોય તેવા ઍક કોષની ઇરાની ભાષાના સઘલા અભ્યાશીઍને હમેશાં ઘણી મોટી જરૂર પડતી આવીછે. ઍ કારણસર આપણે ખુંશી થઇઍ છઇઍ જે પારસીઍના કાબેલ દસ્તુર જામાસ્પજી, કે જેવનનું પેહેલવી ભાષાનુ જ્ઞાન સઘલા યુરોપીઅનો કરતાં ઘણું વધારે છે. તેવને પેહેલવી શબ્દ કોષનુ બીકટ કામ જે તેવનના બાવાઍ શુરૂ કીધું હતું તેને આગલ ચાલુ કરીને પુરૂં કીધું છે.

ઍ શબ્દ કોષમાં ૪૪૦ પાના પર આસરે ૪૦૦૦) બોલ સમાવેલાછે ઍ બોલો અસલ ટાઇપમાં આપી તેના ઉચ્ચાર ગુજરાતી અને રોમન હરફે બતાવીઆછે, અને ત્યાર પછી તેના અર્થ ગુજરાતી અને ઇંગ્રેજી ભાષામાં આપીઆ છે. ઍ આખી કેતાબને દાકતર વેસ્તના અરદાઍવીરાફના શબ્દ કોષની માફક રચીછે. ઍ શબ્દ કોષના બીજા ભાગનો છેલો બોલ **આશુફતન** છે. .....હમે ખરા અંતઃકરણથી આશા રાખીઍ છઇઍ જે આઍ શબ્દ કોષ પુરો કરવાનું કામ આગલ વધીઉ જશે. સેવટે ઍનુ ચોકસ કરીને મોટી ફતેહ મલશે .... કેટલાંક પત્રો છપાયાં છે તેપરથી સાબેત થાઍ છે જે સઘલા કાબેલ શાખશો આઍ શબ્દ કોષ પુરો થઍલો જોવાને ઘણા આતુર છે.

annoy, to vex; to disperse, to scatter; to irritate, to fret; to agitate; to hinder, to interrupt; to change, to alter, to differ; to exchange (money), to convert into small change. Per. آشفتن

આશોફતન, âshôftan. See આશ્મુતન ashmutan.

આશોફતે, âshôftê. કૃ૦ વિ૦ ગભરાએલું; મોહીત પડેલું, દેવાનું; કેગાલ. Partic. adj. Distracted, confounded; enamoured; mad; wretched.

અશો-મરદ, ashô-mard. ના૦ પવિત્ર પુરૂષ. Subs. A pious—righteous man. Comp. Av. + Pers.

આશુરદન, âshurdan. ક્રિ૦ ગુંદવું; મેલવવું; ભુંજવું; છુંદવું; ભાંજવું, ધોવું. V. To knead, to mix up; to bake; to bruise, to break; to wash. Per. آشردن

અશ્ક

અશ્ક, અશ્ક, અશક, ashka, ashk, ashak. ના૦ ટીપું, આંસું; એક માણસનું નામ છે, કે જે બુજોરગ પાદશાહી ખાન્દાનનો હતો; ખોદાની રાહનો મુસાફર; પંગુ. Subs. A drop, a tear; the name of a person of illustrious royal family; a traveller in the path of godliness. Per. اشک

અશક, ashak. ના૦ અરબસ્તાનના એક પાદશાહનું નામ છે. Subs. The name of a king of Arabia.

આદાક, âdâk. ના૦ ટાપુ, પાણીથી ઘેરાયલી જમીન. Subs. An island; a tract of land surrounded by water. Comp. Per. ادا ک

[illegible] આશક, âshak. ના૦ ચાહનાર, આશક. Subs. A lover, one deeply in love; an *enamorado.*

[illegible] ખોશક, khôshk. વિ૦ સુકું. Adj. Dry. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] સશક, sashak. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ નેવું, ૯૦). Numer. adj. Ninety, 90.

[illegible] અશ્કહુની, ashkahunî. ક્રિ૦ આજ્ઞા૦ તું પામ—મેલવ—હાંસલ કર. V. Imper. Get—acquire (thou).

[illegible] અશ્ગહાન-શ, ashgahâna-sh. See [illegible] ashgahânî. 7,531

[illegible] અશ્ગહાન, અશ્ગાહન, ashgahân, ashgâhan. વિ૦ આલસુ, સુસ્ત, ઉદ્યમ વગરનું. Adj. Idle, sluggish, not occupied. Comp. Pâz. [illegible] (in Hamkâra Afrîn).

[illegible] આશ્કારે, âshkârê. વિ૦ મશહુર, જાહેર, ખોલ્લું, પ્રગટ, બેગુમાન, બેશક. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ તુરત, બાહેર. Adj. Famous, well-known, evident, clear, apparent, proclaimed; undoubted. Adv. Immediately, instantly; outside, abroad. Corrupt form of [illegible] âshkâr.

[illegible] અશ્કાનાન, ashkânân. ના૦ પાદશાહી તબક્કાનું નામ છે કે જેને 'અશ્કાન્યાન' કહેછે. Subs. The name of a kingly dynasty called *Ashkânyân.*

[illegible] અશ્ગાનીજ, ashgânîz. ના૦ સુસ્તી, કાહેલી, આલસાઈ. Subs. Laziness, idleness, indolence.

Presented by Dinshaw Manockjee Petit.

અશ્કહુની, ashkahunî. See અશ્કહુની ashkahunî.

અશ્ગહુનાન, ashgahunân. ના૦ સુસ્તી—આલસાઈનો દેવ. Subs. The demon of idleness—indolence.

અશ્કહુનાદ, ashkahunâd. ક્રિ૦ મેલવે, હાંસલ કરે, પામે. V. May get—acquire.

અશ્કહુની, ashkahunî. See અશ્કહુની ashkahunî.

અશ્કહુનીહેદ, ashkahunîhêd. ક્રિ૦ તે પામેછે—મેલવે છે. V. He gets—acquires.

અશ્કહુનેદ, ashkahunêd. ક્રિ૦ ચાહે, ઈચ્છા રાખે; પામે, મેલવે. V. May wish—desire; may get—obtain.

અશ્કહુનતન, ashkahunatan. ક્રિ૦ પામવું, ખાહેશ કરવી, હાંસેલ કરવું; આપવું. V. To get, to desire, to acquire; to give.

અશ્કહુનમ, ashkahunam. ક્રિ૦ હું મેલવું. V. I may acquire.

આશ્કાર, âshkâr. વિ૦ જાહેર, દેખીતું, આશ્કાર. Adj. Obvious, manifest, clear. Av. آشكارا, Per. آشكار

એશ્કાર, êshkâr. ના૦ શેકાર, શેકાર કરવો. Subs. Chase, hunting.

આશ્કારાક, âshkârâk. See آشكارا âshkârâ.

આશ્કારગીહા, âshkârgîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જાહેર—ખુલ્લી રીતે; સાચ્ચું—જાહેર કામ. Adv. Clearly, openly, obviously.

[illegible] આશ્કારે, âshkârê. See [illegible] âshkârê.

[illegible] આશ્કારગી, âshkâragî. ના૦ જાહેરીઆત, પ્રસિદ્ધતા, આશ્કારાપણું. Subs. Abst. Publicity, celebrity.

[illegible] આશ્કારગીહા, âshkârgîhâ. See [illegible] âshkârgîhâ.

[illegible] આશ્કારે-ગોબશ્નીહા, âshkârê-gôbashnîhâ. ના૦ જાહેરમાં બોલનાર, સ્પષ્ટ બોલનાર. Subs. One who speaks before the people at large; one who speaks clearly—distinctly.

[illegible] આશ્કારે-ગોબશ્ને, âshkârê-gôbashnê. See [illegible] âshkârê-gôbashnîhâ.

[illegible] આશ્કારે-વરજીદારાન, âshkârê-varjîdârân. ના૦ લોકોમાં જાહેર કરનારા. Subs. Those who make known to people in general.

[illegible] અ-શકબહુનતન, a-shakbahunatan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં છુપાવવું, નીચે નહીં મેલવું; પડી નહીં રેહેવું, નહીં દટાવવું, છુપ્ નહીં થવું. V. Not to conceal, not to make a secret of; not to put down; not to be concealed, not to be hidden.

[illegible] અ-શેકસ્તન, a-shêkastan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ભાંજવું—તોડવું; નહીં હરાવવું; ચીરી નહીં નાંખવું. V. Not to break, not to tear asunder, not to defeat; not to tear away. Contrast Per. شکستن

[illegible] અ-શકીના, a-shakinâ. ના૦ ખરાબ—બુહું—ન

કામું નસતર—છરી. Subs. A bad lancet, a blunt —useless knife.

અ-શકબુહુનેદ, a-shakbuhunêd. ક્રિ૦ નહીં પામે —હાંસલ કરે. V. May not acquire—obtain.

અશ્કેમ, અશ્કીમ, ashkêm, ashkîm. ના૦ પેટ, હોજરી. Subs. The stomach, the belly. Comp. Pehl. , Per. شکم

અશ્કો, ashkô. ના૦ ઘેરનો માળ—તબકકો; આસ્માન. Subs. A story; a stage of a building; the sky.

આશ્કો, âshkô. See , ashkôf, âshkôp.

અ-શકના, a-shaknâ. વિ૦ તવંગર, પૈસાદાર, ગરીબ નહીં. Adj. Rich, wealthy, not poor. Contrast Pehl.

અ-શકનાઈ, a-shaknâî. વિ૦ See a-shaknâ. નહીં વાગેલું—તોડેલું, ચીરી નહીં નાખેલું. Adj. Unhurt, uninjured, unbroken, unsplit, untorn. Comp. Av. = Av. Rt. = छिन्द = Per. شکستن

અશ્કોખીદન, ashkôkhîdan. ક્રિ૦ ફસડીઆં મારવાં, પડવું. V. To move slowly (as an infant), to crawl.

અ-યાકન્દ, a-yâkand. ના૦ ખરાબ યાકુત. Subs. A bad ruby—sapphire.

અશ્કોબ, ashkôb. ના૦ માળ; છજ્જું, છાપરૂં; અગાસી. Subs. A story; a roof; eaves; a balcony. Per. شکوب

ગુજરાતી-ઉર્દુ અશ્કન્દ, અ-શકન્દ, અ-શ્કન્દ, ashkand, a-shakand, a-shkand. વિ૦ નહીં વિંધેલું, કુમારૂં, એમનુંએમ રહેલું. Adj. Not bored—perforated; unwedded, unmarried; untouched, unused. Comp. Av. بے سوراخ

ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી અશ્કનશ, ashkanash. ના૦ દીવાલ ઉપર લાવવી; ઈમારત—અમલો બાંધવો. Subs. Raising a wall; constructing and raising any edifice.

ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી અશ્કુન, ashkun. વિ૦ વરસીઆ—ગોધા—બલદ જેવું. Adj. Like a white bull—ox—bullock.

ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી અશ્કુન્તન, ashkuntan. ક્રિ૦ પામવું, હાંસલ કરવું, મેલવવું. V. To get, to acquire, to obtain.

ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી અશ્કોફ, આશ્કોપ, ashkôf, âshkôp. ના૦ છાપરૂં, છજ્જું, તબક્કો, માળ, ઘેરની ઉંચાઈ; થાંભલો, સ્તંભ, જરૂખો, અગાસી, ઝુપડું. Subs. A roof, eaves, a stage, a story, the height of a house, a pillar, a prop; a portico, a terrace, a cottage. Comp. Av. بالاخانہ, Sans. स्कम्भ.

ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી અશ્કોફ, ashkôf. વિ૦ શોકતવાળું, દબદબા ભરેલું. Adj. Majestic, pompous. Comp. Per. اشکوہ

ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી અશ્કોફીદન, ashkôfidan. ક્રિ૦ આરાસ્તે કરવું, શણગારવું. V. To adorn, to decorate, to embellish.

ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી અશ્કોફતે, ashkôftê. See ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી ashkôf.

ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી એશ્કોફતે, êshkôftê. ના૦ કલી; ફુલ. Subs. A bud; a flower. Comp. Per. شگوفہ

ઉર્દુ-ગુજરાતી અ-શેકોફત-તગ, a-shêkôft-tag. વિ૦ ઉતાવલી ચાલનું નહીં તે; ધીમી ચાલનું. Adj. Not fast going, slow-paced.

૬૧૧૭ અશ્કુમ, ashkum. See ૧૧૭ ashkêm.

૧૧૬૧૧૭ અશ્કુમ્બે, ashkumbê. See ૧૧૭ ashkêm.

૧૧૬૧૧૭ અશ્કુમ્બે, ashkumbê. See ૧૧૬૧૧૭ ashkumbê.

૬૧૧૭ અશ્કમ, ashkam. See ૧૧૭ ashkêm.

૧૬૧૧૭ અશ્કમ્બ, ashkamb. ના૦ હોજરી. Subs. The stomach.

૧૧૬૧૧૭ અશ્કમ્બે, ashkambê. See ૧૧૭ ashkêm.

૧૧૬૧૧૭ અશ્કમ્બે, ashkambê. ના૦ લશ્કર, સેના, રીજમીઠ. Subs. An army, a force, a regiment.

૧૬૧૧૭ અશેમોગ, ashêmôg. ના૦ અશોઈને તોડનાર, પરહેજગારીનો નાશ કરનાર; આશ્મોગ. Subs. A destroyer of purity—righteousness—piety; an *Ashmôgh*. Av. ૧૧૬૧૧૭, Pâz. ૧૧૬૧૧૭

૧૧૧૭ અશ્કર, ashkar. ના૦ કાલી પુછડી અને યાલ સાથનો રાતો ઘોડો; રાતા રંગનું ઉંટ. વિ૦ રાતું; ચીકણું, ચીકાસવાળું. Subs. A red horse with a black tail and mane; a camel of a red colour. Adj. Red; glutinous, viscous. Comp. Per. اشقر

૧૫૭ અ-દાઘ, a-dâgh. વિ૦ ડાહામ—ડાઘ વગરનું. Adj. Having no brand—scar—stain. Contrast Per. داغ

૧૫૭ અયાઘ, ayâgh. ના૦ પીઆલું; પીવાનું વાસણ; કીરતી, મરતબો; બખશેશ; દયા; સેહેલો મારગ. Subs. A cup; any drinking-vessel; glory, dignity; a gift; charity, compassion; an easy passage. Comp. Per. ایاغ

[illegible]

[illegible] અયાવ, ayâv. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ અથવા, યા. Conj. Or, either. Per. یا

[illegible] અયાવ, ayâv. વિ૦ પાણીવાળું; ભીનું, ઈજ્જત ભરેલું; આબરૂદાર. ના૦ ઈજ્જત, માન. Adj. Full of water, watery; moist; respectable, honourable. Subs. Respect, honour.

[illegible] આગાજ્, âgâz. ના૦ શરૂઆત, મંડાણ. Subs. Beginning, commencement. Comp. Per. آغاز

[illegible] અયાવાક, ayâvâk. ના૦ પામનાર, મેલવનાર. Subs. One who acquires—obtains.

[illegible] અયાવશેદ, ayâvshêd. ક્રિ૦ એવું જણાશે—માલમ પડશે. V. It will be found—discovered.

[illegible] અયાવીએદ, અયાવશેદ, ayâviêd, ayâvashêd. ક્રિ૦ જણાય, માલમ પડે. V. May be known, may come to one's knowledge.

[illegible] અયાવીહેદ, આયાવીહેદ, ayâvîhêd, âyâvîhêd. ક્રિ૦ પામે, ઉપજે. V. May obtain, may be realized.

[illegible] અયાવશની, ayâvashnî. ના૦ આવવું, દાખલ થવું. Subs. Coming, entering.

[illegible] અયાવશની, ayâvashnî. ના૦ આએપત, આવક; મદદ; મેલવવું. Subs. Income, earnings; assistance; obtaining.

[illegible] અયાવશની, ayâvashnî. ના૦ દાનાઈ, ચાહાવું. Subs. Wisdom, sense; wishing. Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-યાપશને, a-yâpashnê. ના૦ નહીં મેલવવું—હાંસલ કરવું. Subs. Not obtaining—gaining.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવશ્ને, આયાવશ્ને, ayâvashnê, âyâvashnê. ના૦ દિલથી જાણવું, દિલથી પામી જવું. Subs. Knowing in one's heart.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવસ્ન, અયાવસ્ને, ayâvasna, ayâvasnê. See ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા ayâvashnî.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા એશ-ચીન, êsh-chîn. ના૦ આંખનો પલકારો, આંખનાં પોપચાં ઉપરની કરચલી. Subs. A twinkling of the eye; the wrinkles over the eyelids.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અ-યાવીની, a-yâvînî. ક્રિ૦ તું નહીં પામે; તું નહીં હાંસેલ કરશે—મેલવે. V. You may not acquire; you will not gain.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવસ્ને, ayâvasnê. See ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા ayâvasna.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવસ્તન, ayâvastan. ક્રિ૦ જોવું, નેઘાહ કરવી, પામવું, ખાહેશ કરવી. V. To see, to turn the eyes to, to acquire, to desire.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવીનદ, ayâvînad. ક્રિ૦ પામે, જોએ. V. May obtain—see.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવીનેદ, ayâvîned. ક્રિ૦ મદદ કરેછે, પાસબાન થાયછે, મેલવે છે. V. Assists; keeps watch; obtains.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવીનમ, ayâvînam. ક્રિ૦ હું પામું; હું મેલવું છું. V. I may acquire; I gain.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવીદે, ayâvîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ મેલવેલું, પામેલું. Past partic. Got, acquired.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવીદન, ayâvîdan. See ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા ayâvastan.

ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા અયાવોમ, ayâvôm. ક્રિ૦ હમો પામીયે છીયે. V. We acquire—get. Pâz. ઝેન્દાવેસ્તા = Per. یابیم

ગુજરાતી અયાફે, અ-યાફે, ayâfê, a-yâfê. વિ૦ જાહેર થયલું, ગુમાન—શકવાલું થયલું; બેહુદું—બેવકુફી ભરેલું નહીં. Adj. Become public; doubtful; not absurd—foolish. Contrast Per. ياوه

ગુજરાતી અયાફે, ayâfê. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાનાં નામો મધેનું એક નામ; પામી નહીં શકવું. Subs. One of the names of the great God.

ગુજરાતી અ-યાવે, અ-યાવેહ, a-yâvê, a-yâvêh. વિ૦ મેલવવા જોગ નહીં, હાસેલ નહીં થઈ શકે તેવું. Adj. Not obtainable; that may not be gained. Comp. Per. نايا ب

ગુજરાતી દો-શવે, dô-shavê. ના૦ બે રાત્ર. Subs. Two nights.

ગુજરાતી અ-યાવગી, a-yâvgî. See ગુજરાતી a-yâvashnê.

ગુજરાતી અયાવગી, આયાવંગી, ayâvgî, âyâvgî. See ગુજરાતી ayâvashnî. Av. ગુજરાતી = Per. يافتگي

ગુજરાતી અયફત, આયફત, ayaft, âyaft. ના૦ મોરાદ, ઈચ્છા, ખાહેશ; ફાયદો, નફો, આબેપત. Subs. Desire, wish; profit, gain, income. Av. ગુજરાતી

ગુજરાતી અયાફત, ayâft. ક્રિ૦ પામ્યું, મેલવ્યું. V. Got, obtained (past tense).

ગુજરાતી અ-યાફત, a-yâft. વિ૦ મેલવવા જોગ નહીં; જેનો અંત નહીં આવે એવું. Adj. Unobtainable, endless.

ગુજરાતી આશુફત, âshuft. વિ૦ ઘેલું, દેવાનું, મગજ—અકકલથી ખસેલું. Adj. Mad, insane; unsound in mind or intellect.

ગુજરાતી અયાફતાર, આયાફતાર, ayâftâr, âyâftâr. ના૦

પામનાર, મેલવનાર, નફો મેલવનાર. Subs. One who gains—acquires; one who obtains profit.

આયાફતોમન્દી, âyâftômandî. ના૦ નાઉમેદી; નહીં મેલવી શકાય તે. Subs. Hopelessness; unobtainableness.

અયાફતીનીદારી, ayâftînîdâri. ના૦ યાદદાસ્ત. Subs. Memory.

અયાફતે, ayâftê. કૃ૦ વિ૦ મેલવેલું, તપાસી તપાસીને. Partic. adj. Acquired; after careful examination, searchingly.

અ-યાફતે, a-yâftê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ નહીં પામેલું—મેલવેલું. Past partic. Not obtained—acquired.

અશોફતે, ashôftê. કૃ૦ વિ૦ પરેશાન હાલનું, ઘભરાયલું, દેવાનું, આશક થયલું. Partic. adj. In a distracted state, confounded, mad, enamoured. Per. آشفتہ

અયાફતેઓમન્દી, ayâfteômandî. See અયાફતોમન્દી ayâftômandî.

અયાફતન, આયાફતન, ayâftan, âyâftan. ક્રિ૦ ઉપજવું, નિપજવું; મેલવવું, પામવું; જાણવું; દાખલ થવું; સોધવું, સોધી કાઢવું. V. To be produced; to turn out; to acquire; to obtain, to get; to examine; to be profited; to discover, to find. Comp. Pehl. અ, Av. અ = Sans. आप् = Per. یافتن

અ-યાફતન, a-yâftan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં પામવું—હાંસલ કરવું. V. Not to obtain—gain. Contrast Per. یافتن

અયાવતન, ayâvtan. ક્રિ૦ આવવું. V. To come.

۱۹۷۵ આયાફ્તે, âyâftê. કૃ૦ વિ૦ પામેલું, મેલવેલું. ના૦ મતલબ, સારાંશ, સાર. Partic. adj. Obtained, acquired. Subs. Purport, substance; moral.

۱۹۷۵ આયાફ્તગી, âyâftagî. ના૦ હાંસલ; નફો, આવક. Subs. Profit, gain; income. Av. ۱۹۷۵

۱۹۷۵ અયાફ્તે-તર, ayâftê-tar. વિ૦ વધારે મેલવવા જોગ. Adj. More obtainable.

۱۹۷۵ અયાફ્તે, ayâftê. See ۱۹۷۵ ayâftê.

۱۹۷۵ આદા-ચ, âdâ-cha. ના૦ જે આત્મા, જીવત્રેબી; જેમકે ۱۹۷۵ "કોઈબી રીતે આત્માને." Subs. The soul which; even to the animal life ۱۹۷۵ (âdâcha-chand)=anyhow to the soul.

۱۹۷۵

۱۹۷۵ અઈબત, aîbat. ના૦ આતશનાં શોલા. Subs. Flames of fire.

۱۹۷۵ અ-દાદ, a-dâd. વિ૦ બગડેલું, લુચાઈ ભરેલું, ઉલટું, નારાસ્ત, જુઠું; બેદાદ, ગેરઈનસાફ, જુલમ ભરેલું; ખોટું કરનાર. ના૦ ગેરઈનસાફી, બેદીની, જુદો કાયદો; નહીં આપનાર. Adj. Corrupt, roguish; despotic, wrong, unjust. Subs. Injustice; irreligion, a contrary rate; not giving. Av. ۱۹۷۵

۱۹۷۵ અ-બખ્ત, a-bakht. વિ૦ નહીં ભરડેલું—છડેલું. Adj. Not ground coarsely; not beaten (rice). Av. ۱۹۷۵

۱۹۷۵ અબાદ, abâd. ના૦ દુવા, આબાદી. વિ૦ વસ્તીવાળું, ખુશનુમા; ખેતી કીધેલી. Subs. A benediction, prayer;

prosperity. Adj. Populous; pleasant; cultivated. Per. آباد

અયાદ, ayâd. ના૦ યાદ, નકશ, ચિતાર; યાદદાશ્ત; જાગૃતી, અજબર. Subs. Remembrance; painting, a drawing; memory; wakefulness. Per. یادگار

અશ્ત, હશ્ત, asht, hasht. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ આઠ, ૮. Numer. adj. Eight, 8. Av. , Sans. अष्टन्, Per. هشت

અશ્ત, asht. Vand. XIX. ના૦ પેગમ્બર, ખોદાની તરફથી પેગામ—દીન લાવનાર. Subs. A prophet, a messenger from God; he who brings down religion from God—that is, one inspired with divine revelation. Corrupt form of = Av.

અશદ, અશાદ, ashad, ashâd. ના૦ એકવીસે નુસ્ક મધેનાં એક નુસ્કનું નામ છે કે જેને "પાચમ" કહેછે. Subs. One of the 21 Nôsks, called *Pâcham.*

આયાદ, âyâd. ના૦ આવવું, પોહોંચવું, આવક; આવજો, આવો. Subs. Coming, arrival, income; good-bye! welcome!

આશ્ત, âsht. ના૦ દોસ્ત, મિત્ર, સોબતી, ભાઈબંધ. Subs. A friend, a comrade, a brother, a kinsman.

ખેશ્ત, khêsht. ના૦ ઈંટ, ઈંટરડી. Subs. A brick. Av. , , Sans. इष्टका, Per. خشت

દશ્ત, dasht. ના૦ જંગલ. Subs. A desert, a plain without water. Comp. Per. دشت

હશ્ત, hasht. ક્રિ૦ છે. V. Is.

[illegible] અશ્તાબ, ashtâb. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જલદી, તુરત, પલવારમાં. Adv. Soon, quickly; in an instant. Comp. Per. شتاب

[illegible] આશ્તી, âshti. ના૦ સુલેહ, સંપજ, દોસ્તી, ભાઈબંધી, મીલનસારી. Abst. subs. Peace, concord, friendship, brotherly intercourse, affability. Av. [illegible] Per. آشتي. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] આશ્તાઈનેદ, âshtâînêd. ક્રિ૦ ફાયદેમંદ થાયછે. V. Becomes advantageous—profitable.

[illegible] } આશ્તાઈનેદ, âshtâînêd. See [illegible] âshtâînêd.

[illegible] અ-જાદાન, a-jâdân. વિ૦ નહીં જણેલાં, પેદા થવાનાં. Adj. Unborn, not brought forth, unborn (plu.). Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-દાદ-ખાહી, a-dâd-khâhî. વિ૦ મદદ વગરનું. ના૦ જુલમને ચાહનાર. Adj. Destitute of help. Subs. A lover of tyranny—despotism.

[illegible] અ-જાદાન, ajâdân. See [illegible] a-jadân.

[illegible] અશ્તાન્મે, ashtânmê. ના૦ બેડી; વાસણ. Subs. A fetter; a vessel, a pot.

[illegible] સે-દો-તાક, sê-dô-tâk. ના૦ પાંચ ટુકડા; બરસમની પાંચ તાએ. Subs. Five bits—pieces; five twigs of the *Barsom*.

[illegible] અશ્તાવ, ashtâv. See [illegible] ashtâb.

[illegible] ખશ્તાવ, khashtâv. ના૦ નાખુશી, ગમગીની, દલગીરી, ઉદાસી; દરદ, દુઃખ; લડાઈ, યુદ્ધ. Subs. Displeasure,

grief, sorrow; sadness, depression in spirits; disease, pain, affliction; battle, war.

ખશ્તાવીદન, khashtâvîdan. ક્રિ૦ ખાવું. V. To eat.

અશ્તાદ, આશ્તાદ, ashtâd, âshtâd. ના૦ એક નુસ્કનું નામ; એક ફરેસ્તાનું નામ છે; છવીસમાં રોજનું નામ છે. Subs. The name of a Nôsk; name of an angel; the 26th day of every month.

હશ્તાદ, hashtâd. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ એંસી, ૮૦. Numer. adj. Eighty, 80. Av. , Sans. अशीति, Per. هشتاد

અશ્તાદ-હજાર, ashtâd-hazâr. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ એંસી હજાર, ૮૦,૦૦૦. Numer. adj. Eighty thousand, 80,000. Per. هشتاد هزار

અશ્તામે, ashtâmê. See ashtânmê.

અશ્તરી, ashtarî. ના૦ ખંજર, હથિઆર. Subs. A dagger; a weapon.

અશ્તર-શ, ashtara-sh. ના૦ તે ખંજર; તે હથિઆર. Subs. That dagger; that weapon.

આશ્તારી, âshtârî. ના૦ ગુનહગારી, વાંક, તકસીર. Subs. Sinfulness, fault, offence, crime.

અ-દાદે, a-dâdê. ના૦ ઉલટો—ખોટો માર્ગ, ખોદાઈ કાયદાથી ઉલટો માર્ગ, અનીતિ. Subs. A contrary—wrong path; path, contrary to divine laws; immorality.

આશ્તી, âshtî. See âshtî.

[illegible] ખશ્તે, khashtê. ના૦ જુલમ, જાપતો, સેતમ, દુઃખ. વિ૦ જખમી થાએલો, બીમાર, થાકી ગએલો, નબલો. Subs. Oppression; undue restraint, tyranny; affliction. Adj. Wounded, sick, infirm, fatigued. Comp. Per. خستہ

[illegible] ખેશ્તે, khêshtê. See [illegible] khêsht.

[illegible] અ-દાદી, a-dâdî. See [illegible] a-dâd.

[illegible] અશ્ત-શ, ashta-sh. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ તે આઠ. Numer. adj. Those eight (persons or things).

[illegible] અશ્ત-દેહ, asht-dêh. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ એંસી, ૮૦. Numer. adj. Eighty, 80.

[illegible] અશતી, ashtî. ના૦ આઠ માણસની મંડલી. Subs. An assemblage of eight men.

[illegible] આદાદી, âdâdî. ના૦ નેકી, સલાહ, ઈનસાફ. Subs. Virtue, peace, justice.

[illegible] આશ્તી, âshtî. See [illegible] âshtî.

[illegible] અ-દાદીહા, a-dâdîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બેદાદીથી, જુલમથી, બેકાયદે; અનીતિ ભરેલી રીતે. Adv. Unjustly, despotically, irregularly; immorally.

[illegible] અ-દાદીહા-ખેરદ, a-dâdîhâ-khêrad. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બરાબર અક્કલ પ્રમાણે નહીં, બેઅકલીથી, મૂર્ખાઈપણે, બેવકુફી ભરેલી રીતે. Adv. Not according to common—ordinary sense; senselessly, unwisely, foolishly.

[illegible] અ-દાદીહા-ખેરદી, a-dâdîhâ-khêrâdî. ના૦ ઠેકાણા વગરનું ધેઆન; અક્કલનું બગડવું. Subs. Heedless attention; the impairing of the intellect. Comp Av. [illegible]

આશતી-બવીહુન, âshtî-bavîhûn. વિ૦ સુલેહ શોધવું—ચાહાવું, મનમનાવવું, રીજવવું, કૃપા સંપાદન કરવું, સમજુતી કરાવવું, નરમ પાડવું, શાંત કરવું, દેલાશો દેવું. *Adj.* Peace-seeking, conciliating, pacifying, appeasing, bringing to a just understanding, bringing round or over, consoling.

આશ્તી-બવીહુનાન, âshtî-bavîhunân. ના૦ સલાહ શોધનાર—ચાહનાર. Subs. A peace-seeker; a lover of peace.

આબાદયાન, âbâdyân. ના૦ મેહેઆબાદ ('દસાતીર' પ્રમાણે દુનિયાનો સઉથી પેહેલો માણસ); મેહેઆબાદી ટોલો. Subs. Mêhêâbâd (the first of the creation—world according to the *Dasâtîr*); the Mêhêâbâdi sect.

અશ્ત-દહુમ, asht-dahum. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ અઢારમું, ૧૮ મું. Numer. adj. Eighteenth, 18th.

અયાદગાર, ayâdgâr. ના૦ યાદગારી; કેતાબ, ચોપડી; બેત, કવિતા. Subs. A remembrance—token; a book, a verse; poetry.

અ-દાદી, a-dâdî. See a-dâd.

આશ્તી, âshtî. See âshtî. ના૦ ખુશ—સારી ખબર. Subs. Good news, joyful tidings.

અ-દાદેસ્તાની, a-dâdêstânî. ના૦ ગેરઈન-સાફી, જુલમ. Subs. Injustice; oppression.

અ-દાદેસ્તાની; a-dâdêstânî. See a-dâdêstânî.

અશ્ત-સદ, હશ્ત-સદ, ashta-sad, hashta-sad.

સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ આઠસો, ૮૦૦. Numer. adj. Eight hundred, 800. Av. [illegible], Per. هشت صد

[illegible] અ-દાદસ્તાન, a-dâdastân. See [illegible] a-dâdê.

[illegible] અ-દાદેસ્તાન, a-dâdêstan. ના૦ ગેરઈનસાફ કરનાર; જુલમ ચલાવનાર; ખોટો માર્ગ, બેદાદી. Subs. One who does injustice; a tyrant; a wrong path; unfairness; mismanagement.

[illegible] અ-દાદેસ્તાની, a-dâdêstânî. See [illegible] a-dâdêstânî.

[illegible] અ-દાદસ્તાનીહા, a-dâdastânihâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ગેરવાજબી રીતે, અનીતિને લીધે; ઉલટી રીતે. Adv. Unjustly, immorally; in a contrary way.

[illegible] અ-દાદેસ્તાની, a-dâdêstânî. વિ૦ ભુંડી દીનના માર્ગને લગતું, ગેરઈનસાફીને લગતું, જુલમ ભરેલું. Adj. Appertaining to a bad creed; unjust, unfair; despotic.

[illegible] અ-શતીની, અશીનીને, a-shatînî, ashînînê. વિ૦ ખશી કર્યા વગરનું; નબલું નહીં. Adj. Uncastrated; not weak. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અયાદીનેદ, ayâdînêd. ક્રિ૦ યાદ રાખે; યાદદાશ્ત રાખે. V. May remember; may keep memoranda.

[illegible] અયાદીનીદારી, ayâdînîdârî. વિ૦ યાદ કરવા લાયકનું, યાદદાસ્તને લગતું. Adj. Worthy to be remembered; relating to memory.

[illegible] અશ્તીનેહ, આશ્તીને, ashtînêh, âshtînê. ના૦ મરઘીનું ઈંડું, મોરગ—પક્ષીનું તોખમ. Subs. The egg of a hen; what is laid by birds.

અ-દાદ-જકનીમુનેદ, a-dâd-jaknimûnêd. ક્રિ૦ નહીં આપ્યું છે, તેણે નથી આપ્યું; તે બેદાદ—ઈનસાફ વગરનું છે. V. He has not given; it is unjust—inequitable.

અશ્તીમ, ashtîm. ના૦ ચરબીન, પરૂ; નજીસાત. Subs. Purulent substance; matter, filth.

અશ્તો, ashtô. See અશ્ત âsht. Av.

અશ્તો, ashtô. ના૦ આંગલી. Subs. A small finger.

આબાદ, âbâd. વિ૦ પાણીવાળું, શોભાયમાન, સુશોભિત, વનસ્પતી—ભાજી પાલાવાળું; વસ્તીવાળું. Adj. Abounding with water (lit.); elegant, beautiful; full of vegetation; peopled, populous; prosperous. Per. آباد

અ-દા-તોખ્મે, a-dâ-tôkhmê. વિ૦ બદ તોખમ—જાતવાળું. Adj. Of low birth; of ignoble parentage. Corrupt form of

અશ્તવીન, ashtavîn. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ આઠમું, ૮) મું; ના૦ આઠમો શખ્સ. Numer. adj. Eighth, 8th. Subs. The eighth person.

અ-દાતોબરાન, a-dâtôbarân. ના૦ ઈનસાફ નહીં આપનારા—કરનારા, મદદે નહીં પોહોંચનારા. Subs. Deniers of justice; those that do not hold out a helping hand; those who do not come to the rescue.

અઈખ્તુન, અ-ઈખ્તન, aîkhtun, a-îkhtan. વિ૦ એબ વગરનું, ખોડખાપણ વિનાનું. Adj. Free from blemishes—defects—deformities.

[illegible] આઈખ્તન, આએખ્તન, âîkhtan, âêkhtan. વિ૦ ભાગિયા—પંત્યાલા વગરનું, એખલું; મીસાલ વગરનું: જેના જેવું બીજું નહીં તે, આપઅખત્યાર; ખોદાતાલાનાં નામો મધેનું એક નામ છે. Adj. Having no partner; single; incomparable, unequalled; independent; one of the names of the Creator.

[illegible] હેશ્તન, hêshtan. ક્રિ૦ છોડવું, છોડી દેવું, પડવા દેવું, છાંટવું; લટકવું, V. To dismiss, to leave; to let fall; to sprinkle; to hang loose. Per. هشتن

[illegible] અ-જાતુનાનદ, a-jâtunânad. ક્રિ૦ નહીં આવે—પોંહોંચે. V. May not come—reach.

[illegible] આજાતુનેદ, âjâtunêd. ક્રિ૦ આવેછે; પોંહોંચે છે. V. Comes, reaches; arrives (pres. 3rd sing.).

[illegible] અશતોહ, ashatôh. Gloss. વિ૦ તંગીમાં—કબજાનમાં આવેલું, ઘેરાઈ ગયલું. ના૦ કામલી, ધાભરી. Adj. Straitened, embarrassed, perplexed; surrounded by. Subs. A blanket.

[illegible] અશતવદ, ashtavad. ના૦ બીજા ગાથાનું નામ છે. Subs. The name of the second Gâthâ. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અશ્તુદે, ashtûdê. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ આઠમું, ૮ મું. Numer. adj. Eighth, 8th. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અશ્તુમ, ashtum. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ આઠમું, ૮ મું. Numer. adj. Eighth, 8th. Av. [illegible], Sans. अष्टम, Per. هشتم

[illegible] અશ્તુલુમ, ashtulum. ના૦ મજબુતી; ધાસ્તી, ભય

ઘબરાટ ; અધીરાઈ ; પોકાર ; લડાઈ ; ઠંઠો. Subs. Firmness ; terror, dread ; consternation; impatience ; exclamation ; war ; contest. Comp. Per. اشتلم

𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬌 ખ્શથ્ર-વર, khshathra-var. ના૦ મુરાદનો સાહેબ ; ઉમેદનો ધણી ; પાદશાહ ; શેહેરેવર અમેશાસ્પંદ, ધાતુ, ખજાનો. Subs. Lord of hope ; master of wishes, a king ; *Shêhêrêvar Amshâspand ;* metals ; treasure, riches. Comp. Av. 𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭, Pehl. 𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵, Per. شهريور

𐬀𐬌𐬗𐬀𐬥𐬌 અ-જાદે, a-jâdê. વિ૦ આડે મારગે, ઉલટે રસ્તે. Adj. Deviating from the straight path, going astray. Contrast Per. جادہ

𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬌 અઝદે, azhdê. વિ૦ દુઃખી, આજોરદે, રંજીદા, હેરાન. Adj. Distressed, afflicted, vexed, harassed.

𐬀𐬌𐬗𐬀𐬥𐬌 અ-દાદે, a-dâdê. See 𐬀𐬗𐬀𐬥𐬌 a-dâdê.

𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬙𐬌 અશ્તી, ashti. Nêrang. ના૦ આવી પોહોંચવું. Subs. Coming, arriving. Av. 𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬙𐬌

𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬑 અશ્તક, ashtak. ના૦ કપડાં, લુગડાં. Subs. Clothes, garments.

𐬀𐬀𐬗𐬀𐬥𐬌 આબાદે, âbâdê. વિ૦ સર્વથી ઉચું—મ્હોટું. Adj. Highest, largest.

𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬙𐬌 આંશ્તે, âshtê. ના૦ આશાએશ, સુલેહ. વિ૦ મધ્યમ રીતે ખાનાર—પીનાર ; લાયક. Subs. Repose, peace. Adj. Moderate in eating and drinking ; worthy, fit.

𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬙𐬌 એશ્તે, êshtê. Vand. XIII. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ ચાહેલું, ઈચ્છેલું. Past partic. Wished, desired.

[illegible] ખશ્તે, khashtê. See [illegible] khêsht. Comp. Av. [illegible], [illegible] = Sans. इष्टका = Per. خشت

[illegible] ગશ્તે, gashtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ ફરેલું; ફરી વળેલું. Past partic. Turned; run over; gone round. Per. گشتن

[illegible] હશ્તે, hashtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ થયલું, બનેલું, હયાતીમાં આવેલું. Past partic. Been; happened; come into existence.

[illegible] આશ્તગી, âshtagî. વિ૦ સુલેહ—સંપજ વાલું, મિત્રાચારી ભરેલું. Adj. Peaceful, friendly.

[illegible] અશ્તે, ashtê. See [illegible] asht.

[illegible] ખશ્તે-મસા, khashtê-masâ. વિ૦ ઈંટના જેટલું મ્હોટું. Adj. Of the size of a brick. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આશ્ત્-તુમ, આશ્ત-તુમ, âsht-tum, âshta-tum. વિ૦ સર્વથી સુલેહ—સંપજ ભરેલું, અતિશય દોસ્તીવાલું. Adj. Most peaceful—friendly.

[illegible] અશ્તવદ, ઓશ્તવદ, ashtavad, ôshtavad. See [illegible] ashtavad.

[illegible] હેશ્તમ, hêshtam. ક્રિ૦ મેં છોડી દીધું, મેં મુકી દીધું. V. I left off—dismissed. Per. هشتم

[illegible] અશ્ત-મહી, ashta-mahî. વિ૦ આઠ મહિનાનું. Adj. Of eight months. Comp. Av. [illegible] = Per. هشت ماهي

[illegible] અશ્ત-માહી, ashta-mâhî. See [illegible] ashta-mahî.

[illegible] એશ્ત-મસા, ઈશ્ત-મસા, khêsht-masâ, îshta-masâ. See [illegible] khashtê-masâ.

[illegible] અશ્તર, ashtar. ના૦ એક શિક્ષાનું નામ છે, કે જેથી ગુનેહગાર માણસનાં આંખનાં પાપણ ઉખેડી નાખવામાં આવતાં હતાં; છરી, છરીનો કાપલો; ખંજર, હથિયાર; અશતરો; મારવાનું હથિયાર; ચાબુક; કોરડો; એક વજન—તોલનું નામ છે. Subs. A sort of punishment by which the eyelashes of an offender used to be pulled out; a knife; the blade of a knife; a dagger; a weapon, a tool; a razor; an instrument for striking; a whip; a scourge, lash; the name of a weight. Av. [illegible] = Sans. अष्ट्र = Per. اشتر।

[illegible] ખશથ્ર, khashathra. ના૦ સાહેબ, પાદશાહ, હાકમ. Subs. A lord, a master; a king; a ruler, a governor. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અશ્તલીન, ashtalîn. See [illegible] ashtavîn.

[illegible] ખશથ્રવર, khashathravar. See [illegible] khsha-thra-var.

[illegible] અશ્તરે, ashtarê. See [illegible] ashtar.

[illegible] અશ્તરક, ashtarak. ના૦ મોજો, પાણીનો ધોત. Subs. A wave, a billow; a cascade, a cataract.

[illegible]

[illegible] અએવગહાન, aêvagahân. See [illegible] aêba-gahân.

[illegible] અ-શપીરાન, a-shapîrân. વિ૦ ભલાઓ નહીં, બુરાઓ, ભુંડાઓ; દુષ્ટો. Adj. plu. Not good—virtuous persons; bad men.

ઇશ્પોખ્તન એશ્પોખ્તન, êshpôkhtan. ક્રિ૦ છાંટવું, છંટકાવ કરવો, ભોંકવું, વિંધવું. V. To sprinkle, to water; to prick, to pierce. Comp. Per. سپوختن

અયાવગી અયાવગી, ayâvagî. ના૦ મદદ, સહાયતા, આશ્રો. Subs. Help, assistance; support.

અબાફ્ત અબાફ્ત, abâft. ના૦ એક જાતનું જાડું કપડું. Subs. A kind of coarse cloth. Per. ابافت

અયાફ્ત અયાફ્ત, ayâft. ના૦ મોરાદ; ખાહેશ, ઈચ્છા. Subs. Wish, desire; longing.

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અબામ અબામ, abâm. ના૦ ઘરનો તબકકો—માર. Subs. A story, a loft.

અયામ અયામ, ayâm. ના૦ દાહાડા, વખત, મોસમ. Subs. Days (lit.); times; seasons; plu. of ف; comp. Per. ایام

અશમ અશમ, asham. ના૦ બુલંદી, ઉંચાઈ. વિ૦ ઉંચું; મરતબાવાળું, આબરૂવાળું. Subs. Altitude, height. Adj. High; dignified, respectable. Comp. Ar. اشم

આબામ આબામ, âbâm. ના૦ કરજ; ઉછીનું લેવું. વિ૦ તંદરોસ્ત. Subs. Debt; borrowing. Adj. Healthful. Comp. Per. اوام

એશમ એશમ, êsham. ના૦ કાઠી, બાલવાનાં લાકડાં; સુખડની એક સલી કે જે "ઓરવીસઘાહ"ની ક્રિયા કરતાં આફરેગાનીઆ આગલ મુકવામાં આવેછે. Subs. Dry wood for burning, fuel; a chip of sandalwood which is placed near a censer during the performance of the ceremony of *Orvisgâh.*

𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌 અશ્મ, ખશ્મ, êshma, khashma. ના૦ ક્રોધ, ગુસ્સો, કીનો, વેર, કપટ; ગુસ્સાનો દેવ જેને ભયંકર હથિયારવાલો 'એશમ' દેવ કરીને કેહેછે. Subs. Anger, wrath; revenge, spite, enmity; the demon of anger called *Aêshma* of horrible weapons. Av. 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌 Per. خشم

𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌 દો-ગામ, dô-gâm. ના૦ બે પગલાં—કદમ. Subs. Two paces—steps. Av. 𐬛𐬀𐬉𐬭𐬀𐬌, Per. دوگام

𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 ખશ્મેબી, khashmêbî. ના૦ અહુનવદ ગાથાના બીજા હાનું નામ; ઈજશ્નેના ૨૯ મા હાનું નામ જેને 'ખશ્મેબીઆ' કેહેછે. Subs. Name of the second chapter of the *Ahûnvad* Gâthâ; the 29th Hâ of the Yaçna called *Khshmaêbyâ*.

𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀 ખશ્મેબીએ, khashmêbîê. See 𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 khashmêbî.

𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌 અ-દહમાન, a-dahmân. વિ૦ નેક—અશો નહીં; અપવિત્ર, નાપાક, ગુનેહગાર, પાપી. Adj. Not virtuous—pious—holy; impure, guilty, sinful. Comp. Av. 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬉𐬭𐬀𐬌

𐬁𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌 અ-દહમાન, a-dâhmân. See 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌 a-dahmân.

𐬁𐬁𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌 અશેમહુક, ashêmhuk. See 𐬁𐬀𐬱𐬌 ashêmvôhû.

𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬁𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬌 ખશ્માર્દ, khashmârd. વિ૦ સખ્ત, કઠણ, નક્કર, ખડ. Adj. Hard, strong, solid.

𐬁𐬀𐬱𐬌 અશેમ-એ, ashêm-ê., ના૦ એક "અષેમ વોહૂ." Subs. One *Ashêm Vôhû; Ashêm Vôhû* to be recited once.

[illegible] દો-ગામે, dô-gâmê. ના૦ બે કદમ—ડગલાં. Subs. Two paces—steps.

[illegible] ખશ્મીહા, khashmîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ક્રોધ ભરેલી રીતે, ગુસ્સાથી. Adv. Angrily, wrathfully.

[illegible] ખશ્મશેદ, khashmashêd. ક્રિ૦ ગુસ્સો કરશે, દેહેશત—ધાસ્તી આપશે. V. Will make (one) angry; will intimidate; will strike terror.

[illegible] ખશ્મબી, khasmabî. See [illegible] khashmêbî.

[illegible] ખશ્મબ્યા, khashmabyâ. See [illegible] khashmêbi.

[illegible] ખશ્મગની, khashmaganî. ના૦ ક્રોધ, ગુસ્સો, રીશ. Subs. Anger, wrath; offence.

[illegible] અશ્મીન, ashmîn. વિ૦ રૂપેરી. Adj. Silvery.

[illegible] આશ્મીદન, âshmîdan. ક્રિ૦ પીવું. V. To drink. Corrupt form of [illegible] Per. آشامیدن

[illegible] અશેમ-વોહૂ, ashêm-vôhû. ના૦ એક ઘણી જુની બંદગીનું નામ છે કે જેને "અષેમ વોહૂ" કેહેછે. Subs. Name of a very ancient prayer called *Ashêm Vôhû*. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આશમોએ, આશમોગ, âshmôê, âshmôg. See [illegible] âshmôg. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આશ્મુઈ, આશ્મોગી, âshmuî, âshmôgî. See [illegible] âshmûi.

[illegible] અ-શમન, a-shaman. ના૦ બુતપરસ્ત નહીં તે. Subs. One who does not worship idols. Contrast Per. شمن (an idol, image; idolatry).

[illegible] અશ-મવન, ash-mavan. સર્વ૦ તે કે જે. Pron. He who.

૧૧૭ અ-શમૂ, a-shamû. ના૦ કાંઈબી કામ સારી રીતે નહીં થવું તે. Subs. The doing of any work unsatisfactorily.

૧૧૭ આશ્મૂ, આશ્મુન, âshmû, âshmun. See ૧૭ âshmôê.

૧૧૭ ખશ્મ-વન, khashma-van. ના૦ ગુસ્સો ભાંજનાર, ક્રોધને તાબે કરનાર. Subs. One who subdues his anger; one who crushes his wrath.

૧૧૭ હેશ્મૂ, hêshmû. See ૭ êshma, khashma.

૧૩૧૧૭ અશેમ-વોહૂ, ashêm-vôhû. See ૧૩૧૭ ashêm-vôhû.

૩૧૧૭ આશ્મૂઈ, âshmûî. See ૭૧૧૭ âshmûî.

૧૧૭ આશ્મોએ, âshmôê. See ૧૧૭ âshmôê.

૧૧૭ ખશ્મોક, khashmôk. ના૦ અસબાબ, સામન, મતા. Subs. Goods and chattels, furniture, property.

૭૧૧૭ આશ્મુગી, âshmugî. See ૭૧૧૭ âshmûî.

૧૧૧૭ આશ્મોગી, âshmôgî. See ૭૧૧૭ âshmûî.

૧૧૭ આશ્મોઘ, âshmôgh. See ૧૧૭ âshmôê.

૧૧૧૭ અ-શમોરદાર, a-shamôrdâr. ના૦ નહીં પઢનાર; સુમાર—ગણત્રી નહીં કરનાર; નહીં યાદ કરનાર. Subs. One who does not recite—count—compute—remember.

૧૧૧૭ ખશ્મુરદન, ખશ્મોર્દન, khashmurdan, khashmôrdan. ક્રિ૦ ગુમાન—શક—ભ્રાંતી લઈ જવું; સમજવું, જાણવું; વિચાર કરવો. V. To doubt, to suspect; to understand, to know, to think.

જામે અ-જામે, a-jâmê. વિ૦ કપડાં વગરનું, નાગું. Adj. Without clothes, naked. Contrast Per. جامہ

જામે દો-ગામે, dô-gâme. ના૦ બે કદમ. Subs. Two paces —steps.

જામે દો-જામે, dô-jâmê. ના૦ બે પ્યાલાં, બે ઘડા. Subs. Two cups, two pitchers. Per. دو جام

ખશમગીની ખશમ-ગીની, khashma-gînî. વિ૦ ક્રોધાયમાન, ગુસ્સાવાળું. ના૦ એક ગુનાહનું નામ છે. Adj. Wrathful, angry. Subs. Name of a crime.

ખશમગની ખશમ-ગની, khashma-ganî. See ખશમગીની khashma-gînî.

ખશમકોશ ખશ્મ-કોશ, khashma-kôsh. ના૦ ગોસ્સાને વશ કરનાર. Subs. One who subdues his passion.

ખશ્મગીન ખશ્મગીન, khashmagin. See ખશમગની khashmaganî.

ખશ્મદાર ખશ્મદાર, khashmadâr. વિ૦ ગોસ્સાવાળું, જોસ્સાવાળું, તુંદ મીજાજનું. Adj. Angry, furious, fiery. Comp. Per. خشمگر

ખશ્મદાર-તર ખશ્મદાર-તર, khashmadâr-tar. વિ૦ વધારે ગોસ્સા—જોસ્સાવાળું. Adj. More angry—furious.

અ-જામતુનશ્ને અ-જામતુનશ્ને, a-jâmtunashnê. ના૦ નહીં પોહોંચવું—પુગવું. Subs. Not reaching.

અ-જામતુન-દવાનદ અ-જામતુન-દવાનદ, a-jâmtûn-davânad. ક્રિ૦ દોડાવી—ઘસડી નહીં લઈ જાએ. V. May not make to run, may not drag.

اکار

اکار અકાર, અગાર, akâr, agâr. વિ૦ બેકાર, નકામું; اکار 'અકાર' નો બગડેલો આકાર. Adj. Out of service, unemployed; useless. Corrupt form of اکار akâr.

اگار અગાર, એહર, હીખ્ર, હેહર, agâr, êhar, hîkhra, hêhar. ના૦ પક્ષીનો છેડ, હેર નસો, નજીસાત. Subs. Matter excreted and ejected by a bird; dry impurity; filth.

اجار અજાર, ajâr. ના૦ તાજગી, લીલોતરી; ઉંચી નીચી જમીન. વિ૦ સાથે એકઠું થએલું, મલીગએલું. Subs. Freshness, verdure; rugged ground. Adj. Assembled together; mixed. Comp. Per. اجار

ادار અ-દાર, a-dâr. વિ૦ ઝાડ વગરનું. Adj. Destitute of trees. Contrast Av. وادار

ابار અબાર, abâr. ના૦ વાદલ; જથો, ઢગ; વખાર. Subs. A cloud; a mass, a collection, heap; a godown.

ایار અયાર, ayâr. ના૦ દોસ્ત, સોબતી, સ્નેહી, ભાઈબંધ. Subs. A friend, a comrade, a lover, a brother, a clansman. Per. یار

اشار અશર, ashar. ના૦ ઘણી ખુશી ભોગવવી. Subs. Enjoying a good deal of pleasure.

اشار અશીર, ashar. વિ૦ ખુરૂં, ખરાબ, બદ. Adj. Bad, evil, wicked. Comp. Ar. اشر

اشال અશલ, ashal. ના૦ ટુંકું કરવું. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ઈત્યાદિ, વગેરે. Subs. Abridging. Adv. *Et cætera*, so forthon.

اشیر અશેર, ashêr. ના૦ ઘણી ખુશીભોગવનાર. Subs. One who enjoys a good deal of pleasure.

اشو અશો, ashô. See اشو ashô.

آدار આદાર, âdâr. ના૦ લાકડું. Subs. Wood; timber.

آدار આદાર, âdâr. વિ૦ હમેલદાર. Adj. Pregnant.

آبار આબાર, âbâr. ના૦ તાવેલું સીસું. Subs. Molten lead. Comp. Per. آبار

آهیر આહેર, âhêr. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ પછી; પછવાડે. Adv. Afterwards, subsequently; backward, behind.

خیر ખયર, khayar. વિ૦ બહાદુર, હીમતવાન, દલેર. Adj. Brave, bold, intrepid. ગુ, ૬૬

خیار ખયાર, khayâr. ના૦ કાકડી. Subs. Cucumber. Per. خیار

دوبار દો-બાર, dô-bâr. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બે વખત—વાર. Adv. Twice. Per. دوبار

هیار હયાર, hayâr. ના૦ ખોદાના નામો મધેનું એક નામ છે. Subs. One of the names of God.

هیخر હીખર, hikhar. ના૦ ત્યાગ, છોડી—તજી દેવું તે. Subs. Leaving, abandoning, giving up.

اگارومند અગારોમન્દ, હેરોમન્દ, agârômand, hérômand. વિ૦ હગાર—છેડવાલું; ખરડાએલું. Adj. Full of excrement—dung; dirtied.

هیارومند હયારોમન્દ, hayârômand. See اگارومند hayârômand.

ایرانی અગારોમ્નન્દ, એહેરોમ્નન્દ, agârômnand, êhê-rômnand. See ایرانی agârômand.

ایرانی આગાર્હેદ, âgârhêd. ક્રિ૦ છેરે; હગેછે. V. May evacuate; discharges excrement (pres. 3rd sing.).

ایرانی એહેર્હેદ, êhêrhêd. See ایرانی âgârhêd.

ایرانی અયારે, ayârê. ના૦ એક મિત્ર—દોસ્ત. Subs. One friend; one comrade.

ایرانی અદારી, adârî. ના૦ કોઈબી ખરાબ વસ્તુ. Subs. Any bad thing.

ایرانی અબાલશ, abâlash. ના૦ એબલીશ; ઠગારો; એક બુરા માણસનું નામ છે. Subs. The devil; the deceiver; name of a wicked—bad man.

ایرانی અ-યારી, a-yârî. ના૦ મદદ વગરની હાલત. Subs. Want of assistance—aid.

ایرانی અયારી, હયારી, ayârî, hayârî. ના૦ મદદ, સહાયતા. Subs. Assistance, help.

ایرانی અયારેહ, હયારેહ, ayârêh, hayârêh. ના૦ યારી—મદદ—સહાયતા આપનાર. Subs. A helper, one who comes to the aid of.

ایرانی અશરીઆ, અદારી, asharîâ, adârî. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ દશ; ૧૦. Numer. adj. Ten, 10.

ایرانی અ-દારશની, a-dârashnî. વિ૦ વગર આધારે; અતરંગ, છુટું. Adj. Having no support; unconnected, separate.

ایرانی અ—દારશને, a-dârashnê. વિ૦ સ્તંભ—ટેકા વગરનું,

નિરાધાર. ના૦ નહીં ટેકાવવું. Adj. Without a pillar —prop; supportless. Subs. Not propping up.

١٣٥لاس અ-બારશ્ને, a-bârashnê. ના૦ નહીં વરસવું—છંટકાવ કરવો. Subs. Not raining—sprinkling.

١٣٥لاس અ-બાલશ્ને, a-bâlashnê. વિ૦ તકીઆ—ગાદી—ચાદર વગરનું. Adj. Having no pillow—cushion—sheet (of cloth). Contrast Av. ٥٥لاس Sans. बर्हिस्. Per. بالش

٥٥١٣٥لاس અ-દારશ્ની, a-dârashnî. ના૦ નહીં રાખવું. Subs. Not keeping. 7557

٥٥١٣٥لاس આદારશ્ની, âdârashnî. ના૦ રાખવું, ધરાવવું, કબજે કરવું. Subs. Keeping, having, possessing.

٥٥لاس અગારી, agârî. See ٥٥٥٥لاس agârômand.

٥٥لاس અબાલેશ, abâlêsh. See ٥٥لاس abâlash.

١٣٥٥لاس અશ્રીગાન, ashrîgân. ના૦ નાપાક માણસો. Subs. plu. Impure persons.

٥٥٥لاس હેખ્રગીરા, hêkhragîrâ. ના૦ હેર નસો. Subs. Dry impurities (as hair, nails, &c.).

٥٥لاس અદારીન, adârin. See ٥٥لاس adârî.

١٥٥لاس અદારીન, adârîn. See ٥٥لاس adârî.

١٥٥لاس અ-દારીન, adârin. વિ૦ લાકડાનું નહીં. Adj. Not made of wood, not consisting of wood.

١٥٥لاس આદારીન, âdârîn. ના૦ લાકડાનું વાસણ. Subs. A wooden vessel.

આગારીનીદાર, âgârînîdâr. ના૦ છેડનાર પક્ષી. Subs. A bird that excretes and ejects matter.

એહેરીનીદાર, êhêrînîdâr. વિ૦ નસો રાખનાર. Adj., Keeping—possessing dead matter.

અશ્રીજીદે, ashrîjîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ ઢોલાયલું, નખાયલું. Past partic. Spilled, been thrown.

અગારેદ, agârêd. ના૦ બદન, શરીર. Subs. The body.

અ-શરીતુનતન, a-sharîtunatan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ખોલવું—ઉઘાડવું—ખોલ્લું કરવું. V. Not to open—uncover; not to lay open.

અયારવન્દી, ayârvandî. ના૦ મિત્રાચારી, દોસ્તી. Subs. Friendship, intimacy.

અહીર-વાનદી, ahîr-vânadî. ના૦ હેર નસો—નજીસાત દુર કરવી. Subs. Removing dry impurities—filthiness.

અહેરવન્દી, ahêrvandî. વિ૦ નસા—નજીસાત ભરેલું. Adj. Full of dead matter, filthy, foul.

અશ્રવાનીહા, આશરવાનીહા, ashravânîhâ, âsharvânîhâ. અથોરનાનની રીતે, અથોરનાન તરીકે. Adv. In a priestly manner; *Athornân*-like.

એહેરવાની, êhêrvânî. See એહેરીનીદાર êhêrînîdâr.

અ-દારવન્દી, a-dârvandî. ના૦ ગુનેહગારી વગરની હાલત. Subs. Freedom from sin and guilt.

[illegible] અ-દારવન્દ, a-dârvand. વિ૦ દરવેદ—બુતપરસ્ત નહીં તે; દીનદાર, ધર્મ ઉપર એતેકાદ રાખનાર. Adj. Not ungodly—wicked, not impious; not worshipping idols; religious; devoted to the practice of religion.

[illegible] હેખ્ર-નસા, hêkhra-nasâ. See [illegible] agâr, êhar.

[illegible] અહીર-વદ-તર, ahîr-vad-tar. ના૦ વધારે નુકસાનકારક હેર નસો (ઈયાને સુકકો નસો). Subs. More injurious dry impurities (as hair, nails).

[illegible] અ-દારવન્દ, a-dârvand. See [illegible] a-dârvand.

[illegible] અ-દારવન્દી, અ-દરવન્દી, a-dârvandî, a-darvandî See [illegible] adârvandî.

[illegible] અહેરવન્દી, આગારવન્દી, ahêrvandî, âgârvandî. See [illegible] ahêrvandî.

[illegible] આયારવન્દી, âyârvandî. See [illegible] ayârvandî.

[illegible] ખયર-વન્દી, khayar-vandî. વિ૦ બાહાદુર, હીમત ભરેલું. Adj. Bold, daring, courageous.

[illegible] અદારૂન, આદારૂન, adârun, âdârun. ના૦ ખરાબ વસ્તુ; રાસ્તીના રસ્તાથી ફરીજવું; આડે મારગે જવું. Subs. A bad thing; swerving from the path of rectitude—righteousness; deviating.

[illegible] અ-દારૂ, a-dâru. વિ૦ દવા—દારૂ વગરનું, ઈલાજ—ઉપાય વગરનું. Adj. Having no medicine; remediless. Contrast Per. دارو

અ-યારે, a-yârê. વિ૦ ચુડા—બાંગડી વગરનું, નાકૌવત. Adj. Having no bracelet—bangle; without physical strength—power. Contrast Per. بارہ

અયારે, ayârê. ના૦ હીસાબનું દફતર, હાથમાં પેહેરવાના ચુડા—ચીતલ. Subs. An account-book; a bangle, a bracelet.

અ-યારક, a-yârak. વિ૦ નરમ ચામડીનું નહીં. Adj. Not having a soft skin.

અ-શરક, a-sharak. વિ૦ સંગત—સોબત વગરનું. Adj. Having no society—company. Contrast Per. شرک

અ-શર્ક, a-shark. વિ૦ કપડાં—લુગડાં વગરનું, નાગું. Adj. Having no clothes on; naked.

આગારે, âgârê. See agâr, êhar.

અ-શર્કા, a-sharkâ. વિ૦ જેહેરી નહીં. Adj. Not poisonous.

અયારેગીર, ayârêgîr. ના૦ હીસાબ લખનાર, મેહેતો. Subs. An accountant; a book-keeper.

અશ-રજ, ash-raz. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ પાંચશો, ૫૦૦). Numer. adj. Five hundred, 500.

અયારતીનેદ, ayârtînêd. ક્રિ૦ ગાલેબ આવેછે, સરસ થાયછે. V. Prevails over, surpasses.

અગાર-દીનશની, agâr-dînashnî. ના૦ હધાર કરવો; ખરડી નાખવું. Subs. Excreting; bedaubing.

ઇયાર્તેદ અયારતેદ, ayârtêd. ક્રિ૦ ગાલેબ આવે; ફાવે, સરસ થાય. V. May prevail over; may succeed —surpass.

અશ-રતુ અશ-રતુ, ash-ratu. ના૦ જે ગુરૂ, જે દીન ધર્મનો દસ્તુર—ઉપાધ્યો. Subs. The religious teacher who; the Dastur or the spiritual preceptor who (lit.).

અયાર્દે અયારદે, ayârdê. ના૦ જંદ અવસ્તાની શરેહ. Subs. A commentary on the *Zend Avesta*. Comp. Per. ایاردہ

અશરફી અશરફી, ashrafî. ના૦ એક સીક્કાનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a coin. Comp. Per. اشرفي

અ અદ

અગી અગી, agî. ના૦ બદી, ખરાબી. Subs. Wickedness, vice, badness. Comp. Av. અઘ, Sans. अघ.

અગે અગે, agê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જ્યારે, જે વખતે. Adv. When, at the time that.

અદદ અદદ, adad. ના૦ આંક, સંખ્યા. Subs. A number, a figure.

અબદ અબદ, abad. ના૦ એક દેવનું નામ છે કે જેને "સામ નરીમાને" માર્યો હતો. Subs. The name of a Dêv whom *Sâm Narimân* killed.

અબદ અબદ, abad. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જાવેદાન, હમેશે. Adv. For ever, eternally, always.

અબે અબે, abê. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ વગર, સિવાય, વતરોંગે, જેમકે:—

abêanjâm. Prep. Except, without, exclusive of:— as abêanjâm.

અબે, abê. વિ૦ હીસાબ—ગણત્રી—છેડા વગરનું. Adj. Countless, innumerable, endless.

અસ, as. ના૦ ઘંટી. Subs. A mill. Per. آس

આઈએ, âîê. ના૦ હરણ. Subs. A deer, an antelope.

આઈએ, âîê See âîê.

આએ, અએ, âê, aê. દર્શ૦ સર્વ૦ આએ. વિ૦ ઘણું; સેતાબ, ઉતાવળું. Demons. pron. This. Adj. Much; speedy, hasty—as âêrak = this thine (lit.).

આબી, âbî. ના૦ સફરજન નામનો મેવો. વિ૦ પાણી જેવું, ભીનું. Subs. A quince. Adj. Watery, moist. Per. آبي

આસ, âs. ના૦ શરાબ, દારૂ; કાંજી; એક જાનવરનું નામ છે; દવા. Subs. Wine, liquor; rice, gruel; name of an animal; medicine.

ખસ, khas. ના૦ ખુશી, ખુશહાલી. Subs. Delight, a happy state.

ખીગ, khîg. ના૦ છાગલ. Subs. A leathern bottle or bag for holding water.

ખોએ, khôê. ના૦ ખસલત, ખવાસ. Subs. Nature; habit that has become natural.

[illegible] ૨-૨-૨-દ, ra-ra-ra-da. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ સીત્તેર, ૭૦. Numer. adj. Seventy, 70.

[illegible] સે-એ, sê-ê. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ ચાર, ૪. Numer. adj. Four, 4.

[illegible] હીબ, hîb. ના૦ આકેબત—સેવટનું કામ; ધાસ્તી. Subs. Final work—business; fear. Comp. Per. هيب

[illegible] અઈશ, aish. ના૦ સીનો, છાતી. Subs. The breast or chest.

[illegible] અએશ, aêsh. ના૦ બગલ, કાખ. સર્વ૦ જે કાંઈ, જે કોઈ. Subs. The armpit. Pron. Whatever, whoever.

[illegible] એશ, અએશ; êsh, aêsh. ના૦ આંખ; ફરજંદ. Subs. The eye; an issue, offspring.

[illegible] અજશ, ajash. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ તેથી, તેને લીધે. Adv. Consequently.

[illegible] અએશ, અદશ, aêsh, adash. સર્વ૦ કોઈ; એક જણ. Pron. Any one, some one; a person.

[illegible] અશ, એશ, ash, êsh. સર્વ૦ તે, જે. Pron. He, who.

[illegible] અસા, asâ. ના૦ સાયો—છાંયડો કરવો, છતર કરવું. Subs. Shading, covering with a canopy.

[illegible] અસ્યા, આસ્યા, asyâ, âsyâ. Vand. VIII. ના૦ સીનો, છાતી. Subs. The breast or chest.

[illegible] આદશ, અદોશ, આચેશ, âdash, adôsh, âchêsh. ના૦ કોઈ શખ્સ; દાનેશમંદો. Subs. Any one, some one, an individual; learned persons.

આબી, âbî. See آبی âbî.

આસા, âsâ. ના૦ રોણક, શીંગાર, શોભા; બેહેશ્ત, સ્વર્ગ; આશાએશ; રીતભાત; કાનુન. Subs. Elegance, grace, beauty, ornament; heaven, paradise; ease, rest; manners, ways; rule.

આસીઆ, âsiâ. ના૦ શરાબ, દારૂ. Subs. Vinous or spirituous liquor.

આસે, âsê. ના૦ અછોડો, લગામ. Subs. The reins or guiding strings of a bullock; a bridle.

એદશ, êdash. ના૦ ઝુંસરી. Subs. A yoke.

ઓદશ, ખોદશ. ôdash, khôdash. ના૦ સ્ત્રી—ઓરતજાતનો છુપો ભાગ—શરમગાહ. Subs. *Pudendum mulieris.*

હસા, hasâ. વિ૦ બેશુમાર, હદ વગરનું. Adj. Countless, unlimited.

હઈશ, haish. ના૦ કંતાન વણવાનું હથિઆર; જમીન ખેડવાનું હથિઆર; હોલ ખેડનાર ઢોરની એક જોડી; કાંઈ ચીજ. Subs. An apparatus or machine for weaving canvas; an agricultural implement; a team of ploughing cattle; anything.

હેશ, hêsh. See ajash.

આસાખત, âsâkht. ક્રિ. બનાવ્યું, કીધું. V Performed, made.

અદીઆ-અદારી, adiâ-adârî. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ અગિઆર, ૧૧. Numer. adj. Eleven, 11.

[illegible] આસાએદ, âsâêd. ક્રિ૦ વિસામો—આશાએશ પામે. V. May take rest—breath; may repose.

[illegible] અદશાન, adashân. ના૦ લોકો; આદમીઓ. Subs. People, individuals.

[illegible] અદશાન-શ, adashâna-sh. ના૦ જે—તે લોકો. Subs. The people who; those people.

[illegible] અઈશાન, એશાન, aîshân, êshân. સર્વ૦ તેઓ, જેઓ. Pron. They, who (plu.).

[illegible] અએશાન, અદશાન, aêshân, adashân. See [illegible] adashân.

[illegible] અ-સખુન, a-sakhûn. ના૦ See [illegible] a-sakhûn. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસાન, âsân. વિ૦ આસાન, સેહેલ. Adj. Easy convenient, simple.

[illegible] દો-ગેહાન, dô-gêhân. ના૦ બન્ને જેહાંન. Subs. Both worlds.

[illegible] અદશાન-ચ, adashâna-cha. સર્વ૦ વલી તેઓ; બીજાઓબી; બીજા લોકોને. Pron. Even they; others also; to other people.

[illegible] આબશખુર, âbashkhur. ના૦ પાણીની ટાંકી—તલાવ, નસીબ, ભાયગ, એક જગાએ મુકામ કરવો. Subs. A cistern or reservoir of water; fortune, luck; residence in a place. Per. آبشخور

[illegible] અ-સાઈએ, a-sâîê. વિ૦ છાયા વગરનું; આધાર—

ઠેકાવ વગરનું. Adj. Unshaded, unsheltered, unprotected. Per. سایہ

આસીઆવ, âsiâv. ના૦ ઘંટી ; ચકકી. Subs. A mill ; a hand-mill.

અ-સાખ્તાર, a-sâkhtâr. વા૦ નહીં બજાવનાર ; નહીં તૈયાર કરનાર. Subs. One who does not perform—prepare.

અ-સાખ્તારી, a-sâkhtârî. ના૦ નહીં કરવું—બજાવવું—તૈયાર કરવું. Subs. Not doing—performing—preparing.

અ-સાખ્તે, a-sâkhtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ નહીં કીધેલું—બજાવેલું—તૈયાર કીધેલું. Past partic. Not done—performed—prepared.

અ-સાખતન, a-sâkhtan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં બનાવવું—તઈઆર કરવું—રચવું ; આકાર ન બનાવવો ; કારોબાર ન કરવો ; હકુમત ન ચલાવવી. V. Not to perform—make, not to prepare, not to arrange—shape ; not to manage—sway. Contrast Per. ساختن

અ-સાખ્તે, a-sâkhtê. See અ-સાખ્તે a-sâkhtê.

અ-સાહમગુન, a-sâhamgûn. વિ૦ ભય—દેહેશત—બીહીક—ધાસ્તી વગરનું. Adj. Not formidable, fearless, free from dread—fear. Per. سہمگین

અગીઆબ, agîâb. ના૦ ગાલ. Subs. A cheek.

અ-દકીઆ, a-dakîâ. વિ૦ નાપાક, અપવિત્ર. Adj. Impure, unholy. Contrast Pehl.

[illegible] અદશે, adashê. સર્વ૦ કોઈએક, એક શખ્સ. Pron. Some one; an individual.

[illegible] અદશ-એ, adash-ê. See [illegible] adashê.

[illegible] અદશીહા, adashihâ. સર્વ૦ બીજાઓ, લોકો. Pron. Others, people.

[illegible] અ-સાએહા, a-sâêha. વિ૦ છાયા વગર. Adj. Having no shade—shelter.

[illegible] આસાએહ, âsâêh. ના૦ આસાએશ ભોગવવી. Subs. Enjoying rest—repose.

[illegible] આસાહીદન, âsâhîdan. ક્રિ૦ ખુશી થવું; આસુદે—ફરબે થવું. V. To be pleased; to unbend one's self; to be fat—plump.

[illegible] અદશાન, adashân. સર્વ૦ બીજાઓ, લોકો. Pron. Others, people.

[illegible] અ-દેહેશને, a-dêhêshnê. વિ૦ પેદાએશ વગર. Adj. Having no creation.

[illegible] અ-સહશને, a-sahashne. ના૦ નહીં ચાહાવું—ઈચ્છવું. Subs. Not loving—wishing.

[illegible] આસાએશને, âsâêshnê. ના૦ આસાએશ પામવી. Subs. Taking one's ease, gathering breath.

[illegible] આસાએશે, âsâêshê. ના૦ આસાએશ, નીરાંત, Subs. Repose, rest.

[illegible] આસાઈનદ, âsâînad. ક્રિ૦ આસાએશ, આસાએશ લેછે, રાહત પામેછે. V. Takes rest; enjoys happiness (pres.).

ગ્રાસે અસાસે, asâsê. ના૦ ઘરસામાન; દોલત. Subs. Household furniture; wealth. Comp. Ar. اثاث, اثاثر

અ-સાસતાર, a-sâstâr. ના૦ જુલમ નહીં ગુજારનાર, સેતમગાર નહીં તે, કૃપા દયા કરનાર, દાદ આપનાર. Subs. One who does not exercise tyranny—unlawful authority, one who does not harass others with unreasonable severity, a compassionate—merciful man. Contrast Av. = Sans. शास्त्र.

અ-સેહસ્તન, a-sêhastan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ચાહવું—ઈચ્છવું; નહીં બીહીવું—ધાસ્તી ખાવી; વેહેમ નહીં કરવો. V. Not to like—wish; not to be afraid, not to dread; not to be doubtful.

ખેશીનીદારી, khêshînîdârî. ના૦ સગું, ખેશ. Subs. A relative, a kinsman.

આસાઈનીદન, âsâinîdan. ક્રિ૦ આસાએશ કરવી—પામવી, નીરાંત લેવી. V. To take rest—breath, to repose.

અએ-દાબુનદ, aê-dâbunad. ક્રિ૦ તે મુકે—આપે. V. He or she may put—give.

અ-સાઈએ, a-sâiê. See , a-sâîê.

અસાએહ, અસાએ, asâêh, asâê. ના૦ માખ; જાંગ; છાયડો. Subs. A fly; the thigh; shade.

અ-શાઈએ, a-sâiê. See a-sâîê.

અદશી-ચ, adashî-cha. સર્વ૦ કોઈ એકભી, કોઈ પણ. Pron. Even one person—any one.

ઉર્દુ અ-ગશેદ, a-gashêd. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ફરે—ચાલે; મુન કેર નહીં જાય. V. May not walk—go; may not deny—disbelieve.

ઉર્દુ આસાએદ, âsâêd. ક્રિ૦ આસુદે રેહે; તંદરોસ્ત રેહે. V. May get rest, may remain healthy.

ઉર્દુ આસાઈદન, âsâidan. ક્રિ૦ ઉંઘવું, આસાએશ લેવી, આરામ પકડવો. V. To sleep, to rest, to repose.

ઉર્દુ અદદાન, adadân. ના૦ અંકો, હીસાબો. Subs. Numbers, accounts.

ઉર્દુ અદશન, adashna. ના૦ ખાહેશ, મરજી. Subs. Wish, desire.

ઉર્દુ અબદાન, abadân. ના૦ ખાન્દાન, ઓલાદ, વંશ. વિ૦ સજાવાર, લાયક. Subs. Family, parentage, lineage. Adj. Worthy, fit.

ઉર્દુ આસાન, âsân. વિ૦ શાંત, ચુપ, સેહેલ; સેતાન, સગવડ ભરેલું, દેલાશા ભરેલું, ખુશ, સુખી, સભ્ય, કૃપાળુ, દયાવંત, મેહેરબાન. Adj. Quiet, calm, easy; hasty; convenient, consoling, pleasant, happy; modest; compassionate, merciful, kind. Per. آسان

ઉર્દુ સે-દાંગ, sê-dâng ના૦ ત્રણ દાંગ; "દાંગ" એટલે એક "દરામ" નો છઠો ભાગ; વલી કેટલાકો દરમનો ચોથો ભાગબી લખેછે. Subs. Three *dângs;* a *dâng* = ⅙ part (and according to others ¼ part) of a dram. Comp. Per. سه دانگ

ઉર્દુ અઈશની, aîshnî. ના૦ ઉડવું; નુર; પરંડાનો માળો. Subs. Flying; light; a bird's nest.

ઉર્દુ આસાની, âsânî. ના૦ સહેલાઈ; મુશકેલીથી વેગળું, ફરાગતી, સુખાકારી, ખુશી, સુખ, શાંતી. વિ૦ આશાનીવાલું,

ખુશહાલી ભરેલું, પસંદ પડતું, આસાએશ ભરેલું. Subs. Facility, ease; healthy state; happiness, calmness; freedom from difficulty. Adj. Easy, delightful, pleasing. Per. آسانی

𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬌 આંસાનેશ, âsânêsh. ના૦ 'શેહરેવર' અમેસાસ્પંદની સાંભે થનાર દેવનું નામ. Subs. The name of the evil spirit who opposes *Shaharêvar Amishâspand.* Comp. Pâz. 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬌

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ગુજરાતી અદશુન, adshûn. સર્વ૦ બીજાઓ, લોકો. Pro. Others, people.

ગુજરાતી અબદાન, abadân. See ગુજરાતી abadân.

ગુજરાતી અ-સખુન, a-sakhun. ના૦ ખરાબ સખુન, નાલાયક વાત. વિ૦ વાચા વગરનું, મુગું. Subs. A bad word, an unworthy story—discourse. Adj. Without speech; dumb. Comp. Per. بي سخن

ગુજરાતી આઈશ્ને, આએશ્ને, આએશે. âishnê, âêshnêd âêshê ના૦ જાસુસ; છુપો કાસદ; આવવું, આવનાર. Subs. A spy; a secret emissary; coming; one who comes.

ગુજરાતી આસાન, âsân. See ગુજરાતી âsân.

ગુજરાતી આશીન, asin ના૦ લોઢું. Subs. Iron.

ગુજરાતી ખેજાન, khêjân. ના૦ પાનખર રૂતુ. Subs. The autumn. Per. خزان

ગુજરાતી આસાની, âsânî. See ગુજરાતી âsânî.

ગુજરાતી આસાની, âsânî. See ગુજરાતી âsânî.

ગુજરાતી આશાન-તુમ, âsântum. વિ૦ અતીશય આશાને; સર્વથી ખુશતુમા. Adj. Most easy; most pleasant. Comp. Per. آسان ترين

ગુજરાતી આએશને, âêshnê. ના૦ આવનાર, આવવું; જાસુશ. Subs. One who comes; coming; a spy.

ગુજરાતી અબેઅન-જામ, abêanjâm. ના૦ અહુરમજદની વગર છેડાની પાદશાહી—હકુમત, ખોદાતાલાના નામો મધેનું એક નામ છે. Subs. The infinite reign of *Ahura-mazda;* one of the names of the Supreme God.

અબે-અનજામ, abê-anjâm. See abê-anjâm.

આસાન-તુમ, âsân-tum વિ૦ Adj. See âsân-tum.

એશુમ, êshûm. ક્રિ૦ હું ધોઉં. V. I may wash.

આસ-ઓમંદ, âs-omand. વિ૦ શરાબથી ભરપુર. Adj. With wines or liquor.

અઈશક, aishak. ના૦ પ્યાર, પ્રીતિ. Subs. Love, affection.

અઈશે, aishê. ના૦ જાસુસ; વેરાન—ઉજડ જગ્યા, વગડો. Subs. A spy; waste land; a desert.

આદશે, âdashê. સર્વ૦ કોઈ, કોઈએક. Pron. Some one, any one.

એશે, êshê. વિ૦ ખમનાર, સોસનાર, સંતોષી, ધીરજવંત. Adj. Enduring, tolerant; contented, patient.

સસક, sasak. સંખ્યા. વિ૦ નેવું, ૯૦. Numer. adj. Ninety, 90.

અશગહનીનગી, ashgahaningî. ના૦ આળસાઈ. Subs. Laziness, sloth.

ખેશકારી, khêshkârî. ના૦ કારોબાર, કાર, કશબ, કામધંધો. Subs. Management, transaction, business, trade, occupation.

અદશ-ચ, adasha-cha. સર્વ૦ કોઈ પણ, જેબી કાંઈ, વળી કોઈબી. Pron. Even some one, whosoever, any one even, anybody.

અદશ-ચ-અદશ, adasha-cha-adash. સર્વ૦ કોઈબી શખ્સ. Pron. Any person.

૧૯૩૩ અદશ-ચ, adasha-cha. See ૧૯૩૩ adasha.

૧૩૩૩૧૯૩૩ અ-સાઝકાન, a-sâzâkân. ના૦ નહીં ગોઠવનારા—બનાવનારા—તૈયાર કરનારા. Subs. Those that do not arrange—perform—prepare.

૩૧૯૩૩ અ-સાઝી, a-sâzî. વિ૦ રચના—ગોઠવણ વગરનું. Adj. Having no order—arrangement.

૩૩૩૧૯૩૩ અ-શાઝશની, a-sâzashnî. ના૦ નહીં બનાવવું—તૈયાર કરવું; બેસતું નહીં કરવું. Subs. Not making—preparing; not adapting.

૧૩૩૧૯૩૩ અ-સાઝશ્ને, a-sâjashnê. See ૩૧૯૩૩ a-sâzî.

૧૧૯૩૩ અ-સાઝે, a-sâzê. ના૦ તૈયારી વગરનું; રાગ વગરનું. Subs. Unpreparedness; want of harmony—concord. Contrast Per. ساز

૧૩૧૧૯૩૩ અ-સાઝગાન, a-sâzagân. ના૦ નાલાએક માણસો. Subs. Unworthy persons.

૩૧૧૯૩૩ અ-સાઝગી, a-sâzagî. ના૦ મીલનસારી નહીં; નરમાસ—નમ્રતાઈ વિનાનું. Subs. Unsociableness; want of meekness—mildness.

૩૧૧૩૩ અ-સાઝે, a-sâzê. See ૧૧૯૩૩ a-sâzê.

૧૯૩૩ અ-ગશ્ત, a-gasht. વિ૦ ફરચા વગર; વિસામા—ગમત વગર. Adj. Without walking; having no recreation—amusement. Contrast Per. گشت

૧૯૩૩૩ અ-યશ્ત, a-yasht. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ નહીં ઈજેલું—વખાણેલું. Past partic. Uninvoked; not praised. Contrast Av. ૧૯૩૩૩

૧૯૩૩ અ-સખ્ત, a-sakht. વિ૦ સખત—ભારી—કઠણ નહીં; નરમ, સેહેલું, દુરબલ, નબળું, અસ્થીર, ઢચુપચુ. Adj. Not

hard, soft, not heavy, easy, infirm, feeble, weak, unsteady, indeterminable, wavering. Contrast Per. سخت

એદાદ, êdâd. વિ૦ એકલો, વગર સાથીએ. Adj. Solitary, single, alone.

ખેશ્ત, khêsht. ના૦ ઈંટ, ઈંટરડી. Subs. A brick. Comp. Peh.

અ-યશ્તાર, a-yashtâr. ના૦ આરાધના—બંદગી નહીં કરનાર. Subs. One who does not invoke—pray.

અ-યશતારી, a-yashtârî. ના૦ નહીં પુંજવું, યજ-શની નહીં કરવી. Subs. Not invoking, not offering prayers to.

અ-સખ્તી, a-sakhtî. ના૦ મુશકેલીઅત—સખત-પણું નહીં તે; નરમાસ, સેહેલાઈ, દુરબલતા, નબલાઈ, આના-કાની. Subs. Want of hardness—difficulty; softness, infirmity, weakness, indetermination. Contrast Per. سختي

આબેશ્ત-ગાસ, âbêsht-gâs. ના૦ હલાએદી—જુદી—એકાંત જગ્યા; Subs. A separate—detached place, a solitary spot.

અબશ્તન, abashtan. ક્રિ૦ ઢાંકેલું—છુપું રાખવું, સંતાડવું. V. To conceal, to keep secret, to hide. Per. ابشتن

અ-યશતન, a-yashtan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ઈજવું—આરાધના કરવી. V. Not to invoke—offer prayers to. Contrast Sans. यज्, Per. يشتن

ગુજરાતી આબશ્તન, âbashtan. ના૦ ઉંચી—નામીચી જગ્યા. Subs. An elevated place; a first-rate spot.

અ-શાતુનીનેદ, a-sâtunînêd. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ચલાવે—ફેરવે. V. May not make to proceed or go; may not set in motion.

હેશ્તન, hêshtan. ક્રિ૦ છોડવું, મુકી દેવું. V. To leave off, to forsake. Per. هشتن

અ-શાતુનાન, a-sâtûnân. વિ૦ નહીં ચાલતું—દોડતું—વેહેતું, સ્થીર. Adj. Not walking, not running, not flowing, steady.

અ-યશ્તની, a-yashtanî. વિ૦ યજશ્ને—વખાણ નહીં કરવા લાયકનું. Adj. Not fit for invocation—praise.

અ-સાતુનતંન, a-sâtûnatan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ચાલવું—જવું, આગલ નહીં વધવું, પેટે નહીં ચાલવું, નહીં ખીશવું—વેહેતું; સ્થીર—ઉભું રેહેવું. V. Not to walk—proceed, not to go—creep, not to move—flow; to remain steady.

આયશતને, âyashtanê. વિ૦ ખુશામતવાળો; મીઠી જબાનનો, ફરેબ દેનારો. Adj. Flattering; having a sweet tongue, beguiling.

અ-યશ્તે-મનશ્ની, a-yashtê-manashnî. વિ૦ યજશ્ને—આરાધના કરવાનો વિચાર નહીં રાખનાર. Adj. Not thinking of offering divine honors.

એ-ગશ્તે, a-gashtê. વિ૦ નહીં ફરેલું, નહીં બદલાએલું—ફેરવાએલું. Adj. Unturned, unchanged, unaltered.

૯૧૧૯૯૩૩૫ અ-યશત-કરદ, a-yashta-kard. ના૦ યજશને નહીં કીધેલું, ખુબ નહીં કીધેલું. "ખુબ" એટલે પવિત્રાઈના અમલમાં આવવું; "ખુબ" એ એક બંદગીનું નામ છે. ખુબની બંદગી બે જાતની થાએછે. એને અમલને નામે પણ ઓલખવામાં આવેછે. એક મ્હોટો અમલ અને એક નાહાનો અમલ. મ્હોટી ખુબનાં અમલને "મીનોનાવર" ને નામે ઓલખવામાં આવેછે. અને નાહાની ખુબના અમલને "પાંચતાએ" ની ખુબને નામે ઓલખવામાં આવેછે. "મીનોનાવર" ની ખુબ કોઈબી ફરેશતાની કે અશો ફરોહરોની નઈઅતે "યજશને" ની બંદગી કરવાની આગમજ કરવામાં આવેછે. જો તે ખુબવાલા ધણી ઉપર દશતાનવાલી ઓરતની નજર નહીં પડી હોએ, તથા કોઈ જુદદીન વાલાનો છેડો નહીં લાગીઓ હોએ, તથા આખું આંગ નહીં ધોવામાં આવ્યું હોએ અને જે કાંઈ ખાએ પીએ તે "પાંચતાએ" ની ખુબ કરીનેજ ખાએ પીએ તો, તે; "મીનોનાવર" ની ખુબનો અમલ આખા ત્રણ દિવસ સુધી રેહેછે. અને "પાંચતાએ" ની ખુબ તે, ફરેશતાઓની કે અશો ફરોહરોની નઇઅતે "દરૂન" ની બંદગી કરવાની આગમજ કરવામાં આવેછે. એનો અમલ જ્યાંસુધી "દરૂન" ઈજવાની બંદગીઓ થાએછે ત્યાં સુધીનોજ રેહેછે. જો "મીનોનાવર" ની ખુબ કીધેલી તઈઆર હોએ તો તેથીબી "દરૂન" ઈજાઈ શકાએ છે. ત્યારે "પાંચતાએ" ની ખુબની કાંઈ જરૂર પડતી નથી. Subs. *A-yashta-kard* literally means an *Izashné* that is not recited or made *khoob*. *Khoob* is the state of an officiating priest arriving at a higher degree of purification by the recital of the *Izashné* with due ceremonies. *Khoob* is also the name of a prayer, otherwise known by the name of *amal*, and is of two kinds. One is called the higher *amal* or the *mîno-*

nâvar khoob, and the other the lower or the *pânch-tâê* khoob*. The *míno-návar khoob* can be performed in honor of any heavenly angel or *Asho Farohar* before undergoing the *Izashné* ceremony. The efficacy of this prayer lasts for three days, provided the officiating priest is not seen by a woman in her monthly course, or is not touched by the skirt of a garment worn by a man of foreign creed, or has not washed his whole body, or has not taken his meals without the aid of the *pânch-tâê khoob*. The *pânch-tâê khoob* is performed in honor of heavenly angels or *Asho Farohar* before the *darun* ceremony. Its efficacy lasts for a short time, viz., till the *darun* ceremonies are performed. *Darun* ceremonies can be performed with the *mîno-nâvar khoob*, there is then no need of the *pânch-tâê khoob*.

۵ـُدُس સે-શવ, sê-shav. ના૦ ત્રણ રાત્ર, Subs. Three nights. Comp. Av. ۵ـُدُس-ـُدُس

ـُدُس અઈશમ, aisham. ના૦ સુરવાલ, ઈજાર. વિ૦ આગમચેતી કરતું. Subs. Breeches, trowsers. Adj. Predicting. Comp. Per. ایشیم

ـُدُس અએ-ગામ, aê-gâm. ના૦ એક કદમ—પગલું. Subs. One pace—step.

* A *tâê* is a twig of the *Barsam* tree; now-a-days thin short metal wires are used in its place. The number of these *tâês* depends on the nature of the ceremony to be celebrated.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 અએ-જામ, aê-jâm. ના૦ એક પીયાલું, એક જામ. Subs. One cup, one goblet.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 અએશમ, aêshma. ના૦ ગોસ્સો, રીસ, જોસ્સો, ઝાંજ, રોષ, સંતાપ. Subs. Anger, rage, fury. Comp. Av. 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀, Per. خشم.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 અગ્દામ, અયામ. agdâm, âyâm. ના૦ વખત, રૂતુ; મોસમ. Subs. Time, season; a recurrent period.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 અસહમ, asham. ના૦ વાદલ, અંધારૂં, રાત, દાઘ, લોહી. Subs. A cloud; darkness, night; a blot; blood.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 અ-સેહમ, a-sêham. વિ૦ ધાસ્તી—ભય વિનાનું. Adj. Free from dread—terror—fear. Contrast Per. سهم

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 આઈયામ, âiyâm. ના૦ બામદાદ, પરોઢિયું; રોજ, વખત. Subs. Dawn, daybreak; a day, time.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 આઈશ્મ, âishma. ના૦ ચંદ્ર—માહતાબની રોશની, ચાંદરણું. Subs. The light of the moon.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 આસામ, âsâm. ના૦ આસાની, ખુશી. Subs. Easiness, delight.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 એશમ, êsham. ના૦ કાઠી, લાકડાં. Subs. Fuel.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 સે-ગામ, sê-gâm ના૦ ત્રણ કદમ. Subs. Three steps—paces. Comp. Av. 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀-𐬀𐬀, 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀-𐬀𐬀

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 હસામ, hasâm. ના૦ પક્ષીનો માળો; પીંજરૂં. Subs. A bird's nest; a cage.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 હેશમ, hêsham. ના૦ ગુસ્સો, ક્રોધ, ગુસ્સાનો દેવ, સરોશ યઝદની સાંભે થનાર દેવનું નામ. Subs. Anger,

wrath; the demon of wrath; the name of the evil spirit who opposes *Sarosh Izad.* Av. [illegible], Per. خشم

[illegible] અ-સામાન, a-sâmân. વિ૦ બેહદ, સીમા વગરનું; પૈસા વગરનું; હુશીઆરી—અક્કલ—સમજ વગરનું; વગર ધીરજનું; વગર પાયાનું; બેડોલ, પ્રમાણ વગરનું, ઘાતકી. Adj. Boundless, unlimited; moneyless, penniless; wanting sense—understanding; destitute of patience; baseless; deformed, ugly; disproportional. Comp. Per. بي سامان; contrast سامان

[illegible] અ-સામાની, a-sâmânî. વિ૦ માપ—ધીરજ વગરનું; બેહદ. Adj. Measureless; wanting patience; unlimited.

[illegible] અ-સામાન, a-sâmân. વિ૦ See [illegible] a-sâmân.

[illegible] આસામાન, âsâmân. ના૦ આસમાન. Subs. The sky.

[illegible] અઈશ્મગાન, aishmagân. ના૦ ગુસ્સે થએલા લોકો. ગોસ્સો રાખનારા. Subs. An indignant people.

[illegible] આસા-મીનશ્ને, âsâ-minashnê. ના૦ સુતરો વિચાર. Subs. An easy idea; corrupt form of [illegible] âsân-minashnê.

[illegible] હેશમ-ગનશ્ને, hêsham-ganashnê. ના૦ હેશમ—ગુસ્સાના દેવને મારવાનું કામ. Subs. Striking the demon of anger—wrath.

[illegible] આસામીદન, âsâmidan. ક્રિ૦ ફેરવવું; હીલવવું; મસળવું. V. To turn, to move round; to shake.

અઈશમે, aishmê. ના૦ ગોસ્સો, કરોધ, હેશમ દેવ. Subs. Anger; passion; the demon of wrath.

ખેશ્મે-તન, khêshmê-tan. ના૦ ક્રોધાયમાન પુરૂષ. Subs. A passionate man.

અસામે, asâmê. ના૦, "નાવર." નહીં થયલો શખ્સ, 'ઓસ્તો'. Subs. One who has not undergone the *Nâver* ceremony.

સે-ગામે, sê-gâmê. See સે-ગામ sê-gâm.

અએ-બાર, aê-bâr. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક વખત—વાર. Adv. Once, one time.

અદબાર, adbâr. ના૦ યાર, જેમકે "મતુન-અદબાર." Subs. A friend:—as matûn-adbâr.

અસાર, asâr. વિ૦ નાફરમાન. Adj. Disobedient.

આસાર, âsâr. ના૦ રાહજન, વાટપાડો, લુટારો, આજાબ, દુઃખ, દુઃખ દેનાર, જુલમ ગુજારનાર. વિ૦ બેશુમાર. Subs. A highwayman; a freebooter; affliction; a tormenter; a tyrant. Adj. Innumerable.

આસાર, અસાર, âsâr, asâr. વિ૦ પુષ્કળ, ઘણું; બેશુમાર, બેહદ. Adj. Abundant, much; innumerable, unlimited.

આસાર, âsâr. ના૦ નાફરમાની કરનાર, હુકમ બજાવનાર નહીં તે, આગાહી; વાકેફી; નિશાનીઓ, ચિન્હો. Subs. A disobedient—insubordinate person; intelligence; information; acquaintance with; signs, marks.

આસાલ, âsâl. ના૦ મૂલ, જડ, તોખમ, બુનિયાદ. Subs. Root, source, origin, extraction, lineage.

અસારી, asârî. ના૦ ફરમાનબરદારી; અશોઈ, પરહેજગારી; તેલી, તેલ કહાડનાર. Subs. Obedience; purity; righteousness; an oilman.

આસારેશ, âsârêsh. ના૦ અશોઈ, પવિત્રાઈ. Subs. Purity; freedom from ceremonial defilement.

અસાલીઉન, asâliun. ના૦ ખડક ઉપર ઉગતો ચોપો. Subs. A plant of the genus Petroselinum; a plant growing among rocks.

અદશ-રવાન, adash-ravân. ના૦ કોઈ શખ્સનુ રવાન. Subs. The soul of a person.

અ-સારવાન, a-sârvân. વિ૦ સરદાર વગરનું; મ્હોટાઈ નહીં ભોગવતું. Adj. Not headed by a chief; not enjoying superiority.

આસારે, આસારહ, 'âsârê, âsârah. ના૦ હીસાબ, સુમાર, ગણત્રી. Subs. An account, reckoning, calculation.

દો-સાલે, dô-sâlê. વિ૦ બે વરશનું. Adj. Of two years, two years old. Comp. دوسالہ

અએ, aê. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ અએ! અરે! ઓ! Oh! Ah! Alas! Comp. Pehl. ـے, ـے, Av. ـے

અદસ, adas. See અદશ, adash.

અબે, abê. શબ્દ૦ શિવાય, વગેરે, વતરોગે. Prep. Except, without, exclusive of. Comp. Per. بے (from بے a privative particle meaning without.)

અ-યસ્ક, a-yask. વિ૦ વગર દુઃખ—આજાર. Adj. Free from pain—disease. Comp. Av. ; Contrast Pehl.

અસ્બ, asba. ના૦ એબ, ઈલ્લત, બુરો ખવાસ; મેલવવું, હાંસેલ કરવું. Subs. Blemish, failing, bad nature; acquiring, obtaining.

આદસ, âdas. See âdash, adash.

આસ, âs. ના૦ ખભાં અને છાતી વચેનો ભાગ; માણસનું હૃદય. Subs. The part between the shoulder and the breast or chest; the heart of man. Comp. Av. Ar. اس

ખસગ, khasag. ના૦ કાંટો, કચરો, ત્રણ ધાર—અણીવાલો કાંટો. Subs. A thorn, straws, rubbish; a three-edged thorn. Comp. Per. خس

ખીગ, khig. See khig.

ર-ર-ર-ર-દ, સસક, ra-ra-ra-ra-da, sasak.
સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ નેવું. ૯૦). Numer. Adj. Ninety; 90.

હેસ, hês. ના૦ સીંગડું; ડાળ. Subs. A horn; a branch or bough (of a tree).

અએદી, aêdî. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ વળી; એટલું છતાં પણ. Conj. Also; notwithstanding.

અએશ, aêsh. ના૦ લંબાઈનું એક માપ છે; બીલ્લસ, વેંત. Subs. A measure of length; a span. Comp. Pehl. , Av. (in)

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breast, the nipple; punishment; a way, a path; giving shelter to a dog. Comp. Per. آسیا

આસ્યા, âsyâ. See આસિયા âsiâ.

હદીયે, hadiê. ના૦ નજરાણું, હડીઓ. Subs. A present especially offered to a superior; a gift. Comp. Per. هدیہ

હસ્યા, hasyâ. ના૦ પાઠ—ધડો લખવાની પાટી; ગરમી; સાહેબ; રાખનાર. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ અગર જો. Subs. The writing board of school-boys; heat, warmth; a lord, master; a keeper. Conjunc. If.

અસઘહાનેશ, asgahânêsh. ના૦ સુસ્તી—આલસાઈનો દરૂજ; શેહેરેવર અમશાસ્પંદની સાંભે થનાર દેવનું નામ. Subs. The *Drûj* of sloth—laziness; the name of the evil spirit who opposes Shaharêvar Amshâspand.

અસ્ગહાન, asgahân. ના૦ સુસ્તી, કાહેલી, આલસાઈ. Subs. Laziness, idleness.

અ-બેશોમંદ, a-bêshômand. વિ૦ કીનાખોર નહીં. Adj. Unrevengeful. Contrast Av.

અસ્બાબ, asbâb. ના૦ સામાન, રાચરચીલું. Subs. Goods and chattels; household furniture. Comp. Per. اسباب

અ-દકીઆઈ, a-dakiâî. ના૦ નાપાકી, અપવિત્રાઈ, નજીસાત. Subs. Impurity, defilement, pollution; filthiness.

[illegible] અ-બેશી, a-bêshî. ના૦ કીના—કપટ વગરની હાલત. Subs. State of being without malice—spite.

[illegible] અસ્બાએશ્ને, asbâêshnê. ના૦ મદદ—યારી કરવી; ભાગીઓ—શરીક થવું; બાડી આંખે જોવું. Subs. Helping, assisting; becoming a partner; squinting.

[illegible] અઈબાર, અદબાર, aîbâr, adbâr. ના૦ મદદ કરનાર, સહાય થનાર; મદદ; જોર; ટેકો. Subs. A helper, an assistant; assistance, help, strength, power; prop, support.

[illegible] અસ્બાએશ્ને, asbâêshnê. See [illegible] asbâêshnê.

[illegible] અસ્બાસશ્ને, asbâsashnê. ના૦ સરસામાન, રાચરચીલું. Subs. Goods and chattels; household furniture.

[illegible] અસ્બાએશ્ને, asbâêshnê. ના૦ આવવું, પોહોંચવું. Subs. Coming, reaching.

[illegible] અસ્બાએશ્ને, asbâêshnê. See [illegible] asbâêshnê.

[illegible] અ-બેશીદારી, a-bêshîdârî. ના૦ કપટ નહીં રાખવું; દુઃખ નહીં દેવું. Subs. Not harbouring vindictive feelings; not tormenting.

[illegible] અસ્બાઈદન, asbâîdan. ક્રિ૦ મદદ—સહાયતા—યારી કરવી. V. To assist, to help.

[illegible] અહશ્ન, ahashna. ના૦ રાહત, સુખ, મોજમઝા, શાન્તી. Subs. Quiet, ease, happiness, pleasure.

[illegible] આસ્રીઆવ, âsiâv. ના૦ બાગ, વાડી; દારૂ; ઉંબર; ઘંટી.

Subs. A garden, an orchard; spirituous or vinous liquor; the threshold; a mill. Comp. Per. آسیا, آسیاب

આસીન, âsîn. ના૦ લોઢું. Subs. Iron. Comp. Pehl.

આસાની, âsânî. ના૦ સેહેલાઈ, સુત્રાઈ. Subs. Ease, facility. Per. آساني

આએશને, âêshnê. See asbâêshnê.

આદહીઆન, âdahîân. ના૦ આ દેશના લોકો, આ જગાના દેશીઓ. Subs. The people of this region; the natives of this place. Comp. Av. Pâz.

આદેશે, âdêshê. See âdêsh.

આસશને, âsashnê. ના૦ આસાએશ, શાન્તી, આસુદગી. Subs. Rest, quiet, repose.

આસીઆને, âsîânê. ના૦ પક્ષીનો માળો. Subs. A bird's nest. Comp. Per. آشیان, آشیانه

ખસશને, khasashnê. ના૦ બુઢ્ઢું થવું; ભીનું કરવું; ભુંજવું; ખાવું; બીહીવું. Subs. Becoming old; moistening; baking; eating; fearing. Comp. Per. خسیدن

આસીઆવ, âsiâv. See, âsiâv.

અબેદાદ, abêdâd. ના૦ જુલમ, જબરદસ્તી. Subs. Injustice, force, compulsion. Comp. Per. بي داد

અ-બેશ્ત, a-bêsht. વિ૦ દુઃખી નહીં થએલો; કીના

વગર. Adj. Not afflicted; having no malice. Av. [illegible]; Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-બેશ્તી, a-bêshtî. ના૦ કીના વગરની હાલત, દુઃખી થયા વગરની હાલત. Subs. State of being not revengeful—afflicted.

[illegible] આહીખ્તી, âhîkhtî. તેં ખેંચ્યું—તલવાર મેઆન-માંથી બાહાર કાહાડી. V. You pulled; you unsheathed a sword (past tense 2nd per. sing.) Comp. Per. آهيختي

[illegible] આયેઈશ્મ, âyêîshma. ના૦ ચંદ્રપ્રકાશ, ચાંદરણી. Subs. The light of the moon.

[illegible] આબસાલ, âbsâl. ના૦ બાગ, વાડી. Subs. A garden; an orchard. Comp. Per. ابسال

[illegible] અગદી, agdî. ના૦ થોડીક વસ્તુ. વિ૦ થોડું. Subs. A few things. Adj. Little, few.

[illegible] અ-યસ્ક, a-yaska. વિ૦ દુઃખ—દરદ વિનાનું. Adj. Free from pain—disease. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસેબ, âsêb. ના૦ બલા, આફત, મુસીબત. Subs. Misfortune, calamity, hardship. Comp. Per. آسيب

[illegible] આબેહી, âbêhî ના૦ આમુ નામની નદી. Subs. The river Amoo.

[illegible] અએબાદગી, aêbâdagî. ના૦ મદદ, યારી. Subs. Help, succour.

[illegible] સે-શોદે, sê-shôdê. વિ૦ ત્રીજો હિસ્સો, એક તૃત્યાંશ, ⅓.— Adj. A third part, one-third; ⅓.

અએ-દસ્ત, અએ-જસ્ત, aê-dasta, aê-jasta. ના૦ એક હાથ; આએ હાથ. Subs. One hand; this hand.

ખસરત, khasast. વિ૦ બેઅકલ. Adj. Senseless, imprudent.

સે-જસ્ત, sê-jasta. ના૦ ત્રણ હાથ. Subs. Three hands.

હેસીદન, hêsidan. ક્રિ૦ બીહીવું, ડરવું, ભય લાગવો. V. To fear, to dread; to be afraid.

અસસ્તે, asastê. વિ૦ બેઅકલ, બેવકુફ, મૂર્ખ. Adj. Senseless, foolish, silly.

આબેસ્તે, âbêstê. ના૦ ગર્ભસ્થાન; હમેલદાર સ્ત્રી; ગર્ભ, હમેલ; તરતનું જન્મેલું બચ્ચું; વાવણી કરવાને તૈયાર કીધેલી જમીન. Subs. The womb; a pregnant woman; fœtus, embryo; a new-born child; ground prepared for sowing. Per. آبستن

અ-બસીમ, a-basîm. વિ૦ નાખુશ, આનંદી નહીં; નાસવાદ. Adj. Not cheerful—jovial; tasteless. Contrast Per. بسیم

અ-બસીમી, a-basîmî. ના૦ Subs. ખુશી—આનંદ વગરની હાલત; સવાદ વગરનું તે; દલગીરી. Subs. State of being not cheerful—jovial; tastelessness, sorrow.

અ-બસીમીતુમ, a-basîmîtum. વિ૦ ઘણોજ ઉદાસ—દલગીરી ભરેલો. Adj. Most melancholy—sorrowful. Corrupt form of

[illegible] અસ્સર, assar. ના૦ ખેતી, ખુરજીગરી. Subs. Agriculture.

[illegible] અએવેસ્રુસ્રેમ, aêvêsrûsrêm. ના૦ દાહાડાની ચોથી ગેહનું નામ છે. Subs. The fourth sub-division of the day.

[illegible] આસીન, આઈયેન, âsîn. âiyên. } See [illegible] âsîn.
[illegible] અસીન, આઈઈન, asin, âiîn. }

[illegible] સે-બીના, sê-bînâ. ના૦ ત્રણ માસ—મહીના. Subs. Three months.

[illegible] ખાએ-વાએ, khâê-vâê. ના૦ પરેદાંનું બેડું. Subs. The egg of a bird.

[illegible] અગ-દીનાર, ag-dînâr. ના૦ ખરાબ—ખોટો દીનાર—સીક્કો. Subs. A false *dinâr* (a coin). Comp. [illegible] = Av. [illegible]; [illegible] = Av. [illegible], Sans. **दीनार.**

[illegible] અ-સંવાર, અસ્વાર, a-sanvâr, asvâr. ના૦ સવાર, ઘોડા ઉપર બેસીને હાંકનાર. Subs. A trooper, a rider.

[illegible] આશ્ને-ખેરદ, âsnê-khêrad. ના૦ See [illegible] âsnîd-khêrad.

[illegible] અસ્બંદીઆર, Asbandîâr. ના૦ ઈરાનના કયાની બાદશાહ ગુસ્તાસ્પનાં છોકરાનું નામ, કે જેને "તેહમતન અસ્પંદીઆર" બી કહેછે. Subs. The name of the son of Gushtâsp, the Kayânian king of Persia—otherwise known as *Têhêmtan Aspandiâr.* Comp. Per. اسفند یار

[illegible] આસીન, આયન, âsîn, âyan ના૦ લોઢું. Subs. Iron. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] આસીનીન, âsînîn. વિ૦ લોઢાનું બનાવેલું, લોઢાનું. Adj. Made of iron, iron. Comp. Av. [illegible],

[illegible] અયસ્નીન, ayasnîn. See [illegible] âsînîn.

[illegible] ખસીનેદ, khasînêd. ક્રિ૦ બીહે, ધાસ્તી રાખે; સુકું. V. May fear—dread.

[illegible] હએચીનેદ, haêchînêd. ક્રિ૦ સુકાવે; સુકાએ. V. May dry; may be dried. Comp. Av. Rt. [illegible]

[illegible] હએચીનેદ-હોમનાદ, haêchînêd-hômanâd. ક્રિ૦ સુકાયું હોએ; સુકવ્યું હોએ. V. Might have dried, might have been dried. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસ્નીદ-ખેરદ, âsnîd-khêrad. ના૦ જાતી અકકલ. Subs. Natural intelligence.

[illegible] આસ્નીદે, âsnîdê. See [illegible] âsnîd-khêrad.

[illegible] આસ્નીદે-મલ્કા, âsnîdê-malkâ. ના૦ જાતી અકકલ રાખનાર. Subs. Possessor of natural intelligence (lit.).

[illegible] આસ્નીદે, âsnîdê. વિ૦ કમાલીઅત પામેલો, નામીચું. Adj. Accomplished; first-rate, excellent.

[illegible] આશીનગર, âsîngar. ના૦ લોહાર. Subs. A blacksmith. Per. آہنگر

[illegible] અગ-દીન, ag-dîn. ના૦ બદદીન, જુદી દીન. Subs. A bad religion; a different creed.

[illegible] આઈએન, આસીન, âîêna, âsîn. ના૦ આરસી, આઈનો. Subs. A mirror, a looking-glass.

[illegible] આઈઈન, અયસન, આસીન, âiîn, ayasan, âsîn. See [illegible] âsîn.

[illegible] અ-દીનાન, a-dînân. ના૦ દીન વગરનાં. Subs. Irreligious persons. Per. بي دينان

[illegible] અગદીની, agdînî. વિ૦ ખરાબ—જુદ દીનને લગતું. Adj. Relating to a bad—foreign religion.

[illegible] અસ્તોદાન, astôdân. ના૦ મુવેલાં માણસના હાડકાં રાખવાની જગા. Subs. A repository for bones of dead bodies.

[illegible] આઈયેન-વર, âiên-var ના૦ લોઢાંની કગરસ. Subs. Particles of iron.

[illegible] આયનગર, âyangar. See [illegible] âysîngar.

[illegible] આસ્નતાર, âsnatâr. ના૦ મોબેદનો એક પંથ જેનું કામ નાહાન નહવાડવાનું હોએ છે. Subs. An order of Mobeds whose business is to administer ablution for purposes of sanctification. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] આસુદન, âsudan. ક્રિ૦ આશાએશ લેવી, આરામ લેવો. To take rest, to repose.

[illegible] આસીન-પેતાર, આઈયેન-પેતાર, âsîn-pêtâr, âîyênpêtâr. ના૦ લોહાર, લોહોડું ઓતનાર. Subs. Blacksmith, iron-founder.

[illegible] આશીન-પતગર, âsîn-patgar. See [illegible] âsin-pêtâr.

[illegible] અસીનમ, asînam. ક્રિ૦ ધોઉં, કરૂં. V. I may wash —do.

[illegible] અ-દકીઉર, a-dakîur. વિ૦ અપવિત્ર, નાપાક, પરહેજગાર નહીં. Adj. Impure, unholy, impious.

[illegible] અ-યસ્ક, a-yask વિ૦ નીરોગી, તનદરોસ્ત. Adj. Free from disease; healthy.

[illegible] દો-યસ્ક, do-yask. બે દરદ. Subs. Two diseases. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સેજ, અ-સીજ, a-sêz, a-sîj. વિ૦ નાશ નહીં પામે તેવું, હમેશનું, અમૃત. Adj. Imperishable, eternal; immortal. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસેફ, âsêf. ના૦ સુલેમાનના વડા વજીરનું નામ. Subs. Name of the grand *vizir* of Solomon. Comp. Av. آصف

[illegible] અ-સીજ-ઓમન્દ, a-sîz-ômand. See [illegible] a-sêz, a-sîj. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સીજશની, a-sîjashnî. ના૦ નહીં નાશ પામે તેવી હાલત, હમેશગી. Subs. Imperishableness, eternity.

[illegible] અ-સેજી, a-sêzî. See [illegible] a-sêz.

[illegible] અઈઈવીસ્રેમ, aîivîsrêm. See [illegible] aêvasrûsrêm.

[illegible] અ-સેજીદન, a-sêzîdan. ક્રિ૦ ચાલુ ન રાખવું, નાલાયક થવું, હટીજવું. V. To discontinue, to recede —retreat, step back; to become unworthy.

[illegible] અ-સેજ્શની, a-sêzashnî. વિ૦ મોત વગરનું, હમેશ જીવતું. Adj. Deathless, ever-living.

[illegible] અ-શેજીદ, a-sêzîd. ક્રિ૦ નાલાયક થયું. V. Became unworthy.

[illegible] અ-શેજ-તન, asêz-tan. ના૦ વગર મોતનું તન. Subs. A body not subject to decay or liable to perish.

[illegible] અ-સીજગ, a-sîzag. વિ૦ દુઃખ—સખ્તી વગરનું. Adj. Free from pain—hardship.

[illegible] અગ-દીદ, ag-dîd. ના૦ બુરી નજર; ખરાબ નિષ્ઠા. Subs. An evil eye; a wicked purpose—design.

[illegible] અબસ્ત, abast. ના૦ તોરંગ (ઈઆને લીંબુની જાતના એક ફળ) નો ગર—માવો. Subs. The pulp of a citron. Comp. Per. ابست, ابستر, ابستا

[illegible] અબસ્ત, abast. ના૦ સખત ગોસ્ત કે જે હજમ થતાં ઘણો વખત લાગેછે અને તેથી માંદાને નુકસાન પોંહોંચે છે. Subs. Tough meat which is hard to digest and injurious to the stomach.

[illegible] ખેજીદ, khêjid. ના૦ ફીકર, ચિન્તા, અંદેશો. Subs. Care, anxiety, solicitude.

[illegible] ખેસ્ત, khêst. See [illegible] khêsht.

[illegible] સગ-દીદ, sag-dîd. ના૦ કુતરાની નજર; કુતરાનું જોવું; સગદીદ. Subs. Sight of the dog; to be seen by the dog; *Sagdîd*. Comp. Per. دید + سگ

[illegible] સે-સત, sê-sat. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ ત્રણસો, ૩૦૦. Numer. Adj. Three hundred, 300.

અએ-ગેતી, aê-gêtî. ના૦ આ દુનિયાં—પૃથ્વી. Subs. This world—earth.

અબસ્તા, abastâ. ના૦ કેતાબનું બયાન, અવસ્તા. Subs. The description of a book, the *Avesta*. Comp. Per. ابستا, وستا, استا.

અ-એસ્તાદ, a-êstâd. ક્રિ૦ નહીં હતો; નહીં ઉભો રહ્યો. V. Was not; did not stand.

અ-એસ્તાદન, a-êstâdan. ક્રિ૦ ઉભું—ખડું—ઠ-ઠાર નહીં રહેવું; પાછું હઠવું. V. Not to stand, not to be upon the feet in an erect position; to step back. Contrast Per. ایستادن

અબસ્તે, abastê. ના૦ જાસુસ, ભોમીઓ; છુપો કાસદ, ચાપલુસી કરનાર. Subs. A spy, a guide; a secret emissary, a flatterer.

ખેસ્તે, khêstê. See ખેસ્તે khêstê.

એસ્તેદ, êstêd. ક્રિ૦ છે; હોય; ઉભો થાય. V. Is; may be; may stand up.

અ-જસ્તે, a-jastê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ નહીં પોંહોંચેલું—પુગેલું; મેલવ્યા વગરનું. Past partic. Not reached, not acquired.

આસ્તુનીનેદ, âstunînêd. ક્રિ૦ જોએ; નજર કરે; ધ્યાન આપે. V. May see—look at; may pay attention to.

અ-દસ્તોબર, a-dastôbar. વિ૦ રજા—હોકમ વગર; ધરમના કાએદાથી ઉલટું, રજા—હોકમ નહીં આપનાર, નાખુશ-

વાએદા પ્રમાણે નહીં. Adj. Without permission, mandate; contrary to the religious law—injunction, not giving permission—license—unpleasant; not according to one's promise. Comp. Per. بي دستور

بےدستوری અ-દસ્તોબરી, a-dastôbarî. ના૦ રજા વગરની હાલત, ધરમના ફરમાન વગરની હાલત, ગેરવાજબીપણું. Subs. State of being without permission; state of being contrary to the religious injunction; illegality.

بےدستوریہا અ-દસ્તોબરીહા, a-dastôbarîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કાયદાથી ઉલટી રીતે; ધરમના ફરમાંનથી ઉલટી રીતે. Adv. In violation of law; in opposition to religious injunction.

بستن અ-બસ્તન, a-bastan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં બાંધવું; છુટું રાખવું; બંધ—દબાણમાં નહીં રાખવું. V. Not to bind, to let loose; not to put under restraint. Contrast Av. رسجوں, Sans. बन्ध, Per. بستن

خسیدن ખસીદન, khasîdan. ક્રિ૦ ચાવવું; ખાવું; ભીનું કરવું; ભુંજવું; બીહીવું; બુઢું—જુનું થવું. V. To masticate; to eat; to moisten; to bake; to be afraid; to be old. Per. خسیدن

بےدستور અ-દસ્તુર, a-dastûr, વિ૦ હોકમને નહીં માનનાર; ધર્મગુરૂ—દસ્તુર વગરનું. Adj. Refusing to obey; without any religious preceptor—Dastur.

آستہ-ور આસ્ત-વર, âsta-var. વિ૦ સુલેહ—સંપજ ભરેલું;

શાન્તીવાળું. Adj. Peaceful, calm, quiet, undisturbed.

સે-સેતોર, sê-sêtôr. ના૦ ત્રણ ભારખરદારી જાનવર, ત્રણ ચોમગાં જાનવર. Subs. Three beasts of burden; three quadrupeds. Comp. Av. Per. سر ستور

અબસ્તે, abastê. See abastê.

ખેસ્તે, khêstê. વિ૦ એક ઈંટ—ઈંટરડીના જેટલું—પરમાણનું. ના૦ એક ઈંટરડી. Adj. Of the size of a brick. Subs. One brick.

ખેસીદે, khêsîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ બુઢું થએલું; ભીનું કીધેલું; ભુજેલું; ખાધેલું, બીધેલું. Past partic. Become old; moistened; baked; eaten; afraid. Comp. Per. خسيده

અ-બસ્તગી, a-bastagî. ના૦ નહીં બાંધેલું તે, ઢીલાપણું, ખોલ્લું થવું, છુટું થવું. Subs. State of being unbound; looseness, opening, unclosing.

અઈસમ, aîsam. વિ૦ નરમ, નાજુક, પોચું, નબલું. Adj. Not hard, tender, soft, weak.

અએસમ, aêsam. ના૦ બાલવાનાં લાકડાં; સુખડ. Subs. Fuel; sandalwood. Av. = Sans. इध्म = Per. هيزم Av. Rt. = Sans. Rt. इध् = To burn.

અસીમ, asîm. વિ૦ આશ્ચર્ય પામેલો; બહાવરો થઈ ગએલો. Adj. Amazed; stupefied; confounded. Comp. Per. سراسيمه, اسمه اسيمه

[illegible] અસીમ, asîm. ના૦ પથ્થર. Subs. A stone. Comp. Av. [illegible] Sans. अश्मन्.

[illegible] અસીમ, આસીમ, asîm, âsîm. ના૦ એક મોટા મરતબાનો ખેતાબ છે, કે જે અરદા વીરાફને આપવામાં આવ્યો હતો. Subs. A title of high honour given to Ardâ Vîrâf.

[illegible] આઈએમ, âiêm. ના૦ દહાડા; વખત; હીંગામ. Subs. Days; time, season.

[illegible] આએસ્મ, âêsma. See [illegible] âyêîshma.

[illegible] આસીમ, અસીમ, âsîm, asim. ના૦ આસ્માન, આકાશ; રૂપું. વિ૦ રૂપેરી. Subs. The sky, heavens; silver. Adj. Silvery. Comp. Per. سیم

[illegible] આસીમ, âsîm. વિ૦ ઉંચું, વખાણવા જોગ, બુજોરગ, મરતબાવાળું. ના૦ ચઢતા દરજાનો માણસ; શિક્ષાગુરૂ. Adj. Elevated; praiseworthy; of an exalted station. Subs. A man of an exalted position; the principal or head of a school.

[illegible] એસમ, êsam. ક્રિ૦ હું ધોઉં, પાક કરૂં. V. I may wash—purify.

[illegible] હેસમ, hêsam. See [illegible] hêsham.

[illegible] આસીમ-ગેરાન, âsîm-gêrân. ના૦ રૂપું ગાલનારા—સાફ કરનારા; સોનીઓ. Subs. Those that fuse—purify silver; silversmiths.

[illegible] આસ્માન, âsmân. ના૦ આસ્માન; ૨૭) મા રોજનું નામ; ખોદાતાલાની એક શકિતનું નામ. Subs. The sky,

heavens; the 27th day of every month; one of the powers of God. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible], Per. آسمان

[illegible] એસીમી, êsîmî. વિ૦ બાલવાનાં લાકડાં—કાઠીને લગતું; ઈંધણ—કાઠી—સુખડને લગતું. Adj. Pertaining to dry wood for burning; pertaining to sandal-wood.

[illegible] આસીમીન, âsîmîn. વિ૦ રૂપેરી; રૂપાના જેવું. Adj. Silvery; like silver. Comp. Per. سیمین

[illegible] અએસમ-ગુન, aêsma-gûn. વિ૦ રૂપાના રંગનું. Adj. Having the appearance of silver.

[illegible] અએસીમીન, aêsîmîn. વિ૦ રૂપેરી. Adj. Silvery, made of silver. Per. سیمین

[illegible] અસીમીન, asîmîn. વિ૦ પથ્થરનું બનાવેલું; પથ્થરના જેવું. Adj. Made of stone; like a stone.

[illegible] આસીમીન-પેસીદ, âsîmîn-pêsîd. વિ૦ રૂપાંથી શીંગારેલું, રૂપાંથી ભરત ભરેલું. Adj. Decorated—embroidered with silver. Comp. Pehl. [illegible] = Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. पिश् = to decorate.

[illegible] અ-યદમન, a-yadman. વિ૦ હાત—ટેકા વગરનું. Adj. Having no hands (lit.); unsupported.

[illegible] અસદમન, as-daman. ના૦ વાઘ. Subs. A tiger.

[illegible] એસમ, êsam. See [illegible] aêsam.

[illegible] અસીમે, asîmê. વિ૦ આશ્ચર્ય થએલો; બાહાવરો થઈ ગએલો. Adj. Astonished, stupefied, confounded.

[illegible] આસીમ-ગરાન, âsîm-garân. See [illegible] âsîmgêrân.

[illegible] હેસ્મ-તન, hêsma-tan. ના૦ ગુસ્સા—ક્રોધવાળું આદમી. Subs. A passionate man.

[illegible] અસીમ-પતગરાન, asîm-patgarân. ના૦ રૂપાને ગાળનારા—સાફ કરનારા. Subs. Those that fuse—purify silver. Av. [illegible] Sans. अदमन.

[illegible] અ-ગેર, a-gêr. વિ૦ રંગ વગરનું; આકાર વગરનું. Adj. Colorless; shapeless.

[illegible] અ-દેર, a-dêr. વિ૦ લાંબા વખતનું નહીં તે; થોડા વખતનું બનેલું; હમણાનું. Adj. Not long past; of late occurrence; recent. Contrast Per. دير

[illegible] અસ્દર, asdar. See [illegible] asdaman.

[illegible] અસીર, asîr. ના૦ કેદી, બંદીવાન; ગોલામ. Subs. A prisoner, a captive; a slave. Per. اسير

[illegible] અ-સીર, a-sîr. વિ૦ નહીં ધરાયલું—તૃપ્ત થએલું; અસંતોષી. Adj. Not satiated—satisfied; discontented. Contrast Per. سير

[illegible] અસેર, asêr. વિ૦ અગણીત, બેશુમાર; ઘણું જ. Adj. Countless, innumerable; excessive.

[illegible] અસ્બરી, asbarî. વિ૦ સેવટ આવેલું, સમાપ્ત થએલું; પુરૂં. Adj. Concluded, terminated; complete. Comp. Per. اسپري, سپري

[illegible] સે-સરેશુતે, sê-sarêshutê. વિ૦ એક તૃત્યાંશ, ત્રીજો હિસ્સો. Adj. One-third; a third part.

ગ્ર

ગ્ર અએદુન, aêdûn. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ રવેશે, એ તરેહ, એવી રીતે, એ પ્રમાણે, Adv. In this manner—way, accordingly. Per. ايدون

ગ્ર અગેન, અદીન, agên, adîn, ઉભયા૦ અ૦ પણ; ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જો; અગર; ત્યારે; જ્યાંસુધી, તે ઉપરથી, તે વખતે, એ રવેશે. Conj. But. Adv. If; then; as far as, thereupon, at that time, in this manner.

ગ્ર અ-દુઈ, a-duî. ના૦ બેફરેબ; ખોદાતાલાનાં નામો મધેનું એક નામ. Subs. One who is not deceived; one of the names of the Almighty Creator. Comp. Av. ااااااا

ગ્ર અ-બીન, a-bîn. વિ૦ નહીં જોનાર; જાહેર નહીં; છુપું, ખાનગી. Adj. Not seeing; not apparent—clear; secret, private. Comp. Per. نابينان

ગ્ર અબીન, ખબીન, abîn, khabîn. ના૦ મરદ—પુરૂષની છુપી ઇંદ્રી—અવયવ. Subs. *Pudendum viri.*

ગ્ર અસુ, આસુ, asu, âsû. વિ૦ છુટું, એલાહેદું, એક બોરદુ, એક જગાએ. Adj. Separate, apart, aside; in one place.

ગ્ર આઈઈન, આઈયેન, આઈએન, âiin, âiên, âîyên. ના૦ એક ગામનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a village—town. See ગ્ર âsâ.

ગ્ર આદીંન, આઈન, âdîn, âîn. ના૦ ઉપમા, દાખલો, દલીલ, આરાએશ; રશમ, આદત, એક ગામનું નામ છે. Subs. A simile; an example, an instance; argument;

ornament; usage, habit; name of a village—town.

[illegible] આયન, âyan. ના૦ ધાતુ, ચાલ, રશમ, કાએદો, ટેવ. Subs. Metal, custom, usage, a rule, a habit. Av. [illegible] = Sans. आयन् = Per. آئین

[illegible] ખએં, khaê. ના૦ માછલીનાં ઈંડાં—ગરભ. Subs. The spawns of fish.

[illegible] અએના, aênâ. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ અથવા, યા. Conj. Or, either.

[illegible] અ-દીના, a-dînâ. ના૦ ગેરઈનસાફ; બેદાદ, જુલમ. Subs. Injustice, iniquity; tyranny.

[illegible] અસ્નીય, asniya. વિ૦ દહાડાને લગતું, ના૦ હીંગામ. Adj. Relating to a day (lit.). Subs. Season, time. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસ્ના, âsnâ. વિ૦ જાહેર, ખોલ્લું; પ્રસિદ્ધ, ચાલાક, હુશિયાર. Adj. Apparent, open; generally known; nimble, intelligent.

[illegible] દો-શનેહ, dô-sanêh. ના૦ બે ફટકા—ઝટકા—ઝપાટા; બે હથિઆર. Subs. Two strokes—stripes; two weapons. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] = Av. [illegible] Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. श्रथ्.

[illegible] અસ્નીય, asniya. વિ૦ See [illegible] asniya.

[illegible] અ-સંગી, a-sangî. વિ૦ ભાર વગરનું, હલકું. Adj. Not heavy, light. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible], [illegible] = Per. سنگین

[illegible] આઈનહા, âînhâ. ના૦ હીંગામ, વખત ; મોસમ. Subs. Season, time ; a recurrent period.

[illegible] દો-સનેહ, dô-sanêh. See [illegible] dô-sanêh.

[illegible] હીવહા, hîvhâ. ના૦ ખરાબી, નુકશાન ; ગેરફાયદો ; તોટો. Subs. Evil ; harm, injury ; disadvantage ; loss.

[illegible] અ-દીના-ઓમન્દી, a-dînâ-ômandî. વિ૦ ગેરઈનસાફી ભરેલું ; જુલમી, બેદીન. Adj. Unjust, unfair, despotic ; irreligious.

[illegible] અ-સોખરીગી, a-sôkhrîgî. ના૦ સોરખ નહીં, રાતી છાંટ—રંગ વગરનું. Subs. Want of redness, want of a red tincture.

[illegible] દો-સનેહ, dô-sanêh. See [illegible] dô-sanêh.

[illegible] અ-દીનાઈ, a-dînâî. ના૦ ગેરઈનસાફી ; બેદીની. Subs. Injustice ; irreligiousness ; ungodliness.

[illegible] અ-સુદીએ, a-sûdîê. વિ૦ બીનફાએદે, ફાએદાકારક નહીં તે. Adj. Disadvantageous, unprofitable, not lucrative. Comp. prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] Av. Rt. [illegible] = Per. سود

[illegible] અ-દીનાઈહેદ, a-dînâîhêd. ક્રિ૦ બેઈનસાફી ખમે. V. May suffer injustice.

[illegible] અ-દેવ-યસ્નાન, a-dêv-yasnân. ના૦ દેવને નહીં માનનારા ; બુતપરસ્ત નહીં તે ; એકજ ખોદાને માનનારા. Subs. Those that do not worship *Dêvs* (*i. e.* evil spirits) ; non-idolators ; believers in one true God. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-દીનાન, a-dînân. ના૦ દયાનત—પ્રમાણીકપણાં વગરનાં—દીન વગરનાં માણસો. Subs. Faithless—dishonest—irreligious persons. Per. بي د يناں

[illegible] આઈનાન, âinân. ના૦ ઉપમાઓ, દાખલાઓ. Subs. Similes, examples, instances.

[illegible] હીબવંદ, hîbvand. ના૦ પાહાડ—પર્વતનું પાણી. Subs. Mountain water.

[illegible] અસ્નાન, યસ્નાન, asnân, yasnân. ના૦ આરાધના—બંદગી કરનાર; પુંજનારા. Subs. Those that invoke—put up prayers; worshippers.

[illegible] અસુઆન, asûân. plural of [illegible] asû—which see.

[illegible] અદીન-ખોહ, adîn-khôh. ના૦ એવી ખાશીઅત. Subs. Such a nature—habit.

[illegible] અ-દીન-ખોહ, a-dîn-khôh. વિ૦ વગર દીનની ખાશીઅતનું. Adj. Not of a religious mood—nature.

[illegible] હીબવાન્ત, hibvânt. See [illegible] hibvand.

[illegible] અ-દીનાક, a-dînâk. વિ૦ બેદીન, કાફર, ઈનસાફ વગરનું. Adj. Irreligious, infidel; unjust. Comp. Per. بي د ين

[illegible] અ-શુખ્તન, a-sûkhtan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં બલવું—પ્રકાશવું. V. Not to burn, not to shine. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. Rt. शुच् = Per. سوختن

[illegible] અએવાર, aêvâr. ના૦ સૂર્ય અસ્ત પામવાનો વખત; સમીસાંહાંજનો વખત. Subs. The time of sunset; the evening.

Presented by Dinshaw Hancockjee Petit.

અસ્વાર, asvâr. ના૦ ઘોડા ઉપર સવારી કરનાર; પેહલવાન, લડાયક. Subs. A rider; a hero, a warrior. Comp. Per. اسوار

દો-દીનાર, dô-dinâr. ના૦ બે દીનાર. Subs. Two *dinars*. Comp. Av.

આસ્ન-ખેરદ, âsna-khêrad. ના૦ જાતી—ખુદરતી અકકલ—બુદ્ધિ. Subs. Natural intelligence. Comp. Av.

આસ્ને-ખેરદ-ઓમનદી, âsnê-khêrad-ômandî. જાતીઅકકલ ભરેલું. Adj. Possessing natural intelligence.

અસ્વાર-તર, asvâr-tar. ના૦ વધારે સરસ રીતે સવારી કરનાર. Subs. A more skilful rider.

અયંગ, ayang. See ahân, âhan.

અ-શુદ, આસોગ, a-sûd, âsôg. વિ૦ ભુખું નહીં તે, ધરાએલું, તૃપ્ત થએલું. Adj. Not hungry, eaten to one's full, satisfied. Prohib. + = Av. = Sans. **क्षुध, क्षुधा.**

અએ-ગોશ, aê-gôsh. ના૦ એક કાન. Subs. One ear. Comp. = Av. + = Av. = Per. گوش

અગીન-શ, અદીન-શ, અદીની, aginash, adinash, adinî. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જ્યારે તે; પણ—જો તે, ત્યારે તો તેનેભી, તેને લીધે. Gram. particle. But, if he (lit.); then he, when he; even to him; on that account.

અદીન-શ, અગેન-શ, adina-sh, agêna-sh. ક્રિ૦ અ૦

÷ સર્વ૦ ત્યારે—તે પ્રમાણે—તે ઉપરથી તેને. adv. + pron. Then to him, thereupon to him, accordingly to him. (Comp. adv. + [illegible] pron. suf. of 3rd pers. sing.)

[illegible] અ-દીની, a-dînî. વિ૦ ધેરવેલા, કાયદા—રીત પ્રમાણે નહીં, દીન વગરનું, અધરમી, દુરાચારી. Adj. Not according to established principles or customs; irreligious, impious, following evil practices. (Comp. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] sign of adj.).

[illegible] અ-સનશ, a-sanash. વિ૦ નુકશાન—તંગી—જીઆન વગરનું. Adj. Free from harm—want—injury.

[illegible] આહની, âhanî. વિ૦ લોઢાનું; લોહોડાંની બનાવટનું. Adj. Consisting of iron; made of iron.

[illegible] દો-સનેહ, dô-sanêh. See [illegible] dô-sanêh.

[illegible] આઈનીહા, âînihâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એવી રીતથી; ના૦ આ-એનાઓ. Adj. By such ways—means. Subs. Mirrors.

[illegible] અએવગહન, aêvagahan. ના૦ કુસ્તી. *Kushti.*

[illegible] અગીન-શાન, agîn-shân. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ + સર્વ, જ્યારે તેઓ પણ—જો તેઓ; ત્યારે તેઓ. Adv. pron. But if they; then they (lit.), when they, thereupon they. Comp. [illegible] adv. + [illegible] pron. suf. of 3rd pers. plu. See [illegible] agînash.

[illegible] આઈનશ્ને, âînashnê. ના૦ રોનક—શીંગાર કરવો. Subs. Adorning, decorating.

[illegible] અ-સનશ્ની, a-sanashnî. See [illegible] a-sanash.

અ-સનઝને-વફર, a-sanazhnê-vafar. ના૦ બરફ-કરાંનું નહીં વરસવું—પડવું. Subs. No raining of snow or hail, no falling of snow. Prohib. + = Av. Av. Rt. Sans. Rt. स्निह + = Av. Ay. Rt. Sans. Rt. वप्.

અગેનીઆવ, agêniâv. ના૦ મગજનું લોહી. Subs. Blood of the brain.

અસોબાર, અસુબાર, asôbâr, asubâr. See asuâr.

અ-સુદારી, અ-સરદારી, a-sudârî, a-sardârî. વિ૦ વગર ધણીઆતું, સરદારી વગરનું, અધિપતિપણાં—માલેકી—સત્તા વગરનું. Adj. Having no owner—leader, state of being without mastery—command—authority, state of being without an editor—owner. Prohib. + = Av. = Per. سرداري

અસુબારી, asubârî. સવારી કરવી; Subs. Riding upon.

અ-સુબારીદન, a-sûbârîdan. ક્રિ૦ નાઉમેદ થવું. નાઉમેદી થવી, આશા ભ્રષ્ટ થવી. V. To be disappointed—despaired, to be hopeless.

અ-દીની, a-dînî. ના૦ બેદીની, જુદદીની. Subs. Irreligiousness; belief in a foreign creed. Comp. Per. بي دیني

અસ્નીએ, asniê. ના૦ દાહાડો, દિવસ. Subs. A day.

અસુસ, asus. ના૦ ખતા, ગુનાહ, ભુલ. Subs. A crime, a fault, a sin; an error.

[illegible] અ-સુદી, a-sudî. વિ૦ નુકશાનકારક, ફાયદા-હાંસલ—નફા વગરનું. Adj. Harmful, disadvantageous, unprofitable. Contrast Per. سودمند

[illegible] અ-સંગી, a-sangî. See [illegible] a-sangî.

[illegible] સે-ગોબશની, sê-gôbashnî. ના૦ ત્રણે વચન, યાને 'મનશની,' 'ગવશની' અને 'કુનશની.' Subs. Three words (*i.e. manashnî, gavashnî*, and *kunashnî*).

[illegible] અ-દીનીગાન, a-dînîgân. ના૦ દીન—ધર્મ વગરના લોકો; મહજબ નહીં પાલનારાઓ. Subs. Irreligious persons; infidels.

[illegible] અસુબશને, asubashnê. ના૦ મલીજવું, ભેલઈ જવું; સામેલ થવું. Subs. Mixing up, becoming familiar; associating with.

[illegible] આસોગશને, âsôgashnê. ના૦ ખાધા વગર રેહેવું. Subs. Abstaining from food.

[illegible] આસ્નીખેરદ, âsni-khêrad. ના૦ See [illegible] âsnakêrad.

[illegible] અ-દેવ-યસ્નાન, a-dêv-yasnân. ના૦ બુતપરસ્તો નહીં તે, યજદાં પ્રસ્તો. Subs. Worshippers of God; non-believers in Dêvs (evil spirits); non-idolators.

[illegible] અગનીન, agnin. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક બારગી; એકદમ; એટલું છતાં. Adj. From one point of view, in one sense; at once; notwithstanding.

[illegible] આઈનીન, âinin. ના૦ રેવાજ, રસમ, શીંગાર; આબરૂ, માન, મરતબો. Subs. Mode, usage, decoration; honour, respect, dignity.

૧૭૩ આહનીન, âhanin. See ૭૭૭ âhanî. ૨૭૩ âsînîn.

૧૭૨૭૩ અ-દીનીનદ, a-dininad. ક્રિ૦ તેઓ નહીં આપે. V. They may not give (something).

૧૭૨૭૩ આઈયનીન-ગુન, âiyanin-gun. વિ૦ લોહોડાંના રંગનું; લોહોડાં જેવું સખ્ત. Adj. Iron-colored; hard as iron.

૧૭૨૭૩ આઈયનીનીન, âiyaninin. See ૭૭૭ âhanî.

૧૭૩ આઈયનીન, âiyanin. See ૭૭૭ âhanî.

૧૭૩ અ-શોઈન, a-sôîn. વિ૦ કાંજી—લાહી—સરસનું નહીં બનાવેલું. Adj. Not made of starch—paste, not made of glue.

૧૭૩ અ-દીની, a-dîni. વિ૦ અધરમી. Adj. Irreligious.

૧૭૩ ખસ્વેદ, khasvêd. ક્રિ૦ બીહે, ડર કરે. V. May dread—fear.

૧૭૩ આસ્નીદાર, âsnidâr. ના૦ મોબેદોના એક પંથનું નામ જેનું કામ નાહાન નહવાડવાનું હોય છે. Subs. An order of Mobêds whose business is to administer ablution for purposes of sanctification. Comp. Av. [illegible], Pehl. [illegible]

૧૭૩ અ- દીનીદન, a-dînîdan. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ અધરમી થવું; પોતાની દીન તજી દેવી. V. To be irreligious; to apostatize.

૧૭૩ આસુગ-તુમ, âsug-tum. વિ૦ ઘણુંજ ધરાએલું. Adj. Most satisfied, extremely satiated.

૧૭૩ આસ્નીદે, âsnidê. વિ૦ દાનાવ, શિખેલો, સમજુ, શીઆણો. Adj. Wise, learned, sensible

૧૭૩ અએદુન, aêdûn. See ૭૭ aêdûn.

૧૭૩ અદીન, adin. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ત્યારે, તે ઉપરથી, જો, વળી, હીઆં, જેઆરે, એ રવેશે. Adv. Then, consequently; if; also; here; when; in this manner.

૧૭૩ અ-દીન, a-din. વિ૦ દીઆનત વગરનું, અનીતિવાળું, બેદીન. Adj. Irreligious, immoral, dishonest. Per. بي دين

૧૨૩ અબીન, abîn. વિ૦ હમેલદાર. Adj. Pregnant.

૧૨૩ અ-બીન, a-bîn. See ૧૨૩ a-bîn.

૧૭૩ આઈન, âin. See ૭૭૩ âsâ.

૧૭૩ આઈઈન, âiin. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ રવેશે—રીતે. Adv. In this way—manner.

૧૭૩ આઈએન, આહન, âiên, âhan. See ૧૭૭૭ âhan.

૧૭૩ આચીન, âchin. નાં૦ ચીન દેશના લોકો, ચીનાઓ. Subs. The Chinese.

૧૭૩ આદીનો, âdinô. ના૦ ખ્રીસ્તીઓનો ખોદા. Subs. The scripture name of the Supreme Being.

૧૭૩ આસીન, âsin. ના૦ વિનંતી, કાલાવાલા, ઉપકાર, હેસાંન. Subs. Entreaty, earnest beseeching; an obligation, a favour.

૧૭૩ આસુન, âsun. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ તે વખતે, ત્યારે, જ્યારે, તે ઉપરથી, તે માફક, પણ; જો; હજુર, હમણા, એ રવેશે. Adv. At that time, then; when consequently; according to that; but; if; still; now; in this manner.

૧૭૩૧૭૩ અ-જીનાક, a-jînâk. See ૧૭૭૭ a-jînâk.

૧૭૩૧૨૩ આ-ગુરાક, â-gurâk. ના૦ તે હાવનીમ. Subs. That *Hâvanîm.*

અાસુવાર, a-suvâr. See અાસુદારી asudârî.

અાસોવાર, asôvâr. See અાસવાર asvâr.

દો-દીનાર, dô-dînâr. See દોદીનાર dô-dînâr.

અાસ્નેખેરદી, âsnê-khêradî. વિ૦ જાતી—ખુદરતી અકકલને લગતું. Adj. Pertaining to, natural intelligence.

અાસ્નવદ, asnavad. ના૦ એક પાહાડનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a mountain. Comp. Av. [illegible]

અદીનેશ, આસુનશ, adinê-sh, âsuna-sh. See અદીનશ adina-sh.

અદીનશાન, adin-shân. See અગેનશાન agên-shân.

આસુનશુન, âsun-shun. સર્વ૦ ત્યારે તેઓ. Pron. Then they (lit.)

અએગોબાક, âê-gôbâk. ના૦ એક સાક્ષી—સાહેદી. Subs. One witness.

અાસ્નેદખેરદ, âsnêd-khêrad. See અાસનખેરદ âsna-khêrad.

અદીની, a-dînî. વિ૦ અધરમી, દીન વગરનું, બેદીન, દુરાચારી. Adj. Irreligious, ungodly, following evil practices. Comp. Per. بي دين

અાહન્ની, âhannê. See અાહની âhanî.

અાસ્નીદે, âsnîdê. See અાસનીદે âsnidê.

અદીનીતગે, a-dinî-tagê. વિ૦ દીન—ધરમને લગતા જોસ—દીલસોજી વગરનું. Adj. Void of religious zeal—ardour.

[illegible] અસ્નવદ-ગર, asnavad-gar. ના૦ 'અસ્નવદ' નામનો પાહાડ. Subs. The *Asnavad* mountain. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આઈએને-વદાખ્તે, âiênê-vadâkhtê. ના૦ ભઠ્ઠીમાં ગરમ કીધેલું લોઢું; કોઈબી તાવેલી ધાતુ. Subs. Iron heated in a furnace; any metal heated to a red heat.

[illegible] આસુનીન, âsunin. જો આએ, અગર પેલું. If this, if that (lit.)

[illegible] અ-દીનીક, a-dînîk. વિ૦ અધરમી. Adj. Irreligious.

[illegible] અએદુન, aêdûn. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ રવેશે. Adv. In this manner.

[illegible] આસ્નવન્દ-કુન્દરી, âsnavand-kundarî. ના૦ એક પાહાડનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a mountain.

[illegible] આસુન-ચ, âsuna-cha. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ જો; તોપણ. Conj. If; however.

[illegible] અ-સન્દે, a-sandê વિ૦ આળસુ નહીં; ચાલાક. Adj. Not idle; active.

[illegible] અસ્નવદ, asnavad. ના૦ એક પાહાડનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a mountain. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસુન-તુ, âsun-tû. જેવારે તું. When thou (lit.)

[illegible] અસ્નવદ-ગાહ, asnavad-gâh. ના૦ ઓસ્તુવદ ગાથા; બીજા ગાથાનું નામ. Subs. *Oshtavad Gâthâ* (name of the second Gâthâ). Comp. [illegible], [illegible] Pehl. [illegible]

આઇયેન-તન, âiyên-tan. વિ૦ લોઢાના જેવા બદન—શરીરનું. Adj. Of an iron constitution.

અ-દીન-તન, a-din-tan. ના૦ અધરમી માણસનું શરીર, અધરમી માણસ. Subs. The body of an irreligious man, an irreligious man.

આસુન-તન, âsun-tan. જ્યારે તન—શરીર. When the body (lit.)

અસન્દેહ, asandêh. See a-sandê.

આસ્નીદે, âsnidê. See âsnidê.

આસ્નુદે, âsnudê. ના૦ તેજ, પ્રતાપ, દબદબો. Subs. Lustre; grandeur, majesty, pomp.

આસ્નીદે-ખેરદ, âsnidê-khêrad. See âsnêd-khêrad.

અ-ગૂમાન, a-gûmân. વિ૦ શક વગરનું, બેશક, બેગુમાન. Adj. Undoubted; doubtless.

અ-થનુર, a-thanur. વિ૦ કામઠાં વગરનું. Adj. Having no bow. Contrast. Av. , Sans. धन्वन्.

દો-સનુર, dô-sanûr. ના૦ બે સ્નાયુ—રગ—નેસ. Subs. Two muscles—tendons, two sinews. Av. Av. Rt. = to extend, to stretch.

અદીવક, અએવક, adivak, aêvak. સંખ્યા. વિ૦ એક. Numer. adj. One.

અ-શુક, a-sûk. વિ૦ બીનફાએદે, વગર હાંસેલનું. Adj. Profitless, void of gain—advantage. Prohib. + Av. Av. Rt.

૧૪૩ આઈને, âinê. ના૦ રોનક, રવેશ, રીત. Subs. Elegance, beauty; custom; manner.

૧૪૩ દો-શુએ, દો-અવે, dô-suê, dô-avê. ના૦ બંને બાજુ, બેઉ તરફ, બે ભાગ. Subs. Both sides, two sides, two parts. ૩ = Av. ૩૧૧ + ૧૪ = Per. سو ,سوے

૧૧૪૩ અગેન-ચ, અદીન-ચ, agêna-cha, adina-cha. See ૪૩ agên, adin.

૩૧૧૪૩ અગેન-ચ-શ, agen-cha-sh. અગર—જો તેભી. If he also (lit.)

૧૩૧૧૪૩ અ-સુજીદાર, a-sujidâr. વિ૦ રોશન નહીં કરનાર—આપનાર. Adj. Not making bright; not giving lustre.

૧૪૩ અગેન્-અત્, agên-at. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ત્યારે તું. Adv. Then thou (lit.)

૧૪૩ અ-સુદ, a-sud. વિ૦ બગર ફાયદાનું. Adj. Unprofitable. Contrast Per. سود

૧૪૩ અસુદ, asud. વિ૦ નેકીવાળું; પવિત્રાઈ—પરહેજગારી ભરેલું. Adj. Virtuous; pious, devout.

૧૪૩ આસુદ, âsud. વિ૦ સુખી; નીરાંત; મેહેનતથી વેગલું. Adj. Happy; at rest; free from trouble—labour.

૩૧૪૩ અ-સુદાન, a-sudân. Plural of ૧૪૩ asud, which see.

૩૧૪૩ આસુદાન, âsudân. Plural of ૧૪૩ âsud, which see.

અસુદાન હસુદાન, hasudân. ના૦ અદેખાઓ, એકલપેટાઓ. Subs. Envious persons; selfish men.

અસુદાક અ-સુદાક, a-sudâk. વિ૦ ગેરફાયદો કરનાર, નુકશાનકારક. Adj. Disadvantageous; hurtful.

આસ્નતાર આસ્નતાર, âsnatâr. See આસ્નીદાર âsnîdâr.

અસુદારી અ-સુદારી, a-sudârî. વિ૦ સરદારી—સાહેબી નહીં ભોગવતું; બીન ફાયદાકારક. Adj. Not ruling, not exercising authority. Contrast Per. سرداري

અસુદી અ-સુદી, a-sudî. See અસુદી a-sudî. Pâz. અસુદી

અસુદી અ-સુદી, a-sûdî. See અસુદી a-sudî.

અસુદીનાક અ-સુદીનાક, a-sudînâk. See અસુદાક asudâk.

અસુદીનીદન અ-સુદીનીદન, a-sudînîdan. ક્રિ૦ ફાયદાકારક નહીં થવું, ગેરફાયદો કરવો. V. Not to be advantageous; to cause disadvantage.

અસન્દે અસન્દે, asandê. See અસન્દે a-sandê.

અસુદે અ-સુદે, a-sudê. See અસુદી a-sudî.

અસુદગી અ-સુદગી, a-sudgî. ના૦ ગેરફાએદો; તોટો. Subs. Disadvantage; loss.

અસંદગી અ-સંદગી, a-sandgî. વિ૦ સુસ્ત નહીં; ઠોઠ—વગર અકકલનું નહીં તે. Adj. Not lazy—indolent; not dull—senseless.

આસુદગી આસુદગી, âsudagî. ના૦ નીરાંતપણું, શાંતી; સુખ. Subs. Rest, quiet; happiness. Per. آسودگي

અસંદગીહા અ-સનદગીહા, a-sandgîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ વગર કાહેલીથી. Adv. Not lazily—indolently.

[illegible] આસુદગીહા, âsûdgîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ આસુદાપણાંથી, સુખથી. Adv. With ease, happily.

[illegible] અદુપ, adup. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ યા, અથવા. Conjunc. Or, either.

[illegible] દો-સુપ્ત, dô-sûpt. ના૦ બે—બંને ખભાં, બેઉ ખાંધ. Subs. Two shoulders. Comp. [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Sans. शुप्ति = Per. سفت

[illegible] અ-સુફતન, a-suftan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં વિંધવું, વેહે—આંધરૂ નહીં પાડવું. V. Not to bore—perforate. Contrast Per. سفتن

[illegible] આસુપતન, âsûptan. ક્રિ૦ વેહે—સુરાખ પાડવો, ઉથલપાથલ કરવું. V. To bore, to perforate. Prefix [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. Rt. शुप = Per. سفتن

[illegible] અગેન-અમ, અદીન-અમ, agên-am, adîn-am ક્રિ૦ અ૦ પણ મને, પણ મારે વિશે, તોપણ હું; ત્યારે હું—મેં, ત્યારે—એ પ્રમાણે—તે ઉપરથી મને. Adv. But to me—about me; however I; then I (lit.), then to me, thereupon to me, accordingly to me. Comp. [illegible] adv. + [illegible] pron. Suf. of 1st pers. sing.

[illegible] આસુમ, એસુમ, âsum, êsum. ના૦ કાઠી, સુખડ Subs. Firewood; sandalwood. Comp. Pehl [illegible]

[illegible] ઓયુમ, ôyûm. સર્વ૦ મને. Pron. To me; me.

[illegible] અ-દયુમ, a-dayum. વિ૦ દશમા વગર, દશમે દાહાડે નહીં. Adj. Without performing the ceremony on the tenth day after one's death; not on the tenth day.

ܣܝܢ સે-યુમ, sê-yum. ના૦ ત્રણ દાહાડા, ફકત ત્રણ દાહાડા. Subs. Three days; only three days.

ܐܕܝܡ અદીમ, adîm. ના૦ દમ, સાસ. Subs. Breath.

ܐܕܝܪ અ-દીઉર, a-dîûr. વિ૦ દરૂન—ખોરાક વગર. ના૦ બાહેલા દરૂન. Adj. Without *Darun*-food. Subs. Unhallowed *Darun*.

ܐܢܕܪ અનદર, andar. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ અંદર, માં; નીચે. Prep. In, within, into; below, under. Comp. Av. ܐܢܕܪ, Pehl. ܐܢ, Sans. अन्तर. Per. اندر

ܐܣܘܪ અસુર, આસોર, asur, âsôr. ના૦ ગઈ પરમનો દિવસ—દાહાડો. Subs. Day before yesterday.

ܐܣܘܪ આસુર, âsura. ના૦ ખેતી. Subs. Agriculture.

ܐܣܘܪ આસુર, âsur. ના૦ પોહોર; વખત. Subs. An eighth part of the day, equal to three hours; time.

ܐܣܘܪܝ આસુરી, âsurî. ના૦ અથોરનાનનું કામ; આસીરીઅન લોકોની ભાષા—બોલી. Subs. The business of an *Athornân*; the Assyrian language.

ܐܣܘܪܝ અસુરી, અથુરી, asurî, athurî. વિ૦ અથોરનાનને લગતું. Adj. Relating to an *Athornân*.

ܐܣܘܪܝ આસુરી, âsurî. વિ૦ આસીરીઅન ભાષાને લગતું. Adj. Relating to the Assyrian language.

ܐܣܘܪܣܬܢ અ-સુર-સ્તાન, a-sûra-stân. ના૦ જશન—ખુશી વગરનું મથક. Subs. A place without feasting—jollity. Priv. ܐ + ܐܣܘܪ = Per. سور; ܣܬܢ = Per. suffix. ستان

[illegible] આસ્વરીક, âsvarîk. ના૦ પાંદડાં, પાતરાં ; કન્યારાશી. Subs. Leaves; Virgo (a constellation of the zodiac).

[illegible] અદ્વર્જ, advarj. વિ૦ ઘણુંજ સરસ. Adj. Most excellent.

[illegible] ખદ્વર્જ, khadvarj. ના૦ એક મરતબે. Subs. One time.

[illegible]

[illegible] અબદે, abadê. વિ૦ શરૂઆત વગરનું તે ; ખોદાતાલાનું એક નામ છે. Adj. Having no beginning ; one of the names of the divine Creator. Comp. Ar. ابدي , ابد

[illegible] આસે, âsê. ના૦ ખેતી, ખેતી કરવાને સારૂ તૈયાર કરેલી જગા. Subs. Agriculture ; ground prepared for cultivation.

[illegible] એસ્ક, êska. ના૦ આજાર, દુઃખ. Subs. Disease, illness, ailment. Av. [illegible] Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] સસક, ૨-૨-૨-૨-દ, sasak, ra-ra-ra-ra-da. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ હેંશી ને દશ, નેવું, ૯૦. Numer. Adj. Eighty and ten, ninety, 90.

[illegible] સસક, sasak. See [illegible], sasak.

[illegible] આસીઆએ, âsîâê. ના૦ ઘંટી, ચકકી. Subs. A hand-mill.

[illegible] અસગહન, asgahan. વિ૦ આલસુ. Adj. Lazy, indolent.

[illegible] યસ્નાન, yasnân. ના૦ આરાધના—બંદગી કરનાર; પુજનાર. Subs. Adorers, those who put up prayers.

ઇસ્ક્રાહુનાન, askahunân. ના૦ આલસાઈનો દેવ. Subs. The demon of sloth—indolence.

આસ્ક્રેહ, âsch. ના૦ ખેતી; ખેતી કરવા લાએકની જમીન. Subs. Agriculture; land fit for tillage.

ખસ્કારશ્ની, khaskârashnî. ના૦ ડહાપણ, સમજ. Subs. Wisdom, sense. Pâz. خسکارشنی

ખસ્કારીદન, khaskârîdan. ક્રિ૦ સમજવું; દુર અંદેશો કરવો; આગમચથી જોવું. V. To understand, to know; to forecast; to foresee.

અસ્કન્દ, askand. ના૦ હમબીસ્તર નહીં થયલી—મરદની પાસે ન ગયલી ઓરત. Subs. A woman who has had no carnal knowledge of man. Comp. Av. અસ્કન્દ

અસ્કુન, askun. ના૦ એક દરિઆનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a sea.

અસ્કોફ, askôf. ના૦ અગાસી; છજીઉં. Subs. An open gallery; eaves.

સસક-રઘ, sasak-ragh. સં૦ વિ૦ નેવું હજાર, ૯૦૦૦૦. Numer. Adj. Ninety thousand, 90,000.

અસ્ઘદે, asghadê. ના૦ અરધું બલેલું લાકડું. Subs. Half-burnt wood.

અઈએઝ, aîêz. ના૦ આતશની ચીણગારી. Subs. sparks of fire. Per. ایژ

અબેઝ, અએઝ, abez, aêzh. ના૦ આતશની ચીણગારી Subs. Sparks of fire. Per. ایژ, ابیژ, ابیز.

[illegible] અસ્પ, aspa. ના૦ ઘોડો. Subs. A horse. Av. [illegible] = Sans. अश्व = Per. اسپ, اسب

[illegible] અ-સેજ, a-sêj. વિ૦ નાશ પામે નહીં એવું. Adj. Not liable to perish; not subject to decay. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સેપાહી, a-sêpâhî. વિ૦ લશ્કર—સિપાહી વિનાનું. Adj. Having no army—soldiers. Per. بي سپاه

[illegible] અ-સજેશ્ને, a-sazêshnê. વિ૦ નાલાયક, અઘટિત. Adj. Unworthy, improper.

[illegible] એસ્ફહાન, êsfahân. ના૦ ઈસ્ફહાન, ઈરાનમાં આવેલું એક શેહેર. Subs. Ispahân (one of the cities of Persia). Per. اصفهان

[illegible] આસ્વીઆન, âsvîân. ના૦ આથવીઆન, જે પાદશાહ જમશેદનો ભાઈ, અને પાદશાહ ફરેદુનનો કાકો થાયછે; એ શખ્સ પરહેજગાર હતો. Subs. *Áthvyân* (brother of king Jamsheed, and the paternal uncle of king Feridoon); he was a pious man. Comp. Av. [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] અસ્પ-અશતર, aspa-ashtar. ના૦ ઘોડાનો ચાબુક. Subs. A horsewhip. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સઝાઈ, a-sazâî. ના૦ નાલાએકી. Subs. Impropriety, unfitness.

[illegible] અ-સેપાસ, a-sêpâs. વિ૦ ઉપકાર નહીં માનનાર, અધીરૂં. Adj. Unthankful; impatient. Per. ناسپاس

[illegible] અ-સઝાએશની, a-sazâêshnî. ના૦ નાશઝવારી, નાલાએકી. Subs. Unworthiness; impropriety.

[illegible] અએવાન, aêvân. ના૦ મેહેલ ; મ્હોટો ઓરડો ; દરબાર. Subs. A palace; a hall, court. Per. ایوان

[illegible] અ-સજ્ઝક, a-sazâk. See [illegible] a-sazêshnê. વિ૦ કજોડ, વિરૂદ્ધ, વિપરીત, એકેકથી ઉલટું. Adj. Incongruous, incompatible, inconsistent.

[illegible] અ-સજ્ઝક-શ, a-sazâka-sh. વિ૦ તે નાલાએક. Adj. He or that unworthy (lit.)

[illegible] અ-સજ્ઝગી, a-sazâgî. ના૦ નાલાએકી. Subs. Unworthiness.

[illegible] અ-સજ્ઝકીહા, a-sazâkîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ નાલાએકી ભરેલી રીતે, નાલાએકીથી, અઘટીત રીતે, ખરાબ—બુરી રીતે. Adv. In an unworthy manner, unbecomingly, improperly, unsuitably, badly. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Per. سزا + [illegible] Adv. suf.

[illegible] અ-સજ્ઝકવાર, a-sazâkvâr, વિ૦ નાલાએક, અણઘટતું. Adj. Unworthy, undeserving, improper. Per. سزاوار

[illegible] અ-સજ્ઝદ, a-sazâd. ક્રિ૦ નાલાએક થાએ, ગુજરે, જાએ. V. May become unworthy; may pass away—roll on.

[illegible] અએવાર, aêvâr. ના૦ ઓજીરન ઘેહેનો વખત, સૂર્ય અસ્ત પામવાનો વખત, સમીસાંહાંજ. Subs. The time of the *Ozîran Gêh*; the latter part and close of the day; evening.

[illegible] અસ્પારેહ, aspârêh. ના૦ ઓજીરન ઘેહેનો વખત. Subs. The time of the *Ozîran Gêh*.

[illegible] અસ્ફારે, asfârê. See [illegible] aêvâr.

[illegible] અસ્પારમ, aspâram. ના૦ એકવીસ નુસ્ક મધેના એક નુસ્કનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of one of the twenty-one Nôsks.

[illegible] અએવઘહાંન, aêvaghahân. ના૦ કુશ્તી, પેહેરવું. Subs. *Koshtî*; a sacred girdle worn by a Zoroastrian round the waist; putting on (clothes).

[illegible] અ-સજ્શાન, a-sazashân. ના૦ નાલાએક—આબરૂ વગરના પુરૂષો. Subs. Unworthy—disreputable persons.

[illegible] અસ્ફેહાન, asfêhân. ના૦ "માહરોએ" નામનું આલાત, જે યજંશ્નેની ક્રિયા કરવામાં આવેછે તેમાં લીધામાં આવેછે. Subs. One of the ceremonial vessels or apparatus in the celebration of the Izashné, called from its crescent-shaped tops, *mâh-rû*.

[illegible] અએવગહાનેદ, aêvagahânêd. ક્રિ૦ આસપાસ વીટાલે. V. May wrap closely about; may gird.

[illegible] અએવીઆઘહન, aêvîâghahan. ના૦ એવ્યંઘહન, જે પાવ મેહેલની કીરીઆ મધે બરસમ બાંધવાને સારૂ ખજુરીની પાતરીની બનાવવામાં આવે છે, કુસ્તી. Subs. The girdle or tie, prepared from a leaflet of the date-palm, with which the Barsom is to be tied together; *koshtî*.

[illegible] અએવ્યાસ્ત, aêvyâst. ના૦ અભ્યાસ કરવો; શિખવું; કુસ્તી બાંધનાર. Subs. Studying, learning; one who girds round the *koshtî*.

[illegible] અ-એવ્યાસ્તી, a-êviâstî. ના૦ અભ્યાસ નહીં કરવો. Subs. Not studying.

[illegible] અએવ્યાસ્તશની, aêvyâstashnî. ના૦ પેહેરવું; અભ્યાસ કરવો, કુશ્તી. Subs. Putting on (clothes); studying; *Koshtî*.

[illegible] અએવ્યાસ્તે, aêvyâstê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ આસપાસ વીટાલેલું; અભ્યાસ કીધેલું; જ્ઞાન મેલવેલું, વાલીને. Past. Part. Girded round (lit.); studied; acquired knowledge; having twisted—bent.

[illegible] અએવ્યાસ્તન, aêvyâstan. ક્રિ૦ પેહેરવું; કુશ્તી બાંધવી; અભ્યાસ કરવો, શિખવું. V. To put on (clothes); to gird up the *Koshtî* round the waist; to learn; to study.

[illegible] અએવગહીનેદ, aêvagahînêd. ક્રિ૦ પેહેરે, આસપાસ વીટાલે, અભ્યાસ કરે. V. May put on (clothes); may wrap closely about; may study.

[illegible] અઈવગહીન, aîvagahîn. See [illegible], aêbagahân.

[illegible] અસ્પશીદ, aspashîd. ક્રિ૦ દુરઅંદેશો કરે. V. May foresee.

[illegible] અ-સેઝગાન, a-sêzgân. વિ૦ અવિનાશી; અમર. Adj. plu. Imperishable; immortal.

[illegible] અ-સઝશની, a-sazashnî. ના૦ નાલાયકી, અઘટિતપણું. Subs. Unworthiness; unfitness.

[illegible] અ-સઝશની, a-sazashnî. વિ૦ નાલાયક, અણઘટતું. Adj. Unworthy, improper.

[illegible] અ-સઝશનીગી, a-sazashnîgî. ના૦ નાલાયકી. Subs. Unworthiness.

[illegible] અએવીઆનઘહન, aêvîângahan. See [illegible] aêvagahân.

[illegible] અએવ્યાકસ્ત, aêvîakast. ના૦ બેઠક, વિ૦ ખબરદાર. Subs. A seat. Adj. Clever.

[illegible] અસ્વદાદ, asvadâd. વિ૦ ખબરદાર, હુશિઆર. Adj. Skilful, well-versed; intelligent.

[illegible] અસ્પ-બારે, aspa-bârê. ના૦ સરસ ઘોડો; બોજો—ભાર ઉઠાવનાર ઘોડો. Subs. An excellent horse; a draft-horse.

[illegible] અસ્પિગાન, aspigân. ના૦ ઘોડીઓ. Subs. Mares.

[illegible] અસ્પીગાનાન, aspîgânân. See [illegible] âsvîgân.

[illegible] અએવેસ્રુસ્રેમ, aêvêsrûsrêm. ના૦ ચોથી ઘેહેનું નામ, તથા તેની ઉપરનો મવકેલ ફ્રેસ્તો. Subs. Name of the fourth *Gêh* or sub-division of the day; also the angel presiding over it.

[illegible] અએવસ્ત, aêvast. See [illegible] aêvyâst.

[illegible] અસ્પસ્તાન, aspastân. ના૦ ઘોડાનો તબેલો. Subs. A horse-stable.

[illegible] અ-સઝીનીદન, a-sazînîdan. ક્રિ૦ જતું ન રેહેવું; પાયદાર—કાયમ રેહેવું; લાયક નહીં થવું. V. Not to pass away; to be everlasting; not to be worthy.

[illegible] અ-સેઝીન, a-sêzîn. See [illegible] a-sêzî.

[illegible] અ-સઝેદ, a-sazêd. ક્રિ૦ નહીં જતું રહે—લાયક થાય. V. May not pass away; may not become worthy.

[illegible] અ-સ્પીત, a-spît. વિ૦ સફેદ—ઉજળું નહીં; નાપાક,

અપવિત્ર. Adj. Not white—fair; not pure; unholy.

અ-સજ્દન, a-sazîdan. See a-sazînîdan. સજાવાર નં થાવું, ન શોભવું. Not to be deserving—fitting, not to look well or elegant. Prohib. × = Av. Av. Rt. = Per. سزیدن

અસ્પનાર, aspnâr. ના૦ જેવર. Subs. Ornaments, jewels.

અસ્પનારગાન, aspanârgân. ના૦ મશહુર થએલાઓ. Subs. Those that are well-known.

અસ્પનારગાની, aspanârgânî. વિ૦ આરાસ્તગી આપનારૂં. Adj. Embellishing, giving ornament to.

અસ્પનારગાન, aspanârgân. ના૦ આરાસ્તગી આપનારાઓ. Subs. Those that add ornament to; those that decorate.

અસ્પનારગાનીતર, aspanârgânîtar. વિ૦ વધારે આરાસ્તગી આપનારૂં. Adj. Giving more embellishment.

અસ્પનદીઆર, Aspandiâr. ના૦ અસ્પનદીઆર; ગુશ્તાસ્પ પાદશાહના વડા છોકરાનું નામ, જેને "રૂઈન-તન" ઈઆને પીત્તલના જેવી દેહનો કરીને કહેતા હતા. એ પેહેલવાન વિશે એવું કહેલું છે કે લડાઈમાં એના બદનની ઉપર, કોઈબી હથિયાર લાગતું નહીં હતું. એણે પોતાના બાપની તરફથી ઘણીએક લડાઈઓ જીતી, અને મુલકોને હાત કરી લીધા હતા. આખેરે એ બહાદૂર નર નામાંકિત રૂસ્તમ પેહેલવાનને હાતે તેની બેહુ આંખમાં તીર મારવાથી મરણ પામ્યો. Subs.

Aspandiar; the name of the eldest son of King Gushtâsp, called *Ruin-tan* or brass-framed. It is said of this hero that his body was invulnerable in battle. He had successfully fought several battles, and conquered many countries on behalf of his father. At last this brave warrior died of the arrows shot into his eyes by the famous *Rustom*. Per. اسفندیار

[illegible] અસ્ફન્દાજ, Asphandâz. ના૦ અસ્પંદારમદ મહિનો; અસ્પંદારમદરોજ. Subs. The last month of every year; the fifth day of every month.

[illegible] અસ્પન્દાદ, Aspandâd. See [illegible] Aspandiâr.

[illegible] અસ્પે-દીનોદે, aspê-dinôdê. ના૦ ઘોડી. Subs. A mare. Comp. Per. [illegible]

[illegible] અસ્પુનતન, aspunatan. ક્રિ૦ જોવું; દોડાવવું. V. To see; to make or have to run, to send forthwith.

[illegible] અ-સપુકીહા, a-sapukîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ મુશ્કેલીથી; જોર જુલમથી. Adv. With difficulty; forcibly.

[illegible] અસ્પન્જ, aspanj. ના૦ મકાન, ઉતારો, ધર્મશાળા. Subs. A residence; a halting place; an inn. Comp. Per. سپنج

[illegible] અસ્પન્જાની, aspanjânî. See [illegible] aspanj.

[illegible] અસ્ફન્દમદ, Asphandmad. ના૦ ત્રીજા ગાથાનું નામ. Subs. Name of the third Gâthâ. Comp. Av. [illegible], Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સેપોર, a-sêpor. વિ૦ પુરતું નહીં, અપૂર્ણ, અધુરૂં,

ખામીવાળું, ઓછું. Adj. Insufficient, imperfect, incomplete, defective, less, deficient. Per. سپرکر , سپري

અ-સ્પુરીગીએ, a-spurîgîê. વિ૦ પુરાતમ નહીં, અધુરૂં, અશુધ્ધ. Adj. Not ancient—antique; imperfect, inaccurate, incorrect.

અ-સેપોરીદન, a-sêpôrîdan. ક્રિ૦ છેડો ન આણવો, પુરૂં ન કરવું, અધુરૂં રાખવું. V. Not to finish—complete, not to give the last finish, not to bring to an end, to leave unfinished—incomplete. Prohib. ـ + سپريدن = Per. سپريدن

અ-સજ્ગીહા, a-sazagîhâ. વિ૦ પ્રમાણ પરમાણેનુ નહીં. Adj. Disproportionate.

અ-સેપજ્ગી, a-sêpazgi. વિ૦ ચુગલી—નીંદા—આલ—તોહોમત—કલંક—બદગોઈ વગરનું. Adj. Free from slander—calumny—backbiting, free from any calumnious accusation or aspersion—unspotted, unstained. Prohib. ـ + كرنا = Av. سپكي + ـ afst. suf. = Per. سپزگي

આગેવર, âgêvar. ના૦ જેહદાન, ગર્ભસ્થાન. Subs. The womb; the uterus of a female.

અસ્પરીસ, asparîs. See اسپراس asparâs.

અસ્પરાસ, અસ્પરીસ, asparâs, asparîs. ના૦ ઘોડાનો રસ્તો; ચોરસ; મેદાન; એક જાતનું માપ; એક ઘોડો ચાલીશકે એટલો રસ્તો. Subs. A way for horses; a square; a plain, a meadow; a kind of measure; a road long enough for a horse to be exercised.

[illegible] અસ્પરાસ, asprâs. See [illegible] asparâs.

[illegible] અસ્પરાન, asparân. ના૦ ઘોડાનો તબેલો. Subs. A horse-stable.

[illegible] અસ્પરી, aspari. વિ૦ પૂરૂં, તમામ. Adj. Complete, perfect. Comp. Per. سپري

[illegible] અસ્પરીશ, asparîsh. See [illegible] asparâs.

[illegible] અસ્પરસ્પ, asparasp. See [illegible] asparâs.

[illegible] અસ્પરીક, asparîk. See [illegible] asparâs.

[illegible] અસ્જરહ, âsjarah. ના૦ જેહેરની મીશાલની એક ચીજ કે જે દોજખીઓને ખાવા માટે આપેછે. Subs. A substance like poison given to those residing in hell.

[illegible] અએજ, ayêz. See [illegible] aiêz.

[illegible] અબીજ, abîz. See [illegible] abêzh.

[illegible] અ-સજેદ, a-sazêd. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ચાલે—જાય; લાએક નહીં થાએ. V. May not walk—go; may not be worthy. Comp. Per. نسزد

[illegible] અ-સજદ-ગુન, a-sazad-gûn. વિ૦ દેહેશત—ભય વગરનું, કરૂર નહીં, દયાલુ. Adj. Not dreadful—frightful; not cruel, merciful. Per. سزگي

[illegible] અ-સેજ-દર, a-sêz-dar. વિ૦ કાંટાદાર નહીં, કાંટા વગરનું. Adj. Not thorny—prickly. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible], [illegible] = Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સેજ-દર, a-sêz--dar. See [illegible] a-sez-dar.

[illegible]

[illegible] અસ્ત, ast. ક્રિ૦ તે છે. V. Is (3rd sing. pres.). Av. [illegible], است, هست

[illegible] અસ્ત, ast. ના૦ કાસદ. Subs. A messenger. Av. [illegible] Av. Rt. [illegible], [illegible] = Sans. अश.

[illegible] અસ્ત, ast. ના૦ તન, બદન, શરીર, હાડ, હાડકું. Subs. The body, the frame or material substance of an animal, make of a man, a bone. Av. [illegible], [illegible] = Sans. अश्थन्, अस्थि = Per. استخوان

[illegible] અસદ, asad. See [illegible] âhan.

[illegible] આઈએત, âiêt. ક્રિ૦ લાવે, મંગાવે. V. May bring —send for.

[illegible] આસ્ત, âsta. વિ૦ જાતી, ખુદરતી. Adj. Natural, innate as [illegible] âstakherad.

[illegible] આસ્ત, âst. ના૦ સુલેહ, દોસ્તી, મિત્રાચારી. Subs. Peace, amity, friendship. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] હસ્ત, hast. ના૦ હસ્તી; દુનિયાં. Subs. Existence; the world. Comp. Per. هستي

[illegible] અસ્તા, astâ. ના૦ અવસ્તા. Subs. The Avesta. Comp. Per. استا

[illegible] એસ્તા, êstâ. ના૦ વખાણ, તારીફ, બ્યાન. Subs. Praise, commendation; description.

[illegible] અસ્તાખ, astâkh. વિ૦ મગરૂર, ગર્વિષ્ટ; બેઅદબ. Adj. Proud, boastful; uncivil. Per. گستاخ

[illegible] અસ્તખાનાન, astakhânân. ના૦ હાડકાંઓ; દુનિયા, પૃથ્વી. Subs. Bones; the world, the earth.

[illegible] આસ્તાઈનેદ, âstâinêd. ક્રિ૦ ફાયદેમંદ—નફા ભરેલું થાયછે. V. Becomes advantageous—profitable.

[illegible] ઓસ્તખાન, ôstakhân. See [illegible] asta.

[illegible] અસ્ત-અએ, asta-aê. ના૦ એક હાડકું. Subs. One bone.

[illegible] અ-સ્તાઇ, a-stâî. વિ૦ આએ દુનિયાનું નહીં, પેલી દુનિયાનું. Adj. Not relating to this world; pertaining to the next world.

[illegible] અ-શેતાએશન, a-setâêshna. ના૦ તારીફ ન કરવી, બદગોઈ, નિંદા. Subs. Want of praise—eulogy, slander, backbiting. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] crd. of [illegible] = Av. [illegible] Av. Rt. [illegible] Sans. स्तुति Sans. Rt. स्तु. abst. suf. [illegible] = Per. ستايش

[illegible] અ-સેતાએશની, a-sêtâêshnî. વિ૦ તારીફ—આરાધનાને નહીં લાયક. Adj. Not worthy of being praised—invoked.

[illegible] અ-સેતાએશને, a-sêtâêshnê. ના૦ વખાણ—આરાધના નહીં કરવી. Subs. Not praising—invoking.

[illegible] અ-સેતાએશની, a-sêtâêshnî. See [illegible] a-sêtâêshnî.

[illegible] અ-સેતાએન્દ, a-sêtâênd. ક્રિ૦ સ્તુતિ—વખાણ નહીં કરે. V. May not praise—glorify (3rd per. plu.)

[illegible] અ-સ્તાઈનેદ, a-stâined. ક્રિ૦ વખાણ નહીં કરાવે. Not have (him or it) praised. Comp. Per. نستايند

[illegible] અ-સ્તાઈનેદ-રદ, a-stâinêd-rad. વિ૦ વાલી (અથવા માબાપ)ના બચાવમાં નહીં રહેલી. Adj. Not

under the protection of a guardian (or parents) [illegible] = Av. [illegible] (See Vend. Farg. 15, paras. 9, 11, 13, 15, 18.)

[illegible] અ-સેતાઈદન, a-sêtâidan. ક્રિ૦ બદગોઈ—નિંદા કરવી, ખરાબ બોલવું, તારીફ ન કરવી, આશીરવાદ ન દેવો, ઉપકાર ન માનવો. V. To slander, to backbite, to speak evil; not to praise—bless; not to thank.

[illegible] આસ્તાઈનેદ, âstâinêd. See [illegible] âstâinêd.

[illegible] આસ્તાઈનેદ, âstâinêd. ક્રિ૦ બેસે, બેઠક—જગ્યા લે; ફાયદો મેલવે. V. May sit; may occupy a seat; may profit.

[illegible] અ-સ્તાઈદાર, a-stâîdâr. ના૦ તારીફ—સ્તુતિ નહીં કરનાર. Subs. One who does not praise—commend.

[illegible] અસ્તહીદન, astahîdan. ક્રિ૦ મારામારી—કજીઓ—કેકાસ—ફીતનો કરવો. V. To quarrel, to wrangle; to revolt.

[illegible] આસ્તાન, âstân. ના૦ ગુનેહગાર, તકસીરવાર, પાપી. Subs. A criminal, a transgressor, a sinner.

[illegible] આસ્તાનહા, âstânhâ. ના૦ આફતો, મુસીબતો; મુશકેલીઓ; ઉંબરો; પાદશાહી મેહેલો. Subs. Calamities, misfortunes; difficulties; thresholds, royal palaces.

[illegible] અસ્ત-ખવાન, asta-khavân. ના૦ હાડકાં; હાડપંજર. Subs. Bones; a skeleton. Av. [illegible], [illegible] = Per. استخوان, استخوان

[illegible] આસ્તારે, âstârê. See [illegible] âstân.

ઉર્દૂ અસ્તાનીદન, astânîdan. ક્રિ૦ ઉભું રેહેવું; સ્થાપવું; કબૂલ કરવું; લેવું; જણવું; ઉત્પન્ન કરવું. V. To stand; to establish; to accept, to receive; to bring forth, to bear. Comp. Per. استانیدن, استاندن

ઉર્દૂ અસ્તાન, astân. ના૦ કોઈ બાબદમાં બે મતનું અથવા વિચારનું થવું; વિશ્વાસુ—ઈમાનદાર માણસ. Subs. Being of two different views or opinions on a subject; a trustworthy—faithful man.

ઉર્દૂ અસ્તાન, astân. ના૦ મથક, મકાન; સ્થાન. Subs. A residence, a place; a situation, site.

ઉર્દૂ આસ્તાન, âstân. ના૦ ઉંબર, ઘેરનું ભોંયતલિઉં; પાદશાહી મેહેલ; પાદશાહની દરબાર. Subs. A threshold; ground floor; a royal palace; a king's court. Per. آستان

ઉર્દૂ હસ્તાન, hastân. ના૦ હયાતી—જીંદગીવાલાઓ; ઉભા રેહેનારા. Subs. Those that are living; those that are standing—remaining firm. Pâz. ઉર્દૂ

ઉર્દૂ અસ્તાને, astânê. See ઉર્દૂ âstân.

ઉર્દૂ આસ્તાને, âstânê. વિ૦ મુશ્કેલ, સખ્ત, અઘરૂં. Adj. Difficult, hard, arduous.

ઉર્દૂ અસ્તાને, આસ્તાને, astânê, âstânê. See ઉર્દૂ astânê, âstânê.

ઉર્દૂ અસ્તોમંદ, astômand. વિ૦ હાડમંદ; તનોમંદ, શરીરવાલું, શરીરથી ભરપૂર, હેવાનથી ભરપૂર. Adj. Corporeal, material; having a body (lit.), full in body—beasts. Av. ઉર્દૂ

ઉર્દૂ અસ્તોમન્દ, astômand. વિ૦ સુખવાલું, નચીન્તાઈ

ભરેલું, નીરાંત. Adj. Happy, free from anxiety or care, at ease.

અબે-દાદ, abê-dâd. ના૦ જુલમ, ગેરઈનસાફ. Subs. Tyranny, injustice.

આસ્તાદ, âstâd. ના૦ એક ફરેસ્તાનું નામ છે; ૨૬) મા રોજનું નામ. Subs. 'Name of an angel; the 26th day of every month. Comp. Av.

એસ્તીદારી, êstidârî. ના૦ ઉસ્તવાર—કાયમ રેહેવું; અરી રેહેવું. Subs. Remaining firm—permanent; continuing.

આસ્તાઈનેદ, âstâinêd. ક્રિ૦ ઉસ્તવારી—મજબૂત કરો. V. May strengthen, may render firm.

અસ્તામ, astâm. See âstânê.

અસ્તામ, astâm. ના૦ વિશ્વાસ; ઈમાનદારી; ટેકો; આધાર. Subs. Confidence, faith, prop, support. Comp. Per. استام

અ-સેતહમ્બે, a-sêtahambê. વિ૦ જુલમ—જસ્તી—જલમી વગરનું; ધારૂં નહીં તે, જોરાવર—મજબુત નહીં, વાજબી, પ્રમાણીક, નીતિવાન. Adj. Not tyrannical, not hard—thick, not powerful—robust, just, honest, moral. Prohib. ـ + = Per. ستم × ا, ا adj. suf. = Per. ستنبر

અ-સતહમે, a-satahmê. See a-sêtahambê.

અસ્તામે, astâmê. ના૦ અસ્તામા; પાવ મેહેલની ક્રિયામાં વપરાતાં વાસણો. Subs. *Astâmê*; utensils used in the *pâv mêhêl* (higher ceremonies) of the Zoroastrian religion.

અસ્તામે, astâmê. ના૦ દાંતના પારા. Subs. Gums.

અ-સ્તહમગી, a-stahamgî. See અસેતહમબે a-sêtahambê.

અસ્તામે, astâmê. See અસ્તાને âstânê.

અસ્તાર, astâr. ના૦ બદનને બચાવ આપનારી ચીજો, જેમકે ઢાલ, બખ્તર, છાતીબંદ; બુરખો; અસ્તર; ખચ્ચર; ૬½ દ્રામનું વજન; આસરે સવા રૂપિયાની કીમતનો એક સિક્કો. Subs. Such things as afford protection to the body, as shields, armours, breastplates; a veil; the lining of a garment; a mule, a weight of 6½ drams; a coin worth about 2s. 6d. Per. استار

આસ્તાર, âstâr. (ધાતું). પથરાવું; રીમન થવું. ના૦ પ્રસાર, ફેલાવો. (Rt.) To be spread over, to be defiled. Subs. Spread, diffusion. Comp. Av. Rt. + , Pehl. Sans. आस्तर्.

આસ્તાર, âstâr. See આસ્તાન âstân.

ખસ્તાર, khastâr. ના૦ જખમ કરનાર; દુઃખ દેનાર, અપમાન કરનાર. Subs. One who inflicts wounds, one who torments—insults.

આસ્તારોમન્દ, âstârômand. વિ૦ ગુનાહ ભરેલો, તકસીરવાર. Adj. Sinful, criminal.

ખસ્તારોમન્દ, khastârômand. વિ૦ જખમ કરતું; દુઃખ દેતું. Adj. Inflicting wounds, tormenting.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵 અસ્તારેહ, astârêh. ના૦ સેતારો ; બુરૂજ, નક્ષત્ર. Subs. A star; a constellation, the house or station of the moon or any other planet, a sign of the zodiac.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌 આસ્તારી, âstârî. વિ૦ ગુનેહગાર, તકસીરવાર. ના૦ ગુનેહગારી. Adj. Criminal, guilty. Subs. Transgression ; a fine—penalty.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀 આસ્તારીહા, âstârîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ગુનેહગારીથી, તકસીર ભરેલી રીતે ; ગુનેહગાર થવાથી. Adv. Criminally, culpably.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 આસ્તારીનદ, âstârînad. ક્રિ૦ રીમન કરેછે. V. Defiles, pollutes (pres. 3rd sing. from 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥) Comp. Av. 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 (see Vend. Farg. 5, paras. 3, 6).

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬭 આસ્તારીનીદાર, âstârînîdâr. ના૦ રીમન કરનાર. Subs. One who or that which defiles—pollutes.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 આસ્તારીનીદન, âstârînîdan. ક્રિ૦ રીમન કરવું ; ગુનેહગાર કરવું ; ગુનાહનો ફેલાવો કરવો. V. To defile, to pollute ; to make (one) criminal—guilty (causal) ; to disseminate crime. Comp. Av. 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬭 આસ્તારીનીદાર, âstârînîdâr. See 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬭 âstarînîdâr.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 આસ્તારીદન, âstârîdan. ક્રિ૦ રીમન થવું ; તકસીરવાર થવું ; દુઃખ દેવું ; ઈજા કરવી. V. To be

defiled—polluted ; to become criminal ; to do harm (to some one).

[illegible] આસ્તારે, âstârê. See [illegible] âstâr.

[illegible] અસ્તખેરદ, asta-khêrad. See [illegible] âsnâ-khêrad.

[illegible] આસ્તારદ, âstârd. વિ૦ હરામનું. Adj. Unlawful, iniquitous, forbidden. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસ્તારદ, âstârd. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ વિ૦ પથરાએલું, રીમન થએલું, પેસરાએલું, ફેલાએલું. Past. partic. Adj. Spread out, polluted, defiled. Av. [illegible] Av. Rt. [illegible] + [illegible] = Sans. Rt. आस्तार्.

[illegible] આસ્તારીનેદ, âstârînêd. See [illegible] âstârênd.

[illegible] આસ્તાર્દે, âstârdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ પથરાએલું; રીમન થએલું ; ગુનેહગાર—તકસીરવાર થએલું. Part. Adj. Spread (lit.), defiled, polluted, criminated.

[illegible] આસ્તાર-તુમ, âstâr-tûm. વિ૦ ઘણુંજ રીમન થએલું, ઘણુંજ ગુનેહગાર—પાપી. Adj. Most defiled—polluted, most criminal—sinful.

[illegible] અસ્તે, astê. See [illegible] asta.

[illegible] એસ્તદ, êstad. ક્રિ૦ છે ; હોએ ; જારી રેહે ; કાયમ રેહે ; રેહેછે. V. Is; may be; may continue to be; may last for ever.

[illegible] અસ્તી, હસ્તી, astî, hastî. ના૦ હસ્તી ; હયાતી, જીંદગી, હમેશગી. Subs. Existence; being, life ; eternity. Comp. Per. هستي

[illegible] હસ્તી, hastî. ના૦ સચ્ચાઈ, રાસ્તી ; ખુદપસંદી ; હઠી-

લાઈ; આપમતલબ. Subs. Truth; rectitude; self-complacency; obstinacy; self-interest.

ઇસ્તાશ્ના એસ્તશ્ન, êstashna. ના૦ જારી રેહેવું; બેશક થવું; હમેશ સુધી રેહેવું; ઉસ્તવાર રેહેવું, વાસો, સ્થીતિ, સબુરી ધીરજ. વિ૦ કાએમ, જાથુકનું, ઠકાઉ, મજબુત, ઠેરવેલું. Subs. Continuing to be; remaining for ever; standing firm; lodgings; condition, patience; calmness. Adj. Perpetual, everlasting; lasting, durable; firm; fixed.

હસ્તાશ્ના હસ્તશન, hastashna. ના૦ હસ્તી, હયાતી, જીન્દગી. Subs. Being, existence; life.

એસ્તશ્ને, êstashnê. See ઇસ્તાશ્ના êstashna.

અસ્તશ્ની, એસ્તશની, astashnî, êstashnî. See ઇસ્તાશ્ના êstashna.

અસ્તશ્ની, astashnî. ના૦ આસાની, સુખ; આસાએશ. Subs. Ease, happiness; rest.

એસ્તશની, êstashni. ના૦ કાએમીઅત, કાએમ, જાથુક. Subs. Steadiness, uninterruptedness, continuance, fixedness, standing.

એસ્તશ્ને, અસતયો, êstashnê, astayô. See અસ્તાશ્ની astashnî.

હેસ્તશ્ને, hêstashnê. See અસ્તી astî.

અસ્તશ્ની, astashnî. See ઇસ્તાશ્ના êstashna.

અસ્તીઓમન્દ, astîômand. વિ૦ હસ્તી—આબાદીવાલું. Adj. Having existence, prosperous.

અસ્તી, astî. ના૦ બેહદ ખજાનો—દોલત. Subs. Immense wealth—treasure.

[illegible] અ-સ્તીક, a-stîk. વિ૦ અણી—ટોંચ વગરનું. Adj. Not pointed, not peaked. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Per. سیتیغ , ستیغ = a spear or anything straight.

[illegible] એસ્તેશની, êstêshnî. See [illegible] êstashna.

[illegible] અસ્તે-વી-દાદ, અસ્તગવાદ, astê-vî-dâd. [illegible] astagavâd. [illegible] ના૦ હાડકાં ભાંજનાર—કાપનાર દેવનું નામ. Subs. The name of the demon who breaks or cuts up bones. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] એસ્તીનદ, êstinad. ક્રિ૦ કાયમ—જાથુક રેહે; પાયદાર રાખે; સ્થાપે. V. May remain firm—permanent; may keep fixed—firm; may establish.

[illegible] અસ્તે-વી-દાદ, astê-vi-dâd. See [illegible] astê-vi-dad, Av. [illegible] = Paz, [illegible] = Per, استواد استویاد

[illegible] અ-સતીન્દે, a-satindê. વિ૦ સખત—મજબુત નહીં તે; નરમ, નબલું, નાજુક. Adj. Not hard—strong; soft, weak, slender.

[illegible] આસ્તીનેદ, આઈતગુનેદ, âstinêd, âitgunêd. ક્રિ૦ લાવે; આવે. V. May bring; may come.

[illegible] હસ્તીનેદ, hastinêd. ક્રિ૦ એક મત થાય; માફક આવે; કીમત થાએ. V. May agree; may suit; may be worth. Comp. Per. هستیدن

[illegible] આઈતગુનીદાન, âitgûnîdân. ના૦ લાવનારા. Subs. Those that bring (anything).

ાસ્તીનીદન એસ્તીનીદન, êstînîdan. ક્રિ૦ કાયમ રેહેવું; પા-એદાર રખવું; સ્થાપવું, ઉભું રાખવું, મજબુત—કાએમ—નક્કી કરવું, બંદોબસ્ત કરવો. V. To remain firm—permanent; to keep fixed; to be established; to make stand, to establish, to confirm, to make steady, to fix, to settle, to regulate. Per. استانیدن ،استاندن

ાસ્તીન આસ્તીન, âstîn. વિ૦ મજબુત; કાયમ; હમેશનું. Adj. Firm, fixed; everlasting, perpetual.

ાસ્તીન આસ્તીન, âstîn. ના૦ બોંહે. Subs. A sleeve. Comp. Per. آستین

ાસ્તીનદ એસ્તીનદ, એસ્તીનંદ, êstînad, êstînand. See ાસ્તાદ êstînad.

ાઈતગુનશને આઈતગુનશને, âîtgumashnê. ના૦ લાવવાનું કામ તે. Subs. Bringing.

ાસ્તીનન્દ આસ્તીનન્દ, âstînand. તેઓ જુવેછે—દેખેછે. V. They see—behold (pres. 3rd plu.)

ાસ્તીગાન ઓસ્તીગાન, ôstigân. ના૦ ઉસ્તવારી, મજબુતી; ભરૂશો, ઈતબાર; કબુલાત; પ્રવિણતા, હુશિયારી; દીન ઉપર મજબુત—ચુસ્ત રેહેવું; કારીગરી. Subs. Firmness, fixedness; confidence; faith; an agreement; proficiency; intelligence; devotedness to religion; skill, workmanship.

ેસ્તેદ એસ્તેદ, êstêd. See ાસ્તાદ êstad.

ાસ્તીમ એસ્તીમ, êstîm. ક્રિ૦ હમો ઉભા રહીએ. V. We may stand. Comp. Per. ایستیم

ાસ્તેર અસ્તેર, astêr. See ાસ્તાર astâr.

ાસ્તી અસ્તી, અસ્તે, astî, astê. See ાસ્તા asta.

[illegible] આસ્તીરેદ, âstîrêd. ક્રિ૦ ગુનેહગાર—અપરાધી—પાપી થાય. V. May become guilty—criminal; may become sinful.

[illegible] આસ્તુની, આસ્તુનીએ, âstunî, âstunîê. See [illegible] âstashnî.

[illegible] એસ્તીની, એસ્તીનીએ, êstînî, êstînîê. ક્રિ૦ તું ઉભો રેહે—કાયમ રેહે. V. You may stand—remain firm (2nd sing.).

[illegible] અસ્ત-વી-હાદ, અસ્તોહાદ, ast-vî-hâd, astôhâd. See [illegible] astê-vî-dâd.

[illegible] એસદવાસ્તર, êsadvâstar. ના૦ હઝરત જરથોસ્તના વડા છોકરાનું નામ, કે જે અથોરનાન ટોલાનો સરદાર હતો, અને તે પેગમબર સાહેબનો ચેલો હતો. Subs. *Esad-vâstar*; name of the eldest son of Zoroaster, who was the chief of the sacerdotal caste, and a disciple of the great prophet. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અસ્તવાન, astavân. See [illegible] ôstîgân.

[illegible] અસ્તવાનીદન, astavânîdan. ક્રિ૦ બેશક થવું; ભ્રાંતી નહીં લઈ જવી; શકની નજરથી નહીં જોવું. V. To be certain; to make no doubt; not to look with an eye of suspicion.

[illegible] અસ્તવાન, astavân. See [illegible] astavân,

[illegible] આસ્તવાનમ, âstavânam. ક્રિ૦ હું ઈમાનમાં ઉસ્તવાર છઉં, મને ધરમ ઉપર પૂરતો એતેકાદ છે. V. I am unshaken in religious belief; I have perfect faith in religion.

[illegible] અસ્તો-દાદ, astô-dâd. ના૦ તનની ખુશી; ઈંદ્રીઓનું

સુખ. Subs. Physical enjoyment; the gratification of the senses.

ખસ્તવાર, khastavâr. વિ૦ મજબુત, ઉસ્તવાર, પાયદાર; દાનાઈ—સમજ વગરનું. Adj. Strong, firm, steady, senseless, imprudent; wanting understanding. Pâz.

ખસ્તવારી, khastavârî See ઓસ્તીગાન. ôstîgân.

ઓસ્તવારગાનીહેદ, ôstavârgânîhêd. ક્રિ૦ ઓસ્તવાર રેહેછે; ધરમ ઉપર પુરતો એતેકાદ રાખે છે. V. Remains firm; keeps perfect faith in religion (pres. 3rd sing.)

અસ્તોબ, astôb. ના૦ થાંભ, થાંભલો. Subs. A pillar, a post, a prop.

અ-સેતોબ, a-sêtôb. વિ૦ કંટાલેલું નહીં, થાકેલું નહીં. Adj. Not disgusted with, not tired of.

આસ્તુનદ, âstunad. ક્રિ૦ જોયછે, જાણેછે. V. Sees; knows (pres. 3rd sing.)

અસ્તે-ઓશ, astê-ôsh. ક્રિ૦ તે છે; તેને છે. V. He or she is; is to him (lit.)

અસ્તોશ, astôsh. ના૦ ઉસ્તવારી. Subs. Firmness.

આસ્તુઈ, âstuî. ના૦ વખાણ; તારીફ; સ્તુતી. Subs. Praise; eulogy; encomium.

ખસ્તવી, khastavî. See ખસ્તવારી khastavârî.

આસ્તુની—હસ્તન, âstunî—hastan. ક્રિ૦ દેખાવ થવો, દિસવું. V. To be in sight; to appear, to seem.

[illegible] અ-સ્તુઈહેદ, a-stuihêd. ક્રિ૦ તારીફ—સ્તુતી—વખાણ કરેછે. V. He or she praises—eulogizes (pres. 3rd sing.).

[illegible] અસ્તોબાન, astôbân. વિ૦ મજબુત, સલામત, નિર્ભય, હમેશનું, મુસતકીમ; નિમકહલાલ, એકીનવાળું, ધરમ ઉપર ઉસ્તવાર. Adj. Firm, safe; fearless; eternal; constant; faithful, grateful; firm in religious belief.

[illegible] અસ્તોબાની, astôbânî. ના૦ ધરમ ઉપર પુરતો એતેકાદ; દીન ઉપર ઉસ્તવારી, ભરૂશો રાખવો. Subs. Perfect faith in religion; firmness in religious belief, confiding in.

[illegible] અસ્તોબાની, astôbânî. વિ૦ ઉસ્તવાર, મજબુત. Adj. Firm, strong.

[illegible] અ-સેતોબાનીનીદારતુમ, a-sêtôbanînîdârtum. વિ૦ જરાબી કંટાલો ઉત્પન્ન નહીં કરનારૂં. Adj. Not causing disgust in the least.

[illegible] અ-સેતોબાનીદન, a-sêtôbânîdan. ક્રિ૦ કંટાલો ઉત્પન્ન કરવો. V. To cause disgust—dislike.

[illegible] અસ્તોદાન, astôdân. ના૦ મુવેલાંનાં હાડકાં રાખવાની જગા. Subs. A repository for the bones of the dead. Comp. ستودان

[illegible] અસ્તોબાન, ઓસ્તોબાન, astôbân, ôstôbân. વિ૦ બેશક; ધરમ ઉપર ઉસ્તવાર. Adj. Doubtless; firm in religious belief. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અસ્તોબાનમ, astôbânam. See [illegible] âstavânam.

અસ્તો-દાદ, astô-dâd. See astô-dâd.

અસ્તોયાદ-વાએવતર, astôyâd-vâêvatar. ના૦ મલેકુલમોત. Subs. The angel of death called in Arabic *Azrâil* (عزرايل)

અસ્તોબાર, astôbar. See astôbân.

દો-સેદોસ, dô-sêdôs. ના૦ બે શરોશની ઈજશ્ને. Subs. Two Izashnês (to be recited) in the name of Serosh.

અસ્તોબી, astôbî. See astôbânî.

અ-સેતોબી, a-sêtôbî. ના૦ થાકી ગીઆ વગરની—કંટાલી ગીયા વગરની હાલત. Subs. State of being not tired—disgusted.

અ-સ્તોબીએ, a-stôbîê. See a-sêtôbê.

અ-સેતોબ-દાસ્તન, a-sêtôb-dâstan. ક્રિ૦ આજેજ નહીં રાખવો; કમજોર નહીં કરવો. V. Not to keep (some one) powerless; not to deprive (some one) of strength.

અ-સેતોબીદન, a-sêtôbîdan. ક્રિ૦ આજેજ નહીં કરવું; નબલું નહીં કરી નાખવું; ધિક્કારવું નહીં. V. Not to overpower, not to weaken, shun. Comp. Per. ستوهيدن

અસ્તોબન, astôban. See astôb.

એસ્તીનદ, êstînad. ક્રિ૦ ઉભું રેહે; મજબુત રેહે. V. May stand; may remain firm.

આસ્તુઈનીદે, âstuinîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ વખાણ—સ્તુતી કીધેલું. Past partic. Praised, eulogized.

અસ્તોબીન, astobîn. See astôb.

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Without any pillar—support, without any prop. Prohib. + = Av. Av. Rt. = Sans. स्थूण Sans. Rt. स्था = Per. استن , استون , ستون

આસ્તુનત, âstunat. ક્રિ૦ જોયું, વિચાર કીધો. V. Saw; thought (past tense).

આસ્તુન્તે, âstuntê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ જોયલું, નજર કીધેલું. Past partic. Seen, observed.

આસ્તુનતન, આદીદનેતન, âstunatan, âdîdanêtan. See âstunîdan.

અ-જક્તરૂનતન, a-jaktarûnaton. ક્રિ૦ મારી નહીં નાખવું. V. Not to kill.

અ-સતોહ, a-satôh. વિ૦ દુઃખી નહીં થએલું; લાઈલાજ નહીં. Adj. Not afflicted; not helpless.

અસ્તોહ, astôh. ના૦ ભય; બીહીક, હેબત, માન. Subs. Fear; dread; awe; veneration.

અ-સ્તુકે, a-stukê. વિ૦ નબલાઈ વગરનું; કૌવતમંદ, જોરાવર. Adj. Not feeble; strong, powerful.

અસ્તોહદાન, astôhdân. See astôdân.

અ-સ્તુતી, a-stuti. ના૦ વખાણ વગરનું. Subs. Want of praise. Contrast Sans. स्तुति.

અ-સતુદે, a-satudê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ તારીફ—વખાણ નહીં કીધેલી. Past partic. Not praised—eulogized.

આસ્તુતે, âstutê. See âstuînîdê.

આસ્તુન્તે, âstuntê. See âstuntê.

અ-સતુદન, a-satudan. ક્રિ૦ વખાણ—સ્તુતી નહીં કરવી. V. Not to praise—eulogize. Contrast Per. ستودن

[illegible] આસ્તુનતન, âstûnatan. See [illegible] âstûnîdan.

[illegible] અસ્તોફરીદ, astôfarîd. ના૦ કોઇની ધરમસંબંધી ફરજ માથે લેવી. Subs. Taking on one's self some formal act of religion or other solemn duty for any one.

[illegible] અસ્તોફરીદન, astôfarîdan. ક્રિ૦ કબુલ કરવું; હા કહેવું. V. To agree, to accept; to assent.

[illegible] અસ્તોમન-દાન, astômandân. વિ૦ હાડમંદ, શરીર-રૂપી. Adj. plu. Corporal, bodily, physical.

[illegible] અ-શતવર, a-satvar. વિ૦ મકમ—જોરાવર નહીં તે; અ-સ્થીર, નબળું, મ્હોટું—બુજોરગ નહીં તે. Adj. Not strong—powerful, unsteady; weak, not great. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Sans. **स्थविर, स्थावर,** = Per. استبر , ستبر

[illegible] અ-સતવરી, a-satvarî. ના૦ મોટાઈ—બુજોરગી વગરની હાલત; કોઈને પાલક નહીં કરી લેવો. Subs. Not a state of greatness—dignity; not adopting any one as a son.

[illegible] અ-સ્તુ-રદાન-ચ, a-stu-radân-cha. ના૦ તારીફ વગરના ધરમગુરૂઓ—દસ્તુરોબી, નાલાએક ઉપાધ્યાઓબી. Subs. Even religious teachers who are not deserving of praise; even unworthy Dustoors—spiritual preceptors.

[illegible] અસ્તુ-રદાન-ચ, astu-radân-cha. ના૦ વખાણવા લાએક ધરમગુરૂઓબી, માન પામેલા દસ્તુરોબી. Subs. Even praiseworthy religious preceptors, even revered Dustoors.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥 અસ્તોરદન, astôrdan. ક્રિ૦ બોરવું; છોલી કાહાડવું; સાફ કરવું; કાપી નાખવું; છેકવું. V. To shave; to scrape; to clean; to cut off; to erase. Per. سترد ن

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥 આસ્તોરેદ, âstôrêd. ક્રિ૦ ગુનેહગાર—પાપી—તકસીરવાર—અપરાધી થાયછે. V. Becomes guilty—sinful—criminal.

𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬥 અ-બીદે, a-bidê. વિ૦ નાહક, વાજબી નહીં તે, અઘટિત. Adj. Unjust, unlawful, unworthy.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 અસ્તે, astê. ના૦ હાડકું, ખજુર—આલુનો ઠલીઓ; થાલી, જામ; કાંસીઓ; કુંડી. Subs. A bone; the stone of a date or plum; a shallow flat round vessel, a porringer; a round metallic vessel of some depth in which all the utensils of the Izashnê ceremony are put.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 અસ્તે, aste. ક્રિ૦ છે. V. Is (pres. 3rd sing.)

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 આસ્તે, âstê. ના૦ દશતાનથી પાક થાએલી બાયડી. Subs. A woman purified from menstruation.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 આસ્તક, âstak. ના૦ કુંડી. (અસ્તામાં યાને વાસણ ભરવાની). Subs. A round deep vessel made of metal in which all the ceremonial utensils are placed.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 ખસ્તે, khastê. વિ૦ બેઅકકલ, નાદાન, બેવકુફ; જખમી થએલો; નાતવાન. Adj. Senseless; thoughtless; foolish; wounded; infirm.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥 અસ્તેઓમનદાન, astêômandân. વિ૦ હાડવાળું; હાડમંદ. Adj. plu. Corporeal, bodily, material.

[illegible] એસ્તગી, êstgî. ના૦ ઉસ્તવારી, મજબુતી, કાએમ, મુશતકીમી. Subs. Firmness; stability, constancy, permanence.

[illegible] હસતગી hastagî. ના૦ હસ્તી. Subs. Existence; being.

[illegible] એસ્તેકબાલ-માહ, êstêkbâl-mâh. ના૦ ચંદ્ર-માહનું વધવું. Subs. The waxing of the moon.

[illegible] એસ્તગર, êstagar. વિ૦ કાએમ રેહેનાર. Adj. Remaining firm—permanent.

[illegible] એસ્તગરી, êstagarî. ના૦ કાએમ રેહેવું. Subs. Constancy. a permanent state.

[illegible] આસ્ત-તુમ, âst-tum. વિ૦ ઘણુંજ ખુશ—આનંદી. Adj. Most joyful—gay.

[illegible] અસ્તવા, astavâ. વિ૦ અધુરા વિચારનું; બેશક—ગુમાન. Adj. Having an imperfect idea: undoubted.

[illegible] અસ્તવાન, astavân. See [illegible] ôstîgân.

[illegible] ઓસ્તવાની, ôstvânî. See [illegible] ôstîgân.

[illegible] અસ્તવીઆદ, astavîâd. See [illegible] astêvî-dâd.

[illegible] અસ્તફર, astafar. ના૦ કબુલ કરનાર. ક્રિ૦ તું કબુલ કર. Subs. One who agrees—assents. V. imper. "Agree—assent (thou).

[illegible] અસ્તફરીદ, astafarîd. See [illegible] astôfarîd.

[illegible] ઓસ્તફરીદન, ôstafarîdan. See [illegible] astôfarîdan.

એસ્તમ, êstam. ક્રિ૦ હું ઉભો રેહું; હું ઉસ્તવાર છેઊં. V. I may stand; I am firm—stable. Comp. Per. ایستم, بیستم

અબીતર, abîtar. ના૦ માબાપ. Subs. Parents (from ـس, Ar. ابو = a father).

અસ્તર, astar. ના૦ એક ગુનાહનું નામ છે; ખચ્ચર; બોરીઉં; અસ્તર; જમીન ખેડવાનું એક હથિયાર. Subs. Name of a crime; a mule; a cloth button; the lining of a garment; a harrow. Per. استر

અસ્તર, astar. See અસ્તાર astâr.

આ-સ્તર, â-star. ના૦ પંથરાવવું, ફેલાવો; રીમનીનું ફેલાવવું. Subs. Spreading; diffusion; the spread of pollution. Comp. Av. Rt. ـس-

અબીતરાન, abîtarân. ના૦ બાપદાદા, વડીલો, માબાપ. Subs. Ancestors; forefathers; parents.

અબીતરાંન, abîtarân. See અબીતરાન abîtarân.

અબીતરી, abîtarî. ના૦ નસલ, ખાનદાન; સગાઈ. Subs. Parentage; family connection—tie; relationship.

આસ્તરદાન, âstardân. ના૦ ગુનેહગાર—પાપી થવું. Subs. Becoming criminal—sinful.

આસ્તરદી, âstardî. ના૦ ગુનેહગારી. Subs. Sinfulness; criminality.

અસ્તરસ્પાન, astaraspân. ના૦ એક જાતના ગુનાહનું નામ. Subs. Name of a crime.

[illegible] અસ્તરસ્ત, astarast. ના૦ ગુનેહગાર,—તકસીરવાર શખ્સ. Subs. A guilty—criminal person.

[illegible] આસ્તરીએદ, âstarîêd. ક્રિ૦ ગુનેહગાર—તકસીરવાર થાયછે. V. Becomes criminal—guilty.

[illegible] આસ્તરીનેદ, âstarînêd. ક્રિ૦ રીમન કરેછે, રીમનીનો—ગુનાહનો ફેલાવો કરેછે; ગુનાહ કરેછે, ગુનેહગાર થાયછે. V. Pollutes; spreads or diffuses pollution—crimes. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસ્તરેદ, âstarêd. See [illegible] âstarîêd.

[illegible] અસ્તરંગ, astarang. ના૦ એક જાતનો માણસરૂપી રોપો. Subs. Mandrake; the man-plant, on account of the strong resemblance of the root to the human figure. The Persians call mandrake also ابروصنم (the face of an idol), and مردم گیاہ; the Arabians call it حراغ القطرب (the devil's candle, on account of its shining appearance in the night). Comp. Per. استرنگ

[illegible] અસ્તરૂન્તન, અસ્ત્રુનતન, astaruntan, astrunatan. ક્રિ૦ બાંધવું; કેદ કરવું. V. To tie, to bind; to confine.

[illegible] અસ્તરવર, astarvar. ના૦ એક પાહાડનું નામ. Subs. The name of a mountain.

[illegible] અસ્તરત, astart. See [illegible] astâr.

[illegible] અ-સતરદી, a-satardî. ના૦ સુસ્તી વનાનું, ગભરાટ વગરનું. Subs. Freedom from laziness—confusion, perplexity.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬥𐬀 આસ્તરદી, âstardî. See 𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬥𐬀 âstardî.

𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬥𐬀 અ-સતરદે, a-satardê. ફ૦ વિ૦ ગુંચવાઈ ન ગએલું, પાથરેલું નહીં, નહીં વિખરાએલું, ગભરાઈ ન ગએલું, નિષ્ફલ ન થાએલું, ન બીધેલું, સ્થીર, છોલેલું નહીં. Partic. Adj. Not spread out—strewn—scattered, not entangled—puzzled, not taken âback, not disappointed, not frightened; not erased—shaven, composed, steady, calm. Prohib. 𐬀 + 𐬱𐬌𐬥𐬀 = Av. 𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬥𐬀 Av. Rt. 𐬱𐬌𐬥𐬀 = Sans. Rt. स्तर् = Per. ستردہ گستردہ

𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬥𐬀 અ-સતરદે, a-satardê. See 𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬥𐬀 a-satardê.

𐬀𐬯𐬀

𐬀𐬯𐬀 અસ્પ, asp. ના૦ ઘોડો. Subs. A horse. Av. 𐬀𐬯𐬀 = Sans. अश्व = Per. اسپ

𐬀𐬯𐬀 અસ્પ, aspa. ના૦ એક સજાનું નામ છે, કે જે ગરદનનું હાડકું ભાંજવાની થાયછે; કોશેશ; મેહેનત; ખીલો; નખરીયાં; ખરી. Subs. The name of a punishment which is inflicted by breaking the bone of the neck; an endeavour, effort; a nail; claw, hoof. Comp. Per. اسب

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥𐬀 એસ્ફહાની, êsfahânî. વિ૦ ઈસ્ફહાન શેહેરને લગતું. ના૦ ઈસ્ફહાન શેહેરનો રેહેવાસી. Adj. Relating to Isphahân. Subs. A native of Isphahân. Comp. Per. اسفہانی

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀 અસ્પ-અશો, aspa-ashô. ના૦ સારો ઘોડો. Subs. A good horse, a noble horse.

[illegible] અસ્પ-દાન, aspa-dân. ના૦ ઘોડા રાખવાની જગ્યાં; તબેલો. Subs. A horse-stable. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સેપાસ, a-sêpâs. વિ૦ નાસેપાસ, નીમકહરામ. Adj. Not returning thanks; ungrateful. Per. ناسپاس

[illegible] અ-સેપાસ-દાર, a-sêpâs-dâr. ના૦ આભાર—ઉપકાર નહીં માનનાર; નીમખહરામ માણસ. Subs. One who does not return thanks, an ungrateful man. Contrast Per. سپاس دار

[illegible] અ-સ્પાકી, a-spâkî. ના૦ નાજુકી, સેહેલાઈ વગરનું. Subs. Delicacy, tenderness, want of facility.

[illegible] અસ્પારીનદ, aspârînad. ક્રિ૦ સોંપે; મુકે. V. May commit to—intrust; may put. Contrast Per. سپارند

[illegible] અસ્પારે, aspârê. ના૦ ઓજીરન ઘેહેનો વખત, સમીસાંજનો વખત, સૂર્ય અસ્તપામવાનો વખત. Subs. The time of the *Oziran Gêh*; evening; sunset.

[illegible] અસ્પ-એ, aspa-ê. ના૦ એક ઘોડો. Subs. One horse.

[illegible] અસ્ફીઆન, asfiân. ના૦ માહરોએ. Subs. *Mâh-rû*; a ceremonial vessel, so called from its crescent-shaped appearance; it literally means 'moon-faced.'

[illegible] અએવઘહાની, aêvaghahânî. વિ૦ કુસ્તીને લગતું. Adj. Relating to the *kushtî*.

[illegible] અએવ્યાઘહાન, aêvyâgahân. See [illegible] aêvaghahân.

[illegible] ,અયવ્યાઘહાન, ayavyâghahân. See [illegible] aêvaghahân.

[illegible] અએવ્યાઘહન, aêvyâgahan. See [illegible] aêvaghahân.

[illegible] અયવ્યાઘશને, ayavyâghashnê. See [illegible] aêvaghahân.

[illegible] અયવ્યાઘશનીનદ, ayavyâghashnînad. ક્રિ૦ કુસ્તી બાંધે. V. May gird on the *kushtî*.

[illegible] અએવ્યાઘશનીનદ, aêvyâghashnînad. ક્રિ૦ પેહેરે, કુસ્તી બાંધે. V. May put on (clothes); may gird on the *kushtî*.

[illegible] અસ્પ-દાન, aspa-dân. See [illegible] aspa-dân.

[illegible] અએવગહનીઆન, aêvagahnîân. ના૦ કુસ્તી રાખનારાઓ. Subs. Persons who gird on the *kushtî*.

[illegible] અએવ્યાગશને, aêvyâgashnê. ના૦ પેહેરવું; કુસ્તી બાંધવી; કુસ્તી. Subs. Putting on (clothes); girding on the *kushtî; kushtî*.

[illegible] આસ્વીગાન, âsvîgân. ના૦ આથવ્યાન, ફરેદુનના બાપનું નામ. Subs. *Athvyân* (name of the father of *Faridoon*). Comp. Av. [illegible], Sans. आथ्व्य, Per. آبتين

[illegible] અસ્પ-સખુન, aspa-sakhun. ના૦ ઘોડાનો આવાજ —ખનખાર. Subs. The neighing of a horse.

[illegible] અસ્પ-દીનોદે, aspa-dînôdê. ના૦ ઘોડી. Subs. A mare.

[illegible] અસ્પ-દીનોદે, aspa-dînôdê. See [illegible] aspa-dînôdê. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અસ્પસ્તાની, aspastânî. વિ૦ ઘોડાના થાનને લગતો—ભાડે રાખનાર, તબેલો ભાડે રાખનાર. Adj. Belonging to the horse-stable (lit.), one who has hired a horse-stable. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અસ્પ-સ્તાન, aspa-stân. See [illegible] aspa-dân. ના૦ ઘોડાનો તબેલો. Subs. A horse-stable. Av. [illegible] Sans. अश्वस्थान् = Per. اسپستان

[illegible] અએવસ્રુસ્રેમ, aêvasrûsrêm. See [illegible] aêvasarusrêm.

[illegible] અ-સજીનીદન, a-sazînîdan. See [illegible] a-sazîdan.

[illegible] અ-સપીત, a-sapît. ના૦ સફેદ—પવિત્ર નહીં. Subs. Not white, not pure. Prohib. [illegible] × [illegible] = Av. [illegible] Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. Rt. श्वित् = Per. سفید سپید

[illegible] અસફીરાન, ashafîrân. ના૦ ભલાં માણસો નહીં. Subs. plu. Not good persons. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સપીરાને-ચ, a-sapîrânê-cha. ના૦ ભલાં માણસો નહીં. Subs. Not even good persons.

[illegible] અઈવસ્રુસ્રેમ, aîvasrûsrem. ના૦. એવેશરૂથરેમ ઘેહ. Subs. Name of the fourth sub-division of the day, the *Aîvîscruthrem Gêh.*

[illegible] અસ્પે-અસ્તર, aspê-astar. See [illegible] aspa-ashtar.

[illegible] અસ્પનારગાન, aspanârgân. ના૦ જવેર. Subs. A jewel, a gem. See [illegible] aspanârgân.

[illegible] અ-સ્પોખ્તારી, a-sêpôkhtârî. વિ૦ નહીં ભોકનારૂં, અંદર પેવશ ન થનારૂં. Adj. Not transfixing—piercing.

[illegible] અ-સપોખ્તન, a-sapôkhtan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ભોકવું—અણી ભોકવી—આરપાર વિંધવું; દાખલ ન કરવું, નહીં ચાંપવું. V. Not to pierce,—to prick,—to transfix, not to admit; not to thrust into. Contrast Per. سپختن سپوختن سپوزیدن .

[illegible] અ-સપોખ્તે, a-spôkhtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ નહીં ભોકેલું—આરપાર વિંધેલું. Past partic. Not pierced—transfixed.

[illegible] અસ્પનાર, aspanâr. વિ૦ સઉથી સરસ. Adj. Most excellent.

[illegible] અસ્પનારગાન, aspanârgân. See [illegible] aspanârgân.

[illegible] અસ્પનારગાન, અસ્પોહરગાન, aspanârgân, aspôhargân. See [illegible] aspanârgân.

[illegible] અસ્પનારગાનીહા, aspanârgânîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ શંગાર ભરેલી રીતે. Adv. Ornamentally.

[illegible] અસ્પનારગાન, aspanârgân. See [illegible] aspanârgân.

[illegible] અસ્પુનતન, aspunatan. ક્રિ૦ જોવું, નેઘાહ કરવી; દોડાવવું. V. To see, to behold; to make to run.

[illegible] અ-સ્પુકી, a-spûkî. વિ૦ સેહેલાઈવાળું નહીં, છુપું નહીં. Adj. Not easy, not secret—hidden.

[illegible] અ-સ્પુગી, a-spugî. ના૦ જુઠાઈ વગરનું; સચ્ચાઈ; પરહેજગારી. Subs. Freedom from falsehood; truth; piety, devoutness.

[illegible] અસ્પંજ, aspanj. ના૦ મેહમાન, મુસાફર, પરોણો; ધર્મશાલા, દુનિયા. Subs. A guest; a traveller; a stranger; an inn; the world. Comp. Per. سپنج

[illegible] અસ્પ-ચરેશ્ક, aspa-charêshk. ના૦ ઘોડાને ચરવાની જગા. Subs. Grazing ground for horses. Comp. Per. اسپ + چرش

[illegible] અસ્ફંદીઆરાન, asfandîârân. See [illegible] aspandîâr.

[illegible] અસ્ફન્દાર-મદ, asfandâr-mad. ના૦ પાંચમા રોજનું નામ; બારમા મહિનાનું નામ; એક અમશાસ્પંદનું નામ; શુક્ર સેતારો; મીનરાસી; લાંબી પુછડીવાલો તારો. Subs. The fifth day of every month; the twelfth month of every year; name of an *Amshâspand;* the planet Venus; the sign Pisces; a comet. Comp. Av. [illegible], [illegible] Pehl. [illegible] Per. سپندارمد

[illegible] અસ્પન્તમાન, aspantmân. ના૦ એ હજરત જરતોશ્તના એક વડાવાનું નામ છે, જેની ૧૦ મી પેહેડીએ તે પેગમબર સાહેબ પેદા થયા હતા. Subs. *Aspantamân* is the name of an ancestor of Zoroaster, from

whom he was descended in the 10th generation. Comp. Av. [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] અસ્પે-રાસ, aspê-râs. See [illegible] aspa-râs.

[illegible] અ-સેપોરદીદન, a-sêpôrdîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં સોંપવું, સ્વાધીન નહીં કરવું, લાગુ નહીં પાડવું, યોગ્ય—લાએક નહીં કરવું. V. Not to commit to the charge—care of, not to deliver over to, not to delegate—apply, not to make suitable—worthy. Contrast Per. سپردن = Paz. [illegible]

[illegible] અસ્પરાસ, asparâs. વિ૦ દેખઈતું, ખુલ્લું, જાહેર. ના૦ ઘોડાની સરતનો રસ્તો ; ઘોડાને દોડવાની જગા ; એક જાતની લંબાઈનું માપ. Adj. Evident; clear. Subs. A race-course; a running place for horses; a measure of length. Comp. Per. اسپریس, اسپریش

[illegible] અસ્પ-રાસ-દરાના, aspa-râs-darânâ. વિ૦ ઘોડો દોડી શકે તેટલી લંબાઈનું. Adj. Of the length of the distance which a horse can run.

[illegible] અસ્પરમ, અસ્પરહમ, asparam, asparaham. ના૦ સબજો, ખુશબોદાર પાંદડાં. Subs. A green herb; *ocymum pilosum vet basilicum*; odoriferous leaves.

[illegible] અસ્પ-રસ, aspa-ras. See [illegible] aspa-râs.

[illegible] અસ્પ-રીસ, aspa-rîs. See [illegible] asparâs.

[illegible] અસ્પ-રીન, aspa-rîn. ના૦ નગદ, રોકડ, દોરો ; એક માપ અથવા જોખનું નામ ; એક સ્ત્રીકકાનું નામ. વિ૦ ઘોડાની—

કીમત જેટલું. Subs. Ready money, cash; thread; name of a measure—weight; name of a coin. Adj. Of the value of a horse.

[illegible] અસ્પરીક, asparík. See [illegible] asparâs.

[illegible] અસ્પરૂન, asparun. See [illegible] asparîn.

[illegible] અસ્પરૂન, asparûn. See [illegible] asparîn.

[illegible] અસ્પરૂન-મસા, asprûn-masâ. વિ૦ "અસ્પરૂન" ના જેટલું મ્હોટું—કીમતનું, દોરાનાં જેટલા અંદાજનું. Adj. Of the size of *asparún* (a kind of measure); of the value of *asparun*. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અસ્પરૂન-મજ, અસ્પરૂન-મસા, asparun-mazâ, asparun-masâ. See [illegible] asparûn-masâ.

[illegible] અસ્પરૂન-મસા, asparûn-masâ. See [illegible] asparûn-masâ.

[illegible] અસ્પરક, asparak. ના૦ એક જાતનું પીલા રંગનું લાકડું, કે જે રંગને માટે કામ આવેછે; એક જાતની વનસ્પતી; શમશાદનું ઝાડ. Subs. A kind of wood of a yellow colour, used in dyeing stuffs; a kind of herb; the box tree. Per. اسپرک

[illegible] અસ્પરૂન-ચ, asparun-cha. ના૦ નગદ—રોકડબી. Subs. Even ready money—cash.

[illegible] અસ્પ-રંજ, aspa-ranj. ના૦ ભારી બોજો ખેંચનાર ઘોડો. Subs. A draft-horse.

[illegible] અસ્પ-રજ, aspa-raz. See [illegible] asparâs.

અસ્પ-રઝ્, aspa-raz. ના૦ સો ઘોડા. Subs. One hundred horses.

અસ્પરમ, asparam. See અસ્પરમ asparam.

અ

અ-બીમ, a-bîm. વિ૦ વગર ધાસ્તી—બિહીકનું; હિમ્મતવાન. Adj. Fearless, dauntless; bold. Contrast Per. بيم

અસીમ, asîm. ના૦ રૂપું, ચાંદી. Subs. Silver; pure silver; silver bullion.

અસીમ, આસીમ, asîm, âsîm. See અસીમ asîm, âsîm.

અસ્મ, asma. ના૦ આસ્માન, આકાશ. Subs. The sky, the firmament. Comp. Pehl. અસ્મન

આઈમ, âîm. ક્રિ૦ હમો આવીએ. V. We may come; we come.

આયમ, âyam. સર્વ૦ મને. Pron. To me.

એસમ, êsam. ના૦ કાઠી, લાકડું. Subs. Firewood; wood. Comp. Pehl. અસમ

ખીજમ, khîjam. ક્રિ૦ હું ઉઠું, હું ઉઠુંચ. V. I may get up; I get up.

આસ્માન, âsmân. See અસ્મ asma.

આસ્માન, âsmân. ના૦ આસ્માન. Subs. The sky.

આસ્માની, âsmânî. વિ૦ આસ્માન—આકાશને લગતું; આસ્માની રંગનું. Adj. Pertaining to the sky; sky-coloured. Per. آسماني

[illegible] આસ્માને-ખન્વદ, âsmânê-khanvad. ના૦ ઝલકતો—પ્રકાશિત આસ્માન. Subs. The shining sky. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસ્માન, âsmân. ના૦ એક ફરેસ્તાનું નામ છે કે જે આસ્માન ઉપર મવકકલ છે; સતાવીસમાં રોજનું નામ; આસ્માન. Subs. Name of an angel presiding over the sky; the 27th day of every month; the sky. Av. [illegible], Per. آسمان

[illegible] } ખસ્માન, khasmân. ના૦ કીનો, વેર, કપટ, અદેખાઈ, દુશ્મની. Subs. Revenge, malice, rancour; jealousy, enmity.

[illegible] અસ્મ-ખુન્દે, asma-khundê. ના૦ ફરતો આસ્માન. Subs. The revolving sky.

[illegible] આસ્માને, âsmânê. ના૦ આસ્માન; છજ્જું; છાપરૂં; ઘેરનો માલ. Subs. The sky; eaves; a roof; a story. Comp. Per. آسمانہ

[illegible] આસ્માન-જીવા, asmân-zîvâ. ના૦ શોભઈતું—સણગારેલું આસમાન. Subs. The elegant—adorned firmament. Comp. Per آسمان زیبا; (see Patet Irânî.)

[illegible] ખશ્મામ, khasmâm. ના૦ ખશમ, માઢી. Subs. A husband.

[illegible] અએમાર, aêmâr. ના૦ શુમાર, ગણત્રી, અડસટો. Subs. Rough estimate; counting; computation.

[illegible] એસ્મી, êsmî. વિ૦ બાલવાનાં લાકડાંને લગતું. Adj. Relating to fuel or firewood.

અદીમશ્ને, adîmashnê. ના૦ ચાહાવું, ઈચ્છવું, ખાહેશ કરવી. Subs. Loving, wishing; desiring.

અસ્મીન, asmîn. વિ૦ રૂપેરી, ચાંદીની બનાવટનું. Adj. Silvery; made of pure silver.

અસ્મીતુનતન, asmîtûnatan. ક્રિ૦ બખીઓ મારવો—ભરવો. V. To stitch closely.

અ-ગદમન, a-gadman. વિ૦ ખોરેહ—ઝલકાટ—દબદબા વગરનું; અપકીર્તિવાળું; આબરૂ—માન વગરનું. Adj. Void of lustre—brightness—pomp; inglorious; having no respect—honour.

અ-દમુન, a-damûn. વિ૦ કચરા—છાણ વગર. Adj. Free from rubbish—dirt—refuse, free from dung of a bull, cow or buffalo. Contrast Per. دمن

અ-યદમન, અ-જસ્ત, a-yadman, a-jast. વિ૦ હાથ લાંબો કીધા વગર; માંગ્યા—હાથ ઓરીઆ—વિનંતી કીધા વગરનું; શક્તિ—જોર વગરનું; મદદ વગરનું; હાથ વગરનું, ટુંકું. Adj. Without stretching out the hand; without asking—begging—requesting; having no power—vigour; destitute of assistance, having no hands, having short arms. Contrast Ar. يد (= the hand; power).

અ-જસ્તે-ગરોબે, અ-જસ્તે-ગીરીએ, a-jastê-grôbê, a-jastê-gîrîê. વિ૦ હાથ પકડયા વગર, દસ્તગીરી—મદદ વગર. Adj. Without holding the hand (lit.), without any help—assistance.

અ-જસ્ત-ગરોબે, a-jast-grôbê. See અ-જસ્તે-ગરોબે, a-jaste-grôbe.

આસ્મન્દ, âsmand. વિ૦ જુઠું, ખોટું, સચ્ચાઈ વિનાનું. Adj. False; untrue.

અદમુદીન, admudîn. વિ૦ તમામ, પૂરૂં. Adj. Whole, entire; perfect.

આસ્મુન, asmun. See અસ્મા asma.

અ-ગદમન-કારી, a-gadman-kârî. ના૦ વગર કીર્તિની હાલત, નૂર—દબદબા વગરની હાલત. Subs. State of being without dignity—majesty, ingloriousness, dishonourableness.

આસ્મોધ, âsmôgh. See આશ્મોગ્ઘ âshmôgh.

અ-દીમે, a-dîmê. વિ૦ રોશની—ઉજાસ વગરનું; અંધારૂં. Ad. Destitute of light—glare; dark.

અ-બીમગીન-તર, a-bîmgîn-tar. વિ૦ વધારે ધાસ્તી ઉપજાવનારૂં નહીં; વધારે ભય વગરનું. Adj. Not exciting more fear, more fearless.

આસ્મઝ, âsmaz. See આસ્મન્દ âsmand.

અબેમર, abêmar. વિ૦ અગણિત; બેહદ. Adj. Innumerable; infinite. Comp. Per. بي مر; Av. Rt. મર = to count.

ઇદ્દ

અ-દગર, a-dagar. વિ૦ ભારી નહીં, હલકું. Adj. Not heavy, light.

ادھر અદેર, adêr. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ નીચે, હેઠે. Prep. Below; beneath.

ادھر અદેર, adêr. See ادھر adêr.

ادیر અ-દેર, a-dêr. વિ૦ મોડું નહીં; ધીમું નહીં. Adj. Not late; not tardy. Contrast Per. دیر

ادیل અ-દેલ, a-dêl. વિ૦ બેદીલ; નીરાશ થએલો; હિમ્મત વગરનું. Subs. Disaffected; dissatisfied; disappointed; spiritless. Per. بی دل

ابیر અબીર, abîr. ના૦ પેહેરણ, ખમીસ. Subs. A sort of shirt or frock.

اسر અસર, asar. ના૦ નિશાન, નેમ, શરૂઆત. વિ૦ કદીમ, અસલી, જુનું. Subs. Any object set or taken up as a mark; aim; beginning. Adj. Old, antique.

اسر અસર, asar. વિ૦ બેશુમાર, હદ વગરનું; હમેશનું, જાથુ-
اسر કનું, કુદરતી, પોતાની મેલે નીકલેલું. Adj. Endless, unlimited; eternal, perpetual, natural, self-born.

اسر અ-સર, a-sar. વિ૦ માથાં—મથાલાં વગરનું; સરદાર વગરનું, સરદાર વગર; સેવટ—છેડા—અંત વગરનું. Adj. Having no head—top (lit.); destitute of a chief—leader; endless, unlimited; Av. بےسر

اجل આજીલ, âjîl. ના૦ એક નદીનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a river.

اسر આસર, âsar. વિ૦ જાહેર, આશકારા. ના૦ માથું, સરદાર. Adj. Public, manifest, known far and wide. Subs. The head; a chief.

[illegible] એહર, êhar. ના૦ હેર નસો, નજીસાત, બાહેલું, થુકું. Subs. Dry impurities (as hair, nails); filthiness. Corrupt form of [illegible]

[illegible] હસલ, hasal. ના૦ વગર બરશનુમનો મોબેદ. Subs. A Mobed having no *Barshnûm.*

[illegible] અ-સ્રાએશન-ઓમન્દ, a-srâêshna-ômand. વિ૦ નહીં સંભલાવતો—ગાતો—ભણતો. Adj. Not reciting—singing—praying.

[illegible] અ-સરાએશને, a-sarâêshnê. ના૦ નહીં પાલવું—પરવશી કરવી; નહીં ગાવું—ભણવું. Subs. Not feeding—nourishing; not singing—reciting.

[illegible] અ-સ્રાએશની, a-srâêshnî. See the preceding word.

[illegible] અસરાસારાન, asarâsârân. ના૦ એક કોમ—ટોલાનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a tribe—nation.

[illegible] અ-સ્રાઈદાર, a-srâîdâr. ના૦ નહીં પઢનાર—ગાનાર. Subs. One who does not recite—sing. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસ્રાન, âsrân. ના૦ અથોરનાન. Subs. *Athornân* (the sacerdotal caste).

[illegible] અસરાદન, asrâdan. ક્રિ૦ ખુશી મેલવવી—ભોગવવી. V. To enjoy; to experience pleasure.

[illegible] અસરોમેન્દ, asarômênd. વિ૦ નજીસાઈ—હેર નસા ભરેલું. Adj. Full of filthiness—dry impurities.

[illegible] અ-સરે, a-sarê. See [illegible] a-sar. [illegible] a-sarê.

અસરશ, aêrash. ના૦ ગર. Subs. Kernel, pith.

અસરી એસેરી, êêrî. ના૦ આદમી, મરદ; મરદાનગી; ફરમાબરદારી, તાબેદારી. Subs. An individual, a man; manliness; obedience, subjection.

અ-દીરી, a-dîrî. વિ૦ ઘણું મોડું અથવા ધીમું નહીં. Adj. Not very late or slow. Contrast Per. دیر

અબીરબા, abîrbâ. See ابر abîr.

અસરી, asarî. ના૦ અતીશયપણું, પુરકલતા; બેહદપણું. Subs. Excess; abundance; infinity.

અસરી, હેરી, asarî, hêrî. વિ૦ ગલીચી—નજીશાતને લગતું; હેર નસાવાલું. Adj. Relating to filthiness—uncleanliness; full of dry impurities (as hair, nails, &c.).

અસરીઆ, asarîâ. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ દશ, ૧૦. Num. Adj. Ten, 10. Ar. عشر, عشره

અ-સલીઆ, a-salîâ. વિ૦ બુરૂં—ખરાબ નહીં તે. Adj. Not bad—evil.

આસરી, âsarî. ના૦ સરદારી, સરદારપણું. Subs. Leadership; command.

અ-સલીઆઈ, a-salîâî. ના૦ બદી—બુરાઈ વગરની હાલત, વગર ખરાબીનું, બીગાડ—બદબખતી—કંગાલીઅત વગરનું, વગર ગરીબાઈનું. Subs. Freedom from evil—corruption, exemption from depravity—badness, freedom from misfortune, wretchedness—penury.

અ-સરેશ્ત, a-sarêsht. વિ૦ ખમીર વગરનું, નહીં

ગુંડેલું—મેલવેલું, ખરાબ વજુદ—ખશલતનું. Adj. Unleavened, not kneaded, not mixed up, of a bad nature—constitution. Contrast Per. سرشت

[illegible] અ-સરેશ્તન, a-sarêshtan. ક્રિ૦ ખમીર નહીં કરવું; સાથે મેલવી નહીં નાખવું; આકાર નહીં આપવો. V. Not to leaven; not to mix together; not to form into shape. Contrast Per. سرشتن

[illegible] અ-સરેશ્ત, a-sarêsht. See [illegible] a-sarêshta.

[illegible] આસ્રેસ, âsrês. ના૦ કોઈબી જાતની કસરતને માટેની જગા. Subs. A course or place for any kind of exercise. Comp. Per. اسریش

[illegible] અ-ગેરેસ્તે, a-gêrêstê. ના૦ અપવિત્ર મકાન નહીં તે, સોજું—સાફ—પવિત્ર મકાન; સાંકડી જગા નહીં. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ રડેલું; વિલાપ કીધેલો. Subs. Not an impure place; a clean—holy place; not a narrow spot. Past partic. Wept; bewailed.

[illegible] અ-ગેરીઊ, a-gêrîû. વિ૦ સુરાખ નહીં પાડેલાં; નાકાં નહીં પાડેલાં. Adj. Not bored—perforated.

[illegible] આસ્રીનશની, âsrînashnî. ના૦ બાંધવું, ગુંથવું, ગાંઠ મારવો. Subs. Binding, knitting, braiding, knotting.

[illegible] આસ્રીનશ્ને, âsrînashnê. See [illegible] âsrînashnî.

[illegible] અસરીન, asarîn. ના૦ નલો. Subs. The bone of the leg.

[illegible] અ-સરીને, a-sarînê. See [illegible] a-sarê.

[illegible] દો-સ્રીને, do-srînê. ના૦ ગાંડના બેઉ થાપા. Subs. Two hips—thighs—buttocks. [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible], [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Sans. श्रोणि = Per. سرین

[illegible] હેર-ગંદાર, hêr-gandâr. ના૦ ગંધ—વાસ મારતો નસો. Subs. Stinking dead matter.

[illegible] અબીરેદ, abîrêd. ના૦ મોબેદના એક પંથનું નામ છે, જેની જગા "હાવનાન" ની સામે તથા જોતીની ડાબી બાજુએ હોએ છે. Subs. The name of one of the orders of Mobeds called *Abêrêt* (in Zend), whose assigned place is opposite to the *Hâvanân*, and on the left side of the *Zôti*. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સરીત, a-sarît. See [illegible] a-salîâ.

[illegible] અ-સરીદે, a-srîdê. વિ૦ નહીં ઢાંકેલું—છુંપું; જાહેર, સ્પષ્ટ. Adj. Not hidden—concealed; open, clear.

[illegible] આબરેદ, âbarêd. ક્રિ૦ લઈ જાય. V. May carry.

[illegible] અ-સરીતરી, a-sarîtarî. ના૦ અપજશ—બદનામી વગરનું, નામવરી, ઈજ્જત. Subs. Freedom from dishonour—infamy—blame; honourableness, conformity to the principles of honour.

[illegible] અ-સરીતર-ચ, a-saritar-cha. વિ૦ વધારે ખરાબી કરચા વગર. Adj. Without doing more harm—injury.

[illegible] અસ્રુનાન, આસ્રવાન, asrunân, âsravân. See [illegible] âsrân.

[illegible] અ-સરોબ, a-sarôb. વિ૦ નામશહુર, પ્રખ્યાત—જાહેરમાં નહીં આવેલું. Adj. Not renowned—famous; not well known. Contrast Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-સરોબ, a-sarôb. વિ૦ નખ વગરનું. Adj. Having no nails. Contrast Av. [illegible], [illegible] Per. سرو

[illegible] આસ્રુએ, âsruê. ના૦ એક ટોલાનું નામ છે, કે જેનું કામ ખોદાતાલાની બંદગી કરવાનું તથા લોકોને ખોદાઈ માર્ગ બતલાવવાનું છે; પરહેજગાર, અથોરનાન. Subs. The name of a sect whose object is to praise God and point out to men the divine path; a pious man; an *Athornân*. Comp. Av. [illegible] Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] ખસ્રુબ, khasrub. વિ૦ નેકનામ, કીરતીવાન. Adj. Virtuous, good; possessing renown; glorious.

[illegible] અ-સરોશ, a-sarôsh. વિ૦ નાફરમાન, કાફર, ખોદાને ખોદા કરી નહીં જાણનાર; ઉપરીના હોકમને તાબે નહીં રેહેનાર; બેઅકલી. Adj. Disobedient; unbelieving; knowing not God as God; insubordinate; senseless. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસ્રુઈ, âsruî. વિ૦ અથોરનાની. Adj. *Athornânî* (relating to the sacerdotal tribe).

[illegible] અ-સરોશાવરજ, a-sarôshâvarz. ના૦ તાબેદાર નહીં, શાંભલવું નહીં; એખતીઆર કરનાર, આધીન નહીં રેહેનાર, તુચ્છકાર—ઈનકાર કરનાર. Subs. One who does not bear obedience to, one who does not hear

(religious precepts), one who is not obedient—submissive, one who treats with contempt = Av. = Per. سروش Av. Rt. = Sans. सु + = Av. = Per. ورز

અ-સરોશવરજ, a-sarôshvarz. See a-sarôshâvarz.

અ-સરૂયાદ, a-sarûyâd. ક્રિ૦ તે નહીં ગાએ! ના૦ નાફરમાની; સુસ્તી. V. May he not sing! Subs. Disobedience, insubordination; indolence.

અસરોશ્ત, a-sarôsht. વિ૦ નાફરમાન; ધરમ ઉપર ફીદા નહીં. Adj. Disobedient, nót devoted to religion.

અસ્રુશ્તાને, asrushtânê. ના૦ પવિત્ર આતશ રાખવાની જગા, દરેમેહેર; આતશબેહેરામ. Subs. A place where sacred fire is preserved and kept burning, a *Dare-mêhêr;* an *Atash Beherâm.*

અ-સરોશ્તી, a-sarôshtî. ના૦ નાફરમાની, હોકમને તાબે નહીં થવું. Subs. Disobedience, insubordination.

અ-સ્રુદાર, a-srudâr. See a-srâîdâr.

આસ્રુગી, âsrugî. ના૦ અથોરનાનનો ધંધો—પેશો. Subs. The vocation of a priest.

દો-સરોબીન, dô-sarôbîn. વિ૦ બે શીંગડાંવાળું. Adj. Having two horns.

[illegible] અ-સ્રોબે, a-srôbê. ના૦ અણઘટતો શબ્દ—ફરમાન. Subs. Without a word, an ill-spoken word, an unreasonable order. Contrast. Av. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] = Sans. श्रवश. Av. Rt. [illegible]

[illegible] અહલુબ, ahlub. See [illegible] ahlub.

[illegible] ગેરોબ, gêrôb. ના૦ પકડનાર; દસ્તગીર:—જેમકે [illegible] "દસ્ત-ગેરોબ." Subs. One that grasps—lays hold of; a helper:—as [illegible] dast-gêrôb.

[illegible] દો-સ્રોબ, dô-srôb. ના૦ બે સબ્દ, બે નખ. Subs. Two words, two nails. [illegible] = Av. [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] અસરે, asarê. વિ૦ હદ—સીમા વગરનું. Adj. Unlimited, having no bounds.

[illegible] આસ્રુન, âsrun. See [illegible] âsrân.

[illegible] આસ્રુન, âsrun. ના૦ પવિત્ર આતશની જાલવણી કરનાર; અશોઈ ઉપર ફેદા થએલો શખ્સ; અથોરનાન; મોબેદ; દસ્તુર; એરવદ; ખોદાની બંદગી કરનાર; પરહેજગાર માણસ. Subs. A guardian of the sacred fire; one devoted to holiness; an *Athornân*; a Mobed—Dustoor; a Herbed; one who prays to God; a pious man. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] આસ્રુન, âsrun. See [illegible] âsrûn.

[illegible] આસ્રુન, âsrûn. ક્રિ૦ તું બાંધ; તું કેદ કર. V. Tie—fasten (thou); confine—imprison (thou) (imper. 2nd sing.)

આસ્રુન-ઓમન્દ, âsrun-ômand. વિ૦ અથોરનાનને લગતું. Adj. Relating to the *Athornan* (sacerdotal tribe).

આસ્રુનશ, âsrunash. ના૦ અથોરનાન તેને. Subs. *Athornân* to him (lit.).

આસ્રુની, âsrunî. ના૦ મોબેદનો ધંધો. Subs. The vocation of a Mobed—priest.

આસ્રુનીહા, âsrunîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ અથોરનાન (મોબેદ—દસ્તુર) ને છાજે તેવી રીત. Adv. In a manner befitting an *Athornân* (Mobed—Dustoor).

આસ્રુનશ્તે, âsrunashtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ બાંધેલું. Past partic. Bound; tied.

અદેરવંદી, adêrvandî. ના૦ ઉતરણ; ઢલાવ. Subs. Declivity, descent.

હેરવંદી, hêrvandî. ના૦ સુકકા નશા ભરેલી હાલત. Subs. State of being full of dry impurities.

અ-દદ્રુનન્દ, a-dadrunand. ક્રિ૦ તેઓ નહીં લઈજાય. V. They may not carry.

આ-દદ્રુનન્દ, â-dadrunand. ક્રિ૦ તેઓ લઈજાય. V. They may carry.

આસ્રુનીએદ, âsrunîêd. ક્રિ૦ બાંધે, કેદ કરે, બેડી પોએ. V. May fasten—confine—imprison; may put in irons.

[illegible] આસ્રુનસ્તન, âsrunastan. ક્રિ૦ બાંધવું, બેડી પોવી, કેદ કરવું, અટકાવવું, બંદીવાન કરવું. V. To fasten, to put in irons, to confine, to imprison ; to restrain.

[illegible] આસ્રુનાન, âsrunân. See [illegible] âsrân.

[illegible] આસ્રુનન્દ, âsrunand. See [illegible] âsrunîêd.

[illegible] આસ્રુન, âsrûn. See [illegible] âsrân.

[illegible] આસ્રુન-ચેહરે, âsrun-chêhrê. વિ૦ અથોરનાનના ચેહેરા જેવું, અથોરનાન જેવું. Adj. Like the face of an *Athornân*, like an *Athornân*.

[illegible] આસ્રુનત, âsrûnat. ક્રિ૦ ધોએ. V. May wash.

[illegible] આસ્રુનતે, âsrûnatê. ના૦ જે બાંધેલું તે; ગાંઠ; બાંધણી, લખત. Subs. That which is tied—bound; a knot; construction; a bond, a document.

[illegible] અજદરૂનતન, ajdarunatan. ક્રિ૦ દુર કરવું, કાપવું. V. To remove ; to cut, to clip.

[illegible] અ-દદ્રુનતન, a-dadrunatan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં લઈ જવું; પકડી નહીં રાખવું, છોડી દેવું, તજી દેવું. V. Not to carry; not to catch hold of, to leave off, to forsake.

[illegible] આસ્રુનતન, âsrunatan. See [illegible] âsrunastan.

[illegible] આસ્રુક, âsruk. See [illegible] âsruê. [illegible] } âsrun.

[illegible] આસ્રુગાન, âsrugân. ના૦ ધર્મગુરૂઓ, મોબેદો, દસ્તુરો. Subs. *Athornâns*; spiritual guides; Mobeds; Dustoors. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આસ્રુગી, âsrugî. See [illegible] âsrunî.

અસ્રુક-તુમ, âsruk-tum. વિ૦ અથોરનાનમાં સર્વથી મ્હોટો—શ્રેષ્ઠ, ઘણોજ પરહેજગાર. Adj. The highest among the *Athornâns* (Dustoors—Mobeds); most devout. Comp. Av. (Hormazd yasht, para. 12.)

દો-સ્રુક, dô-srûk. See દો-સરીનેં dô-sarînê.

આસ્રુત, âsrut. See આસ્રાન્ âsrân.

અ-સ્રુદાર, a-srudâr. See અ-સ્રાઈદાર a-srâîdâr.

આસ્રુદાર, âsrudâr. ના૦ સાંભલનાર, કાન ધરનાર, ધ્યાન આપનાર. Subs. One who hears—lends an ear; one who gives heed.

અ-સરૂદન, a-sarudan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં પઢવું—ગાવું. V. Not to recite—sing. + = Av. Rt. = Per. سرودن

અ-સરે, a-sarê. વિ૦ ટોંચ—મથાલાં વગરનું. Adj. Having no top summit.

અબીલે, abîlê. ના૦ આતશનાં છતકલાં—ચીંગારીઓ. Subs. Sparks of fire.

સે-એ-રગ, sê-ê-rag. સં૦ વિ૦ ચાર હજાર, ૪,૦૦૦. Numer. Adj. Four thousand, 4,000.

સે-એ-રજ, sê-ê-raz. સં૦ વિ૦ ચાર સો, ૪૦૦. Numer. Adj. Four hundred, 400.

સ-સ-રજે, sa-sa-razê. સં૦ વિ૦ આઠ હજાર એક, ૮૦૦૧. Numer. Adj. Eight thousand and one, 8001.

[illegible] અ-સર્દ, a-sard. વિ૦ થંડો થયા વગર, બિહીયા વગર; હિમ્મતભરેલું. Adj. Without becoming cold (lit.); not fearing. Comp. Av. [illegible].

[illegible] આબરત, âbarat. See [illegible], a-bîrêd (a corrupt form of [illegible]).

[illegible] આંબ-ગર્મ, âb-garm ના૦ હુંનું પાણી, આંસું. Subs. Warm water; tears.

[illegible] અસર-રોશન-ખોદાત, asar-rôshan-khôdât. ના૦ કુદરતી બેનેહાએત રોશની. Subs. Endless light of nature.

[illegible] અસર-રોશની, asar-rôshnî. ના૦ બેહદ રોશની; પોતાની મેલે નીકલેલી રોશની; બેહેશ્તના એક તબકકાનું નામ છે, કે જે ગરોથમાનનીબી ઉપર છે. Subs. Endless light; self-created light; the name of one of the stages of heaven which is higher than even *Garothmân*.

[illegible] અસર-રોશનીએ-ખુદાદ, asar-rôshnîê-khudâd. See [illegible] asar-rôshan-khôdât.

[illegible]

[illegible] અ-ઈન, a-în. સર્વ૦ આએ—એ નહીં. Pron. Not this.

[illegible] અએન, aên. ના૦ આંખ, પાણીનો ચશમો. કોઈબી ચીજનું મૂલ. Subs. The eye; a fountain, source; the best part of anything. Comp. Pehl: [illegible], Ar. عين

[illegible] અએવ, અયુ, એઉ, aêv, ayu, eû. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ એક;

એકલું; એક તરફ. Numer. Adj. One; alone, single; one side. Comp. Av. 𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀 = Sans. एक = Pâz. 𐬀𐬌 = Per. یک

𐬀𐬀 અખ, akh. ના૦ દુવા, આશીરવાદ; ભાઈ. Subs. A blessing, a benediction; a brpther. Per. اخ

𐬀𐬀 અ-ગવ, a-gava. વિ૦ દલેર—હિમ્મતવાન નહીં તે; હીચકારૂં, બિહીકણ. Adj. Not brave—courageous, cowardly, timid.

𐬀𐬀 અ-ગો, a-gô. ક્રિ૦ ના કહે—બોલ. વિ૦ ગીરેબાન વગરનું. V. Don't say, don't speak. Adj. Having no collar or breast of a garment.

𐬀𐬀 અદુ, adu. ના૦ દુશ્મન, વેરી, શત્રુ. Subs. An enemy, a foe, an antagonist. Ar. عدو

𐬀𐬀 અ-દુ, a-du. વિ૦ ખરાબ—બુરૂં નહીં, નેક, ભલું, સારૂં. Adj. Not bad—wicked; good, virtuous, honest. (Comp. Prohib. 𐬀 + 𐬌 = 𐬀𐬌 evil: as in 𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌)

𐬀𐬀 અયુ, યાવ, અદુવ, ayû, yâv, aduv. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ યા, અથવા, કિંવા. Conj. Or, either. Per. یا

𐬀𐬀 અયો, ayô, નિશે૦ ઉપ૦ વગર, ઉલટું, વિરૂધ્ધ. Negat. pref. Without, except, contrary to, opposite, against (as in 𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌 ayômok).

𐬀𐬀 આઈન, âîn. ના૦ તરેહ, રીતભાત, તરીકો, રવેશ. Subs. Manner, way, custom, law, usage. Per آئین

𐬀𐬀 આયન, âyan. ના૦ લોઢું, લોખંડ. Subs. Iron. Comp. Pehl. 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 âhan, 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 âsîn.

[illegible] ખએર, khaêr. ના૦ નેકી, ખુબી ; નેક. Subs. Goodness, virtue, merit ; good. Comp. Per. خير

[illegible] ખીન, khîn. ના૦ કીનો, વેર, કપટ, દ્વેશભાવ. Subs. Revenge, enmity, spite.

[illegible] ખીવ, khîv. ના૦ મોહોડાનું પાણી, થુક. Subs. Water ejected from the mouth, spittle. Comp. Per. خيو

[illegible] ખેર, khêr. ના૦ બક્ષેશ, નવાજેશ, ભેટ. Subs. Gift, present, favour.

[illegible] દાન, dân. ક્રિ૦ આજ્ઞા૦ તું જાણ—સમજ. ના૦ એક જાતનો પ્રત્યય છે કે જેનો અર્થ રાખનાર થાયછે:—જેમકે [illegible] આવદાન. V. Know thou, understand—feel thou; a sort of suffix meaning holder, keeper: as in [illegible] *i.e.* a water-keeper (lit.), a reservoir.

[illegible] દીન, દયન, dîn, dayan. ના૦ દીન, ધર્મ. Subs. Religion, faith, any system of faith—worship. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] દો-દો, dô-dô. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ બબે, બે અને બે, ચાર. Numer. Adj. Two by two, two and two, four, 4.

[illegible] યસ્ન, yasna. ના૦ આરાધના, ઈજશને. Subs. Adoration, worship, invocation, *yaçna*. Comp. Av. [illegible], Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] યાન, yân. ના૦ ખુશી, ખુરરમી; નેકી. Subs. Pleasure, gladness, pleasantness; virtue, goodness. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] હીન, hîn. વિ૦ શેતાબ, જલદી. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ પ્રમાણે. સર્વ૦ આએ. કેવલ૦ અ૦ ખબરદાર રેહ! Adj. Hasty, quick.

Adv. Thus, in this manner. Pron. This. Inter. Have a care! Per. هين

હીવ, hîv. વિ૦ ખરાબ. Adj. Bad, evil.

હીર, hîr. ના૦ આતશ; બંદગી, એબાદત. Subs. Fire; prayer, worship, adoration.

અએના, aênâ. ના૦ નાખુશ કરાવવું. વિ૦ વગર ઠેરાવનું; થાકવી નાખનું. Subs. Causing to be displeased—uneasy. Adj. Undetermined; fatiguing. Comp. Ar. ايذا

અ-ગના, a-ganâ. વિ૦ નહીં તુટનાર—ભાગનાર—દૂર થનાર. Adj. Not breaking up, not falling to pieces, not being removed—driven away.

અ-ગુવા, a-guvâ. વિ૦ સાક્ષી—સાહેદી વગરનું; નીસબત વગરનું. Adj. Having no witness, unconnected. Comp. Per. بي گواه

અદના, adnâ. વિ૦ નાધલું, હલકું, ઊતરતું. Adj. Small, insignificant, inferior. Ar. ادنا

અદુખ, adukh. વિ૦ સેહેલું—સાદું નહીં, ભેલાયલું, ભારી. Adj. Not simple, not easy, not unmixed, heavy.

આઈને, âînê. ના૦ આઈનો, આરશી, તખતો. Subs. A mirror, a looking-glass, a pane of glass.

હીવહા, hîvhâ. ના૦ ખરાબી. Subs. Evil, harm.

અ-ગોહર, a-gôhar. વિ૦ કમજાત. Adj. Of low birth.

અએવ-અહલાશ, aêva-ahlâsh. ના૦ એક અશેમ. Subs. One *ashêm*.

[illegible] અ-ગોહરીહા, a-gôharîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બેબુનીઆદીથી. Adv. Ignobly, basely.

[illegible] અએ-નાએ, aê-nâe. ના૦ એક વામ. Subs. One fathom.

[illegible] અદવાએ, advâê. ના૦ ચરવાની જગા. Subs. Pasturage, grazing ground.

[illegible] અદવાજ, advâj. ના૦ આવાજ, શબ્દ, સાદ, હાંક મારવો. Subs. Voice, sound, calling to, noise, (other forms are [illegible]) Per. آواز

[illegible] અ-દોશારમીહા, a-dôshârmîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ વગર પીઆરથી. Adv. Not affectionately. Contrast Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] અયોખ્શસ્ત, ayôkhshast. ના૦ ધાતુ. Subs. A metal, a mineral. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-ગવાએશ, a-gavâêsh. વિ૦ ગવાહી—સાબેતી—દલીલ વગરનું. Adj. Having no witness—proof—demonstration.

[illegible] અ-ગવાહી, a-gavâhî. વિ૦ ખોટી સાખશી—દલીલવાળું. Adj. Having a false witness—proof.

[illegible] આઈન-આઈને, âîn—âînê. વિ૦ પોતપોતાની મેલે ફરતું, આઈનાની મીશાલ. Adj. Turning—revolving by itself, like a looking-glass.

[illegible] અ-દુઈસ્ર, અ-દોઈથ્ર, a-duîsra, a-dôîthra. વિ૦ રતાંજલું, જેને નહીં દેખાય તે. Adj. Afflicted with night-blindness, purblind, not seeing. Contrast Av. [illegible], Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અએવાન, aêvân. ના૦ મેહેલ, હવેલી, મ્હોટી ઈમારત. Subs. A hall, a palace; a mansion, a large building. Per. ایوان

[illegible] અએવાનાન, aêvânân. ના૦ અએવાનો, મેહેલો, મ્હોટી ઈમારતો. Subs. Halls, palaces, large buildings.

[illegible] અગ-વાનાન, ag-vânân. ના૦ બદી—બુરાઈ તોડનારા—નાશ કરનારા. Subs. Those who destroy—sweep away vice. Comp. Av. [illegible] + Av. Rt. [illegible]

[illegible] અદનાવાન, adnâvân. વિ૦ અદનાની મીશાલ, ઉતરતાની માફક. Adj. Like low—worthless persons, like inferiors.

[illegible] આઈનેવાન, âinêvân. વિ૦ આઈનાની મીશાલ—તરેહનું, ખોલ્લું, જાહેર. Adj. Like a looking-glass, manifest, clear.

[illegible] આઈનાન, âinân. ના૦ રસ્તાઓ, રીતિઓ. Subs. Ways, manners.

[illegible] અ-ગુસ-વરદ, a-gûs-vard. વિ૦ અખેતરમાં—કાદવ કચરામાં નહીં ચાલનાર. Adj. Not moving about in filthiness—dirt.

[illegible] અએનાએ, aênâê. ના૦ નાખુશ—દલગીર કરવું. Subs. Displeasing, making sorry.

[illegible] અ-ગનાક, a-ganâk. વિ૦ નહીં તુંટનાર—ભાંગનાર. Adj. Not breaking up, not falling to pieces.

[illegible] અદવાક, અદવાએ, advâk, advâê. See [illegible] advâj.

[illegible] અએનાએ-ગેહાન, aênâê-gêhân. ના૦ દુનિયામા

લોકોને નાખુશ કરનાર. Subs. One who displeases the people of the world.

૧૫૩૩૧૫૫ અ-ગના-કેશાન, a-ganâ-kêshân. ના૦ તુંટનારા તરીકાને લગતું નહીં તે, ગનામીનોના તરીકાને લગતું નહીં તે. Subs. Not relating to the law of one that falls off or decreases, not pertaining to the way—custom of *Angra-minô.*

૧૫૩૩૧૫૫ અદવાએ-ગેહાન, advâê-gêhân. ના૦ જેહાંનનો આવાજ, દુનિયાનો પોકાર. Subs. The voice of the world, the opinion of all men. Per. آواز جہان

૭૫૫ અએવાજ, aêvâz. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ રવેશે, એ પ્રમાણે, મુકરર. Adv. In this manner—way, settled, certain, certainly, positively. (Comp. ૭ + ૭૧ = Per. وجہ)

૭૫૫ અએ-વાજ, aê-vâz. વિ૦ બાજમાં નહીં બોલવું, બ્યાન વગર, વાચા વગર. Adj. Not speaking with closed lips; without description—narration, without speech. (Comp. ૭ + ૭૧ = Av. ૫૫૭૬ = Sans. वाचा.)

૭૫૫ અદવાજ, advâz. વિ૦ જાહેર, ખોલ્લું, દેખઈતું, પ્રસિધ્ધ, એખલું, એકજ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ખશુસન, મુકરર, એખલું, એકજ. ના૦ આવાજ, પોકાર, બાંગ, કલામ, વખાણ, મશહુર થવું. Adj. Manifest, open, evident, published, alone, only one. Adv. Particularly, especially. Subs. Sound, voice, bawling, a word, a speech, praise; becoming renowned. (See ૭૫૫ advâê.)

અવાજ, avâz. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ પાછું, પછી. Prep. Back, again, afterwards.

આવાજ, âvâz. ના૦ સાદ, બોલાવવું. Subs. Voice, calling some one.

અએવ-આજી, aêva-âzî. ના૦ એક લોભી માણસ. Subs. An avaricious—covetous man.

અદવાએહ, advâêh. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ખશુશન. Adv. Particularly, especially.

અદવાઝએ, advâzâê. ના૦ જાહેરી, મશહુરી, આવાજ. Subs. Fame, renown; noise, report. (See અવાજ advâz.)

અદવાઝએ, advâzâê. See અદવાઝએ advâzâê.

અદવાજી, advâzî. ના૦ જાહેરાત; પોકાર—આવાજ—હાંક મારવો. Subs. Publicity; vociferating, calling (some one), bawling, shouting.

દો-વાજ-એ, dô-vâzâ-ê. ના૦ બે જન જોડ વલગી બાજ લઈને. Subs. Two persons coming into close contact with a *Bâj*.

અદવાજી, advâzî. ના૦ આવાજ, પોકાર, આવાજ મારવો. Subs. Sound, a loud cry, noise, bawling. Comp. Pehl. અવાજ, અવાજ

અએન-આજી, aên-âzî. ના૦ લોભી આંખ. Subs. A greedy—covetous eye.

અદવાજી, આવાજી, અએવાજી, advâzî, âvâzî, aêvâzî. ના૦ આરાસ્તગી, શીંગાર, ફરીઆદ, પોકાર:

Subs. Preparations, decorations, a complaint, a loud cry. Per. ایراز

અદુ-આઝી, adû-âzî. ના૦ લોભી દુશ્મન. Subs. An avaricious enemy, a covetous foe.

આવાઝી, âvâzî. વિ૦ આવાજથી ભરેલું; મશહુર, વખણાએલું, શીખામણની રીતે. Adj. Full of noise—clamour (lit.); renowned, famous; by way of advice.

અએવાઝીગાન, aêvâzîgân. વિ૦ વધારે બોલાએલા; વખણાએલા. Adj. Plu. Much talked of; famous.

અદવાઝીગાન, આવાઝીગાન, advâzîgân, âvâzîgân. Plu. of અદવાઝ, which see.

આવાજે, આવાચે, âvâzê, âvâchê. ના૦ આવાજ, શરોદ. વિ૦ ફેલાવો પામેલું, મશહુર થયલું. Subs. Sound, a song, a tune. Adj. Spread, diffused, widely known. Per. آواز = Av. ઉપસર્ગ + વાક્ય

અદવાઝી, advâzî. ના૦ કલામ, આવાજ; નીશાન પીછાન; વખાણ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ખોલ્લી રીતે. Subs. A word, sound, voice, acquaintance with, knowledge, fame, renown. Adv. Openly, plainly.

અદવાઝે, advâzê. ના૦ મ્હોટે બોલનાર, ધુમ પાડનાર, શોર કરનાર. Subs. One who speaks loudly, one who bawls out—raises up the voice. (See અવાઝ âvâz.)

અએ-વાવર, aê-vâvar. વિ૦ બાવર—ભરૂસેદાર—કબુલ નહીં, કબુલાત વગરનું. Adj. Not credible—

faithful, not acceptable—believable. (Comp. [illegible] + [illegible] = Per. باور)

[illegible] અદવાજ-ર, advâz-ra. ના૦ મારો આવાજ, મારૂં બ્યાન. Subs. My voice—sound, my description.

[illegible] આખ-અવર, âkh-ayar. ના૦ બરતર—ઉંચી દોવા. Subs. A sublime benediction, a blessing exalted in nature.

[illegible] અએવાજ, aêvâz. વિ૦ શીંગારેલું, આરાસ્તે કીધેલું. Adj. Adorned, decorated.

[illegible] અ-દોખ્ત, a-dôkht. વિ૦ સંબંધ વગરનું, સંબંધ નહીં ધરાવનારૂં. Adj. Unconnected, irrelative.

[illegible] અ-બોખ્ત, a-bôkht. વિ૦ નાખાલેશ, ગડલું. Adj. Not pure—unmixed; turbid.

[illegible] અયોખ્તોમંદ, ayôkhtômand. વિ૦ કોશેશવાલું, મેહેનતુ, તેજીવાલું. Adj. Endeavouring, exerting, labouring, brisk, sharp. (Comp. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. युज् = to endeavour. [illegible] = Sans. युक्ति.)

[illegible] અયુખ્તાર, ayukhtâr. ના૦ દોડનાર, કુદનાર, ઝડપવાલું, તેજ ચાલનાર, દોડાવનાર, સવાર, લડનાર, લડાઈ કરનાર, હોમલો કરનાર, મોરાદ રાખનાર, કોશેશ કરનાર. Subs. One who runs—jumps, quick, one who goes fast, one who makes run; a rider, a fighter, a warrior, an attacker, one who entertains hopes, one who endeavours—exerts. (See [illegible])

[illegible] અયોખ્તારી, ayôkhtârî. ના૦ કોશેશ, યુક્તિ, ઉદ્યોગ,

ઉજમ. Subs. Effort, endeavour, exertion, activity. (See [illegible])

[illegible] અયુખ્તારીહા, ayukhtârîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ઉદ્યોગની રીતે, અનુભવ પ્રમાણે. Adv. Industriously, experimentally, in a familiar manner.

[illegible] અ-દોખ્તી, a-dôkhtî. ના૦ જોડાયા વગરની હાલત, સંબંધ વગરની હાલત. Subs. The state of being not joined—associated.

[illegible] અ-બોખ્તશની, a-bôkhtashni. વિ૦ છુટકારો આપનારૂં નહીં. ના૦ છુટકારા વગરની હાલત. Adj. Not giving release. Subs. State of being not released.

[illegible] અ-બોખ્તશને, a-bôkhtashnê. ના૦ નહીં છુટકો કરવું. Subs. Not releasing.

[illegible] અયુખ્તીદન, ayukhtîdan. ક્રિ૦ સેતાબ ચાલવું, દોડવું. V. To walk or run fast. (See [illegible] ayôkhtomand.)

[illegible] અ-દોખ્તન, a-dôkhtan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં સીવવું—સાંધવું—જોડવું, સંબંધ ન કરવો, દુધ ન દોહોવું. V. Not to sew, not to stitch, not to join—associate—attach, not to milk. Contrast Per. دوشیدن - دوختن

[illegible] અ-બોખ્તન, a-bôkhtan. ક્રિ૦ છુટકારો ન કરવો, છોડવવું નહીં. V. Not to release—liberate.

[illegible] અયુખ્તન, ayukhtan. ક્રિ૦ કોશેશ કરવી, ઉદ્યોગ કરવો, ઉજમ કરવો. V. To endeavour, to strive, to be active, to work, to long for work.

[illegible] અયુજીદન, યુદીતન, ayujîdan, yudîtan. ક્રિ૦ લડાઈ

કરવી, લડવું, તંટો—જઘડો કરવો. V. To fight, to wage war, to war against, to quarrel, to fall out, to brawl, to break with. Av. [illegible] = Sans. युध् = to fight.

યુજીદન, yujídan. ક્રિ૦ બાંધવું, જોડવું, મજબુત કરવું. V. To tie, to bind, to connect, to strengthen. Av. [illegible] = Sans. युज् = Per. یوجیدن

અ-દોખ્તે, a-dôkhtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ નહીં સીવેલું; નહીં તમામ થાયલું; નહીં સાંધેલું—દોહવેલું; અદા નહીં કરેલું. Past. part. Not sewn, unstitched; not milked; not fulfilled.

અયુખ્તગી, ayukhtagî. ના૦ કોશેશ. Subs. Effort, attempt, endeavour.

અએવ-હમ, aêva-ham. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક સાથે, એક પુરૂં. Adv. All in one.

અબુ-અમ, abû-am. ના૦ માબાપ. Subs. Parents.

ખીન-હમ, khin-ham. ના૦ પુરો કીનો. Subs. Full revenge.

અએવાર, aêvâr. ના૦ ઓજીરન ગેહનો વખત, સાંહાંજ, નમતો પોહોર. Subs. The time of *Ozîran*; evening time; this word may also be pronounced "ûzêîar," "ûzaîarê," "azuarê." Per. ایوار

અ-ગોહર, a-gôhar. વિ૦ બદ અસલ, બદજાત; વગર કરજંદનું, બેઅકલ, બેએલમ; વગર ગુણનું, ખરાબ ખવાસનું. Adj. Bad by nature, of a base or mean origin, having no issue; senseless, unwise, unlearned; having no merit—excellence. Per. بی گوهر

સવાર, asvâr. ના૦ લશકરી સવાર. Subs. A cavalier.

દો-ગોહર, do-gôhar. વિ૦ બે જાત—તોખમનું. Adj. Of two breeds—families.

યાવાર, યાવર, yâvâr, yâvar. ના૦ મદદગાર. Subs. A helper, a protector. Comp. Per. یاور

અ-ગોહરી, a-gôharî. ભાવ૦ ના૦ બદજાતી, બદગોહરી, અસીલપણાં વગરનું, કજાતી. Subs. abst. Evil—depraved nature, ignoble—mean birth, low—vulgar descent.

અ-ગવારશ્નીહા, a-gavârashnîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ નહીં ખાવાથી, ભુખું રેહેવાથી; હજમ નહીં થવાથી. Adv. Without being eaten, being in a state of hunger; without being digested.

અ-ગોહરયાન, a-gôharyân. ના૦ ખવાશ નહીં રાખનારાં, બુનીઆદી નહીં રાખનારાં. Subs. Those who are of a low or mean origin, those that are ignoble or base-born.

અ-ગવારીદન, અ-ગવારસ્તન, a-gavârîdan, a-gavârastan. ક્રિ૦ હજમ નહીં કરવું; નહીં ખાવું. V. Not to digest, not to eat. Contrast Per. گواریدن

અ-ગવારીદન, â-gavârîdan. See અ-ગવારસ્તન a-gavârastan.

અ-ગોહરીદન, a-gôharîdan. ક્રિ૦ એક ચીજને બીજી ચીજમાં બદલ નહીં કરવી. V. Not to exchange one thing with another. Contrast Per. گوهریدن

અ-ગવારૂનોમંદ, a-gavârunômand. વિ૦ ઘાતકીપણાં વગર; ભયંકર નહીં તે; ઘાયલ—જખમી નહીં. Adj. Not wicked; not horrible—terrible; not wounded—hurt.

અએવારે, aêvârê. See અએવાર aêvâr.

અએવારગી, aêvâragî. ના૦ સાથે મલીજવું. Subs. Mixing together.

અએવારેહ, aêvârêh. વિ૦ સાંજને લગતું. Adj. Relating to evening.

અ-ગોહરે, a-gôharê. વિ૦ બદજાત, ખરાબ ખુનીઆદનું. Adj. Low-born, of ignoble birth. Per. بی گوہر

અ-ગોહર-જાએ, a-gôhar-zâê. વિ૦ અસીલ નહીં પેદા થયલું, બદઅસીલ. Adj. Born of a base or low origin.

અએવક, aêvak. વિ૦ એક. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક મરતબે. Adj. One. Adv. Once, one time.

અ-ગંગ, a-gang. વિ૦ મુગું નહીં, બોલતું. Adj. Not dumb, speaking. Prohib. + = Per. گنگ

અ-ગંદ, a-gand. વિ૦ ગંદગી વગરનું, ગંદ વગરનું. Adj. Having no stench—offensive odour, not filthy. Prohib. + = Av. = Per. گند

અ-જુદ, a-jud. વિ૦ જુદું—હલાએદું નહીં. Adj. Not different—separate—distinct.

અ-દુઈ, a-duî. વિ૦ બેફરેબ; ફરેબ નહીં દેનારૂં, ઠાગો નહીં કરનારૂં; ધાસ્તી વગરનું, ખોદાતાલાના ગુણો મધેનો એક ગુણ. Adj. Void of deceit—fraud; undeceiving;

fearless, without dread—apprehension; one of the attributes of God. (Comp. Prohib. ᴍ + ᴅᴊ = Av. [illegible]; Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. दम्=to deceive.)

ᴅᴍᴊ અ-દુદ, a-dûd. વિ૦ ગમ—શોક વગરનું; દમ—નકસ—ધુમાડા વગરનું. Adj. Having no grief—sorrow; having no breath—smoke. Per. بی دود

ᴅᴍᴊ અ-યનગ, a-yanag. વિ૦ વગર શીકલ—રવેસનું; બદ-શીકલ. Adj. Shapeless, grotesque, not customary, ugly.

ᴅᴍᴊ અયને, આહન, a-yanê, âhan. ના૦ લોઢું. Subs. Iron.

ᴅᴍᴊ અવે, અએવે, avê, aêvê. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ વગર. Prep. Without, except.

ᴍᴅᴍᴊ અએ-વદા, અએ-વેહ, aê-vadâ, aê-vêh. વિ૦ ભલું—સારૂં નહીં. Adj. Not good, not respectable—honorable, not excellent. ᴅ + ᴍᴅ = Av. [illegible] = Per. بہ

ᴍᴅᴍᴊ અગેનશ, agênash. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ જે તે, જે તે શખસ. Conj. If he, if that person.

ᴍᴅᴍᴊ અ-ગુયા, a-gûyâ. વિ૦ નહીં બોલનારૂં, વગર જબાનનું, મુગું. Adj. Not speaking, dumb, tongueless, destitute of the power of speech. Contrast Per. گویا

ᴍᴅᴍᴊ અ-ગોશ, a-gôsh. વિ૦ કાન વગરનું, ખરાબ કાનનું, વગર ખુણાનું. Adj. Without an ear, having no ears, without a corner. Prohib. ᴍ + ᴍᴅ = Av. [illegible] = Per. گوش, گوشہ

અજુશ અ-જુશ, a-jûsh. વિ૦ ચાહ—મરજી—પ્યાર—મોહોબત વગરનું. Adj. Unwished, having no desire, devoid of love—affection, without friendship. Prohib. અ + જુશ = Av. Rt. જુષ્ = Sans. जुष्.

અજોશ અ-જોશ, a-jôsh. વિ૦ જોશ—બલ—જોસ્સા વગરનું. Adj. Without agitation, excitement, powerless, without strength. Prohib. અ + જોશ = Per. جوش

અદન્યા, અએન્ય, adnyâ, aênya. વિ૦ બીજું; શબ્દ૦ અ૦ શેવાએ. Adj. Another, further. Prep. Except. Av. [illegible] = Sans. अन्य.

અદન્યા, adanyâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બીજું; ફરીને. ના૦ કોઈને સાદ મારવો, પોકાર, ફરશંગના છ હીસ્સાનો એક હીસ્સો. Adv. Further, again. Subs. Calling out some one; bawling; one sixth of a *farsang*.

અદુશ, અ-દુઝ, a-dûsh, a-dûzh. વિ૦ ખરાબ નહીં તે, સારૂં. Adj. Not bad, good. Prohib. અ + દુશ = Av. દુશ, દુઝ = Sans. दुष्, दुस्, दुर्.

અદોબા, a-dôbâ. વિ૦ બેવડું નહીં, વગર પરનું. Adj. Not two-fold, not double, without a fold—layer.

અયોશ, અએવશ, ayôsh, aêvash. સર્વ૦ તે, તેજ, યા તે; કોઈ, બીજો; લોક, શખસ. વિ૦ અક્કલમંદ. ના૦ આવાજ આપવો; હાંક મારવો. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ફરી, વલી. Pron. He, the same, or he; some one, other, people, person. Adj. Sagacious, intelligent. Subs. Calling out; raising the voice. Adv. Again, another time, once more, also.

[illegible] અ-યોશ, a-yôsh. વિ૦ જોસ્તેજો—તજવીજ નહીં કીધેલું. Adj. Not searched after diligently, not inquired into. Prohib [illegible] + [illegible] = Per. یوش

[illegible] અ-યોશ, અ-યોઝ, a-yôsh, a-yôzh. વિ૦ પાક—પવિત્ર નહીં, નાપાક, ખરાબ. Adj. Not pure, not free from defilement, unholy, unclean, bad. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible], [illegible] = Sans. योस्.

[illegible] અયોશ, ayôsh. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ નહીંતો. If not, otherwise, or else.

[illegible] દાની, dânî. ક્રિ૦ તું જાણ, તું સમજ. V. Know thou, understand thou (imper.)

[illegible] યાવશ, yâvash. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ યા તે. Conj. Or he.

[illegible] હેરી, hêrî. વિ૦ સુકકા નશાને લગતું. Adj. Relating to dry impurities.

[illegible] અએવ-ગાહ, aêva-gâh. ના૦ એક વખત, એક જગા, એક ગેહ. Subs. One time, one place, one Gêh. [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible], Sans. गातु, Per. گاه

[illegible] અ-ગંદહા, a-gandhâ. ના૦ ખરાબ ગંધો—વાસો, વિ૦ ગંધ વગરનું. Subs. Offensive odours, stinks, effluvia. Adj. Free from stinks, having no offensive smell. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Per. گند = [illegible] plural suf.

[illegible] અ-દોશી, a-dôshî. વિ૦ બુરાઈ વગરનું, નેક, ભલું. Adj. Free from evil—badness; virtuous, good, gentle.

[illegible] આઈને-જાહ, âînê-jâh. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બુજોરગીની રીતે, બુજોરગી મુજબ. Adv. By way of greatness—exalted dignity, according to high position. [illegible] = Per. آئین + [illegible] = Per. جاه

[illegible] આઈનેહા, âînêhâ. ના૦ આઈનાઓ ; રીતિઓ. Subs. Mirrors, looking-glasses; manners, customs, usages.

[illegible] ખીનીહા, khînîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કીના—કપટથી. Adv. Revengefully, spitefully, vindictively.

[illegible] દાનીહા, dânîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જાણવાથી, બુજવાથી, જાણીને, બુજીને. Adv. Knowingly, with knowledge, designedly, intentionally.

[illegible] હીનીહા, hînîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ હીણાપણાંથી. Adv. Basely, vilely, meanly.

[illegible] અ-દોશ-યાવર, a-dôsh-yâvar. ના૦ બુરી મદદ નહીં કરનાર ; બુરૂં નહીં પામનાર. Subs. One that does not offer evil assistance, one who does not obtain ill amends.

[illegible] અયોશાન, ayôshân. ના૦ વીવંઘહાનના બાપનું નામ. Subs. Name of the father of *Vîvangahân.*

[illegible] અ-દોઝ્ખાર, a-dôzhkhâr. See [illegible] a-dôzhkhâr.

[illegible] અ-દોઝ્-ખાર-તર, a-dôzh-khâr-tar. વિ૦ વધારે ખરાબ નહીં ચાહાનારૂં, વધારે દલગીર નહીં, વધારે આશાનીવાળું. Adj. Not wishing more ill, not more sorrowful—afflicted, having more convenience.

[illegible] અયો-શા-મરૂત, અએવ-ગાહ-મરૂત, ayô-shâ-mrût, aêva-gâh-mrût. એક વખત બોલાતું—પઢાતું. Spoken or recited only once. [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Sans. गातु = Per. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Sans. ब्रूत.

[illegible] અ-દોઝ્ખાર, a-dôzhkhâr. વિ૦ મુશ્કેલ—કઠણ નહીં તે; નાખુશ. Adj. Not difficult—hard; displeased.

[illegible] અ-દોશારમ, a-dôshâram. વિ૦ પીયાર નહીં મેલવવો, પીયાર—મોહોબત વગર, પીયાર નહીં બતલાવનારૂં, ખુશ નહીં, ખુશી વગરૂં Adj. Not winning affection, not securing love, not setting one's affections on, displeased, without inclination—will. Contrast Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] અ- દોશારમીહા, a-dôshâramîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ મોહોબત ભરેલી રીતે નહીં, નાખુશ રીતે, વિચારની રીતે નહીં. Adv. Not in a loving manner, in a displeasing way, not affectionately.

[illegible] અએ-વદાઈ, અએ-વેહી, aê-vadâî, aê-vêhî. વિ૦ ભલાઈ—નેકી વગરનું. Adj. Devoid of goodness, not having virtue—probity.

[illegible] અ-ગોશી, a-gôshî. વિ૦ ખુણાદાર નહીં, ખુણાવાળું નહીં. Adj. Not cornered, not angular.

[illegible] અ-ઝુશી, a-zushî. વિ૦ ખાહેશ વાળું—મરજી પ્રમાણેનું નહીં, નારાજી, નાખુશ. Adj. Not desirous, not according to one's wish, displeased, indisposed. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-જોશી, a-jôshî. વિ૦ જોશવાળું નહીં. Adj. Not excited, not passionate, not heated, not effervescing—boiling.

[illegible] અદન્યાઈ, adanyâî. વિ૦ બીજા દરજ્જાનું. Adj. Of the second order, secondary.

[illegible] અ-દોશી, a-dôshî. ના૦ દોષ વગરની હાલત, નામરજી, નાખુશી, નિર્દોષપણું, પવિત્રાઈ; ક્રિ૦ તું ના ચાહ—મરજી ના કર. Subs. Freedom from fault—sin—offence; disinclination, dislike, displeasure; innocence, harmlessness, purity, sinlessness. V. Do not love—like, don't be inclined. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Sans. दुश्.

[illegible] યાવશશ, yâvashash. ના૦ તે પામવું. Subs. Obtaining it.

[illegible] અ-યોઝ-દખશક, a-yôzh-dakhshak. ના૦ નાપાક ખસલત, બદખાશીઅત, ખરાબ નિશાન. Subs. Impure nature, evil disposition; a bad symptom.

[illegible] અ-યોશદાસ્ર, a-yôshdâsra. વિ૦ અપવિત્ર. Adj. Impure, defiled, unclean. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-યોશદાસ્રી, a-yôshdâsrî. ના૦ અપવિત્રાઈ, નાપાકી, નજીસાઈ. Subs. Impurity, defilement, filthiness, uncleanliness. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-યોઝદાસ્ર-ગાહ, ayôzhdâsr-gâh. ના૦ અપવિત્ર—ગલીચી ભરેલી જગો. Subs. An impure—filthy place.

[illegible] અયોઝદાસ્રીની-દારી, ayôzhdâsrînî-dârî. વિ૦ અપવિત્રાઈ કરનારૂં. Adj. Causing impurity.

[illegible] અ-યોશદાસ્રીનેદ-શસ્તન, a-yôshdâsrî-nêd-shastan. ક્રિ૦ પાક—સાફ—તંદરોસ્ત નહીં થઈ શકે. V. Cannot be pure—purified, cannot be free from defilement, cannot be cured, cannot be restored to health.

[illegible] અએવગહશ્ને, aêvagahâshnê. ના૦ કુસ્તી બાંધવી, એવ્યંધહન વણવી. Subs. Girding the *kushtî* round the waist, weaving the *kushtî*.

[illegible] અ-ગોશશ્ને, a-gôshashnê. ના૦ કાન નહીં રાખવા, નહીં સાંભળવું, અખાડા કરવા. Subs. Not giving or lending an ear, not hearing, turning a deaf ear to. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Per. گوش

[illegible] અ-જોશશ્ને, a-jôshashnê. ના૦ જોશ નહીં આપવો. Subs. Not boiling.

[illegible] અ-દોશશ્ને, a-dôshashnê. ના૦ કાહેલી, સુસ્તી, નહીં ગમવું, ખાહેશ—ચાહ—પ્યાર વગર. Subs. Indolence, languor, sloth, laziness, dislike, disinclination, want of affection—attachment.

[illegible] આઈન-દેહેશ્ને, âin-dêhêshnê. ક્રિ૦ વિ૦ બખ્શેશ પ્રમાણે, બખ્શેશની રીતે, આપવા તરીકે, પેદાયશ પ્રમાંણે, ખેલકતની રીતે. Adv. By way of donation—grant, by way of charity; according to the creation. Comp. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Per. دہش

[illegible] અયોશસ્ત, ayôshast. ના૦ ધાતુ. Subs. Metal.

[illegible] અ-દોશ-ગદમન, a-dôsh-gadman. વિ૦ ખરાબ ખોરેહનું નહીં, આબરૂ—કીરતિવાળું. Adj. Not relating to evil lustre—splendour, not of bad character—reputation.

અ-દોશ-જદમન, a-dôsh-jadman. વિ૦ ખરાબ ભાયગનું નહીં, બદબખ્ત—હીન કપાલનું નહીં, કમ નસીબ નહીં. Adj. Not unfortunate, not unlucky, not ill-starred.

અ-દોશ-યદમન, a-dôsh-yadman. વિ૦ ખરાબ જોર—કૌવતનું નહીં. Adj. Not of an evil strength, not relating to bad power—vigour.

અ-દોશીનીદન, a-dôshinidan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ચાહવું, પ્યાર ન રાખવો. V. Not to love, not to have a liking for.

આયને-હીને, âyanê-hîne. ના૦ પોલાદ. Subs. Steel.

અ-દોશ-બોરદાર, a-dôsh-bôrdâr. ના૦ ખરાબ રીત નહીં વાપરનાર, નઠારી રીત નહીં ચલાવનાર. Subs. One who does not use a bad practice, one that does not put in practice an evil custom. Prolib.

+ = Av. + = Av.

અ-જોશીદાર, a-jôshîdâr. ના૦ જોશ—ઉલટ નહીં આપનાર. Subs. That which does not excite—stimulate, one who does not give encouragement—inducement.

અ-દોશીદાર, a-dôshîdâr. ના૦ સારૂં નહીં ચાહનાર, ધિક્કારનાર; નહીં દોહનાર. Subs. An ill-wisher, a hater, a despiser, one who does not milk.

અ-ઝુશીદન, a-zûshidun. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ચાહવું, મરજી નહીં કરવી, ધિક્કારવું. V. Not to love, to hate, not

to be inclined—pleased. Contrast Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. जुष्.

[illegible] અ-જોશીદન, a-jôshidan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ઉકલવું, જોશ નહીં કરવો, જોશ નહીં આપવો. V. Not to boil, not to cause effervescence, not to ferment, not to agitate. Per. جوشیدن

[illegible] અ-દોશીદન, a-dôshîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં દોહોવું. V. Not to milk. Contrast Per. دوشیدن

[illegible] અયોઝ્-દરમાન, ayôzh-darmân. વિ૦ નાપાક—ગલીચ દવા. Subs. An impure medicine.

[illegible] દો-ઘનશન, dô-ghanashna. વિ૦ બે ઘણું, બે વખત. ના૦ બે ઘણું મારવું. Adj. Two times, twice as much. Subs. Striking twice.

[illegible] અ-દોશનામી, a-dôshnâmî. વિ૦ બદનામી વગરનું, દામીજ નહીં. Adj. Free from ignominy—infamy, not damaged. Contrast Per. دشنام

[illegible] અ-દોશવાર, a-dôshvâr. વિ૦ મુશકેલ—કંટાલા ભરેલું નહીં, સેહેલું. Adj. Not difficult—tedious; easy.

[illegible] અ-દોઝ્ખારી, a-dôzkhâri. ના૦ બદ નહીં ચાહનારૂં, નેક ચાહનારૂં, નેક આશાની. Subs. Not wishing ill, wishing happiness to, good convenience.

[illegible] અ-દોશ્વારી, a-dôshvârî. ના૦ મુશકેલી વગરની હાલત, પીડા—દુઃખથી વેગલાઈ. Subs. Freedom from difficulty, state of being without trouble. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Per. دشواري

અ-ગોબાનદ, a-gôbânad. ક્રિ૦ નહીં બોલાવે—કેહેવડાવે—પઢાવે. V. May not cause to speak—utter—recite.

અ-ગવશની, a-gavashnî. વિ૦ વાચાવાળું નહીં, બોલકણું નહીં, મુગું. Adj. Speechless, not speaking—talkative, dumb.

અ-જોદાની, અએ-રશની, a-jôdânî, aê-rashnî. વિ૦ જવાની વગરનું. Adj. Without the vigour of youth. Contrast Av. ; (plur. gen.)

અયુજાની, ayûjânî. ના૦ કોશેશ, ધંધો. ક્રિ૦ તું કોશેશ કર. Subs. Exertion, endeavour, trade, business, occupation. V. Exert thou (imper.)

અયોશોસ્ત, ayôshôst. See ayôkhshôst.

ખીન-શોસ્ત, khîn-shôst. ક્રિ૦ કીનો ધોઈ નાખીઓ, કીનો કાઢી નાખીઓ. V. Wiped off rancour, washed off vindictive feelings (past tense).

અયોશોસ્તીન, ayôshôstin. વિ૦ ધાતુનું. Adj. Made of metal; consisting of metal.

અ-ગોશો-સ્રુતે, a-goshô-srûtê. વિ૦ કાને નહીં સાંભલેલું, નહીં શીખેલું. Adj. Unheard by the ear, not learned. Prohib. + = Av. = Per.

گوش + = Av. .

અ-જનશને, a-janashnê. ના૦ નહીં મારવું. Subs. Not beating—striking.

અ-જોદાન, a-jôdân. વિ૦ જવાન નહીં તે. Adj. Not young.

[illegible] અ-દોઝ્વરશતે-વરઝી, a-dôzhvarshtê-varzî. ના૦ બુરૂં કામ નહીં એખતીઆર કરનાર, નેક કામ કરનાર. Subs. One who does not choose evil actions; one who practises virtuous deeds. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-ગોબાક, a-gôbâk. વિ૦ સાક્ષી વગર. Adj. Without any witness.

[illegible] અ-દોશ્ક, a-dôshk. વિ૦ ખરાબ—જનાકાર નહીં. Adj. Not bad, not adulterous.

[illegible] અ-દોશે, a-dôshê. વિ૦ ખાહેશ—મતલબ વગર; ખરાબ મતલબ, ઈચ્છા. Having no desire—inclination, without any purpose—intent; evil design—inclination—desire.

[illegible] અબુશે, abûshê. વિ૦ પાક, અશો. Adj. Holy, pure.

[illegible] અયોદાક, ayôdak. See [illegible] aêvadâdê.

[illegible] દો-ગોશે, dô-gôshê. વિ૦ બે ખુણાનું. Adj. Having two corners, biangular. Per. دوگوشه

[illegible] અ-ગોબાગી, a-gôbâgî. વિ૦ ગવાહી—કેહેવત વગરનું; સખુની—બાહોશીલું નહીં તે. Adj. Without testimony—popular saying—adage; not obstinate—stubborn.

[illegible] અ-દોશગી, a-dôshgî. ના૦ ખરાબી—બદીની હાલતથી વેગલાઈ. Subs. Freedom from evil—vice.

[illegible] અ-દોશેઈ, a-dôshêî. વિ૦ વગર ખાહેશનું, અણગમતું. Adj. Without inclination—desire, not pleasing.

અ-દોશ્ક-મરજ્, a-dôshk-marz. વિ૦ જેહેમરજી નહીં કરનાર. Adj. Not committing the crime of adultery—fornication.

અ-ગોશ-કશીદન, a-gôsh-kashîdan. ક્રિ૦ કાન ન ખેંચવા, સખુન નહીં શાંભલવો, જાણી જોઈ અખાડા કરવા. V. Not to prick up one's ears; not to hear; to turn a deaf ear to.

અ-દોશ-ચેહેર, a-dôsh-chêhêr. વિ૦ ખરાબ ચેહેરાનું નહીં તે, કદરૂપું નહીં તે, સારા રૂપંનું. Adj. Not having ugly features, not deformed or ill-shaped; beautiful, well-proportioned.

અ-દવ્યાદ, a-davyâd. ના૦ દકે નહીં થનાર. Subs. That which cannot be removed.

અએવદાદે, aêvadâdê. ના૦ એક પેદા કીધેલું, એક આપેલું, એક ગાવનું નામ કે જેને પરવરદેગારે દુનિયાની શુરૂઆતમાં પેદા કીધી હતી, જેને "ગાવ્યોદાદ" કરી કેહેછે. એ ગાવથી ૨૮૨) જાતનાં ચરંદાં પરંદાં પેદા થયાં હતાં. Subs. The only-begotten or the only-created (lit.); name of a bull created by Ormazd at the beginning of the world, called Gâvyôdâd, from which 282 kinds of beasts and birds were created. Comp. Av. [illegible] (in Mâh Nyâêsh).

અ-દોશ-પર્ગ, a-dôsh-parg. વિ૦ બુરા હીસ્સા—બદલાવાલું નહીં. Adj. Not of a bad share—portion, not of an evil return—meed.

[illegible] અ-દોશફરેશ, a-dôshpharêsh. વિ૦ તંગી વગરનું. Adj. Without scarcity (of anything); free from difficulties—straits.

[illegible] અ-દોશમીન, a-dôshmîn. વિ૦ બદ મનનું નહીં. Adj. Not of an evil mind.

[illegible] અ-દુશમની, a-dûshmanî. ના૦ દુશમની વગરની હાલત; ખરાબ મનવાળું નહીં તે. Subs. Freedom from enmity, state of being free from ill-mindedness. Comp. Per. بي دشمني

[illegible] અ-દુશમજે, a-dûshmazê. વિ૦ ખરાબ સવાદનું નહીં. Adj. Not of a bad taste, not insipid. Contrast Per. بي مزه

[illegible] અએવ-બાર, aêva-bâr. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક મરતબે, એક વખત. Adv. One time, once. Per. يک بار

[illegible] અએવ-બાર, aêva-bâr. ના૦ એક ફલ. Subs. A fruit. [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] = Per. بر , بار

[illegible] અએવ-બાર, aêva-bâr. ના૦ એક ભીંત—કિલ્લો. Subs. One wall, one fortress, one castle, one fortified place. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. Rt. [illegible], Per. بار ; باره

[illegible] અયુબાર, અયુબર, ayûbâr, ayûbur. વિ૦ રીમન. Adj. Defiled, polluted.

[illegible] અયુબાર, ayûbâr. ના૦ યારી ; દોસ્તી. Subs. Help, friendship.

[illegible] એવ-બાર, êva-bâr. ના૦ એક બોજો ; એક જાતનું કષ્ટ. Subs. One load, a burden ; a sort of bodily exertion—labor. [illegible] + [illegible] = Per. بار

દો-દો-બાર, dô-dô-bâr. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ચાર મરતબે, ચાર વાર. Adv. Four times.

અસોબારાન, asôbârân. ના૦ સવારો. Subs. Horsemen, cavaliers.

અ-દોબારાનીદન, a-dôbârânîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં દોડાવવું, ધસારો નહીં કરાવવો, દફે નહીં કરાવવું. V. Not to make run, not to make rush upon, not to cause to remove.

અ-દોબારદ, a-dôbârad. ક્રિ૦ દફે—દુર નહીં કરે, હાંકી નહીં કાઢે. V. May not drive away, may not remove.

અ-દોબારેસ્તન, a-dôbârêstan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં દોડવું, જોસ્સાથી નહીં દોડવું, નહીં હોમલો કરવો. V. Not to run, not to make a sudden attack, not to rush upon, not to repulse, not to drive away. Av. Rt.

અ-દોબારીદન, a-dôbârîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં દોડવું, નાબુદ નહીં થવું, દફે નહીં કરવું, દોડી ન જવું. V. Not to run away, not annihilated (applied to *devs* and *darvands*).

અ-દોબારીનીનીદન, a-dôbârînînîdan. See a-dôbârânîdan.

અ-દોબારીદન, a-dôbârîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં દોડવું, દફે નહીં કરવું, દોડી ન જવું, નહીં નાહાસવું. V. Not to run, not to annihilate, not to run away, not to fly. Av.

[illegible] અયુબારીદન, ayûbârîdan. ક્રિ૦ એક મરતબે થવું —કરવું, રીમન થવું. V. To happen—become only once, to do once; to be polluted—defiled.

[illegible] અઈની, ainî. ના૦ પેશાની; જબાન. Subs. The forehead, the tongue. Av. [illegible] = Sans. अनिक.

[illegible] અઈનીગ, અએનંગ, aînîg, aênang. ના૦ કીનો, વેર, દ્વેશભાવ. Subs. Revenge, spite, rancour. Comp. Av. [illegible] = Sans. एनस्.

[illegible] અઈયજ, aiyaz. ના૦ આતશનાં છટકલાં, બોમાદરાન નામની દવા. Subs. Sparks of fire; name of a medicine.

[illegible] અગની, agnî. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક બારગી, એકદમ, એક વખત. Adv. At once, all at once.

[illegible] અ-ગંદે, a-gandê. વિ૦ ગંધાતું નહીં તે, વાસ નહીં મારતું. બીગડેલું નહીં તે. Adj. Not stinking—stenching, not corrupted.

[illegible] અ-દુઈ, a-duî. વિ૦ ધાસ્તી—દેહેસત વગરનું, બેફરેબ, ખોદાની એક સેફત. Adj. Fearless, guileless; one of the attributes of God. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અદુપ, adûp. ઊભયા૦ અ૦ અથવા, યા. ([illegible] નો બગડેલો આકાર.) Conj. Or, either. Corrupt form of [illegible]

[illegible] અદુસ, અદુથ, adûs, adûth. વિ૦ રતાંજરૂં. Adj. Afflicted with night-blindness.

[illegible] અબુનંદે, a-bûndê. વિ૦ નહીં પુરૂં, અપૂર્ણ, અધુરૂં. Adj. Incomplete, unfinished.

[illegible] અ-યોઝદ, a-yôzhad. વિ૦ નાપાક, બદ, ખરાબ. Adj. Impure, unholy, evil, bad. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અયો-દક, ayô-dak. ઊભયા૦ અ૦ યા, અથવા. સર્વ૦ તે-જે. Conj. Or, either, from that. Pron. Which.

[illegible] આબુસ, âbûs. વિ૦ પીલું. Adj. Yellow.

[illegible] ખીની, khînî. વિ૦ ફીનાવાલું, ફીનો રાખનાર. Adj. Revengeful, spiteful, harbouring ill-feelings.

[illegible] દીની, dînî. વિ૦ દીનદાર, દીનને લગતું. Adj. Religious, belonging to religion.

[illegible] યાની, yânî. ના૦ નેકી. Subs. Virtue, chastity.

[illegible] યોઝદ, yôzhad. વિ૦ પાક, પવિત્ર, નેક, સાફ, સ્વચ્છ. Adj. Pure, holy, good, clean, unspotted.

[illegible] અગનેશ, aganêsh. ના૦ ઈમારતની દીવાલ ઉપર લાવવી. Subs. Raising up the wall of a building.

[illegible] અ-ગોબ્યા, a-gôbyâ. વિ૦ જબાન—ભાષા વગરનું; ખરાબ ભાષા. Adj. Tongueless, speechless; bad speech—language.

[illegible] અ-દવીશ, a-davîsh. ના૦ નહીં ઠગનાર—ઠગાનાર. Subs. One who does not deceive, one who is not deceived. Comp. Av. [illegible], [illegible] (in Hor. yt.)

[illegible] અ-દંદી, a-dandî. ના૦ મીસ્કીની—ગરીબાઈ વગરની હાલત, વગર દરવેશીની હાલત. Subs. Freedom from destitution—poverty, freedom from mendicancy.

[illegible] અ-બુદી, a-bûdî. ના૦ નાબુંદી. Subs. Non-existence, annihilation.

[illegible] અ-બુદેહ, a-bûdêh. ના૦ ન થાએલું. Subs. Annihilation, extinction.

[illegible] અ-બંદી, a-bandî. વિ૦ બંદી વગરનું. Adj. Having no restriction. Contrast Per. بندي

[illegible] સે-વેશ, sê-vêsh, ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ત્રણઘણું વધારે. Adv. Three times as much more.

[illegible] અ-ગોબશા, a-gôbshâ. ના૦ ખરાબ મધ. Subs. Bad honey.

[illegible] અ-દુઈગાન, a-dûigân. વિ૦ નહીં ઠગનારા. Adj. plu. Not deceiving.

[illegible] ખીનીગાન, khînîgân. વિ૦ કીનાખોરો. Adj. plu. Vindictive, revengeful.

[illegible] અયુદશ્ને, ayudashnê. ના૦ લડાઈ, જંગ. Subs. A battle, war, fight. (Comp. Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. युध् = a battle.)

[illegible] અએવસાની, aêvasâni. વિ૦ એક નિશાનવાળું, એક જાત—તરેહનું. Adj. Of one badge—mark; of one kind—sort.

[illegible] અ-ગોબશની, a-gôbashnî. વિ૦ વાચા—સખુનવાળું નહીં, વગર સખુનનું, મુગું. Adj. Speechless, not speaking, mute, dumb.

[illegible] અયુજશની, ayûjashnî. ના૦ કોશેશ—હરીફાઈ કરનારૂં. Subs. One who endeavours—competes—strives.

[illegible] આગન્દશની, âgandashnî. ના૦ ભરવું, પૂર કરવું. Subs. Act of filling up, replenishment.

[illegible] એ-ગોબશની, ê-gôbashnî. વિ૦ એક વચની, એક

સખુનનું. Adj. Having only one sense, unequivocal, not admitting different interpretations.

અ-ગોબશની-ચ, a-gôbashnî-cha. વિ૦ નહીં બોલતું —પઢતું. Adj. Not speaking, not reciting.

અયોએશોશ્ત, ayôêshôst. See ayôkhshôst.

અએવક-શોસ્તન, aêvak-shôstan. ક્રિ૦ એક મરતબે પાવ કરવું. V. To purify once.

અ-ગોબશને, a-gôbashnê. વિ૦ એક શબ્દ વગર, બોલવા વગર, વગર વારતાનું, પ્રકરણ વગરનું, વચન—કોલ વગર. Adj. Without a word, without speaking, without a story, without a chapter—section, without any promise—pledge.

અ-જુંબશને, a-jûmbashnê. વિ૦ વગર જુમબેશે—હાલવે. Adj. Without agitation—motion. Contrast Per. جنبش

આદોબશને, âdôbashnê. ના૦ દોડવું. Subs. Running.

અ-ગોબશનીએ, a-gûbashnîê. વિ૦ એક શબ્દ નહીં, એક સખુન વગર, એક સખુન બોલવા વગર. Adj. Without a word; without speaking a word.

અ-ખેશકારી, a-khêshkârî. ના૦ ધંધા વગરની હાલત, બેરોજગારી. Subs. Want of employment, state of being out of service. (See a-khêshkârî.)

અએવ-યશ્ત, aêva-yasht. ના૦ એક યજશને, એક,

આરાધના, એક યશ્ત. Subs. One *yaçna*, divine honors, adorations, one *yasht*. (Comp. [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] Av. [illegible])

[illegible] અએવ-દશ્તે, aêva-dashtê. ના૦ એક જંગલ. Subs. One desert, one plain without water. Per. یک دشت

[illegible] અએવ-યશ્તે, aêva-yashtê. See [illegible] aêva-yasht.

[illegible] અએવે-દાદે, aêvê-dâdê.. વિ૦ બેદાદ, દરકાર વગરનું, બેપરવા. Adj. Unjust, unconcerned, indifferent.

[illegible] અએવ-સખ્ત, aêva-sakht. વિ૦ સખત—કઠણ નહીં, નરમ. Adj. Not hard—difficult; soft.

[illegible] હાવેશ્ત, hâvêsht. See [illegible] hâvêsht.

[illegible] અ-બુનેશ્તે, a-bûnêshte. વિ૦ પાયા—થડ—મૂલ વગરનું. Adj. Having no foundation—trunk,—root.

[illegible] અઈન-દકીઆ, aîn-dakîâ. ના૦ પવિત્ર આંખ. Subs. A pure eye.

[illegible] અઈન્યા, aînyâ. ના૦ વિલાપ, રડવું. Subs. Lamentation, wailing.

[illegible] અખ્દેશ, akhdêsh. ના૦ નાપાકી, ગલીચી, અપવિત્રાઈ, રીમની. Subs. Impurity, uncleanliness, filthiness, defilement.

[illegible] અ-ગંદગી, a-gandagî. ના૦ વાસ વગરની હાલત, ગંધગી વગરની હાલત. Subs. Freedom from stink—stench. (Comp. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] Av. [illegible] = Sans. गंध = Per. گندگی.)

અન્દકીઆ, an-dakîâ. વિ૦ નાપાક. Adj. Impure, unholy.

અ-યુઝ્દી, a-yuzdî. ના૦ અપવિત્રાઈ, નાપાકી, નજીસી, રીમેન જગા; બીમારી, આજાર; ઈલ્લત, ખરાબી, જીઆન; જરૂરીઆત; જુલમ. Subs. Impurity, defilement, uncleanliness; impure—defiled place; sickness, illness; a bad habit, vice, injury, damage; exigency, necessity; tyranny, oppression. Comp. Av.

અયુદકહ, ayûdakah. ના૦ કીનો. Subs. Revenge, spite.

અયુદગી, ayudagî. ના૦ બદ આજાર—બીમારી, ઈલ્લત; બલા. Subs. A bad disease—illness, a bad habit, vice, misfortune, calamity.

આગંદગી, âgandagî. ના૦ ખરાબ વાસ, ગંધ, બદબો. Subs. Bad smell, stink, stench.

આગંદીએ, âgandîê. વિ૦ પૂર કીધેલું, ભરેલું. Adj. Filled up to the brim, filled up.

અ-ગંદ-સખ્ત-તર, a-gand-sakht-tar. વિ૦ વધારે સખત વાસ મારતું નહીં. Adj. Not stinking more powerfully.

અ-જોસ્ગુનતન, a-jôsgunatan. ક્રિ૦ છીનવી નહીં લેવું, નહીં લેવું, નહીં ખેંચવું—લઈજાવું—રાખવું. V. Not to snatch; not to take, not to pull—carry away, not to keep.

અ-દુઈસ્ર, a-duîsra. વિ૦ આંખ વગરનું, આંખના ડોલા વગરનું. Adj. Having no eyeballs—eyes.

[illegible] અ-ગંદીનદ, a-gandînad. ક્રિ૦ વાસ નહીં મારે. V. May not stink, may not emit a strong offensive smell. Av. [illegible] = Per. گندیدن = to stink.

[illegible] અએવ-દીન, aêva-dîn. ના૦ એક રાહ, એક રવેશ, એક મજહબ. Subs. One way, one course—path, one mode, one faith.

[illegible] અદુદીન, adudîn. ના૦ રીત, રવેશ. Subs. Custom, mode, usage.

[illegible] અએવે-ગુમાની, aêvê-gumânî. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બેશક-પણાંથી. Adv. Undoubtedly, unquestionably.

[illegible] અ-દોસ્ત, અ-ઝોસ્ત, a-dôst, a-zôst. ના૦ દોસ્ત—મિત્ર નહીં, નહીં ચાહનાર, દુશ્મન, શત્રુ. વિ૦ દોસ્ત વગરનું. Subs. Not a friend; one who does not regard with affection; an enemy, a foe. Adj. Friendless. (Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Sans. जुष्ट = Per. دوست Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. Rt. जुष.)

[illegible] અઈઉખતારી, aiukhtârî. વિ૦ નહીં કુદનારૂં, કોશેશ નહીં કરનારૂં. Adj. Not leaping—endeavouring.

[illegible] અએ-વસ્તારી, aê-vastârî. વિ૦ નહીં બીછાવનારૂં. Adj. Not spreading or laying (a carpet, &c.)

[illegible] અ-દોસ્તી, a-dôstî. ના૦ મોહોબત—દોસ્તી વગરની હાલત; દુશમની. Subs. Absence of friendship—love, absence of regard—good graces; enmity.

[illegible] અ-દોશ્ત a-dôst. ના૦ નહીં દોસ્ત, દુશ્મન. Subs. Not a friend; an enemy. Comp. Per. بی دوست

[illegible] અ-ગંગીદન, a-gangîdan. ક્રિ૦ (દેવનું) નહીં ખાવું.

V. Not to eat (applied to *devs.*) Av. = Sans. घस्.

અ-યુગીદન, a-yûgîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં બાંધવું—જોડવું; છુટું રેહેવા દેવું; મજબુત નહીં કરવું. V. Not to tie—join—fasten; to let loose; not to strengthen.

અ-ગંદીદન, a-gandîdan. ક્રિ૦ ગંધ—વાસ નહીં મારવું; નહીં ગંધાવું. V. Not to stink—stench, not to emit a strong offensive smell. Prohib. + = Av. = Per. گندیدن

અ-જોસ્તન, a-jôstan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ધુંડવું—શોધવું. V. Not to seek—to inquire, not to search. Contrast Per. جُستن

અ-જોસતરશ્ને, a-jostrashnê. વિ૦ મેલવવા વગર, નહીં મેલવવું. Adj. Without obtaining.

અ-દુસ્રોબી, a-dusrôbî. ના૦ બદનામી વગરની હાલત, હીનપસ્તી વગરની હાલત. Subs. Freedom from disgrace—ignominy.

અઈવિસ્રુસ્રેમ, aîvîsrusrêm. ના૦ દહાડાની ચોથી ઘેહેનું નામ, એક ફરેસ્તાનું નામ. Subs. *Aiviçruthrem Gêh*, name of the 4th Gêh; name of one of the angels. Av.

અગનીન, agnîn. વિ૦ બરાબર, એકસરખું; જુમલે, એકંદર, એકહું. Adj. Similar, alike; in the aggregate; upon the whole.

અ-ગોબ, a-gôb. ના૦ નહીં બોલનારૂં, ખરાબ વાચા. Subs. One that does not speak, bad speech.

[illegible] અએદુન, aêdûn. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ રવેશે. Adv. In this manner, thus.

[illegible] અ-જોજન, a-jôjan. વિ૦ દેરમ—પૈસા વગર, મુફલેસ. Adj. Destitute of *derem*—money, poor.

[illegible] આઈનીન, âinîn. ના૦ જેબ, રોનક, શીંગાર; તરેહ, રવેશ, કાયદો. Subs. Grace, ornament, elegance, mode, custom, manner. (Comp. Av. [illegible] = Sans. अयन = Per. آئین)

[illegible] આહીન, âhîn. ના૦ લોહું. Subs. Iron. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] દો-જોજન, dô-jôjan. ના૦ બે દેરમ. Subs. Two *derems*.

[illegible] યસ્ની, yasnî. ના૦ પુંજનાર, માનનાર. Subs. A worshipper, an adorer, a believer.

[illegible] સેનીન, sênîn. વિ૦ તેવડું; ત્રમણું. Adj. Triple; threefold.

[illegible] સે-વીન, sê-vîn. ના૦ ત્રણ માણસ. Subs. Three persons.

[illegible] આઈનીની, âinînî. ના૦ ચાલચલણ, રીતભાત, સલુક. Subs. Manners, behaviour, custom, conduct.

[illegible] આઈનીનીહા, âininihâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કાયદાસર, હોકમ મુજબ. ના૦ આઈનાઓ, આરશીઓ; કાયદાઓ. Adv. According to a rule or precept. Subs. Mirrors; usages, customs.

[illegible] આઈનીની, âinînî. ના૦ તરીકો, રસતો, કાએદો. Subs. Usages, manners, roads, paths, rules.

[illegible] આઈનીની-આશકારે, âînînî-âshkârê. ના૦ જાહેર રસ્તો, ખરી રીત. Subs. A public road—path; a true custom—way.

[illegible] આગોયોઈત, âgôyôît. વિ૦ ખેતરને લગતું. Adj. Relating to a field. (Comp. Av. [illegible], Sans. गव्यूति.)

[illegible] અઈનીન, ainin. ના૦ ફીનો, કપટ, અદાવત. Subs. Malice, spite, rancour, grudge. (Comp. Av. [illegible] = Sans. एनस्.)

[illegible] અએવ-ગુન, aêva-gun. ના૦ એક ગુણ—જાત—તરેહ. Subs. One kind—sort, one method—manner.

[illegible] અગ્નીન, agnîn. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ તે વખતમાં, ત્યારે. Adv. Then, at that time. (This word may be read also "agnyûn.") Comp. Per. اکنون , کنون

[illegible] અબવીન, abvîn. ના૦ હમેલ, બચું. Subs. Pregnancy; a child.

[illegible] આઈનીન, âînin. ના૦ દગલબાજી, ખીઆનત, નારાસ્તી. વિ૦ લોઢાનું, પંચકુટ ધાતુનું બનાવેલું. Subs. Knavery, roguery; untruth; dishonesty. Adj. Made of iron, made of different metals.

[illegible] આઈનીન, âînin. ના૦ એક ગામનું નામ. Subs. Name of a town—village. See [illegible] âînin.

[illegible] આઈનીને, âînînê. ના૦ દગલબાજી, નારાસ્તી. Subs. Treachery; untruth.

[illegible] ખીનીન, khînîn. ના૦ ફીનો. Subs. Revenge, spite.

[illegible] સે-વીન, sê-vîn. ના૦ ત્રીજો મરદ; ત્રીજું. Subs. The third man; the third.

ઇનીને આઈનીને, âinînê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ પ્રમાણે. Adv. In this manner.

ઇનીને આઈનીને-દો-એ, âinînê-dô-ê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક બે રીતે. Adv. In one or two ways.

ઇનીને આઈનીને-ચખારી, âinînê-chakhârî. ના૦ ચીનનો આઈનો. Subs. The mirror of China.

ઇનીને આઈનીને-ચેહેરી, âinînê-chêhêrî. ના૦ ચેહેરાનો આઈનો, ચેહેરાની જેબાએશ. Subs. The mirror of the face (lit.); gracefulness of features.

ઇદુને અદુદને-પરસ્તી, adûdanê-parastî. ના૦ પૂજાનો તરીકો, તનને નમાવવા સાથે બંદગી કરવી. Subs. The mode of worship; praying with a sacred inclination of the head.

ઇબુ અબુ-ગોરગ, abû-gôrg. ના૦ વરૂનો બાપ, લોંકરી. Subs. The father of the wolf (lit.); a fox. Comp. Per. ابو + گرگ

ઇનીન આઈનીન-પરસ્તી, âinîn-parastî. ના૦ રેવાજ પ્રમાણે ચાલવું, ખીદમત—ચાકરી કરવી. Subs. Closely following the usage, adherence to custom; service, attendance.

ઇની અઈની, aînî. ના૦ જબાન, જીભ. Subs. The tongue.

ઇનીક અઈનીક, ainîk. ના૦ કપાલ; ફોજ, લશ્કર. Subs. The forehead; an army, a force. Av. ઇનીક Sans. अनिक.

ઇજુદે અ-જુદે, a-jûdê. વિ૦ નહીં ખાધેલું. Adj. Not eaten.

ઇબુનદે અ-બુનદે, a-bûndê. See ઇબુનદે a-bûndê.

અ-એવીઝ-ચ, a-êvîzha-ch. વિ૦ નેક પણ—બી નહીં. Adj. Not even virtuous—good.

હુફ-ચ, hûf-cha. વિ૦ શારૂં, નેક. Adj. Good, virtuous, fine. Corrupt form of

આવીઝ-ચ, âvîzha-ch. વિ૦ નેક—પવિત્ર—પાકબી. Adj. Even virtuous—pious—good. Comp. Per. ویژه , ویژه

યોગદ, yôgad. ના૦ હોરનો ચુરો; ઝુંસરી. Subs. A ploughshare, the part of a plough which cuts the ground at the bottom of the furrow; a yoke.

અએવીઝુશ, aêvîzush. ના૦ એક જાતના કુતરાનું નામ છે, કે જેના કાન ઘણા મ્હોટા હોય છે. Subs. A kind of long-eared dog. Comp. Av.

અ-જવીદ, a-javîd. વિ૦ જુદું—છુટું નહીં, અંતર વગરનું; સાથે. Adj. Not different—separate; in union, in company with, disunited. Contrast Av. Per. جدا

અદુવ, adûv. Dînk. ઉભ૦ અ૦ યા, અથવા. Conjunc. Or, either. Corrupt form of aduv.

અયુજદ, ayujad. ના૦ કોશેશ, તજવીજ. ક્રિ૦ ચાલેછે. Subs. Endeavour, effort, exertion. V. Goes, walks.

અ-જવીદાકી, a-javîdâkî. વિ૦ ફરક—તફાવત નહીં કરનારૂં. Adj. Not making any difference—distinction.

[illegible] અ-જવીદાક-કરદન, a-javîdâk-kardan. ક્રિ૦ જુદું ન કરવું, ચુંટી ન કાઢવું. V. Not to separate—cull—select.

[illegible] અએ-નીદાર, aê-nîdâr. ના૦ નહીં ખેંચનાર—તાણનાર. Subs. One who does not pull—draw.

[illegible] અ-જવીદાર, a-javîdâr. ના૦ જુદાઈ નહીં રાખનાર, સંબંધ રાખનાર. Subs. One who keeps no distinction—difference, one who keeps connection.

[illegible] અ-જુદ-તાર, a-jud-târ. ના૦ એકજ તાર, જુદો તાર—દોરો નહીં. Subs. The same thread, not a different one.

[illegible] અ-દવીદાર, â-davidâr. ના૦ નહીં દોડનાર. Subs. One who does not run.

[illegible] અ-જવીદારી, a-javîdârî. ના૦ જુદાઈ વગરની હાલત, એકમલતાપણું. Subs. State of being not different, similarity.

[illegible] અયુખતારી, ayûkhtârî. ના૦ લડાઈ. Subs. A fight, battle.

[illegible] અ-જવીદારીહા, a-javîdârîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જુદાઈ રાખ્યા વગર, એકસંપીથી. Adv. Without keeping any distinction—difference, harmoniously, peaceably.

[illegible] ખીનીદારીહા, khînîdârîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કીનાની રીતે. Adv. Revengefully.

[illegible] અ-જવીદી, a-javidî. વિ૦ ફરક—તફાવત વગર. Adj. Having no difference—distinction. Contrast Per. جدائی

દો-દવીત-બાઝ, દો-જવીદ-બાઝ, dô-davit-bâzâ, dô-javid-bâzâ. ના૦ બે હાથ લામબા કરીએ તેટલું માપ, એક વામ. Subs. The space between the extremities of both arms extended; a fathom. Comp. = Av. + = Av. + = Av. = Sans. बाहु = Per. بازو

અ-જવીદ-જવીદ, a-javîd-javîd. વિ૦ જુદું જુદું—છુટું છુટું નહીં; સાથે મલેલું. Adj. Not separate, not disconnected—detached; combined, united.

અઈનીદે, ainîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ કીનો કીધેલું—રાખેલું. Past Partic. Harboured revenge, entertained malice—spite.

અ-ગંદ-તન, a-gand-tan. ના૦ ગંદ વગરનું તન, બો નહીં મારતું તન. Subs. An unstinking—unstenching body.

અ-દોદ-તન, a-dôd-tan. વિ૦ બીજાં તન વગર, બીજાંની સામેલગીરી વગર. Adj. Without any other body, without being associated with any one.

અ-જવીદ-વન, a-javid-van. વિ૦ જુદી શિકલનું નહીં તે, એકજ શિકલનું. Adj. Not of a different shape—form; having the same features.

અ-જુદ-તન, a-jud-tan. ના૦ જુદું તન નહીં, એકદીલી. Subs. State of being not of a different body (lit.); oneness of heart or mind.

અ-જોઈદન, a-jôîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ઢુંડવું—શોધવું, જોસ્તેજો નહીં કરવી. V. Not to seek, not to inquire for—ask for.

[illegible] અ-દવીદન, a-davîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં દોડવું, કુદી નહીં નીકલવું, શેતાબી નહીં કરવી. V. Not to run—spring up—hasten. Contrast Per. دویدن

[illegible] અ-યનગ-તન, a-yang-tan. ના૦ બદશેકલ તન, ખરાબ દેખાવનું તન. Subs. An ugly—deformed body.

[illegible] અ-જવીદ-વજીર, a-javîd-vazîr. ના૦ જુદો હોકમ નહીં, એકસાન—સરખો હોકમ. Subs. Not a separate order, similar order. Comp. Av. ـ + [illegible] + [illegible]

[illegible] અ-જવીદગાન, a-javîdgân. ના૦ જુદા નહીં તે. Subs. Those that are not separate.

[illegible] અ-જવીદ-કર્દ, a-javîd-kard. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ જુદું નહીં કીધેલું, તુંટેલું—ફાટેલું નહીં; જોડેલું, વલગેલું. Past Partic. Not made different, not burst—torn, not broken, joined, united, clung to. ـ + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Per. کردن

[illegible] દો-જવીદ-ગુન, dô-javîd-gûn. ના૦ બે જુદા રંગ—ગુણ, બે જુદી ખાસીઅત. Subs. Two different colors—attributes.

[illegible] અ-જુદ-તર, a-jud-tar. વિ૦ વધારે જુદું નહીં, થોડું મલતું, પડત—રદ નહીં. Adj. Not more different—dissimilar, somewhat alike; not fallow—desolate; not cast off—rejected.

[illegible] અ-જુદ-તરી, a-jud-tarî. વિ૦ વધારે જુદાઈવાળું નહીં, થોડા સંબંધનું. Adj. Of not more difference, being somewhat connected.

[illegible] અ-જુદ-તર-મદમમનતન, a-jûd-tar-madama-

mûnatan. ક્રિ૦ પડત—પડતું નહીં મેલવું; ચાહવું. V. Not to leave uncultivated, not to neglect—let alone; to regard with affection.

અએવીમંદ, aêvîmand. વિ૦ તરફવાળું. Adj. Of or belonging to one side (lit.); inclined to favour one party.

અદુદને, adûdanê. See અદુદને adûdanê.

અએવ-બર, aêva-bar. ના૦ એક ફળ. Subs. One fruit.

અયુબર, ayûbar. વિ૦ રીમન; પાંગળું; એલાહેદું, અભડાએલું, એખલું. ના૦ મુવેલું બચું જણનાર ઓરત, ફરજંદ જણતાં ઓરત ગુજરી હોએ તેને કેહેછે. Adj. Defiled, polluted; lame, crippled; separate. Subs. Lonely, *menstruapatiens* (*mulier*); a woman that dies in giving birth to a child.

આયન-ગર, âyan-gar. ના૦ લોઢું ઘડનાર, લોહાર. Subs. A blacksmith. Per. آهنگر

અન-ગેરાંની, an-gêrânî. ના૦ ભારી નહીં તે, મોઘું નહીં તે. Subs. State of being not heavy—dear.

અનીરાની, anîrânî. ના૦ જુદદીની. Subs. State of being in a different religion.

અયુબર-ઓમંદ, aûbar-ômand. વિ૦ વાંઝિયું, અફલવાન. Adj. Barren, fruitless.

અયુબરી, ayûbarî. ના૦ મુવેલું બચું જણનાર ઓરત-

ની હાલત. Subs. The state of a woman delivered of a dead child.

[illegible] અએવેરશ્ત, aévérasht. ના૦ એક ગુનાહનું નામ, કે જેનો તોલ ૩૩ દેરમનો થાયછે. Subs. Name of a sin called *Aévérésht*, being 33 *dérems* in weight (traditional). Comp. Paz. [illegible].

[illegible] અયુકરદગીહા, ayûkradgihá. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ સાથે મલીને, એકઠા. Adv. Conjointly, in union, combined.

[illegible] અ-ગુન, અ-યુન, a-gun, a-yun. વિ૦ વગર ગુણનું, બેલેહજત, ખરાબ જાત, બેડોલ, ખરાબ રંગનું, કદરૂપું. Adj. Devoid of any good quality, insipid, tasteless, low-born, ill-shaped, ugly, of a bad colour. (Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Per. گون)

[illegible] અદવર, advar. વિ૦ બેશક, શક વગરનું. Adj. Undoubted, doubtless.

[illegible] અદુન, adûn. ના૦ જેબ, આરાએશ, સણગાર. Subs. Grace, ornament.

[illegible] અબુન, abûn. વિ૦ દેવાનું, હડખું; થડ વગરનું, શરૂઆત વગરનું. Adj. Mad, rabid; having no stem—beginning.

[illegible] અયૂ, ayû. વિ૦ એક, સર્વ૦ તે. Adj. One, Pron. That, which. Av. [illegible], Sans. एक, Per. یک Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અયુન, ayûn. ના૦ યુનાની પાદશાહ; યુનાની. Subs. A Grecian king; a Grecian.

[illegible] આઈન, áin. ના૦ રોનક, આરાએશ, રવેશ, રીત; તરેહ

દ્રીન, ઈનસાફ, પરકાર. Subs. Elegance, grace, ornament, custom, manner, sort, religion, justice, kind, way.

૩૩ આબુન, âbûn. ના૦ કુવાનું તલીઉં. Subs. The bottom of a well.

૩૩ આયન, âyan. See ૩ âyan.

૩૩ ખીન, khîn. વિ૦ કીનાખોર, કપટી, દ્વેશભાવી. Adj. Harbouring revenge—ill feelings, spiteful.

૩૩ યસ્ને, yasnê. ના૦ યશનેમ શુઈરીમ, નામની બંદગીના હા. Subs. Chapters of the prayer called *yaçnem çuirîm.*

૩૩ યો-ગુન, yô-gûn. વિ૦ એક રંગનું, એક તરાહનું. Adj. Of one colour—sort—kind.

૩૩ હયુન, hayûn. ના૦ લશકર, આડે મારગે લઈ જનાર. Subs. An army; one who carries in a wrong way.

૩૩ હીન, hîn. ના૦ પોલાદ. Subs. Steel.

૩૩ હીન, hîn. ના૦ કીનો, દુશમની. વિ૦ હીણું; કીનાખોર. Subs. Revenge, enmity. Adj. Base, mean; vindictive.

૩૩ હીન્વ, hînva. ના૦ દાડમડી. Subs. A pomegranate tree.

૩૩ અ-ગુના, a-gunâ. વિ૦ વગર ગુણનું, કદરૂપું, ખરાબ રંગનું, વગર તારીફનું; બેકાયદે. Adj. Devoid of any good quality, ill-shaped, ugly; of a bad colour, unworthy of praise—good opinion, improper, irregular.

અ-ગનદહા, a-gandhâ. વિ૦ ગંદ વગરનું. Adj. Not stinking.

અ-ગુનદી, a-gûndî. વિ૦ લશકર વગરનું. Adj. Having no army.

અ-દનદી, a-dandî. વિ૦ બબડતું નહીં. Adj. Not grumbling.

અબુ-વ-ખાહ, abû-va-khâh. ના૦ બાપ ને ભાઈ. Subs. Father and brother. Comp. Ar. ابو و اخ

અ-ગુનાહી, a-gûnâhî ના૦ ગુનાહ—પાપ વગરની હાલત; નીરપરાધીપણું. Subs. Freedom from guilt —sin; innocence.

અયુનાક, અઈવાક, ayunâk, aivâk. વિ૦ એકલું, એકજ, જેનો જોડીઓ નહીં તે. Adj. Alone, single, solitary, unique, having no equal.

હીનવાક, હદનવાક, hînvâk, hadanvâk. ના૦ દાડમડી; એવીઅંઘન; કુસ્તી. Subs. A pomegranate tree; *Aîvianghan; koshtî.*

આઈનાદ, âinâd. ક્રિ૦ રીત—કાયદા મુજબ હોજો. ના૦ રીતો, તરેહો. V. May it be according to usage —custom! Subs. Manners; kinds.

આઈન-ખેરદ, âîn-khêrad. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ અકકલની રીતે. Adv. Reasonably, in consistency with good sense.

અ-ગુને, a-gunê. See અ-ગુના a-gunâ.

અ-ગંદ, a-gand. વિ૦ ગંદ—વાસ વગરનું. Adj. Having no stink—stench. Contrast Per. گند

હીને, hînê. See હીન hîn.

ઇબારત અ-ગુની, a-gunî. ના૦ ગુણ વગરની હાલત, કદરૂપાપણું. Subs. Absence of any good quality; ugliness, shapelessness.

ઇબારત અદુવ-શ, adûva-sh. સર્વ૦ યા તે. Pron. Or that.

ઇબારત આસુનશ, âsûnash. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ત્યારે. Adv. Then.

ઇબારત આઈને-યહાન, âînê-yahân. ના૦ યજદી તરીકો—મારગ. Subs. The divine path—way.

ઇબારત ઓશાન, ôshân. સર્વ૦ તેઓ. Pron. They.

ઇબારત આ-ગોશસ્પતી, â-gôshashpatî. વિ૦ કુદનારૂં, છલાંગ મારનારૂં. Adj. Leaping, jumping.

ઇબારત ખીને-આહન, khînê-âhan. ના૦ તીખું—ખરૂં લોઢું, ફોલાદનું લોઢું. Subs. Steel; hard and refined iron.

ઇબારત અ-બુનશુની, a-bûnshûnî. ક્રિ૦ મા ચાહતો તું. V. Don't love—regard with affection.

ઇબારત અબનુસ, abnûs. ના૦, અબનુસનું લાકડું. Subs. Ebony. Comp. Per. ابنوس

ઇબારત અ-દવંદેહ, a-davandêh. ના૦ નહીં દોડનારૂં—ઉતાવલ કરનારૂં. Subs. One that does not run—hasten.

ઇબારત અ-બુનેશ્તે, abûnêshtê. See ઇબારત a-bûnêshtê.

ઇબારત અ-બુદીએ, a-bûdîê. ના૦ નાબુદી. Subs. Annihilation, extinction.

ઇબારત અ-બુનદગી, a-bûndagî. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ વગર તાબેદારી તરીકે, આપંએખતીઆરી તરીકે. Adv. Not obsequiously, independently.

ઇબારત અ-બુનદેઈ, a-bûndêî. ના૦ અધુરાપણું. Subs. Imperfection.

[illegible] અ-દુનેસ્ત, adûnêst. વિ૦ નાદરોસ્ત, પુરૂં—આખું નહીં, સહીસલામત—ખરૂં નહીં. Adj. Improper; not perfect—whole; not safe—right.

[illegible] અ-દુનેસ્તી, a-dunêstî. ના૦ દરોસ્તી વગરનું, નાદરોસ્તી, સુધારા વગરની હાલત. Subs. State of being not perfect—sound, absence of reform—improvement. Contrast Per. دروستي

[illegible] અ-દુનેસ્ત-પદ, a-dunêst-pad. ના૦ નહીં દરૂસ્ત કરનાર પતી, ખરાબ હાડવઇદ, ખરાબ—બેસમજ દાકતર. Subs. One who does not set things right (lit.); an unskilful bone-setter, an inexperienced doctor.

[illegible] અગુનસ્ત, અએવિનસ્ત, agunast, aêvinast. વિ૦ ખાલેસ, પાક, ગડલું નહીં. Adj. Pure, unsullied, undefiled, not turbid.

[illegible] અ-દુનસ્ત, a-dunast. વિ૦ દરોસ્ત—બરાબર નહીં, નાદરોસ્ત, સારૂં નહીં, સુખી નહીં. Adj. Not entire—perfect, not right—proper, not good—happy. Per. نادرست

[illegible] અ-દુનસ્તી, a-dûnastî. વિ૦ વગર સલામતીનું. Adj. Unsafe, insecure.

[illegible] અએન-વીન, aên-vîn. ના૦ આંખે જોનાર; આંખ, નજર, નેધા કરવી. Subs. One who sees with his eyes; the eye, sight, paying attention to.

[illegible] અગનીન, agnîn. ના૦ જુમલો, સરવાલો. વિ૦ એક જગોએ એકઠું થવું. Subs. Amount, sum total. Adj. Gathering in one place.

[illegible] અ-ગુન્દે, a-gundê. ના૦ ખરાબ ઘઉં—આટો. વિ૦ મેંદા વગર. Subs. Bad wheat, bad flour. Adj. Having no fine wheaten flour. Contrast Av. [illegible]

[illegible] ખુનીદે, khunidê. કૃ૦ વિ૦ કુટેલું. Partic. Adj. Pounded, thrashed.

[illegible] આહનગર, âhangar. See [illegible] âingar.

[illegible] હીવ-નેરંગ, hiv-nêrang. ના૦ ખુબની કીરીઆ. Subs. The ceremony of *khûb*.

[illegible] અ-બુન, a-bûn. ના૦ બેખ, જડ. Subs. A root, source, origin.

[illegible] આઈનીન, âînîn. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ રીત પ્રમાણે, માફક. Adv. According to the usage—custom.

[illegible] હયુન, hayûn. ના૦ લશકર. Subs. An army.

[illegible] આસુન-વદ, âsûn-vad. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જ્યાં તલક—સુધી. ત્યાં તલક—સુધી. Adv. Till, until, as long as.

[illegible] ખીનવંદ, khînvand. વિ૦ કીનાવાલું. Adj. Vindictive, revengeful.

[illegible] દાનંદ, dânand. ક્રિ૦ તેઓ જાણે—પીછાને. V. They may know—recognise.

[illegible] હીન-નંગ, hîn-nang. ના૦ હલકી આબરૂ. Subs. Low honour.

[illegible] અએવ-વુન, aêva-vûn. ના૦ એક ઝાડ. Subs. One tree. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આઈન-વુન, âîn-vûn. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કલાણી રીતે. Adv. In such and such a manner.

[illegible] ખીને-વન, khînê-van. ના૦ કીનાનો નાશ કરનાર, કીનાને મૂલમાંથી ઉખેડી કાઢનાર. Subs. One who destroys revenge; one who uproots spite—rancour.

[illegible] હેન-વન, hên-van. ના૦ લશકરને વિખેરી નાખનાર. Subs. One who disperses an army. Comp. Av. [illegible] + Av. Rt. [illegible]

[illegible] હયુનચ, hayûnacha. See [illegible] hayûn.

[illegible] અ-ગુને, a-gunê. વિ૦ શિકલ વગરનું, રંગ વગરનું, રીતભાત વગરનું, બેરોનક. Adj. Shapeless, colorless; having no manners and customs, having no elegance—grace. (Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Per. گونہ)

[illegible] યો-ગુન-કરદે, yô-gûn-kardê. કૃ૦ વિ૦ એક રંગનું કીધેલું. Partic. Adj. Made of one colour.

[illegible] આસુન-ચ, âsûna-cha. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ તોપણ, જેવારે પણ. Conjunc. However, whenever.

[illegible] હીન-ચ, hîna-ch. વિ૦ હિણું પણ. Adj. Even base—low (lit.)

[illegible] અ-ગુનજાર, a-gûnjâr. વિ૦ વિગત વગરનું. Adj. Without particulars—detail.

[illegible] અદુવ-ચે-શ, adûv-chê-sh. સર્વ૦ યા જે કાંઈ. Pron. Or whatever—anything.

[illegible] અયુતુમ, ayûtum. વિ૦ એકલું, એકજ. Adj. One, only one.

[illegible] ખીન-તુમ, khîn-tum. વિ૦ ઘણોજ કીનાખોર. Adj. Most vindictive.

હયુન-તુમ, hayûn-tum. ના૦ ઘણું લશકર. Subs. Numerous army.

હીન-તુમ, hîn-tum. વિ૦ ઘણુંજ હીણું. Adj. Basest, meanest.

હીનવાએ, હદનેપાક, hînvâe, hadanêpâk. ના૦ દાડમડી. Subs. A pomegranate tree.

આઈનમ, âinam. સર્વ૦ મારી માફક. Pron. Like me.

યાવુમ, yâvûm. સર્વ૦ યા હું, અથવા હું. Pron. Either I, or I.

અદવર, advar. વિ૦ બેશક, શકવગરનું. Adj. Undoubted, doubtless.

ખીનવર, khînvar. વિ૦ કીનાખોર. Adj. Vindictive, revengeful.

અએવક, aêvak. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ એક, એકુ, કોઈ, બીજું; માત્ર એખલું, અટુલું, એખલું એક, મુખ્ય, પેહેલું; ખરેખર. Numer. Adj. One, some one, any one, another; only, lonely, single, only one; chief; first; real. (See અ aêva). Av. = Sans. एक = Pâz. , , Per. یک

આઈને, âinê. ના૦ આઈનો, તખ્તો. Subs. A looking-glass, a mirror, a pane of glass.

ખીને, khînê. ના૦ કીનો, વેર; ઘર, મકાન. Subs. Revenge, spite, ill feeling; house, abode, mansion. Per. کینہ

યોઘ, yôgh. ના૦ ઝુંસરી. Subs. A yoke. Per. یوغ

અએવકા-અએવક, aêvakâ-aêvak. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એકા-

એક, અચબુચ, એકેક, ગાફેલીથી. Adv. Suddenly, unexpectedly, all at once; one by one; unwarily, *off one's guard.* Per. یکایک

[illegible] અ-ગોકાએશ, a-gôkâêsh. ના૦ ગવાહી વગરની હાલત. Subs. Want of evidence—testimony.

[illegible] અ-ગોકાસી, a-gôkâsî. ના૦ ગવાહી—દલીલ વગરની હાલત. Subs. Want of proof—argument, want of evidence—testimony.

[illegible] અએવક-આઈનીને, aêvak-âînînê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એકજ રીતે. Adv. In a uniform manner; with even tenor.

[illegible] અએવક-અએવક, aêvak-aêvak. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એકેક, વિસ્તારીને. વિ૦ જુદું જુદું. Adv. One by one, in an expatiating manner. Adj. separate, distinct.

[illegible] અએવક-એનમન, aêvak-ênman. ના૦ એક આંખ; જે આદમી કે આંખનું તેજ કમ રાખે તે. Subs. One eye; one individual with less brightness of the eyes.

[illegible] અએવગાન, અયુગાન, aêvagân, ayugân. વિ૦ મુવાફેક; બોલવા ઘટતુંજ; એકને લગતું; એક, એખલું; બજાવવું; એક દેલ. Adj. Conformable, consonant, congruous, worthy to be spoken, belonging to one; one; lonely; fulfilling, in concord—union.

[illegible] અએવગાની, યોગાંની, aêvagânî, yôgânî. ના૦ એકદીલી, સાફદીલી; એખલપેટાપણું; બચપણ, એગાનગી. Subs. Concord, unanimity, purity of heart; selfishness; childhood; unity, union.

અદોગાની, a-dôgânî. વિ૦ વિગત—ખોલાસા—દલીલ વગરનું. Adj. Without particulars—details—arguments.

અયોગાનીદન, a-yôgânîdan. ક્રિ૦ સુરત ન રેહેવું. V. Not to be devoted—strongly attached.

અદોગાનીદન, a-dôgânîdan. ક્રિ૦ બીજી મરતબે ન કરવું. V. Not to do a second time.

અએવગાન, અયુગાન, aêvagân, ayugân. See અએવગાન aêvagân, ayugân.

અએવગાને, યોગાને, aêvagânê, yogânê. વિ૦ એકદીલ, એકમત, એકસંપ, એકજ; જેના જેવું બીજું નહીં. ના૦ ખોદા. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક મરતબે. Adj. Unanimous, of one accord—mind, only one, unmatched; unsurpassed. Subs. God. Adv. Once, one time. Per. یگانہ

અદોગાને, a-dôgânê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બે જુદી રીતે નહીં, એકસરખી રીતે. Adv. Not in two different ways; uniformly.

અએવગાનગી, યોગાનગી, aêvagânagî, yôgânagî. ના૦ એકદીલી, દીલનો પ્યાર, એકમત, એકકી, મેલાપ, સલાહસંપ, સંયોગ. Subs. Concord, harmony, heart's affection, union, contact, unanimity; an odd number; meeting together, peace.

અયોગાનગી, ayôgângî. ના૦ નમનતાઈ. Subs. Submissiveness, humility.

અગોકારીદે, agôkârîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ ખાધેલું. Past. partic. Eaten.

[illegible] અએવક-અર્મી, aêvak-armî. ના૦ અસ્સીલ ઘોડો; કેલવાયલો ઘોડો. Subs. A noble horse, a broken or well-trained horse.

[illegible] } અએવકી, aêvakî. સં૦ વિ૦ એકજ, માત્ર એક, [illegible] } એકબી, એક જણ, એકકી. Numer. Adj. Only one; single, alone; even one, one soul; an odd number.

[illegible] અદુઈ, અદવી, aduî, adavî. વિ૦ બેફરેબ, ફરેબ નહીં દેનાર. Adj. Guileless, not intriguing—deceiving. Av. [illegible]; Rt. [illegible] = Sans. Rt. दम् = to deceive.

[illegible] સુકે, sûkê. ના૦ તરફ, દિશા, બાજુ. Subs. Side, direction.

[illegible] અએવકી, aêvakî. ના૦ એકપણું; એકકી, એકજ, એક ચીજ. Subs. Oneness, unity; an odd number; only one, one thing.

[illegible] અએવકી-અએવક, aêvakî-aêvak. વિ૦ એકનુંએક, એક પુરૂં. Adj. Only one.

[illegible] અએવકી-અએવક-અએવકી, aêvakî-aêvak-aêvakî. વિ૦ એકનું એકજ, એક પુરૂં, એકજ. Adj. Only one; one and no more.

[illegible] અયોકશોસ્ત, ayôkshôst. ના૦ ધાતુ. Subs. Metal. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અયોકશોસ્તાન, ayôkshôstân. ના૦ સઘલી ધાતુઓ. Subs. All metals.

અયોકશોસ્તીન, ayôkshôstîn. વિ૦ ધાતુનું. Adj. Metallic, made of metal.

અયોકશોસ્તીન-જામે, ayôkshôstîn-jâmê. ના૦ ધાતુનું વાસણ. Subs. A metallic vessel.

અએવક-દાને, aêvak-dânê. ના૦ મોતીનો હાર, બેમીસાલ ગોહર, અમૂલ્ય જવાહેર; ગલેબંદ. Subs. A neck-lace, a string of pearls, an incomparable jewel, a priceless gem; neck-cloth, a neck-tie. Per. یکدانہ

અએવક-દાદ, aêvak-dâd. ના૦ જે ગાય દુનિયાની સરૂઆતમાં પેદા થઈ હતી તેનું નામ, કે જેમાંથી પેહેલો આદમ "ગયોમરદ" પેદા થયો હતો; માત્ર એકજ ઈનસાફ; એક મજહબ; માત્ર એકજ આપેલું. Subs. The name of the cow which was created at the beginning of the world, from which the first man (Gayomard) was born (traditional); the only justice; one faith; the only given (lit.). Av.

અએવક-બર, aêvak-bar. ના૦ એક તરફ, હલાએદી બેઠેલી ઓરત; મુવેલું બચ્ચું જણનારી ઓરત, બરસનુમમાં બેઠેલો શખ્સ; અપવિત્ર થએલો શખ્સ. Subs. One direction—side; a woman sitting apart on account of menses or child-birth; the woman giving birth to a still-born child; the person undergoing the *Barshnûm* ceremony; a defiled person.

અએવક-બાર, aêvak-bâr. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક વખત—

મરતબે; સાથે. Adv. One time, once; along with, together. Per. یکبار

એવક-બાર-મીઆ, aêvak-bâr-mîâ. ના૦ એક વખતનું વરસાદનું પાણી; એક ચોમાસું. Subs. One fall of rain; one rainy season.

એવકી, aêvakî. વિ૦ એકકું, ચુનન્દું. ના૦ એખલાપણું, એકપણું. Adj. Singular, the best, most excellent. Subs. Loneliness, oneness.

એવક-દશ, aêvak-dash. ના૦ એક ચીજમાં બીજી ચીજ મેલવવી; એક જાતનો ઘોડો, જેની મા અને બાપ જુદી જુદી જાતનાં હોય. Subs. Mixing one thing with another; a horse of mixed parentage or breed.

એવક-સંગ, aêvak-sang. ના૦ એક પથ્થર. Subs. One stone.

એવક-દયન, aêvak-dayan. સં૦ વિ૦ એકમાં. Numer. Adj. In one.

એવક-સુસીઆ, aêvak-sûsîâ. ના૦ એક ઘોડો રાખનાર, એખલો સવાર. Subs. He who possesses one horse, one rider, only the rider.

એવક-યદમન, એવક-જસ્ત, aêvak-yadman, aêvak-jast. ના૦ એક હાથ; એક રાહ, એક તરેહ; એક મીસાલ; એક શુરા પેહેલવાનનું નામ છે, કે જેને 'યક દસ્ત' કરી કહેછે. Subs. One hand; one way—mode, an example, a simile; name of a gallant hero called *Yakdast*.

એવક-સર, aêvak-sar. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ સરાસર, એખલું, એક બારગી, એક મરતબે. Adv. On an average,

lonely; from one point of view, in one sense; one time.

અએવક-સરખ્ત, aêvak-sarakht. ના૦ એક ઘણા કામનો કરનાર, એક ઘણો મેહેનતુ માણસ. Subs. One who does much work, a hard-working man.

અએવક-સરેશુતે, aêvak-sarêshûtê. વિ૦ એક તૃત્યાંશ, એક ચીજનો ત્રીજો ભાગ. Subs. One-third; the third part of anything. Comp. Av.

અએવક-સરે, aêvak-sarê. વિ૦ એકશાન, બરાબર, સરખું. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ હમેશ. Adj. Similar, uniform, equal. Adv. Always.

અએવ-કીનશની, aêva-kînashnî. ના૦ એક કરવું, મેલવવું, આમેજ કરવું. Subs. Mixing up, mingling, uniting or blending in a mass.

અએવક-ગવશની, aêvak-gavashnî. ના૦ એક સખુન—શબ્દ. Subs. One word—sound—speech.

આહીનશને, âhînashnê. વિ૦ નજીશ, મેલું, નાપાક, ખરાબ થાએલું. Adj. Dirty, filthy, impure, defiled, spoiled.

અયોકીનીદે, ayôkînîdê. કૃ૦ વિ૦ એક કીધેલું, મેલવેલું. Partic. Adj. Made into one, mixed up.

અએવક-યોમ, aêvak-yôm. ના૦ એક દિવસ, પેહેલો દાહાડો, પડવો. Subs. One day, the first day, the first day of either half of a lunar month.

અએવક-ગોમન-આગ, aêvak-goman-âg. ક્રિ૦ અ૦

એક એકે. Adv. The first or the one is this that (lit.)

ઇવેકીક અએવકીક, અદુકદક, aêvakîk, adukdak. ના૦ સુમરાયલું પાણી—દુધ. Subs. Lukewarm water—milk.

ઇવેકદદીગર અએવક-દદીગર, aêvak-dadîgar. અન્ય૦ સર્વ૦ એક બીજાનું. Indef. Pron. Of one another. Comp. Per. یک دیگر

ઇવેકબર અએવક-બર, aêvak-bar. See ઇવેકબર aêvak-bar.

ઇવેકબર અયુકબર, ayukbar. ના૦ હલાએદું થએલું માણસ; અપવિત્ર શરીર; સુવાવડી ઓરત—સ્ત્રી; જેને બરસનુમ લીધેલું તે. Subs. One who is isolated (lit.); an impure—defiled body; a female in confinement; one who undergoes the *Barshnum* ceremony.

ઇવેકદેરા અએવક-દેરા, aêvak-dêrâ. ના૦ એક ગજ. Subs. One *gaz* (a measure of about 2 feet).

ઇવેકબરી અએવકબરી, aêvakbarî. ના૦ એક તરફ; એક હીસ્સો—ભાગ. Subs. One side, one portion—share.

ઇવેકબરી અયુબરી, ayubarî. ભાવ૦ ના૦ હેલાએદાપણું; સુવાવડીની હાલત; રીમની. Abstr. Subs. Isolation (lit.); state of confinement (of a woman); defilement; pollution.

ઇવેકદેરમ અએવક-દેરમ, aêvak-dêram. ના૦ એક દેરમ. Subs. One *derem* (a coin). Per. یک درم

ઇવેકે અએવકે, aêvakê. સં૦ વિ૦ એક, દરેક. Numer. Adj. One, every one.

ાગ્ય ગન્દે, gandê. ના૦ નરક, ગંધ—વાસ મારતી ચીજ. Subs. Human or animal excrement; a stinking substance. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible]ાગ્ય અયોગાનગી, ayôgânagî. ના૦ એકદીલી. Subs. Concord, union. Comp. Per. يگانگي

ાગ્ય અએવ-કોબ, aêva-kôb. ના૦ એક ઘા—જખમ. Subs. One wound. Comp. Per. كوب (beating, striking).

ાગ્ય અએવકે, aêvakê. See [illegible] aêvakê.

[illegible]ાગ્ય અએવકી, aêvakî. ના૦ એકપણું, એકત્વ. Subs. Oneness, unity, individuality. Per. يكتائي , يكي

[illegible]ાગ્ય અએવ-કન્યા, aêva-kanyâ. ના૦ એક વાંસ—વામ. Subs. One bamboo; one fathom.

[illegible]ાગ્ય અએવકો-દેહ, aêvakô-dêh. સં૦ વિ૦ એકને દશ, અગિઆર. Numer. Adj. One and ten; eleven. Av. [illegible] = Sans. एकादशन् = Per. يازده

ાગ્ય અએવક-વીન, aêvak-vîn. ના૦ એક મરદ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ પેહેલી વાર, પેહેલું. Subs. One man. Adv. For the first time; firstly.

ાગ્ય અએવક-વીમન્દ, aêvak-vîmand. વિ૦ એક તરફ વાલું. Adj. One-sided, prejudiced, biassed. Comp. Av. [illegible] + [illegible]

ાગ્ય અએવકેચ, aêvakêcha. સં૦ વિ૦ એકબી, અને એક. Numer. Adj. Even one, and one.

ાગ્ય અગ્નીચ, agnîcha. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ હમણાં. ના૦ સુસ્તી.

આલસાઈ. Adv. Now, at present. Subs. Sloth, indolence, laziness.

રાક્ષ અએવક-વજ્ન, aêvak-vazan. ના૦ એક માપ—વજન; 'શેકલ' નામનો એક સિક્કો; એક રીત; એક જાતનું ઝાડ જેની કમાન બનાવે છે. Subs. One measure—weight; one "*shekel* (a coin); one mode; a tree of which bows are made. Comp. Per. یک + وزن

ણાક્ષ અયુકર્દ, ayukard. વિ૦ રીમન. Adj. Polluted, defiled.

ઝોણાક્ષ અએવકે-દોદ, aêvakê-dôd. સર્વ૦ એક બીજા સાથે. Pron. With one another.

ઝોણાક્ષ અએવકે-તન, aêvakê-tan. ના૦ એક જણ—શખ્સ. Subs. One person—individual. Av. [illegible]

ઝોણાઇક્ષ અએવક-પવન-દલીન, aêvak-pavan-dalîn. સર્વ૦ એક બીજા વિષે—માટે. Pron. For or regarding one another.

ઝોમાક્ષ અએવક-માશ્ને, aêvak-mâshnê. ના૦ એક તરીકો, એક રીત. Subs. One mode—way.

ઝોક્ષ અએવકુમ, aêvakum. સં૦ વિ૦ પેહેલું. Ord. Numer. Adj. First. Comp. Per. یکم

ઝોક્ષ અએવક-વર-અએવક, aêvak-var-aêvak. સર્વ૦ એકેકમાં, એક બીજામાં. Pron. One within one; one within another.

ઝોણાક્ષ અએવક-વર-વરમન-દોદ, aêvak-var-varman-dôd. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક બીજામાં, એકમેકમાં, એક બીજા સાથે,

માહોમાંહે. Adv. Among one another, with each other, mutually.

[illegible] અએવક-વર-દોદ, aêvak-var-dôd. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક બીજામાં, માહોમાંહેમાં, એક બીજાને. Adv. Among one another, mutually, internally.

[illegible] અએવક-કાર, aêvak-k'âr. ના૦ એક કામ; એકસરખું કામ. Subs. One business; an uniform—similar business. Comp. Av. [illegible], Per. یک کار

[illegible] અએવક-કતરૂનતન, aêvak-katrunatan. ક્રિ૦ એકલું રહેવું. V. To remain alone—solitary.

[illegible] અએવક-ચ, aêvaka-cha. વિ૦ એકજ, એકદીલ, એકસરખું, એકનેજ. Adj. Only one, unanimous, with one accord, uniform, alike; to one only.

[illegible] અદુક-ચ, aduka-cha. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ એક, એકબી, કાંઈબી. Numer. Adj. One, even one; even some—a little.

[illegible] અએવક-ચ-અએવક, aêvaka-cha-aêvak. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક પછી એક; દર વખત; એકલા એકનેજ. Adv. One after another, every time; to one (person) only.

[illegible] અએવકચે, aêvakachê. સર્વ૦ એક જે, એકજ. Pron. One who—that; only one.

[illegible] અએવક-ચમ, aêvak-cham. ના૦ એક સબબ—કારણ; એક અર્થ. Subs. One cause—reason; one signification. Comp. Per. یک چم

[illegible] અએવક-તાક, aêvak-tâk. વિ૦ એકલું, એકવડું,

સાદું, સાચ્ચું ; અસતર વગરનો જભો ; ખોદા. Adj. Single, simple, sincere ; a garment without lining ; God. Per. يكتا

[illegible] અયુકતાર, ayûktâr. ના૦ આવજાવ કરનાર, આમદરફત કરનાર. Subs. One who frequents, one who visits often.

[illegible] અયુકતારીહા, ayuktârîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ આમદરફત કરવાની રીતે. Adv. In a familiar manner, familiarly, by way of ingress and egress.

[illegible] અએવક-દોદ, aêvak-dôd. સર્વ૦ એક બીજું. Pron. One another.

[illegible] અએવક-તનુ, aêvak-tanû. ના૦ એક તન, એક શખ્સ, કોઈ એક જણ ; એકદીલી. વિ૦ એકલો. Subs. One body, one person, an individual ; concord, union. Adj. Alone. (Comp. [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Per. تن)

[illegible] અએવક-તને, aêvak-tanê. ના૦ એક જગો. Subs. One place—spot.

[illegible] અએવક-તુમ, aêvak-tum. વિ૦ ઘણુંએક ; એકલું. Adj. Much, considerable, in a great degree ; lonely, solitary.

[illegible] અએવક-પોમમન, aêvak-pômaman. ના૦ એક મોહ, બે મોઢાંનું નહીં, જેમાંથી બે બોલી—અર્થ નહીં નીકલે તેવું ; જાહેર, રોશન, ખોલ્લું. Subs. One mouth (lit.) ; unequivocal, not ambiguous ; clear, evident. (Comp. [illegible] + [illegible] = Ar. فم = mouth.).

અએવક-મોદ, aêvak-môd. વિ૦ એક રંગનું. Adj. Of one colour.

અએવક-મન, aêvak-man. ના૦ એક મન—વિચાર, Subs. Oneness of mind (lit.); unanimity.

અએવક-મદમ-અએવક, aêvak-madam-aêvak. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક ઉપર એક. ના૦ ચઢાચઢી. Adv. One over the other. Subs. Emulous contest or strife; outvieing.

અએવક-મોગ, aêvak-môg. ના૦ એક જોડો—મોજું. Subs. One shoe; one stocking or sock.

અએવક-મોગ-દોબારશની, aêvak-môg-dô-bârashnî. ના૦ એક જોડે દોડવું—ચાલવું; એક ગુનાહનું નામ છે, જે એક પગે ઉઘાડું ચાલવાથી થાયછે; એવીજ રીતે ચોથી વખત ચાલવાથી તે શખસને "તનવલગાંન" ગુનાહ લાગુ થાયછે. Subs. Running—walking with one shoe; the name of a transgression or guilt,—viz., that caused by walking with one foot bare. He who thus walks four times becomes liable to the guilt of *Tanvalgân*. Comp. Pâz. પાટેઆદર-પેરવેજ (in Patet Ader).

અએવક-મેન-દોદ, âêvak-mên-dôd. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બીજા મધેથી એક; એક બીજાથી. Adv. One from the other; from one another.

અએવક-મદન, aêvak-madan. ક્રિ૦ સાથે આવવું; એક થવું, એકહું મલવું, મલીજવું. V. To come together, to be mingled up, to be united in one,

to be associated, to meet together. Comp. Per. یک + آمدن

[illegible] અએવક-મદમ-દોદ, aêvak-madam-dôd. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક બીજાને, અરસપરસ. Adv. To one another, mutually.

[illegible] અએવક-રાહ, aêvak-râh. ના૦ એક રસ્તો—રીત; એક રીતે ચાલનાર. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એકવાર. Subs. One way, one mode—usage—fashion, one that follows one rule—principle. Adv. Once, one time. Per. یکراه

[illegible] અએવક-રાસ્તી, aêvak-râstî. ના૦ એક સચ્ચાઈ. Subs. One truth, one fact. Pâz. [illegible] = Per. یکراستي

[illegible] અએવક-રીશ, aêvak-rîsh. ના૦ જેણે એક જખમ ખાધો હોય તે; સામે નરીમાનની લકબ. Subs. One who has received one wound; surname of *Sâm Narîmân*. ([illegible] + [illegible] = Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. Rt. रिष् = Per. ریشیدن)

[illegible] અએવક-રબમેમને, aêvak-rabmêmanê. વિ૦ એકદીલી, બંધ બેસતું, માફક, મુનાસેબ, નજદીક, દુર કરવા વગરનું. Adj. Being one of mind, appropriate, consistent, agreeable, allied; near, without being removed, attached, not alien.

[illegible] અએવક-રોબાગી, aêvak-rôbâgî. ના૦ એક ચલણ, એક રેવાજ. વિ૦ એક ચલણી, એક રેવાજી. Subs.

Currency, one usage, one custom. Adj. Having one custom, following one usage—principle.

[illegible] અએવક-રવેશમન, aêvak-ravêshman. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ સરાસર, એક છેડેથી તે બીજા છેડા સુધી; એકાએક, એકલું. Adv. From one end to the other, from beginning to end, alone, suddenly, unexpectedly, lonely.

[illegible] અએવક-રવેશમને, aêvak-ravêshmanê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક મરતબે, એક બારગી. Adv. One time, once, in one sense, from one point of view.

[illegible] અએવક-રોતમન-દોદ, aêvak-rôtman-dôd. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક બીજા સાથે, એકમેક સાથે. Adv. With one another, mutually.

[illegible] યોકરદી, yôkradî. વિ૦ બરાબર, એકમલતું. ના૦ બરાબરી, સરખાપણું. Adj. Alike, similar, uniform. Subs. Similarity, equality.

[illegible] અએવકરદીહા, યોકરદેહા, aêvakradîhâ, yôkardêhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક બારગી, તમામ, બીલકુલ, એકદમ, એક વેલામાં, એક હોમલામાં. ના૦ એકદમ હોમલો, તીરસ્કાર કરવો, ઝંઝેડી નાખવું. Adv. One time, in one sense, wholly, entirely, at once, at one time; in an attack. Subs. Sudden attack, showing contempt—disrespect, scolding, hooting, flouting. Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] અએવક-રદે, aêvak-radê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ સરાસર રીતે; સાથે મલેલું. Adv. On an average; mixed up together.

ગ્રંથ અયુકરદે, ayûkradê. ના૦ ટુકડો, કટકો ; બરાબરી ; નાપાકી. Subs. A piece, a part, a portion ; equality ; impurity.

ગ્રંથ યોકરદે, yôkradê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એકદમ, એકમલતું, એક લગતું, એક રીતનું, એક પેવંદનું, બરાબર, એક રાહનું ; હમેશાં, તમામ, સામેલ, સાથે લાગેલું. ના૦ સંગ્રહ, જથો ; નાપાકી, રીમની. Adv. At once, alike, in an uniform manner, of one link—chain, similar, of one tenor —course ; always, entirely, associated with. Subs. A collection, a mass, impurity, defilement (Comp. ગ્રંથ + ગ્રંથ = Per. يک + رد)

ગ્રંથ યોકરદગી, yôkradgî. ના૦ એક લગતાપણું, પેવંદ, સંબંધ, બરાબરી, મલતાપણું, એકઠા મલવું, એકમત થવું, લપેટવું. Subs. Affinity, union, connection, resemblance, similarity, assembling, meeting together ; agreeing, concurring, concord ; rolling up, wrapping around.

ગ્રંથ યોકરદગીહા, yôkradgîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક બારગી, એકદમ, એક રીતે, તમામ, સઘલું. Adv. In one sense, from one point of view, according to same rule, wholly, entirely.

ક્ષ્ય

ક્ષ્ય અએવ-ચ, aêva-cha. વિ૦ એકબી, એખલુંબી. Adj. Even one, even single—lonely.

ક્ષ્ય અ-ગંજ, a-ganj. વિ૦ ખજાના—દોલત વગર. Adj. Without treasure—wealth. Per. بی گنج

દાઇ અયુજ, ayuj. ના૦ બુલંદ—ઉંચે જવું; બુલંદી. ક્રિ૦ આજ્ઞા૦ બુલંદીથી ચાલ. Subs. Going up, going on high; elevation. V. Imper. Walk with a lofty gait and erect head.

દાઇ અયુજ, ayuj. ના૦ લડાઈ; કોશેશ; પોંહોંચવું. Subs. Battle, war; endeavour; reaching.

દાઇ અયો-ચ, ayô-cha. વિ૦ ઉલટું—વિરૂધબી. Adj. Even opposite, even against.

દાઇ આગન્જ, âganj. ના૦ ભુજેલું ગોશ્ત—માંસ. વિ૦ સખ્ત, મુશકેલ. Subs. Roasted meat. Adj. Hard, difficult.

દાઇ આયન-ચ, âyan-cha. ના૦ લોઢું બી. Subs. Even iron. Comp. Pehl. ایون

દાઇ એવજ, êvaj. વિ૦ આરાસ્તે, શીંગારેલું. ના૦ કાંઈબી ચીજ લટકેલી તે; આંકડી; કીનારી. Adj. Adorned, decorated. Subs. Anything suspended; a hook; a border, margin. Comp. Per. آویز

દાઇ યાવ-ચ, yâva-cha. ઉભ્યા૦ અ૦ અથવા, યાતો, કે. Conj. Or, either, that, as.

દાઇ યુજ, yûj. ના૦ જોડવું, બાંધવું, અડકવું, સંબંધમાં આવવું. Subs. Joining together, binding; touching, coming in contact. Comp. Av. Rt. દાઇ.

દાઇ યુજ, yûj. ના૦ કોશેશ, મેહેનત; રેવાજ; જારી, ચાલુ. Subs. Endeavour, exertion; usage; continuing; keeping on. Av. Rt. દાઇ = Sans. युज,

ફારસી યુદ, yûd. ના૦ લડાઈ કરવી, જઈ પોંહોંચવું, મલવું, આલુદે થવું. Subs. Fighting, waging war, arriving, meeting, to be polluted—calumniated. Av. Rt. ફારસી = Sans. Rt. युध् = To fight.

ગુજરાતી અયુજાનદ, અયુજંદ, ayûjânad, ayûjand. ક્રિ૦ પેહરે, અડકે, મલી જાએ. V. May put on—wear, may touch, may be mixed up.

ફારસી અયુજંદ, ayujand. ક્રિ૦ તેઓ જોડે—બાંધે—સાથે અડકે, તેઓ ટેકો આપે. V. They may join—bind —be mixed up together—touch; they may support.

ગુજરાતી આગંજ-આનીદન, âganj-ânîdan. ક્રિ૦ ભુજેલું ગોશ્ત મંગાવવું. V. To send for roasted meat, to order to be brought roasted meat.

ગુજરાતી અયુજાનીદન, ayujânîdan. ક્રિ૦ કોશેશ—મેહેનત કરાવવી. V. To cause to exert—endeavour.

ફારસી અયુજાદ, ayûjâd. ક્રિ૦ આશી૦ બુલંદ થાજો. V. May it be exalted—elevated (bened. 3 sing.).

ગુજરાતી અયુચે, ayûchê. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ એક. Numer. Adj. One.

ગુજરાતી અયુજી, ayûjî. ના૦ કોશેશ, મેલવણી; મીલનસારી; શીંગાર, શોભા. Subs. Endeavour, exertion; mixture, sociality; affability; ornament, grace.

ગુજરાતી યાવ-ચ-શ, yâv-cha-sh. ઉભ્યા૦ અ૦ અથવા તે પણ, યા તેબી. Conj. Or even that.

ᠵᠣᠵᠢ યોજી, yôjî. ના૦ શીંગાર, આરાએશ, શોભા. Subs. Ornament, embellishment, elegance, beauty.

ᠠᠸᠴᠡᠰᠢ અએવચ્ચેશ, aêva-chêsh. ના૦ એક ચીજ—વસ્તુ. Subs. One thing.

ᠠᠶᠤᠵᠠᠰᠬᠢ અયુજશ્ને, ayûjashnê. ના૦ મેલવવું, આમેજ કરવું. Subs. Mixing up, intermingling, blending.

ᠠᠪᠤᠵᠠᠰᠬᠢ ᠬᠣᠨᠠ અ-બુજશ્ની, a-bûjashnî. ના૦ છુટકારા વગરની હાલત. Subs. State of being not emancipated —released. Contrast Paz. ᠬᠣᠯᠣᠨᠣ

ᠠᠶᠤᠵᠠᠰᠬᠢ અયુજશ્ની, ayûjashnî. વિ૦ લડાઈને લગતું, લડાઈનું. Adj. Pertaining to war—fight; martial.

ᠠᠶᠤᠳᠠᠰᠬᠢ યુડશ્ની, yûdashnî. ના૦ લડાઈ, જંગ, યુધ્ધ, અથડાઅથડી. Subs. Fight, war, battle, struggle; combat, coming into collision.

ᠠᠪᠤᠵᠠᠰᠬᠢᠭᠣᠨᠠ અ-બુજશ્નીગી, a-bûjashnîgî. વિ૦ છુટકારા વગરનું. Adj. Not released—set at liberty.

ᠠᠪᠣᠵᠠᠰᠬᠢ અ-બોજશ્ને, a-bôjashnê. વિ૦ નહીં જાણનાર; નાવાકેફ, બેખબરો. Adj. Not knowing; unacquainted, inexperienced, ignorant.

ᠠᠶᠤᠵᠠᠰᠬᠢ અયુજશ્ને, ayûjashnê. ના૦ કોશેશ, મેહેનત. વિ૦ જલદી દોડનાર, તેજ ચાલનું; જાથુક; ખંતી રહીને. Subs. Endeavour, exertion. Adj. Fast running, swift going; continual; persevering.

ᠶᠤᠵᠠᠰᠬᠢ યુજશ્ને, yûjashnê. ના૦ રથ, ગાડી. Subs. A car, a chariot.

૧૫૭૬૪૪ યુદશ્ને, yûdashnê. ના૦ જોડવું, બાંધવું, મજબુત કરવું. Subs. Joining, binding, fastening.

૧૫૭૬૪૪ યોજશ્ને, yôjashnê. ના૦ અનાજ. Subs. Corn.

૧૫૭૬૪૪ યોદશ્ને, yôdashnê. ના૦ લડાઈ, જઘડો, વઢવાડ. Subs. Battle, fight, quarrel.

૧૫૬૪૪ યુજીનદ, yûjînad. ક્રિ૦ ટેવ પાડે; જોડાવે. V. May accustom (one's self); may cause to join—bind.

૧૫૭૫૬૪૪ અયુજીનશ્ને, અયુદીનશ્ને, ayûjînashnê, ayûdînashnê. ના૦ ગાલેબ આવવું, ગલબો; મ્હોટાઈ, ઉંચે ચઢવું. Subs. Overcoming, overpowering; superiority, climbing up, ascending.

૧૧૯૭૫૬૪૪ અયુજીનીદન, ayûjînîdan. ક્રિ૦ કોશેશ—મેહેનત કરવી, ધંધો કરવો, જોડવું, સાથે મેલવવું. V. To exert, to endeavour, to carry on a business—trade; to join; to unite; to bring into close connection. (Av. Rt. ૬૭૭ = Sans. Rt. युज् = to join.)

૧૧૯૭૫૬૪૪ યુદીનીદન, yûdînîdan. ક્રિ૦ લડાઈ કરવી; ફરીવલવું; જઈ પોંહોંચવું, મલવું; આલુદે થવું; કોશેશ કરવી; જોડવું. V. To fight, to wage war, to take up arms; to go all through, to go round, to arrive; to be mixed up, to be polluted—contaminated; to exert, to endeavour; to join, to unite. (Av. Rt. ૬૭૭, Sans. Rt. युध्)...

૧૫૬૪૪ અ-દોઝીન, અ-દોજદી, a-dôzîn, a-dôzdî. વિ૦ ચોરીનું નહીં, પ્રમાણીક. Adj. Not stolen; honest.

ગલ્ય અ-દોઝ્દન, a-dôzîdan. ક્રિ૦ ચોરી નહીં કરવી, નહીં ચોરવું. V. Not to steal—rob. Contrast Per. دزدیدن

ગલ્ય અયુજ્દન, ayûjîdan. ક્રિ૦ ઉઠવું; ઉપર ચહડવું; મલવું; કોશેશ કરવી; ખરાબ કરવું; છોડવું, અલાહેદું રેહેવું; અડકવું, સામેલ થવું; છુટકારો કરવો. V. To rise, to get up; to ascend, to be, to meet; to exert, to endeavour; to make bad, to defile; to release, to quit; to touch, to be associated with.

ગલ્ય યુજ્દન, yûjîdan. ક્રિ૦ સાથે એકઠા થવું. V. To assemble, to muster, to throng.

ગલ્ય યોદીદન, yôdîdan. ક્રિ૦ લડાઈ કરવી; ફરીવલવું, જઈ પોંહોંચવું, મલવું, આલુદે થંવું. V. To fight, to wage war; to go all through, to go round; to be mixed up; to be polluted.

ગલ્ય અયુજ, ayûj. ના૦ શોધનાર. Subs. One who seeks. Av. Rt. = Sans. Rt. याच् = Per. جُستن = to beg.

ગલ્ય અએવ-ચન્દ, aêva-chand. વિ૦ કેટલુંએક, કેટલાક, કેટલાક પ્રકાર, કેટલીએક તરેહ. Adj. Somewhat, some, some people; several ways—modes; several sorts—species. Pâz.

ગલ્ય આઈન-ચંદ, âin-chand. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કેટલીએક રીતે—પ્રકારે; કેટલીક વાર. Adv. In several ways—modes, several times.

[illegible] અ-દોજની, a-dôjanî. વિ૦ નહીં ચોરી કરનારૂં. Adj. Not stealing.

[illegible] અ-બુજે, a-bûjê. વિ૦ છુટકારો નહીં કરનારૂં. Adj. Not releasing—setting at liberty.

[illegible]

[illegible] અ-દુઝાનીદન, a-dûzânîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં સીવરાવવું—સંધાવવું. V. Not to get sewn or stitched, not to cause to be united—joined, not to cause to be allied—closely related.

[illegible] હુ-જવારી, hû-zavârî. વિ૦ સારાં કૌવત—જોરને લગતું. Adj. Pertaining to a good power—strength.

[illegible] અ-દોજદ, a-dôzad. વિ૦ દાઝીઆ—બલીઆ વગરનું. Adj. Without being scalded or burnt. Contrast Av. Rt. [illegible]; Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-જુઝદન, a-jûzîdan. ક્રિ૦ ગોસ્સો નહીં ખાવો, ક્રોધાયમાન નહીં થવું, રીશે નહીં ભરાવું. V. Not to be angry—exasperated, not to be enraged.

[illegible] અયુઝદન, ayûzîdan. See [illegible] or [illegible] ayûjîdan, ayûjînîdan.

[illegible] અએવ-જવારી, aêva-zavârî. ના૦ એક કૌવત; જોર એકઠું કરવું; એક મતિ; સંપ, મસલહત. વિ૦ એક જોર—કૌવત—બલવાળું. Subs. 'One power, collecting all strength, unanimity, concord, confederacy, advice, counsel. Adj. Of one power, of

united strength. Comp. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Pâz. [illegible] = Per. زور

[illegible]

[illegible] અઈનત, ainat. કેવલ૦ અ૦ શાબાસ! આફરીન! મુબારક! Interj. Well done! bravo!

[illegible] અ-દુદ, a-dûd. વિ૦ ધુંવા વગરનું. Adj. Smokeless. Prohib. [illegible] + [illegible] = Per. دود

[illegible] અયુતામરૂતી, ayûtâmarûtî. ના૦ એકવાર પઢવું. Subs. Reciting once.

[illegible] અયુતા, ayûtâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક મરતબે—વાર—વખત. Adv. Once, one time.

[illegible] અએવતાક, aêvatâk. વિ૦ એકલું, એકજ, એકસરખું. Adj. Lonely, only one; uniform, alike.

[illegible] અ-જુદાઈ, a-jûdâî. ના૦ જુદાઈ વગરની હાલત, મીલનસારપણું. Subs. State of being not different; affability; sociality. Contrast Per. جدائي

[illegible] અએવતાક, aêvatâk. વિ૦ એકલો, એકદમ, સાદું, માત્ર; આલુદે થાયલું; એકજ, કેવલ; એકાંત. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ તદન, ફકત. Adj. Single, alone, simple, only, at once; contaminated, polluted; only one, retired. Adv. Wholly, altogether, merely, simply. Per. يكتا

[illegible] અયુતાક, ayûtâk. ના૦ કોશેશ, મેહેનત. Subs. Endeavour, exertion.

[illegible] અયુતાકાન, ayûtâkân. ના૦ જુદાઈ—તનાહી રાખનારા, એકલપેટાઓ, અદેખાઓ, દ્વેશભાવીઓ. Subs.

Those that remain separate—alone; selfish—jealous—vindictive persons.

[illegible] અએવતાકી, aêvtâkî. ના૦ ભાવ૦ એકાંતપણું, એકપણું, એકલપેટાપણું. Subs. Abst. Loneliness, selfishness, unity. Per. يكتائي

[illegible] અયુતાકી, ayutâkî. વિ૦ કોશેશ—મેહેનત કરનારૂં, ઉદ્યમવાળું. Adj. Endeavouring, exerting; industrious.

[illegible] અયુદાકીહા, ayûdâkîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એકલપેટાપણાંથી. Adv. In a selfish manner.

[illegible] અયુતાર, ayûtâr. ના૦ દોડનાર, દેવાનું માણસ; ચોર. Subs. A runner, a mad person, a robber, a thief.

[illegible] અયુતારીહા, ayutârîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ મેહેનતથી, કોશેશથી, ઉદ્યોગીપણાંથી. Adv. With labour, exertion; industriously.

[illegible] અએન-તગ, aên-tag. ના૦ ઉંડી આંખ. Subs. A deep eye, penetrating sight.

[illegible] અખ-તગ, akh-tag. ના૦ મજબુત—કૌવતમંદ આશીરવાદ—દુવા. Subs. Efficacious blessings, vigorous prayers.

[illegible] અયોતગ, ayôtag. ના૦ આડું—ઉલટું દોડનાર, વિરૂધ્ધ જનાર. Subs. One who runs astray, one who swerves, one who runs away from any prescribed course.

[illegible] અયો-દોદ, ayô-dôd. વિ૦ એક બે. Adj. One or two.

[illegible] અયુદગી, અખ્તેશ, ayûdagî, akhtêsh. ના૦ આ-

કત, દુકાળ, દુઃખ, દરદ; ખરાબી, નાપાકી. Subs. Calamity, affliction, dearth, famine, pain, disease; evil, impurity.

૧૯૪૪ અયુદન, ayûdan. ક્રિ૦ ચાલુ—શરૂ થવું. V. To be in process, to continue on, to begin.

૧૯૪૪ આવતન, âvtan. ક્રિ૦ સરદ થવું. V. To be cold.

૧૯૪૪ અએવ-તુક, aêva-tûk. વિ૦ એક તરફથી કાટેલું. ના૦ એક ટુકડો. Adj. Torn—split from one side. Subs. A small piece.

૧૯૪૪ અએન-તુમ, aên-tûm. ના૦ આંખનું અંધારૂં—કાલાશ. Subs. Dimness or gloominess of the eye. Comp. Per. تم + عين

૧૯૪૪ અએવતુમ, aêvatûm. વિ૦ એકલું. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એકતર, એક તરફ, એક બાજુએ. Adj. Lonely, alone. Adv. Aside, sideways, on one side, towards one direction.

૧૯૪૪ અયો-તુમ, ayô-tûm. વિ૦ ઘણુંજ ઉલટું—વિરૂધ્ધ. Adj. Quite opposite, greatly reverse, most antagonistic, *tout au contraire* (Fr.).

૧૯૪૪ અ-દુદે, a-dudê. વિ૦ ખરાબ ખાનદાનને લગતું, હલકી નસલનું. Adj. Of a base-born family, pertaining to low parentage, of mean pedigree—descent.

૧૯૪૪ આઈન્તે, âîntê. ના૦ કમાન. Subs. A bow.

૧૯૪૪ આગંદેહ, âgandêh. વિ૦ પૂરૂં કીધેલું, ભરેલું, ભરપૂર. Adj. Full, filled, replete, fraught, well-stocked. Per. آگنده

૧૯૪૪ આયન્દેહ, âyandêh. ના૦ આવનાર. Subs. One who comes, a comer. Per. آئندہ

૧૯૪૪ અ-ગંદગી, a-gandagî. ના૦ ગંદગી વગરની હાલત, બદબો વગરની હાલત. Subs. Unstinkingness, unrottenness, freedom from strong offensive smell.

૧૯૪૪ અ-દુદગી, a-dûdgî. ના૦ ખરાબ ખાનદાન, બદ ખુનીઆદ, ખરાબ નસલ. Subs. A base-born family, a low parentage, a mean pedigree—descent.

૧૯૪૪ અયુદગી, ayudagî. ના૦ ખુદરતી હાજત; અખંતર, નાપાકી, ચરકીન, અપવિત્રાઈ; ઝરપલું; કાદવ કચરો. Subs. Natural call; uncleanliness, foulness, impurity, defilement; oozing out; rubbish, dirt.

૧૯૪૪ અ-ગંદેહ, a-gandêh. વિ૦ બદબોઈ વગરનું, તાજું. Adj. Unstinking, not emitting a strong offensive smell, fresh. Comp. Prohib. ૯ + ૧૯૪ = Sans. गन्ध = Per. گند

૧૯૪૪ અદુદને, adûdanê. ના૦ રીત, માર્ગ, પ્રકાર, નિયમ, પદ્વી, દરજ્જો, જાત, રીતભાત, આકાર, ઘાટ, નમુનો. Subs. A mode, a way, a rule; dignity, rank, kind; usage; shape, form; a sample.

૧૯૪૪ અ-દુદેઈ, a-dûdêî. વિ૦ વગર ખાનદાની. Adj. Not of noble parentage, lineage.

૧૯૪૪ આગંદેહ, âgandêh. See ૧૯૪ âgandêh.

૧૩૬૧૯૪૪ અએવ-તગે-રોબાન, aêva-tagê-rôbân. ના૦ એક કૌવતવાળું રવાન, રવાનનું એક કૌવત. Subs. A powerful soul; a strength of soul.

ઇ૪૪

ઇ૪૪ અદવજ્, advaz. ના૦ આવાજ, સાદ, પોકાર. Subs. Sound, noise, uproar. Comp. Pehl. ઇઇ, ઇ૪૪

ઇ૪૪ અદુપ, યદુવ, અયોપ, adûp, yaduv, ayôp. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ યા, અથવા, પણ, કદી, તદન, કેવું, અગર, વલી, કેવલ૦ અ૦ ઓ ! અરે ! Conj. Or, either, but, even ; ever; altogether ; how, if, also. Interj. Oh! Ah! Av. ઇઇ૪૪, Pâz. ઇઇ૪૪ = Per. يا

ઇ૪૪ હુફ, hûf. વિ૦ નેક, સારૂં, ભલું. Adj. Virtuous, good, excellent, worthy, gentle. Comp. Av. ઇઇ૪૪ = Per. خوب ; Comp. Pehl. ઇઇ

ઇઇ૪૪ અદુપા, હદન્પા, adûpâ, hadanpâ. ના૦ લોબાન ; ખુશબો. Subs. Benzoin ; fragrance, perfume.

ઇઇ૪૪ } હીનવા, હદનપાએ, Hînvâ, hadanapâê. ના૦
ઇઇ૪૪ } દાડમડી, દાડમડીના ઝાડની ઓરવરામ. Subs. A pomegranate tree, a twig of a pomegranate tree. Comp. Av. ઇઇ૪૪ = Sans. सदानप्त.

૩૪૪૪ દો-ગોપાન, dô-gôpân. ના૦ બે વાવટા. Subs. Two flags. Comp. Per. كپان

૩૪૪૪ દો-દોફન, dô-dôfan. ના૦ બે સીકાં, ફકીરની બે ઝોલી. Subs. Two slings; two baskets suspended by means of a rope; two wallets (of beggars).

૩૪૪૪ અદુપાક, adupâk. See ઇઇ૪૪ adûpâ.

૪૪૪૪ } અયોવ-શ, ayôva-sh. ઉભયા૦ અં૦ અથવા તે, અથવા
ઇઇ૪૪ } તેને. Conjunc. Or he ; or to him.

૫૭૪૪ હીનવા, hînvâ. See ૫૭૪૪ hînvâ.

૧૪૪-૫૭૪૪ અદુવ-શ-હાન, adûva-sh-hân. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બલકે એટલુંજ નહીં પણ કાંઈ બીજું વધારે. Adv. Not only this but something more besides.

૫૭૨૪૪) ખીવવસખ, khîvvasakh. ના૦ થુક, લબ, હોજ.
૫૭૩૪૪) Subs. Spittle; saliva.

૧૭૪૪ અદુપ, adûp. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ તેથી તે. Adv. Consequently he, she, or it (lit.)

૧૫૭૯૭૪૪ અદુપ-વ-ચસુન, adûp-va-chasun. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ અને વલી તેમજ. Adv. And also in the same manner.

૧૫૭૯૭૪૪ અયોવ-ચસુન, ayôv-chasun. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કેવી કીસમનું, કેવી રીતે—તરેહ. Adv. Of what sort; how.

૯૭૪૪ અઈનફત, આએપ્ત, aînaft, âêpta. ના૦ હાજેત ચાહવી, હાંસેલ, મતલબને વાસ્તે કરવું—પઢવું—દરખાસ્ત કરવી. Subs. Wishing for, praying for some wish—desire, profit, produce, doing something for one's own object; reciting or reading (prayers) for one's own object, proposing (something) for one's own end in view. (Allied to ૯૭૭૪ or ૯૭૭); Av. ૯૭૭૪૪૪, Per. يافت

૯૭૪૪ અએવ-પત, aêva-pat. ના૦ એક પતિ—ધણી. Subs. One master, one owner. (૪ + ૯૭ = Av. ૯૭૪૭ = Sans. पति.)

૯૭૪૪ અ-ગોફત, a-gôft. ક્રિ૦ નહીં બોલ્યું—કરયું. V. Did not utter—say. Contrast Per. گفت

૯૭૪૪ અયુવત, ayûvata. ઉભયા૦ અહ યા તું, અથવા તુને.

Conj. Or thou, or to thee. (+ = Av. = Sans. त्वम् = Per. ت)

અયોફ્ત, ayôft. ના૦ હાંસેલ, આવક, હાંસેલ કરવું. Subs. Gain, income, gaining, acquiring. Comp. Peh.

અ-ગોફ્તે, a-gôftê. ક્રિ૦ નથી કહેલું, નહીં બોલેલું. V. Not said; not spoken—uttered.

અ-ગોફ્તાર, a-gôftâr. વિ૦ નહીં બોલનાર, મુંગું; દેવાનું. Adj. Not speaking, dumb; mad, insane.

અયોફ્તાર, a-yôftâr. વિ૦ દેવાનું, ઘેલું. Adj. Mad, insane.

અગોપતશાહ, agôpatshâh. ના૦ ગોપતશાહ નામનો એક દસતુર. Subs. *Gôpatshâh* (name of a Dustoor); a surname of *Agraêratha* (West).

અ-ગોફ્તન, a-gôftan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં બોલવું—કહેવું—પઢવું. V. Not to speak—utter; not to recite—read. Contrast Peh., Per. گفتن

અદુવમ, adûvam. See adûvam.

અદુવ-મદમ, adûv-madam. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ અથવા ઉપર; અથવા સાથે. Conjunc. Or above; or together with.

અગોફ્રાક, agôfrak. વિ૦ બેહોશ. Adj. Insensible; bereft of consciousness.

અયુમ, ayûm. ના૦ આડો દહાડો. વિ૦ કદહાડે, કવખતે. Subs. An inauspicious day. Adj. Ill timed; untimely.

𐬀𐬵𐬀 અજુમ, ajûm. ના૦ સજા, શિક્ષા. Subs. Punishment.

𐬀𐬌𐬀 આઈનમ, âinam. ના૦ મારી મીસાલ—તરેહ—પખે. Subs. Like myself, like me.

𐬵𐬌𐬀 ખીનમ, khînam. ક્રિ૦ હું કીનો—વેર રાખું. V. I may harbour revenge—ill-feeling.

𐬛𐬀𐬀 દાનમ, dânam. ક્રિ૦ હું જાણું છું; હું જાણું. V. I know, I may know. Per. دانم

𐬛𐬀 દો-યોમ, dô-yôm. ના૦ બીજો દહાડો, બે દહાડા. Subs. Another day; two days.

𐬀𐬌𐬀 યાનમ, yânam. ક્રિ૦ હું ખુશી થાઉં. V. I may be pleased—glad. Comp. 𐬌 = Av. 𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬙 + 𐬀

𐬀𐬌𐬀 યાવમ, yâvam. ક્રિ૦ હું ચાહું, હું પામું છું. V. I may desire; I get—acquire.

𐬯𐬀𐬙 સેઊમ, sêûm. ક્રમ સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ ત્રીજું. Ord. Numer. Adj. Third; 3rd.

𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 અ-ગોમાએ, a-gômâê. વિ૦ નહીં મલેલું; મેલવવા વગરનું; દુઃખી નહીં થએલું. Adj. Unmixed, not mingled; not afflicted.

𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 અ-ગોમાએ, a-gômâê. ક્રિ૦ આજ્ઞા૦ તું મલ—ભેલા. V. imper. Be (thou) mixed, mingle thou.

𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬙 અ-ગોમાન, a-gômân. વિ૦ બેશક, બેગુમાન; મગરૂરી વગરનું; વિશ્વાસુ; પ્રમાણીક; વેહેમ વગરનું, ખચીત. Adj. Undoubted, not proud, confident, faithful, honest; not suspicious; certain, sure. (Prohib. 𐬀 + 𐬵𐬀𐬙 = Av. अगमान = Sans. विमनस् = Per. گمان)

𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬙 અ-ગોમેઝ, a-gômêz. વિ૦ મેલાપ થયા વગર. Adj. Without being mingled—associated.

અયોમાએ, ayômâê. વિ૦ પુંજી વગરનું, ગરીબ, લાચાર. Adj. Moneyless, poor, helpless.

અયોમાગ, ayômâg. વિ૦ પરમાણ વગર. Adj. Disproportionate.

અ-યોમાએ, a-yômaê. વિ૦ વેગલું નથી. Adj. Not distant—remote.

અ-ગુમાન, a-gûmân. See a-gômâê.

અ-ગુમાન-અયાવશને, a-gûmân-ayâvashnê. ના૦ ગુમાન—શક વગર પામવું—મેલવવું; ખચીત મેલવવું. Subs. Obtaining without doubt, gaining or acquiring assuredly.

અ-ગુમાનોમંદ, a-gûmânômand, વિ૦ શક ભરેલું નહીં. Adj. Not doubtful, not dubious.

અ-ગુમાની, a-gûmânî. ના૦ બેશકપણું, ખાતરી. Subs. Undoubtedness, conviction, assurance. Per. بي گماني

અ-ગુમાની, a-gûmânî. ના૦ બેગુમાની. Subs. Doubtlessness.

અ-ગુમાનીગી, a-gûmânîgî. ના૦ ખચીતાઈ, બેશકપણું, બેગુમાની, પ્રમાણીકપણું. Subs. Undoubtedness, unquestionableness, honesty.

અ-ગુમાનીદન, a-gûmânîdan. ક્રિ૦ શકમંદ નહીં થવું—કરવું; બેશક થવું, કોઈની ઉપર સુગાવું નહીં. V. Not to be doubtful, not to render doubtful, to be certain—sure; not to be prejudiced against some one.

[illegible] અબુ-માન, abû-mân. ના૦ બાપનું ઘર. Subs. Paternal house. Comp. Ar. ابو + Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-ગુમાનગી, a-gûmânagî. See [illegible] a-gûmânî, [illegible] a-gûmânigî.

[illegible] અ-ગુમાન-ચાર, a-gûmân-châr. ના૦ શક વિનાનો ઈલાજ, ચોકસ ઊપાય. Subs. A doubtless remedy; an unfailing or certain remedy.

[illegible] અ-ગોમાર્દન, a-gômârdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં છોડવું, છુટું નહીં મુકવું, જવા નહીં દેવું, મુકરર નહીં કરવું. V. Not to dismiss, not to set at liberty, not to leave alone; not to determine—make certain.

[illegible] અયોમાએ, ayômâê. ના૦ છુટકારો, નિવારણ. Subs. Release; warding off, cure.

[illegible] અ-જુમ્બાનીદન, a-jûmbânîdan, ક્રિ૦ હીંચ નહીં ખાવી, નહીં હીલવવું, પારણામાં હીંચ નહીં ગાલવું, મથન નહીં કરવું. V. Not to swing, not to shake—move; not to rock in a cradle, not to churn milk. Contrast Per. جنبانيدن

[illegible] અ-જુમ્બાક, a-jûmbâk. વિ૦ હિલચાલ નહીં કરનારૂં, ગતી વગરનું, સ્થીર. Adj. Not moving, motionless; still. Contrast Per. جنبان

[illegible] અ-જુમ્બાકીહા, a-jûmbâkîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ વગર હીલચાલે. Adv. Without any motion.

[illegible] અ-ગોમેખ્તન, a-gômêkhtan. ક્રિ૦ રીમન નહીં કરવું, નહીં લાગવું—મલવું. V. Not to defile—pollute, not to come in contact with, not to meet.

અગોમેખ્તગી અ-ગોમેખ્તગી, a-gômêkhtagî. ના૦ મેલવણી વગરની હાલત. Subs. State of being not mixed up—mingled.

અગોમી અ-ગોમી, અ-ગોમેજ, a-gômî, a-gômêz. વિ૦ નહીં મલેલું, સાફ, છુટું, વેગલું, બાતેલ. Adj. Unmixed; pure, free, far from, excluded (Comp. અ = Av. ક્ષ + મ = Sans. वि + मिह्; contrast Per. آميختن)

અગોમેજ અ-ગોમેજ, a-gômêz. વિ૦ આમેજ નહીં થાયલું, મલેલું નહીં, એલાહેદું, છુટું. Adj. Not mixed, unmingled, separate, distinct.

અયુમી અ-યુમી, a-yûmi. વિ૦ રોજને લગતું નહીં, દહાડાનું નહીં. Adj. Not relating to a day, not belonging to every day. Contrast Ar. يوميه , يومي

આગોમેજ આગોમેજ, âgômêz. વિ૦ આમેજ, મલેલું. ના૦ નીરંગ. Adj. Mixed, mingled. Subs. Bull's urine.

અજુમ્બીહેદ અ-જુમ્બીહેદ, a-jûmbîhêd. ક્રિ૦ હીલચાલ નહીં થાય—કરે. V. May not move, may not shake.

અજુમ્બશ્ને અ-જુમ્બશ્ને, a-jûmbashnê. ના૦ નહીં હીલવું—ધ્રુજવું, હીલચાલ વગરની હાલત. Subs. Not shaking—shivering; state of being motionless.

અગોમીગી અ-ગોમીગી, a-gômîgî. ના૦ મીશ્રીત નહીં તે, મેલવણી વગરની હાલત, સફાઈ, જુદાઈ. Subs. Freedom from mixture, clearness, separation.

અગોમેજશ અ-ગોમેજ-શ, a-gômêza-sh. વિ૦ તેની સાથે મલી જયા વગર, તેના મેલાપ વગર. Adj. Without being mixed with it, without meeting him.

[illegible] દો-યોમ-દકીઆ, do-yôm-dakiâ. વિ૦ બે દહાડે પાક. Adj. Pure after two days. (lit.)

[illegible] અ-જુમ્બીનાક, a-jûmbînâk. વિ૦ હીલચાલ નહીં કરાવનારૂં. Adj. Not causing to move.

[illegible] અ-જુમ્બીનાકીહા, a-jûmbînâkîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ગતીમાં આવ્યા વગર, હીલચાલ વગર. Adv. Without being moved; motionlessly.

[illegible] અ-જુમ્બીનીદન, a-jûmbînîdan. ક્રિ૦ આચકો નહીં મારવો, નહીં હીલવવું, હીલચાલ નહીં કરાવવી, સ્થીર રાખવું. V. Not to shake, not to cause to move, to keep motionless, not to give a jerk—push.

[illegible] અ-જુમ્બીદન, a-jûmbîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં હીલવવું—ધુજાવવું. V. Not to shake, not to cause trembling in, not to agitate. Contrast Per. جنبیدن

[illegible] અ-ગોમેજ-તુમ, a-gômêz-tûm. વિ૦ ઘણું નહીં મલેલું, ઘણું આમીજ નહીં થાયલું. Adj. Most unmixed; not mixed—mingled at all.

[illegible] અયુમીતુમ, ayûmîtûm. વિ૦ ઘણા વધારે દહાડાનું નહીં. Adj. Not of many days.

[illegible] અ-ગોમેજ, a-gômêz. See [illegible] a-gômêz.

[illegible] આગોમેજ, âgômêz. See [illegible] âgômêz.

[illegible] અ-ગોમેજશની, a-gômêzashnî. વિ૦ આમેજ નહીં થનારૂં, મીલનસાર નહીં તે. Adj. Not associating—mixing, unsocial.

[illegible] અ-ગોમેજીદન, a-gômêzidan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં મલવું; પીશાબ નહીં કરવી. V. Not to be mixed up—

mingled; not to discharge urine, not to make water.

અઈગોમેઝે, અ-ગોમેઝે, a-gômêzê. વિ૦ સરખું નહીં, સંબંધ વગરનું, નહીં મળી ગએલું. ના૦ કજોડું. Adj. Unlike; having no connection; not mixed up. Subs. An unequal match.

અઈગોમેઝે દો-ગોમેઝે, dô-gômêzê. ના૦ બે જોડાં. Subs. Two pairs.

અઈગોમેઝગી અ-ગોમેઝગી, a-gômêzagî. ના૦ આમેજ થવા વગરની હાલત, અસલ હાલત. Subs. State of being unmixed; unmixedness; original—primitive state.

અઈન્મન, aînman. ના૦ આંખ, ચશમ, આંખનો ડોલો, આંખની કીકી. Subs. The eye, eye-ball, pupil of the eye.

અગોમન, a-gôman. સર્વ૦ આએ—એ નહીં. Pron. Not this.

અબેન્મન, a-bênman. વિ૦ છોકરાં વગર, છોકરૂં નહીં જણનારી; હમેલદાર, બચ્ચાં સાથે. Adj. Childless; not bearing any child; pregnant, being with young. Contrast Ar. ابن, بن

એન્મન, ênman. ના૦ તલબ. Subs. Desire after, want of.

અઈન્મન-આવદાન, aînman-âvdân. ના૦ પાણીવાલી આંખ. Subs. Watery eye.

અએન્મને, aênmanê. ના૦ એક આંખ. Subs. One eye.

[illegible] અએવ-મોગ, aêva-môg. ના૦ એક જોડો—મોજું. Subs. A single shoe of a pair, a boot.

[illegible] અએવ-મોગ-દોબારશ્ને, aêva-môg-dôbârash-nê. ના૦ એક પગે ઉઘાડું ચાલવાનો ગુનાહ, એક જોડો પેહેરી ચાલવાનો ગુનાહ. Subs. The crime of walking with one bare foot—with one shoe.

[illegible] અ-ગોમન-ચ, a-gôman-cha. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એમબી—આએબી નહીં, અગત કરીને આએ નહીં, ઘણુંકરીને એમ નહીં. Adv. Not even this, not even in this manner, especially not this, for the most part not in this way.

[illegible] અએવ-મોક, aêva-môk. See [illegible] aêva-môk.

[illegible] દો-યોમે, dô-yômê. ના૦ બે દહાડા. Subs. Two days.

[illegible]

[illegible] અઈવર, aîvar. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એટલા સુધી, ત્યાંસુધીની હદ. Adv. So far, up to that limit.

[illegible] અએ-નર, aê-nar. વિ૦ મરદ નહીંતે, હીચકારૂં. Adj. Unmanly, not brave, cowardly. ([illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible] = Sans. नर् = Per. [illegible])

[illegible] અએ-વર, aê-var. વિ૦ નામુરાદ, દીલતંગ, ખાહેશ-ઈચ્છા વગર. Adj. Disappointed, disconsolate, having no desire. Contrast Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અએ-વર, aê-var. વિ૦ બેશક. Adj. Undoubted, doubtless.

[illegible] અએ-વર, aê-var. વિ૦ ગોફા વગરનું. Adj. Without a cave—den. [illegible] + [illegible] = Av. [illegible]

અએ-વર, aê-var. વિ૦ સીના—છાતી વગરનું, હીચકારૂં. Adj. Having no bosom—breast (lit.); having no courage—fortitude; cowardly, timid. ب + ا = Per. بر = ور

અ-ગુલ, a-gûl. વિ૦ મક્કર—ફરેબ વગરનું, ફલ વગર. ના૦ ખરાબ ફલ. Adj. Free from deceit—fraud; fruitless. Subs. A bad fruit.

અ-જવર, a-javar. વિ૦ જુલમ—સેતમ વગરનું. Adj. Free from tyranny, not despotic. ا = Per. جور

અ-જવર, a-javar. વિ૦ ઊંચું—બુલંદ નહીં તે. Adj. Not lofty—high; not elevated—exalted.

અદવર, advar. ના૦ શીખેલું પાછું વાંચી જવું; અજબર કરવું; નેધાહ રાખવી, વગર હદનો વખત. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ ઉપર. Subs. Revising what has been learnt; learning by heart; keeping an eye upon; duration or time without end. Prep. Upon, on.

અદુર, adur. વિ૦ આઘું, મહાલ, મુશ્કેલ, બદ, એખલો, જુનું, હદ સુધી; દૂર નહીં. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ વગર; નજદીક; ઉપર; ઉભયા૦ અ૦ યા, અથવા. Adj. Remote, impossible, difficult, bad; lonely, old; up to a certain limit; not distant. Prep. Without; except; near; above, upon. Conjunc. Or, either. (Comp. ا = Av. दूर = Sans. दूर = Per. دور.)

અ-બોર, a-bôr. વિ૦ પાવી-કશ વગરનું; સુકું નહીં તે. Adj. Having no furrows—narrow channels; not dry.

ઽઽઽ અબોર, abôr. ના૦ વાદલ. Subs. A cloud.

ઽઽઽ અયુવર, ayûvar. See ઽઽઽ or ઽઽઽ, ayûbar, or ayukbar.

ઽઽઽ અસ્વર, asvar. ના૦ સવાર. Subs. A rider, a trooper, (abbreviation of ઽઽઽ into ઽઽઽ asvavar) and finally into ઽઽઽ = Per. اسوار

ઽઽઽ આ-દુર, â-dûr. વિ૦ દુર. Adj. Distant.

ઽઽઽ ઈવર, îvar. વિ૦ એકલું. ના૦ ખજુરીની શાખા. Adj. Lonely. Subs. A branch of a date-tree.

ઽઽઽ એવર, êvar. ના૦ ખજુરીની દાંખલી; દફતર; લશ્કરની ટુકડી; ભેદ. વિ૦ એકલો. Subs. A branch of a date tree; a book, a register; a small division of an army; a secret, a mystery. Adj. Lonely —solitary.

ઽઽઽ ખાવર, khâvar. ના૦ ઉગમણ, પૂર્વ, બરદાશ્ત કરનાર, સોસનાર. Subs. East; one who is forbearing or long suffering; one who endures.

ઽઽઽ ખીનર, khînar. ના૦ કીનો રાખનાર—પકડનાર. Subs. One that harbours revenge, one who entertains ill-feelings.

ઽઽઽ યાવર, yâvar. ના૦ મદદગાર, આશરો આપનાર. Subs. One who offers assistance, a helper, one who gives protection—support. Per. یاور

ઽઽઽ અન્ગોરગ, a-gôrg. વિ૦ વરૂથી વેગલું, વરૂ વગરનું. Adj. Free from a wolf (lit.); having no wolf.

ઽઽઽ અ-દવરે, a-davrê. વિ૦ દાએરા વગરનું. Adi. Without a circle.

અએવરી; aêvarî. ના૦ બેશકી. Subs. Doubtlessness, unquestionableness.

અદુરી, adûrî. ના૦ લંબાઈ, દુરી. Subs. Distance, separation, length.

ખીનવરી, khinvarî. ના૦ દ્વેષભાવપણું. Subs. Vindictiveness.

યાવરી, yâvarî. ના૦ મેલવવું; પામવું, આશરો આપવો, મદદગાર થવું. Subs. Gaining, obtaining, giving support; becoming a helper.

અદુરીહા, adûrîhâ. ક્રિ૦અ૦ દુરથી નહીં, નજદીકીથી. Adv. Not remotely, not at a distance, at hand, within reach.

યાવરીહા, yâvarîhâ. ના૦ મદદો. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ મદદગારની રીતે—મારૂક. Subs. Succours. Adv. Like one who offers assistance—help.

અએવરશનખેદી, aêvarashna-khêdî. ના૦ પોતાની એકતાઈ, પોતે એખલો—એકજ, ખોદા. Subs. Unity, the only One; God.

અખ-રશનું, akh-rashnû. ના૦ ખરી દુવા—આશીરવાદ. Subs. Sincere blessing—benediction.

અ-ગવ-રશનું, a-gav-rashnû. વિ૦ ખરો બહાદુર નહીં, ખરો શૂરવીર—પહેલવાન—લડવૈયો નહીં. Adj. Not really brave, not truly valiant—warlike. (ر = Per. گو + = Av.)

અ-ગોરગાન, a-gôrgân. વિ૦ વરૂઓ વગરનું. Adj. Having no wolves.

અ-ગો-રશનું, a-gô-rashnû. ક્રિ૦ આજ્ઞા૦ સાચું

ના બોલ, ખરૂં ના કેહે. V. (imper.) Don't speak the truth.

[illegible] અ-ગોરશ્ને, a-gôrashnê. વિ૦ ભુખું નહીં. Adj. Not hungry.

[illegible] અદુ-રશ્નું, adû-rashnû. ના૦ ખરો—સાચો દુશ્મન, શત્રુ. Subs. A true—real enemy, an honest enemy.

[illegible] આઈન-રશ્નું, âîn-rashnû. ના૦ સાચી મીસાલ, ખરી તરેહ. Subs. A true simile, proper custom, right usage.

[illegible] આવરશ્ને, âvarashnê. ના૦ લાવવું. Subs. Bringing.

[illegible] આયન-રશ્નું, âyan-rashnû. ના૦ ખરૂં લોઢું, પોલાદ. Subs. Pure iron, steel.

[illegible] યાન-રશ્નું, yân-rashnû. ના૦ ખરી ખુશી—નેકી. Subs. Real pleasure, true—pure virtue.

[illegible] અએવ-રથ, aêva-rath. ના૦ એક ધાતુ, એક ગાડી. Subs. One metal; one car, one chariot.

[illegible] અએ-વરસ, aê-varas. ના૦ એક બાલ-વરસ. Subs. One hair. [illegible] = Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અએવરી, aêvarî. See [illegible] aêvarî.

[illegible] અ-ગોરસ, a-gôras. વિ૦ ભુખ વગરનું. Adj. Not hungry, feeling no appetite.

[illegible] અદવરી, advarî. ના૦ લડાઈ, યુધ્ધ. Subs. Battle, war, fight.

[illegible] અદુરી, adûrî. See [illegible] adûrî.

યાવરી, yâvarî. ના૦ મદદ, ફતેહ; સંગત, સોહોબત. Subs. Assistance, victory, society, company. Per. ياوري

અએવરી, aêvarî. ના૦ બેશકી, ખચીતપણું. Subs. Undoubtedness; certainty; full assurance.

અયોરેશ્તે, ayôrêshtê. See અએવારશ્તે aêvârashte.

અદવરીગીહા, advarîgîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ લડાઈની રીતે, મેહેનત લઈને. Adv. By way of battle—fight; laboriously.

યાવરીગીહા, yâvarîgîhâ. ના૦ મદદ આપનારાઓ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ મદદની રીતે. Subs. Helpers. Adv. By way of assistance.

અએ-વરી-ગોઈ, aê-varî-goî. ના૦ કાંઈબી શક વગર બોલવું. Subs. Speaking without any doubt.

અએવ-રસ્ત, aêva-rast. ક્રિ૦ એક જણ છુટો થયો. V. One (person) was liberated—set free. Comp. Per. يكي رست

અદુર-દીદ, adûr-did. ક્રિ૦ દુર જોયું, દુરથી નજર કીધી. V. Saw at a distance; observed from afar.

અ-દુરસ્ત, a-dûrast. વિ૦ બરાબર—વાજબી—ખરૂં નહીં તે, અધુરૂં, માફક નહીં તે. Adj. Not proper—right—true; imperfect, incongruous. Per. نادرست

અદુરસ્ત, adûrast. ક્રિ૦ દુર—આઘું છે. V. Is at a distance—far.

[illegible] અ-દુરી-તર, a-dûrî-tar. વિ૦ વધારે દુર નહીં તે. Adj. Not more distant.

[illegible] અએનરીન, aênarîn. વિ૦ ખુબ, સારૂં; નર નહીં, મરદી વગરનું, નપુંસક. Adj. Good, excellent; not male, not manly, neuter.

[illegible] અ-દુર-ગવશ્ની, a-dûr-gavashnî. વિ૦ દુરથી બોલનારૂં નહીં, નજદીક બોલનારૂં. Adj. Not speaking from a distance, speaking at hand.

[illegible] અ-દુરીનશ્ની, a-dûrînashnî. વિ૦ દુરી નહીં રાખનારૂં—કરનારૂં. Adj. Not keeping distance, not remaining at a distance.

[illegible] અએવ-રન્જે, aêva-ranjê. વિ૦ દુઃખ વગરનું. ના૦ એક દુઃખ—જેહેમત. Adj. Free from pain. Subs. One affliction—trouble.

[illegible] અએવ-રોજે, aêva-rojê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એક દહાડ—રોજે. Adv. One day. Comp. Per. یک روز

[illegible] અએવ-રનજે, aêva-ranjê. વિ૦ વગર રંજ—મેહનતનું. Adj. Free from trouble—pain.

[illegible] અ-દોરે, a-dôrê. વિ૦ ઉથલપાથલ વગર, ચક્કર વગર. Adj. Without any revolution or great change, without a circle. Contrast Per. دور

[illegible] અયુરે, ayûrê. વિ૦ સીંગારેલું. Adj. Adorned, decorated.

[illegible] અ-દવરે, a-davrê. વિ૦ ગેરદેશ વગરનું, નહીં ફરતું. Adj. Not revolving, not turning round.

[illegible] અ-દોરે, a-dôrê. વિ૦ બેઅંદાજે, હદ વિનાનું. Adj. Disproportionate; unlimited.

ઝેન્ડ અએ-વરઝ, aê-varz. વિ૦ નહીં હાંસેલ કરનારૂં—મેલવનારૂં—શીખનારૂં. Adj. Not gaining—acquiring—learning.

ઝેન્ડ અદવરઝ, advarz. ના૦ સવાર, સરદાર, આવાજ. વિ૦ સંગારેલું, બુજોરગ, સનન્દ; મોટા દરજ્જાનું; લાયક. Subs. A rider, an equestrian, a chief, a leader; sound. Adj. Adorned, exalted, venerable; the best, most excellent; of high dignity, worthy.

ઝેન્ડ અદવરઝ, advarz. વિ૦ બેશક, ગુમાન. Adj. Undoubted, doubtless.

ઝેન્ડ અ-બોર્ઝેશની, a-bôrzêshnî. વિ૦ નાલાયક. Adj. Unworthy.

ઝેન્ડ અ-બોર્ઝેશનીગી, abôrzashnigî. ના૦ હલકાઈ, નીચાઈ, નાલાયકી, નકામાપણું. Subs. Meanness, baseness; impropriety; inutility.

ઝેન્ડ અએ-વર્ઝી, aê-varzî. વિ૦ એખ્તીઆરી—મુખ્તીઆરી વગરનું, એખ્તીઆરવાળું નહીં તે. Adj. Free from control—restraint, devoid of independence.

ઝેન્ડ અદવર્ઝી, advarzi. ના૦ બેશકી—ગુમાની; ઉદ્યોગ, ધંધો, વેપાર. Subs. Doubtlessness, unquestionableness; industry, business, trade.

ઝેન્ડ અએવર્ઝીઆન, aêvarzîân. ના૦ સુનન્દાઓ, મેહેનત—કોશેશ કરનારા. Subs. The most excellent; those that work—exert.

ઝેન્ડ અદવરઝીગાન, advarzîgan. ના૦ લડાએકો. Subs. Warriors.

[illegible] અદવરઝીનદ, advarzînad. ક્રિ૦ કોશેશ કરે. V. May endeavour—try.

[illegible] અદુઝીનદ, adûrzînad. ક્રિ૦ કીધેલું નથી; તૈયાર નથી. V. Is not done—performed; is not ready.

[illegible] આવઝીનદ, âvarzînad. ક્રિ૦ એખ્તીઆર કરે; કબજામાં લે; કામ કરતો નથી; તૈયાર નથી. V. May choose, may hold in possession; does not work; is not ready.

[illegible] અ-બોઝીન, a-bôrzîn. વિ૦ પ્યારૂં નહીં તે, અકારૂં. Adj. Not beloved—dear; disagreeable.

[illegible] અએવઝીદન, aêvarzîdan. ક્રિ૦ એખ્તીઆર કરવું, મુખ્તીઆર થવું; કોશેશ કરવી; બેશક થવું. V. To choose, to take one's choice, to be absolute—without control; to try, to endeavour; to be doubtless.

[illegible] અએ-વઝીદન, aê-varzidan. ક્રિ૦ એખ્તીઆર નહીં કરવું. V. Not to take one's choice. Contrast Av. [illegible], Per. ورزیدن

[illegible] અદવઝીદન, advarzîdan. ક્રી૦ સવાર થવું; શીંગારવું, ચઢતે દરજ્જેનું થવું, લાયક—સજાવાર થવું, સુનંદું થવું. V. To ride, to mount (on horseback), to adorn, to be worthy—deserving, to be exalted—most excellent.

[illegible] અદવર્ઝે, advarzê. ના૦ ખુજોરગ સવાર. Subs. A great—skilful cavalier.

[illegible] અ-બોર્દ, a-bôrd. ક્રિ૦ નહીં લઈગયું, નહીં કીધું. ક્રિ૦

અ૦ ના, નહીં. V. Did not carry; did not perform. Adv. No, not. Contrast Per. برد

અ-ગોર્દી, a-gôrdî. ના૦ ખરાબ ઉનનું કપડું, ઉનનું કપડું નહીં તે. Subs. A bad woollen cloth; no woollen cloth.

અ-જોર્દી, a-jôrdî. ના૦ જુદાઈ નહીં, તફાવત વગરનું. Subs. State of being not different, want of distinction.

અ-બોરદે, a-bôrdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ નહીં લઈ ગએલું. Past Partic. Not carried. Comp. Av. + ـه

અ-બોર્દન, a-bôrdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં લઈજવું, કબુલ નહીં કરવું. V. Not to carry; not to accept. Per. نابردن

અ-બોર્દ-ફરમાન, a-bôrd-farmân. ક્રિ૦ ફરમાન કબુલ નહીં કીધું. વિ૦ નાફરમાન. V. Did not obey commands. Adj. Disobedient. Comp. Per. فرمان نبرد

અએવર-પેદાકીહા, aêvar-pêdâkîhâ. ના૦ ભેદ ભરેલી વાતોને જાણનાર. Subs. One who knows secret mysteries or mysterious things.

અ-દુર-મીનીદાર, a-dûr-mînîdâr. ના૦ દુર અંદેશો નહીં કરનાર, ખુબ વિચાર નહીં કરનાર. Subs. One who does not foresee; one who does not contemplate seriously.

અદુર-મેમન, adûr-mêman. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એટલું દુર કે? એટલી હદ સુધી કે? Adv. So much distant? to such a limit?

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૧૩૩ ૧૩૩ ૧૩૩ અઈક, ૨-૨-૨-દ, aik, ra-ra-ra-da. સં૦ વિ૦ સીતેર, ૭૦. Numer. Adj. Seventy, 70.

૧૩૩ અઈક, aik. ના૦ સંતાડવું, છુપું કરવું. Subs. Hiding, concealing.

૧૩૩ અદેહ, adêh. ના૦ દુનિયાં તલક—લગણ. Subs. Up to the world.

૧૩૩ આ-દક, â-dak. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ જ્યાંસુધી. Adv. Till, as long as.

૧૩ આબક, âbak. ના૦ કીમીઆગર. Subs. An alchemist.

૧૩૭૩ આબ્કાહ, âbkâh. ના૦ તલાવ; પાંસલી. Subs. A tank, a pond; a rib.

૧૩૩૧૩ સે-ગાને, sê-gânê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ત્રણ રીતે—તરેહ—મરતબે. Adv. In three ways, by three modes, three times. Comp. Per. سہ گونہ

૧૩૩૧ અબ્કાર, abkâr. ના૦ ખેતી. Subs. Agriculture.

૧૩૩૧ આબ્કાર, âbkâr. ના૦ દારૂ વેચનાર, દારૂવાલો; પાણી સીંચનાર, પાણી લઈજનાર, દારૂ પીનાર. Subs. A liquor-seller; one who sprinkles water; a water-carrier; a drinker of wine. Comp. Per. آبکار

૧૩૩૧૧૧૭૧૩ અએ-કારીનીદન, aê-kârînîdan. ક્રિ૦ આએ—તે કામમાં લેવું. V. To use this or that in business.

૧૩૭૧૩ અ-દકીઆ, a-dakîâ. વિ૦ સાફ—પાક નહીં તે, નાપાક; સુકવ્યા વગરનું, સુકું નહીં તે, ભીનું. Adj. Not pure—holy; not dried; not dry, wet.

૧૧૭ આબ-ગુન, âb-gûn. ના૦ એક મોટી નદીનું નામ છે કે જેનું પાણી "ખારજમ"થી આવેછે અને "દરીઆએ કીલાન" માં પાછું જાયછે. વિ૦ પાણીના રંગનું; આસમાની રંગનું. Subs. Name of a large river which flows from *Khârasm* and falls in the sea of *Kilân*. Adj. Water-coloured; azure. Per. آب گون

૧૧૭૯ આબે-કબુદ, âbê-kabûd. ના૦ ઈરાની દરિઓ. Subs. The Persian Sea. Comp. Per. آب کبود

૧૯૧૭ અએ-કોતે, aê-kôtê. વિ૦ થોડુંએક. Adj. Somewhat, a little, in a small quantity.

૧૯૧૭ યો-કરદે, yô-kardê. ક્રિ૦ વિ૦ અ૦ એકઠું, એક કીધેલું; એકસરખી રીતે. Adv. Together, united in one, mixed up together; equally.

૧૭ આકર, âkar. ના૦ વાંજણી, સ્ત્રી—ઓરત. Subs. A barren woman, a barren wife.

૧૭૭ હીકલ, hîkal. ના૦ પુતલું, શીકલ; દેહેરૂં; દેવલ; તલેસમાત; મેહેલ; રાખસ. Subs. An image, a figure, a form; a temple of idolators; Christian church; talisman; a place; a giant. Comp. Per. هیکل

૯૯ આઘ-અએઘ, âgh-aêgh. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ઈત્યાદિ, જ્યાં, કયાં, એટલે કે, યાને, કરતાં, જ્યાંબી, કયું, મુતલક, જો; કહી જગો; કોણ? શું? કે તે, આએ. Adv. Et cetera; where; that is; than; wherever; which; altogether; if; which place; who? which? that he, this.

૯૭૯૯ આઘ-અએઘ-અમત, âgh-aêgh-amat. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એટલે કે જ્યારે. Adv. That is when.

૭૯૯ આઘ-અએઘ-શ, âgh-aêgha-sh. ના૦ તે લોકો, યાને તે, કે તે. Subs. Those people; that is he.

ઽઘર્ અએધ-વદ, aêgh-vad. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કે જ્યારે. Adv. That when.

ઽઘર્ અએધ-વદ-મદમ, aêgh-vad-madam. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કે જેથી કરીને, જેને લીધે, જે ઉપરથી. Adv. Consequently, on account of which, whereupon.

ઽઘર્ આઘ-ઉમ, âgh-ûm. ઉભ્યા૦ અને સર્વ૦ યાને હું. Conj. and Pron. That is I.

ઽઘર્ આઘુમ, âghûm. વિ૦ તરી—ભીનાશવાળું. Adj. Wet, moist.

ઽઘર્ અએધ-વરમન, aêgh-varman. સર્વ૦ કે તે. Pron. That he.

ઽઘર્ આઘ-અએધ-જક-એ, âgh-aêgh-zak-ê. સર્વ૦ પેલું જે કે. Pron. That, which.

ઽઘર્ અએધ-ત, aêgh-ta. સર્વ૦ યાને તું. Pron. That is thou.

ઽઘર્ અએધ-અમ, aêgh-am. સર્વ૦ યાને હું, કે હું. Pron. That is I.

ઽઘર્ અએધ-માન, aêgh-mân. સર્વ૦ યાને હમો. Pron. That is we.

ઽઘર્ અએધ-મદમ, aêgh-madam. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ કરતાં. Conjunc. Than.

ઽઘર્ અએધ-મદમ-સરીતરાન, aêgh-madam-sarî-tarân. વિ૦ બહુ વ૦ બુરાઓ કરતાં. Adj. plu. Than evil persons (lit.)

ઽઘર્ અઘર, aghar. ના૦ સર્વથી ઉંચી ટોચ—મથાળું. Subs. The highest top—summit.

આઘ-લા, âgh-lâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ મુતલક કેયેબી ; બીલકુલ નહીં. Adv. Altogether somewhere ; not altogether.

આઘરી, âgharî. ના૦ કિમત, ભાવ, અવેજ. Subs. Price, rate, exchange.

અઘરે, agharê. ના૦ ટોંચ, મંડાણ, શરૂઆત. Subs. Top, beginning, commencement. Comp. Av. , Sans. अग्र.

અઘરી, agharî. ના૦ મોટાઈ, શ્રેષ્ટપણું. Subs. Superiority, pre-eminence.

અઘરીક, agharîk. વિ૦ અતિ શ્રેષ્ટ, સર્વથી ચઢતું Adj. Most excellent, highest in rank.

અએઘ-રીકતુમ, aêgh-rîktûm. વિ૦ યાને ઘણુંજ દુર, ઘણુંજ દુર કયું ? Adj. That is most distant; which is at the greatest distance?

અઈવ, aîva. વિ૦ સાફ, સ્વચ્છ, સોજી. Adj. Pure, clear, unsullied.

અએચ, aêcha. See aêch.

અએ-ચ, aê-ch. સર્વ૦ કોઈ, લોક ; આએભી. Pron. Any one ; people ; even this.

અએ-ચ, aê-cha. See aê-ch.

અએજ, aêz. વિ૦ કાંઈ, કોઈ, નેસ્ત કીધેલું, કના કીધેલું, કમ. Adj. A little, some; some one; annihilated, destroyed ; less.

અંબ્ચ, abch. ના૦ આંચર, ધાવણ ; ઓરત—સ્ત્રીની શરમગાહ, ખોશીઓ. Subs. The breast of a woman ; a pap ; *pudendum viri et mulieris.*

[illegible] આઝ, âz. ના૦ લોભ, લાલચ ; એક દેવનું નામ છે કે જે માણસોને દુન્યાઈ લોભમાં ફસાવવાને ઉસકેરેછે. Subs. Avarice, covetousness ; name of a demon who excites mankind in this world to temptation. Av. [illegible], Per. آز

[illegible] દેઝ, dêzh. ના૦ કોટ, કીલ્લો. Subs. A fort, a fortress, a fortified place. Per. دز , دژ

[illegible] હીચ, hich. સર્વ૦ હરેક, લોકો, કાંઈ નહીં, કદી નહીં, બીજું કોઈ, કાંઈ, કદી, થોડું, કમ ; નકામું, હલકું ; નેસ્ત—ફના કીધેલું જે કાંઈ. Pron. Every one; people ; nothing ; never ; another, some one, something; a tittle; less ; useless, low ; annihilated, whatever. Per. هیچ

[illegible] હીવ, hîv. ના૦ નેકી કરનાર. Subs. One who practises virtue.

[illegible] હેચ, hêch, ના૦ સુકાશ, સુકાઈ જવું, સુકું થઈ જવું. Subs. Dryness ; becoming dry. Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. सिंच् = to sprinkle.

[illegible] અએવાન, aêvân. ના૦ તાક, મેહેરાબ બુલંદ ઘર—જગ્યા, બુલંદી, ગોખલો, બેઠક. Subs. A cupola, an arch ; a vault ; a high building place ; altitude ; a niche ; a seat. Per. ایوان

[illegible] અ-ગઝાકી, a-gazâkî. વિ૦ નહીં કડનારૂં—દંખ મારનારૂં. Adj. Not biting—stinging. Contrast Per. گزان

[illegible] અ-યઝાકી, a-yazâkî. વિ૦ નહીં ઈજા નારૂં—પુજા

કરનારૂં. Adj. Not offering divine honors; not adoring.

[illegible] અવાગી, avâgî. ના૦ મદદ, સહાય, આશ્રો. Subs. Help, assistance, support. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] એઝાઝંદ, êzâzand. ના૦ બગદાદ શેહેર, એક નદીનું નામ છે. Subs. Bagdad; name of a river.

[illegible] અએવાજ, aêvâz. વિ૦ ખાલેસ, નિર્મલ, આરાસતે. Adj. Pure, clear; void of impurity—dirt; adorned.

[illegible] અએચે, યસ્ચે, aêchê, yaschê. સર્વ૦ તે, પેલું. Pron. That.

[illegible] અએવે, aêvê. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ ઉપર. Prep. On, above. Comp. Av. [illegible] = Sans. अभि.

[illegible] હીચશ, hîchash., સર્વ૦ કાંઈબી ચીજ તેને. Pron. Anything to him—it. Comp. Per. هیچش.

[illegible] હીચી, hîchî. ના૦ કાંઈ, કાંઈ વસ્તુ. Subs. Something, anything.

[illegible] અએવ્યાઘહન, aêvyâghahan. ના૦ કુસ્તી. Subs. *kushti* (a sacred girdle tied round the waist by the Zoroastrians).

[illegible] એવ્યંઘહન, êvyanghahan. See [illegible] aêvyâghahan.

[illegible] અએવ્યાસ્ત, aêvyâst. કૃ૦ વિ૦ ઉપર મુકેલું, બાંધેલું; ના૦ પેહરણ, વસ્ત્ર, કપડું. Part. Adj. Placed upon, tied above (lit.). Subs. Clothes, dress; cloth. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અએજશ-અએત, aêzash-aêt. ક્રિ૦ યજશને છે. V. The yaçna is (lit.)

[illegible] અએ-ચ-શાન, aê-cha-shân. સર્વ૦ તેઓથીભી, તેઓભી, તેઓથી. Pron. Even by them; even they; by them.

[illegible] અએ-ચ-શાન, aê-cha-shân. See [illegible] aê-cha-shan.

[illegible] અએવ્યાઘહન, aêvyâghahan. See [illegible] aêviyagihan.

[illegible] એવ્યંઘન, evyanghan. See [illegible] aêviyâgahan.

[illegible] અએવ્યાગશને, aêvyâgashnê. ના૦ કુસ્તી બાંધવી. Subs. Girding up the *kushti* round the waist.

[illegible] અએવ્યગીહન, aêvyagîhan. ના૦ યજશનેની ક્રિયા કરતાં ખજુરીની પાત્રીના શાકાની વણેલી એક ચીજનું નામ; કુસ્તી, કેજે ઘેટાંના સફેદ ઉનની બનાવ્યામાં આવેછે તે. Subs. The name of an article woven of the fibres of the leaf of a date tree used in the *Izashnê* ceremony, *kushti* made of the white wool of sheep.

[illegible] આએપશન, âêpashna. ના૦ પામવું. Subs. Obtaining.

[illegible] અ-ઈજશની, a-izashnî. વિ૦ ઈજશનેની ક્રિયા કરચા વગરનું. ના૦ ફરજીઆતની ગફલત—ભુલ; ધર્મની ક્રિયાઓનો ત્યાગ કરવો તે. Adj. Without offering the *yaçna* ceremony. Subs. Neglect of religious duty—

worship; casting aside the ceremonies of the religion. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] યેઝશની, yêzashnî. ના૦ યઝશને, આરાધના, પુજા. Subs. Yaçna; divine adoration—worship.

[illegible] અબ્ચશની, અ-બજશની, abchashnî, a-bajashnî. વિ૦ છુટકારો નહીં કરનારૂં. Adj. Not releasing—liberating.

[illegible] યાવશનીગી, yâvashnîgî. ના૦ પામવું. Subs. Obtaining, acquiring.

[illegible] એવગહનીન, êvaganîn. વિ૦ એવ્યઘન—કુસ્તીને લગતું. Adj. Relating to *Aivyânghan—kushti.*

[illegible] અ-યઝશને, a-yazashnê. See [illegible] a-izashnî.

[illegible] આએપશન, આએપશને, âêpashna, âêpashnê. See [illegible] âêpashna.

[illegible] આઝ-દાન, âz-dân. ના૦ લોભ રાખનાર, લોભીઓ. Subs. A covetous—avaricious person.

[illegible] આઝીઆન, âzîân. ના૦ લોભી લોકો. Subs. Covetous persons.

[illegible] યઝશને, yazashnê. ના૦ બોતેર હાનું એક ધર્મપુસ્તકનું નામ, આરાધના. Subs. A religious book consisting of 72 *hâs* or sections; divine offerings. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] યાવશને, yâvashnê. ના૦ પામવું, મેળવવું, હાંસેલ કરવું, નફો. Subs. Obtaining, acquiring; profit.

[illegible] યાવશને-ચ, yâvashnê-cha. ના૦ પામવાનુંભી. Subs. Even acquiring (lit.).

[illegible] અએવ્યાગસ્તશ્ને, aêvyâgastashnê. ના૦ બાંધવું, કુસ્તી બાંધવી. Subs. Binding, girding the *kushti* round the waist.

[illegible] ખેઝેશ, khêzêsh. ના૦ ઉલટ, ઉત્તેજન. Subs. Eagerness, enthusiasm, inducement, incentive.

[illegible] હઈવેશ, haîvêsh. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ રૂબરૂ. Adv. Face to face.

[illegible] હીચ-ગેલ, hîch-gêl. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાનાં નામો મધેનું એક નામ છે. Subs. One of the names of God.

[illegible] હીચ-સલીઆ, hîch-salîâ. ના૦ કાંઈબી બુરાઈ—, ખદી નહીં. Subs. No evil—vice at all.

[illegible] એઝેંદ, êzend. ક્રિ૦ તેઓ ઈજે. V. They may offer divine honors.

[illegible] અ-ગચીન, a-gachîn. વિ૦ છોયનું બનાવેલું નહીં તે, છોયનું નહીં તે. Adj. Not made of mortar, not of mortar. Contrast Pehl. [illegible] gach = Av. [illegible], Per. گچ

[illegible] આચીન, âchîn. વિ૦ ચીનાઈ, ચીનને લગતું, ચીનાઈ બનાવટનું. Adj. Pertaining to China; Chinese; of China make.

[illegible] આબ્ચીન, âbchîn. ના૦ તુવાલ; એક કપડું છે કે જે ગુજરેલાંને નહવાડ્યા પછી તેને સાફ કરેછે. Subs. A towel; a cloth with which they wipe the bodies of the dead. Per. آبچین

[illegible] અ-યઝેદ, a-yazêd. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ઈજે—આરાધે. V. May not offer divine honors; may not worship with profound reverence (sing.)

અએવે, aêvê. See aêva.

એજ્ન, êzan. ના૦ તેડું, નોતરૂં, આમંત્રણ, ઈજન. Subs. An invitation; a summons; calling. Comp. Per. اذن

હીચે, hîchê. વિ૦ પસ્ત, હલકું, નીચ. જેમ કે નીચ મરતબા વાલું. સર્વ૦ કોઈબી, જેનુંબી. Adj. Low, base, mean; as = of low dignity. Pron. Any one, whosesoever. See , hîch.

ઈદ્ર, Indra. ના૦ એક દેવનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a *Dev* (devil).

હીચ-નાદાન, hîch-nâdân. વિ૦ કાંઈ નહીં જાણનાર, મુતલક નહીં સમજનાર, નાદાન. Adj. Not knowing anything; not understanding a word; foolish. Comp. Per. هيچ + نادان

અએચંદ, aêchand. સર્વ૦ કેટલાએક, થોડું, એવું તો; ઘણાંએક. Pron. Many a one, some, somewhat. Comp. = Av. + = Av. = Per. چند

અ-ગજ્દ, a-gazand. વિ૦ નુકશાન નહીં પામેલું, ખરાબ નહીં થયલું, જીઆન વગરનું. Adj. Uninjured, unhurt, undamaged. Contrast Per. گزند, گزند.

અ-યજ્દ, a-yazand. ક્રિ૦ તેઓ નહીં ઈજે—આરાધે. V. They may not pay divine honors or worship with profound reverence. Comp. Per. نه يزند

હીવ-નેરંગ, hîv-nêrang. ના૦ દરેક નેક ઈલાજ કરનાર, મોબેદનાં હોનરોમધેનાં એક હોનરનું નામ છે. Subs.

One who adopts every just—proper remedy; one of the excellences required in a Mobed.

[illegible] અઈવોકએ, aivôkaê. વિ૦ એક પુરૂં, એકજ. Adj. Only one.

[illegible] હીચે-પતી, hîchê-patî. વિ૦ નીચ—હલકા દરજ્જા વાલું. Adj. Of low—mean dignity.

[illegible] અઇફે, aîfê. ના૦ સંપૂર્ણ—સમાપ્ત કરવું. Subs. Completing, finishing.

[illegible] અ-ગઝે, a-gazhê. વિ૦ નહીં દંખ મારેલું—કરડેલું. Adj. Not stung—bitten.

[illegible] અ-દઝે, a-dazhê. વિ૦ નહીં દાઝેલું—બલેલુ. Adj. Not scalded—burnt.

[illegible] હીચે, hîchê. સર્વ૦ કોઈબી, કેઈબી. Pron. Any one, something.

[illegible] અબ્ચગાન, abchagân. ના૦ ઓસડ, દવા. Subs. Medicine, physic.

[illegible] હીચ-ચાર, hîch-châr. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કોઈબી રીતે. Adv. Anyhow.

[illegible] આએફત, âêft. ના૦ મોરાદ, ખાહેશ, હાજત, ખોદાથી મોરાદ ચાહવી. Subs. Desire, wish, want; wishing God for the gratification of a desire.

[illegible] એઝદ, êzad. ના૦ ખોદા. વિ૦ આરાધનાને લાએક. Subs. God. Adj. Worthy profound reverence —divine honors. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible], Per. ايزد

[illegible] હીઝમ, hîzam. ના૦ ઈંધણ, બાલવાનું લાકડું. Subs. Firewood, fuel. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible] Per. هيزم

અબેઝમેઝીઆ, abêzmêzîâ. ના૦ સ્ત્રી—ઓરતની શરમગાહ. Subs. *Pudendum mulieris.*

અઈવર, 'એવર, aîvar, êvar. વિ૦ બેશક, શંકા—વગર. Adj. Undoubted, doubtless. (This word can be read 'aivar' as well as 'adavar'; '*aivar*' corresponds to the Persian آوار; '*adavar*' to the Sanscrit अदभ्र 'not insignificant'.) Av. Rt. = S. Rt. दम् to deceive.

આબ્ચરા, âbcharâ. ના૦ આદમીનો ખોરાક, થોડો ખોરાક. Subs. The food of man; little food.

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દો-રઝ, dô-raz. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ બસો, ૨૦૦. Numer. Adj. Two hundred, 200.

અબ્ઝાન, abzân. વિ૦ સજાવાર, વાજબી, હકદાર. Adj. Worthy, proper, rightful, legitimate.

એઝાઝંદ, êzâzand. ના૦ એક નદીનું નામ છે; બગદાદ શેહેર. Subs. Name of a river; Bagdad.

એઝદ, êzad. See

અએ-ઝક-અન્દ, aê-zak-and. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ યાને તે એટલું. Adv. *i. e.* that (is) so much.

એઝદાન, êzdân. ના૦ ખોદાનું નામ છે. Subs. One of the names of God. Comp. Av. = Per. يزدان; Av. Rt. = Sans. Rt. यज् = to worship.

[illegible] એઝદાન-મનીદાર, êzdân-manîdâr. ના૦ ખોદાને દીલમાં યાદ રાખનાર; મોબેદીના હોનરો મધેનો એક હોનર (ગુણ) નું નામ છે. Subs. Inward remembrancer of God; one of the attributes of the priestly caste. Comp. [illegible] = Av. [illegible] + [illegible] Av. Rt. [illegible] = S. Rt. मन् = Per. مینید ن to think.

[illegible] અએ-ઝીન, aê-zîn. ના૦ આ હથિઆર—અસ્ત્ર. Subs. This weapon—tool.

[illegible] એઝેન, êzên. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ મુકાબેલ, સામણે, રૂબરૂ, બરાબર, ફરીને. Adv. In comparison, opposite, in front of; face to face; along with or together; again.

[illegible] આબ્ઝીરગાસ, âbzîrgâs. ના૦ જે શખસ બાહેરથી સારો દેખાવ દેખાડે અને અંદર ખાનેથી ફીતને અંગીજ કરે તે. Subs. He who displays a pleasant exterior and incites rebellion within.

[illegible] આબ્ઝન, âbzan. ના૦ એક ચોકસ જાતનું નાહાવાનું વાસણ જેમાં દવા સાથનું ગરમ પાણી ભરીને આજારી માણસને બેસાડેછે તે; કપડાં ધોવાનું વાસણ. Subs. A particular kind of bathing vessel filled with water, medicinally prepared, in which the patient sits or lies down; a vessel in which clothes are washed. Comp. Per. آبزن

[illegible] એઝન, êzan. See [illegible] êzan.

[illegible] હેઝવાન, hêzvân. ના૦ જબાન, જીભ. Subs. The tongue. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible], Sans. जिह्वा.

હીઝવાર્દન, hîzvârdan. ક્રિ૦ ઠોકવું, કુટવું. V. To knock, to beat, to pound, to thrash.

આ-ઝનશ્ને, â-zanashnê. ના૦ મારવું. Subs. Striking. Comp. Av. Rt. + س

એઝેન, êzên. વિ૦ ખરાબ, માઠું, નઠારૂં. Adj. Bad, evil, naughty.

આઝમાએશની, âzmâêshnî. ના૦ અજમાવવું; દવા આપવી. Subs. Making an experiment; administering medicine. Comp. Per. آزمایش

સે-ઝરમી, sê-zarmî. વિ૦ ત્રણ વસંતને લગતું. Adj. Pertaining to three springs. Av.

સે-ઝરમી-રતુ, sê-zarmî-ratû. ના૦ ત્રણ વસંતનો વખત—રતુ. Subs. Three springs or three spring-time. Av.

અએત, હેદ, aêt, hêd. ક્રિ૦ છે. ના૦ જીચ; હસ્તી, મોજુદ. V. Is. Subs. Astronomical tables; existence, existing.

અએત, હએત, aêt, haêt. ક્રિ૦ છે. સર્વ૦ તે, તેઓ; જેમકે અએત—બરેદ, aêt—barêd, તેઓ લઈ જાયછે. V. Is. Pron. He, she or it, they:—as = they carry.

અબદ, abad. ના૦ એક દેવનું નામ છે, કે જેને સામ નરીમાંને માર્યો હતો. Subs. Name of a demon killed by *Sâm Narimân.*

શબ્દ અસ્ત, ast. ના૦ હાડકું. Subs. A bone.

શબ્દ આએદ, aêd. ક્રિ૦ આવે. V. May come.

શબ્દ આદ, અએદ, âd. aêd. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ રૂવેશે—મુજબ, એ પ્રમાણે. Adv. In this manner, thus.

શબ્દ આદ, âd. See શબ્દ âd.

શબ્દ આસ્ત, âsta. ક્રિ૦ બેસે, રહે. V. May sit, remain. Av. Rt. શબ્દ = Sans. आस् to sit.

શબ્દ ખેદ, khêd. ના૦ પોકાર, શોર; ક્રિ૦ બીહીવડાવે, પછવાડે દોડે. Subs. Noise, uproar; commotion, agitation. V. May terrify; may follow after. Comp. Per. خیدن

શબ્દ ગઝ્દ, gazîd. ક્રિ૦ કરડયું. V. Bit.

શબ્દ હીદખ, hîdakh. ના૦ તુંદ—તીખો ઘોડો. Subs. A fiery horse.

શબ્દ અએ-તાએ, aê-tâê. ના૦ એક તાએ—ટુકડો; "તાએ" તે "ઓરવીસ ગાહ"ની ક્રિયામાં આલાત તરીકે આવેછે કે જે રૂપાનો અથવા પીતલનો, પાતલા સલીઆ જેવો આવેછે. વિ૦ એખલું. Subs. One *tâe* or the *Barsam* twig used in the *Orvis Gâh*. The number of these twigs varies according to different ceremonies. Now-a-days slender rods of silver or brass are used instead of the Barsam twigs. Adj. Single, solitary.

શબ્દ સે-તાએ, sê-tâê. ના૦ ત્રણ તાએ—ટુકડા. Subs. Three *tâes* (or Barsam-twigs), three pieces.

ગુજરાતી શબ્દ અઈતાને, aîtânê. વિ૦ નહીં જણાયલાઓ. Adj. Unknown (plu.)

અએતાન, હેતાન, aêtân, hêtân. ના૦ હસ્તી વાલાઓ, જીવતાઓ, આદમીઓ, બીજાઓ, લોકો, તેઓ. Subs. Those that exist—live; men; others; people; they. Comp. Pâz.

અ-જતીબુનસ્ત-હોમનદ, a-jatîbûnast-hômnad. ક્રિ૦ બેસાડવો—તખ્તનશીન કીધો નથી. V. Did not seat or cause to sit; did not enthrone.

અ-જતીબુનતન, a-jatîbunatan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં બેસવું. નહીં મજબુત રહેવું. V. Not to sit; not to remain stable.

હેતોમંદ, hêtomand. ના૦ શેહેરનું નામ, એક નદીનું નામ. વિ૦ હાડમંદ. Subs. Name of a city (Hilmend); name of a river. Adj. Corporeal. Av.

અએત—અસ્તોમંદાન, aêt—astômandan. વિ૦ હાડમંદ. Adj. plu. Corporeal, material. Comp. Av.

સે-તાક, sê-tâk. ના૦ ત્રણ તાએ. Subs. Three *tâes* (or Barsam twigs).

એસ્તાદ, êstâd. ક્રિ૦ રાખ્યું. V. Kept.

એસ્તાદેદ, êstâdêd. ક્રિ૦ ઉભો રહે. V. May stand.

એસ્તાદન, êstâdan. ક્રિ૦ See êstâdan.

આસ્તારીહેદ, âstârîhêd. ક્રિ૦ ગુનેહગાર છે—થાયછે. V. Is a criminal, becomes a sinner—offender.

અએતે, હેત, aêtê, hêt. ના૦ હસ્તી, માણસ, હાડકું; ખોદા, જીંદગી. વિ૦ હસ્તીવાલું; જીવતું, મોજુદ; ખાલેસ. Subs.

Existence; man; a bone; life; God. Adj. Existing, living; pure; unmixed.

[illegible] અએતશ, aêtash. ક્રિ૦ તેબી છે. V. He or she is also.

[illegible] અએતી, âetî. ના૦ હસ્તી, હયાતી, કાએમીઅત, હંમેશગી; આત્મા, સ્થીતિ; હથિઆર; વાસ્તવિકપણું; પેદાયશ. વિ૦ આપમતલબી, બોહોસીલું, ખુદ પસંદ. Subs. Existence, life, stability; eternity; soul; state; a weapon, an instrument; honesty; creation. Adj. Selfish; obstinate; self-complacent. Pâz. [illegible] = Per. هستي; Av. Rt. [illegible] to be.

[illegible] અએદી, એદી, aêdî, êdî. ઉભયા૦ અ૦ બી, વળી, અને, વળી તે, હમણા, આએ જગોએ. Conjunc. Even, also, and; even he—she—it; now, in this place.

[illegible] અએત-દેહેશની, aêt-dêhêshnî. ના૦ હસ્તી આપવી, હસ્તીમાં લાવવું, પેદા કરવું. Subs. Giving life, bringing into existence; creating.

[illegible] આઈતીહીનદ, âîtîhinad. ક્રિ૦ કાયમ—પાયદાર રહે છે. V. Remains stable—permanent.

[illegible] આઈતશ્ને, હેતશ્ને, âîtashnê, hêtashnê. ના૦ હોવું, થવું, કાયમી, સલામતી. Subs. Being, becoming; permanence; safety.

[illegible] અએતી, aêtî. વિ૦ હસ્તીવાળું, હસ્તી ભોગવનારૂં. Adj. Existent; enjoying existence.

[illegible] આઈતીગાન, âîtîgân: Plural of [illegible] which see.

[illegible] અએતીગી, aêtîgî. See [illegible] aêtî.

[illegible] અએત-સવાક, aêt-savâk. ના૦ એક ગુનાહ—પાપ

—વાંક ; એક જગા. Subs. One crime—sin—offence ; one place.

૧૧૧૨૯૭ અઈતેગુનતન, aîtêgûnatan. ક્રિ૦ ચોકસ વખતે કરવું, અજાયબ ચીજ કરવી. V. To do (a thing) at a certain time ; to perform a wonderful thing.

૨૯૭ આબ્તીન, âbtîn. ના૦ પાદશાહ ફેરેદુનનાં બાપનું નામ જેને જોહાકે માર્યો હતો. Subs. Name of the father of Feridoon, whom Zohâk killed. Av. [illegible] = Sans. आद्य, Per. آبتین

૧૯૨૯૭ ખેતીઓદદ, khêtîôdad. ના૦ જોડું, સગાઈ. Subs. A wedded pair ; relationship. Comp. Av. [illegible]

૩૧૨૯૭ અએતીનંદ, aêtînand. ૦ક્રિ૦ તેઓ છે. V. They are.

૩૧૨૯૭ અએતીવંદ, aêtivand. વિ૦ હસ્તીવાળું. Adj. Having an existence.

૩૧૨૯૭ એસ્તીનંદ, êstînand. ક્રિ૦ ઉભો રહેછે, કાયમ રહેછે. V. They stand—remain permanent.

૧૧૧૧૨૯૭ અઈત્ગુનતન, aitgûnatan. ક્રિ૦ ખબરદાર—જાણીતું—વાકેફ—આધાહ કરવું ; લાવવું ; ઉત્પન્ન કરવું ; પરવરેશ કરવું ; મંગાવવું ; લઈજવું ; પેદા કરવું ; ઉભું કરવું ; આવવું. V. To make vigilant—intelligent—acquainted with; to bring, to produce ; to nourish ; to send for ; to carry ; to create, to raise, to make erect; to come.

૧૧૨૯૭ અએતીવંદ, aetîvand. See ૩૧૨૯૭ aêtîvand.

[illegible] આઈત્ગુનતન, આઈદગુનતન, âîtgunatan, âîdgunatan. See [illegible] âîtgunatan.

[illegible] આઈત્ગુનમ, âîtgunam. ક્રિ૦ હું લાવું. V. I may bring.

[illegible] એસ્તીનમ, êstînam. ક્રિ૦ કાયમ—ઉભો રહું. V. I may be firm—constant; I may stand.

[illegible] અએતદક, aêtadak. ના૦ બદલો, ઈનામ. Subs. Requital, reward.

[illegible] અએત-દોદ, aêt-dôd. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બીજું એકે. Adv. Furthermore.

[illegible] અએતેદ, એસ્તેદ, aêtêd, êstêd. ક્રિ૦ રહે; થાએ. V. May remain—be. Comp. Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] અએતે, aêtê. See [illegible] aêtê.

[illegible] એઝદ, êzad. ના૦ યઝદ, ફરેશ્તો, ખોદા. Subs. *Yazata*; an angel; God. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible], Sans. **यजत.**

[illegible] હીતુ, hîtu. ના૦ પુલ. Subs. A bridge. Av. [illegible] = Sans. **सेतु.**

[illegible] અસ્તોહાદ, astôhâd. ના૦ એક દેવનું નામ છે જેનું કામ આ દુન્યામાં સઘલી વસ્તુઓનું મરણ લાવવાનું છે. Subs. The name of a demon whose work is to bring destruction of everything in this world. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અએતે-હીચે, aêtê-hîchê. ક્રિ૦ છે નહીં; ભરૂશો—વિશ્વાશ નથી. V. Is not; there is no confidence.

[illegible] અએત્વાન, aêtvân. See [illegible] aêtân.

[illegible] હેતુ-ઓમન્દ, hêtû-ômand. See [illegible], hêto-mand.

[illegible] અએતે; aêtê. See [illegible] aêtê.

[illegible] હસ્તન્દ, hastand. ક્રિ૦ તેઓ છે. V. They are. Comp. Per. هستند

[illegible] અએતી, aêtî. See [illegible] aêtî.

[illegible] અએતે-શ, aêtê-sh. ક્રિ૦ તેનું છે. V. (It) is his (lit.)

[illegible] આસ્તુનીહેદ, âstûnîhêd. ક્રિ૦ દેખાયછે. V. Appears.

[illegible] અએતની-કેશ, aêtanî-kêsh. ના૦ તેની દીન—રેવાજ છે. Subs. It is his religion—usage.

[illegible] અએતની, aêtanî. વિ૦ હસ્તીને લગતું Adj. Pertaining to existence.

[illegible] અએદુન, અએતવન, aêdûn, aêtvan. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એજ રવેશે, એ રીતે, એમ, એટલું, ઘણી રવેશે, એવોજ, તુરત, હમણા, એક તરેહ—રીતે, જેમ, એટલા વાસ્તે, હયાં, આએ વખતે, એથી કરીને, કેમ, શામાટે. Adv. In this manner, thus; so, so much; in many ways; of this very sort; soon, now; in one way; as, for this reason; here; at this time, so that, how; why. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible]

[illegible] ગઝીદન, gazîdan. ક્રિ૦ કરડવું, દંખ મારવું. V. To bite, to sting. Comp. Per. گزیدن

[illegible] સે-તન, sê-tan. ના૦ ત્રણ બદન. Subs. Three bodies. Comp. Per. سه تن

[illegible] હીતન, hîtan. ક્રિ૦ ચાવવું, ખેંચવું, નાખવું. V. To

grind with the teeth, to masticate; to pull, to throw.

[illegible] અએદુન-શ, aêdûn-sha. સર્વ૦ એ રવેશે તેને. Pron. In this manner to him.

[illegible] આઈતુનેદ, âîtûnêd. ક્રિ૦ મંગાવે. V. May send for.

[illegible] આસ્તુનીદિ, âstûnîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ જોયલું. Past. part. Seen, perceived.

[illegible] અએદીન, aêdîn. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ જગે, એ રવેશે, આએ—એ વખત—ઘડી. Adv. At this place, in this manner, at this time.

[illegible] અએદુન, aêdûn. See [illegible] aêdûn.

[illegible] અએદુન-ચ, aêdûna-cha. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ વલી તેજ પ્રમાણે, ખરેખર એજ સુજબ. Adv. Even in this manner; certainly in this way.

[illegible] અએદુન-મેન-અમચ, aêdûn-mên-amach. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એમ બનવાનું કારણ એક. Adv. The reasoning of so happening is.

[illegible] આઈતુનતન, âîtûnatan. ક્રિ૦ લાવવું, મંગાવવું. V. To bring; to send for.

[illegible] એતુનતન, êtûnatan. ક્રિ૦ છુંટું થવું, છુટકારો થવો. V. To be free from, to be released.

[illegible] અએતુન-પાદ, aêtûn-pâd. ના૦ આદરબાદ નામનાં એક પરહેજગાર દસ્તુરનું નામ છે, કે જે પાદશાહ હોરમજદનાં વખતમાં પેદા થયો હતો, જેણે તાવેલી કલ્લાઈ પોતાની છાતી ઉપર ઓતીને મોજીજો દેખડાવ્યો હતો તે. એ બોલ [illegible] નો બગડેલો આકાર છે. Subs. A devout and godly Dustoor, named *Aderbâd*, who flourished in

the reign of king Hormazd. He showed miracles by pouring melted tin on his bare breast. A corrupt form of ; Av. .

અયોક, ayôk. વિ૦ સંખ્યા૦ એક, ૧. Numer. Adj. One; 1. Comp. Pehl. .

એતુક, êtûk. 'ના૦ બંશારત, ખુશ, ખબરી; ખુશહાલી. Subs. Joyful tidings, happy news; rejoicing.

અએતગી, aêtagî. ના૦ હસતી, મુદત; જેમકે કેટલીએક મુદત સુધી. Subs. Existence; period; as = for some period.

આબ્ત-તુમે, âbtantûmê. ના૦ મેવાનો રસ; 'તુમ તુમે' નામની વનસ્પતીનો રસ. Subs. The juice of fruits; the juice of the herb *sumac* or *summach*. Comp. Per. آب تمتم

અએતુમ, aêtûm. ક્રિ૦ હું છું. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ રવેશે, એવું, એમ. V. I am. Adv. In this manner, thus, such.

અગ-તુમ, ag-tûm. વિ૦ સર્વથી ખરાબ—બુરૂં. Adj. Worst, most evil. Comp. Av. .

આ-તુમ, આએ-તુમ, â-tûm, âê-tûm. ના૦ આએ—તે અંધારૂં. Subs. This—that darkness. = Av. Sans. तमस्.

આબ્તુમ, âbtûm. ના૦ ખોદાના નામોમાંનું એક નામ. Subs. One of the names of God.

હાતુમ, hâtûm. ના૦ એક નુસ્કનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a *Nosh*.

[illegible] } હેતુમંદ, હેત્મંદ, hêtûmand, hêtmand. See [illegible] hêtômand.

[illegible] હેતોમંદ, hêtômand. See [illegible] hêtômand.

[illegible] અસ્તે, astê. ના૦ હાડકું, મેવાનો દાણો—ઠળીઓ. વિ૦ મોજુદ, તૈયાર. Subs. A bone; a seed or stone of a fruit. Adj. Existing, ready. Per. استر

[illegible] અએતગી, aêtagî. See [illegible] aêtagî.

[illegible] અએતકીન-ગીન, aêtakîn-gîn. ના૦ ઘરધણી, મકાનનો માલેક. Subs. A landlord, the owner of a house.

[illegible] ગઝ્દે, gazîdê. Dîn. કૃ૦ વિ૦ કરડેલું, દંખ મારેલું; જેમકે [illegible]-ગઝ્દે-મીન-માર = અઝડાથી દંખ મારેલું. Part. Adj. Bitten, stung; as [illegible] = (gazîdê-min-mâr) bitten by a snake.

[illegible] અએત-ચ, હએત-ચ, aêta-cha, haêta-cha. ક્રિ૦ વલી તે છે, અને તે છે, વલી એમભી છે. V. Even it is, and it is, even it is so.

[illegible] અએતુમ, aêtûm. See [illegible] aêtûm.

[illegible] અએદર, aêdar. ના૦ નજીવી ચીજ; આ દુન્યા, આએ જગા. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ હયાં, હમણા, જો. Subs. A trifle; this world; this place. Adv. Here, now if. Comp. Av. [illegible], [illegible], Sans. अत्र = Per. ايدر

[illegible]

[illegible] } અએવારે, aêvârê. ના૦ ઉજીરનનો વખત, સમીસાંહાજનો વખત. Subs. The time of *Uziran*; the evening time.

[illegible] } અએવ્યાસ્ત, aêvyâst. ક્રિ૦ આસપાસ વીટાળ્યું, પેહેરયું. V. Girded round, put on (clothes).

[illegible] અએવગહાની, aêvagahânî. વિ૦ કુસ્તીને લગતું. Adj. Pertaining to *kushti*.

[illegible] } અએવ્યાંઘાન, aêvyânghân. ના૦ કુસ્તી, કમરબંધ. Subs. *Kushti*; waistband.

[illegible] અએવ્યાસ્તશ્ને, aêvyâstashnê. ના૦ આસપાસ વીટાળવું, બાંધવું. Subs. Girding round; binding.

[illegible] અએવગહીનાન, aêvagahînân. ના૦ કુસ્તીઓ, એવ્યંઘનો. Subs. *Kushtis* (sacred girdles worn by the Parsis round the waist); *aivyânghans;* (the aivyânghan is the girdle or tie with which the Barsam is to be tied together).

[illegible] અએવગહીનેદ, aêvagahînêd. ક્રિ૦ તે આસપાસ બાંધેછે. V. He girds up round.

[illegible] અએવ્યાગાનીદન, aêvyâgânîdan. ક્રિ૦ બાંધવું, કુસ્તી બાંધવી. V. To bind, to gird up the *kushti* round the waist. Comp. Av. [illegible]; [illegible] = Sans. अभि + Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. आस् to put on, to sit.

[illegible] અએવ્યાકસ્ત, aevyâkast. ક્રિ૦ બાંધી, કુસ્તી બાંધી. V. Bound, tied; girded up the *kushti* round the waist.

[illegible] અએવ્યાગસ્તશ્ને, aevyâgastashnê. ના૦ બાંધવું. Subs. Binding.

[illegible] અએવ્યાગસ્તન, aêvyâgastan. See [illegible] aêvyâgânîdan.

[illegible] અદપીગાન, adpîgân. See [illegible] âbtîn.

[illegible] અએવસ્રુસ્રેમ, aêvasrûsrêm. ના૦ દહાડાની ચોથી ગેહેનું નામ, એક ફરેશ્તાનું નામ. Subs. *Aivicruthrem Geh* (the fourth subdivision of the day); name of an angel. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] આબફસર્દ, âbfasard. ના૦ બીલોર, સીસો. Subs. Crystal-glass; a large glass bottle.

[illegible] અએપોખ્તે, aêpôkhtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ પકાવેલું, તૈયાર થયલું. Past partic. Cooked, prepared.

[illegible] અએફ્ત, aêft. ના૦ હાજત, મોરાદ, આએપત, પામવું, ખાહેશ. Subs. Want, desire, income, acquiring.

[illegible] અજવર, azvar. વિ૦ બુલંદ, ચઢતું; શિખેલો; કહ્યા પ્રમાણે ચાલનાર. Adj. Exalted, high; learned; tractable. Comp. Per. ازور

[illegible] અસ્પરાસ, asparâs. See [illegible] asparâs.

[illegible] એફ્રે, êfrê. ના૦ અંદાજ પ્રમાણે બોલનાર. Subs. One who speaks moderately.

[illegible]

[illegible] 'અઈમ, aîm. વિ૦ બરાબર, સરખું. Adj. Proper, equal, alike.

[illegible] આએમ, âêm. ના૦ દહાડો; આફતાબ, જમાનો, ધંધો; ફુરસદ. વિ૦ હું આવું, હું લાવું—મંગાવું. Subs. A day,

the sun; time, profession, leisure. V. I may come—bring—send for.

આદમ, âdam. ના૦ પેહલું ઈનશાન, આદમ. Subs. The first created human being; Adam. Per. آدم

આમ, âm. વિ૦ સર્વ, સઘલું, તમામ, બધું. Adj. All, whole, entire.

એમ, êm. સર્વ૦ જે, તે. Pron. Who, which, he.

ખીમ, હીમ, khîm, hîm. ના૦ ચાલચલણ, ખવાશ, ખાસીઅત, ખસલત, સ્વભાવ, ટેવ. Subs. Conduct, nature, disposition, temper; quality, habit. Av. Per. خيم

દામ, dâm. ના૦ પેદાયશ, સૃષ્ટી, પૃથ્વી. Subs. The creation, the universal system; the world. Comp. Pehl. Av. Per. دام

હજ્મ, hajma. ના૦ રોશની, ઉજાશ. Subs. Light, radiancy.

હીમ, hîm. ના૦ દીકરી; જમીન. Subs. A daughter; land or ground.

હેમ, hêm. ક્રિ૦ હું હોઉં—રેહું. V. I may be—remain.

હેમ, hêm. વિ૦ લાયક, ઘટતું. Adj. Fit, proper, deserving.

અદ્મીદીગાન, admîdîgân. ના૦ ઉમેદવારો, આશાવંતો. Subs. Candidate; hopeful.

અગ્માન, agmân. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાનાં નામોમાંનું એક નામ છે. Subs. One of the names of God.

અ-ગમાન, a-gamân. વિ૦ બેશુમાન, શક વગરનું. ના૦ ઉસ્તવારી. Adj. Doubtless, undoubted. Subs. Firmness.

અ-જમાન, a-jamân. વિ૦ અજમાવ્યા વગરનું, કસ્યા વગરનું. Adj. Not experienced, not tried—tested.

અદમાન, admân. ના૦ ઉમેદ, આશા; ઈલાજ, ઉપાય. Subs. Hope, expectation, remedy, means.

અ-દમાન, a-damân. ના૦ કવખત—મોસમનું. Adj. Untimely, unseasonable. Comp. Per. بي زمان

આદમાનીગાન, âdmânîgân. ના૦ એકીનદારો, દીનદારો, દયાનતદારો, વિશ્વાશુઓ. Subs. The faithful; religious men; trustworthy—confidential persons.

અ-દમાન, a-damân. See અ-દમાન a-damân.

અદમાન, admân. ના૦ ઉપર લાવવું. Subs. Bringing up.

હીમાન, himân. ના૦ ખસલતો, ખવાસ, ટેવો. Subs. (plural) Habits, practices, qualities.

અદમાર, એમાર, admâr, êmâr. ના૦ સુમાર, ગણત્રી, અટકલો, હીસાબ, એશારો; શોધ. Subs. Computation, reckoning; guess; account, hint; inquiry.

અદમાર-વજારદાર, admâr-vajârdâr. ના૦ શુમાર કરનાર. Subs. One who reckons—computes.

અઈમે, aîmê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ હમણા, એક બારગી. Adv. Now ; in one sense ; from one point of view.

એમદ, êmad. ના૦ જમીનને ખેડવાનું હથીઆર. Subs. An instrument for tillage.

અ-દમીઆ, a-damîâ. વિ૦ લોહી વગરનું. Adj. Bloodless. Contrast Ar. دم , لا دم

એમી, êmî. ના૦ એક ફરેશ્તાઈ ખસલતના આદમીનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of an angelic man.

હીમી, hîmî. ના૦ ખાશીઅતો, ખવાસો. Subs. Qualities, habits.

હીમીહા, himîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ખવાસ—ખાશીઅતથી. Adv. By habit, nature.

અદમીદ, admîd. ના૦ ઉમેદ, આશા. Subs. Hope, expectation. Comp. Pehl.

અ-જમીકીન, a-jamîkîn. ના૦ મટોડીનું બનાવેલું નહી તે. Subs. Not made of earth. Contrast Av.

હીમ-સરીતર, hîm-sarîtar. ના૦ વધારે બુરી આદત. Subs. A worse habit.

અદમીનીદન, admînîdan. ક્રિ૦ ઈમાન—એકીન લાવવું. V. To put faith in.

અએ-મીનશની, aê-mînashnî. વિ૦ મનશની વિચારને લગતું નહીં તે. Adj. Not relating to the thought.

અદમીનેશની, admînêshnî. વિ૦ ઈમાનને લગતું. ના૦ ખાહેશ કરવી, ઈમાન લાવવું, ખાહેશ, ઉમેદ. Adj.

Pertaining to faith. Subs. Desiring, putting faith (in something); wish, hope.

[illegible] અદમીદ, admîd. ના૦ ઉમેદ. Subs. Hope. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અદમીદાને, admîdânê. ના૦ ઉમેદો, ખાહેશો, ઉમેદવારો; એક દસ્તુરનું નામ છે. Subs. Hopes, desires; hopeful men; name of a Dustoor.

[illegible] અદમીદાન, admîdân. See [illegible] admîdânê.

[illegible] અદમીદાર, admîdâr. વિ૦ આશાવંત, ઉમેદવાર. Adj. Hopeful, expectant. Comp. Per. امیدوار

[illegible] અદમીદી, admîdî. ના૦ ઉમેદપણું, ઉમેદ, આશા, આતુરતાઈ. Subs. Abst. Hopefulness; expectation.

[illegible] અદમીદી, admîdî. વિ૦ આતુરતાઈવાળું. Adj. Eager, earnest.

[illegible] અદમીદે, admîdê. See [illegible] admîdâr.

[illegible] અદમીદવાર, admîdvâr. વિ૦ ઉમેદવાર, એકીનદાર. Adj. Hopeful, faithful, conscientious. Per. امیدوار

[illegible] અદમીદવારી, admîdvârî. ના૦ ભાવવા૦ ઉમેદવારી, એકીનદારી. Subs. Abst. Hopefulness, conscientiousness, trustworthiness.

[illegible] અદમીદવારતર, admîdvârtar. વિ૦ વધારે એકીનદાર—ઉમેદવાર. Adj. More trustworthy, faithful; more hopeful. Per. امیدوارتر

[illegible] અદમીદીનાક, admîdînâk. વિ૦ ઉમેદવાર કરતું. Adj. Making hopeful.

અએ-મેતુક, aê-mêtûk. વિ૦ મોત વગરનું. Adj. Deathless, immortal.

હમીમાલ, hamîmâl. ના૦ કોઈ ઉપર જુઠું તોહમત—મુકવું, એક ગુનાહનું નામ, દુશમન, મુદ્દઈ. Subs. Accusing some one falsely; name of a crime; an enemy, an antagonist.

અએમન, aêman. ના૦ દરાખ. Subs. A grape.

અદમન, adman. ના૦ દીલ, શરીર. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કે, કારણ કે, કયારે; બલકે; એકાએક. Subs. The heart, the body. Adv. That, as, because, when; rather; suddenly, all at once.

અ-દમુન, a-damûn. વિ૦ બેદેલ, નાઉમેદ. Adj. Disaffected, dissatisfied, hopeless.

અદે-મન, અ-દેમન, adê-man, a-dêman. હું નહીં—નથી. Not I; I am not.

આદમુન, âdmûn. ના૦ તેજ, ઝલકાટ, પ્રતાપ. Subs. Lustre, brightness, glory, grandeur.

એમન, êman. ના૦ પરગણાનું નામ છે. વિ૦ નિર્ભય, ધાસ્તી વગર, નચીંત, બેફીકર. Subs. Name of a province; Arabia Felix. Adj. Fearless, undaunted, free from anxiety, at ease. Comp. Per. ايمن and يمن

યસ્મન, yasman. ના૦ રૂપું; ચંપેલી. Subs. Silver; jessamine; jasmine. Per. ياسمن , ياسمين

હમુ, hamû. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એજ મુજબ—રીતે; સરખી રીતે, હમેશાં. Adv. In the same manner, thus; equally; always.

[illegible] હીમે, hîmê. ના૦ ખવાસ, સ્વભાવ, ગુણ. Subs. Quality, nature, disposition, characteristic.

[illegible] હમ-વાઈનેદ, ham-vâînêd. ક્રિ૦ સાથે ઉડે. V. May fly together.

[illegible] હમુ-ખીનીદિ, hamû-khînîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ એજ. મુજબ કીનો—દ્વેષભાવ રાખેલું. Past. part. Harboured revenge—spite in the same manner.

[illegible] આદમુન-ગાહ, âdmûn-gâh. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ તરતજ, જલદી, તેજ વખતે. Adv. Immediately, soon, at the same time.

[illegible] અદમુનશની, admûnashnî. ના૦ ઈમાન, એકીન. Subs. Faith, belief.

[illegible] અએમુનશને, અએમુનશની, aêmûnashnê, aêmunashnî. See [illegible] admûnashnî.

[illegible] અદમુનેશન, admûnêshna. ના૦ ઈમાન—એકીન લાવવું. Subs. Putting faith—belief.

[illegible] અદમુદીન, આમુદીન, હમુદીન, admûdîn, âmûdîn, hamûdîn. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એ રવેશે, એજ તરેહ, દરેક રીતે, બીલકુલ, પુરેપુરૂં. વિ૦ એકજ ધરમ માનનાર. Adv. Thus, in this manner; in every way; altogether, wholly. Adj. Believing in the same religion. Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] અદમુન, દીદમુન, admûn, dîdmun. ક્રિ૦ આજ્ઞા૦ તું જો, નેધાહ કર. V. Impr. Behold, observe minutely.

[illegible] સે-મન, sê-man. ના૦ ત્રણ મન—વિચારૂ. Subs. Three minds—ideas.

૭॥૬૪ અ-દમુની, a-damûnî. વિ૦ એક દીલ નહીં, પ્યાર
૭॥૬૪ રાખનારૂં નહીં તે, એક સંપ નહીં તે. Adj. Not unanimous, not bearing love to; not at peace.

૭॥૬૪ આદમુની, âdmûnî. વિ૦ દીલ—પ્યાર રાખનારૂં. Adj.
૭॥૬૪ Setting one's heart on, bearing love to.

૭॥૬૪ હીમુની, hîmûnî. ના૦ ખાહેશ, મરજી. Subs. Wish, desire, liking.

૭૩૭॥૬૪ અઈમુનેશની, હીમુનેશની, aîmûnêshnî, hîmû-
૭૩૭॥૬૪ nêshnî. ના૦ વિશ્વાસ—ભરોસો રાખવો, ઈમાન રાખવું. Subs. Placing confidence, faith, believing.

॥૩૭॥૬૪ અદમુનશ્ને, admûnashnê. ના૦ ઈમાન; ભરૂશો રાખવો. વિ૦ રોશન, ખોલ્લું. Subs. Faith, trusting. Adj. Clear, apparent, obvious.

॥૯૭૭॥૬૪ અઈમુનસ્તન, aîmûnastan. ક્રિ૦ ઈમાન—એકીન લાવવું, વિશ્વાસ રાખવો. V. To put faith in; to trust.

॥૯૭૭॥૬૪ અદમુનસ્તન, આદમુનસ્તન, દીદમુનશતન, admû-
॥૯૭૭॥૬૪૩ nastan, âdmûnastan, dîdmûnastan.
ક્રિ૦ આરજુ રાખવી, ચાહવું, પામવું, જોવું, ઈમાન રાખવું, ઉગવું, કબુલ કરવું, રજુ કરવું, હાજર થવું. V. To desire; to long for; to obtain; to behold; to put faith in; to grow; to assent to; to bring before; to refer to; to be present.

૨॥૬૪ અદમુનીન, admûnîn. ના૦ ખબર, ચેતવણી. Subs. Notice, warning.

॥૩૭૨॥૬૪ અદમુનીનશ્ને, admûnînashnê. ના૦ આઘાહી—ખબર—ચેતવણી આપવી, વાકેફ કરવું. Subs. Giving notice—warning—caution; acquainting.

॥૩૭૨॥૬૪ અદમુનીનીદાર, admûnînîdâr. ના૦ એખ્તીઆર કરનાર, મેલવનાર. Subs. One who chooses—acquires.

॥૧૭૨॥૬૪ અદમુનીનતન, admûnînatan. See ॥૧૭૩॥૬૪ admûnastan.

૧૭॥૬૪ અદમુનેદ admûnêd. ક્રિ૦ આશા—ઉમેદ રાખે. V. May expect—entertain hopes.

॥૧૭॥૬૪ અદમુનીદે, admûnîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ એકીન રાખેલું, ઈમાન લાવીને. Past. part. Having placed confidence—faith.

॥૧૭॥૬૪ અદમુનીદન, admûnîdan. ક્રિ૦ ખાહેશ કરવી, લાડથી ચાલવું, લટકતી ચાલે ચાલવું, ખબર આપવી બજા લાવવું. V. To desire, to walk struttingly, to give warning, to fulfil.

॥૧૭॥૬૪ આદમુનીદન, âdmûnîdan. ક્રિ૦ ગીરવી મુકવું. V. To mortgage.

॥૧૭॥૬૪ દીદમુનીદન, dîdmûnîdan. ક્રિ૦ જોવું. V. To behold.

॥૧૭॥૬૪ અદમુનતન, આદમુનતન, દીદમુનતન. âdmûnatan, âdmûnatan, dîdmûnatan. ક્રિ૦ ખાહેશ કરવી, એતેકાદ રાખવો, સહમજવું, પાંમવું, નાજથી ચાલવું, જાણવું, વાકેફ થવું, કબુલ કરવું, જોવું, ગીરવી મુકવું. V. To covet, to long for; to put faith in; to understand; to acquire;

to walk gracefully; to know; to be informed; to assent to; to behold; to mortgage.

અએમોક, અએ-મોક, aêmôk, aê-môk. વિ૦ એક પગે જોડા સાથનું અને એક પગે જોડા વગરનું; Adj. With a shoe on one foot and without one on the other. Comp. + ; Av. ; Av. Rt. Sans. मुच् = to leave off.

અએમોક-દોબારશ્ને, aêmôk-dôbârashnê. ના૦ એક જોડે ચાલવું, એક ઉંઘાડે પગે ચાલવું; એક ગુનાહનું નામ છે. Subs. Going about with a shoe on one foot and without one on the other; name of a crime. Compare Pâz. - (Patet Ader.)

હાવનચ, hâvanacha. હાવનીમ; એ હાવનચનો બગડેલો આકાર છે. Corrupt form of havanacha, which see.

અએ-મોજે, aê-môjê. ના૦ એક મોજું; નજર, આંખ. Subs. A stocking or sock; sight; the eye.

અદમોજે, admôjê. ના૦ બદન, શરીર. Subs. The body.

યસ્મન-ચે, yasmana-chê. વિ૦ વલી રૂપાંનું—ચંપેલીને લગતું. Adj. Even silvery or pertaining to jessamine.

અદમોત, admôt. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ક્યારે, શામાટે ક્યાં, કોણ. Adv. When, why; where; who.

આબ-મોર્વારીદ, âb-môrvârîd. ના૦ પાણીદાર-

રોશનીદાર મોતી. Subs. A brilliant pearl. Comp. Per. مروارید + آب

[illegible] અઈમે, aîmê. ના૦ ઝાડ, ફલ Subs. A tree; a fruit.

[illegible] હીમે, યસ્મે, hîmê, yasmê. ના૦ લાકડું, કાથી. Subs. Wood, firewood. Comp. Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અઈમત, aîmat. ના૦ હલનો દાંતો. Subs. A tooth or cog of a plough.

[illegible] અદમત, અદેમત, admat, adêmat. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કેમ! શું! ક્યારે! ક્યાં, કોણ! દર વખતે, હરગીજ નહીં. ના૦ પાદશાહોના પાદશાહ, ચાર ઓનાસરો—તત્વો. વિ૦ પાકીજે, ચોખ્ખું, અસ્લીલ, જાતવંતું. Adv. How, what, when, where, who; every time; never. Subs. The supreme monarch of an empire; the four elements. Adj. Pure, holy, noble, of good parentage.

[illegible] અદમેદ, ઉમેદ, admêd, ûmêd. See [illegible] admîd.

[illegible] યદમત, yadmat. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ ક્યાંસુધી. Adv. How long.

[illegible] હેમીન, hêmîn. ના૦ હુનાલો, ગરમીની રૂતુ. Subs. The hot season; summer. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અદમીવાર-તર, admîvâr-tar. વિ૦ વધારે ઉમેદવાર. Adj. More hopeful.

[illegible] અઈમર, શુમર, aîmar, shûmar. ના૦ ગણત્રી, શુમાર, હીસાબ; કોડાલી. Subs. Computation, reckoning, account; an axe, a hatchet. Av. Rt. [illegible] = Sans. [illegible] = Per. شمار

અએમર, aêmar. ના૦ એક જાતનું હથીઆર. Subs. A kind of instrument—tool.

અદમર, admar. See admâr, êmâr.

અદમર્ગ, admarg. ના૦ આવાજ, હીસાબ, બાકી; હીશાબ કરવો, હીશાબ રાખનાર. Subs. Sound, voice, account, remaining; casting accounts; an accountant.

અએ-મરૂતી, aê-marûtî. ના૦ એકવાર પઢવાની બંદગી. Subs. Prayer to be recited once. Comp. + = Av. ; Av. Rt. = Sans. Rt. ब्रू = to speak.

અઈર, aîr. વિ૦ ઈમાનદાર, પરહેજગાર, ફરમાબરદાર, અશો, ભલો, ખાલેસ. ના૦ નેકરસ્તાઓ; તાબેદારી; દીન, ધર્મ; નેકી, વિદ્યા, કેલવણી, જ્ઞાન. Adj. Faithful, devout, obedient, holy, noble, pure, guileless. Subs. Virtuous ways, obedience, religion; virtue; knowledge, learning. Av. = Sans. आर्य; Av. Rt. = Sans. Rt. ऋ, = to be noble—peaceful.

અગર, agar. ના૦ એક દવાનું નામ છે કે જે સફેદ ખુશબોદાર અને ગાંઠવાળી છે, કે જે ખાધાથી તે જીભ ઉપરનો થર શાફ થાયછે; લુબાન; બેસવાની જગા; કુલું; સરદાર. Subs. The name of a medicinal drug, white, fragrant and knotty, which being eaten removes all the impurities on the tongue; frank-

incense; seat, place for sitting; a white speck in the eye; a chief.

اجر અજર, ajar. ના૦ જડ, બેખ, મૂળ. Subs. A root, origin, source.

ادر અદર, adar. ના૦ પગની એરી. Subs. The sole of the foot.

ادھر અદેર, અજેર, adêr, ajêr. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ હેઠે, નીચે. વિ૦ ઉતરતું, હલકું, નીચું. Prep. Under, beneath. Adj. Inferior, low. Av. اجھو = Per. زیر

ابر અબર, abar. ના૦ વાદલું. Subs. A cloud. Av. اوبر = Sans. अभ्र = Per. ابر

ابر અ-બર, a-bar. વિ૦ વગર ફલનું, ફાયદા વગરનું. Adj. Fruitless, void of profit. Comp. Per. بی بر

ار આર, âr. વિ૦ ધરાયલું, ભરપુર, ભરેલું. Adj. Satiated, brimful, filled to excess, full of.

اہر આહર, âhar. See اہر âhar.

امر એર, êr. ના૦ હોકમ, આજ્ઞા, દીનનું ફરમાંન. Subs. A command, an order; injunction, religious command.

خجل ખજલ, khajal. વિ૦ શરમીન્દુ, શરમાઉ. Adj. Abashed; shy. Per. خجل

خیر ખીર, khîr. ના૦ સોનું, ખેર; આબાદી. Subs. gold; good; goodness; prosperity. Per. خیر

خیل ખીલ, khil. ના૦ સફ, હરોલ, હાર. Subs. A line, row, rank; file.

ابر હબુર, habar. ના૦ ધુમસ; મરદની ઇંદ્રી; ઈસારો; માલ,

સામાન. Subs. Mist; *pudendum mulieris*; hint; property, furniture.

هير હીર, hîr. ના૦ એબાદત; વખાણ; આતશ; ખોરશીદ; દાનાઈ, ખુબી; મતા, દોલત. Subs. Prayer, praise, fire, the sun; wisdom, goodness, estate, riches.

هير હેર, hêr. ના૦ કેલવણી, વિદ્યા; સુકકો નસો Subs. Instruction, learning; dry impurities.

عيرا અઈરા, aîrâ. ના૦ ખાક, મીટી, ધુલ. Subs. Dust, earth.

عيلا અઈલા, aîlâ. ના૦ તુરાની લશ્કરી સરદારનું નામ. Subs. Name of a Turanian general.

اره અએ-રા, આરા, aê-râ, ârâ. સર્વ૦ એને, તેને. Pron. To him.

اجيره અજેરે, ajêrê. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ નીચે, હેઠે. Prepos. Under, below.

ابرا અબ્રા, abrâ. ના૦ સરવનું ઝાડ; ગાયણ, સરોદ, રાગ. Subs. The cypress-tree; singing a song; a mode of song; tune.

اهلا આ-અએ-લા, â-aê-lâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ આએ—તે નહીં, યા નહીં. Adv. Not this—that; or not.

اهلا આલા, âlâ. ના૦ કોમ, ટોલો, ઓલાદ, વંશ. Subs. Nation, tribe; descendants, lineage.

ايرا એરા, êrâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ શા વાસ્તે; કેમ? એટલા માટે Adv. How, why; for this reason.

ابراه અ-બરાહ, a-barâh. વિ૦ તેજ—ઝલકાટ—આબ—

વગરનું. Adj. Void of lustre—splendour—brilliancy.

[illegible] અદેર-હખે, adêr-hakhê. ના૦ પાતલીની નીચેની જગા. Subs. The space under the sole of the foot; Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અબ્રાહામ; અબ્રાહીમ, abrâhâm, abrâhîm. ના૦ એબ્રાહીમ, યાહુદીઓનાં એક ધર્મ ગુરૂનું નામ છે. Subs. The Patriarch Abraham; name of a well-known Rabbi. Ar. ابراهيم

[illegible] અ-બરીહને, a-barîhanê. વિ૦ નાંગું નહીં. ધાંકેલું, કપડાં પેહેરેલું. Adj. Not naked, covered, clothed. Contrast Per. برهنه

[illegible] અએરખ્ત, aêrakht. ના૦ ખુશી ભોગવવી. વિ૦ નાખાલેશ, જુઠું. Subs. Enjoying pleasure. Adj. Not unsullied—pure; false.

[illegible] અએ-રખ્ત, અ-દરખ્ત, aê-rakht, a-darakht. વિ૦ નાખાલેશ, ગડલું; નારાસ્ત, જુંઠું; ખરાબ. Adj. Not unsullied, turbid; untrue, false, evil.

[illegible] અએરખ્તે, aêrakhtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ ઠેરવેલા કાએદાથી આડું ગએલું—ફરેલું. Past part. Deviated from the established rule—law.

[illegible] અઈરખ્તન, aîrakhtan. ક્રિ૦ ખુશી ભોંગવવી, ખુશ કરવું, નાફરમાન થવું. V. To enjoy pleasure, to please; to be disobedient.

અઈરખ્તે, aîrakhtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ ભેલસેલ કીધેલું, ખોટું કીધેલું, તરકટ કીધેલું. Past part. Mixed up, done wrong, forsaken.

અ-બર્હમ, a-barham. વિ૦ લેબાસ—પોશાક વગરનું, Adj. Having no clothes on.

આદરખ્શ, âdarakhsh. ના૦ સરદી, ગગરાટ, વીજલી. Subs. Coldness, thunder, lightning.

અઈરાશ, aîrâsh. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ તેને વાસ્તે, તેને લીધે. Adv. For that reason, in consequence of that.

અ-ગેરાએશ, a-gêrâêsh. ના૦ ખરાબ—કવખત. Subs. Unseasonable time.

અ-દરાએશ્ની, a-daxâêshnî. ના૦ આસ્તેથી નહી બોલતાં. Subs. Not whispering.

એરાસુન, êrâsûn. ના૦ ભુરા રંગનું કપડું. Subs. Brown-coloured cloth.

અઈરાસ્તાન, aîrâstân. ના૦ ખોરાશાન શેહરનું નામ. Subs. Khorásán.

આરાસ્તે, ârâstê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ પાક કીધેલું, શીંગારેલું. Past part. Purified, adorned. Per. آراستہ; Av. ـــ + ـــ + ـــ

અ-ગેરાઈદાર, a-gêrâîdâr. વિ૦ નાખુશ, ગમગીની ભરેલું; ઉદાસ. Adj. Displeased, sorrowful, sad.

અબ્રહીમ, અ-બરહીમ, abrahîm, a-barhîm. વિ૦ કદરૂપું, બેડોલ, સુરત વગરનું, ખુબ સુરત નહીં તે, રોશન નહી.

Adj. Ugly, uncouth, shapeless; not beautiful, not clear—bright.

[illegible] અબ્રામ, abrâm. See [illegible] abrâhâm.

[illegible] ખેર-ખેર, khêr-khêr. વિ૦ આશ્ચર્ય પામેલો, વગર સબબનું, નીરપરાધી. Adj. Astonished, causeless; innocent.

[illegible] અઈરાન, aîrân. ના૦ ખોદાતાલા; ભલી બેઠક; એક મુલકનું નામ છે કે જે તરફ ઉપર "અમુન" નદી આવેલીછે, કે જે પાદશાહ ફરેદુને પોતાના બેટા એરચને બખશીઓ હતો; હોશંગ બીન સીઆમકને કહેછે; ઈરાન દેશ. Subs. God; a good seat; name of a country through which the river *Amoon* flows, and which Feridoon gave in inheritance to his son Eraj; *Hoshang* the son of *Syâmak;* Persia.

[illegible] અ-દરાના, a-darânâ. વિ૦ હદ—લંબાઈ વગરનું. Adj. Having no limits—length. Contrast Av. [illegible]

[illegible] એરાની, êrânî. વિ૦ ગોસ્સાના આતશને મારનાર, ગુસ્સાને દુર કરનારૂં, નરમ મીજાજનું, નરમાશવાલું. Adj. Destroying the flames of anger; removing the wrath; having a mild temper; of a gentle disposition.

[illegible] અઈરાનીઆન, અઈરાનીગાન, aîrâniân, aîrânîgân. ના૦ ઈરાની લોકો, ભલી દીનવાલાઓ. Subs. The Persians; followers of the good religion. Comp. Per. ایرانیان

[illegible] એરાનીગાન, êrânîgân, plural of [illegible] êrânî, which see.

અઈરાન-વેઝ, aîrân-vêzh. ના૦ ભલાઓનું બીજ, એરીઅનલોકોની અસલ જગા, ઈરાનને લગતું મૂલ; વેહેદાતી નદી ઉપર આલેલું ઈરાનવેજ. Subs. The seed of the noble; the original seat of the Arians; the Iranian source; *Irân Vej*, situated on the river *Veh Dâti*. Comp. Av. = Sans. आर्य्य = good, noble; + = Sans. बीजं = seed.

અ-ગેરાનીદાર, a-gêrânîdâr. નહીં બુજોરગ કરનાર, મોહોટાઈ નહીં આપનાર, ભારી નહીં કરનાર. Adj. Not exalting—giving greatness; not making heavy.

અ-દરાનીદાર, a-darânîdâr. વિ૦ નહીં પોકારતાં—બોલતાં. Adj. Not bawling out, not speaking.

અ-ઈરાન, a-îrân. ના૦ નાખુશ થએલાઓ, અસંતોષી લોકો. Subs. Those that are displeased; discontented people.

અબલાન, આબ્રાન, ablân, âbrân, ના૦ બાગ, વાડી. Subs. A garden, an orchard.

અઈરાન-ગદમન, aîrân-gadman. ના૦ ઈરાંની ખોરેહ, ભલી દીનનો આબ—ઝલકાટ. Subs. The Iranian lustre; the brilliancy—splendour of the good religion. Comp. Av.

અઈરાન-મન્દુમાન, aîrân-mandûmân. ના૦ ઈરાંનનેં લગતી ચીજો—વસ્તુઓ. Subs. Things pertaining to Persia.

અઈરાન-મરદુમાન, aîrân-mardûmân. ના૦

ભલા લોકો. ઈરાન શેહરનાં લોકો. Subs. The inhabitants of Persia. Comp. Per. مردمان ایران

ایرانگان અઈરાનગાન, aîrângân. ના૦ ઈરાનીઓ. Subs. The Persians.

ابرآمند અબર-ઓમન્દ, abar-ômand. વિ૦ વાદલાં વાલું, વાદલથી ભરેલું.. Adj. Full of clouds, overcast with clouds.

ایلاول અઈલાવલ, aîlâval. ના૦ એક પાહાડનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a mountain.

اراف અઈરાફ, aîrâf. ના૦ હમેશ્તગાન બેહેશ્ત. "એરાફ" એક પુરૂષનું નામ છે, કે જે અરદા વીરાફનો બાપ થાય છે. Subs. Purgatory; name of the father of Ardâi Virâf. Comp. Per. اعراف

ابرازآگی અ-બરાઝ્આગી, a-barâzîâgî. વિ૦ ફરેબ—મકકર—ઠગાઈ વગરનું; શીંગાર વિનાનું. Adj. Guileless; free from deceit; unadorned.

ارا-چه એરા-ચે, êrâ-chê. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ કેએકે. કાંયકે. Adv. Because.

ایرخت અઈરખ્ત, aîrakht. વિ૦ ખુશ, મોજીલું. Adj. Pleased, jolly.

ایراد અઈરદ, aîrad. ના૦ બીલસ, વેંત; અગીઆર આંગળનું માપ જે એક બીલસ ને બે આંગલનું ગણાયછે. Subs. A span; a measure of eleven inches.

ادرخت આદરખ્ત, અ-ઈરખ્ત, âdarakht, a-îrakht. વિ૦ જુઠું, નાખાલેશ, ગડલું, કપટી, દ્વેશ ભાવી. Adj. False, insincere, not unsullied, turbid; spiteful, malicious.

આદરદીદે, âdardîdê. વિ૦ ઈજા—નુકશાન પોહચાડનારૂં. Adj. Doing harm—injury, pernicious.

આરાદ, એરખ્ત, ârâd, êrakht. ના૦ બક્ષેશ, સખાવત; લશ્કર, ખુશી. વિ૦ ખાલેસ, સ્વચ્છ. Subs. A gift, generosity; an army; joy, pleasure. Adj. Pure, unsallied, clear.

એરાદ, êrâd. See , , ârâd, êrakht.

હેરાત, hêrât. સં૦ વિ૦ હેંસી, ૮૦). ના૦ હેરાત નામનું શેહર. Numer. Adj. Eighty, 80. Subs. Herat.

અઈરાદ-બેહેરામ, aîrâd-bêhêrâm. ના૦ બેહેરામનો છોકરો એરાદ, એક માણસનું નામ છે. Subs. *Erâd*, (son of Beherâm); name of a man.

એરખ્તીદન, êrakhtidan. ક્રિ૦ ભેલી નાખવું, ચરકીનવાલું કરવું. V. To mix up; to make filthy.

અ-દરખ્તે, a-darakhtê. વિ૦ નહીં કેલવાયલું—શીખેલું. Adj. Not educated—learned.

એરખ્તન, êrakhtan. ક્રિ૦ ભેલવવું, ચરકીનવાલું કરવું, નાપાક કરવું, થવું; જુઠું કરવું. V. To mix up, to make filthy—impure; to become impure; to falsify.

અ-બરાત્રુત, a-barâtrut. વિ૦ અનીતી વગરનું, બે ગુનાહ. Adj. Not immoral; innocent.

અ-ગરમ, a-garam. વિ૦ નહીં ગરમ—હુંનું, ઠંડું. Adj. Not warm—hot; cold. Contrast Av. , Pehl. , Per. گرم

،،،ل ،،،ل અઈરામુન, aîrâmûn. ના૦ 'અઈર્યેમા-ઈશ્યો' નામની બંદગી. Subs. The prayer called *Airyêmâ-ishyo.*

ل،،،ل અઈરામે, aîrâmê. વિ૦ નકામું, રીમન, નાપાક. Adj. Useless, polluted, impure.

ل،،،ل અગ્રારશ, agrârash. ના૦ એક જાતની પ્રવાહી ચીજ. Subs. A kind of liquid.

ل،،،ل અ-ગરારી, અ-ગરારેહ, a-garârî, a-garârêh. ના૦ અખંડ કપડું, તાકો. Subs. A whole piece of cloth.

ل،،،ل،،،ل આદર-ખોર્દાદ, âdar-khôrdâd. ના૦ આતશો મધેનાં એક મોટા કેબલાનાં આતશનું નામ છે; એ આતશનું કામ એ છેકે, જ્યારે મનુષ્ય ઉપર કાંઈ કજા, આફત યા દુઃખ આવી પડેછે ત્યારે તેને સંતોષ તથા ધીરજ રહેછે તે એ આતશની મેહેરબાંનીથી છે; એ આતશ આફત તથા દુઃખને ટાલનાર છે અને બીજા નેક ધંધાદારીઓનો મદદગાર છે. માણસોની સારી હીલચાલ તથા સારી રીતભાતનો જે ઝરો વેહતોછે તે એ "હુવૈતાત" આતશની ખુબીથી છે. એ "આદરખુરદાદ" આતશને પાહદશાહ ગુસ્તાસ્પે પાહાદશાહી ઉપર આવ્યા પછી કેબલા તરીકે તખ્ત નશીન કર્યો હતો. એ આતશને "કાનગાહ" અથવા "કાંગડા" અથવા "ખાર્જમ" નામનો પાહાડ, જે કાબલુસ્તાનની હદમાં આવેલોછે તે ઉપર તખ્ત નશીન કર્યો હતો; એ આતશ દસ્તુરોની દાનેશ ઉપર મવકુફ થયલોછે. એ આતશમાં ખુબી એ છે કે, જો એના ઉપર પાણી પડેતો તે બુજાતો મથી પણ જેમ સાધારણ આતશમાં ઘી અથવા તેલ પડવાથી ભડકું ઉઠેછે, તેમ એ આતશ ઉપર પાણી પડવાથી તે વધારે રોશની પકડેછે. Subs. *Ader-khordâd*—the name of one of the sacred fires held in high reverence,

owing to its reputed efficacy to bring consolation to and inspire patience in a man involved in difficulty or overwhelmed with heavenly calamity. When sincerely adored, it is supposed to avert afflictions and troubles on men, and render great help to honest tradesmen. It is through the benevolent efficacy of this (*haurvatât*) fire that the deeds of men are directed towards goodness. It was consecrated and enthroned on a high altar by King Gushtasp on the *Kángâh* mountain, otherwise called *Kângdâ* or *Khvâruzm*, situated on the confines of Cabul. This fire presides over the intelligence of Dustoors. Its peculiar characteristic is said to be its inextinguishable property by water, which, if poured, only serves to make it burn brighter, as is the case with ordinary fire when clarified butter or oil is poured over it. Comp. Pâz. [illegible]; Av. [illegible] + [illegible]

[illegible] એલાર્મર્દ, elârmard. ના૦ એક માણસનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a man.

[illegible] અઈરગ, âîrag. ના૦ આદમી, માણસ, શખસ. Subs. Man; an individual, a person.

[illegible] અઈરજ, aîraj. ના૦ એરૂચ નામનો પ્રાચીન ઈરાંનનો પાદશાહ જે ફરેદુનનો સઉથી નાહનો છોકરો થાય છે. Subs. Eraj (one of the kings of ancient Persia), the

youngest son of King Feridoon. Comp. Av. אבדר, Per. ایرج

אבדר અ-દર્દ, a-dard. વિ૦ દુઃખ વગરનું, તંદરોસ્ત. Adj. Free from illness—sickness; healthy. Per. بی درد

אבדר અ-દેરગ, a-dêrag. વિ૦ લાંબું નહીં તે, ટુંકું. Adj. Not long; short.

אבדר એરી, êrî. See אבדר aîrag.

אבדר અઇરગ, એરોગ, aîrag, êrôg. વિ૦ ગંધાતું, વાસ મારતું. Adj. Stinking; emitting an offensive smell. See אבדר aîrakht. Comp. Av. ઇરૂઇ

אבדרי אבדרי } અઈરી, અઈરીઅ, aîrî, aîrîa. ના૦ આદમી જાત, આદમી; તાબેદારી, નમ્રતાઈ, ઈમાનદારી, વિશ્વાસુપણું, ભલાઈ, દીનદારી. વિ૦ ઈરાની, અંતઃકરણથી બંદગી કરતો; ભલી દીનનું. Subs. The human race; man; obedience; submissiveness; fidelity; trustworthiness; goodness; gentleness; devoutness; piety. Adj. Iranian, of good religion; praying (to God) heartily.

אבדרי અદરી, adarî. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ નીચે, હેઠે; ના૦ નીચાણ. Prep. Under, beneath. Subs. Lowness, declivity. Av. אבדרי

אבשר અબ્રશ, abrash. ના૦ પંચરંગી ઘોડો. વિ૦ પંચરંગી, રંગીન તીપકીવાળું. Subs. A piebald horse. Adj. Dapple, marked with coloured spots. Per. ابرش

ایری, êrî. ના૦ સાંધાઓ, અવયવો; આદમીઅત, ભલમનસાઈ. Subs. Limbs, members of the body; humanity; gentleness.

ایریا એરીઆ, êrîâ. ના૦ મરદની શરમગાહ. Subs. *Pudendum viri.*

خیری ખીરી, khîrî. ના૦ જાંબુરો રંગ; ઘેરની હદ; અંદરના ઓરડા. Subs. Purple colour; the boundaries of a house; the inner apartments. Per. خیری

ایرگان અઈરીગાન, aîrîgân. ના૦ ફરમાન બરદારો, નોકરો, ચાકરો, દીનદારો, આદમીઓ, તાબેદારો. Subs. Those that obey commands (lit.); servants; menials.

ابرهام એબ્રીહામ, êbrihâm. ઈબરામ પેગમબર. Subs. The prophet Abraham, Per. ابرهیم

ابرهام-ترسایان એબ્રીહામે-તર્સાયાન, êbrihâmê-tarsâyân. ના૦ ખ્રીસ્તીઓનો પેગમબર. Subs. The prophet of the Christians.

خیری-سرخ ખીરી-સોરખ, khîrî-sôrakh. ના૦ જાંબુર તથા રાતા રંગની મેલવણી. Subs. A mixture of purple and red.

ایر-دستن અઈર-દાસ્તન, aîr-dâstan. ક્રિ૦ ખાહેશ—ઈચ્છા રાખવી, હોકમને તાબે થવું, ઈમાનદાર રેહેવું. V. To wish, to desire; to comply with the commands—orders'; to be faithful.

ایرستن અઈરીસ્તન, aîrîstan. ક્રિ૦ ખુશી—ખુશ થવું, તાબેદાર થવું, દીનદાર થવું. V. To be pleased—satisfied; to be obedient; to become religious.

[illegible] એર્જાની, êrjânî. વિ૦ એરયને લગતું. Adj. Pertaining to Eraj (the youngest son of King Feridoon).

[illegible] અઈર્ગાની, aîrgânî. ના૦ તાબેદારી, સેવા, આધીનતા. Subs. Obedience, service, humbleness.

[illegible] એરશની, êrashnî. ના૦ આરાસ્તગી, શીંગાર, તાબેદારી. Subs. Decoration, ornament, obedience.

[illegible] એરીઆની, êrîânî. વિ૦ બદનવાળું, હાદમંદ. Adj. Bodily, corporeal.

[illegible] અ-બરશ્ને, a-barashnê. પૃથક૦ ના૦ નહીં લઈ જવું. Abst. Subs. Not carrying.

[illegible] એરીઆન, êrîân. ના૦ બદનનાં સાંધાઓ—ભાગો. Subs. Limbs—members of the body.

[illegible] એરશ્ને, હેર્ગાન, êrashnê, hêrgân. ના૦ અગાર, ચરકીન, છેડ. Subs. That which is discharged from the animal body after digestion; filthy matter excreted and ejected by a bird.

[illegible] હેલશ્ને, hêlashnê. ના૦ છોડવું, મુકીદેવું, ફેકીદેવું. Subs. Leaving off, forsaking; throwing away. Comp. Pâz. [illegible], Per. هلش

[illegible] એરીઅન-વેઝ, êrîan-vêzh. See [illegible] arîn-vêzh.

[illegible] ખીરી-જર્દ, khîrî-zard. ના૦ પીલો—અંબુરો રંગ. Subs. Yellow, purple.

[illegible] આદરબાદ, âdarbâd. ના૦ એક નામીચો દસ્તુરનું નામ છે કે જે હોરમજદ બીન શાપુરનાં વખતમાં થઈ ગયોછે, જેણે કેટલીએક કેતાબો બનાવીછે, તેમાં "મીનો એરદ"

તથા નસીહતનામું બનાવેલું છે. Subs. The name of a well-known Dustoor who flourished during the reign of Hormazd *bin* Shapoor. He wrote several religious works, among which were the *Mino-Khered* and the *Pand-Námeh*. Comp. Av. [illegible], Per. آئین

[illegible] એરેખ્ત, êrêkht. વિ૦ નાપાક, નજીસ, ગદલું, ખરાબ. Adj. Impure, filthy, turbid, dirty.

[illegible] આદર્બાદગર, adarbâdgar. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાનું એક નામ છે કે જે સાહેબ વીજલીના આતશને પેદા કરનારો છે. Subs. One of the names of God—the Creator of the fire *Vâzishta* (*i.e.* the fire of lightning). Comp. Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] એરેખ્તન, êrêkhtan. ક્રિ૦ પકડવું, નાપાક—નજીસ થવું. V. To lay hold of; to be impure—filthy.

[illegible] અઈરી, aîrî. ના૦ ઈરાન. વિ૦ ઈરાની, ફરમાન બરદાર, ધરમ ઉપર ચુસત. Subs. Persia. Adj. Persian; yielding compliance with commands—orders; devoted to the practice of religion. Comp. Av. [illegible], Sans. आर्य.

[illegible] અ-ગરેસ, a-garês. વિ૦ ગાંઠ વગરનું. Adj. Free from knots. Contrast Per. گره

[illegible] દો-ગરેહ, dô-garêh. ના૦ બે ગાંઠ. Subs. Two knots. Per. دوگره

[illegible] એરેશ, êrêsh. ના૦ ઝટકો, જખમ, ઘાહ. Subs. A stroke, a wound or hurt; a cut.

אירגאן, aîrîgân. ના૦ ખુશાલીઓ ; નોકરો, આકરો, દીનદારો, ફરમાબરદારો. Subs. Delights, pleasures ; servants, menials ; religious men, those that obey commands—orders.

אירેખ્ત, aîrêkht. વિ૦ ખાલેશ, સ્વચ્છ, પાકીજેહ; મોજેજો. Adj. Guileless, pure, holy.

אי-ઈરીશ્તે, a-îrîshtê. વિ૦ નહી ઝરકેલું, દુઃખ નહી પામેલું, સુખી, સાબેત, ભાગે નહીં તેલું, તોહોમત નહીં મુકાએલું, નામી દીધેલું. Adj. Not oozed out ; not suffered pain ; happy, infrangible, unaccused ; thrown away—off.

אי-ગરીસ્તે-કરીનશ્ન, a-garîstê-karînashna. વિ૦ હોજરીને નુકસાન નહીં કરનાર, પાચન ઈંદ્રીને ખરાબ નહીં કરનાર. Adj. Not doing harm to the stomach ; uninjurious to the organs of digestion.

אઈર-સજશ્ને, aîr-sazashnê. ના૦ તાબેદારીથી ચાલવું. Subs. Behaving one's-self with due submission.

אઈરસ્તાન, aîrastân. વિ૦ જેબ—શીંગાર આપનાર—કરનાર. Adj. Giving grace—elegance ; beautifying.

આદર્ગેર, âdargêr. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાના નામો મધેનું એક નામ છે. Subs. One of the names of God. Comp. Pâz.

אי-બરીન, a-barîn. વિ૦ બદબખ્ત, બેનશીબ, ઉધાડું નહીં, છુપ્યું, ઢાકેલું, બુલંદ નહીં તે ; નાવાકેફ; બેખબર ;

કવખતનું. Adj. Unlucky, unfortunate; not open —visible; concealed, covered; not exalted; unacquainted, ignorant, untimely.

અ-બરીનીહા, a-barînîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બુલંદીથી નહીં. Adv. Not loftily—in a high place.

અબ્રીન, abrîn. વિ૦ કમ, ઓછું. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાના નામો મધેનું એક નામ છે. Adj. Less. Subs. One of the names of God.

અ-બલીન, a-balîn. વિ૦ સઉથી બુલંદ નહીં તે. Adj. Not highest—loftiest.

અઈરી-અવર, aîrî-avar. ના૦ દરજ્જો, મરતબો. ઓધો. Subs. Dignity, rank, station.

હેર્બુદ, hêrbûd. ના૦ આતશ કદેહને સંભાલનાર; આતશનો પુંજારો. Subs. A guardian of a fire-temple; a fire-worshipper.

અઈરીક, aîrîk. વિ૦ ભલો, નેક, ફરમાનબરદાર. Adj. Noble, good, virtuous, obedient, submissive to authority. Comp. Av.

એરેજ, êrêj. See êraj.

અઈર-યઝાન, aîr-yazân. ના૦ દીનના ફરમાન પરમાણે આરાધના ઈજરને કરનાર. Subs. Reciter of Yaçna or adorer in obedience to the ordinance of the religion.

અદ્દેર-એવાન, adêr-êvân. ના૦ નીચલો—નીચો મેહેલ. Subs. The lower palace.

એરજવાન, êrajvân. ના૦ તાબેદારી રાખનારા—કુ-

રનારા. Subs. Those that are obedient—submissive to (authority).

۱۳۹۷ આબ્રીજાન, આબ્રીજગાન, âbrîzân, âbrîzgân.
۱۳۹۷ ના૦ તીર મહીનાના તીરરોજના જશનને કહેછે; એમ કેહવાનું કારણ એકે, એક બુજોરગ પાહાદશાહનાં વખતમાં ઘણાએક વરસસુધી વરસાદ તનાઇ ગયો, તેથી એ દહાડાઓમાં હોકમાં તથા બુજોરગો અને ખાસ વ આમ એક જગામાં એકઠા થઈ બંદગી તથા દોવા કીધી, તેજ વખતે વરસાદ વરસીઓ; એજ સબબથી આદમીઓએ ખુશી ભોગવી તેથી તે દહાડેથી એ નામ મુકરર થયું છે. Subs. *Abrijân* is the name of the festival celebrated on the 13th day of *Tir Mâh* (the 4th Zoroastrian month). It owes its origin to a great famine, which, for want of rain, occurred during the sovereignty of a certain king for several years; when at last, on the above-mentioned day, while the people, from the highest to the lowest, offered their prayers to Ahuramazda, rain suddenly fell and gladdened their hearts. In commemoration of this auspicious event a great feast was celebrated, which has since been known by the name of *Abrijân*. Comp. Per. ابریزگان

۱۳۹۷ અઈરેચે, aîrêchê. ના૦ એરચ. વિ૦ ફરમાબરદાર, તાબેદાર. Subs. Erach (the youngest son of King Feridoon). Adj. Obedient, submissive.

۱۳۹۷ અગેરેફતે, a-gêrêftê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ નહીં પકડેલું. ના૦ એક ગુનાહનું નામ. Past partic. Not grasped—

caught hold of. Subs. Name of a crime. Comp. Av.

અ-બુરીદે, a-bûrîdê. વિ૦ નહીં કાપેલું. Adj. Not cut. Comp. Per. نابريده

આબેરેતે, âbêrêtê. ના૦ મોબેદના એક પંથનું નામ. Subs. Name of one of the orders of the sacerdotal tribe. Comp. Av., Pehl.

હેલીદન, hêlîdan. ક્રિ૦ નીચે મુકવું, છોડી દેવું, મુકી દેવું, નાંખી દેવું. V. To leave off, to forsake, to cast away. Comp. Per. هليدن , هشتن

અ-બરીદગીહા, a-barîdgîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ થોક બંદ વેચાન નહીં; છુતક. Adv. Not wholesale, in retail.

અ-ગરેમ, a-garêm. વિ૦ પેચદાર નહીં, ગુચવણ વગરનું. Adj. Not twisted, not intricate.

અ-દરેમ, a-darêm. વિ૦ તીપકી—દાઘ વગરનું. Adj. Free from specks—blots.

અએરેમા, aêrêmâ. See અીરામૂન aîrâmûn.

અઈરીમ-અસીમ, aîrîm-asîm. See અીરામૂન aîrâmûn.

અગ્રેરસ, agrêras. ના૦ એક પરહેજગારનું નામ છે, કે જે પાહાદશાહ અફરાસીઆબનો ભાઈ થાયછે. Subs. The name of a virtuous person who was a brother to Afrásiáb. Av.

સે-રગલ્મન, sê-ragalman. વિ૦ ત્રણ પગું—પગવાળું. Adj. Having three legs.

[illegible]

[illegible] અઈરી, aîrî. ના૦ ફરમાન, આજ્ઞા, હોકમનામું. Subs. Order, command, decree.

[illegible] અદરે, adarê. See [illegible], adêr, ajêr.

[illegible] આદ્રો, âdrô. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાનું એક નામ છે, કે જે વગર કોઈ બીજો યારી—મદદ કરનારો નથી, અને જેથી જુઠો માર્ગ જાહેર નથી. Subs. One of the attributes of God; God, save whom there is no other saviour, and to whom the path of falsehood is unknown. Comp. Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] ખીરૂ, khîrû. ના૦ જખમ કરનાર, જખમ, ઘાહ. Subs. One that inflicts a wound; a wound or hurt.

[illegible] અદરે-હખે, adarê-hakhê. See [illegible], adêr-hakhê.

[illegible] અ-દરૂગી, a-darûgî. ના૦ ભાવ, સચ્ચાઈ. Subs. Abst. Truth. Contrast Pehl. [illegible]

[illegible] અન્દર્વાએ, andarvâê. ના૦ હવા. Subs. Air; the region of the air. Comp. Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] અઈર્વેઈ, âîrvêî. See [illegible] aîrvêî.

[illegible] અઈર્વેગી, aîrvêgî. See aîrvêî.

[illegible] અઈર્નાક, aîrnâk. વિ૦ જુવાન. Adj. Young.

[illegible] એરનાક, êrnâk. ના૦ શાલ, ઉનનું કપડું. Subs. A shawl; a woollen cloth.

[illegible] અઈર્વાર, aîrvâr. ના૦ બામદાદ, પરોઢચું. Subs. Dawn, daybreak.

અએર્વારે, અઈર્વાર, aêrvârê, aîrvâr. ના૦ બેહુ કાન, ડાબું ચાવણીઉં—જડબું. Subs. Both the ears; the left jaw.

અઈરંગ, aîrang. ના૦ ચટકો મારનાર, દંખ દેનાર, દુઃખ દેનાર. Subs. One that stings—bites—gives pain.

અએરોગ, aêrôg. વિ૦ ગંધાતું, વાસ મારતું, રોગીષ્ટ, દુઃખ ભરેલું. ના૦ નાખુસી, દલગીરી. Adj. Stinking; emitting an offensive smell; sickly; painful. Subs. Displeasure, sorrow.

અએરંગ, aêrang. વિ૦ ઉંડું, નીચું. Adj. Deep, low.

અ-ગરોબ, a-garôb. વિ૦ આજિજ નહીં. Adj. Not weak—helpless.

અદ્રંગ, adrang. ના૦ રંજ, દુઃખ. Subs. Pain; trouble, affliction.

એરોગ, êrôg. ના૦ ગાર, ખોહ, ઉંડાણ. Subs. A deep hole—pit, a cavern, depth, bottom.

હેલ્વી, hêlvî. ના૦ ખતમ—પૂરૂં કરવું; બંદ પડવું. Subs. Finishing, completing; ceasing.

અ-ગરોશ્તન, a-garôshtan. ક્રિ૦ ગુનાહથી નહીં છુટવું. V. Not to be free from sin.

અ-ગરોશ્તે, a-garôshtê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ ગુનાહથી નહીં છુટેલું, ગુનાહની માફી નહીં મળેલું. Past part. Not freed from sin; not absolved from crime.

અ-ગરોએશ, a-garôêsh. વિ૦ ના પસંદ, પસંદ નહીં કરવા જોગ. ના૦ ભાવ૦ ના પસંદગી, નાખુશી. Adj. Disagreeable; not such as may be received with

pleasure. Abs. Subs. Disagreeableness; displeasure.

[illegible] અ-ગરોગી, a-garôgi. See [illegible] a-garôêsh.

[illegible] અ-દરોગી, a-darôgi. વિ૦ જુઠાઈ—ઠગાઈ વગરનું; સાચું, ખરૂં, વાજબી. ભાવ૦ ના૦ સચ્ચાઈ. Adj. Free from deceit—fraud; true, just; genuine. Abs. Subs. Truth.

[illegible] આદરૂગી, âdarugî. ના૦ જુઠાઈ, ઠગાઈ. Subs. Falsehood, deceit. Comp. Av. [illegible] + [illegible]

[illegible] એરોગી, êrôgî. ના૦ ખુશી, ખોરરમી; તંદરોસ્તી. Subs. Pleasure, cheerfulness, pleasantness; health. Comp. Sans. आरोग्य.

[illegible] અએરોગીહા, aêrôgîhâ. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ બદબોઈથી. Adv. With an offensive smell.

[illegible] અ-દર્વન્દીહાદ, a-darvandîhâd. ક્રિ૦ આશી૦. દરવંદી—જુઠાઈ—ઠગાઈ—દગા વગરનું હોજો. V. bened. May it be free from deceit—treachery or the influence of the devil.

[illegible] અ-દરૂદીહાદ, a-darûdîhâd. ક્રિ૦ આશી૦ દુવા વગરનું હોજો, બદદુવાવાલું—લીઆનત ભરેલું થજો. V. benedic. May (it) be unblessed; may (it) be cursed—execrated. Contrast Per. [illegible]

[illegible] અએરોગીહાદ, aêrôgîhâd. ના૦ ઈજા—દુઃખ—કષ્ટ ભોગવનારા. Subs. Those that suffer torment—trouble—bodily exertion.

[illegible] અએર્વેઈ, aêrvêî. ના૦ તાબેદારી, દીનદારી, ફરમાબર-

દારી. Subs. Obedience, religiousness; submissiveness to authority.

અએરોગી, aêrôgî. See erôgî.

એરોગી, erôgî. ના૦ ઈજા—પીડા ભોગવવી. Subs. Suffering pain.

આદ્રોગી, âdrôgî. વિ૦ જુઠું. Adj. False, untrue. Comp. Av. + , Per. دروغ , دروغي

અઈરોગી, aîrogî. See aêrôg.

અઈરોઈગી, aîrôîgî. ના૦ ભાવ૦ ગંધીલાપણું, બૂદબોઈ. Subs. Abst. Filthiness; stink; bad smell. Comp. Per. ارغند

અ-ગરોએશ્ને, a-garôêshnê. વિ૦ કાળજી વગરનું, અનમનું. Adj. Feeling no solicitude, disregarded.

અઈર્વદસ્તાન, aîrvadastân. ના૦ શીખવાની જગા, નિશાલ, મદરેસા. Subs. A place of education, a school; an academy or college. Comp. Pehl.

અઈરોગીતર, અએરોગીતર, aîrôgîtar, aêrôgîtar. વિ૦ વધારે જુદું—હલાયદું; વધારે કરમાએલું, વધારે વાસી—નાખુશ. Adj. More unconnected—separate; more decayed—stale; more displeased.

અઈરોગીનદ, અએરોગીનદ, aîrôgînad, aêrôgînad. ક્રિ૦ નાખુશ કરે; જુદું કરે; વાસી કરે. V. May displease, may separate; may make stale.

اگرىبىنىدن અ-ગરોબીનીદન, a-garôbînîdan. ક્રિ૦ ધરી—પકડી નહીં રેહવું ; છુટું થવું. V. Not to seize—lay hold of, to be separate.

اگرۇگى અઈરોગી, aîrôgî. વિ૦ વાસ મારતું, ગંધીલું. Adj. Stinking, filthy. Comp. Pehl. اگرۇگ

اگرۇگىدن અઈરોગીદન, aîrôgîdan. ક્રિ૦ નાખુશ કરવું, જુદું કરવું ; વાસી કરવું. V. To displease, to separate, to make stale.

اگر اۋ અએ-રોગ, aê-rôg. વિ૦ રોગ—દરદવિનાનું, પાક, તંદરોસ્ત. Adj. Free from disease—ailment ; pure, healthy. Comp. Sans. आरोग्य.

اگرۇب અગરોબ, agarôb. વિ૦ તાબેદાર. Adj. Obedient; being under the authority of.

اگر اۋ સરોબ, sarôb. ના૦ સુખન, શબ્દ, ઉચ્ચાર, વાચા. Subs. A word, sound ; articulate utterance. Comp. Pehl. اگر اۋ

اگرىبى અ-ગરોબી, a-garôbî. ભાવ૦ ના૦ છુટાપણું. Abst. Subs. Liberty.

اگرىئىدن અ-ગરોઈદન, a-garôîdan. ક્રિ૦ ઈમાન નહીં રાખવું; નહીં જાણવું, પાછું નહીં ફેરવવું. V. Not to keep faith in ; not to know ; not to turn back. Contrast Per. گرائیدن

اگرۇدارۇش ખેરોદરોશ, khêrôdarôsh. ના૦ ભયંકર હથિયાર. Subs. A dreadful weapon. Comp. Av. خوردروش

اگرۇن અઈરૂન. aîrûn. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ એરવેશે—રીતે ; યાને. ના૦

ઈરાનદેશ. Adv. In this manner; that is. Subs. Persia.

અદ્રૂન, આદ્રુન, adrûn, âdrûn. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ અંદર, વચમાં. Prep. In, among, between. Comp. Pehl. , Av. .

અ-ગર્વન્દ, a-garvand. વિ૦ ખાહેશ—ઈચ્છાવાળું નહીં. Adj. Not desirous—wishing for.

અબર્વન્દ, abarvand. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાનું એક નામ છે; કોઈબી ચીજ જેમાં મલેલી નહીં તેવી ખાલેશ, સ્વચ્છ. Subs. One of the names of God; something not mixed or compounded. Adj. Pure, guileless, unmixed. Comp. Paz. .

અ-દરૂની, a-darûnî. વિ૦ મધ્યમ નહીં તે; અંદરનું નહીં. Adj. Not in the middle; not internal. Contrast Per. اندروني , دروني

અ-ગર્વન્દી, a-garvandî. ના૦ ખાહેશ વગરનું. Subs. Want of desire.

અ-દર્વન્દી, a-darvandî. વિ૦ ઠગાઈ—લુચ્ચાઈ—વગરનું, દીનદારી. Adj. Freedom from deceit—fraud; religiousness, faithfulness. Contrast Pâz. .

અગરૂન, અગ્રુન, agarûn, agrûn. ના૦ કોઈ કોઈ વખતે કરવું તે. Subs. Doing a thing occasionally.

અ-દરૂનતન, a-darûnatan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ખાવું. V. Not to eat.

અઈરૂનતન, અબ્રુનતન, aîrûnatan, abrûnatan. ક્રિ૦

મરણ પામવું, આએ દુનીયાંથી ગુજરી જવું. V. To die, to depart this life.

[illegible] અ-ઈરોગ, અએરોગ, a-îrôg, aêrôg. ના૦ નાખુશી, જુદાઈ. Subs. Displeasure, separation.

[illegible] અઈરોગ, અએરોગ, aîrôg, aêrôg. વિ૦ નજીસ, ગંધાતું રોગીષ્ટ, બદબોવાળું. Adj. Filthy, stinking, sickly, emitting an offensive smell. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible], Per. ارغند

[illegible] અ-દરૂજ, a-darûj. વિ૦ નુકસાન—ઠગાઈ નહીં કરનાર, જુઠું નહીં બોલનાર. Adj. Not doing any harm, not practising deceit, not telling a lie. Contrast Av. [illegible], Sans. द्रुह्, Per. دروج

[illegible] અબુચ, abrûch. ના૦ સફેદ કંદ. Subs. White yam.

[illegible] અબ્લુચ, ablûch. ના૦ સફેદ ખાણ; મિસરી. Subs. White sugar; sugar-candy. Comp. Per. ابلوج

[illegible] અ-દરૂજી, a-darûjî. ના૦ જુઠાઈ—લબારી વિનાનું તે; સચ્ચાઈ. Subs. Purity from falsehood—untruth; truthfulness.

[illegible] અ-દરૂજશ્ન, a-darûjashna. ના૦ ભાવ૦ સાચું બોલાણ—વાણી. Subs. Abst. A true speech—speaking.

[illegible] આદરૂજશ્ન, âdarûjashna. ના૦ ખોટું બોલવું. Subs. Telling a lie.

[illegible] અ-દરૂજશ્ની, a-darûjashnî. ના૦ સચ્ચાઈ; ખો-

ટારાં—જુઠાઈ વગરનું. Subs. Truthfulness, purity from falsehood.

અ-દરૂજશ્ને, a-darûjashnê. ના૦ પ્રમાણીકપણું, સચ્ચાઈ. Subs. Honesty, truth.

અ-દરંજીઓઈશ, a-daranjîôîsh. ક્રિ૦ તુંને પઢવું નહીં જોઈએ. V. Thou shouldst not recite. Contrast Av.

અ-દરૂજીદન, a-darûjîdan. ક્રિ૦ નુકશાન નહીં કરવું, જુઠું નહીં બોલવું, સાચું બોલવું, ઠગાઈ નહીં કરવી. V. Not to do any harm, not to tell a lie, to speak the truth, not to practise deceit. Av. Rt.

અ-દરંજીદન, a-daranjîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં બોલવું—ભણવું. Not to speak—recite.

અ-દરૂજની, a-darûjanî. વિ૦ જુઠું નહીં, સાચ્ચું. Adj. Free from falsehood, truth.

અઈરોઝદન, aîrôzadan. ક્રિ૦ હોકમનામું કાહાડવું. V. To issue a decree.

અબ્રુ-જદન, abrû-zadan. ક્રિ૦ ભવાં ચઢાવવાં; માથાં અથવા આંખની હીલચાલથી પસંદગી બતલાવવી; આંખ મારવી, રજા આપવી, ઈશારો કરવો. V. To knit the brow; to approve by motion of the head or eye; to wink; to give permission, to suggest. Comp. Per. ابروزدن

આબ્રુદ, âbrûd. ના૦ સુમબોલનું ફુલ. Subs. A hyacinth. Per. ابرود

એર્વદ, êrvad. ના૦ ઉશતાદ, શિક્ષક, પરમગુરૂ. Subs.

A teacher ; a professor ; a religious preceptor. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible]

[illegible] એર્વદસ્તાન, êrvadastan. See [illegible] aîrvadastan. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-દરૂદન, a-darûdan. ક્રિ૦ ઉંચકી નહીં લેવું, કાપણી નહીં કરવી. V. Not to pick up, not to reap. Contrast Per. درودن

[illegible] આદરનમગર, âdarnamgar. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાના નામોમાંનું એક નામ છે. Subs. One of the names of God. Comp. Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] અઈ-રગ, aî-rag. સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ એકહજાર, ૧૦૦૦. Numer. Adj. One thousand ; 1000.

[illegible] અઈરે, aîrê. વિ૦ અદેખું, કપટી. Adj. Jealous, spiteful.

[illegible] અદરે, adarê. શબ્દ૦ અ૦ નીચે, હેઠે, તલીએ. Prep. Below, under, at the bottom.

[illegible] અદરેહ, adarêh. વિ૦ દુર, આંધે. Adj. Distant, remote.

[illegible] અબ્લક, ablak. વિ૦ તરેહવાર રંગનું ; જુદાજુદા રંગનું. Adj. Piebald ; of various colors. Per. ابلق

[illegible] અબ્લઘ, ablagh. ના૦ કોહોડ. Subs. Leprosy.

[illegible] અબ્લે, ablê. વિ૦ નાદાન, અપટ, મુર્ખ. Adj. Foolish, stupid, silly. Per. ابله

ابلق અબ્લેક, ablêk. ના૦ આતશનો શોલો. Subs. Flames of fire.

ابلى આબ્લે, âblê. ના૦ ફુલ્લો, સહીઅડ. Subs. A boil, small-pox. Per. آبله

ايرك એરક, êrak. ના૦ ઈનસાન, માણસ. Subs. Man, an individual.

ايرى ખીરે, khîrê. વિ૦ બેહુંદું, અંધારૂં; ગભરાએલું. Adj. Absurd, dark; confused; confounded. Per. خيره

ايركان અઈર્કાન, aîrkân. ના૦ સાથે ગુંદનારા. Subs. Those that knead together.

ايرگان અઈર્ગાન, aîrgân. ના૦ આદમીઓ. Subs. Men.

ابركار અબર્કાર, abarkâr. વિ૦ આશ્ચર્ય પામેલો, સરગરદાન. Adj. Astonished, confounded, stupified.

ابركوه અબરકોફ, Abarkôf. ના૦ ચાલદીઆમાં આવેલાં એક શેહેરનું નામ, એ શેહેર પાહાડને મથાલે આવેલું છે. Subs. A town in Chaldea, situated on the summit of a mountain (as the name implies). Comp. Per. ابركوه

ابركوباد અબર્કોવાદ, abarkôvâd. ના૦ 'ફારસ' તથા 'અહોવાજ' નામના પરગનાની વચે આવેલા શેહેરનું નામ; એ શેહેર ઊંચાઈએ આવેલું છે. Subs. The name of a city lying between the districts of Fars and Ahovâz; it is situated on a height. Comp. Per. ابركوباد

ابلغ અબ્લઘ, ablagh. See ابلق ablagh.

ئلم / ئلم } અઈ-રઘ, એ-રઘ, aî-ragh, ê-ragh. See ئلم aîrag.

ئلم / ئلم } સે-રઘ, sê-ragh. સં૦ વિ૦ ત્રણ હજાર, ૩૦૦૦. Numer. Adj. Three thousand; 3000.

ئلم / ئلم } અઈરચ, aîrach. ના૦ ઈજ્જત; દરકાર; ભારબોજ Subs. Deference; regard; weight; gravity.

ئلم અગર્જ, agarj. ક્રિ૦ અ૦ અલબતે, ખરેખર રીતે; કારણ કે; કેભી. Adv. Of course; truly; because; ever.

ئلم અબર્જ, abarz. ના૦ ઈશારો, ચેતવણી. Subs. Suggestion, hint.

ئلم / ئلم } એરચ, êrach. ના૦ ઈરાનના પાહદશાહ ફરેદુનનાં સઉથી નાહનાં છોકરાનું નામ. Subs. The name of the youngest son of Feridoon, king of Persia. Comp. Per. ایرج

ئلم / ئلم } અબર્જા, abarjâ. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાનું એક નામ છે; ગુનાહ માફ કરનાર. Subs. One of the names of God, the Forgiver of crimes. Pâz. سرلیس

ئلم / ئلم / ئلم } અઈર્ચશ, aîrchash. ના૦ તેની ઈજ્જત—દરકાર; તેનો ભારબોજ. Subs. His or her honor—regard—weight.

ئلم આર્વાહ, ârvâh. ના૦ કોપરીઉં. Subs. The elbow.

ئلم આર્ફશ, ârfash. ના૦ કોપરીઉં; ફાયદો, નફો. Subs. The elbow; profit, advantage.

અ-ગર્જીદન, a-garzîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં પોકારવું, પશ-તાવો નહીં કરવો, રડવું નહીં, ફર્યાદ નહીં કરવી. V. Not to bawl out, not to repent—weep—complain. Av. Rt. = Per. گریستن

અબર્જનદ, abarzanad. ક્રિ૦ ઈશારો કરે, ચેતવણી આપે. V. May suggest—give a hint.,

અબર્વન્દ, abarvand. ના૦ ખોદાતાલાનું એક નામ છે; કોઈને બુરૂં બોલવામાં ભાગીઓ નહીં તે. Subs. One of the names of God; not being an accomplice in speaking ill of others. Pâz.

અ-ગેરફતાર, a-gêraftâr. વિ૦ નહીં સપડાએલો—પકડાએલો. Adj. Not entrapped—caught in. Contrast Per. گرفتار

અ-ઈરજ-વદ, a-îraj-vad. ના૦ નાવર—હેરબદ નહીં થયલો, ઓસ્તો; સાહેબ; ગૃહસ્થ. Subs. One who has not undergone the *Nâver* ceremony; *Ostâ*; a lord, a gentleman. Paz.

ر

અબ્રજ, abraz. See abarz.

સે-રજ, sê-raz. કેવળ૦ સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ ત્રણસો, ૩૦૦. Card. Numer. Adj. Three hundred; 300.

અબર્જનદ, abarzanad. See abarzanad.

સે-રજ-ઉમ, sê-raz-ûm. ક્રમ સંખ્યા૦ વિ૦ ત્રણસોમું. Ord. Numer. Adj. Three hundredth; 300th.

سداكرا અએર્ઝુર, aêrzûr. ના૦ દોજખના રસ્તા ઊપર આવેલા એક પાહડનું નામ કેજાહાં દેવો તથા ખરાબ માણસો રેહેછે. Subs. The name of a mountain on the way to hell where Devs and other evil persons live. Corrupt form of سداكرا = Av. سداكرا

سراكى સે-રજ-જમ; sê-raz-zam. ના૦ ત્રણસે શીઆલા—વરશ. Subs. 300 winters. Av. سراكى

سدام

سدام અએરદ, એરદ, aêrad, êrad. ના૦ એક હાથ. Subs. One hand.

سدام અએ-રદ, aê-rad. ના૦ ઓ સરદાર—સાહેબ! અએ ધર્મના વડા ગુરૂ! Subs. Oh leader—lord! Oh religious preceptor! Comp. Av. سدا, Per. ايرد

سرام આ-બરદ, â-barad. ના૦ મોબેદના એક પંથનું નામ જેનું કામ ચોખું પાણી લઈ આપવાનું હોયછે. Subs. One of the orders of the priestly caste, whose business is to bring pure water. Av. سرام

سدام એરદ, êrad. ના૦ બીલસ, વેહેંત, એક હાથ, અગીઆર આંગલનું માપ; અંદાજો, પરમાણ. Subs. A span, a cubit; a measure of eleven inches, measure, proportion.

سدام અએરંગ, aêrang. See سداد aêrôg.

سرامتان આબેરેતાન, âbêrêtân. Plu. of سرام âbarad, which see.

سرامتار આબેરેતાર, âbêrêtâr. Another form of سرام âbard, which see.

آبرتی આબરતી, âbaratî. ના૦ આબેરેતનો ધંધો—કામ. Subs. The business—profession of *Aberet;* see آبرد *âbarad.*

آگردنناک અ-ગર્દીનાક, a-gardînâk. વિ૦ નહીં ફરનારૂં, સ્થીર, થંભ, ગેરદેશ નહીં ફરનારૂં. Adj. Not turning round; still, steady, fixed; not revolving.

آگردیدن અ-ગર્દીદન, a-gardîdan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં ફરવું. V. Not to turn (round)—revolve. Contrast Per. گردیدن

آدرد અ-દર્દ, a-dard. વિ૦ દરદથી વેગળું, તંદરોસ્ત; ક્રુર—ઘાતકી દીલનું; દયા વગરનું; બે આબરૂ, રૂસવા, બેશરમ. Adj. Free from disease; healthy; hard-hearted; merciless; disgraced, dishonored; shameless. Comp. Per. بی درد

آبرتی આબરતે, âbaratê. See آبرتان âbartân.

آرثنه એરથન, êrathana. ના૦ બે વેહેંત જેટલું માપ. Subs. A measure of two spans. Comp. Av. ارثنه

آیرتوخمی અઈર્-તોખ્મે, aîr-tôkhmê. ના૦ ઈરાની તોખમ—બી. Subs. Iranian descent—origin—extraction.

آیرتوخمگون અઈર્-તોખ્મ-ગુન, aîr-tôkhma-gûn. વિ૦ ઈરાની તોખમનું—જાતનું. Adj. Of Iranian descent—extraction. Comp. Av. ارثنه‌گون

آیرتنی અઇર્તની, aîrtanî. ના૦ બરદાશ્ત, સાલિસાઈ, મીલનસારી, ફરમાબરદારી, તાબેદારી. Subs. Endurance; urbanity, courteousness, affability; submissiveness to authority, obedience.

[illegible] અઈર્તન, aîrtan. ના૦ આધીનપણું, નેકખસલત, પાક નઈઅત, પ્યાર, ખાલેશ વિચાર, પરહેજગાર કેજે રેઆજતથી દુબલા તનનો થયો હોય. Subs. Submissiveness; a good quality; purity of intention; affection; sincere opinion; a devotee who has become physically lean by his austerities. Pâz. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-ગર્દુની, a-gardûnî. વિ૦ વગરસિંગારેલું, આસમાની નહીં તે. Adj. Unadorned; not heavenly. Contrast Per. گردون

[illegible] અઈર્-તુમ, aîr-tûm. વિ૦ સર્વેથી ઈમાનદારી ભરેલું—દીનદાર; ઘણુજ ભલું. Adj. Most faithful—religious; most noble.

[illegible] અજેર્-તુમ, azêr-tûm. વિ૦ અતીશય નીચું, ઘણુંજ ઉંડું. Adj. Lowest; deepest. Comp. Per. زیرترین

[illegible] અ-ગર્દગી, અ-ગેર્દગી, a-gardagî, a-gêrdagî. વિ૦ ગેરદેશ વગરનું, નહીં ફરવાવાળું. Adj. Not revolving—turning round.

[illegible] અઈર્-તર, aîr-tar. વિ૦ વધારે દીનદાર—ઈમાનદાર; વધારે ભલો. Adj. More religious—faithful; more noble.

[illegible]

[illegible] અ-ગેરપ, a-gêrap. વિ૦ ભાગેલું; કુમારૂં, પણ્યાંવગરનું. Adj. Broken; unmarried; single. Contrast Per. کرو

[illegible] આદર્પાદીઆવંદાન, âdarpadîâvandân. ના૦ એક દસ્તુરનું નામ છે કે જે "પાદ બીન પાદીઆવંદાન"ને નામે

ઓલખાયછે. Subs. The name of a Dustoor otherwise called *Pâd bin Pâdyâvandân.*

અઈર્પદ, હેર્વદ, aîrpad, hêrvad. ના૦ એરવદ; "એરવદ" તેને કેહેછે કે જે તમામ "ખુરદેહ અવસ્તા," "યજશને," "વિસ્પરદ," "સીરોજા," તથા "બાજ ધરણું," અરથ સાંથે સમજીને શીખીઆ પછી ૩૦) દાહાડાની કીરીઆ જેને નાવરની કીરીઆ કેહેછે તે પસાર કરેછે. Subs. *Herbed;* a Herbed is one who has learnt by heart and understood the meaning of the whole of the *Khordeh Avestâ, Yaçna, Vispered, Sirozâh,* and the Bâj ceremony, and 'has undergone the *Naver* ceremony for 30 days. See ervad. Comp. Av. , Per. پر

અ-ગેરફ્ત, a-gêraft. ક્રૂ૦ વિ૦ નહીં પકડેલું; કોટી નહીં કીધેલી; કુમારી. Part. Adj. Not taken hold of; not clasped to the bosom; unmarried. Av.

આગેરફ્ત, âgêraft. ના૦ કોઈને મારવાને માટે હાથમાં હથિયાર પકડવાનો ગુનાહ; એ ગુનાહનો વજન બાર આસ્તેર અને તેત્રીશ દેરમનો થાયછે. Subs. The crime of holding a weapon in the hand with intent to strike some one; the weight of this crime is 12 *asters,* which is equal to 30 *dérems.* Av.

હીર-પદ, hîr-pad. ના૦ હેરબદ, ખેદમતગાર, આતશ ખેદમત કરનાર, મુફ્તી, સાહેબ. Subs. Herbed; a servant; a guardian of the sacred fire; a judge or arbiter.; a lord or master.

[illegible] એર્વદાન, êrvadân. ના૦ એરવદો, સરદારો, ઉસ્તાદો. Subs. Herbeds, leaders; professors; plu. of [illegible] *aîrpad*, which see. Comp. Per. [illegible]

[illegible] આગેરફતાન, âgêraftân. Plu. of [illegible] *âgêrapta*, which see.

[illegible] અ-ગેરફતાર, a-gêraftâr. See [illegible] *a-gêraptâr*.

[illegible] અ-ગેરફતારી, a-gêraftârî. ના૦ સપડાયા વગરની—પકડાયા વગરની હાલત. Subs. State of being not entrapped—caught in. Contrast Per. گرفتاري

[illegible] એર્વદી, êrvadî. ભા૦ ના૦ ઉસ્તાદપણું, શિક્ષકપણું. Abst. Subs. Professorship, teachership. Comp. Per. [illegible]

[illegible] એર્વદે-ખોદા, êrvadê-khôdâ. ના૦ માણસનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a man.

[illegible] એર્વદસ્તાની, êrvadastâni. ભાવ૦ ના૦ ઉસ્તાદપણું, ઉસ્તાદનો મરતબો. Subs. Abst. Professorship; professorial dignity.

[illegible] એર્વદસ્તાન, êrvadastân. ના૦ મકતબ, નિશાળ, મદરેસા, એલમનું મથક. Subs. A seminary, a school, an academy or college; seat of learning.

[illegible] અ-ગેરફત-ગદમન, a-gêraft-gadman. ના૦ નહીં પકડાય એવો ઝલકાટ, અથોરનાંનો સવાબ, અથોરનાની પેશો—ધંધો. Subs. Lustre which cannot be seized; merit arising from the virtuous actions of a priest; the profession of a priest.

એર્વદ-ગદમન, êrvad-gadman. ના૦ એરવદી ઝલકાટ—દબદબો; અથોરનાની કીરતી—પરતાપ. Subs. Priestly lustre—splendour—fame—glory.

એર્વદે-અએ, êrvadê-aê. ના૦ એક હેરબદ. Subs. A *Herbed.*

આબ-રફતન, âb-raftan. ક્રિ૦ પાણી થઈજવું, બેહોરમત—બેઆબરૂ થવું, અપમાન પામવું. V. To become liquid—water; to be disgraced—dishonoured; to be insulted.

એર્વદ-વજર, êrvad-vajar. ના૦ માણસનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a person.

અઈર-પદ-જાદ, aîr-pad-jâd. ના૦ અથોરનાન બચ્ચો, એરવદનો જણેલો, હેરબદનાં કુટંબનું. Subs. The son of a priest; born of a priest; descended from a priestly family. Comp. Per. هربدزاده

એર્વદ-પેશ-ગાહ, êrvad-pêsh-gâh. ના૦ એરવદની ઉંચી બેઠક. Subs. The exalted seat of a Herbed.

આદર્ફરોબઘ, âdarfarobagh. ના૦ એક દસ્તુરનું નામ છે કે જે "ફરોખઝાદ" નો છોકરો થાયછે, એણે "દીન કર્દ" કેતાબને સુધારી હતી. Subs. The name of a Dustoor (the son of *Farrokhzâd*) who had revised Din-kard.

અ-દરમ, a-daram. See અ-દરેમ a-darêm.

ادرم અદ્રમ, adram. ના૦ એક જાતનું ઉનનું કાપડ. Subs. A kind of woollen stuff.

الماس એલ્માસ, êlmâs. ના૦ તીખું લોહોકું, પોલાદ; હીરો. Subs. Steel; hardened and refined iron; a diamond. Per. الماس

ارمان અઈર્માન, aîrmân. ના૦ ફરમાંન, એતેકાદ; ભલાઈ, સાલેસાઈ, તાબેદારી; અરદીબેહેશ્ત ફરેશ્તાનું નામ; અફસોસ; સલાહ, સુખ, આરામ; દોસ્તી, એકદીલી—મનને નચીંતાઈ આપનાર ફરેશતો. મેહમાન, એક શેહરનું નામ છે, પશેમાંની, આરજુ, તવાનાઈ, મરદની જાત—છુપી ઈંદ્રી. Subs. Order, command; faith; goodness; courteousness, urbanity; obedience; *Ardibehesht* (an angel); grief; peace, happiness; rest; the angel that brings contentment and tranquillity to the mind; the angel that is instrumental in bringing about amity; a guest; the name of a city; repentance; desire; power, strength; *pudendum viri.* Av. ارمئيتى, Sans. अर्यमन्.

بي درمان અ-દર્માન, a-darmân. વિ૦ ઉપાય—ઈલાજ—ચારા વગરનું તે; આજેજ. Adj. Remediless; destitute of any means—resources; helpless. Per. بي درمان

ارمان એર્માન, êrmân. વિ૦ દીનદાર, તાબેદાર, ભલો. ના૦ હોકમ, ફરમાન, એતેકાદ, ભરૂશો, ભલાઈ, ધંધેરો, સાલેસાઈ, તાબેદારી, આસમાન ચન્દ્ર૦ ફરેશતો. Adj. Religious, obedient, noble, good. Subs. A command, an order, faith, confidence; goodness, gentle-

ness; a proclamation; an order, a command; courteousness; obedience; *Asmân yazad* (an angel).

અઈર્માનાન, aîrmânân. Plu. of ઈર્માન êrmân, which see.

અઈર્માની, aîrmânî. ભાવ૦ ના૦ દીનદારી, તાબેદારી, ફરમાબરદારી, અફસોસપણું. Abst. Subs. Religiousness, obedience; submissiveness to authority; grief, sorrow.

અ-દર્માની, a-darmanî. ભાવ૦ ના૦ ઉપાય—ઈલાજ વગરનું, લાચારી. Abst. Subs. Remedilessness; helplessness.

આદર્માની, âdarmânî. વિ૦ જેનો ઇલાજ થઈ શકે તેવું. Adj. Remediable.

અઈર્માનશ્ને, aîrmânashnê. ના૦ મુસાફરખાનું, ધર્મશાળા, મજલસની જગા, ખાહેશ, મરજી, ઈચ્છા, સારાં આચરણ. Subs. An inn; a house for the lodging and entertainment of travellers; a place for a public assembly; desire, wish; good manners.

અઈર્માની, aîrmâni. ના૦ ગુમાસ્તો, કારકુન, ફરમાબરદાર; નોકર. Subs. An agent, a deputy; a manager; one who obeys the orders of his superior; a servant.

અઈર્માનીઆન, aîrmânîân, plu. of અઈર્માની aîrmânî, which see.

અઈર્મા-સરાએ, aîrmânsarâê. ના૦ આએ દુનિયાં

—જગત—પૃથ્વી. Subs. This world—universe —earth.

[illegible] અઇર્માનીદન, aîrmânîdan. ક્રિ૦ ફરમાબરદાર —તાબેદાર—આધીન કરવું; ફરમાબરદારી કરવી; ગોલામ કરવું. V. To make obedient—submissive; to comply with the commands of a superior; to enslave.

[illegible] અઈર્માનીદે, aîrmânîdê. ભૂ૦ કૃ૦ ફરમાબરદાર—તાબેદાર કીધેલું, ગોલામગીરીમાં લીધેલું. Past partic. Brought to subjection, made obedient; reduced to slavery.

[illegible] અ-ઈર-મીનશની, a-îr-mînashnî. વિ૦ ખરાબ મનશનીનું, નાફરમાંનીવાલું Adj. Evil-minded; disobedient.

[illegible] અઈર-મીનશની, aîr-mînashnî. વિ૦ ફરમાન રાખનારૂં—માનનારૂં, તાબેદારીવાલું. Adj. Yielding compliance with commands—orders; submissive.

[illegible] અઈર-મીનશની, aîr-mînashnî. ના૦ નેક-ભલી મનશની, પુરોવિચાર. Subs. Good-mindedness; complete thought. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અજેર-મીનશની, ajêr-mînashnî. ના૦ ઉતરતો વિચાર, તાબેદારી, ગોલામગીરી. Subs. An inferior thought; obedience; state of slavery; servility.

[illegible] અ-ઈર-મીનશને, a-îr-mînashnê. See [illegible] a-îr-minashuî.

[illegible] આઈર-મીનશને. âîr-mînashnê. See [illegible] aîr-mînashnî.

અઈર્-મીનશ્ન-તર, aîr-mînashna-tar. વિ૦ વધારે ભલાં વિચારનું. Adj. Pertaining to a nobler thought.

અઈર્મન, aîrman. ના૦ ભલો વિચાર. વિ૦ રાજી, ફરમાબરદાર. Subs. A good thought. Adj. Willing-minded; obedient to one's order.

એર્મન, êrman. ના૦ મરદી, મરદાંનગીની શકતી. Subs. Virility; virile power.

હીર્મન્દ, hîrmand. ના૦ પાહાદશાહ ગુસ્તાસ્પની એક લકબ છે; ખોદા પરસ્ત, એબાદત કરનાર. Subs. A surname of king Gushtasp; God-worshipper; one who offers prayers to God.

હેર્મન્દ, hermand. ના૦ એક નદીનું નામ, તેમજ એક શેહેરનું નામ છે. Subs. Name of a river—town. Comp. Pehl. [illegible], Av. [illegible], Per. هيرمند

અઈર-મનશ્ને, એર્મનશ્ને, aîr-manashnê, êrmanashnê. ના૦ નેક નઈઅત, પાકીજેહ વિચાર, પ્રમાણિક માણસ, રાસ્ત બોલનાર, લાયક આદમી, નેક બખત આદમી, લાયકપણું, આદમીઅત, ગમગીની. Subs. A good intention; a holy—virtuous thought; an upright man; one who speaks the truth; a worthy man; a fortunate person; worth; manliness; grief.

અઈર-મનશ્ની, aîr-manashnî. વિ૦ ભલા વિચારનું. Adj. Pertaining to a noble idea.

અઈર્મન, aîrman. See [illegible], aîrmân.

[illegible] એર્મન, êrman. ના૦ એક બંદગીનું નામ છે. Subs. The name of a prayer. Comp. Av. [illegible]

[illegible] અ-ગર્મોક, a-garmôk. વિ૦ મંજુર—કબુલ નહીં તે. Adj. Not accepted—complied with.

[illegible] દો-દર્મોક, dô-darmôk. ના૦ બેરીઆવ; શીઆવ તે સફેદ સુતરના વણેલા કપડાં કે જે ગુજરેલાંનાં રવાનની નઈ-અતે ઈજવામાં આવેછે. Subs. Two *shyâvs*; *shyav*, that is clothes made of white cotton which are consecrated in honour of the dead.

[illegible] અ-ગર્મોકી, a-garmôkî. ના૦ મજુરીઆત—કબુલાત વગરની હાલત. Subs. State of being unaccepted.

[illegible] અઈર્મત-રોદ, aîrmat-rôd. ના૦ અઈરમત નામની નદી. Subs. The name of a river.

[illegible] એરર, êrar. ના૦ શરમ, આબરૂ. Subs. Shame, honour.

[illegible] રોરર, êrara. ના૦ નાહસભાગ, ધર્મશાળા, દેવાનશાળા, ઘેલા આદમીઓને રેહેવાનું મથક. Subs. Flight; an inn; a mad-house; an asylum for the insane.

[illegible] એલ્લુનેદ, êllûnêd. ક્રિ૦ ગોસલ કરેછે, નાહેછે, સ્નાન કરેછે. V. Cleanses with water, bathes, makes ablutions (pres. tense).

[illegible] અ-દરરૂનતન, a-dararunatan. ક્રિ૦ નહીં. ફાડવું, નહીં ચીરવું. V. Not to tear—split.

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Pahlavi texts

THE

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. V

Oxford

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1880

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PAHLAVI TEXTS

TRANSLATED BY

E. W. WEST

PART I

THE BUNDAHIS, BAHMAN YAST, AND SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

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INTRODUCTION TO PAHLAVI TEXTS.

1. The Parsi Scriptures.

Though we must look to the Avesta for information regarding the main outlines of the Parsi religion, it is to Pahlavi writings we must refer for most of the details relating to the traditions, ceremonies, and customs of this ancient faith, which styles itself emphatically 'the good religion of the Mazdayasnians,' and calls its laity bahdînân, or 'those of the good religion.' In the fragments of the Avesta which still exist, we may trace the solid foundations of the religion, laid by philosophic bards and lawgivers of old, with many a mouldering column and massive fragment of the superstructure erected upon them by the ancient priesthood. These are the last remnants of the faith held by Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord (Isaiah xlv. 1), the righteous one (Is. xli. 2), or eagle (Is. xlvi. 11), whom He called from the east, and the shepherd who performed His pleasure (Is. xliv. 28); scattered fragments of the creed professed by Darius in his inscriptions, when he attributes his successes to 'the will of Aûramazdâ;' and mouldering ruins of the comparatively pure religion of oriental 'barbarism,' which Alexander and his civilising Greek successors were unable wholly to destroy, and replace by their own idolatrous superstitions. While in the Pahlavi texts we find much of the mediæval edifice built by later Persian priestcraft upon the old foundations, with a strange mixture of old and new materials, and exhibiting the usual symptom of declining powers, a strong insistence upon complex forms and minute details, with little of the freedom of treatment and simplicity of outline characteristic of the ancient bards.

To understand the relationship between these two classes of Parsi sacred writings, it must be observed that the Avesta and Pahlavi of the same scripture, taken together, form its Avesta and Zand, terms which are nearly synonymous with 'revelation and commentary.' Both words are derived from verbal roots implying 'knowledge;' Avesta being the Pahlavi avistâk, which may most probably be traced to the past participle of â, 'to,' + vid, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'what is announced' or 'declaration;' and Zand, being the Pahlavi form of Av. zaiⁿti (traceable in the word âzaiⁿtis), must be referred to the root zan, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'knowledge, understanding[1].' European scholars, misled probably by Muhammadan writers, have converted the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' into 'Zend-Avesta,' and have further identified Zand with the language of the Avesta. This use of the word Zand is, however, quite at variance with the practice of all Parsi writers who have been independent of European influence, as they apply the term Zand only to the Pahlavi translations and explanations of their sacred books, the original text of which they call Avesta. So that when they use the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' they mean the whole of any scripture, both the Avesta text and Pahlavi translation and commentary. And the latter, being often their only means of understanding the former, has now become of nearly equal authority with the Avesta itself. It is probable, indeed, that the first Zand was really written in the Avesta language, as we find many traces of such Avesta commentaries interpolated both in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the Parsi scriptures; but this is rather a matter of European inference than of Parsi belief. The later (or Pahlavi) Zand appears also, in many places, to be merely a translation of this earlier (or Avesta) Zand, with additional explanations offered by the Pahlavi translators.

Regarding the sacredness of these Pahlavi translations, in the eyes of the Parsis, there can be no manner of doubt, so far as they cannot be shown to be inconsistent with the

[1] See Haug's Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, second edition, London, 1878; pp. 121, 122.

original Avesta text. But besides these translations there is another class of Pahlavi religious writings whose authority is more open to dispute. These writings are either translations and Zands of Avesta texts no longer extant, or they contain the opinions and decisions of high-priests of later times, when the Pahlavi language was on the decline. Such writings would hardly be considered of indisputable authority by any Parsi of the present day, unless they coincided with his own preconceived opinions. But for outsiders they have the inestimable value either of supplying numerous details of religious traditions and customs which would be vainly sought for elsewhere, or of being contemporary records of the religious ideas of the Parsis in the declining days of their Mazdayasnian faith. It is with a few of such writings this volume has to deal; but before describing them more minutely it will be desirable to give some account of the Pahlavi language in which they are written.

2. The Pahlavi Language and Literature.

The term 'Pahlavi,' in its widest extent, is applied to all the varying forms of the mediæval Persian language, from the time when the grammatical inflexions of ancient Persian were dropped, till the period when the modern alphabet was invented, and the language became corrupted into modern Persian by the adoption of numerous Arabic words and phrases. Some traces of Pahlavi words and phrases, written in old Semitic characters, have been found in the legends of coins struck by certain kings of Persian provinces, subordinate to the Greek successors of Alexander, as early as the third century B. C.[1] Further traces have been discovered in the legends on some provincial coins of the time of the Arsacidan dynasty. But, practically, our acquaintance with Pahlavi commences with the inscriptions, on rocks and coins, of Ar*d*akhshîr-i Pâpakân (A.D. 226–240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, and ends with certain religious

[1] See Levy's Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Eran's, und zur Kunde der ältern Pehlewi-Schrift; Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1867; XXI, 421-465.

writings of priests and other devout Parsis of post-Muhammadan times, among the latest of which is one dated A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881). Any fragments of Pahlavi composition of later date than A.D. 1000, must be considered merely as modern imitations of a dead language, and cannot be quoted as authorities for the use of any particular Pahlavi words or construction.

With regard to the origin of the word Pahlavî, or language of Pahlav, many suggestions have been offered; but the most probable explanation[1] is that which connects it with the Parthva of the cuneiform inscriptions, the land of the Parthians known to the Greeks and Romans, and of the Pahlavâs mentioned by Sanskrit writers; the change of Parthva into Pahlav being very similar to that of Av. Mithra into Pers. Mihr. No doubt the language of the Parthians themselves was not Pahlavi, but they were the actual rulers of Persia for some centuries at the time when the Pahlavi language was forming there; and, being formidable to their neighbours, it is not surprising that their name became identified with everything Persian, in the same way as the Roman name has been applied by the Persians, not only to the later Greek empire of Constantinople, but even to the earlier conqueror, Alexander the Great.

Strictly speaking, the mediæval Persian language is only called Pahlavi when it is written in one of the characters used before the invention of the modern Persian alphabet, and in the peculiarly enigmatical mode adopted in Pahlavi writings. Whenever it is transcribed, either in Avesta characters, or in those of the modern Persian alphabet, and freed from this peculiarity, it is called Pâzand.

The peculiar mode of writing Pahlavi, here alluded to, long made the character of the language a standing puzzle for European scholars, and was first satisfactorily explained by Professor Haug, of Munich, in his admirable Essay on the Pahlavi Language already cited.

Like the Assyrians of old, the Persians of Parthian times appear to have borrowed their writing from a foreign race.

[1] See Haug's Essay on the Pahlavi Language, Stuttgart, 1870; pp. 33–37.

But, whereas the Semitic Assyrians adopted a Turanian syllabary, these later Aryan Persians accepted a Semitic alphabet. Besides the alphabet, however, which they could use for spelling their own words, they also transferred a certain number of complete Semitic words to their writings, as representatives of the corresponding words in their own language. These Semitic representatives (the number of which might at any time be increased or diminished at the discretion of the writer) were probably never very numerous, and not more than four hundred of them are to be found in the Pahlavi writings now extant; but, as they represent nearly all the commonest words in the language (excepting those specially relating to religious matters), they often constitute more than half the bulk of a Pahlavi text.

The use of such Semitic words, scattered about in Persian sentences, gives Pahlavi the motley appearance of a compound language; more especially as Persian terminations are often added to the Semitic words. But there are good reasons for supposing that the language was never spoken as it was written. The spoken language appears to have been purely Persian; the Semitic words being merely used as written representatives, or logograms, of the Persian words which were spoken. Thus the Persians would write malkân malkâ, 'king of kings,' but they would read shâhân shâh. This is still the mode in which most Parsis read their Pahlavi literature; and it is only by assuming it to have been their universal practice, in former times, that we can account for the total and immediate disappearance of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi, from their language, when the Persians adopted their modern alphabet. As the Semitic words were merely a Pahlavi mode of writing their Persian equivalents (just as 'viz.' is a mode of writing 'namely' in English), they disappeared with the Pahlavi writing, and the Persians began at once to write all their words, with their new alphabet, just as they pronounced them.

In the meantime, the greater part of the nation had become Muhammadans, and a new influx of Semitic words commenced, but of a very different character. The Semitic

portion of the Pahlavi writing was nearly pure Chaldee, and was confined (as already stated) to the graphic representation of most of the simplest and commonest words unconnected with religion; but it seems to have formed no part of the spoken language, at all events in later times. Whereas the Semitic portion of modern Persian is borrowed from Arabic, and includes most words connected with religion, science, and literature; in fact, every class of words except that which was usually Semitic in Pahlavi writings; and these Arabic words form an essential part of the spoken language, being as indispensable to the modern Persian as words of Norman-French origin are to the English.

In Pahlavi writings, moreover, besides the four hundred Semitic logograms already mentioned, we also find about one hundred obsolete forms of Iranian words used as logograms; much in the same way as 'ye' may be used for 'the,' and 'Xmas' for 'Christmas' in English. The use of all these logograms was, however, quite optional, as their usual Persian equivalents might be substituted for any of them at any time, according to each particular writer's taste and discretion. But whenever they are employed they form what is called the Huzvâris portion of the Pahlavi; while the other words, intended to be pronounced as they are spelt, form the Pâzand portion.

Many attempts have been made to explain the word Huzvâris, but it cannot be said that any satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed. Like the word Pahlavî it seems hardly to occur in any old Pahlavi text, but only in colophons, chapter-headings, and similar notes of modern writers; it seems, therefore, more reasonable to trace it to modern Persian than direct to any more ancient source. Its Pahlavi form, hûzvâris or aûzvârisn, appears to represent the modern Persian uzvâris, which is rarely used; the usual Persian form of the word being zuvâris. Now zuvâris is precisely the form of an abstract noun derived from the crude form of a verb zuvârîdan, which has been admitted into some Persian dictionaries on the authority of Golius[1],

[1] See Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, Pars altera, London, 1669.

with the meaning 'to grow old, to become thread-bare.' If such a verb really exists in Persian, although its meaning may imply 'decrepitude or decay' rather than 'antiquity or obsoleteness,' yet its abstract noun would not be altogether inapplicable to the logograms used in Pahlavi, which are, in fact, last remnants of older writings.

The word Pâzand is probably derived from Av. paitizan*n*ti, with the meaning 're-explanation,' that is, a further interpretation of the Pahlavi Zand in the Persian vernacular. This term is applied not only to the purely Persian words in Pahlavi texts, but also (as already noticed) to transliterations of the said texts, either in Avesta or modern Persian characters, in which all the Huzvâri*s* words are replaced by their Pâzand equivalents. These transliterations form what are called Pâzand texts; they retain the exact idiom and construction of the Pahlavi original, and represent the mode in which it was read. It may be remarked, however, that all such Pâzand texts, as have been examined, seem to have been written in India, so that they may be suspected of representing some corrupt Gugarâti pronunciation of Persian, rather than the peculiar orthography of any period of the Persian language.

This theory of the origin and development of Pahlavi writing could hardly be upheld, unless we could trace the same artificial mixture of Huzvâri*s* and Pâzand in all accessible Pahlavi records, from their earliest appearance to the present time. This we are able to do, even in the scanty materials afforded by the legends on the provincial Persian coins of the third century B.C. and second century A.D. already mentioned. But we can trace it with greater certainty not only in the coin legends, but also in the rock inscriptions of the earlier Sasanian kings (A.D. 226–388), in the latest of which we find the written language differing very slightly from that contained in the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis of the present day, although the characters differ very much in form. And, finally, in the legends on the coins of the later Sasanian kings (A.D. 388–651) and on seals of their times, we find even this difference in the shapes of the letters disappearing by degrees. In

fact, all the materials at our disposal tend to show that Huzvâri*s* has been an essential constituent of all Pahlavi writings from the time of Alexander's successors to that of the disuse of Pahlavi characters; but we have no reason to suppose that the spoken language of the great mass of the Persian people ever contained the Semitic words which they thus used as Huzvâri*s* in their writings.

Although the use of Huzvâri*s*, until explained recently, rendered the nature of the Pahlavi language very obscure, it added very little to the difficulty of understanding the Pahlavi texts, because the meaning of nearly every Huzvâri*s* logogram was well known; being recorded in an old glossary preserved by the Parsis, in which every logogram is explained by its proper Pâzand equivalent. The extant copies of this old glossary generally contain the Huzvâri*s* and Pâzand words written in the Pahlavi character, together with their traditional pronunciation, either in Avesta or modern Persian letters; there is, therefore, no particular difficulty in reading or translating the Huzvâri*s* portion of a Pahlavi text, although doubts may often be entertained as to the accuracy of the traditional pronunciation.

The real difficulty of reading Pahlavi texts lies in the Pâzand portion (so far as it may be unexplained by existing vocabularies), and is chiefly occasioned by the ambiguity of some of the Pahlavi letters. The alphabet used in Pahlavi books contains only fourteen distinct letters, so that some letters represent several different sounds; and this ambiguity is increased by the letters being joined together, when a compound of two letters is sometimes exactly like some other single letter. The complication arising from these ambiguities may be understood from the following list of the sounds, simple and compound, represented by each of the fourteen letters of the Pahlavi alphabet respectively:—

a, â, h, kh. b. p, f. t, *d*. *k*, *g*, *z*, *v*. r, l. z. s, yî, yad, yag, ya*g*, dî, dad, dag, da*g*, gî, gad, gag, ga*g*, *g*î, *g*ad, *g*ag, *g*a*g*. sh, *s*, yâ, yah, yakh, îh, îkh,

dâ, dah, dakh, gâ, gah, gakh, *g*â, *g*ah, *g*akh. ع gh. ك k.
م m. ن n, v, w, û, ô, r, l. ى y, î, ê, d, g, *g*.

From this list it is easy to see the confusion produced by the letter س s being exactly like the letter ى y doubled, and by the letter ش sh being identical with a compound of ى y and ا â; and there are, in fact, some compounds of two letters which have from ten to fifteen sounds in common use, besides others which might possibly occur. If it be further considered that there are only three letters (which are also consonants, as in most Semitic languages) to represent five long vowels, and that there are probably five short vowels to be understood, the difficulty of reading Pahlavi correctly may be readily imagined.

When Pahlavi writing was in common use this difficulty was probably no more felt by the Persians, than the complexity of Chinese characters is felt as an evil by a Chinese mandarin, or the corrupt system of English orthography by an educated Englishman. It is only the foreigner, or learner, who fully appreciates the difficulty of understanding such cumbrous systems of writing.

With regard, however, to their Huzvâri*s* logograms the Persians seem to have experienced more difficulty. As the actual sounds of these Semitic words were rarely pronounced, in consequence of their Pâzand equivalents being substituted in reading, there must have been some risk of their true pronunciation being forgotten. That this risk was understood by the Persians, or Parsis, is proved by the existence of the Huzvâri*s*-Pâzand glossary already described, which was evidently compiled as a record both of the pronunciation and meaning of the Huzvâri*s* logograms. But its compilation does not appear to have been undertaken until the true pronunciation of some of these logograms had been already lost. Thus, although the traditional readings of most of the Semitic portion of the Huzvâri*s* can be readily traced to well-known Chaldee words, there are yet many other such readings which are altogether inexplicable as Semitic

words. In most such cases, however, European scholars have found that the Huzvâri*s* word can be easily read in some other way which at once connects it with some ordinary Chaldee equivalent. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the compilers of the glossary had in some instances lost the correct pronunciation of these old Semitic words, and that, in such cases, they adopted (as a Parsi would probably do at the present day) the most obvious reading of the letters before them, which thenceforth became an artificial word to be handed down to posterity, by successive generations of writers, with all the authority of old tradition.

In the same manner the artificial pronunciation of the Iranian portion of the Huzvâri*s* may be explained. The compilers of the glossary found a number of words in the Pahlavi texts, which were written in some obsolete or contracted manner; they knew the meanings of these words, but could not trace the true readings in the altered letters; they, therefore, adopted the most obvious readings of the written characters, and thus produced another series of artificial words, such as anhômâ for aûharmazd, yahân for yazdân, madônad for maînôk, shatan for shatrô, &c.

Naturally enough the Parsis are loth to admit the possibility of any error in their traditional readings of Huzvâri*s*, and very few of them have yet adopted the views of European scholars further than to admit that they are ingenious hypotheses, which still require satisfactory proof. They are quite right in demanding such proof, and they may reasonably argue that the conflicting opinions of various European scholars do not tend to increase the certainty of their explanations. But, on the other hand, they are bound to examine all proofs that may be offered, and to consider the arguments of scholars, before utterly rejecting them in favour of their own preconceived notions of traditional authority.

Fortunately, we possess some means of ascertaining the ancient pronunciation of a few Huzvâri*s* words, independent of the opinions of comparative philologists, in the inscrip-

tions already mentioned as having been engraved on rocks, and impressed on coins, by the earlier kings of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia. The earliest of these rock inscriptions records the name and titles of Artakhshatar son[1] of Pâpak, the first Sasanian monarch (A. D. 226–240); it is engraved in Greek and two kinds of old Pahlavi characters, which have been called Chaldæo-Pahlavi and Sasanian-Pahlavi, because the one bears more resemblance to Chaldee, both in its letters and the language they express, and the other is more frequently used by the subsequent Sasanian monarchs. A similar tri-lingual inscription records the names and titles of his son and successor Shahpûhar I (A. D. 240–271), who has also left a long bi-lingual inscription, in Chaldæo and Sasanian-Pahlavi, in a cave near Persepolis. Another long bi-lingual inscription, fragments of which have been found on stones among the ruins of Pâî Kûlî, is attributed to his early successors, who have also left us several uni-lingual inscriptions in Sasanian-Pahlavi, two of which are of great length, but none later than the end of the fourth century.

The language of the earlier of these inscriptions differs from that of the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis, chiefly in the use of several Semitic words unknown to the manuscript Huzvâri*s*, the non-existence of Iranian Huzvâri*s* (which is evidently a growth of later times), and the less frequent use of Persian terminations affixed to Semitic words. These differences, however, are hardly greater than those which distinguish the English of Chaucer from that of our own day. Moreover, they gradually disappear in process of time, as we find the later inscriptions of the fourth century approaching much closer, in language, to the manuscripts.

As the alphabets of these inscriptions are less imperfect and ambiguous than that of the Pahlavi manuscripts, they render the pronunciation of many words much more certain. They consist of eighteen letters, having the following sounds :—

[1] So stated in the inscription, but Pahlavi MSS. call him the son of Pâpak's daughter and of Sâsân (see Bund. XXXI, 30).

1. a, â. 2. b. 3. p, f. 4. t, *d*. 5. *k*, *g*, ב. 6. kh, h. 7. d. 8. r, v, w, û, ô. 9. z. 10. s. 11. sh, *s*. 12. k. 13. g. 14. l, r. 15. m. 16. n. 17. y, î, ê. 18. doubtful, being equivalent to Chaldee ּנ and to Pahl. MS. -man[1].

Comparing this list of sounds with that of the sounds of the manuscript alphabet (pp. xvi, xvii) it is evident that the inscriptions must afford a means of distinguishing â from kh, s from any binary compound of y, d, g, or *g*, sh from any compound of y, d, g, or *g* with â, h, or kh, n from v, r, or l, and y, d, g from each other; all which letters and compounds are left in doubt by the manuscript alphabet. Unfortunately we do not possess trustworthy copies of some of the inscriptions which are evidently the most important from a linguistic point of view[2]; but such copies as have been obtained supply corrections of traditional misreadings of about twenty-five Huzvâris logograms, and at the same time they confirm the correctness of three traditional readings which have been called in question by most European scholars. So far, therefore, the inscriptions would teach the Parsis that the decisions of comparative philologists are not likely to be right more than seven times out of eight, even when they are tolerably unanimous.

The Chaldæo-Pahlavi character appears to have soon

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[1] Whether the sound of this letter can ever be satisfactorily settled remains doubtful. Levy, in his Beiträge, cited on p. xi, considers it to be the Semitic ת, on palæographical grounds; but there are serious objections to all the identifications that have been proposed.

[2] The Sasanian inscriptions, of which new and correct copies are most urgently wanted, are:—1. An inscription of thirty-one lines high up in the left side-compartment (behind the king) of the centre bas-relief of Naqs-i Ragab, near Persepolis. 2. Two inscriptions, of eleven and twelve lines respectively, on the stones of the edifice near the south-west corner of the great platform at Persepolis, south of the Hall of Columns (see Ouseley's Travels in Persia, vol. ii. p. 237 and plate 42). 3. All the fragments of the Pâî Kûlî inscription, of which probably not more than half have yet been copied.

Of the very long inscription behind the king's horse in the bas-relief of Naqs-i Rustam, containing more than seventy lines very much damaged, a copy taken by Westergaard in 1843, with his usual accuracy, probably gives nearly all that is legible. And of the Hâgîâbâd and shorter inscriptions, little or nothing remains doubtful.

gone out of use, after the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty, as the latest known inscription, in which it occurs, is that of Pâî Kûlî, which contains the name of Aûharmazd I (A.D. 271–272); while the long inscriptions of Naq*s*-i Ra*g*ab and Naq*s*-i Rustam, which contain the name of Varahrân II (A.D. 275–283), are engraved only in Sasanian-Pahlavi. From these facts it seems probable that Chaldæo-Pahlavi went out of use about A.D. 275. The Sasanian characters continue to appear, with very little alteration, upon the coins until the end of the fifth century, when most of them begin to assume the cursive form of the manuscript Pahlavi, which appears to have altered very slightly since the eighth century.

The oldest Pahlavi manuscript known to be extant. consists of several fragments of papyrus recently found in a grave in the Fayûm district in Egypt, and now in the Royal Museum at Berlin; it is supposed to have been written in the eighth century. Next to this, after a long interval, come four manuscripts written on Indian paper, all by the same hand, in A.D. 1323–1324; they are two copies of the Yasna and two of the Vendidad, containing the Avesta with its Zand, or Pahlavi translation and commentary; two of these old MSS. are now preserved in Kopenhagen, one in London, and one in Bombay. Next to these in age are two MSS. of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, written probably about fifty years later; one of these is now in Kopenhagen and one in Bombay. Another MS. of nearly the same age is also a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi texts, written in A.D. 1397, and now in Munich; where there is also one of the oldest Pâzand-Sanskrit MSS., a copy of the Ar*d*â-Vîrâf-nâmak, written in A.D. 1410. Another Pâzand-Sanskrit MS., a copy of the Khurdah Avesta, of about the same age, exists in Bombay. Pahlavi and Pâzand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are rather more numerous.

Pahlavi literature reached the zenith of its prosperity about thirteen centuries ago, when it included the whole literature of Persia. Seventy years later its destruction commenced with the fall of the Sasanian dynasty (A.D.

636–651); and the subsequent adoption of the modern Persian alphabet gave it its death-blow. The last remnants of Pahlavi writings are now contained in the few manuscripts still preserved by the Parsis in Western India, and their almost-extinct brethren in Persia. A careful estimate of the length of these remnants, so far as they are known to Europeans, has shown that the total extent of existing Pahlavi literature is about thirty-six times that of the Bundahis, as translated in this volume. One-fifth of this literature consists of translations accompanying Avesta texts, and the remaining four-fifths are purely Pahlavi works which are nearly all connected with religion. How much of this literature may have descended from Sasanian times can hardly be ascertained as yet; in fact, it is only very recently that any trustworthy data, for determining the age of a few Pahlavi writings, have been discovered, as will be explained hereafter, when considering the age of the Bundahis.

3. The Bundahis.

The term Bundahis, 'creation of the beginning,' or 'original creation,' is applied by the Parsis to a Pahlavi work[1] which, in its present state, appears to be a collection of fragments relating to the cosmogony, mythology, and legendary history taught by Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered, in any way, a complete treatise on these subjects. This term is applicable enough to much of the earlier part of the work, which treats of the progressive development of creation under good and evil influences; but it is probably not the original name of the book. Its adoption was no doubt partly owing to the occurrence of the word bûn-dahisn, or bûn-dahisnîh, twice in the first sentence, and partly to its appropriateness to the subject. But the same sentence seems to inform

[1] When this work forms part of a collection of Pahlavi texts, the whole manuscript is sometimes called 'the great Bundahis.' There also exists a Sad-dar Bundahis, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which is a comparatively modern compilation, detailing the chief customs and religious laws of the Parsis in a hundred sections.

us that the actual name of the treatise was Zand-âkâs, 'knowing the tradition.'

The work commences by describing the state of things in the beginning; the good spirit being in endless light and omniscient, and the evil spirit in endless darkness and with limited knowledge. Both produced their own creatures, which remained apart, in a spiritual or ideal state, for three thousand years, after which the evil spirit began his opposition to the good creation under an agreement that his power was not to last more than nine thousand years, of which only the middle three thousand were to see him successful. By uttering a sacred formula the good spirit throws the evil one into a state of confusion for a second three thousand years, while he produces the archangels and the material creation, including the sun, moon, and stars. At the end of that period the evil spirit, encouraged by the demons he had produced, once more rushes upon the good creation, to destroy it. The demons carry on conflicts with each of the six classes of creation, namely, the sky, water, earth, plants, animals represented by the primeval ox, and mankind represented by Gâyômar*d*; producing little effect but movement in the sky, saltness in the water, mountains in the earth, withering in plants, and death to the primeval ox, and also to Gâyômar*d* after an interval.

Then follows a series of chapters describing the seven regions of the earth, its mountains and seas, the five classes of animals, the origin of mankind, generation, the five kinds of fire and three sacred fires, the white Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds, the three-legged ass, the ox Hadhayôs, the bird Kâmrôs, and other birds and animals opposed to the evil creation, the rivers of the world, the seventeen species of liquids, the lakes, the origin of the ape and bear, the chiefs of the several kinds of creatures and creations, the calendar, lineal measures, trees and plants, the characteristics of various demons, the spiritual chiefs of the various regions of the earth, and the resurrection and future existence; all which descriptions are given on the authority of the Dîn, which may have been some particular

book, or revelation generally. The concluding chapters give the genealogies of the legendary Persian kings and heroes, and of Zaratûst and certain priests, together with an epitome of Persian chronology from the creation to the Muhammadan conquest.

As the work now stands it is evidently of a fragmentary character, bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations; and the extant manuscripts, as will be seen, differ among themselves both as to the extent and arrangement of the text. Many passages have the appearance of being translations from an Avesta original, and it is very probable that we have in the Bundahis either a translation, or an epitome, of the Dâmdâd Nask, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. This may be guessed from a comparison of the contents of the Bundahis with those of the Dâmdâd Nask, which are detailed in the Dînî-vagarkard as follows[1]:—'It contained an explanation of the spiritual existence and heaven, good and evil, the material existence of this world, the sky and the earth, and everything which Aûharmazd produced in water, fire, and vegetation, men and quadrupeds, reptiles and birds, and everything which is produced from the waters, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, the production of the resurrection and future existence; the concourse and separation at the Kinvad bridge; on the reward of the meritorious and the punishment of sinners in the future existence, and such-like explanations.' Moreover, the Dâmdâd Nask is twice quoted as an authority in the Selections of Zâdsparam (IX, 1, 16), when treating of animals, in nearly the same words as those used in the Bundahis.

The first manuscript of the Bundahis seen in Europe was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761, and he published a French translation of it in his great work on the Zend-Avesta in 1771[2]. This manuscript,

[1] See Haug's Essays, &c., second edition, pp. 127, 128.

[2] Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c., par Anquetil Duperron; Paris, 1771. Tome seconde, pp. 343-422, Boun-dehesch.

which is now in the National Library at Paris, was a modern copy, written A. D. 1734, and contained a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi writings besides the Bundahis. And Anquetil's translation, though carefully prepared in accordance with the information he had obtained from his Parsi instructor, is very far from giving the correct meaning of the original text in many places.

In 1820 the very old codex from which Anquetil's MS. had been copied was brought to Europe, from Bombay, by the Danish scholar Rask, and was subsequently deposited in the University Library at Kopenhagen. This most important codex, which will be more particularly described under the appellation of K20, appears to have been written during the latter half of the fourteenth century; and a facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, which it contains, was very carefully traced from it, lithographed, and published by Westergaard in 1851[1].

In a review of this lithographed edition of the Pahlavi text, published in the Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen in 1854[2], Haug gave a German translation of the first three chapters of the Bundahis. And Spiegel, in his Traditional Literature of the Parsis[3], published in 1860 a German translation of many passages in the Bundahis, together with a transcript of the Pahlavi text of Chaps. I, II, III, and XXX in Hebrew characters. But the complete German translation of the Bundahis by Windischmann, with his commentary on its contents, published in his Zoroastrian Studies[4] in 1863, was probably the most important step in advance since the time of Anquetil, and the utmost

[1] Bundehesh, Liber Pehlvicus. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descripsit, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit, N. L. Westergaard; Havniæ, 1851.

[2] Ueber die Pehlewi-Sprache und den Bundehesh, von Martin Haug; Göttingen, 1854.

[3] Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen in ihrem Zusammenhange mit den angränzenden Literaturen, dargestellt von Fr. Spiegel; Wien, 1860.

[4] Zoroastriche Studien. Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagengeschichte des alten Iran, von Fr. Windischmann (nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Fr. Spiegel); Berlin, 1863.

that could be done on the authority of a single MS. which is far from perfect.

In 1866 another very old codex, containing the Pahlavi texts of the Bundahis and other works, was brought to Europe by Haug, to whom it had been presented at Surat in 1864. It is now in the State Library at Munich, and will be more minutely described under the appellation of M6. In this codex the Bundahis is arranged in a different order from that in K20, and Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI–XXXIII are omitted.

A second complete German translation of the Bundahis, with a lithographed copy of the Pahlavi text, a transliteration of the text in modern Persian characters, and a glossary of all the words it contains, was published by Justi in 1868[1]. Its author, having had access to other MSS. (descended from M6) at London and Oxford, was able to rectify many of the deficiencies in Windischmann's translation; but, otherwise, he made but little progress in elucidating difficult passages.

Other European writers have published the result of their studies of particular parts of the Bundahis, but it does not appear that any of them have attempted a continuous translation of several chapters.

Whether the existence of previous translations be more of an assistance than a hindrance in preparing a new one, may well be a matter of doubt. Previous translations may prevent oversights, and in difficult passages it is useful to see how others have floundered through the mire; but, on the other hand, they occasion much loss of time, by the necessity of examining many of their dubious renderings before finally fixing upon others that seem more satisfactory. The object of the present translation is to give the meaning of the original text as literally as possible, and with a minimum of extra words; the different renderings of other translators being very rarely noticed, unless there be some probability of their being of service

[1] Der Bundehesh, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, übersetzt, und mit Glossar versehen, von Ferdinand Justi; Leipzig, 1868.

to the reader. Some doubtful words and passages still defy all attempts at satisfactory solution, but of these the reader is warned; and, no doubt, a few oversights and mistakes will be discovered.

With regard to the original text, we have to recover it from four manuscripts which are, more or less, independent authorities, and may be styled K20, K20b, M6, and TD. The first three of these have evidently descended, either directly or through one or more intermediate copies, from the same original; but the source of TD, so far as it can be ascertained, seems to have been far removed from that of the others. All the other MSS. of the Bundahis, which have been examined, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand, are descended either from K20 or M6, and are, therefore, of no independent authority.

K20 is the very old codex already mentioned as having been brought from Bombay by Rask in 1820, and is now No. 20 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen. It consists now of 173 folios of very old and much-worn Indian paper of large octavo size, but five other folios are certainly missing, besides an uncertain number lost from the end of the volume. This MS. contains twenty Pahlavi texts, written twenty lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; the Bundahis is the ninth of these texts, and occupies fols. 88–129, of which fol. 121 is missing. Three of the texts, occurring before the Bundahis, have dated colophons, but the dates are A.Y. 690, 720, and 700, all within 36 folios; it is, therefore, evident that these dates have been copied from older MSS.; but at the same time the appearance of the paper indicates that the actual date of the MS. cannot be much later than A.Y. 720 (A.D. 1351), and there are reasons for believing that it was written several years before A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), as will be explained in the description of M6. Owing to its age and comparative completeness this MS. of the Bundahis is certainly the most important one extant, although comparison with other MSS. proves that its writer was rather careless, and frequently omitted words and phrases. The

loss of fol. 121, though it has hitherto left an inconvenient gap in the text (not filled up by other MSS.), is more than compensated by the three extra chapters which this MS. and its copies have hitherto alone supplied. The text on the lost folio was supposed by Anquetil to have contained a whole chapter besides portions of the two adjacent ones; this is now known to be a mistake, Anquetil's Chap. XXVIII being quite imaginary; the end of Chap. XXVII has long been supplied from other MSS., but the beginning of the next chapter has hitherto been missing.

Only two copies of K20 appear to be known to Europeans; the best of these is the copy brought from Surat by Anquetil, No. 7 of his collection of manuscripts, now in the National Library at Paris; this was written in A. D. 1734, when K20 appears to have been nearly in its present imperfect state, though it may have had some 15 folios more at the end. This copy seems to have been carefully written; but the same cannot be said of the other copy, No. 21 in the University Library at Kopenhagen, which is full of blunders, both of commission and omission, and can hardly have been written by so good a Pahlavi scholar as Dastûr Dârâb, Anquetil's instructor, although attributed to him.

K20b consists of nineteen loose folios[1], found by Westergaard among some miscellaneous fragments in the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen, and now forming No. 20b in that collection. The first two folios are lost, but the third folio commences with the Pahlavi equivalent of the words 'knew that Aharman exists' (Bund. Chap. I, 8), and the text continues to the end of Chap. XI, 1, where it leaps at once (in the middle of a line on the fifteenth folio) to Chap. XXX, 15, 'one brother who is righteous,' whence the text continues to the end of Chap. XXXI, 15, which is followed by Chaps. XXXII, XXXIV, as in K20. This

[1] I am indebted to the late Professor N. L. Westergaard for all information about this MS., and also for a tracing of the Pahlavi text of so much of Chap. XXXI as is contained in it.

MS. is not very old, and contains merely a fragment of the text; but its value consists in its not being a descendant of either K20 or M6, as it clearly represents a third line of descent from their common original. It agrees with K20 in the general arrangement of its chapters, so far as they go, and also in containing Chap. XXXI; but it differs from it in some of the details of that chapter, and agrees with M6 in some verbal peculiarities elsewhere; it has not, however, been collated in any other chapter. The omission of nearly twenty chapters, in the centre of the work, indicates that some one of the MSS. from which it is descended, had lost many of its central folios before it was copied, and that the copyist did not notice the deficiency; such unnoticed omissions frequently occur in Pahlavi manuscripts.

M6 is the very old codex brought to Europe by Haug in 1866, and now No. 6 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich. It consists of 240 folios of very old, but well-preserved, Indian paper of large octavo size (to which thirteen others, of rather later date, have been prefixed) bound in two volumes. This MS. contains nineteen Pahlavi texts, written from seventeen to twenty-two lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; eleven of these texts are also found in K20, and the Bundahi*s* is the fourteenth of the nineteen, occupying fols. 53–99 of the second volume. Two of the other texts have dated colophons, the dates being fifty days apart in A. Y. 766 (A. D. 1397), and as there are 150 folios between the two dates there is every probability that they are the actual dates on which the two colophons were written. The arrangement of the Bundahi*s* in this MS. is different from that in K20, giving the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, and omitting Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI. These omissions and the misplacement of Chaps. I–XIV render it probable that the MS., from which the Bundahi*s* in M6 was copied, was already in a state of decay; and this supposition is confirmed by upwards of fifty peculiar mistakes, scattered over most parts of the

text in M6, which are evidently due to the illegibility of the original from which it was copied, or to its illegible words having been touched up by an ignorant writer, instances of which are not uncommon in old Pahlavi MSS. Eliminating these errors, for which the writer of M6 cannot be held responsible, he seems to have been a more careful copyist than the writer of K20, and supplies several words and phrases omitted by the latter. The close correspondence of K20 and M6 in most other places, renders it probable that they were copied from the same original, in which case K20 must have been written several years earlier than M6, before the original MS. became decayed and difficult to read. It is possible, however, that K20 was copied from an early copy of the original of M6; in which case the date of K20 is more uncertain, and may even be later than that of M6.

Several MSS. of the Bundahi*s* descended from M6 are in existence. One is in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and contains the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–VII, 17 (to 'Arag river'), XII–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, VII, 12–XI; followed by Sls. Chap. XX, 4–17, also derived from M6. Another is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji at Bombay, and contains the chapters also in a dislocated state (due to the misplacement of folios in some former MS.) as follows:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–XI, 5 (to 'and the evil spirit'), XII, 2 (from 'Si*k*idâv')–XII, 12 (first word), XI, 5 (from 'produced most for Khvanîras')–XII, 2 (to '*and* Kôndras, Mount'), XXX, 32 (from 'the renovation arises in')–XXX, 33, XXXII, XXXIV, Sls. Chap. XVIII, Bund. Chaps. XII, 12 (from 'Aîra*k*')–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX. A third is in the library of Dastûr Nôshirvânji Jâmâspji at Poona, and contains the text in the same order as M6. A fragment of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahi*s*, also descended from M6, occupies eight folios in the Additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378 in the Library of the British Museum; it contains Chaps. XVIII, XIX, 17, and XX, 1–2 (to 'one from the other').

There are also several Pâzand manuscripts of the Bun-

dahiś, written in Avesta characters, and likewise derived from M6. One of the best of these is No. 22 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London; it is old, and has the date A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567) in a Pahlavi colophon on fol. 111, but this may have been copied from an older MS.; its contents are arranged as follows:—Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, followed by several short Pâzand texts, only part of which are derived from M6, and the last of them being left incomplete by the loss of the folios which originally formed the end of the volume; instead of these lost folios others, containing Chaps. XV–XVII, have been added and bound up with the rest. Another MS., No. 7 in the same collection, which is dated A.Y. 1174 (A.D. 1805), is a modern copy derived from No. 22 through one or more intervening MSS.[1]; it contains precisely the same text, but with many variations in orthography, indicative of the very uncertain character of Pâzand spelling. Two fragments of the Pâzand text are also contained in the MSS. No. 121 at Oxford, already mentioned; they consist of Chaps. V, 3–7 (to 'would have known the secret') and XXV, 18–22. Another fragment, evidently copied from an old MS., is found on fols. 34, 35 of the Rivâyat MS. No. 8 of the collection in the India Office Library; it consists of Chap. XVIII, 1–8.

The Pâzand text of the Bundahiś, derived from M6, is also written in Persian characters in M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection at Munich), dated A.Y. 1178 (A.D. 1809). It is interlined by Persian glosses, word for word, and consists of Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, and XXX on fols. 81–119, with Chaps. XV–XVII on fols. 120–126, a repetition of Chap. XV and part of XVI on fols. 223-227, and Chap. XXXII on fol. 232.

Thus far, it will be noticed, we have two good independent authorities, K20 and M6, for ascertaining the text of the Bundahiś in the fourteenth century, so far as Chaps. I–

[1] This is proved by an omission in fol. 40, which clearly indicates the loss of a folio in an intermediate MS.

XXVII, XXX, XXXII, and XXXIV are concerned; and we have also, in K20b, a second authority for so much of Chap. XXXI as occurs in K20; but for Chaps. XXVIII and XXIX we have nothing but K20 to rely on, and part of Chap. XXVIII is lost in that manuscript. Such was the unsatisfactory state of that part of the text until Dec. 1877, when information about the MS. TD was received, followed by further details and a copy of Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI–XXXIII in Oct. 1878[1].

TD is a manuscript of the Bundahi*s* which contains a much more extensive text than the MSS. already described, but whether it be an extension of the hitherto-received text, or the received text be an abridgement of this longer one, is likely to be a matter of dispute among Pahlavi scholars until the whole of the new text has been thoroughly examined. At any rate, the contents of this MS., combined with those of some MSS. of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, afford a means of fixing the date of this recension of the Bundahi*s*, as will be seen hereafter.

This MS. belongs to a young Mobad named Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria in Bombay, and was brought from Persia a few years ago by a Mobad named Khodabakhsh Farod Abadan. It occupies the first 103 folios of the volume containing it, and is followed by 112 more folios containing the Nîrangistân. The first original folio, which contained the text as far as Chap. I, 5 (to 'endless light'), has been lost and replaced by another (which, however, is now old) containing some introductory sentences, besides the missing text. The last original folio of the Bundahi*s*, containing the last five lines of the last chapter, has also been lost and replaced by another modern folio, which contains the missing text followed by two colophons, both expressing approval of the text, and asserting that the MS. was written by Gôpatshah Rûstâm Bôndâr. The first of these colophons

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, of Bombay (who is well known for the interest he takes in all matters relating to the ancient customs and history of his fellow-countrymen), for obtaining this information, and to the owner of the MS. for his liberality in supplying me with all the details and extracts mentioned in the text.

is undated, but gives the testimony of Dastûr Rûstâm[1] Gûstâsp Ardashîr, who is known to have written another MS. dated A.Y. 1068 (A.D. 1699). The second colophon is by Dastûr Jamshêd Jâmâsp Hakîm, and is dated A.Y. 1113 (A.D. 1743), which was probably the date when this last folio was supplied to complete the old defective MS.

With regard to the age of the older part of this MS. we can arrive at an approximation in the following manner :— A valuable MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk, which also belongs to Tehmuras Dinshawji, was written (according to a colophon which it contains) by Gôpatshah Rûstôm[2] Bândâr Malkâ-mardân in the land of Kirmân, who was evidently the same person as the writer of TD. Another MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk was written by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, also in the land of Kirmân, in A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572). Comparing these two genealogies together it seems evident that Gôpatshah was a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of Marzapân, and, therefore, a grand-uncle of Marzapân himself. Allowing for these two generations, it is probable that Gôpatshah wrote TD about A.Y. 900 (say A.D. 1530); although instances have occurred in which a son has written a MS. at an earlier date than that of one written by his father.

The introductory sentences on the first restored folio are evidently a modern addition to the text, after it had acquired the name of Bundahis; but they seem to have been copied from some other MS., as the copyist appears to have hardly understood them, having written them continuously with the beginning of the text, without break or stop. The spelling is modern, but that may be due to the copyist; and the language is difficult, but may be translated as follows[3]:—

'The propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd, the radiant,

[1] This Dastûr is said to have sprung from the laity, and not from a priestly family.

[2] The vowels â and ô (or û) often interchange in Pahlavi MSS. from Persia, probably owing to peculiarities of dialect, and the very broad sound of Persian â, like English a in call.

[3] English words in italics are additions to complete the sense.

glorious, omniscient, wise, powerful, and supreme, *by what is* well-thought, well-said, *and* well-done in thought, word, *and* deed, and the good augury of all the celestial angels *and* terrestrial angels upon the virtuous creation, I beseech.

'Written at the second fortunate conjunction (akhtar) in the high-priestship (dastûrîh) of the God-devoted, all-sagacious cultivator of righteousness, the lover of good works who is God-discerning, spirit-surveying, *and* approved by the good, the high-priest of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, the glorified[1] Spendyâ*d son* of Mâh-vindâ*d*, *son* of Rûstôm, *son* of Shatrôyâr.

'The writing[2] of the Bûndahi*s was* set going by the coming of the Arabs to the country of Iran, whose heterodoxy (dû*s*-dînîh) and ignorance have arisen from not understanding the mysteries of Kayân[3] orthodoxy (hûdînôîh) and of those revered by the upholders of the religion. From their deep seats it draws the purport of benedictions, *and* from dubious thinking of actions *it draws* words of true meaning, the disclosure of which is entertaining knowledge.

'On account of evil times, even he of the undecayed family of the Kayâns and the Kayân upholders of the religion are mingled with the obedient and just of those heterodox; and by the upper *class* the words of the orthodox, uttered in assembled worship, are considered as filthy vice. He also whose wish was to learn propriety (varâ*g*) through this treatise (farhâng), might provide *it* for himself, from various places, by trouble and day and night painstaking, *but* was not able.'

The text of Chap. I then commences (without any intermediate stop) with the words zak zand-âkâsîh, 'that knowledge of tradition.' As the whole text of the Bundahi*s* occupies about 203 pages in TD, and each page contains

[1] Literally, 'immortal-soulled,' a term implying generally that the person is dead; but it seems to have been applied to King Khûsrô I (Nôshirvân) during his lifetime. The time when this priest lived has yet to be discovered.

[2] Reading zektîbûn-i, equivalent to Pâz. nivîs-i; the MS. has zak tîbnâ.

[3] The hero tribe or princely race of the Kayânian dynasty, from which later Persian rulers have fancied themselves descended.

seventeen lines rather longer than those in K20, it is evident that the text in TD must be more than twice the length of that in K20, which occupied originally about eighty-three pages of twenty lines each. This additional text consists not only of additional matter in many of the chapters, but also of extra chapters, which give the work a more complete appearance than it presents in the manuscripts hitherto known. The whole number of chapters in TD appear to be forty-two, the general character of the contents of which may be gathered from the following list of the headings of each chapter, with the space it occupies in TD, and a reference to the corresponding chapter of the translation in this volume (such chapters as seem to be entirely wanting in K20 being marked with an asterisk):—

1. The knowledge of tradition, first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit, afterwards about the nature of the creatures of the world, from the original creation till the end; 19 pages; see Chap. I.

2. On the formation of light; 11 pages; see Chap. II.

3. The rush of the destroyer at the creatures; 6 pages; see Chaps. III, IV.

4. On the opposition of the two spirits, that is, in what manner the arch-fiends have come spiritually in opposition to the celestial angels; 10 pages; see Chap. V for two of the middle pages.

5. On the waging of the conflict (âr*d*îk) of the creations of the world, encountering the evil spirit; 1 page; see Chap. VI.

6. The second conflict the water waged; 3 pages; see Chap. VII.

7. The third conflict the earth waged; 1 page; see Chap. VIII.

8. The fourth conflict the plants waged; ½ page; see Chap. IX.

9. The fifth conflict the primeval ox waged; ⅓ page; see Chap. X.

*10. The sixth conflict Gâyômar*d* waged; 1⅓ page.

*11. The seventh conflict the fire waged; ⅓ page.

*12. The eighth conflict the constellations waged; ⅓ page.

*13. The ninth conflict the celestial angels waged with the evil spirit; three lines.

*14. Tenth, the stars practised non-intermeddling (agûmêgisn); ½ page.

*15. On the species of those creations; 2⅓ pages.

16. On the nature of lands; 1⅓ page; see Chap. XI.

17. On the nature of mountains; 4½ pages; see Chap. XII.

18. On the nature of seas; 2½ pages; see Chap. XIII.

19. On the nature of rivers; 5⅓ pages; see Chaps. XX, XXI.

20. On the nature of lakes; 1¼ page; see Chap. XXII.

21. On the nature of the five classes of animals; 5⅓ pages; see Chap. XIV.

22. On the nature of men; 7½ pages; see Chap. XV[1].

23. On the nature of generation of every kind; 5 pages; see Chap. XVI.

24. On the nature of plants; 3½ pages; see Chap. XXVII.

25. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing; 2⅓ pages; see Chap. XXIV.

26. On the nature of fire; 4⅔ pages; see Chap. XVII.

*27. On the nature of sleep; 2⅓ pages.

*28. On the nature of wind and cloud and rain; 9⅔ pages.

*29. On the nature of noxious creatures; 4½ pages[2].

*30. On the nature of the wolf species; 2 pages.

31. On things of every kind that are created by the spirits[3], and the opposition which came upon them; 7¾ pages; see Chaps. XVIII, XIX.

32. On the religious year; 4 pages; see Chaps. XXV, XXVI.

*33. On the great exploits of the celestial angels; 17½ pages.

34. On the evil-doing of Aharman and the demons; 7 pages, as in Chap. XXVIII.

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[1] TD contains half a page more near the beginning, and a page and a half more at the end.

[2] Probably Chap. XXIII of the translation forms a part either of this chapter or the next.

[3] This word is doubtful.

*35. On the body of man *and* the opinion of the world[1]; 7 pages.

36. On the *spiritual* chieftainship of the regions *of the earth;* $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages, as in Chap. XXIX.

*37. On the *K*inva*d* bridge *and* the souls of the departed; $5\frac{2}{3}$ pages.

*38. On the celebrated provinces of the country of Iran, the residence of the Kayâns; 5 pages[2].

*39. On the calamities of various millenniums happening to the country of Iran; $8\frac{2}{3}$ pages[3].

40. On the resurrection and future existence; $6\frac{2}{3}$ pages; see Chap. XXX.

41. On the race and offspring of the Kayâns; $8\frac{2}{3}$ pages, as in Chaps. XXXI–XXXIII.

42. On the computation of years of the Arabs; $2\frac{1}{4}$ pages; see Chap. XXXIV.

Comparing this list of contents with the text in K20, as published in Westergaard's lithographed facsimile edition, it appears that TD contains, not only fifteen extra chapters, but also very much additional matter in the chapters corresponding to Chaps. I, II, V, XVI, XXVIII, and XXXI of the translation in this volume, and smaller additions to those corresponding to Chaps. III, IV, XV, XVII, and XXXIV. The arrangement of the chapters in TD is also much more methodical than in the Indian MSS., especially with regard to Chaps. XX, XXI, XXII, and XXVII, which evidently occupy their proper position in TD; and so far as Chap. XX is concerned, this arrangement is confirmed by the insertion of its first sentence between Chaps. XIII and XIV in the Indian MSS., which indicates that the whole chapter must have been in that position in some older copy. In fact, the Indian MSS. must probably be now regarded merely as collections of

[1] The meaning is doubtful and must depend upon the context.

[2] This chapter begins with a translation of the first fargard of the Vendidad, and concludes with an account of buildings erected by various kings.

[3] Containing an account of the kings reigning in the various millenniums, and concluding with prophecies similar to those in the Bahman Yast.

extracts from the original work; this has been long suspected from the fragmentary character of the text they contain, but it could hardly be proved until a more complete text had been discovered.

Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined; it is, therefore, to be hoped that its owner will be induced to publish a lithographed facsimile of the whole, after the manner of Westergaard's edition. So far as appears in the lengthy and valuable extracts, with which he has kindly favoured me, no decided difference of style can be detected between the additional matter and the text hitherto known, nor any inconsistencies more striking than such as sometimes occur in the Indian MSS. On the other hand, it will be noticed that heading No. 25 in the list of contents seems to be misplaced, which is an argument against the text being in its original state; and the style of the Bundahi*s* is so much less involved and obscure than that of the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam (see Appendix to the Bundahi*s*), which treat of some of the same subjects, that it may be fairly suspected of having been written originally in a different age. But the writer of the text, as it appears in TD, calls Zâ*d*-sparam[1] one of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11 of the translation); it may, therefore, be suspected that he merely re-edited an old text with some additions of his own, which, however, are rather difficult to distinguish from the rest. No stress can be laid upon peculiarities of orthography in TD, as they are, in all likelihood, attributable to copyists long subsequent to Zâ*d*-sparam's contemporaries.

Any future translator of the Bundahi*s* will probably have to take the text in TD as the nearest accessible approach to the original work; but the present translation is based, as heretofore, upon the text in K20, corrected in many places from M6, but with due care not to adopt

[1] He writes the name Zâ*d*-sparham.

readings which seem due to the illegibility of the original from which M6 was copied, as already explained. In Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII, however, TD has been taken as a principal authority, merely checked by K20, and having its additional passages carefully indicated; and in Chap. XXXI, K20b has also been consulted.

Since the present translation was printed, any lingering doubts, as to the genuineness of the text in TD, have been, in a great measure, dissipated by the discovery that a small fragment[1] of an old MS. of the Bundahi*s*, which has long been in Europe, is evidently a portion of a text of similar character to TD, and of exactly the same extent. This small fragment consists of two folios belonging to an old MS. brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843–44, and which is evidently the codex mentioned by him in the preface to his Zend-Avesta, p. 8, note 3. These two folios, which are numbered 130 and 131 in Persian words, now form the commencement of this old mutilated MS., of which the first 129 folios have been lost. They contain very little more than one page of the Bundahi*s* text, namely, the last sentences of the last chapter (corresponding to Bund. XXXIV, 7–9), followed by a colophon occupying less than two pages. This fragment of the text contains some additional details not found in the Indian MSS., as well as a few other variations of no great importance. It may be translated as follows :—

'[. . . . Sâhm[2] was in those *reigns of* Aûzôbô, Kavâ*d*, and Mânûs*k*îhar.] Kaî-Kâyûs, till *his* going to the sky, seventy-five years, and after that, seventy-five years, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôbô sixty

[1] I am indebted to Professor G. Hoffmann, of Kiel, for directing my attention to this fragment, and also for kindly sending me a facsimile of it. It had been recognised as a portion of the Bundahis by Dr. Andreas some years ago, and probably by the owner of the MS., the late Professor Westergaard, long before that.

[2] See Bund. XXXI, 27. As the beginning of this sentence is lost, its translation is uncertain. Details not found in K20 and M6 are here enclosed in brackets, and words added by the translator to complete the sense are printed in italics.

years; Kaî-Lôharâsp a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years; [total (mar) one thousand years[1]. Then the millennium reign came to Capricornus, and Zaratûhast[2] the Spîtâmân, with tidings (pêtkhambarîh) from the creator Aûharmazd, came to King Vistâsp; *and* Vistâsp *was* king,] after receiving the religion, ninety years.

'Vohûman, *son* of Spend-dâd, a hundred and twelve years; Hûmâî, daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâî, son of Kîhar-âzâd, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâî, son of Dârâî, fourteen years; and Alexander the Rûman[3] fourteen years.

'The Askânians should bear the title in an uninterrupted sovereignty two hundred and so many[4] years; and Artakhshatar, son of Pâpak, and the number of the Sâsânians *bear* it four hundred and sixty years, until the withering Arabs obtained a place[5] [as far as the year 447 of the Persians; now *it is* the Persian year 527][6].'

The colophon, which follows, states that the MS. was finished on the thirteenth day of the ninth month A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, *son* of Anôshak-rûbân, *son* of Rûstâm. This MS. is, therefore, of nearly the same age as TD; but there has been no opportunity of collating the fragment of it, which is still extant, with the corresponding portion of TD. That it was a MS. of the same character as TD (that is, one containing the same text as K20, but with much additional matter) appears clearly

[1] From the beginning of Frêdûn's reign, when the millennium of Sagittarius commenced.

[2] The usual way of spelling Zaratûst in old MSS., excepting K20 and a few others.

[3] Here written correctly Alaksandar-i Arûmâî.

[4] Reading va and; as the final letter is d and not *d* it cannot be read nâvad as a variant of navad, 'ninety.'

[5] The words are, vad gînâk ayâft khûskô-i Tâzîkânŏ, but the exact meaning is rather doubtful.

[6] The last date is doubtful, as the Pahlavi text gives the ciphers only for 'five and twenty-seven,' omitting that for 'hundred.' These Persian dates must either have been added by some former copyist, or Chap. XXXIV must have been appended to the Bundahis at a later date than the ninth century, when the preceding genealogical chapters were probably added to the original work (see p. xliii). The Persian year 527 was A.D. 1158.

from the fragment translated above. Regarding its original extent, it is possible to make an approximate estimate, by calculating the quantity of text which the 129 lost folios must have contained, from the quantity actually existing on folio 130. According to this calculation, the original extent of the text of the Bundahi*s* in this MS. must have been very nearly 30,000 words; and it is remarkable that a similar calculation of the extent of the text in TD, based upon the actual contents of ten folios out of 103, gives precisely the same result. This coincidence is a strong argument in favour of the absolute identity of the text lost from Westergaard's MS. with that actually existing in TD; it shows, further, that the original extent of the Bundahi*s* may now be safely estimated at 30,000 words, instead of the 13,000 contained in K20 when that MS. was complete.

That this fragment belonged to a separate MS., and is not the folio missing from the end of TD, is shown not only by its containing more of the text than is said to be missing, but also by the first folio of the fragment being numbered 130, instead of 103, and by its containing fifteen lines to the page, instead of seventeen, as would be necessary in order to correspond with TD.

Regarding the age of the Bundahi*s* many opinions have been hazarded, but as they have been chiefly based upon minute details of supposed internal evidence evolved from each writer's special misinterpretation of the text, it is unnecessary to detail them. The only indication of its age that can be fairly obtained from internal evidence, is that the text of the Bundahi*s* could not have been completed, in its present form, until after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia (A. D. 651). This is shown not only by the statements that the sovereignty 'went to the Arabs' (Chap. XXXIV, 9), that 'now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they (the negroes) are again diffused through the country of Iran' (Chap. XXIII, 3), and that 'whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer' (Chap. XXV, 19, referring probably to the Muhammadan year not corresponding with the seasons), but also, more positively

by the following translation of an extract from Chap. 39 in TD:—

'And when the sovereignty came to Yazdakar*d* he exercised sovereignty twenty years, *and* then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude. Yazdakar*d* did not prosper (lâ *s*âkaftŏ) in warfare with them, *and* went to Khûrâsân and Tûrkistân to seek horses, men, and assistance, and was slain by them there. The son of Yazdakar*d* went to the Hindûs and fetched an army of champions; before it came, conducted unto Khûrâsân, that army of champions dispersed. The country of Iran remained with the Arabs, and their own irreligious law was propagated by them, and many ancestral customs were destroyed; the religion of the Mazdayasnians was weakened, *and* washing of corpses, burial of corpses, *and* eating of dead matter were put in practice. From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this *has* not happened, for through their evil deeds—on account of want, foreign habits (Anîrânîh), hostile acts, bad decrees, and bad religion—ruin, want, and other evils have taken lodgment.'

None of these passages could have been written before the Muhammadan conquest; but the writer, or editor, of the text as it appears in TD, supplies the means of approximating much more closely to the date of his work, in a passage in Chap. 41 of TD, in which he mentions the names of several of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11). Among these, as already noticed, he mentions 'Zâ*d*-sparham *son* of Yûdân-Yim,' who must have been the writer of the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, a translation of which is added as an appendix to the Bundahi*s* in this volume. This writer was the brother of Mânû*sk*îhar son of Yûdân-Yim, who wrote the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk[1], and from colophons found in certain MSS. of the Dâ*d*istân (which will be more particularly described in the next section of this introduction) it appears that this Mânû*sk*îhar was

[1] It is quite possible that Mânû*sk*îhar was also the reviser of the Bundahi*s*; see the note on Dâ*d*akîh-i Ashôvahistô in Chap. XXXIII, 10.

high-priest of Pârs and Kîrmân in A. Y. 250 (A. D. 881). This date may, therefore, be taken as a very close approximation to the time at which the Bundahi*s* probably assumed the form we find in TD; but that MS., having been written about 650 years later, can hardly have been copied direct from the original. Whether that original was merely a new edition of an older Pahlavi work, as may be suspected from the simplicity of its language, or whether it was first translated, for the most part, from the Avesta of the Dâmdâ*d* Nask, in the ninth century, we have no means of determining with certainty. Judging, however, from Chap. I, 1, the original Bundahi*s* probably ended with the account of the resurrection (Chap. XXX), and the extra chapters, containing genealogical and chronological details (matters not mentioned in Chap. I, 1), together with all allusions to the Arabs, were probably added by the revising editor in the ninth century. The last, or chronological, chapter may even have been added at a later date.

A Gu*g*arâti translation, or rather paraphrase, of the Bundahi*s* was published in 1819 by Edal Dârâb Jamshêd Jâmâsp Âsâ, and a revised edition of it was published by Peshutan Rustam in 1877[1]. In the preface to the latter edition it is stated that the translator made use of two MSS., one being a copy of a manuscript written in Iran in A. Y. 776 by Rustamji Meherwanji Mar*g*abân Sheheriâr[2], and the other a MS. written in India by Dastûr Jamshêdji Jâmâspji in A. Y. 1139[3]. It is also mentioned that he was four years at work upon his translation. The editor of the new edition states that he has laboured to

[1] Bundehe*s* ketâb, iâne dunià-ni awal-thi te âkher sudhi pedâe*s*-ni sahruât-ni hakikat; bigi-vâr sudhârine *kh*apâwanâr, Peshutan bin Rustam; Mu*m*bai, 1877.

[2] There is no doubt whatever that the writer of the preface is referring to M6, although his description is incorrect. M6 was written at Bhrô*k* in India A. Y. 766 by Pêshôtan Râm Kâmdîn Shaharyâr Nêryôsang Shâhmard Shaharyâr Bâhrâm Aûrmazdyâr Râmyâr; but some portion of it (probably not the Bundahi*s*) was copied from a MS. written A. Y. 618 (A. D. 1249) by Rûstam Mihirâpân Marzapân Dahisn-ayâr, who must be the copyist mentioned in the preface to the Gu*g*arâti translation.

[3] This is probably the copy derived from M6, and mentioned in p. xxx as being now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji.

improve the work by collecting all the further information he could find, on the various subjects, in many other Pahlavi works. The result of all this labour is not so much a mere translation of the Bundahi*s*, as a larger work upon the same subject, or a paraphrase more methodically arranged, as may be seen from the following summary of its contents:—

The headings of the fifty-nine chapters, which form the first part of the work, are:—Ahuramazd's covenant, account of the sky, of the first twelve things created, of Mount Albor*g*, of the twelve signs of the zodiac, of the stars, of the soul, of the first practices adopted by the creatures of the evil spirit Ahereman, of Ahereman's first breaking into the sky, of Ahereman's coming upon the primeval ox, of Ahereman's arrival in the fire, of Ahereman's coming upon Gaiomard, of the coming of Ahuramazd and Ahereman upon Gaiomard at the time of his creation, of the lustre residing in both spirits; further account of the arrangement of the sky, another account of all the mountains, of depressions for water, of great and small rivers, of the eighteen rivers of fresh water, of the seven external and seven internal liquids in the bodies of men, of the period in which water falling on the earth arrives at its destination, of the three spiritual rivers, of the star Tehestar's destroying the noxious creatures which Ahereman had distributed over the earth, of the prophet Zarathost's asking the creator Ahuramazd how long these noxious creatures will remain in the latter millenniums, of driving the poison of the noxious creatures out of the earth, of the divisions of the land, of the creator Ahuramazd's placing valiant stars as club-bearers over the heads of the demons, of all the things produced by the passing away of the primeval ox, of the 282 species of beasts and birds, of the bird named *K*amro*s*, of the bird named Kar*s*apad and the hollow of Var*g*amkard, of the birds who are enemies opposed to the demons and fiends, of the bitter and sweet plants among the fifty-five kinds of grain and twelve kinds of herbs, of the flowers of the thirty days, of the revolution of the sun and moon and stars, and how

night falls, and how the day becomes light, of the seven regions of the earth, of depressions, of the creatures of the sea, of the flow and ebb of the tide, of the three-legged ass, of the Gâhambârs, of Rapithvan, of the revolution of the seasons, of the production of mankind from the passing away of Gaiomard, of the production of offspring from the seed of men, of all fires, of all the clever work produced in the reign of King Jamshed and the production of the ape and bear, of the production of the Abyssinian and negro from Zohâk, of the splendour and glory of King Jamshed, of the soul of Kersâsp, of Kersâsp's soul being the first to rise, of the names of the prophet Zarathost's pedigree, of his going out into the world, of his children, of the orders given by Ahereman to the demons when the creator Ahuramazd created the creatures, of the weeping and raging of the evil spirit Ahereman, of the weeping of the demon of Wrath in the presence of Ahereman when the prophet Zarathost brought the religion, of the computation of twelve thousand years.

The headings of the thirteen chapters, which form the second part, are: — Account of the last millenniums, of the appearance of Ho*s*edar-bâmi, of his going out into the world, of the appearance of Ho*s*edar-mâh, of So*s*ios, of the fifty-seven years, of giving the light of the sun to men on the day of the resurrection, of the rising again of the whole of mankind on that day, of the resurrection, of the means of resurrection, of the annihilation of the evil spirit Ahereman and the demons and fiends on the day of resurrection, of the creator Ahuramazd's making the earth and sky one after the resurrection, of the proceedings of all creatures after the resurrection.

The third part contains an abstract of the contents of the hundred chapters of the Sad-dar Bundahi*s*, and concludes with an account of the ceremonial formula practised when tying the kusti or sacred thread-girdle.

4. The Selections of Zâd-sparam.

In some manuscripts of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk the ninety-two questions and answers, which usually go by that name, are preceded and followed by Pahlavi texts which are each nearly equal in extent to the questions and answers, and treat of a variety of subjects, somewhat in the manner of a Rivâyat. Of the texts which follow the questions and answers the following are the principal:—

Incantations for fever, &c.; indications afforded by natural marks on the body; about the hamîstakân ('the ever-stationary,' or neutral state of future existence) and the different grades in heaven; copy of an epistle[1] from Herbad Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim[2], which he addressed to the good people of Sîrkân[3], about the decisions pronounced by Herbad Zâd-sparam son of Yûdân-Yim; copy of a letter from Herbad Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim to his brother, Herbad Zâd-sparam, on the same subject, and replying to a letter of his written from Nîvshâpûhar; copy of a notice by Herbad Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim and high-priest (rad) of Pârs and Kîrmân, of the necessity of fifteenfold ablution on account of grievous sin, written and sealed in the third month A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881); memoranda and writings called 'Selections of Zâd-sparam son of Yûdân-Yim,' the first part treating of many of the same subjects as the Bundahis, together

[1] This long epistle contains one statement which is important in its bearing upon the age of certain Pahlavi writings. It states that Nîshahpûhar was in the council of Anôshak-rûbân Khûsrô, king of kings and son of Kavâd, also that he was Mobad of Mobads and a commentator. Now this is the name of a commentator quoted in the Pahlavi Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VIII, 64, and very frequently in the Nîrangistân; it is also a title applied to Ardâ-Vîrâf (see AV. I, 35). These facts seem to limit the age of the last revision of the Pahlavi Vendidad, and of the composition of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân and Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak to the time of King Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). The statement depends, of course, upon the accuracy of a tradition three centuries old, as this epistle must have been written about A.D. 880.

[2] Some Parsis read this name Gôshnajam, others Yûdân-dam.

[3] Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji thinks this is the place now called Sîrgan, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, on the road to Bandar Abbâs, which is no doubt the case.

with legends regarding Zaratûst and his family; the second part about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul; and the third part about the details of the renovation of the universe. The last part of these Selections is incomplete in all known MSS., and is followed by some fragments of a further series of questions and answers regarding the omniscient wisdom, the evil spirit, Kangdez, the enclosure formed by Yim, &c.

A translation of so much of the Selections of Zâd-sparam as treats of the same subjects as the Bundahis, has been added as an appendix to the translation of that work in this volume, because the language used in these Selections seems to have an important bearing upon the question of the age of the Bundahis. The time when the Selections themselves were written is fixed with considerable precision by the date (A. D. 881), when their author's brother, Mânûskîhar, issued his public notice, as mentioned above. But Zâd-sparam uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the Bundahis, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style; it is, therefore, evident that he had the Bundahis before him to quote from, and that work must consequently have been written either by one of his contemporaries, or by an older writer. So far the Selections merely confirm the information already obtained more directly from TD (see p. xxxviii); but the involved style of their language seems to prove more than this. In fact, in none of the text of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk and its accompaniments is there much of the simplicity of style and directness of purpose which are the chief characteristics of most of the language of the Bundahis. So far, therefore, as style can be considered a mark of age, rather than a mere personal peculiarity of a contemporary writer, the contrast between the straightforward language of the Bundahis and the laboured sentences of Mânûskîhar and Zâd-sparam, sons of Yûdân-Yim, tends to prove that the bulk of the Bundahis was already an old work in their days, and was probably saved from oblivion through their writings or influence. That this original Bundahis or Zand-âkâs was an abridged translation of the Avesta of the

Dâmdâ*d* Nask appears pretty evident from Zâ*d*-sparam's remarks in Chap. IX, 1, 16 of his Selections.

The first part of these Selections consists of 'sayings about the meeting of the beneficent and evil spirits,' and the first portion of these 'sayings' (divided into eleven chapters in the translation) is chiefly a paraphrase of Chaps. I–XVII of the Bundahi*s* (omitting Chaps. II, V, and XVI). It describes the original state of the two spirits, their meeting and covenant, with a paraphrase of the Ahûnavar formula; the production of the first creatures, including time; the incursion of the evil spirit and his temporary success in deranging the creation, with the reason why he was unable to destroy the primitive man for thirty years; followed by the seven contests he carried on with the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man, and fire, respectively, detailing how each of these creations was modified in consequence of the incursion of the evil spirit. In the account of the first of these contests the Pahlavi translation of one stanza in the Gâthas is quoted verbatim, showing that the same Pahlavi version of the Yasna was used in the ninth century as now exists. The remainder of these 'sayings,' having no particular connection with the Bundahi*s*, has not been translated.

With regard to the Pahlavi text of the Selections, the present translator has been compelled to rely upon a single manuscript of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, brought by Westergaard from Kirmân [1] in 1843, and now No. 35 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen; it may, therefore, be called K35. This MS. is incomplete, having lost nearly one-third of its original bulk, but still contains 181 folios of large octavo size, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page; the first seventy-one folios of the work have been lost, and about thirty-five folios are also missing from the end; but the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers, together with one-third of the

[1] That is, so far as the late Professor Westergaard could remember in 1878, when he kindly lent me the MS. for collation with my copy of the text, already obtained from more recent MSS. in Bombay, the best of which turned out to be a copy of K35.

texts which usually precede them, and three-fifths of those which usually follow them, are still remaining. This MS. has lost its date, but a copy[1] of it exists in Bombay (written when it was complete) which ends with a colophon dated A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572), as detailed in p. xxxiii; this may either be the actual date of that copy, or it may have been merely copied from K35, which cannot be much older. The latter supposition appears the more probable, as this colophon seems to be left incomplete by the loss of the last folio in the Bombay copy, and may, therefore, have been followed by another colophon giving a later date.

This copy of K35 was, no doubt, originally complete, but has lost many of its folios in the course of time; most of the missing text has been restored from another MS., but there are still twelve or more folios missing from the latter part of the work; it contains, however, all that portion of the Selections which is translated in this volume, but has, of course, no authority independent of K35. The other MS. in Bombay, from which some of the missing text was recovered, is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji; it is a modern copy, written at different periods from forty to sixty years ago, and is incomplete, as it contains only one-fourth of the texts which usually follow the ninety-two questions and answers, and includes no portion of the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam.

Another MS. of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk and its accompaniments, written also at Kirmân, but two generations earlier than K35 (say, about A.D. 1530), has been already mentioned (see p. xxxiii). It is said still to contain 227 folios, though its first seventy folios are missing; it must, therefore, begin very near the same place as K35, but extends much further, as it supplies about half the text still missing from the

[1] The fact of its being a copy of K35 is proved by strong circumstantial evidence. In the first place, it contains several false readings which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35, so that it is evidently descended from that MS. But it is further proved to have been copied direct from that MS., by the last words in thirty-two of its pages having been marked with interlined circles in K35; the circle having been the copyist's mark for finding his place, when beginning a new page after turning over his folios.

Bombay copy of K35, though it has lost about fourteen folios at the end. This MS. must be either the original from which K35 was copied, or an independent authority of equal value, but it has not been available for settling the text of the Selections for the present translation.

5. The Bahman Yast.

The Bahman Yast, usually called the 'Zand of the Vohûman Yast,' professes to be a prophetical work, in which Aûharmazd gives Zaratûst an account of what was to happen to the Iranian nation and religion in the future.

It begins with an introduction (Chap. I) which states that, according to the Stûdgar Nask, Zaratûst having asked Aûharmazd for immortality, was supplied temporarily with omniscient wisdom, and had a vision of a tree with four branches of different metals which were explained to him as symbolical of four different periods, the times of Vistâsp, of Ardakhshîr the Kayânian, of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and of certain demons or idolators who were to appear at the end of a thousand years. It states, further, that the commentaries of the Vohûman, Horvadad, and Âstâd Yasts mentioned the heretic Mazdak, and that Khûsrô Nôshirvân summoned a council of high-priests and commentators, and ordered them not to conceal these Yasts, but to teach the commentary only among their own relations.

The text then proceeds (Chap. II) to give the details of the commentary on the Vohûman Yast as follows:—Zaratûst, having again asked Aûharmazd for immortality, is refused, but is again supplied with omniscient wisdom for a week, during which time he sees, among other things, a tree with seven branches of different metals, which are again explained to him as denoting the seven ages of the religion, its six ages of triumph in the reigns of Vistâsp, of Ardakhshîr the Kayânian, of one of the Askânian kings, of Ardakhshîr Pâpakân and Shahpûr I and II, of Vâhrâm Gôr, and of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and its seventh age of adversity when

Iran is to be invaded from the east by hordes of demons or idolators with dishevelled hair, who are to work much mischief, so as to destroy the greater part of the nation and mislead the rest, until the religion becomes nearly extinct. The details of this mischief, written in a tone of lamentation, constitute the greater part of the text, which also notices that the sovereignty will pass from the Arabs, Rûmans, and these leathern-belted demons (Tûrks) to other Tûrks and non-Tûranians who are worse than themselves.

Distressed at this narrative Zaratû*s*t asks Aûharmazd (Chap. III, 1) how the religion is to be restored, and these demons destroyed? He is informed that, in the course of time, other fiends with red banners, red weapons, and red hats, who seem to be Christians, will appear in the north-west, and will advance either to the Arvand (Tigris) or the Euphrates, driving back the former demons who will assemble all their allies to a great conflict, one of the three great battles of the religions of the world, in which the wicked will be so utterly destroyed that none will be left to pass into the next millennium.

Zaratû*s*t enquires (III, 12) how so many can perish, and is informed that, after the demons with dishevelled hair appear, Hûshê*d*ar, the first of the last three apostles, is born near Lake Frazdân; and when he begins to confer with Aûharmazd a Kayân prince is born in the direction of *K*înistân (Samarkand), who is called Vâhrâm the Var*g*âvand, and when he is thirty years old he collects a large army of Hindu (Bactrian) and *K*înî (Samarkandian) troops, and advances into Iran, where he is reinforced by a numerous army of Iranian warriors, and defeats the demon races with immense slaughter, in the great conflict already mentioned, so that there will be only one man left to a thousand women.

The writer then proceeds to describe the supernatural agencies employed to produce this result: how the evil spirit (III, 24) comes to the assistance of the demon-worshippers; how Aûharmazd sends his angels to Kangde*z*, to summon Pêshyôtanû, the immortal son of Vi*s*tâsp, with his disciples, to re-establish the sacred fires and restore the

religious ceremonies ; and how the angels assist them against the evil spirits, so that Vâhrâm the Var*g*âvand is enabled to destroy the fiendish races, as already detailed, and Pêshyôtanû becomes supreme high-priest of the Iranian world.

Finally, the writer gives some details regarding the missions of the last three apostles, returning for that purpose (III, 44) to the birth of Hûshê*d*ar, the first of the three, whose millennium witnesses both the invasion and the destruction of the fiendish races. Hûshê*d*ar proves his apostolic authority, to the satisfaction of Var*g*âvand and the people, by making the sun stand still for ten days and nights. His mission is to 'bring the creatures back to their proper state;' and it is not till near the end of his millennium that Pêshyôtanû appears, as before described. As this millennium begins with the invasion of the fiendish races and the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, it must have terminated in the seventeenth century, unless it was to last more than a thousand years. A very brief account is then given of the millennium of Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, the second of the three apostles, whose mission is to make 'the creatures more progressive' and to destroy 'the fiend of serpent origin' (A*z*-i Dahâk). During his millennium (which appears to be now in progress) mankind become so skilled in medicine that they do not readily die; but owing to their toleration of heretics the evil spirit once more attains power, and releases A*z*-i Dahâk, from his confinement in Mount Dimâvand, to work evil in the world, till Aûharmazd sends his angels to rouse Keresâsp the Sâmân, who rises from his trance and kills A*z*-i Dahâk with his club at the end of the millennium. Afterwards, Sôshyans, the last apostle, appears to 'make the creatures again pure;' when the resurrection takes place and the future existence commences.

Whether this text, as now extant, be the original commentary or zand of the Vohûman Ya*s*t admits of doubt, since it appears to quote that commentary (Chap. II, 1) as an authority for its statements; it is, therefore, most probably, only an epitome of the original commentary. Such an epitome would naturally quote many passages verbatim

from the original work, which ought to bear traces of translation from an Avesta text, as its title zand implies a Pahlavi translation from the Avesta (see p. x). There are, in fact, many such traces in this epitome, as indicated by the numerous sentences beginning with a verb, the mode of addressing Aûharmazd, the quotation of different opinions from various commentators, and other minor peculiarities. Some of these might be the result of careful imitation of other commentaries, but it seems more likely that they are occasioned by literal translation from an original Avesta text. In speculating, therefore, upon the contents of the Bahman Ya*s*t it is necessary to remember that we are most probably dealing with a composite work, whose statements may be referred to the three different ages of the Avesta original, the Pahlavi translation and commentary, and the Pahlavi epitome of the latter; and that this last form of the text is the only old version now extant.

With regard to the age of the work we have the external evidence that a copy of it exists in a manuscript (K20) written about five hundred years ago, and that this copy is evidently descended from older manuscripts as it contains several clerical blunders incompatible with any idea of its being the original manuscript, as witness the omissions noted in Chaps. II, 10, 13, 14, 22, 27, 45, III, 30, 32, the misplacement of II, 18, and many miswritings of single words. Owing to the threefold character of the work, already noticed, the internal evidence of its age can only apply to its last recension in the form of an epitome, as an oriental editor (to say nothing of others) generally considers himself at liberty to alter and add to his text, if he does not understand it, or thinks he can improve it. That this liberty has been freely exercised, with regard to these professed prophecies, is shown by the identification of the four prophetical ages of the Stû*d*gar Nask in the first chapter of the Bahman Ya*s*t being different from that given in the Dînkar*d*. The Dînkar*d* quotes the Stû*d*gar Nask (that is, its Pahlavi version) as identifying the iron age with some period of religious indifference subsequent to the time of Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mâraspend, the supreme high-priest and

prime minister of Shahpûr II (A.D. 309–379); but the Bahman Yast (Chap. I, 5) quotes the Nask as identifying the same age with the reign of an idolatrous race subsequent to the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). This example is sufficient to show that the compiler of the extant epitome of the Bahman Yast commentary largely availed himself of his editorial license, and it indicates the difficulty of distinguishing his statements from those of the former editors. At the same time it proves that the epitome could not have been compiled till after Iran had been overrun by a foreign race subsequent to the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân. It is remarkable that the compiler does not mention any later Sasanian king, that he does not allude to Muhammadanism, and speaks of the foreign invaders as Turanians and Christians, only mentioning Arabs incidentally in later times; at the same time the foreign invasion (which lasts a thousand years) is of too permanent a character to allow of its having reference merely to the troublous times of Nôshirvân's successor.

Perhaps the most reasonable hypotheses that can be founded upon these facts are, first, that the original zand or commentary of the Bahman Yast was written and translated from the Avesta in the latter part of the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, or very shortly afterwards, which would account for no later king being mentioned by name; and, secondly, that the epitome now extant was compiled by some writer who lived so long after the Arab invasion that the details of their inroad had become obscured by the more recent successes of Turanian rulers, such as the Ghaznavîs and Salgûqs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is hardly possible that the epitomist could have lived as late as the time of Gingîz Khân, the great Mongol conqueror (A.D. 1206–1227), as that would bring him within 150 years of the date of the extant manuscript of his work, which has no appearance of being an immediate copy of the original; but the rule of the Salgûqs would certainly have afforded him sufficient materials for his long description of the iron age. The Avesta of the Bahman Yast was probably compiled from older sources (like the rest of the Avesta) during

the reigns of the earlier Sasanian monarchs; but it was, no doubt, very different in its details from the epitome of its commentary which still exists.

These hypotheses, regarding the threefold origin of the present form of this Ya*s*t, derive some confirmation from the inconsistencies in its chronological details; especially those relating to the periods of the invaders' reign and of Hûshê*d*ar's birth. The Zoroastrians have for ages been expecting the appearance of Hûshê*d*ar, the first of their last three apostles, but have always had to postpone their expectations from time to time, like the Jews and other interpreters of prophecy; so that they are still looking forward into the future for his advent, although his millennium has long since expired according to the chronology adopted in the Bahman Ya*s*t. This chronology, of course, represents the expectations of Zoroastrians in past times, and seems to express three different opinions. First, we have the statement that the last great battle of the demon-races is to take place at the end of Zaratû*s*t's millennium (see Chap. III, 9), when the wicked will be so destroyed (compare III, 22, 23) that none will pass into the next millennium (III, 11), which is that of Hûshê*d*ar (III, 43). And that the reign of evil is to precede the end of Zaratû*s*t's millennium is evidently assumed also in Chap. II, 41, 63. Such opinions may reasonably be traced to the original Avesta writer, who must have expected only a short reign of evil to arise and fall near the latter end of Zaratû*s*t's millennium, which was still far in the future, and to be followed by the appearance of Hûshê*d*ar to restore the 'good' religion. Secondly, we are told (I, 5, II, 22, 24, 31) that the invasion of the demon-races, with its attendant evils, is to take place when Zaratû*s*t's millennium is ended; on their appearance Hûshê*d*ar is born (III, 13), and when he is thirty years old (compare III, 14 with III, 44) Vâhrâm the Var*g*âvand is also born, who at the age of thirty (III, 17) advances into Iran with an innumerable army to destroy the invaders. Such statements may be attributed to the original Pahlavi translator and commentator who, writing about A.D. 570–590, would have before his eyes the disastrous

reign of Aûharmazd IV, the son and successor of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, together with the prowess of the famous Persian general Bahrâm *K*ôpîn, which drove out all invaders. This writer evidently expected the reign of the demon-races to last less than a century, but still at some period in the near future; merely illustrating his theme by details of the disasters and wars of his own time. Thirdly, we find it stated (III, 44) that Hûshê*d*ar will be born in 1600, which seems to mean the sixteen hundredth year of Zaratû*s*t's millennium, or six hundredth of his own (say A.D. 1193–1235), also that the reign of the demon-races is to last a thousand years (III, 34), and that Pêshyôtanû does not come to restore the religion till near the end of the millennium (III, 51); it also appears (III, 49) that Var*g*âvand occupies a prominent position when Hûshê*d*ar comes from his conference with Aûharmazd at thirty years of age (III, 44, 45). Such details were probably inserted by the compiler of the epitome, who had to admit the facts that the reign of the demon-races had already lasted for centuries, and that Hûshê*d*ar had not yet appeared. To get over these difficulties he probably adopted the opinions current in his day, and postponed the advent of Hûshê*d*ar till the beginning of the next century in his millennium, and put off the destruction of the wicked, as a more hopeless matter, till near the end of the millennium. Both these periods are now long since past, and the present Zoroastrians have still to postpone the fulfilment of the prophecies connected with their last three apostles, or else to understand them in a less literal fashion than heretofore.

For the Pahlavi text of the Bahman Ya*s*t the translator has to rely upon the single old manuscript K20, already described (p. xxvii), in which it occupies the 13½ folios immediately following the Bundahi*s*; these folios are much worn, and a few words have been torn off some of them, but nearly all of these missing words can be restored by aid of the Pâzand version. The Pahlavi text is also found in the modern copies of K20 at Paris and Kopenhagen, but these copies (P7 and K21) have no authority independent of K20. In India this text has long been exceedingly rare,

and whether any copy of it exists, independent of K20, is doubtful.

The Pâzand version is more common in Parsi libraries, but contains a very imperfect text. Of this version two modern copies have been consulted; one of these occupies fols. 38–62 of a small manuscript, No. 22 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich; the other is a copy of a manuscript in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay. Both these MSS. are evidently descended from the same original, which must have been a very imperfect transliteration of a Pahlavi text closely resembling that of K20, but yet independent of that MS., as a few words omitted in K20 are supplied by these Pâzand MSS. (see B.Yt. II, 13, 14, 22, &c.) To a certain extent, therefore, these Pâzand MSS. are of some assistance in settling the text of a few sentences, but the greater part of their contents is so imperfect as to be utterly unintelligible; they not only omit Chaps. I, 1–8, II, 17, 30–32, 40, III, 9, 12, 17–44, 58–63 entirely, but also words and phrases from nearly every other section of the text. Adhering scrupulously to the Pahlavi original for a few consecutive words, and then widely departing from it by misreading or omitting all difficult words and passages, this Pâzand version is a complete contrast to the Pâzand writings of Nêryôsang, being of little use to the reader beyond showing the extremely low ebb to which Pahlavi learning must have fallen, among the Parsis, before such unintelligible writings could have been accepted as Pâzand texts.

There is also a Persian version of the Bahman Yast, a copy of which, written A. D. 1676, is contained in a large Rivâyat MS. No. 29, belonging to the University Library at Bombay. According to the colophon of this Persian version it was composed in A.D. 1496 by Rustam Isfendiyâr of Yazd, from an Avesta (Pâzand) MS. belonging to his brother Jamshêd. This Persian version contains less than three per cent of Arabic words, and is more of a paraphrase than a translation, but it adheres very closely to the meaning of the Pahlavi text from Chaps. I, 1 to III, 9, where a dislocation occurs, evidently owing either to the displacement

of two folios in an older MS., or to the second page of a folio being copied before the first, so that §§ 10–14 follow §§ 15–22. From the middle of § 22 the folios of the older MS. seem to have been lost as far as the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (§ 51), to which point the Persian version leaps, but the remainder of this paraphrase is much more diffuse than the Bahman Yast, and is evidently derived from some other Pahlavi work.

This conclusion of the Persian version describes how adversity departs from the world, and ten people are satisfied with the milk of one cow, when Hûshêdar-mâh appears and his millennium commences. On his coming from his conference with Aûharmazd the sun stands still for twenty days and nights, in consequence of which two-thirds of the people in the world believe in the religion. Meat is no longer eaten, but only milk and butter, and a hundred people are satisfied with the milk of one cow. Hûshêdar-mâh destroys the terrible serpent, which accompanies apostasy, by means of the divine glory and Avesta formulas; he clears all noxious creatures out of the world, and wild animals live harmlessly among mankind; the fiends of apostasy and deceit depart from the world, which becomes populous and delightful, and mankind abstain from falsehood. After the five-hundredth year of Hûshêdar-mâh has passed away, Sôshyans (Sâsân) appears, and destroys the fiend who torments fire. The sun stands still for thirty days and nights, when all mankind believe in the religion, and the year becomes exactly 360 days. Dahâk escapes from his confinement, and reigns for a day and a half in the world with much tyranny; when Sôshyans rouses Sâm Narîmân, who accepts the religion and becomes immortal. Sâm calls upon Dahâk to accept the religion, but the latter proposes that they should together seize upon heaven for themselves, whereupon Sâm kills him. All evil having departed from the world mankind become like the archangels, and the resurrection takes place, which is described with many of the same details as are mentioned in Bund. XXX.

Accompanying this Persian version in B29 is another

fragment from the same source, which treats of the same subjects as the third chapter of the Bahman Ya*s*t, but is differently arranged. It confines itself to the millennium of Hûshê*d*ar, and may possibly be some modification of the contents of the folios missing from the version described above. After some introductory matter this fragment contains a paraphrase (less accurate than the preceding) of Chap. III, 23–49 of the Bahman Ya*s*t; it then proceeds to state that Hûshê*d*ar destroys the wolf race, so that wolves, thieves, highway robbers, and criminals cease to exist. When Hûshê*d*ar's three-hundredth year has passed away the winter of Malkôs arrives and destroys all animals and vegetation, and only one man survives out of ten thousand; after which the world is repeopled from the enclosure made by Yim. Then comes the gathering of the nations to the great battle on the Euphrates, where the slaughter is so great that the water of the river becomes red, and the survivors wade in blood up to their horses' girths. Afterwards, the Kayân king, Var*g*âvand, advances from the frontiers of India and takes possession of Iran to the great delight of the inhabitants, but only after a great battle; and then Pêshyôtanû is summoned from Kangde*z* to restore the religious ceremonies.

A German translation of some passages in the Bahman Ya*s*t, with a brief summary of the greater part of the remainder, was published in 1860 in Spiegel's Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, pp. 128–135.

6. The Shâyast lâ-shâyast.

Another treatise which must be referred to about the same age as the Bundahi*s*, though of a very different character, is the Shâyast lâ-shâyast or 'the proper and improper.' It is a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general. Its name has, no doubt, been given to it in modern times [1], and has pro-

[1] But perhaps before the compilation of the prose Sad-dar Bundahi*s*, or Bundahi*s* of a hundred chapters, which seems to refer to the Shâyast lâ-shâyast

bably arisen from the frequent use it makes of the words shâyad, 'it is fit or proper,' and lâ shâyad, 'it is not fit or proper.' And, owing to its resemblance to those Persian miscellanies of traditional memoranda called Rivâyats, it has also been named the Pahlavi Rivâyat, though chiefly by Europeans.

It consists of two parts, which are often put together in modern MSS., and bear the same name, but are widely separated in the oldest MSS. These two parts, consisting respectively of Chaps. I–X and XI–XIV in the present translation, are evidently two distinct treatises on the same and similar subjects, but of nearly the same age. That they were compiled by two different persons, who had access to nearly the same authorities, appears evident from Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13–16, 18, 20 being repetitions of Chaps. I, 1, 2, X, 4, 20–23, 7, 31, with only slight alterations; such repetitions as would hardly be made in a single treatise by the same writer. Minor repetitions in the first part, such as those of some phrases in Chaps. II, 65, IV, 14, repeated in Chap. X, 24, 33, might readily be made by the same writer in different parts of the same treatise. To these two parts of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast a third part has been added in the present translation, as an appendix, consisting of a number of miscellaneous passages of a somewhat similar character, which are found in the same old MSS. that contain the first two parts, but which cannot be attributed either to the same writers or the same age as those parts.

The first part commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, and the names of the chief commentators on the Vendidad. It then gives long details regarding the precautions to be taken with reference to corpses and menstruous women, and the impurity they occasion; besides mentioning (Chap. II, 33–35) the pollution

in its opening words, as follows:—'This book is on "the proper and improper" which is brought out from the good, pure religion of the Mazdayasnians;' though this term may possibly relate to its own contents. There is also a Persian treatise called Shâyast na-shâyast, which gives a good deal of information obtained from the Persian Rivâyats, and copies of which are contained in the MSS. Nos. 56 and 116 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

caused by a serpent. It next describes the proper size and materials of the sacred thread-girdle and shirt, giving some details about the sins of running about uncovered and walking with one boot, and thence proceeding to the sin of unseasonable chatter. Details are then given about good works, and those who can and cannot perform them; in which reference is made to Christians, Jews, and those of other persuasions (Chap. VI, 7). The next subjects treated of are reverencing the sun and fire, the sin of extinguishing fire, confession and renunciation of sin, atonement for sins, especially mortal sins, both those affecting others and those only affecting one's own soul; with a digression (Chap. VIII, 3) prohibiting the rich from hunting. The remainder of this first treatise is of a miscellaneous character, referring to the following subjects:—The Hâsar of time, priests passing away in idolatry, the discussion of religion, ceremonies not done aright, throwing a corpse into the sea, evil of eating in the dark, the four kinds of worship, when the angels should be invoked in worship, the ephemeral nature of life, proper looseness for a girdle, when the sacred cake set aside for the guardian spirits can be used, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant, providing a tank for ablution, the Gâthas not to be recited over the dead, food and drink not to be thrown away to the north at night, unlawful slaughter of animals, how the corpse of a pregnant woman should be carried, forgiveness of trespasses, evil of walking without boots, when the sacred girdle is to be assumed, breaking the spell of an inward prayer, ten women wanted at childbirth, and how the infant is to be treated, sin of beating an innocent person, evil of a false judge, men and women who do not marry, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, prayer on lying down and getting up, Avesta not to be mumbled, doubtful actions to be avoided or consulted about, evil of laughing during prayer, crowing of a hen, treatment of a hedgehog, after a violent death corruption does not set in immediately, necessity of a dog's gaze, putrid meat and hairy cakes or butter unfit for ceremonies, when a woman can do priestly duty, &c.

The second part also commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, followed by the proper meat-offerings for various angels and guardian spirits. Next come miscellaneous observations on the following subjects:—The simplest form of worship, necessity of submitting to a high-priest, advantage of a fire in the house, sin of clothing the dead, presentation of holy-water to the nearest fire after a death, nail-parings to be prayed over, advantage of light at childbirth, offerings to the angels, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant and a child is born, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, evil of drawing well-water at night, food not to be thrown away to the north at night, advantage of prayer at feasts, treatment of a hedgehog, praying when washing the face, the proper choice of a purifying priest, no one should be hopeless of heaven, necessity of a wife being religious as well as her husband, the ceremonies which are good works, and the cause of sneezing, yawning, and sighing. These are followed by a long account of the mystic signification of the Gâthas, with some information as to the errors which may be committed in consecrating the sacred cakes, and how the beginning of the morning watch is to be determined.

The third part, or appendix, commences with an account of how each of the archangels can be best propitiated, by a proper regard for the particular worldly existence which he specially protects. This is followed by a statement of the various degrees of sin, and of the amount of good works attributed to various ceremonies. Then come some account of the ceremonies after a death, particulars of those who have no part in the resurrection, the duty of submission to the priesthood, whether evil may be done for the sake of good, the place where people will rise from the dead, Aêshm's complaint to Aharman of the three things he could not injure in the world, the occasions on which the Ahunavar formula should be recited, and the number of recitals that are requisite, &c. And, finally, statements of the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, blessings invoked

from the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month, and the special epithets of the same.

With regard to the age of this treatise we have no precise information. All three parts are found in a MS. (M6) which was written in A.D. 1397 (see p. xxix), and nearly the whole is also found in the MS. K20, which may be a few years older (see p. xxvii), and in which the first part of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast is followed by a Persian colophon dated A.Y. 700 (A.D. 1331), copied probably from an older MS. The text in both these old MSS. seems to have been derived almost direct from the same original, which must have been so old when M6 was written that the copyist found some words illegible (see notes on Chaps. VIII, 19, X, 34, XII, 14, 15, &c.) Now it is known from a colophon that a portion of M6, containing the book of Ar*d*â-Vîrâf and the tale of Gô*s*t-i Fryânô, was copied from a MS. written in A.D. 1249; and we may safely conclude that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast was copied, either from the same MS., or from one fully as old. So far, therefore, as external evidence goes, there is every reason to suppose that the whole of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, with its appendix [1], was existing in a MS. written about 630 years ago.

But internal evidence points to a far higher antiquity for the first two parts, as the compilers of those treatises evidently had access, not only to several old commentaries, but also to many of the Nasks, which have long been lost. Thus, the first treatise contains quotations from the commentaries of Afarg, Gôgô*s*asp, Kûshtanŏ-bû*g*ê*d*, Mê*d*ôk-mâh, Rôshan, and Sôshyans, which are all frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad (see Sls. I, 3, 4, notes); besides mentioning the opinions of Mar*d*-bû*d*, Nêryôsang, Nôsâî Bûr*z*-Mitrô, and Vand-Aûharmazd, who are rarely or never mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It also quotes no less than eleven of the twenty Nasks or books of the complete Mazdayasnian literature which are no longer extant, besides the Vendidad, the only Nask that still survives in the full extent it had in Sasanian times.

[1] Except Chaps. XXII, XXIII (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXII).

The Nasks quoted are the Stû*d*gar (Sls. X, 8), the Bagh (X, 26), the Dâmdâ*d* (X, 22), the Pâ*z*ôn (IX, 9), the Ratûs-tâîtîh (X, 29), the *K*î*d*ra*s*t (X, 28), the Spend (X, 4), the Nihâ*d*ûm (X, 3, 22, 23), the Dûbâsrû*g*ê*d* (X, 13), the Hûspâram (X, 21), and the Sakâ*d*ûm (X, 25), very few of which are mentioned even in the Pahlavi Vendidad. The second treatise mentions only one commentator, Vand-Aûharmazd, but it quotes eight of the Nasks no longer extant; these are the Stû*d*gar (Sls. XII, 32), the Dâmdâ*d* (XII, 5, 15), the Spend (XII, 3, 11, 15, 29), the Bâg-yasnô (XII, 17), the Nihâ*d*ûm (XII, 15, 16), the Hûspâram (XII, 1, 7, 14, 31, XIII, 17), the Sakâ*d*ûm (XII, 2, 10, 12, XIII, 30), and the Hâ*d*ôkht (XII, 19, 30, XIII, 6, 10).

Of two of these Nasks, the Bagh and Hâ*d*ôkht, a few fragments may still survive (see notes on Sls. X, 26, Haug's Essays, p. 134, B. Yt. III, 25), but those of the latter Nask do not appear to contain the passages quoted in the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. With regard to the rest we only know that the Dâmdâ*d*, Hûspâram, and Sakâ*d*ûm must have been still in existence about A.D. 881, as they are quoted in the writings of Zâ*d*-sparam and Mânû*sk*îhar, sons of Yûdân-Yim, who lived at that time (see pp. xlii, xlvi); and the Nihâ*d*ûm and Hûspâram are also quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It is true that the Dînkar*d* gives copious information about the contents of all the Nasks, with two or three exceptions; and the Dînkar*d* seems to have assumed its present form about A.D. 900 (see Bund. XXXIII, 11, notes); but its last editor was evidently merely a compiler of old fragments, so there is no certainty that many of the Nasks actually existed in his time.

Thus far, therefore, the internal evidence seems to prove that the two treatises called Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which constitute the first two parts of the present translation, are more than a thousand years old. On the other hand, they cannot be more than three centuries older, because they frequently quote passages from the Pahlavi Vendidad which, as we have seen (p. xlvi, note 1), could not have assumed its present form before the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). As they contain no reference to any

interference of the governing powers with the religion or priesthood, it is probable that they were written before the Muhammadan conquest (A.D. 636–651), although they do not mention the existence of any 'king of the kings,' the usual title of the Sasanian monarchs. And this probability is increased by there being no direct mention of Muhammadanism among the contemporary religions named in Chap. VI, 7, unless we assume that passage to be a quotation from an earlier book. We may, therefore, conclude, with tolerable certainty, that the Pahlavi text of the first two parts of the present translation of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast was compiled some time in the seventh century; but, like the Bundahi*s* and Bahman Ya*s*t, it was, for the most part, a compilation of extracts and translations from far older writings, and may also have been rearranged shortly after the Muhammadan conquest.

The fragments which are collected in the appendix, or third part of the present translation, are probably of various ages, and several of them may not be more than seven centuries old. The commentator Bakht-âfrî*d*, whose work (now lost) is quoted in Chap. XX, 11, may have lived in the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (see B. Yt. I, 7). And Chap. XXI must certainly have been written in Persia, as the lengths of noonday shadows which it mentions are only suitable for 32° north latitude. As regards the last two chapters we have no evidence that they are quite five centuries old.

For the Pahlavi text of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast and its appendix we have not only the very old codex M6 (see p. xxix) for the whole of it, but also the equally old codex K20 (see p. xxvii) for all but Chaps. XV–XVII, XX, XXII, and XXIII in the appendix. In M6 the first two parts are separated by twenty folios, containing the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, and the second part is separated from the first three chapters of the appendix by four folios, containing the Patit-i Khû*d*; the next three chapters of the appendix are from the latter end of the second volume of M6, Chap. XXI is from the middle of the same, and the last two chapters are from some additional folios at the beginning of the

first volume. In K20 the first two parts are separated by ninety-two folios, containing the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and several other Pahlavi and Avesta texts; Chap. XVIII precedes the first part, Chap. XIX precedes the second part, and Chap. XXI is in an earlier part of the MS.

Derived from K20 are the two modern copies P7 and K21 (see p. xxviii). Derived from M6 are the modern copy of the first two parts in M9 (No. 9 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), a copy of Chaps. XIV, XV in L15 (No. 15 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London), a copy of Chap. XX, 4–17 in O121 (No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, see p. xxx), and a copy of Chap. XVIII in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis at Bombay. While an independent Pahlavi version of Chap. XXIII occurs in a very old codex in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay, which version has been used for the text of the present translation, because that chapter is incomplete in M6.

Pâzand versions of some of the chapters, chiefly in the appendix, are to be found in some MSS., but all derived apparently from M6. Thus, in the Pâzand MSS. L7 and L22 (Nos. 7 and 22 in the India Office Library at London, see p. xxxi), written in Avesta characters, Chaps. XVIII, XX, XV follow the last chapter of the Bundahis, and Chap. XIV occurs a few folios further on. And in the Pâzand MS. M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), written in Persian characters, the following detached passages occur in a miscellaneous collection of extracts (fols. 126–133):—Chaps. XX, 14–16, X, 18, 19, IX, 9, 10, XX, 12, 13, 4, 5, VIII, 2, 4–14, XX, 11. A Persian version of Chap. XVIII also occurs in M5 (No. 5 of the same collection) on fol. 54.

It does not appear that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast has ever been hitherto translated into any European language[1], nor

[1] Except Chap. XVIII, which was translated into German by Justi, as the last chapter of his translation of the Bundahis (see p. xxvi).

is any Persian or Gugarâti translation of it known to the present translator, though a good deal of the matter it contains may be found in the Persian Rivâyats, but generally given in a different form. Owing to the technical character of the treatise, it is hazardous for any one but a Parsi priest to attempt to translate it, so that errors will, no doubt, be apparent to the initiated in the present translation. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the laws and customs mentioned in the text were those current in Persia twelve centuries ago, which may be expected to differ, in many details, from those of the Parsis in India at the present day. This is a consideration which a Parsi translator might be too apt to ignore; so that his thorough knowledge of present customs, though invaluable for the decipherment of ambiguous phrases, might lead him astray when dealing with clear statements of customs and rules now obsolete and, therefore, at variance with his preconceived ideas of propriety.

7. Concluding Remarks.

The Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are specimens of three distinct species of writings. Thus, the Bundahi*s* and its appendix, which deal chiefly with cosmogony, myths, and traditions, may be roughly compared to the book of Genesis. The Bahman Ya*s*t, which professes to be prophetical, may be likened unto the Apocalypse. And the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which treats of religious laws regarding impurity, sin, ritual, and miscellaneous matters, bears some resemblance to Leviticus. But, though thus dealing with very different subjects, these texts appear to have all originated in much the same manner, a manner which is characteristic of the oldest class of the Pahlavi writings still extant. All three are full of translations from old Avesta texts, collected together probably in the latter days of the Sasanian dynasty, and finally rearranged some time after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; so that, practically, they may be taken as representing the ideas entertained of their prehistoric religion by Persians in the

sixth century, but modified so far as to suit the taste and exigencies of the tenth.

But, notwithstanding the wide range of subjects embraced by these texts, it would be rash for the reader to assume that they afford him sufficient information for forming a decided opinion as to the character of the Parsi religion. The texts translated in this volume contain barely one-eleventh part of the religious literature extant in the Pahlavi language, without taking the Pahlavi versions of existing Avesta texts into account, which latter are even more important than the former, from a religious point of view, as they are considered more authoritative by the Parsis themselves. What proportion the literature extant may bear to that which is lost it is impossible to guess; but, omitting all consideration of the possible contents of the lost literature, it is obvious that the remaining ten-elevenths of that which is extant may contain much which would modify any opinion based merely upon the one-eleventh here translated. What the untranslated portion actually contains no one really knows. The best Pahlavi scholar can never be sure that he understands the contents of a Pahlavi text until he has fully translated it; no amount of careful reading can make him certain that he does not misunderstand some essential part of it, and were he to assert the contrary he would be merely misleading others and going astray himself. How far the translations in this volume will enable the reader to judge of the Parsi religion may perhaps be best understood by considering how far a careful perusal of the books of Genesis, Leviticus, and the Revelation, which constitute one-eleventh part of the Protestant Bible, would enable him to judge of Christianity, without any further information.

But, though these translations must be considered merely as a contribution towards a correct account of mediæval Zoroastrianism, the Bundahis does afford some very definite information upon one of the fundamental doctrines of that faith. The Parsi religion has long been represented by its opponents as a dualism; and this accusation, made in good faith by Muhammadan writers, and echoed more

incautiously by Christians, has been advanced so strenuously that it has often been admitted even by Parsis themselves, as regards the mediæval form of their faith. But neither party seems to have fairly considered how any religion which admits the personality of an evil spirit, in order to account for the existence of evil, can fail to become a dualism to a certain extent. If, therefore, the term is to be used in controversy, it behoves those who use it to define the limits of objectionable dualism with great precision, so as not to include most of the religions of the world, their own among the number.

If it be necessary for a dualism that the evil spirit be omnipresent, omniscient, almighty, or eternal, then is the Parsi religion no dualism. The Bundahis distinctly asserts that the evil spirit is not omniscient and almighty (Chap. I, 16); that his understanding is backward (I, 3, 9), so that he was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd till he arose from the abyss and saw the light (I, 9); that he is unobservant and ignorant of the future (I, 19) till it is revealed to him by Aûharmazd (I, 21); that his creatures perish at the resurrection (I, 7, 21), and he himself becomes impotent (I, 21, III, 1) and will not be (I, 3, XXX, 32). Nowhere is he supposed to be in two places at once, or to know what is occurring elsewhere than in his own presence. So far, his powers are considerably less than those generally assigned by Christians to the devil, who is certainly represented as being a more intelligent and ubiquitous personage. On the other hand, Aharman is able to produce fiends and demons (Chap. I, 10, 24), and the noxious creatures are said to be his (III, 15, XIV, 30, XVIII, 2); in which respects he has probably rather more power than the devil, although the limits of the latter's means of producing evil are by no means well defined.

The origin and end of Aharman appear to be left as uncertain as those of the devil, and, altogether, the resemblance between these two ideas of the evil spirit is remarkably close; in fact, almost too close to admit of the possibility of their being ideas of different origin. The only important differences are that Zoroastrianism does not believe in an

eternity of evil as Christianity does, and that Christianity has been content to leave all its other ideas about the devil in a very hazy and uncertain form, while Zoroastrianism has not shrunk from carrying similar ideas to their logical conclusion. If, therefore, a belief in Aharman, as the author of evil, makes the Parsi religion a dualism, it is difficult to understand why a belief in the devil, as the author of evil, does not make Christianity also a dualism. At any rate, it is evident from the Bundahi*s* that a Christian is treading on hazardous ground when he objects to Zoroastrianism on the score of its dualism.

Another misrepresentation of the Parsi religion is shown to have no foundation in fact, by a passage in the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam. Several writers, both Greek and Armenian, contemporaries of the Sasanian dynasty, represent the Persians as believing that both Aûharmazd and Aharman were produced by an eternal being, who is evidently a personification of the Avesta phrase for 'boundless time.' This view was apparently confirmed by a passage in Anquetil Duperron's French translation of the Vendidad (XIX, 32–34), but this has long been known to be a mistranslation due to Anquetil's ignorance of Avesta grammar; so that the supposed doctrine of 'boundless time' being the originator of everything is not to be found in the Avesta; still it might have sprung up in Sasanian times. But the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam (I, 24) distinctly state that Aûharmazd produced the creature Zôrvân (precisely the term used in the phrase 'boundless time' in the Avesta). Here 'time,' although personified, is represented as a creature of Aûharmazd, produced after the first appearance of Aharman; which contradicts the statement of the Greek and Armenian writers completely, and shows how little reliance can be placed upon the assertions of foreigners regarding matters which they view with antipathy or prejudice.

With reference to the general plan of these translations of Pahlavi texts a few remarks seem necessary. In the first place, it will be obvious to any attentive reader of this introduction that a translator of Pahlavi has not merely to translate, but also to edit, the original text; and, in some

cases, he has even to discover it. Next, as regards the translation, it has been already mentioned (p. xxvi) that the translator's object is to make it as literal as possible; in order, therefore, to check the inevitable tendency of free translation to wander from the meaning of the original text, all extra words added to complete the sense, unless most distinctly understood in the original, are italicised in the translation. And in all cases that seem doubtful the reader's attention is called to the fact by a note, though it is possible that some doubtful matters may be overlooked.

The notes deal not only with explanations that may be necessary for the general reader, but also with various readings and other details that may be useful to scholars; they are, therefore, very numerous, though some passages may still be left without sufficient explanation. References to the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad are made to Spiegel's edition of the original texts, not because that edition is superior, or even equal, in accuracy to that of Westergaard, but because it is the only edition which gives the Pahlavi translations, because its sections are shorter and, therefore, reference to them is more definite, and because the only English translation of the Avesta hitherto existing[1] is based upon Spiegel's edition, and is divided into the same sections.

No attempt has been made to trace any of the myths or traditions farther back than the Avesta, whence their descent is a fact that can hardly be disputed. To trace them back to earlier times, to a supposed Indo-Iranian personification or poetic distortion of meteorological phenomena, would be, in the present state of our knowledge, merely substituting plausible guesses for ascertained facts. In many cases, indeed, we have really no right to assume that an Avesta myth has descended from any such Indo-Iranian origin, as there have been ample opportunities for the infiltration of myths from other sources, yet unknown,

[1] Bleeck's Avesta; the Religious Books of the Parsees; from Professor Spiegel's German Translation; London, 1864. Not much reliance can be placed upon the correctness of this translation, owing to defects in the German one.

among the many nations with which the religion of the Avesta has come in contact, both before and since the time of Zaratûst. For, notwithstanding the ingenious rhetoric of the expounders of myths, it is still as unsafe, from a scientific point of view, to disbelieve the former existence of Zaratûst as it is to doubt that of Moses, or any other practically prehistoric personage, merely because mythic tales have gathered about his name in later times, as they always do about the memory of any individual who has become famous or revered.

In many cases the original Pahlavi word is appended, in parentheses, to its English equivalent in the translation. This has been done for the sake of explanation, when the word is technical or rare, or the translation is unusual. For, with regard to technical terms, it has been considered best, in nearly all cases, to translate them by some explanatory phrase, in preference to filling the translation with foreign words which would convey little or no distinct meaning to the general reader. Some of these technical terms have almost exact equivalents in English, such as those translated 'resurrection' and 'demon,' or can be well expressed by descriptive phrases, such as 'sacred twigs' and 'sacred cakes.' Other terms are only approximately rendered by such words as 'archangel' and 'angel;' others can hardly be expressed at all times by the same English words, but must change according to the context, such as the term variously rendered by 'worship, ceremonial, prayer, or rites.' While the meaning of some few terms is so technical, complicated, or uncertain, that it is safer to use the Pahlavi word itself, such as Tanâpûhar, Frasast, Gêtî-kharî*d*, Dvâ*z*dah-hômâst, &c.

The following is a list of nearly all the technical terms that have been translated, with the English equivalents generally used to express them:—Âfrîn, 'blessing;' aharmôk, 'apostate, heretic;' aharûbŏ, 'righteous;' aharûbŏ-dâ*d*, 'alms, almsgiving;' akdînô, 'infidel;' ameshôspend, 'archangel;' armê*s*t, 'helpless;' ast-hômand, 'material;' aûsôfrî*d*, 'propitiation, offering;' baghô-bakhtô, 'divine providence;' baresôm, 'sacred twigs or twig-bundle;'

baresômdân, 'twig stand;' dakhmak (Huz. khazân), 'depository for the dead;' dashtânistân, 'place for menstruation;' dînô, 'religion, revelation, religious rites;' drâyân-*g*ûyi*s*nîh, 'unseasonable chatter;' drevand, 'wicked;' drônô, 'sacred cake;' drû*g*, 'fiend;' frashakar*d*, 'renovation of the universe;' fravâhar, 'guardian spirit;' fravar*d*îkân, 'days devoted to the guardian spirits;' ganrâk maînôk, 'evil spirit;' gar*z*i*s*n, 'confession of sin;' gâs, 'period of the day, time;' gâsânbâr, 'season-festival;' *g*a*s*nŏ, 'feast;' gâû*s*-dâk (Av. gâu*s* hudh*a*u), 'meat-offering, sacred butter;' *g*avî*d*-rastakân, 'the heterodox;' *g*îv (Av. gâu*s* *g*îvya), 'sacred milk;' gômê*z*, 'bull's urine;' hamêmâl, 'accuser;' hamrê*d*, 'direct pollution, contagion;' ha*z*ârak, 'millennium;' hîkhar, 'bodily refuse;' kâr, 'duty;' kêshvar, 'region;' khayebît, 'destroyer;' khrafstar, 'noxious creature;' khvêtûk-das, 'next-of-kin marriage;' kirfak, 'good works;' kûstîk, 'sacred thread-girdle;' magh, 'stone ablution-seat;' maînôk, 'spirit;' marg-ar*g*ân, 'worthy of death, mortal sin;' myazd, 'feast, sacred feast;' nasâî, 'corpse, dead matter;' nasâî katak, 'corpse chamber;' nîrang, 'religious formula, ritual;' nîrangistân, 'code of religious formulas;' nîyâyi*s*n, 'salutation;' padâm, 'mouth-veil;' pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh, 'ablution, ceremonial ablution;' pâhlûm ahvân, 'best existence;' paîtrê*d*, 'indirect pollution, infection;' parâhôm, 'hôm-juice;' parîk, 'witch;' patîtîh, 'renunciation of sin;' patîyârak, 'adversary;' pôryô*d*kêshîh, 'primitive faith;' ra*d*, 'chief, spiritual chief, primate, high-priest;' rîstâkhê*z*, 'resurrection;' satûîh, 'the three nights;' *s*êdâ, 'demon;' shapîk, 'sacred shirt;' shnâyi*s*n, 'propitiation, gratification;' shnûman, 'dedication formula, propitiation;' spênâk maînôk, 'beneficent spirit;' tanû-i pasînŏ, 'future existence;' tô*g*i*s*n, 'retribution;' tôrâ-i khadû-dâ*d*, 'primeval ox;' vâ*g*, 'inward prayer;' vi*g*âri*s*n, 'atonement for sin;' vishâ*d*-dûbâri*s*nîh, 'running about uncovered;' yasnô, 'ritual;' ya*s*t, 'prayers, ritual, form of prayer, worship, consecration;' ya*s*tanŏ, 'to consecrate, solemnize, propitiate, reverence;' yâtûk, 'wizard;' yazdân, 'angels, sacred beings, celestial beings, God;' ya*z*i*s*n,

'ceremonial, ceremony, sacred ceremony, ceremonial worship, worship, reverence, rites, prayer;' yêdatô, 'angel;' zand, 'commentary;' zôhar or zôr, 'holy-water;' zôt, 'officiating priest.'

With regard to the orthography of Pahlavi names and words, advantage has been taken of the system of transliteration adopted for this series of Translations of the Sacred Books of the East, by making use of italics for the purpose of distinguishing between certain Pahlavi letters which were probably pronounced very nearly alike. Thus, besides the usual letters ⌉ for v and ⌡ for z, the Pahlavi letter ⌉ is often used to denote those same sounds which, in such cases, are represented by the italic letters *v* and *z*. An extension of the same mode of distinction to the letters l and r would be desirable, but has not been attempted in this volume; these two letters are usually written ⌉, but in a few words they are represented by ⌉ or by ⌉, in which cases they would be better expressed by the italics *l* and *r*. Some attempt has been made to adhere to one uniform orthography in such names as occur frequently, but as there is no such uniformity in the various languages and writings quoted, nor even in the same manuscript, some deviations can hardly be avoided.

In conclusion it may be remarked that a translator of Pahlavi generally begins his career by undervaluing the correctness of Pahlavi texts and the literary ability of their authors, but he can hardly proceed far without finding abundant reason for altering his opinion of both. His depreciatory view of Pahlavi literature is generally due partly to want of knowledge, and partly to his trusting too much to the vile perversions of Pahlavi texts usually supplied by Pâzand writers. But as his knowledge of Pahlavi increases he becomes better able to appreciate the literary merits of the texts. If the reader should have already formed some such low estimate of the ability of Pahlavi writers, it may be hoped that these translations will afford him sufficient reason for changing his opinion; if not, they will have signally failed in doing those writers justice.

BUNDAHIS

OR

THE ORIGINAL CREATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the original text is written continuously, with very few stops marked.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Oriental words are usually 'spaced.' Italics occurring in them, or in names, are intended to represent certain peculiar Oriental letters. The italic consonants *d*, *n*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like j, *hv* like wh, *k* like ch in 'church,' N like ng, *s* like sh, *z* like French j. For further information, see 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East' at the end of the volume.

4. In Pahlavi words all circumflexed vowels and any final ŏ are expressed in the Pahlavi original, but all other vowels are merely understood.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Dâ*d*. for Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk. Huz. for Huzvâri*s*. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khar*d*, ed. West. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Sp. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Sp. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

K20b (uncertain date), a fragment of the text, No. 20b in the same library.

M6 (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

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THEOLOGICAL

BUNDAHIS.

Chapter I.

0. In the name of the creator Aûharmazd.

1. The Zand-âkâs ('Zand-knowing or tradition-informed')[1], which is first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit[2], *and* afterwards about the nature of the creatures from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence (tanû-î pasînŏ). 2. As *revealed* by the religion of the Mazdayasnians, so it is declared that Aûharmazd is supreme in omniscience and goodness,

[1] The Pâzand and most of the modern Pahlavi manuscripts have, 'From the Zand-âkâs,' but the word min, 'from,' does not occur in the old manuscript K20, and is a modern addition to M6. From this opening sentence it would appear that the author of the work gave it the name Zand-âkâs.

[2] The Avesta Angra-mainyu, the spirit who causes adversity or anxiety (see Darmesteter's Ormazd et Ahriman, pp. 92–95); the Pahlavi name is, most probably, merely a corrupt transliteration of the Avesta form, and may be read Ganrâk-maînôk, as the Avesta Spe*n*ta-mainyu, the spirit who causes prosperity, has become Spênâk-maînôk in Pahlavi. This latter spirit is represented by Aûharmazd himself in the Bundahi*s*. The Pahlavi word for 'spirit,' which is read madônad by the Parsis, and has been pronounced mînavad by some scholars and mînôî by others, is probably a corruption of maînôk, as its Sasanian form was minô. If it were not for the extra medial letter in ganrâk, and for the obvious partial transliteration of spênâk, it would be preferable to read ganâk, 'smiting,' and to derive it from a supposed verb gandan, 'to smite' (Av. ghna), as proposed by most Zendists. A Parsi would probably suggest gandan, 'to stink.'

and unrivalled[1] in splendour; the region of light is the place of Aûharmazd, which they call 'endless light,' and the omniscience *and* goodness of the unrivalled Aûharmazd is what they call 'revelation[2].' 3. Revelation is the explanation of both *spirits* together; one is he who is independent of unlimited time[3], because Aûharmazd and the region, religion, and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be; *while* Aharman[4] in darkness, with backward understanding and desire for destruction, was *in* the abyss, and it is *he* who *will* not be; and the place of that destruction, and also of that darkness, is what they call the 'endlessly dark.' 4. And between them was empty space, *that* is, what they call 'air,' in which is now *their* meeting.

5. Both are limited and unlimited spirits, for the supreme is that which they call endless light, and the abyss that which is endlessly dark, so that between them is a void, and one is not connected with

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[1] Reading aham-kaî, 'without a fellow-sovereign, peerless, unrivalled, independent.' This rare word occurs three times in §§ 2, 3, and some Pâzand writers suggest the meaning 'everlasting' (by means of the Persian gloss hamîsah), which is plausible enough, but hâmakî would be an extraordinary mode of writing the very common word hamâî, 'ever.'

[2] The word dînô (properly dênô), Av. daêna, being traceable to a root dî, 'to see,' must originally have meant 'a vision' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. p. 152, note 2), whence the term has been transferred to 'religion' and all religious observances, rules, and writings; so it may be translated either by 'religion' or by 'revelation.'

[3] This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of § 3 is altogether rather obscure, and suggestive of omissions in the text.

[4] The usual name of the evil spirit; it is probably an older corruption of Angra-mainyu than Ganrâk-maînôk, and a less technical term. Its Sasanian form was Aharmanî.

the other; and, again, both spirits are limited as to their own selves. 6. And, secondly, on account of the omniscience of Aûharmazd, both things are in the creation of Aûharmazd, the finite and the infinite; for this they know is that which is in the covenant of both spirits. 7. And, again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Aûharmazd is in the future existence, and that also is unlimited for ever and everlasting; and the creatures of Aharman will perish at the time when[1] the future existence occurs, and that also is eternity.

8. Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that Aharman exists, *and* whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; *and* because He accomplishes the end by many means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, *and* they remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking[2] and unmoving, with intangible bodies.

9. The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd; and, afterwards, he arose from the abyss, and came in unto the light which he saw. 10. Desirous of destroying, and because of *his* malicious nature, he

[1] Substituting amat, 'when,' for mûn, 'which,' two Huzvâris forms which are frequently confounded by Pahlavi copyists because their Pâzand equivalents, ka and ke, are nearly alike.

[2] Reading aminî*d*âr in accordance with M6, which has amînî*d*âr in Chap. XXXIV, 1, where the same phrase occurs. Windischmann and Justi read amûîtâr, 'uninjured, invulnerable,' in both places. This sentence appears to refer to a preparatory creation of embryonic and immaterial existences, the prototypes, fravashis, spiritual counterparts, or guardian angels of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced.

rushed in to destroy that light of Aûharmazd unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; *so* he fled back to the gloomy darkness, and formed many demons and fiends; *and* the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence.

11. Aûharmazd, by whom the creatures of the evil spirit were seen, creatures terrible, corrupt, and bad, also considered them not commendable (bûrzisnîk). 12. Afterwards, the evil spirit saw the creatures of Aûharmazd; they appeared many creatures of delight (vâyah), enquiring creatures, and they seemed to him commendable, and he commended the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd.

13. Then Aûharmazd, with a knowledge[1] of which way the end of the matter *would be*, went to meet the evil spirit, and proposed peace to him, *and* spoke thus: 'Evil spirit! bring assistance unto my creatures, and offer praise! so that, in reward for it, ye (you and your creatures) may become immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless.'

14. And the evil spirit shouted thus[2]: 'I *will* not depart, I *will* not provide assistance for thy creatures, I *will* not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I *will* destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I *will* force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.' 15. And the explanation thereof is this, that the evil spirit reflected in this manner, that

[1] The Huz. khavîtûnast stands for the Pâz. dânist with the meaning, here, of 'what is known, knowledge,' as in Persian.

[2] Literally, 'And it was shouted by him, the evil spirit, thus:' the usual idiom when the nominative follows the verb.

Aûharmazd was helpless as regarded him[1], therefore He proffers peace; and he did not agree, but bore on even into conflict with Him.

16. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are not omniscient and almighty, O evil spirit! so that it is not possible for thee to destroy me, and it is not possible for thee to force my creatures so that they *will* not return to my possession.'

17. Then Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that: If I do not grant a period of contest, then it *will* be possible for him to act *so* that he *may* be able to cause the seduction of my creatures to himself. As even now there are many of the intermixture of mankind who practise wrong more than right. 18. And Aûharmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period! so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.' For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit *would* be undone.

19. Then the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like two men quarrelling together, who propose a time thus: Let us appoint such-and-such a day for a fight.

20. Aûharmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, *for* three thousand years everything proceeds *by* the will of Aûharmazd, three thousand years *there is* an intermingling of the wills of Aûharmazd and Aharman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away[2] from the creatures.

[1] The words dên val stand for dên valman.

[2] That is, 'the adversary is kept away.' In Pahlavi the third

21. Afterwards, Aûharmazd recited the Ahunavar thus: Yathâ ahû vairyô ('as a heavenly lord is to be chosen'), &c.[1] once, *and* uttered the twenty-one words[2]; He also exhibited to the evil spirit His own triumph in the end, and the impotence of the evil spirit, the annihilation of the demons, and the resurrection *and* undisturbed future existence of the creatures for ever and everlasting. 22. And the evil spirit, who perceived his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded, and fell back to the gloomy darkness; even so as is declared in revelation, that, when one of its (the Ahunavar's) three *parts* was uttered, the evil spirit contracted *his* body through fear, and when two parts of it were uttered he fell upon *his* knees, and when all of it was uttered he became confounded

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person plural is the indefinite person, as in English. These 9000 years are in addition to the 3000 mentioned in § 8, as appears more clearly in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

[1] This is the most sacred formula of the Parsis, which they have to recite frequently, not only during the performance of their ceremonies, but also in connection with most of their ordinary duties and habits. It is neither a prayer, nor a creed, but a declaratory formula in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows:—

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratu*s*, ashâ*d* *kîd* ha*k*â,
Vangh*e*u*s* dazdâ mananghô, *s*kyaothnanãm angh*e*u*s* mazdâi,
Khshathrem*k*â ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dada*d* vâstârem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide), for the sake of righteousness, *to be* a giver of the good thoughts of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. pp. 125, 141).

[2] The word mârîk must mean 'word' here, but in some other places it seems to mean 'syllable' or 'accented syllable.'

and impotent as to the harm he caused the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* he remained three thousand years in confusion[1].

23. Aûharmazd created *his* creatures in the confusion of Aharman; first he produced Vohûman ('good thought'), by whom the progress of the creatures of Aûharmazd was advanced.

24. The evil spirit first created[2] Mîtôkht ('falsehood'), and then Akôman ('evil thought').

25. The first of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world *was* the sky, and his good thought (Vohûman), by good procedure[3], produced the light of the world, along with which was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; this *was* because the renovation (frashakar*d*)[4] which happens to the creatures *was* known to him. 26. Afterwards *arose* Ar*d*ava-

[1] This is the first third of the 9000 years appointed in §§ 18, 20, and the second 3000 years mentioned in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

[2] It is usual to consider dâ*d*an (Huz. yehabûntan), when traceable to Av. dâ=Sans. dhâ, as meaning 'to create,' but it can hardly be proved that it means to create out of nothing, any more than any other of the Avesta verbs which it is sometimes convenient to translate by 'create.' Before basing any argument upon the use of this word it will, therefore, be safer to substitute the word 'produce' in all cases.

[3] Or it may be translated, 'and from it Vohûman, by good procedure,' &c. The position here ascribed to Vohûman, or the good thought of Aûharmazd, bears some resemblance to that of the Word in John i. 1–5, but with this essential difference, that Vohûman is merely a creature of Aûharmazd, not identified with him; for the latter idea would be considered, by a Parsi, as rather inconsistent with strict monotheism. The 'light of the world' now created must be distinguished from the 'endless light' already existing with Aûharmazd in § 2.

[4] The word frashakar*d*, 'what is made durable, perpetuation,' is applied to the renovation of the universe which is to take place about the time of the resurrection, as a preparation for eternity.

hist, and then Shatvaîrô, and then Spendarmad, and then Horvadad, and then Amerôdad[1].

27. From the dark world of Aharman *were* Akôman and Andar, and then Sôvar, and then Nâkahêd, and then Ṭâîrêv and Zâîrîk[2].

28. Of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world, the first *was* the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.

Chapter II.

0. On the formation of the luminaries.

1. Aûharmazd produced illumination between the sky and the earth, the constellation stars and those also not of the constellations[3], then the moon, and afterwards the sun, as I *shall* relate.

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[1] These five, with Vohûman and Aûharmazd in his angelic capacity, constitute the seven Ameshaspends, 'undying causers of prosperity, immortal benefactors,' or archangels, who have charge of the whole material creation. They are personifications of old Avesta phrases, such as Vohû-manô, 'good thought;' Asha-vahista, 'perfect rectitude;' Khshathra-vairya, 'desirable dominion;' Spenta-ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion;' Haurvatâd, 'completeness or health;' and Ameretâd, 'immortality.'

[2] These six demons are the opponents of the six archangels respectively (see Chap. XXX, 29); their names in the Avesta are, Akem-manô, 'evil thought;' Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, Zairika (see Vendîdâd X, 17, 18 Sp., and XIX, 43 W.), which have been compared with the Vedic god Indra, Sarva (a name of Siva), the Nâsatyas, and Sans. tura, 'diseased,' and garas, 'decay,' respectively. For further details regarding them, see Chap. XXVIII, 7–13.

[3] The word akhtar is the usual term in Pahlavi for a constellation of the zodiac; but the term apâkhtar, 'away from the akhtar,' means not only 'the north,' or away from the zodiac, but also 'a

2. First he produced the *celestial* sphere, and the constellation stars are assigned to it by him; especially these twelve whose names *are* Varak (the Lamb), Tôrâ (the Bull), Dô-patkar (the Two-figures or Gemini), Kala*k*ang (the Crab), *S*êr (the Lion), Khû*s*ak (Virgo), Tarâ*z*ûk (the Balance), Gazdûm (the Scorpion), Nîmâsp (the Centaur or Sagittarius), Vahîk[1] (Capricornus), Dûl (the Waterpot), and Mâhîk (the Fish); 3. which, from their original creation, *were divided* into the twenty-eight subdivisions of the astronomers[2], of which the names are Padêvar, Pêsh-Parvîz, Parviz, Paha, Avêsar, Be*s*n, Rakhva*d*, Taraha, Avra, Nahn, Miyân, Avdem, Mâshâha, Spûr, Husru, Srob, Nur, Gêl, Garaf*s*a, Vara*n*t, G*a*u, Goî, Muru, Bunda, Kahtsar, Vaht, Miyân, Kaht[3]. 4. And all his original creations,

planet,' which is in the zodiac, but apart from the constellations. The meaning of akhtar, most suitable to the context here, appears to be the general term 'constellation.'

[1] Written Nahâzîk here, both in K20 and M6, which may be compared with Pers. nahâz, 'the leading goat of a flock;' but the usual word for 'Capricornus' is Vahîk, as in Chap. V, 6. None of the other names of the signs of the zodiac are written here in Pâzand, but it may be noted that if the ah in Vahîk were written in Pâzand (that is, in Avesta characters), the word would become the same as Nahâzîk in Pahlavi.

[2] Literally, 'fragments of the calculators,' khur*d*ak-i hâmârîkân. These subdivisions are the spaces traversed daily by the moon among the stars, generally called 'lunar mansions.'

[3] All these names are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their eccentric orthography, in which both K20 and M6 agree very closely. The subdivision Parviz is evidently the Pers. parvên, which includes the Pleiades, and corresponds therefore to the Sanskrit Nakshatra K*ri*ttikâ. This correspondence leads to the identification of the first subdivision, Padêvar, with the Nakshatra A*s*vinî. The Pâzand names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, and the first step towards recovering the true

residing in the world, are committed to them[1]; so that when the destroyer arrives they overcome the adversary *and* their own persecution, and the creatures are saved from those adversities.

5. *As* a specimen of a warlike army, which is destined for battle, they have ordained every single constellation of those 6480 thousand small stars as assistance; and among those constellations four chieftains, appointed on the four sides, are leaders. 6. On the recommendation of those chieftains the many unnumbered stars are specially assigned to the various quarters and various places, as the united strength *and* appointed power of those constellations. 7. As it is said that Tîstar is the chieftain of the east, Satavês the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, *and* Haptôk-rîng the chieftain of the north[2]. 8. The great *one* which they

Pahlavi names would be to transliterate the Pâzand back into Pahlavi characters. The ninth subdivision is mentioned in Chap. VII, 1 by the name Avrak.

[1] That is, to the zodiacal constellations, which are supposed to have special charge of the welfare of creation.

[2] Of these four constellations or stars, which are said to act as leaders, there is no doubt that Haptôk-ring, the chieftain of the north, is Ursa Major; and it is usually considered that Tîstar, the chieftain of the east, is Sirius; but the other two chieftains are not so well identified, and there may be some doubt as to the proper stations of the eastern and western chieftains. It is evident, however, that the most westerly stars, visible at any one time of the year, are those which set in the dusk of the evening; and east of these, all the stars are visible during the night as far as those which rise at daybreak, which are the most easterly stars visible at that time of the year. Tîstar or Sirius can, therefore, be considered the chieftain of the eastern stars only when it rises before daybreak, which it does at the latter end of summer; and Haptôk-ring or Ursa Major is due north at midnight (on the meridian below the pole) at about the same time of the year. These stars, there-

call a Gâh (period of the day), which they say is the great *one* of the middle of the sky, till *just* before the destroyer came was the midday (or south) *one* of the five, that is, the Rapîtvîn [1].

fore, fulfil the conditions necessary for being chieftains of the east and north at the end of summer, and we must look for stars capable of being chieftains of the south and west at the same season. Now, when Ursa Major is near the meridian below the pole, Fomalhaut is the most conspicuous star near the meridian in the far south, and is probably to be identified with Vanand the chieftain of the south. And when Sirius rises some time before daybreak, Antares (in Scorpio) sets some time after dusk in the evening, and may well be identified with Satavês the chieftain of the west. Assuming that there has been a precession of the equinoxes equivalent to two hours of time, since the idea of these chieftains (which may perhaps be traced to Avesta times) was first formed, it may be calculated that the time of year when these leading stars then best fulfilled that idea was about a month before the autumnal equinox, when Ursa Major would be due north three-quarters of an hour after midnight, and Fomalhaut due south three-quarters of an hour before midnight, Sirius would rise three hours before the sun, and Antares would set three hours after the sun. In the Avesta these leading stars are named Ti*s*trya, Satavaêsa, Vana*n*t, and Haptôi-ri*n*ga (see Tî*s*tar Yt. 0, 8, 9, 12, 32, &c., Rashnu Yt. 26–28, Sîrôz. 13).

[1] This translation, though very nearly literal, must be accepted with caution. If the word mas be not a name it can hardly mean anything but 'great;' and that it refers to a constellation appears from Chap. V, 1. The word khômsâk is an irregular form of the Huz. khôm*s*yâ, 'five,' and may refer either to the five chieftains (including 'the great one') or to the five Gâhs or periods of the day, of which Rapîtvîn is the midday one (see Chap. XXV, 9). The object of the text seems to be to connect the Rapîtvîn Gâh with some great mid-sky and midday constellation or star, possibly Regulus, which, about B. C. 960, must have been more in the daylight than any other important star during the seven months of summer, the only time that the Rapîtvîn Gâh can be celebrated (see Chap. XXV, 7–14). Justi has, 'They call that the great one of the place, which is great in the middle of the sky; they say that before the enemy came it was always midday, that is, Rapîtvîn.'

9. Aûharmazd performed the spiritual Yazisn *ceremony* with the archangels (ameshôspendân) in the Rapîtvîn Gâh, and in the Yazisn he supplied every means necessary for overcoming the adversary[1].
10. He deliberated with the consciousness (bôd) *and* guardian spirits (fravâhar) of men[2], and the omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men, spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advantageous, when[3] I shall present you to the world? *that* you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend (drûg), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end I *shall* have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and in the end give you back to the world, *and* you *will* be wholly immortal, undecaying, and undisturbed; or *that* it be always necessary to provide you protection from the destroyer?'

11. Thereupon, the guardian spirits of men became of the same opinion with the omniscient wisdom about going to the world, on account of the evil *that* comes upon them, in the world, from the fiend (drûg) Aharman, and *their* becoming, at last, again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect, and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting.

Windischmann has nearly the same, as both follow the Pâzand MSS. in reading hômîsak (as a variant of hamîsak), 'always,' instead of khômsâk.

[1] Or 'adversity.'

[2] These were among the fravashis already created (see Chap. I, 8).

[3] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

CHAPTER III.

1. On the rush of the destroyer at the creatures it is said, in revelation, that the evil spirit, when he saw the impotence of himself and the confederate[1] (hâm-dast) demons, owing to the righteous man[2], became confounded, *and* seemed in confusion three thousand years. 2. During that confusion the arch-fiends[3] of the demons severally shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for we *will* cause a conflict in the world, the distress and injury from which *will* become those of Aûharmazd and the archangels.'

3. Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up *his* head until the wicked *G*êh[4] came, at the completion of the three thousand years. 4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for I *will* cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Aûharmazd and the archangels *will* arise.' 5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit

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[1] The Pâzand MSS. have garôist, for the Huz. hêmnunast, 'trusted.' Windischmann and Justi have 'all.'

[2] Probably Gâyômar*d*.

[3] The word kamârakân is literally 'those with an evil pate,' and is derived from Av. kameredha, 'the head of an evil being,' also applied to 'the evil summit' of Mount Arezûra (Vend. XIX, 140, 142), which is supposed to be at the gate of hell (see Chap. XII, 8). That the chief demons or arch-fiends are meant, appears more clearly in Chap. XXVIII, 12, 44, where the word is kamârîkân.

[4] The personification of the impurity of menstruation.

rose not from that confusion, through fear of the righteous man.

6. And, again, the wicked *G*êh shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for in that conflict I *will* shed thus much vexation[1] on the righteous man and the labouring ox that, through my deeds, life *will* not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls (nismô)[2]; I *will* vex the water, I *will* vex the plants, I *will* vex the fire of Aûharmazd, I *will* make the whole creation of Aûharmazd vexed.' 7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed *G*êh upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in *G*êh.

8. He shouted to *G*êh thus: 'What is thy wish? so that I may give *it* thee.' And *G*êh shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give *it* to me.'

9. The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's (vazak) body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to *G*êh, and that brought the thoughts of *G*êh to him[3].

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[1] The word vêsh or vîsh may stand either for bêsh, 'distress, vexation,' as here assumed, or for vish, 'poison,' as translated by Windischmann and Justi in accordance with the Pâz. MSS.

[2] That this is the Huzvâris of rûbân, 'soul,' appears from Chap. XV, 3–5, where both words are used indifferently; but it is not given in the Huz.-Pâz. Glossary. It is evidently equivalent to Chald. nismâ, and ought probably to have the traditional pronunciation nisman, an abbreviation of nismman.

[3] This seems to be the literal meaning of the sentence, and is confirmed by Chap. XXVIII, 1, but Windischmann and Justi understand that the evil spirit formed a youth for *G*êh out of a toad's body. The incident in the text may be compared with Milton's idea of Satan and Sin in Paradise Lost, Book II, 745–765.

10. Afterwards, the evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky; and he led them up, fraught with malicious intentions. 11. He stood upon one-third[1] of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth.

12. *In* the month Fravar*d*în and the day Aûharmazd[2] he rushed in at noon, and thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him, as a sheep by a wolf. 13. He came on to the water which was arranged[3] below the earth, and then the middle of this earth was pierced *and* entered by him. 14. Afterwards, he came to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gâyômar*d*, and then he came to fire[4]; so, just like a fly, he rushed out upon the whole creation; and he made the world quite as injured and dark[5] at midday as though it were in dark night. 15. And noxious creatures were diffused by him over the earth, biting and venomous, such as the snake, scorpion, frog (kalvâk), and lizard (vazak), so that not so much as the point of a needle remained *free* from noxious creatures. 16. And blight[6] was diffused by him over the

[1] Perhaps referring to the proportion of the sky which is overspread by the darkness of night. The whole sentence is rather obscure.

[2] The vernal equinox (see Chap. XXV, 7).

[3] Literally, 'and it was arranged.'

[4] For the details of these visitations, see Chaps. VI–X.

[5] Reading khûst tôm; but it may be hangî*d*tûm, 'most turbid, opaque.'

[6] The word makhâ, 'blow, stroke,' is a Huzvâris logogram not found in the glossaries; M6 has dâr, 'wood,' but this may be a misreading, due to the original, from which M6 was copied, being difficult to read.

vegetation, and it withered away immediately. 17. And avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, lust, and lethargy were diffused by him abroad upon the ox and Gâyômar*d*.

18. Before *his* coming to the ox, Aûharmazd ground up the healing fruit[1], which some call 'bînâk,' small in water openly before *its* eyes, so that *its* damage *and* discomfort from the calamity (zanis*n*) might be less; and when it became at the same time lean and ill, as *its* breath went forth and it passed away, the ox also spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, *and* their work, labour, and care are to be appointed.'

19. And before *his* coming to Gâyômar*d*, Aûharmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gâyômar*d*, so long as he might recite a prayer (vâ*g*) of one stanza (vi*k*ast); moreover, Aûharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall. 20. When Gâyômar*d* issued from the sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained *free from* noxious creatures; the *celestial* sphere was in revolution, *and* the sun and moon remained in motion: *and* the world's struggle, owing to the clamour of the Mâzînîkân demons[2], was with the constellations.

21. And the evil spirit thought that the creatures of Aûharmazd were all rendered useless except

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[1] The word mîvang is an unusual form of mîvak, 'fruit.' It is probably to be traced to an Av. mivangh, which might mean 'fatness,' as Windischmann suggests.

[2] The Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta, and Mâzendarân demons, or idolators, of Persian legends.

Gâyômar*d*; and Astô-vîdâ*d*[1] with a thousand demons, causers of death, were let forth by him on Gâyômar*d*. 22. But his appointed time had not come, *and* he (Astô-vîdâ*d*) obtained no means of noosing (âvizî-*d*anŏ) *him;* as it is said that, when the opposition of the evil spirit came, the period of the life and rule of Gâyômar*d* was appointed for thirty years. 23. After the coming of the adversary he lived thirty years, and Gâyômar*d* spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer *has* come, mankind *will* be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty and good works.'

24. And, afterwards, he (the evil spirit) came to fire, and he mingled smoke and darkness with it. 25. The planets, with many demons, dashed against the *celestial* sphere, and they mixed the constellations; and the whole creation was as disfigured as though fire disfigured every place and smoke arose over *it*. 26. And ninety days *and* nights the heavenly angels were contending in the world with the confederate demons of the evil spirit, *and* hurled *them* confounded to hell; and the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.

27. Hell is in the middle of the earth; there where the evil spirit pierced the earth[2] and rushed in upon it, as all the possessions of the world were

[1] The demon of death, Astô-vîdhôtu in the Avesta (Vend. IV, 137, V, 25, 31), who is supposed 'to cast a halter around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, but if their good works have exceeded their sins they throw off the noose and go to heaven' (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 321). This name is misread Asti-vihâ*d* by Pâzand writers.

[2] See § 13.

changing into duality, *and* persecution, contention, and mingling of high and low became manifest.

Chapter IV.

1. This also is said, that when the primeval ox[1] passed away it fell to the right hand, *and* Gâyômar*d* afterwards, when he passed *away*, to the left hand. 2. Gôsûrvan[2], as the soul of the primeval ox came out from the body of the ox, stood up before the ox *and* cried to Aûharmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus: 'With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin *has* broken into the earth, and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled? Where is the man[3] of whom it was said by thee thus: I *will* produce *him*, so that he may preach carefulness?'

3. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are made ill[4], O Gô*s*ûrvan! you have the illness which the evil spirit brought on; if it were proper to produce that man in this earth at this time, the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it.'

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[1] Literally, 'the sole-created ox' from whom all the animals and some plants are supposed to have proceeded (see Chaps. X and XIV), as mankind proceeded from Gâyômar*d*. It is the ox of the primitive creation, mentioned in Chap. III, 14, 18.

[2] The spiritual representative of the primeval ox, called G*eus*-urvâ, 'soul of the bull,' in the Avesta, of which name Gô*s*ûrvan is a corruption. The complaint of Gôsûrvan is recorded in the Gâthas, the oldest part of the Avesta (see Yas. XXIX).

[3] Referring to Zaratû*s*t.

[4] In K20, 'You are ill.'

4. Forth Gôsûrvan walked to the star station (pâyak) *and* cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station *and* cried in the same manner, *and* forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst was exhibited to her, *and Aûharmazd said* thus[1]: 'I will produce for the world *him* who will preach carefulness.' 5. Contented became the spirit Gôsûrvan, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures;' that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world.

Chapter V.

1. Seven chieftains of the planets have come unto the seven chieftains of the constellations[2], as the planet Mercury (Tîr) unto Tîstar, the planet Mars (Vâhrâm) unto Haptôk-rîng, the planet Jupiter (Aûharmazd) unto Vanand, the planet Venus (Anâhîd) unto Satavês, the planet Saturn (Kêvân) unto the great *one* of the middle of the sky, Gôkîhar[3]

[1] As the text stands in the MSS. it means, 'and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst demonstrated to her thus;' but whether it be intended to represent the fravâhar as producing the creature is doubtful. The angel Gôs, who is identified with Gôsûrvan, is usually considered a female, but this is hardly consistent with being the soul of a bull (see Chap. X, 1, 2), though applicable enough to a representative of the earth. In the Selections of Zâd-sparam, II, 6, however, this mythological animal is said to have been a female (see Appendix to Bundahis).

[2] Five of these are mentioned in Chap. II, 7, 8, to which the sun and moon are here added.

[3] As this name stands in the MSS. it may be read Gûrgdâr (as in the Pâz. MSS.), Gûrkîhar, or Dûrkîhar; the reading is very uncertain, and Windischmann suggests Gûrg-kîhar, 'wolf progeny' (compare vehrkô-kithra in Ardabahist Yast 8). A shooting star,

and the thievish (dûggun) Mûspar [1], provided with tails, unto the sun and moon and stars. 2. The sun has attached Mûspar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm (vinâs).

3. Of Mount Albûrz [2] it is declared, that around the world and Mount Têrak [3], which is the middle of the world, the revolution of the sun is like a moat [4] around the world; it turns back in a circuit [5] owing to the enclosure (var) of Mount Albûrz around Têrak. 4. As it is said that *it is* the Têrak of Albûrz from behind which my sun and moon *and* stars return again [6]. 5. For there are a hundred

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or meteor, is probably meant (see Chap. XXX, 18, 31), and as it is the special disturber of the moon, it may be Gô-*k*îhar (Av. gao-*k*ithra, 'of ox-lineage'), a common epithet of the moon; the Pahlavi letter *k* being often written something like the compound r*k*; and this supposition is confirmed by the Gôk-*k*ihar of TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44.

[1] This is written Mûs-parîk in TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44, and seems to be the mûs pairika of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 23, as noticed by Windischmann; it is probably meant here for a comet, as it is attached to the sun. The zodiacal light and milky way have too little of the wandering character of planets to be considered planetary opponents of the sun and moon.

[2] The hara berezaiti, 'lofty mountain-range,' of the Avesta, which is an ideal representative of the loftiest mountains known to the ancient Iranians, the Alburz range in Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian. See Chaps. VIII, 2, XII, 1, 3.

[3] The Taêra of Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6. See Chap. XII, 2, 4.

[4] The word mayâ-gîr is a Huz. hybrid for âv-gîr, 'a water-holder, or ditch.'

[5] The word may be either âvêgak or khavîgak, with this meaning.

[6] This appears to be a quotation from the Rashnu Yast, 25. The Huz. word for 'month' is here used for the 'moon.'

and eighty apertures (rôgîn) in the east, and a hundred and eighty in the west, through Albûrz; *and* the sun, every day, comes in through an aperture, and goes out through an aperture[1]; *and* the whole connection and motion of the moon and constellations and planets is with it: every day it always illumines (or warms) three regions (kêshvar)[2] *and* a half, as is evident to the eyesight. 6. And twice in every year the day and night are equal, for on the original attack[3], when[4] it (the sun) went forth from its first degree (khûrdak), the day and night were equal, it was the season of spring; when it arrives at the first degree of Kalakang (Cancer) the time of *day* is greatest, *it is* the beginning of summer; when it arrives at the sign (khûrdak) Tarâgûk (Libra) the day and night are equal, *it is* the beginning of autumn; when it arrives at the sign Vahîk (Capricorn) the night is a maximum, *it is* the beginning of winter; and when it arrives at Varak (Aries) the night and day *have* again become equal, as when it

[1] This mode of accounting for the varying position of sunrise and sunset resembles that in the Book of Enoch, LXXI, but only six eastern and six western gates of heaven are there mentioned, and the sun changes its gates of entrance and exit only once a month, instead of daily.

[2] See § 9 and Chap. XI.

[3] The reading of this word is doubtful, although its meaning is tolerably clear. The Pâz. MSS. read har dô, 'both;' Justi reads ardab, 'quarrel;' and in the Selections of Zâd-sparam it is written ârdîk. It seems probable that the word is kharah, 'attack,' which being written exactly like ardê (Av. ashya, see Yas. LVI, 1, 1) has had a circumflex added to indicate the supposed d, and this false reading has led to the more modern form ârdîk (Pers. ârd, 'anger'). But probabilities in obscure matters are often treacherous guides.

[4] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which,' throughout the sentence (see note to Chap. I, 7).

went forth from Varak. 7. So that when it comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gâtha days[1], it goes in *and* comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret, and been able to introduce disaster.

8. From there where the sun comes on on the longest day to *where* it comes on on the shortest day is the east region Savah; from there where it comes on on the shortest day to *where* it goes off on the shortest day is the direction of the south regions Frada*d*afsh and Vîda*d*afsh; from there where it goes in on the shortest day to *where* it goes in on the longest day is the west region Arzah; from there where it comes in on the longest day to there where it goes in on the longest day are the north regions Vôrûbar*s*t *and* Vôrû*g*ar*s*t[2]. 9. When the sun comes on, it illumines (or warms) the regions of Savah, Frada*d*afsh, Vîda*d*afsh, and half of Khvanîras[3]; when it goes in on the dark side, it illumines the regions of Arzah, Vôrûbar*s*t, Vôrû*g*ar*s*t, *and* one half of Khvanîras; when *it is* day here *it is* night there.

[1] The five supplementary days added to the last of the twelve months, of thirty days each, to complete the year. For these days no additional apertures are provided in Albûr*z*, and the sun appears to have the choice of either of the two centre apertures out of the 180 on each side of the world. This arrangement seems to indicate that the idea of the apertures is older than the rectification of the calendar which added the five Gâtha days to an original year of 360 days.

[2] This sentence occurs, without the names of the kêshvars or regions, in the Pahl. Vend. XIX, 19. For the kêshvars see Chap. XI.

[3] Often corrupted into Khanîras in the MSS.

CHAPTER VI.

1. On the conflict[1] of the creations of the world with the antagonism of the evil spirit it is said in revelation, that the evil spirit, even as he rushed in and looked upon the pure bravery of the angels and his own violence[2], wished to rush back. 2. The spirit of the sky is himself like one of the warriors who has put on armour; he arrayed the sky against the evil spirit, and led on in the contest, until Aûharmazd had completed a rampart around, stronger than the sky and in front of the sky. 3. And his guardian spirits (fravâhar) of warriors and the righteous, on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky; such-like as the hair on the head is the similitude (ângunî-aîtak) of those who hold the watch of the rampart. 4. And no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back; and he beheld the annihilation of the demons and his own impotence, as Aûharmazd *did* his own final triumph, producing the renovation *of the universe* for ever and everlasting.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The second conflict was waged with the water, because, as the star Tîstar *was* in Cancer, the water which is in the subdivision they call Avrak[3] was

[1] This is the doubtful word translated 'attack' in Chap. V, 6 (see the note there); it also occurs at the beginning of each of the following four chapters.

[2] Reading zôrîh; but it may be zûrîh, 'falsity.'

[3] The ninth lunar mansion (see Chap. II, 3) corresponding with the middle of Cancer. Tîstar (Sirius) being in Cancer probably

pouring, on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, *and* came again into notice for mischief (âvârak) in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constellation; the month Tîr is the fourth month[1] of the year, *and* Cancer the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer, into which Tîstar sprang, *and* displayed the characteristics of a producer of rain; and he brought on the water aloft by the strength of the wind. 3. Co-operators with Tîstar were Vohûman and the angel Hôm, with the assistance of the angel Bûrg and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement.

4. Tîstar was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull[2]; thirty days *and* nights he was distinguished in brilliance[3], and in each form he produced rain ten days *and* nights; as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms. 5. Every single drop of that rain became as big as a bowl, and the water stood the height of a man over the whole of this earth; *and* the noxious creatures on the earth being all killed by the rain, went into the holes of the earth[4].

means that it rises about the same time as the stars of Cancer, as is actually the case.

[1] See Chap. XXV, 20.

[2] See Tîstar Yt. 13, 16, 18, where it is stated that Tîstar assumes the form of a man for the first ten nights, of a bull for the second ten nights, and of a horse for the third ten nights. Also in Vend. XIX, 126 Tîstar is specially invoked in his form of a bull.

[3] Or it may be translated, 'he hovered in the light,' as Windischmann and Justi have it.

[4] In comparing the inundation produced by Tîstar with the Noachian deluge, it must be recollected that the former is represented as occurring before mankind had propagated on the earth.

6. And, afterwards, the wind spirit, so that it may not be contaminated (gûmîkht), stirs up the wind *and* atmosphere as the life stirs in the body; and the water was all swept away by it, and was brought out to the borders of the earth, and the wide-formed[1] ocean arose therefrom. 7. The noxious creatures remained dead within the earth, and their venom and stench were mingled with the earth, and in order to carry that poison away from the earth Tîstar went down into the ocean in the form of a white horse with long hoofs[2].

8. And Apâôsh[3], the demon, came meeting him in the likeness of a black horse with clumsy (kund) hoofs; a mile (parasang)[4] away from him fled Tîstar, through the fright which drove *him* away. 9. And Tîstar begged for success from Aûharmazd, and Aûharmazd gave *him* strength and power, as it is said, that unto Tîstar was brought at once the strength of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers[5]. 10. A mile away from him fled Apâôsh, the demon, through fright at *his* strength; on account of this they speak of an arrow-*shot* with Tîstar's strength in the sense *of a mile.*

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[1] The term farâkhû-kar*d*, 'wide-formed,' is a free Pahlavi translation of Av. vouru-kasha, 'wide-shored,' or 'having wide abysses,' applied to the boundless ocean (see Chap. XIII, 1).

[2] For the Avesta account of this expedition of Tîstar, see Tîstar Yt. 20–29.

[3] Miswritten Apav*s* or Apava*s* in Pâzand, by all MSS. in this chapter, but see Chap. XXVIII, 39.

[4] The word parasang is here used for Av. hâthra, which was about an English mile (see Chap. XXVI, 1).

[5] A quotation from Tîstar Yt. 25.

11. Afterwards, with a cloud for a jar (khûmb)—thus they call the measure which was a means of the work—he seized upon the water *and* made it rain most prodigiously, in drops *like* bull's heads and men's heads, pouring in handfuls *and* pouring in armfuls, both great and small. 12. On the production of that rain the demons Aspen*g*argâk[1] *and* Apâôsh contended *with it*, and the fire Vâzi*s*t[2] turned *its* club over; and owing to the blow of the club Aspen*g*argâk made a very grievous noise, as even now, in a conflict with the producer of rain, a groaning and raging[3] are manifest. 13. And ten nights and days rain was produced by him in that manner, and the poison and venom of the noxious creatures which were in the earth were all mixed up in the water, and the water became quite salt, because there remained in the earth *some* of those germs which noxious creatures ever collect.

14. Afterwards, the wind, in the same manner *as before*, restrained the water, at the end of three days, on various sides of the earth; and the three great seas *and* twenty-three small seas[4] arose therefrom, *and* two fountains (*k*ashmak) of the sea thereby became manifest, one the *Kê*k*ast lake, and one the Sôvbar[5], whose sources are connected with the

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[1] Mentioned in Vend. XIX, 135, thus: 'thou shouldst propitiate the fire Vâzi*s*ta, the smiter of the demon Spen*g*aghra.' It is also written Spên*g*argâk in Chap. XVII, 1, and Aspen*g*arôgâ in Chap. XXVIII, 39.

[2] That is, the lightning (see Chap. XVII, 1).

[3] Or, 'a tumult and flashing.' Justi has 'howling and shrieking;' the two words being very ambiguous in the original.

[4] See Chap. XIII, 6.

[5] See Chap. XXII, 1–3.

fountain of the sea. 15. And at its north side[1] two rivers flowed out, *and* went one to the east *and* one to the west; they are the Arag river and the Vêh river; as it is said thus: 'Through those finger-breadth tricklings do thou pour *and* draw forth two such waters, O Aûharmazd!' 16. Both those rivers wind about through all the extremities of the earth, and intermingle again with the water of the wide-formed ocean. 17. As those two rivers flowed out, *and* from the same place of origin as theirs, eighteen[2] navigable rivers flowed out, and after the other waters have flowed out from those navigable *streams* they all flow back to the Arag[3] river and Vêh river, whose fertilization (khvâpardârîh) of the world *arises* therefrom.

Chapter VIII.

0. On the conflict which the evil spirit waged with the earth.

1. As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook[4], *and* the substance of mountains was created in the earth. 2. First, Mount Albûr*z* arose; afterwards,

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[1] Probably meaning the north side of the Arêdvîvsûr fountain of the sea, which is said to be on the lofty Hûgar, a portion of Albûr*z*, from the northern side of which these two semi-mythical rivers are said to flow (see Chaps. XII, 5, XX, 1).

[2] See Chap. XX, 2.

[3] Here written Arêng, but the usual Pahlavi reading is Arag; the nasal of the Av. Rangha being generally omitted in Pahlavi, as other nasals are sometimes; thus we often find sag for sang, 'stone.'

[4] The word *g*udnî*d* is a transposition of *g*undî*d*, a graphical variant of *g*unbî*d*, 'shook.'

the other ranges of mountains (kôfânîhâ) of the middle of the earth; for as Albûrz grew forth all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Albûrz. 3. At that time they came up from the earth, like a tree which *has* grown up to the clouds *and its* root[1] to the bottom; and their root passed on that way *from* one to the other, *and* they are arranged in mutual connection. 4. Afterwards, about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands; *and* the passage for the waters within the mountains is the root which is below the mountains; they forsake the upper *parts* so that they may flow into it, just as the roots of trees pass into the earth; a counterpart (ânguniaîtak) of the blood in the arteries of men, which gives strength to the whole body. 5. In numbers[2], apart from Albûrz, all the mountains grew up out of the earth in eighteen years[3], from which *arises* the perfection[4] of men's advantage.

Chapter IX.

1. The conflict waged with plants was that when[5] they became quite dry. 2. Amerôdad the arch-

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[1] M6 has rakâk, but this and many other strange words are probably due to the copyist of that MS. having an original before him which was nearly illegible in many places.

[2] Or, 'as it were innumerable;' the word amar meaning both 'number' and 'innumerable.'

[3] See Chap. XII, 1.

[4] The word must be farhâkhtagân, 'proprieties,' both here and in Chap. IX, 6, as farhâkhtisn is an ungrammatical form.

[5] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note to Chap. I, 7).

angel, as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, *and* mixed *them* up with the water *which* Tîstar seized, and Tîstar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. 4. Ten thousand[1] of them grew forth of one special description, for keeping away the ten thousand species of disease *which* the evil spirit produced for the creatures; *and* from those ten thousand, the 100,000 species[2] of plants have grown forth.

5. From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs[3] was given forth, *and* grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants ever increased. 6. And near to that tree of all germs the Gôkar*d* tree[4] was produced, for keeping away deformed (dûspa*d*) decrepitude; *and* the full perfection of the world arose therefrom.

Chapter X.

0. On the conflict waged with the primeval ox.

1. As it passed away[5], owing to the vegetable principle (*k*îharak) *proceeding* from every limb of the ox, fifty and five species of grain[6] *and* twelve species of medicinal plants grew forth from the earth, and their splendour and strength were the

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[1] See Chap. XXVII, 2.

[2] Here 120,000 are mentioned, but see Chap. XXVII, 2, and Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, VIII, 2.

[3] Or, 'of all seeds' (see Chap. XVIII, 9).

[4] The white-Hôm tree (see Chaps. XVIII, 1–6, XXVII, 4).

[5] See Chap. IV, 1. [6] See Chaps. XIV, 1, XXVII, 2.

seminal energy (tôkhmîh) of the ox. 2. Delivered to the moon station[1], that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, fully prepared in every way, and produced life in a body. 3. Thence *arose* two oxen, one male *and* one female; and, afterwards, two hundred and eighty-two species of each kind[2] became manifest upon the earth. 4. The dwelling (mânîst) of the birds is in the air, and the fish are in the midst of the water.

Chapter XI.

1. On the nature of the earth it says in revelation, that *there* are thirty and three kinds[3] of land. 2. *On* the day when Tîstar produced the rain, when its seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions; this portion[4], as much as one-half, is the middle, *and* six portions are around; those six portions are *together* as much as Khvanîras. 3. The name

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[1] See Chap. XIV, 3. In the Mâh Yt. 0, 7, blessings are invoked for 'the moon of ox lineage' (gaokithra) in conjunction with the 'sole-created ox and the ox of many species.' In the Avesta the gender of these two primeval oxen appears doubtful, owing probably to the dual gen. masc. of their epithets being of the same form as a sing. gen. fem.

[2] That is, of each sex. See Chap. XIV, 13, 27. In all three occurrences of this number K20 has 272, but all other MSS. have 282 (except M6 in this place only).

[3] K20b has 'thirty-two kinds.'

[4] That is, Khvanîras; or it may be 'one portion,' as hanâ, 'this,' is often used for aê, 'one,' because the Pâzand form of both words is *e*.

kêshvar ('zone or region') is also applied to them, and *they* existed side by side (kash kash)[1]; as on the east side of this portion (Khvanîras) is the Savah region, *on* the west is the Arzah region; the two portions on the south side are the Frada*d*afsh *and* Vîda*d*afsh regions, the two portions on the north side are the Vôrûbar*s*t *and* Vôrû*g*ar*s*t regions, *and* that in the middle is Khvanîras. 4. And Khvanîras has the sea, for one part of the wide-formed ocean wound about around it; *and from* Vôrûbar*s*t *and* Vôrû*g*ar*s*t a lofty mountain grew up; so that it is not possible for any one to go from region to region[2].

5. And of these seven regions every benefit was created most in Khvanîras, and the evil spirit also produced most for Khvanîras, on account of the superiority (sarîh)[3] which he saw in it. 6. For the Kayânians and heroes were created in Khvanîras; and the good religion of the Mazdayasnians was created in Khvanîras, and afterwards conveyed to the other regions; Sôshyans[4] is born in Khvanîras, who makes the evil spirit impotent, and causes the resurrection *and* future existence.

[1] Possibly an attempt to connect the term kêshvar with kash; but the sentence may also be translated thus: 'and *they* formed various districts like this portion; on the east side is the Savah region,' &c.

[2] In the Pahlavi Vend. I, 4a, and in the Mainyô-i-khar*d*, IX, 6, it is added, 'except with the permission of the angels' or the demons.

[3] So in M6; but K20 has za*d*ârîh, which would imply, 'for the destruction of what he saw of it.'

[4] Always spelt so in the Bundahi*s* MSS. K20 and M6, and corrupted into Sôshyôs in Pâzand; but it is more usually written Sôshâns in other Pahlavi works, and its Avesta form is Saoshyãs (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

Chapter XII.

1. On the nature of mountains it says in revelation, that, at first, the mountains have grown forth in eighteen years; and Albûrz ever grew till the completion of eight hundred years; two hundred years *up* to the star station (pâyak), two hundred years to the moon station, two hundred years to the sun station, and two hundred years to the endless light[1]. 2. While the other mountains have grown out of Albûrz, in number 2244 mountains, *and* are Hûgar the lofty[2], Têrak of Albûrz, Kakâd-i-Dâîtîk, and the Arezûr ridge, the Aûsîndôm mountain, Mount Apârsên which they say is the mountain of Pârs, Mount Zarid also which is Mount Mânûs, Mount Aîrak, Mount Kaf, Mount Vâdgês, Mount Aûshdâstâr, Mount Arezûr-bûm, Mount Rôyisn-hômand, Mount Padashkhvârgar which is the greatest in Khvârîh, the mountain which they call Kînŏ, Mount Rêvand, Mount Dârspêt the Bakyir mountain, Mount Kabed-sikaft, Mount Sîyâk-mûî-mand, Mount Vafar-hômand, Mount Spendyâd *and* Kôndrâsp, Mount Asnavand *and* Kôndras, Mount

[1] These are the four grades of the Mazdayasnian heaven.

[2] In all the geographical details, mentioned in the Bundahis, there is a strange mixture of mythical tradition with actual fact. The author of the work finds names mentioned in the Avesta, by old writers of another country, and endeavours to identify them with places known to himself; much in the same way as attempts have been made to identify the geographical details of the garden of Eden. Most of the names of these mountains occur in the Zamyâd Yast, or in other parts of the Avesta, as will be noticed in detail further on. The number 2244 is also mentioned in § 7 of that Yast. A very able commentary on this chapter will be found in Windischmann's Zoroastriche Studien, pp. 1–19.

Si*k*idâv [1], a mountain among those which are in Kangde*z* [2], *of* which they say that they are a comfort and delight of the good creator, the smaller hills.

3. I *will* mention them also a second time; Albûr*z* [3] is around this earth and is connected with the sky. 4. The Têrak [4] of Albûr*z* is that through which the stars, moon, *and* sun pass [5] in, and through it they come back. 5. Hûgar the lofty [6] is that from which the water of Arêdvîvsûr [7] leaps down the height of a thousand men. 6. The Aûsîndôm [8] mountain is that which, being of ruby

[1] The Av. Si*k*idava of Zamyâd Yt. 5.

[2] See Chap. XXIX, 4, 10; the name is here written Kande*z* in K20. In M6 the word is kôf, 'mountain,' which is almost identical in form; if this be the correct reading, the translation will be, 'a mountain among those in the mountain which they say is agreeable and the delight,' &c. This mountain is, however, probably intended for the Av. A*n*tare-kangha, 'within Kangha,' of Zamyâd Yt. 4.

[3] The Haraiti-bare*s* of Zamyâd Yt. 1; but it is more usually called Hara berezaiti (see Chap. V, 3).

[4] A central peak of the mythic Albûr*z*, around which the heavenly bodies are said to revolve (see Chap. V, 3). It is the Av. Taêra, mentioned in Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6.

[5] So in M6, but K20 has 'go in.'

[6] This appears to be another peak of the mythic Albûr*z*, probably in the west, as it is connected with Satavês, the western chieftain of the constellations (see Chaps. XXIV, 17, and II, 7). It is the Av. Hukairya berezô, of Yas. LXIV, 14, Âbân Yt. 3, 25, 96, Gô*s* Yt. 8, Mihir Yt. 88, Rashnu Yt. 24, Fravardîn Yt. 6, Râm Yt. 15.

[7] See Chap. XIII, 3–5.

[8] In Aûharmazd Yt. 31 and Zamyâd Yt. 2, 66, an Ushidhâo mountain is mentioned as having many mountain waters around it, but this seems to be a near neighbour of the Ushidarena mountain (see § 15). The details in the text correspond with the description of the Hindva mountain, given in Tî*s*tar Yt. 32, thus: us Hindva*d* paiti garôi*d* yô hi*s*taiti maidhîm zrayanghô vouru-kashahê, 'up on the Hindva mountain, which stands amid the wide-shored

(khûn-âhinŏ), of the substance of the sky[1], is *in* the midst of the wide-formed ocean, so that its water, which is from Hûgar, pours down into it (the ocean). 7. *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâitik ('the judicial peak') is that of the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the *K*invar bridge[2] stands; and they take account of the soul at that place. 8. The Arezûr[3] ridge [of the Albûr*z* mountain] is a summit at the gate of hell, where they always hold the concourse of the demons. 9. This also is said, that, excepting Albûr*z*, the Apârsên[4] mountain is the

ocean;' and the Pahlavi name, Aûsîndôm, has probably arisen from the us Hindva*d* of this passage, as suggested by Justi. (See Chaps. XIII, 5, and XVIII, 10, 11.)

[1] The sky is considered to be a true firmament, or hard and indestructible dome.

[2] The *K*invatô-peretu of the Avesta, mentioned even in the Gâthas. In the Pahlavi Vend. XIX, 101, it is stated that 'they pass across by the *K*inva*d* bridge, whose two extremities are their own heavenly angels, one stands at *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâitik, and one at Albûr*z*;' the former mountain seems not to be mentioned in the Avesta, but the bridge is the path of the soul to the other world; if righteous the soul passes by it easily over Albûr*z* (the confines of this world) into paradise, but if wicked it drops off the bridge into hell.

[3] See Vend. III, 23, XIX, 140. The words in brackets may perhaps be inserted by mistake, but they occur in all MSS. examined, and there is nothing inconsistent with tradition in supposing Arezûr to be the extreme northern range of the mythic Albûr*z* which surrounds the earth, being the place where demons chiefly congregate.

[4] Justi adopts the reading Harpârsên, which occurs in K20 four times out of eleven, but is corrected thrice. Windischmann suggests that this mountain is the Av. *s*kyata (or i*s*katâ) upairi-saêna of Yas. X, 29, and Zamyâd Yt. 3, which the Pahlavi translator of the Yasna explains as 'the Pârsên crag.' It seems to be a general name for the principal mountain ranges in the south and east of Iran, as may be seen on comparing this passage and Chap. XXIV,

greatest; the Apârsên mountain they call the mountain of Pârs, and its beginning is in Sagastân[1] and its end in Khûgîstân. 10. Mount Mânûs[2] is great; the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born.

11. The remaining mountains have chiefly grown from those; as it is said that the elevation (afsârîh) of the districts had arisen most around those three mountains[3]. 12. Mount Aîrak[4] is in the middle from Hamadân to Khvârizem, and has grown from Mount Apârsên. 13. Mount [Kînŏ][5], which is on its east, on the frontier of Tûrkîstân, is connected also with Apârsên. 14. Mount Kaf[6] has grown from the same Mount Apârsên. 15. Mount Aûshdâs-

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28, with Chap. XX, 16, 17, 21, 22, where the Haro, Hêtûmand, Marv, and Balkh rivers are said to spring from Mount Apârsên; but its application to the southern range is perhaps due to the etymological attempt, in the text, to connect it with Pârs. The Selections of Zâd-sparam, VII, 7, have Kînîstân for Khûgîstân.

[1] This name can also be read Sîstân.

[2] In § 2 it is also called Zarid, but in Zamyâd Yt. 1 Zeredhô and Aredhô-manusha are mentioned as neighbouring mountains. The word 'great' is omitted in M6.

[3] That is, around the ranges of Albûrz, Apârsên, and Mânûs.

[4] Perhaps intended for the Erezishô of Zamyâd Yt. 2. The description would apply to any of the mountains near Nîsâpûr.

[5] This name is omitted in the MSS., but is taken from § 2 as suggested by Justi. Perhaps it may be connected with 'the country of Sênî' (Chap. XV, 29), which is explained as being Kînîstân, probably the land of Samarkand, which place was formerly called Kîn, according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabarî's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298.

[6] Not Kâf, nor is it mentioned in the Pahlavi Vend. V, 57, as supposed by Justi; the kâf kôp ârâyad of Spiegel's edition of the Pahlavi text being a misprint for kâfakŏ pârâyad, 'it traverses a fissure' (see Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 326, note 2).

târ[1] is in Sagastân. 16. Mount Arezûr[2] is that which is in the direction of Arûm. 17. The Padashkhvârgar[3] mountain is that which is in Taparistân and the side of Gîlân. 18. The Rêvand[4] mountain is in Khûrâsân[5], on which the Bûrzîn fire[6] was established; and its *name* Rêvand *means* this, that *it* is glorious. 19. The Vâdgês[7] mountain is that which is on the frontier of the Vâdgêsians; that quarter is full of timber *and* full of trees. 20. The Bakyîr[8] mountain is that which Frâsiyâv of Tûr used as a stronghold, and he made his residence within *it;* and *in* the days of Yim[9] a myriad towns and cities were erected on its pleasant *and* prosperous territory. 21. Mount Kabed-sikaft[10] ('very rugged')

[1] The Av. Ushi-darena of Yas. I, 41, II, 54, III, 55, IV, 45, XXII, 31, XXV, 22, Aûharmazd Yt. 31, Zamyâd Yt. 0, 2, 97.

[2] Called Arezûr-bûm in § 2, which name stands for the sixth and seventh mountains, Erezurô and Bumyô, in Zamyâd Yt. 2. The land of Arûm was the eastern empire of the Romans.

[3] Evidently the mountain range south of the Caspian, now called Albûrz; but whether this actual Albûrz is to be considered a part of the mythic Albûrz is not very clear.

[4] The Av. Raêvaus, 'shining,' of Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is also called the Ridge of Vistâsp (see § 34).

[5] Or, 'the east.' [6] See Chap. XVII, 8.

[7] The Av. Vâiti-gaêsô, the twelfth mountain in Zamyâd Yt. 2; Bâdghês in Persian.

[8] In § 2 it is Bakyir, which Justi thinks is another name for Mount Dârspêt ('white poplar'); the latter name not being repeated here makes this supposition probable.

[9] K20 has rûm and M6 has lanman, but both explained by the Pâz. gloss Yim, which is also the reading of the Pâz. MSS. If the gloss be rejected the most probable translation would be, 'and *in* our days Shatrô-râm (or râmisn), the victorious, erected on it a myriad towns and cities.'

[10] Windischmann suggests that this may be intended for the Av. skyata or iskatâ mentioned in the note on Apârsên in § 9.

is that in Pârs, out of the same Mount Apârsên. 22. Mount Sîyâk-hômand ('being black') *and* Mount Vafar-hômand ('having snow')[1], as far as their Kâvûl borders, have grown out of it (Apârsên) towards the direction of *K*înŏ. 23. The Spend-yâ*d*[2] mountain is in the circuit (var) of Rêvand[3]. 24. The Kôndrâsp[4] mountain, on the summit of which is Lake Sôvbar[5], is in the district (or by the town) of Tûs. 25. The Kondrâs[6] mountain is in Aîrân-vê*g*. 26. The Asnavand[7] mountain is in Âtarô-pâtakân. 27. The Rôyi*s*n-hômand[8] ('having growth') mountain is that on which vegetation has grown.

28. Whatever[9] mountains are those which are in every place of the various districts *and* various

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[1] The Av. Syâmaka and Vafray*a*u of Zamyâd Yt. 5; and probably the Siyâh-kôh and Safêd-kôh of Afghânistân. With regard to *K*înŏ, see the note on § 13. The former mountain is called Sîyâk-mûî-mand, 'having black hair,' in § 2, which is certainly a more grammatical form than Sîyâk-hômand.

[2] The Av. Spe*n*tô-dâta of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

[3] The term var often means 'lake,' but we are not informed of any Lake Rêvand, though a mountain of that name is described in § 18; so it seems advisable to take var here in its wider sense of 'enclosure, circuit, district.'

[4] The Av. Kadrva-aspa of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

[5] See Chap. XXII, 3. All MSS. have Sôbar here.

[6] If the circumflex be used in Pahlavi to indicate not only the consonant d, but also the vowel î, ê when it follows a vowel, as seems probable, this name can be read Kôîrâs; in any case, it is evidently intended for the Av. Kaoirisa in Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is written Kôndras in § 2.

[7] The Av. Asnav*a*u of Zamyâd Yt. 5, Âtash Nyây. 5, Sîrôz. 9. See also Chap. XVII, 7.

[8] The Av. Raoidhitô, the eighth mountain of Zamyâd Yt. 2.

[9] So in M6 and the Pâz. MSS., but K20 has, 'The country mountains.'

countries, and cause the tillage *and* prosperity therein, are many *in* name and many *in* number, *and* have grown from these same mountains. 29. *As* Mount Ganâvad, Mount Asparôg, Mount Pâhargar, Mount Dimâvand, Mount Râvak, Mount Zarîn, Mount Gêsbakht, Mount Dâvad, Mount Mîgîn, *and* Mount Marak [1], which have all grown from Mount Apârsên, of which the other mountains are enumerated. 30. For the Dâvad [2] mountain has grown into Khûgistân likewise from the Apârsên mountain. 31. The Dimâvand [3] mountain is that in which Bêvarâsp is bound. 32. From the same Padashkhvârgar mountain unto Mount Kûmis [4], *which* they call Mount Madôfryâd ('Come-to-help') — that in which Vistâsp routed Argâsp — is Mount Mîyân-i-dast ('mid-plain') [5], *and* was broken off from that mountain there. 33. They say, in the war of the religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, *and* slid down *into* the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by

[1] This list is evidently intended to include the chief mountains known to the author of the Bundahis, which he could not identify with any of those mentioned in the Avesta.

[2] This is the Pâzand reading of the name, on which very little reliance can be placed; the Pahlavi can also be read Dânad, and it may be the Deana mountain, 12,000 feet high, near Kaski-zard.

[3] See Chap. XXIX, 9. This volcanic mountain, about 20,000 feet high and near Teheran, still retains this ancient Persian name, meaning 'wintry.' It is the chief mountain of the Padashkhvârgar range, which the Bundahis evidently considers as an offshoot of the Apârsên ranges.

[4] The present name of a mountain between Nîsâpûr and the desert.

[5] The name of a place about midway between Astarâbâd and Nîsâpûr. This mountain is called Mîgîn in § 29, probably from a place called Mezinan in the same neighbourhood.

it, and it was called 'Come-to-help' by them. 34. The Ganâvad[1] mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân)[2] at the abode of the Bûrsîn-Mitrô fire, nine leagues (parasang) to the west. 35. Râvak Bîsan[3] is in Zrâvakad; this place, some say, is Zravad, some call *it* Bîsan, some Kalâk; from this the road of two sides of the mountain is down the middle of a fortress; for this reason, that is, because it is there formed, they call Kalâk a fortress; this place they also call within the land of Sarak. 36. Mount Asparôg[4] is established from the country of Lake Kêkast[5] unto Pârs. 37. Pâhargar ('the Pâhar range') is in Khûrâsân. 38. Mount Marak[6] is in Lârân. 39. Mount Zarîn is in Tûrkîstân. 40. Mount Bakht-tan[7] is in Spâhân.

41. The rest, *apart* from this enumeration, which they reckon *as* fostering hills of the country in the religion of the Mazdayasnians, are the small hills, those which have grown piecemeal in places.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. On the nature of seas it says in revelation, that the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Albûrs[8], *and* so

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[1] The Pers. Kanâbad, or Gunâbad, is near Gumin.

[2] Another name for Mount Rêvand (§ 18). See Chap. XVII, 8.

[3] Probably in Kirmân.

[4] The mountain ranges of western Persia, including the Mount Zagros of classical writers.

[5] See Chap. XXII, 2.

[6] Probably the Merkhinah range in northern Lâristân.

[7] The Bakhtiyârî range in the province of Ispahân.

[8] Or perhaps better thus: 'the wide-formed ocean is in the

wide-formed is the ocean that the water of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Arêdvîvsûr[1], *which* some say is the fountain lake. 2. Every particular lake is of a particular kind[2], some are great, and some are small; some are so large that a man with a horse might compass *them* around in forty days[3], which is 1700 leagues (parasang) in extent.

3. Through the warmth and clearness of the water, purifying more than other waters, everything continually flows from the source Arêdvîvsûr. 4. At the south of Mount Albûrz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, *and* that water goes with warmth and clearness, through the channels, on to Hûgar the lofty[4]; on the summit of that mountain is a lake[5]; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. 5. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with Mount Aûsîndôm[6] amid the wide-formed ocean; from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, *and* one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of Aûharmazd acquire

direction of the south limit of Albûrz, *and* possesses one-third of this earth.'

[1] The Av. Ardvî sûra of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.

[2] Literally, 'for every single lake *there is* a single kind;' but we may perhaps read lâ, 'not,' instead of the very similar râî, 'for,' and translate as follows: 'every single lake is not of one kind;' which expresses very nearly the same meaning.

[3] Compare Âbân Yt. 101.

[4] See Chap. XII, 5.

[5] Lake Urvis (see Chap. XXII, 11).

[6] See Chaps. XII, 6, and XVIII, 10, 11.

health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere.

6. Of the salt seas three are principal, *and* twenty-three are small. 7. Of the three which are principal, one is the Pûtîk, one the Kamrû*d*, and one the *S*ahî-bûn. 8. Of all three the Pûtîk[1] is the largest, in which is a flow *and* ebb, on the same side as the wide-formed ocean, *and* it is joined to the wide-formed ocean. 9. Amid this wide-formed ocean, on the Pûtîk side, it has a sea which they call the Gulf (var) of Satavês[2]. 10. Thick and salt the stench[3] wishes to go from the sea Pûtîk to the wide-formed ocean; with a mighty high wind therefrom, the Gulf of Satavês drives away whatever is stench, *and* whatever is pure and clean goes into the wide-formed *ocean* and the source Arêdvîvsûr; *and* that flows back a second *time* to Pûtîk[4]. 11. The control[5] of this sea (the Pûtîk) is connected with the

[1] The Av. Pûitika of Vend. V, 52, 57, and evidently the Persian Gulf.

[2] So called from the constellation Satavês (§ 12), see Chap. II, 7. The details given in the text are applicable to the Gulf and Sea of 'Umân, the Arabian Sea of Europeans. The description of this Gulf, given in the Pahl. Vend. V, 57, which is rather obscure, is as follows: 'In purification *the impurities* flow, in the purity of water, from the sea Pûtîk into the wide-formed ocean; at the southernmost side *the water* stands back in mist, and the blue body of Satavês stands back around it. Pûtîk stands *out* from the side of Satavês, this is where *it is*. From which side it stands is not clear to me. The water comes to Satavês through the bottom; some say that it traverses a fissure.'

[3] Perhaps a better reading would be stûrg sûr-i gôndakîh, 'the intense saltness which is stench.' The author appears to have had some vague idea of the monsoon.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'the other (the stench) flows back to Pûtîk.'

[5] Reading band; but it may be bôd, 'consciousness, sensitiveness.'

moon and wind; it comes again *and* goes down, in increase and decrease, because of her revolving. 12. The control[1] also of the Gulf of Satavês is attached to the constellation Satavês, in whose protection are the seas of the southern quarter, just as *those* on the northern side are in the protection of Haptôk-rîng[2]. 13. Concerning the flow *and* ebb it is said, that everywhere from the presence of the moon two winds continually blow, whose abode is in the Gulf of Satavês, one they call the down-draught, and one the up-draught; when the up-draught blows *it is* the flow, and when the down-draught blows it is the ebb[3]. 14. In the other seas there is nothing of the nature of a revolution of the moon therein, *and* there are no flow *and* ebb. 15. The sea of Kamrû*d*[4] is that which they pass by, in the north, in Taparîstân; that of *S*ahî-bûn[5] is in Arûm.

16. Of the small seas that which was most whole-

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[1] See p. 43, note 5.

[2] See Chap. II, 7.

[3] This is not a confused attempt to explain the tides as the effect of the land and sea breezes, as might be suspected at first, but is a reasonable conclusion from imaginary facts. Assuming that the wind always blows eastward and westward from the moon, it follows that as the moon rises an easterly wind must blow, which may be supposed to drive the flood tide westward into the Persian Gulf; until the moon passes the meridian, when the wind, changing to the west, ought to drive the ebb tide eastward out of the Gulf, thus accounting for one flow and ebb every day, dependent on the position of the moon.

[4] Evidently the Caspian, which lies north of Taparîstân, a province including part of Mâzendarân.

[5] Or perhaps *G*âhî-bûn, meaning probably the Mediterranean or Euxine, if not both of them; the author appears merely to have heard of the existence of such a sea in Asia Minor (Arûm). In the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, VI, 14, it is called Gêhân-bûn.

some[1] was the sea Kyânsîh[2], *such* as is in Sagastân; *at* first, noxious creatures, snakes, and lizards (vazagh) were not in *it*, *and* the water was sweeter *than in* any of the other seas; later (da*d*î-gar) *it became* salt; at the closest, on account of the stench, it is not possible to go so near as one league, so very great are the stench and saltness through the violence of the hot wind. 17. When the renovation *of the universe* occurs it *will* again become sweet[3].

CHAPTER XIV.

1. On the nature of the five classes of animals (gôspend) it says in revelation, that, when the primeval ox passed away[4], there where the marrow came out grain grew up[5] of fifty and five species, *and* twelve[6] species of medicinal plants grew; as it says, that out of the marrow is every separate creature, every single thing whose lodgment is in the marrow[7]. 2. From the horns *arose* peas (mî*g*ûk),

[1] Comparing nîstûm with Pers. ni*s*t, 'healthy.'

[2] The Av. Kăsu of Vend. XIX, 18, and Zamyâd Yt. 66, 92 (see also Chaps. XX, 34, and XXI, 7). A brackish lake and swamp now called Hâmûn, 'the desert,' or Zarah, 'the sea,' and which formerly contained fresher water than it does now.

[3] The MSS. here add the first sentence of Chap. XX, and there is every reason to believe that Chaps. XX–XXII originally occupied this position, between XIII and XIV, (see the list of the contents of TD in the Introduction.)

[4] See Chaps. IV, 1, and X, 1.

[5] All MSS. have lakhvâr, 'again,' but this is probably a blunder for lâlâ, 'up.'

[6] K20 has 'fifteen' here, but 'twelve' in Chaps. X, 1, and XXVII, 2.

[7] K20 has 'of every single thing the lodgment is in the marrow.'

from the nose the leek, from the blood the grape-vine[1] from which they make wine—on this account wine abounds with blood—from the lungs the rue-like herbs, from the middle of the heart[2] thyme *for* keeping away stench, *and* every one of the others as revealed in the Avesta.

3. The seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station[3]; there it was thoroughly purified, *and* produced the manifold species of animals[4]. 4. First, two oxen, one male and one female, and, afterwards, one pair of every single species was let go into the earth, *and* was discernible in Aîrân-vêg *for* a Hâsar ('mile'), which is like a Parasang ('league')[5]; as it says, that, on account of the valuableness of the ox, it was created twice, one time as an ox, and one time as the manifold species of animals. 5. A thousand days and nights they were without eating, and first water and afterwards herbage (aûrvar) were devoured by them.

6. And, afterwards, the three classes (kar*d*ak) of animals were produced therefrom, as it says that first were the goat and sheep, and then the camel

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[1] Probably ka*d*ûk-i raz may mean 'the pumpkin and grape.'

[2] Reading dîl; but the word may also be read sar, 'the head,' or jigar, 'the liver.'

[3] See Chap. X, 2.

[4] This translation suits both text and context very well, but gôspend pûr-sar*d*ak is evidently intended for the Av. gâus pouru-saredhô, 'the ox of many species,' of Mâh Yt. 0, 7, and Sîrôz. 12.

[5] Reading mûn aê parasang humânâk; if 3 be read for aê the translation must be, 'three of which are like a Parasang,' for a Hâsar cannot be equal to three Parasangs (see Chaps. XVI, 7, and XXVI). The phrase in the text probably means merely that a Hâsar is a measure for long distances, just as a Parasang is.

and swine, and then the horse and ass. 7. For, first, *those* suitable for grazing were created therefrom, those are now kept in the valley (lâî); the second created were those of the hill summits (sar-i dêz)[1], which are wide-travellers, *and* habits (nihâdak) are not taught to them by hand; the third created were *those* dwelling in the water.

8. As for the genera (khadûînak), the first genus is that which *has* the foot cloven in two, *and is* suitable for grazing; of which a camel larger than a horse is small *and* new-born. 9. The second genus is ass-footed, of which the swift[2] horse is the largest, *and* the ass the least. 10. The third genus is that of the five-dividing paw, of which the dog is the largest, *and* the civet-cat the least. 11. The fourth genus is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures[3] is the largest, and the chaffinch[4] the least. 12. The fifth genus is that of the water, of which the Kar fish[5] is the largest, *and* the Nemadu[6] the least.

13. These five genera are apportioned out into

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[1] Justi reads gîrîsa*k*, the Av. gairishâ*k*ô, 'mountain-frequenting,' of Tîstar Yt. 36; but this is doubtful.

[2] Pahl. zibâl = Pers. zîbâl.

[3] The Pâz. sin-i se avinâ is the Pahl. sên-i 3 khadûînak of Chap. XXIV, 11, 29, the Sîn bird or Sîmurgh of Persian legends, the Av. saêna. The word avinâ is a Pâz. misreading either of âînak, 'kind, sort,' or of anganâk, 'dividing.' The mixture of Pâzand and Pahlavi in this and some other chapters is rather perplexing, but the Pâzand misreadings can usually be corrected after transliterating them back into Pahlavi characters.

[4] Reading va taru (Pers. tar).

[5] See Chaps. XVIII, 3, and XXIV, 13.

[6] If this Pâzand word be written in Pahlavi letters it may be read va magan, which may stand for va magil, 'and the leech;' but this is very uncertain.

two hundred and eighty-two[1] species (sar*d*ak). 14. First are five species of goat, the ass-goat[2], the milch-goat, the mountain-goat, the fawn, *and* the *common* goat. 15. Second, five species of sheep, that with a tail, that which has no tail, the dog-sheep, the wether, *and* the Kûri*s*k sheep, a sheep whose horn is great; it possesses a grandeur[3] like unto a horse, *and* they use *it* mostly for a steed (bâra), as it is said that Mânû*sk*îhar kept a Kûri*s*k as a steed. 16. Third, two species of camel, the mountain *one and that* suitable for grazing; for one is fit to keep in the mountain, *and* one in the plain; they are one-humped *and* two-humped. 17. Fourth, fifteen species of ox, the white, mud-coloured[4], red, yellow, black, *and* dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard ox, the fish-chewing[5] ox, the Far*s* ox, the Ka*g*au, *and* other species of ox. 18. Fifth, eight species of horse, the Arab, the Persian, the mule[6], the ass, the wild ass (gôr), the hippopotamus (asp-i âvî), *and* other species of horse. 19. Sixth, ten species of dog, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog which is the house-protector, the blood-hound, the slender hound[7], the water-

[1] K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3).

[2] The khar-bûz (see Chap. XXIV, 2).

[3] Supposing se koh to be a Pâz. misreading of Pahl. *s*ukûh. Justi's translation is: 'it inhabits the three mountains, like the horse.'

[4] Pâz. ashgun is evidently for Pahl. ha*s*gûn.

[5] Transcribing the Pâz. mâhi khu ushân into Pahlavi it may be read mâhîkân-khvashân (khashân?).

[6] Instead of these first three species M6 has 'the white, black, yellow, bay, *and* chestnut.' K20 omits 'the ass' by mistake.

[7] These first four species are the Av. pasu*s*-haurvô, vi*s*-haurvô, vôhunazgô, and taurunô of Vend. V, 92–98, XIII, 21, 26–74, 117, 164, 165.

beaver[1] which they call the water-dog, the fox, the ichneumon (râsu), the hedgehog which they call 'thorny-back,' the porcupine[2], *and* the civet-cat; of which, two species are those accustomed[3] to burrows, one the fox *and* one the ichneumon; *and* those accustomed to jungle are such as the porcupine which has spines on *its* back, *and* the hedgehog which is similar. 20. Seventh, five species of the black[4] hare; two are wild species, one dwelling in a burrow[5] *and* one dwelling in the jungle. 21. Eighth, eight species of weasel; one the marten, one the black marten, the squirrel, the B*e*z ermine[6], the white ermine, *and* other species of weasel. 22. Ninth, eight species of musk *animals;* one is that which is recognised by *its* musk[7], one

[1] The Av. bawri*s* upâpô of Âbân Yt. 129.

[2] The word indra has usually been taken as a Pâz. misreading of the Pahl. aûdrak (Av. udra, 'otter,' of Vend. XIII, 48, 167, 169, XIV, 2), but this would be more probably read andra. The Pahl. sûgar, 'porcupine,' is just as likely to be misread indra, and its meaning suits the context better.

[3] The Pâz. âmokhte*s*n, which is an ungrammatical form, is evidently a misreading of the Pahl. âmûkhtagân.

[4] K20 has seyâ, M6 has zyâgi hest. Perhaps some old copyist has corrected sîyâk-gôsh into khar-gôsh, and so both the epithets have crept into the text, the word 'black' being superfluous.

[5] Reading khan-mâni*s*t, the Pâz. khu being an obvious misreading of khan.

[6] The Pâz. b*e*z is written bedh in the Pâzand MS. (the z in M6 being shaped something like dh), and Justi supposes it represents the Arabic abyadh or baîdhâ, 'white,' and is explained by the Pers. sapêd, 'white,' which follows; but there is nothing in the text to indicate that the second name is an explanation of the first. It is more probable that b*e*z represents the Pers. bîgâd, 'reddish, rufous, variegated,' an epithet quite applicable to the ermine in its summer fur.

[7] Or, 'is known as the musk *animal*.'

the musk *animal* with a bag in which is their pleasant scent, the Bis-musk[1] which eats the Bis-*herb*, the black musk which is the enemy of the serpent *that is* numerous in rivers, *and* other species of musk *animals*. 23. Tenth, one hundred and ten species of birds; flying creatures (vey = vâî) such as the griffon bird[2], the Karsipt[3], the eagle, the Kahrkâs[4] which they call the vulture, the crow, the Ardâ, the crane, *and* the tenth[5] is the bat. 24. There are two of them which have milk in the teat *and* suckle *their* young, the griffon bird and the bat which flies in the night; as they say that the bat is created of three races (sardak), the race (âyina) of the dog, the bird, *and* the musk *animal;* for it flies like a bird, has many teeth like a dog, *and* is dwelling in holes like a musk-rat. 25. These hundred and ten species of birds are distributed into eight groups (khadûînak), mostly as scattered about as when a man scatters seed, *and* drops the seed in *his* fingers to the ground, large, middling, *and* small. 26. Eleventh[6], fish were created of ten

[1] A kind of musk-rat; the bîs it eats is said to be the Napellus Moysis.

[2] Pahl. sênô mûrûk, the sîmurgh of Persian tradition, and Av. mereghô saênô of Bahrâm Yt. 41.

[3] See Chap. XIX, 16. [4] See Chap. XIX, 25.

[5] Counting the 'flying creatures' and 'the vulture' as distinct species, 'the bat' is the tenth. It has been generally supposed that we should read 'eleventh,' and consider the bats as an eleventh group, especially as the MSS. call the next group (the fish) the 'twelfth;' but this view is contradicted by the remarks about the bats being mingled with those about the birds, and also by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14 (see App. to Bund.), not mentioning any group of bats among the other animals.

[6] All the MSS. have 'twelfth,' but they give no 'eleventh' nor 'thirteenth,' though they have 'fourteenth' in § 29. These irre-

species; first, the fish Ariz[1], the Arzuvâ, the Arzukâ, the Marzukâ, *and* other Avesta names[2]. 27. Afterwards, within each species, species within species are created, so the total is two hundred and eighty-two species[3].

28. Of the dog they say that out of the star station, that is, *away* from the direction of the constellation Haptôk-rîng, was given to him further by a stage (yôgist)[4] than to men, on account of *his* protection of sheep, *and* as associating with sheep *and* men; for this the dog is purposely adapted[5], as three more kinds of advantage are given to him than *to* man, *he has* his own boots, his own clothing[6], *and* may wander about without self-exertion. 29. The twelfth[7] is the sharp-toothed beast of

gularities seem to indicate that part of this chapter has been omitted by some old copyist.

[1] See Chaps. XVIII, 5, and XXIV, 13.

[2] None of these names are found in the portion of the Avesta now extant.

[3] K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3). The actual total number of species mentioned is 186, leaving ninety-six for the 'species within species.' Zâd-sparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14, differs from the numbers given in the text merely in giving ten species of ox, instead of fifteen; so the total of his details is 181, leaving 101 sub-species to make up his grand total of 282 (see App. to Bund.)

[4] A yôgist (compare Sans. yogana) was probably from fifteen to sixteen English miles, as it consisted of sixteen hâsar, each of one thousand steps of the two feet (see Chap. XXVI, 1). This sentence seems to imply that on account of the useful qualities of the dog he has a part of the lowermost grade of paradise allotted to him, further from the demon-haunted north than that allotted to the men whose inferior order of merit does not entitle them to enter the higher grades of paradise.

[5] Reading âhang-hômand, 'having a purpose.'

[6] Compare Vend. XIII, 106.

[7] All the MSS. have 'fourteenth,' but they give no 'thirteenth.'

which the leader of the flock is in such great fear, for that flock of sheep is very badly maintained which has no dog.

30. Aûharmazd said when the bird Vâresha[1] was created by him, *which* is a bird of prey, thus: 'Thou art created by me, O bird Vâresha! so that my vexation may be greater than *my* satisfaction with thee, for thou doest the will of the evil spirit more than that of me; like the wicked man who did not become satiated with wealth, thou also dost not become satiated with the slaughter of birds; but if thou be not created by me, O bird Vâresha! thou wouldst be created by him, the evil spirit, *as* a kite[2] with the body of a Varpa[3], by which no creature would be left alive.'

31. Many animals are created in all these species for this reason, that when one shall be perishing *through* the evil spirit, one shall remain.

Chapter XV.

1. On the nature of men it says in revelation, that Gâyômar*d*, in passing away[4], gave forth seed; that seed was thoroughly purified by the motion of

[1] No doubt 'a hawk' (Pers. vâ*s*ah or bâ*s*ah), as mentioned by Justi; Av. vâre would become vâ or bâ in Persian.

[2] Compare gûrîk with Pers. varik, varkâ, varkâk, varkak, vargâh, 'an eagle, falcon, kite, or hawk.'

[3] Transcribing the Pâz. varpa êyi into Pahlavi we have varpak-aê, which is very nearly the same in form as varî*k*ak-aê, 'a hut or cottage' (Pers. gurî*k*ah-ê); so the formidable bird which the evil spirit might have created was 'a kite with a body like a cottage.'

[4] See Chap. IV, 1.

the light of the sun, and Nêryôsang[1] kept charge of two portions, and Spendarma*d*[2] received one portion. 2. And *in* forty years, with the shape of a one-stemmed Rîvâs-*plant*[3], *and* the fifteen years of *its* fifteen leaves, Matrô and Matrôyâô[4] grew up from the earth in such a manner that their arms rested behind on *their* shoulders (dôsh), and one joined to the other they were connected together and both alike. 3. And the waists of both of them were brought close *and* so connected together that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the *one* whose living soul (nismô) of Aûharmazd is not away[5]. 4. As it is said thus: 'Which is created before, the soul (nismô) or the body? And Aûharmazd said that the soul is created before, and the body after, for him who was

[1] Av. Nairyô-sangha of Yas. XVII, 68, LXX, 92, Vend. XIX, 111, 112, XXII, 22, &c.; the angel who is said to be Aûharmazd's usual messenger to mankind.

[2] The female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Chap. I, 26).

[3] A plant allied to the rhubarb, the shoots of which supply an acid juice used by the Persians for acidulating preserves and drinks.

[4] These names are merely variants of the Mâshya and Mâshyôî of the latter part of this chapter (nom. dual, m. and f., of Av. mashya, 'mortal'). This is shown by the Pandnâmak-i Zaratûs*t*, saying: 'and my human nature is from Matrôîh *and* Matrôyâôîh, *from* which first generation and seed from Gâyômar*d* I have sprung.' And the names are also found in the more Persian forms Maharîh and Maharîyâôyîh (see the note to § 22). Windischmann considered the meaning to be that 'they grew up on the day Mitrô of the month Mitrô,' that is, the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the Parsi year; this is not confirmed, however, by Zâ*d*sparam in his Selections, Chap. X, 4 (see App. to Bund.)

[5] That is, whether they had souls or not. That nismô is the Huzvâri*s* for rûbân, 'soul,' appears clearly in § 4, where both words are used for the same thing.

created; it is given into the body that it may produce activity, and the body is created only for activity;' hence the conclusion is this, that the soul (rûbân) is created before and the body after. 5. And both of them changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man, *and* the breath (nismô) went spiritually into them, which is the soul (rûbân); and now, moreover, in that similitude a tree had grown up whose fruit was the ten varieties of man[1].

6. Aûharmazd spoke to Mashya *and* Mashyôî thus: 'You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion[2] by me; perform devotedly the duty of the law, think good thoughts, speak good words, do good deeds, and worship no demons!' 7. Both of them first thought this, that one of them should please the other, as he is a man for him; and the first deed done by them was this, when they went out they washed[3] themselves thoroughly; and the first words spoken by them were these, that Aûharmazd created the water and earth, plants and animals, the stars, moon, and sun, and all prosperity whose origin and effect are from the manifestation of righteousness[4]. 8. And, afterwards, antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were

[1] This evidently refers to another tree, which is supposed to have produced the ten varieties of human monstrosities (see § 31).

[2] This would be a translation of the Avesta phrase, 'the best of Ârmaiti (the spirit of the earth).'

[3] Comparing mê*g*î*d* with Pers. ma*g*îd; but the verb is very ambiguous, as it may mean, 'they feasted themselves,' or 'they made water.'

[4] The last phrase appears to be quoted from the Pahlavi Hâ*d*ôkht Nask, I, 2.

thoroughly corrupted, and they exclaimed that the evil spirit created the water and earth, plants and animals, *and* the other things as *afore*said. 9. That false speech was spoken through the will of the demons, *and* the evil spirit possessed himself of this first enjoyment from them; through that false speech they both became wicked, and their souls are in hell until the future existence.

10. And they had gone thirty days without food[1], covered with clothing of herbage (giyâh); *and* after the thirty days they went forth into the wilderness, came to a white-haired goat, and milked the milk from the udder with their mouths. 11. When they had devoured the milk Mâshya *said* to Mâshyôî thus: 'My delight was owing to it when I had not devoured the milk, and my delight is more delightful now when it is devoured by my vile body.' 12. That second false speech enhanced the power of the demons, and the taste of the food was taken away by them, so that out of a hundred parts one part remained.

13. Afterwards, in another thirty days and nights they came to a sheep, fat[2] *and* white-jawed, and they slaughtered *it;* and fire was extracted by them out of the wood of the lote-plum[3] and box-tree, through the guidance of the heavenly angels, since both woods were most productive of fire for them;

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[1] Reading akhûrisn instead of the khûrisn of all MSS. which is hardly intelligible. Perhaps âv-khûrisn, 'drinking water,' ought to be read, as it is alluded to in Chap. XXX, 1.

[2] Comparing gefar with Av. garewa and Pers. garb, but this identification may not be correct.

[3] The kûnâr, a thorny tree, allied to the jujube, which bears a small plum-like fruit.

and the fire was stimulated by their mouths; and the first fuel kindled by them was dry grass, kendâr, lotos, date palm leaves, *and* myrtle; and they made a roast of the sheep. 14. And they dropped three handfuls of the meat into the fire, *and* said: 'This is the share of the fire [1].' One piece of the rest they tossed to the sky, *and* said: 'This is the share of the angels.' A bird, the vulture, advanced *and* carried *some* of it away from before *them*, as a dog ate the first meat. 15. And, first, a clothing of skins covered them; afterwards, it is said, woven garments were prepared *from* a cloth woven [2] in the wilderness. 16. And they dug out a pit in the earth, and iron was obtained by them and beaten out with a stone, and without a forge they beat out a cutting edge [3] from it; and they cut wood with it, *and* prepared a wooden shelter from the sun (pê*s*-khûr).

17. Owing to the gracelessness which they practised, the demons became more oppressive, and they themselves carried on unnatural malice between themselves; they advanced one against the other, *and* smote and tore *their* hair *and* cheeks [4]. 18. Then the demons shouted out of the darkness

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[1] Most of this sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

[2] Reading khê*s*-1-i ta*d*, which Pahlavi words might be easily misread ashâbê tad, as given in Pâzand in the text. That Pâz. tadha stands for Pahl. ta*d*ak (Pers. tadah, 'spun, woven') is quite certain.

[3] Or 'an axe,' according as we read têkh or tash. The order of the foregoing words, barâ tapâk-1, 'without a forge,' appears to have been reversed by mistake.

[4] Reading rô*d* as equivalent to Pers. rûî, 'face,' but it ought to be rôd. Perhaps the word is lût, 'bare,' and the translation should be, 'tore *their* hair bare.'

thus: 'You are man; worship the demon! so that your demon of malice may repose.' 19. Mâshya went forth and milked a cow's milk, *and* poured *it* out towards the northern quarter; through that the demons became more powerful, and *owing to* them they both became so dry-backed that in fifty winters they had no desire for intercourse, and though they had had intercourse they would have had no children. 20. And on the completion of fifty years the source of desire arose, first *in* Mâshya and then *in* Mâshyôî, for Mâshya said to Mâshyôî thus: 'When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Mâshyôî spoke thus: 'Brother Mâshya! when I see thy great desire I am also agitated[1].' 21. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, as they reflected thus: 'Our duty even for those fifty years was this.'

22. From them was born in nine months a pair, male and female; *and* owing to tenderness for offspring[2] the mother devoured one, and the father one. 23. And, afterwards, Aûharmazd took tenderness for offspring away from them, so that *one* may nourish a child, and the child may remain.

24. And from them arose seven pairs, male *and*

[1] This is merely a paraphrase of the original.

[2] Or, 'the deliciousness of children' (shîrînîh-i farzand). Justi has, 'owing to an eruption on the children the mother deserted one,' &c.; but the legend of devouring the first children is still more clearly mentioned in the Pahlavi Rivâyat, which forms the first book of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk (preceding the ninety-two questions and answers to which that name is usually applied) as follows: Maharîh va Maharîyâôyîh dûshâram râî nazdistô farzand-i nafsman barâ vastamûnd, 'Mâshya and Mâshyôî, through affection, at first ate up their own offspring.'

female, *and* each was a brother and sister-wife; and from every one of them, in fifty years, children were born, and they themselves died in a hundred years. 25. Of those seven pairs one was Sîyâkmak, the name of the man, and Nasâk[1] of the woman; and from them a pair was born, whose names were Fravâk of the man and Fravâkaîn of the woman. 26. From them fifteen pairs were born, every single pair of whom became a race (sardak); and from them the constant continuance of the generations of the world arose.

27. Owing to the increase (zâyisn) of the whole fifteen races, nine races proceeded on the back of the ox Sarsaok[2], through the wide-formed ocean, to the other six regions (kêshvar), and stayed there; and six races of men remained in Khvanîras. 28. Of those six races the name of the man of one pair was Tâz and of the woman Tâzak, and they went *to* the plain of the Tâzîkân (Arabs); and of one pair Hôshyang[3] was the name of the man and Gûzak of the woman, and from them arose the Aîrânakân (Iranians); and from one pair the Mâzendarâns[4] have arisen. 29. Among the number (pavan aê mar) were those who are in the coun-

[1] Or 'Vasâk.'

[2] See Chaps. XVII, 4, XIX, 13; the name is here written Srisaok in the MSS., and is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

[3] Av. Haoshyangha of Âbân Yt. 21, Gôs Yt. 3, Fravardîn Yt. 137, Râm Yt. 7, Ashi Yt. 24, 26, Zamyâd Yt. 26. His usual epithet is paradhâta (Pahl. pês-dâd), which is thus explained in the Pahlavi Vend. XX, 7: 'this early law (pês-dâdîh) was this, that he first set going the law of sovereignty.' For this reason he is considered to be the founder of the earliest, or Pêsdâdian, dynasty. See Chaps. XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4.

[4] The people of the southern coast of the Caspian, the Mâzainya daêva, 'Mâzainyan demons or idolators,' of the Avesta.

tries of Sûrâk[1], those who are in the country of Anêr[2], those who are in the countries of Tûr, those who are in the country of Salm which is Arûm, those who are in the country of Sênî, that which is *K*înîstân, those who are in the country of Dâî[3], *and* those who are in the country of Sînd[4]. 30. Those, indeed, throughout the seven regions are all from the lineage of Fravâk, *son* of Sîyâkmak, *son of* Mâshya.

31. As there were ten varieties of man[5], *and* fifteen races from Fravâk, there were twenty-five races all from the seed of Gâyômar*d*; *the varieties are such* as *those* of the earth, of the water, the breast-eared, the breast-eyed, the one-legged, those also who have wings like a bat, *those* of the forest, with tails, *and* who have hair on the body[6].

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[1] Not Syria (which is Sûristân, see Chap. XX, 10), but the Sûrîk of the Pahlavi Vend. I, 14, which translates Av. Sughdha, the land east of the Oxus (see Chap. XX, 8). Windischmann reads it as Pâz. Erâk.

[2] Probably for Av. anairya, 'non-Aryan,' which seems specially applied to the lands east of the Caspian.

[3] The countries of Tûr, Salm, Sênî, and Dâî are all mentioned successively in Fravardîn Yt. 143, 144, in their Avesta forms Tûirya, Sairima, Sâini, and Dâhi. The country of Tûr was part of the present Turkistân, that of Salm is rightly identified with Arûm (the eastern Roman Empire, or Asia Minor) in the text; the country of Sênî (miswritten Sênd), being identified with *K*înîstân, was probably the territory of Samarkand, and may perhaps be connected with Mount *K*înŏ (see Chap. XII, 2, 13); and the land of Dâî must be sought somewhere in the same neighbourhood.

[4] Bactria or any part of north-western India may be intended; wherever Brahmans and Buddhists existed (as they did in Bactria) was considered a part of India in Sasanian times.

[5] Grown on a separate tree (see § 5).

[6] Only seven varieties of human monsters are here enumerated,

Chapter XVI.

1. On the nature of generation it says in revelation, that a woman when she comes out from menstruation, during ten days and nights, when they go near unto her, soon becomes pregnant. 2. When she is cleansed from her menstruation, *and* when the time for pregnancy has come, always when the seed of the man is the more powerful a son arises from it; when that of the woman is the more powerful, a daughter; when both seeds are equal, twins and triplets. 3. If the male seed comes the sooner, it adds to the female, and she becomes robust; if the female seed comes the sooner, it becomes blood, *and* the leanness of the female *arises* therefrom.

4. The female seed is cold and moist, and *its* flow is from the loins, and the colour is white, red, and yellow; and the male seed is hot and dry, *its* flow is from the brain of the head, *and* the colour is white and mud-coloured (ha*s*gûn). 5. All[1] the seed of the females *which* issues beforehand, takes a place within the womb, and the seed of the males will remain above it, *and* will fill the space of the womb; whatever refrains therefrom becomes blood again, enters into the veins of the females, *and* at the time any one is born it becomes milk and

for the last three details seem to refer to one variety, the monkeys. The Pârsî MS. of miscellaneous texts, M7 (fol. 120), says, 'The names of the ten species of men are the breast-eyed, the three-eyed, the breast-eared, the elephant-eared, the one-legged, the web-footed, the leopard-headed, the lion-headed, the camel-headed, *and* the dog-headed.'

[1] M6 has 'always.'

nourishes him, as all milk arises from the seed of the males, *and* the blood is that of the females.

6. These four things, they say, are male, *and these* female: the sky, metal, wind, *and* fire are male, *and* are never otherwise; the water, earth, plants, *and* fish are female, *and* are never otherwise; the remaining creation consists of male and female.

7. As regards the fish[1] it says that, at the time of excitement, they go forwards and come back in the water, two *and* two, the length of a mile (hâsar), which is one-fourth of a league (parasang), in the running water; in that coming *and* going they then rub *their* bodies *together*, and a kind of sweat drops out betwixt them, *and* both become pregnant.

Chapter XVII.

1. On the nature of fire it says in revelation, that fire is produced of five kinds, namely, the fire Berezi-savang[2], the fire which shoots up before Aûharmazd the lord; the fire Vohu-fryân[3], the fire which is in the bodies of men and animals; the fire Urvâzist[4], the fire which is in plants; the fire

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[1] K20 has 'the male fish,' which is inconsistent with the preceding sentence.

[2] These Avesta names of the five kinds of fire are enumerated in Yas. XVII, 63–67, and the Pahlavi translation of that passage interchanges the attributes ascribed to the first and fifth in the text, thus it calls the first 'the fire of sublime benefit in connection with Varahrân (Bahrâm).' See also Selections of Zâd-sparam, XI, 1.

[3] 'The fire of the good diffuser (or offerer), that within the bodies of men' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 64).

[4] 'The fire of prosperous (or abundant) life, that within plants' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 65).

Vâzist[1], the fire which is in a cloud *which* stands opposed to Spêngargâk in conflict; the fire Spênist[2], the fire which they keep in use in the world, likewise the fire of Vâhrâm[3]. 2. Of those five fires one consumes both water and food, as that which is in the bodies of men; one consumes water *and* consumes no food, as that which is in plants, which live and grow through water; one consumes food *and* consumes no water, as that which they keep in use in the world, and likewise the fire of Vâhrâm; one consumes no water and no food, as the fire Vâzist. 3. The Berezi-savang is that in the earth and mountains *and* other things, which[4] Aûharmazd created, *in* the original creation, like three breathing souls (nismô); through the watchfulness and protection *due* to them the world ever develops (vakhshêd).

4. And in the reign of Takhmôrup[5], when men continually passed, on the back of the ox Sarsaok[6], from Khvanîras to the other regions, one night

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[1] 'The fire Vâzist, that which smites the demon Spengargâ' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 66). See Chap. VII, 12.

[2] 'The propitious fire *which* stands in heaven before Aûharmazd in a spiritual state' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67).

[3] The Bahrâm fire, or sacred fire at places of worship.

[4] M6 has min, instead of mûn, which alters the translation, but not the meaning. This appears to be a different account of the fire Berezi-savang to that given in § 1, but it merely implies that it is fire in its spiritual state, and the name can, therefore, be applied to any natural fire which can be attributed to supernatural agency, such as burning springs of petroleum, volcanic eruptions, ignis fatuus, phosphorescence of the sea, &c.

[5] The second Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

[6] Written Srisaok in the MSS. in Chap. XV, 27; where it also appears that the sea was 'the wide-formed ocean.' See likewise Chap. XIX, 13.

amid the sea the wind rushed upon[1] the fireplace—the fireplace in which the fire was, such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox—which the wind dropped with the fire into the sea; and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shot up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox, so that it becomes quite light, *and* the men pass again through the sea. 5. And in the reign of Yim[2] every duty was performed more fully through the assistance of all those three fires; and the fire Frôbak[3] was established by him at the appointed place (dâ*d*-gâs) on the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem[4], which Yim constructed for them; and the glory of Yim saves the fire Frôbak from the hand of Dahâk[5]. 6. In the reign of King Vistâsp, upon revelation from the religion[6], it was established, out of Khvârizem, at the Rôshan ('shining') mountain in Kâvulistân, the country of Kâvul (Kâbul), just as it remains there even now.

7. The fire Gûsasp, until the reign of Kaî-Khûsrôb[7], continually afforded the world protection in the manner *aforesaid*[8]; *and* when Kaî-Khûsrôb[7] was

[1] Compare staft with Pers. sitâftan, 'to hasten.'

[2] The third Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 3, 4, XXXIV, 4).

[3] Also written Frôbŏ, Frôbâ, Frôbâk, or Frôbâg.

[4] The Av. *Hv*âirizem of Mihir Yt. 14, a province east of the Caspian.

[5] It is doubtful whether va gadman, 'and the glory,' or nismô, 'the soul, reason' (see Chaps. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4), should be read. And it may even be that 'the fire Frôbak saves the soul of Yim,' &c. For Dahâk see Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

[6] Or, 'upon declaration from revelation.'

[7] Here written Kaî-Khûsrôbî.

[8] In § 3. The 'three breathing souls' of spiritual fire are sup-

extirpating the idol-temples of Lake *Kêkast*[1] it settled upon the mane of *his* horse, and drove away the darkness and gloom, and made *it* quite light, so that they might extirpate the idol-temples; in the same locality the fire Gûsasp was established at the appointed place on the Asnavand mountain[2].

8. The fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô, until the reign of King Vistâsp, ever assisted[3], *in* like manner, in the world, *and* continually afforded protection; *and* when the glorified[4] Zaratûst was introduced to produce confidence in the progress of the religion, King Vistâsp and *his* offspring were steadfast in the religion of God[5], *and* Vistâsp established *this fire* at the appointed place on Mount Rêvand, where they say the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân) is[6].

9. All those three fires are the whole body of the fire of Vâhrâm, together with the fire of the world, and those breathing souls are lodged in them; a counterpart of the body of man when it forms in the womb of the mother, *and* a soul from the spirit-*world* settles within *it*, which controls the body while living; when that body dies, the body mingles with the earth, *and* the soul goes back to the spirit.

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posed to be incorporated in its three earthly representatives, the fires Frôbak, Gûsasp, and Bûrzîn-Mitrô respectively.

[1] That is, of the province around that lake (see Chap. XXII, 2).

[2] See Chap. XII, 26. Compare Selections of Zâd-sparam, VI, 22.

[3] Taking vagîd as equivalent to Pers. guzîd; but it may be equivalent to Pers. vazîd, 'grew, shot up.'

[4] The epithet anôshak-rûbân (Pers. nôshirvân) means literally 'immortal-souled.'

[5] Or, 'of the angels,' which plural form is often used to express 'God.'

[6] See Chap. XII, 18, 34.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. On the nature of the tree they call Gôkar*d*[1] it says in revelation, that *it was* the first day when the tree they call Gôkar*d* grew in the deep mud[2] within the wide-formed ocean; *and* it is necessary as a producer of the renovation *of the universe*, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. 2. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those which enter as opponents, a lizard[3] as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hôm[4]. 3. And for keeping away that lizard, Aûharmazd has created there ten Kar fish[5] which, at all times, continually circle around the Hôm, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard. 4. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed[6], that is, no food is necessary for them; *and* till the renovation *of the universe* they remain in contention. 5. There are places *where* that fish is

[1] A corruption of the Av. gaokerena of Vend. XX, 17, Aûharmazd Yt. 30, Haptân Yt. 3, Sîrôz. 7. In the old MSS. of the Bundahi*s* the form gôkar*d* occurs thrice, gôkarn once, and gogrv once.

[2] Reading gil, 'mud.' Windischmann and Justi prefer gar, 'mountain,' and have 'depth of the mountain.'

[3] That the writer of the Bundahi*s* applies the term vazagh to a lizard, rather than a frog, appears from the 'log-like lizard's body' of Chap. III, 9.

[4] That is, the Gôkar*d* tree, which is the white Hôm (see Chap. XXVII, 4).

[5] The Av. karô masyô of Vend. XIX, 140, Bahrâm Yt. 29, Dîn Yt. 7; see also Chap. XXIV, 13.

[6] Windischmann and Justi prefer translating thus: 'Moreover, the lizard is the spiritual food of those fish;' but this can hardly be reconciled with the Pahlavi text.

written *of as* 'the Ariz[1] of the water;' as it says that the greatest of the creatures of Aûharmazd is that fish, and the greatest of those *proceeding* from the evil spirit is that lizard; with the jaws of *their* bodies, moreover, they snap in two whatever of the creatures of both *spirits has* entered between them, except that one fish which is the Vâs of Pan*k*âsa*d*varân[2]. 6. This, too, is said, that those fish are so serpent-like[3] in that deep water, they know the scratch (mâli*s*n) of a needle's point by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing.

7. Regarding the Vâs of Pan*k*âsa*d*varân it is declared that it moves within the wide-formed ocean, and its length is as much as what a man, while in a swift race, will walk *from* dawn till when the sun goes down; so much that it does not itself move[4] the length of the whole of its great body. 8. This, too, is said, that the creatures of the waters live also specially *under* its guardianship.

9. The tree of many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say *it is* the proper-curing, some the energetic-curing, some the all-curing[5].

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[1] See Chaps. XIV, 26, and XXIV, 13.

[2] The Av. vâsîm yãm pa*n*kâsadvarãm of Yas. XLI, 27.

[3] Transcribing the Pâz. mârâdu into Pahlavi we have mâr âyin, 'snake's manner.' Compare the text with Bahrâm Yt. 29.

[4] K20 omits the words from 'walk' to 'move.'

[5] This is the tree of the saêna or Simurgh, as described in Rashnu Yt. 17, and these three epithets are translations of its three titles, hubi*s*, eredhwô-bi*s*, and vîspô-bi*s*. See also Chap. XXVII, 2, 3.

10. Between[1] these trees of such kinds[2] is formed the mountain with cavities, 9999 thousand myriads *in number*, each myriad being ten thousand. 11. Unto that mountain is given the protection of the waters, so that water streams forth from there, in the rivulet channels, to the land of the seven regions, as the source of all the sea-water in the land of the seven regions is from there[3].

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Regarding the three-legged ass[4] they say, that it stands amid the wide-formed ocean, and its feet are three, eyes six, mouths[5] nine, ears two, and horn

[1] This must have been the original meaning of the Huz. dên (bên in the Sasanian inscriptions) before it was used as a synonym of Pâz. andar, 'within.' The mountain is between the white-Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds.

[2] Transcribing the Pâz. oînoh into Pahlavi we have ân-gûnak, 'that kind;' or the word may be a miswriting of Pâz. ânô, 'there.'

[3] This description of the mountain seems to identify it with the Aûsîndôm mountain of Chaps. XII, 6, and XIII, 5.

[4] The Av. khara, 'which is righteous *and* which stands in the middle of the wide-shored ocean' (Yas. XLI, 28). Darmesteter, in his Ormazd et Ahriman (pp. 148–151), considers this mythological monster as a meteorological myth, a personification of clouds and storm; and, no doubt, a vivid imagination may trace a striking resemblance between some of the monster's attributes and certain fanciful ideas regarding the phenomena of nature; the difficulty is to account for the remaining attributes, and to be sure that these fanciful ideas were really held by Mazdayasnians of old. Another plausible view is to consider such mythological beings as foreign gods tolerated by the priesthood, from politic motives, as objects worthy of reverence; even as the goddess Anâhita was tolerated in the form of the angel of water.

[5] This is the traditional meaning of the word, which (if this

one, body white, food spiritual, *and* it is righteous. 2. And two of its six eyes are in the position of eyes, two on the top of the head, and two in the position of the hump[1]; with the sharpness of those six eyes it overcomes *and* destroys. 3. Of the nine mouths three are in the head, three in the hump, and three in the inner part of the flanks; and each mouth is about the size of a cottage, and *it is* itself as large as Mount Alvand[2]. 4. Each one of the three feet, when it is placed on the ground, is as much as a flock (gir*d*) of a thousand sheep comes under when they repose together; *and* each pastern[3] is so great in its circuit that a thousand men with a thousand horses may pass inside. 5. As for the two ears *it is* Mâzendarân which they will encompass. 6. The one horn is as it were of gold *and* hollow, and a thousand *branch* horns[4] have grown upon it, some befitting[5] a camel, some befitting a horse, some befitting an ox, some befitting an ass, both great and small. 7. With that horn it will vanquish *and* dissipate all the vile corruption *due to* the efforts of noxious creatures.

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meaning be correct) ought probably to be read yông, and be traced to Av. *ee*a*ungh* (Yas. XXVIII, 11). In the MSS. the word is marked as if it were pronounced gûnd, which means 'a testicle.'

[1] The hump is probably supposed to be over the shoulders, as in the Indian ox, and not like that of the camel.

[2] Near Hamadân, rising 11,000 feet above the sea, or 6000 above Hamadân. It may be one of the Av. Aurva*n*tô of Zamyâd Yt. 3. The Pâzand MSS. read Hunavand.

[3] Literally, 'the small of the foot,' khûr*d*ak-i ragelman.

[4] Or, 'a thousand cavities (srûbŏ, Pers. surub, 'cavern') have grown in it.'

[5] Reading zîyâk; compare Pers. ziyîdan, 'to suit, befit.'

8. When that ass shall hold *its* neck in the ocean *its* ears will terrify (asahmê*d*), *and* all the water of the wide-formed ocean will shake with agitation, *and* the side of Ganâva*d*[1] will tremble (shîvanê*d*). 9. When it utters a cry all female water-creatures, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, will become pregnant; and all pregnant noxious water-creatures, when they hear that cry, will cast *their* young. 10. When it stales in the ocean all the sea-water will become purified, which is in the seven regions of the earth—*it is* even on that account when all asses which come into water stale in the water—as it says thus: 'If, O three-legged ass! you were not created for the water, all the water in the sea would have perished from the contamination which the poison of the evil spirit has brought into its water, through the death of the creatures of Aûharmazd.'

11. Tîstar seizes the water[2] more completely from the ocean with the assistance of the three-legged ass. 12. Of ambergris also (ambar-i*k*) *it* is declared, that it is the dung of the three-legged ass; for if it has much spirit food, then also the moisture of the liquid nourishment goes through the veins *pertaining* to the body into the urine, *and* the dung is cast away.

13. Of the ox Hadhayô*s*[3], which they call Sarsaok[4], it says, that in the original creation men passed from region to region *upon it*, *and* in the

[1] A mountain (see Chap. XII, 29, 34).

[2] See Chap. VII, 11.

[3] Written Hadayâv*s* in the MSS. in Chap. XXX, 25, and Hadhayâ*s* in the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, Part II, reply 89; it is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

[4] See Chaps. XV, 27, XVII, 4.

renovation *of the universe* they prepare Hûsh (the beverage producing immortality) from it. 14. It is said, that life is in the hand of that foremost man, at the end of *his* years [1], who has constructed the most defences around this earth, until the renovation *of the universe* is requisite.

15. Regarding the bird *K*âmrôs [2] it says, that *it is* on the summit of Mount Albûr*z*; *and* every three years many come from the non-Iranian districts for booty (gir*d*) [3], by going to bring damage (zîyân) on the Iranian districts, and to effect the devastation of the world; then the angel Bûr*g* [4], *having* come up from the low country of Lake Arag [5], arouses that very bird *K*âmrôs, *and* it flies upon the loftiest of all the lofty mountains, *and* picks up all those non-Iranian districts as a bird *does* corn.

16. Regarding Kar*s*ipt [6] they say, that it knew how to speak words, *and* brought the religion to the enclosure which Yim made, and circulated *it*; there they utter the Avesta in the language of birds.

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[1] Transcribing the Pâz. *s*vadyi into Pahlavi we have *s*natîh, 'term of years.' The whole sentence is very obscure.

[2] Written *K*amrôs in Chap. XXIV, 29. It is the Av. *K*amrao*s* (gen. of *K*amru) of Fravardîn Yt. 109. See also Chap. XXVII, 3.

[3] Or, 'to an assembly.'

[4] The Av. Bere*g*ya of Yas. I, 21, II, 27, III, 35, 'a spirit co-operating with the Ushahina Gâh, who causes the increase of herds and corn.'

[5] Or, 'of the district of Arag' (see the note on Chap. XII, 23). Although no Lake Arag is described in Chap. XXII, some of the epithets referring to its Avesta equivalent Rangha are more applicable to a lake than to a river, as in Bahrâm Yt. 29. Possibly the low lands between the Caspian and Aral, or on the shores of the Caspian, are meant.

[6] The Av. vi*s* kar*s*ipta of Vend. II, 139, where, however, vi*s*

17. Regarding the ox-fish they say, that it exists in all seas; when it utters a cry all fish become pregnant, and all noxious water-creatures cast *their* young.

18. The griffon bird[1], which is a bat, is noticed (kar*d*) twice in another chapter (babâ).

19. Regarding the bird Ashôzu*s*t[2], which is the bird Zobara[3]-vahman *and* also the bird *S*ôk[4], they say that it has given an Avesta with *its* tongue; when it speaks the demons tremble at it *and* take nothing away there; a nail-*paring*, when it is not prayed over (afsû*d*), the demons *and* wizards seize, *and* like an arrow it shoots at *and* kills that bird. 20. On this account the bird seizes *and* devours a nail-*paring* when it is prayed over, so that the demons may not control *its* use; when it is not prayed over it does not devour *it*, *and* the demons are able to commit an offence with it.

21. Also other beasts and birds are created all in opposition to noxious creatures, as it says, that when the birds *and* beasts are all in opposition to noxious creatures and wizards, *&c.*[5] 22. This, too, it says, that of all precious[6] birds the crow (valâgh) is the most precious. 23. Regarding the white falcon it

does not mean 'bird,' and the Pahlavi translator calls it 'a quadruped.' In the Pahl. Visp. I, 1, 'the Kar*s*ipt is the chief of flying creatures,' and the Bundahi*s* also takes it as a bird (see Chaps. XIV, 23, XXIV, 11).

[1] See Chaps. XIV, 11, 23, 24, XXIV, 11, 29.

[2] The Av. Ashô-zu*s*ta of Vend. XVII, 26, 28.

[3] Compare Pers. *z*ûlah, 'a sparrow or lark.'

[4] Compare Pers. *s*ak, 'a magpie.'

[5] This quotation is evidently left incomplete.

[6] The Pahlavi word is ambiguous; it may be read zîl, 'cheap, common,' or it may be zagar = yakar, 'dear, precious,' but the

says, that it kills the serpent with wings. 24. The magpie (kâskînak) bird kills the locust, *and* is created in opposition to it. 25. The Kahrkâs[1], dwelling in decay, which is the vulture, is created for devouring dead matter (nasâî); so also are the crow (valâk)[2] and the mountain kite.

26. The mountain ox, the mountain goat, the deer, the wild ass, *and* other beasts devour all snakes. 27. So also, of other *animals*, dogs are created in opposition to the wolf species, *and* for securing the protection of sheep; the fox is created in opposition to the demon Khava; the ichneumon is created in opposition to the venomous snake (garzak) *and* other noxious creatures in burrows; so also the great musk-*animal* is created in opposition[3] to ravenous intestinal worms (kadûk-dânak garzak). 28. The hedgehog is created in opposition to the ant which carries off grain[4], as it says, that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants; when the grain-carrier travels over the earth it pro-

latter seems most probable, although the crow is perhaps as 'common' as it is 'precious,' as a scavenger in the East. Singularly enough Pers. arzân is a synonym to both words, as it means both 'cheap' and 'worthy.'

[1] The Av. kahrkâsa of Vend. III, 66, IX, 181, Âbân Yt. 61, Mihir Yt. 129; its epithet zarmân-mânisn, 'dwelling in decay,' is evidently intended as a translation of the Av. zarenumainis, applied to it in Bahrâm Yt. 33, Dîn Yt. 13.

[2] The text should probably be valâk-i sîyâk va sâr-i gar, 'the black crow and the mountain kite,' which are given as different birds in Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, II, 5.

[3] K20 omits the words from this 'opposition' to the next one.

[4] The môr-i dânak-kash is the Av. maoiris dânô-karshô of Vend. XIV, 14, XVI, 28, XVIII, 146.

duces a hollow track[1]; when the hedgehog travels over it the track goes away from it, and it becomes level. 29. The water-beaver is created in opposition to the demon which is in the water. 30. The conclusion is this, that, of all beasts and birds and fishes, every one is created in opposition to some noxious creature.

31. Regarding the vulture (karkâs) it says, that, even from his highest flight, he sees when flesh the size of a fist is on the ground; and the scent of musk is created under his wing, so that if, in devouring dead matter, the stench of the dead matter comes *out* from it, he puts *his* head back under the wing *and* is comfortable again. 32. Regarding the Arab horse they say, that if, in a dark night, a single hair occurs on the ground, he sees *it*.

33. The cock is created in opposition to demons *and* wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with Srôsh[2], in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog. 34. This, too, it says, that it would not have *been* managed if I had not created the shepherd's dog, which is the Pasus-haurva[3], *and* the house watch-dog, the Vis-haurva[3]; for it says in revelation, that the dog is a destroyer of such a fiend as covetous-

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[1] Comparing sûrâk with Pers. surâgh in preference to sûrâkh or sûlâkh, 'a hole.'

[2] Av. Sraosha, the angel who is said specially to protect the world from demons at night; he is usually styled 'the righteous,' and is the special opponent of the demon Aêshm, 'Wrath' (see Chap. XXX, 29).

[3] These are the Avesta names of those two kinds of dog (see Chap. XIV, 19).

ness, among those which are in the nature (aîtîh) of man and of animals. 35. Moreover it says, that, inasmuch as it will destroy all the disobedient, when it barks it will destroy pain[1]; and its flesh and fat are remedies for driving away decay and pain from men[2].

36. Aûharmazd created nothing useless whatever, for all these (kolâ aê) are created for advantage; when one does not understand the reason of them, it is necessary to ask the Dastûr ('high-priest'), for his five dispositions (khûk)[3] are created in this way that he may continually destroy the fiend (or deceit).

Chapter XX.

1. On the nature of rivers it says in revelation, that these two rivers flow forth from the north, part from Albûrz *and* part from the Albûrz of Aûhar-

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[1] Or it may be thus: 'For it says thus: Wherewith will it destroy? When it barks it will destroy the assembly (gird) of all the disobedient.'

[2] This is the most obvious meaning, but Spiegel (in a note to Windischmann's Zoroastrische Studien, p. 95) translates both this sentence and the next very differently, so as to harmonize with Vend. XIII, 78, 99.

[3] The five dispositions (khîm) of priests are thus detailed in old Pahlavi MSS.: 'First, innocence; second, discreetness of thoughts, words, and deeds; third, holding the priestly office as that of a very wise and very true-speaking master, who has learned religion attentively and teaches *it* truly; fourth, celebrating the worship of God (yazdân) with a ritual (nîrang) of rightly spoken words and scriptures known by heart (narm naskîhâ); fifth, remaining day and night propitiatingly in *his* vocation, struggling with his own resistance (hamêstâr), and, *all* life long, not turning away from steadfastness in religion, and being energetic in *his* vocation.'

mazd[1]; one towards the west, that is the Arag[2]; *and* one towards the east, that is the Vêh river. 2. After them eighteen rivers flowed forth from the same source, just as the remaining waters have flowed forth from them in great multitude; as they say that they flowed out so very fast, one from the other, as when a man recites one Ashem-vohû[3] of a series (pa*d*îsâr). 3. All of those, with the same water, are again mingled with these rivers, that is, the Arag river *and* Vêh river. 4. Both of them continually circulate through the two extremities of the earth, and pass into the sea; and all the regions feast owing to the discharge (zahâk) of both, which, after both arrive together at the wide-formed ocean, returns to the sources whence they flowed out; as it says in revelation, that just as the light comes in through Albûr*z* *and* goes out through Albûr*z*[4], the

[1] So in K20, and if correct (being only partially confirmed by the fragment of this chapter found in all MSS. between Chaps. XIII and XIV) this reading implies that the rivers are derived partly from the mountains of Albûr*z*, and partly from the celestial Albûr*z*, or the clouds in the sky. M6 has 'flow forth from the north part of the eastern Albûr*z*.'

[2] For further details regarding these two semi-mythical rivers see §§ 8, 9.

[3] The sacred formula most frequently recited by the Parsis, and often several times in succession, like the Pater-noster of some Christians; it is not, however, a prayer, but a declaratory formula in 'praise of righteousness' (which phrase is often used as its name in Pahlavi). It consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows:

Ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî,
u*s*tâ astî; u*s*tâ ahmâi
hya*d* ashâi vahi*s*tâi ashem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to perfect rectitude' (Asha-vahi*s*ta the archangel).

[4] See Chap. V, 5.

water also comes out through Albûrz and goes away through Albûrz. 5. This, too, it says, that the spirit of the Arag begged of Aûharmazd thus: 'O first omniscient creative power[1]! from whom the Vêh river begged for the welfare that thou mightest grant, do thou then grant *it* in my quantity!' 6. The spirit of the Vêh river similarly begged of Aûharmazd for the Arag river; *and* on account of loving assistance, one towards the other, they flowed forth with equal strength, as before the coming of the destroyer they proceeded without rapids, and when the fiend shall be destroyed[2] they *will* again be without rapids.

7. Of those eighteen principal rivers, distinct from the Arag river *and* Vêh river, and the other rivers which flow out from them, I *will* mention the more famous[3]: the Arag river, the Vêh river, the Diglat[4] river they call also again the Vêh river[5], the Frât river, the Dâîtîk river, the Dargâm river, the Zôndak river, the Harôî river, the Marv river, the Hêtûmand river, the Akhôshir river, the Nâvadâ[6] river, the Zîsmand river, the Khvegand river, the Balkh river, the Mehrvâ river they call the Hendvâ river, the Spêd[7] river, the Rad[8] river which they call also the Koir, the Khvaraê river which they call

[1] So in M6, but K20 has, 'First is the propitiation of all kinds.'

[2] Literally, 'when they shall destroy the fiend.'

[3] For details regarding these rivers see the sequel.

[4] The Pâz. Deyrid is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Diglat or Digrat, which occurs in § 12.

[5] So in K20, but M6 (omitting two words) has, 'they call also the Didgar.'

[6] No further details are given, in this chapter, about this river, but it seems to be the river Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6, the Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

[7] K20 has 'Spend.'

[8] Called Tort in § 24.

also the Mesrgân, the Harhaz[1] river, the Teremet river, the Khvanaîdis[2] river, the Dâraga river, the Kâsîk river, the *S*êd[3] ('shining') river Pêdâ-meyan *or K*atru-meyan river *of* Mokarstân.

8. I *will* mention them also a second time: the Arag[4] river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Albûrz in the land of Sûrâk[5], *in* which they call it also the Âmi; it passes on through the land of Spêtos, which they also call Mesr, and they call it there the river Niv[6]. 9. The Vêh[7] river

[1] Miswritten Araz in Pâzand, both here and in § 27.

[2] M6 has Khvanaînidis, but in K20 it is doubtful whether the extra syllable (which is interlined) is intended to be inserted or substituted; the shorter form is, however, more reconcilable with the Pahlavi form of Vendeses in § 29.

[3] As there is no description of any *S*êd river it is probably only an epithet of the Pêdâ-meyan or *K*atru-meyan (pê*d*âk being the usual Pahlavi equivalent of Av. *k*ithrô). Justi suggests that Mokarstân (Mokarsta rû*d* in M6) stands for Pers. Moghulstân, 'the country of the Moghuls,' but this is doubtful.

[4] Sometimes written Arang or Arêng, but the nasal is usually omitted; it is the Av. Rangha of Âbân Yt. 63, Rashnu Yt. 18, Râm Yt. 27, which is described more like a lake or sea in Vend. I, 77, Bahrâm Yt. 29. This semi-mythical river is supposed to encompass a great part of the known world (see Chap. VII, 16), and the Bundahis probably means to trace its course down the Âmû (Oxus) from Sogdiana, across the Caspian, up the Aras (Araxes) or the Kur (Cyrus), through the Euxine and Mediterranean, and up the Nile to the Indian Ocean. The Âmû (Oxus) is also sometimes considered a part of the Vêh river or Indus (see §§ 22, 28).

[5] Sogdiana (see Chap. XV, 29), the country of the Âmû river.

[6] The combination of the three names in this clause, as Justi observes, renders it probable that we should read, 'the land of Egypt,' which is called Misr, and where the river is the Nile. The letter S in Pâz. Spêtos is very like an obsolete form of Av. g, or it may be read as Pahl. îk or îg, so the name may originally have been Gpêtos or Ikpêtos; and the Pâz. Niv, if transcribed into Pahlavi, can also be read Nîl.

[7] The 'good' river, which, with the Arag and the ocean, completes

passes on in the east, goes through the land of Sînd[1], *and* flows to the sea in Hindûstân, and they call it there the Mehrâ[2] river. 10. The sources of the Frât[3] river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed *upon it* in Sûristân, *and* it flows to the Diglat river; and of this Frât *it is*[4] that they produce irrigation over the land. 11. It is declared that Mânûskîhar excavated the sources, *and* cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânûskîhar excavated for *the benefit of* his own soul, *and* he seized the water *and* gave to drink[5].' 12. The Diglat[6] river comes out from Salmân[7], *and* flows to the sea in Khûgistân. 13. The Dâîtîk[8] river is the river

the circuit of the known world, and is evidently identified with the Indus; sometimes it seems also to include the Âmû (Oxus), as Bactria was considered a part of India; thus we find the Balkh and Teremet rivers flowing into the Vêh (see §§ 22, 28).

[1] See § 30.

[2] No doubt the Mehrvâ or Hendvâ river of § 7, and the Mihrân of Ouseley's Oriental Geography of the pseudo Ibn 'Haûqal, pp. 148–155, which appears to combine the Satlig and lower Indus. The final n is usually omitted by the Bundahis after â in Pâzand words. This river is also called Kâsak (see § 30).

[3] The Euphrates, which rises in Armenia (part of the eastern empire of the Romans), traverses Syria, and joins the Tigris.

[4] Or, 'and its convenience is this;' a play upon the words farhat and Frât, which are identical in Pahlavi.

[5] Referring probably to canals for irrigation along the course of the Euphrates.

[6] The Tigris (Arabic Diglat), Hiddekel of Gen. ii. 14, Dan. x. 4, and perhaps the Av. tighris of Tîstar Yt. 6, 37; misread Dêîrid in Pâzand.

[7] The country of Salm (see Chap. XV, 29), son of Frêdûn (see Chap. XXXI, 9, 10). The name can also be read Dîlmân, which is the name of a place in the same neighbourhood.

[8] The Av. Dâitya of Vend. XIX, 5, Aûharmazd Yt. 21, Âbân Yt. 112, Gôs Yt. 29. The 'good dâitya of Airyana-vaêgô' is also

which comes out from Aîrân-vêg, *and* goes out through the hill-country[1]; of all rivers the noxious creatures in it are most, as it says, that the Dâîtîk river is full of noxious creatures. 14. The Dargâm river is in Sûde. 15. The Zend[2] river passes through the mountains of Pangistân, *and* flows away to the Haro river. 16. The Haro[3] river flows out from the Apârsên range[4]. 17. The Hêtûmand[5] river is in Sagastân, and its sources are from the Apârsên range; this is distinct from that which Frâsîyâv conducted away[6]. 18. The river Akhôshir is in Kûmîs[7]. 19. The Zîsmand[8] river, in the direc-

mentioned in Vend. I, 6, II, 42, 43, Âbân Yt. 17, 104, Râm Yt. 2, but this may not be a river, though the phrase has, no doubt, led to locating the river Dâîtîk in Aîrân-vêg.

[1] Pâz. gopestân in K20, which is evidently Pahl. kôfistân, but not the Kôhistân of southern Persia. M6 has 'the mountain of Pangistân,' which must be incorrect, as according to §§ 15, 16, this is in north-east Khurâsân, and too far from Aîrân-vêg in Âtarô-pâtakân (Âdar-bîgân), see Chap. XXIX, 12. Justi proposes to read Gurgistân (Georgia), and identifies the Dâîtîk with the Araxes. But, adhering to the text of K20, the Dâîtîk rises in Âdar-bîgân and departs through a hill-country, a description applicable, not only to the Araxes, but also more particularly to the Safêd Rûd or white river; although this river seems to be mentioned again as the Spêd or Spend river in § 23.

[2] Written Zôndak in § 7. This can hardly be the Zendah river of Ispahan, but is probably the Tegend river, which flows past Meshhed into the Heri river.

[3] This is the Heri, which flows past Herat.

[4] See Chap. XII, 9.

[5] The Etymander of classical writers, now the Hêlmand in Afghânistân. The Av. Haêtumat of Vend. I, 50, XIX, 130, Zamyâd Yt. 66, is the name of the country through which it flows.

[6] See § 34 and Chap. XXI, 6.

[7] The district about Dâmaghân.

[8] Perhaps the Zarafsân.

tion of Soghd, flows away towards the Khvegand river. 20. The Khvegand[1] river goes on through the midst of Samarkand *and* Pargâna, and they call it also the river Ashârd. 21. The Marv[2] river, a glorious river in the east[3], flows out from the Apârsên range. 22. The Balkh river comes out *from* the Apârsên mountain of Bâmîkân[4], *and* flows on to the Vêh[5] river. 23. The Spêd[6] river is in Âtarôpâtakân; they say that Dahâk begged a favour[7] here from Aharman and the demons. 24. The Tort[8] river, which they call also the Koir, comes out from

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[1] This is evidently not the small affluent now called the Khugand, but the great Syr-darya or Iaxartes, which flows through the provinces of Farghânah and Samarkand, past Kokand, Khugand, and Tashkand, into the Aral. The Pâz. Ashârd represents Pahl. Khshârt, or Ashârt (Iaxartes).

[2] The Murghâb.

[3] Or, 'in Khûrâsân.'

[4] Bâmian, near which the river of Balkh has its source.

[5] Justi observes that it should be 'the Arag river;' but according to an Armenian writer of the seventh century the Persians called the Oxus the Vêh river, and considered it to be in India, because Buddhists occupied the country on its banks (see Garrez in Journal Asiatique for 1869, pp. 161–198). It would seem, therefore, that the Oxus was sometimes (or in early times) considered a part of the Arag (Araxes), and sometimes (or in later times) a part of the Vêh (Indus).

[6] So in M6, but K20 has 'Spend,' both here and in § 7. The name of this river corresponds with that of the Safêd Rûd, although the position of that river agrees best with the account given of the Dâîtîk in § 13.

[7] Compare Râm Yt. 19, 20. K20 has 'there,' instead of 'here.'

[8] Called Rad in § 7 (by the loss of the first letter of the original Pahlavi name); by its alternative name, Koir, Justi identifies it as the Kûr in Georgia, flowing into the Caspian, or sea of Vergân, the Av. Vehrkâna (Hyrcania) of Vend. I, 42, which is Gûrgân in Pahlavi.

the sea of Gîklân[1], *and* flows to the sea of Vergân[2]. 25. The Zahâvayi[3] is the river *which* comes out from Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* flows to the sea in Pârs. 26. The sources of the Khvaraê[4] river are from Spâhân[5]; it passes on through Khûǵistân, flows forth to the Diglat[6] river, and in Spâhân they call it the Mesrkân[7] river. 27. The Harhaz[8] river is in Taparistân, and its sources are from Mount Dimâvand. 28. The Teremet[9] river flows away to the Vêh river. 29. The Vendeses[10] river is in *that part of* Pârs which they call Sagastân. 30. The Kâsak[11] river comes out through a ravine (kâf) in the province of Tûs[12], and they call it there the Kasp river; more-

[1] M6 has Pâz. Keyâseh, but this is in Sagastân (see Chap. XIII, 16).

[2] The MSS. have Vergâ, but the final nasal after â is often omitted in Pâzand readings in the Bundahiś.

[3] Not mentioned in § 7. Possibly one of the rivers Zâb, which rise on the borders of Âdarbîǵân, flow into the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf, the sea on the coast of Pârs. Or it may be the Shirvân, another affluent of the Tigris, which flows through the district of Zohab.

[4] The Kuran, upon which the town of Shûstar was founded by one of the early Sasanian kings, who also dug a canal, east of the town, so as to form a loop branch of the river; this canal was called Nahr-i Masrûqân by Oriental geographers (see Rawlinson, Journal Roy. Geogr. Soc. vol. ix. pp. 73–75).

[5] Ispahân in Persian.

[6] Miswritten Dayrid in Pâzand (see § 12).

[7] Written in Pâzand without the final n, as usual. This is the old name of the canal forming the eastern branch of the Kuran at Shûstar; it is now called Âb-i Gargar.

[8] Flows into the Caspian near Amûl.

[9] Probably the river which flows into the Âmû (Oxus) at Tarmaz; but, in that case, the Oxus is here again identified with the Vêh (Indus) as in § 22, instead of the Arag (Araxes) as in § 8.

[10] Called Khvanaîdiś, or Khvanaînidiś, in § 7.

[11] Called Kâsîk in § 7.

[12] Close to Meshhed.

over, the river, which is there the Vêh, they call the Kâsak[1]; even in Sînd they call *it* the Kâsak. 31. The Pê*d*âk-mîyân[2], which is the river *K*atru-mîyân, is that which is in Kangde*z*[3]. 32. The Dâra*g*a river is in Aîrân-vê*g*, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratû*s*t[4]. 33. The other innumerable waters and rivers, springs *and* channels are one in origin with those[5]; so in various districts *and* various places they call *them* by various names.

34. Regarding Frâsîyâ*v*[6] they say, that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea Kyânsîh[7], suitable for horses, suitable for camels, suitable for oxen, suitable for asses, both great and small[8]; and he conducted the spring Zarînmand (or golden source), which is the Hêtûmand[9] river they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the Va*k*aêni[10] river into the same sea, *and* made men settle *there*.

[1] Or, 'this same Vêh river they call there the Kâsak; even in Sênî they call *it* the Kâsak;' Sênî is apt to be miswritten Sênd or Sînd (see Chap. XV, 29).

[2] See § 7. The latter half of both names can also be read mâhan, mâhô, or mahân. Pêshyôtan, son of Vi*s*tâsp, seems to have taken a surname from this river (see Chap. XXIX, 5).

[3] See Chap. XXIX, 10.

[4] See Chaps. XXIV, 15, XXXII, 1, 2.

[5] Or, 'are from those as a source.'

[6] The MSS. have 'Pôrûshasp,' but compare § 17 and Chap. XXI, 6. The two names are somewhat alike in Pahlavi writing.

[7] See Chap. XIII, 16.

[8] Compare Chap. XIX, 6. K20 omits the words 'suitable for asses' here.

[9] Another Hêtûmand according to § 17. Possibly a dried-up bed of that river.

[10] K20 has Vataêni; *k* and t being much alike in Pâzand. The

CHAPTER XXI[1].

1. In revelation they mention seventeen[2] species of liquid (mayâ), as one liquid resides in plants[3]; second, that which is flowing from the mountains, that is, the rivers; third, that which is rain-water; fourth, that of tanks *and* other special *constructions;* fifth, the semen of animals and men; sixth, the urine of animals and men[4]; seventh, the sweat of animals and men; the eighth liquid is that in the skin of animals and men; ninth, the tears of animals and men; tenth, the blood of animals and men; eleventh, the oil in animals and men, a necessary in both worlds[5]; twelfth, the saliva of animals and men, with which they nourish the embryo[6]; the thirteenth is that which is under the bark[7] of plants, as it is said that every bark has a liquid, through which a drop *appears* on a twig (têkh) *when placed* four finger-breadths before a fire[8]; fourteenth, the milk of animals and men. 2. All these, through growth, or

'navigable (nâvtâk) waters' may be 'the Nâvadâ river' of § 7, 'the river Nâhvtâk' of Chap. XXI, 6, and Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

[1] This chapter is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

[2] Only fourteen are mentioned in the details which follow.

[3] Most of these details are derived from the Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 7–9, 13, 14; and several varieties of water are also described in Yas. LXVII, 15.

[4] This sixth liquid is omitted by K20.

[5] Departed souls are said to be fed with oil in paradise.

[6] K20 omits the word pûs, 'embryo.'

[7] The meaning 'bark' for Pâz. ayvan is merely a guess; Anquetil has 'sap' (compare Pers. âvînâ, 'juice'), but this is hardly consistent with the rest of the sentence.

[8] See Chap. XXVII, 25.

the body which is formed, mingle again with the rivers, for the body which is formed *and* the growth are both one.

3. This, too, they say, that of these three rivers, that is, the Arag river, the Marv river, *and* the Vêh[1] river, the spirits were dissatisfied, so that they would not flow into the world, owing to the defilement of stagnant water (armêst) which they beheld, so that they were in tribulation through it until Zaratûst was exhibited to them, whom I (Aûharmazd) will create, who *will* pour sixfold holy-water (zôr) into it *and* make *it* again wholesome; he will preach carefulness[2]. 4. This, too, it says, that, of water whose holy-water is more and pollution less, the holy-water has come in excess, *and* in three years it goes back to the sources[3]; *that* of which the pollution *and* holy-water have both become equal, arrives back in six years; *that* of which the pollution is more and holy-water less, arrives back in nine years. 5. So, also, the growth of plants is connected, in this manner, strongly with the root[4]; so, likewise, the blessings (âfrîn) which the righteous utter, come back, in this proportion, to themselves.

6. Regarding the river Nâhvtâk[5] it says, that Frâsîyâv of Tûr conducted it away; *and* when[6]

[1] K20 has 'Hêtûmand,' but M6 has '*S*apîr,' the Huz. equivalent of 'Vêh,' which is more probable.

[2] Or, 'abstinence *from impurity*.'

[3] The source Arêdvîvsûr (see Chap. XIII, 3, 10).

[4] That is, by the sap circulating like the waters of the earth. The greater part of this sentence is omitted in K20.

[5] Probably 'the Nâvadâ' and 'navigable waters' of Chap. XX, 7, 34, and Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

[6] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

Hûshêdar[1] comes it *will* flow again suitable for horses; so, also, *will* the fountains of the sea Kyânsîh[2]. 7. Kyânsîh[2] is the one where the home (*g*înâk) of the Kayân race is.

Chapter XXII.

1. On the nature of lakes it says in revelation, that thus many fountains of waters have come into notice, which they call lakes (var); counterparts of the eyes (*k*ashm) of men are those fountains (*k*ashmak) of waters; such as Lake *K*êkast, Lake Sôvbar, Lake Khvârizem[3], Lake Frazdân, Lake Zarînmand, Lake Âsvast, Lake Husru, Lake Satavês, Lake Urvis.

2. I *will* mention them also a second time: Lake *K*êkast[4] is in Âtarô-pâtakân, warm is the water *and* opposed to harm, so that nothing whatever is living in *it;* and its source is connected with the wide-formed ocean[5]. 3. Lake Sôvbar is in the upper district and country on the summit of the mountain of Tûs[6]; as it says, that the Sû*d*-bâhar[7] ('share of benefit') is propitious and good from which abound-

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[1] Written Khûrshêdar, as usual in Bundahi*s* (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

[2] Written Kayâseh in Pâzand (see Chap. XIII, 16).

[3] Pâz. Khvârazm both here and in § 4.

[4] Av. *K*aêkasta of Âbân Yt. 49, Gô*s* Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, Sîrôz. 9. The present Lake Urumiyah in Âdarbîgân, which is called Khegest, or *K*egest, by 'Hamdu-l-lâh Mustaûfî.

[5] Implying that the water is salt.

[6] The Kôndrâsp mountain (see Chap. XII, 24). This lake is probably a small sheet of water on the mountains near Meshhed.

[7] Evidently a punning etymology of the name of this lake.

ing liberality is produced. 4. Regarding Lake Khvârizem[1] it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, *that is*, Arshisang[2] the rich in wealth, the well-portioned *with* abounding pleasure. 5. Lake Frazdân[3] is in Sagastân; they say, where a generous man, *who is* righteous, throws anything into it, it receives *it;* when not righteous, it throws *it* out again; its source also is connected with the wide-formed *ocean*. 6. Lake Zarînmand is in Hamadân[4]. 7. Regarding Lake Âsvast it is declared that the undefiled[5] water which it contains is always constantly flowing into the sea, so bright and copious[6] that *one* might say that the sun had come into it *and* looked at Lake Âsvast, into that water which is requisite for restoring the dead in the renovation *of the universe*. 8. Lake Husru[7] is within fifty[8]

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[1] The province of Khvârizem was between the Aral and Caspian, along the ancient course of the Oxus (see Chap. XVII, 5). This lake has been identified with the Aral.

[2] Av. ashis vanguhi, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel whose praises are celebrated in the Ashi Yast; in later times she has been considered as the angel dispensing wealth and possessions. She is also called Ard (Av. areta, which is synonymous with asha), see Chap. XXVII, 24.

[3] The 'Frazdânava water' of Âbân Yt. 108 and Farhang-i Oîmkhadûk, p. 17. Justi identifies it with the Âb-istâdah ('standing water') lake, south of Ghaznî. It is here represented as a salt lake.

[4] K20 adds, 'they say.' This lake cannot be the spring Zarînmand of Chap. XX, 34.

[5] Pâz. avnasti transcribed into Pahlavi is avinastag, 'unspoiled,' the equivalent of Av. anâhita in Yas. LXIV, 1, 16, Visp. I, 18.

[6] K20 has 'glorious' as a gloss to 'copious.'

[7] The Av. Haosravangha of Sîroz. 9, 'the lake which is named Husravau' of Zamyâd Yt. 56. It may be either Lake Van or Lake Sevan, which are nearly equidistant from Lake Urumiyah.

[8] M6 has 'four leagues.'

leagues (parasang) of Lake *Kêk*ast. 9. Lake (or, rather, Gulf) Satavês[1] is that *already* written *about*, between the wide-formed ocean *and* the Pûtîk. 10. It is said that in Kamîndân is an abyss (zafar), from which everything they throw in always comes *back*, and it *will* not receive it unless alive (*g*ânvar); when they throw a living creature into it, it carries *it* down; men say that a fountain from hell is in it. 11. Lake Urvis is on Hûgar the lofty[2].

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. On the nature of the ape *and* the bear they say, that Yim, when reason (nismô) departed from him[3], for fear of the demons took a demoness as wife, and gave Yimak, who was *his* sister, to a demon as wife; and from them have originated the tailed ape and bear *and* other species of degeneracy.

2. This, too, they say, that in the reign of A*z*-i Dahâk[4] a young woman was admitted to a demon, and a young man was admitted to a witch (parîk), and on seeing them they had intercourse; owing to that one intercourse the black-skinned negro arose from them. 3. When Frê*d*ûn[5] came to them they fled from the country of Iran, *and* settled upon the sea-coast; now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they are again diffused through the country of Iran.

[1] See Chap. XIII, 9–13.

[2] See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 4.

[3] See Chap. XXXIV, 4. This is the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah. Perhaps for 'reason' we should read 'glory.'

[4] See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

[5] See Chap. XXXIV, 6.

Chapter XXIV.

1. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing it says in revelation, that first of the human species Gâyômar*d* was produced, brilliant and white, with eyes which looked out for the great *one*, him who *was* here the Zaratûstrôtûm (chief high-priest); the chieftainship of all things was from Zaratûst[1]. 2. The white ass-goat[2], which holds *its* head down, is the chief of goats, the first of those species created[3]. 3. The black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep; it was the first of those species created[3]. 4. The camel with white-haired knees *and* two humps is the chief of camels. 5. First the black-haired ox with yellow knees was created; he is the chief of oxen. 6. First the dazzling white (arûs) horse, with yellow ears, glossy hair, *and* white eyes, was produced; he is the chief of horses. 7. The white, cat-footed[4] ass is the chief of asses. 8. First of dogs the fair (arûs) dog with yellow hair was produced; he is the chief of dogs. 9. The hare was produced brown

[1] So in all MSS., but by reading mûn, 'who,' instead of min, 'from,' we should have, 'him who *was* here the chief high-priest *and* chieftainship of all things, who was Zaratûst.' The Pahlavi Visp. I, 1, gives the following list of chiefs: 'The chief of spirits is Aûharmazd, the chief of worldly existences is Zaratûst, the chief of water-creatures is the Kar-fish, the chief of *land*-animals is the ermine, the chief of flying-creatures is the Karsipt, the chief of the wide-travellers is the . . . , the chief of those suitable for grazing is the ass-goat.'

[2] See Chap. XIV, 14.

[3] It is doubtful whether the phrase, 'the first of those species created,' belongs to this sentence or the following one.

[4] Or, 'cat-legged.'

(bûr); he is the chief of the wide-travellers. 10. Those beasts which have no dread whatever of the hand are evil. 11. First of birds the griffon of three natures[1] was created, not for here (this world), for the Karsipt[2] is the chief, which they call the falcon (*k*ark), that which revelation says was brought to the enclosure formed by Yim. 12. First of fur animals the white ermine was produced; he is the chief of fur animals; as it says that *it is* the white ermine which came unto the assembly of the archangels. 13. The Kar-fish, *or* Ariz[3], is the chief of the water-creatures. 14. The Dâîtîk[4] river is the chief of streams. 15. The Dâraga[5] river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of the father of Zaratûst was on its banks[6], *and* Zaratûst was born there. 16. The hoary forest[7] is the chief of forests. 17. Hûgar the lofty[8], on which the water of Arêdvîvsûr flows *and* leaps, is the chief of summits, since *it is that* above which is the revolution of the constellation Satavês[9], the chief of reser-

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[1] The Sîmurgh (see § 29 and Chap. XIV, 11, 23, 24). In Mkh. LXII, 37–39, it is mentioned as follows: 'And Sînamrû's resting-place is on the tree which is opposed to harm, of all seeds; and always when he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom.'

[2] See Chap. XIX, 16. In § 29 *K*amrôs is said to be the chief.

[3] See Chaps. XIV, 12, 26, XVIII, 3–6.

[4] See Chap. XX, 13.

[5] See Chap. XX, 32.

[6] The MSS. have 'in Balkh' instead of 'on the banks.'

[7] The arûs-i razur is the Av. spaêtitem razurem of Râm Yt. 31.

[8] See Chap. XII, 5.

[9] See Chap. II, 7.

voirs[1]. 18. The Hôm which is out-squeezed is the chief of medicinal plants[2]. 19. Wheat is the chief of large-seeded[3] grains. 20. The desert wormwood is the chief of unmedicinal[4] *plants*. 21. The summer vetch, which they also call 'pag' (gâvirs), is the chief of small-seeded grains[5]. 22. The Kûstîk (sacred thread-girdle) is the chief of clothes. 23. The Bâzâyvâna[6] is the chief of seas. 24. Of two men, when they come forward together, the wiser and more truthful is chief.

25. This, too, it says in revelation, that Aûharmazd created the whole material world one abode, so that all may be one; for there is much splendour and glory of industry in the world. 26. Whatsoever he performs, who practises that which is good, is the value of the water of life[7]; since water is not created alike[8] in value, for the undefiled water of Arêdvîvsûr is worth the whole water of the sky and earth of Khvanîras[9], except the Arag river[10], created by Aûharmazd. 27. Of trees the myrtle *and* date,

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[1] The meaning of Pâz. gobarâ is doubtful, but it is here taken as standing for Pahl. gôbalân, equivalent to the plural of Pers. gôl or kôl, 'a reservoir;' Satavês being a specially 'watery' constellation (see Tîstar Yt. 0). Justi traces gobarân to Av. gufra, and translates it by 'protecting *stars*.'

[2] Pâz. khvad and ba*k*agâ evidently stand for Pahl. hû*d* (Av. huta) and bezashk.

[3] Compare Av. a*s*-dânunãm-*k*a yavananãm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

[4] Pâz. aba*k*agâ stands for Pahl. abezashk.

[5] Compare Av. kasu-dânunãm-*k*a vâstranãm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

[6] Justi identifies this with Lake Van, but perhaps Lake Sevan may be meant.

[7] Or, 'its value is water.' K20 omits the word 'water.'

[8] Reading ham instead of hamâk, 'all.'

[9] See Chap. XI, 2–6.

[10] See Chap. XX, 8.

on which *model*, it is said, trees were formed, are worth all the trees of Khvanîras, except the Gôkar*d* tree[1] with which they restore the dead.

28. Of mountains Mount Apârsên's beginning is *in* Sagastân *and* end in Khûgîstân, some say *it is* all the mountains of Pârs, *and* is chief of all mountains except Albûr*z*. 29. Of birds *K*amrôs[2] is chief, who is worth all the birds in Khvanîras, except the griffon of three natures. 30. The conclusion is this, that every one who performs a great duty has then much value.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. On matters of religion[3] it says in revelation thus: 'The creatures of the world were created by me complete in three hundred and sixty-five days,' that is, the six periods of the Gâhanbârs which are completed in a year. 2. It is always necessary first to count the day *and* afterwards the night, for first the day goes off, *and* then the night comes on[4]. 3. And from the season (gâs) of Mê*d*ôk-shêm[5],

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[1] See Chap. XVIII, 1–4.

[2] See Chap. XIX, 15, where it is written *K*âmrôs. This § is at variance with § 11, which gives the chieftainship to Karsipt.

[3] That is, 'on the *periods for* observance of religious duties.'

[4] The Jewish and Muhammadan practice is just the contrary.

[5] The Av. maidhyô-shema of Yas. I, 27, II, 36, III, 41, Visp. I, 3, II, 1, Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr 2, 8. It is the second season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 105th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midsummer, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of water.

which is the auspicious[1] day Khûr of the month Tir[2], to the season of Mêdiyârêm[3], which is the

[1] A dispute as to the meaning of this word formed no small part of the Kabîsah controversy, carried on between the leaders of the two rival sects of Parsis in Bombay about fifty years ago. Dastur Edalji Dârâbji, the high-priest of the predominant sect (who adhered to the traditional calendar of the Indian Parsis), insisted that it meant 'solar,' or 'belonging to the calendar rectified for solar time by the intercalation of a month every 120 years;' Mullâ Fîrûz, the high-priest of the new sect (who had adopted the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which is one month in advance of the other), asserted that the word had no connection with intercalation, but meant 'commencing,' or 'pertaining to New-year's day,' as translated into Sanskrit, by Nêryôsang, in Mkh. XLIX, 27. Anquetil translates it either as 'inclusive' or 'complete;' Windischmann simply skips it over; and Justi translates it everywhere as 'inclusive.' Dastur Edalji reads the word vehîgakî or vehîgak; Nêryôsang has vahêza; Mullâ Fîrûz reads nâîkakîk in the Bundahis, but vêhîgakîk in the Dînkard, where the word also occurs; Justi has nâîkakîk. The meaning 'inclusive' suits the context in nearly all cases in the Bundahis, but not elsewhere; if it had that meaning the most probable reading would be vikhêgakîk or nikhêgakîk, 'arising, leaping over, including.' It is nearly always used in connection with dates or periods of time, and must be some epithet of a very general character, not only applicable to intercalary periods, but also to New-year's day and dates in general; something like the Arabic epithet mubârak, 'fortunate,' so commonly used in Persian dates. Dastur Edalji compares it with Pers. bîhrak or bihtarak, 'intercalary month,' which is probably a corruption of it; and this suggests veh, 'good,' as one component of the epithet. The word may be read veh-yazakîk, 'for reverencing the good,' but as veh, 'good,' is an adjective, this would be an irregular form; a more probable reading is veh-îkakîk, 'for anything good,' which, when applied to a day, or any period of time, would imply that it is suitable for anything good, that is, it is 'auspicious.' Sometimes the word is written vehîkak, vêhîkakîk, or vêhîkŏ; and epithets of similar forms in Pahlavi are applied by the writers of colophons to themselves, but these should be read vakhêzak or nisîvak, 'lowly, abject.'

[2] The eleventh day of the fourth month, when the festival commences.

[3] The Av. maidhyâirya of Yas. I, 30, II, 39, III, 44, Visp. I,

auspicious day Vâhrâm of the month Dîn[1]—the short*est* day—the night increases; and from the season of Mê*d*îyârêm to the season of Mê*d*ôk-shêm the night decreases *and* the day increases. 4. The summer day is as much as two of the shortest[2] winter days, *and* the winter night is as much as two of the shortest summer nights[3]. 5. The summer day is twelve Hâsars, the night six Hâsars; the winter night is twelve Hâsars, the day six; a Hâsar *being* a *measure of* time *and*, in like manner, of land[4]. 6. In the season of Hamêspamadâyêm[5], that is, the

6, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 11. It is the fifth season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 290th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midwinter, according to the Bundahi*s*. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of animals.

[1] The twentieth day of the tenth month, when the festival ends.

[2] The word kah-aît is merely a hybrid Huzvâri*s* form of kahist, 'shortest,' which occurs in the next phrase.

[3] This statement must be considered merely as an approximation. The longest day is twice the length of the shortest one in latitude 49°, that is, north of Paris, Vienna, and Odessa, if the length of the day be computed from sunrise to sunset; and, if twilight be included, it is necessary to go still further north. In Âdarbîgân, the northern province of Persia, the longest day is about 14½ hours from sunrise to sunset, and the shortest is about 9½ hours.

[4] According to this passage a hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes; it is the Av. hâthra of the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 43, ed. Hoshangji), which says, 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day, *and* the day *and* night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least—an enumeration of the several measures of the Hâsar.' For the hâsar measure of land, see Chap. XXVI.

[5] So in K20, but this name is rarely written twice alike; it is the Av. hamaspathmaêdaya of Yas. I, 31, II, 40, III, 45, Visp. I, 7, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 12. It is the sixth season-festival, held on the five Gâtha days which conclude the Parsi year, just before

five *supplementary* days at the end of the month Spendarma*d*, the day *and* night are again equal.

7. As from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Fravar*d*în to the auspicious day Anîrân of the month Mitrô[1] is the summer of seven months, *so* from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Âvân to the auspicious month Spendarma*d*, on to the end of the five *supplementary* days[2], is the winter of five months. 8. The priest fulfils the regulation (va*k*ar) about a corpse *and* other things, by this calculation as to summer and winter. 9. In those seven months[3] of summer the periods (gâs) of the days and nights are five—since *one* celebrates the Rapîtvîn—namely, the period of daybreak is Hâvan, the period of midday is Rapîtvîn, the period of afternoon is Aûzêrîn, when the appearance of the stars *has* come into the sky[4] until midnight is the period of Aîbisrûtêm, from midnight until the stars become imperceptible is the period of Aûshahîn[5]. 10. In winter are four periods, for *from* daybreak till Aûzêrîn is all Hâvan, *and* the rest as I *have* said; and the reason of it is this, that the appearance[6] of winter is in the direction of the

the vernal equinox, according to the Bundahi*s*. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of man.

[1] That is, from the first day of the first month to the last day of the seventh month.

[2] That is, from the first day of the eighth month to the last of the five Gâtha days, which are added to the twelfth month to complete the year of 365 days.

[3] All MSS. have 'five months' here.

[4] K20 has 'when the stars *have* come into sight.'

[5] The Avesta names of the five Gâhs are Hâvani, Rapithwina, Uzayêirina, Aiwisrûthrema, and Ushahina.

[6] Pâz. ashâri*s* is evidently a misreading of Pahl. âshkârîh.

north, where the regions Vôrûbarst[1] and Vôrûgarst are; the original dwelling of summer, too, is in the south, where the regions Frada*d*afsh *and* Vîda*d*afsh are; on the day Aûharmazd of the auspicious month Âvân the winter acquires strength *and* enters into the world, *and* the spirit of Rapîtvîn goes from above-ground to below-ground, where the spring (khânî) of waters is, *and* diffuses[2] warmth and moisture in the water, *and* so many roots of trees do not wither with cold and drought. 11. And *on* the auspicious day Âtarô of the month Dîn[3] the winter arrives, with much cold, at Aîrân-vêg; *and* until the end, in the auspicious month Spendarma*d*, winter advances through the whole world; on this account they kindle a fire everywhere *on* the day Âtarô of the month Dîn, *and* it forms an indication that winter *has* come. 12. In those five months the water of springs *and* conduits is all warm[4], for Rapîtvîn keeps warmth *and* moisture there, *and one* does not celebrate the period of Rapîtvîn. 13. As the day Aûharmazd of the month Fravar*d*în advances it diminishes the strength which winter possesses, *and* summer comes in from its own original dwelling, *and* receives strength *and* dominion. 14. Rapîtvîn comes up from below-ground, *and* ripens the fruit of the trees; on this account

[1] See Chaps. V, 8, XI, 3. The north, being opposed to the south or midday quarter, is opposed to the midday period of Rapîtvîn, which, therefore, disappears as winter approaches from the north.

[2] If, instead of khânî for khânîk, 'spring,' we read ahû-i, 'lord of,' the translation will be, 'so that the angel of waters may diffuse,' &c.

[3] The ninth day of the tenth month.

[4] That is, warmer than the air, as it is cooler in summer.

the water of springs is cold in summer[1], for Rapîtvîn is not there; *and* those seven[2] months *one* celebrates the Rapîtvîn, *and* summer advances through the whole earth. 15. And yet in the direction of Hindûstân, there *where* the original dwelling of summer is nearer, it is always neither cold nor hot; for in the season which is the dominion of summer, the rain always dispels most of the heat, *and* it does not become perceptible; in the winter rain does not fall, *and* the cold does not become very perceptible[3]. 16. In the northern direction, where the preparation of winter is, *it is* always cold[4]; for in the summer mostly, on account of the more oppressive winter there, it is not possible so to dispel the cold that *one* might make *it* quite warm. 17. In the middle localities the cold of winter *and* heat of summer *both* come on vehemently.

18. Again, the year *dependent* on the revolving moon is not equal to the computed year on this account, for the moon[5] returns one time in twenty-nine, *and* one time in thirty *days*, and there are four

[1] K20 has 'winter' by mistake.

[2] K20 has 'six,' and M6 'five,' instead of 'seven.'

[3] This is a fairly accurate account of the effect of the monsoons over the greater part of India, as understood by a foreigner unacquainted with the different state of matters in a large portion of the Madras provinces.

[4] M6 has khûrâsân instead of ârâyisn, 'preparation,' which alters the sense into 'that is, Khûrâsân, of which the winter is always cold.'

[5] The MSS. have the Huzvâris term for 'month,' which is sometimes used, by mistake, for 'moon.' It is doubtful which word the author intended to use here, but it is usual to count the days of a lunar month from the first actual appearance of the new moon, which usually occurs a full day after the change of the moon.

hours (zamân) more than such a one of its *years*[1]; as it says, that every one deceives where they speak about the moon (or month), except when they say that it *comes* twice in sixty days. 19. Whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer[2].

20. This, *too*, *it says*, that the auspicious month Fravar*d*în, the month Ar*d*avahi*s*t, *and* the month Horvada*d*[3] are spring; the month Tîr, the month Amerôda*d*, *and* the month Shatvaîrô are summer; the month Mitrô, the month Âvân, *and* the month Âtarô are autumn; the month Dîn, the month Vohûman, *and* the month Spendarma*d* are winter[4]. 21. And the sun comes from the sign (khûr*d*ak) of Aries, into which it proceeded in the beginning, back to that *same* place in three hundred and sixty-five days and six short times (hours), which are one year. 22. As every three months it (the sun) advances through three constellations, more or less, the moon comes, in a hundred and eighty days, back to the place out of which it travelled in the beginning[5].

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[1] Meaning, probably, that the lunar year is four hours more than twelve months of 29 and 30 days each, alternately. It should be 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 37 seconds. The sentence seems defective, but it is evident from § 21 that zamân means 'hour.'

[2] That is, the lunar year being eleven days shorter than the solar one, its months are constantly retrograding through the seasons.

[3] Generally written Avardâ*d* in Pâzand, and Khurdâd in Persian.

[4] The names of the months are selected from the names of the days of the month (see Chap. XXVII, 24), but are arranged in a totally different order.

[5] Probably meaning, that the new moon next the autumnal

Chapter XXVI.

1. A Hâsar[1] on the ground is a Parasang of one thousand steps of the two feet. 2. A Parasang[2] is a measure as much as a far-seeing man may look out, see a beast *of burden, and* make known that *it* is black or white. 3. And the measure of a man is eight medium spans[3].

equinox is to be looked for in the same quarter as the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, the moon's declination being nearly the same in both cases.

[1] Av. hâthra of Vend. II, 65, VIII, 280, 287, 291, Tîstar Yt. 23, 29. The statements regarding the length of a Hâsar are rather perplexing, for we are told that it 'is like a Parasang' (Chap. XIV, 4), that 'the length of a Hâsar is one-fourth of a Parasang' (Chap. XVI, 7), and that 'a medium Hâsar on the ground, which they also call a Parasang, is a thousand steps of the two feet when walking with propriety' (Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hosh. p. 42). To reconcile these statements we must conclude that the Hâsar is like a Parasang merely in the sense of being a long measure of distance, that it is really the mille passus or mile of the Romans, and that it is a quarter of the actual Parasang. At the same time, as it was usual to call a Hâsar by the name of a Parasang, we are often left in doubt whether a mile or a league is meant, when a Hâsar or Parasang is mentioned. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) also mentions other measures of distance, such as the ta*k*ar (Av. ta*k*ara) of two Hâsars, the asvâst (or aêast) of four Hâsars, the dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) of eight Hâsars, and the yô*g*êst (Av. yi*g*aiasti or yu*g*aiasti) of sixteen Hâsars.

[2] A Parasang is usually from 3½ to 4 English miles, but perhaps a Hâsar is meant here.

[3] Reading vitast-i miyânak instead of vitast damânak. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) mentions three kinds of spans, the Av. vitasti (Vend. VIII, 243, 245, XVII, 13) of twelve finger-breadths (angûst), or about 9 inches, which is a full span between the thumb and little finger (the one mentioned in the text); the Av. di*s*ti (Vend. XVII, 13) of ten finger-breadths, or about 7½ inches, which is a span between the thumb and middle finger; and the

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. On the nature of plants it says in revelation, that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it; and, afterwards, when the destroyer came, it became coated with bark *and* thorny[1], for antagonism mingled with every single thing; owing to that cause vegetation is also much mixed with poison, like Bî*s* the height of hemp (kand)[2], that is poisonous, for men when they eat *it* die.

2. In like manner even as the animals, with grain of fifty and five species *and* twelve species of medicinal plants, have arisen from the primeval ox[3], ten thousand[4] species among the species of principal

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Av. uza*s*ti (Pahl. lâlâ-a*s*t) of eight finger-breadths, or about 6 inches, which is a span between the thumb and fore-finger. Other measures mentioned by the same authority are the pâî (Av. padha, Vend. IX, 15, 20, 29), 'foot,' of fourteen finger-breadths, or about 10½ inches; the gâm (Av. gâya, Vend. III, 57, &c.), 'step,' which 'in the Vendîdâd is three pâî,' or about 2 feet 7½ inches, 'and in other places is said *to be* two frârâst' (Av. frârâthni in Vend. VII, 76, 79, 87); so the frârâst, which is probably the distance from the neck to the extended elbow, is half a gâm, or from 15 to 16 inches. Two other measures are mentioned in Vend. VII, 79, 87, 90, IX, 8, the Av. frâbâzu, 'fore-arm or cubit' from elbow to finger-ends, which is about 18 inches (or it may be a half fathom); and Av. vîbâzu, which is probably the 'fathom,' or extent of the two arms out-stretched, from 5½ to 6 feet.

[1] M6 has 'poisonous,' but is evidently copied from an original almost illegible in some places.

[2] Perhaps 'hemp the height of Bî*s*' would better express the Pahlavi words, but Bî*s* (Napellus Moysis) is often mentioned as a poisonous plant. The phrase may also be translated 'like Bî*s* *and* tall hemp.'

[3] See Chap. XIV, 1.

[4] M6 has 'a thousand,' but marks an omission. See Chap. IX, 4.

plants, *and* a hundred thousand species among *ordinary* plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm[1], the many-seeded, *which* has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird[2] strips that tree *and* mingles all the seeds in the water; Tîstar seizes *them* with the rain-water *and* rains *them on* to *all* regions. 4. Near to that tree the white Hôm, the healing and undefiled, has grown at the source of the water of Arêdvîvsûr[3]; every one who eats *it* becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkar*d*[4] tree, as it is said that Hôm is expelling death[5]; also in the renovation *of the universe* they prepare its immortality therefrom[6]; *and* it is the chief of plants[7].

5. These are as many genera of plants as exist: trees and shrubs, fruit-*trees*, corn, flowers, aromatic herbs, sálads, spices, grass, wild plants, medicinal

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[1] See Chaps. IX, 5, XVIII, 9, XXIX, 5.

[2] The apparently contradictory account in Chap. IX, 2, refers only to the first production of material plants from their spiritual or ideal representative. The bird here mentioned is *K*amrôs (see Chaps. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29), as appears from the following passage (Mkh. LXII, 40–42): 'And the bird *K*amrôs for ever sits *in* that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is opposed to harm, and conveys *it* there where Tîstar seizes the water, so that Tîstar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain *it* on the world with the rain.'

[3] See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 3–5.

[4] Here written Gôkarn in all MSS. See Chaps. IX, 6, XVIII, 1, 2.

[5] That is, in Yas. IX, where Haoma is entitled dûraosha.

[6] See Chap. XXIV, 27.

[7] See Chap. XXIV, 18.

plants, gum *plants*, *and* all producing[1] oil, dyes, *and* clothing. 6. I *will* mention them also a second time: all whose fruit is not welcome as food of men, *and* are perennial (sâlvâr), as the cypress, the plane, the white poplar, the box, and others of this genus, they call trees and shrubs (dâr va dirakht). 7. The produce of everything welcome as food of men, *that* is perennial, as the date, the myrtle, the lote-plum[2], the grape, the quince, the apple, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the almond, *and* others in this genus, they call fruit (mîvak). 8. Whatever requires labour with the spade[3], *and* is perennial, they call a shrub (dirakht). 9. Whatever requires that they take its crop through labour, *and its* root withers away, such as wheat, barley, grain, various kinds[4] of pulse, vetches, *and* others of this genus, they call corn (*g*ûr*d*âk). 10. Every *plant with* fragrant leaves, *which* is cultivated by the hand-labour of men, *and* is perennial (hamvâr), they call an aromatic herb (siparam). 11. Whatever sweet-scented blossom arises *at* various seasons through the hand-labour of men, or has a perennial root *and* blossoms in *its* season *with* new shoots *and* sweet-scented blossoms, as the rose, the narcissus, the jasmine, the dog-rose (nêstarûn),

[1] Comparing this list with the subsequent repetition it appears probable that hamâk barâ is a corruption of aesam bôd (see §§ 19, 21), and that we ought to read 'gum *plants*, woods, scents, *and plants* for oil, dyes, *and* clothing.' M6 has 'oil *and* dyes for clothing.'

[2] The kûnâr (see Chap. XV, 13).

[3] The Pâz. pêhani (which is omitted in K20) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. pashang, 'a hoe-like spade.'

[4] M6 adds Pâz. gavina (Pahl. gûnak) to gvî*d* gvî*d* mungân, without altering the meaning materially.

the tulip, the colocynth (kavastik), the pandanus (kêdi), the *k*amba, the ox-eye (hêri), the crocus, the swallow-wort (zarda), the violet, the kârda, *and* others of this genus, they call a flower (gûl). 12. Everything whose sweet-scented fruit, or sweet-scented blossom, arises in *its* season, without the hand-labour of men, they call a wild plant (vahâr or nihâl). 13. Whatever is welcome as food of cattle and beasts *of burden* they call grass (giyâh). 14. Whatever enters into cakes (pê*s*-pârakîhâ) they call spices (âvzârîhâ). 15. Whatever is welcome in eating of bread, as torn shoots[1] of the coriander, water-cress (kakî*g*), the leek, *and* others of this genus, they call salad (têrak)[2]. 16. Whatever is like spinning[3] cotton, *and* others of this genus, they call clothing *plants* (*g*âmak). 17. Whatever lentil[4] is greasy, as sesame, dûshdâng, hemp, zandak[5], *and* others of this genus, they call an oil-*seed* (rôkanô). 18. Whatever *one* can dye clothing with, as saffron, sapan-wood, za*k*ava, vaha, *and* others of this genus, they call a dye-*plant* (rag). 19. Whatever root, or gum[6], or wood

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[1] Reading stâk darî*d*; Justi has 'baked shoots;' Anquetil has 'the three following;' M6 has stâk va karafs, 'shoots and parsley.'

[2] Or târak in § 5, Pers. tarah.

[3] Reading Huz. neskhunân, 'twisting,' but the word is doubtful; Justi has 'sitting *on the plant*,' which is a rather singular description for cotton.

[4] Reading ma*k*ag; Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi read mazg, 'marrow,' but this is usually written otherwise.

[5] Perhaps for zêtô, 'olive,' as Anquetil supposes, and Justi assumes.

[6] Reading tûf (compare Pers. tuf, 'saliva').

is scented, as frankincense[1], varâ*s*t[2], kust, sandal-wood, cardamom[3], camphor, orange-scented mint, *and* others of this genus, they call a scent (bôd). 20. Whatever stickiness comes out from plants[4] they call gummy (za*d*ak). 21. The timber which proceeds from the trees, when it is either dry or wet, they call wood (*k*îbâ). 22. Every one of all these plants which is so, they call medicinal (dârûk)[5].

23. The principal fruits are *of* thirty kinds (khadûînak), and ten species (sar*d*ak) of them are fit to eat inside and outside, as the fig, the apple, the quince, the citron, the grape, the mulberry, the pear, *and* others of this kind; ten are fit to eat outside, *but* not fit to eat inside, as the date, the peach, the white apricot, *and* others of this kind; those which are fit to eat inside, *but* not fit to eat outside, are the walnut, the almond, the pomegranate, the cocoa-nut[6], the filbert[7], the chesnut[8], the pistachio nut, the vargân, *and* whatever else of this description are very remarkable.

24[9]. This, too, it says, that every single flower is appropriate to an angel (ameshôspend)[10], as the

[1] Pâz. kendri for Pahl. kundur probably.

[2] Justi compares Pers. bargha*s*t.

[3] Pâz. kâkura may be equivalent to Pers. qaqulah, 'cardamoms,' or to Pers. kâkul or kâkûl, 'marjoram.'

[4] K20 omits a line, from here to the word 'either.'

[5] The line which contained this sentence is torn off in K20.

[6] Pâz. anârsar is a misreading of Pahl. anârgîl (Pers. nârgîl, 'cocoa-nut').

[7] Pâz. pendak, a misreading of Pahl. funduk.

[8] Pâz. shahbrôd, a misreading of Pahl. shahbalût; omitted in M6.

[9] M6 begins a new chapter here.

[10] These are the thirty archangels and angels whose names are applied to the thirty days of the Parsi month, in the order in

white[1] jasmine (saman) is for Vohûman, the myrtle *and* jasmine (yâsmin) are Aûharmazd's own, the mouse-ear (or sweet marjoram) is Ashavahist's[2] own, the basil-royal is Shatvaîrô's own, the musk flower is Spendarmad's, the lily is Horvadad's, the kamba is Amerôdad's, Dîn-*pavan-Âtarô has* the orange-scented mint (vâdrang-bôd), Âtarô *has* the marigold[3] (âdargun), the water-lily is Âvân's, the white marv is Khûrshêd's, the ranges[4] is Mâh's, the violet is Tîr's, the mêren[5] is Gôs's, the kârda is Dîn-pavan-Mitrô's, all violets are Mitrô's, the red chrysanthemum (khêr) is Srôsh's, the dog-rose (nestran) is Rashnû's, the cockscomb is Fravardîn's, the sisebar is Vâhrâm's, the yellow chrysanthemum is Râm's, the orange-scented mint is Vâd's[6], the trigonella is Dîn-pavan-Dîn's, the hundred-petalled rose is Dîn's, all kinds of wild flowers (vahâr) are Ard's[7], Âstâd *has* all the white Hôm[8], the bread-baker's basil is Âsmân's, Zamyâd *has* the crocus, Mâraspend *has the flower*[9] of Ardashîr,

which they are mentioned here, except that Aûharmazd is the first day, and Vohûman is the second.

[1] M6 has 'yellow.'

[2] Synonymous with the Ardavahist of Chap. I, 26.

[3] Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi have 'the poppy.'

[4] M6 has Pâz. lg as only the first part of the word, and Justi translates it by 'red lac,' which is not a plant. Transcribing the Pâzand into Pahlavi, perhaps the nearest probable word is rand, 'laurel.'

[5] M6 has Pâz. mênr; Anquetil has 'vine blossom,' and is followed by Windischmann and Justi, but the word is very uncertain.

[6] The remainder of this chapter is lost from K20.

[7] This female angel is also called Arshisang (see Chap. XXII, 4).

[8] See § 4.

[9] M6 leaves a blank space for the name of the flower; perhaps it is the marv-i Ardashîrân.

Anîrân *has* this Hôm of the angel Hôm [1], of three kinds.

25. It is concerning plants that every single kind *with* a drop of water on a twig (teh) they should hold four finger-breadths in front of the fire [2]; most of all it is the lotos (kûnâr) they speak of.

CHAPTER XXVIII [3].

[1. On the evil-doing of Aharman *and* the demons it says in revelation, that the evil which the evil spirit has produced for the creation of Aûharmazd it is possible to tell by this winter [4]; and his body is that of a lizard (vazagh) [5] *whose* place is filth (kal*k*). 2. He does not think, nor speak, nor act *for* the welfare (nadûkîh) of the creatures of Aûharmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this *welfare*, so that the creatures which Aûharmazd shall increase he will destroy; and *his* eyesight (*k*ashm mî*k*isn) [6] does not refrain from doing the creatures harm. 3. As it says that, 'ever

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[1] Reading, in Pahlavi, Hôm yêdatô aê hôm.

[2] See Chap. XXI, 1. Referring to the necessity of drying fire-wood before putting it on the fire. The kûnâr is specially mentioned, as one of the first fire-woods used by mankind, in Chap. XV, 13.

[3] Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI are omitted in M6 and all MSS. descended from it, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand; and, owing to the loss of a folio from K20 before any of its extant copies were written, the first quarter of Chap. XXVIII has hitherto been missing, but is here supplied (enclosed in brackets) from TD, a MS. belonging to Mobad Tahmuras Dinshaw (see Introduction).

[4] Winter being one of the primary evils brought upon creation by Angra-mainyu (see Vend. I, 8–12).

[5] See Chap. III, 9.

[6] Referring to 'the evil eye.'

since a creature was created by us, I, who am Aûharmazd, have not rested at ease, on account of providing protection for my own creatures; and likewise not even he, the evil spirit, on account of contriving evil for the creatures.' 4. And by *their* devotion to witchcraft (yâtûk-dînôîh) he seduces mankind into affection for himself and disaffection to Aûharmazd[1], so that they forsake the religion of Aûharmazd, and practise that of Aharman. 5. He casts this into the thoughts of men, that this religion of Aûharmazd is nought, and it is not necessary to be steadfast in it. 6. Whoever gives that man anything, in whose law (dâ*d*) this saying is established, then the evil spirit is propitiated by him, that is, he has acted by his pleasure.

7. The business of Akôman[2] is this, that he gave vile thoughts and discord to the creatures. 8. The business of the demon Andar is this, that he constrains the thoughts of the creatures from deeds of virtue, just like a leader who *has* well-constrained (sardâr-i khûp afsâr*d*ô); *and* he casts this into the thoughts of men, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and thread*-girdle. 9. The business of the demon Sâvar[3], that is a leader of the demons, is this, that is, misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness. 10. The business of the demon Nâîkîyas[4] is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures; as it says, that should this *one*

[1] Compare Chap. I, 14.

[2] The six arch-fiends of this paragraph are those mentioned in Chaps. I, 27, XXX, 29.

[3] Written Sôvar in Chap. I, 27.

[4] Written Nâkahê*d* in Chap. I, 27, Nâîkîya*s* when repeated in this sentence, and Pâz. Nâûnghas in Chap. XXX, 29.

give anything to those men whose opinion (dâ*d*) is this, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and thread*-girdle, then Andar, Sâvar, and Nâîkîyas are propitiated by him. 11. The demon Taprê*v*[1] is he who mingles poison with plants and creatures; as it says thus: 'Taprê*v* the frustrater, *and* Zâîrî*k* the maker of poison.' 12. All those six, it is said, are arch-fiends[2] of the demons; the rest are co-operating and confederate with them. 13. This, too, it says, that][3] should *one* give [anything to] a man who says [that it is proper to have one boot], and in his law walking with one boot [is established, then][4] the fiend Taprê*v* is propitiated [by him].

14. The demon Tarômat[5] [is he who] produces disobedience; the demon Mîtôkht[6] is the liar (drô-*g*an) of the evil spirit[7]; the demon Ara*s*k[8] ('malice') is the spiteful fiend of the evil eye. 15. Theirs are the same[9] appliances as the demon Aeshm's[10], as it

[1] Written Tâîrê*v* in Chap. I, 27. [2] See Chap. III, 2.

[3] From this point the Pahlavi text is extant in K20, except some illegible words, the translation of which (supplied from TD) is here enclosed in brackets.

[4] Anquetil, misled by the lacuna in his MS., thought that there was a change of subject here, and began a new chapter at this point. On this account the numbers of his chapters are henceforth one in excess of those in this translation.

[5] Written Tarôkmatŏ in TD, and identified with Nâûnghas (Nâîkîyas) in Chap. XXX, 29; a personification of the Av. tarômaiti, 'disobedience,' of Yas. XXXIII, 4, LIX, 8.

[6] A personification of the Av. mithaokhta, 'false-spoken,' of Yas. LIX, 8, Vend. XIX, 146, Visp. XXIII, 9, Zamyâd Yt. 96.

[7] TD has drû*g* gûmânîkîh, 'the fiend of scepticism.'

[8] Av. araska of Yas. IX, 18, Râm Yt. 16, personified.

[9] The word hômanam in K20 is a false Huzvâri*s* reading of ham, owing to the copyist reading am, 'I am;' TD has ham-afzâr, 'having like means.'

[10] Or Khashm, 'wrath;' so written in K20, but it is usually

says that seven powers are given *to* Aeshm[1], that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith; with those seven powers he will destroy seven[2] of the Kayân heroes in his own time, *but* one will remain. 16. There where Mîtôkht ('falsehood') arrives, Arask ('malice') becomes welcome, [and there where Arask is welcome][3] Aeshm lays a foundation[4], and there where Aeshm has a foundation[5] many creatures perish, *and* he causes much non-Iranianism[6]. 17. Aeshm mostly contrives all evil for the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* the evil deeds of those Kayân heroes have been more complete through Aeshm, as it says, that Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, causes them most[7].

18. The demon Vîzarêsh[8] is he who struggles with the souls of men which *have* departed, those

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Aêshm elsewhere; the Av. aêshma of Vend. IX, 37, X, 23, 27, &c. The Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit appears to be the Av. Aêshmô daêvô, 'demon of wrath.'

[1] TD has 'there were seven powers of Aêshm.'

[2] TD has 'six,' which looks like an unlucky attempt to amend a correct text. Tradition tells us that only five Kayâns reigned (see Chap. XXXIV, 7), and the Shâhnâmah also mentions Siyâwush (Pahl. Kaî-Sîyâvakhsh), who did not reign; but eight Kayâns, besides Lôharâsp and Vistâsp, who were of collateral descent (see Chap. XXXI, 28), are mentioned in the Avesta, whence the author of the Bundahis would obtain much of his information (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74).

[3] The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD.

[4] Reading bunak as in TD; K20 has 'sends down a root.'

[5] So in TD; K20 has 'where Aeshm keeps on.'

[6] That is, 'many foreign customs.'

[7] The word vêsh, 'most,' is only in TD.

[8] So in TD; K20 has Vigêsh. He is the Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who is said to convey the souls of the departed to the *K*inva*d* bridge.

days and nights[1] when *they remain* in the world; he carries *them* on, terror-stricken, *and* sits at the gate of hell. 19. The demon Uda[2] is he who, when a man sits in a private place, or when he eats at meals, strikes *his* knee spiritually on *his* back[3], so that he bawls out [*and* looks out, that chattering he may eat, chattering] he may evacuate (rîê*d*), and chattering he may make water (mêzê*d*), so that he may not attain [unto the] best existence[4].

[20. The demon Akâtâsh[5] is the fiend of perversion (nikîrâyîh), who makes the creatures averse (nikîrâî) from proper things; as it says, that whoever *has* given anything to that person (tanû) whose opinion (dâ*d*) is this, that it is not necessary to have a high-priest (dastôbar), then the demon Aeshm is propitiated by him. 21. Whoever *has* given anything to that person whose opinion is this, *and* who says, that it is not necessary to have a snake-killer (mâr-van), then Aharman, with the foregoing demons, is propitiated by him; this is said of him who, when he sees a noxious creature, does not kill *it*. 22. A snake-killer (mârô-gnô)[6] is a stick on the end of which a leathern *thong* is

[1] TD has 'those three nights,' referring to the period that the soul is said to remain hovering about the body after death (see Hâ*d*ôkht Nask, ed. Haug, II, 1–18, III, 1–17).

[2] So in K20; TD has Aû*d*ak (see Pahl.Vend. XVIII, 70).

[3] TD has merely 'strikes a slipper (pa*d*în-pôsh) spiritually,' that is, invisibly, for the purpose of startling the man.

[4] The short phrases in brackets are taken from TD to supply words torn off from K20, which passes on to Chap. XXIX at this point, but TD supplies a continuation of Chap. XXVIII, which is added here, and enclosed in brackets.

[5] The Av. Akatasha of Vend. X, 23 Sp., XIX, 43 W.

[6] See Pahlavi Vend. XVIII, 5, 6.

provided; and it is declared that every one of the good religion must possess one, that they may strike *and* kill noxious creatures *and* sinners more meritoriously with it.

23. Zarmân[1] is the demon who makes decrepit (dûspa*d*), whom they call old age (pîrîh). 24. *K*îshmak[2] is he who makes disastrous (vazandak), and also causes the whirlwind[3] *which* passes over for disturbance. 25. The demon Varenô[4] is he who causes illicit intercourse, as it says thus: 'Varenô the defiling (âlâî).' 26. The demon Bûshâsp[5] is she who causes slothfulness; Sê*g* is the fiend (drû*g*) who causes annihilation; and the demon Nîyâz is he who *causes* distress.

27. The demon Âz[6] ('greediness') is he who swallows everything, and when, through destitution, nothing has come he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied; as it says, that the eye of the covetous is a noose (gamand), and *in* it the world is nought. 28. Pû*s*[7] is the demon who makes a hoard, *and*

[1] A personification of the Av. zaurva of Vend. XIX, 43 W., Yas. IX, 18 Sp., Gô*s* Yt. 10, Râm Yt. 16.

[2] The reading of this name is uncertain.

[3] The small whirlwinds, which usually precede a change of wind in India, are commonly known by the name of shaîtân, which indicates that such whirling columns of dust are popularly attributed to demoniacal agency.

[4] A personification of Av. varena, 'desire,' in an evil sense.

[5] Av. Bûshyăsta of Vend. XI, 28, 29, 36, 37, XVIII, 38, &c. The names of the three demons in this sentence are Persian words for 'sloth,' 'trouble,' and 'want.'

[6] Av. Âzi of Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Â*s*tâd Yt. 1.

[7] Compare Pers. payû*s*, 'covetous,' and piyû*s*, 'avarice.' Pû*s* is evidently the demon of misers, and Âz that of the selfish.

does not consume *it*, *and* does not give to any one; as it says, that the power of the demon Âz is owing to that person who, not content with his own wife, snatches away even those of others.

29. The demon Nas[1] is he who causes the pollution and contamination (nisrûstîh), which they call nasâî ('dead matter'). 30. The demon Frîftâr ('deceiver') is he who seduces mankind. 31. The demon Spazg[2] ('slander') is he who brings *and* conveys discourse (milayâ), *and* it is nothing in appearance such *as* he says; and he shows that mankind fights *and* apologizes (avakhshînêd), individual with individual. 32. The demon Arâst[3] ('untrue') is he who speaks falsehood. 33. The demon Aîghâsh[4] is the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with *his* eye. 34. The demon Bût[5] is he whom they worship among the Hindûs, and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse *as* an idol[6]. 35. Astô-vîdâd[7] is the evil flyer (vâê-i sarîtar) who seizes the life; as it says that, when

[1] Av. Nasu of Vend. V, 85–106, VI, 65, 72, 74, 79, VII, 2–27, 70, VIII, 46, 48, 132–228, IX, 49–117, &c.

[2] Av. spazga of Ardabahist Yt. 8, 11, 15.

[3] Always written like anâst.

[4] Av. aghashi of Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24, which appears to be 'the evil eye;' but see § 36.

[5] Av. Bûiti of Vend. XIX, 4, 6, 140, who must be identified with Pers. but, 'an idol,' Sans. bhûta, 'a goblin,' and not with Buddha.

[6] Reading afas vakhsh pavan bûtîhâ mâhmânŏ, kîgûn bût asp parastêdŏ, which evidently admits of many variations, but the meaning is rather obscure.

[7] Here written Astî-vîdâd (see Chap. III, 21). Vend. V, 25, 31 says, 'Astô-vîdhôtu binds him (the dying man); Vayô (the flying demon) conveys him bound;' from which it would appear that Astô-vîdâd and 'the evil flyer' were originally considered as distinct demons.

his hand strokes a man *it is* lethargy, when he casts *it* on the sick *one it is* fever, when he looks in his eyes he drives away the life, and they call it death. 36. The demon of the malignant eye (sûr-*k*ashmîh) is he who will spoil anything which men see, *when* they do not say 'in the name of God' (yazdân).

37. With every one of them are many demons *and* fiends co-operating, to specify whom a second time *would be* tedious; demons, too, who are furies (khashmakân), are in great multitude it is said. 38. They are demons of ruin, pain, and growing old (zvârân), producers of vexation and bile, revivers of grief (nîvagîh), the progeny of gloom, and bringers of stench, decay, and vileness, who are many, very numerous, and very notorious; and a portion of all of them is mingled in the bodies of men, *and their* characteristics are glaring in mankind.

39. The demon Apâôsh[1] and the demon Aspen-*g*argâk[2] are those who remain in contest with the rain. 40. Of the evil spirit[3] are the law of vileness, the religion of sorcery, the weapons of fiendishness, and the perversion (khâmîh) of God's works; and

[1] Av. Apaosha of Tîstar Yt. 21, 22, 27, 28, Âstâd Yt. 2, 6; see also Chap. VII, 8, 10, 12.

[2] Here written Aspengarôgâ, but see Chaps. VII, 12, XVII, 1. He is the Av. Spengaghra of Vend. XIX, 135, and, being a demon, is not to be confounded with the demon-worshipper, Spi*ng*auru*s*ka, of Gô*s* Yt. 31, Ashi Yt. 51.

[3] The 'evil spirit,' Ganrâk-maînôk, seems to be here treated as a demon distinct from Aharman, which is inconsistent with what is stated in §§ 1–6, and is contrary to general opinion. This inconsistency would indicate the possibility of this continuation of Chap. XXVIII in TD, or a portion of it, having been added by an editor in later times (although it is difficult to discover any difference of style in the language), if we did not find a similar confusion of the two names in Chap. XXX, 29, 30.

his wish is this, that is: 'Do not ask *about* me, and do not understand me! for if ye ask *about* and understand me, ye *will* not come after me[1].' 41. This, too, it says, that the evil spirit remains at the distance of a cry, even at the cry of a three-year-old cock (kûlêng), even at the cry of an ass, even at the cry of a righteous man when *one* strikes *him* involuntarily *and* he utters a cry[2]. 42. The demon Kûndak[3] is he who is the steed (bârak) of wizards.

43. Various new demons *arise* from the various new sins the creatures may commit, *and* are produced for such *purposes;* who make even those planets rush *on* which are in the *celestial* sphere, *and* they stand very numerously in the conflict. 44. Their ringleaders (kamârîkân) are those seven *planets*, the head and tail of Gô*k*îhar, and Mû*s*par[4]

[1] Compare Mkh. XL, 24–28: 'The one wish that Hôrmezd, the lord, desires from men is this, that "ye shall understand me (Hôrmezd), since every one who shall understand me comes after me, and strives for my satisfaction." And the one wish that Aharman desires from men is this, that "ye shall not understand me (Aharman), since whoever shall understand me wicked, *his* actions proceed not after me, and, moreover, no advantage and friendship come to me from that man."'

[2] The sentence is rather obscure, but it seems to imply that such cries keep the evil spirit at a distance; it is, however, just possible that it means that the cry of the evil spirit can be heard as far as such cries.

[3] Av. Kunda of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138.

[4] TD has Gôk-*k*îhar and Mû*s*-parîk here, but see Chap. V, 1, where these beings are included among the seven planetary leaders, and not counted in addition to them. This is another inconsistency which leads to the suspicion that this continuation of the chapter may have been written by a later hand. According to this later view, the sun and moon must be included among those malevolent orbs, the planets.

provided with a tail, *which* are ten. 45. And by them these ten worldly creations, *that* is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vileness; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation, and the other creations which exist *in* the world, owing to the fiendishness of those ten. 46. They whom I *have* enumerated are *furnished* with the assistance and crafty (afzâr-hômand) nature of Aharman.

47. Regarding the cold, dry, stony, and dark interior of mysterious (târîk dên afrâ*g*-pê*d*âk) hell it says, that the darkness is fit to grasp with the hand[1], and the stench is fit to cut with a knife; and if they inflict the punishment of a thousand men within a single span, they (the men) think in this *way*, that they are alone; *and* the loneliness is worse than its punishment[2]. 48. And its connection (band) is with the seven planets, be it through much cold like Saturn[3] (Kêvân), be it through much heat like Aharman; and their food is brimstone (gandak), and of succulents the lizard (vazagh), *and* other evil *and* wretchedness (patyân).]

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[1] Compare Mkh. VII, 31: 'and always their darkness is such-like as though it be possible to grasp with the hand.'

[2] Compare Ar*d*â-Vîrâf-nâmak (LIV, 5–8): '*As close* as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, so *close and* many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, but they see not, and hear no sound, one from the other; every one thinks thus, "I am alone."'

[3] Or, 'with more cold than Saturn.'

CHAPTER XXIX[1].

1. On [the *spiritual* chieftainship[2] of the regions *of the earth*] it says in revelation, that every one of those six chieftainships[3] has one *spiritual* chief; as the chief of Arzah is Ashâshagaha*d*-ê *Hv*a*n*d*k*ãn[4], the chief of Savah is Hoazarôdathhri-hanâ Parê*st*-yarô[5], the chief of Frada*d*afsh is Spitôi*d*-i Aûspô-sînân[6], [the chief of Vîda*d*afsh is Airi*z*-râsp Aûspô-sînân[7],] the chief of Vôrûbar*st* is Huvâsp[8], the chief of Vôrû*g*ar*st* is *K*akhravâk[9]. 2. Zaratû*st* is

[1] For this chapter, which is numbered XXX by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20 and TD (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXVIII); and the words enclosed in brackets are supplied from TD, being either illegible or omitted in K20.

[2] Perhaps 'patriarchate' or 'episcopate' would be a better translation of ra*d*îh, and 'patriarch' or 'bishop' of ra*d*, in this chapter, as the chief high-priest (dastûr-i dastûrân) and his office are evidently meant by these words.

[3] Of the six other regions, distinct from this one of Khvanîras, see Chap. XI, 2–4.

[4] TD has Ashashâg,h*d*-ê aîgh Nêva*n*dãn; both MSS. giving these names in a barbarous Pâzand form which cannot be relied on. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Ashâvanghu Biva*n*dangha of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

[5] TD has Hôazarôkakhhr-hanâ Parê*st*yrô, all in Pâzand in both MSS., except Huz. hanâ, which stands for Pâz. ê, here used for the idhâfat i. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. *G*arô-danghu Pairi*s*-tîra of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

[6] So in TD; K20 has Pâz. Spaitanid-i Huspâsnyân. This Dastûr is, no doubt, the Av. (gen.) Spitôi*s* Uspãsnao*s* of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

[7] Omitted in K20, but, no doubt, this Dastûr is the Av. Erez-râspa Uspãsnu of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

[8] Av. Hvaspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

[9] So in both MSS. As in the case of each of the preceding two pair of regions, two consecutive names of Dastûrs have been taken from the Fravardîn Ya*st*, it may be supposed that the names

spiritual chief of the region of Khvaniras, and also of all the regions; *he is* chief of the world of the righteous, *and* it is said that the whole religion was received by them from Zaratûst[1].

3. In the region of Khvanîras are many places, from which, in this evil time of violent struggling with the adversary, a passage (vi*d*arg) is constructed by the power of the spiritual world (maînôkîh), *and one* calls *them* the beaten tracks[2] of Khvanîras.

4. Counterparts of those other regions[3] are *such places* as Kangde*z*, the land of S*a*ukavastân, the plain of the Arabs (Tâ*z*îkân), the plain of Pêsyânsaî, the river Nâivtâk[4], Aîrân-vê*g*, the enclosure (var) formed by Yim, *and* Ka*s*mîr in India[5]. 5. And one immortal chief acts in the government of *each*

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taken for this third pair of regions will also be consecutive, and this Dastûr must, therefore, be identified with the Av. *K*athwaraspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

[1] TD has 'Zaratûst is chief of this region of Khvanîras, and also of the whole world of the righteous; all chieftainship, also, is from Zaratûst, so that the whole religion,' &c.

[2] Justi has 'zones, climates;' but transcribing Pâz. habâvanhâ back into Pahlavi we have a word which may be read khabânŏhâ, pl. of khabân, 'a trampling-place' (comp. Pers. khabîdan). TD has khvabî*s*nŏ-gâs, which has the same meaning.

[3] Meaning, probably, that they resemble the six smaller regions in being isolated and difficult of access; in other words, either mythical, or independent of Iranian rule.

[4] So in TD, which also omits the second, third, and fourth of these isolated territories. In K20 we might read ra*d* va khû*d*âk, 'chief and lord,' as an epithet of Aîrân-vê*g*. This river must be the Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6.

[5] Reading Ka*s*mîr-i andar Hindû, but TD has Ka*s*mîr-i andarûnŏ; perhaps the last word was originally anîrânak, in which case we should read 'the non-Iranian Ka*s*mîr.'

of them; as it says, that Pêshyôtanû[1] *son* of Vistâsp, whom they call *K*itrô-maînô[2], is in the country of Kangdez[3]; Aghrêra*d*[4] *son* of Pashang is in the land of S*a*ukavastân[5], and they call him Gôpatshah[6]; Par*s*adgâ[7] *Hv*embya is in the plain of

[1] The Av. Peshôtanu of Vishtâsp Yt. 4, where he is described as free from disease and death. TD has Pêshyôk-tanû. See also Chaps. XXXI, 29, XXXII, 5.

[2] TD has *K*îtrô-mâônô, and it may be doubted whether the latter portion of the name be derived from Av. mainyu, 'spirit,' or m*a*unghô, 'moon.' The Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk (Reply 89) calls him 'Patshâyôtanû who is called from the *K*îtrôk-mâhanô (or mîyânô),' the *K*atru-mîyân river of Chap. XX, 7, 31.

[3] See § 10. TD has Kangdez-i bâmîk, 'Kangdez the splendid.'

[4] The Av. Aghraêratha Narava of Gô*s* Yt. 18, 22, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Ashi Yt. 38, Zamyâd Yt. 77; he is Aghrîrath, brother of Afrâsiyâb, in the Shâhnâmah; see also Chap. XXXI, 15.

[5] TD has Pahl. Sakîkstân here, but Sôkapastân in § 13 (the letters îk and p being often much alike in Pahlavi writing). K20 has Pâz. Sâvkavatân, S*a*ukâvasta, and Sâvkavastân.

[6] TD has Gôpat-malkâ, 'king of Gôpat;' and Dâ*d*. (Reply 89) states that 'the reign of Gôpatshah is over the country of Gôpatô, coterminous with Aîrân-vê*g*, on the bank of the water of the Dâîtîk; *and* he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayâ*s*, on whom occurred the various emigrations of men of old.' Mkh. (LXII, 31–36) says, 'Gôpatshâh remains in Aîrân-vê*g*, within the region of Khvanîras; from foot to mid-body *he is* a bull, and from mid-body to top *he is* a man; at all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God, and always pours holy-water into the sea; through the pouring of that holy-water innumerable noxious creatures in the sea will die; for if he should not mostly perform that ceremonial, and should not pour that holy-water into the sea, and those innumerable noxious creatures should not perish, then always when rain falls the noxious creatures would fall like rain.' In Chap. XXXI, 20, he is said to be a son of Aghrêra*d*.

[7] So in K20; and Av. Parsha*dg*au occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 96, 127; but TD has Fradakhstar Khûmbîkân, and Dâ*d*. (Reply 89) mentions 'Fradhakhstô son of Khûmbîkân' as one of the seven

Pê*s*yânsaî[1], *and he* is *Hv*embya for this reason, because they brought *him* up in a *hv*emb ('jar') for fear of Khashm ('Wrath'); [Asâm-i[2] Yamâhu*s*t is in the place which they call the River Nâîvtâk]; the tree opposed to harm[3] is in Aîrân-vê*g*; Urvatadnar[4] *son* of Zaratû*s*t is in the enclosure formed by Yim. 6. Regarding them it says, they are *those* who are immortal, as are Narsih[5] *son* of Vîvanghâû, Tûs[6] *son* of Nô*d*ar[7], Gîw[8] *son* of Gû*d*ar*z*, Ibairaz[9] the causer of strife, *and* Ashavazd son of Pourudhâkh*s*t[10]; and they will all[11] come forth, to the

immortal lords of Khvanîras, which name corresponds with the Av. Fradhâkh*s*ti Khu*n*bya of Fravardîn Yt. 138.

[1] TD has always Pahl. Pê*s*ânsih. No doubt the Pi*s*în valley is meant (see § 11).

[2] Or it may be read Aêshm-i. This phrase occurs only in TD, but Dâ*d*. (Reply 89) mentions 'the Avesta Yakhmâyî*s*a*d*, son of the same Fryânô,' as one of the seven immortal lords of Khvanîras.

[3] See Chap. XXVII, 2.

[4] See Chap. XXXII, 5.

[5] Or Narsâe in TD; K20 has Pâz. Narêî, but see Chap. XXXI, 3, 5.

[6] Av. Tusa of Âbân Yt. 53, 58, and an Iranian warrior in the Shâhnâmah.

[7] Av. Naotara, whose descendants are mentioned in Âbân Yt. 76, 98, Fravardîn Yt. 102, Râm Yt. 35.

[8] Av. Gaêvani of Fravardîn Yt. 115 is something like this name of one of the Iranian warriors in the Shâhnâmah.

[9] TD has Pâz. Bairazd. Perhaps it is not a name, but a Pâzand corruption of Pahl. aêvarz, 'warrior, trooper' (traditionally); in which case we should have to read 'the warrior who was a causer of strife.'

[10] So in TD; K20 has 'Ashavand son of Porudakh*s*t,' and Dâ*d*. (Reply 89) mentions 'Ashavazang son of Pôrûdakhstôîh' as one of the seven immortal lords of Khvanîras. He is the Av. 'Ashavazdangh the Pourudhâkh*s*tiyan' of Âbân Yt. 72, Fravardîn Yt. 112.

[11] So in TD, but K20 has 'always.'

assistance of Sôshyans, on the production of the renovation *of the universe.*

7. Regarding Sâm[1] it says, that he became immortal, *but* owing to his disregard of the Mazdayasnian religion, a Tûrk whom they call Nihâg[2] wounded *him* with an arrow, when he was asleep there, in the plain of Pêsyânsaî; and it had brought upon him the unnatural lethargy (bûshasp) *which* overcame *him in* the midst of the heat[3]. 8. And the glory (far) of heaven stands over him[4] for the purpose that, when Az-i Dahâk[5] becomes unfettered (arazak), he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him. 9. Of Dahâk, whom they call Bêvarâsp, this, too, it says, that Frêdûn when he captured Dahâk was not able to kill *him*, and afterwards confined him in Mount Dimâvand[6]; when he becomes unfettered, Sâm arises, and smites and slays him.

10. As to Kangdez, *it is* in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed (var)[7] of the

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[1] This is not Sâm the grandfather of Rustam, but the Av. Sâma, who appears to have been an ancestor of Keresâspa (see Yas. IX, 30), called Sam, grandfather of Garsâsp, in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah (compare Chap. XXXI, 26, 27). Here, however, it appears from the Bahman Yast (III, 59, 60) that Keresâspa himself is meant, he being called Sâma Keresâspa in Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136.

[2] It can also be read Nihâv or Nîyâg in K20, and Nihâv or Nihân in TD.

[3] TD has '*as* he lay *in* the midst of the heat.'

[4] TD has 'and the snow (vafar) has settled (nishast) over him.'

[5] See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

[6] See Chap. XII, 31.

[7] TD has agvar, 'above,' instead of min var, 'from the bed.'

wide-formed ocean towards that side. 11. The plain of Pêsyânsaî is in Kâvulistân, as it says, that the most remarkable upland (bâlist) in Kâvulistân is where Pêsyânsaî is; there it is hotter, on the more lofty elevations there is no heat[1]. 12. Aîrân-vêg is in the direction of Âtarô-pâtakân[2]. 13. The land of Saukavastân is on the way from Tûrkistân to Kînistân, in the direction of the north. 14. [The enclosure][3] formed by Yim is *in* the middle of Pârs, in Sruvâ[4]; thus, they say, that *what* Yim formed (Yim-kard) is below Mount Yimakân[5]. 15. Kasmîr is in Hindûstân.

Chapter XXX[6].

1. On the nature of the resurrection and future existence it says in revelation, that, whereas Mâshya and Mâshyôî, who grew up from the earth[7], first fed upon water, then plants, then milk, *and* then meat, men also, when their time of death *has* come, first desist from eating meat, then milk, then from

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[1] Or, 'the hottest there, through the very lofty elevation, is not heat.'

[2] Pers. Âdarbîgân.

[3] The word var is omitted in K20.

[4] TD has Pahl. Srûbâk.

[5] Or it may be read Damakân, but TD has Kamakân. It can hardly be Dâmaghân, as that is a town and district in Khurâsân; Justi also suggests the district of Gamagân in Pârs, and thinks Sruvâ means 'cypress wood,' there being a Salvastân between Shîrâz and Fasâ.

[6] This chapter is found in all MSS., and has been numbered XXXI by former translators.

[7] See Chaps. XV, 2–16, XXXIV, 3.

bread, till when[1] they shall die they always feed upon water. 2. So, likewise, in the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh[2], the strength of appetite (âz) will thus diminish, when men *will* remain three days and nights in superabundance (sîrîh) through one taste of consecrated food. 3. Then they will desist from meat food, *and* eat vegetables *and* milk; afterwards, they abstain from milk food *and* abstain from vegetable food, *and* are feeding on water; *and* for ten years before Sôshyans[3] comes they remain without food, *and* do not die.

4. After Sôshyans *comes* they prepare the raising of the dead, as it says, that Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd thus: 'Whence does a body form again, which the wind *has* carried *and* the water conveyed (vazîd)[4]? *and* how does the resurrection occur?' 5. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'When through me the sky *arose* from the substance of the ruby[5], without columns, on the spiritual support of far-compassed light; when through me the earth arose, which[6] bore the material life, *and* there is no

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[1] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Chap. I, 7).

[2] Written Khûrshêdar-mâh, or Khûrshêd-mâh, in the Bundahis; see Chap. XXXII, 8, and Bahman Yt. III, 52, 53.

[3] See Chaps. XI, 6, XXXII, 8, Bahman Yt. III, 62.

[4] Compare (Vend. V, 26) 'the water carries *him* up, the water carries *him* down, the water casts *him* away.'

[5] Compare Mkh. IX, 7.

[6] All MSS. have min, 'out of,' but translators generally suppose it should be mûn, 'which,' as the meaning of 'brought out of material life' is by no means clear. Perhaps the two phrases might be construed together, thus: 'there is no *other* maintainer of the worldly creation, brought from the material life, than it.' Windischmann refers to Fravardîn Yt. 9.

maintainer of the worldly creation but it; when by me the sun and moon *and* stars are conducted in the firmament (andarvâî) of luminous bodies; when by me corn was created so that, scattered about in the earth, it grew again *and* returned with increase; when by me colour[1] of various kinds was created in plants; when by me fire was created in plants *and* other things[2] without combustion; when *by me* a son was created *and* fashioned[3] in the womb of a mother, *and* the structure (pîsak) severally of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, ears, and other things was produced; when by me legs were created for the water, so that it flows away, *and* the cloud was created which carries the water of the world *and* rains there where it has a purpose; when by me the air was created which conveys *in one's* eyesight, through the strength of the wind, the lowermost upwards according to *its* will, *and one* is not able to grasp *it* with the hand out-stretched; each one of them, when created by me, was herein more difficult than causing the resurrection, for[4] *it is* an assistance to me in the resurrection that they exist, *but* when they were formed it was not *forming* the future out of the past[5]. 6. Observe that when that which was not was then produced, why is it not possible to

[1] Former translators all read rag, 'vein, pore;' but it probably stands for rang, 'colour, dye,' as in Chap. XXVII, 5, 18.

[2] See Chap. XVII, 1, 2.

[3] Pâz. srahtîd is evidently a misreading of Pahl. srîstîd, 'formed, shaped.' Windischmann compares Fravardîn Yt. 11, 22, 28.

[4] Here kîm is the Pâzand of Huz. mamanam, 'for to me;' being a different word from the interrogative kîm, 'why?' of the next §.

[5] Literally, '*what* becomes out of *what* was.'

produce again that which was? for at that time *one will* demand the bone from the spirit of earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, *and* the life from fire, since *they* were delivered to them in the original creation.'

7. First, the bones of Gâyômar*d* are roused up, then those of Mâshya *and* Mâshyôî, then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years *of* Sôshyans[1] they prepare all the dead, *and* all men stand up; whoever is righteous *and* whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs. 8. Afterwards, when all material living beings assume again their bodies *and* forms, then they assign (barâ yehabûnd) them a single class[2]. 9. Of the light accompanying (levatman) the sun, one half will *be* for Gâyômar*d*, and one half will give enlightenment among the rest of men, so that the soul *and* body will know that this is my father, and this is my mother, and this is my brother, and this is my wife, and these are some other of my nearest relations.

10. Then is the assembly of the Sa*d*vâstarân[3], where all mankind will stand at this time; in that assembly every one sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds; *and* then, in that assembly, a wicked *man* becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black. 11. In that

[1] K20 omits 'Sôshyans.'

[2] The phrase is obscure, and K20 omits the numeral 'one' (the idhâfat of unity); but the meaning is probably that all former distinctions of class, or caste, are abolished.

[3] Windischmann suggests that it may be 'the assembly of Isa*d*vâstar,' the eldest son of Zaratûst (see Chap. XXXII, 5); perhaps supposed to be presided over by him as the first supreme high-priest after Zaratûst's death.

assembly whatever righteous *man* was friend of a wicked *one* in the world, *and* the wicked *man* complains of him who is righteous, thus: 'Why did he not make me acquainted, when in the world, with the good deeds which he practised himself?' if he who is righteous did not inform him, then it is necessary for him to suffer shame accordingly in that assembly[1].

12. Afterwards, they set the righteous *man* apart from the wicked; *and* then the righteous is for heaven (garô*d*mân), and they cast the wicked back to hell. 13. Three days *and* nights they inflict punishment bodily in hell, *and* then he beholds bodily those three days' happiness in heaven[2]. 14. As it says that, on the day when the righteous *man* is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one, thereupon, run down unto *his* legs. 15. When, after they set apart a father from his consort (hambâ*z*), a brother from his brother, and a friend from

[1] In the Ar*d*â-Vîrâf-namak (Chap. LXVIII) it is related that Ar*d*â-Vîrâf saw the souls of a husband and wife, that of the husband destined for heaven, and that of the wife for hell; but the wife clung to her husband and asked why they should be separated, and he told her it was on account of her neglect of religious duties; whereupon she reproached him for not teaching and chastising her. 'And, afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. And owing to the repentance of that woman she was in no other affliction in hell but darkness and stench. And that man sat in the midst of the righteous of heaven in shame, from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.'

[2] As an aggravation of his punishment in hell. It has generally been supposed that this last phrase refers to the reward of the righteous man, but this cannot be the case unless akhar be taken in the sense of 'other,' which is unlikely; besides, beholding the happiness of others would be no reward to an Oriental mind.

his friend, they suffer, every one for his own deeds, *and* weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked about himself; for there may be a father who is righteous *and* a son wicked, *and* there may be one brother who is righteous *and* one wicked. 16. Those for whose peculiar deeds it is appointed, such as Dahâk and Frâsîyâv of Tûr, *and* others of this sort, as those deserving death (marg-argânân), undergo a punishment no other men undergo; they call *it* 'the punishment of the three nights[1].'

17. Among his producers of the renovation *of the universe*, those righteous men of whom it is written[2] that they are living, fifteen men and fifteen damsels, will come to the assistance of Sôshyans. 18. As Gôkîhar[3] falls in the *celestial* sphere from a moonbeam on to the earth, the distress of the earth becomes such-like as *that of* a sheep when a wolf falls *upon it*. 19. Afterwards, the fire and halo[4] melt the metal of Shatvaîrô, in the hills *and* mountains, *and* it remains on this earth like a river.

[1] According to the Pahlavi Vend. VII, 136 (p. 96, Sp.) it appears that a person who has committed a marg-argân or mortal sin, without performing patît or renunciation of sin thereafter, remains in hell till the future existence, when he is brought out, beheaded three times for each mortal sin unrepented of, and then cast back into hell to undergo the punishment tishrãm khshafnãm ('of the three nights') before he becomes righteous; some say, however, that this punishment is not inflicted for a single mortal sin. This period of three nights' punishment is quite a different matter from the three nights' hovering of the soul about the body after death.

[2] See Chap. XXIX, 5, 6. As the text stands in the MSS. it is uncertain whether the fifteen men and fifteen damsels are a portion of these righteous immortals, or an addition to them.

[3] Probably a meteor (see Chap. V, 1).

[4] Reading khîrman; M6 has 'the fire and angel Aîrman (Av. Airyaman) melt the metal in the hills,' &c.

20. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure; when *one* is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; *but* when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal.

21. Afterwards, with the greatest affection, all men come together, father and son and brother and friend ask one another thus: 'Where has it[1] been these many years, and what was the judgment upon thy soul? hast thou been righteous or wicked?' 22. The first soul the body sees, it enquires of it with those words (gûft). 23. All men become of one voice *and* administer loud praise to Aûharmazd and the archangels.

24. Aûharmazd completes *his work* at that time, *and* the creatures become so that it is not necessary to make any effort about them; *and* among those by whom the dead are prepared, it is not necessary *that* any effort be made. 25. Sôshyans, with his assistants, performs a Yazisn *ceremony* in preparing the dead, *and* they slaughter the ox Hadhayôs[2] in that Yazisn; from the fat of that ox and the white Hôm[3] they prepare Hûsh, *and* give *it* to all men, and all men become immortal for ever *and* everlasting. 26. This, too, it says, that whoever has been the size of a man, they restore him then with an age of forty years; they who have been little *when* not dead, they restore then with an age of fifteen years; and they give every one *his* wife, and

[1] K20 has 'have I;' probably hômanîh, 'hast thou,' was the original reading.

[2] See Chap. XIX, 13.

[3] See Chap. XXVII, 4.

show *him his* children with the wife; so they act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children.

27. Afterwards, Sôshyans *and his assistants*, by order of the creator Aûharmazd, give every man the reward and recompense suitable to *his* deeds; this is even the righteous existence (aît) where it is said that they convey *him* to paradise (vahist), and the heaven (garôdmân) of Aûharmazd takes up the body (kerp) as itself requires; with that assistance he continually advances for ever *and* everlasting. 28. This, too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship (yast), and has ordered no Gêtî-kharîd[1], and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there; and he performs the worship (yast) of Aûharmazd, and the heavenly angels[2] provide him the use of his clothing.

[1] The Sad-dar Bundahis says that by Gêtî-kharîd 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.' The Rivâyat of Dastûr Barzû (as quoted in MS. 29 of Bombay University Parsi Collection) gives the following details in Persian: 'To celebrate Gêtî-kharîd it is necessary that two hêrbads (priests) perform the Nâbar, and with each khshnûman which they pray it is fit and necessary that both hêrbads have had the Nâbar; and the first day they recite the Nônâbar yast, and consecrate the Nônâbar drôn and the Nônâbar âfrîngân which they recite in each Gâh; in the Hâvan Gâh it is necessary to recite fravarânê (as in Yas. III, 24 W. to end), ahurahê mazdau raêvatô (as in Aûharmazd Yt. 0, to) frasastayaêka, then Yas. III, 25 W., XVII, 1–55 Sp., ashem vohû thrice, âfrînâmi khshathryân (as in Âfrîngân I, 14, to end). The second day the Srôsh yast and Srôsh drôn and âfrîngân are to be recited; and the third day it is necessary to recite the Sîrôzah yast, the Sîrôzah drôn and âfrîngân dahmân; and it is needful to recite the second and third âfrîngâns in each Gâh, and each day to consecrate the barsom and drôn afresh with seven twigs, so that it may not be ineffective.'

[2] Pâz. gehân is probably a misreading of Pahl. yazdân, as

29. Afterwards, Aûharmazd seizes on[1] the evil spirit, Vohûman *on* Akôman[2], Ashavahi*s*t *on* Andar[3], Shatvairô *on* Sâvar, Spendarma*d* *on* Tarômat who is Nâûnghas[4], Horvada*d* *and* Amerôda*d* *on* Tâirê*v* *and* Zâirî*k*[5], true-speaking *on* what is evil-speaking, Srôsh[6] *on* Aeshm[7]. 30. Then two fiends remain at large, Aharman[8] and Â*z*[9]; Aûharmazd comes to the world, himself the Zôta and Srôsh the Râspî[10], and holds the Kûstî in *his* hand;

neither 'the spirit of the world,' nor 'the spirit of the Gâhs' is a likely phrase. It is possible, however, that maînôk gehân is a misreading of min aîvyahân, 'from the girdle,' and we should translate as follows: 'and out of its girdle (that is, the kûstî of the barsom used in the ceremony) he produces the effect of his clothing.'

[1] Instead of vakhdûnd, 'seize on,' we should probably read vânend, 'smite,' as in the parallel passages mentioned below.

[2] Compare Zamyâd Yt. 96. Each archangel (see Chap. I, 25, 26) here seizes the arch-fiend (see Chaps. I, 27, XXVIII, 7–12) who is his special opponent.

[3] Here written Pâz. Inder. Compare Pahlavi Yas. XLVII, 1: 'When among the creation, in the future existence, righteousness smites the fiend, Ashavahi*s*t *smites* Indar.'

[4] Written Nâkahê*d* in Chap. I, 27, and Nâîkîyas in Chap. XXVIII, 10, where he is described as a distinct demon from Tarômat in XXVIII, 14.

[5] Here written Târê*v* and Zârî*k*.

[6] Av. Sraosha, a personification of attentive hearing and obedience, who is said to watch over the world and defend it from the demons, especially at night; see Vend. XVIII, 48, 51, 70, &c., Yas. LVI, Srôsh Yt. Hâdôkht, &c.

[7] See Chap. XXVIII, 15–17.

[8] Comparing § 29 with § 30 it is not very clear whether the author of the Bundahi*s* considered Aharman and the evil spirit as the same or different demons; compare also Chap. XXVIII, 1–6 with 40, 41.

[9] See Chap. XXVIII, 27.

[10] The Zôta is the chief officiating priest in all ceremonies, and the Râspî is the assistant priest.

defeated by the Kûstî[1] formula the resources of the evil spirit and Âz act most impotently, *and* by the passage through which he rushed into the sky[2] he runs back to gloom *and* darkness. 31. Gô*k*îhar[3] burns the serpent (mâr)[4] in the melted metal, *and* the stench and pollution *which* were in hell are burned in that metal, *and* it (hell) becomes quite pure. 32. He (Aûharmazd) sets the vault[5] into which the evil spirit fled, in that metal; he brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world[6]; the renovation arises in the universe by *his* will, *and* the world is immortal for ever *and* everlasting.

33. This, too, it says, that this earth *becomes* an iceless[7], slopeless plain[8]; even the mountain[9],

[1] The words zak g,hâni, for ân g*e*hâni, are probably a misreading of aîvyahân, 'the kûstî or sacred thread-girdle,' which is tied round the waist in a peculiar manner, during the recital of a particular formula, in which Aûharmazd is blessed and Aharman and the demons are cursed.

[2] See Chap. III, 10–12. [3] See § 18 and Chap. V, 1.

[4] Probably referring to Âz, which means both 'greediness' and 'serpent.' It is, however, possible to read 'Gô*k*îhar the serpent burns in' &c., and there can be no doubt that Gô*k*îhar is represented as a malevolent being.

[5] Or, perhaps, 'hiding-place.' Comparing K20 and M6 together the word seems to be alôm, which may be compared with Heb. אולם 'a vault,' or Chald. אולמא 'a porch;' it may, however, be vâlôm, which may be traced to עלם 'to conceal.' In the old MSS. it is certainly not shôlman, 'hell,' which is an emendation due to the modern copy in Paris.

[6] Or, 'to the prosperity of the world.'

[7] Former translators read anhîkhar, 'undefiled,' but this does not suit the Pahlavi orthography so well as anhasâr, 'iceless' (compare Pers. hasar, khasar, or khasâr, 'ice'); cold and ice, being produced by the evil spirit, will disappear with him.

[8] Pâz. âmâvan is a misreading of Pahl. hâmûn, so the reading is an*s*îp (compare Pers. *s*îb) hâmûn. Mountains, being the work of the evil spirit, disappear with him.

[9] *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâîtîk, see Chap. XII, 7.

whose summit is the support of the *K*învar *bridge*, they keep down, *and* it *will* not exist.

Chapter XXXI[1].

0. On the race and genealogy of the Kayâns.

1. Hôshyang[2] *was son* of Fravâk, *son* of Sîyâkmak[3], *son* of Mâshya[4], *son* of Gâyômar*d*. [2. Takhmôrup[5] *was son* of Vîvanghâû[6], *son* of Yangha*d*[7], *son of* Hôshyang. 3. Yim,][8] Takhmôrup, Spîtûr[9], *and* Narsih[10], whom they also call 'the Rashnû of *K*înŏ[11],'

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[1] For this chapter, which is numbered XXXII by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20, TD, and K20b (a fragment evidently derived from the same original as K20 and M6, but through some independent line of descent).

[2] So in K20, but usually Hôshâng (see Chaps. XV, 28, XXXIV, 3, 4).

[3] See Chap. XV, 25, 30.

[4] See Chaps. XV, 2–24, 30, XXXIV, 3.

[5] Av. Takhmô-urupa of Râm Yt. 11, Zamyâd Yt. 28, Âfrîn Zarat. 2; written Tâkhmôrup in TD, which is the only MS. in which the passage enclosed in brackets is found, the omission of which by K20 was suspected by Windischmann (Zoroastriche Studien, p. 199). This king is the Tahmûras of the Shâhnâmah. See also Chaps. XVII, 4, XXXIV, 4.

[6] Av. Vîvangh*a*u of Yas. IX, 11, 20, XXXII, 8, Vend. II, 8, 28, 94, Fravardîn Yt. 130, Zamyâd Yt. 35.

[7] As this Pâzand name or title begins with a *medial* y, its initial vowel is probably omitted (see p. 141, note 8).

[8] Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, &c., the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah (see Chaps. XVII, 5, XXXIV, 4).

[9] Av. Spityura of Zamyâd Yt. 46.

[10] Here written Nârsî in K20 and K20b, and Nôsîh in TD; but see § 5 and Chap. XXIX, 6. Windischmann suggests that he may be the Av. Aoshnara pouru-*g*îra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2.

[11] An epithet equivalent to 'the Minos of China;' Rashnû being the angel of justice, who is said to weigh the meritorious deeds of

were all brothers. 4. From Yim and Yimak[1], who was *his* sister, was born a pair, man *and* woman, and they became husband *and* wife together; Mîrak the Âspiyân[2] and Zîyânak Zardâhim were *their* names, *and* the lineage went on. 5. Spîtûr was he who, with Dahâk, cut up Yim[3]; Narsih[4] lived then[5] also, *whom* they call Nêsr-gyâvân[6]; they say that such destiny (gadman) is allotted to him[7], that he shall pass every day in troubles, and shall make all food purified *and* pure.

6. Dahâk[8] *was son* of Khrûtâsp, *son* of Zâînîgâv,

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the departed soul against its sins. Neither word is, however, quite certain, as rashnûk may stand for rasnîk, 'spear,' and has also been translated by 'light' and 'hero;' *K*înŏ, moreover, was probably not China, but Samarkand (see Chaps. XII, 13, 22, XV, 29).

[1] See Chap. XXIII, 1.

[2] Av. Âthwyâna of Âbân Yt. 33, Gô*s* Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Zamyâd Yt. 36, &c., where it is the family name of Thraêtaona, who is said to be a son of Âthwya in Yas. IX, 23, 24. In the text this name seems to be used rather as a title than a patronymic, and in § 7 it appears to be a family surname.

[3] As stated in Zamyâd Yt. 46.

[4] Here written Nârsak in K20 and K20b, and Nôsîh in TD.

[5] TD has 'together,' instead of 'then.'

[6] So in K20, but K20b has Narst-gyâvân, and TD has Nôsîh-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk). Perhaps we may assume the epithet to have been nîgîr-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk), 'one with a bewildering (or longing) glance.'

[7] Justi supposes this clause of the sentence refers to Yim and the disease which attacked his hand. If this be the case it may be translated as follows: 'they say aîghash is produced on his hand (yadman), so that,' &c.; aîghash being a disease, or evil, mentioned in Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24; compare Chap. XXVIII, 33.

[8] Or A*z*-i Dahâk, the Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' of Yas. IX, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 29, 34, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Zamyâd Yt. 46–50. A name applied to a foreign dynasty (probably Semitic) personified as a single king, which conquered the dominions of Yim (see Chap. XXXIV, 5).

son of Virafsang, *son* of Tâz, *son* of Fravâk, *son* of Siyâkmak[1]; by *his* mother Dahâk *was* of Udai[2], *son* of Bayak, *son* of Tambayak, *son* of Owokhm[3], *son* of Pairi-urvaêsm[4], *son* of Gadhwithw[5], *son* of Drûgâs-kân[6], *son* of the evil spirit.

7. Frêdûn the Âspiyân[7] *was son of* Pûr-tôrâ[8] the Âspiyân, *son* of Sôk-tôrâ[9] the Âspiyân, *son* of Bôr-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Sîyâk-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Spêd-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Gefar-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Ramak-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of

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[1] For the last three names, see Chap. XV, 25, 28.

[2] Pahl. Aûd in TD; compare 'the demon Uda' of Chap. XXVIII, 19. The following two names look like 'fear' and 'gloom-fear,' both appropriate names for demons.

[3] TD has Pâz. Owôikh; compare Av. aoiwra, 'a species of night-mare,' observing that r and ô are often written alike in Pahlavi.

[4] TD and K20b have Pâz. Pairi-urva-urvaêsm, and K20 has Pai-urvaêsm.

[5] TD has Pâz. Gawithw.

[6] So in TD, but K20 has Pâz. Druz-i ayaskâ, and K20b has Drug-i ayaskâ. It corresponds to Av. drugaska in Vend. XIX, 139, Vistâsp Yt. 26. This genealogy appears to trace Dahâk's maternal descent through a series of demons.

[7] Av. Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya, but generally called 'the Âthwyânian,' who slew the destructive serpent (azi dahâka), see Yas. IX, 24, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 33, 61, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Râm Yt. 23, Ashi Yt. 33, Zamyâd Yt. 36, 92, Âf. Zarat. 2. In the Shâhnâmah he is called Ferîdûn son of Abtîn.

[8] This name is omitted in K20, but occurs in the other two MSS.; it is a Huzvâris hybrid equivalent to Pâz. Pûr-gau and Av. Pourugau, which is a title of an Âthwyânian in Âf. Zarat. 4, Vistâsp Yt. 2. This genealogy consists almost entirely of such hybrid names, which have a very artificial appearance, though suitable enough for a race of herdsmen, meaning, as they severally do, 'one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, with the black ox, with the white ox, with the fat ox, and with a herd of oxen.'

[9] So in TD, but the other two MSS. have Sîyâk-tôrâ, which is probably wrong, as the same name occurs again in this genealogy.

Vanfraghesn[1] the Âspiyân, *son* of Yim, *son* of Vîvanghâû; as these, apart from the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ, were ten generations, they every one lived a hundred years, which becomes one thousand years: those thousand years were the evil reign of Dahâk. 8. By the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ was begotten Frêdûn, who exacted vengeance for Yim; together *with him*[2] also were the sons Barmâyûn *and* Katâyûn, *but* Frêdûn was fuller of glory than they.

9. By Frêdûn three sons were begotten, Salm and Tûg and Aîrîk[3]; and by Aîrîk one son *and* one pair[4] were begotten; the names of the couple of sons were Vânîdâr *and* Anastokh[5], *and* the name of the daughter was Gûzak[6]. 10. Salm *and* Tûg slew *them* all, Aîrîk and *his* happy sons, *but* Frêdûn kept the daughter in concealment, *and* from that daughter a daughter was born[7]; they became aware *of it*, and the mother was slain by them. 11. Frêdûn provided for the daughter[8], also in concealment, for

[1] In TD this name can be read Vanfrôkisn or Vanfrôkgân.

[2] TD has 'as well as *him*.' K20b omits most of this sentence by mistake.

[3] These sons, as Windischmann observes, are not mentioned in the extant Avesta, but their Avesta names, Sairima, Tûirya or Tûra, and Airya or Airyu, may be gathered from the names of the countries over which they are supposed to have ruled (see Fravardîn Yt. 143).

[4] TD has 'two sons *and* one daughter.'

[5] TD has Anîdâr and Anastabŏ.

[6] Or Gûgak, in TD; the other MSS. have Pâz. Ganga here, but Guzak in § 14; it is identical with the name of Hôshyang's sister and wife in Chap. XV, 28. In the Pâzand Gâmâsp-nâmah the name of Frêdûn's daughter is written Vîrak.

[7] Reading min zak dûkht dûkht-i zâd, as in K20b and TD; some uncertainty arises here from the words dûkht, 'daughter,' and dvâd, 'pair,' being written alike in Pahlavi.

[8] TD has bartman, 'daughter,' indicating that the word in K20 must be read dûkht, and not dvâd, 'pair.'

ten generations, when Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînîk was born from *his* mother, [*so called* because, as he was born, *some* of][1] the light of the sun (khûrshêd) fell upon *his* nose (vînîk). 12. From Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînîk *and his* sister[2] was Mânûs-khûrnar, *and* from Mânûs-khûrnar [*and his* sister] was Mânûskîhar born[3], by whom Salm and Tûg were slain in revenge for Aîrîk[4]. 13. By Mânûskîhar were Fris, Nôdar[5], and Dûrâsrôb[6] begotten.

14. Just as Mânûskîhar *was* of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk[7], who was Mâm-sozak[8], of Aîrak, of Thritak, of Bîtak, of Frazûsak, of Zûsak[9], of Fragûzak, of Gûzak, of Aîrîk, of Frêdûn, *so* Frâsîyâv[10] *was*

[1] The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD; and the whole passage from 'vînîk' to 'sun' is omitted in K20, evidently by mistake.

[2] TD has 'from Mânûs and *his* sister,' and K20b has 'from Mânûs-hûkîhar *and* Mânûs-khûrshêd.'

[3] The words in brackets occur only in TD, and K20b has 'from Mânûs-khûrnar also was Mânûs-khûrnâk, *from* Mânûs-khûrnâk was Mânûskîhar born,' but this introduction of an extra generation is not confirmed by the list of names in § 14. The term khûrnâk (or khûrnak) seems to be merely a transcript of the Avesta word of which khûrshêd-vînîk, 'sun-nose,' is a translation. The other term khûrnar can also be read khûrvar, but K20 has Pâz. *hv*arnar. Mânûskîhar is the Av. Manuskithra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, where he is styled the Airyavan, or descendant of Airyu (Aîrîk).

[4] TD has '*and* vengeance exacted for Aîrîk.'

[5] See Chap. XXIX, 6.

[6] Pâz. Durâsro, but the Pahlavi form, given in the text, occurs in § 31 and Chap. XXXII, 1 in TD, which MS. omits this § by mistake.

[7] The same as Mânûs-i khûrshêd-vînîk, as noted above.

[8] This Pâzand epithet seems to mean 'mother-burning,' and may have some connection with the legend mentioned in § 11. TD has mûn am Gûgak, 'whose mother was Gûgak.'

[9] K20b omits the five names from Aîrak to Zûsak.

[10] Av. Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, of Yas. XI, 21, Âbân Yt. 41,

of Pashang, of Zaêsm[1], of Tûrak, of Spaênyasp, of Dûrôshasp, of Tûg, of Frêdûn. 15. He (Frâsîyâv) as well as Karsêvaz[2], whom they call Kadân[3], *and* Aghrêrad[4] were all three brothers.

[16[5]. Pashang and Vîsak were both brothers. 17. By Vîsak were Pîrân[6], Hûmân, Sân[7], and other brothers begotten. 18. By Frâsîyâv were Frasp-i Kûr, Sân, Shêdak[8], and other sons begotten; *and* Vispân-fryâ[9], from whom Kaî-Khûsrôb was born, was daughter of Frâsîyâv, *and* was of the same mother with Frasp-i Kûr. 19. From Frasp-i Kûr *were* Sûrâk, Asûrîk, and other children; *and* by them were Khvâst-aîrikht, Yazdân-aîrikht, Yazdân-sarâd, Frêh-khûrd, Lâ-vahâk[10], and others begotten, a recital of whom *would* be tedious.

20. By Aghrêrad *was* Gôpatshah[11] begotten. 21. When Frâsîyâv made Mânûskîhar, with the Iranians, captive in the mountain-range (gar) of Padashkh-

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Gôs Yt. 18, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 42, Zamyâd Yt. 56–63, 82, 93; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmah.

[1] Zâdsam in the Shâhnâmah.

[2] Garsîvaz in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] TD has Pahl. Kîdân.

[4] See Chap. XXIX, 5.

[5] The remainder of this chapter is found only in TD.

[6] Pîrân Vîsah is Afrâsiyâb's chief general in the Shâhnâmah, and Hûmân and Pîlsam are his brothers.

[7] This name is very ambiguous in Pahlavi, as it can be read many other ways.

[8] Shêdah in the Shâhnâmah.

[9] She is called Farangîs in the Shâhnâmah.

[10] The reading of several of these names is more or less uncertain, but the object of the author is evidently to apply opprobrious epithets to all the male descendants of Afrâsiyâb.

[11] TD has Gôpat-malkâ here, as also in Chap. XXIX, 5, where it is said to be a title of Aghrêrad (always written Agrêrad in TD).

vâr[1], *and* scattered ruin *and* want among them, Aghrêra*d* begged a favour of God (yazdân), and he obtained the benefit that the army and champions of the Iranians were saved by him from that distress. 22. Frâsîyâ*v* slew Aghrêra*d* for that fault; *and* Aghrêra*d*, as his recompense, begat *such* a son as Gôpatshah.

23. Aûzôbô the Tûhmâspian[2], Kanak-i Barzi*s*t, Arawi*s*anasp, *and* Vaêta*nd*-i Râghinôi*d* *were* the three sons *and* the daughter of Agâima*s*vâk[3], the *son* of Nô*d*ar, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar, who begat Aûzôbô. 24. Kavâ*d*[4] was a child in a waist-cloth (kuspû*d*); they abandoned *him* on a river, *and* he froze upon the door-sills (kavâ*d*akân); Aûzôbô perceived and took *him*, brought *him* up, *and* settled the name of the trembling child.

25. By Kavâ*d* *was* Kaî-Apîvêh begotten; by Kaî-Apîvêh *were* Kaî-Arsh, Kaî-Vyârsh, Kaî-Pisân, and Kaî-Kâûs begotten; by Kaî-Kâûs *was* Sîyâvakhsh begotten; by Sîyâvakhsh *was* Kaî-Khûsrôb[5]

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[1] The mountains south of the Caspian (see Chap. XII, 17).

[2] Av. Uzava Tûmâspana of Fravardîn Yt. 131, called Zav, or Zâb, son of Tahmâsp, in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] None of these names, which TD gives in Pâzand, are to be found in the portion of the Avesta yet extant.

[4] Av. Kavi Kavâta of Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, called Kaî-Qubâd in the Shâhnâmah. There appears to be an attempt, in the text, to derive his name from the 'door-sill' on which he is said to have been found.

[5] The Avesta names of these seven other Kayâns are, respectively, Kavi Aipi-vanghu, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Byârshân, Kavi Pisanangh, Kavi Usadhan, Kavi Syâvarshân, and Kavi Husravangh (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74); omitting the third, they are called, respectively, Armîn, Ari*s*, Pa*s*în, Kaî-Kâvûs, Siyâvush, and Kaî Khusrô in the Shâhnâmah. TD, omitting the first letter, has Sânô for Pisân; it also writes Kaî-Kâyûks and Kaî-Khûsrôvî.

begotten. 26. Keresâsp[1] *and* Aûrvakhsh[2] were both brothers. 27. Athrat[3] *was son* of Sâhm, *son* of Tûrak, *son* of Spaênyasp, *son* of Dûrôshasp[4], *son* of Tûg, *son* of Frêdûn. 28. Lôharâsp[5] *was son* of Aûzâv[6], *son* of Mânûs, *son of* Kaî-Pîsîn[7], *son of* Kaî-Apîvêh, *son of* Kaî-Kavâd. 29. *By* Kaî-Lôharâsp were Vistâsp, Zarîr[8], *and* other brothers begotten; by Vistâsp were Spend-dâd[9] and Pêshyô-tanû[10] begotten; and by Spend-dâd were Vohûman[11], Âtarô-tarsah, Mitrô-tarsah, *and* others begotten.

30. Artakhshatar *descendant* of Pâpak—of whom his mother *was* daughter—*was son* of Sâsân[12], *son* of

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[1] Av. Keresâspa of Yas. IX, 31, 36, 39, Vend. I, 36, Âbân Yt. 37, Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38–44, Âf. Zarat. 3; he is called Garsâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

[2] Av. Urvâkhshaya of Yas. IX, 31, Râm Yt. 28, Âf. Zarat. 3. These brothers were sons of Thrita or Athrat, mentioned in the next §.

[3] Av. Thrita of the Sâma race (see Yas. IX, 30, Vend. XX, 11) and father of Keresâspa, whose genealogy is given in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah as follows: Garsâsp, Atrat, Sam, Tûrag, Sîdasb, Tûr, Jamshêd.

[4] Written Dûrôshap in TD, both here and in § 14.

[5] Av. Aurvad-aspa of Âbân Yt. 105, Vistâsp Yt. 34, 46, called Luhrâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

[6] Reading doubtful.

[7] Written Ka-Pîsîn here, but he is the same person as Kaî-Pisân of § 25; the latter part of the name is written both Pisanangh and Pisina in the Avesta.

[8] Probably Zargar (being Av. Zairivairi of Âbân Yt. 112, 117, Fravardîn Yt. 101), but called Zarîr in the Shâhnâmah.

[9] Av. Spentô-dâta of Fravardîn Yt. 103, Vistâsp Yt. 25, called Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

[10] See Chaps. XXIX, 5, XXXII, 5.

[11] Called Bahman in the Shâhnâmah, and Ardashîr the Kayânian in Bahman Yt. II, 17; the successor of his grandfather Vistâsp (see Chap. XXXIV, 8).

[12] The text is rather obscure, but the Kârnâmak of Ardashîr-i Pâpakân states clearly that Ardashîr was son of Sâsân by the

Vêh-âfrî*d* and[1] Zarîr, *son* of Sâsân, *son* of Artakhshatar who *was* the said Vohûman *son* of Spend-dâ*d*.

31. The mother of Kaî-Apîvêh was Farhank[2], *daughter* of *him who is* exalted on the *heavenly* path[3], Urva*d*-gâi-frâ*s*t[4], *son* of Râk, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar. 32. This, too, it says, that the glory[5] of Frê*d*ûn settled on the root of a reed (kanyâ) in the wide-formed ocean; *and* Nôktargâ[6], through sorcery, formed a cow for tillage, *and* begat *children* there; three years he carried the reeds there, *and* gave them to the cow, until the glory went on to the cow; he brought the cow, milked *her* milk, *and* gave *it* to his three sons; as *their* walking *was on* hoofs, the glory did not go to the sons, but to Farhank. 33. Nôktargâ wished to injure[7] Farhank, *but* Farhank went with the glory *away* from

daughter of Pâpak, a tributary ruler of Pârs under Ardavân, the last of the A*s*kâniyân monarchs.

[1] So in the Pahlavi text, which therefore makes Vêh-âfrî*d* a woman's name (like Pers. Beh-âfrîn); but this is doubtful, as the MSS. often confound va, 'and,' and i, '*son* of.'

[2] In the Shâhnâmah Farhang is mother of Kaî-Kâvûs. The Pahlavi name can also be read Farânak, the name of the mother of Ferîdûn in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] Pâz. vîdharg-âfrâ*s*taka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'Urva*d*-gâ *son* of Frâ*s*t.'

[5] The divine glory which was supposed to accompany all legitimate sovereigns of Iran, from the time of Hôshyang even to that of the Sasanian dynasty; it is the Av. *hv*arenangh of the Zamyâd Ya*s*t, and is said to have fled to the ocean for refuge during the reign of foreign dynasties and wicked kings (see Âbân Yt. 42, Zamyâd Yt. 51, 56, 59, 62).

[6] The last syllable is so written, in Pâzand, in § 33.

[7] Reading hang*î*danŏ, 'to injure,' instead of khung*d*anŏ, which may mean 'to embrace;' the difference between the two words being merely the letter î.

the fierce (tîb) father, and made a vow (patyastâk) thus: 'I will give *my* first son to Aûshbâm[1].' 34. Then Aûshbâm saved her from the father; and the first son, Kaî-Apîvêh, she bore and gave to Aûshbâm, was a hero associating with Aûshbâm, and travelled in Aûshbâm's company.

35. The mother of Aûzôbô was the daughter of Nâmûn the wizard, when Nâmak[2] was with Frâsîyâ*v*.

36. And, moreover, together with those begotten by Sâm[3] were six children in pairs, male *and* female; the name of one *was* Damnak, of one Khûsrôv, *and of one* Mârgandak, *and* the name of *each* man and woman together was one. 37. And the name of one *besides* them was Dastân[4]; he was considered more eminent than they, and Sagânsîh[5] and the southern quarter were given to him; and Avar-shatrô[6] and the governorship were given by him to Avarnak. 38. Of Avar-shatrô this is said, that *it is* the district of Avarnak, *and* they offered blessings *to* Srôsh and Ar*d*avahi*s*t in succession; on this account is *their* possession of horses and possession of arms; and on account of firm religion, purity, and manifest joy, good estimation and extensive fame are greatly

[1] This name means 'the dawn;' perhaps it may be identified with Av. Usinemangh or Usenemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 113, 140, whose wife Fr*e*ni may possibly be the Farhank (or Frânak) of the text.

[2] So in TD, but it is probably only a variant of Nâmûn.

[3] The grandfather of Rustam (see § 41). In the Avesta he is usually called Sâma Keresâspa with the title Nairiman*a*u; while in the Shâhnâmah Sâm is son of Narîmân.

[4] Another name for Zâl, the father of Rustam, in the Shâhnâmah.

[5] The same as Sagastân.

[6] Or, perhaps, 'the upper district.'

among them. 39. To Damnak the governorship of Asûristân was given; sovereignty and arranging the law of sovereignty, wilfulness and the stubborn defects they would bring, were among them. 40. To Sparnak[1] the governorship of Spâhân[2] was given; to Khûsrôv the governorship of Râi[3] was given; to Mârgandak the kingdom, forest settlements, and mountain settlements of Padashkhvârgar were given; *where* they travel nomadically, and *there are* the forming of sheep-folds, prolificness, easy procreation, and continual triumph over enemies. 41. From Dastân proceeded Rû*d*astâm[4] and Hûzavârak[5].]

Chapter XXXII[6].

1. On the kindred of Pôrûshasp[7], *son* of Paitirâsp[8], *son* of Aurvadasp[9], *son* of Hâê*k*a*d*âsp[10], *son* of

[1] He would seem not to have been a son of Sâm, as he is not mentioned before. The reading of all these names is uncertain.

[2] The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

[3] Av. Ragha of Yas. XIX, 51, Vend. I, 60, whose ruins are near the modern Teherân.

[4] The usual Pahlavi form of Rustam.

[5] Or Aûzvârak; Rustam's brother is called Zavârah in the Shâhnâmah.

[6] This chapter, which is numbered XXXIII by previous translators, is found in all MSS., but in TD it forms a continuation of the preceding chapter, beginning with the name Pôrûshasp.

[7] Av. Pourushaspa of Yas. IX, 42, 43, Vend. XIX, 15, 22, 143, Âbân Yt. 18, &c.

[8] K20 has Pâz. Spitarsp, and M6 has Pâz. Pirtrasp (see note on Chap. XXXIII, 1). The reading in the text is doubtful.

[9] Omitted in K20 and TD.

[10] Av. Haê*k*a*d*aspa of Yas. XLV, 15, LII, 3.

*K*akhshnûs[1], *son* of Pâîtirasp, *son* of Hardarsn[2], *son* of Hardâr[3], *son* of Spîtâmân[4], *son* of Vîdast[5], *son* of Ayazem, *son* of Ragan[6], *son* of Dûrâsrôb[7], *son* of Mânûs*k*ihar[8]. 2. As Paîtirâsp *had* two sons, one Pôrûshasp *and* one Ârâsti[9], by Pôrûshasp was Zaratûst begotten for a sanctuary of good religion[10], *and* by Ârâsti was Mê*d*yôk-mâh[11] begotten. 3. Zaratûst, when he brought the religion, first celebrated

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[1] Windischmann suggests Av. *K*âkhshnôis (gen.) of Fravardîn Yt. 114.

[2] K20 has Pâz. Harsn and TD has Harakî*d*ârsnŏ.

[3] TD has Harâî*d*âr, or Arâî*d*âr.

[4] Or Spîtâm (as the last syllable is the patronymical suffix), Av. Spitâma, the usual patronymic of Zaratûst.

[5] May be read Vâdist in TD.

[6] Possibly the same person as Râk in Chap. XXXI, 31; but see XXXIII, 3.

[7] So in TD, but Pâz. Durâsrun in K20, M6.

[8] This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the Vagarkar*d*-i Dînîk (pp. 28, 29), as published in Bombay by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjânâ in 1848; and is extended back, through the generations mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 1, 2, 7, 14, to Gâyômar*d*, as follows: 'Pôrûshâspô *son* of Paîtîrâsp, *and* Arâspô son of Paîtîrâsp, Urva*n*dasp, Haê*k*a*d*asp, *K*îkhshnus, Paêtirasp, Hardrsn, Haridâr, Spîtâmânŏ, Vaêdist, Nayâzem, Ragisn, Dûrâsrôb, Mânûs*k*îhar sovereign of Iran, Mânus-khûrnar, Mânus-khûrnâk, Nêryôsang, Varzî*d*-dîn, Vîzak, Airyak, Aithritak, Ibitak, Frazîsak, Zisak, Frasizak, Izak, Aîrî*k*, Frê*d*ûn lord of Khvanîras, Pûr-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Nêvak-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Sôg-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Gêfar-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Vanô-i-fravisn the Âspîkân, Yim lord of the seven regions, Vîvanghâû, Ayangha*d*, Ananghad, Takhmôrup, Hôshâng the Pêsdâ*d*, lord of the seven regions, Fravâk, Sîyâmak, Mashyô whose wife was Mashyăk, Gâyôkmar*d* the first man, and father of all mankind in the material world.'

[9] Av. Ârâstaya of Fravardîn Yt. 95; TD has Ârâstih.

[10] The Pâzand words dargâ hidainis appear to be merely a misreading of Pahl. dargâs-i hûdînôîh.

[11] Av. Maidhyô-m*a*ungha of Yas. L, 19, Fravardîn Yt. 95, 106. He is said to have been Zaratûst's first disciple.

worship[1] *and* expounded in Aîrân-vêg, and Mêdyôkmâh received the religion from him. 4. The Môbads[2] of Pârs are all *traced* back to this race of Mânûskîhar.

5. Again, I say, by Zaratûst[3] *were* begotten three sons and three daughters[4]; one *son was* Isadvâstar[5], one Aûrvatad-nar[6], *and* one Khûrshêd-kîhar[7]; as Isadvâstar *was* chief of the priests he became the Môbad of Môbads, *and* passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; Aûrvatad-nar *was* an agriculturist, *and* the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim[8], which is below the earth; Khûrshêd-kîhar *was* a warrior, commander of the army of Pêshyôtanû, *son* of Vistâsp, *and* dwells in Kangdez[8]; *and* of the three daughters the name of one was Frên, of one Srît, *and* of one Pôrukîst[9]. 6. Aûrvatad-nar and Khûrshêd-kîhar were from a serving (kakar) wife[10], the rest were from a privileged (pâdakhshah) wife.

[1] Reading frâg yast; but it may be frâg gast, 'wandered forth.'

[2] The class of priests whose special duty is to perform all religious rites and ceremonies.

[3] This paragraph is quoted, with a few alterations, in the Vagarkard-i Dînîk, pp. 21–23.

[4] K20 omits the 'three daughters' here, by mistake.

[5] Av. Isad-vâstra of Yas. XXIII, 4, XXVI, 17, Fravardîn Yt. 98.

[6] Av. Urvatad-nara of Vend. II, 143, Fravardîn Yt. 98. K20 and M6 have Aûrvartad-nar, and TD has Aûrvâtad-nar.

[7] Av. Hvare-kithra of Fravardîn Yt. 98; TD has Khûr-kîhar.

[8] See Chap. XXIX, 5. Windischmann and Justi consider the clause about Pêshyôtanû as inserted by mistake, and it is omitted in the Vagarkard-i Dînîk (p. 21); it is found, however, in all MSS. of the Bundahis.

[9] These daughters are the Av. Freni, Thriti, and Pouru-kista of Fravardîn Yt. 139; the last is also mentioned in Yas. LII, 3.

[10] The following is a summary of the Persian descriptions of the five kinds of marriage, as given in the Rivâyats:—

A pâdshâh ('ruling, or privileged') wife is when a man marries,

7[1]. By Isa*d*vâstar was begotten a son *whose* name was Ururvi*g*a[2], and they call him Aran*g*-i Bîrâ*d*ân[3] ('fore-arm of brothers') for this reason, that, as they

with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds.

A yûkan or ayûk ('only child') wife is an only child, married with the parents' consent, and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a pâdshâh wife. She is entitled to one-third of her parents' property for giving up the child.

A satar ('adopted') wife is when a man over fifteen years of age dies childless and unmarried, and his relatives provide a maiden with a dowry, and marry her to another man; when half her children belong to the dead man, and half to the living, and she herself is the dead man's wife in the other world.

A *k*akar or *k*âkar ('serving') wife is a widow who marries again; if she had no children by her first husband she is acting as a satar wife, and half her children by her second husband belong to her first one; and she herself, in any case, belongs to her first husband in the other world.

A khûd-*s*arâî or khûd-sarâî ('self-disposing') wife is one who marries without her parents' consent; she inherits no property from her parents until her eldest son has given her as a pâdshâh wife to his father.

[1] Instead of this sentence the Va*g*arkar*d*-i Dînîk (pp. 21, 22) has the following, which appears to rest upon a misinterpretation of the text:—

'And Zaratû*s*t the righteous had three wives; all three were in the lifetime of Zaratû*s*t, and all three wives were living throughout the lifetime of Zaratû*s*t; the name of one was Hvôv, of the second Urvi*g*, of the third Arni*g*-baredâ. And from Urvi*g*, who was a privileged wife, four children were born; one was the son Isa*d*-vâstar, and the three daughters, namely, Frên, Srîtak, and Pôru*k*ist; these four were from Urvi*g*. And from the wife Arni*g*-baredâ two sons were born, one Aûrvart-nar, and the second Khûrshê*d*-*k*îhar; and Arni*g*-baredâ was a serving wife, and the name of the former husband of Arni*g*-baredâ was Mitrô-ayâr. And from Hvôv, who was a privileged wife, *were* three sons, namely, Hûshê*d*ar, Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, and Sôshâns, as it says,' &c. (as in § 8).

[2] TD has Pahl. Aûrvarvî*g*ak or Khûrûrûpak.

[3] So in TD.

were from a serving wife, *she* then delivered them over to Isa*d*vâstar through adoption. 8. This, too, *one* knows, that three sons of Zaratû*s*t, namely, Hûshê*d*ar, Hûshê*d*ar-mâh [1], and Sôshyans [2], were from Hvôv [3]; as it says, that Zaratû*s*t went near unto Hvôv three times, *and* each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang [4] received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered *it* with care to the angel Anâhî*d* [5], *and* in time will blend *it* with a mother. 9. Nine thousand, nine hundred, and ninety-nine, and nine myriads [6] of the guardian spirits of the righteous are intrusted with *its* protection, so that the demons may not injure *it* [7].

10. The name of the mother of Zaratû*s*t was Dughdâ [8], *and* the name of the father of the mother of Zaratû*s*t was Frahimravâ [9].

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[1] Av. Ukhshya*d*-creta and Ukhshya*d*-nemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 128.

[2] Av. Saoshyãs of Vend. XIX, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 129, &c. See Chaps. XI, 6, XXIX, 6, XXX, 3, 4, 7, 17, 25, 27.

[3] Av. Hvôvi of Fravardîn Yt. 139, Dîn Yt. 15; the Pahlavi form of the name, as given once in TD, is Hûvâôbŏ.

[4] See Chap. XV, 1.

[5] Av. anâhita of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.; a female personification of 'unsullied' water, known generally by the epithet ardvî sûra (the Arêdvivsûr of Chap. XIII), and whose name is also applied to the planet Venus (see Chap. V, 1).

[6] So in M6; other MSS. have '9,999 myriads,' but see Fravardîn Yt. 62.

[7] This last phrase, about the demons, is omitted in TD and the Vagarkar*d*-i Dînîk.

[8] The Avesta word for 'daughter.'

[9] TD has Pâz. Fereâhimruvânâ.

[CHAPTER XXXIII[1].

0. The family of the Môbads ('priests').

1. Bahak[2] *was* son of Hûbakht, *son* of Âtarô-bôndak, *son* of Mâhda*d*, *son* of Mê*d*yôk-mâh, *son* of Frâh-vakhsh-vindâ*d*[3], *son* of Mê*d*yôk-mâh, *son* of Kâ*d*[4], *son* of Mê*d*yôk-mâh, *son* of Ârâstîh, *son* of Paîtirâsp[5]. 2. As Bahak was Môbad of Môbads (high-priest) unto Shâhpûhar[6], son of Aûharmazd, *so* Kâ*d* was the great preceptor (farmâ*d*âr) unto Dârâî[7].

3. Âtarô-pâ*d*[8] *was son* of Mâraspend, *son* of Dâ*d*-ar*d*â, *son* of Dâ*d*îrâ*d*, *son* of Hûdînô, *son* of Âtarô-dâ*d*, *son* of Mânû*s*kîhar, *son* of Vohûman-*k*îhar, *son* of Fryânô[9], *son* of Bâhak[10], *son* of Frê*d*ûn, *son* of Fra-

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[1] This chapter is found only in TD, where it forms a continuation of the preceding, and affords a means (see §§ 10, 11) for determining the age of the recension of the text contained in that MS. As nearly all the names are written in Pahlavi letters, the pronunciation of many of them is merely a matter of guess.

[2] Here written Bôhak, but it is Bahak or Bâk in § 2; compare Bâhak in § 3, and Av. B*a*ungha of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

[3] Compare Av. Frashâvakhsha of Fravardîn Yt. 109.

[4] Compare Av. Kâta of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

[5] See Chap. XXXII, 2, for the last three generations; TD has Pîrtarâsp here, like the variant of M6 in Chap. XXXII, 1.

[6] The Sasanian king Shâpûr II, who reigned A.D. 309–379.

[7] According to the chronology of the Bundahi*s* (Chap. XXXIV, 8, 9), Dârâî lived only some four centuries before Shâpûr II, for which period only seven generations of priests are here provided. This period, moreover, is certainly about three centuries less than the truth.

[8] This priest was prime minister of Shâpûr II.

[9] Compare Av. Fryâna of Yas. XLV, 12.

[10] This name is repeated in TD, probably by mistake (compare Bahak in §§ 1, 2).

shâîtar[1], *son* of Pôrushasp, *son* of Vînâsp, *son* of Nivar, *son* of Vakhsh, *son* of Vahidhrôs, *son* of Fra*s*t, *son* of Gâk[2], *son* of Vakhsh, *son* of Fryân, *son* of Ra*g*an, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar[3].

4. Mitrô-varâ*z* *was* *son* of Nîgâs-afzû*d*-dâk, *son* of Shîrtashôsp, *son* of Par*s*tva, *son* of Urva*d*-gâ, *son* of Tâham, *son* of Zarîr, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânû*s*[4]. 5. Dûrnâmîk *was* *son* of Zâgh, *son* of Ma*s*vâk, *son* of Nô*d*ar[5], *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar.

6. Mitrô-akâvî*d* *is* *son* of Mar*d*ân-vêh[6], *son* of Afrôbag-vindâ*d*, *son* of Vindâ*d*-i-pê*d*âk, *son* of Vâê-bûkht[7], *son* of Bahak, *son* of Vâê-bûkht. 7. The mother from whom I was born is Hûmâî, daughter of Freh-mâh, who also *was* the righteous daughter[8]

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[1] This is probably a semi-Huzvâri*s* form of Frashô*s*tar.

[2] Perhaps this name should be read along with the next one, so as to give the single Pâzand name *S*kina*s* or *S*kiva*s*.

[3] See Chap. XXXII, 1, for the last three generations. According to this genealogy Âtarôpâ*d*-i Mâraspendân was the twenty-third in descent from Mânû*sk*îhar, whereas his contemporary, Bahak (§ 1), was twenty-second in descent from the same.

[4] No doubt Mânû*sk*îhar is meant; if not, we must read Mânû*s*-dûrnâmîk in connection with § 5.

[5] Here written Nî*d*ar, but see Chaps. XXIX, 6, XXXI, 13.

[6] Here written Mar*d*-vêh, but see § 8.

[7] Here written Aê-vûkht, but see § 8; it may be Vîs-bûkht, or Vê*s*-bûkht.

[8] The text is amî*d*ar mûna*s* li a*g*a*s* zerkhûn*d* Hûmôî dûkht-i Freh-mâh-i*k* aharôb vûkht (dûkht?). We might perhaps read 'Freh-mâh *son* of *K*ahârôb-bûkht,' but it seems more probable that §§ 7, 8 should be connected, and that the meaning intended is that Hûmâî was daughter of Freh-mâh (of a certain family) and of Pûyi*s*n-shâ*d* (of another family); she was also the mother of the editor of that recension of the Bundahi*s* which is contained in TD; but who was his father? The singularly unnecessary repetition of the genealogy of the two brothers, Mitrô-akâvî*d* and Pûyi*s*n-shâ*d*, in §§ 6, 8, leads to the suspicion that if the latter

of Mâh-ayâr *son* of Mâh-bôndak, *son* of Mâh-bûkht. 8. Pûyisn-shâ*d is son* of Mar*d*ân-vêh, *son* of Afrôbag-vindâ*d*, *son* of Vindâ*d*-i-pê*d*âk, *son* of Vâê-bûkht, *son* of Bahak, *son* of Vâê-bûkht.

9. All the other Môbads who have been renowned in the empire (khû*d*âyîh) *were* from the same family it is said, *and* were of this race of Mânûs-*k*îhar[1]. 10. Those Môbads, likewise, who now exist are all from the same family they assert, and I, too, they boast, whom they call[2] 'the administration of perfect rectitude' (Dâ*d*akîh-i Ashôvahistô)[3]. 11. Yûdân-Yim *son* of Vâhrâm-shâ*d*, *son* of Zaratûst, Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mâraspend, *son* of Zâ*d*-sparham[4].

were his mother's father, the former was probably his own father or grandfather. Unfortunately the text makes no clear statement on the subject, and § 10 affords further material for guessing otherwise at his name and connections.

[1] Compare Chap. XXXII, 4.

[2] Reading va lî*k* laband-i karîtûnd.

[3] This looks more like a complimentary title than a name, and if the editor of the TD recension of the Bundahi*s* were the son or grandson of Mitrô-akâvî*d* (§ 6) we have no means of ascertaining his name; but if he were not descended from Mitrô-akâvî*d* it is possible that §§ 10, 11 should be read together, and that he was the son of Yûdân-Yim. Now we know, from the heading and colophon of the ninety-two questions and answers on religious subjects which are usually called the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, and from the colophons of other writings which usually accompany that work, that those answers were composed and certain epistles were written by Mânûs*k*îhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, who was high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881), and apparently a more important personage than his (probably younger) brother Zâ*d*-sparham, who is mentioned in § 11 as one of the priests contemporary with the editor of the TD recension. If this editor, therefore, were a son of Yûdân-Yim (which is a possible interpretation of the text) he was most probably this same Mânûs*k*îhar, author of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk (see the Introduction, § 4).

[4] The last name is very probably superfluous, Zâ*d*-sparham

Zâ*d*-sparham *son* of Yûdân-Yim [1], Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Hâmî*d* [2], Ashôvahi*s*t *son* of Freh-Srôsh, *and* the other Môbads have sprung from the same family.

12. This, too, it says, that 'in one winter I *will* locate (*g*âkînam) the religion of the Mazdayasnians, *which* came out into the other six regions.']

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having been written twice most likely by mistake. This Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mâraspend was probably the one mentioned in the following extract from the old Persian Rivâyat MS., No. 8 of the collection in the Indian Office Library at London (fol. 142 a):—

'The book Dînkar*d* which the dastûrs of the religion and the ancients have compiled, likewise the blessed Âdarbâd son of Mahrasfend, son of Asavahist of the people of the good religion, in the year three hundred of Yazdagard Shahryâr, collected some of the more essential mysteries of the religion as instruction, and of these he formed this book.' That is, he was the last editor of the Dînkar*d*, which seems to have remained unrevised since his time, as the present copies have descended from the MS. preserved by his family and first copied in A.Y. 369.

[1] Zâ*d*-sparham was brother of the author of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk; he was high-priest at Sîrkân in the south, and evidently had access to the Bundahi*s*, of part of which he wrote a paraphrase (see Appendix). His name is usually written Zâ*d*-sparam.

[2] In the history of the Dînkar*d*, given at the end of its third book (see Introd. to Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, p. xxxiv), we are told as follows:—

'After that, the well-meaning Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Hêmî*d*, who was the leader of the people of the good religion, compiled, with the assistance of God, through inquiry, investigation, and much trouble, a new means of producing remembrance of the Mazdayasnian religion.' He did this, we are further told, by collecting all the decaying literature and perishing traditions into a work 'like the great original Dînkar*d*, of a thousand chapters' (mânâk-i zak rabâ bûn Dînô-kartô 1000-darakŏ). We thus learn from external sources that the group of contemporary priests, mentioned in the text, was actively employed (about A.D. 900) in an attempted revival of the religious literature of the Mazdayasnians, to which we owe either the revision or compilation of such works as the Dînkar*d*, Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, and Bundahi*s*.

CHAPTER XXXIV[1].

0. On the reckoning of the years[2].

1. Time was *for* twelve thousand years; *and* it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual *state*, where the creatures were unthinking, unmoving, *and* intangible[3]; *and* three thousand years[4] was the duration of Gâyômar*d*, with the ox, in the world. 2. As *this* was six thousand years the series of millennium reigns[5] of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo had elapsed, because it was six thousand years when the millennium reign came to Libra, the adversary rushed in, and Gâyômar*d* lived thirty years in tribulation[6]. 3. After the thirty years[7] Mâshya *and* Mâshyôî grew up; it was fifty years while they were not wife *and* husband[8], *and* they were ninety-three years together *as* wife *and* husband till the *time* when Hôshyang[9] came.

4. Hôshyang *was* forty years[10], Takhmôrup[11] thirty years, Yim till *his* glory[12] departed six hundred and

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[1] This chapter is found in all the MSS.

[2] TD adds 'of the Arabs (Tâzîkân).'

[3] See Chap. I, 8. [4] See Chaps. I, 22, III, 1.

[5] This system of a millennium reign for each constellation of the zodiac can hardly have any connection with the precession of the equinoxes, as the equinoxes travel backwards through the zodiac, whereas these millennium reigns travel forwards.

[6] See Chap. III, 21–23.

[7] That is, forty years after the thirty (see Chap. XV, 2).

[8] See Chap. XV, 19, 20. [9] See Chaps. XV, 28, XXXI, 1.

[10] K20 omits, by mistake, from 'together' in § 3 to this point.

[11] See Chap. XXXI, 2.

[12] So in K20, but M6 has nismô, 'soul, reason,' as in Chap. XXIII, 1; the word 'glory' would refer to the supposed divine glory of the Iranian monarchs (see Chap. XXXI, 32).

sixteen years and six months, *and* after that he was a hundred years in concealment. 5. Then the millennium[1] reign came to Scorpio, and Dahâk[2] ruled a thousand years. 6. After the millennium reign came to Sagittarius, Frê*d*ûn[3] *reigned* five hundred years; in the same five hundred years of Frê*d*ûn *were* the twelve years of Aîrî*k*; Mânûs*k*îhar[4] *was* a hundred and twenty years, *and* in the same reign of Mânûs*k*îhar, when he was in the mountain fastness (dûshkhvâr-gar)[5], *were* the twelve years of Frâsîyâ*v*; Zôb[6] the Tûhmâspian *was* five years.

7. Kaî-Kabâ*d*[7] *was* fifteen years; Kaî-Kâûs, till he went to the sky, seventy-five years, *and* seventy-five years after that, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôv sixty years; Kaî-Lôrâsp[8] a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years[9], altogether a hundred and twenty years.

8. Vohûman[10] *son* of Spend-dâ*d* a hundred and

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[1] The seventh millennium, ruled by Libra, is computed by Windischmann as follows: $30 + 40\frac{1}{2} + 50 + 93 + 40 + 30 + 616\frac{1}{2} + 100 = 1000$. The eighth millennium, ruled by Scorpio, is the thousand years of Dahâk.

[2] See Chap. XXXI, 6.

[3] See Chap. XXXI, 7–11.

[4] See Chap. XXXI, 12–14.

[5] See Chap. XXXI, 21.

[6] Written Aûzôbô in Chap. XXXI, 23, 24.

[7] Usually written Kaî-Kavâ*d* in Pahlavi (see Chap. XXXI, 24, 25).

[8] Also written Kaî-Lôharâsp (see Chap. XXXI, 28, 29).

[9] This is the end of the ninth millennium, ruled by Sagittarius, which is computed by Windischmann as follows: $500 + 120 + 5 + 15 + 150 + 60 + 120 + 30 = 1000$.

[10] See Chap. XXXI, 29, 30, where he is said to have been also called Artakhshatar, which seems to identify him with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that Hûmâî may perhaps be identified with Parysatis, and Dârâî *K*îhar-âzâ*d*ân with Artaxerxes Ochus, as Dârâî Dârâyân must be

twelve years; Hûmâî, who *was* daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâî son of *K*îhar-âz*â*d[1], that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâî son of Dârâî fourteen years; Alexander the Rûman[2] fourteen years.

9. The A*s*kânians bore the title in an uninterrupted (a-arûbâk) sovereignty two hundred and eighty-four years[3], Ardashîr son of Pâpak *and* the number of the Sâsânians four hundred and sixty years[4], *and* then it went to the Arabs.

Darius Codomannus, while the reign of Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes.

[1] A surname of Hûmâî.

[2] Sikandar-i Arûmâk, that is, Alexander the Roman (of the eastern or Greek empire), as Pahlavi writers assume.

[3] This period is nearly two centuries too short.

[4] The actual period of Sasanian rule was 425 years (A. D. 226–651). According to the figures given in the text, the tenth millennium, ruled by Capricornus, must have terminated in the fourth year of the last king, Yazdakar*d*. This agrees substantially with the Bahman Ya*s*t, which makes the millennium of Zaratû*s*t expire some time after the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân; probably in the time of Khûsrô Parvîz, or some forty years earlier than the fourth year of Yazdakar*d*. According to the text we must now be near the end of the first quarter of the twelfth and last millennium.

APPENDIX TO THE BUNDAHIS.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM,

BROTHER OF THE DASTÛR OF

PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,

A. D. 881.

PART I, CHAPTERS I–XI.

(PARAPHRASE OF BUNDAHIS, I–XVII.)

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Ya*s*t, as translated in this volume. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khar*d*, ed. West. Pers. for Persian. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The MS. mentioned in the notes is K35 (written probably A.D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

SELECTIONS

OF

ZÂ*D*-SPARAM.

THEY call these memoranda *and* writings the Selections (*k*î*d*akîhâ) of Zâ*d*-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim.

CHAPTER I.

0. In propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd and all the angels—who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (yazdân)—*are* the sayings of Herbad Zâ*d*-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim, who is of the south[1], about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light *was* above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. 2. Aûharmazd *was* in the light, and Aharman in the darkness[2]; Aûharmazd *was* aware of the existence of Aharman and of *his* coming for strife; Aharman was not aware of the existence of light *and* of Aûharmazd[3]. 3. It happened to Aharman, in the gloom *and* darkness, *that*

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[1] Zâ*d*-sparam appears to have been dastûr of Sîrkân, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, and one of the most southern districts in Persia (see Ouseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 138, 139, 141, 143–145).

[2] See Bund. I, 2–4.

[3] Or 'of the light of Aûharmazd' (compare Bund. I, 8, 9).

he was walking humbly (frô-tanû) on the borders, *and* meditating other *things* he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him; and because of *its* antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. 4. And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others[1], Aûharmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Aharman away from His territory; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

5. For protection from the fiend (drû*g*) the spirits rushed in, the spirits of the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, mankind, and fire He *had* appointed, and they maintained it (the protection) three thousand years. 6. Aharman, also, ever collected means in the gloom; and at the end of the three thousand years he came back to the boundary, blustered (patîstâ*d*), and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* smite thee, I *will* smite the creatures which thou thinkest *have* produced fame for thee—thee who art the beneficent spirit—I will destroy everything about them.'

7. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend[2]!'

8. And, again, Aharman retorted thus: 'I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself[3].'

9. Aûharmazd perceived, through the spirit of wisdom, thus: 'Even the blustering of Aharman is capable of performance, if I do not allow disunion

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[1] Reading pavan *k*atârânŏ ham-tanû, but the phrase is somewhat doubtful, and rather inconsistent with Bund. I, 10.

[2] Bund. I, 16. [3] Bund. I, 14.

(lâ barînînam) during a period of struggle.' 10. And he demanded of him a period for friendship [1], for it was seen by him that Aharman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, *and* the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship *and* just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. 11. Aharman relied upon *it*, and Aûharmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Aharman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; *and* from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises [2].

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahûnavar *formula* [3]; and in his Ahûnavar these [4] kinds of benefit were shown:— 13. The first is that, of all things, that is proper which is something declared *as* the will of Aûharmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Aûharmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Aûharmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature. 14. The second is this, that whoever shall do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, his reward *and* recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, the punishment at the bridge [5] owing thereto

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[1] Bund. I, 17, 18.

[2] Or 'the poison of the serpent, which is much diffused, becomes endless strife.'

[3] Bund. I, 21.

[4] The word ân, 'those,' however, is probably a miswriting of the cipher for 'three.'

[5] The *K*înva*d* or *K*învar bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

is his own; which is shown from this[1] *formula; and* the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven *and* hell are from it. 15. Thirdly, *it is* shown that the sovereignty of Aûharmazd increases that which is for the poor, *and* adversity is removed; by which *it* is shown that there are treasures for the needy *one*, *and* treasures are to be *his* friends; as the intelligent creations *are* to the unintelligent, so also *are* the treasures of a wealthy *person* to a needy *one*, treasures liberally given which are his own. 16. And the creatures of the trained hand of Aûharmazd are contending *and* angry (âr*d*îk), one with the other, as the renovation *of the universe* must occur through these three things. 17. That is, first, true religiousness in oneself, *and* reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (nav-barhâm), that Aûharmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent; *and* Aharman is all vileness without goodness. 18. Secondly, hope of the reward *and* recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge *and* the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, *and* abstaining from sin. 19. Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, *their* collective warfare; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation[2].

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[1] The MS. has hûman, 'well-meditating,' instead of denman, 'this;' but the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

[2] This commentary on the Ahûnavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by Zâ*d*-sparam, and is much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows:—

20. By this formula he (Aharman) was confounded, *and* he fell back to the gloom[1]; *and* Aûharmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world; first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind[2]. 21. Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on *their* navels; *and* the sun, moon, *and* stars stood still. 23. In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Aûharmazd observed thus: 'What advantage is there from the creation of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving *or* mischievous?' 24.

'As is the will of the living spirit (as is the will of Aûharmazd) so should be the pastor (so excellent should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as excellent as the will of Aûharmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which among living spirits is the work of Aûharmazd (that is, they would do that which Aûharmazd requires); there are *some* who say it is thus: Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense which they will give to good thought, they would give also unto him); Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Zaratûst said that by the gift of good thought, when among living spirits, they comprehend the doing of deeds. The sovereignty is for Aûharmazd (that is, the sovereignty which is his, Aûharmazd has kept with advantage) who gives necessaries [or comfort, or clothing] to the poor (that is, they would make intercession for them).'

Additional phrases are sometimes inserted, and some words altered, but the above is the usual form of this commentary.

[1] Bund. I, 22. [2] Bund. I, 28.

And in aid of the *celestial* sphere he produced the creature Time (zôrvân)[1]; and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Aûharmazd moving, distinct from the motion of Aharman's creatures, for the shedders of perfume (bôî-dâ*d*ân) were standing one opposite to the other while emitting *it*. 25. And, observantly of the end, he brought forward to Aharman a means out of himself, the property of darkness, with which the extreme limits (vîrûnakŏ) of Time *were* connected by him, an envelope (pôstô) of the black-pated and ash-coloured kind. 26. And in bringing it forward he spoke thus: 'Through their weapons the co-operation of the serpent (a*z*ŏ) dies away, *and* this *which* is thine, indeed thy own daughter, *dies* through religion; and if at the end of nine thousand years, as it is said *and* written, is a time of upheaval (madam kar*d*anŏ), *she is* upheaved, not ended.'

27. At the same time Aharman came from accompanying Time out to the front, out to the star station; the connection of the sky with the star station *was* open, which showed, since it hung down into empty space, the strong communication of the lights and glooms, the place of strife in which is the pursuit of both. 28. And having darkness with himself he brought it into the sky, *and* left the sky so to gloom that the internal deficiency in the sky extends as much as one-third[2] over the star station.

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[1] This is the Av. zrvâna akarana, 'boundless time or antiquity,' of Vend. XIX, 33, 44. He is a personification of duration and age, and is here distinctly stated to be a creature of Aûharmazd. This throws some doubt upon the statements of Armenian writers, who assert that the two spirits sprang from Zrvâna.

[2] Compare Bund. III, 11.

Chapter II.

1. On the coming in of Aharman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that *in* the month Fravar*d*în *and* the day Aûharmazd, at noon[1], he came forth to the frontier of the sky. 2. The sky sees *him* and, on account of *his* nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; *and* Aharman came on, scorching *and* burning into it. 3. Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth[2], and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. 4. The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the height of which *was* several feet, and *it was* without branches and without bark, juicy *and* sweet; and to keep the strength of all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the middle of the earth; and at the self-same time *it became* quite withered[3].

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created[4], as it stood as high as Gâyômar*d* on the

[1] Bund. III, 12. [2] Bund. III, 13.

[3] Bund. III, 14, 16.

[4] The primeval ox, or first-created representative of animals, as Gâyômar*d* was of mankind; from which two representatives all mankind and animals are said to have been afterwards developed. There seems to have been some doubt as to the sex of this mythological ox; here it is distinctly stated to have been a female, but from Bund. X, 1, 2, XIV, 3, it would appear to have been a male, and this seems to be admitted by Dâ*d*-sparam himself, in Chap. IX, 7.

bank of the water of Dâîtih[1] *in* the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gâyômar*d* being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Dâîtih by the same measure; and it was a female, white *and* brilliant as the moon. 7. As the adversary came upon *it* Aûharmazd gave *it* a narcotic, which is also called 'bang,' to eat, and to rub the 'bang' before the eye[2], so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, *and* fell upon its right breast[3] trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gâyômar*d*, who was then about one-third the height of Zaratûs*t*, *and* was brilliant as the sun, Aûharmazd forms, from the sweat[4] on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall, and sends it on to Gâyômar*d*; and he also brings his sweat[5] on to him as long as one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[6] is *being* recited. 9. When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw the world when it was dark as night[7]; on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (vazak), and noxious creatures of many kinds; *and* so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the

[1] The Dâîtîk river (see Bund. XX, 13).

[2] This is a misunderstanding of the corresponding phrase in Bund. III, 18. The narcotic here mentioned is usually prepared from the hemp plant, and is well known in India and the neighbouring countries.

[3] See Bund. IV, 1.

[4] The word which, as it stands in the MS., looks like hômanâe, is here taken as a transposition of min khvâe, in accordance with Bund. III, 19; but it may be a variant of anumâe, 'embryo,' in which case the translation should be, 'forms an embryo into the shape of a man of fifteen years.'

[5] Or it may be 'sleep,' both here and in § 9.

[6] See Bund. I, 21.

[7] Bund. III, 20.

reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle's point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. 10. *There were* the coming of a planetary *star* into planetary conjunction, and the moon and planets at sixes and sevens[1]; many dark forms with the face and curls of A*z*-i Dahâk suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; *and* he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Aharman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it[2].

Chapter III.

1. And Gô*s*ûrvan, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamour of a cry to Aûharmazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together[3]. 2. And Aûharmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gâyômar*d*, went from the earth up to the sky. 3. And Gô*s*ûrvan continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: 'With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?'

Chapter IV.

1. This was the highest predominance of Aharman, for he came on, with all the strength which he

[1] Literally, 'in fours and fives.'

[2] Bund. III, 24.

[3] Bund. IV, 2.

had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky[1], in a downward direction, into a confined *and* captive state, so that it was all dark *and* apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, *his* enemy among the struggles for creation. 2. And this is opposing the renovation *of the universe*, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he *has* come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep[2] of the renovation, *as on* that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Aharman, *crying* thus: 'My victory *has* come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gâyômar*d* is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving[3] are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one *has* remained for me to take *and* pervert in combat except Aûharmazd, and of the earth *there* is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?'

4. And he sends Astô-vîdâ*d*[4] upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (aûzvârânŏ) *and* diseases

[1] Compare Bund. III, 11. The involved style of Zâ*d*-sparam is particularly conspicuous in this chapter.

[2] The word seems to be khvâpi*s*nŏ.

[3] Meaning probably the zodiacal signs, but the word is doubtful, being spelt var*di*snânŏ instead of var*dis*nânŏ. A very small alteration would change it into varôî*s*nânŏ, 'believers,' but there were no earthly believers at the time alluded to.

[4] See Bund. III, 21, and XXVIII, 35.

which are his own, sicknesses of various kinds, so that they may make him ill *and* cause death. 5. Gâyômar*d* was not secured by them, and the reason was because it was a decree of appointing Time (zôrvânŏ) in the beginning of the coming in of Aharman, that: 'Up to thirty winters I appoint Gâyômar*d* unto brilliance and preservation of life.' 6. And his manifestation in the *celestial* sphere was through the forgiveness of criminals *and* instigators of confusion by *his* good works, and for that reason no opportunity was obtained by them during the extent of thirty years.

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (Aûharmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of *its* being within the control (band) of the luminaries[1]; and Saturn (Kêvân) was death towards the creatures. 8. Both were in their supremacy (bâlîst)[2] at the beginning of the crea-

[1] These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bund. II, 0–4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being employed by Aharman for that purpose (see Mkh. VIII, 17–21, XII, 7–10, XXIV, 8, XXXVIII, 5).

[2] The most obvious meaning of bâlîst is 'greatest altitude,' and this is quite applicable to Jupiter when it attains its highest northern declination on entering Cancer, but it is not applicable to Saturn in Libra, when it has only its mean altitude. At the vernal equinox, however, which was the time of the beginning mentioned in the text, when Aharman invaded the creation (see Chap. II, 1), Libra is in opposition to the sun, and Saturn in Libra would be at its nearest approach to the earth, and would, therefore, attain its maximum brightness; while Jupiter in Cancer would be at its greatest altitude and shining with four-fifths of its maximum brightness. Both planets, therefore, were near their most conspicuous position (which would seem to be the meaning of bâlîst

tures, as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called *Gîvân* ('living')[1], for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it; *and* Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness *became* more evident and more dominant thereby. 9. And it was when both shall not be supreme *that* Gâyômar*d* was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years[2] Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, *to* Libra. 10. And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricornus[3], on account of whose own lowness[4], and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, Gâyômar*d* suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Aharman can bring upon the creatures of Aûharmazd.

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here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.

[1] This reading suits the context best, but the name can also be read Snahan, and in many other ways. It may possibly be the tenth lunar mansion, whose name is read Nahn in Bund. II, 3, by Pâzand writers, and which corresponds to the latter part of Cancer.

[2] Saturn revolves round the sun in about 29 years and 167 days, so it cannot return into opposition to the sun (or to its maximum brightness), at or near the vernal equinox, in less than thirty years.

[3] That is, while Saturn performs one revolution round the sun, Jupiter performs two and a half, which is very nearly correct, as Jupiter revolves round the sun in about 11 years and 315 days. Therefore, when the supposed deadly influence of Saturn has returned to its maximum, the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter is at its minimum, owing to the small altitude of Capricornus, and no longer counterbalances the destructive power of Saturn.

[4] There seems to be no other reasonable translation, but the MS. has lâ instead of râî, and ni*s*kasp instead of ni*s*î*v*.

Chapter V.

1. When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Aûharmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky[1] he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armour[2]; and the sky in its fortress[3] spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Aharman, thus: 'Now when thou shalt have come in I *will* not let thee back;' *and* it obstructed *him* until Aûharmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, *which* is called 'righteous understanding' (ashôk âkâsîh). 2. And he arranged the guardian spirits[4] of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries *to* an enemy descended from the inside.

3. Immediately, Aharman endeavours that he may go back to his own complete darkness, but he found no passage; and he recapitulated, with seeming misgiving, his fears of the worthiness which is to arise at the appearance of the renovation *of the universe at* the end of the nine thousand years.

4. As it is said in the Gâthas, thus[5]: 'So also

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[1] See Chap. III, 2. [2] Compare Bund. VI, 2.

[3] Or 'zodiacal signs,' for bûrgŏ means both.

[4] Bund. VI, 3, 4.

[5] This quotation from the Gâthas is from the Pahlavi Yas. XXX, 4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastûr Jâm-

both those spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation—that is, both spirits have come to the body of Gâyômar*d*. Whatever is in life *is so* through this purpose of Aûharmazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness *is so* through this purpose[1] of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked *their* destruction is fully seen, *and* so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of Aûharmazd.'

5. And this was the first contest[2], *that of* the sky with Aharman.

Chapter VI.

1. And as he (Aharman) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, *on* the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tî*s*tar; the equally watery *one*, that is called Avrak[3], gave forth a cloud *and* went down in the day; that is

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âspji's old MS. of the Yasna in Bombay, very nearly as closely as Spiegel's edition does. It appears, therefore, that Dâ*d*-sparam used the same Pahlavi translation of the Yasna as the Parsis do at the present day.

[1] The MS. here omits the words 'through this purpose,' by mistake.

[2] The word âr*d*îk, which Dâ*d*-sparam uses instead of the kharah, 'conflict,' of Bund. V, 6, VI, 1, &c., may be connected with Pers. ârd, 'anger.'

[3] The ninth lunar mansion (see Bund. II, 3, VII, 1).

declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. 2. Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation *of the zodiac* for this reason, because the month Tîr is the fourth month of the year[1].

3. And as Tîstar begged for assistance, Vohûman and Hôm are therefore co-operating with him in command, Bûrg of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. 4. He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, *and* the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. 5. The drops became each separately *like* a great bowl in which water is drawn; and as to that on *which* they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles[2], who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

6. Afterwards, the wind spirit, in the form of a man, became manifest on the earth; radiant *and* tall he had a kind of wooden boot (mûkvŏ-aê-i dârînô) on *his* feet; *and* as when the life shall stir the body, the body is advancing with like vigour, *so* that spirit of the wind stirs forth the inner nature of the atmospheric wind, the wind pertaining to the whole earth is forth, and the water in its grasp is flung out from it to the sides of the earth, and its wide-formed ocean arose therefrom.

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth[3],

[1] Bund. VII, 2–6 is paraphrased in §§ 2–6.

[2] Reading neksûnd barâ min khasandakânŏ instead of the MS. barâ nasûnd min khasandakânŏ.

[3] Compare Bund. XIII, 1, 2.

and among its contents are a thousand sources *and* fountains, such as are called lakes (var); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes *and* are poured forth into it. 8. And the size of some of all the lakes and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, *who* continually compasses *and* canters around *them*, will attain in forty days, which is 1900[1] long leagues (parasang-i akarîk), each league *being* at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died[2], and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tîstar went down into the ocean; and Apâôsh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and *at* the alarm of the first contest Tîstar was in terror (par*d*). 10. And he applied unto Aûharmazd, *who* brought such power unto Tîstar *as* arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name[3], and they call forth such power unto Tîstar as *that of* ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. 11. And without alarm he drove out Apâôsh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

12. And with a cup and measuring bowl, which possessed the diligence even of a guardian spirit (fravâhar), he seized many more handfuls of water,

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[1] Bund. XIII, 2 has 1700, but as neither number is a multiple of forty in round numbers, it is probable that both are wrong, and that we ought to read 1600.

[2] Bund. VII, 7–14 is paraphrased in §§ 9–14.

[3] The Av. aokhtô-nâmana yasna of Tîstar Yt. 11, 23, 24.

and made *it* rain down[1] much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great and small. 13. And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement *and* beating which Tîstar and the fire Vâzi*s*t *inflicted* on the opposition of Apâôsh; the all-deciding (vispô-vi*k*îr) fire Vâzi*s*t struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (kêbarânŏ).

14. Ten days *and* nights there was rain, and its darting[2] *was* the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove *it* to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Pûîtîk, the Kamîrî*d*, and the Gêhân-bûn[3]. 15. Of these the Pûîtîk itself is salt water, in which is a flow *and* ebb[4]; and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up *and* going down, that of the moon is manifested. 16. The wide-formed *ocean* stands forth on the south side as to (pavan) Albûr*z*[5], and the Pûîtîk stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (var) of Satavês, whose connection is with Satavês, which is the southern quarter. 17. In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow *and* ebb; of the

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[1] Or perhaps 'made the cloud rain,' if madam vârânînî*d* stands for a*v*ar vârânînî*d*.

[2] Reading partâ*v* instead of the MS. patûtâ*v*, 'powerful fury.'

[3] This is a variant of the *S*ahî-bûn or *G*âhî-bûn of Bund. XIII, 7, 15; the other two names differ but little from those given in Bund. XIII. In the MS. Pûîtîk occurs once, and Puîtîk twice.

[4] Compare §§ 15–18 with Bund. XIII, 8–14.

[5] Compare Bund. XIII, 1.

curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, *and* have an abode in Satavês; one is the up-drag *and* one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, *and* through the down-drag occurs the ebb[1]. 18. And Satavês itself is a gulf (var) and side *arm* of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity *and* turbidness which *come* from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind[2], while that which is clear through purity goes into the Arêdvisûr sources of the wide-formed ocean. 19. Besides these four[3] there are the small seas[4].

20. And, afterwards, *there* were made to flow from Albûrz, out of its northern border, two rivers[5], which *were* the Arvand[6]—that is, the Diglît, *and* the flow

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[1] This is even a more mechanical theory of the tides than that detailed in Bund. XIII, 13. Whether the 'curving tails' (gagak dunbak) are the 'horns' of the crescent moon is uncertain.

[2] By an accidental transposition of letters the MS. has âtarô, 'fire,' instead of vâtô, 'wind.'

[3] The ocean and three principal seas.

[4] Said to be twenty-three in number in Bund. XIII, 6.

[5] Bund. VII, 15, 16, XX, 1.

[6] This appears to be a later identification of the Arag, Arang, or Arêng river of Bund. XX with the Tigris, under its name Arvand, which is also found in the Bahman Yast (III, 21, 38) and the Âfrîn of the Seven Ameshâspends (§ 9). The Bundahis (XX, 8) seems to connect the Arag (Araxes?) with the Oxus and Nile, and describes the Diglat or Tigris as a distinct river (Bund. XX, 12). This difference is one of the indications of the Bundahis having been so old a book in the time of Zâd-sparam that he sometimes misunderstood its meaning, which could hardly have been the case if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. As the Persian empire has several times included part of Egypt, the Nile must have then been well known to the Persians as the great western river of their world. The last time they had possession of part of Egypt was, for about half a century, in the reigns of Khusrô

of that river *was* to those of the setting *sun* (val frô*d*-yehevun*d*ânŏ)—*and* the Vêh[1] was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. 21. After them eighteen[2] great rivers came out from the same Albûr*z*; *and* these twenty rivers, whose source is in Albûr*z*, go down into the earth, and arrive in Khvanîras.

22. Afterwards, two fountains of the sea are opened out for the earth[3], which are called the *K*ê*k*ast[4]—a lake which has no cold wind, *and* on whose shore rests the triumphant fire Gû*s*nasp[5]—and, secondly, the Sôvar[6] which casts on *its* shores all turbidness, and keeps its own salt lake clear *and* pure, for it is like the semblance of an eye which casts out to *its* edges every ache and every impurity; and on account of its depth it is not reached to the bottom, for it goes into the ocean; and in its vicinity rests the beneficial fire Bûr*z*în-Mitrô[7].

23. And this was the second contest, which was with the water.

Chapter VII.

1. And as he (Aharman) came thirdly to the earth, which arrayed the whole earth against him—

Nôshirvân, Aûharmazd IV, and Khusrô Parvîz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.

[1] See Bund. XX, 9.

[2] Bund. XX, 2, 7.

[3] Bund. VII, 14.

[4] Bund. XXII, 2.

[5] Written Gû*s*asp in Bund. XVII, 7, and Gû*s*nâsp in B. Yt. III, 30, 40, while the older form Vi*s*nâsp occurs in B. Yt. III, 10.

[6] The Sôvbar of Bund. VII, 14, XII, 24, XXII, 3.

[7] Bund. XVII, 8.

since *there was* an animation of the earth through the shattering — Albûrz grew up[1], which is the boundary of the earth, *and* the other[2] mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number[3]. 2. And by them the earth *was* bound together and arranged, and on them *was* the sprouting *and* growth of plants, wherefrom *was* the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth—especially as antagonism came on the earth, *and* settled on *it* with injury—*and* it came up over the earth just like a tree *whose* branch *has* grown at the top, and its root at the bottom. 4. The root of the mountains is passed on *from* one to the other, *and* is arranged in connection *with them*, and through it is produced the path *and* passage of water *from* below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all *parts* of the body to the heart, the latent vigour which they possess. 5. And, moreover, in six hundred years[4], at first, all the mountains apart from Albûrz were completed. 6. Albûrz was growing during eight hundred years[5]; in two hundred years it grew up to

[1] Bund. VIII, 1–4 is paraphrased in §§ 1–4.

[2] The MS. has âvânŏ, 'waters,' instead of avârîk, 'other,' which alters the meaning into, 'which is the boundary of the waters of the earth, *and* the mountains,' &c.

[3] Bund. XII, 2.

[4] Bund. VIII, 5, and XII, 1, have 'eighteen years.' As both numbers are written in ciphers it would be easy for either to be corrupted into the other.

[5] Bund. XII, 1.

the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, *and* two hundred years up to the sky. 7. After Albûrz the Aparsên mountain[1] is the greatest, as it is also called the Avar-rôyisn[2] ('up-growth') mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastân and its end unto Pârs *and* to *K*înîstân[3].

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation[4], *and* the wind's sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions[5] a little above *it*, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind *in* various places. 9. One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in *each of* the six portions around is as much as Sagastân; moreover, as much as Sagastân is the measure *of what* is called a kêshvar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kêsh ('furrow'). 10. The middle *one* is Khvanîras, of which Pârs is the centre, and those six regions are like a coronet (a*v*îsar) *around it.* 11. One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, *and* a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, *and* imperceptible.

12. This is the third contest, about the earth.

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[1] The Apârsên of Bund. XII, 9.

[2] Written Apû-rôyisn, as if it were an Arabic hybrid meaning 'father of growth.'

[3] Bund. XII, 9, XXIV, 28, have Khûgîstân instead of *K*înîstân; the latter appears to be an old name of the territory of Samarkand (see note to Bund. XII, 13).

[4] Literally, 'creature.'

[5] Bund. XI, 2–4 is paraphrased in §§ 8–11.

Chapter VIII.

1. As he (Aharman) came fourthly to the plants—which have struggled (kûkhshî-aîtŏ) against him with the whole vegetation—because the vegetation *was* quite dry [1], Amerôda*d*, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation [2] was seized upon, pounded it up small, and mixed *it* up with the rain-water of Tîstar. 2. After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand [3] special species and a hundred thousand [4] additional species (levatman sar*d*akŏ) so grew as if *there were* a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for [5] keeping away the ten thousand [3] diseases.

3. Afterwards, the seed was taken up from those hundred thousand species of plants, *and* from the collection of seed the tree of all germs, amid the wide-formed ocean, was produced, from which all species of plants continually grow. 4. And the griffon bird (sênô mûrûvŏ) has his resting-place upon it; when he wanders forth *from* within it, he scatters the dry seed into the water, *and* it is rained back to the earth with the rain.

5. And in its vicinity the tree was produced *which is* the white Hôm, the counteractor of decrepitude,

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[1] This chapter is a paraphrase of Bund. IX.

[2] Or, perhaps, 'the worldly characteristics of vegetation.'

[3] Written like 'one thousand,' but see the context and Bund. IX, 4.

[4] In Bund. IX, 4, the MSS. have '120,000,' which is probably wrong, as Bund. XXVII, 2, agrees with the text above.

[5] The MS. has barâ instead of pavan, a blunder due probably to some copyist reading the Huzvâri*s* in Persian, in which language bih (= barâ) and bah (= pavan) are written alike. In Pâzand they are usually written b*e* and pa, respectively.

the reviver of the dead, *and* the immortalizer of the living.

6. This was the fourth contest, about the plants.

Chapter IX.

1. As he (Aharman) came fifthly to cattle—which struggled against him with all the animals—and likewise as the primeval ox[1] passed away, from the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five[2] species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from *its* various members; *and* forasmuch as they should see from which member each one *proceeds*, it is declared in the Dâmdâd *Nask*[3]. 2. And every plant grown from a member

[1] See Chaps. II, 6, III, 1, and Bund. IV, 1, X, 1, XIV, 1.

[2] The MS. has 'fifty-seven' in ciphers, but Bund. X, 1, XIV, 1, XXVII, 2, have 'fifty-five' in words.

[3] This was the fourth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which gives a very short and superficial account of its contents. But, according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah, Narîmân Hôshang, and Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn, it was the fifth nask, and was called Dvâzdah-hâmâst (or homâst). For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. The Rivâyat of Kâmah Bahrah, which has a few more words than the other Rivâyats, gives the following account (for the Persian text of which, see 'Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre,' par Olshausen et Jules Mohl):—

'Of the fifth the name is Dvâzdah-homâst, and the interpretation of this is "the book about help" (dar imdâd, but this is probably a corruption of dâmdâd). And this book has thirty-two sections (kardah) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and *it is* a description of the whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and

promotes that member, as it is said that there *where* the ox scattered *its* marrow [1] on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn [2] and sesame, vetches [3] *and* peas; so sesame, on account of [4] *its* marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. 3. And it is also said that from the blood is the vine [5], a great vegetable thing—as wine itself is blood—for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. 4. And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (mây*s* or mâsah) which is called dônak, and was a variety of sesame (*s*amagâ) [6], *and it is* for other noses.

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fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying *animals*, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and *heavenly* path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil.'

This description corresponds very closely with what the Bundahi*s* must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and Dâ*d*-sparam mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the Dâmdâ*d* which also occur in the Bundahi*s* (XIV, 2, 14–18, 21–24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the Bundahi*s* was originally a translation of the Dâmdâ*d*, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahi*s*, or Zand-âkâs. Whether the Avesta text of the Dâmdâ*d* was still in existence in the time of Dâ*d*-sparam is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.

[1] Or 'brains.'

[2] Supposing the MS. galôlag is a corruption of gallak (Pers. ghallah).

[3] Assuming the MS. alûnŏ or arvanŏ to be a corruption of alûm or arzanŏ.

[4] Reading râî instead of lâ. [5] Compare Bund. XIV, 2.

[6] Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be

5. And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs[1] *which* heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. 6. This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohûman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akôman[2], and *it is* for that which *proceeds* from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed *which* was the ox's, they would carry *off* from it, *and* the brilliance was intrusted to the angel of the moon[3]; in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (*g*ânvar-hômand). 8. Forth from there it produced for Aîrân-vêg, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female[4], *and*, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species[5]; and they were discernible as far as two long leagues *on* the earth. 9. Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, *and* birds flew *in* the atmosphere; *in* every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (â*v*-dahân) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

10. Secondly, their subdivision is thus:—First, they are divided into three, that is, quadrupeds walking on the earth, fish swimming in the water,

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reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bund. XIV, 2. Altering dônak and gûnak into gandanak, and *s*amagâ into *s*ama*s*dar, we might read, 'from the nose is mây*s*, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;' but this is doubtful, and leaves the word mây*s* unexplained.

[1] The MS. has gôspendânŏ, 'cattle,' instead of sipandânŏ, 'rue herbs.'

[2] See Bund. I, 24, 27, XXVIII, 7, XXX, 29.

[3] Bund. X, 2, XIV, 3.

[4] Bund. X, 3, XIV, 4.

[5] Bund. X, 3, XIV, 13.

and birds flying in the atmosphere. 11. Then, into five classes[1], that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, *and* the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, *and* which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-travelling, *and* suitable for grazing. 12. The aquatic are fish *and* every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, *and* bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samûr) and musk *animals*, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of every kind; the wide-travelling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, *which* is all called 'horse;' the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, *and* others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk *animals*, marten, *and* others; then are the birds, and then the fish. 14. And then they were divided into species[2], as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten[3] species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk *animals*, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared *and* all those undeclared *there were*, at first, 282 species[4]; *and* with the species within species *there were* a thousand varieties.

[1] Bund. XIV, 8–12.

[2] Bund. XIV, 13–23, 26, 27.

[3] Bund. XIV, 17 says 'fifteen,' which is probably correct.

[4] Only 181 species are detailed or 'declared' here.

15. The birds are distributed[1] into eight groups (rîstakŏ), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest *they* are so spread about as *when* a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad *that of* heavy weight, then that which is middling, *and* afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Dâmdâ*d Nask*[2], and written by me in the manuscript (nipîk) of 'the summary enumeration of races[3]'—this is a lordly[4] summary—the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them[5] is white *and* yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, *and* others. 17. Of the camel *there are* specially two, *that for* the plain, *and* the mountain *one which* is double-humped. 18. Among the species of ox are the white, mud-coloured, red, yellow, black, and dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard[6], the ox-fish, *and* others. 19. Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kûri*s*k *which*, because of its trampling the hills, *its* great horn, and also being suitable

[1] Bund. XIV, 25.

[2] See § 1; the particulars which follow are also found in Bund. XIV, 14–18, 21–24, showing that the Bundahi*s* must be derived from the Dâmdâ*d*.

[3] The title of this work, in Pahlavi, is Tôkhm-aû*s*mari*s*-nîh-i hangar*d*îkŏ, but it is not known to be extant.

[4] Reading marâk (Chaldee מָרֵא), but this is doubtful, though the Iranian final k is often added to Semitic Huzvâri*s* forms ending with â. It may be minâk, 'thinking, thoughtful,' or a corruption of manîk, 'mine,' in which last case we should translate, 'this is a summary of mine.'

[5] Bund. XXIV, 6.

[6] Literally, 'camel-ox-leopard.'

for ambling, became the steed of Mânûs*k*îhar. 20. Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varîkŏ), the roe, *and* the mountain goat. 21. Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. 22. Of musk *animals* with a bag, one is the Bîsh-musk—which eats the Bîsh poison and does not die through it, and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bîsh, *and* less *of it* should succeed in poisoning the creatures—*and* one is a musk *animal* of a black colour which they desired (ayûftŏ) who were bitten *by* the fanged serpent—as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makŏ) is called—which is numerous on the river-banks; *one* throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, *and* then the serpent enters its body, when his[1] serpent, at the time *this* happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. 23. Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffon bird *and* the bat, which have teeth *in* the mouth, *and* suckle *their* young with animal milk from the teat.

24. This is the fifth contest, as to animals.

Chapter X.

1. As he (Aharman) came sixthly *to* Gâyômar*d* there was arrayed against *him*, with Gâyômar*d*, the

[1] This appears to be the meaning here of amat zak garzakŏ, but the whole sentence is a fair sample of Dâ*d*-sparam's most involved style of writing. By feeding the black musk animal with snakes the effect of a snake-bite, experienced by the feeder, is supposed to be neutralized.

pure propitious liturgy (mânsarspend), as heard from Gâyômar*d*; *and* Aûharmazd, in pure meditation, considered that which is good and righteousness as destruction of the fiend (drûgô). 2. And when he (Gâyômar*d*) passed away eight kinds of mineral of a metallic character arose from *his* various members; they are gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver (âvgînakŏ), and adamant; *and* on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.

3. Spendarma*d* received the gold of the dead Gâyômar*d*[1], *and* it was forty years in the earth. 4. At the end of the forty years, *in* the manner of a Rîvâs-*plant*, Mashya *and* Mashyôî[2] came up, and, one joined to the other, *were* of like stature *and* mutually adapted[3]; and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature[4], *was* such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which Aûharmazd created. 5. This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in revela-

[1] Compare Bund. XV, 1.

[2] The MS. has Mashâî Mashâyê, but see Bund. XV, 6. The Avesta forms were probably mashya mashyôi (or mashyê), which are regular nominatives dual, masculine and feminine, of mashya, 'mortal,' and indicate that they were usually coupled together in some part of the Avesta which is no longer extant. Pâzand writers have found it easy to read Mashyanî instead of Mashyôî.

[3] Reading ham-ba*s*nŏ ham-dakhîk, but whether this is more likely to be the original reading than the ham-badi*s*n va ham-dasak of Bund. XV, 2, is doubtful. The last epithet here might also be read ham-sabîk, 'having the same shirt,' but this is an improbable meaning.

[4] It is evident that ham-bandi*s*nîh, 'mutual connection,' in accordance with Bund. XV, 3, would be preferable to the ham-ba*s*nŏîh, 'like stature,' of this text.

tion: 'Which existed before, the glory[1] or the body?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created, the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.' 6. And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man[2], *and* the glory went spiritually into them.

Chapter XI.

1. As he (Aharman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together *against* him, the fire *separated* into five kinds[3], which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aûrvâzîst, the Vâzîst, *and* the Supremely-*benefiting*. 2. And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (garô*d*mân); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. 3. *The Good diffuser* is that which is in men and animals[4], and its business *consists* in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the

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[1] The old word nismô, 'soul' (see Bund. XV, 3, 4), has become corrupted here (by the omission of the initial stroke) into gadman, 'glory.' This corruption may be due either to Dâ*d*-sparam not understanding the word (in which case the Bundahi*s* must have been an old book in his time), or else to some later copyist confounding the old word for 'soul' with the better-known 'glory' of the Iranian sovereigns.

[2] Bund. XV, 5.

[3] Bund. XVII, 1. Three of the Avesta names are here translated, the first two being the Spênist and Vohu-fryân, which are the fifth and second in the Bundahi*s*, and the fifth being the Berezisavang, which is the first in the Bundahi*s*.

[4] See Bund. XVII, 2.

body, *and* the brightening of the eyes. 4. The Aûrvâzîst is that which is in plants, in whose seed *it* is formed, and its business *consists* in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water[1] and producing the qualities and fragrance of plants and blossoms therefrom, and elaborating the ripened produce into many fruits. 5. And the Vâzîst is that which has its motion in a cloud, and its business *consists* in destroying the atmospheric gloom and darkness, and making the thickness of the atmosphere fine and propitious in quality, sifting the hail, moderately warming the water which the cloud holds, *and* making sultry weather showery. 6. The Supremely-benefiting, like the sky, is that glory whose lodgment is in the Behrâm fire[2], as the master of the house is over the house, *and* whose propitious power *arises* from the growing brightness of the fire, the blazing forth in[3] the purity of the place, the praise of God (yazdânŏ), *and* the practice of good works. 7. And its business is *that* it struggles with the spiritual fiend, it watches the forms of the witches—who walk up from the river[4], wear woven clothing, disturb the luminaries by the concealment of stench, *and* by witchcraft injure the creatures—and the occurrences of destruction, burning, and celebration of witchcraft, especially at night; being an assistant of Srôsh the righteous.

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[1] Reading mayâ-i afsar*d*înî*d*ŏ tâftanŏ instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayâ a*s*ar*d*înî*d*ŏ âftanŏ of the MS.

[2] The Verehrânŏ âtâsh, or sacred fire of the fire-temples.

[3] Reading pavan instead of barâ (see p. 176, note 5).

[4] Or 'sea' (darîyâ*v*ŏ). This long-winded sentence is more involved and obscure in the original than in the translation.

8. And in the beginning of the creation[1] the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Frôbak fire, the mighty Gûsnasp fire, and the beneficial Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire[2], *which* are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. 9. The place of the fire Frôbak was formed *on* the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem[3], the fire Gûsnasp *was* on the Asnavand mountain in Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô on the Rêvand mountain which is in the Ridge *of* Vistâsp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hôshâng[4], when men were continually going forth to the *other* regions (kêshvar) on the ox Srûvô[5], one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, *and* in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire *which* was manifest, is divided into three, *and* they established *it* on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Frôbak fire, the Gûsnasp fire, and the Bûrzîn-Mitrô[6].

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[1] Literally, 'creature.'

[2] The epithets of these three sacred fires are, respectively, vargân, tagîkŏ, and pûr-sûdŏ in Pahlavi.

[3] See Bund. XVII, 5, 7, 8.

[4] Bund. XVII, 4 says, 'in the reign of Takhmôrup,' his successor.

[5] Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahis.

[6] The remainder of 'the sayings of Zâd-sparam, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit,' have no special reference to the Bundahis. They treat of the following matters:—

The coming of the religion, beginning in the time of Frâsîyâv and Mânûskîhar, with an anecdote of Kâî-ûs and the hero Srîtô (Av. Thrita). The manifestation of the glory of Zaratûst

before his birth. The begetting of Zaratûs*t* through the drinking of hôm-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory, as declared in the manuscript on 'the guidance of worship.' The connection of Zaratûs*t* with Aûharmazd, traced back through his genealogy as far as Gâyômar*d*. The persistent endeavours of the fiends to destroy Zaratûs*t* at the time of his birth, and how they were frustrated. His receiving the religion from Aûharmazd, with another anecdote of Kâî-ûs and Srîtô, and of Zaratûs*t*'s exclamation on coming into the world. The enmity borne to him by five brothers of the Karapân family, and how it was frustrated; his own four brothers, and some of his wonderful deeds. The worthiness of his righteousness; his compassionate and liberal nature; his giving up worldly desires; his pity; his good selection of a wife; and what is most edifying for the soul. What occurred when he was thirty years old, and his being conducted by the archangel Vohûman to the assembly of the spirits. The questions asked by Zaratûs*t*, and Aûharmazd's replies thereto. The seven questions he asked of the seven archangels in seven different places, in the course of one winter. [Westergaard's MS. K35 ends in the middle of the second of these questions.] The five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions. The three preservatives of religion, with particulars about the Gâthas and the connection of the Ahunavar with the Nasks. Zaratûs*t*'s obtaining one disciple, Mê*d*yôk-mâh, in the first ten years, and the acceptance of the religion by Vis*t*âsp two years afterwards.

The second of the writings of Zâ*d*-sparam consists of his 'sayings about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul;' and the third (which is imperfect in all known MSS.) contains his 'sayings about producing the renovation *of the universe*.'

BAHMAN YAST,

OR

ZAND-I VOHÛMAN YASNO,

OF WHICH ZAND, OR COMMENTARY,

THIS WORK SEEMS TO BE AN EPITOME.

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in this volume. Dâ*d*. for Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk. Gr. for Greek. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâri*s*. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as translated in this volume. SZS. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, as translated in this volume. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

Pâz. MSS. (modern), No. 22 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, and a copy of one in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay.

Pers. version (composed A. D. 1496, copied A. D. 1679) in a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

BAHMAN YAST.

Chapter I.

0. *May* the gratification of the creator Aûharmazd, the beneficent, the developer, the splendid, and glorious, and the benediction of the archangels, which *constitute* the pure, good religion of the Mazdayasnians, *be* vigour of body, long life, and prosperous wealth for him whose writing I am [1].

1. As [2] it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* [3] that

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[1] Or, possibly, '*for* whom I am written,' the meaning of mûn yektîbûnîhêm being not quite clear. In fact, the construction of the whole of this initial benediction is rather obscure.

[2] It is possible that this is to be read in connection with Chap. II, 1, with the meaning that 'as it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* that Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, *so* in the Vohûman Yast commentary it is declared that he asked for it a second time.' This introductory chapter is altogether omitted in both the Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, but it is given in the Pers. version. It is also omitted in the epitome of the Bahman Yast contained in the Dabistân (see Shea's translation, vol. i. pp. 264–271).

[3] This was the first nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Sûdkar; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the second nask, called Stûdgar or Istûdgar. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard (which agrees with the account in the Rivâyats), see Haug's Essays, p. 126. In the Dînkard, besides a short description of this Nask, given in the eighth book, there is also a detailed account of the contents of each of its fargards, or chapters, occupying twenty-five quarto pages of twenty-two lines each, in the ninth book. From this detailed statement it appears

Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, then Aûharmazd displayed the omniscient wisdom to Zaratûst, and through it he beheld the root of a tree, on which were four branches, one golden, one of silver, one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron. 2. Thereupon he reflected in this *way*, that this was seen in a dream, and when he arose from sleep Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Lord of the spirits and earthly existences! it appears that I saw the root of a tree, on which were four branches.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân[1] thus: 'That root of a tree which thou sawest, and those four branches, are the four periods which *will*

that the passage mentioned here, in the text, constituted the seventh fargar*d* of the Nask, the contents of which are detailed as follows:—

'The seventh fargar*d*, Tâ-ve-ratŏ (Av. tâ v*e* urvâtâ, Yas. XXXI, 1), is about the exhibition to Zaratûst of the nature of the four periods in the Zaratûstian millennium (hazangrôk zim, "thousand winters"). First, the golden, that in which Aûharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratûst. Second, the silver, that in which Vistâsp received the religion from Zaratûst. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mârspend, was born. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate *and* other villains (sarîtarânŏ), along with destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness *and* virtue, *and* the departure of honour *and* wisdom from the countries of Iran. In the same period is a recital of the many perplexities and torments of the period for that desire (girâyîh) of the life of the good which consists in seemliness. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî, Yas. XXVII, 14, W.).'

If this be a correct account of the contents of this fargar*d*, the writer was evidently consulting a Pahlavi version of the Nask, composed during the later Sasanian times.

[1] Generally understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' who was his ancestor in the ninth generation (see Bund. XXXII, 1).

come. 4. That of gold is when I and thou converse, *and* King Vistâsp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, *but* they *themselves* remain for[1] . . . concealed proceedings. 5. And that of silver is the reign of Ar*d*akhshîr[2] the Kayân king (Kaî shah), and that of steel is the reign of the glorified (anôshakrûbân) Khûsrô son of Kêvâ*d*[3], and that which was mixed with iron is the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair[4] of the race of Wrath[5], and when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter (satô zim) of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!'

6. It is declared in the commentary (zand)[6] of the Vohûman Yast, Horvada*d* Yast, and Âstâ*d* Yast

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[1] A word is lost here in K20 and does not occur in the other copies and versions, nor can it be supplied from the similar phrase in Chap. II, 16. The meaning of the sentence appears to be that Vistâsp destroyed the idols, but the demons they represented still remained, in a spiritual state, to produce evil.

[2] See Chap. II, 17.

[3] Khusrô Nôshirvân son of Qubâd, in modern Persian, who reigned in A. D. 531–579. Kêvâ*d* is usually written Kavâ*d*.

[4] The epithet vi*g*âr*d*-vars may also mean 'dressed-hair,' but the term in the text is the more probable, as the Persian version translates it by kushâdah muî, 'uncovered hair.' That it is not a name, as assumed by Spiegel, appears clearly from the further details given in Chap. II, 25.

[5] Or, 'the progeny of Aêshm,' the demon. Wrath is not to be understood here in its abstract sense, but is personified as a demon. It is uncertain whether the remainder of this sentence belongs to this § or the next.

[6] If there were any doubt about zand meaning the Pahlavi translation, this passage would be important, as the Avesta of the Horvada*d* (Khordâd) and Âstâ*d* Yasts is still extant, but contains nothing about the heretic Mazdîk or Mazdak (see Chap. II, 21). No Avesta of the Vohûman Yast is now known.

that, during this time, the accursed Mazdîk son of Bâmdâd, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God (yazdân). 7. *And* he, the glorified *one*[1], summoned Khûsrô son of Mâh-dâd and Dâd-Aûharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Âtarô-pâtakân, and Âtarô-frôbâg the undeceitful (akadbâ), Âtarô-pâd, Âtarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfrîd to *his* presence, and he demanded of them a promise[2], thus: 'Do not keep these Yasts in concealment, *and* do not teach the commentary except among your relations[3].' 8. *And* they made the promise unto Khûsrô.

Chapter II.

1. In the Vohûman Yast commentary (zand) it is declared[4] that Zaratûst asked for immortality from

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[1] That is, Khusrô Nôshirvân. As the names of his priests and councillors stand in K20 they can hardly be otherwise distributed than they are in the text, but the correctness of the MS. is open to suspicion. Dâd-Aûharmazd was a commentator who is quoted in Chap. III, 16, and in the Pahl. Yas. XI, 22; Âtarô-frôbâg was another commentator mentioned in Sls. I, 3; and Âtarô-pâd and Bakht-âfrîd are names well known in Pahlavi literature, the former having been borne by more than one individual (see Sls. I, 3, 4).

[2] The Pers. version says nothing about this promise, but states that Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so the king put him to death immediately.

[3] A similar prohibition, addressed to Zaratûst, as regards the Avesta text, is actually found in the Horvadad Yt. 10.

[4] This seems to imply that this text is not the commentary

Aûharmazd a second time, *and* spoke thus: 'I am Zaratûst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O creator! when *thou* shalt *make* me[1] immortal, as the tree opposed to harm[2], and Gôpatshah, Gôst-i Fryân, *and* Kîtrôk-miyân son of Vistâsp, who is Pêshyôtanû, were made[3]. 2. When thou shalt make me immortal they in thy good religion *will* believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aûharmazd his pure *and* good religion of the Mazdayasnians, will become immortal; then those men *will* believe in thy good religion.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke[4] thus: 'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! then Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap[5] will become immortal, and

itself, but merely an epitome of it. The Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, begin with this chapter.

[1] Or, 'when I shall *become;*' the verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

[2] Three of these immortals are mentioned in Bund. XXIX, 5, and Gôst-i Fryân is included in a similar enumeration in Dâd. (Reply 89). The tale of Gôst-i Fryân (Av. Yôistô yô Fryananãm, of Âbân Yt. 81 and Fravardîn Yt. 120) has been published with 'The Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf,' ed. Hoshangji and Haug.

[3] Or, 'became;' most of this verb is torn off in K20.

[4] The verb is placed before its nominative in the Pahlavi text, both here and in most similar sentences, which is an imitation of the Avesta, due probably to the text being originally translated from an Avesta book now lost, or, at any rate, to its author's wish that it might appear to be so translated. In such cases of inverted construction, when the verb is in a past tense, the Pahlavi idiom often requires a pronominal suffix, corresponding to the nominative, to be added to the first word in the sentence; thus, gûftŏs Aûharmazd, or afas gûft Aûharmazd, does not mean 'Aûharmazd spoke to him (or said it),' but merely 'Aûharmazd spoke' (lit. 'it was said by him, Aûharmazd').

[5] According to an untranslated passage in the Selections of Zâd-sparam, mentioned in the note on p. 187, this is the name of

when Tûr-i Brâ*d*arvash the Karap shall become immortal the resurrection *and* future existence are not possible.'

4. Zaratû*s*t seemed uneasy about *it* in *his* mind[1]; *and* Aûharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratû*s*t the Spitâmân with the righteous spirit, and he[2] took hold of Zaratû*s*t's hand. 5. And he, Aûharmazd the propitious spirit, creator of the material world, the righteous *one*, even he put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water, on the hand of Zaratû*s*t, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.'

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one of the five brothers in the Karapân family of sorcerers, who were enemies of Zaratû*s*t during his childhood. Their names, as written in SZS., may be read as follows, 'Brâ*d*arvakhsh, Brâ*d*rôyi*s*nŏ, Tûr Brâgrêsh, Azânŏ, and Nasm,' and the first is also called 'Tûr-i Brâ*d*arvakhsh;' they are described as descendants of the sister of Manû*s*kihar. In the seventh book of the Dînkar*d* a wizard, who endeavours to injure Zaratû*s*t in his childhood, is called 'Tûr-i Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh, the Karapŏ,' and was probably the third brother, whose name (thus corrected) indicates brâthrô-raêsha as its Avesta form. Karap or Karapân in all these passages is evidently the name of a family or caste, probably the Av. karapanô which Haug translates by 'performers of (idolatrous) sacrificial rites,' in connection with Sans. kalpa, 'ceremonial ritual' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 289–291).

[1] K20 has 'among the spirits;' the word mî*n*i*s*n having become maînôkân by the insertion of an extra stroke.

[2] Reading afa*s* instead of mina*s* (Huz. of aga*s*, 'from or by him,' which is written with the same letters as afa*s*, 'and by him'), not only here, but also in §§ 5, 7, 9. The copyist of K20 was evidently not aware that afa*s* is a conjunctive form, but confounded it with the prepositional form aga*s*, as most Parsis and some European scholars do still. The Sasanian inscriptions confirm the reading afa*s* for the conjunctive form; and Nêryôsang, the learned Parsi translator of Pahlavi texts into Pâzand and Sanskrit some four centuries ago, was aware of the difference between the two forms, as he transcribes them correctly into Pâz. va*s* and aza*s*.

6. And Zaratûst devoured *some* of it; thereby the omniscient wisdom was intermingled with Zaratûst, and seven days and nights Zaratûst was in the wisdom of Aûharmazd. 7. And Zaratûst beheld the men and cattle in the seven regions of the earth, where the many fibres of hair of every one are, and whereunto the end of each fibre holds on the back. 8. And he beheld whatever trees and shrubs *there were*, and how many roots of plants were in the earth of Spendarmad, where *and* how they had grown, *and* where they were mingled.

9. And the seventh day and night he (Aûharmazd) took back the omniscient wisdom from Zaratûst, and Zaratûst reflected in this *way*, that I have seen *it* in a pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd, *and* I am not surfeited with the dream. 10. And he took both hands, rubbed his body (kerp) again, *and spoke*[1] thus: 'I have slept a long time, *and* am not surfeited with this pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd.'

11. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst thus: 'What was seen in the pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd?'

12. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous creator! I have seen a celebrity (khunîd) with much wealth, whose soul, infamous in the body, was hungry (gurs)[2] and jaundiced and in hell, and he did not seem to me exalted; and I saw a beggar with no wealth and helpless, and his soul was thriving (farpîh) in paradise, and[3] he seemed to me exalted.

[1] This verb is omitted in K20 by mistake.

[2] Or else 'dirty.'

[3] Reading afam instead of minam, both here and in § 14; the

13. [And I saw a wealthy *man* without children, and he did not seem to me exalted;][1] and I saw a pauper with many children, and he seemed to me exalted. 14. And I saw a tree on which were seven branches, one golden, one of silver, one brazen, one of copper, [one of tin][2], one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron.'

15. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I say beforehand, the one tree which thou sawest is the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; and those seven branches thou sawest are the seven periods which *will* come. 16. And that which was golden is the reign of King Vistâsp, when I and thou converse about religion, *and* Vistâsp shall accept that religion and shall demolish the figures of the demons, and the demons desist from demonstration into concealed proceedings; Aharman and the demons rush back to darkness, and care for water, fire, plants, and the earth of Spendarma*d*[3] becomes apparent. 17. And that which was of silver[4] is the reign of Ar*d*ashîr[5] the

copyist of K20 having confounded these two words, like those mentioned in the note on § 4.

[1] The passage in brackets is omitted in K20, but is supplied from the Pâz. MSS., being evidently necessary to complete the contrast. It occurs also in the Pers. version.

[2] Supplied from the Pâz. and Pers. versions, being omitted here in K20, though occurring in § 20.

[3] The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Bund. I, 26).

[4] The Pâz. MSS. omit the description of the silver age.

[5] Usually identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus, but his long reign of 112 years may include most of the Achæmenian sovereigns down to Artaxerxes Mnemon, several of whom are called Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes in the biblical books of Ezra and Esther. See Bund. XXXI, 30, XXXIV, 8.

Kayân (Kaî), whom[1] they call Vohûman son of Spend-dâ*d*[2], who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters *them* about, and makes the religion current *in* the whole world. 18. And that which was brazen[3] is the reign of Ar*d*akhshîr[4], the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpûr, when he arranges the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; he makes happiness (bûkhtakîh)[5] prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Âtarô-pâ*d* of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass[6], brings this religion, together with the transgressors, back to the truth. 19. And that which was of copper is the reign of the A*s*kânian king[7], who removes from the world

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[1] Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

[2] Contracted here into Spendâ*d*, as it is also in Bund. XXXIV, 8 in the old MSS. This name of the king is corrupted into Bahman son of Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] This brazen age is evidently out of its proper chronological order. The Pâzand and Persian versions correct this blunder by describing the copper age before the brazen one here, but they place the brazen branch before the copper one in § 14, so it is doubtful how the text stood originally.

[4] Artakhshatar son of Pâpakî and Shahpûharî son of Artakhshatar are the Sasanian forms of the names of the first two monarchs (A.D. 226–271) of the Sasanian dynasty, whose reigns constitute this brazen age.

[5] Literally, 'deliverance *from sin*' or 'salvation' by one's own good works, and, therefore, not in a Christian sense.

[6] Referring to the ordeal of pouring molten brass on his chest, undergone by Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mâraspend, high-priest and prime minister of Shâpûr I, for the purpose of proving the truth of his religion to those who doubted it.

[7] It is uncertain which of the A*s*kânian sovereigns is meant, or whether several of the dynasty may not be referred to. The Greek

the heterodoxy (*g*avî*d*-rastakîh) which existed, and the wicked Akandgar-i Kilisyâkîh[1] is utterly destroyed by this religion, *and* goes unseen and unknown from the world. 20. And that which was of tin is the reign of King Vâhrâm Gôr[2], when he

successors of Alexander were subdued in Persia by A*s*k (Arsaces I), who defeated Seleucus Callinicus about B.C. 236. But the third book of the Dînkar*d* (in a passage quoted by Haug in his Essay on the Pahlavi Language) mentions Valkha*s* (Vologeses) the A*s*kânian as collecting the Avesta and Zand, and encouraging the Mazdayasnian religion. This Valkha*s* was probably Vologeses I, a contemporary of Nero, as shown by Darmesteter in the introduction to his translation of the Vendidad.

[1] I am indebted to Professor J. Darmesteter for pointing out that Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Yas. IX, 75, explains Kala*s*iyâkâ*h* as 'those whose faith is the Christian religion;' the original Pahlavi word in the oldest MSS. is Kilisâyâîk, altogether a misunderstanding of the Avesta name Keresâni, which it translates, but sufficiently near the name in our text to warrant the assumption that Nêryôsang would have translated Kilisyâkîh by 'Christianity;' literally it means 'ecclesiasticism, or the church religion' (from Pers. kilisyâ, Gr. ἐκκλησία). Akandgar is probably a miswriting of Alaksandar or Sikandar; though Darmesteter suggests that Skandgar (Av. ske*n*dô-kara, Pers. *s*ikandgar), 'causer of destruction,' would be an appropriate punning title for Alexander from a Persian point of view. The anachronisms involved in making Alexander the Great a Christian, conquered by an A*s*kânian king, are not more startling than the usual Pahlavi statement that he was a Roman. To a Persian in Sasanian times Alexander was the representative of an invading enemy which had come from the countries occupied, in those times, by the eastern empire of the Christian Romans, which enemy had been subdued in Persia by the A*s*kânian dynasty; and such information would naturally lead to the anachronisms just mentioned. The name Kilisyâkîh is again used, in Chap. III, 3, 5, 8, to denote some Christian enemy.

[2] This Sasanian monarch (A. D. 420–439), after considerable provocation, revived the persecution of the heretics and foreign creeds which had been tolerated by his predecessor, and this conduct naturally endeared him to the priesthood.

makes the sight[1] of the spirit of pleasure manifest, and Aharman with the wizards rushes back to darkness *and* gloom. 21. And that which was of steel is the reign of King Khûsrô son of Kêvâ*d*[2], when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdîk[3], son of Bâmdâ*d*, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox. 22. And that which was mixed with iron [is the reign of the demons with dishevelled hair[4] of the race of Wrath, when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter of thy millennium], O Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân!'

23. Zaratû*s*t said thus: 'Creator of the material world! O propitious spirit! what token would you give of the tenth hundredth winter?'

24. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Righteous Zaratû*s*t! I *will* make *it* clear: the token that it is the end of thy millennium, and the most evil period is coming, is *that* a hundred kinds, a thousand kinds, a myriad of kinds of demons with dishevelled hair, of the

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[1] Reading vênâp (Pers. bînâb), but it may be va davâ*g*, in which case the phrase must be translated as follows: 'when he makes the spirit of pleasure and joy manifest.'

[2] See Chap. I, 5. The characteristic of the steel age, like that of the tin one, was the persecution of heretics who had been tolerated by the reigning monarch's predecessor.

[3] Generally written Mazdak, a heretic whose teaching was very popular in the time of King Kêvâ*d* (or Kavâ*d*, A. D. 487–531). His doctrine appears to have been extreme socialism built upon a Mazdayasnian foundation. He was put to death by Khûsrô I, as hinted in the text. It is remarkable that none of the successors of Khûsrô Nôshirvân are mentioned in the Bahman Ya*s*t, so that a Parsi, who even did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the book, might possibly consider the remainder of it as strictly prophetical.

[4] The passage in brackets is omitted in K20 by mistake, and is here supplied from Chap. I, 5, in accordance with the Pâz. and Pers. versions.

race of Wrath, rush into the country of Iran (Aîrân shatrô) from the direction of the east[1], which *has* an inferior race and race of Wrath. 25. They have uplifted banners, they slay those living in the world[2], they have *their* hair dishevelled on the back, and they are mostly a small and inferior (nîtûm) race, forward in destroying the strong doer; O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the race of Wrath is miscreated (vishûd) and its origin is not manifest. 26. Through witchcraft they rush into these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, since they burn and damage many things; and the house of the house-owner, the land of the land-digger, prosperity, nobility, sovereignty, religion[3], truth, agreement, security, enjoyment, and every characteristic which I, Aûharmazd, created, this pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, and the fire of Vâhrâm, which is set in the appointed place, encounter annihilation, and the direst destruction and trouble will come into notice. 27. And that which is a great district will become a town; that which is a great town, a village; that

[1] Or 'of Khûrâsân.' It is difficult to identify these demons with the Arabs, who came from the west, though a dweller in Kirmân might imagine that they came from Khûrâsân. In fact, hardly any of the numerous details which follow, except their long-continued rule, apply exclusively to Muhammadans. It appears, moreover, from § 50 and Chap. III, 8, that these demons are intended for Tûrks, that is, invaders from Turkistân, who would naturally come from the east into Persia.

[2] Reading gêhân-zîvŏ zektelûnd, but the beginning of the latter word is torn off in K20, and the other versions have no equivalent phrase. The Pâzand substitutes the phrase 'black banners and black garments.'

[3] This word, being torn off in K20, is supplied from the Pâz. MSS.

which is a great village, a family; and that which is a [great][1] family, a single threshold. 28. O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! they will lead these Iranian countries of Aûharmazd into a desire for evil, *into* tyranny *and* misgovernment, those demons with dishevelled hair who are deceivers, so that what they say they do not do, and they are of a vile religion, so that what they do not say they do. 29. And their assistance and promise have no sincerity, there is no law, they preserve no security, and on the support they provide no one relies; with deceit, rapacity, and misgovernment they will devastate these my Iranian countries, *who am* Aûharmazd.

30. 'And at that time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! all men will become deceivers, great friends will become of different parties, and respect, affection, hope[2], and regard for the soul will depart from the world; the affection of the father will depart from the son; and *that of* the brother from *his* brother; the son-in-law will become a beggar (kîdyak or kasîk) from his father-in-law[3], and the mother will be parted and estranged from the daughter.

31. 'When it is the end of thy tenth hundredth winter, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun is more unseen and more spotted (vasangtar); the year, month, and day are shorter; and the earth of Spendarmad is more barren, and fuller of highway-

[1] This word is omitted in K20, but supplied from the Pâzand. The whole section is omitted in the Pers. version.

[2] This word, being torn off in K20, is doubtfully supplied from the Pers. paraphrase. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 30–32.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'parents-in-law;' the original is khûsrûînê, followed by some word (probably nafsman) which is torn off in K20. The Pers. version gives no equivalent phrase.

men[1]; and the crop will not yield the seed, *so* that of the crop of the corn-fields in ten *cases* seven will diminish and three[2] will increase, and that which increases does not become ripe[3]; and vegetation, trees, and shrubs will diminish; when one shall take a hundred, ninety will diminish and ten will increase, and that which increases gives no pleasure and flavour. 32. And men are born smaller, and their skill and strength are less; they become more deceitful and more given to vile practices; they have no gratitude and respect for bread and salt, and they have no affection for their country (dêsak).

33. 'And in that most evil time a boundary has most disrespect[4] where it is the property of a suffering man of religion; gifts are few among their deeds, and duties and good works proceed but little from their hands; and sectarians of all kinds are seeking mischief for them[5]. 34. And all the world will be burying *and* clothing the dead, and burying the dead *and* washing the dead *will be* by law; the burning, bringing to water and fire, and eating of dead matter they practise by law and do not abstain from. 35. They recount largely about duties and good works, and pursue wickedness and the road to hell; and through the iniquity, cajolery, and craving of wrath and avarice they rush to hell.

36. 'And in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the

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[1] Or, 'tax-collectors;' Pahl. tangtar va râs-vânagtar.

[2] In K20 'va 3' is corrupted into the very similar va vâi, 'and a portion.'

[3] Literally, 'white.'

[4] Reading anâzarm instead of hanâ âzarm.

[5] That is, for the Iranians in general, who are the 'they' in §§ 32–35.

Spitâmân!—the reign of Wrath with infuriate spear[1] and the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of Wrath,—the meanest slaves walk forth with the authority of nobles of the land; and the religious, who wear *sacred thread*-girdles on the waist, are then not able *to perform* their ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh), for in those last times dead matter and bodily refuse become so abundant, that *one who* shall set step to step walks upon dead matter; or when he washes in the barashnûm *ceremony*, and puts down a foot from the stone *seat* (magh)[2], he walks on dead matter; or when he arranges the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) and consecrates the sacred cakes (drônô) in their corpse-chamber (nasâî katak)[3] it is allowable.

[1] The Av. Aêshmô khrvîdrus, 'Aêshma the impetuous assailant' (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17); this demon's Pahlavi epithet is partly a transcription, and partly a paraphrase of the Avesta term.

[2] According to Dastûr Hoshangji (Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 65) the term magh is now applied to the stones on which the person undergoing purification has to squat during ablution in the barashnûm ceremony. Originally, however, Av. magha appears to have meant a shallow hole dug in the earth, near or over which the person squatted upon a seat, either of stone or some other hard material (see Vend. IX). The term for the hole was probably extended to the whole arrangement, including the seat, which latter has thus acquired the name of magh, although magh and maghâk still mean 'a channel or pit' in Persian.

[3] The Av. kata of Vend. V, 36–40; a special chamber for the temporary reception of the corpse, when it was impossible to remove it at once to the dakhma, owing to the inclemency of the weather. It should be large enough for standing upright, and for stretching out the feet and hands, without touching either walls or ceiling; that is, not less than six feet cube. The text means that those times will be so distressing, that it will be considered lawful to perform the sacred ceremonies even in a place of such concentrated impurity as a dead-house not actually occupied by a corpse.

37. Or, in those last times, it becomes allowable to perform a ceremonial (yazisn) with two men, so that this religion may not come to nothing and collapse[1]; there *will* be only one in a hundred, in a thousand, in a myriad, who believes in this religion, and even he does nothing of it though *it be* a duty[2]; and the fire of Vâhrâm, which will come to nothing and collapse, *falls* off from a thousand to one care-taker, and even he does not supply it properly with fire-wood and incense; or when a man, *who* has performed worship and does not know the Nîrangistân[3] ('code of religious formulas'), shall kindle *it* with good intentions, it is allowable.

38. 'Honourable[4] wealth will all proceed to those of perverted faith (kêvîd-kêshân); it comes to the transgressors, and virtuous doers of good works, from the families of noblemen even unto the priests (môg-mardân), remain running about uncovered; the lower orders take in marriage the daughters of nobles, grandees, *and* priests; and the nobles, grandees, and priests come to destitution *and* bondage. 39. The misfortunes of the ignoble will overtake greatness and authority, and the helpless and ignoble will come to the foremost place *and* advancement; the words of the upholders of religion, and the seal and decision of a just judge will become the

[1] The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and helplessness.'

[2] The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and the prayers and ceremonies that he orders of priests and disciples they do not fulfil.'

[3] The name of a work which treats of various ceremonial details, and appears to be a portion of the Pahlavi translation of the seventeenth or Hûspâram Nask, containing many Avesta quotations which are not now to be found elsewhere.

[4] The Pâz. MSS. have misread azîr damîk, 'underground,' instead of âzarmîk.

words of random speakers (andêzŏ-gôkân) *among* the just *and* even the righteous; and the words of the ignoble and slanderers, of the disreputable *and* mockers, and of those of divers opinions they consider true and credible, about which they take[1] an oath, although with falsehood, and thereby give false evidence, and speak falsely and irreverently about me, Aûharmazd. 40. They who bear the title of priest and disciples wish evil concerning[2] one another; he speaks vice and they look upon vice; and the antagonism of Aharman and the demons is much brought on by them; of the sin which men commit, out of five[3] sins the priests and disciples commit three sins, and they become enemies of the good, so that they may thereby speak of bad faults relating to one another; the ceremonies they undertake they do not perform, and they have no fear of hell.

41. 'And in that tenth hundredth winter, *which* is the end of thy millennium, O righteous Zaratûst! all mankind will bind torn hair, disregarding revelation[4], so that a willingly-disposed cloud and a

[1] Literally, 'devour an oath,' which Persian idiom was occasioned by the original form of oath consisting in drinking water prepared in a particular manner, after having invoked all the heavenly powers to bear witness to the truth of what had been asserted (see the Saûgand-nâmah).

[2] Reading râî instead of lâ, 'not.' The whole section is omitted by the Pâz. MSS., possibly from politic motives, as the language is plain enough.

[3] The Persian paraphrase has 'eight.'

[4] Referring probably to the injunctions regarding cutting the hair and paring the nails, with all the proper precautions for preventing any fragments of the hair or nails from lying about, as given in Vend. XVII. One of the penalties for neglecting such precautions is supposed to be a failure of the necessary rains. The

righteous wind are not able to produce rain in its proper time and season. 42. And a dark cloud makes the whole sky night, and the hot wind and the cold wind arrive, and bring along fruit and seed of corn, even the rain in its proper time; and it does not rain, *and* that which rains also rains more noxious creatures than water; and the water of rivers and springs will diminish, and there will be no increase. 43. And the beast *of burden* and ox *and* sheep bring forth more painfully[1] and awkwardly, and acquire less fruitfulness; and *their* hair is coarser *and* skin thinner; the milk does not increase and has less cream (*k*arbi*s*t); the strength of the labouring ox is less, and the agility of the swift horse is less, and it carries less in a race.

44. 'And on the men in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who wear the *sacred thread*-girdle on the waist, the evil-seeking of misgovernment and much of its false judgment have come as a wind in which their living is not possible, and they seek death as a boon; and youths and children will be apprehensive, and gossiping chitchat and gladness of heart do not arise among them. 45. And they practise the appointed feasts (*g*as*n*ŏ) of *their* ancestors, the propitiation (aûsôfrî*d*) of angels, *and* the prayers and ceremonies of the season festivals and guardian spirits, in various places, yet that which they practise they do not believe in unhesitatingly; they do not give rewards lawfully, and

words anâstak dînô can also be translated by 'despising the religion.'

[1] The word appears to be dar*d*aktar, but is almost illegible in K20; it may possibly be kûtaktar, 'more scantily,' as the Pâz. MSS. have kôdaktar bahô*d*, 'become smaller.'

bestow no gifts and alms, and even those [they bestow][1] they repent of again. 46. And even those men of the good religion, who have reverenced the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, proceed in conformity with (bar-hamakŏ rûbi*s*n) those ways and customs[2], and do not believe their own religion. 47. And the noble, great, and charitable[3], who are the virtuous of their own country and locality, will depart from their own original place and family[4] as idolatrous; through want they beg something from the ignoble and vile, and come to poverty and helplessness; through them[5] nine in ten of these men will perish in the northern quarter.

48. 'Through their way of misrule everything comes to nothingness and destitution, levity and infirmity; and the earth of Spendarma*d* opens *its* mouth wide, *and* every jewel and metal becomes exposed, such as gold and silver, brass, tin, and lead. 49. And rule *and* sovereignty come to slaves, such as the Tûrk and non-Tûranian (Atûr) of the army[6], and are turbulent as among the moun-

[1] This verb is omitted in K20.

[2] It is rather doubtful whether their own customs are meant, or those of their conquerors.

[3] Or dahâkân may mean 'the skilful.'

[4] Reading dû*d*ak instead of rû*d*ak. At first sight the miswriting of r for d seems to indicate copying from a text in the modern Persian character, in which those two letters are often much alike; but it happens that the compounds dû and rû also resemble one another in some Pahlavi handwriting.

[5] Whether through poverty and helplessness, or through the conquerors, is not quite clear.

[6] Very little reliance can be placed upon the details of this sentence, but it is difficult to make any other complete and consistent translation. Darmesteter suggests the reading hênô, 'army,' but another possible reading is Khyôn (Av. *Hv*yaona), the old name

taineers[1]; and the *K*înî[2], the Kâ*v*ûlî, the Sôftî, the Rûman (Arûmâyak), and the white-clothed Karmak[3] then attain sovereignty in my countries of Iran, *and* their will and pleasure will become current in the world. 50. The sovereignty will come from those leathern-belted ones[4] and Arabs (Tâ*z*îgân) and Rûmans to them, *and* they will be so misgoverning that when they kill a righteous man who is virtuous and a fly, it is all one[5] in their eyes. 51. And the security, fame, and prosperity, the country and families, the wealth and handiwork, the streams, rivers, and springs of Iran, and of those of the good religion, come to those non-Iranians; and the army and standards of the frontiers come to them, and a rule with a craving for wrath advances in the world. 52. And their eyes of avarice are not sated with wealth, and they form hoards of the world's wealth, and conceal *them* underground; and through wickedness they commit sodomy, hold much intercourse with menstruous *women*, and practise many unnatural lusts.

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of some country probably in Turkistân, as Arg*â*sp, the opponent of Vis*t*âsp, is called 'lord or king of Khyôn' in the Yâ*d*kâr-i Zarîrân (see also Gô*s* Yt. 30, 31, Ashi Yt. 50, 51, Zamyâd Yt. 87).

[1] Or, 'as the mountain-holding Khûdarak.' Darmesteter suggests that Khûdarak may be an 'inhabitant of Khazar.'

[2] Probably the people of Samarkand, which place was formerly called *K*în according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabarî's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298. See also Bund. XII, 22.

[3] The Kâbulî and Byzantine Rûman are plain enough; not so the Sôftî and Karmak (Kalmak or Krimak).

[4] That is, the Tûrks, as appears more clearly from Chap. III, 8, 9. The Arabs are mentioned here, incidently, for the first time, and again in Chap. III, 9, 51.

[5] Literally, 'both are one.'

53. 'And in that perplexing time the night is brighter[1], and the year, month, and day will diminish one-third; the earth of Spendarmad arises, and suffering, death, and destitution become more severe in the world.'

54. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell: that wicked evil spirit, when it shall be necessary *for him* to perish, becomes more oppressive and more tyrannical.'

55. So Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân thus: 'Enquire fully and learn by heart[2] thoroughly! teach *it* by Zand, Pâzand, and explanation! tell *it* to the priests and disciples *who* speak forth in the world, *and* those who are not aware of the hundred winters, tell *it* then to them! so that, for the hope of a future existence, *and* for the preservation of their own souls, they may remove the trouble, evil, and oppression which those of other religions cause in the ceremonies of religion (dînô yêsnân). 56. And, moreover, I tell thee this, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that whoever, in that time, appeals for the body is not able to save the soul, for *he is* as it were fat, and *his* soul is hungry *and* lean in hell; whoever appeals for the soul, *his* body is hungry *and* lean through the misery of the world, and destitute, and his soul is fat in heaven.'

57. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world who art righteous!'—He is Aûharmazd through righteous invocation, and the rest through

[1] The Pâz. version adds, 'the motion of the sun is quicker.'

[2] Literally, 'make easy.'

praise; some say 'righteous creator[1]!'—'O creator! in that perplexing time are they righteous? and are there religious people who wear the *sacred thread*-girdle (kûstîk) on the waist, and celebrate religious rites (dînô)[2] with the *sacred* twigs (baresôm)? and does the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das) continue in their families?'

58. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst thus: 'Of the best men is he who, in that perplexing time, wears the *sacred thread*-girdle on the waist, and celebrates religious rites with the *sacred* twigs, *though* not *as* in the reign of King Vistâsp. 59. Whoever in that perplexing time recites Itâ-â*d*-yazam (Av. ithâ â*d* yazamaidê, Yas. V and XXXVII)[3] *and* one Ashem-vohû[4], *and* has learned *it* by heart, is as though, in the reign of King Vistâsp, *it were* a Dvâsdah-hômâst[5] with holy-water (zôhar). 60. And by

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[1] This interpolated commentary is a pretty clear indication that the writer is translating from an Avesta text.

[2] Both Pâz. and Pers. have drônô, 'sacred cakes.'

[3] The third hâ or chapter of the Yasna of seven chapters. It worships Aûharmazd as the creator of all good things.

[4] See Bund. XX, 2.

[5] For the following explanation of the various kinds of hômâst I am indebted to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji Jâmâsp-Âsâ-nâ of Bombay:—

There are four kinds of hômâst recited by priests for the atonement of any sin that may have been committed by a woman during menstruation, after her purification:—

1. Hômâst consists of prayers recited for 144 days, in honour of the twelve following angels: Aûharmazd, Tistar, Khûrshêd, Mâh, Âbân, Âdar, Khurdâd, Amerdâd, Spendarmad, Bâd, Srôsh, and Ardâ-fravash. Each angel, in turn, is reverenced for twelve days successively, with one Yasna each day.

2. Khadûk-hômâst, 'one hômâst,' differs from the last merely in adding a Vendidad every twelfth day, to be recited in the Ush-

whomever prayer is offered up, *and* the Gâtha-*hymns* are chanted, *it is* as though the whole ritual had been recited, *and* the Gâtha-*hymns* consecrated by him *in* the reign of King Vistâsp. 61. The most perfectly righteous of the righteous is he who remains in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, and continues the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage in his family.'

62. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst: 'In these nine thousand years which I, Aûharmazd, created, mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time; for in the evil reigns of Az-i Dahâk and Frâsîyâv of Tûr mankind, in those perplexing times, were living better and living more

ahin Gâh (12 P. M. to 6 A. M.) in honour of the angel whose propitiation ends that day.

3. Dah-hômâst, 'ten hômâsts,' differs from the preceding merely in having a Vendidad, in addition to the Yasna, every day.

4. Dvâzdah-hômâst, 'twelve hômâsts,' are prayers recited for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels, namely, the twelve aforesaid and the following ten: Bahman, Ardibahist, Shahrivar, Mihir, Bahrâm, Râm, Dîn, Rashnû, Gôs, and Âstâd. Each angel, in turn, is reverenced as in the last.

The celebration of hômâst costs 350 rûpîs, that of khadûk-hômâst 422 rûpîs, that of dah-hômâst 1000 rûpîs, and that of dvâzdah-hômâst 2000 rûpîs; but the first and third are now no longer used. The merit obtained by having such recitations performed is equivalent to 1000 tanâpûhars for each Yasna, 10,000 for each Visparad, and 70,000 for each Vendidad recited. A tanâpûhar is now considered as a weight of 1200 dirhams, with which serious sins and works of considerable merit are estimated; originally it must have meant a sin which was 'inexpiable' by ordinary good works, and, conversely, any extraordinary good work which was just sufficient to efface such a sin.

The amount of merit attaching to such recitations is variously stated in different books, and when recited with holy-water (that is, with all their ceremonial rites) they are said to be usually a hundred times as meritorious as when recited without it.

numerously, and their disturbance by Aharman and the demons was less. 63. For in their evil reigns, within the countries of Iran, there were not seven[1] towns which *were* desolate as they *will be* when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! for all the towns of Iran *will* be ploughed up by their horses' hoofs, and their banners *will* reach unto Pa*d*ashkhvârgar[2], and they *will* carry away the sovereignty of the seat of the religion I approve from there; and their destruction comes from that place, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell.'

64. Whoever[3] of those existing, thus, with reverence unto the good, performs much worship for Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd, aware of *it* through righteousness, gives *him* whatsoever Aûharmazd is aware of through righteousness, as remuneration *and* reward of duty *and* good works, and *such* members of

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[1] So in the Pâzand, but 'seventeen' in Persian; in K20 the word is partly illegible, but can be no other number than *s*ibâ, 'seven.'

[2] The mountainous region south of the Caspian (see Bund. XII, 2, 17).

[3] This section is the Pahlavi version of an Avesta formula which is appended to nearly two-thirds of the hâs or chapters of the Yasna, and, therefore, indicates the close of the chapter at this point. The version here given contains a few verbal deviations from that given in the Yasna, but none of any importance. The Avesta text of this formula is as follows:—

Yêṅhê hâtăm âa*d*, yêsnê paitî,
vanghô mazd*a*u ahurô vaêthâ, ashâ*d* ha*k*â,
y*a*unghăm*k*â, tăs*k*â t*a*us*k*â yazamaidê.

And it may be translated in the following manner:—

'Of whatever male of the existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.'

the congregation, males and females, I reverence; and the archangels, who are also male and female, they are good.

CHAPTER III.

1. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one!* whence do they restore this good religion of the Mazdayasnians? and by what means will they destroy these demons with dishevelled hair[1], of the race of Wrath? 2. O creator! grant me death! and grant my favoured ones death! that they may not live in that perplexing time; grant *them* exemplary living! that they may not prepare wickedness and the way to hell.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! after the ill-omened[2] sovereignty of those of the race of Wrath[3] there is a fiend, Shêdâspîh[4] of the Kilisyâkîh, from the countries of Salmân[5];' Mâh-

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[1] The Pâz. MSS. insert, 'and black clothing' here.

[2] Literally, 'black-marked,' or possibly, 'black standard.'

[3] The Pâz. MSS. add, 'the leathern-belted Tûrks,' that is, people of Turkistân.

[4] This fiend appears to be a personification of Christianity or 'ecclesiasticism' (Kilisyâkîh, see Chap. II, 19), and the writer seems to place his appearance some time in the middle ages, probably before the end of the thirteenth century (see the note on § 44). Darmesteter suggests that Shêdâsp may have been intended as a modern counterpart of Bêvarâsp (Az-i Dahâk), the ancient tyrant; and that this Christian invasion may be a reminiscence of the crusades.

[5] I have formerly read Mûsulmân instead of min Salmân, and hence concluded that the text must have been written long

vand-dâd said that *these people* are Rûman (Arûmâyîk), and Rôshan[1] said that they have red weapons, red banners, *and* red hats (kûlâh). 4. 'It is when a symptom of them appears, as they advance, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun and the dark show signs, and the moon becomes manifest of various colours; earthquakes (bûm-guzand), too, become numerous, and the wind comes more violently; in the world want, distress, and discomfort come more into view; and Mercury and Jupiter advance the sovereignty for the vile[2], *and* they are *in* hundreds and thousands and myriads. 5. They have the red banner of the fiend Shêdâspîh of Kilisyâkîh, and they hasten much their progress to these countries of Iran *which* I, Aûharmazd, created, up to the bank of the Arvand[3],' some have said[4] the Frât[5] river, 'unto the Greeks (Yûnân) dwelling in Asûristân;' they are Greeks by strict reckoning[6],

after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; but this reading is irreconcileable with the context. The position of Salmân (Av. Sairima) is defined by Bund. XX, 12, which places the sources of the Tigris in that country.

[1] The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad, and other texts. Mâhvand-dâd is mentioned in the Pahlavi Yasna (see Sls. I, 4).

[2] The Pâz. MSS. state that 'Mercury and Jupiter beat down the strength of Venus.'

[3] Here written Arang, Arand, or Arvad, but as it is Arvand in §§ 21, 38, that reading seems preferable, the difference between the two names in Pahlavi being merely a single stroke. The Arvand is the Tigris, and the Arang probably the Araxes (see SZS. VI, 20, Bund. XX, 8).

[4] Literally, 'there are *and* were *some* who said;' this phrase occurs several times in the latter part of this text.

[5] The Euphrates.

[6] Or, 'of strict reckoning,' reading sâkht amâr, but both reading and meaning are very uncertain. As it stands in K20 it

and their Assyrian dwelling is this, that they slay the Assyrian people therein, and thus they will destroy their abode, some have said the *lurking*-holes (grêstak) of the demons.

6. 'They turn back those of the race of Wrath[1] in hundreds and thousands and myriads; *and* the banners, standards, and an innumerable army of those demons with dishevelled hair will come to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 7. And the army of the invader[2] is an extending enemy of the Tûrk[3] and even the Karm[4], be it with banners aloft when he shall set up a banner, be it through the excessive multitude which will remain—like *hairs in* the mane of a horse—in the countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created.

8. 'The leathern-belted Tûrk *and* the Rûman Shê*d*âspîh of Kilisyâkîh come forth with simultaneous movement[5], and in three places, with similar strife, there was and *will* be three times a great contest (âr*d*îh), O Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân! 9. One in the reign of Kaî-Kâûs[6], when through

may be sâkht *g*umâl, 'extreme beauty,' or Sâkhtîmâr (the name of a place), or this may stand for sâkht tîmâr, 'severe misfortune;' and other readings are possible.

[1] It is not quite clear which party will turn the other back.

[2] Literally, 'extender,' that is, one engaged in extending his own dominions.

[3] The remainder of this § (except the verb 'remain') is Pâzand written in Persian characters in K20.

[4] Possibly the Karmak of Chap. II, 49. In § 20 the Kur*d* and Karmân (or Karms) may refer to the Tûrk and Karm of this §, so it is doubtful whether Tûrk or Kur*d* is meant.

[5] Or, 'for the encounter,' pavan ham-rasi*s*nîh.

[6] See Bund. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7. The letters are here joined together, so as to become Kaî-gâûs, and this form of the name is

the assistance of demons *it was* with the archangels; and the second when thou, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! receivedst the religion and *hadst* thy conference, *and* King Vistâsp and Argâsp[1], miscreated by wrath, *were*, through the war of the religion, in the combat of Spêd-razûr ("the hoary forest[2]"),' some have said *it was* in Pârs; 'and the third when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when all the three, Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, come to this[3] place,' some have said the plain of Nîsânak[4]. 10. 'And all *those of* the countries of Iran, which I, Aûharmazd, created, come from their own place unto Padashkhvârgar[5], owing to those of the race of Wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! so that a report of something of the cave dwellings, mountain dwellings, and river dwellings of these people will remain at Padashkhvârgar and Pârs; some have *said* the fire Visnâsp[6], on the deep Lake Kêkast which has medicinal water opposed to the demons, is there (in Padashkhvârgar?) as it were conspicuous,' some have said 'originating[7],' 'so that

often read Kâhûs or Kahôs in Pâzand (see Mkh. VIII, 27, XXVII, 54, LVII, 21). The Pâz. MSS. omit § 9.

[1] See Bund. XII, 32, 33.

[2] See Bund. XXIV, 16.

[3] Perhaps 'one' is meant, as hanâ, 'this,' is sometimes substituted for aê, 'one,' both being read *e* in Pâzand.

[4] The reading of this name is quite uncertain.

[5] See Chap. II, 63. The whole of the final clause of this section, about the fire Visnâsp, is inserted parenthetically at this point in the Pahlavi text.

[6] Elsewhere called Gûsnasp, Gûsnâsp, or Gûsasp (see SZS. VI, 22).

[7] The most obvious reading of this word is mâhîk, 'fish,' which can hardly be reconciled with the context. The view here taken is that the writer was translating from an Avesta text, and met

they may use *it* anew, *and* the fire may become shining in these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 11. For when one shall be able to save his own life, he has then no recollection of wife, child, and wealth, that they may not live, *in* that perplexing time, O Zaratûst! yet the day when the hundredth winter becomes the end of thy millennium, which is *that* of Zaratûst, is so that nothing wicked may go from this millennium into that millennium[1].'

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with the word *k*ithra, which means both pê*d*âk, 'clear,' and tôkhmak, 'originating,' but to express the latter meaning he used the synonym mâyakîk, which can be written exactly like mâhîk. Owing to the involved character of this section it is not very clear in English, but it is still more obscure in the Pahlavi text, in which the whole of this clause about the fire is inserted parenthetically after the first mention of Pa*d*ashkhvârgar.

[1] This last clause may be read several ways, and it is by no means easy to ascertain clearly the chronological order of the events which are jumbled together in this last chapter. But it would appear that Zaratûst's millennium was to end at a time when the religion was undisturbed, and just before the incursion of the demons or idolators, the details of which have been given in Chap. II, 22–III, 11, and which is the first event of Hûshê*d*ar's millennium (see § 13). Now according to Bund. XXXIV, 7–9, the interval from 'the coming of the religion,' in the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp, to the end of the Sasanian monarchy was 90 + 112 + 30 + 12 + 14 + 14 + 284 + 460 = 1016 years. If by 'the coming of the religion' be meant the time when Zaratûst received it, as he was then thirty years old, he must have been born 1046 years before the end of the Sasanian monarchy (A. D. 651), and the end of his millennium must have been in A. D. 605, the sixteenth year of Khûsrô Parvîz, when the Sasanian power was near its maximum, and only a score of years before it began suddenly to collapse. This close coincidence indicates that the writer of the Bahman Yast must have adopted the same incorrect chronology as is found in the Bundahis. If, however, 'the coming of the religion' mean its acceptance by Vistâsp, which occurred in Zaratûst's fortieth or

12. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one!* when they are so many in number, by what means will they be able to perish[1]?'

13. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, *and* Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst is born on Lake Frazdân[2].

14. It is when he comes to his conference *with* me[3], Aûharmazd, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!' *that in* the direction of *K*înistân[4], *it* is said—some have said among the Hindus—'is born a prince (kaî); it is his father, a prince of the Kayân race, approaches the

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forty-second year, his birth must have been ten or twelve years earlier, and his millennium must have ended A. D. 593–595. But according to the imperfect chronology of Bund. XXXIV the tenth millennium of the world, that of Capricornus, commenced with 'the coming of the religion,' and ended, therefore, in A. D. 635, the fourth year of Yazdakard, the last Sasanian king, when the Muhammadans were just preparing for their first invasion; so the millennium of Aquarius is very nearly coincident with that of Hûshêdar, and may probably be intended to represent it. It appears, therefore, that the millennium of Hûshêdar is altogether past, having extended from A. D. 593–635 to A. D. 1593–1635.

[1] The Pâz. MSS. omit § 12. The writer having detailed the evils of the iron age, now returns to its commencement in order to describe the means adopted for partially counteracting those evils.

[2] See Bund. XXII, 5, XXXII, 8. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'they bring him up in Zâvulistân and Kâvulistân;' and the Pers. version says, 'on the frontier of Kâbulistân.' With regard to the time of Hûshêdar's birth, see § 44. His name is always written Khûrshêdar in K20.

[3] The Pâz. and Pers. versions say, 'at thirty years of age,' as in § 44.

[4] Possibly Samarkand (see Chap. II, 49, note 2).

women, and a religious prince is born to him; he calls *his* name Vâhrâm the Var*g*âvand[1],' some have said Shahpûr. 15. 'That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky; when that prince is born the star shows a signal.' 16. It is Dâ*d*-Aûharmazd[2] *who* said that the month Âvân and day Vâ*d*[3] is his father's end; 'they rear *him* with the damsels of the king, *and* a woman becomes ruler.

17. 'That prince when he is thirty years old'—some have told the time—'*comes* with innumerable banners *and* divers armies, Hindu and *K*înî[4], having uplifted banners—for they set up *their* banners—having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed[5] as far as the Vêh river'—some have said the country of Bambŏ[6]—'as far as Bukhâr and the Bukhârans within *its* bank,

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[1] Bahrâm the illustrious or splendid (Av. vare*k*anghan*d*, compare Pers. var*g*), an epithet applied, in the Avesta, to the moon, Ti*s*trya, the scriptures, the royal glory of the Kayânians, the Kayânians themselves, and the hero Thrita. This personage may possibly be an incarnation of the angel Bahrâm, mingled with some reminiscences of the celebrated Persian general Bahrâm *K*ôpîn; but see §§ 32, 49.

[2] A commentator who is quoted in the Pahlavi Yas. XI, 22; see also Chap. I, 7.

[3] The 22nd day of the eighth month of the Parsi year, corresponding to October 7th when the year began at the vernal equinox, as the Bundahi*s* (XXV, 6, 7, 20, 21) describes.

[4] That is, Bactrian and Samarkandian.

[5] Or, 'light up with glitter,' according as we read tâ*g*end or tâ*v*end. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 17–44, except one or two isolated phrases.

[6] Spiegel was inclined to identify this name with Bombay, but this is impossible, as the MS. K20 (in which the name occurs) was written some two centuries before the Portuguese invented the name of Bombay. Its original name, by which it is still called by

O Zaratû*ś*t the Spîtâmân! 18. When the star Jupiter comes up to *its* culminating point (bâlist)[1] and casts Venus down, the sovereignty comes to the prince. 19. Quite innumerable are the champions, furnished with arms *and* with banners displayed,' some have said from Sagastân, Pârs, and Khûrâsân, some have said from the lake of Pa*d*ashkhvârgar[2], some have said from the Hirâtîs[3] and Kôhistân, some have said from Taparistân[4]; and from those directions '*every* supplicant for a child[5] comes into[6] view. 20. It is concerning the displayed banners and very numerous army, which were the armed men, champions, and soldiers from the countries of Iran *at* Pa*d*ashkhvârgar—whom *I* told thee[7] that they call both Kur*d* and Karmân—it is declared

its native inhabitants, being Mumbaî. The locality mentioned in the text is evidently to be sought on the banks of the Oxus near Bukhârâ; the Oxus having been sometimes considered the upper course of the Arag, and sometimes that of the Veh (see Bund. XX, 22, note 5). It is hardly probable that either Bâmî (Balkh) or Bâmiyân would be changed into Bambŏ, and the only exact representative of this name appears to be Bamm, a town about 120 miles S. E. of Kirmân; this is quite a different locality from that mentioned in the text, but it is hazardous to set bounds to the want of geographical knowledge displayed by some of the Pahlavi commentators.

[1] Compare SZS. IV, 8. Here the triumph of Jupiter over Venus appears to be symbolical of the displacement of the queen dowager by her son.

[2] That is, from the southern shore of the Caspian.

[3] Reading Hiriyân, but this is doubtful, as it may be 'from the citadels (arigânŏ), or defiles (khalakânŏ), of Kôhistân.'

[4] See Bund. XII, 17, XIII, 15.

[5] That is, every man able to bear arms.

[6] Reading pavan, 'into,' instead of barâ, 'besides' (see SZS. VIII, 2, note 5).

[7] See § 10, but as nothing is said there about Kur*d* or Karmân, it is possible that the writer meant to say, 'of whom I told thee,

that they will slay an excessive number, in companionship *and under* the same banner, for these countries of Iran.

21. 'Those of the race of Wrath and the extensive army[1] of Shê*d*âspîh, *whose* names are the two-legged wolf and the leathern-belted demon on the bank of the Arvand[2], wage three battles, one in Spê*d*-ra*z*ûr[3] and one in the plain of Nîsânak;' some have said that *it was* on the lake of the three races, some have said that *it was* in Marûv[4] the brilliant, *and* some have said in Pârs. 22. 'For the support of the countries of Iran is the innumerable army of the east; its having exalted banners[5] is that they have a banner of tiger skin (bôpar pôst), and their wind banner is white cotton[6]; innumerable are the mounted troops, and they ride up to the *lurking*-holes[7] of the demons; they will slay so that a thousand women can afterwards see and kiss *but* one man.

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and whom they call both Kur*d* and Karmân.' It is more probable, however, that he is referring to § 7.

[1] Compare § 7. The 'extensive army' and 'two-legged wolf' are terms borrowed apparently from Yas. IX, 62, 63.

[2] That is, 'the rapid' (Av. aurvan*d*). The other names of this river, Tigris and Hiddekel, have the same meaning. See §§ 5, 38.

[3] See § 9, of which this is a recapitulation, but the first of the three battles is here omitted by mistake.

[4] Marv in the present Turkistân.

[5] Referring to § 17.

[6] Supposing that bandôk may be equivalent to Pers. bandak, but the usual Pahlavi term for 'cotton' is pumbak (Pers. punbah).

[7] Reading grestak as in § 5, but the word can also be read dar dî*d*ak, 'gate watch-tower.' It is possible that the dru*g*ô geredha, 'pit of the fiend,' of Vend. III, 24, may be here meant; the gate of hell, whence the demons congregate upon the Are*z*ûr ridge (Bund. XII, 8).

23. 'When it is the end of the time[1], O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! those enemies will be as much destroyed as the root of a shrub when *it is* in the night on which a cold winter arrives, and in this night it sheds *its* leaves; and they *will* reinstate these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created[2].

24. 'And with speed rushes the evil spirit, with the vilest races of demons and Wrath with infuriate spear[3], *and* comes on to the support and assistance of those demon-worshippers and miscreations of wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 25. And I, the creator Aûharmazd, send Nêryôsang the angel and Srôsh the righteous[4] unto Kangdez[5], which the illustrious Sîyâvakhsh[6] formed, *and to* Kîtrô-mîyân[7] *son* of Vistâsp, the glory of the Kayâns, the just restorer of the religion, *to speak* thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; consecrate the fire *and* waters for the Hâdôkht[8] *and* Dvâzdah-hômâst!

[1] Compare, 'and at the time of the end' (Dan. xi. 40). The writer appears to be here finally passing from a description of the past into speculations as to the future, which he has hitherto only casually indulged in.

[2] The supernatural means supposed to be employed for the destruction of the wicked and the restoration of the good are detailed in the following paragraphs.

[3] See Chap. II, 36.

[4] The two angels who are the special messengers of Aûharmazd to mankind (see Bund. XV, 1, XXX, 29). This message was expected to be sent to Pêshyôtanû near the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 51).

[5] See Bund. XXIX, 10.

[6] See Bund. XXXI, 25.

[7] A title of Pêshyôtanû, written Kîtrô-maînô in Bund. XXIX, 5.

[8] This was the twentieth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats make it the twenty-first, and say very

that is, celebrate *them* with the fire *and* waters, and such *as* is appointed about the fire and waters!"

little about its contents (see Haug's Essays, pp. 133, 134). The Dînkar*d*, in its eighth book, gives the following account of this Nask :—

'The Hâ*d*ôkht as it exists *has* three divisions among its 133 sections. The first *has* thirteen (twelve?) sections, treatises upon the nature of the recital of the Ahunavar, which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject. Admonition about selecting *and* keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, *and* maintaining even those of various high-priests. On the twenty-one chieftainships of the spirits in Aûharmazd, and of the worldly existences in Zaratûs*t*, among which are the worship of God *and* the management of the devout. On the duty *requisite* in each of the five different periods of the day and night, and *the fate at* the *celestial* bridge of him who shall be zealous in the celebration of the season-festivals; he who does not provide the preparations for the feast of the season-festivals, and who is yet efficient in the other worship of God. On how to consider, *and* what to do with, a leader of the high-priest class *and* a man of the *inferior* classes; he who atones for unimportant sin, and he who does not atone even for *that which* is important, *and* whatever is on the same subject. On the apparatus with which ploughed land (?) is prepared. On the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from uttering good words *for blessing* the eating and drinking of food and drink, and rebuking the inward talk of the demons. On the recitations at the five periods of the day, and the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels, each separately, *and* great information on the same subject; the worthiness of a man restrained by authority, the giving of life and body to the angels, the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction which *proceeds* from a fiend. On all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, and all precedence (?), leadership, foresight(?), worthy liberality, virtue (?), and every proper cause and effect of righteousness; the individuality of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of Aûharmazd's opinion, and also much other information in the same section.

'The middle *division has* 102 sections, treatises on spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership of the diligent, and their mighty

26. 'And Nêryôsang proceeds, *with* Srôsh the righteous, from the good *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâîtîk[1] to Kang-de*z*, which the illustrious Sîyâvakhsh formed, and cries out from it thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! O *K*îtrô-mîyân son of Vi*s*tâsp, glory of the Kayâns, just restorer of the religion! walk forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion!"

27. 'Those spirits move on, and they propitiate them; with holy-water the illustrious Pêshyôtanû celebrates the Dvâ*z*dah-hômâst, with a hundred and fifty righteous who are disciples of Pêshyôtanû, in black marten fur, and they have garments as it were of the good spirit. 28. They walk up with *the words:* "Hûmat, hûkht, hûvar*s*t[2]," and consecrate

means, all former deeds of righteousness; righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is adapted by it for that *of* which it is said that *it is* the Hâ*d*ôkht which is the maintaining of righteousness, so that they may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.

'The last *division has* nineteen sections of trusty remedies, that is, remedies whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource among the creatures of God; also the nature of sayings full of humility, well-favoured, most select, *and* adapted for that *of* which it is said that I reverence that chief, the excellent and eminent Hâ*d*ôkht, of which they trust in the sustaining strength of every word of Zaratû*s*t. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî).'

According to tradition three chapters of this Nask are still extant, being the Ya*s*t fragments XXI, XXII of Westergaard's edition of the Avesta Texts; but they do not correspond to any part of the description in the Dînkar*d*. For a description of Dvâzdah-hômâst see Chap. II, 59.

[1] See Bund. XII, 7.

[2] That is, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' a formula often uttered when commencing an important action.

the fire of the waters; *with* the illustrious Hâ*d*ôkht they bless me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; and after that it demolishes one-third of the opposition. 29. And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth, with the hundred and fifty men who wear black marten fur, and they celebrate the rituals (yasnân) of the Gadman-hômand ("glorious") fire, which they call the Rôshanô-kerp ("luminous form")[1], which is established at the appointed place (dâtô-gâs), the triumphant ritual of the Frôbâ fire, Horvada*d*, *and* Amerôda*d*, and the ceremonial (ya*z*i*s*n) with his priestly co-operation; they arrange and pray over the *sacred* twigs; *and* the ritual of Horvada*d* *and* Amerôda*d*, in the chapter of the code of religious formulas (nîrangistân)[2] demolishes three-thirds of the opposition. 30. Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp walks forth, with the assistance of the Frôbâ *fire*, the fire Gû*s*nâsp, and the fire Bûr*z*în-Mitrô[3], to the great idol-temples, the abode of *the demons*[4]; and the wicked evil spirit, Wrath with infuriate spear[5], and all demons and fiends, evil races and wizards, arrive at the deepest *abyss* of hell; *and* those idol-temples are extirpated by the exertions of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû.

31. 'And I, the creator Aûharmazd, come to Mount Hûkaîryâ*d*[6] with the archangels, and I issue

[1] See Bund. XVII, 5, 6. This appears to be an allusion to the removal of the sacred fire by Vistâsp, from the 'glorious' mountain in Khvârizem to the 'shining' mountain in Kâvulistân.

[2] See Chap. II, 37.

[3] Regarding these three manifestations of the sacred fire, see Bund. XVII, 3–9, SZS. XI, 8–10.

[4] Supplying the word *s*êdâân, 'the demons,' in accordance with §§ 36, 37; there being clearly some word omitted in K20.

[5] See Chap. II, 36. [6] Hûgar the lofty in Bund. XII, 2, 5.

orders to the archangels that they should speak to the angels of the spiritual existences thus: "Proceed to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû!" 32. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures, Srôsh the vigorous, Rashn the just, Vâhrâm[1] the mighty, Âstâ*d* the victorious, *and* the glory of the religion of the Mazdayasnians, the stimulator of *religious* formulas (nîrang), the arranger of the world, *proceed*[2] to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, through the order of which I, the creator, have just written[3].

33. '*Out* of the demons of gloomy race the evil spirit cries to Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures thus: "Stay above in truth[4], thou Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures!"

34. 'And then Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries thus: "Of these nine thousand years' support, which during its beginning produced Dahâk of evil religion, Frâsiyâ*v* of Tûr, *and* Alexander[5] the Rûman, the period of one thousand years of those leathern-belted demons with dishevelled hair is a more than moderate reign to produce[6]."

35. 'The wicked evil spirit becomes confounded when he heard this; Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures will smite Wrath of the infuriate spear with

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[1] The fact that the angel Vâhrâm goes in his spiritual form to the assistance of Pêshyôtanû, rather militates against the idea that he also goes in the form of Vâhrâm the Vargâvand.

[2] This verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

[3] Literally, 'arrive at the writing.'

[4] Or, 'stand up with honesty!'

[5] The latter two names are here written Frâsâ*v* and Alasandar.

[6] From this it appears that the writer expected the evil reign of the unbelievers to last a thousand years, that is, till the end of Hûshê*d*ar's millennium, about A. D. 1593–1635, which corresponds very closely with the reign of the great Shâh 'Abbâs.

stupefaction; *and* the wicked evil spirit flees, with the miscreations and evil progeny he flees back to the darkest *recess* of hell. 36. And Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to the illustrious Pêshyôtanû thus: "Extirpate *and* utterly destroy the idol-temples, the abode of the demons! proceed to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion over the wicked! when they see thee they will be terrified."

37. 'And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû advances, and the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnasp, and the triumphant fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô will smite the fiend of excessive strength; he will extirpate the idol-temples that are the abode of demons; and they celebrate the ceremonial (yazisn), arrange the *sacred* twigs, solemnize the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and praise me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; this is what I foretell[1]. 38. The illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, to the Arvand and Vêh river[2]; when the wicked see him they will be terrified, those of the progeny of gloom and those not worthy.

39. 'And regarding that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand it is declared that he comes forth in full glory, fixes upon Vandîd-khîm[3] ("a curbed temper"), and *having* intrusted *him* with the seat of mobadship of the

[1] Or, perhaps, 'what I said before,' being already narrated in § 29 as performed by Pêshyôtanû before advancing far into Iran.

[2] The Tigris and the Oxus—Indus (see §§ 5, 21).

[3] Probably a title of Pêshyôtanû; a more obvious translation would be, 'restrains a curbed temper, and is intrusted,' &c., but it is hardly probable that the warrior prince Vâhrâm could become a priest. It is Vâhrâm's business to restore the empire, leaving Pêshyôtanû to restore the religion.

mobads[1], and the seat of true explanation of the religion, he restores again these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; and he drives[2] away from the world covetousness, want, hatred, wrath, lust, envy, and wickedness. 40. And the wolf period goes away, and the sheep period comes on; they establish the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnâsp, *and* the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô again at their proper places, and they will properly supply the firewood and incense; and the wicked evil spirit becomes confounded and unconscious, with the demons and the progeny of gloom. 41. And so the illustrious Pêshyôtanû speaks thus: "Let the demon be destroyed, and the witch be destroyed! let the fiendishness and vileness of the demons be destroyed! and let the gloomy progeny of the demons be destroyed! The glory[3] of the religion of the Mazdayasnians prospers, and let it prosper! let the family[4] of the liberal and just, who are doers of good deeds, prosper! and let the throne of the religion and sovereignty have a good restorer!" 42. Forth comes the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, forth he comes with a hundred and fifty men of the disciples who wear black marten fur, and they take the throne of their own religion and sovereignty.'

43. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell, when it is the end of thy millennium it is the beginning of *that* of Hûshêdar[5].

[1] The supreme high-priesthood, or primacy.

[2] Merely a guess, as the verb varafsêd is difficult to understand.

[3] K20 has nismô, 'soul,' but the very-similarly written gadman, 'glory,' is a more likely reading here (see § 32).

[4] Reading dûdak instead of rûdak, as in Chap. II, 47.

[5] The writer having detailed the supernatural means employed for restoring the religion, now returns to the birth of Hûshêdar

44. Regarding Hûshêdar it is declared that he will be born in 1600[1], and at thirty years of age he comes to a conference with me, Aûharmazd, *and* receives the religion. 45. When he comes away from the conference he cries to the sun with the swift horse[2], thus: "Stand still!"

46. 'The sun with the swift horse stands still ten

(§ 13) for the purpose of mentioning some of his actions, and making the chronology of his millennium rather more clear. Nothing is said here about his miraculous birth, the details of which are given in the seventh book of the Dînkard very much as they are found in the Persian Rivâyats. The Dînkard states that thirty years before the end of Zaratûst's millennium a young maiden bathing in certain water, and drinking it, becomes pregnant through the long-preserved seed of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8, 9), and subsequently gives birth to Hûshêdar.

[1] There seems to be no other rational way of understanding this number than by supposing that it represents the date of Hûshêdar's birth, counting from the beginning of Zaratûst's millennium. According to this view Hûshêdar was to be born in the six hundredth year of his own millennium, and not at its beginning, as § 13 seems to imply, nor nearly thirty years earlier, as the Dînkard asserts. As the beginning of his millennium may be fixed about A.D. 593–635 (see note on § 11), the writer must have expected him to be born about A.D. 1193–1235; a time which was probably far in the future when he was writing. And as Vâhrâm the Vargâvand was to be born when Hûshêdar was thirty years of age (compare §§ 14, 44), and was to march into Iran at the age of thirty (§ 17), the great conflict of the nations (§§ 8, 19–22) was expected to begin about A.D. 1253–1295, and to continue till near the end of the millennium, about A.D. 1593–1635, when Pêshyôtanû was expected to appear (§ 51) and to restore the 'good' religion (§§ 26, 37, 42). An enthusiastic Parsi interpreter of prophecy might urge that though this period did not witness any revival of his religion, it did witness a restoration of the Persian empire under Shâh 'Abbâs, and also the first beginning of British power in India, which has been so great a benefit to the scanty remnant of his fellow-countrymen.

[2] The usual epithet of the sun in the Avesta.

days and nights; and when this happens all the people of the world abide by the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 47. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to Hûshêdar, *son* of Zaratûst, thus: "O Hûshêdar, restorer of the true religion! cry to the sun with the swift horse thus: 'Move on!' for it is dark in the regions of Arzâh and Savâh, Fradadafsh *and* Vidadafsh, Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst, and the illustrious Khvanîras[1]."

48. 'Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst cries, to the sun he cries, thus: "Move on!" 49. The sun with the swift horse moves on, *and* Vargâvand[2] and all mankind fully believe in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians.'

50. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell, that this one brings the creatures back to their proper state. 51. When it is near the end of the millennium Pêshyôtanù[3] son of Vistâsp comes into notice, who is a Kayân that advances triumphantly; and those enemies who relied upon fiendishness, such as the Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, and the vile ones who control[4] the Iranian sovereign with insolence and oppression and enmity to the sovereignty, destroy the fire and make the religion weak; and they convey *their* power and success to him and every one who accepts the law and religion willingly; if he

[1] The seven regions of the earth (see Bund. XI, 2, 3).

[2] It is just possible to read, 'the sun with the swift horse, the splendid, moves on, and all mankind fully believe,' &c. But if the reading in the text be correct it effectually disposes of the idea of Vâhrâm being an incarnation of the angel, as an angel would require no miracle to make him believe in the religion.

[3] See §§ 25–30.

[4] This verb is doubtful, as most of the word is torn off in K20.

accept it unwillingly the law and religion ever destroy *him*[1] till it is the end of the whole millennium.

52. 'And, afterwards, when the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh comes, through Hûshêdar-mâh[2] the creatures become more progressive, and he utterly destroys the fiend of serpent origin[3]; *and* Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp becomes, in like manner, high-priest and primate (rad) of the world[4]. 53. In that millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh mankind become so versed in medicine, and keep and bring physic and remedies so *much* in use, *that* when they are confessedly at the point of death they do not thereupon die, nor when they smite and slay *them* with the sword and knife[5].

54. 'Afterwards, *one* begs a gift of *any* description out of the allowance of heretics, *and* owing to depravity *and* heresy they do not give *it*. 55. And Aharman rises through that spite[6] on to the moun-

[1] This appears to be the meaning, but the latter part of the sentence is not very clear.

[2] See Bund. XXXII, 8. The name is written Khûrshêd-mâh in K20. The Dînkard gives the same account of the miraculous birth of Hûshêdar-mâh as of the first Hûshêdar (see note on § 43); it also repeats the legend of the sun standing still, but for the longer period of twenty days; all which details are also found in the Persian Rivâyats.

[3] Av. azikithra; such creatures are mentioned in Ardavahist Yt. 8, 10, 11, 15; but Az-i Dahâk, 'the destructive serpent,' is probably meant here (see §§ 56–61).

[4] As in the previous millennium. According to the chronology deduced from § 44 the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, which corresponds to the twelfth and last millennium of Bund. XXXIV, is now near the middle of its third century.

[5] The sentence is either defective or obscure, but this appears to be its meaning.

[6] The evil spirit is encouraged, by an act of religious toleration, apparently, to recommence his manœuvres for injuring mankind.

tain of Dimâvand[1], which is the direction of Bêvarâsp, *and* shouts thus: "Now it is nine thousand years, *and* Frêdûn is not living; why do you not rise up, although these thy fetters are not removed, when[2] this world is full of people, and they have brought them from the enclosure which Yim formed[3]?"

56. 'After that apostate shouts like this, *and* because of it, Az-i Dahâk[4] stands up before *him*, *but*, through fear of the likeness of Frêdûn in the body of Frêdûn, he does not first remove those fetters and stake from *his* trunk until Aharman removes *them*. 57. And the vigour of Az-i Dahâk increases, the fetters being removed from *his* trunk, *and his* impetuosity remains; he swallows down the apostate on the spot[5], and rushing into the world to perpetrate sin, he commits innumerable grievous sins; he swallows down one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Aûharmazd; he smites the water, fire, and vegetation, and commits grievous sin.

58. 'And, afterwards, the water, fire, and vegetation stand before Aûharmazd the lord in lamentation, and make this complaint: "Make Frêdûn alive again! so that he may destroy Az-i Dahâk; for if thou, O Aûharmazd! dost not do this, we cannot

[1] Here written Dimbhâvand (see Bund. XII, 31).

[2] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

[3] The var-i Yim kard (see Bund. XXIX, 14). The men and creatures who are supposed to be preserved in this enclosure are expected to replenish the world whenever it has been desolated by wars and oppression.

[4] Whose surname is Bêvarâsp (see Bund. XXIX, 9).

[5] The Pâz. MSS. end here.

exist in the world; the fire says thus: I *will* not heat; and the water says thus: I *will* not flow."

59. 'And then I, Aûharmazd the creator, say to Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel: "Shake the body of Keresâsp the Sâmân, till he rises up!"

60. 'Then Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel go to Keresâsp[1]; three times they utter a cry, and the fourth time Sâm rises up with triumph, and goes to meet A*z*-i Dahâk. 61. And[2] Sâm does not listen to his words, and the triumphant club strikes him on the head, and smites and kills *him;* afterwards, desolation *and* adversity depart from this world, while I make a beginning of the millennium[3]. 62. Then Sôshyans[4] makes the creatures again pure, and the resurrection and future existence occur.'

63. May the end be in peace, pleasure, and joy, by the will of God (yazdânŏ)! so may it be! even more so may it be!

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[1] Also called Sâm in this same section; he was lying in a trance in the plain of Pê*s*yânsaî (see Bund. XXIX, 7–9).

[2] Reading afa*s* instead of mina*s* (see Chap. II, 4, note 2).

[3] The thirteenth millennium, or first of the future existence, when Sôshyans appears. The Dînkar*d* and the Persian Rivâyats recount the same legends regarding the miraculous birth of Sôshyans, and of the sun standing still (for thirty days), as they do with regard to Hûshê*d*ar (see note on § 43).

[4] See Bund. XXXII, 8.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

OR

THE PROPER AND IMPROPER.

AN OLD

PAHLAVI RIVÂYAT

OR

MISCELLANY OF TRADITIONAL MEMORANDA.

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Âf. for Âfrîngân. Av. for Avesta. AV. for the Book of Ar*d*â-Vîrâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Bund. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Ya*s*t, as translated in this volume. Chald. for Chaldee. Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâri*s*. Lev. for Leviticus. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khar*d*, ed. West. Nîr. for Nîrangistân. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as here translated. SZS. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, as translated in this volume. W. for Westergaard. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

B29 (written A.D. 1679), a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

L7, L15, L22, &c. are MSS. No. 7, 15, 22, &c. in the India Office Library at London.

M5 (written A.D. 1723), No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M6 (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the same Collection.

M9 (modern), No. 9 of the same Collection.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), a MS. of the Bundahi*s* belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

PART I.—*The Original Treatise.*

CHAPTER I.

0. In the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation may there be the good health, long life, and abundant wealth of all the good and the right-doers specially for him whose writing I am[1].

1. As revealed by the Avesta, it is said in the Vendidad[2] that these seven degrees (pâyak) of sin

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[1] See the note on B. Yt. I, 0.

[2] Referring to Vend. IV, 54–114, where seven classes of assault and their respective punishments are detailed. In our text eight classes of sin are named, although only seven degrees are mentioned; the second and third classes being apparently arranged together, as one degree of sin in § 2. Or the inconsistency may have arisen from the addition of the Farmân, a class of sin or crime not mentioned in the Vendidad, unless, indeed, it be the farmân spôkhtanŏ, 'neglect of commandment' (referring probably to priest's commands), of Pahl. Vend. VI, 15. The other seven classes are thus described in Pahl. Vend. IV, 54–57, 79, 85, 93, 99, 106 :—

'By the man whose weapon (or blow) is upraised for striking a man, that which is his Âgerept is thus implanted in *him*. When it *has* moved forward—that is, he makes *it* advance—*it* is thus his Avôirîst, that is, Avôirîst is implanted in him *and* the Âgerept merges into it, some say that it does not exist. When he comes on to him *with* thoughts of malice—that is, he places a hand upon him—*it* is thus his Aredûs, that is, Aredûs is implanted in him and the Avôirîst merges into it, some say that it does not exist. *At* the fifth Aredûs the man even becomes a Tanâpûhar; *things* at

are mentioned in revelation, *which* are Farmân, Âgerept, Avôirîst[1], Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâî, Yât, and Tanâpûhar[2]. 2. A Farmân is the weight of four

sunrise (avar-khûrshêdîh) and in the forenoon (kâîtîh = kâstîh) are no more apart. . . . Whoever inflicts the Aredûs blow on a man *it is* one-fifth of a wound (rêsh). . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a cruel Khôr ('hurt') on a man *it is* one-fourth of a wound. . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a bleeding Khôr on a man *it is* one-third of a wound. . . . Whoever shall give a man a bone-breaking Khôr *it is* half a wound. . . . Whoever strikes a man the blow *which puts him* out of consciousness shall give a whole wound.'

This description does not mention Bâzâî and Yât, unless they be the two severer kinds of Khôr; but Bâzâî occurs in Pahl. Vend. IV, 115, V, 107, XIII, 38, though Yât seems not to be mentioned in the Vendidad. Aredûs occurs again in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, and Khôr in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, XIII, 38, and Yas. LVI, iv, 2.

[1] Also written avôîrist, avîrist, aîvîrist, avôkîrist, and avakôrist in other places.

[2] Five of these names are merely slight alterations of the Av. âgerepta, avaoirista, aredus, *hv*ara, and tanuperetha (peretôtanu or peshôtanu). The last seven degrees are also noticed in a very obscure passage in Farh. Okh. pp. 36, 37 (correcting the text from the old MSS. M6 and K20) as follows:—

'Âgerept, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent *person;* Avôirîst, "turning," is that when *one* turns the weapon upon an innocent *person;* when through sinfulness *one* lays the weapon on a sinner the name is Aredûs; for whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; *one* explains Bâzâî *as* "smiting," *and* Yât *as* "going to," *and* the soul of man ought to be withstanding, *as* a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it *has* been so much *away* from the abode of life. *In* like manner Âgerept, Avôirîst, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâî, and Yât are also called good works, *which* are performed in like proportions, *and* are called by the names of weights and measures *in* the same manner. Of peshôtanus tanûm pairyêitê the meaning is a Tanâpûhar; as they call a good work of three hundred a Tanâpûhar, on account of the three hundred like proportions of the same kind, the meaning of its name, Tanâpûhar, thereupon enters into sin. . . . A Khôr is just that description of wound from which

stîrs, and each stîr is four dirhams (*g*ûgan)[1]; of Âgerept and Avôirîšt that which is least is a scourging (tâžânŏ), and the amount of them which was specially *that* which is most is said *to be* one dirham[2]; an Aredûs is thirty *stîrs*[3]; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâžâî is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs; and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs[4].

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the blood comes, irrespective of where, how, how much, *and* wherewith it is inflicted; *it is* that which is a wound from the beginning, *and* that which will result therefrom.'

The application of this scale of offences is, however, not confined to these particular forms of assault, but has been extended (since the Avesta was compiled) to all classes of sins, and also to the good works which are supposed to counterbalance them.

[1] The dirham has been variously estimated, at different times, as a weight of forty-five to sixty-seven grains, but perhaps fifty grains may be taken as the meaning of the text, and the stîr may, therefore, be estimated at 200 grains. The Greeks used both these weights, which they called δραχμή and στατήρ.

[2] The amounts of these first three degrees of sin are differently stated in other places (see Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 1–3, 5). It is difficult to understand why the amounts of Âgerept and Avôirîšt should here be stated as less than that of Farmân, and some Parsis, therefore, read vîhast (as an irregular form of vîst, 'twenty') instead of vês-ast, 'is most,' so that they may translate the amount as 'twenty dirhams;' but to obtain this result they would have to make further alterations in the Pahlavi text. In a passage quoted by Spiegel (in his Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, p. 88) from the Rivâyat MS. P12, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, it is stated that Farmân is seven stîrs, Âgerept twelve stîrs, and Avôirîšt fifteen stîrs. Another Rivâyat makes the Farmân eight stîrs.

[3] All MSS. have Aredûs sî 30, 'an Aredûs is thirty (30),' leaving it doubtful whether dirhams or stîrs are meant; and the same mode of writing is adopted in Chap. XI, 2.

[4] All authorities agree about the amounts of the last five degrees of sin. These amounts are the supposed weights of the several sins in the golden scales of the angel Rashnû (see AV. V, 5), when the soul is called to account, for its actions during life, after the

3. In the administration of the primitive faith[1] there are *some* who have been of different opinions

third night after death (see Mkh. II, 114–122). Its sins are supposed to be then weighed against its good works, which are estimated by the same scale of degrees (see the passage already quoted from Farh. Okh. in p. 240, note 2), and it is sent direct to heaven, or hell, or an intermediate place, according as the good works or sins preponderate, or are both equal. In the Avesta of the Vendidad, however, whence these degrees are derived, we find them forming merely a graduated scale of assaults, extending from first lifting the hand to smite even unto manslaughter; and for each of these seven degrees of assault a scale of temporal punishments is prescribed, according to the number of times the offence has been committed. These punishments consist of a uniform series of lashes with a horse-whip or scourge, extending from a minimum of five lashes to a maximum of two hundred (see Vend. IV, 58–114); each degree of assault commencing at a different point on the scale of punishments for the first offence, and gradually rising through the scale with each repetition of the offence, so that the more aggravated assaults attain the maximum punishment by means of a smaller number of repetitions. Thus, the punishments prescribed for Âgerepta, from the first to the eighth offence, are 5, 10, 15, 30, 50, 70, 90, and 200 lashes respectively; those for Avaoirista, from the first to the seventh offence, extend on the same scale from 10 to 200 lashes; those for Aredus, from the first to the sixth offence, are from 15 to 200 lashes; those for a bruised hurt (*hv*ara), from the first to the fifth offence, are from 30 to 200 lashes; those for a bleeding hurt, from the first to the fourth offence, are from 50 to 200 lashes; those for a bone-breaking hurt, from the first to the third offence, are from 70 to 200 lashes; and those for a hurt depriving of consciousness or life, for the first and second offences, are 90 and 200 lashes. The maximum punishment of 200 lashes is prescribed only when the previous offences have not been atoned for, and it is to be inflicted in all such cases, however few or trifling the previous assaults have been.

[1] In M6 pôryô*d*kêshîh, but pôryô*d*kêshân, 'of those of the primitive faith,' in K20; from the Av. paoiryô*d*kaêsha of Yas. I, 47, III, 65, IV, 53, XXII, 33, Fravardîn Yt. 0, 90, 156, Âf. Rapithwin, 2. It is a term applied to what is considered as the

about it, for Gôgô*s*asp[1] spoke otherwise than the teaching[2] (*k*â*s*tak) of Âtarô-Aûharmazd[3], and Sôshyans[4] *otherwise* than the teaching of Âtarô-frôbâg Nôsâî[5], and Mê*d*ôk-mâh[6] *otherwise* than the teaching of Gôgô*s*asp[7], and Afarg[8] *otherwise* than the teaching

true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratû*s*t.

[1] One of the old commentators whose opinions are frequently quoted in Pahlavi books, as in Chap. II, 74, 82, 119, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 138, 151, IV, 35, V, 14, 121, VI, 9, 64, VII, 6, 136, VIII, 64, 236, XV, 35, 48, 56, 67, XVI, 5, XVIII, 98, 124, and thirteen times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Gô*s*asp (as it is here both in M6 and K20) and sometimes Gôgô*s*ôsp.

[2] Probably a written exposition or commentary is meant.

[3] This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân as Âtarô Aûharmazdân.

[4] This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 56, 74, 80, 118, 119, III, 13, VI, 4, 5; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, 151, IV, 6, V, 48, 80, 107, 121, 146, 153, VI, 15, 64, 73, VII, 4, 136, 168, VIII, 28, 59, 303, IX, 184, XIII, 20, XVI, 7, 10, 17, 20–22, 27, XVIII, 98, and forty-six times in the Nîrangistân. He was a namesake of the last of the future apostles and sons of Zaratû*s*t (see Bund. XXXII, 8), and his name is often written Sôshâns and read Saoshyôs or Sôsyô*s* by Pâzand writers.

[5] This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân, and may probably be the Âtarô-frôbâg of B. Yt. I, 7; compare also Nôsâî Bûr*z*-Mitrô, the name of another commentator, in Chap. VIII, 18.

[6] This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 1, 11, 12, 89, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 6, 58, 107, VIII, 48, 110, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 37, and four times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Mê*d*yôk-mâh or Mâî*d*ôk-mâh, and he was a namesake of Zaratû*s*t's cousin and first disciple (see Bund. XXXII, 2, 3). The Va*g*arkar*d*-i Dînîk professes to have been compiled by Mê*d*yôk-mâh, but there appear to have been several priests of this name (see Bund. XXXIII, 1).

[7] Gô*s*asp in M6.

[8] This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 2, 64, 73, 88, 115, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 115, V, 6, 14, 22, 58,

of Sôshyans. 4. And all those of the primitive faith rely upon these six[1] teachings, and there are *some* who rely more weakly and some more strongly *upon some* of them.

146, VI, 9, VII, 6, 61, 93, 136, VIII, 48, 64, 110, 250, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 14, 37, XIX, 84, Pahl. Yas. LXIV, 37, once in Farh. Okh., and thirty-eight times in the Nîrangistân.

[1] Both MSS. have 'three,' although four teachings and six commentators are mentioned in the previous section, and a fifth 'teaching' is mentioned in Chap. II, 2. The original reading was more probably 'six' than 'four,' as a Pahlavi 'six' requires merely the omission of a cipher to become 'three,' whereas a Pahlavi 'four' must be altered to produce the same blunder.

Several other commentators are mentioned in Pahlavi books, such as Âtarô-pâ*d*, son of Dâ*d*-farukh, twice in the Nîrangistân; Âzâ*d*-mar*d* nine times in Nîr.; Barôshand Aûharmazd once in Nîr.; Dâ*d* Aûharmazd in B. Yt. I, 7, III, 16, Pahl. Yas. X, 57, XI, 22; Dâ*d*-farukh in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, VI, 64, and twice in Nîr.; Dâ*d*-i-vêh seventeen times in Nîr.; Farukhŏ thrice in Nîr.; Kîrâtanŏ-bûgê*d* in Pahl. Vend. V, 80, VI, 15, IX, 184, XIII, 20, he is called the Kirmânîk in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, and Dastûr Hoshangji thinks his name is merely a variant of the next; Kûshtanŏ-bûgê*d* in Sls. II, 57, 81, 118, VI, 6, VIII, 17, Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, IV, 6, V, 48, VI, 53, 64, 73, VIII, 28, XVI, 17, 21, 22, 27, and twenty-two times in Nîr.; Mâh-Aûharmazd in Pahl. Vend. VII, 82; Mâh-gô*s*aspŏ, Mâh-gô*s*ôspŏ, Mâh-gôspŏ, or Mâh-vasp in Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, Pahl. Vend. III, 138, and ten times in Nîr.; Mâhvand-dâ*d* or Mâh-vindâ*d* in B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, X, 57, XI, 22, XIX, 27; Mar*d*-bû*d* in Sls. II, 86, and twice in Nîr., where he is called the son of Dâ*d*-gun; Nêryôsang in Sls. VIII, 13, Pahl. Vend. V, 22; Nikhshâ-pûhar, or Nîshapûhar in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in Nîr.; Nôsâi Bûr*z*-Mitrô in Sls. VIII, 18; Parîk or Pîrîk in Pahl. Vend. III, 138, V, 14, 134, VII, 82, 93, VIII, 64, and once in Nîr.; Rôshan or Rôshanô (which, as the *S*ikand-gûmânî states, was the name of a commentary written by Rôshan son of Âtarô-frôbâg) in Sls. II, 39, 86, 107, B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 5, 14, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, V, 112, 134, 176, VII, 93, XVII, 11, and eleven times in Nîr.; disciples of Vakht-âfrî*d*ŏ (possibly the Bakht-âfrî*d* of Sls. XX, 11, B. Yt. I, 7) are mentioned once in Nîr.; Vand-Aûharmazd in Sls. II, 2, 6, 44, XIV, 5, Pahl. Vend. VI, 73; and Vêh-dôst once in

Chapter II.

1. For in the third fargar*d* ('chapter') of the Vendidad of Mê*d*ôk-mâh[1] *it* is declared that when life is resigned without effort[2], at the time when the life departs, when a dog is tied to his foot, even then the Nasû*s*[3] rushes upon it, and afterwards, when seen by it, the Nasû*s* is destroyed by it. 2. This is where *it is stated* which is the dog which destroys the Nasû*s*[4], the shepherd's dog, the village-dog, the blood-hound, the slender hound[5], and the rûkûnîk[6];

the Nîrangistân. It must, however, be observed that the reading of some of these names is very uncertain.

[1] Alluding probably to Mê*d*ôk-mâh's complete commentary on the Vendidad (now no longer extant), as the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48, which treats of Sag-dî*d* or dog-gaze, does not mention Mê*d*ôk-mâh or any of the details described here in the text; these details, however, are to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

[2] Reading amat barâ zôr *g*ân dâ*d*. This phrase occurs only in M6 (as a marginal note) and in the text of its descendants. Assuming that barâ may be a miswriting of pavan (see p. 176, note 5), we might read amat pavan zôr shûyâ*d*, 'when he shall wash with holy-water.'

[3] The 'corruption' which is supposed to enter a corpse shortly after death, whence it issues in the form of a fiend and seizes upon any one who touches the corpse, unless it has been destroyed, or driven away, by the gaze of a dog, as mentioned in the text (compare Vend. VIII, 38–48). The carcase of a dog is considered equally contagious with the corpse of a human being, and when the fiend of corruption (Nasû*s* or Nas of Bund. XXVIII, 29) has seized upon any one, it can be driven out only by a long and troublesome form of purification described in Vend. VIII, 111–228, IX, 4–117.

[4] This statement is now to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

[5] See Bund. XIV, 19. The Persian Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah and Kâûs Kâmân (quoted in B29) describe these dogs as 'the shepherd's dog, the house-dog, the strange or tame (gharîb) dog, and the puppy.'

[6] Probably the Av. sukuruna of Vend. V, 100, XIII, 48, which

and as to the rûkûnîk there have been divers opinions, *as* Vand-Aûharmazd[1] asserted, from the teaching of Afarg, that it does not destroy *it*. 3. The dog destroys the Nasûs at the time when it sees the flesh, and when it sees the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*[2]. 4. A blind dog also destroys *it* at the time when it places a paw[3] on the corpse; and when it places *it* upon the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*[4]. 5. The birds which destroy the Nasûs are three: the mountain kite, the black crow, and the vulture[5]; the bird, moreover, destroys *it* at the time when *its* shadow falls upon it; when it sees it in the water, a mirror, or a looking-glass, it does not destroy *it*[6].

is translated by hûkar or hûkûr in the Pahlavi version. This fifth kind of dog is called 'the blind (kûr) dog' in the Persian Rivâyats; but Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 asserts that 'Sôshâns said the rûkunîk also destroys it,' and then speaks of the blind dog as in § 4.

[1] See the note on Chap. I, 4.

[2] This is also stated in Pahl. Vend. III, 138.

[3] See Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

[4] The Persian Rivâyats say this is because the Nasûs is concealed beneath the hair and nails (compare Vend. VII, 70).

[5] These are the birds 'created for devouring dead matter' (see Bund. XIX, 25). Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 substitutes an eagle (dâlman) for the vulture.

[6] This sentence is probably defective, as the last clause evidently refers to the dog's gaze (see Pahl. Vend. III, 138), and not to the bird's shadow; the rule, however, is applicable to both. Thus the Persian Rivâyats state that if the bird's shadow falls upon the hair or the nails of the corpse, or if the bird's shadow, or the dog's gaze falls upon a corpse in the water, or upon its reflection in a mirror, the Nasûs is not destroyed. Dastûr Jâmâspji is of opinion that the utility of the bird's shadow is intended to apply only to cases of death in uninhabited places, where a dog is not procurable. As all three birds are such as feed upon corpses, it seems probable that the rule as to their utility was intended to pre-

6. Vand-Aûharmazd said, where a pregnant woman is to be carried by two men[1], both are to be cleansed by the Bareshnûm *ceremony*[2], and the head of the corpse, when they carry it away, is to be set towards the Dakhma[3]. 7. And on account of contamination

vent any neglect of corpses found in wild places, where some of these birds would be sure to approach and let their shadows fall upon the dead, after which the finder of the corpse would suppose that the Nasûs was destroyed or driven away, and the corpse safer to approach.

[1] This is an exceptional case, when not more than two men are available; the usual custom (see Chap. X, 10) is to employ four men and two dogs (double the usual number) in disposing of the corpse of a pregnant woman, on account of the double risk of contamination, owing to the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, having seized upon two corpses at once. In consequence of the exceptional nature of the case, the mode of purification is also exceptional.

[2] A long purification ceremony lasting nine nights, and described in Vend. IX, 1–145. Its name, according to Dastûr Hoshangji, is derived from the first word of the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person, which commence (Vend. IX, 48) as follows: Bareshnûm hê vaghdhanem paourum paiti-hi*nk*ôis, 'sprinkle in front on the top of his head.' As it is usual to quote chapters by their initial words, the initial word of these instructions for the ceremony became a name for the ceremony itself.

[3] The building in which the dead are finally deposited; here called by its Huzvâris name, khazân. The Dakhmas used by the Parsis in India are like low circular towers in external appearance, and consist of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller circular space which is open to the sky. The only opening in the wall is a small doorway, closed with an iron door. In the centre of the circular area is a circular well a few feet in depth, and the space around it is paved so as to slope gently downwards from the enclosing wall to the brink of the well. This paved annular area is divided (by shallow gutters grooved into its surface) into spaces, each large enough for one corpse to be laid upon it, with the head towards the wall and the feet towards the well. These spaces are arranged in two or more concentric rings around the well, and the gutters (which isolate each space on all four sides) drain into the

(pa*d*vîshak)[1] two are not to be carried at one time, and two by one person are not proper; one dog and one person are proper[2]. 8. Every one who understands the care of a corpse is proper; two boys of eight years old, who understand the care, are proper; a woman free from menstruation, or free from dead

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well. After a sufficient time has elapsed the dry bones are said to be thrown into the well, and when the well is full the Dakhma ought to be finally closed, and another one brought into use. These Dakhmas are erected upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water; upon the summit of a hill, if possible, as prescribed in Vend. VI, 93, and usually more than a mile from the town. In Bombay the town has gradually approached the Dakhmas, and to some extent surrounded them, but has been kept away from their immediate vicinity by the judicious measures of influential Parsis, who have acquired all the neighbouring land, and refrain from building on it. The reason for thus exposing their dead to the sun and carnivorous birds is that the Parsis consider fire, water, and earth too sacred to be defiled by corpses; and they have less consideration for the air. Next to burning, the Parsi mode of disposing of the dead is the most rapid and effectual, as it avoids most of the concentrated evils which must accumulate in crowded cemeteries in the course of time, and which require ages to dissipate. As it is, most of the offensive effluvium in the immediate vicinity of a Dakhma arises not from direct contamination of the air, but indirectly through the ground, which becomes polluted, in the course of time, by impure filtrations.

[1] Dastûr Jâmâspji prefers reading patôshak, and thinks it means 'necessity,' as in cases where two deaths occur nearly simultaneously in the same house, when both corpses cannot be removed the same day. Such a meaning might suit this passage, but the word occurs again, in § 33 and Chap. IX, 7, where it can refer only to 'contamination,' and the etymology of pa*d*vîshak (Av. paiti + vish) is plain enough.

[2] That is, when two persons cannot be found to carry a corpse, one can do it alone, provided he holds a dog by a string. This course is adopted, Dastûr Jâmâspji says, when a person happens to die in a place where only one Parsi is available.

matter[1], or a man, with a woman or a child of eight years old, is proper.

9. It is not to be carried all covered up[2], for *that* is burying the corpse; to carry *it* in the rain is worthy of death[3]. 10. When clouds have been around[4], it is allowable to carry *it* away from the house; and when rain sets in upon the road it is not allowable to carry *it* back to the house; *but* when it is before a veranda (dâhlîz) *one* should put *it* down there; that is allowable when he who owns the veranda is apprehensive, *and* when he does not allow *it* inside; and, afterwards, it is to be carried away to its place, and when the water stands the height of a javelin (nîzak) inside[5], *one* puts *it* down *and* brings *it* away yet again. 11. Mêdôk-mâh[6] says that there should be a shelter (var)[7] *one* should

[1] In the terms avî-dashtânŏ and avî-nasâî the compound av is written in an obsolete manner, both in M6 and K20. The meaning of the text is that either or both of the corpse-carriers may be any Parsi man, woman, or child who understands the proper precautions. Compare Pahl. Vend. VIII, 28.

[2] K20 has 'when curved it is not to be carried.'

[3] That is, it is a mortal sin to allow rain to fall upon a corpse before it is deposited in the Dakhma.

[4] Or 'withheld,' or 'continuous,' according as we compare hâmûn with Pers. âmûn (âman), amân, or hâmân.

[5] Inside the Dakhma apparently. The meaning seems to be, that when the Dakhma is flooded the corpse is to be laid down in some dry place in its vicinity until the flood has abated. But according to Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17, it is allowable to throw the corpse in when the Dakhma is full of water.

[6] See Chaps. I, 3, II, 1. Here, again, the quotation must be from his complete commentary, as it is not extant in the present Pahlavi Vendidad.

[7] From Av. var, 'to cover, to shelter;' compare Pers. gullah, 'a bower or shed.' Nowadays the Parsis have a permanent shelter near the Dakhma. Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17 says, 'to carry

fasten above that place, *and* it would make *it* dry below[1]; *one* should place the corpse under that shelter, and they may take the shelter *and* bring *it* away.

12. From the fifth fargar*d* of the Vendidad of Mê*d*ôk-mâh[2] they state thus, that at the place where one's life goes forth, when he shall die upon a cloth, and a hair or a limb remains upon the bed-place and the ground[3], the ground conveys the pollution, even not originating with *itself* (ahambûni*k*), in like manner down unto the water[4]. 13. And when *he is* on a bedstead, and *its* legs are not connected with the ground, when a hair or a limb remains behind on the bedstead, it does not convey *the pollution* down. 14. When he shall die on a plastered floor the plaster is polluted, and when they dig up that plaster and spread *it* again afterwards, it is clean. 15. When he shall die on a stone, and the stone is connected with the ground, the stone will become clean, *along* with the ground, in the length of a year; and when they dig up the place, the stone *being* polluted is to be washed at the time. 16. When a stone is connected with the ground, or is separated, and *one* shall die upon it, so much space of the stone as the corpse occupied is polluted[5];

an umbrella (a*v*argash) from behind, *or* to hold up a shelter, is of no use.'

[1] Or, 'it would make *it* very dry,' if we read a*v*îr, 'very,' instead of a*g*îr, 'below;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

[2] Quoting again from his lost commentary.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'floor.'

[4] This translation is somewhat doubtful, but the text seems to imply that the ground is polluted as deep as it contains no water.

[5] K20 has had, 'the stone is all polluted, *and* will become clean at the time when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, in so

when they shall leave it, in the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground; and when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time; when the stone is not made *even* with the ground, above the ground the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time.

17. Dung-fuel *and* ashes, when the limbs of a menstruous woman come upon them, are both polluted; and the salt and lime for washing *her* shift (kartak-shûî) are *to be treated* just like stone [1].

18. If *one* shall die on a terrace roof (bân) [2], when one of his limbs, or a hair, remains behind at the edge of the roof, the roof is polluted *for* the size of the body as far as the water; and they should carry down all the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) [3] in the house, from the place where the pollution is, until there are thirty steps of three feet [4] to the *sacred* twigs, so that the *sacred* twigs may not be polluted; and when his hair or limb has not come to the eaves (parakân) the roof is polluted to the bottom (tôhîk).

19. And when *one* shall die on a rîtâ [5] *it* is polluted

much space as the corpse occupied *it is* polluted;' but the additional matter seems to be struck out. Something analogous to the details in this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. VI, 9.

[1] This section would be more appropriate in Chap. III.

[2] Or 'an upper floor;' Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 has, 'when he shall die on an upper floor, when nothing of him remains behind at the partitions (pardakân), the floor is polluted as far as the balcony (âskûp) *and* the balcony alone is clean; when anything of him remains behind at the partitions, the floor is polluted as far as the balcony, the ground is polluted as far as the water, *about* the balcony alone it is not clear.'

[3] See note on Chap. III, 32.

[4] The gâm, 'step,' being 2 feet 7½ inches (see note on Bund. XXVI, 3) these thirty steps are about 79 English feet.

[5] Meaning uncertain; the word looks like Huzvâris, but it is possible to read rî*d*-aê instead of rîtâ-1.

for the size of the body as far as the water; *in* the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground. 20. A built bridge is *liable* just like a terrace roof. 21. When *one* shall die on the terrace roof of a trellised *apartment* (varam), that is also *liable* just like a terrace roof. 22. When he shall die in a trellised *apartment*, when one of his limbs, or a hair, does not remain on the borders (parakân), it does not convey the pollution down, but when *any* of him remains behind it conveys *it* down; it is allowable when they dig *it* up[1], and *one* also spreads *it* again afterwards, and *it* is clean.

23. When *one* shall die by strangulation and a rope in a crowd, when *there* is no fear of his falling down they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is a fear of his falling down, when that fear is as regards one side of him, they should carry *him* down on that side; and when *he has* fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he has* fallen. 24. When *one* is seated upright *and* shall die, when *there* is fear of his falling on one side they should carry *him* down *on* that one side, and when there is fear on all four sides, *then* on all four sides; and when *he has* fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such place as *he has* fallen[2].

25. And when *one* shall die on a tree, when its

[1] That is, the floor of the apartment; which would probably be formed of earth beaten down, which, in India, is nearly always overspread with diluted cow-dung to hinder cracks in the smooth surface. A better class of floor is spread with lime plaster on a stony surface.

[2] The object of these rules is evidently to avoid disturbing the corpse more than is absolutely necessary, provided there be no fear of its polluting more of the ground by falling upon it.

bark is green and *there* is no fear of falling off, they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is fear of it, they should carry down the whole of the body (tanû masâî). 26. And when the bark of the tree is withered, when *there* is fear of it and when *there* is no fear of it, they should carry *it* down. 27. When he shall die on a branch of a tree which is green, when *there* is no fear of his falling off they should not carry *him* down. 28. And when *there* is fear of it, or *it is* a branch of a withered tree, when also, a hair originating with him, or a limb, remains behind on the particular tree, they should carry down the whole of the body [1]. 29. And when it does not remain behind him on the particular tree, but when *there* is fear of its falling off, they should not carry it below (vad frô*d*)[2].

30. When a corpse (nasâî-1)[3], from outside of it, remains behind on a jar (khûmbŏ) in which *there* may be wine, the jar is polluted, *and* the wine is clean. 31. And when *one* shall die inside, in the wine in the jar, if not even a hair or a curl originating with him remains behind on the jar, the wine is polluted and the jar not polluted [4]. 32. When *it is*

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[1] K20 has a portion of § 30 inserted here by mistake.

[2] The object of these rules is likewise to prevent the risk of the corpse defiling more of the ground than is absolutely necessary by falling upon it, as it might do by the breaking of a dead branch.

[3] Nasâî (Av. nasu) means not only a corpse or carcase of a human being, dog, or other animal of the good creation, but also any portion of such corpse or carcase; that is, *solid* 'dead matter' in general, as distinguished from dirt or refuse from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a corpse or carcase, which is called hîkhar (Av. hikhra).

[4] Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 states, that 'when *one* shall die on a jar of wine, the jar is useless, and the wine becomes just as though *its*

a jar in which *there* is oil [1], and dead matter (nasâî), from outside of it, remains behind on it, this is even *as* though it remains inside it, because the oil comes outside and goes back to the inside, *and* both are polluted, the jar and the oil; and even on making the jar dry [2] it is not fit to put anything in.

33. When a serpent (garzak) is in a jar in which *there* is wine, both are useless and polluted, for it makes *them* contaminated (padvîshak). 34. And when corn shall be in *it*, the jar is polluted and the corn clean; and when nothing originating with *the serpent* inside the jar remains behind on the jar, so much of the corn as includes the serpent, and upon *which* the touch (mâlisn) of the serpent has gone—because the touch of the serpent's seed might be the death of one—is to be taken out *and* to be thrown away. 35. And when hair or dead matter, even not originating with *the serpent*, remains behind on the jar, the jar is polluted, but is serviceable (shâyad) on making *it* dry [3].

36. Brick, earth, and mortar are separated by

course (ravisn) had been within three steps *of the corpse*. And when he shall die in the wine, when nothing of him remains behind on the jar, the jar is proper on making *it* dry' (or, perhaps, 'the jar is fit for bran-flour').

[1] Or 'clarified butter;' in this case the 'jar' is probably a globular vessel, or carboy, made of hide, through which the oil, or liquid butter, penetrates so far as to keep the outer surface greasy, which accounts for the remark about the oil passing in and out. Such vessels, called dabar, are commonly used for oil and liquid butter in India.

[2] Assuming that khûskar stands for khûsk-kar, as it does in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71; otherwise we should have to read thus: 'and the jar is not even fit to put any bran-flour in.'

[3] Again assuming as in § 32; otherwise we must read thus: 'but is fit for bran-flour (khûskar).'

their own substance (pavan mindavam-i nafsman), and are connected with the ground; being separated by their own substance is this, that so much space as dead matter[1] comes upon is polluted; being connected with the ground is this, that they would convey the pollution down unto the water. 37. Dung-fuel, ashes, flour, and other powdered things are connected with their own substance, and are separated from the ground; being connected with their own substance is this, that when dead matter comes upon them the whole of them is polluted; and being separated from the ground is this, that when dead matter comes upon them it does not make the ground polluted[2].

38. *At* a house *in* which the *sacred* ceremony (yazisn) is prepared, and a dog or a person passes[3] away in it, the first business to be done is this, that the fire is to be preserved from harm; moreover, if it be only possible to carry the fire so that they would carry *it* away within three steps of the corpse[4], even then it is to be carried away, *and* the

[1] Or 'a corpse;' K20 has 'stands upon.' The meaning is that these substances do not communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but only downwards to the ground, which conveys it farther down, so far as it contains no water.

[2] That is, these substances communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but not down to the ground.

[3] The verb vidardanŏ (Huz. vabrûntanŏ), 'to cross over, to pass away' (Av. vi + tar, Pers. gudhastan), can only be used when referring to the death of *good* people or animals; but the verb mûrdanŏ (Huz. yemîtûntanŏ), 'to die, to expire' (Av. mar, Pers. murdan), can be used generally, though usually applied to the wicked and to evil creatures. Pahl. Vend. V, 134 contains nearly the same text as §§ 38, 39.

[4] Under ordinary circumstances fire must not be brought within thirty steps, or about 79 English feet, of a corpse (see Vend. VIII,

wall is not to be cut. 39. Rôshan[1] said that an earthen *one* is to be cut into, *but* a mortar *one* is not to be cut; below and above no account *is taken* of damaging (bôdôzêdîh)[2] the wall[3]. 40. To bring the fire within[4] the three steps from the corpse is a Tanâpûhar sin; and when exudation happens to the corpse, it is worthy of death[5]. 41. The prepared food in that house is all useless, and that which is not prepared is usable in the length of nine nights

17). But the spirit of the Mazdayasnian law is reasonable, and, although strict, it allows for practical difficulties and chooses the least of two evils in a more judicious manner than might be expected (a fact which it would be well for Parsis and others to observe in doubtful cases). Here, breaking through the wall of a house is considered a greater evil than the possible pollution of the fire by passing at a distance of three steps, or eight English feet, from a corpse.

[1] The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in Pahlavi translations (see the note on Chap. I, 4).

[2] Literally, 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdôzêd or bôdyôzad is a particular kind of sin which appears to consist chiefly of the ill-treatment of animals and injury of useful property. It is mentioned in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1b, Pahl. Vend. V, 107, XIII, 38, Farh. Okh. pp. 32, 33; and in some editions of the Khurdah Avesta it is defined as selling stolen men or animals into misery, or one's own domestic cattle to the butcher, also spoiling and tearing up good clothing, or wasting and spoiling good food.

[3] The meaning is, that if it became necessary to break through the wall in order to remove the fire unpolluted, the sin committed through damaging the wall will not be punished either in this world or the next.

[4] That is, nearer than three steps, which is considered to be the minimum distance at which any degree of purity can be maintained.

[5] A marg-argân sin, on committing which the sinner is required to place his life at the disposal of the high-priest (see Chap. VIII, 2, 5, 6, 21). It is usually considered equivalent to fifteen Tanâpûhars (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

or a month[1]. 42. Clothing also *in* like manner, except that which *one* wears on the body; that, even in that time, is not clean, since it remains in use. 43. And the holy-water (zôhar)[2], too, which is taken and remains *in* that place, is to be carried away immediately to the water; also the sacred milk (*g*îv)[3] *and* butter (*g*um)[4] *in* like manner. 44. Of the prayer[5] clothing Vand-Aûharmazd[6] said that it is usable in the length of nine nights *or* a month; the writer[7] (dapîr) said that it is when they perform the washing of hands, and wash *it* thoroughly, it will become clean at the time.

45. If in a house there are three rooms (gun*g*î-nak), and *one* shall die in the entrance place (dargâs), if *it be* so that they may set the door open, and the corpse comes to this side, only this

[1] According to the season of the year, the period of uncleanness being nine nights in the five winter months, and a month in the seven summer months (see Vend. V, 129).

[2] Av. zaothra; this holy-water is consecrated by the priest reciting certain prayers while holding the empty metal cups in his hands, while filling them with water, and after filling them (see Haug's Essays, p. 397).

[3] The Av. gâu*s* *g*îvya, '*product of* the living cow,' which is kept in a metal saucer during the ceremonies, and used for sprinkling the sacred twigs (baresôm), and for mixing with the holy-water and Hôm-juice in the mortar (see Haug's Essays, pp. 403, 405, 406).

[4] Compare Pers. *k*ûm, 'fat;' it is the Av. gâu*s* hudh*a*u, '*product of* the well-yielding cow,' a small piece of which is placed upon one of the sacred pancakes, or wafers (drôn), during the ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407).

[5] Reading ya*s*t; but it may be ga*s*t, 'changed.'

[6] See the note on Chap. I, 4.

[7] There appear to be, as yet, no means of ascertaining the name of the writer of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, who gives his own opinion here.

side is polluted; and if the corpse comes to that side, only that side is polluted; when it comes to both sides at once (aêvâk), only the entrance place is polluted alone, both the dwelling-rooms (khânak) are clean.

46. And the vault of the sacred fires[1] alone does not become polluted.

47. If *one* shall die in a wild spot (vaskar), prepared food which is within three steps is all useless, and beyond four steps it is not polluted. 48. Prepared food is this, such as bread, boiled and roast meat, and prepared broth[2].

49. And the ashes (var) of the sacred fire[3] become in a measure polluted.

50. Should they carry in the fire into that house in which the length of nine nights *or* a month is requisite for becoming clean, *there* is a sin of one Tanâpûhar[4] through carrying *it* in, and one Tanâpûhar through kindling *it;* and every trifling *creature* (khûr or khûl) which shall die and shall remain *causes* a sin of one Tanâpûhar. 51. Also through carrying water in, *there* is a sin of one Farmân; and to pour water on the place where *any* one's life departs is a sin of one Tanâpûhar, and to pour *it* on a different place is a sin of one Yât. 52. And to

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[1] Literally, 'the vault of the fires of Vâhrâm.' Pahl. Vend. V, 134 says 'the vault of the fires is *liable* just like an empty house.' Both this section and § 49 seem out of place.

[2] See Pahl. Vend. V, 134.

[3] Literally, 'the produce of the fire of Vâhrâm,' a term for 'ashes,' which is used in Pahl. Vend. V, 150 along with the equivalent phrase, 'clothing of the fire' (see Chap. III, 27).

[4] See Chap. I, 1, 2 for the degrees of sin mentioned in §§ 50, 51, 53.

undergo ablution[1] inside *the unclean house* is all non-ablution. 53. And whoever goes into it needlessly, *his* body *and* clothes are to be every time thoroughly washed, and his sin is one Tanâpûhar; and when he goes in needfully *it* is neither good work nor sin[2].

54. And this pollution is all in the sharp account (tîkhak amâr) when the life departs[3]; the only *thing* which amounts to polluting is contact with the flesh, and even with the hair and nails. 55. Of the contact which is stated in the Avesta[4], the account is *that it is* from one side, and it ever cleaves to *one;* the curse (ga*z*i*s*n)[5] which is stated in the Avesta advances from all four sides. 56. Sôshyans[6] said it is, until its exhibition to a dog, just as it becomes at the time when its life departs[7]; a priest, a

[1] That is, the ceremonial ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh), or 'washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles,' whilst a certain form of prayer is recited (see AV. p. 148, note).

[2] Here again, as in § 38, the strict letter of the law is relaxed in case of necessity.

[3] Meaning, apparently, that any pollution is taken into account, as a sin, in the investigation the soul has to undergo upon entering the other world. Much of this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 107.

[4] Referring to Vend. V, 82–107, which gives an account of the number of persons through whom the pollution of a corpse or carcase will pass, which is in proportion to the importance of the dead individual. The statement here made is that the infection, passing from one to the other, enters each person only on one side, but the demon of corruption attacks them on all sides.

[5] Meaning, probably, the Nasû*s*, or demon of corruption (see § 1), who is said to rush upon all those polluted as detailed in Vend. V, 82–107.

[6] See Chap. I, 3.

[7] That is, until seen by the dog the corpse remains pervaded by the demon of corruption and hazardous to approach (see §§ 1–4).

warrior, and a husbandman are no use, for merely a dog is stated. 57. Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd[1] said the account is at the time when its life departs; and that which Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd specially said is, 'when anything is inside it (the place) the pollution is as far as to the place where that thing stands.' 58. When a dog, or a goat, or a pig is requisite (dârvâî)[2] it is proper, for *the pollution* does not attack further there; and the pollution of a child in the womb is *along* with the mother.

59. The direct pollution of a hedgehog[3] cleaves to *one*, and not the indirect pollution. 60. Direct pollution (hamrêd)[4] is that when the body is in contact with a corpse, and indirect pollution (paît-

[1] See Chap. I, 4, note. This name is nearly always written Kushtanŏ-bûgêd in Sls. in K20 and M6; it is not mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 107, although the details here quoted are there given in part.

[2] The meaning is not quite clear, but this sentence is probably to be read in connection with the preceding one, as implying that where such domestic animals are kept they can be used for stopping the infection, as effectually as any inanimate object. The pig is here mentioned as a common domestic animal, but Parsis have long since adopted the prejudices of Hindus and Muhammadans as regards the uncleanness of the pig.

[3] As Vend. V, 108–112 says the same of the dog urupi, it would seem that the writer of our text considered the urupi to be a hedgehog (zûzak); the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad renders it by rapuk or rîpûk, which appears to be merely an approximate transcript of the Avesta word; traditionally, this is read raspûk and compared with Pers. râsû, 'ichneumon;' its identification with the hedgehog is certainly doubtful, although it appears to be admitted in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, where the same words are used as in this section.

[4] The technical terms hamrêd and paîtrêd, for contagion and infection, are merely corruptions of Av. hãm-raêthwayêiti and paiti-raêthwayêiti. The definition of the latter one is omitted in K20 by mistake.

rêd) is that when[1] *one* is in contact with him who touched the corpse; and from contact with him who is the eleventh[2] indirect pollution cleaves to *one in* the same manner. 61. The indirect pollution of an ape[3] and a menstruous woman, not acting the same *way*, remains. 62. The shepherd's dog, and likewise the village-dog, and others also of the like kind carry contamination to eight[4]; and when they shall carry *the carcase* down on the ground *the place*[5] is clean immediately; and that, too, which dies on a balcony (âskûp), until they shall carry *it* down to the bottom, is polluted *for* the length of a year.

63. Whoever brings dead matter (nasâî) on any person is worthy of death; he is thrice worthy of

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[1] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Bund. I, 7).

[2] Vend. V, 86, 87 limits the pollution to the eleventh person infected, in the extreme case of the corpse having been a priest; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 quotes the opinion of Sôshâns that until a dog has gazed at the corpse the pollution extends to the twelfth, but only the first ten require the ceremonial purification of the bareshnûm, the others being cleansed by ordinary washing with bull's urine and water.

[3] Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, however, that 'everything of the ape (kapik) is just like mankind.' The meaning of § 61 is very uncertain, as the text can be both read and translated several ways, and none of them are very satisfactory.

[4] That is, in the case of the shepherd's dog (see Vend. V, 92, 93); the carcases of other dogs occasion the indirect pollution of fewer persons, in proportion to their inferior importance; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, with regard to this importance, that when 'in doubt, every man is to be considered as a priest, and every dog as a shepherd's dog,' so as to be on the safe side, by exacting the maximum amount of purification in all doubtful cases.

[5] The Pahlavi text leaves it doubtful whether the place, the people, or the carcase becomes clean, but the first is the most probable.

death[1] at the time when a dog *has* not seen the corpse (nasâî); and *if* through negligence of appliances and means (*k*âr va tûbânŏ) he disturbs *it*, and disturbs *it* by touching it, he knows that *it is* a sin worthy of death; and *for* a corpse that a dog *has* seen, and *one that* a dog *has* not seen, the accountability is to be understood *to be* as much[2], and *for* the death and sickness[3] of a feeble man *and* a powerful *one*. 64. Afarg has said there is no account of appliances and means[4], for *it* is not allowable to commit a sin worthy of death in *cases of* death and sickness.

65. When they move a corpse which a dog *has* not seen with a thousand men, even then the bodies of the whole *number* are polluted[5], and are to be washed for them with ceremony (pî*s*ak)[6]. 66. And *for* that which a dog *has* seen, except that one only when a man shall move *it* all[7] by touching *it*, his washing is then not *to be* with ceremony. 67. And when he is in contact *and* does not move *it*, he is to be washed with bull's urine *and* water. 68. And

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[1] That is, he has committed a sin equivalent to three mortal sins (marg-ar*g*ân).

[2] Reading ve*s* as equivalent to vê*s*.

[3] Reading râkhtakîh (compare Pers. rakhtah, 'sick, wounded').

[4] This opinion of Afarg (see Chap. I, 3) is also quoted in Pahl. Vend. III, 48.

[5] This statement is repeated in Chap. X, 33.

[6] That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

[7] This exception (which is repeated in §§ 68, 71) seems to imply that §§ 66, 68, 71 refer to the collection of any fragments of a corpse found in the wilderness, or in water; and the exemption from the troublesome purification ceremony in such cases, is probably intended to encourage people to undertake the disagreeable duty of attending to such fragments.

when he shall move with a stake (dâr)[1] a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, except that one only when he shall move *it* all, the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

69. And when a man shall move a corpse, which a dog *has* not seen, by the hand of another man, *he* who moves it by the hand of a man, *and* he also whose own hand's strength *does it* are polluted in the bodies of both; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar[2] *sin* for him himself and of a Tanâpûhar for the other one, for this *reason*, because his own body and that also of the *other* are both made polluted through sinfulness. 70. And when there is not in him, nor even originating with *him* (ahambûnik), the strength of him whose own hand *it is*, it is just as though he would move it (the corpse) with a stake[3]; and he who held *it* in the way of contact with his hand is to be washed with ceremony; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin for him whose own hand *it is*, and of a Khôr[4] for himself. 71. When he shall move a corpse by the hand of a man, and the corpse is of those which a dog *has* seen—except that one only when he shall move it all[5]—the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

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[1] The interposition of the stake, or piece of wood, prevents the direct attack of the Nasûs, or demon of corruption, which has not been driven away by a dog. That inanimate objects are supposed to stop the progress of the pollution appears from § 57.

[2] See Chap. I, 1, 2. A sin is figuratively said to take root in the body, when it has to be eradicated, or figuratively dug up.

[3] See § 68. If he employs another man to move the corpse merely because he is physically unable to do it himself, he escapes with less pollution than when he is able to do the work himself; but the man employed suffers the same in both cases.

[4] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[5] See § 66.

72. When *one* is going *by* a place at night, and comes back there *on* the morrow, and a corpse lies there, and he does not know whether the evil (dûs) was there when he came by[1], or not, it is to be considered by him that it was not there.

73. Of a flock in which is a sheep by whom dead matter is eaten, of a forest in which is a tree with which dead matter is mingled, and of a firewood-stand (aesamdân) in which is a stick of firewood with which grease is mingled, Afarg said that it is not proper to make the flock and the forest fruitful, and the firewood is useless[2].

74. *About* a door on which a corpse impinges; as to the door of a town and city they have been of the same opinion, that *it* is to be discarded by *his* comrades (hamkâr)[3]; as to a door which is mostly closed (badtûm)[4] they have been of different opinions,

[1] Literally, 'when I came by;' the usual Persian idiom in such phrases.

[2] This statement of Afarg's, so far as it relates to greasy firewood, will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

[3] Or, 'by the community.' The same rule is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

[4] There is some uncertainty about this word. It is not the Pers. badtum, 'worst, vilest,' because that is written va*d*tûm or vatûm in Pahlavi; besides, the rule must apply to other than the vilest doors, otherwise it would not harmonize with § 75. It is not a miswriting of nîtûm, 'lowest, most debased,' for the same reason, and because it occurs elsewhere. It is not a miswriting of bêtman, a possible variant of bêtâ, 'a house' (although 'a house-door' would suit the context very well), because it occurs also in Pahl. Vend. V, 14, XI, 10, in which latter place it is clearly an adjective partially translating Av. b*e*ndvô. And it would be hazardous to connect it with Pers. bîdûn, 'outside,' which seems merely a corruption or misreading of bîrûn. The view taken here is that badtûm stands for bandtûm, 'most shut up,' the nasal being often dropped in Pahlavi, as in sag for sang, 'stone,' &c.

Gôgôsasp[1] said that discarding *it* by *his* comrades is likewise proper, and Sôshyans said that it is not proper; and as to other doors they have been of the same opinion, that it is not proper. 75. The door of one's own chief apartment (shah-gâs) is fit for that of the place for menstruation (dastân-istân), and that of the place for menstruation is fit for that of the depository *for the dead* (khazânŏ)[2], and that of the depository of the dead is not fit for any purpose whatever[3]; that of the more pleasant is fit for that of the more grievous.

76. Any one who, through sinfulness, throws a corpse into the water, is worthy of death on the spot[4]; when he throws only one *it is* one *sin* worthy of death, *and* when he throws ten at one time *it is* then one *sin* worthy of death; when he throws *them* separately *it is* a *sin* worthy of death for each one. 77. Of the water, into which *one* throws dead matter, the extent of pollution is three steps of three feet *in* the water advancing, nine steps of three feet *in* the water *passed* over, and six steps of three feet *in* the water alongside[5]; six steps of three feet in the depth of the water, and three steps of three feet in the water pouring over the dead matter are polluted as regards the depth[6]. 78. When it is thrown *into* the midst of a great standing water, in like manner, the proportion it comes is ever as much as it goes, *and*

[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] The Huz. equivalent of Pâz. dakhmak (see § 6).

[3] See Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

[4] Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 66. [5] See Vend. VI, 80.

[6] That is, the pollution extends about eight English feet up-stream and upwards, sixteen feet sideways and downwards, and twenty-four feet down-stream. Some of the latter part of the sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

is the proportion of it they should always carry *away* with *the dead matter* [1].

79. And when a man comes forth, and a corpse lies in the water, when he is able to bring it out, and it is not an injury to him, it is not allowable to abandon *it* except when he brings *it* out [2]. 80. Sôshyans [3] said that, when it is an injury, it is allowable when [4] he does not bring *it* out; and when it is not an injury, and he does not bring *it*, his sin is a Tanâpûhar [5]. 81. Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd [6] said that even in *case of* injury it is not allowable to abandon *it*, except when he brings *it* out; when he does not bring *it he* is worthy of death. 82. And Gôgôsasp [7] said that it is even in *case of* injury not allowable, except when he brings *it* out; and when, in *case of* injury, he does not bring *it* out his sin is a Tanâpûhar; and when it is no injury to him, and he does not bring *it*, *he* is worthy of death.

83. And when he shall wish to bring *it* his clothing is to be laid aside [8], for it makes the clothing

[1] The sentence is obscure, but this seems to be the meaning; that is, when a corpse or any dead matter is thrown into a pond or tank, the pollution extends sixteen feet from it in all directions; and that quantity of water ought to be drawn off, in order to purify the tank (see Vend. VI, 65–71). As the corpse, in nearly all cases, must be either at the bottom or on the surface, the quantity of polluted water to be drawn off must be a hemispherical mass sixteen feet in radius, or about forty-eight tons of water.

[2] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64, where it states that bringing it out is a good work of one Tanâpûhar, and leaving it is a sin of the same amount.

[3] See Chap. I, 3.

[4] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[5] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[7] See Chap. I, 3.

[8] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

polluted, and whatever *he* is first able *and* best able *to bring* is to be brought out by him. 84. When, too, he is able to bring *it* out through the breadth of the water, then also it is to be brought out so[1]; and when he is not able, it is to be brought out through the length of the water; and showing *it to* a dog *and* the two men are not to be waited for[2].

85. And it is to be carried by him so much away from the neighbourhood of the water that, when he puts *it* down, the water which comes out dropping from the corpse does not reach back to the water; for when the water which comes out from the corpse reaches continuously back to the water *he* is worthy of death; and after that (min zak frâ*g*) it is to be shown *to* a dog, and it is to be carried away by two men. 86. And when he wishes to throw *it* out from the water, Mar*d*-bû*d*[3] said it is allowable to throw *it* out thus, so that the water of the dripping corpse does not reach continuously back to the water; Rôshan said it would be allowable to throw *it* out far.

87. To drag *it* over the water is allowable, to grasp and relinquish *it* is not allowable[4]; and when it is possible to act so that he may convey *it* from a great water to a small water, when the water is

[1] So that less water may be polluted by the corpse taking the shortest route through it; but if that be impossible it must come out quickly, at any rate.

[2] That is, the otherwise indispensable dog's gaze and two bearers must be dispensed with, if not at hand, in order to save time, until the corpse is out of the water (see § 85).

[3] It might be, 'there was a man *who* said,' but Mar*d*-bû*d* occurs in the Nîrangistân as the name of a commentator (see Chap. I, 4, note).

[4] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for this prohibition.

connected *it* is allowable, and when separated *it* is not allowable. 88. Afarg[1] said it is allowable to drag *it* below through the water, but to drag *it* over is not allowable, for this has come *on* the water *as* a danger[2], and that has not come on *it as* a danger. 89. Mê*d*ôk-mâh[1] said it is allowable to drag *it* above, *but* to drag *it* below is not allowable, for the danger has gone out across the water, and the danger is not now to be brought upon it; and on that which is below, *on* which the danger has not come, the danger will at last arrive.

90. When he goes into the water he is to go into it with this idea, that 'should there be many below, then I will even bring all;' for whoever goes in not with this idea, and shall disturb any other one which lies there, will become polluted[3]. 91. And if the corpse be heavy *and* it is not possible to bring *it* out by one person, *and* he goes out with this idea, that 'I *will* go and prepare means, and bring this corpse out of the water;' and when through sinfulness[4] he does not go back his body is polluted *and* worthy of

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[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] Or 'fear.' The difference of opinion between the two commentators on this question in casuistry, appears to have arisen from Afarg regarding the water merely as the representative of a spirit, who might be endangered or frightened by the source of impurity becoming more visible when above the water, while Mê*d*ôk-mâh considered the water in its material aspect, and wished to save it from the further pollution consequent upon drawing the corpse through more of it.

[3] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

[4] These rules generally distinguish clearly between offences committed 'through sinfulness,' that is, wilfully, and those arising from accidental inability; more stress being laid upon the intention than upon the action.

death, and when he is unable to go back he is not polluted.

92. When the corpse is so decomposed (pûdak), when *it* is thus necessary to bring it out, that he must cut off various fragments, even after he cuts *them* off *they* are to be brought out; and for every fragment his hands and knife are to be washed with bull's urine (gômêz), and with dust and moisture (nambŏ) *they* are clean[1]. 93. And *they* are to be torn off[2] by him, and for every single fragment which he brings out his good work is one Tanâpûhar.

94. And when rain is falling the corpse lies in the water; to take *it* from the water to deposit *it* in the rain is not[3] allowable.

95. Clothing which is useless[4], this is that in which they should carry a corpse, and that even when very much *or* altogether useless; of that on which they shall decompose[5] (barâ vishûpênd), and of that on which the excretions (hîkhar) of the dead come, so much space is to be cut away[6], and the rest is to be

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[1] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for §§ 92, 93.

[2] Or 'twisted off;' the Huz. neskhûntanŏ must be traced to Chald. נְסַח 'to pluck out, to tear away,' and seems to have a similar meaning in Pahlavi; its Pâz. equivalent vîkhtanŏ (Av. vig) ought to be compared rather with Pers. kîkhtan, 'to bruise or break,' than with bêkhtan or pêkhtan, 'to twist.'

[3] This negative is omitted in M6 by mistake.

[4] Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

[5] Or 'go to pieces;' that this is the meaning of vishûpênd appears clearly from Pahl. Vend. VII, 123, but a Persian gloss in the modern MS. M9 explains it as 'deposit fragments from the beak of a bird,' meaning, of course, fragments of dead matter dropped by a carrion bird.

[6] As useless, being incapable of purification; such cuttings are to be buried, according to the Avesta of Vend. VII, 32, though the Pahlavi commentary explains that they are to be thrown away.

thoroughly washed for the six-months' *period*[1]. 96. That which a menstruous woman has in wear (mahmânîh)[2] is to be discarded in like fashion.

97. The clothing which is to be washed for the six-months' *period* is such as is declared in the Avesta[3]. 98. If the clothing be leathern it is to be thoroughly washed three times with bull's urine (gômêz), every time to be made quite dry with dust, and to be thoroughly washed three times with water, and to be laid out three months in a place to be viewed by the sun[4]; and then it is proper for an unclean person (armêst)[5] who has not performed

[1] Khshvâs-mâûgôk is merely a corruption of the Av. khshvas maunghô, 'six months,' of Vend. VII, 36, where this form of cleansing is thus described: 'If (the clothing) be woven, they should wash *it* out six times with bull's urine, they should scour *it* six times with earth, they should wash *it* out six times with water, they should fumigate *it* six months at the window of the house.'

[2] See Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

[3] That is, woven clothing, as declared in Vend. VII, 36 (quoted above in note 1).

[4] See Vend. VII, 35.

[5] A Persian gloss defines armêst as 'a woman who has brought forth a dead child,' and this is the general opinion; but that seems to be only a particular example of an unclean person who would be included under the general term armêst, for according to Pahl. Vend. IX, 133, 137, 141 a man when only partially purified must remain apart in the place for the armêst (Av. airima, compare Sans. il or rî) for a certain time. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Mkh. (XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, LI, 7), explains armêst as 'lame, crippled, immobility;' it also means 'stagnant,' when applied to water; and its primitive signification was, probably, 'most stationary,' an appropriate term for such unclean persons as are required to remain in a particular place apart from all others, as well as for helpless cripples, and insane persons under restraint (see Chap. VI, 1). The meaning 'most polluted' would hardly apply to tank water.

worship, or it is proper for a menstruous woman. 99. Other clothing, when hair is on *it*[1], is *liable* just like woven *cloth* (ta*d*ak); all the washing of wool, floss silk, silk, hair, and camel's hair is just like *that of* woven *cloth;* and woven clothing is to be washed six times[2].

100. Wool which is connected together, when one *part* is twisted over another, and a corpse rests[3] upon it, is all polluted on account of the connection; and when fleece (mêsh) rests upon fleece, then so much space as the corpse rests upon is polluted. 101. When *one* shall die upon a rich carpet (bûp) when the carpet is on a coarse rug (namad) *and* is made connected, the rug and carpet are both polluted, and when separated the rug is clean. 102. When several cushions are heaped (ni*k*î*d*) one upon the other, and are not made connected, and dead matter comes upon them, they have been unanimous that only that one is polluted on which the dead matter came. 103. A cushion *together* with wool[4] is *liable* just like a carpet with a rug[5]. 104. Of several cushions which are tied down together, when dead matter comes to the tie, both are polluted, the cord *and* the cushions; and when the dead matter comes to a cushion, and does not come to the tie, the cushions are all polluted on account of the connection, and the tie is clean[6].

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[1] Pahl. Vend. VII, 35 says 'when a single hair is on it.'

[2] As mentioned in a note on § 95.

[3] Literally, 'impinges.' Here, as in many other places, 'dead matter' may be read instead of 'corpse,' as nasâî means both or either of them.

[4] That is, laid upon wool.

[5] See § 101.

[6] See Pahl. Vend. VII, 27.

105. A pregnant woman who devours dead matter through sinfulness is polluted *and* worthy of death, and there is no washing for her[1]; and *as for* the child, when it *has* become acquainted with duties (pî*s*ak-shinâs), ashes[2] and bull's urine are for its eating and for its washing. 106. *As for* a child who is born of solitary carriers *of the dead*[3], although its father and mother may both have devoured dead matter through sinfulness, that which is born is clean on the spot, for it does not become polluted *by* birth.

107. Rôshan[4] said that every one, who, through sinfulness, has become polluted by means of dead matter, is worthy of death, and his polluted body never becomes clean; for this *one* is more wretched than the fox which *one* throws into the water living, and in the water it will die. 108. *One* worthy of death never becomes clean; *and* a solitary carrier *of the dead* is to be kept at thirty steps from *ceremonial* ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh).

109. Whichsoever of the animal species has eaten their dead matter[5], its milk, dung, hair, *and* wool are polluted the length of a year; and *if* pregnant when it has eaten *it*, the young one has also eaten *it*, and the young one is clean after the length of a year from being born of the mother. 110. When a male which has eaten *it* mounts a female, the female is not polluted. 111. When dead matter is eaten by it,

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[1] That is, she cannot be purified.

[2] Reading var (see note on § 49).

[3] Carrying a corpse by a single person being prohibited (see §§ 7, 8); but why he is supposed to devour it is not clear.

[4] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[5] Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 192.

and even while it is not digested it shall die, it is *liable* just like a leathern bag (anbân) in which is dead matter.

112. Gold, when dead matter comes upon it, is to be once thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gô-mê*z*), to be once made quite dry with dust, and to be once thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean[1]. 113. Silver is to be twice thoroughly washed with bull's urine, and to be made quite dry with dust, and is to be twice thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean[2]. 114. And iron, *in like manner*, three times, steel four times, and stone six times[3]. 115. Afarg said: 'Should it be quicksilver (â*v*gînak)[4] it is *liable* just like gold, and amber (kahrupâî) just like stone, and all jewels just like iron.' 116. The pearl (mûrvârî*d*)[5], amber, the

[1] The purification here detailed is prescribed for golden vessels in Vend. VII, 186.

[2] This is the purification prescribed for silver vessels in Vend. VII, 74 W.; it is found in the Vendidad Sâdah, but is omitted (evidently by mistake) in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and has, therefore, been omitted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. By this accidental omission in the MSS. silver is connected with the purification for stone (see § 114).

[3] See Vend. VII, 75 W., much of which is omitted in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and in Spiegel's edition (see the preceding note), the sixfold washing of stone being erroneously applied to silver (see Vend. VII, 187 Sp.), owing to this omission of the intervening text. It appears from this section that the Av. haosafna, which has usually been translated as 'copper,' was understood to be pûlâ*vd*, 'steel,' by the Pahlavi translators.

[4] Or 'a mirror' (Pers. âbgînah), but the word is evidently used for a metal in SZS. X, 2, and very likely here also.

[5] Most of the substances mentioned in §§ 115, 116 are detailed in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188, where it is stated that 'as to the pearl *there* have been different opinions, some say that it is *liable* just like gold, some say that it is just like the other jewels, *and* some say that there is no washing *for it*.'

ruby (yâkand) gem, the turquoise[1], the agate (shapak), coral-stone (vasadîn sag), bone, and other substances (gôhar) which are not particularly mentioned, are to be washed just like wood[2]; and when they are taken into use there is no washing[3], and when they are not taken their washing is once. 117. Of earthen *and* horny *articles* there is no washing; and of other substances which are not taken for use the washing is once, and *they are* declared out of use.

118. Firewood, when green, is to be cut off the length of a span (vitast), one by one, as many *sticks* as there are—and when dry one span and two finger-*breadths*[4]—and is to be deposited *in* some place the length of a year, and water is not to be dropped upon *it;* and *it is* drawn out *after* the length of a year; Sôshyans[5] said that it is proper as firewood for *ordinary* fires, and Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd[6] said that *it is* just as declared in the Avesta: 'The

[1] This is doubtful; the word can be read pirînak, and has the Pers. gloss pîrûzah, 'turquoise,' in some MSS. If read pilînak it might perhaps be taken for 'ivory.' But in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 it is vafarînô, 'snowy,' and the reading there seems to be 'jet-black *and* snow-white stone-coral;' so here the original meaning may have been 'snow-white and jet-black coral-stone.'

[2] Vend. VII, 188 says that 'earthen or wooden or porcelain *vessels* are impure for everlasting.'

[3] Meaning, apparently, that they cannot be purified for immediate use.

[4] That is, one-sixth longer than when green, the vitast being twelve finger-*breadths*, or nine inches (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note). The purification of firewood, here prescribed, is simply drying it for a year in short lengths; but Vend. VII, 72–82 requires it also to be sprinkled once with water, and to be cut into longer pieces.

[5] See Chap. I, 3.

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

washed *one*, even then, is proper in dried clothing [1].' 119. About corn [2] they have been unanimous that so much space is polluted as the dead matter comes upon; and of that which is lowered into pits [3], or is wanted *to be so*, and of that which is scattered (afsîd) at such a place *there are* different opinions; Sôshyans said: 'Should it be of such a place *it* is polluted as much as the dead matter *has* come upon it;' and Gôgôsasp [4] said: 'Should it be *so it* is all polluted, *and* the straw is all polluted.'

120. A walnut [5], through *its* mode of connection, is all polluted, and the washing of both its shell and kernel (pôst va mazg) is just like *that of* wood. 121. A pomegranate also is of such nature as a walnut. 122. *As to* the date, when its stalk [6] is not connected the date is polluted and the stalk *and* stone (âstak) are clean; the washing of the date is just like *that of* corn; and when it is touched upon the stalk, when the stalk, stone, and date are connected, the whole is polluted; *as to* the date when not connected with the stalk, *and* touched at the

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[1] Something similar is said in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71.

[2] According to Vend. VII, 83–93 polluted corn and fodder are to be treated like polluted firewood, but to be cut into pieces of about double the length.

[3] Reading dên gôpân farôstak; the practice of storing corn in dry pits underground is common in the East and in some parts of Europe. In Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 it is dên gôpân âvist, 'concealed in pits.'

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

[5] Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 classes the almond with the walnut as a connected fruit, and the date with the pomegranate as a separated one.

[6] The word is kûrâpak or kûrâzak, but its meaning is doubtful.

stalk, the date is clean, and the washing of the stone is just like *that of* wood. 123. The pomegranate, citron, quince, apple, pear, and other fruit, when in bearing and the rind (pazâ*v*i*s*nŏ) is perceptible on it, when dead matter comes upon it *there* is no pollution of it; and when the rind (pazâmi*s*nŏ) is not perceptible on it, its washing is just like *that of* corn; and rind is ever with the citron[1]. 124. *For* meat, butter, milk, cheese, and preserves (rî*k*âr) there is no washing[2].

Chapter III.

1. The clothing of a menstruous woman which they shall take new for her use is polluted, and that which is in use is not polluted[3]. 2. When a bedchamber (shâ*d*-aûrvân) is overspread, and a carpet (bûp) is laid upon it and a cushion *on* the two[4], *and*

[1] Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, 'fruit whose rind (pazâ*v*) exists is also just like that in a pod (kûvak), and *for* that which does not remain in a rind, when *pollution* shall come upon it, *there* is no *cleansing* whatever. Afarg said that *there* is ever a rind (pazâ*v*i*s*nŏ) with the citron.'

[2] Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, '*for* everything separated *there* is a washing, except meat *and* milk.' Articles for which there is no washing cannot be purified.

[3] Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5 says, 'when in the place she remains in for the purpose, she does not make the clothing she wears on *her* body polluted, it remains for use within the place.' The meaning is, probably, that clothing already set apart for the purpose does not become further polluted, so as to be unfit for her use. It appears also (Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5) that on the spot where menstruation first appears, not even the twigs uplifted in the sacred ceremony are polluted, unless the circumstances are abnormal.

[4] This phrase, about the carpet and cushion, is omitted in K20 by mistake.

a woman sits upon *it* and menstruation occurs, when she puts a foot from the cushion on to the carpet, and from the carpet out into the bed-chamber, the carpet and bed-chamber are both polluted, for *they are* taken newly for her use, *but* of the cushion *there* is no pollution for this reason, because *it is* in use. 3. And when she sits on the cushion so that she shall have both the carpet and cushion in use, the bed-chamber is polluted by itself; and when all three shall be in use *there* is no pollution whatever [1].

4. Just as she knows that *it is* menstruation, in the place *she is* in for the purpose [2], first the necklace, then the ear-rings, then the head-fillet (*k*ambar), and then the *outer* garments (gâmak) are to be put off by her. 5. When in the place she remains in for the purpose, even though she may remain a very long time for that purpose, yet then the *outer* garments are clean, *and there* is no need of leather covering and leather shoes [3].

6. When she knows for certain (aêvar) that *it is* menstruation, until the complete changing (gûhari-*d*anô) of all *her* garments, and she shall *have* sat down in the place for menstruation [4], a prayer is to

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[1] §§ 2, 3 are merely corollaries from § 1.

[2] Or, possibly, 'on the spot *she is* in on the occasion;' although it would appear from § 5 that the place referred to is the dashtân-istân, or place of retirement for the unclean.

[3] Reading mask va salmihâ, but both reading and meaning are doubtful. The first word may be muskô, 'musk,' and the other can be read sharmgâh, but, if so, the construction of the sentence is defective, as it stands in the MSS.

[4] The dashtânistân, a comfortless room or cell provided in every Parsi house for unclean persons to retire to, where they can see neither sun, moon, stars, fire, water, sacred vessels, nor righteous men; it ought to be fifteen steps (39½ feet) from fire.

be retained *inwardly*[1]. 7. When worship is celebrated a prayer is to be retained[2] *inwardly*, and should menstruation occur the prayer is to be spoken out by her. 8. When in speaking *out* the prayer should menstruation occur, both afterwards, when the time was certain (a*v*îgûmân), and now *she* is certain[3]. 9. When she retains a prayer *inwardly*, *and* a call of nature arises, there is no need for her to speak *out* the prayer, for the formula for the call is to be spoken by her[4].

10. Hands sprinkled in *ceremonial* ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*), when a menstruous woman sees *them*, become quite unclean (apâ*d*îyâ*v*) by *her* look[5], and even when she looks hastily, and does not see the *sacred* twigs (baresôm), it is the same. 11. And *on* the subject of a house (khânak-i babâ), when a menstruous *woman* is above *in* it, and the *sacred* twigs

water, and the sacred twigs, and three steps (8 feet) from righteous men (see § 33 and Vend. XVI, 1–10).

[1] This kind of prayer (Av. vâ*k*, 'a word or phrase,' Pahl. vâ*g*, Pers. bâ*z*) is a short formula, the beginning of which is to be muttered in a kind of whisper, or (according to the Pahlavi idiom) it 'is to be taken' and 'retained' inwardly (as a protection while eating, praying, or performing other necessary acts) by strictly abstaining from all conversation, until the completion of the act, when the prayer or vâ*g* 'is to be spoken out,' that is, the conclusion of the formula is to be uttered aloud, and the person is then free to speak as he likes. Different formulas are used on different occasions.

[2] K20 has, 'she retains a prayer.' See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

[3] The meaning is, however, uncertain.

[4] The Pahlavi text is as follows: Amat vâ*g* yakhsenunê*d*, pê*s*înkâr (Pers. pê*s*yâr) barâ yâtûnê*d*, a*s* vâ*g* gûftanŏ kâr lôît mamana*s* nask-i pavan *k*ami*s*n yemaleluni*s*nŏ. Compare Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

[5] See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10.

stand right below, if even fully fifteen steps below, even then the *sacred* twigs are unclean (apâ*d*îyâ*v*)[1]; but when not right *below* fifteen steps are plenty.

12. Prepared food which is within three steps of a menstruous woman is polluted by her, and food which she delivers up (barâ pardaẓê*d*) from her morning meal (*k*âsht) is not fit for the evening meal (*s*âm), nor that which she delivers up from her evening meal for the morning meal; it is not fit even for the same woman[2]; and water which is within three steps of her, when they shall put *it* into a pail (dûbal) or ablution-vessel (pâ*d*îyâ*v*dân), and shall do *it* without handling (ayadman), is *fit* for the hands in *ceremonial* ablution. 13. When she touches the bedding[3] and garments of any one, Sôshyans[4] said that so much space is to be washed with bull's urine (gômê*z*) and water; her bedding which touches the bedding of any one does not make *it* polluted.

14. A menstruous woman who becomes clean in three nights is not to be washed till the fifth day; from the fifth day onwards to the ninth day, when-

[1] Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10 says, 'everything, when at the right distance, is proper, except only that one *case*, when uncleanness is above and cleanness also right below; although it be even much below, yet it is not proper.' In such a case the prescribed distance of fifteen steps is not sufficient; therefore, the dashtânistân should be on the ground floor, not over an underground water-tank, nor within fifteen steps of the water in such a tank.

[2] Or, possibly, ham nê*s*man may mean 'a companion woman,' when two or more are secluded at the same time. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17 says, 'food delivered up by a menstruous woman is of no use whatever, it is not proper; in *parts* free from pollution (*g*avî*d*-*v*a*s*nŏ), in those likewise it is not proper;' the reading *g*avî*d*-*v*a*s*nŏ (proposed by Dastûr Hoshangji) is, however, doubtful.

[3] Or 'clothing,' vistarg.

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

ever she becomes clean, *she* is to sit down in cleanliness one day for the sake of her depletion (tihîk), and then *she* is *fit* for washing; and after nine nights the depletion is no matter[1].

15. A woman who *has* brought forth or miscarried (nasâî), during forty days sees whenever *she* is polluted; but when she knows for certain that *she* is *free* from menstruation *she* is, thereupon, to be associated with meanwhile (vadas), from the forty days[2] onward; but when she knows for certain that *there is something* of it, she is to be considered meanwhile as menstruous.

16. A menstruous woman when she *has* sat one month as menstruous, and becomes clean on the thirtieth day, when at the very same time she became quite clean she also becomes again menstruous, her depletion (tîhîk) is from *its* beginning, and till the fifth day washing is not allowable. 17. And when she is washed from the menstruation, *and has* sat three days in cleanliness, and again becomes menstruous as from the beginning, four days are to be watched through by her, and the fifth day is for washing[3]. 18. When she *has* become *free*

[1] See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22. The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 19) prescribes a fixed period of seven days, except in abnormal cases.

[2] The same period of seclusion as appointed by the Hebrew law, after the birth of a man child (see Lev. xii. 2–4). The Avesta law (Vend. V, 135–159) prescribes only twelve nights' seclusion, divided into two periods of three and nine nights respectively, as the Hebrew woman's seclusion is divided into periods of seven and thirty-three days.

[3] The substance of §§ 16, 17 is given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22, but in language even more obscure than here. The washing mentioned here is merely for the first menstruation; that for the second one being prescribed in § 18.

from the second menstruation she is not in cleanliness *for* nine days *and* nights,—these days *and* nights are for watching,—*and* then *she* is to be washed; when the nine days *and* nights are completed, on the same day washing is good[1].

19. Of leucorrhœa (*k*îharak)[2], when it *has* quite changed colour, that which comes on before *and* also that which is after menstruation, the pollution is just like *that of* menstruation.

20. When she *has* become so completely clean from menstruation that her washing may be as usual (dastôbarag hâe), she does not make the *sacred* twigs (baresôm), *nor* even other things, polluted *when* beyond three steps.

21. On account of severe cold it is allowable *for her* to sit out towards[3] the fire; and while she washes a prayer (vâ*g*) is to be taken *inwardly* by her[4], and the washing of her hands, except with bull's urine (gômê*z*), is not proper till *then;* and when *they are* washed by her, two hundred noxious creatures are to be destroyed by her as atonement for sin.

22. A woman who goes beyond the period of menstruation[5], and, afterwards, sees *she* is polluted, when her pregnancy is certain—except when her

[1] In such abnormal cases the Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 25–28) prescribes seven days' seclusion after recovery.

[2] Av. *k*ithra, see explanation of *k*îharak-hômand (Av. *k*ithravan*d*) in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 1, 34.

[3] Dastûr Jâmâspji reads val bavan-i âtâsh, 'to the part of the fire.' From what follows it would seem doubtful whether this distant approach to the fire is allowable until she is ready for washing.

[4] See § 6, note.

[5] Or, 'goes up from the place of menstruation.'

miscarriage (nasâî yehevûntanŏ) is evident—is then to be washed with bull's urine and water; when her pregnancy is not certain *she* is to be considered as menstruous. 23. Some say[1], moreover, that when miscarriage is certainly manifest *she* is, meanwhile, to be considered as menstruous. 24. Some say that when *she* is doubtful about the miscarriage she is to be washed with ceremony[2].

25. And for any one[3] who comes in contact with a menstruous woman, or with the person whom it is necessary to wash with water and bull's urine, *it* is the root of a sin of sixty stîrs[4]. 26. And for whomever knowingly has sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman *it* is the root of a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars and sixty stîrs[5].

27. Of a menstruous *woman* who sees a fire the sin is one Farmân[6], and when she goes within three steps *it* is one Tanâpûhar, and when she puts a hand on the fire itself[7] *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and *in* like manner *as to* the ashes[8] and *water* goblet[9]. 28. When she looks at water *it* is a

[1] Literally, 'there is *one* who says thus.'

[2] See Chap. II, 65.

[3] Reading aî*s* instead of adîna*s*, 'then for him.'

[4] That is, the sin is a Khôr (see Chap. I, 2).

[5] According to the Avesta (Vend. XV, 23, 24) he becomes a peshôtanu (Pahl. tanâpûhar). The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 24) makes him unclean for seven days.

[6] See Chap. I, 2. That it was sinful for her to look at fire, even in Avesta times, appears from Vend. XVI, 8.

[7] Literally, 'on the body of the fire.'

[8] That libû*s*yâ means 'ashes' appears from Pahl. Vend. V, 150; literally it is Huzvâri*s* for 'clothing or covering,' and is so used in Pahl. Vend. VI, 106, VII, 122. Metaphorically, ashes are the clothing of the fire.

[9] Reading dûbalak; but the word is doubtful. Possibly it

sin of one Farmân; when she sits in water *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and when through disobedience she walks out in the rain every single drop is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars for her. 29. And the sun and other luminaries are not to be looked at by her, and animals and plants are not to be looked at by her, and conversation with a righteous man is not to be held by her; for a fiend so violent is that fiend of menstruation[1], *that*, where another fiend does not smite anything with a look (akhsh), it smites with a look.

30. *As to* a house[2] in which is a menstruous woman, the fire of that house is not to be kindled; food which is delivered up from before a menstruous woman is not proper for the same woman[3]. 31. A tray-cloth (khvânŏ *g*âmak) which stands before *her*, when it is not in contact with her, is not polluted; a table-napkin (pata*s*khûr) when apart from *her* thigh, *and* contact does not occur, is proper[4].

32. When *one*[5] wishes to consecrate the sacred cakes (drôn)[6], when *one* holds up the *sacred* twigs

should be read gôbarak for gâv-bar, 'bull's produce,' referring to the bull's urine which, with ashes, is prescribed (Vend. V, 148) as the first food for a woman after miscarriage.

[1] The demoness *G*êh (see Bund. III, 3–9).

[2] By khânak, 'house, abode,' must here be understood merely the woman's place of seclusion. K20 inserts âtâ*s* dên after mûn, which renders it possible (by assuming another preposition) to translate as follows: '*As to* a house in which is a fire, the fire in that house is not to be kindled by a menstruous woman.'

[3] See § 12.

[4] Fit to use again.

[5] Perhaps we should read '*she*' throughout this section, as a woman can perform these rites among women (see Chap. X, 35).

[6] The drôn (Av. draona, corrupted into drûn or darûn by

(baresôm)[1] from the twig-stand (baresôm-dân), and menstruation occurs, and just as it came to *one's* knowledge *one* puts down the *sacred* twigs and goes out, the *sacred* twigs are not polluted.

Pâz. writers) is a small round pancake or wafer of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. It is made of wheaten flour and water, with a little clarified butter, and is flexible. A drôn is converted into a frasast by marking it on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while thrice repeating the words humat hûkht huvar*s*t, 'well-thought, well-said, well-done,' one word to each of the nine cuts. Any drôn or frasast that is torn must not be used in any ceremony. In the drôn ceremony two drôns are placed separately by the priest upon a very low table before him, on its left side, the nearer one having a small piece of butter (gâu*s* hudh*a*u) upon it; two frasasts are similarly placed upon its right-hand side, the farther one having a pomegranate twig (urvarâm) upon it; and between this and the farther drôn an egg is placed. The sacred twigs (baresôm) must also be present on their stand to the left of the priest, and a fire or lamp must stand opposite him, on the other side of the table. The priest recites a certain formula of consecration (chiefly Yas. III, 1–VIII, 9), during which he uplifts the sacred twigs, and mentions the name of the angel, or of the guardian spirit of a deceased person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed. After consecration, pieces are broken off the drôns by the officiating priest, and are eaten by himself and those present, beginning with the priests (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407, 408, AV. p. 147).

[1] The baresôm (Av. baresma) consists of a number of slender rods or tâî (Pahl. tâk), formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these twigs varies according to the nature of the ceremony, but is usually from five to thirty-three. These twigs are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the recital of certain prayers by the officiating priest, during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk or girdle formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together; this girdle, being

33. And during her menstruation *she* is to be so seated that, from her body, *there* are fifteen steps of three feet to water, fifteen steps to fire, fifteen steps to the *sacred* twigs, and three steps to a righteous man[1]. 34. And her food is to be carried forth in iron or leaden *vessels;* and the person (valman) who shall carry forth the food stands at three steps away from her[2]. 35. When worship is celebrated, every time at the dedication (shnûmanê)[3] of the consecration of sacred cakes (drôn yasṭ) *it* is to be uttered aloud *by her;* some say the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû[4].

Chapter IV.

1. A *sacred thread*-girdle (kûstîk), should it be made of silk (parvand), is not proper; the hair (pashm) of a hairy goat and a hairy camel is

passed twice round the twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the kûstîk or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396–399).

[1] See Vend. XVI, 9, 10. All the ceremonial apparatus must be kept as far removed as the sacred twigs.

[2] See Vend. XVI, 11–14, which states that the food is to be carried forth on iron, lead, or the basest metal.

[3] This is the time when the name of the angel or spirit is mentioned, in whose honour the cakes are consecrated (see § 32, note on drôn, and Chap. VII, 8).

[4] The Ithâ is Yas. V (so called from its first word), which forms a part of the drôn yasṭ or formula of consecration (see § 32, note on drôn). The Ashem-vohû is probably that in Yas. VIII, 9, which concludes the consecration. The same details are given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17. These prayers also form a portion of all ceremonial worship, including the Yazisn.

proper, and from *other* hairy *creatures* (mûyînô) it is proper among the lowly (nakhêzîk). 2. The least fulness[1] necessary for *it* is exactly three finger-*breadths;* when *it* is exactly three finger-*breadths* altogether[2] from one side, *and* when the rest is cut off, it is proper. 3. When *one* retains the prayer *inwardly*[3] and has tied his girdle, and ties *it* anew once again, he will untie that which he has tied, *and* it is not proper[4].

4. Cloth of thick silk brocade (dîpâkŏ) and figured silk (parnîkânŏ) is not good for girdling[5]; and *cloth* of hide when the hair is stripped from it, of wool, of hair, of cotton, of dyed silk, and of wood[6] is proper for shirting (*s*apîkîh). 5. Four finger-*breadths* of shirt[7] is the measure of *its* width *away*

[1] Literally, 'width;' that is, *extra* width, or slackness round the waist, as the girdle sits very loosely over a loose shirt; or, as the text implies, the slackness ought to admit three fingers together, projecting edgeways from the waist. After tying it so loosely, any unnecessary length of string may be cut off, when the girdle is put on for the first time. The necessary looseness is again mentioned in Chap. X, 1.

[2] Literally, 'extreme to extreme;' rôê*s*man-â-rôê*s*man being Huzvâri*s* for sarâsar.

[3] That is, has begun the prayer formula (requisite while tying on the girdle) with a bâ*z* or muttered prayer (see Chap. III, 6, note).

[4] The meaning appears to be that he must not tie the girdle a second time without recommencing the prayer formula.

[5] This word, ayîbyâêg,hânîh, is chiefly a transcript from the Avesta name of the kûstîk or girdle, aiwy*a*unghana. Probably garments in general are meant.

[6] Perhaps dârîn may mean cloth of bark, hemp, or flax here.

[7] The sacred shirt, worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted) in India, is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm. It is called sadaro (Pers. sudarah) in Gugarâti, and shapîk (Pers. shabî) in Pahlavi.

from each side, from the neck to the skirt (parîk); and *as to* the length before and behind, as much as is proper to cover up is good. 6. So much length and breadth, when it is double or thickened [1], are not proper; when on the separation (dûrmânak) of the two folds *one* remains clothed on one side, both when he wears the girdle (kûstîk), *and* when he does not wear the girdle, even then it is not undress (vishâ*d*akîh) [2].

7. When a shirt of one fold is put on, *and* the skirt has concealed both sides, the girdle is tied over it, *and* it is proper. 8. When two shirts are put on, and they shall tie the girdle over that which is above, then *it* is for him a root of the sin owing to [3] running about uncovered [4].

9. By a man and woman, until fifteen years of age, *there* is no committal of *the sin of* running about uncovered [5]; *and* the sin of unseasonable

[1] Assuming that aîtabarî*d* stands for astabarî*d*; the Huz. aît being substituted for the Pâz. ast. The text appears to refer to lined or stuffed shirts, such as would be very suitable for the cold winters of Persia, like the clothing padded with cotton wool used by natives of the cooler parts of India in the cold season.

[2] That is, the degree of nakedness which is sinful (see §§ 8–10).

[3] K20 has lâ, 'not,' instead of râî, 'owing to;' this would reverse the meaning of the sentence, but it is not the usual place for the negative particle.

[4] This sin is called vishâ*d*-dûbâri*s*nîh; it is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 167, VII, 48, but not described there. The usual definition of the sin is 'walking about without the sacred thread-girdle;' and it is generally classed with the two other Parsi sins of 'walking with one boot' and 'making water on foot' (see AV. XXV, 5, 6); sometimes a fourth Parsi sin, 'unseasonable chatter,' is associated with them, as in the text, but this is supposed to be punished in a different manner in hell (see AV. XXIII).

[5] Indicating that it is not absolutely necessary to wear the sacred thread-girdle till one is fifteen years old (see Chap. X, 13).

chatter[1] arises after fifteen years of age[2]. 10. The sin of running about uncovered, as far as three steps, is a Farmân each step; at the fourth step *it* is a Tanâpûhar[3] *sin.*

11. A girdle to which *there* is no fringe is proper; and when they shall tie a woman's ringlet (gurs)[4] *it* is not proper.

12. Walking with one boot[5] as far as four steps is

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[1] This sin is called drâyân-*g*ûyi*s*nîh, literally, 'eagerness for chattering,' and consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (vâ*g*) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; many details regarding it are given in the next chapter. The sin consists in breaking the spell, or destroying the effect, of the vâ*g*.

[2] This is modified by Chap. V, 1, 2.

[3] See Chap. I, 1, 2. These particulars are deduced by the Pahlavi commentator from Vend. XVIII, 115, which refers, however, to a special case of going without girdle and shirt. He says (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116), 'so that as far as the fourth step it is not more than (aî) a Srôshô-*k*aranâm, and at the fourth step it amounts to the root of a Tanâpûhar within him; some say that *he* is within what is allowed him in going three *steps*. When he walks on very many steps it is also not more than a Tanâpûhar, *and* when he stops again *it is counted* from the starting-point' (compare § 12).

[4] Probably referring to the possibility of tying the girdle over a woman's hair, when hanging loose down to her waist. The present custom among Parsi women in India is to cover up the whole of their hair with a white handkerchief tied closely over the head; but whether this is an ancient custom is uncertain.

[5] This sin, which is mentioned in Bund. XXVIII, 13, is called aê-mûk-dûbâri*s*nîh or khadû-mûk-dûbâri*s*nîh, literally, 'running in one boot,' and is usually so understood, but how there can be any risk of the committal of so inconvenient an offence is not explained. Dastûr Hoshangji thinks that aê-mûk, 'one boot,' was formerly written avî-mûk, 'without boots;' and no doubt avî is sometimes written exactly like khadû, 'one,' (indicating, possibly, a phonetic change of avî into agvi). Perhaps, however, the word alludes to the Persian practice of wearing an outer boot

a Tanâpûhar *sin*, when with one[1] movement; and after the fourth step as much as *one* shall walk is a Tanâpûhar; and when he sits down and walks on the sin is the same that *it would be* from his starting-point (bûnîh); and *there* were *some* who said *it* is a Tanâpûhar for each league (parasang).

13. At night, when they lie down, the shirt *and* girdle are to be worn, for *they are* more protecting for the body, and good for the soul. 14. When they lie down with the shirt and girdle, before sleep *one* shall utter one Ashem-vohû[2], and with every coming and going of the breath (vayô) is a good work of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[3]; and if in that

(mûk) over an inner one of thinner leather, when walking out of doors; so that the sin of 'running in one pair of boots' would be something equivalent to walking out in one's stockings; and this seems all the more probable from the separate account of walking 'without boots or stockings,' avîmûgak, given in Chap. X, 12. But whatever may have been the original meaning of the word, Parsis nowadays understand that it forbids their walking without shoes; this should be recollected by any European official in India who fancies that Parsis ought to take off their shoes in his presence, as by insisting on such a practice he is compelling them to commit what they believe to be a serious sin.

[1] Assuming that hanâ, 'this,' stands for aê, 'one' (see p. 218, note 3). The amount of sinfulness in walking improperly shod appears to be deduced from that incurred by walking improperly dressed (see § 10).

[2] See Bund. XX, 2. The same details are given in Chap. X, 24.

[3] The Av. sraoshô-*k*arana appears to have been a scourge with which offenders were lashed by the assistant priests (see Vend. III, 125, 129, IV, 38, &c.), and a Srôshô-*k*aranâm was, therefore, originally one lash with a scourge. As the gravity of an offence was measured by the number of lashes administered, when this term was transferred from the temporal to the spiritual gravity of sin, it was considered as the unit of weight by which sins were estimated; and, by a further process of reasoning, the good works

sleep decease occurs, his renunciation *of sin* is accomplished[1].

Chapter V.

1. Of unseasonable chatter[2] that of children of five years of age has no root; and from five years till seven years, when *one* is under the tuition of his

necessary for counterbalancing sins were estimated by the same unit of weight. Regarding the amount of a Srôshô-*k*aranâm there is much uncertainty; according to Chap. XVI, 5 and Pahl. Vend. VI, 15 it is the same as a Farmân, and this appears to be the case also from a comparison of § 10 with Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116 (see note on § 10); but according to Chap. XI, 2 it is half a Farmân, and the Farmân is also probably the degree meant by the frequent mention of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms as the least weight of sin or good works that will turn the scale in which the soul's actions are weighed after death (see Chap. VI, 3). This uncertainty may perhaps have arisen from aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi. But, besides this uncertainty, there is some discordance between the various accounts of the actual weight of a Srôshô-*k*aranâm, as may be seen in Chaps. X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 5. As a weight the Srôshô-*k*aranâm is not often mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad, for wherever it translates the Av. sraoshô-*k*arana it means 'lashes with a scourge;' but the weight of one Srôshô-*k*aranâm is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. VI, 15, three Srôshô-*k*aranâms in IV, 142, VII, 136, XVII, 11, XVIII, 55, 116, and five Srôshô-*k*aranâms in XVI, 8.

[1] Patîtîkîh, 'the dropping' or renunciation of sin, is effected by confessing serious offences to a high-priest, and also by the recitation of a particular formula called the Patit, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. The priest ordains such atonement as he thinks necessary, but the remission of the sins depends upon the after performance of the atonement and the effectual determination to avoid such sins in future (see Chap. VIII, 1, 2, 8).

[2] See Chap. IV, 9.

father *and* innocent[1], it has no root *in* him, and when sinful it has root *in* the father[2]. 2. And from eight years till *they are* man and woman of fifteen years, if even *one* is innocent during the performance of the ritual (ya*s*tô), but is able to say its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû[3], and does not say *them*, *it* is the root of unseasonable chatter for him[4]; and when *he* is able to perform *his* ritual by heart (narm), and says *only* the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû, some *have* said that such is as when his ritual is not performed *and there* is no offering (yastôfrî*d*), and some *have* said that it is not unseasonable chatter.

3. Unseasonable chatter *may* occur at every ceremonial (ya*z*i*s*nŏ); *for* him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâpûhar *sin*[5]; *for* him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less, some *have* said three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[6]. 4. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin;* this is where every ceremony, or every morsel, or every *drop of* urine is not completed[7]. 5. Of the unseasonable chatter of

[1] That is, intending no harm, as contrasted with sinful or wilful chatter in defiance of instruction.

[2] Because the father is supposed to be responsible, in the next world, for the sins of the child, even as he will profit by its good works (see Chaps. X, 22, XII, 15).

[3] See Chap. III, 35.

[4] Inattention to prayers evinced by improper silence is thus put upon the same footing as inattention evinced by improper talking. This portion of the sentence is omitted in K20.

[5] See Chap. I, 1, 2. It is a greater sin in the officiating priests than in the other persons present at the ceremony.

[6] Probably a Farmân sin (see Chap. IV, 14, note).

[7] Referring to the three principal occasions when a prayer (vâ*g*) is taken inwardly and retained until the completion of the action; during which time it is unlawful to say anything but the prescribed prayers (see Chap. III, 6, note).

him who has not performed the ritual Afarg[1] said this degree is slighter; Mê*d*ôk-mâh[1] said both are alike, and he spoke further of this, since for him who has not performed the ritual, and does not attend to[2] saying its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû, it is more severe than for him who has performed the ritual, and does not attend to consecrating its sacred cake (drôn). 6. Mê*d*ôk-mâh said that it (the ceremonial)[3] does not become Gêtô-kharî*d*[4]; Afarg said that it amounts to an offering (yastôfrî*d*)[5] for every one, except for that person who *knows* the ritual by heart, and through sinfulness will not perform *it;* and it becomes *his* at the time when, during his life *and* by his command, it is recited with this intention, namely: 'I wish to do *it*, my faith (astôbânîh) is in the religion[6].'

7. The deaf and dumb when it is not possible for him to say an Ashem does not commit unseasonable chatter[7]; and when it is possible for him to say an Ashem he shall three times say of it, 'Ashem, ashem, ashem;' and if it be possible for him to say

[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] Literally, 'believe or trust to.'

[3] During which unseasonable chatter occurs.

[4] Generally written Gêtî-kharî*d* (see Bund. XXX, 28); but, perhaps, we should here read yastôfrî*d*, 'offering,' though gêtôk-kharî*d* occurs in Chap. XII, 30.

[5] The MSS. have merely stôfrî*d*, which differs from the foregoing gêtô-kharî*d* only in one Pahlavi letter, so we should probably read the same word in both cases, but which of them it ought to be is uncertain.

[6] Meaning, apparently, that he can obtain the benefit of any past ceremony, forfeited by wilful negligence, by repentance and a repetition of the ceremony during his lifetime.

[7] By omitting to say it (see § 2). This clause of the sentence is omitted in K20.

'ithâ' and 'ashem-vohû' it is well, and when it is only possible for him to say 'ithâ' it matters not[1].

CHAPTER VI.

1. The deaf and dumb and helpless (armêst)[2], though of unblemished conduct and proper disposition, is incapable of doing good works, and from the *time* when he is born till the *time* when he shall die, all the duty and good works which they may perform in the world become his property (nafsman) as much as his even by whom *they* are performed; some say that it is thus: as much as they belong to Zaratûst[3]. 2. Though he does not do the good works not really originating with (ahambûnik) him, and does not commit the sin not really originating with *him, it* is better than though *he were* able to do the good works not really originating with him, *and* should not do *them;* but should commit the sin not really originating with *him;* when, afterwards, he passes away, and then also comes to *his* account as to sin and good works, when the good works not really originating with him are more *he is* in heaven (vahist), when the sin

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[1] That is, any one barely able to speak must repeat so much of the indispensable prayers as he is able to pronounce, otherwise he will commit sin.

[2] That is, any one compelled to remain stationary or secluded, owing to bodily or mental infirmity (see Chap. II, 98); an idiot, or insane person, is probably meant here.

[3] This comment seems to imply that its writer was translating from an Avesta text, and here met with a word which some persons thought contained a reference to Zaratûst, but which he first translated so as to suit the context; perhaps Av. zarazdâiti may be suggested.

not really originating with *him* is more *he is* in hell, and when both are equal *he is* among the ever-stationary (hamîstakân)[1]. 3. When the good works are three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[2] more than the sins *he is* in heaven (vahi*s*t), when the good works are one Tanâpûhar more he attains to the best existence (pâhlûm ahvân)[3], when his ceremony (ya*s*t) is per-

[1] That is, he is treated, with regard to the actions merely imputed to him, precisely as all others are with regard to their own actions. With reference to the hamîstakân, Ar*d*â-Vîrâf states (AV. VI, 2, 5–12) that on his journey to the other world he 'saw the souls of several people who remain in the same position,' and he was informed that 'they call this the place of the Hamîstakân ("those ever-stationary"), and these souls remain *in* this place till the future existence; and *they are* the souls of those people whose good works and sin were equal. Speak out to the worldlings thus: "Consider not the easier good works with avarice and vexation! for every one whose good works are three Srôshô-*k*aranâms more than *his* sin is for heaven, *they* whose sin is more are for hell, they *in* whom both are equal remain among these Hamîstakân till the future existence." And their punishment is cold or heat from the changing of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

[2] Probably equivalent to a Farmân sin (see Chaps, I, 1, 2, IV, 14, note).

[3] This appears to be another name for Garô*d*mân, 'the abode of song,' which is the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd. The lower heaven is here called Vahi*s*t, which is a general term for heaven in general. AV. VII–X, XVII, 27, and Mkh. VII, 9–12, 20, 21 describe four grades in heaven and four in hell, besides the intermediate neutral position of the Hamîstakân (AV. VI, Mkh. VII, 18, 19). The four grades of heaven, proceeding upwards, are Hûmat for good thoughts in the station of the stars, Hûkht for good words in the station of the moon, Hûvar*s*t for good deeds in the station of the sun, and Garô*d*mân where Aûharmazd dwells (Vend. XIX, 121). And the four grades of hell, proceeding downwards, are Dû*s*-hûmat for evil thoughts, Dû*s*-hûkht for evil words, Dû*s*-hûvar*s*t for evil deeds, and the darkest hell (Vend. XIX, 147) where the evil spirit dwells. The pâhlûm ahvân of

formed[1]. 4. Sôshyans[2] said that to come into that best existence it is not necessary to perform the ceremony, for when his good works are one[3] Tanâpûhar more than the sin he attains to the best existence, and no account is *taken* of performing his ceremony; because in the heavenly existence (garôdmânîkîh) it is not necessary to perform a ceremony, for an excess of good works must attain Garôdmân[4]. 5. As Sôshyans said, in heaven (vahist) he who is below is elevated to him who is above; *and* it says thus: 'Happy indeed art thou, O man! who art in any way near unto that imperishable existence[5].'

6. Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd[6] said that an infidel (akdînô)[7], when *his* good works are one Tanâpûhar more than *his* sin, is saved from hell.

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the text is merely the Pahlavi form of Av. vahistem ahûm (Vend. VII, 133, XVIII, 69, XIX, 120, Yas. IX, 64), whence the term vahist (Pers. bahist) is also derived.

[1] That is, when his surviving relatives have performed the proper religious ceremonies after his death.

[2] See Chap. I, 3.

[3] Reading aê, 'one,' and supposing that this Pâz. form has been substituted for an original Huz. khadûk, 'one.' This supposition being necessary to account for the aê preceding its noun, instead of following it; and without it we ought to read 'three' instead of 'one,' which seems, however, hardly reconcileable with the context (but compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 136). This is an instance of the ambiguity occasioned by aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi, as already noticed in p. 289, note 3. The word might also be taken as the conditional verbal form aê, 'shall be,' but in that case it is likewise misplaced.

[4] See note on pâhlûm ahvân in § 3.

[5] A somewhat similar exclamation to that in Vend. VII, 136.

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[7] That is, one of another religion; not an apostate, nor an atheist.

7. Of a pure law (dâ*d*) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are *those of* the Sînîk congregation[1]; of a vile

[1] It is not easy to identify this Sînîk va*s*kar*d*îh, but Professor J. Darmesteter suggests that the term may have been applied to the Manicheans settled in eastern Turkistân and western China, whence they may have been called Sînîk (the country of the Sênî, Av. Sâini, being identified with *K*înîstân or China in Bund. XV, 29, because *TS*în is the Arabic name of the latter). This is confirmed, to some extent, by a passage in the Dînkar*d* (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's edition of the Pahlavi text, p. 27), where three foreign religions are mentioned, that of the Jews from Arûm, that of the Messiah from the west, and that of Mânih from Turkistân. Darmesteter further points out the following passages in Barbier de Meynard's French translation of Mas'aûdî, which show that the Manicheans had considerable influence in eastern Turkistân as late as A.D. 944:—

(Meynard, I, 268): '. . . the Turks, the Khuzlu*g*, and the Taghazghaz, who occupy the town of Kû*s*ân, situated between Khurâsân and China, and who are now (A.D. 944) the most valiant, most powerful, and best governed of all the Turkish races and tribes. Their kings bear the title of îrkhân ("sub-khân?"), and they alone, among all these nations, profess the religion of Mânî.'

Again, after stating that the Chinese were at first Samanians (Buddhists), it is added (Meynard, II, 258): 'Their kingdom is contiguous to that of the Taghazghaz, who, as we have said above, are Manicheans, and proclaim the simultaneous existence of the two principles of light and darkness. These people were living in simplicity, and in a faith like that of the Turkish races, when there turned up among them a demon of the dualist sect, who showed them, in tempting language, two opposing principles in everything that exists in the world, such as life and death, health and sickness, riches and poverty, light and darkness, union and separation, connection and severance, rising and setting, existence and non-existence, night and day, &c. Then, he spoke to them of the various ailments which afflict rational beings, animals, children, idiots, and madmen; and he added that God could not be responsible for this evil, which was in distressing contradiction to the excellence which distinguishes his works, and that he was

law are the Zandîk[1], the Christian (Tarsâk), the Jew (Yahûd), and others of this sort (sanŏ)[2].

CHAPTER VII.

1. The morning sun it is necessary to reverence (yastanŏ) till midday, and that of midday it is necessary to reverence till the afternoon time, and that of the afternoon time it is necessary to reverence till night[3]; whenever *one* is quite prepared

above any such imputation. By these quibbles, and others like them, he carried away their minds, and made them adopt his errors.'

The tenets of the Manicheans ought, no doubt, to have been considered by the Zoroastrians as a mixture of truth and error, just as those of the Sînîk congregation are represented to be in our text; but such tenets being an heretical offshoot of Zoroastrianism, it argues unusual liberality in the priests if they preferred Manicheans to Christians, that is, heretics to infidels.

K20 has altered sînîk vaskardîh into nisînîk (or vîdînîk) sikaftîh, which appears to be an attempt to bring the words within the limits of the writer's knowledge, without paying much attention to their collective meaning.

[1] A sect which (according to its name) probably adhered to a certain heretical interpretation (zand) in preference to the orthodox Avesta and Zand. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit version of Mkh. XXXVI, 16, explains a Zandik as one who 'thinks well of Aharman and the demons.'

[2] Unless this paragraph be a continuation of the quotation from Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd's commentary, which seems unlikely, its contents have an important bearing upon the age of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. As it does not mention Muhammadanism by name it could hardly have been written after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, when that new faith had become much more important, in Persia, than those of the Christians and Jews.

[3] Referring to the recitation of the Khûrshêd Nyâyis, or 'salutation of the sun,' which should be performed thrice a day, in the Hâvan, Rapîtvîn, and Aûzêrîn Gâhs, or periods of the day (see

for activity (khvêskârîh), and shall then do reverence, it is proper. 2. And when anything of that happens which *indicates* when it is not proper to wash the hands, and about this he considers that when he does not reverence the sun it will stop[1], *at* the time previous *to that* in which it occurs the sun is to be fully reverenced by him, and, afterwards, when *his* hands are washed, it is to be reverenced again; and when he does not reverence *it*, except when innocent through not reverencing *it*[2], then it becomes irreverence (lâ yast) of the sun *for* him[3].

3. *As to* the sun it is better when *one* reverences *it* every time at the proper period (pavan gâs-i nafsman); when he does not reverence *it for* once *it* is a sin of thirty stîrs[4]. 4. Reverencing the sun is every time a good work of one Tanâpûhar[5]; and *so* of the moon and fire *in* like manner[6]. 5. When on account of cloudiness the sun is not visible (pêdâk), and *one* shall reverence *it*, it is proper.

Bund. XXV, 9); a few sentences in the Nyâyis, or formula of salutation, are altered to suit the particular Gâh in which it is recited.

[1] K20 has, 'it will protect *it;*' having read netrûnêd instead of ketrûnêd in its original. To pray with unwashed hands would be sinful (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 84).

[2] That is, except when the omission is to avoid a worse evil, as in the instance just mentioned.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'it does not become a Khûrshêd Yast ("a formula of praise in honour of the sun") *for* him.' This Yast forms a part of the Nyâyis.

[4] That is, an Aredûs sin (see Chap. I, 2). M6 has, 'when he does not reverence *it* again.'

[5] That is, a good work sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin, which puts the performance of a Nyâyis on the same footing as the consecration of a sacred cake or drôn (see Chap. XVI, 6).

[6] The moon and fire have each a separate Nyâyis.

6. And while *one* does not reverence the sun, the good works which they do that day are not their own; some say that of the good works which they do within the law (dâ*d*) of the good religion he has no share. 7. While they do not wash dirty hands any good work which they do is not their own, for while *one* does not utterly destroy corruption (nasû*s*)[1] *there* is no coming of the angels to his body, and when *there* is no coming of the angels to his body he has no steadfastness in the religion, and when he has no steadfastness in the religion no good work whatever reaches unto him.

8. When *one* wishes to perform the propitiation (shnûman)[2] of fire, it is allowable to perform one 'âthrô' by itself, and, when two *and* the 'ma*d* vîspaêibyô âterebyô,' these three are thus the propitiation everywhere[3]; some say that it would be proper to perform *it* while allowable, except that of the heterodox.

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[1] That is, the demon of corruption, who is supposed to enter and reside in all filth of the nature of dead matter, until expelled or destroyed by cleansing.

[2] A shnûman or khshnûmanŏ (Av. khshnûman) is a short formula of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirit intended to be propitiated by it, and is used for dedicating the prayers or ceremony specially to his service (see Chaps. III, 35, X, 2, XIV, 3). The propitiatory formulas for the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month constitute the Sîrôzah, or form of prayer 'relating to the thirty days.'

[3] The propitiation of fire (as given in Sîrôz. I, 9, Âta*s* Nyâyi*s* 5, 6) consists of five sentences, each beginning with the word âthrô, 'of the fire,' and the last sentence also contains the words ma*d* vîspaêibyô âterebyô, 'with all fires.' The meaning of the text appears to be that it is allowable to use only one of these sentences (probably the last), but if two are used besides the last they are amply sufficient for practical purposes.

9. Whoever shall extinguish[1] a fire, by him ten fires are to be gathered together, by him ten punishments are to be endured, by him ten ants are to be destroyed[2], and by him holy-water (zôhar) is to be presented to the sacred fire (âtâs-i Vâhrâm).

Chapter VIII.

1. Sin which *affects* accusers[3] is to be atoned for (vigârisn) among the accusers, and that *relating* to

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[1] Literally, 'kill.'

[2] The ant being a creature of the evil spirit, on account of its carrying away corn.

[3] Vinâs-i hamêmâlân, 'sin *relating* to adversaries.' Sins appear to be divided into two great classes, hamêmâl and rûbânîk. A hamêmâl sin seems to be any secular offence which injures some person or animal who, thereupon, becomes a hamêmâl, 'accuser' (Av. hameretha, 'opponent,' Yas. LVI, x, 10), and who must first be satisfied by atonement, before confession to the high-priest, or renunciation of sin, can be of any avail for removing the sin (compare Matthew v. 23–26). The Rivâyats assert that if a person dies without atoning for a hamêmâl sin, his soul will be stopped at the *K*invad bridge (see Bund. XII, 7) on its way to the other world, and kept in a state of torment until the arrival of the 'accuser,' and after he is satisfied the sinner's soul will be disposed of, in the usual manner, according to the balance of its good and bad actions. It is also probable that only a man of 'the good religion,' or an animal of the good creation, can be an 'accuser.' A rûbânîk sin, on the other hand, seems to be one which affects only the sinner's own soul, and for which the high-priest can prescribe a sufficient atonement. It is doubtful, however, whether the Parsis nowadays have any very clear notions of the exact distinction between these two classes of sins, although aware of their names, which are mentioned in their Patit, or renunciation of sin. The explanations given in some editions of their Khurdah Avesta, or prayer-book, are confined to mentioning certain special instances of each class of sin; thus,

the soul is to be atoned for among the high-priests (ra*d*ân), and when they do whatever the high-priests of the religion command the sin will depart, and the good works which they may thenceforth do will attain completion (avaspôrîk). 2. The sin of him who is worthy of death (marg-ar*g*ân) is to be confessed (gar*z*i*s*nŏ) unto the high-priests, *and he* is to deliver up *his* body[1]; except *to* the high-priests he is not to deliver up *his* body.

3. On account of the dexterity (farhâng) of horsemen it is not *their* business to hunt (nakh*k*îr kar*d*anŏ); and it is not allowable for any one else to hunt for game, except *for him* whose wealth is less *than* three hundred stîrs[2].

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murder, seduction, unnecessary slaughter of cattle, embezzlement, slander, seizing land by force, and a few other evil deeds are stated to be hamêmâl sins; while unnatural offences and intercourse with women of another race and religion are said to be rûbânîk sins. In the Pahlavi Vendidad these classes of sins are rarely mentioned, but hamêmâlân occurs in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, IV, 23, XIII, 38; hamêmâlîh in III, 119; and rûbânîk in XIII, 38; although, perhaps, not always in the sense of sin.

[1] By committing a marg-ar*g*ân or mortal sin, that is, a sin worthy of death, he has forfeited his life, and ought to place it at the disposal of the ra*d*, or high-priest.

[2] This section, intended to preserve game for the poor, is evidently out of place here, as it has no connection with the context. With reference to the property qualification for hunting, it appears, from a passage in the Persian MS. M5 about the proper dowry for a privileged wife, that 2000 dirhams of silver were worth 2300 rûpîs, and that 2 dirhams were $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas; this was written in A.D. 1723, when neither the rûpî nor the tola were of uniform amount, though now the rûpî is exactly a tola weight of silver. As the stîr was four dirhams (see Chap. I, 2), three hundred stîrs would have been 1380 rûpîs or 1350 tolas of silver, according to the standards mentioned in M5; so that hunting was intended to be confined to those whose property was less than 1350–1380 rûpîs; but how

4. The ceremonial worship (yazisn) of those worthy of death, which they do not perform by way of renunciation *of sin*[1], is the ceremonial *which* is demon worship; and when the *officiating* priest (aêrpat) does not know *it* the merit (kirfak) of the ceremonial goes to the store (gang) of the angels, and they give the enjoyment which *arises* from that merit in the spiritual *existence* to the soul of that person who *has* at once (aêvâk) become righteous in mind.

5. When the mortal sinner (marg-argânŏ) *has* delivered his body and wealth at once to the high-priests, and engages mentally in renunciation as to the sin which *has* occurred, and the high-priests give him *their* decision (dastôbarîh) as to duty and good works, the duty and good works which *were* before performed by him come back *to him;* and when they inflict punishment for three nights[2], he does not enter hell. 6. And if the high-priest orders the cutting off of *his* head *he* is righteous on the spot[3], and the three *nights'* (satûîh) *ceremony* is to be celebrated for *him*, and the account of the

this limitation is to be reconciled with the fact that hunting was a favourite pursuit of kings and nobles does not appear, unless it be considered as a sacerdotal protest against that practice.

[1] That is, in those cases when they do not have the yazisn performed as an atonement for sin, by order of the high-priest after confession.

[2] This appears to refer to temporal punishment, inflicted by order of the high-priest, for the purpose of saving him from the 'punishment of the three nights' in the other world, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

[3] Reading pavan gînâk; but M6 marks the phrase as pavan dînâk (for dînâ), 'through the decree,' which is probably an error.

three *nights* (satûîh) does not affect him [1]. 7. And if *he does* not *engage* in renunciation *he is* in hell till the future existence; and in *his* future body they will bring *him* from hell, and for every mortal *sin* they will cut off *his* head once, and the last time they *will* make *him* alive again, and will inflict (numâyend) three nights' severe punishment [2].

8. However a man engages in renunciation of sin the duty of his state of renunciation (patîtîh) is to be engaged therein openly and mentally in renunciation; the duty of openness is this, that the sin which he knows *has* assailed him [3], is to be specially confessed (barâ gôbisnŏ) by him; *and* the mental duty is this, that he engages in renunciation with this thought, that 'henceforth I *will* not commit sin.' 9. And that which occurs before the renunciation, except pious alms, it is well for him not to be overlooked [4] by him, *and* not to be kept [5] secret by him; for when he shall overlook [6], or shall keep secret, about sin committed, it becomes for him as

[1] That is, the usual ceremonies after death are not to be withheld in this world, and his soul is able to pass through the usual investigation, as to his sins and good works, on its way to the other world, without delay. This period of three nights (satûîh, 'the triplet'), which Pâzand writers miscall sedôs or sadis, is the time during which the soul is supposed to hover about the body, before finally departing for the other world (see Mkh. II, 114, 158–160, AV. IV, 9–14, XVII, 2–9).

[2] The same statement is made in nearly the same words in Pahl. Vend. VII, 136. This is the future three nights' punishment for impenitent sinners, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

[3] Literally, 'which he knows thus: "It assailed me."'

[4] Reading avênisnŏ, but the word can also be read khunînisnŏ, 'to be made celebrated, to be boasted of.'

[5] Literally, 'carried on, borne away.'

[6] Reading avênêd, but it may be khunînêd, 'boast of.'

much, some say, as three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[1]; some say that when he keeps secret about a sin of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms he is worthy of death; some say much otherwise[2]. 10. Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Zaratûst[3] had remarked (pê*d*âkînî*d*) *to* a disciple, about this duty, thus: 'Conform to the renunciation *of sin!*' and one[4] time a secret was kept by him, and he ordered him thus: 'Henceforth be thou never apparent in this duty!' and after that he looked upon the supplication (avakhshîh) and much repentance of that disciple, and even then he did not become the high-priest (dastôbar) over him.

11. *The rule is*[5] this, that *of those* who would be proper for this priestly duty (dastôbarîh), that person is proper who is perfect in (narm) the commentary (zand) of the law, and the punishment of sin is easy for him, and he has controlled himself; some say thus: 'By whom a course of priestly studies (aêrpatastân) is performed.' 12. And the punishment of sin *being* easy for him, and his *having* controlled himself are proper; and when, in danger before a menstruous woman, he engages in renunciation it is proper.

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[1] Probably the same as a Farmân sin (see Chaps. I, 1, 2, IV, 14).

[2] Or 'many other *things*.'

[3] This Âtarô-pâ*d*-i Zaratûstân is mentioned in a manuscript about 500 years old, belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji, in Bombay, as having lived for 160 years, and having been supreme high-priest for ninety years: he is also mentioned in the sixth book of the Dînkar*d*. He may, possibly, have been the Âtarô-pâ*d* mentioned in B. Yt. I, 7, but it is hazardous to identify an individual by a single name so common as Âtarô-pâ*d* used to be.

[4] Reading aê, 'one,' instead of hanâ, 'this' (see p. 218, note 3).

[5] Assuming that the word âînak has been omitted at the beginning of this section (see Chap. X, 1).

13. Nêryôsang[1] said thus: 'Thou deemest *it* most surprising that, of the renunciation *of sin* with energy, whatever may be its efficacy, they have been so *much* of the same[2] opinion, so that whenever they perform renunciation, however they perform *it*, and before whomever they perform *it*, whenever *a sin* is not even mentally originating with one[3] a renunciation should be performed by him; and when very many mortal sins (margargân) are committed by him, and he engages mentally in renunciation of every one separately, he is not on[4] the way to hell, owing to his renunciation; and if there be one of which he is not in renunciation the way to hell[5] is not closed to him, for he does not rely upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd, and it is allowable to appoint a priestly retribution (rad tôgisn) to fully atone for it, and when thou appointest a priestly retribution for it, and dost not fully atone, it is allowable to inflict *it* justly and strongly (drûbô).'

14. When his sin is committed against (dên)

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[1] This cannot be the learned Parsi translator of several Pahlavi texts into Sanskrit, who bore the same name, and is supposed to have lived in the fifteenth century. Being quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad (see Chap. I, 4, note) he must have been one of the old commentators.

[2] K20 has hômanam, 'I am,' instead of ham, 'the same;' a mistake arising from reading am, 'I am,' for ham.

[3] This applies to all cases of merely imputed sin, such as those committed by children, which are imputed to the father, and for which he is spiritually, as well as temporally, responsible.

[4] Reading pavan, 'on,' instead of barâ, 'out of' (see p. 176. note 5).

[5] Most of this clause is omitted in K20 by mistake.

accusers[1] it will be necessary to act so that the head of the family (mîrak) shall not become evil-minded[2], and shall not divorce the wife from matrimony, and they shall not bring[3] *him* on unto him; before his accusers *he* is to be engaged in renunciation, and when not, *he* is to be engaged in renunciation *of the sin* before the high-priests (ra*d*ân), and it will become debts, and debt does not make a man wicked[4]; its effect is this, that in the future existence they may quite forsake him, and this becomes a great shame, and they disturb (kâ*v*ênd) his enjoyment. 15. *As to* the sin which *affects* the accusers, when the female *has* atoned for it, its stem (pâyak) is atoned for; some say that the stem (pâyakghîh) has no root; some say that *it is* just like a tree whose leaves wither away.

16. Sin *relating* to the soul[5], when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him; when it shall be fully atoned for *it* is well, and when he does not fully atone they will make him righteous by the three *nights'* (satûîh) punishment. 17. Kûshtanŏ-bûgê*d*[6] said that even that which *affects* accusers, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him.

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[1] Hamêmâlân (see § 1); the particular instance of hamêmâl sin here referred to is seduction.

[2] Reading dû*s*mînân instead of the unmeaning dû*s*mîyân of the MSS.

[3] Reading yâîtyûnã instead of the unmeaning yâîtam of the MSS.; ã being often written very much like m in Pahlavi.

[4] This clause about the hamêmâl sin becoming a debt, to be settled with the 'accuser,' either here or hereafter, is taken from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

[5] That is, rûbânîk sin (see § 1, note).

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

18. Nôsâî Bûrz-Mitrô[1] spoke these three sayings, that is, 'Next-of-kin marriage will extirpate mortal sins (marg-argânân), and the *sacred* twigs when their ablution is *such* as *renders them* improper for firewood, and a man when his wife *becomes* pregnant by him.'

19. Whoever commits a sin against (dên) water, *and* kills a lizard, or other noxious water-creature, has atoned for it; also when thou atonest to (dên) fire for that *against* water it is proper[2], *and* when thou atonest to water for that *against* fire it is proper; some say that even a scorpion is proper *to be killed.* 20. And when a sin of one Tanâpûhar[3] is committed by him, and he shall consecrate a sacred cake (drôn), or shall accomplish a good work of one Tanâpûhar[4], it has atoned for it.

21. When he has committed a mortal *sin* (marg-argân), and engages mentally in renunciation, and the high-priest (rad) knows that, though he ought to give up his body, he *will* not give *it* up, it is allowable when he shall kill him; that is, because he relies upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd. 22. Moreover, from the rule (mank) 'yazemna[5] kad nâ hakad' ('through being worshipped what then at

[1] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[2] A blank space is left for this verb in M6, indicating that that MS. was copied from an original already old and not very legible.

[3] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[4] Consecrating a sacred cake is a Tanâpûhar good work (see Chap. XVI, 6). The theory of counterbalancing sins by good works of the same weight is here clearly enunciated.

[5] Written izimn in the MSS. This quotation appears to be, from some part of the Avesta, no longer extant, and being only the first words of the passage its exact meaning is very uncertain. The section, generally, seems to refer to the beneficence of Aûharmazd.

once,' &c.) it is evident, and it becomes his through *ceremonial* ablution of the hands; it amounts to a whole quarry (kânŏ) of good works, and the worship of God (ya*z*i*s*n-i yazdânŏ) is to be performed for him[1]. 23. Âtarô-pâ*d*[2] son of Mâraspend said that it is always necessary to be more diligent in performing one's worship of God *at* the time that many mortal *sins* are committed; all sins *being* admissible into renunciation, when thou shalt atone by complete self-sacrifice (pûr-*g*ân-dâ*d*îhâ), *and* when *one* engages in renunciation of the sin from *its* root, he becomes *free* from the sin in renunciation of which sin he engaged; for Aûharmazd will not leave his own creatures unto the evil spirit, unless on the path of non-renunciation.

Chapter IX.

1. The greater Hâsar is one part in twelve parts of the day and night, and the lesser Hâsar is one part in eighteen parts[3].

[1] It seems that the execution of the sinner after repentance is here considered as furnishing him with a store of good works, so that it is allowable to perform such ceremonies for him, after death, as are usually performed for righteous men; the reason being given in § 23. The end of this section and beginning of the next are omitted in K20.

[2] Whether the prime minister of Shâpûr II, or the last editor of the Dînkar*d* (see Bund. XXXIII, 3, 11), is not clear.

[3] The Hâsar is not only a measure of distance (see Bund. XXVI, 1), but also a measure of time (see Bund. XXV, 5). According to the text here the greater Hâsar must be two hours, and the lesser Hâsar (which is not mentioned in M6) must be one hour and twenty minutes. But Farh. Okh. (p. 43) says, 'dvadasang-hâthrem asti aghrem ayare, "of twelve Hâsars is the

2. The priest (âsrûk) who passes away in idolatry[1] (aûzdâyakîh) thou hast considered as desolate (vîrân)[2]; and there is a high-priest (dastôbar) who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *he is as* a non-Iranian (anâîrân) country[3]. 3. It is declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in idolatry, an apostate (aharmôk) will be born in that dwelling, and a rumour of this calamity is uttered[4] by that supreme high-priest.

4. In order to be steadfast in the good religion it is to be discussed with priests *and* high-priests, and when *one* does not discuss it is proper that he do not teach it.

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longest day;" the day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the greatest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least;' according to which statement there are three kinds of Hâsar, that are respectively equivalent to two hours, one hour and twenty minutes, and one hour. As the longest day is said (Bund. XXV, 4) to be twice the length of the shortest day, and the greatest Hâsar is twice the length of the least one, it may be conjectured that the Hâsar varied with the length of the day, being a subdivision (one-eighth) of the time the sun was above the horizon; this would account for the greatest and least Hâsars, which are one-eighth of the longest and shortest days, respectively; but it does not account for the medium Hâsar, which is not a mean between the two extremes, but one-ninth (instead of one-eighth) of the mean day of twelve hours. If the Hâsar of distance were really a Parasang, as is sometimes stated, the connection between it and the Hâsar of time would be obvious, as the average Hâsar of one hour and twenty minutes is just the time requisite for walking a Parasang, which seems indeed to be stated in Farh. Okh. p. 42.

[1] Or it may be 'passes over into idolatry.'

[2] K20 has girân, 'grievous.'

[3] That is, he reads anâîrân instead of vîrân in the foregoing statement.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'this calamity is at once announced.'

5. The ceremonial worship (ya*z*i*s*n) which they perform in a fire-temple[1], when not *done* aright, does not reach unto the demons; *but* that which they perform *in* other places, when they do not perform *it* aright, does reach unto the demons; for there is no medium in worship, it reaches either unto the angels or unto the demons. 6. Of a man who has relinquished a *bad* habit, and through his good capabilities *engages* in renunciation *of sin*[2], the good work advances unto the future existence.

7. Any one who shall die in a vessel (ka*s*tîk) it is allowable, for fear of contamination (pa*d*vîshak), to throw into the water; some say that the water itself is the receptacle for the dead (khazânîh).

8. This, too, *is declared:* 'When in the dark it is not allowable to eat food; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark;' and it is declared by that passage (*g*înâk) which Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratû*s*t, thus: 'After the departure of the light let him not devour, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d*[3]; for if after the departure of the light thou devourest, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d*, the fiend seizes away from thee two-thirds of the existing original wisdom

[1] Literally, 'in the dwelling of fires.' The fire must always be sheltered from the sun's rays, and in a fire-temple it is kept in a vaulted cell, with a door and one or two windows opening into the larger closed chamber which surrounds it.

[2] K20 has, 'and it shall happen through his good capabilities.'

[3] The two archangels whose chief duties are the protection of water and plants, respectively (see Chap. XV, 5, 25–29, Bund. IX, 2).

which, when he seizes *it* away, is the glory and religion which are auspicious for thee that day, so that diligence becomes a vexation this day[1].'

9. In a passage of the fifth fargar*d* of the Pâzôn *Nask*[2] it is declared that *one* mentions these charac-

[1] This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Avesta.

[2] This was the sixth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Pâzî or Pâzag; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the seventh nask, called Pâ*g*am. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, pp. 128, 129. The following is a short summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d* (that published in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185, being taken from the fifteenth nask, whose contents were mixed up with those of the seventh through the abstraction of several folios from the Iranian MS. of the Dînkar*d* before M13, or any other copy, was written in India):—

The Pâzî (or Pâzag) is about the lawful slaughtering of animals in the ceremonial rites of fire and water at the season-festivals; also where, when, and how the festivals are to be celebrated, their advantages, and the duties of the officiating priests. The rotation of days, months, and years, summer and winter, the ten days at the end of the winter, when the guardian spirits visit the world, and the ceremonies to be then performed. The time for gathering medicinal plants. The retribution necessary for the various sins affecting the soul, the advantage of providing for such retribution, and the harm from not providing it. The thirty-three principal chiefs of the spiritual and worldly existences. The miracles of great good works, and the heinous sinfulness of apostasy. How far a wife can give away her husband's property, and when it is lawful for him to recover it. Whither winter flees when summer comes on, and where summer goes when winter comes on. The amount of disaster (vôighn) in one century, and the duration of everything connected with such disaster. The summer and winter months, the names of the twelve months, their meaning, and the angels they are devoted to; also the thirty days of the month, and the five Gâtha days at the end of the year, when the guardian spirits are to be reverenced.

The fifth fargar*d*, quoted in the text, was probably that portion of the Nask which described the duties of the officiating priests.

teristics of four kinds of worship of the celestial beings (yazdân) :—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty (zîfânŏ)[1], *but* the man is good; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty *and* the man is bad. 10. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to, *but* do not accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man good, the archangels *and* angels[2] will approach, *but* do not listen to, *and* will accept; *that* whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man good, the archangels *and* angels will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.

11. In every ceremonial (ya*z*i*s*nŏ), at the beginning of the ceremony[3], and the beginning of the sacred-cake *consecration* (drôn)[4], the angels *and* guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invited to the ceremony. 12. When they invoke the angels they will accept the ceremony, and when they do

[1] K20 has hûzvân, 'tongue, speech,' for zîfân, 'faulty' (compare Pers. zîf, 'sin'), in all occurrences of the word.

[2] K20 omits from this word to 'will approach' in the next clause of the sentence.

[3] That is, shortly before beginning the regular recitation of the Yasna, the angels, in whose honour the ceremony is being performed, are invited to approach by reciting their proper Khshnûmans, or propitiatory formulas (see Chap. VII, 8, and Haug's Essays, p. 404).

[4] This begins with Yas. III, 1, and the spirits are to be invited by adding their proper Khshnûmans to those contained in Yas. III, 3–20 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408).

not invoke them, all the guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invoked at the beginning of 'staomi[1];' and when not, they watch until *the words* 'frashô-*k*arethrãm saoshya*n*tãm[2],' and when they shall invoke them there they will accept the ceremony; and when not, they will watch until *the words* 'vîsp*a*u fravashayô ashaonãm yazamaidê[3],' *and* when they shall invoke *them* there they will accept[4] the ceremony; and when not, *they will watch* until *the words* 't*a*us*k*â yazamaidê[5];' and when they invoke them[6] *at* the threefold 'ashem vohû' and *the word* dâmanãm[7],' at the twice-*told* 'aokhtô-nâmanô[8],' the 'ashâ*d* ha*k*â[9],' *or* the 'yâtumanahê *g*asaiti[10],'

[1] This may be at the 'staomi' of Yas. XII, 6, which is recited before the Yasna is commenced; but K20 alters the meaning (by inserting the relative particle) into '*they* are to be invoked at "staomi," the beginning of "all the guardian spirits of the righteous" (Yas. XXVI, 1).'

[2] Yas. XXVI, 20.

[3] Yas. XXVI, 34.

[4] K20 has, 'shall not invoke,' and 'will not accept.'

[5] The concluding words of the yêxhê hâtãm formula, probably of that one at the end of Yas. XXVII, just preceding the recital of the Gâthas, up to which time the spirits wait, but, if not invoked, they are then supposed to ascend, away from the ceremony, as mentioned in the text.

[6] K20 has, 'when they do not invoke them.'

[7] Yas. VIII, 10; which is preceded by a thrice-told 'ashem vohû,' at which the officiating priest tastes the sacred cake, being the end of the Drôn ceremony (see Haug's Essays, pp. 404, 408).

[8] Yas. XXII, 33 (§§ 14–33 being recited twice). At this point the officiating priest brings out the mortar for pounding the Hôm twigs (see Haug's Essays, p. 405); Yas. XXII being called the beginning of the Hômâst in the Vistâsp Yast Sâdah.

[9] Yas. XXIV, 30, when the officiating priest turns the mortar right side upwards.

[10] Yas. VIII, 9, which is practically the same place as the threefold 'ashem vohû' before mentioned.

they will accept[1]; and when not, they go up the height of a spear (nî*z*ak) and will remain. 13. And they speak thus: 'This man does not understand that it will be necessary even for him[2] to go from the world, and our prayer (apistân) is for reminding men; it is not *that* our uneasiness *arises* from this, that we are in want of their ceremony, but our uneasiness *arises* from this, that when they do not reverence and do not invoke us, when evil comes upon them it is not possible for us to keep *it* away.'

14. 'O creator! how much is the duration in life of him who is dead?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As much as the wing of a fly, O Zaratûs*t* the Spîtâmân! or as much as the hearing a wing unto a sightless *one*[3].'

Chapter X.

1. The rule[4] is this, that a *sacred thread*-girdle (kûstîk) be three finger-*breadths loose* transversely

[1] K20 has, 'they will not accept.'

[2] Literally, 'for me,' which seems to refer to the man, and not to the spirits.

[3] This appears to be the complete translation of the Avesta sentence partially quoted in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64: 'yatha makhshy*a*u perenem, yatha vâ perenahê,' &c. The last clause is doubtful; the reading adopted here is *k*and zak-i shinavâk-*i* par andarg avênâk, as nothing more satisfactory suggests itself; it might also be translated by 'as much as the sound of a wing in the invisible.'

[4] Reading âînak; Pâzand writers convert it into yak, which can, however, have the same meaning, though they evidently take the word to be Huz. khadûk, 'one,' which is written precisely like âînak in Pahlavi characters. Most of the miscellaneous statements, contained in the latter part of Sls., commence with this phrase.

(pavan targûn)[1], *as* is said in every teaching (*k*â*s*tak)[2], and when it is less it is not proper.

2. The rule is this, that the sacred cake (drôn), set aside at the dedication *formula* (shnûmanê) *on the days devoted to* the guardian spirits[3], is to be used *at* the season-festivals, the Nônâbar[4], the three *nights' ceremony*[5], the Hôm-drôn, and other *rites of* the righteous guardian spirits; and when they shall not do *so*, according to some teachings, it is not proper.

3. In the exposition (*k*â*s*tak) of the Nihâ*d*ûm Nask[6] it says that a man is going to commit rob-

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[1] That is, round the waist (see Chap. IV, 1).

[2] That is, 'interpretation or exposition' (see Chap. I, 3, 4). K20 has, '*and* by every teaching it is proper.'

[3] These fravar*d*îkân are, strictly speaking, the five supplementary days at the end of the Parsi year, but the last five days of the last month are usually added to them, so as to make a period of ten days at the end of the year, during which the guardian spirits of the departed are supposed to revisit their old homes, and for whom the sacred cake is set aside.

[4] The initiatory ceremony of a young priest (see Chap. XIII, 2).

[5] The ceremonies performed by the survivors for three nights after a death (see Chaps. VIII, 6, XVII, 3, 4).

[6] This was the fifteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Nîkâ*d*ûm; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the sixteenth nask, called Niyârum. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*, where it occupies twenty-five quarto pages of that work:—

The beginning of the law (dâ*d*) is the Nîkâ*d*ûm of thirty far*g*ar*d*s. The section Patkâr-ra*d*istân ('the arbitrator's code') is about umpires and arbitration, contracts by words of four kinds and by signs of six kinds; and twelve sorts of arbitrators are described in four sub-sections, according as they decide by hearing or seeing, and with regard to women and children, foreigners and

bery, *and* a wall falls in upon him, *it is* his destroyer; when a man strikes at him *he is* his adversary, *and* both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the worship of God (yazisnŏ-i yazdânŏ) both of them are in innocence.

4. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, the fire is to be maintained most carefully in the dwelling, because it is declared in the Spend *Nask*[1] that *towards*

those worthy of death. The second section, Zadamistân ('the assault code'), is a treatise on assault and the consequences of assault, pain, blood, and unconsciousness; on blows and conflicts, man with man, women with women, and child with child, with their proper penalties; also the murder of slaves and children. The third section, Rêshistân ('the wound code'), is a treatise on various kinds of wounds and their characteristics. The fourth section, Hamêmâlistân ('the accuser's code'), is a treatise on accusation and false accusation of various specified crimes, on lying and slander, the care of pregnant women, impenitence and various offences against priests and disciples, remitting penalties, abetting and assisting criminals, mediation, punishment of children, smiting foreigners, murder, medical treatment, and many other things (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 184, where they are erroneously ascribed to the Pâzôn Nask, owing to the defective text of the MS. M13). The fifth section contained twenty-four treatises on miscellaneous subjects connected with crime and sin (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185).

The passage mentioned in the text cannot be recognised in any of the details supplied by the Dînkard.

[1] This was the thirteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, but is called Sfend in the Rivâyats. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 131, 132. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

The Spend is a treatise on the origin and combination of the existence, guardian spirit, and glory of Zaratûst; on his generation and birth; on the coming of the two spirits, the good one to sustain, and the bad one to destroy him, and the victory of the good

Dûkdâv[1], the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, *for* three nights, every night a leader (khûdâ)[2] with a hundred and fifty[3] demons rushed for the destruction of Zaratûst, *but* owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling they knew no means of accomplishing *it*.

5. The rule is this, that they have a tank (môg) for the disciples, when they are going to perform the worship of God, *and* are sprinkling the stone *seat* (magôk)[4]; and lest they should make a wet *place* by that sprinkling through taking *water* out from it, it is to be done sitting; for in the Vendidad[5] the high-priests *have* taught, about making

spirit; on his going, at thirty years of age, to confer with Aûharmazd, and his seven conferences in ten years; on the seven questions he proposed to the archangels on those occasions; on the conveyance of the omniscient wisdom into him, showing him heaven and hell, and the intermediate place of those 'ever-stationary,' the account taken of sin and good works, the future existence, and the fate of the religion on earth till the renovation of the universe, with the coming of his future sons, the last three apostles.

[1] The Pâz. Dughdâ of Bund. XXXII, 10 would indicate Pahl. Dûkdân, but the Dînkard has Dûkdâûbŏ and Dûkdâûbag (pointing to Av. Dughdhavan), and the Persian forms are Dughdû and Dughdavîh. Here the name is Dûkdâvŏ, which is transposed into Dûdkâv in Chap. XII, 11; it must have meant either 'milk-maid' or 'suckler' originally.

[2] K20 has sêdâ, 'a demon,' and in Chap. XII, 11, where this section is repeated, the word can be read either sêdâ, 'a demon,' or shâh, 'a king or ruler;' of course 'an arch-fiend' is meant.

[3] M6 appears to have 'sixty,' instead of 'fifty,' but see Chap. XII, 11.

[4] Or magh, on which they squat in the purification ceremony (see B. Yt. II, 36).

[5] Referring probably to Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98; the ground is not to be wetted further than the length of the fore-part of the foot beyond the toes, that is, not more than a hand's breadth; this

water *when standing* on foot[1], that the measure it refers to applies to everything else, not even of a like origin; by him who makes water the Avesta[2] for making water is to be uttered, *and* then *it* is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin[3] for *him*, and when he does not utter *it he* is more grievously sinful.

6. The rule is this, that to recite the Gâthas over those passed away is not to be considered as beneficial, since it is not proper to recite the three Hâs[4] which are the beginning of the Aûstûvat Gâtha whenever *one is* on the road; whenever *one* recites *them* over a man in the house *they are* healing.

7. The rule is this, that in the night wine and aromatic herbs (sparam) and anything like food are not to be cast away towards the north quarter, because a fiend[5] *will* become pregnant; and when *one* casts *them* away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[6] is to be uttered.

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measure is here extended to washing water, hence the necessity of squatting during such ablutions.

[1] This is a sin which is usually classed with 'running about uncovered' and 'walking with one boot' (see Chap. IV, 8, note).

[2] This Avesta is prescribed in Vend. XVIII, 97, and is still in constant use; it consists of three Ashem-vohûs (see Bund. XX, 2), two Humatanãms (Yas. XXXV, 4–6), three Hukhshathrôtemâis (Yas. XXXV, 13–15), four Ahunavars (see Bund. I, 21), and one Yênhê-hâtãm (see B.Yt. II, 64).

[3] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[4] The three chapters (Yas. XLII–XLIV) which begin the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII–XLV).

[5] A drûg, or fiend, is usually considered as a female demon (see Vend. XVIII, 70–77); and the demons are supposed to come from the north, where they congregate on the summit of Arezûr, at the gates of hell (see Vend. XIX, 1, 140, 142, Bund. XII, 8).

[6] See Bund. I, 21. This statement is repeated in Chap. XII, 18.

8. The rule is this, that reverential *should be* the abstinence from unlawfully slaughtering of *any* species of animals; for in the Stû*d*gar *Nask*[1] it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (têkh), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain. 9. Of animals, the slaughtering of the lamb, the goat (vahîk), the ploughing ox, the war-horse, the hare, the bat (*k*îharâ*z*), the cock or bird of Vohûman, and the magpie (kâskînak) bird, and of birds *that of* the kite, eagle (hûmâî), and swallow is most to be abstained from.

10. A pregnant woman who passes away is not to be carried away by less than four men[2], who are at it constantly with united strength; for *with* other corpses, after a dog's gaze, when they carry *them* along by two men with united strength, they do not become polluted; *but* for a pregnant woman two dogs are necessary, to whose united power *she* is to be exposed; *and* they carry *her* along by four men with united strength, *and* they do not become polluted; *but* when they carry *her* along by two men *they* are to be washed with ceremony (pî*s*ak)[3].

11. The rule is this, that when they beg forgiveness for a person (mar*d*ûm) who *has* passed away,

[1] See B.Yt. I, 1. The passage here referred to is probably one in the middle of the seventeenth fargar*d* of this Nask, which is mentioned as follows, in the ninth book of the Dînkar*d*: 'And this too, namely, those who unlawfully slay sheep and cattle, which diminishes their life and glory.'

[2] This is the usual custom, while that mentioned in Chap. II, 6 is the exceptional case, mentioned at the end of this section, which necessitates extraordinary purification.

[3] That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6).

such *a prayer* is more significant when *one* says thus: 'Whenever a trespass (vinâs) of mine *has* occurred against him, you will take account *of it along* with those of his *which have* occurred against me, and the trespasses *have* passed away one through the other; *any* further trespasses of his *which have* occurred against me are then made a righteous gift by me[1].'

12. The rule is this, that *one* should not walk without boots[2]; and his advantage therefrom is even this, that when a boot (mûgak) is on *his* foot, *and* he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb the dead matter, he does not become polluted; when a boot is not on *his* foot, and he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb *it*, *he is polluted*[3], except when he knows for certain (aêvar) that a dog *has* seen *it*, or *if* not it is to be considered *as* not seen by a dog[4].

13. The rule is this, as revealed *in* the Dûbâsrûgêd *Nask*[5], where a day in the year is indicated,

[1] That is, I pardon them in charity.

[2] Or, perhaps, 'without stockings,' avîmûgak; this seems to be something different from the sin of aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh, 'running in one boot' (see Chap. IV, 12).

[3] Without these words, which do not exist in the MSS., the sentence seems to have no clear meaning.

[4] And, therefore, still containing the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, who will enter into any one who merely touches the dead matter, without disturbing it, and can be driven out only by the tedious and troublesome Bareshnûm ceremony.

[5] This was the sixteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Dûbâsrûgd or Dûbâsrûd; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard, which calls it Dvâsrûzd, and the Rivâyats, which call it Dvâsrûgad, Dvâsrûngad, or Dvâsrûb, it was the eighteenth nask. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 132, 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given

that the *sacred thread*-girdle of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years *and* three months *old* is to be tied on—*it is* better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, *and then* ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than a five-months' child[1], on whom they should put *it* in the womb of *its* mother.

14. The rule is this, that when *one* retains a prayer *inwardly*[2], *and* wind shall come *from* below, *or* wind shall come from the mouth, it is all one[3].

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in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*, which occupies ten quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first eighteen sections of the Dûbâsrû*g*d the first is a treatise on thieves, their arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, with the various kinds of robbery; the second section is about the irresponsibility of a father for the crimes of a grown-up son, and of a husband for those of a separated wife, about the time for instructing children, and when they first become responsible for sin, the crime of giving weapons to women, children, and foreigners, about warriors plundering, the various kinds of judges and their duties, and offences against accusers. Of the twelve next sections one, called Pasû*s*-hôrvistân ('the shepherd's dog code'), is about shepherd's dogs, their duties and rights. Of the last thirty-five sections the first, called Stôristân ('the beast of burden code'), is about the sin, affecting the soul, of unlawfully beating and wounding cattle and beasts of burden, birds and fish; the second section, Ar*g*istân ('the value code'), is a treatise on the value of animate and inanimate objects; the third section, Aratê*s*târistân ('the warrior code'), is a treatise on warriors, arms, armies, generals, battles, plunder, &c.; the fourth section is about warm baths, fires, clothing, winter stores, reaping fodder and corn, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that part of the second section which referred to the responsibility of children. The words from 'as revealed' to 'indicated' are omitted in K20.

[1] K20 has 'nine-months' child.'

[2] See Chap. III, 6.

[3] Literally, 'both are one;' that is, in either case the spell of the vâ*g* or prayer is broken.

15. Also this, that ten women are necessary for affording assistance *to* a woman who is in labour: five women for directing the making of the cradle (gavârak), one woman should be opposite the left shoulder, and one to hold the right shoulder, one woman to throw a hand on her neck, one woman to hold her waist, and one woman, when the infant shall be born, to take *it* up and cut the navel cord, and to make the fire blaze[1]. 16. Three days and three nights no one is to pass between the fire and the child, nor to show the child to a sinful man *or* woman; *they are* to triturate a little sulphur in the sap (mayâ) of a plant, *and* to smear it over the child; *and* the first food to give *it* is Hôm-juice (parâhôm) and aloes (shapyâr).

17. The rule is this, that in case any one shall beat an innocent man, until the pain shall cease it becomes every day the root of a Tanâpûhar sin[2] for him.

18. The rule is this, that when in a country they trust a false judge, and keep *him* among *their* superiors, owing to the sin and breach of faith which that judge commits, the clouds *and* rain, in that country, are deficient, a portion (bavan) of the deliciousness, fatness, wholesomeness, and milk of the cattle and goats diminishes[3], and many children become destroyed in the mother's womb.

19. The rule is this, that a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death; *but* when a woman does not wed a husband it

[1] Literally, 'make the fire high.'

[2] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[3] Most of these evils are also ascribed (see B. Yt. II, 41–43) to neglect of the precautions prescribed with regard to hair-cuttings.

amounts to *a sin* worthy of death; because *for* a woman *there* is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; *but for* a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the Vendidad[1], *there may be* a lineage which proceeds onwards *to* the future existence.

20. The rule is this, that a toothpick is to be cut out clear of bark (pôst pâk)[2], for the high-priests *have* taught that when one's toothpick—made for the mouth with the bark—shall fall, and when a pregnant woman puts a foot upon it, *she* is apprehensive about *its* being dead matter[3].

21. The rule is this, that in accepting the child of a handmaid (*k*akar)[4] discrimination is to be exercised; for in the fourteenth *of the* Nask Hûspâram[5]

[1] This reference is probably to the circumstances detailed in Vend. XVIII, 99–112, but the Pahlavi commentary on §§ 111, 112 of that passage is missing in all MSS. The Avesta to be recited in such cases is precisely the same as that detailed in a note on § 5.

[2] This translation is in accordance with the seventeenth chapter of the prose Sad-dar Bûndahi*s*, or 'Bûndahi*s* of a hundred chapters,' a Pâzand work of later times; but the text here might be translated 'cut out of clean skin,' and in Chap. XII, 13, where the statement is repeated, the word used is also ambiguous.

[3] The Sad-dar Bûndahi*s* says, 'the fear arises that the infant may come to harm.' This section and the three which follow are repeated in Chap. XII, 13–16.

[4] This might mean a *k*akar, or 'serving' wife (see Bund. XXXII, 6), but the further details given in Chap. XII, 14, where this statement is repeated, make it more probable that a concubine is meant.

[5] As this was the seventeenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, it is probable that the word 'fourteenth,' in the text here, refers to some particular chapter or fargar*d*, most likely to the last group of fourteen

the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter.'

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sections, mentioned below, in the summary of its contents; and this is confirmed by another reference in Chap. XII, 7. This nask is called Aspâram in the Rivâyats, and Aspârûm in the Dînî-vagarkard; for its contents, as given by the latter, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies sixteen quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first thirty sections of the Hûspâram, one is the Aêrpatistân ('the priest's code'), a treatise on priestly studies, priests, disciples, and their five dispositions. One section is the Nîrangistân ('religious formula code'), a treatise on the formulas of worship, the Avesta to be recited by the officiating priests twice, thrice, and four times, the five periods of the day and their proper ceremonies, the season-festivals, the sacred girdle and shirt, cutting the sacred twigs, reverencing water, the families of Zaratûst, Hvôv, and Vistâsp, &c. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('quality code'), a treatise on nobility and superiority, buying and selling, cattle, slaves, servants, and other property, houses where men or dogs have been sick, dealings with foreigners, &c. And other sections are about appropriating the property of others, obedient and disobedient wives, foreign wives, advantages of male and female offspring, breeding of cattle, treatment of labourers and children, the evil eye, judges, the origin and cultivation of corn, the degrees of crime and punishment, &c. Of the next twenty sections, one is about the treatment of furious cattle and mad dogs, and the damage they may do. One section on the means of accumulating wealth, the giving of sons and daughters in marriage, the goodness of charity and evil of waste, the five best actions and the five worst, unlawful felling of trees, the sin of burying the dead, &c. And one section on the begetting, birth, and treatment of children. Of the last fourteen sections, one is a treatise, in six fargards, on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c. And a section of seven fargards, at the end, is a treatise on the sufferings of men, women, children, and dogs, on the connection of owner and herds, priest and disciple, on various offences and sins, spiritual and worldly healing, physic and physicians, astrology,

22. The rule is this, that *one* perseveres much in the begetting of offspring, for the acquisition of abundance of good works at once; because, in the Nihâ*d*ûm Nask[1], the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâ*d Nask*[2] it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like measure, which come into the father's possession.'

23. The rule is this, that they shall give to the worthy as much of anything as is proper for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâ*d*ûm *Nask*[3] the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'A man gives a hungry *one* bread, *and it is* too much, yet all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

24. The rule is this, where *one* lies down, in circumstances of propriety and innocence, one Ashem-vohû is to be uttered[4], and *in* like manner when he

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the proper feeding of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, the duty of a frontier governor during a foreign invasion, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that portion of the last group of fourteen sections which treated of wives, children, and adoption.

[1] See § 3; the passage mentioned here cannot be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkar*d*.

[2] See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted cannot be traced in any of the short accounts of the contents of this Nask. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 15.

[3] See § 3; the passage here quoted is also not to be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkar*d*. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 16.

[4] Compare Chap. IV, 14, where much the same is stated as what occurs in this section.

gets up well; when he does so, every single drawing of the breath (vayô) becomes a good work of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms, that is, a weight of ten dirhams of the full weight of four mads[1].

25. The rule is this, that when an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible it is to be abandoned *and* not executed by him; as it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[2] that Zaratûs*t* *has*

[1] Reading i mad-4, instead of va maz-4; the word mad (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 21) being Huz. for the dâng or quarter-dirham. The amount of the Srôshô-*k*aranâm, as deduced from this statement, differs from those given in Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 5, and must be awkwardly fractional, unless the sentence be altered into 10 *g*ûgan sang nêm zî*s* pûr sang yehevûnê*d*, 'a weight of ten dirhams *and* a half, which is its full weight;' in which case one Srôshô-*k*aranâm would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, as in Chap. XVI, 5.

[2] This was the eighteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the nineteenth nask, called Askârûm or Askâram. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*, where it occupies twenty quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first thirty sections of the Sakâ*d*ûm one is a treatise on the necessity of obedience and understanding the laws, on new-born infants and their proper treatment, on the care of fire and sharp-pointed things, on race-courses, the use of water, salt and sweet, warm and cold, flowing and stagnant, &c. One section is the Ha*k*î*d*akânistân ('annoyances code'), a treatise on irritating words and ill-treatment of living creatures and trees, the finding of buried treasure at various depths and in different places, &c. And one section is the Zîyânakistân ('damage code'), a treatise on damage to animate and inanimate objects. Of the last twenty-two sections, one is the Vakhshistân ('increase code'), a treatise on the progress of growth, breeding of cattle and other animals, pleadings regarding debts, growth of corn, &c. One section is the Varistân ('ordeal code'), a treatise on the detection of witchcraft by ordeal, by heat and cold, &c. One section on asking assistance

not provided about everything whatever, but three times *it has been done* by Zaratûst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta *and* Zand, when *one has* learned it thoroughly by heart[1], is for recitation, *and* is not to be mumbled[2] (*g*ûyi*s*nŏ), for in mumbling (*g*û*d*anŏ) the parts of the Ahunavar[3] are more chattering[4]. 26. As it says in the Bagh *Nask*[5]

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and rewarding it, on the unjust judge and the sagacious one, on daughters given in marriage by mothers and brothers, on the disobedient son, &c. And one section on the spirits of the earthly existences, the merit of killing noxious water-creatures, the animal world proceeding from the primeval ox, the evil spirit not to be worshipped, and much other advice.

The passage mentioned in the text appears to have been in the first section of this Nask, as the Dînkar*d* says it treated, among other matters, 'about a man's examining an action before doing it, *and* when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible, *he* is to set it aside *and* not to do *it*.' But nothing is said there about Zaratûst, and what is said here seems to have very little connection with the 'rule' laid down in this section.

[1] Literally, 'made it quite easy.'

[2] Literally, 'not to be devoured or gnawed.'

[3] The formula commencing with the words Yathâ ahû vairyô (see Bund. I, 21); its parts or bagha are the phrases into which it may be divided (see Yas. XIX, 4, 6, 9, 12).

[4] Reading drâîtar, 'more clamourous or chattering;' but the word is ambiguous, as it may be darâktar, 'more rending,' or girâîtar, 'more weighty, more threatening,' &c.

[5] M6 has Bak. This was the third nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Bakô; but according to the Dînî-vagarkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the fourth nask. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. In the Dînkar*d*, besides a very brief account of it, in the eighth book, which states that it was a treatise on the recitation of the revealed texts, there is, in the ninth book, a long description of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargar*d*s, occupying fifty quarto pages in the MSS. of the Dînkar*d*. From this it appears that the passage quoted in our text probably occurred in the first

thus: 'Whoever shall mutter, O Zaratûst! my allotment of the Ahunavar[1]—that is, shall softly take *it inwardly—and* shall let *it* escape[2] again—that is, shall utter *it aloud*—so much as a half, or one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, his soul will I shield, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence—that is, I *will* keep it away—by so much of an interval as the width of this earth.'

27. The rule is this, that *one* is to proceed with great deliberation when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, that is, it is not to be done.

28. The rule is this, that an opinion (andâzak) of anything is to be formed through consultation

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fargard. It also occurs, in nearly the same words, in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12–15, and as Yas. XIX is called 'the beginning of the Bakân' in some MSS., it is possible that the three Hâs (Yas. XIX–XXI) which relate to the three short Avesta formulas are really the first three fargards of the Bagh Nask, which are said to have treated of the same subjects.

[1] The text is corrupted into min zak-i lî, Zaratûst! bêstârîh-i min Ahunavar drûgist, which might be translated, in connection with the following phrase, thus: 'Of my vexation, O Zaratûst! from the Ahunavar, the most fiendish is that *one* shall softly take *it*,' &c. But very slight alterations of the Pahlavi letters (in accordance with Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12) convert min into mûn, bêstârîh into bâkhtârîh, and drûgist into drengâd. Instead of 'allotment of the Ahunavar' we might read 'predestination, or providence, from the Ahunavar;' because the Pahlavi translator, by using the word bâkhtârîh or bakhtârîh, appears to have understood the Av. bagha in its sense of 'divinity, providence,' rather than in that of 'part, portion.'

[2] Reading rânînêd or rahôînêd. The Pahlavi translator seems to think the sin consists in breaking the spell of the vâg or inward prayer (see Chap. III, 6) by speaking part of it aloud; but the original Avesta of this passage attributes the sin to obscuring the meaning by imperfect recitation.

with the good; even so it is revealed in the *Kîdrast Nask*[1] that Spendarmad spoke to Mânûskîhar thus: 'Even the swiftest horse requires the whip (tâzâ-

[1] This was the twelfth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it *Kîdrastô* or *Kîdrôstô*; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fourteenth nask called *Girast*. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 131. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

The *Kîdrôstô* is a treatise on the race of man; how Aûharmazd produced the first man, Gâyômard, how the first pair, Mashya and Mashyôî, arose, with their progeny, till the region of Khvanîras was full, when they supplied the six surrounding regions, till they filled and cultivated the whole world. The Pêsdâdian dynasty of Hôshâng, Tâkhmôrupŏ, and Yim, the evil reign of Dahâk, descended from Tâz, the brother of Hôshâng and father of the Arabs, then Frêdûn who divided Khvanîras between his three sons, Salm, Tûg, and Aîrîk, who married the daughters of Pâtsrôbô (compare Pahl. Vend. XX, 4) king of the Arabs, then Mânûskîhar, descendant (nâpô) of Aîrîk, the penal reign of Frâsîyâv ruler of Tûrân, then Aûzôbô the Tûmâspian, descendant of Mânûskîhar, then Kaî-Kavâd and the penal reign of Karsâspô. The Kayânian dynasty of Kâî-Us, Kaî-Khûsrôb son of Sîyâvakhsh, with many tales of the specially famous races of Iran, Tûrân, and Salmân, even to the reigns of Kaî-Lôharâsp and Kaî-Vistâsp. The apostle Zaratûst, and the progress of time and events from the reign of Frêdûn till Zaratûst's conference with Aûharmazd. The race of Mânûskîhar, Nôdar, and others. Avarethrabau's (see Fravardîn Yt. 106) father, Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend. On future events and the reign of the renovation of the universe; the origin of the knowledge of occupation, and the care and industry of the period; the great acquaintance of mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, and the deliverance of the soul, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

As Mânûskîhar is several times mentioned there are several places in this Nask where the statement, quoted in the text as a saying of Spendarmad, the female archangel who has special charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20–24, and Bund. I, 26), may have occurred.

nak), the sharpest steel knife requires the whetstone (afsân), and the wisest man requires counsel (hampûrsîh).'

29. The rule is this, that when *one* laughs outright (barâ khandê*d*) the Avesta and Zand are not to be mumbled, for the wisdom of Aûharmazd is omniscient, *and* good works are a great exercise of liberality, but an extreme abstinence from producing irritation (han*g*î*d*âr-dahî*s*nîh); because in the Ratûstâîtîh *Nask*[1] many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of producers of irritation, in the spiritual *existence.*

30. The rule is this, that *as* there *may* be *some* even of those of the good religion *who*, through unacquaintance with the religion, when a female *fowl* crows in the manner of a cock, will kill the

[1] This was the seventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Ratûstâîtî; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the eighth nask called Ratustâî. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 129. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*:—

The Ratûstâîtî is a treatise on indispensable religious practices, the reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a purifying priest, and how to distinguish worthiness and superexcellence from unworthiness, in the priesthood of each of the seven regions of the earth; on the indication and manifestation of an assemblage of the archangels, the formulas and means to be employed in reverencing the angels, the position and duties of the two officiating priests in the ceremonies, and all the business of the orderers of ceremonies, with their various duties; on the greatness and voluntariness of good works, the kinds of voluntariness, and the proximity of Aûharmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world.

It is uncertain under which of these heads the passage mentioned in the text may have occurred.

fowl, so those of the primitive faith[1] *have* said that there *may* be mischief (vinâstârîh) from wizards in that dwelling, *which* the cock is incapable of keeping away, and the female *fowl* makes that noise for the assistance of the cock[2], especially when the bringing of another cock into that dwelling is necessary.

31. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog, then *along* with it[3] a place in the plain, free from danger, is to be preserved; for in the Vendidad[4] the high-priests *have* taught that it is when the hedgehog every day voids urine into an ant's nest that a thousand ants will die.

32. The rule is this, that in the Vendidad[5] seven kinds of things are mentioned, *and* when they are the cause of a man's death, until the forthcoming period *of the day* (gâs-i levîn) comes on, contami-

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[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] The cock is considered to be an opponent of demons and wizards (see Bund. XIX, 33), and to warn men against the seductions of the demoness of lethargy (see Vend. XVIII, 33–42, 52).

[3] Assuming that levatman val means levatman valman, but the reading 'he takes *it* back to (lakhvâr val) the plain,' which occurs in the repetition of this section in Chap. XII, 20, seems preferable.

[4] The details which follow are to be found in Bund. XIX, 28, but they appear to be no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidad; though the hedgehog is called 'the slayer of the thousands of the evil spirit,' in Vend. XIII, 5, of which passage the statement in our text seems to be an illustration. The ant is considered noxious.

[5] Vend. VII, 5, 6, where, however, eight modes of death are mentioned, which delay the arrival of the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, till the next period of the day; these are when the person has been killed by a dog, a wolf, a wizard, anxiety, falling into a pit, the hand of man as sentenced by law, illegal violence, or strangulation. In all other cases it is supposed that the fiend of corruption enters the corpse immediately after death (see Vend. VII, 2–4).

nation (nisrûst)[1] does not rush upon him; and for this reason, this, too, is well *for* the good, that is, to show a dog rightly again a previous corpse in the forthcoming period *of the day*[2].

33. The rule is this, that by those who attend to a corpse among the pure *it* is then to be shown *to* a dog very observant of the corpse; for when even a thousand persons shall carry away a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, they are all polluted[3].

34. The rule is this, that meat, when there is stench or decomposition not even originating with *it*, is not to be prayed *over*[4]; *and* the sacred cake (drôn) and butter (gâûs-dâk) which are hairy are also not to be prayed over[5].

35. A woman is fit for priestly duty (zôtîh) among women[6], and when she is consecrating[7] the sacred

[1] See Bund. XXVIII, 29.

[2] In order that there may be no risk of the fiend of corruption having entered the corpse after it was first exhibited to a dog.

[3] This statement has been already made in Chap. II, 65.

[4] That is, it is not to be used in any religious ceremony. Small pieces of meat are consecrated, along with the sacred cakes, in the Drôn and Âfrîngân ceremonies at certain festivals.

[5] So in K20; but M6 has, 'the sacred cake they present, even that is not to be prayed over.' Although M6 is more carefully written than K20, it seems to have been copied from an original which was hardly legible in some places, of which this is one. The presence of a hair in the cake or butter would render it useless for religious purposes.

[6] But only for some of the minor priestly offices, such as consecrating the sacred cake. According to Avesta passages, quoted in the Nîrangistân, any man who is not a Tanâpûhar sinner can perform certain priestly duties for virtuous men, and any woman who is not feeble-minded (kasu-khrathwa) can perform them for children.

[7] M6 has, 'when she does not consecrate.'

cake (drôn), and one Ashem-vohû[1] is uttered by her, she puts the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) back on the twig-stand, brings *them* away, and the utterance of another one is good; when she says it is not expedient to do *it* with attention before a meal, it is proper. 36. The sacred cake of a disreputable woman is not to be consecrated, but is to be rendered ineligible (avi*g*înakŏ).

37. When *one* places a thing before the fire observantly, and does not see the splendour itself, 'tava âthrô[2]' is not to be said.

38. At night, when[3] *one* lies down, the hands are to be thoroughly washed. 39. That which comes from a menstruous woman to any one, or to anything, is all to be thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gômê*z*) and water[4].

[40. The rule is this, as Âtarô-pâ*d son of* Mâraspend[5] said when every one passed away:—'The mouth-veil[6] and also the clothing are to be well

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[1] See Bund. XX, 2; it is rather doubtful whether we should read 'one' or 'two.'

[2] These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when presenting anything to the fire, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.)

[3] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[4] Here ends the original Shâyast lâ-shâyast. § 40 is found only in M6, and is evidently a later addition to that MS. by another hand. Then follows the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, both in M6 and K20; this is an old Avesta-Pahlavi Glossary which has no connection with Sls., although it may be of the same age, as it quotes many Avesta sentences which are no longer extant elsewhere, and amongst others passages from the Nihâ*d*ûm Nask (see Sls. X, 3) and the commentary of Afarg (see Sls. I, 3).

[5] See Bund. XXXIII, 3.

[6] The padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm) 'consists of two

set *apart* from the gifts (dâsarân), so that his soul may become easier.' Completed in peace and pleasure.]

Part II.—*A Supplementary Treatise*[1].

Chapter XI.

1. The degrees of sin are these[2], such *as* a Farmân, Srôshô-*k*aranâm, Âgerept, Aîvîri*s*t, Aredû*s*, Khôr, Bâ*z*âî, Yât, and Tanâpûhar, and I *will* mention each of them a second time. 2. A Farmân is the weight of three dirhams of four mads[3]; a

pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire. On certain occasions a layman has to use a substitute for the penôm by screening his mouth and nose with a portion of his muslin shirt.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1; see also Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 1–4.)

[1] This second part is evidently by another writer, for he not only repeats several passages (Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13–16, 18, 20), which are given in the first part, but he also writes generally in a less simple style. In some MSS. of Sls. alone, such as M9, the second part immediately follows the first, as in this translation; indicating that it has been accepted as a part of the same work. But in M6 the two parts are separated by the Farh. Okh., occupying twenty folios; and in K20 there is an interval of ninety-two folios, containing the Farh. Okh., Bund., B. Yt., and several other texts.

[2] §§ 1, 2 are a repetition of Chap. I, 1, 2, with a few variations. The number of degrees is here raised to nine by the addition of the Srôshô-*k*aranâm (see Chap. X, 24), which is written Srôsha*k*aranâm in both these sections.

[3] Reading i mad-4, instead of va m-4; the mad being a quarter-dirham (see Chap. X, 24, note); or we can read 'weight and quantity (mâyah) of three dirhams.' The amount of the Farmân

Srôshô-*k*aranâm is one dirham *and* two mads; three Srôshô-*k*aranâms are the weight of four dirhams and two mads[1]; an Âgerept is thirty-three stîrs[2]; an Aîvîri*s*t is the weight of thirty-three dirhams; an Aredû*s* is thirty *stîrs*[3]; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâ*z*âî is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs, and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs.

3. Every one ought to be unhesitating *and* unanimous about this, that righteousness is the one thing, and heaven (garô*d*mân)[4] the one place, *which* is good, and contentment the one thing more comfortable.

4. When a sheep[5] is slaughtered and divided, its meat-offering (gâvûs-dâk)[6] is to be thus presented:—the tongue, jaw, and left eye are the

here given appears to agree with that stated in Chap. XVI, 1, but differs very much from the sixteen dirhams mentioned in Chap. I, 2, and the twenty-eight dirhams quoted by Spiegel.

[1] That is, one Srôshô-*k*aranâm is one dirham and a half, and three of them, therefore, are four dirhams and a half; the mad being a quarter-dirham. This computation differs considerably from the amounts stated in Chaps. X, 24, XVI, 5, but corresponds better with the supposition (see Chap. IV, 14, note) that a Srôshô-*k*aranâm is one-third of a Farmân.

[2] Both this amount and the next are evidently wrong, and no doubt the Pahlavi ciphers have been corrupted. Chap. XVI, 5 gives 'sixteen' and 'twenty-five' stîrs, which are probably correct, though the computation in Chap. I, 2 is very different.

[3] Written Aredû*s* 30 sî, 'an Aredû*s* is 30 (thirty),' as in Chap. I, 2; with which also all the remaining amounts correspond.

[4] See note on pâhlûm ahvân in Chap. VI, 3.

[5] Or 'goat.'

[6] Av. gâu*s* hudh*a*u, which is generally represented by a small piece of butter placed upon one of the sacred cakes; but on certain occasions small pieces of meat are used. The object of this section is to point out what part of the animal is suitable for use in a ceremony dedicated to any one of the angels, or spirits, mentioned.

angel Hôm's[1] own; the neck is Ashavahi*s*t's[2] own; the head is the angel Vâê's[3] own; the right shoulder (arm) is Ardvîsûr's[4], the left is Drvâsp's[5]; the right thigh (hakht) is *for the guardian spirit*[6] *of* Vi*s*tâsp, and the left *for* the guardian spirit of *G*âmâsp[7]; the back is *for* the supreme chief[8]; the loin is the spirits' own; the belly is Spendarma*d*'s[9]; the testicles[10] are *for* the star Vanand[11]; the kidneys are

[1] Av. haoma, the angel of the Hôm plant (see Yas. IX–XI, Bund. XVIII, 1–3, XXVII, 4, 24), the juice of which is used in ceremonial worship by the Parsis.

[2] The same as Ar*d*avahi*s*t (see Bund. I, 26).

[3] M6 has 'Râm' as a gloss; he is the Vayô of the Râm Yt., 'the good Vaê' of Mkh. II, 115, who assists the righteous souls in their progress to the other world; his name, Râm, is given to the twenty-first day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 21).

[4] Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters (see Bund. XXXII, 8). This title is written Arêdvîvsûr in the Bundahi*s*, and applied to the source of pure water (Bund. XIII); while the name Âvân, 'waters,' is given to the eighth month and the tenth day of each month in the Parsi year.

[5] Av. Drvâspa of the Gô*s* Yt., the name of the female angel of cattle, called Gô*s*ûrvan in Bund. IV; her alternative name, Gô*s*, is given to the fourteenth day of the Parsi month.

[6] The word fravash-i, 'the guardian spirit of,' is evidently omitted here, as it occurs with the next name. For Vi*s*tâsp, see Bund. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 7.

[7] Av. *G*âmâspa of Yas. XIII, 24, XLV, 17, XLVIII, 9, L, 18, Âbân Yt. 68, &c., the prime minister of Vi*s*tâsp.

[8] Ratpôk berêza*d* stands for the Av. rathwô berezatô of Yas. I, 46, &c., a 'supreme chief' who is often associated with the chiefs of the various subdivisions of time, and seems to be Aûharmazd himself (see Yas. LVI, i, 10).

[9] The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20–24, and Bund. I, 26).

[10] The word gûnd has here, in most MSS., the usual Persian gloss dahân, 'mouth' (see Bund. XIX, 1), which is a very improbable meaning in this place.

[11] Probably Fomalhaut (see Bund. II, 7, note).

Haptôiring's[1]; the ventricle (naskadakŏ)[2] is *for* the guardian spirit of priests; the lungs are *for* the guardian spirit of warriors; the liver is *for* compassion and sustenance[3] of the poor; the spleen is Mânsarspend's[4]; the fore-legs (bâzâî) are *for* the waters; the heart is *for* the fires; the entrail fat is Ardâî-fravard's[5]; the tail-bone (dunb-gazakŏ) is *for* the guardian spirit of Zaratûst the Spîtâmân[6]; the tail (dunbak) is *for* Vâd[7] the righteous; the right eye is in the share of the moon[8]; and any[9] *that* may be left over from those is *for* the other archangels. 5. *There* have been *those* who may have spoken about protection, and *there have* been *those* who *may have done so* about meat-offerings; whoever *has* spoken about protection is such as *has*

[1] Ursa Major, called Haptôk-rîng in Bund. II, 7.

[2] Translating in accordance with the Persian gloss *k*ustah, given in the modern MS. M9; but nas-ka*d*akŏ may perhaps mean 'the womb.'

[3] Reading sar-âyi*s*nŏ, 'maturity,' the usual equivalent of Av. thrao*s*ta (see Yas. XXXIV, 3), and not srâyi*s*nŏ, 'chanting.'

[4] Av. mãthra spe*n*ta, 'the beneficent sayings, or holy word,' of which this angel is a personification; his name is often corrupted into Mahraspend or Mâraspend, and is given to the twenty-ninth day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 29).

[5] A personification of the Av. ashaonãm fravashayô, 'guardian angels of the righteous' (see Fravardîn Yt. 1, &c.), whence the first month, and the nineteenth day of each month, in the Parsi year, are called Fravar*d*în.

[6] This clause and the next are omitted in K20.

[7] The angel of the wind, whose name is given to the twenty-second day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 22).

[8] Or its angel, Mâh, whose name is given to the twelfth day of the Parsi month.

[9] M6 has va aê-maman = va aê*k* (Pers. î*k*, 'any'); K20 has kolâ maman, 'whatever,' and omits the words 'may be left over' and 'other.'

spoken well, and whoever *has* spoken about meat-offerings has not spoken everything which is noteworthy[1]. 6. When *one* shall offer up[2] *what* pertains to one (khadûkag) on account of another it is proper; except the tongue, jaw, and left eye, for *that* those are the angel Hôm's own is manifest from the passage: 'Hizvãm fr*e*renao*d*[3],' *&c.*

Chapter XII.

1. The rule is this, that when one's *form of* worship (ya*s*t)[4] is performed, and it is not possible for him to prepare *it*, the practice of those of the primitive faith[5] is, when the girdle (aîpiyâûng) is twined about a *sacred* twig-bundle (baresôm)[6] of seven twigs (tâk), to consecrate a sacred cake (drônô) thrice, which becomes his *form of* worship that is performed one degree better through the sacred cake; and of the merit of a threefold *consecration*

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[1] Meaning, apparently, that to pray for protection as a favour is better than to pray for it as a return for an offering.

[2] K20 has 'shall give up.'

[3] It is doubtful if this passage can be found in the extant Avesta; but a passage of similar meaning, and containing the words fr*e*renao*d* and hizvô, occurs in Yas. XI, 16, which states that 'the righteous father, Ahuramazda, produced for me, Haoma, as a Draona, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye;' and it then proceeds (Yas. XI, 17–19) to curse any one 'who shall deprive me of that Draona, or shall himself enjoy, or shall give away what the righteous Ahuramazda gave me, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye.'

[4] A Ya*s*t is a formula of praise in honour of the sun, moon, water, fire, or some other angel, as well as a term for prayers and worship in general.

[5] See Chap. I, 3.

[6] See Chap. III, 32, note.

of the sacred cake the high-priests *have* specially taught, in the Hûspâram *Nask*[1], that *it* is as much as *that* of a lesser *form of* worship.

2. The rule is this, that he who is himself more acquainted with religion is he who considers him who is more acquainted with religion than himself as high-priest, and considers *him* as high-priest[2] so that he may not destroy the bridge of the soul[3]; as it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[4] that no one of them, that is an inattentive (asrûshdâr) man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence[5], not though his recitations should be so many that they have made his duty and good works as much as the verdure (sapdak) of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which Aûharmazd *has* given abundantly.

3. The rule is this, that they keep a fire[6] in the house, because, from not keeping the fire properly, *there* arise less pregnancy of women and a weeping (â*v*-dî*d*anŏ) for the loss of strength (tanû) of men[7]; and the chilled charcoal (angi*s*t) and the rest which are without advantage (bar) are to be

[1] See Chap. X, 21. The passage mentioned in the text was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

[2] K20 omits this repetition.

[3] That is, may not render the passage of his soul to heaven, over the *K*inva*d* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7), impossible, owing to the sin of arrogance in this world.

[4] See Chap. X, 25; the passage alluded to was probably at the beginning of the Nask, which treated of 'the reward of the precepts of religion, and the bridge of the destroyers of good preceptors, adapted to their destruction.'

[5] See Chap. VI, 3.

[6] K20 has 'that a fire is to be properly kept.'

[7] K20 has 'and a loss of the strength and wealth of men.'

carried away from the fire; and in the Spend *Nask*[1] *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they should make clean.

4. The rule is this, that when any one passes away it is proper to render useless[2] as much as the smallest mouth-veil[3], for it says in the Vendidad[4] that 'if even those Mazdayasnians should leave on him who is dead, in parting with him, as much as that which a damsel would leave in parting with the *food*-bowl (pa*d*mânakŏ)—that is, a bag (anbânakŏ-hanâ)[5]'—the decree is this, that *it* is a Tanâ-

[1] See Chap. X, 4; the passage mentioned was probably in that part of the Nask which described the protection afforded by the fire to the new-born Zaratûst.

[2] Probably a negative is omitted, or akârînî*d*anŏ should be translated 'to make no use of.'

[3] See Chap. X, 40. K20 has 'garment.'

[4] Always written Vadîkdâ*d* in this second part of Sls., except in Chap. XIII, 7; whereas in the first part it is written in its uncorrupted form *G*avî*d*-dêf-dâ*d* or *G*avî*d*-*s*êdâ-dâ*d*, 'the law opposed to the demons.' The passage here quoted is Pahl. Vend. V, 171, 172, with one or two verbal variations.

[5] Standing for anbânak-aê, which is corrupted in the Vendidad MSS. into the unintelligible form andanakŏ-ı, so that this old quotation throws a rather unexpected light upon a passage in the Vendidad which translators would be almost certain to misunderstand. The allusion is to the bags used by a menstruous woman, when eating, to prevent contamination of the food. The Persian Rivâyats state that three bags (kîsah) are made of two thicknesses of strong linen, one bag to wear on each hand, and the third, which is larger, to hold the metal food-bowl and water-goblet. After thoroughly washing her hands and face, she puts the two bags on her hands, taking care that they do not touch her food, or clothes, or any other part of her body. She then feeds herself with a metal spoon, which must not touch her nose; and when the meal

pûhar *sin*[1] at root, which is hell; *and* in the Vendidad[2] it says that the clothing of the charitable (dahisn-hômand) soul, and even the clothing which they will give *it*, are out of almsgivings (dâsarân)[3].

5. The rule is this, that when any one passes away, after keeping fasting the three *nights*[4], still the presentation of holy-water (zôhar) to the fire is to be performed, which is the presenting of the holy-water to the nearest fire; for in the Dâmdâd *Nask*[5] *it* is revealed that when they sever (tebrûnd) the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the

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is finished the food-bowl and water-goblet are placed on the large bag, and the two smaller bags inside it, till wanted again.

[1] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[2] This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Vendidad, and it is possible to read Nask Dâd instead of Vadîkdâd. The Dâdî or Dâdak Nask was the eleventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which merely says that its 'Avesta and Zand are not communicated to us by the high-priest.' According to the Dînî-vagarkard, which calls it Khûstô, and the Rivâyats, which call it Khast, it was the twelfth Nask, and they give its contents in more detail than usual (see Haug's Essays, pp. 130, 131).

[3] Meaning that the dead require no clothing, as their future bodies will be clothed out of the garments they have given away in charity. The resemblance of this statement to that contained in Bund. XXX, 28, which must have been abridged from the Dâmdâd Nask (see SZS. IX, 1), renders it possible that it may have been taken from that Nask.

[4] No fresh meat is to be cooked or eaten for the first three days after a death in the house, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, LXXVIII (compare Chap. XVII, 1–3).

[5] See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted may perhaps be found in the complete text of the Bundahis, as given in TD (Chap. 37; see Introduction, p. xxxvii).

moon, and then out to the sun[1]; and *it* is needful that the nearest fire, which is that to which it *has* come out, should become stronger (zôr-hômand-tar)[2].

6. The rule is this, that they should not leave a nail-*paring* unprayed over (anâfsû*d*ak), for if it be not prayed over (afsând)[3] it turns into the arms *and* equipments of the Mâzanân demons[4]; *this* is explicitly shown in the Vendidad[5].

7. The rule is this, that the labour of child-birth[6] is not to be accomplished at night, except while with the light of a fire, or the stars and moon, upon *it;* for great opposition is connected with it, and in the twentieth of the Hûspâram *Nask*[7] it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.

8. The rule is this, that they should allow the egg and other food[8] for those gifts *and* favours of the

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[1] A righteous soul is supposed to step out first to the star station, then to the moon station, and then to the sun station, on its way to Garô*d*mân, the highest heaven; but if its righteousness is imperfect it has to stop at one of these three stations, which are the three lower grades of heaven (see note on pâhlûm ahvân, Chap. VI, 3).

[2] Or 'more provided with zôr,' which may mean 'holy-water,' as the two words zôr and zôhar are occasionally confounded.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'if they shall not pray over *it*.'

[4] See Bund. III, 20, XIX, 19, 20.

[5] Vend. XVII, 29.

[6] Barman-zerkhûni*s*nîh may also mean 'begetting a son.'

[7] See Chap. X, 21. The word 'twentieth' appears to refer to the second group of twenty sections, one of which treated of the begetting, birth, and treatment of children.

[8] Referring to the egg, drôns, frasasts, and gâu*s* hudh*a*u or 'meat-offering' (which may be either butter or meat, see Chap. XI, 4) that are used in the drôn ceremony, or consecration of the sacred cakes (see note on drôn, Chap. III, 32). The object of

sovereign moon (mâh-i khûdâî) and the other angels; if so, it is to be allowed by them thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' and not thus: 'One sacred cake (drônô) in so much food.' 9. And the reason of it is this, that *they* who shall allow thus: 'One sacred cake out of so much food,' and of which *it* is one thing less, even though *one* shall consecrate *it* many times, still then he *has* not repaid; and *they* who should allow thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' though *one* shall reverence *him* with many sacred cakes, it is proper. 10. And in the twenty-two *sections* of the Sakâdûm *Nask*[1] grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings (aûstôfrîd) unto the angels.

11. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, a fire *one* cares for well is to be maintained in the house, because it is revealed[2] in the Spend Nask that *to* Dûkdâv[3], the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, for three nights, every night a leader (shâh)[4] with a hundred and fifty demons came for the destruction of Zaratûst, and yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means *for it.*

this paragraph is, evidently, to reprove niggardliness in such offerings, and to prevent their being mere pretexts for feasting.

[1] See Chap. X, 25. The passage alluded to here was probably in that section, of the last twenty-two, which treated of the spirits of the earthly existences, one portion of which was 'about preparing offerings (aûstôfrîtô) to the angels.'

[2] M6 has 'the fire of Aûharmazd is to be fully maintained, *and* it is revealed,' &c. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 4, with a few variations.

[3] Here written Dûdkâv.

[4] Or it may be read sêdâ, 'a demon,' meaning 'an arch-fiend.'

12. The rule is this, where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until day*light*, and is to be maintained there in the day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth of the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[1].

13. The rule is this[2], that from a toothpick the bark[3] is to be well cut off, for there are *some* of those of the primitive faith[4] who *have* said that, when[5] they shall make it for the teeth *with* the bark on, and they throw *it* away, a pregnant woman, who puts a foot upon it, is doubtful about *its* being dead matter.

14. The rule is this, that *it* is well *if any one of* those who have their handmaid (*k*akar) in cohabitation (zanîh), and offspring is born of her, shall accept all those who are male as sons; *but* those who are female are no advantage, because an adopted *son* (satôr) is requisite, and in the fourteenth of the Hûspâram *Nask*[6] the high-priests

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[1] That is, in the first thirty sections of the Nask (see Chap. X, 25); the passage alluded to must have been in that portion which treated of new-born infants and their proper treatment.

[2] §§ 13–16 are a repetition of Chap. X, 20–23, with a few variations.

[3] The word appears to be tôpŏ or tûfŏ, which would rather mean 'scum' or 'gum' (see Bund. XXVII, 19), unless it be considered a miswriting of tôgŏ or tôzŏ, which would mean 'thin bark' or 'bast.' It can also be read tûpar, 'a leather bag,' and the sentence can be so translated as to imply that a toothpick should be cut out of a leather bag, an alternative similar to that suggested by the text of Chap. X, 20.

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

[5] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[6] See Chap. X, 21.

have taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter;' and *there* are many who[1] do not appoint an adopted *son with* this idea, that: 'The child of a handmaid may be accepted by us as a son.'

15. The rule is this, that *one is* to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since *it is* for the acquisition[2] of many good works at once; because in the Spend[3] and Nihâ*d*ûm Nasks[4] the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâ*d Nask*[5] it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like manner, which come *to* the father as his own.'

16. The rule is this, that what they shall give to the worthy is as much as is proper and beyond, for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâ*d*ûm *Nask*[6] the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'When a man gives bread to a man, even though that man *has* too much bread, all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

17. The rule is this, that in the night water is

[1] The writer of M6 evidently found his original illegible at this place, as he wrote . . . maman instead of mûn denman.

[2] M6 has 'performance,' which is probably a misreading, due to the original of that MS. being partially illegible.

[3] See Chap. X, 4. This Nask is not mentioned in Chap. X, 22, and the passage here alluded to is not to be traced in any of the short accounts of its contents.

[4] See Chap. X, 3, 22.

[5] See SZS. IX, 1, and Chap. X, 22.

[6] See Chap. X, 3, 23.

not to be drawn[1] from a well, as in the Bâg-yasnô[2] notice is given about the uncleanness (ayosdâsarîh) of well-water at night.

18. The rule is this, that in the night anything eatable is not to be cast away to the north, because a fiend *will* become pregnant; and when it is cast away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[3] is to be uttered. 19. Those of the primitive faith[4] who *used* to act more orthodoxically (hû-rastakîhâtar), when food *was* eaten by them in the night, for the sake of preservation from sin owing to the coming of strainings *and* sprinklings *on* to the ground, directed a man to chant the Ahunavar[5] from the beginning of the feast

[1] K20 has 'that water is not to be drawn on foot.'

[2] Probably the Bakân-yastô is meant, which was the fourteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the fifteenth nask, called Baghân-ya*s*t. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*:—

'The Bakân-yastô is a treatise, first, on the worship (yastô) of Aûharmazd, the most pre-eminent of divinities (bakân a*v*artûm), and, secondly, the worship of the angels of the other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are even the names of the days, and the glory, power, triumph, and miraculousness of their life also is extreme; the angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention *and* salutation *due* to them; the worthiness *and* dispensation of favour for worshippers, *and* the business of their many separate recitations unto the angels; the business of unlimited acquaintance with knowledge about the promoters of the treasures of the period, unto whom the creator Aûharmazd *is* to intrust them, *and* they remain to cause industry. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

[3] See Bund. I, 21. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 7, with a few variations.

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

[5] That is, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see Bund. I, 21).

(myazd) unto the end, more especially at the feast of the season-festivals; as it says in the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[1], that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavar is that *which is* most triumphant.

20. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog he takes *it* back to the plain, and its own place is to be preserved free from danger; for in the Vendidad the high-priests *have* taught, that every day, when the hedgehog voids urine into an ant's nest, a thousand ants will die[2].

21. The rule is this, that some who are of the good religion *say*, where *one* is washing *his* face, one Ashem-vohû[3] is always to be uttered, *and* that Ashem-vohû is to be uttered before the *washing;* for when he utters *it* while washing *his* face, *he* is doubtful (var-hômand) about the water coming to *his* mouth.

22. The rule is this, that they select from the purifiers[4]—when their business (mindavam) is as important (rabâ) as purity and impurity—*him* with whom the control[5] of ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh)[6] and non-ablution is connected; they select *him* especially

[1] See B.Yt. III, 25. The passage here quoted must have been in the first division of the Nask.

[2] This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 31.

[3] See Bund. XX, 2.

[4] The yô*s*dâsarân, 'purifiers' (Av. yao*z*dâthrya), are those priests who retain so much of the purifying effect of the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6) as to be able to assist in purifying others by means of the same ceremony. When that effect has passed away a priest can no longer perform the sacred rites, until he has again undergone the nine nights' purification of the Bareshnûm.

[5] Reading band, but it may be bôd, 'vitality, essence.'

[6] See Chap. II, 52.

with regard to the good disposition and truthful speaking of the man, and *to* the particular work; and on account of *his being* in innocence *he* is to be considered more righteous. 23. As in the Vendidad[1] it says, about the two shares of righteousness, how *one* should tell that *he is* 'a righteous man, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who is a purifier, who should be a speaker that speaks truly, an enquirer of the *sacred* texts—that is, he has performed his ritual (yast)—a righteous *one* who specially understands purification from the religion of the Mazdayasnians, that is, he understands its *religious* formulas (nîrang).' 24. When *it* is so that the control of their ablution is connected with him, so that they consider what *pertains* to the *purifying* bowl (zak-i tâstîk) as his, and ever abstain from it, though the angels hear and consider *them* as clean, and they select for him those who consecrate the water and bull's urine (gômêz) on account of *their* control of purification (yôsdâsarkarîh), *and it* is to be performed very observantly by the consecrators at the place which is to be measured with a measure and very exactly (khûptar)[2]. 25. And the purifier is so much the better when washed again, and when *it is* by some one through whose periodic (zamânîk)

[1] The passage here quoted is from Pahl. Vend. IX, 4–6.

[2] Referring to the Bareshnûm-gâh, or place prepared for the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification with bull's urine and water, which are handed to the person undergoing purification by an officiating priest (see Chap. II, 6). The place is marked out with furrows in the ground, and furnished with stones (magh) to squat upon during the ablutions (see B. Yt. II, 36). The construction of this paragraph is very obscure in many places, and its proper division into sentences is, therefore, uncertain.

care *he* is thus done; for in the periodic interval many secret[1] kinds of pollution are produced. 26. Of the celebrators of the Vendidad the good are *they* who shall again perform the Navashâ*d*ar rite[2]; for, on account of the same nicety (nâ*z*ûkîh) which is written above by me, *and* on account of much also *that is* secret, which has happened *and* mostly arises about it, *there* is no harm from performing *it*. 27. And *any one* of those who shall receive the water and bull's urine *it* is very important to wash beforehand (pavan pê*s*)[3]; because, if *there* be impurity *about* him[4], *and* he puts a hand to the cup (*g*âmak), the water, *and* the bull's urine, *they* are unclean (apâ*d*âvŏ)[5]; when *it is* so that *there* be some one, when so, *it* is better *that* they always wash his eyelids (môyak gâs), *and* to wash them by the clean is good.

28. The rule is this, that thou shouldst not consider even any one hopeless (anâîmê*d*) of heaven,

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[1] Reading nihân, but we might perhaps read 'causes (vahân) of pollution of many kinds.' The meaning of the section is, that it is necessary for the purifying priest to maintain his own purity by frequently undergoing the Bareshnûm ceremony himself.

[2] Ya*s*t-i Navashâ*d*ar in all MSS., but the latter word is most probably a corruption of Av. navakhshapara, 'a period of nine nights,' for which length of time the Bareshnûm ceremony must be continued (see Vend. IX, 144, XIX, 80). The 'Navashâ*d*ar rite' is, therefore, 'the ceremony of the nine nights,' which should be frequently undergone by the priests who celebrate the Vendidad ceremonial.

[3] M6 has pavan pî*s*ak, 'with ceremony.'

[4] M6 has 'them.'

[5] M6 has '*one* knows it is unto the cup and bull's urine;' but as M6 was evidently copied from a MS. already nearly illegible in some places, it is generally safer to follow K20, except when M6 supplies words omitted by the more careless writer of K20.

and they should not set *their* minds steadfastly on hell; thereby much sinfulness for which *there* is a desire would be undesirable, because *there* is nothing which is a sin *in* my religion for which *there* is no retribution, as it says in the Gâthas[1] thus:—'Of those who are aware that thou art, O Aûharmazd! is even he who is infamous (raspakŏ); and they know the punishment of him even who is very sinful.' 29. And *as to* him even who is a very sinful person, through the desire[2] of good works which is entertained by him, *there* then comes more fully to him the joy of a soul newly worthy (nuk shâya*d*); as in the Spend *Nask*[3] *it* was shown to Zaratûs*t* about one man, that all *his* limbs were in torment, and one foot was outside; *and* Zaratûs*t* enquired of Aûharmazd about the reason *of it; and* Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns[4] by name; he was ruler over thirty-three[5] districts, and he never practised

[1] The passage here quoted from the Gâthas will be found in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7.

[2] M6 has merely 'through the good works which are practised by him;' but K20 has 'i hamak' inserted at this point, which seems to indicate the existence of the nearly identical Pahlavi letters kâmak, 'desire,' in the original from which it was copied.

[3] See Chap. X, 4. The passage here quoted was no doubt contained in that part of the Nask which treated of the exhibition of heaven and hell to Zaratûs*t*, which must have been very similar to the Ar*d*â-Vîrâf-nâmak, in which most of the details of this story about Davâns are given (see AV. XXXII).

[4] This is, no doubt, the Av. davãs of Yas. XXXI, 10, which may be translated 'hypocrite.' The Pahlavi translation of the line in which the word occurs is thus rendered in Haug's Essays (p. 351): 'Aûharmazd does not allot to him who is an idler, the infidel who is any hypocrite (davãs) in the sacred recitations. In the good religion it is asserted that even as much reward as they give to the hypocrite they do not give to the infidel.'

[5] K20 has 'thirty-four.'

any good work, except one time when fodder *was* conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.

30. The rule is this, that when a man has performed his *form of* worship (ya*s*t), and his wife has not performed *it*, *it* is extremely necessary to perform the suitable *form of* worship, or to order a Gêtô-kharî*d*[1], so that they may become such as are dwelling more closely *together* in the spiritual *existence* than in the world; and in the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[2] it says that a woman (nâîrîk) who shall be reverent (tarsak) is to be considered as much as she who is suitable (zîyâk).

31. The rule is this, that these five ceremonies (ya*z*i*s*n), when they shall perform *them*, are good works[3]; when *one* does not perform *them*, and the time is manifest to him, and when he shall set *them* aside to perform *them* out of the proper time, they shall go to the bridge[4] *as* sin; the ceremonies which go to the bridge are these, and in the Hûspâram *Nask*[5] it says that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites (lâ ya*s*tanŏ) of the season-festivals[6], the

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[1] Here written gêtôk-kharî*d*, but see Chap. V, 6, and Bund. XXX, 28.

[2] See B. Yt. III, 25; but the passage here quoted is not clearly indicated in the accounts we have of the contents of this Nask.

[3] The distinction between these ceremonies and those whose values as good works are given in Chap. XVI, 6, appears to be that any omission in performing these five at their proper times amounts to an absolute sin, whereas the others are not so indispensable.

[4] That is, they will be taken into account at the judgment on the soul's actions at the *K*inva*d* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

[5] See Chap. X, 21. The passage here quoted was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

[6] The Gâsânbârs or Gâhanbârs (see Bund. XXV, 1–6).

Rapîtvîn[1], the three *nights*[2] *after a death*, the *days devoted* to the guardian spirits[3], and the sun and moon[4].

32. The rule is this, that at every one of these three things, *which* come through hungry living, that is, sneezing, yawning, and sighing, *one* is to speak out a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and one Ashem-vohû[5]; and also when *one* hears the sneezing of any one, to speak *in* like manner is so considered as an action of the good[6]; *and* in the Stûdgar *Nask*[7] it says thus: '"What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?" And Aûharmazd said thus: "Hungry living, O Zaratûst! because the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavar, O Zaratûst! *and* righteousness[8]."'

Chapter XIII.

0. The signification of the Gâthas[9].

1. These three Ashem-vohûs (Yas. XI, end) which

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[1] The midday period (see Bund. II, 8, 9, XXV, 9–14).

[2] See Chap. VIII, 6.

[3] See Chap. X, 2.

[4] See Chap. VII, 1–5.

[5] See Bund. I, 21, XX, 2.

[6] That is, it is commendable, though not obligatory. The practice of uttering a blessing on hearing a sneeze is still common in many parts of Europe.

[7] See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here quoted is not to be traced in any of the accounts of this Nask.

[8] 'The Ahunavar and praise of righteousness' would be a Pahlavi equivalent for 'the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and Ashem-vohû.'

[9] That is, the mystical meaning or influence supposed to attach to various parts of the ancient hymns, or to the manner in which they are chanted. The term Gâtha or 'hymn' (Pahl. gâs) is applied, in this chapter, not only to the five Gâthas properly so called, but also to the Yasna of seven chapters, and apparently to

represent[1] the Fravarânê (Yas. XI, end) of the preliminary ritual (pê*s* nîrang) and the rotation of these three Hâs ('chapters'), the Fravarânê, Frastuyê, and Âstuyê—fravarânê *being* the beginning of the Fravarânê[2] *which extends* as far as frasastayaê*k*a[3], frastuyê[4], the beginning of the Frastuyê (Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26) *which extends* up to the Âstuyê, and âstuyê[5], the beginning of the Âstaothwanem[6] (Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, end) *which extends* as far as âstaothwanem*k*â daênay*a*u Mâzdayasnôi*s*—*also represent* the Vîsâi-v*e*-ameshâ-spe*n*tâ (Yas. XV), *which is* the beginning of the Stôtân-yasnô ('the ritual of praisers')[7], and these three Hâs of the Baghãm (Yas. XIX–XXI).

2. In the exposition (*k*ashî*d*ak) and through the

other portions of the Yasna written in the Gâtha dialect of the Avesta.

[1] This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of this section is altogether very obscure, and the text is more or less corrupt in all MSS. In the celebration of the Yasna or Yazi*s*n the officiating priest tastes the Hôm juice during the recitation of Yas. XI (see Haug's Essays, p. 404), and shortly afterwards he commences the preliminary prayers mentioned in the text.

[2] Both K20 and M6 have Frerân in Pâzand.

[3] Both K20 and M6 omit the initial f.

[4] M6 has âstuyê.

[5] M6 omits this word.

[6] This is the Avesta name of the Hâ or chapter consisting of Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, 19; as Fraoreti is the name of the preceding Hâ, consisting of Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26.

[7] Probably consisting of the three Hâs, Yas. XV–XVII; in which case, the meaning seems to be that the three Ashem-vohûs, at the beginning of this preliminary ritual, are symbolical of each of the three triplets of chapters which follow them; first, of the Fravarânê, Fraoreti, and Âstaothwanem chapters; secondly, of the three chapters of the Stôtân-yasnô; and thirdly, of those of the Baghân Ya*s*t.

evidence of revelation (dînô) the wise of those of the primitive faith[1] *have* thus said, that a man of fifteen years[2], and a son and brother of Mazdayasnians—when he confesses *his* failings (mândak) to the high-priests (ra*d*ân), and they shall bring him the whip and scourge[3], and these five Gâthas[4] are chanted and the good waters consecrated by him, and the whole of the renewed-birth *ceremony* (navî*d*-zâ*d*îh)[5] is performed by him—*becomes* a mature youth and not a child, and a share of the prayers of initiation (nâpar) and of the fires is to be given over to him[6]; and when thus much is not performed by him, a share is not to be given. 3. These five[7] Gâthas are made up from the body of a righteous man.

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[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] Referring to one about to become a priest.

[3] The Av. a*s*tra and sraoshô-*k*arana of Vend. IV, 38–114, &c., which were formerly used for the temporal punishment of sinners. Whether they are here brought to the neophyte as a token of his admission to the priesthood, or are administered to him as a punishment for his offences, is not quite clear.

[4] The five Gâthas are the Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), the U*s*tavaiti (Yas. XLII–XLV), the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI–XLIX), the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), and the Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti (Yas. LII); these collections of hymns are thus named from the words with which each of them commences, excepting the first, which derives its name from the Ahunavar (see Bund. I, 21) which is written in the same metre.

[5] This is the Pahlavi form of the Parsi navazûdî, a term applied to the whole initiatory ceremonial of a nônâbar, or newly initiated priest; the term evidently implies that the ceremony is considered somewhat in the light of 'regeneration.'

[6] That is, he can take his part in the regular priestly duties, including the initiation of other neophytes.

[7] Both K20 and M6 have four in ciphers, which can hardly be right; the sentence is clear enough, but the idea of its writer is rather obscure.

4. Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII), Khshmaibyâ (Yas. XXIX), and A*d*-tâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XXX) *have*, severally, eleven stanzas (va*k*êst), because eleven things move spiritually within the bodies of men, as life, consciousness, religion, soul, guardian spirit, thought, word, deed, seeing, smelling, and hearing; and the bodies of men and other creatures are formed of water, fire, and wind[1].

5. Ashem-Ahurem-mazdãm (Visp. XV) is *to be recited*[2] three times before the coming of Hûshê*d*ar, Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, and Sôshyans; and when they also recite the chapter (hâ*d*) well, and by line (gâs) and stanza, those *apostles* are present[3], and the

[1] These first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti collection of hymns are here supposed to symbolize the three material elements, whose union distinguishes a man's body from inorganic substances; while the eleven stanzas, which each of these chapters contains, symbolize the eleven immaterial existences said to be contained in the same body.

[2] This is doubtful, as no verb is expressed, and the word bâr, 'time,' is struck out in M6, so it is possible to read 'the "three foremost" of the Ashem-Ahurem-mazdãm are the coming of Hûshê*d*ar,' &c. The 'three foremost' (3 levînŏg) would be a possible Pahlavi translation of the Av. ti*s*rô paoiryô and ti*s*ra paoirya of Visp. XV, 4–6, instead of the actual 'three first' (3-i fratûm), as may be seen from Pahl. Visp. VIII, 17, 20, where both pê*s* (= levînŏ) and fratûm are used indifferently for Av. paoiryô. At any rate the idea embodied in the text is that these 'three first' have some reference to the three future apostles of the Parsi religion (see Bund. XXXII. 8, B. Yt. III, 13, 44, 52, 62). In fact, however, they seem to refer to the first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, immediately after which this chapter (Visp. XV) is recited in the full Parsi ritual; the phrase being rendered in the Pahlavi translation thus:—'I reverence the three first by not speaking out, that is, I do not say anything during them, and not wearing out, that is, I do not doze away during them.'

[3] K20 has 'arrive early.'

country becomes more flourishing and more dominant in the world.

6. The twenty-two stanzas of Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ (Yas. XXXI) are the twenty-two judgments (dâ*d*istân) of which it speaks in the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[1] thus:—'Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?' ('where are *they* to be produced beyond every thought? *and* where before?') 'Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just;'—so that when they pray the Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ chapter well, and recite *it* by line and stanza, the judges possess those twenty-two judgments more correctly, and judiciousness is more lodging *in them.*

7. The sixteen stanzas of the *Hv*aêtumaithi *chapter* (Yas. XXXII)[2] are lodging in warriors, so that it becomes possible, during their good protection, to force the enemy *away* from those sixteen countries which the Vendidad[3] mentions in *its* first fargar*d*.

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[1] See B. Yt. III, 25. Both the Avesta text here quoted and the translation suggested must be received with caution, as the MSS. do not agree in the three central words; K20 has manaŋhê dya vîspâi kaua, and M6 has manaŋhê kya vîsâi kaia. The former reading has been adopted, with very slight correction, as it seems the more intelligible; but the meaning of the preceding word, anaomô, is far from certain. The writer seems to have been quoting from a Pahlavi version of the Nask which contained this Avesta quotation.

[2] This Hâ, which begins with the words a*hv*yâ*k*â *hv*aêtu*s*, is not called by its initial words, as the preceding chapters are, but has this special name (see the prayers at the end of it) derived from its second word, and which is corrupted in Pahlavi into Khvêtmanŏ.

[3] Here written *G*avî*d*-*s*êdâ-dâ*d* as in Sls. Part I, and not Vadîkdâ*d* as in other parts of Sls. Part II (see § 19 and Chap. XII, 4, 6, 20, 23, 26). Vend. I contains an account of the sixteen

8. The fourteen stanzas of Yathâ-âi*s* (Yas. XXXIII) are for this reason, because seven archangels are more diligent in activity *for* the spirit, and seven archangels[1] for the world, so that they may attain 'to heaven, the home (mêhônŏ) of Aûharmazd, the home of the archangels, the home of those righteous ones,' avi garô-nmânem, maêthanem Ahurahê mazd*a*u, maêthanem ameshanãm spe*n*tanãm, maêthanem anyaêshãm ashaonãm[2]. 9. The three repetitions (dânar) of Y*e*-s*e*vistô (Yas. XXXIII, 11)[3], *and* the holding up of the holy-water (zôhar) at these *repetitions*, are for the four classes[4], and for this *reason* at Ahurâi mazdâi *and* ashem*k*â frâda*d*[5] the holy-water is

'best of regions and countries' where the Iranian power and religion extended at an early date.

[1] The seven archangels besides their spiritual duties have severally charge of the seven worldly existences, man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, and plants (see § 14 and Chap. XV). But perhaps we should read 'angels,' as they are often mentioned as 'the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

[2] This quotation, of which the Pahlavi translation is first given, and then the Avesta text, is from Vend. XIX, 107.

[3] This stanza is recited thrice, and about the same time the officiating priest strains the Hôm juice, and prepares to pour holy-water into the mortar in which the Hôm twigs were pounded (see Haug's Essays, pp. 402, 406).

[4] Or 'professions' of the community, of which there were originally only three, the priest, warrior, and husbandman; but at a later date the artizan was added. Both K20 and M6 have 'four classes,' but this is inconsistent with the 'three repetitions.' The Avesta generally knows only three classes, but four are mentioned in the Baghân Yast (Yas. XIX, 46).

[5] That is, probably, at the words Ahurô mazd*a*us*k*â in the first line, and ashem*k*â frâda*d* in the second line of the stanza; but this is doubtful, as the MSS. give the words corruptly, in a mixture of Av. and Pahl., as follows: pavan Ahurâi mazdâi ahârayih-i da*d*ŏîh.

to be held level with the heart of him who is the officiating priest (zôt), and at sraotâ[1] *it* is to be held level with the arm of him who is the officiating priest, so that while the warriors are in battle with foreigners (anâîrân) they may be fuller of breath (vayô-gîrtar), and the husbandmen stronger-armed in the tillage and cultivation of the world.

10. The fifteen stanzas of Yâ-*s*kyaothanâ (Yas. XXXIV) are for this reason, because it is given[2] for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are disclosed in the medical part (bêshâ*z*) of the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[3]. 11. The four repetitions (bâr) of Mazdâ-a*d*-môi (Yas. XXXIV, 15)[4] are for the right coming on of the share of these five chieftainships (ra*d*ìh), the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratû*s*t[5].

12. The two repetitions of Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1)[6] are for this reason, that the sovereign (dahyûpat) may not at once seize body, conscious-

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[1] The first word in the third line of the stanza; but this, again, has to be guessed from a Pahlavi version in the MSS. which may be read va vâ-srôdâân.

[2] Or 'produced.'

[3] In the last division of that Nask (see B. Yt. III, 25, note).

[4] This last stanza of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha is recited four times.

[5] See Yas. XIX, 50–52. The last of these rulers must have been the supreme pontiff or patriarch of the province, and in the province of Ragha (Rages or Raî, near Teheran) he was both temporal and spiritual ruler.

[6] This first stanza of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha is recited twice, not only in its proper place (as the first stanza of each chapter is, in the Gâthas), but also at the end of every chapter of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, while the officiating priest sprinkles the sacred twigs with the sacred milk or gâu*s* *g*îvya, 'living-cow *produce*' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 405, 406).

ness, and soul. 13. Those four Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs of the first *Gâtha*[1] are for this reason, that is, so that inferiors may become more tolerant of the commands of superiors, and good thoughts, good words, and good deeds be more domesticated (mâh-mântar) in the world, and the fiend more powerless (apâ*d*akhshâhtar).

14. In short (aê-mar)[2], Ahyâ-yâsâ is as (pavan)[3] Aûharmazd and the righteous man, Khshmaibyâ as Vohûman and cattle, A*d*-tâ-vakhshyâ as Ar*d*avahi*s*t and fire, Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ as Shatvaîrô[4] and metal, the *Hv*aêtumaithi as the Gâtha of Spendarma*d* and the earth, Yathâ-âi*s* as Horvada*d* and water, and Yâ-*s*kyaothanâ as Amerôda*d* and plants.

15. The progress which is in[5] the Ahunavaiti Gâtha the house-rulers should carry on; that which is in the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha the village-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû[6] Gâtha the tribe-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha the province-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Vahi*s*tô-i*s*ti Gâtha the supreme Zaratû*s*ts should carry on; and

[1] After the two Ahyâ-yâsâs, at the end of each chapter of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see Bund. I, 21) is recited four times.

[2] Or 'to sum up.'

[3] It is not quite clear how pavan, 'in, on, with, by, through, as, for,' &c., should be translated in each clause of this section; but the intention is evidently to compare the seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha with the seven archangels and the seven earthly creations which they severally protect (see Chap. XV).

[4] Here written Shatrîvar.

[5] Meaning probably 'the prosperity which is *occasioned* by;' but the exact signification of the word frâk-shâm or frehkashâm (or however it may be read) is uncertain.

[6] Spendômat or Spendamat in Pahlavi.

that which is in the Yasna, which is the place of righteous blessing[1], these four classes themselves should carry on.

16. Of the Yasna *of seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–XLI, 17) the beginning section (kar*d*akŏ) *has* nine stanzas; and its beginning[2] is Humatanãm (Yas. XXXV, 4), and its end is Humatanãm (Yas. XLI, 17 supl.)

17. The six stanzas of Ahyâ-thwâ-âthrô (Yas. XXXVI) are owing to the six hot ordeals (var) which, in the Hûspâram *Nask*[3], are effected by *k*a-thrayâim âthraiãm[4].

18. The five stanzas of Ithâ-â*d*-yazamaidê (Yas. XXXVII) are thanksgiving and praise for the production of the good creations by Aûharmazd.

19. The five stanzas of Imãm-âa*d*-zãm (Yas. XXXVIII) are owing to those five comforts and five discomforts of the earth, which, it is declared in the third fargar*d* in the Vendidad[5], are accomplished

[1] That is, the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–XLI), which is called simply 'the Yasna' in this chapter. This last clause, which is omitted in M6, connects these later hymns with the four classes of the community (see § 9), just as the five older hymns are connected with the five chiefs of the community (see § 11) in the former clauses. This section may be a translation from the Avesta, as the verbs precede their nominatives.

[2] That is, the beginning of the Yasna of seven chapters.

[3] See Chap. X, 21; but the Sakâ*d*ûm Nask (see Chap. X, 25) is probably meant, as it contained a section on ordeals by heat and cold.

[4] These Avesta words are evidently corrupt, but perhaps 'a quadruple fire' is meant. K20 has *k*athrâyâim âthraiãm.

[5] Here written Vandîkdâ*d* (see § 7). The passage here cited is not a quotation, but only a brief summary of Vend. III, 1–37; and appears to have been derived direct from the Avesta, without the assistance of the Pahlavi version, as several words differ from that translation.

thus:—'The first comfort of the earth is from the land on which a righteous man walks forth; the second is when they shall make the dwelling of the good and fires upon it; the third is when they sow corn upon it, and shall take heed of dead matter; the fourth is when all beasts *of burden* are born upon it; the fifth is when every beast *of burden* is on it[1]; and its first discomfort is from the Arezûr ridge[2] and the gate of hell; the second is when they dig[3] it up *for* a dead *body;* the third is when *one* constructs a depository *for the dead* (khazân)[4] upon it; the fourth is from the holes of its noxious creatures; the fifth is when they shall forsake a man in affliction (var*d*akîh) upon it, who is righteous.'

20. The five stanzas of Ithâ (Yas. XXXIX) are just as those which *go* before.

21. The four stanzas of Âhû-a*d*-paiti (Yas. XL) are about the benefit (ar*g*-hômandîh) which is on account of water, earth, plants, and animals.

22. The six stanzas of Stûtô-garô (Yas. XLI, 1–17), the two repetitions of Humatanãm (Yas. XXXV, 4–6), *and* the three repetitions of Hukhsh-athrôtemâi (Yas. XXXV, 13–15) are on account of the existence of the sons of Zaratû*s*t[5].

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[1] The verb is probably omitted by mistake, and we ought to read 'voids urine upon it,' in accordance with Vend. III, 20.

[2] See Bund. XII, 8.

[3] Reading kalêndend (Pers. kalandand), as Vend. III, 27 refers to burial of the dead, and the same idea might be obtained, more fancifully, by reading kilînênd, 'they turn to clay' (compare Pers. gil, 'clay'); but the most obvious reading is karînênd, 'they cut,' and as the sentence stands it would imply that 'they cut up its dead.'

[4] See Chap. II, 6.

[5] The three apostles expected in the future (see § 5 and Bund. XXXII, 8). It is doubtful whether these three passages in the

23. The two repetitions of Ashahyâ-âa*d*-sairî [1] (Yas. XXXV, 22, 23) are for the laudation of righteousness and the destruction of the fiend. 24. The two repetitions of Yênhê-hâtăm [2] are for the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the destruction of the evil spirit and the miscreations (vishû*d*akân). 25. *The two repetitions of* [3] Thwôistaotaras*k*â (Yas. XLI, 12–14) are for the laudation of ceremonial worship (ya*z*i*s*nŏ) and the *sacred* feast (mâzd).

26. The two repetitions of Âtarem*k*a (Visp. XIX, 1–8) [4] are for the laudation of the Frôbâk fire and the fire Vâzi*s*t [5].

27. Of the sixteen stanzas of the U*s*tavaiti *chapter* (Yas. XLII) [6] it is related just as about the *Hv*aêtumaithi *chapter* [7].

Yasna are here intended all to refer to the same subject, but no other subject is mentioned for the two former. Having completed the enumeration of the sections of the Yasna of seven chapters, the writer is now proceeding to notice those passages which are recited more than once in the performance of the ritual.

[1] M6 has gairî, 'in a song,' with the obsolete g, which is very like s, and is also used in the word garô in § 22; this is a variant well worth consideration by translators of the Avesta. K20 has only Ashahyâ.

[2] This formula (see B.Yt. II, 64) is recited after every chapter of the Gâthas, but does not appear to be anywhere recited twice; so the words 2 dânar, 'two repetitions,' may perhaps be inserted here in the wrong place, as they are wanting in § 25.

[3] These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, evidently through mistake.

[4] Visp. XIX, XX follow Yas. XLI in the full Parsi ritual, and the first of them is recited twice.

[5] The Frôbâk is the oldest sacred fire on earth, and the Vâzi*s*t is the lightning (see Bund. XVII, 1, 5, SZS. XI, 5, 8–10).

[6] The first chapter of the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha (see § 2, note 4), so called from its first word u*s*tâ.

[7] See § 7.

28. The twenty stanzas of Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ (Yas. XLIII) are the twenty judgments (dâ*d*istân) between the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit; and for this *reason* they should every time utter Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ again[1], because they should utter the original judgment again, and the twentieth time the evil spirit becomes confounded.

29. The eleven stanzas of A*d*-fravakhshyâ (Yas. XLIV) are made up from the six chieftainships[2] and the five accomplishments (farhâng) owing to religion; one is thus, not to do unto others[3] all that which is not well for one's self; the second is to understand fully *what* is well-done and not well-done; the third is to turn from the vile and their conversation (andarag-gûftanŏ); the fourth is to confess *one's* failings to the high-priests, and let them bring the whip; the fifth is not to neglect the season-festivals at *their proper* hour (dên hâsar), *nor* the other things which go to the bridge[4]; and the six chieftainships are not his property who has not these

[1] That is, the first line (ta*d* thwâ peresâ ere*s* môi vao*k*â Ahurâ! 'that I shall ask thee, tell *it* me right, O Ahura!') is repeated at the beginning of each of the first nineteen stanzas, and the first stanza being recited twice (as in all chapters of the Gâthas) these words are recited twenty times before the last stanza is reached. The phrases 'and for this *reason*' and 'because they should utter the original judgment again' are omitted in M6.

[2] These cannot be the same 'chieftainships' (ra*d*îh) as those mentioned in § 11, of which there are only five; but perhaps they are the spiritual chieftainships, or primacies, of the six other regions of the earth (see Bund. XXIX, 1).

[3] Assuming that aî*s*an stands for aî*s*ân.

[4] The *K*inva*d* bridge, or route of the soul to the other world (see Chap. XII, 31). Part of these fourth and fifth clauses is omitted in K20 by mistake.

five accomplishments, and he is not fit even for teaching.

30. The nineteen stanzas of Kãm-nemôi-zãm (Yas. XLV) are for this reason, that every one may so persevere in his own duty (khvê*s*akânîh)[1], that while those are our nineteen propitiations (aû*s*ô-frî*d*)[2], which it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[3] should be my own, the strength and power of the angels shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.

31. The U*s*tavaiti Gâtha is a Gâtha (gâs) of four chapters[4], and each stanza of five lines (gâs), except Haê*k*a*d*-aspâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XLV, 15)[5]. 32. The two repetitions of U*s*tâ-ahmâi (Yas. XLII, 1)[6] are, one *as* a retention *and* embrace of Aûharmazd, and one *as* a destruction of the fiends; *and* U*s*ta-Ahurem-mazdãm (Visp. XXI, 1–5)[7] *in* like manner.

33. Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI) *has* six stanzas, Yêzî-adâi*s* (Yas. XLVII) twelve stanzas, A*d*-mâ-yavâ (Yas. XLVIII) twelve stanzas, *and* Ka*d*-môi-urvâ (Yas. XLIX) eleven stanzas. 34. The Spe*n*tâ-mainyû Gâtha is a Gâtha of four chapters[8], and

[1] Or, it may be, 'through his own intellect (khvê*s*ak hûsh),' or merely another mode of writing khvê*s*kârîh, 'industry.'

[2] Considering each of the stanzas as an offering to, or propitiation of, (Av. usefriti) the angels.

[3] See Chap. X, 25.

[4] Those detailed in §§ 27–30.

[5] Which stanza has only four lines. Pahl. gâs means both the whole hymn and also each line of the hymn.

[6] The first stanza of the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

[7] Visp. XXI follows Yas. XLV in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

[8] Those detailed in § 33.

each stanza of four lines; it is made up from the five chieftainships and four classes [1]. 35. The two repetitions of Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI, 1) [2] are, one *for* the laudation of the beneficent spirit (spendamat), and one for that of the earth [3].

36. One Spe*n*tem-Ahurem-mazdăm (Visp. XXII, 1–11) [4] is the laudation of the creatures of the beneficent spirit, and one is the destruction of the creatures of the evil spirit.

37. The twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha (Yas. L) are those twenty-two judgments which are lodging within judges, as written above [5]. 38. The two repetitions of Vohû-khshathrem (Yas. L, 1) [6] are, one the laudation of living (zîndakîh), and one of the supreme Zaratû*s*t.

39. One Vohû-khshathrem yazamaidê (Visp. XXIII, 1–9) [7] is for the laudation of Shatvaîrô [8], and one of metal. 40. The two repetitions of Avi-

[1] See §§ 9, 11.

[2] The first stanza of the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

[3] It seems probable that the Pahlavi writer has here confounded Spendamat, 'the beneficent spirit,' with the archangel Spendarma*d* who has special charge of the earth; their names being even more alike in Pahlavi than in English, though corrupted from the distinct Avesta forms spe*n*ta mainyu and spe*n*ta ârmaiti, respectively.

[4] Visp. XXII follows Yas. XLIX in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

[5] See § 6.

[6] The first stanza of the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

[7] Visp. XXIII, 1–9 follows Yas. L in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

[8] The archangel who has special charge of metal (see § 14, Chap. XV, 5, 14–19, and Bund. I, 26, XXX, 19); the name is here written Shatrîvar.

apãm (Visp. XXIV, 1–12)[1] are, one for the laudation of waters, and one of plants.

41. The nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII) are on account of those nine things which are[2] . . . the supreme Zaratûstship lodging in the supreme Zaratûsts, the source of fountains, the bridge *over* waters, and even the navigable river, the righteous man, and the righteous woman. 42. And *it is* a Gâtha of one chapter, *and* each stanza of four lines, except Ithâ-î-haithyâ-narô (Yas. LII, 6)[3], for *there* is always one lord and sovereign in the world. 43. And those four lines are for this *reason*, because *it* is declared: *k*athru*s* hamay*a*u khshapô dahmayâ*d* parô âfritôi*d*[4], 'four times every night is the "blessing of the holy" (Yas. LIX),' and three *times* Srôsh[5], twice Bûshâsp[6], and once Aêshm[7] will come

[1] After the two recitations of Visp. XXIII, 1–9 there follow Vend. XV, XVI, and Visp. XXIII, 10, and then Visp. XXIV, 1–12 is recited twice, in the full Parsi ritual, followed by Visp. XXV.

[2] Some words are evidently lost here; M6 has m followed by a blank space, and K20 has madam, 'on.' It is not quite certain whether the things mentioned are to be reckoned as four, five, or six; but assuming they are five, it is possible that the four things missing in the text are the four remaining chieftainships (see § 11), the rulerships of the house, village, tribe, and province lodged in the rulers of the same, respectively.

[3] Which stanza has five lines, and is, therefore, here considered symbolical of the ruling monarch, or pontiff.

[4] This Avesta passage does not appear to be extant elsewhere, and its Pahlavi translation, given in the text, is not quite correct; it would be better thus: 'through the "blessing of the holy" four times every night;' dahma âfriti (Pahl. dâhmân âfrînô, 'blessing of the holy') is the technical name of Yas. LIX.

[5] See Bund. XIX, 33, XXX, 29. This angel, invoked by the 'blessing' (Yas. LIX, 8), comes to defend mankind against the wiles of Bûshâsp and Aêshm.

[6] The demoness of sloth (see Bund. XXVIII, 26).

[7] The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17, 20).

to the material world. 44. And the five *lines* of that one *stanza* (Yas. LII, 6) are for this *reason*, because the assistants of the supreme Zaratûst are five, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and she even who is his own wife (nârîk)[1]. 45. The two repetitions of Vahistâ-îstis (Yas. LII, 1)[2] are, one *for* the laudation of sovereigns, and one for the laudation of peace (padmân).

46. The two repetitions of Vahistem-Ahurem-mazdãm (Visp. XXVI)[3] are, one *for* the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and one for the destruction of the fiends. 47. The four repetitions of the Airyamana (Yas. LIII)[4] are for the existence of more submission (aîrmânîh) in the house, village, tribe, and province. 48. The four repetitions of Avad-mizdem (Visp. XXVII) are for the healing of those[5] *who* dwell in the house, village, tribe, and province.

49. The section (kardakŏ) whose beginning is Tad-sôidhis (Yas. LVII, 1–9)[6] is, for the completion

[1] Though bound to be strictly obedient to her husband or guardian, a Mazdayasnian woman occupied a more honourable position in the community than was sanctioned by any other oriental religion.

[2] The first stanza of the Vahistôisti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

[3] Visp. XXVI follows Yas. LII in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice, followed by Vend. XIX, XX.

[4] So called from its first words â airyemâ; it is recited four times after Vend. XX, and shortly afterwards Visp. XXVII is also recited four times, as mentioned in § 48.

[5] M6 has 'of the soul,' which is, no doubt, a blunder due to the illegibility of the MS. from which it was copied.

[6] This is the Fshûshô-mãthra ('a spell or prayer for prosperity')

of the Gâthas, taught as *pertaining* to the Gâthas (gâsânîk *k*âs*t*).

50. The beginning of the Gâthas is Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1), and their end is drigavê vahyô (Yas. LII, 9, end); and *there* are 278 stanzas, 1016 lines, 5567 words (vâ*k*ak), 9999 mârîk, and 16,554 khûr*d*ak[1]. 51. For the lines and stanzas of the Gâthas *were* collected by us, and were:—one hundred stanzas of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), of which each stanza is three lines; forty stanzas of the Yasna *of seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–

of Visp. I, 28, II, 30, Yas. LVI, ix, 6, LVIII, 13. Whether the remainder of Yas. LVII is to be considered as pertaining to the Gâthas is uncertain; it is recited in seven sections by the assistant priest, each section from a different position; these seven positions being the stations of the seven assistant priests who are supposed to be present spiritually, and to be arranged three on each side, and one at the south end, of the ceremonial area, while the chief officiating priest occupies the north end (see Haug's Essays, p. 332).

[1] The numbers of the stanzas and lines are correct, as may be seen from the details given in § 51. Regarding the words there is the uncertainty as to what constitutes a compound word, but, taking each compound in Westergaard's edition of the texts as a single word, the total number of words in the 1016 lines is about 6147; and this could be reduced to 5567 only by omitting the Yasna of seven chapters, and somewhat relaxing the rule as to compound words. The meaning of the last two terms, mârîk and khûr*d*ak, is doubtful, but they are certainly not syllables and letters, as the number of syllables exceeds 13,000. In other places (see Bund. I, 21) mârîk usually means 'a word,' but that meaning is expressed by the term vâ*k*ak here. If the number 9999 be correct, mârîk must signify some particular class of syllable which would include about three-fourths of the whole number of syllables. It may be noted, however, that Zâ*d*-sparam, in the particulars he gives about the Gâthas (see SZS. XI, 10, note 6), states the number of mârîk at 6666. The khûr*d*ak or 'small' things are probably the consonants.

XLI, 17), of which each stanza is three lines; sixty-six stanzas of the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII–XLV), of which each stanza is five lines, except Haê*k*a*d*-aspâ (Yas. XLV, 15), for that one is four lines; forty-one stanzas of the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû Gâtha (Yas. XLVI–XLIX), of which each stanza is four lines; twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), of which each stanza is three[1] lines; *and* nine stanzas of the Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti (Yas. LII), of which each stanza is four lines, except Ithâ-î (Yas. LII, 6), for that one is a stanza of five;—the amount of the foregoing[2] is 278 stanzas[3].

Chapter XIV[4].

0. May it be in the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation!

1. When they consecrate a sacred cake (drônô), *and* it becomes demon worship[5], what and how many *things* are not proper?

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[1] All MSS. have 'four,' and then add the exception about Ithâ-î to the account of this Gâtha, instead of mentioning it in the details of the Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti; which blunder is here corrected.

[2] Reading kadmon yehevûni*s*nŏ, but the latter word, with part of the ciphers which follow, is torn away in K20, and in M6 it is written so as to resemble the Avesta letters gnn gnn, which are unintelligible, though something like Pahl. yehevûni*s*nŏ; there can, however, be little doubt as to the general meaning of the phrase.

[3] The number of lines is easily computed from the same details, as follows:—300 + 120 + 329 + 164 + 66 + 37 = 1016 lines, as stated in § 50, and as they still exist in the Gâtha texts.

[4] This chapter is also found in L15, fols. 1–4, and a Pâzand version of §§ 1–3 exists in L22, fols. 126, 127, and L7, fols. 78, 79.

[5] That is, it becomes desecrated through some fault in the cere-

2. The decision is this:—Whoever knowingly consecrates a sacred cake with unpurified *sacred* twigs (baresôm-i apâ*d*iyâ*v*)[1], or with a twig-bundle the number of whose twigs (tâk) is *too* many or *too* few, or of another plant not proper *for sacred* twigs; or holds the end of the twig-bundle to the north[2] *and* utters the Avesta attentively; or whoever consecrates with efficacy unawares, *it* is not to be considered as uttered by him. 3. *Nor by him* who advertently or inadvertently takes a taste (*k*âshnîk), not from the sacred cake with the butter (gâû*s*-dâê)[3], *but* from the frasast; or takes the prayer (vâ*g*)[4] *inwardly* regarding that cake (drônô) before the officiating priest (zôt) takes a taste from the same cake; or shall utter the length of a stanza *in* excess, *and* does not again make a beginning of the *consecration of the* sacred cake; or takes *up* the

mony, for any ceremony, which is too imperfect for acceptance by the celestial beings, is supposed to be appropriated by the demons, as performed for their benefit (see Chap. IX, 5). Demon worship is a term also applied to many other evil actions which are supposed to give the demons special power over the perpetrator of them.

[1] See Chap. III, 32, note.

[2] The supposed direction of the demons (see Chaps. X, 7, XII, 18). When praying, a Parsi must face either the sun, or a fire or lamp; and when the direction of the sun is doubtful, or when it is nearly overhead, he must face to the south, even when he is in so low a latitude that the sun may be somewhat to the north of him.

[3] Which usually takes the place of the meat-offering mentioned in Chap. XI, 4–6, and is placed upon one of the cakes on the left side of the table during consecration, while the frasasts are the cakes on the right-hand side of the table (see Chap. III, 32, note).

[4] That is, prepares for eating by muttering the portion of the grace which is to be recited in a low murmur before eating (see Chap. III, 6, note). This clause is omitted in K20.

dedication *formula* (shnûmanŏ)[1] *too* soon or *too* late; or does not utter the Avesta for the fire when he sees the fire.

4. This is how it is when the period *of the day* (gâs)[2] is retained, and how it should be when *one* may relinquish *it;* that is, when even one of the stars created by Aûharmazd is apparent, *it* is retained, *and* when not *it* is relinquished. 5. It is Vand-Aûharmazd[3] *who* said that when, besides Tîstar, Vanand, *or* Satavês[4], one of the zodiacal *stars* (akhtarîk) is apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished. 6. *There* have been *some* who said that when, besides one of those three, three zodiacal *stars* are apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished[5].

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[1] See Chaps. III, 35, VII, 8.

[2] See Bund. XXV, 9. The text appears to refer to the transition from the Ushahina to the Hâvani Gâh at daybreak; and as certain portions of the prayers are varied according to the period of the day, it is very necessary to know precisely when each period commences, so as to avoid vitiating the whole ceremonial by the use of a wrong prayer.

[3] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[4] Three of the leading stars, probably Sirius, Fomalhaut, and Antares (see Bund. II, 7).

[5] This chapter is followed (in both the old MSS. M6 and K20) by the Pahlavi text of the Patît-i Khûd, or renunciation of one's own *sin*, a translation of which will be found in Bleeck's English version of the Avesta, London, 1864, III, pp. 159–162, derived from Spiegel's German translation of the Pâzand text. This translation is fairly correct on the whole, although some passages might be improved, thus (p. 162), instead of 'all sins which may attack the character of man [or] have attacked my character, if I, on account of much death, have not recognised the death,' &c., we should read 'of all sins which may become the lot of men, and have become my lot, on account of whose excessive number I do not know the number,' &c.

PART III.—*Appendix*[1].

CHAPTER XV[2].

1. *It* is revealed by a passage of the Avesta that Zaratûst, seated before Aûharmazd, always wanted information (vâk) from him; and he spoke to Aûharmazd thus: 'Thy head, hands, feet, hair, face, and tongue are in my eyes just like those even which are my own, and you have the clothing men have; give me a hand, so that I may grasp thy hand.'

2. Aûharmazd said thus: 'I am an intangible spirit; *it* is not possible to grasp my hand.'

3. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Thou art intangible, and Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvairô[3], Spendarmad, Horvadad, and Amerôdad are intangible, and when I depart from thy presence, and do not see thee *nor* even them—since of the person whom[4] I see and worship *there* is something—*should* thou and the seven archangels be worshipped by me, or not[5]?'

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[1] This Appendix consists of a number of fragments found in the old MS. M6, and of somewhat the same character as the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, but they have no claim to be considered as a portion of that work. Excepting Chaps. XVIII, XIX, XXI, they are not found in the other old MS. K20, and beyond the fact that they must be more than five centuries old their age is quite uncertain, though some of them are probably older than others.

[2] This chapter follows the Patît-i Khûd in M6, and is also found in L15, fols. 16–28; for a Pâzand version of it, see L22, fols. 113–122, and L7, fols. 70–76.

[3] Written Shatrôîvar throughout this chapter; these six (see Bund. I, 26) with Aûharmazd himself, are the seven archangels.

[4] Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[5] Zaratûst is doubtful whether he ought to worship beings of

4. Aûharmazd said thus: 'They *should* be; I tell thee, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that each individual of us has produced his own one creation (dâyak) for the world, by means of which they may set going in its body, in the world, that activity which they would exercise in the spiritual existence. 5. *In* the world that which is mine, who am Aûharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohûman are the cattle, of Ar*d*avahist is the fire, of Shatvaîrô is the metal, of Spendarma*d* are the earth and virtuous woman, of Horvada*d* is the water, *and* of Amerôda*d* is the vegetation. 6. Whoever has learned[1] the care of all these seven, acts and pleases well, his soul never comes into the possession of Aharman and the demons; when he *has* exercised his care of them, he has exercised his care of the seven archangels, *and* ought to teach all mankind in the world.

7. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Aûharmazd in the world, wishes to promote the things of Aûharmazd; *and* whoever he be, with whom Aûharmazd ever is in every place (gâs)[2], it is necessary *that* he should[3] propitiate the righteous man, in whatever

whose existence he had had no tangible evidence, when he no longer saw them; fearing, perhaps, that they might have been mere dreams or optical illusions. But he is told that each of these spiritual beings is the protector of one class of worldly existences, and that the proper treatment of these existences is a man's best means of reverencing the spiritual beings interested in their welfare.

[1] Or 'taught,' for the verb has both meanings.

[2] Or 'at all times;' it is always doubtful whether gâs means 'time' or 'place.'

[3] Throughout this chapter a conditional meaning is given to the verbs by prefixing hanâ, aê, or ı (all representing Pâz. aê or *e*) to the present tense, instead of affixing it.

has happened *and* whatever occurs to him, and should act for his happiness, and afford him protection from the vile. 8. Since the righteous man is a counterpart of Aûharmazd the lord, *and* when the righteous man acts it is caused by him who is Aûharmazd, whoever propitiates the righteous man, his fame and welfare exist a long time in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd and pleasure and joy become his own *in* heaven (vahi*s*t).

9. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Vohûman in the world, *and* wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Vohûman; and it is necessary for him, so that Vohûman may be ever with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place (gâs) *and* time, the well-yielding (hûdhâk) cattle, in whatever has happened *and* whatever occurs, and should act for *their* happiness; and in the terrible days and the hurried times (gâs) which *befall* them, he should afford them protection from the oppressive and idle. 10. He should not give *them* as a bribe to a man who is a wicked tyrant, *but* should keep *them* in a pleasant and warm locality and place (gâs); and in summer he should provide them a store of straw and corn, so that it be not necessary to keep *them* on the pastures (*k*arak) in winter; and he should not deliver them *up* for this purpose, that is, "So that I may give them up to the vile," because it is necessary to give to the good; and he should not drive them apart from *their* young, and should not put the young apart from their milk. 11. Since they are counterparts of him (Vohûman) himself in the world, the well-yielding cattle, whoever propitiates those which are well-yielding cattle his fame subsists in the world, and

the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* the best existence[1].

12. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Ar*d*avahi*s*t in the world is *he* who wishes to promote his things; and it is necessary for him, so that Ar*d*avahi*s*t may be with *him* at every place (gâs) and time, *that* he should propitiate the fire of Aûharmazd, in whatever has happened and whatever occurs, *and* should act for *its* happiness; he should not put upon *it* wood, incense, and holy-water[2] which are stolen and extorted, and he should not cook at it a ration (bâhar) which is violently extorted from men. 13. For it is a counterpart of him (Ar*d*avahi*s*t) himself in the world, the fire of Aûharmazd; and whoever propitiates those which are fires of Aûharmazd his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

14. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Shatvaîrô in the world, and wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Shatvaîrô; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Shatvaîrô may be with him at every place and time, *that* he should propitiate melted metal[3] at every place and time. 15. And the propitiation of melted metal is this, that he shall practise habits (âîyînŏ) of the

[1] See Chap. VI, 3.

[2] Holy-water is not put upon the fire, for that would be sinful, but it is presented to the fire, and the outside of the fire-place is sprinkled or washed with it (see Haug's Essays, p. 403). The 'fire of Aûharmazd' means any fire, whether sacred or used for household purposes.

[3] The word may be read either aîyên or asîn (Av. ayangh, Pers. âyan, âhan, or âhîn), which is usually translated 'iron,' but also means 'metal' generally, as it certainly does here, and very probably likewise in B. Yt. I, 1, 5, II, 14, 22.

heart so unsullied and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon *it*, it does not burn. 16. And Âtarôpâ*d* son of Mâraspend[1] even acted in this priestly fashion (dastôbarîh), so that the melted metal, when they drop *it* upon the region (khânŏ) of *his* pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though[2] they were milking milk upon it. 17. When they drop *it* upon the region of the heart of the wicked and sinners, it burns, and they die. 18. And *one* should not commit sin with metal, and with its burning; and should not give gold and silver to the vile. 19. For it is a counterpart of Shatvaîrô himself in the world for him, *and* since he propitiates those which are melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

20. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Spendarma*d* in the world, wishes to promote the things of Spendarma*d*; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Spendarma*d* may be with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the earth and virtuous woman, in whatever has happened and in whatever occurs, *and* should act for *their* happiness. 21. For when he does not spread out (barâ lâ vêshê*d*) this earth, and it does not separate one *piece* from another, his body also *will* not be always

[1] The primate and prime minister of Shâpûr II (A.D. 309–379), who is said to have undergone the ordeal of having melted metal poured upon his chest, in order to prove the truth of the Mazdayasnian religion. The metal used is generally called rûî, 'brass,' but here it is aîyên, 'iron,' though a more fusible metal than either was, no doubt, used.

[2] Reading amat, 'though,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

living upon *it at* every place and time[1]. 22. On account of the lodgment of Spendarma*d* in the earth, when a robber, violent and worthy of death, and wives who are disrespectful to *their* husbands walk about in sinfulness in the world, and their husbands are active *and* virtuous, it becomes much distressed (zanŏîk). 23. This, too, is declared, that, whenever this *earth* becomes distressed (zanîk), it is most *so* at the time when sinners worthy of death are most; for *it* is declared, when sinners worthy of death walk upon *it*, *its* pain and uneasiness become as distressing (dûskhvâr) to it as the dead son on *her* bosom *to* a mother; *and* the lodgment of Spendarma*d* in the earth is little *in* that place whereon sinners worthy of death walk. 24. And her[2] happiness arises from that place when they shall perform tillage and cultivation on it, and a virtuous son is born upon it, and they rear cattle upon it; and it is so one's fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes one's own *in* heaven.

25. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d* in the world, whereas that is necessary which promotes their things, whoever he be it is necessary *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the water and vegetation of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d*, in whatever has happened and in

[1] Meaning that the earth must be tilled in order to support its inhabitants, but there is some doubt as to the exact wording of the translation.

[2] Spendarma*d* is a female archangel; perhaps, however, the earth is meant here, as it is said to be most pleased by the existence of fire-temples, dwellings of righteous people, cultivation, stables, and pastures (see Vend. III, 1–20).

whatever occurs, *and* should seize upon those who consume *and* steal water and vegetation [1]. 26. And he should not act oppressively, he should not walk the world in sinfulness, and should not bring bodily refuse (hîkhar), dead matter (nasâî)[2], *or* any other pollution to water; he should not destroy vegetation unlawfully, and should not give fruit to the idle and vile. 27. For when he commits sin against water and vegetation, even when it is committed against merely a single twig of it, and he has not atoned for it, when[3] he departs from the world the spirits of all the plants in the world stand up high in front of that man, and do not let him go to heaven. 28. And when he has committed sin against water, even when it is committed against a single drop of it, and he has not atoned for *it*, that also stands up as high as the plants stood, and does not let him go to heaven. 29. Since they are counterparts of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d* themselves, the water and vegetation, whoever propitiates those which be water and vegetation, his fame subsists in the world, and a share of the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his *in* heaven.'

30. Aûharmazd said this also to Zaratûs*t*, namely:

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[1] Reading mûn, 'who,' instead of amat, 'when,' and dûgend, 'they steal,' instead of dûgd (perhaps for dûgak, 'thievish'); and supposing the verb to be vakhdûnê*d*, 'takes, seizes,' and not vâdûnê*d*, 'makes, acts.' If the reverse be assumed, the translation would be thus: 'should act for their *happiness*. When they consume water and vegetation he should not act thievishly and oppressively.'

[2] For the meaning of hîkhar and nasâî, see note on Chap. II, 30.

[3] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

'My will and pleasure is *that* the observance and propitiation of these seven archangels shall be *as I have* told thee; and do thou, too, speak thus unto men, so that they may commit no sin and may not become wicked, and the splendour of Aûharmazd may become their own *in* heaven.'

31. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy[1].

CHAPTER XVI.

0. In the name of God (yazdân) I write a paragraph (babâ) where the sins which are as it were small are *mentioned* one *by* one.

1. The least sin is a Farmân; *and* a Farmân is three coins of five annas[2], some say three coins. 2. An Âgerept is, as regards whatever weapon (snê*s*) men strike with in the world, whenever the weapon is taken in hand; and taken up by *any* one four finger-*breadths* from the ground *it is* the root[3] of an

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[1] This is the most usual concluding phrase of short Pahlavi texts, and indicates that this account of the best mode of propitiating the archangels is to be considered as a separate text. It is followed in M6 by the paragraphs which constitute the next two chapters.

[2] Reading 3 nûmâî-i 5 ânak, but this is uncertain, and if correct must have been written in India, as the anna is an Indian coin worth nearly three halfpence. The coin of five annas was probably a dirham, as the dirham being about fifty grains of silver (see note on *gûg*an in Chap. I, 2), and the rûpî having formerly been less than 180 grains in Gu*g*arât, the former would be nearly five-sixteenths of the latter, that is, five annas. It may, therefore, be assumed that the amount of the Farmân is here taken at three dirhams, as in Chap. XI, 2; but in § 5 it appears to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, and in Chap. I, 2 as much as sixteen dirhams.

[3] See Chap. II, 69, note.

Âgerept for him; *and* the retribution and punishment for an Âgerept should be fifty-three dirhams (*g*ûgan)[1]. 3. When the weapon turns downwards *it is* the root of an Avôîri*s*t for him, and his sentence (dînâ) is to be changed; his retribution *and* punishment should be seventy-three dirhams[2], which is when anything further occurs. 4. When he shall lay the weapon on *any* one *it is* the root of an Aredû*s* for *him*, and his retribution *and* punishment are thirty stîrs; if the wound thereby made by him be one-fifth of a span (dî*s*t)[3] *it is* no root of an Aredû*s for* him, and his retribution *and* punishment are the same thirty stîrs.

5. I write the degrees of sin:—A Srôshô-*k*aranâm[4] is three coins and a half, a Farmân is a Srôshô-*k*aranâm, an Âgerept is sixteen stîrs, an Avôîri*s*t is twenty-five stîrs, an Aredû*s* is thirty, a Khôr is sixty, a Bâ*z*âî is ninety, a Yât is a hundred and eighty, *and* a Tanâpûhar is three hundred[5].

6. The good works which are in the *ceremonial*

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[1] § 5 says sixteen stîrs, which, if equivalent to these fifty-three dirhams, would imply $3\frac{5}{16}$ dirhams to the stîr, instead of four as usually stated (see Chap. I, 2). The amounts mentioned in Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2 are very different.

[2] § 5 says twenty-five stîrs, which, at $3\frac{5}{16}$ dirhams to the stîr (as in the case of Âgerept), would be very nearly eighty-three dirhams, which is probably the number we ought to read in the text, and also, possibly, in Chap. XI, 2.

[3] The dî*s*t is a span of ten finger-breadths (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches) between the thumb and middle finger (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note).

[4] See Chap. IV, 14, note. Comparing the amount here mentioned with that of the Farmân in § 1, the Srôshô-*k*aranâm, which is here made equal to the Farmân, appears to amount to $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, which agrees very nearly with the statement in Chap. X, 24, but differs from that in Chap. XI, 2.

[5] For similar scales of degrees, see Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2.

worship of the sacred beings (yazisn-i yazdân):—*Consecrating* a sacred cake (drôn)[1] is a good work of one Tanâpûhar[2]; a *form of* worship (yast)[3] is a hundred Tanâpûhars; a Visparad[4] is a thousand Tanâpûhars; a Dô-hômâst[5] is ten thousand; a Dvâzdah-hômâst is a hundred thousand, *and* the merit (kirfak) of every one which is *performed* with holy-water is said *to be* a hundred to one; a Hâd-ôkht[6] is two thousand Tanâpûhars, *and* with holy-water it becomes a hundred to one[7].

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[1] See Chap. III, 32. The Persian Rivâyats explain that this is when the proper ritual is merely recited, without using the sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus; when the twigs are used the merit is ten times as great.

[2] That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

[3] A Yast is a formula of praise in honour of some particular angel; when recited with all the accessories of sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus, the merit is ten times as great as is mentioned in the text.

[4] The Visparad service includes the Yasna, and when performed with the use of the sacred twigs, holy-water, and other ceremonial apparatus the merit is ten times as great as here stated; some authorities say it is a hundred times as great.

[5] This kind of Hômâst is not mentioned in Dastûr Jâmâspji's explanation of this species of religious service (see B. Yt. II, 59, note); it occurs, however, in the Nîrangistân as a distinct kind, though called merely Hômâst in the Persian Rivâyats.

[6] See B. Yt. III, 25.

[7] The merits of other prayers and ceremonies are detailed in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, that of the ordinary recital of a Vendidad (which includes both Yasna and Visparad) is sixty thousand Tanâpûhars, and when with sacred twigs and holy-water it is a hundred thousand; that of the recital of any Nyâyis (see Chap. VII, 4), or of taking and retaining a prayer (vâg, see Chap. III, 6) inwardly, is one Tanâpûhar.

Chapter XVII.

1. This, too, Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Which is the time when *one* must not eat meat?'

2. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'In a house when a person shall die, until three nights are completed, nothing whatever of meat is to be placed on a sacred cake (drôn) therein and in *its* vicinity[1]; but these, such as milk, cheese, fruit, eggs, and preserves, are to be placed; *and* nothing whatever of meat is to be eaten *by* his relations[2]. 3. In all the three days it is necessary to perform the ceremonial (yazisn) of Srôsh for this *reason*, because Srôsh will be able to save his soul from the hands of the demons *for* the three days[3]; and when *one* con-

[1] Reading va hamgôshak, the latter word being apparently used in a parallel passage in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64 in old MSS.; this reading is, however, somewhat doubtful here, and perhaps we ought to read 'on a sacred cake in that roofed place (pavan zak vâmkînîh);' the last word being a possible term for 'roofing' as it stands, though it may be a miswriting of vâmpôs (Pers. bâmpôs, 'roofing').

[2] The Parsis, nowadays (Dastûr Hoshangji says), do not cook for three days under a roof where a death has occurred, but obtain food from their neighbours and friends; but if the cookroom be under a separate roof, as often happens in India, they have no objection to cooking there.

[3] The soul is supposed to hover about the body for the first three nights after death, during which time it has to rely upon the angel Srôsh (see Bund. XXX, 29) for protection from the demons, which the angel, it is presumed, will afford more efficiently if properly propitiated by the surviving relatives. At the third dawn after death (that is, the dawn of the fourth day inclusive of the day of death) the soul is supposed to depart finally for the other world (see AV. IV, 8–36, XVII, 5–27).

stantly performs a ceremonial *at* every period (gâs)[1] in the three days *it* is *as* good as though they should celebrate the whole religious ritual (hamâk dînô) at one time. 4. And after the third night, *at* dawn, *one* is to consecrate three sacred cakes (drôn), one *for* Rashnû *and* Âstâd, the second *for* Vâê the good[2], *and* the third *for* the righteous guardian spirit (ardâî fravard); and clothing[3] is to be placed upon the sacred cake of the righteous guardian spirit. 5. For the fourth day it is allowable to slaughter a sheep[4], *and* the fourth day the ceremonial (yazisn) of the righteous guardian spirit is to be performed; and afterwards are the tenth-day, the monthly, and, then, the annual *ceremonies;* and the first monthly is exactly on the thirtieth day, and the annual on the particular day[5]. 6. When he

[1] These periods of the day are five in summer, and four in winter (see Bund. XXV, 9, 10).

[2] The usual name of the angel Râm (the Vayu of Râm Yt.) who, with the angels Rashnû and Âstâd, is supposed to be stationed at the *K*inva*d* bridge, where the soul has to give an account of its actions during life shortly after the dawn following the third night after death (see AV. V, 3, CI, 21, note, Mkh. II, 115).

[3] This clothing must be new and good, and is supposed to be supplied to the spirit to prevent its appearing unclothed in the other world, where the clothing of the soul is said to be formed 'out of almsgivings' (Chap. XII, 4); to fulfil which condition the clothes provided are presented to the officiating priests (see Saddar Bundahis LXXXVII).

[4] Or 'goat.'

[5] That is, on the exact anniversary of the death; the sentence is rather obscure, but this appears to be the meaning. With regard to the ceremonies after a death, the Persian Rivâyats give more details, which may be summarized as follows:—On each of the first three days a Srôsh Yast is performed and a Srôsh Drôn consecrated (see Chap. III, 32, note). On the third night, in the middle of the Aiwisrûthrem Gâh (dusk to midnight), a renuncia-

shall die *at* a place distant *from that* where the information arrives, when the three *days' ceremonies* (satûîh) are celebrated *at* that place where he shall die *it* is well, when not, their celebration is *to be at* this place, *and* from the *time* when the information arrives, until three nights are completed, it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of Srôsh, *and* after three days and nights it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.'

7. *In* one place *it* is declared, that of him whose begetting is owing to the demons, of him who commits sodomy, and of him who performs the religious rites (dînô) of apostasy, of none of the three do

tion of sin is performed in the house of the deceased; and in the Ushahin Gâh (midnight to dawn) four Drôns are consecrated, one dedicated to the good Vâê (Nâ-î veh), one to Rashn and Âstâd, one to Srôsh, and one to the righteous (ashôân), and in front of the last are placed new and clean clothes with fruit, but without an egg. On the fourth day, at sunrise, the Dahmân Âfrîngân (Yas. LIX) is recited, and then the Khûrshêd and Mihir Nyâyis, after which the people in the house can first eat fresh-cooked meat. During the fourth day also the Yast of the righteous is performed, and the Drôn of the righteous is consecrated; and the same again on the tenth day, together with the recitation of the Dahmân Âfrîngân. On the thirtieth day the Sîrôzah (praise of the thirty days) is to be celebrated, with the dedication to the thirty days; thirty-three beans (lûvak) and thirty-three eggs, with fruit, being placed in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; and, afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh. The next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous; a suit of clothes and fruit being placed in front of the Drôn. And each day a Yast of the righteous is performed, a Drôn of the righteous is consecrated, and an Âfrîngân recited. On the same day every month the same Yast, Drôn, and Âfrîngân are celebrated; a priest also undergoes the Bareshnûm for the deceased, a Gêtî-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28) is performed, and three Vendidads dedicated to Srôsh. On each day at the end of a year the Sîrôzah Yast is performed, and a Drôn

they restore the dead[1], for this *reason*, because he whose begetting is owing to the demons is himself a demon[2], and the soul of him who commits sodomy will become a demon[3], and the soul of him *who* performs the religious rites of apostasy will become a darting snake[4].

8. This, too, is revealed by the Avesta[5], that Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Give ye up the persons of all men, with the submissiveness of worshippers, to that man *to* whom the whole Avesta and Zand is easy[6], so that he may make you acquainted with duties and good works; because men go to hell for this *reason*, when they do not submit *their* persons to priestly control (aêrpatistân), and do not become acquainted with duties and good works.'

9. Query:—There is an action which, according to the Avesta[7], is not good for a person to do, *and* the sentence of 'worthy of death' is set upon *it;* for *one's* better preservation is *one* not to do that action,

dedicated to the thirty days is consecrated, thirty-three beans being placed, with one Drôn, one Frasast (see Chap. III, 32, note), one pentagonal Drôn as the sun, one crescent-shaped as the moon, thirty-three eggs, and fruit, in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân, and the next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous, a suit of clothes being placed before the Drôn, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân.

[1] That is, there is no resurrection for them.

[2] And, therefore, not immortal according to the Parsi faith.

[3] Compare Vend. VIII, 98–106.

[4] Which being a creature of the evil spirit is doomed to destruction.

[5] But it is doubtful if the passage be extant.

[6] That is, the man who knows the whole scripture and commentary by heart.

[7] Reading pavan Avistâk, instead of Avistâk pavan.

or to accomplish *and* urge *it* on, for the advance of religion in a state of uncertainty (var-hômandîh)? 10. The answer is this, that when they act well for *their* better preservation *there* is no fear, on account of acting well, but *one* is not to forsake that[1], too, though *it* be not goodness; a forsaken duty is very bad, for a contempt of it enters into one.

11. This, too, is declared, that Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'From what place do these people rise again? from that place where they first went into *their* mothers, or from that place where the mothers have given *them* birth, or from that place where *their* bodies happen *to be* (aûftêd)?' 12. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'Not from that place where they have gone into *their* mothers, nor from that place where they have been born from *their* mothers, nor from that place where *their* bodies and flesh happen *to be*, for they rise from that place where the life went out from their bodies.' 13. And this, too, he asked, that is: 'Whence do they raise[2] *him* again who is suspended from anything, *and* shall die in the air?' 14. The reply *was:* 'From that place where his bones and flesh first fall to the ground; hence, except when he shall die on a divan (gâs) or a bed (vistarg), before they carry him away, whatever *it*

[1] The religion in a position of difficulty appears to be the meaning, but the reply to this question of casuistry is by no means clear.

[2] Literally, 'they rise,' both here and in the next section, but the change to the plural number is perplexing, unless it refers to those who prepare the resurrection of the dead (Bund. XXX, 4, 7, 17), as here assumed by reading 'they raise.'

is, a fragment[1] is to be taken and to be laid across his limbs; for when the usage is not so, they raise him again from that place where his body arrives at the ground.'

15. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy[2].

CHAPTER XVIII[3].

1. It is said in revelation that Aêshm[4] rushed into the presence of Aharman[5], and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* not go into the world, because Aûharmazd, the lord, has produced three things in the world, *to* which it is not possible *for* me to do anything whatever.'

2. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Say which are those three things.'

3. Aêshm exclaimed thus: 'The season-festival

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[1] Apparently a fragment of the place whereon the death took place is meant by ka*d*âm-ı pârak.

[2] The miscellaneous passages which follow Sls. in M6 terminate at this point, which is the end of the first volume of that MS. The next three chapters are taken from the latter end of the other volume of M6.

[3] Both this chapter and the next are also found in K20, the first being placed before the first part of Sls., and the second before the second part. Chap. XVIII also occurs in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahi*s*, just after Chap. XXXIV of that text (see Introduction, p. xxx), and a Pâzand version of it occupies the same position in L7 and L22, and is translated by Justi as the last chapter of the Bundahi*s*, in his German translation of that work (see Introduction, p. xxvi).

[4] The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17).

[5] See Bund. I, 3. Aêshm, as the chief agent of the evil spirit in his machinations against mankind, rushes into his master's presence in hell to complain of the difficulties he encounters.

(gâsânbâr)[1], the *sacred* feast (myazd), and next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das).'

[1] See Bund. XXV, 1, 3, 6. The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. An explanation of the cause of the inequality of these intervals has been proposed by Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, which is well worthy of attention, and appears to have been first published in 1867 in Nos. 7 and 8 of his Zartosti Abhyas. His view is that the mediæval Zoroastrians, beginning their year at the vernal equinox (Bund. XXV, 6, 13, 21), recognised originally only two seasons, a summer of seven months and a winter of five (Bund. XXV, 7), and they held a festival, not only at the end of each season, that is, on the 210th and 365th days of their year, but also in the middle of each season, that is, on the 105th and 290th days of their year. That these two latter were mid-season festivals is proved by their Avesta names, Maidhyô-shema and Maidhyâirya, beginning with the word maidhya, 'middle.' Later on, the Zoroastrians divided their year into four equal seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter (Bund. XXV, 20), and without interfering with their old festivals, they would, no doubt, have wished to celebrate the end and middle of each of their new seasons. The ends of these four seasons occur on the 90th, 180th, 270th, and 365th days of the year, and their mid-points are the 45th, 135th, 225th, and 320th days; but the Zoroastrians already held a festival on the 365th day, and celebrated midsummer and midwinter (the 135th and 320th days of their new calendar) on the 105th and 290th days of their year, and they would consider the 90th, 225th, and 270th days too close to their old festivals of the 105th, 210th, and 290th days to allow of the former being held as new festivals; so that they would have only the midspring festival, on the 45th day, and that of the end of summer, on the 180th day, to add to their old festivals. It may be objected that the end of summer was already celebrated on the 210th day, and, for this reason, it is more probable that the festivals were intended to celebrate the beginnings and mid-points of the seasons, rather than their ends and mid-points. According to this view, the six season-festivals were intended, respectively, to celebrate midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring. That they were also intended to commemorate, respectively, the

4. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Enter into the season-festival! if one of those *present* shall steal a single thing the season-festival is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with[1] thy wish; enter into the *sacred* feast[2]! if only one of those *present* shall chatter the *sacred* feast is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with thy wish; *but* avoid next-of-kin marriage[3]! because I do not know a remedy for it; for whoever *has* gone four times near to *it will* not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels[4].'

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creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man, is a belief of later times, derived probably from a foreign source.

[1] Reading pavan, 'with,' instead of barâ, 'beyond,' as in the next clause of the sentence (see p. 176, note 5).

[2] By the sacred feast is meant the consecration of sacred cakes, with meat-offerings and the recital of the Âfrîngâns or blessings (see Chaps. III, 32, XI, 4).

[3] By next-of-kin marriage Parsis nowadays understand the marriage of first cousins, which they consider a specially righteous act; and the passages in Pahlavi texts, which appear to approve of marriages between brother and sister, father and daughter, and mother and son, they explain as referring to the practices of heretics (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's English translation of the Dînkard, p. 96, note). How far this explanation may be correct has not been ascertained, for the passages in question are rather obscure, and have not been thoroughly examined. But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood, about the time of the Muhammadan conquest (when the practice of next-of-kin marriage was most extolled), were anxious to prevent marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith; and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants.

[4] The object of this chapter is evidently to extol the religious merit of next-of-kin marriage. A Persian version of the passage, contained in M5, fols. 54, 55, adds the following details: 'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium

Chapter XIX.

1. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô [1] *formulas* that are necessary in each place, and how *they* are to be spoken in performing anything [2].

2. One *by him* who goes forth to an assembly, or before grandees *and* chieftains, or on any business; or when he goes to ask for what he wants (val khvahîsnŏ); also when he quits any business; in each of these situations *he* is to say only one *formula*, so that his business may proceed more promptly [3].

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next-of-kin marriage is that of a brother's son and a younger (dîgar) brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who contracts a next-of-kin marriage, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary (see Chap. VI, 2), if it is one of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added; if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the next-of-kin marriage betrothal (paîvand) of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûhars; if any one strives to break off a next-of-kin marriage betrothal he is worthy of death.'

[1] See Bund. I, 21.

[2] It appears from the ninth book of the Dînkar*d*, that the contents of this chapter are derived from the first fargar*d* of the Sû*d*kar Nask (see B. Yt. I, 1, note). The account given by the Dînkar*d* contains fewer details, but, so far as it goes, it is in accordance with our text, except that it seems to transfer the object of § 10 to § 12, and removes the objects of §§ 12, 13 one step onwards; it also adds 'going on a bridge' to § 2. The Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah gives further details, as will be mentioned in the notes below.

[3] The Persian Rivâyat adds to these occasions, when he goes on the water, or a river, or goes to borrow, or to ask repayment of a loan, or goes out from his house, or comes into it.

3. *That* a blessing (âfrînô) may be more benedictory, for this *reason one* utters two *formulas;* for *there* are two kinds of blessing, one is that which is in the thoughts [1], and one is that which is in words.

4. Four are for coming out more thankfully when at a season-festival [2].

5. Five *by him* who goes to atone for sin, in order to expel the fiend; because it is necessary to undergo punishment by the decision (dastôbarîh) of these five persons, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, *the tribe-ruler* [3], the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratûst; and five Ashem-vohûs [4] are to be uttered by him at the end.

6. Six *by him* who goes to seek power, and to battle, so that he may be more successful.

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[1] The words pavan mînisn are guessed, for this first clause is omitted by mistake in M6, and these two words are illegible in K20, except part of the last letter.

[2] K20 substitutes for val, 'at,' the following mutilated phrase: [. . . . anhau khshapô kadârkâî pavan kadârkâî] madam vazlûnêd râdîh-i; the portion in brackets being evidently a fragment from the Hâdôkht Srôsh Yt. 5 with Pahlavi translation (a passage which treats of the efficacy of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô). If this fragment be not merely a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text by mistake, we must translate the whole section as follows: 'Four are for the more thankful coming out of the liberality of a season-festival, when the *passage*, "*on that day nor* on that night *comes there* anything whatever on any one," goes on.' The Dînkard has merely: 'Four by *him* who is at the invocation of the chiefs *of creation and* the celebration of a season-festival.' The Persian Rivâyats omit the section altogether.

[3] This person is omitted both in M6 and K20, but he is wanted to make up the five. This section is omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

[4] See Bund. XX, 2. These are to be recited after the punishment is over.

7. Seven *by him* who goes to perform the worship of God (yazdân), *so that* the archangels may come more forward[1] at the worship.

8. Eight *by him* who goes to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.

9. Nine *by him* who goes to sow corn; these he utters for this *reason*, because the corn will ripen (rasêd) in nine months, *and* so that the corn may come forward he will make the mischief of the noxious creatures less[2].

10. Ten *by him* who goes to seek a wife, so that the presents may be favourable for the purpose. 11. Ten *by him* who wishes to allow the male *access* to beasts *of burden* and cattle, so that it may be more procreative[3].

12. Eleven *by him* who goes to the lofty mountains, so that the glory of mountains and hills may bless him *and* be friendly[4].

13. Twelve *by him* who goes to the low districts, so that the glory of that country and district may bless him and be friendly[5].

14. Thirteen *by him* who shall become pathless; *at* that same place he shall utter *them;* or *by him*

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[1] Or 'may arrive earlier;' there being seven archangels has suggested the number seven. This section and the next are omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

[2] The Persian Rivâyats add general cultivation, planting trees, and cohabitation with one's wife.

[3] Instead of §§ 10, 11 the Persian Rivâyats have buying quadrupeds, and driving pegs into the ground for picketing them.

[4] The Persian Rivâyats substitute conference with a maiden, seeking a wife, giving one's children in marriage, and obtaining anything from another.

[5] The Persian Rivâyats add going up hills, mounting anything lofty, going on a bridge, and losing one's way.

who shall pass over a bridge and a river, so that the spirit of that water may bless him[1]; because the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is greater and more successful *than* everything in the Avesta as to all rivers, all wholesomeness, and all protection.

15. Religion is as connected with the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as the hair is more connected with the glory of the face; any one, indeed, would dread (samâ*d*) to separate hairiness *and* the glory of the face.

CHAPTER XX[2].

1. *In* one place it is declared that it is said by revelation (dînô) that a man is to go as much as possible (*k*and vê*s*-ast) to the abode of fires[3], and the salutation (nîyâyi*s*nŏ) of fire[4] is to be performed *with* reverence; because three times every day the archangels form an assembly in the abode of fires, and shed good works and righteousness there; and then the good works and righteousness, which are shed there, become more lodged in the body of *him* who goes much thither, and performs many salutations of fire *with* reverence.

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[1] The Persian Rivâyats substitute going to and entering a city or town; they also add twenty-one recitations on setting out on a journey, so that the angel Bahrâm may grant a safe arrival.

[2] The contents of this chapter conclude the MS. M6; a few lines even having been lost at the end of that MS., though preserved in some of its older copies. A more modern copy, in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains §§ 4–17, appended to the Bundahi*s*. Complete Pâzand versions, derived from M6, occur in L7 and L22, immediately following the Pâzand of Chap. XVIII.

[3] The fire-temple.

[4] That is, the Âtâ*s* Nyâyi*s* is to be recited.

2. This, too, that the nature of wisdom is just like fire; for, in this world, *there* is nothing which shall become so complete as that thing which is made with wisdom; and every fire, too, that they kindle and *one* sees from far, makes manifest *what is* safe and uninjured (aîrâkht); whatever is safe in fire is safe for ever, and whatever is uninjured in fire is uninjured for ever.

3. This, too, that a disposition in which is no wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied (anâhûk) fountain which is choked (bastŏ) and never goes into use; and the disposition with which *there* is wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied fountain, over which an industrious man stands *and* takes *it* into use; cultivation restrains *it*, and it gives crops (bar) to the world.

4. This, too, that these three things are to be done by men, to force the *demon of* corruption (nasûs)[1] far away from the body, to be steadfast in the religion, and to perform good works. 5. To force the *demon of* corruption far away from the body is this, that before the sun *has* come up *one* is to wash the hands[2] and face with bull's urine and water; to be steadfast in the religion is this, that *one* is to reverence the sun[3]; and to perform good works is this, that *one* is to destroy several noxious creatures.

6. This, too, that the three greatest concerns of men are these, to make him who is an enemy a friend, to make him who is wicked righteous, and to make him who is ignorant learned. 7. To make

[1] See Chap. II, 1. [2] See Chap. VII, 7.
[3] See Chap. VII, 1–6.

an enemy a friend is this, that out of the worldly wealth *one* has before him he keeps a friend in mind; to make a wicked *one* righteous is this, that from the sin, whereby he becomes wicked, *one* turns him away; and to make an ignorant *one* learned is this, that *one* is to manage himself so that he who is ignorant may learn of him.

8. This, too, *that* the walks of men are to be directed chiefly to these three places, to the abode of the well-informed, to the abode of the good, *and* to the abode of fires[1]. 9. To the abode of the well-informed, that so *one* may become wiser, and religion be more lodged in *one's* person; to the abode of the good for this *reason*, that so, among good and evil, he may thereby renounce the evil and carry home *the good*[2]; and to the abode of fires for this *reason*, that so the spiritual fiend may turn away from him.

10. This, too, that *he* whose actions are for the soul, the world is then his own, and the spiritual *existence* more his own; and *he* whose actions are for the body, the spiritual *existence* has *him* at pleasure, *and* they snatch the world from him compulsorily.

11. This, too, that Bakht-âfrî*d*[3] said, that every Gâtha (gâsân)[4] of Aûharmazd has been an opposi-

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[1] The fire-temple.

[2] Assuming that the word *s*apîrîh, 'the good,' has been omitted by mistake; the sentence appearing to be unintelligible without it.

[3] See B. Yt. I, 7.

[4] The word gâsân being plural, Gâtha must be taken in its collective sense as an assemblage of hymns. The word can also be read dahî*s*n, 'creation,' but this meaning seems improbable here.

tion of the one adversary, and the renunciation *of sin* (patîtîk)[1] for the opposition of every fiend.

12. This, too, that, regarding the world, anxiety is not to be suffered, it is not to be considered as anything whatever, and is not to be let slip from the hand. 13. Anxiety is not to be suffered for this *reason*, because that which is ordained will happen; it is not to be considered as anything whatever for this *reason*, because should it be expedient it is necessary to abandon *it;* and it is not to be let slip from the hand for this *reason*, because it is proper, in the world, to provide a spiritual *existence* for oneself.

14. This, too, that the best thing is truth, and the worst thing is deceit; and *there* is *he* who speaks true *and* thereby becomes wicked, and *there* is *he* who speaks false *and* thereby becomes righteous.

15. This, too, that fire is not to be extinguished[2], for *this* is a sin; and *there* is *he* who extinguishes *it*, *and* is good.

16. This, too, is declared, that nothing is to be given to the vile; and *there* is *he by* whom the best and most pleasant ragout (khûr*d*îk) is to be given to the vile.

17. On these, too, is the attention of men *to be fixed*, because *there* is a remedy for everything but death, a hope for everything but wickedness, everything will lapse[3] except righteousness, it is possible

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[1] That is, the Patit or formula of renunciation (see Chap. IV, 14).

[2] Literally, 'killed.'

[3] M6 ends at this point, the next folio being lost. The remainder of the chapter has been recovered from a copy in Bombay, checked by the Pâz. MSS. L7 and L22, all of which must have

to manage everything but temper (gôhar), and it is possible *for* everything to change but divine providence (bakô-bakhtô).

18. This, too, is declared, that Frê*d*ûn[1] wished to slay A*z*-i Dahâk[2], *but* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Do not slay *him* now, for the earth will become full of noxious creatures.'

CHAPTER XXI[3].

1. I write the indication of the midday shadow; may it be fortunate!

2. Should the sun come[4] into Cancer *the shadow* is one foot of the man, *at* the fifteenth *degree* of Cancer *it* is one foot; *when* the sun is at Leo *it* is

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been derived from M6 before it lost its last folio; whereas the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection at Oxford, which ends at the same point, must have been written after the folio was lost.

[1] See Bund. XXXI, 7.

[2] See Bund. XXIX, 9, XXXI, 6, B. Yt. III, 55–61.

[3] The contents of this chapter, regarding the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, immediately follow a tale of Gô*s*t-i Fryânô, which is appended to the book of Ar*d*â-Vîrâf's journey to the other world, both in M6 and K20. As will be seen from the notes, these details about shadows were probably compiled at Yazd in Persia, as they are suitable only for that latitude.

[4] Reading âya*d*-ae (a very rare form), or it may be intended for hômanâe, 'should it be,' but it is written in both MSS. exactly like the two ciphers for the numeral 5. Mullâ Fîrûz in his Avîgeh Dîn, p. 279 seq., takes 5 khadûk pâî as implying that the shadow is under the sole of the foot, or the sun overhead; but neither this reading, nor the more literal 'one-fifth of a foot,' can be reconciled with the other measures; though if we take 5 as standing for pan*g*ak, 'the five *toes* or sole,' we might translate as follows: '*When* the sun is at Cancer, *the shadow* is the sole of one foot of the man.'

one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Leo *it* is two feet; *when* the sun is at Virgo *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Virgo *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Libra *it* is four[1] feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Libra *it* is five feet and a half[2]; *at* Scorpio *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Scorpio *it* is seven[3] feet and a half; *at* Sagittarius *it* is eight feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Sagittarius *it* is nine feet and a half; *at* Capricornus *it* is ten feet, *at* the fifteenth of Capricornus *it* is nine[4] feet and a half; *at* Aquarius *it* is eight[5] feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aquarius *it* is seven feet and a half; *at* Pisces *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Pisces *it* is five feet and a half; *at* Aries *it* is four feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aries *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Taurus *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Taurus *it* is two feet; *at* Gemini *it* is one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Gemini *it* is one foot[6].

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[1] K20 has 'three' by mistake.

[2] M6 omits 'and a half' by mistake.

[3] K20 has 'six' by mistake.

[4] Both MSS. omit one cipher, and have only 'six,' but the shadow must be the same here as at the fifteenth of Sagittarius.

[5] Both MSS. have 'seven,' which is clearly wrong.

[6] It is obvious that, as the length of a man's shadow depends upon the height of the sun, each of these observations of his noonday shadow determines the altitude of the sun at noon, and is, therefore, a rude observation for finding the latitude of the place, provided we know the ratio of a man's foot to his stature. According to Bund. XXVI, 3 a man's stature is eight spans (vitast), and according to Farh. Okh. p. 41 a vitast is twelve finger-breadths, and a foot is fourteen (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note), so that a man's stature of eight spans is equivalent to $6\frac{2}{7}$ feet. Assuming this to have been the ratio adopted by the observer, supposing the obliquity of the ecliptic to have been 23° 35′ (as it

3. The midday shadow is written[1], may *its* end be good!

4. I write the indication of the Aûzêrîn (afternoon)[2] *period of the day;* may it be well *and* fortunate by the help of God (yazdân)!

5. When the day is at a maximum (pavan afzûnŏ), *and* the sun comes unto the head[3] of Cancer, *and one's* shadow becomes six feet and two parts[4], he makes *it* the Aûzêrîn period (gâs). 6.

was about A.D. 1000), and calculating the latitude from each of the thirteen different lengths of shadow, the mean result is 32° 1′ north latitude, which is precisely the position assigned to Yazd (the head-quarters of the small remnant of Zoroastrians in Persia) on some English maps, though some foreign maps place it 15′ or 20′ farther south. With regard to the rough nature of this mode of observation it may be remarked that, as the lengths of the shadows are noted only to half a foot, there is a possible error of a quarter-foot in any of them; this would produce a possible error of 2° 4′ in the midsummer observation of latitude, and of 39′ in the midwinter one; or a mean possible error of 1° 22′ in any of the observations; so that the possible error in the mean of thirteen observations is probably not more than 6′, and the probable error is even less, provided the data have been assumed correctly.

[1] Reading nipist, but only the first and last letters are legible in M6, and the middle letter is omitted in K20.

[2] See Bund. XXV, 9.

[3] The word sar, 'head,' usually means 'the end,' but it must be here taken as 'the beginning;' perhaps, because the zodiacal signs are supposed to come head-foremost.

[4] What portion of a foot is meant by bâhar, 'part,' is doubtful. It can hardly be a quarter, because 'two quarters' would be too clumsy a term for 'a half.' But it appears from §§ 5–7 that the shadow, necessary to constitute the Aûzêrîn period, is taken as increasing uniformly from six feet and two parts to fourteen feet and two parts, an increase of eight feet in six months, or exactly one foot and one-third per month, as stated in the text. And, deducting this monthly increase of one foot and one-third from the seven and a half feet shadow at the end of the first month, we have six feet and one-sixth remaining for the shadow at the

Every thirty days it always increases one foot *and* one-third, therefore about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot [1], *and when* the sun is at the head of Leo the shadow is seven [2] feet *and* a half. 7. In this series every *zodiacal* constellation is *treated* alike, and the months alike, until the sun comes unto the head of Capricornus, *and* the shadow becomes fourteen feet and two parts. 8. In Capricornus it diminishes again a foot *and* one-third [3]; *and* from there *where* it turns back, because of the decrease of the night and increase of the day, it always diminishes one foot *and* one-third every one of the months, *and* about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot, until it comes back to six feet and two parts; every *zodiacal* constellation *being treated* alike, and the months alike [4].

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beginning of the month. Hence we may conclude that the 'two parts' are equal to one-sixth, and each 'part' is one-twelfth of a foot.

[1] Meaning that the increase of shadow is to be taken into account as soon as it amounts to half a foot, that is, about every ten days. Practically, half a foot would be added on the tenth and twentieth days, and the remaining one-third of a foot at the end of the month.

[2] Both MSS. have 'eight,' but this would be inconsistent with the context, as it is impossible that 'six feet and two parts' can become 'eight feet and a half' by the addition of 'one foot and one-third,' whatever may be the value of the 'two parts' of a foot.

[3] Both MSS. have 3 yak-1 pâî, instead of pâî 3 yak-1.

[4] This mode of determining the beginning of the afternoon period is not so clumsy as it appears, as it keeps the length of that period exceedingly uniform for the six winter months with some increase in the summer time. In latitude 32° north, where the longest day is about 13 hours 56 minutes, and the shortest is 10 hours 4 minutes, these observations of a man's shadow make the afternoon period begin about $3\frac{3}{4}$ hours before sunset at mid-

CHAPTER XXII[1].

1. May Aûharmazd give *thee* the august rank and throne of a champion[2]!

2. May Vohûman give thee wisdom! may the benefit of knowing Vohûman[3] be good thought, and mayest thou be acting well, that is, saving the soul!

3. May Ar*d*avahi*s*t, the beautiful, give thee understanding and intellect!

4. May Shatvaîrô grant thee wealth from every generous one!

5. May Spendarma*d* grant thee praise through the seed of *thy* body! may she give thee *as* wife a woman from the race of the great!

6. May Horvada*d* grant thee plenty and prosperity!

7. May Amerôda*d* grant thee herds of four-footed *beasts!*

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summer, diminishing to $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours at the autumnal equinox, and then remaining very nearly constant till the vernal equinox.

[1] These last two chapters are found written upon some folios which have been added to the beginning of M6; but, though not belonging to that MS. originally, they are still very old. The first of these two chapters has not been found elsewhere; it is an elaborate benediction, in which the writer calls down, upon some one, a series of blessings from each of the thirty archangels and angels whose names are given to the days of the Parsi month in the order in which they here stand (compare the same names in Bund. XXVII, 24).

[2] The meaning of the word pâ*d*rô*g* or pâ*d*ra*n*g (which occurs also in §§ 12, 26, and appears to be a title) may be guessed from the following passage in the Yâ*d*kâr-i Zarîrân, or Vi*s*tâsp-shâhnâmak: Pavan har razm va pâ*d*razm-i lak pîrô*g* va vêh pâ*d*rô*g* *s*em yâîtyûnî-ae, 'in every attack and counter-attack of thine mayest thou bring *away* the title of conqueror and good champion!'

[3] The reading is uncertain.

8. May Dînô always secure[1] *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

9. May the light of the sublime Âtarô[2] hold thy throne in heaven!

10. May Â*v*ân grant thee wealth from every generous one!

11. May Khûr hold thee without mystery *and* doubt among the great and *thy* compeers (hambu*d*îkân)!

12. May Mâh give thee an assistant, who is the assistant of champions!

13. May Tî*s*tar hold thee a traveller in the countries of the seven regions!

14. Gô*s*ûrvan the archangel[3] is the protection *of* four-footed *beasts.*

15. May Dînô always remain *for thee as* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

16. May Mitrô be thy judge, who shall wish thy existence *to be* vigorous!

17. May Srôsh the righteous, the smiter of demons, keep greed, wrath, and want[4] far from thee! may he destroy *them*, *and* may he not seize thee *as* unjust!

18. May Rashnû be thy conductor[5] to the resplendent heaven!

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[1] This verb is doubtful; here and in § 23 it is netrûnâ*d*, 'may she guard,' but in § 15 it is ketrûnâ*d*, 'may she remain.'

[2] Bûr*z* âtarô, 'the sublime fire,' seems to be a personification of the fire Berezi-savang of Bund. XVII, 1, 3, the Supremely-benefiting of SZS. XI, 1, 6.

[3] She is usually called an angel. Either the verb is omitted in this section, or it is not a blessing; and the same may be said of §§ 20, 25.

[4] These are the three fiends, Â*z*, Aeshm, and Nîyâz (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17, 26, 27).

[5] It is very possible that the verb should be yehabûnâ*d*,

19. May Fravar*d*în give thee offspring, which may bear the name of *thy* race!

20. Vâhrâm the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike.

21. May Râm, applauding the life of a praiser of the persistent[1] lord, keep thee perfect (aspar), that is, living three hundred years[2], undying and undecaying unto the end of *thy* days!

22. May Vâ*d* bring thee peace[3] from the resplendent heaven!

23. May Dînô always secure *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

24. May Dînô become thy guest in thy home and dwelling!

25. Arshi*s*ang, the beautiful, is the resplendent glory of the Kayâns.

26. May Â*s*tâ*d* be thy helper, who is the assistant of champions!

27. May Âsmân bless thee with all skill and wealth!

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instead of yehevûnâ*d*, in which case we should have 'give thee a passport.'

[1] The meaning of khvâpar (Av. *hv*âpara) is by no means certain; it is an epithet of Aûharmazd, angels, and spirits, and is then often assumed to mean 'protecting;' but it is also a term applied to the earth and offspring; perhaps 'self-sustaining' would suit both its etymology and its various applications best, but the root par has many other meanings.

[2] That is, two great cycles. It is usual for the copyists of Pahlavi MSS. to wish, in their colophons, that the persons for whom the MSS. are written, whether themselves or others, may retain the MSS. for a hundred and fifty years before leaving them to their children; which period is mentioned because it is supposed to constitute a great cycle of the moon and planets.

[3] Written drûd instead of drû*d*.

28. May Zamyâd destroy for thee the demon and fiend out of thy dwelling!

29. May Mâraspend hold thee a throne in the resplendent heaven!

30. May Anîrân the immortal, with every kind of all wealth, become thy desire! the horses of God (yazdân)[1] who shall come that he may go, and thou mayest obtain a victory.

31. May destiny give thee a helper! he is the guardian of the *celestial* sphere for all these archangels whose names I have brought *forward:* may he be thy helper *at* all times, in every good work and duty!

32. Homage to Srît[2] the teacher! may he live long! may he be prosperous *in* the land! may *his* be every pleasure and joy, *and* every glory of the Kayâns, through the will of the persistent Aûharmazd!

Chapter XXIII.

0. In the name of God and the good creation be health[3]!

1. Aûharmazd is more creative, Vohûman is more

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[1] Both nouns are in the plural, and both verbs in the singular. Anîrân is a personification of Av. anaghra rao*ka*u, 'the beginningless lights,' or fixed stars (which, however, are said to have been created by Aûharmazd in Bund. II, 1), and these stars appear to have been considered as horses of the angels (Bund. VI, 3, SZS. VI, 1). There are several uncertain phrases in §§ 30–32.

[2] This would appear to be the name of the person to whom the benediction is addressed, as it can hardly be meant for the ancient hero Thrita, the Athrat of Bund. XXXI, 27, and the Srîtô of SZS. XI, 10, note.

[3] Two versions of this chapter, detailing the qualities of the

embellished [1], Ar*d*avahi*s*t is more brilliant [2], Shatvaîrô is more exalted [3], Spendarma*d* is more fruitful [4], Horvada*d* is moister [5], Amerôda*d* is fatter [6]. 2. Dîn-pa-Âtarô is just like Aûharmazd [7], Âtarô is hotter [8], Â*v*ân is more golden [9], Khûr is more observant [10], Mâh is more protective [11], Tîr is more liberal, Gô*s* is swifter [12]. 3. Dîn [13]-pa-Mitrô is just like Aûharmazd, Mitrô is more judicial, Srôsh is more vigorous, Rashn is more just, Fravar*d*în is more powerful, Vâhrâm is more victorious, Râm is more pleasing, Vâ*d* is more fragrant. 4. Dîn-*pa-Dînô* is just like Aûharmazd, Dînô is more valuable, Ar*d* [14] is more beautiful, Â*s*tâ*d* is purer, Âsmân is more lofty, Zamyâ*d* is more conclusive, Mâraspend is more

thirty angels and archangels, are extant; one in M6, which has lost §§ 3–5, and the other in a very old MS. in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay. This latter, being complete, is here taken as the text, while the variations of M6, which occur in nearly every epithet, are given in the notes. Which version is the oldest can hardly be ascertained with certainty from the state of the MSS. M6 omits this opening benediction.

[1] M6 has 'more nimble.'

[2] M6 has 'more discriminative.'

[3] M6 has 'more active.'

[4] M6 has 'more complete.'

[5] M6 has 'fatter.'

[6] M6 has 'more fruitful.'

[7] M6 has 'Dînô is more desirous.'

[8] M6 has 'more heating.'

[9] Referring perhaps to the golden channels (Bund. XIII, 4, 5) through which the water of Arêdvîvsûr (a title of the angel Â*v*ân, 'waters') is supposed to flow. M6 has 'more glittering.'

[10] M6 has 'more embellished.'

[11] M6 has varpântar, the meaning of which is uncertain.

[12] M6 has 'more listening.'

[13] The version in M6 ends here; the next folio being lost.

[14] The same as Arshi*s*ang (see Bund. XXII, 4).

conveying the religion, Anîrân is the extreme of exertion *and* listening [1].

5. May it be completed in peace and pleasure!

[1] The reading of both these nouns is uncertain. The days of the Parsi month, which bear the names of these thirty angels, are divided, it will be observed, into four nearly equal divisions, resembling weeks, which are here separated in §§ 1–4. The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, and called by his own name; and each of the three other weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, but called by the name of Dîn, 'religion,' with the name of the following day added as a cognomen. The first week, therefore, consists of the day Aûharmazd followed by six days named after the six archangels respectively (see Bund. I, 23, 26). The second week consists of the day Dîn-with-Âtarô followed by six days named after the angels of fire, waters, the sun, the moon, Mercury, and the primeval ox. The third week consists of the day Dîn-with-Mitrô followed by seven days named after the angels of solar light, obedience, and justice, the guardian spirits, and the angels of victory, pleasure, and wind. And the fourth week consists of the day Dîn-with-Dînô followed by seven days named after the angels of religion, righteousness, rectitude, the sky, the earth, the liturgy, and the fixed stars.

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OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pahlavi forms are always given in preference to Pâzand and Persian, when only one is mentioned; but where only a Pâzand form occurs it is printed in italics, as Pâzand orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters, which would elsewhere be italic, are printed in roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are :—Av. for Avesta word; Bd. for Bundahi*s*; Byt. for Bahman Ya*s*t; ch. for chapter of Visparad; com. for commentator and commentary; Gu*g*. for Gugarâti; Huz. for Huzvâri*s*; Int. for Introduction; lun. man. for lunar mansion; m. for mountain; meas. for measure; n for foot-note; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; r. for river; Sl. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast; trans. for translation; wt. for weight; zod. for zodiacal constellation; Zs. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam.

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— — nôsâî, com., Sl. **1**, 3.
— Mitrô, man, Byt. **1**, 7.
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— — i Dâd-farukh, com., Sl. **1**, 4n.
— — i Mâraspendân, priest, Bd. **33**, 3, 11; Byt. **1**, 1n; **2**, 18; Sl. **8**, 23; **10**, 28n, 40; **15**, 16.
— — i Zaratûstân, priest, Zs. **1**, 19n; Sl. **8**, (10.)
— pâtakân, land, Bd. **12**, 26; **20**, 13n, 23, 25; **22**, 2; **29**, 12; Zs. **11**, 9; Byt. **1**, 7.
— tarsah, man, Bd. **31**, 29.
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— i Vâhrâm, see Vâhrâm fire.
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Aûshahîn gâh, Bd. **25**, 9.

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— Pûngyah, Sl. **19**, 1n.
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— Kôpîn, man, Byt. **3**, 14n.
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Bakht-âfrîd, com., Byt. **1**, 7; Sl. **1**, 4n; **20**, 11.
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Bakyîr m., Bd. **12**, 2, 20.
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Stû*d*gar nask, Byt. **1**, (1;) Sl. **10**, 8; **12**, 32.
Stûtô-garô hâ, Sl. **13**, 22.
Sûde, land, Bd. **20**, 14.
Sû*d*kar nask, Byt. **1**, 1n; Sl. **19**, 1n. See Stû*d*gar.
Sughdha, land, Bd. **15**, 29n.
Summer, Bd. **25**, 4, 5, 7-10, 13-17, 19, 20.
Sun reverence, Sl. **7**, 1-6; **12**, 31.
Supreme high-priest, Bd. **24**, 1; Sl. **9**, 3.
— Zaratû*s*t, Sl. **13**, 11, 15, 38, 41, 44; **19**, 5.
Sûrâk, land, Bd. **15**, 29; **20**, 8; man, Bd. **31**, 19.
Sûristân, land, Bd. **15**, 29n; **20**, 10.
Syr-darya, r., Bd. **20**, 20n.
Syria, Bd. **15**, 29n; **20**, 10n.

*S*ahî-bûn sea, Bd. **13**, 7, 15.
*S*am, man, Bd. **31**, 27n.
*S*ân, man, Bd. **31**, 17, 18.
*S*arva, god, Bd. **1**, 27n.
Sêd, r., Bd. **20**, 7.
*S*êr, zod., Bd. **2**, 2.
*S*îdasb, man, Bd. **31**, 27n.
Skinâs, man, Bd. **33**, 3n.
*S*ôk, bird, Bd. **19**, 19.

Ta*d*-sôidhi*s* hâ, Sl. **13**, 49.
Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ hâ, Sl. **13**, 28.
Tâham, man, Bd. **33**, 4.
Tahmâsp, man, Bd. **31**, 23n.
Tâirê*v*, demon, Bd. **1**, 27; **28**, 11n; **30**, 29.
Takhmôrup, king, Bd. **17**, 4; **31**, 2, 3; **32**, 1n; **34**, 4; Zs. **11**, 10n; Sl. **10**, 28n.
Tambayak, demon, Bd. **31**, 6.
Tanâpûhar good work, Sl. **1**, (1n;) **2**, 79n, 93; **6**, 3, 4, 6; **7**, 4; **8**, 20; **16**, 6; **18**, 4n.
— sin, Sl. **1**, 1, (2;) **2**, 40, 50, 51, 53, 69, 70, 79n, 80, 82; **3**, 26-28; **4**, 10, 12; **5**, 3, 4; **8**, 20; **10**, 5, 17, 35n; **11**, 1, 2; **12**, 4; **16**, 5.
Tanuperetha, Av., Sl. **1**, 1n.
Taparîstân, land, Bd. **12**, 17; **13**, 15; **20**, 27; Byt. **3**, 19.
Taprê*v*, demon, Bd. **28**, 11, 13. See Tâirê*v*.
Taraba, lun. man., Bd. **2**, 3.
Tarâzûk, zod., Bd. **2**, 2; **5**, 6.
Tarmaz, town, Bd. **20**, 28n.
Tarômat, demon, Bd. **28**, 14; **30**, 29.
Tashkand, town, Bd. **20**, 20n.
Taurus, zod., Bd. **2**, 2; Sl. **21**, 2.
Tâ-*v*e-urvâtâ hâ, Sl. **13**, 6, 14.
Tâz, man, Bd. **15**, 28; **31**, 6; Sl. **10**, 28n.
Tâzak, woman, Bd. **15**, 28.
Tegend r., Bd. **20**, 15n.
Teherân, town, Bd. **12**, 31n; **31**, 40n; Sl. **13**, 11n.

Têrak m., Bd. **5**, 3, 4; **12**, 2, 4.
Teremet r., Bd. **20**, 7, 9n, 28.
Thraêtaona, king, Bd. **31**, 4n, 7n.
Three-legged ass, Bd. **19**, 1-12.
Three-nights' ceremony, Sl. **8**, 6; **10**, 2; **12**, 5, 31.
— — punishment, Bd. **30**, 13, 16; Sl. **8**, 5, 7, 16.
Thrita, man, Bd. **31**, 26n, 27n; Zs. **11**, 10n; Byt. **3**, 14n; Sl. **22**, 32n.
Thritak, man, Bd. **31**, 14.
Thriti, woman, Bd. **32**, 5n.
Tides, Bd. **13**, 8, 11, 13, 14; Zs. **6**, 17.
Tigris r., Bd. **20**, 10n, 12n, 25n; Zs. **6**, 20n; Byt. **3**, 3n, 5n, 21n, 38n.
Time personified, Int. 70; Zs. **1**, 24-27; **4**, 5.
Tin age, Byt. **2**, 20.
Tîr, angel (for Tî*s*tar), Bd. **27**, 24; Sl. **23**, 2; month, Bd. **7**, 2; **25**, 3, 20; Zs. **6**, 2; planet, Bd. **5**, 1.
Tî*s*tar, angel, Bd. **7**, 2-4, 7-10; **9**, 2; **11**, 2; **19**, 11; **27**, 3; Zs. **6**, 1, 3, 9, 10, 13; **8**, 1; Byt. **2**, 59n; **3**, 14n; Sl. **22**, 13; see Tîr; star, Bd. **2**, 7; **5**, 1; **7**, 1; Sl. **14**, 5.
Toothpick, how to be cut, Sl. **10**, 20; **12**, 13.
Tôrâ, zod., Bd. **2**, 2.
Tort r., Bd. **20**, 7n, 24.
Translations of Bd., Int. 24-26, 43-45; of Byt., Int. 57, 59; of Sl., Int. 66, 67; plan of these, Int. 70-74.
Tree of all germs, Bd. **9**, 5, 6; **18**, 9; **27**, 2; **29**, 5; Zs. **8**, 3.
Tribe-ruler, Sl. **13**, 11, 15, 41n, 44; **19**, 5.
Tûg, prince, Bd. **31**, 9, 10, 12, 14, 27; Sl. **10**, 28n.
Tûhmâspian, title, Bd. **31**, 23; **34**, 6; Sl. **10**, 28n.
Tûirya, tribe, Bd. **15**, 29n; **31**, 9n.
Tûr, land, Bd. **12**, 20; **15**, 29; **21**, 6; **30**, 16; **31**, 27n; Byt. **2**, 62; **3**, 34.
— Brâgrêsh, Byt. **2**, 3n.
— i Brâ*d*arvash, Byt. **2**, 3.
Tûrak, man, Bd. **31**, 14, 27.
Tûrân, land, Sl. **10**, 28n.
Turanian syllabary, Int. 13.
Tûrk, tribe, Bd. **29**, 7; Byt. **2**, 49; **3**, 7-9, 51.
Tûrkîstân, land, Bd. **12**, 13, 39; **15**, 29n; **29**, 13; Byt. **2**, 24n, 49n; **3**, 21n; Sl. **6**, 7n.
Tûrks, Byt. **2**, 24n, 50n.
Tûs m., Bd. **22**, 3; land, Bd. **12**, 24; **20**, 30; man, Bd. **29**, 6.

Uda, demon, Bd. **28**, 19; **31**, 6n.
Udaî, demon, Bd. **31**, 6.
Ukhshya*d*-ereta, apostle, Bd. **32**, 8n.
— nemangh, apostle, Bd. **32**, 8n.
'Umân gulf, Bd. **13**, 9n.
Uncleanness, period of, Sl. **2**, 41, 42, 44, 62, 105-109; **3**, 14-18.
Unseasonable chatter, see Sin.
Ursa major, Bd. **2**, 7n; Sl. **11**, 4n.
Urumiyah lake, Bd. **22**, 2n, 8n.
Urupi dog, Sl. **2**, 59n.
Ururviga, man, Bd. **32**, 7.
*Urva*d-*gâ*, man, Bd. **31**, 31n; **33**, 4.
*Urva*d-*gâi-frâst*, man, Bd. **31**, 31.
Urvâkhshaya, man, Bd. **31**, 26n.
Urvandasp, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.
Urvarâm, twig, Sl. **3**, 32n.
Urvatad-nar, man, Bd. **29**, 5; **32**, 5n.
Urvâzist fire, Bd. **17**, 1. See Aûrvâzî*s*t.
Urvig, woman, Bd. **32**, 7n.
Urvis lake, Bd. **13**, 4n; **22**, 1, 11.
Usefriti, Av., Sl. **13**, 30n.
Ushahina gâh, Bd. **19**, 15n; **25**, 9n; Byt. **2**, 59n; Sl. **14**, 4n; **17**, 5n.
Ushidarena m., Bd. **12**, 6n.
Ushidh*a*u m., Bd. **12**, 6n.
Usinemangh, man, Bd. **31**, 33n.
Uspâsnu, title, Bd. **29**, 1n.
U*s*ta-Ahurem-mazdâm ch., Sl. **13**, 32.
U*s*tavaiti gâtha, Sl. **13**, 2n, 15, 27-31, 51.
— hâ, Sl. **13**, 27.
Uza*s*ti, span, Bd. **26**, 3n.
Uzava, king, Bd. **31**, 23n.

Vâ*d*, angel, Bd. **27**, 24; Sl. **11**, 4; **22**, 22; **23**, 3; day, Byt. **3**, 16.
Vâ*d*gês m., Bd. **12**, 2, 19.
Vâ*d*gêsians, Bd. **12**, 19.
Vâê the bad, demon, Bd. **28**, 35.
— the good, angel, Sl. **11**, 4; **17**, 4, 5n.
Vâê-bûkht, man, Bd. **33**, 6, 8.
Vaêdist, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.

*Vaêta*nd-*i Râghinôi*d, woman, Bd. **31**, 23.
Vafar-hômand m., Bd. **12**, 2, 22.
Vâg, Sl. **3**, 6n; **16**, 6n. See Inward prayer.
Vagarkar*d*-i Dînîk, quoted, Bd. **32**, 1n, 5n, 7n; its author, Sl. **1**, 3n.
Vahidhrôs, man, Bd. **33**, 3.
Vahîk, zod., Bd. **2**, 2; **5**, 6.
Vahi*s*t, see Heaven.
Vahi*s*tem-Ahurem-mazdām ch., Sl. **13**, 46.
Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti gâtha, Sl. **13**, 2n, 15, 41-45, 51.
Vâhrâm, angel, Bd. **27**, 24; Byt. **3**, 32; Sl. **22**, 20; **23**, 3; day, Bd. **25**, 3; planet, Bd. **5**, 1.
— fire, Bd. **17**, 1, 2, 9; Byt. **2**, 26, 37; Sl. **2**, 46n, 49n. See Sacred fire.
— Gôr, king, Byt. **2**, 20.
— i Vargâvand, king, Byt. **3**, 14, 32n, 39, 44n, 49.
— shâ*d*, man, Bd. **33**, 11.
Vaht, lun. man., Bd. **2**, 3.
Vakaêni r., Bd. **20**, 34.
Vakhsh, man, Bd. **33**, 3.
Vakht-âfrî*d*, com., Sl. **1**, 4n.
Valkha*s*, king, Byt. **2**, 19n.
Van lake, Bd. **22**, 8n; **24**, 23n.
Vanand, star, Bd. **2**, 7; **5**, 1; Sl. **11**, 4; **14**, 5.
Vand-Aûharmazd, com., Sl. **1**, 4n; **2**, 2, 6, 44; **14**, 5.
Vandî*d*-khîm, priest, Byt. **3**, 39.
Vanfraghesn, man, Bd. **31**, 7.
Vânî*d*âr, man, Bd. **31**, 9.
Vanô-i-fravi*s*n, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.
Varak, zod., Bd. **2**, 2; **5**, 6, 7.
*Varan*t, lun. man., Bd. **2**, 3.
Varenô, demon, Bd. **3**, 17; **28**, (25.)
Vâresha bird, Bd. **14**, 30.
Varzî*d*-dîn, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.
Vâs-i pan*k*âsa*d*varân, fish, Bd. **18**, 5, 7.
Vayô, demon, Bd. **28**, 35n.
Vâzi*s*t fire, Bd. **7**, 12; **17**, 1, 2; Zs. **6**, 13; **11**, 1, 5; Sl. **13**, 26.
Vêh r., Bd. **7**, 15, 17; **20**, 1, 3, 5-7, 8n, 9, 22, 28, 30; **21**, 3; Zs. **6**, 20; Byt. **3**, 17, 38.
Vêh-âfrî*d*, woman, Bd. **31**, 30.
Vêh-dôst, com., Sl. **1**, 4n.
Vendeses r., Bd. **20**, 29.
Vendidad, ritual, Byt. **2**, 59n; Sl. **12**, 26; **16**, 6n; **17**, 5n; oldest MSS. of, Int. 21; referred to, Sl. **1**, 1; **2**, 1, 12, 55n, 118n; **10**, 5, 19, 31, 32; **12**, 6, 20; **13**, 7; quoted, Sl. **12**, 4, 23; **13**, 8, 19; Av. passage translated, Sl. **2**, 95n; Pahl. do. do., Sl. **1**, 1n; **2**, 18n, 31n, 123n, 124n; **3**, 1n, 11n, 12n; **4**, 10n.
Venus, planet, Bd. **5**, 1; Byt. **3**, 4n, 18.
Vergân sea, Bd. **20**, 24.
Vîbâzu, meas., Bd. **26**, 3n.
Vîda*d*afsh, region, Bd. **5**, 8, 9; **11**, 3; **25**, 10; **29**, 1; Byt. **3**, 47.
Vîdast, man, Bd. **32**, 1.
Village-ruler, Sl. **13**, 11, 15, 41n, 44; **19**, 5.
Vînâsp, man, Bd. **33**, 3.
Vindâ*d*-i-pê*d*âk, man, Bd. **33**, 6, 8.
Virafsang, man, Bd. **31**, 6.
Vîrak, princess, Bd. **31**, 9n.
Virgo, Bd. **2**, 2; **34**, 2; Sl. **21**, 2.
Vîsak, man, Bd. **31**, 16, 17.
Vi*s*-haurva dog, Bd. **14**, 19n; **19**, 34.
Vi*s*nâsp fire, Zs. **6**, 22n; Byt. **3**, 10. See Gû*s*asp.
Vispân-fryâ, woman, Bd. **31**, 18.
Visparad, ritual, Byt. **2**, 59n; Sl. **16**, 6; chapters cited, Sl. **13**, 5, 26, 32, 36, 39, 40, 46, 48.
Vi*s*tâsp, king, Bd. **12**, 32; **17**, 6, 8; **20**, 31n; **28**, 15n; **29**, 5; **31**, 29; **32**, 5; Zs. **11**, 10n; Byt. **1**, 1n, 4; **2**, 1, 16, 49n, 58-60; **3**, 9, 25, 26, 29n, 30, 51, 52; Sl. **10**, 21n; **11**, 4. See Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp.
Vitast, span, Bd. **26**, 3n; Sl. **21**, 2n.
Vîvanghâû, man, Bd. **29**, 6; **31**, 2, 7; **32**, 1n.
Vîzak, man, Bd. **32**, 1n.
Vîzarêsh, demon, Bd. **28**, 18.
Vohu-fryân fire, Bd. **17**, 1; Zs. **11**, 1n.
Vohû-khshathra gâtha, Sl. **13**, 2n, 15, 37, 38n, 51.
Vohû-khshathrem-yazamaidê ch., Sl. **13**, 39.
Vohûman, angel, Bd. **1**, 23, 25, (26n;) **7**, 3; **27**, 24; **30**, 29; Zs. **6**, 3; **9**, 6; **11**, 10n; Sl. **13**, 14; **15**, 3, 5, 9-11; **22**, 2; **23**, 1; his bird, Sl. **10**, 9; king, Bd. **31**, 29, 30; **34**, 8; Byt. **2**, 17; month, Bd. **25**, 20.

Vohûman-*k*îhar, man, Bd. **33**, 3.
— ya*s*t, ritual, Byt. **1**, 1 n, 6; **2**, 1.
Vologeses I, Byt. **2**, 19 n.
Vôrûbar*s*t, region, Bd. **5**, 8, 9; **11**, 3, 4; **25**, 10; **29**, 1; Byt. **3**, 47.
Vôrûgar*s*t, region, Bd. **5**, 8, 9; **11**, 3, 4; **25**, 10; **29**, 1; Byt. **3**, 47.

Walking with one boot, Bd. **28**, 13; Sl. **4**, 8 n, (12.)
— without boots, Sl. **4**, 12 n; **10**, 12.
Washing the face, Sl. **12**, 21.
— the hands, Sl. **7**, 2, 7; before sleep, Sl. **10**, 38.
Weeks, Sl. **23**, 4 n.
Well-water unclean at night, Sl. **12**, 17.
Westergaard, Professor, Int. 20 n, 25, 28 n, 37-39, 41, 48, 71.
Wife to worship with her husband, Sl. **12**, 30.
Windischmann, Int. 25, 26.
Winter, Bd. **25**, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10-13, 15-17, 19, 20; **28**, 1.
Wisdom, like fire, Sl. **20**, 2; effect on the mind, Sl. **20**, 3.
Wives, five kinds, Bd. **32**, 6 n.
Woman, after child-birth, Sl. **3**, 15; menstruous, Sl. **2**, 17, 96; **3**, 1-14, 16-22, 25-35; **8**, 12; **10**, 39; **12**, 4 n; miscarriage, Sl. **3**, 15, 22, 23; pregnant, Sl. **2**, 6, 105; **3**, 22; **10**, 4, 10, 20; **12**, 11, 13; priest, Sl. **10**, 35.
Worship, four kinds, Sl. **9**, 9, 10; of God, Sl. **8**, 22, 23; **10**, 3, 5; **19**, 7; form of, Sl. **12**, 1.
Worthy of death, Bd. **30**, 16; Sl. **2**, 9, (40,) 63, 64, 76, 81, 82, 85, 105, 107, 108; **8**, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 18, 21, 23; **10**, 19; **15**, 22, 23; **18**, 4 n.
Wrath, race of, Byt. **2**, 22, 24, 25, 36; **3**, 1, 6, 10, 13, 21; — with infuriate spear, Byt. **2**, 36; **3**, 24, 30, 35. See Aêshm, Khashm.

Xerxes, Bd. **34**, 8 n.

Yâ*d*kâr-i Zarîrân, book, Byt. **2**, 49 n.
Yamâhust, man, Bd. **29**, 5.
*Yangha*d, man, Bd. **31**, 2. See *Ayangha*d.
Yâ-*s*kyaothanâ hâ, Sl. **13**, 10, 14.
Yasna, ritual, Byt. **2**, 59 n; Sl. **9**, 11 n, 12 n; **13**, 1 n; **16**, 6 n; oldest MSS. of, Int. 21; chapters cited, Sl. **13**, 1, 2 n, 4, 6-12, 16-23, 25, 27-33, 35, 37, 38, 41-45, 47, 49-51; of seven ch., Sl. **13**, 0 n, 15-25, 50 n, 51.
Ya*s*t, ritual, Sl. **12**, 1, 30; **16**, (6;) **17**, 5 n.
Yastôfrî*d*, rite, Sl. **5**, 2, 6. See Aûstôfrî*d*.
Yât sin, Sl. **1**, 1, 2; **2**, 51; **11**, 1, 2; **16**, 5.
Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, Bd. **1**, (21;) Zs. **1**, (19 n;) **2**, 8; Sl. **10**, 7; **12**, 18, 32; **13**, 13; recitations of, Sl. **19**, 1-15.
Yathâ-âi*s* hâ, Sl. **13**, 8, 14.
Yawning, cause of, Sl. **12**, 32.
Yazd, town, Sl. **21**, 0 n, 2 n.
Yazdakar*d*, king, Int. 42; Bd. **33**, 11 n; 34, 9 n; Byt. **3**, 11 n.
Yazdân, see Angels, God.
— aîrikht, man, Bd. **31**, 19.
— *s*arâ*d*, man, Bd. **31**, 19.
Yazi*s*n, rite, Bd. **2**, 9; **30**, 25; Sl. **3**, 35 n; **13**, 1 n; **17**, 3, 5. See also Ceremonial.
Year, solar, Bd. **25**, 1, 21; lunar, Bd. **25**, 18, 19.
Yênhê-hâtâm formula, Byt. **2**, (64 n;) Sl. **10**, 5 n; **13**, 24.
Yêzî-adâi*s* hâ, Sl. **13**, 33.
Yim, king, Bd. **12**, 20; **17**, 5; **23**, 1; **31**, 3-5, 6 n, 7, 8; **32**, 1 n; **34**, 4; Sl. **10**, 28 n; his enclosure, Bd. **19**, 16; **24**, 11; **29**, 4, 5, 14; **32**, 5; Byt. **3**, 55.
Yimak, queen, Bd. **23**, 1; **31**, 4.
Yimakân m., Bd. **29**, 14.
Yôgêst, meas., Bd. **14**, 28; **26**, (1 n.)
Yûdân-Yim, man, Int. 42, 46, 47, 64; Bd. **33**, 10 n, 11; Zs. **1**, 0.
Yûnân, see Greeks.

Zâb, king, Bd. **31**, 23 n.
— r., Bd. **20**, 25 n.
Zâd*s*am, man, Bd. **31**, 14 n.
Zâ*d*-sparam, priest, Int. 38, 42, 46-49; Bd. **33**, 10 n, 11; Zs. **1**, 0, 19 n; **2**, 6 n; **4**, 1 n; **5**, 4 n, 5 n; **6**, 20 n; **9**, 1 n, 22 n; **10**, 5 n; **11**, 10 n; Byt. **2**, 3 n; Sl. **13**, 50 n.

Zaêsm, man, Bd. **31**, 14.
Zâgh, man, Bd. **33**, 5.
Zagros m., Bd. **12**, 36 n.
Zahâvayi r., Bd. **20**, 25.
Zâînîgâv, man, Bd. **31**, 6.
Zâîrî*k*, demon, Bd. **1**, 27; **28**, 11; **30**, 29.
Zairivairi, prince, Bd. **31**, 29.
Zâl, man, Bd. **31**, 37 n.
Zamyâ*d*, angel, Bd. **27**, 24; Sl. **22**, 28; **23**, 4.
Zand (com.), Int. (10,) 21; Byt. **1**, 6, 7; **2**, 1, 55.
Zand-âkâs, book, Int. 23; Bd. **1**, 1; Zs. **9**, 1 n.
Zandîk, sect, Sl. **6**, 7.
Zaothra, Av., Sl. **2**, 43 n. See Holy-water.
Zarafsân r., Bd. **20**, 19 n.
Zarah sea, Bd. **13**, 16 n.
Zaratûst, apostle, Bd. **4**, 2 n; **17**, 8; **21**, 3; **24**, 1, 15; Zs. **11**, 10 n; Byt. **1**, 7 n; **2**, 4-7, 9; Sl. **1**, 3 n; **6**, 1; **10**, 25, 28 n; chief, Bd. **29**, 2; his family, Bd. **20**, 32; **29**, 5; **32**, 1-10; Byt. **3**, 13, 47, 48; Sl. **10**, 4, 21 n; **13**, 22; his guardian spirit, Bd. **4**, 4; Sl. **11**, 4; his millennium, Bd. **34**, 9 n; Byt. **1**, 5; **2**, 22, 24, 31, 41; **3**, 11, 43 n, 44 n; attacked by demons, Sl. **10**, 4; **12**, 3 n, 11; addresses Aûharmazd, Bd. **30**, 4; Byt. **1**, 1, 2; **2**, 1, 12, 23, 57; **3**, 1, 12; Sl. **12**, 29; **15**, 1, 3; **17**, 1, 11; addressed by Aûharmazd, Byt. **2**, 58; **3**, 11; Sl. **9**, 8; **10**, 26; **12**, 32; **15**, 30; called righteous, Byt. **2**, 11, 24, 41, 62; called the Spîtâmân, Byt. **1**, 3, 5; **2**, 3, 4, 15, 22, 25, 28, 30, 31, 36, 44, 54-56, 63; **3**, 3, 4, 8-10, 13, 14, 23, 24, 43, 50; Sl. **9**, 14; **11**, 4; **12**, 23; **15**, 4.
Zaratûst, man, Bd. **33**, 11.
Zaratûstrôtûm, Bd. **24**, 1. See also Supreme high-priest or Zaratûst.
Zardâhim, title, Bd. **31**, 4.
Zari*d* m., Bd. **12**, 2, 10 n.
Zarîn m., Bd. **12**, 29, 39.
Zarînmand lake, Bd. **22**, 1, 6; spring, Bd. **20**, 34.
Zarîr, man, Bd. **31**, 30; **33**, 4; prince, Bd. **31**, 29.
Zarmân, demon, Bd. **28**, 23.
Zav, king, Bd. **31**, 23 n.
Zavârah, man, Bd. **31**, 41 n.
Zâvulistân, land, Byt. **3**, 13 n.
Zend r., Bd. **20**, 15.
Zendah r., Bd. **20**, 15 n.
Zisak, man, Bd. **32**, 1 n.
Zîsmand r., Bd. **20**, 7, 19.
Zîyânak, woman, Bd. **31**, 4.
Zôb, king, Bd. **34**, 6. See Aûzôbô.
Zobara-vahman, bird, Bd. **19**, 19.
Zodiacal signs, Bd. **2**, 2; Sl. **21**, 2, 7.
Zohab, land, Bd. **20**, 25 n.
Zôhar, see Holy-water.
Zôndak r., Bd. **20**, 7, 15 n.
Zôta (priest), Bd. **30**, 30.
Zravad, place, Bd. **12**, 35.
Zrâvaka*d*, place, Bd. **12**, 35.
Zrvâna, Av., Zs. **1**, 24 n.
Zûsak, man, Bd. **31**, 14.

ERRATA.

P. 133, note 6, for 'daughter' read 'grand-daughter.'

P. 161, note 4, for 'Dâ*d*-sparam' read 'Zâ*d*-sparam;' also in p. 167, note 5; p. 168, note 2; p. 177, note 3; p. 182, note 1; p. 184, note 1.

P. 199, note 6, for 'Shâpûr I' read 'Shâpûr II.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . . .	क	𐬐	𐭪	ک	ك	ק	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	. . .	. . . .	ख	𐬑	𐭫	. . .	. . .	ק ה	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . . .	ग	𐬌	𐭬	گ	. . .	ג	. . .
4 „ aspirata	gh	. . .	. . . .	घ	𐬍	𐭭	. . .	. . .	ג ה	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ق	ق	ק	. . .
6 Nasalis	ṅ (ng)	. . .	. . . .	ङ	𐬊 (ng) 𐬋 (N)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . . .	ह	𐬵 (𐬴 hv)	𐭠	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 „ lenis	’	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ا	ا	א	. . .
9 „ asper faucalis	‘h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ح	ح	ח	. . .
10 „ lenis faucalis	’h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ع	ع	ע	. . .
11 „ asper fricatus	. . .	‘h	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	خ	خ	ח	. . .
12 „ lenis fricatus	. . .	’h	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	. . .	k	. . . .	च	𐬔	𐭮	چ	. . .	. . .	k
14 „ aspirata	. . .	kh	. . . .	छ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	kh
15 Media	. . .	g	. . . .	ज	𐬗	𐭯	ج	ج	. . .	. . .
16 „ aspirata	. . .	gh	. . . .	झ	. . . .	. . .	غ	غ	. . .	. . .
17 „ Nasalis	ñ	. . .	. . . .	ञ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

CONSONANTS (*continued*).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . . .	य	𐬬 𐬬 𐬬 init.	𐭥	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(ʾ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 „ lenis	. . .	(ʾ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 „ asper assibilatus . .	. . .	*s*	. . . .	श	𐬱	𐭩	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 „ lenis assibilatus . .	. . .	*z*	. . . .	. . .	𐬰	𐭦	ژ	. . .	. . .	*z*
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . . .	त	𐬙	𐭬	ت	ت	ת	t
24 „ aspirata	th	. . .	. . . .	थ	𐬚	. . .	. . .	. . .	ת	th
25 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ث	ث	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . . .	द	𐬛	𐭤	د	د	ד	. . .
27 „ aspirata	dh	. . .	. . . .	ध	𐬜	. . .	. . .	. . .	ד	. . .
28 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ذ	ذ	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . . .	न	𐬥	𐭩	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . . .	ल	. . . .	𐭥,𐭩,𐭥	ل	ل	ל	l
31 „ mollis 1	. . .	*l*	. . . .	ळ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 „ mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . . .	स	𐬯	𐭢	س(ث)	س	ס	s
34 „ asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (*ʃ*)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ס	. . .
35 „ lenis	z	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬲	𐭩	ز (ذ)	ز	ז	z
36 „ asperrimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ص	ص	צ	ʒ, ʒh
37 „ asperrimus 2	. . .	. . .	ẓ (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ض	. . .	. . .	. . .

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)										
38 Tenuis	...	*t*	....	ट	....	...	ط	ط	ת	...
39 „ aspirata	...	*th*	....	ठ	....	...	ظ	ظ	...	...
40 Media	...	*d*	....	ड	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	...	...
41 „ aspirata	...	*dh*	....	ढ	....	...	...	ض	...	...
42 Nasalis	...	*n*	....	ण	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	r	...	....	र	[illegible]	[illegible]	ر	ر	ר	...
44 „ fricata	...	*r*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	*r*
45 „ diacritica	...	...	R	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	sh	...	....	ष	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	...	sh
47 „ lenis	zh	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
Labiales.										
48 Tenuis	p	...	....	प	[illegible]	[illegible]	ب	...	פ	p
49 „ aspirata	ph	...	....	फ	....	...	...	...	פ	ph
50 Media	b	...	....	ब	[illegible]	[illegible]	ب	ب	ב	...
51 „ aspirata	bh	...	....	भ	....	...	...	...	ב	...
52 Tenuissima	...	*p*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	m	...	....	म	[illegible]	[illegible]	م	م	מ	m
54 Semivocalis	w	...	....	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	w
55 „ aspirata	hw	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	f	...	....	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	ف	ف	...	f
57 „ lenis	v	...	....	व	»	[illegible]	و	و	ו	...
58 Anusvâra	...	*m*	....	अं	[illegible] ã	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	...	*h*	....	अः	....	...	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
1 Neutralis	0	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ִ	ă
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ĕ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
3 „ labialis	ŏ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	ا fin.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	. . .	. . . .	अ	𐬀	𐬀 init.	َ	َ	ַ	a
5 „ longa	â	(*a*)	. . . .	आ	𐬁	𐬁	ا	ا	ָ	â
6 Palatalis brevis	i	. . .	. . . .	इ	𐬨	. . .	ِ	ِ	ִ	i
7 „ longa	î	(*i*)	. . . .	ई	𐬩	ی	ِي	ِي	ִי	î
8 Dentalis brevis	*li*	. . .	. . . .	ऌ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
9 „ longa	*lí*	. . .	. . . .	ॡ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
10 Lingualis brevis	*ri*	. . .	. . . .	ऋ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
11 „ longa	*rî*	. . .	. . . .	ॠ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
12 Labialis brevis	u	. . .	. . . .	उ	𐬅	. . .	ُ	ُ	ֻ	u
13 „ longa	û	(*u*)	. . . .	ऊ	𐬆	ا	ُو	ُو	ו	û
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬇 (e) 𐬈 (e)	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֶ	e
15 „ longa	ê (ai)	(*e*)	. . . .	ए	𐬉, 𐬊	ی	. . .	. . .	ֵ	ê
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi	(*ai*)	. . . .	ऐ	. . . .	. . .	َی	َی	. . .	âi
17 „ „	ei (ĕi)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ei, êi
18 „ „	oi (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬋	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֹ	o
20 „ longa	ô (au)	(*o*)	. . . .	ओ	𐬌	ا	. . .	. . .	ו֑	. . .
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(*a*u)	. . . .	औ	𐬍 (*a*u)	. . .	َو	َو	. . .	âu
22 „ „	eu (ĕu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
23 „ „	ou (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
25 Palatalis fracta	ï	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Labialis fracta	ü	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

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57. Same, fargard 11. All good works belong to him who teaches virtue, doing the best for one's own, he whose work is good work, he for whom the best occurs in both existences, the worship of Aûharmazd, a leader in religion, a server of religion, the authoriser of a wish for life; (§ 10) giving acceptance, hints, and words to Aûharmazd, teaching the words of Aûharmazd, providing care for fire, teaching the religion with joyfulness, obeisance, strengthening fire for its greatest work, being informed as to religion, sagacity of teaching words and actions, praising the perfection of Aûharmazd's body, all excellence is both root and fruit; (§ 20) invoking Aûharmazd as lord, invoking by name, benefit for one race is felt by all, he who is the sacred beings' own, and when his own is in their guardianship, giving life to mankind, obtainer of Aûharmazd's friendship, causing righteous-

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ness and the propitiousness of Aûharmazd, his perpetual guardianship 348

58. Same, fargard 12. Benefits, pleasing superiors, the best for one's own in every mode, teaching virtue to all, one whose spirit is connected with Aûharmazd, whose words are through Vohûman, who produces long-continued joy, who teaches the proper way to man, who gives heat to fire; (§ 10) assistants of the renovation, the progeny of Aûharmazd, defeating the bad and accepting the good, transformation of the creatures, teaching religion like a priest, wisdom of Aûharmazd, complete mindfulness that is not deceived, maintaining the destinies of the body, conveying to the rulers for benefit; (§ 20) benefit of sovereignty for that which arises, liberality to fire, thinking of righteousness, interrogating religion, progress of religion, pleasure given to a friend, gratification from Aûharmazd, indication of intellect in a vigorous-minded man, the spirit of Aûharmazd, reward taught in the publicity of the sun . . 353

59. Same, fargard 13. Obeisance to the archangels, seven kinds of men, Vohûmanic attainment to religion, perfection of the first of existences, nourisher of good works; (§ 10) development in virtue, words and actions through complete mindfulness, exposition of the renovation, deciding about duty and opinion, propagation and progressiveness of the religion, protection from the annoying spirit, exploits of the archangels, people shall become supplicant, interested liberality 360

60. Same, fargard 14. Instruction to be heard, perfection of the first next-of-kin marriage, the teaching of it, daughterhood of Spendarmad, this is taught by him who is completely mindful, attraction to good works, reverence for Vohûman, ceremonial taught with complete mindfulness 364

61. Same, fargard 15. To what lands one should step, diligence in good works, teaching religion, even in an exhausted province, protection of fire, giving oneself in discipleship, he who so gives men and women,

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goodness taught to the good by him whose *K*invad passage teaches them to step forth; (§ 10) the world produces abundance through complete mindfulness, the wicked man becomes unprivileged, as in the case of Argâsp, contentment of the archangels, he who thinks of Zaratûst 367

62. Same, fargard 16. The wise, practising the deeds of complete mindfulness, nourishing good works and the creatures with propriety, giving pasture, he who becomes a benefit to the good, sentence according to declaration of acquittal or conviction, a strong foundation for learning 370

63. Same, fargard 17. Maintaining the benedictions of religion, making known the *K*invad passage, causing a change from evil to good, generosity to tillers, developing the world, formation of creatures and devastation by Vohûman caused by him whose rule is for Aûharmazd, he who increases virtue in a province, he who loves Vohûman, virtuous deeds set going . 371

64. Same, fargard 18. He who makes people intelligent through his complete mindfulness, how this occurs, discriminating through wisdom, teaching joyfulness in righteousness to Frashôstar, and ardour in good works, supplying guardianship, a master of all commands, Vohûman's guarding the creatures of Aûharmazd, the arrival of the wicked in the fiend's abode, (§ 10) reverence coming to assistance through invocation, the supplicant for what is coveted from Aûharmazd; Aûharmazd's statement about one's own, confederate, and serf 373

65. Same, fargard 19. Sheep-nature, mankind nourished, he who produces joyfulness and provides the ceremonial, displaying wisdom, instructing the tongue, teaching preparation and the virtuous way; (§ 10) obeisance for the archangels, taking assistance, within the day till dawn made as a signal, complete mindfulness among the existences 376

66. Same, fargard 20. Aûharmazd's command about smiting the deceiver and giving sovereignty to him who is good, providing complete mindfulness, the coveted

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67. Same, fargard 21. Performing the ceremonial, spirits lodging in the body, teaching the religion, diligence in good works, loving the beneficial way, giving a daughter in daughterhood, authority of Vohûman, a daughter given to a father for womanly service, reverence of a wife for her husband, producing origin and effect, dominion in the house 381

68. Same, fargard 22. Giving delight to him who is a right-living poor man 383

69. A selection from the whole Yast referring to the developer: containing many unidentified statements by Aûharmazd, Zaratûst, Sôshâns, Vohûman, and Spendarmad; and concluding with a long series of short quotations, from the Pahlavi Gâthas, concerning what every one shall do, or know, in the future existence 384

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INTRODUCTION.

ATTENTIVE readers of the Sacred Books of the East have had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Zoroastrian scriptures, so far as these have been preserved by the Parsis. In vols. iv, xxiii, and xxxi they have translations of all the texts extant in the original language of the Avesta, excepting a few fragments which are not yet collected. And in vols. v, xviii, and xxiv they have translations of later Pahlavi texts, showing how faithfully the old doctrines and legends were handed down by the priests of Sasanian times to their immediate successors. But they will also have noticed that the translators of these texts are well aware of the fact that the texts themselves are mere fragments of the religious writings of the Zoroastrians, which owe their preservation to the circumstance that they were those portions most usually committed to memory by the priesthood, such as the liturgy, sacred myths, and ceremonial laws. The object of the present volume is to add to those fragments all the accessible information, that can be collected from Irânian sources, regarding the contents of the whole Zoroastrian literature in Sasanian times.

It has been long known that this literature was contained in twenty-one Nasks, or treatises, named either from the nature of their contents, or from their initial words, and each having one of the twenty-one words of the Ahunavair attached to it as a kind of artificial reminder of their proper order and number while enumerating them. Very brief statements of the contents of each Nask have also been accessible in manuscripts of the Persian Rivâyats, such as those translated in pp. 419–438 of this volume. And the existence of a much longer account of the Nasks in the Dînka*rd* was ascertained by Haug, who published

some extracts from it in 1870, when describing several of the Nasks in the Index to the Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary. He was unable to do more, on account of the defective state of all modern manuscripts of the Dînka*rd*, in which a large portion of the text of the description of the Nasks, in the eighth and ninth books, is missing in various places without any hint of the omissions. These defects were owing to the abstraction of 52 folios of this part of the Irânian manuscript of the Dînka*rd*, after it was brought to India and before any copy of it had been written; and, even now, two of these folios are still missing, as stated in pp. 262, 270. The importance of recovering these 52 missing folios was due to the fact that they contain the text of Dk. VIII, Chaps. VII, 5–XIX, 36, XXXI, 31–XXXVIII, 19, XLIV, 34–XLVI, 5, and Dk. IX, Chaps. I, 1–XI, 11, XII, 15–XLVII, 17, or nearly half the text of the two books.

Regarding the early history of the Dînka*rd* there exists a detailed statement in the last chapter of its third book, which can now be translated with greater precision than was possible in 1867, when Haug published its Pahlavi text, with an English translation, in his introduction to the Farhang-i Oîm-aêvak, or Zand-Pahlavi Glossary. In this historical statement it is evident that §§ 1–8 refer to the traditional history of the Zoroastrian scriptures generally, considered as the original source of the information contained in the Dînka*rd*; but §§ 9–13 may be accepted as the actual history of the compilation of the work itself, the facts of which may, very possibly, have all been within the personal knowledge of the writer of the statement. The Pahlavi text of this statement, as preserved in the manuscripts B and K (see pp. xxxv–xxxviii and 2), may be translated as follows:—

'1. About the Dînka*rd* scripture (nipîk), from the Exposition of the Good Religion, there is *this*:—The Dînka*rd* scripture is a work which is adorned with all wisdom, and a publication of the Maz*d*a-worshipping religion. 2. And, first, the work—which *was derived* from the good religion *of* those of the primitive faith, *and* which *was* the knowledge revealing the good religion of the

prophet (vakhshvar) Spîtâmân Zaratûst, *whose* guardian spirit is reverenced, and *his* first disciple through asking and hearing the same reverenced guardian spirit—is information which is a similitude of enlightenment on every subject from the original light. 3. And those original questions and the decision of the exalted ruler Kaî-Vistâsp to have *them* written *were its* origin, and he ordered *them* to deliver the original to the treasury of Shapîgân[1], *and* to distribute copies provided. 4. And, after that, he sends a copy to the fortress of documents, to keep the information also there.

'5. And during the ruin that happened to the country of Irân, and in the monarchy, owing to the evil-destined villain Alexander, that which *was* in the fortress of documents came to be burnt, and that in the treasury of Shapîgân[2] into the hands of the Arûmans, and *was* translated by him even into the Greek language, as information which *was* connected with the ancients (min pêsînîgân padvastakŏ).

'6. And that Artakhshatar, king of kings, who *was* son of Pâpak, came for the restoration of the monarchy of Irân, *and* the same scripture *was* brought from a scattered state to one place. 7. The righteous Tôsar of the primitive faith, who was the priest of priests[3], appeared with an exposition recovered from the Avesta, and *was* ordered to complete *the scripture* from that exposition. 8. He did so accordingly (ham-gûnakŏ), to preserve a similitude of the splendour of the original enlightenment in the treasury of Shapîgân[4], and *was* ordered to distribute copies *of* the information provided.

'9. And after the ruin and devastation that came from the Arabs, even to the archives (dîvân) and treasures of the realm, the saintly[5] Âtûr-farnbag, son of Farukhŏ-zâd, who became the leader of the orthodox, brought those copies, which were scattered on *all* sides, *and* new resources, back from dispersion into union *with* the archives of his residence; *and*, through observance and consideration for the Avesta and Zand of the good religion, he made the sayings of those of the primitive faith again a similitude of the illumination (fîrôkŏ) from that splendour.

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[1] Both MSS. have Shaspîgân here, but see p. 413, n. 4.
[2] So in K, or perhaps Shîzîgân; B has Shaspîgân.
[3] So in K. [4] So in K; B has Shapân.
[5] B has Âtûrpâd inserted here by mistake.

'10. Through the awful displeasure (*or defect*) and ruin (*or injury*) that happened to Zaratûst, son of Âtû*r*-farnbag, who became the leader of the orthodox, even those archives came to devastation, that scripture to dilapidation and dispersion, *and* the statements (v*â*kîh) also to obsoleteness, perversion, and corruption.

'11. And, after that, I, Âtû*r*pâ*d*, son of Hême*d* *and* leader of the orthodox, *have* likewise written, from their fragments (sûbâragânŏ), a new means of giving assistance *to* the Maz*d*a-worshipping religion, with much prayer, investigation, and trouble. 12. From whatever *was* recovered from those dilapidated (visândakŏ), decayed, worn out, and dust-mingled (khâk-âmêg) archives—and these, too, brought back by taking away, carrying *off*, and seizing —*it* is selected, owing to[1] the assistance of the counselling wisdom of the mighty spirit, for the rediffusion of the words and deeds of the ancients, and *of* the evidence of the Avesta, for those of the primitive faith. 13. And the increase of knowledge from the good religion, arranged and prescribed in its chapters, is a lustre from encountering that splendour from the enlightenment of the original light primarily composed for the exposition of the good religion, *and* this which is named is a resemblance by adoption *of* the thousand chapters of that great original Dînka*rd*[2]. 14. It is perfected by the sacred beings, *and* transmits the powerful effect which *has* come upon even that which is the perfect religion of the sufferers[3] in *this* age, and also the coming of the assistance of the soul to the knowledge[4] of the orthodox; and even reunion with[5] the rest of Irân is acquaintance *with* the exposition of the Maz*d*a-worshipping religion, and the reproviding of more resources of a like origin, which *will be* also due to those whom the Supreme *has* provided, the disciples of Aûshê*d*ar[6], son of Zaratûst, for asking again a declaration of[7] the good religion from Aûshê*d*ar.'

From this statement it appears that the compilation of the Dînka*rd* was commenced by Âtû*r*-farnbag, son of Farukhŏ-zâ*d*, one of the leaders or supreme high-priests of the Maz*d*a-worshippers, and was revised and completed

[1] Assuming that m stands for min.
[2] Both MSS. have zak rabâ bûn Dênô-ka*rd*ŏ.
[3] K has dênô-î bûr*d*ârân.
[4] B has 'arising.'
[5] B has 'and the reunited selection for.'
[6] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 12.
[7] B omits 'a declaration of.'

by Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmêd, one of his successors. From the Mâdîgân-î gugastak Abâlis we learn that Âtûr-farnbag had a religious disputation with Abâlis in the presence of the Khalîfah Al-Mâmûn, who reigned A.D. 813–833; he must therefore have been compiling the Dînkard during the first half of the ninth century. In the Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, IV, 107, IX, 3, X, 55, he is also mentioned as a compiler of the Dînkard, but the details there quoted must have been taken from its first two books which are still missing. It is likewise stated at the beginning of both its fourth and fifth books that their contents are derived from his statements, and a similar acknowledgement is made with regard to some of the contents of Chap. CXLII of the third book; so that the evidence of his authorship is very complete. With regard to Âtûrpâd, the completer of the Dînkard, we may safely identify him with the Âtûrpâd, son of Hâmêd, mentioned in Bd. XXXIII, 11 as a contemporary of Zâd-sparam, who flourished at the latter end of the ninth century (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. xiv). We have, therefore, every reason to be satisfied that the whole of the Dînkard was compiled during the ninth century.

The history of the transmission of the text of its last seven books, through the last thousand years, down to the present manuscripts, is equally satisfactory, owing to the preservation of a series of colophons appended to the text, of which the first and most important may be translated as follows:—

'Completed in great joy and full of gratification this last portion of the manuscript of the incomparable, priceless, and unequalled Dînkard, at the place where *it was* found *and* happily disinterred[1] by us in Asûristân, within the happily prosperous, odoriferous, precious, well-thriving, *and* glorious Bakdâd of Good Rectitude[2]; from a copy which, as regards the religion, is *just* as the leaders of the saintly *and* orthodox, who *were* of the family of the saintly Âtûrpâd, son of Mâraspend, (who re-explained knowledge, by five *or* six well-destined *ones*, from the pure revelation

[1] Khûs-kand might be the name of a place here, but cannot be so in the next paragraph.

[2] The angel Aharîsvang (Av. ashis vanguhi).

which is the all-embellished learning of learnings) *and* the successive leaders of the orthodox (*who* again provided at different times [ahamvâr] for its restoration, through manuscripts *at* various places, to maintain reading *and* investigation *there*in) had written.

'I, Mâh-vindâ*d*, *son* of Naremâhân, *son* of Vâhrâm, *son of* Mit*r*ô-*á*pân, like an adopted son for his own possession, who wrote *it*, *am* letting *it* forth *on* the day Dên of the month Tîr, the victor, of the year 369 after the year 20 of that Yaz*d*aka*rd*, king of kings, who *was* son of Shat*r*ô-*a*yâr [2nd July, 1020][1]; in reliance on the pure good religion of the Maz*d*a-worshippers, as regards remembrance of Zaratûs*t*, the Spîtâmân with the righteous guardian spirit, *and of* the genuine achievement of Âtû*r*pâ*d*, son of Mâ*r*a-spend; and as regards remembrance *of* the righteous utterance of blessings for the whole embodied existence *by* the desirers of righteousness, who are thinkers of good thoughts, speakers of good words, and doers of good deeds; in the worldly *existence*, through completely-wishful kind regard of the practices of righteousness, they shall unite with the union of the renovation *of the universe*, and spiritually *their* pure souls *and* guardian spirits *attain* to the supremely great position and eminence, and complete acquirement of recompense, which are in the light that is endless, constantly beneficial, *and* full of glory, which they shall obtain. *This is* especially for those saintly *and* supremely learned *men*, Âtû*r*farnbag, son of Farukhŏ-zâ*d*, *and* Âtû*r*pâ*d*, son of Hêmê*d*, by whom this priceless[2] Dînka*rd* scripture *was* selected so learnedly and (with a pure perception of the spiritual lord, in seizing the cream of the fortunate commentary of[3] the good religion) so truly amicably, and fully affectionately *for* the good creatures and religion, with great advantage for us moderns, *and* concealed for me who, through eagerness *for* righteousness, like an adopted son, *have* happily disinterred this scripture; and even he who reads, and shall make use of it, is reliant and free from doubt about it; and him who shall take a copy from it, and preserves *it* with propriety, they shall appropriately connect with it.'

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[1] The remainder of this colophon, so far as it is here translated, is also quoted in the second colophon.

[2] Here written ar'*g*ŏ, but it is an-ar'*g*ŏ in the second colophon.

[3] Reading dên farukhŏ zand shîr-h*âk*ŏ-î, but this is doubtful. From this point the whole of the rest of this colophon, including the aphorisms, is also found in K.

(This is followed by a long succession of aphorisms, and the colophon winds up with some threats against those who shall misuse the manuscript.)

As this colophon mentions only the 'last portion' of the Dînka*rd*, and is appended to the text of Dk. III–IX, it is probable that the first portion of the work, Dk. I, II, had already become separated from the rest within 150 years of its revision and completion. And if Mâh-vindâ*d* did not copy from the original manuscript of Âtû*r*pâ*d*, he must certainly have done so from a very early transcript.

The second colophon was written by Shat*r*ô-*a*yâr, *son of* Êr*d*îshîr, *son* of Aîr*îk*, *son* of Rûstâm, *son* of Aîr*îk*, *son* of Kubâ*d*, *son of* Aîrân-shah, who completed his copy on the day Aûha*r*ma*zd* of the month Spenda*r*ma*d* in the year 865 after the 20th year of Ya*zd*aka*rd* [3rd October, 1516], having transcribed it from a copy written by Mar'*z*apân, *son* of Spend-dâ*d*, *son* of Mar'*z*apân, *son of* Mit*r*ô-*â*pân, *son of* Spend-dâ*d*, *son of* Mit*r*ô-*â*pân, *son* of Mar'*z*apân, *son* of Dahi*s*n-aîyyâr, *son* of Rô*g*-vêh, son of Shâh-ma*rd*. The date of Mar'*z*apân's copy may be approximately fixed by observing that his father's first cousin wrote a copy of AV. and Gf., mentioned in K20, in the year 690 of Ya*zd*aka*rd*, while his great great granduncle wrote a similar copy, mentioned in MH6, in the Pârsî year 618. If this Pârsî year be reckoned from the era of the 20th year of Ya*zd*aka*rd*, as seems probable[1], these dates give 52 years for three generations; and Mar'*z*apân, living one generation later than the writer of A.Y. 690, may perhaps have written his copy of the Dînka*rd* about A.Y. 707 [A.D. 1338]; so that there was probably another copyist, intermediate between him and Mâh-vindâ*d*-î Naremâhân, of whom no record has been preserved. Shat*r*ô-*a*yâr concludes his colophon by quoting a long passage from the first colophon, as already stated in p. xxxiv, n. 1, and by acknowledging his obligations to three other persons whom he names. This colophon is the last that now remains attached to the manuscript B, but it was formerly followed

[1] Observe the use of the phrase 'Pârsî year' in the third colophon and in the manuscript K (see p. xxxviii).

by a third colophon, written by the actual writer of B, and preserved in copies transcribed from B since its arrival in India.

This third colophon was written by Mâh-vindâ*d*, *son of* Vâhrâm, *son of* Êr*d*îshîr of Tûrkâbâ*d*, who completed his copy, from that of Shat*r*ô-*a*yâr, on the day *Âv*ân of the month Khû*r*dâ*d* in the Pârsî year 1009 after the 20th year of Ya*zd*aka*rd* [21st December, 1659, N. S.]. This copy, which constitutes the manuscript B, was afterwards approved by Vâhrâm, *son* of Mâh-vindâ*d*, *son of* Rûstâm, *son of* Anôshak-rûbân, *son of* Rûstâm of Tûrkâbâ*d*, who blesses the writer of the second colophon, on the day Tî*s*tar of the month Vohûman in the year 1038 of Ya*zd*aka*rd* [18th August, 1669, N. S.]. It was also finally seen and approved by Rûstâm, *son* of Gû*s*tâsp, *son of* Êr*d*îshîr, who likewise blesses the writer of the second colophon; and the approximate date of this approval may be guessed from the fact that Rûstâm Gû*s*tâsp is known to have copied one manuscript in A. D. 1706, and another in 1741.

Regarding this manuscript B, written in 1659, it appears from Mullâ Fîrûz's *Avîgêh Dîn* (Bombay, 1830) that Mullâ Bahman, son of Mullâ Behrâm, a Parsi priest of Yazd, brought this manuscript of the Dînka*rd* from Irân to Surat in 1783, and, having shown it to Aspandiârji Ratanji-shâh, he lent it to Kâusji Rustamji, then Dastûr of Surat, and allowed him to have it copied. Mullâ Bahman had great difficulty in obtaining the return of his manuscript, and when it was returned many folios were missing. It was after this loss of folios that Aspandiârji had several other copies transcribed from the defective manuscript, to be sent to various persons, and all these copies were therefore equally defective.

This manuscript B, thus defective, afterwards came into the possession of Mullâ Fîrûz, who was high-priest of the Kadmi Parsis in Bombay; and, after his death in 1830, it descended to his successor. In 1875 it belonged to Dastûr Sohrâbji Rustamji, high-priest of the Kadmis, through whose courtesy, and that of Dastûr Dr. Jâmâspji Minochiharji, it was then lent to me long enough to

enable me to copy and collate two-thirds of Dk. III and to collate Dk. IV–IX; and Dastûr Jâmâspji, afterwards, kindly supplied me with a copy of the remainder of Dk. III.

The manuscript has been bound in its defective state, and contains 322 folios, originally fourteen inches high and ten inches wide, written 20 to 22 lines to the page. When complete it appears to have consisted of 392 folios, all numbered in Persian words, but with several blunders, including one of fifty folios, so that the last folio was really numbered 442. Of the 70 folios not bound with the rest of the manuscript, fourteen were lying loose in the volume; forty-three belonged to Dastûr Rustamji Kaikobâdji of Nausâri, with a copy of which I was kindly supplied by Dastûr Dr. Peshotanji Behramji of Bombay, who also enabled me to collate it with the original folios; and seven folios were lent to me by Dastûr Dr. Hoshangji Jâmâspji of Poona, for the purpose of copying. The remaining six folios have not been discovered; they comprise the first folio of the manuscript, containing the commencement of Dk. III, which was probably lost before the manuscript arrived in India; also one folio in Dk. VII, two in Dk. IX (see pp. 262, 270 of this volume), and the last two folios of the manuscript, containing the third colophon and final approvals (see p. xxxvi).

I am likewise much indebted to the kindness of Professor Kielhorn, who gave me a modern copy of Dk. IV–IX (with the text in its defective state) which had been prepared at Poona, so that it was only necessary to collate this copy with the original text of the manuscript B. With the aid of all this liberal assistance I was enabled to obtain the whole text of the Dînka*rd*, known to exist, in the course of a few months; that it has since taken as much as sixteen years to find opportunities for translating and publishing rather more than one-fourth of its contents, will not surprise any one who is acquainted with the nature of the work that had to be done.

The only known manuscript, independent of B, that contains any portion of the Dînka*rd*, is the old codex K

brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843, and now No. 43 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Kopenhagen. This codex contains about one-fifth of the text of the Dînka*rd* in two detached portions, together with other Pahlavi texts. The first portion occupies fols. 177–261, and comprises Dk. VI, of which one-eighth is missing, with Dk. III, Chaps. CLX and CCLXXXIII, and a colophon, all written in the district of Tûrkâbâ*d* by Mit*r*ô-*â*pân, *son* of Anôshak-rûbân, *son of* Rûstâm, *son of* Shat*r*ô-*a*yâr, *son of* Mâh-vindâ*d*, *son of* Vâhrâm, *son of* Gûshi*s*n-*a*yâr, *son of* Mit*r*ô-*â*pân, and completed on the day Gô*s* of the month Mit*r*ô in the Pârsî year 943 after the 20th year of Ya*zd*aka*rd* [10th May, 1594, N. S.]. This copyist appears to have been a great-uncle of the writer who approved the manuscript B in 1669, ten years after it was written; and the original from which he copied was, no doubt, descended from Mâh-vindâ*d*-î Naremâhân's manuscript of 1020, as he appends to his colophon all the latter part of Mâh-vindâ*d*'s colophon (see p. xxxiv, n. 3). The second portion of the text of the Dînka*rd*, contained in the manuscript K, is written by another hand on 42 additional folios, and comprises the last two chapters of Dk. III, the whole of Dk. V, and the first three-tenths of Dk. IX (as mentioned in p. 172, n. 1, of this volume). This manuscript supplies several short passages in the Dînka*rd*, which are omitted by B, especially in the first portion of the text described above. It has also afforded much assistance in the translation of Dk. IX, Chaps. I, 1–XXXI, 17.

Regarding the authorship of the summary account of the Nasks, contained in Dk. VIII, IX, it may be reasonably assumed, in default of any positive information, that the compiler was Âtû*r*pâ*d*, son of Hêmê*d*, the last editor of the Dînka*rd*. And, as nothing is said about any previous treatise being consulted, it may be safely supposed that he had access to the Avesta texts and Pahlavi versions of all the Nasks he describes, fully three centuries after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia. The only Nask he could not obtain was the Va*s*tag, and the Pahlavi version

of the Nâ*d*ar was also missing ; under which circumstances, the fully detailed accounts of these two Nasks, given in the Persian Rivâyats, must be viewed with suspicion, until better evidence of their authenticity has been discovered than is at present available.

The survival of so much of the sacred Zoroastrian literature, during three centuries of Muhammadan rule, indicates that the final loss of nearly all this literature was not so directly attributable to the Arabs as the Parsis suppose. So long as a considerable number of the Persians adhered to their ancient religion, they were able to preserve its literature almost intact, even for centuries ; but when, through conversion and extermination, the Ma*zd*a-worshippers had become a mere remnant, and then fell under the more barbarous rule of the Tartars, they rapidly lost all their old literature that was not in daily religious use. And the loss may have been as much due to their neglecting the necessary copying of manuscripts, as to any destructiveness on the part of their conquerors ; because the durability of a manuscript written on paper seldom exceeds five or six centuries.

The statements of the Dînka*rd*, about the classification and subdivisions of the Nasks, are corroborated and supplemented by those of Zâ*d*-sparam (see pp. 401–405). The division of all literature into three classes of knowledge, religious, worldly, and intermediate, is one that would naturally suggest itself to any classifier[1], but the names employed (which are transcribed from the Avesta, and do not exactly correspond with these three meanings) must have originated at a period when the Avesta language was still spoken. That such a classification cannot be very strictly carried out in practice is already admitted in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 13.

[1] Professor Darmesteter has suggested to me the very similar apportionment of the old Hebrew literature, mentioned in Jeremiah xviii. 18, thus :—'For the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet.' And in Ezekiel vii. 26, thus :—'Then shall they seek a vision of the prophet : but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients.'

The further division of the literature into twenty-one books, seven in each of the three classes, is a much more artificial arrangement, and can, perhaps, be best explained as an attempt to make the twenty-one words of the Ahunavair serve the purpose of a reminder for enumerating the Nasks in their proper order. This arrangement was probably made at some period when the scattered Avesta literature was being collected and re-arranged, the Pahlavi versions being then supplied, and the present Pahlavi names of the Nasks appointed. This may possibly have been the work of 'composition and preservation' attributed to Âtûr-pâd, son of Mâraspend, in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 22, when 'the Nasks were enumerated' (see Dk. IV, 27, in p. 415), which occurred in the fourth century.

Why the established sequence of the Nasks, detailed in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 12, should differ from the successive sequences of their three classes, given in §§ 9–11, is very imperfectly explained; but some of the reasons for the difference may perhaps be guessed. If the notation proposed in p. 7, n. 3, be adopted, the established sequence is G2–4; H1–7; G5; L6; G7; L7, 1–5; G6, 1; in which the only Nasks that are out of their order in the classes are G1, 5–7 and L6, 7. The placing of G6, 1 next after L5 (that is, the Hâdôkht and Stôd-yast next after the Vendîdâd) may perhaps have been owing to the constant use of these three Nasks in the liturgy, in which either the Vendîdâd, or the Hâdôkht[1], was frequently interpolated in the recitation of the Stôd-yast which comprised by far the larger portion of the present Yasna and Vîspêrad. But this position of the Stôd-yast, at the end of the list of Nasks, was probably considered derogatory to its sacred character by most of the writers of the Pèrsian Rivâyats, who have, therefore, restored it to its original place at the head of the Gâthic Nasks. Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 15, states that G5 was placed after H7 because the Vastag was connected with the Vistâsp-sâstô, probably by the nature of its contents. And, possibly, the sequence L6, G7, L7 of the Kitradâd, Spend, and Bakân-yast, between the Vastag

[1] So long as it was preserved.

and Nîkâ*d*ûm, may indicate some similar resemblance of contents; especially as the contents of the *K*itradâ*d* and Bakân-ya*s*t were so far from being strictly legal that these Nasks were placed in a sub-class by themselves, and the connection of the Spend with the Gâthas appears to have been merely historical. The Persian Rivâyats place the Spend next after the Va*s*tag, thereby bringing the two imperfectly Gâthic Nasks together, as well as the two imperfectly legal ones; but then they also transpose the Ganabâ-sar-ni*g*a*d* and the Hûspâram, for which there seems to be no justification.

With regard to the names of the Nasks, it is evident that several of the Persian names, used in the Rivâyats, are more or less irreconcileable with the Pahlavi names in the Dînka*rd*, and some others are improbable readings of the Pahlavi forms. In this translation the Pahlavi forms have been followed, as clearly more authentic than the Persian corruptions, and some few of the names have been read differently; while in other cases the most probable readings have been merely suggested in foot-notes, not on account of the Persian reading being justifiable, but because the evidence for the suggested reading is less complete than would be desirable.

In dealing with this account of the Nasks it is always necessary to remember that the compiler of the Dînka*rd* relies entirely upon their Pahlavi versions, as he states distinctly in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 3; he occasionally mentions the Avesta texts, as in Chaps. VI, 1, XII, 1, and it is abundantly evident, to the practised translator, that Avesta phrases often underlie the Pahlavi passages which seem to be quoted at length from the original Nasks, especially in Dk. IX; but, for some of the details mentioned, there may be no older authority than a Pahlavi commentary, and this should ever be borne in mind by the sceptical critic in search of anachronisms.

Owing to his complete reliance upon the Pahlavi versions, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty whether any particular statement, made by the compiler of the Dînka*rd*, was contained in the Avesta text; his summary, there-

fore, throws little or no satisfactory light upon the origin of that text. A few of the details he mentions (such as those contained in Dk. VIII, Chaps. XIII, 17–20, XLIII, 24 and Dk. IX, Chaps. XXXII, 17, XXXIX, 13–16, LIII, 3) evidently refer to Sasanian times, and may be reasonably supposed to have originated in the Pahlavi versions of those times. But vaguer prophecies of good or evil, such as are common in all religions at all times, may have often occurred in the Avesta texts themselves.

It is evident, however, that all the Nasks have accumulated around the Gâtha centre of the Stô*d*-ya*s*t, and that this Gâtha centre in the earliest Sasanian times was neither more nor less extensive than it is at present. The age of Gâthic composition had so long passed away in the time of the earliest Sasanian monarchs, that the sages whom they appointed to collect and re-arrange the sacred literature, were unable to fully understand many of the stanzas they had to translate into Pahlavi, much less could they have added to their number. How far they may have been able to write ordinary Avesta text is more uncertain, but any such writing was probably confined to a few phrases for uniting the fragments of old Avesta which they discovered, or for interpolating opinions of their own. All such compositions, however, would have been hazardous, as forming no part of their duties, which seem to have been confined to the arrangement of the fragmentary Avesta texts, and their translation into Pahlavi with explanatory comments in that language. It appears from the traditional statements, mentioned in p. 415, that this work was completed, and the Nasks were fully arranged, by Âtû*r*pâ*d*, son of Mâ*r*aspend, in the reign of Shahpûhar II (A. D. 309–379); but the Pahlavi versions were certainly revised, and some further commentaries added, after the suppression of the heresy of Mazdak, as late as the reign of Khûsrôî I (A. D. 531–579).

That the Avesta texts themselves were not written, to any great extent, in Sasanian times, is shown by the quantity of Pahlavi commentary necessary to adapt them to the altered circumstances of those times. The Gâthic

Nasks, being strictly religious, required only some explanations, with little extended commentary; because the religion had to be maintained without sensible modification. Of the Hadha-mãthric Nasks we know but little. But the strictly Legal Nasks consisted chiefly of the commentary which is always necessary to adapt ancient laws to modern ideas.

With regard to the mode of describing the Nasks, adopted in the Dînka*rd*, it is evident that the compiler intended, in the first place, to give merely a very short account of the general contents of each Nask, to be followed by a detailed statement of the particular contents of each chapter (see Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 23, 24). But, when he had fully carried out this intention with respect to the first three Nasks, his work came to a premature conclusion, which has deprived us of much valuable information regarding the rest of the Nasks. The descriptions of these other Nasks vary in extent, but may be roughly classified as follows:—Of the Nâ*d*ar and Va*s*tag there is no description whatever. Of the Dâmdâ*d*, Ra*d*ŏ-dâ*d*-aîtag, Ka*s*kîsrôbô, Vi*s*tâsp-sâstô, Bakân-ya*s*t, and Stô*d*-ya*s*t the description is very short, averaging 80 Pahlavi words for each. Of the Pâ*g*ag, Bari*s*, *K*itradâ*d*, Spend, and Hâ*d*ôkht the description is rather longer, averaging 358 Pahlavi words for each; but, as such a description is still far too brief to be satisfactory, the compiler must have intended to add a detailed account of each chapter of all these Nasks. On coming to the strictly Legal Nasks, however, he adopted a different plan, by giving a much more voluminous statement of the contents of certain selected chapters; thus the very long description of the Nîkâ*d*ûm, Ganabâ-sar-ni*g*a*d*, Hûspâram, and Sakâ*d*ûm averages 3670 Pahlavi words for each. This change of plan is somewhat modified in the case of the Vendîdâ*d*, where the description of 1272 Pahlavi words is only moderately long. While the first three Nasks, the Sû*d*kar, Var*s*tmânsar, and Bakŏ, after a very short description averaging 65 Pahlavi words for each, are again described in detail, as already mentioned, to the average extent of 8647 Pahlavi words for each.

From these descriptions, and their connection with certain Avesta texts and Pahlavi writings, it is now possible to form a more or less adequate conception of the contents of Nasks I–IV, X, XIII–XIX, XXI, and also some idea of those of Nasks VI, XII; but the accounts of the remaining six Nasks, most of which belonged to the Hadha-mâthric or scientific class, are very unsatisfactory.

With reference to the total extent of the Nasks, when they were all extant, it is obvious that the length of descriptions, drawn up on the same plan, ought to bear approximately some definite proportion to the lengths of text described; so that, if the extent of the text of one Nask be known, and the proportion it bears to the length of its description be ascertained, this proportion becomes a rough means of estimating the probable extent of other Nasks, from the length of their descriptions drawn up on the same plan. Three years ago an attempt was made[1] to estimate the total extent of the Nasks in this way, based upon the assumptions that the Nasks still extant were three in number, that the length of the description of the Vendîdâ*d* was a fair average one for estimating the extent of Pahlavi version in all the lost Nasks, and that the proportion of Avesta text to Pahlavi version in the Nîrangistân was also a fair average for estimating the extent of their Avesta texts. These assumptions were carefully made, as the least liable to objection, and the total extent of the Nasks in Sasanian times, thus estimated, amounted to 133,000 words of Avesta text and 844,000 of Pahlavi version.

Since the completion of the translation of Dk. IX it has, however, become possible to estimate the probable extent of the first three Nasks from the proportion between the actual extent of the first three fargar*d*s of the Bakŏ (Yas. XIX–XXI) and the length of their description. It has also been thought no longer reasonable to neglect the actual length of the Nîrangistân as a basis for estimating the extent of the Pahlavi versions of the strictly Legal Nasks XV–

[1] In the Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, 1888, pp. 441, 442.

XVIII; and the Bakân-ya*s*t has been identified with the Ya*s*ts still extant[1]. These additional considerations have led to a new estimate of the probable extent of each Nask separately, based upon the best data available in each case, as stated in detail in the foot-notes to the names of the Nasks in the Extant Fragments (pp. 451–488 of this volume). These estimates are here collected, for the sake of convenient reference, as follows:—

			Avesta.	Pahlavi.
G2 :	Nask	1. Sû*d*kar . . .	4,700 words	10,500
„ 3	„	2. Var*s*tmânsar . .	8,300 „	18,500
„ 4	„	3. Bakŏ . . .	9,500 „	21,200
H1	„	4. Dâmdâ*d* . . .	8,900 „	29,300
„ 2	„	5. Nâ*d*ar . . .	6,800 „	22,200
„ 3	„	6. Pâgag . . .	9,100 „	29,800
„ 4	„	7. Ra*d*ŏ-dâ*d*-aîtag . .	10,500 „	34,300
„ 5	„	8. Bari*s* . . .	4,400 „	14,600
„ 6	„	9. Ka*s*kîsrôbô . .	5,500 „	17,900
„ 7	„	10. Vi*s*tâsp-sâstô . .	2,200 „	7,200
G5	„	11. Va*s*tag . . .	8,900 „	18,400
L6	„	12. *K*îtradâ*d* . . .	2,600 „	23,400
G7	„	13. Spend . . .	9,900 „	20,500
L7	„	14. Bakân-ya*s*t . .	22,000 „	44,000
„ 1	„	15. Nikâ*d*ûm . . .	62,600 „	562,900
„ 2	„	16. Ganabâ-sar-ni*g*a*d* .	28,000 „	251,500
„ 3	„	17. Hûspâram . .	44,900 „	403,600
„ 4	„	18. Sakâ*d*ûm . . .	53,000 „	476,600
„ 5	„	19. Vendîdâ*d* . . .	23,000 „	48,000
G6	„	20. Hâ*d*ôkht . . .	8,400 „	17,400
„ 1	„	21. Stô*d*-ya*s*t . . .	12,500 „	22,400
		Total extent of 21 Nasks .	345,700	2,094,200

This total is about 2½ times as great as that of the former estimate, but, as nearly the whole of this increase is in the four strictly Legal Nasks, whose length is well attested by that of the extant Nîrangistân, there is little probability that further investigation will lead to any re-

[1] This had been done, long ago, in a Persian Rivâyat, quoted in B29, fol. 164, which states that the following sixteen Ya*s*ts were in the Bayân-ya*s*t Nask, namely, the Hôrmezd, Âbân, Mâh, Tîr, Gô*s*, Mihir, Srôsh, Rashn, Fravardîn, Bahirâm, Râm, Dîn, Âshasang, Â*s*tâ*d*, Zamyâ*d*, and Khursh*d* Ya*s*ts.

duction of this estimate. No probable alteration of the estimate of the extent of the Hadha-mãthric Nasks, which is the most uncertain, would materially affect the total.

Another matter of interest to the readers of translations from the Pahlavi, especially to those who are aware of the ambiguities of the original text, is the degree of confidence they can place in the correctness of the translation. In the case of the Dînka*rd* it is fortunately possible to consult manuscripts written in Persia, and descended through only four or five intermediate copies from the work of the original writer, so that the text is remarkably free from copyists' errors. The eighth and ninth books also contain very few of those involved sentences, with long parenthetical clauses, which, owing to the habitual absence or misplacement of stops, are very perplexing to a translator. The chief difficulties of the text arise from its synoptical character, and the consequent want of connection between its sentences; there being often too little context to define the meaning of a doubtful word. The number of words of doubtful meaning in Pahlavi is, however, fast diminishing, in proportion to the advancing study of the texts; and the certainty of a translator, as to the correctness of his work, is increasing in a like proportion. At any rate, the reader may safely rely upon the general accuracy of these translations, even if a few errors should hereafter be discovered.

As an instance of such possible errors I will here correct one that exists in my translation of the Epistles of Mânû-*sk*îhar, which was pointed out to me by Môbad Tehmuras Dinshawji Ankalesaria, in a letter dated 28th October, 1887. In Ep. II, ii, 9–11, there occurs an illustration of what should be done when commentators differ, derived from the use that can be made of different observations of the stars, and containing three names that were difficult to identify. These names were doubtfully read as corruptions of the names of three of the lunar mansions, but it now appears that they were the names of three sets of astronomical tables (zîk); so that Shat*r*o-ayârân, Hindûk, and Ptolemêôs should be read, instead of *S*atvâharân, Avênak, and Pa*d*ramgôs; both sets of readings expressing the same

Pahlavi letters. With these alterations the passage may be translated as follows :—

Ep. II, ii, 9. 'And there may be a position of the stars, *settled* even by computers of the stars, when they would take that of the sun and moon from the tables of Shat*r*o-ayâr, that of Saturn from the Hindû tables, and that of Mars from the tables of Ptolemy, *and* the position comes *out* very good, *and they* are able to speak *of* the maturity of strength undoubtedly brought on. 10. That this is to be seen as an occurrence is a conjunction which is not possible; because, if the tables of Shat*r*o-ayâr *be* exact, yet, since its Saturn *and* Mars are not from the tables, the effect is not a good configuration; if the Hindû tables *be* correct, yet, since its sun, moon, *and* Mars are not from those tables, the effect is not good; *and* if the tables of Ptolemy *be* correct, yet, since its sun, moon, and Saturn are not from those tables, the effect is not good; on account of which the conjunction is not correct in any way; they believe *it* possible, however, for a firm mind to accomplish this auspicious labour. 11. But they say the just and wise *are* making the decision that this would be a very good position, because that which is in the tables of Shat*r*o-ayâr is truly issuing from him, the great Shat*r*o-ayâr; *and* that of Shat*r*o-ayâr, *being* better through the tables of Ptolemy, remains that employed.'

In conclusion, it is desirable to make some remarks upon the transliteration of Pahlavi, because it is necessary to express not only the various sounds of the letters of a very deficient alphabet, but also the mode of writing several abbreviated compounds which are quite as essential to the correct orthography of Pahlavi as the forms of the separate letters themselves. For this purpose italics are used to indicate not only a few differences of sound from the usual English pronunciation of consonants, but also different letters having the same sound, and letters abbreviated in the writing of compounds. When the abbreviated letter is already italicised, the preceding short vowel (which is not expressed in Pahlavi writing) is also italicised to indicate the abbreviation, or an apostrophe is introduced between the two consonants when no short vowel sound intervenes. Hyphens are used both to connect the components of compound words, which are often written

separately, and also to separate words that are written together in Pahlavi. The application of these rules will be best understood by reference to the following list of transliterations which have been found necessary:—

Alphabet.

a (*initial*), â, h, kh, *zd*.

2, *a* (*privative*), *aê*, *âê* (*final*), *h* (*final*).

b.

f, p, *v*.

d, t.

g, *k*, *z*.

l, r.

z.

or s, + .

s, sh, + , g-a.

gh.

k.

m.

l, n, ô, ŏ, *r*, û, v.

l, *r*.

d, ê, g, *g*, *ga*, î, y.

Irregular Compounds.

*a*yâ.

(+ , or +) *aêk*, *a*f, *ag*, *a*p, *av*, *az*, *â*f, *âg*, *âk*, *â*p, *âv*, *âz*, *h*af, *hak*, *h*ap, *haz*, *kh*ef, *khek*, *khz*.

âñ.

3, a*ê*, â*ê* (*final*), ê*h* (*final*).

*a*dîn, dîdû (*better b*îdû).

l*p*, r*ag*, r*az*, r'*g*, r*p*, r'*z*.

dî*f*, dî*p*, gî*f*, s*ag*, s*ak*, sa*p*, s*ig*, si*p*, s*p*.

s'k, y*â*f, y*âv*.

m-*ê*.

d*ag*, d-*k*, *êg*, *êk*, g*ag*, g*ak*, g*ug*, *îk*, *îv*, *îz*, y*az*, y*ez*.

dên (*better b*ên), yên.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

A.D. for Anno Domini; Âf. for Âfrîngân; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for Ar*d*â-Vîrâf nâmak, ed. Hoshangji and Haug, 1872; Av. for Avesta; A.Y. for Anno Ya*z*da*k*ar*d*i; B for Bombay MS. of Dînka*rd*, written in Irân, A.D. 1659, see pp. xxxv–xxxvii; B29 for MS. No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay; Bd. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in vol. v of this series; Bk. for Book; B.P. for Bahman Pûn*g*yah, see p. 418, n. 3; Byt. for Bahman Ya*s*t, as translated in vol. v of this series; Ch. or Chald. for Chaldee; Chap. for chapter; Dd. for Dâ*d*istân-î Dînîk, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Dk. for Dînka*rd*; Dv. for Dîn-vi*g*irgard; ed. for edited by or edition; Ep. for Epistles of Mânû*s*kîhar, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Farh. Oîm. for Farhang-i Oîm-aêvak, or Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, ed. Hoshangji and Haug, 1867; fol. for folio; G for gâthic; Gah. for Gahanbâr or Gâhanbâr; Gen. for Genesis; gen. for genitive; Gesch. der Sas. for Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, 1879; Gf. for tale of Gô*s*t-î Fryânô, ed. West and Haug, 1872; Gld. for Geldner; H for hadha-mãthric; Haug's Essays for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by M. Haug, 2nd ed.; Hn. for Hâ*d*ôkht Nask, ed. Haug, 1872; Ibid. for ibidem; J2 for Jâmâspji's Yasna MS. with Pahlavi, now in the Bodleian Library, by the same copyist as K5; K for Kopenhagen MS. No. 43, written A.D. 1594, see pp. xxxvii–viii; K1, K5, K20, K35 for Iranian MSS. Nos. 1, 5, 20, 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; L for legal; l. for line; ll. for lines; Mf4 for the Mullâ Fîrûz Library's Yasna MS. with Pahlavi, descended from an ancestor of K5; MH6, MH10 for MSS. Nos. 6, 10 of Haug's Collection in the State Library at Munich; Mkh. for Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khira*d*, as translated in vol. xxiv of this series; MS. for manuscript; n. for foot-note; N.S. for new style; Ny. for Nyâyi*s*; O225 for MS. No. 225 of Ouseley's Collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; OM for Olshausen and Mohl's Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre; p. for page; Pahl.

for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; pp. for pages; Pt4 for Peshotanji's Yasna MS. with Pahlavi, similar to Mf4; Riv. for Rivâyat; S.B.E. for Sacred Books of the East; Sd. and Sg. for Sad-dar and *S*ikand-gûmânîk Vi*g*âr, as translated in vol. xxiv of this series; Sîr. for Sîrôzah; Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, as translated in vol. v of this series; Sp. for Spiegel; Vend. for Vendîdâ*d*; Vi*g*. for Vi*g*irkar*d*-i Dînîk, ed. Peshotan, Bombay, 1848; Vîsp. for Vîspêra*d*; vol. for volume; W. or Westerg. for Westergaard; Yas. for Yasna; Yt. for Ya*s*t; ZA. for Zend Avesta; Zs. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, as translated in vol. v of this series.

CONTENTS OF THE NASKS

AS STATED IN

THE EIGHTH AND NINTH BOOKS

OF THE

DÎNKA*RD*.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is chiefly responsible, as the stops found in the manuscripts are not used systematically.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume), or certain abbreviated modes of writing Pahlavi letters, for which see the remarks on Pahlavi transliteration near the end of the Introduction. Italic *a*, *á*, *d*, *e*, *é*, *h*, *i*, *í*, *kh*, *l*, *p*, *r*, *sh*, *u*, *v*, *zd* indicate no change of pronunciation; but *g* should be sounded like j, *hv* like wh, *k* like ch in 'church,' *s* like sh, and Avesta *z* like French j.

4. In the translation words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those that precede them.

5. For the meaning of the abbreviations, used in the notes, see the explanatory list after the Introduction.

6. The manuscripts used, being the only two independent authorities for the text of the Dînka*rd* known to exist, are:—

B (written A.D. 1659), a nearly-complete MS. of Books III–IX, brought from Irân to Surat in 1783, and now divided between three, or more, owners in Bombay, Nawsârî, and Poona. Of the Books here translated two folios are missing, which contained portions of Bk. IX, Chaps. XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI, XXXVII.

K (written A.D. 1594 and later), No. 43 in the University Library at Kopenhagen, a miscellaneous MS. containing several fragments of Books III, V, VI, IX. Of the Books here translated it contains the text of Bk. IX, Chaps. I, 1–XXXI, 17.

CONTENTS OF THE NASKS.

DÎNKA*RD*.—BOOK VIII.

Chapter I.

1. Praise *for* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and obeisance *to* the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion which is the ordinance of Aûha*r*ma*zd* opposed to the demo s.

2. The eighth *book* is the present (latamman) memorandum about a summary of what is in the Nasks of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, each separately. 3. That which is within the compass (shâ*d*-aûrvân) of this book, about the account of the good religion, is a writing for the information of the many, *and* an announcement from the commentary (zand)—that which is in explanation of revelation (dênô)—which, for this simple (pâ*d*ram) high-priest, is in itself the writing of the voice of revelation [1].

4. But, before that, is a writing [2] *of* the usage about the divisions (ban*g*i*s*nŏ) of the reckoning of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping revelation, also the parts (bâhar) of its divisions, and the sections (burînakŏ) of the parts; *and* the exposition of the account—

[1] The author means that he derives his information about the contents of the Nasks entirely from their Pahlavi versions which, so far as he is concerned, are of equal authority with the Avesta text.

[2] This introductory chapter.

which, though very condensed, is in its division—is *also* condensed in the parts of its division, and more diffuse in the sections of the parts. 5. The divisions of the reckoning of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping revelation are three :—Gâthas which are the higher spiritual knowledge *and* spiritual duty; Law which is lower[1] worldly knowledge and worldly duty; and the Hadha-mãthric which are mostly information and matters about what is between these two [2].

[1] Or 'mostly,' if we read *av*îrtar, instead of *az*îrtar, as is done in the next clause of this sentence.

[2] The three Pahlavi terms are gâsânŏ, dâ*d*, and hâ*d*ak-mânsarîk. Of these dâ*d* evidently means 'law,' because the Dâ*d*îk Nasks are chiefly devoted to legal matters (see Chaps. XVI–XLIV); and gâsânŏ appears to mean 'gâthas' rather than 'verses,' because the first Gâsânîk Nask contained the Gâtha texts (see Chap. XLVI), the next three were commentaries upon the Gâthas (see Chaps. II–IV and Bk. IX, Chaps. II–LXVIII), and the remaining three, so far as we are informed, were devoted to religious matters, but we have no reason to suppose that any of them were metrical, except the Gâthas themselves. The exact meaning of hâ*d*ak-mânsarîk is less clear; it is derived from Av. hadha-mãthra, 'provided with spells, or inspired words,' a term applied to Zaratûs*t* in Vîsp. XIII, 1 and also to the Mãthra-spe*n*ta, or liturgy, in a phrase (see Westerg. Z. A., p. 485) which is appointed to be used in certain parts of the liturgy whenever the Vis*t*âsp Yas*t* (a remnant of the last Hadha-mãthric Nask) is recited; just as another phrase, referring to the Law, is appointed to be used in the same places whenever the Vendîdâ*d* (one of the Dâ*d*îk Nasks) is recited. In what sense the Hadha-mãthric Nasks can be said to be 'provided with spells' is not clear from the details given in Chaps. V–XI, but, practically, the meaning of the term must be something like 'semi-religious,' being applied to philosophy and science which are neither strictly religious nor strictly secular.

The same three terms were applied to the three classes of mankind, probably the priests, philosophers, and laity; a classification analogous to that of the three professions, the priests, warriors, and husbandmen, but not quite identical with it, as may be gathered from a passage in the sixth book of the Dînka*rd*. This book is

6. And the reason of the triple division of the reckoning of revelation is the exposition of all knowledge *and* duty, and the kinds of knowledge and action *in* the same revelation are these three that *have been* written. 7. Also in the Ahunavair[1], which

'about an epitome, composed *and* preserved by those of the primitive faith, concerning the statements of the religion of Ma*zd*a-worship;' and its statements are introduced by the following words:—'Those of the primitive faith, who *were* the sages of the ancients, considered thus, &c.' Near the middle of the book the following passage occurs:—'And this, too, *was* considered by them thus, that these are the three species of mankind:—One is the Gâthic, one the Hadha-mãthric, *and* one the Dâ*d*îk. The association (hamîh) of him who is Gâthic is with the sacred beings, *and his* severance (v*í*gî-aîtagîh) from the demons *and* fiends; the extent of *his* wealth is due to members of the community and *religious* feasts (dâhm va-sûr), and the punishment for the sin which he may commit is shame and is invisible. The association of him who is Hadha-mãthric is with the righteous, and his severance from the wicked; also the extent of his wealth is that which may be produced virtuously, and the punishment for the sin he shall commit is the goad, or scourge (see Chap. XLIV, 65 n); also noxious creatures *for* the body, and compensating the destitute. And the association of him who is Dâ*d*îk is with Irânians, and his severance from foreigners; also the extent of his wealth is due to affairs that it is possible to accomplish lawfully, *and* the punishment for the sin which he shall commit is *for* the life*time* of a fowl (kûk), the day of a demon.'

[1] This information seems to be taken from the first fargar*d* of the Sû*d*kar Nask (see Bk. IX, Chap. II, 19). The Ahunavair (Av. ahuna vairya) is the name of the most sacred formula of the Parsis, derived from its second and third words; it is also called the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, from its first phrase, and is a declaratory statement in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows:—

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratu*s* ashâ*d*-*kî*d ha*k*â,
Vangh*eu*s dazdâ mananghô *sh*yaothananãm angh*eu*s mazdâi,
Khshathrem*k*â ahurâi â, yim drigubyô dada*d* vâstârem.

The usual Pahlavi version of this formula explains it as follows:—

is the basis of the reckoning of revelation, are three metrical lines (gâs); the first chiefly indicates the Gâthic lore, the second the Hadha-mãthric lore, *and* the third the Law.

8. And there have been twenty-one parts[1] of its divisions, which are called Nasks:—(9) Seven are Gâthic, because they are composed for the Gâthas,

'As is the will of the spiritual lord (as is the will of Aûha*r*ma*zd*) so should be the priestly master (so virtuous should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as virtuous as the will of Aûha*r*ma*zd*). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward and recompense that good thought gives, it gives also *unto* him) which, among spiritual lords, is the work of Aûha*r*ma*zd* (that is, he would do that which Aûha*r*ma*zd* requires): [there are *some* who would say thus: Whose gift is for good thought (that is, the reward and recompense which they give for good thought, they give also unto him); *and* there are *some* who would say thus: Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward and recompense which they give up through good thought, they would also give even him); Âtû*r*pâ*d*, son of Zaratû*s*t, said thus: Owing to the gift of good thought, among spiritual lords, they recognise a doer of deeds]. The dominion for Aûha*r*ma*zd* is his (that is, his dominion exists through the advantage that Aûha*r*ma*zd* has maintained) who gives allotments (vâyagânŏ) to the poor (that is, he would make intercession for them).'

The Avesta text may be translated, according to Haug, as follows:—'As a spiritual lord is desirable, so is a priestly master, for the sake of every righteousness, *to be* a giver of good thoughts as to the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord whom he (*Mazda*) has given as a protector for the poor.'

According to Geldner the first two lines refer to Zaratû*s*t, and, if we assume that yim is a contraction of yô îm, the Avesta text may be translated somewhat as follows:—'As *he is* the desirable spiritual lord, so *is he* the priestly master with every right, the producer of the actions of the good thoughts of life towards Mazda. The dominion, however, is for Ahura who has given him as a protector for the poor.'

[1] See §§ 18, 19.

and their names[1] are that of the ritual of the Gâthic worship, which is the Stô*d*-ya*s*t, *with* the Sû*d*kar, Var*s*tmânsar, Bakŏ, Va*s*tag, Hâ*d*ôkht, and that which has made them Gâthic[2], the Spend. 10. And the names of the seven Hadha-mãthric are Dâmdâ*d*, Nâ*d*ar, Pâ*g*ag, Ra*d*ŏ-dâ*d*-aîtag, Bari*s*, Ka*s*kîsrôbô, *and* Vi*s*tâsp-sâstô. 11. *And* seven are Legal, because they are composed for the lawyer (dâ*d*îk), and their names are those of the legal, and those are the Nîkâ*d*ûm, Ganabâ-sar-ni*g*a*d*, Hûspâram, Sakâ*d*ûm, and Vendîdâ*d*, and those which are composed for the law with separate dedications, the *K*itradâ*d* and Bakân-ya*s*t. 12. And the sequence is Sû*d*kar, Var*s*t-mânsar, Bakŏ, Dâmdâ*d*, Nâ*d*ar, Pâ*g*ag, Ra*d*ŏ-dâ*d*-aîtag, Bari*s*, Ka*s*kîsrôbô, Vi*s*tâsp-sâstô, Va*s*tag, *K*itradâ*d*, Spend, Bakân-ya*s*t, Nîkâ*d*ûm, Ganabâ-sar-ni*g*a*d*, Hûspâram, Sakâ*d*ûm, Vendîdâ*d*, Hâ*d*ôkht, and Stô*d*-ya*s*t[3].

13. In all three *divisions* all three are *found;* in the Gâthic are the Hadha-mãthric and Legal, in the Hadha-mãthric are the Gâthic and Legal, and in the Legal are the Gâthic and Hadha-mãthric.

[1] For variants of these names, in the order stated in § 12, see the notes to the first sections of Chaps. II–XVI, XXI, XXVIII, XXXVIII, XLIV–XLVI, which begin the summary description of each of the twenty-one Nasks.

[2] Referring probably to 'the bestowal of the other Nasks' mentioned in Chap. XIV, 5.

[3] This is the order in which the twenty-one words of the Ahunavair are applied to the twenty-one Nasks, as hinted in § 19; and, therefore, the order in which they ought to be enumerated. Representing the three divisions of the Nasks by G, H, L, respectively, and the seven Nasks in each division by the ciphers 1–7, the order of enumeration is as follows:—G 2–4; H 1–7; G 5; L 6; G 7; L 7, 1–5; G 6, 1. More or less fanciful reasons for this dislocation of the divisions are given in §§ 15–17.

14. *In* each separately that which is essentially and specially itself is included, and that which is partly another and introduced is included; and the reason of it is *that* in spiritual and worldly *existences*, and in worldly and spiritual *existences*, and in that which is between the two, *there* are both *existences*.

15. The occurrence *of* the joining of the Va*s*tag part of the Gâthas on to the last of the Hadha-mãthric[1] is because *it* is written in connection with the Vistâsp-sâstô, the last *of* the Hadha-mãthric. 16. The reason of the Hâ*d*ôkht and Ya*s*t *being* in succession to the Vendîdâ*d*, the last of the Law[2], and 'the production of the worldly creation[3]' *being* between the Hadha-mãthric *and* those spiritual Gâthas, is because the spiritual *existence* likewise, which is spiritual life (ahvô), is the beginning; and the worldly *existence* is purposed and caused, and a part is preserved (nô*s*î-aîtŏ), important for the purpose and intended for the spiritual life, the part at the beginning. 17. And the rejoining of the end of the Law, which is *about* the Hôm[4], to the Gâthas, which are the beginning,

[1] That is, the placing of G 5 after H 7.

[2] That is, the placing of G 6, 1 after L 5. The Vendîdâ*d* appears to be the last of the truly legal Nasks, as the contents of the *K*itradâ*d* (see Chap. XIII) appear to have been chiefly historical, and those of the Bakân-ya*s*t (see Chap. XV) chiefly religious. These two Nasks are also placed in a sub-class in § 11.

[3] This Dahi*s*nŏ-î-sti*h*-dâ*d*ŏ is evidently another name for the Dâmdâ*d*, or 'the creatures produced,' which is placed between G 2–4 and H 2–7.

[4] Written Hîm in Pâzand, for Hûm; and referring to the white Hôm, mentioned in Pahl. Vend. XX, 17, 21, and its healing properties. It is not absolutely necessary to understand from the text that the twentieth fargar*d* was literally the end of the Vendîdâ*d* in Sasanian times, because Chap. XLIV, 81 is quite as descriptive of the twenty-second as of the twentieth fargar*d*.

is a symbol of the existence of the pure influence of the Gâthic lore upon the first spiritual state—that *which* exists likewise at last—and of the rejunction of the worldly existence to the spiritual, because it came down from the spiritual to exist at present.

18. And the reason of the twenty-one-fold partition of the three divisions of the reckoning of revelation is in the distinction which is evident from *their* composition; also in the three metrical lines of the Ahunavair, which is the basis of the reckoning of revelation, there are twenty-one words (mârîk). 19. As the three metrical lines of the Ahunavair, which is the basis of the reckoning of revelation, are an emblem of the triple division of the reckoning of revelation; so the twenty-one words of the three *lines* indicate the twenty-one-fold partition of these three divisions; as *it* is declared that 'He who is the omniscient creator produced a discourse from every single word.'

20. *As to* the sections of the parts, such as the Hâs and Fargar*d*s[1] in the Nasks, *it* is known *there* were one thousand[2], from the testimony *and* knowledge of the religion owing to the teaching of Zaratûst—*whose* guardian spirit is reverenced—in the country of Irân. 21. And after the devastation occurred, owing to the evil-destined *and* raging villain Alexander, *there* was not so much of them

[1] The term Hâ (hâ*d*, Av. hâiti) is applied to the chapters of the Yasna, and the term Fargar*d* (Av. fra+kereta) to the chapters of the Vendîdâ*d* and most of the other Nasks.

[2] Combining the information given in the Persian Rivâyats with that in the Dînka*rd* we find only 905 chapters enumerated, of which 180 are said to have been lost, from the philosophical Nasks, during the Greek rule.

recovered as would be possible for a high-priest to preserve[1]. 22. And that which the saintly (hûfravar*d*ŏ) Âtû*r*-pâ*d*[2], son of Mâ*r*aspend, achieved through their composition and preservation, is known so far as the decrees (*k*akŏ) in the treatises (mâ*d*îgân) in the country of Irân are preserved as teaching and admonition (pandânŏ).

23. After writing of each separate Nask, that is, as to what it speaks about more particularly[3], each Nask is accounted for separately, and what is in its various Hâs *and* Fargar*d*s comes to be realized[4]; for in these particulars (mâ*d*îgân) any ruggedness of the auspicious[5] *and* desirable collection is explained. 24. But, first, the class of writing of the various Nasks—that is, about what they speak—is here written; the extent of attainment not *being* adapted to *their* peculiarity of wonderfulness.

Chapter II.

1. Homage *to* the glory *of* the good religion *of* Ma*z*da-worship!

2. The Sû*d*kar[6] *contains* particulars about the

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[1] Probably meaning not more than a high-priest could retain in his memory.

[2] A supreme high-priest who was prime minister of king Shahpûhar II (A.D. 309–379).

[3] In this eighth book of the Dînka*rd*.

[4] In the more detailed statements in the ninth book.

[5] Reading hû*s*ukûngûn, but it may be khû*s*kûnînŏ, 'beneficent,' or ana*s*ikôn-gûn, 'unconfusing.'

[6] Corresponding to the first word, yathâ, in the Ahunavair, according to the Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah, which adopts the sequence detailed in Chap. I, 12. All other Persian Rivâyats and also the Dînî-vi*g*irkard adopt the sequence G 1–4; H 1–7;

power of the pure glorifying of the first utterance of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[1], through thinking, speaking, and acting; and *about* abstaining from the law of very evil *and* very disturbing people[2]. 3. Glorifying the observances (hûnarânŏ) *and* good works *of* the good religion *and* of a like nature, as well as their effectualness; and condemning the faults and sin *of* him *of* very evil religion, when all kinds of neglect of the spiritual ceremony and *of* care for the archangel of the worldly existence are owing to him[3]; *also* much information about spiritual matters. 4. It *has* become old (kahûnî), and is a witness whose statement *extends* even unto the renovation *of the universe*[4].

5. Righteousness is perfect excellence[5].

G 5, 7; L 6, 7, 1, 3, 2, 4, 5; G 6. Like most of the names of the Nasks, Sû*d*kar is an adjective, meaning 'causing benefit, or acting beneficially;' it is corrupted into Stûdgar, or Istûdgar, in the Rivâyats and Dv. For a detailed account of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargar*d*s see Bk. IX, Chaps. II–XXIII.

[1] The Ahunavair, or Yathâ ahû vairyô, which Aûha*r*ma*zd* recited before the creation in order to confound Aharman (see Bd. I, 21, 22). This clause refers chiefly to the first fargar*d* of the Sû*d*kar (see Bk. IX, Chap. II).

[2] Referring to Bk. IX, Chaps. V, IX, X, &c.

[3] See Bk. IX, Chap. IX. [4] See Bk. IX, Chap. XXIII, 7.

[5] The text is aharâyîh *d*zâ*d*îh pâhlûm aîtŏ, the Pahl. equivalent of the Av. ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî, 'righteousness is the best good,' the first metrical line of the Ashem-vohû formula, with which it is usual to conclude forms of prayer and religious writings. It is here used to conclude the account of each of the twenty-one Nasks, and twice over at the end of the last one, so that it occurs twenty-two times in this eighth Book. In the ninth Book it concludes the account of each fargar*d* of the three Nasks detailed, and is written twice at the end of the second Nask, and twice at the end of the Book; so that it occurs in three series of 22, 24, and 24 repetitions, respectively, in the ninth Book. As the formula,

Chapter III.

1. The Varstmânsar[1] *contains* particulars about the birth of Zaratûst, his attaining the religion[2], *and* whatever is on the same subject[3]. 2. A notice (numâd) of the priestliness, discipleship, spiritual lordship, priestly authority, and steadfastness which are in his original more concise words of the Gâthas[4]. 3. The explanation (zand) of the statements about everything and also the good arrangement (khusradakŏ) are such as that which *one* speaks of thus: —'*It is* the Varstmânsar which has given forth an exposition upon every*thing*.' 4. So that, in the Varstmânsar, something is said about every*thing* that is mentioned in the Gâthas.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

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which is thus repeated, consists of four words, it is capable of $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 = 24$ permutations in the order of its words; and it appears as if the author intended that each of the four series of repetitions of the formula, contained in the two Books, should give all these permutations successively; and, with the exception of a few deviations (chiefly in the first two series, and probably due to the errors of copyists), he has maintained this fanciful peculiarity throughout. The English translations of the formula have been varied, so as to preserve this peculiarity to some extent, but it has not been found possible to differentiate the whole of the twenty-four permutations.

[1] Corresponding to the second word, ahû, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the third Nask in other Rivâyats. Varstmânsar means 'used as spells, or employed as liturgy,' and is often corrupted into Vahist-mânthrah in the Rivâyats. For a detailed account of the contents of each of its twenty-three fargards see Bk. IX, Chaps. XXIV–XLVI.

[2] See Bk. IX, Chap. XXIV.

[3] This final phrase is often used for unspecified details, and may be considered as equivalent to *et caetera*.

[4] See Bk. IX, Chap. XXV.

CHAPTER IV.

1. The Bakŏ[1] *contains* particulars about the division of the recital of the first saying of revelation[2], the first creature[3] *in* that saying, the first occurrence of it, the adaptation of the creature, and the greatness *of* that saying which is incorporating the creature, owing thereto; also, especially, the intermingling of thought (mê*d*)[4] with it. 2. Very comprehensive knowledge about everything, each separately its own offspring, and many an appendage as much connected with it as that which is said concerning the Bakŏ[5], that 'the Bakŏ of the community (dâhmân) is heard where it is spoken for the community,' that is, whoever shall do this good work, for him this good work *will* be done.

3. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER V.

1. Amid the Dâmdâ*d*[6] are particulars about the maintenance of action and the production of the

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[1] Corresponding to the third word, vairyô, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fourth Nask in other Rivâyats. Bakŏ means 'subdivision, or apportionment,' and is written Bagh, or Bagh-ast, in the Rivâyats. For a detailed account of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargar*d*s see Bk. IX, Chaps. XLVII–LXVIII.

[2] The Ahunavair (see Chap. II, 2 and Bk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 3).

[3] The Ahû, or 'spiritual lord,' who is the first creature mentioned in the Ahunavair (see Bk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 4).

[4] Av. maiti, Pâz. mit in Bk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 5, the Av. manas of Yas. XIX, 29 (Sp.).

[5] This section is an extreme condensation of the contents of Bk. IX, Chaps. XLVIII–LXVIII.

[6] Corresponding to the fourth word, athâ, in the Ahunavair,

beneficial creatures. 2. First, as to the spiritual existence, and how much *and* how is the maintenance in the spiritual *existence;* and the production of the worldly *existence* therefrom, qualified *and* constructed for descending (fitô*d*anŏ) into the combat with the destroyer, and accomplishing the associated necessity for the end and circumvention (garang) of destructiveness.

3. The manner *and* species *of* the creation of the creatures; also their material *existence,* and the character and use of the races and species; and whatever is on the same subject. 4. The reason for *their* creation, and for *their* perfection at last. 5. About the adversity, injury, and misery of those creatures, and their secret (nîhônŏ) resources *and* means of attacking *and* annihilating *them; with* the preservation *or* disablement (*a*p*îk*ârînî*d*anŏ) of the creatures thereby[1].

6. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect excellence.

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according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fifth Nask in other Rivâyats. Dâmdâ*d* means 'the creatures produced,' and it is called Dvâzdah-hâmâst (or humâst) in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained thirty-two kardah, or subdivisions. No further particulars of this and the subsequent Nasks are given by the Dînka*rd*, beyond the contents of this eighth Book.

[1] So far as this brief account of the Dâmdâ*d* goes, it corresponds very well with much of the contents of the Bundahi*s*. Zâ*d*-sparam, in his Selections, IX, 1, 16, also quotes the Dâmdâ*d* as the authority for certain details contained in the Bundahish, which work must therefore be considered as derived from this Nask. It is very probable, however, that the Nask contained much more information than is here hinted, because the author's usual plan, in these brief summaries, is evidently to confine his remarks to a few of the details near the beginning of each Nask.

Chapter VI.

1. On account of the Zand of the Nâ*d*ar[1] not reaching us, the Avesta is retained, for teaching, recital, *and* ceremony, because *it has* come unto *us* with authority.

2. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect excellence.

Chapter VII.

1. The Pâ*g*ag[2] *contains* particulars about lawfully slaughtering a sheep, for the ceremonial of fires, waters, *and* holy-water, in aid of a season-festival[3] *of* the Ma*zd*a-worshippers; besides this, namely, in what are the skill, and the means for selection, of a man for such work, and the formula (nîrang) of the ceremony. 2. And this, namely, from which limb of the sheep species is the

[1] Corresponding to the fifth word, ratu*s*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the sixth Nask in other Rivâyats. Owing to its Zand, or Pahlavi version, having been lost, the author does not undertake to describe its contents; but the Rivâyats state that it consisted of thirty-five ʒûrat, or compilations, about astronomy and astrology. The traditional name Nâ*d*ar, or Nâ*d*ûr, is probably a misreading; as Vakhtar (for Vakhttar), 'more destined,' and Vakhtvar, 'fate-bringing,' would be more intelligible readings of the same letters.

[2] Corresponding to the sixth word, ashâ*d*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the seventh Nask in other Rivâyats. Pâ*g*ag probably means 'cooking,' with reference to the preparations for the sacred feasts; it is called Pâ*g*am, Pâ*k*am, or Pâzûn in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained twenty-two kardah, or subdivisions.

[3] The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held on the five days ending, respectively, with the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year (see Sls. XVIII, 3 n).

share *of* the fires and waters to be taken[1], *and* how is the preparation which is to be carried on, *and* with what Avesta. 3. And whatever is about a season-festival; where the appointed place is, when *one* celebrates *it*, *and* when it has fully elapsed; the assembly of the season-festival, and the donation for the feast; where and when the celebration is possible, in what proportion the provisions are to be given out, *and* when to be prepared *and* divided; where its advantage is, *and* what benefit *there* is from it to the good creations both spiritually and materially.

4. And this, namely, what skill is more suitable for the sacerdotal (ra*d*-pî*s*ag) leadership *and* other priestly authority (ra*d*îh) each separately. 5. About the business *of* the sacerdotal leadership, where *it is* owing to *having* appointed the place and *having* gone forth to the assembly of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, *and* when *they are* to be made aware that that assembly is more particularly for the arrangement of renunciation of vice and retribution for sin; the needful supply of things for the feast; the selection of the men for the Zôti duty *and* Râspî duty before the day[2]; the Zôtis, Râspîs, and others who put in action the work for the preparation *and* giving of the portions; *and* the cleansing of the body-clothing. 6. *As to* the selection *of* the president (pê*s*-gâs) *of* the feast *there* is this, namely, what ability is requisite for that presidentship. 7. The allotment of the portions, and giving *them* sooner to *those* who are sooner in need *of them*. 8. Scoffing before

[1] The heart for the fires, and the fore-legs for the waters, according to Sls. XI, 4.

[2] The Zôti is the chief officiating priest in the ceremonial, and the Râspî is the assistant priest.

priestly authorities, *who are* great *and* good, *and* when they do not give a portion to the authorities are *cases when* the season-festivals are not to be considered as celebrated. 9. This, too, that the Zôtis and Râspîs are for the Zôti duty *and* Râspî duty, *and* the other priestly authorities for the control of sin and computation (*âv*âr) of the portions; and more on the same subject.

10. About the rotation of the day-watches (gâs), days, months, and seasons of the year—which are when *it* is summer *and* winter—and the appearances (sahî*s*nŏ) therein which are owing to the motion of the constellations[1]. 11. Where the coming of the righteous guardian spirits (fravâhar) into the worldly *existence occurs*, in those ten days which are the end of the winter *and* termination of the year, because the five Gâthic days[2], among them, are for that *purpose;* the cessation of that same, as well as *its* continuance. 12. The great needfulness *of* the guardian spirits of the righteous in the ceremonial *and* obeisance of those ten days, *and* their abundant gratification therefrom; their vexation from

[1] That is, the *apparent* motions of the akhtarân, or signs of the zodiac.

[2] The five supplementary days, named after the five Gâthas, which are added to the twelfth month of thirty days to complete the 365 days of the year. They are also called fravar*d*îkân, or 'those devoted to the Fravar*d*s,' or Fravashis, the guardian spirits, or prototypes, of created beings, who are supposed to revisit their old haunts on earth during those days. The last five days of the twelfth month are also considered a part of the same festival of ten days, which would have terminated at the vernal equinox, as indicated in the text, about A.D. 1000 if the ordinary receding calendar of the Irânian Parsis were used; but it seems probable, from Bd. XXV, that the calendar in those times was fixed for the new year to begin at the vernal equinox.

want of welcome and want of obeisance; and *their* ascent from the worldly existences. 13. The extreme importance (fr*êv*ŏânîkîh) *of* liberality and bounty at that season; and the proper duty *of* the priestly authority of a district (sha*tr*ô) in assisting and interceding for the poor, for the sake of teaching, from the days devoted to the guardian spirits, *proper* actions among those having guardian spirits.

14. About the period for taking medicinal plants, and whatever is on the same subject. 15. About where *there* is a household, village, communal, *or* provincial petitioning *for* the royal chastisement *of* sins affecting the soul, each separately; *and* for whom is the atonement. 16. About the advantage owing to disposal of sin and infliction of chastisement, and the harm owing to not disposing of sin *and* neglecting the chastisement inflicted.

17. About the first thirty-three chieftainships (ra*d*îh), around *and* concealed; that is, which *and* how many are spiritual, *and* how many worldly; and which is the second, and which the third, of the spiritual *and* worldly *existences.* 18. About the admirableness and great meritoriousness *of* public observances, and the awfulness and grievous sinfulness *of* apostasy. 19. And also this, that is, when any one is doubtful, through apostasy, which is the law from the sacred beings in elucidation, and which of the sacred beings is to be entreated for assistance. 20. About this, namely, *for* which of the women the bringing of a handful of anything, from the property *of her* husband, *to be* given away is allowable, in what proportion, and how, *and* for whom; and for whom, when she gives *it* away, *it* is allowable *for* the husband to bring *it* back.

21. About this, namely, when summer comes on, where does winter run to; and when winter comes on, where does summer go to? 22. About the amount of disaster[1] *that* has passed by in one century, and the duration of *its* passing; everything which is connected with the disaster, and whatever is on the same subject. 23. Where *and* how many months are of such a kind[2], *and* how many of such a kind[2]; as well as the religious names of the twelve months, and the reason of the name of each one of them, that is, to which of the sacred beings, in the ceremonial, each one of these twelve months is predominantly appertaining; so also of the thirty days which are in every month, and so also of the five Gâthas in every *year*—that is, the five Gâthic days at the end of the year[3]—all the sacred beings *to whom they are* appertaining, and when the righteous guardian spirits (ar*d*âî fravar*d*ŏ) are reverenced.

24. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

Chapter VIII.

1. The Ra*d*ŏ-dâ*d*-aîtag[4] *contains* particulars *about* the religious and important customs *and* laws to be

[1] Pâz. vôighn.

[2] Reading hamgûn in both places; but the two words may be hamînô, 'summer,' and khamînô, 'wet weather.'

[3] The five supplementary days mentioned in § 11.

[4] Corresponding to the seventh word, *kîd*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the eighth Nask in other Rivâyats. Ra*d*ŏ-dâ*d*-aîtag means 'concerning the habits of a priestly master,' which is a fair description of the contents of this Nask, but it is misread Ratustâî, or Ratustâîd, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained originally fifty kardah, or subdivisions, of which only thirteen were recovered after the time of Alexander.

enforced. 2. The reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a sacerdotal leader, *and his* possession of a portion of the other authority (patîh) *of* a ruler also; that is, how worthiness is to be distinguished from unworthiness, and superexcellence from unworthiness, in him, namely, in the priestly chieftainship (ra*d*îh) *of* Khvanîras[1] *and* the other regions, each separately, the first which stood aloof from the Ma*zd*a-worshippers.

3. About the demonstration *and* notification of the sitting together of the archangels, the ritual and appliances in the ceremonial of the sacred beings, the position and business of the Zôtis *and* Râspîs[2] in a ceremonial, and also all the business *of* the leaders in their duty, each separately *and* originally[3]. 4. The greatness of the helpfulness (vi*g*î*d*âr-dahi*s*nîh) in good works, the kinds of helpfulness, and the proximity *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd* to the thoughts, words, *and* deeds *of* the embodied existence.

5. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

Chapter IX.

1. The Bari*s*[4] *contains* particulars about the invigorating power, truth, *and* generosity of the many

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[1] Av. *Hv*aniratha, the central region of the earth, containing the countries best known to the Irânians, around which the other six smaller regions were supposed to be arranged.

[2] See Chap. VII, 5. [3] Or 'fundamentally' (va*l* bûn).

[4] Corresponding to the eighth word, ha*k*â, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the ninth Nask in other Rivâyats. Bari*s*, or Barîs, means 'splendid, sublime;' and the Rivâyats state that it contained originally sixty kardah, or subdivisions, of which only twelve were recovered after the time of Alexander.

capabilities of instinctive *and* acquired wisdom. 2. And also the ill-advisedness of falsity, stinginess[1], and ignorance; and the many defects which are fraternizing *with* the opponent of capabilities. 3. The blessing and cursing, the good will and ill-will of the good ritual and evil ritual, the good statements and evil statements of Vohûman, Spenda*r*ma*d*, Srôsh, Aharî*s*vang[2], *and* many *other* sacred beings, and of evil thought, lust, wrath, unrighteousness[3], and many *other* demons; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

4. The destiny, nature, desire, religion, habit, learning, business, and diligence of the period, *and* whatever is on the same subject, as regards sovereignty, government, priestly authority, justice, and mediation. 5. The union, peace, and promise-keeping, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. The law and custom, good works and sin, good repute and evil repute, righteousness and wickedness, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 7. The modesty and pomp, glory and penance (srôshîkîh)[4], *and* whatever is on the same subject. 8. The connec-

[1] Pû*s*, the demon of misers in Bd. XXVIII, 28.

[2] These four angels are personifications of Av. vohû manô, 'good thought,' spe*n*ta ârmaiti*s*, 'bountiful devotion,' sraoshô, 'the obedient one,' and ashi*s* vanguhi, 'good rectitude.'

[3] These four demoniacal propensities are here mentioned as the opponents of the foregoing four angels. Akômanô and Aeshm, the first and third, are the recognised opponents of Vohûman and Srôsh, respectively (see Bd. XXX, 29). Varenô, the second, is considered a demon (see Bd. XXVIII, 25), and is mentioned in the Dînka*rd*, book VI, as opposing the angel Ar*d* or Aharî*s*vang (see Dd. XCIV, 2); here he evidently opposes another female angel, Spenda*r*ma*d*, while Aharî*s*vang or Ashi is opposed by her simple negation, Anâhar.

[4] Av. sraoshya, see Pahl. Vend. XIII, 9.

tion through ownership, subordination, service, and religion, and whatever is on the same subject. 9. The suitability and unsuitability, friendship and enmity, and whatever is on the same subject. 10. The handsomeness and ugliness, youth and decrepitude, opulence and destitution, happiness and misery, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 11. The strength in races *and* species *of* things, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 12. The learning, solving of questions, complete virtue, and whatever is on the same subject. 13. The hunger[1] and thirst, and their remedy, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. The delirium and death, and *their* expediency, and whatever is on the same subject. 15. The primitive state *and* tendency of things, precedence and sequence, and whatever is on the same subject. 16. The acceptableness *and* unacceptableness, gratification and afflictiveness[2], and whatever is on the same subject. 17. The mightiness (takîkîh), loquacity, sociality, and whatever is on the same subject. 18. The understanding *and* mind; the body *and* soul; the heaven, hell, *and* future existence; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 19. The omniscience of the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *and* all goodness of like motive, the life *and* glory of a righteous man, *and* whatever is on the same subject[3].

20. And many other arrangements of the creator, through propagation of statements, preparation of sovereignty, maintenance of the body, and preserva-

[1] Supposing that sûkŏ stands for sûd.

[2] Reading bêshînî*d*ârîh which is more probable than the bêsh*á*zînî*d*ârîh, 'curativeness,' of the MS.

[3] All the details in §§ 5–19 are to be read in connection with 'the period' mentioned in § 4.

tion of the soul; a statement adapted to that which one mentions thus: 'Truly-spoken statements are the Baris, Kaskîsrôbô, *and* Vistâsp-sâstô.'

21. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

CHAPTER X.

1. The Kaskîsrôbô[1] *contains* particulars about the explanation of the ceremonial *and* ritual of the sacred beings, through what *arises its* conversion *into* demon-worship, *and* information *as to* cleanness and uncleanness. 2. The preparations and precautions for the Yasts[2]; the tokens and signs of the overflowing and evil owing to the demons at various times, and the cause of their exhaustion *and* the final victory of the sacred beings. 3. Then the exalting chants *of* every kind, which Aûharmazd *taught* to Zaratûst, are called the teaching (sâstô) of the spirits.

4. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The Vistâsp-sâstô[3] is about particulars of

[1] Corresponding to the ninth word, vanghеus, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the tenth Nask in other Rivâyats. Kaskîsrôbô may perhaps mean 'with happy, or comfortable, statements,' and is corrupted into Kassrôb, Kaskasîrah, or Kaskanîz, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained originally sixty kardah, or subdivisions, of which only fifteen were recovered after the time of Alexander.

[2] The minor ceremonies.

[3] Corresponding to the tenth word, dazdâ, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the eleventh Nask in other Rivâ-

every kind *relating* to Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp[1]; the temper, character, demeanour, knowledge, learning, and law for sovereignty; the government of the creatures, *and* the advancement of the will of the sacred beings requisite for it.

2. The creator Aûha*r*ma*zd* sends the archangels[2] on to Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp as evidence about Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *and* a reminder of Spîtâmân Zaratû*s*t, *of* the pure goodness of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, *and of* the command for the ruler Vi*s*tâsp, as to *its* triumph, on accepting the religion from Zaratû*s*t. 3. The visible coming of the archangels to the metropolis, and, secondly, *their* domestication (handêmânîh) at the residence *of* Vi*s*tâsp and his companions; the envoys' explanation of Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s message to Vi*s*tâsp, *and* the accepting of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion *by* the obedient king Vi*s*tâsp.

4. The outpouring (sârînî*d*anŏ) of Ar*g*âsp the Khyôn[3], by the demon of wrath, for war with Vi*s*tâsp

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yats. Vi*s*tâsp-sâstô means 'the instruction of Vi*s*tâsp,' and is corrupted into Vi*s*tâsp-shâh, Vi*s*tâspâd, or Vi*s*tâsp, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained originally sixty kardah, or ʒûrat, of which only ten, or eight, were recovered after the time of Alexander. The last number refers, no doubt, to the eight far-gar*d*s still extant under the corrupt name Vi*s*tâsp Ya*s*t, which probably consist of fragments of the Avesta text of this Nask; but in comparing that text with this description it must be remembered that the author is describing the contents of the Pahlavi version which would contain much commentary.

[1] The king of Irân in the time of Zaratû*s*t, who accepted the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion; the last king of the old history derived from the Avesta (see Chap. XIII, 15, 16).

[2] Compare Vi*s*tâsp Yt. 40.

[3] The 'deadly *Hv*yaona Are*gad*-aspa' of Yt. IX, 30, XVII, 50, whom Kavi Vîstâspa prayed to be delivered from. According to the Yâ*d*kâr-î Zarîrân, Ar*g*âsp, king of the Khyôns, made war upon

and disturbance of Zaratûst; the arrangements *and* movements of king Vistâsp for that war, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

5. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The Avesta *and* commentary of the Vastag[1] *have* not reached us through *any* high-priest.

2. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The *K*itradâ*d*[2] *contains* particulars about the race of mankind; how the formation of the first

Vistâsp on account of the latter's conversion to Ma*zd*a-worship, and was defeated with great difficulty in a most desperate battle which is also described in the Shâhnâmah. Whether the Khyôns were the Chionitae of later times is uncertain.

[1] Corresponding to the eleventh word, mananghô, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the twelfth Nask in other Rivâyats. The name of this Nask is very uncertain; in five occurrences of the word the first letter is omitted once and may once be the conjunction 'and,' and the last syllable is also omitted once; the B. P. Riv. calls it Dâd, by omitting the first and last letters and varying the reading of the rest, and the other Rivâyats call it '*H*ast or 'Hast. They also state that it contained twenty-two kardah, or fargar*d*s, in six divisions treating of various religious and worldly duties, as detailed in the translations in the latter part of this volume.

[2] Corresponding to the twelfth word, *sh*yaothananãm, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fourteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. *K*itradâ*d* means 'the races produced,' a name of the same form as Dâmdâ*d*, but it is read *K*îdrast, *K*irast, or *G*irast in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained twenty-two kardah, or subdivisions.

man, Gâyômar*d*[1], by Aûha*r*ma*zd* *was* for the manifestation of the bodily form (kerpîh); and *in* what manner the first couple, Mashya and Mashyôî[2], arose. 2. About their progeny *and* lineage during the entire progress *of* mankind in the central region of Khvanîras[3], and the distribution from them into the six[4] regions which are around Khvanîras. 3. The various races, which are specially enumerated, *were* ordered to disperse by the attracting *or* banishing command of the creator, to each separate race, as to the place where it went to; *and whose* life *and* soul (nisman) are appointed from yonder *world.* 4. Also the original description of their descent into the various regions, of those, too, who are on the frontiers of Khvanîras, and those who also made their habitation in the intermediate places; *and* the customs of each one *of* the species of mankind which was produced among the original races.

5. The original establishment of law *and* custom; that of village superintendence (dihânkânîh)[5], for the cultivation *and* nourishment *of* the world, *based* upon the traditional early law (vâsarî*d* pê*s*dâ*d*ŏ); *and* that of monarchy, for the protection and govern-

[1] The original human being who was created as the source whence mankind were to spring, in the same way as 'the sole-created ox' was to be the origin of all other animals (see Bd. III, 14, 17, 19–23, IV, 1, XV, 1, 31).

[2] Literally 'man and woman,' here written masyê va-masyâôî. The mode of their origin from Gâyômar*d* and the development of man upon the earth are detailed in Bd. XV.

[3] See Chap. VIII, 2.

[4] The MS. has 'seven' by mistake.

[5] A more probable reading than gehânakânîh in the sense of 'colonization.'

ment *of* the creatures, upon Hôshâng the Pêsdâdian [1].
6. A report of the lineage of Hôshâng, who *was* the first, and Tâkhmô-rupô [2] who *was* the second ruler of the seven regions; and an enumeration of reports of lineage from the original creation even unto Yim [3].
7. A report of the lineage of Yim, the third ruler of the seven regions; information as to his period, *and* the progress (sakisnŏ) of time from the original creation till the end of the reign of Yim.

8. A report of the ill-informed evil ruler of the seven regions, Dahâk [4]; his lineage back to Tâz [5], the brother of Hôshâng and father of the Tâzîks (*Arabs*); information *as to* him and his period, the progress of time from the end of the good reign of Yim till the end of the evil reign of Dahâk, and the lineage from Yim as far as Frêdûn [6].

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[1] This 'Hôshâng of the early law,' Av. Haoshyanghô paradhâtô, is considered to have been the great-grandson of Mashya and first monarch of the world, being the founder of the Pêsdâdian dynasty (see Bd. XV, 28, XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4).

[2] Here written Tâkhmô-rípô, Av. Takhmô-urupa; the great-grandson and successor of Hôshâng (see Bd. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

[3] Av. Yimô khshaêtô, the Gamshêd of the Shâhnâmah; the brother and successor of Tâkhmô-rupô (see Bd. XXXI, 3–5, XXXIV, 4).

[4] Also called Az-î Dahâk, Av. azis dahâkô, 'destructive serpent,' a name applied to a foreign dynasty, considered as a single king who conquered Yim and succeeded him, being traditionally his third cousin once removed (see Bd. XXXI, 5, 6, XXXIV, 5). Further details are given in Bk. IX, Chap. XXI, 1–13. Dahâk was the last ruler of all the seven regions, excepting Kâî-Ûs.

[5] See Bd. XV, 26–28.

[6] Av. Thraêtaonô, son of Âthwyô, and, traditionally, the ninth in descent from Yim (see Bd. XXXI, 7, 8); nine generations being assumed necessary to allow for the thousand years' reign of the Dahâk dynasty which he put an end to. His rule was confined to the central region of Khvanîras.

9. A report of Frê*d*ûn, the ruler of Khvanîras; as to the smiting of Dahâk, the conquering of the country of Mâzendarân[1], and the allotment of Khvanîras among his three sons, Salm, Tû*g*, *and* Aîrî*k*[2]; their union with the daughters of Pât-srôbô[3], king of the Arabs and descendant of T*âz*, and the lineage and report of them, each separately. 10. The reign of Mânû*sk*îhar of Irân, descendant (n*â*pŏ) of Aîrî*k*. 11. The expiating[4] monarch Frâsîy*âv* of Tûrân, and Aûzôbŏ[5] the Tûmâspian, monarch of Irân.

12. The descendant of Mânû*sk*îhar, Kavî-Kavâ*d*, who *was* progenitor of the Kayâns and ruler of Irân; and the expiating ruler Keresâsp[6]. 13. Kâî-Ûs, *grandson*[7] of Kavâ*d*, ruler and maintainer of royalty (kaî-dânŏ) in the seven regions. 14. Kaî-Khûsrôî who *was* son of Sîyâvakhsh[8] *and* ruler of

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[1] The land on the southern coast of the Caspian belonging to the Mâzainya daêva (demons, or idolators) of the Avesta.

[2] The last of whom was slain by his brothers, and was avenged by his descendant Mânû*sk*îhar (see Bd. XXXI, 9–12).

[3] Possibly the celebrated individual of that name who is mentioned, in Pahl. Vend. XX, 4, as an instance of opulence. The Shâhnâmah speaks only of the three daughters of the king of Yaman.

[4] Or 'plundering;' but Tû*g*-hômônd here, and Tû*g*âvand in § 12, may perhaps mean 'descended from Tû*g*,' as Frâsîy*âv* was the sixth in descent from Tû*g* (see Bd. XXXI, 14).

[5] Said to have been a great-grandson of Mânû*sk*îhar (see Bd. XXXI, 23).

[6] Probably the hero who was sixth in descent from Tû*g*, and third cousin of Frâsîy*âv* (see Bk. IX, Chap. XV; Bd. XXXI, 14, 26, 27); though placed by Firdausî as a king Garshâsp preceding Kaî-Qubâd.

[7] As appears from Bd. XXXI, 25.

[8] The son of Kâî-Ûs, who did not become king.

Khvanîras. 15. And a special report of many particulars *of* the races of Irân, Tûrân, *and* Salmân[1], even unto the ruler Kaî-Lôharâsp[2] and the monarch Kaî-Vistâsp[3]. 16. The prophet (vakhshvar) of the Mazda-worshipping religion, Zaratûst the Spîtâmân, and the progress of time from the beginning of the reign of Frêdûn till the coming of Zaratûst to conference *with Aûharmazd*[4].

17. And many races and statements, onwards from that *time*, are enumerated in the same Nask as *having* existed, and are characterized by it for existence, such as the Sasanians—whom it reckons as the well-created—and their sovereignty. 18. In the race of Mânûskîhar, Nôdar[5], Yôskŏ Fryânŏ[6], *and*

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[1] The people of the Airya, Tûirya, and Sairima provinces, mentioned in Yt. XIII, 143.

[2] Fifth in descent from Kavî-Kavâd, and third cousin once removed of his predecessor Kaî-Khûsrôî (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28).

[3] Son of Kaî-Lôharâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 29).

[4] The historical legends contained in the Avesta end with the sons of king Vistâsp, and other contemporaries of Zaratûst; not a word being said of any succeeding monarch. Similarly, Bd. XXXI and this historical Nask fail to carry on the details of the royal line beyond Vistâsp; ignoring the Achæmenians, Alexander, and the Askânians, they leap over an evident gap in history (very insufficiently bridged in the more modern chapter, Bd. XXXIV) to the Sasanians. This gap, between Avesta legends and the later undoubted Persian history, is a very weak point in the continuity of the two periods. And as the mode of bridging over this gap in Bd. XXXIV occurs in a chapter 'on the computation of years of the Arabs' (see S. B. E. vol. v, p. xxxvii) it must be considered as more of an Arab than a Persian contribution to history.

[5] Av. Naotara; a son of Mânûskîhar (see Bd. XXXI, 13, 23, XXXIII, 5).

[6] Doubtful; if the second name be a patronymic, the combination suggests the Yôistô yô Fryânanãm of Yt. V, 81, XIII, 120, regarding whom the tale of Yôst-î Fryânŏ is told. No son of

Namûn, son of Spend-shê*d*[1], is *included* the father of Avarethrab*a*u[2], Âtû*r*-pâ*d* son of Mâ*r*aspend; and *its* existence, even then, remains for the future. 19. Also about the many qualities of capability and glory *of* the selfsame sovereignty, which are promoting the renovation *of the universe* destined for the races; and *its* fortune *and* splendour which are shed upon the race, and are not severed from it till the renovation[3].

20. About the original knowledge of the professions, care, and industry of the period; the great acquaintance *of* mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, *and* the deliverance of the soul; the govern-

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Nô*d*ar with a corresponding name is known, so that we are not dealing with a complete pedigree.

[1] Probably intended for Spend-dâ*d*, and we should perhaps read 'Vohûmanô, son of Spend-dâ*d*,' whose reign is celebrated as the silver age in Byt. II, 17 (see also Bd. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 8).

[2] This name, or surname, is given in Pâzand, and is also to be found in Yt. XIII, 106, as follows: 'we reverence the guardian spirit of the righteous Avarethrab*a*u, son of Râ*s*tare-vagha*nt*.' If the latter epithet were a surname of Âtû*r*-pâ*d*, the famous prime minister of Shahpûhar II, as the text intimates, we must conclude that the former epithet was a surname of his only son, Zaratû*s*t, mentioned in his Pandnâmak. These surnames, and others of their time, might have been easily interpolated in the long list of uncouth names included in the Fravar*d*în Ya*s*t, when the Avesta books were revised during the reign of Shahpûhar II, and the Nasks were 'reckoned,' as stated in the fourth book of the Dînka*rd* (see Haug's Essay on Pahlavi, pp. 146, 152).

[3] §§ 17–19 refer to text which must have been written either in the time of Shahpûhar II, or at some later period during Sasanian rule. Whereas §§ 1–16 are descriptive of an older record which, though consistent with the extant Avesta texts, could not have been compiled from them alone. And § 20 describes text that might have been written at any time.

ment necessary for the world, even before the coming of Zaratûst by order of the creator; the bringing of the word[1] from the sacred beings, and all occurrences to the leaders *of religion* at various times; *and* whatever is on the same subjects.

21. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The Spend[2] *contains* particulars about the origin *and* combination *of* the material *existence*, guardian spirit, *and* soul (nisman) of Zaratûst; how the creation of each one *occurred* in the spiritual *existence*, and *in* what mode *it was* produced for the worldly *existence;* how *their* connection with the parents *arose*, the coming of the parents together, the combination in the mother, and the birth from the mother; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 2. Also about the arrival of both spirits, the good *one* for developing, and the evil *one* for destroying; the victory *of* the good spirit, and the rearing of Zaratûst.

3. His attainment on maturity, at thirty years *of age*, to a conference *with* Aûha*r*ma*zd*; and the

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[1] Reading vakhsh in the same Avesta sense as in vakhshvar, 'a prophet;' it may, however, mean 'gain, fortune, gifts.' A similarly-written word, vâyâ, 'air, breath,' is used in Sg. XIII, 7 to translate the 'Spirit' of God in Gen. i. 2.

[2] Corresponding to the thirteenth word, angh*e*u*s*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; and it is the thirteenth Nask in all Rivâyats. Spend means 'beneficent, or bounteous,' and is written Sfend, or Spentah, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained sixty kardah, or subdivisions.

occurrence of seven conferences in ten years. 4. Many marvels, owing to him, are published therein, just as there are *some* which, collected *and* selected, are noticed by the Dînka*rd* manuscript[1].

5. *In* seven sections (burînŏ), such as are called Spend, are the seven enquiries, *in* each instance a single enquiry; *and* the bestowal of the other Nasks, in these seven enquiries, *was* through speaking out in each one *of* the places of conference. 6. About the various enquiries, the period of the sitting *and* rising *on* each occasion, the nature of the sitting of the archangels, the coming forward of Zaratûst to that domestic conclave (handêmânîh), his position *in* that place, what *there was* to say to him, *and* what *there was* to exhibit to him.

7. The conferring of the wisdom of omniscience upon Zaratûst, and *what was* seen *by* Zaratûst *of* the past *and* future, *and* the perpetual amount of duration therein, through that wisdom[2]. 8. The existence of that wisdom, *and* what that is which, after *having* subsisted in it, is again well recognised; such as, owing to it, are the highest *and* best of places, heaven and the various grades of position *and* reward *of* the righteous, according to their worthiness through the practice of good works; the most downward and worst of places, hell and the place *of* punishment *of* the wicked, according to their sin; and, between the two, the place of the ever-stationary, those having equal good works *and*

[1] In its seventh book which contains a full account of the birth and much of the life of Zaratûst, with a narrative of future events, all derived, no doubt, from the Spend Nask. Particulars connected with his birth will also be found in Bk. IX, Chap. XXIV.

[2] See Byt. II, 5–9.

sin; the *K*înva*d* bridge[1], at which is the account as to good works *and* sin; and the future existence, in which is the consummation of every one, righteous and wicked, and the preservation of all good creations from every evil occurs.

9. Information also *as to* many other things which are marvellous, and *as to* a summary of the statements of these seven enquiries, which is *derived* from knowledge of every kind. 10. Likewise, about the communication of Zaratûs*t*'s knowledge of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion to the world, his attracting mankind to the religion, *and* the ages, after Zaratûs*t*, until the renovation *of the universe.* 11. *And* about the nature of the advancement of the people of the period, the separation *of* centuries and millenniums, *and* the signs, wonders, and perplexity which are manifested in the world at the end of each millennium in the world.

12. Also as to the birth *and* arrival of Aûshê*d*ar[2], son of Zaratûs*t*, at the end of the first millennium[3], and a report of him and his time, *and of* the many destroyers of the organizers of the period between Zaratûs*t*'s millennium and the coming of Aûshê*d*ar[4].

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[1] Av. *k*invatô peretu*s*, the route to the other world (see Bk. IX, Chap. XX, 3).

[2] Commonly written Hûshê*d*ar, but i is a corruption of Av. Ukhshya*d*-ereta. He is the first of the three posthumous sons of Zaratûs*t*, who were expected to restore his religion and make it triumphant by three successive efforts, each preceded by a period of anarchy (see Bd. XXXII, 8, 9, Byt. III, 13, 43–50).

[3] The millennium of Zaratûs*t*, which, according to the chronology of the Bundahi*s*, must have ended during the period A.D. 593–635 (see Byt. III, 11 n).

[4] The occurrence of such an interval between the first millennium and the coming of Aûshê*d*ar seems inconsistent with the previous

13. The arrival of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh[1], son of Zaratû*s*t, at the end of the second millennium; information *about* him and his time, *and* the destroyers *of* the organizers who *were* within the millennium *of* Aûshê*d*ar. 14. The coming and arrival of Sôshâns[2], son of Zaratû*s*t, at the end of the third millennium, the destroyers *of* the organizers who *were* within the millennium of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh, the arrival of Sôshâns, *and* information *about* Sôshâns and his time. 15. Also, as to the renovation *of the universe and* the future existence, *it* is declared *that* they arise in his time.

16. Perfect *is* the excellence *of* righteousness.

Chapter XV.

1. The Bakân-ya*s*t[3] *contains* particulars, first, about the worship of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, the highest of divinities (bakân), and, secondly, *of* the worship of the angels of other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are likewise the names of

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statement as to his arrival at the end of that millennium, but, from Byt. III, 44, it appears probable that he was expected to come in the 600th year of the next millennium (A.D. 1193–1235).

[1] Commonly written Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, but it is a corruption of Av. Ukhshya*d*-nemangh. He is the second of the expected posthumous sons (see Byt. III, 52, 53).

[2] Av. Saoshyãs; the last of the posthumous sons, who is expected to complete the triumph of the religion, and prepare for the renovation of the universe (see Bd. XXX, 4, 7, 25, 27, Byt. III, 62).

[3] Corresponding to the fourteenth word, mazdâi, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fifteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. Bakân-ya*s*t means 'worship of the divinities,' and is written Baghân-ya*s*t, or Bayân-ya*s*t, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained seventeen kardah, or subdivisions.

the days[1]; *also* their glory, power, triumph, *and* marvellousness. 2. Besides, also, many angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention *and* obeisance *due* to them.

3. The worthiness *and* dispensation of favour for worshippers, *and* the duty of their many separate recitations unto the angels. 4. The duty of unlimited acquaintance *with* knowledge about the possessions *and* arrangements of the period, over which the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd* *has* appointed them, and they remain to cause industry.

5. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The beginning of the law is the Nîkâ*d*ûm[2] *of* thirty fargar*ds*[3]. 2. The section Patkâr-ra*d*istân ('*magistrate code*')[4] is about this, that the ruin *and* misery (ayôyakîh) from the destroyer, for mankind and animals, occurring really apart from the spiritual *existence*, have arisen through the sinfulness even of

[1] Each of the days of the Parsi month being named after some particular angel, or spirit. From this description it appears probable that the Yasts formed a part of this Nask; but, if so, it ought to have contained at least thirty chapters.

[2] Corresponding to the fifteenth word, khshathrem*k*â, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the sixteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. This name should probably be Vîk-*aît*-tûm, meaning 'the most separate concerns,' as the Nask refers chiefly to public law; but it is called Niyâram, or Niyâdâm, in the Rivâyats.

[3] The Rivâyats say fifty-four kardah, which number may have been obtained by adding the 'twenty-four particulars,' mentioned in Chap. XX, 1, to the thirty fargar*ds* stated here.

[4] The patkâr-ra*d*, or settler of disputes, appears to have held a position somewhere between an arbitrator and a judge, and which may be approximately defined as that of a magistrate.

mankind; *and* the progress of ruin and misery in the world is owing to unauthorisedly assaulting one another. 3. Advice to mankind about abstaining therefrom, *with* an estimate of an authorised assault, *and*, again, for a slight assault and no assault. 4. To stand magisterially, even opposed to the unmagisterial, with freedom from hurt and loss to oneself; *and* to abstain altogether, likewise, from the most innocuous (anakhrûgûnôtûm) assault even upon an unmagisterial *person*.

5. *In* all magisterial investigation (patkâr-ra*d*îh) —of which, when the custom that exists is established judicially, the substance is two statements, which are verbal and demonstrable, that subsist in different combinations—*there* are four species: the verbal and demonstrable, the verbal which is not demonstrable, the demonstrable *which* is not verbal, *and that which is* neither verbal nor yet demonstrable. 6. In the arguments (sâmân) which are allotted *as* verbal are four species, the dispute *having* different arguments *and* different assertions which are for unmagisterial investigation, for one's own priestly authority (ra*d*ŏ), for another good man —three of such being requisite[1]—and also for other evidence[2]. 7. And in those which are allotted *as* demonstrable are six species, and for an unmagisterial *person* the assertions, like the previous species which are on the same subject, are twelve[3]. 8. Of

[1] Evidently referring to arbitrators with an umpire.

[2] Reading hanŏ gôkâyîh, but hanŏ is an unusual form. Perhaps agôkâyîh, 'want of evidence,' would be more suitable to the context.

[3] So the MS., but 'four' would suit the context better, and the two Pahlavi ciphers do not differ much in shape.

all unmagisterial proceedings—which, though it be a custom, is to proceed unauthorisedly—the species are five[1], which consist in *having* demonstrated, getting upon, striking[2], *having* caused a wound, and *having* slain.

9. Of *those* subject to the magistrate (patkârra*d*ŏ-hômônd) the twelve species are divided into four sections of three each. 10. One section are the hearing who are seeing, they to whom a dispute which is verbal [is demonstrable; the hearing who are not seeing, they to whom a dispute which is verbal[3]] is not demonstrable; and the seeing who are not hearing, they to whom even a dispute which is demonstrable is not verbal. 11. And with these three, who are in one section, there is magisterial investigation; and the magistrate, unless (ba*r*â hat)[4] risk for the body *be* certain, is then irresistible; which is as though it be said *that* to restrain by

[1] These five grades of unauthorised retribution are analogous to the five grades of personal outrage mentioned in Vend. IV, 17.

[2] Pahl. zatam, 'a blow, assault, striking,' is used throughout, instead of zâkham (Pers. za'*h*m), which latter word does not occur in these two books of the Dînka*rd*, except in the form zakhamîhastanŏ in Bk. IX, Chap. VIII, 6. The Farhang-î Oîm-aêvak also uses zatôm in the same sense, in its oldest MSS.; and Dd. V, 1 has zatam. Darmesteter suggests that zatam and zâkham are both traceable to an original zathma, or zathema.

[3] The words in brackets are omitted by mistake in the MS.

[4] The ambiguity, mentioned in the latter clause of this section, appears to lie in these words, which mean either 'but if' or 'only if.' Such ambiguity must have existed in the original Pahlavi text of the Nask, and probably indicates that the earlier part of this section is a summary of the Pahlavi version of the original Avesta text, while the latter part is a summary of the Pahlavi commentary upon that version. As the same ambiguity occurs, without comment, in § 12, where the meaning seems tolerably certain, it is doubtful if the commentator's opinion can be adopted.

wounding (rêsh) is not justifiable, *but* the decision therein is this, that, when they do not change through lawful litigation, and they cannot hold back without wounding, *it* is justifiable to keep *them* back even by wounding. 12. One section are the not hearing who are also not seeing, the women, and the children; and with these three, who are in one section, there is no magisterial investigation; and the decision *as to* the bodies thereof is this, that, unless risk for the body *be* certain from their complete change, they are then to be completely changed (ba*r*â var*dis*nŏ). 13. One section are the foreigner and *him* worthy of death, certain of thereby producing a sentence for *being* executed from the judges; *also* the highwayman, when he stays on the highway and his destruction is proclaimed, *but* it is not possible to effect *it*. 14. With these three, likewise, who are in one section, there is no magisterial investigation, but the decision about them is even this, that when *one* is utterly destroying their life, *one* is thereby possessing merit. 15. One section are they who are walking, *or* coming upon *one*, unseasonably, *or* retreating confused into a rugged place, *and*, when *people* ask them to speak, *they* are giving no answer, *and* they are not suspicious as foreigners. 16. With these three, likewise, who are in one section, there is no magisterial investigation, and the decision about them is this, that when *one* kills them outright, *one* does not become sinful thereby.

17. *As to* whatever is on the same subject it introduces many opinions, and also this, that a counter-assault (*avâz*-zatam) is that which becomes a blow and wound, *and* is to be so committed when it

is possible to produce *them* again exactly in every single particular.

CHAPTER XVII.

Nîkâdûm Nask.

1. The second section is the Zatamistân ('*assault code*'), particulars about assault (zatam) and the annoyances (vêshîgânŏ) from assault, such as pain, blood, and unconsciousness; *also* the sin[1] that a man may commit in a state of unconsciousness. 2. About the seven kinds of symptoms of unconsciousness, and separate decisions about assaults that adults may commit among those who are children; also as regards an assault which proceeds to pain *and* blood, and as regards that *in* which the duration of the disposition of wrath abates the pain *and* blood.

3. About begging (khvahîsnŏ) *and* beneficence (hû-dahîsnŏ)[2], such as those of which *one* says in particular *there* are four species: when stinginess (pûsîh) benefits pride (pîkŏ), when pride benefits stinginess, when stinginess benefits stinginess, and when pride benefits pride; and *there* are three other species that originate from these *last* two, in consultation together, when stinginess and pride benefit stinginess and pride, when stinginess and pride benefit stinginess, and when stinginess and pride benefit pride, *all* which, *together*, constitute the seven primary species; many others, too, are traced back to these. 4. Also about seeing the depravity (khang

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[1] Involuntary violations of the ceremonial law.

[2] The terms used in this section are not quite certain.

dî*d*anŏ) of a perverting member of the community (kastâr dâhm) and of the perverter of a member of the community, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

5. About a weapon seizable, and a weapon *one* brings, *there* is this, namely, what is the thing which is imperfect (anas*p*ôrîk) as a weapon, what is that which is not, and what is that which is welcome as a weapon; what is that which, when any one forces *it* back at any one as a weapon, is itself something annoying to him; what is his natural annoyance and what his imparted; *and* the penalty *in* property and difference of sentence on a man who is carrying a weapon, due to any weapon *he has* to carry away.

6. About the six modes of engaging in conflict: through assault, tumult (khva*s*i*s*nŏ)[1], false teaching (mîtôk-sâstô)[2], giving no food (atapdâ*d*ŏ)[3], speaking with wizard's spells[4], and speaking with threats of danger[5]; and, where *there is* an engaging

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[1] Pers. '*h*asîs. Farh. Oîm, p. 34, ll. 6–8, has '*Av.* vâiti=*Pahl.* khva*s*i*s*nŏ is that when *one* runs behind any one for offensiveness.'

[2] Farh. Oîm, p. 35, ll. 1–4, has '*Av.* mithôsâst and its explanation "false teaching" are that when *one* teaches a false way to any one; even when he unaccustomedly shows *it* rightly to any one, *it* is a committal of Mithôsâst by him.'

[3] Compare Pers. tabah, tô, tôî. Farh. Oîm, p. 38, ll. 2–4, has 'Ataftdâ*d* is that when *one* keeps back food and drink, whereby *there* is hunger and thirst.' It is worthy of death (see Chap. XX, 97).

[4] Farh. Oîm, p. 34, ll. 3–5, has '*Av.* yâtukhta, through wizard's spells (yâtûk-gôbi*s*nîhâ), is that when *one* shall speak thus: "I will destroy thee through witchcraft;" when *one* says "through the spirits' lack of good religion" *it* is of the same kind.'

[5] Farh. Oîm, p. 34, ll. 5, 6, has '*Av.* dudhuwi buzda, threats of danger (saham-numâyi*s*nîh), is that when *one* speaks thus: "I *will* strike with worldly weapons."'

in conflict, it then occurs when *one has* stood up for beginning *it* and the assault is committed, *on* one by the other, *and* not before. 7. And this, too, that engaging in conflict occurs *as regards* adult with adult, childless women with childless women, pregnant women with pregnant women, and children of seven years with children of seven years—*but*, as regards children of seven years in sight of *their* fathers, it becomes an engaging in conflict of the fathers—and the decision about it is this, that the atonement for every sin which may be committed through engaging in conflict goes to the priestly authorities.

8. About the affliction *of* a pure lord who sees any one *who* has been useless (abûn) unto *his* slave, though the slave is beseeching, and does not contend for *his* ownership. 9. About sin *affecting* accusers[1] not being atoned for by any other good work, except unto the accuser himself; *also* about the slaying of a servant together with *his* lord, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

10. About slaying *by* untaught children of seven years, *or* even of eight years in sight of *their* fathers; *and* the criminality of the fathers therein, when *it* is possible for them to hinder *it and* they do not hinder *it*, and when *it* is not possible for them to hinder *it*.

Chapter XVIII.

Nîkâdûm Nask.

1. The third section is the Rêshistân ('*wound code*'), particulars about cutting, tearing, cleaving,

[1] A sin which injures another person, or any good creation, who must be satisfied by compensation before the sin can be remitted.

disembowelling, stabbing, gnawing[1], rupturing, hacking, mutilating, and withering[2]; such as are all called wounds. 2. The upheaving circular movement of a certain serpent-scourge[3], the throwing down of the person, and the flow of blood from the bodies of the people.

3. How the various members are divided into seventy-six that are more particularly called principal, which are comprised in two classes; two of these, which are clothed *and* different, one from the other, are female, and *some* out of the surrounding parts (girvôgânîh), which are *apart* from eight of the principal, that are comprised in the members of the two classes *and* among those seventy-six—*and* which, in like manner, are different one from the other—are female, and are *of* different purpose and different design, one from the other.

4. These, too, namely, when any one, through an assault, produces, for any other, stupefaction, swelling, or leanness, blackness[4], or paleness, shortness, or tallness, want of intelligence, much eating, little eating, or moderate eating, indolence, or diligence, or dulness of hearing; or he wishes to speak *some* words, and they strike him in return; or *one* altogether diminishes *any* one's speech, sight, *or* hearing,

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[1] Or, perhaps, khvâyi*s*nŏ (compare Pers. '*h*âyîdan) may mean 'biting.'

[2] The last four terms are, in Pahlavi: *s*kônis*n*ŏ, khûr*d*ŏ ka*rd*anŏ, tâshî*d*anŏ, and khûsînî*d*anŏ.

[3] The mâr-ganô (Av. khrafstraghna), we are told in Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 6, 'may be *made* of anything, *but* a leathern *one* is good' (see also Bd. XXVIII, 22). Intended as a snake-killer, it was misused as a scourge for human beings.

[4] Assuming that vê*s*îh, 'excess,' is a miswriting of siyahîh.

wisdom, strength, *or* semen, milk, *or* pregnancy; *or* when *one* destroys the spleen (s*p*ur) or milk of females, or, in revenge (gî*f*ar), kills *his* son outright; *or* when they would inflict a wound upon a wound, and one's blood goes streaming forth.

5. Also about an assault with one, two, or three weapons, or more, in conjunction; or they may commit *it* on the spot, or in confederacy, or as a first offence[1]. 6. About the measure of a wound when a two-edged sword (dôbarakŏ) plunges down, the area (sarâî), walls, and surroundings, and the shape which is plunged; that *which* is hacked, or cleft, or mutilated, or a torrent *of* blood streaming; the affliction (vamang) of the furious serpent-scourge (mârvanô)[2], and the length, glitter, and weight of the weapon.

7. The ritual for the departure of a wound and the departure of pain, watching over *it for* the duration of three nights *or* a year, *its* greater wretchedness *or* less wretchedness, *its* cure (s*p*ôrîkîh) *or* incurableness, and whatever is on the same subject. 8. Trivial enumerations, and decisions upon each separately.

Chapter XIX.

Nîkâdûm Nask.

1. The fourth section, which is also called the law of the Hamêmâlistân ('*accuser's code*'), *contains* particulars about accusation, and about the false

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[1] These three modes are expressed by Pâz. ithrih, hidhih, and apavarâvarstih, which stand evidently for the original Avesta words ithra, hadha, and apaurvavarsta (see Chap. XXI, 6).

[2] See § 2.

accusation *by* any one, regarding any other, as to witchcraft, destroying a righteous *man*[1], theft, plunder, injuring the existence, minor injury[2] as regards several particular things, taking up *a weapon*, threatening with it[3], assault, tumult[4], incarcerating[5], false teaching, fettering making dejected (nigûnŏ), giving no food, falsehood, speaking with wizard's spells, or with threats of danger, abstracting

[1] Pahl. aharûbŏkîh (=Av. ashavagha) must not be confounded with aharûbŏîh, 'righteousness,' for which aharâyîh is more commonly used.

[2] These two kinds of injury, usually written bâîô*d*ôk-zê*d*ŏ and kâîtyôk-*g*a*d*ŏ in the Dînka*rd*, are mentioned in Farh. Oîm, pp. 32, l. 8–34, l. 2, as follows :—'*Av.* baodha*g*a*d*=*Pahl.* bô*d*ô-zê*d* *and Av.* baodhô-var*s*tahê=*Pahl.* bô*d*ôk-var*s*t are as *it were* "observantly assaulted," and *one* mentions *them* most about the assault and injury of anything which is noticeable. Through falsehood other noticeable sin is small, *and* is subdued through *being* devoid of an injurer, as the assault *and* injury of anything through wear is a small sin. Kâîtyô-*g*e*d* is a sin for mankind, which is a degree of Bô*d*ôk-zê*d*, *but* less; so also the decree (dastînak) is different from Bô*d*ôk-var*s*t. The principal Bô*d*ôk-zê*d*, that of a imals with observance, the Bô*d*ôk-zê*d* through wear, *and* the Kâîtyôk-zê*d* sin towards people are sins which are hamêmâlân ("affecting accusers"). The dissipating weapon for sin dissipates the sinfulness of the other sin, which is called rûbânîk ("affecting the soul").'

[3] These two terms are âgêreptŏ and avôîri*s*tŏ (Av. âgereptem and avaoiri*s*tem) which are thus described in Farh. Oîm, p. 36, ll. 4–6: 'âgerept, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent *person;* avoîri*s*t, "turning," is that when *one* turns the weapon upon an innocent *person*.'

[4] See Chap. XVII, 6, for some of these terms.

[5] Pahl. handerêtŏ which is thus described in Farh. Oîm, pp. 34, l. 8–35, l. 1: '*Av.* ha*n*dereiti, *Pahl.* handeretŏ, is that when, owing to negligence, *one* keeps any one exhausted; when *one* would make him fallen who is of the ruined, or him who is a master of arms, and *has* imprisoned him, the causing of much anguish thereby is the committal of incarceration.' See also § 44.

the increase of labourers' wages, wishing to cut (vurî*d*anŏ) and squeeze (pashkhâ*d*anŏ) anything *from any* one, and seizing (ma*g*î*d*anŏ) *it* for fire *and* water, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 2. Also about the limitation of the accusation of sin therein, the retribution for *it*, and the dust, or ashes, or flour, for the eyes and the rest of the bodies of human beings, it now[1] speaks henceforth for thirty successive heads[2].

3. About the sin of making people eat bodily refuse[3], *and* bringing *it* unlawfully to *their* persons *or* clothes; *and of* going to a menstruous woman, or a wizard. 4. About a juvenile and well-behaved woman who comes out from a house of those of the good religion, *and* is considered as well taught. 5. About falsehood *and* slander, small *and* great, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About the care of a pregnant woman in lawful reclining (khapâk), feasting (*g*ashnŏ), and work.

7. About a householder who does not teach his own household, *in order* to teach the household of another; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 8. About a quiet *and* an unquiet *person* with equal opinionativeness, and the opinion which *they have* to form before beginning. 9. About the expediency *or* inexpediency of the opinion which is announced, and the reason of both. 10. About the man who, for fear of a counter-assault, runs away.

11. Also about not renouncing *sin*, neglecting complaints, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

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[1] Pâz. knîn (=knûn).

[2] Of which the details are not mentioned.

[3] Pahl. hîkhar (Av. hikhra) is any refuse or dirt from the living body, or any liquid exudation from a corpse.

12. The difference *of* sin in priests from that in any one else, as regards *its* renunciation. 13. About the expediency of retribution, and the measure of the expediency. 14. About *and* to what extent is the authority of one's own priestly master, *for* allowing the sin which any other person may commit as regards a disciple of that same, and that, too, of his disciple affecting the soul.

15. About the chastisement of a judge who is releasing sinners, and whatever is on the same subject. 16. About the justifiableness *of* a plaintiff in committing illegality. 17. About seizing the purity produced for foreigners, and whatever is on the same subject. 18. About *one* worthy of death making supplication (lâvakŏ), co-operation with *one* worthy of death, and whatever is on the same subject. 19. About confession as regards anything, the object of confession, and whatever is on the same subject. 20. About exhibiting a liking for sin worthy of death.

21. About a blow with a weapon, which is incomplete *or* not incomplete, when adults *or* children shall inflict *it, or* when children with mutual assistance. 22. About a wounded *person* whose anguish *was* allayed by medicine, the arising of the anguish again from disease, *when* he died, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

23. About taking security (garôbŏ) from the defendant after the decree of the judges. 24. About the legal proceedings as to an offence when, owing to the incapability *of* the plaintiff, adjournment *has* always occurred, *and* a man would occasion an acceleration of the statement of law (dâ*d*ŏ vâ*k*) *and of* the procedure of the plaintiff. 25. About appointing

a mediator (dâ*d*ak-gôbŏ), *and* the object of mediation.

26. About an assault (zatam) which is altogether of furious (pûr-tâk) origin. 27. And about a harmless (*â*za*d*) assault and striking back fairly to test a weapon, *and*, when it is not possible fairly, turning *it* into execution of duty, or giving of scars (pi*s*an*g*-das), or punishment; a statement of the change, and whatever is on the same subject. 28. About the limit of the punishment of a child for the sin it may commit. 29. About seeking an interpretation (pâ*d*ŏ-khân), the limit of interpreting, and whatever is on the same subject. 30. As regards a signal of approving the words *of* any one, on passing away, are these:—About giving up anything, making a will about it, *and* renunciation of sin.

31. About committing an assault *upon* an unknown person at an indefinite time, and whatever is on the same subject. 32. About giving a weapon *and* telling *some one* to kill a foreigner who is taken for judicial investigation, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 33. About the great hinderers[1] who are slain by a righteous man, who the great hinderers are, *and* unto whom it occurs; when *one has* to command *it* as assistance for one or many, or they shall commit the assault in advance *or* afterwards, and whatever is on the same subject. 34. About the weapon they shall seize *it is* stated thus: 'I see a man and a sheep, I strike upon this *and* upon that, and *it* is gone:' *and* whatever is upon the same subject.

[1] Doubtful: the word can be read freh-gasîgân on its first occurrence, and freh-ga*s*îgânŏ on its last; but both reading and meaning are very uncertain.

35. About petitioning, *and* the going of a frontier governor (mar'zpân) to the feet of tyrants (sâstârânŏ) to speak of regulations, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 36. Where *and* when *one* strikes a living *person* he vexes *him*, and the living *person* he strikes vexes *him when* dead; *but* he who strikes a dead *person* is vexed alive, and the dead *person* he strikes vexes *him when* dead; and whatever is on the same subject.

37. As to wood and useless pith (dîl), that which is for keeping is as far as a dimension that is mentioned, *and one*, therefore, passes *it* by not to burn; concerning also that wood which is only for the blast of a furnace (gûrîh zîgâ) as firewood, the burning *and* dimensions and blast of the furnace *are stated*, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 38. About the sin through which a man attains from atonement to the sacred-twig ordeal (baresmôk-varîh), *and* from the sacred-twig ordeal to the heat ordeal (garemôk-varîh) which *has* maintained the worthiness of an assault that is an actual inexcusability (*ak*ârîh)[1] to reasoning thought; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

39. About the excellence of physicians, *their* merit from doing good, *and* sin from not doing good; the quality that exists as regards medicines, seeking a physician for animals also, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 40. About a horse, which is new to the saddle (kôfak), *being* made tailless (kap*k*) and not feeding (akhavânŏ), how *it* is done, the sin owing to doing *it* unlawfully and heedlessly, the

[1] It might be 'inevitability,' but this would render the ordeal unnecessary.

wound *and* damage *that* arise from it, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

41. About several persons, when anything that is imperfect, *or* even not imperfect, as a weapon is convenient to them, and a wound occurs, and *it* is not evident which, *or* who, threw the weapon, it is not necessary to know *its* imperfection *or* lack of imperfection[1]; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 42. About the three modes for thrusting a weapon are these *details*, that is, so much of it when *one* thrusts it on ground that is hard, or soft, or full of ruggednesses (*âk*ârîgânakŏ); when *one* shall bear it up aloft, and the amount of the height; *and* when *one* impels it again with a sweep, or *has* to draw up its centre at the time of a sweep; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 43. About an assault and the most hurtful occasion when, *for* the same reason, they would celebrate a religious rite; the retribution on the spot, *and* the sentence upon the fourth occasion[2].

44. About incarcerating (handerêtŏ) in a frightful and inaccessible (avi*d*arg) place, and among noxious creatures; the quantity of noxious creatures, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 45. About grasping the tail of an ox, or a horse, on which *another* sits, to hold *it* back, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 46. About threatening danger,

[1] The fact of the wound being sufficient to prove the unlawfulness of using the weapon.

[2] According to Vend. IV, 35, if a man wounds another so that the blood comes, and does this for the *fourth* time, he becomes an outcast and receives the maximum punishment. Also, when a person walks without the sacred girdle or shirt (Vend. XVIII, 59), it is at the *fourth* step that the demons possess him.

wizard's spells[1], *and* whatever is on the same subject.

47. About plaints as to the value of a lamb[2], or a sheep[3], or a beast *of burden* (stôr), or a human being (vîrôk)[4]; either *when* the plaintiffs are one, or two, or three, or four, or many; how *one has* to summon the defendant, and how much time *there* is. 48. About when the controversy (han-bêshinîh) is as to theft (dûgŏ), and the confession as to plunder (*av*or); or the controversy is as to plunder, *and* the confession as to theft; and when the controversy is as to injuring the existence[5], *and* the confession as to minor injury; or the controversy is as to minor injury, and the confession as to injuring the existence; *and* when the controversy is as to theft *and* plunder, *and* the confession as to injuring the existence *and* minor injury; or the controversy is as to injuring the existence *and* minor injury, *and* the confession as to theft *and* plunder. 49. And when the controversy is about so much, *and* the confession about so much *of* a different kind; when the controversy is about so much, and the confession about more of a different kind; when the controversy is about so much, *and* the confession about less *of* a different kind; when the controversy is about so much, *and* the confession as to more of the same kind; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

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[1] See Chap. XVII, 6.

[2] Pahl. Av. as*p*erenô (=Pahl. anas*p*ôrîk) 'imperfect, immature;' an epithet for a lamb or kid.

[3] Pahl. anûmôyê (Av. anumaya), probably 'bleater,' an epithet for a sheep or goat.

[4] These four grades of value are mentioned in Vend. IV, 48.

[5] See § 1.

50. About the sin of unfriendliness *of* a master towards a disciple, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 51. About taking a thief of any one's goods (aîsîgânŏ), conducting *him* to the judges, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 52. This, too, that when affliction has come upon a good *man*, the effort of every one, for removing that affliction, should continue just as though it happened to himself. 53. And when a good *man* is beaten through malice, the effort of every one, in demanding compensation for him from the smiter, should continue just as though it happened to himself. 54. And this, too, that, when there is no danger for one, the power of affording assistance is thus assistance *of* the innocent; *and*, as to the property which may be carried *away* from him, *and of which* they shall make no restitution, after as much as a Hâsar[1] the carrier *off* becomes guilty *and* liable to penalty.

55. About the distinction of indigenous and foreign (aîr va-an-aîr) thieves as to cold and the clothing given, *and* as to sickness *and* undergoing remedies. 56. About the hands of a foreigner *being* unfettered for no other reason but care of water and fire, to

[1] A Hâsar (Av. hâthra) is a measure of distance, as well as of time. This is stated in Farh. Oîm, pp. 41, l. 11–42, l. 3, thus:—'Of the Hâsar there are also several kinds that express measurement. A medium Hâsar on the ground, which they call also a Parasang, is a thousand steps of two feet which have to walk. With the lapse of time of a medium Hâsar the day and night are computed.' Again, p. 43, ll. 1–3 state that 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day; that day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least.' From this it appears that an average Hâsar of distance is a thousand paces, or Roman mile; and an average Hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes.

preserve *them* from blood, filth, and injury (âsipŏ). 57. About the sin of not restraining him who is the first assailant of two combatants, as soon as his attack is seen. 58. About teaching the peace of renunciation *of sin*, the bond of worthiness of him *of* great power even when proffering union in renunciation *with* him of little power, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

59. On the nature of responding about the keeping *away* from *one* worthy of death which arises through great judiciousness, the reason of keeping, how to keep, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 60. And on the nature of responding when they ask in malice about a righteous man, when *one* knows *his* whereabouts, and when *one* does not know. 61. About how *one* is to give a weapon to generals (hên-gô-pa*d*ânŏ) *and* august frontier governors.

62. About authorisedly shooting an arrow at *one* worthy of death, which is given again for killing *him* to any one unto whom the *person* worthy of death is consigned *and* becomes supplicating (lânakŏ) *and* goes to the middle of the distance, and they shall afford him assistance *and* enervate *him* for *it*, when, through the three words[1] which he utters, they do not deliver *him* up again. 63. About *one* worthy of death who is preserved with great judiciousness when the evidence, which they give before that about him, is through another *one* worthy of death, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 64. About evidence as to witchcraft and destroying a righteous *man*, that is, in what propor-

[1] Possibly hûmat, hûkht, hûvar*s*t, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' which would be accepted as a sign of repentance.

tion it is certain or doubtful. 65. About causing the execution of *one* worthy of death *for* entertaining fondness for witchcraft and laughing at witchcraft, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

CHAPTER XX.

Nîkâdûm Nask.

1. *In* the fifth section are twenty-four particulars[1] about the standing up and going forth of a man with a weapon and angry thoughts towards *another* man; and also when he takes a beast *of burden*, saddles *it*, and sits upon *it*, takes the rein[2] (ayôkham) in hand and walks *away;* this, too, that, when he arrives there, he smites that *man*, or some one else; and whatever is on the same subject. 2. About what *one has* to do when the conversation of two men is *of* the destruction of a righteous man, *of* highway robbery, and *of* the cursing owing thereto; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 3. About what *one has* to do when, of two men who are *on* the same road, one slays a righteous man; *and about* the other when *he is* fearless, *and* when *he is* fearful. 4. About preserving *one* worthy of death when it is requisite for medical purposes (bezashkîh), though the plaintiff is *of* a different opinion; and whatever is on the same subject.

5. About the needlessness of plaintiffs *and* defendants speaking as to the substance (min tanû) of

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[1] It is not clear whether these twenty-four particulars are to be sought in the details of § 1, or in the whole chapter, or some portion of it.

[2] Merely a guess.

the law, when the witness and judge is the supreme priest; the confidence which they may place *in* the decision of the supreme priest, due to his own knowledge *and* evidence, when, moreover, *they have* not to atone in the body; *and* the want of confidence *in* another judge when, moreover, *they have* to atone in the body, *and* the needfulness of plaintiffs *and* defendants speaking on the substance (va*l* tanû) of the law, even when the judge is aware of the law. 6. About unauthorised combatants, become mutually sinful, when, to dissipate (sîkhtanŏ) a wound of the one, *he* would make the *other* one worthy of death. 7. About supplies (pishôn)[1] in travelling together, and their renewal; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

8. About inflicting penalties *by* magistrates, the assistance *of* the unmagisterial *given* to magistrates, the assistance of the magistrates, *and* the exemption of these *latter* from atonement to those *former;* likewise about conversation as to an assault, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 9. About the evasion of penalty *by* men at the *time* when a sin may be committed, and the arrest *of their* nearest relations *being* important, in whatever measure implicated therein *and* impossible to consider innocent; how to confine and make them really coerced to seek a remedy, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 10. About the powerfulness which comforts in sin where *there* is any special worthiness, and the reason

[1] Compare Pers. bi*s*in*g*, Av. fshaoni. In some cases it might perhaps be read pîkhvô, and be traced to Av. pithwa. The word often occurs, as in § 11, Chaps. XXIII, 3, 15, XXVI, 10, XXVII, 4, 6, XXXI, 25, 36, XXXVII, 5, 7, 22, XLI, 19, 23, XLIII, 19, and its meaning, 'provision, or nourishment,' is well ascertained.

of any worthiness; the want of power where *there* is special unworthiness, and the reason of any unworthiness; the production of the good works of one towards another of the powerful, *and* of the sin of one of those lacking power; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

11. About the plaint which *one has* to argue, and for the defendant to dispute; the time for making the statement (gôbŏ) when the defendant does not come, or comes not to conduct the business; the several peculiarities of plaintiff and defendant, the time for conducting *being* on the day before yesterday, the firm *one* and the powerless, the incrimination therein, the death-blow on the exhaustion of the possessions of the plaintiff, and provisions for conducting the legal proceedings; a privileged wife[1] shall be capable of making a plaint *for her* husband, and *of* informing the husband of the plaint; when her property is anything whatever, and nothing is manifest as to that wealth, *she* is to be admitted for evidence; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

12. About the ordeal of those *who have* atoned, *of* those *undergoing* the sacred-twig ordeal, *and of* those *undergoing* the heat ordeal, *who are* pure; the freedom from falsehood of which, each separately, which they, every one of them, request when the ordeal is not that for their own station, but that for the station of others; and whatever is on the same subject. 13. About the object of any evidence, and, on account of the reason of *its* propriety, the impropriety of any one *being* without evidence; *and* what-

[1] One married to her husband with the parents' consent, and never betrothed to another, so that she and her children belong to him in both worlds (see Bd. XXXII, 6 n).

ever is on the same subject. 14. About the reality *of* a statement due to an ordeal, and so many *having* gone to the ordeal place for the sake of watching the first-comer *and* after-comer; the time *of* performance, the statement, the ceremonial and the invulnerableness due to it; the kinds *of* incrimination, how to protect the limbs by which the ordeal is accomplished, *and* each one *of* the formulas (nîrang) of protection; the superintendence for observing the ceremonial, *and* the decision about the acquitted *or* convicted *one.* 15. This, too, that is, whose going to the ordeal place is first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth; *and by* whom is the command to be given. 16. About the business of the ordeal attendants (var aûstîgânŏ). 17. About incrimination through confession, or *some* other reason, the reliance restored thereby, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 18. About a thief destroying life *and* escaping, the suspicion owing thereto, about any one, as to assisting the thief, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 19. About *there* being no ordeal for those confessing, *and* so also as regards those of good repute; accusation as to the existence of a limit *to* the good repute, even that which is for the extent of a Yûgyâst, a Dashmest, an Agoyôst, a Ta*k*ar, and a Hâsar[1] *at* the least.

[1] The relative lengths of these five measures of distance are stated in Farh. Oîm, p. 41, ll. 9–11, as follows:—'So much as two Dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) is as much as a Yûgyast (Av. yugyasti); so much as two Agoyôhast is as much as a Dashmêst; so much as two Ta*k*ar is as much as an Agoyôhast; *and* so much as two Hâsar (Av. hâthra) is as much as a Ta*k*ar (Av. ta*k*ara).' As the average Hâsar is a Roman mile (see Chap. XIX, 54 n), the Ta*k*ar ('run?') is two, the Agoyôst or Agoyôhast ('cattle-run?'

20. About litigation as to a costly article, when a witness of *its* possession by the one *party* is *combined* with non-possession by the *other* one with no witness, or *with its* possession by the *other* one with a single witness; or the witness of one is with the sacred beings, *and its* possession by the *other* one is likewise not manifest; when both *parties* are related (khidyahîk), or both are unrelated (anazdîhîk); and what kind *of* possession they say is most real. 21. About annulling the decision of a judge, and the time *it* is done at *the court of* a chief judge, and also owing to an ordeal for certainty; and whatever is on the same subject. 22. About the litigation of three persons as to property *it* is declared, so much is given to one *on* the day Aûha*r*ma*zd* to the day Vohûman[1], to *another* one *on* the day A*rd*avahi*st*, *and* possession is not made *over to the third* one at all.

23. About selling property which is not one's own, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 24. About controversy as to anything which ought not to occur. 25. About any essential dispute *that* any one has, *when* agreeing thus: 'I do not have it *as* my own, but owing to the other person;' and whatever is on the same subject. 26. About the litigation of an Irânian with a foreigner, *or* with foreigners, *of* a

Av. gaoyaoiti?) is four, the Dashmêst ('distance-mark?') is eight, and the Yûgyâst ('stage?') is sixteen miles. This series of distances is analogous to the Sanskrit series, but more elaborate; the Hâsar is best compared with the Kro*s*a as the commonest unit of moderate distance, though less than half its usual length; the Agoyôst is nearly the same as the Gavyûta; and the Yûgyâst is analogous to the Yo*g*ana, though nearly double its length.

[1] That is, on the first or second day of the Parsi month; and to the other on the third day.

foreigner with an Irânian, *or* a slave with a man of the country, as to a costly article; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 27. About a much-clamouring plaintiff *having* summoned defendants to the judges regarding a decision, and about the perverted wordiness *and* mixed verbiage in the legal proceedings; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

28. About the time for a high-priest of property and possessions, what is the specific necessity for a high-priest, and whatever is on the same subject. 29. About the fitness of a woman for evidence and judgeship when guardian over herself, *and* the unfitness of a privileged *wife*[1] who is a foreigner and worthy of death for only a single *offence*, even with the authority *of her* husband; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 30. About the owner of a pledge not depositing the pledge beforehand, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 31. About giving up the property of partners, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 32. About the property that any one possesses, and is without any witness as to his ownership and possession *of it*. 33. About the ordeal of excessive eating (pâûrû-khûrânŏ) for escaping distress (mûst-kar'zîh) *by* plaintiffs *and* defendants before driving each other into legal proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

34. About the legal proceedings as to a female[2] they steal from some one, and she becomes a suppliant of a thief; some one takes *her* by sequestration (*h*a*k*î*d*akîh)[3], and they steal *her* also from him;

[1] See § 11 n.

[2] A slave no doubt.

[3] This is the technical term for legal seizure, or sequestration (see Chap. XXXIX).

the original *possessor* (bûn) sees his own, not knowing *she is* back alive, when they become disputing about her; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 35. About property which is in the possession of any one, when some one gives *it* up to some one else in his sight, *and* he does not dispute *it*. 36. About a master teaching a disciple not to go back to legal proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 37. About controversy, with any one, as to special property in righteous gifts, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

38. About legal proceedings in which *one* accomplishes an ordeal three times, and it comes *off* in one way; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 39. About the existence of the many kinds of speaking with wizard's spells[1], *and* those with threats of danger; and about the usage in witchcraft as to the moderate *and* justifiable production of mutual afflictiveness thereby. 40. About which is the ordeal for *one* worthy of death, the greatness and littleness of an ordeal, and also this, that is, which are the blessed among twenty of those undergoing ordeals. 41. About the proportion of firewood, and from which tree it ought *to be* good; and again, too, the several appliances and formulas that are necessary in accomplishing the ordeal. 42. And this, too, that when the man is aware of his own truth, even though *he be* aware *of it*, the fire speaks in the words of men thus: 'Walk not on to me! for I chastise during one's progress.' 43. About *one* still mediating in legal proceedings as to a thief who *has* acted faithfully about quitting confinement and fetters to

[1] See Chap. XVII, 6.

cause a ceremonial[1], *and* whatever is on the same subject.

44. About the wealth of a priest who is not keeping his property in edifices (aûzdesîkîh) or domains (matâ), *but* goes on with *his* occupation; *and* when he passes away, to whom *and* how *it has* to come. 45. About litigation as to property from the residuary *wealth* of fathers, about keeping *it* together (vâham-dâr), and whatever is on the same subject.

46. About the amount *of* retribution, *in* confinement, fettering, and punishment, for a lamb[2], a sheep, *or* a beast *of burden*, which is stolen; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 47. About a defendant regarding whom three plaintiffs complain, all three as comrades, one as to a lamb, one *as to* a sheep, and one as to a beast *of burden; and* whose answer is first given. 48. About the litigation of three persons as to a costly article which remains apart *from them*, he who deposited it *being* a strong person, *and* the ownership of not even one of them *being* certain. 49. About the coming of retribution to three persons who, all three as comrades, have stolen a lamb from one, a sheep from *another* one, and a beast *of burden* from *a third one.*

50. About the reason of the justifiableness, *and* that also *of* the unjustifiableness, *of* confining a *fellow*-countryman for his own theft, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 51. About the extent of continuance in hearing a defendant, *and* this, *too*, *as to* a plaintiff; *also* about the time appointed for speaking, and its extent. 52. And about this,

[1] Or it may be 'to provide supplies.'

[2] See Chap. XIX, 47.

namely, when any one has made an accusation about any other, *and* goes back at the time appointed, *and*, before a reply is given, he shall make out another accusation about the same man, to which *of the two accusations* a reply is to be first given. 53. About the reason of the hardship of legal proceedings; about what man *it is* whose statement is second, third, fourth, *and* last in conducting legal proceedings; and about the twenty-two stratagems in conducting legal proceedings.

54. About the cancelling (pâ*d*yârânîh) of an ordeal, even that which is accomplished with three selected witnesses. 55. About the season of the hot ordeal, and also that of the cold; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 56. About one, in a procedure, demanding an ordeal, *the other* one *having* appointed the time for the supreme priest, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 57. About the benediction of the supreme priest on making, *or* changing, a decision; also this, namely, which are the blessings for changing, through *their* nature, a decision which is made.

58. About evidence of walking upon a water-skin (khîk) *and* putting *something* inside *it*, *of* assault and wounds, *of* wealth which they squander (nikizend) and a righteous gift, *of* a damaged and sequestrated *thing;* and *of* rubbing up (pâ*d*ŏ-mâli*s*nŏ) and buying *it* strengthened[1], and *at* a price. 59. On litigation about the ownership of a wife, cattle, trees, *and* land; and whatever is on the same subject. 60. About the certainty *of* the statement of several leaders of an affair, as to that on which their affair

[1] Pâz. aôganghen for Av. aoganghem=ao*g*anghem (see also Chap. XLI, 17, 18).

depends, and of the supreme priest, or three witnesses, in every legal proceeding. 61. About incrimination (aîrikhtakîh) of several kinds as to statements in legal proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 62. About the modes of action for eradicating the deceptions (frê*v*ŏânŏ-fitâr) of apostates, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

63. About *cases* where the virtuousness of the thoughts, words, *and* deeds of mankind is all *derived* from the virtuousness of the beneficent spirit, and mankind themselves shall render *it* their own, and, in that way, *its* reward reaches them; and *their* viciousness is all *derived* from the viciousness *of* the evil spirit, *and* mankind themselves shall render *it* their own, and, in that way, *its* bridge *penalty*[1] reaches them.

64. About the injuriousness due to unrenounced sinfulness, that is, what is injured by the first, second, third, fourth, *or* fifth unrenounced Aredûs *sin*[2]. 65. About where *and* which is the speaking with threats of danger[3], *and* which is the taking up *of a weapon* (âgêreptŏ), not the turning *it* down, that becomes a Tanâpûhar *sin*[4]; *also* the sin which is owing to such sin.

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[1] The decision announced at the *K*înva*d* bridge (see Chap. XIV, 8), as to the fate of the soul until the renovation of the universe, after the account of its good works and sins has been accurately balanced.

[2] Farh. Oîm, p. 36, ll. 6, 7, has 'when through sinfulness one lays a weapon upon a sinner, the name is Aredûs.'

[3] See Chaps. XVII, 6, XIX, 1.

[4] Whereby a person becomes an outcast and worthy of death. According to Vend. IV, 67–72, 75–78, 81–84, this occurs on the eighth committal of an Âgêreptŏ, on the seventh of an Avôîristŏ, and on the sixth of an Aredûs; or on the first committal of any of the three, if the criminal refuses to atone for it.

66. About *the case* where *one has* to atone, *and* who *does it; he* who undergoes the sacred-twig ordeal *has* atoned best; and which is the least heat ordeal. 67. About two men *having* seized property together, and *having* together, at the time, demanded a judge and ordeal about it; and when one seizes the property some time earlier, and the *other* one demands the judge and ordeal earlier; and whatever is on the same subject. 68. About some one carrying *off* the property *of* a person from the custody of *another* person in sight of the same, and he who kept it before is, within a Hâsar[1], a witness before the judge as to *its* custody or possession; and also when the witness of it has not come within the Hâsar; and whatever is on the same subject.

69. About *cases* where the decision of the judge is to be made from the Avesta and Zand[2], or from the common consent of the good[3], *and* whatever is on the same subject. 70. About the justifiable selling of a man, a sheep, *or* a beast *of burden*, as free from defect when its defect is not obvious; also about the symptoms of their defects. 71. About *the case* where *and* how far a decision, about which *one* is in dispute, is a solitary statement, *or* more.

72. About the object of the appointment of a judge, the eminence of an appointed judge, and whatever is on the same subject. 73. About the reasonableness of the severity and want of severity

[1] Eighty minutes on the average (see Chap. XIX, 54 n), but varying from one hour to two, according to the duration of daylight.

[2] That is, from the scriptural law and its commentary.

[3] That is, according to precedents recorded by the priesthood.

of judges. 74. And this, too, that the judgeship is to be given to him *who* is acquainted with the law (âkâs-dâ*d*)[1]; and the object of acquaintance with the law. 75. About *the case* where *there* are a supreme judge of the law, a plaint, a defence, an arrangement of legal proceedings, *and* an award; *and* through what sin it becomes injustice. 76. And this, too, that the justice of him who may therein commit falsehood, as regards so many essential decisions, is injustice.

77. About the many who may seize wealth, which is the property of some one, with their own hands; *and*, when they litigate about it, he says *it is* his own property, whereby *they* are convicted. 78. About incrimination of five kinds as to whatever property is on the spot, *or* at a distance (pavan hâsar); *and* whatever is on the same subject. 79. About putting apart, keeping apart[2], and two apart before *being* put away; *also* about litigation as to keeping apart, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 80. And when some one *has* to deliver property *which* is a person's own to some one else, in the

[1] This term is explained in an extract from some Nask (compare Chap. XLIII, 9) quoted in Farh. Oîm, pp. 17, l. 9–18, l. 5, as follows:—'*Av.* kô asti *d*kaêshô vivi*s*dâtô, which is the judge who is acquainted with the law? *Av.* yô aêta pairi arethra frazânaiti, *he* who thoroughly understands the adjudication from the statements [even though he does not easily understand many of the statements, and though *it be* not easy as regards the statements which are not numerous, is an official who is acquainted with the law (ka*rd*âr-î âkâs-dâ*d*); *and he* who does not thoroughly understand the adjudication from the statements, even though the statements are not numerous, and *it be* not easy *for him* as regards *them*, is to be still considered as unacquainted with the law (anâkâs-dâ*d*)].'

[2] Compare § 115.

sight of him whose own *it is*, and he who is seizing upon *it* disputes about *it* as his own property; and whatever is on the same subject.

81. About disputing the debts of fathers when one of *their* associates is confessing *them*, and the rest have come, and it is possible for them to dispute *them*, *but* they do not dispute. 82. *And* about the progress of a dispute of one of the associates as to the whole debt of *one's* fathers. 83. About the possibility of children *being* worthy of death, for wizard's spells, when with their guardian; and *of* a woman *being so* when guardian of herself. 84. About *a case* where the amount of a lamb (mîdat-î as*p*erenô) is the lowest, and the amount of a human being (vîrôk mozd) is the highest[1]. 85. About theft and plunder as regards one's own property, when *one* brings *it* away from the possession of some one without dispute. 86. About the triumph *of* him who, falsely investigating, may act judicially by illegally-issued incentives, when he institutes legal proceedings for the sake of appearances[2]; *as distinguished* from him who is truly seeking and truly investigating.

87. About the statements of a litigation of man *and* wife, which is justifiably brought *on*[3]. 88. And also this, namely, when she sees *herself* injured, or defence is possible by means of that which

[1] The minimum and maximum grades of value mentioned in Chap. XIX, 47. Here it is evident that mîdat and mozd are synonyms, the former being, no doubt, the Zvâri*s*, or Semitic, equivalent of the latter, compare Chald. מְזוּדָה.

[2] Pahl. khâkûnîhâ, literally 'through making a dust.'

[3] Or it may be 'of a man *and* a woman who is domineeringly plundered.'

is discharged by two fingers [1], *it* is justifiable when they shall institute no litigation but seizing. 89. About *the person* who *has* become privileged to give away a daughter to a husband, *her* father *having* passed *away*. 90. About the sin of making a damsel (kanîk) weary of *her* husband. 91. About the sin as regards property in this action, either produced where the action for this purpose is really devoid of illiberality (adahisnîh), or to commit in order that they shall give me a wife even when they do not give her on that account. 92. About the sin *of giving* a girl (kanîk) for a girl, or other living thing, or *of* speaking thus : 'Do thou go in unto my sister, *or* daughter, while I, too, *will* go in unto thine.' 93. And the sin as regards the person of my wife, too, which is owing to that sin. 94. About *one* obtaining back the value which he gives away for a girl, when the girl is not that value in wedlock. 95. About a girl who, after fifteen years *of age*, is not given to a husband ; and her father, to satisfy *her* menstrual excitement (dashtân-mêyah vigârdanŏ), *and* to sustain it, becomes sinful *and* harbours a paramour ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

96. About *having* given food, *and* anything except a wife, to any one who praises the Mazda-worshippers' religion of another, even though *it be* through fear ; also this, that *it is* only *he*, when *he has* thereby become quite of the same tenets with the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, to whom the gift of a wife worthy of a man (vîr masâî) is then to be pre-

[1] That is, in some very easy way. The intention was probably to discourage petty disputes between man and wife, by not interfering with the stronger party when aggrieved.

sented. 97. About committing the sin of giving no food[1], which is *one* of those worthy of death. 98. About the duty imposed of chastising a wizard for the Tanâpûhar *sin*[2] of assisting a demon[3], so that one's duty is manifold, and to be accomplished during several years.

99. About the day and night which are longest, medium, and shortest; that is, how many Hâsars[4] *they are*, each separately; and, *as to* their occurrence, in what control is the appointed *time* which is really theirs, each one, as to period. 100. About the Parasang[5] which is the longest, medium, and shortest; and whatever is owing to *their* subdivision.

101. About the work *and* fodder (vâsân)[6] of an injured beast *of burden*, by day and night. 102. About a sheep which kills a person, and *whether* its owner *be* innocent, or sinful, through not putting a tether (band) upon *it;* and the reason of the sinfulness and innocence therein. 103. About the period that *extends* from certainty to dubiousness, even though *it be* for the supreme priest, or *one* provides three witnesses; and how long it is. 104. About the multitude of witnesses who give no evidence, *together* with the judge *who is* unjustly deciding.

105. About the injuriousness (*âz*ârîkîh), for the

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[1] See Chap. XVII, 6. [2] See § 65.

[3] Reading dêv-vigîn which is miswritten [illegible].

[4] See Chap. XIX, 54 n.

[5] A distance of four Hâsars (Bd. XVI, 7), or as far as a far-seeing man can distinguish a black ox from a white one (Bd. XXVI, 2). It is usually from 3½ to 4 English miles, but in Pahlavi texts it often stands for a Hâsar, or Roman mile, both being measures for long distances.

[6] Or 'rations' (vâyagân).

priestly authorities, *of* anything *that* is given to the unworthy. 106. About what kind of gift, that is given, was accepted; that is, how, when given by one when *another* claims *it*, it returns to him; how, *and* in what proportion, when *the other* does not claim *it*, its expediency does not arise; and whatever is on the same subject. 107. About *a case* where there is property of several kinds which a man *has* given away as a righteous gift, *and it* is allowable. 108. About *the case* where whatever is given *and* reaches *some one*, when he gives it and does not say how *it was* given, it becomes a righteous gift. 109. And about *its* not *having* become a gift, through fear of whatever is its danger.

110. About the theft and extortion *of* him who does not maintain the wives and children of persons in *his* control, to preserve and nourish *them*, through fear. 111. About the allotment of punishment for the limbs of sinners, *and* upon which limbs is the allotment. 112. About the atonement for sin where *it is* most irksome. 113. About the amount of retribution for an assault (zatam) which may be committed upon *one* worthy of death who is preserved through great judiciousness.

114. About Aûharmazd *having* given all prosperity to Zaratûst and the disciples of Zaratûst; the theft and extortion which have arisen *in* a man when *he has* not given to a worthy *person any* of the prosperity that has befallen him; and whatever is on the same subject. 115. About how an animate *being* is situated who is in *a place* apart (aham), and when he dies in innocence and keeping apart[1], his

[1] Compare § 79.

wound *being* also through duty; and whatever is on the same subject. 116. About the advantage and pleasure of keeping a promise (mit*r*o-dârîh), and the gravity, harm, and vexation owing to various degrees of promise-breaking (mit*r*ôk-drû*g*îh); *also* how a promise is kept. 117. About the grievous sinfulness of strife, insincerity (avâkhîh), and slander, and the harm that proceeds therefrom; *also* the frost (pazd) and punishment provided for them [1], *and* whatever is on the same subject.

118. About *having* given frontier people [2] *as* hostages (garôbŏ) to foreigners *who have* demanded a ransom (na*v*i*s*nŏ). 119. About taking up (lâlâ gêrefstanŏ) anything whatever that is precious to a foreigner, and *has* become of exceeding value, when they give *it* up as a ransom [3] *to* Irân; the extreme value of a youth (tigil) when they shall carry *him* off as a hostage from the foreigners, in place of ransom; *and* how *they* are to keep both. 120. About the grievous sinfulness of a man stealing back *his* ransom from foreigners, though *it be* his own son. 121. About the sinfulness of the governor (sa*r*dâr) of a province through *any* harm that occurs in the province owing to his elevation and evil commands.

122. About the existence of so many thieves assisting a thief with special ransom, *and* what kind of reward (na*v*i*s*nŏ) *one* is to use with thieves, to

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[1] In hell (compare AV. XL, 7).

[2] Pahl. mar'*z*ânân, which might be supposed to be a defective writing of margar'*g*ânân, 'those worthy of death' (the two letters equivalent to rga being omitted), but see Chap. XXI, 13.

[3] The MS. pâk is evidently a defective writing for na*v*âk which is written correctly in the next clause of this section.

deceive with great judiciousness. 123. About attaching to the neck of a thief the *thing* which *was* stolen by him, for his personal identification, *and* conducting *him* to the judges. 124. About the non-atonement of thieves, by any amount of anything whatever, without confession as regards their own sin. 125. About the assistance *to* possession which is claimed by any one from the authorities (pa*d*ân), when his property is stolen or extorted.

126. About the grievous sinfulness *and* deceitfulness of many kinds which *occur* when a woman who is given away with *her* concurrence, *and her* acceptance is announced, is given to another man; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 127. About the unjustifiableness of the wisdom of a man, through which he took away property in dispute, from him who *was* ignorant, before *there was* certainty *about it.* 128. About making intercession in a dispute, for him who is ignorant, *with* the judge *and* other authorities *and* chiefs, even including the king of kings [1], when there is no intercessor for him. 129. About the reason of the fitness *of* a man for sovereignty, and the lodgment *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd* upon the limited (tang) person of him who is a good ruler.

130. About the five special ordinances (dâ*d*istân) that are certain; these are without ordeal, because *they* are to be considered as certain, *and* the penalties thereof are to be fully inflicted. 131. About investigation after confession. 132. About squandering (nikizand) wealth of which the custom (dastôbar) of maintaining is begging for *it.* 133. About the progress (s*a*k*i*snŏ) of legal proceedings not *having*

[1] The Persian monarch.

occurred, *which* is not demanded on account of the existence of want of power, *and* the number of kinds *of* that want of power. 134. About a woman without a guardian, when she takes a paramour, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

135. About bringing a written statement into judicial proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 136. About the sin of frightening any one from his place, when he shall move on account of that fright, and the amount of movement and harm which will come upon him therefrom. 137. The delivery back of that which is extorted from *one's* hands or keeping; that is, how *it* is to be considered as delivered.

138. About the obviousness of a minor adjudication from that which is greater. 139. About the extreme benefit *and* peace, even in *this* world, through a wife and children *and* grandchildren, and also the prosperity, as regards produce and even wealth thereby, taking away the disputes that arise. 140. About the grievous sinfulness of wealth *acquired* through unnatural intercourse[1], the annihilation of the spiritual faculties (maînôgânŏ). 141. About a decree in which the decision is of three descriptions, about three persons. 142. About a tree which, when stolen away, is the death-blow (mât) of a hundred pure birds (vâê), *and* a thousand birds arise.

143. About a sin which, owing to deceiving previously, *has* to increase (f*râz* mastanŏ) *its* extent, and to fully taste the extremest crime of a dagger

[1] Vâmkûnîh, compare Pers. bâmûn. It cannot be 'making loans, or money-lending,' because that would be spelt *âv*âmkûnîh.

(dahrakŏ) of several *of* the smallest finger-*breadths*. 144. About the sin of defiling four-footed females. 145. About keeping back one of the combatants from fighting, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 146. About counter-assaults of eight kinds, assault when an infidel shall commit *it* upon *one* of the good religion, and whatever is on the same subject. 147. About a counter-assault of a heretic (dûs-dênô) when an arch-heretic (sarîtar-dênô) is slain.

148. About not leaving any property in the keeping of *one* worthy of death. 149. About such numbers of abettors of sin *being* with the sinner, and whatever is on the same subjects. 150. About the injury of a plaint and defence, and the dwelling, property, and feast *of* the good, *by* that person who extols the presidentship which is given him, *but* who is not fit for the presidentship. 151. About the sinfulness of a judge when he shall make a decision for any one according to his origin. 152. About the grievous sinfulness of delivering the person of an Irânian to a foreigner, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

153. About the greatness of the gift of a righteous man, as compared with (min) the gift of another, for Rashnû [1], the just, to proclaim among the creatures *and* to accept. 154. This, too, that, when they encounter an apostate *and* it is necessary to hold a controversy, though *there be* danger for the hands or feet, *or* though even for the head, *there is to be* no refraining from asserting that which is true.

[1] The angel of justice who weighs the good works of the departed soul against its sins, in order to decide its fate till the end of time.

155. This, too, that he who does not assert, on account of fondness for wealth, or dislike for his own *people*, vexes water and fire and the righteous man, and disturbs even the reposing archangels from *their* thrones.

156. About the grievous sinfulness of making the righteous dissevered (aûs*k*â*f*takŏ). 157. About the bad properties produced by the evil spirit, adjudication attentive to lying evidence and false, in opposition *to* Rashnû, the just, *and* through discontent *at* the advantage due to Rashnû, owing to the impossibility of the occurrence of those mischiefs *being* produced at Rashnû's *judgment* seat, there where they do not give decisions for the wretched for the sake of the aristocratic multitude (*âzâd* hâvandîh râî). 158. And about the aristocratic multitude which comes *to* Rashnû owing to taking bribes, and went with a complaint to Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and whatever is on the same subject. 159. About a just judge who is appointed *one* of an assembly for the opposition of thieves, oppressors, *and* destroyers of the righteous.

160. About the possibility of the coming of every one, through diligence, to the best existence. 161. About the superiority (masîh) of true justice over (min) other good works, *and* the grievous sinfulness owing to false justice, and when they shall not deliver a sentence *with* a full understanding of the true from the false.

162. About solemnizing *and* learning by heart (narm ka*r*danŏ) the Gâthas, the Hâ*d*okht [1], and

[1] Here written Hâ*d*ôîtô; the name of the twentieth Nask (see Chap. XLV).

the Vastag[1], through knowing the foundations (pâyakân) thereof; the sin owing to not knowing *them, and* whatever proceeds therefrom. 163. About the greatness of the law through decrees and judgments from other discourses (srôbân).

164. About property of seven kinds, of which *one* says that *it* is not allowable to take *it* as security for other property. 165. About ten friends with different assertions on the same subject.

166. And about the apportionment of this discourse *there are* complete decisions of several other kinds, and into those, too, it advances *and* thereby introduces much adjudication which takes heed, in every one, of words and deeds of many kinds, *and* is specifically *and* also intelligibly apportioned.

167. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

Chapter XXI.

1. The first of eighteen sections of the Ganabâ-sar-nigad[2] *contains* particulars about the thief, with his arrest as the special thief of that which is seized (tereftŏ) by him; the premeditated sin, the imprisonment and fettering, the punishment appointed for atonement of the sin, the execution of the duty,

[1] The name of the eleventh Nask (see Chap. XII).

[2] Corresponding to the sixteenth word, ahurâi, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the eighteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. Ganabâ-sar-nigad means 'the thief's head downstricken;' but it is misread Dvâsrûgad, Dvâsrûngad, Dvâsrûgîd, or Dvâsrôb, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained sixty-five kardah, or subdivisions, which agree with the numbers of sections mentioned in Chaps. XXI, XXIII, XXIV. This Nask is evidently named from the contents of its first section, and possibly from its initial words.

and the amount of the reward (na*v*i*s*n); the amount of speciality in the ransom (na*v*âk) of every one, each separately; the act *and* place of punishment, what is the person who is strangling and the mode, how those who are therein strangling are drawn forth (na*z*î-aîtŏ) successively, *and* which is set to work first.

2. About a person whose offending limbs *are* bound, the degree of tightness of the binding and fettering, and the formula (nîrang) of *being* bound for the sin of theft. 3. About imprisonment, and the imprisonment which accusers *have* to provide, *at* their own expense, *if* they are those who are privileged; and whatever is on the same subject. 4. The number of places for fetters, and those which the thief, whoever *he is*, possesses, each separately. 5. How far, how, *and* for what putting on of fetters (garov-dahi*s*nîh) those accusers *have* to provide a thief's fetters, too, *at* their own expense, *if* they are those who are privileged; the place for the requisite privileged putting on of fetters, the sin owing to putting on more fetters of a different kind, and that which is owing to neglecting the putting on of the fetters which *they have* to provide; the limit as regards the deserving of more fettering, the number of grades of theft beyond the limit of deserving fettering, and those which are below the limit of deserving fettering.

6. About the kinds of theft, and the excessive sinfulness of a thief through cutting[1] and wounding the body; the undiscoverableness which is specially as regards a thief at a distance (pavan hâsar), he

[1] Assuming that gû*d*anŏ stands for khû*d*anŏ.

who is on the spot *being* he who is within one step; theft, with plunder, injuring the existence[1], minor injury, and other sins, *may be* in confederacy[2] beforehand *or* afterwards. 7. About the thievish design of a theft which is not abetted (lâ ham), a theft with equal shares, and a theft with different shares.

8. About the sin of assisting a thief (dûg aîyyârak), *of* making investigation and releasing, *of* a sentence of acquittal, and *of* a listener to a thief; he who is a giver of assistance to a thief is carried off for theft; also decisions about theft by a child, *by* a childless woman, *and by* her who is pregnant; likewise their maintenance *and* earnings (vindisnŏ) in retributive work, and the work of a pregnant thief.

9. About the accumulated property *of* the innumerable which they would keep away from thieves, *both* the thief by means of *his* hands, and him who is a thief not by means of *his* hands. 10. About the testimony *of* a thief, that is, for what *it* is admissible when[3] he advances as a thief; how at the *time* when *it is necessary* to seize *and* bind *him*, and how at the *time* when it is necessary to flatter (nivâkhtanŏ) and deceive *him* until *one* attains to absolute power (kâm-kârîh) thereby. 11. About rewards (navisnŏ) with thieves. 12. About the difference of theft from plunder.

13. About property which *any one*, carrying *it* off,

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[1] See Chap. XIX, 1.

[2] Pâz. hidhih, probably for a Pahl. adjective hadak from Av. hadha, and referring to accomplices before and after the fact (see Chap. XVIII, 5).

[3] Assuming that mûn stands for amat, their Irânian equivalents being nearly alike, and the latter word being used in the succeeding clauses.

has to bring back to *its* owners; such as that which the frontier people *may take away* from foreigners, that which the judge *may take away* from thieves, and the share which he may take away from *any one* not interfering[1] with thieves. 14. And about protectors *and* defenders of a thief, and also many other legal decisions as regards theft.

CHAPTER XXII.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. The second section is miscellaneous (hamdâ*d*akŏ): about the authority for the enquiry (khvâst-ra*d*akîh) of a father into the sin of a grown-up son, when unaware of the sin of his son at the time it is committed; that *of* a son into that of a father, *and of* others grown-up, as to one another, when they are not abettors of the sin; and that of a husband into the sin of a wife, when not *and* when[2] co-operating and unrestraining. 2. About arrival *at* the period for the teaching of children by a guardian *or* father, and the mode of his teaching; the period at which the sin of a child *has* reached a beginning, the extent of the sin of childhood, the retribution in childhood, and that also at maturity; the sin due to not teaching a child who is to be taught, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

3. About the freedom from slaughter which is to

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[1] Av. asterethwãn. The share being a bribe for purchasing non-interference. In each case the property is to be restored to its original owner who had been robbed by the foreigners or thieves.

[2] Perhaps the repetition of the word amat, '*and* when' is a blunder of the copyist.

keep away the destruction *of* the world; and what is the mode of distributing the property of a man of the valiant after *his* slaughter. 4. About the sin of *having* given implements of slaughter to a woman, a child, *or* a foreigner. 5. About a woman who, as regards two men worthy of death, demands the head of the one, *and* is seeking a son in the *other* one.

6. About a warrior, without provisions (atûsakŏ), who, on the march, *has* come upon pasture, corn, and sheep whose shepherd[1] is a stranger to him, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 7. About considering property inexpedient, and the decision thereon.

8. About the amount of delay of a judge on *becoming* aware that the plaintiff is falsely petitioning *and* the defendant is falsely confessing. 9. About the amount of delay of the judge, and in the court of justice (dâd gâs); and whatever is on the same

[1] The Pahlavi word is written [illegible] twenty-four times, and [illegible] once, in this Book, but its reading is not quite certain. It means 'shepherd' throughout Chaps. XXIII, XXXIX, and in XXXI, 17, 31, XL, 3; but is used for 'herdsman' in XXXIX, 3, and for 'follower' in XXXI, 2. This last meaning is strongly in favour of the reading pasîg, for pasîk, 'following,' an adjectival form derived from pas, 'after,' which, when used as a noun, would imply 'one who follows,' as drovers and shepherds are accustomed to do, with a few local exceptions. The Pahlavi spelling of the word is uniformly inconsistent with the reading pâs, 'guard, protector;' and it seems hazardous to trace it to a possible Avesta adjective pasvya, from pasu, 'a sheep,' because the latter word becomes pâh in Pahlavi. The word also occurs in Pahl. Vend. XV, 116; it is a transcript of Av. fsh*e*nghî and fsh*e*nghyô in Yas. XXXI, 10 b, XLIX, 9 a, and of fshê in Vend. XIII, 10, 11; so that it may perhaps be read fsheg, or fshê, as a mere transcript from the Avesta.

subject. 10. About a decision regarding a judge who explained a doubtful opinion as a certainty, *and* that *which* is certain as a doubtful decision, *and* would make an undecided *matter* decided. 11. About the opinion as to certainty *and* that as to doubtfulness, making a decision, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

12. About the business *of* commissioned judges, from him who is lowest *to* him who is highest, one above the *other* one. 13. Decisions about adjudication; that which is legal *when* two *judges* are together, that which is legal with *either one* judge *or* two judges together, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. About the statements of a decision regarding interpretations (pâ*d*ŏ-khânânŏ)[1], *and* whatever is on the same subject. 15. About the proportion of the time of judges for decision, that for summoning witnesses to the judges, *and* that for the proceedings (s*a*k*i*snŏ). 16. About the judge who is doubly satisfied[2], *and* him who is not doubly satisfied; *also* the time from a judge's not *being* doubly satisfied till his *being* doubly satisfied. 17. About a judge of four customs, and *his* decision thereon; one who knows the decree *and* would act to effect *it*, and one who knows *it* and would not act. 18. About the supremacy of a judge as to adjudication so far as *there* is a false decision therein; how it is when *he is* at a distance (pavan hâsar), and how it is when he is on the spot; he who is at a

[1] Pahl. pâ*d*ŏ-khân = Pers. pâî'*h*vân.

[2] Pâz. vayôzu*s*t, Av. vayôzu*s*tô=dvayôzu*s*tô. Farh. Oîm, p. 43, ll. 10–12, has 'the Vayôzu*s*tô, who is a judge, explains this, so that the petitioner who is doubtful is a hearer of certainty; it is, as *one* says, deliberately weighed.'

distance becomes a superior therein, when he comes back to the *place of* justice before the end of a Hâsar[1]. 19. About other false teaching of a judge which is manifest therefrom, *and* the retribution for the false teaching; the false summoning, false investigation, and false evidence *of* the complainant (mûst-hômônd) *having* been his own, and a separate atonement unto the afflicted *one has* to atone for the affair; *it having* been mitigated by no good work. 20. About the trouble of adjudication to the priestly authorities (ra*d*ân). 21. About the proficiency *of* a woman *or* child who is acquainted with the law[2], for a judgeship, *being* above *that of* a full-grown man unacquainted with the law.

22. About assisting the want of one's own disciple for a master for the recited law, *and* the sin due to not assisting, such as that when, wanting assistance, *it* is allowable *for* the afflicted *one* to beg an assistant from foreigners, and according to his petition is the bringing *of* a foreigner for assistance; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the supremacy of Rashnû[3] the righteous.

24. About several persons who are *engaged* in legal proceedings about the keeping *and* non-division of property not their own, and the decision as regards for whom *one* has in keeping that property which is not his own. 25. About actions which are not inconsistent and those which are inconsistent. 26. About the decision *of* a judge of congregational actions.

27. About the offence which accusers would commit, as regards the law, by means of the law, *it being*

[1] See Chap. XX, 68.
[2] See Chap. XX, 74.
[3] See Chap. XX, 153.

not allowable to commit *it* with their own hands; also *as regards* any one's property, about which *there* is a dispute, even though with a certainty as to its ownership.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. One section of *the next* twelve is the Pasûs-haûrvastân ('*shepherd's-dog code*'), about the shepherd who is selecting a shepherd's dog for the sheep, and the shepherd with various shepherd's dogs; about the shepherd's comprehension of their serviceableness, one with the other, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 2. The extent of authorised efficiency (*s*alît-gârîkîh) accomplished by the shepherd's-dog nature of a shepherd's dog, after his *being* appointed by the shepherd.

3. About the shepherd's preparing the means of bedding[1] for the shepherd's dog, giving the amount of the price of the daily *food* of a shepherd's dog, provisions for the dog in the winter, and the preparation of a fire beforehand which it is necessary to make in the sheepfold (pâh-hastŏ). 4. About the mode of preparing the appointed *fire*place *of* the sheepfold, the position of the shepherd's dog and the dog's fire, the means of lodging *and* provisioning the shepherd's dog in the sheepfold, the sin owing to *the occasions* when *one* proceeds to provide *another* mode, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

5. About the diligence of the shepherd's dog, and about *his* being guardian *of* the sheep asleep at night

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[1] Or 'covering,' *g*âmakŏ.

in flocks[1] dreading distress; the dog, *their* protection, is not provided with bedding, *nor* with pillow, and they are happy; every night *he has* to come out, through the whole flock, three times, besides when one of the guards (pa*d*ânŏ), who is apprehensive, counts *them*, *who*, every day *at* dawn, *has* to walk out among the sheep, with good words, to inspect *them*, to apply remedies properly *to* the sheep that are sick, wounded, bruised, *or* defective, *and* to be *their* guardian; *also* the sin owing to worrying *them*, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About that which is to be done by him as regards the breeding of the sheep, *and* likewise for the sake of the young ones; *and* the sin when *he does* not *do it*, or shall act otherwise. 7. About his fully understanding where *and* which is the sheep for *each* young one. 8. About his habit and means of keeping away the thief *and* the wolf from the sheep, *and* the preservation of the sheep thereby when an awful cloud and wind and rain arise, *or* when the position of those distressed ones, at the fords of rivers, comes opposite a locality (nisi*s*no) of bad footing; when *it* is not possible for him *to save* all, *he has* to save the greater in value, or the more in number.

9. About his *having* guarded a sheep from the pasture *of* others *and* the retribution for the sin of not *having* guarded as to the eating *and* damaging of the corn and pasture of others by the sheep. 10. About the extent of preservation by the shepherd's dog's driving the sheep from the corn *and* pasture of others *of* various species, such as that which *one* calls the very stupid (gôltar) pig; there is, more-

[1] Pâz. pasîvãn for pasûvãn (pl. of pasu).

over, the specified pasture as regards those sheep, *but* the pig, which feeds upon its own predecessors, is also that *which* may commit another sin, for it feeds upon even *its* progeny at birth.

11. About the indication of an assembly place (garang) for the sheep, in a warm *or* cool locality, by the shepherd's dog. 12. About the characteristics of sheep from one to four years *of age.* 13. About the village (vîs) of the shepherd, where the shepherd's dog is known when he arrives; how it is when a sheep *has* to be kept out of the sheepfold *by* the shepherd's dog, *and* how it is when *it has* to be driven by him to the village of the heedful shepherd. 14. About the coming of the shepherd unto a sheep, *and* the path from the village which the shepherd *has* provided for [1] the flock.

15. About a shepherd when he withholds the daily *food* of a shepherd's dog, and the exhaustion of life thereby; after the fourth deprival of food (atapak-dâ*d*ŏ) [2] *it* is allowable for the shepherd's dog to kill a sheep for nourishment. 16. About a sheep, *which* comes astray into the flock to be slaughtered, *being* the perquisite of the butcher (bâhar-î kû*s*târ), and that of the shepherd's dog *being* its dog [3] and the appointed number of one sheep. 17. About *their* extent of movement, and their pregnancy and growing old (bâr va-khasân). 18. About the sin of the shepherd, as regards the shepherd's dog, through injustice as to work,

[1] Assuming that valman stands for va*l*.

[2] See Chap. XVII, 6.

[3] The dog who allowed the sheep to stray being thus punished, by becoming the prey of the dog into whose flock the sheep strayed, who also receives a sheep as his share of the butchering.

reward, *and* chastisement; *and of* the shepherd's dog, as regards the shepherd, through improperly tending a sheep, *or* worrying *it* by exertion; also his chastisement, and the payment that occurs for the incompetence *and* unworthiness therein; *besides* adjudications between the shepherd *and* shepherd's dog.

19. About the instruction which the shepherd *gives* to the shepherd's dog, through reminders (pavan ayâ*d*îhâ), to control a sheep, when, the shepherd's dog *having* heard *some musical* notes (srû*d*ŏ gâsânŏ), the instruction took place in the form of words; and, when the notes *were* not heard, even by a blow (zatam), the means of that instructor *being* a blow. 20. About the peculiarity of the shepherd's dog as regards *its* employment (rô*g*kâr) at the periods of satisfying menstrual excitement, solemnizing the season-festivals, *and* other important good works.

Chapter XXIV.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. The first section of the *last* thirty-five is the Stôristân ('*beast-of-burden code*'), particulars about the sin, affecting the soul, due to unlawfully striking and wounding as regards beasts *of burden and* cattle; *and* the retribution and compensation for it to one's own cattle, that in case of a beast *of burden and* that in case of a sheep (anûm*âê*), during life. 2. That which *arises* when *one smites* them with a brand (dakhshak); that when *one* smites them on the flank, *and* that when *it is* in front of them; that

when their flanks are so smitten is complete smiting. 3. Of the smiting, too, *of* other members, the smiting in front, though the smiting *be* such as when *one* so smites for smiting on the flank, is not complete smiting. 4. And that which amounts to as much as a complete smiting, when *one* so smites as for smiting on the flank, is such as that when *one casts off* the skin, and that when *one* casts off the flesh, thereby, that when *one* is cutting it, *or* that when wounds (khîmân) or serpent-scourging (mârvanô)[1] are *upon* it.

5. It is also about making the dog which drives the sheep (pasûs-haûrvô) dumb. 6. About bruising the limbs and plucking the feathers of birds, such as the *case* when *it is* complete smiting, and such as that when *it is* not complete smiting. 7. And unlawfully destroying as regards fish, such as when it would make their flesh uneatable. 8. An account as to noticeably and worryingly beating cattle, about decrees of whatever kinds as to each separate beating worryingly that is to be considered as noticeable beating, *and* many decrees as to whatever is on the same subject. 9. About the retribution for making clothing of skins and woven *wool* (tadakŏ), *and* the sin of any one owing to kindling a fire therewith, *or* roasting flesh which is stolen *or* plundered.

10. About the good work *of* all that is wise activity, and the reward of the happy place[2]; the sin of every*thing* that is ignorant activity, and the

[1] See Chap. XVIII, 2, 6; or it may be muharvanô, 'cauterizing.'

[2] Heaven.

bridge *penalty* of the evil place[1]; connected therewith, to make him who is righteous develope in wisdom, and to make him who is wicked diminish in ignorance, is the world.

Chapter XXV.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. The second section is the Ar'*g*istân ('*value code*'), particulars about the value of small consumption of animate, and also that of inanimate, property; *with* the desirableness of information thereon, each separately. 2. The value of not destroying a righteous man even for a decree and justice, *and* of atonement for injuring the existence[2] of the fire of Varahrân[3].

Chapter XXVI.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. The third section is the Aratê*s*târi*s*tân ('*warrior code*'), particulars about the worthiness of destroying a wolf; *and*, among wolves, the greater need of destroying (zani*s*ntarîh) those with two legs than those with four legs.

2. About selecting the daily *supplies* of warriors, the beasts *of burden*, clothing, and equipment of warriors, and other appurtenances (*av*â*r*îgânakîh) which are to be given to them; *also* selecting a horse *and* accoutrements (zênŏ-*a*fzâr) *for* each one.

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[1] Falling into hell owing to the narrowness of the *K*înva*d* bridge to the other world, occasioned by an excess of sin over good works (see Dd. XXI, 5–7).

[2] See Chap. XIX, 1. [3] The sacred Bahirâm fire.

3. About having a man's horse trained before *one* sends *him* to smite enemies. 4. About the efficacy of the resources *and* care of a warrior in the destruction which enemies occasion; *also* the army and the slaughter of war. 5. About the sin of the village and abode of the warriors on the occurrence of a battle, and what is the retribution for wounds and damage; what is that which is disfiguring (*a*pîrâyak) therein, and what is that which is worthy of death therein.

6. About the characteristics of the wearing of armour (zênâvandîh) and not wearing of armour *by* warriors. 7. About the rank of the general (sipâhpa*d*ŏ), *and* other officers (pa*d*ân) over the troops, as to daily *supplies*, pay, and dignity; also their subordinates (*a*zîrag), and the number of troopers (gû*r*d) *to* each one of the officers. 8. About the anxieties of a trooper for the protection of person and family. 9. About the number of troopers when the king of kings goes to battle. 10. About the proportion of daily provision for two warriors, the meat and milk and bread thereof, which are for the sake of providing guidance *and* causing contests of the warriors in that good eating; also the reason *of* certifying (gôvâîk) its distribution and weighing, the beast *of burden* of the original village (bûn kôkîh)[1], and *its* means of *being* sent unto the troops. 11. About cutting the herbs for the veterinary surgeon (stôr be*z*ashkŏ), the store of accoutrements, *and* other things which are necessary with an army. 12. About the feeding of warriors *on* the day of battle, the meat and whatsoever are their eatables; even so the food of the horses.

[1] Whence the supplies come.

13. About the wealth which foreigners bring away, and this which is declared thereof, that is, 'I, too, *am* assisting even the wolf.' 14. About the display of esteem by warriors together, the union of friendship one with the other, obedient unto their commander of the troops, and mindfully resigning *them*selves to death, *there* being seen a spiritual reward, without doubt, in the future existence.

15. About the choice of a commander over the troops; also as to *his* coming *and* understanding the habits of his troops, each separately, through the capability of skill which is theirs. 16. About estimating the strength *and* resources of the troops, with those of *their* enemies; that is, how the battle is to be engaged in, *or* how the *case* is when it is to be avoided. 17. About the provision of anything requisite[1] which warriors shall leave for safety when *there is* danger in the neighbourhood from a distant stronghold, or danger *to* a neighbouring stronghold from afar. 18. About *the case* where, when it is necessary to engage in battle, the horse of a warrior has not arrived, *and it* is allowable to seize upon several horses from a herd of horses. 19. About the watchful sentinel (nigâhakŏ pâspânŏ), *and* of what kind is the information from which this is manifest, to the army and commander of the troops, that the enemy is well dead, or fled.

20. About a demonstration whereby they produce terror *and* apprehension in the enemy. 21. About an altercation of the commander of the troops with foreigners before a battle; altercation also through an envoy, and calling them into subjection to the

[1] Or 'of value;' khvâstakŏ having both meanings.

king of kings and the religion of the sacred beings. 22. About admonition to the troops, and declaring the share and arrangement of special duty of each one in the fight; announcing to the troops the recompense of the active, telling *and* informing the troops *of* the reason of being worthy of death, *of* the worthiness of destroying foreigners, *of* the command of the sacred beings as to their destruction when they shall not accept the Irânian nationality (Aîrîh), and the equally great reward *and* recompense for their destruction announced by revelation, the legal code (dâ*d*istânîkîh) *of* Irân.

23. About not uttering words of irritation on the day of battle, *and* not mentioning, among the troops, any intelligence which gives the troops apprehension, but *only* that which is agreeable and pleasing, through giving heartiness and increasing the strength. 24. About the *sacred* ceremonial on the day of battle *and* evil deeds of war;—a twig of the sacred twigs of that ceremonial, and the Avesta as regards fighting, *being* the first arrow well delivered into the mark shot *at;*—the consecration of the water which is nearest to the place of battle, even by bringing holy-water; and the sequence of the fight, that is, with which arms *and* appliances *it* is first to be fought, *and* successively unto those which *are* the last.

25. About the proportion of those who keep the arms (zâê) for the combatants, and, after a victory over foreigners, are taking away the hostages and captives, out of the foreigners, from the combatants; *also their* return from them. 26. At what degree of distance from them *they have* to carry the arms *and* appliances and the restoratives for the unfatigued

and the fatigued; and, the accoutrements *being* deposited, a warm bath prepared, and relaxation of the body effected, the reward of merit is given. 27. *One has* to search offenders, to bring restoratives for the unfatigued and the fatigued, to deliver the accoutrements back to the arsenal (gan*g*ŏ), to allot the share of the hostage brought back to his own *people*, and also much else on the same subject.

Chapter XXVII.

*Ganabâ-sar-nig*ad *Nask.*

1. The fourth section is miscellaneous: about a warm bath *being* in a house of what kind, the position of security of the fireplace, the watchfulness to be upheld there, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 2. About the strength that a horse *has* to exert for the sake of the earth, and that which is to be exerted in that mode for the sake of fire. 3. About food *and* other matters which may be prepared with fire, *and* the security of the fire in like manner. 4. About fire which, even on the road, is *free* from throwing away, bodily refuse[1], and dead matter[2], and *from* the injury and harm owing thereto; the various safeguards of fire from *being* given to an infidel (ag-dênô) *or* a child; the distance of the fire from a rivulet[3]; the penalty for throwing *it* away, *or* other sin as regards it; *and* the

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[1] See Chap. XIX, 3.

[2] Any solid portion of a corpse, or carcase, of a human being, dog, or other animal.

[3] Which might extinguish it and, thereby, render the person who had charge of the fire grievously sinful.

proportion of nourishment and preparation for the fire in summer, *and* also in winter.

5. About picketing (ba*r*â nis*â*stanŏ) a horse, that is, how *it is* justifiable when *it is* in water and dust, how it is *so* when really in very distressing bodily refuse, and how it is *so* when even in bodily refuse *that is* tolerable. 6. About the proportion of nourishment for mankind, fire, and cattle. 7. About receiving a guest, the praise of liberality, and the grandeur of the liberal, the contempt for stinginess, and the want of the wanderer.

8. About the mode of wearing garments in a dwelling of Ma*zd*a-worshippers, even so far as a bandage of four rags for protection[1]; the care of them each separately, the wages of the makers *and* ornamenters of each one, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 9. About *having* procured a street-keeper (kûgpânŏ) for the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, the business of the street-keeper thereof, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

10. About preparing in the summer a store for the winter. 11. About reaping a field of corn, the Avesta[2] for the first reaping, and *having* consecrated the first sheaf with the dedication (shnûman) to Aûha*r*ma*zd* the lord. 12. About the union of those of the good religion together, both in removing want and *in* union even with infidels in that which

[1] Reading vad-i*k* vand-1-î 4 lôtŏ-î pânakîh, and taking lôtŏ as equivalent to Pers. latah. We might suppose that the phrase meant 'a belt of the four strings (rû*d*ŏ) of protection,' but the number would not correspond to the three times the sacred thread-girdle passes round the waist, nor would the material of rû*d*ŏ, 'catgut,' be appropriate for the girdle.

[2] The scriptural formula to be recited in its original language.

is not detrimental to the religion, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 13. About duty as regards the produce of plants *and* animals; first, suitable eating; *and* secondly, moderate eating and avoidance of profusion.

14. About possessions which belong to the nobles, *and* those which belong to the multitude; *in* what manner that which belongs to the multitude *has* to come into the possession of the nobles; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 15. About the enviousness (zigûrîh) of the beast *of burden*, ox, and sheep, and also *of* people; that is, in how many of the multitudes, each separately, it is produced; and whatever is on the same subject. 16. And also much other adjudication and information on similar intelligence.

17. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

Chapter XXVIII.

1. One section of the *first* thirty of the Hûspâram[1] is the Aêrpatistân[2] ('*priest code*'), particulars about *a case* where *one has* to provide for a priestly assembly (aêrpatistân), which is a birth; how the *case* is when *it* is important to go, how it is when *one*

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[1] Corresponding to the seventeenth word, â, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; and it is the seventeenth Nask in all Rivâyats. This name should probably be Avisp-kharam, meaning 'free from all defect;' but it is called Hûspârâm, Aspâram, or Aspârûm in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained sixty-four, or sixty, kardah or subdivisions. The former number agrees with the total of the sections mentioned in Chaps. XXVIII, XXXII, XXXVI.

[2] A considerable portion of this section is still extant, combined with a larger portion of the next section, the Nîrangistân, whose name is applied to the whole text.

stays at his own *house*, and how it is when *it* is not allowable to go; also deciding about the *chief* priest (aêrpatŏ), and the proportion of priests (âsrûkŏ) who are superior, *of* those who are intermediate, and *of* those who are inferior in the estimation of the wisdom of the righteous. 2. About the priest whom *one* is sending, and the wayfaring garments *and* appliances which are to be given to him.

3. About the disciple, as reverent towards the *chief* priest; the labour in receiving the *sacred* words *and* teaching *them* to the disciple; the advice of the *chief* priest to the priests; *and* the muttered phrases *at* the time of contamination *by dead matter*. 4. About what priest—on the arrival of a priest back at the district from which *one* sends *him*—is to be appointed, as priest for the district from which *he came*, *by* the district governor and those of the district, for teaching *and* instruction in the district.

5. About which are *those* reckoned as the five dispositions[1] of a priest that are the glorification of the priest's statements of the law, *from* the first of *his* statements in succession unto the last, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

6. About the subjects regarding which a priest of concealed parentage is to be asked, *with* the prelude and sequel of the same subject. 7. About the bridge *penalty*[2] of a priest through sinfulness, *in* a separate fargar*d*[3]. 8. About a priest they may carry away from a district, owing to anxiety for forming a priestly assembly, *who* becomes worried in forming *it*.

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[1] See Bd. XIX, 36 n.

[2] See Chap. XX, 63.

[3] See Chap. I, 20.

9. About the superiority of priests in means of knowledge, one as regards another; the extent of superiority through which the greater suitability for authority, of one as regards another[1], arises; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

Chapter XXIX.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section is the Nîrangistân (*'ritual code'*), particulars about the ritual of the ceremonial of the sacred beings, that which is important *and* goes to the bridge *of judgment*[2]; the exceeding meritoriousness owing to an ample number of Râspîs[3] in the ceremonial; and, as to the Avesta, the Zôti and Râspî are both for various phrases, those which are for the speaking of the one are for the hearing of the other. 2. About the sacred cake[4], *and* whatever is on the same subject. 3. About abstaining from the drinking of wines at the same time as the ceremonial. 4. About the quality (sâmân) of the voice in reciting the Avesta in a ceremonial, and the

[1] Reading s*ag*âktarîh-î aêvakŏ min tanê pavan patîh, but there are only faint traces of the third, fourth, and fifth words, as the decayed folio of the manuscript has been patched, and the repairer forgot to record the missing words at the time he did his work. His marginal note refers to a defect in the next line of the manuscript.

[2] The *K*înva*d* bridge, at which the departed soul is believed to give a full account of its actions during life (see Chap. XIV, 8).

[3] See Chap. VII, 5.

[4] The drôn, or sacred cake, is a small pancake which is consecrated in the ceremonies, and dedicated to some particular spirit by means of a shnûman, or propitiatory dedication (see Sls. III, 32). It is tasted by the priests and by the participators in certain ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 404, 408).

Avesta which is twice recited and thrice *or* four times recited. 5. About the ceremonial, and the conducting of that ceremonial whose Zôti, or Râspî, is a Tanâpûhar *sinner*[1]. 6. About the Zôti duty of a woman[2] *or* child. 7. About a decision as regards him who is cursed by the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion.

8. About the sin of him who does not solemnize a season-festival[3], and how the *case* is when it is solemnized by him. 9. About the limits of the five periods[4] *of* the day and night, and the ceremonies *of* the same periods. 10. About the kinds of peculiarity *of* the things for the season-festivals *and* other good works produced authorisedly.

11. About the quantity of holy-water which is due to one sheep[5], the inspection *and* consideration in providing the sheep, the freedom from sickness due to contamination and other defects even in a lawful place, and the exemption from the appliances and attacks of noxious creatures; the ritual for making *it*[6], and deciding about the maker, producer, and carrier, the taster *and* the giver to him. 12. The reason of the slaughter, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

13. About the position and duty of the Zôti *and* Râspîs in the ceremonial. 14. About the perfect ceremonial, the gift to a righteous man who *has*

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[1] See Chap. XX, 65. [2] See Sls. X, 35.

[3] See Chap. VII, 1.

[4] These periods, or watches, are from dawn till noon, noon till 3 P.M., 3 P.M. till dusk, dusk till midnight, and midnight till dawn.

[5] When slaughtered to provide the necessary meat-offerings (see Sls. XI, 4–6).

[6] The holy-water apparently.

become a teacher *and* examiner *of* the wisdom of the righteous, *and* whatever is on the same subjects.

15. About the *sacred* shirt and *thread*-girdle, that is, from what it is proper *to make them*, *and* whatever is on the same subjects. 16. About gathering *and* tying the sacred twigs, *and* on the same subject. 17. About the proportion of firewood in various parts of the ceremonial, *and* the mode of bringing it forward; that for the household fire, *and* the priestly fire of Bahirâm (Varahrân).

18. About a ceremonial amid great *opulence*, that which is amid medium *opulence*, that which is amid little opulence, and a decision as regards want of opulence. 19. About always celebrating the ceremonies of the sacred beings for that which has occurred, and not neglecting *them* in any way. 20. About *the cases* where mankind observantly, and also unobservantly, celebrate the ceremonies of the sacred beings; that is, which is he who observantly and he who unobservantly *does so; with* advice about observantly celebrating the ceremonies of the sacred beings.

21. About the cleanliness of the body *and* clothing of the celebrator of the ceremony, the assurance of his mind from sin, the ablution of the apparatus of the place of the exalted (vulandânîh), the cleanliness of the place of the ceremonial, the distance therefrom for *any* degree of manifest pollution and stench, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

22. About the ceremonial of the waters and their creatures, the vigour[1] of healthfulness, the possession of the brilliancy *of* heaven, the bountifulness of

[1] Or it may be 'holy-water.'

the spirit of the waters, and whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the celebration of a ceremonial, which is an ordinance of duties for the sake of a happy state of gladness (khûp parkânîh) and happy consequences; and also many other statements on the same subject. 24. *About* the ceremonial as proper *and* improper, beneficial *and* not beneficial.

25. About the families of Zaratûst, Hvôv[1], and Vistâsp, as regards the account (aûshmûrisnŏ) *and* ceremonial of the religion and their nature.

Chapter XXX.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('*quality code*'), particulars about natural superiority; not the modified (gastakŏ), but the lawful, approved[2], and specific *state* of superiority; not acquired by the slender power[3] of the world, but *by* seeking virtuous living through causing the prosperity *of* every person; *also* the authorisation of superiority, *and* the proportion of advantage therein. 2. About a superiority unimpoverished (anyûrûzd), with *one* unimpoverished with a nature unspent (an-aûrûzd), with *one* unspent with an impoverished (nyûrûzd), and *one* impoverished with an impoverished; also the extent of impoverishment and non-impoverishment, that is, with whom *it is* not customarily of much

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[1] An ancestor of several persons mentioned in the Avesta, including the two brothers, Gâmâsp the prime minister of king Vistâsp, and Frashôstar the father-in-law of Zaratûst.

[2] Assuming that pasandak stands for pasandak; otherwise, we may read pishonîk, 'provided.'

[3] Reading tang-karîh, but it may be tund-karîh, 'the severe labour.'

consequence (pavan freh-ar'*g*ŏ), with whom *it is so* customarily, *and* with whom, owing to an exception, *it is* not customarily of much consequence on account of *its* much consequence for an uninformed *person*, that is, with whom *it is* as *it were* proper with a servant of sin. 3. And superiority is a furtherance of living beings, and pervades the natural extent thereof.

4. About him who would sell property not his own, *and* him who would buy *it*. 5. About selling a sheep frequenting the house, *and one* not frequenting the house. 6. About various precautions *as to* samples of various things. 7. About selling beasts *of burden*, cattle, slaves, servants, *and* other property, of the nature of whose species *one is* aware through speaking about the nature of different species; *and* the retribution for the sin of whatever is on the same subject. 8. That which is an obvious agreement for selling with defects[1], when it is declared of beasts *of burden;* and that which is ever defective on selling.

9. About a house in which a person, *or* dog, *has* passed away through contagious sickness, *and* the clothing which the man wore owing to that sickness; that is, how it is when spoiled for selling *for* three *years*, how it is when *it is so for* two *years*, *and* how it is *when it is so for* one year. 10. About a house in which a person, or dog, *has* reposed in a contagious sickness, *and* not passed *away* after *his* descent therefrom; *and* the clothing which the man wore in that sickness; that is, how it is when spoiled for selling *for* two *years*, how it is when *it is so for* one year, *and* how it is when *it is so for* thirty nights; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

[1] That is, without a warranty.

11. About forming a family (gôharîk ka*rd*anŏ) with foreigners, that is, how it is when allowable. 12. About a sheep of *good* breed for the three nights[1], *and its* slaughter after the three nights; likewise many other decisions as regards superiority and sheep of a *good* breed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. A miscellaneous section is about taking anything which is not one's own at the *time* when he does not think that they see him and they do see him, at the *time* when he thinks that they see him and they do not see him, *and* at the *time* when he thinks that they see him and they do see him. 2. About giving righteous instruction, that is, what happens, *and* how, at the *time* when the follower[2] asks again. 3. About the sin of imprisoning the needy, exalting falsehood, and approving deceit.

4. About the action and command which diminish, *or* alter, a liberal gift to any one. 5. About the limit of the open-handedness *of* a wife who should be privileged, *and* who is reverent towards *her* husband, out of anything *that* has not reached the husband; how it is when the husband is foolish, how it is when *it is* legally, how *when* derived from *what is* legally property, *and* how *about* that which is unspent savings (anyûrûzd *k*abun); *also* the limit of the reverence of a wife for a husband, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

[1] The three nights after a death; the sheep is to be slaughtered on the fourth day, including the day of death (see Sls. XVII, 2–5).

[2] See Chap. XXII, 6 n.

6. About causing the conveyance of a maiden from the house of *her* fathers, *or* guardians, to the village of *her* husband, to hold the position of house-mistress of the husband; *of* the wife when she becomes reverent and propitiatory towards him, *and* admonishing *her* when she speaks thus: 'I am thy wife, *but* I *will* not perform a wife's duties *for* thee;' *also* the quarrelling of a husband with *his* wife, and carrying *it* on *to* the bridge *of judgment.*

7. About the blood on a woman who wants washing, and the bridge *penalty* upon him who has sexual intercourse with a woman who wants washing, *with* her who is a foreigner, *or any* other of *those* not authorisedly *for* intercourse; the confusion of germs by the woman who grants intercourse to foreigners, *and* other sin which they may commit about like matters. 8. About a wife claimed from foreigners; that is, how it is when allowable.

9. About the preparation of a wife for the control of a son, the period for *it* and *for* suckling, and the wish for a son which is *present* with a husband. 10. About the sin of a man owing to rejecting the controlling of *his* son by a sister *or* grown-up daughter. 11. About three things through which mankind become sinful and injuring their own property, and the possession of them is not to be taken away. 12. About *those* who may not inflict lawful chastisement with oppressive demeanour.

13. About that which a man is to be made to provide in feasting and gifts, for *his* store of good works, on his wife bringing forth. 14. How it is when he is a man *of* wisdom, *and* how it is when *he is* a disciple; how it is *when it is* a male birth, and how it is when *it is* a female. 15. The advantage

and benefit therefrom; the religious announcement of a name for the *new*-born, should it be a male, *or* should it be a female; the good work owing to the decision of a religious appointment of a name for the progeny, [and the sin][1] owing to giving again to it a name of the idolators (dêvîyastân).

16. About the ritual and usage in admitting the male to a sheep, owing to which the male is a gratifier *of* the impregnated female nature, and a protection *of* the female nature; and the want of training *and* freedom from defect of the progeny; a proper condition of the flock, too, arises likewise through worshipping the sacred beings *and* providing the sacred feast; also *about* the shepherd's dog and the blessing for him. 17. About the regard of the shepherd for the breeding *of* the sheep. 18. About the work of the ceremonial *and* of providing the sacred feast, and the advantage for the sheep from the same cause. 19. About the Ma*zd*a-worshipping district-breeding *of* the dogs in a district, through providing careful nurture *for* the dogs, which is a good work owing to the same cause.

20. About the object of payment *for* teaching the Zôti duty, *for* the guardianship of the fire, *for* the publication and watching of worship, *and for* other labour, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

21. About the lawful guardianship of a child, the child who is lamp-light and the father who is the fire, and whatever is on the same subject. 22. About sickness owing to the look of an evil eye, *or* the vicinity of a menstruous *woman*, because those

[1] Here, again, the repairer of the manuscript has forgotten to note the words in brackets which he had cut out of the folio before patching it.

with an evil eye, *or* menstruous, are thereby harmful. 23. About what is the kind of watching for the admitters of fear; the fearful and whatever is on the same subject. 24. And that in case of descending from a house on the outside.

25. About lawful arrangements for supplies, in union and assistance one towards the other; about payment for the labour in the lawful arrangement; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 26. About the produce of property for the multitude, *and* that also for one's own association; that is, how it is when taking *it* authorisedly, and how it is when not *doing so; and* whatever is on the same subject.

27. The special generosity of judges in conveying property back to *its* owners; the advantage from just judges, *and* the harm from unjust sentencing *and* false decisions. 28. So, also, the advantage from truly demanding, truly answering, *and* assisting the just; the enmity and harm from falsely demanding, falsely investigating, and assisting a false demander and false investigation; *but* not the enmity and secret harm of a complaint of the wretched. 29. Advice to judges about just decision and abstinence from false decision; and, secondly, the reward of their just decision, *and* the awful bridge *judgment* of false decision; the accountability in the spiritual *existence* in the case of judges, the praise of truth and contempt of falsity, the gratification of the sacred beings *and* vexation of the demons from just judgment and turning away from false decision, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

30. About what place the appointment by Aûhar*m*a*zd* in the original creation brought the corn *to* [1],

[1] According to Bd. X, 1, XIV, 1, XXVII, 2, fifty-five species of

which arrived for use in the nourishment *and* assistance of mankind and animals; the sowing of corn from the bodies of Mashya *and* Mashyôî[1]; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 31. About the labour in sowing *and* cultivating corn, *and* whatever is in the business *of* agriculturists; perseverance in agriculture, and the limit of its allotment, owing to suitable participation and inevitable participation *in* agriculture; whatever is about the shepherd *and* whatever is about the agriculturist, and the adjudication between them. 32. About the corn which is sown, that which is reaped, that which is for an increase (pavan nad-aê), and that which is *for* other things.

33. About the excitement of any one, owing to his blood. 34. About those kinds of ownership of land *and* other things that are best. 35. About him who sees *some one* conducting water for cultivation, when *the person* unauthorisedly sows the land of the *observer who* does not dispute about it with fearlessness and effectual resistance. 36. About the selling of supplies granted, which may be done in hunger, nakedness, and fear; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

37. About the supremacy *of* sin, both that which arises on the spot, and that at a distance (pavan hâsar); *and* whatever is on the same subject. 38. About the atonableness of every sin, and the bridge *judgment* for destroying a righteous *man*, *for* witchcraft, and *for* carrying evil (agîh) to fire and water. 39. About atonement for the sin of Yât, Bâzâî,

grain sprang up originally where the primeval ox passed away; a statement which does not agree with that hinted at in this section.

[1] See Chap. XIII, 1.

Khôr, Aredûs, Avôîrist, Âgêrept[1], and giving no food, through giving of scars (pisang-das)[2], labour, and punishment; the kinds of horse-whip and scourge, and how the penitential effect of both *arises*. 40. When a sinner dies outright on account of the penalty of giving of scars, or the performance of the labour, or the exertion *of* effecting the penance of punishment, *and* when a man has died penitent, *but* incapable of a desire[3] for the retribution of sin, *and* has not atoned in the worldly *existence*, what the nature *of* his soul's helplessness is, owing to sin. 41. About those for whom there is no retribution for sin.

[1] These six names are applied to the various grades of assault and wounding, for which a special scale of punishment is appointed (see Sls. I, 1, 2, XI, 1, 2, XVI, 1, 5). Here the list begins at the most heinous end of the scale, and the last three names, which refer to the lightest offences, have been already explained in Chaps. XIX, 1 n, XX, 64 n. The first three names are explained in Farh. Oîm, pp. 36, l. 7–37, l. 2, as follows:—'For whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; *one* explains Bázâî *as* "smiting," *and* Yât *as* "going to," *though* it be possible *for* the soul of man to be withstanding; *and* a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it *has* been so much *away* from the abode of life.' These six gradations of crime, therefore, range from the infliction of the nearest possible approximation to a fatal wound, down to the merely constructive assault of seizing a weapon. All authorities agree in estimating the relative heinousness of the first four crimes by the following numbers: 180, 90, 60, and 30; but regarding the amounts for the two lighter offences there is much difference of statement. In the old law of the Vendîdâd there are seven gradations of such crime, the lowest four corresponding in name with the lowest four here, and all punishable by lashes, with a horse-whip, or scourge, varying from five to two hundred in number, according to the heinousness of the offence and the number of times it has been committed.

[2] By scourging, as prescribed in the Vendîdâd.

[3] Owing to sickness, or any other disabling cause.

42. About what is the kind *of* contest of a poor *man*, plundered of his property; first, as regards the oppressor who *was* the plunderer, and, afterwards, *having* petitioned for criminal proceedings, through the judges, as regards his oppressor, until their repayment of the property. 43. About *being* delivered into distress *and* disaster[1], and the decision thereon. 44. About the oppressiveness *of* the much pollution of greediness (*âzŏ*) which is owing to all its fiendishness, *and* the arrangement of the creator about it for restraining the same fiend[2] from destroying the whole worldly creation. 45. About the great judiciousness of a man in want of power *being* good, for preserving his own life and making *it* nurturable.

Chapter XXXII.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section of the *next* twenty *contains* particulars about the rite of an ordeal accomplished, also the modes of one's preservation *or* incrimination therein, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

Chapter XXXIII.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section is about the mode and object *of* confinement as regards a beast *of burden*, sheep, and dog that are mad (dêvânakŏ), and the operation of the affliction (vakhsisnŏ); also to what extent is their restoration; *and* when not restored, *but* come for slaughter, the care of them even in confinement,

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[1] Pâz. vôighn.

[2] The fiend of greediness, *Âzŏ*.

and whatever is on the same subject. 2. About the harm (vinâs) which the beast *of burden*, sheep, *and* dog shall commit. 3. About the sin which killed *one who is* no offender[1]. 4. About the care *and* remedy *for* a sick dog, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

Chapter XXXIV.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section is miscellaneous: about the object of amassing property lawfully produced, *or* derived from (frôdŏ min) *what is* legally property; the production authorisedly of *what is* derived from *that which is* legally property, *and* the production unauthorisedly of that which is legally property thereby become one, at first, as regards the very virtuous *or* vicious legal proceedings therein.

2. About the lawful time for giving up a maiden to *her* husband, the completion of *her* possessions, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 3. About the impoverishment owing to the completion of the possessions given, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 4. About a father who *has* sons, and *for* which *of them* a wife is to be earlier sought. 5. *Also* about which of *his* daughters is to be given away to a husband, and whatever is on the same subject.

6. About the progressive meritoriousness of a righteous gift for a woman, *and* the grievous sinfulness owing to *its being* dissipated. 7. About wealth through a righteous gift, the announcement of *its* manifest acceptance, *and* the acknowledgment of *its* acceptance in words, as a completed act that is so far exhaus ed.

[1] Whether the sick animal, or a man attacked by it, is uncertain.

8. About a foreigner when an Irânian asks *him* for a reward for assistance in battle with his fellow-tribesmen, *and* the foreigner does not become generous, though the recompense is for the generosity of the Irânians.

9. About the offering up (madam dahisnŏ) of water; that which is an appointed indicator (numûdâr), and that which is no indicator; that which is an indicator of complete presentation, *and* that of partial presentation; that water which is continually producing the offering up (ûzdahînâk), in like manner, of something of the things of a righteous gift, through the moistened peculiarity and distinction[1] of an offering-producing gift of a male from *that of* a female; and that which is an indicator both male and female, and a voice producing offerings, is animate, *or* inanimate, *or derived* from the inanimate; that which is an indicator is a germ (tôkhmakŏ-1), that which is in a germ is of one species, that which is in a species is of one form, *and* the proportion that is appointed is completed, *though* the purpose for which *it* is appointed *has* not arisen; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

10. About the five best and five worst actions, the seven[2] heinous sins, *and* the three sins that are very ill-atoned for. 11. About the sin of staining with bodily refuse, injuring the existence[3], *and* of a

[1] The Pahl. text is pavan mamanîh va-kadâmîh-i namîdŏ. Possibly namîdŏ, 'moistened,' may stand for numûdŏ, 'indicated;' but the whole sentence is more or less obscure.

[2] Written 4 + 2 (= six) in the MS., but this is a most unusual way of writing 'six;' it is more probable that we ought to read 4 + 3, the usual mode of writing 'seven.' 'Seven evil-doers of sin of a heinous kind' are detailed in Dd. LXXII, 2–9.

[3] Pahl. bâîôdôk-zêdŏ, see Chap. XIX, 1 n.

death-producing formation *as to* clothing. 12. About the sin owing to idleness when, moreover, that which they might do is good. 13. About a decision as to the justifiableness *of* clothing, arms, equipments, and *other* things *being* given to foreigners, besides promoting their service and business, and *giving them* any assistance whatever, *or* listening to that which relates to assistance; likewise listening to drunkards. 14. About unlawfully destroying *and* cutting plants, *with* a decision about it.

15. About the sin of digging a grave[1] for burying a corpse, *whether* of the idolators (dêvîyastân) *or* non-idolators, and *of supplying* clothing for the corpse of a dead *one* of the idolators. 16. About him who threw bodily refuse[2] *on* to fire *or* water, *or any* place *or* garment *on* which *it* is not authorisedly *cast*, to make Mazda-worshippers polluted; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

17. An account of water as regards the description *and* extent of moisture of the land. 18. About the sin owing to rendering anything useless through water *or* fire. 19. About carrying off two-thirds *of* the misery from the world, by eradicating *it* from the creatures through all the illumination of fires; *and* carrying off all adversity from the period of the creatures, through the freedom from malice of mankind, one as regards the other, *and* through *their* perfect sympathy together.

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[1] Assuming that gôbar *khe*kîrûntanŏ stands for gôbar (Pers. gôr) *kh*efrûntanŏ.

[2] See Chap. XIX, 3.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section *contains* particulars about the science (dânisnŏ) of seeking a son, advice about it from revelation (dênô), the advantage of offspring for the admonitory explanation of revelation within *one's* self, *and* the harm owing to neglecting the advice of the same.

2. About what *happens* in the begetting of a son; the first sexual excitement it should produce for the female, the second, third, fourth, *and* fifth; the arising of a son in the world, *and* also the milk, owing to *her* impregnation. 3. And, when *it is* so that it amounts to a son, which of the *two*, male *or* female, is sooner emitting the germs at the time *of* occurrence; *and* how *and* how long both *have* remained, at the time, in semination, how long in connection, and how long in bleeding. 4. When *and* wherefrom various expectations are produced to contend *about*, and when and by what signs the male sex, or female sex, of the offspring *has* become manifest.

5. When the localization[1] regarding *it* is arranged, and, *as to* the members, which is the first member therein, and *their* being produced, each consecutively, till the bodily form is complete; which, *and* in what position, is the localization of the members after the complete production of the form of the body, *and* the purpose as regards the position *and* localization of the members after the complete production *of* the

[1] Assuming that gêsî-hastanŏ stands for gâsî-hastanŏ in all three occurrences of the word. This is rather doubtful, because the noun gâs, 'position,' occurs twice in close connection with the uncertain word, and is correctly spelt.

form of the body. 6. The effect upon the offspring which is *furnished* with subjection to the male, so far as the complete effecting of it is within the limit for its authorisation[1]; the time (vidanâânag[2]) of the offspring with the female, the period of its turning downwards for birth, *and* the occurrence of birth *at* the same time.

7. About the growth of life, too, with the bodily organs (tanûgân); *and* which is the first bone become possessed of marrow, *apart* from the other bones, as it is reported. 8. About the admissibility of the elaboration *of* the male sex, *or* female sex, within it, *by* the guardian spirit of the righteous, at the fifth month; and the ceremony for the guardian spirit of the righteous for the sake of the arrival of a male child.

9. About the act of childbirth by a pregnant woman before *recourse to* midwifery (dâigânîh), except that relating to the navel string of the child; also its first and second food, and when the midwifery is *that* of her mother; what is the kind of milk, *and* the care of the child at the time, *its* bandaging, sleeping, nourishment, and protection; *and* the sin owing to acting unlawfully in such matters. 10. About how many months is the bearing of the offspring in the womb *of* the camel, horse, ass,

[1] The Pahl. text is as follows:—'Kâr-î madam zâkŏ-î levatman dên ku*s*n s*p*ar, vad s*p*ôr kârîh zya*s* dên sâmân pa*das* ra*d*akîh.'

[2] This unusual hybrid word is evidently intended as a Zvâri*s* equivalent of the Irânian zamânah, and is composed of vidanâ (= Ch. עִדָּנָא, which is the usual Zvâri*s* for zamân) + ânag (= ânah, the final syllables of zamânah). The central syllable of zamânah is, therefore, twice represented in the Zvâri*s* vidanâânag. The hybrid occurs again, in Bk. IX, Chap. XVII, 3, in a phrase where it can only mean 'time, period.' If it were not for this after-occurrence, the word here might be read va-dô-ahûg, 'and the dual existence,' with some degree of probability.

cow, and woman; and whatever is on the same subject. 11. About the spiritual perception *of* a new-born child, *and its* coming into the boundaries of worldly comprehension on the same subjects.

12. About the habits through which multitudes *of* mankind *attain* to the acme of beautiful form: that of desire for women, that of swiftness which is owing to the strength of the leg, and that of powerfulness which is owing to the vigour of the body, that of desire for wealth, that of speaking in an assembly, and that of speaking at a distance, that through which *any one* uncontrolled comes to a downfall, that through which *there is* more knowledge of obedience, *and* that through which a counteraction of the affliction of the race arises.

13. About the vicious desire of the performer *and* permitter of unnatural intercourse; also their violent lustfulness, heinous practice, and corrupt, polluted bodies, blighted in destiny; great through their destruction of life in the things which they see, and every greatness inevitably provides *them* a merited death; *as* great in sinfulness as *Az*-î Dahâk[1] in oppression, *as* the serpent Srôbar[2] in witchcraft, *as* Tûr-î Brâ*d*rô-rêsh[3], the Karap[4], in destroying the

[1] See Chap. XIII, 8 n, and compare the account of the seven special evil-doers in Dd. LXXII, 3–9.

[2] The Av. azi srvara of Yas. IX, 11 (W.), Yt. XIX, 40; a terrible serpent slain by Keresâspa the Sâman, as mentioned again in Bk. IX, Chap. XV, 2.

[3] Also written Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh; he was one of the Tûrânian priesthood who persecuted Zaratûst in his youth, and probably the same as Pers. Bartarûsh (the Brâ*d*ar-vakhsh of Sd. IX, 5) who is said to have killed Zaratûst in the end. But, as he was one of five brothers, three of whose names were much alike (see Byt. II, 3 n), his identification is rather uncertain.

[4] Av. karapan. In Dk. Bk. VII the Karaps are often men-

righteous, *and as* a deceiving apostate in falsehood. 14. About the grievous sinfulness of a woman, just delivered and giving milk, whose progeny is the offspring from intercourse with divers males, and whatever is on the same subject.

15. About the increasing vigour *of* the female from the mounting of the male, and the diminished vigour of the male from mounting *on* to the female.

Chapter XXXVI.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. Six[1] Fargards of one section of the *last* fourteen *contain* particulars about the enumeration of species of ownership, their precedence one over the other, *and* their good report in conducting legal proceedings. 2. About property that is brought up to the judges, which, owing to an accuser, becomes *a source of* litigation for a judge. 3. About a decree as to restoring possession, *or* as to keeping possession, of whatever is among such matters. 4. About property

tioned as enemies of Zaratûst, both before and after his birth. Some are named, such as Dûrâsrôb, Brâdrôk-rêsh, Vaêdvôist, and Gêshmak. The Karap of the district where the mother of Zaratûst was born banishes her for witchcraft, and must, therefore, have been the official head of the district. Dûrâsrôb, the Karap, travels sometimes with a disciple (hâvist), so his title was probably a priestly one. The Karap is also often mentioned with the Kaî, or Kîk (Av. kavan or kavi), the title of an equally obnoxious class; both Kîks and Karaps being termed 'demon-worshippers,' or idolators; and the Pahlavi translators of the Avesta speak of them, metaphorically, as 'blind and deaf' to the sacred beings.

[1] These are called 'five Fargards' in Dd. LXI, 3 which appears to refer to §§ 7, 13. Or it may be 'seven,' if we consider the 'seven' of the next chapter as completing the last fourteen sections of this Nask.

which is, *or* is brought, out of the possession of a defendant, *and* property which is extorted from a man by worrying, or by a noticeable crime upon him; *with* a statement about it.

5. About the earnings (vindi*s*nŏ) of fellow-combatants *and* fellow-subordinates, *with* a statement about them. 6. About the coming of land, property, *or* anything, held by foreigners, into the princely possession of one from Irân.

7. About the guardianship of a family (dû*d*akŏ); likewise the varieties of it, *and* the fitness of a man for it. 8. About one's own family, and whatever is on the same subject. 9. About the income (vindi*s*nŏ) of wife *and* child.

10. About the trouble *of* the business *of* obtaining (vindi*s*nŏ) a wife, and also her marriage, owing to the urgency of the husband, after the trouble. 11. About *her* guardian and paramour, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 12. About the proportion who *have* to keep a wife to seek *for* offspring, *and* the proportion who *have* to satisfy menstrual excitement.

13. About adoption; likewise the varieties of it, *and* fitness for it; the violation of adoption, the sin of the son who is accepted, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. About the partnership of brothers *that has* existed, is formed, *or* is designed; *its* abandonment (a-bûkhtîkîh), the surplus property, the wealth that becomes quite sacrificed (za*d*akŏ), *and* whatever is on the same subject. 15. About property that comes to next of kin through relationship, and that through adoption. 16. About the residue that lapses into ways of righteousness.

17. About where *and* in whom, after the father, is

the prerogative as to a daughter *being* given away to a husband.

Chapter XXXVII.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section *of* the seven[1] at the end *contains* particulars about the daily *food* of a grown-up man, a pregnant woman, her who is childless, *and* a child, as provided by law; *also* that of a shepherd's dog, a village dog, and a blood-hound; and the characteristics of these three kinds of dog.

2. About the sign of a person's conversion to the religion. 3. About association of several kinds, and one of them is that of the keepers (pa*d*ân) with the flocks (ramân), and the flocks in connection with the keepers; and of what kind is the meritoriousness of the keepers *of* those flocks, as to guardianship of every description; the happy effects of the flock, *and* those of the keeper, of every description; the advantage from this association, and whatever is on the same subject. 4. One is the association of priestly instructor (ra*d*ŏ) and pupil[2], *and their* meritoriousness together; the fame of the priestly instructor for priestly instruction, *and* that of the disciple (hâvi*s*tô) for every kind of *learning derived* from the priestly instructor, and every kind that the priestly instructor *imparts* to the pupil; *and* the happy effects of the priestly instructor, of every kind, in similar matters. 5. One is the association

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[1] It is doubtful whether seven sections are meant, or whether we should read 'the seven *Fargards* at the end of one section.' See, however, Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

[2] Pahl. ra*d*ûnê (Av. ratunaya).

of ceremonial priests (ra*d*-pî*s*a kâ nŏ), the worthiness of a man for the sacerdotal leadership, supplies for the whole of the ceremonial priests, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About the highest of all associations [1], and about the lawful and virtuous existence of this same association, when *there are* two men in *a case* where he who is opulent is always necessary for him who is in innocence, and *has* given *him* the wealth that he asks for; or where, when the one shall commit sin, wealth is an affliction to the other; or the ownership, as to that which the one obtains, is as much even that of the other; or, on the passing away *of the one*, it is mingled with the wealth of the other; and whatever is on the same subject.

7. About the punishment of the sin of him for whom *one* lies [2] to him by whom provision is made, by thought or by word, *and* given to him who is worthy. 8. About a father's making a child aware of the sin at the time of the sin. 9. About the sin of taking the course of a false guide and exalting falsehood, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 10. The sin of extorting supplies for a beast *of burden* from a lonely labouring person.

11. About important gifts to the worthy, atonement for deprival of food (atapdâ*d*ŏ-vi*g*âri*s*nîh) [3], and disbursements (aûrûzdân) *of* that which is legally, and also *of* that which is derived from *what is* legally, property among impoverished (nyûrûzd) supplicants. 12. The depriver of food is he who is *for* early atonement, and *they* who severally *exist*,

[1] That of disinterested and devoted friendship, as appears from the examples given.

[2] By falsely recommending him as a worthy object of charity.

[3] See Chap. XVII, 6 n.

through grazing[1] *and* bringing forth, are *they* who severally are also in loss of vitality, through deprival of the food of strength *and* intellect; *even* a powerful man is prostrated thereby; the food which is suitable as atonement for deprival of food, *and* that which is not suitable.

13. About that through which the indispensable creation *of* a debt arises, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. Where *it is* the healing *of* the sick, the spiritual *debt* is unto the archangel Ashavahist[2], *and* that which is worldly unto the physician's anteroom (dâlânakŏ).

15. About the worthiness *of* a good physician for every benefit, *and* the unworthiness *of* a bad physician for any benefit. 16. About each one of the plants *being* produced by Aûharmazd for the subjugation of one disease at least. 17. About the protectiveness *and* preciousness of the profession of medicine; the advantage and reasoning thought of a physician due to the carrying on of *his* medical practice; the pleasant food, the handsome clothing, and the swift steed for a physician; and *his* wealth *being* as much as that of an average man in a house, village, community, *or* province. 18. About the diligently

[1] Reading karisnŏ, but part of the first letter has been cut off by the repairer of the MS. The semi-starvation of cattle is being referred to.

[2] The personification of 'perfect righteousness' (Av. ashavahista) whose special duty is stated to be the care of fire (see Sls. XV, 5, 12, 13), and whose name, often written Ardavahist or Ardavahist in Pahlavi, is applied to the second month and third day of the month in the Parsi year (see Chap. XX, 22). He is here connected with the healing of the sick, because of his association with Airyaman, the smiter of diseases (see Vend. XXII, Yt. III, Sîr. I, II, 3).

remedial hand *of* the physician for the sick, opportunely mindful, yet without chastisement.

19. About the sin of a physician through handling (sûdakîh) and *having* spread *a disease* by walking up to the sick, because that is when *he would have been* innocent through not *having* gone. 20. About a great pestilence (sêgŏ), *and* that which is trivial.

21. About the fee[1] of a physician for curing a sick *person* of disease of the whole body, *and* of each one of the members; even of him who *has* cured chieftains, both those of the lower grades *and* him who is the supreme king of kings, and so also various destitute people. 22. About the mode *and* extent of delivering up fees to a physician, after the declaration of the sick *person being* well; that is, from whom *comes* the physician's fee which is announced for the cure, *and* also that which is not announced; from whom that only which is announced for it, from whom a meal (pishôn-1), and from whom nothing whatever *of* worldly reward comes.

23. About the physician whom *one* hears[2] *and* asks for medical treatment. 24. About a test as to the competency of a physician; that is, how *it is* to be made, how it is when it is possible to test *it, and* how it is when it is not possible to test *it.* 25.

[1] In Vend. VII, 36–44 (W.) we have some of the old Avesta laws regarding medical men and their fees. How far the Avesta text of this section of the Hûspâram Nask corresponded with that of the Vendîdâd on the same subject it is impossible to determine, because we have always to recollect that this summary of the contents of the Nasks was compiled from their Pahlavi versions (see Chap. I, 3) which included extensive commentaries, adapting the original Avesta statements to the altered circumstances of Sasanian times.

[2] Or 'satisfies' (shnâyêdŏ).

About the sin of a physician who is not tested, *and* also *of* him whom it is not possible to test, when he shall undertake the medical treatment of others, *and*, as regards a limb of any one, there is not anything which is another's test of him, *nor* even that which is not another's test of him, *nor* that which is a trial of him.

26. About how long is the duration of *having* sought a physician in Irân whereafter *it* is allowable, through not obtaining *one*, to seek *him* even from foreigners. 27. The sin of *having* sought *one* from foreigners, when *one can* obtain a physician in Irân. 28. About the fee for a foreign physician, and much else on the same subject. 29. The medical treatment of mankind, and also about the medical treatment of beasts *of burden and* cattle.

30. About the sin owing to intrusting him who is unfit for a duty. 31. About the greater suitability of a priest than *of* a disciple for duty and position; a trusty *person* is also obtaining the important *rather* than obtaining a desire for the important, and even so far as *being* a potter *rather* than an astrologer, and being careful *rather* than a potter; and the reason of it.

32. About preparing an unauthorised (*a*-dastôbar) dwelling in the locality of other persons, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 33. About boundaries where *there* is a place of residence for people, and whatever is on the same subject. 34. About what description of testimony of *one of* the good religion is *received* as evidence regarding an infidel, *and* of an infidel as regards *one of* the good religion.

35. About the greatness of eminence *of* the abode of priestly authorities (ra*d*ân'ŏ), *both* for procedure

and for petitions[1]; the openness of the doors of a priestly authority; the want of eminence of any one through every kind of offence to others, which is owing to his closed doors and evil eminence in every mode; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 36. About the extent of splendour (lîyânŏ) and pomp-diffusing (vafsh-*a*fgânŏ) tokens from the abode of fires, *and* the arrangement as regards him who casts the allotted twigs *and* charcoal (khâr akhgar) into *them.* 37. About conveying prosperity (pa*d*îkhûîh)[2] to the abode of fires appropriately *to* the capability of every one.

38. About the quality (sâmân) of water oozing out (aîrî*d*ŏ) and that which is flowing in a channel (nâêv-tâk). 39. About the characteristics of specified works which are contiguous in a place between two frontiers (mar'*z*ŏ).

40. About a decision as to a sheep *free* from unlawful influence—and so also *as to one under* unlawful influence—which goes to the pasture of others with thievish intention, neglecting its own; and *as to* that which *does so* not with thievish intention. 41. About the quantity which *one has* to provide, in the duration of a day and night, on admitting to pasture *and* corn, in the case of an ox without defect (anâgânŏ), or *of* another kind, or a horse, or a sheep, or a goat, or a pig, or an animal of any other kind.

42. About the distance of a residence of mankind from a river flowing in a channel. 43. About the period for letting a sheep graze at pleasure in a pasture, *and* that for restraining *it;* the time for not

[1] These six words should, perhaps, be appended to the next clause of the sentence.

[2] By providing fuel and other necessaries.

cutting trees, *and* that for little slaughter of sheep. 44. About an article of clothing which is associated with defence, for fear of enemies, *and* becomes quite a good omen (sukûn) *among* mankind, *being* imperceptible *and* appropriate. 45. About a tree with stem uprooted, where *and* how *it is* allowable.

46. About a leader's causing a march of whatever kind, the people *being* in motion through fear, and they drive the sheep which are with the army on account of molestation; *also* making the sheep decide as to the pasture near to the road within reach, the pasturing *of* the first of the species of sheep, *and* letting *them* forth to pasture in succession unto the last, and the reason of it.

47. About a person who is of note[1] on account of wealth, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 48. About this intermixture *of* with-the-stream *and* against-the-stream, with banks and without banks, and waters running *and* down-pouring (nîyâpân), on the road; that is, which of the waters, running *or* down-pouring, is to be earlier reverenced *by him* who is returning from the road, and the reason of it. 49. About the subordination of the disciple unto the priest, as to eating, drinking, and plenty, goodness and preciousness; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

50. About that which *occurs* when foreigners come to the frontier of Irân, *and* shall do damage to Irân; *and* the frontier governors *and* fellow-champions *have* to repel the foreigners by fighting, to save the Irânian people and property which *were*

[1] Reading mûn sakhûnag. Another guess would be min nîsôn-î (for nîsân-î), in which case the translation would be 'a person *free* from indications relating to wealth.'

to be made foreign; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

51. About the advantage of punishing a violent thief by the members of the assembly, that owing to reliance upon the actions *and* convictions of the ancients, that owing to forming many priestly assemblies, that owing to providing a disciple for a priest, that through passing away after *being* high-priest, that through *doing so* without *being* high-priest, *and* that of much information on similar statements prior to any other resources.

52. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

Chapter XXXVIII.

1. One section of the *first* thirty of the Sakâ*d*ûm[1] *contains* particulars about reward *by* command of the religion, the bridge *judgment* of the destroyers of the well-commanding, *and* the provision for their destruction. 2. About the importance of a man, after fifteen years of age *and* when he has heard that there is a law[2] which is good, *having* sought that law[2] by *having* enquired *about it.* 3. About a man's scrutinizing an action before doing *it*, when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work,

[1] Corresponding to the eighteenth word, yim, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the nineteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. This name, which is here written like Zakî-hat-min, should probably be Zîk-*aît*-tûm, meaning 'the most intimate concerns,' as the Nask refers chiefly to personal and family law; but it is called Askâram, or Sakadâm, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained fifty-two kardah, fargar*d*s, or vê*c*ast; thus agreeing with the total of the sections mentioned in Chaps. XXXVIII, XLI.

[2] It is possible to read yêdatô, 'sacred being,' instead of dâ*d*ŏ, 'law.'

and when *it* is possible for him to set *it* aside *and* not to do *it*.

4. About advice as to *having* entered into a house in the night by the light *of* a fire, or when *one* has noticed it in this place, though he goes elsewhere; *also* the watchful destruction of an injured person, or animal, or garment, *and* the retribution for the injury. 5. About the extent of any glitter of the sparks (zakhsh-1-î parkân), *and* the width *and* height of the doors of the constructed work of that appointed place *of the fire*.

6. About a new-born child, as to how *one has* to provide its place, connected lawfully *with* illumination[1], more particularly *for* the first three nights. 7. About bringing a fire to *drive* away the overpowering fiend, and making the child taste first the Hôm-juice, so far as collected within its precincts (varân), and, secondly, the butter of Maî*d*ôk-zarem[2] which is to be brought forward for it; *also* the watchfulness of the father and mother over the child, and the extent of their retiring (na*v*istanŏ) from the two sides of the *new*-born. 8. About lawfully-made places of several kinds for the child, the limits *and* manner of the mother's giving milk to the child, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

9. About carrying forth holy-water, *or* even a cooking-pot, to a fire, where the hands are purified *and* thoroughly washed; *and* the sin owing to an un-

[1] To protect it from the demons who are supposed to be specially dangerous during the first three nights.

[2] Equivalent to 'mid-spring butter,' the Av. maidhyô-zaremaya, 'mid-verdure,' being the season corresponding to the middle of the second Parsi month, which was early in May when the year commenced at the vernal equinox (see Bd. XXV, 6, 21).

purified hand, not thoroughly washed, carrying *them* forth. 10. About the preservation of the cooking-pot, and the rest of one's operations with the fire, from defilement; *but* when, through want of care, defilement occurs, *by* the inexperience of any one bringing *it* to the fire, he who is careless is thereby contaminated, *and* the cooking-pot is properly placed in its position.

11. Arranging about properly-made bed-places (gâsvârakŏ) in a house, those for children and those for adults; also a decision about *a case* when a carpenter (dûrgar) shall make a bed-place properly which one's own judgment considers improperly *made*, and when both *consider it* improperly, *or* when both *consider it* properly *made; and* more of whatever is on the same subject.

12. About what is the mode *of* producing seeing properly; *and*, when not seeing properly, the oculist (dî*d*pân) to intrust with it is *he* who informs people, who wish for it, *how* to extract the defect of sight; if not, the people go on and hurt; *also* the penalty for hurting, and whatever is on the same subject.

13. About the insubordination of those accustomed to work (kâr-khûgarân) to women and children; also that of a grown-up man who *has* been giving no food[1] three *times* in succession; he, too, it is who advanced the fourth *time*[2], because, owing to giving no food a fourth *time*, the man is he who *has* to accomplish work unrestrictedly; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

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[1] See Chap. XVII, 6.

[2] This passage appears to refer to that quoted in Farh. Oîm, p. 38, ll. 8, 9; though the latter part of Chap. XLI, 19 is more applicable to ll. 4–8 of the same page.

14. About the care of a pointed thing, that is, how *it* is to be carried to a dwelling in the world, how *it* is to be deposited, *and* the sin owing to keeping and depositing *it* otherwise. 15. And about every garment[1] and utensil, even including such as a scum-pot, an hour-glass, and a dining-tray; that is, how *they are* to be deposited in the dwelling, *and* the sin owing to variously[2] placing *and* taking care *of them.* 16. About a door which is properly made; how it is when it falls down, and a wound arises from it, the carpenter *being* innocent regarding it; *and* how it is when *he is* guilty.

17. About washing the head, the care of the water and the religious ritual therein, and whatever is on the same subject. 18. About the period *for* arranging the hair, in which they shave the hair. 19. About the shaving of a child the first time, and the ritual which is taught for it; the performance of shaving *by* an instructed barber and with a sharp razor, which is the appointed practice as regards the razor of adults, *and* that also for children *with* the children's razor, because *it is* settled healthfulness; his whetstone (*s*ôn), and also the care of the razor. 20. About the number of the positions of a man, in which a barber can perform shaving, and that of the positions of the barber; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

21. About each one of those who are custodians (kîrûk-kârânŏ), and the rules of the market; also their abstaining from wounding each other with a pike (têkh), *or* other implement, with which they

[1] Or *g*âmak may mean 'a cup.'

[2] Reading min gûnagîhâ.

shall perform *their* duty; *likewise* the sin owing to heedlessness. 22. About giving forth a pointed thing lawfully, and a wound owing to not giving *it* forth lawfully; lawfully taking *and* giving away a plate of broken victuals (pa*d*khûr), and a wound owing to *doing it* unlawfully; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the appointed place (dâ*d*-gâh) of a horse-course *and its* distance from the middle of a town, the nature of the horse-course, the training (farhâng) *and* masters of manœuvres (pa*d*ân-î farhângânŏ) when in *it*, the shooting of arrows on the horse-course, *and* the wound which occurs to man *or* animal, how it is when culpable, and how it is when not culpable. 24. About admitting a listener; where, why, *and* how *he is* to be admitted; *and* the guilt *or* innocence as regards a wound owing to him.

25. About the mode of making a *sacred thread*-girdle [1], *and* the harm from an unusual formation of it. 26. About lawfully tying *it*, without the culpability (va*z*agîh) *of* unauthorised action; *also* when they do not tie *it* lawfully, *but* the girdling is knotted (viragî-aîtŏ) *and* twisted owing to culpability (va*z*agânîh); and whatever is on the same subject.

27. About lawfully scratching *with* the nails, and the harm from unlawfully scratching. 28. About lawfully attending to a fire on the road; and, when *one* arrives at a ford *through* water, the sin which arises, as to fire, from not lawfully caring about the fire.

29. About warriors who mingle together in panic (mazangîh) and darkness; injury happens *to* one

[1] See Dd. XXXIX, 1 n.

from the other, and the statement of the account published is *that there was* a state of terror; also whatever is on the same subject. 30. About the march of an army which is in fear, *and* that which is in *a state of* fearlessness which is the distinction of the army of Irân from those of foreigners. 31. About lawfully and habitually requiring a share, and the harm from unlawfully and unhabitually requiring *it.*

32. About carrying firewood, brought away from the hills, into the house; depositing *it* at first by the tongs (dast-pânakŏ); watching, turning, and inspecting *it*, *and* carrying *it* away to the fire; that is, how *to do it* lawfully, the sin owing to unlawfully performing *it*, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 33. About lawfully warming bull's urine[1] by the fire, *and* the sin when *it is* not lawfully *done.*

34. About selecting a pasture, one ranked above the others; that is, how *to do it* lawfully, the sin when *one* shall do *it* otherwise, *and*, owing to that, he is really injured, *or* occasions injury. 35. About what is the mode *of* construction of a lawfully-formed farm-house (da*s*t-ka*d*akŏ), the dwelling of the people, *and* the place of the beasts *of burden and* cattle; *also* the sin when *one* shall construct *it* otherwise, *and*, owing to that, he is really injured, *or* occasions injury.

36. A decision about *a case* when one *person has* lawfully to force *away* a beast *of burden* from a control unlawfully *exercised*, *and another* person intrudes unauthorisedly, *and* vexes the district authorities (pa*d*-dihânân). 37. Also when *being* done un-

[1] Intended for ceremonial purification.

lawfully, and the beast *being away* from its control unlawfully *exercised*, the *other* person intrudes lawfully; and when both *persons act* unlawfully, *or* when both *act* lawfully. 38. About lawfully tying, whereby things are hung up; *and* the sin when, *through* an unlawfully-tied fastening, anything is injured, *or* occasions injury. 39. About unlawfully keeping horses in a stable (âkhûr), *and* the sin owing to the unlawfulness. 40. And, as regards the cutting of trees and shrubs, where *and* how *it is* lawfully *done*, and the harm *and* sin owing to not lawfully cutting. 41. About the mode of washing clothing, *and* the sin owing to different modes. 42. About the mode of walking in, *and* the sin owing to unusual walking in. 43. About the custom of a man of the sagacious (dânâkvarân) on passing through water, and the harm *and* sin owing to acting otherwise.

44. About the kinds of canals (nâî)[1] and fords, from those for two men passing, up to those for many; the dimensions of those *which are* large, and how much *they are* each separately *sunk* into the ground, without collecting water, when the ground is hard, and how much when *it is* soft. 45. The extent of their outer[2] banks, *and* the inspection as to the banks when the water is brackish, warm, *and* flowing; how far when outside of the water, and how far when in the water. 46. When *it is* brackish, cold, *and* flowing; or brackish, warm, *and* stagnant; or sweet, warm, *and* flowing; how far when in the water, and how far when outside. 47. And, when

[1] For irrigation.

[2] Reading vîrûnag, but the word is miswritten nîrang-î.

brackish, cold, *and* stagnant; or sweet, cold, *and* flowing; or sweet, warm, and stagnant; how far when in the water, and how far when outside of the water. 48. What is the customary operation as regards the inspection of the banks; how is the stagnation (astînî*d*anŏ) within a pool dammed up (zarêh-stânŏ-aê), and the stone-*work* inside, from the canal which is for ten men passing, up to that for many; *and* how is the damming up inside of the canal, the stagnation within the pool dammed up, or the reedy jungle (vê*s*akŏ) when distributed and it becomes tall.

49. What are the mode *and* means of maintaining the supervision of a canal; which is that *which one* should maintain over the water of the canal when half is distributed, *or*, when not, one-third; and which is that when one-third is distributed, *or*, when not, one-fourth; *a supervision* which is animate *or* inanimate, *and* after those which are inanimate *means are provided*[1], the former animate *ones* are then at rest; *and* the harm *and* sin when they shall act otherwise. 50. And, as regards the same, what is the mode *of* passage of animals of various species, by swimming across the water; *and* the sin, owing to acting otherwise, when harm occurs. 51. About the trampling down at a ford *through* water, when *one* is newly completing *it*, and when *the water is* brackish *and* flowing, when *it is* brackish *and* stagnant, when *it is* sweet *and* flowing, and when *it is* sweet *and* stagnant; the reason of passing through on it, *and* such *and* such *ways* for proceeding at

[1] In the shape of sluices for regulating the supply of water for irrigation.

will thereon; so, also, observation as to the water which *has* remained behind for flowing, and the harm *and* sin when *one* does not properly observe *it*, *but* walks on.

52. About two of the warriors who meet together on the road, which *of them* was *busy* about the protection *of his* horse, *and* which about the preparation of food; *also* the usage *and* other *things* in similar matters. 53. The sin of *having* eaten food for refreshment on the road, that is, how the custom is a sin when they can act otherwise.

54. About the remedies for sheep and beasts *of burden* which reinfuse fresh life; and the extent of keeping the sheep, goat, cow, mare, ass, pig [1], and woman with the male. 55. About beasts *of burden*, sheep (anûmâânŏ), and women, for whom, on account of contraction of orifice, *there is* a use of means for making *it* not painful (atûtakŏ). 56. About the extent of the distance of a male beast from the female when it is necessary to be watchful. 57. About the distance that a man *has* to remove an ox that *has* destroyed *some* concealed hay (barkasag giyah) which is the hay of others, when they quarrel with him; how it is when *it is* allowable to bring *the ox* back to *his* home; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

58. About the security of a man from the death (aôsh) of *his* fathers, and danger *having* arisen for him from a mouth *of* bad omen. 59. About the sin of a father owing to a child, when, *being* given by him to an ill-behaved *person* [2], he calls *it and*, when

[1] Instead of khar va-khazûrâ, the MS. has khôr va-zak-î ras.

[2] Assuming that minênamakŏ-1 stands for *a*pênamakŏ-1;

it comes, *there* may occur the sin of unlawfully terrifying sheep, and the beast *of burden* is beaten; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 60. About bringing[1] a plant which is a medicinal herb, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

61. About a sociable feast (ham-myâzdîh) with idolators, that is, how it is *when held* authorisedly, and how it is when *it is* not; *and*, when *one* gives the sociable feast, how it is *when they are to be considered* unhonoured, and how it is when they are to be considered more honoured even than the Irânians. 62. And about the broken victuals which the idolators *have* eaten *and* drunk therein.

63. About the proportion of meat with the bread in atonement for deprival of food[2]. 64. About an ordeal which is severe, and *one which is* not severe; *and* the evidence of acquittal from the achievement thereof. 65. About the secrets of the religion, *and* the sin owing to *their being* disclosed (gushûftŏ). 66. About the sin of speaking evil words to the wives of others. 67. About the extent of the most inferior house, village, community, *and* province; *and* that of the most superior. 68. And about what *was* the mode *of* residence of Frashôstar and *G*âmâsp[3] in a plundering (lâîskar) army, and their habits.

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the copyist having mistaken *a*p for *a z*, and substituted the Zvâris equivalent min for the latter which he supposed was a separate word.

[1] Or 'abstracting.'

[2] See Chaps. XVII, 6, XXXVII, 11.

[3] Two brothers who were contemporaries of Zaratûst. Frashôstar was his father-in-law, and *G*âmâsp was prime minister of king Vistâsp.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Sakâdûm Nask.

1. One section is the *H*a*k*î*d*akânistân ('*code of sequestrations*'), particulars about a statement of seized property, the retention thereof, *and* how was the confinement *of* that *which was* animate; how it is when *one* keeps *it* in a shepherd's-dog's care, and how it is when in the sequestrator's care (*h*a*k*î*d*akŏ-dârîh). 2. And when *it is* a seized horse of the warriors, how to keep *it* when it is not possible to retain *it* in confinement *of* any kind, and the damage which *has* arisen therefrom; what is the danger to occasion by it, how it is when the shelter (srâyi*s*nŏ)[1] is on all sides, *and* how it is when on one side; while the trust, when *there is* shelter, is in the extent of the shelter, how much *and of* what kind is the shelter. 3. When *it is* a seized beast *of burden*, after *its* coming into the possession of the sequestrator (*h*a*k*î-*d*ak-dâr), for how long *he has* to order work for the reasoning thought of the herdsman, *and* how is that of the sequestrator, *in* like manner, before he quite attains to his share; even through his own reasoning thought the work is authorisedly ordered, *and* how *and in* what manner is the ordering of his work. 4. And when the seized *animal* has offspring, *in* what mode *he has* to milk *it*, as well as the nourishment of the young, and whatever is on the same subject; *also* the sin owing to doing *it* unlawfully.

5. About the sequestrator when the beast *of burden* seized comes into his possession, how it is

[1] Av. thrâ.

when its special reputation is altered, *and* how it is when it comes with utility and advantage for him. 6. About the seizer's keeping a sheep, which is seized, in *his* flock; that is, how the custom is produced, owing to its milk *being* for the *sacred* feast, and the notification of the feasts is owing to the seized[1] sheep; when, too, it is not possible to keep *it* in the flock, what is the mode of confining *it;* and when it is not possible to keep *it* in confinement, what *he has* to do with it. 7. About the wool of a sheep which is seized; that is, how it is when the shearing is even before the various times specified, *and* the sin of shearing when *it is* before the time specified, *or one* shears when there is no reason for shearing. 8. About the lambing (gurû*sî*d*ŏ*) of the sheep seized, and the sin owing to *its* not lambing.

9. About sheltering (sru*d*anŏ)[2] the seized *animal* in the most public place in a house, village, community, *or* province. 10. About the sin of the shepherd when, without saving *it* for the sequestrator, *and* through the guilelessness of the sequestrator, he shall carry away a female; *and* the sin which is owing to the offence as regards unlawfully beating *and* wounding *it*, before *it is* seized for the buyers of meat (khûr-kharânŏ), *and* other offences regarding it. 11. About the time appointed, between the shepherd and the sequestrator, for leading *and* bringing the female, *belonging to* the sequestrator, to the place for which the time is appointed; *in* the *case* when the shepherd arrives *and* the sequestrator *does*

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[1] Instead of *h*a*k*î*d*akŏ, 'seized,' the MS. has the very similarly written word *avêz*akŏ, 'pure.'

[2] Compare srâyi*s*nŏ in § 2, and srû*d*an in § 11.

not, how that which *belongs to* the sequestrator is to come into the possession of the sequestrator, and when; when *it is* the sheep *or* beast *of burden* of a sequestrator[1], how *it is* to come into the possession of that sequestrator; when the sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized dies in the possession of the sequestrator, how *and* how long *he has* to shelter (srûdan) the young ones (gurûs) and wool of the same several sheep; *and* the sin when he does not shelter *them*, or *does it* otherwise.

12. About a sheep[2] which is mingled among the flock of any one that is in sequestration, how it is when the shepherd, *and* how it is when the shepherd's dog, is its own; and when it is mingled among any flock owing to sequestration, how it is when the shepherd, *and* how it is when the shepherd's dog, [who is its own][3] goes to another flock; how it is when the first flock-owner, *and* how it is when the second, is its own. 13. About the killing of a seized sheep *by* a shepherd's dog for necessary provisions; that is, how *it is* allowable, and *in* what mode *it is* to be done.

14. About him unto whom the sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized *is delivered* when it comes into a district; *and* the sequestrator's informing the governor of the district, in whose herd the sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized *remains*, as to the species, colour, and form of it[4]. 15. Watching over

[1] Perhaps another sequestrator is meant.

[2] The first case seems to be that of an unseized sheep in a seized flock, and the second that of a seized sheep in an unseized flock.

[3] The words in brackets are supplied by guess, to fill up a blank space left by the repairer of the MS. on one of his patches.

[4] Reading va-darand-î denman.

a man with sheep, who is in a disabled state of illness owing to a wound *received* in his duty as regards slaughtering; the case when *he is* concealed from a passer-by (amat nîhân min vi*d*âr) and there is protection, when *he is* an eater *and* there is no protection, when *he is* not eating and there is protection, and when *he is* not eating *and* there is no protection.

16. About the distraction[1] of a sequestrator as regards a sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized, when *it is* one *out* of four varieties[2], and when one *out* of three; when he nourishes *it for* half a year, *and* when *for* the duration of a year; when that which he obtains is a young *one*, and when that which he obtains is large, where *and* what is a shelter for it, and, *as to* the care of it, how it is when *in* a grain vault (*k*igârakŏ-1), *and* when it is *under* a tree; how it is when *in* a damaged cellar (varkhŏ-1-î kû*s*takŏ), and how it is when *in* a cage (pan*g*ar-1) which is not incomplete, *but is* broken, or *is* not incomplete and *is* sound, or *is* complete and sound.

17. About treasure which *they find* in the surroundings of a dwelling, *and* that which they find within the limits of the dwelling of any one. 18. About buried treasure when it is found by the side of a

[1] Reading h*ā*zakŏ, but it is possibly a contracted form of ay*ā*vakŏ, 'gain.'

[2] If it were allowable to omit this word, âyûînakŏ, 'variety,' and to substitute 'gain' for 'distraction,' the sentence would stand as follows:—'About the gain of a sequestrator as regards a sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized, when he nourishes *it for* one-fourth, when *for* one-third, when *for* half a year, *and* when *for* the duration of a *whole* year.' This seems more intelligible than the text as it stands in the MS.

road, *and* the ground is hard, how it is when it is one finger-*breadth* below, *and* how it is when *it is* two finger-*breadths;* as well as (ham-gûn) when the ground is soft, how it is when it is two finger-*breadths* below, *and* how it is when *it is* three finger-*breadths.* 19. When it is found within the road, and the ground is hard, how it is when it is two finger-*breadths* below, and how it is when *it is* three finger-*breadths; and* when the ground is soft, how it is when it is three finger-*breadths below*, and how it is when *it is* four finger-*breadths.* 20. When *it is* in an ascent *or* descent, there where *one* turns out from the road, and the ground is hard, how it is when it is below *up* to the instep[1], and how it is when *it is* up to the middle of the leg (pati*s*tân)[2]; *and if* soft, how it is when it is below up to the middle of the leg, and how it is when *it is* up to the knee. 21. When *it is* in a stream of water, *and* the ground is hard, how it is when it is below up to the knee, and how it is when *it is* up to mid-thigh; and when the ground is soft, how it is when it is below up to mid-thigh, *and* how it is when *it is* up to the testicles. 22. When *it is* in a ford *through* the water, and the ground is hard, how it is when it is below up to the testicles, *and* how it is when *it is* up to the navel; and when the ground is soft, how it is when it is below *up to* the navel, and how it is when *it is* up to the mouth. 23. And when *it is* in a kitchen (â*s*-khânŏ), the middle of a garden (van), *or* a sheep-fold (pâh-hastŏ); that is, how it is when *it is* not a permanent residence (af*râz*-mâni*s*nŏ) of *any*-

[1] Supposing that Pâz. âava*d* is intended for âfrapa*d*.
[2] That is, up to the shin.

body, *and* how it is when *it is* a permanent residence [1].

24. About *him* who nourishes a sheep which is seized; that is, how it is when *it is* out of his store, *and* how it is when he nourishes it *as* it arrives. 25. About a dispute as regards a sheep that is seized, when one *person* says *it was* born of the colour of the mother, *and another* one *says it was of* her form [2], both *being* true; or one *person* mentions a single characteristic truly, *and another* one *mentions* many characteristics of it untruly; the *cases* when they mention *its* peculiarities otherwise, *and* in what manner; and whatever is on the same subject. 26. About a sheep [3] seized, which *has* to pass on through the loftiest places in which *there* is lawfully shelter; *and* how *there* are three years, three existences (ahvôn), three places, nine occasions, and also many other regulations on the same subject.

Chapter XL.

Sakâdûm Nask.

1. One section is the Zîyânakistân ('*code of the injured*'), about *anything* which is animate—and that *which is* inanimate—injured through lawfully living, giving, receiving, *or* delivering back; the duty of protection and care for both kinds; the nourish-

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[1] The utility of these minute details was probably to determine how long the treasure had been buried, and for what purpose, and whether there was any possibility of the rightful owner being still alive.

[2] Reading darand-î denman.

[3] Supposing that pês stands for pâh.

ment, extension, sustentation, stimulation, establishment, consolation, and also gratification of an animate *being; and* the retribution for sin due to unlawfulness as regards the same matters.

2. About an example of a damaged gift, *in* the *case* when *one* gives the thing *to* a poor (ga*d*âk) person at an appointed time, *and* when at *one* unappointed; *and in* the *case* when *one* gives him an increase, where *and* what is the increase. 3. A decision about a shepherd when they shall bring *him* back *an animal*[1], when damaged, before *its* subdivision; what he obtains for the damaged *animal* when not delivered back at the time of subdivision; when the duty about it is dictated by a religious *man*, and when he keeps *it* in *his own* possession.

4. About property which is inanimate, whose subdivisions, each separately, when *one* keeps *them* in use[2], and when in reserve (armê*s*tô), are greater and less in value; that is, through so much effecting of penance (*av*âkan*g*i*s*nŏ) worthily, *or* through so much bringing of interest; and the capital is the same *in* value, the increase *being* the growth of dividends.

5. About the reason why the sin of an injured *person becomes* innocent through not delivering back a damaged *article*[3]*; and* many opinions, on the same subject, are provided for *our* benefit.

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[1] Probably one sold by him to a butcher.

[2] For trading, or pious purposes.

[3] Suffering wrongs without complaint being meritorious.

Chapter XLI.

Sakâdûm Nask.

1. One section of the *last* twenty-two is the Vakhshistân ('*increase code*'), particulars about the progress of increase. 2. About atonement, surrender, and compensation *for* anything, through dispelling *it* by compensating, atoning, *and* surrendering to *him* whose own *it is;* the period thereof not *being* appointed. 3. When he, whose origination of compensation, atonement, *and* surrender is his own, has appointed the period thereof, the growing of the sin actively, after the appointed time, is increase.

4. About increase[1] which is active (ka*r*dakŏ), and that which is existent (zîstakŏ); how it is when the existent becomes quite active, and how it is when both are suppressed (armê*s*tî-aît). 5. About the extraction of increase upon increases which they may occasion *up* to an equality; where *and* which *it is.* 6. About a righteous gift; that is, how it is when overwhelmed by impoverishment, *and* how it is when its increase still proceeds.

7. About the progress of interest (vakhsh) upon effective wealth, when there is interest for it, and the interest thereon accumulates; also that which does not progress; how it is when the debtor (*âv*âm-hômônd), even on bringing back the wealth, is opulent, *and* the lender (*âv*âm nafsman) is opulent on asking for *it;* how it is when each is not opulent, *and* the debtor *was* not opulent on asking for *it; and* how it is when the lender (*âv*âm khvê*s*)

[1] As this word is written vakhs (= nâs) it is doubtful whether vakhsh, 'increase,' or vinâs, 'sin,' is intended; and the context is insufficient to solve the doubt.

is opulent on asking for *it*, *and* the debtor is not opulent through the wealth.

8. About where *and* when the life (zîstanŏ) of the lender has once passed *away*, how *it is* when *the loan* is to be issued anew at the end of the issue (zihîsnŏ), and how it is when *it has* existed in force, through the one issue *by* the deceased, *and* the interest accrues. 9. When the debtor passes away, how it is when he puts the interest into the property of any one through adoption, *and* how it is when *it is* the interest of the possessor of the wealth in both worlds.

10. About the peculiarity *of* retribution, the self-retribution of *one* liable to retribution for others, *and* the limit of one's own retribution. 11. About the penalty (tâvân) of him who, purchasing *animals* for impregnation, gives each a bad male; when *they are* not pregnant, *and* when they may produce; and whatever is on the same subject. 12. About the time of allowing the admission of the male *to* the beast *of* burden, sheep, and camel, and the time of consignment *to* each separate male for whom reception remains; the *case* when *it is* the time for admission of the male (gûsn-hilîh), *and* the *case* when *it is* such a consignment as when the period, which is really originating with the admission of the male, has continued. 13. When, on account of no consignment *to* the male at the *proper* time, the female goes on unimpregnated, *and there* is no pregnancy of the cow, mare, camel, sheep, goat, *or* pig, each separately, how much the penalty is; *also* the sin they commit.

14. About the camel, mare, cow, *or* sheep, unto whom *there* is damaged milk, void of butter (akarag), owing to the appointed time *one* postpones; also the

average *and* least milk of the mare, cow, goat, and sheep, that is, the measure of their one milking, each separately. 15. About the camel, that is, how much is its production of hair in a year, *and* the extent that the camel is surpassing therein among cattle; of them is also the ass that they allow to be seized upon for as much value as that *of* the oxen, and the mode of beating them up. 16. Where *and* how it is when the females of the camel and horse are a multiplying (*a*fzûnŏ) *tending* to dissatisfaction; the increase even of increases of the ox, sheep, and goat progresses, *and* of them how much less is the multiplying of the female—which is an increase of increases *tending* to dissatisfaction, where *it is* extending over them—to be produced than that of the male.

17. The camel which is injured *on* the road, beyond the end of the appointed time, when they keep it *at* work unlawfully and the road is bad, when *at* work unlawfully *and* the road is good, *and* when comfortable at pasture, where seizing upon it becomes *tending* to dissatisfaction in several *ways*, and they are severally buying *it* when really invigorated[1], or *at* a price.

18. For how much increase of increases he stands up who is buying also an invigorated dog, *or* pig, at a price; and when *it is that* the increase and increase of increases remain undeveloped in them, as it *does* whenever property, *on* which the interest of the residue and income accumulates, is still for the children *of* the well-destined.

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[1] Pâz. aôsanghen, both here and in § 18, no doubt for Av. aoganghem, as in Chap. XX, 58, the Av. 𐬌 g and 𐬰 s being much alike.

19. About *him* whose supplies some one is silently (agôpŏ) buying up, and the seller and important holder is quite bereaved, so that the bereaver *has* plenty for *one* deprived of food *on* a summer's day, and plenty for him who is *so* also *on* a winter's *day* (dim-i*k*îk); *also* the supplying of mankind and fire lawfully, in the beginning, for a summer's day and night, *and* that for a winter's one[1]. 20. About clothing when *it* is *that* which *one* strips off for donation. 21. About the penalty for a first deprival of food, *and* the sin of it; *also* the penalty of the second and third, up to the tenth.

22. About a plaint and defence as regards a debt and its interest, and the decision thereon; also how *it is* when, for keeping up the repayment, debts upon debts are cancelled so far as the continuance of interest; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the uselessness of supplies which are not authorised *by* the religion. 24. About buying a slaughtered[2] sheep when the seller is bereaved by the delivery; *also* to how many sheep, in the two previous years, the increase and increase of increases thereof *had* specially to attain. 25. About where *and* what is that which would not conduce to increase, *and* what is that which *would*. 26. About the special sin and offence, the use of the milk, heart[3], and wool, the spreading about *which tends* to dissatisfaction, the increase of increases, and the good

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[1] See Farh. Oîm, p. 38, ll. 4–8, and compare Chap. XXXVIII, 13.

[2] Reading ba*r*â-zegtalûnt akŏ, which word has been corrupted by the repairer of the MS.

[3] Reading dîl, but the word can also be read sar, 'head.'

figure of any one sheep, and the regulation of every one.

27. About how the debtor *has* to announce the nature of the loan, *which* the lender, through irritation, does not approve; and, when the debtor has provided for a triple issue, when for a double issue, *and* even when he has for a single issue, the first year is *free* from begging his own time. 28. About the debtor *and* what [1] he repays, when each year is announced *and* he does not assent; *and* how it happens, as regards the debtor, through many repayments, and all the postponements of the lender [2].

29. About causing the confiscation (pâ*d*îrângarîh) of a human being (gerpîh)[3], and *its* cessation [4] owing to worldly work, where *it is* for one month, *or*, thence onwards, for a second, a third, a sixth, a ninth, *or* a year at worldly work, *and* where *it is* regarding several human beings; the production of gain which accrues upon that single human being; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 30. About the confiscation of a cloak (gudâd) in the winter, *and of* a skin-bag for holding water (ma*s*kŏ-î *âv*dânŏ) in the summer; about whom *they are* appertaining to, on the passing by of the first ten nights, where *it is* after the bringing out of the cloak at the beginning of winter, *and of* the water-skin at the beginning of summer; *or* prior to the length of a month previous,

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[1] Supposing that madam stands for maman; the two words being sometimes confounded.

[2] Who allows the debtor a longer time for repayment.

[3] Literally 'bodily form.' The seizure of a slave of the debtor to work off the amount of the debt is evidently meant.

[4] Reading va-s*a*k*i*snŏ instead of the very similarly-written nik*é*z*i*snŏ, 'explanation,' of the MS.

severally, *to* the end of the winter *as regards* the cloak, *and to* the end of the summer *as regards* the water-skin; that is, *for* how much gain upon that one cloak, *or* water-skin, is the retribution of the confiscator to whom *it is* appertaining[1]; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

31. About the increase of grains, *and* that of sheep *with* the progeny, milk, and wool that they may severally produce. 32. About the confiscation of clothes and implements by delivering *them* back to *him* who specially reckons many *as* his own[2]; that is, how the produce (vakhsh) increases when he orders *their* use imperfectly, how it *does* when *he does so* not imperfectly, *and* how it *does* when he keeps *them* in inactivity. 33. About the produce of land on which grain is cast, and *of* that on which *it is* not cast (va-zak-î an-madam ramîtuntô)[3], when by delivery thereof *it* is self-exhausted. 34. And so also the produce *of* ornaments of gold and silver, and of red-coloured things, with many regulations on the same subject *and* what is connected therewith.

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[1] This seems the more probable meaning if we are to understand that the confiscation has been actually carried out at an improper season; but, if we suppose that it is avoided on account of the season, it would be better to translate as follows:—'*For* how much gain upon that one cloak, *or* water-skin, is the confiscator, to whom *it is* appertaining, to be compensated.'

[2] Possibly referring to the seizure of articles sold by a dealer, but not paid for.

[3] The form an of the negative prefix is here used because the Zvâri*s* an-madam is replaced by the Pâz. an-*av*ar in pronunciation.

Chapter XLII.

Sakâdûm Nask.

1. One section, the Varistân (*'ordeal code'*), *contains* particulars of that *which*, when it becomes manifest in any one, is indicative as to witchcraft; the bringing of remedies *for* the person who is rendered sickly by a wizard; the execution of the wizard, what the religious rite is in the legal proceedings, *and* the *case* when *there is* a religious rite in the legal proceedings. 2. About the *case* when, for want of legal proceedings, he is executed without the religious rite; and what it is when[1] he dies through his own destruction of some one.

3. About the accomplishment of an ordeal by which, through the power of the spirit, *there* arises a manifestation of acquittal *or* incrimination of those maintaining inconsistencies as to witchcraft, destroying a righteous *man*, *or* other concealed instigations of sin[2]; the time of its performance, and the place of hurtfulness of its continuance. 4. About the place of accomplishment; *in* what manner is the selection (fragâr*d*anŏ), limitation, *and* preparation of the abode *in* which the ordeal is performed; that which is to be carried forth to that abode, *and* that of which the carrying thereto is to be avoided; who is to be admitted to that abode, *and* who is not to be admitted; *and* that which, when it occurs there,

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[1] We should probably read 'and about the *case* when,' supposing that maman stands for madam, the reverse of what occurs in Chap. XLI, 28.

[2] That is, when there is no evidence of the crime beyond the suspicions, real or assumed, of the accusers.

is a disturbance of the work, they separate (vang*e*nd) therefrom.

5. About those belonging to the place of ordeal (varistânîkân) and other officials there, the rites and customs therein, the ceremonial to be celebrated in the abode, *and* the invocation of the sacred beings for assistance. 6. What is the mode *of* performing the hot and cold ordeal; how is the leading forth *of* the accomplishers thereto, and of what Avesta is their uplifted recitation; how is the accomplishment of the hot and cold ordeal, *and* the manifestation *of* the acquitted and incriminated thereby; *and* many statements (gôkân) on the same subject.

Chapter XLIII.

Sakâdûm Nask.

1. One section is miscellaneous: about *having* sought an assistant who is brought, that is, in what mode *it* is proper; *and* the payment of an assistant who is a member of the community (dâhm)[1], and also that of a foreigner (an-Aîr), in the same affair. 2. About how the coming of a man to confinement and fettering is through his own wealth, and whatever is on the same subject. 3. About confession through one, two, and three statements; *and* whatever is about it. 4. About the contempt *of* a disciple for a *priestly* master, which is an annoyance to him; the property *belonging* to the master, and the squandering that occurs in *it*.

[1] The contradistinction here indicated between dâhm and an-Aîr is an important confirmation of Geldner's definition of Av. dahma as 'Vollbürger oder Mitglieder' (see Studien zum Avesta, 1882, p. 14).

5. The sin that is its own penalty through *being* liable to penalty, *and* the transgressor whose penalty is owing thereto; when they would unlawfully bring a penalty upon *one* liable to penalty, or *one* thereby inflicts a penalty *upon* him, of which *one* is aware that *he* is not capable (patûkŏ); and the time which *one* liable to penalty *has* for the payment of that penalty of his is until *his* attaining to opulence, when, after the appointment about the penalty, he becomes capable of an atonement. 6. About the accumulation (gangîh) of sin through the expedients of the wrathful (garmakân), which are connected with much destruction of the righteous. 7. About the sin owing to which, among those that are wrathful, *he* who *has* drunk from a well on a road, *or* path, conceals the water for the sake of concealment.

8. About the sin of a judge who pronounces the sinner *to be* in innocence, and the innocent *to be* in some sinfulness. 9. About a judge acquainted with the law[1] *for* ten years, him who is *for* eleven, him who is *for* twelve, him who is *for* thirteen, him who is *for* fourteen, *and* him who is *for* fifteen; that is, their decisions, each separately, on several specially prominent objects of acquaintance with the law, as regards decision and judgment.

10. About a daughter whose religious control, during the life of her father, *resides* in *her* mother for the joint life of the mother, but for [2] the authorised giving *her away there* is the father. 11. About a daughter who is unprovided with a husband, *and*

[1] See Chaps. XX, 74, XXII, 21.

[2] Reading râî instead of lâ, 'not.'

who *has* no father and no mother, nor yet any of the brothers of the departed parents, *and it* is not even allowable to give herself away into guardianship by a husband.

12. About property which is *bequeathed* by will *on* passing away; that is, how it is when given, *and* how it is when it does not exist. 13. About the privilege of a father in giving property to *his* children according to his wish, and a son who is irreverent towards *his* father, so that[1] *some* of the property of the father *goes* to the worthy mother; also when they would make irreverence towards the father the imputed characteristic (bâkht nîsânŏ), where a decree about the property of the father is decided upon; *and* whatever is on the same subject, as regards the extent of irreverence *of* the son towards the father, and the sin of it.

14. About the sin of a son[2] who is accepted, when he recoils from that acceptance; the accepter of a living, *or* even a departed, father is *so* because *it is* the will *of* the people, and also *for* the worldly fame of a soul of the departed; and the ceremonial *and* obeisance are, moreover, for those of them within their own dwelling, owing to letting forth their generosity, and they shall provide *them.*

15. About the production *and* arising of even that property which a liberal person *has* not seen, *if* there be any one who[3] *has* not lived liberally.

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[1] As aêgh also means 'where,' it is rather uncertain whether the irreverence is supposed to be the cause, or the effect, of the special provision for the mother which afterwards becomes a source of litigation.

[2] An adopted son must be meant.

[3] Supposing that min stands for mûn.

16. About the production *and* arising of something of the property of a damsel, even when she gives *it* by design only to him *who is* worthy.

17. About a damsel whom an idolator (dêvîyast) carries off from her own master, *and* would give to a Ma*zd*a-worshipper; that is, how *it is* justifiable for the Ma*zd*a-worshipper, *having* had that damsel in *his* possession, to seek a son by *her*, so long as the guardianship *of* the woman is with that man. 18. About a mother *being* guardian over a living father, owing to *their having* a son. 19. About the proper completion of a provision—that was for the decision *of* the supreme judge, *on* various statements, and was never otherwise—which is the provision *of him* who is a high-priest of the religion.

20. About the sin of a father through not satisfying the menstrual excitement of a daughter who *has* attained the capability of *having* a son (be*r*man ra*d*îh); what it is when, through not satisfying the menstrual excitement of the daughter, *he is* sinful; and how it is when the daughter herself is sinful; also the symptoms of attaining the capability of *having* a son.

21. About where *and* which is that sin on the committal of which inadvertently *one* attains to deliverance thus, when it comes to his knowledge *it is* through a determined renunciation it goes away from *its* source; *also* which is that committal inadvertently which does not occur through him who is intelligent. 22. About the four more heinous *forms of* demon-service (*s*êdâ-y*az*akîh), and the three worst sins wherein they shall perform *them;* the ten *existences* that are furtherances, and the nine that are destroyers, *of* the world.

23. About a true *statement* through which, when *one* utters *it*, *he* is wicked *and* worthy of death. 24. About driving the bestowable benefit of the spiritual *existence* away from the world, when he who is destroying a righteous *man* walks openly in the world; how one section *of* the spirit's earth is that of a people[1] destroying the righteous *man*, and the complaint of the spirits of fire, water, and plants, owing thereto; *also* how the bestowal of the allotment of a leading man is upon *his* inferiors. 25. About the three kinds *of* righteous men; one that is greater than water *and* earth, animals *and* plants, one that is equal *to them*, and one that is less; and what is the arrangement of—as *it were*—the conjoined formation of those who are somewhat outside of the three kinds.

26. About the grievous bridge-*judgment* for carrying forth dead matter to water, or to fire, with which *there* is evidence; and the heaviness of the spirit due to dead matter in the water. 27. The good work of him who brings the dead matter[2] *of* man *or* dog,

[1] Some neighbouring nation of unbelievers is probably meant, such as the Byzantines; as we must always recollect that the compiler is summarizing the contents of the Pahlavi commentary written in Sasanian times (see Chap. I, 3).

[2] See Chap. XXVII, 4. It appears from this section that the dead matter of an evil creature, such as a snake or frog, was considered to pollute the water as much as that of a good creature. § 28, however, admits the expediency of killing noxious creatures in the water when it is impossible to take them out beforehand; and this is in accordance with Vend. V, 35–38 (W.) which teaches that an apostate defiles no one when dead (any more than a dried-up frog that has been dead a year), because he defiles while living. This rule was evidently intended to remove all scruples as to killing such creatures, but it applies to them only when recently killed; hence the necessity of removing them, from any place liable to

or that of the serpent *or* frog, out of the water. 28. About the destruction of the serpent and frog, and other aquatic noxious creatures, in the water when it is *only* thus possible, *and* carrying *them* out from it when it is possible. 29. About the gratification of the spirit of the world, *and* the vexation of the demons, owing to the destruction of them.

30. Where *and* what are the tokens of the good[1] management and well-operating drinking-party (tô*s*-tîh) of a neighbour not of the same district (aham-shat*r*ô nazd). 31. About the sin of him who, after joining a drinking-party from sunset (hû-frâshmôk-dâ*d*ŏ), pulverizes the road (râh tekhnunê*d*ŏ), keeps the door opened, *and* would unlawfully make an uproar.

32. About Aûha*r*ma*zd* *having* produced the bodies *and* members of animals—through *having* created the body of the sole-created ox with satisfaction, as assistance for mankind—because *they* are repeated for protection, and also *for* the ceremonial for sacred beings specially declared. 33. About the reason of making offerings (aûstôfrî*d*ŏ) to the sacred beings, for the increase of power of the allotters of destiny in the allotment of destiny; the connection of that acknowledgement (pa*d*îri*s*nŏ) and *of* the benefit *and* advantage of the recompense thereof; the proper maintenance *of* that acknowledgement, through the means *and* efficacy *of* the spiritual bridge-*judgment* of sin, and the fear of worldly disaster and harm from not properly maintaining the perpetual acknowledgement in force

pollution, as soon as possible after death, common sense being preferable to logical consistency.

[1] Supposing that vûp stands for khûp.

(dên patûkîh), *and from* the setting up even of ruin thereby; the reasonable control of the offering to each one of the sacred beings therein is for the skilful member of the community (hûnarîk dâhm) of whatever kind, *and* is not produced by intrusting the consecration to the violent, more particularly to those whom *one* specially enumerates; the sin and retribution owing to *having* given *it* to those who are of that class; *and* more upon the same subject.

34. About the damage and injury of the world owing to greed (*âzŏ*) and its fellow-miscreations, *and* him who is their supporter and abettor, the idolator (dêvîyastô), also the wolf of many kinds and noxious creatures of various species; because the occurrence of their fiendishness is due to the original fiend, *and* the means for strengthening their fiendishness are *derived* from the destruction of all mankind *and* the other primary worldly creations which are aiding mankind. 35. Advice to mankind about smiting and destroying the evil domination (dûs-khshasarînî*d*anŏ) of the world *by* those *injurers*, and the merit manifest for them*selves* therein; the object *and* spiritual reward for smiting *and* killing each one of the wolves *and* noxious creatures, *and*, as regards the same reward, the perfection of that for destroying a two-legged wolf[1]; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

36. About advice as to not reverencing the evil spirit and demons, whereby the observing (var'*z*ŏ) of the several ceremonies and gratifications of the sacred beings *would be* more particularly irregular in *any* manner whatever, and the damage and

[1] A term applied to an idolator.

harm owing to those *who are* irregular *and* ill-observant, through being inclined for that irregularity *and* ill-observance, *would* become an oppressive presidence (pa*d*gahîh) of the demons over the creatures; also the vice of clamorous talking (drâyân gôgîh)[1] and the damage owing thereto, *and* the pleasure of the demons due to the same *and* other *things* which are irregular. 37. Advice about the reason, habit, *and* primitive practice of not chattering, and other good customs, during eating *and* drinking; the gratification of the sacred beings owing to that primitive practice of good customs *by* mankind, and the unself-devoting (a-khvê*s*-dâk) is he who is not maintaining *it*.

38. Through the ceremonial of which sacred being is the greater welcome (mâhmânŏtarîh) of a high-priest *and of* any good work *of* each one of the five periods of the day and night; the reward and advantage owing to celebrating the ceremony of each of them separately in its own period, and also other means *and* regulations in the same statement.

39. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

Chapter XLIV.

1. The Vendîdâ*d*[2] *contains* particulars *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd* *having* produced the pleasure of mankind by

[1] Whereby the devotions are disturbed, or rendered ineffectual.

[2] Corresponding to the nineteenth word, drigubyô, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the twentieth Nask in other Rivâyats. In the Dînka*rd* its name is semi-Zvâri*s*, either Gvî*d*-shêdâ-dâ*d* or Vîk-shêdâ-dâ*d*, the Av. dâta vîdaêva, 'law opposed to the demons.' In the Rivâyats it is called *G*ud-dêv-dâd, Vendîdâd, or Vîndâd, and is stated to consist of twenty-two kardah, or fargar*d*s, the number it still contains. It is generally considered that the Vendîdâ*d* now extant is a collection of frag-

that place where they specially make a residence, and the advantage from the same production[1]. 2. About the formation of sixteen perfect places specially enumerated, *and* also the adversity which has happened to each separately[2].

3. About Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s disclosing the religion first *among* mankind to Yim[3]; *its* non-acceptance by Yim owing to attachment (asrûnŏîh) *to* the religion of the ancients; *and* the acceptance *of* other *things* to develope, extend, and improve the world thereby[4]. 4. About the reason of the needfulness *of* making the enclosure that Yim made (var-î Yim ka*r*d), the command *and* instruction by Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Yim, the making by Yim just as Aûha*r*ma*zd* commanded *and* instructed, *and* whatever is on the same subject[5].

5. About what the comfort of the spirit of the earth is most owing to, what *its* discomfort is more particularly owing to, and from what *its* greatest gratification *has* arisen[6].

6. About the sin of pollution owing to carrying a corpse by a single person, *relating*, however, to that which a dog *has* not seen[7]. 7. About the food,

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ments, but it is evident, from the close correspondence between the author's description and the present contents, that this fragmentary state of the text existed in his time; and there is every probability that any mutilation that exists in the text occurred before Sasanian times. The author, however, sometimes omits to mention subjects that are repeated, so it is just possible that some of these repetitions are of later date. He also makes no allusion to the twelfth fargar*d* (see § 51 n).

[1] Vend. I, 1, 2 (W.).
[2] Vend. I, 3–20.
[3] See Chap. XIII, 6–8.
[4] Vend. II, 1–19.
[5] Vend. II, 22–43.
[6] Vend. III, 1–13, 22, 23, 34.
[7] Vend. III, 14; the latter clause referring to the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48 (Sp.).

clothing, and place of *him* who becomes polluted and worthy of death through a corpse, on account of carrying *it* alone (aêvakŏ-barîh râî)[1]. 8. About how the several precautions of mankind *and* other pure creatures are *taken*, as regards a corpse[2] which has become polluted by another corpse[3].

9. About the pleasure of the spirit of the earth owing to sowing *and* tilling, *and its* vexation owing to not sowing *and* not tilling; the blessing upon the sowers, *and* the advantage *and* merit owing to sowing, on account of particulars about the nourishment and protection *of* the religion thereby[4]. 10. About the destruction of the demons *which* arises from the sprouting, growing, *and* ripening of corn; *and* the good success of mankind from the eating *of it*[5].

11. About the sin of burying a corpse through sinfulness, *and for* how much time is the uselessness *of* the ground in which the burial may be performed[6]. 12. About the power of the good religion for wiping away sin from human beings[7].

13. About the sin of deceiving *by* an avaricious *person* (pa*s*tŏ) as regards *what he has* consumed and given, and the grievousness of other breaches of promise; the danger, even in the worldly *existence*, from maintaining him, *and* the retribution *it is* important for him to make[8].

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[1] Vend. III, 15–19.

[2] The person polluted in this manner being considered as unclean as the corpse itself.

[3] Vend. III, 20, 21 and perhaps some commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 71 (Sp.) now lost.

[4] Vend. III, 23–31.

[5] Vend. III, 32, 33.

[6] Vend. III, 36–40.

[7] Vend. III, 41, 42.

[8] Vend. IV, 1–16.

14. About where *there is* steadfastness in the religion *there is* also a manifestation of this: when *one* becomes liberal—as to every benefit that exists for him—towards those of the same religion who come forward with a request[1]. 15. About the extent of sleeping in the day and night, *and* other *matters* as to occupation *which* occurs daily[2].

16. About the grievous sinfulness *of having* taken a false oath, so that, apart even from the testifying retribution of the property, the oath taken thereon *has* also an efficacy very much for the accusers, which, on account of Mit*r*ô[3], Srôsh, and Rashnû, is an awful destroyer *and* adversary for one's own person, wife, child, and property; *also* the grievous bridge-*judgment* which is an appendage to one's own soul[4].

17. About the sin of bringing firewood, with *which* dead matter[5] is mingled, to a fire; *and* this too, that is, how *and* when one is innocent therein[6]. 18. About a ditch (*g*ôî), which is not always a stream (n*â*v*ŏ*), when the water *has* to pass through it, and also that which is always a stream, when *one* wants to increase the water therein, how often *and* how *one*

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[1] Vend. IV, 44. [2] Vend. IV, 45.

[3] Av. Mithrô, the angel of the sun's light, friendly to man, and, hence, insisting upon the fulfilment of every promise (mithrô). He is supposed to keep an account of all breaches of promise (see Dd. XIV, 3), and to mediate between the departed soul and its accusers (see Mkh. II, 118), in doing which he co-operates with the angels of obedience (Srôsh, see Chap. IX, 3 n) and justice (Rashnû, see Chap. XX, 153 n) who estimate and weigh its good works and sins, and decide upon its fate at the bridge of judgment.

[4] Vend. IV, 46, 50–55. [5] See Chap. XXVII, 4 n.

[6] Vend. V, 1–4.

has to inspect *them* for fear of dead matter *having* been there [1].

19. About death which is by reason of water *or* fire, *and* does not occur through the supremacy of water *or* fire, but is owing to the demons [2]. 20. About the great advantage owing to rain, *and connected* with raining on dead matter and the bodily refuse [3] of depositories *for the dead* [4]. 21. About the greatness and goodness of 'the law opposed to the demons' [5] for cleansing, as compared with other utterances [6].

22. About pollution owing to bodily contact (hamker*p*akîh) with a corpse, and *to* bodily contact with him who is in bodily contact with a corpse [7]. 23. About the wicked villain *who is* an unrighteous apostate alive, and abstaining from association (*av*âkîh) *with him* [8]. 24. About how long is the time *of* pollution *of* a house in which a dog or human being passes away, the carrying away theretofore of anything going thereto, *and* the avoidance of *it;* the place into which any one goes out, the feeding, *and* other things in that house within three steps, *and* whatever is on the same subject [9]. 25. About a woman *whose* child dies in the womb, *and* which becomes dead matter ; *and* whatever is on the same subject [10].

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[1] Vend. V, 5–7; but the last clause refers to a Pahlavi commentary found only in the manuscripts.

[2] Vend. V, 8, 9.

[3] See Chap. XIX, 3.

[4] Vend. V, 15–20.

[5] The Vendîdâd itself, see § 1 n.

[6] Vend. V, 22–25.

[7] Vend. V, 27–34.

[8] Vend. V, 35–38.

[9] Vend. V, 39–44 (W.), and commentary on Pahl. Vend. V, 134 (Sp.).

[10] Vend. V, 45–56.

26. About useless and polluted clothing, that which is cleansed for six months[1]. 27. About the grievous sinfulness of irregularly letting forth clothing, as much as a single double hem[2], upon a corpse[3].

28. About how long is the time *of* the uncultivated state of the land—*free* from admitting water and *being* sown—on which a human being or a dog passes away; the inspection of the whole land on account of the risk of dead matter *having* been there, *and* afterwards admitting water upon *it;* the sin when, *through* not exploring, dead matter is *in* that place, and the water comes on to it; *and* whatever is on the same subject[4].

29. About how to bring a corpse out of the water, the extent of the pollution of the water around the corpse, the purity after bringing away the corpse from it, *and* whatever is on the same subject[5]. 30. About where the bodies and bones of the departed are deposited, *and* whatever is on the same subject[6].

31. About how soon is the rushing of the fiend of corruption (nasû*s* drû*g*ô) upon a human being *or* dog that has passed away at the appointed *time*, and *upon* one who *has done so* before the appointed *time* through the defectiveness (âhûgagîh) of the worldly *existence;* where the clothing of this one is which is useless, *and* which *and* how is the washing

[1] Av. khshva*s* m*a*unghô; Vend. V, 57–59 (W.), and commentary on Pahl. Vend. V, 167 (Sp.).

[2] Pâz. dhôvana which is here assumed to be equivalent to Pers. dô bun. It is probably a reading of the Pahlavi word [illegible] or [illegible] in Pahl. Vend. V, 169, 172, which has been variously read as *g*ûgan, 'a dirham,' dûkŏ, 'a spindle,' or yûkŏ, 'a rag;' the last of which would best suit the context here.

[3] Vend. V, 60–62.

[4] Vend. VI, 1–9.

[5] Vend. VI, 26–41.

[6] Vend. VI, 44–51.

of that which is for washing[1]. 32. About the heinous pollution and grievous sinfulness *of* devouring dead matter, *or of* bringing *it* to fire *or* water through sinfulness[2]. 33. About the winter, the demon-produced terror, the spider and locust[3], sickness of many kinds, *and* much other evil, *which* become threatening in the world owing to the formation of dead matter[4]. 34. About how to cleanse wood, corn, *and* fodder from the dead matter *which* comes upon *it*[5].

35. About medical treatment with spells, the knife, and herbs; how to test a medical man, the fee *for* curing, *and* whatever is on the same sub-

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[1] Vend. VII, 1–5, 10–16. Nothing is said about VII, 6–9, 17–22 (which passages are merely a repetition of V, 27–30, 57–62), but this omission may be owing to the fact that these passages are so abbreviated in the MSS. as to be easily overlooked, especially by a reader of the Pahlavi version only.

[2] Vend. VII, 23–26.

[3] Pahl. tanand va-mâk (= mêg), evidently equivalent to the Av. sûnô madhakhay*a*us*k*a of Vend. VII, 26, which are rendered by tûn mêgŏ-*k* in the Pahlavi version. The identity of Av. madhakha with Pahl. madag, or mêg, Pers. maîg, mala'*h* 'a locust,' has long been recognised (see Darmesteter's Études Iranniennes, II, p. 199). But the meaning of Av. sûn = Pâz. tûn has been merely guessed to be 'a mosquito;' the Avesta word having been transcribed as sîn, or sin, in the prose Sad-dar, LXXII, 2, and explained by the Persian gloss pa*s*ah, 'a gnat or fly,' by some copyists, while others have read san (for sin) and have substituted its synonym sâl, 'a year,' or have read bî*s*, 'a poisonous herb,' instead of pa*s*ah. With regard to the word 𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬥 tanand, 'spider,' in our text, it may be observed that it has descended from a much older copy of the Pahlavi Vendîdâ*d* than any that could have been consulted by the author of the Sad-dar, and it is easy to see how an original Pahl. 𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬥 could have been read 𐬙𐬀𐬥 in Pâzand by later copyists of the Vendîdâ*d*.

[4] Vend. VII, 26, 27.

[5] Vend. VII, 28–35.

ject[1]. 36. About the place on which a corpse is fettered (garovî-aîtŏ), *and* also that in which it is buried through sinfulness; *and* in how much time it becomes pure, *in* each *case* separately[2]. 37. About the much lodgment *of* the demons there where a corpse is buried (nikân), *and* the merit of laying open (â*s*kârînî*d*anŏ) the *place of* burial (nikânîh) of a corpse[3].

38. About the duration of not drinking *by* a woman who *has* miscarried (visistakŏ); also *her* not feeding on the liquid of that which is watery food[4]. 39. About the washing of a metallic, stony, *or* any other cup-like article, upon which dead matter *has* come, *and which* is not pronounced useless[5]. 40. About the animal (gôspend) that *has* eaten dead matter, *and* the plant with which dead matter is mingled[6]. 41. About the sin of holy water *being* brought to water *which is tainted* with dead matter[7].

42. About the house (khânŏ) in which a dog or a human being passes away[8]. 43. About how large *and* how *one has* to make the vault (ka*d*akŏ) for the sake of a corpse in a dwelling (mân), carrying the corpse to it, when the time comes to expose *and* avoid it, *and* whatever is on the same subject[9].

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[1] Vend. VII, 36–44. [2] Vend. VII, 45–50.

[3] Vend. VII, 51, 52, 55–59, which refers to tombs and mausoleums (uzdaêza uzdi*s*ta) and not to the legal dakhmas, or depositories for the dead. §§ 51, 52 are described after the others.

[4] Vend. VII, 60, 67–71. The contents of VII, 61–66 are not mentioned, being abbreviated in the MSS. as a repetition of V, 46–51.

[5] Vend. VII, 73–75.

[6] Vend. VII, 76, 77, where, however, plants are not mentioned.

[7] Vend. VII, 78, 79. [8] Vend. VIII, 1–3.

[9] Vend. VIII, 4–25.

44. About the baseness (garas)[1] and grievous sinfulness of the decree (vigîrîh)[1] of death, unnatural intercourse[2]. 45. About a dry corpse which *has been* dead throughout a year[3]. 46. About the merit of *having* brought unto purity a corpse-burning fire, a fire burning bodily refuse, *or* of an encampment (sarây-*îkŏ*)[4]; also those *which* artificers, each separately, keep in use *one has* to secure, *when* the work is done, for the appointed *fire*place (dâd-gâs)[5].

47. About washing the polluted who *have been* in bodily contact with a corpse, *or* moving *it;* divers preferences *as to* the purifier, the rite of washing, *and* the reward of purifiers, worldly and also spiritual[6]. 48. About the shining of the sun, moon, and stars alike discontentedly upon the polluted[7]. 49. About the gratification of all the creatures of Aûharmazd *by* the purifier, when he produces purification for the polluted *and* suchlike beings (ângunî-aîtŏân); also his reward[8]. 50. About the strength *and* aid which are given to the fiend of corruption (nasûs drûgô) *by* him who does not understand purifying, *and yet* would accomplish *it; also* the sin thereof *at* the bridge *of judgment*[9]. 51. About the triumph of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[10] in smiting the fiend and *in* healing[11].

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[1] Both these words are blotted and doubtful in the original MS.

[2] Vend. VIII, 31, 32. [3] Vend. VIII, 33, 34.

[4] Or it may be sar aspô, 'a troop of horse.'

[5] Vend. VIII, 73–96. [6] Vend. VIII, 35–72, 97–107, IX, 1–39.

[7] Vend. IX, 41. [8] Vend. IX, 42–44. [9] Vend. IX, 47–57.

[10] The Ahunavair formula is so called from its first three words (see Chap. I, 7 n).

[11] Vend. IX, 45, 46, X, 1–20, XI, 1–20 may probably be all alluded to in these few words; but nothing is said about the twelfth fargard. This omission is singularly in accordance with the fact

52. About the species of dogs; the worthiness of the shepherd's dog, the village dog, and others also; how to maintain *and* nourish (srâyînî*d*anŏ) *them with* nourishment, *and* the sin owing to killing *or* even improperly maintaining them, each separately; *and* whatever is on the same subject[1]. 53. And this, too, when a dog becomes useless (abôn) *or* hurtful, what is to be done with *it*, *and* how *it is* to be kept[2]. 54. About authorisedly killing the dog-wolf[3]. 55. About the thirty-one dispositions among dogs, which are just as among the three special professions *and* divers others *of* five descriptions[4]. 56. About the grievous sinfulness of killing a water beaver, and statements (gôkân) of the penalty[5].

57. About the sin which gave an Irânian to foreigners (an-Aîrânŏ)[6]. 58. About the sin for those three[7] males *who have* debauched a woman

that the same fargar*d* is omitted in all very old copies of the Vendîdâ*d* with Pahlavi version, in which, although the fargar*d*s are numbered, the thirteenth immediately follows the eleventh. The Kopenhagen MS. No. 2, in which the twelfth fargar*d* occurs with a Pahlavi version, is said to be a revision of the Vendîdâ*d* text compiled in the last century, and other copies of the Pahlavi twelfth fargar*d* have been derived from this revised text. The omission of this fargar*d* in all the old MSS. cannot be satisfactorily attributed to the loss of some folios in an older copy, because no fargar*d* is likely to fill exactly a certain number of folios; the loss must also have occurred very shortly after the last revision of the Pahlavi text, to account for the author of the Dînka*rd* not finding the Pahlavi of this fargar*d* in the ninth century.

[1] Vend. XIII, 1–28. [2] Vend. XIII, 29–38.

[3] Vend. XIII, 41–43.

[4] Vend. XIII, 44–48 which detail the thirty-one particulars in which dogs resemble people of eight avocations, three of which are the professions of priests, warriors, and husbandmen.

[5] Vend. XIII, 50–56, XIV, 1–18. [6] Vend. XV, 2.

[7] Reading va*l* zak 3, but it may be va*l* zak-aê, 'for the other.'

who is pregnant, *or* the wife *with* a child at the breast, *or* a daughter *of* others; *and* the sin owing to similar sin[1]. 59. About the guardianship and nourishment which *it* is important to provide *for* a child that is seen *to be* improperly protected, *or for* a dog when it is born without a guardian; *and* whatever is on the same subject[2].

60. About menstruation, the heinousness of its pollution, and how much *one has* to abstain from it[3]. 61. The cleansing from the menses, the time *of* the cleansing, *and* the nature of the cleansing of any person *or* thing polluted by the menses, *or* that which becomes inefficient *thereby; and* whatever is on the same subject[4]. 62. And about the grievous sinfulness of having sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman[5].

63. About the deadly bridge *penalty* of those *who have* not sustained the judges[6]. 64. About the care of the hair and nails, *and* the sin owing to want of care[7].

65. About the apostasy of *him* who is bringing a mouth-veil[8], a vermin-killer[9], various sacred twigs[10],

[1] Vend. XV, 8–16.

[2] Vend. XV, 17–45, though the last clause may include the remainder of this fargard.

[3] Vend. XVI, 1–7, 13–16, also XV, 7. [4] Vend. XVI, 7–12.

[5] Vend. XVI, 17. [6] Vend. XVI, 18 = XVII, 11.

[7] Vend. XVII, 1–10.

[8] Pahl. padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm). It 'consists of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1.)

[9] Av. khrafstraghna, an implement for killing snakes and other noxious creatures; it may be made of any material, but a leathern whip is recommended.

[10] Av. baresman, a bundle of slender rods, formerly twigs of

or a goad *or* scourge[1] *which is* exceptional, and maintains that *it* is that which is necessary[2]. 66. About the disapproved *one*, and the bridge-*judgment* upon him, who sleeps on *through* the whole night, *so as* not to accomplish *his* proper duty[3]. 67. And the approval *and* reward of him who does not sleep over religious *observances*, *so as* to accomplish *his* proper duty[4]. 68. About the progress of secretly-advancing ruin (sê*g*ŏ) through that exhibitor of evil religion who wears no *sacred thread*-girdle, and his not wearing *it* as *it were* by law[5].

69. About the proper duty and great value of the Parôdarsh[6] bird, and the great good work *that* gives *it* a morsel of meat which is the size of its body, the liberalization of the primitive temperament[7] through righteousness for the righteous man[8]. 70. About the hurry of the fire for kindling for the untroubled watching of the night, and the merit owing to law-

particular trees, but now thin metal wires, usually from five to thirty-three in number according to the nature of the ceremony. These rods are tied together by a central girdle, passing three times round them and knotted just like the sacred thread-girdle round the waist of a Parsi; but this girdle is formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together. The bundle, when properly purified, is laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, whence it is taken up by the officiating priest, to hold in his left hand during certain recitations.

[1] Av. a*s*tra and sraosha-*k*arana, implements for scourging and punishing sinners and criminals.

[2] Vend. XVIII, 1–4. [3] Vend. XVIII, 5.

[4] Vend. XVIII, 6. [5] Vend. XVIII, 8–10.

[6] 'The foreseer' of the dawn, an epithet of the domestic cock.

[7] Pahl. râ*d*înî*d*anŏ-î mûnak-î kâdmon.

[8] Vend. XVIII, 13–17, 23–26, 28, 29.

fully kindling *it; also* the blessing *of* the fire on mankind, when pleased *and* untroubled[1].

71. About the four special sins by which the fiend[2] receives vigorous pregnancy, *and* the atonement for each separately[3]. 72. About the grievous sinfulness, trouble, lamentation (na*v*îkîh), and harm *that* proceed from a courtezan; *also* the advantageousness of *her* destruction[4]. 73. About the retribution for the sin of having sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman[5].

74. About the combat (kûshi*s*nŏ) of the evil spirit with Zaratû*s*t, the victory *of* Zaratû*s*t therein, *and* whatever is on the same subject[6]. 75. About Zaratû*s*t *having* enquired of Aûha*r*ma*zd* how, *and* by what means, *one has* to confound the evil spirit *and* other demons, and his reply[7]. 76. About the gratification of Vohûman, the archangel, owing to the washing *and* bringing back to use of polluted clothing; *also* praise unto Aûha*r*ma*zd* for his narrating the care *of* the clothing[8].

77. About the reward which they give up *to* a human soul for the sake of kindness, *and* whereto *and* how is the attainment to exaltation of him who is given *it*[9]. 78. About the going of Vohûman to meet the souls of the righteous, the notification of their position, *their* announcement for reward, and the contented progress of the souls of the righteous to their [home][10], to the throne of Aûha*r*ma*zd and*

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[1] Vend. XVIII, 18–22, 26, 27.
[2] The Av. dru*g* is feminine.
[3] Vend. XVIII, 30–59.
[4] Vend. XVIII, 60–65.
[5] Vend. XVIII, 66–76.
[6] Vend. XIX, 1–10.
[7] Vend. XIX, 11–14.
[8] Vend. XIX, 20–25.
[9] Vend. XIX, 27–30.
[10] This word, mêhan (Av. maêthana), has been omitted by the

the archangels, which is made of gold [1]. 79. About the terror of the demons owing to the scent of the righteous, and the fear that arose *among* them owing to the birth *of* Zaratûst [2].

80. About the great powerfulness of plants of a poisonous character [3] for the forcible [4] keeping away of much adversity; the production of entire species (pûr sarâ*d*akŏ) *of* plants *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd* for the curing of the creatures from disease (ayôyakîh); the success of the Gôkerenô [5] plant—which is the white Hôm—in curing, as compared with other plants; and the diligence of Aîrmân [6] in the medical treatment of the world [7].

81. Information about the ritual (nîrang) through which the violence of the fiend *was* minimized at the original creation; and the great powerfulness of the Aîrmân supplication [8], the Ahunavair [9], and other

repairer of the manuscript, when noting, on his patch, the words he had cut out.

[1] Vend. XIX, 31, 32.

[2] Vend. XIX, 33, 43–47; no notice being taken of the invocatory passage 34–42.

[3] Pahl. bîs'*k*îhar, Av. vi*sk*ithra.

[4] Reading nîrûgîk which suits the context better than nîrangîk, 'ritualistic.'

[5] Av. gaokerena, a mythical tree, or plant, supposed to grow in the ocean, where it is guarded by ten enormous fish, and, at the time of the renovation of the universe, the elixir of immortality is expected to be prepared from its twigs mingled with the fat of a mythical ox (see Bd. IX, 6, XVIII, 1–6, XXVII, 4, XXX, 25).

[6] Av. Airyaman, a spirit whose powers of healing, chiefly by spells, are celebrated in Vend. XXII; and who is invoked in Yas. LIV, a spell that concludes the recitation of the Gâthas.

[7] Vend. XX, 1–12.

[8] The Airyama-i*sh*yô (Yas. LIV), or invocation of Airyaman, quoted in Vend. XX, 11, XXI, 20, XXII, 23.

[9] See Chap. I, 7 n.

Gâthic Avesta[1], for restraining the demons from destroying the world of righteousness[2].

82. It is righteousness *that* is perfect excellence. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that* is perfect.

Chapter XLV.

1. Of the three divisions of the Hâ*d*ôkht[3], as it exists in its 133 sections, the first is *of* thirteen[4] sections, *and contains* particulars about the nature of the recital of the Ahunavair[5], which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject[6]. 2. Advice about selecting *and*

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[1] Yas. XLVI, 7 and XLIV, 16 b–e which are quoted after the other spells in each of the last three fargar*d*s of the Vendîdâ*d*.

[2] Vend. XXII, 1–25, XX, 13–15, XXI, 18–23, and probably the rest of XXI.

[3] Corresponding to the twentieth word, dada*d*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the twenty-first, and last, Nask in other Rivâyats. Its name occurs in the Avesta, in the form hadhaokhta, and it is called Hâdukht in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained thirty kardah, or fargar*d*s, which differs considerably from the number stated in this chapter. Yts. XXI, XXII are traditionally supposed to belong to the Hâ*d*ôkht, but there is hardly a trace of either of them in this chapter. Yt. XI is also distinguished by the same title.

[4] As the total of the 13 + 102 + 19 sections (mentioned in §§ 1, 11, 13) is 134, instead of 133, there must be an error in one of the four numbers given in the MS. This clerical error can hardly have been made in writing 19, and is unlikely in 102; but 133 may possibly stand for an original 134, though the writing of 13 instead of 12 is more probable. The Rivâyats give no assistance in settling this question, as they all divide this Nask into 30 kardah. On the whole, it will be safest to read 'twelve,' instead of 'thirteen,' until some better authority becomes available.

[5] Compare Yt. XI, 3.

[6] It is just possible that this may refer to Yt. XXI which, though specially alluding to the recitation of the Ashem-vohû, or praise of

keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, *and* maintaining even those of various high-priests.

3. About the twenty-one chieftainships, spiritually through Aûha*r*ma*zd* and materially through Zaratûs*t*, through which the ceremonial of the sacred beings *and* the government of the members of the community (dâhmânŏ râyînî*d*ârîh) exist. 4. About the duties in the five periods[1] *of* the day and night, each separately, and the bridge-*judgment* of him who shouts out[2] in the ceremony of a season-festival[3]; *likewise of* him who does not provide the preparations for the feast of a season-festival, and who also becomes worried (sû*d*akŏ) in other ceremonials of the sacred beings.

5. About how to consider *and* what to do with a sacerdotal leader *and* a man *of* the superior classes (pî*s*akîkânŏ), him who atones for unimportant sin, and him who does not atone even for *that which is* important; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About the means through which membership of the community (dâhmîh) is prepared. 7. About the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from well uttering the words *of blessing* at eating *and* drinking food *and* drink, and *from* despising the inward talk of the demons.

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righteousness, also mentions that of the Ahunavair in its § 4. With regard, however, to Yt. XXII, there seems no possibility of identifying its text with any portion of the Hâ*d*ôkht Nask as described in this chapter.

[1] See Chap. XXIX, 9.

[2] Reading ba*r*â drâyê*d*ŏ, but it may be ba*r*â girâyê*d*ŏ, 'is zealous.'

[3] See Chap. VII, 1.

8. About the recitations at the five periods *of the day*, the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels in each separately, *and* great information on the same subject.

9. The worthiness *of* a man restrained (vandak) by authority, the devotion of life and body to the sacred beings, the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; *also* the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction that is owing to the fiend. 10. About all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, every precedence [1], leadership, foresight [2], worthy liberality, perspicacity (vênâkîh), and all proper cause *and* effect of righteousness; the individuality (khû*d*îh) of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s law, and also much other information in the same section.

11. The middle *division* is *of* 102 sections *containing* particulars about spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership *of* the diligent and their mighty means, all the former deeds of righteousness. 12. Righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is provided by it for that which *one* mentions thus :—'*It is* the Hâ*d*ôkht which is the maintenance of righteousness, so that it may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.'

13. The last *division* is *of* nineteen sections *containing* a trusty remedy, that is, a remedy whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource (*a*fzârtûm) for the creatures of the sacred beings.

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[1] Assuming that pe*s*âgîh stands for pê*s*agîh.

[2] Assuming that pe*s* vônâkîh stands for pê*s* vênâkîh.

14. Also the nature of sayings full of humility (pûr-pâstîh), well-favoured, most select, *and* adapted *for* that which *one* mentions thus:—'I reverence that chief, the beneficent *and* eminent Hâ*d*ôkht, out of which is the sustainment of the strength of every word of Zaratû*s*t they trust in.'

15. It is perfect excellence *that* is righteousness.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The Gâthas of the Ya*s*t[1], as the first off-spring of the Ahunavair, are a recitation of the source of sources of the religion, and in the compass (parvastârîh)[2] *of* the Gâthas, every word (mârîk)

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[1] Corresponding to the twenty-first word, vâstârem, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the first Nask in other Rivâyats. In Chap. I, 9, 12 it is called Stô*d*-ya*s*t, 'praise-ritual,' (Av. staota yêsnya); and Stûd-ya*s*t, or Ya*s*t, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contains thirty-three kardah, or ʒûrat. In Sls. XIII, 1 we are told that Vîsâi-*ve*-ameshâ-spe*n*tâ (Yas. XIV, 1) is the beginning of the Stôtân-yasnô; and, if we look for its end, we find Yas. LVIII, LIX both ending with special reverence of 'the whole collection of the Stôtân-yasnân.' We may therefore conclude that Yas. XIV–LIX, with its supplementary passages in Vîsp. V–XXIV, contains the whole of the Stô*d*-ya*s*t. But from this we must deduct Yas. XIX–XXI which are the first three fargar*d*s of the Bakŏ Nask, Yas. LII which is an interpolation, and Yas. LVI, LVII which are the Srôsh Ya*s*ts, lesser and greater; we must also consider the Yasna Haptanghâiti as a single section, in accordance with its treatment in Bk. IX, Chaps. XII, XXXV, LVII; and much of the Vîspêra*d* may not belong to the primitive text mentioned in § 3. Making these necessary deductions we have exactly thirty-three hâs of the Yasna left for the Stô*d*-ya*s*t, as stated in the Rivâyats.

[2] This word can also be read fravistârîh (Av. fra+vid), 'interpretation,' or frôstârîh, 'handing down.'

in it is the origin of a word. 2. The word ahû[1] of the beginning[2] is *of* a like kind with ahyâ[3], the beginning of the Gâthas; the end word, which is vâstârem[4], is *of a like kind* with vahyô[5], the end of the Gâthas; and the whole—which, though *its* nature is *of* one kind, is distributed (vakhtŏ) in *what is* selected therefrom—is stored up (a*v*ar-gû*d*ŏ) in *this* compendium[6] of all parts of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion.

3. Likewise the purport (*av*orî-hastân)[7] of its verse (gâh), and the particulars of the primitive Vîspêra*d*[8] are to procure homage and praise, oblation *and* invocation; *and* the blessing[9], which is regulated by the sagacity of the creator, is adapted for the spiritual illustration of the lodgment of the ceremonial of the sacred beings therein. 4. All

[1] The Ahunavair begins with the words yathâ ahû vairyô. The word ahû, in the MS., is written ahî as usual in Irân.

[2] Assuming that ba*r*â stands for bûn.

[3] The first Gâtha, or sacred hymn, begins with the words ahyâ yâsâ nemanghâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1 a). There is, of course, no connection but that of sound between ahû, 'a spiritual lord,' and ahyâ, 'of this;' nor is there any other between the concluding words vâstârem, 'a protector,' and vahyô, 'better,' though the phrases in which these latter occur are of a very similar character, which fully justifies the comparison made in the text.

[4] The Ahunavair ends with the words yim drigubyô dada*d* vâstârem.

[5] The last Gâtha ends with the words yâ erezhe*g*yôi dâhî drigaovê vahyô (Yas. LIII, 9 d).

[6] The Gâthas apparently.

[7] Or *av*ar-gâstân, 'disseminations.'

[8] The Vîspêra*d* service consists of the Yasna ritual with certain additional passages intermixed, which passages are called the Vîspêra*d* because the earlier ones invoke 'all the chiefs' (vîspê ratavô, Visp. II, 3) of creation.

[9] Possibly Yas. LV.

three are provisions for the first *and* last presentations[1] which *one* utters by means of the Stô*d* Ya*s*t.

5. It is perfect *is* the excellence of righteousness; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness; with the copy revised (râyînî*d*ŏ).

[1] Probably referring to Yas. XIV and LVIII.

DÎNKA*RD*.—BOOK IX.

Chapter I[1].

1. Satisfaction (shnôkhar) *to* the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *and* obeisance *to* the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion.

2. The ninth book (babâ) is about the Hâs *and* Fargar*d*s[2] of the various Nasks; the object of procuring the division of those portions which exist *being* owing to the quantity of what is in each one of the Nasks; *also* an explanation of a suitable selection[3] therefrom, such as is an epitome (nisangag-1) of the abundant detail therein.

Chapter II.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. Glorification for the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion *which is* the ordinance of Aûha*r*ma*zd* opposed to the demons.

2. Of the Sû*d*kar[4] there are twenty-two fargar*d*s,

[1] From this point to Chap. XXXI, 17 the text is also found in a second MS. (K) which is independent of the MS. B brought to Surat in A.D. 1783, the original of all the Bombay copies.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 20, 23. The contents of these are detailed below, in Chaps. II–LXVIII, so far as the first three Nasks are concerned.

[3] Referring to Chap. LXIX.

[4] The first of the Nasks and second of the Gâthic division (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 9, 12). As the Stô*d*-yas*t* (the first of the Gâthic

and the first fargar*d* is the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[1], just as the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô *formula* is as *it were* the beginning (bûnîh) of the religion, and from it is the formation of the Nasks which, though about the first six sciences (dânis*n*ŏ), *have* also demonstrated the existence of the highest of other sciences in its own place.

3. And here it speaks about the power and success owing to uttering the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô *formula*[2] at the beginning of actions. 4. One *utterance* when *one* wishes to say anything to *any* one; one when he wishes to beg of *any* one; *and* one when he goes to work. 5. Two when he wishes to confer his blessing. 6. Four when *it is* for the homage of the chiefs *of creation* (ra*d*ŏ-franâmis*n*îh), *or* the ceremony of a season-festival. 7. Five when *it is* for carrying off the fiend. 8. Six when *it is* for power; *and* six when *it is* for the success *of* a battle. 9. Seven when *it is* for the ceremonial of

division, but the last of the general list of Nasks) contained the text of the Gâthas, so the next three of the Gâthic division contained commentaries, or homilies, upon that text, written with different objects in view. The purpose of the Sû*d*kar was apparently (as its name imports) to extract useful instruction from the text, and to illustrate it with legends and remarks. A separate fargar*d* is devoted to each hâ of the Gâthas, beginning with the three sacred formulas, and including the united Yasna Haptanghâiti and the Aîryaman. The connection between the commentary and text, though usually traceable, is not always very clear; but that is a common characteristic of homilies in general.

[1] The Ahunavair (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7). This fargar*d* explains the use made of this formula, and the benefits derived from it.

[2] As a spell, or appeal for success. The text of §§ 4–15 has been independently handed down by tradition, with a few variations, in Sls. XIX and the Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûn*g*yah.

the archangels, *or* when *one* wishes to perform the ceremonial of the archangels. 10. Eight when *it is* for the ceremonial of a guardian spirit of the righteous. 11. Nine when *one* wishes to cast seed into his land. 12. Ten when *one* wishes to allow procreation. 13. Eleven when *one* goes to ask for a wife. 14. Twelve when *one* expects to go up on a mountain. 15. Thirteen when *one* wishes to go to an inhabited district (rû*d*astâk-1); twelve[1] when he goes out pathless; *and* one[2] when he wishes to proceed by a ford *through* the water.

16. About *the place* where *one has* to utter the first Yathâ-ahû-vairyô for smiting the demons. 17. About the good results (dahi*s*nân) *of* a suitable recital *of* the words *of* the Ahunavair, the summary *of* everything for Zaratû*s*t to utter. 18. And about *the fact that*, through chanting forth every single word of the Ahunavair with a virtuous intention, a demon is disabled, and *there is* protection of person *and* property from the adversary.

19. About the division of the twenty-one Nasks, likewise, according to the first, second, and third lines (gâs) of the Ahunavair[3]. 20. About the increase of the creatures owing to the liberal thought, word, and deed of a righteous *person; owing to* the priests *having* become numerous, and the reverence *of* him who is making them numerous; and *owing to* the perpetual meditation of righteousness and the existence of its recompense.

21. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

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[1] Sls. XIX, 14 has 'thirteen.'

[2] So in both MSS., but ԱՅՕՎ ayôv, 'or,' is more probable than ԱՅԵՎԱ aêvakŏ, '*and* one.'

[3] See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

CHAPTER III[1].

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The second fargar*d*, Ashem-vohû[2], is about the praise of righteousness which is the reward of the religion, and the want of praise at the bridge *of judgment* owing to enmity (patyânîh) to righteousness.

2. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

CHAPTER IV.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The third fargar*d*, Yênhê-hâtãm[3], is about

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[1] This chapter is omitted in K by mistake.

[2] This second sacred formula is recited by the Parsis even oftener than the Ahunavair, and consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows:—

Ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî,
u*s*tâ astî; u*s*tâ ahmâi
hya*d* ashâi vahi*s*tâi ashem.

This may be translated as follows:—'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing *be* to that which *is* righteousness to perfect rectitude.'

But the Pahlavi version explains it as follows:—'Righteousness is perfect excellence [righteousness of any excellence *is* good]. Happy is that righteousness and happy also that virtuous man who *is* a causer of righteousness, the righteousness that is perfect [that is, he shall accomplish duty and good works].'

[3] This third formula is chiefly recited at the end of most of the hâs in the Yasna, and consists of fifteen Avesta words, as follows:—

Yênhê hâtãm âa*d*, yêsnê paitî, vanghô
mazda*u* ahurô vaêthâ, ashâ*d* ha*k*â,
ya*u*nghãm*k*â, tãs*k*â ta*u*s*k*â yazamaidê.

This may be translated as follows:—'Of whatever male of the

the formation of mankind by slow increase, and, when they live on *for* fifty[1] years, *their* slowly becoming dust; the coming of death even *to* him who is very pleasantly living, as regards mankind, at the climax (barînŏ) of his life; and the happiness of the worldly *existence* is given only to the worthy, on account of *their* love of righteousness; the rest are passed by[2]. 2. And also this, that he who is produced by the demons, *or* is proceeding to the

existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.'

The Pahlavi version explains it as follows:—'Whoever of those existing is thus in worship as regards a good *being* [that is, shall celebrate a ceremonial for that good *being* who is Aûha*r*maz*d* the lord], Aûha*r*maz*d* is aware of *it*, owing to the accompaniment of righteousness [*and being* acquainted with the reward and recompense of whatever are, severally, the duty and good works that any one has performed, he grants *them*]. I reverence those of the assembly, males and females [the archangels; because the male *of* them are good, and the female *of* them].'

The Pahlavi translator evidently read vanghô in the first line of the text, as printed above, and not in the second, as in the present MSS.

[1] So in K, but B has 'seventy.' The text seems to allude to the beginning of old age, of which three grades are mentioned in the Avesta (Vend. III, 19, 20): the hanô, zaururô, and pairi*s*tâ-khshudrô. The Pahlavi version defines the age of each grade, but the ciphers given are corrupted in the MSS. extant. The Far. Oîm, p. 5, ll. 9, 10, gives fifty years as the age of the zarmân (Av. zaururô), seventy years as that of the hân (Av. hanô), and ninety years as that of the pâ*d*îrânŏ-shûsar (Av. pairi*s*tâ-khshudrô); but whether this arrangement of the ages is compatible with the different order of these epithets in the Avesta is doubtful, though it shows that old age was considered to begin at the age of fifty years.

[2] Reading sa*k*î-aîtŏ according to K, though the word can also be read se*g*î-aîtŏ, 'are ruined;' in B it can be read gadâîgî-aîtŏ, 'are impoverished.'

demons, *or* has committed falsehood, is the opulent person who gives nothing to a worthy supplicant.

3. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER V.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The fourth fargar*d*, Yânîm-manô[1], is about where a gradual development (dêr-zahî*s*nîh) *of* that which is for the future existence is best; and, secondly, that which *occurs* now when the wisdom, instructed eloquence, diligence, and energetic effort, which are the utilizers of life, are with one, and these five misusers *of it*—greediness, want of energy, indolence, defilement, and illicit intercourse—are not with one. 2. This, too, that these five defects existed *in* Dahâk[2], and owing to that, moreover, Frê*d*ûn[2] is irritated with *him*, and smites him in revenge for Yim[3].

3. About the heinousness of these four vices, which are drunkenness, knavish companionship, apostasy, and selfishness, and the grievous results therefrom. 4. And this, too, that Yim drove away these four vices from the world, and then was able to prepare immortality. 5. About avoidance of him who, through any statement, is producing a thief as an orator (âkhûn), and *of* acquiescence with a hasty unoratorical statement of a companion. 6. And this, too, that *he* who propagates very evil commands in the world gives stout-heartedness to the fiend.

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[1] The first two words of the introduction to the first Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII, o), here written yânîmanôkŏ in Pahlavi.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 8. [3] Ibid. § 6.

7. About the clamour of a poor distressed *one for* a perfect remedy, and the repelling derangement (lakhvâr-pafshîrisnîh), unacceptableness, unblessedness, and want of Gâtha lore of the distresser arisen from the clamour of the distressed *one.* 8. About the connection of satisfying distress on true *and* reasonable complaint, and the reasonable complaining of true complainers, by him who *has* been an inferior judge, *and* gradually up to the highest adjudicator who is Aûharmazd.

9. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

Chapter VI.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The fifth fargard, Khshmaibyâ [1], is about the forgetfulness of a father for a son, a son for a father, a brother for a brother, a friend for a friend, a husband (mânpatŏ) for a wife (nârîk), and a wife for a husband in a measurable time, through excess and festivity (khang); and the unforgetfulness of the spirit of the Gâthas for so many reciters and chanters of the Gâthas. 2. About the complaint of the spirit of the Gâthas when a high-priest, although priest of the country-folk (dehîgânŏ), passes away in an out-district [2], and the body of that man does not come back to his own land; whatever is relating to that, *and*, besides that, what is to be born in that

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[1] The first word of the second hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXIX, 1), here written khshmŏâîbê (B) and khshmâîbê (K) in Pahlavi.

[2] Reading aûzdêhîkîh (from Av. uzdahvyu); in Sls. IX, 2, 3, where this passage is evidently referred to, this word has been erroneously read aûzdâyakîh and translated 'idolatry.'

land, and the oppressiveness of apostates *which* arises. 3. About the superior power of the spirit of the Gâthas, *and* also that of liberality, in preserving the soul from hell.

4. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER VII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The sixth fargar*d*, A*d*-tâ-vakhshyâ[1], is about the perfection of the five excellences: the first through righteousness, the second through virtuous offspring, the third through land producing vegetation, the fourth through flocks of sheep, and the fifth through training in industry. 2. About the distribution of fortune to the diligent; and *of* destitution to the indolent. 3. About the acquirement of fortune singly sitting, two-fold even walking, three-fold hastening, four-fold even running, five-fold even carrying on a horse, six-fold even driving on a road, seven-fold by understanding legal proceedings, eight-fold by good protection even of wealth, nine-fold by intelligence *and* diligence in the cultivation of land, and ten-fold by providing the teaching of the bounteous texts[2].

4. About the grievous sorrow *of* an aged man, owing to the indolence of any one in youth. 5. About the four things through which, when a man has

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[1] The first three words of the third hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXX, 1), here written atŏ-tâ-vakhshîyâ (B) and atâ-vakhshâ (K) in Pahlavi.

[2] The liturgy (mânsar-s*p*end).

amassed *them* in his youth, he becomes very pleased in old age: first, virtuous learning; second, productive wealth; third, a good wife; *and* fourth, a prosperous dwelling. 6. About the five store-holders[1] of perfect excellence: industry, diligence, contentment, guileless understanding (nîrikht-hûshîh), and provision of means.

7. About abstaining from sitting with drunkards. 8. And this, too, that he does not drink varieties of wine (mâê-gunagânŏ) with the approval of the sacred beings, who becomes a viciously-disposed assailant and annoyer of others, and a disturber kêpînî*d*âr) of duties, through drinking varieties of wine. 9. And this, too, that thou shouldst eat that which is your food where *there is* a suitable place. 10. And where *it is* eaten by thee it should be lightly, it should not be heavily, so that, when *it is* eaten by thee, a good work is performed, and *there is* abstinence from sin. 11. And, so that what thou eatest shall be immortally joyful to thee, where *there are* poor, provide *them* a share, and the poor *will* bless thee; and, *as to* a poor *man* who is righteous, the opinion is *that* his blessing is best.

12. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

Chapter VIII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The seventh fargar*d*, Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ[2], is about

[1] Reading gang-dânŏ; or it may be dûzagânŏ, 'seals,' though this is less likely, as a plural form is rarely used with a numeral.

[2] The first three words of the fourth hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXI, 1), here written tâ-va-ratŏ in Pahlavi in both MSS.

the exhibition to Zaratûst of the nature of the four periods in the millennium of Zaratûst [1]. 2. First, the golden, that in which Aûharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratûst. 3. Second, the silver, that in which Vistâsp [2] received the religion from Zaratûst. 4. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Âtûrpâd [3] son of Mârâspend, was born. 5. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate and other villains, as regards the destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind *of* goodness *and* virtue, and the disappearance of honour and wisdom from the countries of Irân. 6. In the same period is an account of the many perplexities and torments (zakhamî-hastanŏ) of the period for that desire of the life of the good which subsists in seemliness.

7. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

Chapter IX.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The eighth fargard, *Hv*aêtumaiti [4], is about the abstinence of mankind, for special propitiation, from *being* unreliant *upon* religion, on account of reverence for the evil spirit [5]; that from the habit of

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[1] Compare Yas. XXXI, 14; Byt. I, 1–5.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1–3.

[3] See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 22.

[4] The appellation of the fifth hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXII) which begins with the words a*hv*yâ*k*â *hv*aêtu*s*; it is here written khvatamaîtŏ in Pahlavi in both MSS.

[5] Compare Yas. XXXII, 3.

being ungirdled, on account of reverence for Andar[1] and that for *S*ôvar[2]; that from walking with one boot[3], on account of reverence for Tâûr*v*ŏ and Zârî*k*ŏ[4]; that from being harmfully inquisitorial, on account of reverence for Akatâsh[5]; and that from the habit of *being* without a serpent-scourge, on account of reverence for all the demons[6].

2. About the hungry intention (gu*s*nakŏ-mîni*s*nîh) of him who eats[7] *and* drinks chattering; the delight of the demons on that account; and advice as regards not speaking a word during eating and drinking. 3. As to the praise and gratification of the sacred beings before eating and drinking,

[1] Av. Andra, or I*n*dra; one of the arch-demons produced by the evil spirit, and the special opponent of the archangel Ashavahi*s*t; he seduces from virtue and opposes the use of the sacred shirt and girdle (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 8, 10, XXX, 29; Ep. I, x, 9; Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1).

[2] Av. Sauru; another of the arch-demons and the special opponent of the archangel Shatvaîrô; he encourages anarchy and drunkenness, and opposes the use of the sacred shirt and girdle (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 9, 10, XXX, 29; Ep. I, x, 9).

[3] Probably equivalent to 'walking in stockings,' though some think it means 'walking barefoot.' It is sinful on account of the risk of pollution from stepping on impurities.

[4] Av. Tauru and Zairi*k*a; two more of the arch-demons and the special opponents of the archangels Khû*r*da*d* and Amû*r*da*d*; they produce and diffuse poison, and are propitiated by walking with one boot (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 11, 13, XXX, 29; Ep. I, x, 9).

[5] Av. Akatasha; 'the fiend of inquisitiveness, who makes the creatures look *away* from proper things' (Bd. XXVIII, 20), and appears to be closely connected with the demon Aeshm, 'wrath.'

[6] See Bd. XXVIII, 21, 22, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 2.

[7] B omits 'eats.' Talking during eating is sinful because the eater has muttered an inward prayer, as a protective spell, the good effect of which would be destroyed by speaking aloud (compare Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIII, 37).

and also on finishing; and the purity [1] of the mouth owing to its praise of righteousness [2]. 4. About him whose ownership of any good work, that they [3] may perform, does not attain to the best existence, on account of not possessing a high-priest by habit.

5. About the period of the ceremonial of Srôsh [4], the righteous, *being* mostly on the passing away of the first half of the night, and the announcement [5] of him who is the celebrator (ya*s*târ) is for his protection from the fiend spirit. 6. The period of the ceremonial of Rashnû [6] and Âstâ*d* [7] is mostly after that, in the jurisdiction (ra*d*îh) of the Aûshahîn [8], and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is abundance of grain. 7. The period of the ceremonial of Mit*r*ô [9] of the wide cattle-pastures, and *of* the spirit of the pleasure of eating [10], is mostly in the

[1] K has 'protection.'

[2] That is, its muttering the Ashem-vohû formula which is recited thrice, as a conclusion of the inward prayer (see Dd. LXXIX, 1 n).

[3] Or it may be 'he,' as the optative 3rd plural is often used for the singular; but it is a doctrine of the religion that a person who causes good works to be done by others, as he does when he employs a priest to perform ceremonies, is as much the owner of the good works as the actual performer is (see Sls. X, 22, 23 for cases of less direct agency).

[4] See Bk. VIII, Chaps. IX, 3, XLIV, 16, and Pahl. Yas. I, 22.

[5] As an offering, referring to the verb nivaêdhayêmi, 'I announce or invite,' with which most of the clauses of Yas. I. commence.

[6] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XX, 153, and Pahl. Yas. I, 23.

[7] Av. Ar*s*tâ*d*, 'rectitude,' a female angel who assists the soul on its way to the other world (see AV. V, 3).

[8] The period from midnight till dawn (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 9).

[9] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

[10] Av. râma *hv*âstrem, Pahl. râmi*s*nŏ khvârôm, who co-operates with Mit*r*ô (see Pahl. Yas. I, 9).

jurisdiction of the Hâvan[1], and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is a flock of sheep. 8. The period of the ceremonial of Ashavahist[2], and also *of* the fire of Aûharmazd, is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Rapithwin[3], and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is an assemblage of righteousness. 9. The period of the ceremonial of the lofty lord *of* females, the descendant of waters[4], and also *of* the water created by Aûharmazd, is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Aûzâêrin[5], and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is a troop of heroes (vîrân ramakŏ). 10. And the period of the ceremonial of the guardian spirits of the righteous, *of* the females with troops of heroes and years *of* pleasant dwelling, *of* the might which is well-formed and handsome, as well as victorious and created by Aûharmazd, and *of* the fighting which is in the ascendant[6], is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Aiwisrûthrim[7], and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is the origin of all excel-

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[1] The period from dawn till noon, and in winter it extends into the afternoon (see Bd. XXV, 9–14).

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14, and Pahl. Yas. I, 12.

[3] The afternoon till 3 p.m. during summer (see Bd. XXV, 9–14). Here written Rapisvag.

[4] Av. berezatô ahurahê nafedhrô apãm, Pahl. bûr'zand khûdâî nekedân-î âvânŏ nâpô (see Pahl. Yas. I, 15).

[5] The evening from the middle of the afternoon till dusk (see Bd. XXV, 9; Sls. XXI, 4–7).

[6] See Pahl. Yas. I, 18, 19.

[7] The period from dusk till midnight; here written ayîvîksrûksrîm. It will be noticed that the periods for the ceremonials of the beings here detailed correspond with those with which their names are connected in Yas. I, 3–7, II, 3–7, III, 5–9, IV, 8–12, VI, 2–6, VII, 5–9 (W.).

lence, and the produce of all manifestation of righteousness.

11. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER X.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The ninth fargar*d*, Yathâi*s*[1], is about the devilry, the blighted destiny, the complete pollution, the grievous stench, the heinous sinfulness, and the annoyance *to* all spiritual and worldly virtue of the sodomite. 2. The atonement for grievous sinfulness and the appropriation of great good works by him who is a molester, and the awful sinfulness of him who is a propitiator, of that sinner. 3. Of the seven *one* mentions as evil, who are accounted equal to the evil spirit in vileness—*such* as *Az*-î Dahâk[2] in witchcraft, the serpent Srôbar in violence, Va*d*ak[3] in producing evil progeny[4], Tûr-î Brâ*d*ar-vakhsh in destroying a righteous *man*, and an apostate[5] in grievous sinfulness—the permitter and performer of

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[1] The first word of the sixth hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXIII, 1), here written yâsâî*s* in Pahlavi in both MSS.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XIII, 8, XXXV, 13, and Dd. LXXII, 2–9, which last chapter contains further details regarding these seven heinous sinners, probably derived from the actual text of this ninth fargar*d* of the Sû*d*kar Nask.

[3] The mother of Dahâk (Dd. LXXII, 5), the same as Udaî in Bd. XXXI, 6; for her viciousness see Dd. LXXVIII, 2.

[4] Pahl. saryâ hûnŏ-dahakîh, which last word indicates an original Av. hunu*s*ta (see Pahl. Yas. L, 10 b).

[5] Both MSS. have Aharmanŏ, but this differs only in its last letter from aharmôk, 'an apostate,' which is the reading of Dd. LXXII, 9 and more suitable to the context.

unnatural intercourse are unique in heinous sinfulness.

4. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

Chapter XI.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The tenth fargar*d*, Yâ-*sh*yaothanâ[1], is about the complaint of the spirit of fires to Aûha*r*ma*zd* owing to seven descriptions of people. 2. First, owing to domestics considering *it* as contemptible and *in* an unresisting state (a*g*angîh), molesting *it* immoderately, and making use of it with unwashed hands; also the damsel who *has* introduced fire into the sole of *her* foot, and the bursting of the blister (âvilag); and a weapon brought out into *its* splendour. 3. Second, the complaint owing to the carriers of fire from that abode [where the provision of care for fire is as a law to them, to that abode][2] where the provision of care for fire is not as a law to them. 4. And there, owing to the arrival and preparation of the demons, it lay stupefied, like a powerful youth *who is* feverish and in a languid state; and its cure from that sickness (ayôyakîh) was by bringing forward to it their pure sandal-wood, or benzoin, or aloe-wood, or pomegranate[3], or

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[1] The first two words of the seventh, and last, hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXIV, 1), here written yâ-shyâôsnŏ in Pahlavi in both MSS. This fargar*d* may perhaps be considered as a homily upon Yas. XXXIV, 4.

[2] The words in brackets are omitted in B by mistake.

[3] The traditional equivalents of the four sweet-scented vegetable substances, Av. urvâsna, vohû-gaona, vohû-kereti, and hadhânaêpata, which are mentioned in Vend. VIII, 2, 79, IX, 32, XIV, 3,

whatever *there* was of the most odoriferous of plants. 5. Third, the complaint owing to the hussy[1] unto whom it happens, through menstruation, *that* the stench and filth owing to the menstruation is brought to it (*the fire*); and *its* sickness and stupefaction owing thereto are as written above. 6. Fourth, the complaint owing to the hussy who, dropping *her* knee on to the fire-stand, arranged *her* curls; the falling of damp and moisture from *her* head, with the hair and filth therefrom, into the fire; the consumption *of it* discontentedly, *and* the sickness and stupefaction owing thereto. 7. Fifth, the complaint owing to the father, *or* guardian, of a child for not keeping the child away from the fire; and the bodily refuse and other unlawfulness that come upon it from such children. 8. Sixth, the complaint owing to the adversity which the unpurified infidel (agdênô) may bring upon it, by blowing the breath of *his* mouth upon it in directing *its* use, *and* it becomes incalculable. 9. Seventh, the complaint—which, *one* says, is more awful and more grievous—owing to those who use it as an ordeal for a falsehood, and, when it is made evident thereby as to the acquitted and convicted, they become of a different opinion about it.

10. At the place of complaint that which is polluted is put forward together with that which is pure, and the increase of it (*the fire*) is through lawful and unlawful operation; *its* burning alone

XVIII, 71 as acceptable fuel for the sacred fire, or scent for fumigation; their Pahlavi names are merely corruptions of these Avesta words.

[1] The word *g*êh, 'courtezan,' is used here and in § 6 merely as a general opprobrious term for a woman.

and increasing are such as when both would be as a necessity for it, and undesired and rapid burning and increasing[1] are those which are polluted by burning *and* insatiably consuming; and in that which is an operation unlawfully—the burning alone *and* increasing *being* [such as when][2] both would be as a necessity [for it]—the increase is troubled.

11. This, too, he[3] says: 'I am not *of the world* here, and from here I *will* extricate *myself*, from the earth up to the sky; I am also thy son[4], more to thee[5] than any of the other creatures.' 12. And Aûharmazd spoke to him thus: 'So thou shouldst stand over the fire, in thy proper duty as [a spirit[6]], carrying that club; [it is a substantial means, because I produce it, through which] thou turnest off [the whole bodily existence], some to the endless light, and some to the endless darkness.'

13. This, too, that *he* who shall provide care for fire has paid the greatest reverence unto Aûharmazd. 14. The propitiation of the righteous is the best *thing*, and their vexation is the worst; when pleased they favour one, *and it is* the law of the sacred beings that they promote; [when vexed they wound, *and it is* the demon that they restrict.

15. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.][6]

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[1] As in the case of a destructive conflagration.

[2] The words in brackets are supplied by guess, to fill up a blank space left by the repairer of B on one of his patches. In K the passage is shorter, and stands as follows:—'and in that which is unlawful operation *it is* troubled by the increase.'

[3] The spirit of fires mentioned in § 1. This dialogue seems to be a quotation from the original Pahlavi version of the Nask.

[4] Fire being called 'the son of Aûharmazd.'

[5] Both MSS. have 'me' by mistake.

[6] The passages in brackets are omitted in B, evidently by mistake.

CHAPTER XII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The eleventh fargard, the Yasna[1], is about the assembly of the angels of the spiritual *existences* on account of the complaint of fire; and the complaint of fire in the assembly, with *its* statement of this, too[2]: 'I am not *of the world* here, and from here I *will* extricate *myself*, from the earth up to the sky, and there I *will* shine on to the earth of seven regions, like the moon and sun and even the divinely-produced stars when they shine with their own light.' 2. The words of Aûharmazd about the just complaining of fire as regards the contamination[3] of the creatures, the impossibility of keeping the fire undisturbed, and satisfying the fire concerning the creation of the creatures for the worldly *existence*, *along* with the disturbed condition of fire, too, owing to the impossibility of maintaining[4] the uncreated state which, with the freedom from disturbance of fire also, was better; *likewise* proclaiming the care *of it*. 3. And the speech of the fire *was* thus: 'If *there be* not that one mode whereby I *may* thus shine, owing to those that *have* acted according to my request[5], thou art aware, *O* Aûharmazd! *there*

[1] The Yasna of seven chapters, Av. yasna haptanghâiti (Yas. XXXV, 3–XLI, 6), here written asnô (for yêsnô) in both MSS.

[2] The spirit of fires, after repeating to the heavenly council the complaint he had already made to Aûharmazd alone, concludes with the same threat as in Chap. XI, 11.

[3] B gûmêkhtakîh (K gûmézakîh) implies deterioration by an 'intermingling' of evil.

[4] K omits these last four words by mistake.

[5] That is, if he cannot desert the world, owing to the necessity of stopping with those who act properly.

are some among the creatures that I cannot grant so much *to;* therefore carry me away, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! then give me away there! and be thou carrying *me* away into the midst *of* Aîrân-v*êg*[1]!'

4. The propitious[2] fire is from the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and it is produced by him in a dwelling, without *being* handled (ba*r*â sû*d*akŏ)[3], by aid of bringing together[4]. 5. And so he spoke in words thus: 'Such is thine own growth, thou who art my fire! in every dwelling where thou comest, and *in* every village, every community, and every province; and as exalted as thou are the water and plants, and *he*, too, who is a guardian spirit of the righteous, when they shall bring forward holy-water for delivering up *to* thee[5]; *and*, when they shall bring forward to thee firewood which is dry, a person—through the light which he observes—*has* spoken of it thus: "This is the Gûs*n*-as*p*[6] fire."'

6. About so much reward of the hewer and inspector and kindler of the firewood—when all three shall do *it* for the sake of affection—as *they*

[1] The primeval home of Ma*zd*a-worship, the abode of Yim, and the scene of Zaratûs*t*'s first promulgation of the religion, the Airyanem va*êg*ô of the Avesta (see Vend. I, 1, 3, II, 21; Bd. XX, 32, XXXII, 3).

[2] Pahl. *a*fzûnîk; the sp*e*ni*s*ta ('most bounteous') fire of Yas. XVII, 11, XXXVI, 3. According to Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67 it 'stands in heaven before Aûha*r*ma*zd* in a spiritual state.'

[3] Or it may mean '*being* rubbed out,' that is, 'by friction;' but compare the use of the word sû*d*akîh in Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 19.

[4] Referring probably to the establishment of a sacred fire by bringing together every possible variety of fire that can be obtained.

[5] Merely as a formal offering, or for purifying the fire-stand, not for mingling with the fire itself.

[6] One of the three original sacred fires, which is said to have

are possessing righteousness. 7. About the character *and* reward of the washer (âsnôtâr) and the producer of the purity and cleansing of that which the fire *has* dropped[1], *of* the introducer of the firewood and the washer upwards[2], *of* the stirrer of the fire and the carrier-away of the firewood, who are strictly directed; the lawful work done with a *cooking*-pot *and* such-like, and the sin of him who is a disturber of it. 8. About the destroyer of that which the fire *has* dropped, and the introducer of damp firewood into it. 9. About the blessing of fire for people by whom *it is* satisfied.

10. About advice as regards not bringing to the fire that which is due to theft, *or* the power of extortion, and the grievous bridge-judgment[3] of him who is bringing *it; also* the defilement (âlûdan) and hurting of the fire from that which *occurs* when he likewise consecrates his hoard (hanbarisnŏ), owing to the corruption by the demons[4] thus arisen. 11. This, too, that *it is* owing to want of attention to fire when *it is* not at every menstrual excitement they produce, *in* a woman assisted by a propensity

been established, in the time of king Kaî-Khûsrô, upon the Asnavand mountain in Âtûr-pâtakân, not far from Lake Kêkast (see Bd. XVII, 7; Zs. XI, 8–10).

[1] B srâkhtô, K srakhtô, both here and in § 8; compare Av. srask.

[2] Pahl. frâz âsnâtâr must mean one who washes in the mode defined by the Av. frasnâiti, as distinguished from upasnâiti, in Vend. VIII, 98, 99, Ep. II, iii, 2; this mode is explained as lâlâîk, 'upwards,' and distinguished from the frôdgûnŏ, 'downward mode,' in Ep. II, iv, 2.

[3] B inserts 'thus arisen *through* the demons,' the same phrase as concludes the section.

[4] K has 'owing to a single word of the demons,' by substituting aêvak gôbisnŏ for âhûkînisnŏ.

for a son (pûs ra*d*îh), *that* the progeny is a son. 12. And about the penalty for[1] the progress of other impropriety which occurs to fire; also *about* the person who has attained to the guardianship of fire and does not lawfully control *it*.

13. About an admonition to Zaratû*s*t as to consecrating *to* the sacred beings anything whatever which *one* eats, and not eating *what is* unconsecrated. 14. About the wish of the evil spirit that no one shall be performing (vadîdûnâñ-â*d*ŏ) worship and obeisance to the sacred beings, and *that the people* shall possess no ruler and high-priest, so that no desire of theirs shall arise for any virtuousness. 15. About an admonition as to indispensably worshipping the sacred beings with the best ceremonial, that of a priest (âsrûkŏ) without sin; *or with* an average *one*, that of a priest whose sin is not more than one Aredû*s*[2] without a basis (*a*-bûn); *or with* the lowest *one*, that of a priest whose *sin* is not more than one Khôr[3] on a basis (pavan bûn). 16. Whoever, in a village of Ma*zd*a-worshippers, *has* not chanted the *sacred* hymns after fifteen years *of age*, through sinfulness, is as a dog they *have* thrown provisions *to*, and it *has* occurred for a basis of the sin of unseasonable chattering[4]; also the inadmissibility of his soul by Mânsarspend[5].

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[1] Assuming that pa stands for pavan.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XX, 64, XXXI, 39.

[3] A sin twice as great as an Aredû*s* (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXI, 39).

[4] The sin of talking while eating, praying, or any other occasion when a prayer (vâ*g*) has been taken inwardly, as a spell, and is not yet spoken out.

[5] A personification of the liturgy, Av. mãthra spe*n*ta, 'the bounteous text.'

17. About the coming of Ast-vîdâ*d* [1], at all times, to mortals whom death has reached [2], and also whom *it has* not. 18. About the ideas of the wicked, that the best existence does not exist, *that* the production of the renovation *of the universe* does not occur, *that there are* no dead whom they raise up thereby, and *it is* not that change *one* attains. 19. This, too, that is false, for the same *reason* they observe, *being* wicked; because the best existence exists, *there* occurs a production of the renovation which is good, they raise up the dead thereby, and thus *one* attains that change.

20. About an admonition as to not making lamentation and weeping over those passed away; and, after the passing away of every righteous *one* of the religion to the spirits, *one* is not to augment the distress of the very spirit of life by making lamentation and weeping over the departed. 21. And this, too, that the guardian spirits of the righteous claim no lamentation and weeping after their own ceremonial and the blessing of righteous men. 22. This, too, that the body of every one is not of like will with the soul; food is the desire of the body, and also a store of wealth; righteous action is the desire of the soul, and also the gifts which they give away.

23. About an enquiry of the righteous Zaratûst as to who it is who has banished (*â*pârînî*d*ŏ) all goodness and perfection from his own *self*, *but* thinks *them* not banished, and does not complain of

[1] Av. Astô-vîdhôtu, one of the demons of death (see Bd. XXVIII, 35; Dd. XXXVII, 44).

[2] Those who have attained old age, the natural time of death.

that loss[1]. 24. And the reply of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, that it is he *who* is deceived[2] by his own tongue through the utterance of words, so that, through speaking falsely, he has become worthy of death. 25. This, too, that for him it is the weapon of the evil spirit; *even* so complete mindfulness is the reign of Spenda*r*-ma*d*[3], and thus a liar is more a power for the religion when a man, on account of dulness of thought, *gives* no reply, so that he *may* not speak falsely through dulness of thought.

26. This, too, that he worships the demons with thousand-fold holy-water, who establishes him who is not a member of the community[4] in the Zôti duty[5], sooner than him who is a wise Zôti. 27. And this, too, that thou shouldst fetch him who is a member of the community for the Zôti duty, not him who is not a member of the community, for thus thy advance is to the supreme heaven (garô*d*mânŏ). 28. Also this, that a bad Zôti is worse from the Zôti duty.

29. This, too, that that which is the earliest controller (ayûkhtâr) of sin is thought *which* is subdued[6], then forgiveness, then shame, and then listening; and, afterwards, through the sinfulness of the fiend[7],

[1] B has 'and *there is* no complaint of the loss.'

[2] K zîvînî*d*ŏ.

[3] The female archangel who has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Sls. XV, 20–24); she is a personification of Av. spe*n*ta ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion,' of which phrase the latter word is translated by Pahl. bûndak-mîni*s*nîh, 'complete mindfulness.' See also Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3, and S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 393, 396.

[4] K adâhm; B has khêshm, 'wrath,' here, but not so in § 27.

[5] See Bk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5, 9.

[6] B has 'he who is a controller of sin is Vohûman, owing to thinking of the spirits, which is subdued.'

[7] K has only 'through sinfulness.'

one becomes a promise-breaker. 30. This, too, that they shall bring every man who is a wounder before the convocation *composed of* any priest who is a controller of recitation (srâyisnŏ ayûkhtâr), any priest who is of the district (âdehîk), any priest who is of an out-district (aûzdehîk), and any priest who is *the man's* own kinsman.

31. 'Thus say I unto thee, *O* Spîtâmân! let *there be* no breach of promise; neither when the conversation, that they would make a support, *was* with the wicked, and there is no great judiciousness in it; nor when *it was* with those of thine own religion, the righteous, as to anything *of* great judiciousness; because both of them are promises, both *with* the wicked and the righteous [1].'

32. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that is* perfect.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The twelfth fargard, Ustavaiti [2], is about the exaltation of Zaratûst through the satisfaction of water, and the hope of all creatures for him. 2. And about the impure recitation of a text, when [3] the text is not uttered by a high-priest. 3. This, too, that the text which a man who is corrupted may

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[1] This admonition occurs repeatedly (see Chap. XX, 5; Yt. X, 2; AV. LII, 7).

[2] The appellation of the first hâ of the second Gâtha (Yas. XLIII) which begins with the words ustâ ahmâi yahmâi ustâ; it is here written aûstavâîtŏ in Pahlavi.

[3] Assuming that mûn, 'which,' stands for amat; the Pâzand of both words being practically the same. Or, it may be, '*also him* who does not utter the text through a high-priest.'

offer is an impropriety (adînâîh) for that which is an uncorrupted place. 4. This, too, is declared, that a greedy man whose belly is filled by accumulation—and the end of every sin is, to him, only for the gratification of the body—*one* considers just like a gallows to which *there* is a foundation (*s*îpŏ) of every impurity. 5. This, too, that a bird (vâê) practises that habit (*s*ân) even that it kills those outright which have become large in *our* midst, which are the serpents produced by the demons. 6. This, too, that *for* invocation (azbâyi*s*nŏ) of the sacred beings thinking with speaking, speaking with acting, and acting without deceitfulness are effectual.

7. About the pure goodness of the archangels, and the union of their thoughts, words, *and* deeds together; their bountifulness, nurturing, and protection are the cause[1] of the prosperity of the world. 8. About the production of Zaratû*s*t *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd* with a goodness like his own. 9. This, too, that whoever gives anything to the disciples of Zaratû*s*t, his reward and recompense are just as though the thing had been given by him to Zaratû*s*t[2].

10. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

Chapter XIV.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The thirteenth fargar*d*, Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ[3],

[1] B omits *s*ân, 'the cause of.'

[2] Compare :—'Inasmuch as ye have done *it* unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done *it* unto me.' (Matthew xxv. 40.)

[3] The first three words of the second hâ of the second Gâtha (Yas. XLIV, 1), here written ta*d*-spâ-pêres in Pahlavi.

is about the strength *and* mightiness of the spirit of the sacred cake [1]. 2. This, too, that every night the demons rush from hell [2] into the world, to injure *and* cause the death of the creatures; and, when *people* consecrate a sacred cake, that spirit descends to attack and keep back the demons, and to engage in combat with the demons ninety-nine times during every night; he also smites and stupefies them, and keeps *them* back from destroying the world.

3. This, too, that any one whatever of those men who utter these words [3] in prayer becomes righteous, except those men who shall contentedly, *or* wishfully, carry out a command for evil deeds, and they deceive (suftênd), or make *others* deceive, by statements proposed to them; *and* whose evil thoughts are thus more than *their* good thoughts, their evil words more than *their* good words, and their evil deeds more than *their* good deeds. 4. About carrying off the reliance produceable that *a sin* worthy of death is the obliteration (f*râz* mûshtanŏ) of other sin, like an awful *and* mighty wind when it sweeps swiftly over the plain [4].

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

CHAPTER XV.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The fourteenth fargar*d*, A*d*-fravakhshyâ [5], is

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[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 2.

[2] K omits 'from hell,' and B omits 'night.'

[3] Meaning probably Yas. XLIV.

[4] A favorite metaphor derived from the Avesta text (see Pahl. Vend. III, 149; Mkh. LII, 19).

[5] The first two words of the third hâ of the second Gâtha (Yas. XLV, 1), here written a*d*-fravakhshê (B) and a*d*-fravakhshâ

about Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s showing to Zaratûs*t* the terrible condition of the soul of Keresâsp[1]; the dismay of Zaratûs*t* owing to that terrible condition; the sorrowful speaking of Keresâsp as regards the slaying of multitudes, for which mankind extol him, whereby abstentions from sin *occurred;* and the recognition of him by the creator, Aûha*r*ma*zd*, as smiting his fire. 2. The supplication of Keresâsp *for* the best existence from Aûha*r*ma*zd* for those exploits when the serpent Srôbar[2] *was* slain by him, and the violence of that adversary; when Gandarep[3] with the golden heels *was* smitten by him, *and* the marvellousness of that fiend; when the Ve*s*kŏ progeny[4] who *were descendants* of Nîvîk *and* Dâ*s*tânîk *were* slain by him, and the grievous harm and disaster owing to them; and when the mighty wind[5] *was* appeased by him, *and* brought back from damaging the world to benefiting the creatures; *and* for that which *happens* when owing to confinement[6], Dahâk becomes eager, rushes on for the

(K) in Pahlavi. This chapter has been already translated in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 370–372.

[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 12; S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 369–382.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13.

[3] Av. Ga*n*darewa of Yt. V, 38, XV, 28, XIX, 41; the 'watery demon' of Mkh. XXVII, 50.

[4] Reading hûn Ve*s*kŏ, the Av. hunavô Vaêskaya of Yt. V, 54, 57, who were enemies of the warrior Tusa; but the hunavô of Nivika and of the Dâ*s*tayâni were slain by Keresâspa (see Yt. XIX, 41). It is also possible to read khûnŏ-dâkŏ, 'blood-producing.'

[5] When it becomes a storm-demon, the vâtô-daêva of Vend. X, 14, instead of being the angel of useful wind.

[6] In the volcano, Mount Dimâvand, where he was confined by Frê*d*ûn in olden times, and whence he is expected to break loose hereafter (see Bd. XII, 31, XXIX, 9; Byt. III, 55–61).

destruction of the world, and attempts (girâyêdŏ) the annihilation of the creatures; *when* he (*Keresâsp*) is roused to smite him, and to tame that powerful fiend for the world and creatures.

3. The enmity of fire to Keresâsp, through the distress which he occasioned to it, and the keeping of him away[1] [from heaven; also the friendship of Gôs-aûrvan[2] for him, through the prosperity which he occasioned to it, and the protection of him] from hell. 4. The petition of Zaratûst to the fire to have compassion upon what *was* owing to *Keresâsp's* sin; the compliance (hangâftanŏ) of the fire *with* that petition, and the departure of the soul of Keresâsp to the ever-stationary existence[3].

5. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

CHAPTER XVI.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The fifteenth fargard, Kamnamaêza[4], is

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[1] The words in brackets occur only in K; their meaning is, however, given in the Pahlavi Rivâyat accompanying Dd. and quoted in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 379, 380. The enmity of the fire to Keresâsp was owing to its having been extinguished (when kindled upon the serpent Srôbar) by the upsetting of Keresâsp's caldron, as described in Yas. IX, 11, and Yt. XIX, 40.

[2] Av. geus urva, 'the soul of the ox,' the spirit which departed from the primeval ox when the evil spirit attacked it; she is supposed to be the heavenly protector of all animals, and is also called Drvâspa (see Yt. IX, 1; Bd. III, 14, 18, IV, 2–5; Sls. XXII, 14).

[3] A locality intermediate between heaven and hell, where the souls of those whose sins and good works exactly balance remain in a passive and immovable state till the resurrection (see Sls. VI, 2; Mkh. VII, 18, XII, 14; Dd. XX, 3).

[4] The appellation of the fourth, and last, hâ of the second

about the arrival of Ast-vîdâ*d*[1] upon the spot, and the insecurity of any one from him; also the non-continuance of the mortal body and decaying (farsâvand) wealth of any one of the mortals summoned is death[2]. 2. And this, too, that Ast-vîdâ*d* shall carry off all mortals by that awful and proclaimed marvel, and they are not saved from him[3]; each one, indeed, saves only *that* which is the soul. 3. This, too, that the soul alone sees the reward and bridge[4] of the spiritual *existence*, and embodied it does not see such *things;* if, *when* embodied, it could have seen like that, then it would not have committed the sin really originating with it, even for anything whatever *of* the ease and comfort of the worldly existence, nor shrunk (man*s*î*d*ŏ) from the first good work.

4. About the hideousness and frightfulness of the body of man after death, and only that which is considered by every one the most precious of desirable things is undecaying (*a*farsâk). 5. As regards the casting away of the dust, and also living people, that which is more nearly connected therewith is

Gâtha (Yas. XLVI), which begins with the words kâm nemôi zãm; it is here written kamnam*é*zŏ in Pahlavi.

[1] See Chap. XII, 17. The connection of the demon of death with Yas. XLVI is that the first few words of that hâ are supposed to be repeated by the wicked soul in despair after death (see Yt. XXII, 20, W.; Mkh. II, 159; AV. XVII, 7).

[2] K has mar*d*ûm, 'human (?).'

[3] B has the whole of this first clause thus:—'And the unconsumed (*a*pakhshînŏ) property of him who is surprised by the invisible marvel *that* he shall endure, they have not saved from him.' This marvel is probably the supposed casting of a noose by Ast-vîdâ*d*, around the neck of the dead to drag him to hell, which only the righteous are able to cast off.

[4] See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XIV, 8, XXIV, 10.

uninhabitableness [1] and its duration. 6. And when, too, this way, the consciousness is in the vicinity of the body [2], and the dog and bird go forth for the dismemberment of the body, the frightening of the consciousness by them is like *that of* a sheep by a wolf; also *its* disputing with the dog and bird about the dismemberment of the body, the reciting (mârdanŏ) of words spiritually *at* first repelling them, thinking the body is alive. 7. And, afterwards, when the body is dismembered by them, the hastening of the consciousness to the vicinity of the dismembered body, just like a female (dênûdakŏ) sheep when it hastens on to *its* young ones; *and its* noticing—with grievous unhappiness [3] for the body—and recounting where the features (dêmagânŏ) of that body were in happiness, and to what misery it has now come. 8. And, when that body became sinful in *its* lifetime, about its not accepting, during that lifetime, that which the consciousness repeatedly well-endeavoured to promote for that body, as regards abstaining from sin and practising good works.

9. This, too, that thy time of worldly happiness *has* occurred, and that of misery is long. 10. This, too, that the people who live on, in the worldly *existence*, a hundred years are less than those who do not live a hundred years; the progress of a lifetime, little *by* little, and the rushing on *of* a lifetime; wife and property and the rest *of* worldly *things* all

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[1] Corpses are to be deposited in an uninhabited place (see Vend. VI, 44–51, VII, 45–50; Dd. XVIII).

[2] Compare Dd. XVI, 7.

[3] Pahl. ashâdîh in K, but B has ayâdakîh, 'remembrance.'

leaving you at once, and coming to another person. 11. And this, too, that—when mankind mostly keep up any statement (nisang-i*k*) *or* register (aêvar*g*ŏ) which they have drawn out (na*z*î-hênd)[1] about ordainable supplies in a friendly *or* inimical (patyânmônd) way, which is more particularly expedient for them—a supply, suitable for the discreet, of the rest of that which is constantly desirable, is to be extracted therefrom, and *one* is to keep up *its* preparation with his own.

12. About the seven immortal rulers who are produced in the region of Khvanîras[2], and also about the ordaining of their glory and the goodness, too, of *their* assistants living *and* privileged in both existences. 13. The tree opposed to harm[3] is on Aîrân-v*êg*[4], in the place of most excavations (frêh-nigânân gâs). 14. Gôk-patŏ[5] is in foreign[6] coun-

[1] Or 'they offer up (ûzdahênd).'

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 2. And, regarding these seven rulers, compare Bd. XXIX, 5, 6; Dd. XC.

[3] The many-seeded tree in the wide-formed ocean, whence the seeds of all wild plants are brought by the rain (see Yt. XII, 17; Bd. XXVII, 2, 3; Mkh. LXII, 37–42).

[4] See Chap. XII, 3.

[5] Gôpatshah in Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 20, 22; Byt. II, 1; Dd. XC, 3, 4; Gôpaîtôshah in Mkh. LXII, 8, 31; and Gôpaîtŏ in Mkh. XLIV, 35. All these forms of the name imply that he was a king, or master, of oxen; and Mkh. describes him as a Ma*zd*a-worshipping minotaur on the sea-shore, probably the Caspian, or the river Oxus, as Bd. makes him a brother, or nephew, of Frâsîyâ*v* the Turânian. His country is called S*a*ukavastân in Bd., and Gôpatŏ in Dd.

[6] Pahl. an-Aîrân which corresponds with the position of S*a*ukavastân being between Tûrkistân and *K*înistân, as stated in Bd. XXIX, 13, and that of Gôpatŏ being coterminous with Aîrân-v*êg*, as in Dd. XC, 4. But K, by omitting the negative prefix, places it

tries. 15. Pêhshôtanû[1], *son* of Vistâsp, is in Kangd*ez*[2] the hundred-moated (sa*d*-gandak), wherein *there are* a myriad spears (drafsh), those of the exalted who wear black marten *fur*, who are righteous listeners of the religion[3], out of the retinue (akha*r*îh) of Pêhshôtanû, *son* of Vistâsp. 16. Frâ*d*akhshtŏ, son of the mortal Khûmbîks[4], who is predominant on the waters flowing in channels. 17. Ashavâzd, son of Pôrû*d*akhshtŏ[5], who is predominant over the most manifest among uplands, the plain of Pê*s*inâs[6]. 18. Barâzak[7] the causer of strife. 19. 'And the eighth Kayân[8] who *was* renowned, *O* Vistâsp! it is

'within the countries of Irân;' and Mkh. makes Gôpaîtŏ a chief of Aîrân-v*ê*g.

[1] Av. Peshôtanu, commonly written Pêshyôtanû in Pahlavi.

[2] A fortified settlement, to the east of Irân (see Bd. XXIX, 10), formed by Sîyâvakhsh (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 14) who was first cousin of Vistâsp's great-grandfather (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, 29).

[3] Who are expected to be led into Irân by Pêhshôtanû in future times, when he is summoned by the angels to restore religion to the world after the conflict of the nations (see Byt. III, 25–42).

[4] K has 'Frâ*d*akhshtŏ, *son* of Khûmbîk the son of Hôshâng.' He was evidently the Fradhâkh*s*ti Khuñbya of Yt. XIII, 138, who might have been considered as a descendant of the Haoshyangha mentioned before him in Yt. XIII.

[5] Av. Ashavazdangh Pourudhâkh*s*tayana of Yt. V, 72, XIII, 112.

[6] Said to be in Kâvulistân where Sâma Keresâspa lies asleep till summoned to kill Dahâk in the latter times (see Bd. XXIX, 7, 11; Byt. III, 59–61). It may be connected with the vairi Pisanangh of Yt. V, 37, where Keresâspa offered sacrifice, and with the Pi*s*în valley south-east of Qandahâr; but Chap. XXI, 20 seems to place it between Mâzendarân and Irân, and Mkh. LXII, 20 also describes it as near Mount Dimâvand. Its name is variously written Pê*s*inâ*s*, Pe*s*ânsih, Pê*s*yânsaî, Pê*s*ândas, Pê*s*ânîgas, &c.

[7] Possibly Av. Varâza of Yt. XIII, 101.

[8] Kavi Haosravangh (Kaî-Khûsrôî) is the eighth and last in the list of Kavis, or Kayâns, in Yt. XIII, 132; and was celebrated for

he whom *one* calls Kaî-Khûsrôî, who produces even an advance of thy religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, and also understands about *it;* who gives my good practices further blessings, so that the world[1] maintains my doings with benedictions.'

20. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

Chapter XVII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The sixteenth fargar*d*, Spe*n*tâ-mainyû[2], is about effecting the bridge-*judgment* of sinners, as declared by revelation. 2. About performing the ceremony (ya*s*tô) for a man and a woman, and it is ordered *for* the woman before the man; the fitness for the supreme heaven (garô*d*mânîkîh) arisen through the liturgy (ya*s*tô) to be recited itself, or *through* purchasing *heaven in* the worldly *existence*[3].

3. About the immunity of the soul from hell through the righteousness *of having* respectfully given a horse of a *good* race, the land of a cultivated field, *or* a virtuous woman, to a righteous man; and also the woman who gives herself in marriage to

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his opposition to idolatry (see Yt. V, 49, 50; Bd. XVII, 7). This section appears to be an actual quotation from the Pahlavi version of the Nask, professing to give the words of Zaratû*s*t.

[1] K has dêhîk, 'a provincial.'

[2] The first two words of the first hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. XLVII, 1), which are converted into the Pahlavi appellation S*p*endmaîtŏ.

[3] By providing for the performance of the proper ceremonies for the benefit of one's own soul.

the righteous man; and that liberal good work increases *from* time *to* time[1], and *from* day *to* day.

4. About the bridge *penalty* of him who is a mourner (navînî*d*âr) and *self*-wounder in the three nights *after a death, and* how *it is* as though *they* who are living *should* again pour melted ore on a human being. 5. About the punishment for a woman who gives herself in marriage to a righteous man, *and* comes away[2] from him; such as when a hedgehog[3] should be constantly going in and coming out by her sexual organ; and the cutting off of her way from the best existence. 6. About the non-deliverance of a soul of the wicked from hell till the future existence. 7. About the punishment of the wicked *there is* this, too, *it is* as though a sheep which is alive should be remaining tied by the legs, head downwards, and *there* should be a specific exudation of its toes through running at the nose[4].

8. About the Gâthas for an ordeal[5] of the spiritual *existence*, which is concealed in every mode, *being* without a footing (*a*p*â*-pâstakŏ), as it were, for him who is a righteous chanter of the Gâthas.

9. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

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[1] Pahl. vidanâânag vidanâânag, a hybrid equivalent of zamânak zamânak (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 6 n).

[2] B has 'relapses.'

[3] Compare AV. LXX.

[4] Pahl. *a*fa*s* angûstô zahîh-1-i mâyagânîk pavan vînîk-ta*g* *aê*. For mâyagânîk, 'specific' (which occurs, however, in Bk. VIII, Chap. XX, 166), we can read mâsânîk, 'tumerous or coagulating,' or we may consider it equivalent to mûyi*s*nîk, 'lamentable.'

[5] Compare the reference to the ordeal by fire in Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 6; the earlier part of the chapter is also somewhat of a homily upon the references to the wicked and righteous in the same hâ.

Chapter XVIII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The seventeenth fargar*d*, Yêzî[1], is about where *he* is who shall commit *any of* these five sins[2], *and*, thereby perverted from the religion, has diminished his own life and destiny[3]:—A human being when he contentedly reverences a demon in spiritual lordship (ahûîh) and priestly authority (ra*d*îh), *one* steadfast in religion when *he so reverences one* unsteadfast in religion, a teacher when *he so reverences one who is* no teacher *and* ignorant, *one* acquainted with the Gâthas when *he so reverences one* unacquainted with the Gâthas *and* unintelligent (anashnâs)[4], *and* a helpful *one* when *he so reverences* an unhelpful *and* unwise *one.*

2. This, too, where also they are who unlawfully slaughter a sheep, *or* beast *of burden*, which diminishes their life and destiny. 3. And so, too, those also who think scornfully of Aûha*r*ma*z*d, *O* pure *and* righteous Spîtâmân! and their own religion, the strength of the righteous *and* thy disciples.

4. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

Chapter XIX.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The eighteenth fargar*d*, A*d*-mâ-yavâ[5], is

[1] The first word of the second hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. XLVIII, 1), here written yezîk in Pahlavi.

[2] B omits 'sins.' [3] Or 'glory.'

[4] So in K, but both MSS. give this clause imperfectly.

[5] The first three words of the third hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. XLIX, 1), here written a*d*-mâ-îyûbŏ in Pahlavi.

about the pregnancy of the demon from him who *has* eaten *and* chattered in sinfulness *towards* Khûrdad and Amûrdad[1], or who makes water *when* standing[2], *or* who heedlessly sees *his* semen. 2. And the hussy[3] who spills (gûyêdŏ) anything after sunset (hûk-frâshmôk-dâd), *or* who scatters a morsel (dânar) *of* food to the north, *at* night, without a recitation of the Ahunavair[4].

3. This, too, that only the soul is constantly desirable for the body, even through this alone, that this perishable body[5] [is a worldly state of righteousness, and, by rousing up (lâlâ-payamisnîh)[6] when thou wouldst sleep on, the righteousness] is on the advance when thou wouldst have retreated; and

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[1] Av. haurvatât, 'completeness, or health,' and ameretât, 'immortality;' the archangels who have special charge of water and plants, respectively (see Sls. XV, 25–29), and are said to be injured by the sin of talking while eating and drinking those things (see Chap. IX, 2).

[2] Thereby polluting more ground than is necessary (see Sls. X, 5).

[3] See Chap. XI, 5 n.

[4] K does not mention the latter sinful action. The reason of the sin of such actions is that they may be considered as offerings to the demons (who are supposed to come from the north and to be powerful at night) unless protected by the Ahunavair (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7) used as an exorcism (see Sd. XXX, 1, 2; Sls. X, 7, XII, 18).

[5] B has 'even through the assertion that this is corporeal *and* perishable.' The passage in brackets occurs only in K.

[6] This appears to be the most probable reading of the word which occurs again in § 5, where it is written lâlâ-ûpayamisnîh in K, which form is also found in Hn. I, 23, where it translates Av. ustryamnô. For the latter member of this compound see also Chap. XX, 6, 7. For the syllable yam we might substitute gam or gam without much alteration of meaning, or even dam if we translate by 'fanning up, exciting.'

the righteousness, in arising, is like thee in every coming *and* departure; through fetching *and* delivering the breath it shall become good reward, abundant reward, and the reward of righteousness. 4. When the body shall act so, the soul is rejoiced *and* shall utter a blessing for the body thus: 'Happy may it be *for* thee, *O* perishable body! whom I have made tall, *and* whom I have brought near to the best existence.' 5. And when the body shall not accept the progress (*a*frâs) of the soul, and says *it is* evil progress on rousing up, evil progress on advancing, [and evil progress upwards, the soul is a demon][1] and shall offer [lamentable][1] words thus: 'Evil *art* thou, *O* perishable body! whom I made dwarfish (ga*s*ûk), *and* whom I have brought near to the worst existence.'

6. About where *there are* unaccustomed (avê*s*akŏ), imperfect, and secret signs of short life, and the healthfulness *of* uttering the Ahunavair[2] *and* Ashem[3] for it. 7. This, too, that, when thou wouldst squat for making water, thou recitest the Ahunavair, and the Ashem, afterwards, when thou wouldst stand up; so that *any* demon, *or* fiend, shall least injure thee. 8. And when thou wouldst go in unto *thy* wife (nârîk), thou recitest first the Ahunavair, and the Ashem, afterwards, when thou wouldst be coming together[4]; for so thou wouldst be making that, too, *which* arises—which is thy son—more righteous and

[1] The words in brackets are omitted in K.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

[3] See Chap. III, 1; here, and in §§ 7, 8, it is expressed by Pahl. aharâyîh, 'righteousness,' being an abbreviation of its usual appellation, 'praise of righteousness,' in Pahlavi.

[4] Pahl. 'amat andarg hakhtô vadîdûnâñ *aê*.'

more successful through the Ashem. 9. This, too, that, when thou wouldst go into a house, thou shouldst be offering homage, and do thou utter the Ahunavair, *for* the spirit of the house and *for* every*thing* of the material *existence* of the righteous which is and was and *will* be in that dwelling.

10. Also about the corruption (ta va*s*tanŏ) of the wicked, and the calamity (sûr) which is unjustly distributed by them in the realm[1].

11. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

Chapter XX.

*Sûd*kar *Nask.*

1. The nineteenth fargar*d*, Ka*d*-môi-urvâ[2], is about where the souls, when they come together, extol the soul of him who *was* a virtuous high-priest, a friend of the soul, because he did not injure it, *and* guarded *it* from hell.

2. About the darkness, the intensity (bûr'*z*vŏ-hômandîh) and far-reaching bottomlessness of the blackness, and the absence of goodness *in* hell; and the proximity to stenches, close concealment[3], sleet-pelted clambering (pî*s*nakŏ-bâlînîh), frozen ad-

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[1] Like Yas. XLIX this fargar*d* begins with special references to the wicked, and returns to them towards the end.

[2] The first three words of the fouth, and last, hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. L, 1), here written ka*d*-môk-ravakŏ in Pahlavi.

[3] Compare AV. LIV, 5–8:—'As close as (tang-i*k*) from the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs a horse has in *his* mane, so many in number the souls of the wicked stand, but they do not see, nor do they hear a sound, one from the other, *and* every one, therefore, thinks that he is alone.' For a description of hell see also Dd. XXVII.

vancing, painful condition, distressed state, and awful fear of those in hell. 3. This, too, that is thrown open (lakhvâr ramîtun*d*) over it, from the Dâîtî peak [1], which is in Aîrân-v*êg*, to Albûr'*z* [2], and below the middle of which is the gate of hell, is the *K*înva*d* bridge [3] which is the route (vi*d*âr) of every one, righteous *or* wicked; the width across the route of the righteous is a breadth of nine spears, each one the length of three reeds, *but* the route for the wicked becomes like the edge of a razor.

4. 'Thus say I [4] unto thee, *O* Spîtâmân! that the man of truth steps forward over the *K*înva*d* pass, even the far-famed happy bridge; for Âsta*d* [5], the good promoter of the world, and Mit*r*ô [6] of the vast cattle-pastures save only the man possessing truth from that distress, as though they *were* a regiment (s*i*pâh) a thousand strong. 5. So I say unto thee, *O* Spîtâmân! that thou shouldst not become a liar unto Mit*r*ô, neither when thou wouldst converse with the wicked, nor when *thou wouldst* with those of thine own religion who are righteous; for both *of* those are promises, both *with* the wicked and the righteous; there is a promise, *O* Zaratû*s*t! even *of* a wolf with young animals, *but* that which is a

[1] Or *K*akâ*d*-î Dâîtî (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 101; Bd. XII, 7).

[2] Av. hara berezaiti, the range of lofty mountains supposed to surround the world (see Bd. V, 3–5).

[3] Here called *K*înakŏ-pûhal, and *K*î*s*-vi*d*arg in § 4; for a fuller description of it see Dd. XXI, 2–7. Allusion is made to it in Yas. L, 7.

[4] Aûha*r*maz*d*, speaking to Zaratû*s*t. The whole of this paragraph appears to be quoted verbatim from the original Pahlavi text of the Nask.

[5] See Chap. IX, 6.

[6] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

lascivious (*g*êhîk) promise is more awful, *O* Spîtâmân! 6. So I say unto thee, *O* Spîtâmân! that thou shouldst not seize a wanton (*g*êhîk) for use—that is, do not make her *thy* wife—and with compulsion (ûpayami*s*nîh) *of* her [1]—that is, do not let *thyself* lie with her. 7. And if thou shouldst seize a courtezan for use, and with compulsion *of* her, thou mayst not dismiss *her* afterwards, neither in adversity, nor in prosperity, neither on account of fondness for self, nor *for* life; because *he* who seizes a courtezan for use, and with compulsion, and shall dismiss her on account of fondness for self, or *for* life, becomes thereby a breaker of promises *to* the house, village, community, *or* province, *that* gives her life (valman zîvînê*d*ŏ), *and to* the soul *that* animates her [2].'

8. So breaking the promise comes upon the children that are theirs, through evil teaching; *and* he who is wicked is lying down without children at the bottom of hell. 9. *That* is, there is nothing whatever *of* [3] happiness *for* the wicked, that happiness which is produced abundantly by him *who is* Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

10. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

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[1] Or, perhaps, 'with approach to her' (see Chap. XIX, 3 n). If ûpadami*s*nîh were read, it might mean 'aspiration, or attachment' for her.

[2] This implies that the woman, being a notorious sinner, cannot reasonably complain of bodily injury on being dismissed; but her soul and the community are grievously injured by her being thus driven into further sin, and for this injury the man's soul will be made responsible.

[3] K has 'none even of this.'

Chapter XXI.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The twentieth fargard, Vohû-khshathrem[1], is about the oppressive actions of the sovereignty which Dahâk[2] exercised over the earth of seven *regions*, and the forward progress of his commands owing to a surrounding of terrors.

2. About Dahâk's enquiry of the members of the assembly, regarding the reason of the affliction of the collected people, after the cutting *up* of Yim[3] and the accession (khûdâyîh) of Dahâk; and the people's saying, *in* reply to Dahâk, that Yim had kept away want and destitution, hunger and thirst, decay and death, lamentation and weeping from the world, *besides* the cold and heat of the immoderate mingling of the demon with mankind. 3. And this, too, that[4] 'a giver of comfort was Yim—that is, those things *were* produced by him which are the comfort of mankind—and he was a giver of desire for them, so that his happiness *was* through the gratification produced—that is, mankind gratified him through virtue. 4. And Aûdak[5], who made

[1] The first two words of the fourth Gâtha (Yas. LI, 1), here written vohûk-khshatar (B) and vôhûk-khshatar (K) in Pahlavi.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 8.

[3] As mentioned in Yt. XIX, 46; Bd. XVII, 5 ('when Yim was cut up by them the fire Frôbak saves the glory of Yim from the hand of Dahâk') and XXXI, 5. Regarding Yim see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 6–8.

[4] What follows, as far as the end of § 7, appears to be quoted verbatim from the original Pahlavi text of the Nask.

[5] The demon Uda who tries to make people talk when they ought to be silent (Bd. XXVIII, 19), and who seems to be identified

Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks—who *was* struck down by you through violent assault—unauthorisedly desirous (varak[1]) and eager for the world, produced want and destitution, distress and greed, hunger and thirst, and the sanctifier[2] of Wrath the wounding assailant, Want without pastures, Terror, Destruction the secret-moving, Decay the decrepit[3], and the seven *arch*-demons[4].' 5. And this, too, that 'those who look *for* a son *are* made devoid of pregnancy by thee; evil-destined is the monster (*s*îpist) self-made, the uncompleted demon that it is impossible to seek a remedy for, who does not extend (lâ vâlê*d*) from *him*self, that is, no lineage proceeds from him. 6. And thou *art* a sheep that is a wide-traveller, *and* keeps the dog *away* from mankind; thou *hast* snatched away from us the bright radiance of Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks, who came out on every evil contingency, at the approach of

(in Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 70) with the fiend who confesses her amours to Srôsh, and is said (in Bd. XXXI, 6) to have been the mother of Dahâk, there named Udaî or Aû*d*, but more commonly called Va*d*ak (see Chap. X, 3; Dd. LXXII, 5, LXXVIII, 2), whence possibly the matronymic Va*d*akân (Mkh. LVII, 25, the Av. vadhaghana of Vend. XIX, 6) of that monarch. The text here appears to allude to an amour with Yim.

[1] Av. vara; or it may be a miswriting of var*d*ak, 'astray' (Av. vareta).

[2] Pahl. a*ê*zi*s*n-hômônd, '*one* holding ceremonies,' alluding to Dahâk himself as the progeny of Aû*d*ak.

[3] These five demons are Aeshm, Nîy*âz*, Saham, S*ê*g, and Zarmân in Pahlavi, who, with the exception of Saham, 'terror,' are described in Bd. XXVIII, 15–17, 23, 26.

[4] The seven *arch*-demons are the six mentioned in Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 7–13, XXX, 29, whose Avesta names are Akem-manô, I*n*dra, Sauru, N*a*unghaithya, Tauru, and Zairi*k*a (see Vend. X, 9, 10, XIX, 43), together with either Mithaokhta or Angramainyu himself (see Bd. I, 24).

every winter, *or* scorched by extreme heat, so as to act for the benefit of his place[1]. 7. Thou art intelligent, *O* Bêvarâsp[2]! do thou even tell how this opinion is so, that a bad ruler is a thing which is so bad; he who is a good ruler is our desire, we *will* give the revenue *of* taxation (bâhar-i madam-dedrûni*s*nîh) to him, *and* anything which is necessary *for* good government when he shall achieve *it*.'

8. About the smiting *by* Frê*d*ûn[3], for the sake of killing Dahâk; the striking of *his* club upon the nape of the neck[4] (pilîk), the heart, and even the skull; and Dahâk's not dying from that beating. 9. Then smiting *him* with a sword, and the formation (va*s*tanŏ) of noxious creatures of many kinds, from the body of Dahâk, at the first, second, and third blow. 10. The exclamation of the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Frê*d*ûn thus: 'Thou shouldst not cut him who is Dahâk, because, if thou shouldst cut him, Dahâk would be making this earth full of serpents, toads (khan-galâk), scorpions, lizards, tortoises, and frogs;' with the mode *of* binding *him* with awful fetters, in the most grievous punishment of confinement[5].

11. This, too, *that* when *Az*-î Dahâk was bound, the report of the same proceeded thus through all the regions, which are seven, that down-stricken is *Az*-î Dahâk, but he *who* smote *him* is Frê*d*ûn the Âspîkân[6], the exalted *and* mighty. 12. And *in* the

[1] K has only 'who came out at every place to act for *its* benefit.'

[2] 'With a myriad of horses,' a title of Dahâk.

[3] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 8, 9.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'the reins.'

[5] In Mount Dimâvand (see Chap. XV, 2 n).

[6] Av. Âthwyâna, a patronymic derived from Âthwya who,

tenth winter those particulars *were* believed, and thus they spoke, that *it was* owing to[1] Yim that *Az*-î Dahâk is now smitten by them, because the tidings which are good are not yet gathered unto all the regions, which are seven, and those which are evil do not mention *Az*, nor demand the virtuous maiden (*k*arâtîk) with importunity, nor even coveted wealth[2]. 13. This, too, that, when information came to him of women, *or* property, that seemed to him desirable to possess, *they were* then admitted by him into a golden cage[3], and that, which was completely impregnable (aîrîstŏ), came on through immaterial space (maînôg-dîvâkîh) to the den (grêstakŏ) of *Az*-î Dahâk.

14. This, too, that, though[4] he who smote him *were* his brother, or descendant, or kinsman, or any one whatever *of his* nearest relations, it did not seem to them as that which is grievous, and *it was* not thought *of* in their minds, so that it did not occasion them even a reminiscence again; and thus they talked, that *if* a householder *be* he *that* smote, *he is one* for whom all the fires of the religion are suitable, *but* that householder *being* a monarch, he *that* smote is *one* who is every way their ruler. 15. This,

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according to Yas. IX, 7, was the father of Thraêtaona (Frêdûn); but Bd. XXXI, 4, 7, 8, XXXII, 1 n, make it a family name for many preceding generations.

[1] Or min may mean '*apart* from.'

[2] Demands often made by Dahâk, as stated in § 13.

[3] Pahl. sûlak-hômand, '*something* having apertures;' compare the sûlâk-hômand which translates Av. sufrãm and suwraya in Vend. II, 7, 18, 30, and has sometimes been understood as a 'signet-ring.' Also compare § 19 below.

[4] Assuming that mûn, 'who,' stands for amat, as in Chap. XIII, 2.

too, that *at* every place where he came on, *and* upon which *his* horse's hoofs (safô) fell, the dense fire from them *was* for the protection of the horse's body. 16. This, too, that through his confused (gûmêzakŏ) practising *of* good deeds *arose* even the evil deeds *of Az*-î Dahâk.

17. About those of the Mâzendarân[1] country *having* consulted, after the smiting of Dahâk, as to turning (gâstanŏ) to Khvanîras[2], and driving out Frêdûn therefrom, *and* as to the residence offered *by* the same place through the great number fallen; also, on account of their tallness, there are *parts* of the wide-formed ocean[3] that come up to *their* mid-thigh, there are *others* that *are* up to the navel, and the deeper places *are* up to the mouth. 18. And, when they have come to this region, *their* producing grievous harm and destruction *to* the poor[4], and the coming of the people with complaints to Frêdûn, and *their* speaking thus: 'Why didst thou smite *Az*-î Dahâk, who was a good ruler as to prerogative, so that danger *was* kept away by him, and an inquisitor (vigôyîdâr) from him protected this region from those of the Mâzendarân country?' 19. And they also said this, about the vileness of the Mâzendarâns, and the wretched state of the people of this region as regards them, that is, they then speak thus: 'Since their habits are thus, since they

[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 9.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 2. Mâzendarân was considered to be outside of Khvanîras because it is separated from Irân by lofty mountains.

[3] The Caspian is probably meant here, being considered a portion of the circumambient ocean.

[4] K omits '*to* the poor.'

are filthy (dôs-hômônd)—that is, dirt (karak) is theirs—possessing holes[1] (sûlak-hômônd)—that is, holes are theirs—*and* having appellations (karîtunisnŏ-hômônd)—that is, they call to one another—we men (vîr) think, *and* consider upon this, that they also are human beings.'

20. About the encountering of Frêdûn with those of the Mâzendarân country on the plain of Pêsânîgas[2], and disputing with them thus: 'You are of the Mâzendar country, *and* I (anmanŏ) *have* destroyed *Az*-î Dahâk by the swiftest ruin, *him* who was a grievous sovereign of every one, demons *and* men; for that smiting of him I am produced *by* Aûharmazd more overpowering than his limbs made paralyzed by his own enmity, and then you destroy this country of mine, you who are of the Mâzendar country.'

21. And the Mâzendarâns thought slightingly (sapûkŏ) of Frêdûn, *and* spoke in a tone of derision thus: 'Should it be so, that thou destroyedst *Az*-î Dahâk by the swiftest ruin, *him* who was a good sovereign of both demons and men, and thou art produced *by* Aûharmazd, for that smiting of him, more overpowering than his limbs, even then we *will* settle in this *place* and *will* stay in this *place;* and *it is* not thou that *art* exalted, who *art* an overgrown (kabed-ârôyisnŏ) huge sheep with the speech of a hero among other people, *and* we would not admit thee here.'

22. This, too, that 'nevertheless *they* afterwards fled, and the victorious Frêdûn pursued *them* to the

[1] Burrows, caves, and similar underground habitations are probably meant.

[2] See Chap. XVI, 17.

foremost upland, and his nostrils flamed *upon* it so that *they* split it through; from his right nostril is the cutting *and* sharp scorching of the ice *that* has fallen *and* of all the cold of winter; and from his left nostril is the cutting *and* sharp scorching of the rock *that* has fallen, which is similarly burning to a fire the size of a house, carrying the dust from the feet of the male ox, Barmâyûn [1], of the obstructed victor, the mighty Frê*d*ûn. 23. And he made it rush up on the ascent, whereby they are made figures of stone, and they who *are* of the Mâzendar country are destroyed by him through the smiting of fifties, the smiting of hundreds, the smiting of thousands [2], the smiting of myriads, and the smiting of *multitudes* innumerable [3].'

24. 'Thus *there* are destroyed by him, the victorious *and* mighty Frê*d*ûn, two-thirds *of* those of the Mâzendar country, and one-third came out beaten and sick; and never afterwards, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratû*s*t! have they who *are* of the Mâzendar country marched upon this region of Khvanîras, and *it has* not *been* imagined by them, even in thinking about *it*, that they [4] should go *there*, except those [5] whose names were thus, S*p*îtîyô*s*, *son* of S*p*ânsnâyô*s* [6], and Arezrâs*p*âh, *son* of S*p*ânsnâyô*s* [7], who have wan-

[1] This appears to have also been the name of a brother of Frê*d*ûn (see Bd. XXXI, 8).

[2] B omits 'the smiting of thousands.'

[3] Compare Yt. V, 54, 58, 117; Pahl. Vend. VII, 137, 139.

[4] Literally 'we.'

[5] K has 'the two.'

[6] These first two names are only in K, because B repeats here a previous phrase by mistake. The second name is written Sânsnâyô*s* here, but is spelt correctly on its next occurrence.

[7] These two sons of S*p*ânsnâyô*s* were the *spiritual* chiefs, or

dered (ta*g*î*d*ŏ) in search of wisdom and have proceeded unto Frashô*s*tar[1] of the Hvôbas[2].'

25. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

CHAPTER XXII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The twenty-first fargar*d*, Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti[3], is about where the best prayers[4] *of* the good religion *are:* unto Mit*r*ô[5] once every night for dismissing and lessening Wrath *in* the whole world, *and* a second time *for doing so with* Lethargy; a third *unto* Srôsh[6] the righteous, and the fourth is the Dâhmân *Âfr*în[7] for further gifts and increasing gifts; and the most

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supreme high-priests, of the two northern regions, Frada*d*afsh and Vîda*d*afsh. They are named Spîtôî*d*-î Aûspôsînân and Aêré*z*râsp-î Aûspôsînân in Bd. XXIX, 1; and the statement that they came from Mâzendarân, made in the text here, identifies that country with the two northern regions. The names of these two high-priests are evidently derived from the Avesta genitives Spitôi*s* Uspã-snao*s* and Erezrâspahê Uspãsnao*s* in Yt. XIII, 121, persons concerning whom it is only stated that their fravashis, or guardian spirits, are to be reverenced.

[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

[2] Av. Hvôva, the family name of Frashô*s*tar, *G*âmâsp, and several other ancient personages (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 25).

[3] The appellation of the fifth Gâtha (Yas. LIII) which begins with the words vahi*s*tâ î*s*ti*s*; it is here written vahi*s*tôk-î*s*tŏ in Pahlavi.

[4] The Pahlavi explanation of Av. vahi*s*tâ î*s*ti*s*.

[5] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

[6] See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

[7] 'The blessing of members of the community.' The Dahmân Âfrînagân consists of Yas. LX, 2–7 with Âf. I, 14–18; but the *Âfr*în is another formula, otherwise called 'the *Âfr*în of the seven Ameshâspends,' and it is uncertain which of the two is meant here.

preservative of them was the Dâhmân *Âfr*în. 2. And this, too, that the most admirable of shapes of women *was* Hûmâî[1] of the noble family of Vi*s*tâsp, of horses the splendid horse of Vi*s*tâsp, of oxen the male ox Barmâyûn[2], of sheep the very much celebrated[3] sheep that is fat, white-jawed, *and* star-spotted, *with its* upper half in a manufacture (pa-*s*akhtakŏ) embroidered with gold and the topmost part yellow; and yet not one of them attains an equality to even a single thousandth *part* of the glory of a righteous man, a member of the community, by whom the Dâhmân *Âfr*în of the good *is uttered.* 3. And this, too, as much as *its* goodness for the man and *his* wife is *its* evil *for* a villain and *his* paramour[4].

4. About the exercise of sovereignty *by* Kâî-Ûs[5], with triumph, over the earth of seven *regions;* the advancement of his commands, by the people of the creation[6], more swiftly than a wave of the hands; the construction of his seven dwellings (mân)[7] in the midst of Albûr'*z*[8], one of gold, two of silver, two

[1] Av. (gen.) Humay*a*u of Yt. XIII, 139.

[2] See Chap. XXI, 22.

[3] Reading frêh-ôkhtar (for frêh-ôkhttar), as Bd. XXIV, 3 states that 'the black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep.' It might be 'the sheep of Frashôkhtar,' and this name might be a miswriting of Frashô*s*tar, but we have no record of any such sheep of his.

[4] It is easy to trace a connection between §§ 1, 2 and Yas. LIII, 1, and between § 3 and the Pahl. version of Yas. LIII, 6 a.

[5] Av. Kava Usa (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 13).

[6] K has 'by demons and men.'

[7] Probably the origin of the legends of the seven halting-places of Rustam and Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

[8] Here meaning the mountain-range south of the Caspian (see Chap. XX, 3).

of steel, and two of crystal (*âv*gînakînŏ); the restraining of the many Mâzônîk demons[1] who are the ruin of the world, and confining *them* to their own duty; the arrival at those dwellings of his, and the swift winding (v*â*fînî*d*anŏ) around those dwellings, of a person whose strength is overpowered by decrepitude, and the approach of *whose* life to departure from the body *has* taken place; the reduction (khûsânî-hastanŏ) of the decrepitude thereby, and the return of his strength and manhood, that is, a command is given by him thus: 'Keep no people away at the door!' and he might make a domestic of fifteen years *of age.*

5. Afterwards, the consultation of the demons about the death of Kâî-Ûs, and the coming of Aeshm[2] to Kâî-Ûs, approving his death, and, therefore, making *him* wretched in his mind *about* the great sovereignty which *was* possessed by him over the seven lands, and causing him to long for the sovereignty *of* the heavenly region (âsâmânŏ gâs) of the archangels[3]. 6. And, owing to the seductiveness of Aeshm, and the other demons who remained his co-operators for that undoing, Kâî-Ûs *was* even *engaged* in opposing and molesting the sacred beings. 7. Also his not returning across Albûr'*z*, *but* rushing upwards, with many demons and wicked people, unto the *outer* edge of darkness[4];

[1] Av. Mâzainya daêva, the idolators of Mâzendarân.

[2] The demon of wrath (see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n).

[3] §§ 5–9 are evidently a summary of the original form of the legend of Kâvûs's attempt to reach the sky, otherwise described in the Shâhnâmah.

[4] Where the endless light commences. Reading par-i tom; or it might be 'to the utmost,' if we read frêtum as equivalent to frêhtûm.

and the reason *of* the glory of the Kayâns[1] becoming a figure of clay on that border. 8. The previous separation (madam rê*g*î-hastanŏ) of Kâî-Ûs from the troops, and *his* not turning from that ill-advisedness even on renewed strife aloft[2] *with* the supreme sacred beings. 9. Afterwards, the creator's calling back the glory of the Kayâns to himself, the falling of the troops of Kâî-Ûs to the earth from that height, and the flying of Kâî-Ûs to the wide-formed ocean[3].

10. This, too, it says, that, besides him, some one[4] flew behind him, thus associated with him; *and* after him flew Nêryôsang[5], the promoter (frê*h*-dâ*d*âr) *of* the world, for diverting that person *from* him. 11. And the cry of him, the unborn Khûsrôî, who *was* thus associated with him, like that of a regiment (s*i*pâh) a thousand *strong*, *was* thus: 'Thou shouldst not smite him, *O* Nêryôsang, promoter *of* the world! for if thou shouldst smite this man, *O* Nêryôsang, promoter *of* the world! *there will* not be afterwards obtained, for acquirement, a

[1] K omits 'of the Kayâns.' It is the royal glory of Yt. XIX, which descended from heaven and accompanies the faithful rulers and champions of the religion, successively (see Chap. XXIV, 3).

[2] B has 'pitying strife;' khv*á*parîk being written instead of *av*arîk.

[3] Meaning the Caspian, as in Chap. XXI, 17.

[4] It will be seen, from what follows, that this was the fravashi, or guardian spirit, of his future grandson, Kaî-Khûsrôî. Every being and object belonging to Aûha*r*maz*d*'s creation is supposed to have its spiritual representative, created before the universe and perpetually existing (see Bd. I, 8; Mkh. XLIX, 23).

[5] Av. Nairyôsangha, an angel who is supposed to be the usual messenger of Aûha*r*maz*d* to mankind (see Byt. III, 25, 26, 59, 60). K has only 'besides him *and* behind him flew Nêryôsang.'

thorough destroyer *of* the high-priest of Tûrân[1]; because owing to this man *will* be born *him whose* name is Sîyâvakhsh[2], *and* owing to Sîyâvakhsh I *shall* be born, who am the Khûsrôî who *will* entice the most heroic[3] *one* of Tûrân—who is mostly the destruction of champions and troops—to the numerous heroes of the religion, so that I *may* accomplish the destruction of his champions and troops, when[4] I would occasion a distant flight of the sovereign of Tûrân.' 12. Through these words the guardian spirit of Khûsrôî delighted Nêryôsang, the promoter *of* the world; and, on these words, *the latter was* releasing him and that Kâî-Ûs who thereby became discreet.

13. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The twenty-second fargar*d*, Airyaman[5], is about the meeting of Kaî-Khûsrôî[6] and Vâê, the long-continuing lord[7] next to the renovation *of the*

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[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 15.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 14.

[3] A single particular hero appears to be meant, although this is not quite certain.

[4] Assuming that mûn, 'who,' stands for amat, as in Chap. XIII, 2.

[5] The appellation of Yas. LIV which begins with the words â airy*e*mâ i*sh*yô; it is here written aîrêmanŏ (B) and aîremanŏ (K) in Pahlavi.

[6] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 14.

[7] Pahl. vâê-î dêrang-khû*d*âî=Av. vaya dareghô*hv*adhâta who is mentioned as a good spirit in Ny. I, 1. There are, how-

universe; and Kaî-Khûsrôî's asking Vâê, the long-continuing lord, about his smiting so many of the ancients who have been the highest of mankind in splendour and glory. 2. The reply of Vâê, the long-continuing lord, about his smiting them; and, upon that answer, Kaî-Khûsrôî's taking Vâê, the long-continuing lord, and transforming *him* into the shape of a camel, mounting *him*, *and* going, with the Irânian levies (han*g*amanôîkân), to the place where the immortal Haoi*s*t, *son* of Geurva[1], lies in strength[2], and his letting him lie; also *his* going beyond (kâdmon) him to the place where Tûs[3], the banisher of strife, lay in strength, and his letting him also lie; and his going beyond him to the place where Kaî-*A*pîvêh[4] lies, and his letting him also lie.

ever, two Vâês (see Dd. XXX, 4; Mkh. II, 115), the good Vâê who assists the departed soul, and the bad Vâê who opposes it; the former is closely connected with the angel Râm in Yt. XV, 0, 58, and the latter with Astô-vîdhôtu, the demon of death, in Vend. V, 8, 9; Bd. XXVIII, 35. They appear to be personifications of the upper and lower air, respectively; the former being considered pure through its connection with the sacred beings, and the latter impure through contamination by the demons. Possibly the legend about Vâê in our text may have been suggested by the words vayû-beredubyô and vayôi in Yas. LIII, 6, 7; in which case, this fargar*d* must be considered, to some extent, as a continuation of the preceding one. According to Dd. XXXVI, 3 Kaî-Khûsrôî was made to pass away by Vâê.

[1] Compare Av. Yû*s*ta Gâurvayana of Yt. XIII, 118. But Yôi*s*ta Fryâna, of Yt. XIII, 120, is one of the immortals mentioned in Byt. II, 1; Dd. XC, 3.

[2] Reading hang, which can also mean 'a cave;' but we can likewise read hûg, 'spiritual life.'

[3] Av. Tusa of Yt. V, 53, 58; he is one of the immortals mentioned in Bd. XXIX, 6; Dd. XXXVI, 3.

[4] Av. Kavi Aipivanghu of Yt. XIII, 132, XIX, 71. He was son of Kaî-Kavâ*d*, brother of Kâî-Ûs, and great-grandfather of Vi*s*tâsp's grandfather (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, 31, 34).

3. His proceeding beyond them, and meeting on the road with that beneficial victor Sôshâns [1], and *being* asked by that beneficial victor thus: 'What man art thou who sittest aloft on Vâê, the long-continuing lord, so that thou makest Vâê fly, the long-continuing lord transformed into the shape of a camel?' 4. The speaking of Kaî-Khûsrôî, in reply to Sôshâns, thus: 'I am Kaî-Khûsrôî.' 5. The extolling of Kaî-Khûsrôî, *by* Sôshâns, as regards his *having* extirpated the idol-temples on the shore of Lake *K*ê*k*ast [2], and his smiting the wizard Frâsîy*âv* [3].

6. The glorifying of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion *by* Kaî-Khûsrôî; the coming of the powerful being Keresâsp [4], club in hand, advancing towards them at the dwelling of that wizard Ges [5]; the standing up of Tûs, the banisher of strife, and his calling to Keresâsp for reliance upon the Gâtha lore and *for* union with them; and the praising of righteousness [6] *by* Keresâsp, and his throwing *away* the arm-breaker.

7. As to these, too, it says that so those men come together *for* producing the renovation *of the universe who* are mentioned in this fargar*d*, and also in other places, *and* are all experienced *and* eminent

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[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14.

[2] Apparently the present Lake Urumiyah (see Bd. XVII, 7, XXII, 2; Mkh. II, 95).

[3] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 11.

[4] See Chap. XV.

[5] Written 𐬛, but the reading is uncertain; possibly the name may be connected with 'the Ve*s*kŏ progeny' in Chap. XV, 2.

[6] Reciting the Ashem-vohû formula, as a token of adhesion to the religion.

doers, and all powerful *and* brave; and they shall produce the renovation through a desire for an existence undecaying, immortal, hungerless, and thirstless for ever *and* everlasting.

8. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

Chapter XXIV.

1. Of the Varstmânsar[1] there are twenty-three fargards, *and* the first is the Aêthrapaitis[2], on the asking of Zaratûst, by Maîdôk-mâh[3], about the nature of the birth of Zaratûst, and his coming to the religion. 2. And the reply of Zaratûst about the combative coming together of the life-causing and death-causing spirits at his birth[4]. 3. This, too, that when the fellow-villagers[5] of her who bore *him* saw his head[6]

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[1] The second of the Nasks and third of the Gâthic division (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 9, 12). It is a second commentary on the Gâthas, devoting a fargard to each hâ of the Gâthas and to each Gâthic formula, as in the Sûdkar Nask, but beginning with an extra fargard about the birth and calling of Zaratûst. Its chief object appears to be the quotation of texts, both from the Gâthas and from sources no longer known.

[2] Here written asrapâîtôs (B) and asrapâîtis (K) in Pahlavi, which, no doubt, stand for Av. aêthrapaitis, Pers. hêrbad, 'a Zoroastrian priest.' This name may either refer to the general subject of the fargard, or have been the first word of its Avesta text; as it seems not intended to quote any section of the Yasna, although the guardian spirits of the priests are reverenced in Yas. XXVI, 7, 8, before commencing the recitation of the Gâthas.

[3] Av. Maidhyô-maungha; he was first cousin of Zaratûst, and also his first disciple (see Bd. XXXII, 2, 3; Zs. XI, 10 n).

[4] B has 'at the birth of his life.'

[5] B has ham-vîsagîh, K ham-disagîh.

[6] Assuming that vagânŏ stands for vagdânŏ, which word occurs in § 4, according to K.

they considered *it* the shoulder *of*[1] Arekdvîksûr[2], *and his* chest and back *those of* Aharîsvang[3], *and* when *they saw* his full[4] bosom *they considered it that of* the spirit of liberality[5]; and by *his* side *was* the Kayân glory[6] to rub (mûstanŏ) *his* bosom.

4. The speaking of Zaratûst spiritually, on the grievous bringing forth of *his* head[7], thus: 'As a spiritual lord is *my* desire, do thou who art the Zôti speak forth to me[8];' and the reply from Aûharmazd thus: 'So shouldst thou be the priestly master as regards whatever righteousness I speak forth with righteous intelligence; thou art of very much value, thou *art* very righteous, thou *art* most intelligent, and thou *wilt* state the religion of the Mazda-worshippers to creatures of every kind.' 5. Through that saying an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, just as from a mighty chief warrior of Kaî-Vistâsp[9], like him in a mountain dwelling (garânŏ mân) who *has* shot an arrow for an attack (patkopisnŏ) opposing those in coats of mail. 6. The evil spirit grumbled (dandîdŏ) to the demons thus: 'Evil *has* it become *for* you *who* are demons, but

[1] B omits 'the shoulder *of*.'

[2] Av. Aredvî sûra of Yt. V, a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters.

[3] See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

[4] Pahl. aûrûkspar=Av. uruthware.

[5] Av. Râta, who is associated with the archangel Speñta-Armaiti in Yt. II, 3, 8; Sîr. I, II, 5, and with Ashi Vanguhi in Yt. XXIV, 8.

[6] Av. kavaêm *hv*arenô (see Chap. XXII, 7).

[7] B has 'whenever *his* birth *occurred*.'

[8] This, with the first clause of the response, is the Pahlavi version of the concluding formula of Yas. XXVI, 11, without the extra Pahlavi glosses.

[9] See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1–4, XIII, 15.

you are unobservant.' 7. Even so Zaratûst proclaimed life *free* from the control of the demons, when this same *saying was* uttered by him, thus: 'As a spiritual lord is *my* desire;' and, *at* the falling of the demons upon Zaratûst for *his* destruction, an incarnation (tanû) of *its* spiritual existence stood opposed to them, in that weapon *proceeding* from Zaratûst, to keep them back.

8. And he spoke again thus: 'The religion of the benefiters progresses there in him who, through good actions, *has* joyfulness owing to his righteousness[1];' and, through that saying, an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, equal to ten *of* that which *was* first spoken, and, *at* the falling of the demons upon Zaratûst for *his* destruction, it stood spiritually opposed to them, and that weapon *proceeding* from Zaratûst kept *them* back.

9. The third utterance of Zaratûst, on the bringing forth of *his* arms, *was* thus: 'That which the first existence produced is to be so practised, with attention, through actions to be concealed *by* him who is a priestly authority (r a *d* ŏ)[2];' and through that saying an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, equal to one hundred *of* that which *was* first spoken, and, *at* the falling of a demon upon Zaratûst for *his* death, *its* spirit, *as* a sacred being, kept the demon away from Zaratûst.

10. And, when the whole body of Zaratûst *was* brought forth, trouble (âsipŏ) fell among the demons, and the demons rushed back to hell in haste; light

[1] This is the Pahlavi version of Yas. XXXIV, 13 b, without the glosses.

[2] This is the Pahlavi version of Yas. XXXIII, 1 a, b, without the glosses and incomplete.

increased among the creatures, and every creature of the beneficent sacred being is pleased and talked of virtuous conduct. 11. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* took away Zaratû*s*t with joyfulness to provide security for *him*, and Arekdvîksûr, Aharî*s*vang, and the primitive and Kayân glory *in* the body of Zaratû*s*t spoke to Zaratû*s*t of *its* production *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd* thus: 'Thou shouldst think of him who is wise.' 12. Thereupon Zaratû*s*t spoke spiritually, *in* reply, thus: 'I am a Ma*zd*a-worshipper, I profess the Ma*zd*a-worship of Zaratû*s*t[1]; *and* this *means* that I am an apostle of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and am sent *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd*.'

13. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke to Zaratû*s*t thus: '*As to* the sacred beings *of* the worldly *existence*, do thou beg companionship from them; *but as to* the demons, do thou long for (dôsh)[2] separation from every one of them; practise good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and abstain from evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.' 14. Also about vigilantly reverencing the sacred beings, and the reward thereof; not strengthening the vile, nor weakening[3] the good; expounding *for* the disturber of religion (dênô-pa*d*rêsh), and producing liberality for the accepters of religion; and not turning *away* from the religion on account of fondness for body and life.

15. The accepting of such advice spiritually *by* Zaratû*s*t, and his glorifying Aûha*r*ma*zd*, for crea-

[1] This is the Pahlavi version of part of Yas. XII, 7, 8 (XIII, 25 Sp.) without the glosses.

[2] B has 'hope for' (nyôsh).

[3] Assuming that nizôrînî*d*anŏ (K) stands for nizârînî*d*anŏ; B has zôrînî*d*anŏ, which is synonymous with the previous nîrûkînî*d*anŏ, 'strengthening.'

tiveness, sovereignty, and all goodness, and the primary archangels *and* other good creations, each separately, for their own special glory [1]. 16. And, afterwards, the grumbling of the evil spirit maliciously, at that vexation, thus: 'I have produced, for the annoyance [2] of *any* upholder of that religion of thine, 99,999 wizards, 99,999 wolf-worshippers [3], and 99,999 apostates.'

17. Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke to Zaratû*s*t thus: 'Maintain this religion steadfastly, for through the assistance of this religion I, who am Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *will* be with thee, and the omniscient wisdom becomes thine, and extends to thy disciples, Maî*d*ôk-mâh [4], Parsha*d*-gâvô [5], Sênô [6], Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp, Frashô*s*tar, and *G*âmâsp [7], the teacher of public observance and will to the righteous, *besides* many of the people who are diligent and even those who are idle, and their good works and praise *will* be owned by thee.' 18. Like-

[1] Or it may be 'in his own particular soul (nisman).'

[2] Pahl. rêshî*d*ârîh, which B omits.

[3] This term, gûrg-y*a*zakŏ (=Av. vehrkayâza), does not occur in the extant Avesta.

[4] See § 1.

[5] Av. Parsha*d*-g*a*u of Yt. XIII, 96 (compare Pâz. Par*s*adgâ of Bd. XXIX, 5). This name can also be read Fradâ*d*ayânŏ and be compared with Av. Fradhidaya of Yt. XIII, 97.

[6] Av. Saêna of Yt. XIII, 97, who is said to have 'first set forth upon this earth with a hundred disciples.' Further details about him are given in Chap. XXXIII, 5. In the third and seventh books of the Dînka*rd* his name is written *S*ênôv (for *S*ênôk or *S*ênôê) which has been read Dâyûn by Peshotan (Dk. pp. 308–314 of English translation), as pointed out by Darmesteter in his *Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaisme*, p. 3, n. 2. In Dk. VII he is said to have been a high-priest who was born in the 100th year of the religion, and died in its 200th year.

[7] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

wise about the worldly display of the religion to Zaratûst *by* Aûharmazd, the accepting of the religion *by* Zaratûst through recitation and faith, and the reverence of the Ahunavair[1] *by* Zaratûst.

19. Also about Aûharmazd *having* created the creatures in the spiritual *existence*, *and* their allotment out to the worldly *existence*, the superiority of the righteous man as compared with other creatures, and, among mankind, *of* him who is relying on the provisions of the law and *its* unchangeableness from goodness, *and* who is a teacher and provider of teaching *as to* the pre-eminent existence of the good religion of the sacred beings.

20. And a summary about the bringing together of that fire which is the residue of a fire in a house, for the reverence of that water which is nearest to the dwelling, and *of* any spirit of a kinsman; and *as to him* who leaves that fire, water, and spirit, and, on account of a similar desire, reverences another fire, water, and spirit, *but* none of them can accept that ceremonial, and the acceptance of that man's ceremonial *by* the others *will have* occurred just when the *former* three are reverenced by him.

21. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XXV.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The second fargard, Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[2], is about the worthiness, as to worldly and spiritual virtue, in a ruler and *in* the production of a high-

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[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

[2] The Ahunavair (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7) upon which this fargard is a commentary quoting some text on the subject in § 2.

priest's efficiency; *and* they *have* been suitable for leadership and priestly authority with whom *there is* an existence of it; *also* other talent through which sovereignty and priestly authority are appropriated, and *which* the ruler *or* high-priest himself possesses.

2. 'My wish (dôsh), *O* Zaratû*st*! is *that* thou *be* in spiritual lordship and priestly authority, because thou art, *O* Zaratû*st*! provided with a spiritual lord *and* possessing priestly instruction—that is, they consider thee, too, as high-priest—*and* it is because thine is the accomplishment of rites, that thou art quite preserved when *there is* an encounter of the demons with thee—that is, a dispute of apostates with thee.' 3. It is non-possession of a ruler and high-priest, *or* non-possession of a ruler[1], *that* became the nature and law of the demons; and the maintenance of Aûha*r*ma*zd* *and* the archangels, as ruler and high-priest, and the dominion of Aûha*r*-ma*zd* *are* combined with beneficence.

4. This, too, that through righteousness a priestly instructor (ra*d*ŏ) is a ruler at will, a sage and benefactor, a cherisher and cleanser (âsnî*d*âr) of the poor; also the fitness for the supreme heaven (garô*d*mânîkîh) of all those who *are* accepting the religion which *proceeds* from Zaratû*st*.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

Chapter XXVI.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The third fargar*d*, Ashem-vohû[2], is about

[1] K omits these five words, and B has a blank space for the letters khû*d* in khû*d*âî, 'ruler.'

[2] See Chap. III, 1 n.

admonition as to the praising of righteousness, which is itself the production of true awe of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, the perfection of existences, the better state of prayers [1], and the greatest assemblage of righteousness, good breeding, humility (avŏpatagîh), awe of the spiritual *existence*, extreme joyfulness, and comfort and enlightenment of soul. 2. *Also* the equipment (pa*d*mûkîh) of him who is practising as a high-priest is righteousness and the maintenance of the worship *and* obeisance for the spirit of righteousness.

3. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

Chapter XXVII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The fourth fargar*d*, Yênhê-hâtãm [2], *states that* Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke to Zaratûs*t* the Spîtâmân thus: 'Utter the words of the ceremonial *and* obeisance *for* us who are Aûha*r*ma*zd* *and* [3] the archangels, because they are, *O* Zaratûs*t*! thy ritual *for* water [4], ritual *for* plants, ritual *for* a guardian spirit of the righteous, and ritual *for* an angel of a spiritual *existence*, *or* who is even appointed for a worldly *existence*.'

2. And Zaratûs*t* spoke thus: 'I *will* utter the words of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, which are opposed to harm

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[1] K omits 'of prayers.'

[2] See Chap. IV, 1 n. The texts quoted in this fargar*d* appear to be no longer extant.

[3] B omits 'Aûha*r*ma*zd* *and*.'

[4] K omits 'ritual *for* water.'

and are the ordinance of Aûharmazd, those of the ceremonial and obeisance *for* you who are archangels.'

3. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

Chapter XXVIII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The fifth fargard, Yânîm-manô[1], is about the beneficence *and* worthiness of Zaratûst, through the virtuousness of his thoughts, words, *and* deeds[2]; the priority of Aûharmazd[3], and the first possession of obeisance (nîyâyisnŏ) to him; the mindful performance of obeisance *to* the sacred beings, *and* all the merit *of* obeisance *to* the sacred beings; the excellence of receiving a righteous man, *of* bringing fire together, and *of* maintaining the good religion; the elementary (khâm) wisdom[4] of the creator, and the consideration of every duty towards his will and creation; the outward indication as to propitious discrimination and *of what* is done *by* those who are propitious; *and* the existence of every kind *of* self-attraction *by* Zaratûst towards the religion, from first to last, through the complete reasoning thought that arose solely through obeisance *to* the sacred beings.

2. This, too, that 'thou art come to the supreme heaven (garôdmân)[5], O righteous Zaratûst! thou

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[1] See Chap. V, 1 n.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, o.

[3] Ibid. 1 b. [4] Ibid. 1 c. [5] Ibid. 4 a.

art aware of the deeds, *O* Zaratûst! which *were* practised by those in the bodily existence, *and* which still they practise, and the sacred beings *have* placed upon mankind acquiring the power of good works.' 3. And about the wonderfulness of the supreme heaven *there is* this, too, that whoever is in that abode is not any one *that* passes away after *his* birth; at the time of the renovation *of the universe* the supreme heaven is lowered down to the star station [1], the earth *being* up to there, and Vohûman [2] is summoned for every purpose to the conference, and, when they call him, Mitrô's [3] investigation as regards the existence of righteousness is on the spot; through the coming of that archangel [4] of true statements for assistance, and through the co-operation of the *other* archangels and Srôsh [2] the righteous, is the overpowering of the vexing of distressers [5]; and the assistance of the archangels for Zaratûst *was* when he went forth for disabling the vicious law of Irân. 4. Concerning Zaratûst *there is* this, too, in the words of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Thou art our own, *O* Zaratûst! and this liberality *to* thee is ours; anything *one* gives to thee is given by him *to* us;' *also* the announcement to Zaratûst, *and* the bringing *of him to* Vistâsp [6] for his assistance and likewise the strength [7] of his sovereignty for him.

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[1] The lowest grade of heaven (see Sls. VI, 3 n).

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 for both angels.

[3] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

[4] Vohûman. [5] See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 6 c.

[6] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1; and compare Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 6 b, 7 b, c.

[7] So in K, but B has '*also* his announcement on *being* brought *to* Vistâsp, and Zaratûst *was* an assistance to him *and* the strength, &c.'

5. The discipleship and veneration of Frashô*s*tar[1] also, and the laudation of Frashô*s*tar for making the religion progressive and *for its* true transmission in the words of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; also the whole righteousness of those whom Frashô*s*tar attracted to the religion.

6. About the laudation of Zaratû*s*t *there is* this, too, that is: '*Thou art* not astray *from* us, neither in life, nor in enquiry, nor *in* openly announcing, even when demonstrating[2] the religion to others, nor in anything whatever, *O* Spîtâmân! *from* us who are archangels; and the donation of benefit to supplicants is the food, and the clothing for us, who are in the ceremonial *of* the sacred beings, is unworn (asû*d*akŏ)[3].'

7. About guarding a friend, managing an unfriendly *person*, and affording a person shelter for the sake of protection, justice, and rectitude[4]; also the unworthy condition of that man who, requiring to perform those duties and good works that are important, shall perform those that are trivial. 8. And this, too, that is: 'Thou art likewise aware, *and* thou also understandest it, *O* righteous Zaratû*s*t! through the sagacity of my wisdom, which was the first among existences[5], and which is also so unto the last existence.'

9. Righteousness is excellence *that is* perfect.

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[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68, and compare Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 8 b, c.

[2] K has 'when thou wouldst demonstrate.'

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 10 c.

[4] Ibid. 11 a.

[5] Ibid. 11 c.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The sixth fargar*d*, Khshmaibyâ[1], is about the complaint of Gô*s*-aûrvan[2] to Aûha*r*ma*zd*, when she sat at the creation in the assembly of the archangels, as regards the abundant disease and misery which she saw spiritually *would* come upon her in a bodily existence, through beating, slaughtering, *and* wounding, stealing, plundering, and presenting, *by* him of vicious actions *and* worse desires, as a bribe to him who is an evil-ruling villain (mar), and the operation thereof: the bad ownership, wrongful investigation, false evidence, and making captive (var*d*akŏ), *by* him who is wrathful *and* oppressive through greed and envy, from the warm cowshed *and* the effective *and* diligent guardianship of the herd's dog (pasû*s*-haûrvô), to that which is a cold *and* hastily-constructed place; *or by* him who is seeking meat *with* a merciless hand through making *her* distantly separated from *her* young. 2. Also *their* explanation and extenuation (kâstanŏ)[3], and the causing of misery of many kinds thereby, 'which is no affliction to them when the wind that is cold[4], *or* even that which is hot, comes upon me; *which* is no affliction to them when, the *untimely offspring of*

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[1] See Chap. VI, 1 n; it is here written khshmâîbâ (B) and khshmâîbê (K) in Pahlavi.

[2] See Chap. XV, 3; Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1.

[3] Or it may be 'fining and beating,' as K has kûstanŏ.

[4] B has 'when *some* of that *which* is cold,' writing aîtŏ for vâ*d*ŏ in this first clause, and amat min for amatam in the first and third clauses.

my womb *being* cast away, they slaughter me; and is no affliction to them when the serpent, the leech (khun-garâî)[1], *or* even the foulest of noxious creatures gnaws me.' 3. And the petition of Gôs-aûrvan *was* thus: 'Do not appoint me to a worldly *existence* and that awful misery, *or*, if thou appointest me to a worldly *existence*, produce it for me without life (aûzûstânîhâ), so that I *may* be without feeling and *may* want that distressing[2] pain; *it is* created for the mighty, through whose assistance there is a capability of affording protection *to* me, even though the Kaî and Karap[3] exist.'

4. And, *together* with the just complaint of Gôs-aûrvan, and the compassion of the archangels as to that complaint, *there is* then the creation of the creatures, among whom the greatest and best[4] is mankind, for fighting *and* subduing the destroyer, even though joined together with a complaint of wounding and affliction like *that of* Gôs-aûrvan, *and* Gôs-aûrvan arose with greater judiciousness than an absence of creation even with freedom from disturbance by the Kaîs[5]; on account of the necessity of preparing *for* the living of mankind through the assistance of cattle, Gôs-aûrvan *was* produced for the material bodily existence and assistance of mankind. 5. And, on account of little feeling for her worldly misery, the breeding (mâyînîdanŏ) of cattle *was* the arraying

[1] Doubtful.

[2] K has 'ill-passing.'

[3] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

[4] B has 'of whom the best.'

[5] The obnoxious tribe, or class, mentioned in § 3. After the word 'affliction' K completes the clause to this point as follows:—'just as Gôs-aûrvan arose with greater judiciousness than an absence of creation even with an adversity of the primitive tendency.'

of strife; the advancement of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion of Zaratû*s*t in the world *by* Gô*s*-aûrvan, on the production of Zaratû*s*t for the assistance of cattle; *and* the preservation of cattle and other good creations through complete satisfaction *at* the progress *of* the religion.

6. This, too, *was* said to Gô*s*-aûrvan, that is: 'I assert unto thee the passing away of devastation, that is, the existence of a remedy *for* the misery owing to the evil spirit [1], *for* which no creature would be produced by me—me who am Aûha*r*ma*zd*—when a remedy *for* the misery owing to him had not been known to me.' 7. This, too, that the wish of the evil spirit was thus: 'Thou shouldst never produce a creature, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! and *there* should be here no spiritual lordship, no priestly authority, and no desire for perfect righteousness, *or* necessity for duty and good works.' 8. The enquiry of Gô*s*-aûrvan, thus: 'For whom am I appointed and formed? [2]' and the reply to her, thus: 'For him who is diligent *and* moderate [3].'

9. Also the friend and nourishment (srâyi*s*nŏ) begged for cattle *by* Gô*s*-aûrvan, the righteous man produced for the assistance of cattle *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and the sweetness in water and plants for the nourishment of cattle, so that he is privileged to feed *and* keep cattle who gives them pasture *in* reality, and is also diligent *in* the production of cattle, that is, he gives them pasture, and is thereby proclaimed a cattle-guardian (pasû*s*-haûrvô) for them who makes the cattle fully develope [4]; and also

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 6 a.
[2] Ibid. 1 a.
[3] Ibid. 6 c.
[4] Ibid. 2 b.

he who gives the wicked Wrath, the foreigner, a beating, so that he may make *him* stupefied[1].

10. The development of cattle *by* Aûharmazd, advice to mankind as to moderate eating[2], and the grievous bridge *judgment* of him who *has* unlawfully produced distress *for* the cattle whom Gôs-aûrvan is kindly regarding, with loving eyes[3], in the spiritual *existence*, in bodily contact with (ham-kerpŏ-î) the archangels and in bodily contact with the light of the sun, so that *her* hands are more powerful; she who replies to the sacred beings, and the sacred beings reply to her[4].

11. About the statements of Aûharmazd *there is* this, too, that is: 'I am a calculator of those words[5] by which they assert *that* the existence of worldly beings is for the sake of that of both existences; I am aware *of* the actions which are practised by those in the material existence, *both* demons and men; of whatever they practise[6] I am the decider *and* lord, and it is such as my will *requires*[7], even for the last change of existence; and I look upon all that with that wisdom and sagacity of mine which was, which is, and which ever *will* be.'

12. The formation of a reward for worldly beings *by* Aûharmazd, through the propitious liturgy (mânsarspend)[8] which has become the precursor of the benefiters; that is, their high-priest, who *has*

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 2 c. [2] Ibid. 7 b.

[3] Pahl. kâmakŏ-dôîsar = Av. vouru-dôithra, an epithet of Râta, 'liberality' (see Chap. XXIV, 3), and Saoka, 'prosperity;' but here applied to Gôs-aûrvan.

[4] Some words in § 10 occur also in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 3.

[5] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 4 a. [6] Ibid. 4 b.

[7] Ibid. 4 c. [8] Ibid. 7 a.

a propitiousness and intelligence that are all-beneficial, is he *with* the liturgy. 13. And about the uniqueness and incomparableness of Zaratûst among mankind, through *his* desire for righteousness and *his* understanding the means of defeating the destroyer[1] and teaching the creatures.

14. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XXX.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The seventh fargard, Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ[2], is regarding the maintenance of the worship and obeisance of the religion and the spirit of the liturgy; and this, too, that the spirit of the ceremonial of him who is a right-thinking, intelligent, and wise[3] man is quickly mixed up with the light of the sun, and connected with the accomplishment of the wishes and the joy of the archangels.

2. About the choice of will *by* mankind, and the existence of a way to reward through *their* decision. 3. About advice to mankind as to seeking that position in which it is possible to remain long with fondness, and *as to* reciting and teaching[4] the revelation of the sacred beings.

4. And, from the statement of Zaratûst, about the shouting of the demon Aresh[5] to mankind, *thus:*

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 8 c.

[2] See Chap. VII, 1 n; it is here written at-tâg-vakhshê in Pahlavi in both MSS.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 1 a, c. [4] Ibid. 2 c.

[5] See Chap. XXXI, 6; the demon of envy, or malice, called Arêshk, or Arashk, in Bd. XV, 18, XXVIII, 16.

'Aûha*r*ma*zd* and Aharman have been two brothers in one womb[1], and out of them the archangel[2] liked that which is evil[3], through what *occurs* when the understanders of it *have* mentioned the worship of the demons and this, that, after it, you *should* present cattle to the planetary *bodies and* the demons.' 5. About the falsity of the demon Aresh, the separate origin of light and darkness, the goodness of the material *existence* of light for determining *what* is done, and the evil of that of darkness.

6. The grumbling of the evil spirit thus: 'I am he whose thoughts *are* evil, *O* beneficent spirit! he whose words *are* evil, *and* he whose deeds *are* evil[4]; what is dark is my garment which is very thick, with lower corners where, so far as many go, *it is still* darker[5]; evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds are my food, and I love those *of* them who are in *that place* through evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.' 7. And the speaking of Aûha*r*ma*zd* thus: 'I am he whose thoughts *are* good, *O* evil spirit! he whose words *are* good, and he whose deeds *are* good[6]; the sky is my garment, which *was* first produced from that substance of the worldly *existences* which is created as the stone above all stones[7], that is, every jewel is set in it; good thoughts, good words, and good deeds are my food, and I love those *of* them who are in that *place*

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 a. This materialization of the Gâthic text, here reported as the utterance of a malicious demon, corresponds very closely with the statement of the Armenian Eznik quoted in Haug's Essays, p. 13.

[2] That is, the arch-demon who was archangel of the demons.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 5 a. [4] Ibid. 3 b. [5] Referring to hell.

[6] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 b. [7] Ibid. 5 b.

through good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds.'

8. This, too, that true discrimination is not for them, the demons[1] astute in evil; and they never truly discriminate whose will is that of Akôman[2]. 9. And about the sickening (vîmârînî*d*anŏ) of the patron spirits of mankind, *by* the demons[3], through the deceit of man towards man owing to the deceit of the demons; and the approach of mankind to evil proceedings *on the part* of the spiritual lordship, through those patron spirits[4].

10. Also the sending of monarchy and the wisdom of religion, *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, for the preservation of the creatures; the recurrence of the mission[5] whereby *there are* injury and affliction for the demons and sovereignty again for Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and they possess the reward of Vohûman[6] and *what* is required *by* the sacred beings; and the predominance *of* man over demon, in the end, the good over the evil, and the righteous over the wicked; also about the nature of those *who* are producing the renovation *of the universe.* 11. This, too, that is a declaration: 'They are those, *O* Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân! who shall produce the renovation, they have escaped (girekhtŏ) among the existences, they are

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 6 a.

[2] Evil thought (see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3).

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 6 c.

[4] The ahû, or patron spirit, having become diseased and incapable of true ahvôîh, or spiritual lordship, through the action of the demons.

[5] Reading lakhvar petamî-hastanŏ (or petam gâstanŏ) which probably refers to the later missions of Aûshê*d*ar, Aûshê*d*ar-mâh, and Sôshâns (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 12–14).

[6] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 8 b.

vigilant[1] in seeking righteousness, and gentle-voiced; and, as regards righteousness in thought, they convert into righteousness anything virtuous which *belongs* to them.' 12. About the statement of *those* praised it is recited that it is thus mentioned in the Gâthas: 'So we are with *those* who are thine—that is, we are thine own—by us this renovation is to be produced in the existences[2].' 13. About the perpetual convocation *held by* the archangel regarding the production of the future existence[3].

14. This, too, that *he is* an extender of the days of those who defeat the army of the fiend[4] and clothe themselves *with* deeds of shining light, and also those of a virtuous body, who are these: the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the man who is a ruler; with whom are Aharîsvang[5] and the spirit of liberality (râdîh)[6]; they meditate with good thoughts (hû-mînisnîh)[7] and joy, and, with pleasure to themselves, they give the world into the guardianship of Aûharmazd, and also *of* Ashavahist[8], when they possess the religion of Aûharmazd as a ruler. 15. This, too, that *he*, whose thoughts are through a high-priest who possesses a patron spirit, always thinks that which is virtuous, *and* his sagacity increases[9].

16. And about advice to mankind as to three things, through which the renovation and happy progress of the creatures arise, *namely*, seeking the

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[1] Pahl. zên-hâvand=Av. zaênangha.
[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 9 a. [3] Ibid. 9 b. [4] Ibid. 10 a.
[5] The female angel of perfect rectitude (see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3).
[6] See Chap. XXIV, 3. [7] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 10 b.
[8] Ibid. 10 c and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14.
[9] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 9 c.

true religion, abstaining from injuring the creatures, *and* striving for the benefit of mankind.

17. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The eighth fargar*d*, Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ[1], is about advice as to reciting[2] the revelation, the information therefrom for the faithful, about which *they have* to report to the unfaithful, by mentioning conspicuous specimens *and* explanatory knowledge, and *by* thinking *of* anything whatever which *they have* to accept, *or* even which *they have* not to accept[3]; *also*, for *one* called *to* the religion, the advantage owing to the attraction of mankind to the numerous actual disciplehood of the religion, and the increasing greatness materially, and further reward spiritually, owing to the numerous disciplehood; and the progress of the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd* even among the irreligious (adênôân)[4] and actual apostates[5].

2. This, too, that the life of the creatures of Aûha*r*ma*zd* and also all other benefit are owing to Aûha*r*ma*zd*[6] and the inclination (kâmvar*ik*akŏ) of Aûha*r*ma*zd* thereto; moreover, reward and recompense come from Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 3. And the creatures of Aharman proceed from Aharman, all misery is owing to Aharman, and Aharman becomes worse and more oppressive and a further producer of misery when they worship him.

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[1] See Chap. VIII, 1 n; it is here written tâg-va-ratŏ in Pahlavi in both MSS.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 a.

[3] B omits these last eight words.

[4] K has akdênôân, 'infidels.'

[5] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 c.

[6] Ibid. 2 c.

4. About the continuance and arranging of both spirits as to their own creations (stî) and the self-acting of their own appliances; the achievement of each one through his own natural resources and through the trifling (ga*d*agânîk) operation of the other; the spiritual lordship and priestly authority, true confession *and* the progress of the good religion, *being from* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *and*, through enmity *to* the creatures of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, Aharman is contesting these. 5. Aûha*r*ma*zd*, for setting aside that contester, is the producer of true intelligence, *and* gave language and also the ritual of ordeal[1]; the invocation of the sacred beings[2] for assistance, and the arrival of an angel for the assistance of the invokers; the overcoming of their affliction, the production of their immunity and even righteousness, and also *of* that good ruler[3] who is a reminder of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and the restoration of bodies, *which is* the hope of all good creations, *are* through the sacred beings *being* invoked for assistance and *their* arrival where the diffusion[4] is that of virtuous knowledge through Vohûman[5], the good religion which is whatever *may be* the knowledge[6] *of* all those who are, *and* were, *and* will be.

6. About the shouting of the demon Aresh[7] to

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 3 b, c. [2] Ibid. 4 a, b. [3] Ibid. 4 c.
[4] K has 'ceremonial.' [5] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 5 b.
[6] K has hû-dânâkîh, 'sagacity.'
[7] The demon of envy, as in Chap. XXX, 4. The occurrence of his dialogue with Zaratûst in this place explains the word ۱۳ ۵۱۵۵ which is found twice in Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 5 b, and has been read hû-vârîh, 'good judgment,' or hû-vaharîh, 'good fortune.' In the MSS. called Pt4 and Mf4, in Geldner's edition of the Avesta, this Pahlavi word is both times separated into two thus: ۱۳ ۵۱۵۵ which may be read avŏ Aresh, 'to Aresh,' and the whole

Zaratûst and the reply of Zaratûst as to the advice of Aûharmazd and whatever is on the same subject, just as revelation (dênô) states it, that the demon Aresh spoke to him thus: 'Then the Franâmam [1], *O* Zaratûst! is *applicable* to the assembly of demons who sit in the same place three nights and four days on account of thee.' 7. Zaratûst enquired of him thus: '*O* Aresh, *thou* most deceitful to me! what recompense *would* there be for it *to* me, if I *should* worship you in words?' 8. And Aresh, the most deceitful of demons, spoke to him thus: 'Thou *wouldst* become predominant among mankind, through producing at will among the existences just as is requisite for thyself; and thou *wouldst* become immortal, *O* Spîtâmân!' 9. Zaratûst also enquired of him thus: '*O* Aresh, most deceitful of demons! *as to* the people by whom you are worshipped, whether for the birth of a son, *or* even for a concubine sought for enjoyment, so that *the favour* is considered by them as your property, how can any one of them be immortal?' 10. And Aresh, the most deceitful of demons, *could* not tell him who *had* the more intelligence. 11. *So* Zaratûst spoke thus: 'I am *for* that *being* and I like him, that is, I am his

§ 5 b may be translated as follows:—'The gift of understanding through Good Thought is that *which* thou shouldst give unto me (that is, that wisdom thou shouldst proclaim to me as virtuousness), which is *to* me (through what *pertains* to it) that which is for Aresh (that is, through that wisdom which is virtuousness it shall become possible for me to give a reply to Aresh).' The reply here mentioned appears to be that given in § 11 of our text; and the name Aresh explains the word ereshi in the original Avesta text as meaning 'envy' and being equivalent to araska.

[1] The Mazda-worshipper's profession of faith, beginning with the word Av. fravarânê (Yas. I, 23)=Pahl. franâmam.

own and would transact his affairs, and I *will* recite the law and the benedictions of the sagacious Aûha*r*ma*zd*, the gratifier of desires.'

12. About the deliverance of all creatures through the liturgy [1], and, so long as it is continued by them, *it is* for the power through which the immortality of the separate creations is prepared in the renovation *of the universe;* the increase *of* the good creatures through the complete continuance *of* the liturgy, *and* the existence of purity and development of goodness in the world when he who is a good ruler arrives.

13. The arising of the spiritual creation, the first thought of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; *and, as to* the creatures of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, first the spiritual achievement, and then the material formation and the mingling of spirit with matter; [the advancement of the creatures thereby, through his wisdom *and* the righteousness of Vohûman being lodged [2] in the creatures,] and all good creatures being goaded (zakhamî-hastanŏ) thereby into purity and joyfulness. 14. This, too, that a complete understanding of things arises through Vohûman having made a home in *one's* reason (vârôm).

15. About the great reward of him who shall produce benefit for cattle [3]; also the deceitfully and seductively assuming of religion and colouring of thought, talking of righteousness and adopting evil practices, through the recitation of righteousness even hypocritically (davânsîhâ-*k*); *and* an instance *of* the reward of an undutiful (avar'*zîd*âr) apos-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 6 b.

[2] Ibid. 6 c. The passage in brackets occurs only in K.

[3] Ibid. 10 a, b.

tate[1]. 16. About the work of the creator; *and*, for the completion thereof, the most eminent is understood *to be* when the world *and* religion *were* formed[2] by him, when life *was* given by him to those possessing bodies[3], and[4] he provides instruction and employment[5] for it, and when spiritual life (hûkŏ)[6] *was* given by him to the wishful *man*, so that he may more *fully* appropriate a share of the worldly and spiritual *existences*.

17. *He* who makes complete mindfulness[7] lodge in *his* body consults complete mindfulness, and[8], through the much investigation of *his* spiritual life (ahvô) and mind into the attraction of both spirits—*that* which is good and also *that* which is evil—each separately for its own appliances, and *into* the duties of the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, is explaining the inefficiency of mankind, as regards the dissipation of their sin, because Aûha*r*ma*zd* is aware of all they practise, that which is public and that, too, which is concealed[9]. 18. The great reward of him who is liberal of gifts (dâsar) from his own property to a

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 10 c. [2] Ibid. 11 a. [3] Ibid. 11 b.

[4] So originally in B, but altered into 'when,' by the repairer of the MS., so as to agree with K.

[5] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 11 c.

[6] B has kâmak, 'desire,' with 'the wishful' in the plural, and this might agree better with Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 11 c, but not with the next clause in the sentence here, where both nominative and verb are in the singular.

[7] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 12 c. This term is the Pahl. equivalent of Av. ârmaiti which is usually personified as the female archangel Spenda*r*ma*d*.

[8] The MS. K is left unfinished at this point, merely adding the words expressed by 'into the attraction of,' in this translation. For the remainder of Bk. IX the only known MS. authority is B.

[9] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 13 a.

righteous man[1]; and this, too, that whoever gives him who is wicked[2] a gift, for the sake of improper expectations, assists darkness and not light.

19. This, too, that the worst ruler is he of evil religion *and* evil deeds, who even for a bribe[3] would not occasion happiness; he who is a destroyer of an innocent *man;* also the grievous state of punishment *of* that person, in hell, who shall make that wicked *one* a ruler[4]. 20. And advice to mankind as to providing a judge and guardian over every dwelling, the probation of a man for appointment *to* that important duty, *and* the development of all creations *in* the world when its ruler is sagacious[5].

21. Also causing the disturbance (va-*s*iklinî-*d*anŏ) of the evil spirit for satisfying a man who is rightly thinking, rightly speaking, *and* rightly acting; the opposition *to* a righteous *man of* a wicked *one belonging to* the evil spirit, who is an evil-reciting *and* improperly-disputing apostate; the enticement (lûsinî*d*anŏ) of mankind to devious *ways* (âvârîhâ), *by* an apostate, *being* more than that which attracts to the true way for a righteous *man;* and afterwards also, in the end, the defeat *of* the army of the fiend *by him* who is beneficial *to* mankind. 22. Advice to mankind about abstaining from the suite of him who is an apostate, not hearing and not solemnizing the Avesta and Zand of the sacred beings from him[6]; also the evil behaviour (dûs-bari*s*nîh), slander, strife, death, and fear in the world owing to apostates[7]. 23. Advice to upholders of the religion about the means of thoroughly understanding apos-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 14 b. [2] Ibid. 14 c. [3] Ibid. 15 b.
[4] Ibid. 15 a. [5] Ibid. 16 a. [6] Ibid. 18 a. [7] Ibid. 18 b.

tates, and preparing *and* keeping a weapon for them[1], so that he who is authorised *and* fearless *may be* more eager for truthful speaking; *and*, when the religion *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd* is liked by him, his truthful speaking and other righteousness have then allured (kâmakînî*d*ŏ)[2].

24. Also *what* happens in the three *nights*[3], for the assistance and preservation of the righteous, through *what is* accomplished *by* the propitious fire[4]; and the progress of his lamentation who deceives and vexes a righteous man[5], *and* is leading the wicked *by* their own befitting deeds to hell[6]. 25. This, too, that the complete worthiness which *exists* in Khû*r*da*d* *and* Amû*r*da*d*[7] arises *in* him who maintains the prerogative which is his[8] through virtuousness, who must become such a friend of whatever is his own spirit, through *his* actions[9], as the creator is *of* his own creatures. 26. This, too, that whatever is thus in the world is perfect, when every one thinks, speaks, *and* shall act just like his spiritual lord *and* high-priest[10]; so that a good ruler is he with whom virtuous speaking arises, as well as proper action[11]. 27. *And* this, too, that the lodgment of Aûha*r*ma*zd* in the worldly *existence* is most in the person of that ruler[12], and that lodgment in him is manifest.

28. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

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[1] Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 18 c. [2] Ibid. 19 b. [3] After death.
[4] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 19 c and Chap. XII, 4.
[5] Ibid. 20 a. [6] Ibid. 20 c.
[7] Ibid. 21 a and Chap. XIX, 1. [8] Ibid. 21 b.
[9] Ibid. 21 c. [10] Ibid. 22 a.
[11] Ibid. 22 b. [12] Ibid. 22 c.

Chapter XXXII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The ninth fargard, *Hv*aêtumaiti[1], is about the coming of three deceitful demons, and *their* making supplication (lâ*g*ak-karîh) *to* Aûha*r*ma*zd*[2], so that he should consider and reward those aggrieved by him, and it would amount to strength for them in destroying the creatures. 2. The disgorging (akhvâr*d*anŏ) of supplication *by* those demons clamorously upwards from an abyss, *and* the statement of one that *he is*[3] the kindred that is undeceitful, of *another* one that *he is* the serfdom that is undeceitful, *and* of *the third* one that he is the confederacy that is undeceitful, *was* in these *words*, namely: 'We are those spirits when the kinsman, confederate, and serf[2] do not break promises, one with the other; we are not really these that are no implements of thine, *but* our religion *and* law are thine, and we do thy will; we become assistants of *him* who is thy friend, and injurers of *him* who is thy enemy[4]; *and* from thee we beg a position in the existence that is best, the reward that is a reward *of* the worthy.'

3. The reply of Aûha*r*ma*zd* to them *was* thus: 'You rush out, astute in evil, to the extremity (bûn) of that horrible gloom[5]; so you are all from the demon, your race is really from Evil Thought, that

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[1] See Chap. IX, 1 n.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 1 a.

[3] Literally 'I am.'

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 1 c.

[5] Compare Pahl. Vend. XIX, 147.

is, your race is from there where Evil Thought [1], as well as Lust the destroyer and also Greed the well-accumulating, *resides*, and *where*, moreover, Îndar the fighter is the spirit of the religion of apostasy and further deceives the worldly *existence* of mankind, as to proper living and immortal progress [2], and first confines their thoughts. 4. He shall first do this, so that he *may* restrain the thoughts of men from virtuous things [3], and their further words and perverted further deeds from the ceremonial of us who are archangels; they further lose *their* wisdom [4], and further consider even as perfect righteousness that which is loved *by* the demons; they utter the false words and consecrate with the worse deeds of mankind; *and* with the holy-water which *one* consecrates most *to* you, more falsely *and* more arrogantly [5] than that falsity and arrogance, do they enhance the greatest ceremonial, so that they shall make more of the most. 5. Owing to discord, through that love of you who are demons, they smite with destruction *him* who shall not be a satisfaction to you in the presidency; *and* the leader they take (girênd) becomes a destroyer, so in the sequel, too, there is *some one* that smites *him;* even though they

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 3 a. For the demons here mentioned, Akômanô, Varenô, and *Âzŏ*, see Bk. VIII, Chaps. IX, 3, XXXI, 44; Îndar is the same as Andar (in Chap. IX, 1), the arch-demon who perverts from virtue and despises the sacred shirt and girdle (Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 8). With reference to the good old schism-hypothesis, that identified the Av. daêva I*n*dra, or Andra, with the Sans. deva Indra, it is worthy of note that he is here represented as the pervading spirit of an apostate religion, and is termed the kûshî*d*âr, 'fighter, slayer.'

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 5 a.

[3] See Bd. XXVIII, 8.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 4 c.

[5] Ibid. 3 b.

consider *him* as your follower, they shall occasion *his* destruction. 6. You are evil demons for a congregation when they speak of avoiding you, and worse for the ceremonial, *or* obeisance, when it occurs; that which becomes all clearness *to* the utterer of righteousness, in *this* existence, you utterly destroy; *and* the lodgment of complete mindfulness in the body is for admonition to human beings about abstaining from the demons.'

7. This, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Evil *are* you *who* are wicked *and* worship the demons with good holy-water *and* with words; through them the holy-water obtains evil recompense, even the hell that is horrible.' 8. This, too, *he spoke*, namely: 'Concerning those malicious demons[1] I *will* first mention intelligibly to thee when they have come to the world, that is, first when they have rushed in, how their jurisdiction arose. 9. *For* thirty centuries[2] those of my world were immortal *and* undecaying, *O* Zaratûst! *but* when the thirtieth century was accomplished[3], *O* Spîtâmân! the sweat (khvâe) produced by the demons then came on to my Gâyômard[4], for his affliction, so long a time as a man speaks forth these words *of* the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[5], relating to the spiritual lord and priestly master. 10. And when he issued from that sweat he was shadowless, that is, darkness had entered[6]; and the words of the formula (âyîn) relating to the spiritual lord and priestly master *were* spoken forth by me, and when

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7 a, 8 a.

[2] See Bd. I, 20, 21. But from § 10 it appears more probable that these are the three millenniums mentioned in Bd. I, 8.

[3] Bd. III, 3.

[4] Ibid. 19.

[5] See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7 n.

[6] Bd. III, 20.

vâstârem[1] was uttered by me the demons then fell[2] into the gloom.'

11. About the harm owing to the demons this, too, *he spoke*, namely: 'The destructiveness *of* the evil spirit is *his* evil teaching *by* statements[3] *to* my creatures; and my riches (î*s*tŏ) plundered by him are the proportion of the production *and* possession of wealth *for* which a desire exists through Good Thought; that is, when they possess *it* with propriety *it is* desirable[4]. 12. And mankind *were* gratified by that son of Vîvangh*a*u who *was* Yim[5], and cattle *were* gratified by him, producing thus *the phrase* "you are mankind" in words, *O* Zaratû*s*t! when he spoke to mankind thus: "You are the mankind for cattle, that is, you *who* are mankind eat meat of your own subdivision, and through subdivision by you there is a superabundant occurrence of meat[6]; you are mankind, neither for Greed (*âz*ŏ), nor for Envy (arêshkŏ)[7], do thou throw away the warm entrails (taftôg rû*d*îk), nor do thou throw *them* away warm on account of custom (pî*s*akŏ), now you slay for slaughtering, so that thus *it may be* beneficial for you and your servant."'

13. This, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Even that man

[1] The last word of the formula. In Bd. I, 21, 22 this utterance seems to be placed before the attack upon Gâyômar*d*, but until the complete text of the Irânian Bundahi*s* has been examined, some doubt as to the exact sequence of its statements may be entertained.

[2] Pahl. zîflûnî*d*, for yîflûnî*d*, formed from the aorist of Ch. נְפַל; instead of the usual neflûna*s*t, formed from the preterit.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 9 a.

[4] Ibid. 9 b. Instead of *av*ôr*d*ŏ, 'plundered,' B has the miswriting s*p*ôr*d*ŏ, 'consigned.'

[5] Ibid. 8 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 6. [6] Ibid. 8 b.

[7] Alluding, perhaps, to the legend detailed in Bd. XV, 18, 19.

is produced for the destruction of mine [1], who is possessed *by* the wicked evil spirit; the want of discernment of that man is a tedious life, in which the utterance of the praise of righteousness is the want of ceremonial of which a righteous man spoke *thus:* "At *the place* where their pasture is you are the mankind, the all-producer that fully developes *them*, *and* the all-collector that would thoroughly set *them* moving; in their pasture you are the mankind, *and* they all remain [2]; with hospitality *for* the body they remain on account of their pasture, *and* in fighting they strike *their* heads together; you are the mankind of their pasture, it is expedient and you deprive *it* of moisture [3] through fire; as to other things, it was also you that made one altogether believe that untrue statement which is a lie—the possession of material *existence by* life—owing to external seduction by the fiend who has come chiefly to you."'

14. About the harm owing to the demons this, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Their accomplishment of arrogance over these creatures of mine, *and* also the unfitness for heaven (avahistîh-ik) of a righteous man, *and* that, too, of a valiant *one*, are *due to* the burial of a corpse.' 15. This, too, namely: 'They who drag away a corpse [4] are most hurtful for men, as regards the wealth of the religion in this world, *and* as regards sheep and beasts *of burden*.' 16. This, too, namely: '*As to* the people, assisted *by*

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 10a.

[2] Or, perhaps, 'and they remain astonished,' (va-sîpŏ mânênd).

[3] Pahl. vîyâvânînêd which, with vâstar, 'pasture,' occurs in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 10c.

[4] They who carry a corpse alone, like the iristô-kasha of Vend. III, 15.

one living *in* terrible difficulty, who deliver the corpse of a dead *person*, on a sheep *or* beast *of burden*, at a village where they shall convey *it*, they distress the fire and also the water flowing *from* the hills [1], likewise those liquids of the body which are ten [2], and those saps (aêvanŏ) *of plants* which are fourfold in thousands, that is, they come out a thousand at one time.'

17. 'They are giving more assistance when [3] *it is* the corpse *of* a wicked *person;* concerning them, too, I tell thee, *O* Zaratûs*t* the Spîtâmân! that they *shall* arrive in the ninth and tenth centuries [4] who are the spawn of the fiend (drûgô hûnŏyâkŏ) and the cesspool (rîkhdâr) of the evil spirit; even one of them is more to be destroyed than ten idolators (dêvîyastô) *by* him they shall make pure, that is, *the people* shall make him quite void of wealth who is a priest without recitation *and* commendation. 18. And they, who *will be* full

[1] Pahl. gêrân-ta*g*is*n*ŏ = Av. h*e*bvai*n*ti in Yas. XXXVIII, 3 and Av. thraotô-stâ*d* in Yas. LXVIII, 6, &c. It is the second species of liquid in Bd. XXI, 1.

[2] Only nine are mentioned in Bd. XXI, 1, namely: semen, urine, sweat, skin-fluid, tears, blood, oil, saliva, and milk.

[3] Assuming that mûn stands for amat as in Bk. VIII, Chap. XXI, 10.

[4] If these centuries are dated from 'the coming of the religion,' according to the incorrect Arabian chronology of the Bundahi*s*, they extended from A.D. 393 or 435 to 593 or 635 (see Byt. III, 11 n). In the ninth century lived king Ya*zd*akar*d* (A.D. 399–420), surnamed 'the sinner' by the priesthood because he tolerated other religions, and the heretic Mazdak who was put to death in A.D. 528. In the tenth century the Muhammadan religion arose, and the Sasanian dynasty tottered to its fall. If it were not for the manifest errors in the Bundahi*s* chronology, this passage in our text might be important for fixing the age of the Pahlavi version of this Nask.

many *in* the future, shall bring prostration upon him who is an innocent person, the husbandman who watches the frog of the ditch (zak-î gîlûgŏ vazagh) so that he *may* keep *it* away from mankind; and they execute ill-contrived commands. 19. They also produce destruction for these of mine, *and* speak of the living state, to these of my religion, thus: "When living is an expediency *it is* in our way;" they are wicked, they dwindle through greatness and even terror, that is, they shall commit sin through leadership and vassalage[1] who are smiting thee, and they speak folly who are smiting this pure religion of thine, *O* Spîtâmân!'

20. 'They, too, who recite this thy revelation of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, say *that* the distinction (nî*s*ôn) of those *others* from those *who are* thine, even those whom they hurt, is this, that they plunder, they *also* think scornfully *of* this thy ceremonial, and think scornfully *of* the obeisances (nîyâyi*s*nŏ) and *of* both those blessings from me, the Avesta and Zand which I, who am the most propitious of spirits, spoke forth to thee. 21. They also injure the ceremonial of him who is perfectly righteous[2], even the obeisance arisen from a disciple of Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân; *and* they chant that which is a settled effusion (ba*r*â-hankhetûntô rêgîh) that is very evil, *as* a perfect deed for mankind[3], which those of very evil deeds call joy[4].'

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 11 a. [2] Ibid. 11 c.

[3] Ibid. 12 a, which has corrupted rêgîh into rêsh; the former, corresponding better with the original Av. r*a*unghayen, can be compared with Pers. rîhîdan, rêzîdan; or it might mean 'imposture,' compare Pers. rîgan.

[4] Ibid. 12 b.

22. 'They seek sovereignty as a devouring (grehmakŏ), that is, they seek privilege for a bribe, and in their abode is he who is very evil in thought, that is, they seek with this design, that, *for* the hundred which another gives up, they *may* take two hundred away *from* the other[1]; they destroy the best existence[2], they destroy their own souls, *and* they destroy the world of material beings. 23. Then they who are privileged shall convey that sovereignty *of* the Kîk and Karap[3], even those that are the worst-ruling who are in the country, unto him who is best-ruling in house, village, community, *and* province; *and* then both shall keep up an uproar, he who is well-ruling and also he who is ill-ruling, and he who is ill-ruling is beaten, and he is delivered up to the best-ruling ruler. 24. *And* then, among them, *he* who seeks for a devouring (grehmakŏ) of all that which is animate, as well as that which is inanimate, is *he* who is desirous of assault *and* complaint; *and he* who fears him who is a righteous man of mine allots *him* comfort, and is *he* who watches those who are an exposition of righteousness[4], and who would be wizards *or* witches, so that *the authorities* shall inflict punishment *upon* them.'

25. And this, too, *is stated*, namely: 'The malice of many malicious *ones* demands that they shall inflict punishment *on* sinners[5] when they put (pa*d*-mû*g*ênd) life into the body, that is, they give life

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 13 a; the exact meaning of grehmakŏ (Av. ger*e*hma) is uncertain, and the last verb is literally 'I *may* take.'

[2] Ibid. 13 b.

[3] Ibid. 14 a, 15 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

[4] Ibid. 13 c.

[5] Ibid. 16 c.

back to the body; but *for* that purpose the metal, melted forth, arises full upon the earth, which does not wreak vengeance *on* him who is righteous, and does wreak vengeance *on* him who is wicked, *when* I, who am Aûha*r*ma*zd*, produce the renovation among the existences[1]. 26. Thus, too, that *which* becomes a healthful world—a healthful one that is thus mine—never first becomes that further sick *one* which, apart from me, is even now the immortal *and* manifest place *where* vengeance exists[2]; and they become also aware, through that sovereignty of mine, that, apart from me, even now immortal is the material world of righteousness.'

27. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

Chapter XXXIII.

*Var*stmânsar *Nask.*

1. The tenth fargar*d*, Yathâi*s*[3], is about the renovation *of the universe* in the words of Aûha*r*-ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t, thus: 'I *have* produced the effecter of the renovation, the causer of righteousness, Sôshâns, *of* whom mankind say that he does not come; and *yet* he *will* come, for the righteous, with that glory *which* becomes all-brilliance.'

2. About the scrutiny and consideration for moderation in a high-priest's performance *of* every

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[1] At the resurrection all men are said to be purified in melted metal which hurts only those who have been wicked (see Bd. XXX, 19, 20).

[2] That is, the earth never becomes hell.

[3] See Chap. X, 1 n; it is here written yasââî*s* in Pahlavi.

duty *there* is this, too, that the desire of that non-assailant, who is a producer of benefit among kinsmen, among confederates, *and* among serfs[1], as regards anything whatever, is accomplishing the will, and is a friend, of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; and the spirit lodging in him is not deceived by him. 3. And advice about distance from him in whom similarity of disposition *to* the fiend and arrogance are oppressive, *and who* is scorning kinsmen, a sharp liar with serfs[2], giving offence (vêshîn-dahi*s*nŏ) *to* confederates, careless of cattle[3], *and* unfriendly *to* the wretched.

4. About the bridge on which *there* is access to Aûha*r*ma*zd*[4], *and* he who reaches the best existence is visibly, *or* invisibly, proceeding *while* offering up (aû*z*dahân-sagîtûn). 5. And the teaching of the primitive faith to Zaratû*s*t *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *who* remained embodying the Ahunavair (ahûnavair-tanû) *as* the Zôti[5] of the world; *and* at the time of the renovation Zaratû*s*t, who *was* from the sons of Aêzemnô, is in the position of Zôti[6] of the whole

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 3 a, b. [2] Ibid. 4 b.

[3] Ibid. 4 c. [4] Ibid. 5 c.

[5] Ibid. 6 a. It is said, in Bd. XXX, 30, that Aûha*r*ma*zd* comes to the world as Zôti, or chief officiating priest, with Srôsh as assistant priest, just before the renovation. Here it is not absolutely certain whether Aûha*r*ma*zd*, or Zaratû*st*, is meant as Zôti on this first occurrence of the word.

[6] Reading min A*ê*-zemnôân pavan zôt gâs; Ayazem being an ancestor of Zaratû*s*t, eleven generations back, the grandfather of Spitama, and the name being variously written Aiazemn, Ayâzem, Nayâzem, and Aizim in different MSS. Another reading is min 3 zamôn khûpŏ zôt gâs, 'from three-fold *procreation*, *has* the happy position of Zôti,' referring to the legendary account of Zaratû*s*t's origin, as detailed in the seventh book of the Dînka*rd*. The position of the Zôti is at the north end of the ceremonial area.

world; Vohûvastŏ, *son* of Snôê[1], from the countries of those of the religion, in the post of Hâvanân[2]; Îsvand, son of Var*âz*, from the countries of Tûrân, in the post of Âtarevakhsh; Sênô, son of Hûmstûv, from the countries of the Sênân[3], in the post of Frabar*d*âr; and Vistâsp, who *was* from the sons of Nô*d*ar[4], in the post of Srôshâvar'*z*. 6. About the power and triumph which that ceremonial becomes, even through the all-brilliance of the immortal renovation of the whole creation in that existence.

7. This, too, that the evil spirit[5] . . . .

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[1] This and the two following persons are the Vohvasti *son* of Snaoya, Isva*d* *son* of Varâza, and Saêna *son* of Ahûm-stû*d*, of Yt. XIII, 96, 97.

[2] In the great ceremonies of ancient times the Hâvanân appears to have been the priest who attended to the Hôm-mortar, and his position was near the north-west corner of the ceremonial area; the Âtarevakhsh was the priest who fed the fire, and his position was near the south-west corner; the Frabar*d*âr was the priest who brought the necessary utensils, and his position was near the north-east corner; and the Srôshâvar'*z* was the priest who kept general order, his position being at the south end, facing the Zôti at the north end. Besides these five priests, mentioned in our text, there were three others enumerated in Vîsp. III, 1; Vend. V, 58, VII, 17, 18, the water-bringer near the south-east corner, the washer on the west side, and the cleanser on the east side. In modern times the Zôti retains his ancient duties of chief priest, while the Râspî (Bk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5, 9) combines the duties of the seven others, being called by the Zôti (in Vîsp. III, 1) to take the place of each of them in succession.

[3] Av. Sâininãm of Yt. XIII, 144, probably the people about Samarkand (see Bd. XII, 13 n, XV, 29).

[4] See Yt. V, 98.

[5] One folio of B is here lost, containing the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next. The passage missing was equivalent to about 100 lines of this translation, of which perhaps one-fourth belonged to this chapter and three-fourths to the next.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Varastmânsar Nask.

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. . . . it is possible to come through virtuous deeds *and* through virtuous thoughts.' *n*. And this, too, *he spoke*, namely: 'That Good Thought[1] of mine proceeds *and* notices the thoughts of the embodied existence, *and* of the good words and the deeds he reports again those referring to me, as often as three times in the same day, both *of those* who are liberal *to* thee[1], *O* Spîtâmân! and *of those* who are illiberal to thee.'

o. The struggling of the demons[2], for the putting down of all benefit from mankind, *has* not produced the obtainment of their capability for that benefit which arises *for* mankind through the future existence; so that that one evil is more grievous than every evil which the demons imagine for mankind, when *the latter* are frightened by them from the way of the sacred beings, and are wicked; and harder for them *are* the praisers of righteousness among the apostates *and* the rest *of* the creation, through *their* praise of righteousness, even when very many praise *it*.

p. About the progress of Ârmat[3] and Târôkmat perpetually among the creatures, the disclosure of Ârmat *to* mankind, and *of* righteousness *to* Târôk-

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 7 a.

[2] Ibid. 10 c.

[3] Ibid. 9a, 10b, 11b. Av. ârmaiti, 'devotion,' the female archangel Spenda*r*ma*d*, entitled 'complete mindfulness' in §§ *q*, *s*. Târôkmat (Av. tarômaiti), the arch-demon of contempt and disobedience (Bd. XXVIII, 14), is her special opponent.

mat; the listening of that vile Târôkmat to falsehood, and the distance[1] *of* righteousness from him who is vile is like *that of* a sheep fled (sîsd)[2] from mankind. *q.* And this, too, that the evil spirit is beaten[3] by complete mindfulness, in the struggle of those having mighty ones, just as a powerful man beats him who is a reverent creation (nîyâyîn dahisnŏ)[4]; *and* the pure Zaratûst is produced *by* Aûharmazd, *as well as* the power of Khûrdad *and* Amûrdad[5], which *acts* forcibly for giving value (farg) and preparing the creatures.

r. About the opposition of Aûharmazd to the demons[6], and the valuation of the deeds of mankind *which* exist for greater jurisdiction[7] *and* more advantage of the primitive good creation; and in any doubtfulness *one is* to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings. *s.* About *cases* where the good-will *of* the spirit of complete mindfulness makes mankind attain to the good religion; and their spiritual joy[8] arises from the purification of their own religion through virtuous exercise of will.

t. About the desire *for* a reward *for* anything whatever, and the great advantage owing to a reward of the desires *of* mankind; *also* the appropriation of the reward through the operation of the sacred beings:—'Even through the ruler (pad) of that dominion of yours do I produce the renovation *of* the existences by *my* will[9], I who am Aûharmazd.'

u. Excellence is righteousness *that is* perfect.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 8c.
[2] Ibid. 9c.
[3] Ibid. 10c.
[4] Ibid. 8b.
[5] Ibid. 11a and Chap. XIX, 1.
[6] Ibid. 11c.
[7] Ibid. 12a.
[8] Ibid. 13b.
[9] Ibid. 15c.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The twelfth fargar*d*, the Yasna[1], is about the manifestation of good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds by the religion[2]; the lodgment of the religion in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; *and* whoever possesses good thoughts, whoever *has* good words, *and* whoever *has* good deeds, by him righteousness and the reward of the righteous are possessed. 2. This, too, that neither is he, who is not to be born *for* Zaratûs*t*, an issue from parents who are not righteous, nor yet is he, for him, who is a manifestation of the righteous.

3. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Thou shouldst give a glad-thinking desire *for* a spiritual lord, and an easy-bodied constitution, to their minds, the religion which I spoke forth *to* thee; so that the greatest, best, and most beneficial of existences[3], that *are* those which cattle *are* wanting from men, *are* water, pasture, and freedom from danger[4]; *and* those which men *are wanting* from cattle are also food and clothing.' 4. This, too, that that which mankind ought to give to the sacred beings is a power for completeness *of* control; and that which the sacred beings ought to give to men is ever that which is good for them. 5. And this, too, that thou who *art* Aûha*r*ma*zd* also suppliest *it* from those sacred beings, and *thou who art* Zaratûs*t* also teachest *it* thoroughly to that best-ruling sovereignty[5] and authority.

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[1] See Chap. XII, 1 n; it is here written yast in Pahlavi.
[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 4–6.
[3] Ibid. 9.
[4] Ibid. 11.
[5] Ibid. 13.

6. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Let no *one* practise ill-perpetrated deeds, even though in a wilderness when far from publicity, nor in distress, *O* Spîtâmân! because Aûharmazd, the observer of everything, is aware of them; and the rule is *that* just as any one whatever *of* the embodied existence thinks, speaks, *and* practises, so great is his punishment.' 7. And this, too, that the best ceremonial and obeisance[1] are the ceremonial *and* obeisance of a righteous man.

8. About begging for life and receiving *it*, *there* is this, that *it is* customarily due to two methods (babâ): one, through leadership of righteousness[2], is that *through* which *it* is evident that *it is* owing to virtuousness; and one, through service of righteousness[2], is that which is not an evidence that *it is* owing to viciousness. 9. About *the case* where virtuousness is producing authority over truth, and truth over the tongue, so that thou speakest words through the will of Aûharmazd. 10. And this, too, *is said*, namely: 'I am the propitious spirit who *was at* first *and* ever *will* be, and am not really deceived by anything.'

11. About fire *being* given *by* Aûharmazd for shelter and assistance *by* the protection of mankind; *its* maintenance and assistance *by* mankind; and the openheartedness of the spirit of fire for him who shall perform obeisance to it, and for him who is to perform obeisance to it[3]. 12. The work which is the greatest that exists, *and* is accomplished in the future existence[4], whereby the creatures become pure,

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 19.
[2] Ibid. 22.
[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 4, 5.
[4] Ibid. 6.

occurs through fire; *and one* prays *for it* for the sake of the requirements which mankind acquired from the sacred beings. 13. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Since thou *art* thus, *O* Zaratûst! most propitiatory, that is, able to perform most for our pleasure, we are more promptly coming than Mânû-*sk*îhar *was* able to come, when thou beggest of us who are archangels, *O* Zaratûst[1]!'

14. About Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s exhibiting the creatures in the future existence to Zaratûst. 15. *And* this, too, namely, the all-brilliance *of* the earth, the all-brilliance *of* the cattle, the all-brilliance *of* the plants, and the all-brilliance *of* every excellence[2] which is a manifestation of righteousness. 16. About the worshipping of Aûha*r*ma*zd* by worshippers, through advancing[3] in the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s covenant (pa*d*mânŏ), which gave the world his righteousness; also the good protectiveness of his rule, and *of* the greatness therein, is owing to it[4], and the name of the ruler is Wisdom[5]; likewise his ceremonial—performed while the creations owing to him live, when possessing bodies and possessing life[6]—is a benefit *to* all the worldly and spiritual *existences*.

17. And this, too, *is said*, namely: 'Thou art our own[7], and also *our* confederate, *O* Spîtâmân! likewise unto us thou comest with the reverence that is good[8]; thine, *O* Zaratûst! are the greatness and completeness in performance[9], so that they

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 9–14. For Mânûs*k*îhar see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 10, 12, 18.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXXVII (=V), 1, 2.

[3] Ibid. 4.

[4] Ibid. 3.

[5] Ibid. 6.

[6] Ibid. 7.

[7] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIX, 13.

[8] Ibid. 14.

[9] See Pahl. Yas. XL, 1.

become thy greatness and completeness, that is, they are thine, *O* Zaratûs*t*! and are boundless onwards from the middle, that is, we give thee a reward[1] so enormous that, when thou shouldst stand in the middle *of it*, thou *wouldst* not see to *its* limits, the width of the earth, the length of a river, and the height of the sun[2].'

18. Zaratûs*t* begged of Aûha*r*ma*zd* thus: 'Give unto me him who becomes a disciple of men[3] of the mighty through meditation for the religion, *of them* who shall produce the actual progress of this my religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, *and* who *will* also explain the good practices to this *one* of mine, even the blessings set forth *by* me in the benedictions they possess.' 19. *And* Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'I *will* give unto thee him who becomes a disciple of other men of the mighty; they are thy kinsmen and those confederates *of* theirs, and thine are their companions and their serfs[4], who produce the progress of this thy religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers. 20. Mostly thine, *O* Zaratûs*t*! are their worship and their homage; and, through their ceremonial and obeisance, the liberality of him who is worshipped is given to thee, *and* righteousness for the soul is with thee; also thy life exists owing to us, and likewise *thy* body[5], *O* Zaratûs*t*! 21. Forth to thee *will* I, who am the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, come in both existences[6], as assistance; thou becomest worthy, *O* Zaratûs*t*! through Khû*r*da*d* *and* Amû*r*-da*d*[7], both of them, *and* through the gratification of

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XL, 3.

[2] This expression for boundless extent occurs in Yas. LX, 4. Yt. XIII, 32. [3] See Pahl. Yas. XL, 7. [4] Ibid. 10.

[5] See Pahl. Yas. XLI, 7. [6] Ibid. 8. [7] See Chap. XIX, 1.

me, who am Aûharmazd, by those sayings *and* deeds which I, *who* am the most propitious of spirits, proclaimed unto thee.'

22. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'They have become applicants on him who is powerful *with* thee[1].' 23. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Thou becomest an applicant and powerful in the embodied existence.' 24. Zaratûst spoke thus: '*Be* thou a gratification to us in the slow progress *of* life, *thou* most beneficent (hû-dahâktûm) of existences! that is, thou shouldst give to us[2].' 25. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'I *will* gratify thee, *O* righteous Zaratûst! in that best existence[3].'

26. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The thirteenth fargard, Ustavaiti[4], is about the great reward of him who, through virtuous procedure, may occasion the benefit of a man[5] *and of* the religion of righteousness also. 2. This, too, that the maintenance of righteousness[6] is through the practice *of it.*

3. About the tokens of a righteous man—that is, the evidence of him—and *his* reverence for duty *and* good works; also his imperceptible perversion (kastârîh)—that is, not a single sin is manifest

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLI, 10.
[2] Ibid. 11.
[3] Ibid. 15.
[4] See Chap. XIII, 1 n.
[5] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a.
[6] Ibid. 1 d.

in him—and *he is* an accomplisher *of* the stipulations of Vohûman[1], good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and a comprisal of every goodness in the propitiation of the righteous. 4. About[2] . .

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Chapter XXXVII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

. . . . . .

. . . . 'produced the dawn *and* noon-tide (aûsh r*ê*pis*p*)[3]. *e.* I fashioned sovereignty *and* the desired complete mindfulness together[4], *and* produced, for more advantageous disclosure, a son (be*r*manar-aê) for a father[5]; the disclosure that discloses a male and the impregnation of a female, and in that disclosure a son *was* produced by me for the father, *O* Zaratû*s*t!' *f.* So the evil spirit observed, and he called upwards from the abyss thus: '*O* beneficent spirit! thou art the creator *of* all creatures, *but* I *will* make all thy creatures old, *O* beneficent spirit!

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 2 d.

[2] Another folio of B is here lost, containing the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next. The passage missing was equivalent to about 100 lines of this translation, of which perhaps three-fourths belonged to this chapter and one-fourth to the next.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 5 d: aûshahînŏ va-rapîspînŏ = Av. ush*a*u ar*e*m-pithwa.

[4] Ibid. 7 b.

[5] Ibid. 7 c. The verbal causative stem vindîn, 'cause to find, or obtain, disclose,' is twice spelt without its first letter, out of four occurrences; and be*r*manar is hybrid Zvâri*s* for pûsar, in which be*r*man = pûs.

g. About the religion becoming progressive[1] in every one, through its renovation *of the universe and its* future existence, *there* is this, too, namely: 'This thy religion of Zaratûst is the width of the world, *and* righteousness is the best of religions; this thy religion of Zaratûst is the improvement of the world, which is first supplied *by* righteousness *and* complete mindfulness in the reason (vârôm) of those who recite this thy revelation (dênô)[2] of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, *O* Zaratûst! this thy good religion is the best which it is possible to provide with righteousness for one's own. *h*. Thou shouldst proclaim this to kinsmen *and* confederates, to priests and him who is most active in the country; *as to those* who will dispute[3] this thy religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, thou shouldst proclaim this over the earth of seven regions, unto that which is the furthest of houses, villages, communities, and provinces: "Do thou openly curse[4] these who are heretical *towards* me, *thou* united Ma*zd*a-worship *of* Zaratûst, opposed to the demons, which is the ordinance of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[5]!"'

i. Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'I *will* exalt this which is beloved by thee, the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worship *of* Zaratûst, opposed to the demons, which is the ordinance of Aûha*r*ma*zd*. *j*. If this which is thine had not been further loved by me, the Ma*zd*a-worship of Zaratûst, that is opposed to the demons *and is* the ordinance of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, would have lapsed into disaster (vinâsi*s*nŏ)[6], so that the pro-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 8 c. [2] Ibid. 11 d. [3] Ibid. 13 c.
[4] Assuming that nafôrinŏ stands for nafrînŏ.
[5] See Pahl. Yas. I, 65.
[6] See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 19 d.

fession of the religion *of* the Ma*zd*a-worshippers would be destroyed, that is, the religion would not have become progressive, *and* no one *would be* after the benefiters. *k.* But, owing to that *love, O* Zaratû*st*! the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers becomes progressive [1] even then up to the production of the renovation *of the universe*, even then until the perpetual life of the existences, even then till the raising up of the dead, *and* even then up to the full atonement of the spirits.'

l. About *being* despised in hell; the wicked are scornful to a wicked *one*, *and* to the spirits *apart* from the wicked; and it is the creator who, even after saving the others from hell, and the three nights stewing in hell [2], *is* to cause the preservation of them also—after those three nights—from that misery, and *every one* attains to happiness. *m.* This, too, that Zaratû*st* enquired of Aûha*r*ma*zd* thus: 'How have the ignorant demons, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! ever been good rulers [3]? How do they think of them in the world thus, *that* their happiness arose from them?' *n.* And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'They have been demons, *O* Zaratû*st*! *and* evil-ruling; not well-ruling, even for a reward, do they produce the work of righteousness [4].'

o. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 15 d, 17 d.

[2] The three nights' final punishment of those worthy of death, to be inflicted at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 13, 16).

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 20 a.

[4] Ibid. 20 e.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The fifteenth fargar*d*, A*d*-fravakhshyâ[1], is about the seven[2] perfections *of* the admonitions of the religion. 2. First, association with the beneficent spirit of the creator, through hearing[3], learning, *and* practising his religion; *and* this, too, that thereby arises the preservation *of* the good creation when the destroyer is separated (van*g*î*d*). 3. Second, about separation from the destructive evil spirit[4], *and* the contempt which is due to his arrogance and falsehood, the chief of all his vice. 4. Third, governing the temper[5] by good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; and this, that, whoever *of* you does not so use this liturgy as thought and word[6], they *will* not allot him light, they *will* not allot *him* the best existence, *and* he is miserable up to the last[7]. 5. Fourth, about the perfection *of* the nature of next-of-kin marriage[8], which is when *it is* a giving of one's own (khû*d*îh-dahi*s*nîh); and the decision

[1] See Chap. XV, 1 n; it is here written a*d*-fravakhshê in Pahlavi.

[2] Only six are numbered in our text, but the seventh seems to be detailed in § 9.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 1 a. [4] Ibid. 1 d, e.

[5] Ibid. 3 a. [6] Ibid. 3 c, d. [7] Ibid. 3 e.

[8] Ibid. 4 a. There is nothing whatever about next-of-kin marriage in the original Avesta text of this Gâtha, but the Pahlavi translators (in order to interpolate authority for such marriages) took advantage of the Avesta speaking metaphorically of Maz*d*a as being father of Good Thought (Vohûman), and of Bountiful Devotion (Spenda*r*ma*d*) as being Maz*d*a's daughter; while they ignored the old tradition that Vohûman was created *before* Spenda*r*ma*d* (see Bd. I, 23, 26). A translation of the Pahlavi version of this Gâtha passage is given in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 392, 393.

given *about* it, which is the goodness of one's own progeny for the manifestation of progeny; also the relationship, sturdiness, effectiveness, advantageousness, ownership, and giving *in* next-of-kin marriage. 6. *Its* first accomplishment *was by* the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd* in the fatherhood *of* Vohûman[1] who *was* the first progeny, and from that arising of the practice (var'*z*-yehevûnîh) *came* the progress of the spiritual and worldly creatures and much connected *therewith*, such as the arising of splendour from light, radiance from splendour, *and* lustrousness from radiance, *and* the fully progressive diffusion and succession *of* mankind till the renovation *of the universe;* also, through spiritual and worldly passing on in the spiritual and worldly *existences*, Spenda*r*ma*d*'s[2] acceptance of the motherly glory *was* an ennoblement. 7. Fifth, about providing *and* maintaining the high-priests[3] who are provided with a spiritual lord and possessing priestly instruction; the listening of his authorities of every kind to Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and the reward of the beneficent good works[4] of the high-priesthood, *are* authority for Aûha*r*ma*zd*; *and* the reward of the good works of the high-priesthood is *their* relation *to* the best existence. 8. Sixth, about the praise, obeisance, *and* ceremonial[5] *for* the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*; and this, too, that further conference *with* Vohûman[6] arises, and wisdom *and* advantage[7] are taught by

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4 c. [2] Ibid. 4 d. [3] Ibid. 5 a.

[4] Rather doubtful, as the repairer of the MS. has omitted the first two Pahlavi letters of ki*r*fakŏ, 'good works,' when writing the word on a patch.

[5] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 6 a, b, d.

[6] Ibid. 6 d. [7] Ibid. 6 e, 7 a.

him thus: 'Thou shouldst be a supplicant for the immortal progress of the soul[1], *O* Zaratûst! so that Aûha*r*ma*z*d *may be* lord of the creatures[2], and the practice of propitiation *by* mankind *may be* that *for* him, also a proportion of the ordering of obeisance[3].'

9. About the sovereignty of Aûha*r*ma*z*d[4]—even through the reward given *at* the bridge *of judgment* —which is in his good assemblies[5], those of the restorer of the world, the destroyer of the evil *one, and* the benefiter.

10. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Thou becomest, through complete mindfulness, *O* Spîtâmân! a perpetual adopter (giriftâr) of this ceremonial of mine[6].'

11. About Aûha*r*ma*z*d *having* given power[7] to the creatures, the preparation[8] of the power, and the contempt[9] *for* the evil spirit and his appliances; Aûha*r*ma*z*d and the creations gave that contempt back to the evil spirit and the primary (kâdmon) demons who are those produced by the demons.

12. About the glorification of Zaratûst *there is*

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 7 c. [2] Ibid. 7 e. [3] Ibid. 8 a.

[4] Ibid. 9 c. This appears to be the seventh 'perfection' mentioned in § 1.

[5] Assuming that hû-hambâmîhâ stands for hû-hangâmîhâ, just as hanbâm is a common variant of hangâm. It might also mean 'good times,' but it seems to represent the incorrect word amâvandîh in Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 9 e, which each of the four MS. authorities spells differently. Mf4 has hû-dandîh which, no doubt, stands for an original hû-zandîh, 'good community,' a fair translation of Av. haozãthwa, and well expressed by 'good assemblies.'

[6] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 10 a.

[7] Ibid. 10 e, in which zakŏ-î ought to be zôr-î according to Pt4, Mf4, with which J2 partly agrees.

[8] Assuming that nîvârûnŏ stands for nîvâr*d*anŏ.

[9] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 11 b.

this, too, namely: 'Thou art beneficial, thou art high-priest and master, and through thee exists the religion which is propitious[1]; thou art brother and companion *of* all the benefiters, and thus thy friend[2] is Vohûman.'

13. Perfect *is* the excellence *of* righteousness.

Chapter XXXIX.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. *In* the sixteenth fargard, Kamnamaêza[3], about departure to any land whatever[4], in renewed search *of* fortune, *there is* also this, namely: 'Do not stay *away* discontentedly from this thy ceremonial and obeisance, *O* Zaratûst! through love of us, when they do not satisfy thee—*neither* thy own, nor the confederate, nor the companion, nor the serf, nor the wicked tyrant[5]—by whom those who are demons are *wont* to be worshipped. 2. And where and when thou art far from us, even then do not stand aloof from our affairs; and also when the affairs of the worldly *existence* shall not stand well for thee, even then thou shouldst reverence us and shouldst pay us homage.' 3. So also this, that the wish *of* the evil spirit is thus: 'Thou shouldst not reverence and shouldst not pay homage to the archangels; and here[6] *the people* shall possess neither lordship, nor priestly instruction—that is, ruler and

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 11 d. [2] Ibid. 11 e.

[3] See Chap. XVI, 1 n; it is here written kâmnamézŏ in Pahlavi.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 1 a. [5] Ibid. 1 b, c, d.

[6] In this world.

high-priest—and their desire is not *for* perfect righteousness.'

4. And this, too, *is said*, namely: '*Of* the contracted [1] spirituality and deficient wealth [2], owing to the little progress of men who are self-gratifiers, thou art aware, *O* Zaratûst! *thou* who art no seeker *of* this—that is, this want of opulence of thine—because thou dost not know *it* [3]; *but* I perceive those words of complaint of thine, of which I demand an account from thee [4].' 5. And this, *too*, namely: 'Thou art aware *of* the gratification of desire [5] *by* us who are archangels, and *which* we give for the gratification that thou bringest forth (zihi*h*); we also give thee the liberty which a friend gives to him who is a friend [5].'

6. About *what* occurs in *future* ages [6]: the experienced (arvandân) who are beneficial through teaching *and* practising wisdom [7], and the thirst of youths is increased by them; by the assistance of complete mindfulness they improve the world of righteousness and produce distress for the fiend; and the advantage due to virtue extends to them [8]. 7. And this, too, that he who is evilly oppressive has died off through his own deeds [9]. 8. About always opposing villains with as much strength as exists, so that he who is a good ruler [10], whose high-priest is the bounteous liturgy (Mânsars*p*end), may become predominant [11] over Wrath.

9. About the praise of the renovators *there* is this,

[1] Assuming that tak stands for tang.
[2] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 2 b. [3] Ibid. 2 a. [4] Ibid. 2 c.
[5] Ibid. 2 d. [6] Ibid. 3 a. [7] Ibid. 3 c.
[8] Ibid. 3 d. [9] Ibid. 4 c. [10] Ibid. 4 d.
[11] Ibid. 5 a.

too, namely: 'Blessings on good understanding *and* also on Mit*r*ô, whose punishment of sinners they shall inflict for this consideration, that *he is* intelligent *and* friendly (mit*r*ô-pân)[1].' 10. And, about adjudication *as to* a kinsman (nafsman) of any one whatever, *there* is this, too, namely: 'Through a revival of Rashnû, whoever is righteous and also whoever is wicked—that is, every one—is to be kept for judicial investigation[2].' 11. This, too, namely: 'A kinsman is to be considered as virtuous[3], by whom his own soul is preserved from wickedness[4].' 12. *And* this, too, namely: 'So thy high-priest is he whose own religion is pure[5].'

13. About the characteristics of the fiend, the broken-down (khastakŏ) Mânih[6], and the destruction of the wicked who *were* listening to him, that which came from him who *was* monarch. 14. And this, too, namely: 'The wicked *one*, who gives my world to that which the malicious[7] Aharman has established *as* supremacy (lâlâîh), is he who is a self-wounding[8] demon that is set going for the death of the world of righteousness which he praises. 15. The cere-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 5 b. For Mit*r*ô see Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

[2] Ibid. 5 c. For Rashnû see Bk. VIII, Chap. XX, 153 n.

[3] Ibid. 5 d. [4] Ibid. 5 e. [5] Ibid. 7 e.

[6] The arch-heretic who was born in A.D. 215–6, first preached his doctrines on the coronation day of king Shahpûr I (20th March, 242), and was put to death by order of Bahrâm I in A.D. 276–7 (see Nöldeke's Gesch. der Sas. pp. 47, 412, 415). From the mode in which he and his followers are mentioned in §§ 13–16, it would seem that the original Pahlavi version of this Nask must have been made at a time when this heresy was still fresh in men's memories, as it would have been in the first half of the fourth century, when Âtûrpâ*d*-î Mâraspendân was collecting and revising the sacred books.

[7] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 8 a. [8] Ibid. 8 b.

monial of righteousness is not such as that he praises, *O* Zaratûst! the priestly authority of the worldly settlements (gêhânân) that he mentions thus: "In priestly authority and high-priestship I *am* better (*s*apîr) *and* am better suitable;" and not so, *O* Zaratûst! is that excretion (mûtri*s*nŏ)[1] he stirs up for mankind; that *which* he mentions to them becomes a perpetual effusion from him, and they who stirred up the excretion afterwards think it theirs, *and* that which is a perfect ceremonial of the demons occurs. 16. Through the opposing arrival *of* Srôsh[2], the righteous, the ruler is in vexation with that person; that ruler who is a protection of these *others* through good emanation[3]—not through evil living—and at every time a distresser *of* the wicked[4].'

17. About the peculiarity of attracters *to* the religion, *and* the good works of those attracted[5]. 18. About the signs of the last times, which *are* the millenniums of the sons of Zaratûst.

19. This, too, that they cause disturbance (aâramênd) unto the sovereignty, and *they* who are Kaîs and Karaps[6], those even who are the most evil-ruling in the country—who by villanous deeds are those *who* destroy the existence of mankind through statements, and destroy their own souls[7]—*also* destroy the material world which, confused by them,

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[1] Compare Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 10 b.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 8 c, d. This last word (hû-zahi*s*nîh) ought certainly to be hû-zîvi*s*nîh, 'good living.'

[4] Ibid. 8 e. [5] Ibid. 10 d, e.

[6] Ibid. 11 a; also see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

[7] Ibid. 11 b, c.

is more beloved than righteousness; even the sovereignty is a scanty shelter, among the existences, from those whose command is villanous, when they produce *that* which is vicious and deliver their pupils (âmûkhtagânŏ) to that which is *their* end (*a*fdûm), to the fiendish abode[1].

20. And here, too, about the praise of the family of the Fryânaks[2] it speaks thus: 'Righteousness comes up, *O* Spîtâmân! from the descendants and posterity of Tûrân; when extracted by the Fryânaks *it* is stated[3] just as *though* it were by Tûrân; through the assistance of complete mindfulness they develope the world[4] of righteousness and produce distress for the fiend; they likewise think about *it* with Good Thought, *O* Zaratûst! *and* thou shouldst bring forth (zâyê*s*) their gratification[5] from us, who are archangels, by words, that is, do thou demand *it*.'

21. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'This liberality which is *for* thee is *for us* who are archangels; by him who shall provide liberality for thee[6], it is provided for us.' 22. About the praise of Vi*st*âsp *there* is this, too, namely: 'Kaî-Vi*st*âsp[7] *has* propitiated thee, among the existences, by liberal giving; that Vi*st*âsp, whose coming forth to thee in distress is through the reign of Vohûman, *has* developed the material world of righteousness; thou

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 11 e.

[2] A Tûrânian family of Maz*d*a-worshippers, of whom Yôi*st*a is specially mentioned in the Avesta (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 18 n); and it appears from Dd. XC, 3 that Ashem-yahmâi-u*st*a of Yt. XIII, 120 was another member of the same family.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 12 b.

[4] Ibid. 12 c, and compare § 6.

[5] Ibid. 12 d, e.

[6] Ibid. 13 a.

[7] See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

shouldst think of him, the good companion, *O* Zaratûst! the pure friend who is Kaî-Vistâsp[1]; such is that Kaî-Vistâsp, the active, who, when he praises the religion, is attracting fellow-dwellers *and* converts *them*, that is, he brings them on to the religion[2].'

23. About attracting the Spîtâmas to the religion *there* is this, too, namely: 'Thou shouldst speak thus to the Spîtâmas: "Praise righteousness with much homage about *it* mentally; and a concession is to be discriminated by you, as well as whatever is no concession; even for those deeds *of* yours righteousness is the reward given unto you, that reward which is much given by Aûha*r*ma*zd*[3]."' 24. About the place of the four marvels produced by Aûha*r*ma*zd in* yonder *world:* there where is the reign of Vohûman[4], there where is the hospitality of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[5], there where religion is *along* with complete mindfulness[6], *and* there where are the souls of the liberal[7].

25. About advice to Zaratûst as to speech, made for mankind, which is proportionate—abandoning want of proportion—which is an appropriation of liberality with humility and a wise proportion[8] for good works. 26. This, too, namely: 'To him who gives himself mentally up to thee in discipleship, thou also shouldst give up the best which *thou hast* to give of thine own; and thou shouldst give wealth to him who shall give wealth to thee[9], because so thy soul would be perfect, *O* righteous Zaratûst! when it shall act thus.' 27. This, too: 'Thou

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 13 e. [2] Ibid. 14 c, d. [3] Ibid. 15 b, c, d.
[4] Ibid. 16 d. [5] Ibid. 16 e. [6] Ibid. 16 c.
[7] Ibid. 16 a. [8] Ibid. 17 a, b, c, e. [9] Ibid. 18 a, b, c.

shouldst select this religion of mine with wisdom *and* also with thought[1].' 28. This, too, that *as to* him who *has* to act with the freedom from effort (*a*pêsitûnagîh) of righteousness[2] *and* owing to *it*, for the good works done by him the gift is good. 29. This, too, that whoever seeks by good works, *and* seeks good works by innocence, obtains freedom from harm (*a*-nâsîh); *and* whoever is liberal to the sacred beings[3] is free from destruction (*a*-nasîn i*s*nŏ), owing to the liberality of the sacred beings. 30. *And* this, too, namely: 'These *are* the rewards I am aware of[4], which have been, which still are, and which ever *will* be.'

31. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

Chapter XL.

*Var*stmânsar *Nask.*

1. The seventeenth fargar*d*, Spe*n*tâ-mainyû[5], is about *this*, that Aûha*r*ma*zd* produced the creatures through wisdom, *and* maintains *them* in truth. 2. This, too, that the best thing[6] *for* every one is thought in a high-priest who is the tongue of a spiritual lord[7]; in a high-priest, who *has* to maintain thought, no appliances of the body *are* to lie unto the spiritual lord on account of affection *for* the

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 18 e.

[2] Ibid. 19 a. All but the last syllable of *a*pêsitûnagîh is written by the repairer of the MS. on one of his patches, but the word is a strange equivalent for Av. haithîm.

[3] Ibid. 19 d. [4] Ibid. 19 e.

[5] See Chap. XVII, 1 n; it is here written s*p*end-matŏ in Pahlavi, and is called the 18th fargar*d* by mistake.

[6] See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 a. [7] Ibid. 2 b.

worldly *existence.* 3. Also that the spiritual lord is always true; of the tongue—when he (*the priest*) speaks falsehood with the tongue—are those words which he does not believe through the spiritual lord, and *it is* owing to this, too, when, of all the body, the tongue first dies. 4. 'I say unto thee, *O* Spîtâmân! that thou shouldst speak with the tongue just as thou thinkest with the mind, and thou shouldst accomplish work with both hands in complete mindfulness [1].' 5. And this, too, that he who shall act thus is sagacious, and he is the father of righteousness through wisdom [2]; and whoever would do that which has happened, thoroughly observes *it* on account of that *which* has not happened. 6. Also this, *that* in the person of him who shall do that which he understands, *and* asks again about that which he does not understand, the propitious spirit *of* wisdom is lodging.

7. About cattle *being* produced for the assistance *of* mankind, and the pastures of pleasure for the assistance *of* cattle [3]. 8. This, too, that the archangels injure the evil demon and wicked people, *but* they do not injure righteous people [4] and the sage. 9. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'In scanty opulence do not murmur (a*l* m a ng) owing to good works [5], *and* thus in great opulence much good work arises.' 10. This, too, that beneficence gives all to the good, *and* it is no further the villain whom the sacred beings maintain [6].

11. About the tongue *of* a true speaker *being* given for the satisfying (vi*g*âri*s*nŏ) of disputants,

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 c. [2] Ibid. 2 d. [3] Ibid. 3 c.
[4] Ibid. 4 a, b. [5] Ibid. 4 c. [6] Ibid. 5 b, c.

and for declaring who is acquitted *or* incriminated; and the ordeal that is a demonstrator, to acquit *or* convict, which he whose tongue is truthful *has* accepted—and it shall make his statement current—has developed its jurisdiction in the world, *and* diminished distress. 12. *And* this, too, *is said*, that he gives out fire for disputes, so that it may make manifest the acquitted and incriminated, when he in whom are his immense complete mindfulness, and also righteousness, is guardian of the ordeal; and, when many inspect it, that which is the ritual of the ordeal believes them wicked [1].

13. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

Chapter XLI.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The eighteenth fargar*d*, Yêzî [2], is about the existence of certain and doubtful evidence *and* indication as to the future existence [3] arising. 2. About the great dignity *of* the spirit of good works, *and* that also of the person doing good works through the lodgment of that spirit in him. 3. This, too, that they praise, recount, and practise the religion of Ma*zd*a-worship at the time of the renovation *of the universe*, that of which the demons through deceitfulness, and then also wicked mankind deceived by those who are demons, *have* said that it does not occur [4].

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 6 b, c, d.

[2] See Chap. XVIII, 1 n; it is here called the 19th fargar*d* by mistake in the MS.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1 a.

[4] Ibid. 1 b.

4. About the triumph of the sacred beings over the demons at the end of *various* periods. 5. First, that which *occurs* when, on account of the preservation of mankind from hell, they praise the religion *of* Ma*zd*a-worship; *and* that which *occurs* when Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân, *whose* guardian spirit is reverenced, came to the obedient king Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp [1]. 6. Second, when the power and triumph of renewed sovereignty are again connected with the religion, and mankind, on that account, return to the good religion; and this occurs on the near approach *of* Aushê*d*ar [2], son of Zaratû*s*t, when the righteous *K*itrag-miyân [3] arrives. 7. Third, when mankind contentedly praise the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, and this occurs as Aûshê*d*ar-mâh [4], son of Zaratû*s*t, arrives. 8. *And* fourth, that which *occurs* when every one shall practise the religion *of* Ma*zd*a-worship with eagerness; *at* that time arrives the beneficial *and* triumphant producer of the renovation, Sôshâns [5], son of Zaratû*s*t; *and* this becomes the consummation (sar-hômôndîh) *and* supreme triumph *of* the sacred beings.

9. About enquiring of him who is acquainted with religion *and* a wise priest *concerning* the religion, and hearing *of it* from him [6]; also well understanding *it* through wisdom. 10. About abstaining

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[1] See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 12.

[3] A title of Pêshyôtanû, son of king Vi*s*tâsp, who remains immortal as chief high-priest of Kangdez, whence he is expected to come to restore the religious rites in Irân and the rest of the world (see Bd. XXIX, 5, Byt. III, 25–32, 36–38, 41, 42, 51, 52).

[4] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 13. [5] Ibid. 14.

[6] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 3 a, b.

from the secret proceedings (nîhân-hômôndîh) *of* a deceitful *and* seductive apostate[1]. 11. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Thou shouldst also not fall into the downcast imprisonment (nikûn alakîh) through the teaching they deceive, where they thus mislead thee to the downcast imprisonment which is hell.'

12. About mankind attaining to the wisdom of an angel (yêdatô dânôgîh)[2] through the grades of intellect, ability, *and* religion. 13. This, too, *is said*, namely: '*It is* for that way when mankind cause the disturbance (*s*iklinênd) *of* that which is a vile religion for want of a way, when even this is produced from among the creatures, in which is the opening of a passage *for* mankind to him, where the evil spirit is dwelling *and* making thee surrender, and on account of the stupefying Akômanô[3].' 14. This, too, that, through the sovereignty of sagacity, every one *at* last arrives at that way. 15. And this, too, that *by him*, who shall persistently perform good works or sin *with* fearlessness, *it is* to be hereupon considered that his performance is mindful[4], *and* that the best thing *for* mankind, after birth, is purification from sin[5].

16. This, too, that the food *and* maintenance of the priests *depend* upon the husbandmen[6]. 17. This, too, that coveted is now the pleasure and strength of mankind due to the cattle of Khû*r*da*d and*

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 3 c.

[2] The use of ô for â sometimes occurs in MSS. from Irân. The word can also be read shavandagîh, 'existence,' but this meaning is less likely.

[3] See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 4 c.

[5] Ibid. 5 c.

[6] Ibid. 5 d.

Amûrdad[1]. 18. About the oppressiveness *of* Wrath and Envy, *and* the destruction of both through complete mindfulness and possession of Good Thought[2]. 19. *And* this *is said*, namely: 'I made the religion of righteousness a combining desire (vôyak-î hâm-dahisnŏ[3]), and all mankind's own selves *are* to be forced into that desire; also its involuntary seeking of immortality is the reign of the will of all mankind, and advantage always arises from it[4].' 20. This, too, that the care of cattle is reverence *of* Aûharmazd[5].

21. About the progress[6] of righteousness *there* is this, too, that that greatness[6] is generated therefrom, and its seekers—who are human beings—*have* demanded the supreme predominance in the best existence. 22. About the praise of the period of the renovation *of the universe there* is this, too, that, at that time, those who are doubtful about it are all disclosed to publicity[7]; *also* the last reward and bridge *judgment* of the worthy. 23. About the lawfulness of that which *occurs* through the destruction by Vohûman[8], who is himself the spiritual lord of the arrangement, *there* is this, too, that the wicked,

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 6 a, b; also Chap. XIX, 1.

[2] Ibid. 7 a, b.

[3] Ibid. 7 c, where, however, this last word can be read asamînisnŏ, 'unalarming' (asahamînisnŏ in Pt4, Mf4), and the corresponding word in Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 10 b can be read asamisnŏ, 'intrepid;' but, as these meanings are difficult to reconcile with those of the original Av. hithaos, hithãm, it seems more probable that the first syllables asam or asaham, should be read hisam or hisâm, a mere transcript of Av. hithãm.

[4] Ibid. 8 a. [5] Ibid. 8 b.

[6] Perhaps these two words, rûbâkîh, 'progress,' and rabâîh, 'greatness,' should be alike, but it is doubtful which is correct.

[7] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 9 b. [8] Ibid. 9 c.

at that time, become aware of their own wickedness, when their bodies are dissipated. 24. About the destruction of the good works of the wicked, also that of their own souls, that of *their* spiritual existences, and that of *their* material bodies[1]. 25. And this, too, that at the time of the renovation *of the universe* occurs the approach *of* the wisdom of our sovereignty to that of the best of mankind, and that glory is put on by it through which the destruction *of* the bad and the development of the good arise; *also* the sagacity which *exists* in Vohûman extends to those who are its friends[2].

26. This, too, that *there* are those who are extenders of the days, and they are beneficial in the country[3]; and their custom, where they have arisen, is an opponent of him who is a wrathful person[4]. 27. And this, too, that they shall thereupon excite (lâlâ vadîdûnâñd) a brother *and* sister with mutual desire, so that they shall form a next-of-kin marriage with unanimity; and before midday they generate a sublime radiance, centred in the face, *and* trembling passion[5], and they *make* the radiance grow up, openly manifest, to an altitude of the height of three spears of the length *of* three reeds *each*[6]; and

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 11 c.

[2] Ibid. 11 d. [3] Ibid. 12 a. [4] Ibid. 12 d.

[5] Reading as follows:—lâlâ zerkhûnd rôshanô pavan mîyân rôd bûland navêndakŏ khrôs, but some of the words can be read otherwise, as in S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. 395, or with further variations; and it is doubtful if the verb is to be construed with the words that follow it, contrary to the usual Pahlavi rule, as there is no other trace of Avesta construction in this section. Neither the Avesta, nor the Pahlavi, version of this chapter of the Gâthas makes any allusion to the subjects mentioned in §§ 27, 28.

[6] It appears from Dd. XLIII, 5 that this total of nine reeds would be about forty-eight human feet of fourteen finger-breadths

after midday they have learnt expulsion (rânakîh)[1], *and* shall remove the fiend who *was* before a destroyer. 28. About *those who* girdle themselves where they shall perform *their* proper duty, and are thus all-beneficent for *being* seen.

29. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER XLII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The nineteenth fargar*d*, A*d* mâ-yavâ[2], is about the protection *by* a protector for the protection *of* the distressed *ones* of the renovation *of the universe*[3]. 2. About the impossibility of convincing those who have not attained to the fundamental reason (bûn *k*im) of belief, before making them comprehensibly reliant upon the existence of the creator, which is the fundamental reason of belief.

3. About the grievous suffering (vîmârîh) of the religion owing to him who is a wicked judge, whose effusions (r*êz*î*d*anŏ) on the judgment seat are injudicious, malevolent, *and* enemies of wisdom; also his wounding is owing to truth[4], and *his* annoyance owing to the truthful, and the evil spirit is lodging in him; *likewise* the advantage *to* the religion and the great reward of just judges, and the introduction

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(see Farh. Oîm, p. 41, l. 1), or 10½ inches, each; so that the height here mentioned would be about forty-two English feet.

[1] The capability of expelling fiends.

[2] See Chap. XIX, 1 n; it is here written a*d*-mâg-yûv in Pahlavi.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 1 a.

[4] Ibid. 2 a, b.

(madam-bari*s*nîh) of a desire for leadership in virtuousness[1]. 4. About separation from the friendship of a wicked, ill-judging, unintelligent, and idle *person*, in whom wrath and envy are coiled up (*a*var-*pêk*ŏ)[2]. 5. About the good government of securers of their own necks (*k*avarman) from viciousness, and the bad government of those repeatedly culpable (lakhvâr-âhûgân) owing to viciousness. 6. And this, too, that the wicked themselves are wicked to their own and make them fit for hell, even as to those who[3] are precious to them and more beloved than righteousness; and *their* reign, too, is a scanty protection (ga*s*ûkŏ srâyi*s*nŏ).

7. About the praise of Zaratû*s*t *there* is this, too, namely: 'Thy sweetness and mildness are shown to the worldly existences, thy leadership of the religion is through Vohûman, *and* thou art well conversant with righteousness[4].' 8. About the praise of Frashô*s*tar's ardour in the leadership of good works, in virtuousness[5], listening *to* instruction, and truthful speaking, and in pasturing (fshegîh), cultivating the world, achieving benefit (sû*d*ŏ tâshî*d*ârîh), and not giving leadership to villains[6]. 9. About the praise also of the energy *and* high-priestship of *G*âmâsp[7]. 10. About the protection of the good

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 3 b, c. [2] Ibid. 4 a.

[3] Assuming that amat stands for mûn, their Irânian equivalents being much alike.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 5 a, b, c.

[5] Ibid. 8 a, b, c and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68 n.

[6] Ibid. 9 a, b, in which Pt4, Mf4 have tâshî*d*âr instead of the khvâstâr of K5, J2; regarding fshegîh (=Av. fsh*e*ng'hyô) see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXII, 6 n.

[7] Ibid. 9 d and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68 n.

creations by Vohûman, *and* that, too, of the souls of the righteous *by* Spenda*r*ma*d* also[1].

11. About the punishment of the wicked *ruler* who is seizing anything unlawfully in his realm. 12. Also about the grievous punishment of the wicked, evil-thinking, evil-speaking, evil-doing, heretical (dû*s*-dênô), evil ruler in hell[2]. 13. About the reply of the archangels to Zaratû*s*t, as to the reward begged by him, to make *him* satisfied about it[3].

14. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The twentieth fargar*d*, Ka*d*-môi-urvâ[4], is about anything whatever *being* begged *as* provision for the soul[5], and as to the speaking of Shatraver[6] to Zaratû*s*t thus: 'Thou shouldst think thus, *O* Spîtâmân! that Aûha*r*ma*zd* assists thee.' 2. This, too, *is said*, that the creatures of Aûha*r*ma*zd* live through Khû*r*da*d*[7], are immortal through Amû*r*da*d*[7], possess complete mindfulness of Aûha*r*ma*zd* through

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 10 a, b, c and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

[2] Ibid. 11 a, b.

[3] Ibid. 12 b, d. In Pt4, Mf4, § b is as follows: 'Mûn Zaratû*s*tŏ *k*îgûn lak Vohûman;' being correctly limited according to the Avesta text.

[4] See Chap. XX, 1 n; it is here written ka*d*-môg-ravakŏ in Pahlavî.

[5] See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 1 a.

[6] An archangel who is a personification of the Avesta phrase khshathra-vairya, 'desirable dominion.'

[7] For these three archangels see Chaps. XII, 25 n, XIX, 1 n. and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

Spenda*r*ma*d*[1], and *possess* him as ruler through Shatraver.

3. About wealth *being* begged owing to virtuousness *there* is this, too, that, to him who, owing to virtuousness, begs that which is not allowed to him owing to the oppressiveness *of* the vile, or on account of *some* other opposition, they then give essentially that reward, in the spiritual *existence which is* greater *and* better than that wealth. 4. About the cattle suitable *for* that warrior who possesses virtuous habits *and* strength[2], through the assistance of the will of the sacred beings and *for* the benefit of Irân *and* the defeat of the diminishing foreign force (kâstârîh-i an-Aîrânŏ).

5. About the seizure[3] of mankind for the advancement of the admonition *and* command *of* the sacred beings, so far as force is an assistant to them in knowledge due to the sacred beings[4]; *and* their appropriation *of* the best existence through the advancement of that admonition *and* command. 6. About the assistance of the righteous, on the passage to the best existence, by the spirit of the wisdom of sovereignty, liberality, *and* truth, Aharî*s*vang[5] and the angel Hôm[6].

7. About the reason of the three steps walked forward *by* the Zôti from the place of the Zôti, while uttering the Avesta (*a*vistâkŏ-gôbi*s*nîhâ), after the

[1] See note 7, preceding page.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 3 a, c. [3] Ibid. 7 d.

[4] This proviso implies some faint perception of the absurdity of trying to assist almighty beings by human force.

[5] See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

[6] A personification of the Av. Haoma plant, an infusion of the dried twigs of which is used in the religious ceremonial. Yas. IX and X are devoted to his praise.

end of the ritual for the fire, on delivering (parvâ-*z*is*n*ŏ) the offering of holy-water to the water [1], *being* the leading up of the archangels, always *at* the end of an assembly of conference *with* Zaratûs*t*, by three steps from the earth to the sun station, through *the places of* good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds [2].

8. Advice to Zaratûs*t* also as to the nature of the archangels; likewise a reminder to worship on *their*

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 8 a. This refers to the proceedings of the chief officiating priest in the ceremonial, after the conclusion of the Âta*s* Nyâyi*s* (Yas. LXII) and just before the beginning of the Âbân Nyâyi*s* (Yas. LXV), during the recital of Yas. LXIV which chiefly consists of a repetition of §§ 6–11 of this Gâthic hâ (Yas. L=XLIX of the Pahlavi version). These proceedings are detailed in the rubrics, partially in J2 and more fully in Pt4, Mf4, as follows:—After reciting Av. Yas. L, 7 d 'the Barsôm (Av. baresman, see Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 65 n) is to be taken up from the Mâh-rû,' or crescent-topped Barsôm-stand, '*and* one step is to be set forth in the direction of the Frabar*d*âr' (the imaginary assistant priest whose station is near the north-east corner of the ceremonial area, or to the left of the Zôti, see Chap. XXXIII, 5 n), '*at* this place *of* taking up the Barsôm from the Barsôm-stand, *and of* going on to the position of the Frabar*d*âr, a beginning of Yas. L, 8 a is to be made in walking towards the beginning of the fire place, until Yas. L, 11 d is to be uttered,' in the following manner:—After 'ma*d* v*a*u one step is to be set forth, *and* homage to be offered to the holy-water;' after 'padâi*s* one step, and homage to be offered to the holy-water;' after 'yâ frasrûtâ îzay*a*u one step is to be set forth, *and he* is to go on to the position of the Âbar*d*' (the imaginary assistant priest whose station is near the south-east corner, so that the progress of the Zôti towards the fire is along the left-hand side of the ceremonial area), and, after reciting the rest of the Gâthic text to the end of Yas. L, 11 d, 'homage is to be offered to the fire, *and he* is to go away to the position of the Zôti.'

[2] The three lower grades of heaven, intermediate between the earth and the best existence or supreme heaven (Garô*d*mân), and situated in the stations of the stars, moon, and sun, respectively (see AV. VII–X, Mkh. VII, 9–12).

account after separation from the sight *of them.* 9. And this, too, *is said*, that *there* arises therefrom a conception (ham-giriftârîh), *by* him whose disposition and character are sagacious[1], also as to the adaptation of his own deeds to that nature of his. 10. And about the good affinity of Zaratûs*t*, even for abundance of good works, *there* is this, too, namely: 'So, *for* all those deeds which *thou hast* to accomplish, *and* which are also accomplished, there is reward for thee through their righteousness, *O* Zaratûs*t*!'

11. And about the advice to Zaratûs*t* *there* is this, too, namely: '*Thou hast* to become reverent to them[2], so that mankind *may* become reverent to thee.' 12. About considering the time of the days *and* nights *as* all for good accumulation in good works *there* is this, too, that whoever is diligent *and* always doing good works, *and* that whoever shall perform as many good works as is possible for him, is given as much reward[3] as is his desire.

13. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

Chapter XLIV.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. *In* the twenty-first fargar*d*, Vohû-khshathrem[4], *it* is said by Aûhar*m*az*d* thus: 'I produced, *O* Zaratûs*t*! the desire *for* a good ruler[5];' and this, too, *is said*, that, when *there is* a desire *for* a

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 9 d. [2] Ibid. 10 d.

[3] Ibid. 11 d.

[4] See Chap. XXI, 1 n; it is here written vohû-khshatar in Pahlavi, and is called the 22nd fargar*d* by mistake.

[5] See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 a.

good ruler suitable for a share of the world, whoever is suitable for a share of the world [is a development of that character also, owing to the share which is given him, and by him who is himself also developing the character, by giving him a share][1], giving the share is producing a helper (vi*g*î*d*âr), production of a helper is a perfect action[2], and superiority of action is owing to thought *and* speech.

2. About *the place* where the best wealth is the produce of water, earth, and plants; also its best supplication is lamentation for the religion, and the sovereignty is liberality. 3. About favours *being* begged from the sacred beings, even with words controverting the response of the sacred beings; the favours *for* the worthy are to be contended *for* worthily. 4. About the connection of the power of intelligent remembrance and wise discrimination, one with the other. 5. About the attraction of the mercy of the spirit *and* leadership[3], together, into the supreme heaven (garô*d*mânô), for observation regarding the good creatures.

6. About the begging *and* teaching of that intelligence which is with the increase of good works; also the imperceptible acquirement[4] of wealth occurs thereby. 7. This, too, that whoever gives himself up, with humility and reverence, to him who is a high-priest of the true religion, is proficient (far'-*z*ânakî-aîtŏ) in the religion[5]; and the benefit produced by him, for him who is good, is the liberality

[1] The passage in brackets was at first omitted in the MS. by mistake, and subsequently interlined and written in the margin with a different ink.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 c.

[3] Ibid. 4 a. [4] Ibid. 5 a. [5] Ibid. 5 c.

which is provided for the sacred beings[1]. 8. About Aûharmazd *having* created water, plants, animals[2], *and* the law of the primitive religion *for* the nourishment, arrangement, and succession of the creatures. 9. About the comfort *of* the spirit *of* the liturgy of the religion when he who is a man of credible wisdom and superior disposition utters it[3].

10. This, too, that the wicked *one* who does not believe the deception that he teaches to others, which is his through his own spiritual lord, yet, when he teaches multitudes (kabedân), is convinced by it, attains—*as* the end of that teaching—eminence (padgahîh) for bare-faced deceit (barâhnakŏ fradîpîh), public falsehood, and disjointed belief.

11. And about mankind *being* bodily prepared also for the future existence by fire and melted ore[4]; in the worldly *existence* the acquitted and incriminated, as regards the law, *have* become thereby manifest[5], *and,* in the future existence, the torment of the wicked *and* the gratification of the righteous[6]. 12. About Vohûman *and* Ashavahist *being* invoked[7] for assistance also in danger from the wicked, and about appropriating the best existence through righteousness alone. 13. And this, too, that a happy coming *of* men to the supreme heaven exists *for* the righteous, *but* no[8] coming of any one from the wicked.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. L, 6 a. [2] Ibid. 7 a.

[3] Ibid. 8 c; nêvagtâr is written by mistake for nêvagtar, 'superior,' in the MS.

[4] Ibid. 9 b and Chap. XXXII, 25. [5] Ibid. 9 a.

[6] Ibid. 9 c. [7] Ibid. 10 c.

[8] Assuming that râî stands for lâ.

14. About the enmity of the Kaî[1] sodomite (vâêpŏ)[2] Akht, the heretic of the dark existence[3], to Zaratûst; and the causing of disturbance (*s*iklinî*d*anŏ), *by* him and the wicked of similar kinds to him, among those who *follow* Zaratûst is extreme, and the primeval hellish existence is *for* them[4]. 15. About the closing of the abode of the Kaî and Karap from virtuousness[5]; *and* this, too, that they do not develope the worldly *existences*, nor attend to the spirit, but they contract the world *and* dissipate the spirit[6].

16. About the worthiness of the sovereignty *of* Kaî-Vistâsp[7], on account of great ability and activity, apart even from superintending. 17. About the praise of Frashôstar[8] for his *having* given Hvôbŏ[9] in marriage to Zaratûst, the praise *of* Hvôbŏ for her complete reverence *of* Zaratûst, and admonition to Zaratûst as to making Hvôbŏ privileged for the post of house-mistress[10]. 18. About the praise of *G*âmâsp[11] for begging fortune and *for* wisdom in appropriating the excellence *of* the primitive righteousness; *also his* affection for the sovereignty and *for* the recitation of revelation, in which *there* is assistance of Zaratûst through command of Vohû-

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[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. L, 12 a.

[3] Akhtyô duz*d*au temanguh*a*u of Yt. V, 82; the wizard Akht of the tale of Yôst-î Fryânŏ.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. L, 14 c.

[5] Ibid. 14 a.

[6] Ibid. 14 b.

[7] Ibid. 16 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1.

[8] Ibid. 17 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

[9] Ibid. 17 b. Av. Hvôvi of Yt. XIII, 139, XVI, 15; she was daughter of Frashôstar and wife of Zaratûst.

[10] Ibid. 17 c.

[11] Ibid. 18 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

man[1]. 19. About the praise of Maî*d*ôk-mâh[2] for his accepting *and* exercising—*and* on account of his exercising—the upholding and propagation of the religion; *also* the yelling, united assault, evil food, *and* other affliction owing to the wicked *in* the earlier half of the night, which is that which Zaratû*s*t *had*, for a like reason, to bear; and the reciting of the law of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[3], for the joy of the sacred beings, and his appropriation *of* the best existence.

20. About the abounding of Zaratû*s*t in complete mindfulness of the origin of learning, and *its* development by him[4]; both the object and the advantage of knowledge—which is the reigning of Vohûman in the body—*being* the means *of* developing the world in righteousness[5]. 21. About the perfection of the ceremonial[6] and obeisance of Zaratû*s*t, *and* the superiority[7] of his recompense[8]; *also* advice to him as to worshipping Aûha*r*ma*zd* pre-eminently, and the primeval angels by their own names[9] according to their greatness.

22. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that is* perfect.

Chapter XLV.

*Va*r*stmânsar Nask.*

1. The twenty-second fargar*d*, Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti[10], is about the perfection of the prayers[11] of the good religion, and information thereon.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. L, 18 b.
[2] Ibid. 19 a and Chap. XXIV, 1.
[3] Ibid. 19 c.
[4] Ibid. 21 a..
[5] Ibid. 21 b.
[6] Ibid. 22 a.
[7] Assuming that *av*artîh stands for *av*artarîh.
[8] See Pahl. Yas. L, 22 b.
[9] Ibid. 22 c.
[10] See Chap. XXII, 1 n.
[11] See Pahl. Yas. LII, 1 a.

2. About the glory of a family of some houses *that* has come to the Spîtâmas [1], even before the coming of Zaratûst; the knowledge and habit of organization and priestly authority of those *arising* from that family; the existence therein of houses, villages, communities, *and* districts; *its* attracting *and* exalting mankind, from vice to virtue, by propriety *of* words and actions; *and* it convinces those of the world even till the arrival of the good religion. 3. And this, too, that the existence *of* Kaî-Vistâsp—that desire of Zaratûst [2]—and *of* Frashôstar of the Hvôbas [3], is owing to it.

4. About the praise of Pôrûkâst [4], daughter of Zaratûst, for loving the good religion with wisdom and acting *by* the advice of the religion, *having* given *her*self contentedly in womanly service (zanŏîh) to Zaratûst [5]; *her* complete accomplishment

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[1] The family from which Zaratûst, Maîdôk-mâh, and Pôrûkâst were descended. Its name originated with Spitâma, an ancestor of Zaratûst nine generations back. Compare Chap. XXXIX, 23.

[2] Perhaps we ought to read 'the Spîtâma Zaratûst,' substituting Spîtâmak for kâmak, 'desire,' which latter word is written on a patch by the repairer of the MS. who must have found the original word defective. See Pahl. Yas. LII, 2 c.

[3] See Chap. XXI, 24.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. LII, 3 a. Av. Pourukista who became the wife of Gâmâsp, prime minister of king Vistâsp.

[5] Ibid. 4 a. It seems unlikely that zanŏîh means 'marriage' here (the term being applied to her relation both to Zaratûst and Gâmâsp), unless we were to suppose that she married Gâmâsp after her father's death, which the phrase akhar min Zaratûst, 'after Zaratûst,' might possibly imply. And if zanŏîh means merely 'womanly service' here, its Zvâris equivalent nêsmanîh, applied to the seven sisters of Ardâ Vîrâf in AV. II, 10, may also not imply marriage, which is a view already suggested in S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. 398 n.

of duty and reverence *for* him, *and*, after Zaratûs*t*, *her* also performing womanly service (zanîh) and reverence *for* G*â*mâsp[1]; *likewise* her great reward from Aûha*r*ma*zd* for religiousness and self-devotion (khvê*s*îh) to the sacred beings. 5. About the praise of Hûtôs[2] for the arising of the progress of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion through her, by the growth of righteousness and smiting *of* the primeval fiend; *also* the good works and advantage which have arisen in the world from *her* great possessions, and her equal praise and grand position here *and in* yonder *world*.

6. About the characteristics of those who are preparing the end *of time* and arranging *its* period *there* is this, too, namely: 'They are a manifestation *of* those, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratûs*t*! who shall cause this renovation in the existences; they are observant, little afflictive in tormenting, *and* fully mindful, so that, when milk reaches them, they thoroughly digest *it;* they *have* no fear and accoutrements (*a*fzâr), *nor* yet do they mention false *and* irreverent (anâstŏ) statements concerning those who are righteous through imploring righteousness.' 7. About the characteristics of those disturbing the end *of time and* opposing *its* period *there* is this, too, namely: 'They are a manifestation *of* those, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratûs*t*! who are destroying the existences[3]; they are swiftly remedied, that is, they become very quickly devoured (khâî*d*ŏ) and *are* in

[1] See Pahl. Yas. LII, 4 b.

[2] Ibid. 5 a. Av. Hutaosa, the wife of king Vistâsp, see Yt. IX, 26, XV, 35.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. LII, 6 e.

the torment of the vicious *and* grievous abode; they are not fully mindful, so that *it* is not possible for them to digest milk, their fear is inevitable (a*k*âr), *and* they mention even false *and* irreverent statements concerning those who are righteous through imploring righteousness.

8. About the craving for the fiend, the assistance of the fiend, and the gratification of the fiend *by* him who is an apostle of the demons, and his rendering the creatures of Aûha*r*ma*zd* helpless[1] even through the want of progress (anas*ak*is*n*ŏ) which they lament; also the confusion owing to his speaking deceitfully in the world, *and* the connection with him of an awful and swift death[2], and the most grievous *and* hellish punishment. 9. About that wicked follower and assistant of theirs *in* defeating righteousness, and also in destroying the greater religiousness (frêh-dênôîh) *of* the world and making the soul wicked in the end.

10. About the occurrence of the dissipation of the glory of him who is a well-ruling man, and the pacification (âsû*d*anŏ) of the creatures of the world by the sacred beings, it says this, too, namely: 'The persuader *to* evil[3] and the organizer of distress (veshi*s*nŏ)—where they shall make pain *and* distress current in the world—are the weakener (nerefsînî*d*âr) and corrupter (âlâyî*d*âr) for the

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[1] Or it may be 'maintaining the affliction of the creatures,' if we read *dz*ârdârîh instead of *ak*ârgârîh.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. LII, 8 d.

[3] Ibid. 9 a. B has avêhîh vêrenakînî*d*âr, but avêhîh, 'want of goodness,' ought to be dû*s*îh, 'evil,' which it resembles even more in appearance than in meaning, in Pahlavi letters.

righteous; it is the ruler that is righteous who smites them and opposes them—that is, restrains them from sin—and causes hatred for them through *his* will[1]; that, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! is this dominion of thine *by* which you give benefits (vehîgânŏ) *to* him who is justly living *and* poor[2].'

11. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

Chapter XLVI.

*Var*st*mânsar Nask.*

1. The twenty-third fargar*d*, Airyaman[3], is the Aîrmân supplication[4]:—'That is the greatest, I tell thee, *O* Spîtâmân! of the pure sayings of every kind, in so much Avesta lore, this is the best, because *it* is given forth by him who is a very eminent producer (madam-kârtar) of sayings of every kind. 2. Which Aîrmân supplication they should recite who are beneficial[5], *and* the benefiter[5], through the recital of it aloud, *O* Spîtâmân! becomes predominant. 3. The evil spirit, who is heretical (dû*s*-dênô), *O* Zaratû*st*! with his own creatures, *O* Spîtâmân! becomes buried *in* the earth; the evil spirit is among *those* buried *in* the earth—who are the demons—where their bodily form (kâlpu*d*ŏ) is com-

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. LII, 9 c.

[2] Ibid. 9 d. Compare Chap. XLVII, 17.

[3] See Chap. XXIII, 1 n; it is here written Aîremanŏ in Pahlavi.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. LIII, 1 and Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 81.

[5] Pahl. sû*d*-hômônd=Av. saoshyãs, referring to the future restorer of religion to the world, just before the renovation of the universe.

pletely shattered. 4. And up the dead are arrayed by it; through its assistance they give life back unto the body, and the embodied life they *then* possess is *such* that they do not die.'

5. It is perfect *is* the excellence of righteousness; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. Propitiation *for* the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd* and all angels.

2. The first of the twenty-two fargar*d*s of the Bakŏ[1] is the Ahunavair[2] of the Bakân[3], about the production *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, before every creation apart from the archangel[4], *and* on the solicitation of

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[1] The third of the Nasks and fourth of the Gâthic division (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 9, 12). It is an analytical commentary upon the Gâthas and the texts associated with them in the two preceding Nasks, devoting a separate fargar*d* to each hâ, and selecting very short phrases, or portions (Av. bagha), for explanation and comment; so short that it is usually difficult to identify them in their Pahlavi disguise. The first three fargar*d*s are still extant in Yas. XIX–XXI, and a translation of their Pahlavi versions will be found in the Nask Fragments at the end of this volume; but whether the Pahlavi versions, consulted by the writer of the Dînka*rd*, were identical with those in the present Yasna is uncertain.

[2] The name of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7). This fargar*d* is still extant in Yas. XIX.

[3] That is, 'of the apportionments,' or 'of those analyzed.'

[4] Possibly the archangel Vohûman, the first of the creatures, may be meant; although the Bundahi*s* places his creation after the recitation of the Ahunavair (see Bd. I, 21–23). That it was

the archangel, of the form *of* words (rastakŏ mi-*l*ayâ) which is the innermost and most comprehensive encompassment (parvand) *and* best-congregated embodiment (vêh-ramaktûm kerpŏ) of the intelligent omniscience of the religion[1].

3. The divisions of *this* germ of germs, *and* the origin of the other primitive sayings of the good religion, are the divisibility of the portions (bakŏ) *of* the Ahunavair. 4. The Ahû of the Ahû-vairyô of the Ahunavair is the first creature[2] which, as regards the first, is specially that creature which is really *derived* from the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and its adaptation is owing to mankind. 5. The thought (mit)[3] that exists with the first is with the word that is Vairyô, his 'will,' which is in the second created existence (dâmîh), which, as regards the first, is specially the primitive secondary state (da*d*î-garîh) of those who are specially characterised by it, who exist as *it were* with *that* character, *and* have become, *in* that way, in association *with* the second creature. 6. The conjunction of the first creature—whose origin (yehevûni*s*nŏ), which is the liturgy, is a co-existence whose origin *had* occurred—is the source for the saying; and the distribution of the portions thereof is the whole saying of a liturgical kind; also its name is Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, the spirit through which it is set going is the lore *of* the religion, needful among the creatures, the creations *arose* through wisdom for that purpose, and they, too, *were* produced on the solicitation of

recited before the other creations is clearly stated in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 2–5, 17–20.

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 24–27.

[2] Ibid. 29. [3] Ibid. Pâz. mit=Av. maiti=manas.

the archangel[1]; besides this, that archangels *are* wise in speaking, and through wisdom are they archangels.

7. And this, too, about the same words, that the statement is the best-worded which is spoken, *or* to be spoken[2]; and the obscurity is not about the sound of the word-elements, but about the manifold nature of the actual meaning (kabedîh-i sang-î*k*ŏ), which is the character of the statement, in the words of the epitome. 8. This, too, that mankind guard the soul from hell by learning, reciting, and practising *it*, and the body from death[3] by likewise perpetually persevering therein.

9. This, too, that, *as to* the first apportionment of the Ahunavair, whose name is the Bakân Ahunavair, when, thoroughly accomplishing *it* (avavi*d*âr) unanxiously (asû*d*akîhâ), *one* chants *it* in a ceremonial, the good work is as when *one* chants a hundred authorities (ra*d*îh) of the Gâthas, thoroughly accomplishing *them* unanxiously[4]; and when, accomplishing *it* (vi*d*âr) anxiously, *one* chants *it*, such a ceremonial amounts to *as much* as ten *with any other authority*[5]. 10. This, too, that, through the same apportionment, while *one* solemnizes the summing up of the first completion[6], which is the Stô*d*-ya*s*t, as it becomes the rite of *one* newly initiated (navak-n*â*par)[7], on that day

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 20. [2] Ibid. 24. [3] Ibid. 25, 26.

[4] Ibid. 6, 7. The MS. has دلو instead of دلک '100,' by mistake.

[5] Ibid. 8. The MS. has 'unanxiously' by mistake.

[6] Possibly Yas. LIX, 32–34.

[7] Commonly called Nônâbar (see Sls. X, 2, XIII, 2; Dd. LXXIX, 4, 11, 12).

they make the soul of the solemnizer pass three times into the supreme heaven[1].

11. About the grievous sinfulness of imperfectly accomplishing (avi*d*âr) the Bakân Ahunavair[2].

12. This, too, that it is made by him in subjection *to* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, as the first creature made, who gives the body in service to him who is the ruler, *and* in discipleship to him who is the high-priest of the religion[3]; for this reason, because they are suitable *for* lordship and mastership in the worldly *existence*. 13. He who is the highest lord *and* master is the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and, owing to the same reason, when it made their subjection that *to* the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, he has made *it* as the first creature made.

14. This, too, that it is taught by it to keep the body in the service of the king of kings[4], whose origin Aûha*r*ma*zd* keeps in *his* possession; for this reason, because, when *his* origin is kept in the possession *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, Aûha*r*ma*zd* is over his own if a good ruler is made; him who is thus prepared, when also the worldly existence is necessary *for* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, he maintains as ruler when the creation is instructed.

15. This, too, that the reward of Vohûman is appropriated (khvêsinî*d*ŏ) by him who indicates anything which is virtuous, who also utters virtuous recitation, *and* who likewise teaches perfect abstinence from sin to mankind[5]. 16. For this reason, because the indication of anything virtuous, the utterance of recitation wisely, *and* abstinence from

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 9–11. [2] Ibid. 12–15.
[3] Ibid. 28, 29. [4] Ibid. 30. [5] Ibid. 31, 32.

sin are, as *it were*, a lodgment materially in good people owing spiritually to the archangels, Vohûman *being* more particularly the instigator therein; and, owing to the same reason, *he* in whom there is a like proficiency is of like good works with Vohûman, and adapted to the good works arises the like reward.

17. This, too, that the dominion is given to Aûha*r*ma*zd* by him who may perform those *works*, is manifest from *the phrase* Ta*d* mazdâ tavâ khshathrem, &c. and its meaning, which is this: 'That, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! is this dominion of thine, *by* which benefits (vehagânŏ) are given *to* him who is justly living *and* poor[1].' 18. *Which is* a deliverance for this reason, because Aûha*r*ma*zd* created no dominion for the more particular preservation of the poor *and* the creatures of the worldly *existence* from the destroyer; *but*, for the purpose of control over the dominion of *him* whose strength of rule is the cause of preservation for the poor—which is continually the wish of Aûha*r*ma*zd*—the dominion is given to Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

19. *And* this, too, that, through preservation from the adversary, he has assisted his poor who have preserved friendship for the Spîtâmân[2]; the adversity *of* the creatures is the advancement of religion, by supporting the religion; and a friend of the Spîtâmân becomes an assistant of the supporters of religion. 20. About the entrance (dên yâtûn*d*akîh) of the destroyer of the creatures from without[3], *and* the helplessness of the beneficent spirit owing thereto.

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 35, Yas. LIII, 9 d, and Chap. XLV, 10.
[2] Ibid. 36. [3] Ibid. 39.

21. About the girding on of this saying of the religion of Aûharmazd by the three degrees (padmân), which are good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds; *by* the four classes, which are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship; and *by* the five chieftainships, which are house-rule, village-rule, tribe-rule, province-rule, and the supreme Zaratûstship; and the one summing up (hangerdîkîh) which is the liberality of the good ruler[1].

22. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

Chapter XLVIII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The second fargard is the Ashem[2] of the Bakân[3]; it is by it *that* perfect excellence is produced for every one who produces for any one else that which is suitable for him[4]; for this reason, because, for the sake of perfect production, *there is* much unprofitable production, *but* profitable production is suitably producing. 2. This, too, that the reward of every good work is given by it to mankind, which keeps mankind in diligence when it instructs[5]; because, as the business *of* all good works is that which instructs and keeps mankind in diligence, the reward of good works which man-

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 44–55.

[2] See Chap. III, 1 n; it is here expressed by its Pahlavi equivalent aharâyîh. This fargard is still extant in Yas. XX.

[3] See Chap. XLVII, 2.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XX, 1.

[5] Ibid. 2.

kind can appropriate by diligence is appropriated by it. 3. And this, too, that advancement is given by it to every good work[1].

4. He who is understanding good works, and *yet* a suppliant, has thereby made the learned foolish (*âz*ân akhanî*d*înî*d*ŏ); whoever possesses authority through virtuousness[2] is more particularly for rewarding the doers of good works; whoever, too, can make true decision[3] and adjudication is more particularly for causing the bridge *judgment* of a criminal, and *for* thrusting *him* aside owing to the exhaustion of *his* good works; and whoever, too, can exercise mediation *and* wisdom is more particularly for the good government of the world.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The third fargar*d* is the YÊNHÊ-HÂTÃM[4]: there is here taught by it the worship of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, which is the law of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, that is, its law is virtuous[5]. 2. This, too, that the worship of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is occasioned by it, which is the asking for life for beings *by* mankind[5]. 3. *And* this, too, that the ritual of the males and females of the righteous occurs *through* it, which is the obeisance for the archangels[6]. 4. And the atone-

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XX, 3. [2] Ibid. 4. [3] Ibid. 5.

[4] See Chap. IV, 1 n; it is here written Yânhê-hâtâm in Pahlavi. This fargar*d* is still extant in Yas. XXI.

[5] See Pahl. Yas. XXI, 1. [6] Ibid. 2, 3.

ment *for* crimes (va*g*agânŏ), because it is a gratification, is all for Aûha*r*ma*zd* personally therefrom; and in connection therewith it amounts to a gratification for Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

5. Here *one* mentions three particulars[1] which are in one's worship of Aûha*r*ma*zd* of every description. 6. One is when the design (dâ*d*ŏ) of the person is virtuous, because it is restrained by some virtuousness of thought; this is that which amounts to worship and obeisance *for* Aûha*r*ma*zd* personally. 7. One is when it teaches an asking for life for mankind, and its ordinance is the protection, nourishment, *and* other assistance *and* gratification *of* mankind; a friend of the primitive worldly creation of mankind produced it, *and* it comes into connection *with* the bridge *judgment* of mankind, for the worship *and* gratification of Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 8. *And* one is when *one* would celebrate the obeisance *for* the archangels, which is for the sake of strengthening the archangels, each separately, in *their* control of the business of preparing *and* managing the world; because *it* is declared by revelation *that* to worship is this, that the ceremonial *may* reach this bridge[2] in company with *one* (pa*d*vand), for the worship *and* gratification of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; the archangel who is to be strengthened by the ceremonial is one, *and* mankind are developed by the strength of the archangel.

9. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXI, 3.

[2] The *K*înva*d* bridge (see Chap. XX, 3).

CHAPTER L.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. Propitiation *for* the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and a scornful dole *for* the evil spirit.

2. The fourth fargar*d* is the Yânîm-manô[1] of the Bakŏ, about the praise of Zaratû*s*t, that is, his jurisdiction, invocation of blessing (yânŏ)[2], and speaking *in* reply were such as are declared by the *sacred* text. 3. This, too, that that jurisdiction of his arose before the blessing, that is, this one decision is made by him about his own, that his own person is first made deserving by him through virtue, and then virtue is prayed for by him[3].

4. This, too, that he has attributed the source *and* result to Aûha*r*ma*zd*, who gives joy to Aûha*r*ma*zd*; for the source and result *of* various advantages *and* various joys are desirable for joy itself, as joy is the acme (rôê*s*man) of every happiness *of him* whose joy *has* made an offering (aûstôfrî*d*ŏ) to Aûha*r*ma*zd*, because his decision is this, that by him whose joy arises from that thing which is the will of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, its source *and* result are attributed to Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 5. This, too, that the good work, which is a gratification *by* lawful gratifiers[4], becomes appropriated by him who shall perform that which is truly reverent; even for this reason, because he who is a lawful gratifier of others, through true reverence, *has* intended to gratify through the practice of his reverence, and, when thus the gratifier of those persons, the good work of gratification

[1] See Chap. V, 1 n. [2] See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, o. [3] Ibid. 1 a.
[4] Ibid. 2 c.

by lawful gratifiers becomes appropriated. 6. This, too, that the wisdom of Vohûman[1] is advanced by him who utters a discourse through Vohûman; for this reason, because the wisdom of Vohûman and its advancement are mostly through discourse. 7. This, too, that the plentifulness and satisfaction of cattle[1] are taught by him who properly maintains the cattle which are in his possession; even for this reason, owing to the multitudes thus *belonging* to *him* who properly maintains the cattle which are in his possession, he gains his profit *and* pleasure therefrom, *and* others, who see that gain, are instructed, even as much as he, about the proper maintenance of cattle for their own profit *and* pleasure.

8. This, too, that benefit[2] *being* given for the benefit *of* the worthy *man* is taught by him who keeps the benefit that is his as the property *of* the sacred beings; even for this reason, because he gives the benefit that is his unto the worthy *man* for the purpose of keeping *it* for the advantage of the sacred beings, and others are instructed about it. 9. This, too, that prosperity[3] *being* given, in both existences[2], to him who is generous *and* worthy is taught by him who gives benefit to a worthy *man* possessing body and life; even for this reason, because a worldly *existence* and a spiritual *one* are both his, also his worldly *existence* is in this existence, *and* the spiritual *one* in that existence wherefrom satisfaction *for* the giving of benefit arrives. 10. This, too, that by him who shall cause reverence[4] of the good, even this is taught, that the sacred

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 1 c, where Pt4 and Mf4 have Vohûman instead of valman.

[2] Ibid. 2 b. [3] Ibid. 2 c. [4] Ibid. 4 b.

beings gratify him who is practising their will; even for this reason, because good for him, by whom the reverence is practised, becomes the reply of satisfaction, *and* the throne of the sacred beings is certain.

11. This, too, that *he* who *was* at first has taught even this to mankind, that supplicants[1] *for* the favour of the sacred beings gratify the sacred beings by being contented (pa*d*vâ*z*); even for this reason, because the welcome of a sacred being, supplied by command from the religion, is a virtuousness in the world distinct from that, and the production of a course of generosity, from the sacred beings to mankind, arises really through the contentment of the favoured; *and* mankind thereby become freer from doubt, and believe more in the sacred beings. 12. This, too, that his soul is delivered, *or will* be delivered, into the supreme heaven[2], who *has* given something to him who praises the sacred beings *and* the good; even for this reason, because even through liberality as to wealth, and the production of a way to the supreme heaven, *it* is manifest *that* anything given to the praisers of the sacred beings *and* the good is a greater liberality. 13. This, too, that the reverence[3] of those needing reverence is occasioned by him who teaches the *sacred* word (vâ*k*akŏ) to the good; even for this reason, because he who is a good teacher of revelation (dênô) can bring *it* into use for the reverence, advantage, *and* joy of the sacred beings *and* the good.

14. This, too, that acquaintance with the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[3] is disclosed to his own by him who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because true

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 4 c. [2] Ibid. 4 a. [3] Ibid. 4 b.

knowledge arises from the discrimination of pure wisdom, and the pure attainment of the most discriminative spiritual lord (ahvô) to the mind, through the purity that constitutes the way within the mind of a spiritual lord, the purity which becomes that way through the lodgment of Vohûman there. 15. This, too, that righteousness is taught[1] *by him* who keeps *his* mind connected with righteousness; even for this reason, because his mind attains to an effort for authority, and, ridden by the effort, *attains* to *its* acquisition. 16. This, too, that by him who gives commands about the progress of the concerns of Aûharmazd, this is also taught to mankind, namely, when *one* sees the throne of Aûharmazd[2]; even for this reason, because it is possible to see that throne through the complete progress *of* the will of Aûharmazd in the world; *and* whoever gives commands about the progress of the concerns of Aûharmazd, the will of Aûharmazd is necessary in him, the progressive share of those concerns for the people of the world *being* shown, which is seen even through that foundation of completeness that becomes the throne of Aûharmazd *for* mankind.

17. This, too, that by him who welcomes Aûharmazd in *him*self[3], matters only known by even a high-priest are then taught to mankind; even for this reason, because instruction and knowledge are mostly those through a high-priest, and by him who welcomes Aûharmazd in *him*self, a spiritual lord is then prayed for, who becomes glorious and praised for that which is to be taught, and mankind are taught by him. 18. This, too, that by any one good, who

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 4 c. [2] Ibid. 5 b. [3] Ibid. 6 a.

is a servant *and* pleaser of a good ruler, a good person may be brought forward, to him who is the ruler, for benefit[1]; even for this reason, because a good *man* associates other good people with him in the benefit that happens to him, and *his* character, temper, *and* disposition are thus due to that; but when bringing himself forward to rulers, through reverence *and* gratification *of* the rulers, other good people may also be brought forward by him for that benefit. 19. This, too, that by him *who* shall virtuously make an accumulation, the way of prosperity[2] from the sacred beings is disclosed to his own; even for this reason, because virtuous accumulation is provided through unnumbered (*a*pênavâ*d*ŏ) grants of a decider, and, when *it is* so, he becomes the treasurer of the sacred beings.

20. This, too, that by him who produces advantage for the archangels, the gift of him who is suitable for the sovereignty[3] of the immature (khâm) world is solicited; even for this reason, because the advantage which is produced for the archangels *being* for the sake of his own, the advantage of the immature creation solicited—the supreme advantage of the primitive good creations—becomes a virtuous ruler. 21. This, too, that by him who is a praiser[3] *of* an archangel, the good religion is praised; even for this reason, because the good religion is praise of the archangels, *and* the praise of the archangels is the good religion. 22. This, too, that the religion of the sacred beings is made progressive[3] by him who shall make an offering (aûstôfrî*d*ŏ) *to* the

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 6 b. [2] Ibid. 7 a.
[3] Ibid. 7 c.

sacred beings; even for this reason, because making an offering *to* the sacred beings strengthens the upholders of religion, and the progress of religion occurs through upholders of religion.

23. This, too, that by him who shall make mankind quite zealous (garemôkŏ) for doing good works, the reward of the good works is also made liberal for mankind; even for this reason, because the producer of the origin is also the producer of the result. 24. This, too, that above the multitude is the praise of the man who is assisting those of virtuous will, who is also the nourishment of the creatures through virtuousness, and whose accumulation is also owing to virtuousness; even for this reason, because whoever is assisting those of virtuous will is an increaser of virtuousness in the world, whoever is the nourishment of the creatures through virtuousness is a producer of the paternity of creatures, *and he* whose accumulation is owing to virtuousness becomes an improver of the world. 25. This, too, that by him who assists him who is ignorant (khast), is given *and* taught to supplicants that which is suitable for them. 26. To assist him who is ignorant is this, such as forming the province, district, domain, *and* family; maintaining the abode *and* house of a follower of Vistâsp (Vistâspânŏ), the fortress *and* stronghold, and the homestead (khân) of the agricultural peasant; repairing a rugged road; building bridges over rivers; managing a river, aqueduct, *or* brook; populating desolate places; *and* doing other things, owing to which any retention (gîrift-aê) of the comfort and advantage of mankind in the world occurs. 27. And by him who shall do these things, the assistance even of him who is born afterwards,

the making of that which is a very advantageous thing suitable *for* mankind, and also the doing *of this* for others, are taught.

28. This, too, that it is revealed (*k*âshtô) of the spiritual existence *that* that which is wisdom is for Aûha*r*ma*zd*, for him who is wisdom—that is, it teaches *that* acquired *wisdom* is for him whose innate wisdom is good—even for this reason, because the spirit, this that has come into his possession, which is acquired wisdom, is given by it to the progeny of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, which is innate wisdom, to increase *it; and* Aûha*r*ma*zd* is gratified thereby.

29. Of a summary about the continuance *that* was, the progress of the material *existence, and* the continuance *that will* be [1], *there* is also this:—about the continuance *that* was, which is the beginning, *there are* the essential thought *and* beneficent production of the good and evil material *existence* of its good goodness, and that of *its* evil vileness; about the progress of the material *existence*, which is intermediate, *there are* the dutiful doing of good works, righteousness, and having reward, the committal of crime, wickedness, *and* having the bridge *penalty; and* about the continuance *that will* be, which is the last, *there are* the government, with wisdom, of that supremely good *one* who is the origin of all the multitudinous *creatures* (vasîkân), the triumph of goodness over vileness, the admissibility *of* the good, the inadmissibility of the bad, *and* the purity of the restoration of the good creatures.

30. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

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[1] The three periods of the universe:—the past eternity, the present existence, and the future eternity.

Chapter LI.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The fifth fargard, Khshmaibyâ[1], is about this, that complaint is made by Gôs-aûrvan[2] *that there* did not exist *any one* who properly keeps the cattle that are in his possession; even for this reason, because cattle are increased by such, and others, through design (âhang) and a desire for that increase, act by his example *and* keep cattle properly; *but* the complaint of Gôs-aûrvan is *that* he does not exist. 2. This, too, that by him who gives orders about the advancement *of* the concerns of the sacred beings, the care of cattle is produced, and his soul attains to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the care of cattle is a principal thing in the advancement of the concerns of the sacred beings, *and* also for the preservation *of* the soul. 3. This, too, that by him who keeps cattle with a controller (dastôbar) who is a cattle-master[3], even a friend of him who is the creator of cattle is taught to the cattle—the cattle-master and he who is wise in the nourishment, protection, and multiplication of cattle—even for this reason, because when his cattle are kept with a controller who is a nourisher, protector, and multiplier of cattle, the friendship of a nourisher for the nourished, *of* a protector for the protected, and *of* a multiplier for the multipliable is also exhibited by him; *and* the design of the creator for the creation, through affection, is that of a nourisher for the nourished, *of* a protector for the protected, *and of* a multiplier for the multipliable.

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[1] See Chap. VI, 1 n; it is here written khshmâîbê in Pahlavi.
[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1. [3] Ibid. 2 a.

4. This, too, that by him who maintains an animal with propriety, it is presented to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because when *it* is maintained by him with propriety, the will of the sacred beings drives him on, and when the will of the sacred beings drives him on, it is presented by him to the sacred beings. 5. This, too, that when *one* shall admit the male of animals at the *proper* time, the mastery (sa*r*dârînî*d*anŏ) of the animal is also taught by him; even for this reason, because the admission of the male *of* the animals is the essential business in the multiplication of cattle, and he who is a multiplier has also taught the mastery of the animals. 6. This, too, that by him who does not slaughter an animal until it attains to full growth, the formation of a store for cattle is also taught; even for this reason, because, from the increasing cattle produced, the profit of mankind arises, *and* on account of the liking of mankind for profit, they persevere more fully in cultivating cattle, and provide a store for them.

7. This, too, that *it is he* who is the more powerful of beings—that is, strength is what is more in use *by* him [1]—whose proceeding is for him who is his own, so that he supplies that which it is necessary to supply; even for this reason, because needful bountifulness *to* one's own needy ones arises through lawful thoughts, lawful thoughts are provided by expelling greed, lust, wrath, disgrace, envy, *and* other fiends from the body, and a man expelling a fiend from *his* body becomes of efficient strength. 8. This, too, that he is a very powerful person, for invocation [1], supplication, and attaining to good works,

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 3 c.

who possesses wealth for the high-priest of the priests, who shall also procure decisions and judgment always justly, and who likewise becomes humble *and* reverent *to* the good; even for this reason, because the wealth of multitudes of mankind is for maintaining the desires and pleasure of the body, *for* procuring decisions and judgment whereto their wishes tend, *and for* others becoming humble and reverent *to* them even when *their* design is vicious; *but he* who possesses wealth *for* invocation *and* connection *with* the wisdom of the religion, through the high-priest of the religion, and shall procure just decisions and judgment, *and* becomes humble and reverent *to* the good, is a putter away of that design and *one* who, through the putting away of that design, becomes a capable *and* very powerful person.

9. This, too, that every one is made to persevere at *his* proper duty, *as to* any excellent thing, by him who holds the reward of the diligent, as the sacred beings are proceeding *with* a pure needy *one;* for this reason, because the toiling of the body of a person at *his* proper duty is induced *by* a desire of reward. 10. This, too, that by him whose mouth (yông)[1] and *its* appliances *are* for virtue, the possession of Vohûman is then explained, through this mode, because the maintenance of the mouth and *its* appliances as virtuous becomes so, when, through protection and assistance *of* the good, *and* defeat and smiting of the vile, the reformation of the world occurs; and this, too, is so, when *there is* an existence of preparation of the friend of the good and the enemy

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 7 c.

of the vile, and of friendship of the good and enmity of the vile, through understanding good and evil; and the understanding of good and evil is through possession of Vohûman, *and* that possession of Vohûman becomes also an explainer of Vohûman.

11. This, too, that by him who gives commands about the progress of the concerns of the sacred beings, his own knowledge of every kind is also developed; even for this reason, *because* the command *being* necessary *for* the personal duty of the good, they also develope the knowledge of every kind for which that commanding of duty and *its* auspiciousness are suitable. 12. This, too, that by him who teaches the good, the good work is then appropriated which is also an assistance of Zaratûst through speaking of the religion; even for this reason, because, on account of those of the religion of Zaratûst who really constitute the renovation *of the universe*, the speaking connected with Zaratûst—through the teaching of the good *and* teachers not of the same religion—*and* the assistance through speaking of the religion become the good work appropriated.

13. This, too, that by him who gives anything to that person who praises the sacred beings *and* the good, a throne is appropriated *in* yonder *world*[1], even on the mention *of it*. 14. This, too, that by him who is teaching that which is for the propitious, the damage that is owing to want of resources[2] in religion is shut out of the world; even for this reason, because, owing to that, he increases the resources of religion of every kind, *and* the ad-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 8 c.

[2] Ibid. 9 b.

vantage therefrom, in the world. 15. This, too, that by him who is bringing him who is righteous forth to the rulers, for beneficence, the utmost assistance is then afforded; even for this reason, because an expectation of the utmost beneficence is further attached by him to the place of obtainment[1].

16. This, too, that by him who gives *him*self in service unto him who is the supreme king of kings, the way of good thinking[2], *of* the assistance of pleasure, and *of* the production of sovereignty by Aûha*r*ma*z*d is disclosed to his own; even for this reason, because the original reason of virtue is the worthiness *of* mankind owing to the creator *and* their service unto the creator, and, therefore, as he who is a well-ruling monarch is a creator in the worldly *existence*, *and* a recompensing (pa*d*ŏ-dahâk) leader of the creatures who steadfastly give *them*selves in service to him, it is then given by him to the creator also; and I teach, besides, *that* the origin of the virtue of worthiness, which is attached by the creator to his own, is the way that is stated above, and other virtue is also disclosed to his own thereby.

17. Righteousness is excellence *that is* perfect.

Chapter LII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The sixth fargar*d*, A*d*-tâ-vakhshyâ[3], is this, that by him who is a wise upholder of the dignity

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 10 c.

[2] Ibid. 10 b; we should probably read hû-mâni*s*nîh, 'pleasant dwelling,' instead of hû-mîni*s*nîh.

[3] See Chap. VII, 1 n; it is here written at-takhshê in Pahlavi.

of a priest's leadership, the priestly assembly[1] wanted for performing religious rites (dênô) is enlarged; for this reason, because the nature of the person, whose resources are bounty for the needy, eagerly becomes a causer of exertion for the teaching (âmûkŏ) of accomplishments. 2. This, too, that by him whose habits are virtuous the glorification of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[2] is accomplished and taught; even on this account, for the sake of whatever advantage *and* pleasure are due to virtue, they, indeed, whose habits are virtuous, glorify him, moreover, who is the creator of those virtuous habits, who is Aûha*r*ma*zd* himself. 3. This, too, that by him who speaks virtuous words the performance even of the worship of Vohûman[2] is also taught; even on this account, because of the comeliness and desirableness of virtue, the good make it an example and speak virtuous words, *and* virtuous speaking is the worship of Vohûman. 4. This, too, that the ceremonial which he whose way is virtuous shall accomplish becomes greater[3] thereby; even for this reason, because the sacred beings come more particularly to the ceremonial of those of pure dispositions *and* virtuous ways, and accept *it*.

5. This, too, that he who is a producer of benefit for promoters of good works becomes an extender[4] of the teaching of religion; even for this reason, because from producing benefit for promoters of good works *arises* an increase of good works, from an increase of good works *arises* further progress of the will of the sacred beings, from further progress of the will of the sacred beings *arises* more progress

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 1 a.
[2] Ibid. 1 b.
[3] Ibid. 1 c.
[4] Ibid. 2 a.

of the good religion, *and* from more progress *of* the good religion arises an extension of the teaching of the good religion in the world. 6. This, too, that by him who possesses authority through virtue, discrimination[1] as to the regulation of duties is taught to mankind; even for this reason, because the possessor of authority through virtue is a man *who* becomes a decider *and* ruler, *and* mankind learn and practise to exercise the disposition, habits, and custom of rulers.

7. This, too, that *he* who is a giver of the needful *to* his own needy ones has given himself to Zaratûst; even for this reason, because the needful *being* given *to* one's own needy ones is the existence of true liberality, which is a compendium of the religion of Zaratûst; by him who is thereby ennobled (vâs*p*û-harakânî-aîtŏ) the religion of Zaratûst is then put on, and whoever *has* put on the religion of Zaratûst [has given himself to Zaratûst. 8. This, too, that by him who][2] gives the leadership [to him who is suitable for the leadership][2] even the wisdom *of* that man is increased; for this reason, because even the wisdom of the suitable, through which they accomplish that leadership, when the leadership comes to them, grows further with the glory of that duty.

9. This, too, that he who *has* to select the better of two ways, which are good and bad[3], is assisted

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 2 b.

[2] The words in brackets are the translation of a passage that was inserted in the MS. at the time the folios were patched. The original copyist of the MS. has evidently omitted a passage, but whether the repairer has made the insertion merely by guessing from the context (which is quite possible), or by referring to some other MS., is uncertain.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 b.

to do *so* by the benefiters' ordeal of fire and ore; even for this reason, because that is discrimination by the eye of wisdom, which is the way of good intention, *and* the benefiters are decisive declarers of acquittal and incrimination through fire and metal, the two good discriminators; and when the business *is of* a different kind, even then both *are* associates in discriminating, and are powerful connections of one another. 10. This, too, that he who shall do that thing from *which* advantage of the sacred beings *arises*, is empowered to discriminate truly that which is sagacious[1] in thought, word, *and* deed; even for this reason, because from doing anything for the advantage of the sacred beings *arises* the reign of the will of the sacred beings in the world, from the reign of the will of the sacred beings in the world *arises* the freedom from danger *of* the temporal existence of the world, *and* the freedom from danger of the temporal existence of the world contributes also to the power of him who is sagacious in discriminating truly as to thought, word, *and* deed.

11. This, too, that by him who thinks of the affairs of Aûha*r*ma*zd* the eternity (hamâyîkîh) *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd*[2] and also the consideration of his own eternity *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd* are thought of; even on this account, because mankind mind and serve Aûha*r*ma*zd* for the sake of even the hope[2] of eternal benefit from him; *and* they who think of him, through the eternal benefit due to him, are themselves increasing that benefit which is eternal, and it is thought eternal by him that thinks of that eternal *thing* his own eternity. 12. This, too, that

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 c. [2] Ibid. 4 c.

he who restrains a person from reverence of the demons, has diverted him from making the world sickly; even for this reason, because whoever *has* restrained a person from reverence of the demons, has diverted a demon from making the world anarchical *and* from making the world sickly. 13. This, too, that by him who shall practise liberality benefit for the sun is caused, and by him who shall cause benefit for the sun benefit is caused also for the nature of the body of mankind; even for this reason, because *it is* declared *that* the sun *has* progressed through the radiance and glory of the liberal, and the nature of the body of mankind is preserved by the sun.

14. This, too, that by him whose desire is for anything virtuous, and who possesses authority through virtue, mankind are controlled to persist (mânînî-*d*anŏ) in virtue for receiving a reward [1]; even for this reason, because *he* whose desire is virtuous seeks happiness for every one—a pre-eminent desire for the happiness of human existence *being* the desire of mankind for virtue—and by him who requires that, *and* strives for *it* fully, so far as possible for him, any one whatever is brought to persist in virtue and to constrain the spirit for reward; and by him who possesses authority through virtue the continuance of mankind in authority *and their* persistence *and* instruction in virtue are attached to good works and are brought to reward. 15. This, too, that by him who possesses happiness through appropriation of the sacred beings mankind are attached to the sacred beings for receiving a reward [2]; even for this reason, because, on account of the possession of

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 10 b. [2] Ibid. 10 c.

happiness through appropriation of the sacred beings, he possesses *it* through the assistance and gratification of the good, and mankind shall therefore make him an example; it also becomes a good work for them, *and* they adhere to the sacred beings for receiving a reward.

16. This, too, that by him who produces the benediction *of* him that is a conductor of investigation *and* a righteous judge, and who shall also occasion the reverence of the good, the teaching of the advantage of the righteous[1] is likewise performed; even for this reason, because the essentials (mâ*d*îgân) of the advantage of the world are two—one owing to justice, *and* one owing to generosity—and it is declared *that* the advantage of *him* who possesses the blessings of the judges is owing to the justice of the judges, and the advantage of *him* who is reverent *to* the good is owing to the generosity of the good in developing the world, and the righteous teach about *it*.

17. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

Chapter LIII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The seventh fargar*d*, Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ[2], is *that* by him who possesses advantage through virtue, the world of righteousness is *freed* from[3] destruction[4]; even for this reason, because the possession of advantage through virtue arises through the non-participation of the demons *and* the vile therein, and the participation of the sacred beings *and* the

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 11 c. [2] See Chap. VIII, 1 n.
[3] Assuming that mûn, 'which,' stands for min.
[4] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 b.

good; and, when *one* shall act so, the advantage of spiritual origin becomes more powerful through guarding the advantage from the destroyers. 2. This, too, that, by him who welcomes Aûha*r*ma*zd* in *his* person, apostates are likewise forced to make the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd* progressive[1]; even for this reason, because owing to[2] the apostasy of apostates *being* a religion produced *by* Aharman, *they are* only able to make the religion progressive through the appellation of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; apostasy *and* priesthood, *and* the apostates *and* priests, are fraternal opponents, and whenever the priesthood and multitudes of the priesthood are triumphant, multitudes of the apostates of apostasy perish (aôshênd), and when the multitudes of the apostates of apostasy are bold, the priests of the priesthood are weak; and the priests are superior *in* power *and* success when their priesthood is properly limited, and their properly-limited priesthood, too—which can arise through mankind—consists in the welcome precedence of Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

3. About the completeness (s*p*ôrîkîh) *of* the priesthood in that quality now, when the priests of the multitude are the habitation (mêhônŏ) of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *and* the power of the priests of the priesthood *has* increased, the valour of the apostates of apostasy is smitten, and the apostates are defeated *by* the abundant splendour of the priests, also their power as regards making the religion of Aharman progressive through the appellation of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is fettered, *and* they keep apostasy concealed[3].

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 c.

[2] Assuming that lâ, 'not,' stands for râî.

[3] The passage in the Pahlavi commentary on this Nask, which

4. And then also they, with the appellation of priests, truly speak and teach the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and make *it* progressive, just as it is solemnized and made easy by them, even though the will *of* the sacred beings *be* unheard *and* undesired through apostasy.

5. This, too, that he proclaims the miraculousness of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[1], who shall appoint for ordeal that which is certainly a doubt; even for this reason, because, through accomplishing an ordeal, that which is doubtful is forcibly rendered visible (vên*âv*da-hakî-aîtŏ) to the eyes, *as* certain clearness, through the power of the spirit, *which* is itself a miracle of Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 6. This, too, that by him who shall make a public decision thereon, *as to* the acquitted and convicted[2], gratification is afforded to him whose maintenance of the dispute[2] is righteous; even for this reason, because the needful is delivered by him to its own requirer *who* thereby becomes even renowned. 7. This, too, that even the rite of ordeal [is produced][3] by him [who is an advantage to the righteous; for this reason, because the rite of ordeal is for the advancement of the ordeal, and the religious ordeal] proceeds through sovereignty; these righteous are those of the good religion, and their advantage is that belonging to the multitude, which is the sovereignty now, *and* every one who is given for that advantage, to the

is here described, must evidently have been written shortly after some great triumph of the priesthood over some heresy, probably either that of Mânî, or that of Mazdak.

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 2 b. [2] Ibid. 3 a.

[3] Ibid. 3 b. The words in brackets translate a passage inserted in the MS. at the time the folios were patched, like that in Chap. LII, 7, 8.

righteous *of* those of the good religion, becomes the performer of any rite of ordeal really produced, because the origin of that giving of advantage is even the rite of ordeal. 8. This, too, that by him who gives a priest and righteous *man* for propagating the religion, the rite of ordeal is also proclaimed; even for this reason, because the teacher and *one* rightly merciful (hû-âmûr'*zî*d*â*r) give[1] the sacred text by which even the rite of ordeal is declared.

9. This, too, that *he* who recites the revelation of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and who shall do *it* with exceeding goodness, becomes an increaser of wisdom; even for this reason, because the wisdom of a man increases in these two ways, either he speaks *and* teaches himself, or he exemplifies the excellence of a portion to the wise who become speakers and teachers of wisdom. 10. This, too, that his homage is for Aûha*r*ma*zd*, who thoroughly teaches a righteous employer *of* animals and human beings (kî*r*â vavîr) that he considers *him* as their controller (dastôbar); because, since the productiveness of the completion of the creatures is produced through the nourishment of the creatures *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd* through his fulfilling his own productiveness, that righteous employer *in* the world is *intended* for the nourishment of his creatures, owing to that outward subjection and propitiation of theirs, *and* the righteous employer is connected with *their* subjection and propitiation *for* the creator.

11. This, too, that by him who gives thought to the religion of Zaratû*s*t, the soul is given to Zara-

[1] Assuming that yehevûnd, 'they are,' stands for yehabûnd.

tûst; even for this reason, because with a man's *having* given thought to the religion of Zaratûst is connected the receiving of his soul *by* Zaratûst for preservation from hell. 12. This, too, that by him who teaches the nature of the sacred beings to mankind, consultation with Aûharmazd is also further taught; even for this reason, because the nature of the sacred beings is consulting a spiritual lord, *and* becomes also the consulting of Aûharmazd.

13. This, too, that by him who keeps the produce of sheep as the property of Aûharmazd, a sheep is given to him who is diligent *and* moderate[1]; even for this reason, because produce kept as the property of Aûharmazd is for *being* given for good works, *being* given for good works is *being* truly kept as a beginning for the possession of produce, and a beginning truly kept is kept even through a sheep, as a beginning of excellence, in the control (dastôbarîh) of him who is a diligent *and* moderate shepherd[2]. 14. This, too, that by him who is liberal to the liberal the increase owing to developers is brought into the world; even for this reason, because a liberal *man*, on account of even that gift given back to the worthy, becomes even for us—through the development of the world—him who is first praised therein with the sacred beings. 15. This, too, that whoever shall form a store for sheep, becomes an agent even in the development *of* sheep *by* the creator; because, on account of the increase of sheep through the existence of nourishment for them *having* arisen, whoever has arranged nourishment for sheep, becomes an agent even in the de-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 10 a. [2] Ibid. 10 b.

velopment *of* sheep *by* the creator. 16. This, too, that by him who teaches *inward* prayer (v*â*k*a*kŏ) to the good, it is also taught *to* eaters; even for this reason, because, everything connected with eating *being* declared by the religion, when the religion is taught by *any* one to the good, in which even that information is proclaimed, even eaters are taught about it. 17. This, too, that whoever maintains a sheep, *or* human being, as our property, is taught to maintain it through the high-priest of Zaratû*s*t; even for this reason, because it *is* so maintained as the property of the sacred beings, when he maintains *it* as the property of Zaratû*s*t.

18. This, too, that by him who gave predominance to those of the nature of Gâyômar*d*[1], the sovereignty also of those of the religion of Zaratû*s*t is desired; even for this reason, because the religion of Zaratû*s*t is the nature of Gâyômar*d*, and the nature of Gâyômar*d* is the religion of Zaratû*s*t. 19. This, too, that when *one is* alone among rulers a way of speaking to the rulers such words *as are* really true is thereby provided; even for this reason, because the utterance *of* blessings *by* a solitary *person* is for advantage. 20. This, too, that by him who keeps the sovereignty which is his within the will of Aûha*r*ma*z*d, the best thing is done unto Aûha*r*ma*z*d; even for this reason, because a sovereignty is so kept within the will of Aûha*r*ma*z*d when he who is the ruler gives to Aûha*r*ma*z*d the individuality in which is the sovereignty, and when its proximity and closeness have given to Aûha*r*ma*z*d that thing which is best *and* supreme.

21. This, too, that when *one* teaches the sayings

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 11 b, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 1.

(v*â*k*a*kŏ) *of* the benefiters, the information which is owing to the religion is illustrated[1] by him to his own; even for this reason, because the knowledge of religion, which is in *its* causing liberality by him, is increased even by the repeated enquiry of disciples. 22. This, too, that by him who teaches an applicant the virtuous way and doctrine (pand) the liturgy is then taught; even for this reason, because knowledge arises through the virtuous course of the liturgy[2]. 23. This, too, that by him who thinks of the affairs of virtue, the liturgy is maintained *and* taught with virtuousness[2]; even for this reason, because the maintenance of the liturgy with virtuousness arises through virtuous thinking.

24. This, too, that whoever shall provide the nourishment of creatures with propriety, his Vohûman (*good thought*) is Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s progeny[3]; and whoever properly maintains those which are in his keeping, his position becomes Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s fatherhood of Vohûman[4]; even for this reason, because every proper nourishing is that in which the nourished becomes an offspring such as Vohûman unto Aûha*r*ma*zd*; and every proper protection of the creatures, over those which are protected by it, is a fatherhood such as *that of* Aûha*r*ma*zd* over Vohûman. 25. This, too, that by him who shall provide nourishment with propriety *for* the creation which is good, it is taught *that* the good creation *was* produced *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because from the nourishment of the creation with propriety, *together* with the discriminating action of the nourisher, the goodness of the nourished is also

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 6 a.
[2] Ibid. 6 b.
[3] Ibid. 8 a.
[4] Ibid. 8 b.

evident, from the goodness of the nourished creation the goodness *of* him who is its creator is evident, and the creator of the good creation is Aûha*r*ma*zd* himself.

26. This, too, that whoever shall spiritually make Aûha*r*ma*zd* the ruler over his own person becomes a ruler as to actions[1]; even for this reason, because whoever is making Aûha*r*ma*zd* ruler over *his* person is a leader of wisdom, a leader of wisdom is a decider taking account of sin and good works, taking account of sin and good works is abstaining from sin *and* practising good works, and owing to abstinence *from* sin and practising good works *one* becomes a ruler over actions. 27. This, too, that Spenda*r*ma*d*[2] is given to Aûha*r*ma*zd* by him who is as reverent unto Aûha*r*ma*zd* as a daughter unto a father; even for this reason, because the Spenda*r*ma*d*îc nature (S*p*enda*r*ma*d*îh) is provided by him *for* Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

28. This, too, that for him *who* thinks of the care of cattle *there* arises that wisdom[3] which the control (patîh) of cattle gives; even for this reason, because the nature of the wisdom *for* a production of cattle is provided in mankind, and, when mankind apply *their* thoughts to seeking that wisdom, they obtain *it*. 29. This, too, that by him who is admitting the male *to* cattle at the *proper* time, the care of cattle is also thought of; even for this reason, because the admittance of the male becomes productiveness, and whoever[4] would cause productiveness thinks also of nourishment.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 8 c.

[2] Ibid. 9 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

[3] Ibid. 9 a.

[4] Assuming that min, 'from,' stands for mûn.

30. This, too, that by him who *has* prepared *him*self for the priests the way to yonder[1] *world* is taught; even for this reason, because the way to yonder *world* is declared by the religion, and its indicator is the priest; therefore, by him who is prepared for the priests, through discipleship, that way is known and is made known. 31. This, too, that *in* him who shall do that which is something that is an assistance to the renovation *of the universe*, thoughts of the bounty (dahîh) of the creator arise; even for this reason, because creativeness is through thinking of the renovation, thinking of the renovation arises through the renovation, the renovation arises through anything which is done that is an assistance of the renovation, the doing of anything that is an assistance of the renovation is through thinking of sagacity, and thinking of sagacity becomes thoughts of the bounty of the creator.

32. This, too, that by him who loves the affairs of the archangels a heart and mind[2], *for* not being misled from the way of the sacred beings, are recommended to mankind; even for this reason, because from the religion of the sacred beings *being* loved *arises* increasing power of the sacred beings, from the increasing power of the sacred beings *arises* their greater authority among mankind, *and* from the greater authority of the sacred beings among mankind arises the resistance of heart and mind of mankind, even in their not being misled by the very demons. 33. This, too, that whoever shall act with reverence *to* Vohûman sees the sin which is concealed in *him* mingled with good works there-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 9 b.

[2] Ibid. 12 b.

by[1]; even for this reason, because reverence for Vohûman becomes submission (hêrîh) in virtuousness, with virtuous submission are connected freedom from Kîkship and from Karapship[2], and with freedom from Kîkship and from Karapship *is connected one* sound of life *and* eye, whereby *he is* an observant decider, and atonement *for* sin arises from good works.

34. This, too, that by him who shall provide liberality for the liberal, the giving of a loan[3] to mankind is also taught; even for this reason, because liberal giving by any one is accounting for his own debt, and he endeavours to repay *it* fully observantly and with complete gratification; besides that, the power of liberality becomes extendible among mankind, *and* through loans and other gifts[3] *of* generosity (dahi*s*nîkîh) they become ardent. 35. This, too, that by him who pays homage (franâmê*d*ŏ) to the affairs of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, as much as he is able, the non-injury of the innocent is also taught; even for this reason, because to intertwine further (frôv*â*ftanŏ) with the affairs of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, as much as possible, is first *to commit* no sin *and* to perform as many good works as possible, *and* abstaining from the essentials of sin is non-injury of the innocent. 36. This, too, that by him who possesses a ruler and high-priest Aûha*r*ma*zd* is

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 13 c, where, after hômani*h*, J2, Pt4, and Mf4 insert the following words: vinâs dên avŏ ki*r*fakŏ gûmîkhtŏ yekavîmûnê*d*ŏ, madam aharâyîh a*k* sa*r*dâr hômani*h*.

[2] Pahl. akîkîh va-akarapîh; see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n for the two idolatrous priestly tribes here alluded to. On its second occurrence the first word is corrupted into âkâs which closely resembles akîgîh in Pahlavi letters.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 14 b.

spiritually made ruler over his person[1]; even for this reason, because, through the requirement of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, the angels are lord and master of the worldly *existence* of that *man*.

37. This, too, that whoever decides duty and opinion becomes also an informer of others; even for this reason, because it informs others that *he is* possessing wisdom, and this is what is said, that 'the wisdom of a man is evident from *his* deciding as to affairs.' 38. This, too, that whoever shall provide nurture with propriety becomes also an indicator (dakhshakînî*d*âr)[2] *for* others; even for this reason, because the happiness of the nurturer becomes also a happy indicator even *for* thee; and this, too, is what *one* says, that 'always good, happy, *and* free from serfs[3] is he who is not a master of vagabonds (pa*d*ŏ-î pûân).'

39. This, too, that by him who is a ruler who, by a command given, appoints him who is liturgical (mânsarîk), and gives anything to him which it is desirable to give, the necessary demeanour for true *and* virtuous statements[4] is taught; even for this reason, because the uttering of true *and* virtuous statements, in fearlessness[4] of rulers, is owing to a well-established sovereignty, and their well-established sovereignty is more particularly through these two *things*, good commanding and helpfulness; when they establish that liturgical *one* by a command given *it* is good commanding, and when they give

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 16 a. [2] Ibid. 17 c.

[3] Pahl. avârûnŏ; but, as freedom from servants is not exactly an Oriental idea of happiness, the word may also be read anâlônŏ, a possible variant of anâlânŏ, 'unlamenting.'

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 19 b.

anything to him which it is desirable to give the helpfulness is provided; also, owing to their good commanding, the helpfulness is a good establishment *of* the sovereignty, owing to a well-established sovereignty *there* is fearlessness also in uttering true *and* virtuous statements, and, owing to freedom from concealment in uttering true *and* virtuous statements, the necessary demeanour for true *and* virtuous statements arises. 40. This, too, that *he* who gives personal service unto the king of kings, and who considers the product (bar) as the property of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, is empowered for indicating the acquitted and convicted[1] *by* the spirits, his indicators of the acquitted *and* convicted; even for this reason, because the person *being* given in service to the king of kings is the preparation (nîvâri*s*nŏ) of subjection, and the product *being* considered as the property of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is to consider the innocence of *its* origin (bûn) and to make the product well-selecting (hû-*k*înakŏ) through virtuousness; owing to the progress of these two, the virtuousness in the world becomes great *and* increasing productiveness for all the good spiritual and worldly *existences* which are in it, even those who are angels indicating the acquitted and convicted.

41. This, too, that by him who becomes immortal progress[2] for him who is immortally progressive, complete progress[2] is given to him who is completely progressive; and its routine (dâ*d*istân), too,

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 19 c.

[2] Ibid. 21 a; amarg-rûbi*s*nîh and hamâk-rûbi*s*nîh are Pahlavi translations of Av. ameretâ*d* and haurvatâ*d*, as may be seen in Ibid. 6 b.

is even this, that by him who wishes[1] to make that which is his own soul immortal, *and* would afford *it* assistance, every benefit is given to him who is a supplicant *for* every benefit *and* becomes a giver of every benefit which he begs, which becomes an assistance to him whom he asks in attaining thereto. 42. This, too, that whoever gratifies that which is enjoyment renders *his* soul immortal; even for this reason, because the soul subsists through good works, and good works are all those which gratify enjoyment. 43. This, too, that whoever keeps himself always in good works[2] has produced perfection and happiness by any goodness *and* worthiness of his; even for this reason, because keeping oneself always in good works becomes perfect diligence in industry, within perfect diligence in industry is also comprised opposition to any harm whatever, and it is opposition to harm and perfect goodness that are worthy of every happiness.

44. This, too, that by him who possesses wealth as high-priest of the priests, predominance as their high-priest is maintained[3] *and* taught; even for this reason, because the provision of sovereignty and *its* progress are really through wealth. 45. This, too, that by him who would act for the pleasure of others, owing to virtue, the growth *and* increase owing to Vohûman[4] are produced; even for this reason, because that which has given virtuous pleasure is the nourishment of the creatures by the producer of increase and growth.

46. This, too, that by him who welcomes Aûha*r*-

[1] Written yetîbunê*d* with mû above it as a partial correction into y*ez*bemûnê*d* which is evidently the proper word.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 21 a. [3] Ibid. 21 b. [4] Ibid. 21 c.

ma*zd* in *him*self[1], and teaches good works to mankind, every virtuous instruction is taught; even for this reason, because the welcoming of Aûha*r*ma*zd* in *one*self is the non-committal of sin, *and* the teaching of good works to mankind is more particularly the performance of good works oneself; innocence and the practising of good works are the end of every instruction, and *he* in whom they exist becomes a teacher of every goodness. 47. This, too, that by him who shall occasion benefit through him who is a propagator of good works, the evidence of him *who is* well-informed[2] is taught through *one* well-informed; even for this reason, because the chief evidence as to sagacity is to occasion benefit for the good. 48. This, too, that by him who gives commands as to the affairs of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, Aûha*r*ma*zd* is made welcome in *his* person[1]; even for this reason, because the throne of Aûha*r*ma*zd* in the worldly *existence* is more particularly in a ruler of well-commanding person.

49. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

Chapter LIV.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The eighth fargar*d*, *Hv*aêtumaiti[3], is *that* by him who teaches wisdom to others the not being deceived by an apostate into confusing a righteous *one* (aharûbŏ-barî*s*îh) is also taught[4]; even for this reason, because he who *has* taught is not deceived.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 22 c. [2] Ibid. 22 a.

[3] See Chap. IX, 1 n; it is here written khvamaîtŏ in Pahlavi.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 1–4.

2. This, too, that by him who is as reverent *unto* Aûha*r*ma*zd* as a daughter *unto* a father, and who is also a gratifier of virtuous doers, Spenda*r*ma*d*[1] is *made one* of the archangels, and *one* is also made to love *her;* even for this reason, because through that Spenda*r*ma*d*ic *one being* reverent *unto* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and the gratification of the good *by* him, the archangels love and preserve her Spenda*r*ma*d*ic nature (S*p*enda*r*ma*d*îgîh). 3. This, too, that he who is loving Vohûman is taught by his wisdom not to destroy (nasânînî*d*anŏ)[2] the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because wisdom maintains the religion in virtue, and others are taught about it.

4. This, too, that by him who gives *him*self in discipleship unto the priests, *and* who asks again that which he does not understand, learning (âmûkŏ) is taught; even for this reason, because the asking *for* knowledge again *by him* who *has* given *him*self in discipleship to a wise priest, increases knowledge; and the friends of knowledge, therefore, make him an example, and shall practise asking again, that which they do not understand, *from* the disciples of the priests.

5. This, too, that whoever is *in accordance* with Zaratûs*t*, through pure affection, becomes, in like manner, *him* who is giving strength *to* the will of the archangels and the commands *of* the good; even for this reason, because these two capabilities *are* of the special nature of Zaratûs*t*. 6. This, too, that through the discrimination of him who loves[3] Vohûman Aû-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 2 c, and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

[2] Ibid. 4 c.

[3] Ibid. 8 c. It is possible to read the verbal stem gôsh, 'hear,'

ha*r*ma*zd* is gratified; even for this reason, because *one* loving Vohûman is loving wisdom and *has* taught wisdom, wisdom taught is discrimination, and the discriminator becomes a gratifier of Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

7. This, too, that whoever gives thought to the religion of Zaratûs*t* is taught wisdom; even for this reason, because all the wisdom of the good religion is taught to him by giving thought. 8. This, too, that whoever *has* kept wealth in the control[1] of Zaratûs*t* becomes taught, *and* is *one* who is reverent *to* the benefiters; even for this reason, because whoever is reverent *to* the supporters of religion keeps wealth in the control *of* the supporters of religion, *and*, when kept by him in their control, it is kept by him in that of Zaratûs*t*.

9. This, too, that his destiny is connected with himself who practises industry. 10. This, too, that his good works *for* arranging the creation become his own who has fully prepared his own person.

11. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

Chapter LV.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The ninth fargar*d*, Yathâi*s*[2], is *that* by him who praises Aûha*r*ma*zd his* work in the Gâthic lore[3] is taught; even for this reason, because the reason of the praise even of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is for *his* works, *and* by him who extols any work the performance

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instead of dôsh (Av. zush); but this is hardly possible in § 2, and gôshî*d*anŏ is not the usual Pahlavi for 'to hear.'

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 9 b.

[2] See Chap. X, 1 n; it is here written yatâyî*s* in Pahlavi.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 1 a.

of that work is also taught; *moreover* the work of Aûha*r*ma*z*d, *which is* the Gâthic lore, is pure goodness. 2. This, too, that by him who increases the propagators of good works priestly-controlled action (ra*d*îk-kûni*s*nîh)[1] is taught; even for this reason, because the advancement of merit and the action of priestly chieftainship are the two maxims (vâ*k*akŏ) of one who, when *there* is reason, exalts progressive merit when he increases the propagators of good works; and when progressive merit is exalted priestly-controlled action is praised and also taught.

3. This, too, that what is worthy, *and* what is coveted for every worthy *man*, is produced by him for whom the command of the liturgy is the reckoning for him who is habitually sagacious; and this statement also indicates the explanation of rulers *and* all who are needing those of the world for one combined effort, who, in the immature world, *have* to trust a command that is *at* one time sagacious. 4. This, too, that personal assistance is liberally given (râ*d*î nî*d*ŏ) to the creatures of the good *beings* by him whose deeds are an assistance of the renovation *of the universe;* and this statement, too, also indicates the great power *of* any good work whatever, because every good work, *being* an assistance of the renovation, becomes liberality *to* the immature (khâm) creation.

5. This, too, that whoever teaches to a son reverence unto *his* father has also appropriated the reward for reverence unto the creator for teaching that person; even for this reason, because express reverence unto parents and service to them are connected

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 1 b.

with reverence unto the creator and service to him. 6. This, too, that whoever is personally progress for him who is his own[1]—that is, for any one whatever among those who are needing him—becomes the happiness of the creator who is the maker of the original good creations; and this statement also indicates as to whom *it is*, when, through him whose decision is progress—which *arises* through that which *occurs* when the decision is given that becomes for every one that which is needful for him—there is happiness that is concentrated. 7. This, too, that by him who is causing benefit for him who is a cultivator cattle[2] are multiplied; even for this reason, because a gratifier of the performers of tillage is multiplying tillage, *and* cattle are the chief tillage of the world.

8. This, too, that the religion which is the way of righteousness is made his own[3] by him who is a good thinker about the religion of righteousness; and this statement, too, also indicates the limit of reliance (astisnŏ) upon the good religion; because whoever is not a good thinker about the good religion, even though he be a reciter of revelation, becomes really an apostate; whoever is a good thinker, *but* not about the good religion, becomes really an infidel; and whoever thinks truly becomes a good thinker about religious righteousness and the statements in the good religion. 9. And about three statements, the bringer forward *for* all mankind is your submission to the sacred beings; one is of the produce (bar), one of the origin (bûn), and

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 3 a.
[2] Ibid. 3 b, c.
[3] Ibid. 5 c.

one of the body and life; that of the produce is the exertion from which *there* is produce, that of the origin is the advantage for which the origin is requisite, and that of the body and life is the thought of the proposer (râyînî*d*âr), which considered both as submission *to* the sacred beings. 10. This, too, that connected with the sitting-place of the sage is the excessiveness *of* the pleasure[1] for those causing pleasure, for the upper classes (*av*arîgânŏ) of Irân, *and* for the energy (patûkîh)[1] of the diligent.

11. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER LVI.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The tenth fargar*d*, Yâ-*sh*yaothanâ[2], is *that*, for him who is practising good works[3] as much as *it* is possible for him *to do*, an efficacious reason *for* the renovation *of the universe* is afforded assistance; even for this reason, when every good work is an assistance *to* the renovation, then—according to the declaration *that* whoever *does* much more good work is more assisting the renovation—by him who is practising good works as much as *it* is possible for him *to do*, an efficacious reason for the renovation is afforded assistance. 2. This, too, that the apostate[4], who is the seduction of mankind, is injured by him who devotes himself to Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because he is dislodged *and* is elucidated

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 13 a.

[2] See Chap. XI, 1 n; it is here written yâ-shâôtnŏ in Pahlavi.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 1 a.

[4] Ibid. 8 a.

(adîvâgî-aîtŏ rôshanî-aîtŏ), *and there* arises a class of mankind *who* see the admission (parvânakîh) *of* the apostate into hell, and he is disabled when *it is* seen by them.

3. This, too, that by him who is eager[1] for knowledge, knowledge is grasped *and* taught; even for this reason, because knowledge is taught through that which is the instruction of every science *and* the original desire for it, and mankind shall extol his knowledge; it is also coveted by them for *being* taught, and they mount and grasp *it*. 4. This, too, that to slay[2] an apostate is taught by the good *one* who is united (hamî-aît) with a good *man;* even for this reason, because the destruction (aôsh) of Aharman arises from the union of the good. 5. This, too, that by him who is a disturber (vishûftâr) as to Vohûman the production of development through Vohûmanic rule[3] is taught; sinners lawfully subjected to the bridge *judgment* (pûhalînî*d*ŏ) *for* Vohûmanic disturbance, and the command for it by rulers and high-priests, being a preparation *for* the development of the world.

6. This, too, that a great ordinance[4] is taught by him whose ceremonial[5] is for Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because a comprehension of Aûha*r*ma*zd* and serving him are the foundation of joy (parkân bûn), and the ownership and concentration (hanger*d*îkîh) of all good works are themselves the great ordinance of the faithful whose preparation is through the ownership, and their welcome is more particularly in the ceremonial; owing to the same

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 9 a. [2] Ibid. 10 c.
[3] Ibid. 11 b. [4] Ibid. 12 a, b. [5] Ibid. 12 a.

reason, the original possession of the great ordinance of the ceremonial which is Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s own, and *of* other good works—even though *relating* to the ceremonial of Aûha*r*ma*zd* of every kind owing thereto—is necessary for the manifestation of the great ordinance, and is incorporated (ham-tanû) *with it* when it becomes manifest as a great ordinance, or as more than a great ordinance; even then its extent (vâli*s*nŏ) is over this joy. 7. This, too, that the performance (sakhtârîh) of a ceremonial[1] *of* the needy is a gift to the worthy of the creation, and a gift to the worthy of the creation is the attraction (hâkhtârîh) of a ceremonial of the needy.

8. This, too, that the way of righteousness[2], also that through which that way is seen, *and* likewise the reward of those lonely-labouring (aêvar'*z*îkân) therein are taught by him whose deeds are an advantage *to* the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the advantage of the sacred beings is the advantage of the multitude, and the advantage of the multitude, which is itself the religion of the sacred beings that is a guide, is the way of righteousness and also that through which is the reward of those lonely-labouring. 9. This, too, that even the reward of a teacher of professionals, which is the profit of the profession, is liberally given and appropriated for the professionals taught; even for this reason, because the business of the sacred beings has profited by the instruction (âmûkŏ).

10. Excellence *that is perfect* is righteousness.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 12 a.

[2] Ibid. 12 c.

Chapter LVII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The eleventh fargard, the Yasna[1], is *that* the whole of the good works *which are* to accomplish, *and* those, too, which are accomplished[2], are appropriated *by* the righteous *man* who teaches virtue[3] to the righteous; even for this reason, of the good works which *one* accomplishes, *and* those, too, which are accomplished, *there* is all one store (anbâr), from the work (var'zŏ) of the original good creation even to the renovation *of the universe*, *and* ever afresh the teaching of virtue *by those* who are righteous comes to the accumulation of the righteous and the accomplishment of that store, *and* they, too, are in possession of that store, *in* partnership with the other righteous. 2. This, too, that *it is* because he would do the best for his own[4], whose meditation of the liturgy is for those who are archangels, and who also maintains, for the assistance of the good, the strength which is his for the existences. 3. And this statement indicates the great participation of any one in that store, because when that store is really an accumulation of work on the way, for the partners in that store who *have done* more, and also *those* who *have* accomplished less, *and* remains, moreover, in the possession of them all, then, *as to* those accomplishing more of it, through the original possession of most of that work, and also through that which *occurs* when the accomplishers have attained to that plenty more particularly owing to their more labour, and likewise through the property, liberally,

[1] See Chap. XII, 1 n; it is here written yastô in Pahlavi.
[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 5. [3] Ibid. 4. [4] Ibid. 6.

largely, and lordlily, of those accomplishing more, and the indigence, unafflictedly[1], scantily, and subordinately, of those accomplishing less, *it is* reasonable to speak of that store *as* in their possession, and *of their* superiority *as* greatly over those accomplishing less. 4. This, too, that his work is good work whose liberality is for the archangels; even for this reason, because through a little labour *for* the sacred beings, which is itself that liberality, he contributes duty and good works.

5. This, too, that it becomes best for him, in both existences[2], who teaches a wishing for living in diligence to mankind; even for this reason, because he is a preserver of them through the wishing for living, and *his* soul, through the diligence owing to him, attains perfection, here from mankind *and in* yonder *world* from the sacred beings. 6. This, too, that the ceremonial and obeisance of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[3] are performed by him who is in the way of like thinking and like praising of the law of Aûha*r*ma*zd* with all the worshippers of Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 7. This, too, that he is in the leadership of his religion[4] who makes the knowledge of religion ever afresh; even for this reason, because every item of knowledge which he provides increases some greatness of it. 8. This, too, that he is in the service of his religion[4] who demands the knowledge of religion ever afresh; even for this reason, because so long as he demands more, he becomes nearer to a knowledge of religion.

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[1] Pahl. abêshîhâ, but it should perhaps be avê*s*îhâ, 'unabundantly.'

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 9. [3] Ibid. 19. [4] Ibid. 22.

9. This, too, that mankind's wishing for life is authorised (dastovarînîdŏ) by him who authorises the production of anything for mankind; even for this reason, because authority (dastôbarîh) over the production of anything is conjoined with that which is for the wishing for life; so that whosever production of anything is authorisedly, their life is *free* from any discomfort; and whosever wishing for life is authorisedly, his production of anything is also authorisedly. 10. This, too, that acceptance, hints, and words are given[1] to Aûharmazd by him who asks again, that which he does not understand of the religion, from him who does understand; even for this reason, because knowledge is completed through these three *things:* obtainment, hints, and speaking, and all three are asked again by him who does not understand. 11. This, too, that the words of Aûharmazd[2] are taught by him who teaches the acceptance, remembrance, and speaking *of* the religion; even for this reason, because this is the recital of that compendium (hangerdîkîh).

12. This, too, that the care[3] *and* reverence of fire are provided by him who is liberal to a fire as regards anything he supplies *for* the care *and* reverence which *others* shall provide *for* the fire, and he becomes equally rewarded for it. 13. This, too, that by him who teaches the religion of Aûharmazd with joyfulness[4], the care *and* reverence of fire are

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 25. [2] Ibid. 27.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 1. This section implies that the attendant who feeds a fire with fuel supplied by others, obtains an equal share of merit with them.

[4] Ibid. 4, 5.

provided as declared by the religion; even for this reason, because even that *which is* taught by him combines with the action due to that teaching. 14. This, too, that the obeisance[1] *to* those requiring obeisance is arranged *by him* who loves Vohûman. 15. This, too, that fire is strengthened—for that work, achieved in the future existence, which is the greatest[2] that exists—by him who invokes fire with the title of fire; even for this reason, because the title is put by him upon a nature that is laudable, and when invoked by him with that title the praised *one* is then strengthened by him.

16. This, too, that he becomes informed as to the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[3], who teaches the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd* with pleasure; even for this reason, because every knowledge is exercised *and* increased by teaching. 17. This, too, that Aûha*r*ma*zd* is propitiated by the excellent sagacity of him who teaches virtuous words and actions[4]; even for this reason, because sagacity *has* two parts, the speakable and the workable. 18. This, too, that the bodily form (kerpŏ) of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is praised as perfection (nêvakŏtûmîh)[5] by him who elevates (bâlistînê*d*ŏ) his own soul[6] to the station of the sun[7]; even for this reason, because that bodily form of Aûha*r*ma*zd* exists, and becomes the loftiest *and* most perfect in the station of the sun.

19. This, too, that all excellence is purely produced for Aûha*r*ma*zd* by him who has root in the

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 5.
[2] Ibid. 6.
[3] Ibid. 7.
[4] Ibid. 11.
[5] Ibid. 14.
[6] Ibid. 15.
[7] Ibid. 16; the highest grade of heaven below the supreme heaven, which latter is called Garô*d*mân (see Sls. VI, 3 n).

possession *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because, when a root is given to him, fruit is also produced by him, and all excellence is *both* root and fruit[1]. 20. This, too, that Aûha*r*ma*zd* is invoked with the title 'lord[2]' by him whom Aûha*r*ma*zd* calls; even for this reason, because the interpretation of 'Aûha*r*ma*zd*' is really with *the words* 'greatly wise lord' (mas dânâk khû*d*âî). 21. This, too, that the names of the sacred beings *which are* invoked[3] are the praise glorified by *any* one, and by him who glorifies them they are named; even for this reason, because the names of the sacred beings are the glorification due to their names of praise. 22. This, too, that among those of the same class (ham-gôharân), when he shall do *it* for one race[4], benefit is produced by him for other races within that class; among those of the same races (ham-tôkhmakânân), when he shall produce benefit for one species, *it is done* by him also for other species within that race; and among the same species (ham sarâ*d*akŏ), when he shall produce benefit for one individual (kerpŏ), *it is done* by him for other individuals within that species.

23. This, too, that his personality (khû*d*îh) is the sacred beings' own[5], who maintains the rites[6] with the assistance of the righteous. 24. This, too, that his own is in the guardianship[7] of the sacred beings, whose vehemence is through Good Thought;

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXVII (=V), 2.
[2] Ibid. 6.
[3] See Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 10–12.
[4] Ibid. 13–15.
[5] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIX, 13.
[6] Assuming that עתן atân stands for עין âyinân, as mûn atân is ungrammatical.
[7] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIX, 15.

even for this reason, because his bravery is for the law. 25. This, too, that life is given to mankind by him who shall do that which is able to remain good for them. 26. This, too, that the friendship of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is appropriated by him who has Aûha*r*ma*zd* as a guardian, and perpetual guardianship is appropriated by him who teaches to mankind that thing which becomes their perpetual guardianship *in* yonder *world.*

27. This, too, that he causes righteousness[1] who thinks of anything which is virtuous. 28. This, too, that he has caused the good commands and propitiousness[2] of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, who gives *his* body and life[3] to the sacred beings; and body *and* life are given to the sacred beings by him who affords friendship to the religion of Zaratû*s*t. 29. And this, too, that to him who affords friendship to Aûha*r*ma*zd* it occurs owing to the guardianship of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; and that guardianship is perpetually[4] connected with him who teaches to others that thing which always constitutes their companionship with the sacred beings.

30. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The twelfth fargar*d*, U*s*tavaiti[5], is *that* the benefit of him who is reverent *to* the benefiters is the benefit of any one whatever[6]; even for this

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XL, 7.
[2] See Pahl. Yas. XLI, 6. [3] Ibid. 7. [4] Ibid. 17.
[5] See Chap. XIII, 1 n; it is here written aû*s*tâîtŏ in Pahlavi.
[6] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a.

reason, because the benefit of the immature creation is owing to carrying *out* the commands of a benefiting spiritual lord. 2. This, too, that whoever pleases superiors by submission, is pleased by inferiors. 3. This, too, that by him who gives thought to the religion of Zaratûst, that which is best for his own in every mode[1] is produced, because he has attained to the religion who is listening best. 4. This, too, that virtue is taught by him to all the creatures of the beneficent spirit, *to* the righteous whose stepping forth (fravâmisnŏ) is for the righteous; even for this reason, because the creatures of the beneficent spirit are all *of* one nature, *and* the stepping forth (fragâmisnŏ) and hastening of the limbs of one body become those of the whole *of* that body. 5. This, too, that his spirit is connected with Aûharmazd[2], and his knowledge is accepted, who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because the spirit *who* is the original spiritual lord of knowledge is Vohûman. 6. This, too, that just giving is taught by him whose words are through Vohûman[3]; even for this reason, because the speaking of virtuous words becomes the teaching of knowledge in which *there* is also just giving.

7. This, too, that joy which is of long duration is produced[4] for his own by him who brings forth strength through virtue, *and* who also assists him who is unborn; even for this reason, because joy which is perpetual increases by both. 8. This, too, that by him who is an assistance of those in the proper way, the proper way is taught to mankind[5];

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 2 a. [2] Ibid. 2 c.
[3] Ibid. 2 d. [4] Ibid. 2 e. [5] Ibid. 3 b.

even for this reason, because *he is* making mankind long for *that* way. 9. This, too, that heat is given to fire[1] by him who *tells* truth to the invokers; even for this reason, because the adversary—owing to the heat of the fire achieved *by* the indicator of truth—is more particularly subdued by the strength of that just *one.*

10. This, too, that the assistants for the renovation *of the universe* are the decrees of Vistâsp[2]—which are through Vohûman—*of* Sôshâns[3] and Kaî-Khûsrôî[4]; even for this reason, because the fragments are possessing a renewer which is their own completion[5], and the completion—which is through the assistance of the renovation by Vistâsp—is through what *occurs* when the religion is set going by him, through which the renovation arises; and the triumph of the completion, which is through an ordinance by Sôshâns, is through what *occurs* when through the ordinance *there* is thus a decree which sets aside all distress from the creatures, *and* gives the ordinance *to* the whole material existence, that which is living and also that which is dead. 11. This, too, that whoever intrusts it with a command given—which command given intrusts him who supplies the command from revelation—and it worships what is

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 4 d.

[2] See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 4 e, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14.

[4] In the MS. the letters srô are omitted from this name which might, therefore, be read Kayânag; but Kaî-Khûsrôî (see Chap. XXIII) is considered as one of the assistants of the renovation (Dd. XXXVI, 3), probably on account of his opposition to idolatry (Bd. XVII, 7).

[5] Pahl. maman bâharânŏ kashtâr-hômônd-î nafsman spôrîkîh.

necessary to worship, is thereby displayed among the existences *as* the progeny of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[1].

12. This, too, that the defeat of the bad and the acceptance of the good[2] are taught by him who shall provide a righteous gift for the worthy; because both are therein. 13. This, too, that ability for even the transformation of the creatures[3] of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is taught by him who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because the forward-dragging, and also the backward-dragging, power—which is in mankind—is qualified, through changeableness of will, for even the actions of the Vohûmanic nature. 14. This, too, that power is taught, to that spirit through whom the creatures are changed, by him whose wisdom is for that which is wisdom; even for this reason, because that spirit is wisdom, *and* increases in mankind through instruction. 15. This, too, that by him who praises the religion like a disciple, and who also teaches *it* like a priest[4], it is shown *that* Sôshâns[4] really comes; even for this reason, because the religion, from the first praiser and teacher *down* to the last praiser and teacher, is connected by discipleship and priesthood, *and* Sôshâns becomes a disciple *in* the end, and the last priest.

16. This, too, that the wisdom of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[5] is taught by him who shall supply decisions and adjudication from the religion; even for this reason, because the decision of religion is the wisdom of Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 17. This, too, that complete mindfulness, so that they are not deceived[5], is taught

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 5 b. [2] Ibid. 5 d.

[3] Ibid. 5 e; assuming that dâm-var'*zis*nîh, 'accomplishment of the creatures,' stands for dâm-var*dis*nîh.

[4] Ibid. 6 d. [5] Ibid. 6 e.

through wisdom by him who is as reverent *to* Aûharmazd as a daughter *to* a father; even for this reason, because the reverence of a daughter unto a father arises mostly through natural sympathy (âhang-î kitrîk), *and* through the intellectual complete mindfulness of the daughter.

18. This, too, that maintaining the destinies (vakhtân) of the body through the command of the creator is taught by him who teaches the righteous *man* and the wicked *one* that thing *which* becomes comfort to them, *to* the righteous *man* as to *his* body, *and to* the wicked *one* as to *his* soul; even for this reason, because he becomes a friend of the creatures, a friend of the creatures is also a friend of creativeness, *and* a friend of the creator maintains body *and* wealth through the command of the creator, *and* others are taught by him. 19. This, too, that joy owing to him who is powerful is taught him who is righteous only by him—that is, *he* is conveying him to the rulers for benefit[1]—who is an assistance of him who is righteous through capability, that is, he shall do it through exertion of power; even for this reason, because, when he *has* provided as much assistance as *it* is possible for him *to do*, his praise arises through that benefit which is pre-eminent through his exertion. 20. This, too, that the benefit *of* sovereignty for that which arises[2] is taught only by him who always thoroughly teaches authority (patîh) up to dictatorship (vispô-farmânîh); that is, he teaches to others that thing which always arises for them up to dictatorial authority; this is where it is connected by them with the

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 8 c. [2] Ibid. 8 d.

renovation *of the universe* through the control which is in the tree of germs[1].

21. This, too, that he becomes liberal to fire[2] who shall perform work for fire that is its protection, and so it is taught about *it* through the obeisance by him whose liberality—that is his through the obeisance—becomes liberal, *and* whose declaration, that arises as to Vohûman, possesses wealth through virtue. 22. This, too, *that* this thinking as to righteousness[3] is taught only by him—that is, he thinks—whose petition for righteousness is ever afresh. 23. This, too, that the religion is interrogated[4] by him who is submissive *to* superiors and similarly situated (ham-*g*âk) *to* inferiors.

24. This, too, that the state of the present *world* (latammanîh) for the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion is thoroughly taught where whatever becomes a progress[5] of the religion is whatever is purification for mankind; even for this reason, because the want of progress of the religion is owing to the want of purification of mankind as to the fiend, and when a human being is purified from the fiend, the progress of the religion becomes different. 25. This, too, that pleasure is taught to him who is a friend[6]

[1] Evidently the many-seeded tree of all germs, opposed to harm and called the proper-curing, energetic-curing, and all-curing; it is renowned in Aîrân-*vêg* and grows in the wide-formed ocean near the Gôkerenô, or white-Hôm plant, which latter is one of the ingredients of the elixir producing immortality in the future existence (see Bd. IX, 5, 6, XVIII, 9, XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5).

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 9 d which Pt4 and Mf4 supply as follows:—Aê*d*ûnŏ avŏ hanâ-î lak âtâ*s* râ*d*ŏ hômônam pavan nîyâ-yi*s*nŏ.

[3] Ibid. 9 e. [4] Ibid. 10 c. [5] Ibid. 11 d.

[6] Ibid. 14 a.

only by him—that is, he gives it—who is a pleasure to him who is a friend; and its routine is really this, that by him who causes pleasure to friends, his *having* caused pleasure is taught also to them. 26. This, too, that, owing to him whom Aûha*r*ma*zd* teaches joy, it is taught *that* gratification[1] comes from Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because he is exalted, even in the worldly *existence*, through that joy which is supreme, and mankind are thereby taught.

27. This, too, that the augmentation of indications as to intellect is taught to him who is a vigorous-minded (tû*s*tŏ-mîni*s*nŏ) man[2], by him whose own progress is that towards his own sacred beings; even for this reason, because he fully considers, *and* delivers the decision, of his own powers, of those, too, of *his* contemporaries (ham-bu*d*î-kânŏ), *and* likewise of the chivalry (*k*îrîh) of the age; and others are taught about *it* by him. 28. This, too, that the spirit of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[3] is expounded only by him—that is, he loves *it*—whose close exposition is of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because he becomes similarly loved with Aûha*r*ma*zd*, so that[4] . . . 29. And this, too, that the reward is taught in the publicity of the sun[5] by him whose friendship is for the Spîtâmân, which also increases in the day—that is, it is necessary to perform duty and good works in the day—but he does not put *it* aside the second day; even for this reason, because friendship for the religion is through kind regard;

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 14 b. [2] Ibid. 15 c.
[3] Ibid. 16 a. [4] Some clause appears to be omitted here.
[5] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 16 d.

and duty in *one* day, only to put *it* aside for the second day, becomes affliction (vêsh) *at* the bridge *of judgment;* also the sun is the most kindly-regarding and swiftest of those visible.

30. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

Chapter LIX.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The thirteenth fargar*d*, Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ[1], is *that* the obeisance[2] of the archangels is performed by him who is educated in the recitation *for* the archangels of *one* learned in the religion, which is when *he has* to understand the recitation and to maintain the recitation of revelation with propriety, which is when an enumeration, or form (âînakŏ), as to the qualities of the archangels exists, which is the obeisance *for* the sacred beings. 2. For, on this subject, *one* mentions seven kinds *of men*[3], educated, or well-educated, or ill-educated, who are connected with it in statements by those of the world; the merely educated *man*, particularly also the physician, explains this which is not mentioned *and* does not occur, that *it is* well, or ill, disposed[4]; the merely well-educated *man*, particularly also the physician, explains this which is mentioned *and* occurs, that *it is* well-disposed; the merely ill-educated *man*, *and*

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[1] See Chap. XIV, 1 n; it is here written ta*d*-s*p*âg-peres in Pahlavi.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 1 b.

[3] These appear to be the four kinds of ordinary men, and the three kinds of physicians, detailed in the following clauses.

[4] Khu (Pâz.) ayô*v* dûs*i*m.

also the physician, explains this which is mentioned *and* occurs, that *it is* ill-disposed; and the merely uneducated *man* explains anything whatever that is really life[1]. 3. *One* educated in the recitation *for* the sacred beings, who when—on account of the necessity of speaking evil about a learned man—*he* is mischievous (anâg), so that he keeps in viciousness, *and has* remained in the obeisance *for* the sacred beings, is called not ransomed (lâ tâkhtîk). 4. *One* ill-educated in the recitation *for* the sacred beings, which is when *it happens* that he keeps in viciousness, becomes even an apostate who is acquainted with the religion. 5. *One* uneducated in what *pertains to* the sacred beings is of two kinds, either good[2] and void of learning, or an evil *one* who is void of knowledge; the good *and* void of learning worships the sacred beings unobservantly with the proper rites, and the evil *one* who is void of knowledge thinks to worship the sacred beings unobservantly with improper rites, and *has* no means of trustworthy reliance upon the religion of the sacred beings and their obeisance. 6. And *one* well-educated in what *pertains to* the sacred beings, through the three words of the connected series (ham-pa*d*vandi*s*nîh) which is good (khu) and learned[3], and through what *pertains to* the sacred beings, expounds faithfully the object of the obeisance *for* the sacred beings.

7. This, too, that, by him who teaches to mankind that thing which becomes their hope of eternity, mankind are taught to come to the religion of

[1] Apparently khayâ-*k* badly written in B.

[2] Pâz. khu.

[3] Probably 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.'

the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the Vohûmanic attainment[1] to the religion of the sacred beings is to be required wisely for them, its requirement wisely for them is a benefit for the steadfast and becomes a consideration (mînîh) for them, and the consideration of the benefit of the steadfast is through hope of the eternity which is provided for the benefit, on account of which the hope of eternity —which is the basis—is the reason even of the acceptance of the religion.

8. This, too, that the perfection of the first among the existences[2] is taught by him who *has* retentively remembered his words; even for this reason, because remembrance is the acme of every perfection. 9. This, too, that he becomes a nourisher of good works who shall perform good works publicly; even for this reason, because others are taught thereby, and good works increase in the world. 10. This, too, that by him who has fruit in the possession of Aûha*r*ma*zd* the development of the world in virtue[3] is taught; even for this reason, because a lawful preserver and a producer of liberality arise through the fruit, they enlarge the root of the power of the angel *of* liberality, and pluck *its* fruit; the world is improved thereby, *and* mankind are taught about *it*. 11. This, too, that, through complete mindfulness, words *and* actions[4] are truly taught by him whose ceremonial is for complete mindfulness; even for this reason, because there are both words *and* actions in the ceremonial.

12. This, too, that the sagacious creativeness (far'-*z*ânak dahîh) of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is taught, which is

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 1 e. [2] Ibid. 2 b. [3] Ibid. 2 d.
[4] Ibid. 6 c.

the exposition, to Aûha*r*ma*zd*[1], of the production of the renovation; even for this reason, because the advantage of the sagacity of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is the consequence of its beginning, and *its* middle is through the power of the goodness and knowledge of him himself, and because *it is* destiny as regards the creations; and whoever possesses that power for the assistance of the renovation, is extolled for that sagacity, and *people* are taught thereby. 13. This, too, that the reward of Zaratû*s*t is appropriated by him who decides about duty and opinion[2]; even for this reason, because, through that discrimination, *he is* similar to Zaratû*s*t.

14. This, too, that the recitation of revelation is performed *for* mankind by him who extends the propagation of the religion[3]; even for this reason, because, owing to the gratification of virtuous practisers, virtue increases. 15. This, too, that the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is made progressive[2] by him who shall perform the ceremonial of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because through that performance of his occurs the blessing of the provider of the rite (nîrangînî*d*âr). 16. This, too, that that perfectly righteous *man* of just judgment is protected from the annoying spirit[4] by him who possesses the resemblance (ângûnagîh) unto Vohûman that they behold and resources through virtue; even for this reason, because the vexation which is partaken by him (*the spirit*), owing to the just judgment among those of the nature (*k*îharîkân) of mankind, is redoubled (dôkânî-aîtŏ) by their pleasure owing to the Vohûmanic resemblance, *and* the annoying spirit

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 8 b.
[2] Ibid. 17 c.
[3] Ibid. 15 d, 17 c.
[4] Ibid. 11 e.

is disabled (akârî-hênd)[1] by that accumulated vexation *which* occurs for his annoyance.

17. This, too, that the exploits of the archangels are taught by him who is really capable in what *pertains to* the archangels; even for this reason, because they become the hope of a consoling (vêdvar) end, and are also indicative of the renovation *of the universe*, the hope of a virtuous end.

18. This, too, that the words of him who is Zaratûst, that '*people* shall become supplicant,' are taught by him who is for the benefiters; even for this reason, *because* they who are benefiters, on account of an inclination for the religion, make others eager for the religion, and make them mount for prayer.

19. And this, *too*, that by him who gives anything to a righteous man, this is also done that some one else *may* give even to him who is vile; even for this reason, because a foundation of liberality is thereby prepared for him[2].

20. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

Chapter LX.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The fourteenth fargard, Ad-fravakhshyâ[3], is *that* whatever is instruction is to be listened to[4] here as much as is possible, *and* he who is not to be

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[1] The Pâz. equivalent of akârîh-hômand.

[2] Implying that he is himself vile who gives to the righteous merely to induce others to give to himself.

[3] See Chap. XV, 1 n; it is here written ad-fravakhshê in Pahlavi.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 1 a.

taught is allowed an opportunity *for* listening by Zaratûst.

2. This, too, that by him who would be a causer of procreation for performers of labour, the perfect nature of the performance of the first next-of-kin marriage[1] is praised; because causing the procreation of performers of labour is the fatherhood of mankind, the proper fatherhood of mankind is through the proper production *of* progeny, the proper progeny of the producer is through the accomplishment of progeny among his own, according to the disposition of the first creatures, and the accomplishment of progeny among one's own is next-of-kin marriage; and that which *occurs*, when a causer of the procreation of performers of labour praises the fatherhood of mankind, *is that* next-of-kin marriage is also praised by him. 3. This, too, that by him whose creatures are in virtue, owing to his virtuous nourishment *of* the creatures, the performance of next-of-kin marriage[2] is taught, *and* the virtue is his virtue; even on this account, because, for the sake of keeping the creatures in virtue, he allows (and*âzêdŏ*) for the virtuous disposition pertaining to the multitude, *and* that which is born he produces (dahê*dŏ*) as lineage from the next-of-kin marriage pertaining to the multitude.

4. This, too, that Spenda*r*ma*d* is in daughterhood[3] to Aûha*r*ma*zd* is taught by him whose wisdom is through complete mindfulness; even for this reason,

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4 a.

[2] Ibid. 4 c. §§ 2–5 have been already translated, somewhat differently, in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 395, 396.

[3] Ibid. 4 d. For Spenda*r*ma*d* see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

because *his* wisdom *and* complete mindfulness are within limits which are Aûha*r*ma*zd* and Spenda*r*ma*d*, the wisdom *being* that of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, the complete mindfulness that of Spenda*r*ma*d*, and the complete mindfulness *being* the offspring of the wisdom just as Spenda*r*ma*d* is *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd*; and, owing to this, the assertion is reasonable that, by him whose complete mindfulness is connected with wisdom, it is taught *that* Spenda*r*ma*d* is in daughterhood to Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 5. This, too, that thus the exercise of that daughterhood is taught by him whose righteousness is through complete mindfulness, and whose ceremonial is also through complete mindfulness; that is, he shall perform the ceremonial and other good works fully mindfully.

6. This, too, that mankind are attracted to religious good deeds by him who shall provide benefit for the people through actions *and* words; even for this reason, because those actions are religious good deeds, and, when instituted by him, *others* are also taught by him. 7. This, too, that reverence *for* Vohûman[1] is taught by him who shall make that which is contaminated obvious to the eye, so that what is dark *becomes* light; even for this reason, because the display of the work of Vohûman thereby has also taught the offer of reverence *for* Vohûman. 8. And this, too, that the ceremonial is taught with complete mindfulness[2] only *by him* who teaches words and actions with complete mindfulness.

9. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 9 e.

[2] Ibid. 10 a.

CHAPTER LXI.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The fifteenth fargar*d*, Kamnamaêza[1], is about the reply of Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratûs*t*, as to that which *was* asked by him thus: 'To which lands *do* I step[2]?' *and* it is *thus:* 'Do thou march (sagîtûn) there where the man, in whose person righteousness is *connected* with complete mindfulness, is welcome; this, too, is where happy is he from whom there is no complaint.'

2. This, too, that mankind are made diligent in good works by him who produces progress for good works; even for this reason, because mankind attain progress *in* manifest duty who engage more particularly *in* good works. 3. This, too, that the teaching of religion is the public action which is prescribed by him who would produce exertion for the righteous, that is, benefit for those of the good religion; even for this reason, because the multitude (kabedân) approach the religion, and are taught and practise *it*, on account of a desire *for* benefit. 4. This, too, that *it is* in a province of even exhausted production[3] that it is taught by him who appoints a virtuous governor over the province; even for this reason, because a virtuous governor of a province becomes a teacher of ability and good works to those of the province.

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[1] See Chap. XVI, 1 n; it is here written kâmnamézŏ in Pahlavi.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 1 a; reading va*l* ka*d*âr damîkân vâmam (=gâmam, see Chap. LVIII, 4).

[3] Ibid. 4 b.

5. This, too, that the good protection of fire[1] is taught by him whose words are through Vohûman, *and* who also would provide a time for the ordeal of that which is doubtful; even for this reason, because *he* whose words are utterable through Vohûman, *and* who would provide a time *for* the ordeal of that which is doubtful, teaches the provision of care *for* the operative fire, owing to that *which occurs* when *what is* accomplished, about *one* acquitted *or* convicted *by* the fire, is declared, *and* mankind shall provide more particularly for the brilliancy of the fire, and the wicked more *for* assistance and protection from it.

6. This, too, that whoever shall provide about him who liberally gives *him*self in discipleship[2] unto the priests, has thereby taught even by the mention of the high-priest; even for this reason, because the person *being* given in discipleship unto the priests, the religion practised by the high-priest arises also *for* mention, *and* whoever shall provide generosity for that person, has increased *and* also taught that action, which is religion, even by the mention made. 7. This, too, that men and women[3] are taught *as being* given in discipleship[4] to Zaratûst by him who keeps his own males and females in the control of Zaratûst. 8. This, too, that goodness is taught by him to those (valman) who are good, so that they produce it who give to that righteous *one* the worthiness which is through that wealth; the righteous *one* who is worthy is *one* of the good religion for whose production of the worthiness which is through that wealth it is sought, and that wealth which is

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 7 c.
[2] Ibid. 9 d.
[3] Ibid. 10 a.
[4] Ibid. 10 b.

coveted is wealth of little trouble *and* much advantage, through the goodness and idea of virtue of the giver to the account of him who is the accepter of the good worthiness. 9. This, too, that through his *K*inva*d* passage (*K*i*s*-vi*d*arg) it is taught that they shall step forth (frôvâmând)[1]; *and* by him who goes on through anything (*k*i*s*) openly, when he *has* proceeded publicly on the right path, *one* passed *away* on the *K*inva*d* passage is taught.

10. This, too, that by him whose ceremonial is through complete mindfulness it is taught that the world produces abundance through complete mindfulness[2]; even for this reason, because it is taught by him, through that disposition of his *for* the sacred beings (pavan zak-î valman ya*zd*ânŏ khîm), *that* the developed world is shown *to be* theirs; *and* here *below* it is fully taught by him, *that* Khû*r*da*d* and Amû*r*da*d*[3]—that is, the sacred beings—produce *it* for the benefiters. 11. This, too, that thus he who is wicked, even he who is privileged, becomes unprivileged at that time when every one understands, that is, when righteousness is aloft. 12. This, too, that when he who is privileged is Vi*st*âsp[4], likewise he who is privileged is the righteous Zaratû*st*[5], *and* so he who is the wicked Ar*g*âsp[6] is unprivileged.

13. This, too, that creation is taught by him to

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 10 e, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 8.

[2] Ibid. 12 c.

[3] See Chap. XIX, 1.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 13 e.

[5] Ibid. 14 a, which is supplied by Pt4, Mf4, thus:—Zaratûstŏ mûn lak aharûbŏ dôstŏ.

[6] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 4.

Aûha*r*ma*zd*, so that he creates, and this, too, that the archangels are taught by his will, whose contentment[1] is through that of the archangels, so that he observes the conclusion in the affairs of the archangels. 14. And this, too, that wisdom is taught to him who is Zaratû*s*t—so that it becomes his—by him whose thoughts are for Zaratû*s*t[2] *and* for the religion of Zaratû*s*t.

15. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

Chapter LXII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The sixteenth fargar*d*, Spe*n*tâ-mainyû[3], is *that* the religion is lodging in him who is himself wise, or becomes a hearer of the wise. 2. This, too, that the deeds of complete mindfulness are practised[4] and taught by him who becomes himself completely mindful. 3. This, too, that *whoever* shall openly perform good works becomes a nourisher of good works.

4. This, too, that the spirit of fatherhood becomes lodging in him who nourishes the creatures with propriety[5]. 5. This, too, that pasture is given[6] to cattle is taught by him who shall provide care *for* cattle, because the giving of pasture to them with care is advantageous.

6. This, too, that all for his good who becomes a benefit to him who is good[7]—*through* that which

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 19 e.

[2] Ibid. 19 b.

[3] See Chap. XVII, 1 n; it is here written s*p*endmatŏ in Pahlavi.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 c.

[5] Ibid. 2 d.

[6] Ibid. 3 c.

[7] Ibid. 5 b.

has come to him—is every benefit which occurs to him who is good; all *for* his good every benefit is given to every *one* good by way of similarity in race, species, and nature, and every benefit is given in the way of complete giving which is possible for it.

7. This, too, that whoever shall justly inflict sentence and judgment, really according to the declaration regarding *one* acquitted *or* convicted[1], becomes praiseworthy; even for this reason, because the origin of the judgment is the ritual of the ordeal. 8. And this, too, that by him who gives to him who is wise that which is needful for him, an immense[2] *and* strong foundation for learning is produced, *and* the knowledge in the world is augmented.

9. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

Chapter LXIII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The seventeenth fargar*d*, Yêzî[3], is *that* whoever maintains the benedictions of the religion[4], and shall uphold its commands, has thereby made even others learn it; even for this reason, because through this *it* is much more possible for him to attract others to the religion; *and*, *as to* the origin and means of attraction, the attraction is this, that he himself maintains the benedictions of the religion, and the means of attraction are this, that he is an upholder of the commands of the religion.

2. This, too, that by him who shall perform the ritual of an ordeal which is accomplished, the *K*in-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 6 b. [2] Ibid. 6 c.
[3] See Chap. XVIII, 1 n. [4] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1 d.

va*d* passage[1] is made known; even for this reason, because those even *who have* accomplished what is a work of the spirit become witnesses, one about the other, as to the facts. 3. This, too, that by him who shall perform that thing whereby a change occurs from evil to good[2], even that change which is the renovation *of the universe* is made known, by means even of the evidence of a partial change as regards a perpetual change.

4. This, too, that by him who shall produce generosity for the tillers[3] of the world it is then developed; even for this reason, because they become more diligent *in* tilling the world. 5. This, too, that by him who shall produce benefit for the poor, a development[4] of the world is produced for them; even for this reason, because through that reason they increase more.

6. This, too, that the creature-forming (dâmîh) of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[5] is occasioned by him whose rule[6] is for Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because he becomes a holder and attendant of good works. 7. This, too, that the devastation by Vohûman[7] is taught *by* him whose rule is for Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because he smites sinners *and* destroys among villains.

8. This, too, that virtuous people are increased in a province[8] by him who appoints a virtuous governor of the province. 9. This, too, that virtuous instruction is provided *and* explained by him who loves Vohûman[9]. 10. And this, too, that vir-

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 2 b. [2] Ibid. 4 a. [3] Ibid. 5 d.
[4] Ibid. 6 c. [5] Ibid. 7 d. [6] Ibid. 8 a.
[7] Ibid. 9 c. [8] Ibid. 12 a, and compare Chap. LXI, 4.
[9] Ibid. 12 b.

tuous deeds[1] are set going by him who teaches learned sayings *and* virtuous deeds to him who is good; even for this reason, because the reception *of* the progressive supply of virtue by the learned becomes more complete.

11. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The eighteenth fargar*d*, A*d*-mâ-yavâ[2], is *that*, through his complete mindfulness[3], the teaching of mankind in virtue is by him, and they become properly intelligent[3] through him, whose actions are those which are more daughterly, that is, as reverent unto Aûha*r*ma*zd* as a daughter unto a father; even for this reason, because his display of the complete mindfulness which is instinctive (âsnîk) is through action, *and* that action, acquired (srûtîk) for the thoughts of mankind, is kindled by him and *has* become properly intelligent. 2. This, too, that proper intelligence of things arises for *one* completely mindful[3], even for a daughter to a father, through that complete mindfulness which is instinctive, whereby that lust is excluded which is most violently reverenced by the male (kû*s*nŏ), and, devoid of that, the reverence is assimilated (ângunîhînî*d*ŏ) most strongly to one's reverence unto the creator.

3. This, too, that discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings through wisdom[4] is taught by him

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 12 c.

[2] See Chap. XIX, 1 n; it is here written a*d*-mâ-*y*ûv in Pahlavi.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 5 c. [4] Ibid. 6 b.

whose learning is in the affairs *of* the sacred beings; even for this reason, because discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings is specially that which is advantageous *in* the end, and the advantageousness *in* the end is seen through learning; *and*, apart from that, he who is learned in the affairs of the sacred beings has taught discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings through his wisdom [1].

4. This, too, that the joyfulness in righteousness is taught to Frashô*s*tar by him—that is, he would make him ardent in the performance of duty and good works [2]—who *has* thoroughly expounded Khû*r*da*d and* Amû*r*da*d* to Frashô*s*tar [3], that is, he maintains *him* as his high-priest. 5. This, too, that he who shall perform good works ever afresh, has taught him to become ardent in duty and good works [2]. 6. This, too, that Aûha*r*ma*zd* supplies guardianship [4] to him who gives pleasure to Aûha*r*ma*zd*; even for this reason, because a giver of pleasure to Aûha*r*ma*zd* is any one *who is* a true servant of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *and* Aûha*r*ma*zd* becomes the guardian of a true servant.

7. This, too, that they ever amount to a master of all commands [5] for him who is a benefit *and* sovereignty for that which arises; even owing to this reason, because, in establishing *and* arranging that which is an absurd (â*s* kûn) or a virtuous law, the command issued, which is another *and* further observation of the advantage of the creatures, prepares

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[1] Assuming that ar'*g*ŏ, 'value,' stands for khira*d*ŏ, which is very similarly written in Pahlavi letters.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 8 a.

[3] See Chap. XIX, 1, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

[4] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 8 b. [5] Ibid. 8 d.

that which is ever an attainable benefit among the creatures, by means of which, even after symptoms of the life of one's body, it is governed through setting going the usage of that law, and is connected *with* his mastery of command and *his* sovereignty.

8. This, too, that Vohûman's *having* guarded the creature-forming (dâmîh) of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[1] is taught *by him* whose rule is for Aûha*r*ma*zd*; on this account, because he whose rule is for Aûha*r*ma*zd* has taught the inclination for (pa*d*îsâî) *being* guarded, on this account, because the inclination of the creatures of that ruler for *being* guarded by the power of goodness, *and* the creatures being guarded by the power of goodness have published the power of goodness, which is Vohûman, to the multitude.

9. Here is about the reply to Zaratû*s*t concerning the wicked, thus: 'Upon arrival in the fiend's abode[2], through an immature (khâm) death, they are unprivileged, so that every misery is theirs, and *it* is not possible for them to seek a remedy.'

10. This, too, that the spirit of reverence comes through invocation to the assistance[3] of him who is reverent unto the benefiters; even for this reason, because the spirits respond more particularly to that invoker who becomes their worshipper preponderantly (vâs*p*ûharakânîhâ); and for each one of the spirits there is preponderantly a *form of* worship, as the spirit of liberality is more particularly worshipped through helpfulness (vi*g*î*d*âr-dahi*s*nîh), the spirit of truth through exact truth (hû-râstîh), the spirit of a promise through true promising (hû-mit*r*ôîh),

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 10 a, b, and Chap. LXIII, 6.
[2] Ibid. 11 d.
[3] Ibid. 12 a.

and the spirit of sovereignty through good sovereignty; and, even so, the worship of the spirit of reverence consists preponderantly in reverence unto the benefiters. 11. This, too, that he whose rule is for Aûha*r*ma*zd* becomes a supplicant *for* that which is coveted (î*s*tŏ) *from* Aûha*r*ma*zd*[1]; even for this reason, because *what* is wisely begged from the sacred beings *and* rulers, for rendering one's own self worthy, occurs as a benefit owing to the sacred beings *and* rulers.

12. About the reply of Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t, when asked by him about his own, *his* confederate[2], and *his* serf, thus: 'He is thine own, he *thy* confederate, and he *thy* serf, even when *and* where *he is* a righteous offspring who produces the progress of this thy religion of Ma*zd*a-worship, *and* recites *it* openly even unto *him* he knows, who provides the public benedictions, this good practice of thine, that is, he maintains *what is* provided *by* thee as benedictions[3].'

13. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

Chapter LXV.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The nineteenth fargar*d*, Ka*d*-môi-urvâ[4], is *that* the sheep-nature (pâhîh)[5] is taught to him *who*

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 12 d. [2] Ibid. 7 c. [3] Ibid. 7 d.

[4] See Chap. XX, 1 n; it is here written ka*d*-môk-ravŏ in Pahlavi.

[5] See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 1 b. The distinction made in the Pahlavi text, here and in § 3, by using the scriptural term pâh and the general word gôspend for the sheep, might perhaps be imitated in English by using the word 'flock' for pâh, but this would not express the meaning exactly.

is a sheep (gôs*p*end), even for this reason, because the sheep is still among sheep (pâh-i*k* dên). 2. This, too, that by him who provides pasture for sheep, mankind are nourished (srâyinî*d*ŏ)[1] through the sheep; even for this reason, because the nourishment of mankind is through the sheep, and *that* of the sheep through pasture. 3. This, too, that the sheep of the present *worldly* state is expounded to him who is a sheep (pâh) to Zaratû*s*t, that is, he has Zaratû*s*t as a high-priest; even for this reason, because still a sheep (pâh-i*k*) is a sheep.

4. This, too, that strength in virtue is increased *and* taught by him who produces joyfulness[2] through seeking gradual development, so that he would do that thing which gives him joyfulness, that is, he would do that thing which becomes his long-continued joy; even for this reason, because increase of strength arises more particularly from pleasure, the pleasure that *one is* gradually attaining (dêr-pa*d*âî). 5. This, too, that by him who shall provide the ceremonial of the sacred beings, the joyfulness[2] owing to the sacred beings is then connected with his own; even for this reason, because the coming of the sacred beings to it occurs.

6. This, too, that the wisdom[3] of Zaratû*s*t is taught *and* displayed by him who gives thought to the religion *of* Zaratû*s*t. 7. This, too, that the tongue[3] is instructed (farhâ*n*gînî*d*ŏ) in speech by him who becomes discriminating through wisdom. 8. And this, too, that preparation[4] is taught to them who are benefiters of Zaratû*s*t, *or* who are *so* of the religion; even for this reason, because, owing to

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 1 b.
[2] Ibid. 5 b. [3] Ibid. 6 c. [4] Ibid. 6 d.

that action, disposition, and attraction which are now theirs, they prepare mankind for the religion of Zaratûst. 9. This, too, that whoever teaches the virtuous way to others, they become his through the knowledge of being instructed; even for this reason, because through the enlightenment of that way, they see and act, and are thereby instructed.

10. This, too, that the obeisance[1] *for* the archangels is performed by him who is a praiser *of* the archangels. 11. This, too, that assistance is taken[2] from the sacred beings by him who gives to him who is a supplicant that which is dear to him, because he himself is made worthy by his assistance, and, when made worthy by it, it is then taken by him; and the supplicant is he who is not a supplicant through his mouth, but through worthiness, and *what is* dear is that which is good about him.

12. This, too, that *its being* within the day till dawn (va*l* aûsh)[3] is taught by him—that is, he would make *it* as a signal (dakhshakŏ)[3]—who is in obeisance, so that he *may* not neglect till another day the duty and good works which it is requisite for him to perform within the day; even for this reason, because to cause the preservation of the dawn from debased incompatibility (hêr hanbêshîh) of duties, it is made exalted by him over the duties. 13. This, too, that complete mindfulness is taught among the existences[4] by him whose thought among the existences is that he shall perform that thing which is possible to remain good in the world, such as the provision of good sovereignty, orthodoxy, the

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 7 b.
[2] Ibid. 7 d.
[3] Ibid. 10 c.
[4] Ibid. 11 c.

law of virtuous usage, *and* others, through which the dwelling, preparation, and living of mankind in the world arise, *and* the appropriation of any complete mindfulness of that performer is the exaltation which is his owing to that great performance.

14. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. *In* the twentieth fargar*d*, Vohû-khshathrem[1], *it is* also stated by Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân thus: 'They who are now in sovereignty are privileged, the human being who is a wicked lying tyrant *being* not now in sovereignty; moreover, thou shouldst cause *some one* to thoroughly smite (ba*r*â vânîn-*aê*) him who is causing deception in the embodied world by lamentation (*s*îvan), and they cause the preservation of death, ruin, and falsehood because they would cause the preservation of his effects (mamana*s* var ae bô*g*înênd).' 2. And this, too, namely: 'When the sovereignty should be given by them unto him who is good[2], *they* would be preserved through that sovereignty of his; moreover, thou shouldst cause *some one* to thoroughly smite him who is made deceitful by lamentation, and *so also* death, ruin, and falsehood.'

3. This, too, that by him who shall provide complete mindfulness[3] for his own, righteousness is produced; even for this reason, because, through

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[1] See Chap. XXI, 1 n; it is here written vôhû-khshatar in Pahlavi.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 a.

[3] Ibid. 2 b.

complete mindfulness, the discerning eye of life, which is righteousness, is enlightened. 4. This, too, that the coveted *thing* (îstŏ) which it is expedient for sovereignty to give away[1] is taught by him who shall provide sovereignty for him who is all-progressive (hamâk-rûbisnŏ); even for this reason, because the observation, consideration, and action of him who is an all-progressive ruler are about that which is coveted *by* the multitude and is an advantage for the sovereignty which it is expedient to produce.

5. This, too, that *what is* produced by the words of Vohûman[2] is taught by him who shall perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings with the thoughts of Vohûman; even for this reason, because, the mind *being* with the thoughts of Vohûman, the tongues of the faithful are habituated (khûkînîdakŏ) in the statements of Vohûman. 6. This, too, that innocence from discontinued (amând) good works is taught by him who remains in virtue; even for this reason, because *they are* atoned for by him even among important good works.

7. This, too, that the original causer of goodness is assisted in causing goodness by him whose fundamental gift (bûn dahisnŏ) among the existences is that he supplies that which it is requisite for him to give; even for this reason, because *in* a work, upon which *one* remains with a thousand men, when one *man* is bringing his own strength to the labour therein, the 999 *other* men are assisted by him in that work.

8. This, too, that the way of righteousness[3] is

[1] See Pahl. Yas. L, 2 b. [2] Ibid. 3 b. [3] Ibid. 13 c.

not concealed, *but* taught, by him who is a good considerer as to righteousness; even for this reason, because the sap and root of his righteousness are owing to undiverted thought. 9. This, too, that its *being* unnecessary to provide repletion for those who are cattle[1] is taught by him who keeps cattle as a controller *for* benefiters; even for this reason, because they teach and command him.

10. This, too, that housewifery[2] *being* performed is taught by that wife who shall joyfully pay reverence *to her* husband; even for this reason, because her housewifery is for the satisfaction of the husband, the satisfaction is through her reverence, and the reverence arises through joy. 11. This, too, that to love the religion through knowledge[3] is taught by him who is peaceful (pa*d*mânîk) *and* Vohûmanic *to* it; even for this reason, because Vohûmanic peacefulness is understood *as* religion. 12. And this, too, that the gratification of Aûha*r*ma*z*d[4] is caused by him who teaches for Aûha*r*ma*z*d.

13. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

Chapter LXVII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. *In* the twenty-first fargar*d*, Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti[5], it is proclaimed by the righteous Zaratû*s*t, that the ceremonial is performed by him owing to whom our

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. L, 14 b.
[2] Ibid. 17 c.
[3] Ibid. 18 b.
[4] Ibid. 20 c.
[5] See Chap. XXII, 1 n.

worship is good thinking. 2. This, too, that Vohûman and the liturgy are lodging in the body of him in whose body the religion is lodging; *and so is* the spirit of goodness, which is peace (pa*d*mân). 3. This, too, that the good religion is taught in word and deed by him who shall achieve the giving of thought (mînisn-dahîh) *to* Vohûman *in* the ceremonial. 4. This, too, that the archangels become lodging in the body of him who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because their lodging is in light, purity, and perfume, and the body is illuminated, purified, and perfumed by Vohûman.

5. This, too, that mankind are made diligent in the performance of good works by him who shall provide gifts for the doers of good works. 6. This, too, that by him who loves the beneficial way[1], even others are put *in* the same way *and* taught. 7. This, too, that he gives his daughter in daughterhood to *his* fatherhood[2], who teaches to the daughter reverence towards *her* father; even for this reason, because she is made steadfast in daughterhood by him. 8. This, too, that the authority of Vohûman is taught by him who keeps the talent which is his for virtue; even for this reason, because from the authority of goodness arise the advantage *and* freedom from strife of the sciences (hûnarânŏ).

9. This, too, that a daughter is given to a father for womanly service (nêsmanîh[2]), *and* so also a wife to another man, by him who teaches reverence, towards father and husband, to the daughter and the other woman; and so, too, *by him* who instructs

[1] See Pahl. Yas. LII, 2 d.

[2] Ibid. 4 a. In § 9 (as in Chap. XLV, 4) there appears to be no confinement of the meaning to matrimony.

the wife of a man in housewifery; because the advantageous womanly service of a woman *for* a man arises through reverence towards *her* husband and good training in housewifery. 10. This, too, that even the reverence *of* a wife towards a husband is produced by him *who* gives a woman unto a man; because the giver of possession (khû*d*îh) becomes praiseworthy even by the act of *having* given that possession.

11. This, too, that origin and effect (bûn va-bar) are produced for Aûha*r*ma*zd* by him who gives *what* is necessary unto Aûha*r*ma*zd* and teaches perpetual preservation; *what* is properly necessary *being* the origin of the preservation *which is* the effect of *what* is properly necessary. 12. This, too, that dominion is acquired for the house of him who keeps the door of the house an opening for the wise; the house *being* the body, *and* the door of the house *being* the ear, eye, and mouth.

13. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that is* perfect.

Chapter LXVIII.

Bakŏ Nask.

1. The beginning of the twenty-second fargar*d*, the Airyaman[1], is the last question (fra*s*nŏ) beyond the five Gâthas; it is taught for the dominion of Aûha*r*ma*zd* only by him—that is, it is making him ruler of himself—who shall do that which is declared by the passage:—Yâ ere*z*e*g*yôi dâhî

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[1] See Chap. XXIII, 1 n; it is here written aîremanŏ in Pahlavi.

drigaovê vahyô[1]: who gives delights (vâyagânŏ) to him who is a right-living poor *man*[2]—preservation from the destroyer, *and* the consummation of every happiness.

2. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

Chapter LXIX.

1. About a selection from the whole Ya*s*t[3] referring to the developer (vakhshînî*d*âr-hômônd).

2. Those are beneficial who increase for the developer, that is, they shall occasion benefit (nêvakîh) for him who would occasion that benefit which is for others[4]. 3. Thus the righteous *man* who produces perfect thought is *he* who comes upon it through Vohûman[5], *and* the benefit of him who is an open annoyer[6]—the righteous man who is a smiter *of* the wicked, *and* who developes as to what is Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s and as to what is Zaratû*s*t's—is that he slays in moderation.

4. Regarding him who is an oppressive man who is righteous, the reply spoken is *thus:* 'The reward of the smiter and developer—that man of whom *one*

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[1] See Yas. LIII, 9 d.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. LII, 9 d, and Chaps. XLV, 10, XLVII, 17.

[3] The twenty-first Nask, or original Yasna (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XLVI, 1). It is not very clear, from this chapter and from what is stated about it in Chap. I, 2, whether this selection was compiled by the author of the Dînka*rd*, or by some earlier writer. So far as its statements have yet been traced, nearly all of them originate in the Gâthas, or in the Yasna Haptanghâiti; but § 45 quotes a passage from the Bakŏ Nask (Yas. XIX).

[4] Compare Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a.

[5] Compare Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 2 a, where J2, Pt4, Mf4 have ba*r*â yehamtûnânê pavan Vohûman.

[6] Compare Pahl. Yas. XLII, 8 b.

knows the smiting and developing—is the very evil reward *of* him who is wicked; just as his smiting, as an evil reward for him from those two spirits, is that very evil practice loved by him who is wicked; even for this reason every righteous individual is Gâthic[1], because, when privileged (pâ*d*ôkhshâî), he who is wicked is thus he *who* is righteous, *and* also he who is privileged is unprivileged[2].'

5. Zaratû*s*t proceeded with the smiting at the wicked, *and* as to that proceeding Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'Thou shouldst thus proceed with smiting at the wicked by ordinance (dâ*d*istân), because thus they have thee and the righteous of every kind as ruler. 6. Also through my decree (pavan-i*k* man vi*g*îr) *one* produces the ritual of ordeal, which realizes that which is real, so that *one* may make that which is dark fully light. 7. Thine, too, is so much the sovereignty of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, thus through worship, that its requisite (khvâstakŏ) privilege is thus maintained through virtue, because thou, who *art* thus, *art* more unconfined (anâkô*s*î*d*ar) to the world through the furtherance *and* development of righteousness; great, indeed, is he who trusts the righteous *man* for righteousness, and great is he who *trusts* the wicked *man* for wickedness.'

8. As to that utterance (farmâyi*s*nŏ) Zaratû*s*t spoke thus: 'An open annoyer is the righteous man—the benefiter disclosed *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd*—that loves the embodied world of righteousness, and demands its reverence (tarsakâyîh) for the proportion of righteousness therein, that is, he knows the proportion of duty and good works.' 9. Re-

[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 5 n.

[2] See Chap. LXI, 11.

garding the worldly *existence*, the reply spoken is thus: 'That which is again contaminated (gûmîkhtêd) *by* the demons becomes abundant so long as that which is proper is again contaminated with the demons; *and*, so long as *there is* a developer, they subsist for their own substances, so that *it* is possible for them to seek benefit for their own, *and* they are smiters of the righteous.'

10. Regarding him who is a wise smiter, Sôshâns[1] spoke *in* reply thus: 'It arises through his way when it is again contaminated.'

11. As to that mischief (drûgisnŏ) Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Happy is he from whom there is no mischief.' 12. Regarding[2] him who has come, the Yim of splendour[3], he spoke thus: 'He attains his reward who is no smiter and no developer, not privileged and not unprivileged.'

13. As to that disclosure (hâkisnŏ) Vohûman[4] spoke thus: 'I aggrandize that spiritual lord and that priestly master who is my righteousness in person.'

14. As to that utterance Spendarmad[4] spoke thus: 'So do thou perfect (barâ vadîdûn) him whose information subsists—a man that becomes wise—who is as an emblem of my religion; because he *has* worshipped that which is ours, so that he has retained property in our possession, through whose words *there* is a furtherance of the world of righteousness. 15. That is my arrangement, and that my wish—that is, what is necessary for me—and I

[1] See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14.

[2] Assuming that lâ, 'not,' stands for râî.

[3] Av. Yimô khshaêtô (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 6, 7).

[4] See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

love that which thou fully understandest, that is, that arrangement which is righteousness; also whatever discourse and perfect performance, thou askest of us, *O* Zaratûst! in complete mindfulness, I now practise by the work of each hand; observe thoroughly that which I *am* performing, *and* thou, too, *art* accomplishing. 16. In worship thou, *O* Zaratûst! art liberal, who art liberal in ceremonial; *for* thee, whose body believes, controversy is not lavish (râ*d*) for the sake of the wealth bestowed; the reward of Zaratûst the developer is for developing, the reward of Zaratûst the smiter is for smiting, *and* the reward of Zaratûst the smiter and developer is for smiting and developing. 17. At the bridge *judgment* of him whose name the fire calls for participation, as when they repeatedly pour the melted ore upon him in the throat, thou shouldst pray near him alive—him whose love is for virtue—so that he may perform duty and good works with fearlessness; with his desire, too, it is expedient to know that *it is* done by him on account of necessity.'

18. As to that utterance Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'Such is the upward attraction (lâlâ-ha*n*g*i*snîh) of Shatraver[1] for him who is ours.' 19. As to that question (frashnŏ) Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'Such has happened to him who is ours through Vohûman; he ought to come to our religion through virtue. 20. Truly he, *O* Zaratûst! is privileged for the sovereignty, who confines *his* ears *to* this religion, that he may make *it* fully progressive; who is given immortality through this, and kind regard *for* the will *of* him *who* is the best of that religion of mine,

[1] See Chap. XLIII, 1. It is here written Shatrôver.

O Zaratûst! *and* who assists the furtherance of this world of mine in righteousness.'

21. As to those of that *other one*[1] Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As regards that which is great evidence, when wicked they consider *it* as unattested for him who is wicked himself; *and* the thoughts[2] of him, whose deeds are those of that *other one*, are due to Akômanô[3]. 22. Owing also to this, when both Khûrdad and Amûrdad[4] are given to thee, *it is* in that way—when thou art of the propitious spirit and the best thought—that what thou understandest thou shouldst be accomplishing, and what thou dost not understand thou askest again.'

23. Of him whose wisdom exists (aîtŏ)—of Aûharmazd—he whose wisdom arises (yehevûnêd)—Zaratûst—enquired concerning him who is unreal (an-aîtŏ) *and* who does not subsist (yehevûnêd) *here*after, who *has* thus never become a material *existence* for those *on* the side of virtue, and does not subsist for them henceforth.

24. As to that reverse description (padîrakŏnisânisnîh) Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Among men of every kind say unto the righteous who are smiting the wicked, *that* we improve the measure of any milk they propitiate, even by the holy-water which is the sustenance (barisnŏ) of milk, *in order* to cause much happiness of life.'

25. As to that utterance Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Happy is he from whom there is no complaint, and a life which is like this the text Gerezôi . . .

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[1] The followers of Aharman.

[2] Assuming that mânisnŏ, 'dwelling,' stands for mînisnŏ.

[3] See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

[4] See Chap. XIX, 1.

âkhsô . . .[1] implores. 26. To thee, *O* Zaratûst! my protection is given *in* the reply of the Kem-nâ[2] which, before the companionship of Kaî-Vistâsp[3]—that righteous friend of mine[4]—*was* a published thing of those which are used, *and* of those such as it is requisite to use. 27. The talk of a man which is immoderate is false, everything immoderate is *so* for this reason, everything is not that which the good man possesses, because, when privileged, the wicked *one* is he who is righteous, and he who is privileged becomes unprivileged; he who is righteous is thus he who is wicked, and becomes him who is privileged and unprivileged, so that he is fully incriminated, and they shall carry off his possessions.'

[1] Yas. XLVI, 2 c–e; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. XLV, 2 c–e) may be translated as follows:—'I complain to thee, behold it and this *one*, *O* Aûharmazd! (that is, seek a remedy for me); *that* pleasure is my desire, which a friend gives to his friend; through the instruction of Vohûman (when I am instructed in virtue) is the coveted *thing* of righteousness (thou shouldst give me).' The words in parentheses have no equivalents in the Avesta text.

[2] Yas. XLVI, 7; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. XLV, 7 a–e) may be translated as follows:—'Who is given to me (and mine, my disciples) *as* protector by thee, *O* Aûharmazd! when that wicked (Aharman) retains malice *for* me in possession (that is, maintains malice with me? Who shall provide me protection), other than thy fire and Vohûman? (Because I know that they would provide me protection for your sake) when I nourish righteousness through deeds *for* them, *O* Aûharmazd! (that is, should I perform duty and good works, who shall provide me protection?) Thou shouldst proclaim to me that high-priest of the religion; (this thou shouldst state thus: "Maintain the religion as high-priest").'

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 13 e, and Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

[4] Compare Ibid. 14 a which is given in Pt4, Mf4, as follows:—Zaratûstŏ mûn lak aharûbŏ dôstŏ.

28. Regarding the benefiters the reply spoken is *thus:* 'They are owing to the reward of the smiter and developer; those are beneficial whose smiting and developing are those of the developer Aûharmazd, who understands smiting and development.'

29. When through smiting by Aûharmazd, on account of the wicked, a question (frashnŏ) about *it* arose, the reply spoken, as to the smiting of the present *world* by means of him who is ruler, *was:* 'The reward which the judgment that is perfect teaches is thus, that he who is the smiter and developer, Sôshâns[1], shall make the decision.' 30. Zaratûst spoke *in* reply thus: 'He gives a reward.' 31. And that wise smiter, Sôshâns, spoke *in* reply thus: 'He shall inflict punishment.'

32. Even he who is an ox of many cattle has openly *and* publicly wailed this complaint[2] on account of the righteous *one:* 'How long *is it* till *the time* when a developer arises, even he who is an irresolute ruler (akâmakŏ khûdâî)? How long is the time till he arises, until the wicked *one* who is a smiter *and* privileged corrupter is he *who is* unprivileged?' 33. Because, for the sake of producing resolution (kâmak-dahîh), he complains that, until the developer shall arise, even he who is irresolute is ruler, that is, until he who is the developer shall become privileged.

34. As to that complaint of his Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Not so *as by* this complaint is the obtainment of spiritual lordship (ahûîkîh), for this reason, when they do not consider the ruler as a ruler, and *there is* no giving of priestly authority (radŏîh) by any

[1] See § 10. [2] Compare Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1, 9.

righteousness whatever[1], it is requisite, on account of the many righteous, to speak henceforth, until *the time* when the developer arises, even *of* him who is an irresolute ruler.'

35. On account of the many statements of the spirits, even as to thought, word, *and* deed, it is requisite to say that they shall always render an account until even some obtainment *of* a smiter and developer, privileged *or* unprivileged. 36. Some arise *of* whom it is requisite to ask this question (frashnŏ)[2] while he who is righteous *and* he who is wicked are two witnesses, *and* they make the righteous *one* manifest by his evidence, *or* they molest him who is righteous by smiting. 37. Some arise when it is requisite to speak this reply[3] during the smiting *of* the maintainer of strife and *of* the kinsman. 38. *And* some arise while that individual[4] is loved, though a righteous *one and* a developer arise, *and* it is requisite to produce a provider of benefit on account of the many, both wicked and righteous, so long as a wicked *one* of the smiting which is maintaining strife is privileged.

39. Because, regarding the production of resolution, *it* is proclaimed that *it is* so that they shall fully understand that Aûha*r*ma*zd* discriminates truly, *and* Aharman does not discriminate truly. 40. And that *it is* so that they shall fully understand that the punishment of the wicked is for teaching *them* that they *will* attain to the existence of darkness, that even *to* him who belongs to the ever-stationary they *may* give his reward, that they are for smiting the wicked *one*, that they are very powerful to give, that

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 6 b.
[2] That in § 32.
[3] That in § 34.
[4] The irresolute ruler.

they *should* kill the apostate, that *one has to be* converted from vileness to goodness, that he who would be wicked is made to believe by the tongue, that for the sake of proper nurture of the creatures next-of-kin marriage is provided, that the demons are despised, that thus he who is evil-ruling is wicked, and that they are approaching *the place* where Aûha*r*ma*zd* shall provide for the account of sin and good works.

41. They shall become more diligent in the performance of duty and good works, and abstain more from sin, always until *one* attains even to some acquirement *for* those in life and those in a lifeless state[1]. 42. And they shall not inflict their punishment completely in the embodied state, and the fiend does not pity the worldly *existence;* every individual is counted up, and every one is fully completed for the affairs of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *but* the fiend is not smitten, and they shall not fully inflict the punishment.

43. No one thinks thou shouldst remain for the propitious Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and no one completely presents *him*self; they attack through the fiend, and arise for the foolish *one.* 44. No one arises for the goodness of him who is good, *but* for the vileness *of* the fiend they destroy *what is* good, and do not understand evil *and* good; they recite the revelation for a wicked *one*, they do not bestow friendship for labour, *but* are for the evil-doer.

45. And the righteous *one*, who is the best of spiritual *and* worldly *existences*, becomes a privileged

[1] By accumulating more good works than are necessary to balance one's own sins.

developer, even he who is an irresolute ruler[1]; and so he who is wicked, even he who is privileged, becomes unprivileged, at that time when *one* gives the soul of every one unto the supreme heaven[2], and when thou shouldst, every one, know that the affliction of the annoyers arises[3], so that when, owing thereto, they beseech the sacred beings, *it is* only hell that they supply.

46. When every one shall provide the ceremonial of the archangels unworriedly, and when every one knows that Gôs-aûrvan complained[4]—so that he who is the fashioner of cattle enquired thus: 'Whose is the guardianship of cattle[5]?' *and* 'Not without annoyance' *was* the reply of Ashavahist, 'that is, they shall inflict his punishment[6]'—every one *also* knows that in their light is joyfulness for the sight[7].

47. When every individual (kolâ aîs-1) becomes aware *of* the priestly authority of Aûharmazd; and when every individual knows that his remedy *for* the devastation owing to the evil spirit is comprehensibly stated[8]; when every individual knows that Aûharmazd fashioned the propitiousness in the liturgy[9]; and when every one knows that the priest is perfect, that Aûharmazd enhances both of them in spirituality[10], that Vohûman is the offspring of Aûharmazd[11], that Spendarmad is Aûharmazd's own[12], that all three of them are the life *of* him who

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 58, XX, 10.
[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 4 a.
[3] Ibid. 6 c.
[4] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1 a, and Chap. XV, 3.
[5] Ibid. 2 a.
[6] Ibid. 3 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14.
[7] See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 1 c.
[8] See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 6 a.
[9] Ibid. 7 a.
[10] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 7 c.
[11] Ibid. 8 a.
[12] Ibid. 9 a.

has wandered forth[1]—that is, life is given by the thought and wisdom[2] which are his own—and that the sacred beings are they who are supporting *it*.

48. When every one of this existence must act for the sake of that *other* existence, *and* knows *how* to act; when every one is a friend, through deeds, of the spirit which is his own[3]; and when every one becomes a person supporting Aûha*r*ma*zd*[4]. 49. When every individual knows that they give no reward to him in whose body a demon is lodging who is not listening[5]; when every one shall make his own soul immortal[6]; and when every one has advantage through possession of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[7].

50. When every one becomes a Zôti unsullied in righteousness[8]; when every one gives a sacred cake to the archangels[9]; when every one knows that co-operation is due to him who is their servant; and when they are together *in* soul[10]. 51. When every individual gives *his* body[11]; when every one proceeds to their ceremonial and glorification[12]; when every individual knows that 'other than they' is *meant by* naê*k*îm t*e*m any*e*m[13]; and when every one knows

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 10 a.
[2] Ibid. 11 b, c.
[3] Ibid. 21 c.
[4] Ibid. 22 c.
[5] Compare Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 4 a, XLIII, 13 c.
[6] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 1 a.
[7] Ibid. 3 a.
[8] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 6 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5.
[9] Ibid. 8 c.
[10] Ibid. 9 c.
[11] Ibid. 10 c.
[12] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 6 c.
[13] Yas. XXXIV, 7 c, the Pahlavi version of which may be translated as follows:—'I am aware of no one (above), other than you (that is, I know no one from whom my benefit is such as from you, and when they shall cause) righteousness (that is, they shall perform duty and good works, it) thus produces shelter for us.' The MS. has naê*k*î*d*.

that, through that sovereignty of his, the renovation *of the universe* is produced by *his* will among the existences[1].

52. When every one knows the elucidation (rô-shanŏ) of the religion; when every one considers the religion as governor and serf[2]; when every one knows that the manifestation of this ought to arise in him; when every one thinks Aûha*r*ma*zd* auspicious[3]; and when every one knows that, when it occurs, benefit is produced, through resolute sovereignty[4], where and when it gives him a reward for the performance of the duty and good works they should call for. 53. When every one gives[5] the sacred beings *and* the good a sheep; when every one knows that, for him whose righteousness is in action, immense *and* complete mindfulness arises[6]; when every one thinks of much assistance from Aûha*r*ma*zd*[7]; when every one speaks to restore *his* temper[8]; when every one speaks to provide the ceremonial[9]; and when every one produces that advantage by liberal giving[10]. 54. When every one knows that *one* grants him the obeisance which is *due to* him when in a condition for the supreme heaven (amat dên garô*d*mânîkîh)[11]; when every one knows that *it* is done by those in the realm of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[12]; and when every individual knows

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 15 c.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 22.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 7 a.

[4] Ibid. 8 d.

[5] Assuming that yehevûnê*d*, 'becomes,' stands for yehabûnê*d*.

[6] See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 6 c.

[7] Ibid. 7 d.

[8] See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 3 a.

[9] Ibid. 6 a.

[10] Ibid. 7 a.

[11] Ibid. 8 e.

[12] Ibid. 9 c.

that, so long as the religion of the first creation[1] shall exist (ae), this characteristic is to be considered thus: Hvô zî dregv*a*u, *&c.*[2]

55. When every individual keeps no wealth for a high-priest of the apostates[3]; when every one knows that, when above, *there* is righteousness[4]; when they shall make intercession[5] *for* every individual, and when every individual becomes aware[6] *of it;* when every individual sees that he is a father of righteousness[7]; and when every individual knows that the propitious spirit is in him[8]. 56. When every one knows that, when a supplicant, he is more a smiter of the wicked[9]; when every individual utters the salutation (nîyâyi*s*nŏ) of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[10]; when every individual knows that that is our comfort[11], *and* that it is Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s own creature[12]; and when every individual is taught[13], *and* every individual joins in the perfect religion[14].

57. When every individual knows that Vohûman

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 6 e.

[2] Yas. XLVI, 6 c–e; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. XLV, 6 c–e) may be translated as follows:—'For he is wicked whose best nature is for the wicked, and he is righteous whose homage (franâmi*s*nŏ in Pt4, Mf4) is for the righteous (in any doubtfulness, whoever gives anything to the wicked is to be considered as wicked, and whoever gives to the righteous is to be considered as righteous) so long as the religion of the first creation, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! (until the *time* when Sôshâns arrives *one* is ever to be considered in this *way*).'

[3] See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 8 a. The MS. has 'the righteous' by mistake.

[4] Ibid. 12 a. [5] Compare Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 6 a.

[6] Compare Pahl. Yas. XLV, 17 e.

[7] See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 d. [8] Ibid. 3 a. [9] Ibid. 4 d.

[10] See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1 d. [11] Ibid. 6 a. [12] Ibid. 7 d.

[13] Ibid. 12 c. [14] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 9 c.

guards the creatures[1]; when every individual becomes privileged by will[2] for the reward; when every individual knows that gain is through giving away[3]; when every individual transacts, *or* shall transact, the affairs of the archangels[4]; and when every individual knows that when he who is intelligent speaks to him[5], it becomes a possession for the benefit of righteousness[6].

58. When, for equal meritoriousness, it is necessary to give sooner to Magian men[7]—so that on account even of the Magianship of Kaî-Vi*st*âsp *he was* suitable for the sovereignty[8], that Zaratû*st* *was* given a wife by Frashô*st*ar[9], that *it was* the learned *G*âmâsp[10] that Aûha*r*ma*zd* gave—and that every individual shall provide the ceremonial of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[11]. 59. And when every individual knows that *they are* the best prayers which are the words of Zaratû*st*[12], and, even so, his is a wise reward for those which are yours[13].

60. It is perfect *is* the excellence of righteousness; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

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[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 10 a, b.

[2] See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 9 c.

[3] See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 b. The MS. has bûn, instead of ba*r*â, by mistake.

[4] Ibid. 3 c. [5] Ibid. 8 a. [6] Ibid. 8 b.

[7] Ibid. 15 a. [8] Ibid. 16 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1.

[9] Ibid. 17 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

[10] Ibid. 18 a. [11] Ibid. 20 c. [12] See Pahl. Yas. LII, 1 a.

[13] Ibid. 7 a.

DETAILS OF THE NASKS

FROM

OTHER SOURCES.

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on page 2.)

6. The manuscripts mentioned are:—

B (written A. D. 1659), see page 2.

B29 (written A. D. 1679), a Persian Rivâyat, No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay.

DH (written A. D. 1813), a Din-vigirgard in the library of Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji at Poona.

K35 (probably written A. D. 1572), a Dâdistân-î Dînîk, No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

Mf4, Pt4 (written about A. D. 1780), in the Mullâ Fîrûz Library and in that of Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji in Bombay, respectively, both copied from a Yasna with Pahlavi, written in Irân and brought to India about A. D. 1478, which was a descendant of an ancestor of J2 and K5, and independent of those two authorities.

MH10 (about 150 years old), a Persian Rivâyat, No. 10 of Haug's Collection in the State Library at Munich.

O225, a Persian Rivâyat in No. 225 of Ouseley's Collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

FROM THE SELECTIONS

OF

ZÂ*D*-SPARAM[1].

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1. About the three divisions of revelation there is a condensed medium, beneficial *and* small, of whose subdivision one category (ra*g*istakŏ) is collection together; that is, the Ahunavair[2] itself is a symbol of the Nasks.

2. First, the Ahunavair is apportioned into its three degrees (pa*d*mân), as shown in another chapter; *and* by a like system (ra*g*istak) the Gâthas[3], too, are into three, which are the three-lined, four-lined, and five-lined[4]; even so the Nasks

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[1] Who was high-priest of Sîrkân, in the south of Persia, towards the end of the ninth century, being contemporary with the last reviser of the Dînka*rd* (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. xxvii). This extract from his Selections constitutes the 'particulars about the Gâthas and the connection of the Ahunavair with the Nasks,' mentioned in the final footnote to Zs. XI, 10. For the Pahlavi text the translator is dependent upon a single MS., copied from K35 when this latter MS. was complete, and said to be now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay.

[2] See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

[3] The word gâsânŏ is usually written like da*h*i*s*nŏ in the MS.

[4] The three-lined stanzas of the Gâthas are 100 in the Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), 40 in the Yasna of seven hâs (Yas. XXXV–XLI), and 22 in the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. LI), altogether 162 three-lined stanzas; the four-lined are one in the U*s*tavaiti (Yas. XLVI, 15), 41 in the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVII–L), and nine in the Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti (Yas. LIII), altogether 51 four-lined stanzas;

are denominated Gâthic, Hadha-mãthric, and Law. 3. Then the Ahunavair is apportioned into six which they call half-lines (nêm-gâs); so, too, the Gâthas are into six, which are called the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, the Yasna, the U*s*tavaiti[1] Gâtha, the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (S*p*etamatŏ) Gâtha, the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha, *and* the Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti Gâtha; even so the Nasks are into six, as the Gâthas are into two, which are called one the Gâthic creation—*which* is the Ya*s*t[2]—*and* one the rest *of* the Gâthic; also the Hadha-mãthric into two, one the Mãthra of the arranger—which is the P*â*k*i*nŏ and Ra*d*ŏ-dâ*d*ŏ-aîtŏ[3]—and one the Mãthra full of good tokens, which is the rest *of* the Hadha-mãthra; and also the Law into two, one the law against the demons—which is the Vendîdâ*d*[4]—and one the law of Zaratû*s*t, *which* is the rest *of* the Law. 4. Then it is apportioned into twenty-one, such as the twenty-one words (mârîk) of the Ahunavair; *also* the Gâthas are *into* twenty-one, which are the Ahunavair, the praise of righteousness, the performance of the good, *and* from Yânîm-manô unto Airyaman[5] which, *being*

and the five-lined stanzas are the remaining 65 in the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLIII–XLVI); making the total of 278 stanzas mentioned in § 5. Yas. XLII is a later supplement to the Yasna of seven hâs, and, in the MSS. Pt4, Mf4, it is headed as follows:—*Av*ar vaharakŏ-î h*a*ft hâ*d*ŏ Yastô y*azis*nîk bûn, 'the beginning of worshipping as regards the portions of the Yasna of seven hâs.'

[1] The MS. corrupts these two names into the one word asnavatŏ by omitting the syllables aû*s*ta.

[2] The Stô*d*-ya*s*t, or first of the Gâthic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 9).

[3] The third and fourth of the Hadha-mãthric Nasks (ibid. 10).

[4] The fifth of the Legal Nasks (ibid. 11).

[5] The three sacred formulas, Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, Ashem-vohû,

accomplished (âka*rd*ŏ), are twenty-one; and the Nasks are twenty-one.

5. Then the Gâthas are apportioned into 278[1] stanzas (v*ê*k*ê*stŏ); and the Nasks also into 278 categories, every single category *having* borne a form like a single verse[2], as regards how much and how any*thing* good is indicated, such as the Patkâr-ra*d*istân[3], in which *what is* legally disputable is reported (pê*d*âkŏ); the Zâkhmistân[4], by which the penalty of assault (zâkhm) is reported; the Stôristân[5], by which the sin and amount of penalty *for* a wound, as regard beasts *of burden and* cattle, are reported; the Aratê*s*târistân[6], by which battle is reported; the Pasû*s*-haûrvastân[7], by which the customary keeping of sheep in control is reported; the *G*ûr*d*âî-zarîtunistân ('*corn-sowing code*')[8], by which agriculture is reported; the Varistân[9], by which an ordeal *being* accomplished is reported; *and* others of a like description.

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and Yêxhê-hâtăm, with the seventeen hâs of the five real Gâthas, and either the Yasna of seven hâs, counted as a single item, or the Airyaman, will make up the twenty-one divisions (compare the names applied to each fargar*d* of the Sû*d*kar, Var*s*tmânsar, and Bakŏ Nasks in Dk. IX).

[1] See § 2 n; here the MS. has 288, by miswriting, in both occurrences of the ciphers.

[2] Doubtful; the text appears to be as follows:—ko*l*â ra*g*istakŏ-aê bûr*d*ŏ *s*an mânâk ak gâh.

[3] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XVI.

[4] Equivalent to Zatamistân (ibid. Chap. XVII), see Darmesteter's suggestion (ibid. Chap. XVI, 8 n).

[5] Ibid. Chap. XXIV; here spelt Stôritân by mistake.

[6] Ibid. Chap. XXVI.

[7] Ibid. Chap. XXIII; here written Pa*s*û*s*-haûristân.

[8] Ibid. Chap. XXXI, 30–32.

[9] Ibid. Chap. XLII; here written Varîstân.

6. Then the Gâthas are apportioned into 1016[1] metrical lines (gâs), and the Nasks into 1000 Hâs *and* Fargar*d*s[2], *and*, since the Hâ*d*ôkht[3] is the priestly master (ra*d*ŏ) of the Nasks, *and* the remedy[4] (darmôn) which is a perfect statement about the master of the resurrection, the existence of *its* fargar*d*s about the other fargar*d*s is therefore 1000 remedies fully combined, *being* the corn and fodder that are shut up (bastakŏ) when, over that thousand, they supply one that is great, which *in* every way protects *them* from hail and rain, *from* the wind which is hot *and* that which is cold.

7. Then the Gâthas are apportioned into 6666 words (mârîk)[5], and *as to* the Nasks, too, their own 6666 ordinances (dâ*d*istânŏ) are therein severed. 8. And the 6666 words, which are in the Gâthas, are

[1] See Sls. XIII, 50; that this number is correct may be seen from the details given in § 2 n.

[2] See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 20; here the MS. has âyûînŏ instead of hâtŏ, by miswriting.

[3] The sixth of the Gâthic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 9).

[4] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 13, where the word used is bêsh*d*zŏ.

[5] According to Sls. XIII, 50 the six Gâthas (including the Yasna of seven hâs) contain 5567 vâ*k*ak, 9999 mârîk, and 16,554 khûr*d*ak; which enumeration makes the meaning of mârîk doubtful. In our present text, however, it must have its usual meaning of 'word,' as the number of 6666 words in the six Gâthas can be obtained by including the customary repetition of the first stanza of each Hâ of the five real Gâthas, with the text of the Airyaman and of the introductions to Yas. XXVIII, XXXV, and probably the homage formula prefixed to each Gâtha; also by considering each component of a compound as a separate word, and all verbal prefixes as separable; and by counting all enclitics except -*k*â, in accordance with the different modes of treating -*k*î*d* and -*k*â in counting the words of the Ahunavair. If the three sacred formulas were included, and the Airyaman and five homage formulas were omitted, the total would be nearly the same.

an indicator of *the period* from the adversary *having* come to the creatures, as far as unto the end of the six millenniums [1]—each millennium *being* ten centuries —which amount to 60 single centuries—a century *being* ten tens [2]—and up to *the time* when its [3] cold *and* distress arrive, which become awful; the 600, including the excess as far as one ten [4], are years *of* the 6000 years which are the words of the six Gâthas that are the first indicator of the six millenniums; therefore of the 60 centuries are then the 600 *and* those which are *added* to *them* (zak-î gha*l*).

9. And after those 6000, which are the 6000 years, are the Airyaman [5] of Ashavahi*s*t *and* the accompanying sayings (ham-v*âk*ŏ) which are at the end of the Gâthas; those are the 57 years of Sôshâns [6], and for the sake of them, too, are the Airyaman *and* from the praise of righteousness at *its* end *to* the consecration of the Airyaman, originally 57 words (mârîk), because the praise of righteousness for the Airyaman is 12, and the consecration of the Airyaman is 21, *of* the original 57 [7].

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[1] The three millenniums during which Aûha*r*maz*d* and Aharman had nearly equal influence, and the last three millenniums during which the power of Aharman diminishes (see Bd. I, 20).

[2] Assuming that [illegible] stands for [illegible].

[3] Assuming that mûna*s*, 'whose,' stands for amata*s*.

[4] As the cipher for 'one' precedes that for 'ten,' it may possibly mean 'one *less than* ten,' as in the Roman IX. At any rate, 6609 years with the 57 accounted for in § 9 make up the requisite total of 6666; but the mode of making this number correspond with the six millenniums is not very clear.

[5] Yas. LIV, 1.

[6] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14; Bd. XXX, 7.

[7] The Airyaman contains 24 words, its Ashem-vohû 12, and its consecration (Yas. LIV, 2) 21 words, making altogether 57 words.

DÎNKA*RD*.—BOOK III.

Chapter VII[1].

The ninth question.

1. Another apostate enquired thus: 'When there is Mãthra that is said *to be* all in the words of Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t, *whether* it be in the words of Frashô*s*tar *and* Gâmâsp[2], *or* be in the words of Vohûman[3] and the sacred beings, *or* be in words of theirs published before *the time of* Zaratû*s*t, *or* even after *that of* Sênô[4], is *it to be* considered *by* us, as to that which is relating to us, *that* what is the utterance of Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t is only the Gâthic, and the rest is composed *by* Zaratû*s*t and his disciples from the world, even statements due to a good inclination for conversion (va*s*takîh)?'

2. The reply is *that* the other Mãthra which is separate from the Gâthas, if it *be apart* from the Gâthas, is *still* owing to the composition of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[5]; *and* the same separate Mãthra, which is from a witness about *it*, is the evidence with Aûha*r*ma*zd* himself in vigorous omniscience and composition, and not owing to the knowledge of mankind, which shall not attain even to an atom of the atoms thereof. 3. The arising of the Mãthra, through the speaking of many voices, is not all the speaking of Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t through those

[1] According to Peshotan's notation; the text followed is that of the MS. B, written A. D. 1659.

[2] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

[3] This seems a more likely reading than 'Hôm' for the imperfect word [illegible].

[4] See Chap. CXCVII, 6 n. [5] See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 7 n.

voices, but the speaking of several separately, through which the speaking of the voice would be evidently *that of* Aûha*r*ma*zd*; that is this Mãthra. 4. *And* just as the speaking forth of Zaratû*s*t and other good *men*, as well as evil *ones*, likewise *of* those who are demons, even as far as the evil spirit, is stated by Aûha*r*ma*zd* in public, that statement would become even that of the evil spirit and demons, *and* the Mãthra and Law against the demons *would* likewise *become* spoken *by* the demons. 5. And the Mãthra is all *confided by* Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t through many voices, *being* an avowal of Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t, and an existence which is not inconsistent (han-bêshin); just as the Gâthas, which even you *admit to be*, as a whole, *confided by* Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t, are spoken through the voice of Zaratû*s*t, be they through the voices of the archangels, be they through the voice of Gô*s*-aûrvan[1], *or* be they *through* the voices of other sacred beings, to all *they* are spoken *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratû*s*t, *and* are not inconsistent. 6. *But* owing to the disposition of an apostate *there* is a longing scrutiny about his own *statements*, *and* evil-thinking scrutiny about the statements protecting the spiritual lord.

Chapter CLXI.

1. About *one* supremely[2] acquainted with the three[3] codes (dâ*d*ŏ) of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion there is *this:—One* supremely acquainted

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[1] See Dk. IX, Chap. XV, 3.

[2] Perhaps we should read *av*îrtar, 'more particularly,' instead of *av*artar.

[3] B has 'four' by mistake here, but not afterwards.

with the three codes of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion is he *of* the primitive faith whose insight into the good religion is even such that he knows *how* to discriminate *and* announce the statements (v*âk*akŏ) of the Hadha-mãthric and Gâthic from *those of* the Law, *those* of the Legal *and* Gâthic from *those of* the Hadha-mãthric, and *those* of the Hadha-mãthric and Legal from *those of* the Gâthas. 2. Also to the statements (v*âk*akŏ) in the Law—which is superior[1] knowledge about the worldly *existences*—is allotted (vakhtŏ) the worldliness *of* the Hadha-mãthric and also *of* the Gâthic; *to those* in the Gâthas —which are superior knowledge about the spiritual *existences*—is *allotted* the spirituality *of* the Hadha-mãthric and even that of the Law; and *to those* in the Hadha-mãthra—which is superior knowledge about *things* intermediate *between* the spiritual and worldly *existences*—is *allotted* the intermediate matter (mîyânîkîh) *of* the Gâthic *and* also *of* the Legal[2].

Chapter CLXV.

1. About the purport *of* the evidence of the three codes of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, one as regards the other, there is verbal evidence of the Gâthic from the Hadha-mãthric and the Law, and about the Hadha-mãthric and the Law from the Gâthas. 2. The purport, too, of the statement *that* occurs is this of a ruler putting aside the commands of an enemy—which are declared, *in* many passages (dîvâk) of the Hadha-mãthric and even of the Legal, *to be* worthiness of death—the purport *being* in the words of a Gâthic phrase (nisang) *that* is

[1] See p. 407, n. 2. [2] Compare Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 13, 14.

even this :—'He who is a good ruler is a desire *and* bringing on of fortune for me (va*l*am)[1].' 3. All rulers also for the world have arisen *for* their own, and for maintaining him who is high-priest; they are submissive, and *any one* accomplishing their commands—which are putting aside the commands of their enemy—is, owing to their submissiveness, authorisedly maintaining his own person *and* wealth *in* the world thereby, *and* in the world there is no place, *nor* yet a share of anything therefrom, on account of which he becomes offended by the world.

4. The evidence of the Hadha-mãthric and of the Legal about a Gâthic statement is the purport *of* these words in a Gâthic phrase, that 'not *for* him who is rightly proceeding is *there* further ruin[2];' *and* the evidence from the Hadha-mãthric is even this which states that 'rectitude assists a man like a regiment a thousand strong[3];' also for the proportion of rectitude in *his* possession there is no disturbance whatever, and from the hurtful (vinâsîgânŏ) from without *he* is thus protected, because fully-worshipping (pûr-y*az*ân) performance is freedom from danger from the want of freedom from wickedness (*a*-adarvandîh) of the enemy, as regards benefit, through the doing of injury by him.

5. And on account of the superior knowledge of the spiritual *existence*, moreover, for the Gâthas, above the intermediate Hadha-mãthric *and* the lower knowledge of the Law, the purpose of the Gâthic *was* for the statements of the Legal *and* the *Hadha*-mãthric, and the provision of the Hadha-mãthric

[1] Pahl. Yas. L, 1 a.
[2] Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 5 c.
[3] Dk. IX, Chap. XX, 4.

and the Legal was evidently for the statements of the Gâthas.

Chapter CXCVII.

. . . . . .

6. One[1] is *that*, on account of him who gave the Legal, and is also the protector of a priestly master who is given over to the Hadha-mãthric, *and* the Gâthic, through which the purity of the good creations arises, *one* is more steadfastly to aggrandise and develope *them*. . . . . .

DÎNKA*RD*.—BOOK IV[2].

1. Obeisance *to* the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion which is opposed to the demons *and* is the ordinance of Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

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[1] This is the fourth of 'the ten admonitions of the righteous *S*ênôv about the law of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion.' In the seventh book of the Dînka*rd* it is stated that 'as regards the high-priests this, too, is said on the subject of *S*ênôv, that one hundred years *of* the religion elapse when *S*ênôv is born, and two hundred years when he passes away; he was also the first Ma*zd*a-worshipper *with* a life of a hundred *years* (100 khayâ), *and* who walks forth upon this earth with a hundred disciples.' This last clause clearly identifies him with the 'Saêna, *son* of Ahûm-stu*d*, who first appeared upon this earth with a hundred pupils,' as stated in Yt. XIII, 97 (see Darmesteter, *Textes pehlvis relatifs au Judaisme*, première partie, p. 3, n. 2).

[2] This book commences with an account of the seven archangels, and, illustrative of the 'desirable dominion' personified in Shatraver, the fourth of them, a statement is made of the legendary history of the efforts made by the good rulers, from Vistâsp to Khûsrôî Anôsharavân, for the preservation of Avesta and Pahlavi

2. The fourth *book* is matter for instruction from the statements selected, from the instruction of the good religion, by the saintly (hû-fravar*d*ŏ) Âtû*r*-farnbag[1], son of Farukhŏ-zâ*d* *and* leader of those of the good religion.

3. From the Selection of Customary Instruction[2] there is *this:—Number* one is the actual original evolution[3], resembling only himself *and* not designed (*k*imîk). 4. *Number* two, the duplication of the first among those akin (khvê*s*îgân) owing to the consciousness of creation—which is the first—is Vohûman; but *it is* his origin, concealed from the destroyer, which is the reason of the creation.

. . . . . .

10. *Number* three is the original creature Ashavahi*s*t[4]—due to development among those akin, one out of another—who possesses the third place among the archangels, for the reverence of the first.

. . . . . .

12. *Number* four, the perfect sovereignty among

literature. Most of this statement has been already translated at the end of Haug's Essay on Pahlavi, from a less perfect MS. than B, but, as some of the accompanying text is obscure, it has now been necessary to translate the whole of it to ascertain its connection clearly, although only so much of this translation is here given as will indicate this connection in a general way.

[1] Who held a religious disputation with the accursed Abâli*s* in the presence of the Khalîfah Al-Mâmûn (A. D. 813–833), as stated in the Mâ*d*îgân-î Gu*g*astak Abâli*s*. He appears to have been the first compiler of the Dînka*rd*, especially of its first two Books which are still undiscovered (see Dk. III, Chap. last, 9, in Introduction; Sg. IV, 107, IX, 3, X, 55). Dk. IV, V are taken from his statements, as well as a portion of Dk. III, Chap. CXLII.

[2] Âyûînŏ âmûkŏ vi*g*înŏ, evidently the name of a treatise compiled by Âtû*r*-farnbag.

[3] That is, Aûha*r*maz*d*. [4] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14.

those akin, is named Shatraver[1], the necessity of the stored-up (a*v*ar-gû*d*ŏ) nature of a spiritual lord arisen from the reverence of the perfectly just doer Ashavahi*s*t, who is the third in arising from him who is the second, Vohûman, who is the first creature. . . . . 19. So, too, the sovereignty of the religion is ever specially good sovereignty *and* triumphant, and the true religion is confident; the will of the sacred beings in the world is progress, and the comprisal of every knowledge is in the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion; the correct attainment of its good sovereignty and their joint statement are together really on account of their concealed good protection and progressive production, one for the other. 20. They strive for the powerful maintenance of the religious good monarchy of rulers, trusty *in* religion through practising Ma*zd*a-worship; the law of the rulers is custom, and their custom is religious.

21. Vi*s*tâsp[2], the king when he became relieved (pardakhtŏ) from the war with Ar'*g*âsp[3], sent to the chief rulers about the acceptance of the religion, 'and the writings[4] *of* the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, which are studded with all knowledge through resources and learning of many kinds, and *also* the tongue *of* a Magian man (Magôî-gab*r*â), arisen *in* the very same instructed duty, it is expedient you *should* send (*s*ed*r*ûnê*d*ŏ) *there*with.' 22. Now

[1] See Dk. IX, Chap. XLIII, 1.

[2] See Dk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15. [3] Ibid. XI, 4.

[4] Haug's MS. omits this passage: va*l* sar-khû*d*âyân madam pa*d*îrôftanŏ-î dênô firîstakŏ, va-nipîkîhâ-î; and, even when it is supplied from B, a few more words appear to be still wanting.

A*r*e*z*râs*p*ô[1], *and* others from outside *of* Khvanîras[2], came to Frashô*s*tar for religious enquiry, with complete intelligence *for* the most who did *so*.

23. Dârâî[3], son of Dârâî, ordered the preservation of two written copies of the whole Avesta *and* Zand, according to the receiving *of it by* Zaratû*s*t from Aûha*r*ma*zd*; one in the treasury of Shapîgân[4], *and* one in the fortress of written *documents*.

24. Valkha*s*[5], descendant of A*s*kân, in *each* district, just as he had come forth, ordered the careful preservation, *and* making of memoranda for the royal city (shat*r*ô shahag), of the Avesta *and* Zand as it had purely come unto *them*, *and* also of whatever instruction (âmûkŏ-*k*), due to it, had remained written about, as well as deliverable by the tongue through a high-priest, in a scattered state in the country of Irân, owing to the ravages and devastation of Alexander and the cavalry and infantry of the Arûmans[6].

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[1] Evidently the same person as Arezrâs*p*âh (Dk. IX, Chap. XXI, 24), the supreme high-priest of the northern region Vîda*d*afsh (Bd. XXIX, 1). In Dk. VII it is also stated that S*p*îtôî*s* and Arezrâs*p*ô came to Frashô*s*tar, seeking information about the religion, 57 years after it had been received by Zaratû*s*t who appears to have departed to the best existence ten years before.

[2] See Dk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 2.

[3] According to Bd. XXXIV, 8 and the Persian Rivâyats, which teach a chronology of their own, this Dârâî was the predecessor of Alexander and reigned fourteen years; his father reigning twelve years.

[4] It is hazardous to read 'the royal (shâyagân) treasury' because the name, which occurs seven times in the Dînka*rd*, is five times spelt Shapîgân, and twice Shas*p*îgân.

[5] Probably Vologeses I, who was a contemporary of Nero and appears to have been a Maz*d*a-worshipper (see S. B. E., vol. iv, p. xxxiv).

[6] The older Greeks were so called by the Persians in Sasanian

25. That (valman-1-î) A*r*takhshatar[1], king of kings, who *was* son of Pâpak, summoned Tôsar, *and* also all that scattered instruction (âmûkŏ), as true authority, to the capital; Tôsar *having* arrived, him alone he approved, and, dismissing the rest of the high-priests, he also gave this command, namely: 'For us every other exposition of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion becomes removed, because even now there is no information *or* knowledge of it below.'

26. Shahpûhar[2], king of kings *and* son of A*r*takhshatar, again brought together also the writings which *were* distinct from religion, about the investigation of medicine and astronomy, time, place, *and* quality, creation (dahi*s*nŏ), existence, *and* destruction (vinâsi*s*nŏ), the submission of a wild beast[3], evidence, and other records and resources *that* were scattered among the Hindûs, *and in* Arûm[4] and other lands; and he ordered *their* collocation again with the Avesta, *and* the presentation of a correct copy of each to the treasury of Shapîgân[5]; and the settlement (astînî*d*anŏ) of all the erring upon the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, for proper consideration, *was* effected.

27. Shahpûhar[6], king of kings *and* son of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, instituted a tribunal (*âv*ân âhankŏ ka*rd*ŏ) for the controversy of the inhabitants of all regions,

times, because they came from the same quarter as the later armies of the eastern empire of the Romans.

[1] The first Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 226–240.

[2] The second Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 240–271.

[3] Doubtful; but it is difficult to find a more probable meaning for da*d*akŏ hêrîh.

[4] The eastern empire of the Romans. [5] See § 23.

[6] The ninth Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 309–379.

and brought all statements to proper consideration and investigation; *and* after the preservation of Âtû*r*pâ*d*[1], through the statement which he maintained (pasâkhtŏ) with all those *of* different sects, and the Nasks *were* enumerated, he also spoke this even *to* those who *were* heterodox, namely: 'Now, when the religion is recognised by us in the worldly *existence*, we do most diligently endeavour *that* they shall not allow the infidelity (agdênôîh) of any one whatever;' and he acted accordingly.

28. This (le-denman-1-î[2]) Khûsrôî[3], king of kings *who is* son of Kavâ*d*, as apostasy and tyranny *were* fully antagonistically smitten by him[4], and information and redoubled proper consideration *were* abundantly augmented—through a declaration from the religion unto every apostasy *of* the four classes (pî*s*akŏ)—also spoke even this as to winning the sacred beings (ya*zd*ân kharî*d*îh), namely: 'The truth of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion is fully understood, *and* the intelligent *are* steadfastly capable through proper consideration; but recognition by the worldly *existence has* mostly become exceedingly scattered, *and* the particulars are not possible through proper consideration, but through purity *of* thought,

[1] See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 22.

[2] Literally 'this one who is,' which, applied to a person near at hand, is a phrase analogous to valman-1-î, 'that one who is,' applied in § 25 to a person more remote. The oblique case le-denman of the demonstrative pronoun, which occurs very rarely, is analogous to the oblique cases li, lanman, lak, lekûm of the personal pronouns, which occur constantly.

[3] The twentieth Sasanian king, who reigned A.D. 531–579; he was surnamed Anôsharavân, 'immortal-soulled.'

[4] Referring to his extirpation of the heresy of Mazdak, A.D. 528, before he came to the throne.

word, and deed, and the statements of the good spirit, the liturgical ceremonial of the sacred beings with purity.

29. 'We also call, each of those called by us, a priest of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, whose perception of the spiritual *existence* is manifested unto us; and our wide resources, the perception of the spiritual *existence and* the example of the worldly *one*, are likewise indications *of* both natures *that are* complete. 30. And we invite (bavîhûnêm) those invited[1], even with that excellence *and* efficiency which are due to them, on account of which the sacred beings are predominantly over Irân; the country of Irân *having* proceeded onwards through instruction from the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion which the ancients celebrated. 31. The knowledge *of* the sociable ceremonial (ham-ya*z*i*s*nîh)—for which, indeed, those of the intelligent of disunited Khvanîras are not in a dispute of antagonism—is, *in* that way, mostly the sonorous (aêv*âz*îk) Avesta, in the pure statement *of* the writing adornable by memoranda of particulars; and even the simple wordless (av*âk*îk) mode is maintained in the announcement of the statement.

32. 'Even then all the domestic (khânîk) knowledge of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion is really on this account, which is understood by us, that, when all are intellectual (vîr-hômônd), and the proper consideration of a stranger (bîgânakŏ) is owing to the world of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, they arrive at this place. 33. *But* through the new possession and proper consideration *of* the stranger, owing to the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, they are

[1] As in Yas. II.

not capable of bringing about so much acquirement *and* manifestation of knowledge, for the advantage and open duty of the worldly *existence*, as is in the recitation of a priestly master through much investigation, and is abundantly well-considered. 34. And if we command, with the utmost solicitude, the proper consideration of the Avesta and Zand of the primitive Magian statements (Magôî-gobi*s*nŏ), which are more humbly observant, better disposed, good, *and* ever renewed uneffacedly, *as well as* an increase of acquirement worthily therefrom, for the knowledge *of* those of the world, *there is* no necessity of first acquiring the quality of creation from the creator, *by* those who are worldly *existences*, for understanding the creator and the marvellousness *of* the spiritual *existences;* or all necessity of acquiring is said *to be* longing through scanty knowledge.

35. 'They who are a counterpart (aê*d*ûnŏîh) of manifestation from the religion—and even through the resemblance *there* is a possibility of the existence of understanding—*are* mentioned as effecting proper consideration (hû-sikâl-gar); and he who *has* to exhibit enlightenment (rôshanô) through knowledge, *has* to maintain acquaintance *with* the religion. 36. And since the origin of every knowledge is the religion, alike through spiritual power, and alike through worldly manifestation [1], that which any one *has* wisely spoken—even though not considered by him *as* similarly beheld (ham-dî*d*ŏ) by any Avesta declaration—is still then accounted as a manifestation from the religion, whose business is

[1] Assuming that pê*d*âkîh-înî*d*ârîh stands for pê*d*âkînî*d*ârîh.

bringing forth offspring for the sacred beings through instruction.'

37[1]. . . . . .

FROM PERSIAN RIVÂYATS[2].

I. From the Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah[3].

The names of the twenty-one Nasks, from the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô:—Yathâ, the Stûdkar; ahû, the Varstah-mânthrah; vairyô, the Bagh; athâ, the Dâmdâd; ratus, the Nâdûr; ashâd, the Pâzûn; kîd, the Ratustâyîd; hakâ, the Baris; vangheus, the Kassrôb; dazdâ, the Vistâspâd; mananghô, the Dâd; shyaothananãm, the Kîdrast; angheus, the Spentah; mazdâi, the Bayân-yast; khshathremkâ, the Niyâdâm; ahurâi, the Duvâsarôgîd; â, the Hûspârâm; yim, the Sakadâm; drigubyô, the Gud-dêv-dâd[4]; dadad, the Hâdokht of the Dvâzdah-hâmâspah; vâstârem, the Yast[5].

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[1] Then follows a briefer account of the remaining three archangels.

[2] These extracts from the Persian Rivâyats are taken from MS. 29 belonging to the Bombay University Library, which is a copy, made A. D. 1679, from a long Rivâyat said to have been compiled by Barzû Kâmdîn. The same extracts are to be found in many other MSS.

[3] Bahman Pûngyah of Surat, a layman whose father's name appears to have been Isfendyâr, returned from Persia A. D. 1627, with letters and MSS. from priests in Irân in reply to letters from priests in India.

[4] The Vendîdâd.

[5] The order in which the Nasks are here arranged is the same as that employed in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 12, and was in general

II. From the Rivâyat of Kâmah Bahrah[1].

1. The name of the first of these books is Stôd-ya*s*t[2], and this is a book of thirty-three compilations (ǰûrat), that is, of thirty-three subdivisions (kardah). The sending down of this book *was* for the description of the Lord[3] and his angels; *and* he made *it* an indispensable duty for the whole world that they learn this book by heart, and for this purpose they form an assembly. Of this total of twenty-one Nasks it is one Nask of the Avesta, and in that mode they recite this.

2. The name of the second is Stûdgar[4], and this is of twenty-two subdivisions, which God, the praise-

use 600 years ago, as we find that Rûstâm Mit*r*ô-*â*pân (the writer of the original from which K1 was copied A.D. 1324) considered the Vendîdâ*d* as the nineteenth Nask, corresponding to the Avesta word drigubyô in the Ahunavair. In Olshausen and Mohl's *Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*, a similar list of the Nasks is extracted from Anquetil's Great Rivâyat, in which the order and orthography of the names of the Nasks are the same as those adopted by the later writers of the Persian Rivâyats, beginning with the Stô*d*-ya*s*t and ending with the Hâdokht (which makes the Vendîdâ*d* the twentieth Nask), and reversing the order of the *K*îdra*s*t and Spentah, as well as that of the Duvâsarô*g*î*d* and Hûspârâm.

[1] This writer is often quoted in the Rivâyats, but no particulars about him have been noticed. Another copy of this text occurs in MS. 225 of Ouseley's Collection (O225, fols. 15–19) in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; Olshausen and Mohl (OM) combine the information given in II and III; and MS. 10 of Haug's Collection in the State Library at Munich (MH10, fols. 55–57) combines II and IV.

[2] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XLVI.

[3] Assuming that '*h*vê*s*, 'his own,' stands for '*h*udâî, as in Riv. IV, 2.

[4] See Dk. VIII, Chap. II, and IX, Chaps. II–XXIII.

worthy *and* exalted, sent down for prayer and virtue, authority and intercession, and giving union to kindred.

3. The name of the third is Vahist-mânthrah [1], and that is of twenty-two subdivisions, which God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, sent down for faith and heedfulness in religion. *One* is reminded, in this book, about the intention and character of Zaratust; also the goodness of the creation, and the good actions before Zaratust; and the narrative of this book extends in this manner up to the resurrection.

4. The name of the fourth is Bagh [2]; this book is of twenty-one parts (pârah) *or* subdivisions, and its explanation is about whatever is in the religion; also a declaration of God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and *of* whatever the Lord *has* made incumbent on mankind as to devotion and heedfulness, as to justice and virtue, *and* as to good actions, closing the path of Satan to oneself, *and* approaching the last abode, that is, the other world.

5. The name of the fifth is Dvâzdah-hâmâst [3], and the commentary of this book is for assistance [4]. This book is of thirty-two subdivisions, which God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, sent down in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the upper world and lower world. Also a description of the whole of them, and *of* whatever the Most Just, the praiseworthy and exalted, *has* made mention in the

[1] See Dk. VIII, Chap. III, and IX, Chaps. XXIV–XLVI.

[2] Ibid. Chap. IV and Chaps. XLVII–LXVIII.

[3] Ibid. Chap. V.

[4] Written dar-imdâd; but, omitting the letter r, we should have 'the Dâmdâd.'

sky and the earth, water, plants, and fire, mankind and quadrupeds, grazing animals and birds, and whatever is created for the advantage and equipment of them. And like this, moreover, the resurrection, that is, the raising of the dead, *their* path, assembling, and dispersion, and the nature *and* circumstances of the resurrection, as to good doers and evildoers, through the gravity of every action which they perform as good *or* bad.

6. The name of the sixth is Nâdar[1], and that is of thirty-five compilations which are sent down about the stars and the aspect and life of the sky. Also a description of the constellations, which are auspicious and which inauspicious, the method of these sciences and the operation of each one; whatever they say in sublime words, and whatever remains in this. They separate this from a book whose name in Arabic is Bavaf*t*âl[2] and is about the knowledge of the stars; and in Persian the name of that book is Favâmî*g*asân[3], and they have made much more mention of the meaning of that, and of instruction of this kind for the moderns.

7. The name of the seventh is Pâ*g*am[4], and this is a book of twenty-two subdivisions, which God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, sent down about quadrupeds *and* how it is necessary to render *them*

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[1] See Dk. VIII, Chap. VI. Singularly enough, the writers in the Rivâyats profess to know very much about this and their twelfth Nask, of neither of which the Dînka*rd* knows anything.

[2] In the different MSS. consulted, this name is four times written بوفطال and once بيوفطال.

[3] Variously written بوامسحسان, فوامسحان, فوامجسان, بوامسحسان, خواسحان.

[4] See Dk. VIII, Chap. VII.

lawful, which is lawful and which unlawful, *and* how they slaughter *them;* which it is and how it is necessary to slaughter *it* for the sake of a season-festival, and whatever is about a season-festival; how it is necessary to celebrate *it*, and the person who takes the things[1]; the expense of a season-festival and how much the reward is; how it is necessary to give to the priests, controllers (radân), and high-priests, and to any persons who are without doubts, who in speech, action, and intention are virtuous, and any persons who recite the season-festival *liturgy*. And everything wise is in this book; and this is incumbent on all people that they learn this, and *it is* the same for all till the days of the guardian spirits; and every one who possesses knowledge seeks for this, and causes intercession by mankind, for the sake of the worthy, such as clothing *for* a righteous gift, so that *one* obtains recompense in the end from heaven; and it is necessary to give this clothing *for* a righteous gift to relations and the worthy.

8. The name of the eighth is Ratuštâyî[2], and this is of fifty subdivisions, *but* when, after *the time of* Alexander, they held an enquiry, they found no more *than* thirteen subdivisions. And these are about the affairs of the king and obedience, judges and whatever becomes important in holding enquiries, philosophers and devotees; about the edifices of cities, constructed and made magnificent, birds and species of animals, fish *and* whatever is

[1] O225 has *k*îzhâ, the others only hâ; but compare Dk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5.

[2] See Dk. VIII, Chap. VIII.

Ormazd's, the fowls of Ormazd besides the creatures of Aharman; likewise mountains, rivers, and land, and the like of these.

9. The name of the ninth is Baris[1], *and* this is a book of sixty subdivisions, *but* after *the time of* Alexander they found again no more *than* twelve subdivisions. And these are about descriptions of kings and judges, and an investigation of their authority and their sufficiency; also the relations of a peasant with peasants, of a king with the kingdom, of judges with a judge, and whatever remains therein. Any actions that are for every nation, how they are ordered, and the option as to their species and nature; also whatever the people know, and the advantage *that* arises therefrom; besides the sins of people, deceit, telling lies, and whatever remains therein.

10. The name of the tenth is Kaskasîrah[2], and this is a book of sixty subdivisions, *but* after the calamity of Alexander they found again no *more than* fifteen. Its explanation is about the distinction (fazl) of natural wisdom and knowledge[3] from acquired knowledge, that is, the knowledge born from the mother, and the knowledge and instruction they learn; *one* learned in purity and truthful speaking, and anything that *has* brought mankind with virtue out of evil, and with purity out of defilement, and this keeps the doctrine praised *and* great, and whoever is in the vicinity of a king, and is a peasant, becomes greater *in* honour and dignity; and, in like manner, any things from which advan-

[1] See Dk. VIII, Chap. IX. [2] Ibid. Chap. X.
[3] So in OM, MH10; but O225, B29 are corrupted.

tage arises for mankind; and, *as to* those who tell lies, how it occurs in the vicinity of kings and peasants.

11. The eleventh is the Vistâsp-shâh[1], and that is of sixty compilations, *but* after the calamity of Alexander they found again no *more than* ten subdivisions. It is about Gustâsp's acceptance of the sovereignty, and as to the religion of Zaratust—who *was* skilful in reciting the religion, and maintaining *it* and making *it* current in the world—he chose the religion of Zaratust.

12. The name of the twelfth is 'Hast[2], and this is of twenty-two subdivisions, which are sent down in six portions (ǵuzû). The first is about knowing the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified! and faith on account of Zaratust. The second portion is about the obedience of kings, the truth of the religion, complying *with* commands and resisting them, and restraining *one's* hand from bad actions. The third portion is about the promise *to* benefactors and their recompense, evildoers and punishment, and escaping hell. The fourth portion is about the mansions of the world, agriculture, trimming trees, such as the date tree, and whatever remains thereof; the trouble and power of mankind and quadrupeds therefrom, and the obedience they exercise; they are the people to whom heedfulness is attributed, and whatever remains thereof; and the high-priests perform *their* duty by the law of the religion. The fifth portion is about the ranks of mankind, and

[1] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XI. In Riv. IV the surviving subdivisions are said to be only eight, so as to correspond with the sections of the extant Vistâsp Yast.

[2] Ibid. Chap. XII. O225 has 'Hast.

those are four ranks: the first is to maintain the king grandly, and, next, the judges and the learned *in* religion; the second rank is to keep watch *over* the cities, and to annihilate the enemy; of the third rank are writers and, secondarily, cultivators and the society of cities; of the fourth rank are the people of trade, artizans, market-dealers, and tax-gatherers, in war they appear excited, and it is requisite to give a tithe *to* the high-priests and king; they keep on foot the obeisances and good works of which we have spoken, and, when they act thus, they obtain great rewards in the end[1].

13. The name of the thirteenth is Sfend[2], and that is of sixty subdivisions which are sent down for the information of people who are in want of it, and for the knowledge of those persons who become covetous of virtuous actions, and act after the proceedings of the learned and people of religion, and receive advantage therefrom; also as reminders that there is advantage from the daily practice of them. And this book is our reminder about the accounts of the apostle Zaratuſt by religious people, and whatever is the allotment of God, the exalted; about the false speaking of the people of the world, and about the goodness of the condition of the people of the world. Also whatever becomes manifest in ten years, about the miracles of Zaratuſt, by the seven reports that they recite.

14. The name of the fourteenth is *G*iraſt[3], and this is of twenty-two subdivisions sent down for the

[1] Nothing is said of the sixth portion, either in the Rivâyats or the Dîn-vigirgard.

[2] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV.

[3] Ibid. Chap. XIII. MH10 has *K*iraſt.

understanding of the causes of mankind, which *have* made people manifest in the mother's womb, and afterwards those who come out of the womb, some of whom are apostles, some kings, and some peasants; and whatever remains therein.

15. The name of the fifteenth is Baghân-yast[1], *and* it is of seventeen subdivisions in praise of the creations of God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and the angels admitted to him; also thanksgiving *for* his favours, and that which he makes expedient in the religion, augments the thanksgiving *for* his favour, until *one* obtains *it* back in the end; likewise the appearance of the angels, and this is noble. Praise be to the sacred being, the exalted!

16. The name of the sixteenth is Niyâram[2], and that is of fifty-four subdivisions, about decrees *as to* riches, introducing inmates among outsiders, and whatever is made lawful by the exalted Lord; obtaining deliverance from hell, performing service, slavery, and the nature of wayfarers, and every one who performs service and produces remembrance for mankind; whatever is in the thoughts of mankind, and whatever is in the bodies of mankind.

17. The seventeenth is Aspâram[3], and this is of sixty-four subdivisions which are sent down about rituals, those which are in the book of the people of the religion, and an examination of the people's expense they know of, for the safety and punishment they order in the world until they obtain deliverance in the end; and whatever they do lawfully and do unlawfully they know; also decrees

[1] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XV.
[2] Ibid. Chaps. XVI–XX.
[3] Ibid. Chaps. XXVIII–XXXVII.

as to inheritances and the limits of faith, about anything which they sow and whatever they grow, *and* about regulating nativity; whatever *one* makes incumbent on memory, and whatever *one* makes incumbent on memoranda prepared; also how it is necessary to produce whatever tokens *there are* at the time of childbirth.

18. The name of the eighteenth is Duvâsarôni-*g*ad[1], *and* it is of sixty-five subdivisions; robbers of human beings and quadrupeds, whatever *one* makes incumbent that they shall give, and an enumeration of what *one* makes incumbent on each one of them, owing to theft and terror, obstructing the roads, the dread of the wayfarers, *and* the disturbance of prisons; and whatever remains therein.

19. The name of the nineteenth is Askâram[2], *and* it is of fifty-two subdivisions, about judges and philosophers, the method of examining decrees, the knowledge of definitions, and an opinion of those in other matters.

20. The name of the twentieth is Vendîdâd[3], *and* that is of twenty-two subdivisions, for causing the abstinence of mankind from bad actions, from the devil and disgrace, foreign magicians and those who act after their proceedings and become committers of crime; and we are told of their crime among the whole of the goodness and purity, and the whole of the wickedness and defilement, and the explanation of them.

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[1] See Dk. VIII, Chaps. XXI–XXVII. MH10 has Duvâsrôb, and OM Duvâsarô*g*ad; duvâ standing for dûbâ, or zûbâ, the traditional reading of the Zvâri*s* ganabâ, 'a thief.'

[2] Ibid. Chaps. XXXVIII–XLIII. [3] Ibid. Chap. XLIV.

21. The name of the twenty-first is Hâdokht[1], and this is a book of thirty subdivisions, about the manner of bringing together and the abundance of miracles, also the excellence and connections of them. And the accursed devil goes far from every one who recites this book together with the Yast[2], and this person is near *to* the rank (pâîgâh) of a sacred being, and his sins become pure; also in this book the accursed devil becomes cursed, and God knows *it.*

III. From the Rivâyat of Narêmân Hôshang[3].

1. Again, that which is in Pahlavi characters is clear *in* that manner, that in the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô there are twenty-one vocables, that is, twenty-one words, and beneath each word there is an equivalent meaning; it is also known to the devout *that* there are twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta.

2. The first Nask is of thirty-three subdivisions, that is, it is of thirty-three compilations, and its name is Stôd-yast, that is, 'producing the praise of the sacred beings;' and the words of the book *have* come down for the majesty of the sacred beings and angels, and they recite *them* in that manner; and *in* the presence of every high-priest of the pure ritual, who rightly understands its Avesta and Zand,

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[1] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV. O225 has Hâdôkht.

[2] The Yasna, or Stôd-yast of § 1.

[3] Narêmân Hôshang of Bharôk returned from Persia, A.D. 1478, with letters from priests in Irân in reply to those from priests in India. His account of the Nasks is more abbreviated than the others, and appears to be derived from a Pahlavi original.

as he recites *them* correctly on three occasions, the angels come down; of this there is no doubt.

3. The name of the second is Istûdgar, and it is of twenty-two subdivisions; its statements are for the admonition of the people.

4. The name of the third Nask is Vahistmânthrah, and it is of twenty-two subdivisions; its purport is to bring confirmation of the religion.

5. The name of the fourth is Bagh, and this is of twenty-one subdivisions; its explanation is about heedfulness.

6. The name of the fifth is Dvâzdah-hâmâst, and it is of thirty-two subdivisions; its explanation is in remembrance of the upper world, and about the lower world.

7. The name of the sixth is Nâdar, and that is of thirty-five compilations; its explanation is about the interpretation of the world of the stars, the planets and constellations, and understanding the arrangement of the sky.

8. The seventh is the Pâgam; this Nask is of twenty-two subdivisions, and its explanation is with regard to lawful and unlawful animals, whenever they slaughter *them* for the sake of solemnizing a season-festival; and, again, whatever is manifold reward and good work; also about the reason of the five days of the guardian spirits, which they call the select, *and* wherefore they are appointed.

9. The name of the eighth is Ratustâyî, and it is of fifty subdivisions, of which, after *the time of* Alexander, they preserved and found no more *than* thirteen subdivisions; its explanation is about maintaining devotion, and *of* obedience to kings, high-priests, and governors.

10. The name of the ninth is Baris, and this Nask was of sixty subdivisions, *but* after *the time of* Alexander they found no more *than* twelve subdivisions; its explanation is *of* those who are kings and high-priests, leaders and princes, judges and messengers, what is the nature of the authority of peasants and princes, and what kind of towns they possess.

11. The name of the tenth is Kassrôb, and this Nask has been of sixty subdivisions, *but* after *the time of* Alexander they found again no more *than* fifteen subdivisions; its explanation is about the distinction of natural wisdom and knowledge from acquired knowledge; that which makes mankind pure from defilement, and the usage that maintains the proceedings of mankind.

12. The eleventh is the Nask of Vistâsp-shâh, and it has been of sixty subdivisions, *but* after *the time of* Alexander they found again no more *than* ten subdivisions, and *their* statements are with regard to king Gustâsp making the religion current.

13. The name of the twelfth is 'Hast, and it is of twenty-two subdivisions; its explanation is about enquiry of wisdom, maintaining devotion in the world, *and* the punishment for every sin *such* as they supply *it*.

14. The name of the thirteenth is Sfend, and it is of sixty subdivisions; its explanation is *of* that which they demonstrate *as* miracles from this Nask, that every requirement comes to pass *which* every high-priest—*who* shall recite this Nask for several days with seven*fold* voice, according to that which has been written—shall solicit for the world.

15. The name of the fourteenth is Girast, and

this is of twenty-two subdivisions, its explanation is about the creation of the people of mankind in the day of the Eternal, until the last day of the resurrection occurs; their becoming manifest in the mother's womb, *and* why some die in the womb and some are born, some are kings and some are peasants.

16. The name of the fifteenth is Baghân-ya*s*t, *and* this is of seventeen subdivisions; its explanation is about the praise of the angels admitted, and, *as to* the servants of the Most Glorious, *at* what period they each become manifest, and what duty they perform, till the resurrection.

17. The name of the sixteenth is Niyâram, and this is of fifty-four subdivisions; its explanation is about decrees *as to* traders, covenants and decisions, that is, awards with regard to the creatures *and* how they act.

18. The name of the seventeenth is Aspâram, and this is of sixty-four subdivisions; its explanation in these is well-directed and a good *thing;* and whatever remains therein.

19. The eighteenth is the Duvâsarô*g*ad, and it is of sixty-five subdivisions; its explanation is that which is a statement on the subject of Khêdyôdath, that is, forming a union with each other *by* relations and those next *one another*.

20. The name of the nineteenth is Askâram, and it is of fifty-two subdivisions; its explanation is about the occurrence of the production of the renovation *of the universe*, up to the resurrection *and* future existence which are the converting of the dead alive, Aharman *and* the demons becoming extinct, and the circumstances of those *events*.

21. The name of the twentieth is *G*ud-dêv-dâd[1], and that is of twenty-two subdivisions; its explanation is of causing the abstinence of mankind from pollution, that is, from defilement, and the assault of evil peculiarly owing to the great; *from* the sight of a menstruous woman, and the like of these, whenever harm and injury happen to the creation.

22. The name of the twenty-first is Hâdokht, and this is a book of thirty subdivisions; its explanation is such that the accursed devil goes far from every one *who* shall recite this book together with the Ya*s*t, and this person becomes near unto the sacred being, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and in such manner as *he is* near the sacred being in like manner he obtains rank.

23. And the purpose of this *being* written is so, that it is known to these humble individuals[2] in this manner, that these books are of those tendencies, and it has been written *by* those devout *ones*[3] in such manner that 'among us no one is able to read the Pahlavi characters, and the interpretation of these Nasks is in Pahlavi; any one who does not know the Pahlavi characters is high-priest and is not able to demonstrate the miracles of the religion, nor that which was written with regard to the commentary of these Nasks.'

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[1] Pâz. *g*ud is a translation of Av. vi which is merely transliterated by vîk in Vîk-dêv-dâd, the original form of Vendîdâd.

[2] The priests in Irân who supplied this information to Narêmân.

[3] The priests in India who had applied for the information, using the words about to be quoted.

IV. From the Rivâyat of Dastûr Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn [1].

1. The reply about the Nasks of the Avesta. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is *of* twenty-one words, and the Avesta is similarly *of* twenty-one Nasks.

2. The name of the first Nask is Stôd-ya*s*t, and that book is of thirty-three compilations, that is, it is of thirty-three subdivisions, and the description of the Lord and the angels is in it.

3. The name of the second Nask is Stûdgar, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions; its description is about prayer, virtuous authority, and intercession.

4. The third Nask is the Vahi*s*t-mânthrah, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions about faith and heedfulness; and *one* is reminded [*&c.*, *very nearly the same as in II*, 3].

5. The fourth Nask is the Bagh, and that is of twenty-one subdivisions; its explanation is about the religion and *its* intention, and whatever the Lord *has* made incumbent on mankind as to devotion and heedfulness; also about closing the path of Satan to oneself, and approaching the last abode.

6. The name of the fifth book is Dvâzdah-hâmâst, and that is of thirty-two subdivisions in remembrance of the beginning [*&c.*, *very nearly the same as in II*, 5].

7. The name of the sixth Nask is Nâdar, *and* that is of thirty-five compilations about the stars

[1] This Dastûr appears to have been one of several residing at Nausârî A.D. 1614–1646; his father's name is more usually written Qavâmu-d-dîn, and his account of the Nasks closely resembles that of Kâmah Bahrah.

and the disposition and life of the sky. [*&c., very nearly the same as in II*, 6 *to*] Bavaf*t*âl, and in Persian the name of that book is Favâmsa'hân, that is, instruction arises therefrom for the moderns.

8. The name of the seventh Nask is Pâ*g*am, *and* that is of twenty-two subdivisions; its description is about quadrupeds *and* how *they are* made lawful, which is lawful [*&c., as in II*, 7, *to*] for the sake of a season-festival, and how it is necessary to perform whatever is in a season-festival; the expense of a season-festival [*&c., as in II*, 7, *to*] high-priests, and a description of the clothing *for* a righteous gift, so that they *may* obtain recompense in the end from heaven.

9. The eighth Nask is the Ratu*s*tâyî, *and* that is of fifty subdivisions; its purport is about the affairs of the king and obedience, cities constructed and made magnificent, birds, animals, and fish, and whatever is Ormazd's, besides the creatures of Aharman; [*&c., as in II*, 8].

10. The name of the ninth book is Bari*s*, *and* that is of sixty subdivisions, and about descriptions of kings and judges, and an investigation of their authority; also the relations of a peasant [*&c., as in II*, 9, *to*] deceit, and telling lies.

11. The name of the tenth book is Ka*s*kanîz, *and* that is of sixty subdivisions, about the advantage (fa*z*l) of natural wisdom and knowledge *as distinguished* from acquired knowledge, that is, the knowledge born from the mother, and the knowledge which they learn *by* instruction; doctrine about purity and truth, and anything [*&c., as in II*, 10, *to*] how it occurs.

12. The name of the eleventh Nask is Vi*s*tâsp,

and that is of sixty compilations, *but* after the calamity of Alexander, when they sought *them* again, they found no more *than* eight subdivisions, and those are about Gustâsp's acceptance [*&c.*, *as in II*, 11].

13. The name of the twelfth book is *'Hast*, *and* that is of twenty-two fargards in six portions. The first portion is about knowing the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified! and faith in the mission of Zaratust and any duties which are ordered in a book of the religion. The second portion is about the obedience of kings, the truth of the religion, and complying *with* commands. The third portion is about the promise *to* benefactors and their recompense, the punishment of evildoers, and escaping from hell. The fourth portion is about the mansions of the world, agriculture and trimming trees, the power of mankind and quadrupeds arisen therefrom, the obedience they exercise, and whatever duty they perform for the high-priests of the religion. The fifth portion [*&c.*, *as in II*, 12, *to*] the obeisances, so that they obtain great rewards in the end.

14. The name of the thirteenth book is Sfend, *and* that is of sixty subdivisions, for the information of people who are in want of it, and for their knowledge; also for any persons who become covetous as to virtuous actions, *and* proceed after the footsteps of the learned and people of religion, and receive advantage therefrom; and as reminders of the celestial sphere that there is advantage from the daily practice of them. Also about the accounts of the evil of mankind, by the apostle Zaratust, about the false speaking [*&c.*, *as in II*, 13].

15. The fourteenth Nask is the *Girast*, *and* that

is of twenty-two subdivisions, for the understanding of the causes of mankind [*&c., as in II*, 14].

16. The name of the fifteenth book is Baghân-yast, and that is of seventeen subdivisions, in praise of the Lord, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and the admitted angels; also thanksgiving *for* the favours due to that which he makes expedient in the religion, and the thanksgiving *for* his favour *lasts* until *one* obtains *it* back in the end; likewise the appearance of the angels, and these are nobles for the praise of the sacred being.

17. The name of the sixteenth book is Niyâram, and that is of fifty-four subdivisions, about decrees *as to* riches, bringing abroad, and whatever is made lawful; obtaining deliverance from hell, performing service, slavery, and the nature of wayfarers; whatever is in the thoughts of mankind, and whatever is in the bodies of mankind.

18. The name of the seventeenth book is Aspâram, and that is of sixty subdivisions about rituals [*&c., very nearly the same as in II*, 17].

19. The name of the eighteenth Nask is Duvâsrôb, and that is of sixty-five subdivisions, about robbers (duvâyân?) of human beings [*&c., very nearly the same as in II*, 18].

20. The name of the nineteenth Nask is Askâram, and that is of fifty-two fargards [*&c., very nearly the same as in II*, 19].

21. The name of the twentieth Nask is Vîndâd, *and* that is of twenty-two subdivisions [*&c., very nearly the same as in II*, 20]. And *as to* this book Vîndâd, *which* is the twentieth book of the Nasks, out of the twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta, we and you are now using *it* in the ceremonial, and when,

after the calamity of Alexander, they sought for the books again, they found a portion of each Nask, *but* did not find any Nask in completeness except the Vîndâd which they found complete.

22. The name of the twenty-first Nask is Hâdokht, *and* that is of thirty subdivisions, about the manner of bringing together and the many miracles, and *their* excellences *and* connections; and in this book the accursed devil becomes cursed and becomes annihilated.

23. At present, since the Nasks *have* not remained perfect in the midst *of us*, it is not possible to solemnize *them*, because Alexander the Rûman[1] carried off a rough draft, in Rûman characters, of those of the twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta which were *about* the stars and medicine, and repeatedly burnt the books of the Avesta, so that the soul of Alexander burns in hell; and after his calamity, every one of the high-priests, in council together, preserved something of the Avesta in *his* mind, *and* the aggregate *has* disclosed the books of the Yasna (ya*s*t), Vîsperad, Vendîdâd, Fravash, Khûrdah Avesta, Darûn, Âfrîngân, *K*îdah Va*g*arkardan, and Bundahi*s*, *which* they wrote correctly; *as to* the remainder (tatammah) which they did not write, it was on this account, that they did not preserve *it* correctly in *their* minds. And the expectation, descended from the midst *of them* in the court of Ormazd and the archangels, is thus, that Var*g*âvand, Peshôtan, and Hushêdar[2] *will* arrive in haste *for* the manifestation of the religion, and the goodness

[1] See Dk. Bk. IV, 24 n.

[2] The three chief producers of the future and final triumph of the religion (see Byt. III, 13–52).

of the religion again assumes splendour from a new head; the good and those of the good religion become cheerful and happy, and the bad and wicked become extinct and disappearing. Amen.

FROM THE DÎN-VIGIRGARD[1].

In the name and *for* the propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd these several commentaries (zand) are published from revelation (dênô).

The names of the twenty-one Nasks.

1. One is this that is Yathâ, that is, the Stôd-yast, *and* the subdivisions of this Stôd-yast are thirty-three. In that Nask are the blessing *and* propitiation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and they are *for* the utterance of praise. Aûharmazd sends this Nask into the world, which is suitable for every one, *and* whoever has committed this Nask *to* memory recites *it*. And to every one who, *being* a high-priest, becomes a reciter of both the Avesta and Zand, *and* shall recite that Nask three times with correctness, the archangels will come near; as to this they know *it* without doubt.

2. The second Nask is that *which is* Ahû, the Stûdgar, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask are

[1] A Rivâyat in Pahlavi writing, but its language is more Persian than Pahlavi; it commences with this account of the Nasks, combining most of the information contained in the four preceding extracts from the Persian Rivâyats. For this text the translator is indebted to a MS. written A. D. 1813 and belonging to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona; a previous translation, in Haug's Essays, was from a transliteration of the same text prepared by Haug some 25 years ago.

twenty-two. In it are the giving of advice *to* mankind, the performance of prayer and virtue, the doing of good actions, intercession, producing union among relations, *and* such-like topics.

3. The third is Vairyô, the Vahi*s*t-mânsar, *and* the subdivisions of this Nask are twenty-two. In this is the topic of those who are becoming without doubt as to the religion of Ma*zd*a-worship, causing heedfulness, and thinking about the religion; also the production of the benediction and attributes (s*i*fât) of the blessedness of Zaratû*s*t, every action which was declared virtuous before Zaratû*s*t, and all actions which have to occur after Zaratû*s*t until the future existence; the benefit of his world, and such-like topics.

4. The fourth Nask is this *which is* Athâ, the Bagh, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask are twenty-one. In this the topic is this which is the purpose of the religion of Ma*zd*a-worship, and the ideas which Aûha*r*ma*zd* caused *to be* taught unto mankind; the exercise of reverence, heedfulness, adjudication, and justice; the performance of the proper duty of decision, doing good actions (kâr-î khvaîr), closing the way of Aharman into oneself, attaining unto the spiritual *existence* for oneself, *and* such as are like *these.*

5. The fifth Nask is Ratu*s*, the Dvâzdak-hômâst, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask are thirty-two. In that Nask are all the topics of the spiritual *existence and* the heavenly state, virtue and vileness, the material *existence* of this worldly state, about the sky and about the earth, and everything which Aûha*r*ma*zd* produced *and which* exists in the water, fire, and plants; human beings and

quadrupeds, grazing animals and birds, and everything which is similarly produced from any (*aêk*) *of them*, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, that which is the production of the resurrection and future existence, and the coming together and separation *at* the *K*inva*d* pass; the recompense for the doers of good works and the punishment for sinners occur through the future existence, *and* such-like topics as *these* are.

6. The sixth Nask is Ashâ*d*, the Nâ*d*ûr, *and* the subdivisions of that are thirty-five. In this Nask are the purposes of the stars (nu*g*ûm), the zodiac, and the planets, the goodness and evil of each constellation, and the movement of all the planets in the signs of the zodiac (bûr*g*) and lunar mansions (mahîgân nu*g*ûm). They have translated *it* into Arabic and Persian, and the name they have adopted *for* this book is Bûtâl, *and* in Persian the name which is appointed for it is Kapâmâ*g*ân.

7. The seventh is this *which is Kîd, and* is the Pâ*g*am, and its subdivisions are twenty-two. In this Pâ*g*am Nask is the topic of the slaughtering of quadrupeds *and* sheep, how *they* are to be slaughtered, of which among the quadrupeds the command is that it is allowable to eat, and of which kind the eating is not allowable; how *he* who slaughters shall strike at the time of the expiring of the sheep. The more expenditure (saraf) *one* makes upon a season-festival, so much the more is the reward; how much it is expedient to bestow upon the Dastûrs, Môbads, and Hêrbads, and upon the unwavering practisers of good works *in* the good religion; what merit accrues *to* every one

who celebrates a season-festival and consecrates clothing for a soul, *and* who, *for* that reason, is in the supreme heaven *in* the last times; and it is necessary to give clothing to relations *and* the righteous as a righteous gift, *and* to exercise mediation on the part of the righteous; the five greater and lesser days of the guardian spirits, and the practice of good works on *these* ten days is enjoined in this Nask. It is requisite for all people that they shall read this book with good and wise understanding, that all *may* become aware of *its* topics.

8. The eighth Nask is that *which is* Ha*k*â, the Ratu*s*tâîh, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask *were* fifty when the accursed Alexander had the Nasks burnt up, *but* after that, *as* they sought out this Nask, *only* thirteen of those subdivisions came to hand, and no *more* remained of those previously *existing*. In this Nask are the reasons of performing service, giving orders, and remaining at the command of kings and at the command of high-priests and judges; the adornment-preserving[1] purpose of cities is declared, the command of religion, and things made magnificently (a*gîz*îhâ), grazing animals, birds, cattle, and fish; everything which is a production of Aûha*r*ma*zd or* Aharman; all the purposes of all the seas, mountains, and lands; *and matters* similar *to* such as are mentioned.

9. The ninth Nask is this *which is* Vangh*e*u*s*, *and* is the Bari*s*; the subdivisions of that Nask were first sixty, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* twelve remained. *As to* the information in this Nask, just as there is the sovereignty for *those*

[1] Assuming that fré*v*vânîk, which might mean 'important,' stands for pard*a*zânîk.

who are kings, so *there* is the usage which it is necessary *for them* to practise, and the command of the sentence of judges of the religion such *as* is necessary to be executed; the custody and protection for the world, and making each new city flourishing; also the reasons of people, who are false-speaking, sinners, *and* such-like, are mentioned in this Nask.

10. The tenth Nask is that *which is* Dazdâ, the Ka*s*srôb, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask were formerly sixty, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* fifteen subdivisions remained. In that Nask the topic is that which is wisdom and knowledge, the reason of *its* being brought forth from the mother, and the teaching of wisdom *by* demonstration, the performance of purification and the speaking of truth; bringing people from vileness unto virtue, and bringing *them* from defilement and pollution unto purity; greatness and good progeny arise for people near kings, and how the habit of people telling lies, to others and to kings, arises; *and* such-like as *these.*

11. The eleventh Nask was Mananghô, the Vî*s*tâspâ*d*, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask were sixty, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* ten remained. In this Nask is the topic of the sovereignty of Gû*s*tâsp, and Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân, *having* brought the religion from Aûha*r*ma*zd*, king Gu*s*tâsp accepted *it*, and made *it* current in the world; *and* such-like as *these.*

12. The twelfth is *Sh*yaothananãm, the Khûst, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask were first twenty-two, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* six remained. Among those six, which are the first

portions (zizp = Ar. *g*izb), the topics in *one* portion are the attributes (sifât) of the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and the understanding *of them;* also being without doubt about the religion of Zaratû*s*t, the Spîtâmân, all the duty and good works which are prescribed in the religion, *and* such-like. In the second portion is the reason of service for kings, the truth of the religion, submission *to* all *its* commands, and withholding *one's* hand from evil actions, so that it *has* become far from mischief. In the third portion is that which is the debt for performers of virtuous position, the advantage *of* good works, the final release from hell, *and* such-like. The fourth is the reason of the creation of the world, the practice of agriculture, the cultivation of trees, the date-tree and every fruit-tree; whence arises most strength for people and animals; being under the command of the practisers of good works *and* the virtuous, and being under the command of the high-priests, *and* such-like as they are. In the fifth portion all the specimens of mankind are mentioned: *they* who are of great knowledge, who are kings, judges, and the sages of the religion; in the second specimen are *they* that *have* to keep watch *over* all the cities, and to make the enemy confounded; in the third specimen are these whose object *one* mentions *in the term* 'husbandmen;' the fourth specimen which *one* mentions *are* these who are the greatly-skilled and sitters in the market, grandiloquent to repel loss, giving one-tenth to the high-priest and king, and offering praise on hardened knees, the last reward of which is that *one* obtains in the spiritual *existence.*

13. The thirteenth Nask is that which is Angh*eu*s,

the Spend; its subdivisions are sixty which are precious unto people of pedigrees (mâyagân) and *those who* possess much avidity for virtuous actions and *have* to proceed *in* the footsteps (pâî-rapîh) *of* the great and religious; *also* accounts of Zaratûst, who is born from the womb of Dûghdâvŏ, till ten years *of age*. Every Dastûr and Môbad shall recite this Nask in purity, and with ease and the proper words, *for* several days, and shall obtain every desire of his own, or *any* wish which he claims on account of (barâ râî-î) others.

14. The fourteenth Nask is that *which is* Mazdâi; the name Zirast is appointed *for it*, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask are twenty-two. In like manner this Nask is sent *by* Aûharmazd, which is to make manifest to the people what is the purpose *of* that science through which mankind are born from the womb of a mother, how many individuals among them will die *away* from the womb, and how many individuals will live; how many persons *and* people among them become kings, and how many, meanwhile (fîmâ), exercise apostleship, that is, the high-priesthood; how many are the grandest of people, and how many are the meanest *of* mankind, *and* in what mode this occurs; from first to last, the time people are born and all those topics are in this Nask.

15. The fifteenth is Khshathremkâ, *and* the name of that Nask is Baghân-yast, *and* its subdivisions are seventeen. In it are the topics of Aûharmazd the lord and the archangels, the knowledge of their attributes, and the service *and* sublimity *of* Aûharmazd; at what time every Gâh occurs until the future existence, and what duty is

performed; offering praise *for* every benefit *from* Aûharmazd, and obtaining benefit from him; the appearance of the archangels, and knowing what is such-and-such an appearance of such-and-such an archangel in the future existence. This Nask used in the service of Aûharmazd and the archangels is very excellent.

16. The sixteenth is Ahurâi, *and* they have appointed it the name Niyârâm; the subdivisions of that Nask are fifty-four, about the reason of preserving wealth and placing *it* out, agreement *and* measure *by* the cubit *and* handful; everything the creator Aûharmazd has ordained *as* uncontaminated, release from hell, and how to walk in the path of reverence and worship; what is in the mind of man, and what is everything in the body of man; *and* such-like as *these that* are mentioned.

17. The seventeenth Nask is that which is Â, *and* the name they have appointed *for* it is Aspârûm; *one* mentions sixty-five subdivisions of it, *and* in this Nask is every religious topic which all persons well understand, and the punishment suffered *by* sinners, which they receive in *their* last career; everything which is uncontaminated is allowable, *and what* is not uncontaminated is not allowable; the stars preside over the destiny of mankind; and such-like as *these.*

18. The eighteenth Nask is that *which is* Yim, that *has* the name Duvâsarôzad appointed *for it, and* the subdivisions of it are likewise sixty-five. In this Nask are the reasons of next-of-kin marriage, forming connections among relations, *and* such-like as *these.*

19. The nineteenth Nask is Drigubyô, the name

of which is Askâram, *and* is of fifty-two stanzas (v*ê*kastihâ), *about* the giving of orders, exercise of authority, and practising wisdom in everything; producing the resurrection, *by* which every person passed *away* is made living again, and the malformations of Aharman and the demons are withered away; *and* such-like.

20. The twentieth Nask is that *which is* Dada*d*, that they call *by* its name of Vendîdâ*d*, where the meaning *of* this is 'the law against the demons,' which is of twenty-two fargar*d*s. The topic *of* it is what preserves mankind from evil *and* pollution, and will restrain *them* from the menstruous, dead matter, pestilence, and running sores. Of all the twenty-one Nasks the Nask of 'the law against the demons' has *alone* remained entire; while several remain scattered by the wickedness (*s*ûmîh) of the accursed Alexander, this Nask of the Vendîdâ*d* remained in hand, *and* owing to its elucidation the religion of Ma*zd*a-worship exists now.

21. The twenty-first Nask is Vâstârem, whose name *one* calls Hâ*d*ôkht, *and its* fargar*d*s are said *to be* thirty. In it are much excellence and many miracles, *and* the vile Aharman becomes far from every one who recites this Hâ*d*ôkht, and it makes *him* extinct, and *the reciter* comes near *unto* Aûha*r*-ma*zd* and becomes purified from sin.

22. Now, alas! if all these Nasks do not remain, so that *one* is not able to solemnize *them*, that is for this reason, that the accursed Alexander, the Arûman, took several transcripts—in the Arûman language and characters (hurûfŏ)—of any among those twenty-one Nasks which were *about* the stars and medicine, and burnt up the other Nasks; and

the soul of the accursed Alexander, the Rûman, will remain wretched and burnt in gloomy hell till the resurrection, owing to his own vileness which injured the religion of Zaratûst.

23. After the villany of Alexander, an assemblage of several high-priests, who were sages of the religion, brought the Avesta of all *of them* from various places, *and* made a collection *of* so much Avesta and Zand *as* the sacred (ya*s*tô) Yasna, Vîspera*d*, Vendîdâ*d*, Ar*d*â-fravar*d*, and other scraps of the Avesta, the Darûn, *Â*f*r*îngân, and the Commands of the religion; all these *were* written, and the Bûndahi*s* book *was* correctly written; *and* all such, among them, as *were* not written, which did not come into the thoughts of the sages, departed, on that account, from the midst of the many topics of revelation.

24. Just as it is said that *there* were twenty-one Nasks, there are first, in seven Nasks, the topics of the religion *of* Ma*zd*a-worship, in the second seven Nasks are the topics of medical practice, *and* in the third seven Nasks the topics and capabilities of the stars are mentioned.

NASK-FRAGMENTS

THAT ARE

STILL EXTANT.

EXTANT FRAGMENTS[1].

I. Sûdkar Nask[2].

Dk. IX, Chap. II, 3–15, referring to the useful effect of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as a spell, on various occasions, is quoted in Sls. XIX, 1–14, and also in the Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah[3], with some slight variations.

Dk. IX, Chap. VI, 2, refers to the passage thus mentioned in Sls. IX, 2, 3:—'The priest who passes away in an out-district (aûzdehîkîh) thou hast considered as desolate (vîrân); and there is a high-priest who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *it is as* a non-Irânian (anâîrân) country. *It is* declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in an out-district, an apostate will be born in that dwelling, and this calamity is only (aêvâk) mentioned as to the supreme high-priest[4].'

Dk. IX, Chap. VIII, 1–6, refers to Zaratûst's

[1] Only the Pahlavi versions of these fragments are extant, unless it be otherwise stated.

[2] The detailed account of this Nask, in Dk. IX, contains about 5,400 Pahlavi words, and, if these represent the same proportion of original text as those in the accounts of the first three fargards of the Bakŏ Nask do, they would indicate about 4,700 words of Avesta text and 10,500 of Pahlavi version as the original extent of this Nask.

[3] See p. 418, n. 3.

[4] This translation has been corrected in accordance with p. 178, n. 2.

prophetic vision of the golden, silver, steel, and mingled-iron periods of his millennium, quoted at length in Byt. I, 1–5, with variations indicative of the date of the Bahman Yas*t* being later than that of this Nask.

Dk. IX, Chap. X, 3, refers to the detailed account of the seven most heinous evil-doers, quoted in Dd. LXXII, 3–9.

Dk. IX, Chap. XV, refers to the supplication of the soul of Keresâsp for admittance into heaven, on account of his heroic deeds, quoted at length in the Dâ*d*istân Pahlavi Rivâyat and the Persian Sad-dar-band-i Hûsh (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 373–381).

Dk. IX, Chap. XVIII, 2, refers to the passage thus quoted in Sls. X, 8:—'For in the Stû*d*gar it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair *of* those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (têkh), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain.'

No allusion has been noticed in Dk. IX to another passage which is thus quoted in Sls. XII, 32:—'In the Stû*d*gar it says thus: "What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?" And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: "Hungry living, *O* Zaratûs*t*! moreover, the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavair, *O* Zaratûs*t*! *and* the Ashem (aharâyîh)."'

II. Vars*t*mânsar Nask[1].

No quotation from this Nask has yet been noticed.

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[1] The detailed account of this Nask, in Dk. IX, contains about

III. Bakŏ Nask[1].

Dk. IX, Chaps. XLVII—XLIX, describe the contents of the first three fargar*d*s of this Nask, which are still extant in the Avesta text of Yas. XIX—XXI, whose Pahlavi version may be translated as follows :—

Pahl. Yas. XIX = Bakŏ I.

The beginning of the Ahunavair of the Bakân[2].

1. Zaratû*s*t enquired of Aûha*r*ma*zd* thus: '*O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*,[3] propitious spirit, creator of the world of embodied existences, *and* righteous[4]! (2) which were those words, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! that *were* spoken by thee for me, (3) before the sky, before the water, before the earth, before the (well-yielding) cattle, before the plants, before the fire which is Aûha*r*-

9,600 Pahlavi words, and, if these represent the same proportion of original text as those in the accounts of the first three fargar*d*s of the Bakŏ Nask do, they would indicate about 8,300 words of Avesta text and 18,500 of Pahlavi version as the original extent of this Nask.

[1] As the detailed account of the first three fargar*d*s of this Nask, in Dk. IX, contains about 840 Pahlavi words, and represents about 730 words of the original Avesta text in Yas. XIX–XXI, with 1630 in its Pahlavi version, it may be assumed that the detailed account of the whole Nask, extending to nearly 11,000 words, indicates about 9,500 words of Avesta text and 21,200 of Pahlavi version as the total extent of this Nask.

[2] The heading of this first hâ is given in J2, Pt4, Mf4 which have been consulted by the translator in addition to Spiegel's text representing K5. The division into sections is that adopted by Spiegel, and the passages in parentheses have no equivalents in the Avesta text.

[3] Sp., J2 insert 'good *and*.'

[4] J2 adds '(this is, Aûha*r*ma*zd* the creator is righteous; the rest is through the praise which says the creator is righteous);' compare Pahl. Vend. II, 1.

ma*zd*'s son, before the righteous man (Gâyômar*d*), before the demons, (who remain) noxious creatures[1], and mankind, before all embodied existence (the creation of sovereignty), *and* before all the excellence created by Aûha*r*ma*zd*, (which is owing to) the manifestation of righteousness?'

4. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'They were the apportionment of the Ahunavair, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratû*st*! (that spirit who would make the religion current, who has formed that religion from the Ahunavair) which was spoken out by me for thee; (5) (that is,) before the sky, (*&c.*, *as in* § 3).

6. 'Whoever chants that apportionment of the Ahunavair, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratû*st*! without talking (that is, he does not speak out in the middle of any of its difficult Avesta[2]) *and* not without anxiety (that he *may* slumber), (7) *it is* like a hundred above any other authority of those of the Gâthas, when *one* chants *them* without talking, *or* not without anxiety[3]; (thus it becomes *fit* for the ceremonial). 8. Whoever chants *it* while talking, *or* without anxiety, (thus it becomes *fit* for the ceremonial,) *it is* like ten above any other authority of those of the Gâthas.

9. 'Whoever in that embodied existence of mine, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratû*st*! recalls the apportionment of

[1] Assuming that the khr*a*fstar*d*ŏ, or khr*a*fôstar*d*ŏ, of Pt4, Mf4, stands for khrafstarânŏ, as required by the Avesta text. Sp., J2 have 'who were confounded by wisdom.'

[2] So in Pt4, Mf4; but Sp., J2 may mean 'he strictly does not speak out in the middle of its Avesta.'

[3] All the MSS. have 'while talking, *or* without anxiety,' as in § 8; but this does not correspond with the Avesta text. The repetition of the parenthetical clause, about the ceremonial, which also occurs in § 8, is likewise suspicious.

the Ahunavair, (that is, seeks for *it*,) and, further, mutters that which he recalls, (that is, shall accomplish *it* easily,) and, further, chants that which he mutters, (that is, fully understands its ritual,) and, further, reverences that which is chanted, (that is, shall celebrate the ceremony,) (10) his soul I pass on to the best existence, three times over the *K*inva*d* bridge, I who am Aûha*r*ma*zd*, (that is, on that day *in* which he shall faithfully[1] provide the ceremony, it shall[2] lead his soul three times unto *the world* yonder, and shall[2] cause its happiness therein,) (11) to the best existence, the best righteousness, and the best light. 12. Also whoever in that embodied existence of mine, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratûs*t*! mutters the apportionment of the Ahunavair, (that is, shall accomplish *it* easily,) *and* drops[3], (that is, cuts off[4],) (13) either[5] as much as a half, or as much as a third, or as much as a fourth, or as much as a fifth, (at a fifth the foundation *of the sin* is laid, at a half it becomes quite complete, and when he shall cut off the whole *it is* a Tan*â*pûhar[6] *sin*,) (14) I twirl[7] away the soul of him, I who am Aûha*r*ma*zd*, from the best existence, (that is, I would put it out;) (15) to such an extent and width is the twirling away as *that of* this earth, *and* even so the extent of this earth is as much as its width.'

16. This saying is proclaimed (a revelation) pos-

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[1] Pt4, Mf4 vâvar; Sp., J2 have va-aêvar, 'and certainly.'

[2] So in Pt4, Mf4; Sp., J2 have 'I would,' which may be right.

[3] Pt4, Mf4 aparôdînê*d*; Sp., J2 have ba*r*â âpahlûkînê*d*, 'puts quite aside.'

[4] Pahl. ba*r*â yangê*d* (Pers. yan*g*ad).

[5] Only in J2. [6] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 65.

[7] Pahl. tanôm (Pers. tanam).

sessing an Ahu *and* possessing a Ratu, (from which this is manifest, namely, the possession of a ruler and high-priest. 17. This, too, is said, that *it was*) before that sky *was* created, before the water, before the earth, before the plants, (18) before the creation of the four-legged ox (which *was* the sole-created ox), (19) before the creation of the two-legged righteous man (who *was* Gâyômar*d*), (20) *and* before that sun of definite form (the body of the sun) *was* created as an acquirement of the archangels. 21. It *was* (likewise) proclaimed to me by the spirituality of propitiousness, (it likewise became possible for the spirituality of propitiousness to say (22) *what was* said[1] to Zaratûst,) concerning the whole material *existence* of the righteous who are, who have been, and who *will* arise, (23) as to the progress of work, (that is, while they shall perform for it that which is specified by it, and good works shall arise through them,) *that* this work, among the living, is for Aûha*r*ma*zd*, (that is, that which they may perform, suitable for Aûha*r*ma*zd*, they shall so perform as is declared by this fargar*d*).

24. This, too, is the most expressive (most in effect) of those statements which *were* ever spoken forth (till now), *or which one* speaks forth (at present)[2], *or shall* speak forth[3] (even henceforth); (25) for it is *through* such a statement (such in effect) as that, *if* the whole embodied existence (26) learnt it *and*, having learnt[4], (that is, they shall accomplish *it* easily,) they retain *it*, (that is, they

[1] J2 omits gûftŏ, '*what was* said.'

[2] Pahl. avŏ kevan in Pt4.

[3] '*Or* is spoken forth' in Pt4, Mf4.

[4] 'Have learnt that which they should have learnt' in Pt4, Mf4.

should rely upon it,) abstinence from passing *away* would be quite masterful, (that is, they become immortal). 27. This, too, is our saying spoken forth, (preserved[1] among the revelation mentioned *in* this[2] fargar*d*,) which is learnt, (that is, they shall accomplish *it* easily,) and *one* recites, (that is, he utters it in a ceremonial,) thus *for* any one whatever of the beings whose righteousness is best, (that is, should he do it for a ceremonial, he becomes *fit* for it; it is when he utters this in a ceremonial *that* his soul becomes immortal).

28. As *it is* here spoken forth, (that a ruler and high-priest are to be maintained; as these things are so spoken, *and* as this law is so,) (29) even when it gives him an Ahu and a Ratu, (that is, it gives up *his* person to the priestly assembly,) so it is thereby taught to him *that* the thought of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is the creature *with* the first thinking, (that is, the Gâthic lore is set going by him;) (30) whatever teaches[3] this (is the person of him who is king of kings, who) is the greatest (of men) of every description[4], (that is, it possesses[3] a person in the king of kings;) *and* so it is taught *that* the creatures[5] are for him, (where the Gâthic lore is set going by him).

31. Whatever is a good emanation for[3] Aûh*ar*-ma*zd*, (that is, has an origin in his personality,) is through *the word* vangh*eus*, (which in the division becomes the beginning of) the third assertion here, whose recital is 'he gives through Vohûman,' (that is, the recitation which he utters properly is accomplished by him,) and, besides, here is that which

[1] J2 has 'given.' [2] Pt4, Mf4 insert 'very.'
[3] So in J2, Pt4, Mf4.
[4] Pt4, Mf4, 'the greatest of all men.' [5] See p. 458, n. 3.

Vohûman has taught, (that is, the reward and recompense which they give Vohûman, they attribute also to him;) (32) whatever[1] is a further indication by Vohûman, (that is, anything which he may accomplish[1] properly as a token, and is performed by him,) became so through this summing up (that is, its end occurred) in *sh*yaothananãm; (33) here among the existences was the summing up[2], (that is, it was its end).

34. What it teaches to the creatures[3] of him who is Aûha*r*ma*zd*, is thus: he *who is* like him is he who is his own creature[3], (that is, even these people it tells something so, *and* thus[1] they attain again, through purity, to the possession of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, just as Aûha*r*ma*zd* produced *them* through purity). 35. *By* 'the dominion is for Aûha*r*ma*zd*' it has taught, that he has made Aûha*r*ma*zd* his ruler[4], over his own person, (who shall perform that which is revealed by the Avesta;) and this is taught, *that* through him is the ministration of the poor, (that is, happiness is thereby caused by him,) (36) which is friendship *for* the Spîtâmân; (and the religion of the Spîtâmân became) *these* five assertions, (that is, the decrees in it were five,) (37) *which* were the

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[1] So in J2, Pt4, Mf4.

[2] Sp., J2 add 'of the sacred beings.'

[3] Only here, and in § 30, dâhm, 'a member of the community,' is substituted for the usual dâm, 'a creature.' Either meaning might suit the context, but the Avesta text clearly has 'creature,' and would require more alteration, to suit it to the Pahlavi version, than *vice versa*. Dk. IX, Chap. XLVII, affords no assistance, as it does not allude to this passage.

[4] The Pahlavi version of the Av. ta*d* mazdâ tavâ khshathrem quoted in Dk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 17.

whole enunciation of the saying, *and* the whole saying was that of Aûha*r*ma*zd*[1].

38. For the sake of development Aûha*r*ma*zd*, (for cherishing the creatures,) pronounced the Ahunavair, and in its development *there* was a summing up, (that is, its end occurred). 39. Quickly, when[2] destruction arose, (that is[3], the destroyer,) *and* rushed in, even among the wicked he uttered (*as* resistance) (40) this interdict:—(41) 'Neither our thoughts, nor[3] teachings, (*as* I have not taught that which thou hast taught,) nor wisdoms, (for I consider wisdom as virtuousness, and thou considerest *it* as viciousness,) (42) nor wills, (for my will is a virtuous wish, and thine a vicious *one*,) nor words, (for I speak that which is virtuous, and thou speakest that which is vicious,) nor actions, (for my actions are virtuous, and thine are vicious,) (43) nor religions, (for my religion is the Gâthic lore, and thine is witchcraft,) nor souls are themselves in unison, (for *as to* those who rely upon my things, and those who rely upon thy things, their souls are not in one place;' he who said this, that even their souls exist, must thus say that *they are* not souls in unison *with* ours).

44. Also this saying, which Aûha*r*ma*zd* uttered, *has* the three degrees, the four classes, (priest, warrior, husbandman, and artisan,) the five chieftainships, (house-ruler, village-ruler, tribe-ruler, province-ruler,

[1] As the Pahlavi text of the foregoing interpretation is a commentary upon an Avesta commentary on an obscure Avesta text, it must be expected to be difficult to translate with certainty.

[2] Pt4, Mf4 omit 'when;' but the speaker of the interdict is Aûha*r*ma*zd* in Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 2 c–e.

[3] So in J2, Pt4, Mf4.

and supreme Zaratûst,) and its summing up is with liberality, (thus it is possible to make *it* completely for their own, when they deliver themselves up to the priests). 45. Which are the degrees of it? Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; (they are[1], indeed, virtuous among the degrees of religion). 46. Which are the classes? The priest, warrior, husbandman, and artisan, (47) who are the whole day *and* night with a righteous man, who are thinking rightly, speaking rightly, and acting rightly, (48) who *have* recognised a priestly authority, (that is, possess a high-priest,) who *have* taught the religion, (that is, have provided a ceremony,) (49) *and* who, through their actions, are a furtherance of the world of righteousness, (owing to the work they accomplish). 50. Which are the chiefs? The house-ruler, village-ruler, tribe-ruler, province-ruler, and the Zaratûst is the fifth (51) *in* those provinces which are other than the Ragha[2] *of* Zaratûst; *with* four chieftainships is the Ragha of Zaratûst. 52. Which are the chiefs of that? The house-ruler, village-ruler, tribe-ruler, and the Zàratûst is the fourth; (that is, when he was in his own province, he also produced its period *of prosperity*, who arises fourth).

53. How *was it* when through good thought, (that is, the religion remained in the degree of good thought)? When it arose first in a righteous thinker, (it arose in Gâyômar*d*, and he thought for it). 54. How, when through good words? When *it was* the bounteous text, (doing good). 55. How,

[1] J2, Pt4, Mf4 indicate hômant (=aît).

[2] The ancient city of Raî which stood not far from Teherân.

when through good deeds? When *it was* the praise even of righteousness *by* the first creature, (that is, they shall perform the ceremonial, and also other good works, through the Gâtha lore).

56. Aûha*r*ma*zd* proclaimed; for what *was it* proclaimed by him? For the righteous spiritual and worldly *existence*, (*for* the benefit of the spiritual and worldly *existence*). 57. Owing to what desire (owing to what necessity) *was* the said announcement proclaimed[1] by him? (So that he shall become) the privileged developer, (he who is a resolute ruler). 58. For how many righteous (is it requisite to utter *it*)? (So that *one may* become) a developer, (even he who may be) an irresolute ruler[2], (to whom they reveal these words. So that the glory of the Kayâns, such as *it is* with good rulers, should be even so with evil rulers; with good rulers for this purpose, that so they shall produce more benefit; and with evil rulers for this purpose, that so they shall produce less harm)[3].

Pahl. Yas. XX = Bakŏ II.

The beginning of the second subdivision[4].

1. It was a proclamation of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, the Ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî[5]; besides perfect excellence is taught by it to him, (that is, benefit is

[1] Pt4, Mf4 have f*rāz* gûftŏ, as in Pahl. Yas. XX, 9.

[2] Quoted in Dk. IX, Chap. LXIX, 45.

[3] §§ 56–58 are repeated at the end of Pahl. Yas. XX, with reference to the Ashem.

[4] So in Pt4, Mf4.

[5] This Avesta is quoted as part of the Pahlavi version, and is translated, in Pt4, Mf4, by the usual Pahlavi for 'righteousness is perfect excellence.'

produced by it for him,) who shall make self-progress his own, (that is, shall produce that which is necessary to produce,) through vohû vahistem astî[1], thus become the summing up of the assertion, (that is, it became its end). 2. Ustâ astî, ustâ ahmâi[2] has, besides, taught the righteous of every kind the happy progress which is necessary to arise for the righteous of every kind, (so that[3] happiness *may* be caused thereby); whatever endurance of man (*or* diligence) it is necessary for the righteous of every kind to occasion is, besides, taught to the righteous of[4] every kind, (so that one's happiness *may* be caused thereby). 3. Hya*d* ashâi vahistâi ashem[2] has, besides, taught *that* all (the duty and good works which are revealed in the text are the whole text (for him whose Avesta and Zand are easy, so that, through *its* Avesta and Zand, he can make manifest all the duty and good works of that whole text,) (4) which teaches[5] *that* the dominion is for righteousness[6], (so that, *one* may exercise authority through virtuousness, that is, it should be the opinion that it teaches a dominion through virtuousness, so that *one may* possess authority through virtuousness;) (5) which also teaches the truth to that righteous invoker, (so that he may make a true decision;) (6) *and* which also teaches the truth to you that are

[1] So in Pt4, Mf4; J2 has 'through one vohû vahistem; *and* vahistem astî.'

[2] This phrase of the Ashem, which begins the Avesta of this section, must also be understood as beginning its Pahlavi version.

[3] Only Sp. adds 'one's' here.

[4] Only Sp. has 'the righteous of,' but it is in the Avesta text.

[5] So in Pt4, Mf4.

[6] Just as the Ahunavair states that 'the dominion is for Aûharmazd' (see Pahl. Yas. XIX, 35).

fraught with advantage, (so that it may produce true judgment). *These* were the three assertions, (that is, three decrees were in it,) (7) *and* the whole saying was a proclamation, the whole saying was that of Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

8. Aûha*r*ma*zd* proclaimed; (*&c., as in Pahl. Yas. XIX*, 56–58).

Pahl. Yas. XXI = Bakŏ III.

The beginning of the third subdivision [1].

1. A saying of the righteous Zaratû*s*t, to be reverenced, was: 'Whoever of those existing is thus in worship as regards *the good* [2].' Here what is taught by it is the worship of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, (that *it is* that which *one* should provide for,) which is the law of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, (that is, his virtuous law,) whereby the reverence *of* existence is taught, (that is, that which he would most occasion, which is the ever-asking for progeny *by* mankind; and he mentions that thing to them,) *through* which *it* is possible for them to live well. 2. Here, besides, the reverence of those males *and* females of the righteous, through complete devotion [3] who *was* the first, is taught by it, (3) which is the obeisance *for* the archangels, (that is, it would occasion the propitiation of the archangels). *These* were the three assertions, (that is, three decrees were in it,) *and* it was *in* every way a saying to be reverenced. Unto whom was the reverence? *Unto* the archangels in that worship.

4. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'Happy is he

[1] So in Pt4, Mf4.

[2] The beginning of the Yêxhê-hâtãm (see Dk. IX, Chap. IV, 1 n).

[3] The archangel Ârmaiti, or Spenda*r*ma*d*.

whose happiness is the happiness of any one whatever, (5) and *may* Aûha*r*ma*zd* grant it, through predominance of will, (through his requirement)[1].' 6. What reply did he speak through that utterance of words, (what *was* the thing he spoke about[2])? 7. He spoke the reply of happy progress, the happy progress of the righteous of every kind, who are, who have been, and who *will* arise. 8. The developer told (that man, as) the development, *in* reply; *and* (the reward as) the development that Aûha*r*ma*zd* mentioned *in* reply *was:* 'That development[3] (I call) righteous, (which) is a development for the righteous.'

Dk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 11, refers to Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12–15, which is thus quoted in Sls. X, 26, in a shorter and altered form:—'As it says in the Bak thus: "Whoever shall mutter, *O* Zaratû*st*! my apportionment of the Ahunavair, (that is, shall softly take *it inwardly*,) *and* shall let *it* escape[4] again, (that is, shall utter *it aloud*,) so much as a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth, his soul will I shield[5], I who am Aûha*r*ma*zd*, from the best existence, (that is, I *will* keep it away,) by such an extent as the width of this earth."'

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[1] Quoted from Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a, b.

[2] Pt4, Mf4 have madam in place of maman.

[3] So in Pt4, Mf4.

[4] Pahl. rahôînê*d*, or rânînê*d*, 'reject.' It is the alteration in this verb that changes the meaning of the original text; as the preceding and following verbs, vakhdûnê*d* and gôyê*d*, do not differ in Pahlavi writing from the vadîdûnê*d* and yangê*d* of Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12.

[5] Pahl. netrûnam.

IV. Dâmdâd Nask[1].

From the very short account of this Nask, given in Dk. VIII, Chap. V, it appears that its contents were very similar to those of the original Bundahis, so far as we find them in the imperfect Indian Bd. I–XXX. And this connection between the two works is further testified by Zs. IX, 1, 16–23, which attributes to the Dâmdâd many statements, regarding plants and animals, which are detailed in Bd. XIV, 1, 2, 14–18, 21–24.

Owing to the brief character of the account in Dk. VIII, Chap. V, it is impossible to trace any allusion to two passages quoted from the Dâmdad as follows:—

In Sls. X, 22, XII, 15, it is said that 'in the Dâmdâd *it* is revealed thus: "Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like measure (*or* manner), which come into the father's possession (*or to* the father as his own)."'

In Sls. XII, 5, it is said that 'in the Dâmdâd *it* is revealed that when they sever the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out *to* the moon, and then out *to* the sun;

[1] The very short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 75 Pahlavi words, and, if these represent the same proportion of original text as those in the very short accounts of Nasks I, II, III, XXI in the same book, they would indicate about 8,900 words of Avesta text. But, as this is a Hadha-mãthric Nask, the proportion of its Pahlavi text is best ascertained from that of Nask X, belonging to the same division, which indicates about 29,300 words for the Pahlavi version. The actual original extent of the Irânian Bundahis (which may be considered as a descendant of the Dâmdâd) appears to have been about 28,000 Pahlavi words.

and *it* is needful that the nearest fire, that to which it *has* come out, *should* become stronger.'

V. NÂDAR NASK[1].

No quotation from this Nask has yet been noticed.

VI. PÂGAG NASK[2].

Dk. VIII, Chap. VII, 4, or 5, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. IX, 9, 10:—'In a passage of the fifth fargard of the Pâgôn *it* is declared that *one* mentions these characteristics of four kinds of worship of the sacred beings:—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man is good; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man is bad. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to,

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[1] As there is no account of this Nask in Dk. VIII, we can only guess that its extent was about the average length of the other Hadha-mãthric Nasks, or about 6,800 words of Avesta text and 22,200 of Pahlavi version.

[2] The account of this Nask in Dk. VIII (like those of Nasks VIII, XII, XIII, XX), though four or five times as long as the very short accounts, is still short, and the data for estimating the original extent of these five Nasks are very inadequate. We may, perhaps, guess that the two Nasks VI, VIII were together equal to half the length of the four other Hadha-mãthric Nasks IV, VII, IX, X, and then proceed to apportion the extent, thus guessed, between the two in proportion to the number of Pahlavi words in the short account of each. In this way we shall find that the 505 Pahlavi words in the short account of the Pâgag may indicate about 9,100 words of Avesta text and 29,800 of Pahlavi version.

but do not accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man good, the archangels *and* sacred being will approach, *but* do not listen to, *and* will accept; *that* whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man good, the archangels *and* sacred being will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept; *and that* whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.'

VII. Radŏ-dâd-aîtag Nask[1].

Dk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 4, probably refers to the passage containing the statement thus mentioned in Sls. X, 29:—'In the Ra*d*ŏ-dâ*d*-aîtîh many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of the unhelpful *ones* (avi*g*î*d*âr-dahî*s*nânŏ)[2] in the spiritual *existence*.'

VIII, IX. Baris[3] and Ka*s*kîsrôbô[4] Nasks.

No quotation from these Nasks has yet been noticed.

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[1] The very short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 88 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask IV) at about 10,500 Avesta and 34,300 Pahlavi words.

[2] Otherwise read han*g*î*d*âr-dahî*s*nânŏ, 'producers of irritation,' in S. B. E., vol. v, p. 330.

[3] The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 248 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be guessed (in the same way as in the case of Nask VI) at about 4,400 Avesta and 14,600 Pahlavi words.

[4] The very short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 46 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask IV) at about 5,500 Avesta and 17,900 Pahlavi words.

X. Vistâsp-sâstô Nask [1].

The first half of this Nask (as described in Dk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1, 2) appears to be still extant in the Vistâsp Yast, 1–44; but the remainder of that Yast does not correspond with the description of the latter half of the Nask.

XI. Vastag Nask [2].

No quotation from this Nask has yet been noticed.

XII. Kitradâd Nask [3].

Dk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 10, probably refers to the passage that contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 28:—'Even so it is revealed in the Kitradâd that Spendarmad spoke to Mânûs'kihar thus: "Even the swiftest horse requires the whip, the sharpest

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[1] As half this Nask consists of the Vistâsp Yt. 1–44, which contains about 1,100 Avesta and 3,600 Pahlavi words, the contents of the whole Nask may be estimated at about 2,200 Avesta and 7,200 Pahlavi words.

[2] As there is no account of this Nask in Dk. VIII, we can only guess that its extent was about the average length of the other Gâthic Nasks, or about 8,900 words of Avesta text and 18,400 of Pahlavi version.

[3] The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 396 Pahlavi words, which may be guessed to represent the same proportion of Pahlavi version as in Nasks VI, VIII, the accounts of which are also short. And, as this is a Legal Nask, it may be assumed that the proportion of Avesta text to Pahlavi version would be the same as in the other Legal Nasks, which is the proportion still extant in the Nîrangistân section of Nask XVII. Based upon these assumptions, the probable extent of the Kitradâd would be about 2,600 words of Avesta text and 23,400 of Pahlavi version.

steel knife requires the whetstone, and the wisest man requires counsel."'

XIII. Spend Nask[1].

Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 1, probably refers to the passage that contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 4, XII, 11:—'*It is* revealed in the Spend that *towards* Dûkdâv, the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, every night *for* three nights a leader with a hundred and fifty demons rushed (*or* came) for the destruction of Zaratûst, yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means of accomplishing *it*.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 8, probably refers to the passage that contained the statement alluded to in AV. XXXII and thus quoted in Sls. XII, 29:—'As in the Spend *it was* shown to Zaratûst about one man, that all *his* limbs were in torment, *but* one foot was outside; *and* Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd about the cause *of it;* and Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns[2] *by* name; he was a ruler over thirty-three districts, and no good work *was* ever practised by him, except one time when fodder *was* conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.'

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[1] The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 347 Pahlavi words, which would represent about 20,500 words of Pahlavi version, according to the proportion guessed in the case of Nask XII. But, this being a Gâthic Nask, the proportion of Avesta to Pahlavi ought to be that calculated for the Gâthic Nasks I, II, III, XXI, which would give about 9,900 words of Avesta text for this Nask. The seventh book of the Dînkard, whose contents are very similar to those attributed to the Spend Nask, contains about 16,000 Pahlavi words.

[2] A personification of the Av. davãs of Yas. XXXI, 10 c.

No allusion to the following two passages, quoted from the Spend, has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV :—

In Sls. XII, 3, it is said that 'in the Spend *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they shall make clean.'

In Sls. XII, 15, it is said that 'in the Spend and Nihâ*d*ûm the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs become as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand.'

XIV. Bakân-yast Nask[1].

No allusion to the following three passages, quoted from this Nask, could be expected in the very short account of it, given in Dk. VIII, Chap. XV; and they can hardly be traced, with any certainty, in the Avesta texts of the Yasts themselves :—

It is just possible that a commentary on Yt. I, 17 may have contained the Av.-Pahl. passage thus quoted in Vig.[2] pp. 160, 161 :—'By the Avesta of

[1] The account of this Nask in Dk. VIII, though very short, is a fair description of the extant Yasts I–XX, and their general character is also indicated by the name of the Nask, which means 'the worship of the divinities.' The extent of these Yasts may be estimated at about 22,000 words of Avesta text, and, from the Pahlavi versions of the few Yasts that still possess one, it may be calculated that about 44,000 words of Pahlavi version would have been required for the whole collection.

[2] Vigirkard-i Dînik, ed. Peshotan, Bombay, 1848; printed in Pahlavi type from a copy, transcribed in 1754, from an Irânian MS. written in 1240, which the transcriber found in the Modî library at Surat. The Avesta quotations are here transliterated without any attempt at amendment.

the Baghân-ya*s*t *it* is declared: Ya*d* aêtê yô mazdayasnô aperenâyûkô avi hê hapta saredha fra*g*asâiti, stehr-paêsanghô aiwy*a*unghânô paiti*s* hê maidhyâi bûgyamanô, avi hê nara pas*k*aiti nemanghe*n*ti: Whoever of those Ma*zd*a-worshippers is a child who attains unto the age of seven years, *and* ties the *thread*-girdle on his waist, upon that man there is thenceforth the maintenance of the obeisances.'

A Pahlavi commentary on Yt. VI, 2 may have formerly contained the passage thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 17:—'As in the Bâg-yasnô notice is given about the uncleanness of well-water at night.'

Perhaps one of the five Ya*s*ts, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XVIII, respectively dedicated to Srôsh, Rashnû, the guardian spirits, the good Vâê, and Â*s*tâ*d*—the sacred beings specially propitiated by the ceremonies after a death—may have included a commentary containing the passage thus quoted in Vi*g*. pp. 157–158, about the necessity of appointing some one to provide such ceremonies for a man who dies without a son, and to administer his estate:—'By the Avesta of the Bagân-ya*s*t *it* is declared: Yêzi narô pa*nk*adasanghô saredhô irîraithyâ*d* avi hê urvânem bûgyânem thrâyô ayara uzayarana rathwô ha*ng*amanem fra*g*asôi*d*, âa*d* hê aputhra angha*d* puthra fradadhâiti yatha*k*a nara irista vîspanãm avaretanãm shaêtavaitanãm avi hê frazai*n*tîm fra*g*asôi*d*, pas*k*aiti nemanguhaiti baoidhyêita*k*a urvâsnaya*u*.'

XV. Nîkâ*d*ûm Nask[1].

Dk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 3, refers to the passage which, no doubt, contained the statement thus quoted

[1] The very long account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains

in Farh. Oîm, pp. 6, l. 11–7, l. 13 :—'Aêdha is the skin of the head, and there is *part* of it which is large and *part* which is small, as it says in the Nihâ*d*ûm :—"Kaya he*n*ti masyanghô aêdha, which are those *parts with* the larger skin? Yô aparaya paiti mastraghnaya, whatever is behind the skull; (*A*farg[1] said, from the ear backwards). Kaya kasyanghô, *which are those with the smaller?* Yô paouruya paiti mastraghnaya, whatever is before *the skull*[2]. Vaghdhanem is the head, *and one* says nar*s* vaghdhanem, *&c.*, this is: Sinful are they *who* penetrate (sûmbênd) a man's head, astem aêvô mastravanãm, *or* one bone *of* the skull; vîspa*k*a yô mastraghnãm amãsta, all those *are* to be smitten who *have* penetrated into the skull, *and* to be given up *as* outcast[3]; *hv*arô-*k*ithanãm[4] aêt*e*ê anyê *k*ikayatô, the penalties of a Khôr[5] *sin* chastise those who *hurt* other *parts*, (such as the brain which is in the skull of the head, and the *marrow* of the other members *that are* to be mentioned, just as it mentions this:—Sinful are they who strike through the bone, or flesh, or marrow of a leg, and every *one* of those is to be smitten who strikes

4,876 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask XVII) at about 62,600 Avesta and 562,900 Pahlavi words.

[1] One of the old commentators whose statements are frequently quoted in the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta. The reading of his name and the age in which he lived are alike uncertain, but he appears to have been one of the earliest commentators whose opinions now survive.

[2] Perhaps the quotation ends at this point; but Dk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 3, is equally applicable to what follows.

[3] Tan*á*pûhar, see Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 65.

[4] So in K20.

[5] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXI, 39.

through the bone of one fleshy *part, and* he is to be given up *as* outcast; *while* the penalties of a Khôr *sin*[1] chastise those who *hurt* other *parts*)."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 116, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35 :—'That is, this is the account of the number of years, *according to* that which is in the Hûspârûm as regards the account of the number; and *according to* that which is in the Nihâ*d*ûm *it is* the account of the number of men.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 124, possibly refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 3 :—'In the exposition of the Nihâ*d*ûm Nask it says that a man is going to commit robbery, *and* a wall falls in upon him, *it is* his destroyer; when a man strikes at him *he* is his adversary, *and* both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings both are in innocence *towards* him.'

No allusion to the following six passages, quoted from this Nask, has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chaps. XVI–XX :—

In Sls. X, 22, XII, 15, it is said as in the last fragment of the Spend Nask, already quoted.

In Sls. X, 23, XII, 16, it is said that 'in the Nihâ*d*ûm the high-priests *have* taught thus :—"A man gives a hungry *one* bread, *and it is* too much, yet (*or* when a man gives bread to a man, even though that man *has* too much bread) all the good works, which he shall perform through that super-

[1] MH6 has va-aêvak kerp after mazg, and both K20 and MH6 have valman ba*r*â yehabûni*s*n; khôr tô*gis*nîhâ after tan*d*pûhar.

abundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand."'

In Pahl. Vend. V, 73, it is said 'like unto this earth and that (sky) which would also cover over *it* (ever in all *places;* there is *some one* who says this is as to dead matter, that in the Nihâ*d*ûm *says it is* as to decision and judgment, and that in the Hûspârûm *says it is* as to the ritual of the ceremonial).'

In Vi*g*. p. 136, it is said that '*it is* declared by the Avesta *of the* Nihâ*d*ûm *thus*:—"Âa*d* ya*d* draonô Vana*n*tô stârô mazdadhâtô frâyazyâ*d*, *k*athwârô draonô frakere*n*te*n*ti aiwi-*hv*are*n*ti, ya*d* aêshô nâ yô yao*z*dâthryô:—So when he, who is that man who is a purifier, shall consecrate the sacred cake of Vanand[1], the star produced by Aûha*r*ma*zd*, they cut up and shall eat up four sacred cakes."'

In Vi*g*. pp. 180, 181, it is said that 'in the Nihâ*d*ûm it is stated:—Âa*d* aokhta Ahurô Mazd*a*u: "Ya*d* aêtê yô mazdayasna aêtem srîrem vastrem stehr-paêsanghem hvãm tanûm bâdha paoirîm vanghanem*k*a hadha varanô paitanem*k*a, pas*k*aiti aiwy*a*unghânô ava hê maidhyânem bû*g*yamanô." Aêtem zî srîrem vastrem mainyutâ*s*tem ha*k*a mainyavanãm dâmanãm avi mê fradadhâ*d* Ahurô Mazd*a*u ashava. "Yatha hê varanô paitanem asti mãnayen hvare-khshaêtahê, adhâ*d* hadha hê vastranãm yao*z*dâthranãm frâyaza vâ nizbaya vâ Ahurâi Mazdâi ameshanãm spe*n*tanãm, Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!"—Thus spoke Aûha*r*ma*zd*: "When *for* him, of those who are Ma*zd*a-worshippers, *there is* this beneficial, star-spangled (that is, wrought) garment[2], always (after seven years *of age*, that is,

[1] The southern leader of the stars, probably Fomalhaut (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1).

[2] The sacred shirt.

after seven years *of age*) first he covers up (that is, clothes) his own body in it, and with (that *he* is properly) a preserver of faith (that is, a preserver of attachment, and) he afterwards ties[1] (that) girdle (over that starry *garment*) at the waist (as a waist-belt)." That, even this well-looking garment, spiritually formed by the creatures of the spirits, is really (that which) the righteous Aûha*r*ma*zd* granted me (who am Zaratû*s*t). "Since it is his preserver of faith, (that is, preserver of attachment), he is like (him who is as) the sun, (a preserver of beneficial faith, an implorer of the splendid heaven, and is *one* who is an accepter *of* the religion); therefore, with that garment, which is purified (that is, pure), do thou worship, or practise invocation, as regards Aûha*r*-ma*zd* and as regards the archangels, O Spîtâmân Zaratû*s*t!"'

In Vi*g*. pp. 184, 185, it is said that '*it is* declared by the Avesta of the Nihâ*d*ûm *thus*:—Âa*d* aêtahê pa*nk*a ayara hamaspathmaidhem paiti ratûm spe*n*-tay*a*u ârmatôi*s* mâunghô nôi*d* frasrâvayôi*d*:—So *one* does not chant forth (that is, does not invoke) the month of (the completely mindful) Spenda*r*ma*d*[2] (that is, the Spenda*r*ma*d* month) in the reign of those five Hamaspa*d*mêdêm days[3]; (for if *one* invokes *it*, owing to forgetfulness, the Avesta is not accepted).'

[1] This appears to be the reverse of the meaning of Av. bû*g*ya-manô in Yt. I, 17, but see the first fragment of Nask XIV, quoted in Vi*g*. pp. 160, 161.

[2] The last month of the Parsi year, named after the archangel Spenda*r*ma*d* (see Dk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3).

[3] The five intercalary days that follow the last month, in order to make the twelve months, of thirty days each, correspond with a year of 365 days. They coincide with the Hamaspa*d*mêdêm season-festival, originally intended to celebrate the vernal equinox.

XVI. Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask[1].

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXII, 2, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 13:—'*It is* revealed *in* the Ganabâ-sar-nigêd, where a day in the year is indicated, that the *sacred thread*-girdle of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years *and* three months *old*[2] is to be tied on—*it is* better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, *and then* ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than those of five (*or* nine) months in the womb of the mother, on *whom* they should put *it*.'

XVII. Hûspâram Nask[3].

A small portion of this Nask is still preserved and known by the name of Nîrangistân. The last seven-eighths of this text corresponds with the description of the Nîrangistân section of the Hûspâram, given in Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 1–17, although a few folios of its commencement are probably lost. And

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[1] The very long account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 2,179 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask XVII) at about 28,000 Avesta and 251,500 Pahlavi words.

[2] So as to include the nine months' existence, before birth, in the prescribed fifteen years.

[3] As the 212 Pahlavi words in Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 1–17, represent about 2,722 words of the original Avesta text of this Nask, with 24,472 of its Pahlavi version, it may be fairly assumed that the 3,496 Pahlavi words of the whole account of the Nask in Chaps. XXVIII–XXXVII, must represent about 44,900 Avesta and 403,600 Pahlavi words of original text. And the same proportion probably holds good with regard to the other Legal Nasks, XV, XVI, XVIII, of which very long accounts are given.

the earlier portion of the text begins with a fragment of a passage; which appears to correspond with part of the description of the Aêrpatistân section, given in Chap. XXVIII, 1; but also contains passages that are difficult to trace in any part of that description. The Nîrangistân portion of this text is divided into three fargar*d*s, and Dd. LXVI, 1 mentions 'five fargar*d*s *of* the Avesta of the correct law of the Nîrangistân, *which are* easy through the Zand;' so that the missing portion of this section of the Nask, described in Chap. XXIX, 18–25, must have contained two fargar*d*s. With regard to the unidentified passages, preceding the Nîrangistân portion of the extant text, it may be remarked that they include several of the statements about 'unseasonable chatter' contained in Sls. V, 3–6, where they are differently arranged.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 2, refers to a passage which may have contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 1:—'Of the merit of a threefold *consecration of the* sacred cake the high-priests *have* specially taught in the Hûspâram that *it is* as much as *that of* a lesser *form of* worship.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 8, refers to the passage which probably contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. XII, 31:—'Of the ceremonies which go to the bridge *as sin* it says this in the Hûspâram, that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites of the season-festivals, the Rapît*v*în, the three nights *after a death, the days of* the guardian spirits, and the sun and moon.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXII, 1, refers to the passage which must have contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XIII, 17:—'The six hot ordeals

which, in the Hûspâram, are effected by *k*athrayâim âthraiãm[1].'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXIII, 4, refers to the passage which must have contained the statement thus mentioned in Pahl. Vend. XV, 67:—'What is as to the sick *dog in* the Hûspâram is, "*when* several doors are together, *it is* just *if* the nourishment *at* each one *be* only *for* three nights, and then, when opulence is manifest, the delivery *be* unto that opulent *one*, and when not, the delivery *be* unto him *who is* good."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 2, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 7:—'In the twentieth[2] of the Hûspâram it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVI, 7, or 13, probably refers to the passage thus mentioned in Dd. LXI, 3:—'Nearer details of the family guardianship which is proper *and* which is not proper for an adopted son's duty, of the child of the good religion with whose business *it* is connected, *and* of the fathers for whom a family guardian is to be appointed, are *in* the recital of five fargar*d*s[3] of the Hûspâram.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVI, 8–12, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 21, XII, 14:—'In the fourteenth[4]

[1] This corrupt Avesta means probably 'fourfold fire.'

[2] The first section mentioned of these twenty is that described in Chap. XXXII.

[3] See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

[4] That is, in one of the last fourteen sections of the Nask. If it were not for this number, and the fact that the passage is understood to apply to the children of a concubine, it might be connected with Chap. XXXIV, 4, 5.

of the Hûspâram Nask the high-priests *have* taught thus: "My son is suitable even *as* thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable even *as* thy daughter."'

No allusion has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chaps. XXVIII–XXXVII, to the two passages in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, V, 73, referring to this Nask, which have been already quoted as also referring to Nask XV.

XVIII. Sakâdûm Nask[1].

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 1, 2, refer to passages, one of which may possibly have contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. XII, 2:—'It says in the Sakâ*d*ûm that no one of them, that is an inattentive man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence, not though his recitation should be so much that it has made his duty *and* good works as much as the verdure of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which is given abundantly by Aûha*r*ma*zd*.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 3, refers to a passage which is thus quoted in Sls. X, 25:—'When an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible *it* is to be abandoned *and* not carried out by him, as it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm that Zaratûs*t* *has* not provided about anything whatever as regards everything, but three times *it has been done* by Zaratûs*t* about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta

[1] The very long account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 4,129 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask XVII) at about 53,000 Avesta and 476,600 Pahlavi words.

and Zand, when made quite easy by *any* one, are for recitation, but are not to be mumbled, for, in mumbling, the portions *of* the Ahunavair are more chattering.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 6, refers to the passage thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 12:—'Where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until day*light*, and is to be maintained there by day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth[1] of the Sakâ*d*ûm.'

Dk. VIII, Chaps. XXXVIII, 13, XLI, 19, refer to passages which seem both to be partially quoted in Farh. Oîm, p. 38, ll. 4–10, thus:—'The period is eagerly proclaimed in another place, as it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm thus:—"Thripithwô zi asti âtar*s* Ahurahê Mazd*a*u hama, bipithwô aiwi-gâmê, atha narô ashavanô:—For thrice-supplied is the fire of Aûha*r*ma*zd* *in* summer[2], twice in winter; so is the righteous man. (Whoever has become a depriver of food (atapdâ*d*) four *times*, which are successive, should be in doubtfulness as to unrestricted (aband) maintenance vî*k*ithrem*k*i*d*: without any publicity; as much as *it is* possible to see *being* the original minimum of any other)."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 33, refers to the passage which contained the statements thus quoted in Ep. I, viii, 1, 7:—'*It is* declared in the Sakâ*d*ûm, that the consecrated bull's urine, when it becomes

[1] That is, in one of the first thirty sections (see Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 1).

[2] Both K20 and MH6 have amat, 'though,' instead of pavan hamîn. This first sentence corresponds with part of Chap. XLI, 19, and the following sentence with part of Chap. XXXVIII, 13.

fetid, is to be stirred up[1], *and* they should not carry *it* forth so to the fire, so that the stench extends to the fire; because, if that stench extends to the fire, on account of the moisture *and* through carrying bodily refuse over and forth to the fire, it overwhelms it. And that which the Sakâ*d*ûm *has* declared is, specially, that one of the high-priests *has* individually said: "That stench is mentioned with reference to the *occasion* when a stench reaches it of a different kind *from that* which exists naturally in it."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLIII, 33, refers to the passage which contained the statements thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 10, XIII, 30:—'In the twenty-two[2] *sections* of the Sakâ*d*ûm grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings unto the sacred beings.' And, again, 'while those nineteen (*stanzas of Yas. XLVI*) are our offering, which it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm should be my own, the strength and power of the sacred beings shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.'

XIX. Vendîdâd Nask[3].

The whole of this Nask (as described in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLIV) is still extant, and is considered by the writers of the Persian Rivâyats to be a complete work. Its fragmentary character, which is obvious enough to European scholars, must, therefore, be

[1] This statement is again mentioned in § 6.

[2] The *last* twenty-two (see Dk. VIII, Chap. XLI, 1).

[3] The extent of this Nask appears to be the same now as it was in Sasanian times, and may be estimated at about 23,000 Avesta and 48,000 Pahlavi words. The moderately long account of it in Dk. VIII, contains 1,272 Pahlavi words.

attributed, in all probability, to losses it sustained before the revival of Ma*zd*a-worship by the Sasanian dynasty. It is remarkable that the compiler of the account in the Dînka*rd* makes no allusion to the twelfth fargar*d* of the Vendîdâ*d*, which is also omitted in all old MSS. of the Vendîdâ*d* with Pahlavi that have been examined, although the copyists appear to have been aware of the existence of a twelfth fargar*d*.

XX. Hâ*d*ôkht Nask [1].

It is doubtful how much of this Nask is still extant. Traditionally, the two fragments published by Westergaard as Yt. XXI, XXII (excepting XXII, 37–42), and by Haug as Hn. I, II, III, are said to belong to this Nask; but no allusion to Hn. II, III can be found in the account given in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, and Hn. I can be traced in that account only by assuming that the Ahunavair is therein mentioned (in § 1) instead of its accompanying Ashem-vohû, as it appears to be in Hn. I, 4. In Yt. XI we also appear to have a form of the Srôsh Ya*s*t derived from the Hâ*d*ôkht Nask, or used in the liturgy when that Nask was recited, and this Ya*s*t likewise refers (in § 3) to the Ahunavair in similar terms to those used in Hn. I, 4.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 1, refers to the passage which contained the statement about the Ahunavair already mentioned and also thus quoted in Sls.

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[1] The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 295 Pahlavi words which, according to the proportions adopted in the case of Nask XIII, would represent about 8,400 Avesta and 17,400 Pahlavi words of original text.

XII, 19:—'It says in the Hâ*d*ôkht that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavair is that *which is* most triumphant.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 4, refers to the passage which probably contained the statements thus quoted in the Âfrîn-i Gahanbâr, 14–19 (Sp.), concerning the righteous gifts to be given away, for the sake of the soul, at each of the six season-festivals:—'There is an Avesta witness manifest in the Hâ*d*ôkht from the passage (*in the case of the Maidhyô-zaremaya festival*): "Hazangrem maêshinãm daênunãm paiti-puthranãm narãm ashaonãm ashaya vanghuya urunê para-daithyâ*d*, aêvahê hâtãm *k*inmânahê ya*d* ashahê vahi*s*tahê."' During the other five festivals the gifts, instead of ewes, are to be cows, mares, camels, and all kinds of herds and seeds, respectively, as appears from the corresponding passages. All six passages, mingled with further Avesta text, occur in several MSS. of the Âfrîngân-i Gahanbâr (see the earlier part of each section of Âf. Gah. 7–12, ed. Geldner).

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 9, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sd. XL, 4:—'In the commentary of the Hâ*d*ôkht it says:—"Mâ âzârayôi*s*, Zarathu*s*tra! mâ Pouru-shaspem, mâ Dughdhovãm[1], mâ aêthrapaiti*s*:—It is not desirable that thou, O Zaratû*s*t! *shouldst* distress *thy* father, *or* mother, *or* priest."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 10, may possibly refer to

[1] The orthography of these three Avesta names has been amended in accordance with the Persian version accompanying them, but all the four MSS. consulted have the first two in the genitive, and one MS. uses a masculine genitive form also for the third name.

the passage which contained a statement that is often partially quoted in Pahlavi colophons, and the Avesta text of which constitutes Yas. LXXII, 11 (Gld.); the first part of the statement, with a translation of its Pahlavi version, is here quoted from Mit*r*ô-*â*pân's colophon to a volume of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, usually called the Vi*s*tâsp-shâhnâmak from the subject of its first text, and written A.D. 1322, in which the writer mentions the source from which he quotes; and the second part is taken from the same writer's colophon to the Yasna MS. K5, written thirteen months later, which is the only known authority for this part of the text:—'In one passage of the Hâ*d*ôkht *it* is declared that Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke to Zaratû*s*t thus:—"Aêvô pa*n*ta*u* yô ashahê vîspê anyaêshãm apa*n*tãm:—one only is the way of righteousness, all those are no ways:—angrahê mainy*eus* nasi*s*tãm[1] daênãm daêvayasnanãm parâ*g*îtîm ma*sh*yânãm[2] frâkereitîm:—which the evil spirit of the heretical demon-worshippers, the wizard, has forced on to mankind."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 13, must refer to the passage which contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XIII, 10:—'The fifteen stanzas of Yâ-*sh*yaothanâ[3] are for this reason, because it is given for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are declared in the medical part of the Hâ*d*ôkht.'

No allusion to the following seven passages, quoted from this Nask, has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV:—

In Sls. XII, 30, it is stated that 'in the Hâ*d*ôkht

[1] Only the first and last letters of this word are clearly legible.
[2] The first syllable is illegible. [3] Yas. XXXIV.

it says that a woman who shall be reverent is to be considered as much as she who is suitable.'

In Sls. XIII, 6, it is said that 'the twenty-two stanzas of Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ[1] are the twenty-two judgments of which it speaks in the Hâ*d*ôkht thus: "Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?—Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just."'

In Sd. XXII, 3, 4, it is stated that 'in the commentary of the Hâ*d*ôkht it says, that every one who performs intercession, and extracts anything from a person on their account, and conveys *it* to them is as much without dishonesty towards them, as he who may have given to them out of his own property. And *in* the spiritual *existence* they take account of that profit for him, and just as they make *out* the account of the good work of that person who may have given *it*, even so much is his good work.'

In Vi*g*. p. 12, it is said, with reference to Aharman, '*that* he is a creature *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd* is manifest from the Avesta *of* the Hâ*d*ôkht: "Dâta, Ahura spe*n*ta! Mazd*a*u."'

In Vi*g*. pp. 23–25, it is said that, 'if any one passes away from the bodily existence, as much of his wealth comes to his son, wife, and daughter as is declared by the Avesta *of* the Hâ*d*ôkht[2]:—"Âa*d* yêzi avi hê anguhê astvai*n*ti, Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!—So if in that bodily existence, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratû*s*t!—narãm vâ nâirinãm vâ para-irithyâ*d*,—*of* males or

[1] Yas. XXXI.

[2] It is perhaps necessary to repeat that no attempt is made to correct the Avesta orthography, except in the case of a few obvious misprints.

females *one* expires,—*k*va*d* aêtaêshãm y*a*unghuyanãm avaretanãm maêthananãm*k*a vastranãm paiti-raê*k*yâ*d*, —however much of their wealth and things, houses and clothing he abandons (that is, he leaves such in this world)—avatha hê *hv*atô puthrem angha*d*, aêvô-baghem ha*k*a avaretanãm nisrinuyâ*d*; âa*d* yêzi hvãm nâirika bavaiti, aêvô-baghem paiti-nidadhâiti; yêzi dughdhrãm he*n*ti, naêmem baghem fra*g*asâ*d*:—in such *a case, should* there be a son of his, himself, *one* delivers up *to him* one share of the property; if the wife herself (that is, his privileged wife) exists, *one* gives up *to* her one *share* in it; if there are daughters, a half-share comes on to *each of* them.—Âa*d* yêzi*k*a hê narô irista hva hizva ukhdhem vâ-*k*em nazdas*k*a narô danghrem paiti-dyaêti, vîspanãm va*k*ãm ukhdhanãm*k*a avi yãm astvaitîm gaêthãm harethrem frabarâ*d*;—So also, if that dead man gives over a verbal statement by his own tongue *to* the nearest wise man (that is, speaks his own will), all his words and statements, when in control of *his* bodily existence, *one* carries out (that is, *one* shall confer authority on his words);—yêzi nôi*d* harethrem baraiti anâperetha ha*k*a *sh*yaothana:—if *one* shall not confer the authority, he becomes an unpardonable *sinner* (owing to doing this deed; that is, the person who, when *there* is a will, does not carry it out).—Ava*d* ya*d* hê narô irista aputhrâi angha*d*, upa hê puthrem fradadhâ*d*, Spitama Zara-thu*s*tra! yahma*d* ha*k*a puthrô haom urvânem *K*inva*d* peretûm vîdhârya*d*:—So when that dead man is without a son (that is, there is no son of his), *one* gives forth *the share* over *to* the son, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratû*s*t! by whom, *as* a son (that is, an adopted son), they pass on *the man's* own soul from that

*K*inva*d* bridge (that is, it departs *by* the passage of the bridge)."'

In Vi*g*. p. 83, it is said that 'hair from an ox *or* a horse is suitable, as *it* is declared by the Hâ*d*ôkht: "G*e*u*s* vâ aspahê vâ varesa."'

In Vi*g*. pp. 144, 145, it is said, with reference to announcing the name of the deceased during the celebration of the Srôsh Ya*s*t after a death, that '*it is* declared by the Avesta of the Hâ*d*ôkht:— "Yêzi narô mazdayasnô ha*k*a gaêthâbyô para-irithyêiti, âa*d* hê nãma hadha pitô frag*e*urvayâ*d*; yêzi nâirika para-irithyêiti, âa*d* ya*d* hê nãma hadha pathanô uzg*e*urvayâ*d*, Spitama Zarathu*s*tra! aêtem vâ*k*em nî a*n*tare mazdayasnanãm frasastayâ*d*:— If a man who is a Ma*zd*a-worshipper passes away from the worldly *existence*, in such *a case one* holds out his name with *that of* his father; and if *it be* a woman who passes away, in such *a case one* upholds whatever is her name with *that of* her husband, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratû*s*t! *one* shall further bless this statement (that is, *its being* reverenced is important) among the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, (do thou proclaim and further bless this statement)."'

XXI. Stô*d*-ya*s*t Nask[1].

It has been already shown, in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLVI, 1 n, that the whole of this Nask is probably still extant in the Yasna and Vîspêra*d*. About half of the present Yasna appears to consist of five-sixths of this Stô*d*-ya*s*t, to which have been added three

[1] The actual extent of those portions of the Yasna and Vîspêra*d* which appear to have constituted this Nask, may be estimated at about 12,500 Avesta and 22,400 Pahlavi words.

fargar*d*s of the Bakŏ (Nask III), with the Hôm and Srôsh Ya*s*ts, extracted probably from the Bakân-ya*s*t (Nask XIV), and the greater part of the Âta*s* and Âbân Nyâyi*s*es; the whole collection being provided with an introductory and concluding ritual, compiled from other sources, to form the complete ceremonial liturgy of the present Yasna.

There appears to be no sufficient evidence, either internal or external, for ascribing this collection of the liturgy to so late a date as the end of the ninth century, when the compilation of the Dînka*rd* was completed. It is therefore safer, for the present, to assume that the Stô*d*-ya*s*t existed for a long period as a separate Nask (the form described by the Dînka*rd*), even after the greater part of its text had been incorporated with others to form the collected liturgy now known as the Yasna.

Besides the fragments which are specially attributed to particular Nasks, there are also a few writings which closely resemble the Nasks, or their fragments, in general character, but which can hardly be traced to their actual source by means of the accounts given in the Dînka*rd*. Thus, the Aogemadaê*k*â might perhaps be supposed to have been extracted from the Bari*s* (see Dk. VIII, Chap. IX, 18), if it did not contain a few Avesta quotations from the Yasna, Vendîdâ*d*, and Ya*s*ts. While the quotations from the Ashem-staota, given in Vi*g*. pp. 89, 90, 125–129, 177, 178, are difficult to trace, owing to the name of their source.

INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

The references are to the pages of the introduction and extant fragments, and to the books, chapters, and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers. The letters ch. stand for chapter, com. for commentator, Dk. for Dînka*rd*, Dv. for Dîn-vigirgard, Fr. for Fragments, Int. for Introduction, lun. man. for lunar mansion, m. for mountain, meas. for measure, n for foot-note, Riv. for Rivâyat, and Zs. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam.

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Bûtâl, book, Dv. 6.

Caspian sea, Dk. VIII, **13**, 9 n; IX, **16**, 14 n; **22**, 4 n, 9 n.
Ch in Oriental words is printed *K*.

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Darmesteter, Prof., Int. 39 n; Dk. VIII, **16**, 8 n; **44**, 33 n; IX, **24**, 17 n; Zs. 5 n; Dk. III, **197**, 6 n.
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Dashmest, meas., Dk. VIII, **20**, 19.
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Dâyûn, priest, Dk. IX, **24**, 17 n.
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Dîn-vigirgard, book, Dk. VIII, **2**, 2 n; Dv. 0 n.
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Dûrâsrôb, man, Dk. VIII, **35**, 13 n.
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Duvâsrôb nask, Dk. VIII, **21**, 1 n; Riv. IV, 19.
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Ezekiel, book, Int. 39 n.
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Farhang-î Oîm-aêvak, book, Int. 30; Dk. VIII, **16**, 8 n; **17**, 6 n; **19**, 1 n, 54 n; **20**, 19 n, 64 n, 74 n; **22**, 16 n; **31**, 39 n; **38**, 13 n; **41**, 19 n; Fr. 472, 480.
Farukhŏ-zâd, priest, Int. 31, 32, 34; Dk. IV, 2.
Favâmîgasân, book, Riv. II, 6.
Favâmsa'hân, book, Riv. IV, 7.
Firdausî, man, Dk. VIII, **13**, 12 n.
Fomalhaut, star, Fr. 474 n.
Frabardâr, priest, Dk. IX, **33**, 5; **43**, 7 n.
Fradadafsh, region, Dk. IX, **21**, 24 n.
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Franâmam, creed, Dk. IX, **31**, 6.
Frashôstar, man, Dk. VIII, **29**, 25 n; **38**, 68; IX, **21**, 24; **22**, 2 n; **24**, 17; **28**, 5; **42**, 8; **44**, 17; **45**, 3; **64**, 4; **69**, 58; III, **7**, 1; IV, 22.
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Frêdûn, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 8, 9; IX, **5**, 2; **15**, 2 n; **21**, 8, 10, 11, 17, 18, 20–22, 24.
Fryânaks, family, Dk. IX, **39**, 20.

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Ganabâ-sar-nigad nask, Int. 41, 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 11, 12; **21**, 1; Fr. 476.
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Gâthas, hymns, Dk. VIII, **3**, 2, 4; **20**, 162; **44**, 81; **46**, 1, 2; IX, **6**, 1–3; **17**, 8; **18**, 1; **30**, 12; **41**, 27 n; **43**, 7 n; **47**, 2 n, 9; **68**, 1; **69**, 1 n; Zs. 0 n, 2–9; Dk. III, **7**, 2, 5; Fr. 454.
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— nasks, Int. 40–42; Dk. VIII, **1**, 5, 9, 13, 15–17; IX, **2**, 2 n; **24**, 1 n; **47**, 2 n; Zs. 2, 3; Dk. III, **7**, 1; **161**, 1, 2; **165**, 1, 2, 4, 5; **197**, 6.
Gâyômard, man, Dk. VIII, **13**, 1; IX, **32**, 9, 10 n; **53**, 18; Fr. 454, 456, 460.
Geldner, Prof., Dk. VIII, **1**, 7 n; **43**, 1 n; IX, **31**, 6 n.
Ges, man, Dk. IX, **23**, 6.
Geurva, man, Dk. IX, **23**, 2.
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Gôkerenô plant, Dk. VIII, **44**, 80; IX, **58**, 20 n.
Gôk-patŏ, chief, Dk. IX, **16**, 14.
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Gûsn-asp fire, Dk. IX, **12**, 5.
Gûstâsp, king, Riv. II, 11; III, 12; IV, 12; Dv. 11; — man, Int. 36.

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Hâ, ch., Dk. VIII, **1**, 20, 23; IX, **1**, 2; **2**, 2 n; Zs. 6, 7 n.
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Hâdôkht nask, Int. 40, 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 9, 12, 16; **20**, 162; **45**, 1, 12, 14; Zs. 6; Riv. I; II, 21; III, 22; IV, 22; Dv. 21; Fr. 482–487.

*Hakid*akânistân ch., Dk. VIII, **39**, 1.
Hamaspa*d*mêdêm gâh, Fr. 475.
Hamêmâlistân ch., Dk. VIII, **19**, 1.
Haoist, man, Dk. IX, **23**, 2.
Hâsar of distance, Dk. VIII, **20**, 19, 78, 100 n; **22**, 18; — of time, Dk. VIII, **19**, 54; **20**, 68, 99; **22**, 18.
'*Has*t nask, Dk. VIII, **12**, 1 n; Riv. II, 12; III, 13; IV, 13.
Haug, Prof., Int. 29, 30; Dk. VIII, **1**, 7 n; Fr. 482.
Hâvan gâh, Dk. IX, **9**, 7.
Hâvanân, priest, Dk. IX, **33**, 5.
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Hôm, angel, Dk. IX, **43**, 6; III, **7**, 1 n.
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Hûmstûv, man, Dk. IX, **33**, 5.
Hushêdar, apostle, Riv. IV, 23. See Aûshê*d*ar.
Hûspâram nask, Int. 41, 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 11, 12; **28**, 1; Riv. I; Fr. 473, 474, 476–479.
Hûtôs, queen, Dk. IX, **45**, 5.
*Hv*aêtumaiti ch., Dk. IX, **9**, 1; **32**, 1; **54**, 1.
Hvôbas, Dk. IX, **21**, 24; **45**, 3.
Hvôbŏ, Dk. IX, **44**, 17.
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Isfendiyâr, man, Riv. I n; prince, Dk. IX, **22**, 4 n.
Istûdgar nask, Dk. VIII, **2**, 2 n; Riv. III, 3.
Îsvand, priest, Dk. IX, **33**, 5.

J in Oriental words is printed *G*.
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Jeremiah, book, Int. 39 n.

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Ka*d*-môi-urvâ ch., Dk. IX, **20**, 1; **43**, 1; **65**, 1.
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— Khûsrôî, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 14, 15 n; IX, **12**, 5 n; **16**, 19; **22**, 10 n, 11, 12; **23**, 1, 2, 4–6; **58**, 10.
— Lôharâsp, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 15.
— Qubâd, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 12 n.
Kâîtyôk-zê*d* sin, Dk. VIII, **19**, 1 n.
Kâî-Ûs, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 8 n, 13, 14 n; IX, **22**, 4–6, 8, 9, 12; **23**, 2 n.
Kaî-Vis*t*âsp, king, Int. 31; Dk. VIII, **11**, 1, 2; **13**, 15; IX, **24**, 5, 17; **39**, 22; **41**, 5; **44**, 16; **69**, 26, 58. See Vis*t*âsp.
Kâmah Bahrah, man, Riv. II, 0.
Kamnamêza ch., Dk. IX, **16**, 1; **39**, 1; **61**, 1.
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Kapâm*ág*ân, book, Dv. 6.
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Kas*k*asîrah nask, Dk. VIII, **10**, 1 n; Riv. II, 10.
Kas*k*îsrôbŏ nask, Int. 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 10, 12; **9**, 20; **10**, 1; Fr. 467.
Kas*s*rôb nask, Dk. VIII, **10**, 1 n; Riv. I; III, 11; Dv. 10.
Kâusji Rustamji, Dastûr, Int. 36.
Kavî-Kavâ*d*, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 12, 13, 15 n.
Kâvulistân, land, Dk. IX, **16**, 17 n.
Kayâns, Dk. VIII, **13**, 12; IX, **16**, 19; **22**, 7, 9; **24**, 3, 11; Fr. 461.

Keresâsp, man, Dk. VIII, **13**, 12; **35**, 13 n; IX, **15**, 1–4; **16**, 17 n; **23**, 6; Fr. 452.
Khôr sin, Dk. VIII, **31**, 39; IX, **12**, 15; Fr. 472, 473.
Khshmaibyâ ch., Dk. IX, **6**, 1; **29**, 1; **51**, 1.
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Khvanîras, region, Dk. VIII, **8**, 2; **13**, 2, 4, 8 n, 9, 14; IX, **16**, 12; **21**, 17, 24; IV, 22, 31.
Khyôn, Dk. VIII, **11**, 4.
Kielhorn, Prof., Int. 37.
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Kubâ*d*, man, Int. 35.

*K*ê*k*ast lake, Dk. IX, **12**, 5 n; **23**, 5.
*K*îdah Vagarkardan, book, Riv. IV, 23.
*K*îdra*s*t nask, Dk. VIII, **13**, 1 n; Riv. I.
*K*înistân, land, Dk. IX, **16**, 14 n.
*K*înva*d* bridge, Dk. VIII, **14**, 8; **24**, 10 n; **29**, 1 n; IX, **16**, 3; **20**, 3, 4; **49**, 8 n; **61**, 9; **63**, 2; Dv. 5; Fr. 455, 487.
*K*îtradâ*d* nask, Int. 40, 41, 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 11, 12, 16 n; **13**, 1; Fr. 468.
*K*îtrag-miyân, prince, Dk. IX, **41**, 6.

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Mânsarspend, angel, Dk. IX, **12**, 16; **39**, 8.
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Nâ*d*ûr nask, Dk. VIII, **6**, 1 n; Riv. I; Dv. 6.
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Niyâram nask, Dk. VIII, **16**, 1 n; Riv. II, 16; III, 17; IV, 17; Dv. 16.
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Pâgam nask, Dk. VIII, **7**, 1 n; Riv. II, 7; III, 8; IV, 8; Dv. 7.
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Pê*s*inâs, land, Dk. IX, **16**, 17.
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Ragha, city, Fr. 460.
Râm, angel, Dk. IX, **23**, 1 n.
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Rashnû, angel, Dk. VIII, **20**, 153, 157, 158; **22**, 23; **44**, 16; IX, **9**, 6; **39**, 10; Fr. 471.
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Sênân, tribe, Dk. IX, **33**, 5.
Sênô, priest, Dk. IX, **24**, 17; **33**, 5. See *S*ênô.
Sfend nask, Dk. VIII, **14**, 1 n; Riv. II, 13; III, 14; IV, 14.

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Shâhnâmah, book, Dk. VIII, **11**, 4 n; **13**, 6 n, 9 n; IX, **22**, 4 n, 5 n.
Shahpûhar I, king, Dk. IX, **39**, 13 n; IV, 26.
Shahpûhar II, king, Int. 42; Dk. VIII, **1**, 22 n; **13**, 18 n; IV, 27.
Shap gân, Int. 31; Dk. IV, 23, 26.
Shatraver, angel, Dk. IX, **43**, 1, 2; **69**, 18; IV, 0 n, 12.
Shat*r*ô-*a*yâr, man, Int. 34–36, 38, 47.
Shat*r*o-*a*yârân ephemeris, Int. 46.
Shatvaîrô, angel, Dk. IX, **9**, 1 n.
Sîrkân, town, Zs. 0 n.
Sîyâvakhsh, prince, Dk. VIII, **13**, 14; IX, **16**, 15 n; **22**, 11.
Snôê, man, Dk. IX, **33**, 5.
Sohrâbji Rustamji, Dastûr, Int. 36.
Sôshâns, apostle, Dk. VIII, **14**, 14; IX, **23**, 3–5; **30**, 10 n; **33**, 1; **41**, 8; **58**, 10, 15; **69**, 10, 29, 31; Zs. 9.
S*p*ânsnâyo*s*, man, Dk. IX, **21**, 24.
Spend nask, Int. 40, 41, 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 9, 12; **14**, 1, 5; Dv. 13; Fr. 469.
Spendar*m*a*d*, angel, Dk. VIII, **9**, 3; IX, **12**, 25; **24**, 3 n; **31**, 17 n; **38**, 5 n, 6; **42**, 10; **43**, 2; **53**, 27; **54**, 2; **60**, 4; **69**, 14, 47; Fr. 463 n, 468; month, Int. 35; Fr. 475.
Spend-dâ*d*, man, Int. 35; prince, Dk. VIII, **13**, 18 n.
Spentah nask, Dk. VIII, **14**, 1 n; Riv. I.
Spe*n*tâ-mainyû ch., Dk. IX, **17**, 1; **40**, 1; **62**, 1; gâtha, Zs. 2 n, 3.
Spiegel, Prof., Fr. 453 n.
Spîtâmân, Int. 34; Dk. IX, **12**, 31; **18**, 3; **20**, 4–6; **28**, 6; **31**, 8; **32**, 9, 19; **34**, *n*: **35**, 6, 17; **38**, 10; **39**, 20; **40**, 4; **43**, 1; **46**, 1–3; **47**, 19; **58**, 29; Fr. 458.
Spîtâmân Zaratû*s*t, Int. 31; Dk. VIII, **11**, 2; IX, **21**, 24; **45**, 6, 7; Fr. 454, 455.
Spîtâmas, Dk. IX, **39**, 23; **45**, 2.
S*p*îtîyô*s*, priest, Dk. IX, **21**, 24.
S*p*îtôi*s*, priest, Dk. IV, 22 n.
Srôbar, snake, Dk. VIII, **35**, 13; IX, **10**, 3; **15**, 2, 3 n.
Srôsh, angel, Dk. VIII, **9**, 3; **44**, 16; IX, **9**, 5; **21**, 4 n; **22**, 1; **28**, 3; **33**, 5 n; **39**, 16; Fr. 471.
Srôsh ya*s*t, Dk. VIII, **46**, 1 n; Fr. 482, 487, 488.
Srôshâvar'*z*, priest, Dk. IX, **33**, 5.
Stô*d*-ya*s*t nask, Int. 40, 42, 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 9, 12; **46**, 1 n, 4; IX, **2**, 2 n; **47**, 10; Zs. 3 n; Riv. II, 1; III, 2; IV, 2; Dv. 1; Fr. 487, 488. See Ya*s*t.
Stôristân ch., Dk. VIII, **24**, 1; Zs. 5.
Stû*d*gar nask, Dk. VIII, **2**, 2 n; Riv. I; II, 2; IV, 3; Dv. 2; Fr. 452.
Sû*d*kar nask, Int. 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 7 n, 9, 12; **2**, 2; IX, **2**, 2; Zs. 4 n; Fr. 451.
Surat, town, Int. 36; Fr. 470 n.

*S*atvâharân, lun. man., Int. 46.
*S*ênô, priest, Dk. III, **7**, 1; **197**, 6 n. See Sênô.
*S*ikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, book, Int. 33.
*S*ôvar, demon, Dk. IX, **9**, 1; **21**, 4 n.

Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ ch., Dk. IX, **14**, 1; **37**, –; **59**, 1.
Ta*k*ar, meas., Dk. VIII, **20**, 19.
Tâkhmô-rupô, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 6.
Tan*d*pûhar sin, Dk. VIII, **20**, 65, 98; **29**, 5; Fr. 455, 472 n.
Târôkmat, demon, Dk. IX, **34**, *p*.
Tartars, Int. 39.
Tâûr*v*ŏ, demon, Dk. IX, **9**, 1; **21**, 4 n.
Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ ch., Dk. IX, **8**, 1; **31**, 1; **53**, 1.
T*â*z, man, Dk. VIII, **13**, 8, 9.
T*â*zîks, tribe, Dk. VIII, **13**, 8.
Tehmuras Dinshawji, priest, Int. 46.
Thraêtaonô, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 8 n.
Three nights after death, Dk. VIII, **30**, 12.
Tîr, month, Int. 34.
Tî*s*tar, day, Int. 36.
Tôsar, or Tanasar, priest, Int. 31; Dk. IV, 25.
Tûg, prince, Dk. VIII, **13**, 9.
Tûirya, tribe, Dk. VIII, **13**, 15 n.
Tûmâspian, title, Dk. VIII, **13**, 11.
Tûrân, land, Dk. VIII, **13**, 11, 15; **35**, 13 n; IX, **22**, 11; **33**, 5; **39**, 20.
Tûr-î Brâ*d*ar-vakhsh, man, Dk. IX, **10**, 3.

Tûr-î Brâ*d*rô-rêsh, man, Dk. VIII, **35**, 13.
Tûrkâbâ*d*, town, Int. 36, 38.
Tûrkistân, land, Dk. IX, **16**, 14 n.
Tûs, hero, Dk. IX, **15**, 2 n; **23**, 2, 6.

Uda, fiend, Dk. IX, **10**, 3 n; **21**, 4 n.
Urumiyah lake, Dk. IX, **23**, 5 n.
Ustavaiti ch., Dk. IX, **13**, 1; **36**, 1; **58**, 1; gâtha, Zs. 2 n, 3.

Va*d*ak, woman, Dk. IX, **10**, 3; **21**, 4 n.
Vâê, spirit, Dk. IX, **23**, 1–3; Fr. 471.
Vaêdvôist, man, Dk. VIII, **35**, 13 n.
Vahist-mânthrah nask, Dk. VIII, **3**, 1 n; Riv. II, 3; III, 4; IV, 4; Dv. 3.
Vahistôisti ch., Dk. IX, **22**, 1; **45**, 1; **67**, 1; gâtha, Zs. 2 n, 3.
Vâhrâm, man, Int. 34, 36, 38.
Vakhshistân ch., Dk. VIII, **41**, 1.
Valkhas, king, Dk. IV, 24.
Vanand, star, Fr. 474.
Varahrân fire, Dk. VIII, **25**, 2; **29**, 17.
Var*âz*, man, Dk. IX, **33**, 5.
Varenô, demon, Dk. VIII, **9**, 3 n; IX, **32**, 3 n.
Vargâvand, title, Riv. IV, 23.
Varistân ch., Dk. VIII, **42**, 1; Zs. 5.
Varstah-mânthrah nask, Riv. I.
Varstmânsar nask, Int. 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 9, 12; **3**, 1, 3, 4; IX, **24**, 1; Zs. 4 n; Fr. 452.
Vastag nask, Int. 38, 40, 41, 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 9, 12, 15; **12**, 1; **20**, 162; Fr. 468.
Vendîdâ*d* nask, Int. 40, 43–45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 5 n, 11, 12, 16, 17 n; **44**, 1; Zs. 3; Riv. II, 20; IV, 23; Dv. 20, 23; Fr. 481, 488.
Veskŏ, tribe, Dk. IX, **15**, 2; **23**, 6 n.
Vida*d*afsh, region, Dk. IX, **21**, 24 n; IV, 22 n.
Vigirkard-i Dînîk, book, Fr. 470 n.
Vindâd nask, Dk. VIII, **44**, 1 n; Riv. IV, 21.
Vîspêra*d*, book, Int. 40; Dk. VIII, **46**, 1 n, 3; Riv. IV, 23; Dv. 23; Fr. 487.
Vistâsp, king, Dk. VIII, **11**, 2–4; **13**, 16 n; **29**, 25; **38**, 68 n; IX, **8**, 3; **16**, 15, 19; **22**, 2; **23**, 2 n; **28**, 4; **33**, 5; **39**, 22; **41**, 6 n; **50**, 26; **58**, 10; **61**, 12; IV, 0 n, 21.
Vistâsp nask, Dk. VIII, **11**, 1 n; Riv. IV, 12.
Vistâspâd nask, Dk. VIII, **11**, 1 n; Riv. I; Dv. 11.
Vistâsp-sâstô nask, Int. 40, 43, 45; Dk. VIII, **1**, 10, 12, 15; **9**, 20; **11**, 1; Fr. 468.
Vistâsp-shâh nask, Dk. VIII, **11**, 1 n; Riv. II, 11; III, 12.
Vistâsp-shâhnâmak, book, Fr. 484.
Vistâsp yast, Dk. VIII, **1**, 5 n.
Vîvangh*a*u, man, Dk. IX, **32**, 12.
Vohû-khshathra gâtha, Zs. 2 n, 3.
Vohû-khshathrem ch., Dk. IX, **21**, 1; **44**, 1; **66**, 1.
Vohûman, angel, Dk. VIII, **9**, 3; **44**, 76, 78; IX, **12**, 29 n; **28**, 3; **30**, 10; **31**, 5, 13, 14; **32**, 11; **34**, *n*; **36**, 3; **38**, 5 n, 6, 8, 12; **39**, 20, 22, 24; **41**, 18, 23, 25; **42**, 7, 10; **44**, 12, 18, 20; **47**, 2 n, 15, 16; **50**, 6, 14; **51**, 10; **52**, 3; **53**, 24, 33, 45; **54**, 3, 6; **56**, 5; **57**, 14, 24; **58**, 5, 6, 10, 13, 21; **59**, 7, 16; **60**, 7; **61**, 5; **63**, 7, 9; **64**, 8; **66**, 5, 11; **67**, 2–4, 8; **69**, 3, 13, 19, 25 n, 26 n, 47, 57; III, **7**, 1; IV, 4, 12; Fr. 457, 458; day, Dk. VIII, **20**, 22; month, Int. 36.
Vohûmanô, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 18 n.
Vohûvastô, priest, Dk. IX, **33**, 5.
Vologeses I, king, Dk. IV, 24 n.

Westergaard, Prof., Int. 38; Fr. 482.

Yâ*d*kâr-î Zarîrân, book, Dk. VIII, **11**, 4 n.
Yaman, land, Dk. VIII, **13**, 9 n.
Yânîm-manô ch., Dk. IX, **5**, 1; **28**, 1; **50**, 2; Zs. 4.
Yâ-*sb*yaothanâ ch., Dk. IX, **11**, 1; **34**, –; **56**, 1.
Yasna, book, Int. 40; Dk. VIII, **46**, 1 n, 3 n; IX, **4**, 1 n; Riv. IV, 23; Dv. 23; Fr. 487, 488.
Yasna haptanghâiti, Dk. VIII, **46**, 1 n; IX, **2**, 2 n; **12**, 1; **35**, 1; **57**, 1; **69**, 1 n; Zs. 2 n, 3, 4 n, 7 n.

Yaſt (yasna), Dk. IX, **69**, 1; Riv. II, 21; III, 22.
— nask, Dk. VIII, **1**, 16; **46**, 1; Zs. 3; Riv. I. See Stô*d*-yaſt.
Yasts, Int. 45; Dk. VIII, **10**, 2; Fr. 470, 471, 488.
Yât sin, Dk. VIII, **31**, 39.
Yathâ-ahû-vairyô ch., Dk. IX, **2**, 2; **25**, 1; formula, Dk. VIII, **1**, 7 n; **2**, 2 n; **44**, 51; IX, **2**, 2, 3, 16; **32**, 9; **47**, 2 n, 6; Zs. 4 n; Dk. III, **7**, 2; Riv. I; III, 1; IV, 1; Fr. 451.
Yathâiſ ch., Dk. IX, **10**, 1; **33**, 1; **55**, 1.
Yazd, town, Int. 36.
Yaz*d*aka*rd*, king, Int. 34–36, 38.
YêNhê-hâtâm ch., Dk. IX, **4**, 1; **27**, 1; **49**, 1; formula, Zs. 4 n; Fr. 463 n.
Yêzî ch., Dk. IX, **18**, 1; **41**, 1; **63**, 1.
Yim, king, Dk. VIII, **13**, 6–8; **44**, 3, 4; IX, **5**, 2, 4; **12**, 3 n; **21**, 2–4, 6, 12; **32**, 12; **69**, 12; Dv. 18.
Yôſt-î Fryânŏ, Dk. VIII, **13**, 18 n; IX, **23**, 2 n; **39**, 20 n.
Yûgyâst, meas., Dk. VIII, **20**, 19.

Zâ*d*-sparam, priest, Int. 33, 39; Dk. VIII, **5**, 5 n.
Zâkhmistân ch., Zs. 5.
Zand, commentary, Dk. VIII, **1**, 3; **3**, 3; Fr. 477. See Avesta and Zand.
Zaratûſt, apostle, Int. 32; Dk. VIII, **1**, 20; **10**, 3; **11**, 2, 4; **20**, 114; **38**, 68 n; **45**, 3, 14; IX, **2**, 17; **12**, 3 n; **13**, 1, 8, 9; **15**, 1, 4; **16**, 19 n; **20**, 5; **25**, 4; **28**, 3; **29**, 5, 13; **30**, 4; **33**, 5; **34**, *q*; **35**, 2, 5; **43**, 7; **44**, 14, 17–21; **45**, 2–4; **53**, 17; **54**, 5, 8; **59**, 13. 18; **60**, 1; **61**, 7, 12; **65**, 3; **67**, 1; **69**, 3, 23, 59; accepts religion, Dk. IX, **24**, 18; IV, 22 n, 23; advised, Dk. IX, **12**, 13; **24**, 15, 17; **25**, 2; **27**, 1; **39**, 25; **43**, 8, 11; birth, Dk. VIII, **3**, 1; **14**, 1, 2; **44**, 79; IX, **24**, 1, 2, 4, 7–13; coming, Dk. VIII, **13**, 16, 20; conflict with demons, Dk. VIII, **44**, 74, 75; his family, Dk. VIII, **29**, 25; his successors, Dk. VIII, **14**, 12–14; IX, **39**, 18; **41**, 6–8; killed, Dk. VIII, **35**, 13 n; law of, Zs. 3; life and actions, Dk. VIII, **14**, 3–10; praise of, Dk. IX, **28**, 1, 6; **42**, 7; **50**, 2; religion of, Dk. IX, **37**, *g–j*; **51**, 12; **52**, 7; **53**, 11, 18; **54**, 7; **57**, 28; **58**, 3; **61**, 14; speaks, Dk. IX, **12**, 23; **27**, 2; **31**, 7, 9, 11; **35**, 18, 22, 24; **37**, *m*; **69**, 8, 30; III, **7**, 4; spoken to, Dk. IX, **28**, 2, 4, 8; **31**, 6; **32**, 9, 12; **33**, 1; **35**, 13, 17, 20, 21, 25; **37**, *e*, *k*, *n*; **39**, 1, 4, 15, 20, 22, 26; **42**, 13; **43**, 10; **44**, 1; **46**, 3; **61**, 1; **64**, 9, 12; **65**, 6, 8; **69**, 5, 15, 16, 20, 26; III, **7**, 1, 3, 5; vision of the future, Dk. IX, **8**, 1–3; **35**, 14.
Zaratûſt the Spîtâmân, Int. 34; Dk. VIII, **13**, 16; IX, **27**, 1; **30**, 11; **32**, 17, 21; **41**, 5; **66**, 1.
Zaratûſt, priest, Int. 32.
Zaratûſt-î Âtûrpâ*d*ân, Dk. VIII, **13**, 18 n.
Zârî*k*ŏ, demon, Dk. IX, **9**, 1; **21**, 4 n.
Zarmân, demon, Dk. IX, **21**, 4 n.
Zatamistân ch., Dk. VIII, **17**, 1.
Zira*ſ*t nask, Dv. 14.
Zîyânakistân ch., Dk. VIII, **40**, 1.
Zôti, priest, Dk. VIII, **7**, 5, 9; **8**, 3; **29**, 1, 5, 13; **31**, 20; IX, **12**, 26–28; **24**, 4; **33**, 5; **43**, 7; **69**, 50.

ERRATA.

P. 89, ll. 9, 10, for 'the Irânian nationality (Aîrîh)' read 'subjection (hêrih)'

P. 186, ll. 19, 20, for 'preparation' read 'bespattering'

In several places it would be better to read âmûkŏ, 'teaching,' instead of hamô-kun, 'every kind (or mode),' so as to obtain the following amended passages :—

P. 23, ll. 14–16. Then the exalting chanted teaching of Aûharmazd for Zaratûst is called, &c.

P. 24, l. 1, the teaching for Kaî-Vistâsp; &c.

P. 114, ll. 15–18, the meritoriousness in the guardianship and teaching *by* the keepers *of* those flocks; the happy effect of the flock and that of the keeper's teaching; &c.

„ ll. 23–28, that of the disciple through the teaching by the priestly instructor; the teaching of the priestly instructor for the pupil, *and* the happy effect of the priestly instructor's teaching in similar matters.

P. 119, ll. 2–5, the want of eminence of any one through a teaching that is an offence to others, which is owing to his closed doors and evil eminence in teaching; &c.

Professor Darmesteter has suggested the following correction :—

P. 26, ll. 22, 23, for '*based* upon the traditional early law (vâsarîd pêsdâdŏ)' read '*dependent* upon Vâêgerêd the Pêsdâdian;' [who was the twin brother of Hôshâng; see Sachau's Albîrûnî's Chronology of Ancient Nations, pp. 206, 211].

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . . .	क	[illegible]	[illegible]	ك	ك	כ	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	. . .	. . . .	ख	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	כ	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . . .	ग	[illegible]	[illegible]	گ	. . .	ג	. . .
4 „ aspirata	gh	. . .	. . . .	घ	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	ג	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ق	ق	ק	. . .
6 Nasalis	ṅ (ng)	. . .	. . . .	ङ	[illegible] (ng) [illegible] (N)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . . .	ह	[illegible] (hv)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ה	h, hs
8 „ lenis	’	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ا	ا	א	. . .
9 „ asper faucalis	‘h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ح	ح	ח	. . .
10 „ lenis faucalis	’h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ع	ع	ע	. . .
11 „ asper fricatus	. . .	‘h	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	خ	خ	ח	. . .
12 „ lenis fricatus	. . .	’h	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	. . .	k	. . . .	च	[illegible]	[illegible]	چ	. . .	. . .	k
14 „ aspirata	. . .	kh	. . . .	छ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	kh
15 Media	. . .	g	. . . .	ज	[illegible]	[illegible]	ج	ج	. . .	. . .
16 „ aspirata	. . .	gh	. . . .	झ	. . . .	. . .	غ	غ	. . .	. . .
17 „ Nasalis	. . .	ñ	. . . .	ञ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

CONSONANTS (*continued*).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . . .	य	𐬬 𐬬 𐬬 init.	𐭥	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(ẏ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 „ lenis	. . .	(ẏ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 „ asper assibilatus . .	. . .	*s*	. . . .	श	𐬱	𐭮	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 „ lenis assibilatus . .	. . .	*z*	. . . .	. . .	𐬰	𐭩	ژ	. . .	. . .	*z*
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . . .	त	𐬙	𐭬	ت	ت	ת	t
24 „ aspirata	th	. . .	. . . .	थ	𐬚	. . .	. . .	. . .	ת	th
25 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ث	ث	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . . .	द	𐬛	𐭤	د	د	ד	. . .
27 „ aspirata	dh	. . .	. . . .	ध	𐬜	. . .	. . .	. . .	ד	. . .
28 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ذ	ذ	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . . .	न	𐬥	𐭩	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . . .	ल	. . . .	𐭥,𐭩,𐭥	ل	ل	ל	l
31 „ mollis 1	. . .	*l*	. . . .	ळ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 „ mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . . .	स	𐬯	𐭢	س(ث)	س	ס	s
34 „ asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (ʃ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ס	. . .
35 „ lenis	z	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬲	𐭩	ز (ذ)	ز	ז	z
36 „ asperrimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ص	ص	צ	ʒ, ʒh
37 „ asperrimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ض	. . .	. . .	. . .

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)											
38 Tenuis	...	*t*	....	ट	....	...	ط	ط	ט	...
39 „ aspirata	...	*th*	....	ठ	....	...	ظ	ظ	...	...
40 Media	...	*d*	....	ड	ᯍ	ᯍ	...	...	...	...
41 „ aspirata	...	*dh*	....	ढ	....	...	...	ض	...	..
42 Nasalis	...	*n*	....	ण	𑌣	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	r	...	....	र	ᯎ	ᯎ.ᯏ	ر	ر	ר	...
44 „ fricata	...	*r*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	*r*
45 „ diacritica	...	...	R	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	sh	...	....	ष	𑌷	ᯑ	...	...	...	sh
47 „ lenis	zh	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
Labiales.										
48 Tenuis	p	...	....	प	ᯀ	ᯀ	پ	...	פ	p
49 „ aspirata	ph	...	....	फ	....	...	...	...	פ	ph
50 Media	b	...	....	ब	ᯁ	ᯁ	ب	ب	ב	...
51 „ aspirata	bh	...	....	भ	....	...	...	...	ב	...
52 Tenuissima	...	*p*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	m	...	....	म	ᯂ	ᯂ	م	م	מ	m
54 Semivocalis	w	...	....	...	ᯃ	...	...	...	...	w
55 „ aspirata	hw	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	f	...	....	...	ᯄ	ᯄ	ف	ف	...	f
57 „ lenis	v	...	....	व	»	ᯅ.ᯆ	و	و	ו	...
58 Anusvâra	...	*m*	....	अं	𑌂 ã	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	...	*h*	....	अः	....	...	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
1 Neutralis	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	̄	ă
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ĕ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 „ labialis	ŏ	...	...	...	...	ا fin.	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	...	...	अ	ںں	ںں init.	ـَ	ـَ	ـَ	a
5 „ longa	â	(*a*)	...	आ	ںںں	ںں	ـَا	ـَا	ـَ	â
6 Palatalis brevis	i	...	...	इ	د	...	ـِ	ـِ	ـِ	i
7 „ longa	î	(*i*)	...	ई	ی	ی	ـِي	ـِي	ـِ	î
8 Dentalis brevis	*li*	...	...	ऌ	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 „ longa	*lí*	...	...	ॡ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	*ri*	...	...	ऋ	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 „ longa	*rí*	...	...	ॠ	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u	...	...	उ	›	...	ـُ	ـُ	ـُ	u
13 „ longa	û	(*u*)	...	ऊ	و	ا	ـُو	ـُو	ـُ	û
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	...	...	...	ε(e) ξ(*e*)	...	...	...	ـِ	e
15 „ longa	ê (ai)	(*e*)	...	ए	ںں, ںں	د	...	...	ـِ	ê
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi	(*ai*)	...	ऐ	...	...	ـَيْ	ـَيْ	...	âi
17 „ „	ei (ĕi)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ei, êi
18 „ „	oi (ŏu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	...	...	...	ں	...	...	...	ـُ	o
20 „ longa	ô (au)	(*o*)	...	ओ	ں	ا	...	...	ـُ	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(*au*)	...	औ	ںںں (*au*)	...	ـَوْ	ـَوْ	...	âu
22 „ „	eu (ĕu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 „ „	ou (ŏu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ï	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ü	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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PART V

MARVELS OF ZOROASTRIANISM

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INTRODUCTION.

1. In the summary account of the Spend Nask, given in the eighth book of the Dînka*rd*, chapter XIV, it is stated in § 4 (see S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 32) that many marvels, owing to Zaratû*s*t, are published therein, 'just as there are some which, collected and selected, are noticed by the Dînka*rd* manuscript.' This statement evidently refers to the seventh book of the Dînka*rd*, which contains the legendary history of Zaratû*s*t and his religion, related as a series of marvels extending from the creation to the resurrection of mankind. A much briefer account of some of the same details occurs at the beginning of the fifth book of the Dînka*rd*, and appears to have been abridged from a compilation which was either derived partially from a foreign source, or prepared for the use of foreign proselytes. A third compilation of similar legends is found among the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam. And a careful translation of these three Pahlavi Texts constitutes the Marvels of Zoroastrianism contained in this volume.

2. As the extent of Dk. VII is about 16,000 Pahlavi words (without allowing for one folio lost), it probably contains about four-fifths of the details included in the Spend Nask, the Pahlavi version of which has been estimated, in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 469, to extend to 20,500 words. It says very little about Zaratû*s*t's conferences with the sacred beings (mentioned in Dk. VIII, xiv, 5, 6), and gives no description of the other world and the way thither (as reported ibid. 8). But it probably contains many verbatim extracts from other parts of the Pahlavi version of the Spend Nask, which appear, however, to have been previously collected in the Exposition of the Good Religion, an older MS. than the Dînka*rd*, which is quoted as an authority in Dk. VII, i, 2.

3. This seventh book commences with a detailed statement of the descent of the glorious ruling dynasty from the primeval man Gâyômar*d*, through his descendants, the Pê*s*dâ*d*ian and Kayânian rulers, to Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp. Among the individuals, rarely mentioned elsewhere, are the sacred being Hadish (the protector of homesteads in the Visperad), Vâêgere*d* the brother of king Hôshâng, Pâtakhsrôbô king of the Arabs, and Aôshnar the chancellor of Kaî-Ûs. Zaratû*s*t and the three millennial apostles are also mentioned, but the contents of this first chapter are probably derived from the *K*itradâ*d* Nask (see Dk. VII, xiii, 20) and from Yt. XIX, 25–93.

4. Chapter II begins the legendary history of Zaratû*s*t with the descent of his glory, from the presence of Aûha*r*ma*zd* to the house in which Zaratû*s*t's mother was about to be born; and, alarmed at her radiance, the Kavîgs and Karaps, or ruling priests of the district, oblige her father to send her away to another valley, where Pôrûshâspô resided, to whom she was afterwards married; and several legends are related, in which both the archangels and archdemons are active agents, which lead on to the birth of Zaratû*s*t, thirty years before the end of the ninth millennium of the universe, and his complete genealogy is given.

5. Chapter III begins with his laughing at birth, and describes the ill-will of the Karaps, or priests of those times, and their many attempts to destroy him during his childhood, till he openly defied them at the age of seven. At the end of the ninth millennium, when he was thirty years old, as he was bringing Hôm-water out of the fourth effluent of the Dâîtî river, he met the archangel Vohûmanô who had come to invite him to a conference with Aûha*r*ma*zd*, about which no details are given.

6. Chapter IV, however, proceeds to mention that, in two years, he returned from his first conference, by order of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, to preach his religion to the Kîgs and Karaps in the presence of their ruler, Aûrvâîtâ-dang the Tûr. They seem to have listened attentively till he advocated Khvêtûkdas, when they demanded his death, and

were supported by the Tûr's brother; but the Tûr's son, who presided, remonstrated with them, and Aûrvâîtâ-dang himself protected him, but refused to be converted. Zaratûst was afterwards sent to demand slaves and horses from Vêdvoîst, a rich Karap, who refused them arrogantly; he also went to Parshad-gau in Sagastân and cured his bull with Hôm-water, whereupon Parshad-gau joined him in worship, but not in public. Zaratûst repulsed the demons as in Vd. XIX, 1–4; he is then tempted by a Karap in the form of Spendarmad, whom he also repulses. And he is finally sent to the court of Vistâsp, where he is relentlessly opposed by the Kîgs and Karaps who obtained his imprisonment, during which he is saved from starvation by a miracle; then some of the sacred beings arrive to assist him, and Vistâsp is at last converted, twelve years after the coming of the religion when Zaratûst went to his first conference with Aûharmazd.

7. Chapter V refers to the marvels of the last thirty-five years of Zaratûst's life, after Vistâsp's conversion, but says nothing about his own death, except that he departed to the best existence at the age of seventy-seven. It mentions the establishment of ordeals of thirty-three kinds, the victory of Vistâsp over Argâsp the Khyôn, the useful works and advice of Zaratûst, the compilation of the Avesta, and the birth of Pêshyôtan, the immortal ruler of Kangdez.

8. Chapter VI continues this account of marvels till the death of Vistâsp, which occurred forty-three years later. The legends related are about the presentation of a heavenly chariot to Vistâsp by the soul of an old hero Srîtô who had been killed about 350 years before; and regarding the coming of two high-priests from the southern regions of the earth, ten years after the departure of Zaratûst, to enquire about the religion.

9. Chapter VII relates the marvels occurring after the death of Vistâsp until the end of the sovereignty of Irân; mentioning king Vohûmanô who was a grandson of Vistâsp, the high-priest Sênôv who lived throughout the second century of the religion, the devastator Alexander the Great, the four successive high-priests who restore ortho-

doxy in the fifth and sixth centuries of the religion, the apostate Rashn-rêsh of about the same period, king Artakhshatar the founder of the Sâsânian dynasty, his chancellor Tanvasar, Âtû*r*pâ*d*-î Mâ*r*aspendân and his son surnamed Avarethrab*a*u, with an anonymous arch-apostate of their time, and then king Khûsrô Anôshêrvân. Finally, it condemns the proceedings of the devastators in later times, whose names are not mentioned.

10. Chapter VIII deals with the ninth and tenth centuries of the religion, which bring the millennium of Zaratû*s*t to a close. After a bitter lamentation over the anarchy in religion and government—in which parts of §§ 34 and 36 are taken from the Var*s*tmânsar commentary on Yas. XXXII in Dk. IX, xxxii, 17, 20—it refers to the arrival of *K*itrô-mêhônŏ, '*him* of the racial home,' a title of Pêshyôtanŏ, son of Vi*s*tâsp, and immortal ruler of Kangd*ez*, who arrives with 150 disciples to restore the religion and destroy the wicked, including the Turkish demons, the Arabs, and the ecclesiastical Shê*d*âspô[1] (Theodosius?). In the thirtieth year before the end of this tenth millennium Aûshê*d*ar, the Developer of Righteousness, is born, and confers with the archangels at the end of the millennium, when the sun stands still for ten days and nights.

11. Chapter IX describes the eleventh millennium, that of Aûshê*d*ar, who produces much prosperity and progress which continue until the fifth century. Then the wizard Mahrkûs appears for seven years, and produces awful winters in four of them, in which most of mankind and animals perish, till he is himself destroyed by the Dâhmân Âf*r*în. Afterwards, Yim's enclosure is opened to replenish the earth with animals and men who then begin to subsist more upon the milk of cattle, which is plentiful; and Ashavahi*s*tô interferes to diminish the slaughter of cattle. At the end of the fifth century two-thirds of the Irânians have become righteous, and in the thirtieth year before the end of this eleventh millennium Aûshê*d*ar-mâh, the Developer

[1] This name can be read Shê*d*âsfa*s* in Byt. III.

of Worship, is born, and confers with the archangels at the end of the millennium, when the sun stands still for twenty days and nights.

12. Chapter X describes the twelfth millennium, that of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh, during which mankind continue to improve, are better supplied, and have fewer wants, while deaths occur only through old age and the executioner. During the last fifty-three years, they leave off eating meat and subsist upon vegetables and milk, for which latter they substitute water for the last three years. But the old tyrant Dahâk breaks loose, and Kerêsâspô has to be roused to smite him. In the thirtieth year before the end of this twelfth millennium Sôshâns, the Triumphant Benefiter, is born; Kaî-Khûsrô and his companions afterwards arrive to assist him, and the sun stands still for thirty days and nights.

13. Chapter XI describes how Sôshâns and his assistants destroy all the evil remaining in the world, during the course of fifty-seven years, while mankind subsist for seventeen years on vegetables, thirty years on water, and ten years on spiritual food. And, at the end of these fifty-seven years, Aharman and the fiend are annihilated, and the renovation for the future existence occurs.

14. Several of the details described in Dk. VII are briefly mentioned in Dk. V, i–iv, where they are introduced by a statement of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (*Bûkht-Narsîh*) assisted by Kaî-Lôharâsp, father of Vistâsp. Excepting this account of the siege, in which the Jews are evidently called 'a congregation or tribe' (*ram*), and some remarks about the same 'tribe' at the end of Chapter IV, all the other details which are mentioned have reference only to Irânians; but they are said to be the sayings of Âtû*r*-farnbag as to the MS. which that tribe call really their Gyêmarâ (Chaps. I, 2, 3; IV, 8), as the name can be most plausibly read. Most of the strictly Irânian details have manifestly been derived from the same sources as were consulted by the writer of Dk. VII, that is, from the Pahlavi versions of the Spend and *K*itradâ*d* Nasks. It would probably be hazardous to suppose that the Jewish compilers of the Gemara could have had access to these

sources, and it might be preferable to assume that Âtûrfarnbag was himself compiling a record of Zoroastrian traditions for the use of some converts from Judaism, to take the place of the Gemara of their former faith.

15. The Zaratûst-nâmak of Zâd-sparam is contained in the latter half (Zs. XII–XXIII) of the first series of his Selections, the former half of which, being a paraphrase of the first half of the Bundahis, has been translated in S. B. E., vol. v, pp. 155–186. In Chapter XII Zâd-sparam relates two of the earliest legends referring to Mazda-worship, which he had found in old MSS. The first of these describes the appearance of the archangel Spendarmad, wearing a golden sacred girdle, at the court of king Mânûskîhar, 428 [1] years before the coming of the religion to Zaratûst when he went to his conference with the sacred beings. The other is the legend of the warrior Srîtô, the seventh brother, who was sent by Kaî-Ûs to kill the frontier-settling ox which threatened him, 300 years before the coming of the religion, with future execration by Zaratûst.

16. Chapter XIII refers to the descent of Zaratûst's glory upon his mother at her birth, and the combination of his spiritual and worldly natures; also detailing his genealogy. Chapter XIV describes the attempts of the demons to destroy him before and at his birth, when Vohûmanô entered his reasoning powers and made him laugh with delight and utter one form of the Ahunavair formula. Chapter XV is about the five Karap brothers, with their first cousins the Aûsikhshes, all descended from the demon of Wrath and a sister of king Mânûskîhar; also about the four brothers of Zaratûst who seem to be unmentioned elsewhere.

17. Chapter XVI details the attempts of one of the Karaps to destroy Zaratûst during his infancy, and the means by which he is preserved; it also explains who Râgh and Nôdar were. In Chapter XVII one of the Karaps foretells the future success of Zaratûst. In Chapter XVIII

[1] The MSS. have 528, but this would be twenty-eight years before the accession of Mânûskîhar, see the synopsis in § 55.

his father hears him accused of folly, and takes him to a Karap to be cured. In Chapter XIX the chief Karap comes to the house of Zaratûst's father, and is invited to consecrate the food set before him; but Zaratûst objects and a quarrel ensues, which so much disturbs the Karap that he leaves the house, and drops dead from his horse on the road home. In Chapter XX instances are given of Zaratûst's righteous desires, his compassionate assistance of people fording a river, his liberal disposition, his abandoning worldly desires, his pity for dogs, his wish for a good-looking wife, and his acceptance of progress even from the wicked, during his youth.

18. Chapter XXI relates that, at thirty years of age, on his way to the festival of spring, he saw in a vision all mankind following Mêdyômâh, his first cousin, into his presence. He then went on to the bank of the Dâîtîh, and crossed its four channels, when he met Vohûmanô who led him to the assembly of the archangels, where he received instruction from Aûharmazd and saw the omniscient wisdom; the archangels also subjected him to various ordeals.

19. Chapter XXII refers to his conferences with the seven archangels, each at a different place, and extending over ten years. In Chapter XXIII, Mêdyômâh is converted at the end of these ten years. The next two years are spent on the conversion of Vistâsp, in which Zaratûst is assisted by some of the sacred beings, and the narrative ends by giving the dates of several other conversions, births, and deaths. But after its 300th year the religion is disturbed and the monarchy contested; referring, no doubt, to the effects of Alexander's conquest of Persia.

20. These three narratives appear to be the only connected statements of the Zoroastrian legend that remain extant in Pahlavi, and all three seem to be chiefly derived from the Sâsânian Pahlavi version of the Spend Nask, with some probable additions from the similar version of the Kitradâd Nask, as may be gathered from the summary accounts of the contents of these Nasks given in Dk. VIII, xiii, 20–xiv, 15, and translated in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 31–34. There are, however, allusions to other legends

regarding Zaratûst to be found scattered about in Pahlavi literature, to which we shall return after mentioning the manuscript authorities for the texts translated in this volume.

21. The chief existing authority for the Pahlavi text of the Dînka*rd*, Books III–IX, and the only independent one for Book VII, is the MS. B in Bombay, which has been fully described in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. xxxiii–xxxvii; it will therefore be sufficient here to give a short statement of the information which was there detailed at full length. This MS., written in 1659, was an unbound quarto volume of 392 folios when it was brought from Irân to Surat in 1783; after which time 70 folios became detached from various parts of the MS., but nearly all these had been discovered more than twenty years ago.

22. The writer of the MS. not only recorded the date of his own work, but also copied two previous colophons of his predecessors, with dates corresponding to A. D. 1516 and 1020, and it appears that there had been an intermediate copy about 1355. The MS. of 1020 had been copied at Bakdâ*d*, possibly from the original MS. of the last editor of the Dînka*rd*, which must have been completed about A. D. 900.

23. For the text of Dk. V we have a second authority, independent of B, in the MS. K43 at Kopenhagen (see S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. xxxvii–viii), written shortly after 1594 and also descended from the MS. of 1020.

24. The Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam are found in some of the old MSS., which also contain the Dâ*d*istân-î Dînîk (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. xv–xvii). Of the two MSS. used for the text of Zâ*d*-sparam's Zaratûst-nâmak, K35 was brought from Irân to Kopenhagen in 1843. It has lost many folios, both at the beginning and end; but, before it was so mutilated, a copy (BK) of it was made, which is now in Bombay and contains a copy of its colophon, the date of which corresponds to A. D. 1592. For the text of Zs. xxii, 4–xxiv, 19, which has been lost from K35, the translator is indebted to this old copy. The other MS. authority T, belonging to Ervad Tehmuras in Bombay

(a copy of which has been used), is dated two generations earlier.

25. Regarding the period of Zâ*d*-sparam's career we are well informed by the date of the third Epistle of Mânû-*sk*ihar, corresponding to A.D. 881, at which time Zâ*d*-sparam was probably in the prime of life; but his Selections were certainly compiled as late as A.D. 900, or about the same time as the completion of the Dînka*rd*. So that the Pahlavi texts, from which these three narratives of the Zoroastrian legends have been translated, were no doubt all written about A.D. 900, and the information they contain was nearly all derived from the Pahlavi versions of two of the Nasks.

26. We have reason to believe that the Pahlavi versions of Avesta texts were completed in the fourth century and revised in the sixth, after the downfall of the heretic Mazdak. This may not only be clearly inferred from the traditional account of the compilation and restorations of the Avesta and Zand, preserved in Dk. IV, 21–36, and translated in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 412–418; but is also in accordance with the actual condition of the Pahlavi versions of the liturgical Avesta texts. With the exception of a few interpolated passages, the whole of these Pahlavi versions might have been written, or revised, in the time of king Shahpûhar II (A.D. 309–379). And the exceptional passages mention no persons or events of a later date than the reign of king Khûsrô I (A.D. 531–578); being merely references to such persons as Mazdak, the heretic, and certain commentators who lived about that time.

27. If we examine the Zoroastrian legends, translated in this volume, we shall also find it difficult to discover a passage that clearly alludes to any historical personage of later date than Khûsrô I, who is named in Dk. V, iii, 3; VII, vii, 26, although the compiler of the Dînka*rd* had the traditions of 250 years of Arab rule to draw upon for facts, if he had been disposed to continue the statements of the Pahlavi Spend Nask down to his own time. No doubt, these traditions may have intensified his denunciations of

the devastators in Dk. VII, vii, 29–38; viii, 4–9, but, like most Pahlavi writers, he is careful not to mention Muhammadanism. Dk. VII, vii, 33, 34 seem to refer to some particular individual of this later time; but the references to Kaîsar and Khâkân, the Turkish demons with dishevelled hair, the Arab, and Shed*d*âspô (Theodosius?) of Arûm, may all have been taken from a Pahlavi version revised in the time of Khûsrô I.

28. That the original Pahlavi version was translated from an Avesta text, though many Pahlavi commentaries were intermingled, appears certain. Apart from the numerous quotations from revelation (dênô), which may be safely assumed to have had an Avesta original, there are many passages interspersed with glosses, such as the Pahlavi translators habitually used, as well as numerous sentences beginning with a verb, an Avesta peculiarity which generally disappears in an English translation. Regarding the age of this Avesta text it would be hazardous to speculate without further information than we yet possess.

29. The principal details connected with the Zoroastrian legends which have been noticed in other Pahlavi and Pâzand texts, with references to the passages where they occur, are as follows:—

*G*ôs*ûrvan informed of the future coming of Zaratû*st* in Bd. IV, 4.

Z.'s genealogy and family in Bd. XXXII, 1–10.

Summary account of Z. and Zoroastrianism, from the creation to the resurrection, in Dk. VIII, xiv, 1–15.

The abode of Z.'s father, when Z. was born, was on the bank of the Dâre*g*a river (Bd. XX, 32; XXIV, 15).

150 demons were prevented from destroying Z., before his birth, by the presence of a fire in his father's house (Sls. X, 4; XII, 11; Sd. XVI, 3).

Detailed account of the birth of Z. in Dk. IX, xxiv, 1–18.

When Z. first saw the archangels, he thought they were archdemons (Ep. I, x, 9).

Omniscient wisdom temporarily conferred upon Z., and what he then saw (Dk. IX, viii, 1–6; Byt. I, 1–5; II, 5–22).

He saw the soul of Davâns tormented in hell, excepting one foot (AV. XXXII, 1–6; Sls. XII, 29; Sd. IV, 3–11).

He also saw a mortal with children and an immortal without any, and preferred the former (Dd. XXXVII, 43).

And he beheld the terrible condition of Keresâsp's soul (Dk. IX, xv, 1–4).

Advice of Aûha*r*maz*d* to Zaratû*s*t (Sd. XXV, 6–9; LXXXI, 2–16).

The demon Envy (Aresh) converses with Z. in Dk. IX, xxxi, 6–11.

Aharman tempts Z. with the promise of 1000 years dominion, in Mkh. LVII, 24–29.

About Maî*d*ôk-mâh, in Dk. IX, xliv, 19.

Z. coming to preach to king Vi*s*tâsp, in Sg. X, 64–68.

Archangels assist Z. in converting Vi*s*tâsp, also the war with Ar*g*âsp, in Dk. VIII, xi, 2–4.

The war of the religion with Ar*g*âsp mentioned in Bd. XII, 33.

The families of Zaratû*s*t, Hvôv, and Vi*s*tâsp mentioned in Dk. VIII, xxix, 25.

About Frashô*s*tar and *G*âmâsp in Dk. VIII, xxxviii, 68; IX, xlii, 8, 9; xliv, 17, 18.

About Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp, Frashô*s*tar, Porû*k*âst, *G*âmâsp, and Hûtôs in Dk. IX, xlv, 3–5.

Brâ*d*-rûkhsh, or Brâ*d*rô-rêsh the Tûr, mentioned as destroying the righteous man, in Dd. LXXII, 8; Sd. IX, 5; Dk. VIII, xxxv, 13; IX, x, 3.

The last millenniums mentioned in Dk. IX, xxxix, 18; xli, 6–8.

Events in the last two millenniums, in Byt. II, 22–III, 62.

The resurrection described in Bd. XXX.

30. Beyond the frequent occurrence of the names of the chief actors in the traditions, there are not many references to the Zoroastrian legends in the extant Avesta. This is owing to the fact that three-fourths of the Avesta texts, including the Nasks specially devoted to these legends, have been lost. The chief references to them that still survive in the Avesta are as follows:—

The passing on of the kingly glory from ruler to ruler, from Haoshyang,ha to Kava-Haosrava, from Zarathustra to Kava-Vîstâspa and the Saoshya*n*t, in Yt. XIX, 25–90.

The terror of the demons on hearing of the birth of Z., in Vd. XIX, 43–47.

Z. mentioned as son of Pourushaspa in Yt. V, 18.

Verethraghna gives Z. strength, health, vigour, and keenness of sight (Yt. XIV, 33).

References to Z.'s conference with Ahura Mazda, and his rejection of the demons, in Yas. XII, 5, 6.

The demons attempt to destroy Z., and to tempt him, but are repelled by recitations, in Vd. XIX, 1–10.

Commentary on the Ahunavair, in Yas. XIX.

Z. converses with Haoma, in Yas. IX, 1–16.

Fate of the soul after death revealed to Z., in Vd. XIX, 26–34.

Z. is taught various spells, in Yt. XIV, 34–38.

He prays that he may convert the queen Hutaosa, in Yt. IX, 26; XVII, 46.

References to the battle with Are*gad*-aspa, in Yt. V, 109, 113, 116, 117; IX, 30; XVII, 50, 51.

Z.'s reply to Frashao*s*tra regarding the ritual, in Yas. LXXI, 1–11.

There are also other references to Kava-Vîs*t*âspa, Frashao*s*tra, *G*âmâspa, Pouru*k*istâ, Maidhyôm*a*u, the Haê*k*a*d*aspas, Spitamas, and Saoshya*n*ts. And the Fravashis of all the righteous persons receive homage in Yt. XIII. Of the unbelievers, the Karapans and Kavis are mentioned several times in the Gâthas and Ya*s*ts, including the Hôm Ya*s*t; and the Usikhsh once in the Gâthas.

31. So far as these references in the Avesta extend, they agree with the Pahlavi versions of the legends, and occasionally state some further particulars. We may, therefore, safely conclude that these Pahlavi versions present a fairly complete view of the Zoroastrian legends current in Sâsânian times. But we have another means of testing this conclusion more fully in the Persian Zartu*s*t-nâmah, translated by Eastwick in the Appendix to *The Parsi Religion, as contained in the Zand-Avasta*, by John Wilson, D. D. (Bombay: 1843).

32. This Zartu*s*t-nâmah contains 1570 Persian couplets, composed by Zartu*s*t Bahrâm Pa*z*dû, apparently at the ancient city of Raî, and finished on August 12, 1278. But Eastwick's English translation was made from a good MS. of this poem, written by Dastûr Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn (=Kâmdîn) in 1636, belonging to the Wilson Collection and now in the library of Lord Crawford at Wigan. Zartu*s*t Bahrâm relates how a priest of Raî, named Kaî-Kâûs, son of Kaî-Khusrô, showed him an old Pahlavi MS.

narrating the history of Zartust, and offered to interpret it, if he would undertake to paraphrase it, in Persian verse. for the information of others.

33. After mentioning Z.'s grandfather and father, descended from king Frêdûn, a frightful dream of his mother is related, in which she sees herself attacked by wild beasts eager for the destruction of her son, who drives them away. She relates her dream to an astrologer, who prognosticates a wonderful career for the unborn child ; but this dream is an addition to the Pahlavi texts.

34. The child is born, and laughs at birth, exciting admiration among the women and dismay among the magicians. Dûrânsarûn, their chief, comes to see the child. and tries to kill him with a dagger; but his hand is withered, and the magicians carry off the child, who is exposed to death from fire, oxen, horses, and wolves, but all in vain, as his mother brings him home safe on each occasion. Another magician, named Bartarûsh, then foretells that Z. cannot be destroyed, and will establish a new religion ; and he repeats this to the child's father, naming Gustâsp as his future protector. This narrative corresponds with Dk. VII, iii, 2–31 ; but then follows the addition that he was confided to the care of an old man, named Barzînkarûs, till he completed his seventh year.

35. Then Dûrânsarûn and Bartarûsh went together to see him, and tried their magic arts upon him in vain (ibid. 32, 33). Afterwards, when Z. was sick, Bartarûsh supplied him with filthy drugs, but he threw them on the ground, which seems to be another version of Zs. XVIII, 5, 6. Then follows a paraphrase of Dk. VII, iii, 34–48, and Zs. XX, 4, 5 ; XXI, 1–20, 23–27, with some additional remarks about worship and the Avesta being taught to Z. The conferences with the six archangels are more detailed than in Zs. XXII, and more ritualistic in their tendency.

36. When Z. returns to the earth, he is met by the demons and magicians, who oppose him, but are killed or dispersed by the utterance of an Avesta text; in which account we have an extreme condensation of Dk. VII, iv, 36–46, 57–62. He then goes to the court of king Gustâsp,

where he is hospitably received by the king, surrounded by his princes and wise men. With the latter Z. enters into argument, and overcomes them all successively. This is repeated, till all the learned of the realm are vanquished in argument, in the course of three successive days.

37. Then Z. produces the Avesta and Zand, and reads a chapter; but the king hesitates to accept it, until he learns more about it; and Z. retires to his lodgings. In the meantime, the wise men form a conspiracy to ruin Z., by secreting in his lodgings, with the connivance of his doorkeeper, many of the impure things used by sorcerers. The next day, while the king and Z. are examining the Avesta, the wise men denounce Z. as a sorcerer; his lodgings are searched, and the impurities are brought to the king, who becomes angry and commits Z. to prison.

38. Now the king had a magnificent black horse, and when Z. had been a week in prison, this horse fell sick, and was found with its four feet drawn up to its belly. When the king was informed, he summoned his wise men, but they could suggest no remedy; so the king and all his people remained fasting all day and lamenting, and the jailer forgot to take any food to Z. till the evening, when he told Z. about the state of the black horse.

39. Z. requested the jailer to inform the king that he could cure the horse; and the king, on hearing this the next day, releases Z., who undertakes to restore the horse's limbs to their natural state, on receiving four solemn promises, one for the cure of each leg. Three of these promises are that the king, his son Isfendyâr (= Spend-dâd), and the queen, should each undertake to accept his religion and never forsake it; and the fourth promise is that the false accusation of sorcery, made by the wise men, should be investigated.

40. After each promise Z. prays vehemently, and each limb is restored to use. While, on the confession of Z.'s doorkeeper, the wise men are convicted of fraudulent deceit, and are sent to execution. The Persian version is here a highly embellished paraphrase of Dk. VII, iv, 64–70, especially in the horse episode.

41. King Gustâsp next asks Z. to pray for information as to the king's future position in the other world, also that he may become invulnerable, omniscient as to worldly affairs, and immortal; but Z. tells him that he must be satisfied with the first wish for himself, and the remaining three for other persons. The next day, while the king is sitting in court with Z. present, horsemen arrive, who are the archangels Bahman and Ardabahist, with the spirits of the Khûrdâd and Gusâsp fires. They are sent to testify the truth of Z.'s mission, and to urge the king to accept the religion; this he does, and they then depart; when Z. informs the king that his four wishes will be granted, as he will soon see. For some of these details see Dk. VII, iv, 74–82.

42. Zartust then performs the Darun ceremony, having provided wine, perfume, milk, and a pomegranate. After reciting prayers from the Avesta, he gives the wine to the king to drink, who then falls into a trance and sees his own future position in heaven, and those of others. His son Peshôtan receives the milk which makes him immortal. The perfume, or incense, is given to Gâmâsp who obtains knowledge of all events till the resurrection. And Isfendyâr, the warlike son of Gustâsp, eats one grain of the pomegranate and becomes invulnerable. The Pahlavi versions are silent about the king's four wishes and their fulfilment, except such hints as may be conveyed in Dk. VII, iv, 84–86. Afterwards, Z. reads the Avesta to the king and comments upon it; concluding with praises of the creator.

43. To this narrative Zartust Bahrâm adds a further episode of Z. asking for immortality, at the time when he went with Bahman to confer with the creator. His request is refused, but the creator gives him a drop of liquid to drink, like honey, and he sees everything in both worlds, as in a vision. When he wakes up, he relates what he saw in heaven and hell; and also describes a tree with seven branches of gold, silver, copper, brass, lead, steel, and mixed iron, respectively, overshadowing the world. The creator explains that these seven branches represent seven

powerful personages who arise in successive ages of the world. The golden branch is Z. himself, the silver is Gustâsp, the copper is an Askânian king, the brass is Ardashîr the Sâsânian, the lead is king Bahrâm (Gôr), the steel is Nôshêrvân who destroys the heretic Mazdak, and the mixed iron is the malicious monarch who upsets the true faith. Then follow many details of the lamentable evils which then occur; and when the Hazârahs[1] appear, the condition of Irân becomes still worse, as described in Byt. II, III, until the arrival of king Bahrâm the Hamâvand from India, and Peshôtan from Kangdiz, who restore the Irânian monarchy and religion.

44. This additional narrative is evidently a paraphrase of the Pahlavi Bahman Yast, translated in S. B. E., vol. v, pp. 191–235; and that Pahlavi text appears to be merely an enlarged edition of Fargard VII of the Sûdkar Nask, of which a short summary is given in Dk. IX, viii.

45. From the foregoing epitome of the Persian Zartustnâmah, it will be evident that its author's information was a combination of the statements still surviving in Dk. VII and Zs. XII–XXIII, so far as they suited his fancy and convenience. Many statements are omitted, others either condensed, or greatly elaborated; but very few novelties can be detected, excepting such as are clearly due to the writer's own imagination. Whether any small residuum of these novelties can be attributed to other sources than the Persian writer's fancy, must remain doubtful until some older authority for such details is discovered.

46. With regard to Z.'s vision of heaven and hell, which is mentioned in Zartust Bahrâm's final episode, his immediate informant was certainly Byt. II, 11–13; but the original authority was the Spend Nask, as summarized in Dk. VIII, xiv, 7, 8, although Dk. VII omits this incident, and Zs. XXI, 21, 22 merely mentions the bodily appearance of the omniscient wisdom, without referring to Z.'s vision. The details of the conferences with the six archangels,

[1] Those specially belonging to the latter millenniums, probably meaning the people who were expected to make most of the last two centuries intolerably wicked.

which are summarized in Dk. VIII, xiv, 9, as having existed in the Spend Nask, are also omitted in Dk. VII, though briefly stated in Zs. XXII.

47. It is worthy of notice that Z. was first sent to offer his religion to the Kîgs and Karaps and their sovereign, Aûrvâîtâ-dang the Tûr (see Dk. VII, iv, 2–20), who seem to have received his doctrines favourably, excepting his advocacy of Khvêtûk-das[1], which led to their rejection of his proposal. He was next sent to the Karap Vêdvôîst (ibid. 21–28), whom Aûha*r*ma*zd* had hitherto befriended; but this Karap was rejected for illiberality and arrogance. Z. then went to Parsha*d*-tô*r*â in Sagâstân (ibid. 31–35), taking some Hôm-water with him, to cure an infirm bull belonging to this chieftain, as soon as the latter had accepted the religion in public; the chieftain assented to the religion, though only privately, but this was sufficient to obtain the cure of his bull. It was only after these three trials that the conversion of king Vistâsp was attempted.

48. There is some difficulty in understanding the exact difference between the primeval religion and that taught by Zaratûst. When Dk. VII, i, 9–11 speaks of Aûha*r*ma*zd* talking with Masyê and Masyâôî; or Hadish tells them of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, the archangels, and the Ahunavaîr (ibid. 12, 13); or the sacred beings are said to have taught them the primitive arts (ibid. 14): or we are told of the existence of demons in the times of Hôshâng and Tâkhmôrup (ibid. 18, 19); or of Ashavahistô in the time of king Pâtakhsrôbô (ibid. 34); it may be urged that the mention of these beings in connection with the men of those times is no proof that their existence was known then. Because it only shows that the old writers, being satisfied that these beings existed in their own time and were immortal, only logically assumed that they must have existed in former times. The really weak point in their argument being the assumption of the existence of such beings in their own time.

49. Safer conclusions may be formed by noticing the

[1] For the meaning of this term, as defined by the texts which use it, see S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 389–430.

dogmas that Zaratûst most strongly advocates and reprobates. When he goes to his first conference (Dk. VII, iii, 56–62) he goes in search of righteousness. When he went to Aûrvâîtâ-dang, as mentioned above, he advocated the praise of righteousness, scorn of the demons, and the observance of ceremonies; but it was only his scorn of the demons, which took the form of Khvêtûk-das, that the Karaps really rejected. In Dk. VII, iv, 14, he says, 'worldly righteousness is the whole worship of the demons, and the end of the Ma*zd*a-worship of Z.' Though the Hôm plant was sacred before Z.'s birth (ibid. ii, 22–47), the Hôm-water (ibid. iv, 29–35) seems to have been a distinctive token of Z.'s religion; also chanting the Ahunavair (ibid. iv, 38, 41, 42, 56, 61) and the Avesta in general (ibid. 63). The perverted religion and demonizing of the Kîgs and Karaps appear to have been the worst faults he had to find with them (ibid. 64, 67). And the archangels tell Vistâsp that the world requires the good religion which proceeds through Z.'s recitation, so he should chant the Ahunavair and Ashem-vohû, and not worship the demons (ibid. 79, 80). Again, when Dûrâsrôb and Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh partake of food with Pôrûshâspô and Zaratûst (ibid. iii, 34, 38), the latter does not object to the form of worship proposed, but to the person selected to conduct it; and he then proclaims his own reverence for the righteous and the poor.

50. From these statements we may conclude that the old writers, who have handed down these legends from ancient times, were of opinion that Zaratûst was not so much the founder of a totally new religion, as he was a reformer who retained as much of the prior religion as was not seriously objectionable. While strongly insisting upon the necessity of reverencing all good spirits, he strictly prohibited all propitiation of evil spirits. His law was to resist and destroy all that is evil and injurious to man, and to respect and honour all that is good and beneficial to him. According to the legends, he seems to have found little gross idolatry, in the form of image-worship, to reprobate. From the times of the idol-worship encouraged by Dahâk in Bâpêl (Dk. VII, iv, 72), and of the destruction of the

celebrated idol-temple on the shore of Lake *Kêk*ast by Kaî-Khûsrôî (ibid. i, 39; Mkh. ii, 95), we find nothing in the legends about this form of idolatry, till 'the oppressiveness of infidelity and idol-worship,' shortly after the downfall of the Sâsânians, is lamented (Dk. VII, viii, 6). Demon-worship (ibid. iii, 35; iv, 30; vii, 17, 36, 37; viii, 7, 34), although a term sometimes applied to idolatry, seems to be often used in its literal sense of 'worship of evil spirits,' one form of which is described by Zaratûs*t* (ibid. iv, 47–53).

51. Another interesting study, for which these Zoroastrian legends supply materials, is the traditional chronology which they contain; and how far it will be found, upon examination, to harmonize with the system stated in Bd. XXXIV, or to explain the manifest inaccuracies of that system. The matter is rather complicated, but the Zoroastrian system can be connected with the European system of chronology with some degree of probability.

52. The epoch of Zoroastrian chronology is 'the coming of the religion,' but it has long been doubtful whether this event was the birth of Zaratûs*t*, or his going to conference with the sacred beings, or the acceptance of the religion by Vis*t*âsp. Any doubt, however, as to the meaning of the phrase, has now been removed by the statement in Dk. VII, viii, 51, that the first century of the religion is that from the time when Zaratûs*t* came forth to his conference, which event happened when he was thirty years old (ibid. iii, 51, 60, 62). It is also stated, in Bd. XXXIV, 7, that Vis*t*âsp reigned thirty years before the coming of the religion, that is, before Zaratûs*t* went to his conference. From these data it is evident that the traditional Zoroastrian chronology makes the birth of Zaratûs*t* coincide with the accession of Vis*t*âsp.

53. The nearest date to these events, which is well defined in both the Zoroastrian and European systems of chronology, is that of the death of Alexander, near midsummer in B.C. 323, which Bd. XXXIV, 7, 8, places 272 years after the coming of the religion, that is, after the thirtieth year of Vis*t*âsp's reign. And if this were the first

year of the religion, the death of Alexander must have occurred in its 273rd year, according to the Bundahis.

54. But this has to be reconciled with the statement in Zs. XXIII, 12, that, after its 300th year, 'the religion is disturbed and the monarchy is contested;' which statement is expressed more definitely by AV. I, 2-6, when it asserts that the religion remained in purity for 300 years, but then Alexander came to Irân and destroyed the monarchy. If these statements be accepted literally, they imply that Alexander invaded Irân either in the 300th year of the religion, or shortly after that date, but certainly not before it. We cannot place Alexander's invasion of Irân itself at a later date than the battle of Gaugamela (B.C. 331); and if this were the 300th year of the religion, the death of Alexander (B.C. 323) must have occurred in its 308th, instead of its 273rd year, and the coming of the religion would have to be put back thirty-five years. This may be done with some plausibility by assuming an omission of thirty-five years between the reigns of Hûmâî and Dârâî, where the Bundahis passes from traditional to historical personages. Alexander's invasion must also have been a good and sufficient reason for the dissolution of the hundred-discipledom, or priestly college, established by Sênô, which lasted only till the 300th year, as Zs. XXIII, 11 informs us.

55. If we now adopt the abbreviations A.R. for '*anno religionis*' and B.R. for '*before the religion*,' we are prepared to compile the following synopsis of Zoroastrian Chronology according to the millennial system of the Bundahis, extended to the end of time, but dealing only with traditional matters, combined with the European dates of the same events, deduced from the synchronism of A.R. 300 with B.C. 331, as stated above in § 54:—

B.R. 9000, B.C. 9630. Beginning of the first millennium of Time; and formation of the Fravashis, or primary ideas of the good creations, which remain insensible and motionless for 3000 years (Bd. I, 8; XXXIV, 1).

" 6000, B.C. 6630. Beginning of the fourth millennium, when the spiritual body of Zaratûst is framed together, and remains 3000 years with the archangels (Dk. VII, ii, 15, 16), while

the primeval man and ox exist undisturbed in the world, because the evil spirit is confounded and powerless (Bd. I, 20, 22; III, 1, 3, 5; XXXIV, 1).

B. R. 3000, B. C. 3630. Beginning of the seventh millennium, when the evil spirit rushes into the creation on new-year's day, destroys the primeval ox, and distresses Gâyômar*d*, the primeval man (Bd. I, 20; III, 10–20, 24–27; XXXIV, 2). Z. appears to remain with the archangels for 2969 years longer.

„ 2970, B. C. 3600. Gâyômar*d* passes away (Bd. III, 21–23; XXXIV, 2).

„ 2930, B. C. 3560. Masyê and Masyâôî had grown up (Bd. XV, 2; XXXIV, 3).

„ 2787, B. C. 3417. Accession of Hôshâng (Bd. XXXIV, 3).

„ 2747, B. C. 3377. Accession of Tâkhmôrup (ibid. 4).

„ 2717, B. C. 3347. Accession of Yim (ibid.).

„ 2000, B. C. 2630. Beginning of the eighth millennium. Accession of Dahâk (ibid. 4, 5).

„ 1000, B. C. 1630. Beginning of the ninth millennium. Accession of Frê*d*ûn (ibid. 5, 6).

„ 500, B. C. 1130. Accession of Mânû*sk*îhar (ibid. 6).

„ 428, B. C. 1058. Spenda*r*ma*d* comes to Mânû*sk*îhar at the time of Frâsiy*âv*'s irrigation works (Zs. XII, 3–6). The MSS. have B. R. 528, but to bring this date into the reign of Mânû*sk*îhar would be inconsistent with the millennial arrangement; while to assume a clerical error of one century is a probable explanation, as it makes the date more consistent with the allusion to Frâsiy*âv*, whose irrigation works, mentioned in Bd. XX, 34; XXI, 6, must have been carried out in the latter part of Mânû*sk*îhar's reign.

„ 380, B. C. 1010. Accession of Aûzôbô (Bd. XXXIV, 6).

„ 375, B. C. 1005. Accession of Kaî-Kobâ*d* (ibid. 6, 7).

„ 360, B. C. 990. Accession of Kaî-Ûs (ibid. 7).

„ 300, B. C. 930. Zaratû*s*t first mentioned by the ox that Srîtô killed (Zs. XII, 7–20).

„ 210, B. C. 840. Accession of Kaî-Khûsrôî (Bd. XXXIV, 7).

„ 150, B. C. 780. Accession of Kaî-Loharâsp (ibid.).

„ 45, B. C. 675. The Glory descends from heaven at the birth of Dûk*d*ak (Zs. XIII, 1).

„ 30, B. C. 660. Accession of Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp (Bd. XXXIV, 7). Vohûmanô and Ashavahi*s*tô descend into the world with a stem of Hôm (Dk. VII, ii, 24). Zaratû*s*t is born (ibid. v 1).

B. R. 23, B. C. 653. Z. is seven years old when two Karaps visit his father, and Dûrâsrôbô dies (Dk. VII, iii, 32, 34, 45).

„ 15, B. C. 645. Z. is fifteen years old when he and his four brothers ask for their shares of the family property (Zs. XX, 1).

„ 10, B. C. 640. Z. leaves home at the age of twenty (ibid. 7).

A. R. 1, B. C. 630. Beginning of the tenth millennium. Z. goes forth to his conference with the sacred beings on the 45th day of the 31st year of Vi*s*tâsp's reign (Dk. VII, iii, 51–62; viii, 51; Zs. XXI, 1–4).

„ 3, B. C. 628. Z. returns from his first conference in two years, and preaches to Aûrvâîtâ-dang and the Karaps without success (Dk. VII, iv, 2–20).

„ 11, B. C. 620. After his seventh conference, in the tenth year he goes to Vi*s*tâsp; Mê*d*yômâh is also converted (ibid. 1, 65; Zs. XXI, 3; XXIII, 1, 2, 8).

„ 13, B. C. 618. Twelve years after Z. went to conference, Vi*s*tâsp accepts the religion, though hindered for two years by the Karaps (Dk. VII, v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 5, 7).

„ 20, B. C. 611. A Kavîg, son of Kûndah, is converted (Zs. XXIII, 8).

„ 30, B. C. 601. Defeat of Arg*â*sp and his Khyons (ibid.).

„ 40, B. C. 591. Vohûnêm is born (ibid.). About this time the Avesta is written by *G*âmâsp from the teaching of Z. (Dk. IV, 21; V, iii, 4; VII, v, 11).

„ 48, B. C. 583. Z. passes away, or is killed, aged seventy-seven years and forty days, on the 41st day of the year (Dk. V, iii, 2; VII, v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 9).

„ 58, B. C. 573. Arrival of the religion is known in all regions (Dk. VII, vi, 12).

„ 63, B. C. 568. Frashô*s*tar passes away (Zs. XXIII, 10).

„ 64, B. C. 567. *G*âmâsp passes away (ibid.).

„ 73, B. C. 558. Hangâûrûsh, son of *G*âmâsp, passes away (ibid.).

„ 80, B. C. 551. Asmôk-khanvatô passes away, and Akht the wizard is killed (ibid.).

„ 91, B. C. 540. Accession of Vohûman, son of Spend-dâ*d* (Bd. XXXIV, 7, 8).

„ 100, B. C. 531. *S*ênô is born (Dk. VII, vii, 6).

„ 200, B. C. 431. *S*ênô passes away (ibid.; Zs. XXIII, 11).

„ 203, B. C. 428. Accession of Hûmâî (Bd. XXXIV, 8).

[Here ends the fragment of the old millennial system preserved in the Bundahi*s* which omits thirty-five years in

this place, as explained in § 54, with the effect of postponing the end of the millennium. It then proceeds to finish the chronology in its own fashion; mentioning only three historical names, which are here added; the thirty-five omitted years being also inserted.]

A. R. 268, B. C. 363. Accession of Dârâî (ibid.).

„ 280, B. C. 351. Accession of Dârâî, descendant of Dârâî (ibid.).

„ 294, B. C. 337. Accession of Alexander[1] (ibid.).

„ 300, B. C. 331. Invasion by Alexander. Sênô's hundred-discipledom ends, the religion is disturbed, and the monarchy contested (Zs. XXIII, 11, 12; AV. I, 2–6).

„ 308, B. C. 323. Death of Alexander (Bd. XXXIV, 8).

„ 400, B. C. 231. Benightedness arises (Dk. VII, vii, 9).

„ 440–560, B. C. 191–71[2]. Orthodoxy is still upheld by four successive high-priests (Dk. VII, vii, 8–10).

„ 800–950, A. D. 170–320. The ninth and tenth centuries are represented as very evil and miserable (ibid. viii, 2–45, 61).

„ 971, A. D. 341, Aûshêdar is born (ibid. 55–57).

„ 1001, A. D. 371. Beginning of the eleventh millennium, when the sun stands still for ten days, and Aûshêdar is thirty years old and confers with the sacred beings (ibid. 58–60).

„ 1400–1500, A. D. 770–870. In this century the wizard Mahrkûs produces seven awful winters successively, in which most of mankind and animals perish, including himself (ibid. ix, 3).

„ 1971, A. D. 1341. Aûshêdar-mâh is born (ibid. 18–20).

„ 2001, A. D. 1371. Beginning of the twelfth millennium, when the sun stands still for twenty days, and Aûshêdar-mâh is thirty years old and confers with the sacred beings (ibid. 21–23).

„ 2971, A. D. 2341. Sôshâns is born (ibid. x, 15–18).

„ 3001, A. D. 2371. Beginning of the preparation for the Renovation, when the sun stands still for thirty days, and Sôshâns is thirty years old (ibid. 19); but another passage (ibid. xi, 2) implies that this is the date of his birth.

„ 3028, A. D. 2398. The renovation of the universe occurs at the end of the fifty-seventh year of Sôshâns (ibid. 4, 7).

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[1] He became king of Macedon B. C. 336, and of Persia in 331.

[2] The erroneous dates in the Bundahis chronology (see § 57) alter this period to B. C. 156–36.

56. We must suppose that the millennial chronology, which the Bundahiſ discontinues in the middle of the tenth millennium, was originally completed to the end of Time, as attempted in this synopsis, in accordance with the statements in Byt. and Dk. But the allusions to future events and denunciations of coming evils were, no doubt, of a mythological or general character, such as those still surviving in Dk. VII, vii, 29–32; viii, 40, 41, 44–46, 48–60; ix–xi. Whenever we meet with seemingly prophetic descriptions and denunciations, which clearly allude to historical events, such as those in Dk. VII, vii, 3–28; viii, 2, 10, 23, 32–36, 42, 43, 47, 61, they must, of course, be treated as interpolations of a later date than the events themselves. And there are several passages that may belong to either class.

57. It has been already shown, in § 54, that the death of Alexander, which the Bundahiſ places in A. R. 273, must have occurred in A. R. 308 according to other traditional records. If this error of thirty-five years stood alone, it might be considered accidental; but when we find that the Bundahiſ supplies only 284 years for the Askânians, to fill up the whole interval of 548 years between Alexander and Ardashîr, son of Pâpak, we must conclude that these two errors were intended for the purpose which they both fulfil, that of postponing the end of the tenth millennium. On the other hand, the Sâsânians who ruled for 425 years, are allowed 460 years in the Bundahiſ, which just counterbalances the thirty-five years omitted after the time of Hûmâî. This third error may be considered unintentional, as it probably arose from counting the year of each succession twice over, first in the reign of the deceased king, and again in that of his successor.

58. The extent to which the Bundahiſ chronology is distorted, by these three errors, will be better understood on inspection of the following tabular statement than from any description of the results, merely observing that the year of the religion (A. R.) is given according to Bundahiſ dates in the first column, and according to real dates in the second. Several intermediate events have been inserted,

for the sake of illustration, and each of their Bundahi*s* dates includes its proper proportion of the errors [1]:—

Bd. date.	Real date.		Real date.	Bd. date.
A. R. 265,	A. R. 300.	Invasion by Alexander . .	B. C. 331,	B. C. 331.
,, 273,	,, 308.	Death of Alexander . . .	,, 323,	,, 323.
,, 321,	,, 400.	Real date of A. R. 400 . .	,, 231,	,, 275.
,, 400,	,, 553.	Bd. date of A. R. 400 . . .	,, 78,	,, 196.
,, 528,	,, 800.	Real date of A. R. 800 . .	A. D. 170,	,, 68.
,, 557,	,, 856.	Accession of Ardashîr . .	,, 226,	,, 39.
,, 605,	,, 900.	Real date of A. R. 900 . .	,, 270,	A. D. 10.
,, 647,	,, 939.	Accession of Shahpûhar II .	,, 309,	,, 52.
,, 713,	,, 1000.	Real date of A. R. 1000 . .	,, 370,	,, 118.
,, 786,	,, 1068.	Accession of Yaz*d*aka*rd* II .	,, 438,	,, 191.
,, 800,	,, 1081.	Bd. date of A. R. 800 . .	,, 451,	,, 205.
,, 841,	,, 1118.	Accession of Kavâ*d* . . .	,, 488,	,, 246.
,, 884,	,, 1158.	Execution of the Mazdakites	,, 528,	,, 289.
,, 887,	,, 1161.	Accession of Khûsrô I . .	,, 531,	,, 292.
,, 900,	,, 1173.	Bd. date of A. R. 900 . . .	,, 543,	,, 305.
,, 951,	,, 1220.	Accession of Khûsrô II . .	,, 590,	,, 356.
,, 1000,	,, 1265.	Bd. date of A. R. 1000 . .	,, 635,	,, 405.
,, 1017,	,, 1281.	Death of Yaz*d*aka*rd* III . .	,, 651,	,, 422.

59. The object of preparing this statement has been to ascertain the reason for the intentional errors in the Bundahi*s* chronology, and the probable period at which they were introduced. It has been mentioned, in § 57, that the effect of both the errors, which are not accidental, has been to postpone the end of the tenth millennium, but they also postpone the dates of some other events which are mentioned in the Zoroastrian legends.

60. Thus, we are told in Dk. VII, vii, 9, that benightedness arises after A.R. 400, which is postponed by the errors from B. C. 231 to 78, but both of these times seem to have been equally unpropitious to the Zoroastrians. Then we learn (ibid. 10, 11) that in the fifth and sixth centuries, say A.R. 440–560, orthodoxy is still upheld by four successive high-priests. This period is postponed by the errors from B. C. 191–71 to 156–36 (see p. xxxi, n. 2), and Zoroastrianism was probably flourishing the whole time. So far, no reason for the alterations can be discovered, as the vague description of events, supplied by the old writer, appears to be

[1] The basis of calculation is the real date of each event and real century, but the Bd. date of each Bd. century. The only Bd. data are 284 years from the death of Alexander to the accession of Ardashîr, and 460 years from the latter to the death of Yaz*d*aka*rd* III, as stated in § 57.

just as applicable to the original periods as to the altered ones.

61. We are further informed (Dk. VII, viii, 2–45) that much evil and misery occur in the ninth and tenth centuries (A.R. 800–1000), at all events until the birth of Aûshê*d*ar (ibid. 55–57) in A.R. 971; and such events as war, invasion, fall of monarchy, oppression, persecution, infidelity, and apostasy are mentioned. Aûshê*d*ar confers with the archangels in A.R. 1001 (ibid. 58–60), and the evils afterwards pass away till A.R. 1400–1500 (ibid. ix, 3), when frightful winters occur. The evil period A.R. 800–971 was originally A.D. 170–341, or from the middle of the reign of Vologeses III to the middle of that of Shahpûhar II. But the Bundahi*s* postpones this period to A. D. 451–608, or from the time of the Armenian revolt in the reign of Ya*zd*aka*rd* II, to that of the first total defeat of a Persian army by the Arabs near Dhû-Qâr in the reign of Khûsrô II. The evil times were probably expected to continue till the end of the millennium, or later, as in the case of Zaratû*s*t himself; for Aûshê*d*ar does not go to his conference till A.R. 1001, and might not be expected to begin to preach till A.R. 1011. These dates, originally A.D. 371–381, comprising the remainder of the reign of Shahpûhar II, would be altered by Bd. to A. D. 636–645, a period which includes the last two great battles with the Arabs, that decided the downfall of the Sâsânian dynasty, though king Ya*zd*aka*rd* III lived some six years longer as a fugitive [1].

62. It is hardly possible that king Ardashîr (A.D. 226–241) and his chancellor Tanvasar, when collecting and revising their sacred books, would have compiled the original traditional system of chronology, however general might have been the terms in which the evils were described by the records they possessed, because it would have been a voluntary confession that they had no power to remedy

[1] The authorities consulted, for Persian historical facts and dates, have been Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte;* and A. von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden:* edited by Nöldeke.

the evils of their own time. But if they found the system in an ancient document, they might have been quite willing to admit that evils existed, owing to their enemies, which would have become much worse if they had not been mitigated by their own exertions. In fact, an old document prophesying evil which actually occurred at the time specified, could be used as evidence of the truth of their religion, and would therefore be carefully preserved. And it is quite certain that, if they had altered the chronology of an old document which foretold the time of the downfall of the monarchy, they could not have correctly guessed that time before the downfall occurred. For these reasons we must conclude that the original system of chronology, handed down by the Bundahi*s*, was neither compiled nor altered in the time of Ardashîr.

63. For the long reign of Shahpûhar II (A.D. 309–379) the original tradition predicted not only a continuation of evil times, but also the birth and education of a new apostle, Aûshê*d*ar, for the next millennium, who was expected to put an end to evil for about four centuries. His birth was to take place in A. D. 341, and his conference was to commence in 371. These dates are so well defined that, if we could discover any important religious teacher to whom they could refer, we might be justified in believing that the original chronology was compiled in his time. Unfortunately, we know very little of the internal history of Persia during this reign; there was war with the Romans in 337–350 and 358–363, and on the eastern frontiers in the intervening period; also a persecution of the Christians, beginning about 339; all of which fairly represent the predicted evils.

64. Regarding the priesthood and religious history of the reign, we have only the traditions handed down in Pahlavi texts to guide us. In these we are told that Âtû*r*pâ*d*, son of Mâ*r*aspend (Dk. VII, vii, 19), was born in the steel period (Dk. IX, viii, 4), and lived in the reign of king Shahpûhar II, son of Aûha*r*ma*zd* (AV. p. 145 n), being high-priest over the religion (Dd. XXXVII, 36). He also collected and preserved the Nasks (Dk. VIII, i, 22),

and, after he had proved his orthodoxy by ordeal (Sg. X, 70, 71), the king proclaimed his intention of not allowing any more heterodoxy (Dk. IV, 27 [1]). In his old age he obtained a son, after devout prayer, and named him Zaratûst (Pandnâmak, 1); but this son also bore the Avesta title of Avarethrab*a*u (Dk. VII, vii, 20, 21; VIII, xiii, 18), who is called the son of Râ*s*tare-vaghe*n*t in Yt. XIII, 106, showing that this latter Avesta title was adopted by Âtû*r*pâ*d* himself. Finally, we meet with another Âtû*r*pâ*d*, son of Zaratû*s*t, described in Peshotan's Dk. III, cxxxvii, 2, as high-priest in the reign of Ya*zd*aka*rd* I (A. D. 399–420), son of Shahpûhar, and also mentioned in Pahl. Yas. p. 120, ll. 14, 15 Sp. (translated in Dk. VIII, i, 7 n).

65. We have here, evidently, three successive high-priests, father, son, and grandson, and all celebrated men. The father had been employed in collecting and revising, or probably translating, some of the sacred books, and then, after a religious discussion, submitted himself to the ordeal of melted metal, as a test of his orthodoxy. The king was convinced, and his proclamation meant persecution of the heterodox, such as was commenced about A. D. 339, as regards the Christians. So that we may safely assume that Âtû*r*pâ*d*'s ordeal took place shortly before this date, and probably shortly after 337, when the Roman war commenced. As we must also certainly assume that the original chronology could not have come into existence at a much later date than 341, when so remarkable an event as the birth of a new apostle was fixed by it to occur, we have to consider who this apostle could have been; and whether it may not have been intended to identify him with Âtû*r*pâ*d*'s own son.

66. In the first place, is such a suspicion consistent with known dates? To represent Aûshê*d*ar, according to the original chronology, the son must have been born A. D. 341 (§ 63); and we may suppose that the time of Aûshê*d*ar's conference (371) would represent the time of Âtû*r*pâ*d*'s

[1] See S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 415.

death, when his son succeeded him in the high-priesthood. If Âtûrpâd were aged eighty-one at his death, he would have been fifty-one at the birth of his son, or approaching old age; and he would have been born in 290, or nineteen years before the king. His grandson may have been born in 365, when his father Zaratûst was twenty-four, and may have succeeded that father in the high-priesthood about 400, the second year of king Yazdakard I. As all these dates are reasonably consistent with the few facts that are known, there seems to be no impossibility in the hypothesis that the original chronology of Aûshêdar's birth may have had some connection with the date of the birth of Âtûrpâd's son. The dates assumed, with regard to these three high-priests, which may be slightly varied, are as follows:—

Âtûrpâd,	born	290,	high-priest	320,	died	371.
Zaratûst,	„	341,	„	371,	„	400.
Âtûrpâd,	„	365,	„	400,	„	420, or later.

67. On the other hand, we must recollect that the time of the birth of Aûshêdar was not an isolated date which could be varied at pleasure, to suit any circumstances that might arise; but it was intimately connected with the dates of birth of three other apostles, which were each placed at the same distance from the ends of three other millenniums. It would perhaps be more difficult to suit a new millennial system of chronology, to the accidental year of a particular child's birth, than to have the child born in a particular year of an old system already existing. And, if so, it may be safer to assume that Âtûrpâd, knowing the year of the expected birth, took measures to secure the fulfilment of the prophecy, so far as the birth was concerned. If the child did not turn out so capable of regenerating the world as had been expected, that was a matter for posterity to explain. Under such circumstances of merely seeming fulfilment of a single particular, fraudulently obtained, the original prediction might be of any age.

68. It does not appear that the priestly councillors assembled by Khûsrô I (Byt. I, 7), made any alteration in

the original chronology, although they slightly revised the Pahlavi Vendidad. In fact, the priests, who must have been long expecting the end of Zaratûst's millennium, were probably looking forward for the approaching downfall of the Sâsânian monarchy, which might readily be understood, as the surest sign of the termination of this period, from such statements as those in Dk. VII, viii, 1, 2. At any rate, the alterations in the chronology, for the purpose of postponing the end of the tenth millennium till A.D. 635, would not have been made till some time after the termination of the monarchy in 651, but probably long before the compilation of the Bundahis about 900. The effects of these alterations upon the dates of the evil ninth and tenth centuries, and upon those of the birth, conference, and preaching of Aûshêdar, have been already stated in § 61. And their object has evidently been to adapt the old predictions as much as possible to real events; for which purpose also, the predictions themselves have probably been often made more definite than they were originally.

69. It follows, from the foregoing investigation, that the original chronology must have existed A.D. 341, and, in fact, we have found no sufficient reason for supposing that it was compiled as late as Sâsânian times. While the alterations, we find in the Bundahis, could have hardly been made till after 651.

70. Regarding the age in which Zaratûst lived, the dates stated in the synopsis of traditional chronology (§ 55), are B.C. 660–583, while the reign of Vistâsp, which extends to the fabulous length of 120 years, or 660–540, evidently represents a short dynasty, including Hystaspes and his next four forefathers, if we accept the traditional identification of Vistâsp with the father of Darius I. But the names of those four forefathers, which are known on the unimpeachable authority of the Behistûn inscription of Darius himself, render it almost impossible to accept this traditional identification, as they differ totally from those of the forefathers of Vistâsp in the Avesta. The two dynasties are as follows:—

Behistûn :	Hakhâmani*s*	Avesta :	Kavi Kavâta
	*K*ai*s*pi*s*		Kava Usa
	Ariyârâmna		Kava Husrava
	Arshâma		Aurva*d*aspa
	Vi*s*tâspa		Kava Vi*s*tâspa[1].

Unless it can be shown that these two series of names have the same meaning in two different languages, there seems little chance of proving the identity of the two dynasties. We may, however, quote the instances of the high-priest Âtû*r*pâ*d* = Âtare-pâta and his son Zaratû*s*t = Zarathu*s*tra being called Râ*s*tare-vaghe*n*t and Avarethra-ba*u*, respectively, in the Avesta (see § 64); but these latter names seem more like titles than translations.

71. The date of Zoroaster and his religion has formerly been fully discussed by Windischmann[2] and others, and the question has been lately re-examined by Williams Jackson[3]. He divides the ancient statements, that have been made on the subject, into three classes: those which declare that Zaratû*s*t lived before B.C. 6000, those which associate his name with Ninus and Semiramis, and the native tradition which, as we have seen, places his life in the period B.C. 660–583. Singularly enough, the oldest writers, those who lived only two to four centuries after the traditional period of the lifetime of Zaratû*s*t, are those who report that he lived some 6000 years before that period. Pliny the Elder (Nat. Hist. XXX, 2) quotes Eudoxus (B.C. 368) as stating that Zaratû*s*t existed 6000 years before the death of Plato, that is, B.C. 6347, which is also confirmed by Aristotle. And he quotes Hermippus (about B.C. 250) as placing him 5000 years before the Trojan war, that is, B.C. 6184. A third mode of describing this period

[1] These were the reigning sovereigns, but the last two are descended from a collateral branch, and their actual pedigree is as follows:—Kavi Kavâta, Kavi Aipivanghu, Kavi Pisanangh, Manu*s*, Uzava, Aurva*d*aspa, Kava Vi*s*tâspa (Bd. XXXI, 28, 29).

[2] *Zoroastrische Studien*, von Fr. Windischmann, edited by Spiegel, 1863; pp. 121–165, 260–313.

[3] *On the date of Zoroaster*, by A. V. Williams Jackson; Journal of American Oriental Society, vol. xvii, pp. 1–22.

seems to have been used by Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500–450)[1] who stated that Zaratûst lived 6000 years before Xerxes, as quoted by Diogenes Laertius, that is, B.C. 6485.

72. Three or four other classical writers mention similar statements, and Jackson points out that these extravagant dates are probably owing to the European writers misunderstanding Persian statements with reference to the pre-existence of Zaratûst's Fravashi. It will, in fact, be seen from the synopsis (§ 55) that the traditional account is that the spiritual body of Zaratûst was framed together as early as the beginning of the fourth millennium, which occurred B.C. 6630, and this may be accepted as a close approximation to the three dates, B.C. 6347, 6184, and 6485, indicated by the ancient writers, considering that their statements are made in even thousands of years.

73. Pliny also mentions, on the authority of other writers who are not named, that another Zoroaster, a Proconnesian, lived a little before the time of Osthanes who accompanied Xerxes to Greece (B.C. 480). And, so far as time is concerned, this Zoroaster might have been the traditional Zaratûst who died 103 years before this journey of Osthanes.

74. The old statements about Zoroaster or Oxyartes, the Magian king of Bactria in the time of Ninus and Semiramis, can hardly refer to the traditional Zaratûst who is never represented as a king, although the supreme Zarathustra of the Avesta was apparently a ruling priest. The time in which this Bactrian lived is also very uncertain, for though Semiramis has recently been placed about B.C. 800, her position in Albîrûnî's tables is certainly 1200 years earlier.

75. It seems, therefore, that the ancient statements, regarding the date of Zaratûst, reported by Pliny and corroborated by a few other classical writers, can be fully explained from the traditional system of chronology used in Pahlavi texts, by identifying the classical Zoroaster of the seventh millennium B.C. with the traditional Zaratûst

[1] There are some doubts as to the correctness of these dates.

in his ante-natal spiritual state, after he had ceased to be a mere Fravashi, or primary idea, and had become an intelligent, moving, and personal existence, but still a spirit. While the later Zoroaster of Pliny, who flourished before the fifth century B.C., must have lived about the same time as the same traditional Zaratûst after he came into the worldly existence, and may reasonably be identified with him, although Pliny had little information to give about him.

76. It will be noticed that this explanation depends entirely upon the peculiarly artificial system of the traditional chronology, in which the whole of time is assumed to consist of twelve millenniums devoted to different purposes; and if this particular system had not been in use at the time the statements, quoted by Pliny and Diogenes Laertius, were made, those statements could not have been explained as referring to the same individual. But if they do not refer to the same individual, we have only the options of rejecting all the statements, or believing an impossible date to be literally correct; neither of which decisions would be altogether satisfactory to a judicious mind. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that the chronology based upon the twelve millenniums was in use in the fifth century B.C., about which time the earliest quoted statement seems to have been made.

77. It will also be observed that this millennial chronology is inextricably associated with the idea of the primeval existence of all good creations in the state of Fravashis. These are described as spiritual existences who remained three millenniums unthinking, unmoving, and intangible (Bd. I, 8); and the next three millenniums they still remained undisturbed by evil, mankind being represented, for that period, by Gâyômar*d* in the world (Bd. XXXIV, 1) and by the spiritual form of Zaratûst in heaven (Dk. VII, ii, 15), while the animals were symbolized by the primeval ox for the same period. Six millenniums, which are half the duration of time, were thus appropriated to Fravashis, spiritual and embodied, probably before the birth of Plato, if we may rely upon classical statements; and it must have

been before this date that the series of millenniums was arranged for all future history, till Time was expected to merge once more into Eternity at the renovation of the universe.

78. As we have seen that Zoroastrian tradition is very consistent in fixing the date of Zaratûst's activity about the end of the seventh century B.C., it may be asked, why have Avesta scholars so strongly insisted upon its greater antiquity? They may have had several reasons, but three, at least, were important. First, they had the classical statements which, as we have seen (§ 71), generally placed Zaratûst as far back as the seventh millennium B.C., on the testimony of persons who lived from two to four centuries after the traditional date of Zaratûst's death. No one, of course, could believe in the literal accuracy of the number of millenniums, which referred, as we have seen, to an imaginary period of spiritual existence, but this number was considered merely as an exaggeration which might be reduced to any amount that seemed reasonable. At the same time, this evidence for antiquity was quite sufficient, in the second place, to discredit the traditional date, of which these old authorities seemed ignorant, though it was a period then comparatively recent. And, if this discredit had not been sufficient to shake the faith of Avesta scholars in the traditional date of Zaratûst, they still had a third reason for their scepticism, when they discovered that the language of the Avesta was not merely a sister of Sanskrit, but that a large portion of it was sister to the oldest Sanskrit with which they were acquainted, and which appeared to them certainly older than the time of Gautama Buddha, who lived about one generation later than the traditional Zaratûst.

79. How far Avesta scholars were justified in their conclusions must be left for future ages to determine; at present we have no really historical information about the origin of Zoroastrianism, and must still consider it as decidedly prehistoric; though, it may be admitted that the Parsi calendar, as used in Persia, so far agrees with tradition, that it still bears witness to its own original institution in

the reign of Darius Hystaspes, as will be seen from the following details.

80. The Parsi year consists of twelve months, each consisting of thirty days, with five additional days added at the end of the year, and the total number of 365 days never varies, so that, whenever a leap-year occurs in our calendar, the beginning of the Parsi year retreats one day in the Christian calendar. In this manner, the total number of days which the beginning of the Parsi year has retreated, since the institution of their calendar, records the number of leap-years which would have occurred in the same period of Christian years, if the regular leap-years had existed the whole time; and four times the number of leap-years would be the total number of years. But as leap-years have not been used the whole time, we have to calculate from astronomical data.

81. In the first place, we want to know at what season the Parsi year originally began, and we learn this from Bd. XXV, 7, 20, where we are told that the winter of the rectified year ends with the five extra days, and the spring begins with the first month; which means that the rectified year begins with the vernal equinox. We also have to observe that, retreating at the rate of one day every four years, the beginning of the year retreats all round the year in 1460 years; and we know from general history that the period, with which we have to deal, is much more than 1460 years and less than 2920. Then we have to ascertain the exact length of the tropical year, which astronomers say is 365·2422 days, with an infinitesimal decrement, quite inappreciable in the period we have in view.

82. We may calculate back from any vernal equinox which occurs not too far from noon, say that of March 22, 1865, when the beginning of the Parsi year, according to Persian reckoning, had retreated to August 24, 1864, or 210 days, in addition to a previous retreat of a whole year of 365 days, or altogether 575 days since the establishment of the calendar. So that the difference between the Parsi year of 365 days and the correct tropical year of 365·2422 days had then accumulated to a total of 575 days. Divid-

ing the accumulated error of 575 days by the annual increment of 0·2422 of a day, we obtain a quotient of 2374 years, including A.D. 1865, as the time in which this error had accumulated, and this carries us back to B.C. 510 as an approximate date of the establishment of the Parsi calendar, with the first day of the year coinciding with the vernal equinox.

83. This date is, however, liable to some modifications for errors of observation on the part of the ancient astronomers, one of which errors, being constantly in one direction, must be taken into account. These old observers were not aware of the effect of refraction, which always makes the night seem somewhat shorter than it is in reality; and this would lead them to antedate the vernal equinox by rather more than a day; so that they would observe an apparent equinox in B.C. 505 on the same day in the Parsi year as that on which the real equinox occurred in B.C. 510. The most probable date of the establishment of the Parsi calendar is therefore B.C. 505, with a margin of four to eight years in either direction for *accidental* errors of observation.

84. A few years before this period we know, from the cuneiform inscriptions of Behistûn, that Darius Hystaspes used an older calendar, when recording his early victories over insurgents, which consolidated his empire. It was a time when he was introducing many reforms in the government, and, being a believer in Auramazdâ, his most influential advisers would probably be Zoroastrian priests. If they thought it necessary to reform the old calendar, the adoption of strictly Zoroastrian names for the new months and days in the Parsi calendar would be fully explained.

85. But, besides this ordinary civil calendar, in which new-year's day was constantly retreating, the Persians had a rectified calendar for religious purposes, which intercalated an extra month from time to time, for the purpose of bringing new-year's day forward again to the vernal equinox, and restoring the festivals to their proper seasons. It is this calendar which is used in Bd. XXV, and its days

and months are distinguished by the epithet vehîkakîg (veh + îk + ak + îg), 'belonging to what is really good,' or vehîkak, 'belonging to the really good,' which, in this connection, may be best expressed by the word 'rectified.'

86. This intercalation is described by Albîrûnî in various passages[1] which inform us that, after the new-year's day had retreated more than a month from the vernal equinox, the king would order the priests to arrange for the solemn proclamation of an extra month to be intercalated, between the last month of the year and the five extra days, by merely moving those five days from the end of the twelfth month to the end of the first month of the next year. The effect of this was to put an extra month into the earlier year which, beginning with the first month, would also end with the first month augmented by the five extra days as the usual termination of the year. All following years would begin with the second month, and end with the first month and the five extra days, until the second intercalation, when a year of thirteen months and five days would be again obtained, by merely moving the five extra days to the end of the second month which would thus become the last month of the year, while the third month would begin the year until the third intercalation. By these means, any number of intercalations could be made without any additional month being named, and the position of the five extra days always indicated the end of the rectified year, and that the rectified first month, which followed them, was to become the last month of the preceding year at the next rectification, or intercalation.

87. If the Parsi calendar, as used in Persia, were established B.C. 505, as we have calculated, it ought to have been rectified by an intercalation of one month about each of the following years:—B.C. 381, 257, 133, 10, A.D. 115, 239, 363, 487, 610. Albîrûnî (p. 121), however, has recorded only one intercalation of two months in the time of Ya*zd*aka*rd* I (A.D. 399–420), son of Shahpûhar, when the

[1] Sachau's Albîrûnî's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp. 12, 13, 38, 53–56, 121, 184, 185, 220, 221.

five extra days were removed to the end of the original eighth month Âbân, where they remained until Albîrûnî's own time (Alb. p. 56), about A.D. 1000. The reason for intercalating two months at once, was because the time for the seventh intercalation (A.D. 363) was already long past; so the eighth was added three or four score years in advance, being due in 487.

88. All that Albîrûnî says about this double intercalation is quite in accordance with the original establishment of the calendar by Darius Hystaspes, and would render any date more than thirty-seven years later than his reign impossible[1]. With regard to the earlier intercalations (which must have occurred to account for the movement of the five extra days) that of A.D. 115 was neither in the reign of Vologeses I, nor in that of Vologeses III, one of whom must have been the A*s*kânian renovator of the Avesta. That of A.D. 239. if carried out punctually, would have been at the extreme end of the reign of Ardashîr; but the intercalations seem to have been usually delayed, as in the case of that of 363 which was delayed for thirty to fifty years, although it ought to have been carried out under the direction of one of those ultra-orthodox high-priests, Âtû*r*pâ*d* son of Mâ*r*aspend, or his son Zaratû*s*t, in the reign of Shahpûhar II.

89. It is worthy of notice that the names of both the days and months, which have come down to us in this calendar of Darius, include the names of the six Amesha-spe*n*tas, which, according to Darmesteter's hypothesis, were not invented till the time of Vologeses I, in the first century A.D. We have positive evidence that the calendar of twelve months of thirty days each, with five extra days to complete the year, must have been established in the time of Darius. This fact being recorded mechanically by the extent of the retreat of the Persian Parsis' new-year's day down to the present time, and by the number of months intercalated in their religious calendar down to the fifth

[1] If the calendar had been established thirty-eight years after the death of Darius, the seventh intercalation would not have been due till one year after the death of Ya*zd*aka*rd* I.

century A.D., being known from the position of the five extra days in the rectified calendar. We have no evidence of any change of names having been made in this calendar at any time; and only positive and indisputable evidence could be admitted, because reformers of calendars are hardly ever satisfied with mere change of names, and the calendar itself is a permanent witness that no alteration can have been made in any other particular, since the time of Darius.

90. Darmesteter's theory of a late origin for the Avesta having been mentioned, it may be allowable to add, that the likelihood of this theory does not increase upon closer examination. It is a brilliant hypothesis, very carefully prepared to meet ordinary criticism; but it does not appear to convince Avesta scholars in general, for want of sufficient evidence, as it is very necessary to distinguish carefully between possibilities and probabilities; the former being not admissible as evidence, unless corroborated by positive facts. Its chief use has been in checking the tendency to exaggerate the age of the Avesta, but it seems itself to be an exaggeration in the opposite direction, a returning swing of the ever-restless pendulum of judgment. On the other hand, the traditional age of the religion cannot be fairly considered as exaggerated, for the chief difficulty in accepting it as sufficiently old, is that the nearer our researches penetrate to that time the less real light we obtain.

E. W. West.

April, 1897.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

A. D. for Anno Domini; Alb. for Albîrûnî's Chronology of Ancient Nations, translated by Sachau; A. R. for Anno Religionis; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for the Book of Ar*d*â-Vîrâf; Av. for Avesta; B for Bombay MS. of Dînka*rd*, brought from Irân in 1783; B. C. for Before Christ; Bd. for Bundahi*s* (S. B. E. v, 1–151), and Band (volume); Beh. for Behistûn inscription; BK for an old copy of K35, made when this MS. was more complete than it is now; B. R. for Before the Religion; Byt. for Bahman Ya*s*t (S. B. E. v, 189–235); Chald. for Chaldee; Chap. for chapter; Chaps. for chapters; Dd. for Dâ*d*istân-î Dînîk (S. B. E. xviii, 1–276); Dk. for Dînka*rd* (S. B. E. xxxvii, 1–397, 406–418, and this volume); ed. for editor or edition; Ep. for Epistles of Mânûs*k*îhar (S. B. E. xviii, 277–366); Études irân. for Études irâniennes; Farh. Oîm for Farhang-i Oîm-aêvak; gen. for genitive case; Gesch. der Sas. for Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sâsâniden; Gf. for the Tale of Gô*s*t-î Fryânô; Heb. for Hebrew; Ibid. for ibidem; Ind. vers. for Indian version; J. for Jâmâsp's old MS.; K for University Library at Kopenhagen; L for India Office Library at London; l. for line; ll. for lines; Mkh. for Mainyô-i Khira*d* (S. B. E. xxiv, 1–113); MS. for manuscript; MSS. for manuscripts; n. for footnote; nom. for nominative case; p. for page; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pers. for Persian; pp. for pages; Pt. for Peshotan's old MS.; S. B. E. for Sacred Books of the East; Sd. for Sad-dar (S. B. E. xxiv, 253–361); Sg. for *S*îkand-gumânîk Vigâr (S. B. E. xxiv, 115–251); Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast (S. B. E. v, 237–406); Sp. for Spiegel's edition; T for Tehmuras's MS. of Dd., Zs., &c.; Vd. for Vendidad, ed. Geldner; Vi*g*. for Vigîrka*rd*-î Dînîk; Visp. for Visperad, ed. Geldner; vol. for volume; Westerg. Frag. for Westergaard's Fragments; Yas. for Yasna, ed. Geldner; Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Geldner; YZ. for Geiger's Yâtkâr-i Zarîrân; Z. for Zaratû*s*t; Zs. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, first series.

MARVELS OF ZOROASTRIANISM

AS STATED IN

THE SEVENTH AND FIFTH BOOKS

OF THE

DÎNKA*RD*

AND IN THE

SELECTIONS OF ZÂ*D*-SPARAM

CHAPTERS XII–XXIV.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is chiefly responsible, as the stops found in the manuscripts are not used systematically.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume), or certain abbreviated modes of writing Pahlavi letters. Italic *a*, *â*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *ê*, *h*, *i*, *î*, *kh*, *l*. *p*, *r*, *sh*, *u*, *v*, *zd* indicate no change of pronunciation; but *g* should be sounded like j, *hv* like wh, *k* like ch in 'church,' *s* like sh, and Avesta *z* like French j.

4. In the translation words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those that precede them, and often translate Pahlavi glosses in the original text.

5. For the meaning of the abbreviations, used in the notes, see the explanatory list after the Introduction.

6. The manuscripts used for the Dînka*rd* are :—

B (written A. D. 1659), the only independent authority for Book VII; it was brought from Irân to Surat in 1783, and one folio, at the end of Chap. iv, appears to be missing.

K 43 (written A. D. 1594 and later), No. 43 in the University Library at Kopenhagen, which contains another independent authority for Book V in its later portion.

7. The manuscripts used for the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam are :—

K 35 (probably written A. D. 1572), No. 35 in the same library, which was brought from Irân by Prof. Westergaard in 1843, along with No. 43.

T, a copy of a MS. about fifty years older, belonging to Ervad Tehmuras Dinshawji Ankalesaria of Bombay.

MARVELS OF ZOROASTRIANISM.

DÎNKA*RD*.—BOOK VII.

Chapter I.

1. *For* the gratification *of* the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, even through the complete superiority of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, adorned by omniscience, in the world.

2. The seventh *book* is about the marvellousness of the greatest reminder of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, Zaratû*s*t[1] of the Spîtâmas; also of the mindfulness of that illustrious *one* by Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and *of* his religion, arisen through the word of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, being blessed among those of the region of king Vi*s*tâsp; from the Exposition of the Good Religion[2].

3. But, before that, *there* is purposely written whatever *was* the progress of the character and effect of the good religion and its first acceptor in the spiritual and worldly *existences;* and, after that,

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[1] Nearly always spelt Zaratûkhsht in the MS., the counterpart of the Persian form Zaratuhsht or Zaraduhsht.

[2] This Nikézŏ-î Vêh-dênô was evidently the name of an older book, from which the Dînka*rd* quotes much of its information on religious matters.

the prophets, apostles, *and* upholders in the period as far as Zaratû*s*t, *whose* guardian spirit is reverenced, and their religion, which is this, due to the utterance and splendour with which they have been blessed with prophecy among mankind[1].

4. According to the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion *and* the Exposition of the Good Religion, it is the nature *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s disposition and his knowledge as to the complete obtainment of the first creature, the archangel Vohûmanô, and the first progress spiritually among the archangels *and* the other sacred beings of the spiritual *and worldly existences*, and materially in Gâyômar*d*, the first man, through concurrent *and* complete acceptance from the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and the needful atonement in his own period through meditation, and the smiting thereby of the fiend of that period and the opposition thereof, by thinking of the creator's teaching, *that constitute* the whole *of* that first utterance[2] of the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

5. According to the declaration of the good religion about the production of existence, which is the praise of him who *was* the causer of existence and creator, the beneficent spirit, the first craving among mankind *was* this, that 'we be happy and *be* the creation of Aûha*r*ma*zd*;' and the last, as regards the preservation of a remedy for mankind, is *this*, *that* 'the best is this, that the formation of lives *be* perfect now, though rendered sickly by him; and the spiritual existences of mankind *be so* now, though the destroyer *has* come to the creatures.' 6. *For*

[1] This preliminary matter occupies the whole of Chap. I.

[2] The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, or most sacred religious formula of the Parsis.

human beings of the lineage of Gâyômar*d* this is the one thing good, when they shall perform their duty and good works; and one's work is to smite one's own opposing fiend; an instance presentable to *any* of the lineage, that it is important *for* every one of you to smite his own opposing fiend, is the freedom from molestation which occurs thereby, and the non-contamination of the creatures by the destroyer; and it is that effect which the creator *of* creation *has* produced for it.

7. And this, too, is declared by the good religion, that through a true-spoken statement Gâyômar*d* attained to the good spiritual lordship [1] of the arch-angels (that is, *he was* fit for the supreme heaven [2]). 8. And after Gâyômar*d*, at various periods until the ever-favouring [3] Zaratûs*t* of the Spîtâmas, *whose* guardian spirit is reverenced; much also *was* his acquaintance with knowledge, and *his* work *was* the preservation of the mankind of that time in which he came into notice; moreover he became requisite for conference with the creator; and because of *their* superior carrying on of destiny [4], by command of the

[1] Reading hû-ahûîh, Av. hvanghevi. This section is one of the numerous quotations from the Pahlavi version of a lost Avesta text. When we are furnished with a complete Pahl.-Av. vocabulary, it will be possible to recover much of the original Avesta of such quotations, with some degree of certainty.

[2] Pahl. garô*d*mânîg. Such glosses and comments, inserted by the Pahlavi translator, are always marked as parenthetical.

[3] Pahl. hamâî-bâhar; it might be read hamâî-bîdâr, 'ever vigilant.'

[4] Reading vakhsh (=Pers. bakhsh), which is usually expressed by its Zvâri*s* equivalent gad*â* (traditionally gadman), and this means both 'destiny' and 'the star, or glory, of destiny' (Av. hvarenô, Pers. khura). Here the first letter of vakhsh is omitted, and this error converts the word into khayâ, the Zvâri*s* of *g*ân, 'life.'

creator, *it is* declared in the good religion, *that* the combined titles of prophet (vakhshvar), acceptor, *and* promoter *are* enumerated of them.

9. As Gâyômar*d* passed away, *it*[1] *came* to Masyê and Masyâôî[2], the second of worldly beings who *were* the progeny of Gâyômar*d* the first; *and it is* declared, by the word of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, that he spoke to them, when they had been produced by him, thus: 'You are the men I produce, you are the parents of the parents of all embodied existence; and so do you men not worship the demons, for the possession of complete mindfulness is the best *thing* produced by me for you, so that you *may* fully observe duty and ordinances with complete mindfulness.' 10. And the bountifulness of Aûha*r*ma*zd* *was* extolled by them, and they went on with their own duty; they also performed the will of the creator, enjoyed the advantage of the many duties of the world, *and* practised next-of-kin marriage for procreation, union, and the complete progress of the creations in the world, which are the best good works of mankind. 11. The creator showed them the sowing of corn, as declared in the words of Aûha*r*ma*zd* thus: 'This is thine, *O* Masyê! which is an ox; thine, too, is this corn; and thine those other appliances; henceforth thou shouldst know *them* well.'

This must have also occurred twice in a previous copy of the MS. in § 28, where the word is written *g*ân, 'life,' in the MS. B. In S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, Dk. VIII, xiii, 20, vakhsh has been erroneously translated 'word.'

[1] The glorious destiny. §§ 9 and 10 have been previously translated in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 411, 412.

[2] Literally 'man and woman' who grew up as plants from the earth fertilized by Gâyômar*d*, the prototype of the human race; see Bd. XV, 1–5.

12. This, too, is declared by the good religion, that Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke to Hadish [1], one of the sacred beings thoroughly worthy through righteousness, thus: '*O* Hadish, who *art* thoroughly worthy through righteousness! thou shouldst proceed to Masyê and Masyâôî, thou shouldst procure thy [2] corn *and* bread from Masyê and Masyâôî, *and* shouldst bless theirs thus: "This corn comes up owing to you, *and*, as it came unto you from Aûha*r*ma*zd* and the archangels, may the corn extend from you unto your descendants without disturbance from the demons;" *and* two Ahunavairs [3] are to be recited for the staying away *of* the demon and fiend.' 13. And Hadish, the thoroughly worthy through righteousness, went to Masyê and Masyâôî, and he procured his corn and bread from Masyê and Masyâôî, and *it was* given by them; he also blessed them thus: 'May this corn come up from you, as from the archangels! as it came unto you *from* Aûha*r*ma*zd and* the archangels, may it extend from you unto your descendants, without disturbance from the demons;' and two Ahunavairs *were* recited by him, for the staying away of the demon *and* fiend.

14. And, owing to the explanation of the sacred beings, Masyê and Masyâôî attained also to the manufacture of clothing, the tending of sheep, house-building, and primitive carpentry, the agriculture *and* husbandry of the ancients, and the memory of their original state; and *these* proceeded from them through *their* lineage, presenting an example and

[1] Mentioned in Visp. i, 9: ii, 11: ix, 5, and recognized as a spirit in Pahl. Visp. i, 31 (Sp.). The spirit who assists the husbandman, see Études irân. ii, 201.

[2] The MS. has 'his,' as in § 13, by mistake.

[3] Two of the sacred Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formulas.

spreading *in* the world, to artificers among the plenitude of artificers.

15. And after that, the destiny to be carried on came to Sâmak [1], who *was* their son, and the descent of *their* collateral descendants *was* on to each region and each quarter of the world, *to* that extent which the creator chose for that region and quarter; *and* thereby *there* was a completion of the progress and spreading of mankind into the various regions *and* quarters.

16. At another time it came to Vâêgere*d* and Hôshâng [2] of the early law (pê*s*-dâ*d*), for providing in the world the law of husbandry, *or* cultivation of the world, and *of* sovereignty *or* protection of the world. 17. And through their companionship and united force, given by religion, the sovereignty and cultivation *of* the world *were* prepared through progress and a succession of provisions *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s creatures, *as well as* the religion appointed by Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 18. And through that glory *of destiny* (gad*â*) two-thirds of the demons of Mâzanô [3] *and* the seven evil-instructed *ones* [4] of Aêshm *were* destroyed by Hôshâng.

19. After that it came to Tâkhmôrup [5] the well-armed, and through that glory the demon and evil mankind, the wizard and witch, *were* smitten by him; idolatry *was* also cast out by him, and he propagated in *his* time the reverence *and* service of the creator; the evil spirit, converted into the shape of a horse, *was* also carrying him *for* thirty winters.

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[1] See Bd. XV, 24–26.

[2] Grandsons of Sâmak, see Bd. XV, 28, and Sachau's Albîrûnî's Chronology of Ancient Nations, pp. 206, 212.

[3] The idolators of Mâzandarân. See Yt. XIX, 26.

[4] Called 'seven powers' in Bd. XXVIII, 15.

[5] See Bd. XXXI, 2, and Yt. XIX, 28, 29.

20. And it came, at another time, for the conference with Aûharmazd, to Yim[1] the splendid, the son of Vîvang,ha; and owing to his accepting the four classes of the religion, *which* are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship, *there* are the four classes which are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship, and thereby the world *was* improved, extended, and developed; he also rendered even the creatures, in a measure, immortal, undecaying, hungerless, thirstless, plentiful, and fully-settled. 21. And in the good religion[2] *it* is declared, by the word of the creator Aûharmazd to Yim, thus: 'Then do thou widen my world! (that is, make up *its* measure more), then do thou extend my world! (that is, make *it* up larger), and then thou shouldst accept from me the protection, nourishment, and chieftainship of the world; and do thou effect such watchfulness over *it*, *that* no one shall be able to occasion the wounding or injury of another.' 22. And *this was* accepted and done by Yim, as Aûharmazd commanded him; and through the same glory he widened the earth three-thirds larger than that *which* it was theretofore. 23. And, in that realm of his, the cattle and men of the realm *were* made immortal by him, and the other creations, water, vegetation, and the various foods, imperishable. 24. And this, too, is declared by the good religion, that the world *was* made by him like the supreme heaven in pleasantness; also the enclosure made by Yim, constructed by him according to all the commands of the creator[3], about guarding the creatures from perishing through the winter of

[1] See Bd. XXXI, 3–5, and Yt. XIX, 31–33. [2] In Vd. II, 4.
[3] As detailed in Vd. II, 22–31, 40, 41.

Mahrkûs, and likewise many other wonders are reported by the good religion.

25. And it came, at another time, by command of the creator, to Frê*d*ûn the Âspîgân [1] when he was in the pregnant womb, owing to the share of husbandry *in* the avocations of the religion, through allotment from the glory of Yim, and through its triumphant splendour. 26. And Frê*d*ûn, through that triumphant splendour, became a responder *to* Dahâk [2] from the pregnant womb, and that degraded fiend *was* averted and paralysed by him; *having* come to nine years *of age*, he proceeded about his destruction, and through that victory Dahâk *was* smitten by him [3], the creatures *were* saved and relieved thereby, those of Mâzandar and Mâ*d*a *were* smitten, their ravage and mischief *were* removed from the region of Khvanîras, *and* the region of Khvanîras *was* preserved *for his* three sons. 27. And owing to his husbandry, which is the third avocation of the religion, pestilence and disease *were* disturbed *by* the medical treatment even of pestilence itself, and he exhibited to mankind also many other wonders produced and useful occupation for the world.

28. And, in the life-*time* of Frê*d*ûn, the same destiny came to Aîrî*k* [4], son of Frê*d*ûn, owing to introduction *by* the creator, and *was* diffused in him, and he practised humility; the life [5] which is perfect is brought through a prayer from *his* father Frê*d*ûn,

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[1] See Bd. XXXI, 7, 8, and Yt. XIII, 131; XIX, 36.

[2] The Arab usurper, or usurping dynasty, that conquered Yim in his old age; see Bd. XXXI, 5, 6.

[3] See Yt. XIX, 37.

[4] See Bd. XXXI, 9, 10.

[5] Probably 'destiny;' the initial letter of vakhsh, 'destiny,' has been omitted, and this blunder converts the word into khayâ, 'life.'

and that life[1] came to him from the creator through the blessing of Frê*d*ûn.

29. And it came, through *his* mother, to a descendant of Frê*d*ûn *and* descendant of Aîrî*k*; it proceeded with the angel Nêryôsang to Mânûs*k*îhar[2], and its entire progress was in the lineage of Aîrî*k*. 30. And it came to Mânûs*k*îhar, the monarch of Irân, and through it many wonder-wrought actions *were* performed by him; he smote Salm and Tû*g* in revenge for Aîrî*k*[3], he was a responder *to* the superfluities of foreign countries, he arranged the realm of Irân, improved and fertilised the land of Irân, and made the country of Irân victorious over foreigners.

31. At another time it came to Aûzôbô, son of Tûmâsp[4], a descendant of Mânûs*k*îhar the monarch of Irân; *and*, through that destiny and glory combined, the new-born came to mature activity and the proportions of a man during childhood, through agriculture; he disclosed *his* lamenting mother to the countries of Irân, he marched on to the destruction of foreigners, to drive out *and* make *them* outcast from the land of Irân; he also defeated the village-terrifier of the country of Irân, the wizard who frightened his father *and* fellow-immortals, Frangrâsîyâk of Tûr[5]; and he developed *and* ferti-

[1] See note 5 on preceding page.

[2] Here spelt Nêresang and Mânûsîr. The former is the usual spiritual messenger of Aûha*r*maz*d*; and for the lineage of the latter see Bd. XXXI, 9–14. It appears that the glorious destiny was preserved by the angel Nêryôsang for some generations, and he conveyed it to the grandfather of Mânûs*k*îhar (see Chap. II, 70).

[3] The three sons of Frê*d*ûn, among whom he divided his dominions, with the usual result of triumvirates.

[4] See Bd. XXXI, 23; XXXIV, 6.

[5] See Yt. XIX, 56–64, 77, 82, 93, and Bd. XXXI, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 35; XXXIV, 6; where the Av. form Frangrasyan is further

lised the country of Irân, and increased the many streams *and* cultivated lands in the country of Irân.

32. At another time it came to Kerê*s*âspô the Sâmân [1], owing to the share of warriorship which is the second avocation of the religion, through allotment from the glory of Yim [2]; and, through it, the serpent Srôbŏvar which *was* swallowing horses *and* swallowing men, the golden-heeled demon Gandarepô, and much other production *of* adversity *by* the demon and the fiend—the murderess of the creatures—*were* destroyed by him.

33. At another time it came to Kaî-Kobâ*d* [3], the progenitor of the Kayâns; through it he arranged the realm of Irân, he united the sovereignty with himself in the Kayân race, *and* he thereby occasioned much splendour *and* actions of advantage *to* the creatures.

34. And it came to Pâtakhsrôbô [4], *son* of Aîryêfshvâ [5], *son* of T*âz*, who *was* king of the Arabs, through the mindfulness of the archangel Ashavahi*s*tô, and his enquiry about it from its own tribe [6]—*for* the demon of greediness (*âzŏ*), with *one* similarly

corrupted into Frâsîyâ*v*, as it is also hereafter in Chap. II, 68; Zs. XII, 3.

[1] A famous hero whose exploits, like those of Hercules, have given birth to many legends; see S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 369–382.

[2] Compare § 25.

[3] See Yt. XIX, 71; Bd. XXXI, 24, 25, 28; XXXIV, 7.

[4] Or Pâtâsrôbô, spelt Pâtsrôbô in Pahl. Vd. XX, 4 (Sp.).

[5] Or Aîryêfshnîg; evidently the same as Virafsang in Bd. XXXI, 6, which is spelt Avirafshanêg and Âirafshanig in two MSS. of the Irânian Bundahi*s*. Hence we may conclude that Pâtakhsrôbô was a brother of Zâînîgâv, and a great-uncle of Dahâk; but how his daughters could have been married to the three sons of Frê*d*ûn, as stated in the *K*îtradâ*d* Nask (see Dk. VIII, xiii, 9), is a chronological difficulty that throws doubt upon this identification.

[6] The people of the primitive faith, who are supposed to have

destined, had rushed for the destruction of him who *was* very gentle to that tribe [1]—*as he had* a full inclination for the ascendancy of the portion whose guidance to the lofty priestly master *was* owing to the archangel Ashavahi*st*ô, just as the fish image [2] of that *other* portion *was* for falling into the river; and *it is* declared *that* he came to the ceremonial of Zaratû*st*.

35. At another time it came to Kaî-Arsh *and his* brothers [3], the descendants of Kobâ*d*; through it they have been all-experienced and powerful, heedful and performing wonders; and the eldest brother of them, Kaî-Ûs, seized upon the sovereignty of the seven regions, *and* became very illustrious *and* full of glory. 36. *At* the same time it came to Aôshnar [4] who became fully sagacious (pûr-zîr), owing to the glory of Yim, when he was in *his* mother's womb, and many wonders *were* taught by him to *his* mother, through speaking from the mother's womb; also at his birth he vanquished the maleficent spirit by uttering answers *to* the questions *of* the deadly Fr*âk*îh the demon-worshipper. 37. He also attained to the chancellorship (farmâ*d*ârîh) of Kaî-Ûs, and became administrator (râyînî*d*âr) in his realm *of* the seven regions; the frontier speech (vîmand-gôbisnîh) *was* also explained *and* taught by him,

already practised most of the duties upheld by Zarathustra before his appearance as a reformer.

[1] Indicating that the Arab subjects of the king had revolted, because he favoured those of the primitive faith who, no doubt, gained further favour by putting down the rebellion.

[2] Or it may be 'fish priest,' as karapŏ, 'a heathen priest,' and kerpŏ, 'shape, image,' are written alike in Pahlavi letters.

[3] See Yt. XIX, 71; Bd. XXXI, 25.

[4] See Yt. XIII, 131; Dd. XLVIII, 33.

and much other learning of advantage *to* mankind *who* are unaffected by the utterance of replies of a foreigner; he *also* advised the Irânian country with the best-instructed counsel.

38. And *its* coming to Kaî-Sîyâvakhsh[1] the illustrious, through the wondrous-formed Kangd*ez being* held by him for the retention *of* protection *for* the much splendour *and* suitable glory of the religion, from which the restoration of time, the re-arrangement of the realm of Irân, *and* the reunion of power *and* triumph with the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd* are manifest.

39. It came to Kaî-Khûsrôî[2], son of Sîyâvakhsh, *and* through it he smote and vanquished Frangrâsîyâk[3] *of* Tûr, the wizard, and his fellow-miscreation Kêrsêvazd[4] of those of Vakgir[5], and many other very evil devastators of the world; he also joined in the destruction of that idol-temple which *was* on the shore of Lake *Kêk*ast[6], *and* demolished that fiendishness which *was* awful. 40. On account of the desirableness of means for the renovation *of the universe, he is also* on a throne (nam*îk*ŏ), which is assuredly selected by that destiny, at a secret place where *there* is an immortal preserver for his body until the renovation, through the will of the creator.

41. And it came from him, after Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas came to the conference of the creator

[1] See Yt. XIX, 71, 77; Bd. XXXI, 25; Byt. III, 25, 26.

[2] See Yt. XIX, 74, 77, 93; Bd. XXXI, 25.

[3] See § 31.

[4] Brother of Frangrâsîyâk, see Yt. XIX, 77; Bd. XXXI, 15.

[5] Reading Vakgiragânŏ, probably the inhabitants of the Bakyîr mountain, mentioned in Bd. XII, 2, 20 as a stronghold of Frâsiyâ*v* (=Frangrâsîyâk).

[6] See Bd. XVII, 7; Mkh. II, 95.

Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and accepted from the omniscient creator Aûha*r*ma*zd* unmixed freedom from pollution, the comprehensive and also recited acquaintance with the knowledge *and* work of priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship, *and* the separate portions of the Mazda-worshipping revelation (dênô) brought to king Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp by command of the creator, illuminated by the great splendour in that supreme sovereign of the sacred beings, *and* propagated *by* the learned of the region, in the regions which *are* seven, through the good eloquence which is owing to the succession of creatures until the renovation *of the universe.* 42. And through its production by those who *will be his* sons, Aûshê*d*ar, Aûshê*d*ar-mâh, and Sôshâns [1], the renovation in the existence of the creatures of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is immortal; and a more remindful statement of its splendour, glory, *and* marvellousness is a statement *that* is written and found below [2].

43. And *there* have also been others before Zaratû*s*t, the prophet (vakhshvar) of desired fame in the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion; for it is declared that, at times, some came from the spiritual *beings* to him who *was* more of a leader, *and* mankind have become as captivated by the solicitation *and* interrogation of that affair, as now by the solicitation *and* interrogation of the religion; the necessity for that period is not now necessary, because all mankind

[1] The Pahlavi transcripts of the Avesta names, Ukhshya*d*-ereta, Ukhshya*d*-nemangh, and Saoshyãs, of the three apostles expected to revive and renovate the Parsi religion in successive millenniums. According to the imperfect chronology of the Bundahi*s*, the millennium of Aushê*d*ar-mâh has now nearly one-fourth elapsed.

[2] See Chap. XI, 7–11.

are made acquainted with the religion, and Zaratûs*t* of the Spîtâmas, *whose* guardian spirit is righteous, is to be reverenced.

44. Now, that which is declared in the world is written, about the splendour, glory, and marvellousness of the prophet of the Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion, the best of creations, *whose* guardian spirit is reverenced, Zaratûs*t* of the Spîtâmas; and ten chapters are published here, as to the information from the Avesta, and *in* benediction *of* the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd* [1].

45. That of it which is before the birth of that glorious *one* from *his* mother *in* the present *world.*

46. That of it which is from the birth of that illustrious *one* onwards, *till* his coming to a conference *with* Aûha*r*ma*zd.*

47. That of it which is from the conference onwards, till his pre-eminence over prophecy in the world, *and* the acceptance *of* the religion *by* the exalted Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp.

48. That of it which is onwards from that, till the departure (vîkh*êz*ŏ) of that pure soul to the existence which is best.

49. That of it which is also successively after that, in the reign of the obedient king Kaî-Vistâsp.

50. That of it which is after that, until the collapse (an*g*âvi*s*nŏ) of the sovereignty of Irân.

51. That of it which is also after that, until the end of the millennium of Zaratûs*t* *and* the arrival of Aûshê*d*ar.

52. That of it which is also after that, until *the end of* the millennium of Aûshê*d*ar *and* the arrival of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh.

[1] Then follow the headings of these ten Chapters (II to XI).

53. That of it which is also after that, until the end of the millennium of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh and the arrival of Sôshâns.

54. *And* that of it from the arrival of the Triumphant Benefiter, *until* the wonder *of* the renovation *and* future existence; a statement of them each separately.

CHAPTER II.

1. About the marvellousness of the manifestations before [1] the birth of that most auspicious of offsprings from *his* mother [2].

2. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that the creator passed on that glory of Zaratûs*t* through the material existences of the creatures [3] to Zaratûs*t*; when the command arose from Aûha*r*ma*zd*, the coming of that glory from the spiritual *existence* to the worldly, and *to* the material substance (mâ*d*îyâtŏ) of Zaratûs*t*, is manifested *as* a great wonder to the multitude (va*l* kabedânŏ).

3. *Just* as revelation mentions *it* thus: 'Thereupon, when Aûha*r*ma*zd* had produced the material (dahi*s*nŏ) of Zaratûs*t*, the glory then, in the

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[1] The MS. has pata*s* for pê*s*.

[2] The contents of this chapter are thus mentioned in the summary of the Spend Nask (Dk. VIII, xiv, 1 in S.B.E., vol. xxxvii, p. 31):—'The Spend *contains* particulars about the origin *and* combination *of* the material *existence*, guardian spirit, *and* soul (or glory) of Zaratûs*t*; how the creation of each one *occurred* in the spiritual *existence*, and *in* what mode *it was* produced for the worldly *existence;* how their connection with the parents *arose*, the coming of the parents together, the combination in the mother, and the birth from the mother; *and* whatever is on the same subject.'

[3] The writer uses two Arabic words: mâ*d*îyâtŏ-i '*h*alqŏ.'

presence of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, fled on *towards* the material of Zaratû*s*t, on to that germ ; from that germ it fled on, on *to the light which is endless*[1]; from the light which is endless[2] it fled on, on to that of the sun; from that of the sun it fled on, on *to* the moon ; from that moon it fled on, on to those stars ; from those stars it fled on, on to the fire which *was* in the house of Zôis[3]; *and* from that fire it fled on, on to the wife of Frâhîmrva*n*ã-zôis[4], when she brought forth that girl who became the mother of Zaratû*s*t.'

4. Of that splendour, escaped at the same time into the earth *and* into the sky, the father-in-law's ignorance is declared, so that it is said by those in the village of the more instructed and invoking Zôî*s*[5], as to the self-combustion *which* burns the fire, that fuel is not necessary for its use. 5. Then they went on to the governor (kê*d*ŏ), and he explained *to* them concerning that same (that is, he spoke to them) thus: 'The full glory of embodied existence

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[1] Perplexed by the repetitions, some copyist has evidently omitted this phrase by mistake.

[2] Pahl. anagar, a transcript of Av. anaghra which is always translated by Pahl. asar, 'endless.' The 'endless light' is the abode of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, see Bd. I, 2.

[3] Written in Pâzand.

[4] Also written in Pâzand. In Bd. XXXII, 10, it is stated that 'the name of the father of the mother of Zaratû*s*t was Frahimravâ' (or Fereâhimruvânâ in the Irânian version); but very little reliance can be placed on such Pâzand readings of names originally written in Pahlavi.

[5] Here written in Pahlavi letters which can also be read Zandîh. In the text, the two preceding adjectives, farhakhtar va-khvân, might be read Farâkht-ruvânân as the beginning of the name. But, as it stands, the text implies that Zôî*s*, the father-in-law of his son Frâhîm-rva*n*ã's wife, was the master of the house, which is the usual oriental arrangement.

is the glory of life *apart* from the body, so that all diligence devoid of this is only movement.'

6. And *it is* declared that the demons, on account of their defeat by that glory in maintaining[1] adversity for the girl, *were* bringing on to that district three armaments (hênô), winter, the demon of pestilence, and oppressive enemies; and *a suspicion was* cast by them into the minds of those of the district, that this harm happened to the district owing to the witchcraft of this girl; so that those of the district quarreled dreadfully with the parents, as to the witchcraft of antagonism *in* the girl, and about putting *her* out from that district.

7. And the father of that girl spoke even these *words* to those of the district, with much reason, about the unjust assertion of witchcraft relative to the girl, that is: 'When this girl *was* brought forth among those of mine, her whole destiny (vakhsh) *was* afterwards set forth *by* that manifest radiance of fire, where it brought out radiance from all over her in the dark night. 8. When this girl sits in the interior of the house, wherein there is no fire, *and* in the chamber (sarâî) of fire they increase *its* intensity (bûrzŏ), it is lighter there, where *and* when this girl sits, than there where they increase the intensity of the fire; *one* is dazzled by the radiance from her body, *and* that of a wizard *would* not *have* been so glorious.'

9. Even then, owing to the influence (sârînisnŏ) of the demons, and the Kavîg and Karap[2] of the

[1] Reading dârîh, but it may be gârîh for kârîh, 'producing.'

[2] The Karaps were apparently idolatrous priests, especially those before the conversion of Vistâsp by Zaratûst; one being called 'a wizard' in Chap. III, 5, 42–44, another 'unsanctified' in IV, 24,

district, they did not become satisfied; *so* the father ordered the girl to go to Pa*d*îragtarâspô[1], the father of a family in the country (matâ) of the Spîtâmas, in the district (rû*d*astâk) of Alâk; and the girl obeyed the command of *her* father. 10. That disturbance which the demons caused, with evil intention, for the expatriation of that girl, the sacred beings assiduously made the reason for the coming of the girl for marriage to Pôrûshâspô, the father of Zaratû*s*t, through *her* father sending the girl to the dwelling of Pa*d*îragtarâspô, the father of Pôrûshâspô.

11. One *marvel*[2] is this which is declared, that when that girl, in going to that family, stood on the loftiest place in the country of the Spîtâmas, and *it* is surveyed by her, a great wonder is manifested to the girl, *just* as revelation mentions: 'It is their[3]

a third is 'deadly' in IV, 67, and a demon himself is a Karap in IV, 61, and has Karaps under his control in II, 45. The following Karaps are named in the time of Zaratû*s*t:—Dûrâsrôbô mentioned in Chap. III, 4–41; Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh in III, 20–34, who is called a Tûrânian in III, 28; Vaêdvôi*s*t in IV, 21–24; and Zâk in IV, 67. Some others are named by other writers. The Kavîgs, Kaîs, or Kîgs are mentioned with the Karaps in Chaps. II, 9; III, 50; IV, 2, 6, 14, 64, 67; VIII, 26, 40, as equally objectionable, but their avocation as officials is not defined. Both classes seem to have held official rank, but whether their titles were tribal or official is uncertain. The Avesta calls them Karapan and Kavi; the latter word being also the royal title of the Kayân dynasty, of which Vi*s*tâsp was a member. Compare Zs. XV, 1–4; XXIII, 8.

[1] So also in §§ 13, 70. In Bd. XXXII, 1, 2, the two old MSS. of the Irânian Bundahi*s* have Padtarâsp thrice and Pîrtarâsp once; K 20 has Spîtarsp and Paitiresp; K 20 b has Padirtarâspô and Paitirispô; and M6 has Padirtarâsp and Paitiresp. Zs. XIII, 6, has Purtarâspô.

[2] One of the marvellous manifestations mentioned in § 1.

[3] Probably we should read: 'It is the voice of those sacred beings' who are mentioned in § 10. As the word ya*zd*ân, 'sacred beings,' is exactly similar, in Pahlavi, to shân (in val*â*shân, 'their'

voice is carried away to her from them; "do thou proceed to that village which is theirs; it is very depressed in height and very wide in breadth, in which he who is living and the cattle mostly walk together; besides, for thy assistance that village is divinely fashioned *and* compassionate."' 12. Thereupon that damsel stopped, and also fully observed that *their* recital seems *to be* for the conveyance of this statement, that my action *should be* such *as was* ordered me *by* my father also. 13. Then that damsel thoroughly washed *her* hands, and proceeded from them to that village which was Pa*d*îragtarâspô's, and the glory came to Pôrûshâspô, the son of Pa*d*îragtarâspô.

14. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd* passed on the guardian spirit (fravâhar) of Zaratû*s*t, to the parents of Zaratû*s*t, through (le-*k*adôn) Hôm[1], by a marvel produced by cultivation. 15. Again, too, revelation says that, when the separation (burînŏ) of the third millennium occurred, at the end of the 3,000 years of spiritual existence without a destroyer, (after the creatures *were* in spiritual existence, *and* before the arrival of the fiend); then the archangels framed Zaratû*s*t together, *and* they seated the guardian spirit within, having a mouth, having a tongue, and the proclaimer *of* the celestial mansions.

or 'those'), a copyist would be liable to the blunder of leaving out the final word in writing val*d*shân ya*zd*ân. Or the original writer himself may not have quoted enough of the text he was reading, to make his meaning clear.

[1] A sacred and mythical tree, described in Bd. XVIII, 1–3, and often personified as a sacred being. It is now represented, in Parsi ceremonies, by twigs of a particular plant brought from Persia.

16. Then the three millenniums of Zaratûs*t*[1] *were* the number manifest to them through observation by the eye, *and* it seemed that he became just like an archangel through bodily contact with (ham-kerpîh)[2] the archangels. 17. And when the separation of the third millennium occurred, after the framing of Zaratûs*t* together, and before the conveying of Zaratûs*t* down to the worldly *state*, at the end of the 3,000 years *of* worldly existence with a destroyer, then Aûha*r*ma*zd* argued with Vohûmanô *and* Ashavahis*t*ô[3] thus: 'Is his mother beheld by you, so that we may produce Zaratûs*t*?'

18. And Ashavahis*t*ô spoke *in* reply thus: 'Thou art aware even of that, *O* propitious *one!* about the Zaratûs*t* we *shall* produce, *and* thou and we have produced, thou knowest, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! *and to us* who are the other archangels do thou announce the place, because its appearance thou knowest, *thou* propitious spirit Aûha*r*ma*zd*!'

19. Then Aûha*r*ma*zd* argued with Vohûmanô and the reminding by A*rd*avahis*t*ô[4], Shatraver, Spenda*r*ma*d*, Khû*r*da*d*, *and* Amû*r*da*d*[5], *saying:*

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[1] Meaning the period of Zaratûs*t*'s existence merely as a guardian spirit, the first period of the destroyer (§ 17) who then remained powerless in confusion (see Bd. I, 22).

[2] Or 'sheltering with' (ham-kar*îk*îh).

[3] The personifications of the Avesta phrases for 'good thought' and 'perfect rectitude,' who are two of the seven that hold a superior position among sacred beings, somewhat similar to that of archangels. When a Parsi speaks of Aûha*r*ma*zd* as the first of the Ameshaspends, or archangels, he does not put him on an equality with the rest, any more than we put a commander-in-chief on an equality with his troops when we call him a good soldier.

[4] Another pronunciation of Ashavahis*t*ô.

[5] These last four archangels are personifications of the Avesta

'The conveying of Zaratûst down does not seem *to be for* me, because, having a mouth *and* having a tongue, *he will be* a proclaimer to the world of embodied beings. 20. If we convey Zaratûst down on to the world of embodied beings, having a mouth *and* having a tongue, *as* a proclaimer *of* the celestial mansion, this is evident: they *will* say, concerning the origin *of* him who is my righteous man, *that* we frame him together with the water, with the land, with the plants, *and* with the animals[1]. 21. Therefore we *will* carry off there, to the village of Pôrûshâspô, him whom they *will* call Zaratûst of good lineage of both natures, both *of* Nêryôsang[2] who is of the archangels, and *of* Yim who is of mankind.'

22. Then the archangels framed together a stem of Hôm the height of a man, excellent in colour, *and* juicy where fresh; also to carry off the guardian spirit of Zaratûst to that stem of theirs, the archangels made it go forth thither from that endless light, and gave it up there also to the instinctive intellect (âsnô vîr). 23. Likewise their carrying off *was* manifest around, and a wall *was* openly displayed round them, but a restless one; the Hôm *was* constantly provided with a mouth, where it was suitable, *and* sap constantly oozed from the Hôm where it was moist.

24. And when thirty[3] years of the 3,000 years of

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phrases for 'desirable dominion, bountiful devotion, completeness or health, and immortality.'

[1] That is, as an inferior and irresponsible being.

[2] Here spelt Nêrôsang; see Chaps. I, 29; II, 70; and Zs. XIII, 6, for this angel's influence on the royal race.

[3] The MS. has 330 years, but the time intended is evidently that shortly before the birth of Zaratûst, and this third 3,000 years

well-disturbed[1] worldly existence remained, Vohûmanô and Ashavahistô then associated their pre-eminence together, *and* turned off into the embodied existence; there they came up to where two birds had settled in quest of progeny, *and* seven years before the serpents devoured the inexperienced progeny. 25. For their *own* designs, Vohûmanô *and* Ashavahistô went on, and those birds consulted *them* thus: 'We have to offer homage, and our want is that Hôm.'

26. The circumstances of those associated together in pre-eminence and the request of these *for* that Hôm *were* a double marvel; Vohûmanô seized one of those *birds* by both legs, and the other *by* one; he also brought them that Hôm, and gave it up to them there, on that tree within *their* nest. 27. And they uncovered above the serpents, that have gone up to the progeny of the birds; then that guardian spirit of Zaratûst started up, and the serpents on the tree rushed also from them away towards the demons; *but* that guardian spirit of Zaratûst smote them on the jaws, *and* the serpents fell down *and* expired, which *events* have also occurred among them till now, *having* been requisite as regards a depriver of life (*g*ân-gîr) and *any* one of that species. 28. And that Hôm *was* connected with that tree; and on the summit of that tree, there

ended either when Vistâspô accepted the religion, in Zaratûst's forty-second year, or when Zaratûst received the religion in his thirtieth year, but this earlier date is the more likely.

[1] This word, hû-aîbi*g*adîg, is written in Pahlavi precisely like an-aîbi*g*adîg, 'without a destroyer,' though its meaning is the reverse, which is an unexpected cause of perplexity to a cursory reader.

where the nest of the birds was, it grew constantly fresh and golden-coloured[1].

29. After the coming of her who bore Zaratûst, to Pôrûshâspô for marriage, Vohûmanô *and* Ardavahistô, thus associated together in their pre-eminence, came up there to Pôrûshâspô in the cattle-pasture of the Spîtâmas, and their thoughts *were* confined to that Hôm brought by them. 30. Then Pôrûshâspô walked forth, with spiritual desire, up to the water of the Dâit[2], because the requirement of the spirits is the spiritual knowledge[3] that spirits are ever-beneficial; and that Hôm *was* also seen by him, when it had grown on that tree, on the inside of the nest. 31. Then Pôrûshâspô thought thus: 'It is for me, really (madam-*îk*-am) to proceed and, even as *there* is no reaching by me up to that Hôm, that tree must be cut down, for apart from that, *O* Hôm of Aûharmazd! thou seemest fresh, so that the benefit of something from thee *will be* advantageous.'

32. Then Pôrûshâspô walked on and washed their clothes acquiescently (patâsîg), and here a great wonder was manifest to Pôrûshâspô. 33. About this it says that, all the while that Pôrûshâspô washed their clothes, Vohûmanô then proceeded from the uppermost third of the tree unto the middle of it, whereon *it was* the desire of Pôrû-

[1] Or it may be 'verdant.'

[2] Av. Dâitya, a mythic river in Aîrân-vêg (Bd. XX, 13); a favourite place for religious rites, see Yt. V, 17, 104, 112; IX, 25, 29; XVII, 45, 49, 61. Or it may be merely mayâ-î shêd, 'brilliant water.'

[3] Reading maînôg-dânisnîh, but the MS. has maînôg dênô-dânîh which might be translated 'spiritual knowledge of religion,' though the latter Pahlavi word is unusual.

shâspô to be conveyed. 34. Then Pôrûshâspô, *having* washed the clothes, walked up to it and, thereupon gathering up the whole of that *Hôm*, all of it *was* then also appropriated by him through assistance like that of that *archangel*, *just* as what thou offerest for the food-sustenance of a friend's son of two years *or* three years *of age;* and it seemed to him that *archangel's* joyful payment.

35. Carrying off their Hôm, Pôrûshâspô spoke of it to *his* noble (mas) wife thus: 'So thou, *O* Dûk-*d*âûb! shouldst keep their Hôm in custody, all the while that their Hôm fulfils duty and routine.'

36. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that the coming of the nature (gôhar) of the body of Zaratûs*t*, through water *and* vegetation, to the bodies of *his* parents, is manifested *as* a great wonder of the creator to the multitude. 37. As revelation mentions *it thus:* 'Thereupon, when Aûha*r*ma*zd* had produced the material (dahi*s*nŏ) of Zaratûs*t*[1], the nature of *his* body then, in the presence of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, fled on *towards* the material of Zaratûs*t*.'

38. About Khû*r*da*d* and Mû*r*da*d*[2] bringing the cloud-water down in a compassionate manner ever anew, drop by drop, *and* completely warm, for the delight of sheep and men, *and—with* as much seed as the roving of two rampant bulls *would* thereby *cast* upon the plants *which* have grown, all of every species—*they are* casting *it* upon those other plants at that time, even upon the dry *ones;* and the

[1] Compare § 3.

[2] These two archangels have special charge of water and vegetation (see Sls. XV, 25–29), and here they are represented as acting in a manner usually ascribed to Ti*s*tar, the Dog-star.

nature of Zaratûst came from that water to those plants.

39. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that, in order that the nature of Zaratûst shall come unto *his* parents, after[1] the mounting of the archangels Pôrûshâspô drives six white cows, with yellow ears, up to those plants. 40. And here is manifested a great wonder, *such* as revelation mentions thus: Two[2] of those cows, unimpregnated, *had* become full of milk, and the nature of Zaratûst came from the plants to those cows, and is mingled with the cows' milk; it is owing thereto *that* Pôrûshâspô drove those cows back. 41. And Pôrûshâspô spoke to Dûk*d*âûb thus: '*O* Dûk*d*âûb! in two of those cows, *which are* unimpregnated *and have* not calved, milk *has* appeared; do thou milk those cows, which are the splendour *and* glory of the cows *and of* any embodied existence whatever.' 42. And Dûk*d*âûb arose and, taking that pail of hers which had a fourfold capacity, she also milked from them the milk which *was* in them, and a great *part* of what they gave up to her she had to throw away; and the nature of Zaratûst was in that milk.

43. One *marvel* is this which is manifested in the struggle of the adversary for concealing and spoiling that milk, *just* as revelation mentions thus: Thereupon, at that time, the demons formed *themselves* into an assembly, and the demon of demons growled thus: 'You demons become quite unobservant: that food is really supplied fresh, so that the formation is settled which *will* extend as far as to that

[1] Reading akha*r* instead of adên, 'then.'

[2] In some places the singular number is used, in others the plural.

man who *will be* the righteous Zaratûs*t*; which of you *will* undertake his destruction, all the while that he exists for mankind, so as to make *him* more contemptibly impotent?' 44. *K*êshmak[1], astute in evil, growled thus: 'I *will* undertake his destruction.' 45. Astute in evil, he rushed away with thrice fifty *of* the demons who are Karaps of *K*êshmak; and that village *was* partly uprooted and partly destroyed[2] by him, fellow-workers *were* ruined, and the number of fellow-eaters of broken victuals, attending the great, *was* not broken up, among whom was he that had repelled his authority.

46. *It is* declared that, afterwards, Pôrûshâspô asked again *for* that Hôm from Dûk*d*âûb, and he pounded it, and with that cows' milk[3], into which the nature of the body of Zaratûs*t* had come, he here mingled the guardian spirit of Zaratûs*t*, and the nature of the body came at once into union with it.

47. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that Pôrûshâspô *and* Dûk*d*âûb drank up that Hôm and milk, when they were mingled together and announced to Aûha*r*ma*zd*; and here occurred a combination of the glory, guardian spirit, and bodily nature of Zaratûs*t* into a man*child*. 48. And a great wonder is manifested to both of them, through that which revelation mentions thus: Thereupon, both have embraced the first *time*[4] with desire

[1] The whirlwind demon; see Bd. XXVIII, 24. Compare Chap. IV, 61.

[2] The usual effects of a hurricane.

[3] The mingling of milk with pounded Hôm still constitutes part of the Parsi ceremonial; see Haug's Essays, 3rd ed., p. 405.

[4] Pahl. 'ko*l*â 2 lâlâ fratûm vapdî*d*ŏ hav*d*nd.'

for a son, *and* the demons shouted out unto them, in the villainous speech *of* sinfulness, thus: 'Why shouldst thou act like this, vile[1] Pôrûshâspô?' whereupon they started up like people who *are* ashamed. 49. A second *time* they have embraced, and the demons shouted out unto them, in villainous speech; whereupon they started up like people who *are* ashamed. 50. A third *time* they have embraced thus, with desire for a son; and the demons shouted out unto them, in villainous speech; whereupon they started up like people who *are* ashamed. 51. And they spoke with one another about *it*, *and* continued at this duty, and accomplished it[2], *saying:* 'We will not so stop without accomplishing something, not *even* though both Râk and Nô*d*ar *should* arrive here together[3].' 52. Then that man*child* who *was* the righteous Zaratû*s*t became complete, and here *below there* came together the nature of the body, the guardian spirit, and the glory of Zaratû*s*t in the womb *of his* mother.

53. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that, after the combination of Zaratû*s*t in the womb *of his* mother, the demons strove anew wonderfully

[1] Reading anâg, but it may be intended for hanâ=aê, 'O.'

[2] Pahl. '*a*fshân madam hâr s*u*ftŏ, aêghshânŏ pavan akôsh f*rá*z va*b*îdûntô.'

[3] Evidently an old proverb, implying a fixed determination whatever catastrophe may happen, even if one's ancestors of the eleventh or twelfth generation shall appear. Nô*d*ar (Av. Naotara) was a son of King Mânû*sk*îhar (Bd. XXXI, 13, 23), and Râk was a nephew of Nô*d*ar (Bd. XXXI, 31), doubtless the same as Ra*g*an (Bd. XXXII, 1; XXXIII, 3) which seems to be a Pâzand misreading of Aîri*k*ŏ, or Êri*k*ŏ, see Zs. XVI, 11–13, and compare the genealogies in Chap. II, 70 and Zs. XIII, 6. The proverb is used again in Chap. III, 19, and the names are mentioned in III, 39.

to cause the death of Zaratûst in *his* mother's womb, and she who bore him *was* rendered sickly by them through the sharpest of sharp and afflictive pain, until she wished to ask the wizard physicians for a desirable remedy. 54. And here is manifested a great wonder, just as revelation says: 'It is then a voice of theirs is carried away there to her from the higher region, from Aûha*r*ma*zd* and from the archangels, thus: "Thou damsel who goest! do not proceed thither, because anything *of* theirs is destruction through wizard medical treatment; *for* healthfulness wash *thy* hands thoroughly, *and* those hands shall take firewood, and upon it thou shalt offer meat for the sake of the infant, thou shalt offer up cows' butter *to* the fire for his sake; thou shalt likewise heat *it* at the fire for his sake, and shalt quaff (pâîmê*s*) *it* off at the *proper* time for his sake, and thou *wilt* become well."' 55. Then at once that damsel washed *her* hands thoroughly, and she did just as *she had* heard, and became well[1].

56. One *marvel* is this which is manifested to the multitude when three days remained to his coming[2] *forth;* in the manner of the sun, at the approach of *its* uprising, when its first advancing twilight is diffused, *his* body is then announced as revelation says: 'It is then when in those last three nights during which Zaratûst was in the womb, where he still subsisted three days till afterwards born, *that* the village of Pôrûshâspô became all luminous. 57. Then spoke the horse-owners and cattle-owners of the Spîtâmas, in running away, thus: "It is requisite *to be* forgiven[3]; the village of Pôrûshâspô, on which

[1] Compare Zs. XIV, 2–5.

[2] Literally 'going.'

[3] Apparently an appeal for mercy.

that fire[1] is in every crevice, is disturbed by confusion[2]." 58. Then, on running together again, they said: "It is not fully forgiven for the village of Pôrûshâspô; fire is on it in every crevice *and* it is disturbed by confusion; unto him is born, at his house, a brilliant man*child*."'

59. This, too, is one of the wonders, when the report of the marvellousness of the birth *of* that man*child and of his* great glory, is due to statements of Yim and also others, brilliant in carrying on the destiny which had entered them from the sacred beings. 60. Wherein Yim spoke to the demons thus: 'Here *below* the pure *and* righteous Zaratûs*t* *will* be born, who *will* produce for you who are demons that absence of intercession which is prepared for you (that is, he *will* produce for you a thoroughly-harassed actual inactivity, an absence of intercession so that you are not able to pray on your own account, *and* no one prays for you).'

61. *It is* declared that the report about the birth of Zaratûs*t*, and concerning his prophesying, is explained (avazandî-hastŏ) only by the illustrious, *such* as Yim and Frê*d*ûn *and* many learned people; but the sacred beings are also heard through the tongues of the animals scattered in the world, in order that even that witness shall arise as regards his prophesying. 62. *Just* like that which is declared, that in the reign of Kaî-Ûs *there* was an ox, and a splendour had come to his body from the sacred beings; and whenever a dispute as to the frontier arose between Irân and Tûrân, that ox *was* brought, and the boundary between Irân and Tûrân

[1] Assuming that nîram stands for nîr*á*, a variant of nûrâ.

[2] Or 'terrified with fear.'

was truly shown by him. 63. And because, when an Irânian *had* to seek a decision as to a Tûrânian in a dispute *and* lies occurred, the Tûrânians were constantly convicted through the showing of the boundary *by* the ox, and happened to be defeated by the Irânians—*and*, besides that, their envy also *arose* as to Kaî-Ûs, even of *his* ownership—therefore, on account of *his* possession of that wonder, the Tûrânians proceeded about the smiting and destruction of that ox, and through their sorcery and witchcraft the mind of Kaî-Ûs *was* disturbed about that ox, and he went to a warrior, *whose* name *was* Srîtô [1], *and* ordered him to kill that ox; *so* that man came to smite the ox. 64. And here is manifested a wonder of importance by that ox, *such* as revelation mentions thus: 'To him spoke the ox, in grave words, thus: "Thou shouldst not murder me, *O* Srîtô! thou seventh [2] of those of this race; you *will* atone *for this* malice when Zaratûst, the most desirous of righteousness among the existences, arrives and proclaims thy bad action in revelation; and the distress in thy soul becomes such as is declared by that passage where *it says:* 'As death occurs to him, that of Vadak[3] and the like occurs.'"' 65. *It* is declared that that man, when this wonder *was* thus seen by him *proceeding* from the ox, did not kill *it*, but went back to Kaî-Ûs *and* told *him* what he *had* seen. 66. Kaî-Ûs then still, on account of the amazing deceitfulness of the demons *and* wizards, ordered the same man to smite that ox;

[1] This legend is also told, with further details, in Zs. XII, 7–25.

[2] Compare Zs. XII, 10.

[3] The mother of Dahâk, who first committed adultery in an aggravated form (see Dd. LXXII, 5; LXXVIII, 2).

and that man proceeded also again to the ox, *and* though *it was* carrying *on* still much *of* that talk, he did not lend an ear to *it*, *but* killed *it*.

67. Regarding the sole-created ox[1], too, *it* is declared that, *on* meeting its destruction by the evil spirit, it bellowed thus: 'Though thou thinkest it as to us, *O* evil spirit, astute in evil! that thou art *in* every way a winner by destruction, *it is* not to our destruction thou art even then an attainer *in* every way (that is, *it* is not possible for thee so to annihilate that we *shall* not arise again); even now I proclaim that that man, Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas, *will* arrive in that last revolution, who *will* produce distress for the demons, the assistants of the demon, and also the wicked who are bipeds.'

68. Likewise the marvellousness of Zaratûst's defeat of the demons, owing to his glory and by means of his sagacity, even before he had come into the world by birth; when Frâsîyâv[2] the wizard is amazingly distressed through seeking that glory of his by desire of the demons, just as revelation[3] mentions thus: 'Thereupon Frâsîyâv, the very powerful Tûrânian, rushed away, *O* Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! to the wide-formed ocean a first, a second, and a third time; and he wished to obtain that glory which is specially for those *of* the countries of Irân, *for* the born and the unborn, and which is *for* the righteous *one; but* he did not attain to that glory.'

[1] Pahl. tôrâ-î aêvak-dâdŏ, the primeval ox, from whom the animals and plants have all descended (see Bd. III, 14, 17, 18; IV, 1–5; X, 1; XIV, 1–3; XXVII, 2).

[2] The same person as Frangrâsîyâk of Chaps. I, 31, 39; II, 69; XI, 3.

[3] In Yt. XIX, 56–62; V, 42.

69. And this, too, *is mentioned*, that to all the seven regions the villain Frangrâsîyâk rushed away, and the glory of Zaratûs*t* *was* sought by him [1].

70. Here is an enumeration *of* the worthy lineage of Zaratûs*t* [2] :—Zaratûs*t* *was son* of Pôrûshâspô, *son* of Pa*d*îragtarâspô, of Urugadhasp*, of Haê*k*a*d*aspô*, of *K*ikhshnu*s**, of Paêtrasp*, of Are*g*adhar*s*n*, of Hardhar*, of Spîtâm, of Vaêdis*t**, of Nayâzem* [3], of Aîrî*k* [3], of Dûrâsrôbô, of Mânû*s*k*îhar monarch of Irân, of Mânû*s*-khûrnar, of Mânû*s*-khûrnâk whom Nêrôksang implanted in [4] Vîzak*, *daughter* of Airyak*, *son* of Thritak*, of Bitak*, of Frazû*s*ak*, of Zû*s*ak*, of Fragûzak* [5], of Gûzak* [6], *daughter* of Aîrî*k*, *son* of Frê*d*ûn monarch of Khvanîras, *son* of Pûr-tô*r*â the Âspîgân, of Nêvak-tô*r*â the Âspîgân, of Sôg-tô*r*â the Âspîgân, of Bôr-tô*r*â the Âspîgân, of Ka*rd*âr-tô*r*â [7] the Âspîgân, of Sîyah-tô*r*â the Âspîgân, of Spêtô-tô*r*â the Âspîgân, of Gêfar-tô*r*â the Âspîgân, of Ramak-tô*r*â [8] the Âspîgân, of Vanôfravi*s*n the Âspîgân, of Yim monarch of the seven

[1] See Yt. XIX, 82.

[2] Compare the genealogy in Zs. XIII, 6 ; Bd. XXXII, 1, and that quoted there from the Vi*g*îrka*rd*-i Dênîg. The names marked here with an asterisk are written in Pâzand, or partly so.

[3] Ayazem, of Ra*g*an, in Bd. The latter name is Ra*g*i*s*n in Vi*g*., but Êri*k*ŏ in Zs. XVI, 13.

[4] This wants confirmation, but va*r*z*î*d *b*ên can hardly be a name as assumed in Vi*g*., where it is altered to Va*r*z*î*d-dên.

[5] The g is of the old form like s.

[6] The G is omitted, but see Bd. XXXI, 14.

[7] Or Kûtâl-tô*r*â ; this generation is omitted both in the Vi*g*îrka*rd* and Bundahi*s*.

[8] This generation is interlined in the MS. of the Dînka*rd*. The Bundahi*s*, XXXI, 7, also omits Nêvak-tô*r*â ; and the Vi*g*îrka*rd* omits Bôr-tô*r*â, Sîyah-tô*r*â, Spêtô-tô*r*â, and Ramak-tô*r*â. The termination tô*r*â is merely the Zvâri*s* equivalent of g*a*u. In Irânian MSS. the Pahlavi î and û are practically written alike in most cases.

regions, *son* of Vîvangha, of Ayang,ha*d**, of Anang,ha*d**, *son* of Hôshâng the Pê*s*dâ*d*ian monarch of the seven regions, *son* of Fravâk, of Sîyâmak, of Masyâ, of Gâyômar*d* the first man.

CHAPTER III.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested after the birth of that most auspicious of offsprings from *his* mother, till his coming to a conference *with* Aûha*r*ma*zd*[1].

2. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that on being born he laughed outright; the seven midwives (dayah)[2], who sat around him, were quite frightened thereby; and those terrified ones spoke thus: 'What was this, on account of grandeur or contempt? when, like the worthy man whose pleasure is due to activity, the man's child so laughs at the birth owing to him.' 3. Pôrûshâspô also spoke thus: 'Bring out this man*child* to the sheep*skin* clothing which is soft; the affair *was* owing to thee, owing to the virtue of thee who art Dûk*d*âûb, that the advent of glory and coming of radiance to this man*child was* openly seen when he laughed outright at his birth.'

4. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that Pôrûshâspô afterwards went to a Karap, Dûrâsrôbô *by* name, who was the most renowned for witchcraft in that district, and informed him of the birth of Zaratû*s*t *and* the wonders which were manifested

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[1] The contents of this chapter refer chiefly to 'the rearing of Zaratû*s*t.' For the other matters mentioned in Dk. VIII, xiv, 2, see Zs. XIV, 6–12.

[2] Sls. X, 15 prescribes 'ten women.' Zs. XIV, 13 mentions 'seven wizards (yâtûkŏ).'

therein; he *also* brought *him* to the house for the purpose of seeing Zaratûst. 5. That wizard, owing to the coming *on* of vexation at that glory in Zaratûst, desired with evil intention a really mischievous deceit (shêdŏ), to compress with *his* paws (gôv) the tender head of that full-glorious child, to cause *his* death. 6. And here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions *it* thus: 'Thereupon the paws of that deadly *one* (mar) *are* driven back to behind him (that is, reversed (aûskûn) backwards); nor ever after *did* that deadly *one* become again a devourer of meat with *his* jaws by means of those paws.' 7. That Karap also, besides that, examined the marks *and* evil specks on Zaratûst[1]; and Pôrûshâspô, *in* awful alarm as to the dispersion *of* the emanation of splendour (âp-dihîh) from Zaratûst, hastened (sârînîd) to make Zaratûst invisible.

8. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that the Karap Dûrâsrôbô, through witchcraft, cast such fear of Zaratûst into the mind *of* Pôrûshâspô, *and* so injured the mind of Pôrûshâspô, that, owing only to that very fear as regards himself, he asked the Karap for the death of Zaratûst. 9. Also about[2] the mode of putting to death for which Pôrûshâspô, owing to the distraction (vishôpisnŏ) by which he becomes helpless, asks Dûrâsrôbô; and that Karap is bringing much firewood together, and to shelter (nipâyîdanŏ) Zaratûst amid that firewood, to stir up a fire, and to make *it* blaze with the wood were the remedy he arranged (vîrâstŏ); and Pôrûshâspô acted accord-

[1] Compare Zs. XVI, 1–3.

[2] Pahl. madam-má, where má=ki, 'what? whatever,' is used for -ik, 'also,' as often happens.

ingly. 10. And here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions it thus: 'Neither *was* fire among the vegetation on a tree (that is, it does not come on), nor *has* fire seized upon plants; *but* on rushed, at dawn [1], that son-loving mother, and she came forth to him intelligently (hûshûmônd), and seizing him, thereby removed him with *her* right hand aloft as he sat [2].'

11. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that after Pôrûshâspô spoke to the Karap Dûrâsrôbô about the fire not burning *the child*, he asked anew about putting Zaratûst to death; *then* to ensconce (nipâyî*d*anŏ) Zaratûst in a narrow path, and despatch many oxen on that path, so that he *may* be trampled on *by* the feet of the oxen *at* night, were the remedy that Karap proposed (girâyî*d*ŏ) to Pôrûshâspô; and Pôrûshâspô acted accordingly. 12. Here also is manifested a wonder of grandeur to the multitude, just as revelation mentions: 'It *was* that ox walked on which *had* become sorrowful (that is, its sorrow was great owing to another ox) and *it was* aged and walked before that *one* (before the leading ox), it *also* hastened before that *other* (that is, it stood up before Zaratûst), *and* he *was* greatly pitied by it for the whole day, so that it kept away the oxen from him, *being* the first *that* walked thither *and* the last *that* walked away; on rushed at dawn that son-loving mother, forth to *him* she came intelli-

[1] Reading pavan aûsh, but it might be pavan hûsh, 'with sense,' here and in § 14, where there is nothing to indicate that the child was out all night, but in §§ 12, 18 he is evidently rescued the next morning.

[2] Pahl. 'madam pavan aûstakŏ.' Compare Zs. XVI, 7.

gently, and seizing him, thereby removed him with *her* right hand aloft as he sat[1].'

13. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that Pôrûshâspô came a second time (îdanŏ) to that Karap also about the oxen not trampling on Zaratûst, *and* asked anew about the mode *of* putting Zaratûst to death; *then* to ensconce Zaratûst *near* a drinking-pool (*âv*khûr) in the domain (gêhân), and to drive many horses to that drinking-pool, so that he may be trampled on by the hoofs of the horses, were the substituted[2] remedy that Karap proposed; *and* Pôrûshâspô acted accordingly. 14. And here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions thus: 'That horse walked on which *had* become fully-hoofed (that is, its hoofs were very thick); *it is* yellow-eared and it walks before that *one* (before the leading horse), and it hastens before that *other* (that is, it stood up before Zaratûst), and *was* the first *that* walked on thither, *and* the last *that* walked away; on rushed at dawn that son-loving mother, forth to him she came intelligently, and seizing him, thereby removed him with *her* right hand aloft as he sat[3].'

15. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that Pôrûshâspô *came* again to that Karap, spoke also about the horses, too, not trampling on Zaratûst, and asked anew as to what *may be* the mode *of* putting

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[1] Compare Zs. XVI, 5.

[2] Possibly 'supplementary' or 'gratuitous.' The word is nîrmatŏ which, as a noun, means the gratuity or honorarium paid to a priest for acting as a substitute for another. Its etymology is obscure, unless it be an abbreviation of nîrûmandî, 'strength,' used in the legal sense of 'refresher.'

[3] Compare Zs. XVI, 6.

Zaratûst to death; *then* to have Zaratûst carried off into the den (sûrâk) where a wolf's cubs (hûnûskân) *are* slaughtered, so that when the wolf arrives *and* sees the slaughtered cubs, she *will* wrathfully growl *and* mangle Zaratûst in revenge for those cubs, was the remedy that Karap proposed; and Pôrûshâspô acted accordingly. 16. *And* here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions: 'It is when that wolf came on, several Yûgyâsts[1], towards Zaratûst, the wolf *was* struck dumb by the assistance of the sacred beings, so that its mouth *was* down *at* the cubs, one with the other.'

17. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that Srôsh[2] the righteous *and* Vohûmanô proceeded to him, and a woolly (kûrûsak) *sheep* was brought by them unto him; the nurses (dâyagân)[3] also *were* terrified, apart from him, the whole night. 18. *Then* on rushed at dawn that son-loving mother, forwards from the position *of* that woolly *sheep* she walked, and she, the mistress of the domain (zan-î gehân), spoke thus: 'Thou runnest on violently (ûtayûtŏ) in excess;' for she considered in this *way*, that 'the wolf is so much better to that son than thou art[4] good to me, when I shall show *his*[5] bone or blood in thy sight[6].' 19. Forwards to him has she come

[1] The Yûgyâst is a distance of sixteen Roman miles of a thousand paces each (see Dk. VIII, xx, 19, note). But the writer of the scripture here quoted could have had no idea of the distance he was mentioning.

[2] A sacred being who personifies 'obedience,' and is a special protector of man, particularly at night.

[3] It may also be read dehîgân, 'the country-folk.'

[4] Or '*she* would be.'

[5] Or 'they show *my*.'

[6] This seems to be a bitter reproach addressed to her husband; but the ambiguity of the Pahlavi makes its exact meaning rather uncertain.

intelligently and, seizing him, she thereby removed him, through the grace (dahi*s*nŏ) of the sacred beings, aloft as he sat; and she, the mistress of the domain, spoke thus: 'I *shall* not give thee up again, *my* son, not *even* though both Râk and Nô*d*ar *should* arrive here together[1].'

20. And *it* is declared that, afterwards, the Karap Dûrâsrôbô, with a malicious disciple, came to the same district and noticed about the advancement of Zaratû*st*; and they saw no means for injuring *or* putting *him* to death, but his condition (mindavam) *was* a marvel as full of vigour as this which is declared, that Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh, the Karap, growled thus: —21. 'Then I, *who* am the most far-seeing of the people in that district of ours as to witchcraft, see upon their district that well-directing (that is, he understands good commands) produce *of* development (that is, the increase which continually becomes more, which *has* come and which *will* arrive), with good flocks (that is, he understands to keep good sheep), with good herds (that is, he understands to keep a herd which is better *than* another's), the well-exerting (that is, he understands to do work which is better *than* another's), well-fighting (that is, he understands to do battle well), and perfectly liberal (that is, he understands to exercise beneficial liberality) bantling (hûnû*s*kŏ) of Pôrûshâspô[2], in the three nights while he was begotten out of

[1] See Chap. II, 51. Compare Dk. V, ii, 4; Zs. XVI, 8–13.

[2] The Pahlavi version of an Avesta text, here translated, is a fair specimen of the complication produced by appending a gloss to every epithet. It is useful as a combination of translation and lexicon, but it is apt to be perplexing, unless all the glosses are carefully omitted by the reader who can dispense with a lexicon.

his parents. 22. Unto him *will* Vohûmanô come in the embodied world (that is, Vohûmanô *will* come unto Zaratûst), and conducting him unto a conference, his good religion *will* extend into the seven regions *of* the earth; and so I *shall* not even let him produce in *his* mind (that is, he *will* not know) where *and* how I *shall* murder him; and a token of this matter, that *one* speaks truly, is this, that I state *it* beforehand, promptly after the full hearing of the statement of the matter, when you heard this statement.'

23. Pôrûshâspô advanced, conveyed in a four-in-hand chariot [1]; then, on hearing that statement, *and* when they had heard that statement, Pôrûshâspô started forth, conveyed in that four-in-hand chariot. 24. And Pôrûshâspô spoke to Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh, the Karap, thus: 'Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh, *thou* Karap! whatever men they shall behold, cry out when at birth; even the offspring of that secluded person they behold in death, cry out when at birth [2]; *but* what *was* that which *they* beheld *at* the birth of my son? 25. When at birth he laughed outright; *was* that also beheld *in* thy son, when at birth did he laugh outright? 26. When Vohûmanô comes unto him, into *this* embodied existence, *it* is also said by him on *his* return: "*O* Pôrûshâspô! where is thy servant [3]?" So, *O* Karap! concerning him who is my son, *it is* beheld that *he was* seen sagaciously by thee.'

For restoring the original Avesta, the Pahlavi translation, without the glosses, is usually the best guide.

[1] Pahl. 4-ayûg*i*snŏ râê (Av. *k*athruyukhta and ratha).

[2] This seems to be the meaning of Pahl. 'zag-*îk* tanŏ armêstô-dahi*s*nîh pavan f*râz* khadîtund margîh, amat pavan zerkhûni*s*nŏ, ba*r*â bekhûnd.'

[3] Pahl. 'Pôrûshâspô! aêghat bandakŏ?'

27. And[1] when Pôrûshâspô enquired of him thus: 'What was the *matter* with thee when, through bringing thee unto that son of mine, *he was* thereby offered; and thou lookedst long up away from him in height, and thou lookedst long down away from him in depth, and thou lookedst long out away from him in different directions?' 28. The Tûrânian, Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh the Karap, spoke *in* reply thus: 'When through bringing me unto that son *was thy* offering of him, and I[2] looked long up away from him in height, then the radiance *and* glory out of him kept together up to the sun, *and* through him[3] I have accompanied *them* on the boundary *of its* radiance *and* glory; so that I saw this, that mankind through speaking to the soul may attain to the firmament of the sun; *but* this, namely, how the routine (dâ*d*istânŏ) is in the supreme heaven, *was* not seen by me. 29. When through bringing me unto that son of thine *was thy* offering of him, and I looked long down in depth away from *thy* offering of him, then the radiance and glory out of him kept together unto the sky which is below this earth, and through him[4] to the boundary of *its* radiance and glory; *but* this, namely, how the routine is in that sky, *was* not seen by me. 30. And when through bringing me unto that son of thine *was thy* offering of him, and I looked long out away from him in different directions, then the radiance *and* glory from him kept together for adorning this earth, *and*

[1] The first five words of § 28 are here inserted in the MS., so as to combine the two sentences in a perplexing manner.

[2] The MS. has *a*fat for *a*fam by mistake. [3] Or 'that.'

[4] The differences of form in §§ 28–30 are probably due to errors of copyists.

through him I have accompanied *them* on the boundary of *its* radiance *and* glory; so that I saw this, that only from the action of this *one* the future existence *will* arise; but the routine of the future existence *was* not seen by me. 31. This son of thine thinks thus: "I *will* make a grander material existence than that of *any* other;" so he *will* also make thy spiritual *one*, where thou goest; *and* this son of thine *will* remain in the great protection *of* Vistâsp, not in thine.'

32. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that when Zaratûst was seven years old, that Dûrâsrôbô being joined by Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh the Karap at the village of Pôrûshâspô, on account of the little previous seeing of Zaratûst *by the latter*, they saw Zaratûst in that neighbourhood when a hut (kâ*d*akŏ) was constructed by him with the children; and they sat with evil intention to injure the mind of Zaratûst through witchcraft, and for that reason fear and terror *were* cast by them upon the children. 33. Here a great wonder became manifest to them, owing to the powerful intellect, cautiousness, and practice of Zaratûst, just as revelation mentions thus: 'When the other children were excessively terrified at their own silliness of speech, Zaratûst did not quite close the eye in his mind as regards them.'

34. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that when these two Karaps came to the dwelling of Pôrûshâspô, he ordered the preparation of food for their eating; and his prepared food is chewed up (f*râz* khayâî-aît), *with* a gobletful (pûr dôlakŏ) of mare's milk. 35. He also spoke to Dûrâsrôbô thus: 'Thou art the most spirit-worshipping[1] of mankind

[1] Literally 'demon-worshipping;' it is not clear that idolatry is

in our district; do thou worship this of mine.' 36. A great marvel, owing to the sagacity of Zaratûst at a childish age, is just as revelation mentions that Zaratûst spoke thus: 'I worship this, *O* father! *it is* not that which it is necessary for me to worship *that* he should worship.' 37. And Pôrûshâspô spoke thus: '*It is* not that of mine thou worshippest, *and* it is that of mine he should worship.' 38. As many as three times those persons (gab*r*ân) carried on those assertions; *when* up stood Zaratûst and spoke concerning them, and he broke forth with that eternal statement[1], namely: 'The righteous I reverence, men *or* women; the poor I reverence, men *or* women; *not* the wicked, men or women; when any one whatever shall join Pôrûshâspô, where he shall be celebrating worship, the worship shall then be suitable to the worshippers, that is, he shall worship that which it is necessary to worship.'

39. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that afterwards Dûrâsrôbô the Karap shouted to Zaratûst thus: 'Evil was thy reckoning[2] which, owing to the conduct of fate (bâhar), I, the foremost of the existences embodied in Râk and Nôdâr[3], bring to thee; I am made further worthy where thy fate is carried away from me; now is the joy (parkân) which I convey to him[4] through bringing *it* on, and this

intended, but rather some form of worship antecedent to Zoroastrian Mazda-worship which latter had not yet been established. The author of this legend must have supposed that it differed very little from the religion of Pôrûshâspô.

[1] Reading sakhûn-i leyalmin which is written in Pahlavi exactly like dashinô rigelá, 'the right foot.'

[2] Pahl. marakŏ, possibly for marg, 'death.'

[3] See Chap. II, 51, note.

[4] Probably referring to his companion Brâdrôk-rêsh who, accord-

will occur, so that I *may* observe he *will* kill thee with the evil eye in the house.' 40. And here is a great wonder which became manifest about Zaratûst, in the sagacity of *his* reply to that deadly *one* at that childish age, which *was* just like this which revelation mentions, that Zaratûst spoke thus : 'Without the joy of a murderer I observe, with propitiousness and complete mindfulness, that it is thee I notice in that house which is thine [1].'

41. One *marvel* is that which, after this reply of Zaratûst to Dûrâsrôbô, became manifest in that Karap, just as revelation mentions thus : 'The deadly *one* became disabled and stupefied as long as the milking of ten mares *in* milk whose milker is *only* one.'

42. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that when that wizard emerged from *that* stupefaction, he then shouted again to Zaratûst *in* the same manner, Zaratûst uttered that same reply, *and* the deadly *one* became anew disabled and stupefied as long as the milking of twenty mares full of milk whose milker *is only one.*

43. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that again when that wizard emerged from *that* stupefaction, he then shouted to Zaratûst *in* the same manner, Zaratûst uttered that same reply, *and* the deadly *one* becomes anew disabled and stupefied as long as the milking of thirty mares full of milk whose milker is *only* one.

44. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that when that wizard emerged from that stupefaction, he

ing to most accounts, was the murderer of Zaratûst in his old age. This tradition is mentioned in Dk. VII only here and in § 22.

[1] Alluding to Dûrâsrôbô's own fate, see § 45.

then grumbled thus: 'Do ye have the horse driven for us, and turn round the chariot wherein you harness *it;* for really this smiting *one* (ganâk) *will* destroy me through the arrival of the *sacred* text *and* through *his* possession of authority.' *So* they had the horse driven, and *it was* harnessed to the chariot by them. 45. And here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions thus: 'When he *had* proceeded several Yûǵyâsts[1] in driving, he stopped in his distress through being terrified, *and* this occurred which I mention for a warning[2], his semen *was* expelled, so that it arose in his skin and burst it[3], and *his* loin thereby broke from *his* thigh; he then died outright, then his progeny, and then the offspring of his progeny.'

46. One *marvel* is this which is declared that, even before the coming *of Zaratûst* to a conference[4], *there* is manifested in him a mind which is more capacious than the whole world, *and* more exalted than every worldly possession, with an understanding whose strength is perfectly selected, an intellect of all-acquiring power, and a sagacity of all-deciding ability; also with the much heedfulness *of* the kingly glory, and the full desire for righteousness, the efficacious diligence and authority, and even the superiority in mightiness and grandeur of the priestly glory. 47. Also the handsomeness of body *and* completeness of strength which are in the character *of* these four classes of his, which are priesthood,

[1] See § 16 n.

[2] Pahl. 'avŏ pê*s* yema*le*lûnam.'

[3] Or 'in his back and broke it,' if we suppose that pôst, 'skin,' stands for pôst, 'back.' Compare the same legend in Zs. XIX, 1–8.

[4] With the sacred beings.

warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship; *besides* a perfect friendship for the sacred beings *and* the good, *and* an awful enmity for the demons *and* the vile. 48. That is the nature by which the habits (dâ*d*ŏîh) of mankind *and* bipeds, the perfection and completeness of the sacred beings through the creativeness of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and its *own* commemoration *of them* are provided. 49. So that the sacred beings shall bring a report, as to his superiority, from every one of those who are *and* were *and* will be, *and* of his coming for reminding *us of* Aûha*r*ma*zd* and *of* the lord-and-mastership (ahû-va-ra*d*îh) of the world, *also of* the preservation of the creations therein (ay*î*pŏ-dahi*s*nân), from the destroyer, by the tongue of the many-mannered (kabed-sarâ*d*akŏ) sage, the fully-virtuous *one* of the age producing no harm (avazand-dahîg) in the world. 50. And the demons on this *account*, that this is *he* whom many Kîgs[1] *and* Karaps *have* to influence the good to confound *and* destroy, then also kept *their* promise and practised friendship.

51. And on the completion of thirty years beyond his birth[2], the archangel Vohûmanô came on in commemoration of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, when *he was* bringing his Hôm-water (mayâ-î Hômîgân)[3] from the

[1] See Chap. II, 9 n.

[2] The remaining contents of this and the following chapter are thus summarized in Dk. VIII, xiv, 3, 4:—'His attainment on maturity, at thirty years *of age*, to a conference *with* Aûha*r*ma*zd*; and the occurrence of seven conferences in ten years. Many marvels, owing to him are published therein, just as there are *some* which, collected *and* selected, are noticed by the Dînka*rd* manuscript,' that is, in this seventh book, in which, however, the details of the seven conferences do not occur; but some are mentioned in Zs. XXI, 8–XXII, 13.

[3] See Visp. XI, 2.

river Aêvatâk [1], just as this which revelation mentions thus: 'When Zaratûst came forth to the third effluent (ba*r*â-ta*g*is*n*îh), that of the good Dâîtî, he further proceeded through that; and when he marched onwards from that, a man *was* seen by him, who marched from the southern quarter. 52. That was Vohûmanô, and it seemed *to* him *that* Vohûmanô *was* of early form (so that he is more discerning as to a person) and foreseeing (that is, he was beforehand in everything); it seemed *to* him *that* Vohûmanô *was* as much *in* height as three men's spears; and it seemed *to* him, *as to* Vohûmanô that a glossy twig (arûs tâk) *was* brought by him in *his* hand, through carrying off which branch the plant *was* not injured by him; that became the spiritual twig of the religion, and this *was* indicated by it, that it is necessary to proceed as uninjuriously by the religion. 53. There is *some one* who says that it became a reminder of the spiritual *existence*, and this *was* indicated by it, that it is necessary to proceed as uninjuriously in the world, so that peace may exist with every one.

54. When he came onward to the fourth effluent, as far as the Aûshân-rû*d* of the good Dâîtî (which was the name of it) and *he was* in it, Zaratûst *was* bringing the Hôm-water from the middle of it; and on the ascent Zaratûst, bringing his right foot out of the Aûshân-rû*d*, covered *himself* with his clothes, and upon that Vohûmanô, advancing, joined him in front.

[1] Literally 'single-flowing.' In Bd. XXIX, 4, 5, it is Nâîvtâk which has been translated as 'navigable' in Bd. XX, 34, and as 'flowing in a channel' in Dk. VIII, xxxvii, 38, 42; IX, xvi, 16.—From § 54 it appears to have been a channel of the good Dâîtî river which flows from Aîrân-vê*g* (see Bd. XX, 13).

55. And that man enquired of him thus: 'Who art thou; from whom of them art thou[1]?' *He replied:* 'I am Zaratûšt[2] of the Spîtâmas.'

56. The words of Vohûmanô *were:* '*O* Zaratûšt of the Spîtâmas! about what is thy foremost distress (that is, for what is thy need when thou becomest quite distressed); about what is thy foremost endeavour; and for what is the tendency of thy desire (lak kâmakŏ-dahišnîh)?' 57. The reply of Zaratûšt *was* thus: 'About righteousness, I consider *my* foremost distress; about righteousness *my* foremost endeavour; and for righteousness the tendency of my desire (that is, my need is for that thing, and I am a distressed seeker of righteousness).'

58. The words of Vohûmanô *were:* '*O* Zaratûšt of the Spîtâmas! that which is righteousness is existing (that is, a real thing is, as *it were*, that which is righteousness), so that whatever is that which is righteousness is thus what is one's own.' 59. And Zaratûšt spoke thus: 'That which is righteousness exists, and concerning that I am completely clear and aware; *but* where *and* how is that radiance which is that whose arrival is through Vohûmanô.'

60. And Vohûmanô spoke to him thus: '*O* Zaratûšt of the Spîtâmas! deposit this one garment which thou carriest, so that we *may* confer with him *by*

[1] See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 7 c (Sp.).

[2] According to the numbering of the folios in the old Bombay MS., written in 1659, nine folios were here separated from it last century. They contained the text as far as the end of Chap. IV, and the first eight of them were found at Naosâri about twenty years ago and copied. But all Indian copies, written before that time, omit this mislaid text. See S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. xxxvi, xxxvii.

whom thou art produced *and by* whom I am produced, who is the most propitious of spirits, who is the most beneficent of existences, and who is he *that* I, who am Vohûmanô, am testifying (that is, I am a reminder of him).'

61. Thereupon, Zaratûs*t* thought thus: 'Good is he who is the creator, who is better than this reminder.' 62. Then they proceeded in company, Vohûmanô and Zaratûs*t*; Vohûmanô *first and* Zaratûs*t* after.

Chapter IV.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested from the first conference onwards till the end of the seventh conference which occurred within the duration of ten years, also his pre-eminence in prophecy in the world, *and* the acceptance of the religion *by* the exalted Kaî-Vis*t*âsp, as *happened* after the ten years of conference.

2. In *the first* two years, one *marvel* is this which is declared, that when he was back from the first conference, he then, by the first command of the lord *and* creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, recited the unique formula (âyînŏ) in an assemblage (ram) of Kîgs and Karaps, the prophecy of his Ma*zd*a-worshipping religion and commemoration of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, as he chanted with a loud voice, *and* invited mankind to the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 3. Just as this *passage* of revelation mentions thus: 'Thereupon, the thorough inspection for this material existence of those with a *sacred* girdle, provided with dwellings *and* provided with cattle, *was* altogether arranged by Zaratûs*t*.'

4. And when their announcement (nivêdi*s*nŏ) for

speaking to be heard *was* issued[1], then Zaratûst, on becoming exalted, called out unto the embodied world of righteousness to extol righteousness and to scorn the demons[2]. 5. 'The homage of the Ma*zd*a-worship of Zaratûst, *and* the ceremonial and obeisance for the archangels *are* the best for you I assert; and of deprecation (ay*azis*nîh) for the demons next-of-kin marriage is really the best intimation, so that, from the information which is given *as to* the trustworthiness of a good work, the greatest are the most intimate of them, *those of* father *and* daughter, son *and* she who bore *him*, and brother *and* sister.'

6. *It is* declared that, upon those words, innumerable demon-worshipping Kîgs and Karaps have rushed upon Zaratûst and strove for his death, just like this which revelation states:—'It is then a number (mar) have run away who have sat in the vicinity of Tûr's progeny (hûnûskŏ)[3], the arbitrator; and the shame of the brother of Tûr arose, like *that of* a person whose shame *was* that they spoke of his next-of-kin marriage so that he might contract it.'

7. This Tûr *was* Aûrvâîtâ-dang[4] the Tûr, the scanty giver, *who* was like a great sovereign of that

[1] From this point §§ 4–8 and 11 have been already translated in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 412, 413, in illustration of the meaning of Khvêtûk-das in Sasanian times and later.

[2] Av. staomî ashem; nâismî daêvô (Yas. XI, 19; XII, 1).

[3] An opprobrious term for the progeny of evil beings and animals, also used by a Karap when speaking of Zaratûst in Chap. III, 21.

[4] As this name has not been found in the extant Avesta, its correct reading is uncertain. In Zs. XX, 8, it can be read Aûrvaîtŏ-dih, in which dih is the Pahl. translation of Av. dang,hu, of which dang is a Pahl. transliteration; and the whole name may mean 'friendly to the province,' which seems suitable to this particular ruler. The MS. appears to have dêng.

quarter; many troops and *much* power *were* also maintained by him, and the multitude (mar) told him they would seize the great *one* from *him* who is little.

8. *But* the progeny of Aûrvâîtâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver, *spoke* thus: '*Should* we for that *speech* destroy him, this great *one* who mingles together those propitious words *for* us—where we are thus without doubt *as to* one thing therein, *such* as next-of-kin marriage, that it is not necessary to contract *it*—it would make us ever doubtful whether it *might* be necessary to contract it.'

9. And Aûrvâîtâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver, spoke thus: 'Thou shalt not destroy that man whom mine eyes *have* seen *as* the most loving-eyed of the whole embodied existence; he *will* attain strength, for it *has* not seemed to me, when thou destroyest him on this account, *that* wisdom *has* arisen *for* a long time; so that no rule (âhankŏ) *of* wisdom *will* arise, in this earth, which is so counselling (hangamanig) as this *one* is (that is, when they destroy a man who is counselling, wisdom *will* not arise *for* a long while).'

10. Aûrvâîtâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver to his own *people*, also spoke thus: 'For me thou art a pure *man* who is counselling.'

11. And Zaratûst spoke thus: 'I *shall* not always be that quiet speaker, by[1] whom that I *have* mentioned is the most propitious *thing* to be obtained; and of interfering[2] speaking and managing the temper *there* is a next-of-kin marriage, and the high-

[1] Or 'from.'

[2] It may be 'parenthetical or ambiguous.'

priest *who has* contracted[1] *it* is to perform the ceremonial.'

12. And here the good spiritual lordship and mightiness of glory of Zaratûst, those which are provided for commemoration *of* the supreme lord and creator Aûharmazd, are manifested *as* a great wonder to the multitude, *and there* is rendered visible the great pre-eminence which is in him *as* a prophet *of* the creatures, which for the baseness (nankîh) of the deceitful Agash[2], the secret-moving and deceiving-natured, is the concealed control of a good disposition. 13. Then idleness, like even the habit of fear and nature of apostasy, is an attractor of every one of the multitude, when it extends to much length; little by little, too, that guide and combatant becomes a petitioner for greatness, *and it is* manifest through that compassion (tang-libbemâîh) and superior mindfulness of his, *and* through the glory of that stout champion, *there are* much fame *and* treasure.

14. The nobles of Aûrvâîtâ-dang the Tûr, the ruler of the land, *were* angry and clamourers for Zaratûst's death; but he invited the Kîgs and Karaps to the religion of Aûharmazd, just as this *passage* of revelation states that Zaratûst also spoke thus: 'Worldly righteousness, *O* Aûrvâîtâ-dang, *thou* Tûr *and* scanty giver! is the whole *of the worship of* the demons and the termination of the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst.' 15. And Aûrvâîtâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver, spoke thus: '*O* Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! thou shalt not attract me to this evil in which thou really art.'

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[1] Or, perhaps, 'celebrated.'

[2] The demon of the evil eye (see Bd. XXVIII, 33); Av. Aghashi, Vd. XX, 3, 7, 9.

16. Zaratûs*t* also spoke thus: 'Aûha*r*ma*zd* enquired of me thus: "*O* Zaratûs*t*! when thou hast come away to us, among the spiritual lords, who of the people in thy material existence *was* the protector of the powerful men who *are* warriors, *that was* most seeking benefit, most seeking cattle, most extensively associating, most fully-supplying (that is, he gives out most things), and most hospitable[1] (*that is*, *one* saw the door of a prince's (khidîvŏ) treasury)?" I replied to him thus: "Aûrvâîtâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver."'

17. 'And he spoke *in* reply to me thus: "Him, *O* Zaratûs*t*! thou shalt attract, first of the men *who are* warriors, to thinking about, speaking about, and acting about this religion which is Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s and Zaratûs*t*'s. 18. If you attract him, *O* Zaratûs*t*! and he believes in it and also gives currency to this *religion* of thine, and sits before *thee* in discipleship, this that *one* calls discipleship of thine he shall undertake, and the religion he hears fully he shall propagate (rûbâk va*b*îdûnyên); he is also ever after, *O* Zaratûs*t*! the first of the men *who are* warriors, the *one* most seeking benefit, most seeking cattle, most extensively associating, and most hospitable of those who have yet been born *and* who *will* henceforth be born. 19. And if you do not attract him, *O* Zaratûs*t*! and he does not believe in it, nor gives currency *to* this *religion* of thine, nor hears *it*, nor even sits before thee, nor would sit before thee, so that *it is* obvious to me that *he* is not attracted, thou shalt speak unto him thus, *O* Zaratûs*t*: 'Thou art a stricken supplicant for righteousness, and a producer of lamentation for the souls of Tan*â*pûhar sinners

[1] Literally 'most many-doored.'

worthy of death;' for even so it is, and for this reason he becomes worthy of death, because the existence of the religion is known to him." 20. What I tell thee, *O* Aûrvâîtâ-dang, *thou* Tûr *and* scanty giver! is that thou art a stricken supplicant *for* righteousness, a producer of lamentation for the souls of Tan*â*pûhar sinners worthy of death.'

21. One prodigy of the demons is specified, who *was* the enemy of whatever sacred beings *there are*, a Karap, Vaêdvôi*s*t[1] *by* name, *of* those unsanctified (aya*s*tân) *by* Aûha*r*ma*zd*[2]. 22. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'I so befriend that man, *O* Zaratû*s*t! who is put forward by me over the creatures, whom thou shalt invite (khvânê*s*), I *who* am Aûha*r*ma*zd*, because I am through righteousness opposed to harm (that is, through virtue I keep harm away from the creatures), *and* the archangels are opposed to harm. 23. Therefore do thou proceed, *O* Zaratû*s*t! *and* thou shalt demand from him for me (that is, keep as my property) a hundred youths of vigour (tôsh tal)[3], girls, and teams of four horses; so do thou speak to him thus: "*O* Vêdvoî*s*t! Aûha*r*ma*zd* demands from thee a hundred youths of vigour, girls, *and* teams of four horses; if thou givest *them*

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[1] Here written in Pâzand, but the Pahlavi form, Vêdvoî*s*t, occurs in §§ 23, 24.

[2] Or '*of* the non-worshippers *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd*.'

[3] For an instance of gifts of slaves see the Pahlavi inscription on an engraved stone from Baghdâd, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xi, p. 224, ll. 2, 3 of inscription: 'kevan bîdûn va-kanîgakŏ . . . lakhvâr . . . shed*r*ûnam . . . va-zak shibâ rî*d*ŏ va-shibâ kanîga-kŏân shed*r*ûnt:'—'Now . . . I send back a slave-boy and slave-girl . . . and those seven slave-boys and seven slave-girls are sent.' This inscription was probably engraved in the seventh century, judging from the forms of the letters.

to him, splendour and glory are thine through that giving; and if thou dost not give to him, evil destiny is thine through that not-giving."'

24. Then Zaratûs*t* walked on to that Vêdvoîs*t* of those unsanctified, and spoke to him thus: '*O* Vêdvoîs*t* of the unsanctified! that *which* Aûha*r*ma*zd* demands from thee is a hundred youths of vigour, girls, and teams of four horses; if thou givest them to him, splendour *and* glory are thine through that giving; and if thou dost not give to him, evil destiny is thine through that not-giving.' 25. And that Karap shouted in reply *to* Zaratûs*t* thus: 'For me *there* is no more from thee (that is, there is no opulence for me from thy action), nor from Aûha*r*ma*zd*; I am more of a divinity (bagtar) *and* am more forward in opulence than even Aûha*r*ma*zd*; many droves of a thousand swine are also acquired by me.'

26. On went Zaratûs*t*, up to Aûha*r*ma*zd* *and* up to the archangels, and Zaratûs*t* spoke thus: '*O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*, propitious spirit, creator of the world of embodied *beings*, *thou* righteous *one!* thus spoke he *in* reply to me: "For me *there* is no more from thee, nor from Aûha*r*ma*zd*; I am more of a divinity than thee *or* even Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and many droves of a thousand swine are acquired by me."'

27. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'Owing to the splendour and glory of those which are ours, *O* Zaratûs*t*! that man has acquired arrogance (that is, the cattle we produced are the many cattle of his arrogance). 28. This *will be* his retribution for it then, however, when he does not reach further alive at the end of the third night[1]; in that third night

[1] Apparently the third night after death, on the passing away of

they *will* have stood aloof from alongside his life (that is, they *will* have stood away from assisting it); those seven of them who are radiant and bright-eyed (s*p*ê*d*ŏ dôîsar) make him rush up on high, and up there on high *he* shall be fed upon mouldy bread (parnân).'

29. One *marvel* is the great healthfulness owing to the Hôm-water *and* the bringing of this *by* Zaratûs*t* from the river Dâîtî, which is manifested when Vohûmanô *was* conveying *him* to the conference. 30. Just as is declared in the words of Aûha*r*ma*zd* to Zaratûs*t* thus: 'For them is the Hôm-water which thou bringest, *O* Zaratûs*t*! not for those demon-worshipping people *who* worship the demons, or for a satisfier of courtezans (*g*êh-vi*g*âr); they shall sprinkle it on to that bull thou shalt bring forward, who is a four-year-old of exhausted vigour, black-haired and useful; *on* drinking up the water, that bull *will* become quite sound from that infirmity.'

31. Thereupon, Zaratûs*t* went on first into the embodied existence, on which dwelt, at the end of Sagâstân[1], that same Parsha*d* *whose* title was Tô*r*â (*the Bull*). 32. Parsha*d*-tô*r*â[2] also spoke to him

which the soul is supposed to have its destination determined, until the resurrection (see Hâ*d*ôkht Nask, II, 18; III, 17). If the seven sacred beings who stand aloof from him be the archangels, they treat Vêdvoîs*t* very leniently; but this legend treats of a period which it assumes to be earlier than the laws of Zaratûs*t*.

[1] The modern Sîstân, bordering upon Afghânistân and Bulû*k*istân.

[2] Av. Parsha*d*-g*a*u, mentioned twice in Yt. XIII, 96, 127, but it is not certain that both allusions refer to the same individual. The name also occurs in Bd. XXIX, 5, but only in one old MS.; in all others another name is given, though the locality appears to be

thus: '*O* Zaratû*s*t of the Spîtâmas! give me this Hôm-water which thou bringest.' 33. And Zaratû*s*t spoke thus: 'Do thou praise righteousness, *O* Parsha*d*-tô*r*â! and scorn the demons; *also* utter the profession [1] of the Ma*zd*a-worship of Zaratû*s*t among the iniquitous.' 34. *It was* praised by Parsha*d*-tô*r*â, and the demons were scorned by him; yet he did not speak among the iniquitous as to his accepting the Ma*zd*a-worship of Zaratû*s*t. 35. Forward to him *came* Zaratû*s*t at that praise of righteousness, for him *was* that Hôm-water which Zaratû*s*t brought; not for those demon-worshipping people *who* have worshipped the demons, *but* for that bull of his *which* Zaratû*s*t brought forward, a four-year-old of exhausted vigour, black-haired and useful; owing to that bringing forward of the water, the bull became quite sound from that infirmity.

36. One *marvel* is that which is declared regarding the rushing of the evil spirit for the slaughter of Zaratû*s*t, just as revelation [2] mentions thus: 'From the northern quarter forth rushed the deadly evil spirit, and thus shouted he, astute in evil, the deadly evil spirit: "Rush on, *O* fiend! and destroy the righteous Zaratû*s*t." 37. On to him they rushed, the fiend, the demon Bû*d*, and secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver. 38. Zaratû*s*t chanted aloud the Ahunavair; the fiend *was* confounded at that, *and* away they rushed, the demon Bû*d* and secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver. 39. And the fiends shouted thus: "Thou art scornfully observing, *O* evil spirit! (that is, anything to the purpose thou

nearly the same. In § 31 the first part of the name is here written Parshê*d*.

[1] The Fravarânê, Yas. XI, 16. [2] Pahl. Vd. XIX, 1–4.

dost not thoroughly observe, and what thou orderest *us* to do is not possible); the death of him who is Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas is not contemplated by us." 40. Owing to the full glory of the righteous Zaratûst, he perceived in *his* mind thus: "The wicked demons, astute in evil, consult together about my death;" and up stood Zaratûst, forth went Zaratûst.' 41. Here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, in that which is mentioned thus: 'And a stone *was* put forth by the righteous Zaratûst, *that* was held in *his* hand, and the size of a hut, *and* which was obtained by him from the creator Aûharmazd, the spiritual Yathâ-ahû-vairyô [1].'

42. And one *marvel* is this which is manifested not only in the country of Irân to Irânians, but in every land and to every race: the shattering of the demons' bodies *through* the chanting of the Ahunavair aloud *by* Zaratûst. 43. Just as that which *a passage* [2] mentions thus: 'I worship the resources of the Kayân glory, with which the righteous Zaratûst was associated in thinking about, speaking about, *and* acting about the religion which was, of all embodied existences, the most righteous in righteousness, the most lordly in sovereignty, the most radiant in radiance, and the most glorious in glory. 44. At *his* appearance [3] the demons have fallen before him, at *his* appearance their semen (mâyagân) also drops, at *his* appearance the courtezan is also withdrawn by them from mankind;

[1] The first three words of the Ahunavair formula.

[2] See Yt. XIX, 78–81.

[3] Reading vênâvdahakih, but the first letter is omitted in all three occurrences of the word.

on hearing[1] him *they* lamented, very violently is it lamented by the demons. 45. By the Ahunavair, which the righteous Zaratûs*t* chanted aloud to them, all the demons are seized *and* buried in the earth, where the complete shattering of their bodies is manifest.' 46. So that, after the shattering of their bodies, it became evident to those in the world *that* they were not able to do mischief in the bodily form of a demon, and they have been declared of the nature of sacred beings to mankind, *but* mankind fully understood that they are not sacred beings, but demons.

47. Zaratûs*t* revealed (gushûftŏ) to mankind by the word of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, how in this religion *the latter* tells in words to Zaratûs*t* where *and* how, in the embodied existence, mankind consider a demon as exalted *or* as a high-priest, because they are where they say that they must consider *some one* as high-priest. 48. *So* Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke *to* Zaratûs*t* thus: 'How do they who are good people, *O* Zaratûs*t*! consider a demon as exalted? and how are they that even tell a demon thus: "We should accept you," because the demons speak thus: "It *will* happen to you"?'

49. And Zaratûs*t* spoke thus: 'Only for the *reason*, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! *that* people hasten on to that which is a jungly plain without dwellings, where no one resides from the departure of light until sun-

[1] If the word be Pahlavi, it is probably intended for *s*nâyân, 'hearing'; but it may be merely an approximate transcript of Av. *s*na*o*dhe*n*ti*s*, which word, if this be the case, must have puzzled Sasanian scholars as much as it does those of the present time. As a transcript, the word might be read *s*nôdîyân, and we might guess the meaning of the phrase to be 'thereupon weeping *they* lamented.'

rise arrives, when *it is* two Hâsars[1] of night, and again silently (agôp) from sunset until their returning together when the two Hâsars of night are gone, they hear that no work, no men, and no voices of dogs are there. 50. Then they say as to that, on arriving back, thus: "We have consulted with the demons there; when we request (zâêm) monarchy (sâstârîh) *and* leadership from them, they give them to us; when we request the possession of flocks and opulence from them, they give them to us."'

51. *Then Aûharmazd spoke thus:* 'How can they do such a thing for them, *O* Zaratûst! (that is, how does it happen *that it is* continually given by them *for* those that speak thus: "It happened to us")?'

52. And Zaratûst spoke thus: 'They speak variously, *O* Aûharmazd! as to that generosity; there is *one* who speaks thus: "I have ever after been possessing more flocks, so long as I am *in* consultation with the demons;" and there is *another* who speaks thus: "I have ever after been worse and more ill-fated, so long as we are *in* consultation with those demons;" according as they possess a full subsistence for them*selves* from the demons (that is, when they diversely subsist fully *on* whatever they bespeak from the demons).' 53. Zaratûst also spoke thus: 'So they speak about it, *O* Aûharmazd! thus: "Observe further, where any one of us returns *he* is either shrunk together (that is, he holds *his* head down to *his* chest), or shrunk away (that is, he looks quite aside), or is only pleasantly

[1] Av. hâthra, which, as a measure of time, varies from one to two hours (see Farh. Oîm, p. 43, ll. 1–3).

cast down and, owing to acquiescence in him, the demons tempt (nes,hûnd) *him* away out of mankind."'

54. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'According to thy wish, do thou, *O* Zaratûst! fully observe thy existence, upwards from the head, downwards from the sole[1] of the foot, and afar *on* various sides; and thou shouldst beseech before and behind and *in* every direction, for we *are* not as to thee as the demons *are* as to mankind, we give away everything only in invisibility; but the demons, through close connection, when they rush out, tempt only with pleasantness. 55. Even unto thee, *O* Zaratûst! a fiend *will* rush, a female, golden-bodied *and* full-bosomed (so that she wears a bodice), and she rushes to request companionship from thee; a female, golden-bodied *and* full-bosomed, to request conversation from thee, to request co-operation from thee. 56. *But* thou shouldst not grant her companionship, nor conversation, nor shalt thou prescribe *any* conduct for her; afterwards, to revert her downwards, thou shalt utter aloud that triumphant saying the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô.'

57. Zaratûst proceeded to the habitable *and* friendly world, for the purpose of fully observing that beaten track (khâpisnŏ) of the embodied existence; then that fiend came forward when he sat in the vicinity of a garment—that garment[2] which, when Vohûmanô *was* conveying *him* to the conference, *was* deposited by him—a female, golden-bodied *and* full-bosomed, and companionship, con-

[1] Assuming that lêlyâ stands for zêrîh; the only difference, in Pahlavi writing, being in the first letter.

[2] See Chap. III, 60.

versation, and co-operation *were* requested by her from him; she also whined (dandîdŏ): 'I am Spenda*r*ma*d*[1].'

58. And Zaratûs*t* spoke thus: 'She who is Spenda*r*ma*d was* fully observed by me in the light of a cloudless day, and that Spenda*r*ma*d* appeared *to* me fine behind and fine before and fine all round (that is, *in* all positions she was handsome); do thou turn *thy* back, *and* I *shall* know if thou art Spenda*r*ma*d*.'

59. And the fiend spoke to him thus: '*O* Zaratûs*t* of the Spîtâmas! where we are, those who are females are handsome in front, *but* frightfully hideous behind; *so* do not make a demand for my back.' 60. After she *had* protested a third *time*, the fiend turned *her* back, and she *was* seen by Zaratûs*t* behind in the groin; and when matter was exuded, *it was* full of serpents, toads, lizards, centipedes, and frogs.

61. And that triumphant saying, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, was uttered aloud by Zaratûs*t*; then that fiend *was* annihilated, and *K*êshmak[2] the Karap rushed forth. 62. And he grumbled in leaving, thus: 'The misery which is here *below* is such as I have obtained, because, owing to thee, I thought that thy sacred beings *were* more joyful than any heroes who through defeat go to hell; I proceed more joyfully *than* the sacred beings, as regards the life in the body, so that I fully deceive the life in thy body, and thou art fully deceived by me as regards thine.'

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[1] The female archangel Bountiful Devotion, in whose special charge are the earth and virtuous women; see Sls. XV, 5, 20–24.

[2] See Chap. II, 44, 45.

63. Zaratûst also revealed (gushûftŏ) this secret to mankind, and their knowledge *how* to test a demon is manifested therein, even by a great wonder of the same nature to mankind: the visible rushing of the demons into the world before Zaratûst, *and* their bodies *being* afterwards shattered by the loud chanting of revelation *by* Zaratûst from the Avesta announced, which *was* the acceptance of *its* truth by the ruler Vistâsp and the people of that time; and if this *had* not been so, *and* Vistâsp *and* those of *his* time *were* not accepting the Avesta which *was* announced by *Zaratûst in* this fashion, through *their* considering *it* false, it would not have reached unto us.

64. One *marvel* is this, with which, too, he who *was* Zaratûst became aware from revelation, about the vileness *and* perverted religion of Zâk of the deadly Karaps of Vistâsp and many other Kaîs and Karaps who *were* at the residence of Vistâsp, their combination for the death of Zaratûst, the preparation for severe abuse of him to Vistâsp, and influencing Vistâsp for his death by command of Vistâsp, *which* extends to awful imprisonment and punishment. 65. Afterwards, too, his knowledge about *his* preservation therefrom, the manifestation of his wondrousness, and the evidence concerning *his* attainment unto prophesying; *also* after the continuance of the last questioning *of* the ten years of conference, *his* departure alone, by the advice *and* command of Aûharmazd, to the residence of Vistâsp and the precinct (var) of that terrible conflict. 66. *His* uttering, on the horse-course (aspânvar) of Vistâsp, a reminder of the power and triumph of Aûharmazd over himself, *as* he invited Vistâsp to

the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*; and with great wisdom Vi*s*tâsp heard the words of Zaratû*s*t, on account of his own complete mindfulness and spiritual knowledge of ritual, *and* would have asked for an outpouring of prophecy.

67. *But* thereupon, too—before the words of Zaratû*s*t *were fully* heard by him, *and* he could have understood the character of Zaratû*s*t—owing to the demonizing of the deadly Zâk and the rest *of* those Kîgs *and* Karaps, *spoken* out with slanderous knowledge *and* perverse actions to Vi*s*tâsp about Zaratû*s*t, *there* then *occurred* his consignment of Zaratû*s*t to that confinement *and* punishment as stated in the words of Zaratû*s*t thus: 'I have spoken about their three enquiries, and I am bound by thirty of them, I with thirty-three fetters of murderers, wicked ones, and demon-worshippers[1]. 68. But the hunger of manhood's inclination[2] violently affected the strength of my legs, but the hunger of manhood's inclination violently affected the force of my arms, but the hunger of manhood's inclination violently affected the hearing of my ears, but the hunger of manhood's inclination violently affected the sight of my eyes, and it would force away my bosom up to *my* back (so that it[3] would stay behind at my back) through the continuance of that deadly hunger of manhood's inclination.'

69. And here, through the mightiness of Zaratû*s*t —*who* proceeded alone to the terrible combat *with*

[1] Compare Zs. XXIII, 5.

[2] Reading gû*s*n-girâîh; but it might be dû*s*-vîrâîh, 'bad provision.' He was left to starve to death in prison.

[3] The bosom. The idea of the writer appears to have been that in case of utter starvation the chest would totally collapse, so that the breast bone would touch the spine.

evil, where *there* became manifest, in the mode which is written, the descent of his life into so much punishment, due to hunger and thirst, heavy fetters, *and* other misery unto which the strength of human nature is attaining, *but* unto which *it* is not destined —is manifested a great wonder to king Vi*s*tâsp and his officials, when *his* full-glorious person *was* found by them alive in awfulness, imprisonment, and those other transformations (pa*d*ga*s*takîh) of long-continued starvation.

70. One *marvel* is this, that the sacred beings contrived, for the sake of (va*l* vahân-î) his preservation from that awfulness, a body possessing life, *and* on his account it became lifeless and imperceptible; afterwards, in the great session of Vi*s*tâsp and the assembly of the world, Zaratû*s*t, through the strength and blessedness of the true word, restored the same body anew, like that which is issuing in the statement of the wonder about the splendid horse of Vi*s*tâsp[1].

71. One *marvel* is *his* telling and disclosing the thoughts of king Vi*s*tâsp and *of* those of the realm, and many other concealed matters, through spiritual perception.

72. One *marvel* is several matters of evil deceit (va*d* *g*amâs) which Dahâk had done in B*â*pêl[2]

[1] This very slight allusion to the cure of Vi*s*tâsp's horse by Zaratû*s*t is sufficient to show that this legend existed in the ninth century; but the writer of the Dînka*rd* seems inclined to trace it back to a tale that he vaguely relates in the earlier part of this section, and which he evidently found in older writings; this tale, however, does not mention a horse, but only an animated body. The Persian Zaratû*s*t-nâma developes the legend of the sick horse, whose legs are drawn up to its belly, into 160 couplets.

[2] Babylon; see Yt. V, 29–31; XV, 19–21.

through witchcraft, *and* mankind had come to idol-worship through that seduction, *and its* increase was the destruction of the world; *but* through the triumphant words of the religion, which Zaratûst proclaimed opposing it, that witchcraft is all dissipated and disabled.

73. One *marvel* is this which is manifested, with wonders owing to Zaratûst, in controversy about the religion with the famous learned of the realm, among whom, known for learning *in* the world, *are* the investigators (girâyagânŏ) of the words of speech; *and* among those *things* which *are* more surprisingly controversial *are* those later (sibastar) words which *are* to save their creatures by a later religion. 74. Also to proclaim its truth intelligibly, and to make king Vistâsp *and* those previously learned *men* without doubt as to the truth of the religion, the creator Aûharmazd sends some *spirits*, Vohûmanô, Ashavahistô, and the propitious fire[1], as a reminder to Vistâsp about the true prophesying of Zaratûst, *and* the desire of Aûharmazd for the acceptance of the religion *of* Mazda-worship *by* Vistâsp *and for its* propagation in the world.

75. The wondrousness which is manifested to Vistâsp *and* those of the realm—both through the travelling (vâzîdanŏ) of those archangels down from the sky to the earth, and in *their* travelling to the abode of Vistâsp—*was* like this which revelation mentions thus: 'Then he who is the creator Aûharmazd spoke *to* them, to Vohûmanô, Ashavahistô, and also the fire of Aûharmazd, the propitious, thus: "Proceed! you *who* are archangels, unto the

[1] Compare Zs. XXIII, 7.

abode of Vi*s*tâsp, whose resources (*a*fzâr) are cattle *and* who is far *and* widely famed, with a view to *his* reliance upon this religion (that is, till he shall stand up for this religion); and, as regards the answering words of the righteous Zaratû*s*t of the Spîtâmas, to approve the nature (zag *s*ân) of those words." 76. The archangels proceeded unto the abode of Vi*s*tâsp, whose resources are cattle *and who* is far *and* widely famed; their radiance, in that lofty residence, seemed to him, that Vi*s*tâsp, a heaven *of* complete light, owing to their great power and triumph; this *was* so that, when he thus looked upon it, the exalted Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp trembled, all his courtiers (pê*s*akŏ) trembled, all his chieftains (pa*d*ŏ) were confused, *and* he of the superior class *was* like the driver of a chariot-horse.

77. 'And the fire of Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke, in the words of heroes, thus: "Fear not, for *there* is no fearing for thee, *thou* exalted Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp! they have not come for alarming thy abode, *as* a reminder of the deputed envoys of Ar*g*âsp[1]; *there* have not come, for alarming thy abode, the two Khyôns of

[1] Av. Are*g*a*d*-aspa, king of the *Hv*yaonas (Pahl. Khyôns), mentioned in Yt. V, 109, 113, 116; XVII, 50; XIX, 87. His war with Vi*s*tâsp, for the purpose of compelling the latter to abjure his new religion, is described in the Yâ*d*kâr-î Zarîrân (see Geiger in *Sitzungsberichten der p.-p. und h. Classe der k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss.* 1890, Bd. II, pp. 43–84). Ar*g*âsp sends two envoys, Vîdraf*s* the wizard and Nâmkhvâst of the Hazârs, to demand Vi*s*tâsp's submission; this is refused defiantly by advice of Zarîr, the king's brother; and both nations prepare for war. When the Irânians meet the Khyôns, Vi*s*tâsp consults his vazîr *G*âmâsp, who prognosticates prodigious slaughter. And, after losing most of their chieftains (including twenty-three brothers and sons of Vi*s*tâsp), the Irânians utterly annihilate the Khyôn army. This war is called the 'war of the religion' in Bd. XII, 33; Byt. III, 9.

Argâsp who demand tribute and revenue (sâk vabâzŏ); and *there has* not come, for alarming thy abode, the all-overpowering thief who is an injurer, *or* the dog who is a highwayman. 78. We are three who have come over (taristŏ) to thy abode, Vohûmanô, Ashavahistô, and also the fire of the propitious lord; of these thy knowledge is most wisely most just. 79. If thou helpest vision, so that it becomes wisdom for thee, the worldly *existence* requires the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, which proceeds purely through the recitation which Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas *teaches*. 80. Do thou chant the Ahunavair, do thou praise perfect righteousness [1], and utter no worship [2] for the demons! because the desire of Aûharmazd, as regards thee, is *for thy* reliance upon this religion; *it* is also the desire *of* the archangels, and the desire, as regards thee, *of* the other sacred beings who are beneficent (sapîrdahakŏ) *and* righteous.

81. '"And as the recompense in this life, if you praise the good *and* pure religion of the righteous Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas, we *will* give unto thee a long reign and sovereignty, and the long lifetime of a life of 150 years; we *will* give unto thee Good Integrity and Rectitude [3] which is long-continued in desire for constantly assisting, good for assistance

[1] That is, recite the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and the Ashem-vohû formulas.

[2] Pahl. a-aîzisnîh, literally, a 'non-worship,' which may mean something worse than 'no worship;' but 'execration or malediction' is usually expressed by gazisn, 'cursing,' which is written exactly like yazisn, 'worship.'

[3] Pahl. Aharîsvang and Râê-astisnîh, the equivalents of Av. Ashis-vanguhi and Rasãstât who are spiritual personifications of the qualities mentioned in the text.

through constantly assisting, and not passing away; and we *will* give unto thee a son, Pêshyôtan[1] is *his* name, he is immortal, *and* so is undecaying, hungerless, and thirstless, living and predominant in both existences, *those* of the embodied *beings* and of the spirits. 82. *But*, as the recompense in this life, if you do not praise the good *and* pure religion of the righteous Zaratûs*t* of the Spîtâmas, we *will* not convey thee up on high, and we *will* order thine end; the vultures which *are* mindful of decay *will* see *and* eat up those *and* these of thine, thy blood *will* reach the ground, and the waters *will* not reach thy body."'

83. One *marvel* is that *connected* with the confidence (v*â*varî-hastanŏ) of Vis*t*âsp in the religion, even through that occurrence of the speech of the archangels; and, afterwards, the obedience (patya-sâî?) *of* his thoughts in the case of the delays through the bloodshed owing to Arg*â*sp[2] the Khyôn and his attendant heroes (pas-gurdânŏ) throughout the same Khyôns, because of the acceptance of the religion. 84. Also, for the sake of daily *and* visibly showing to Vis*t*âsp the certified victory over Arg*â*sp and the Khyôns, and his own superior position, unceasing rule, splendour, and glory, the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd* sends, at the same time, the angel Nêryôsang[3] to the abode of Vis*t*âsp, as a reminder for the archangel Ashavahis*t*ô to give to Vis*t*âsp to drink of that fountain of life, for looking

[1] Written Pêshyâôtanŏ, both here and in Chap. V, 12. He is the immortal priestly ruler of Kangd*e*z, who was expected to come to restore the religion in Irân in the time of Aûshê*d*ar, see Bd. XXIX, 5; Byt. III, 25–32, 36–42, 51, 52.

[2] Here written Arg*a*dâspô; see § 77.

[3] Written Nêrôksang here and in § 85.

into the existence of the spirits, the enlightening food by means of which great glory *and* beauty *are* seen by Vistâsp.

85. Just as this *passage* of revelation mentions thus: 'And he who is the creator Aûharmazd spoke to the angel Nêryôsang thus: "Proceed *and* travel, *O* Nêryôsang the assembler[1]! unto the abode of Vistâsp, whose resources are cattle *and who* is far *and* widely famed, and thou shalt say this to Ashavahistô, thus: '*O* Ashavahistô! do thou authoritatively take this fine saucer (tastô), which is fully finer than the other saucers that *are* made (that is, the cup (gâm) is as fine *as* is possible to make for royalty), *and* carry up to Vistâsp the Hôm and Vars[2] (mûi) which are for us; and do thou give it[3] unto the ruler Vistâsp to drink up, by whose word it is accepted.'" 86. Ashavahistô authoritatively taking the fine saucer from him, also, thereupon, gave it unto the exalted ruler Kaî-Vistâsp to drink *from*[4]; and the ruler of the country (dîh), the exalted Kaî-Vistâsp, lay down when divested of *his* robes, and he spoke to Hûtôs[5] thus: "You, *O* Hûtôs! are *she*

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[1] Compare Vd. XXII, 7.

[2] A lock of three, five, or seven hairs from the tail of a white bull, that is tied to a metal thumb-ring which is put into the Hôm-strainer when the Hôm-juice is about to be poured through it. See Haug's Essays, 3rd ed., pp. 397–403. This ring and lock of hair may be the relic of a hair-sieve that may have been used for straining the Hôm-juice in former times.

[3] The saucer, or cup, of strained Hôm-juice.

[4] The foregoing twenty-six words, excepting two, have been here repeated by the writer of the old Bombay MS., after turning over a folio.

[5] Av. Hutaosa, wife of Vistâsp and descendant of Nôdar (Av. Naotara); see Yt. XV, 35, 36. According to the later authority of the Yâdkar-î Zarîrân, § 48, she was also a sister of Vistâsp.

whom the prompt ability (t*ê*z*ŏ* hûnar) of Zaratûs*t* of the Spîtâmas should reach; *and* through the diligence of the prompt ability of Zaratûs*t* of the Spîtâmas, you[1] would expound the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd* and Zaratûs*t*."'

87. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that when Vis*t*âsp, accepting the religion, praises righteousness, the demons in hell are disabled, and the demon Aeshm[2] rushes to the country of the Khyôns *and to* Ar*g*âsp, the deadly *one* of the Khyôns, because he was the mightiest of the tyrants at that time; and the *most* hideous of all, of so many of them in the country of the Khyôns, are poured out by him for war.

88. And here, too, is manifested a great wonder also to the host (ram) of Irân who have been coming there, unto the residence of Ar*g*âsp the Khyôn, like this which revelation mentions thus: 'Then, just at the time his legion is separately displayed, Aeshm the unredeemable (ta*n*âpûharak) adheres (gêre*v*ê*d*ŏ) to him, as *being himself* without escort (agurôh), and quite opposes (ba*r*â sper*ez*ê*d*ŏ) him, because: "You, who are a Khyôn, *have* become unlucky through want of success after you engage *in conflict*."' 89. Henceforth, it is not that the victory *of* Irân *has* come over foreigners *and* Khyôns—through companionship at the abode *of* that man who is mightier by the birth *of* Zaratûs*t*

The similarity of her name to that of Atossa, the wife and sister of Cambyses, whom Darius afterwards married, is striking.

[1] As the verbal forms of the present third person singular and second person plural are alike in Pahlavi, it is doubtful which personal pronoun to use.

[2] The demon of Wrath; see Bd. XXVIII, 15–17.

of the Spîtâmas—when that hideous sovereignty *of* Arg̊âsp, the deadly Khyôn, is swallowed up by him (*Vistâsp*), for the confusion of the deadly species (that is, *they are* further smitten by him, one through the other; and are swallowed together by him, mutually struggling and through mutually devouring). 90. And apart from him, that bitter *and* well-hardened Khyôn that is quite disabled by him the good *Vistâsp*, that deadly *fiend* is disturbed about him of eloquent abilities (*Zaratûst*); and so he grumbled at the hideous sovereignty thus: 'Prompt ability comes into existence *and* the Khyôn came; thereupon prompt ability comes into existence *and* the Irânian has come [1].'

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CHAPTER V.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested from the acceptance of the religion *by* Vistâsp onwards till the departure (vîkhêzŏ) of Zaratûst, *whose* guardian spirit is reverenced, to the best existence, when seventy-seven years [2] had elapsed onwards from *his* birth, forty-seven onwards from

[1] According to the numbering of the folios of the old MS. of 1659 (brought from Persia to India in 1783) one folio, numbered 313 in Persian words, is here missing. It has not yet been found in India, and, owing to folio 312 apparently completing a sentence, and folio 314 evidently beginning a new chapter, the loss of text is hardly perceptible. It would have filled the next two pages.

[2] The MS. has '57 years,' through ههٔ '50' being written instead of ههٔ '70'; but see Chap. III, 51 which states the interval of thirty years between his birth and conference.

his conference, *and* thirty-five years onwards from the acceptance of the religion *by* Vi*s*tâsp[1].

2. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared that, when Zaratû*s*t chanted revelation in the abode of Vi*s*tâsp, *it was* manifest *to* the eye that it is danced to *with* joyfulness, both by the cattle *and* beasts *of burden*, and *by* the spirit of the fires which *are* in the abode. 3. By *which*, too, a great wonder is proclaimed, like this *which* revelation mentions thus: '*There* seemed a righteous joyfulness of all the cattle, beasts *of burden*, and fires of the place, *and there* seemed a powerfulness of every kind of well-prepared spirits and of those quitting the abode (mân-hishânŏ), "that will make us[2] henceforth powerful through religion," when they fully heard those words which *were* spoken by the righteous Zaratû*s*t of the Spîtâmas.'

4. And one *marvel* is the provision, *by* Zaratû*s*t, *of* the achievement of ordeal, that indicator of the acquitted *and* incriminated for sentence *by* the judge, in obscure legal proceedings; *of* which *it* is said in revelation *there are* about (*k*îgûn) thirty-three kinds. 5. These, too, the disciples of Zaratû*s*t kept in use, after that *time*, until the collapse of the monarchy of Irân; and the custom *of* one of them is that of pouring melted metal on the breast, as in the achievement of the saintly (hû-fravar*d*ŏ) Âtûrpâ*d* son of Mâ*r*aspend, through whose preservation a know-

[1] The contents of this chapter and the next, as far as VI, 11, may be connected with the following summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 9:—'Information also *as to* many other things which are marvellous, and *as to* a summary of the statements of these seven enquiries, which is *derived* from knowledge of every kind.' For the seven enquiries, see Zs. XXII.

[2] Or, perhaps, 'make the abode.'

ledge about the religion *was* diffused in the world; and of the manifestation, too, through that great wonder, this is also said, on the same subject, in the good religion, that of those many, when they behold that rite of ordeal, it convinces the wicked ones [1].

6. One *marvel* is that which is afterwards manifested, after the former captivity of Zaratûst [2] and his speaking about the religion to Vistâsp and those of the realm [3], *such* as the acceptance of the religion *by* Vistâsp *and* that which Zaratûst said to him at *his* original arrival, as regards the declaration of a ruler's religion, thus: 'Thine is this disposition, *and* this religion which is calling (khrôsakŏ) is a property *of* that description *which* thou puttest together, *O* Kaî-Vistâsp! so that *if* thou wilt accept this disposition of thine, thou wilt possess this religion which exists (that is, the learning of learnings), *and be* the ruler that shall cause *its* progress; thou *wilt* possess in this disposition of thine, as *it were*, a new support (stûnakŏ), *and* any one *will* uphold *thee* by upholding *it*, as thou art the possessor of the support of this religion.' 7. Also the victory of Vistâsp over Argâsp the Khyôn and other foreigners in that awful battle [4], just as Zaratûst explained unto Vistâsp in revelation; *and* much which is declared by revelation.

8. One *marvel* is the disclosure by Zaratûst, in complete beneficence, medical knowledge, acquaintance with character, and other professional retentiveness (pîshakŏ-gîrûkîh), secretly *and* completely, of *what* is necessary for legal knowledge and spiritual

[1] §§ 4, 5 are already translated in AV. p. 145.
[2] See Chap. IV, 67–69.
[3] See Chap. IV, 73.
[4] See Chap. IV, 88–90.

perception; also the indication, by revelation, of the rites for driving out pestilence (s*ê*gŏ), overpowering the demon and witch, and disabling sorcery and witchcraft. 9. The curing *of* disease, the counter-action of wolves *and* noxious creatures, the liberating of rain, *and* the confining of hail, spiders, locusts, and other terrors of corn *and* plants *and* adversaries of animals, *by* the marvellous rites which are also relating to the worship of Khû*r*da*d* *and* Amû*r*da*d*[1], and many other rites which *were* kept in use until the collapse of the monarchy of Irân; and there are *some* which have remained even *till* now[2], *and* are manifested with a trifle of marvellousness by the sacred fires. 10. And the disclosure to mankind *of* many running waters from marvellous streams (ardâyâ), and remedies for sickness which *are* mixed (farga*r*dakŏ) by well-considering physicians; many *are* spiritual and celestial, gaseous (vâyîg) and earthy; and the worldly advantage of others, too, is the praise (l*â*fŏ) which ought to come to one for angelic[3] wisdom.

11. One is the marvel of the Avesta itself, which, according to all the best reports *of* the world, is a compendium of all the supremest statements of wisdom.

12. One *marvel* is the coming of this also to

[1] These two archangels personify health and immortality, respectively (see Chap. II, 19), and are supposed to have special charge of water and plants.

[2] The ninth century, unless this phrase be copied from one of the sources of the Dînka*rd*.

[3] The MS. has yazdânŏ-khira*d*ŏîh which has the meaning given in the text; but this word can also be read gehânŏ-khira*d*ŏîh, 'worldly wisdom,' though gêhânŏ is the more usual orthography.

Vistâsp, which the archangels announced as a recompense for accepting the religion [1], as he saw Pêshyôtan the happy ruler, that immortal and undecaying son, not wanting food, large-bodied, completely strong, fully glorious, mighty, victorious, and resembling the sacred beings; the unique splendour of Pêshyôtan for the sovereignty of Kangd*ez* *in* yonder *world*, as allotted to him *by* the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, is manifested even through that great wonder to the multitude [2].

CHAPTER VI.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested after the departure (vîkhêzŏ) of Zaratûst, whose guardian spirit is reverenced, to the best existence, *and* in the life*time* of Vistâsp.

2. One *marvel* is this which is declared by revelation, about the provision of a chariot [3] by Srîtô [4] of the Vîsraps [5]; this is through a famous wonder and

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[1] See Chap. IV, 81.

[2] It is singular that nothing is stated here about the death or departure of Zaratûst, which event, according to § 1, ought to have concluded this chapter. But in Chap. III, 39, Dûrâsrôb evidently foretells that Zaratûst will be killed by the evil eye of Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh. In Dk. V, iii, 2, the killing of Zaratûst by Brâ*d*rô-rêsh the Tûr is merely mentioned. In Zs. XXIII, 9, it is stated that Zaratûst passes away (vi*d*îrê*d*ŏ) forty-seven years after his conference and preaching to Vistâsp. While the modern Persian Zaratûst-nâma does not mention his death, though it speaks of Bartarûsh as his chief enemy in his younger days. But compare Chap. III, 22.

[3] Pahl. r*áé* which is written exactly like the Pahlavi ciphers for twenty-two and, no doubt, stands for Av. ratha.

[4] So spelt ten times in §§ 2–11, but here Srâtô. It is also Srîtô in Dk. V, iii, 2.

[5] Pahl. Vîsrapân in §§ 9, 11 and Dk. V, iii, 2; but here it is

the coming of a report about the marvellousness of that chariot to Vistâsp, Vistâsp's begging that chariot from Srîtô, and Srîtô *saying* in reply to Vistâsp: 'That chariot is for a righteous man, *in* which the soul of Srîtô in the life*time* of Srîtô's body[1], *and* that of that man in the life*time* of his body, come visibly together once in the worldly existence.' 3. And the soul of Srîtô, through the generosity of that Srîtô, presents that chariot to the eyesight of that man of righteousness; thereby it becomes evident he had seen *it*, and is told not to act in another manner. 4. The exalted Kaî-Vîstâsp, as becoming from revelation more particularly aware of this marvel about the future at that time, and for the sake of this marvel being published to the worldly existence (gêhânîgîh), and of *his* becoming

Visrapân, and in § 7 the first letter is omitted, leaving only îsrapân. In Pahl. Vd. XX, 11 (Sp.) we have Srît-î [illegible] (in L4), which latter name may also be îsrapânŏ, though more likely to be read Sêrzânŏ when considered by itself. It is almost certain that the person mentioned in Pahl. Vd. XX, 11 is intended to be the same as that named here in the text. But it is doubtful if this person be the Av. Thrita son of Sâyuzdri (or Sâizdri) of Yt. V, 72; XIII, 113. As the legend in the text appears to refer to the soul of Srîtô, or Thrita, revisiting the world to meet Vistâsp, this Srîtô may have been the warrior Srîtô, the seventh brother, employed by Kaî-Ûs, about 350 years earlier, to kill the frontier-settling ox of that time, but there seem to be no means of so identifying him with absolute certainty.

[1] This is the literal meaning of the Pahl. 'mûn rûbân-î Srîtô pavan zîndagîh-î Srîtô tanŏ,' but it is not quite consistent with Srîtô's return to the earth as a spirit. The Indian copyists seem to have observed this, as they have omitted several words, so as to alter the meaning to the following:—'That chariot is for a man of the righteous, *with* whom Srîtô in the life*time* of that *man's* body comes visibly together, &c.' But the sentence is not quite grammatical.

more invoking *for* the supremacy of the Ma*z*da-worshipping religion, became discernible by those of the realm, is sought for, *and* is most attended.

5. A great wonder became manifest to Vi*s*tâsp and those of the world, just as revelation mentions thus: 'Thereupon the archangels are letting forth the soul of that *Srîtô* from the light of the supreme heaven, from the light on to the earth created by Aûha*r*ma*z*d; *and* the soul of Vi*s*tâsp proceeded from him into the light to meet *it*. 6. Vi*s*tâsp proceeded on to the propitious south (rapîtvînŏ); he *was* producing more gain than the gainers, and he *was* more inquisitive than the inquisitive; to all whom he saw he spoke, and unto such as spoke he listened; when he gazed at them looking simultaneously they stood up, *and* obeisance *was* offered by them unto the soul *and* person of Vi*s*tâsp.'

7. Immediately upon that no delay occurred until *there* came on at a run—*besides* the soul of Srîtô of the Vîsraps—the most horrid (agrandtûm) of demons, from the horrid northern quarter of the horrid destroyer (za*d*âr), that was himself black, and his deeds, too, were very black. 8. And as he comes himself, so also he grumbles *to* the soul of Srîtô thus: 'Give a maintenance (khvârag) *to* Vi*s*tâsp who is thy driver[1], for the sake of good fellowship and service, and for that, righteousness is suitable unto a pure *one;* do not *give it* as a thing which is protective (that is, do not *give it* for the sake of worldly gratuity), *but* for love of the righteousness which is owing to the perfect existences.'

9. When those words were fully heard by Srîtô of

[1] This speech seems intended as veiled irony.

the Vîsraps, the early bestower (levînŏ-vakhsh), he stood still and so he spoke in words thus: 'For righteousness I give thee, *O* mighty Kaî-Vistâsp! this chariot which is without a driver, only for love of the righteousness which is owing to the perfect existences.' 10. As much for righteousness as is best for righteousness, and as much for the soul as is best for the soul, the gift of the whole *was* secured (that is, its acceptance *was* announced as often as three times).

11. Then that chariot became two chariots, one spiritual and the other worldly; in the worldly *one* the exalted Kaî-Vistâsp travelled forth unto the village of the Nôdars[1] in the joyfulness *of* good thoughts, and in the spiritual *one* the soul of Srîtô of the Vîsraps travelled forth unto the best existence.

12. One *marvel* is this which is declared that in fifty-seven years onwards from the acceptance of the religion *by* Zaratûst[2], the arrival of the religion is published in the seven regions[3]; *and* within the life*time* of Vistâsp, the circumstance (aêdûnŏîh) is manifested by the coming of *some* from *other* regions to Frashôstar of the Hvôbas[4] for enquiry *about* the

[1] Nôdar (Av. Naotara) was a son of king Mânûskîhar (Bd. XXXI, 13) and an ancestor of king Vistâsp. Vistâsp being a descendant of Kaî-Kavâd (Bd. XXXI, 28, 29) who was the adopted son of Aûzôbô (Bd. XXXI, 24) a son of Zâgh, son of Masvâk, son of Nôdar (Bd. XXXI, 23 corrected from XXXIII, 5). Hûtôs, the wife of Vistâsp, was also of the village of the Nôdars (Yt. XV, 35).

[2] That is fifty-seven years after the conference of Zaratûst (see Chap. V, 1).

[3] See the summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 10:—'Likewise, about the communication of Zaratûst's knowledge of the Mazda-worshipping religion to the world, his attracting mankind to the religion, *and* the ages, after Zaratûst, until the renovation *of the universe*.'

[4] Av. Ferashaostrô Hvôgvô (Yas. LI, 17); he was a brother

religion, *even* as revelation mentions thus: 'Two whose names are thus, Spîtôî*s*[1] and Arezrâspô[2], who have hastened unto Frashô*s*tar of the Hvôbas in search of wisdom.'

13. Thus much splendour and wonder *of* Vi*s*tâsp *and* those of the realm regarding Zaratû*s*t[3], and thus much due to the coming of the archangels from the sky to the earth before Vi*s*tâsp, as evidence about the true prophesying *of* Zaratû*s*t[4]; and that, too, about Pêshyôtan[5], the chariot of Srîtô[6], and other subjects seen written above, *are* declared by the Avesta, which is the same that they accepted from Zaratû*s*t, as the culmination[7] (*a*varîgânîh) of Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s words. 14. And if this splendour, glory, *and* wonder that *are* written above as regards *what* those learned *men* of the realm saw—which *are* in the statement revealed by the Avesta—*had* not occurred, king Vi*s*tâsp *and* those learned *men* of the realm would not have seen what this Avesta had revealed to them—which *was* thus much splendour *and* wonder reported by it to them—*and* not one word about leaving *its* preservation to us would be annexed.

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of *G*âmâsp (Dk. V, ii, 12; iii, 4; Zs. XXIII, 10), and the father of Zaratû*s*t's wife Hvôvi. The Hvôvas (Pahl. Hvôbas) were a numerous family.

[1] Av. gen. Spitôi*s* (Yt. XIII, 121). He was high-priest of Frada*d*afsh, the south-east region.

[2] Av. Erezrâspa (ibid.) He was high-priest of Vîda*d*afsh, the south-west region (see Bd. XXIX, 1). These foreign envoys were brothers, each being a son of Uspãsnu.

[3] See Chap. IV, 73.

[4] See Chap. IV, 74–82.

[5] See Chap. V, 12.

[6] See §§ 2–11.

[7] See Chap. V, 11.

Chapter VII.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested after *the time of* Vistâsp until the collapse (hangaftanŏ) *of* the sovereignty *of* Irân.

2. There is marvellousness *which* is manifested after Vistâsp until the collapse of the sovereignty of Irân, apart from the blessedness of ordeal, the accomplishment of other Avestic rites, the great power over the sacred fires, *and* many other religious observances *which* were connected with the disciples of Zaratûst.

3. Even after the devastation which happened owing to Alexander, those who *were* rulers after him brought back much to the collection from a scattered state [1]; *and* there are *some* who *have* ordered the keeping *of it* in the treasury of Shapân [2].

4. Likewise there is to be brought *forward* what *there is* concerning the names of rulers *and* high-priests, *such* as arrive for it at times *and* periods, which *are* each consecutive, as organizers *of* the religion and the world; also of the tyrant *or* apostate, who is manifest at various periods, for the disturbance of the religion *and* monarchy and the penance of the world, *with* the coming of the penitential *one.*

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[1] Referring to king Valkhas the Askânian (probably Vologeses I, see S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 413); possibly also to Ardashîr Pâpakân.

[2] So here, but usually written Shapîgân, and sometimes Shaspîgân. It was no doubt a royal treasury, and Dk. V, iii, 4, calls it so, but uses the words gangŏ-î khûdâyân, in which Gâmâsp is said to have deposited the Avesta and Zand written in gold upon ox-hides. If Shapîgân be a corruption of shâyagân, 'royal,' it is singular that some copyist has not corrected the spelling.

5. *Such* as Vohûmanô, son *of* Spend-dâ*d*[1], of the rulers, about whom it says even this in the Avesta, that *he is* Vohûmanô, the just, who is the most efficient of the assembly of Ma*zd*a-worshippers. 6. And *S*ênôv[2] of the high-priests, as about him it says even this: 'The religion becomes a hundred years *old* when *S*ênôv is born, and two hundred years when he passes away; he was also the first Ma*zd*a-worshipper *with* a life of a hundred *years*, *and* who walks forth upon this earth with a hundred disciples.'

7. Also Alexander of the devastators, as it says even this of him in revelation[3], that *in* those three winters, which *are* of like purpose (ham-ay*âz*akô), that Aeshm[4] would set up a deadly king in the impenitent world, who is the evil-destined Alexander.

8. And of the high-priests *are* Ar*ez*vâk[5], the interpretation of whose name is 'the pure word;' Srûtvôk-spâ*d*âk[5], the interpretation of whose name is 'the propitious recitation;' Zrayang,h*a*u[6], the interpretation of whose name is 'the ocean existence;' and Spe*n*tô-khratv*a*u[6], the interpretation of

[1] Av. Spe*n*tô-dâta of Yt. XIII, 103, a son of Vistâsp, with whom Avesta dynastic history ends. He was the Persian Isfendiyâr, and his son Vohûmanô is unknown to the Avesta. The *K*itradâ*d* Nask (Dk. VIII, xiii, 18) mentions a 'Namûn, son of Spend-shê*d*,' which probably stands for 'Vohûmanô, son of Spend-dâ*d*,' but this appears to have been in a Pahlavi supplement compiled in Sasanian times. He is also mentioned in Bd. XXXIV, 8, a chapter 'about the computation of years by the Arabs,' according to the Irânian Bundahi*s*.

[2] Av. Saêna of Yt. XIII, 97, where the last clause of the passage here translated from the Avesta occurs. Compare Zs. XXIII, 11.

[3] Not in the extant Avesta. [4] The demon of Wrath.

[5] Av. gen. Erezv*a*u and Srûtô-spâd*a*u in Yt. XIII, 115.

[6] These two names are written in their Av. gen. forms, as they occur in Yt. XIII, 115.

whose name is 'the propitious wisdom.' 9. Because it says even this about them, namely: 'I mention thy manifestation, *and* also the tokens of its publicity when this religion of thy Ma*zd*a-worshippers becomes four hundred years *old*[1]; in this law benightedness (lêlyâîh) arises, *and* the embodied existences see the manifestation through calculation *of* the planets and also the stars; and whoever, too, *are* mine are *so* for a century, through the average opinion *of* thirty medium winters for a man[2]; *and* the righteous Ar*ez*vâk and those three others are they of the most righteous existences, over whom they *are* the most masterly *and* most authoritative in that time.' 10. And this, too, that they who glorify the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers in the fifth and sixth centuries *are* they; *and* no persons save *their* souls, except *those* who remain for the arrival of the four[3] interpretations that *arise* through the authority of these four individuals, Ar*ez*vâk, Srûtô-spâdh*a*u[4], Zrayang,h*a*u, *and* Spe*n*tô-khratv*a*u who, all four of them, seek *their* thoughts, words, *and* deeds in the *sacred* text (mânsar).

11. Also Rashn-rêsh[5] is the apostate of that

[1] If the chronology in Bd. XXXIV, 7, 8 were correct, the interval between the first revelation of the religion and the death of Alexander would be 272 years, and this would make the 400th year of the religion coincide with B. C. 195.

[2] That is, for a generation. The meaning appears to be, that these four successive high-priests insure the continuance of orthodox religion for more than a century, or well into the sixth century of the religion, as mentioned in § 10.

[3] The MS. has the cipher for 'three,' by mistake.

[4] Here written in Avesta characters.

[5] In Dk. III, cxcviii, 2, this apostate is said to have been an

time, as *some one*[1] says unto Rashn, *one* of the sacred beings, and about many besides this *one*, thus: 'All who are creatures of the beneficent spirit are distressed by their persecution, *but* put trust in those men, Ar*ez*vâk *and* those three others.'

12. And of the organizers of the period is A*r*takhshatar[2], son of Pâpak, as it says even this about him, namely: 'Which is that ruler who is powerful, more striving than the Kayâns, *and* mighty, an embodiment of the *sacred* commandments and awfully armed[3]; in whose abode Aharî*s*vang[4], the virtuous *and* radiant, walks forth in maiden form, beneficent and very strong, well-formed, high-girded, *and* truthful, of illustrious race *and* noble? 13. Whoever it is that, on the occurrence of strife, seeks prosperity for *him*self with his own arm; whoever it is that, on the occurrence of strife, encounters the enemies with his own arm.'

14. Tanvasar[5] is also for his assistance, as it says

associate (ham-p*âî*gar) of the Christian ecclesiastic Akvân, and yells out ten admonitions contradicting those of the righteous *S*ênôv who is mentioned in § 6 (see Peshotan's edition, vol. v, pp. 239, 311). It does not follow that he was a contemporary of *S*ênôv, and here he seems to be placed fully two centuries later.

[1] Probably Aûha*r*ma*zd*.

[2] The founder of the Sâsânian dynasty, who reigned as king of the kings of Persia, A.D. 226–241.

[3] Most of these qualities are applied to the angel Srôsh, the personification of obedience (see Yas. LVII, 1); also to Kavi Vi*s*tâspa and Karsna, son of Zbaurva*n*t, in Yt. XIII, 99, 106.

[4] Av. Ashi*s* vanguhi, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel; her description is given in Yt. XIII, 107, and is similar to that of Anâhita in Yt. V, 64.

[5] So spelt here and in §§ 17, 18, thrice in all; it is also thrice spelt Tansar, in Dk. III, last chapter, 7; IV, 25, 25, and this mis-spelling has led to the mis-pronunciation Tôsar. It appears, however, that Tanvasar is a transposition of Tanvars, 'hairy-

this, too, about them: 'Zaratû*s*t asked again thus: "Who is he who is the most salutary *for* a country, which the demons *have* exhausted of everything virtuous, over which his authority is brought and *which* is wicked and teaching falsehood?" 15. Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: "An autocrat (sâstâr), to cure a country, who *has* not gone *mad* (that is, he does not annoy the good) and is well-directing (that is, he gives virtuous commands), who is *also* of noble race, and likewise a priest who is acquainted with war, of a famous province, *and* righteous, are most salutary *for* that country. 16. And I tell thee this, that the apostasy of destruction is *just* like the four-legged wolf which the world gives up to running astray (var*d*ak-takhshi*s*nîh) (that is, owing to its action *they are* leading *it* off as astray; which is so that even he who is not opulent is rendered sickly, that they (*the apostates*) may take away his things by the hand of the assassin (khûnyân); and they shall lead the world, the dwelling for *his* residence, into wandering. 17. But that wicked (*av*ârûnŏ) strife descended upon that country, besides that wicked demon-worship, besides that wicked slander; and not even that wicked strife, nor that wicked demon-worship, nor that wicked slander, is dissipated from

bodied,' because we are told that Tansar, or Tanvasar, was so called on account of all his limbs being covered with hair (vars). This statement occurs in the introduction to Tanvasar's letter to Gushnaspshâh (Ar. *G*asnasf-shâh), king of Pa*d*ashkhvârgar (Ar. Farshvâdgar) and Tabaristân; and is made on the authority of an old Pahlavi copyist, Bahrâm Khûrzâd, whose Pahlavi was translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa in the middle of the eighth century, and that into Persian early in the thirteenth century (see Darmesteter's edition in Journal Asiatique for 1894, pp. 185–250, 502–555).

that country until *the time* when they attach the grant of approval to him, the spiritual leader, the eloquent (pûr-gûftâr), truthful-speaking, *and* righteous Tanvasar. 18. And it is when they grant approval to the spiritual leader, the truthful speaker of eloquence, the righteous Tanvasar, that those *of* the country obtain redress (bêsh*âz*agânîh) when they seek *it*, and no deviation (anâyûînakŏîh) from the religion of Zaratûs*t*.'"

19. As to the nature of the questions *and* statements of the organizer of the religion, Âtû*r*pâ*d*[1] son of Mâ*r*aspend, about the connection of the glory with the race, it also says this, that 'though righteousness *may* arise from the statements and prosperity of the Tûrânians when extracted by questions, *it is* said that its acceptance occurs there through complete mindfulness[2]; they benefit the embodied world of righteousness, and produce distress for the fiend; in like manner, they rely upon Vohûmanô, *and* Zaratûs*t* is their delight through the report *of* the birth *of* Zaratûs*t* from us who are archangels. 20. This liberality for thee is *from* us who are archangels, *and* Âtû*r*pâ*d*, the very best well-destined *man* arose; and this, too, do thou say about him, that it is the steel age in which that man, the organizer of development *and* organizer of righteousness, Âtû*r*pâ*d* son of Mâ*r*aspend, of the convocation, begets Avarethrab*a*u[3].'

[1] A high-priest who was prime minister of king Shahpûhar II (A.D. 309–379). He is often mentioned in Pahlavi writings, but in the Avesta he is only alluded to, apparently, by the title Râs*t*are-vaghe*n*t in Yt. XIII, 106.

[2] A translation of Av. spe*n*ta-ârmaiti, the archangel Spendâ*r*ma*d*.

[3] So written, all three times in Pâzand. He is the Avarethra-

21. This Avarethrab*a*u, too, is an organizer whose righteous guardian spirit we reverence, and *in* memory of Mânûs*k*îhar, the well-destined, and a progenitor of Âtû*r*pâ*d*[1], it says that 'only from him *comes* Avarethrab*a*u;' and *then also arises* this *one* of the adversaries of the religion, the apostate of apostates, whom they have even called the Mazdag-like (Mazdagîg-i*k*)[2]. 22. As it says this, too, about them, namely: 'This religion of mine thou dost survey with thoughts of spiritual life, thou dost very thoroughly inspect *it*, *O* Zaratû*s*t! when many, aware of apostates, call the performance of righteousness and even the priesthood innocence, and few are frank and practising *it*.' 23. In the revelation of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers is this, namely: 'Thoroughly look into revelation, and seek a remedy for them and any whatever of them who have become disturbing in the embodied existence, and uncaptivated *by* the orthodox (âyîn-aûmônd) righteousness which is owing to the perfect existences; and so they divide the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers through division of race, they speak regarding the action *of* their own *followers*, and give the endowment to their own. 24. They grant supplies of food, so that they *may* say the food is proportional to the hunger; they speak of procreation, *and* say that they say lineage is through the mothers; and they approve of wolfishness, so that they would act something like

bangh, son of Râ*s*tare-vaghe*n*t of Yt. XIII, 106, better known as Zaratû*s*t, son of Âtû*r*pâ*d* in his old age, for whom the Andar'z-î Âtû*r*pâ*d*-î Mâ*r*aspendân was written.

[1] Whose pedigree is traced back to Mânûs*k*îhar in Bd. XXXIII, 3.

[2] Probably some disciple of Mânih, the heretic who had been put to death A.D. 276–7. Mazdag was put to death A.D. 528. See S.B.E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 257 n, 278 n.

wolves *in* the performance of gratifying their desires, like that of the wolf's progeny behind the mother. 25. Moreover, they form their lineage through the mothers; buying their women *as* sheep, they shall carry off for profit even that son *or* brother who is the progeny, those that we have produced for your companionship; you are not predominant, but *have* remained in companionship; you do not even believe them, *but* you do not establish an ordeal, although *it is* evident that you will be acquitted; they lie even to *their* children, so that the advance of the promise-breaker is through them, and even in their own persons[1].'

26. Here it speaks about the organization of the religion *by* the glorified[2] Khûsrôî, son of Kavâ*d*, thus: 'Upon their lingering behind, a man is produced who is righteous, the Glorified *one*[2], an approver (khênî*d*âr) of speech who is wise, whom the convocation, on hearing the words that he utters, speaks *of* as a high-priest; that is when he gives out penance (srôshîgîh), so that he may effect the punishment of sinners. 27. The constant outpouring of perplexity (pê*k* shârî*d*an) *by* the perverters is the fear of that hero, as regards that

[1] This quotation, from a Pahlavi version of an Avesta text, would probably be very applicable to the state of the Persian people at many periods in the fourth and fifth centuries, when heresy was prevalent and orthodox Zoroastrianism was by no means universal. Some of the evils mentioned are inseparable from slavery at all times.

[2] Literally 'immortal-soulled,' Anôshak-rûbân, the usual title of king Khûsrô I, who reigned A.D. 531–578. Before he became king, A.D. 528 or 529, he had summoned an assembly of priests to condemn the heretic Mazdag, when the last important revision of the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta probably took place (see Byt. I, 6–8, and Nöldeke's Gesch. der Sas. pp. 463–466).

convocation, when he casts *them forth* by expulsion from the vicinity, so that he may make *them* extinguished very quickly; owing to that, they, *whose* producer is even he who is a person destroying the righteous man, become gloomy on account of the Glorified *one*, through *his* smiting the spiritual life of apostasy; *just* as now, when he who is gloomy, *and* of scattered intellect, is gloomy owing to you *of* the Spîtâmas.' 28. This, too, it states, namely: 'In every way, I tell thee, *O* Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! that their time is mistrustful (avâvar) as to him who is an open friend, *and* most deceitful both *to* the wicked and the righteous; the Glorified *one* is a controller (ayûkhtâr) exalting the creatures, *and* whoever is possessing the creatures of the righteous *ones*[1], so that he remains again at work in the doings of the Glorified *one*, is *he* who is a combiner *of* the actions *and* an utterer of the true replies *of* that Glorified *one*.'

29. And about the occurrence of a symptom of the devastators of the sovereignty *and* religion of the country of Irân one wonder, which is associated with the religion, is even this *which* it mentions thus: 'Thereupon, when the first symptom of a ravager *of* the country occurs, *O* righteous Zaratûst! then the more aggressive and more unmerciful *in* malice becomes the tyrant of the country, and through him, too, they ravage (rêshênd) the house, through him the village, through him the community, through him the province, *and* through him even the whole *of* that manifestation *in* the country *of* any teaching whatever that occurs *through* the ravager *of* the country; and so the country should

[1] Of the good spirits.

keep a man who is observant *and* learned on the watch, because information is in his mind. 30. *Thereupon, when the second symptom of a ravager of the country occurs, &c.*[1] . . . . . 31. Thereupon, when the third symptom *of* a ravager *of* the country occurs, the priestly people are disturbing the tradition, so that they speak nothing wisely; it is even on this account they do not accept them, and it is not when *one* speaks truly *that* the ravager *of* the country believes them, and through him, too, they ravage the house, through him the village, *through him the community*, through him the province, and through him even the whole *of* that manifestation *in* the country *of* any teaching whatever *that* occurs *through* the ravager *of* the country; and so, too, the country should keep a man who is observant *and* learned on the watch, because information is in his mind. 32. Thereupon, when the fourth symptom of a ravager *of* the country occurs, it upsets the replenishment of the fires, and upsets those men of the righteous, so that they shall not undertake the care of them; and thus they shall not convey the holy-water to him who is a priestly authority, so that they may not produce the seizing upon the stipend *of* the priestly authorities *by* him who is the ravager *of* the country; through him, too, they ravage the house, through him the village, through him the community, through him *the province, and through him* even the whole *of* that

[1] The whole of this section is omitted in the old MS., evidently by mistake. Perhaps the second symptom of devastation was connected with the evil deeds of the warrior class, but this is very uncertain. Passages of four or five words are also omitted by the MS. in §§ 31, 32.

manifestation *in* the country *of* any teaching whatever *that* occurs *through* the ravager *of* the country; *and* so, too, the country should keep a man who is observant *and* learned on the watch, because information is in his mind.'

33. About the collapse of the sovereignty of Irân, it also states this, namely: 'That very villain (mar), *O* Zaratûst! brings those provinces on to running astray, so that he may make those quite dissevered which constitute the existence of that powerful sovereignty; and then he is a thorough assailant *of* the righteous, then he is an assailant *of* the righteous with eagerness. 34. That same deadly *one* (mar), *O* Zaratûst! does not continue living long afterwards; moreover his offspring disappear (that is, they perish utterly); but his soul falls to the bottom of the gloomy existence which is horrible hell, and upon their bodies every kind *of* unseemly unhappiness comes from themselves, owing to their own actions when they give approval to the imprisonment of a guardian of spiritual *affairs* who is eloquent, true-speaking, *and* righteous. 35. Against that deadly *one* he contends, *O* Zaratûst! for the spiritual lordship *and* priestly authority that I approve *as* good *for* the whole embodied existence; also against the preparation of a decree to produce evil decisions, *and* against the dismissal of litigants, whether heterodox or orthodox, who are of a family of serfs of a far-situated village and are making petitions.'

36. 'And *as to* the land, too, over which he wanders, the evil spirit utterly devastates their country through pestilence and other misery; and, moreover, strife which is tormenting falls upon that

country, besides demon-worship which is iniquitous, *and* besides slander which is iniquitous. 37. And the strife which is iniquitous is not to be dissipated (*a*pâsî-aîtanŏ) from that country, nor the demon-worshippers who *are* iniquitous, nor the slander which is iniquitous, before the *time* when they give approval to him, to the priest who is a guardian of spiritual *affairs*, who is eloquent, true-speaking, and righteous; and it is when they give him approval, that they obtain healthfulness *for* their country when they pray *for it*, and not irregularly from him, *O* Zaratûs*t*!'

38. And this which is recounted is a statement that is execrated (nafrîg-aîtŏ) by many, details from the Avesta as to occurrences *that will* arise after Vis*t*âsp until the dispersion (an*gâvis*nŏ) of the sovereignty of Irân from the country of Irân; *it is also* declared that this which is written happened *to* the knowledge of those of the world. 39. This, too, is about the evidence of the above:—'And if this which is declared from the Avesta, as to *what* happens after Kaî-Vis*t*âsp until the end of the sovereignty of Irân, should not have happened, and *it being* the pre-eminence of the Avesta which really became this present treasure, it thereby ensues, owing to its position in that *former*[1], and the manifest absence of the destruction of those rulers *and* high-priests from Vis*t*âsp onwards in this *latter*[2], that it could not be connected with us[3].'

[1] The above declaration from the Avesta.

[2] The present Avesta itself.

[3] Meaning perhaps that, for some good reason, it could not be communicated to us in the extant Avesta. If § 39 be not a later addition to this chapter, it implies that the prophetical quotations from the Avesta, regarding the history of the religion after the time

Chapter VIII.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested and is openly specified after the collapsing of the sovereignty of Irân *and* the country of Irân; *also* the end of the millennium of Zaratûs*t* and the arrival of Aûshê*d*ar the descendant of Zaratûs*t* [1].

2. There is this marvellousness, really overthrowing the blessedness of the knowledge of former government, revealed by the Avesta about the ninth and tenth centuries, that which is an indicator of circumstances (aê*d*ûnŏîh) now visible, *such* as the dispersion of the sovereignty of Irân from the country of Irân, the disturbance of just law *and* custom, the predominance of *those with* dishevelled hair [2], *and* the haughty profession of ecclesiastics [3]. 3. Also the collection and even connection of all their four systems of belief (v*âv*arî-hastanŏ) [4] to-

of Vis*t*âsp, were no more extant in the Avesta, when the Dînka*rd* was compiled, than they are now.

[1] The contents of Chaps. VII–XI have some connection with the following summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 11, 12:—'*And* about the nature of the advancement of the people of the period, the separation *of* centuries and millenniums, *and* the signs, wonders, and perplexity which are manifested in the world at the end of each millennium in the world. Also as to the birth *and* arrival of Aûshê*d*ar, son of Zaratûs*t*, at the end of the first millennium, and a report of him and his time, *and of* the many destroyers of the organizers of the period between Zaratûs*t*'s millennium and the coming of Aûshê*d*ar.'

[2] This meaning for vi*g*âr*d*ŏ-vars is chiefly based upon the use of vi*g*âr*d* in AV. XXXIV, 5, for a woman's hair being 'combed.' These invaders of Irân from the east, at the end of the first millennium of the religion, are mentioned in Byt. II, 22, 24, 28; III, 1, 6, 13. They are called 'Turkish demons' in § 47.

[3] The Byzantine Christians.

[4] Zoroastrianism, Muhammadanism, Christianity, and either Judaism or Idolatry.

gether for the upper rank; the coming of *one* working with the sacred beings to the inferior, the transient, and the captive of the period; and the dispersion and downfall of dependent and public men in their time.

4. The disappearance of a disposition for wisdom from the foreigners *in* the countries of Irân, which is an indication of shame *at* the truth of the religion, and *at* the praise, peace, liberality, *and* other goodness whose provision *has* lodgement in a disposition for wisdom. 5. Also the abundance *of* the decisions of apostasy, the falsehood, deceit, slander, quarrelsomeness, fraudulence, ingratitude, discord, stinginess, and other vileness whose real connection is a disposition to devour, neglecting heedfulness for the archangels of fire, water, and worldly *existence*[1]. 6. The oppressiveness of infidelity *and* idol-worship, the scarcity *of* freedom, the extreme predominance of avarice in the individuals (tanŏ) of mankind, the plenitude of different opinions about witchcraft, *and* the much inclination of many for paralyzing the religion of the sacred beings.

7. The annihilation of the sovereignty of mankind one over the other, the desolation of localities and settlements by severe actual distress, and the evil foreign potentates who *are*, one after the other, scattering the valiant; the destruction among cattle *and* the defilement *of* the spirit of enjoyment, owing to the lodgement of lamentation and weeping *in* the countries of Irân, the clamour of the demon-worshipper in the country, *and* the unobtainable stature, non-existent strength, blighted destiny, and short

[1] Ashavahistô, Khûrdad, and Spendarmad.

life of mankind. 8. Also the abundance of ordinances (âyinŏ)[1] of various descriptions, the approval of the apostate among tyrants and the non-approval of the Zoti[2] who is well-disposed and wise, the coming of the Zoti to want, *and* all the other adversity, disruption, and running astray which *are* overpowering even in districts *and* localities of the countries of Irân.

9. The maintenance of no ritual (*a*pandîh) of the religion of the sacred beings; the weakness, suffering, and evil habits *of* those of the good religion; the lamentation and recantation (khûstûkîh) of the upholders of the religion; *and* the wickedness and extermination of good works in most of the countries of Irân. 10. Also much other misery in these two centuries is recounted in the Avesta, which passed away with them and is also now so visible therein, and manifestly occurs in them.

11. This, too, is a statement (nisang-i) as to them, *which* revelation mentions thus: 'That is the age mingled with iron (that is, from every side they perceive *it is* of iron) in which they bring forth into life him who is a sturdy praying apostate. 12. This is their sturdiness, that their approval is unobservant of both doctrines (âînakŏ); and this is their praying, that whenever *it is* possible for them they shall cause misery to others; *also* when an old man publicly advances into a crowd (galakŏ) of youths, owing to the evil times in which that man who is learned is born, they are unfriendly *to him* (that is, they are no friends of the high-priests of the priestly assembly). 13. They are freely speaking (that is,

[1] Or it may be hênô, 'squadrons.'

[2] The chief officiating priest in religious ceremonies.

they utter phrases smoothly), they are wicked and are fully maliciously talking, so that they shall make the statements of priests and high-priests useless; they also tear asunder the spiritual lordship *and* priestly authority, and shall bring the ruler *and* priestly authority into evil behaviour as vicious, but they bring together those *who are* singular. 14. Anything they say is always mischief (agîh), and that district which had a judge they cast into the smiting precinct, into hell; it is misery without any intermission they shall inflict therein, till they attain unto damnation (darvandîh) through the recitation they persevere in, *both* he who is the evil progeny disseminated by the apostate *and* he who is the villainous wolf full of disaster *and* full of depravity.'

15. 'Here *below* they fight, the friend with him who is a friend, they also defraud (zîvênd) him of his own work (that is, whenever *it is* possible for them, they shall seize upon his property), and they give it to him from whom they obtain prosperity in return; if not, they seek him who is acting as a confederate (nishîn-gûn), and they make that other *one* defraud the poor *man* (so that they shall seize upon his property); they also cheat him when he shall make complaint. 16. I *shall* not again produce such for thee, no friend here for him who is a friend, no brother for him who is a brother, no son for him who is a father, nor yet a father *for* him who is a son; admonished, *but* not convinced, they become the abode of the will of the place, so that they subsist in every single place where it is necessary for them *to be,* in each that is necessary for them they march on together, and on the way they reflect upon the path of blessedness and the

manifold learning they utter owing to knowledge of me[1].'

17. 'These three, our increase, learning, *and* reward, we fully understand through the ascendancy *of* him who is ignoble, *and* through the downfall *of* him who is noble *and* superior to him of little thorough instruction who, in every thing, *will* be at the foot of the tyrant. 18. Thinking of a priest *one* becomes spiritual, thinking of a tyrant *one* becomes a Kavîg[2]; a demon *in* disposition is an incipient demon, a Kavîg *in* disposition is himself attracted towards a youth.'

19. Then, when character and wisdom recede from the countries of Irân (that is, they depart), so *that* destitution and also winter, produced by demons who are worshipping the demon, rush together from the vicinity of disaster (vôighn) on to the countries of Irân, where even rain becomes scanty and pestilence is secretly advancing and deceiving, so that deaths become numerous; thus even *he* of perverted wisdom, who is wicked, and the apostate also, who is unrighteous, rush together in companionship. 20. As what *one* says they *all* exclaim thus: 'Consume and destroy, *O* ruler! for *it* is to be consumed and destroyed by thee; destroy even the fire, consume even as food those who are the protection of the association enforcing *religious* obedience, and those leading on the poor *man* of the righteous dispensation by their guidance.' 21. So that they shall make him thoroughly detached and smite him;

[1] So far, this statement (§§ 11–16) seems to be ascribed to Aûharmazd; but what follows (§§ 17, 18, 20) appears to represent the sentiments of some Irânians of those later times.

[2] See Chap. II, 9 n.

likewise wisdom is the wealth they bring him, *and* it is when property is being carried off by them, *that* the wisdom conveyed by them arises.

22. 'And in that age, *O* righteous *one of* the Spîtâmas! the coming of my desire is not purely for thee, nor is a thorough belief *of* the departure of life, so that the bringing *and* conducting of a speaker of promises (mit*r*agôv) is not necessary; those of the perfect apostate injure this discourse of thine, the Avesta and Zand, so that they shall make *it* thoroughly weak; *and* those of the perfect apostate harass their own souls, for love of the wealth which he produced.'

23. And about the ninth and tenth centuries this also it says, that, '*as* that age proceeds, this is what occurs, *O* Zaratû*s*t of the Spîtâmas! when many apostates utter the righteousness of priestly instruction and authority, *which* is wickedness towards me, they cause begging for water, they wither vegetation, and they put down all excellence which is due to the manifestation of righteousness.'

24. Again Zaratû*s*t enquired of him thus: 'What do they so produce by that, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! when they cause begging for water, they wither vegetation, and they put down all excellence due to the manifestation of righteousness?' 25. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'They so produce those *things* among them, *O* Zaratû*s*t! when they mention a greater reward for bantlings *and* relations than that of their own souls (that is, they talk more concerning their allowance, where it is that for their own). 26. Moreover, they give to the Kîgs *and* Karaps, for some repute *with* the shepherd people of the husbandman, and with the swift-horsed people *of* the warrior, as

though they would provide us[1] here *below* with a large share of meat, that they would make our privilege, just as we[1] here supply him with meat whom we render greatly precious. 27. The property *of* even a wicked *man* here *below*, *O* Zaratûs*t*! in the average opinion among the disorganized (anârâstânŏ) is a dignified provision (that is, we form a strong opinion, the approval *of which* is more to be asserted as *being* the opinion of a poor righteous *man*, about a worthy righteous *man* whose manifest righteousness is a homage (fra nâmi*s*nŏ) to duty *and* good works).'

28. Again he enquired of him thus: 'Is there so perfect a manifestation here *below*, in the age of the worldly existence of the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers (that is, is there a lodgement of the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers in any one)?' 29. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'It is so, among those men of mine[2], *O* Zaratûs*t*! for here *below there* are priests who are eloquent, and they, too, are men voluble and requisite in the embodied existence, all-beneficent and producing the destruction *of* harm and the wizard; the people of the wicked tyrant say also regarding them, *that*, excepting thee, *O* Zaratûs*t*! they rightly practise righteousness more largely, more powerfully, *and* more volubly. 30. Blind are those *of* the fiend, who are consulting with thee and are unaware of the tyrant; and observant are also those *of* the fiend who consult with them and think of *their* intelligence, and oppose the imbecile (anâkâsîh-aûmônd) apostate who is near them, so that

[1] The archangels.

[2] Reading minam, instead of madam which is unintelligible here.

they say[1] this, namely: "*As to* this which thou tellest us, *it* is evidently not so as thou sayest," of which they speak thus: "This duty of thy man is not mine (that is, it is not necessary for me to perform) nor thine (that is, it is not necessary even *for* thee to perform), because *it* is not this which is righteousness (that is, not a good work)." 31. For this *one* is produced for these words *and* thoughts of thine, *of* whom thou, too, art aware, he who is whatever is here *below* of Aûshê*d*ar[2] of thoughtful controversy, *O* Zaratû*s*t of the Spîtâmas! for he brings into notice, through the intermingling of his own soul, *him* who is righteous, or has not become *so*.'

32. This, too, he says, namely: '*Of* those, *O* Zaratû*s*t of the Spîtâmas! who come in the ninth and tenth centuries, I tell thee that they are *of* the fiend *of* Greed (Âzî); it is in *her* womb that they are to be fashioned, they who assist those who would be vicious, through pre-eminence in leadership, or through excellence in subserviency.'

33. And this, too, it says about them: 'Those men are much to be destroyed;' so it is said by Aûha*r*ma*zd* that 'these who are righteous, who carry away a corpse in this world, distress their fire, according to every high-priest[3], and even long-flowing water; their bodies, which are really cess-pools[4] of a terrible character, become very assisting for the tormentors whose corpses are grievously wicked. 34. Concerning them I tell thee, *O* Zara-

[1] To the apostate.

[2] See §§ 55–60 and Chap. I, 42 n. Here spelt Aûkhshê*d*ar.

[3] Reading dastûr, instead of vastûr.

[4] Pahl. mayâ-vakhdûn = Pers. âb-gîr.

tûst of the Spîtâmas! that, in the ninth and tenth centuries, *there* come those who are the brood of the fiend and the wound-producer (reshgâr)[1] of the evil spirit; even one of them is more to be destroyed than ten demon-worshippers[2]; they also produce extermination for these who are mine, for these of my religion, whom they call a provision for destruction (that is, when it is possible to live in our way, and *ours* are wicked, they diminish in superiority). 35. Even the iniquity that they shall commit in leadership and subserviency, the sin which is smiting thee, they call a trifle (khalakŏ), *O* pure *one* of the Spîtâmas! and the smiter, they say, is *he* whom these of thy religion of Mazda-worshippers smite. 36. Besides thee, *O* Zaratûst! they distress those *duties*, too, which *are* to be acquired *by* thy people (lagânŏ); they think scornfully of this ceremonial of thine, scornfully of *thy* worship, *O* Zaratûst! *and* they think scornfully of both the two blessed utterances[3], the Avesta and Zand, which *were* proclaimed *to* thee *by* me who am the most propitious of spirits. 37. They foster villainous outrage, *and* they say the best work for mankind is immoderate fighting whose joyfulness is due to actions that are villainous; those, too, *that* they exterminate are the existences *due to* the spirits, they exterminate their own souls, they exterminate the embodied existences *of* the world; *and* they produce lamentation for the soul, *and* even the religion, as regards what is the mode of controlling orthodox people *together* with the iniquitous of the same period.'

38. And this, too, it says, that Zaratûst enquired

[1] Or it may be riyâgâr, 'hypocrite.' [2] Or 'idolators.'
[3] Pahl. vâfrîgânîh = Av. urvâtâ.

of Aûha*r*ma*zd* thus: 'So what *shall* we prescribe for those who are not capable, through *being* poor (that is, they have no means), nor have they troops, nor a protector over *them*, and they have many persecutors?' 39. *And* Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'The strong-minded [1] man, through understanding, is a token of the development of those who, not being in the army, are capable; their persecutors also are many, and the passing over of authority is owing to the iniquitous of the same period.'

40. This, too, it says, that Zaratûs*t* enquired thus: 'Is he, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! who is a Kaî *or* a Karap, or he who is a most evil ruler in authority, mingled again with the good?' 41. *And* Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'Even he [2].'

42. Zaratûs*t* *also* enquired thus: 'Is he, too, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! who is *one of* those of the good sovereignty, mingled again with the good; or these, *such* as the Kaîsar and Khâkân [3]?' 43. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'Even that *former*, *O* Zaratûs*t*!'

44. About the same iniquitous [4] this, too, he says, namely: 'When they are aware and understand about the sayings (galimakŏ) due to righteousness, they are pleased, so that a bribe seems better to them than duty and good works; they love the darkness *rather* than light, the existence they love

[1] Assuming that tôshtŏ-mîni*s*nŏ is a miswriting of toshînŏ-mîni*s*nŏ.

[2] That is, after expiating his misdeeds by his allotted punishment. The last thirteen Pahlavi words of §§ 42, 43 are also added here by mistake in the MS.

[3] The Byzantine emperor and the sovereign Khân of the invaders from the east.

[4] Mentioned in §§ 37, 39.

is the worst existence *rather* than the best existence, *and* they promote difficulty. 45. Concerning them, too, I tell thee that they are more to be destroyed than the leaping (sha*s*pŏ) serpent which is like a wolf *or* a lion, and they ever advance in malice *and* persecution from that *time* till when that man arrives who is *K*itrô-mêhônŏ[1] the righteous, with the victorious club. 46. He *has* marched with fifty triplets of men[2] who are disciples, powerful and tall, looking after duties and ordinances, wide-shouldered, stout-armed, *and* very hairy (kabed-milîh), so that their appearance is rough and of a black colour[3], wherefore the demon and the iniquity *proceeding* from him fear them. 47. He also smites the evil spirit, *together* with *his* creatures; *and* those three manifest branches, that worship the fiend with simultaneous worship, are really these who march for eminent service on horses, even the Turkish demons with dishevelled hair, the Arab, and also She*d*âspô[4] the ecclesiastical Arûman.

[1] So spelt here, but in Dk. IX, xli, 6, it is *K*itrag-mêhônŏ, and other slight variations occur in the best MSS. of Bd. XX, 7, 31; XXIX, 5; Byt. III, 25, 26; Dd. XC, 3; but they can all be traced to an original *K*itrô-mêhan = Av. *K*ithrô-maêthanem, 'of the racial home,' a title applied both to the river and the immortal sacerdotal ruler of Kangd*e*z. The latter is supposed to be Pêshyôtanŏ, a son of king Vi*s*tâsp, who is expected to restore religious rites in Irân and throughout the world.

[2] With 150 disciples, as stated in Byt. III, 27, 29, 42. Here it is written levat*d* 50 3-gabrâân.

[3] Byt. III, 27, 29, 42, states that they wear black marten fur.

[4] In Byt. III, 3, 5, 8, 21, this name is written Shê*d*âspîh which can also be read Shê*d*âsfa*s*, and is probably a corrupt pronunciation of the name of some Byzantine emperor or general (such as Theodosius) who had signally defeated the Persians some time in the fifth to seventh century, in which period Zaratû*s*t's millennium probably ended.

48. 'And he *has* then to attract men, contented and discontented, mostly through the incentive of duty; he who is not contented (that is, not agreeing with what he says) contentedly pays respect to him, *O* Zaratûst! (so that he brings him into the religion). 49. Likewise, through that club, he makes *one* press in the same manner; so that *one* is distressed by his hand to hold *others in* contempt, through the valiant arm and through the youthful bodily organs. 50. And he attaches power and triumph to his religion of Aûharmazd, and through that power and triumph they become ever respected thenceforth, when those arrive who are the sons of Zaratûst, who shall produce the renovation in an existence undecaying *and* immortal, hungerless and thirstless, the long-continued perpetuity including all.'

51. And about the separation (burînakŏ) of the ten centuries in the one millennium of Zaratûst, *and* the tidings of Aûshêdar[1], son of Zaratûst, it says also this, namely: 'When that century fully elapses which is the first of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, from *the time when* Zaratûst came forward to *his* conference, what is the separation of *this* first century?' 52. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.' 53. 'What is the separation after the second, third, fourth, *fifth*, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, *or* tenth century?' 54. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.'

55. Then, when thirty winters of the tenth century are unelapsed (that is, thirty winters *are* remaining) a maiden, who is Shemig-abû[2], walks up

[1] See Chap. I, 42.

[2] 'Having a renowned father,' the Zvâris of Av. Srûtad-fedhri, Yt. XIII, 141.

to the water; she that is the mother of that famous Aûshê*d*ar, and her former lineage is from Vôhû-rô*k*ô-î Frahânyân[1] in the family of Îsa*d*vâstar, the son of Zaratû*s*t *that* is brought forth by Aran*g*. 56. Then she sits in that water *and* drinks *it*, and she kindles in a high degree those germs which were the third *of* the last that the righteous Zaratû*s*t *was* dropping forth originally, and they introduce that son whose name is the Developer *of* Righteousness[2]. 57. Though *she* is fifteen years old, the girl (kanîg) *has* not before that associated with men[3]; nor afterwards, when she becomes pregnant, *has she done so* before the time when she gives birth.

58. When that man becomes thirty years old, the sun stands still in the zenith (bâlistŏ) of the sky *for* the duration of ten days *and* ten nights, and it arrives again at that place where it *was* first appointed by allotment, where it occupies one finger-*breadth* out of the four finger-*breadths*, and it shines over all the regions which are seven. 59. So, too, *O* Zaratû*s*t! of them themselves, their declaration is thus, that they know that the separation of the millennium, which this religion *has* heard about by listening, is thus; *and* of those who do not even then know, that it is something which is different.

60. Then, when that man becomes thirty years old, he confers with the archangels, the good rulers *and* good providers; *on* the morrow, in the daylight of the day, *it is* moreover manifest, when the *embodied* existence is thus undistressed—without

[1] See Yt. XIII, 97.

[2] The Pahlavi interpretation of Aûshê*d*ar which is an imperfect transcript of the Av. Ukhshya*d*-ereta of Yt. XIII, 128.

[3] Pahl. 'leva*t*â gab*r*ânŏ ba*r*â vepayî*d*ŏ.'

a Kaî and without a Karap (that is, not deaf and blind to the affairs of the sacred beings), and is to be appropriated (that is, has not made its own self apart *from* the affairs of the sacred beings), and is produced full of life—that it has become extending (vâlân), and remains again great *in* various places in Aîrân-v*êg* where the good Dâîtî[1] *is*.

61. These are the characteristics as regards the two centuries which are the ninth and tenth; the accuracy of what *was* to come has continued *and* this has happened, and both are declared as regards the accuracy which is stated on evidence as to what *will* happen.

CHAPTER IX.

1. About the marvellousness which is after the end of the millennium of Zaratûs*t* and the arrival of Aûshê*d*ar, until the end of the millennium of Aûshê*d*ar and the arrival of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh; and as to tidings of the same period.

2. The marvellousness of Aûshê*d*ar as to birth[2], glory of person, sayings and actions; the standing of the sun ten days amid the sky[3]; the perishing of the fiend of the four-legged race; the production of a three-spring cloudless influence[4] for vegetation; the weakening of superfluity *and* destitution; the extreme strengthening of alliance; the gratification *due to* the good friendship of foreigners; the great increase of the wisdom of religion; and the praise

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[1] See Chap. III, 51, 54; Bd. XX, 13. It is the name of a river.
[2] See Chap. VIII, 55–57.
[3] See Chap. VIII, 58.
[4] Pahl. '3-zarem*âê* an-*av*argarîh.'

of Aûshê*d*ar's smiting *with* a serpent-scourge of several kinds *in* the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers.

3. The mightiness of the resources in the fifth century of the same millennium; the manifestation of the wizard Mahrkûs[1] for seven years, in the year which is reported in all the regions which are seven; the coming on *and* arrival of the winter of Mahrkûs, the perishing of most *of* mankind *and* animals within three winters and in the fourth, through the awfulness *of* those winters *and* the witchcraft of Mahrkûs; and the dying away of Mahrkûs of scanty progeny (ga*s*ûkŏ-zahi*s*nŏ), during the fourth winter, through the Dâhmân Âf*r*în[2]. 4. The opening of the enclosure made by Yim, the coming of mankind *and* animals therefrom, *and* the complete progress of mankind and animals again, arising specially from them.

5. After those winters, the abundant and great increase in the milk of cattle, and the abundant nourishment *of* mankind by milk; the less distress of body *in* cattle, the fullness and prosperity *of* the world, the celebrity of assembled mankind, *and* the great increase of liberality. 6. Also the feebleness

[1] Av. Mahrkûsha of Westergaard's Fragment VIII, 2, who is evidently a wizard or fiend; according to Pahl. Vd. II, 49 (Sp.) the evil winter which was foretold to Yim is called the winter of Markûs. In later times this name has been understood as Heb. Malkôs. 'autumnal rain;' so the idea of the fatal freezing winter of Mahrkûs, the intender of death, was abandoned for that of the deluging rain of Malkôs, as in Mkh. XXVII, 28. In Dd. XXXVII, 94, both snow and rain are mentioned as produced by Mahrkûs or Markûs (as it is always written in Pahlavi), and in Sd. IX, 5 only his name is stated. The most complete account of him is given in our text.

[2] The *Â*f*r*în of the Ameshâspends.

of poverty among mankind, *just* like what revelation mentions thus: 'Even so he, *O* Zaratûst! though he be more unfortunate than he who is accepting *from him*, is like the creator whose bounty of permanent liberality does thus, in the embodied existence, remain in his dwelling.'

7. And this, too, it says, namely: 'When that winter passes away, *of* which *it is* said that *it is* boisterous and destructive[1], then a wild beast, black and wide-travelling, walks up to the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, and thus it thinks, that they *who* worship Ma*zd*a *will* therefore not finally hate us more than him who is their own progeny, the son whom they thus bring up *as* a Ma*zd*a-worshipper here *below*, *in* fondness *and* freedom from malice towards well-yielding cattle.

8. 'Then Ashavahistô calls out to the Ma*zd*a-worshippers from the upper region, *and* thus he speaks: "You are for the worship of Ma*zd*a; let no one *of you* become such a slaughterer of cattle as the slaughterers you have been before. 9. Recommend increase in gifts, recommend neighbourliness in person; are you worshipping Ma*zd*a? do you slaughter cattle? do you slaughter those of them which give you assistance, which speak to you thus: 'On account of your helpfulness *one* tells you that you are worshipping Ma*zd*a *and* you *may* eat?' I *am* in neighbourliness before that, until *the time* when you exclaim: 'Mine *are* the serpent and toad.'

10. '"And you recommend increase, you recommend neighbourliness, *and* the Ma*zd*a-worshippers slaughter cattle, even those of them who give them

[1] The Pahlavi version of Av. 'stakhrahê meretô zaya' in Westerg. Frag. VIII, 2.

assistance, so that you are worshipping Ma*zd*a *and* you eat; I *am* in neighbourliness before that, until *the time* when you exclaim: 'Mine *are* the serpent *and* toad.'

11. '"Contentedly the Ma*zd*a-worshippers slaughter cattle, contentedly the cattle of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers let *them* butcher[1], and contented are the cattle when they do not butcher *them;* contentedly the Ma*zd*a-worshippers eat cattle, *and* contented *are the cattle* when they eat them. 12. And then, when *there* are spirits, the slaughterers and whatever they slaughter, the butchers *and* whatever they butcher, *and* the eaters and whatever they eat *are* alike watched *by them*."'

13. And this, too, it says, namely: 'When that century fully elapses, which is the fifth in the second millennium as regards the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, then of all those who *are* upon the earth, the existences which are both wicked and righteous, two-thirds *in* the land of Irân are righteous and one-*third* wicked; and so likewise the Tûrânians *and* those who *are* around Irân remain non-Irânian around Irân; the chief increase in dwellings here *below*, of those in the embodied existence, remains *just* as now.'

14. And this, too, it says, namely: 'When that millennium *has* fully elapsed, which is the first of the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, what is the separation after the first century?' 15. And Aûha*r*-ma*zd* spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.' 16. 'And what is the separation after the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, *or* tenth

[1] Assuming that bûr'zâvand stands for bûrînênd which occurs in § 12.

century?' 17. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.'

18. Then, when thirty winters of the tenth century *are* unelapsed (arânakŏ), a maiden, who is Shapîr-abû[1], walks up to the water; *she* that is the mother of that good Aûshê*d*ar-mâh[2], and her former lineage is from Vôhû-rô*k*ô-î Frahânyân[3] in the family of Îsa*d*vâstar, the son of Zaratû*s*t *that* is brought forth by Aran*g*. 19. Then she sits in that water *and* drinks *it*, *and* she kindles in a high degree those germs which were the second *of* the last that the righteous Zaratû*s*t *was* dropping forth originally, and they introduce that son whose name is the Developer *of* Worship[4] (that is, he augments liberality). 20. Though fifteen years old, the damsel (zihânakŏ) *has* not before that associated with men; nor yet afterwards, when she becomes pregnant, *has she done so* before the time when she gives birth[5].

21. When that man becomes thirty years old, the sun stands still in the zenith of the sky *for* the duration of twenty days *and* nights[6], *and* it shines over all the regions which are seven. 22. So, too, the declaration of them themselves is that they know

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[1] 'Having a good father,' the Zvâri*s* of Av. Vanghu-fedhri, Yt. XIII, 142.

[2] See Chap. I, 42. [3] See Chap. VIII, 55–57.

[4] The Pahlavi interpretation of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh which is an imperfect transcript of the Av. Ukhshya*d*-nemangh of Yt. XIII, 128.

[5] Compare the summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 13, as follows:—'The arrival of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh, son of Zaratû*s*t, at the end of the second millennium; information *about* him and his time, *and* the destroyers *of* the organizers who *were* within the millennium *of* Aûshê*d*ar.'

[6] The MS. omits a clause here, which occurs in Chap. VIII, 58, possibly by mistake, as part of it is given in Chap. X, 19.

that the separation of the millennium, which this religion *has* heard about by listening, is even thus; *and* of those who do not even then know, that it is something which is different.

23. When that man becomes thirty years old, he confers with the archangels, the good rulers *and* good providers; *on* the morrow, in the daylight of the day, *it is* moreover manifest, when the embodied existence is *thus* undistressed—without a Kaî and without a Karap (that is, not blind *and* not deaf to the affairs of the sacred beings), and is to be appropriated (that is, has not made its own self apart *from* the affairs of the sacred beings), and is produced full of life—that it has become extending, and is again great *in* various places in Aîrân-v*êg* where the good Dâîtî *is*.

Chapter X.

1. About the marvellousness which is after the end of the millennium of Aûshê*d*ar and the arrival of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh, until the end of the millennium of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh and the arrival of Sôshâns; *and* as to tidings *of* the same period.

2. The marvellousness of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh as to birth [1], glory of person, sayings, and actions; the standing of the sun amid the sky twenty days long [2]; and the increase of the milk of cattle arrives at a maximum (*av*artûm), *just* as what it says, that *one* milks only one mature cow (tô*r*â az) for a thousand men, *and* that he brings as much milk as a thousand men *require;* also the feebleness of

[1] See Chap. IX, 18–20. [2] See Chap. IX, 21.

hunger and thirst is *just* as it says, that by only a single ration *one* becomes satisfied *for* three nights, *and* whoever eats a leg *of* mutton *has* plenty for him*self for* three days *and* nights. 3. The diminution *of* decay and extension (vêshîh) of life, the increase of humility and peace, *and* the perfection *of* liberality and enjoyment in the world.

4. Like this which revelation states, that, when the first ten winters in the last millennium pass away, the Ma*zd*a-worshippers then make enquiry together thus: '*Are* we really more hairy-headed (sar-vars-*ik*-tar) than occurred before, owing to the well-yielding cattle, so that food and clothing are less necessary for us? Has affection come to us more completely, owing to those cattle, than it was ours before? *Have* we grown up less deteriorated in the hair, by old age, than *those* grown up before? *Are* the thoughts, words, *and* deeds of our women and children more instructed than they were before? 5. And *has* this thing occurred, that he is classed as disqualified who in training a child has become quite retrogressive (pas-ûruzd), and is *his* penalty arranged? Does the fiend think of the Karap class, and *are they* utterly destroyed by her through those whose thoughts are most evil, devoid of righteousness, *and* devoid of a liking for righteousness? 6. Near here, in the disturbance of the existences, does that happen as heard by us from the ancients, when listening *to* the true proclaimers of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers? And now, even when our numbers *are* so greatly maintaining this dispensation, do we sanctify (aharâyînem) righteousness (that is, do we perform duty and good works) more vociferously *and* more strenuously?'

7. This, too, it says, even that no one passes away in the last millennium, other than those whom they smite with a scaffold weapon[1], and *those* who pass away from old age. 8. When fifty-three years of that millennium of his have remained, the sweetness and oiliness in milk *and* vegetables are so completed that, on account of the freedom of mankind from wanting meat, they shall leave off the eating of meat, and their food becomes milk and vegetables. 9. When three years have remained, they shall leave off even the drinking of milk, and their food *and* drink become water and vegetables.

10. And in his millennium *are* the breaking (lânakŏ) of the fetters of Dahâk[2], the rousing of Kerêsâspô[3] for the smiting of Dahâk, the arrival of Kaî-Khûsrô[4] and his companions for the assistance of Sôshâns in the production of the renovation *of the universe*, and the provision of most *of* mankind with the Gâthic disposition and law; also the occurrence of many other wonders and marvels is manifest in that millennium of his.

11. And this, too, it says, namely: 'When that millennium *has* fully elapsed, which is the second of the religion *of* the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, what is the separation after the first century?' 12. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.' 13. 'And what is the separation after the second,

[1] Reading pavan dâr snesh, as in some modern copies; but the old MS. of 1659 has run the last two words together, so as to produce pavan dârêgûsh, 'as destitute,' which must be wrong.

[2] For details see Byt. III, 55–57; Bd. XXIX, 9; Dd. XXXVII, 97; Dk. IX, xv, 2. It may be noticed that this release of the demoniacal tyrant is expected to follow the triumph of strict vegetarianism.

[3] See further Byt. III, 59–61; Bd. XXIX, 7, 8.

[4] See Mkh. XXVII, 59–63; LVII, 7; Dd. XXXVI, 3.

third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, *or* tenth century?' 14. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.'

15. And when thirty winters of the tenth century *are* unelapsed, that maiden, who is Gôbâk-abû [1], walks up to the water; she that is the mother of that testifying Sôshâns who is the guide to conveying away the opposition of the destroyer, and her former lineage is from Vôhû-rô*k*ô-î Frahânyân [2] in the family of Îsa*d*vâstar, the son of Zaratû*s*t *that* is brought forth by Aran*g*. 16. 'That maiden whose title is All-overpowerer is thus all-overpowering, because through giving birth she brings forth him who overpowers all, both the affliction owing to demons, and also that owing to mankind [3].' 17. Then she sits in that water, when she is fifteen years old, *and* it introduces *into* the girl him 'whose name is the Triumphant Benefiter, and *his* title is the Body-maker; such a benefiter as benefits (savînê*d*ŏ) the whole embodied existence, and such a *body*-maker, alike possessing body and possessing life, as petitions about the disturbance of the embodied existences *and* mankind [4].' 18. Not before that *has she* associated with men; nor yet afterwards, when she becomes pregnant, *has she done so* before the time when she gives birth [5].

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[1] 'Having a testifying father,' the Pahlavi of Av. Eredad-fedhri, Yt. XIII, 142.

[2] See Chap. VIII, 55–57.

[3] The Pahlavi version of Yt. XIII, 142, latter clause.

[4] From the Pahlavi version of Yt. XIII, 129.

[5] Compare the summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 14, 15, as follows:—'The coming and arrival of Sôshâns, son of Zaratû*s*t, at the end of the third millennium, the destroyers *of* the organizers who *were* within the millennium of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh, the arrival of Sôshâns,

19. When that man becomes thirty years old, the sun stands still in the zenith of the sky *for* the duration of thirty days *and* nights, and it arrives again at that place where it *was* appointed by allotment.

Chapter XI.

1. About the marvellousness which is after the end of the millennium of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh and the arrival of the Triumphant Benefiter, until the end of the fifty-seventh year of Sôshâns and the production of the renovation among the existences.

2. Concerning the marvellousness of Sôshâns as to splendour *and* glory of person, it says that 'when the coming of the last rotation of those rotations of the seasons of Aûshê*d*ar-mâh *occurs*, the man Sôshâns is born[1] whose food is spiritual *and* body sunny (that is, his body is as radiant as the sun);' also this, that 'he looks on all sides with six-eyed power (6-dôîsarîh), *and* sees the remedy for persecution by the fiend.'

3. This, too, that with him is the triumphant Kayân glory 'which the mighty Frê*d*ûn[2] bore when *Az*-î Dahâk[3] *was* smitten by him; also Kaî-Khûsrôî[4] *was* bearing it when the Tûr Frangrâsîyâk[5] *was* smitten by him; also Frangrâsîyâk bore it when the Drvê Zênîgâk[6] *was* smitten by him; *and* Kaî-

and information *about* Sôshâns and his time. Also, as to the renovation *of the universe and* the future existence, *it* is declared *that* they arise in his time.'

[1] The date here indicated seems to be about twenty-eight years later than that intended in Chap. X, 15–19.

[2] See Chap. I, 25. [3] See Chap. I, 26.

[4] See Chap. I, 39. [5] See Chap. I, 31, 39.

[6] Av. Drv*a*u Zainigâu*s*, an Arab chieftain who invaded Irân

Vistâsp[1] shall bear it when you fully attract him to righteousness, *and* through it he shall carry off the fiend *from* the concerns of the world of righteousness[2].'

4. And this, too, that in fifty-seven *of* his years *there* occur the annihilation of the fiendishness of the two-legged race *and* others, and the subjugation of disease and decrepitude, *of* death and persecution, and *of* the original evil *of* tyranny, apostasy, and depravity; *there* arise a perpetual verdant growth of vegetation *and* the primitive gift *of* joyfulness; *and there* are seventeen years *of* vegetable-eating, thirty years *of* water-drinking, *and* ten years *of* spiritual food.

5. And all the splendour, glory, and power, which *have* arisen in all those possessing splendour, glory, *and* power, *are* in him on whom they arrive together and for those who are his, when many inferior human beings are aroused splendid *and* powerful; and through their power and glory all the troops of the fiend are smitten. 6. And all mankind remain of one accord in the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, owing to the will of the creator, the command *of* that *apostle*, and the resources of his companions.

7. At the end of the fifty-seven years the fiend *and* Aharman are annihilated, the renovation *for* the future existence occurs, *and* the whole of the good creation is provided with purity *and* perfect

in early times and killed many with his evil eye, till the Irânians invited Frangrâsîyâk to destroy him (see Darmesteter's French translation of part of Chap. XLI of Irânian Bundahi*s* in Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. xxii, p. 401).

[1] See Chap. I, 41.

[2] From a Pahlavi version of Yt. XIX, 92, 93, with the second and third clauses transposed.

splendour. 8. *Just* as revelation states thus: 'When that millennium *has* fully elapsed, which is the third of the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, that Ma*zd*a-worshipper whose name is so Triumphant[1] then marches forward from the water Kanyisâ[2] with a thousand companions and also maidens *of* restrained disposition and blindly-striving behaviour[3]; and he smites the wicked people who *are* tyrannical, and annihilates them.'

9. Then those Ma*zd*a-worshippers smite, and none are smiting them. 10. Then those Ma*zd*a-worshippers produce a longing for a renovation among the existences, *one* ever-living, ever-beneficial, and ever desiring a Lord. 11. 'Then I, who am Aûha*r*ma*zd*, produce the renovation according to the longing among the existences, *one* ever-living, ever-beneficial, *and ever* desiring a Lord.'

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[1] See Chap. X, 17.

[2] Reading the name as Pâzand; if it were Pahlavi it would have to be read Kânmâsâî, because Irânian Pâz. yi is very like Pahl. mâ. It is Kyânsih in Bd. XIII, 16; XX, 34; XXI, 6, 7, and represents Av. Kãsava, the brackish lake or sea of Sagastân.

[3] Reading 'va-bigar-*îk*-i vand khîm va-kûr-*k*akhŏ râs,' and assuming that bigar is Ar. bikr, as an Arabic word is occasionally used in the Dînka*rd* (see Chap. II, 2 n) though very rarely. Bd. XXX, 17, mentions 'fifteen men and fifteen damsels' as assisting Sôshâns at the time of the renovation of the universe.

DÎNKA*RD*.—BOOK V.

Chapter I.

1. The triumph of the creator Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *and* glory of complete wisdom, is the divine (ahûîg) religion of Ma*zd*a-worship.

2. The fifth *book* is about the sayings of the saintly Âtû*r*-farnbag [1], son of Farukhzâ*d*, *who* was the leader of the orthodox, even as to the manuscript which is called Gyêmarâ [2]. 3. The collected replies of Âtû*r*-

[1] He was the leader of the orthodox about A.D. 815–835, and held a religious disputation with the heretic Abâli*s* in the presence of the Khalîfah Al-Mâmûn (A.D. 813–833), as detailed in the Mâ*d*igân-î Gugastak Abâli*s*. He was also the first compiler of the Dînka*rd*, probably of its first two Books, which are not yet discovered, as well as of some of the materials for the other Books. (See S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 411, n. 1.)

[2] The name of this MS. can be only guessed. It occurs three times in each of the two MS. authorities, B and K43, and the simplest reading of five of these six occurrences would be Sîmrâ, so that the remaining one (Sarmâ) may be neglected as a corruption. A final â in Pahlavi is a very certain indication of a Semitic word, for if a final of similar form occurs in an Irânian word, it represents either h or kh; so if the name were Irânian, its most probable reading would be Sîmurkh. But, in § 3, it is intimated that the MS. belonged to an ancient tribe, or congregation (ram); it also seems, from Chap. IV, 8, 9, that the religion of this tribe was not so inconsistent with Zoroastrianism as to prevent its members being taught that orthodox faith; and §§ 4, 5 of the present chapter appear to quote from that MS. some

farnbag, son of Farukhzâ*d*, the leader of the orthodox, about several significant questions that *are* the wonder of the moderns, which *are* like the friendly words, spoken by him *as to* those of the ancient tribe[1] (kâdmon-ramân) who call *it* really their Gyêmarâ, which *are* obtaining[2] a like wonder for them openly accessible to him[3].

4. About the unswerving *and* co-operating chieftainship of those forefathers who went in mutually-friendly command of troops, *and* the complete enclosure of that tribe within the military control of Bûkht-Narsîh[4]. 5. About the disabling of vicious habits and evil deeds, which are entirely connected, and of the heinous demon-worship and mischief which

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particulars regarding the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. From these circumstances we may suspect that Âtû*r*-farnbag, while collecting materials for his Dînka*rd*, had asked some Jewish friends what information their MSS. contained regarding the old Persians, as the two peoples had been in contact, more or less, ever since the time of the Achaemenian dynasty. If he did so enquire, the Jews would naturally search in the Talmud, in which references to the Persians still survive, though the text is no longer complete. The question is, therefore, whether the MS., whose name has been provisionally read Sîmrâ, can have had any connection with the Talmud. It will be at once evident to any Pahlavi student that Pahl. sî may be read gyê equally well, and that we have no better reason for reading Sîmrâ than for the Gyêmarâ, which has been put into the text, as a suggestion that Âtû*r*-farnbag was really referring to the Gemarâ of the Jews, the supplement to their commentary upon Scripture. Whether this can be clearly proved remains to be seen, and positive evidence seems scanty.

[1] Or 'congregation.' [2] Or 'including (vandîg).'

[3] Pahl. 'mûn*s*ânŏ ham-shkûp-vindîg f*râz* aûba*s* yehamtûni*s*nîg.' From which it appears as if there had been a mutual interchange of information between him and his Jewish friends.

[4] The Pahlavi form of Bu'*h*t-i-na*z*ar, or Nebuchadnezzar.

are owing to them, through the ruler Kaî-Loharâsp[1] being sent, with Bûkht-Narsîh, from the country of Irân to Bêtâ-Makdis[2] of Arûm, and *their* remaining *in* that quarter. 6. And the orthodox belief in the rude particulars *of* religious custom in the mutual deliberation of those of the tribe, the acquaintance with religion of a boor (durûstakŏ-i), the difficult arrangements, and the enquirer doubtful of the religion after the many controversial, deliberative, and cause-investigating questions and answers adapted to the importunities of that wordy disciple[3].

7. About how the accepting of this religion *by* the prophets before Zaratûst *occurred*[4], how the pure *and* saintly Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas came[5], and who *will* afterwards come *as* bringers of the same pure *and* good religion *here*after[6]. 8. That is, of the prophets, apostles, and accepters of the religion, *there* were *they* who accepted *it* concisely *and* completely *such* as Gâyômar*d* was, from whom *came* irregularly (durûstakŏ) *such* as Masyê and Sîyâmak, Hâôshâng, Tâkhmôrup, Yim, Frê*d*ûn, Mânûs*k*îhar, the Sâmân, the Kayân, and also many other leaders in *those* times[7]. 9. And their acceptance expressly at various times is produced for action, and thereby the adversity of the creatures is removed, benefit

[1] The father of Kaî-Vistâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 28, 29; XXXIV, 7). His expedition to Jerusalem is mentioned in Pahl. Mkh. XXVII, 67, and by some Arab writers.

[2] 'The holy place,' a title of Jerusalem.

[3] Not identified. From this point to Chap. IV, 7, Âtûr-farnbag must have used the same authorities as the writer of Dk. VII; but he returns to the Gyêmarâ in Chap. IV, 8.

[4] Dk. VII, i, 7–40. [5] Ibid. 41. [6] Ibid. 42.

[7] See the details in Dk. VII, i, 7–40. §§ 1–8 have been already translated in Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, ii, 93–94.

and prosperity *are* sought, the world is controlled, and the creator and good creations are propitiated.

Chapter II.

1. In the pure light *and* equal to the archangels—collected together and reckoned together, since the original creation, *and* completely unmixed—Zaratûst was spiritually fashioned and provided undefectively for the acceptance and propagation of the religion in the world[1]. 2. And when he is sent for the manifestation of restrained saintliness (môkîh) and bodily substance, great glory and radiance become as much discernible in *him* as the same *had* come into the posterity of Yim who are Pôrûshâspô[2], his father, *and* Dûk*d*âûb[3] who is his mother; and also while *he* is *being* born and *for* the duration of life, he produced a radiance, glow, and brilliance from the place of his own abode, that issued intensely and strongly, like the splendour of fire, to distant lands[4].

3. Also *about* the wizards and witches, tyrants, Kîgs, and Karaps, and other miscreants who have produced outrage for him during his birth and childhood, with desire for his destruction; who *have* manifestly come about *his* death *or* disablement, and even so far as *those* who *have come into* the visible assembly *about* the destruction of *his* glory and other *causes of* helplessness[5]. 4. And also including the wolves *and* other wild beasts, to whom *he was*

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[1] Dk. VII, ii, 1, 2, 14–21, 36–42, 46, 47; Zs. XIII, 4.
[2] Ibid. 13. [3] Ibid. 3–8; Zs. XIII, 1–3.
[4] Ibid. 56–58; Zs. XIV, 7.
[5] Dk. VII, iii, 5–14; Zs. XVI, 1–7.

cast forth by those of Pôrûshâspô's kinsmen who *were* wizards, *and* the kindred of those frequenting demon-worship, but only as a test [1].

5. *In* like manner *it* is declared *that*, on account of Vohûmanô *being* welcome to him, he laughed outright at birth [2]. 6. His coming for conference *with* Aûha*r*ma*zd* [3], and owing to *his* accepting the religion, Aharman and many demons and fiends have come to him with exhibition of fear, offering of service, and the argument and entreaty of supplicants; and all these have returned from him disapprovingly, defeatedly, and confusedly, through the pure proclamation of his Avesta, the unique perfection of Aûha*r*ma*zd*'s will [4], and the indication of a prepared armament (vîrâstŏ-zênîh), a declared reward, a powerful sovereignty, and a way of injury *to* the destroyer.

7. Also the triumph of the sacred beings *in* the end, and the peculiarity *of* the joint control *of* the demons; how, before that, they rushed openly into the world *and* have dwindled, *their* bodily forms *are* shattered [5], and they are so converted into secret decay, that *their* supplicants, deceived and deceivers, became awful disputants through confession of it.

8. And when, through completely accepting the religion from Aûha*r*ma*zd*, he came to the obedient king Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp to attract those of the world, he exhibited glorious actions of many kinds and the

[1] Dk. VII, iii, 15–19; Zs. XVI, 8–11.
[2] Ibid. 2; Zs. XIV, 12, 13.
[3] Ibid. 60–iv, 1; Zs. XXI, 11–XXII, 13.
[4] Dk. VII, iv, 36–41, 61, 62.
[5] Ibid. 42, 44–46, 63.

smiting of demons and fiends; and *he* openly spoke the thoughts of king Vi*s*tâsp and many of the multitude *about* hidden matters[1], *thus:* 'A person is possessing life only by destiny, and without his body, *but with* a like destiny, the person possessing life is restored;' *he was* also opposing many wizards, demon-worshippers, demon-consulters, *and* those seduced *by*[2] deceivers who are awful disputants. 9. And this *was* the utterance of those twelve stars whose names *are those* of the twelve *zodiacal* constellations, and the primitive learned of Bâpêl[3], that have come to these, who *are* asking questions of the chief rulers of Khvanîras, *have* to justify *it*, in the controversy, with the spiritual and material customs and rude observances which are diversely manifested, onwards from *the time of* Yim the splendid; and the evidence of it, discernible with him, *was that of* Vohûmanô, Ashavahi*s*tô, the fire, and some other good spirits[4].

10. Afterwards, too, the estimating and weighing of the whole utterance of the religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd* *were* held out by him to Vi*s*tâsp and those of the world, as very accountably a wonder; and further, too, he remained as *it were* more conflicting with fellow-disputants than his own words opposing the fellow-disputants.

11. Also when, through the effect of glory and the struggle *for being* saved, every class of apostles and prophets and manifestation of tokens and such-like *were*, with certain *and* striking evidence, casting down blessings, even thereupon the obedient king

[1] Dk. VII, iv, 65, 71.

[2] B has 'and demon-separatists (va-shêdâ-gvî*d*akân).'

[3] Dk. VII, iv, 72. [4] Ibid. 74, 85; Zs. XXIII, 7.

Kaî-Vistâsp's fear of the adversary of religion, and also other causes, arose, on account of which he *was* then accepting the propagation of the religion [1], when its great glory *and* beauty [2] *were* seen by him. 12. At first, Zarîr [3], Spend-dâ*d* [4], Frashôstar, and *G*âmâsp [5], several of the realm *who were* noble, conspicuous, and well-acting, the good *and* princes *of* mankind, beheld visibly the will and desirableness of Aûha*r*ma*zd* and the archangels, and the progressive religion of the creatures, fit for those completely victorious (hû*k*îragânîg).

13. Lastly, the seizure and capturing (gîrînisnŏ) by the demons *are* beheld *and* watched; *and* they have remained opposing, owing to the number *of* idolators competing wranglingly. 14. And much conflict and slaughter occurred, which arose purely, so that the mingling *of* the religion in the world proceeded [6].

15. *There* are also his pure new bringers and complete controllers of the same religion, Aûshê*d*ar [7], Aûshê*d*ar-mâh [8], and Sôshâns [9]; and through the complete progress of this religion of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, all the good creatures become without disturbance and all-radiant [10].

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[1] Dk. VII, iv, 87.

[2] K43 has var*á*zŏ; but B, omitting the first letter, has l*á*fô, 'praise.'

[3] A brother and commander-in-chief of Vistâsp, killed in the battle with Arg*â*sp, see Bd. XXXI, 29; YZ. 54–56.

[4] A son of Vistâsp; see Dk. VII, vii, 5; YZ. 82–85.

[5] Two brothers, see Chap. III, 4; Dk. VII, vi, 12; Zs. XXIII, 10.

[6] See Chap. III, 1.

[7] Dk. VII, viii, 55–ix, 13.

[8] Dk. VII, ix, 18–x, 10.

[9] Dk. VII, x, 15–xi, 5.

[10] Dk. VII, xi, 6–11.

Chapter III.

1. About that which is manifested as regards the propitiousness, forward intellect, and complete virtue of Zaratû*s*t, it is openly declared that, according to his explaining statements, *there occurred such events* as the victory of Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp and the Irânians over Ar*g*âsp[1] and an army of Khyôns and other foreigners *of* innumerable kinds, *and* details on that subject; also other assistance of Vi*s*tâsp and those of the realm in other necessities.

2. The killing of Zaratû*s*t himself *by* Brâ*d*rô-rêsh[2] the Tûr; the provision of a chariot *by* Srîtô[3] of the Vîsraps; and whatever is on those subjects.

3. Also, specially, matters in the times to come, each consecutively, *when* therein arrive devastators *such* as Alexander[4], and the killer of Akrê-khira*d*ŏ[5], Mahrkûs[6], Dahâk[7], and other devastators; extenders of belief (vîravî*s*n-vâlân) *such* as the Messiah (Mashikh), Mânih[8], and others; periods *such* as the steel *age*[9], *that* mingled with iron, and others; and organizers, restorers, *and* introducers of religion, *such*

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[1] Dk. VII, iv, 77, 83, 84, 87–90; v, 7; this victory occurred in the thirtieth year of the religion, see Zs. XXIII, 8.

[2] Dk. VII, v, 12 n.

[3] Dk. VII, vi, 2–11.

[4] Dk. VII, vii, 7.

[5] Or Aghrêra*d* (Av. Aghraêratha), killed by his brother Frâsîyâ*v* or Frangrâsîyâk of Tûr, see Bd. XXIX, 5; XXXI, 15, 20–22.

[6] Dk. VII, i, 24; ix, 3.

[7] Ibid. i, 26.

[8] A heretic who flourished A.D. 216–242; see Dk. IX, xxxix, 13 n.

[9] According to Byt. II, 21, 22, the steel age was the time of Khûsrô Anôshêrvân, and that mingled with iron at the end of Zaratû*s*t's millennium.

as A*r*takhshatar[1], Âtû*r*pâ*d*[2], Khûsrôî[3], Pêshyôtan[4], Aûshê*d*ar, Aûshê*d*ar-mâh, Sôshâns[5], and others.

4. The formation of custom, and the indications which *have* come to manifestation and *will* arrive at various periods; and the proclamation of these, too, by *G*âmâsp[6], from the teaching of Zaratû*s*t, is what he wrote, together with the Avesta and Zand, upon oxhides, and it was written *with* gold, and kept in the royal treasury[7]. 5. And it was from it the high-priests of the rulers made many copies; and afterwards, too, it is from it that it happened, both to the less intelligent and the corrupters, that *they* were introducing different opinions *and* different views.

CHAPTER IV.

1. About the selectness and perfection of the race of Irân, that is, how the destroyer and the mingling of defects came into the creation, first into the distribution of the race [of mankind][8] from the children of Sîyâmak[9], *and* good intellect, good disposition,

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[1] A*rd*ashîr Pâpakân (A.D. 226–241), the founder of the Sâsânian dynasty.

[2] Son of Mâraspend, and prime minister of Shahpûhar II (A.D. 309–379).

[3] Anôshêrvân (A.D. 531–578).

[4] A son of Vi*s*tâsp and immortal ruler of Kangd*e*z, see Dk. VII, iv, 81.

[5] See Chap. II, 15. [6] See Chap. II, 12.

[7] This was the original Avesta prepared by order of Vi*s*tâsp, as stated in the last chapter of Dk. III, § 3 (see S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. xxxi).

[8] B omits the words in brackets.

[9] Son of Masyê, called Sâmak in Dk. VII, i, 15.

proper affection, proper praise, proper modesty, observance of hope, liberality, truth, generosity, good friendship, *and* other capability, glory, and proper duty are more particularly included for Fravâk [1], and again altered for frontier peoples.

2. Such-like goodness and glory, again, through selection from a promiscuous origin—even till the coming on of various new contaminations, from the demons, among the children of Fravâk—*were* for Hâôshâng and Vâêgere*d* [2], as Hâôshâng through superior glory *was* ruler of the world, and Vâêgere*d* through provincial government (dahyûkânîh) became the cultivator and cherisher of the world; and their well-destined descendants [3] aggrandized the race of the monarchs among the well-born provincial governors (dahyûkân).

3. In union, such-like glory and goodness proceeded, mutually connected, in various ages as settled by the annals (mâ*d*îgân), and the frontiers of Atûr [4] are penetrated; also in various annals *there* were in succession *such men* as Tâkhmôrup, Yim, Frê*d*ûn the Âspîgân, and Aîrî*k* of Irân, the progenitor of Mânû*s*, Mânû*s*-khvârnar, and Mânû*sk*îhar [5].

4. And, besides including this one, who *was* a monarch of superior glory, and other monarchs *such* as *are* also in the same race [6], the Kayâns [7] *were*

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[1] Son of Sîyâmak; he was progenitor of the fifteen undeformed races of mankind (see Bd. XV, 25, 30, 31).

[2] Dk. VII, i, 16–18. [3] K43 has 'children.'

[4] Probably Assyria; but it is possible to read atval as Ar. a*t*val, and to translate 'ancient frontiers.'

[5] For the foregoing names see Dk. VII, i, 19–30; ii, 70.

[6] Such as Aûzôbô in Dk. VII, i, 31.

[7] From Kaî-Kobâ*d* to Kaî-Khûsrô, as stated in Dk. VII, i, 33–40.

chosen. 5. Even thus, as regards the Kayâns, the annals *have* always to consider him who is monarch as the right *one*, who is a fellow-descendant *of* the lineage, and in whom the glory is residing.

6. The creator Aûha*r*ma*zd* has informed Nêryô-sang[1], his own reminder, *that* a similar instance is the supreme Zaratûstship, and the glory of the religion due to the same; also many other reasons, which *are* recountable, *are* declared in the Avesta, indications known only *to* an Irânian person of the best lineage. 7. And this, too, he has said, namely: 'Great glory and goodness of this description *are* appropriatable by the same race, and *are* even now[2] visibly manifest.'

8. About what *are* the requirements of the tribe of those who call *this* really their Gyêmarâ and how *they are* effected by our acquaintance with revelation, that is, *by* much recitation of it; only, several occasions (yâvar 1-*k*and) are necessary in these times. 9. Also action and precaution *are* possible for them, and among the actions and precautions *one* is to assume more especially law and custom, and whatever *was* perverted by us and again made true; and, as to those taught, several persons who *are* intellectual, seeking means, and friends of the soul, *have* come to teach complete delusions to them; also for the same tribe and whomever it is proper to teach, when it is necessary for them, even a worldly

[1] The usual messenger of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, see Dk. VII, iv, 84, 85.

[2] B has 'even anew,' by writing kevan backwards, which converts the word into navak. From Chap. I, 7 to this point, the compiler could have found very little of his materials in a Jewish MS., excepting such as had been recently obtained from Persian sources.

priestly authority is guiding for *that* same tribe, because he has come[1].

[1] It would seem that the tribe professed a different religion, but one that bore some resemblance to the Parsi faith in certain essential particulars. The remaining five-sixths of Dk. V are devoted to a miscellaneous collection of religious subjects, resembling a Rivâyat.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂ*D*-SPARAM.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂ*D*-SPARAM[1].

Chapter XII.

1. About the coming of the religion at a *given* time *being* a resemblance such-like as the birth of a child through two united powers, which are the reception of semen *by* females in procreation, and delivering *it* back to the fathers, and a period of struggling and intermingling, especially by two means: a monarchy with[2] religion of the same tenets (ham-vâ*k*-dênôîh), and the existence of similar tenets to *those of* the monarchy *in* the custom *of* the religion. 2. The religion *of* the Ma*zd*a-worshippers, when the period of material

[1] Zâ*d*-sparam was Dastûr of Sîrkân, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, in A.D. 881. At a later date, probably about A.D. 900, he compiled three series of Selections, from religious texts then extant, and these have been preserved by the Parsis in the same MSS. as contain the Dâ*d*istân-î Dînîk (see the Introduction). The first eleven chapters of this first series of Selections have been already translated in S. B. E., vol. v, pp. 155–186, as they refer to some of the subjects detailed in the Bundahi*s*. The remaining chapters are here translated, except the last which refers to the Nasks and Gâthas, and will be found in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 401–405. The MS. authorities for the text are K35 and T (see p. 2 and Introduction).

[2] T has 'devoid of.'

organization is being converted again into a spiritual nature, became manifest on the earth, first through Spenda*r*ma*d*[1] *and* afterwards through Aûha*r*ma*zd*, like the reception of a child *by* mothers *and* delivering *it* back to the fathers.

3. The manifestation of the religion through Spenda*r*ma*d* was at that time when Frâsiyâ*v*[2] kept back the water from the country of Irân, and brought the water again; in damsel form she was a speaker for *its* manifestation, *in* reply *to* foreigners, at the house of Mânû*sk*îhar[3], the monarch of the country of Irân. 4. She *was* also dressed, *and* wore radiant clothing which shone out on all sides *for* the length of a Hâsar[4], which is *a distance*, like a Parasang; and, tied on her waist, she wore a golden *sacred* girdle which was the religion of the Ma*zd*a-worshippers itself.

5. As to the belt of the religion, it is *that* to which are connected the thirty-three fetters upon the thirty-three sins[5], according to which all sin is divided; so that (kû) the damsels, by whom the tied *sacred* girdle of Spenda*r*ma*d* *was* seen, have become impetuous (taftîgŏ) after that for a tied girdle, on account of *its* seeming beautiful.

6. And this was the motherhood which is supplied through Spenda*r*ma*d*, as a gift, in the year 528

[1] The female archangel who has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Dk. VII, ii, 19 n).

[2] See Dk. VII, i, 31; and regarding his irrigation canals, see Bd. XX, 17, 34; XXI, 6.

[3] See Dk. VII, i, 29.

[4] A thousand steps of the two feet, or Roman mile; see Bd. XXVI, 1.

[5] Thirty sins are detailed in Mkh. XXXVI, and thirty-three good works in XXXVII (see S. B. E., vol. xxiv, pp. 71–75).

before Zaratûst came out to *his* conference [1], which is *one of* their statements from the annals of the religion *in* a manuscript of the ancients.

7. The name of Zaratûst is also cited on the earth at 300 years before his conference [2]. 8. For Irân, at the supplication even of the priests in the land, and for the sake of the pacification of a dispute arisen, Aûharmazd produced a great ox, by whom the boundary of Irân next to Tûrân was intimated by pawing with *his* hoofs, and he was kept in a jungle. 9. Whenever contention arose, the boundary was fully made known by that ox, until it was the wish of Kaî-Ûs to take, fully covetously, a portion of the land of Tûrân back *into* Irân, and he saw that the ox is *about* to act very ill-naturedly, because it *was* not besought with *forms* which were prescribed for it, where a boundary was intimated by it [3].

10. *There* were seven brothers, and he who was

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[1] If this coming to conference with the spirits be 'the coming of the religion,' in the thirtieth year of Vistâsp's reign, then, according to Bundahis chronology, these 528 years will carry us back to twenty-eight years before the accession of Mânûskîhar. As any alteration in the date of Mânûskîhar's accession would disturb the millennial arrangement of Bd. XXXIV, it is probable that some copyist has miswritten the ciphers, and we ought to read 428. This legend appears not to occur elsewhere.

[2] According to Bd. XXXIV, 7, Kaî-Ûs reigned from 360 to 210 years before 'the coming of the religion.' At this point a dislocation of the text occurs in all existing MSS., owing to the misplacement of a loose folio in some unknown copy written before 1530; the contents of this folio, §§ 8–16, are found in the existing MSS. three folios further on (after Chap. XIV, 14), and are here restored to their original position, as determined by the meaning of the text.

[3] T has 'by that ox.' This legend is also told in Dk. VII, ii, 62–66.

the seventh was called Srîtô[1] the Seventh, the largest in body *and* chief in strength, belonging to those instructed in many subjects for Kaî-Ûs, and he was among his princes. 11. Kaî-Ûs summoned *him* into *his* presence and ordered *him* thus: 'Go and kill that ox in the jungle!'

12. Srîtô went, *and* the ox whom he wished to kill expostulated with him, in human words, thus: 'Do not kill me! for though thou canst kill me, he whose guardian spirit is in the Hôm, the death-dispeller, *will* also become manifest on the earth, *he* whose name is Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas[2], and *will* proclaim thy bad action in the world. 13. And the distress in thy soul becomes such as is declared in revelation thus: "As it occurs to him, *so* it *does to* Vadak[3], when they mention his iniquity," and thy death becomes the like and, owing to death, it is mixed up with hers (that is, owing even to hers is the death of Srîtô).'

14. When those words *were* heard by him, Srîtô turned back, *and* went again to Kaî-Ûs; also by his manner, and even apart from this, he stated[4] what the ox *had* spoken with awfulness, *and also* thus:

[1] Srîtô, the seventh son (compare Dk. VII, ii, 64), is not easy to identify. He could not have been Thrita the father of Keresâspa, because this Thrita the Sâmân is said to have been a third son in Pahl. Yas. IX, 30 (Sp.). He may have been Srîtô of the Vîsraps, whose soul visited Vistâsp in the latter part of his reign, about 350 years later, regarding which a legend is related in Dk. VII, vi, 2–11, and again mentioned in Dk. V, iii, 2; but there is a want of corresponding details for identification.

[2] This is the citation of his name mentioned in § 7.

[3] The mother of Dahâk, whose iniquity is considered as equal to that of the evil spirit, see Dd. LXXII, 5; Dk. IX, x, 3.

[4] T has 'also by his manner he intimated *and* separately stated.'

'I *am* more desirous *than* any one who is in the earth *created by* righteousness, *that* you *should* now order destruction for the ox.'

15. And Kaî-Ûs uttered *his* will, with the conviction of superior wisdom, thus: 'It is not certain whether he whose guardian spirit is in the Hôm, the death-dispeller, is himself, or not; and if he be, and be born [1], *whether* he *will* become manifest, or not;' and he commanded with severity, thus: 'Go and kill it!'

16. *And* Srîtô spoke thus: '*It is* not that I am without strength to kill, because *its* reprieval by me *was* owing to its remonstrance, mentioned to me, that a high-priest is to arise [2].'

17. So *it* is declared thus, *in* another revelation (dênô zagâî) [3], when the Tûrânians *were* backward *in* heart, Kaî-Ûs spoke thus: 'Go out to a certain jungle, in which dwell many chiefs of the witches, and they *will* cut thee up without *any* striving of heart.'

18. And Srîtô went up to the jungle, *where* many witches saw him, who kept their jaws open, and they *spoke* about the handsome *man* thus: 'Slay *and* do not spare!' 19. And compassion *having* gone out of his heart, he went back to the *other* jungle and, with his fist, he broke the back of the ox in three places; and the ox, awfully convulsed (*s*kîftŏ barhamakŏ), kept *up* an outcry.

20. After the slaughter of the ox, owing to its convulsed state which *was* heard by him, the

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[1] T omits 'and be born.'

[2] The misplaced folio, which begins with § 8, ends here, but it is not quite certain that a few lines of text are not still missing.

[3] T has 'at another *time* (*b*ên zagâî).'

remembrance of it then became grievous to Srîtô; and he went back to Kaî-Ûs, and informed him how it was, and begged him that he *should* finish off by slaying him [1], because his life was not desirable.

21. Kaî-Ûs spoke thus: '*Shall* I slay thee, for it *was* not designed by thee?'

22. *And* Srîtô spoke thus: 'If thou wilt not slay me, then I *shall* slay thee.'

23. *Again* Kaî-Ûs spoke thus: 'Do not thou slay me, for I am the monarch of the world.'

24. Srîtô continued *his* discontent, until Kaî-Ûs ordered him thus: 'Go out to a certain jungle, because a witch in the shape of a dog is in it, and she will slay thee.'

25. *Then* Srîtô went out to that jungle, and that witch in the shape of a dog *was* seen by him; after he smote the witch, she became two; and he constantly smote *them* till they became a thousand, and the host (gir*d*ŏ) of them slew Srîtô on the spot.

Chapter XIII.

1. About the glory of Zaratû*s*t becoming manifest even before *his* birth, *it* is thus declared, that forty-five years before *the time* when Zaratû*s*t came out to his conference [2], when Frênŏ gave birth *to* the mother of Zaratû*s*t [3], whom they called Dûk*d*ak, it

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[1] T has 'that he *should* command the slaying of him.'

[2] That is, forty-five years before he was thirty years old (see Chap. XXI, 1–14).

[3] It is necessary to translate in this manner, to agree with Dk. VII, ii, 3, but the text, which is ambiguous, runs as follows:—'amat Frênŏg (Frênŏ-î?) Zaratû*s*t am, zya*s*ân Dûk*d*akŏg ka*r*îtuntô,

came down from the endless light, in the manner of fire, *and* mingled with the fire which was before her; *and* from the fire it mingled with the mother of Zaratûst[1].

2. *For* three nights it was manifest, to all passers-by, as a species of fire *in* the direction of the house, *and* passers *on* the road always saw great radiance. 3. Also when she became fifteen years old, the radiance of that glory which *was* in her, *was* even such *that*, on the path she was walking *along*, its brightness *was* then shed by her[2].

4. About the combination of Zaratûst, *whose* guardian spirit is reverenced; that is, his guardian spirit, in the Hôm, and his glory are given the cow's milk, by his father and mother drinking *it* up[3], *and his* spiritual life (ahvô) came into the combination, as was proclaimed *by* his statements in the manuscript about the Guidance of the Ceremonial[4].

5. About the backward connection of Zaratûst with Aûharmazd, through the two who *are* Yim, the best of the worldly existences, and Nêryôsang of the spirits. 6. The enumeration of the lineage of Zaratûst is Zaratûst, *son of* Pôrûshaspô[5], of Purtarâspô,

zerkhûntô;' which might also be translated thus: 'when Frênŏ, the mother of Zaratûst, whom they called Dûkdak, was born.' This Frênŏ, whether mother or daughter, does not seem to correspond with any Freni mentioned in the Avesta.

[1] See Dk. VII, ii, 2, 3. [2] Ibid. 7, 8.

[3] Ibid. 46, 47.

[4] Not identified, but probably like the Nîrangistân.

[5] This genealogy was, no doubt, derived originally from the same source as that in Dk. VII, ii, 70, but there are several variations, especially in orthography, which are here preserved, unless clearly copyist's blunders. The names marked with an asterisk are written in Pâzand.

of Ahûrva*d*âspô, of Hâê*k*a*d*âspô, of *K*îkhshnû*s*, of Paîtiraspô, of Are*g*a*d*ar*s*î*, of Kharedhar*, of Spîtâmân, of Vaêdî*s*tô, of Ayazem, of Frî*s*, of Ari*g**, of Dûrasrôbô, of Mânû*s*îhar, of Mânû*s*-khûrnar, of Mânû*s*-khûrnâk, whom Nêryôsang the messenger of Aûha*r*ma*zd* *brought*, *and* whose mother was Vîzag, *daughter* of Aryag, of Srîtak, of Bîtak, of Frazû*s*ak, of Zû*s*ak, of Fragûzag, of Gûzag, *daughter* of Aîrî*k*, *son* of Frê*d*ûn of the Âspîgâns to the total of ten Âspîgâns, of Yim, of the Vîvang,has, of the Ayang,has, of the Anang,has, of Hôshâng, of Fravâk, of Sîyâmak, of Masîyâ, of Gâyômar*d*.

Chapter XIV.

1. About the wonderful striving of the fiend for the destruction of Zaratû*s*t. 2. When it became near to his birth, the Fever demon, the Pain demon, and the Wind demon of Aharman, each one with 150 demons, have come out to kill Zaratû*s*t, *and* from his spirit they have gone forth to *his* mother. 3. And she is hurried from there by Fever, Pain, and Wind; and at *the distance of* one league (parasang) *there* was a wizard, Impudent (Storkŏ) *by* name, who was the most medical of wizards; in hope of practice he stood up from his seat, *as* she stopped in her progress.

4. A messenger *of* Aûha*r*ma*zd* uttered a cry thus: 'Do not go to a wizard! for they are not healing (bêshazinî*d*âr) for thee; but go back to the house, wash *thy* hands on the morrow with cow's butter held over the fire, also burn (tâpŏ)[1] firewood

[1] T has 'consume (vi*dâz*ŏ).'

and incense for thy own self *and thy* progeny which is in thy womb.' 5. And she acted accordingly and became well[1]; *and* the co-operators of the demon, *and* those of equal power, who *had* not obtained their remedy from her body, are again exposed[2], and spoke thus: 'On account of the existence of fire from all sides we have not succeeded; *it is* a help for every one who is her friend more than opponent; therefore it was not for us, because of the power within her.'

6. The same night as she gave birth, Aharman selected commanders and arrayed his champions (gû*r*d); there are *some* who *are* with one thousand demons, and there are *some* who *are* with two thousand demons; pursuing *and* attacking they have contended. 7. The opposing stand *of* the sacred beings[3], especially of the glory itself at the family[4] fire, was manifest at that birth; and for its splendour and brightness (pa*d*rôkŏ), settled opposite a distant place, they have then found no remedy.

8. At last, Aharman sends Akômanô[5] on, and spoke to him thus: 'Thou canst be very spiritual, who canst be most intimate; thou canst go with deceit into the mind of Zaratû*s*t, and make him turn

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[1] Compare Dk. VII, ii, 53–55.

[2] T has '*and* all the co-operators *who had* entered her body, *and* those of equal power *who had* reached them, returned helpless from them.'

[3] Thus summarized in Dk. VIII, xiv, 2:—'Also about the arrival of both spirits, the good *one* for developing, and the evil *one* for destroying; the victory *of* the good spirit, and the rearing of Zaratû*s*t.' The 'rearing' is continued in Chaps. XV–XX.

[4] Assuming that [illegible] stands for [illegible] dû*d*ak.

[5] The archdemon of 'evil thought' (Bd. XXVIII, 7) and special opponent of Vohûmanô, the archangel of 'good thought.'

his mind to us who are demons.' 9. And Aûha*r*ma*zd* sends Vohûmanô on against him; Akômanô advanced to the front, *and* had come forward to the door, *and* wished to go inside.

10. Vohûmanô schemingly (*k*ârakŏgarîhâ) turned[1] back, and exclaimed to Akômanô thus: 'Go inside!' 11. Akômanô imagined thus: '*There* is nothing to be accomplished by me of what *was* mentioned to me, for Vohûmanô has gone back.' 12. And Vohûmanô went inside, *and* mingled with the reason (vârôm) of Zaratû*s*t, *and* Zaratû*s*t laughed outright[2], for Vohûmanô is a gratifying spirit.

13. Also seven wizards[3] were seated before him, *and* owing to the light in the dwelling, his *having* laughed at birth was conveniently seen, which is opposed to the *habit* of the rest of mankind who cry out at birth *and* are quite terrified.

14. Also, at the same time of birth, he authoritatively accepted the religion from Aûha*r*ma*zd*, as it is stated in revelation, that he spoke at birth thus: 'As is the will of the spiritual lord (ahvô) mayst thou be who art the officiating priest (zôtŏ) (that is, mayst thou be the leader of the creatures)[4].'

15. As Zaratû*s*t, on account of his worldly body, spoke with a worldly voice, Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke *in* reply to him, on account of the spirits, thus: 'So

[1] Assuming that *s*tŏ stands for va*s*tŏ.

[2] Compare Dk. VII, iii, 2; V, ii, 5. This laughing is not mentioned in Dk. IX, xxiv.

[3] 'Seven midwives' are mentioned in Dk. VII, iii, 2.

[4] This is one form of the Pahlavi Ahunavair (see Dk. IX, xxiv, 4). At this point the text in the MSS. is interrupted by the erroneous insertion of Chap. XII, 8–16, the contents of a loose folio in some former copy, which have been restored to their original position in this translation.

mayst thou be the priestly authority (ra*d* shâe), and so mayst thou be virtuous, owing to whatsoever righteousness *occurs;* and I confidently proclaim *thee* righteous (that is, I am thy controller) [1].'

16. Another day, Pôrûshaspô went and enquired of the wizards who kept in front at the place, thus: 'What is the *cause* when infants cry out at birth, beyond that *which occurs* when they laugh outright [2]?' 17. And they replied thus: 'Because *those who* are made to cry *have* seen mortality as *their* end, *and those* having laughed *have* seen their own righteousness.'

CHAPTER XV.

1. About the brothers who *were* a band of opponents of Zaratûs*t*. 2. The Karaps and Aûsikhshes [3] *were* brothers' sons, and have become the devastation (gâstâragîh) of the Irânians; the devastators of the Irânians (Êrânân) *were* from Kôkharê*d* [4], and Kôkharê*d was* born from Aêshm and Mânûsak, the sister of Mânûs*k*îhar [5]. 3. At the place where Zaratûs*t was* born, five brothers have been, whose names were Brâ*d*-rûkhsh, Brâ*d*-rôyis*n*, Brâ*d*-rêsh the Tûr, Hazân, and Vadast [6]. 4. Their

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[1] Compare Dk. IX, xxiv, 4. [2] Compare Dk. VII, iii, 24, 25.

[3] Av. 'Karapâ Usikhsh-*k*â' of Yas. XLIV, 20 c; the Kavâ, a third class of pre-Zoroastrian priests, is also mentioned ibid. 20 d. Compare Dk. VII, ii, 9 n.

[4] Av. Ka*h*varedha, Yas. LX, 6, 7 (Sp.) where it is translated by kâstâr, 'diminisher, devastator,' of whom it is here said to be the father; see also Yt. III, 9, 12, 16.

[5] Compare the legend of the descent of the ape and bear from a demon and Yimak, sister of Yim, in Bd. XXIII, 1.

[6] As these names do not occur in the Avesta, their pronunciation

brotherhood of five—of which the middle *one was* Brâ*d*-rêsh the Tûr, who became more of an adversary of Zaratû*s*t—*was* a semblance *of* the brotherhood of five who *were* sons of Pôrûshaspô, of whom the middle *one* was Zaratû*s*t.

5. Of the four brothers *of* Zaratû*s*t, the names of the two before Zaratû*s*t *were* Ratû*s*tar and Rangû*s*tar, and of the two after *him* No*d*arîgâ and Nîvê*d*i*s*[1]. 6. The middle position of Zaratû*s*t is for the reason that he is so produced at that time, as an intermedium of the early narrators and the later narrators, that three millenniums came before him and three after. 7. So that he *has* prescribed to the creatures in what manner he would teach the ancients as to what *had* occurred, and *in* what manner *it* is also to be done as regards what *will* occur; as is stated in the Gâthas[2] thus: 'Both those I ask of thee, *O* Aûha*r*ma*zd*! even whatever *has* happened till now, *and* whatever shall happen henceforth?'

Chapter XVI.

1. About the trials (aûzmâyi*s*nŏ) which occurred

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has to be guessed so as to give a probable meaning to the Pahlavi spelling. The writing of the last name is complicated; it is written [illegible] and [illegible] in the two MS. authorities, which forms can be most obviously read Vasam and Saman, but Saman can also be read as the Zvâri*s* yad*â*=dast, 'a hand;' this leads to the conclusion that the original name underlies the form Vadast, and this is confirmed by the name of the Karap Vaêdvôi*s*t written at full length in Dk. VII, iv, 21–24. See ibid. ii, 9 n.

[1] These brothers seem unmentioned elsewhere, and the existence of the elder two would imply another mother. The pronunciation of the names is guessed.

[2] Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 14 a.

to him whose practice *was* lawful, and the signs of prophecy *that* are seen therein, *it* is thus declared, namely; 'Another day, when *the child had* been born, Pôrûshaspô called one of those five brothers of the race of Karaps, and spoke thus: "Fully observe the marks *and* specks of my son Zaratûst."'

2. *The Karap* went *and* sat down before Zaratûst, and the head of Zaratûst *was* thereupon severely twisted by him, in order that he should be killed; *but* he, being fearless, watched the wizards whose terror *was* distressing[1]. 3. As *it was* in those ten nights for hospitality, Aûha*r*ma*zd* sent Spenda*r*ma*d*, Arêdvisûr, and Ar*d*âî-fravar*d*[2] down to the earth, by way of female *care;* thereupon no variation occurred to *the child*, and, further, the hand of that Karap *was* withered[3], and that wizard demanded the life[4] of Zaratûst from Pôrûshaspô for the harm from him, which sprang *upon* him*self* from his own action.

4. *At* the same time Pôrûshaspô took Zaratûst, and gave him to the Karap, that he might do with him according to his own will. 5. He seized him and threw him out, at the feet of the oxen who were going on a path to the water; the leader of that drove of oxen stood still in *his* vicinity, and 150 oxen, which walked behind it, *were* kept away from him thereby; *and* Pôrûshaspô took *him*, and carried him back to the house[5].

6. Also the second day, *the Karap* threw *him* out

[1] Assuming that vôshîg stands for vêshîg=bêshîg.

[2] The three female spirits that represent the earth, pure water, and guardian spirits, respectively.

[3] Compare Dk. VII, iii, 4–7.

[4] Assuming that the MS. dênô stands for *g*ân.

[5] Compare Dk. VII, iii, 11, 12.

at the feet of the horses; and the leader of the horses stood still in the vicinity of Zaratûst, and 150 horses, which walked behind it, *were* kept away from him thereby; *and* Pôrûshaspô took *him*, and carried him back to the house [1].

7. Also the third day, firewood is gathered together by *the Karap*, and Zaratûst is deposited on *it* by him, the fire is stirred up by him, yet *with* the same result (ham-bûn-i*k*), the *child* is not burnt by it, and those marks, which existed *and were* made upon him, *were* a preservation from it [2].

8. And the fourth day, he is thrown by *the Karap* into the lair (âshyânakŏ) of a wolf; the wolf was not in the lair, *and* when it wished to go back to the den (sûrâkŏ), it stopped when it came in front of some radiance, *in* the manner of a mother, at the place *where its* cub was. 9. In the night, Vohûmanô *and* Srôsh the righteous brought a woolly (kûrû-*s*akŏ) sheep *with* udder *full* of milk into the den, and it gave milk to Zaratûst, in digestible draughts (guvârakŏ guvârakŏ), until day*light* [3].

10. In the dawn, the mother of Zaratûst went to that place, in the expectation that it *would* be necessary to bring a skeleton out of the den, and the woolly *sheep* came out *and* ran away; his mother supposed that it was the wolf, and she spoke thus: 'Thou *hast* devoured to repletion; mayst thou endure for ever without it!' 11. She went farther, *and* when she saw Zaratûst quite safe, she then took him up and spoke thus: 'I *will* not give *thee* to any one during life, not though both the provinces of Râgh and Nô*d*ar *should* arrive here together [4].'

[1] Compare Dk. VII, iii, 13, 14.
[2] Ibid. 9, 10.
[3] Ibid. 15–17; V, ii, 4.
[4] Ibid. 18, 19.

12. Because these *princes were* among the spiritual from two provinces which *are* in Âtûr-pâ*d*akân, such as *are* at sixty leagues (parasang) from *K*îst; Zaratû*s*t arose from Râgh, and Vi*s*tâsp from Nô*d*ar. 13. And of these two provinces, Râgh was according to the name of Êri*k*ŏ, *son* of Dûrêsrôbô, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar[1], from whom arose the race of Zaratû*s*t: and Nô*d*ar *was* according to the name of Nô*d*ar, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar, from whom arose the race of Vi*s*tâsp.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. These were his tokens at birth:—One day, one of those five brothers of the Karaps saw Zaratû*s*t, and he looked a long while upwards, downwards, *and* on all sides around[2].

2. Pôrûshaspô enquired thus: 'What *was* there when thou lookedst upwards, what when *thou lookedst* downwards, *and* what when thou lookedst on all sides?'

3. And he replied thus, namely: 'When I looked upwards, it *was* for this reason, when I saw that our souls[3] *that* go up to the sky, *will* go up to the best

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[1] Compare Chap. XIII, 6; Dk. VII, ii, 70.

[2] Compare Dk. VII, iii, 27–30.

[3] Assuming that the MS. gad*á*, 'glory, or destiny,' has lost an initial n, with which it was originally nism*á*=Chald. נִשְׁמָא 'the soul;' as the copyists have not been aware of the existence of this Zvâri*s* equivalent for rûbân, 'the soul,' for some centuries, it has been altered into gad*á*, by the omission of its first letter, in nearly all but the very oldest existing MSS., such as K20 and M6 in Bd. XV, 3–5, and even there the medial m is really missing, though apparently existing in the final *á*; the irregularity of using s for sh is common in Pahlavi.

existence[1], owing to the words of this soul of mankind. 4. When I looked downwards, I saw that, owing to the action of this *one*, the demon and fiend, the wizard and witch become buried below the earth, *and* fall paralyzed back to hell. 5. And when I looked on all sides, I saw that the words of this *one will* extend through the whole earth; and when *they have* become as the law of the seven regions, each person is kept clothed *with* a robe (kapâh) of seven skins, in which the glory of the seven archangels *has* arisen.'

6. And Brâ*d*-rûkhsh the Tûr went forth; when he went to the right side (arakŏ), Zaratû*s*t hastened away to the left, and when he went to the left side, Zaratû*s*t hastened to the right, and he is thereby concealed from Brâ*d*-rûkhsh the Tûr, *who* has not met with him.

Chapter XVIII.

1. About his diverse want of participation (gvî*d* akhvê*s*îh) with *his* parents this also is declared, that the demons, at an assembly of wizards, produced an outcry *for* a conference (ham-vâ*k*ô lâyi*s*nŏ) thus: 'That son of Pôrûshaspô is senseless and foolish *and* secretly corrupted; no one, man *or* woman, *will* consider *or* accept *him as* exalted.'

2. The tidings came to Pôrûshaspô, and Pôrûshaspô spoke unto Zaratû*s*t thus: 'I thought that I *had* begotten a son who *would* become a priest, a warrior, and a husbandman, and now thou

[1] The ordinary heaven, see Dd. XX, 3.

wouldst be foolish and secretly corrupted; thou shouldst proceed to the Karaps, so that they may cure *thee*.'

3. Zaratûst gave answer thus: 'I *am he* that is thy son, a priest, warrior, and husbandman.' 4. And, by command of Pôrûshaspô he harnessed two horses to a chariot (var*d*înŏ), and he went with Pôrûshaspô.

5. When they came to the place according to the decision of Pôrûshaspô, into the presence of one Karap of those said five brethren, that wizard took a cup and made water, and spoke thus: 'This he should drink who is a son of thine, so that he *may* become well;' and he acted with this conviction, that so he would change to the same nature as theirs.

6. Zaratûst spoke to Pôrûshaspô thus: 'Thou mayst give *it* back to him who is thy protector *and* high-priest;' and he arose (âkhê*g*î*d*)[1] and went back to *their* place.

7. On the way, Zaratûst gave *their* two horses water, on account of *their* thirst; and he thought thus: 'Unprofitable was my going to the residence of the Karaps, except *in* this manner, when, through giving water to the horses, my soul *was* then expanded.'

CHAPTER XIX.

1. About his interfering talk (andarg-gôbi*s*nŏîh) with the iniquitous, this also is declared, that one

[1] T has 'he saluted (nîyâyî*d*).' This legend has not yet been found elsewhere.

day Dûrêsrôbô[1] the Karap, as *it were* from the same five brethren, came out to the house of Pôrûshaspô; *and* Pôrûshaspô placed a bowl (*g*âmakŏ) of mare's milk before *him*, and spoke to him thus: 'Consecrate *it*.'

2. Zaratûst expostulated with Pôrûshaspô thus: 'I *will* consecrate *it*.' 3. Pôrûshaspô spoke thus: 'He should consecrate, and the grace is to be offered up by you[2];' *and* as many as three times *they* mutually disputed.

4. *Then* up stood Zaratûst, and his right foot struck at the bowl and emptied it, and he spoke thus: 'I reverence righteousness, I reverence the righteous *and* the poor, men *and* women; do thou, *O* Pôrûshaspô! prepare a portion for him in whom *there* is worthiness.'

5. And Dûrêsrôbô spoke unto Zaratûst thus: 'As *some* of my portion *of* daily *food was* first thrown away by thee, it is I who *will* bring *it* on both thy lives, and *will* utterly destroy thee.' 6. Zaratûst spoke interruptingly[3] thus: 'With complete mindfulness I *will* look upon thee with both eyes, and *will* utterly destroy thee.'

7. And, for a long time, they constantly looked, one at the other, with unshrinking gaze; *but* the divine nature of Zaratûst is victorious over the witchcraft of that *wizard*, *and* Dûrêsrôbô is further disturbed; he also asked for *his* horse *and* spoke thus: 'On account of this *boy*, *it* is impossible for me to stay.'

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[1] So spelt in Zs., but Dûrâsrôbô in Dk.; also the former has always Pôrûshaspô, but the latter Pôrûshâspô. Compare the same legend in Dk. VII, iii, 34–45.

[2] Pahl. 'valâ aê *yazêdŏ*, *afêd* vâ*g* dahisnŏ.' [3] Or 'inwardly.'

8. He sat upon the horse, *and* when he had gone a little *way*, he fell off from the horse, through severe distress, and died ; and the children of his children's children have died upon the same spot [1].

CHAPTER XX.

1. About the righteousness of his desires *it* is thus declared, that when he became fifteen years old, the sons of Pôrûshaspô demanded a portion from *their* father, and their portions are allotted out by him. 2. Among the clothes *there* was a girdle, the width of which *was* four finger-*breadths;* and of the four [2] portions around and the girdle, which it was possible to bring forth, Zaratûst selected *the latter* and tied *it* on him*self*. 3. This was owing to the precepts (parvânakân) of Vohûmanô who came into his reason at birth ; as to whatever is not the custom *his* mind *was* now quite closed, and in that which is the custom *it was* impetuously exercised by him.

4. About *his* compassionate disposition and the streams of the Arag province [3], this also is declared,

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[1] Probably meaning that he died childless.

[2] The MSS. have 'three,' but there were five sons (Chap. XV, 5), and the numbers are written in ciphers which are very easily corrupted.

[3] Pahl. 'Aragistân ôdhâvŏ (T dhâ)'='odhâ-î Arangîstânŏ' of P. Vd. I, 77 (Sp.); compare Av. 'upa aodhaêshu Rang,hay*a*u,' of Vd. I, 19; Yt. XII, 18. In the Irânian Bd. XX, 8 we are told that 'the Arang river is that of which *it* is said that it comes out from Albûr*z* in the land of Sûrak, which they call also Sham (Shâm); and it passes on through the land of Êgiptôs, which they call also Misr, and there they call it the swift river Êgiptôis.' It is

that *there* was a river, *and* from them the body of a naked woman floated, for the reason that, on account of the strength and swiftness of the river, a woman, except when she was quite naked while she *was* in it, was not able to pass ; and an old person, such as he who is of seventy years *and* is called in revelation a Hânô [1], for want of power (*a*pâ*d*îyâvandîh râî), was not able to go back through it by his own strength. 5. Zaratû*s*t came on to the bank of the water, *and* of women *and* old people seven persons had come, and are passed on by him, *in* the manner of a bridge [2]; it was an emblem of the *spiritual* performers [3] of bridging work, that is, of those providing a passage to heaven.

6. About his liberal disposition *it* is declared, that the fodder of Pôrûshaspô, which was stored for the beasts *of burden*, *was* not *only* for the beasts of Pôrûshaspô in a scarcity, but *also* for distribution among the beasts of others, which, owing to their hunger on account of the scarcity, then constantly ate off the tails of each other; *and it was* given to them plentifully.

7. About his abandoning worldly desire, *and* his laying hold of righteousness of way, this, too, is declared, that when he became twenty years old, without the consent (*b*ên akâmakîh) of *his* father and mother, he wandered forth *and* departed from

one of the two mythical rivers which were supposed to bound the Irânian world, and seems to represent the Aras as a northern and the Nile as a western boundary. Arang often becomes Arag in Pahlavi, just as sang becomes sag.

[1] Av. hanô in Vd. III, 19, 20; &c.

[2] Probably holding each other's hands.

[3] The sacred beings who assist the righteous souls to pass over the *K*inva*d* bridge.

their house, and openly enquired thus: 'Who is most desirous of righteousness *and* most nourishing the poor?' 8. And they spoke thus: 'He who is the youngest (kêhistô) son of Aûrvaîtŏ-dih[1] the Tûr, who every day gives an iron caldron (*g*âmak), which is the height of a horse, full of bread and milk *and* other food, unto the poor.' 9. Zaratûst went on to that place, and with his co-operation, for the nourishment of the poor, some of the chief men performed duty by carrying forth food for the poor.

10. About his compassion, not only upon mankind, but also his other creatures, this, too, is declared, that a bitch *was* seen by him, which had given birth to five[2] puppies, and it was three days then that she *had* not obtained food[3]. 11. Whomever she saw, she then advanced her mouth towards him, and became as it were prostrated; Zaratûst provided a remedy, *by* swiftly bringing up bread for her, *but* when *he was* bringing it she had expired.

12. About his own desire for the good quality[4] of a wife, on account also of the will of *his* parents, *and his* not mingling his own seed before a suitable obtainment, this, too, is declared, that when his father sought a wife for him, Zaratûst argued with the bride (nêsh*â*) thus: 'Show me thy face, so that I may find out (barkhâm) its kind of appearance, *and* this, too, whether its appearance *be* undesirable, or shall not be gratifying;' and the bride turned away her face from him. 13. And Zaratûst spoke thus:

[1] See Dk. VII, iv, 7 n.

[2] T has 'seven,' but this difference may have arisen from an erroneous mode of writing the ciphers in T.

[3] T has 'a bone for food.'

[4] T has 'good child-bearing.'

'Whoever takes away a sight from me, does not practise respect for me.'

14. About his *having* accepted progress even from the iniquitous, *that* listened sinfully desirous, who accepted so much advantageousness as *was* manifest, this, too, is declared, that he came into an assembly who were well known in the place for much knowledge, and he enquired of them thus: 'What is most favourable for the soul?' 15. And they spoke thus: 'To nourish the poor, to give fodder to cattle, to bring firewood to the fire, to pour Hôm-juice into water, and[1] to worship many demons with words, with the words which are called revelation (dênô).' 16. Then Zaratûst nourished the poor, foddered the cattle, brought firewood to the fire, and squeezed Hôm into water, *but* never are any demons whatever worshipped with words *by* Zaratûst.

Chapter XXI.

1. About his coming to thirty years of age *it is* thus declared, that *on* the lapse of thirty years onwards from *his* appearance, *on* the day Anêrân of the month Spenda*r*ma*d*[2], he had proceeded in that direction *in* which *there* occurred the *so*-called festival of spring (*g*asnŏ-i vahâr)[3], forty-five days beyond

[1] T inserts 'not' here, which is clearly wrong, and must have been introduced by some copyist who did not observe that the assembly, though learned, was sinful; and that the object of the anecdote is to exhibit Zaratûst's ability to distinguish between good works and sin, when still untaught by the sacred beings.

[2] On the last day of the twelfth Parsi month.

[3] The Maidhyôzaremaya season-festival, held on the fifteenth day of the second Parsi month.

new-year's day, *at* a place become specially noted, where people went, from many quarters, out to the place of festival (*g*a*s*nŏ*k*âr).

2. When Zaratû*s*t, for the sake of going off to the festival place, halted on the way in walking, he chanced upon a solitary (aêvatâk) plain, and he saw, in a vision, that mankind and a much-adorned worldly *existence were* kept away to the north, so that all the people in the earth have become fully manifest in the north. 3. And he at the head (pavan têkh) of them *was* Mê*d*yômâh, son of Ârâstâî[1], *even* as Ârâstâî was brother of Pôrûshaspô[2]; Mê*d*yômâh *was* the leader of all mankind *who* have gone out to the presence of Zaratû*s*t, and he became *their* guide, so that first Mê*d*yômâh *and* afterwards the whole material existence are attracted.

4. And about his coming out to the conference, *on* the lapse of those forty-five days, *at* the place of festival *at* dawn *on* the day Dadvô[3]-pavan-Mit*r*ô of the month A*rd*avahi*s*tô. 5. And Zaratû*s*t, for the purpose of squeezing the Hôm, went forth to the bank of the water of the Dâîtîh, because it is the river[4] of the conference for the supremacy (patîh) of Zaratû*s*t, *and* is the water of *Âv*ân[5] which has consisted of four channels (bêtâ). 6. Zaratû*s*t also

[1] See Yt. XIII, 95.

[2] So Mê*d*yômâh was first cousin of Zaratû*s*t, and became his first convert; see also Chap. XXIII, 1.

[3] The Pahlavi letters represent Av. dadhv*a*u, 'creator'; compare the Khvârizmian name دذو of the fifteenth day of the month in Sachau's Albîrûnî, p. 57, l. 35. The date here given is the fifteenth of the second month, as in § 1.

[4] Assuming that ru*d* stands for rû*d*.

[5] Probably Anâhita, the female spirit of pure water, mentioned by her title Arêdvisûr in Chap. XVI, 3.

passed on through it; and its first *channel* was up to the ankle[1], the second up to the knee, the third up to the parting of the two thighs, and the fourth up to the neck. 7. This was an indicator that his religion comes four times to supremacy; the manifestations of which are through Zaratûst, Aûshêdar, Aûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns[2].

8. When he came up from the water, and put on his clothes, he then saw the archangel Vohûmanô[3] in the form (âyûînakŏ) of a man, handsome, brilliant, and elegant, who wore his hair curve-tailed[4], because the curved tail is an indication of duality; *who* had put on *and* wore a dress like silk, than which *there* was no making anything superior, for it was light itself; and his height was nine *times* as much as *that of* Zaratûst.

9. He also enquired of Zaratûst[5] thus: 'Who mayst thou be, and from whom of them mayst thou be? also what is mostly thy desire, and the endeavour in thy existence?' 10. And he replied thus: 'I am Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas; among the existences righteousness is more *my* desire, and my wish is that I *may* become aware *of* the will of the sacred beings, and *may* practise so much righteousness as they exhibit to me in the pure existence.'

11. And Vohûmanô directed Zaratûst[6] thus: 'Do

[1] Literally 'up to the leg (zang).'

[2] The past and future apostles of Zoroastrianism. For the last three, see Dk. VII, ix–xi.

[3] Compare Dk. VII, iii, 51–54.

[4] Assuming that vagdumak is a variant of the usual gagdûmak. The scorpion (vagdum) would be a sign of duality, as, being a noxious creature, it was produced by the evil spirit Aharman.

[5] Compare Dk. VII, iii, 55–59.

[6] Compare ibid. iii, 60–62.

thou proceed to an assembly of the spirits!' 12. As much as Vohûmanô walked on in nine steps, Zaratûst *did* in ninety steps, and when he had gone ninety steps farther than him, he saw the assembly of the seven archangels. 13. When he came within twenty-four feet of the archangels, he then did not see his own shadow on the ground, on account of the great brilliancy of the archangels; the position of the assembly was in Irân, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dâitîh. 14. Zaratûst offered homage, and spoke thus: 'Homage to Aûharmazd, and homage to the archangels!' *and* he went forward *and* sat down in the seat of the enquirers.

15. As to the asking of questions by Zaratûst, he enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'In the embodied world which is the first of the perfect ones, which the second, *and* which the third?' 16. And Aûharmazd replied thus: 'The first perfection is good thoughts, the second good words, *and* the third good deeds.'

17. Zaratûst also enquired thus: 'Which *thing* is good, which is better[1], and which is the best of all habits?' 18. *And* Aûharmazd replied thus: 'The title[2] of the archangels is good, the sight of them is better, and carrying out their commands is the best of all habits.'

19. Afterwards he demonstrated the duality of the original evolutions (bûn gastânŏ)[3], and the divergence in each control, *and* spoke thus: 'Of those spirits, he who *was* wicked preferred the

[1] Both MSS. have 'worse' here.

[2] This title, ameshaspenta, is 'immortal benefactor.'

[3] The two prime movers in creation.

practice which is iniquitous (Aharman's desire was *for* the practice which is iniquitous), *and* the spirit of righteousness, the propitious (Aûha*r*ma*zd*) prefers righteousness[1].' 20. Specially he demonstrated the divergence in each control of the exhibitors of light, and he spoke thus: 'Neither our thoughts[2], nor desires, nor words, nor deeds, nor religion, nor spiritual faculties *agree*[3]; *he* who is loving light, his place is with the luminaries; *and he* who *is loving* darkness is with the dark ones[4].'

21. On the same day also, his omniscient wisdom appeared three times: as regards the same first questions, it pointed out the sky in great light and splendour, and in its exhibition *of* the prevention *of* darkness, at the sight of which *it becomes* an opposing existence as regards that darkness. 22. And it exhibited its own appearance proportionally *to* the sky, when it kept its head at the summit of the sky, *its* feet at the bottom of the sky, and *its* hands reached to both sides of the sky; the sky also kept *it* covered, in the manner of a garment.

23. The six archangels[5] were manifest by their similar stature (ham-ba*s*nîh), in such manner that it is obvious each one successively is apparently one finger's *breadth* shorter than the other. 24. The archangels exhibited three kinds *of* achievement

[1] Quoted from Pahl. Yas. XXX, 5 ab. The words in parentheses are glosses inserted by the Pahlavi translator.

[2] Both MSS. have 'spirits' by inserting a stroke in the middle of the Pahlavi word.

[3] An imperfect quotation, omitting glosses, from Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 2 cde (Sp.).

[4] A similar idea is expressed in Vd. XIX, 30, but the Pahlavi version of half of it is lost.

[5] Apart from Aûha*r*ma*zd*, their president.

(pasâkhtan)[1] for the religion; first, *by* means of fires, and Zaratûst walked three steps on *them*, with *the words*, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' and *was* not burnt; and secondly, hot metal is poured on to *his* chest, cooled thereby, and, grasping *it* with *his* hand, he held *it* for the archangels. 25. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'After *the establishment of* the pure religion, when a dispute occurs in the religion, those who are thy disciples *will* pour *it* on to a spiritual lord, they *will* take *it* up with the hand, *and will* thoroughly believe in him who is over the whole embodied existence.' 26. The third *was* cutting with a knife, *and* the vital parts (ahvôn) becoming visible, which are inside the abdomen, *with* a flowing forth of blood; and, after the hands are rubbed over *it*, it became healed. 27. And this is pointed out, namely: 'Thy and thy correligionists' accepting of the pure religion is, as to the steadfast *in* other religions, such that, through such-like burning of fire, pouring of hot metal, and through an operation with a sharp instrument, *there* is no perversion from the good religion.'

CHAPTER XXII.

1. About the seven questionings (7-frasnŏîh), with reference to religion, of the seven archangels, *which* occurred in seven places[2].

2. For the occurrence of the first questioning[3], that of Aûharmazd, the person of Zaratûst, who *was*

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[1] By way of ordeal, a relic of the old faith in incantation.

[2] Compare Dk. VIII, xiv, 5, 6, 9.

[3] This has been narrated in the preceding chapter.

the upholder of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, came out to a conference on the bank of the water of Dâîtîh [1].

3. For the occurrence of the second, *which* is Vohûmanô's, five animals out of the five species [2] which are the worldly tokens of Vohûmanô, have come with Zaratû*s*t to a conference on Hûgar and Aûsind [3]; and on that day also, before their coming out to the conference, *their* tongues are fully liberated *and* spoke with human words. 4. And among the rest [4] is a fish of one species, Arzuvâ [5] *by* name; of those in burrows (khanŏîgânŏ) *are* the white ermine *and* white marten; of the flying creatures (vâyandagân) *is* the Kar*s*ipt [6], a bird like a species of water-fowl; of the wide-travellers (farâkhvŏ-raftârânŏ) is the hare which is showing wild beasts the way to the water; and of those suitable for grazing (*k*arakŏ-ar*g*ânîgân) is the white ass-goat; with human words they also accepted the religion from Aûha*r*ma*zd*. 5. With the chieftainship of the five species they are intrusted, so that the like animals also, with their own voices, *and* as much as their knowledge is capable, shall recount the powerfulness *of* the religion.

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[1] See Dk. VII, iii, 51, 54.

[2] These species, which are named in § 4, are those mentioned in the Avesta, Visp. I, 1.

[3] Av. Hukairya of Yt. XII, 24, and Us-hindu of Yt. VIII, 32, described in Bd. XII, 5, 6, as two neighbouring mountains, for the pure water of Arêdvisûr falls from the summit of Hûgar to Aûsind which stands in the circumambient ocean.

[4] The remainder of K 35, the MS. brought by Westergaard from Kirmân, is lost; but an old copy of it (BK, see the Introduction) exists in Bombay, which supplies the missing text, as an authority independent of T.

[5] See Bd. XIV, 26; apparently the same as the Ari*z*, or Kar, the chief of fish, ibid. XVIII, 3, 5; XXIV, 13.

[6] See Bd. XIV, 23; XIX, 16; XXIV, 11.

6. And freedom from assault, exemption from persecution, and proper maintenance of the five species of animals, *were* prescribed by him [1] to Zaratûst with seemingly very awful admonition.

7. For the occurrence of the third questioning, which is A*rd*avahistô's, the spirits of the fires have come out with Zaratûst to a conference at the Tôçân water [2]; and, in that questioning, care for the proper maintenance of the Varahrân fire [3], and the propitiation of all fires, is explained to him.

8. For the occurrence of the fourth questioning, which is Shatvê*r*'s, the spirits of the metals have come with Zaratûst to a conference at Sarâî [4], a settlement on the Mîvân [4]; *and he was* fully admonished about various proper preservations of the metals, *and as to* not producing warlike accoutrements of gold.

9. For the occurrence of the fifth questioning, which is Spenda*r*ma*d*'s, the spirits of the regions, frontiers, stations (aûstâmân), settlements (rû*d*astâkân), and districts, as many as were desirable, have come out with Zaratûst to a conference *where* there is a spring (khânîgô-aê) which comes out from the Asnavad mountain [5], *and* goes into the Dâîtîh, like those of Satavês who is blowing the Pâîrîgs [6]. 10. And *Zaratûst was* also thus ad-

[1] By Vohûmanô, as the protector of useful animals.

[2] Possibly the Tegend river, the Zend or Zôndak of Bd. XX, 7, 15.

[3] The Bahrâm, or sacred fire at places of worship.

[4] Names not clearly identified, and readings uncertain.

[5] In Âtû*r*-pâtakân, and the Gûsnasp, fire was established upon it (see Bd. XII, 2, 26; XVII, 7).

[6] Pahl. 'Satavês-î Pâîrîg damânŏ ânŏ *k*îgûn.' Referring probably to Yt. VIII, 8, 9. Satavês is the *southern* chieftain of the stars, as correctly stated in the Irânian Bûndahi*s* (compare Bd. II, 7: XIII, 12); and the Pâîrîgs are meteors.

monished by her, about the care and propitiation of the earth: that each district is *to be* intrusted *to* a faithful testifier (gôkâs-î v*â*var), each settlement *to* a judge acquainted with the law, *each* station *to* an officiating priest (magôpatŏ) of just intentions, *and* each frontier *to* a pure priestly authority (ra*d*ŏ); over all is proclaimed the councillor of the spirits, the supreme priest (magôpatânŏ magôpatŏ), and through him the sovereignty of Aûha*r*ma*zd* is provided.

11. For the occurrence of the sixth questioning, which is Khû*r*da*d*'s, the spirits of seas *and* rivers have come with Zaratû*s*t to a conference at the Asnavad mountain [1], and he *was* told about the care and propitiation of water.

12. For the occurrence of the seventh questioning, which is Amû*r*da*d*'s, the spirits of plants have come out with Zaratû*s*t to a conference on the precipitous bank of the Dare*g*a [2], on the bank (bâr) of the water of Dâîtîh, and different places; and he *was* informed about the care *and* propitiation of plants.

13. The seven questionings are explained within the length of these winters, which are *of* five months, *and* within ten years [3].

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[1] See § 9.

[2] Pahl. 'pavan Dare*g*în zbâr' = Av. 'Dre*g*ya paiti zbarahi' of Vd. XIX, 4; a mythical river in Aîrân-vê*g*, where Pôrûshaspô resided (Bd. XX, 32).

[3] The Pahlavi is rather vague, but it is clear that Zaratû*s*t starts for his conference at thirty years of age (Chap. XXI, 1), returns from it ten years later (Chap. XXIII, 1), and the conversion of Vi*s*tâsp occupies two years longer (Chap. XXIII, 5), occurring when Zaratû*s*t was forty-two years old and thirty-five years before his passing away at the age of seventy-seven (Chap. XXIII, 9).

At this point another dislocation of text occurs in all existing

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. On the completion of revelation, that is, at the end of the ten years, Mê*d*yômâh, son of Ârâstâî, became faithful to Zaratû*s*t.

2. Afterwards, on *having* obtained *his* requests[1], he came back to the conference of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, and he spoke thus: 'In ten years *only* one man *has been* attracted by me.' 3. *And* Aûha*r*ma*zd* spoke thus: '*There will* be days when so few *are* not attracted by you, who *are* themselves the occasion of the resurrection of the world; when, apart from Dahâk[2], the beneficence of the formation of the renovation *of the universe* attracts every one besides, and the impenitence of Dahâk is destroyed.'

4. When he came out from the presence of Aûha*r*ma*zd*, with the same paradox, he thereby indicated his religion *as* complete to Spenda*r*ma*d* through *his* intelligence.

5. In the two years after that[3], the Kavîgs *and*

MSS., owing to the accidental interpolation of three loose folios of another text, between this chapter and the next, in some unknown copy written before 1530. In the MSS. the text is written continuously, without division into chapters. But the connection of this chapter with the next one, which is here restored to its proper position, is clearly shown by the reference to the 'ten years' of conference, with which this chapter ends, and the next one begins. The accidentally interpolated text is here classified as Chaps. XXIV and XXV, but its real connections have not yet been traced.

[1] That is, the replies of the archangels to his enquiries.

[2] See Dk. VII, i, 26. He was chained by Frê*d*ûn in Mount Dimâvand, to escape in the latter days, to be slain by Keresâsp, and to be specially punished at the resurrection (Bd. XII, 31; XXX, 16; Byt. III, 55–61).

[3] See Dk. VII, iv, 2.

Karaps of Vistâsp, *in* the manner of opponents (hamêstarânîh), propounded thirty-three enquiries (khvâstakŏ)[1] to him, so that *by* command of Vistâsp he became the explainer of those thirty-three enquiries. 6. Of the thirty-three habits[2] of iniquity, come for opposition to the religion of the sacred beings; of the declaration, by revelation, of those thirty-three indications of fetters[3]; *and* of the restraint of the thirty-three iniquitous practices by the thirty-three best good works, *there are* statements in revelation. 7. Including the acceptance of the religion *by* Vistâsp from Zaratûst, after the re-demonstration of its judicially multiform prophecy and spiritual character, which are looked into through the evidence of three speakers about *them*, the archangels who, with worldly manifestation, have become apparent unto Vistâsp and *his* councillors *and* mighty ones; *they* are Vohûmanô, Ardavahistô, and the Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire[4].

8. About the reward which *existed* before the beneficence of Zaratûst, and *its* being seen how, through guidance by Aûharmazd, *it* is demonstrated by him to those of the world, so that Mêdyômâh is attracted in the tenth year in the forest of reedy hollows (kanyâstânŏ[5] vêsakŏ) which is the haunt of swine of the wild-boar *species* (khazûrâ-î varâzŏ gâs); in the twentieth year the Kavîg who is son

[1] See Dk. VII, iv, 67.

[2] Reading sôn = Pers. sân; but the MSS. have dênô, 'religions.' The thirty sins and thirty-three good works, detailed in Mkh. XXXVI, XXXVII, are certainly referred to at the end of this section.

[3] Compare Chap. XII, 5, and Dk. VII, iv, 67.

[4] See Dk. VII, iv, 74.

[5] Hybrid Zvâris of Pers. nayistân.

of Kûndah[1] is attracted; in the thirtieth year the Khyôns[2] arrive, who make an incursion (var*d*akŏ) into the countries of Irân, owing to the Kavîgs, those who *are* more of their own race; and in the fortieth year Vohûnêm, son of Avarô*s*tar[3], is born.

9. In the forty-seventh year Zaratû*s*t passes away, who attains seventy-seven years and forty days in the month A*rd*avahi*s*tô, *on* the day Khûr[4]; *and* for eight rectified (vêhi*k*akŏ) months, till the month Dadvô and day Khûr, he should be brought *forward* as to be reverenced.

10. *In* the same month A*rd*avahi*s*tô, in the sixty-third[5] year, Frashô*s*tar[6] passed away, and in the sixty-fourth *year* *G*âmâsp[7], *the same* as became the priest of priests after Zaratû*s*t; in the seventy-third year Hangâûrûsh, son of *G*âmâsp[8]; in the eightieth year Asmôk-khanvatô[9], and *also* in the eightieth

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[1] Or Kûnîh which is the name of a demon (see Sg. XVI, 13, 16, 18, 19); but such an identification is uncertain.

[2] Av. *Hv*yaona of Yt. IX, 30, 31; XVII, 50, 51. Compare Dk. VII, iv, 77, 83, 84, 87–90; v, 7.

[3] Av. gen. 'Vohu-nemang,hô Avâra*o*strôi*s*' of Yt. XIII, 104.

[4] The eleventh day of the second month.

[5] T has 43d, and the date is lost in the other MS. authority. But 43d is highly improbable for two reasons: first, it would make this date the only one out of chronological order in the series here given; secondly, it would render it inconsistent with the statement, in Dk. VII, vi, 12, that two priests came, from other regions, to ask Frashô*s*tar about the religion, fifty-seven years after it had been accepted by Zaratû*s*t. By substituting 63d (the Pahlavi cipher most likely to be corrupted into 43d) both these inconsistencies are removed.

[6] See Dk. VII, vi, 12; V, ii, 12.

[7] See Dk. V, ii, 12; iii, 4.

[8] Av. gen. 'Hang,haurushô *G*âmâspanahê' of Yt. XIII, 104.

[9] Av. gen. 'Asmô-*hv*anvatô' of Yt. XIII, 96, and Westergaard's Yt. XXII, 37.

year Kabed-ûs-spâê[1], who is called also Akht the wizard, is killed.

11. Of the six great upholders of the religion there are the two daughters of Zaratûst, whose names are Frênŏ and Srîtŏ[2], *with* Aharûbŏ-stôtô, *son* of Mêdyômâh[3], and another three, who *are* renowned for their religion for a hundred years, who are Vohûnêm[4] that is born in the fortieth year of the religion, Sênô[5] is *afterwards* born and passes away in the two-hundredth year, *and* as to his hundred-discipledom[6], it exists day and night till the three-hundredth year. 12. Afterwards the religion is disturbed and the monarchy is contested (gangî-aîtŏ).

13. About the three customs (dâdŏ) which Zaratûst prescribed as the best:—The first of them is this: 'Do not go without others, except with magisterial authority (apatkâr radîhâ);' the second is: 'Though they shall proceed unlawfully as to you, consider *your* actions lawfully beforehand;' *and* the third is: 'Next-of-kin marriage, for the

[1] As kabed is Zvâris for 'many,' we may assume that kabed-ûs = Av. nom. pourus which usually becomes pouru in compounds; so that the compound name, or title, in the text, probably represents Av. Pouruspâdha (Yt. X, 109, 111), 'having many troops,' a suitable title for Akht the wizard (Av. Akhtya of Yt. V, 82) who is said, in Gf. I, 2, to have invaded a district with an army of seven myriads. He was killed, in Zoroastrian fashion, by the recital of a religious formula.

[2] There was a third daughter, Pôrukîst (see Bd. XXXII, 5), but she may not have survived her father.

[3] Av. gen. 'Ashastvô Maidhyôi-maung,hôis' of Yt. XIII, 106.

[4] See § 8.

[5] He was born in the 100th year; see Dk. VII, vii, 6.

[6] This seems to be the sixth upholder of the religion, the third of those lasting about a century.

sake of the pure progress of *your* race, is the best *of* the actions of the living, which *are* provided for the proper begetting of children[1].'

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. About the five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions with which all instruction as to religion is connected[2].

2. Of those five dispositions the first is innocence.

3. The second is discrimination among[3] thoughts, words, and deeds; [to fully distinguish the particulars of destruction from indestructiveness, *such* as

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[1] This chapter ends the first series of Selections of Zâd-sparam, and is immediately followed in the MSS. by a second series. It is evident from the extent of this chapter, as compared with the amount of text contained in the three misplaced folios (see p. 162, n. 3), that this chapter could have occupied only about one folio and a half in the dislocated MS., so that the second series must have commenced on the same folio as contained the end of this chapter, and that Chaps. XXIV, XXV cannot have belonged to this series. The three misplaced folios contain two distinct texts; the first (Chap. XXIV) is an Irânian version of the Five Dispositions of priests and the Ten Admonitions, and is here translated; the second (Chap. XXV) contains some details about the Nasks and Gâthas, and has been already translated in S.B.E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 401–405.

[2] This Irânian version of the Dispositions and Admonitions is more complete than the Indian version, which, like the Bundahiš, was brought from Irân five or six centuries ago, and is found in two MSS. (Pt. and J) written in India about 500 years ago, and now in the libraries of Dastûrs Dr. Peshotan and Dr. Jâmâsp, respectively. Passages which occur only in the Irânian version are here enclosed in brackets, and other differences between the two versions are mentioned in the notes.

[3] The Indian version has 'of.'

noxious creatures from cattle; and of production from unproductiveness, *such* as the righteous *and* worthy from the wicked *and* unworthy].

4. The third is authoritativeness, because that priestly master is always wiser and speaking more correctly who is taught wisely and teaches with more correct words.

5. The fourth is to[1] [understand *and* consider the ceremonial as the ceremonial of Aûhar*m*az*d*, *and* the essentials with all goodness, beneficence, *and* authority; to be steadfast in his religion, and to consider the indications of protection (sâyag)[2] which are established for his religion. 6. To maintain the reverence of the luminaries prayerfully, *also* the reverence of the emanations[3] *from* the six[4] *archangels*, be they fire, be they earth, *or* be they of bodily form, and of the creatures *which* are formed by them; also the pure cleansing from dead matter, menstruation, bodily refuse, and other hurtfulness; this is in order that they *may* be characterised, and thereby constituted, *as* better-principled, more sensible[5], and purer, and they *may* become less faulty. 7. The reverence of mankind is to consider authoritatively about knowledge *and* property; the reverence of cattle is *about* fodder, little hardship, and moderate maintenance; the reverence of plants is *about* sowing and ripening for the food of the worthy. 8. The ceremonial which is glorifying all

[1] Ind. vers. has only: 'to celebrate the ceremonial of the sacred beings with the correct words, inward prayers, and complete mastery of the text (narm-nasgîhâ) in the ritual.' It omits §§ 6–8 altogether.

[2] T has 'limit (kûstak).'

[3] T has 'issue.'

[4] T has 'seven.'

[5] Or 'more fragrant;' hû-bôdtar has both meanings.

the sacred beings, praises the luminaries *and* worldly creations improperly, and is antagonistic to them, because complete glorification is proper through complete recitation of the ritual; and the ceremonial of any one whatever is his own proper duty professionally, so long as it is possible to keep proceeding with very little sinfulness].

9. The fifth is to struggle prayerfully[1], day and night, with *your* own fiend[2], *and all* life long not to depart from steadfastness, nor allow *your* proper duty[3] *to go* out of *your* hands.

10. And the first of those ten admonitions is to proceed with good repute, for the sake of occasioning approving remarks *as to*[4] the good repute of *your* own guardian *and* teacher, high-priest *and* master[5].

11. The second is to become awfully refraining from evil repute, for the sake of evil repute not occurring *to* relations and guardians.

12. The third is not to beat *your* own teacher with a snatched-up stick, and not to bring scandal upon his name, for the sake of annoying him, by *uttering* that which *was* not heard from *your* own teacher.

13. The fourth is *that* whatever is taught liberally by *your* own teacher, *you have* to deliver back to the worthy, for the sake of not extorting a declaration of renown from the righteous[6].

14. The fifth is *that* the reward of doers of good

[1] Ind. vers. has: 'to remain in diligence intelligently.'

[2] Ind. vers. has: 'opponent.'

[3] Ind. vers. has: 'steadfastness in religion, and to be diligent in *your* proper duty.' But it omits the rest of the sentence.

[4] Ind. vers. has: 'for the sake of the appropriateness of.'

[5] Or 'father.'

[6] T has: 'not extracting the purity of the righteous.'

works *and* the punishment of criminals *have to be* established by law, for the sake of progress [1].

15. The sixth is to keep the way of the good open to *your* house, for the sake of making [2] righteousness welcome in *your* own abode.

16. The seventh is *that*, for the sake of not developing the fiend insensibly in *your* reason, *you are* not to keep *it* with the religion of the good [3], nor to remain in impenitence of sin.

17. The eighth [4] is *that*, for the sake of severing the fiend from the reason, *you have* to force malice *away* from *your* thoughts, and to become quickly repentant of sin.

18. The ninth is to fully understand the forward movement [5] of the religion, also to keep the advancing of the religion further forwards, and to seek *your* share of duty therein; and on a backward movement, when adversity happens to the religion, to have the religion back again, and to keep *your* body in the continence (makavadîh) of religion.

19. The tenth is *that there is* to be a period of obedience (Srôshdârîh) towards the ruler and priestly authority, the high-priesthood of the religious [6].

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[1] Ind. vers. adds: 'of religion.'

[2] Ind. vers. inserts: 'a token of;' and T has: 'making the righteousness of the sacred beings in writing welcome.'

[3] Ind. vers. has: 'not to maintain malice with the good,' which is more probable, and kênŏ, 'malice,' is easily corrupted into dênô, 'religion,' in Pahlavi writing.

[4] This eighth admonition is omitted in the Irânian MSS.

[5] Ind. vers. adds: 'and backward movement.'

[6] Chapter XXV, about the three divisions of revelation, is translated in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 401–405.

INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references, in this index, are to books, chapters, and sections; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the text, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to be widely separated in the index.

3. Pâzand forms are printed in italics, as their orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters which would elsewhere be italic are printed in roman type.

4. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta, Dk. for Dînka*rd*, Int. for Introduction, m. for mountain, meas. for measure, MS. for manuscript, n. for footnote, Pahl. for Pahlavi, patron. for patronymic, r. for river, Zs. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam.

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Khyôns, nation, Int. 7, 55; Dk. VII, **4**, 77, 83, 84, 87–90; **5**, 7; V, **3**, 1; Zs. **23**, 8.
Kîg, Int. 6, 47, 49; Dk. VII, **2**, 9 n; **3**, 50; **4**, 2, 6, 14, 67; **8**, 26; V, **2**, 3.
Kirmân, town, Zs. **12**, 0 n.
Kobâ*d*, king, Dk. VII, **1**, 35.
Kôkharê*d*, Zs. **15**, 2.
Kûndah, Int. 55; Zs. **23**, 8.
Kûtâl-tô*r*â, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70 n.

Ka*i*pi*s*, ruler, Int. 70.
Kê*k*ast, lake, Int. 50; Dk. VII, **1**, 39.
Kêshmak, demon, Dk. VII, **2**, 44, 45; **4**, 61.
K*ikhshnus*, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70; Zs. **13**, 6.
Kinva*d* bridge, Zs. **20**, 5 n.
Kîst, Zs. **16**, 12.
Kitradâ*d* nask, Int. 3, 14, 20; Dk. VII, **1**, 34 n; **7**, 5 n.
Kitrô-mêhônô, prince, Int. 10; Dk. VII, **8**, 45.

Macedon, Int. 55 n.
Mâda, land, Dk. VII, **1**, 26.
Mâ*d*igân-î Gugastak Abâli*s*, MS., Dk. V, **1**, 2 n.
Mahrkûs, wizard, Int. 11, 55; Dk. VII, **1**, 24; **9**, 3; V, **3**, 3.
Maidhyôzaremaya, festival, Int. 18; Zs. **21**, 1 n.
Mânih, heretic, Dk. VII, **7**, 21 n; V, **3**, 3.
Mânû*s*ak, princess, Zs. **15**, 2.
Mânû*s*îr, for Mânû*s*îhar, Dk. VII, **1**, 29 n.
Mânû*s*-khûrnâk, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70; V, **4**, 3; Zs. **13**, 6.
Mânû*s*-khûrnar, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70; V, **4**, 3; Zs. **13**, 6.
Mânû*s*îhar, king, Int. 15, 16, 55; Dk. VII, **1**, 29–31; **2**, 51 n, 70; **6**, 11 n; **7**, 21; V, **1**, 8; **4**, 3; Zs. **12**, 3; **13**, 6; **15**, 2; **16**, 13.
Mâ*r*aspend, priest, Int. 64, 88; Dk. VII, **5**, 5; **7**, 19, 20.
Marvels of Zoroastrianism, Int. 1.
Ma*s*vâk, man, Dk. VII, **6**, 11 n.
Masyâôî, woman, Int. 48, 55; Dk. VII, **1**, 9, 12–14.
Masyê, man, Int. 48, 55; Dk. VII, **1**, 9, 11–14; **2**, 70; V, **1**, 8; **4**, 1 n; Zs. **13**, 6.
Mâzandar, land, Dk. VII, **1**, 26.
Mâzandarân, land, Dk. VII, **1**, 18 n.
Mâzanô, demons of, Dk. VII, **1**, 18.
Maz*d*a, Dk. VII, **9**, 7–10.
Mazdag, heretic, Int. 26, 43; Dk. VII, **7**, 21, 26 n.
Mazdakites, sect, Int. 58.
Maz*d*a-worship, Int. 15, 49; Dk. VII, **1**, 1, 2, 4, 41, 43, 44; **3**, 35 n; **4**, 2, 5, 14, 33, 34, 74, 79; **6**, 4, 12 n; V, **1**, 1.
Maz*d*a-worshippers, Dk. VII, **7**, 5, 6, 9, 10, 23; **8**, 28, 35, 51; **9**, 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14; **10**, 4, 6, 11; **11**, 8–10; Zs. **12**, 2, 4.

Mêdyômâh, man, Int. 18, 19, 29, 30, 55; Zs. **21**, 3; **23**, 1, 8, 11.
Messiah, Dk. V, **3**, 3.
Millennial apostles, Int. 3.
Misr, land, Zs. **20**, 4 n.
Mîvân, river (?), Zs. **22**, 8.
Mûrdad, angel, Dk. VII, **2**, 38.

Nâmkhvâst of the Hazârs, Dk. VII, **4**, 77 n.
Nasks, Int. 64.
Nayâzem, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Nebuchadnezzar, king, Int. 14; Dk. V, **1**, 2 n.
Nêresang, for Nêryôsang, Dk. VII, **1**, 29 n.
Nêrôksang, for Nêryôsang, Dk. VII, **2**, 21 n, 70; **4**, 84 n.
Nêryôsang, angel, Dk. VII, **1**, 29; **2**, 21; **4**, 84, 85; V, **4**, 6; Zs. **13**, 5, 6.
Nêvak-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Next-of-kin marriage, Dk. VII, **1**, 10; **4**, 5, 6, 8, 11; Zs. **23**, 13.
Ninus, king, Int. 71, 74.
Nîrangistân, MS., Zs. **13**, 4 n.
Nîvêdis, man, Zs. **15**, 5.
Nôdar, man, Int. 17; Dk. VII, **2**, 51; **3**, 19, 39; **4**, 86 n; **6**, 11 n; Zs. **16**, 11–13.
Nôdarîgâ, man, Zs. **15**, 5.
Nôdars, tribe, Dk. VII, **6**, 11.
Non-Irânian, Dk. VII, **9**, 13.
Nôshêrvân, king, Int. 43.
Numûdârîh-î Yazisnŏ, MS., Zs. **13**, 4.

Oldest dates explained, Int. 72.
Ordeal, Int. 7, 18, 64, 65; Dk. VII, **5**, 4, 5; **7**, 2; Zs. **21**, 24–27.
Osthanes, Int. 73.
Ox, frontier-settling, Dk. VII, **2**, 62–66; Zs. **12**, 8–25.
— sole-created, Int. 55, 77; Dk. VII, **2**, 67.
Oxyartes, king, Int. 74.

Padashkhvârgar, land, Dk. VII, **7**, 14 n.
Padîragtarâspô, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 9, 10, 13, 70.
Paêtrasp=Paitiraspô, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70; Zs. **13**, 6.
Pâîrîgs, meteors, Zs. **22**, 9.
Pâpak, prince, Dk. VII, **7**, 12.
Parshad-tôrâ, man, Int. 6, 47; Dk. VII, **4**, 31–34.
Parsi calendar, Int. 79–89; how rectified, Int. 85.
Pâtakhsrôbô, king, Int. 3, 48; Dk. VII, **1**, 34.
Persia, Int. 55 n, 63, 79.
Pêsdâdian, Int. 3; Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Pêshyôtan, prince, Int. 7, 10, 42, 43; Dk. VII, **4**, 81; **5**, 12; **6**, 13; V, **3**, 3.
Pestilence, demon, Dk. VII, **4**, 37, 38.
Plato, Int. 71, 77.
Pliny the Elder, Int. 71, 73, 75, 76.
Pôrûkâst, woman, Int. 29, 30.
Pôrûshâspô, man, Int. 4, 30, 49; Dk. VII, **2**, 10, 13, 21, 29–35, 39–41, 46–48, 56–58, 70; **3**, 3, 4, 7–11, 13, 15, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 32, 34, 37, 38; V, **2**, 2, 4; Zs. **13**, 6; **14**, 16; **15**, 4; **16**, 1, 3–6; **17**, 2; **18**, 1, 2, 4–6; **19**, 1–4; **20**, 1, 6; **21**, 3.
Pouruspâdha, wizard, Zs. **23**, 10 n.
Proconnesian Zoroaster, Int. 73.
Purtarâspô, man, Zs. **13**, 6.
Pûr-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.

Ragan, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 51 n, 70 n.
Ragisn, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70 n.
Raî, city, Int. 32.
Râk, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 51; **3**, 19, 39; or Râgh, Int. 17; Zs. **16**, 11–13.
Ramak-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Rangûstar, man, Zs. **15**, 5.
Rasâstât, angel, Dk. VII, **4**, 81 n.
Rashn, angel, Dk. VII, **7**, 11.
Rashn-rêsh, apostate, Int. 9; Dk. VII, **7**, 11.
Râstare-vaghent, priest, Int. 64, 70; Dk. VII, **7**, 19 n.
Ratûstar, man, Zs. **15**, 5.
Renovation of the universe, Int. 13, 55, 77; Dk. VII, **1**, 41, 42, 54; **10**, 10; **11**, 10, 11; Zs. **23**, 3.
Romans, Int. 63, 65.

Sacred beings, Int. 6, 15, 19, 48, 52, 55; Dk. VII, **1**, 4, 12, 14, 41; **2**, 10, 61, 62; **3**, 47–49; **4**, 21, 46, 62, 70, 80; **5**, 12; **8**, 6, 60; V, **2**, 7; Zs. **14**, 7; **21**, 10.
Sacred fires, Dk. VII, **7**, 2.
Sagastân, land, Int. 6, 47; Dk. VII, **4**, 31.
Sahm, prince, Dk. VII, **1**, 30.
Sâmak, man, Dk. VII, **1**, 15.

Sâmân, patron., Dk. VII, **1**, 32; V, **1**, 8.
Sanskrit, Int. 78.
Saoshya*n*t, apostle, Int. 30.
Sarâî, town, Zs. **22**, 8.
Sâsânian, Int. 9, 31, 50, 57, 68, 69.
Satavês, star, Zs. **22**, 9.
Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, Int. 1, 15, 24.
Semiramis, queen, Int. 71, 74.
Shahpûhar II, king, Int. 26, 58, 61, 63, 64, 88; Dk. VII, **7**, 19 n.
— III, king, Int. 64, 87.
Sham=Shâm, land, Zs. **20**, 4 n.
Shapân, Dk. VII, **7**, 3.
Shapîgân or Shaspîgân, Dk. VII, **7**, 3 n.
Shapîr-abû, woman, Dk. VII, **9**, 18.
Shatraver, angel, Dk. VII, **2**, 19.
Shatvê*r*, angel, Zs. **22**, 8.
Shê*d*âsfa*s* (Theodosius?), Int. 10, 27; Dk. VII, **8**, 47 n.
She*d*âspô, Dk. VII, **8**, 47.
Shemîg-abû, woman, Dk. VII, **8**, 55.
Sîrkân, town, Zs. **12**, 0 n.
Sîyah-tô*r*â, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Sîyâmak, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70; V, **1**, 8; **4**, 1; Zs. **13**, 6.
Sîyâvakhsh, prince, Dk. VII, **1**, 39.
Sôg-tô*r*â, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Sôshâns, apostle, Int. 12, 13, 55; Dk. VII, **1**, 42, 53; **10**, 10, 15; **11**, 1, 2; V, **2**, 15; **3**, 3; Zs. **21**, 7.
Spenda*r*ma*d*, angel, Int. 6, 15, 55; Dk. VII, **2**, 19; **4**, 57, 58; **8**, 5 n; Zs. **12**, 2, 3, 5, 6; **16**, 3; **22**, 9; **23**, 4.
— month, Zs. **21**, 1.
Spend-dâ*d*, prince, Int. 39, 55; Dk. VII, **7**, 5; V, **2**, 12.
Spend nask, Int. 1, 2, 14, 20, 27, 46; Dk. VII, **2**, 1 n.
Spe*n*tô-khratv*a*u, priest, Dk. VII, **7**, 8, 10.
Spêtô-tô*r*â, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Spîtâm, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70; Zs. **13**, 6.
Spîtâmas, tribe, Int. 30; Dk. VII, **2**, 9, 11, 29, 57; **7**, 27; **8**, 22, 35.
Spîtôi*s*, priest, Dk. VII, **6**, 12.
Srîtak=Thritak, man, Zs. **13**, 6.
Srîtô, hero, Int. 8, 15, 55; Dk. VII, **2**, 63, 64; **6**, 2, 3, 5, 7–9, 11, 13; Zs. **12**, 10, 12–14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25.
Srîtŏ, woman, Zs. **23**, 11.
Srôbôvar, snake, Dk. VII, **1**, 32.
Srôsh, angel, Dk. VII, **3**, 17; Zs. **16**, 9.
Srûtvôk-spâ*d*âk, priest, Dk. VII, **7**, 8, 10.
Sû*d*kar nask, Int. 44.
Sûrak, land, Zs. **20**, 4 n.

*S*ênôv, priest, Int. 9, 54, 55; Dk. VII, **7**, 6; Zs. **23**, 11.

Tabaristân, land, Dk. VII, **7**, 14 n.
Tâkhmôrup, king, Int. 48, 55; Dk. VII, **1**, 19; V, **1**, 8; **4**, 3.
Talmud, MS., Dk. V, **1**, 2 n.
Tan*â*pûhar, sin, Dk. VII, **4**, 19, 20.
Tanvasar, priest, Int. 9, 62; Dk. VII, **7**, 14, 17, 18.
T*â*z, man, Dk. VII, **1**, 34.
Tegend, r., Zs. **22**, 7 n.
Ten admonitions, MS., Zs. **24**, 10–19.
Thritak, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Ti*s*tar, star, Dk. VII, **2**, 38 n.
Tôgân, r., Zs. **22**, 7.
Trojan war, Int. 71.
Tûg, prince, Dk. VII, **1**, 30.
Tûmâsp, prince, Dk. VII, **1**, 31.
Tûr, land, Dk. VII, **1**, 31, 39.
— =Tûrânian, Int. 6, 47; Dk. VII, **4**, 6–10, 14–16, 20; **5**, 12 n; **11**, 3; V, **3**, 2; Zs. **15**, 3, 4; **17**, 6; **20**, 8.
Tûrân, land, Dk. VII, **2**, 62; Zs. **12**, 8, 9.
Tûrânian, Dk. VII, **2**, 9 n, 63, 68; **3**, 28; **7**, 19; **9**, 13; Zs. **12**, 17.
Turkish demons, Dk. VII, **8**, 47.

Urugadhasp, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Usikhsh, Int. 30.
Uspâsnu, man, Dk. VII, **6**, 12 n.

Va*d*ak, woman, Dk. VII, **2**, 64; Zs. **12**, 13.
Vadast=Vaêdvôi*s*t, Zs. **15**, 3.
Vaêdist, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70; Zs. **13**, 6.
Vaêdvôi*s*t, karap, Int. 6, 47; Dk. VII, **2**, 9 n; **4**, 21, 23, 24.
Vâêgere*d*, prince, Int. 3; Dk. VII, **1**, 16; V, **4**, 2.
Vakgir, land, Dk. VII, **1**, 39.
Vanôfravi*s*n, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70.
Varahrân fire, Zs. **22**, 7.
Vars, hair, Dk. VII, **4**, 85.

Var*s*tmânsar nask, Int. 10.
Verethraghna, angel, Int. 30.
Vîda*d*afsh, region, Dk. VII, **6**, 12 n.
Vîdraf*s*, wizard, Dk. VII, **4**, 77 n.
Vigîrka*rd*-î Dênîg, MS., Dk. VII, **2**, 70 n.
Virafsang, man, Dk. VII, **1**, 34 n.
Visperad, MS., Int. 3.
Vîsraps, tribe, Dk. VII, **6**, 2, 7, 9, 11; Zs. **12**, 10 n.
Vi*s*tâsp, king, Int. 6–10, 14, 19, 29, 47, 49, 52, 55, 70; Dk. VII, **1**, 2; **2**, 9 n; **3**, 31; **4**, 63–67, 69–71, 74–76, 83–85, 89, 90; **5**, 1, 2, 6, 7, 12; **6**, 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11 n, 12–14; **7**, 1, 2, 5 n, 38, 39; V, **2**, 8, 10; **3**, 1; Zs. **16**, 12, 13; **23**, 5, 7.
Vîvang,ha, man, Dk. VII, **1**, 20; **2**, 70; Zs. **13**, 6.
Vîzak, woman, Dk. VII, **2**, 70; Zs. **13**, 6.
Vohûmanô, angel, Int. 5, 16, 55; Dk. VII, **1**, 4; **2**, 17, 19, 24–26, 29, 33; **3**, 17, 22, 26, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58–60, 62; **4**, 29, 57, 74, 75, 78; **7**, 19; V, **2**, 5, 9; Zs. **14**, 9–12; **16**, 9; **20**, 3; **21**, 8, 11, 12; **22**, 3, 6 n.
— king, Int. 9, 55; Dk. VII, **7**, 5.
Vohûnêm, man, Int. 55; Zs. **23**, 8, 11.
Vohû-rô*k*ô, man, Dk. VII, **8**, 55; **9**, 18; **10**, 15.
Vologeses I, king, Int. 88, 89.
— III, king, Int. 61, 88.

Wilson's Parsi Religion, Int. 31.
Witch, Dk. VII, **1**, 19; **5**, 8; V, **2**, 3; Zs. **17**, 4.
Witchcraft, Dk. VII, **2**, 6, 7, 63; **3**, 4, 8; **4**, 72; **5**, 8; **8**, 6.
Wizard, Dk. VII, **1**, 19, 31, 39; **2**, 8, 53, 54, 66; **3**, 5, 42–44; **8**, 29; V, **2**, 3, 4, 8; Zs. **14**, 3, 13, 16; **16**, 2, 3; **17**, 4; **18**, 1, 5.
Wrath, demon, Int. 16.

Xanthus of Lydia, Int. 71.
Xerxes, king, Int. 71, 73.

Yâ*d*kâr-î Zarîrân, MS., Dk. VII, **4**, 77 n, 86 n.
Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, Dk. VII, **1**, 4 n, 12 n; **4**, 41, 56, 61.
Yazdaka*rd* I, king, Int. 64, 66, 87, 88 n.
— II and III, kings, Int. 58, 61.
Yim, king, Int. 55; Dk. VII, **1**, 20–22, 24, 25, 26 n, 32, 36; **2**, 21, 59–61, 70; **9**, 4; V, **1**, 8; **2**, 2, 9; **4**, 3; Zs. **13**, 5, 6; **15**, 2 n.
Yimak, princess, Zs. **15**, 2 n.
Yim's enclosure, Int. 11.
Yûgyâst, meas., Dk. VII, **3**, 16, 45.

Zâ*d*-sparam, priest, Int. 15, 25; Zs. **12**, 0 n.
Zâgh, man, Dk. VII, **6**, 11 n.
Zâinîgâv, prince, Dk. VII, **1**, 34 n.
Zâk, karap, Dk. VII, **2**, 9 n; **4**, 64, 67.
Zand, Int. 37; Dk. VII, **8**, 22, 36; V, **3**, 4.
Zarathu*s*tra, apostle, Int. 30; Dk. VII, **1**, 34 n.
Zaratû*s*t, apostle, Int. 1–4, 6–8, 10, 15–17, 19, 20, 29, 32–43, 46–50, 52, 55, 61, 70–75, 77, 78; Dk. VII, **1**, 3, 34, 43, 51; **2**, 2, 3, 9 n, 10, 14, 15–22, 24 n, 27, 29, 36–40, 42, 43, 46, 47, 52, 53, 56, 60, 61, 64, 68–70; **3**, 1 n, 4, 5, 7–9, 11–16, 20, 22, 32, 33, 36, 38–43, 46, 51, 54, 57, 59, 61, 62; **4**, 3–6, 11, 12, 14, 16–19, 22–27, 29–31, 33–36, 38, 40–43, 45, 47–49, 51–55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72–74, 86, 90; **5**, 1, 2, 4–8; **6**, 1, 12, 13; **7**, 2, 14, 18, 19, 22, 29, 33–35, 37; **8**, 1, 24, 25, 27, 29, 36, 38, 40, 42, 43, 48, 50, 51, 55, 56, 59; **9**, 1, 6, 18, 19; **10**, 15; V, **1**, 7; **2**, 1; **3**, 1, 2, 4; Zs. **12**, 6, 7; **13**, 1, 4–6; **14**, 1, 2, 8, 12, 15; **15**, 1, 3, 4–6; **16**, 1–4, 6, 7, 9–13; **17**, 1, 6; **18**, 2, 3, 6, 7; **19**, 2, 4–7; **20**, 2, 5, 9, 11–13, 16; **21**, 2, 3, 5–9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 24; **22**, 2, 3, 6–12, 13 n; **23**, 1, 7–11, 13.
Zaratû*s*t of the Spîtâmas, Dk. VII, **1**, 2, 8, 41, 43, 44; **2**, 67, 68; **3**, 55, 56, 58, 60; **4**, 15, 32, 39, 59, 75, 79, 81, 82, 86, 89; **5**, 3; **7**, 28; **8**, 23, 31, 32, 34; V, **1**, 7; Zs. **12**, 12; **21**, 10.
Zaratû*s*t, priest, Int. 64, 66, 70, 88.
Zaratû*s*t-nâmak of Zs., contents, Int. 15–19; MSS., Int. 24.

Zaratûstship, Dk. V, **4**, 6.
Zarîr, prince, Dk. VII, **4**, 77 n; V, **2**, 12.
Zartust Bahrâm Pazdû, writer, Int. 32, 43, 46.
Zartust-nâmah, Persian, Int. 31, 45, 46; Dk. VII, **4**, 70 n; **5**, 12 n; contents, Int. 32–44.
Zbaurvant, man, Dk. VII, **7**, 12 n.
Zend, r., Zs. **22**, 7 n.
Zôis, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 3, 4.
Zôndak, r., Zs. **22**, 7 n.
Zoroaster, Int. 74, 75.
Zoroastrian epoch, Int. 52.
— legends, Int. 14, 20, 27, 51, 59; scattered in other Pahl. texts, Int. 29; in Av., Int. 30, 31.
Zôti, priest, Dk. VII, **8**, 8.
Zrayang,hau, priest, Dk. VII, **7**, 8, 10.
Zûsak, man, Dk. VII, **2**, 70; Zs. **13**, 6.

ERRATUM.

P. 20, l. 4. The name of the district of Alâk should probably be read Arâk, as the province is called Râgh in Zs. XVI, 13.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . . .	क	𐬐	𐭩	ک	ك	כ	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	. . .	. . . .	ख	𐬑	𐭪	. . .	. . .	ך	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . . .	ग	𐬌	𐭨	گ	. . .	ג	. . .
4 „ aspirata	gh	. . .	. . . .	घ	𐬍	𐭩	. . .	. . .	ג	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ق	ق	ק	. . .
6 Nasalis	ṅ (ng)	. . .	. . . .	ङ	𐬔 (ng) 𐬓 (N)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . . .	ह	𐬵 (𐬴 hv)	𐭣	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 „ lenis	’	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ا	ا	א	. . .
9 „ asper faucalis	‘h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ح	ح	ח	. . .
10 „ lenis faucalis	’h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ع	ع	ע	. . .
11 „ asper fricatus	. . .	‘h	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	خ	خ	ח	. . .
12 „ lenis fricatus	. . .	’h	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	. . .	k	. . . .	च	𐬕	𐭮	چ	. . .	. . .	k
14 „ aspirata	. . .	kh	. . . .	छ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	kh
15 Media	. . .	g	. . . .	ज	𐬖	𐭯, 𐭬	ج	ج	. . .	. . .
16 „ aspirata	. . .	gh	. . . .	झ	. . . .	. . .	غ	غ	. . .	. . .
17 „ Nasalis	. . .	ñ	. . . .	ञ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

CONSONANTS (*continued*).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . . .	य	𐬌 𐬌 𐬌 init.	𐭥	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(*ỳ*)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 „ lenis	. . .	(*ỳ*)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 „ asper assibilatus . .	. . .	*s*	. . . .	श	𐬱	𐭮	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 „ lenis assibilatus . .	. . .	*z*	. . . .	. . .	𐬰	𐭯	ژ	. . .	. . .	*z*
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . . .	त	𐬙	𐭬	ت	ت	ת	t
24 „ aspirata	th	. . .	. . . .	थ	𐬚	. . .	. . .	. . .	ת	th
25 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ث	ث	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . . .	द	𐬛	𐭥	د	د	ד	. . .
27 „ aspirata	dh	. . .	. . . .	ध	𐬜	. . .	. . .	. . .	ד	. . .
28 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ذ	ذ	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . . .	न	𐬥	𐭩	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . . .	ल	. . . .	𐭩,𐭥,𐭬	ل	ل	ל	l
31 „ mollis 1	. . .	*l*	. . . .	ळ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 „ mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . . .	स	𐬯	𐭮	(ث)س	س	ש	s
34 „ asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (ſ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ס	. . .
35 „ lenis	z	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬲	𐭯	(ذ) ز	ز	ז	z
36 „ asperrimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ص	ص	צ	ʒ, ʒh
37 „ asperrimus 2	. . .	. . .	ẓ (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ض	. . .	. . .	. . .

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)										
38 Tenuis	...	*t*	....	ट	....	...	ط	ط	ټ	...
39 „ aspirata	...	*th*	....	ठ	....	...	ظ	ظ	...	...
40 Media	...	*d*	....	ड	ڈ	ڈ	...	...	...	...
41 „ aspirata	...	*dh*	....	ढ	....	...	...	ض	...	...
42 Nasalis	...	*n*	....	ण	ڼ	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	r	...	....	र	ڑ	ڑ, ا.ط	ر	ر	ר	...
44 „ fricata	...	*r*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	*r*
45 „ diacritica	...	...	R	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	sh	...	....	ष	ش	ش	...	...	...	sh
47 „ lenis	zh	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
Labiales.										
48 Tenuis	p	...	....	प	ڀ	ڀ	پ	...	פ	p
49 „ aspirata	ph	...	....	फ	....	...	...	...	פ	ph
50 Media	b	...	....	ब	ب	ب	ب	ب	ב	...
51 „ aspirata	bh	...	....	भ	....	...	...	...	ב	...
52 Tenuissima	...	*p*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	m	...	....	म	م	م	م	م	מ	m
54 Semivocalis	w	...	....	...	ڡ	...	...	...	...	w
55 „ aspirata	hw	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	f	...	....	...	ف	ڢ	ف	ف	...	f
57 „ lenis	v	...	....	व	»	ا, ۋ	و	و	ו	...
58 Anusvâra	...	*m*	....	अं	ں ã	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	...	*h*	....	अः	....	...	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
1 Neutralis	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ִ	ă
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ĕ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 „ labialis	ŏ	...	...	...	...	ا fin.	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	...	...	अ	𐬀	𐬀 init.	ـَ	ـَ	ַ	a
5 „ longa	â	(*a*)	...	आ	𐬁	𐬁	ـا	ـا	ָ	â
6 Palatalis brevis	i	...	...	इ	𐬄	...	ـِ	ـِ	ִ	i
7 „ longa	î	(*i*)	...	ई	𐬅	ی	ـِي	ـِي	ִי	î
8 Dentalis brevis	*li*	...	...	ऌ	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 „ longa	*lī*	...	...	ॡ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	*ri*	...	...	ऋ	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 „ longa	*rī*	...	...	ॠ	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u	...	...	उ	𐬅	...	ـُ	ـُ	ֻ	u
13 „ longa	û	(*u*)	...	ऊ	𐬆	ا	ـُو	ـُو	ו	û
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	...	...	...	𐬇(e) 𐬈(*e*)	...	...	...	ֶ	e
15 „ longa	ê (ai)	(*e*)	...	ए	𐬉, 𐬊	ی	...	...	ֵ	ê
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi	(*ai*)	...	ऐ	...	...	ـَيْ	ـَيْ	...	âi
17 „ „	ei (ĕi)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ei, êi
18 „ „	oi (ŏu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	...	...	...	𐬋	...	...	...	ֹ	o
20 „ longa	ô (au)	(*o*)	...	ओ	𐬋	ا	...	...	ו	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(*au*)	...	औ	𐬌 (*au*)	...	ـَوْ	ـَوْ	...	âu
22 „ „	eu (ĕu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 „ „	ou (ŏu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ï	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ü	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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ZAEHNER, ROBERT CHARLES (b. Sevenoaks, Kent, 8 April 1913; d. Oxford, 24 November 1974), a scholar of Iranian and Indian studies, a historian of religions, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford University, a British Intelligence officer stationed at the British Embassy in Tehran, and the major planner of the plot leading to the overthrow of Moḥammad Mosaddeq's government (see COUP D'ETAT OF 1332 Š./1953).

During his years as Spalding Professor at Oxford University, Zaehner wrote widely and often polemically, a circumstance which presented him as one of the protagonists in the field of comparative history of religions, though his fame proved to be much more short-lived than that of some of his contemporaries such as Mircea Eliade. His parents, originally from Switzerland, had immigrated to England, where Robert was born and received his education. He first went to the public school of Tonbridge, then, having won a scholarship, continued his education at Christ Church, a college of the University of Oxford. Once in Oxford, he first took Honour Moderations in Classics, but later on chose Oriental Studies, focusing on Iran. His main subject was Persian language, with Old Iranian as his minor. He took his first class in Persian in 1936, then studied Old and Middle Persian under Professor Harold W. Bailey, who became a key figure throughout Zaehner's academic life as well as an inspiring friend and a sure lead in the understanding of Middle Iranian texts.

During World War II, as part of his military service, he spent the years 1943-47 posted at the British Embassy in Tehran, where he worked as assistant press attaché and then as press attaché. In 1946, while in Tehran, he converted to the Catholic faith, a faith that became an influencing factor in much of his later life and academic research, although his allegiance went to mysticism and the contemplative tradition of this faith rather than to ecclesiastic hierarchy (Hughes, pp. 140-41). Later on, he moved back to Oxford, where in 1950 he began teaching as University Lecturer in Persian, but soon he was assigned back to Iran, where he served as acting counselor at the British Embassy in Tehran (1951-52), playing a major role in the plots for the overthrow of Prime Minister Mossadeq.

In 1952 he was elected Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford University and simultaneously became Fellow at All Souls. In 1956 he became a fellow of the British Academy. Once elected as the Spalding Chair in Eastern Religions and Ethics, Zaehner gradually shifted his interest to the religious history of the Indian subcontinent and to problems of general interest to the historian of religions. As a matter of fact, being selected for an Oxonian professorship as a successor to Sir Sarvepalli Radakrishnan came as a surprise to many, since the Spalding Chair was considered reserved for Asians and, besides, because he had not yet published any books, although his *Zurvan* had already been accepted for publication by Oxford University Press (Lambton; Morrison; Parrinder).

In the field of Oriental studies, Zaehner's first academic love was certainly Zoroastrianism, as well as the study of the languages needed to understand this ancient faith. His work on the Good Religion counts as the most original and scientifically inspiring in his whole career. In this field he contributed a powerful speculative book entitled *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, an interesting synthesis meant for the general public: *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (1961), and a popular anthology of Zoroastrian texts: *Teachings of the Magi: a Compendium of Zoroastrian Beliefs* (1956), as well as a number of articles. His most ponderous articles on Zoroastrianism all date to the pre-war period (1938a-1940b), investigating aspects of Zurvanism and related themes, thus providing the ground for his most important book, *Zurvan*. In his *Dawn and Twilight*, Zaehner synthetically spells out his ideas on Iran's pre-Islamic religion. The book is divided into two parts: "Dawn," where the author presents Zoroaster's character and thought, as well as the evolution of the Good Religion up to the end of the Achaemenid period, and "Twilight," spanning the years from the rise of the Sasanian dynasty to the onslaught of the Arabs.

Zaehner dates Zoroaster to 628-551 BCE, thus adhering to the traditional view put forward by Walter Bruno Henning, who, in 1949, dedicated his Ratanbai Katrak Lectures to a magisterial study on the Iranian prophet, later turned into a most thought-provoking volume, *Zoroaster: Politician or Witch-doctor?* Furthermore, Zaehner believed that Zoroaster's doctrine was proclaimed in ancient Chorasmia, a vast area to the south of the Aral Sea (Zaehner, 1961, p. 33), here again following Henning. According to him, Zoroaster was a religious reformer, fighting the traditional creed and knowing no compromise; for instance, in Zoroaster's doctrine, Asha, the "Truth," was pitted against Druj, the "Lie" (Wickedness, Disorder; see Zaehner, 1961, p. 36), and no compromise between the two was possible. Moreover, he thought "Free Will" to be an essential part of the Iranian prophet's theological doctrine (Zaehner, 1961, pp. 41-42). Creatures had been created free, and therefore Man, the most important of all created beings, was entirely responsible for his choice and for his destiny. In Zaehner's reconstruction, Zoroaster believed in one supreme god, immortal and creator of all things and immaterial (Zaehner, 1961, p. 60).

Zaehner distinguished three distinct periods in the history of pre-Islamic Zoroastrianism: "primitive Zoroastrianism," that is, the prophet's own message and his reformed, monotheistic creed; "Catholic Zoroastrianism," appearing already in the *Yasna Haptaŋhaiti* and more clearly in the Younger Avesta, which saw other divinities readmitted in the cult, a religious trend attested in the Achaemenid period, probably already under Darius I and Xerxes I, certainly from Artaxerxes I onwards as shown by the calendar reform that he dates to about 441 BCE (Zaehner, 1961, p. 155); and finally the dualist orthodoxy of Sasanian times (Zaehner, 1961, p. 81). Although in the main Zaehner stuck to a traditional interpretation of the history of Zoroastrianism in the early period, his discussions of Haoma and its rite, which he considered to be the focal point of Zoroastrian cult, and on the other divinities worshipped by Iranians of those ancient times (Zaehner, 1961, pp. 97-153) provide food for thought. Most notable among these divinities is Mithra, whose worship, although in a deeply different form, was pervasive in the Roman empire (see MITHRAISM).

Zaehner's approach to Sasanian Zoroastrianism was much more original in both thought and method than his contribution to the study of the more ancient period. This was due to a number of factors, mainly the fact that, although not properly a philologist, he was much more at home with Middle Persian texts and later secondary sources than with the world of the Avesta, the treatment of which required very different linguistic skills. He was able to understand better than many others the religious variety of Sasanian times.

His earlier book on Zoroastrianism (Zaehner, 1955a), postulates the existence of a widely spread Zoroastrian sect believing Ohrmazd and Ahriman to be the twin sons of Zurvan, the deity of Time. To do so, Zaehner translated and studied a vast number of primary and secondary sources included in the volume. Although he was more or less severely criticized (Molé, 1959; Shaked, 1992; Boyce, 1957 and 1990) both for his general reconstruction of the Zurvanite phenomena and for a tendency to force a meaning on the text (Cereti and MacKenzie), this theory still represents Zaehner's most original and well argued contribution to our knowledge of Iranian religion. He also theorized the existence of at least three Zoroastrian sects in Sasanian times: the "Mazdean" dualists, whose doctrine is recorded in Pahlavi literature dating from the early Islamic centuries; a group of monotheists who grew strong toward the end of the Sasanian empire, after the reforms by Kosrow I; and finally the Zurvanites. According to him, the latter was the dominant form of Zoroastrism in the late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, as shown by the fact that Christian and Manichean polemists mainly attack the beliefs of this sect. He further distinguished between three types of Zurvanism (Zaehner, 1961, 178-89, 205-10).

Zaehner's interpretation of Zurvanism is mainly based on reports attested in Christian polemical sources, ultimately going back to Sasanian times. These treatises convey a variant version of the cosmogonic myth in which Zurvan figures as the father of two twins, one, Ohrmazd, engendered by his wish to have a son, the other, Ahriman, by his doubt in the efficacy of his own sacrifice, a version confirmed by sporadic passages found in some Manichean texts (Zaehner, 1955a, pp. 419-29, 431-32, 439). Furthermore, Zaehner remarked that in Manichean Middle Persian texts the Father of Greatness is called Zurvan, demonstrating, in his opinion, that the divinity of time must have been the supreme deity in the then current pantheon of Persian Zoroastrians. Building on this evidence, he attempted to show that some Pahlavi texts, notwithstanding deliberate censorship by the Zoroastrian clergy, still preserved evident traces of the Zurvanite doctrine. Such were for certain the *Selections of Zādspram* and the *Iranian Bundahišn*, while the *Indian Bundahišn* kept more strictly to orthodox Mazdean doctrine.

Zaehner identified two forms of Zurvanism, one materialistic, the other ethical (1955a, p. 269), underlining that in Zurvanism fate prevails over free will, while in "orthodox" Zoroastrianism free will had the upper hand (1955a, p. 255). Furthermore, he tried hard to prove that Zurvan was a quadripartite god, following Henrik Samuel Nyberg (1931, pp. 84-91). He identified seven possible divine tetrads characterizing Zurvanite theological doctrine (1955a, p. 231). Āz, the female demon of greed plays a major role in Zurvanism as reconstructed by Zaehner, proving in the end to be more powerful than Ahriman himself, although both were bound to succumb to Ohrmazd. Zaehner considers Zurvanism to have had a tendency toward ascetic life, quite unnatural in Zoroastrianism, which had a very positive opinion of worldly activities (1955a, p. 271).

Many scholars, active both earlier and later than Zaehner (e.g., Boyce, 1957, pp. 304-5), considered Zurvanism to be a heresy of Zoroastrianism mainly based on a new interpretation of *Yasna* 30.3-5, the Gathic passage mentioning two twin spirits, one of whom chose the good, the other the bad. Zaehner's book on Zurvan, ultimately based on Nyberg's articles on Zoroastrian cosmogony (Nyberg, 1929, 1931, and 1938; see also Schaeder, 1927 and 1941) brought new life into this ancient debate (see further Shaked, 1992, p. 220, n. 3**).** Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin appreciated Zaehner's work and considered Zurvanism a current heresy of Zoroastrianism of Greek derivation (1953, pp. 123-24; 1962, pp. 184-89, 302-307; 1956, see also, 1956, for his positive review of Zaehner's *Zurvan*), while Mary Boyce (1957, 1990), though sharing the idea that Zurvanism was a diverging form of the Zoroastrian religion, considered it to be current and majoritarian in southwestern Iran in the Sasanian period and thought that it was a syncretism between Iranian and Babylonian concepts. Both authors considered it to have been later marginalized in the Pahlavi books because of deliberate censorship by the clergy, but never went as far as to believe it to be an independent cult, entirely separated from Mazdean Zoroastrianism.

Other scholars, such as Marijan Molé (1959, 1961, 1963, pp. 8-14), Ugo Bianchi (1958) and later Shaul Shaked (1992) disagreed with Zaehner, believing that Zurvanism had never been a "heresy" on its own, much less a different or independent faith, rather, at the most a variant version of the cosmogonic myth to be understood in the frame of religious variety in ancient Iran. Interestingly, in Pahlavi literature we find no explicit reference to Zurvanism, with the possible exception of a single quotation in *Dēnkard* VIII—a Middle Persian rendering of the stanza of the twins found in *Yasna* 30 (Zaehner, 1955a, pp. 429-31; see Shaked, 1992, p. 226). Zaehner's *Zurvan* should be read together with his "Postscript to Zurvan" (1955b), in which the author improves on various aspects of the book (on scholarly debate on Zurvanism, see Rezania, pp. 13-31).

Zaehner's marked interest in Indian religious thought, together with his duties as Spalding Professor, led him to become one of the leading specialists of Hindu theology and philosophy. In 1962, he published a popular compendium of Hindu docrines with the title *Hinduism* and later he added other important works, such as the popular edition of religious texts, *Hindu Scriptures* (1966), which included a valuable translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā,* later independently republished (1969), and a challenging comparative book on *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (1960).

Even in his more scholarly books, Zaehner was prone to be influenced by his personal beliefs when analyzing religious phenomena. This was all the more true for a group of books that may be aptly defined as apologetic and polemical, arguing as they do in favor of his own Christian and ethical beliefs—works such as *Christianity and Other Religions* (1964), *The Convergent Spirit* (1963), *Evolution in Religion* (1971), and *Dialectical Christianity and Christian Materialism* (1971; Parrinder, p. 69). More complex and intellectually stimulating are two other impassioned works, *At Sundry Times* (1958) based on his Owen Evans lectures, and *Concordant Discord* (1970), deriving from his Gifford Lectures (Parrinder, pp. 69-70).

Mysticism was another important field of study for Zaehner. Not only did he investigate Hindu and Muslim mysticism, but he also took part in the debate on the use of psychedelic drugs to have mystic visions, which was to become so fashionable for the Beat Generation and those that followed. In his *Mysticism, Sacred and Profane* (1957) he vehemently criticized Aldous Huxley's advocacy of the use of mescaline to obtain religious insights, which is found in the latter's *The Door of Perception*. In another work, *Drugs, Mysticism and Make-Believe* (1972), derived from three talks aired on the BBC in 1970, he again attacked those who, like psychologist Timothy Leary (d. 1996), promoted the use of drugs (Parrinder, pp. 70-71). His last book, *Our Savage God* (1974), written on the emotional wave following the murder of the actress Sharon Tate and some of her friends by members of a cult led by Charles Manson, is an emotionally tense, passionate protest against religious, ethical, and moral indifferentism (Parrinder, p. 71).

However, as stated above, Zaehner was more than just a scholar. In the years of Moḥammad Mossadeq's government, he played an important role serving his government in Iran. During World War II, Zaehner was posted at the British Embassy in Tehran, where he worked under Ann K. S. Lambton, who, as press attaché, was in charge of British propaganda. In postwar years, Lambton moved back to London to work at the School of Oriental and African Studies, where she served as Professor of Persian. Nonetheless, she kept on being a very influential adviser to the British government on Iranian matters. When in 1951 Mossadeq nationalized the oil industry and started a political confrontation with Great Britain, Lambton advised that his government should be overthrown and suggested that Zaehner be sent to Tehran to run undercover operations. Acting on Lambton's suggestion, the newly elected Foreign Secretary, Herbert Morrison, appointed Robin (i.e., Robert) Zaehner as acting counselor in the British Embassy in Tehran. He was thus to play a major role in the events that followed. Officially, his task was to promote Mosaddeq's overthrow through legal means, although he often crossed the thin line into a gray area of intrigue (Louis, 2004, pp. 130-35).

Once he was back in Iran, Zaehner revitalized the network of anglophile Iranians that he had built in the years of his first posting, and started exerting pressure against that country's legitimate government. He had a close relationship with the three Rašidiān brothers (Sayf-Allāh, Qodrat-Allāh and Asad-Allāh), members of a wealthy and influential family, through whom he bribed members of parliament, political activists, and other affluent champions of Tehran's civil society to throw Mossadeq out of power. The Rašidiān brothers received large sums of money for their anglophile network, but they also showed commitment to the British cause when in 1953 they played a major role in the coup that ousted Mosaddeq. Lacking direct British support, they proved ready to spend out of their own pocket to overthrow Mosaddeq. In those years Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) provided Zaehner with all the money he needed to fight his battle against the aging prime minister through legal or quasi-legal means (Azimi, p. 43). He distributed large sums of money, and his habit of giving bribes hidden in tin biscuit cans was described by many of the writers who traced the history of those years (e.g., Azimi, p. 43; de Bellaigue, p. 194). This same practice was continued by another British civil servant, Sam Falle, Zaehner's former collaborator. On 16 July 1952, Mosaddeq resigned, and the shah appointed Aḥmad Qawām-al-Solṭana prime minister.

Remarkably, the British, either by miscalculation or lack of political will, failed to provide full support for Qawām, whose government lasted only a few days and who was ousted by vehement popular opposition already on July 21. In October 1953, the British diplomatic mission was forced to leave Iran; Zaehner himself had left a few months earlier. Notwithstanding all his efforts and nationalistic dedication, when he returned to Oxford in the summer of 1952, his action had not yet led to any concrete results. At that time, Zaehner himself was quite disillusioned about the possibility for Great Britain to gain the upper hand in Iran (de Bellaigue, pp. 193-95). However, things were eventually to evolve in the direction he had hoped for, and on 19 August 1953 Mosaddeq's democratic government was ousted in a coup orchestrated by foreign powers.

Robert Charles Zaehner's years in Teheran after World War II were characterized by many achievements, first of all his determinant role in forging the Rašidiān's network into an effective political tool at the service of the British, as well as his establishing a good relationship with Ernest Perron, the shah's Swiss favorite, who granted him a good insight into court affairs. However, there were also a few political misjudgements, such as in the case of Qawām-al-Salṭana's ill-fated government. His command of the Persian language, his actions and his lifestyle turned him into somewhat of a legend in post-war Iran: flamboyant, bon-vivant, well introduced in local society, a hard drinker, an opium smoker, he was regarded by many of his colleagues as unfit for his operational job (Louis, 2004, p. 146) and this also proved to be a limit for his activities.

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Praying with Moses Cordovero: Adopting and Adapting Spanish Kabbalah in Italy and East-Central Europe

Beten mit Moses Cordovero: Übernahme und Anpassung der spanischen Kabbala in Italien und Ostmitteleuropa

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Abstract: This article explores Moses Cordovero's (1522–1570) commentary on the Rosh Hashanah liturgy and its reception among Italian and East-Central European Jews, highlighting its intersections with broader issues in early modern Jewish history, such as manuscript and print cultures, individual mobility, and the dissemination of knowledge. Through an in-depth analysis of three documents—an annotated printed Mahzor and two manuscripts written in Ashkenazi script—the article demonstrates how individuals enhanced and adapted Cordovero's kabbalistic intentions for their own liturgical practices. The study traces the journey of Cordovero's commentary from manuscript to print and back into manuscript, emphasizing the personal stories and material transformations that made this text a practical tool for prayer. Ultimately, the article provides insights into the dynamic interplay between Cordoverean kabbalah and local liturgical rites, illustrating how early modern Jews actively engaged with and reshaped their devotional texts.

Keywords: Prayerbooks; Liturgy; Kabbalah; Moses Cordovero

Schlüsselwörter: Gebetbücher; Liturgie; Kabbala; Moses Kordovero

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Introduction

A text is not merely the ideas it contains, but the intellectual and cultural horizons that afford these ideas with the context as to be intelligible. Moses Cordovero's (1522–1570) commentary on the Rosh Hashanah liturgy is no exception and it provides us with fascinating intersections with broader issues in early modern Jewish history. This article will touch upon major early modern issues of mobility and the spread of knowledge through print and manuscript by delving into the factors surrounding the transportation and printing of this commentary and its later dissemination among specific Italian and East-Central European Jews. By analyzing this text's manifestation in these different manuscripts and printed books—in which these individuals enhanced, altered, and modified this commentary through their various marginalia and its reorganization—this article offers micro-historical perspectives on broader cultural trends, including the dissemination of kabbalah and its interaction with local liturgical rites.

This article will begin by tracing the journey of Cordovero's commentary on the Rosh Hashanah liturgy from a Safedian manuscript to a Venetian printed book via the travels of Gedaliah Cordovero (1562–1625), Moses Cordovero's son. It will then delve into three documents—an annotated Mahzor that included a printed version of this text and two Ashkenazi script manuscripts of Cordovero's commentary. The former case will demonstrate how Jacob Poggetti in the late sixteenth century augmented his prayerbook with additional Cordoverean kabbalistic material that he had acquired, creating a comprehensive Cordoverean prayerbook. The latter two cases will show how Cordovero's kabbalistic intentions, based on the Sefardic rite, were adopted and adapted by early modern Ashkenazi individuals for their liturgical rite, thus expanding Cordoverean kabbalah beyond its original context and audience. Exploring these marginale and reflective statements reveals the devotional practices of these early modern Jews, highlighting the differences between Sefardic and Ashkenazi rites. Lastly, this article will draw attention to the common feature of these different customizations—the material transformation of this text into a practical instrument for prayer.

From Safed to Venice (via Constantinople): Printing Cordovero's Commentary on the Rosh Hashanah Liturgy

Gedaliah Cordovero was eight years old when his father, Moses Cordovero, passed away. He only had a brief period in which he studied with him. His mother was responsible for his upbringing and study—finding him tutors and taking care of their finances. Gedaliah would continue his studies in the Safedian yeshiva of Solomon Sagis (d. 1587) until he came of age.[1] When he came of age (between 18 and 22) he traveled to Venice by way of Constantinople in the early 1580s, arriving in Venice probably between 1583 and 1584.[2] Presumably, he immersed himself in the book trade—both printing and selling. Between 1587 and 1588 he printed four books in the Di Gara press: two of his father's works (*Or Ne'erav* and *Perush 'Avodat Yom ha-Kippurim*) with the help of Menahem Azariah da Fano (1548–1620),[3] a glossary of biblical terms in Ladino, and Elisha Gallico's (d. 1583) commentary on the Song of Songs. His introduction to *Or Ne'erav* extends far beyond the contents of this work and in it he offered the reader a window into his motivations for printing. Gedaliah wrote:

And I feared lest it will occur what occurred with the commentary on the Rosh Hashanah liturgy. For it was stolen from me and they who printed it without my permission did not delve into the author's thought (*lo yarad le-sof da'at ha-rav ha-mehaber*). And it is not enough that he did not fix what he possesses—through

1 See Abraham David: To Come to the Land. Immigration and Settlement in 16th-Century Eretz-Israel. Tuscaloosa 2010, pp. 130, 146; Marvin J. Heller: His Hand Did Not Leave Hers Until He Was Grown. Two Little Known Works From Moses Cordovero (Ramak). In: Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book, Leiden 2008, pp. 278–283; Zohar Raviv: Decoding the Dogma within the Enigma. The Life, Works, Mystical Piety and Systematic Thought of Rabbi Moses Coroeiro (aka Cordovero; Safed, Israel, 1522–1570). Saarbrücken 2008, pp. 123–128.

2 Meir Benayahu: Le-toldot rebbi Gedaliyah Qordoveiro [Hebrew]. In: Sinai 16 (1945), p. 83, asserted that it was around 1580 (5340). As evidence he cited Joseph David Azulai, who saw a business document between Gedaliah's mother and Menahem Azariah da Fano dated to September 1583 (Tishrei 5344). Later scholars challenged Benayahu's assertion, see Isaiah Tishby: Rabbi Moses Cordovero as he Appears in the Treatise of Rabbi Mordekhai Dato. In: Sefunot: Studies and Sources on the History of the Jewish Communities in the East 7 (1963), p. 126 n. 21; David, To Come to the Land (cf. n. 1), p. 146. Concerning early modern mobility, see David B. Ruderman: Early Modern Jewry. A New Cultural History. Princeton 2010, pp. 23–56. Specifically, among kabbalists, see Moshe Idel: On Mobility, Individuals and Groups. Prolegomenon for a Sociological Approach to Sixteenth-Century Kabbalah. In: Kabbalah 3 (1998), pp. 145–173.

3 See Eugene D. Matanky: Remaking a Kabbalist. Manuscript and Print Cultures in Early Modern Italy. In: Jewish History 36 (2022), p. 69.

theft—from scribal error, but he omitted and detracted [parts of it]. And I promised, with the mercy of heaven, that I will merit to rectify the errors, God willing.[4]

Alongside his general complaint, Gedaliah mentioned a specific error for immediate rectification. He explained that his father, in contrast to his uncle Solomon Alkabets (c. 1505–1576), had changed his mind concerning the number of liturgical passages that should begin with the word »*uve-khein* (And so, too)« during *kedushat ha-shem* (sanctification of the name) of the Rosh Hashanah *'Amidah* and ultimately retained the formula »And so too he will be sanctified.«[5]

Scholarship has assumed the publication that Gedaliah is referring to is the 1576 Mahzor printed by the Jabez brothers in Constantinople.[6] However, although Gedaliah traveled through Constantinople to arrive in Italy, it is implausible that he was there in 1576 at the age of fourteen.[7] Rather, we may determine that he was discussing the recent printing of the 1584 Venice Mahzor printed in the Di Gara shop. It is in this Mahzor that not only was the formula of »And so too he will be sanctified« changed, unlike the 1576 Mahzor, but in which the printers added an entire

4 See Moses Cordovero: Or Ne'erav [Hebrew]. Venice 1587, fol. 3r.

5 See Bracha Sack: From the Fountains of Sefer Elimah by R. Moshe Cordovero and Studies in his Kabbalah [Hebrew]. Beer Sheva 2013, pp. 78–80, for a fuller discussion of this issue. Another point of disagreement between Cordovero and Alkabets may be gleaned from Meir Benveniste: Ot Emet [Hebrew]. Salonika 1564, fol. 174v, which stated that Alkabets's prayerbook, following Sefer ha-Zohar [Hebrew]. Mantua 1558–60, vol. 3, fol. 256v, had the word »*ve-omrim* (and they say)« of the *Musaf Kedushah* recited on the Sabbath. In contrast, it may be gleaned from Cordovero's commentary in *Tefilah le-Mosheh*, 12:11 that he only recited »*omrim* (they say),« see Jewish Community of Mantua, Mantua, Italy Ms. ebr. 29, fol. 187v. This manuscript is the oldest extant copy of *Tefilah le-Mosheh*, as it was copied by David b. Jacob in Safed, see Eugene D. Matanky: Identifying Solomon Alqabeṣ's and Moses Cordovero's Autographs. A Preliminary Catalog of Safedian Kabbalistic Manuscripts. In: Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts 57 (2024). The latter formulation reflects the *Zohar* in *Or Yakar*, see Moses Cordovero: Sefer ha-Zohar im Peirush Or Yakar [Hebrew]. Jerusalem 1962–1995, v. 16 p. 29; Estense University Library, Modena, Italy Ms. a.L.I.7, fol. 252r. The printed edition of *Tefilah le-Mosheh* presumably used a late manuscript, such as Braginsky Collection of Hebrew Manuscripts and Printed Books, Zurich, Switzerland Ms. 133, which included a liturgical hypotext. However, no other manuscripts contain such hypotexts. On the printers' efforts to acquire multiple copies, see the printer's preface Moses Cordovero: Tefilah le-Mosheh [Hebrew]. Przemyśl 1891, unpaginated [fol. 1r]: »I attempted with much strength and courage to acquire several Sefardic and Italian copies [of *Tefilah Le-Mosheh*].«

6 See Meir Benayahu: Yosef Behiri [Hebrew]. Jerusalem 1991, p. 226; Marvin J. Heller: The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book. An Abridged Thesaurus. Leiden 2004, p. 749; Yoed Kadary: Moses Cordovero's Angels. Kabbalah and Magic [Hebrew]. Los Angeles 2022, p. 28 n. 32.

7 Furthermore, this Mahzor contains the formula of »And so too he will be sanctified,« as well as the no longer correct »And then righteous people (*ve-az tsadikkim*),« see Mahzor. Me-Rosh ha-Shanah ve-Yom ha-Kippurim [Hebrew]. Constantinople 1576, unpaginated [fols. 14v–15r]. In other words, Gedaliah's complaint would not make sense in this context.

discussion as to explain their decision.[8] Furthermore, one of the prooftexts was an annotation in Alkabets's Mahzor. As the printers' wrote: »And Solomon Alkabets, z"l, his [i. e. Cordovero's] master in kabbalah wrote in his Mahzor in the margins (*me-be-huts*) and these are his words (*zeh leshono*): ›In the *Tikkunim* it is found »And so too righteous people (*uve-khen tsadikim*)« and afterwards it is also found in Parashat Pinhas [3:219v].‹«[9]

8 See Mahzor. Sefardim me-Yamim Nora'im [Hebrew]. Venice 1584, fols. 38v–39r.

9 Mahzor (cf. n. 8), fol. 39v. The reference to the Mantua *Zohar* (otherwise he would have referred to it *Raya Meheimna*) allows us to date this annotation to after 1560. The printers likewise referred to Alkabets's Mahzor when they emended a text, see Mahzor (cf. n. 8), fol. 33v. Although the words printed are »*inyan gilui* (a revealed matter),« the context is nonsensical and, therefore, I believe it was meant to be »*ayen gilayon* (see the margin).« In fact, in the 1635 reprint, the words »*inyan giluy*« were omitted. However, it should be noted that in an earlier Mahzor (Seder Tefilot le-kol ha-Shanah ke-Minhag ha-Sefaradim [Hebrew]. Venice 1571–72, fol. 180r) concerning this poem of *Ahot Ketanah* (Little Sister), the word »*aru* (wake up)« is explained as »*lashon galuy* (a revealed term).« However, if that was the intention of the printers than there would be no reason to mention Alkabets's prayer book. Furthermore, this would be the only word that was explained, even though in the earlier Mahzor many other words of this *piyyut* were explained. In addition to the availability of Alkabets's prayerbook to the Venetian printers, it was also available to Meir ben Samuel Benveniste, see Benveniste, Ot Emet (cf. n. 5), fols. 173v, 174r–v. Also, see Uri Safrai: ›Worship of the Heart‹ in the Kabbalah of the Sixteenth Century [Hebrew]. Diss. Be'er Sheva 2016, p. 11. *Ot Emet* is a philological work concerning Jewish canonical texts that were printed during this time. Benveniste suggested various corrections based on manuscripts that he had collected or to which he had access. One of the texts that was emended was the Sefardic prayerbook. Based on an analysis of Benveniste's suggestions, the prayerbook in question was either Temunot Tehinot Tefilot Sefarad [Hebrew]. Venice 1524 or Temunot Tehinot Tefilot Sefarad [Hebrew]. Venice 1544. These liturgies include four paragraphs beginning with »And so, too« and Benveniste neither mentioned Alkabets's emendation of »And his name will be sanctified,« instead of »And so, too, his name will be sanctified,« nor any emendation of the liturgical poem *Ahot Ketanah* mentioned in the 1584 Mahzor. In fact, he explicitly mentioned that Maimonides's had »and then righteous people« instead of »And so, too, righteous people,« see Benveniste, Ot Emet (cf. n. 5), fol. 176v. Benveniste completed his work in 1564 in Salonika and we do know that Alkabets was in Constantinople that year (see Bracha Sack: »Solomon Had a Vineyard«. God, the Torah and Israel in R. Shlomo Halevi Alkabetz's Writings [Hebrew]. Beer Sheva 2018, p. 31) and—despite the distance—perhaps their paths crossed at this time. But as Benveniste does not note either of these emendations, it seems more likely that he had gained access to Alkabets's prayerbook before Alkabets left Salonika in 1534. The implication of Benveniste's statement that he »copied emendations from a prayerbook (*siddur*) of Solomon Alkabets that I currently do not remember which [originated there] to reference him by name« (see Benveniste, Ot Emet [cf. n. 5], fol. 173v) is that at the time of writing he no longer had access to it. If this is the case, we may suggest that Alkabets himself prayed with the *Temunot Tehinot* prayerbook from 1524, the same that Benveniste criticized. Additionally, this was the prayerbook that Hayyim Vital used for discussing Isaac Luria's liturgy, see Hayyim Vital: Sha'ar ha-Tefilah [Hebrew]. Jerusalem 2020, p. 271. As a side note, the republication of Benveniste's *Ot Emet* in Prague 1624 is another interesting case of an Ashkenazi adaptation of Sefardic liturgical material. As the printers wrote

From the shreds of evidence left behind in this Mahzor we may tentatively reconstruct events. Gedaliah arrived in Italy with his father's handwritten compositions and his uncle's Mahzor probably in 1583,[10] following he contacted Menahem Azariah da Fano.[11] He began to make inroads in the book industry, at which point the correctors of the 1584 Mahzor borrowed (without permission) Alkabets's Mahzor and prepared their text. While Gedaliah may have been convinced that his manuscript of the commentary was stolen, philological evidence indicates that the Venetian printers based their text on the Jabez brothers' 1576 Mahzor from Constantinople and on The Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg 249. This manuscript was copied in 1581 by Abraham b. Meshulam da Sant'Angelo, a central figure of the Italian Hebrew printing press, and contains Cordovero's commentary as it appeared in the 1576 Mahzor.[12] Furthermore, in this manuscript Sant'Angelo included two *piyyutim* written by Mordekhai Dato, which were printed in the 1584 Mahzor.[13] Thus, the Venetian printers did not in fact steal Gedaliah's manuscript.

Nevertheless, Gedaliah believed they had stolen his manuscript, which indicates that Cordovero's final version of his commentary did not in fact change the text found in the disseminated versions. For, if Gedaliah's manuscript was a new, corrected edition, then he would never have thought that the printers had stolen his manuscript; rather, he would have complained that they did not come to him to receive the most updated text. Ironically, it was only due to the printers reading Cordovero's commentary that Gedaliah had a complaint. As they only changed the liturgy to follow Cordovero's instructions. This specific example is an important reminder that texts—especially kabbalistic texts—in the early modern period are

when they came to the liturgy section (Meir Benveniste: Ot Emet [Hebrew]. Prague 1624, fol. 86v) that they »did not rest their hands from completing the work« even though the author emended a Sefardic-rite prayerbook, for »every place that his words were relevant (*devaro magi'a el inyan ha-shayakh*) for our prayerbook, we placed in parentheses *(betokh shenei hetsi igulim*) so that the seeker may easily find his request.« Instead of finding the original prayerbook that Benveniste emended, the printer decided to index the liturgical section by prayer instead of folio number, thereby allowing the Ashkenazi audience to use it for their purposes.

10 A rare copy of Cordovero's intentions for the recitation of the bedtime *shema* is dated to 1583 (5343). This copy is housed in Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy, 1990 1 reel. A negative scan, which I checked, is available at The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel, 2011 F 23 (2).

11 See Benayahu, Le-toldot rebbi Gedaliyah Qordoveiro (cf. n. 2), p. 84, concerning the letter between Gedaliah's mother and Fano. Likewise, see Cordovero, Or Ne'erav (cf. n. 4), fol. 3v. It may even be suggested that Gedaliah was responsible for delivering Fano the copy of his father's *Or Yakar*, as it was completed in 1582.

12 See The Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg 249, fols. 176r, 178v–179r, which contain brief passages and annotations that all originate in the 1576 Mahzor.

13 Cf. The Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg 249, fols. 242r–v, 248v–249r; Mahzor (cf. n. 8), fols. 410v–411r.

not merely transported from one locale to another. Those who deliver them are intimately involved in the content of the texts and partake in their dissemination. Gedaliah, as Cordovero's son, had access to his father's more mature reflections found in *Or Yakar*, but this was not available to the printers of the 1584 Mahzor.

Adoptions and Adaptations of Cordovero's Liturgy in Central and Eastern Europe

Once this text was printed in Europe, it reached a much larger audience. As Ze'ev Gries noted, the primary delivery method of kabbalistic ideas was through the printing of kabbalistic liturgical, homiletical, and conduct literature,[14] and this case is no different.[15] Presumably, the reason that there are few handwritten codices of this work was due to it being printed early and often. Within sixty years this text was printed in several Mahzorim, Constantinople 1576, Venice 1584, Venice 1616, and Venice 1635, and together with Cordovero's commentary on the Day of Atonement service in 1613, as *Zivhei Shelamim* in Lublin.[16] While many of Cordovero's

14 See Zeev Gries: The Conduct Literature (Regimen Vitae). Its History and Place in the Life of Beshtian Hasidism [Hebrew]. Jerusalem 1989, p. xiv; Zeev Gries: The Book in the Jewish World. 1700–1900. Oxford 2007, p. 82.

15 In fact, the only extant manuscript that is not based at all on the Constantinople 1576 Mahzor or Venice 1584 Mahzor is The Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg 373, which Mordekhai Dato acquired during his stay in Safed in 1560–1561. Concerning Dato, see Yoram Jacobson: Along the Paths of Exile and Redemption. The Doctrine of Redemption of Rabbi Mordecai Dato [Hebrew]. Jerusalem 1996; concerning his stay in Safed, see Tishby, Rabbi Moses Cordovero as he Appears in the Treatise of Rabbi Mordekhai Dato (cf. n. 2). Lastly, concerning his role in the dissemination of Safedian literature, see Matanky, Remaking a Kabbalist (cf. n. 3), pp. 66–68. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford, England Ms. Mich. Add. 24 is a partial exception, as it is based on The Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg 373, but with additions and emendations from the Constantinople 1576 Mahzor. This manuscript contains Menahem Azariah da Fano's handwriting and scarce notes, see The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford, England Ms. Mich. Add. 24, fols. 24r–v, 25v. Many of these notes were copied into The British Library, London, England Add. 27013, which was presumably in Poggetti's possession, as the first textual unit of this manuscript, which is *Tefilah le-Mosheh*, contains his handwriting.

16 Likewise, it is entirely possible that other print runs occurred between these years. Cordovero's other popular text was his *tikkun keriyat shema*, which likewise was printed in various formats, as well as the excerpted intentions for the Shofar blasts, found in later Mahzorim. In 1614 Leon Modena worked on a Sefardic Mahzor that omitted Cordovero's Rosh Hashanah commentary. However, even in this Mahzor and those based on it, Cordovero's commentary on the Shofar blasts remained, see Mahzor. Sefardim me-Yamim Nora'im [Hebrew]. Venice 1614, fol. 311r. Additionally, the formulation »And his name will be sanctified« continued to be printed.

text remained in manuscripts, this text was printed repeatedly. Even more exceptional is the fact that most surviving manuscripts are in Ashkenazi script and not Sefardic or Italian, as is the case for the majority of Cordoverean manuscripts.[17] This paper will examine two of these, both residing in the Bodleian Library:[18]

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17 This is likewise the case with Cordovero's commentary on the Yom Kippur service, of which all extant manuscripts are based on the 1587 printing. Yoed Kadary indicated that there are two manuscripts that predate the printing (Kadary, Moses Cordovero's Angels [cf. n. 6], p. 28 n. 31): The Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg 249 and The National Library of France, Paris, France Ms. hebr. 1410. The former contains Cordovero's commentary on the Rosh Hashanah liturgy, as discussed above. However, there is no Yom Kippur service (seemingly the mistake occurred as there is a text that begins with the words »Service order [*seder avodah*]« and the author is from Safed, although his name is Menahem b. Judah, see The Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg 249, fol. 193r). Concerning the latter manuscript, Kadary was led astray by the catalogers, who stated that it was written by Gedaliah Cordovero himself in 1584. First, it is impossible that Gedaliah Cordovero copied this manuscript, as it is in Ashkenazi script. Second, the catalogers misread שמ"ז (1587; 5347), which is the year that the commentary was printed, as שמ"ד (1584; 5348), thereby predating the manuscript to the printed edition. The manuscript in question even includes Fano's *Neshamah Yeterah* and Samuel Archivolti's poem commemorating Moses Cordovero, as they appear in the printed version. The details have since been amended on KTIV after I informed them.
18 The other Ashkenazi script manuscripts are: (1) The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford, England Ms. Opp. 658; (2) The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford, England Ms. Opp. 408; (3) Manfred and Anne Lehmann Foundation, New York, NY, USA Ms. 217. These manuscripts also include Cordovero's *tikkun keriyat shema*, which is likewise based on its printed appearance in one of the many editions. These manuscripts are all related to one another—each include a kabbalistically-influenced note concerning the liturgical formulation of *Ezrat Avoteinu* (help of our forefathers) and its relation to the seventy-two letter theonym, which is verbatim found in Mahzor (cf. n. 8), fols. 77v–78r and from there appeared in *Zivhei Shelamim* (Moses Cordovero: Zivhei Shelamim [Hebrew]. Lublin 1613, unpaginated [fol. 3])—although there may be an earlier shared source. Likewise, the latter two add the liturgy itself as a hypotext in addition to Cordovero's commentary (however The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford, England Ms. Opp. 408 appears to have been damaged and from fol. 22r several scribes completed the commentary without a hypotext). As none of these manuscripts include the Day of Atonement service, it is unlikely that their base text was *Zivhei Shelamim*. Furthermore, as they included the *shema*, it is likely that the base text was the 1584 Mahzor and one of the many editions of Cordovero's commentary on the *shema*. This commentary was originally printed in Venice in 1583 and then again in 1593. Following an adaptation, with commentary, it was printed in Prague in 1615 and Kraków in 1645, which added Lurianic content as well. This commentary is very interesting, as the author, Judah b. David ha-Kohen, was fully aware of the differences between Ashkenazic and Sefardic customs, even writing: »Truthfully, they followed the approach and intention that they received from their fathers and their words are the words of the living God. But now that the words … of the two lights mentioned above [Cordovero and Luria] have been revealed … we will follow them,« Judah b. David ha-Kohen: Seder ve-Tikkun Keriyat Shema she-al ha-Miṭah [Hebrew]. Prague 1615, unpaginated [fol. 26r]. The opinion mentioned granted a special significance to the number sixty, whereas Cordovero and Luria related the *shema* to the number of limbs (248), following the *Zohar*. See,

1. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford, England Ms. Opp. 568 (hereafter, Ms. Oxford 568). Ashkenazi-script. 17th cen. Unknown location. Unknown scribe.
2. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford, England Ms. Opp. 696 (hereafter, Ms. Oxford 696). Ashkenazi-script. 1623. Written by Meir b. Judah Reutlingen of Fulda, Germany.

The first manuscript is an abridgment and adaptation of Cordovero's commentary, while the second rearranges Cordovero's commentary for Ashkenazi purposes. Besides these manuscripts written in Ashkenazi script, I will also explore the handwritten marginalia found in the Venice 1584 Mahzor found in the National Library of Israel,[19] which I have identified as belong to Jacob Poggetti.[20] These books offer us a unique view from individual perspectives concerning a larger phenomenon: the influence of kabbalah on liturgy.

Many scholars have discussed the interaction between kabbalah and Jewish religious practices, especially as it has manifested in liturgy and customs. Jacob Katz and Meir Benayahu discussed at length various issues that arose in the early modern period with the spread of kabbalah.[21] Israel M. Ta-Shma scoured the *Zohar* for halakhic issues.[22] Concerning the particular issue of prayer, Moshe Hallamish has devoted dozens of studies to various issues in this field.[23] Most recently, Uri

e. g. Cordovero, Tefilah le-Mosheh (cf. n. 5), fol. 235r; Moses Cordovero: Pardes Rimonim [Hebrew]. Kraków/Nowy Dwór 1591, gate 8, chap. 23; Cordovero, Sefer ha-Zohar im Peirush Or Yakar (cf. n. 5), v. 11, p. 286; Vital, Sha'ar ha-Tefilah (cf. n. 9), pp. 124, 147. For more on Hebrew printing in Prague, see Olga Sixtová: Hebrejský knihtisk v Praze 1512–1672. Diss. Prague 2018. Specifically concerning this work, see Sixtová, Hebrejský knihtisk v Praze 1512–1672 (cf. n. 18), p. 566, no. 207.

19 Shelf number A 1259.

20 Concerning this figure, see Mordechai Pachter: The Book ›Reshit Hokhmah‹ by R. Eliyahu de Vidas and its Epitomes. In: Qiryat Sefer 47 (1972), pp. 696–698; Lawrence Fine: Safed Spirituality. Rules of Mystical Piety, the Beginning of Wisdom. New York 1984, pp. 83–91; Uri Safrai, Eliezer Baumgarten: ›The Wedding Canopy Is Constituted by the Being of These Sefirot‹. Illustrations of the Kabbalistic Huppah and Their Derivatives. In: Jewish Quarterly Review 110 (2020), no. 3, pp. 434–446.

21 See Jacob Katz: Halakhah and Kabbalah. Studies in the History of Jewish Religion [Hebrew]. Jerusalem 1984, pp. 9–126; Meir Benayahu: Kabbalah and Halakhah. A Confrontation [Hebrew]. In: Daat 5 (1980), pp. 61–115. See also, Moshe Hallamish: Kabbalistic Ritual [Hebrew]. Tel Aviv 2016, pp. 25–86, 219–282.

22 See Israel M. Ta-Shma: Ha-Nigle She-Banistar. The Halachic Residue in the Zohar [Hebrew.]. Tel Aviv 2001. Specifically concerning the issue of »And so, too«, see Ta-Shma, Ha-Nigle She-Banistar (cf. n. 22), pp. 33–34.

23 See, e. g., Moshe Hallamish: The Influence of the Kabbalah on Jewish Liturgy. In: Prière, mystique et judaïsme. Ed. by Roland Goetschel. Paris 1987, pp. 121–131; Moshe Hallamish: Kabbalah

Safrai has added a further dimension to these issues with his studies on kabbalistic intentions, which he placed into a broader context of other changes occurring in the Jewish and early modern world.[24] These studies have primarily been macro-historical, conceptual, or textual in their orientation. They have either utilized the wealth of resources found in various halakhic responsa concerning these issues, weaved together a historical narrative concerning the major trends and forces that have shaped Jewish liturgy in light of kabbalistic writings, focused on the concept of prayer and its dynamics in the thought of various kabbalists,[25] or have concentrated entirely on the evolution of a specific liturgical text in a classical philological manner.[26] In contrast, this study will begin with the appearance of these texts in their material context of handwritten and printed books to ascertain how their owners used these texts and adapted them to their needs.

While one may state that all books are used and not only read,[27] the case can be made that liturgical books are designed first for use and only after for comprehension. Abraham J. Heschel famously lamented that the prayerbook »has the distinction of being one of the least known books in our [Jewish] literature.«[28] However, perhaps this is a feature and not a bug of prayerbooks. In contrast to scholarly works, which are meant to be studied, consulted, and interpreted, liturgical works are meant to be recited. Of course, as various manuscripts and printed books will show, individuals still felt a need to understand what they said or accomplished and commentaries (such as the one at the center of this paper) were written for them.

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in Liturgy, Halakhah, and Customs [Hebrew]. Ramat-Gan 2000; Moshe Hallamish: Studies in Kabbalah and Prayer [Hebrew]. Beer Sheva 2010; Moshe Hallamish: Daily Life Routine of the Kabbalist [Hebrew]. Tel Aviv 2019.

24 See Safrai, ›Worship of the Heart‹ in the Kabbalah of the Sixteenth Century (cf. n. 9).

25 For studies of this type concerning Safedian kabbalists, see, for example, Bracha Sack: Some Remarks on Prayer in the Kabbalah of 16th Century Safed. In: Prière, mystique et judaïsme. Ed. by Roland Goetschel. Paris 1987, pp. 179–186; Bracha Sack: Prayer as Shi'ur Qomah [Hebrew]. In: Jewish Prayer. New Perspectives. Ed. by Uri Ehrlich. Beer Sheva 2016, pp. 101–118; Moshe Idel: The Liturgical Turn. From the Kabbalistic Traditions of Spain, to the Kabbalistic Traditions of Safed, to the Beginning of Hasidism [Hebrew]. In: Jewish Prayer. New Perspectives. Ed. by Uri Ehrlich. Beer Sheva 2016, pp. 9–50; Moshe Idel: Enchanted Chains. Techniques and Rituals in Jewish Mysticism. Los Angeles 2005, pp. 165–204. For an important discussion of Cordovero's understanding of prayer within a broader perspective concerning the manipulation of divine power, see Jonathan Garb: Manifestations of Power in Jewish Mysticism. From Rabbinic Literature to Safedian Kabbalah [Hebrew]. Jerusalem 2004, pp. 202–224.

26 See, for example, Avishai Bar-Asher: ›Berikh Shemeh‹. The History of an Anonymous Aramaic Prayer that Found Its Way into Sefer ha-Zohar and the Prayer Book [Hebrew]. In: Tarbiẓ 86 (2018).

27 Concerning this terminology, see William H. Sherman: Used Books. Marking Readers in Renaissance England. Philadelphia 2008.

28 Abraham J. Heschel: Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity. New York 1996, p. 118.

Nevertheless, the majority of prayer books do not include any commentary and it may be suggested that those interested in one comprise a scholarly elite—a minority. Christian prayer books, especially Book of Hours and the Common Prayer, have received much attention in scholarship, particularly how people used them.[29] To my knowledge this is not the case concerning Jewish prayerbooks. Similar to scholarship concerning kabbalah and liturgy, the bulk of existing research concerns the historical and textual development of the different Jewish liturgical rites found in these books.[30] Turning to these manuscripts and marginalia allows us a glimpse into how individuals at this time customized their personal devotion beyond the received text.

29 See, e. g., Seth Lerer: Literary Prayer and Personal Possession in a Newly Discovered Tudor Book of Hours. In: Studies in Philology 109 (2012), p. 426; Virginia Reinburg: French Books of Hours. Making an Archive of Prayer, C.1400–1600. Cambridge 2012, pp. 109–112; Rosalind Smith: Paratextual Marginalia, Early Modern Women, and Collaboration. In: Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration. Ed. by Patricia Pender. Cham 2017, pp. 175–200, pp. 182–184. On common prayer, see Sherman, Used Books (cf. n. 27), pp. 87–112; Daniel Swift: Shakespeare's Common Prayers. The Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Age. Oxford 2013, pp. 28–64, esp. pp. 41–48.

30 A major exception is the foundational codicological work of Stephan C. Reif, see, e. g., Stephan C. Reif: Codicological Aspects of Jewish Liturgical History. In: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 75 (1993); Stephan C. Reif: From Manuscript Codex to Printed Volume. A Novel Liturgical Transition? In: Liturgy in the Life of the Synagogue. Studies in the History of Jewish Prayer. Ed. by Ruth Langer and Steven Fine. Winona Lake, IN 2005, pp. 95–108; Stephan C. Reif: Late Manuscript Prayer Books of the Ashkenazi, French, Sefardi and Italian Rites. A Tentative and Comparative Analysis. In: Jewish Prayer. New Perspectives. Ed. by Uri Ehrlich. Beer Sheva 2016, pp. 71–98. Also of note is Reif's in-depth study of Shabbethai Sofer's creation of his prayerbook, see Stephan C. Reif: Shabbethai Sofer and His Prayer-Book. Cambridge 1979. Recent exceptions include Patrick Benjamin Koch: ›Gathering the Dispersed of Israel‹. The Evolution of a Kabbalistic Prayer Addendum for *Tiqqun Qeri*. In: Harvard Theological Review 114 (2021), no. 2, pp. 253–255 and a special note should be made of the tremendous work undertaken in Lucia Raspe's studies concerning Ashkenazi *selihot*, see Lucia Raspe: Portable Homeland. The German-Jewish Diaspora in Italy and Its Impact on Ashkenazic Book Culture, 1400–1600. In: Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile. Ed. by Yosef Kaplan. Newcastle upon Tyne 2017, pp. 26–43; Lucia Raspe: Three Sixteenth-Century Translations of Penitential Prayers into Yiddish. In: Jewish Studies Quarterly 26 (2019), no. 3; Lucia Raspe: Tradition, Migration, and the Impact of Print. Local Rites of Selihot Recitation in Early Modern Ashkenaz. In: Jewish Quarterly Review 113 (2023), no. 1, pp. 83–104.

Jacob Poggetti's Annotated 1584 Venice Mahzor

Poggetti was a disciple of Menahem Azariah da Fano and acquired a large—mostly—Cordoverean collection of manuscripts, which he annotated extensively.[31] His annotations were not interpretations, but more akin to succinct notes concerning the content or relevant material from another Cordoverean source. The primary annotation found in his Mahzor is interlinear. Above almost each word of the liturgy, upon which Cordovero commented, Poggetti added the kabbalistic intention discussed in the commentary (Fig. 1). We may suggest two reasons for this: first, Cordovero's commentary is quite lengthy, and while praying, it would be difficult to find the practical aspects in his words.[32] By placing the very succinct practical information above the related word, Poggetti allowed his prayer to flow naturally. The second reason concerns the constraints of the mise-en-page of this Mahzor—and all the other Mahzorim that were printed before and after. The commentary was much lengthier than the liturgy. Thus, the liturgy on fol. 90r is unrelated to the commentary below it; rather, its respective commentary is only found on fol. 108r. Flipping back and forth would be very cumbersome, even if Poggetti had a multi-thread bookmark to keep track of everything.[33]

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31 For a partial list of his manuscripts, see Safrai, Baumgarten, ›The Wedding Canopy Is Constituted by the Being of These Sefirot‹ (cf. n. 20), pp. 1–2 n. 1–3. To these we should add Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russia Ms. B 379, which contains many excerpted marginalia found in Poggetti's copies of *Or Yakar*. Likewise, the work referred to as *Raze Torah*, which was copied by Abraham Graziano in The Montefiore Library, London, England Ms. 479, fols. 63r–113r, is not a biblical commentary, but in fact the excerpted marginalia that Poggetti made in his own Bible: »Written … around his small Bible« (ibid., fol. 63r), as Graziano wrote. The vast majority of these notes are cross references to Poggetti's copies of *Or Yakar* as well. For an extensive study of Graziano's library, see Yael Okun: Abraham Joseph Salomon Graziano's Manuscripts Library (1620c–1685). Master Thesis. Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1991 [Hebrew].

32 Moshe Idel has discussed this type of interlinear annotation in the case of David b. Judah ha-Hasid's *Or Zaru'a* and other works, in which a single letter representing a *sefirah* is placed above a word, see Moshe Idel: Kabbalistic Prayer and Colors. In: Approaches to Judaism in Medieval Times. Ed. by David Blumenthal. Chico, CA 1984–88, v. 3, pp. 17–27, 18–19. Idel further claimed that this technique is what inspired Cordovero's placing of *sefirot* above words in his *Tefilah le-Mosheh*. However, Idel relied only on the printed text of *Tefilah le-Mosheh*. All manuscripts, excluding Braginsky Collection of Hebrew Manuscripts and Printed Books, Zurich, Switzerland Ms. 133, only contain Cordovero's commentary.

33 I would like to thank Prof. Peter Stallybrass who brought these instruments to my attention. See Peter Stallybrass: Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible. In: Books and Readers in Early Modern England. Material Studies. Ed. by Jennifer Lotte Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer. Philadelphia 2002, pp. 42–79, pp. 42–47.

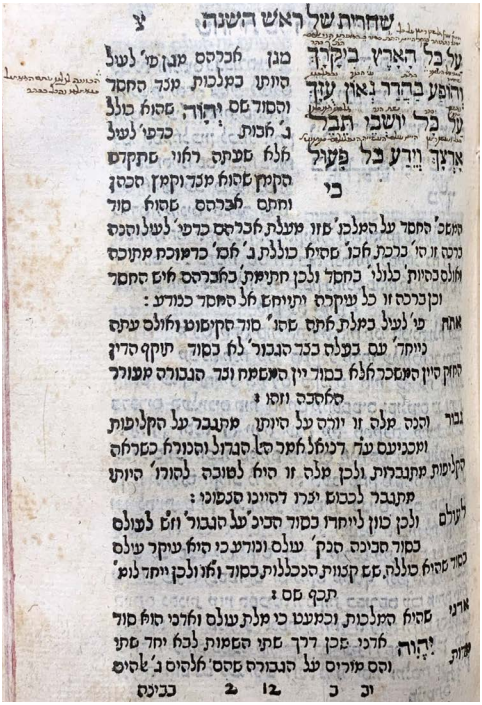

Fig. 1: Mahzor. Sefardim me-Yamim Nora'im [Hebrew]. Venice 1584, fol. 90r. The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel, Shelf number A 1259. Photo: author

In addition to these interlinear notes, Poggetti added extracts from Cordovero's other works.[34] For example, this Mahzor did not contain Cordovero's commentary on the Yom Kippur service, although the correctors claimed it did. Thus, the entire Yom Kippur liturgy was open to additional Cordoverean material (e. g. Fig. 2).[35] Through his additions, Poggetti was able to essentially create his own Cordoverean

34 Some of these interlinear notes were likewise based on other Cordoverean works. For example, Poggetti added the censored text of the *Aleinu* prayer, which depicts non-Jews as praying to »vanity (*hevel*)« and »emptiness (*rik*).« Above these words he added the names of the evil entities Samael and Lilith, see Mahzor (cf. n. 8), fol. 133r. Cordovero did not explicitely refer to these words as representing these figures in this context. However, in various other places Cordovero did make this reference explicit, e. g., Cordovero, Tefilah le-Mosheh (cf. n. 5), fol. 143v; Moses Cordovero: Sefer Tikkunei ha-Zohar im Perush Or Yakar [Hebrew]. Jerusalem 1972–2009, v. 5, p. 212.

35 For example, see Mahzor (cf. n. 8), fol. 316r. This section of the Yom Kippur service discusses the cathartic moment in which the High Priest would recite the explicit name in front of all the people and other priests and announce that they have been purified. Poggetti added a large extract from his copy of *Or Yakar* on *Parashat Ahrei Mot* (*Zohar* 3:66v) (see The British Library, London, England Add. 27066, fol. 162v; cf. Cordovero, Sefer ha-Zohar im Perush Or Yakar [cf. n. 5], v. 13, p. 51), which discussed the same moment within a mystical context of the High Priest acting as an axis

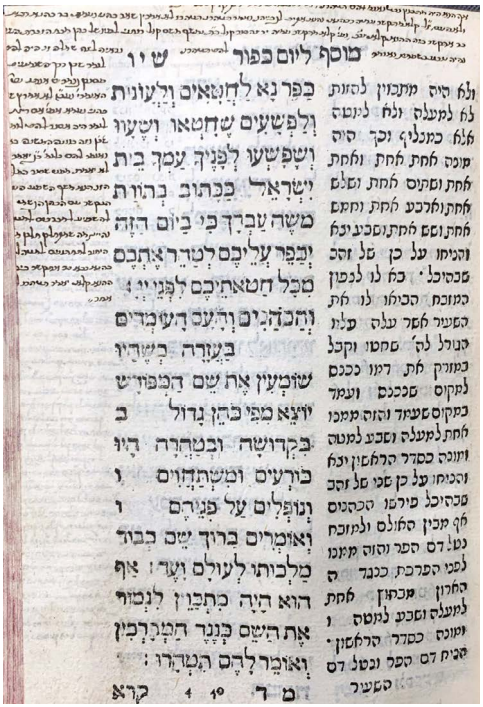

Fig. 2: Mahzor. Sefardim me-Yamim Nora'im [Hebrew]. Venice 1584, fol. 316r. The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel, Shelf number A 1259. Photo: author

commentary on the Yom Kippur service, which would only be printed in 1587.[36] Likewise, Poggetti added more advanced Cordoverean conceptions of prayer and the divine realm,[37] which Cordovero himself may have not developed at the time of composing his commentary on the Rosh Hashanah liturgy.[38] Additionally, Poggetti

mundus between the supernal realm and terrestrial realm—the fusing of the spiritual voice with the corporeal priest.

36 See for example, Mahzor (cf. n. 8), fol. 173v, in which Poggetti added copious notes for the *vidduy* (confession), including an extract from Cordovero's commentary on *Tikkunei Zohar*, which matches Poggetti's own copy that he explicitly cross-referenced, see The British Library, London, England Add. 27060, fol. 169r.

37 See Mahzor (cf. n. 8), fol. 78v, in which Poggetti added further permutations to Cordovero's introduction, specifically concerning such aspects of »Primal *Hokhmah*« and »The Infinite within the *Keter* of *Keter*,« cf. Cordovero, Sefer Tikkunei ha-Zohar im Perush Or Yakar (cf. n. 34), v. 2, p. 145.

38 The commentary was composed in either 1550 or 1555 (*HaYeSH*), as it is unclear if the *H* is part of the chronogram. In: The Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg 373, fol. 161r (Dato's copy), there is a very small dot above the *H*, which may indicate that it is not part of the chronogram. Either way it is a very early composition. Only predated by parts of what would become *Or Yakar* and Cordovero's *Pardes Rimonim*. Cf. Kadary, Moses Cordovero's Angels (cf. n. 6), pp. 28–29.

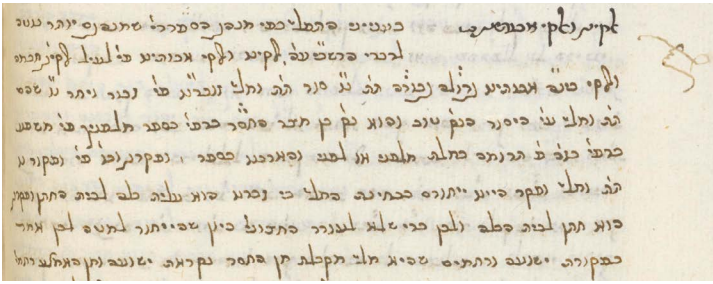

Fig. 3: The British Library, London, England Add. 27013, fol. 15v. (Photo: © British Library Board)

added Cordoverean content for the prayers that overlapped with those discussed by Cordovero in his *Tefilah le-Mosheh*, of which Poggetti also owned a copy.[39]

These various examples of Poggetti's customization of his Mahzor not only show his intense study of Cordoverean kabbalah, but also his adoption of Sefardic custom. Cordovero wrote in his *Tefilah le-Mosheh* that »concerning matters of prayer [I will explain] according to the custom of the Spanish Jews (*sefardim*), as their custom is more inclined toward the words of R. Simeon bar Yohai.«[40] In the margins of this comment, Poggetti added a notation (.:.) above the word »Spanish [Jews]« and a manicule pointing toward it (Fig. 3). This full adoption of Sefardic custom is unsurprising, as Poggetti was deeply immersed in Cordovero's kabbalistic system—a system that was not only scholarly, but devotional. To make the most of it, one had to practice it.[41]

39 Poggetti's copy is The British Library, London, England Add. 27013. The primary copyist may be identified as Shabbatai b. Mahalel Del Vecchio based on parascriptual elements and Poggetti's handwriting may also be identified in the margins. Likewise, he cross-referenced one of his copies of *Or Yakar*. See The British Library, London, England Add. 27013, fol. 7v, in which he wrote to »inspect *Parashat lekh lekha*, fol. 62v,« which corresponds to The British Library, London, England Add. 27065, fol. 62v, specifically a note he wrote concerning »the lower man.«

40 See The British Library, London, England Add. 27013, fol. 15v. The lemme »אלקינו ואלקי אבותינו« was written by Poggetti. On this statement, see Uri Safrai: *Nusah Haari* and the Polemic Over Prayer Customs in the Aftermath of the Expulsion from Spain [Hebrew]. In: Daat 85 (2018), p. 375 n. 48.

41 From the surviving Mahzor of the Poggetti family (The Palatina Library, Parma, Italy Cod. Parm. 3006 and The Palatina Library, Parma, Italy Cod. Parm. 3007), we can state that Poggetti originally prayed according to the French rite and seemingly even the APAM rite, as his family resided in that area. These rites or the people who practiced them were more susceptible to influences from other types of liturgies. Therefore, Poggetti's adoption of Sefardic custom does not have to be seen as a dramatic break. See Benayahu, Kabbalah and Halakhah (cf. n. 21), pp. 107–115; Eliezer Baumgarten, Uri Safrai: Kabbalah and Marriage Customs in Early Modern Italy [Hebrew]. In: Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought 26 (2021), pp. 166–168. Another disciple of Fano

Cordovero's Kabbalistic Intentions in Central and Eastern Europe

The manuscripts of Cordovero's Rosh Hashanah liturgy that were presumably produced in Eastern and Central Europe differ greatly from Poggetti's Mahzor. These individuals did not have access to the vast Cordoverean library of kabbalistic literature that was disseminated in Italy via Menahem Azariah da Fano and, therefore, could not augment their texts in such a robust manner.[42] While some of these copies may be said to have wholly adopted Cordovero's, and therefore Sefardic, customs (however, they may also have just been faithful copies), two manuscripts, Ms. Oxford 696 and Ms. Oxford 568, show different strategies.

In Ms. Oxford 696 we find some additions based on Ashkenazi liturgy. For example, immediately before Cordovero's commentary on the liturgy, which begins with an explanation of »Lord open my lips (*Adonai sefatai tiftakh)*«, Meir b. Judah Reutlingen of Fulda, the copyist, added penitentiary words found in the Western

was Samuel Portaleone, who according to an annotation in Graziano's Mahzor (Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary Ms. Kaufmann B 466, fol. 402), owned a Mantua Mahzor (1557–1559), which was according to the Roman rite. However, in The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, NY, USA Ms 1607, Portaleone included a kabbalistic commentary on prayer, in which he included the liturgy of *le-dor ve-dor* (for all generations, forever), which is only found in the Sefardic rite of the blessing of the sanctification of the name on Rosh Hashanah, see The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, NY, USA Ms 1607, fol. 4r.

42 Concerning the dissemination of kabbalah and especially Safedian kabbalah in this region, see Jacob Elbaum: Openness and Insularity. Late Sixteenth Century Jewish Literature in Poland and Ashkenaz [Hebrew]. Jerusalem 1990, pp. 183–222; Elchanan Reiner: A Biography of an Agent of Culture. Eleazar Altschul of Prague and his Literary Activity. In: Schöpferische Momente des europäischen Judentums in der frühen Neuzeit. Ed. by Michael Graetz. Heidelberg 2000, pp. 229–247; Agata Paluch: Copying, Compiling, Commonplacing in Kabbalistic Manuscript Collectanea. Sefer Hesheḳ and the Kabbalah of Divine Names in Early Modern Ashkenaz. In: Representing Jewish Thought. Ed. by Agata Paluch. Leiden 2021, pp. 100–125; Agata Paluch: The Circulation of Jewish Esoteric Knowledge in Manuscript and Print. The Case of Early Modern East-Central Europe. In: Print Culture at the Crossroads. The Book and Central Europe. Ed. by Elizabeth Dillenburg, Howard Louthan and Drew B. Thomas. Leiden 2021, pp. 472–493, pp. 479–490; Andrea Gondos: Kabbalah in Print. The Study and Popularization of Jewish Mysticism in Early Modernity. Albany 2020; Eugene D. Matanky: Illustration, Dissemination, and Production. Diagrams in Moses Cordovero's *Pardes Rimonim*. In: Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts 51 (2022), pp. 20–24. Specifically concerning the differences between the dissemination of Cordoverean kabbalah in Italy and East-Central Europe, see Eugene D. Matanky: Abraham Galante's Abridgment of Cordovero's *Pardes Rimonim*. From Safed to Central Europe. In: Jewish Thought (accepted). However, the owner/copyist of Ms. Oxford 568 did have Cordovero's commentary on *Zohar Eikhah*.

Ashkenazi rite.[43] Likewise, we find a stated awareness of the differences between the Sefardic and Ashkenazic rites. For example, at the *Shaharit Kedushah*, the copyist stated that he will place it at the end of the prayer, where he added: »And I saw to shorten and order the Rabbi [Cordovero] to the Musaf order that is relevant according to our Ashkenazi custom.«[44] Within this *kedushah* he notes that the formulation »*le-dor ve-dor (*For all generations forever)« does not follow the Ashkenazi custom.[45] Nevertheless, he brings Cordovero's interpretation. Likewise, upon arriving to the end of the Musaf liturgy, Meir b. Judah informed the reader that they will find the *Kedushah* in the *Shaharit* section and that he is now going to copy the Sefardic *Kedushah*.[46] He likewise added the *Ohilah* prayer, which was previously omitted as it is only recited during the cantor's repetition in Ashkenazi custom, which he likewise said he would do. Meir b. Judah even added Cordovero's commentary on the words »Lord open my lips« from the beginning of the commentary, as they appear in the *Ohilah* prayer as well. However, Cordovero himself did not do so in his commentary.

It should be noted that Meir b. Judah was not always careful to retain the Ashkenazi custom. For example, he retained Cordovero's interpretation of »And so, too, righteous people«, even though Ashkenazi custom dictated »And then righteous people«.[47] Likewise, many of his changes were of a practical nature, such as placing the *Ohilah* prayer after the Musaf prayer, as it is only said during the repetition. Similarly, placing the commentary on »Today is the birthday of the world (*hayom harat 'olam*)« with the shofar blowing and even placing the shofar blowing

43 See Ms. Oxford 696, fol. 9v.
לאדם מערכי לב ומה' מענה לשון האזינו אמרינו בינה הגיגינו ויהיה לרצון אמרי פני והגיון לבינו לפניך צורינו וגואלינו כי לך הוחלנו ואתה תענה י"י אלוקינו.
These words are a combination of the *Ohilah le-El* prayer common to all rites, but with additions found in the *piyyut* of *Shema Koleinu* found in Ashkenazi *selihot*, but not Sefardic *selihot*. See, e. g., Mahzor le-Yamim ha-Nora'im [Hebrew]. Ed. by Daniel Goldshmidt. Jerusalem 1970, v. 2, pp. 43, 779. Concerning this text's appearance in only Ashkenaz sources, see Shulamit Elizur: The Origins of the *Selihot Piyyutim* [Hebrew]. In: Tarbiẓ 84 (2016), p. 510. Adding additional verses and requests before the *Amidah* is discussed by the *Ṭur* (Orah Hayyim § 111), in which it is discouraged for *shaharit*, but allowed for other services.

44 Ms. Oxford 696, fol. 226v.

45 Ms. Oxford 696, fol. 228r.

46 Ms. Oxford 696, fol. 240r. In the Prague printing of *Ot Emet* this was also done for the emendations done to the Sefardic *shaharit kedushah*, which the printer placed in parentheses and wrote: »In *kedushat na'aritsekha*, which we recite at *musaf*,« Benveniste, Ot Emet (cf. n. 9), fol. 87r.

47 See Ms. Oxford 696, fol. 220r. Concerning the formulation »And then righteous people« see Goldshmidt, Mahzor le-Yamim ha-Nora'im (cf. n. 43), p. xxi. Likewise, he included »*morid ha-tal* (brings down the dew)« (fol. 215v), even though Ashkenazim do not recite it outside the Land of Israel.

itself after the prayers, which is presumably due to his role as a congregant and not the congregation's master blower (*ba'al ha-toke'a*).

The next manuscript that we will investigate is Ms. Oxford 568. It should be noted that this manuscript contains several kabbalistic works, including Cordovero's commentary on *Zohar Eikhah* and certain Lurianic works. Thus, we may assume that its copyist/owner was well acquainted with the new Safedian kabbalah. This is—unless we include Poggetti's annotations—the only abridgment of Cordovero's commentary on the Rosh Hashanah liturgy. In this manuscript we find a few references to the differences between the Ashkenazi and Sefardic rites. For example, this individual retained the formulation of »And then righteous people«, while recording in the margins the word »*uve-khen* (And so, too)«.[48] Likewise, when he reached the liturgical passage of »*va-timlokh* (and you will reign)«, he did not give a bold heading for the words »You are the Lord our God (*ata hu YHWH Elohenu*)«, but rather incorporated them within the passage. He explained in the margins that: »this is according to the Sefardic rite that have the text ›You are the Lord our God quickly (*ata hu YHWH Elohenu meherah*).‹«[49] For in the Ashkenazi rite the words are »And you will reign, you the Lord alone on all your deeds (*va-timlokh ata YHWH levadkha 'al kol ma'asekha*).« However, in a later section in which the Sefardic rite has the formulation: »And we are unable to bring a sacrifice (*ve-eyn anu yekholin le-hakriv korban*)« and the Ashkenazi rite has the formulation: »And we are unable to fulfill our obligations (*ve-ein anu yekholin la-asot hovotenu*),« the abridger placed the Ashkenazi formulation in the body of text and added his own commentary.[50] As Cordovero's text relied on zoharic prooftexts that explicitly mentioned the sacrifices, the individual responsible for this abridgment had to improvise. The copyist playfully used the famous line: »It is time to act (*la'asot*) for the Lord« and interpreted as stating »to perform (*la'asot*) our obligations for God« in order to unite him. Interestingly, as the Sefardic rite slightly later states »And there we will make before you sacrifices, our obligations (*ve-sham na-aseh lefanekha korbanot hovotenu*),« the copyist wrote in the margins that he found Cordovero's commentary to be like his own.[51]

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48 See Ms. Oxford 568, fol. 161r.

49 Ms. Oxford 568, fol. 161v.

50 See Ms. Oxford 568, fol. 168r. He wrote:
ואין אנו יכולין לעשות חובתנו ידוע כי סוד הזיווג בכח התעורר[ות] התחתון בסוד כשמברכ[ים] ע[ל] י[די] מצות ואחר שהחטא גרם גלות השכינה אין זיווג משחרב ב[ית] ה[מקדש] ניטל טעם ביאה א[ם] כ[ן] אין בכח נשמותינו לחבר האל כל ע[ל] ד[רך] עת לעשות לה' והיינו לעשות חובותינו. המוטל עלינו או לתקן חובותינו היינו עונותינו והיינו לבטל הקליפות המעכבו[ת] ע[ל] ד[רך] כי עונותיכם מבדילים והיינו מפני כו'.

51 Ms. Oxford 568, fol. 168r.

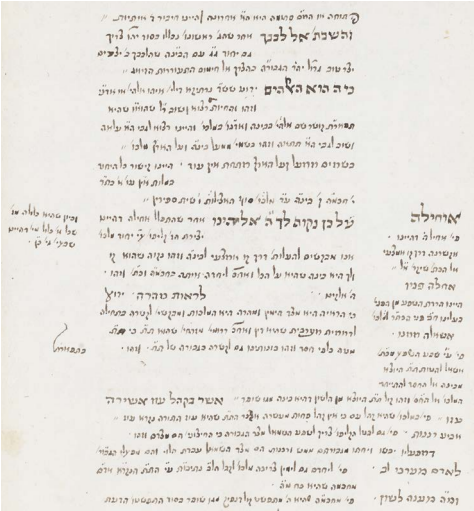

Fig. 4: The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford, England Ms. Opp. 568, fol. 170v.

As the Ashkenazi rite continued to differ, so the author continued to create his own commentary.[52] Cordovero's text concerns how the priest is no longer able to perform an atonement for the individual, while the Ashkenazi text continued with the destruction of the Temple. In this instance, the author had to create an interpretation out of whole cloth. The specific wording of the Ashkenazi rite references »a hand« that destroyed God's Temple. Thus, the author connected this imagery to »the hand of Esau« and the evil forces associated with it, specifically those rooted in the fingernails. Although this idea of the impurity of the fingernails is located in the *Zohar*, it is interesting that the author was able to craft a commentary that was so in sync with Cordovero's thought as expressed in other texts, such as his discussion of the »secret of the fingernails« in his commentary on *Zohar Yitro*, in which he wrote that »they are the husks (*kelipot*), they are the secret of Esau grasping from the left and Ishmael from the right.«[53] Furthermore, the author did not only find a suitable interpretation of the Ashkenazi rite that fit with Cordoverean kabbalah, but even ensured that it would match—as much as possible—Cordovero's interpretation of the role of

52 See Ms. Oxford 568, fol. 168r:
מפני יד שנשתלח[ה] במקדשך נ[ראה] ל[י] בסוד וידים ידי עשו כי הקליפו[ת] מגיע עד היד וע[ל] כ[ן] נקרא[ה] יד כהה בסוד זוהמת הצפרני[ם] וע[ל] כ[ן] צריכו[ת] נטילה לבטל כי מצד החסד דהיינו מקום טהרה מים עליונים נתבטלו הקליפות.

53 See Cordovero, Sefer ha-Zohar im Perush Or Yakar (cf. n. 5), v. 8, p. 98. Also see Cordovero, Tefilah le-Mosheh (cf. n. 5), fol. 3r, in which he refers to the same biblical line of the hands of Esau in the context of ritually washing one's hands.

the priest. As Cordovero wrote: »The priest is from the aspect of *Hesed* [the divine aspect of Mercy within the Godhead] and influences and draws the *Hesed* to the pollution of the husks.«[54] Thus, the author also wrote concerning the role of *Hesed* in nullifying the husks, even though the context had been altered. Beyond his original interpretations, the author likewise modified Cordovero's commentary in regard to its order. This individual, similar to the previous Ashkenazi manuscript, placed the *Ohilah* prayer outside of the main text (Fig. 4), presumably for the same reason—it is only said during the cantor's repetition. Likewise, he did not include a commentary for the *Kedushah*, which is also only recited during the cantor's repetition.

Between Italy and Ashkenaz: Pragmatic Similarities

All the examples discussed above demonstrate a variety of responses to the influx of Cordoverean kabbalah in Europe. While these manuscripts displayed various differences, they all shared a common concern—the pragmatic use of the text. As mentioned above, all books are used to whatever extent. While seemingly their main purpose is to be read for their own sake, historically people used their books for many purposes. Prayer books are perhaps extreme examples of books that are not to be read. Not that people did not pray, but that prayer itself is quite distinguishable from reading practices. Just as prayer has been differentiated from everyday speech, the former performative and the latter generally constative, following the work of J. L. Austin,[55] we should differentiate prayer recitation from reading. Historically, most individuals, as far as we know, did not sit to read the liturgy; rather, they performed it. Even Cordovero's commentary is not precisely an interpretation of the words, but what these words, through their performance, accomplish in the divine sphere—understanding their practical properties, but not their meaning. This attitude is accentuated precisely in those places in which Cor-

54 See Mahzor (cf. n. 8), fol. 129v.

55 See J. L. Austin: How to Do Things with Words. Oxford 1962, pp. 4–11, 47. While Austin did not use prayer as an example, his speech-act theory was quickly developed by theologians and scholars of religion, especially magic, see, e. g., Yuval Harari: Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah. Detroit 2017, pp. 176–203; Jay C. Hogewood: The Speech Act of Confession. Priestly Performative Utterance in Leviticus 16 and Ezra 9–10. In: Seeking the Favor of God. The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism. Ed. by Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney Alan Werline. Atlanta 2006, pp. 69–82; Juliette J. Day: Reading the Liturgy. An Exploration of Texts in Christian Worship. London 2014, pp. 103–121.

dovero wrote pages upon pages on one word. This style of commentary does not allow one to better understand these words for their inherent meaning, but rather for their theurgical purpose.

Each of these codices devised pragmatic and material responses to the use of kabbalistic intentions. This is perhaps a quality of Mahzorim as a genre. While some required the user to flip back and forth, many were designed to be used in a linear and sequential order. The 1584 Mahzor did not advertise on its title page, dissimilar to the Jabez 1576 Mahzor, that it included Cordovero's intentions; rather, that the prayers »are organized in a manner that does not require one to return to that which has passed and search for anything.«[56] Likewise, in 1587 when Gedaliah printed his father's commentary on the Day of Atonement service, the title page stated »And we printed this [i. e. commentary] in a small volume in order that people may bind it to the end of their prayer book.«[57] The devout Jew attending the synagogue during the high holidays had to carry the Mahzor with them (if they had one) and use it during the prayer service—they would not bring a stack of books. Thus, Poggetti, prior to the holiday, added his own notes and embellished his Mahzor with kabbalistic intent. He also added interlinear glosses to make the intentions practical. This allowed him to stay on one page at a time without flipping through the Mahzor to match the words with Cordovero's commentary,[58] which was almost always on a different page due to the typesetting.

In East-Central Europe, we may detect a similar pragmatic orientation to adapting liturgical manuscripts for practical purposes. Ms. Oxford 696 and Ms. Oxford 598 both switched the order of the liturgy or did not include parts that are only recited by specific congregants. In other words, their copyists/users customized their manuscripts for their personal private prayer. Likewise, adapting Cordovero's commentary to the Ashkenazi rite was not merely a theological issue, but a pragmatic one. Ashkenazi practitioners would not bring, if they even had access, a Sefardic rite Mahzor in addition to their Ashkenazi rite Mahzor, and reference each during prayer in the synagogue. By adapting Cordovero's commentary to their liturgy, they made a pragmatic decision to have their prayerbook as a unified whole, rather than spread out over several book objects.

56 Mahzor (cf. n. 8), title page.

57 See Moses Cordovero: Seder 'Avodat Yom ha-Kippurim [Hebrew]. Venice 1587, title page.

58 Presumably, the printers attempted different organizational methods of the liturgy and its commentary. However, Cordovero's commentary in certain places would have required them to only have one word of the liturgy on a printed page. Thus, either due to concerns for the average person's use of this Mahzor (who may not have been very interested in the kabbalistic intentions) or the printers not wanting to change their template too often, they laid out the text in a manner that did not allow for the commentary to align with the liturgy on the same page.

Conclusion

Since antiquity, Jews have composed prayers that have accompanied them from place to place—whether due to persecution or opportunities. Each locale developed their own rites and customs, while retaining much of the core prayers. The dispersion of Iberian Jewry was one critical moment in the transmission of Sefardic rites from their centralized location in the communities of Iberia to the larger Jewish world located in North Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, and the Levant. This expulsion transferred not only individuals, but also their liturgy.

Cordovero's commentary on the Rosh Hashanah liturgy was not merely printed in Venice in 1584, but it also included personal stories of individuals who exemplified larger cultural trends. Cordovero's commentary allowed us to contrast Italian and Ashkenazi practitioners who wished to use this text for their own worship. While Poggetti had access to Cordovero's broad range of writings and adopted the Sefardic rite, the Ashkenazi individuals showed a range of responses to the new Cordoverean kabbalistic framework. While some wholly adopted it, others adapted it for their own religious needs. Common to all, however, was the need to make Cordovero's commentary useful. Transporting a stack of books—printed and handwritten—was not always feasible, as turning back and forth the Mahzor's pages would not allow the individual to maintain the proper frame of mind for their prayers. Rather, each person made their own material and textual modifications so that the book that they had in front of them would be a practical prayerbook. Thus, copying Cordovero's commentary was not a passive act but involved practical and theological decisions that each person had to make for themselves.

Pahlavi Dictionary

[Pahlavi-Persian-English]

Vol. 1: Ā - A

Y. Mansouri, Ph.D.

Tehran

2015

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(*Pahlavi- Persian- English*)
Vol. I: Ā-A

Yadollah Mansouri, Ph.D.

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Introduction

This dictionary was originally begun as a project while the author was working at the Iranian Academy of ten years ago. The first texts to be studied in the preparation of this work had been edited and published elsewhere, but the author then moved on to texts, which had not been corrected or edited. It is important to note that words found in texts that were considered unreadable or unverifiable have not been included.
Finally, all Pahlavi texts were studied and reviewed thoroughly, and a database, including more than three thousand pages of words, was prepared as the foundation of this thesaurus. The intention is to complete the publication of this database in subsequent volumes over the coming years.

The format of this dictionary does not follow the norm to be found, for example, in Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst's *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* 2004. The reason for this is that it is more usual in Iran to include attestations and a greater level of detail. It is intended however, after completion of all volumes, that a more concise version will be published in a single volume.

Form of the entries in the dictionary
The entries are constructed in the following manner: The lemma in transcription is followed by a transliteration in square parentheses '[ ]'. Then the grammatical category or parts of speech are defined. After that, the lemma is translated into English and Persian. All lemmas have attestation(s) in transcription from the text(s) and translation into Persian; in addition, they are referrenced to other

Pahlavi text(s). It does not mean that the dictionary is frequently outlined. In the reference attestations [e.g. 25.9], the first number means chapter or section of the text(s), and the second number, after the dot, refers to the paragraph or stanza. If the texts are unverified sources, the numbers mean page(s) and line(s). The author did not find any attestation for some of the lemmas, and they have therefore not been attested in this dictionary, but they can be found in *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* ed. by D. N. MacKenzie 1971.
The variants of spelling are given in transliteration, on the basis of the different Pahlavi text(s). In some cases, the author has made some proposals about the reading, and/or mentioned other authors' proposals.

Etymology
To provide basic information for the reader, the simple lemma is explained in etymological details. In this case, the Old Iranian hypothetical form is given an asterisk, and if Old Persian and Avestan forms exist, they are referred to. In the Middle Iranian western languages, like Manichaean and Parthian, Psalm Middle Persian, Inscription Middle Persian and most often Pazand forms are mentioned. After that, Middle Iranian eastern languages such as Saka, Sogdian, khwarezmain and Baktrish forms are given. Finally, New Iranian languages such as Pashto and Ossettian (which are called Eastern languages), and Baluchi, Kurdish, New Persian and others are also discussed. In some cases, along with the Iranian word, the equivalent words in non-Iranian languages such as Armenian, Aramaic, Syrian and Arabic, are included for comparison.

The order of entries and subordinate entries
Lemmas are sorted in alphabetical order. The formations and derivatives are placed under the entries as a subordinate. The compound(s) are placed under their own simple lemma alphabetically after the derivatives. For example, the order is as follows:
ābād ['p't'] adj. populous, thriving, prosperous:
ābādag ['p'tk] adj. prosperous:
ābādagīh ['p'tkyh] n. prosperity, cultivation:
ābādīh ['p'tyh] n. prosperity, cultivation:
ābādīhōmand ['p'tyh'wmnd] adj. full of prosperity:
ābādīhgar ['p'tyhkl] adj. make of prosperous:

- On the verb, the infinitive form is used as the lemma, and present and past stems are placed under that form. The derivatives like verbal noun and abstract noun and other derivatives are placed under the present and past stems, e.g.:
abzūdan [’pzwtn'] vb. (in)tr. increase, grow:
abzūd [’pzwt'] past:
abzāy- [’pz’d-] pres.:
abzāyišn [’pz’dšn'] vbl. n. increase, growth:
abzāyišnīg [’pz’dšnyk] adj. increasing; additional:
abzāyišnīgīh [’pz’dšnykyh] n. increase:
abzāyišnīh [’pz’dšnyh] n. increasing:
abzāyišnīhā [’pz’dšnyh’] adv. increasingly:
abzāyišnōmandīh [’pz’dšn’wmndyh] n. increase:
- Prefixed verbs are given in subordinate of own simple stem. e.g.:
abgandan [’pg(g)ndn' | LMYTWN-tn < A √ rm’] vb. throw:
abar abgandan [QDM LMYTWN-tn'] vb. be tide:
abāz abgandan [L’WḤL LMYT(W)Ntn'] vb. expel, evict, eject:
andar abgandan [BYN LMYTWNtn'] vb. buld; sow, scatter seeds:
- Compound verbs are given in subordinate of own noun or adjective. e.g.:
abām [’p’m'] n. loan, debt:
abām dādan [’p’m' YHBWNtn'] vb. give a loan:
abām hištan [’p’m' ŠB̲KWNtn'] vb. discharge from a debt:
abām stadan [’p’m YNSB̲WNtn'] vb. borrow money:
abām xwāstan [’p’m' Bʿ YHWNstn'] vb.: demand the return of a loan or the settlement of a debt:
abām wizārdan [’p’m' wc’ltn'] vb. pay a loan:
abē-saxwan [’pyyshwn'] adj. without statement:
abēsaxwan būdan [’pyyshwn' YHWWNtn'] vb. renounce, disavow:
- Denominative verbs are placed under related noun or adjective forms. e.g.:
abēzag [’pyck'] adj. pure; holy:
abēzagēnīdan [’pyckyn-ytn'] den. vb. make clean:
abēzār [’pyz’l / ’pyc’l] adj. free:
abēzārīh [’pyc’lyh] n. separation; divorcing:
abēzārēnīdan [’pyc’lynytn'] den. vb. redeem:
afsōs [’psws'] n. mockery, scorn:
afsōsīdan [’psws-ytn'] den. vb. mock:
- The lemma has not any formation and derivative, neither simple stem nor compound stem, is given in an independent entry in regular order, alphabetically.

Cross-references
Rarely, some words are given in two forms in independent entries. In such cases, they are referring to each other, and in some cases, the unknown forms refer to known forms. Synonyms are marked with sign ≈, and each synonym word refers to other synonym words. Also, antonyms are marked with sign ≠ and each antonym word refers to the other antonym words. On the other hand, sometimes in etymological explanations compounds or derivatives are referring to the simplest forms or stems.

Transliteration
The transliteration is that used by MacKenzie 1971 with some slight modifications. Pahlavi transliteration has its own problems. Iranologists do not agree with each other in this case. In other words, we do not currently have standard forms and methods. As an example, the transliteration differs among Nyberg, Perikhanian, Shaked, MacKenzie, and other scholars.

Transcription
The principle of transcription followed here are the same as those in MacKenzie 1971 with some slight modifications too. Pahlavi transcription has big problems. As mentioned above, there is no harmony among scholars' methods for transcription. Each scholar prefers their own method, sometimes without considering any acceptable reasons. We do not have any answers to these questions. It is very abstruse. In order to define standards, it is necessary that the scholars try to improve Pahlavi transcription and accomplish the work forever.

Literature
The lexicographical sources available are *A Manual of Pahlavi* II ed. by S. H. Nyberg, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* by D. N. MacKenzie, *A Dictionary of Pahlavi Language* by B. Farahvashi, *Glossary of Mēnōg ī Xrad* by A. Tafazzoli, *Glossary of Pahlavi Bundahish* by M. Bahar, Idem. *Glossary of Selections of Zādsparam*, *A Glossary of Artāy Wīrāz Nāmag* by F. Vahman, and *A Glossary of Šāyist Nē Šāyist* by M. Tavoossi, and glossaries of the end of published works by Iranologists which are very useful for the purpose.

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Y. Mansouri, Tehran,
Shahid Beheshti University,
Spring 2015

DOMENICO AGOSTINI
& SAMUEL THROPE

THE BUNDAHIŠN

THE ZOROASTRIAN BOOK OF CREATION

A NEW TRANSLATION

With a Foreword by Shaul Shaked
& an Afterword by Guy G. Stroumsa

The *Bundahišn*

The *Bundahišn*

The Zoroastrian Book of Creation

Edited and translated by

DOMENICO AGOSTINI AND SAMUEL THROPE

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Middle Persian and Avestan Pronunciation Table

č is like the *ch*-sound in "church"
γ (Greek gamma) is the sound of the Spanish *g* between vowels, as in *haga*
ə (schwa) is like the *e* in "fed"
ŋ (agma) is like the *ng*-sound in "sing"
š and *s̆* are like the *sh*-sound in "short"
ϑ (Greek theta) is like the *th*-sound in "think"
x is like the *ch*-sound in "loch"
ž is the voiced sound of English "measure"

Foreword

The *Bundahišn* Account of Creation: Myth, Speculation, and Paradox

Shaul Shaked

Undertaking a translation of the *Bundahišn*, one of the essential books of Zoroastrianism, requires some courage. Several renowned scholars have worked on this text over the past century and have not managed to bring their work to fruition. It seems almost a miracle that the present translation is now completed. Access to the *Bundahišn* in contemporary English translation based on the latest scholarly literature will certainly benefit those who are interested in the Zoroastrian religion, one of the oldest and still living religions in the world, and perhaps to its contacts with other religions.

This treatise got its written shape more than a millennium ago, perhaps after a period of oral transmission. It presents the Zoroastrian view of the world, beginning with an outline of its history, from creation to its transformation into the new world of eschatology. The world "of the mixture," the actual universe in which we live, receives a detailed description, including an enumeration of minerals, vegetation, the animal kingdom, the types of human beings, and much more. It opens up for us in a compact scope the complex and intricate reflection of a religion that has its roots in the Indo-European tradition. Understanding and translating it is far from a simple matter, for it uses a language and script that are not always easy to interpret due to an adaptation of a variety of Aramaic scripts for rendering the Middle Persian language.

An earlier phase of Zoroastrian literature has partly survived. We still have access to portions of the ancient canon of scriptures, the *Avesta*, which has a long history of oral transmission. The Zoroastrian religion and its scripture suffered also from a tumultuous political history that ended with the Islamic conquest of Iran. How far back was the emergence of the sacred scripture, which was composed in more than one variety of Old Iranian, is not entirely clear. Most scholars nowadays would place the earliest parts of the *Avesta* more than three thousand years ago.

The *Bundahišn* was created in the second major phase of Zoroastrian religious literature, where it occupies a very prominent position. It presents a mature and sophisticated formulation of the original tradition. Zoroastrianism, like other great religious traditions, went through phases of change and adaptation. It is not always easy to follow in detail the transformations that this tradition underwent because so much of its early existence has been lost in the rise and fall of dynasties and the loss of literary and material artifacts. While preserving and promoting several key themes that are part of the ancient scriptures, the *Bundahišn*'s version of the Zoroastrian religion reflects to some extent the intellectual currents prevalent at the time of its composition in the ninth century CE. This includes some elements of Greek thinking and science as well as ideas that became popular in the Islamic period. It deals with the structure of the material world and provides an understanding of how and why the creation of this world was necessary, indeed almost inevitable. Knowledge of the material world is as much a fundamental part of the faith as an understanding of the divine world and of the world to come, the eschatological world.

There is a marked element of dualism in all phases of Zoroastrianism. Dualism is naturally the central theme in the *Bundahišn*'s treatment of the myth of creation. Two types of dualism are clearly present in this account. One is ethical: it distinguishes between good and evil entities. The other is ontological, referring to the distinction between that which is visible and tangible—we may call it "material" (*gētīg* in Middle Persian)—and that which is invisible and intangible, or "spiritual" (*mēnōg* in the language of the Zoroastrian texts). In contrast to the more familiar types of dualism in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and the Gnostic schools, these two types of dualism operate in Zoroastrianism independently of each other. In other words, the invisible (or spiritual) form of existence is not necessarily good, and the material world is not necessarily evil. Good and evil entities can each be spiritual or material.

Contrary to what we may expect, it is good, and not evil, that is more closely associated with material existence. While both good and evil have a spiritual form of existence, they do not function in the same manner in the material world. The visible world is exclusively a creation of Ohrmazd, while the evil entity, Ahriman, has no real share in the material mode of existence. He is nothing but a destructive spirit; his activity is aimed at creating havoc and bringing about destruction.

The Hellenistic world exercised a strong influence on the formation of late Judaism and on the religions that emerged from it, in particular Christianity

and Islam. The association of evil with the material world is derived from the trends of thought that were developed in the schools of Neoplatonism and Gnosticism. Zoroastrianism, in contrast, rejected the claim that the Evil Spirit is a product of the material world. He is regarded in Zoroastrianism as a spirit who invaded the material world in order to destroy it. It may be noted that the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls is the only form of ancient Judaism that is close in structure to this Iranian point of view.

There are still further examples of binary thinking in the *Bundahišn*. One of them consists of the opposites "limited" and "unlimited," and the other posits the two complementary notions of "time" and "space" next to each other. These two pairs of terms are important for understanding the theology that lies at the base of the myths recounted in the *Bundahišn*.

The first set of terms is used to describe a noun like "time." The term appears in the first phrase of the first chapter: "Ohrmazd was on high in omniscience and goodness, (he) was in light for an unlimited time" (1:2, translation somewhat modified to emphasize the use of the terminology). The author's aim is to highlight Ohrmazd's unlimited existence in time. This is followed by another phrase: "Light is the throne and place of Ohrmazd. Some call it 'Endless Light' " (1:2). "Endless Light," as we learn from the context, is the unlimited space of Ohrmazd. It imitates "Endless Time," which is also an attribute of Ohrmazd. The Evil Spirit resides symmetrically in what is called "Endless Darkness." But it may be pointed out that he does not have the attribute of "Unlimited Time."

As an element of surprise, we encounter here a third abode, one that is allotted to neither of the two contending powers, Ohrmazd and Ahriman. It is a "void" that serves as a no man's land. The need for this separation, this space that is *located* in no-space, is understandable: there can be no zone shared by the two antagonistic spirits in primordial times. There can be no point of contact between them. We know from the *Bundahišn* narrative that the Evil Spirit was initially unaware of the existence of Ohrmazd.

Another interesting point to note is that the two uncreated spirits are described as both limited and unlimited. This statement appears to go against common sense, but it is required by the logic of the theological narrative. The text gives us a somewhat lame explanation as to how this apparent contradiction is possible (see 1:6–11). When we are dealing with cosmic powers it is impossible to avoid such paradoxes. The upper powers evidently operate on a level that is beyond human comprehension. To justify attributing a duality of finite and infinite to the two powers, the author adduces a range of arguments.

The two spirits are finite in space by the fact that they are limited by the area of space held by their antagonist, and yet they are infinite in the other directions. Both spirits are "finite in their own bodies," although we may observe that as spirits they are not bodies.[1] The omniscience of Ohrmazd implies that all the objects are contained within the all-encompassing knowledge of Ohrmazd, making it necessarily finite. (But does it? We may wonder.) The final paradox of finitude against infinitude establishes that the idea of eschatology implies infinity to the creatures of Ohrmazd in the world to come, while the creatures of Ahriman must be judged as lacking infinity because they are to be destroyed in the world of eschatology. This statement is different from the preceding ones. It distinguishes the creatures of Ohrmazd from those of Ahriman. Does the author forget that the creatures of Ohrmazd are created, hence they lack infinity in time past? The author's position may be valid if it is accepted that the creation of Ohrmazd's creatures is not a creation ex nihilo but consists of transference from the spiritual to the material form of being.

These observations may strike us as highly scholastic, but the *Bundahišn* consists of an enormous intellectual endeavor to articulate the deeper significance of Zoroastrian dualism and its implications.

The narrative of the world's creation is interesting not only because it explains the structure of the material world and how it reflects so perfectly the aim of the battle of good against evil. It tells us not only how Ohrmazd created the world, but also how this creation was, in a sense, an act of creating the deity, who with this act became the Creator (see 1:33). Certain contemporary scholars have denied that Ohrmazd was a creator god. The Zoroastrian tradition celebrates Ohrmazd as a creator. He is present in this capacity in the Zoroastrian calendar.

The *Bundahišn* presents time as a concept without which movement and life cannot fulfill their function and the world cannot really fulfill its destiny (1:35–36). Unlimited time was there before creation, one of the unchanging elements in the immaterial world. But in its function as enabler of change and motion, time had to be re-created as an entity that enables change, as a Time of Long Dominion (1:38). There follow further observations concerning different attributes that were created as a chain of events from the Time of Long Dominion, but we cannot go into this here.

The *Bundahišn* (and other exegetical and speculative works of the second phase of Zoroastrian literature) contains several cases of midrashic-type explanations of words and expressions, pretending that they are based on etymology. An example of this is the explanation of the word *kārezār* (battle,

battlefield), a compound word that can be rendered as "the field of the troops." The author of the *Bundahišn* supplies a pseudo-etymological explanation of this expression: "an action conducted by stratagems" (1:37).[2]

Among the paradoxes encountered in the narrative of creation of the *Bundahišn* are two rare cases of a single deity split into two. Way, a deity of wind and air and also a deity of the void in between, serves as a barrier between the good and evil spirits. Neutrality in the battle is not recognized in Zoroastrian theology, and would hardly be appreciated there. But the function of a barrier is required in the plot of creation. The barrier consists of air and is represented by Way. There is, however, a difficulty in having a good spirit acting as an arbiter between the two antagonistic powers. Can he be an evil entity? Not if he is a deity. The only way to reconcile the double function of Way as a middle entity is by tearing his essence apart. We therefore have in Zoroastrianism two separate entities: one is the "Good Way" and the other is called the "Evil Way." Way is in a sense similar to Zurwān, the deity of Time, who is the source of both good and evil according to the "Zurvanite" story of creation. However, Zurwān is placed *above* the two entities of good and evil, not between them. He can be aloof to some degree. He favors Ohrmazd, but according to the myth of Zurwān, he comes to accept Ahriman as a product of his own seed. He is betrayed and cheated by his evil son but is unable to interfere in the combat that ensues between his sons. Thus we end up having two deities in the narrative who act outside the dualistic pattern. One of them (Zurwān) stands above the dualistic split of the spiritual world, while the other (Way) occupies a place between the two. The conclusion of this primordial ontology is that we have a dualism that is mitigated to a certain extent by a third entity. It may strike us as a paradox that a dualism has to have recourse to a triangular structure, but this is in fact not a very rare phenomenon.

If we wish to create a table of religions arranged typologically according to the worship of deities, and if we make a sequence consisting of monotheism-dualism-polytheism, we shall stumble into an error. Dualism does not refer just to a number between one and many. If dualism is different from monotheism, they are still much closer to each other than the distance that separates both of them from polytheism. All forms of monotheism have within them a certain element of dualism. In a dualistic system based on good and evil fighting each other, the two powers cannot be equal. Worshippers of the deity representing the attribute "good" are urged to loathe the evil power (who is never viewed as a deity).

Monotheism would become a dualism if the evil power is placed at a level that is high enough in the hierarchy. If evil is almost as powerful as the deity, we are dealing with dualism even if the position of these two powers is not entirely symmetrical; in fact, as we have seen, it cannot be. If evil is viewed as low down compared to the deity, the ensuing religion is definitely monotheistic. There is, however, no monotheism that has no dualistic element in it, sometimes called Satan, an angel of God; otherwise the blame of promoting evil would be ascribed to God. On the other hand, every dualism of the ethical type is articulated as a conception of two unequal or asymmetrical powers. It comprises faith in one power who has to deal with a mighty rival. The different polytheistic religions are not easily grouped together under one heading, but in general they are based on a different religious structure, marked by a diffusion of divine sources of power, even if they recognize one divinity as the chief power in the universe. Zoroastrianism, as it emerges from a reading of the *Bundahišn* and other Zoroastrian treatises, may well be viewed historically as a dualistic faith that emerged from an earlier polytheistic religious system, such as is familiar from ancient Indian and other Indo-European literary works.

The book presented in this volume not only offers insights on the structure of Zoroastrianism as a dualistic religion, but can also throw light on other aspects of religion in general.

Introduction

Bundahišn: The Search for Lost Time

Creation, the *Bundahišn* tells us, begins with time. Before the physical world came to be, there was a vast realm of the spirit, infinite in all directions but divided in two: on one side, the dominion of good and light; on the other, darkness and evil—the primordial, opposing forces of the cosmos. Light was the realm of the benevolent deity Ohrmazd, while in the dark resided the vile and ignorant Evil Spirit Ahriman. When Ahriman noticed the light above, he rose to attack it; he was beaten back, but undeterred.

Ohrmazd in his omniscience knew that only by limiting their battle to a fixed amount of time could good ultimately triumph, so he proposed that the two agree to fight for nine thousand years. Ahriman acceded. But when Ohrmazd revealed to him evil's ultimate destruction at the end of the battle, which would be fought within the bounds of the space of the earth, Ahriman collapsed in shock. Then, out of eternity, the wise creator started to fashion time. "From eternity he created Time of Long Dominion; some call it 'finite time.' From Time of Long Dominion he created imperishability; that is, the things of Ohrmazd do not perish. Blisslessness was revealed from imperishability, so that the demons will have no bliss" (1:38). But why time first? Why not the heavens and the earth and "Let there be light," or "In the beginning was the word"? What could this temporal fixation mean?

A central source for our knowledge of Zoroastrianism, the ancient Iranian religion, the *Bundahišn* has been studied by western scholars ever since the first manuscript was brought to Europe in the late eighteenth century, its language parsed by philologists, its geographies and genealogies mined by historians, and its theology dissected by scholars of religion. For though the book's name means "primal creation," the *Bundahišn* discusses not only Zoroastrian cosmogony but cosmology and eschatology as well. Despite having been composed some two millennia after the prophet Zoroaster's revelation, it is nonetheless a concise compendium of ancient

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Zoroastrian knowledge, drawing on and reshaping earlier layers of the tradition.

For the most part, scholars' efforts have focused on what the *Bundahišn* reveals about Zoroastrian theology and anthropology, especially in light of the ethical dualism that is one of its distinguishing features. All of creation is the field for a battle between good and evil: good stars opposed to evil planets, good animals opposed to evil vermin, heroes opposed to witches and sorcerers. In addition to Ohrmazd and Ahriman, the *Bundahišn* tells us that the universe is populated by a host of deities who face off against hordes of demons (*dēw*) and fiends (*druz*). Does that make Zoroastrianism polytheistic or dualistic or perhaps monotheistic? This has been a matter of intense disagreement; the likely answer is that none of these concepts quite fits.

The universe is also split by a second, separate division between the spiritual (*mēnōg*) and material (*gētīg*) realms. Good and evil exist both in the intangible *mēnōg* and in the tangible *gētīg*; Ahriman's first assault on the good occurs only in the realm of the spirit. Considerable energy has been devoted to the question of how the *Bundahišn*'s various chapters portray this double division and to a comparison between it and other Zoroastrian books: the much more ancient sacred scriptures, the *Avesta*, and commentaries and treatises, like the *Bundahišn*, written in the Zoroastrian form of Middle Persian, better known as Pahlavi (one of the precursors of the language of Iran today) in the ninth and tenth centuries CE.

Generally these studies have not touched on the question of time, apart from one important and interesting exception. Non-Iranian sources in Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic relate an alternative version of the Iranian creation myth. The myth features a primordial god of time, Zurwān, who is the father of both Ohrmazd and Ahriman; Ahriman, the myth says, came into being from his father's moment of doubt during a sacrifice, and then Ohrmazd was born. Puzzlingly, however, this story is not mentioned in extant Zoroastrian literature. Confronted with this incongruity, scholars imagined Zurvanism to be a "heresy" that was originally present in Zoroastrian works but had later been "repressed" and all reference to it "expunged." Passages that were seen as hinting at Zurvanite ideas were collected and analyzed. The most prominent example of this trend is Robert C. Zaehner's 1955 *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, which includes a number of *Bundahišn* passages with an alleged Zurvanite coloring, including the portion of chapter 1 quoted earlier.

In recent decades the Zurvanite hypothesis has been effectively debunked. (A witty and cogent summary of the debate can be found in Albert de Jong's entry on the subject in *Encyclopædia Iranica*.) As a consequence, any consideration of time's role in creation might seem tainted with revanchist Zurvanism. This is unfortunate not only because of what the *Bundahišn* tells us about time's prominent place in the order of creation but also because time seems central to the order of the work itself. Time—in the guise of calendars, histories, horoscopes, solar and lunar cycles, genealogies, chronologies, and apocalyptic visions—is a recurring theme of the book's thirty-six chapters. And in a wider frame, the overarching structure of the *Bundahišn* mirrors the nine-thousand-year history of the world, proceeding from creation in chapter 1 to the vanquishing of evil at the end of days in chapter 36.

It seems right, then, to introduce the *Bundahišn* through the lens of time. For new readers, the theme of time can mark a trail through what may appear at first like an unfamiliar forest of religious terminology and obscure allusions, though, perhaps, as Seamus Heaney wrote concerning *Beowulf*, those coming to the book for the first time are likely to be as delighted as they are discomfited by the immediate lack of known reference points. For those already familiar with the *Bundahišn*, we offer this temporal reading as an example of how this text might be considered differently: not only as theology, but also as a complex and intentional literary whole.

The *Bundahišn* is conventionally dated to the ninth century CE, when the Abbasid caliphate ruled a domain stretching from Egypt to Central Asia, including all the former territories of the Sasanian Persian Empire, which had been conquered in the first waves of Islamic expansion two hundred years earlier. While Abbasid rule in the capital, Baghdad, remained strong, by the end of the ninth century control was starting to fray around the edges; in Khorasan, in today's southeastern Iran and Afghanistan, and on the shores of the Caspian Sea, former vassals were asserting their independence and modeling their courts and their cultures on those of the long-vanquished Sasanian king of kings. This was the period of the first flowering of classical Persian literature and also of new ways of writing and thinking by Muslim, Christian, and Jewish authors, some of whom were familiar with each other's work. The ongoing transition from mostly oral to mostly written culture—evidenced, for instance, by the writing down of the rabbinic debates in the Babylonian Talmud and the compilations of the *hadith* of the Prophet Muhammad—played an outsized role in this innovation.

The *Bundahišn* is clearly at home in this time. Several chapters refer explicitly to the seventh-century Muslim conquest of Iran. These sections, at least, must postdate that cataclysmic and transformative event, the most important turning point in Iranian history. But beyond these explicit textual markers, the book's philosophical, scientific, and literary features reflect its early Islamic environment. In its scope, eclecticism, and focus on natural history at the expense of discussions of ritual or religious law, the *Bundahišn* resembles Islamic encyclopedias, in particular the contemporary *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*. The references to creation by emanation in chapter 1 recall Neoplatonic creation theories widely adopted in the Islamic world. As commentary, the *Bundahišn* resembles the style of some late Jewish midrash. The *Bundahišn* is manifestly in conversation with the same amalgam of Hellenistic, Indian, Babylonian, and Iranian medical, scientific, and other intellectual traditions that were available to thinkers at the time.

The *Bundahišn* is not alone. It is one of a group of Zoroastrian works dated to this period that share similar content and concerns. Some of these "Ninth Century Books," as they have been called, like the massive, eclectic *Dēnkard* (Acts of the Dēn) or the wisdom dialogue *Mēnōg ī Xrad* (Spirit of Wisdom), are anonymous or pseudepigraphic. Others, such as the *Dādēstān ī Dēnīg* (Religious Judgments), a series of responsa written by the high priest Manuščihr, or the *Wizīdagīhā* (Anthology) by Manuščihr's brother Zādspram, do name their authors and can be more reliably dated. A close analysis of the priestly genealogy given in chapter 35 of the *Bundahišn* shows that one of the priests named there, Farrōbag son of Ašwahišt, who speaks in the first person and may be a late redactor of the work as a whole, was a contemporary and perhaps relative of Zādspram, who lived in the last quarter of the ninth century.

However, as much as the *Bundahišn* seems to be an Islamic-era work, it is equally clear that it looks back to a much more ancient time. The roots of the Zoroastrian religion lie in the Bronze Age, around the year 1000 BCE. It was at this time that some scholars claim that the priest and poet Zoroaster, perhaps a member of one of the Iranian tribes living in the Central Asian steppes, began promulgating his revelation of the supreme deity Ahura Mazdā (the source of the Middle Persian name Ohrmazd). Expressed in a series of seventeen intricate, elaborate hymns called the *Gāthā*s, Zoroaster's revelation attracted followers and patrons until, some scholars contend, it became—through processes and developments that remain unclear—the state religion of the Achaemenid Persian Empire of Xerxes and Darius. The *Gāthā*s

served as the core of the Zoroastrian sacred scripture, the *Avesta*, written in two dialects of an otherwise unattested eastern Iranian language scholars call Avestan. The *Gāthā*s and the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti* (Worship of the Seven Chapters) in Old Avestan, a language almost identical to Vedic Sanskrit, make up the more ancient portion of the *Avesta*. The Young Avestan portion includes other hymns, prayers, purity regulations, and more; the *Avesta* as a whole still serves as the ritual text for Zoroastrian worship, the *yasna*. However, a list of the contents of the Sasanian-era *Avesta* preserved in the *Dēnkard* indicates that the sacred scripture originally contained four times as much material. Almost everything that did not bear directly on the ritual ceremony, it seems, was lost.

Early Zoroastrianism remains a subject of fierce debate. Scholars disagree about when and where Zoroaster lived: opinions have ranged from 1500 BCE Kazakhstan to sixth-century BCE Persia. Some scholars doubt if he even lived at all. Some say that Zoroaster (Zaraθuštra in Avestan), whose name appears in the *Gāthā*s, is only one of a number of poet-priests mentioned in the hymns, and not their author in the modern sense. Others contend that Zoroaster is a collective author, like the Homeric poet, and not an individual. Part of the problem lies in the fact that the poetic and self-referential language of the *Gāthā*s is particularly elusive. Even if this were not the case, scholars simply lack enough material to properly understand Old Avestan grammar and vocabulary; the four major contemporary scholars and translators of the *Gāthā*s, Helmut Humbach, Stanley Insler, Jean Kellens, and Martin Schwartz, have produced such radically dissimilar versions that they seem like different poems to the untrained eye.

Just as contentious as the life of the prophet and his work is the issue of Zoroastrianism's innovation and development. Did Zoroaster's dualistic revelation come to reject and supersede an earlier Indo-Iranian polytheistic faith like Vedic Hinduism, or was he continuing an already existing tradition? How and when did Zoroastrianism come from its place of origin to the plains of contemporary Iran, and how much did it change on the way? Was the religion of the Achaemenids, some of whose ceremonial inscriptions refer to Zoroastrian deities like Anāhitā and Mithra, identical to the religion of the *Avesta*? Were they—or, for that matter, the later Parthian dynasty (third century BCE to third century CE)—Zoroastrian in the way that the *Bundahišn* understands it at all? And the biggest question by far is whether and to what degree Middle Persian works can reliably fill in the missing pieces of the *Avesta*, dated to thousands of years before.

As far as the *Bundahišn* goes, it is clear that it is unbreakably linked to the Avestan tradition. Much like Jewish or Christian commentaries on the Bible or Muslim works on the Quran and *hadith*, every page of the *Bundahišn* alludes to or cites a passage from the sacred scriptures. These quotations and references are the bricks of the book, and sometimes only the thinnest layer of narrative mortar binds them together. They include references to lost portions of the *Avesta*, and the *Bundahišn* as a whole seems to be based on the *Avesta*'s now-missing *Dāmdād Nask* (the "bundle" or "book" of creation), one of the twenty-one sections of the Sasanian *Avesta*.

Turning the pages of the *Bundahišn*, however, one will notice that the word *Avesta* (*abestāg*) hardly appears. Instead the *Bundahišn*'s author ascribes his sources to the *dēn*. But what is the *dēn*? It is a central concept of Zoroastrianism that is notoriously difficult to translate. Etymologically, *dēn* (Avestan *daēnā-*) comes from the ancient Iranian word for sight or seeing, and one of its meanings is directly related to vision and envisionment. The *dēn*, as chapter 30 tells us, is a part of the soul, one's own inner consciousness, that appears to the individual after death: the righteous see their *dēn* as a beautiful girl, and the wicked as an ugly hag.

But *dēn* is also used in a way that overlaps somewhat with the modern concept of religion. In this sense, the *dēn* is the good religion (*hu-dēn*), the Mazdā-worshiping religion, Zoroastrianism, in its widest sense: not just the *Avesta* but its commentaries and translations, the *Zand*; not just Zoroastrian works proper, but all wisdom and truth. After Alexander the Great conquered Iran and burned the *Avesta*, a story mentioned briefly in chapter 33 of the *Bundahišn*, the *Dēnkard* tells us that generations of Sasanian kings gathered the scattered fragments of the *dēn* wherever they could be found, even preserved in foreign philosophies and sacred books. That is how wide the *dēn* can be. There are also evil *dēn*s, for instance, the *dēn* of the sorcerers (21E:7) and those of rival religions like Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

While reading the *Bundahišn*, one can feel torn in time: at once pulled backward to the distant past of revelation and drawn firmly down into the narrator's continuous present as he attempts to map the width and breadth of his living world. Scholars have found it difficult to provide a definitive date for the book's composition: is it essentially a Sasanian—or earlier—book with some later additions, or essentially an Islamic-era composition that reworks more ancient sources? The answer has as much to do with how one sees the Zoroastrian tradition as a whole: conservative and unchanging, innovative and flexible, or somewhere in between.

The reader's sense of temporal displacement, though, seems linked to a basic structural feature of the book. The *Bundahišn* is ordered along temporal lines, proceeding, with some exceptions, from the beginning to the end, and in space from the outermost spiritual realm to the domain of human affairs.

The *Bundahišn* opens with the myth of creation, which also serves as the foundational narrative of Zoroastrian theology. The book's first six chapters depict the cosmogonic process beginning with the first confrontation in the spiritual realm between Ohrmazd and Ahriman. The *Bundahišn* describes Ohrmazd's creation of the world in a perfect state of rest and Ahriman's assault on the created world through a breach in the firmament. The first section describes the damage that the Evil Spirit causes to the primal elements, polluting them with evil. The sky, the earth, water, the stars, and the sole primordial plant, cow, and man, called Gayōmard, fight back against Ahriman and the demons. This first section also includes two chapters on the movement of the stars, planets, and other astral bodies located in the celestial sphere.

The long middle section of the text contains a description of the world as it stands after creation and Ahriman's corrupting assault. As opposed to the first section's concern with *bundahišn*—creation as such—the text now turns to the age of *gumēzišn*: the Mixture. While good and evil continue to exist separately in the spiritual, *mēnōg* realm, Ahriman's attack on the material, *gētīg* world mixes polluting evil into the originally good creation.

Each of the twenty-four diverse chapters that make up this part of the *Bundahišn* is devoted to a different aspect of the world and describes its attributes. These include both natural features, such as rivers, mountains, and the different good and evil species of birds and animals, and mythical beings. Many of these chapters include detailed lists of creatures, plants, spirits, deities, and demons; accounts of their names and functions; and explanations of natural phenomena.

The final section of the *Bundahišn* turns to eschatological and genealogical topics. Included among these chapters are discussions of individual eschatology, including one of the most important depictions of the judgment of the soul after death. This section also addresses the stages of the eschaton. At the end of days, the prophet Zoroaster's sons will bring about the final confrontation between good and evil in which Ahriman and the demons are vanquished and the world restored to its former state of equilibrium and stability. Just as the previous sections of the book are focused on the first two stages of the history of the cosmos, that is, creation and the Mixture, the final

section is concerned with *wizīrišn*, the separation of good from evil and the purification of the created world.

The *Bundahišn* refers to this eschatological process and the final state of the world as the Restoration, *frašgird* (Avestan *frašō.kərəti*), literally the "making brilliant" of the world after its defilement by evil. The dead, both sinners and the righteous, will be resurrected (*ristāxēz*) and undergo a final purification in a river of molten metal, at which point they will assume their ultimate, perfect physical form, the Final Body (*tan ī pasēn*), on the renovated earth.

Myth is central to the *Bundahišn*, from chapter 4's story of the first human couple, the twins Mašyā and Mašyāne , to chapter 32's fantastical description of the palace of the sorcerer Frāsyāb. It is in the final section of the book, however, that the *Bundahišn* most closely echoes the classical formation of Iranian myth as it appears in Abu al-Qasim Ferdowsi's tenth-century epic, the *Shahnameh*, or *Book of Kings*. Readers of Ferdowsi will find the poet's familiar villains and heroes here, though with somewhat different names—Jam, Dahāg, and Rōdstahm, instead of Jamšēd, Zahhak, and Rustam—and only allusions to their adventures rather than fully fleshed-out tales.

It should be expected that the *Bundahišn* engages with Iranian myth. These stories are more ancient even than Zoroaster's revelation, some dating back to the time in prehistory before the separation of the tribes that eventually became Indians and Iranians. The themes of heroism, sacrifice, and tragedy that reach their fruition in the *Shahnameh* are already present in the *Avesta* and later appear in Middle Persian accounts.

One of these themes is the importance of *xwarrah*, Glory, a term that appears in the *Avesta* as *xᵛarənah-* and in classical Persian as *farr*. *Xwarrah* is at once the charisma of the leader and the mantle of kings, a royal glory bestowed by grace that can also be taken away as punishment for transgression. *Xwarrah* may be envisioned as a shining corona or halo—that is how it appears in the depictions of Sasanian kings on their coins—as a bird as it flies away from Jam as punishment for his sin, or as the ram who follows Ardašīr, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty (*Kār-nāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān* 4:11–24).

In the *Bundahišn*, Glory is associated especially with the prophet Zoroaster. Interestingly, while the book does not contain a biography of the prophet, or even an account of his revelation, it does refer to certain aspects of Zoroaster's life and mission. Zoroaster is named as the chief of the central continent of Xwanirah (chapter 29); his conversion of King Wištāsp to the new religion and his role in the eschatological drama are described in

detail in chapter 33, a history of the world from creation to apocalypse. The chapter describes how, after his death, Zoroaster's Glory will be deposited in the Kayānsē Sea for safekeeping. Three times, three virgins bathing in the lake will be impregnated with the prophet's Glory and each will give birth to a son, three saviors who will herald the end times and lead people through the apocalyptic age.

Chapter 33's millennial history, which, like the book as a whole, proceeds through the three eras of created time, is not the *Bundahišn*'s only time-keeping text. Like the sound of ticking in a clockmaker's shop, the *Bundahišn* is filled with discussions of how to measure time's flow. Explicit references to the length of the year and the thirty days of the month—there are no weeks in the Zoroastrian scheme—are scattered throughout the text. Chapter 1 includes just such a passage as an addendum to creation, and chapter 25 is wholly devoted to calendars and chronography. But the theme of marking time, in the present, the past, and the future, appears in other ways as well. Chapters 5 and 6 turn to reckoning by the stars and include retrospective horoscopes for creation and the first human being, Gayōmard. Chapters 13, 14, 16, 22, and 23 deal with the genealogies and taxonomies of animals, human beings, plants, and evil vermin, retracing their family trees from the beginning to the multitude of species and races we see today. Chapter 15 deals with birth and lists the length of each stage in the reproductive cycle for different animals. Chapter 19, on sleep, prescribes the length of time a person should sleep each day. Chapters 29, 31, 32, and 35 delve into the mythic past, and chapters 30 and 33 chart the eschatological future. Chapter 36, "On the Chronology of the Arabs," combines astrological reckoning, myth, and millennial history to present a world chronicle up to the narrator's present day, 1178 CE: "Now it is the year five hundred and twenty-seven of the Parsīg era" (36:10).

The *Bundahišn* does not focus on time to the exclusion of other subjects. The book's significant and lengthy discussions of geography, meteorology, and the microcosm do not seem to have any temporal connection. However, the recurrence of the theme of time is striking, especially when one considers what is missing from the *Bundahišn*. Purity and pollution, ritual, and religious law—all of which are such central concerns of the *Avesta* and other Middle Persian works that it is difficult to imagine Zoroastrianism without them—are mentioned, at best, only in passing. Philosophy, in the sense of ontology, a major concern of the *Dēnkard* and of Abbasid-era Muslim thinkers like Averroes and Avicenna, only really finds its place in the first

few chapters. And while we know that some Zoroastrians at the time were engaged in fierce polemics against Judaism, Christianity, and Manichaeism, as well as Islam, the *Bundahišn* does not seem very interested in heresiology. Arabs come up for scorn, it is true, and sorcerers are denounced, but this is a far cry from, for instance, the *Škand Gumānīg Wizār*'s casuistic arguments, which quote chapter and verse against the major tenets of rival religions.

Already in the *Gāthā*s in *Yasna* 30, the history of the world from creation to apocalypse was compared to a race between two chariots, one good and the other evil, around the circular track of time. The poet foresees good's triumph and evil's fatal crash in the last turn, but, as in any contest, the true winner cannot be known until the race has been run. It is here that the believing Zoroastrian has the power and duty to influence the cosmic outcome: his or her good thoughts, good words, and good deeds help ensure Ohrmazd's victory in the contest.

What is certain, however, is the shape of the course, that is, how time has and will flow from beginning to end. Or, one imagines, so ninth-century Zoroastrians hoped. The Muslim conquest of Iran and the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty was an event of unprecedented destructiveness and disruption in Iranian history, far surpassing Alexander the Great's triumph over the Achaemenids. This destruction reverberated throughout Sasanian society (though, it should be said, there was much continuity as well) but particularly affected Zoroastrian religious institutions. As scholars continue in their efforts to reconstruct Sasanian Zoroastrianism, the central role of the royal court in sponsoring and promoting the Zoroastrian priesthood becomes increasingly clear. When the court disappeared, so did those priests' patrons as well as centuries of knowledge, much of it passed down orally. In this light, the conquest must have seemed an enormous derailment of time itself, as fundamental an aberration as a sudden abrogation of the law of gravity. If we found ourselves floating, but still breathing and alive, between the clouds above and the grass below, would we not question everything that we thought we knew?

The *Bundahišn* is a literary machine for setting right this disrupted time. In the *Bundahišn*, time proceeds reliably, regularly, unwaveringly, marching through the cosmic ages of the world as through the five divisions of the day and the months and years. Readers can go back to the origins of everything and to the roots of an animal's family tree, and forward to the fate of the soul after death and the final melting of the mountains that will plug the hole

A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary

D. N. MacKenzie

A CONCISE
PAHLAVI DICTIONARY

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A CONCISE PAHLAVI DICTIONARY

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Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original may be apparent

PREFACE

THE need for even a short Pahlavi–English dictionary has been obvious for many years, particularly to would-be students of the language. The glossarial part of Professor H. S. Nyberg's *Manual of Pahlavi* is still eagerly awaited, five years after the publication of Part I, although the 'archaistic' tradition of transcription followed therein is no longer universally acceptable. With the partial material at present available, every serious student still has to compile his own dictionary, a formidable task with Pahlavi and made more so by the plethora of different systems of transcription in print. The present dictionary, admittedly introducing yet another transcription, is intended first to relieve the stranger to Pahlavi of the necessity of covering what is now well-travelled ground—the commonest 4,000 simple words—without a unified map, and secondly to urge the practical value of this 'Sasanian' transcription for his journeying further. To have included etymologies and textual references would have changed the emphasis of the work, turning it from a map to a historical atlas-cum-gazetteer, besides retarding its appearance unduly. Such a complete dictionary of Pahlavi is nowhere within sight and must remain so until many more texts are adequately edited.

For his good counsel on what to include in the dictionary I am most grateful to my friend Dr. P. Gignoux of Paris, for without him many common words would have slipped through my net. Most of the labour of compiling the English index, which will surely be appreciated, was undertaken by my wife. The debt I owe to the teaching of the late Professor W. B. Henning, in connection with Pahlavi and all things Iranian, cannot be expressed in words.

It is again a pleasure to acknowledge the support of the School of Oriental and African Studies in financing this publication, and the customary skill of the printers.

D. N. M.

October 1969

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INTRODUCTION

ALMOST every published list of Pahlavi words contains a number of entries of doubtful nature, the uncertainty lying either in their form, their meaning, or even, occasionally, their very existence. The purpose of this dictionary is to provide the student with a representative vocabulary of Pahlavi in which such uncertain words have been reduced to a minimum and marked. It differs from its predecessors in that the Pahlavi words are given in a phonemic transcription representing, as far as it is deducible from the evidence, the pronunciation they would have had in the third century of our era, the period of the rise of the Sasanian empire. The reasons for this departure from the 'archaistic' tradition of Pahlavi studies I have given elsewhere.[1] If one reason stands out it is that of practicality, as most corroborative evidence comes from this period.

To reduce the number of doubtful words it has been necessary to concentrate on the simpler vocabulary of such texts as the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr*, *Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad*, *Ardā Wirāz nāmag*, *Bundahišn*, and the *Pahlavi Texts* edited by Jamasp-Asana. Although I have also drawn upon the Pahlavi versions of scriptural texts (*Vendidad*, *Yasna*, and *Vispered*), most of their very special vocabulary has been omitted. So have the many nonce-words and *ad hoc* compounds of religious texts such as the *Dēnkard*, since it is generally a simple matter to analyse Pahlavi compounds, given the elements and provided that the rules of their construction are understood. Those words calling for inclusion whose form or meaning remain doubtful are marked with an asterisk.

By its nature the dictionary cannot claim to contain the entire vocabulary of any particular text. Nor is there any express intention of presenting new solutions to the many problems remaining in the Pahlavi texts. Rather the readings of many scholars have

[1] 'Notes on the transcription of Pahlavi', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxx, pt. 1 (1967), 17–29.

been adopted, eclectically, and grateful acknowledgement is hereby made to all whose discoveries have been assimilated within. Nevertheless, I must retain responsibility for the choice as a whole and for readings and interpretations unclaimed or unpublished elsewhere.

TRANSLITERATION

The script of the Pahlavi books derives ultimately from that of the official Aramaic of the Achaemenian empire. In the course of time, however, a high degree of ambiguity has developed in the script. Table I shows the development of the letters from Imperial Aramaic (with the transliteration and names of letters commonly used by Semitists), through the distinct forms used in the Parthian and Persian inscriptions of the third century A.D., and the archaic manuscript forms of the Psalter fragment (about seventh century),[1] to those of the Zoroastrian books. In addition to the multiple values of the letters listed, some of them may represent combinations of letters in certain contexts, e.g. ·ד or ·ד for ·ד + ·ד.

Since the ambiguities of the script make a mechanical transliteration of one letter by one roman symbol of no practical value, a certain amount of interpretation is essential. This interpretation can be based, either directly or by the use of analogy, on the less ambiguous evidence of the above-mentioned earlier documents of the language. With this help it is possible to go far in distinguishing between the original values ʾ, *ḥ*, *dy*, etc., of ·ד, *n*, *w*, *r* of ·ר, and so on. But it is neither necessary nor desirable to go beyond this by attempting to give closer 'phonetic' values to the letters, such as *r* for written *l*, or *x* for written *ḥ*. For example, ·ר *ḥwl* represents **xwar** 'sun', but to transliterate it **xwr* entails both confusion with the true letter *r* ·ר and the introduction of even greater ambiguity into the interpretation of ·ד. It is better to accept that the scribes wrote *r* and *l* almost indis-

[1] See F. C. Andreas, *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen.* Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Kaj Barr. *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin), 1933, i. 91–152, 11 plates.

TABLE I

	Imperial Aramaic	*Inscriptions*		*Pahlavi*	
		Parthian	*Persian*	*Psalter*	*Book*
' ('ālep̄)*					
b (bēṯ)					
g (gimel)					
d (dāleṯ)					= g
h (hē)					
w (wāw)					
z (zayin)					
ḥ (ḥēṯ)					= '
ṭ (ṭēṯ)					
y (yōḏ)					= g
k (kap̄)					
l (lāmeḏ)					
m (mēm)					
n (nūn)					= w
s (sāmeḵ)					
' ('ayin)			= w	= w	= w
p (pē)					
ṣ (ṣāḏē)					
q (qōp̄)			= m	= m	= m
r (rēš)			= '	= w	= w
ś/š (ś/šīn)					
t (tāw)					

* The under- and over-lining of letters in Semitic transcription indicates a fricative pronunciation, *āleph*, *bēth*, etc.

criminately for both phonetic values, *ḥ* for both Iranian *h* and *x*, etc., and to transliterate accordingly.

It is common practice to distinguish the Semitic ideograms in Pahlavi, from the Iranian elements, by transliterating them in capital letters. Thus the same letters [illegible] are transliterated *lḥyk*ˡ when they stand for **rahīg** 'child', but *LḤYK*ˡ when they represent the ideogram for **dūr** 'far'. However, as the ideograms are often much distorted and disguised forms of the original Aramaic words, it is sufficient for practical purposes to transliterate them by means of a simplified system.

The system adopted hereafter in this book, for both ideographic and Iranian spellings, is designed to avoid the use of diacritics as far as possible and also to parallel the system now conventional for the representation of the related Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian script. Each letter is throughout given its basic Iranian value(s), thus *c* and *C* for Aramaic *ṣ*, *h* and *H* for Aramaic *ḥ*. *A* represents the capital form of ʾ (*ʾālep̄*). There are three letters which occur only in ideograms: *Q* (in the word *QDM* = **abar**; otherwise it is replaced by *K*), *E*, and *O*. *E* stands for the Aramaic *hē* (when it is not replaced by *ḥēṯ*) and *O* for Aramaic *ʿayin*, the roman letters being descendants of these Semitic forms respectively. Thus *OLE* (= **ōy**) is a form of shorthand for an Aramaic original *ʿlh*, *HCDLWN-* (= ***drūn-**) indicates a corruption of the Aramaic root *ḥṣd*. Purists will find no difficulty in restoring the forms with diacritics.

Pahlavi letters are often distorted, or joined irregularly, in such a way that they coincide with other letters, so producing even greater ambiguity. The commonest distortions are here noted by under- or over-lining the letter value *intended*. Thus:

[illegible] (*g*, etc.),	when it represents	[illegible] *b*,	is transliterated			*ḇ*
[illegible] (*z*)	,,	,,	[illegible] *Y*,		,,	*Y̲*
[illegible] (ʾ*c*)	,,	,,	[illegible] ʾ*p*,	,,	,,	ʾ*p̄*.

The full scheme of transliteration is given in Table II. The order is still that of the Aramaic alphabet, taking account of the first value of each letter.

TABLE II

	Ideographic	*Iranian*	*Corrupt*
	A	ʾ	(1)
	H	h	
	B	b	g̱, ḏ, y̱ (2)
	G	g	Ḇ, Ẕ, Ḵ (3)
	D	d	ḇ, ẕ, ḵ
	Y	y	
	E	(mn, etc.)	
	W	w	
	N	n	
	O	—	
	R	r	
	I	i (4)	
	Z	z	G̱, Ḏ, Y̱
	K	k	
(	K	γ)	
	L	l	
(	Ł	ł)	
	M	m	
	Q	—	
	S	s	
	P	p	
	C	c	P̱, p̱
	Š	š	
	T	t	ḎṞ (5)

[*Notes overleaf*

Notes

1. 'h, etc., may be a corruption of final *-ydy*, so *-ydy*.
2. , besides *-yȳ*, etc., may be a corruption of *-h*, so *-h*.
3. The digraphs and , when they follow a verbal ideogram, may represent any 'phonetic complement' (including *zero*). They can be transliterated, purely for mnemonic purposes, by the letters they resemble: as *yt* and as *ty*.[1]
4. i.e. an otiose stroke.
5. *yt*, etc., may be a corruption of *-sn*, so *-sn*, and (following another letter) may be for *-c'*, so *-c'*.

TRANSCRIPTION

The orthographic principles followed, in seemingly haphazard permutation, in the writing of Pahlavi, besides the ideographic, include the phonetic (within the limits of the alphabet), the historical, the pseudo-historical, and others so indeterminable as scarcely to merit the name. The establishment of the original spelling of a word, therefore, very seldom reveals its pronunciation. To determine this it is necessary to examine all the available comparative evidence.

Since the discovery of the Iranian material written in the near-phonetic Manichaean script it has become possible to establish a hypothetical phonemic system for Middle Persian and Parthian of the third century A.D. far more accurate than before, when only the remoter evidence of Old Iranian, New Persian, and loanwords in other languages (particularly Armenian) was available. A description of this phonemic system has been given in my article cited above. Within its terms all the entries in this dictionary are transcribed.

The system comprises the following phonemes:

Vowels

ī	ē	ā	ō	ū
i	(e)(1)	a	(o)(1)	u

[1] But see Kaj Barr, 'Remarks on the Pahlavi ligatures and ', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, viii, pt. 2 (1936), 391–403.

Consonants

p	**t**	**č**	**k**	
b	**d**	**ǰ**	**g̣**	
f	**s**	**š**	**x**	**h**
	z	**ž**(2)	**γ**(2)	
m	**n**			
w	**r l**	**y**		

(1) The phonemic status of *e* and *o* is doubtful and they are only marked when there is direct evidence of their occurrence.

(2) Only in non-Persian, i.e. 'learned' or loaned, words.

The phonetic realizations of these phonemes can only be supposed to have been similar to those of the corresponding sounds of present-day Western Iranian speech. The only allophonic variation of importance concerns the voiced stops **b**, **(d?)**, **g̣**, and affricate **ǰ**. Between a vowel and a following consonant, in the same morpheme or close juncture, these almost certainly became the fricatives [β, (δ), γ, ž] respectively. Thus **abd**, **tiǵr**, **duǰdēn** represent pronunciations [*aβd, tiγr, duždēn]. How far, or when, this development affected the same phonemes elsewhere in postvocalic position is uncertain. It is sufficient to regard [β, δ, γ, ž] as possible realizations of postvocalic **b**, **d**, **g̣**, **ǰ**.[1]

USING THE DICTIONARY

In seeking an unknown word, or one known only in another transcription, it may be necessary first to find it in the Pahlavi key. The English–Pahlavi index is intended to serve as an aid to memory, and for tracing synonyms, etc., but is emphatically not an English–Pahlavi dictionary.

The main entries, with two exceptions, are arranged throughout in the following order:

ā̆, b, č, d, ē̆, f, g̣ (γ), h, ī̆, ǰ, k, l, m,
n, ō̆, p, r, s, š, t, ū̆, w, x, y, z (ž).

[1] This [γ] is an allophone of the Persian phoneme **g̣**, while **γ** of the transcription is a non-Persian phoneme. Parthian also had a phoneme **ž**, replacing Persian **ǰ**.

The exceptions are:

(i) abstract nouns ending in **-īh** [*-yh*], which immediately follow the words from which they are derived, e.g. **stūrīh** after **stūr**, before **sturg**;

(ii) verbal nouns formed from the present stems by the suffix **-išn** [*-šn'*] and their derivatives in **-īšnīg** [*-šnyk'*], **-išnīh** [*-šnyh*], which are all listed under the verb.

Verbs are quoted in the infinitive form, followed by the present stem, except when either of these is not certainly attested. Cross references are made where necessary.

Not all verbal derivatives are included if they are regularly deducible from the 'principal parts' of the verbs given, e.g. actor nouns in **-dār/-tār** [*-t'l*], and past participles in **-dag/-tag** [*-tk'*], corresponding to infinitives in **-dan/-tan** [*-tn'*]; the abstract nouns in **-īh** formed from these (e.g. **-dārīh, -dagīh**); agent nouns in **-āg** [*-'k'*] formed from present stems, etc.

THE ENTRIES

Pahlavi words are always given in **bold** type. The few entries in *italics* are concessions to another transcription, made for reference.

P before a main entry indicates that the word is found only in texts of Parthian origin, namely the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* and *Draxt ī Asūrīg*.

An asterisk denotes that the transcription or reading of the word is unconfirmed and remains doubtful.

Within square brackets the following information is given:

(i) The transliteration of the Pahlavi spelling. In the case of ideograms this is followed immediately by an indication of the Aramaic (A) origin of the spelling. With verbs this can seldom be given more closely than by the form of the Aramaic root.

When the Pahlavi spelling of the present stem of a verb coincides with part of that of the infinitive, however much they differ in transcription, the transliteration is given in abbreviated form, with a hyphen. Thus *škwp-tn'* denotes 'infinitive *škwptn'* (= **škuftan**), present stem *škwp-* (= **škōf-**)', *YMYTWN-tn'*

denotes 'infinitive *YMYTWNtn*' (= **murdan**), present stem *YMYTWN-* (= **mīr-**)'.

(ii) Evidence supporting the transcription.

For 'learned' words taken from the Avesta the form which the Pahlavi represents, however corruptly, is quoted (as '= Av.').[1] In such cases the Pahlavi transcriptions are more hypothetical than usual, since they can be no more than probable representations of the contemporary pronunciation of these words.

Justification of the transcription of each word would require the discussion of a mass of etymological and comparative evidence far beyond the scope of this dictionary. Only that evidence is included, therefore, which is most closely related and lends itself to concise and regular presentation.

After the vertical stroke the corresponding forms from Manichaean Middle Persian (M) and/or Parthian (P) are given wherever possible. The appearance of only a Parthian form does not necessarily imply that the Pahlavi word is of non-Persian origin. It may be that the identical Middle Persian form is not attested in Manichaean script.

Later forms of the word are quoted from Judaeo-Persian (J—from whatever source) and the earliest New Persian (N—rarely in their Arabic guise, when this has displaced the Persian, Ar.).

When the forms presented are not directly comparable, being from a different dialect or in some way modified (e.g. by popular etymology), they are enclosed in parentheses.

(*Example overleaf*)

[1] In Bartholomaean transcription (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*) except for *ā*, *β*, *w*, replacing *q*, *w*, *v* respectively.

EXAMPLE

wēn-[I]	-[illegible]	(1)
wēnišn[I]	[illegible]	(2)
dīdan[I]	[illegible]	(3)
wēn-	-[illegible]	(4)
wēnišnīg	[illegible]	(5)
wēnišn	[illegible]	(6)
dīdan	[illegible]	(7)

dīdan, wēn- [*HZYTWN-tn*' < A √*ḥzy*; *dytn*', *wyn-* | M *dydn*, *wyn-*, N ~, *bīn-*] see.
~išn: sight, seeing.
~išnīg: visible.
wēn-, ~išn(-īg), v. **dīdan**.

(1) -[illegible] is an ideographic spelling of **wēn-**, present stem of **dīdan**. It consists of the letters *H*, *Z* (reduced to a shape of *G*), *Y*, *T*, *W*, *N*, being a (normal) Pahlavi development from the Aramaic root *ḥzy*. The infinitive (3) has the 'phonetic complement' *-tn*', for the **-dan** of **dīdan**.

(7) [illegible] *dytn*' spells the infinitive **dīdan**, and (4) -[illegible] *wyn-* the present stem **wēn-**.

In Manichaean Middle Persian the corresponding forms are spelt *dydn*, *wyn-* respectively, indicating the same pronunciation. In New Persian the infinitive is still *dīdan*, but the present stem has become, regularly, *bīn-*.

The verbal noun **wēnišn** may be written part ideographically (2) *HZYTWNšn*' or 'phonetically' (6) *wynšn*'. The derived adjective **wēnišnīg** is attested in the spelling (5) *wynšnyk*' (but could occur as *HZYTWNšnyk*').

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aramaic
Ar.	Arabic
astr.	astrology, astronomy
Av.	Avestan
cal.	calendar
intr.	intransitive
J	Judaeo-Persian
lit.	literally
M	Manichaean Middle Persian
N	(early) New Persian
P	Parthian
pl.	plural
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive

SYMBOLS

~	(the same as) the main entry
*	doubtful transcription, meaning
/	separates alternatives
( )	variant form, spelling
(N . . .)	N, etc., form not directly comparable
= M	the same spelling in M, etc.

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abāz dādan ō : 1. attribute, ascribe to; 2. appoint to.
abr ... *add* M *'βr* !
a-čār *add* helpless.
delete **a-dištag** ... (*read* **āγištag**)
add **afrāz** [*'pl'c* | N *farāz*] acclivity.
afsōn ... *add* M *'pswn*.
agār ..., *add* useless.
āgōš [*'kwš* | (M *''wš*, P *'gwc*), N *āγōš*] embrace, armful.
add **āγištag** [*'gyštk'* | P **'gyšt*, N *āγišta*] mixed, defiled.
add **Ahlišwang** [*'hlyšwng*] = **Ard.**
delete **Ahrišwang** ...
for **ālum** ...
read **alum** [*'lwm* | N ~] millet.
āsnūd(ag) ... *delete* noble.
aswār [*PR/LŠYA* < A *pršy'*; ...
āšnāg ... *add* acquainted with.
āštīh ... *add* concord.
ayād ... *read* [*'byḏ't'* | ...
for **bahr** ... *and* **bahrag** ...
read **bahr(ag)** [*b'hl(k')* | M *bhr*, N ~*(a)*] part, portion, share, lot; reason.
(az) ān bahrag rāy : on that account, therefore.
for **bahrwar** ...
read **bahr(ag)war** [*b'hl(k)wl* | N *bahrawar*] partaking, participator, partner.
~**īh** : participation, advantage.
bālāy *add* M *b'l'y* .
add **balgam** [*blgm* | N *balγam*] phlegm.
baxtan ... *add* divide.
bayaspān [*by'sp'n'* | = M] ...
bēlūr ... *for* M *read* P *bylwr*.
[2]**bōy** ... *add* incense.
buland ... *add* aloud.
čandīdan ... | (M *cn-ystn*), J ~] ...
~**išn** : [N *čandiš*] ...
add **čaxrag** [*c'hlk'* | M *cxr*, N *čarx*] wheel, circle.
čimīg ... *add* caused, justified, reasonable.
dagrand-xwadāy ... *delete* eternal.
dast-gīr [*dstgyl* | N ~] ... *delete*: *dst OHDWN*, ...

did ... *add* other.

add **dīg** [*YTMAL* < A *ʾtmʾl* | N *dī*] yesterday.

delete ***drēm** :.. (*read* **balgam**)

drubušt ... *add* protective.

drust [*drw(d)st'* ...

duš-čihr ... *add* ill-natured.

duš-nām [*-nʾm* | (M *dwjnʾm*), N ~] *add* ill-famed.

dušwār [*dwšwʾl* | (M *dwjwʾr*), ...

ēkānag ... *for* obedient *read* loyal, faithful.

~**īh** : *for* obedience *read* loyalty, faithfulness.

for **Farrōbăg** ...

read **Farrōbăy** [*plnb(ʾ)g*] ...

frayād [*pl(y)dʾt'* | N *faryād*] ... *delete* M *pryʾd*.

frazand [*prz/znd* | ...

frušag ... *add* M *prwšg*.

garōdmān ... *read* | P *grdmʾn*.

gazdum [*gcd(w)m*, *gzd(w)m* | ...

guftār ..., ~**īh** : *add* eloquence.

hambār [*hm-*, *hnbʾl* | ...

add **hamēst** [*hmyst'*] whose good and bad deeds weigh equal.

~**(ag)ān** [*-(k)ʾn'*] limbo, the neutral station between heaven and hell.

delete **hammist** ..., ~**(ag)ān** ...

handarz ... *add* M *ʾndrz*.

hammōxtan, hammōz-, ~išn : *add* learning.

hašt [*TWMNYA* < A *tmnyʾ*; ...

add **hūg** [*HZWLYA* < A *ḥzyrʾ*; *hwk'* | M *hwg*, N *xūg*] pig.

add **hūkar(ag)** [*hwkl(k')* | N *xūkara*] porcupine. (*not* hedgehog)

add ***huzārag** [*hwcʾlk* | N *xuǰāra*] little, small, few.

[1]**ǰadag** ... *add* fortune.

ǰūdan ... | M *jwwdn*, *jwy-* ...

add **karāwuš** [*klʾwš* | N ~] wine-press.

delete **karbunag** ...

read **karbūg** [*klpwk'*, *klbwk'*] lizard.

kardagān ... *add* service (of the gods).

delete **karxōš** ...

read **mă** ... N *ma*] not.

delete **mādayār** ...

mānīg ... *add* house-owner.

mayānǰīg ... *add* arbiter.

for [1-3]**mēz-** *read* [1-2]**mēz-**, v. [1]**mēzišn, mistan**.

delete **mēzīdan** ... suck.
for **²mēzišn** ... *read* **¹mēzišn** ...
for **mistan, ³mēz-** *read* ... **²mēz-** ...
mihōxt [*mytwht'* = Av. *miθaoxta-*] falsehood.
²mihr .. *add* ~ **druxtan** : break faith.
add **mizīdan, miz-** [*myc-ytn'* | N *mazīdan*] suck.
for ***moγ-mard** ... *read* **mowmard** ...
mōy ... *add* M *mwy*.
read **nǎxun** [*n'hwn'* | P *nxwn*, N *nāxun*] (finger) nail.
delete **nāyīzag** ... (*read* **wēzag**).
nēk, ~īh ... *add* benefit.
nibastan ... *delete ŠKBHWN-tn'* < A √*škb*;
nibāstan ... *read* M *nb'st*, P *nb'y-*.
nibēg ... *add* M *nbyg*.
nibištan ... [*YKTYBWN-tn'* ... (*not -stn'*).
nīdan, nay- [*DB(Y)LWN-tn'* < A √*dbr* | ...
nigūn, ~sār [*-s'l* | (P *ngws'r*)] downwards.
add ***nihēb** [*nyhyp* | N ~] fear, terror.
for **nīšān** *read* **nišān** ...
niyāz, ~ōmandīh ... *add* necessity.
read **niyōxšīdan** ...
nō [*TŠA* < A *tšʿ* | ... (*not tš'*).
delete **ōzārak** ..
padist ... *add* threat.
pad-nigerišn ... *for* cared for, guarded *read* carefully.
add **parisp** [*plsp* | M *prysp*] wall.
²pid ... *add* (M *pyt*).
purnāy [*pwln'd* = Av. *pərənāyu-*] adult.
add **purr-marg** [*-mlg*] deadly, baneful.
raz ... *add* M *rz*.
add **rēbās** [*lyp's* | N ~] rhubarb.
²ristag ... *add* N *rasta*.
add **rox** [*lhw'* | N ~] rook, castle (*chess*).
sahistan ... *read* (M *shyd*, P *sʿy-*).
add **sārwār** [*s'lw'l*] helmet.
add **sayistan, say-** [*ŠKBHWN-tn* < A √*škb* | P *sy-*] lie down.
sneh ... *for* sword *read* club, weapon.
²sōg ... *add* N ~ 'grief'.
for **Sōšyans** ... *read* **Sōšāns** [*swkš'ns* ...
add **šabyār** [*špy'l* | N ~] grape syrup.
škaft ... *read* 1. = **škeft**; 2. cave.

šnāxtan ... *read* M ... *ʿšnʾs-*.

for **šus^{a}r** ... *read* **šuhr** ...

for **tā** ... *read* [1]**tā** [*OD* < A *ʿd* | (M *dʾ*, P *tʾ*, N ~] until, while, within; so that.

add [2]**tā** [*tʾk'* | N ~] like, peer.

for [1]**tāg** ... *read* **tāg** ..., *add* M *tʾg*.

delete [2]**tāg** ...

add **tahm** [*thm* | =M, N ~] strong, brave.

and **tāk** [*tʾk'* | N ~ 'vine'] branch.

tōhm(ag) [*twhm(k')* | M *twhm*, *-g*, N *tuxm*, -a] ...

read **wanīgar** [*wnykl*] prodigal.

~**īh** : prodigality, waste.

wany [*H(W)BDN* < A *hwbdnʾ*, √*ʾbd* | ...

wany(b)ūdīh [*HWBDN'bwtyh*, ...

add **war-wēzag** [*wl-wʾyck'*] **andāxtan** : cast lots.

for **wāzīg** ... *read* **-wāzīg** [*-wʾcyk'* | N *-bāz*] -player.

add **wēzag** [*wʾyck'*] lot.

wiyābān, ~īg ... *add* confusing.

add **Wizarš** [*wyzlš*] a demon.

for **wizāstan,** ... *read* **wizāyīdan, wizāy-** [*wyzʾd-ytn'*

wizūdan ... = **wizāyīdan**.

add **xīg** [*ZKYA* < A *zqʾ* | N *xī(k)*] leather bag.

delete **xūg** ... (*read* **hūg**).

delete **xūkar(ag)** ... (*read* **hūkar(ag)**).

xwadāy ... *read* N *xudāy*.

xwarg ... *add* live coal.

for **yazd** ... *read* **yazad** ... N *īzad*, *yazd*.

for **yazdān** ... *read* **yazadān** ...

Amend English-Pahlavi Index *and* Pahlavi Key *accordingly*.

Appendix (p. 142)

(i) *read* Ard (Ahliswang).

(ii) *add* Wizarš.

(p. 143)

(vii) *read* 1 frārāst, ārešn ....

p. 166 [142] *after* sī *add* dīg.

p. 179 [115] *for* kārēzār *read* kārezār.

p. 220 [33] *for* arg, halag *read* ālag, halag.

A

a- ['- | M '-] *privative prefix*, un-, -less.
ā ['] then (*generally with a suffixed pronoun*, e.g. **ā-š**).
āb [*MYA* < A *my'*; '*p* | M 'b, N ~] water.
ābād ['*p't*[1] | M 'b'd, N ~] populous, thriving, prosperous.
 ~īh: prosperity.
ābādān ['*p't'n*[1] | N ~] thriving, prosperous, cultivated.
 ~īh: prosperity, cultivation.
abādixšā(y) ['*p'thš'*(*d*), v. **pādixšā(y)**] without authority, powerless.
 ~īh: powerlessness; anarchy.
abādyāwand ['*p'tyd'wnd* | J 'b'dywn⟨*d*⟩] powerless, weak.
 ~īh: powerlessness, weakness.
abāg [*LWTE* < A *lwt-h* | M 'b'g, N (*a*)*bā*] with.
 ~īh ['*p'kyh*] company, assistance.
abāgēnīdan, abāgēn- ['*p'kyn-ytn*[1]] accompany.
a-bahr ['*b'hl*] portionless, deprived.
abām ['*p'm* | P 'b'myh, N (*ā*)*wām*] loan, debt.
Ābān ['*p'n*[1] | M 'b'n, N ~] *cal.* 8th month; 10th day.
aband ['*pnd*, v. **pand** | M 'bnd] erring.
 ~īh: error.
[1]**abar** [*QDM* < A *qdm*; '*pl* | M 'br, N *bar*] up; on, over.
 ~ āmadan: rise (sun).
 ~ āxistan: rise up.
 ~ āxrāmīdan: step up.
 ~ burdan: undertake.
 ~ madan: cope with, comprehend.
 ~ nigerīdan: consider.
 ~ nihumbīdan: conceal.
 ~ nišastan: sit, be enthroned.
 ~ nišāstan: seat, install.
 ~ rasīdan: come to, upon.
 ~ rasīdan ō: attain.
[2]**abar** ['*pl*] higher, superior.
 ~ag [-*g* | M 'brg] superior.
 ~agān(ag) [-*k'n*(*k*)[1]] superior.
 ~dar [-*tl*, 'wltl | M 'brdr] higher.
 ~dom [-*twm* | M 'brdwm] highest.
 ~domīh [-*twmyh*] superiority.
abargar ['*plgl*] god, divinity.
abarīg(ān) ['*plyk*('*n*)[1]] = **abarag**.
abārīg ['*p'ryk*[1] | M 'b'ryg, J 'b'ry] other.

abarmān [*'þlm'n'*] in charge.
abarmānd [*'þlm'nd*] inheritance, privilege.
abarmānīg [*'þlm'nyk'*] noble.
abar-menišn [*'þlmynšn'*] proud, haughty.
abārōn [*'þ'lwn'* | N *wārūn*] contrary, wrong, sinful.
 ~īh: sin.
abar-ōz [*'þl'wc*] stronger.
 ~īh: mastery.
abar-tan [*'þltn'*] arrogant.
 ~īh: arrogance.
abarwēz [*'þlwyc* | (M *'brwyj*, N *parwēz*)] triumphant, victorious.
 ~īh: triumph, victory.
abarzēn, v. [2]**mašk.**
abaxš [*'þhš'*] repentant; regret.
 ~īh: repentance.
abaxšāwand [*'þhš'wnd*] regretful.
abaxšāyīdan, abaxšāy- [*'þhš'd-ytn'* | M *'bxš'y-*, N *baxšūdan, baxšāy-*] forgive, have mercy on.
 ~išn: mercy, forgiveness.
 ~išnīg: forgiving, merciful.
[1]**abāxtar** [*'þ'htl* | M *'b'xtr*] planet.
[2]**abāxtar** [*'þ'htl* | (N *bāxtar* 'west')] north.
abaydāg [*'þyt'k'*, v. **paydāg** | M *'byd'g*] invisible.
 ~īh: invisibility.
abāy-: **abāyēd** [*'þ'yt'* | M *'b'yd*, N *bāyad*] it is necessary, fitting; must (+*infinitive*).
 ~ist [*'þ'dst'* | N *bāyist*] it was necessary.
 ~īstan [*'þ'dstn'*] be necessary, fitting; desire, want.
 ~išn: necessity.
 ~išnīg: necessary, fitting, seemly.
abāz [*LAWHL* < A *l-'(w)ḥr*; *'þ'c* | M *'b'c*, N *bāz*, *wā*] back, again, re-.
 ~ dādan ō: attribute, ascribe to.
 ~ dāštan: withhold, restrain, prevent.
 ~ ēstādan az: abandon, desist from.
 ~ kardan: open.
 ~ kardan az: disengage from, wean.
 ~ māndan: remain behind.
 ~ pādan: remain, stay.
 ~ raftan: issue, go forth.
 ~ waštan ō: turn into, become.
 ~ wirāstan: rearrange.
abāzsār [*LAWHLs'l*] rebellious.
 ~īh: rebellion.
āb-čihrag [*'þ cyhlk'*] holding the seed, essence of water.
abd [*'þd* | M *'βd*, J *'bd-*] wonderful.
 ~ sahistan: seem wonderful (to) > marvel.

The Enlightened Will Shine

Symbolization and Theurgy in the Later Strata of the Zohar

PINCHAS GILLER

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THE ENLIGHTENED WILL SHINE

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THE ENLIGHTENED WILL SHINE

Symbolization and Theurgy in the Later Strata of the Zohar

by
Pinchas Giller

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For My Parents

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Transliterations

a,e	alef	l	lamed
b	bet	m	mem
v	vet	n	nun
g	gimmel	s	samekh
d	dalet	’	ayin
h	he	p	pe
v	vav	f	fe
z	zayin	ẓ	zadi
ḥ	het	q,k	qof
t	tet	r	resh
y,i	yod	sh	shin
k	kaf	s	sin
kh	khaf	t	tav

Abbreviations

MhZ	Isaiah Tishby and Fishel Lachover. *Mishnat ha-Zohar* [The Teaching of the Zohar], 2 vols. Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1971.
RM	*Ra'aya Meheimna,* in *Sefer ha-Zohar,* Reuven Margaliot, etc.
TZ	*Tiqqunei ha-Zonar,* Reuven Margaliot (Jerusalem: Mossad Ha-Rav Kook, 1978); also *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* (Orta Koj: 1740), *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* (Bzhitomir: 1873).
TZḤ	*Tiqqunim,* in *Zohar Ḥadash,* ed. Reuven Margaliot. Jerusalem: Mossad Ha-Rav Kook, 1978.
(TZ)	Material by the author of *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* and *Ra'aya Meheimna,* which is placed anonymously in other parts of the Zohar.
Z I, II, III	*Sefer ha-Zohar,* ed. Reuven Margaliot, 3 vols., 4th ed. Jerusalem: Mossad Ha-Rav Kook, 1964.

Preface

This study—of a pair of voluminous works of medieval Jewish mysticism—consists of an analysis of the use of symbolism and theurgy in the texts *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* (or the *Tiqqunim*) and *Ra'aya Meheimna*. Although these texts have been viewed by scholars as secondary to the rest of the Zohar, they have been particularly beloved by kabbalists themselves. This study demonstrates the significance of their doctrinal contributions to theosophical Kabbalah.

I was initially attracted to these works because of a discrepancy between their traditional currency and the scholarly attitude toward them. There was a tendency, among critical scholars, to dismiss them as derivative or otherwise secondary to the "main" sections of the Zohar. At the same time, they were apparently well beloved by many generations of kabbalists, with more editions of *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* being produced than of the Zohar itself. I set out, initially, to investigate the attraction of these texts for the traditional community. The first chapter of this study distinguishes between the main sections of the Zohar and the material considered *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* and *Ra'aya Meheimna*.

The second chapter addresses the author's use of kabbalistic symbolism. The anonymous author of these works presents a

unified world-view that is unique and highly influential in the subsequent development of Jewish mysticism. The hermeneutical methodology of *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* is based on this author's conception of the *kinnui*, or symbolic euphemism, as the basis of his associative method. The *kinnui* is the device through which traditional Jewish motifs are transformed into metaphysical symbols. This process of symbolization underlies the relationship of the mystic and religious authority. The author's tendency to "read" his doctrinal additions into preexistent Zoharic texts was important in the development of kabbalistic hermeneutics. This practice prefigured the methodology of much later exegesis of the Zohar.

The third chapter of this study examines the notion of a vocation of Jewish mystics, the *maskilim*. In the *Tiqqunim*, the *maskil*, or enlightened mystic, is the agent and interpreter of religious truth. The order of the *maskilim* recognizes the Zohar as its mystical charter. Mystical illumination and enlightenment came from the practice of contemplative Torah study, utilizing the symbolic hermeneutic of the theosophical Kabbalah.

Tiqqunei ha-Zohar and *Ra'aya Meheimna* portray the world as caught in an unfolding drama of catastrophe and mythic chaos. The author uses certain midrashic and Zoharic traditions in a judicious and characteristic manner that distinguishes them from the rest of the Zohar. The fourth chapter of this study will present the author's myth of prehistory, which is based largely on the sagas of the fall of Adam and the flood. The flood accounts are metaphors for the present experience of humankind, which is distinguished by qualities of brokenness and disorder. The heightened social and soteric roles of the enlightened mystic, as well as the author's use of images of struggle, brokenness, and distension, have great effect on the development of subsequent kabbalistic movements and doctrines.

Contemporary scholars have compared the role of the mystic to that of the legalist, to the detriment of the latter. This has led to some misinterpretation of the author's relationship to the legal tradition, which the fifth chapter of this study attempts to resolve. In fact, the author makes judicious use of the tropes of Jewish law, so that the mystic's vocation at times

overlaps with that of the legalist. In the light of this extensive use of legal material, this study demonstrates that the author harbored no antinomian attitude toward the law. This study further demonstrates that, far from being ambivalent, *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* and *Ra'aya Meheimna* portray a unified view of this mystic's inner world.

The sixth and seventh chapters analyze the theurgic character of the *Tiqqunim* and *Ra'aya Meheimna*. These works responded to the dilemmas posed by the myth of chaos with a theurgic religious practice that made wide use of his erudition in *halakhah*, Jewish law. The author's reinterpretations of halakhic dicta and rhetoric reflected the conditions of the fall and the flood. His use of rabbinical law and lore contradicts the scholarly opinion that there is an antinomian strain in his thought. An investigation of the rabbinic dimension of the *Tiqqunim* is particularly important, as the work's ascent to liturgical and canonical status is due to the perceived authenticity of the author's interpretation of classical Judaism.

The specific contribution of this work lies in a number of areas. The author's symbolization of halakhic material is unique and has not yet been dealt with in a conclusive manner. In fact, although the deep traditionalism of the theosophical kabbalah has been demonstrated by Gershom Scholem and his students, there have been, to date, few analyses of the relationship of specific areas of *halakhah* and the Zohar. The clarification of the author's ambilavent attitude to rabbinic authority is long overdue. The identification of a model of mystical behavior, which is such a constant theme in the *Tiqqunim*, is also a new area of research. Ideally, this study will serve as a modest bridging of the gap between critical scholars of this tradition and its pietistic practitioners, through understanding the author's accomodation of rabbinic religious tradition into his mystical world-view.

1

Tiqqunei ha-Zohar and *Ra'aya Meheimna* in Context

The enlightened will shine like the brightness of the firmament (Daniel 12:3). *The enlightened* are Rabbi Shimon and his companions, *will shine* when they gathered together, they were permitted an audience with Elijah, all the souls of the academy and all the hidden and cerebral angels. And the Most Transcendent permitted all the holy names and beings and all the signs to reveal their hidden secrets to them, every name on its own level, and the ten *sefirot* were permitted to reveal to them secrets hidden until the advent of the Messiah.

—*Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* 1a

The main sections of the Zohar were composed informally, based on (the sages') discussion when they had completed studying the intricacies of the laws of the Torah. But for *Tiqqunei ha-Zohar* and *Ra'aya Meheimna,* the Song of Songs, *Piqqudim* and the *Idra,* they truly put everything aside for the present text, for these compositions complete the others. In it, they delved into the secrets that came forth to them, of the *shining of the firmament . . .*

—Moshe Cordovero[1]

Revelation of the Magi

The Lost Tale of the Wise Men's Journey to Bethlehem

First English Translation of a
FORGOTTEN ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT

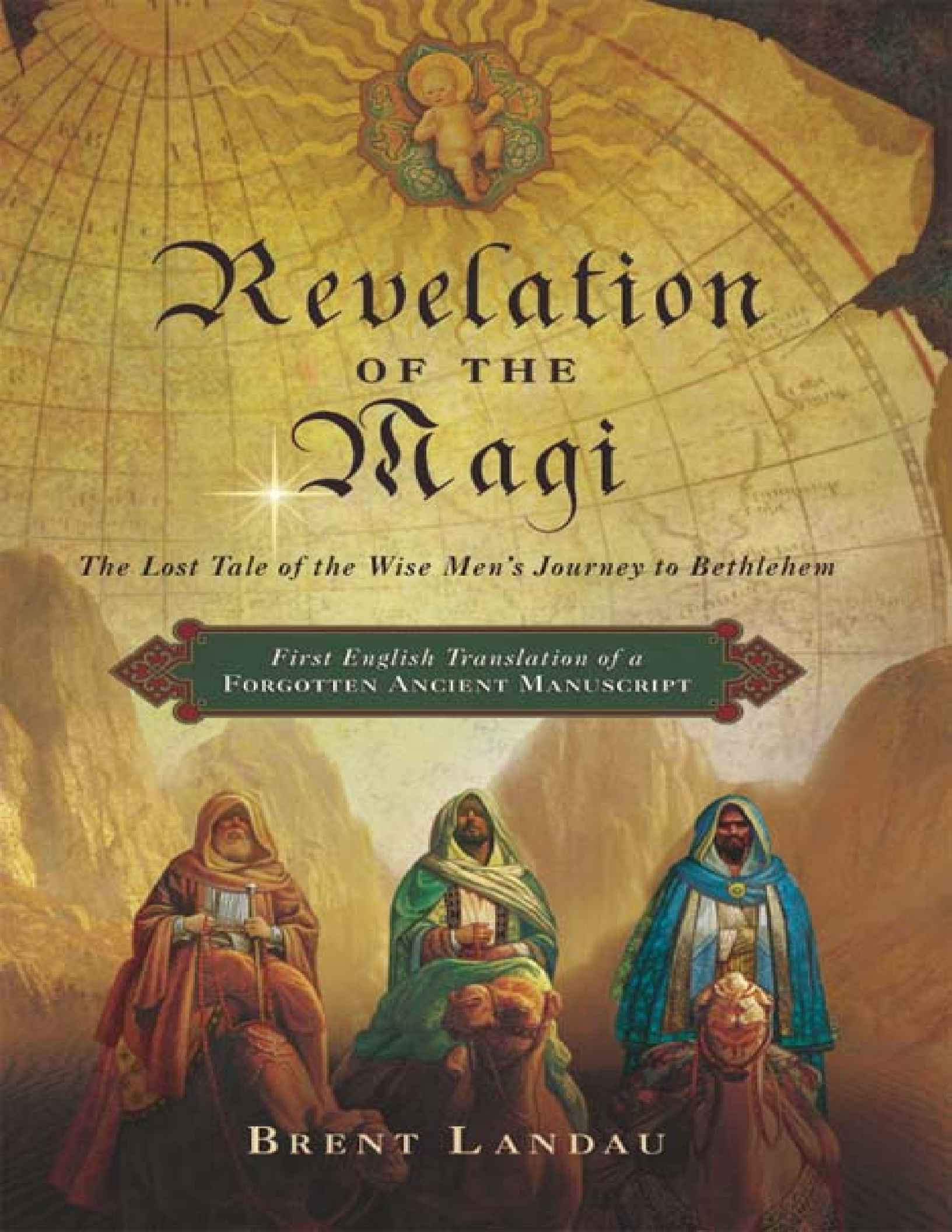

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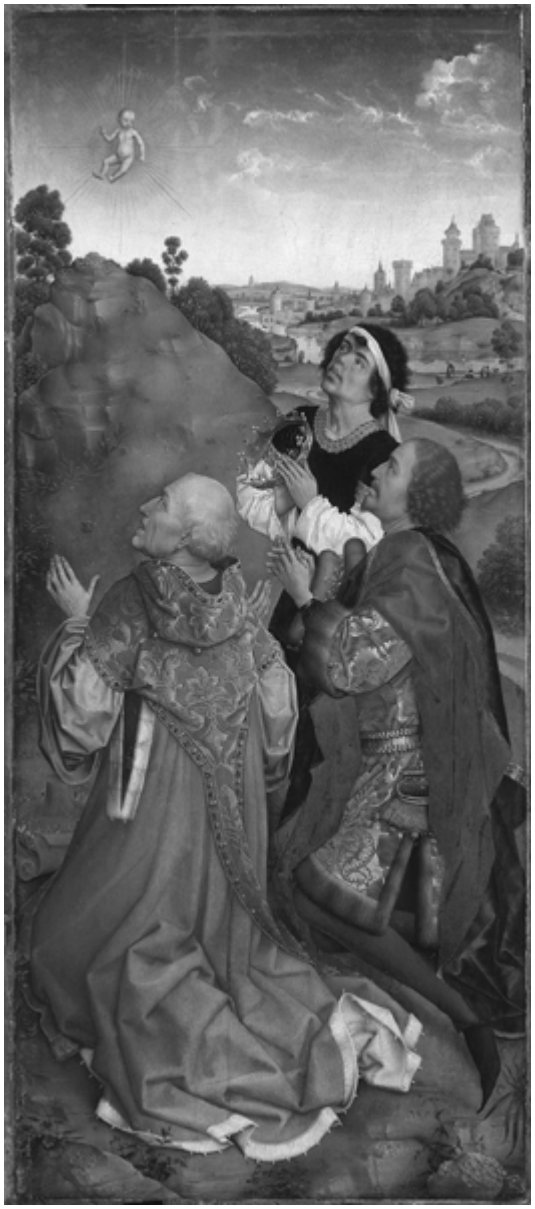

Revelation of the Magi

THE LOST TALE OF
THE WISE MEN'S JOURNEY
TO BETHLEHEM

Brent Landau

HarperCollins e-books

Co *three wise* women …
my grandmother,
Helen Mason,
who inspired me to study religion;
my mother,
Deborah Landau,
who inspired my love of reading;
and my wife,
Elizabeth Bangs,
who inspires me every day.

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INTRODUCTION

The Sages and the Star-Child

The Magi—usually known as the “Three Wise Men” or “Three Kings"—are easily the most famous of the visitors who appear at Jesus’s birth in the Gospel accounts of the Christmas story. Whether or not one is a churchgoer, practically everyone has heard of them. Their bringing of gifts to the Christ child began a tradition that has linked them forever with the rite of holiday gift giving. Despite their great fame, however, there is only one short passage in the New Testament that tells of the Magi, and this account is remarkably vague about these figures. Found in the Gospel of Matthew, chapter 2, verses 1 through 12, it says this:

> Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king, behold, wise men from the East came to Jerusalem, saying, “Where is he who has been born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and have come to worship him.” When Herod the king heard this, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him; and assembling all the chief priests and scribes of the people, he inquired of them where the Christ was to be born. They told him, “In Bethlehem of Judea; for so it is written by the prophet:
>
> ‘And you, O Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah;
>
> for from you shall come a ruler
>
> who will govern my people Israel."’

> Then Herod summoned the wise men secretly and ascertained from them what time the star appeared; and he sent them to Bethlehem, saying, “Go and search diligently for the child, and when you have found him bring me word, that I too may come and worship him.” When they had heard the king they went their way; and lo, the star which they had seen in the East went before them, till it came to rest over the place where the child was. When they saw the star, they rejoiced exceedingly with great joy; and going into the house they saw the child with Mary his mother, and they fell down and worshiped him. Then, opening their treasures, they offered him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh. And being warned in a dream not to return to Herod, they departed to their own country by another way.

Notice the enormous gaps in this story, gaps that a thoughtful reader must attempt to fill in. The wise men have no specific country of origin. No number or names are given for the wise men, though three was destined to become the most common number because of the three gifts (See *The Three Kings [Wise Men]* on pages 4 and 5).[1]

In fact, “wise men” itself is a rather poor translation of the Greek word *magoi*,[2] which elsewhere in the New Testament means “magicians” in a clearly negative sense.[3] Equally problematic—if not altogether disturbing—is the puzzling nature of this “star” that the Magi have followed to Judea. The Gospel of Matthew never explains how the Magi came to know that this star revealed the birth of the King of the Jews. Moreover, the star itself behaves very strangely, reappearing to the Magi on their way to Bethlehem[4] and then coming to rest directly over the place where the child Jesus was. All in all, the story of the Magi from Matthew’s Gospel is a very bizarre one, and many early Christians struggled to make sense of it.

The Three Kings (Wise Men). Early Christian mosaic. 6th century C.E. S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Italy. Photo Credit : Scala/Art Resource, NY

Sixth-century mosaic of the Magi from Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Italy. This mosaic demonstrates some of the key features of the early Christian interpretation of the Magi story: the number of the Magi as three, their names, and even their range of ages.

Amid a wide range of early Christian speculation on the Magi—apocryphal Gospels, hymns, sermons, mosaics, wood carvings, and sculptures on sarcophagi—one composition is particularly impressive and yet surprisingly unknown. Called the *Revelation of the Magi,* it is a lengthy narrative that claims to be the personal testimony of the Magi themselves on the events of Christ's coming. Though versions of this legend were well known in Christian Europe throughout the Middle Ages, this book presents the first-ever complete English translation of the *Revelation of the Magi.*

I confess that I have had a lifelong fascination with the Christmas holiday, with the traditions of Jesus's birth and childhood, and with the story of the Magi and their star in particular. As a young child, I was captivated when my church in Flagstaff, Arizona, brought in an astronomer from the nearby Lowell Observatory one Advent season to discuss the range of possible scientific explanations for the Star of Bethlehem. Then, during my high school education at a Jesuit school in Phoenix, I first learned about the existence of writings outside the New Testament that purported to fill in gaps in the Gospel accounts of Jesus's upbringing. Finally, as a doctoral

student studying early Christianity at Harvard University, I was deeply impressed during a study trip to Italy when I saw how popular a subject the Magi were in paintings, altarpieces, and sculptures. Upon my returnto Cambridge, I resolved to learn as much as I could about early Christian legends of the Magi. In this search, I happened upon an article that mentioned the *Revelation of the Magi.* I asked around and was surprised to find that none of my colleagues had even heard of it. Did such a document really exist? It sounded like such a remarkable text that almost immediately I decided to investigate further.

Later in this introduction, I will discuss where this text came from, why it is so little known today, and why it may be a writing of great importance. But I'll start with the contents of the story itself, which I eventually discovered hidden away in the Vatican Library.

THE STORY

The *Revelation of the Magi,* mostly narrated by the Magi in the first person, is a sweeping and imaginative work that begins in the Garden of Eden and ends with the Magi being baptized at the hands of the Apostle Thomas. These Magi are members of an ancient mystical order and reside in a semimythical land called Shir, located in the extreme east of the world, at the shore of the Great Ocean. The *Revelation of the Magi* says these individuals are called "Magi" in the language of their country because they pray in silence. The story implies that the name "Magi" is thus a play on the words *silence* and/or*prayer,* but that implication does not make sense in any of the most common languages spoken by early Christians. Despite this unsolved mystery, however, this description sharply distinguishes the Magi of this story from any of the most common ancient usages of the term *magoi:* these Magi are not magicians, astrologers, or even priests of the Iranian religion of Zoroastrianism.[5]

These mystics, who live in a mysterious, far-off land, as the *Revelation of the Magi* depicts its Magi, are the descendants of Seth, the third son of Adam and Eve. Seth was believed by many early Jews and Christians to be extremely pious and virtuous, so it is very fitting for the *Revelation of the Magi* to trace the ancestry of the Magi back to such an illustrious founder. The Magi inherited from Seth a prophecy of supreme importance for the world: *a star of indescribable brightness will someday appear, heralding*

the birth of God in human form. Seth himself had learned about this prophecy from his father, Adam, since the star originally had hovered over the Tree of Life, illumining all of Eden, before Adam's sin caused the star to vanish.

Every month of every year, for thousands of years, the order of the Magi has carried out its ancient rituals in expectation of this star's arrival. They ascend their country's most sacred mountain, the Mountain of Victories, and pray in silence at the mouth of the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, where Seth's own prophetic booksare housed and read by the Magi. Whenever one of the Magi dies, his son or one of his close relatives takes his place, and their order continues through the ages.

All of this lore about the origins of the Magi and their prophecy has been narrated, we are told, by the generation of the Magi that was alive to witness the coming of the star. They have gathered together to ascend the Mountain of Victories, as was their ancient custom, but suddenly the foretold star appears in the heavens. As promised, the star is indescribably bright, so bright that the sun becomes as faint as the daytime moon; yet because the Magi alone are worthy of guarding this prophecy, the star can be seen by no one but them. The star descends to the peak of the mountain and enters the Cave of Treasures, bidding the Magi to come inside. The Magi enter the cave and bow before the star, whose incredible light gradually dissipates to reveal *a small, luminous human!* This "star-child" reveals to the Magi that he is the Son of God, but—and this is of crucial importance—never calls himself by the familiar names *Jesus* or *Christ.* Nor do the Magi themselves ever call him by these names, and the absence of these designations will provide us with a critical clue about the central message of the *Revelation of the Magi.*

The star-child instructs the Magi to follow it to Jerusalem so that they may witness its birth and participate in the salvation God has planned for the entire world.

The Magi descend from the mountain, discussing excitedly what they have just seen. In the course of their conversation, however, they learn that *each of them saw the star-child in a different form, with each vision representing a different time in the life of Christ!* They prepare a caravan and supplies for the lengthy trek, but thanks to the overwhelming power of the star, their journey proves to be truly extraordinary. The star removes any and all obstacles from their path, leveling valleys and mountains, making

rivers passable on foot, and protecting the Magi from wild animals. The star's light also relieves the Magi of their fatigue and continuously refills their food supplies. For the Magi, this vast journey from the eastern edge of the world to the land of Judea seems to have transpired in the mere blink of an eye.

The star leads the Magi into Jerusalem, where the city's inhabitants puzzle at these exotic foreigners. Because the star is invisible to the inhabitants, they presume these visitors to be astrologers of some kind, since the Magi keep looking up at the heavens. The Magi's encounter with Herod and the Jewish religious leaders in Jerusalem unfolds almost identically to the narrative of Matthew's Gospel—one of the rare times that the *Revelation of the Magi* closely follows the story line of Matthew.

Immediately after the Magi hear the Jewish prophecy about the birth of the Messiah at Bethlehem, the starreappears to the them[6] and leads them to a cave in the environs of the village. Just as upon the Mountain of Victories, the star enters the cave and beckons the Magi inside. Here the star transforms into a luminous, talking infant, whose "birth" is accompanied by unseen angels singing his praises. In a lengthy speech, the infant tells the Magi that their ancient mysteries have at last been fulfilled and commissions them to become witnesses to him and his Gospel for the people of their homeland.

As the Magi exit the Bethlehem cave, rejoicing at the fulfillment of their ancient prophecy, they are met by Mary and Joseph, who have suddenly appeared on the scene. In a very odd exchange, Mary accuses them of trying to steal her newborn infant, but the Magi assuage her concern by explaining that the child is actually the savior of the world and can be in many places simultaneously.

The Magi then begin their journey back to Shir, a trip that, through the awesome power of the star, transpires for them as quickly as did their travel to Bethlehem. The star's light refills their food supplies even more abundantly than before, and when the Magi eat of these provisions, they again see their guide in a multitude of different forms. When they reach the borders of their homeland, crowds of their family members and kinspeople come out to meet them, marveling at the appearance and health of the travelers. The Magi relate thestory of their miraculous encounter with the star and subsequent journey to the people of Shir. They conclude their story by revealing to the people that they, too, can come to experience the

presence of the star-child, whom the Magi claim is still with them—since he is, in fact, present throughout the entire world. The Magi present the people with the overflowing bags of food that the star has produced for them and invite them to partake. Those people who eat immediately see visions of the heavenly and earthly Christ, and thus many in the land of Shir accept the faith proclaimed by the Magi.

Thus far, the Magi's age-old prophecy has been fulfilled: they have journeyed with the star, witnessed the birth of Christ, preached his Gospel to their kinspeople, and now remain in the light of Christ's eternal presence. This would seem like a most fitting and fulfilling way for this story to conclude, yet the only copy of the *Revelation of the Magi* that we possess does not end here. In a concluding episode that may not have been part of the original story (more on the reasons for this later), the Apostle Thomas comes to the homeland of the Magi on a missionary journey—presumably after many years have passed. The Magi hear of his arrival and come to meet him, telling him of their experience of Christ's coming. Thomas recognizes that they have indeed had contact with Christ, and he relates to them his own memories of the ministry of Jesus. The Magi rejoice atwhat Thomas has said, and they ask him to initiate them into the Christian fellowship. When Thomas baptizes them early on Sunday morning, the heavenly Christ descends and administers the Eucharist, first to the apostle and then to the Magi. Thomas then commissions the Magi to proclaim the Gospel throughout the world, and the *Revelation of the Magi* ends with the Magi performing miracles and preaching.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Not only does the *Revelation of the Magi* have the distinction of being the most substantial early Christian composition about the Magi; its narrative complexity matches almost *any* early Christian writing. Thus, the first thing that one notices about the *Revelation of the Magi* is that whoever wrote it devoted a great deal of time and thought to crafting a rich and intricate story line. As a scholar of early Christian writings, I noticed several other surprising features immediately. Its location of the Magi in the far-eastern land of Shir was highly unusual, since most early Christians

thought that the Magi came from Persia, Babylon, or Arabia (see *Adoration of the Magi* on page 14).

Also surprising was its identification of the Star of Bethlehem with Christ himself, an interpretation found nowhere else in the diverse array of early Christian

Adoration of the Magi. 5th century C.E. Early Christian. Cypress wood carving from the door. S. Sabina, Rome, Italy. Photo Credit : Alinari /Art Resource, NY

A wooden door carving of the adoration of the Magi from the Basilica of Santa Sabina in Rome. Like the mosaic from Ravenna, this carving portrays the Magi wearing distinctive "Phrygian caps," reflecting a belief that the Magi are Zoroastrians from the land of Persia.

speculation about this mysterious celestial portent. The late entry of the Apostle Thomas into the action of narrative was quite unexpected, and raised a new series of questions for me about the relationship between the *Revelation of the Magi* and other texts that discuss the Apostle Thomas. I was also captivated by the very strange incident of the food that produced visions of Christ for the Magi and the people of Shir, given its parallels to the use of hallucinogenic substances in other religious traditions.

But finally and most importantly, I was surprised that neither I nor any of my colleagues knew of this impressive text's existence before I stumbled across a mention of it in an article. There are certainly a significant number of early Christian apocryphal writings that are familiar only to scholars specializing in apocryphal literature, but the *Revelation of the Magi* was completely unknown to me and to other specialists in this field that I

consulted. For me as a doctoral student, such a poorly known text represented a wonderful opportunity to bring an important document into the mainstream of early Christian scholarship. Yet it would also prove to be a serious challenge to my skills as a researcher, since even basic questions about when and under what circumstances it was written were unresolved.

WHERE DID THE "REVELATION OF THE MAGI" COME FROM?

As I mentioned earlier, the *Revelation of the Magi* has never before been translated into English, and very few specialists in early Christian apocryphal literature even know of its existence. How did this remarkable text come to be so neglected? Part of the problem is that the only known copy of the text is preserved in Syriac, a language used by ancient Christians throughout the Middle East and Asia, but one in which only a relatively small number of early Christian scholars are fluent. By comparison, many more scholars know Coptic, an Egyptian language in which such important texts as the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Mary, and the Gospel of Judas have been preserved.

Another important reason for this text's neglect, however, is that it belongs to two categories of material that historically have been scorned in the study of early Christianity. First, it is an apocryphal writing, and scholars have long privileged the canonical writings of the New Testament to the exclusion of writings outside of the canon. There are, of course, a few exceptions, such as the writings just mentioned, but beyond these, most apocryphal writings remain sorely neglected.

Second, the *Revelation of the Magi* is one of a handful of canonical and apocryphal texts that focus on eventssurrounding the birth of Jesus. Although the Christmas story has fascinated believers throughout the centuries, there are only two accounts of Jesus's birth among the four canonical Gospels, suggesting that the birth of Jesus was not nearly as important for the first Christians as the death, Resurrection, and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. Furthermore, Matthew and Luke tell markedly different stories about Jesus's birth, and the differences cannot be easily harmonized.[7] As a result, the great majority of scholars today believe that

this material has very little claim to historicity and have therefore ignored it. The study of the historical Jesus has mostly focused on his sayings and his final days in Jerusalem; only a few recent scholars have found any reliable historical details in the infancy narratives—and the story of the Magi is not one of them.[8]

Even if it is poorly known today, the manuscript that contains the *Revelation of the Magi* was never truly lost—certainly not in the way that, say, the Dead Sea Scrolls were. After the existing manuscript was copied down at the Zuqnin monastery in southeastern Turkey by an anonymous monk at the end of the eighth century, it changed hands at some point and was kept in a monastery in the Egyptian desert. There it stayed until the eighteenth century, when G. S. Assemani, collecting manuscripts on behalf of the Vatican Library, brought it to Rome, where it resides today.

Though this manuscript had been known by European scholars for several hundred years, it was not until rather recently that scholars first began to look closely at the legend of the Magi that it contained. An Italian translation of the *Revelation of the Magi* was made in the 1950s, and a few scholars in the decades since have discussed the text in journal articles, often peripherally. Quite serendipitously, when I first learned of the existence of the *Revelation of the Magi*, I had just finished my first year of studying the Syriac language. I was therefore well prepared to begin translating the text with the help of J. F. Coakley, Professor of Syriac at Harvard.

After nearly a year of biweekly meetings with Professor Coakley to check my work, I had managed to produce a rough but complete translation of the *Revelation of the Magi*. Despite the many hours of work that this had required, my task as a scholar of early Christian writings was only beginning. Unlike a scholar working on a New Testament text or even a well-known apocryphal writing, there was virtually no preexisting "conversation" about the *Revelation of the Magi* into which I was entering. Very few scholars knew that the text existed at all, so there were only some tentative suggestions about how old the *Revelation of the Magi* might be, who might have written it, and where it was composed.[9]

To figure out the most likely date of composition, my first step was to start with the *latest* possible time the text could have been written and then work backward as far as possible. As mentioned earlier, there is only one copy of the *Revelation of the Magi* in existence, and that manuscript is

securely dated to the late eighth century. Is it possible that the anonymous scribe who wrote this manuscript was actually the author of the *Revelation of the Magi?* Not likely, for several reasons. First, as a general matter, scholars of early Christianity know that the date of a manuscript is very rarely the date of the text it contains.[10] Second, the manuscript itself—known as the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, for the monastery in which it was written—contains a number of writings that are known to have existed much earlier than the eighth century. Third, a Christian writer named Theodore bar Konai, who lived on the Arabian Peninsula at almost the same time that the chronicle was written, seems to have known about the *Revelation of the Magi*.[11] There is no reason to suspect that the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* would have traveled from southeastern Turkey to the Arabian Desert in the span of only a few years. It seems far more likely that the *Revelation of the Magi* was written—and circulated rather widely—earlier than the eighth century.

But how much earlier? Fortunately, even though we possess only one full copy of the *Revelation of the Magi*, there is another very important witness to this text. This other witness is a Latin commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, usually thought to have been written in thefifth century and known by scholars as the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*. The anonymous writer of this commentary, when he comes to Matthew's story of the Magi, relates a legend about these mysterious figures. Even though he summarizes this legend in only a few short paragraphs, it is clearly the same story as that found in the *Revelation of the Magi*.[12] Moreover, it is very likely that he had actually seen a written copy of the *Revelation of the Magi*, since there are several parts of his summary that agree, practically verbatim, with the copy of the *Revelation of the Magi* that has survived for us.[13]

So it seems certain that a version of the *Revelation of the Magi* existed when the *Opus Imperfectum* was written in the fifth century. But how do we know that the Syriac text of the *Revelation of the Magi* that we have was written earlier than the fifth century? After all, it *could* be a later form of the legend that had been expanded significantly. There is one small, seemingly insignificant detail in the Syriac text that tells us when it was written. In the Syriac language, nouns can be either masculine or feminine, and in the *Revelation of the Magi*, "the Holy Spirit" is a feminine noun. Although it might surprise us today to think of the Holy Spirit as a female entity, this is exactly what Syriac writers of the second, third, and fourth centuries

considered it/her. Starting in the fifth century, however, Syriac writersbegan to treat “the Holy Spirit” as a masculine noun, under influence from Greek Christian thought. What this means, therefore, is that *the Syriac language itself* confirms that the form of the *Revelation of the Magi* that we possess must have been written earlier than the fifth century.

But this quirk of the Syriac language tells us only that the text must have been written earlier than the fifth century. To determine how much earlier it was written, we need to look for other clues in the Syriac form of the *Revelation of the Magi*. Recall that in the summary of the *Revelation of the Magi* presented earlier, I suggested that the story of the Apostle Thomas’s conversion of the Magi was probably not originally part of the *Revelation of the Magi*. Not only does it seem superfluous from a narrative point of view, but it also has a number of literary features that do not fit very well with what has come before. First, the Thomas episode is narrated in the third person, whereas the rest of the *Revelation of the Magi* is narrated by the Magi themselves, in the first person. Although such shifts in the perspective of the narrator are not unheard of in ancient Christian writings, this shift is especially abrupt and unexplained within the narrative. Second, the Thomas episode contains a striking change in terminology as compared with the first-person section of the *Revelation of the Magi*. One of the most distinctive features of the first-person section is its complete avoidance of the proper name “Jesus Christ” to refer to the divine being whom the Magi encounter. Yet as careful as the author is to forgo this name and other obviously Christian terminology, the Thomas section is not at all concerned to avoid the name “Jesus Christ,” using it almost twenty times!

Because of these reasons, I believe that the Thomas episode was a later addition to the *Revelation of the Magi*. I will say more shortly about the reasons that someone might have wanted to tamper with a text that purported to be the authentic testimony of the Magi about the coming of Christ. But for now, let us use the Thomas episode to help find out more about when the *Revelation of the Magi* was written—or at least when it was tampered with. As it happens, stories about the Apostle Thomas were especially popular among ancient Christians living in Syria. The most famous collection of these stories is known as the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Thomas, and it includes accounts of his miracles, his preaching, and his eventual martyrdom in India. Even though the Acts of Thomas and the Thomas episode from the *Revelation of the Magi* do not tell the same

story, they share numerous connections in their language and theology.[14] These similarities suggest that the Thomas episode was probably composed and added to the *Revelation of the Magi* around the same time and place as other Thomas legends were being written down—that is, around thelate third or early fourth century in Syria. Therefore, the first-person form of the *Revelation of the Magi* must have been composed by this time *at the latest*,[15] and perhaps earlier if it came from someplace outside of Syria.

But how much earlier might the original form of the *Revelation of the Magi* have been written? Might it be, as it claims, the authentic testimony of the Magi themselves? As tantalizing a possibility as this might be, it is highly unlikely. First of all, there is the basic problem of historicity with the whole Magi story found in Matthew's Gospel. As mentioned earlier, scholars have by and large concluded that there is virtually nothing of historical value in the infancy narratives of the New Testament. This judgment has been applied with particular vigor to the Magi story.[16] Even the Star of Bethlehem, the most impressive feature of the story, has never been incontrovertibly identified, arguments to the contrary notwithstanding.[17] And the fact that no trace of the Magi story is found in Luke's infancy narrative, which has the humble shepherds as the first outside witnesses to the child Jesus, or in any other of the earliest Christian writings does not enhance its credibility.

But even if we were to grant that Matthew's story of the Magi was based on an actual historical event, the *Revelation of the Magi* would not be a very strong candidate to have been written by the Magi themselves. True, the author of the *Revelation of the Magi* has carefullycrafted this story and added levels of detail such that one might *believe* it to be the work of the Magi themselves. Once we closely inspect the story, however, it becomes clear that the author has used written sources—such as the letters of the Apostle Paul, the Gospel of John, and the Book of Revelation, to name a few—that were written years after the "historical Magi" almost certainly would have died.[18]

In fact, the author not only used many of the earliest Christian writings in the New Testament. He seems to have used a rather obscure apocryphal Infancy Gospel that was likely written in the mid- to late-second century, a Gospel so obscure that it lacks an agreed-upon name![19] For the sake of (some) clarity, let us call it *Infancy Gospel X*.[20] In *Infancy Gospel X*, the

Magi come to visit the child Jesus at a small house outside the village of Bethlehem. Joseph—the main actor in *Infancy Gospel X*, as opposed to the narratives in Matthew and Luke, where he never says a word—proceeds to question these strange visitors about how they knew of the child's birth.

During the ensuing dialogue with Joseph, the Magi mention a number of details corroborated by the *Revelation of the Magi*. These include learning of the star's coming through their own very ancient writings, the Magi's lack of fatigue after a lengthy journey, and the indescribably bright star being visible to the Magi alone. Joseph even presumes the Magi to be astrologers because they keep looking up at the sky, apparently watching their invisible celestial guide. A very similar scene takes place in the *Revelation of the Magi*, but there it is the leaders in Jerusalem, not Joseph, who cannot see the star. Finally, *Infancy Gospel X* envisions the Magi not as three in number, but as a much larger group—an interpretation hinted at in the *Revelation of the Magi* (see *The Adoration of the Magi* on page 27).[21]

These parallels are very striking, but in *Infancy Gospel X* all these details are tightly concentrated in the Magi's brief appearance at the Bethlehem cave, not spread throughout the narrative as in the *Revelation of the Magi*. It seems quite probable that there is some sort of literary relationship between these two works, but who has borrowed from whom? It is very difficult to tell, and it is even possible that the authors of these two works used a third source (whether oral or written) independently of each other. I myself have gone back and forth many times about which writing was older. More research on *Infancy Gospel X* would be necessary before a decisive judgment could be made.

Even so, if we assume that the *Revelation of the Magi* came into being sometime after *Infancy Gospel X*, then it was probably written in the late second or early third century. It was then "corrected" in the late third or early fourth century by adding the concluding narrative about the Apostle Thomas's visit to the Magi.

If the *Revelation of the Magi* was not, as it claims, written by the Magi themselves, then who might have written this strange story? Although it is possible to give, with a reasonable degree of confidence, a window of time during which it was composed, we have almost nothing to go on regarding the author's identity or location. Only a small number of early Christian writings are written by the person put forth as the author anyway, so the *Revelation of the Magi* is not much different from them in this respect.[22]

The place of authorship is similarly unknowable: presumably the author's sophisticated theology—which we will address momentarily—suggests an urban location, perhaps Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, or another major urban center of the Roman world. All we know is that the *Revelation of the Magi* was known in Constantinople (where the author of the *Opus Imperfectum* found it) in the fifth century, and in southeastern Turkey (where an anonymous monk at the Zuqnin monastery copied it) and the Arabian Peninsula (where Theodore bar Konai lived) by the end of the eighth century.

Yet even if we cannot say much of anything substantial about the identity of the author or his whereabouts, we can actually say quite a bit about his understanding of the Christian message, and about why his understanding might have been viewed as theologically dangerous enough to warrant a new ending for the *Revelation of the Magi*.[23]

Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–1497) *The Adoration of the Magi* (with Gozzoli's self-portrait—with red cap). Lorenzo il Magnifico as the youngest of the three Magi. Fresco, 1459. Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence, Italy. Photo Credit : Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

The Adoration of the Magi, by Benozzo Gozzoli, 1459, Florence, Italy. Gozzoli has not depicted the familiar three Magi traveling alone, but instead accompanied by a great cavalcade. Both *Infancy*

Gospel X and an early form of the *Revelation of the Magi* likewise believed that the Magi constituted a large group.

WHY WAS THE "REVELATION OF THE MAGI" WRITTEN?

As mentioned earlier, one of the most noticeable features of the *Revelation of the Magi* is its careful avoidance of the name "Jesus Christ" to designate the Magi's celestial guide. This consistent omission is one of the reasons that the Apostle Thomas episode's free use of the name seems so jarring. Why has the author refused to use the name "Jesus Christ?" If the Magi in the first-person narrative come to the end of the story without ever using the name, this implies that they have had an experience of Christ without ever knowing this savior figure *as* Christ. The case of the Magi, then, raises the possibility that Christ has appeared to many people and yet not revealed himself *as* Jesus Christ.

The idea of Christ remaining unidentified in manifestations to the peoples of the world is, in fact, affirmed by statements that the celestial Christ makes to the Magi. He tells them that he has appeared not only to them in a manner congruent with their religion. Indeed, this is only one of many instances of Christ's revelation to humanity, since he has been sent "to fulfill everything that was spoken about me in the entire world and in every land" (13:10). Having heard this revelation from Christ, the Magi themselves then affirm it before others. To the inhabitants of Jerusalem, they explainthat they have come to worship Christ "because he has worshipers in every land" (17:5). Even to the child's mother, Mary, they insist on the universality and omnipresence of the Christ event: "[T]he forms with him are seen in every land, because he has been sent by his majesty for the salvation and redemption of every human being" (23:4).

According to the author of the *Revelation of the Magi*, the fundamental Christian message is not simply that Christ has been sent in order to save all humanity. That is a common enough belief among early Christians that its presence in this text would be unremarkable. The *Revelation of the Magi* goes much further than this, claiming that *the revelation of Christ is*

actually the foundation of all *humanity's religious beliefs and practices.* What the Magi have experienced in the fulfillment of their age-old prophecy, while obviously of great significance for them, is but "one drop of salvation from the house of majesty" (15:1)—one limited instance of Christ's salvific activity in the world.

What are the practical consequences of this belief that all forms of religious experience are revelations of Christ? Two especially come to mind. First, this belief means that the *Revelation of the Magi* has a far more positive view of non-Christian religious traditions than any other early Christian writing. There were a handful of early Christian thinkers who held that glimpses of Christ were had in the past by the greatest of the pagan philosophers—Socrates, to name one example. But these thinkers also maintained that such glimpses were woefully incomplete when compared with the definitive revelation of Christ in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. And such an opinion, it must be remembered, is quite charitable when compared with most early Christian beliefs about non-Christian religions. The vast majority of early Christians, like their Israelite forebears, tended to regard the gods of other peoples as illusory at best, demonic at worst.

A second consequence of the *Revelation of the Magi's* opinion about Christ's all-encompassing revelation is that it renders the traditional model of Christian expansion completely pointless. Throughout much of Christian history, and particularly since the beginning of the Age of Exploration in the fifteenth century, one dominant means by which Christianity has spread among non-Christian populations is through the work of dedicated missionaries. The general assumption is that the work of missionaries has been absolutely necessary because Jesus Christ delegated this task to the most devoted of his followers.[24]

But why could not Christ *himself* have been the principal agent of Christian expansion? If Christ existed before Jesus of Nazareth did (as the first verses of the Gospel of John claim) and could even visit people after his ascension (as Acts of the Apostles claims that he didto the Apostle Paul), then what would prevent Christ from appearing to *anyone,* in any place, at any time? This appears to have been a question asked by the author of the *Revelation of the Magi,* and his answer was, "Nothing." Christ appeared to the Magi before he assumed human flesh, and what is more, he apparently felt no need to identify himself to the Magi as Christ. The author, to be sure, is very concerned that the Christian revelation be spread to all the people of

the world, but in his estimation, human missionaries are in no way essential for this task.

If we see this view of Christ as central to the author of the *Revelation of the Magi*, then it becomes much clearer why someone else would have felt compelled to change the original ending of the story. As the *Revelation of the Magi* originally ended, the Magi and the people of Shir have all come to experience the presence of Christ, though they have done so completely without any of the trappings that we might associate with institutional Christianity. They are, in the words of the great twentieth-century Catholic theologian Karl Rahner, “anonymous Christians.” The Apostle Thomas episode solves this “problem” by having the Magi baptized and commissioned by an apostolic emissary to go preach the Gospel throughout the entire world.

A helpful analogy for what has happened to the *Revelation of the Magi* would be the difference between the"abrupt ending” and the “longer ending” of the Gospel of Mark, most likely the first of the canonical Gospels to be written. The vast majority of scholars today believe that the original ending of Mark’s Gospel was at 16:8. This would mean that Mark ended with the women running terrified from the angel’s appearance at the empty tomb of Jesus—that is, without any appearances of the resurrected Jesus. Mark would therefore have ended with the words “they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid.” Although the precise reasons for the “abrupt ending” will likely never be completely clear, some scholars believe that by it Mark intended to convey a powerful theological message to his audience—possibly that Christian faith grows and perseveres *in spite of* the frailty and often failure of its would-be messengers.

A powerful theological message, and arguably a brilliant ending to this Gospel. But also one that could be misunderstood or seem rather inadequate, particularly given the presence of Resurrection appearances in later Gospels. So someone, probably in the second century, attached a “longer ending” to Mark’s Gospel (16:9–20) that contained several appearances of the risen Jesus, along with Jesus’s missionary charge to his disciples. In other words, this individual changed the ending of Mark’s Gospel to reflect much more clearly and explicitly how Christians in his time and place expected a Gospel to end. Something much like that seems to have happenedto the *Revelation of the Magi*. It was simply not good enough for the Magi to have had a revelation of Christ that did not “make

them Christians" in a straightforward and unambiguous way,[25] just as it was not good enough for the women of Mark's Gospel to hear that Jesus had been raised without *seeing* any definitive evidence of it or telling anyone about what they saw at the tomb. Hence, the endings of both Mark's Gospel and the *Revelation of the Magi* were rewritten and expanded to make them more palatable to the typical expectations of later Christians.

So, the *Revelation of the Magi* has a view of other religious traditions that is highly unusual among early Christian writings. That feature, along with its status as the longest and most developed apocryphal narrative about the Magi, should make it of considerable interest for scholars of Christian origins. But the present book would not have been written were *Revelation of the Magi* of interest for only a limited number of academic specialists. Over the past several years I have shared my work on this writing, with members of several church communities and with a number of friends and relatives, some of whom do not consider themselves especially religious. Their enthusiastic response, I believe, has much to do with the way in which the Magi have embedded themselves in popular culture to a degree surpassing many other figures from the Bible. Fewer and fewer people may have much understanding of such a monumental personality as, say, the Apostle Paul, but it seems as if *everyone* knows the wise men!

The *Revelation of the Magi* is indeed a fascinating and imaginative story about some of the Bible's most intriguing figures. But the emphasis of the *Revelation of the Magi* on the universality of Christ's revelation may also captivate many readers. The questions this writing poses are of potential importance for anyone who considers herself or himself religious, spiritual, or simply interested in theological questions. Could Christ actually be the source of multiple revelations throughout human history? Would there be any way of knowing this? What would the implications of this be for Christian attitudes toward non-Christian religions? What would this mean for the practice of evangelism? Would it even be correct to regard such a divine being as "Christ" if the Christian revelation is but a single isolated example of this being's salvific activity? Does any revelation take precedence over others? The answers to these questions will probably differ depending on one's basic religious convictions. But whether one is a born-again Christian, a Latter-day Saint, a "religious seeker," or a Buddhist, the *Revelation of the Magi* raises challenging questions about divine revelation,

religious pluralism, and the uniqueness of religions—questions that merit deep, sustained reflection.

The English Translation of the *"Revelation of the Magi"*[26]

1. INTRODUCTION [27]

1:1 About the revelation of the Magi, and about their coming to Jerusalem, and about the gifts that they brought to Christ.[28] 1:2 An account of the revelations and the visions, which the kings,[29] [sons of kings,[30]] of the great East[31] spoke,[32] who were called Magi in the language of that land because in silence, without a sound, they glorified and they prayed.[33] 1:3 And in silence and in the mind they glorified and prayed to the exalted and holy majesty of the Lord of life,[34] to the holy and glorious Father, who is hidden by the great brightness of himself and is more lofty and holy than all reasoning. 1:4 And the language of human beings is not able to speak about him as he is, except as he has wished, and when he has wished, and by means of whom he wishes. 1:5 And neither his heavenly worlds nor the lower ones are able to speak about his majesty, except as it is fitting for the will of his majestyto reveal to the worlds so that they are able to partake from the gift[35] of his majesty, because (his majesty) is great and they are not able to speak of it.

2. THE MAGI—THEIR NAMES AND LINEAGE

2:1And so, there were those wise men,[36] who were called Magi in the language of the land because in silence, without a sound, they praised the God of all, that one who, by his word and will, has come to be all that is, all that exists and arises, and all that is going to be. 2:2And there is nothing that exists outside of his will,[37] and furthermore, there is no one who will stand against the will of the Father of all. 2:3The names of the wise men and kings were called as follows:[38] Zaharwandad son of Artaban; Hôrmizd son of Sanatruq; Auštazp son of Gudaphar;[39] Aršak son of Mihruq; Zarwand son of Wadwad; Arîhô son of Kosrau; Artahšišat son of Hawîlat; Aštanbôzan son of Šîîšrawan; Mihruq son of Humam; Ahširaš son of Sahban; Nasardîh son of Baladan; Merôdak son of Bîl. 2:4 These are kings, sons of Eastern kings, in the land of Shir,[40] which is the outer part of the entire East of the world inhabited by human beings, at the Ocean,[41] the great sea beyond the world, east[42] of the land of Nod,[43] that place in which dwelt Adam, head and chief of all the families of the world. 2:5And these sons of kings received commandments, laws, and even books from their fathers.

The English Translation

2:6And generation from generation, one by one, they received (them,) from the time of Seth, the son of our father Adam, because Adam revealed (them) to his son Seth when he had him.[44] 2:7And Adam taught Seth about his prior greatness, before he transgressed against the commandment, and about his expulsion from Paradise.[45] And he warned his son Seth not to transgress also against the (divine) justice as Adam (did).

3. THE TRANSMISSION OF THE MYSTERIES

3:1And Seth received the commandment of his father with a pure heart,[46] and he took care of the agreement and the gift of the exalted Lord of majesty. 3:2And it was given to Seth to set down in a book and to make known the wisdom, and to call upon the name of the LORD,[47] the Lord of every soul who seeks after life. 3:3And from him a book appeared in the world for the first time,[48] which was set down in the name of the Exalted One. 3:4And Seth entrusted to his descendants the book that was set down, and it was transmitted up to Noah, that one who was found just and was delivered from the waters.[49] 3:5And [in the time of the Deluge,] Noah [took] the books of commandments with him [in the Ark. And when] he came out of the Ark, Noah also commanded the generations after him, who recounted his great deeds and the hidden mysteries[50] that are written in the books of Seth about the majesty of the Father and all the mysteries. 3:6And the [books,] and the mysteries, and the speech were handed down in succession by tradition even until our [51] fathers. 3:7And they learned and received with joy, and handed them down to us ourselves, and we also kept with love and fear their mysteries of the books and the secrets and the words. 3:8And we prayed in silence and gave thanks and glorified, bowing our knees and lifting our hands to the height of heaven,[52] to the Lord of that majesty that is hidden from the eyes of everything that lives.

4. THE PROPHECY OF THE STAR

4:1And those books of hidden mysteries were placed on the Mountain of Victories[53] in the east of Shir, our country, in a cave, the Cave of Treasures of the Mysteries of the Life of Silence.[54] 4:2And our fathers commanded us as they also received from their fathers, and they said to us:[55] "Wait for the light that shines forth to you from the exalted East[56] of the majesty of the Father, the light that shines forth from on high in the form of a star[57] over the Mountain of Victories and comes to rest upon a pillar of light[58] within the Cave of Treasures [of] Hidden Mysteries. 4:3And also command your sons, and your sons their sons, until the mystery of the star that shines forth from the exalted majesty appears to your generations, a light like a star, and giving light to the entire creation and obscuring the light of the sun, moon, and stars, and not one of them is seen or is able to stand in the presence of its light.[59] 4:4For it is the great mystery of the Son of the exalted majesty, who is the voice of the Father; the offspring of his hidden thought; the light of the ray of his glory; the will and image of his hiddenness;[60] 4:5the allengendering word of his thought; source of life never-failing from his spring;[61] the all-governing word according to the will of the one who sent it;[62] an image that has no form or likeness among any things that exist. 4:6This one, by whose power and word all the worlds were set in order and established, is the Son of perfect mercy, is the ray of light of the glory of the Father of ineffable majesty. 4:7Therefore, know that when this light from that majesty that has no end shines forth for you and will appear like a star to you so that you are able to see him: eagerly, with joy and love, and completely, with care, taking with you his own pure gifts,[63] which were put in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries on the Mountain of Victories by your fathers, go to where his light, the star, leads you. 4:8And you will see a great and amazing sign, God appearing in the bodily form of a human being, unsightly,[64] poor, imperfect, frail, lowly, even the sign of the cross

appearing upon him [see *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* on pages 40 and 41]. And you will go before him with love and joy, taking with you your gifts, and you will worship in the presence of the child, despised, poor, and killed.[65] 4:9And you will offer him your gifts, and you shall receive from him the blessing of salvation and shall partake with him in the joy, which, when he comes with his hidden glory, with his perfect divinity, with his perfect riches that do not pass away, with his new world, with his light that *[text missing]*, with perfect salvation, which he will give to all [text *missing]*. 4:10Also, take care and command your sons. And if the coming of the light of the star does not happen in your days, also have your sons tell it to their sons, until the mysteries and revelations shall come to pass that are written about his coming."

The Three Magi. Speculum Humanae Salvationis, by Ludolfus de Saxonia. Ms.15, f.10r. Vellum. Germany, ca. 1410. Spencer Collection. Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Photo Credit : New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY

An illuminated manuscript of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis,* Germany, ca. 1410. The illustrator demonstrates an awareness of the *Revelation of the Magi,* depicting Christ in the form of a star hovering over the Magi. Notice especially the detail of Christ carrying the cross (cf. *Revelation of the Magi* 4:8).

5. THE RITUAL OF THE MAGI

5:1And we received the laws and commandments from our fathers, and we taught all the mysteries, and we reminded our sons: “Perhaps in your days the coming of the light of this star will happen, as we received and learned from our fathers.” 5:2And we went up to the Mountain of Victories, and when we were all assembled at the foothills of the mountain from each one’s dwelling place, we remained in one place for purification on the twenty-fifth day[66] of every month. 5:3And we bathed in acertain spring that was on the foothills of the mountain, and it is called “The Spring of Purification.” 5:4And seven trees stood over it: an olive, a vine, a myrtle, [a cypress,] an orange, a cedar, and a juniper.[67] 5:5And that mountain was altogether incomparably more beautiful and desirable than all the mountains in our land, and the smell of all sweet spices effused from it, and the dew that was sprinkled was a sweet smell.[68] 5:6And when it became the first of the month,[69] we ascended and went to the top of the mountain and stood before the mouth of the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries. 5:7And we knelt on our knees and stretched forth our hands to heaven, and we prayed and worshiped in silence, without a sound, to the Father of that heavenly majesty that is ineffable and infinite forever.[70] 5:8On the third of the month we entered the cave up to the treasures, the treasures that were prepared as the star’s own [gifts] and for the adoration of that light that we awaited. 5:9And what we read and heard from the revelation, when we returned, descending in joy, we said to and instructed our sons, our families, and everyone who gave themselves with love to learn. 5:10And if it should chance that one of us should pass away, we would raise up his son or one of the sons of his family [in his place,] as when we succeeded our fathers, until the time of the coming of the star has been fulfilled. 5:11We also taught the people of that country,those who gave themselves to the love of revelation to learn with joy. And those who did not wish to learn and distanced

themselves from help because they saw our quiet way of life, that we prayed in silence, [we] said our mysteries to them with honor.[71]

6. AN EXCERPT FROM

SETH'S BOOKS OF REVELATION

6:1 Again,[72] from the books that were in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries: every word that our father Adam, the beginning of our great lineage, spoke with his son Seth, whom he had after the death of Abel, whom his brother Cain killed[73] and over whom his father Adam mourned. 6:2 And Adam instructed Seth his son about *[text missing]*, [and about the revelation] of the light of the star and about its glory, because he [saw] it in the Garden of Eden when it descended and came to rest over the Tree of Life; and it illuminated the entire (garden) before Adam transgressed against the commandment of the Father of heavenly majesty. 6:3 And when he transgressed against the commandment that (the Father) ordained for him, the sight[74] of the star was taken away from him, and (it was also taken away from him) because of his expulsion from Paradise. And Adam our father mourned over (his) foolishness, that he was humbled from his greatness. 6:4 And he strongly warned his son Seth, and he taught him to walk in righteousness so that he might find mercy before the Father of majesty.

7. THE FALL OF ADAM

7:1And he said to him: “My son, there will be generations and ages from me and from my offspring, and they will be recounting my foolishness and speaking figuratively with figures of speech to one another. 7:2They are fulfilled about me, and they will say: ‘Every kingdom that will be divided against itself shall not stand.’[75] This is fulfilled about me, because I doubted about my kingdom in which I stood, and I, by my hands, destroyed it myself. 7:3My son, the rib that was removed from me[76] became a thorn, and it blinded my eye. 7:4I even prophesied when I saw her, and I said: ‘This time is bone and flesh from me.’[77] And rightly did I call her ‘time,’ because she became a stumbling block for me.[78] 7:5My son, guard from her the words of your mouth and do not reveal to her all the mysteries of your heart.[79] 7:6For my compassionate master made her a helper for me,[80] for honor and glory, because he loved me like a beloved son.[81] 7:7And I made her an injury for me and a destroyer of my footprints so that she cast me out of Paradise, my kingdom. 7:8And I did not understand my honor, but I was puffed up in my heart by the advice of treachery that she gave to me, a cup of sound filled with poison by the lie of the serpent.

8. ADAM'S IGNORANCE OF GOD'S MERCY

8:1"And I did not understand my priority when I did not (yet) exist, and when I did exist, in what sort of honor I was, nor my authority over the entire world, nor my love among the holy watchers,[82] nor my entire life inside Paradise, nor, more than everything, the mercy and kindness of my holy master who loved me and was merciful to me like a kind father. 8:2And when I transgressed against his commandment in my boldness, he did not judge me as a Lord who holds a grudge, but as a kind father whose mercy is mixed with discipline. 8:3For if he had judged me according to my foolishness, he would have destroyed me as vanity and made me as if I never existed. And who would stand up against him and say: 'What are you doing?'[83] 8:4But he disciplined me with mercy and did not judge me according to my foolishness, since, behold, my son, I saw the entire creation, which is under my authority as before. 8:5And my deceiver, the Evil One, wanted to humiliate me with his fraud and be liberated from under my authority. On the contrary, my kind master, in his mercy, put him under my feet that I would trample him,[84] having put fear upon me so that I would not obey his advice again. 8:6And like a judge (in) his justice, he shut his lying mouth and filled it with dust, and he tore off his feet so that he could not walk upon them, (and) heseparated him from every animal created like him.[85] 8:7And all these things happened to me, my son, and I was brought low from my majesty. The cause of all these evil things, Eve your mother, was a stumbling block for me. 8:8But you, my son, guard yourself from her advice and do not obey her as I (did,) but love and honor the Lord of life, my kind master, and he will save you and have mercy upon you.

9. ‘ADAM’S PREDICTION OF THE END TIMES

9:1“For there will be from my family and my children glorious and honorable people, (the reciters) of the mysteries of the majesty. And they will find great mercy and will pray, ask, and be heard. 9:2And *[text missing]* of the majesty, but at the end times of that generation they will again be [rebelling,] and they will not be afraid of my foolishness and of the judgment that I have.[86] Instead, they shall be headstrong and shall speak blasphemy unto the heavenly majesty. 9:3And they will say many things,[87] and shall also make painted idols and graven images, and shall even serve the sun and the moon,[88] and they shall speak words of blasphemy. 9:4And all these things that are among them from the deceits of my treacherous deceiver, because he will offer the love of his fraud and his deceit filled with poison to each of the generations that will be after me. 9:5And he will [show] andmake them desire the empty praise of great riches, pride, clothes, property, fornication, boastfulness, injustice, greed, and various possessions. 9:6And he will appear to them like a lover or a friend and entice them. And again, with reveling, drunkenness, impure and defiled feasts, which are an illusion [of his] empty [apparitions,] and again, with possessions of assorted excesses, he will take hold of them with fraudulent affection, which is not virtuous,[89] just as also to me through Eve.

10. ADAM'S FINAL EXHORTATION TO SETH

10:1"He led me astray by his fraudulent word like an innocent person concerned for my welfare: 'See, I promise you something right and suitable for you, (namely) that, when you have eaten from the tree, from which you were commanded not to eat, you will become like your God,'[90] my merciful master. 10:2I, wretch (that I was), did not understand my honor, that his fraudulent promise could not come true, nor could the clay be like its potter,[91] nor the servant like his master.[92] But I know the great mercy of the majesty of my kind master, which is to be revealed for me at the end of days. 10:3And at the end he will save me from destruction and raise me from the dust as he raised me up when I did not exist.[93] And my enemy rejoiced and exulted over me since I had fallen by his deceit. 10:4My kind savior and merciful master is going tosustain me and have pity upon me with his mercy, and [descending] to the darkness,[94] he will strengthen me by his light and illuminate my eyes as he did before, (when) he breathed the spirit into my nostrils and I lived.[95] 10:5But you, my son, and your generations after you, it has pleased my maker and my savior that you should find mercy before him; for he does not reckon against you my own sins because of his kindness. 10:6For if he had requited me according to my foolishness, I would not have begotten forth fruits,[96] nor would he have accepted the offering from your brother Abel,[97] nor would he have exacted retribution for his blood from the hands of his brother who killed him.[98] 10:7For he does not neglect in his great mercy anyone who loves him and walks in justice before him. Even to those who offend him, he gives opportunity for repentance, and is gracious to them if they repent and seek (it) from him, because his mercy upon his world is great." 10:8And Seth heard everything that his father Adam commanded him, commandments more numerous than these, and wrote them down with diligence, and we found them in the books that were placed in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries. 10:9He also commanded and added to them. And Seth purified his heart so that he

would not obey the deceitful Evil One, and he praised and called upon the name of the Father of heavenly majesty.[99] 10:10And Seth also commanded these mysteries to his sons. And we were reading (them) everymonth that we went up the mountain, and with love we entered the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries. And we also learned them and taught our sons and families.

11. THE APPEARANCE OF THE STAR TO THE MAGI

11:1 Then, when the time and fulfillment of what was written in the books happened, concerning the revelation of the light of the hidden star, we were indeed thought worthy for it to come in our days and to receive it with joy, as we were commanded by our fathers and as we ourselves read in the books. 11:2 And each of us saw wondrous and diverse visions that were never before seen by us, but their mysteries were in these books that we were reading.[100] 11: 3 And each one came from his dwelling place according to our ancient custom to ascend the Mountain of Victories *[text missing]* to wash in the Spring of Purification, as we were accustomed. 11:4 And we saw [*text missing*] in the form of an ineffable pillar of light descending, and it came to rest above the water. 11:5 And we were afraid and shook when we saw it. And we cannot speak about the brilliance of the star of light, since its radiance was many times greater than the sun, and the sun could not stand out before the light of its rays.[101] 11:6 And just like the moon looks in the daytime in the days of Nisan,[102] when the sun rises and it is absorbed in its light,[103] so also did the sun seem to us when the star rose over us. 11:7 And the light of the star, which surpassed the sun, appeared to us ourselves and the sons of our mysteries,[104] but it did not appear to anyone else,[105] because they were removed from its mysteries and its coming. And we rejoiced, and glorified, and gave unmeasured thanks to the Father of heavenly majesty that it appeared in our days and we were thought worthy to see it.

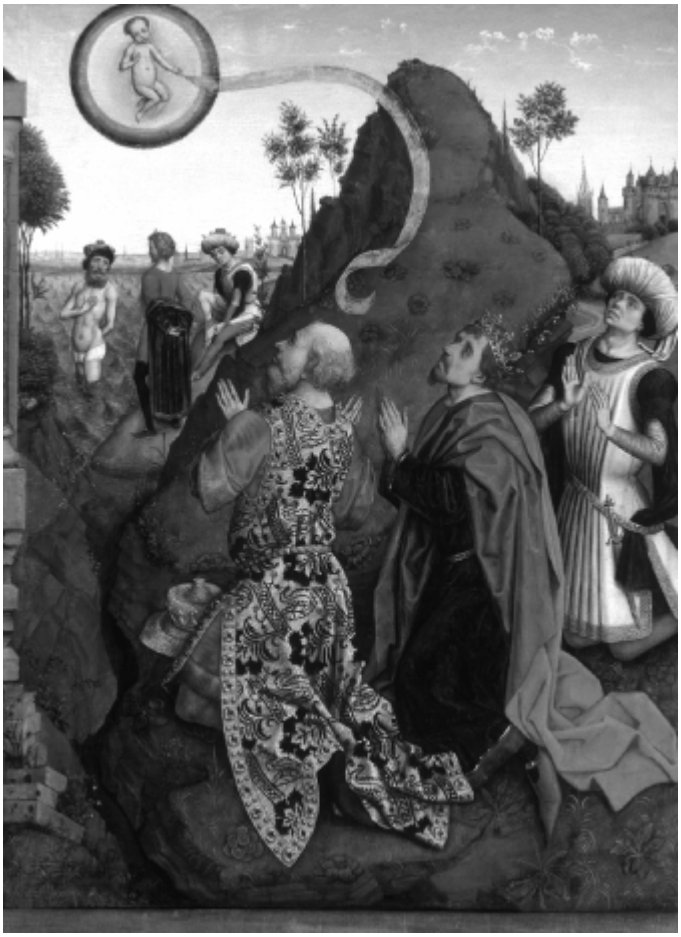

Rogier van der Weyden, Follower of. Polyptych. Mid-15th century. Tempera and oil. Main Panel: 33 3/16 x 55 1/8 in. (84.3 x 140 cm); Upper Wings: 17 15/16 x 7 7/8 in. (45.6 x 20 cm); Lower Wings: 33 5/8 x 16 5/8 in. (85.4 x 42.2 cm). South Lowlands, Brabant, Brussels. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, 1949 (49.109). Photo credit: Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY

Panel of polyptych from the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, mid-fifteenth century, the Cloisters Collection, New York. A similar work to the frontispiece of this book, this painting depicts several details from the *Revelation of the Magi.* Note the infant Christ in the form of a star, the holy mountain of the Magi, and the Magi bathing in their sacred spring.

12. THE STAR DESCENDS TO THE MOUNTAIN OF VICTORIES

12:1And when we bathed in the Spring of Purification with joy, and we ascended the Mountain of Victories as we were accustomed, and we went up and found that pillar of light in front of the cave, again a great fear came upon us [see detail of polyptych by Rogier van der Weyden on page 51]. 12:2And [we knelt] upon our knees, and we stretched out our hands according to our ancient custom, and we praised in silence the vision of its wonders. 12:3And again, we saw that heaven had been opened[106] like a great gate and men of glory carrying the star of light upon their hands. And they descended and stood upon the pillar of light,[107] and the entire mountain was filled by its light, which cannot be uttered by the mouth of humanity. 12:4And (something) like the hand of a smallperson drew near in our eyes from the pillar and the star, at which we could not look, and it comforted us. And we saw the star enter the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, and the cave shone beyond measure.[108] 12:5And a humble and kind voice made itself heard by us, which called out and said to us: “Enter inside without doubt, in love, and see a great and amazing vision.” And we were encouraged and comforted by the message of the voice. 12:6And we entered, being afraid, and we bowed our knees at the mouth of the cave because of the very abundance of the light. 12:7And when we rose at its command, we lifted our eyes and saw that light, which is unspeakable by the mouth of human beings.

13. EPIPHANY IN THE CAVE OF TREASURES

13:1And when it had concentrated itself, it appeared to us in the bodily form of a small and humble human,[109] and he said to us: “Peace to you,[110] sons of my hidden mysteries.”[111] And again, we were astonished by the vision, and he said to us: “Do not doubt the vision that you have seen, that there has appeared to you that ineffable light of the voice of the hidden Father of heavenly majesty. 13:2And again, (do not doubt that) it appeared to you to concentrate its light in its rays, or that it appeared to you in the form of a small, humble, and unworthy human,because indeed, the inhabitants of the world cannot bear to see the glory of the only Son of the Father of majesty,[112] unless it appeared for them in the form of their world. 13:3And again, other signs shall appear in it, which are hidden and (would be) shameful for the heavenly majesty, for the sake of the redemption of the lives of human beings, because my Father has loved them that they should not perish[113] by the error in which they have persisted. 13:4And again, I will perfect[114] the love of the Father, even unto the death of a cross.[115] For the sake of their salvation I will descend to raise them up with me in love and indivisible peace if they shall believe in me without doubt, and give thanks, and glorify through me the Father of that glorious majesty who sent me for their salvation. 13:5And I have loved them that they may not perish by the error in which they have persisted. And therefore, since I have appeared to them in the fullness of all the times,[116] they have no excuse[117] for their offenses unless they repent and believe in me. 13:6And also you, everything that you were commanded by your fathers, and everything that you learned from the mysteries of the books that you have read, do, since behold, the hidden mysteries of the light of the star that you have been waiting to see, behold, he himself has (now) told you about himself as you are able to hear. 13:7And you will believe without doubt, seeing in me signs of many forms. 13:8Andagain, take with you the treasure that was deposited in this cave by your fathers and [continue in joy] and worship the *[text missing]* I will be

born like a human being. 13:9And again, worship me there [text *missing]:* even now, as I am speaking with you I am also there. Because my Gospel has been proclaimed by angels, I am both there and with the majesty of my Father.[118] 13:10And I am everywhere,[119] because I am a ray of light whose light has shone in this world from the majesty of my Father, who has sent me to fulfill everything that was spoken about me in the entire world and in every land by unspeakable mysteries,[120] and to accomplish the commandment of my glorious Father, who by the prophets preached about me to the contentious house,[121] in the same way as for you, as befits your faith, it was revealed to you about me.[122] 13:11And I am going up with you and am a guide for you on the entire journey that you are traveling, seeing signs, glorious wonders, and great victories upon the entire earth. And you will see the completion of all the mysteries in Jerusalem, and everything that was spoken with you will come true for you. 13:12And again, you will see signs of humility, even a lowly and weak form, such that people will act boldly against me, and they will desire to do that which they plotted in deceit against me, and they will not be able to have [their goal] take place. 13:13But all that they do will be for their killing and their destruction,[123]and the will of the Father shall be fulfilled for the sake of the salvation of the life of the whole world."

14. THE MAGI REALIZE CHRIST'S POLYMORPHISM

14:1And when he spoke all these things with us, along with a great many that we cannot say because of the great riches of their majesty, all of us went out of the cave, exulting and rejoicing that we were thought worthy for all these mysteries of that unspeakable majesty to be revealed around us and spoken with us. 14:2And we took that entire treasure that was deposited in the cave, letters having been sealed in which it was placed.[124] And we descended from the mountain, glorifying the mysteries of the revelations of the light of the star that appeared to us. 14:3And each of us was speaking about the revelations and visions that had appeared to him in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, but our visions did not resemble each other, and all the wonders of many forms that appeared to us.[125] 14:4There is one of us saying, "I saw a light in which there were many images that were amazing." And there is one saying, "I saw an infant who had unspeakable forms." 14:5And there is one saying, "I saw a youth who did not have a form in this world." And there is one saying, "I saw a human being who was humble, unsightly in appearance,[126] and poor." 14:6And there is one saying, "I saw a cross and a person of light who hungupon it, taking away the sins of the entire world."[127] And there is one saying, "I saw that he went down to Sheol with force and all the dead rose and worshiped him."[128] 14:7And there is one saying, "I saw that he ascended in glory, and he opened the graves, and he raised up the dead, while they are crying out and saying: 'Holy is our king and holy is his descent to us! Because of our sins he humbled himself to save us.'" 14:8And there is one saying, "I saw him ascending to the heavenly height, and angels opening the gates[129] of heaven before him. And clouds of seraphs and angels are taking him upon the palms of their hands,[130] and the Paraclete Spirit[131] taking a diadem and a crown and making victory shine before him, and all the hosts praising and singing the honor of his humility, which prevailed in the whole struggle of error and death." 14:9And when all these things and others like them, of

which there were many, (happened,) while descending the Mountain of Victories, we gave praise and repeated to each other everything that we saw and heard there. 14:10And we were in great rejoicing and great exultation that we were thought worthy to see this complete gift of salvation for which all the kings, and righteous ones, and prophets, and powerful ones prayed, and hoped, and waited, that they might see this sight. But they did not see it[132] because it was not then the time of the coming of the star of light, giving perfect salvation to its believers.

15. THE FATHER SPEAKS To THE MAGI

15:1And while we were praising these things, suddenly a voice with much light[133] and with unspeakable kindness came to our ears from the heavenly height of majesty, saying to us: “Everything that you have seen, and heard, and discussed, and had spoken to you, and (at which) behold, you are amazed, is (only) one drop of salvation from the house of [majesty.] 15:2For there is no one who can know all the mysteries of singleness except the one who is issued from the thought of the hiddenness of the Father. And no one knows the Father except[134] the voice bringing forth the word of salvation, revealing the depth of hiddenness of the thought of the Father, in whom he is forever.[135] 15:3And by the (same) voice and word the heavenly worlds and the lower ones of the Father of majesty came into being and were ordered:[136] the angels, and powers, and princes, and authorities, even this world in which you exist, and the height, and depth, and length, and width.[137] 15:4And there is otherwise nothing that exists outside the will of the Father of majesty[138] or that has come to be without the voice of life. For this is my beloved Son,[139] being sent of perfect love. This is the revealer of the secrets of the Father for his beloved ones, as it is fitting for them and as they can receive by his gift[140] of the Son. 15:5This is he who has told of new and perfect worlds forthose who are persuaded and believe in him. This is the interpreter of wisdom and hidden mysteries. This is he who is the image and form of the Father of majesty,[141] by whom he is always heard. 15:6This is the only begotten Son,[142] perfecting all the will of his Father. This is the one who is not loved and honored as he deserves, because that world loves the darkness and its desires more than him.[143] 15:7This is the one who was humbled and became a human being for the salvation of human beings so that they would not perish. He put on, by his will, a body,[144] a humble form, that with it he might slay death and take away the dominion of death, to give eternal life to those who love him and believe in him. 15:8This is the

one in whose name signs and portents take place through his believers.[145] This is the perfect Son, doing the will of he who sent him. This one is the way[146] and the gate[147] of light for those who enter by it. 15:9This is the one who is in everything and is named and spoken of above all.[148] This is the bread of life that comes down from me[149] for believers; he is the sower of the word of life,[150] and he is the shepherd of truth who gives himself as ransom for his flock.[151] He is the great priest[152] who by his blood absolves the worlds; he is a drink[153] of the vine[154] of life. 15:10This is the one that you saw who is in many forms that appeared to you, but is not deprived of either my love or the person of his glory. And no one exists over him or over his majesty to speak of how he is, except me, and I and he, we are one in unspeakable glory."

16. THE MIRACULOUS JOURNEY

16:1And when all these things and many others were spoken about the revelation that appeared to us, the star was with us in all (its) excellent forms so we could see it. And we spoke about it like frail human beings, not being able to say anything that we saw. 16:2And we got ready with our whole encampment,[155] and with our provisions, and with the pure and holy gifts, those that we brought out of the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, in which they were [deposited] previously by our fathers, and we went forth in great joy, our hearts exulting to come to the place that was commanded to us, to worship the vision of the star of infinite light. 16:3And the star, our guide, our good messenger, our perfect light, our glorious leader, again appeared for us, going before us and upholding[156] our whole caravan from all sides, and enlightening us by its hidden light. [see *The Journey of the Magi* on pages 62 and 63]. 16:4And we had no need of the light of the sun or of the moon,[157] because their light became diminished in its sight, and by night and by day we walked in its light, exulting and rejoicing without distress or weariness.[158] 16:5And it prepared before us a blessed dwelling place in which to reside while we rested and exulted. Even our provisions were abundant in our eyes and did not decrease, but rather from one day to another they increasedwhen it[159] came to rest over us with its light.[160] 16:6And it gave rest to us from all our fatigue as if we were not journeying on the road, and it made mountains, and hills, and rugged places level before us.[161] Even the rivers before us we crossed by foot without fear, because of the light of our good guide that went along with us for our encampment. And again, when we crossed into the places [of beasts and vicious snakes,] we trampled them with our feet.[162] 16:7And our leader and our guide, in his glory, appeared to each one of us in all forms and appearances in every (stage). And he filled our hearts with great joy, and all the (stages) in which we journeyed were short and swift in our eyes,

because our victorious sign and our powerful light, which is beyond every human mouth to speak, guided us with its victorious strength.

17. THE MAGI IN JERUSALEM

17:1And when we arrived in the region of Jerusalem, in the month of flowers,[163] our good emissary led and brought us inside Jerusalem. 17:2And its nobles and rulers were disturbed and troubled,[164] and they asked us: “On account of what cause have you come here? Perhaps because of the mysteries of your Magianism?” because they saw us looking up at heaven, and worshiping our sign, and praying to our guide, because they did not understand our mysteries, and they reckoned us as Magi.[165]

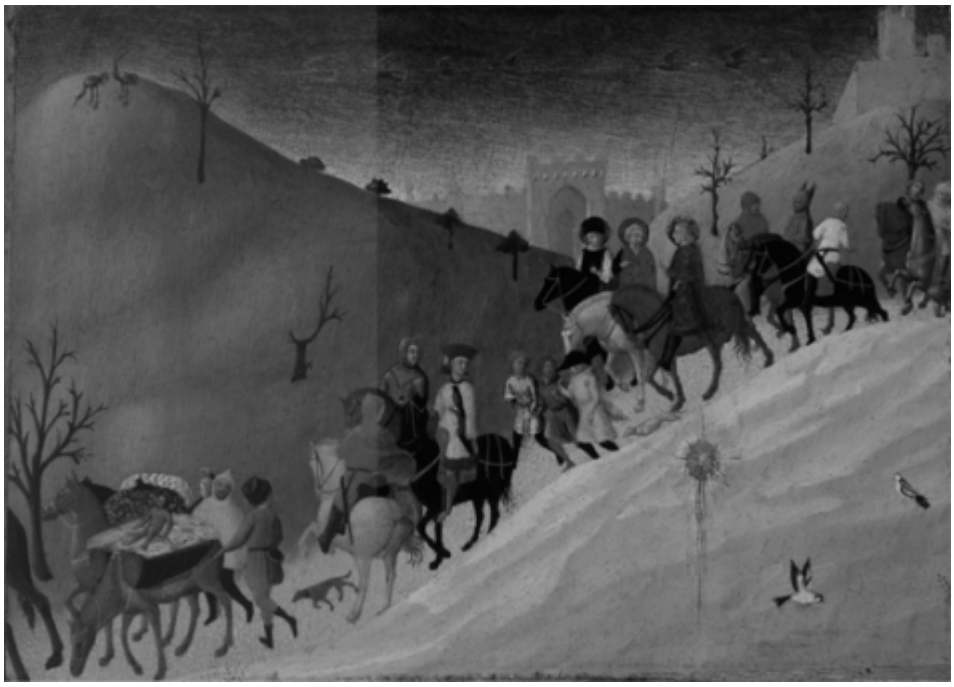

Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni) (ca. 1400–1450) *The Journey of the Magi.* Ca. 1435. Tempera and gold on wood, 8 1/2 x 11 3/4 in. (21.6 x 29.8 cm). Maitland F. Griggs Collection, Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, 1943 (43.98.1). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo Credit: Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY

The Journey of the Magi by Sassetta, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, ca. 1435. Similar to the description found in chapter 16 of the *Revelation of the Magi,* this painting depicts the Star of Bethlehem as being in close proximity to the traveling Magi.

17:3And we said to them: "We saw a sign of heavenly majesty in our land, as we were instructed by our fathers, that a king, and a messiah, and a life giver, and a savior who gives himself to death for the sake of the entire world has been born here. 17:4And we have come because we saw all his signs and the forms of his hidden divinity in the appearance of a human clothed with a body.[166] And we came, rejoicing with our pure gifts, which were deposited by our fathers in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries on the Mountain of Victories. 17:5And he commanded us in a great vision to come to this land to worship him in reverence, because he has worshipers in every country.[167] He becomes for them a life giver, and a savior, and a forgiver of sins, and through him the Lord of all is pleased with his creation and makes atonement with his people." 17:6And Herod, the governor of the region, called and sent for the honorable elders of the city, and asked them: "Where is it written that the king messiah, and savior, and life giver of the worlds is to be born?"[168] And all of them said to him (as) from one mouth: "The village Bethlehem, as was said by the heavenly majesty to our father David, the ancient prophet who lived a long time ago." 17:7And when we heard from them what they said, again we rejoiced greatly. And while we were exulting, we saw our leader and our guide; again we abounded in joy all the more.[169] 17:8And while we spoke mysteries, and all manner of revelations,and praises, we went in joy to Bethlehem as the blind scribes had read, not believing what they read from their books,[170] nor Herod, the blind governor, [unseeing] of the love of the light that was born in their land, which (was) the light before (all) worlds.[171] And they are dwelling in darkness in the world in their days.[172] 17:9But Herod said to us in his deceit: "When you have seen the messiah, come and tell me, that I also may go to worship him."[173] And because he was not worthy for the worship of the light that was born, because he was a dwelling of error, it was said to us by our guide and our light that we should not return to him,[174] because he was not [worthy] to see the great light of the world,[175] because he was totally deaf and blind to its worship.

18. ARRIVAL IN BETHLEHEM

18:1 And we went and entered Bethlehem in joy, which was worthy to be called the village for the holy birth and for the great light that appeared in it (to kill) and destroy all error and to bring death to an end. 18:2 And all of us went to the homestead[176] in which our guide was born, and we saw a cave[177] like the form and appearance of the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries,[178] which is in our country, from which we had learned the hidden mysteries that were preached about him, which were deposited in it by our ancient fathers, and they were allaccomplished today in our coming here.[179] 18:3 And we saw the pillar of light, which descended as we had seen it before,[180] and it stood in front of the cave, and that star of light descended and stood above the pillar, angels on its right side and on its left side.[181] 18:4 And when we saw it, again we rejoiced, though being afraid. And the pillar, and the star, and the angels entered and went before us into that cave,[182] in which the mystery and light of salvation was born. 18:5 And a compassionate voice instructed us, "Enter inside,"[183] and we went in after it, and we took our crowns,[184] and we put them under his feet, because the everlasting kingdom is his.[185] 18:6 And we knelt and worshiped before him upon the earth, because every knee that is in heaven and on earth bows to him and worships him.[186] 18:7 And we opened our hidden treasures, and they being sealed, we took them and came near the treasure of salvation, who is sealed with heavenly majesty. 18:8 And we brought forth our treasures before him, who is the treasure of salvation, that we might receive them from him in the kingdom by many-fold before his own judgment seat of salvation.[187]

19. Epiphany in the bethlehem cave

19:1And the glorious infant and the ancient light perfecting the will of the Father of majesty opened his mouth, and he said to us with a love of abundant and sweetmercy: “Peace to you, sons of my hidden mysteries,[188] sons of the East, of the heavenly light, because you have been found worthy to see the ancient everlasting light, you and also your fathers.[189] 19:2And as you were worthy, behold, you have received him in perfect love without doubt. And again, you will be worthy to see him in his great light before which there will no longer be any mysteries, because they all are fulfilled in him. 19:3And he alone from this time onward rules over all, and all are subject to him. 19:4For it was I who was revealed to you in your land, and I spoke with you by mysteries. And again, I became for you a guide and leader to this place until you came in peace before me. 19:5And again, I shall be with you even until the end,[190] and I am not separated from you nor from all those who believe in me with perfect love. 19:6And again, you will be witnesses for me in the land of the East together with my disciples,[191] those who are chosen by me to preach my Gospel. 19:7And when I have completed the will of my Father regarding everything that he commanded me, (I will go up) in the glory in which I was with him.[192] Yet even now, while I am speaking with you, I am with him and have not become separated from the majesty of the Father.[193] 19:8Now I shall give to you another sign at which you will be astonished: in the hour that you see the sun darkened in the daytime like the night,[194] and there is a great earthquake upon the earth, and the voice of the dead is heard fromtheir graves giving praise,[195] then at that time know that all the times and seasons have come to an end in my coming to you. 19:9And lift your eyes to the (heavens), and see them opened in glory before me, and I am ascending in praise fitting for me and sitting at the right hand of the Father of majesty,[196] from whom I have been sent to save the world.”

20. ANGELS PRAISE CHRIST

20:1And while the savior was speaking all these things with us, that entire cave shone,[197] and it became in our eyes like another world, since [in this world] there was no light like it. 20:2And many voices of [seraphs] were speaking and *[text missing]* which are innumerable: "Yea and Amen![198] 20:3O first-born opener of the secret womb, O holy infant, O completer of the will of the heavenly majesty who is the perfect 'Yes,' and through whom everything came into being,[199] and 'Amen,'[200] by your light and by your word they were made perfect, and all the worlds seen and unseen were brought to completion.[201] 20:4And all the angels and the powers worship you. And yours is the place of salvation, which you will give to your chosen ones. And yours is the ancient light, because you are the beloved fruit of the thought of the Father. 20:5And you are the image and will of the one who upholds all, the revealer of hidden things, because by the word that is spoken all thatis in the thought is made known. And you are all, and all is in you, and there is nothing outside of your will."[202]

21. THE COMMISSIONING OF THE MAGI

21:1And when all these praises were spoken and we heard, we were afraid and trembled, and we fell upon the ground like dead men. 21:2And the child, the offspring of light, stretched out his right hand mightily and put it upon us.[203] And he comforted us and said to us: “Sons of my mysteries,[204] do not be afraid. For all these things that you have seen and heard from the first day until today, and at which you are amazed: even those ones that [you hear] are not greater than I am, but for you they are mighty because you are clothed in weak flesh, yet for me they are very small things. 21:3For because of your frailty, you are not able to see or hear a single one of the wonderful things that belong to me with the Father who sent me. But since you have been found worthy to see and hear these things at this time—and behold, you are amazed as wonderful things are in your sight!—again you shall be deemed worthy by my love, which is with you forever, to see and hear these great things that cannot be spoken now. And neither watchers nor angels are able to speak of them, because these things are very great even for them.[205] 21:4Therefore, rise and go in peace to your light-receiving land,[206] because you have been deemed worthyto receive the perfect light of the heavenly majesty, and to come and worship it with your gifts in joy. Behold, you have completed everything that you were commanded by your fathers, and you have also been deemed worthy to know and learn the ancient hidden mysteries, which were written for you from the first generations. Now, behold, you have seen the completion of your mysteries, and you have completed everything that you have been commanded for my love and for my witness. 21:5And again, you have been deemed worthy to be witnesses for me in the East with my disciples, who were chosen by me before the world came to be. And when I have completed the will of my Father regarding everything that he commanded me and have ascended to him in glory, I shall send to you some of my chosen ones who have been chosen by me for your land. And they shall speak and witness the truth with

you that it may be your seal[207] with one accord. 21:6Therefore, rise and go in peace. Again, I am with you in all visions and signs,[208] just as I am with you from the first day. For just as I am in sight and in all forms here—and behold, you are amazed by all the visions and forms in which you see me—I am also with the Father of majesty whose will I am since the world began, and I am never separated from you, nor from the presence of the Father, because I am a ray of his light, and I was sent to you to enlighten you. 21:7And behold, you are amazed as frail human beings—how much morewhen I have come to you in the majesty of my Father. As for you not being able to stand before me, neither (could) the angels and powers that are above you when I descended upon them, and they saw a vision of wonders and stood in fear and trembling. Even as it was fitting for them I appeared to them, and for you I appeared as you were able to see. 21:8For the Father of majesty does not have an image and form in this world,[209] except I who am an epiphany from him, since I am his will, and his power, and his wisdom,[210] since I am in my Father and my Father is in me.[211] And I am—as it is fitting for God to be seen and for the world to know him, and again, as the sons of wisdom can receive and hear with love—the majesty of the Father who sent me. And now I have appeared to you in the form of humanity to fulfill everything that is written about me.[212] 21:9Because of the reason and the foolishness of your ancient father Adam's sin, which became your downfall to Sheol, death has had authority over you, and error has reigned in deceit over your generations and has supposed in its rashness that it was lord over you and that you had become its property forever. And again, I have made known to you, your fathers, and even to that ancient race of yours, your freedom, because you are from the race of light.[213] And it was not in vain that you were created in the world, and heaven, and earth, and all the worlds came into being for your sake.[214] 21:10And also, the Father of majesty, becauseof this love, sent me, and I clothed myself in your form, that by it I might bring to an end and destroy all those who afflict you and your captors. And I shall offer you to the Father, before him as a pure and perfect offering, since there are no blemishes of error on you. And I shall set you free with love, and with truth, with pure water, and the birth of the Holy Spirit,[215] and you shall be for me by love brothers and believers, like infants in whom there are no blemishes of evil,[216] from now until forever. 21:11Therefore, joy, and praise, and thanksgiving he[217] will cause to

go up from you in the heavenly heights from you through me, since I am his will. And joy, and redemption, and the fellowship of the Spirit, and eternal life shall be given to you through me, since everything is in agreement without division. As from the beginning under the wings[218] of the Father will it be, his power, and his wisdom, and his righteous will sanctifying and having mercy upon you forever and ever." 21:12And again, a voice from on high, and from every direction, and from inside the earth was heard, which answered and said, "Amen! The will of complete salvation, joy and peace to all the worlds!"[219]

22. THE MAGI MEET MARY AND JOSEPH

22:1And when we received from him the commandments of salvation, we went forth from his presence in great joy,and much exultation, and with praise, our hearts being filled with great hope, to come to our land. 22:2And Joseph and Mary, honored and blessed people, went out with us,[220] they who were deemed worthy and entrusted to be called by the name parents and to be upbringers for the offspring of the voice of virgin hearing[221] and upbringers for the perfect will of complete mercy. Mary became the gate for the great light that entered the world in grace to banish the darkness. 22:3And she became the way of salvation for God giving birth to himself,[222] who appeared in the bodily form of a human being.[223] And there will be for her a name, and a memory, and a blessing forever and ever.[224] 22:4And they lifted up their eyes and they saw the light that was born by his mercy in their house,[225] which is with us and accompanies us. 22:5And they said to us: “We were not pleased by your coming to us. You have led away the light and the great hope of the whole world, and you have gone away [with him] and [have deprived us] of him. We were deemed worthy by great grace to be trusted to be attendants for it, for the upbringing of the body that appeared in our house,[226] and now, behold, we have seen him going away with you.”

23. THE MAGI'S REVELATION TO MARY

23:1 We said to her: "O woman blessed among women,[227] O blessed Mary, who was deemed worthy by mercy toreceive the conception of the Spirit by your pure obedience and to bring forth the child of salvation of the eternal word, you were trusted and deemed worthy to be called mother for him. 23:2 And now, behold, your glorious child is inside of you,[228] and behold, he awaits you in the house, even while he is not separated from us, as he said to us, because he is the great gift of salvation that by your child was given to all the worlds. 23:3 And the mystery that was hidden from the beginning in the Father of all has been revealed to us in your child. And the treasure of salvation has appeared which had been kept for all generations. This great gift and light of salvation is not yours alone, but is (for) all the heavenly and lower worlds. 23:4 And lift up your eyes and see that he is in the entire creation and enlightens it all, and it is full of his glorious mysteries. And now he has appeared in the world in a body, and the forms with him are seen in every land, because he has been sent by his[229] majesty for the salvation and redemption of every human being."[230]

24. MARY SPEAKS TO CHRIST

24:1And when Joseph and Mary turned back, rejoicing about all these things that they had heard about the holy child, they went away to their house.[231] 24:2And Mary entered and found the child of light laughing[232] about and glorifying all his great and amazing mysteries, proclaimed in the entire world from [ancient times,] and behold, all of them are fulfilled in his appearance today. And he glorified and gave thanks to his Father who sent him for the redemption of his worlds. 24:3And Mary and Joseph worshiped him, and she said to him: “I have rejoiced that I have seen the treasury of salvation, and my light, and the holy child, who is the obedience of my ears.[233] 24:4And O opener of my womb by [your] holy mercy, O Lord of my holy virginity, I have greatly rejoiced that I have found my great treasure in my house where I gave birth and my great light, which exists forever. I had thought, O my beloved, that the Easterners were taking you, with your great love for them, in exchange for the gifts they offered to you from your own, since I saw your holy form going along with them.”[234]

25. CHRIST BLESSES MARY

25:1And he answered in a sweet and humble voice and said to Mary: "Peace to you,[235] my mother and upbringer, since you were deemed worthy to be blessed among women,[236] since you were deemed worthy for the fruit of the voice of salvation. Since you accepted and conceived with love in your mind and with faith without doubt, you shall receive the reward of your service and shall have blessing and remembrance in all (the) generations,[237] and in the new world you shall receive a good reward. 25:2And because of you, Eve and her offspring will have hope and salvation, since by your person you have made her pass beyond the spear that fenced in the Tree of Life.[238] 25:3And by your person tranquillity and peace have happened for all the worlds from now on and forever, Amen! For I, who appeared in your house, have come to fulfill the will of the Father who sent me, and everyone who hears me and believes shall live. For behold, you have perfectly accomplished your own service without a flaw, for which you shall receive a good recompense. 25:4Therefore, I am turning to all my brethren who are in the entire world, that I may perfectly fulfill everything that the Father commanded me for my believers, so that they may bring forth the fruits of eternal salvation. And I shall also give to them all the promises of my Father, which through me are fulfilled, and are given, and are accomplished for my believers and everyone who believes in me."

26. THE RETURN JOURNEY HOME

26:1And when we came to the first (stage), again the sign of light appeared to us in front of us, and we rejoiced and exulted greatly, and we knelt and worshiped upon the ground before it. 26:2And we glorified the vision, and we answered in our voice as one and said to it: “We worship and give thanks for your kindness and your light, whichaccompanies [our] encampment everywhere.” 26:3And he answered and said to us: “I am everywhere,[239] and there is no land in which I am not. I am also where you departed from me, for I am greater than the sun, and there is no place in the world that is deprived of it, even though it[240] is a single entity; yet if it departs from the world, all its inhabitants sit in darkness. How much more I, who am the Lord of the sun, and my light and word are more abundant [by many times] than the sun.” 26:4And we answered and said before him: “O our light and our savior, we know all these things, and they are true for us. And we believe that all these wonders that we saw with all your believers[241] are, for your majesty, small things. But for us they are powerful, and no mouth can speak of them or acknowledge any of them.” 26:5And when the time of supper came, we brought out some of our provisions to refresh ourselves, and we saw that our provisions were replenished beyond those provisions that came out of our country with us when we came.[242] And then, again, we were all the more afraid, glorifying the majesty that was with us, which did not hold back from our weakness. 26:6And when we ate our supper from the food in passing the night, each of us spoke joy and praise. As with a fountain that spouts forth much water, so the visions and wonders did not resemble each other.[243] 26:7And we spoke to and glorified our guide, and our leader, and the light of our encampment, and the manyforms, and his glorious vestments, and his beautiful images, and his perfect likenesses, which were with us.

27. THE MAGI ADDRESS THE PEOPLE OF SHIR

27:1And we journeyed on all (our stages) with his glorious signs until we came to our borders, and all our families, children, and a multitude of the people of our land came out to meet us. 27:2And when they heard that we had come, they met us with great joy and received us, rejoicing, and exulting, and glorifying. And they marveled at our appearance and the health of our entire encampment.[244] 27:3And when we went to them, they assembled and came before us. And we began to speak and narrate for them about[245] how our ascent took place, and about the astounding visions that accompanied us, and about our entrance into Jerusalem, and about everything that was spoken with us, and about our journeying to Bethlehem, and about the glorious visions and revelations of the Father of heavenly majesty, which appeared to us in the cave: a great light and wondrous appearances in the bodily form of a humble human being, and about his light of the star, which went before us as a glorious guide. 27:4And when, again, we entered and saw before us the unspeakable glory, and we fell and worshiped the divine child of great light, two angels were standing by and a pillar of cloud[246] was standing by, like all the visions that we saw previously on the Mountain of Victories in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, which is in our land. Also, in that cave everything was accomplished in truth, even about the forms and vestments of the glorious and divine child who appeared to us in the cave of Bethlehem.[247] 27:5And he spoke to us and taught us, “Behold, all the mysteries, and parables, and forms, and revelations are fulfilled, and everything that has been spoken about me by the prophets and in the whole world from the first day until today.[248] From now on let the will of he who sent me be accomplished in me regarding everything that he sent me to fulfill.” 27:6And we offered him gifts that we took from the Cave of Treasures, which were deposited by our fathers from his own.[249] And we worshiped him, the Lord of worship, and he opened his splendid and glorious mouth and spoke [salvation] with us as

we were able and sufficient to hear it,[250] and in this way he planted the word of salvation in us. 27:7And he spoke and revealed to us concerning the place of salvation and concerning the heavenly kingdom of the Father of majesty, the Lord of all, who sent him for the healing of the worlds, to cure their sickness, because they could not be healed by one of the ancient prophets,[251] but only through the will of the Son of perfect mercy. 27:8And he dismissed us to come to our land in peace, and when we came to the first stage, rejoicing and exulting the entire way, again we found our guide and our light with all the forms that we saw before us.[252] And we trembled and were greatly afraid, worshiping and glorifying his majesty, which accompanied our encampment. 27:9And also, our provisions were filling our vessels, overflowing from his blessings, and were even more than the provisions that we had taken with us when we set out to go.[253] And behold, they are sitting filled before your[254] eyes, our vessels overflowing from them, because of the power of his blessings, which settled upon us, and so that they might be proved true for you and you might believe everything—the visions and wonders that we saw—and that you also might be deemed worthy to become believers and chosen ones for him. 27:10And his great power and his revelations will indeed stay with you, because he is also here [with us] in truth, as he spoke to us,[255] and we believe that his light is not removed from our encampment. Indeed, again, he is in the entire world, for he is the light that is all-sufficient and all-enlightening[256] by his perfect love.[257] 27:11Everyone who wishes, receive without doubt, with a whole heart and true faith, and eat from these provisions, which have come with us. And be deemed worthy, and you, too, join in his blessing, which accompanies us and is with us forever.

28. THE PEOPLE EAT THE MAGI'S FOOD

28:1And some of the people,[258] rejoicing in love, took of those provisions and ate. And they began rejoicing andleaping for joy, while glorifying and saying to each other everything that appeared to them.[259] There was one of them saying, "At the moment I ate of these provisions, I saw a great light that has no likeness in the world." 28:2And there is one saying, "I saw God bearing himself[260] in the world as he wished." And there is one saying, "I saw a star of light that darkened the sun by its light."[261] And there is one saying, "I saw a human being whose appearance is more unsightly than a man,[262] and he is saving and purifying the world by his blood and by his humble appearance." 28:3And there is one saying, "I saw something like a lamb[263] hanging upon a tree of life,[264] and by him and his blood redemption takes place for all the creatures of the world." And there is one saying, "I saw a pillar of light diving down inside the bowels of the earth, and the dead rise to meet it, and they worship and glorify it with great joy." 28:4And those who ate from those provisions were speaking to each other many other things beyond these, and their minds brought forth much glory day by day. And there was great joy in the entire land of the East, and the nobles, and the poor, and women, and children from the entire land were gathered together[265] in the love of our Lord[266] before those nobles who were called Magi.[267] 28:5And they[268] came and heard from them[269] the new and glorious teaching,[270] and the mysteries, and the revelations, and everything that was spoken with them from thatfirst day that they went out from their land until they came back in joy. And again, day by day, revelations, and visions, and all kinds of powerful manifestations were increased for them. 28:6And the faith increased with the love of the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ,[271] by the mighty works which he did through them, that offspring of light who appeared to them until he accomplished the will of the one who sent him in everything and

was taken up with glory to that heavenly height, his first abode. And the faith of salvation increased in the land of the East in those who heard.[272]

29. JUDAS THOMAS ARRIVES IN SHIR

29:1When, again, Judas Thomas[273] went down there by the will of our Lord when he sent him, again the faith increased all the more in those who heard, through the many mighty works and signs that Judas Thomas, the apostle of our Lord, was doing there. 29:2And when the nobles had heard that Judas had gone there, as the light that appeared to them had said,[274] they gathered together and went to him to meet with him in prayer and faith. And they saluted Judas with complete love, rejoicing in our Lord. 29:3And Judas also greatly rejoiced with them, and while they were with him for (several) days,[275] they related to Judas how they were deemed worthy to receive fromthe first day this gift of the light of the world, and about[276] their ascent to him at Bethlehem and everything that was spoken with them, and about the revelations and visions that they saw there in the cave, and about their descent, how he, in his light, accompanied their entire encampment with many visions and revelations. 29:4And when Judas the Apostle recognized that the gift of our Lord had overflowed upon them, he also related to them about our savior while all the brethren were gathered together as one, and about the mighty works, and healings, and wonders, which he did in the very sight of his apostles, and about the forms of his images, and about his astounding appearances, about which we are not able to narrate, since he was always appearing to us so that we were amazed[277] by him, and we stood in the outpouring and in the doubt of mind,[278] since no one had ever appeared in such a way in the days of the world. 29:5And when all the brethren heard what Judas related to them, they all glorified with one voice the Lord of heavenly majesty through his Son, the will of perfect salvation. And they sought from Judas, the apostle of our Lord, to make them partakers with him in the seal[279] of our Lord. 29:6And Judas said: “My brothers, I also rejoice, because it is for this gift that I was sent in salvation, since everyone who believes in salvation and with love receives the seal of my Lord Jesus Christ in truth, the Enemy does not rule over.”

30. THE HYMN OF JUDAS THOMAS

30:1 Then at night, before Sunday, Judas also led those brethren who, rejoicing, had asked him to receive the seal of our Lord also. And he went out to a spring of water, and he took oil[280] and gave praise over it, and he said:[281]

30:2 *"We praise you, O mystery of salvation,*

which was given to us in oil by grace for anointing.

30:3 *Glory to you, O hidden mystery,*

which was given to us in oil by grace for salvation, for anointing.

Glory to you, O hidden mystery,

which was given to us in oil for salvation and

absolution.

30:4 *And by it[282] (you) enlighten us and drive away darkness and error from us.*

And again, by its mystery the athletes of the contest defeat their enemies.

30:5 *Glory to you, O mystery of the oil,*

since you became worthy to be in fellowship with Christ.

With you the victorious are crowned in the contest, and you are twinned with the Spirit.

30:6*And you fly over the water like your (twin,) the Holy Spirit, you mix the soul with mind,*

and you renew the body with the birth of salvation.

30:7*Come, O partner of the firstborn;*

Come, O renewer of humanity by the birth to eternal life;

30:8*and rest upon these believers, the beloved ones of our Lord Jesus Christ, and purify them and sanctify them from all the stains of their bodies,*

30:9*and may they become for you temples for your dwelling*

and rest for the Son of perfect mercy.

And may you perfectly sanctify them with the birth of salvation."

31. THE MAGI RECEIVE THE EUCHARIST AND COMMISSION TO PREACH

31:1And he baptized them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit,[283] and when they all came up from the water, a certain child of heavenly light appeared to them, who descended from heaven and said to them: "Peace be with you, sons of all my mysteries.[284] And behold, now all the visions and revelations that you saw from the first day have been accomplished in your birth." 31:2And they were afraid and fell upon the ground,[285] and when they stood up he appeared to them in the form of a glorious and divine young man. And taking a whole loaf of bread, he gave praise, broke, and gave first to the Apostle Judas, and also to each one of them, and he said to them, "Behold the consummation and sealing of your birth of salvation. From now and forever, be confirmed in my promise." 31:3And when he was separated from their sight, again they saw him going up to heaven in glory that has no end. 31:4And Judas said: "We glorify your sweet majesty, your singularity in many personifications, your glorious images that you have shown us, and the clothes that you have put on for our sake, that we may be clothed in your powerful majesty. 31:5And by as many names as you have been called, you are not in any one of them, for you alone have known your great name[286] and your majesty, and your exalted Father, and no one else. 31:6And all these forms in which you were clothed and appeared for our sake, that we might know you, were because you loved us with your great mercy that was for us, and everything that the crucifiers brought upon you, you endured for our sake, being exalted above all sufferings and being a kinsperson of that one who does not suffer,[287] in order that we should have redemption by your grace. 31:7And on our behalf you endured everything and you suffered everything, foryou are our advocate, and our guide, and our light, and our savior, and because we have believed in you, we have everything in you. And you have completely given

it to us by the trust of your love toward us, you who endured everything for our sake." 31:8And all the new disciples of the word of salvation answered and said with great joy: "We glorify, and we worship, and we give thanks for your majesty, which is unspeakable by the mouth of human beings because we are too weak for it, and for your great light, you caused to shine upon our weakness, by which you made us worthy in your mercy for your fellowship of everlasting life." 31:9And while they were delighting greatly in thanksgiving, and prayer, and visions of our Lord, a multitude of brethren were added to the faith day by day.[288] 31:10And Judas said to them: "Therefore, my brethren, let us fulfill the commandment of our Lord, who said to us: 'Go out into the entire world and preach my Gospel.'[289] So, my brethren, be you also preachers of the Word like us, because you have also received the gift of our Lord. Also go out to every place and preach the gift of our light and of our savior generously to everyone."

32. THE preaching of the magi

32:1And they[290] went forth from there to every place and preached in perfect love about the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Lord of all, even doing mighty works and healings in the name of our Lord, which are unspeakable by the mouth of human beings, through the Holy Spirit that was poured out upon them by the gift of our Lord. 32:2And they preached the faith of truth, saying and teaching to everyone: “Flee from the darkness and come to the light that does not pass away, so that you may live and have refuge under the wings[291] of our Lord Jesus, our savior and our great refuge on the last day, from the fearsome judgment of fire that will come suddenly to purify the entire earth from error,[292] which has ruled over it in its deceit. 32:3And you shall be delivered by faith from the heat of the fire and shall enter that rest that is prepared for all the chosen and the believers who have believed in the child of perfect light, and in eternal life, in the kingdom of my[293] Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Lord of all, in his heavenly majesty, in his new world, and in his heavenly and great and never-passing-away light, and in his glorious rest. And you shall rest forever and ever, amen and amen.” 32:4The story about the Magi and their gifts has finished.[294]

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CONCLUSION

The Meanings of the "Revelation of the Magi"

What are the most important things we learn from the *Revelation of the Magi?* Is it merely a colorful and captivating piece of fiction? Or does it tell us anything about the Magi and the Christmas story that we wouldn't otherwise know? What might be the broader significance of this ancient tale—not just for scholars who specialize in early Christianity, but for a wide range of lay readers as well?

Two points especially come to mind. First, the *Revelation of the Magi* is an outstanding example of how much influence writings *outside of* the Bible can have on our conceptions of biblical texts, people, and events. Of course, some readers may deny that their understandings of the Bible are determined by anything other than the Bible itself. But to illustrate how apocryphal writingscan shape our views of biblical stories, I'd like you to ask yourself this question: in the Christmas story, how do Mary and Joseph get to Bethlehem?

I would imagine that many of you said that they used a donkey. Indeed, some of you may have been more specific: that Mary rode the donkey while Joseph walked. But take a look at Luke 2:1–7, the most famous account of the Christmas story and of the census that brought Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem.

> In those days a decree went out from Emperor Augustus that all the world should be registered. This was the first registration and was

> taken while Quirinius was governor of Syria. All went to their own towns to be registered. Joseph also went from the town of Nazareth in Galilee to Judea, to the city of David called Bethlehem, because he was descended from the house and family of David. He went to be registered with Mary, to whom he was engaged and who was expecting a child. While they were there, the time came for her to deliver her child. And she gave birth to her firstborn son and wrapped him in bands of cloth, and laid him in a manger, because there was no place for them in the inn.

Do you see the familiar donkey mentioned anywhere? Why isn't it mentioned? The reality is that although it has become common knowledge that Mary and Joseph used a donkey to get to Bethlehem, this information isn't found anywhere in Luke or, in fact, in the rest of the Bible.

The famous donkey first appears in the *Protevangelium of James*, a second-century apocryphal Infancy Gospel. Here is what that writing says:

> He [i.e., Joseph] saddled the donkey and seated her [i.e., Mary] on it; and his son led it along, while Joseph followed behind. (*Protevangelium of James* 17:2)

From its debut in the *Protevangelium*, the donkey appeared in other ancient retellings of the Christmas story, and from there to Christmas pageants, greeting cards, carols, and so forth—despite its never being mentioned at all in the Bible! Might the *Revelation of the Magi*, like the *Protevangelium*, also have elements that have influenced our understanding of the Christmas story?

To my knowledge, there is nothing in the *Revelation of the Magi* that has filtered into the version of the Christmas story that we know *today*, certainly not like the donkey has. Yet the *Revelation of the Magi* has not always been as invisible as it is now. In fact, for European Christians in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, this story had an immense influence.

How did the *Revelation of the Magi*, an ancient Syriac writing, become such a powerful influence in medieval and Renaissance Europe? Recall that in the introduction, I mentioned a summary of the *Revelation of the Magi* found in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*, a fifth-century Latin commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. When I discussed it before, its

significance was as a key witness to the *Revelation of the Magi*, helping us to learn how old the text actually might be. But my very brief mention of the *Opus Imperfectum* does not do justice to how influential this text became in the centuries after which it was composed.

We don't know who wrote the *Opus Imperfectum;* all we can infer is that it was written in the fifth century and that the author lived somewhere close to the great city of Constantinople. But for reasons unknown, it became incorrectly attributed to Saint John Chrysostom, a major Christian thinker and bishop in fourth-century Antioch. Because it was believed to have been penned by Chrysostom, the *Opus Imperfectum* continued to be copied and read throughout medieval Europe.

And this meant that its legend about the Magi also entered the world of medieval Christianity. Several pieces of artwork are reproduced in this book that show unquestionable influence from the *Revelation of the Magi*. Consider the two paintings associated with Rogier van der Weyden and his school, which today reside in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin and the Cloisters Museum in New York, respectively (see frontispiece and page 51). In each of these, the three Magi stand in awe of the Christ child, who prominently hovers above them in the form of a star! As I said in the introduction, the *Revelation of the Magi* is the only ancient Christian text to identify the Star of Bethlehem with the celestial Christ himself, which makes it virtually certain that this legend is the source of these paintings. Further details confirm this. Behind the Magi stands their sacred mountain, the Mountain of Victories. And in the Cloisters painting, the Magi again appear in the background, immersing themselves in their Spring of Purification. The influence of the *Revelation of the Magi* is also evident in the depictions of the Magi found in manuscripts and printed books of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Mirror of Human Salvation), an immensely popular devotional writing of the fourteenth century (see *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* on pages 40 and 41).

Apart from inspiring artistic representations of the Magi, this legend also captivated Christian thinkers as distinguished as Saint Thomas Aquinas. In the *Summa Theologica*, his greatest work, Aquinas uses the *Revelation of the Magi* as evidence that the Star of Bethlehem was a clear and unmistakable way for God to tell human beings about the birth of Christ. Even if the meaning of the star wasn't obvious to everyone, it certainly was

to the Magi, who knew about its coming through Seth's books of revelation and were waiting attentively for it.[295]

The *Revelation of the Magi* even influenced the way explorers of the New World understood the indigenous cultures they encountered (see *Adoration of the Magi* on page 95). Two examples will suffice. First, there is the seventeenth-century Augustinian monk Antonio de la Calancha, who studied the Incan culture of Peru. He was impressed by the similarities between Andean traditional religion and Christianity, and he believed that the Apostle Thomas and the Magi must have missionized the region together, just as the *Opus Imperfectum* indicated.[296] Second, the Franciscan missionary and historian Juan de Torquemada described the belief among some of the Aztecs that the conquistador Cortés was the god Quetzalcoatl with recourse to this legend. Just as the Magi had stood atop the Mountain of Victories awaiting the fulfillment of their prophecy, Torquemada notes, so, too, did the Aztecs anxiously await the foretold return of Quetzalcoatl, and were all too willing to accept Cortés as the returned Quetzalcoatl when Spanish ships appeared off the Mexican coast.

Vasco Fernandes (ca. 1480–ca. 1543) *Adoration of the Magi.* Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Portugal. Photo Credit : Scala/White Images/Art Resource, NYT8829

Adoration of the Magi, attributed to Vasco Fernandes, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Portugal. This early-sixteenth-century painting represents one of the three Magi as a Native American. Both the biblical story of the Magi and the *Revelation of the Magi* influenced the ways in which explorers of the New World interpreted indigenous cultures of the Americas.

So the legend found in the *Revelation of the Magi* was demonstrably important for Christians in Europe half a millennium ago. And it is a powerful example of the way that an apocryphal writing can strongly influence understandings of biblical events, even if it does not figure into the portrayal of the "Wise Men" in the Christmas story as we know it today.

But as my second and final remark, I want to suggest a different reason that the *Revelation of the Magi* may be especially relevant for today's world. Speaking for a moment as a theologian rather than a historian, I

think that the most important thing about the *Revelation of the Magi* may not be what it says about the Magi, but what it says about *Christ.*

Recall that in the introduction I asked the question of why the *Revelation of the Magi* has been so neglected by modern scholars of early Christianity that it has only now been translated into English. The answer I gave there was that it had the misfortune of being preserved in a language few scholars knew, and of being part of not one but *two* neglected spheres of early Christian literature— stories about Jesus's birth, and writings that were not included in the New Testament.

But one might as willingly believe, if so inclined, that the introduction of the *Revelation of the Magi* to a wide audience at this precise moment in time is hardly a matter of chance. As already discussed, the *Revelation of the Magi* has a very unusual understanding of the origins of the world's religious traditions. Instead of seeing non-Christian religions as products of human vanity or demonic inspiration, as most ancient Christians did, the *Revelation of the Magi* sees potentially all revelation as coming from Christ himself. Moreover, because the star-child never reveals himself to the Magi as Christ, the *Revelation of the Magi* apparently believes that having *an experience of Christ's presence* is much more important than *being a Christian.*

Taking this radical viewpoint, the *Revelation of the Magi* practically stands alone among early Christian writings in its positive appraisal of religious pluralism. So, another way of answering the question of why the *Revelation of the Magi* is now beginning to be studied more closely is that such a text could be fully appreciated *only* in a moment such as today. Now more than ever before, religious diversity is a fact of life in many parts of the world. And this religious diversity has given birth, in recent decades, to a great deal of theological reflection onthe place of Christianity among the world's religious traditions. It has become more intellectually challenging to insist on the obvious and exclusive truth of one's religion when one lives and works in close proximity to other people who cherish their own religious tradition just as much. Are those who do not share our religious beliefs foolishly misguided? According to the *Revelation of the Magi,* the answer of Christ to the Magi appears to be no:

> And I am everywhere, because I am a ray of light whose light has shone in this world from the majesty of my Father, who has sent me to

fulfill everything that was spoken about me in the entire world and in every land by unspeakable mysteries, and to accomplish the commandment of my glorious Father, who by the prophets preached about me to the contentious house,[297] in the same way as for you, as befits your faith, it was revealed to you about me. (13:10)

APPENDIX

The Magi Legend from the "Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum"

[The Latin text of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* is taken from Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, volume 56, columns 637–638. It can also be found, with translation and commentary, in chapter 2 of my dissertation, available online at http://ou.academia.edu/BrentLandau/Papers.]

Apocryphal Book Under the Name of Seth. Victorious Mountain.—I have heard some referring to such a writing, even if it is not beyond dispute, nevertheless not ruining the faith, but charming (it), seeing that there was a certain race situated at the very beginning of the East near the Ocean, who had possession of a certain writing having been inscribed with the name of Seth, concerning this star which was going to appear, and (concerning) what sort of gifts to offer it, which was carried outthrough generations of studious people, with the fathers handing down to their sons. And so they selected from themselves twelve more learned ones and lovers of the celestial mysteries, and they set before them the expectation of that star. And if someone from them died, his son or one of his relatives who was found of the same inclination was set up in place of the dead one. And they were called Magi in their language, because in silence and with a silent voice they glorified God. Therefore, during every year, after the threshing harvest, they went up a certain mountain placed there, which was called in

their language the Victorious Mountain, having in it a certain cave in the rock, most pleasant, with fountains and choice trees, going up into which, and washing themselves, they were praying and glorifying God in silence for three days. And they did thus for each generation, always waiting, that by chance in their generation that star of blessing might appear, until it appeared to them coming down above that Victorious Mountain, having in itself a form like a little boy and above it (or him?) the likeness of a cross. And it was speaking to them, and it taught them and instructed them to set out for Judaea. And while they journeyed for two years, the star went ahead, and neither food nor drink ran out from their pouches. And otherwise the deeds that were rendered by them were expressed in the compendious Gospel. However, when they had returned,they continued worshiping and glorifying God even more attentively than before, and they preached to all in their race, and they instructed many. Finally, after the Resurrection of the Lord, when the Apostle Thomas went into that province, they joined him, and having been baptized by him, they were made assistants of his preaching.

ART CREDITS

Frontispiece: Rogier (Roger) van der Weyden (ca. 1399–1464) (workshop of): The star in the form of a Child appears to the three Magi. Right wing of the Middleburg (Bladelin) Altarpiece. Ca. 1445. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Oil on oak panel. Detail. 91 x 40 cm. Inv.: 535. Photo: Joerg P. Anders. Photo Credit : Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY

(Pages 4 and 5) *The Three Kings (Wise Men).* Early Christian mosaic. 6th century C.E. S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Italy. Photo Credit : Scala/Art Resource, NY

(Page 14) *Adoration of the Magi.* 5th century c.e. Early Christian. Cypress wood carving from the door. S. Sabina, Rome, Italy. Photo Credit : Alinari /Art Resource, NY

(Page 27) Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–1497) *The Adoration of the Magi* (with Gozzoli's self-portrait—with red cap). Lorenzo il Magnifico as the youngest of the three Magi. Fresco, 1459. Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence, Italy. Photo Credit : Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

(Pages 40 and 41) *The Three Magi. Speculum Humanae Salvationis,* by Ludolfus de Saxonia. Ms.15, f.10r. Vellum. Germany, ca. 1410. Spencer Collection. Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Photo Credit : New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY

(Page 51) Rogier van der Weyden, Follower of. Polyptych. Mid-15th century. Tempera and oil. Main Panel: 33 3/16 x 55 1/8 in. (84.3 x 140 cm); Upper Wings: 17 15/16 x 7 7/8 in. (45.6 x 20 cm); Lower Wings: 33 5/8 x 16 5/8 in. (85.4 x 42.2 cm). South Lowlands, Brabant, Brussels. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, 1949 (49.109). Photo

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(Pages 62 and 63) Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni) (ca. 1400–1450) *The Journey of the Magi.* Ca. 1435. Tempera and gold on wood, 8 1/2 x 11 3/4 in. (21.6 x 29.8 cm). Maitland F. Griggs Collection, Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, 1943 (43.98.1). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo Credit: Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY

(Page 95) Vasco Fernandes (ca. 1480–ca. 1543) *Adoration of the Magi.* Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Portugal. Photo Credit : Scala/White Images/Art Resource, NYT8829

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NOTES

1. The names Balthazar, Caspar, and Melchior are most familiar to Westerners, but these names appear in written sources from only the sixth century onward. Several other lists of names survive from ancient Christian writings.

2. Going forward, I will prefer the term *Magi* to *wise men.* First of all, it respects what Matthew calls them, since it is simply a transliteration of the Greek *magoi.* Second, it leaves unresolved the question of precisely *who* these individuals are, since it is not at all clear who Matthew believed them to be. Leaving the question of their identity open-ended is important, since early Christians had a range of theories about their identity; the story addressed in this book has its own very distinct understanding of who the Magi were.

3. For other uses of the noun and its cognate verb, see Acts 8:9, 13:6, 8.

4. Matthew's Gospel never specifies whether the star had led them to Jerusalem and then disappeared when they entered the city, or whether the Magi had seen it only initially in "the East." In either case, Mt 2:9–10 seems to imply that the star had disappeared from the Magi for some period of time.

5. All three of these beliefs appear in early Christian literature. One story relates that the Magi were in the midst oftheir magical spells at the time of the star's appearance; when the spells ceased to work, they consulted their ancient prophecies and learned about the star (see Origen *Against Celsus* 1.60). Some members of John Chrysostom's congregation in fourth-century Antioch regarded the Magi as astrologers and believed (to his great frustration) that the Magi story showed that astrology really worked *(Homilies on Matthew* 6.1). Lastly, an ancient Infancy Gospel preserved in Arabic says that the Magi came to Jerusalem because of a prophecy of Zoroaster, the founder of their religion *(Arabic Infancy Gospel* 7).

6. Precisely when the star disappeared is unclear, just as in Matthew’s Gospel.

7. In their book on the infancy narratives, Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan demonstrate these differences quite well by showing what a Christmas pageant based on only Matthew or only Luke would look like. See Borg and Crossan, *The First Christmas: What the Gospels Really Teach About Jesus's Birth* (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2007), 3–24.

8. Two recent scholars have argued for the historicity of some aspects of the infancy narratives. Jane Schaberg, in her *Illegitimacy of Jesus: A Feminist Theological Interpretation of the Infancy Narratives* (Revised edition, Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006), asserts that the detail that Jesus was conceived outside of wedlock is historical, though she does not specify who she believes his father was. Not surprisingly, Schaberg's claim is quite controversial and has not been accepted by many scholars. Andries van Aarde, in his *Fatherless in Galilee: Jesus as Child of God* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2001), suggests that the presence of Joseph in the infancy narratives and his corresponding absence during Jesus's adulthood indicates that Joseph died when Jesus was quite young, leaving Jesus to grow up without a father figure.

9. The small number of scholars who investigated the *Revelation of the Magi* in the twentieth century mainly regarded the text as the product of Zoroastrian converts to Christianity in Iran, written with the goal of reconciling their ancestral religious tradition with their new Christian identity. Although this theory is quite intriguing, I have not found it to be at all persuasive. It is not possible to treat this issue in the very limited space of an introduction; however, the basic fact that these Magi live in the mythical land of Shir—not Persia—is one powerful indication that the *Revelation of the Magi* has nothing to do with Zoroastrianism.

10. For example, no original copies of any of the writings of the New Testament exist. The earliest copy of a New Testament writing is a tiny papyrus fragment of the Gospel of John, usually dated to 125–150 c.e. (The Gospel itself was most likely written in 90–100 c.e.) Apart from this fragment, the earliest copies of New Testament writings are from the late second and early third centuries or later.

11. Theodore bar Konai tells us that the Magi arrived in Jerusalem during the month of April—a rather odd claim, given that practically all ancient Christians celebrated the arrival of the Magi (Epiphany) in early January. The only other ancient Christian writing that claims that the Magi came to Jerusalem in April is none other than the *Revelation of the Magi*.

12. A translation of the *Opus Imperfectum's* summary of the *Revelation of the Magi* is found in the appendix.

13. The author knows that the Magi's name in their language refers to their practice of silent prayer, that the sacred mountain of the Magi is called the "Victorious Mountain" (as opposed to "Mountain of Victories" in the Syriac text), and that this mountain has a cave, a fountain, and trees (though the placement of these features differs slightly in the two witnesses).

14. Most notably, the Apostle Thomas section of the *Revelation of the Magi* contains a baptismal hymn sung by Thomas that invokes the Holy Spirit; several similar hymns exist in the Acts of Thomas. The account of the Magi's baptism also shares a number of parallels with baptismal scenes in the Acts of Thomas. But it is important to emphasize that these are parallels of *form*, not *content:* the *Revelation of the Magi* and the Acts of Thomas do not share any narrative elements.

15. This is because the Apostle Thomas section of the *Revelation of the Magi* appears to have been written in direct response to what is said in the first-person section of the *Revelation of the Magi* and would not have circulated separately.

16. In fact, as Raymond E. Brown has noted in *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (2nd ed.; New York: Doubleday, 1993), belief in the historicity of the Magi story has, in the recent past, been used as an indicator of whether a scholar was inside or outside of the mainstream of biblical studies.

17. Of course, there have been numerous attempts to link the Star of Bethlehem to a supernova, comet, or other celestial phenomenon. But these attempts almost always fail to recognize that the behavior that Matthew attributes to the star—especially its ability to mark the direct spot of the child Jesus in Mt 2:9—cannot occur in any natural fashion.

18. If we assume that that Jesus was born in approximately 4 B.C.E. (the most common date estimated by scholars) and that the Magi visited Jesus shortly thereafter, more than fifty years would pass before Paul wrote his earliest letters, which are the earliest Christian writings we possess.

19. The most famous of the apocryphal Infancy Gospels are the *Protevangelium of James*, which focuses more on the upbringing of Mary than Jesus, and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas, famous for its depiction of Jesus as a vindictive child possessing frequently deadly miraculous powers. The Infancy Gospel that the Revelation of the Magi has used is preserved in medieval Latin and Irish manuscripts and is a lengthy expansion and harmonization of the materials found in the canonical infancy narratives, plus a number of traditions not found elsewhere.*

20. This name is on the analogy of “Planet X,” a designation coined by the astronomer Percival Lowell (the namesake of Flagstaff’s Lowell Observatory) for an unknown planet beyond the orbit of Neptune—a hypothesis that, although flawed in some respects, ultimately led to the discovery of the planet Pluto. Although the name “*Infancy Gospel* X” is by no means ideal, unfortunately so little work has been done on this text that no more descriptive name presents itself.

21. For more discussion of the number of the Magi, see the note at 16:2 in the translation.

22. Pseudonymity, or the practice of writing under a false name, is acknowledged by most scholars to describe the authorship of many New Testament writings. This includes all four canonical Gospels (even if some scholars believe that the nucleus of one or more of the Gospels ultimately goes back to the name associated with the text) and roughly half of the letters attributed to Paul (even if some of the spurious letters perhaps contain authentic Pauline fragments).

23. I assume here that the author was male simply because of the much higher literacy rate of men as compared with women in the ancient world. But none of my arguments about the purpose of the *Revelation of the Magi* necessarily demand male authorship.

24. The most famous sending forth of the disciples to worldwide evangelism is the so-called Great Commission of Mt 28:18–20: “All authority in heaven and on earth has beengiven to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you. And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age.”

25. In fact, a number of early Christian writers were uncomfortable with Matthew's Magi story precisely because it did not indicate that their visit to Christ had altered their lives in any fashion. One commentator, Tertullian *(On Idolatry* 9), solved this problem by understanding Matthew's phrase "they departed to their own country by another way" (Mt 2:12) to mean that they had converted to faith in Christ.

26. These accompanying notes are intended to aid readers in understanding the basic meaning and significance of important passages in the *Revelation of the Magi.* For greater detail and analysis, please consult my dissertation (available online at http://ou.academia.edu/BrentLandau/Papers) and my forthcoming critical edition of the *Revelation of the Magi* for the Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum, published by Brepols.

27. The titles of the individual chapters are my own, and do not appear in the manuscript of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* (the Syriac world chronicle in which the *Revelation of the Magi* is preserved). Only two symbols in the text require comment. In places where the manuscript has suffered damage, square brackets [ ] contain what I consider to be the most likely original reading. In places where it is impossible to determine the original reading, square brackets simply contain the words *text missing.* In contrast, parentheses ( ) indicate places where a word or words have been added to clarify the meaning of the text beyond a literal translation of the Syriac.

28. The short descriptive statement contained in 1:1 is the work of the compiler of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, not the author of the *Revelation of the Magi*. This is certain not only from the appearance of such statements elsewhere in the *Chronicle*, but also because this statement misrepresents the *Revelation of the Magi* in two important ways. First, the statement emphasizes the gifts that the Magi bring, but the *Revelation of the Magi* cares much less about these gifts than the canonical account of Mt 2:1–12 does. Second, the statement uses the proper name *Christ*, but this name is used only during the Apostle Thomas's appearance at the end of the *Revelation of the Magi*, an incident that is most likely a secondary addition to the *Revelation of the Magi*.

29. The association of the Magi with royalty began quite early in Christian exegesis, perhaps thanks to such suggestive passages as Ps 72:10–11 and Is 60. Tertullian *(Against Marcion* 3.13) remarks that in the East, the Magi are treated practically as kings. For Augustine in the fourth century, they are definitely kings, and their piety is contrasted against King Herod's impiousness *(Sermon* 200). However, in the first-person-plural section of the *Revelation of the Magi*, there is almost no mention of their royal status. The term *king* never appears in reference to the Magi; the only indication that the Magi are kings occurs at 18:5, where they remove their crowns and lay them at Christ's feet in recognition of his kingdom.

30. The phrase “kings, sons of kings” is how Syriac writers describe hereditary kingship, as compared with the inconsistent manner of succession found in the Roman Empire.

31. The residence of the Magi here derives, unsurprisingly, from Mt 2:1. Throughout the *Revelation of the Magi*, however, it appears that "East" is not simply directional, but has the status of a specific nation with a corresponding ethnic group (cf. "Easterners" in 24:4). There are nine such usages of "East" in the *Revelation of the Magi* (in addition to three

directional instances), though the name "Shir" (2:4 and corresponding note; 4:1) also appears in the *Revelation of the Magi* as the land of the Magi. It may be that the "great East" is understood in the *Revelation of the Magi* as a quite large country or region, of which Shir is the outermost district, as 2:4 seems to imply.

32. This statement reveals the *Revelation of the Magi* as a pseudepigraphon (i.e., a writing that makes false claims about the identity of its author), stating as it does that it was produced by the Magi themselves. No other Magi pseudepigrapha are known to exist from antiquity, and this is one of only a handful of cases where Christians produced writings purported to have been authored by non-Christians.

33. According to the *Revelation of the Magi*, the word *Magi* is related etymologically to their practice of praying in silence, which the text mentions on several other occasions (cf. 1:3, 2:1, 3:8, 5:7, 5:11, 12:2). Yet, a verbal similarity between the words *Magi* and *silence* is not easy to find in any of the obvious languages of transmission (Syriac, Greek, or Latin). It may simply be an exoticizing device and not an actual word derivation. Strikingly, the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* (the fifth-century Latin commentary on the Gospel of Matthew that contains a brief version of this same legend about the Magi) agrees with the *Revelation of the Magi* in almost verbatim fashion on this point: "And they were called Magi in their language, because in silence and with a silent voice they glorified God." This close agreement suggests that the author of the *Opus Imperfectum* had not simply heard of this legend, but also had access to a written version of the *Revelation of the Magi*. In a number of Syriac monastic writings, silence is a means for inducing ecstasy. Unlike these monastic traditions, though, the *Revelation of the Magi* nowhere suggests that the silent praying of the Magi facilitates ecstatic experience. It has sometimes been thought that Zoroastrian priests prayed in silence, but other scholars have rejected this view. A hagiographic Syriac text, the *Life of John of Tella*, relates that the Magi frequently convey information to one another in silence by using hand gestures. However, this is not in the context of prayer, but rather the interrogation of a prisoner.

34. This title for God is used infrequently in Jewish and Christian literature (cf. 2 Mc 14:46). However, it does appear in Babylonian, Zoroastrian, and Hindu materials from antiquity. Though it is very difficult to prove that the author of *Revelation of the Magi* knew of its use in any of these written materials, the fact that it had a reasonably wide currency in non-Christian religious traditions may explain its use here. One of the major agendas of the author is the depiction of the Magi as a kind of quasi-pagan group that nevertheless distantly echoes Christian terminology and practice.

35. The “gift” is an important theological concept in the *Revelation of the Magi*, mentioned on multiple occasions throughout the text. In the abstract, it is the mechanism by which an unknowable God communicates with the inhabitants of the upper and lower worlds. In a concrete sense, it refers specifically to the revelatory activity of Christ. The Syriac term underlying this concept must be distinguished from the other term used for “gift” in the *Revelation of the Magi*, which refers to the offerings brought to Christ by the Magi (Mt 2:11; see note at 4:7). The New Testament, like the *Revelation of the Magi*, generally uses the abstract sense of the term, describing the “gift” of the Holy Spirit, Christ, or God (cf. Jn 4:10; Acts 2:38, 8:20, 10:45, 11:17; Rom 5:15–17; 2 Cor 9:15; Eph 3:7, 4:7; Heb 6:4; Jas 1:17).

36. The *Revelation of the Magi* is one of only a handful of ancient texts to refer to the Magi as “wise.” For the most part, the familiar description of the Magi as “wise men” appearsonly from the Renaissance onward.

37. Cf. Jn 1:3.

38. In the development of traditions about the Magi, the attribution of names to them is a relatively late exegetical development. The most familiar names in the West for the (three) Magi are Caspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, but these names appear only in the sixth century in the *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, a Latin translation of a Greek chronicle. As for the names found in the *Revelation of the Magi*, I have incorporated without changes the spelling of the names as found in the Latin translation accompanying the most recent critical edition of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin.* The names play no further role in the *Revelation of the Magi's* narrative beyond this single mention, and their presence in other Syriac sources strongly suggests that 2:3 is a later accretion to the *Revelation of the Magi.* In a peculiar case of interrelation, the *Revelation of the Magi* has a *list* of the Magi numbering twelve, but nowhere explicitly does it say that there are *twelve* Magi, whereas the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* does state that there were twelve Magi, *without* giving a list of names. The information of the *Opus Imperfectum* is perhaps more archaic, and specific names may have been given to the twelve Magi only at a later time (but cf. 16:2 and accompanying note for a possibly even earlier tradition of a larger, numerically unspecified membership for the ranks of the Magi).

39. The name “Gudaphar” is almost identical to “Gûdnaphar” (Gundaphorus), an Indian king baptized by the Apostle Thomas in the Acts of Thomas. The Acts of Thomas is the earliest written source that narrates Thomas’s missionary activities in India. Although King Gûdnaphar appears to have been a historical figure, it is unclear whether he was indeed ruling at the time that the Apostle Thomas is supposed to have been in India—a very contentious debate in and of itself.

40. In contrast to the “land of the East,” the name “Shir” is less common in the *Revelation of the Magi*, used only twice. However, it appears in a number of other ancient texts as a mysterious and faraway land, sometimes identified with China. In one of the Gnostic Christian texts discovered at Nag Hammadi, “Mount Shir” is the place where Noah’s ark comes to rest; more remotely, “Mount Nisir” is where the ark of Utnapishtim lands in the *Epic of Gilgamesh.* The *Revelation of the Magi* is the only ancient Christian text that identifies the homeland of the Magi as Shir. The majority opinion of ancient commentators was that the Magi came from Persia, understanding the term *Magus* in its technical sense of a Zoroastrian priest; cf. Clement of Alexandria (*Miscellanies* 1.15); Origen *(Against Celsus* 1.58–60); John Chrysostom *(Homilies on Matthew* 6.2). Most early Christian artistic representations of the Magi also imply this, depicting them in the typical Persian dress of a pointed “Phrygian cap,” belted tunic, and leggings; cf. especially the mosaic of Sant’Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (pages 4 and 5) and the wooden door detail of Santa Sabina in Rome (page 14). A notable and early minority opinion regarding the homeland of the Magi is Arabia; cf. Justin Martyr *(Dialogue with Trypho* 78, 106); Tertullian *(Against Marcion* 3.13, *Against the Jews* 9).

41. The concept of a great world ocean outside of the inhabited world had existed in antiquity at least as early as Homer. The location of the Magi's homeland in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* is described in almost identical language: "situated at the very beginning of the East near the Ocean."

42. The precise geographical layout envisioned here is ambiguous; it is unclear whether the Ocean or Shir is east of the land of Nod. The most logical solution seems to be that thatthe Ocean is directly east of Shir, which is east of Nod.

43. Cf. Gn 4:16, though there it is the place of Cain's exile. Nod is mentioned very little in extrabiblical literature, and in no other cases does it appear to be the dwelling place of Adam.

44. I.e., “when Adam had Seth.” The idea that Adam had received foreknowledge of the future and transmitted it to later generations through Seth or some other means occurs in numerous Jewish and Christian noncanonical writings. This understanding most likely derives from the incident of Adam eating from the Tree of Knowledge, which would have provided him with some sort of predictive ability.

45. Cf. Gn 3:23–24.

46. Mention of Seth's purity also appears in several other Jewish and Christian sources, and has implications for the character of his progeny. See Josephus *Antiquities* 1.68–69.

47. Cf. Gn 4:26 for the tradition that during the time of Seth and his son Enosh “people began to invoke the name of the LORD.”

48. In claiming that Seth produced a written revelation, the *Revelation of the Magi* also has some general similarities with writings preserved in the Nag Hammadi corpus.

49. Cf. Gn 7:1.

50. This is the first instance of a phrase, “hidden mysteries,” that occurs on twenty-one separate occasions in the *Revelation of the Magi.* Roughly half of these times it appears in the title “Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries” (4:1); in this title and elsewhere it generally functions as the primary designation for the knowledge handed from Seth through the generations of Magi (but cf. 30:3, where it apparently refers to Christ).

51. Here it becomes clear that the narrators of the story are the Magi themselves (or more precisely, the generation of Magi living at the time of Christ's coming). This first-person narration continues uninterrupted until 28:4, just prior to the arrival of the Apostle Thomas, where the text abruptly switches into third-person narration.

52. The praying posture of the Magi has analogues in ancient Jewish and Christian literature, even if it is not as well known as the *orans* position or other postures. It is most commonly mentioned in the Hebrew Bible; cf. 1 Kgs 8:54; 2 Chr 6:13; Ezr 9:5; Ps 68:31; Lam 3:41; 1 Tm 2:8.

53. The “Mountain of Victories” is paralleled in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*, where it goes by a very similar name, “Victorious Mountain.” The meaning of the name “Mountain of Victories/Victorious Mountain” is difficult to interpret, and several scholars have sought to connect it with one of several mountains associated with Zoroaster. However, these theories have little to commend to them. Holy mountains where theophanies take place are hardly a phenomenon exclusive to Zoroastrianism, and parallels to Jewish and Christian texts, such as Ex 24 and Mk 9:1–8, are perhaps more appropriate.

54. The “Cave of Treasures” also appears in a Syriac writing of the same name. The *Cave of Treasures* is a retelling of biblical history from the creation of the world through the coming of Christ, usually thought to have been written sometime between the fourth and sixth century c.e. In this work, the “Cave of Treasures” appears as the place of Adam’s burial and as the repository of gifts that are brought by the Magi to Christ *(Cave of Treasures* 5.17, 6.22, 45.12). In the *Revelation of the Magi*, however, the primary importance of this cave is its housing of Seth’s books of revelation, though the gifts are also mentioned, albeit briefly. Its usual title in the *Revelation of the Magi* is the “Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries,#x201C;but variants occur both here and in 4:2. The meaning of the phrase “the Mysteries of the Life of Silence” is not at all clear. It would seem to relate to the Magi’s practice of silent prayer, yet the term “life of silence” is not found elsewhere in the *Revelation of the Magi.*

55. What follows is the prophecy of central importance for the descendants of Seth: the appearance of a star, and thus the manifestation of the Father's Son. The prophecy, like the rest of the *Revelation of the Magi* prior to 28:6, never mentions the name "Jesus" or "Christ," though allusions to Christian texts are frequent. This feature is part of the author's agenda to refer to Christian names and terminology only in an opaque manner. The idea that the Magi expect the star because of a prophecy going back to Seth is unparalleled in ancient Christian literature. According to Origen *(Against Celsus* 1.60; cf. also *Homilies on Numbers* 13.7, 18.4), the Magi were in the midst of magical practice when a luminous new star appeared and caused their spells to lose their efficacy, prompting them to consult the prophecy of their forefather Balaam from Nm 24:17. In *On the Star,* a composition falsely attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea, the Magi have been closely following the prophecies of Balaam, since they have proven true in the past, and hence they immediately recognize the appearance of the star as the fulfillment of another of Balaam's prophecies. Another pagan prophet who was thought to have predicted the events surrounding the star was Zoroaster. The *Arabic Infancy Gospel* 7:1 states that the Magi arrived in Jerusalem, "just as Zeradusht had predicted." Zoroaster also predicts the birth of Christ in a narrative preserved by the Syriac writer Theodore bar Konai.

56. Cf. Mt 2:2.

57. The information that the Magi are to expect a “light … inthe form of a star,” rather than simply a star, is significant, since the star is actually the preexistent Christ.

58. The precise role and symbolism of this “pillar of light” in the narrative is unclear. Although the *Revelation of the Magi* mentions the pillar upon which the star sits ten times, these mentions are always during the sequence when the star appears, descends from heaven, and stands before the mouth of a cave (either in Shir or in Bethlehem). Thus, the pillar has no explicit role as a guide for the Magi during their journey; only the star is named at this point in the story. But it is difficult to understand the significance of this pillar without recourse to the Exodus narrative; indeed, the scribe responsible for the text wrote “pillar of cloud” instead of “pillar of light” at a point late in the narrative (27:4). This is the only time this phrase appears in the *Revelation of the Magi* (elsewhere it is “pillar of light”), so it may be no more than a transmission error, but at the very least, it demonstrates a possible (if unintentional) reference to Exodus.

59. Cf. 11:5–7 (and accompanying note at 11:5), 16:4.

60. Cf. Col 1:15.

61. Cf. Jn 4:14.

62. The phrase “who sent” (usually followed by “me”) appears twelve times in the *Revelation of the Magi*. This terminology is strongly connected with the language and theology of John’s Gospel, where it appears more than twenty times.

63. Cf. Mt 2:11. This is the first of several instances where “his” accompanies the gifts that the Magi are to bring to Christ. The translation “his own” presupposes that the gifts in some way have always belonged to Christ, but why this should be so is not made explicit in the text. It is remarkable that the *Revelation of the Magi* nowhere clarifies precisely what thesegifts are, even if it might be expected that they are none other than the familiar gold, frankincense, and myrrh. This lack of interest in the gifts is rather odd and represents one of several departures of the *Revelation of the Magi* from common trends in ancient Christian exegesis of the Magi story. Other non-canonical traditions have the Magi giving the child a wide array of gifts; cf. the Irish *Leabhar Breac* infancy narrative 92.3 (an important witness to *Infancy Gospel* X), where they give a purple stone, a pearl, a garland, a linen sheet, a royal staff, and “other gifts, the like or equal of which has not been found on earth.” In some traditions the Magi even receive a gift from Christ in turn: in the *Arabic Infancy Gospel* 8:1–6, Christ gives them a band of cloth that does not burn in fire; in the *Legend of Aphroditianus*, the Magi take back to Persia a picture of the child and mother painted by a servant; in a tale narrated to Marco Polo in Iran, a stone that produces holy fire.

64. The *Revelation of the Magi* also mentions the unsightliness of Christ's physical appearance at 14:5 and 28:2. Cf. the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Peter 20, which describes Christ as "beautiful and ugly, young and old." The *Revelation of the Magi* and the Acts of Peter share an emphasis on the ability of Christ to shift his form between that of luminous divine being and an unsightly and humble human being. It is possible that these passages refer back to Is 53:2.

65. Sic. It is unclear whether the passive participle of the verb “to kill” by itself is intended to have the valence of “mortal,” if it foreshadows Christ’s later death (cf. the “sign of the cross” in 4:8), or if some other meaning is intended for this difficult reading.

66. The commencing of the ritual on this date could suggest an allusion to the celebration of Christmas on December 25, the date established by the Roman church in 337. Some Eastern Christian communities—in particular, the

Jerusalem church—were resistant to this date until the fifth and sixth centuries, preferring the date of January 6. Yet the ritual's occurrence every month complicates this supposition, even if it is difficult to understand the significance of the twenty-fifth apart from the date of Christmas. Furthermore, the *Revelation of the Magi* has the Magi arrive in Jerusalem during the month of April, "the month of flowers" (17:1), and since they go to Bethlehem very soon after and witness the birth of Jesus in a cave, this would suggest the date of his birth sometime in April (though *birth* is not necessarily the best terminology for a transformation from star into a luminous child). In any case, the mention of the twenty-fifth of the month cannot be reliably used to argue for a post-Constantinian dating of the first-person section of the *Revelation of the Magi.*

67. This combination of trees occurring naturally within a single habitat is, from an ecological perspective, impossible, and thus is part of an idealized cultic landscape. The combination of a mountain, cave, spring, and sacred grove brings together some of the most characteristic features of sacred geography.

68. In ancient Jewish and Christian writings, especially pleasing smells often signify divinity and/or moral goodness. Syriac Christian writings are particularly noteworthy for their emphasis on this sometimes overlooked sense.

69. The *Revelation of the Magi* does not specify how much time has elapsed between the Magi's purification on the twenty-fifth of the month and their ascent of the mountain on the first day of the next month. If it follows a Roman calendar, the number of days in a given month would vary. Since this narrative is set in a semimythical country, however, it is very difficult to give precise durations for the different stages of the ritual.

70. Cf. 3:8.

71. This passage, which seems to indicate that some people rejected the teaching of the Magi, is very difficult to understand. The *Revelation of the Magi* never again discusses these dissenters (but cf. 28:1) and here indicates only that their rejection has to do with the practice of silent prayer espoused by the Magi (cf. note at 1:2). Silent prayer was rather uncommon in ancient religions and often viewed with some suspicion, but this is the only mention of it in the *Revelation of the Magi* that has a negative connotation.

72. The next four chapters are presented as an excerpt from the books of revelation produced by Seth and entrusted to the Magi. Though this extended flashback might appear to derail the progression of the plot by breaking away from the Magi, it explains the ultimate origins of the Magi's knowledge and details the first appearance of the star. In addition, since it occurs immediately after the description of the Magi's monthly ritual and immediately prior to the appearance of the star during their ritual, it provides the impression of the passage of some time between the initiation of the present generation of Magi by their fathers and the fulfillment of the ancient prophecy.

73. Cf. Gn 4:25.

74. Cf. 11:7 and 17:2, which indicate that the star was visible only to those who were deemed worthy to see it.

75. Cf. Mk 3:24.

76. Cf. Gn 2:21–22.

77. Cf. Gn 2:23.

78. Similar to 1:2 and 2:1 above, the phrasing of this sentence seems to imply a play on words between *time* and *stumbling block*. However, as with the apparent connection between *Magi* and *silence*, it is not at all clear what similarity exists between these two words.

79. Though the term *mysteries* is frequently used with reference to the central ritual of the Magi, it is not clear whether this statement is a directive only to Seth and only with reference to Eve, or whether it is understood to prohibit more broadly women's participation in the Magi's activities. While those who constitute the Magi's ranks are almost always gendered with masculine terms like *father* and *son*, the Magi also instruct their "families," of which women are certainly a part. Still, the handing down of tradition through the lineage of the Magi is predicated on transmission from father to son, with the son taking the father's place at his death, so the role of women is rather limited.

80. Cf. Gn 2:18.

81. Cf. Mk 1:11.

82. It is not clear precisely from where the ideas about Adam having priority before he was created and about the watchers loving him derive. This may be a distant echo of the tradition, found in the *Life of Adam and Eve* 14:1–3, that God instructed the angels to worship Adam.

83. Cf. Gn 4:10; Dn 4:35; Rom 9:20.

84. Cf. Gn 3:15.

85. Cf. Gn 3:14; Is 65:25; Mi 7:17; Rom 16:20.

86. It is not clear whether these individuals whose decline in the last days Adam predicts in 9:2–6 are the human race generally, the lineage of the Magi specifically, or perhaps some other group. But if the text means to imply that the Magi have fallen into apostasy, this is not suggested anywhere other than here.

87. The mention of blaspheming and “saying many things” stands in sharp contrast to the emphasis placed by the *Revelation of the Magi* on both the silent prayer of the Magi and the ineffability of the Father.

88. These criticisms of the veneration of heavenly bodies areespecially interesting to find in a text so devoted to the Magi, since a chief concern of a number of ancient Christian exegetes regarding Mt 2:1–12 was the potential of this text to be read as demonstrating the efficacy of astrology. Beyond this passing comment, the overall depiction of the Magi in the *Revelation of the Magi* as less like a band of astrologers and more like a doomsday cult (i.e., waiting for one pivotal otherworldly event, not continually interpreting the sky to discern the present and foretell the future) may very well address from a different angle some of these same concerns. For examples of this uneasiness, see: Tertullian *(On Idolatry* 9), in which he asserts that the Magi left behind the magical practice of astrology after their visit to Bethlehem, deducing this from the information that they returned to their homeland “by another way"; John Chrysostom, *(Homilies on Matthew* 6.1), where he laments that some Christians infer the acceptability of astrological practices from Matthew’s story.

89. Criticism of these sorts of acts of profligate living is quite widespread in ancient texts, so it is impossible to know whether these are directed at specific problems in a community or are simply stock phrases of moral exhortation. However, it is noteworthy that the *Revelation of the Magi*, unlike much early Syriac literature, does not have a strong ascetical agenda. The Magi do not engage in celibacy or other world-denying practices, nor is such a lifestyle advocated by Judas Thomas at the end of the *Revelation of the Magi*, unlike his counterpart in Acts of Thomas.

90. Cf. Gn 3:5. The speaker of these words is, of course, the serpent.

91. Cf. Is 29:16, 45:9, 64:8; Jer 18:4–6.

92. Cf. Jn 13:16.

93. Cf. Gn 2:7.

94. This statement refers to the tradition of Christ descending into Hell in the time between his death and Resurrection, often called the "harrowing of Hell." The specific intention in the *Revelation of the Magi*, to redeem Adam, is also referenced in a number of ancient Christian texts, but other incidents (such as the binding of the devil) find mention as well. The tradition has its canonical origins in Eph 4:9 and 1 Pt 3:19–20, 4:6.

95. Cf. Gn 2:7.

96. Cf. Gn 4:1–2.

97. Cf. Gn 4:4.

98. Cf. Gn 4:10–12.

99. Cf. Gn 4:26; also 3:2 above.

100. It seems that 11:1–2 should not be read as a “real-time” description of the star’s appearance, the account of which begins in 11:3. Instead, these two verses likely function as summary statements to indicate that the star appeared during this generation of Magi’s time, and that the visions that they saw at the time of the star’s coming were predicted by the books of revelation.

101. Several other early Christian texts describe the Magi's star as inordinately bright. The earliest such description is Ignatius of Antioch's *Epistle to the Ephesians* 19:2, where the star is brighter than all other stars, which form a circle around it. Somewhat later in the second century, in the *Protevangelium of James* 21:8, the Magi describe the star as being so bright that it makes all other stars disappear. There is no indication, however, in either of these texts that this celestial phenomenon is invisible to everyone except the Magi.

102. The month of Nisan is equivalent to April, though it isstrange to have such a culturally specific reference in a text situated, for the most part, in a locale that is almost otherworldly. However, the phrase “in the days of Nisan” can also be translated idiomatically as “in springtime.” In either case, see the note directly below.

103. I.e., “the moon is absorbed in the light of the sun.” This statement is odd because it places the phenomenon of a faint daytime moon at a specific time of the year—namely, Nisan/April (or possibly springtime). However, as is well known, the daytime moon is visible throughout the entire year, and not simply in April. The analogy itself—that the star is so bright that it makes the sun appear as faint as the daytime moon normally does—is quite clear, creative, and vivid, even if the reference to April is difficult to understand.

104. The phrase “the sons of our mysteries” (as opposed to “our sons” at 5:1) seems to indicate, along with 5:9 and 5:11, that the order of the Magi does not perpetuate strictly through biological succession (as 5:10 might imply) but is open to “converts.”

105. The tradition that the star of the Magi was visible only to them is a definite minority position in ancient Christian exegesis. It is, however, one of several striking agreements between the *Revelation of the Magi* and *Infancy Gospel X*. Because these two texts agree on what is such an unusual interpretation of the Star of Bethlehem, it is very likely that there is some sort of literary relationship between them.

106. Cf. Jn 1:51; Gn 28:12.

107. Cf. 4:2 and corresponding note.

108. Cf. 20:1.

109. Cf. 4:8. Latin and Irish witnesses to *Infancy Gospel X* also describe the birth of Christ as a mass of light that gradually dissipates until it assumes the form of an infant.

110. Cf. Lk 24:36; Jn 20:19, 21, 26.

111. Cf. 19:1, 21:2, 25:1, 31:1.

112. Cf. Jn 1:14.

113. Cf. Jn 3:16.

114. Cf. Jn 19:30.

115. Cf. Phil 2:8.

116. Cf. Gal 4:4.

117. Cf. Rom 1:20, 2:1.

118. This idea that Christ can be both in the presence of the Father and on earth at the same time may be related to a variant reading in Jn 3:13, which states that the Son of Man, who has ascended into and descended from heaven, is (currently) in heaven. Regardless of the origin of the idea, however, the *Revelation of the Magi* is evidently very invested in the ability of Christ to appear in multiple locations and forms simultaneously.

119. Cf. Col 3:11; Gospel of Thomas 77.

120. This sentence contains an intriguing theological concept: that Christ is the underlying reality of all systems of religious belief in the world. Although other early Christian writings admit the possibility of revelation through non-Christian channels (e.g., Acts 14:15–17, 17:22–31), the *Revelation of the Magi* demonstrates a novel "theology of world religions," the precise form of which is found nowhere else, to my knowledge, in ancient Christian sources.

121. Cf. Ez 3:9.

122. Cf. Gospel of Philip 57:28–58:10.

123. The idea that those involved in the killing of Christ have come to an evil end appears in numerous early Christian writings (e.g., 1 Thes 2:15; Mt 27:25).

124. The final phrase of this sentence is rather difficult to understand. It may mean that there were letters that the Magi were to open only at the time of the star's coming, giving specific instructions for the gifts to be brought. However, the more likely sense is that the gifts, whatever they were, were housed in some kind of sealed container(s), here called "letters." This is the probable meaning, based upon the statement in 18:7 that the Magi had brought their treasures to Bethlehem "sealed."

125. The series of statements that follow demonstrate Christ's polymorphous ability, a tradition that appears in a number of other ancient Christian texts. This concept seems to derive from the account of Jesus's transfiguration (Mk 9:2–8) and from the Resurrection appearance stories, but it undergoes considerable development in the second and third centuries, where it appears in the Acts of John 88–94, the Acts of Thomas 143, and the Acts of Peter 20–21. In some traditions about the Magi, including the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* and a legend told to Marco Polo in Iran in the twelfth century, Jesus appeared to each of the three Magi in correspondence to their ages: as young, middle-aged, and old. In another impressive parallel to the *Revelation of the Magi*, the best Latin witness of *Infancy Gospel X* has the infant Jesus change his form as the shepherds are viewing. A unique aspect of the polymorphic vision in the *Revelation of the Magi*, not seen in other texts, is that its individual pieces in sequence tell the story of Christ's birth, growth, and death, culminating with his descent into Sheol and his heavenly ascent. A polymorphic appearance of Christ also occurs later in the *Revelation of the Magi*, this time for the inhabitants of Shir after they have eaten of the food brought back by the Magi (28:1–3).

126. Regarding Christ's ugliness, see note at 4:8.

127. Cf. Jn 1:29.

128. Cf. 10:4 and corresponding note.

129. Cf. 12:3; Ps 24:7.

130. Cf. Ps 91:12.

131. Cf. Jn 14:16, 14:26, 15:26, 16:7; 1 Jn 2:1.

132. Cf. Mt 13:17; Lk 10:24.

133. Cf. Acts 9:3, 22:6, 26:13.

134. Cf. Mt 11:27; Lk 10:22.

135. Cf. Jn 1:18, 10:38. This verse of the *Revelation of the Magi* uses several terms—*singleness*, *thought*, *voice*—that are relatively rare in early Christian literature and have their closest parallels in the Gnostic Christian writings from Nag Hammadi (see also the frequent references to “error” at 13:3, 13:5, 14:8, 17:9, 18:1, 21:9, 21:10, 30:4, 32:2). Some scholars have considered the *Revelation of the Magi* to be a “Gnostic” text; however, despite this strange terminology, the *Revelation of the Magi* lacks any traces of the most common doctrines found in the Nag Hammadi literature, such as a negative evaluation of the material world or an evil creator (cf. 21:9).

136. Cf. Jn 1:3.

137. Cf. Rom 8:38–39; Col 1:16.

138. Cf. 2:2.

139. Cf. Mk 1:11, 9:7.

140. Cf. 1:5.

141. Cf. Col 1:15.

142. Cf. Jn 1:14, 1:18, 3:16, 3:18; 1 Jn 4:9.

143. Cf. Jn 3:19.

144. In the Syriac tradition, the terminology of “putting on a body” is a very typical description of the Incarnation.

145. Cf. Mk 16:17.

146. Cf. Jn 14:6.

147. Cf. Jn 10:9.

148. Cf. Phil 2:9.

149. Cf. Jn 6:35, 48, 51. Also note that the pronoun *me* provides the first indication of who is speaking this discourse: the Father himself, as will become completely clear with the final words of the passage in 15:10.

150. Cf. Mk 4:14.

151. Cf. Jn 10:11.

152. Cf. Heb 4:14.

153. Cf. Jn 6:55.

154. Cf. Jn 15:1, 5.

155. The use of *encampment* here and at several places in the rest of the narrative is peculiar, since it does not suggest a relatively small group of travelers. It is a word used in the New Testament almost exclusively for large assemblies of people (e.g., Acts 21:34; Heb 11:34, 13:11). Because of this typical usage, this terminology in the *Revelation of the Magi* may reflect a more archaic belief that the group of the Magi numbered more than twelve (cf. the list of names in 2:3, which is possibly an independent accretion grafted onto the *Revelation of the Magi).* If this is indeed the case, then this would be another similarity between the *Revelation of the Magi* and *Infancy Gospel X*, whose witnesses all portray the Magi as a large group of people.

156. The ambiguity of this verb does not specify whether the group of the Magi is being upheld in the sense of “being sustained” or actually “carried” off the ground. Evidence for both interpretations appears in 16:6, as the Magi are relieved of their fatigue and cross rivers by foot.

157. Cf. Is 60:19; Rv 21:23, 22:5.

158. A reference to the lack of fatigue experienced by the Magialso occurs in an Irish witness to *Infancy Gospel X*. It is also possible that this passage from the *Revelation of the Magi* alludes to Is 40:31.

159. I.e., the star.

160. Cf. 26:5, 27:9. This food that is generated by the star will later figure prominently in the conversion of the people of Shir, since it produces visions of Christ for those who eat it (28:1–4). While the multiplication of food has some parallels in early Christian literature (cf. Mk 6:32–44, 8:10; Jn 6:5–13; *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* 12), the ability of food to facilitate visionary experience is far more unusual. Several similar concepts are the eating of a scroll as a sign of prophetic commission in Ez 2:8–3:3 and Rv 10:8–10 and the eating of a heavenly honeycomb by Aseneth as a kind of proto-Eucharist in *Joseph and Aseneth* 16; but even in these cases, there is no indication that what is ingested produces a visionary experience.

161. Cf. Is 40:4.

162. Cf. Gn 3:15; Ps 91:13; Lk 10:19; Rom 16:20.

163. I.e., in April (Nisan; cf. 11:6). Clement of Alexandria also knows of Christians who state that Jesus was born in April (24–25 Pharmuti, equivalent to April 20–21); see *Miscellanies* 1.21. The information that the Magi arrived in “the month of flowers” also appears in Theodore bar Konai *(Mimra* 7.17). Because of such similar language, it is very likely that Theodore was acquainted with the *Revelation of the Magi.* Moreover, Theodore was writing in central Arabia at roughly the same time that the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* was produced, which indicates that the *Revelation of the Magi* was in fairly wide circulation at the end of the eighth century.

164. Cf. Mt 2:3.

165. This statement by the inhabitants of Jerusalem and theexplanatory comments of the Magi that follow are noteworthy on several levels. First of all, there is again a remarkable parallel with *Infancy Gospel X*, where *Joseph* (not the inhabitants of Jerusalem) regards the Magi as astrologers because they are constantly looking up at the sky. More precisely, in both texts the Magi are watching their guiding star, which neither the inhabitants of Jerusalem nor Joseph is able to see (cf. 11:7). Beyond this, however, there is a more problematic issue. The use of the term *Magianism* occurs only here in the *Revelation of the Magi;* their religious system is elsewhere called *mysteries*, *custom*, or *faith*. Moreover, this is also the only instance of the word *Magi* within the first-person-plural narration that makes up the bulk of the document, and its connotation is apparently negative. Because the inhabitants of Jerusalem refer to the actions of the visitors as "Magianism," do not understand the mysteries of these visitors, and reckon these visitors to be "Magi," the entire implication of this passage is that these visitors are not who the inhabitants of Jerusalem think they are, and are *not* Magi—a difficult conclusion given that the central figures of the narrative are obviously the Magi. Perhaps a solution lies in the earlier statements that the Magi are called by this name because of their silent prayer (1:2, 2:1), which may be intended in part to differentiate these figures from the more common connotation of Magi as astrologers.

166. Cf. 15:7 and accompanying note.

167. Cf. 13:10 and corresponding note.

168. Cf. Mt 2:4.

169. Cf. Mt 2:10.

170. The statement that the scribes did not believe that which was written in their sacred writings, when coupled with the Magi's reliance on their own books of prophecy, sharply contrasts the two groups and goes beyond the implicit critique already present in Matthew.

171. Perhaps this is an allusion to Gn 1:3.

172. It is possible to understand this sentence as an indictment of the Jewish people since the time of Herod: “They are (still) dwelling in darkness (as they have done) from the days of Herod. …”

173. Cf. Mt 2:8.

174. Cf. Mt 2:12.

175. Cf. Jn 8:12, 9:5.

176. The Syriac term used here can also mean a court, a space enclosed by a fence, or a sheepfold. I have chosen the translation “homestead” because of the immediate appearance of Mary and Joseph as the Magi are leaving the cave (22:2), an indication that they do not live far away from the cave.

177. Although in Mt 2:11 the Magi visit the infant Jesus in his parents' house, here the *Revelation of the Magi* places the birth in a cave, a locale mentioned in several other ancient sources. While Lk 2:7 has Jesus laid in a "manger" because there was no room in the "inn," many scholars believe that this verse is describing a very rudimentary shelter for travelers, not the sort of inn found, for example, in Luke's parable of the Good Samaritan (cf. Lk 10:34, which uses a different Greek word for "inn"). It is therefore possible that the primitive structure that Luke describes evolved into the belief that Jesus was born in a cave. The cave tradition also appears in the *Protevangelium of James* 18.1; the Syriac *Testament of Adam* 3:6; Justin Martyr *Dialogue with Trypho* 78; and a number of other early Christian writers.

178. The sequence of events in 18:3–5 is practically identical to the initial manifestation of the star to the Magi atop the Mountain of Victories.

179. This is the first of several statements, which occur at various places in the narrative, indicating that the mysteries of the Magi have been accomplished or fulfilled (cf. 19:2, 21:4, 24:2, 31:1).

180. Cf. 11:4.

181. Cf. 12:3.

182. Cf. 12:4.

183. Cf. 12:5.

184. This is the only reference in the first-person-plural section of the *Revelation of the Magi* that implies that the Magi are kings. Cf. 1:2, 2:3–5.

185. Cf. Mt 6:13, though this part of the Lord's Prayer does not appear in the earliest Greek manuscripts.

186. Cf. Rom 14:11; Phil 2:10.

187. Cf. Mt 19:28–29; Mk 10:30; Lk 18:29–30.

188. Cf. 13:1, 21:1, 25:1, 31:1.

189. How the fathers of the Magi are able to see the light of the star is not clear, since 5:10 implies that their sons would be initiated into the Magi's mysteries only when their fathers had died; perhaps the text means only that they were *worthy* to see it, even if it did not appear in their lifetimes.

190. Cf. Mt 28:20.

191. Cf. the appearance of Judas Thomas in 29:1, but there is never any indication in the final portion of the *Revelation of the Magi* that more than one disciple preaches in the homeland of the Magi.

192. Cf. Jn 17:5.

193. Cf. 13:9.

194. Cf. Mk 15:33.

195. Cf. Mt 27:51–52. This prediction of events, which in the New Testament occurs in conjunction with the death of Jesus, is problematic in that it is never again mentioned in the *Revelation of the Magi*. If the Judas Thomas episode is judged to be an interpolation, then it is possible that its insertion may have obliterated the fulfillment of this prophecy.

196. Cf. Mk 14:62, 16:19; Acts 7:55–56.

197. Cf. 12:4.

198. The Latin and Irish witnesses to *Infancy Gospel X* also state that the Christ child received praise from invisible heavenly beings at the moment of his birth.

199. Cf. Jn 1:3.

200. Cf. 2 Cor 1:20.

201. Cf. Col 1:16.

202. Cf. 2:2.

203. The Magi falling on the ground like dead men in 21:1 and the child putting his right hand on them in 21:2 very strongly resemble Rv 1:17.

204. Cf. 13:1, 19:1, 25:1, 31:1.

205. It is not clear what these “great things” to come are. It is possible that this refers back to the prophecy spoken by the child in 19:7–9 regarding the events at his death and his ascension to heaven.

206. I.e., Shir, where the light of the star first appeared.

207. Cf. 29:5.

208. Cf. 27:10.

209. Cf. Col 1:15.

210. Cf. 1 Cor 1:24.

211. Cf. Jn 10:38; 14:11.

212. Cf. 13:10; Jn 5:46.

213. Cf. Gospel of Thomas 50.

214. Cf. Gospel of Thomas 12.

215. Cf. 30:5–6, 31:1. It is important to note that the Holy Spirit is feminine in gender here, as evidenced by the feminine form of the adjective *holy*. This usage, found in the second-century *Odes of Solomon* and the fourth-century writings of Ephrem and Aphrahat, indicates a probable date earlier than the fifth century for the *Revelation of the Magi*, since Syriac writers after this time generally understand the Holy Spirit as a masculine entity.

216. This statement about infants lacking any blemishes of sin is intriguing, since it disagrees markedly with the Augustinian conception of original sin, wherein infants, like all of humanity, share Adam's guilt *(On Merit and the Forgiveness of Sin, and the Baptism of Infants* 1.9.24). The assertion that infants lack sin occurs in a number of Greek Christian writers (cf. Aristides *Apology* 15, Syriac recension; Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies* 4.25.160; Gregory of Nyssa *On Infants' Early Deaths,* passim).

217. I.e., the Father of majesty.

218. Cf. 32:2.

219. Cf. Rv 5:13.

220. The appearance of Mary and Joseph at this point in the narrative is quite abrupt, as the *Revelation of the Magi* does not mention them earlier. It is not clear whether they "went

out" of the cave or the village of Bethlehem with the Magi. This episode is also remarkable for the way in which it uses the misunderstanding of Mary and Joseph as the first occasion for the Magi to act as witnesses for Christ by proclaiming his true omnipresent nature. In *Infancy Gospel X*, it is also the Magi who convey to Joseph and his son Simeon the significance of Christ's birth.

221. The statement “the offspring of the voice of virgin hearing” (cf. also 24:3) seems to demonstrate a familiarity with the ancient Christian doctrine that Mary’s conception happened through auditory channels—i.e., through her ear. Although the doctrine becomes especially popular in the mid-fifth century and beyond, traces of it appear as early as the second-century *Protevangelium of James*. In its annunciation narrative, Gabriel tells Mary that she will conceive from God’s word *(Protevangelium of James* 11:5).

222. Cf. 28:2.

223. Cf. 4:8, 13:1.

224. Cf. Mk 14:9.

225. Cf. Mt 2:11.

226. Cf. Ascension of Isaiah 11:8–9.

227. Cf. Lk 1:42.

228. The beginning section of this sentence is problematic, since it would be expected that the child is no longer in Mary's womb. This statement may suggest that Christ is always with Mary, as he is always with the Magi—an indication of Christ's omnipresence.

229. I.e., “by the majesty of the Father of all.”

230. This statement of the Magi to Mary strongly reflects the interest in universal salvation through the polymorphismand omnipresence of Christ (cf. 13:10 and corresponding note).

231. It is unclear whether the Magi have accompanied Mary and Joseph to their house, since they are not mentioned again until 26:1. If they have not, then chapters 24 and 25 would be a rather jarring departure from the first-person narration that pervades the majority of the *Revelation of the Magi.* Since the location of the Bethlehem cave is described as a "homestead" (cf. 18:2 and corresponding note), this may indicate that there is very little space between the cave and the house of Mary and Joseph.

232. Instances of Jesus laughing in ancient Christian texts are quite rare; however, the recently published *Gospel of Judas* has Jesus laugh on several occasions at the misunderstandings of his disciples. *Infancy Gospel X* also depicts the newborn Jesus as laughing.

233. Cf. 22:2 and corresponding note.

234. Mary's misunderstanding here is intriguing: she apparently thought that the gifts brought by the Magi were a sort of bribe that they offered to the divine child so that he would accompany them.

235. Cf. 13:1, 19:1, 21:2, 31:1.

236. Cf. 23:1; Lk 1:42.

237. Cf. Lk 1:48

238. Cf. Gn 3:24; Lk 2:35. In linking the instrument that guarded the Garden of Eden with that which is said to pierce Mary's heart, the *Revelation of the Magi* resembles to a certain degree an interpretation found in several Syriac texts, wherein the spear that pierces Christ's side in Jn 19:34 reverses the sword in Genesis.

239. Cf. Col 3:11; Gospel of Thomas 77.

240. I.e., the sun.

241. It is not clear who “all your believers” are, with whom the Magi have been witnesses to the star. The only other people who have seen the star are Mary and Joseph; however, it may refer to the statements made by Christ and the Magi that he has adherents in every land (13:10; 17:5).

242. Cf. 16:5, 27:9.

243. Cf. 14:3.

244. Cf. 16:4 and accompanying note.

245. This is the first instance in the *Revelation of the Magi* of indirect discourse being used to summarize a speech, as opposed to the regular pattern of directly quoting lengthy speeches. The only other such occurrences of this are in 29:3–4, where the Magi tell the Apostle Thomas about their journey and Thomas in turn relates to them his experiences with the earthly Jesus. Note also that by 27:9, the indirect discourse has evidently switched to direct speech, as indicated by the presence of "you." Because of this shift back and forth between indirect and direct speech and also the parallels of this section with the Thomas material, it is likely that this section reveals editorial tampering designed to integrate the first-person testimony of the Magi with the new third-person ending featuring the Apostle Thomas.

246. Sic. Cf. note at 12:3.

247. It is unclear precisely what the meaning of this sentence is.

248. Cf. 13:10.

249. Cf. note at 4:7.

250. Cf. 13:10.

251. This phrase may be meant as a critique of Judaism, since “the prophets” are also mentioned in 13:10.

252. Cf. 26:1.

253. Cf. 16:5, 26:5.

254. Cf. note at 27:3.

255. Cf. 21:6.

256. Cf. Jn 1:9.

257. Cf. 23:4.

258. Cf. 5:11 for the only other indication that not all the people of Shir choose to participate in the mysteries of the Magi.

259. The visions of the people of Shir in 28:1–3 are related in the same basic form as those experienced by the Magi in 14:4–8. However, two features distinguish these visions from those of the Magi. First, these visions are facilitated simply by the eating of food, while those of the Magi resulted from the epiphany of Christ in the Cave of Treasures. Second, the visions of the Magi followed in sequence the order of events in Christ's life, whereas here the order is less secure and the account of Christ's life less complete.

260. Cf. 22:3.

261. Cf. 11:6.

262. Cf. 4:8 and accompanying note.

263. Cf. Jn 1:29, 36; Rv 5:6.

264. Although the phrase “tree of life” appears in 6:2, here another Syriac word is used for “tree” instead. While this Syriac word can also designate Eden’s Tree of Life (as in Rv 22:2), in a number of New Testament texts it refers to the cross (cf. Acts 5:30; Gal 3:13).

265. Cf. Acts 2:1.

266. Cf. note at 28:6.

267. Cf. 1:2. It is at this point that, for the first time since 2:6 or 3:6 (unless chapters 24 and 25 are an exception; see the note at 24:1), the narration is no longer in the first-person plural, but in the third person. This transition may have happened earlier, at 28:1, but the description of the Magi in the third person demonstrates unambiguously that they are no longer the narrators of the *Revelation of the Magi.*

268. I.e., the nobles, the poor, the women, and the children of Shir.

269. I.e., the Magi.

270. Cf. Acts 17:19.

271. This is the first use in the *Revelation of the Magi* of the title "Our Lord Jesus Christ," a very widespread designation in Christian piety; its presence strongly suggests that a later Syriac writer tampered with the text. The portion of the text narrated by the Magi themselves (the overwhelming bulk of the *Revelation of the Magi)* never uses the name "Jesus" or "Christ" to describe the being whom the Magi encounter. In contrast, this terminology is used very frequently in the short Apostle Thomas section, where some combination of these designations occurs eighteen times. The sudden preference for this familiar Christian terminology is one of the strongest arguments (cf. also the switch from first-person to third-person narration in 28:4) in favor of the theory that the Apostle Thomas section is a later addition to the *Revelation of the Magi.* It is possible that whoever added the Apostle Thomas material was troubled by the fact that the first-person Magi narrative never explicitly integrates the Magi into the wider Christian Church.

272. Cf. Acts 2:47.

273. Judas Thomas is the same as the apostle known simply as "Thomas" in the Synoptic Gospels (cf. Mk 3:18; Mt 10:3; Lk6:15; also Acts 1:13) and as "Thomas who was called Didymus" in John's Gospel (11:16, 20:24, 21:2). The Greek nickname "Didymus" means "twin," and the Syriac name "Thomas" is also related to the Aramaic word for "twin." The name "Judas Thomas" is found in two texts from Nag Hammadi (the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Book of Thomas the Contender),* as well as in the Acts of Thomas. It appears that Judas Thomas was the chief apostolic figure in ancient Syriac-speaking Christianity, particularly in the environs of Edessa. In the Acts of Thomas, Judas Thomas is commissioned to preach the gospel in India, where he is eventually martyred, but the *Revelation of the Magi* either ignores or is not aware of this tradition in favor of placing him in the farthest reaches of the East. There are some later references to a mission of the Apostle Thomas in China, and it is possible that these traditions ultimately go back to the *Revelation of the Magi.*

274. Cf. 21:5.

275. Cf. Acts 9:19.

276. Cf. 27:3 and accompanying note.

277. Though the text changed to narration in the third person at 28:4, here it curiously breaks into the first-person plural yet again with “we are not able to narrate,” “appearing to us,” and “we were amazed.” However, the “we” in this case is certainly not the Magi, but instead the disciples of Christ, whose experience with the polymorphic Christ the Apostle Thomas is describing.

278. The mention of doubt in connection with Thomas may allude to Jn 20:24–29.

279. Cf. 21:5. Although in the earlier passage it was unclear precisely what the “seal” was, here it is obviously Christian baptism—terminology perhaps derived from Eph 1:13, 4:30.

280. The order represented here of anointing with oil first, baptism second (cf. 31:1), is a practice particular to Syriac Christianity and is attested in other ancient sources.

281. The prayer/hymn spoken here by the Apostle Thomas is unattested in any other ancient sources, but it appears to be quite archaic because of vocabulary not seen elsewhere in the *Revelation of the Magi* ("athletes," "contest," "partner of the firstborn," etc.). These elements suggest that the prayer had an origin separate from the other sections of the *Revelation of the Magi*, most likely in a liturgical context. This hymn, particularly its invocations to "come" (cf. 30:7), finds its closest parallel in the prayers scattered throughout the Acts of Thomas. The similarity of this prayer to those of the Acts of Thomas and the failure to mention the Apostle Thomas's well-known journey to India suggest that the Apostle Thomas section originated quite early in Syriac Christianity, even if it is only a secondary addition to the original *Revelation of the Magi.*

282. I.e., the oil.

283. Cf. Mt 28:19.

284. Cf. 13:1,19:1, 21:2, 25:1.

285. Cf. 21:1.

286. Cf. Phil 2:19.

287. I.e., God the Father. This speech of the Apostle Thomas is ambiguous in whether or not it believes that Christ suffered. 31:6 states that Christ “endured” everything that the crucifiers did to him, but also that he was “exalted above all sufferings” and “a kinsperson of that one who does not suffer.” However, 31:7 again states that Christ “endured everything and … suffered everything,” which seems, on its face, to be a clear belief in the suffering of Christ.

288. Cf. Acts 2:47.

289. Cf. Mt 28:19.

290. It is unclear whether the Apostle Thomas joins the Magi in their preaching, since 32:1–2 never states specifically who “they” are. For the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*, it seems that the Magi follow Thomas in a subservient role. The reference to the Holy Spirit being poured out could suggest that it is the Magi alone who preach, since they have just received it in their baptism, but this statement in no way definitively excludes Thomas.

291. Cf. 21:11.

292. This is the first and only reference to a final judgment of fire that appears in the *Revelation of the Magi*, and it is not clear from whom the Magi received this information. The concept of a fiery end of the world exists in a number of ancient sources (cf. 2 Pt 3:7, 10). One related text is the reference of Josephus *(Antiquities* 1.68–69) to the descendants of Seth who live in the land of Seiris and transmitted a revelation from Adam that two catastrophes, one of water and one of fire, would overtake the earth.

293. The use of *my* here is strange, if it is assumed that the Magi (and the Apostle Thomas?) are preaching together. It may indicate that the preachers are working separately in different parts of the land of Shir, but this is never stated explicitly.

294. Cf. 1:1 and corresponding note. This final verse almost certainly derives from the eighth-century composer of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* and not from the copy of the *Revelation of the Magi* that he used.

295. Thomas Aquinas's remarks on the Magi legend of the *Opus Imperfectum* appear in the third part of his *Summa*, question 36, article 5.

296. It is not clear to me whether Calancha supposed, like Columbus, that the American continent was part of Asia, or whether he correctly recognized that it was a separate landmass. Explorers of the New World were remarkably adept at making their discoveries “fit” the biblical descriptions of the world.

297. The “contentious house” is the house of Israel, as described in Ez 3:9.

SEFER YETZIRAH

[Book of Creation]
&
Saadia's Commentary (excerpts)*

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SEFER YETZIRAH

I. Chapter One

¶ 1. In thirty-two mysterious paths of Wisdom, **Yah**, Eternal of Hosts [**Yod-Vav-Yod**], God of Israel, Living **Elohim**, Almighty God, High and Extolled, Dwelling in Eternity, Holy Be His Name, engraved and created His world in three **Sefarim**: in **writing**, **number** and **word**. Ten **Sefirot** out of nothing, twenty-two foundation letters, three mothers, seven doubles and twelve simples.

¶ 2. Ten **Sefirot** out of nothing according to the number of the ten digits [fingers and toes], which are five against five and a single covenant to be determined in the center. In word and tongue and mouth, they are ten extending beyond limit: depth of beginning, depth of end, depth of good, depth of evil, depth above and depth below, depth of east and depth of west, depth of north and depth of south, and the sole Master and lofty King faithfully governs them all from his Holy dwelling in Eternity forever.

¶ 3. Twenty-two foundation letters: three mothers, seven doubles and twelve simples. Three mothers: **Alef**, **Mem**, **Shin**: their basis is a scale of innocence and a scale of guilt and a tongue ordained to balance between the two. Seven doubles: **Bet**, **Gimel**, **Dalet**, **Kaf**, **Peh**, **Resh**, **Tav**. Their foundation is life and peace, wisdom and wealth, fruitfulness, grace and government. Twelve simples: **He**, **Vav**, **Zayin**; **Chet**, **Tet**, **Yod**; **Lamed**, **Nun**, **Samech**; **Ayin**, **Tsadeh**, **Qof**. Their foundation is seeing, hearing, smelling, swallowing, copulating, acting, walking, raging, laughing, thinking, and sleeping.

¶ 4. By means of these media, **Yah**, Eternal of Hosts, God of Israel, Living **Elohim**, Almighty God, High and Extolled, Dwelling in Eternity, Holy Be His Name traced out [carved] three fathers and their posterity, seven conquerors and their hosts, and twelve diagonal boundaries. The proof of this is revealed in the universe, the year, and the soul, which rule ten, three, seven and twelve. Over them rule Tali (the dragon), the wheel, and the heart.

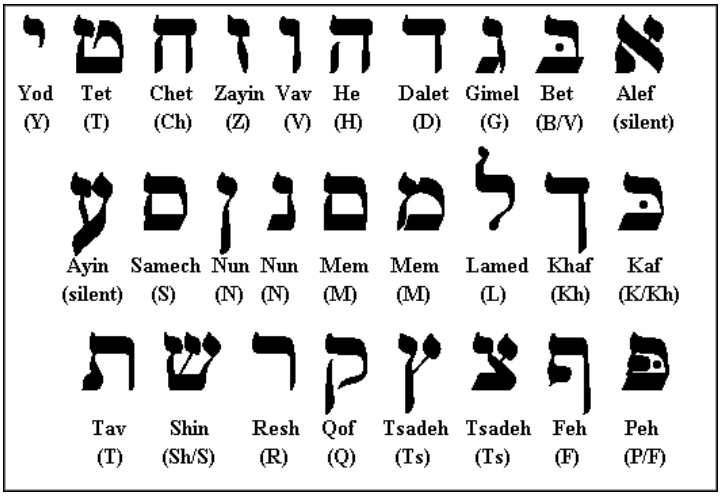

II. Chapter Two

¶ 1. Ten **Sefirot** out of nothing. Ten and not nine, ten and not eleven. Understand in Wisdom and be wise in Understanding. Examine them, investigate them, think clearly and form. Place the word above its creator and reinstate a Creator upon His foundation; and they are ten extending beyond limit. Observe them: they appear like a flash. Their boundary has no limit for His word is with them: "and they ran and returned." And they pursue His saying like a whirlwind [vortex]; and they prostrate themselves [bend] themselves before His throne.

¶ 2. Twenty-two foundation letters: three mothers, seven doubles, and twelve simples. Three mothers: **Alef**, **Mem**, **Shin**: a great mystery, concealed, marvelous and magnificent whence emerge fire, wind [air, spirit, breath] and water, whence everything was created. Seven doubles: **Bet**, **Gimel**, **Dalet**, **Kaf**, **Peh**, **Resh**, **Tav**, which are to be pronounced in two tongues: **Bet**, **Vayt**, **Gimel**, **Ghimel**, **Dalet**, **Dhalet**, **Kaf**, **Khaf**, **Peh**, **Feh**, **Resh**, **Rhesh**, **Tav**, **Thav**, a pattern of hard and soft, strong and weak. The doubles represent the contraries [syzygies]. The opposite of life is death, the opposite of peace is evil [or 'harm'], the opposite of wisdom is foolishness, the opposite of wealth is poverty, the opposite of fruitfulness is barrenness, the opposite of grace is ugliness, the opposite of dominion is slavery.

¶ 3. Seven doubles: **Bet**, **Gimel**, **Dalet**, **Kaf**, **Peh**, **Resh**, **Tav**. Seven and not six, seven and not eight. Six sides in the six directions, and the Holy Palace [**Heikhal**] ruling in the center. Blessed is the Eternal [**Yod-Vav-Yod**] in His dwelling. He is the place of the universe and the universe is not His place.

¶ 4. Twelve simples: **He**, **Vav**, **Zayin**; **Het**, **Tet**, **Yod**; **Lamed**, **Nun**, **Samech**; **Ayin**, **Tsadeh**, **Qof**. Twelve and not eleven, twelve and not thirteen. Twelve diagonal boundaries divide the directions and separate the different sides: the extremity of the northeast, the extremity of the eastern height, the extremity of the eastern depth, the extremity of the northwest, the extremity of the northern height, the extremity of the northern depth, the extremity of the southwest, the extremity of the western height, the extremity of the western depth, the extremity of the southeast, the extremity of the southern height, the extremity of the southern depth.

¶ 5. By these means, **Yah**, Eternal of Hosts, God of Israel, Living **Elohim**, Almighty God, High and Extolled, Dwelling in Eternity, Holy Be His Name traced twenty-two letters and fixed them upon a wheel. He turns the wheel forwards and backwards, and as a sign of this, nothing is better than to ascend in **delight** [**Ayin-Nun-Gimel**], and nothing is worse than to descend with the **plague** [**Nun-Gimel-Ayin**].

¶ 6. The proof of this is revealed in the universe, the year and the soul. The universe is calculated according to ten: the three are fire, air, and water; the seven are the seven planets; the twelve are the twelve signs of the zodiac; the year is computated by ten: the three are winter, summer and the seasons between; the seven are the seven days of creation; the twelve are the twelve months; the living soul is calculated according to ten: three are the head, chest and stomach; seven are the seven apertures of the body; the twelve are the twelve leading organs.

III. Chapter Three

¶ 1. Ten **Sefirot** out of nothing. Stop your mouth from speaking, stop your heart from thinking, and if your heart runs (to think) return to a place of which it is said "they ran and returned"; and concerning this thing the covenant was made; and they are ten in extent beyond limit. Their end is infused with their beginning, and their beginning with their end like a flame attached to a glowing ember. Know, think [reflect, meditate] and imagine that the Creator is One and there is nothing apart from Him, and before One what do you count?

¶ 2. Twenty-two foundation letters: three mothers, seven doubles, and twelve simples. Three mothers: **Alef**, **Mem**, **Shin** are fire, wind [air] and water. The nature of the heavens is fire, the nature of air is wind [**ruach**], the nature of earth is water. Fire ascends and water descends and wind balances between the two. **Mem** is silent, **Shin** is sibilant, and **Alef** balances between the two. **Alef**, **Mem**, **Shin** are signed in six rings and enveloped in male and female. Know, meditate and imagine that the fire supports water.

¶ 3. Seven doubles: **Bet**, **Gimel**, **Dalet**, **Kaf**, **Peh**, **Resh**, **Tav** which are to be pronounced in two tongues: **Bet**, **Vet**, **Gimel**, **Ghimel**, **Dalet**, **Dhalet**, **Kaf**, **Khaf**, **Peh**, **Feh**, **Resh**, **Rhesh**, **Tav**, **Thav**, a pattern of hard and soft, strong and weak. The doubles represent the contraries. The opposite of life is death, the opposite of peace is evil, the opposite of wisdom is foolishness, the opposite of wealth is poverty, the opposite of fruitfulness is barrenness, the opposite of grace is ugliness, the opposite of dominion is slavery.

¶ 4. Twelve simples: **He**, **Vav**, **Zayin**; **Het**, **Tet**, **Yod**; **Lamed**, **Nun**, **Samech**; **Ayin**, **Tsadeh**, **Qof**. He engraved them, hewed them, tested them, weighed them, and exchanged them. How did He combine them? Two stones build two houses. Three stones build six houses. Four stones build twenty-four houses. Five stones build one hundred twenty houses. Six stones build seven hundred twenty houses. Seven stones build five thousand forty houses. Thenceforth, go out and calculate what the mouth is unable to say and what the ear is unable to hear.

¶ 5. Through these media, **Yah**, Eternal of Hosts, God of Israel, Living **Elohim**, Almighty Master, Lofty and Extolled, Dwelling in Eternity, Holy Be His Name traced [carved] (His universe). **Yah** [**Yod-He**] is composed of two letters; **YHVH** [**Yod-He-Vav-He**] is composed of four letters; Hosts [**Tsvaot**]: it is like a signal [sign, **ot**] in his army [**tsava**]; God of Israel: Israel is a prince [**Sar**] before God [**El**]; Living **Elohim**: three things are called living, Living **Elohim**, the water of life and the Tree of Life; **El** [**Alef-Lamed**]: strength, **Shaddai** [**Shin-Dalet-Yod**]: He is sufficient to this point; Lofty [**Ram**]: because He dwells in the heights of the universe and is above all elevated being; Extolled [**Nisah**]: because He carries and maintains the height and depth whilst the bearers are below and their burden is above. He carries and maintains the entire creation; Dwelling in Eternity [**Shochen ahd**]: because His reign is eternal and uninterrupted; Holy Be His Name[**Qadosh Shmo**]: because He and His servants are sacred and they declare unto Him every day: Holy, Holy, Holy.

¶ 6. The proof of this is revealed in the universe, the year and the soul. The twelve are below, the seven are above them, and the three are above the seven. Of the

three, He has formed His sanctuary and all are attached to the One: a sign of the One who has no second, a solitary King in His Universe is One, and His Name is One.

IV. Chapter Four

¶ 1. Ten **Sefirot** out of nothing. One: Spirit-wind of the Living **Elohim**, Life of the Universe, whose throne strengthens all eternity, Blessed and Beneficent Be His Name, constant and eternal: this is the Holy Spirit.
¶ 2. Spirit from Spirit engraved and hewed: He cut the four dimensions of Heaven: the east, the west, the north and the south, and there is a wind for each direction.
¶ 3. Twenty-two foundation letters: three mothers, seven doubles, and twelve simples. He hewed them in spirit, carved them in voice, fixed them in the mouth in five place: **Alef**, **He**, **Het**, **Ayin** [**ahacha**]; **Bet**, **Vav**, **Mem**, **Feh** [**bumaf**]; **Gimel**, **Yod**, **Khaf**, **Qof** [**gikhaq**]; **Dalet**, **Tet**, **Lamed**, **Nun**, **Tav** [**datlanat**]; **Zayin**, **Samech**, **Tsadeh**, **Resh**, **Shin** [**zsats'ras**]. **Alef**, **He**, **Het**, **Ayin** are pronounced at the end of the tongue at the place of swallowing; **Bet**, **Vav**, **Mem**, **Feh** between the teeth with the tip of the tongue; **Gimel**, **Yod**, **Khaf**, **Qof** on the palate; **Dalet**, **Tet**, **Lamed**, **Nun**, **Tav** on the middle of the tongue and pronounced with the voice; **Zayin**, **Samech**, **Tsadeh**, **Resh**, **Shin** between the teeth with the tongue at rest.
¶ 4. Twenty-two letters: He carved them, hewed them, refined them, weighed them, and combined them, and He made of them the entire creation and everything to be created in the future. How did He test them? **Alef** with all and all with **Alef**, **Bet** with all and all with **Bet**, **Gimel** with all and all with **Gimel**, and they all return again and again, and they emanate through two hundred and thirty-one gates. All the words and all the creatures emanate from One Name.
¶ 5. He created reality from **Tohu** [**Tav-He-Vav**] and made His existence out of His nothingness, and He hewed great pillars from the intangible air.
¶ 6. Three: water of spirit carved and hewed of it **Tohu** [**Tav-He-Vav**] and **Bohu** [**Bet-He-Vav**], mud and clay. He made them like a garden bed, put them into position like a wall and covered them like a fortification; he poured water upon them and made dust, for He saith to the snow: be earth. **Tohu**: this is the green line which encircles the entire world; **Bohu**: this refers to the rocks split and submerged in the abyss where the water has its source. As it is said: He spread out the line of **Tohu** and the rocks of **Bohu** upon it [the water].
¶ 7. Four: fire from water, He engraved and hewed from it a throne of glory and the host dwelling in the heights, as it is written: Who maketh the winds His messengers, the flames of fire His ministers.
¶ 8. Five: He chose three simples and fixed them to His great Name, and with them He sealed six extremities. He sealed the height, turning upwards and sealed it with **Yod-He-Vav**. Six: He sealed the depth and He turned below and sealed it with **Yod-Vav-He**. Seven: he sealed the east and turned forwards, and sealed it with **He-Vav-Yod**. Eight: He sealed the west and turned backwards and sealed it with **He-Yod-Vav**. Nine: He sealed the south and turned to His right and sealed it with **Vav-Yod-He**. Ten: He sealed the north and turned to His left and sealed it with **Vav-He-Yod**. These are the ten **Sefirot** out of nothing, One: Spirit of the Living

Elohim; two: wind of the spirit; three: water of the wind; four: fire from the water, height and depth, east and west, north and south.

V. Chapter Five

1. He made the letter **Alef** King in Spirit and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: air in the universe, abundant moisture in the year, and body in the soul, male and female; with the male: **Alef**, **Mem**, **Shin**, and with the female: **Alef**, **Shin**, **Mem**. **2**. He made the letter **Mem** King in Spirit and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: earth in the universe, cold in the year, and belly in the soul (male and female). **3**. He made the letter **Shin** King in Spirit and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Heaven in the universe, heat in the year, and head in the soul, male and female. How did He combine them? **Alef-Mem-Shin**, **Alef-Shin-Mem**, **Mem-Shin-Alef**, **Mem-Alef-Shin**, **Shin-Alef-Mem**, **Shin-Mem-Alef**. Heaven is from fire, the atmosphere is from air, the earth is from water. The head of Adam is fire, his heart is of the spirit-wind, and his stomach is from water. **4**. Seven doubles: **Bet**, **Gimel**, **Dalet**, **Kaf**, **Peh**, **Resh**, **Tav**. He carved them, hewed them, tested them, weighed them, and combined them. He made of them: the planets, the days (of the week), and the apertures (of the head). **5**. He made the letter **Bet** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Saturn in the universe, the Sabbath in the year, and the mouth in the soul. **6**. He made the letter **Gimel** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Jupiter in the universe, Sunday in the year, and the right eye of the soul. **7**. He made the letter **Dalet** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Mars in the universe, Monday in the year, and the left eye of the soul. **8**. He made the letter **Kaf** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Sun in the universe, Tuesday in the year, and the right nostril of the soul. **9**. He made the letter **Peh** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Venus in the universe, Wednesday in the year, and the left nostril of the soul. **10**. He made the letter **Resh** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Mercury in the universe, Thursday in the year, and the right ear of the soul. **11**. He made the letter **Tav** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Moon in the universe, Friday in the year, and the left ear of the soul. **12**. He separated the witnesses and He bestowed a portion to each of them: a portion to the universe, a portion to the year, and a portion to the soul.

VI. Chapter Six

Twelve simples: **He**, **Vav**, **Zayin**; **Het**, **Tet**, **Yod**; **Lamed**, **Nun**, **Samech**; **Ayin**, **Tsadeh**, **Qof**. He carved them, hewed them, tested them, weighed them, and combined them. He formed of them: the signs of the zodiac, the months [of the year], and the leading organs of the body; two are agitated, two are tranquil, two are advising, and two are joyous (these are the two intestines), the two hands, and the two feet. **1**. He made them like contenders and set them up like a kind of war; **Elohim** made

them one against the other. **2**. Three, to each a portion; seven divided into three above, three [below], and the one rules as a balance between the two. Twelve are arranged in battle: three are friends, three are enemies, three are murderers, and three are resurrectors; and they all are attached one to another. As a sign of this thing, twenty-two inclinations and one body. **3**. How did He combine them? **He**, **Vav**, **Vav**, **He**; **Zayin**, **Het**, **Het**, **Zayin**; **Tet**, **Yod**, **Yod**, **Tet**; **Lamed**, **Nun**, **Nun**, **Lamed**; **Samech**, **Ayin**, **Ayin**, **Samech**; **Tsadeh**, **Qof**, **Qof**, **Tsadeh**. **4**. He made the letter **He** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Aries in the universe, Nisan in the year, and the liver of the soul. **5**. He made the letter **Vav** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Taurus in the universe, Iyyar in the year, and the gall-bladder of the soul. **6**. He made the letter **Zayin** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Gemini in the universe, Sivan in the year, and the spleen in the soul. **7**. He made the letter **Het** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Cancer in the universe, Tammuz in the year, and the intestine in the soul. **8**. He made the letter **Tet** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Leo in the universe, Ab in the year, and the right kidney in the soul. **9**. He made the letter **Yod** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Virgo in the universe, Elul in the year, and the left kidney in the soul. **10**. He made the letter **Lamed** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Libra in the universe, Tishri in the year, and the intestines in the soul. **11**. He made the letter **Nun** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Scorpio in the universe, Marheshvan in the year, and the stomach in the soul. **12**. He made the letter **Samech** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Sagittarius in the universe, Kislev in the year, and the right hand of the soul. **13**. He made the letter **Ayin** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Capricorn in the universe, Tevet in the year, and the left hand of the soul. **14**. He made the letter **Tsadeh** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Aquarius in the universe, Shvat in the year, and the right foot of the soul. **15**. He made the letter **Qof** King and bound to it a crown and tested this one with this one, and formed of it: Pisces in the universe, Adar in the year, and the left foot of the soul. **16**. He divided the witnesses and bestowed a portion to each of them: a portion to the universe, a portion to the year, and a portion to the soul.

VII. Chapter Seven

1. Air, between seasons ["abundant moisture"], trunk [i.e. torso]. — Earth, cold, belly. — Heaven, heat [summer], the head: these are **Alef**, **Mem** and **Shin**. **2**. Saturn, Sabbath, the mouth. — Jupiter, Sunday, right eye. — Mars, Monday, left eye. — The Sun, Tuesday, right nostril. — Venus, Wednesday, left nostril. — Mercury, Thursday, right ear. —Moon, Friday, left ear: these are **Bet**, **Gimel**, **Dalet**, **Kaf**, **Peh**, **Resh** and **Tav**. **3**. Aries, Nisan, liver. —Taurus, Iyyar, gall-bladder. —Gemini, Sivan, spleen. — Cancer, Tammuz, intestine. — Leo, Ab, right kidney. — Virgo, Elul, left kidney.

— Libra, Tishri, intestines. — Scorpio, Marheshvan, stomach. — Sagittarius, Kislev, right hand. — Capricorn, Tevet, left hand. — Aquarius, Shvat, right foot. — Pisces, Adar, left foot: and these are **He**, **Vav**, **Zayin**; **Het**, **Tet**, **Yod**; **Lamed**, **Nun**, **Samech**; **Ayin**, **Tsadeh**, **Qof**.

VIII. Chapter Eight

With **Alef** have been formed: the spirit-wind, air, the between seasons, the chest, the tongue. With **Mem** have been formed: water, earth, cold, belly, and the balance of guilt. With **Shin** have been formed: fire, Heaven, heat, the head, and the balance of innocence. With **Bet** have been formed: Saturn, the Sabbath, life and death. With **Gimel** have been formed: Jupiter, Sunday, the right eye, peace and harm. With **Dalet** have been formed: Mars, Monday, the left eye, wisdom and foolishness. With **Kaf** have been formed: the Sun, Tuesday, the right nostril, wealth and poverty. With **Peh** have been formed: Venus, Wednesday, the left nostril, fertility and desolation [barrenness]. With **Resh** have been formed: Mercury, Thursday, the right ear, grace and ugliness. With **Tav** have been formed: the Moon, Friday, the left ear, dominion and slavery. With **He** have been formed: Aries, Nisan, the liver, vision and blindness. With **Vav** have been formed: Taurus, Iyyar, the spleen, hearing and deafness. With **Zayin** have been formed: Gemini, Sivan, the gall, odor and odorlessness. With **Het** have been formed: Cancer, Tammuz, the intestine, the word and silence. With **Tet** have been formed: Leo, Ab, the right kidney, eating and hunger. With **Yod** have been formed: Virgo, Elul, the left kidney, copulating and castration. With **Lamed** have been formed: Libra, Tishri, the intestines, acting and impotence. With **Nun** have been formed: Scorpio, Marheshvan, the gullet, walking and limping. With **Samech** have been formed: Sagittarius, Kislev, the right hand, rage and loss of faith. With **Ayin** have been formed: Capricorn, Tevet, the left hand, laughing and the loss of spleen. With **Tsadeh** have been formed: Aquarius, Shvat, the right foot, thinking and loss of heart. With **Qof** have been formed: Pisces, Adar, the left foot, sleeping and languor. And they are all fixed to the Dragon [Tali], the wheel, and the heart. Tali in the universe is like a king upon his throne, the wheel in the year is like a king in his empire, and the heart in the body is like a king at war. To recapitulate: some reunited with the others, and those reunited with the former. These are opposed to those and those are opposed to these. These are the contrary of those and those are the contrary of these. If these are not, those are not. And if those are not, these are not; and they are all fixed to Tali [the Dragon], the wheel and the heart.

And when Abraham our father had formed and combined and investigated and reckoned and succeeded, then **He-Qof-Bet-He**, "The Holy One Blessed Be He" was revealed unto him, and unto Abraham He called this convocation: "Before I formed thee in the belly, I knew thee, and before thou left the womb, I sanctified thee, and I placed thee like a prophet amidst the nations." And He made Abraham a beloved friend, and cut a covenant with him and his seed forever and ever.

Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah (excerpts) by Saadia ben Joseph (al-Fayyumi) [931 C.E.] [1]

I. On the Origin of the World According to the Pythagoreans & the Sefer Yetzirah

… The seventh system belongs to the theorist who admits a creation of things, but asserts that the first things created were numbers. By means of numbers, substances and particles are differentiated. Geometry and figures are based on number, for all created things necessarily have some kind of form. According to this theory, the figure of the created object precedes the object itself, for it is the object's material. However, if this theorist—may God have mercy upon you!—supposes the potential, and not actual, anteriority of numbers to numbered things, then we must accept this as a just and irrefutable theory. We maintain that the number, in potentiality, has prefigured the numbered object; that the form has preceded the formed thing; the figure, the figured thing; geometry, the geometrical body; and composition, the thing composed—all in potentiality and not in actuality. But if this theory posits the actual anteriority of pure numbers, isolated compositions, and abstract theorems, the supposition is inadmissible for two reasons: (1) the theory implies that the Mover and the moved were joined by a third thing: motion; with the forming agent and the formed object, it names another object: form; and along with the Creator and his creature, it posits a necessary third: creation. This is absurd; (2) it is contradictory to speak of abstract composition and pure theorem, for these are necessarily based upon at least two terms.

The eighth system belongs to the theorist who accepts a creation, but ascribes the origin of things to numbers and letters. This theory belongs to the author of this book. In fact, he ascribes the origin of the Creator's creation to thirty-two things: the ten numbers and twenty-two letters. He does not say, however, that they are abstract and isolated. He only says that God has created the air and has established the thirty-two things in it. The numbers, according to him, traverse the air, which is composed of distinct particles. When the air current follows these direct and inflected lines, it produces figures. After examining this theory, we find these points to be correct, but they need to be completed by the following exposition. The same applies to the letters. When their creator established them in the air, they were cleaved, and figures of diverse appearance and geometrical forms were created according to the faculty of each isolated letter, two letters combined, or one compound of numerous letters.

Our rabbis say something similar with regard to the scene at Mt. Sinai in the Scripture, for it is said: "And all the people saw the thunderings" [Exodus XX, 15]. The rabbis asked how it was possible to see sounds? They explained that the Sage brought a powerful and brilliant fire down upon the mountain, as it is said: "Because the Eternal descended upon it in fire" [Exodus XIX, 18]. Then He

[1] From Saadia ben Joseph (al-Fayyumi), *Commentaire sur le Séfer Yesira ou Livre de la Création par Le Gaon Saadya de Fayyoum*, trans. & ed., M. Lambert, Paris, Emile Bouillon, Editeur, 1891); translated into English from the French & Hebrew by Scott Thompson and Dominique Marson, San Francisco, 1985.

surrounded it with a black cloud, "and the mountain burned with fire unto the midst of heaven, with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness" [Deuteronomy IV, 11]. This darkness is the black cloud, as it is said: "He made darkness his secret place; his pavillion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies" [Psalms XLVIII, 12]. Thus did He create the scintillating voice in the fire; the voice emanated from fire and its form appeared in the cloud according to the impulsion given by the pronunciation's movement in the air. The people saw this form and knew then that the fire's scintillation had projected it into the surrounding black air, as it is said: "And the Eternal spoke unto you out of the midst of the fire,"[Deuteronomy IV, 12], and it is said: "when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness" [Deuteronomy V, 23]. As an example of this, we see that when someone speaks on a cold day, the articulation of the voice cuts the air and produces forms varying in straight or inflected lines according to the current which the sounds follow. Similarly, the author says that numbers and letters are the origins of things; he means with the air, as we have just demonstrated. […]

II. On the Divine Epithets and the Aristotelian Categories

What do the ten names of God enumerated at the beginning signify and why does the author limit himself to one? The names of God, like the names of all beings, refer to actual or alleged events. In the **Ma'aseh bereshit** [Work of Creation], God is called **Elohim**, the name of essence. He is not called Eternal [Adonai, **Yod-Vav-Yod**] before the creation of the creatures, because to be Lord, He must be the Master of someone. The Sages have said: "He has mentioned a full name for a full world" [**Beresit Rabba**, XIII]. He is called **El Shaddai** ["Almighty God," Genesis, XVII, 1] when He orders Abraham's circumcision and says: count on me who helps and saves.

He called Himself "I am that I am" [**Ehyeh asher ehyeh**, Exodus III, 14], when He produced the miracles and marvels like the phenomena of creation, the ten plagues and the rest. He is the One who realizes but cannot be realized. He called Himself **Yah** [**Yod-He**] when He produced the extraordinary miracles on the Red Sea. He called Himself **Elohim Hayyim** ["Living God "] when He revealed His voice to the people and they heard, and did not die but were given life, as it is said: "For who is there of all flesh that hath heard the voice of the living God" [Deuteronomy, V, 26]. He called Himself **Adonai Sabaoth** ["Eternal (or Lord) of Hosts"] when the people's pilgrimage and assembly in the sanctuary was recounted, as it is said: "And this man went up out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice unto the Eternal of hosts in Shiloh" [I Samuel I, 3]. He is called High and Extolled [**Ram v'Nisah**] when Isaiah speaks of Uzziah, king of Judah: "In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up" [Isaiah VI, 1]. On account of Uzziyahu, he has said: "But when he was strong his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God" [II Chronicles XXVI, 16]. He called Himself Lord [**Adon**] when He announced that He would raise the noble among the people, for it is said: "For behold the Lord, the Lord of Hosts doth take way from Jerusalem," Isaiah III, 1]. He is most often called Eternal God [**Yod-Vav-Yod Elohim**] in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and not Eternal of

Hosts [**Yod-Vav-Yod Tsvaot (Sabaoth)**] because Israel's legions had been dispersed and His totality had been fragmented. When the Israelites gathered in the second temple, He called Himself Eternal of Hosts, and this appellation is always used in the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Only once is He called Eternal God of Israel. This is in the verse: "Let him send her away saith the Eternal, the God of Israel" [Malachi II, 16]. This name can be understood in a general and a restricted sense. In the restricted sense, the law of divorce can be applied to the Israelite only by another Israelite, and not by the pagans. If the pagans compel the divorce, it is nullified. In the general sense of the word, it refers to the Lord's possession of Israel. Though Israel has been chased and exiled, the Lord has neither abandoned nor forsaken her, but considers her His own. He has been called "changeth the times and the seasons" [Daniel II, 21], when He transforms the era of domination into one of servitude. He has been called "He removeth kings and setteth up kings" [Daniel II, 21], when He dethroned Sedecias and made Nebuchadnezzar king. He has been called: "He giveth wisdom unto the wise" [Daniel II, 21], because He taught wisdom to Daniel. He has been called "He revealeth the deep and secret things" [Daniel II, 22] for He revealed the nature of vision to Daniel. Finally, it is said: "And Esdras blessed the Lord, the Great God" [Nehemiah VIII, 6], for God has said: "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former" [Haggai II, 9].

The names of angels correspond in like manner to events which are the angel's task to realize. When God dispatched angels to Abraham to announce the glad tidings, they resembled and were thus called "men" [**anashim**, Genesis XVIII, 2]. When God sent the angels to destroy Sodom, they were called "angels" [**malachim**, Genesis XIX, 1]. When God sent them unto Isaiah to burn him with hot coal because he neglected to warn Israel, they were called "**seraphim**" as it is said: "Then flew one of the seraphim unto me having a live coal in his hand… and he laid it upon my mouth" [Isaiah VI, 6–7]. When Ezekiel saw them in the form of unreasoning animals, they were called "**hayyot**" ["creatures," Ezekiel I, 5]. The angels between them, which turned not when they went, were called "**ophanim**" ["wheels," Ezekiel I, 15]. The most elevated between them have been called "cherubim" [Ezekiel X, 1] because each elevated being among men is called "cherub," as it is said of the king of Tyre: "Thou wast the annointed Cherub that covereth" [Ezekiel XXVIII, 14].

The names of the celestial bodies vary according to their different characteristics. The one with a bright light in the center is called "bright" [or "luminary"] as it is said: "All the bright lights" [Ezekiel XXXII, 8], according to the term for the Sun. The star with lesser brilliance is called "**Nogah**" ["shining"] after a name for the Moon, as it has been said: "neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee" [Isaiah LX, 19]. **Nogah** is also the Hebrew name for Venus. Stars with a hot nature are called "**Kesilim**" ["constellations" and "Orion"], as it is said: "For the stars of heaven and the constellations" [Isaiah XIII, 10]. This refers to the name Orion, which is **Kesil** and its fires. Luminaries with a cold nature are called **Mazzaroth** ["Pleiades"], as it is said: "Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his seasons?" [Job XXXVIII, 32]. Israel's different names of praise such as Jacob, Israel, and Jeshurun [Deuteronomy XXXII, 15], and her different names of blame

like "**M'shuva**" ["backsliding," Jeremiah III, 6], "**B'gedah**" ["treacherous," Jeremiah III, 8], "**Oholah**" and "Oholibah" [Ezekiel XXIII, 4] correspond to particular events. These names of the angels, luminaries, and the nation are an interpretation of actual characteristics. The names of the Creator, however, are only indications and extractions [abstractions] of his powers —may He be praised and exalted!

The author of our book intends to show us how the existence of beings is realized. When the wise grasped this knowledge, they discovered the ten and only ten categories which reason can use to order all things: substance, quantity, quality, relation, space, time, possession, position, action, and passivity. When the sages precisely established these ten categories, no conception remained unconnected to them except the idea of the Creator, for He is above all intuition and comprehension. Therefore, our author has enumerated these ten categories at the beginning of his book in a style befitting the rest of his exposition. The name **Yah** refers to substance [essence] for the author translates it as Eternal, and he derives it from the word **hayyot** [being or creature] and "**hayu**" ["they have been"]. This name applies to eternity, and God is the Creator of all substances. The name Eternal **Sabaoth** [Eternal of Hosts] corresponds to the categories of action and passivity. The Eternal is active, as it is said: "I am the Eternal that maketh all things" [Isaiah XLIV, 24]. The passive, which is great in number, is called "legion" [host or armies]. The name Living God [**Elohim Hayyim**] refers to Elohim as the Creator of quantity, for the measure of life (i.e., age) is a quantitative measure. The name **El Shaddai** ["Almighty God"] refers to God the Creator of quality, for the name **Shaddai** [**Shin-Dalet-Yod**] derives from "**dai**" [**Dalet-Yod**, "sufficient"] and "**daim**" [**Dalet-Yod-Mem**, "sufficiently"]. The name **Elohei Israel**, God of Israel, refers to relation. The name Lofty [**Ram**] refers to God as Creator of the Good, while the name **Nisah** ["elevated"] refers to the category of position. The name **Shokhen Ad** ["dwelling in eternity"] indicates the time before and after which He is; and finally, the epithet **Qadosh Shmo** ["Holy be His Name"] refers to the category of possession and to the noble attributes which allow our intelligence to reach an approximate idea of Him. Therefore, the ten names clearly suit the ten categories, and according to our author, there remains nothing which God has not created.

After a deep examination and detailed analysis, we conclude that the Ten Commandments heard by our fathers before Mt. Sinai correspond to these same ten categories which encompass every precept. The commandment "I am the Eternal" alludes to the category of action, as it is said: "I am the Eternal that maketh all things" [Isaiah XLIV, 24]. The commandment "Thou shalt have no other gods…" refers to substance, for it adds: "that is in heaven above or that is in the earth beneath or that is in the water under the earth." The commandment "Thou shalt not take (the name of the Lord in vain) refers to quality since most oaths only apply to modes of being. The commandment: "Remember the Sabbath day" explicitly relates to the category of time. The commandment: "Honor thy father and thy mother" is the relation itself. The commandment: "Thou shalt not kill" indicates the category of passivity, as it is said: "for in the image of God made He man" [Genesis IX, 6]. The commandment: "Thou shalt not commit adultery" designates the category of position, for this act is a kind of position and contact. The commandment: "Thou

shalt not steal" directly corresponds to possession. The commandment: "Thou shalt not bear false witness" refers to quantity since most false witnessing applies to measurement. Finally, the commandment: "Thou shalt not covet" indicates space and everything corresponding to it; thus the Sage adds: "the house of thy neighbor." Therefore, the decalogue clearly comprehends all the notions in the world. By the same token, the 613 precepts must therefore be contained in the decalogue without exception.

By co-ordinating these precepts in accordance with the Ten Commandments, I have discovered that 80 precepts correspond to the first commandment, 60 precepts correspond to the second commandment, 48 correspond to the third, 75 to the fourth, 77 to the fifth, 50 to the sixth, 58 to the seventh, 59 to the eighth, 52 to the ninth, and 54 to the tenth. This amounts to 613. There are 620 letters in the decalogue, of which 613 correspond to the 613 precepts. The remaining seven letters are contained in the two concluding words: "that is your neighbor's," but they are already subsumed in the words immediately before them: "nor anything" [Exodus XX, 17]. Blessed be the Sage who put so many things in so few words!

The words [from **Sefer Yetzirah**] "He created His world in three **sefarim**" indicate the three ways of recording all things. The sages counted four aspects: substance, word, writing or thought. For example, we see a man in substance; or we say the word: "man"; or we write the letters: M A N; or we represent an image of the man in thought. Now why does our author only enumerate three aspects of a thing? He calls them "three **sefarim**" ["three books"] or "three divans," and these are: scripture, number and word. When the category of substance is added to them, they comprise the four aspects. Substance and thought do not vary. Viewed according to these two categories, the object makes the same impression on all men. The other two aspects, scripture and word, do vary, for we see many different languages and scripts. However, the ideas underlying these are not different. [...]

III. On the "Closed" Numbers, Mothers, Doubles, & Simples

The author then explains the thirty-two paths, and says that these are ten numbers and twenty-two letters. We translate the word "**b'limah**" as "closed." The proper sense is: 'provided with a brake,' as it is said: "whose mouth must be held in with bit and bridle" [Psalms XXXII, 9]. The author then divides the letters into "three fundamental mothers". The sense of the word [**Alef-Vav-Mem**, **ôm**] is "mother" and this is a term in the Mishna. It is said: "There is one mother for the tradition and one mother for the reading" [Pesahim 6b; Sukkah 6b]. This means that the Law has been interpreted in two ways: according to the principle of the Scripture and according to the principle of oral lecture. The word [**ôm**] is called the primitive origin of the body part where leprosy resides, as in the passage: "either the primitive origin of the wound has disappeared or diminished" [Nega'im, I, 5]. Using this metaphor, the author says "three fundamental letters" [**yesod gimel otiot**].

The proper sense of the words "**sheva k'phulot**" is "seven doubles," for it is said that there are two kinds of knowledge: "the secrets of wisdom, that they are double to that which is" [Job XI, 6]. This is the knowledge of the Creator and the knowledge of the creature. There are also two kinds of punishments: "for she

[Jerusalem] hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins" [Isaiah XL, 2]. These are the punishments in person and fortune, of the sacred and the profane, for the king and the multitude, and among the distinguished and the vulgar.

The words "**shtem esre ph'shutot**" indicate the "twelve simple" letters. With respect to composed objects, isolated and separate things are called "simple" to distinguish them from compounds, as it is said: "a simple year" to distinguish it from the embolismic year. The simple year is of twelve months, the embolismic year has thirteen months. One also says "first born" and "simple". "First born" refers to two parts, and "simple" to one part. In astronomical charts of complex years, this is an approximate measure of a certain star's revolution. The simple years are the average of its progression through each solar year. Since the seven letters are double, the remaining letters are called simple to distinguish them from the compound… […]

IV. On the Creation's "Witnesses"

> *By means of these* [*32 paths*]*, the Eternal, Master of armies, God of Israel, living Elohim, Almighty, Unique, Lofty and Dwelling in Eternity, Holy Be His Name has traced three mothers and their progeny, seven chiefs and their armies, and twelve limits of the angle. Proof of this is given by the trustworthy witnesses: the universe, the year and the person* [*soul*]*. To each applies the rule of ten, three, seven and twelve and their correspondents: the sphere, the Dragon and the heart.* [Chapter One, ¶ 4].

I translate "fathers" [**avot**] as "mothers", for as I have previously stated, the words: fathers, mothers, principals, materia prima, initial substance, etc. all have the same meaning. I translate the word "**kobeshin**" as "chiefs" because they conquer countries, as it is said: "And shall consume the earth before the Eternal" [Deuteronomy XXXII, 22]. Elsewhere it is said: "of all the nations which he had subdued" [II Samuel VIII, 11]. I translate the words "**g'vulei alakson**" as "limit of the angles" because this is the sense of the words frequently found in the Talmud. There it is said: "every cubit forms a cubit and two-fifths in diagonal" [Baba Batra, 101b]. This means that the diagonal is one and two-fifths cubits in every square with a simple side of one cubit, though this is not quite correct. The exact measure of the diagonal is the square root of two.

Tali [**Tav-Lamed-Yod**] can be defined as the dragon. I understand this to be the place where two orbits intersect [the orbit of the sun and the orbit of the moon] like the equator and the sun's orbit. Actually, the circle of the sun's orbit is inclined twenty-three degrees and a fraction to the circle of the equator. When we suppose that the two orbits are aligned, they necessarily intersect at two opposite points. One of the two points is called the spring equinox and the other, the autumnal equinox. Just as the solar and lunar orbits intersect one another at two opposite points (each point called "dragon"), one of these points is sometimes called the head, and the other, the tail. This explains the origin of the dragon's name. It is not a constellation resembling a dragon or any other creature. "Dragon" refers to the coils and curves which it forms when one sphere is positioned in the north and

the other in the south. The Hebrews have given it a similar name, since it is said: "By his spirit hath he garnished the heavens; His hand hath formed the crooked serpent…"

V. On the Geometrical "Whirlwind" of the Hebrew Letters

> *The ten closed numbers are ten and not nine, nor eleven; understand in wisdom and ponder them in intelligence; know, reflect and believe; situate the thing according to its evidence and establish the Creator according to its quality. The numbers correspond to ten infinities, whose beginning flashes like lightning; but one finds no end to them when searching for their limit; and the decree of the Creator made them like angels who ran and returned; and they pursue his decree like a whirlwind, and it is as if they would prostrate themselves before his throne.* [Chapter Two, ¶ 1.]

… Of the two statements which follow the three propositions, the first is: "His decree is with them, and they ran and returned." The author's meaning is that every time the numbers arrive at ten, they return and begin again eternally and without limit for us, as it is also said of the angels: "And the living creatures ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning" [Ezekiel I, 14]. They return and then depart again, and it is as if they had been stationary, as it is said: "Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, here we are?" [Job XXXVIII, 35]. They have faces on all sides, and thus it is said: "And behold, the angel that talked with me went forth, and another angel went out to meet him" [Zechariah II, 3]. It is not said that the angel appeared "behind him" because the angel presents a face every direction it turns. Like the numbers, the letters also always repeat themselves, following and succeeding without an end for us.

The second of the two statements is: "And they pursue his speech like a whirlwind." The author's intention here is to emphasize how the letters and numbers are formed in the air. He says that the whirlwinds describe figures and forms in the air, and though they all differ, they are still all circular. Among their material forms, some are more oblong, others combine circle and square, others combine circle and triangle, some are composed of superimposed spheres, and still others are composed of interpenetrating spheres. All of these are types of whirlwind. This analogy explains how the letters and numbers are formed and have sprung into the air; and this is why it is said: "The Eternal hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm" [Nahum I, 3]; and also: "For behold, the Eternal will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind" [Isaiah LXVI,15]. Ezekiel demonstrated this with respect to the **ophanim** and the **hayyot**; the circles [or 'wheels'–trans.] interpenetrate like tubes within tubes. The same thing can be said for the junction of whirlwind within whirlwind and tempest within tempest. Thus it is clear that God —be He celebrated and exalted—has revealed the lights of the hayyot and the ophanim which have circular forms. The prophets were also shown winds which have the same circular forms, as it has been said: "Then the Eternal answered Job out of the whirlwind" [Job XXXVIII, 1], and elsewhere: "out of the whirlwind" [Job XL, 6]. If one has properly comprehended the formation of the

letters in the air, this will not seem difficult. As for the saying: "They prostrate themselves before His throne," it only alludes to the numbers and letters obeying him and executing his decrees. The word "prostrate" should not be understood in the literal sense…

VI. On the Rotation of the Letters and the Zodiac

When we say that it is by means of these media that the Eternal, Master of hosts, God of Israel, Living Elohim, Almighty, Sufficient, Noble and Sublime, Dwelling in Eternity, Holy Be His Name has traced the twenty-two letters according to the construction of the sphere, we refer to the sphere's rotation which displaces to the rear what was positioned to the fore. It is the same with the letters when one inverts them, putting to the rear what had been at the fore. Proof of this is demonstrated when one says *oneg* ["delight"] which is something desirable, and when one says *nega* ["plague"] which is something detestable: the letters are the same, only inverted.

This verse is the pivotal point of the book, namely that the Creator —Holy Be His Name— has so disposed some of the letters and numbers to create a kind of body. Later He transposed their positions in order to create a body different from the first. The author gives us two comparisons drawn from the rotation of the sphere and the rotation of the letters. More examples could be adduced, but we will begin with these two. If the three letters: **Het**, **Tsadeh** and **Resh** are combined, their meaning in this order is "courtyard." If we change the position of the **Tsadeh** and **Resh**, pronouncing the word **harats**, its meaning becomes "to cut." If we combine the letters in the order of **Resh**, **Tsadeh** and **Het**, which is pronounced **retsah**, the meaning is changed to 'murder'. If we combine the letters in the order of **Tsadeh**, **Het**, and **Resh**, this is then pronounced **tsohar** and means "whiteness". These four words are examples of the same letters used in different order. Sometimes the different ways of combining letters do not have a significance. If the letters **Qof**, **Shin** and **Resh** are combined in this order, they signify **qashar**, "to bind." If they are recombined in the form of **Qof**, **Resh** and **Shin**, or **qeresh**, the meaning is "beam." The same letters combined as **sharaq** means "hiss," and the combination of **Resh**, **Shin** and **Qof** is pronounced reshaq and means "happiness". There is, however, no meaning to the combination of **Resh**, **Qof** and **Shin** in this language. A word with four letters multiplies the number of possible combinations just as a word with five letters multiplies them even more so […]

… It is especially clear to anyone versed in the science of the sphere's revolution. When the sphere turns the measure of one zodiacal sign, diverse figures result which bring a corresponding influence into play, according to the data of this science. Let us examine the represented image of the sphere for this present day, which is Tuesday, the twelfth of Sivan in the year 1242; the Sun was at the 7° of Gemini, the Moon at the 2° of Scorpio, Saturn at the 14° of Capricorn, Jupiter at 25° of Pisces, Mars at 40° of Pisces, Venus at 25° of Cancer, and Mercury at 20° of Taurus. If we begin our work in the first and second hours of the day, the most powerful luminaries in the celestial sphere are the Sun at the horizon and Jupiter and Mars since they are both in the middle of the sky. The four other planets are

hidden since Venus is in the 2°, the Moon in the 6°, Saturn in the 8° and Mercury in the 12°. Everything under the influence of the first three is strongly effected because their light falls on the horizon. The influence from the four other planets is weak because the horizon does not receive their light. If we do our work during the third and fourth hours of the day, the celestial sphere has already turned one sign. Cancer is on the horizon, the Moon is at the 5°, Saturn in the 7°, Jupiter and Mars at 9°, Mercury at 11°s. The influence of each of them depends upon its force from its position. If we do our work during the fifth and sixth hours of the day, two signs have turned and Leo is on the horizon. The powerful luminaries in the sphere are the Sun because it is in the 11°, Mercury at 10°, and the Moon at 4°. As for Venus, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, they are all hidden, and those under their influence will feel their effect. If we conduct our work during the seventh and eighth hours of the day, a quarter of the sphere will have turned, Virgo will be at the horizon and none of the planets will be hidden. The Moon will be at 3°, Saturn at 5°, Jupiter and Mars at 6°, Mercury at 9°, Venus at 11°. In this case, all the influences compliment one another. If we are working in the ninth and tenth hours of the day, one animal of the sphere will have turned. Scorpio will appear along with the Moon, and the sphere will take another form according to its revolution. The influence of the rays, the horoscope and other astronomical conditions are subsequently transformed as the sphere revolves. Fixed stars, changing stars, and stars which have two bodies likewise demonstrate this transformation during each quarter of the day (which begin anew each six hours). I have drawn out these examples only because the author has stressed them by saying: "the sphere turns forwards and backwards."

VII. On the Ethereal Realm and its Relation to Prophecy

The Holy Scriptures call the second, more tenuous air **Kavod** ["glory"], as it is said: "the whole earth is full of His glory" [Isaiah VI, 3]; and God Himself has declared: "But as truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Eternal" [Numbers XIV, 21]. The people call him **Shekhinah** ["dwelling" or "abode"] as it is said: "And the glory of the Eternal abode" [Exodus XXIV, 16], and elsewhere: "that glory may dwell in our land" [Psalms LXXXV, 9]. The author of our book has called Him "breath of the Living God" as it is said: "And my spirit will remain in the midst of thee, that thou fearest not" [Haggai II, 5]. Via this second, tenuous air, the word of prophecy was delivered, as it is said: "The Spirit of the Eternal God is upon me" [Isaiah LXI, 1]. It is also via this second, tenuous air that all the visible miracles appeared to the prophets, as it is said: "in a vision by the Spirit of God" [Ezekiel XI, 24]. This is evidently a created thing, for everything outside the Creator —may His Name be exalted!—is a created thing, as it is said: "there is none other beside Him" [Deuteronomy IV, 35]. By way of this second, tenuous, but created air, which is in the world as life is in man, the created word heard by Moses in the visible air has been produced along with the decalogue heard by our fathers. This has been called: "voice of the living God" [Deuteronomy V, 26]. Through the voice of the living God, the seven qualifications of the voice of the Eternal were spoken. From this second air comes the knowledge of wisdom, which God bequeaths to distinguished men,

as it is said: "And the spirit of the Eternal shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of council…" [Isaiah XI, 2]. From this knowledge come the faculties of courage and bravery, which God grants to whomsoever He will, as it is said: "Then the Spirit of the Eternal came upon Jephthah" [Judges XI, 29] and: "But the Spirit of the Eternal came upon Gideon" [Judges VI, 34]. For this reason, the author of our book has given "life of the worlds" as the first name.

As for the sense of the words: "whose throne is fortified from the beginning," this means that the second, tenuous air is for God — may He be celebrated and exalted! —just as the throne, by comparison, is for the king. Thus it is said: "The Eternal hath prepared His throne in the heavens; and His kingdom ruleth over all" [Psalms CIII, 19]. This is the reason why the Tabernacle has been called His throne, according to the verse: "they shall call Jerusalem the throne of the Eternal" [Jeremiah III, 17].

As for the meaning of the words: "blessed and whose name is blessed" this is a general appellation for the light which enters the visible air of the entire world below, as it is said: "And blessed be His glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled with his glory" [Psalms LXXII, 19]. This object is also what the Wise have called "*Ruach Ha-Qodesh*" ["Holy Spirit"]. Actually, after the prophecy had disappeared, a light appeared to them as if it were reflected by a mirror, and they heard a voice like an echo, that is to say that the desert reverberated it to them, and this has been called "*Bath Qol*" ["daughter of the voice"], which means child by the voice. With regard to this, Scripture has said: "And thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying…" [Isaiah XXX, 21]. Scripture has not said: "before thee".

The author of our book says that this concept was the first created thing, and it is the most tenuous thing in existence, but also the strongest. This is followed by the visible air where the Creator has formed the ten numbers and the twenty-two letters…

VIII. On the Geometry of Phonetics and the Order of the Alphabet

> *The twenty-two letters are three principals, seven doubles, and twelve simples, which are cleaved in the air, traced by the voice and situated in five places in the mouth. They have divided themselves into five sections:* (1) *Alef, He, Het, Ayin are pronounced at the extremity of the tongue with the uvula;* (2) *Bet, Vav, Mem, Peh are pronounced with the lips touching and with the tip of the tongue;* (3) *Gimel, Yod, Kaf, Qof are articulated with the side of the tongue;* (4) *Dalet, Tet, Lamed, Nun, Tav with the middle of the tongue;* (5) *Zayin, Shin, Samekh, Resh, and Tsadeh are pronounced between the teeth with a quiet tongue* [Chapter Four, ¶ 3].

According to the different locations in the mouth necessary to articulate them, there is also a difference between the letters as they are traced into the air. Thus the author has said "cleaved in the air," "traced by the voice". The voice traces the letters, dispatches them through the air, cleaves and orders them. The group **Alef**, **He**, **Het** and **Ayin** [**ahacha**] is the more delicate and produces a straight line in the air. This is followed by **Gimel**, **Yod**, **Kaf** and **Qof** [**gikhaq**], which produce either unequal or equilateral triangular figures in the air according to their motion. This

group is followed by **Dalet**, **Tet**, **Lamed**, **Nun**, **Tav** [**datlanat**] which produce square figures, either simple or complex according to their movement. Then follows **Zayin**, **Shin**, **Samech**, **Resh**, and **Tsadeh** [**zshosrots**] which produce oblique figures, some right angled, others acute or obtuse according to their movement in the air. Finally the letters **Bet**, **Vav**, **Mem** and **Peh** [**bumaph**] produce spherical forms in the air according to the force of their pronunciation, some being simple and others more complex. The author has enumerated the group [**bumaph**] after [**ahacha**] because **Bet** is the second letter of the alphabet. He who first established the alphabetical sequence, situated **Bet** towards the beginning to separate these five different letter groups, and to prevent their combination, as well as to eliminate any difficulties for students and children in pronouncing the letters. Actually, the composition of words with these twenty-two letters usually combines only the letters corresponding to the different vocal organs. Two letters which belong to the same letter grouping are very rarely combined with one another. Thus **Zayin** and **Shin** never appear next to each other in the Hebraic tongue; nor do **Samech** and **Shin**; nor **Kaf** and **Gimel**; nor are **Dalet** and **Tet** coupled in the same word. I have already explained this in the first of the grammatical books…

IX. On the 231 Gates of Letter Permutation

> *When He traced, cut, multiplied, weighed and inverted the twenty-two letters, He created everything which has been created, and everything which will be created in the future. How did He multiply them? Alef with each of the letters and each with Alef, Bet with each one and each one with Bet, and the same for Gimel. He turned and inverted them all, and formed the totality of 231 words. All the creatures and all the words cannot exist without another being above them* [Chapter Four, ¶ 4].

I have translated the words "**hozerot halilah**" as "they turn in a circle and invert themselves" because every hollow thing is so called in the Hebrew language. The words "**n'vuv luhot**" ["hollow with boards," Exodus XXVII, 8] are written as "**halil luhin**" in the Targum. Concerning the orifices of the body, it is said that: "God has created in it many holes and cavities" [Berakhot 60b]. In paraphrase, the Targum has likewise said of the king of Tyre: "But you have not considered your body which has been made with cavities and holes which are indispensible" [paraphrase of Ezekiel XXVIII, 13]. Similarly, the totality of air in the world is called "hollow of the world" because it always revolves [circulates].

This passage is sometimes misunderstood to say: "They are found to exit through two hundred twenty-one gates," and this is incorrect. Though we have learned that calculation demands that this number total two hundred thirty-one, the only number that I have seen written is "two hundred twenty-one." I have no doubt that this is an error. A similar mistake can be found in the **Four Gates**: "every Tishri of an embolismic year which begins before 695 parts of the twelfth hour." Now, in all the texts I have found "the 11th hour" written instead of the twelfth, but this is an error. If you add the surplus of two years, one of which is an embolismic year, the

new moon will be at exactly five o'clock on the Sabbath, but it must be at exactly six o'clock. It will not be at six, however, unless the twelfth hour is set as the starting point. Analogously, in response to our author's question, "How did he multiply them," it is correct to give the number two hundred thirty-one as the answer. I will explain this in accordance with the principle which the author himself applies: "**Alef** with all the letters and all with **Alef**, **Bet** with all and all with **Bet**," etc. This kind of multiplication can be found in the cities of Palestine and Egypt. The children write this in order to learn how to spell, and these are the twenty-two series which are called rows [files]. The first row is **Alef-Alef**, **Alef-Bet**, **Alef-Gimel**, **Alef-Dalet**, **Alef-He**, **Alef-Vav**, **Alef-Zayin**, up to **Alef-Tav**. The second row is **Bet-Alef**, **Bet-Bet**, **Bet-Gimel**, **Bet-Dalet**, **Bet-He**, **Bet-Vav**, **Bet-Zayin** up to **Bet-Tav**. The third row is **Gimel-Alef**, **Gimel-Bet**, **Gimel-Gimel**, **Gimel-Dalet**, **Gimel-He**, **Gimel-Vav**, **Gimel-Zayin** up to **Gimel-Tav**. It is the same for **Dalet-Alef**, **He-Alef**, up to **Tav-Alef**, **Tav-Bet**, **Tav-Gimel** etc., up to **Tav-Tav**. In all, this amounts to twenty-two multiplied by twenty-two or four hundred eighty-four. Of this total, twenty-two words must be subtracted which are not products [of one letter with another], namely **Alef-Alef** of the first row, **Bet-Bet** of the second row, **Gimel-Gimel** of the third row, **Dalet-Dalet** of the fourth row, and so on up to **Tav-Tav** of the twenty-second row. The reason for this subtraction is as follows: if **Dalet** is combined with **Dalet**, for example, it simply produces the same figure in the air and a single word in the verse, and they remain in their original state when they are inverted. Once we have subtracted these twenty-two [duplicates], we are left with four hundred sixty-two. Of these four hundred sixty-two, however, only a half are actually different sets of pairs. The pair **Alef-Bet** in the first row is like the pair **Bet-Alef** in the second row; **Alef-Gimel** in the first row is like **Gimel-Alef** in the third; **Alef-Dalet** in the first is like **Dalet-Alef** in the fourth, and so on for each of the series. One therefore discovers that one half of the letters simply reproduces the other half, and thus it is said: "And they all turn in a circle" because they turn into their reverse. When one subtracts half of the four hundred sixty-two, the remainder is two hundred thirty-one. Thus we have said: "The letters are found to exit through two hundred thirty-one gates". A person can make visible sense of this simply by calculating with coins or by writing rows of letters and counting them. This explains how the apparent unity above all multiplication is an index of the One, the Holy, may He be praised and exalted!

I have heard that a commentator on our book has kept the mistake of two hundred twenty-one gates. He has attempted to justify this error by saying that the total of **Alef-Alef**, **Alef-Bet**, **Alef-Gimel**, **Alef-Dalet** and so on is only twenty-one since **Alef-Alef** is not multiplied [combined] and **Alef** revolves only around itself. This commentator then multiplies these twenty-one by ten, i.e., the ten numbers, and this amounts to two hundred ten. Then he adds the ten numbers and **Alef**, which is the first unity, and this amounts to two hundred twenty-one. But —may God have mercy upon thee—this is a concatenation of a tissue of errors, all due to the fact that the commentator does not know how to multiply. We can cite five reasons why his explanation is in error: (1) he has multiplied **Alef** with all the letters but not all the letters with **Alef**. Later on he repeats this mistake by failing

to multiply **Bet** with all or all with **Bet**, and the same with the other letters. He has only multiplied **Alef** with all; (2) he has multiplied the sum of **Alef** with all (i.e., twenty-one) by ten, but there is no reason to multiply by ten. The author of our book has not given this direction. He has only directed the inquirer to multiply the letters, and he says "**Alef** with all" and "**Bet** with all". He has not mentioned the ten numbers in this section. The commentator has thus neglected this direction and has done what was not directed at all; (3) he has separately added the ten numbers to his product, but this is the chapter on multiplication and not abstraction. Were this the chapter on abstraction, one would add the twenty-two isolated letters, and this would then amount to two hundred forty-three; (4) the commentator has omitted the double **Alef** without multiplying it by ten, and therefore must add the isolated **Alef**, but there is no reason for this procedure; (5) this commentator's book also contains the phrase: "and they all turn in a circle." Now if the letters are multiplied one by another, they do turn in a circle, but they do not turn in a circle if they are merely multiplied by ten. With that said, I should like to know what remains of this commentator's argument to be defended.

Our author's purpose in this chapter on multiplication is to demonstrate that the Creator—may He be exalted!—by composing these twenty-two letters through the five procedures of tracing, carving, multiplying, weighing and transposing has created all that has been and will create all that will exist in the future. Actually, when He traced straight lines through the circumferences, triangles in the squares, and drew oblique lines in these circumferences, triangles and squares, the results were surfaces and volumes folding in upon one another according to these marvelous methods which create all forms. This is by the penetration of the **Bet** in the **Gimel**, the **Dalet** in the **He**, etc. For this reason, the pairs **Alef-Alef**, **Bet-Bet**, **Gimel-Gimel**, **Dalet-Dalet** up to **Tav-Tav** do not enter into such multiplication. If you say **Alef** one hundred times, it only results in a single form in the air, namely a straight line. And if you speak **Bet** a hundred times, you will only trace a single circular form repeatedly. This explains the creation of the letter forms in the air. However, we can only establish this form in our spirit. We will not be able to realize this form because it belongs to the Master of the worlds—may He be praised and exalted! The wise, therefore, first teach their students mathematics and geometry, for these are the origin of knowledge… […]

X. On the Crowning of the Letters

The reference to each letter, "and He attached a crown to it" conforms to an ancient principle—of happy memory! One tradition of the letters is that they have been revealed with ornaments and crowns, as it is said: "Seven letters necessitate three adornments: **Shin**, **Ayin**, **Tet**, **Nun**, **Zayin**, **Gimel** and **Tsadeh**" [Menahot 29b]. It is the same for each letter. For some letters, these adornments augment and for others they restrain the deductions drawn from them, as *The Book of Crowns* has explained. The ancients also had the tradition that when the crowns are not carefully written in the Torah, it is forbidden to pronounce benedictions upon it, and it is not permitted to read it in public. For this reason, they say that one who

hastily rushes through it will not live long. The ancient amulet makers say that the letters are worthless if they have not been written with their crowns. Similarly, our author says that it is not possible to form the triangular, square, folded, chain-formed, or convex figures (which the letters were meant to form) without a crown. He says, therefore, that "He attached a crown to it"...

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

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related texts affords the possibility of re-assessing such an approach; much more work in this area remains to be done.

M. J. GELLER

PH. GIGNOUX and A. TAFAZZOLI (ed. and tr.): *Anthologie de Zādspram. Édition critique du texte pehlevi, traduit et commenté.* (Studia Iranica, Cahier 13.) 441 pp. Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 1993. (Peeters, BFr. 2100.)

This is an edition, with translation and notes, of an important Pahlavi text, one of the major books of the ninth century, a high point of Zoroastrian religious composition. Its publication fills a lacuna which has been felt to exist in Middle Persian studies. Apart from the edition by Behramgore Tehmurasp Anklesaria (1964), the only other major tool for studying this text has been a glossary in New Persian by the late Mehrdad Bahar (1972). The present edition, with its careful transcription, translation and commentary can therefore be greeted as timely and useful.

There are regrettably some significant Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts that have not yet been properly edited and translated, among them the *Bundahišn* and most of the *Dēnkard*. It is however encouraging that the major texts gradually find their editors and interpreters. The collaboration between two noted scholars, one French and the other Iranian, has in this case proved particularly beneficial. Professor Tafazzoli died in Tehran in mysterious circumstances shortly after this review was written. The reviewer wishes to pay tribute to this fine scholar.

The edition given here was preceded by an unpublished work done by the late Marijan Molé, as recorded in the preface. Bringing out a *Nachlass*, is notoriously tricky. It is easy to understand that it proved more practical to publish the work on the basis of a fresh reading, and the readers will be grateful for this decision of the authors.

The importance of *The selections of Zādspram* lies in the fact that it encompasses most of the central themes in late Zoroastrian theology, ranging as it does from cosmogony to eschatology, from the life of Zoroaster to the propagation of the religion, from questions of doctrine to some questions of ritual and practice, although it is not particularly informative on the latter topics. Together with the other Pahlavi books of the period, it represents a remarkable achievement of codification and canonization of doctrine and faith in the Zoroastrian faith. Like all such efforts, what is included is not necessarily more interesting for us than what is excluded, although the exclusions are ultimately more difficult to retrieve for scholars working at a distance of more than a millennium from the period in question. Given the wide range of topics, the vocabulary of the book is particularly rich, and contributes much to our knowledge of Middle Persian.

The two scholars have done a fine job at editing and translating this work. All the same, one could argue about the way a given phrase or word was understood. A selection of notes on the text in which certain individual points will be taken up will be published by me, I hope, elsewhere. In order not to exceed the limited scope allotted to a review, the discussion of these points has been omitted from the present paper.

Just one or two points on general matters: in a language like Zoroastrian Middle Persian, notorious for the great distance that exists in it between orthography and reading, there seems to be little point in trying to reflect in transcription the orthographic variations occurring in the manuscripts. Should one transcribe, on the basis of manuscript fluctuations, the same word once *pādifrāh* (1:16) and another time *pādofrāh* (1:17)? Should one depart from the regular normalized form *widard* to transcribe *widord* (e.g. 2:9), because, as the authors explain (p. 147), the manuscript spells it **wtwlt'**? The word for 'star' is sometimes spelled **stwl** (e.g. 34:49; 35:43), but not even these authors have considered it appropriate to transcribe it otherwise than *star*. In words transcribed from Pahlavi one generally aims at presenting a normalized reading, true as far as possible to the historical probabilities, taking as guidelines the evidence of the Manichaean Middle Persian orthography and of the New Persian pronunciation. The shifty spelling of Pahlavi manuscripts can at best represent dialect variations of Middle Persian, at worst the idiosyncratic pronunciation of a late copyist.

In some cases the transcription seems to reflect typing or proof-reading errors (e.g. 29:4, *rāsēnēd*); such cases are by no means numerous and cannot be claimed to be typical.

It would be churlish to complain that problems of religious history and those relating to the themes of the book were not discussed at greater detail by the authors. One should be grateful for the work accomplished.

SHAUL SHAKED

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

THÉRÈSE METZGER: *Die Bibel von Meschullam und Joseph Qalonymos: Ms. M 1106 der Universitätsbibliothek Breslau (Wroclaw).* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg, Bd. XLII.) 148 pp. Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1994.

A quick search through the catalogues of various Judaica collections reveals that for every scrap of talmudic manuscript material one will find an impressive number of Hebrew Bible codices, often sumptuously decorated and

The Zohar

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Rav Michael Laitman, PhD

THE ZOHAR

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Prologue

ABOUT RABBI SHIMON BAR-YOCHAI[1]

In the second century CE, a single man was granted the spiritual knowledge that Kabbalists had accumulated for 3,000 years before his time. Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi) put it all on paper and then hid it, as humanity was not ready for it. Today, we are ready for the revelation of *The Book of Zohar*.

Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi), author of *The Book of Zohar* (*The Book of Radiance*) was a Tana—a great sage in the early Common Era centuries. Rashbi's name is tied to numerous legends, and he is mentioned constantly in the Talmud and in the Midrash, the sacred Hebrew texts of his time. He lived in Sidon and in Meron, and established a seminary in the Western Galilee.

Rashbi was born and raised in the Galilee (a mountainous region in today's Northern Israel). Even as a child, he was not like other children his age. Questions such as, "What is the purpose of my life?" "Who am I?" and "How is the world built?" plagued him and demanded answers.

In those days, life in Galilee was very harsh: the Romans persecuted Jews and continually invented new laws to make their lives more difficult. Among these laws was a decree that prohibited Jews from studying the Torah (then synonymous with Kabbalah).

1 The articles, "About Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai" and "About The Book of Zohar" are presented here courtesy of the paper *Kabbalah Today*.

However, despite the Romans' prohibition, Rashbi immersed himself in the Kabbalah and tried to understand its subtle teachings. He felt that beneath the Biblical stories was a profound and hidden truth, which held the answers to his persistent questions.

Gradually, Rabbi Shimon came to realize that he had to find a teacher who had already been through the spiritual path, gained experience, and could guide others up the spiritual ladder. He decided to join the group of the greatest Kabbalist of the time—Rabbi Akiva—a decision that turned out to be the turning point in Rashbi's life.

STUDYING WITH RABBI AKIVA

Rabbi Shimon was an avid, devoted student, burning with desire to discover the Higher realms of reality. Before long, he was one of Rabbi Akiva's prime students. He studied with Rabbi Akiva for thirteen years, and achieved the highest levels on the spiritual ladder.

The Bar-Kokheva revolt abruptly ended the great days of Rabbi Akiva's seminary. Almost all of his 24,000 students died in plagues, and in fierce battles against the Romans. Of the 24,000 students, only five survived, and Rashbi was among them.

Rashbi was among the leaders of the Bar-Kokheva revolt against the Roman rule in the land of Israel. His resistance became even more fierce and unyielding when he'd learned how his teacher, Rabbi Akiva, had been ruthlessly executed.

The Talmud writes that once, when Rashbi spoke against the Roman rule, a fellow Jew heard him and alerted the Roman authorities. In consequence, Rashbi was tried in absentia and was sentenced to death. The Roman emperor sent men in search of him, but to their disappointment, Rashbi seemed to have vanished into thin air.

THE CAVE AT PEQI'IN

Legends have it that Rashbi and his son fled to the Galilee, hid in a cave at Peqi'in, a village in the north of Israel, and remained there for thirteen years. During that time, they delved in the secrets of the wisdom of the hidden. Their efforts succeeded, and they discovered the entire system of creation.

After thirteen years in a cave, Rashbi heard that the Roman emperor had died. He could finally heave a sigh of relief. After leaving the cave, Rashbi gathered nine students and went with them to a small cave in Meron, known as

The Idra Raba (Great Assembly). With their help, he wrote *The Book of Zohar*, the most important book of Kabbalah.

Baal HaSulam described Rashbi and his students as the only beings who achieved perfection, the 125 spiritual degrees that complete the correction of one's soul. When he finished his commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, Baal HaSulam held a festive meal to celebrate its completion. At that celebration, he stated that "...prior to the days of the Messiah, it is impossible to be awarded all 125 degrees... except the Rashbi and his contemporaries, meaning the authors of *The Book of Zohar*. They were awarded all 125 degrees in completeness, even though they lived prior to the days of the Messiah. Hence, we often find in *The Zohar* that there will not be a generation such as the Rashbi's until the generation of the Messiah King. This is why his composition made such a strong impression in the world, since the secrets of the Torah in it occupy the level of all 125 degrees. This is also why it is said in *The Zohar* that *The Book of Zohar* will not be revealed except at the end of days, meaning in the days of the Messiah."

THE IDRA RABA (GREAT ASSEMBLY) AND *THE BOOK OF ZOHAR*

Idra Raba is a cave located in the north of Israel, between Meron and Zephath. Rashbi took his students to this cave, and there he wrote *The Book of Zohar*. It is almost impossible to understand how great Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai really was. He belongs, as Baal HaSulam puts it, to the highest Inner Light. This is why he had to use Rabbi Abba to put his words into writing. In *The Book of Zohar*, the Rashbi tells his students: "I am arranging you as follows: Rabbi Abba will write, Rabbi Elazar, my son, will study orally, and the rest of the friends will converse in their hearts" (*Zohar*, Haazinu).

The Book of Zohar was written in the second century CE, not long after the ruin of the Second Temple and the beginning of the last exile of the people of Israel from its land. But even prior to the exile, Rashbi predicted that *The Book of Zohar* would only be revealed at the end of the exile. He stated that its appearance to the masses would symbolize the end of the spiritual exile: "...in it, they will come out of the exile with mercy" (*Zohar*, Naso).

It is also written in *The Book of Zohar* that its wisdom would be revealed to all toward the end of the six thousand years, the period allotted to the correction of humanity: "And when it is near the days of the Messiah, even infants in the world are destined to find the secrets of the wisdom, and know in them the ends and the calculations of redemption, and at that time it will be revealed to all" (*Zohar*, VaYera).

THE REINCARNATION OF A UNIQUE SOUL

Rashbi is an incarnation of a unique soul, which coordinates and connects the Upper Force to every creation. This soul comes down into our world and incarnates in the patriarchs of Kabbalah. This is the order of its appearance: Abraham, Moses, Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, the ARI (Rabbi Isaac Luria), and Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam). Each incarnation of this soul promotes humanity to a new spiritual degree and leaves its mark in Kabbalah books, which serve the generations that follow.

An example of this process can be found in special sections of *The Zohar* called *Raia Meheimna* (The Loyal Shepherd). In these parts, Rashbi speaks from a state of clothing in Moses' soul. Another example of this is the book, *Shaar HaGilgulim (Gate of Reincarnations)*, where Rashbi speaks from a state of clothing in the soul of the ARI.

The Book of Zohar is undoubtedly unique and one of the world's most renowned compositions. Since its writing, thousands of stories have been linked to *The Zohar*, and the book is still shrouded in mystery today. The fascination around it is so great that even though the book is completely incomprehensible to our generation without proper interpretation, millions of people diligently read it.

RASHBI'S DEPARTURE

According to tradition, Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai passed away in the presence of his friends on *Lag BaOmer* (the 33rd day of the *Omer* count, which starts on the first day of Passover) of the year 160 CE, and was buried in Meron. With his death, the soul of a giant Kabbalist completed its task in our world.

Rashbi fulfilled his destination. Hundreds of thousands visit his gravesite yearly, trying to sense some of the Light that he had brought to the world. The greatest Kabbalists praise his composition and repeatedly claim that *The Book of Zohar* is destined to bring redemption to the world.

Rav Kook, the first Chief Rabbi of Israel, writes about the *Zohar* (*Ohr Yakar*): "This composition, called *The Book of Zohar*, is like Noah's Ark, where there were many kinds, but those kinds and families could not exist unless by entering the ark. ...**Thus the righteous will enter the secret of the Light of this composition to persist, and thus is the virtue of the composition, that immediately when engaging, with his desire for the love of God, it will draw him as a magnet draws the iron. And he will enter it to save his**

soul and spirit and his correction. And even if he is wicked, there is no fear should he enter."

We are living in a historic time. The soul of Rashbi is completing its mission in our generation, and thanks to this spiritual giant, who lived nearly 2,000 years ago, the wisdom of Kabbalah is emerging so we may all ascend to a life of eternity and wholeness.

ABOUT *THE BOOK OF ZOHAR*

***The Book of Zohar* is the most mysterious, and at the same time the most significant book of Kabbalah. In recent years, it has become increasingly clear that although *The Book of Zohar* was written eighteen centuries ago, it was actually written for our time. Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam) opened it to us and rekindled what has long been forgotten from our hearts.**

The depth of the wisdom in The Book of Zohar is locked behind a thousand doors.

–Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam), "Preface to the Book of Zohar"

Since the dawn of humanity, unique individuals climbed the spiritual ladder and achieved the highest level of bonding with the Upper Force, the Creator. We call those people "Kabbalists."

Through this bonding, they came to understand that the whole of reality, from the highest spiritual worlds down to our world, is founded on love and bestowal. They realized that there is nothing in the world except for this Force, and that everything that happens in reality was made only to bring humanity to permanent existence with this sensation.

Kabbalists have searched and found the answers to every question they asked—the purpose of our lives, the structure of the world, and how we can determine our destiny. They wrote about what they discovered in books such as *Raziel Hamalaach (The Angel Raziel), Sefer Yetzira (The Book of Creation), Etz Chaim (The Tree of Life)*, and others.

Of all the books, the most seminal, mysterious, and profound is *The Book of Zohar (The Book of Radiance). The Book of Zohar* describes the hidden system of the Upper Guidance. It depicts the worlds, the great powers that govern them, and how one who chooses to study Kabbalah affects his or her own fate and that of humanity.

The Zohar also explains how every event cascades from the Upper World to ours, and the dressings it acquires here. But what makes *The Zohar* unique is the fact that it was not written for its contemporaries; it was rather intended for a generation that would live two millennia later—our generation.

REMOVING THE COVERS

Our generation stands at the very threshold of redemption, if we only know how to spread the wisdom of the hidden in the masses.

–Baal HaSulam, "Messiah's Horn"

The twentieth century has brought unprecedented changes. These opened the door to a whole new phase, which the greatest Kabbalists have been describing for centuries in their writings. The greatest change of all is that in this century, Kabbalists state that studying Kabbalah is not only permitted, it is a must!

It is written in *The Book of Zohar* itself that the wisdom of Kabbalah would begin its spreading from the year 1840. The great 18th century Kabbalist, The Vilna Gaon (GRA), wrote in his book *Kol HaTor (Voice of the Turtledove)* that the process of the revelation of the Kabbalah would begin in 1990. In his book, *Even Shlemah (A Perfect and Just Weight),* Chapter 11, he even stated that redemption *depends primarily* on the study of Kabbalah.

Rav Kook explained that "the great spiritual questions that were once resolved only for the great and the excellent, must now be resolved to various degrees within the entire nation" (*Eder HaYaker ve Ikvey HaTzon*, p. 144).

But it was Baal HaSulam who turned the words of the Kabbalists from a vision to a tangible reality. He clearly saw that the time had come to allow everyone to study *The Book of Zohar.* He claimed that by studying *The Zohar*, the whole of humanity would rise and attain the spiritual world.

With this vision in mind, Baal HaSulam devoted himself to composing a comprehensive, accurate, and systematic interpretation of *The Book of Zohar.* His goal was to unveil the book to the public and make it suitable for the souls of our generation.

In the introduction to his commentary on *The Zohar*, he explained why he wrote it: "I have named the commentary *HaSulam* (The Ladder) to indicate that the function of my commentary is as the function of any ladder. If you have an attic filled with abundance, you need only a ladder to climb it, and all the bounty in the world will be in your hands."

ACCELERATING THE SPREAD OF THE WISDOM

All the Kabbalists dreamed of our generation, when the whole of humanity could discover the wondrous things they already had. They prayed that through reading the authentic sources they had left for us, we, too, would achieve bonding with the Upper Force, as did they. In his commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, Baal HaSulam threw us a rope, "a life buoy." In doing so, he paved our way to a future of abundance and prosperity.

Baal HaSulam called upon us to give greater weight to engagement in the wisdom of Kabbalah, and accelerate the spreading of the wisdom. He knew that only the wisdom of Kabbalah could elevate the world to the spiritual realm and into the eternity that Kabbalists had been experiencing throughout the generations.

Webster's Dictionary defines a generation as "a group of individuals born and living contemporaneously (at the same time)." In Kabbalah, however, a generation is a *spiritual* phase. According to great Kabbalists such as the Holy ARI, our generation—our spiritual phase—began in the sixteenth century.

The longer we wait with the spiritual ascension our generation is meant to achieve, the greater will be our discomfort. The spiritual realm, which determines what happens in our world, will increase its pressure on us until we decide to achieve this realm for ourselves.

In the words of the great Kabbalist Rabbi Avraham Azulai (in his introduction to the book, *Ohr ha Chama* (*Light of the Sun*)), "I have found it written that the above decree to not openly engage in the wisdom of truth was only for a time—until the end of the 1490. From then on … the sentence has been lifted, and permission was given to engage in *The Book of Zohar*. And from the year 1540 it has become praiseworthy to engage in great numbers since it is by virtue of this the Messiah King will come, and not by another virtue. It is inappropriate to be negligent."

"But the wise shall understand that their elevation comes from the Creator, the Tree of Life. And they who are righteous shall shine like the brightness of the firmament" (Daniel, 12:3).[2]

"By virtue of Rabbi Shimon's composition, *The Book of Zohar*, from the Supernal Force that brings all things back to the Creator, at the end of days, the children of Israel will taste from the Tree of Life, which is *The Book of Zohar*; and they will be redeemed from exile by the Creator's mercy" (Naso, 90).

2 To facilitate comprehension of the spiritual meaning of ancient Hebrew sources, quotes are not direct translations, but rather reflect the Kabbalistic meaning of the texts.

Introduction

The Book of Zohar narrates that Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai (Rashbi) and his son, Rabbi Aba, attained the level of Prophet Eliyahu (Elijah). Hence, it is said that Eliyahu himself visited their cave and taught them the Torah. (Incidentally, the cave in the village of Peqi'in still exists today.)

The author of *Divrey Yoel (The Words of Yoel)* wrote the following in the book *The Torah of Rashbi*: "Before Rabbi Shimon studied the secrets of the Torah, there was a rule in the cave—to settle disputes according to the opinion of Rabbi Yehuda, the author of the Talmud. However, after Rabbi Shimon left the cave, everything that he had written in *The Zohar* was considered to have exceeded all human attainments." Rashbi himself received the name *Butzina Kadisha* (Holy Candle), as he had attained the soul of Moshe (Moses).

Verdicts on legislative and procedural matters are rendered in accordance with the Talmud or *The Book of Zohar*, depending on where this matter is examined more strictly. If the matter is mentioned neither in the Talmud nor in *The Zohar*, then the decision is based on the source that best elucidates this matter. If the disputed matter is between the Talmud and the legislators, the decision is based on the assertion from *The Book of Zohar*. If the legislators themselves cannot come to an agreement on the matter in dispute, the decision is based on the opinion of *The Zohar* (*Mishna Brura*, 25, 42).

The great follower of Rashbi, an heir (next receiver) to his soul, Rabbi Isaac Luria (The Holy ARI) wrote that his soul was a return of the soul of Rabbi Shimon, and the soul of Rabbi Shimon was a return of the soul of Moshe (*Shaar HaGilgulim*, item 64). He also wrote that the soul of Moshe clothed in Rashbi to correct the soul of *Achiya HaShiloni* (Ahijah the Shilonite), who "corrupted" *Malchut* on account of the sin of King Yerav'am (Jeroboam), which prompted the transgression of all Israel. Hence, the soul of Rashbi appeared

to correct Israel's sins. The part of *The Zohar* titled *Raya Meheimna* (Loyal Shepherd) relates how Rashbi attained the soul of Moshe, merged with it, and attained the supernal wisdom.

In his works *Maranan ve Rabanan* and *Kli Yakar* (*Melachim*, 2, 12), the great HaChida also says that Rashbi's entire work lay in correction of the sin of *Achiya HaShiloni*.

As Rashbi says in the Talmud (*Sukkah*, 45, 2): "I can redeem the entire world from judgment from the day of my birth to the present day. And if my son is with me, from the day the world was created to the present day. And if Yotam Ben Uziyahu is with us, from the day the world was created to its end." The book of *Melachim* narrates about Yotam Ben Uziyahu (20, 15).

After the verdict was lifted, Rashbi founded his seminary in the settlement of Tekoa and in the village of Meron. There he taught his disciples Kabbalah and wrote *The Book of Zohar*, thereby revealing what was forbidden to reveal from the time of Israel's reception of the Torah (*Tikuney Zohar*, *Hakdamah*, p. 17).

However, to write down all the secrets of the Torah, Rabbi Shimon had to express them in a secret form. Rashbi's disciple, Rabbi Aba, had a unique quality to his soul. This quality enabled him to convey spiritual knowledge in a secret, concealed form. Hence, Rabbi Shimon asked his disciple to express his thoughts for him, that is, to commit Rashbi's thoughts to paper. The ARI explained it in the following way: "*The Book of Zohar* must remain concealed until the generation of the coming of the *Mashiach* (Messiah), as through the study of this book will humankind return from its spiritual exile" (The ARI, *Shaar HaHakdamot*, *Hakdamah*, p. 3). That is why Rabbi Aba wrote the teachings of Rabbi Shimon in Aramaic, as it is the reverse side of Hebrew.

The ARI wrote (*Maamarey Rashbi (Articles of Rashbi)*, p. 100) that the writing of *The Zohar* in a secret form was possible because the soul of Rabbi Aba originated from the Surrounding Light, and not from the Inner Light. For this reason, the ARI explained, he could express the most supernal wisdom in a secret form as simple stories.

(Rabbi Shimon lived approximately to the age of eighty and passed away on the holiday of *Lag BaOmer*, the eighteenth day in the month *Iyar*, surrounded by his disciples, and recognized by the entire nation. This day is celebrated as the holiday of Light. Rabbi Shimon's body was buried in a cave off Mount Meron, and the body of his son, Rabbi Elazar, is buried a few meters from him.)

Like the subsequent compositions of the ARI and other Kabbalists (evidently, such is the lot of all true spiritual books), *The Book of Zohar* was concealed for

some 1,100 years in a cave near Meron, since the day it was written, until an Arab man found it and sold it in the market as wrapping cloth.

Part of the torn sheets fell into the hands of a sage, who recognized and appreciated the value of the writings. After a long search, he recovered many sheets from refuse bins or bought them from spice vendors, who were selling their merchandise wrapped in the sheets of *The Zohar*. It was out of these recovered sheets that the book (as we know it today) was compiled.

For many centuries, since that time until today, *The Book of Zohar* has been the subject of controversy. Philosophers, scientists, and other "sages," still debate it today. Yet, the fact remains that only a Kabbalist, one who ascends to a particular spiritual degree, attains what this book conveys. To all other people, it seems like a collection of narratives, stories, and ancient philosophy. Only those who do not comprehend this book argue over it; but Kabbalists know for certain that Rashbi's book is the greatest source of spiritual attainment that the Creator imparted upon the people in this world.

Although *The Book of Zohar* was written in the second century, only Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag was able to provide a full commentary on it in the 1930s-40s. The reason for the concealment of *The Zohar* from the second century to thirteenth century and the lack of a complete commentary on it for eighteen centuries is explained in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar."

Rabbi Ashlag called his commentary *HaSulam* (The Ladder) because by studying it, one can ascend the spiritual degrees of attainment of the Upper Worlds as one would climb a ladder in our world. Following the publishing of the *Sulam* commentary, Rabbi Ashlag received the epithet *Baal HaSulam* (Owner of the Ladder), as it is customary among sages of the Torah to call a person not by his name, but according to his highest attainment.

THE BOOK OF ZOHAR CONTAINS:

1. ***Hakdamat Sefer HaZohar*** *(The Introduction of the Book of Zohar)*—containing several articles that fully reveal the inner meaning of the Torah.

2. ***Sefer HaZohar*** *(The Book of Zohar)*—divided into parts and chapters that correspond to the weekly portions of the Torah:

The Book of *Beresheet* *(Genesis)*: *Beresheet*, *Noach*, *Lech Lecha*, *Vayera*, *Chaiey Sarah*, *Toldot*, *Vayetze*, *Vayishlach*, *Vayeshev*, *Miketz*, *Vayigash*, *Vayichi*.

The Book of *Shemot* *(Exodus)*: *Shemot*, *Vayera*, *Bo*, *Beshalach*, *Yitro*, *Mishpatim*, *Terumah* (*Safra de Tzniuta*), *Tetzaveh*, *Ki Tissa*, *Veyikahel*, *Pekudey*.

The Book of *Vayikra* *(Leviticus)***:** *Vayikra*, *Tzav*, *Shmini*, *Tazria*, *Metzura*, *Acharey*, *Kedushim*, *Emor*, *BaHar*, *Vechukotay*.

The Book of *Bamidbar* *(Numbers)***:** *Bamidbar*, *Naso* (*Idra Raba*), *Baalotcha*, *Shlach Lecha*, *Korach*, *Chukat*, *Balak*, *Pinchas*, *Matot*.

The Book of *Devarim* *(Deuteronomy)***:** *VeEtchanen*, *Ekev*, *Shoftim*, *Titze*, *Vayelech*, *Haazinu* (*Idra Zuta*).

3. *Zohar Hadash* *(The New Zohar)*: additions to the weekly chapters:

Beresheet, *Noach*, *Lech Lecha*, *Vayera*, *Vayetze*, *Vayeshev*, *Bashalach*, *Yitro*, *Terumah*, *Ki Titze*, *Tzav*, *Acharey*, *BaHar*, *Naso*, *Chukat*, *Balak*, *Matot*, *VeEtchanen*, *Ki Titze*, *Ki Tavo*.

4. Additional books in *The Book of Zohar* that are not a direct commentary on the Torah:

Idra Raba, *Idra Zuta*, *Safra de Tzniuta*, *Raza de Razin*, *Tosefta*, *Raya Mi'emna*, *Ashmatot*, *Sitrey Torah*, *Sitrey Otiot*, and *Tikuney Zohar*.

5. *Midrash HaNe'elam* *(The Commentary on the Writings)*: *Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Eicha (Lamentations)*—and on the Torah (Pentateuch).

Baal HaSulam wrote the commentary on the portions of *The Zohar* that are known to us. His main commentaries in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar" and the chapter "Beresheet" are expressed in terms of man's spiritual work. The most valuable articles of *The Zohar* for the science of Kabbalah are *Idra Raba*, *Idra Zuta*, and *Safra de Tzniuta*. All of them are expressed in the language of Kabbalah. Besides these articles, the rest of *The Zohar* is written in the language of Midrash.

In its original form, *The Book of Zohar*—written by Rabbi Aba sixteen centuries ago—was not divided into weekly chapters. Its volume was several times larger than the text that reached us; it expounded not only the Torah, but also twenty-four other books of the Bible (Pentateuch, Prophets, and Writings).

Besides *The Book of Zohar* itself, Rabbi Shimon's book of *Tikkunim* (corrections) had reached us, as well. It comprises seventy commentaries on the first word of the Torah, *Beresheet* (in the beginning), since it includes everything.

This book offers a semantic translation of *The Zohar* itself, Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag's *The Sulam* commentary, and my own explanations. The book also contains the first part of *The Book of Zohar—Hakdamat Sefer HaZohar* (*Introduction of The Book of Zohar*).

At the beginning of the text, the semantic translation is given in bold script. *The Sulam* commentary and my explanations are in regular script or *italics* because it turned out to be extremely difficult to separate my explanations from Rabbi Ashlag's holy texts. The numbers at the beginning of the items correspond to the numbers of the items in *The Book of Zohar* with *The Sulam* commentary, vol. 1.

The reason for the interlacing of texts is the need to explain the meaning of *The Zohar* in several languages simultaneously: a) the language of Kabbalah (*Sefirot*, *Partzufim*, *Gematria,* and worlds), b) the language of spiritual work (emotions), c) the language of the Torah (narrative), and d) the language of the Talmud (judicial).

To comprehend the style of *The Book of Zohar*, I recommend the reader to return to the translation of the original text after reading and mastering the commentary.

The Book of Zohar, like the whole of the Torah, speaks exclusively of man (creation) and his relationship with the Creator. The Torah attaches worldly appellations to all of man's inner properties. Thus, the aspiration to the Creator is called "Israel," and the aspiration to selfish reception of pleasures is called "nations of the world." However, there is no connection whatsoever between these names in the Torah and the Jews and other nations in our world. Kabbalah appeals to *man*, to creation!

The book contains articles commented upon in the language of Kabbalah, and others commented upon in the language of emotions, which is easier to understand for the beginner. The reader can begin the study of the book with such articles as "Night of the Bride," and "Who rejoices on holidays." Nevertheless, a complete study of *The Zohar* entails systematic learning of the material. The more accustomed we are to Kabbalah, the more it permeates our hearts, and it can only be mastered by repeatedly reviewing the studied material.

Rav Michael Laitman

List of Abbreviations and Explanations

AA—*Arich Anpin*—the *Partzuf* of *Hochma*, the central, initial *Partzuf* in the world of *Atzilut*, from which all the other *Partzufim* originate.

Aba—Father —the *Partzuf* of *Hochma*.

Ima—Mother—the *Partzuf* of *Bina*.

ZA—*Zeir Anpin*—Son (with regard to *AVI*).

ZON—ZA and *Nukva*—*Malchut*.

Nukva, Malchut—a *Sefira* (singular for *Sefirot*) or *Partzuf* that receives from all the preceding *Partzufim* (plural for *Partzuf*). *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* is the sum of all the creatures, all human souls. For this reason it is called *Knesset Israel* (The Assembly of Israel).

Israel—the property of "bestowal," altruism. This is the property of the Creator, the property of *Bina*. *Israel* derives from the Hebrew words *Yashar*—straight, and *El*—the Creator. Thus, *Israel* is the property of aspiring to attain equivalence of form with the Creator. The "nations of the world" are the aspiration to selfish reception of pleasure. Naturally, these two properties are present in everyone, and Kabbalah is the method for the development of the property of Israel within man, with the purpose of attaining the Creator in this life.

Kli (vessel) egoistic desires and aspirations are not considered a *Kli*. A *Kli* is the corrected desires, suitable for reception of Light. These are altruistic desires with a screen that has transformed them from egoism into altruism.

The human heart that receives all sensations is called the *Kli* (vessel) of reception of sensations. The spiritual vessel, the only vessel that *The Zohar* speaks of, is the desire to bestow upon the Creator: to hand over all of man's desires to the Creator, as though saying that he agrees with all his heart to relinquish all of himself for His sake. Such a complete and true intention is called "*Lishma*" (for the Creator's sake).

SEFIROT	THE CREATOR'S NAMES
KETER	EKYEH=Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey
HOCHMA	YAH= Yod-Hey
BINA	HaVaYaH with Nikud Elokim
HESED	EL=Aleph-Lamed
GEVURA	ELOKIM= Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Hey
TIFFERET	HaVaYaH with Nikud of Shvah-Holam-Kamatz
NETZAH and HOD	TZEVAOT
YESOD	SHADDAY=Shin-Dalet-Yod or EL=Aleph-Lamed CHAI=Chet-Yod
MALCHUT	ADNI=Aleph-Dalet-Nun-Yod

Mittuk (sweetening/mitigation) of a restriction law. Restriction is a ban for *Malchut* to receive Light. This ban is lifted when *Malchut* is corrected by the properties of *Bina*.

Zivug—coupling—is translated as a sexual union between a man and a woman in this world. Since spiritual actions are *absolutely detached* from the way we would normally perceive them, I have chosen to use the Hebrew term *Zivug*, as it is more abstractedly perceived by people with no knowledge of Hebrew. This will help prevent confusions based on previously existing conceptions. The spiritual *Zivug* is an aspiration of the Upper One (ZA—male part) to pass the Light (pleasure) to the lower one (*Malchut*—female part). In doing so, both desires are completely selfless, as in the example of the guest and the host.

PBP—*Panim be Panim* (face to face). This state occurs when a *Zachar* (male *Sefira*), or *Aba* (father), passes *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) to the female *Sefira*, or *Ima* (mother), for the subsequent transfer to the children (ZON). The same relationships of *ABA* (see below) and *PBP* also transpire between their children, ZON (ZA and *Malchut*).

ABA – *Achor be Achor*, back to back (pronounced *Ach be Ach*). If *Partzuf Aba* (*Hochma)* has *Ohr Hochma*, but is unwilling to pass it on to *Partzuf Ima* (*Bina*), and if *Ima* also does not want to receive it, such a relationship between them is called back to back. The same relationship can exist between ZA and *Malchut*.

Hesed—mercy, compassion, altruism, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy, compassion, and altruism). It appears only within a *Kli* (desire) that wishes to

give selflessly and be similar to the Creator. This is the property of the *Sefira* or *Partzuf* of *Bina*. *Bina* of the world of *AK (Adam Kadmon)* is called *SAG*. *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* is called *Ima*, the Supernal Mother, *YESHSUT*, and *AVI*. The Light of *Bina* is the pleasure of being similar to the Creator's properties; hence, this Light (sensation) is the most reliable protection from the impure forces. And the *Kli* that possesses the properties of *Bina* is unable to transgress, as its desire is solely to bestow.

KHB—*Keter-Hochma-Bina* (pronounced *Kahab*). These are the first three *Sefirot* that form the *Rosh* (head) of the *Partzuf*. The *Rosh* decides how much pleasure the *Partzuf* can accept not for its own sake but for the sake of the Creator. This Light descends from the *Rosh* to the *Guf* (body).

HBD—*Hochma-Bina-Daat* (pronounced *Habad*). This is the same as *Keter-Hochma-Bina* (the *Rosh* of the *Partzuf*). *Sefira Daat* is not a *Sefira*, but the request (also known as *MAN*) of *ZON* (*Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva*). *Daat* is the appeal of *ZON* to *Bina* regarding their desire to receive *Ohr Hochma* from her. This prayer of *ZON* is called *MAN*, for it ascends to *Bina* and evokes in *Bina* (*Ima*—their mother) the desire to bestow upon her children—*ZON*. *MAN* in *Bina* is called *Sefira Daat*. This is not a *Sefira* like the other ten *Sefirot*; it is rather a request. However, to stress this state, we use the name *HBD* instead of *KHB*.

HGT—*Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* (pronounced *Hagat*). These are the *Sefirot* of the *Guf* (body), similar to the *Sefirot* of the *Rosh*: *Hesed* is tantamount to *Keter*, *Gevura* is tantamount to *Hochma*, and *Tifferet* is tantamount to *Bina*. They are called *GE* (see below) of the body.

NHYM—*Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut* (pronounced *Nehim*). These *Sefirot* receive from the *Sefirot HGT* (*GE*). Since they receive and have the will to receive, they are called *AHP* of the body.

GE—*Galgalta-Eynaim* (skull and eyes). *Sefirot Keter-Hochma*-and *GAR* of *Bina*. These *Sefirot* do not have the will to receive and wish only to bestow. Hence, they cannot become egoistic.

NRN—*Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama* (pronounced *Naran*). This is the Light that fills the small *Partzuf*. *Katnut* (small state) is when the *Partzuf* has the strength (a screen) only to bestow, but is unable to receive for the Creator's sake, despite its desire to do so. In this case, the *Partzuf* has only *Ohr Hassadim* (Light of Mercy), but not *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom). This is why it is considered a small *Partzuf*, without strength and reason, similar to a child in our world.

AHP—*Awzen-Hotem-Peh* (ear-nose-mouth), pronounced *Ahap*. These are *Sefirot ZAT* of *Bina-ZA-Malchut*, which possess a will to receive. Therefore, in the

absence of a proper screen (resistance to that desire), they become egoistic. A *Partzuf* without a screen on its *AHP* is called *Katan* (small) and its state is called *Katnut* (smallness, incompleteness). It is like a child in our world, as this *Partzuf*, too, has no strength (screen), and can therefore have only *Ohr Hassadim* without *Ohr Hochma*).

Gadlut—big state. A *Partzuf* with a screen (strength to resist its egoistic nature) to not only refrain from receiving for its own sake, but to receive not for its own sake (as in the example of the guest and the host. In this case, the *Partzuf* fills all of its desires (all ten *Sefirot*) with the Lights of *Hassadim* and *Hochma*.

First Big State—*Gadlut Aleph*, the attainment of the Light of *Neshama*.

Second Big State—*Gadlut Bet*, the attainment of the Light of *Haya*.

Ohr Hochma—Light of Wisdom. This Light fills the *Kelim* (vessels/desires) of reception. It comes only if there is a screen on altruistic reception.

Ateret Yesod—literarily "foreskin," the place of union between Israel and the Creator. After the second restriction, it is forbidden to make a *Zivug* (spiritual coupling) on *Malchut* herself due to the absence of the screen. However, a *Zivug* can be made on the properties that *Malchut* received from ZA, called *Ateret Yesod*. Just as the desires of *Malchut* herself are cut off, the foreskin is circumcised, and the desires that remain within her are those received from ZA, called *Ateret Yesod*. On these desires, *Malchut* can make a *Zivug* with ZA, and receive the Light of *Hochma*. Naturally, this is not the same Light of *Hochma* that *Malchut* would receive if she were able to make a *Zivug* on her desires, that is, on herself, on her own properties, called "the central point of creation," the truly egoistic desires. *Malchut* will be able to do that only after 6,000 years, at the end of correction. But before that happens, these desires are called the mark of union with the Creator, since a *Zivug* on *Ateret Yesod* brings her closer to the Creator.

Ateret Yesod is also *Malchut de Malchut* that remains after the circumcision, the removal of the *Orla* (foreskin). This is the corrected part of *Malchut*, her unification with *Sefira Yesod*, upon which a *Zivug* can be made while still during the 6,000 years, thus bringing *Malchut* to the end of correction.

NRNHY—*Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama-Haya-Yechida* (pronounced ***Naranhay***). This Light fills the big *Partzuf*, consisting of *GE* and *AHP*.

Ohr (Light)—pleasure, the sensation of the Creator. *Ohr* should always be interpreted as the same concept, for although the term is used in general, all of its synonyms are implied!

Kli (vessel)—desire, creature. Like *Ohr*, the word *Kli* is used in general, but all of its synonyms are implied!

Gematria—numerical value of a letter, or a combination of letters and words. This is a special way of recording spiritual information.

Parsa—firmament, the division between the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds *BYA*. The *Parsa* divides the ten *Sefirot* into two parts: the altruistic *Kelim* of bestowal (*GAR*, *KHB*, and *GE*) and the *Kelim* of reception (*ZON* or *Bina-ZA-Malchut*), for *Bina* deliberately fell into ZA (*AHP*) with the purpose of correcting him. *Malchut*, which ascends above *Bina* and stands below *Hochma*, is called *Parsa* or "firmament," and separates *GE* from *AHP*.

ZAT, ZAK—the seven *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, *Malchut* (*HGT NHYM*).

VAT, VAK—the six *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod* (*HGT NHY*, pronounced *Hagat Nehy*).

De – the preposition 'of' in a possessive meaning. For example, *Malchut* ***de*** *Atzilut* means *Malchut* **of** the world of *Atzilut*.

English translation—Whenever it says so in parenthesis, this refers to the books of the Torah (Pentateuch), *Nevi'im* (Prophets), and *Ketuvim* (Writings/ Hagiographa), published by Mosad HaRav Kook, in Hebrew with English translation. For example, (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9; English translation p. XXX, 9) means that if you open page XXX in the book of Prophets, what you are looking for will be in sentence number nine. When the original source is indicated, it is recommended to refer to it there and then to read at least the passage that the quoted saying is ascribed to. This will help you to see even more clearly that the Torah, using an allegorical, figurative language, speaks only of the spiritual world and man's ascension to it, and not at all about history or about our world.

Garments—attributes, desires, *Kelim*. Generally, the garments in question are those that *Malchut* receives from *Bina*.

Huppah—a wedding baldachin, a canopy under which a marriage ceremony takes place.

Nartik—the covering of ZA; same as the *Huppah*.

Adornments—the Light of *Hassadim*, Light of *Bina*, which she passes into *Malchut*. This corrects *Malchut*, and enables her to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the Light of *Hassadim*.

Orla—foreskin on the *Sefira Yesod*, the place of the *Zivug* between ZA and *Malchut*. The *Orla* must be removed, for during the 6,000 years, it is impossible to make

a *Zivug* (intention) on *Malchut* herself and receive for the Creator's sake. Only a *Zivug* on the union of *Malchut* with ZA can be made. This is called *Ateret Yesod*, the part of the *Sefira Yesod* that remains after the cutting off of the *Orla*. *Orla* is also *Malchut de Malchut*, or the impure forces.

Ima—Mother—*Bina* with regard to *Malchut*, who is the daughter.

Daughter—*Malchut* with regard to *Bina*, mother.

***Kodesh ha Kodashim*—Holy of Holies**—the Light of GAR—*Neshama-Haya-Yechida*.

Question—the sensation of lack of the Light of *Hochma* in *Malchut*.

Sela—rock or truth. The name of *Malchut*.

Shechina—Divinity—the sensation (appearance, vision) of the Creator to those who attain Him. *Malchut* in the state of reception of the Light (the Creator) is called *Shechina*. The sensation of the Creator, the place where one experiences the Creator is called *Shechina*.

Techum—zone—the distance beyond the bounds of which one is forbidden to go on *Shabbat* (the Sabbath). *Techum Shabbat* constitutes the maximal distance within which one can move about during Sabbath.

Sigim—dross—impure desires that exist within pure desires. Man's work is to separate the two, and to gradually correct the *Sigim*. The term *Sigim* comes from SAG, for they appeared as a result of the breaking of the *Kelim* of the world of *Nekudim*, which refer to the system of the *Partzufim* of *Partzuf* SAG. The term *Sigim* found its way from Kabbalah into spoken Hebrew.

SHACH—*Shin-Chaf*—300 + 20 = 320 fragments of the broken vessel.

RAPACH—*Reish-Peh-Chet*—200 + 80 + 8 = 288 fragments of the broken vessel, which one can and must be corrected during the 6,000 years, by climbing the 6,000 steps of the spiritual ladder.

Lev ha Even—Stony Heart—*Lev* = *Lamed-Bet* = 30 + 2 = 32 fragments into which *Malchut* had broken. These fragments of *Malchut* cannot be corrected and made altruistic; one can only refrain from using these desires. *Lev ha Even* is corrected only after the 6,000 years, that is, after the Creator Himself corrects the 288 fragments within man. It becomes completely altruistic and receives the name *Lev Basar* (heart of flesh).

Lo Lishma—not for the sake of the Creator. Since nothing exists in creation but the Creator and man, if something is not done "for the sake of the Creator," it is done "for one's own sake." Thus, *Lo Lishma* denotes man's egoistic intention.

Lishma—for the Creator's sake. Man's selfless intention to act only to please and bring joy to the Creator.

Four angels that participate in the creation of man—the four basic properties of nature: mercy—*Hesed*, justice—*Tzedek*, truth—*Emet*, and peace—*Shalom*.

Eretz Israel—Land of Israel—*Yetzira* of this world. *Yerushalaim* (Jerusalem) is *Ateret Yesod* in *Malchut*.

ORIGINAL NAMES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS ACCEPTED IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Aaron – Aaron
Amon – Ammon
Ana'el – Anahel
Anafiel – Anafiel
Ariel – Ariel
Avraham – Abraham
Bat Sheva – Bathsheba
Benayahu – Benaiah
Betzalel – Betzalel
Bil'am – Balaam
Chagai – Haggai
Chava – Eve
Eden – Eden
Eicha – Eichah
Elisha – Elisha
Eliyahu – Elijah
Esav – Esau
Ester – Esther
Ezra – Ezra
Gavri'el – Gabriel
Gazaria – Gazardiel
Hanoch – Eunuch
Havakuk – Habakkuk
Iyov – Job
Korach – Korach
Leah – Leah
Lilit – Lilith
Machaniel – Manhiel
Matat – Metatron
Micha – Micah
Moav – Moab
Moshe – Moses
Nachum – Nahum
Navuchadnetzar – Nebuchadnezzar
Nechemia – Nehemiah
Noach – Noah
Ovadia – Obadiah
Petachia – Petahyah
Pinchas – Pinchas
Pisgania – Pesagniyah
Rahel – Rachel
Rivka – Rebecca
Rut – Ruth
Sandalphon – Sandalphon
Shet – Seth
Shimon – Simeon
Shlomo – Solomon
Shmuel – Samuel
Tamar – Tamar
Tzefania – Zephaniah

Tzur – Tyre
Yaakov – Jacob
Yehoyada – Jehoiada
Yechezkel – Ezekiel
Yehoshua – Joshua
Yehudah – Judah
Yerushalaim – Jerusalem
Yeshayahu – Isaiah
Yirmiyahu – Jeremiah
Yishmael – Ishmael
Yitzchak – Isaac
Yosef – Joseph
Zachariah – Zechariah
Zvuliel – Zebuliel

ORIGINAL TITLES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS ACCEPTED IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Beresheet – Genesis
Shemot – Exodus
Vayikra – Leviticus
Bamidbar – Numbers
Devarim – Deuteronomy
Kohelet – Ecclesiastes
Shmuel 1 and 2 – Samuel 1 and 2
Melachim 1 and 2 – Kings 1 and 2
Divrey HaYamim – Chronicles
Mishley – Proverbs
Tehilim – Psalms
Shir HaShirim – Song of Songs
Shoftim – Judges

An Example of the Original Text of The Zohar

א) רבי חזקיה פתחת כתיב, כשושנה בין החוחים. מאן שושנה, דא כנסת ישראל. בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה, מה שושנה דאיהי בין החוחים אית בה סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי. מה שושנה אית בה תליסר עלין אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה תליסר מכילן דרחמי דסחרין לה מכל סטרהא.אוף אלקים דהכא, משעתא דאדכר, אפיק תליסר תיבין לסחרא לכנסת ישראל ולנטרא לה.

ב) ולבתר אדכר זמנא אחרא. אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא, בגין לאפקא חמש עלין תקיפין דסחרין לשושנה. ואינון חמש, אקרון ישועות.ואינון חמש תרעין.ועל רזא דא כתיב, כוס ישועות אשא, דא כוס של ברכה. כוס של ברכה אצטריך למהוי על חמש אצבען ולא יתיר, כנוונא דשושנה דיתבא על חמש עלין תקיפין דוגמא דחמש אצבען. ושושנה, דא איהו כוס של ברכה, מאלקים תניינא עד אלקים תליתאה חמש תיבין. מכאן ולהלאה, אור דאתברי ואתגניז, ואתכליל בברית ההוא דעאל בשושנה ואפיק בה זרעא. ודא אקרי עץ קיימא באות ברית ממש.

ג) וכמה דדיוקנא דברית אזדרע בארבעין ותרין זווגין ההואזרעא. כך אזדרע שמא גליפא מפרש, בארבעין וותריזאתוון דעובדא דבראשית.

ד) בראשית. רבי שמעון פתח הנצנים נראו בארץ, הנצנים דא עובדא דבראשית. נראו בארץ, אימתי, ביום השלישי, דכתיב ותוצא הארץ, כדין נראו בארץ. עת הזמיר הגיע, דא יום רביעי, דהוה ביה זמיר עריצים, מארת חסר. וקול התור, דא יום חמישי, דכתיב ישרצו המים וגו׳, למעבד תולדות. נשמע דא יום ששי, דכתיב נעשה אדם, דהוה עתיד למקדם עשיה לשמיעה דכתיב הכא נעשה אדם, וכתיב התם נעשה ונשמע. בארצנו, דא יום שבת, דאיהו דוגמת ארץ החיים.

ה) ד״א הנצנים אלין אינון אבהן,דעאלו במחשבה, ועאלו בעלמא דאתי ,ואתגניזו תמן. ומתן נפקו בגניזו ואטמירו גו נביאי קשוט, אתיליד יוסף, ואטמרו ביה. עאל יוסף בארעא קדישא ונציב לון תמן, וכדין נראו בארץ ואתגלו תמן. ואימתי אתחזן. בשעתא דאתגלי קשת
בעלמא, דהא בשעתא דקשת אתחזי כדין אתגליין אינון, ובהיא שעתא עת הזמיר הגיע עדן לקצץ חייבין מעלמא. אמאי אשתזיבו. בגין דהנצבים נראו בארץ, ואלמלא דנראו לא אשתארון בעלמא , ועלמא לא אתקיים.
ו) ומאן מקיים עלמא וגרים לאבהן דאתגליין, קל ינוקי דלעאן באורייתא, ובגין אינון רביין דעלמא, עלמא אשתזיב. לקבליהון, תורי זהב נעשה לך, אלין אינון ינוקי רביין עולמין, דכתיב ועשית שנים כרובים זהב.
ז) בראשית. ר׳ אלעזר פתח, שאו מרום עיניכם וראו מי ברא אלה. שאו מרום עיניכם. לאן אתר. לאתר דכל עיינין תליאן ליה, ומאן איהו. פתח עינים. ותמן תנדעון, דהאי סתים עתיקא דקיימא לשאלה, ברא אלה. ומאן איהו, מ״י. ההוא דאקרי מקצה השמים לעילא, דכלא קיימא ברשותיה. ועל דקיימא לשאלה, ואיהו בארח סתים ולא
אתגליא, אקרי מ״י דהא לעילא לית תמן שאלה. והאי קצה השמים אקרי מ״י.
ח) ואית אחרא לתתא ואקרי מ״ה, מה בין האי להאי, אלא קדמאה סתימאה דאקרי מ״י קיימא לשאלה, כיון דשאל בר נש ומפשפש לאסתכלא ולמנדע מדרגא לדרגא עד סוף כל דרגין, כיון דמטי תמן מ״ה, מה ידעת, מה אסתכלתא, מה פשפשתא, הא כלא סתים כדקדמיתא.
ט) ועל רזא דנא כתיב, מה אעידך מה אדמה לך. כד אתחריב בי מקדשא, נפיק קלא ואמר, מה אעידך ומה אדמה

לך, בההוא מ"ה אעידך, בכל יומא ויומא אסהידת בך מיומין קדמאין. דכתיב העדותי בכם היום את השמים ואת הארץ. ומה אדסה לך, בההוא גוונא ממש, עתרית לך בעטרין קדישין, עבדית לך שלטנו על עלמא, דכתיב הזאת העיר שיאמרו כלילת יפי וגו'. קרינא לך ירושלם הבנויה כעיר שחברה לה. מה אשוה לך, כגוונא דאנת יתבה, הכי הוא כביכול לעילא, כגוונא דלא עאלין השתא בך עמא קדישא בסדרא קדישין, הכי אומינא לך דלא איעול אנא לעילא עד דיעלון בך אוכלסך לתתא. ודא איהו נחמה דילך, הואיל דדרגא דא אשוה לך בכלא. והשתא דאנת הכא, גדול כים שברך. ואי תימא דלית לך קיימא ואסוותא, מ"י ירפא לך, ודאי ההוא דרגא סתימאה עלאה, דכלא קיימא ביה, ירפא לך ויוקים לך.

י) מ"י קצה השמים לעילא, מ"ה קצה השמים לתתא, ודא ירית יעקב דאיהו מבריח מן הקצה אל הקצה, מן הקצה קדמאה דאיהו מ"י, אל הקצה בתראה דאיהו מ"ה, בגין דקאים באמצעיתא. ועל דא, מי ברא אלה.

יא) אמר ר"ש אלעזר בני פסוק מילך, ויתגלי סתימא דרזא עלאה דבני עלמא לא ידעין. שתיק רבי אלעזר. בכה רבי שמעון, וקאים רגעא חדא. א"ר שמעון, אלעזר, מאי אלה. אי תימא ככביא ומזלי, הא אתחזן תמן תדיר. ובמ"ה אתבריאו, כד"א בדבר ה' שמים נעשו. אי על מלין סתימין, לא לכתוב אלה דהא אתגלייא איהו.

יב) אלא רזא דא לא אתגליא, בר יומא חד דהוינא על כיף ימא, ואתא אליהו ואמר לי, ר' ידעת מה הוא מי ברא אלה. אמינא ליה, אלין שמיא וחיליהון, עובדא דקב"ה דאית ליה לבר נש לאסתכלא בהו, ולברכא ליה, דכתיב כי אראה

שמיך מעשה אצבעותיך וגו׳ ה׳ אדונינו מה אדיר שמך בכל הארץ.

יג) א״ל, ר׳: מלה סתימה הוה קמי קב״ה, וגלי במתיבתא עלאה, ודא הוא. בשעתא דסתימא דכל סתימין בעא לאתגלייא, עבד ברישא נקודה חדא, ודא סליק למהוי מחשבה. צייר בה כל ציורין חקק בה כל גליפין.

יד) ואגליף גו בוצינא קדישא סתימא גליפו דחד ציורא סתימאה קדש קדישין בניינא עמיקא דנפיק מגו מחשבה, ואקרי מ״י שירותא לבנינא קיימא ולא קיימא. עמיק וסתים בשמא. לא אקרי אלא מ״י. בעא לאתגלייא ולאתקרי בשמא דא, ואתלבש בלבוש יקר דנהיר, וברא אל״ה, וסליק אל״ה בשמא. אתחברון אתוון אלין באלין ואשתלים בשמא אלהים. ועד לא ברא אלה לא סליק בשמא אלהים. ואינון דחבו בעגלא. על רזא דנא אמרו אלה אלהיך ישראל.

טו) וכמה דאשתתף מ״י באלה, הכי הוא שמא דאשתתף תדיר,

ברזא דא אתקיים עלמא. ופרח אליהו ולא חמינא ליה. ומניה ידענא מלה דאוקימנא על רזא וסתרא דילה. אתא רבי אלעזר וכלהו חברייא ואשתטחו קמיה, בכו ואמרו, אלמלא לא אתינא לעלמא אלא למשמע דא די.

א

רבי חזקיה

נ"א רבי אלעזר

בזהרי חמה ובנוסחת א"י

מאמר השושנה

א) פתח, כתיב א) א) א **כשושנה בין החוחים. מאן שושנה, דא** ב) ב) **כנסת ישראל.** ב **בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה,** ג **מה שושנה דאיהי בין** ג) **החוחים**

מסורת הזהר

א) (שיר ב) ב"א אות רצח תולדות יח ויחי רלד שמות שסד כי תשא לא שמיני לט אמור שלג חקת יח פנחס סח שצג שצח ואתחנן סו האזינו י יב ת"ז תכ"ה דף עא. תכ"ו שם תל"ח דף עח: ז"ח יתרו יב. ב) יתרו שסה.

חלופי גרסאות

א נ"א כשושנה בין החוחים מה שושנה דא דאיהי בין החוחים וכו' (אור הלבנה). ב נ"א בגין דאית שושנה ואית שושנה ל"ג. ג נ"א ד"א מה שושנה דאיהו בין החוחים וכו' (אה"ל).

דרך אמת א) רחל. ב) לאח כלת משה מלגאו. ג) רחל.

הסולם

מאמר

א) ר' חזקיה פתח וכו': ר' חזקיה **פתח**, כתוב, כשושנה בין החוחים. שואל מהי שושנה. ומשיב, זו היא כנסת ישראל. שהיא מלכות. משום שיש שושנה ויש שושנה. מה שושנה בין החוחים יש בה אדום ולבן אף כנסת ישראל יש בה דין ורחמים. מה שושנה יש בה י"ג עלים, כך כנסת ישראל יש בה י"ג מדות הרחמים המסבבות אותה מכל צדדיה. אף אלקים, שבמקרא שבכאן דהיינו בראשית ברא **אלקים**, משעה שנזכר, הוציא י"ג מלים לסבב את כנסת ישראל ולשמרה. שהן: את, השמים, ואת, הארץ, והארץ, היתה, תהו, ובהו, וחשך, על, פני, תהום, ורוח. דהיינו עד אלקים מרחפת וגו'.

ביאור הדברים, עשר ספירות הן, בתר, חכמה, בינה, חסד, גבורה, תפארת, נצח, הוד, יסוד ומלכות. ועיקרן הוא רק חמש, כתר,

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

השושנה

חכמה, בינה, תפארת ומלכות, משום שספירת התפארת כוללת בתוכה שש ספירות חג"ת נה"י. והן נעשו חמש פרצופין: א"א, ואו"א, וזו"ן. הכתר נק' בשם אריך אנפין. חכמה ובינה נק' בשם אבא ואמא. ת"ת ומלכות, נק' בשם זעיר אנפין ונוקבא. (ביאורן של עשר הספירות עי' בפתיחה לחכמת הקבלה אות ה').

ודע, שסוד ז' ימי בראשית ה"ס ב' הפרצופין ז"א ונוקבא דאצילות, שיש בהם ז' ספירות חג"ת נה"י ומלכות, כנ"ל. אשר באלו הכתובים דמעשה בראשית מתבאר, איך אבא ואמא, שהם חו"ב, האצילו אותם מתחילת התהוותם עד סוף הגדלות, שנוהג בהם בהמשך שתא אלפי שני. וענין זה מתבאר והולך כאן בזוהר בראשית.

ור' חזקיה פתח בביאור הנוקבא דז"א, לבאר סדר אצילותה מאמא, שהיא הבינה הנק' בשם

אית בה ג) **סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת** ד) **ישראל אית בה** ד) **דין** ה) **ורחמי. מה שושנה אית בה** ו) ה) **תליסר עלין, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה** ו) **תליסר מכילין דרחמי**

מסורת הזהר

ג) ב"א ע תולדות טו וישלח יא ויחי תקח ויקרא רכג אמור שלג האזינו קסב ת"ז תל"ו דף עז: עשה ולא תעשה תק"ח דף קיא: ד) ויחי רלו אמור שלג האזינו קעז. ה) פנחס שצד ת"ז תכ"ה דף עא. תכ"ו שם. ו) ב"א קיב קכו ויצא שטו יתרו תקיב תצוה כ ויקהל קנה אחרי קפד נשא צו שם קכא קסד שמא פנחס רפו שסז שצד תרמו כי תצא יז ת"ז תכ"ב דף סז. ז"ח בראשית מו תק"ח דף ק. קא. קיג.

דרך אמת ד) לאה. ה) ולא גוון. ו) י"ב דידיה וי"ב דידה והכוללים.

הסולם

מאמר — השושנה

בשם אלהים. וזהו שפתח בביאור השושנה, שהיא הנוקבא דז"א. והנוקבא דז"א בעת גדלותה נקראת בשם כנסת ישראל, במ"ש להלן, וזהו שאומר, **מאן שושנה, דא כנסת ישראל.**

ויש בשושנה זו ב' מצבים: מצב של קטנות, דהיינו של תחלת התהוותה, שאז אין בה אלא ספי' אחת כתר, שבתוכה מלובש אור הנפש שלה, וט' הספירות התחתונות שלה נבחנות כנופלות לבר מאצילות. והן בעולם הבריאה. ועוד בה מצב של גדלות, שאז מתעלות ט"ס התחתונות שלה מן עולם הבריאה אל עולם האצילות, והיא נבנית עמהן לפרצוף שלם בעשר ספירות. ואז עולה עם ז"א בעלה לקומה שוה עם או"א דאצילות ומלבישים אותם. ואז נק' ז"א, בשם ישראל. שהוא אותיות לי ראש, והנוקבא נק' בשם כנסת ישראל, על שם שכונסת בתוכה כל האורות של ישראל בעלה שהיא משפעת אותם אל התחתונים.

והמצב של הקטנות נק' בשם שושנה בין החוחים, משום שט"ס התחתונות שלה נתרוקנו מאור האצילות, ונשארו כחוחים. והמצב של הגדלות נק' בשם שושנה סתם, או כנסת ישראל. וזה אמרו **אית שושנה ואית שושנה.**

והנה גוון סומק מורה שיש שם אחיזה לחיצונים ולקליפות לינק ממנה, וזהו בזמן המצב של הקטנות, שט"ס התחתונות שלה הן בבריאה, ויש בה ג"כ בחינת חוור, דהיינו בכלי דכתר שלה, שאין שם אחיזה לחיצונים. **וז"ש מה שושנה דאיהי בין החוחים אית בה סומק וחוור, אוף כנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי** להורות כי גם בגדלותה בעת שנקראת כנסת ישראל, אע"פ שעולה אז ומלבישה את הבינה במצב גדלותה כנ"ל, מ"מ נשארת בה בחינת דין, כי היא נצרכת לסוד המסך המתוקן בה לצורך הזווג דהכאה, שמסבת הדין שבמסך, הוא מכה על האור העליון ומחזירו לאחוריו, ומעלה עי"ז ע"ס דאור חוזר הנקרא אור של דין, וממשיך בתוכן ע"ס דאור ישר, הנקרא אור של רחמים. (עי' בפתיחה לחכמת הקבלה אות י"ד) וע"כ גם בכנסת ישראל אית בה דין ורחמי כנגד הסומק והחוור שיש לשושנה בין החוחים.

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

וז"ס הים שעשה שלמה, העומד על שני עשר בקר. כי אלו טה"ס התחתונות שלה שנפלו לבריאה, כנ"ל, נתתקנו שם בסוד שני עשר בקר, ונקודת הכתר שנשארה באצילות ה"ס הים העומד עליהם מלמעלה, וכללותם יחד נק' **תליסר עלין** דשושנה. וענין ההתחלקות הזו של עה"ס שלה לסוד י"ג מתבאר להלן במראות הסולם.

והנה המוחין דגדלות של הנוקבא, שיש בהם מהארת החכמה, הם נמשכים מסוד י"ג השמות הנק' י"ג מדות הרחמים. וז"ש **אוף כ"י אית בה י"ג מכילן דרחמי.** והעיקר מה שבא ר' חזקיה להורות בהשואה הזו משושנה דבין החוחים לכנסת ישראל, הוא ללמדנו, שכל שיש לנוקבא במצב גדלותה צריך להמצא בה כנגדן בחי' הכנה והכשר עוד בתחילת הויתה דהיינו במצב הקטנות. וז"ש, שכנגד חוור וסומק דקטנות יוצא בה דין ורחמי בגדלות, וכנגד י"ג עלין דקטנות יוצא בה י"ג מדות הרחמים בגדלות. והוא מביא זאת כאן, בכדי ללמדנו איך הכתובים שלפנינו מבארים אותם ב' הסדרים דקטנות וגדלות, הנוהגים באצילות הנוקבא, כמו שממשיך והולך, אוף אלהים דהכא וכו'.

וז"ש, **אוף אלהים וכו' אפיק י"ג תיבין:** מורה, שאלהים שבמקרא דהכא בראשית

דסחרין לה מכל סטרהא. אוף אלהים ז) **דהכא, משעתא דאדכר, אפיק** ז) **תליסר תיבין לסחרא לכנסת** ח) **ישראל** ד **ולנטרא לה.**

ב) ולבתר אדכר זמנא אחרא, אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא, בגין ט) **לאפקא** ח) **חמש עלין תקיפין דסחרין לשושנה. ואינון חמש, אקרון ישועות. ואינון**

מסורת הזהר

ז) פנחס שצז ת"ז תכ"ו דף עא. ח) פנחס שצז ת"ז תכ"ו דף עא. תל"ח דף עח. תק"ח קיז:

חלופי גרסאות

ד ולנטלא (אה"ל).

דרך אמת ז) פי' אימא. ח) לאה. ט) אימא אפיק ה' גבורות מנצפ"ך להושיעם מן הקליפות.

הסולם

מאמר

בראשית ברא אלהים, שה"ס הבינה המאצלת לנוקבא דז"א, אפיק י"ג מלים שהן: **את השמים ואת הארץ והארץ היתה תוהו ובוהו וחושך על פני תהום ורוח**, דהיינו עד אלהים תנינא, שאלו י"ג תיבין רומזים על אותם י"ג עלין של שושנה בין החוחים בסוד הים העומד על שני עשר בקר, כנ"ל, שהם הכנה והכשר לכנסת ישראל שתקבל י"ג מכילן דרחמי. וז"ש, **לסחרא לכנסת ישראל ולנטרא לה,** כי י"ג מדות הרחמים, שהן המוחין השלמים דנוקבא, נבחנות שהן מסבבות ומאירות אליה מכל הצדדים סביב סביב, ונשמרת על ידיהן ממגע החיצונים, כי כל זמן שאין בה המוחין הגדולים בהארת החכמה מי"ג מדות, יש בה יניקה לחיצונים.

ב) **ולבתר אדכר** וכו': ואח"כ נזכר שם אלקים פעם אחרת, דהיינו **אלקים** מרחפת וגו'. ולמה נזכר פעם אחרת. הוא כדי להוציא חמשה עלים קשים המסבבים את השושנה. ואלו חמשת העלים נקראים ישועות, והם חמשה שערים, ועל סוד זה כתוב, כוס ישועות אשא, זו היא כוס של ברכה. כוס של ברכה צריכה להיות על חמש אצבעות ולא יותר, כמו השושנה היושבת על חמשה עלים קשים, שהם כנגד חמש אצבעות. ושושנה זו היא כוס של ברכה. מהשם אלקים השני עד שם אלקים השלישי חמש מלים. שהן: מרחפת על פני המים ויאמר. שהן כנגד ה' עלים הנ"ל מכאן ולהלאה, שנאמר, אלקים יהי אור וגו', הוא האור שנברא ונגנז ונכלל בברית ההוא שנכנס בשושנה והוציא בה זרע, וזה נקרא עץ עושה פרי אשר זרעו בו. והזרע ההוא נמצא באות ברית ממש.

(דפו"י דף א' ע"א)

השושנה

ביאור הדברים, **חמש עלין תקיפין:** ה"ס ה"ג של הנוקבא, שהן ע"ס דאו"ח, שהנוקבא מעלה על ידי זווג דהכאה באור העליון, הנק' אור של דין, (כנ"ל ד"ה סומק) כי עה"ס דאור ישר נק' ה' חסדים חג"ת נ"ה, והן מתלבשות בה' גבורות חג"ת נ"ה דאו"ח, ואלו חמש עלין תקיפין הן, כחות הדין שבמסך, המעכב את האור העליון מהתלבש ממסך ולמטה. וע"כ נק' עתה רק ה' עלין תקיפין, כי עוד אינה ראויה לזווג עליהם. ובזמן הגדלות כשהמסך בא בזווג עם האור העליון הם נק' ה' גבורות. כנ"ל.

ואלו ה' עלין תקיפין ה"ס ה' תיבות שיש מאלקים תנינא עד אלהים תליתאה, שהן: מרחפת על פני המים ויאמר. וז"ש **אמאי אדכר זמנא אחרא,** שמשמע שיש כאן פעולה חדשה, ואומר, שהוא כדי להוציא מהנוקבא ה' עלין תקיפין אלו, שהם הכנה לזווג בזמן הגדלות.

ומה שאלו ע"ס דאו"ח נקראות ה"ג שהן חג"ת נ"ה ואינן נקראות כח"ב תו"מ, כנ"ל. הענין הוא, מפני שאינן ממשיכות אלא אור חסדים לבד, ולכן ירדו כח"ב ממעלתם ונקראים חג"ת, ות"ת ומלכות נק' בשם נו"ה.

וז"ש, **חמש תרעין וכו' כוס ישועות:** היינו בעת הגדלות, שה' עלין תקיפין נעשו לה' גבורות, אז הם נבחנים לחמש תרעין, שהם שערים פתוחים לקבל ה' החסדים דאור ישר. וכן הם נקראים ישועות מטעם זה. ואז נק' הנוקבא **כוס ישועות** או **כוס של ברכה,** כי בסגולתן נעשית הנוקבא כלי מחזיק הברכה, שהיא ה"ח הנ"ל.

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE AFORECITED TEXT FROM ARAMAIC INTO ENGLISH[3]

1. Rabbi Hizkiyah opened, "It is written, as a rose among thorns." That a rose is the Assembly of Israel. Because there is a rose and there is a rose, just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, the Assembly of Israel consists of judgment and mercy. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, the Assembly of Israel is surrounded on all sides by the thirteen attributes of mercy. However, *Elokim*, that is here, thought to bring out the thirteen words that surround the Assembly of Israel and guard it.

2. Afterwards, this is mentioned another time. The reason it is mentioned another time is to bring out the five rigid leaves that surround the rose. And these five stand for salvation. These are also the five gates.

It is written of this secret, "I will raise the cup of salvation, it is the cup of blessing." The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, and no more, just as a rose rests on five rigid leaves that correspond to the five fingers. And this rose is the cup of blessing. From the second to the third mention of the name *Elokim*, there are five words. From here on, the Light was created and concealed, enclosed within that covenant, and entered the rose and fructified it. And this is referred to as a fructiferous tree, wherein is the seed thereof. And this seed truly exists in the letter of the covenant.

3. And just as the form of the covenant is sown in forty-two conceptions from that seed, so is the legislative, special name of creation sown.

4. In the beginning, Rabbi Shimon opened, the flower buds appeared on the earth. "The flower buds" refer to the act of creation. They appeared on the earth when, on the third day, as it is said, "And the earth shall pullulate." That was when they appeared on the earth. The time of singing has come, and this is the fourth day, when there was a reduction from the Light of *Hassadim*. The voice of the turtle dove refers to the fifth day, where it is written, "Let the waters swarm," so as to produce offspring. "It is heard" refers to the sixth day, where it is written, "Let us stand and create man," and there it is said, "We will do and we will hear." "In our land" refers to the day of *Shabbat*, which represents the Land of Life.

5. Another meaning is that these flower buds are the Patriarchs who entered the thoughts of the future world, and there they are concealed. They emerged from

3 The translation in the book is semantic and not literal

there in concealment, and concealed themselves in the true prophets. Yosef was born and they concealed themselves in him. When Yosef entered the Holy Land and founded them there, they appeared in the land (earth) and were revealed there. When are they seen? When a rainbow is seen in the world. It is when the rainbow is seen that they are revealed. As the time of pruning has come. The time has come to eradicate the wicked from the world. Why were the wicked saved? Because the flower buds can be seen in the earth. And if they could not be seen, they would not have remained in the world, and the world would not be able to exist.

6. Who animates the world and causes the Fathers to appear? It is the voice of the children, who study the Torah, meaning that these children of the world save the world. In deference to them, "We will make you pendants of gold." Those are the children, children of the world, as is it said, "You shall make two Cherubs of gold."

7. In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes above and see who has created this." Raise your eyes. To what place? To the place where all eyes depend on Him. And who is He? He is one who opens eyes. And you will know this. It is the concealed *Atik*, wherein lies the question, who has created this. And who is He? *MI* = who. He is called from the edge of Divine Heaven, where everything belongs to Him. As there is a question, He is along a concealed path, and does not reveal Himself. He is called *MI*, as there is no question Above, this edge of Heaven is called *MI*.

8. And there is another below, called *MA*. What is between this and that? The first one, called *MI*, is concealed. There is a question in him, because man asks, searches and looks, and beholds from degree to degree until the end of all the degrees. And after he arrives there, he is asked: *MA*? (What?). What have you learned? What have you seen? What have you investigated, since everything is still concealed, just as it was before.

9. It is written of this secret, "Who can I point out to you? Who can I compare you to?" After all, the Temple was destroyed, and a voice came forth and said, "What can I point out to you, and what can I compare you to?" The word *MA* = what, testimony, each day and the day of testimony to you from the days of past, as it is written: "I call to witness Heaven and earth," which is like unto you.

According to the same type, "I adorned you with holy ornaments," made you ruler over the world, as it is written: "Is this the city that was called the quintessence of beauty?" and so forth. I have called you, "Jerusalem, a city built by me." "What could be compared to you?" Just as you sit, so he is like Above,

just as now the holy nation does not enter into you to perform holy work, so I swear to you that I will not enter Above until I dwell down below. This is your consolation, as this degree is equal to you in all things. And now that I am here, "Your misery is great, like the sea." And if you claim that there is no existence or remedy for you, then *MI* (who) shall heal you? It shall be precisely that concealed Supernal Degree, which animates all things; it shall heal you, and exist within you.

10. *MI* is the upper edge of Heaven, *MA* is the lower edge of Heaven. This was inherited by Yaakov, that he shines from edge to edge, from the first edge, which is *MI*, until the last edge, which is *MA*, for he stands in the middle. Therefore, who has created this?

11. Rabbi Shimon said: Elazar, my son, stop talking and reveal to us the supernal secret, which the people of the world know nothing of. Rabbi Elazar was silent. Rabbi Shimon wept and said: One minute. Rabbi Shimon said: Elazar, what is *ELEH* (these)? If you say the stars and the signs of the zodiac, have they not always been seen? However, *MA* (what) were created, as it is said, by the word of the Creator were the Heavens made. If it is about concealed things, then it is not written *ELEH*, because they are revealed.

12. But this secret was never revealed, until one day when I was at the seashore, Eliyahu came and told me: "Rabbi, do you know what this is, WHO HAS CREATED THIS?" I told him: "These are the Heavens and their hosts, the works of the Creator, that man can look at them and bless them, as is written, 'When I behold Your Heavens, the work of Your hands, our Master, how glorious Your name is throughout all the earth'!"

13. He told me: "Rabbi, there was one thing concealed before the Creator, which He revealed to the Supernal Assembly, and it is this. When the concealed of all the concealed desired to reveal Himself, He first made one single point, and this point ascended and became a Thought. With it, He drew all the forms and with it engraved all the images."

14. He engraved inside a concealed, sacred candle an image of a concealed image of the holy of holies. A profound structure emerged from the depth of that thought, and it is called *MI* – who, which is the inception of the structure both standing and not standing, which is hidden deep inside the name. It is not called, but only *MI* – who. He desired to reveal Himself and to be called this name, so He clothed Himself in a precious, radiant garment and created *ELEH*, and *ELEH* ascended in name. These letters combined with these, and the name *Elokim* was completed. And until He created *ELEH* – this, *Elokim* did not ascend

to form the name *Elokim*. And these sinned in worshipping the golden calf. Of this secret it is said, *ELEH* is your Lord, Israel.

15. Just as the letters *MI* joined the letters *ELEH*, so does this name remain forever united, and on this secret stands the world. Eliyahu then flew away, and I could not see him. It is from him that I knew this, which stands on the secret, and its explanation. Rabbi Elazar has come, and all the disciples, too, and they bowed down before him, wept and said, if we had (not) come into this world but only to hear this secret, it would have been enough.

16. Rabbi Shimon said, "Onto these Heavens and their hosts were created in *MA*, as it is said, 'When I behold the Heavens, the works of Your hands,' and it is said, '*MA*, how glorious Your name is throughout all the earth, which You set Above the Heavens, it ascends in name.' That is why it created Light for Light, clothed this into this, and elevated in the Supernal Name, this the Creator created in the beginning. This is the Supernal Creator, for *MA* is not such and was not created."

The Rose

1. Rabbi Hizkiyah opened (began): "It is said, as a rose among thorns" (*Shir HaShirim*, 2:2). He asks, "What does a rose represent?" He answers, "It is the Assembly of Israel, meaning *Malchut*. For there is a rose, and there is a rose. Just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, so does the Assembly of Israel (*Malchut*) consist of judgment and mercy. Just as a rose has thirteen petals, so the Assembly of Israel consists of thirteen properties of mercy, surrounding it on all sides. After all, *Elokim* (the name of the Creator that alludes to His attitude towards the lower ones by the force of judgment), as it is said, 'In the beginning, *Elokim* created' (the first sentence in the Torah), In the beginning (initially) when He thought it, He created thirteen words to surround the Assembly of Israel and to protect it, and here they are: THE, HEAVEN, AND-THE, EARTH, AND-THE EARTH, WAS, EMPTY, AND-CHAOTIC, AND-THE DARKNESS, OVER, THE FACE, OF THE ABYSS, AND-THE SPIRIT, up to the word *Elokim*" (In Hebrew, "and" is written in conjunction with the word following it. Hence, it is considered as one word).

As its object of study, Kabbalah takes the only creation, the only thing that exists besides the Creator—man's self, or "I," and researches it. This science breaks down the self into parts, explains the structure and properties of each part, and the purpose of its creation. Kabbalah explains how every part of man's self, called "the soul," can be changed so that one would reach the goal of creation, the state desired by both the Creator and man himself, provided he realizes it.

There is not a science in the world that can describe, either graphically or analytically, through use of formulas, our sensations and desires, and how diverse and multifaceted they are. That is how fickle, unpredictable, and absolutely distinct they are in everyone. This is because our desires surface in our mind and sensations in a gradual order, in a certain sequence, so we may acknowledge and correct them.

Our self is our essence, the only thing that characterizes an individual. However, it is ever-changing, and what remains is merely an external, animate shell. This is why it is said that every moment man is born anew. Yet, if this is so, how should we regard one another, and how should we perceive ourselves? How can we possibly "stabilize" anything within and outside of us if we are constantly changing, and all that we perceive is a function of our inner state?

The Creator is the source of Light (pleasure). Those who draw near Him sense Him as such. Such people, who draw near the Creator and thereby sense Him, are called Kabbalists (from the word *Lekabel*—to receive the Creator's Light). One can draw near the Creator only through equivalence of desires. The Creator is incorporeal, and can only be sensed with our heart. Naturally, what is meant by "heart" is not the pump that mobilizes blood through our veins, but the center of man's every sensation.

However, one cannot sense the Creator with just his heart, but only with a small point in it. And to feel this point, man must develop it himself. When one develops and expands this point, the sensation of the Creator, His Light, can enter it.

Our heart is the sum of our egoistic desires, and the small point within it is part of the spiritual, altruistic desire implanted from Above by the Creator Himself. It is our task to nurture this embryo of a spiritual desire to such an extent that it (and not our egoistic nature) will determine all of our aspirations. At the same time, the egoistic desire of the heart will surrender, contract, wither, and diminish.

After being born in our world, one is obliged to change his heart from egoistic to altruistic, while living in this world. This is the purpose of his life, the reason behind his appearance in this world, and it is the goal of all creation. A complete replacement of egoistic desires with altruistic ones is called "the End of Correction." Every individual and all of humanity must attain it in this world together. Until one achieves this, he will continue to be born into this world. The Torah and all the prophets speak exclusively of this. The method of correction is called "Kabbalah."

One can change his desires only if one wishes to change them. Man is created an absolute egoist; he can neither adopt different desires from other people or from the surrounding world—as his surroundings are just like him—nor does he have any link to the spiritual worlds, since such a link is possible only through mutual properties. The spiritual can only be perceived in altruistic desires.

Hence, an individual in our world has no chance of transcending the boundaries of this world on his own. That is why we were given the Torah and its most effective part, Kabbalah—to help man acquire the desires of the spiritual worlds.

In order to create man in remoteness to Himself, so that man would realize his insignificance and would come independently to the desire to ascend, the Creator created all creation as degrees descending from Him. The Creator's Light descended along these degrees, and at the lowest degree, created our world and man in it. Having realized his insignificance and wishing to ascend to the Creator, man (to the extent that he wishes to approach the Creator) ascends along the same degrees by which his initial descent took place.

In all, there are ten degrees, called "ten *Sefirot*": *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, and *Malchut*. Like ten screens or curtains, these ten *Sefirot* conceal the Creator's Light from us or the Creator Himself (which is the same thing). These ten screens constitute the ten degrees of our remoteness from the Creator.

Therefore, in order to draw near the Creator by one degree, the lowest one above our own properties, we must acquire the properties of that (lowest) degree. This means that our properties become similar to the properties of that degree, rather than remaining inferior to it. To acquire similar properties means to have the same desires. As soon as our desires coincide with the desires of that degree, its concealment fades, and we seemingly exist on it, and only nine degrees separate us from the Creator.

However, the last, lowest degree differs from all the others: as soon as one ascends out of our world and onto the first degree, he already begins to see (sense) the Creator. And all the subsequent degrees are degrees of drawing closer to the Creator. Only the very last degree, at which we presently exist, conceals the Creator completely, whereas all of the Higher Degrees only distance Him.

Although we count ten degrees, there are in fact only five of them. This is because six degrees: *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Yesod* combine into one *Sefira*, called *Zeir Anpin* (ZA). ZA itself is sometimes referred to as *Tifferet*, for this *Sefira* reflects the common attributes of all of its six *Sefirot*.

So, there are five degrees of concealment from the Creator down to our world: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Every degree is alternatively called *Olam* (world), from the word *Haalamah* (concealment). Every degree has its sub-degrees, called *Partzufim* (plural for *Partzuf*), and every sub-degree has its own

sub-degrees, called *Sefirot* (plural for *Sefira*). Thus, in all, 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 degrees-*Sefirot* exist between us and the Creator.

Below is a table of the degrees from the Creator down to our world:

The Creator: an absolutely altruistic desire to create a soul (man) in order to fill it with delight.

The world of Infinity: the existence of souls in the ultimate, perfect state.

WORLDS	SEFIROT	PARTZUFIM	
1st World Adam Kadmon (AK)	Keter	Galgalta	(*)
	Hochma	AB	(*)
	Bina	SAG	(*)
	ZA	MA	(*)
	Malchut	BON	(*)
2nd World Atzilut	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
3rd World Beria	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
4th World Yetzira	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)
5th World Assiya	Keter	Arich Anpin (AA)	(*)
	Hochma	Aba ve Ima (AVI)	(*)
	Bina	Israel Saba ve Tvuna (YESHSUT)	(*)
	ZA	MA (ZA and Malchut are called ZON)	(*)
	Malchut	BON, Nukva	(*)

Our world: the five egoistic desires felt in the heart.

(*) – Consists of five *Sefirot*– *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*.

In all, there are 125 degrees from the Creator to our world.

THE GOAL OF CREATION

Since there is no notion of time in the spiritual, we already exist in our ultimate, perfect state in the world of Infinity (*Ein Sof*). Because desire in the spiritual designates action, desire itself acts, without a body. Therefore, when the desire to create souls (the will to enjoy) appeared in the Creator, when He wished to fill them with the most perfect delight—to sense Him and to delight in His perfection—to make creatures just as He is, His desire was immediately realized. Thus appeared the World of *Ein Sof*, in which we already exist in our final state.

However, we still need to attain this state in our sensations. This is reminiscent of a sleeping person: even though he is sleeping somewhere, he does not understand where he is until he wakes up. However, in order to achieve this perfect state, we must go through a gradual process of transformation of our inner properties (desires), which corresponds to the spiritual ascension from our world through all the worlds, to the World of *Ein Sof*.

To lead us to the final state, the Creator governs us from Above through all the worlds. Thus, there is nothing in our world that does not originate in the World of *Ein Sof*, where the final state of every soul determines the path that it is destined to travel **in general** and the changes that it has to undergo **in particular** at every moment (state) of its spiritual advancement towards the World of Infinity.

There is no way back: everything that happens is dictated by the necessity to bring every soul to its final state. Only this goal determines the state of our world at every second, what happens to it in general and to each of us in particular. The Creator created nothing for naught. Rather, everything serves His purpose.

However, the will that stems from Above does not exclude our active participation in our own advancement. Instead of being slaves that move under the compulsion of a beating stick called suffering, we can turn our path of suffering into the path of Torah—to actively and quickly travel this path from below upwards on our own by realizing that the Creator's purpose is indeed desirable.

This is possible via a request for spiritual elevation—raising *MAN*, a prayer. In response, we will receive spiritual strength from Above that will help us improve our qualities, i.e., to ascend. The entire Torah speaks only of this, and Kabbalah goes further still and provides a detailed explanation of the path itself. As if on a map, it depicts what we go through and where (in what state and at which degree) we are now.

Kabbalah studies the structure of the spiritual worlds. The purpose of these worlds is to weaken the Creator's signals (desires) so that we could understand them with our egoism and realize them with our mind. In Hebrew, the word for "world" is *Olam* (from the word *Haalamah*—meaning concealment), for these worlds conceal and weaken the Creator's Light to such an extent that we can feel it.

Depending on everyone's spiritual qualities, on the degree of one's attainment (complete egoism = our world, partial altruism = spiritual worlds), we perceive the Creator or His Light differently at each of the 125 degrees. These 125 degrees amount to just ten, called "the ten *Sefirot* between the Creator and us," where every lower *Sefira* transmits less of the Creator's Light, as perceived by those at that degree. The lower the *Sefira*, the less of the Creator's Light it lets through to those that are below it.

SEFIROT

These are the names of the *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, and *Malchut*. However, six of them are combined into one *Sefira*, called *Zeir Anpin*, so in all there are five *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Also, ZA himself (ZA is usually considered a male *Sefira*) is sometimes called *Tifferet*, since *Tifferet* is his main *Sefira*, absorbing within itself the properties of all six *Sefirot* of ZA. Thus, the Creator created only five *Sefirot*:

Keter—the Creator's desire to bestow delight upon us, *Malchut*;

Hochma—the pleasure itself, which the Creator wishes to bestow upon us;

Bina—passes the pleasure from *Hochma* to ZA;

ZA—accepts the pleasure from *Bina* and passes it to *Malchut*;

Malchut—receives the pleasure.

Bina consists of two parts: her upper part, called GAR or *AVI*, is unwilling to receive the Light from *Hochma*. However, since the Creator wishes to impart this Light to the lower ones, the lower part of *Bina*, called ZAT or *YESHSUT*, receives the Light from *Hochma* and passes it to ZA. ZA does not want to receive the Light, but *Malchut* (to the extent of her correction) evokes ZA to receive the Light from *Bina* and pass it on to her. Hence, we sometimes speak of the general reception of the Light by ZA and *Malchut*, which are together called ZON (ZA and *Nukva*).

The process is such that *Malchut*—to the extent that her desires are corrected from egoism to altruism—asks ZA to receive the Light "for the Creator's sake."

To this extent, *ZA* requests the Light from *Bina*. Subsequently, *Bina* turns to and receives the requested amount of Light from *Hochma*, then passes it to *ZA*. *Malchut* (to the extent of her corrected properties) merges with *ZA* via equivalence of form (desires), and receives this Light.

Keter, *Hochma*, and *GAR* of *Bina* do not want to receive the Light, but starting with *ZAT* of *Bina* (*YESHSUT*), the desire to receive the Light so as to pass it to the lower ones appears in the *Sefirot*.

Keter	Galgalta or Metzah - forehead	"bestowal"
Hochma	Eynaim - eyes	**GE**
Bina GAR of Bina	Nikvey Eynaim - pupils	
Bina ZAT of Bina	Awzen - ear	
ZA	Hotem - nose	**AHP**
Malchut	Peh - mouth	"reception"

Malchut herself is the creature—the egoistic will to receive pleasure, to enjoy the Creator's Light. This desire is to enjoy the Creator's Light or the Creator (which is the same thing) is the essence of *Malchut*. We are parts of *Malchut*. However, if we have only egoistic desires, we feel the Creator's Light as pleasures in our world. This is a micro dose of His Light. By correcting our desires (properties), we can ascend the spiritual degrees of the Upper Worlds, and there experience the Creator's true delight.

According to the Thought of Creation, *Malchut* must receive the Light from the four previous *Sefirot*, and delight in it. Hence, *Malchut* herself consists of five parts: she receives the Light from the preceding *Sefirot* in four parts, and senses it in the fifth.

All the *Sefirot* that precede *Malchut* (excluding *Malchut*) are similar to our sensory organs, and *Malchut* is like the heart that receives from all organs: brain, sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The heart is *Malchut*, and the sensory organs are the first nine *Sefirot* that precede *Malchut*. All of these parts of *Malchut* are egoistic—they wish to receive the Light (pleasure) so as to enjoy it. With such properties, *Malchut* cannot receive more than a micro dose of the Light of our world, sensing the Creator in a manner called "this world."

However, if *Malchut*, i.e., every one of us, were to receive desires (aspirations) from Above to *bestow* delight upon the Creator to the same extent that we feel the Creator bestowing upon us, with this property (desire), man would ascend spiritually to a degree above our world. He would sense the Creator as spiritual Light, altruistic pleasure and great knowledge, attainment of supernal thoughts and the essence of existence.

SCREEN

Malchut (man) can receive the Light only in anti-egoistic desires. If such desires appear in *Malchut* as a result of the realization that egoism is her enemy (with the help of Kabbalah), to the extent of her hatred for it, *Malchut* can repel the egoistic pleasures for the sake of spiritual perfection, i.e., similarity to the Creator in her desire to please Him and act for His sake.

This ability to repel selfish reception of pleasure is called "a screen," and the repelled pleasure is called "Returning Light," and the pleasure that comes to *Malchut* is called "Direct Light." It is precisely in the repelled pleasure, meaning in the desire to bestow whole-heartedly, selflessly, that man can sense the Creator's Light and Supreme Knowledge.

Since *Malchut* (man's egoism) has to repel pleasure from the five parts of her egoism, the reflecting screen must also consist of five parts. Hence, it creates five parts of the Returning Light. The five parts in *Malchut* are called by the names of the *Sefirot* from which they receive. The five kinds of Direct Light are called *NRNHY*: *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*. The Light that emanates from the Creator descends in the following order:

Yechida

Haya

Neshama

Ruach

Nefesh

PARTZUF

After *Malchut* reflects the Light (pleasure), she decides to receive it in order to delight the Creator, because He wants *Malchut* to receive pleasure and feel Him. The reflection of all the incoming pleasure is called *Rosh* (head). The partial reception of the Light to the extent of one's anti-egoistic powers is called *Toch*

(interior). The unfulfilled desires (due to the absence of a screen on them) are called *Sof* (end) (see below diagram).

This is the structure of the soul (*Kli*, vessel, corrected altruistic desire, *Partzuf* or spiritual body). We call the parts of the spiritual structure by the names of our physiological body: head, body, and limbs. There are five parts in the *Rosh* (head): skull—*Galgalta*, eyes—*Eynaim*, ears—*Awznaim*, nose—*Hotem*, and mouth—*Peh*. There are five parts in the *Guf* (body) from the mouth—*Peh* to the navel—*Tabur.* In the limbs, there are five parts from the navel to the toes (see below diagram).

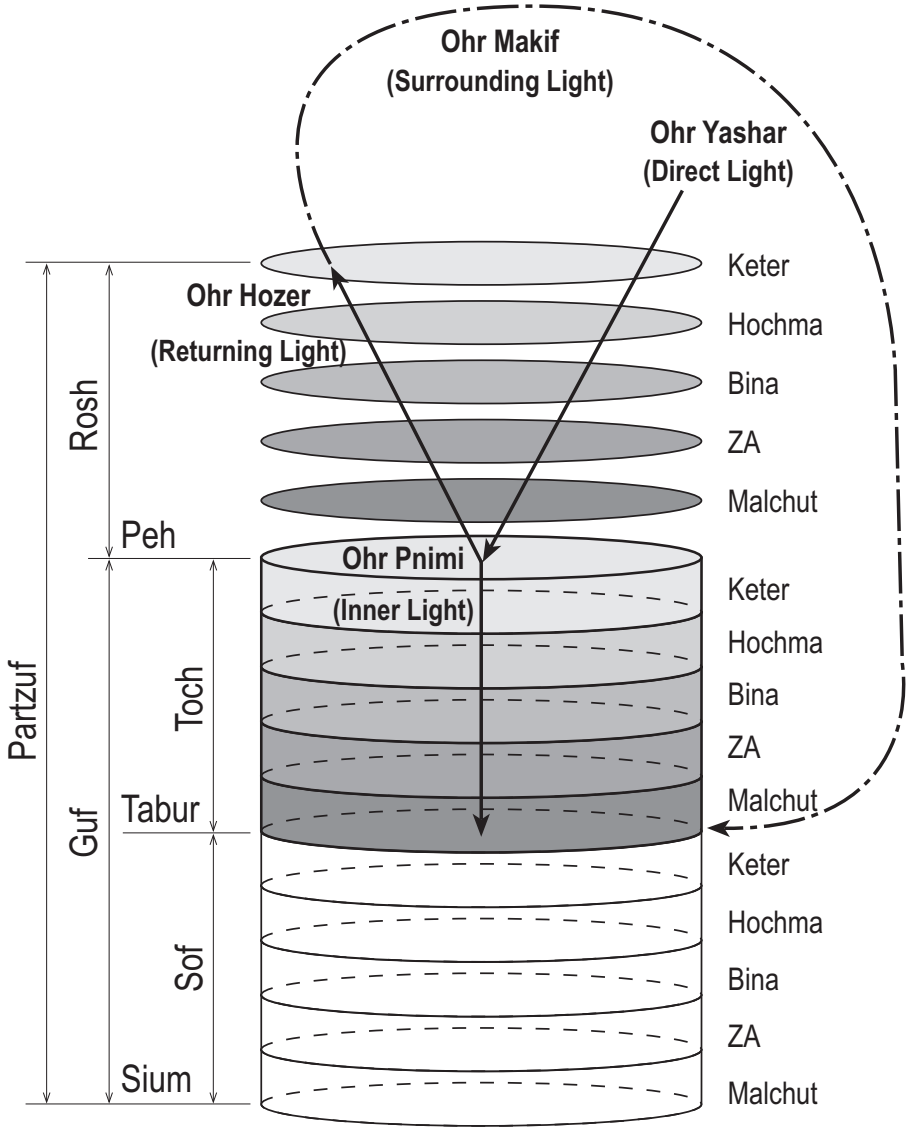

THE INVERSE PROPORTION BETWEEN THE VESSEL AND THE LIGHT

The more strength *Malchut* has to oppose egoism, the greater the Light that enters her. However, although one works on the correction of the vessel's coarser part, he receives the Light from his efforts in his subtler desires. In other words, there is an inverse proportion between the vessel and the Light: the coarser the desire (*Kli*) that is corrected, the greater the Light that enters *Malchut* (vessel); however, it enters her Upper *Kli* (desire).

Since *Malchut* (i.e., all that exists apart from the Creator) is absolutely egoistic, she can only be corrected by imparting onto herself the properties of *Bina*, the Creator—bestowal without reception. This is the property of absolute altruism, of selfless bestowal. To receive such a property (desire) is tantamount to ascending from the level of *Malchut* to the level of *Bina*.

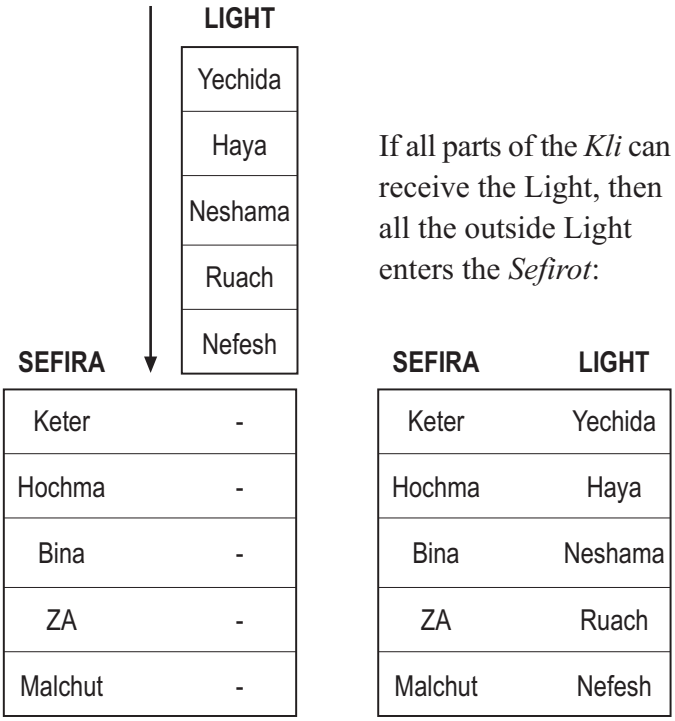

Malchut herself is the will to receive pleasure. The ban imposed on the reception of pleasure for oneself is called the **First Restriction** (*Tzimtzum Aleph*). Restriction is a ban on the reception of pleasure; however, if the receiver aspires to please the Creator and not himself, he is allowed to receive the pleasure.

Whether *Malchut* wants it or not, if she (soul, man) has egoistic desires, the Light will not enter her (be felt within her). Hence, we are utterly unable to feel the spiritual (the Creator).

THE STATE OF *KATNUT* (SMALLNESS)

Yet, *Malchut* is not the only *Sefira* that cannot receive the Light: from the world of *Atzilut* and below, *Sefirot Bina* and ZA cannot receive the Light either. This ban is called the **Second Restriction** (*Tzimtzum Bet*). In this restriction, *Malchut* seemingly ascends in her desires to *Sefira Bina*. Her desires of "reception" dominate three *Sefirot*: *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*, as *Sefirot Bina* and ZA also fall under the rule (desire) of the elevated *Malchut*.

If a *Partzuf* has no strength to oppose its egoistic desires of reception in *Sefirot Bina*, ZA and *Malchut* (*AHP*), its lower part is not entitled to receive the Creator's Light, as it will receive it selfishly, thereby causing great harm to itself. To avoid this, the upper part of the *Partzuf*—*Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* (*GE*)—separates from the lower part by *Parsa* (partition), through which the Light cannot pass downwards. Therefore, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, each degree was divided into two parts:

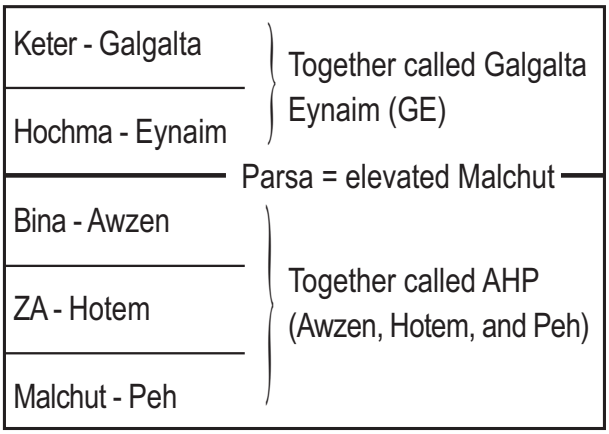

Malchut restricted the spreading of Light inside the *Partzuf*, and two parts were formed in her: *GE* receives the Light, i.e., *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* receive the Lights *Nefesh* and *Ruach*, while the other part of the *Partzuf* (*Sefirot Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*) is below the *Parsa*, and therefore does not receive the Light. Their corresponding Lights—*Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*—also remain outside of the *Partzuf*.

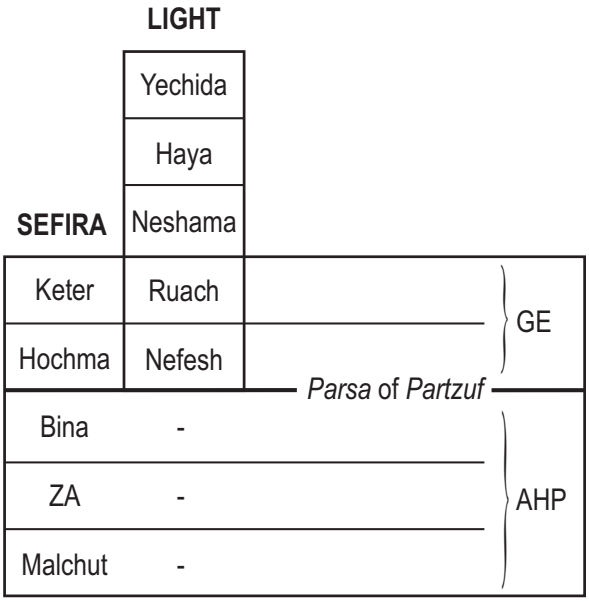

This degree (*Partzuf*) is deprived of the Light *Neshama-Haya-Yechida* and is left with just the Light *Nefesh-Ruach*, called "air." This is designated by the entry of the letter *Yod* into the word Light (*Ohr* = *Aleph-Vav-Reish*). Thus, the word Light (*Ohr*) turns into air (*Avir* = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*). This state of the vessel is called *Katnut* (small state). In other words, the ascent of *Malchut* to *Bina* is designated by the entry of the letter *Yod* into the word Light (*Ohr* = *Aleph-Vav-Reish* +*Yod* = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish* = *Avir*—air). This means that because of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, the *Partzuf* lost its Light and was left with air.

In such a state, the degree or *Partzuf* is called *Katnut* (smallness), where *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* have only the Light *Nefesh-Ruach*, as *Sefirot Bina*, ZA and *Malchut* are below the *Parsa*, and do not receive the Light. The *Parsa* prevents the Light from spreading below it. *Sefirot Keter-Hochma* and *Bina-ZA-Malchut* are designated by the following letters:

Keter	- Mem	- M
Hochma	- Yod	- I
Bina	- Hey	- H
ZA	- Lamed	- LO
Malchut	- Aleph	- E

In the reverse order, these letters form the Creator's name *Elokim*, where *GE* = letters *Mem* + *Yod* = *IM* (pronounced as *MI*), and *AHP* = letters *Aleph* + *Lamed* + *Hey* = *ELEH*. Since man attains the Creator from below upwards, the Creator's name *ELOKIM* is read from below upwards.

After the birth of all the worlds and the descent of the entire Creation to our world, all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds of *BYA* passed into the state of *Katnut*. Thus, the Light is present in *GE*, but absent in *AHP*. *AHP* of the Upper Degree fell into *GE* of the lower degree, thus forming the spiritual ladder between the Creator and man in our world, and the lowest part of the last spiritual degree of the world of *Assiya* fell into a point in man's heart. Consequently, all the intermediate degrees now exist one inside the other: *AHP* of the Upper Degree is inside *GE* of the lower one:

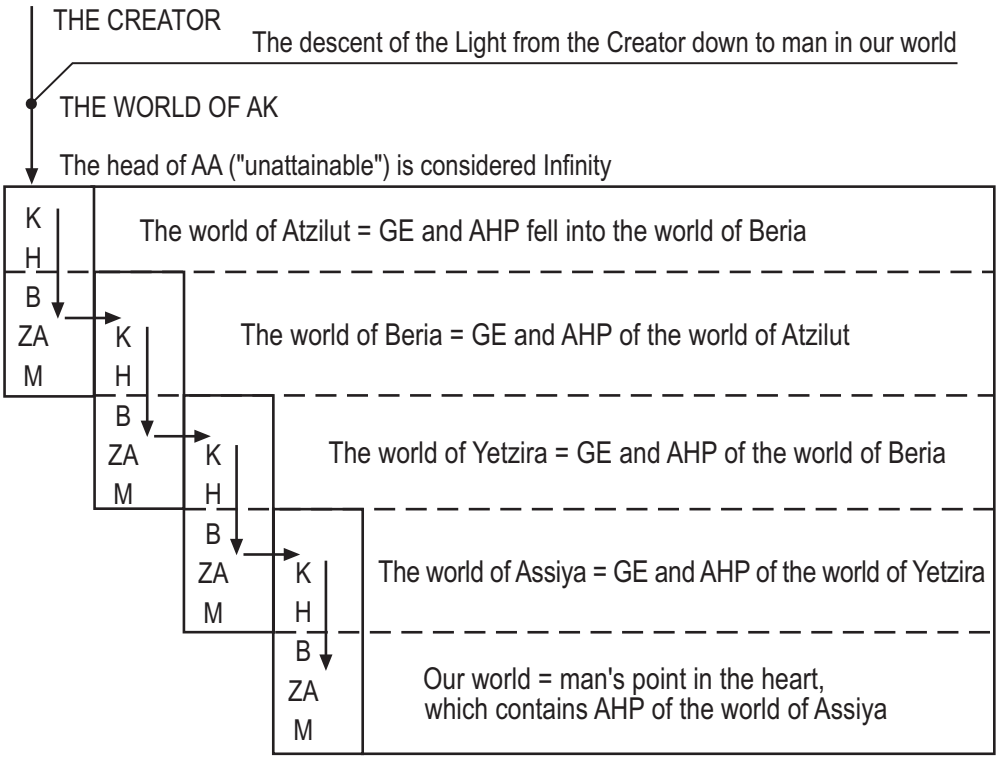

The sum of man's desires is referred to as his heart. Since the nature with which we are born is absolute egoism, man does not feel the spiritual point in his heart. However, at some point in one of his reincarnations, man begins to gradually strive towards attainment of the causes of life, its evaluation; he

yearns to attain himself, his source, just as you do right now. Man's aspiration to the Creator is precisely this aspiration to attain his origin. Man's discontent in life often helps him in this search, when there's nothing that appeals to him in his surroundings. Such circumstances are sent from Above in order for man to start feeling an empty point in his heart, and to stimulate in him the desire to fulfill it.

The Creator manifests as the altruistic property to bestow pleasure without any benefit for Himself. From this, we can understand the property of *Sefirot Keter*, *Hochma,* and *Bina* that share the Creator's property of bestowal. The only Creation is *Malchut*, the will to receive the Light (pleasure). All of us and our entire world are the lowest part of this egoistic *Malchut*.

THE STATE OF *GADLUT* (GREATNESS/ADULTHOOD)

However, if one (*Malchut*) raises *MAN*, the request for his spiritual ascent, by making efforts to free himself from egoism and by praying to the Creator for help, the Light *AB-SAG* descends from Above. It comes from the world of *AK*, brings *Malchut* altruistic strength and enables her to return from *Bina* back to her place. In other words, *Malchut*'s ability to refrain from selfish reception of pleasure is complemented with the strength to receive pleasure for the Creator's sake, to receive the Light of *Hochma* within *AHP*, for His sake.

Subsequently, *AHP*, or *Sefirot Bina*, *ZA* and *Malchut*, become reactivated, the *Partzuf* regains all five *Kelim* (parts), the letter *Yod* disappears from the word *Avir* (air), and it turns to being *Ohr* (Light). In that state, all five Lights *NRNHY* fill the *Partzuf*, the letters *MI* join the letters *ELEH*, forming the Creator's name—*Elokim*. This state is called *Gadlut* (greatness/adulthood).

ASCENT OF THE LOWER ONE TO THE UPPER ONE

As a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, the Upper *Partzuf* establishes contact with the lower one. As a result, the lower *Partzuf* can ascend to the level of the Upper One. This is the reason for the second restriction: to give the lower ones (man) the opportunity to ascend to the World of Infinity, up to the Creator Himself.

In order to establish this contact, the Upper *Partzuf* deliberately diminishes itself, descends to the level of the lower *Partzuf*, and becomes similar to the lower one in its properties. *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* willingly falls into *GE* of the lower one, as though it has no strength to receive the Light, and they become a single whole. This is similar to a scenario when a strong individual joins a society of criminals, imitating their behavior, so that after being admitted into

their circle and establishing contact with them, he will gradually influence and correct them.

How? The Upper Light (the so-called Light of *AB-SAG*) comes and provides *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* with the strength to ascend to their *GE*. And *GE* of the lower *Partzuf* ascend together with them: because they were a single whole and equivalent in their properties below, they receive the same strength to ascend.

Upon receiving the Light of *AB-SAG*, *GE* of the lower *Partzuf* become like Upper One. Therefore, we should not regard the second restriction as negative, but as help from the Upper *Partzuf*. It descends to the lower *Partzuf* by corrupting its own properties in order to equalize itself with the lower one, so as to subsequently ascend together with it to its previous level. This way, the lowest degree can ascend not only to the next Higher One, but also to the Highest Degree of the spiritual ladder.

THE LIGHT OF *ZON* IS THE LIGHT OF THE WORLDS *BYA*

Partzuf YESHSUT is *AHP* of *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, and all that it receives and passes to *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut* subsequently descends to the worlds of *BYA* and then to us.

In the small state (*Katnut*), *AHP* of *YESHSUT* falls into *ZON*. Then *YESHSUT* receives strength, and by elevating its *AHP*, it elevates *ZON*, too. By ascending to *YESHSUT*, *ZON* become similar to it and receive the Light at the level of *YESHSUT*. *ZON* can never receive the Light of *Hochma* in their own level; they can only receive the Light of *Hassadim*, the Light essential to their existence.

ZON of the world of *Atzilut* are called *Olam* (world), just as our world is also called *Olam*, for all that *ZON de Atzilut* receive can be received by man in this world. And vice versa—all that *ZON de Atzilut* cannot receive is unattainable to man, for we attain only up to the level of *ZON*, and not higher.

And since *ZON* cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* in their place, the Creator purposely initiated the second restriction, thereby lowering the *Sefirot* of *AHP* of *Partzuf YESHSUT* down to *ZON*, so that *ZON* would be able to ascend to *YESHSUT* and higher, up to the Highest Degree. Hence, it is said in the Torah (*Beresheet Barah*): "In the beginning the Creator created all in judgment (restriction), but after seeing that the world (*ZON*) cannot exist (receive all of the Light of *Hochma* prepared for it), added to judgment the property of mercy."

In the beginning, He elevated *Malchut* (the restriction of *YESHSUT*, for *Malchut* is restricted from receiving Light) to *Bina* (mercy of *YESHSUT*). As a result, *AHP* of *YESHSUT* fell into *ZON* and merged with them. However, the world (*ZON*) still cannot exist in this way. Hence, the Creator added mercy to judgment: He gave *YESHSUT* the strength to elevate its *AHP* together with *ZON* to the degree of *YESHSUT*. There, *ZON* receive the Light of *YESHSUT* and pass it down to all the worlds of *BYA* and to our world.

CORRECTION IN THREE LINES

Each of the ten *Sefirot* in turn consists of ten individual sub-*Sefirot*. *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* in each individual *Sefira*, i.e., to the full height of the ten *Sefirot*; in each particular *Sefira*, *Malchut* moves up from its place to the place of *Bina* in that *Sefira*:

(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - K
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - H
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - B
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - ZA
(M - ZA - | B - H - K) - M

The sign | signifies a particular *Parsa* in a *Sefira*, the restriction imposed on the spreading of Light. *GE* that remain in each *Sefira* above the *Parsa* are called the **"right line,"** for there is Light in them. *Malchut* that ascends to *Bina* in each *Sefira* creates the **"left line"** with her restriction on the reception of Light. A *Zivug* made on the elevated *Malchut* (only on the free, unrestricted *Kelim KHB*) allows the Light of *Hassadim* to shine in *GE*, and this reception of the Light of *Hassadim* in *GE* is called the **"middle line."**

Now let us clarify what is written in *The Zohar*: There are ten *Sefirot*: *Keter* (*K*), *Hochma* (*H*), *Bina* (*B*), *Hesed* (*H*), *Gevura* (*G*), *Tifferet* (*T*), *Netzah* (*N*), *Hod* (*H*), *Yesod* (*Y*), and *Malchut* (M). However, there are actually only five of them: *Keter* (*K*), *Hochma* (*H*), *Bina* (*B*), *Tifferet* (*T*), and *Malchut* (M). This is because *Tifferet* (alternatively called *Zeir Anpin*—*ZA*) consists of six *Sefirot*, from *Hesed* to *Yesod*. Five *Sefirot KHB-ZA-M* created five *Partzufim* in each world. In the world of *Atzilut*, these *Partzufim* are *Arich Anpin* (*AA*), *Aba ve Ima* (*AVI*), and *Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva* (*ZON*). *Keter* is called *AA*; correspondingly, *Hochma* and *Bina* are called *AVI*; and *ZA* (*Tifferet*) and *Malchut* are called *ZON*.

The essence of the seven days of creation lies in *Partzufim ZA* and *Nukva* of the world of *Atzilut*, which consist of seven *Sefirot*: *HGT-NHYM*. And from the

description of creation it transpires how *AVI* (*Hochma* and *Bina*) beget *ZON* (all of creation, including us) and elevate them to their final state during the 6,000 years. This is what *The Book of Zohar* tells us.

Rabbi Hizkiyah began his explanation of *Nukva* of the world of *Atzilut* by clarifying the birth of *ZON* from *Ima* (*Bina*), called *Elokim*. That is why he began his explanation with a rose, *Nukva* of *ZA*. At the utmost completion of its development, *Nukva* of *ZA* is called *Knesset Israel*, the Assembly of Israel. For *Nukva* consists of all the souls called *Israel*; hence, it is said that a rose is *Knesset Israel.*

There are two states in a rose (*Malchut*). The lowest, initial, small state (*Katnut*) is when *Malchut* consists only of *Sefira Keter* filled with the Light *Nefesh*, while her other nine *Sefirot* are those that fell from the world of *Atzilut* to the world of *Beria*. The other state of *Nukva* is mature, big, complete (*Gadlut*), when her nine *Sefirot* ascend from the world of *Beria* back to the world of *Atzilut*, and complete the full ten *Sefirot* of her *Partzuf*. Then, being equal to her husband, *Malchut* ascends together with him to *AVI* and clothes them, i.e., receives their Light.

The clothing of the lower, outer *Partzuf* onto the Upper, Inner One means that the lower *Partzuf* attains a part of the Upper One, ascends to a Higher spiritual level, and becomes in some way similar to the Upper *Partzuf.*

In that state, *ZA* is called Israel, from the letters *LI* (to me) and *ROSH* (head), which signifies the state of *Gadlut*, while *Nukva* is called "the Assembly of Israel," for she accumulates all of the Light of her husband, *ZA*, and passes it to the lower ones—the souls in the worlds *BYA*.

Nukva's state of *Katnut* is called "a rose among thorns," for nine of her lower *Sefirot* in the *Katnut* state fell under the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*, thereby losing the Light of the world of *Atzilut*, and becoming as dry as thorns. And in her *Gadlut* state, *Nukva* is simply called "a rose" or "the Assembly of Israel." This is why it is written, "there is a rose, and there is a rose."

The color red designates the rose's connection with the outer, impure forces, which, because of this connection, can suck the strength (Light) from it. This is because nine of her *Sefirot* are in exile below the world of *Atzilut*, in the world of *Beria*, which may already contain impure forces. And the rose also has a color white in its *Sefira Keter*, for her *Sefira Keter* is in the world of *Atzilut*, above the *Parsa*, where there is no contact with the lower, impure forces. In other words, there are two opposite states: perfection and its absence, Light and darkness. They are felt by him who merits it.

It is therefore written that just as a rose among thorns is tinged with red and white, so does the Assembly of Israel consist of judgment and mercy. This shows that in *Gadlut*, when *Malchut* is called *Knesset Israel*, even though she ascended to *Bina* and clothed her, she still retains the property of judgment, of restriction—an attitude that's tough and just, rather than compassionate. This is so because she needs a screen (a force of resistance to her egoistic desires), which, if available, enables *Malchut* to receive the Upper Light.

The law, judgment, or restriction does not allow for the reception of Light in egoistic desires. The screen, the aspiration to oppose one's egoistic desires, repels the Upper Light (pleasure) back to its source, the Creator. The Light that man sends back is called "Returning Light" or the "Light of Judgment." To the extent of the intensity of the reflective force (i.e., the force of resistance to one's will to receive), man is allowed to receive the ten *Sefirot* of the Upper Light (called the Direct Light or the Light of Mercy) for the Creator's sake, in precisely these altruistic desires. And that is why, even in its complete state, the Assembly of Israel consists of judgment and mercy, which corresponds to the red and white colors of a rose among thorns.

And this is the pool made by King Shlomo (Solomon). It is built on twelve bulls, for the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* that fell to the world of *Beria* were corrected there from twelve heads of bulls. One of their *Sefirot*, *Keter*, which remained in the world of *Atzilut*, is called the "pool" that is built on these bulls. Together, they are called thirteen rose petals. (The reason why the ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut* are divided by ten-*Hassadim* or thirteen-*Hochma* will be clarified later).

The Light of a complete *Nukva* is called *Hochma*, as it contains the Light of Wisdom, and originates from the thirteen names called "the thirteen attributes of mercy." However, the main thing that Rabbi Hizkiyah wants to tell us is that a rose among thorns is above the Assembly of Israel, because, as is well known, all that is present in *Nukva's* complete state must exist in her small state as well, albeit in diminished similarity.

Therefore, it is said that the properties of white and red in the small state correspond to the properties of mercy and judgment in the big state. And the thirteen petals of the small state, when corrected, create in *Nukva* the thirteen attributes of mercy in her big state. Later on, we will see how these thirteen attributes of *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* change her in both the small and big states.

It is written that, in the process of creation, "in the beginning *Elokim* (*Bina de Atzilut*) created" *Nukva* of ZA with thirteen words: *ET*, *SHAMAIM*, *VE'ET*,

ARETZ, *VEARETZ*, *HAITA*, *TOHU*, *VABOHU*, *VECHOSHECH*, *AL*, *PNEI*, *TEHOM*, *VERUACH* (from the word *Elokim* to the word *Elokim*). And these thirteen words signify the thirteen petals of a rose among thorns (her small state), like the pool built by the King Shlomo, which stands on thirteen (twelve) bulls (nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* without Light, as they are in the world of *Beria*, below the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*). These words are the preparation for the purification and correction of the Assembly of Israel in order to receive the thirteen attributes of mercy.

These thirteen attributes of mercy (the Light of a complete *Nukva*) surround her and shine upon her from all sides, and guard her from the touch of foreign (egoistic) desires. After all, until she is filled with all the Light of *Hochma* in her complete, big state, there's a potential for foreign, egoistic desires to cling to and feed off her.

2. Afterwards, the name *Elokim* is mentioned once more, "*Elokim* soars." Why is it mentioned in this sense? So as to bring out the five rigid leaves that surround the rose, which are called "salvation." And these are the five gates. And it is said of this secret, I will raise the "cup of salvation" (Psalms, 116:13). It is the cup of blessing. The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, just as a rose rests on five rigid leaves that correspond to the five fingers. And this rose is the cup of blessing, from the second to the third mention of the name *Elokim* (*Beresheet*, 1:2-3), there are five words: "soars," "over," "the surface," "of the waters," "and said"—in all, five words parallel the five leaves. And further, "The Creator said, 'Let there be Light'"—this Light was created. However, it was concealed and enclosed within that covenant that entered the rose and fructified it. And it is referred to as "A fructiferous tree, wherein is the seed thereof" (*Beresheet*, 1:12). And this seed exists in the mark of the covenant.

The five leaves are the five *Sefirot* of the Light reflected from *Malchut*, which she raises from the *Zivug de Hakaa.* The direct incoming Light is called five *Hassadim HGT-NH*, and it clothes into five parts (types of restrictions) of the Returning Light *HGT-NH*, called the five rigid leaves of a rose, which correspond to the text from the second (the spirit of God soared over the waters) to the third (and said) mention of the word *Elokim* in the Torah.

These words explain how the five rigid leaves (attributes) can be extracted from *Malchut* so that she will be fit for a *Zivug* and achieve the big state. And during the big state, when the five rigid leaves become five restrictions, they are defined as the five gates of reception of the Light of *Hassadim* of the Direct Light, and they are called salvation, and *Malchut* is called the cup of salvation or

the cup of blessing and good fortune, for, thanks to these leaves (restrictions), *Malchut* can receive the Light of *Hassadim*—a blessing.

The cup of blessing must rest on five fingers, for *Malchut* can receive the Light of *Hochma* only if she is clothed in the Light of *Hassadim* beforehand. Therefore, first she has to make a blessing, which means to receive the five parts (*NRNHY*) of the Light of *Hassadim* with the help of five fingers (five restrictions), and only then to receive in them (i.e., in the corrected intentions) the Light of *Hochma*.

Hence, a cup of wine must be raised with two hands, as five fingers of the right hand symbolize mercy—*Hassadim*, and five fingers of the left hand symbolize restrictions. However, having started the blessing, the cup must only be held with the five fingers of the right hand (*Hassadim*, bestowing). Otherwise, the impure forces that take from the left (receiving) side become active, as such forces cling only to a place where there is reception of Light.

What follows is the big state of *Malchut*, which corresponds to the words of the Torah: "Let there be Light." These are the five lights, in which Adam saw the world from end to end, as it is written in the Talmud (*Hagigah*, 12). But the Creator saw that there would be transgressions in the generations of the Flood and the Tower of Babel, and concealed this Light. And the following generations will then need to attain it on their own.

Previously, these five *Hassadim* were in *Yesod* of ZA, and *Malchut* received from it, and not from *Bina*, called *Elokim*, as she does now. *Yesod de ZA* is called the mark of the covenant with the Creator (after the corrections, called circumcision, are made), and five *Hassadim* received on the five restrictions are called "seed." The main force of restrictions and the impact forces of the screen, with which it repels the Light, are in *Ateret Yesod* (the end of the *Sefira Yesod*). There occurs *Zivug de Hakaa*, from which *Malchut* receives the Light. Only at the end of correction will this *Zivug* pass on to *Malchut* herself.

Therefore, during the 6,000 years, the screen that is in *Yesod*, strikes at the incoming Light (pleasure) with its five restrictions (the forces that oppose egoistic reception of pleasure), thus creating five parts of the Returning Light, and receiving in them the five parts of the Light of *Hassadim*. Subsequently, ZA passes these five Lights of *Hassadim* from his *Yesod* to *Nukva*. And these five Lights of *Hassadim* are called "seed."

3. Just as the covenant is conceived from that seed in forty-two *Zivugim*, so the secret name fills and inseminates all forty-two letters of the initial act of creation.

The name "forty-two" = *MB* = *Mem* + *Bet* = 40 + 2 is composed of *HaVaYaH* (four letters), filled *HaVaYaH* (ten letters), and doubly filled *HaVaYaH* (twenty-eight letters). In all, 4 + 10 + 28 = 42, signifying the seed that exists in the mark of the covenant that is enclosed in five *Hassadim* and five *Gevurot*.

There are two aspects to *Nukva*: her body (*Partzuf*), which emerges from *Bina*, and her *Zivug*, called the secret of unity with ZA. *Nukva* can be in two states: small or big (*Katnut* or *Gadlut* respectively). The small state is an incomplete, insufficient state of *Malchut*, but it is necessary as preparation for the big state, called the revelation of the secret, of the concealed.

And since the big state reveals the small, and all that is concealed in the small state becomes clear in the big, he who is in a state of spiritual descent does not see the reasons for his state, but it all becomes clear to him when he attains the big state that follows.

As a result of the ascent of *Malchut* of *AVI* to their *Bina*, *Partzuf* of *Bina* (*AVI*) was divided into two parts: the upper part, *GE*, acquired the name *AVI*, while the lower part, *AHP*, became known as *YESHSUT*. *AVI* are filled with the Light of *Hassadim*, since they wish for no other, and *YESHSUT* receives it from them, for, although it desires the Light of *Hochma*, it cannot receive it in view of the fact that *Malchut* of *AVI* ascended above it.

However, although there is no Light of *Hochma* in *AVI*, they do not suffer without it whatsoever, and therefore exist in perfection called *GAR*, even in the absence of the Light of *Hochma*. And even when one raises *MAN* requesting strength (i.e., the Light of *Hochma*) so as to overcome his impure desires, *AVI* do not receive the Light of *Hochma*. *YESHSUT* receives this Light and passes it to ZA. Hence, although *AVI* are below the *Rosh* of AA, and there is no Light of *Hochma* in them, they do not suffer from it.

However, *YESHSUT* suffers from the absence of the Light of *Hochma*, wishing to pass it to ZA, so it waits for *MAN* from ZA in order to ascend to *AVI* in the form of *Sefira Daat*. For when the lower ones raise *MAN*, the whole of *Bina* ascends to the *Rosh* of AA; *YESHSUT* receives the Light of *Hochma* from AA and passes it to ZON. This corresponds to the disappearance of the letter *Yod* from the word *Avir* (air), and *Avir* turns into *Ohr*—Light (*Hochma*) once more.

However, for all that, even in the *Rosh* of AA, *AVI* remain only with the Light of *Hassadim* (air). Hence, the heads of both AA and *AVI* are called "Supreme Waters" or "Heaven." This is considering the fact that *AVI* can be beneath the *Rosh* of AA; however, since it does not affect their independence and perfection, it is as if they are in the *Rosh* of AA.

Under *AVI* there is a firmament (*Parsa*) of the world of *Atzilut*, which separates the *Kelim* of bestowal from the *Kelim* of reception of the world of *Atzilut*. *YESHSUT* and *ZON* (inferior waters) that need the Light of *Hochma* stand below the *Parsa*, which is in the chest of *AA*. It is therefore said that the inferior waters weep (i.e., their state is small), for they feel the lack of *Ohr Hochma* and wish to ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA*. In no way should one confuse the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* (located within the world of *Atzilut*) that divides it into *GE* and *AHP* with the *Parsa* below the world *Atzilut* that separates it from the worlds of *BYA*.

The Light that is received above the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* is called the Light of *Mem-Bet* (*MB*). However, the seven *Sefirot* of *ZON* (six *Sefirot* of *ZA* and one *Sefira* of *Malchut*) that designate the seven days of creation cannot receive this Light of *MB*, as they are located below the *Parsa* and receive only the Light of *Hassadim* (minimal sustenance) from *YESHSUT*.

However, when the lower ones (man) raise *MAN*, and *MAD* descends from *AB-SAG* (the Light that brings *Bina* back to the *Rosh* of *AA*), *YESHSUT* receives the Light of *Hochma* and passes it to *ZON*, allowing *ZON* to ascend above the *Parsa* that stands in the *Chazeh* (chest) of *AA*, and receive the Light of *MB*.

That is why the Light of *MB* in *ZON* is manifested in thirty-two *Elokim* and ten sayings, where thirty-two *Elokim* represent *YESHSUT* in the state of ascent, when *YESHSUT* receives thirty-two streams of wisdom (*Hochma*) that create in it the thirty-two names of *Elokim*, mentioned in the act of creation: "In the beginning the Creator created," and so on.

The ten sayings are five *Hassadim*. After *ZON* have already received the Light of *Hochma* from thirty-two *Elokim*, the five Lights of *Hassadim* that were received from *AVI* (signifying *MB*) are called "Supreme Waters." We see that the five *Hassadim* in *ZON* do not turn into the name *MB* before they receive from thirty-two *Elokim*. It is therefore said that thirty-two *Elokim* and ten sayings form the name *MB*, i.e., in the state of ascent.

Hence, Rabbi Hizkiyah said that the five Lights in the saying "Let there be Light" (signifying the five *Hassadim*) are called "seed" (abundance), which *Yesod* of *ZA* passes to *Malchut*. And it is called *MB*, although essentially it is merely five *Hassadim*; however, since it has the Light of *Hochma* that was received from thirty-two *Elokim* of *YESHSUT*, it refers to *MB*.

Flower Buds

4. In the Beginning, Rabbi Shimon opened, "The flower buds have appeared on the earth" (In Hebrew the words "land" and "earth" are designated by the same word, *Eretz*; Song of Songs, 2:12). "The flower buds" refer to the act of creation; "appeared on the earth." When? On the third day, as it is said, "And the earth brought forth grass" (*Beresheet*, 1:12). "The time of singing has come" refers to the fourth day, the time of strictness, judgment, restriction. Therefore, on the fourth day, the word "lights" is written with a missing letter, which hints at the strictness of judgment and a curse. "And the voice of the turtle dove is heard" refers to the fifth day, on which it is said, "Let the waters swarm," so that they can produce offspring. However, the words "is heard" already refer to the sixth day, on which it is said, "Let us make man," who, in the future, shall put action before understanding (we shall do and we shall hear, *Naaseh ve Nishmah*). For here it is said, "Let us make man," and there it is said, "We shall do and we shall hear." "In our land" refers to the day of *Shabbat*, which is like the Land of Life, the world to come.

It is completely incomprehensible to us how *The Zohar* compares the words from *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs, 2:12) with what is written in the Torah about the first days of creation. The six days of creation symbolize the six *Sefirot HGT-NHY* of ZA, onto which all ten *Sefirot* of *Nukva* are built. This is because *Nukva* is only the will to receive (pleasure), while her entire spiritual body (desires of bestowal) consists of her husband's *Sefirot*, ZA, the altruistic properties that ZA passes to *Nukva*.

Nukva herself (the created desire to receive pleasure) is an empty place unfilled with Light (the Creator). This is because the Light can only enter a desire (*Kli*) with similar properties to itself. Therefore, to the extent of her similarity to ZA, the properties that *Malchut* receives from ZA, those corrected properties of *Malchut* turn into a *Partzuf* and become filled with the Light that corresponds to their correction.

Thus, the greater the correction that is made in a particular part, the greater the Light (of the five Lights *NRNHY*) that enters that part. The corrected and fulfilled part of *Malchut* is referred to as a "world." Here and henceforth, *The Zohar* explains how *Nukva* is built out of ZA, i.e., how the world is created.

Nukva is called "earth." Flower buds are *Sefirot*—the properties of ZA that appear and grow within *Malchut* on the third day of creation, which corresponds to *Sefira Tifferet* (*Hesed*-1, *Gevura*-2, *Tifferet*-3). In the beginning, *Malchut* was created as ZA in height; two equally great celestial bodies, the Sun—ZA and the Moon—*Malchut*. This is why we see them as being equal in size when the Moon is full. After all, all that is said with regard to man. In the initial state following her creation, *Malchut* is a point at the feet of ZA, and subsequently grows along him.

That is to say, on the third day of creation, *Malchut* was equal in height (had the same properties) to *Tifferet* of ZA. However, *Malchut* was not able to receive the Light in such a state. Hence, it is said, STRICTNESS (judgment) APPEARED ON THE EARTH (in *Malchut*); the flower buds merely appeared.

And after that, THE TIME OF SINGING HAS COME already refers to the fourth day of creation, when *Malchut* was diminished, because she complained to the Creator: "Two angels cannot wear one crown"—if *Malchut* is equal to ZA in height, she cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* from him.

The reason for that being—not having received the Light of *Hassadim* from ZA beforehand, *Malchut* cannot receive the Light of *Hochma*, as the Light of *Hochma* can only be received within the Light of *Hassadim*, by clothing the Light of *Hochma* (pleasure) into the Light of *Hassadim* (the intention to enjoy "for the Creator's sake").

And the Creator answered *Malchut*: "Go and diminish yourself." In other words: if, owing to your egoistic properties, you cannot receive the Light independently, but only from ZA, then diminish your own properties, accept His, and gradually correct yourself. Then you will be able to receive all of the Light and be like Him (ZA—the Creator). All of this is described in the Talmud (*Hullin*, 60:2), but only with the explanation provided in *The Zohar* do we stop perceiving it as a fairytale.

Then *Malchut* descended below *Yesod* of ZA, and her nine lower *Sefirot* fell below *Parsa* into the worlds of BYA. And only her *Sefira Keter* remained in *Atzilut* as a point standing below *Yesod* of ZA. And from here on, *Malchut* is built not of her own *Sefirot* (properties) that exist in BYA, but of *Sefirot* (properties) *Netzah* and *Hod* of ZA.

Although *Malchut* was previously bigger, she was not able to receive the Light for lack of the Light of *Hassadim*; now she will be smaller, but she will have the Light of *Hassadim*, in which she will be able to receive the Light of *Hochma*. Even though *Malchut* will be at a lower degree, she will be able to utilize it, for the Light of *Hassadim* repels the impure forces that cling to *Nukva*. That is the meaning of the word *Zamir* (singing/pruning). However, there is another meaning to this word that is at use here—cutting off, or pruning the impure forces from *Malchut* (rose bud).

THE VOICE OF THE TURTLE DOVE: The turtle dove is a *Sefira*, the property of *Netzah de ZA*, and the voice of the turtle dove represents *Sefira Hod* of *ZA*, the fifth day of creation. And since *Malchut* receives from *Yesod* (which receives from *Hod* that is joined with *Netzah*), such reception by *Malchut* is referred to as "the voice of the turtle dove."

Therefore, the words "is heard" refer to the sixth day, since the voice of the turtle dove (*Malchut*) is heard only with the help of the sixth day, *Yesod* of *ZA*, which includes both *Netzah* and *Hod*, and passes their Light to *Malchut*. Hence, it is said that this voice is heard in *Malchut* only from *Yesod*, on the sixth day.

The reason for this is that *Malchut* can receive the Light only from the middle line of *ZA*: either from *Yesod* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *NHY*, *Ibur* – embryo) or from *Tifferet* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *HGT* = *VAK*, *Yenika* – nursing or *Katnut* – smallness) or from *Daat* of *ZA* (she receives the degree called *HBD* = *GAR*, *Mochin* – brain or *Gadlut* – big).

LINES Left Middle Right	NAME OF DEGREE	THE LIGHT IN THE DEGREE
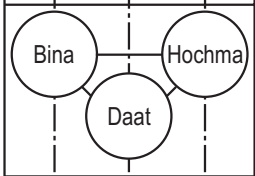	HBD (*HaBaD*)	The Light of Neshama = The light of HBD
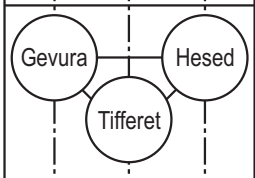	HGT (*HaGaT*)	The Light of Ruach = The light of HGT
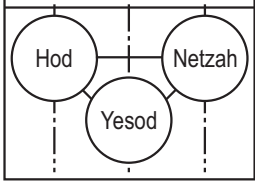	NHY (*NeHY*)	The Light of Nefesh = The light of NHY

LET US MAKE MAN, FOR IN THE FUTURE HE SHALL PUT ACTION BEFORE LISTENING: sight refers to *Sefira Hochma*, hearing refers to *Sefira Bina*. Action or deed is a property of *Malchut*. In order to correct *Malchut*, the Creator's only creation (other *Sefirot* are properties of the Creator Himself, with which He gradually created *Malchut*), a second restriction was made—*Malchut* ascended to *Bina* so as to combine her egoistic properties of reception with *Bina*'s altruistic properties of bestowal; *Malchut* ascended to *Aba-Hochma*, and *Ima-Bina* found herself below *Malchut* (*Parsa*), where she became similar in her properties to *Malchut*.

Eyes refer to *Sefira Hochma* or *Aba*. *Malchut* ascended to the level of eyes and stands at the level of pupils. *Malchut* is called *Nukva*; and *Malchut* that stands at the level of eyes is called *Nikvey Eynaim* (pupils) or *NE*. That is why there are only *Keter* and *Hochma* in the *Rosh* (head) of *AA*: *Bina* fell from the *Rosh* to the *Guf* (body) and *Malchut* is above *Bina*, that is, *Malchut* represents an action that is Above, i.e., precedes perception and understanding. This is what is meant by "we will do, and we will hear"—the act of the second restriction, limiting reception only to *GE*. Such a state is called the "return" (in one's properties to the Creator). The "complete return" occurs when *AHP* of *Malchut* gets corrected and joins *GE* at this degree.

As a result of *Malchut*'s ascent to *NE*, she changes her properties (every one of us needs only this—to ascend to the level of the Creator's properties, so that we can receive them and become like Him), and is now ready to ascend to *AVI* and receive the Light of *Haya*. The constant Light of this level is called the First Temple. That is why when receiving the Torah, Israel elected to act first and hear after. And for this reason they merited reception of the Torah (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 85:1), as the action (*Malchut*) ascended and clothed *AVI*, and thus the secret of the fifty gates of *Bina* was revealed.

Construction of the Temple does not pertain to it being built in this world, but rather to the attainment of the degree of the Temple, the degree of *AVI de Atzilut*, the Light of *Haya* (the First Temple) or the degree of *YESHSUT de Atzilut*, the Light of *Neshama* (the Second Temple).

Here *The Zohar* tells us: "it is heard" on the sixth day, for on this day (in this state) *Malchut* was corrected by means of her ascent above *Bina*, referred to as "placing action before listening," to do and to hear as during the reception of the Torah. *Malchut* in the state of ascension to *Bina* is called the Eternal Land or the Land of Life, for she inherits life from *Bina*.

"IN OUR LAND" REFERS TO *SHABBAT*, WHICH IS LIKE THE ETERNAL LAND OF LIFE: *Ima-Bina* is called the Land of Life or the Eternal Land. As a result of the act on the sixth day, meaning the Creator's action from Above (the factor of time is designated by an action of the Creator Himself, which has no causes in our world), *Malchut* ascended to *Ima* on the seventh day of creation (*Shabbat*) and became like *Ima*, for when the lower one ascends to the degree of the Upper One, they become equal (in properties). Hence, upon ascending to *Bina* and there receiving the Light of *Haya*, *Malchut* is called the Land of Eternal Life.

5. Another explanation: flower buds are the Patriarchs, who entered the mind and entered into the world to come, *Bina*, where they remain concealed. From there they emerge in concealment and conceal themselves in the true prophets. Yosef was born and they concealed themselves within him. When Yosef entered the Holy Land, he erected them there, and then "they appeared on the earth" and were revealed there. When did they appear? When a rainbow can be seen, they become revealed. At that moment, "the time of singing has come," meaning the time to eradicate all the wicked in the world. Why did they survive? Because the flower buds have appeared on (from) the earth. And if they were to be seen beforehand, they could not have remained in the world, and the world would not have been able to exist.

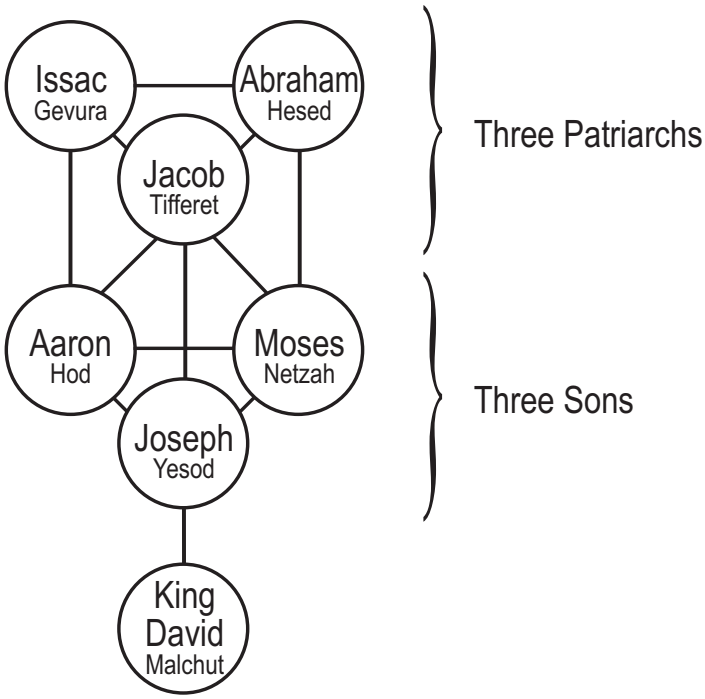

Here *The Zohar* explains the attainment of the Light of *Haya* by *ZA*. *NHY* of *ZA* are called "sons" and *HGT* of *ZA* are called "patriarchs," as well as the "turtle dove." *ZA* himself (seemingly) consists of two parts: above his *Chazeh*, his *Sefirot HGT* are called the big *ZON*; below his *Chazeh*, *Sefirot NHY* are called the small *ZON*. *Sefirot HGT* correspond to Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov, while *NHY* correspond to Moshe, Aaron and Yosef. *Malchut* corresponds to King David.

Sefirot NHY are called "prophets," and *Yesod* is called "the righteous one." Here *The Zohar* speaks of the buds that gradually grow from the small state to the big state of *ZON*: first *ZON* were small, consisting of *Sefirot NHY* with the Light of *Nefesh* and called *Ubar* (embryo). Then, with the help of *Yenika* (nursing), i.e., receiving Light from *Ima*, *ZON* grew. Accordingly, the properties of *Sefirot NHY* grew to equalize those of *Sefirot HGT*, and *Sefirot NHY* received the Light of *Ruach*.

Thus, the *Partzuf* now consists of parts of *HGT* and *NHY* with the Lights *Ruach* and *Nefesh*. Subsequently, by further reception of strength from the Upper One, and further growth, they've attained the state of *Gadlut Aleph*, the first big state. Accordingly, *Sefirot HGT* became *HBD* with the Light of *Neshama*, *Sefirot NHY* became *Sefirot HGT*, and received new *Sefirot NHY*.

Thus, the *Partzuf* grew to include three parts: *HBD*, *HGT*, and *NHY* with the Lights *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, and *Neshama*. And it is called *Gadol* (big—the first big state). Then, through further growth, they've attainted the state of maturity (*Gadlut Bet*, the second big state), and the Light of *Haya* entered *Sefirot HBD*.

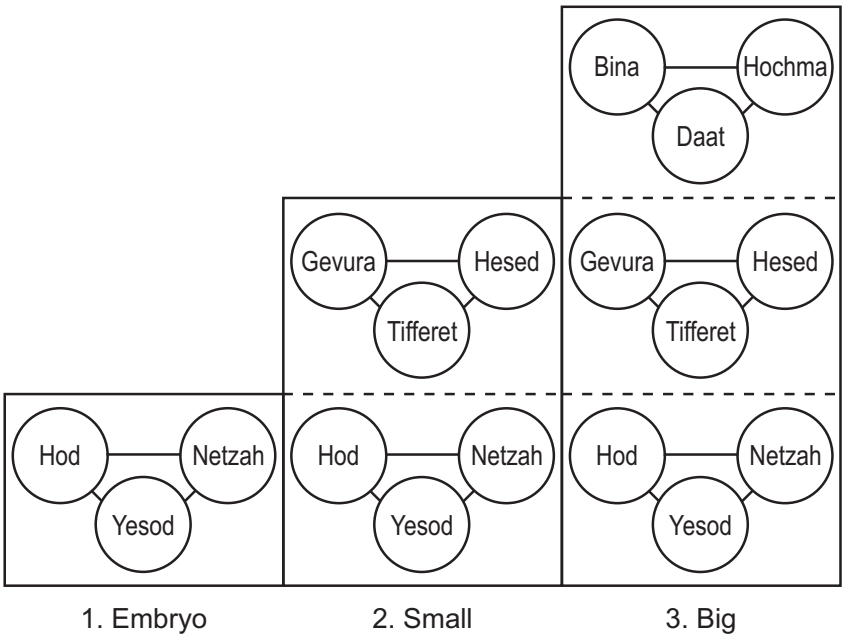

The word "growth" refers to the growth of a screen, of man's inner anti-egoistic forces and desires. This is the only difference between a big vessel and a small one, the only difference between the *Partzufim*. Their inner properties change depending on the change in the magnitude of the screen.

THESE FATHERS ENTERED THE SUPERNAL MIND AND ASCENDED INTO THE WORLD TO COME: this sentence speaks of the prenatal development of *ZA*, when he ascends to *AVI* (called "Supernal Mind" or "Supernal Thought"). *Aba-Hochma* is called "mind" or "thought," and *Ima-Bina* is called "the world to come." And together they are called "parents"—father and mother, *AVI*. It is there that creation begins—conception of *ZA* in the initial state of a spiritual embryo.

Just as an embryo in our world is completely dependent on the mother, having absolutely no desires or life of its own, and developing only thanks to her, so can every man become a spiritual embryo; if he completely relinquishes all of his desires and actions, and submits entirely to the will of the Upper *Partzuf*, he will turn himself into a spiritual embryo, just like a physiological one. The difference between a physiological embryo and a spiritual one lies in the fact that becoming a spiritual embryo requires tremendous personal desire and effort, whereas the conception of a physiological embryo depends on the parents.

As a result of its prenatal development within *Bina* (which means that one completely extinguishes all of his personal desires and thoughts, and, like an embryo, is ready to accept all that the mother gives: all of her thoughts and properties, regardless of how incomprehensible or unnatural they may seem to his essence), this embryo achieves the state of its spiritual birth.

However, this is a state of an even greater concealment of the Upper Light with regard to the embryo, for it does not yet have a screen for the reception of this Light. Hence, this state is called *Katnut*, CONCEALED IN THE TRUE PROPHETS, i.e., in *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod*, which *ZA* attains as a result of the process of nursing, reception of milk, the Light of *Hassadim* from *Ima* (mother) *Bina*.

The Light of nursing comes to the *NHY* of *ZA*, and *ZA* attains *VAK* (Light of *Nefesh-Ruach*), the state of *Katnut*. During nursing, *ZA* attains the *Sefira Yesod*, which is why it is said that Yosef is born. After the nursing period is over, *ZA* ascends to *AVI* so as to receive from them the Light of *Neshama*, and this constitutes the state of *Gadlut*, called "Yosef."

ZA consists of three parts: *HBD*, *HGT*, and *NHY*. The process of *Zeir Anpin's* growth, of acquiring a screen on his desires, begins with the purest, least egoistic part—*Sefirot HBD*, in which he first receives the Light of *Nefesh*.

Afterwards, *ZA* acquires a screen on coarser egoistic desires—*Sefirot HGT*; the Light of *Nefesh* passes from *HBD* to *HGT*, and the Light of *Ruach* enters the empty *HBD*.

Finally, *ZA* acquires a screen on the most egoistic *Kelim*—*Sefirot NHY*; the Light of *Nefesh* passes from *HGT* to *NHY*, the Light of *Ruach* moves from *HBD* to the empty *HGT*, and the Light of *Neshama* enters the empty *HBD*.

The attainment of the big state by *ZA* is called the birth of Yosef, for there emerge *Sefirot NHY*, of which the last *Sefira*, *Yesod*, is called "Yosef." However, since the Light of *Haya* is not yet present, this state is called "concealment." WHEN YOSEF ENTERED THE HOLY LAND AND ERECTED THEM THERE: that is, after the attainment of the first big state, the reception of the Light of *Neshama*, *ZA* continues to grow, cultivating his screen until the Light of *Haya* enters it.

In such a state, *Malchut* of *ZA* separates from him into an independent *Partzuf*, called THE HOLY LAND, as the Light of *Haya* is called holiness. It is therefore said that Yosef entered or, rather, ASCENDED TO THE HOLY LAND in the *Gadlut* state of *ZA*. *ZA* and *Nukva* became equally big in the state of *PBP* (*Panim be Panim*, face to face), which is the state that determines the *Zivug* between *ZON*.

AND YOSEF ERECTED THEM THERE: the Light of *Haya* or *Hochma* fills the *Partzuf* only during a *Zivug*, when *ZON* (*ZA* and *Nukva*) make a *Zivug* together. And this Light remains in *Malchut*, for only she (her screen) can reveal it. Just as *AVI* are *GAR de Bina*, *YESHSUT* is *ZAT de Bina* and the Light of *Hochma* is found only in *YESHSUT*, the relationship between *Malchut* and *ZA* works along the same principle, and the Light of *Hochma* is revealed only in *Malchut*. Therefore, only when the Light of *Hochma* fills *Nukva* can it be said that the Light has been revealed, and until that happens, it is considered to be concealed.

WHEN ARE THEY SEEN? WHEN A RAINBOW CAN BE SEEN IN THE WORLD: *ZA* is called a "rainbow," the world is *Malchut*, and their union is called a "rainbow within a cloud." THE TIME HAS COME TO ERADICATE ALL THE WICKED FROM THE WORLD—as the number of the wicked grows, as more impure forces cling to *ZON*. The impure forces can influence *ZON* so greatly that the entire world will be brought to ruin, as has happened in the

time of the Flood. If so, there is no salvation for man other than through the revelation of the Upper Light, the Light of *Haya*. That is why *The Zohar* tells us that the world is saved by the flower buds appearing from the earth, meaning that the Light of *Haya* eradicates man's impure forces from the earth (his desires, *Malchut*), and they cannot cling to her and hinder man.

AND HAD THEY NOT APPEARED, THERE WOULD BE NO SALVATION FOR THE WORLD—for initially *Nukva* is built as big as ZA. This is called the "two great celestial bodies," when *Malchut* is on the same degree as ZA, but stands behind him, back to back, unable to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the absence of the Light of *Hassadim*. This is why *Malchut* complains about lacking the Light of *Hassadim* and thus not being able to receive the Light of *Hochma*.

Even though the moon grows as big as the Sun, it cannot shine independently, but only if the Sun (ZA) gives it Light. And since *Malchut* lacks the Light of *Hochma*, such a state is called reversed (*Achor*-back). And a *Zivug* cannot take place in the position of back-to-back (*Achor be Achor*).

However, after *Nukva* is born and grows (receives the properties) from the *Guf* of ZA, as it is written in the Torah (*Beresheet* 2) that Chava (Eve) was born from the body of Adam, she becomes equal to ZA and enters into a *Zivug* face-to-face (*Panim be Panim*, *PBP)* with him.

Also, *Nukva* still retained the previous Light. Moreover, precisely because she felt the lack of the Light in her initial state, *Malchut* received the Light of *Haya* specifically into her previous sufferings. Similarly, man can feel pleasure only and precisely because of his previous suffering.

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us that had the flower buds not appeared in *Malchut* during her *Katnut*, when she was standing behind ZA, she would not have been able to receive the Light of *Haya* in her state of *Gadlut*, as she would not have the *Kelim* (desires) to receive this Light. Every new creation is founded on the sensation of darkness, as it is said: the Creator emanates the Light out of Himself, and creates darkness out of nothingness. Man's sensation of darkness signifies his readiness to receive the Light.

6. Who sustains the world and evokes the revelation of the Patriarchs? It is the voice of the children engaged in the Torah. The world exists thanks to these children. Hence, it is said: "We will make for you pendants of gold" (*Shir HaShirim*, 1:11). These are the children, youngsters of the world, as it is said: "Make two cherubs of gold" (*Shemot*, *25:18*).

The Light of *Ruach* is called "the children of the world," and the *Zivug* in this state (*PBA*—face to back) is referred to as THE VOICE OF THE CHILDREN ENGAGED IN THE TORAH. And it is also called "threads of gold" and "two cherubs of gold." Before *Nukva* grew, the impure forces had the power to destroy the world. However, precisely because *Nukva* grows from *ZA*, the right and left lines merge in her as one, the RAINBOW (right line) shines WITHIN A CLOUD (left line), and the Light of *Haya* can enter *Malchut*. Without this Light, the world can be destroyed as during (in the state of) the Flood.

SO WHO IS IT THAT SUSTAINS THE WORLD: who causes the appearance of the Light of *Haya*? They are precisely the children engaged in the Torah. The "children" designate the Light of the opposite side, the Light of *Ruach*, the sensation of deficiency of the Light of *Haya*, for a "child" alludes to the process of nursing. The children of the house of *Raban* (*Tinokot Shel Beit Raban*)—are the Light of *Haya*, as the word "*Raban*" derives from "*Rav*" (big, *Haya*). They did not transgress, i.e., did not use their *AHP* (egoistic and yet uncorrected desires, for the word "children" designates the small state), their will to receive.

Who Created These

7. In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes and you shall see, WHO HAS CREATED THESE" (*Yeshayahu*, 40:26). Raise your eyes where? To the place on which all eyes depend. Who is He? He is the One who opens eyes, *Malchut de Rosh de Arich Anpin*. And there you shall see that *Atik* is concealed and within it lies the answer to the question: WHO HAS CREATED THESE? WHO? *MI*, *ZAT de Bina*, the Highest Edge of Heaven, and everything depends on Him. And since the question lies in Him, and He is concealed, He is called *MI*. For *MI* is like when the question "Who?" is asked, as there are no questions above Him. The question is found only at the Highest Boundary of Heaven.

In the beginning, Rabbi Elazar opened, "Raise your eyes on high and look at who has created these." Raise your eyes to what place? To the place, where all eyes depend on Him. And who is He? He is the One who opens eyes. And there you shall know. It is the concealed *Atik*, within which lies the question: who has created these? And who is He? *MI* = who. He is called by the edge of the Supernal Heaven, where everything belongs to him. Since there lies a question, and He is on a concealed path and does not reveal Himself, He is called *MI*. And because there is no question Above, this edge of Heaven is called *MI*.

In Hebrew, the word *MI* means the question "Who?" as well as the preposition "from." Since Kabbalah tells us about the property of our world's roots, one spiritual object can sometimes reveal an entire range of associations, properties, and categories. In the same way, here the word *MI* is a part of the word *ElokIM*, where the last two letters form the word *MI*. However, at the same time, they carry a variety of additional charges and meanings.

Rabbi Elazar wishes to explain how Heaven and earth were created. Naturally, just like the whole of the Torah, *The Zohar* refers only to spiritual degrees and categories, and does not deal with explanations of the physical

origin and development of our world. Moreover, it is impossible to understand the true origin and development of our world without attaining the spiritual world. However, whatever one does attain, he is unable to pass these attainments to others. Hence, even after he attains the full essence of our nature's origin and its actions, he will still be unable to describe it in a form that will be comprehensible to others.

Heaven and earth constitute the seven days of Creation—*ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*. However, if it is a part of *Atzilut*, then why is it described as *BARAH* (created, from the word *Beria*) and not *ATZIL* (emanated, from the word *Atzilut*)? Yet, precisely herein lies the opportunity to open our eyes to the process of creation.

Rosh (head) *de AA* has only *Keter* and *Hochma*. *Malchut* standing below the eyes, below *Sefira Hochma*, is called "the opening of the eyes." After all, only when she opens up does the Light of *Hochma* pass through her from *Rosh de AA* to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*.

It is therefore said that the eyes should be raised up TO THE PLACE ON WHICH ALL EYES DEPEND, for the Light of *Hochma* can fill all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* only when *Malchut* opens up in *Rosh de AA*. Hence, the entire secret of the opening lies in *Malchut*. The Light of *Hochma* (the Light of Wisdom) is the Light of the eyes. It comes out of the eyes, and only in this Light can one see.

The word *BARAH* signifies *BAR* (beyond), meaning outside the world of *Atzilut*. This is because *Bina* herself came out of the *Rosh* of *AA* and stood lower, outside the *Rosh* of *AA*, giving birth to, that is, precisely *BARAH* (creating) *ZON*.

In Hebrew, every notion has several possible names that determine the specific action that takes place. Here, the birth of *ZON* occurred by means of *Bina*'s exit and descent from her degree; hence, the birth of *ZON* is called *BARAH*, from the word *BAR* – outside (of one's degree).

The entire creation consists of only ten *Sefirot*. Yet, since every *Sefira* includes all the others, and since all of them are interconnected, every world, degree, or *Sefira* includes the properties of all the others, and consists of their parts. Therefore, every *Sefira* consists of *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*, each of which in turn consists of five. In all, 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 *Sefirot* or steps of the ladder that separate us (the lowest) from the Creator (the highest).

The property of *Bina* herself is not to receive the Light of *Hochma*. Yet, in order to pass the Light of *Hochma* to *ZA* and *Malchut*, who desire to receive it for

the Creator's sake, since receiving the Light of *Hochma* is the goal of creation, *Bina* allocates within herself a certain part called *ZAT de Bina* or *YESHSUT*, which receives the Light of *Hochma* from *Partzuf Hochma* and passes it to *ZON*. The main part, *Bina* herself, is called *GAR de Bina*. The part of *Bina* that receives the Light of *Hochma* is called *ZAT de Bina*.

Therefore, if *Bina* exits the *Rosh* and falls into the *Guf*, as it occurs in the second restriction, this has no effect on *Bina* herself, for she does not suffer from lack of the Light of *Hochma* whatsoever, as though she had never left the *Rosh*. This refers only to the Upper part of *Bina*, *GAR de Bina*, which has no desire for *Hochma*. This part is called *AVI*, and it spans from the *Peh* (mouth) down to the *Chazeh* (chest) of *AA*.

However, *ZAT de Bina*, which wants to receive *Hochma* for *ZON*, just as a mother who wants to receive for her children, feels the exit from the *Rosh* of *AA* to its *Guf*, for there it cannot receive the Light of *Hochma*, but only the Light of *Ruach-Nefesh*, *VAK* of the Light. This part of *Bina* is called *YESHSUT*, and it spans from the *Chazeh* down to *Tabur* of *AA*.

ZON of the world of *Atzilut*, which receive from *YESHSUT*, span from *Tabur* to the end of the feet of *AA*, on the *Parsa*. Thus, there are two *Parsaot* (plural for *Parsa*): one is in the world of *Atzilut*, separating the *Sefirot* of "bestowal" (*GE*) from the *Sefirot* of "reception" (*AHP*). This *Parsa* is located at the chest of *AA*. The second *Parsa* is located between *Atzilut* and *BYA*. However, we can also say that every *Partzuf* has its own *Parsa*, which separates the desires of bestowal from the desires of reception.

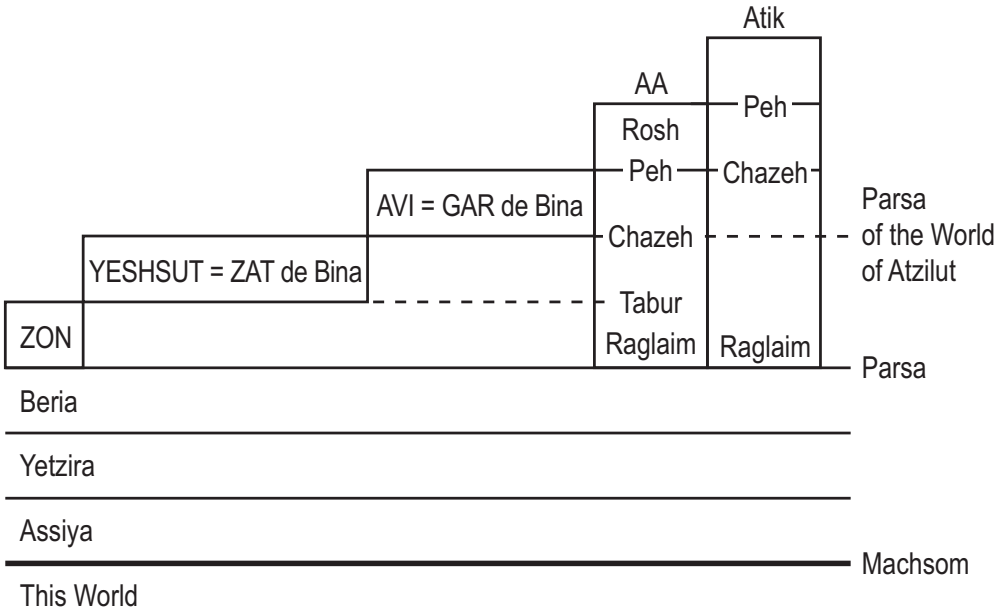

Although *GAR de Bina* are positioned below the *Rosh* of *AA*, they are considered not to have left it, as they do not feel it, that is, they do not want *Hochma*; they wish only to bestow, and he who wants only to bestow feels perfection wherever he is. All the *Partzufim* and their parts that have nothing to do with reception of *Hochma* (*Keter, Hochma,* and *GAR de Bina*) separate themselves with a *Parsa* from the remaining parts of the world of *Atzilut* that want *Hochma* (*ZAT de Bina* and *ZON*).

The "existence of the question" that *The Zohar* speaks of signifies the sensation of the lack of Light of *Hochma*, the desire for it. This is felt by *ZON*, which is why they raise *MAN*. *MAN* is a request of the lower one to receive the Light of *Hochma* from the Upper One for the Creator's sake. It is called a "question," for a question is similar to prayer or request. *The Zohar* tells us that the question exists only in *YESHSUT*, meaning that it receives *MAN* from below, from *ZON*.

And before that, it is said of *YESHSUT*: *BARAH* (from the word *Beria* = *BAR*), something that exists outside of its degree. What did it do? *BARAH* (created) *ELEH* (*AHP*, *ZON*). However, it created them as headless as itself. For the word *BARAH* (beyond) indicates the lack of a *Rosh* (*Kelim* of the world of *Atzilut*).

ZAT de Bina that wait for an "answer to their question," for the Light of *Hochma*, are called *MI*. It is said *BARAH* in regards to them because they exited and descended independently from the level of the *Rosh de AA* to below its *Chazeh*. These are *ZAT de Bina*, called *YESHSUT* or *MI*, the "Highest Edge of Heaven," for Heaven refers to *ZA*, who receives from *YESHSUT*. *Malchut* is called "earth."

ZAT de Bina is called "firmament."

ZA is called "Heaven."

Malchut is called "earth."

All that exists below *YESHSUT* (*ZON* and the worlds of *BYA*) receives from it. Hence, it is considered that *YESHSUT* revives the whole of creation: whatever it has, they will receive it, too. However, their *MAN* determines whether or not *YESHSUT* will have something to bestow upon them.

THERE LIES NO QUESTION in *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*). They do not receive *MAN* for the reception of *Hochma*, and they never feel any lack of *Hochma*, neither for themselves nor so as to give to others. Only *ZAT de Bina* or *YESHSUT* are created and exist for the question, for the reception of *MAN* (*ZON's* plea). *YESHSUT* raises *MAN* that is received from *ZON* to the *Rosh* of *AA* and receives

the Light of *Hochma* from there. *YESHSUT* is called the "Highest Edge of Heaven," for *ZA*, called "Heaven," receives from it.

8. But there is another one below, called MA. What is in common between this one and that one? The first one is concealed and is called MI. There exists a question in it for man to inquire and research in order to see and know all the degrees, down to the end of all degrees, which is *Malchut*. That is MA. What does MA mean? MA (what) do you know? What do you see? What do you research? After all, everything is initially concealed.

Being in a state of *Zivug PBP* with *ZA*, *Malchut* is also called *MA* (like *ZA*) and is considered the lowest edge of Heaven, for she concludes all the degrees and *Atzilut*. *ZA*, called "Heaven," stands between *Malchut* (lowest edge of Heaven) and *YESHSUT* (Highest Edge of Heaven).

MAN MUST INQUIRE, SEE, RESEARCH—only if one who is below *ZON* raises *MAN* (his prayer) to *ZON* will they raise this *MAN* higher. For *ZON* themselves are corrected by the Light of *Hassadim*, and do not want to receive the Light of *Hochma*. And only if a request comes from below, from man, will *ZON* ascend to *YESHSUT* and ask for the Light of *Hochma*. *YESHSUT* proceeds to raise *MAN* to *AVI*, and *AVI* raise *MAN* to *AA*: *AVI* ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA*, where there is the Light of *Hochma*, where they make a *Zivug* on this Light.

A *Zivug* of *AVI* is called "*Aba* and *Ima* looking at each other." To "look" means to receive the Light of *Hochma* (to "hear" means to receive the Light of *Hassadim*). As a result of *AVI's* ascent to the *Rosh* of *AA*, *Bina* starts receiving *Hochma* for *ZON*. All the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* are corrected by the Light of *Hassadim* in such a way that they do not want to receive the Light of *Hochma* for themselves.

He who is able to raise his request (*MAN*) to compel *ZON* to ascend to *YESHSUT*, whereupon *YESHSUT* and *AVI* will ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA* together so as to receive the Light for him—such a person is not simply considered a mere "person," but a "righteous"!

The request that one raises to *ZON* is called one's "soul," for a soul is a vessel, a desire filled with Light. However, the Light inside a vessel is determined by the desire. Hence, the spiritual desire, the intention to act for the Creator's sake is called "a soul." Naturally, if one does not yet have such an intention, he does not have a soul.

The spiritual world is a world of only desires without any corporeal shells. The reader must revise his ideas about the soul, body, connections

between worlds, etc., and correct himself continually so as to properly interpret these categories.

So then, man's corrected desires are called "the souls of the righteous." These souls of the righteous ascend to *ZON* in the form of *MAN* and compel *ZON* to ascend to *YESHSUT*. The presence of *ZON* creates in *YESHSUT* a desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*. This compels *YESHSUT* (*ZAT de Bina*) to ascend to the *Rosh* of *AA* and there join with *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) into one *Partzuf*. And then *AVI* (*AB* + *SAG* = *AA* + *AVI*) look at each other, exchange the Light *of Hochma* between them, and pass it down to *ZON*.

Without a request from below, *AVI* will be satisfied with the Light of *Hassadim* and will not "look" at one another. Only the request of their children (*ZON*) compels *AVI* to face each other (*Panim be Panim*) and make a *Zivug*. In this *Zivug*, *Ima-Bina* receives the Light of *Hochma* for the children, *ZON*, from *Aba-Hochma*.

However, this occurs BECAUSE MAN INQUIRED—man's question signifies the raising of *MAN* so as to make *AVI* look at each other, make a *Zivug* together, and let *Ima* receive *Hochma* from *Aba* for the man that is elevating his soul. The descending Light of *Hochma* is called knowledge or wisdom (*Daat*), for *ZON* ascend to *YESHSUT* + *AVI*, and there stimulate a *Zivug* on the Light of *Hochma*, called "knowledge." Hence, it is written in the Torah: "And Adam came to know his wife."

Thus, to COME TO KNOW means to receive the Light of *Hochma*. *ZON* that stand in *AVI* and compel *AVI* to receive the Light of *Hochma* are called *Daat* (knowledge) or the *Sefira Daat*.

Yet, *Daat* is not an additional *Sefira*. There are only ten *Sefirot*. However, in order to designate the fact that *ZON*'s request for the Light of *Hochma* is inside the ten *Sefirot* of *Partzuf AVI*, we say that *AVI* have a *Sefira* called *Daat*. In this case, instead of the regular count of *Sefirot*: *KHB-HGT-NHYM*, we count the *Sefirot*: *HBD-HGT-NHYM*. The *Sefira Keter* is omitted, and we only mention the *Sefira Daat* after *Hochma-Aba* and *Bina-Ima*. FROM ONE DEGREE TO ANOTHER signifies the passing of the Light of *Hochma* from the *Sefira Daat* of the degree of *AVI* to the degree of *ZA*. And TO THE END OF ALL DEGREES—from *ZA* to *Malchut*, which is called "the end of all degrees."

When the Light is present in *Nukva*, she is called *MA*, and the Light that she passes to the lower ones is called 100 blessings. There are several states in *Nukva*, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*. We need to know them, for all that we receive,

we receive from her alone. In addition to all stages of growth from a point to a full *Partzuf*, a grown *Malchut* has two big states.

Malchut attains the first big state when she receives the Light of *Neshama*. This occurs when, due to her *MAN*, *AVI* ascend one degree from their permanent place to the *Rosh* of *AA*. However, although *YESHSUT* ascends from its permanent place between the chest (*Chazeh*) and the navel (*Tabur*) of *AA* to where *AVI* used to be (between the mouth and the chest of *AA*), it still remains clothed onto the *Guf* of *AA*, even though it merges into one *Partzuf* with *AVI*.

And since *YESHSUT* now clothes the place from the mouth (*Peh*) to the *Chazeh* of *AA* from the outside, *YESHSUT* becomes like the *Rosh* of *AA*, as it merged with *AVI* in the *Rosh* of *AA* as one *Partzuf*. Also, *YESHSUT* ascends from under the *Parsa* of *Atzilut* in the *Chazeh* of *AA* and stands above it, where the *Rosh* of *AA* shines.

That is why *YESHSUT* passes the Light of *Hochma* to *ZA*, and *ZA* passes it on to *Malchut*, who fills herself with this Light, called "100 blessings," for, having received this Light, *ZON* can ascend to the permanent place of *YESHSUT* between the *Chazeh* and the *Tabur* of *AA*.

By ascending to this degree, *Malchut* becomes like *Ima*. In the spiritual world, the degree of a spiritual object determines all of its properties. Even in our world, the degree of man's inner development alone determines his properties, thoughts, and desires. And since *Ima* equals 100, *Malchut*, too, is called "100," so as to emphasize the fact that *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*.

Now *Malchut* is similar to *MI* just as *YESHSUT* was prior to raising *MAN* and passing the Light. This is because she now clothes the place of the small state of *YESHSUT* from the *Chazeh* to the *Tabur* of *AA*, and stands under the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*, below which the Light from the *Rosh de AA* cannot pass.

That is why *Malchut* gained no Light, for the sake of which she had raised *MAN*. Nevertheless, *Malchut* gains by receiving the properties of *Ima-Bina*, for she ascended to *YESHSUT*, called *Ima*.

Hence, the Light that *Malchut* received is only considered *VAK* of the *Gadlut* state, the first state of *Gadlut*. *Malchut* will not be able to receive the *GAR* of *Gadlut*, the second *Gadlut*, the Light of *Hochma* (*Haya*), as long as she is under the *Parsa* of *Atzilut* in the *Chazeh* of *AA*. (How *Malchut* receives *GAR* of the *Gadlut* is explained in items 11 through 15 in the next article).

The Zohar calls *Nukva* that ascended to *YESHSUT* by the word *MA* (from the word *Me'ah*—100), for by means of this ascent, *Malchut* gained the properties of *Bina*—100 blessings. And she gained the sensation of the question—she feels that it has only *VAK* (a half, a part of the big state). Put differently, she feels the desire for its second half, *GAR*. Nevertheless, she gained a part of the big state, *VAK* of *AVI*.

Thus, *Nukva* became like *YESHSUT* before it raised *MAN*, but gained the properties of *Bina*, 100 blessings. And since this is *VAK* of the Light of the big state, she feels a deficiency (a question), just as *YESHSUT* felt prior to raising *MAN*—at its place, when *YESHSUT* was in the *Katnut* state. When it ascended to *AVI*, *AVI* ascended to *AA*, and *ZON* ascended to the place of *YESHSUT*. *AVI* shine from the *Rosh* of *AA* on the place of *YESHSUT*. *ZON* that stand there now feel the Light that they receive from *AVI*, and realize that this is merely a part of the Light, which generates another question within them.

9. This is the secret defined by the word MA: WHAT do you testify and WHAT is equal to you? When the Temple was destroyed, a voice came forth and said, "What (MA) shall I indicate to you, and what (MA) shall I equate to you?" (*Eicha*, 2:13). However, here MA means, "What is the covenant, testimony, what (MA) is equal to you?" For every day testifies to you the days of past, as it is said: "This day I call onto Heaven and earth to witness for you" (*Devarim*, 30:19). WHAT is equal to you? It is said: "I adorned you with holy adornments and made you ruler of the world." And it is said: "Is this the city that men called the quintessence of beauty?" (*Eicha*, 2:15). I have called you, "Jerusalem, a city rebuilt by me" (*Tehilim*, 122:3). "What shall I equate to you?" (*Eicha*, 2:13). Just as you sit here, so He sits Above in Supernal Jerusalem. Just as the holy nation does not enter into you, so I swear to you that I will not enter Above until I enter you down below. And this is your consolation—that I will equate you with this degree, with Supernal Jerusalem, which is the Supernal *Malchut* (Hebrew – Kingdom) that rules over all. But for now you are here, and "Your misery is great, like the sea" (*Eicha, 2:13*). And if you say that there is no existence or salvation for you, then WHO (MI) shall heal you (not Who? with a question mark, but the Upper Force called WHO is what will heal you), that is, that same concealed Upper Degree, which is called MI, *Bina* that revives all, shall heal and revive you.

In other words, *MA* and *MI*, besides being translated as WHAT and WHO, also designate the names of spiritual objects that perform actions described in *The Zohar*. The destruction of the Temple was the consequence of Israel's

transgression of egoistic reception, because they did not want to raise *MAN* for the *Zivug* of *ZON*, and instead wished to receive the Light into the impure forces, their egoistic desires, called "other gods" (*Elokim Acherim*). There is only one Creator.

There is but one property for the Creator, and we know it—the property of bestowal. Drawing closer to this property is defined as working "for the Creator's sake." Any other desire can only mean distancing from this property and from the Creator, for except for this property or its opposite (rather, its absence), nothing else exists in creation. Hence, man's inner movement towards the property of "reception" pushes him away from the Creator, and is therefore called "worshipping other gods." As a result, *ZON* stopped their *Zivug*, the 100 blessings disappeared from *Nukva*, and the Temple was ruined.

The First Temple—*Malchut* ascended to *AVI* and there receives the Light of *Haya*. Its ruin is the fall of *Malchut* to the level of reception of the Light *GAR* de *Ruach*.

The Second Temple is *Malchut's* ascension to *YESHSUT* and the reception of the Light of *Neshama*. In its ruin, *Malchut* fell to the level of reception of the Light of *Nefesh* in her *Sefira Keter*, while the other nine *Sefirot* fall below the *Parsa*. Such a state is called *Galut*—exile from the spiritual, from the world of *Atzilut*. The single *Sefira Malchut* in the world of *Atzilut* remains as a point below the *Sefira Yesod* of *ZA*.

ZA is called "six days" and *Malchut* is called *Shabbat* (Saturday). Yet, is *Malchut* really bigger than *ZA*, as *Shabbat* is bigger (higher) than weekdays? The worlds of *BYA*, including our world, receive the Light, their life-force, from *Malchut*. The "six weekdays" are a state of *ZON* when *ZA* and *Malchut* are unconnected to one another. *Shabbat* is a state of *ZON* when *Malchut* joins with *ZA*, a *Zivug* takes place between them, and *Malchut* receives the Light from *ZA* and passes it on to the whole world.

Since the state of *Malchut* when she passes the Light received from *ZA* down to the world is important to us, by measuring our states in accordance with what we receive from *Malchut*, we define the extent of maximal reception as *Shabbat*. (Naturally, this has nothing to do with our calendar: weekdays and *Shabbat* are spiritual states that transcend time).

AND A VOICE CAME FORTH AND SAID: "EACH AND EVERY DAY MY COVENANT HAS BEEN IN YOU SINCE THE DAYS OF PAST"—here, *The Zohar* speaks of the Light of *VAK* that *ZON* receive in the state of *Gadlut*, which *Nukva* receives as *MA*. This Light is called "the past days" (*Yamim*

Kadmonim). Therefore, it is written in the Torah (*Devarim*, 4:32): "Ask now of the past days, which were before you, since the day the Creator created man, from one edge of Heaven unto the other, whether there has been any such thing as great as this?..."

The Light of *VAK* of the *Gadlut* state is called in *ZON* "the past days," for it is *VAK* of *AVI*. *YESHSUT* is *ZAT* of *AVI*. *ZAT* is an abbreviation of the words *Zayin* (7), and *Tachtonot* (lower, meaning the lower *Sefirot*). *ZAT* of *AVI*, meaning the seven *Sefirot* of *Partzuf AVI*, is *YESHSUT*. These *Zayin* are seven days, the seven primary *Sefirot* of *AVI* with regard to *Zayin,* the seven days or the seven *Sefirot* of *ZON*.

Hence, it is written, "MY COVENANT EACH AND EVERY DAY BY HEAVEN AND EARTH" (*Devarim*, 4:26). These words of the Torah speak of the *Zivug* of *ZON* called "Heaven" (*ZA*) and "earth" (*Nukva*). "The past days" or "Supernal Days" constitute *YESHSUT*, and "the low days" or "the present days" are *ZON*.

In this sentence, the Creator cautions that the *Zivug* of *ZON* needs to be constantly realized and maintained. Otherwise, the Creator warns that "you will disappear from the earth." And this is the meaning of the Creator's warning about the 100 blessings: they should be guarded and constantly created.

For these 100 blessings that *Nukva* receives from *ZA* every day in the *Zivug* of *MA* between them take place during the ascent of *ZON* to *YESHSUT*, when *ZA* becomes like *YeshS* (*Israel-Saba*) and *Nukva* becomes like *T* (*Tvunah*). *YESHSUT* stands for *Israel-Saba* and *Tvunah*. And then, the Light that *Nukva* receives from *ZA* becomes 100 blessings, like the Light in *Tvunah*.

It is said about it, "the city that united with her," for *Nukva*, called "city," merged with *Tvunah*, and *Nukva* became like *Tvunah*. And *Nukva* receives in *Tvunah* the Light of *Tvunah*, called "holy adornments," and then, like a crown of beauty, she surrounds the earth and receives power over the earth.

However, as a result of Israel's transgressions (the rise of impure desires over the pure ones), the Temple is ruined (the Light disappeared), and Israel is banished from its land (fell to lower degrees). This led to the distancing of *Nukva* (all creatures) from *ZA* (the Creator), for the lower nine *Sefirot* (desires) of *Nukva* fell to the impure forces (became egoistic). In other words, the nine pure, altruistic desires (forces) lost their screen and became egoistic, and *Nukva* herself turned into a point that stands below the *Sefira Yesod* of *ZA*.

Hence, it is written: "WHO SHALL REBUILD YOU AND HEAL YOU"—if the sons of Israel return in their aspirations to the Creator (to altruism), called

"the return," correct their deeds (desires), and raise their prayers (*MAN*) for help in their correction to the Creator in *ZON*, they will once more be able to receive the Upper Light in *ZON*, *Nukva* will rise again to *YESHSUT*, called *MI*, and will be healed thereby (the Upper Light will enter *Malchut*, the souls, and will impart its properties onto them).

10. *MI*—WHO sets the boundary of Heaven Above—*YESHSUT*. *MA*—WHAT sets the boundary of Heaven below—*ZA* and *Malchut*. And this is what Yaakov inherited, as he is *ZA* that shines from end to end. From one boundary, which is *MI*, to the other boundary, which is *MA*. For he, Yaakov, stands in the middle, between *YESHSUT* and *Malchut*. Hence, it is said, *MI BARAH ELEH*: *MI* is *YESHSUT*, *BARAH* means created, and *ELEH* stands for *ZA* and *Malchut*.

Actually, it should rather be written, "from the beginning, i.e., from the Height of Heaven down to its end (lowest point) below." Yet it says, "from the boundary of Heaven." *MI* is *YESHSUT* that upholds everything with its question, the desire to receive the Light for *ZON*. *MA* is *Nukva*. Before *Nukva* raises *MAN*, she is the very last degree, standing below the *Chazeh* of *ZA*. Between *YESHSUT* and *Nukva* stands Yaakov—*ZA* that clothes *AA* from *Tabur* to *Malchut* of *AA*.

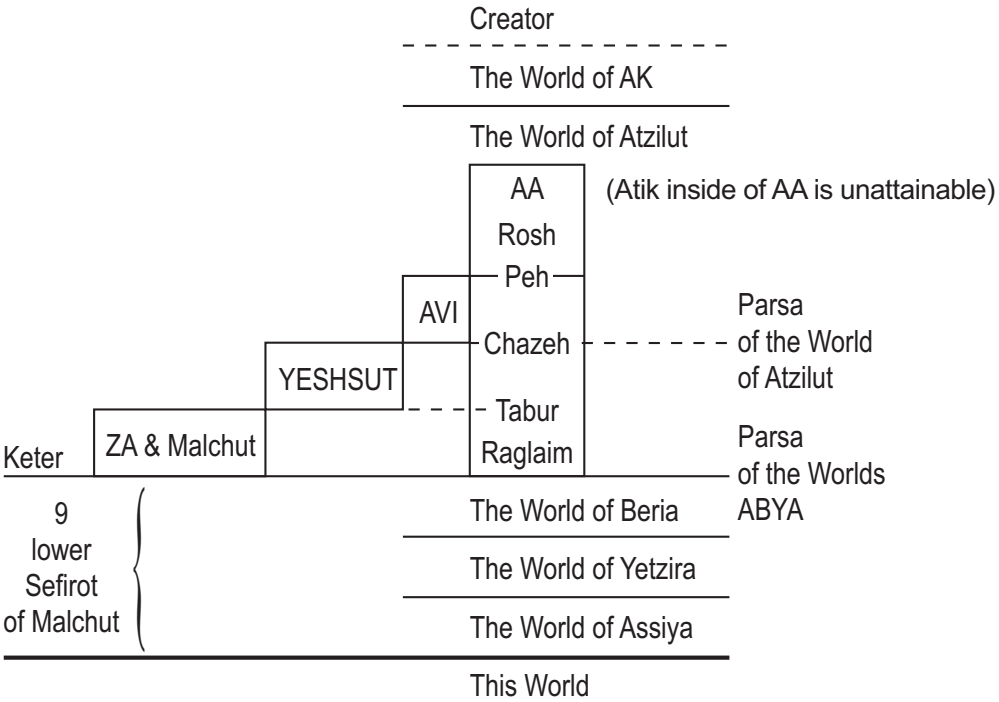

Arich Anpin is the central *Partzuf* in the world of *Atzilut*. Since *Atik* is unattainable, everything comes from *AA*, and all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* clothe it (receive from it): *Rosh de AA* towers over all, and no one can clothe it, meaning no one can attain its thoughts and reasons for its actions.

The next *Partzuf* is *AVI*. *AVI* clothe (attain) *AA* from *Peh* to *Chazeh*. Below *AVI* stands *Partzuf YESHSUT*, clothing *AA* from *Chazeh* to *Tabur*. *ZA* stands below *YESHSUT* and clothes *AA* from *Tabur* downwards. *Partzuf ZA* is incomplete, as he has only six *Sefirot HBD-HGT* or *VAK*; he is in the *Katnut* state, ending with his *Sefira Tifferet* (his *Chazeh*).

Nukva (*Malchut*) stands below *ZA*, or parallel to his last *Sefira Tifferet* (the *Chazeh* of *ZA*). She has only one *Sefira Keter*, whereas her nine other *Sefirot* fell below the *Parsa* to the worlds *BYA*. The entire world of *Atzilut* ends at the *Chazeh* of *ZA*, where the single *Sefira* of *Malchut* stands, who is therefore called a point.

In our world, there is desire and its physical manifestation—action. For example, one wants to receive something, but he does not allow himself to perform the physical act of taking. Meanwhile, his desire to take remains the same. In the spiritual world, there are no bodies, only bare desires. Therefore, the desire itself already constitutes action, like an already completed mental and physical action in our world. Therefore, the desire alone determines man's spiritual state.

Just imagine what it would be like if in our world we judged a person not by his actions, but by his desires! It is terrifying to think how distant we are from spiritual demands. However, our desires are determined by our spiritual degree. And *The Zohar* explains that only by raising *MAN* (the request for correction) can we attract onto us the flow of Upper Light, which will correct and elevate us to a Higher Degree. And we will immediately begin to think and desire whatever that degree will evoke within us.

Therefore, our task is to attain the desire for correction. To this end, we need a "question," perception of our state as intolerable. This is called the realization of evil, i.e., that our egoism is evil, that it brings me harm by severing me from the spiritual.

However, in order for this to happen, we need to come to sense at least a little bit of what the spiritual is and how good it is. Evil can only be realized in contrast with good. Yet, how can we sense the spiritual if we have yet to escape egoism? In what *Kelim* (desires) can we sense this? Even though we lack corrected desires, and therefore cannot sense the spiritual, as a result of studying Kabbalah,

one begins to sense the Surrounding Light, which bestows onto him the desire for the spiritual (See "Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," item 155).

The desire of one who physically exists in our world, but spiritually exists in the worlds of *BYA*—is a desire to enjoy the Light. However, opposite these desires one has an "anti-desire," a screen, which neutralizes his innate will to receive pleasure.

A screen is created (appears, emerges, born) within the *Kli* (desire, man) as a result of man's sensation of the spiritual Light (the Creator). Therefore, all our requests (prayers, *MAN*, "questions") should be about one thing only: for the Creator to grant us the strength necessary to ascend spiritually, to transform our desires or, as Kabbalah defines it, to acquire a screen. It is impossible to annul one's will to receive pleasure. The Creator created it, and it is His only creation. All we can do is acquire a screen (counterbalance) on it, thereby ascending above creation (egoism), and become similar to the Creator! And to the extent of this similarity, to merge with him.

Thus, *Partzuf* Yaakov stands from *MI* (*YESHSUT*) to *MA* (*Malchut*), from end to end. However, what is referred to here is the state of *ZON*, when they ascend to *YESHSUT* and receive the Light of its degree.

The entire spiritual distance from us to the Creator is divided into 125 invisible degrees, all of them named. These degrees differ from one another only by the magnitude of their screen on man's egoistic desires. Man receives the Light in his corrected, altruistic desires. The volume of the received Light depends on the screen's magnitude (the size of the desire's corrected part).

Every degree is characterized by a particular sensation of the Creator, and this sensation is called Light. Hence, we can designate the spiritual state of the *Kli* (man) in the spiritual world by the name of its degree or the name of the Light it receives, as every degree has its own particular Light. These gradations of the sensation of the Creator are precisely what we call spiritual degrees.

That is why, having ascended to a degree called *YESHSUT*, *ZON* receive the Light of *YESHSUT*, although *Partzuf YESHSUT* itself ascended, accordingly, to a Higher Degree, and there receives the Light of that degree, called *AVI*. In turn, *AVI* ascend to a degree called *AA*, where they receive the Light of *AA*. We call degrees by the names of the *Partzufim* that abide there in their usual, lowest state. Such a state is called permanent.

Even though by ascending to a Higher Degree, the lower *Partzuf* receives the Light of that degree, which changes its properties, the *Partzuf* remains itself nonetheless, just as a person who acquires new properties remains a person,

though now one of another level. Therefore, when it is said, "having ascended to the Upper One, the lower one becomes like him," it implies a change only in the inner properties of man (or *Partzuf*), but not in his identity.

Upon ascending to *YESHSUT*, *ZA* receives greater Light, for an ascent in the spiritual world signifies an increase in the magnitude of a screen, and, accordingly, reception of greater Light. That is to say, *ZA* himself grew, but did not turn into *YESHSUT*: previously, at his own place, he had only the Light *Ruach-Nefesh*, but upon ascending and acquiring a screen, he receives the Light of *Neshama* as well.

Therefore, all the places between us and the Creator are established, and the *Partzufim* that are there "stand" on them in their permanent place. However, all the *Partzufim* and the worlds can ascend relative to their permanent, lowest states by one, two, or three degrees. In its lowest state, a *Partzuf* has only *GE* and no *AHP*, and only the Light of *Nefesh-Ruach*.

By receiving the Light of correction from Above, the *Partzuf* can gradually correct its *AHP*: it corrects the *Sefira Bina* and receives the Light of *Neshama*, which designates an ascent of one degree. After that, the *Partzuf* corrects the *Sefira ZA*, and receives the Light of *Haya*, which designates an ascent to another degree, i.e., already two degrees. And after that, it corrects *Sefira Malchut* and receives the Light of *Yechida*, which designates an ascent to yet another degree, a third one.

Keter = Galgalta	GE - Katnut (small state)
Hochma = Eynaim	
Parsa, Nikvey Eynaim, Masach of Partzuf	
Bina = Awzen	(ascent of Bina to GE = ascent by 1 degree)
ZA = Hotem	(ascent of ZA to GE = ascent by 2 degrees)
Malchut = Peh	(ascent of Malchut to GE = ascent by 3 degrees)

However, the new Light does not enter the just corrected *Kli* (*Sefira*), but comes from Above and enters through the *Sefira Keter*.

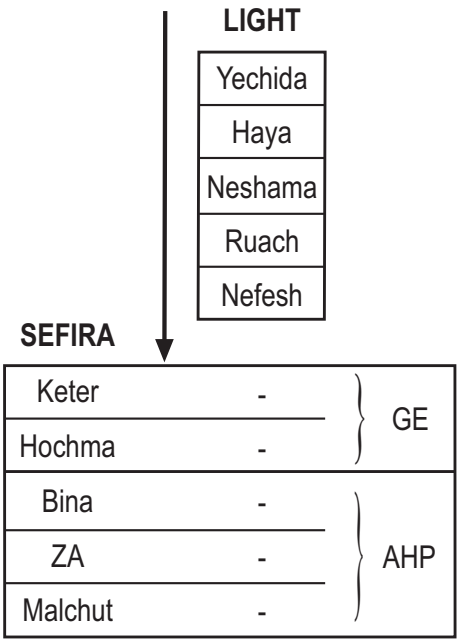

Man's spiritual ascent can be the consequence of two factors:

1. An awakening of a desire from Above, called "special days"—holidays, new moons, Sabbaths. This kind of an ascent is called "an awakening from Above," and leads to the general ascent of all the worlds *ABYA*, and, consequently, of all that inhabits them.
2. Man's efforts in his studies and inner work, his prayer to merit the Creator personally giving him the strength to ascend to a Higher Degree.

Moreover, such an ascent is not limited to only three degrees, but can elevate man along all 125 degrees to the Creator Himself. Ascension to the Highest Degree is precisely the purpose for which man was created. He must accomplish this task while still living in this world. And until he attains this goal, he will have to return to this world again and again.

Although *ZON* are called "the last days," upon ascending and receiving the Light of *YESHSUT*, they receive the name "the days past or first days." In this instance, one boundary of Heaven (*Malchut* or *MA*) ascends and clothes the other boundary of Heaven (*YESHSUT* or *MI*). *MA* and *MI* merge in one, and *The Zohar* emphasizes that fact. AND KNOW:

MI – WHO

BARAH – CREATED

ELEH – THIS

MI is *YESHSUT* that stands in the place of *Bina de AA*, from *Chazeh* to *Tabur de AA*. And although only *Kelim* of *GE* (vessels of bestowal) are present in the world of *Atzilut*, there are *Partzufim* among them that wish only to "bestow": *Atik*, *AA*, *AVI*, and those that want to receive for the sake of bestowal, so as to pass the Light on to *YESHSUT* and *ZON*.

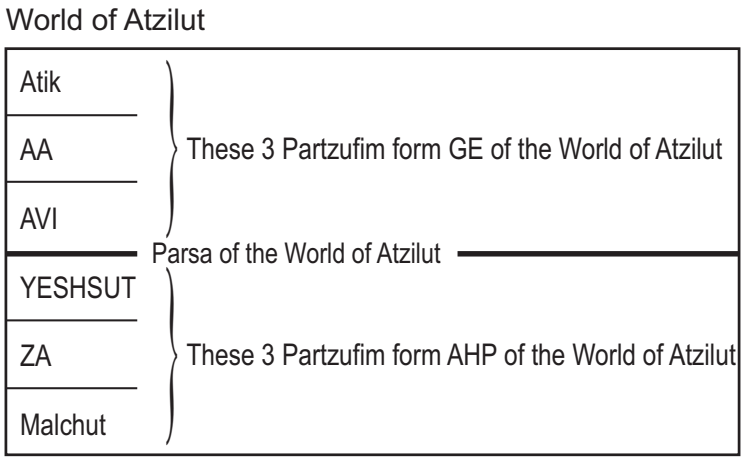

YESHSUT and *ZON* want to receive the Light so as to pass it to the souls of the righteous, the people who seek correction. Hence, within the world of *Atzilut* there is a division into two types of *Kelim*—*GE* and *AHP*. They are separated from each other by the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut* that stands in the *Chazeh* of *AA*.

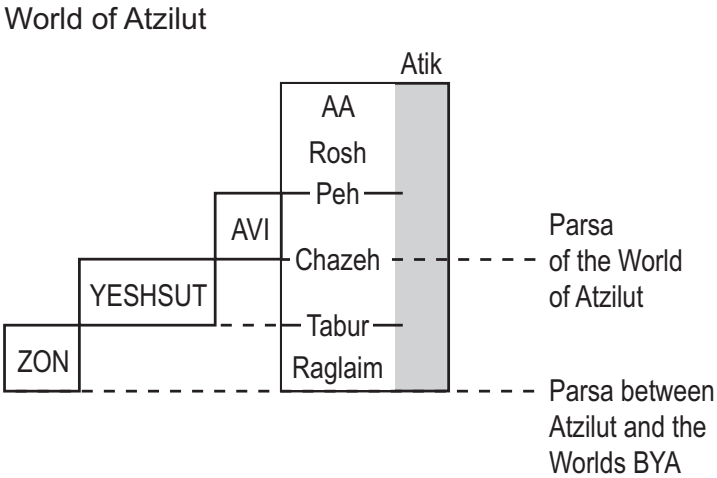

The Light from the *Rosh de AA* does not pass below the *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*. Therefore, *YESHSUT* in its permanent state, or *ZON*, when they ascend

to *YESHSUT*, cannot receive the Light of *Rosh de AA*. This is why they have the desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*, called "question." The question (desire to receive the Light of *Hochma*) therefore amounts to *MI* (*YESHSUT*, the Light of *YESHSUT*), which is *BARAH* (beyond *ELEH—ZON*), and upon their ascent, *ZON* do not receive the Light of *Hochma*, as they are outside the *Rosh* of *AA*, outside of the Light of *Hochma*, but with a question (a desire for it). This enables them to continue their ascent.

Who Created These (by Eliyahu)

11. Rabbi Shimon said: "Elazar, my son, reveal the supernal secret, which the dwellers of this world know nothing about." Rabbi Elazar was silent. Rabbi Shimon wept and paused for a moment, and then said, "Elazar, what is *ELEH*?" If you say that they are like the stars and the signs of the zodiac (destiny), are they not always visible (unlike the changeable signs of destiny)? And in *MA*, that is in *Malchut*, they were created as it is written, "By the word of the Creator were the Heavens made" (*Tehilim*, 33:6), meaning that the Heavens were made by *Malchut*, called the Creator's word. And if *ELEH* speak of the hidden secrets, then there would be no need to write *ELEH*, as the stars and the signs of destinies are visible to all (the word *ELEH* (THIS) tells us that something is clear).

Rabbi Elazar did not reveal the reception of the Light of the first *Gadlut* state (*Ohr Neshama*), and Rabbi Shimon wished to reveal the way to receive the Light of the second *Gadlut* state (*Ohr Haya*). Therefore, he asked Rabbi Elazar to speak and to reveal the way to attain *Ohr Neshama*, which is concealed from people by a supernal secret, for this Light has not yet been revealed in the world, and Rabbi Shimon reveals it here.

The fact is that, although there were righteous who attained the Light of *Haya*, there was no one among them who could explain the path of its attainment in detail, no one who could reveal it to the entire world. This is so because to understand means to attain, to ascend to that degree, which depends only on man's efforts. While there were many people throughout the generations who attained the degree of *ELEH*, revealing it to the world requires an even greater degree, and a special permission by the Creator (See the article *The Conditions for Disclosing the Secrets of the Wisdom of Kabbalah*).

Rabbi Shimon asked him what *ELEH* means, what new things is the Torah telling us with the words, *MI BARAH ELEH* (WHO CREATED THESE), where

the word *ELEH* designates *ZON*? After all, if it speaks of the stars and the signs of the zodiac—luck, which signify the Light of *VAK* of the big state, then what is so special about it? After all, *ZON* can receive this Light even on weekdays. There is nothing so extraordinary in this to mention *MI* – WHO CREATED THIS separately.

(One might say that this Light is constant, for only the Light of *VAK* is constantly present in *ZON*, but not *GAR*. And only as a result of *MAN* does *ZON* receive the Light of *VAK* of the big state, the Light of *Neshama*. The answer lies in that this Light can be received at any time, even on weekdays during the morning prayer. However, he still does not understand why these were created in *MA*. After all, Light refers not to *Bina*, but to the *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *MA*, and exits them, as is written BY THE WORD OF THE CREATOR, where the Creator is *ZA* and His word is *Malchut*.)

12. However, this secret was revealed on another day, when I was on the seashore. The prophet Eliyahu came to me and said: "Rabbi, do you know the meaning of *MI BARAH ELEH* – WHO HAS CREATED THESE?" I answered: "These are the Heavens and its forces, the works of the Creator, looking at which, people should bless Him, as it is said, 'When I behold Your Heavens, the work of Your hands' (*Tehilim*, 8:4), and 'O LORD! Our Lord! How glorious is Your name throughout all the earth!'" (*Tehilim*, 8:10).

13. He replied to me: "Rabbi, the Creator took the concealed and revealed it to the Celestial Council. And here it is: When the most Concealed of all that are Concealed desired to reveal Himself, He first made a single point, which is *Malchut*, and it ascended to His Thought, that is, into *Bina*, meaning that *Malchut* ascended and merged with *Bina*. In her, He shaped all the creatures, and in her confirmed all the laws."

Atik is the first *Partzuf* and the *Rosh* of the world of *Atzilut*. And it is called the most concealed and secret of all the *Partzufim*, and its name—*Atik* (from the word *Ne'etak*—isolated, unattainable) testifies to that fact. No one can attain this *Partzuf* in itself, its properties, but we can attain it the way it appears to us: *Atik* deliberately diminishes and changes itself in such a way that the lower ones could attain the outer form (its properties) in which it appears to them, but not *Atik* itself.

In the words of *The Zohar*, when *Atik* wished to reveal itself to the worlds, although it is a *Partzuf* that acts according to the laws of the first restriction, it "clothed itself in the garments" (an external *Partzuf* that acts according to the

laws of the second restriction) with regard to the lower ones so as to enable them to perceive and attain it.

There is an enormous difference between the properties of the sensory organs that perceive sensations of the first and the second restrictions. Just as man in our world is born without sensory organs that can perceive spiritual worlds, which is why he cannot sense them, so is the *Partzuf* that is corrected for the conditions of spiritual work at the level of the second restriction unable to accept (perceive) the Light that descends according to the law of the first restriction. A similar distinction exists between *Partzuf Atik* and the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* and the worlds of *BYA*.

To be connected to the lower ones, *Atik* elevated *Malchut de Rosh de AA* within the *Rosh* of the lower-standing *AA* up to the *Sefira Hochma*. As a result, *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON de Rosh de AA* fell from the *Rosh* of *AA* to its *Guf*. After all, *Malchut* ascended from the *Peh* to the *Eynaim* and stood in the *Rosh* at place of *Bina*, whereas *Bina* and *ZON* exited the *Rosh*. The *Guf* (body) begins after *Malchut de Rosh* (after the decision on how to act), wherever it may be.

Here is how one should understand this: the *Sefirot* of the *Rosh* are the thoughts and desires with regards to which the *Partzuf*, man's inner properties (man himself) makes the decisions as to how they can be used in order to advance as much as possible toward the goal of creation. The fact that *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON* exited the *Rosh* of *AA* means that *Partzuf AA* cannot make any decisions with regard to them for lack of a screen on them. This is why they fell into the *Guf*, outside the *Rosh*.

Hence, their remaining role is only to receive the Light from the *Rosh*, just as it is received by all the *Sefirot* of the *Guf*. In other words, they receive the Light that is accepted by the screen of *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* that remained in the *Rosh*. Man deliberately restricts the use of his desires, and uses only those desires with which he can work for the Creator's sake.

Therefore, when *Malchut* ascended and stood under the *Sefira Hochma*, *Hochma* became like the male part (bestowing, fulfilling), and *Malchut* became like the female (receiving) part of the *Rosh*. And since *Malchut* took the place of *Bina* (called "thought"), *Malchut* assumed the name "thought," since now it's *Malchut* that makes a *Zivug* and receives *Ohr Hochma*.

A *Partzuf* that receives from *Hochma* is defined as *Bina*, and not *Malchut*. Therefore, although *Malchut* herself is merely a black point (egoistic creature), as a result of her ascent, she becomes *Bina*, i.e., *Malchut* acquires *Bina*'s properties. Hence, *Malchut* is now called *Bina* or "thought."

The Zohar calls a "thought" either to *Hochma* or to *Bina*. The difference is that a thought is something that is received from *Hochma*. Hence, *Bina* is called a thought only if she is in the *Rosh* and receives the Light from *Hochma*. In the first restriction, *Bina* always receives from *Hochma*, and is called "thought." However, in the second restriction, *Malchut* ascended above *Bina* and started receiving from *Hochma*. That is why it is *Malchut* that is now called "thought," and not *Bina*.

All the *Partzufim* of the worlds of ABYA are created by this ascent of *Malchut* to *Bina*. Therefore, it is written: IN HER HE SHAPED ALL THE CREATURES, AND IN HER CONFIRMED ALL THE LAWS—*Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* remained in the *Rosh* of each *Partzuf*, and a *Zivug* was made on these two *Sefirot*. This is why the Light received in *Guf* of the *Partzuf* consists of only two Lights, *Nefesh* and *Ruach*.

Previously, *Malchut* stood in *Peh de Rosh* and the *Rosh* (the part of the *Partzuf* in which it calculated how much Light it can receive for the Creator's sake) ended there. Then, the *Partzuf* would receive that Light from the *Rosh* to the *Guf*, between the *Peh* and the *Tabur*.

But now *Malchut* ascended to *Eynaim de Rosh* and stands under them. This is known as the ascent of *Malchut* to *NE* (*Nikvey Eynaim* – pupils of the eyes), which are called *NE* precisely because *Nikvey Eynaim* means *Malchut* of the eyes. Prior to *Malchut*'s ascent to the *Eynaim*, it was as though there were no pupils (*NE*). It is worth noting that only in *Malchut* (desire) can we feel what surrounds us (the Creator, Light). This is why all of our sensory organs are designed as apertures: *Nekev* (orifice), *Nukva, Malchut* in the eyes, *Awznaim* (ears), *Hotem* (nose) and *Peh* (mouth).

Only he who can create desires that work according to the principle of the second restriction through his own strength and effort, and puts *Malchut* after *Keter-Hochma* (thinks in terms of bestowal), can start perceiving through this corrected spiritual sensory organ. Wherever there is a screen, it constitutes that sensory organ with which one can perceive the Upper Light.

Upon her ascent, *Malchut* stood under *Hochma* and made a *Zivug* on her own screen, on *Sefirot Keter-Hochma* (*GE*). *Sefirot Bina-ZA-Malchut* (*AHP*) are located below the *Rosh*, in the *Guf* of the *Partzuf*, and passively receive the Light from the *Rosh*. This leads to a division of the ten *Sefirot* of the *Guf*, *KHB-ZA-M*, in the same way the ten *Sefirot* of the *Rosh* were divided: *Sefirot K-H* of the *Guf* continue receiving from *K-H* of the *Rosh*, and *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Guf*, being unable to receive from the *Rosh*, start receiving from *K-H* of the *Guf*, like the *Sefirot* below the *Tabur* of the *Partzuf*.

As is well-known, every *Partzuf* consists of a *Rosh*, a *Guf*, and extremities. The *Rosh* decides how much Light the *Guf* can receive for the Creator's sake, in accordance with the magnitude of the screen that reflects the Light (pleasure). The decision to accept this Light causes the Light to descend through the screen, from the *Rosh* to the *Guf*, filling it from the *Peh* down to the *Tabur*. Each *Sefira* of the *Rosh* fills its corresponding *Sefira* in the *Guf*.

Partzuf in the 1st Restriction

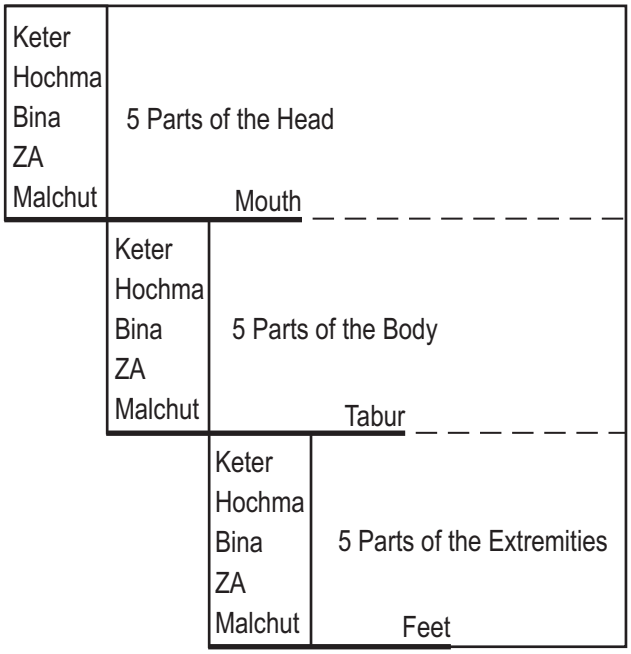

Partzuf in the 2nd Restriction

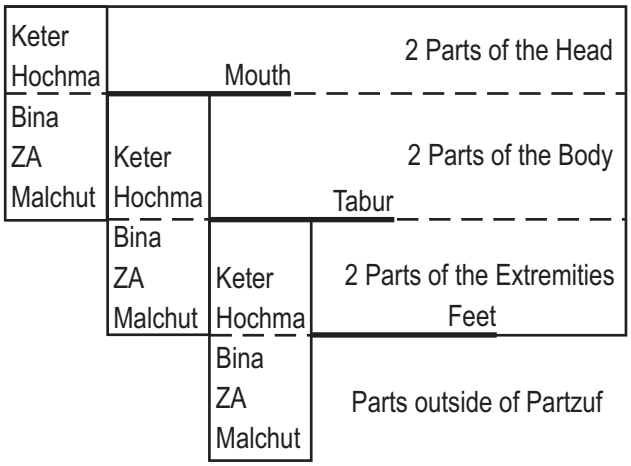

If there are only two *Sefirot K-H* in the *Rosh*, then only the two *Sefirot K-H* remain in the *Guf*. This is because only they can receive from the corresponding *Sefirot* in the *Rosh*. *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Rosh* receive the same Light as *Sefirot K-H* of the *Guf*, which means that they are located under the screen (*Malchut* that ascends and stands under *Hochma de Rosh*). Thus, the *Guf* contains *K-H* that receive, accordingly, the Lights *Ruach-Nefesh*, and *AHP* of the *Rosh* that receive these two Lights of *Ruach-Nefesh*, too.

B-ZA-M (*AHP*) of the *Guf* cannot receive the Light from the *Rosh*, as their corresponding *Sefirot B-ZA-M* of the *Rosh* do not participate in a *Zivug*, since they lack the strength of the screen sufficient to reflect the egoistic desires of *AHP de Rosh* so as to receive for the Creator's sake. In other words, since there are no *AHP* in the *Rosh*, there are also no *AHP* in the *Guf*. And since *AHP de Guf* receive no Light from *AHP de Rosh*, they are like the extremities—the end of a *Partzuf*, below its *Tabur*. Hence, at the end of a *Partzuf*, below *Tabur*, there are *GE* of *Raglaim* (feet) and *AHP de Guf*, which fell there. And *AHP* of *Raglaim* are not parts of a *Partzuf* whatsoever, as they are located at a lower degree.

The Light that cannot be received by the *Partzuf* remains outside, surrounding it, and waits until the *Partzuf* acquires the strength to receive it. It is called "Surrounding Light," and it corresponds to the desires that do not take part in a *Zivug*, those desires that are still uncorrected and lack a screen.

If, previously, before the second restriction, *Malchut* (the last *Sefira* of the *Guf*) was in *Tabur*, now, when only two *Sefirot K-H* remain in the *Guf*, *Malchut de Guf*, too, ascends to *Bina de Guf*, called *Chazeh*. Therefore, when *Malchut* ascends to *Bina de Rosh*, the entire *Partzuf* "diminishes" in size: the *Rosh* reaches only up to the *Eynaim*, the *Guf* only to the *Chazeh*, and the *Raglaim* only to *Tabur*. And that is why this state of the *Partzuf* is called "the state of *Katnut*."

However, if the *Partzuf* receives new strength from Above, acquires a *Masach* (screen), it will be able to resolve to accept the Light for the Creator's sake in its *AHP*, then *AHP de Rosh* will rise again from the *Guf* to the *Rosh*, and complete the *Rosh* to ten *Sefirot*, while the *Sefirot* of *AHP de Guf* will ascend from the *Raglaim* back to their place in order to receive additional Light. And then *Rosh*, *Guf*, and *Raglaim* will all contain ten *Sefirot*. This state of the *Partzuf* is called "the state of *Gadlut*."

In the language of *The Zohar*, the restriction of a *Partzuf*, its transition from the *Gadlut* state to the *Katnut* state is described as a division of each part of the *Partzuf* (*Rosh*, *Guf*, and *Raglaim*) into *GE* (*MI*) and *AHP* (*ELEH*). All ten *Sefirot* are called by the Creator's name *Elokim*, which consists of the letters *ELEH-IM*, that are further divided into *MI – GE – K-H* and *ELEH – B-ZA-M*. When in *Katnut*, only *Sefirot ELEH* maintain their degree, whereas *Sefirot IM* fall to a

lower degree. The word *Elokim* is read from below upwards, the way they are attained by man.

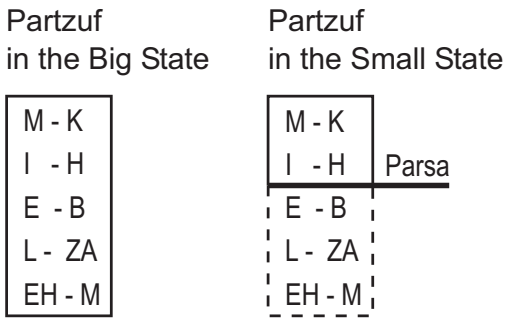

IN HER HE SHAPED ALL THE CREATURES, AND IN HER CONFIRMED ALL THE LAWS—alludes to the division of each degree into two parts; their new form signifies the division into *ELEH* and *MI*, the separation of the *Kelim* (desires) of "bestowal" and "reception," where, due to the lack of strength to oppose one's nature (egoism), part of the *Sefirot* (desires) remain unused, outside of their degree. Accordingly, their Light remains outside as *Ohr Makif* (Surrounding Light), and waits until the *Partzuf* acquires additional strength to become big and thus receive all the Light.

During the 6,000 years, our entire correction transpires only according to the laws of *Tzimtzum Bet* (second restriction). As soon as the *Partzuf* acquires new strength (*Masach*) to receive the Light selflessly in *Sefirot/Kelim B-ZA-M* (*ELEH*), it will immediately attach them to itself and receive in them the Lights *Neshama-Haya-Yechida*. And it will grow to become a big *Partzuf* consisting of five *Kelim* (ten *Sefirot*) with the five Lights of *NRNHY*.

14. He confirmed in the sacred and concealed candle (in *Malchut* that merged with *Bina*), a concealed image, the Holy of Holies, a secret structure that emerges from the thought, *GAR* that is called *MI*, which is the beginning of this structure. It stands and it does not stand; it is great and concealed in the name *Elokim* (*ELEH* and *IM*). It is called *MI* from the word *Elokim*, that is, it lacks the letters *ELEH* of the name *Elokim*. He desired to be revealed and called by the complete name *Elokim*, so He clothed Himself in a splendid shining garment, the Light of *Hassadim*. He created *ELEH*. The letters *ELEH* of the name *Elokim* ascended and combined with the letters *MI* and formed the complete name *Elokim*. And until He created *ELEH*, He did not rise (did not ascend) to the name *Elokim*. Hence, those who sinned by worshipping the Golden Calf alluded to this secret by saying, "*ELEH* (this is) your God, Israel!" (*Shemot*, 32:4).

"*ELEH* (this is) your God, Israel!"—that is, these egoistic desires (*ELEH*) are your deity, which you must worship until you correct yourself. The use of *ELEH* is the reason for all transgressions and ruin: the breaking of the vessels (*Kelim*), the sin of Adam and the shattering of his soul into 600,000 pieces, worshipping the Golden Calf and the breaking of the Tablets by Moshe, the ruin of the First and Second Temples, and so forth.

As a result of the lower ones raising *MAN*, meaning their request to receive the strength necessary to make a *Zivug* and receive *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake, there descends from Above the Light called *MAD* (*Mayin Dechurin*)–the force that enables the *Kli* to create a *Masach* capable of reflecting Light, thereby resisting its egoistic nature. This force comes in the form of Light, the sensation of the Creator's greatness, and is referred to as the Light of *AB-SAG*, as it descends from the *Partzufim Hochma* (*AB*) and *Bina* (*SAG*) of the world of *AK* (*Adam Kadmon*).

If one ascends from the degree called "our world" to the worlds *BYA*, then wherever he may be in those worlds, his request for spiritual correction will rise through all the worlds and degrees up to *Partzuf SAG*. *SAG* turns to *AB*, receives the Light of *Hochma* from it, and passes it down to all the *Partzufim* along which *MAN* had ascended.

Since the entire world of *AK* exists in the first restriction (*Tzimtzum Aleph*) and above the second restriction (*Tzimtzum Bet*), the Light that comes from it provides the *Kli* that receives this Light with the strength to pass from the small state to the big one. In other words, the Light of *AB-SAG* enables the *Kli* to create a *Masach*, reflect the Light of *Hochma*, and receive it for the Creator's sake. The *Gadlut* state is called "the holy of holies," for being filled with the Light of *GAR* (the holy of holies) is utterly perfect.

The Light of *AB-SAG* first descends to the *Rosh* of *Partzuf AA* and lowers the point (*Malchut*) from the thought (*Bina*) back to its place in the *Peh*, where it was prior to *Tzimtzum Bet*. In consequence, the three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* rejoin the two *Sefirot K-H* and become five *Sefirot* in the *Rosh*, *AHP* (*ELEH*) ascend and join with *GE* (*MI*), and the Creator's name *Elokim* is completed.

However, this does not mean that the *Partzuf* can be filled with the five Lights *NRNHY*; it merely acquires a *Masach*, the strength to receive the Light in all its ten *Sefirot*. Since only *Ohr Hochma* shines in *AA*, this Light cannot fill the elevated *Kelim* of *ELEH*, as they can only receive *Ohr Hochma* if it is clothed by *Ohr Hassadim*. Only the *GAR* of the *Partzuf* (*K-H-B*) can have pure *Ohr Hochma*; the *ZAT* of the *Partzuf* (*Sefirot ZA-M*) can only receive diminished

Ohr Hochma—half-mixed with *Ohr Hassadim*. This is called the reception of *Ohr Hochma* in the middle line (consisting of half *Hochma* and half *Hassadim*).

Therefore, says *The Zohar*, THIS STRUCTURE STANDS AND IT DOES NOT STAND—even though all the *Sefirot* are already present in the *Rosh*, they still need to be filled with Light, meaning that *Sefirot ELEH* are not yet revealed in the name *Elokim*. Only the letters *MI* have so far been revealed (filled with the Light).

Hence, first, the *Partzuf* makes a *Zivug* on its *Katnut* state and receives *Ohr Hassadim*. Then, it clothes *Ohr Hochma* into PRECIOUS GARMENT (*Ohr Hassadim*). Only afterwards can the mixed Light of *Hassadim* and *Hochma* fill *Sefirot ZAT* (*ELEH*), and all five *Sefirot* will shine in perfection.

However, before *MI* gives *Ohr Hassadim* to *ELEH* so as to enable *ELEH* to receive *Ohr Hochma* in it, *ELEH* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma*, and only the Light of *MI* shines in the entire name *Elokim*. Further, *The Zohar* tells us that neglect of *Ohr Hassadim* (the intention for the Creator's sake) is precisely what constitutes the entire transgression. And since they transgressed, i.e., neglected *Ohr Hassadim*, that is, since they did not wish to receive with the intention "for the Creator's sake," but desired only *Ohr Hochma*, they caused the separation of *MI* from *ELEH*. Hence, it is written, *ELEH* – THIS (the desires of reception and not *MI*, the desires of bestowal) IS YOUR LORD, ISRAEL—and the Light instantly passed to the impure forces.

The Torah does not tell us about the history of an ancient nation, but about the structure of the spiritual degrees that we must attain. To know the properties of these degrees (whose attainment is designated by the acquisition of their properties), Kabbalah explains to us how they were originally created by a gradual descent (spiritual coarsening) from the Creator Himself.

And in order to give us an opportunity to correct our egoism, the Creator mixed it with altruism at the very creation of the spiritual degrees. This kind of mixing of opposite properties is possible only through an "explosion," since opposite properties cannot be combined otherwise. There were several such mixtures that occurred as a result of explosions (breaking of properties).

One of them is mentioned in the Torah (*Shemot*, 32:4), when, by worshiping the Golden Calf, the sons of Israel (the altruistic desires of "bestowal") suddenly wished to receive the Light for themselves. Consequently, the *Sefirot* (*Kelim*) of *GE* and *AHP* mixed together, and the properties (desires) of *GE* penetrated *AHP*. Through these altruistic properties that are secretly concealed within a small, egoistic human being, it is possible to awaken him, to evoke in him an aspiration to ascend spiritually and to disregard this world.

Therefore, everything that is written in the Torah should not be perceived by us not as history, but as an instruction manual. All the actions described in the Torah are positive: all the devastations, including the ruin of the First and the Second Temples, wars, adultery and murder. We only need to realize what exactly the Torah is telling us. And one can understand it correctly only if he stops perceiving it as a collection of injunctions referring to the mechanical performance of commandments.

15. Just as *MI* join *ELEH* into one name *Elokim*, when *Hochma* clothes itself in *Hassadim*, so is the name combined by this precious shining garment. The world exists thanks to this secret, as is written, "The world was created by mercy." (*Tehilim*, 89:3). Then Eliyahu flew away, and I did not see him anymore. Yet, it is from him that I discovered that I stood upon the secret and its concealment. Rabbi Elazar approached with the others, and they bowed down before him. They wept and said, "If we have come into this world only to hear this—it is enough for us!"

Rabbi Shimon continues his explanation: There is only one law of reception of *Ohr Hochma*: *Ohr Hochma* can only be received if *Ohr Hassadim* clothes it beforehand. Just as this occurs in *Partzuf Bina*, called "the Upper World," so does it occur in *Partzuf Malchut* (MA, *Nukva* of ZA), called "the lower world." *Malchut* is typically referred to as *BON*, but when she joins ZA and receives the Light from him, she is called by his name—MA.

The Upper World, *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, desires only *Hassadim*, but the lower world, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, wants *Hochma*. However, Eliyahu the prophet spoke only of the order of Light and the structure of the name *Elokim* in *AVI* (*Bina de Atzilut*), whereas Rabbi Shimon continues his explanation in the next article and describes the structure and reception of Light in the name *Elokim* in *Malchut de Atzilut* herself.

The Mother Lends Her Clothes to Her Daughter

16. Heaven, Earth, and all that inhabit them were created by *MA*, which is *Malchut*, as it is said: "When I behold your Heavens, the work of your hands" (*Tehilim*, 8:4). And before this, it is said, "*MA* – WHAT (How) majestic Your name is throughout the earth, which You established above the Heavens" (*Tehilim*, 8:2). After all, the Heavens were created by the name (property) *MA* (*Malchut*). It is written "in the Heavens," which refers to *Bina*, called *MI*, the Heavens that are above *ZA*. The explanation for this lies in the name *Elokim*. *MA* (*Malchut*) ascends and enters with her properties into *Bina*, i.e., connects into *Bina*, and receives her properties. *Bina* is called *Elokim*. After He CREATED LIGHT FOR LIGHT, meaning *Ohr* (Light) *Hassadim* (called "precious adornments or garments") so as to clothe *Ohr Hochma*, *Ohr Hassadim* clothes *Ohr Hochma*, which signifies the creation of Light for Light; by the force of the Supernal Name *Elokim* (*Bina*), *Malchut* ascends, and, upon joining *Bina*, receives all of her properties, and includes herself in *Bina*. Therefore, *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (In the beginning the Creator created) refers to the Supernal *Elokim*, to *Bina* and not to *Malchut*. For *MA* (*Malchut*) is not created by the name *MI ELEH*.

The lower world (*Malchut*, *MA*) receives the Light (marked from Above by the name *Elokim*) from *Bina*. This Light brings *Malchut* strength, and the properties suitable for the creation of Heaven, earth, and posterity manifest within her. After all, there cannot be any posterity or birth of new generations without the Light of *Haya*.

And this is what *The Zohar* tells us: so does the lower world (*Malchut*, *MA*) exist by the name *Elokim*, by the name from the Upper World, which is why

there's strength in *Malchut* (*Ohr Hochma*) to create generations. And if *Malchut* has *Ohr Hochma*, then the world can be created by her.

(*Haya* is one type of *Ohr Hochma*. There is one Light that the Creator emanates, or rather, the sensation of the Creator we refer to as Light. This sensation depends on the desires-*Kelim* in which we feel Him. And since there are only two types of desires-*Kelim*, those of "bestowal" and those of "reception," there exist only two types of Light, *Hassadim* and *Hochma*. However, each of them includes several subtypes, and *Ohr Haya* constitutes a particular form of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because *Hochma* is the Light or pleasure that is felt by the will "to receive," whereas *Hassadim* is the pleasure that is felt by the will "to bestow." If only the *Kelim* of bestowal (*GE*) are present in the *Partzuf*, it is filled with *Ohr Hassadim*; and if it has the strength to receive for the Creator's sake, it is filled with *Ohr Hochma*.) (Do not confuse this with *MA*, which is used here, where *MA* = *Malchut* with *ZA* = *MA* in *Gematria*).

The Zohar explains that the Light descends from the name *Elokim* thanks to the merging of *MI* and *ELEH*. *ZA* is called "Heaven." *YESHSUT* is above Heaven (*ZA*). There is no *MI* in Heaven (*ZA*), only *MA*. However, after *Ohr Hassadim* clothes *Ohr Hochma* (the Light *ELEH* = *AHP* clothes the Light of *MA* = *GE*), all the letters combine and ascend by the name *Elokim* above Heaven = *ZA* = *MA* to *YESHSUT* = *Bina* = *MI*.

MI (*Bina*) is above the second restriction, above its ban, as her properties are higher, better than those to which the restriction extends: the property of *Bina* is "not to receive anything," which is why the ban of the second restriction—to not receive—simply does not apply to her, for in her essence, she has no desire to receive.

There remains only the ban of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, the restriction imposed on the reception of Light in *Malchut* herself (*Malchut de Malchut*), the central point of all creation, the only creating being. *Malchut* herself is egoistic, but if she has a *Masach* and only receives the Light by means of a *Zivug de Hakaa* (resistance to one's own desire, only for the Creator's sake) on the desires of bestowal, such reception does not occur in *Malchut*, but rather in the first nine *Sefirot*. Hence, *Malchut* can receive the Light in her first nine *Sefirot*.

In other words, if *Malchut* has the will (strength) to receive (enjoy) the Light (pleasure) not for herself, but only because the Creator so desires, then she receives only this amount of Light (pleasure). In order to receive the Light under such a condition, *Malchut* (man's inclination to pleasure and enjoyment) must first reject all incoming pleasure, which *Malchut* perceives to be right there before

her. This is referred to as the Light's (the pleasure's) impact against the screen and its reflection off the screen (the reflection of pleasure by force of will so as to not receive, in spite of the natural, primordial desire to receive pleasure).

The reflected pleasure is called *Ohr Hassadim*. Essentially, this is not a Light, but rather *Malchut*'s intention to receive only for the Creator's sake. However, this intention is that necessary and sufficient condition for the subsequent reception of *Ohr Hochma* from the Creator. For after *Malchut* repelled all the Light (expressed her intention to not receive for her own sake), she thereby met the condition of *Tzimtzum Aleph* (first restriction) to only receive the Light of *Hochma* in the intention for the Creator's sake, which is called *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light) or *Ohr Hassadim*. And now she can receive *Ohr Hochma*, the pleasure that the Creator wants to bestow upon her.

However, by receiving this Light, *Malchut* is no more a mere recipient-creature. Now, like the Creator, she bestows pleasure upon Him! In this manner, the creature attains the degree of the Creator, becomes equal to Him in properties, for it wants to bestow everything. This is called "being filled with *Ohr Hassadim*." Moreover, *Malchut* receives and enjoys, for if she does not feel pleasure, she will not please the Creator.

Therefore, *Malchut* receives, meaning she is filled with *Ohr Hochma*, full of wisdom and pleasure, from both bestowal and reception for the Creator's sake. And herein lies the perfection of the Creator's Creation: she becomes perfect and similar to the Creator. And this is the perfection of the Creator's works: His creation can ascend to His level independently!

One can imagine one's path from the lows of our world up to the ultimate spiritual peak—the Creator—as a passage through a suite of rooms. In all, between our state and the Creator there are 125 connected, walkthrough rooms. Each room has its own properties, and only those who possess the same properties can be there. If, regardless of reason, man changes his properties, he is automatically moved as though by an invisible current to a room that corresponds to his new properties.

This is how one can move between these rooms: an infinitesimal inner change of properties evokes influence of a spiritual force-field upon man, and he immediately moves to his new place of equilibrium, where his inner properties completely coincide with the external properties of the spiritual field. Hence, there are no guards at the rooms' entrances/exits; as soon as man changes himself so as to match the properties of the next, higher room, he is automatically transferred there by the spiritual current or field.

What properties must one change in order to move from one room to another within this spiritual field? He only needs to alter the type of pleasure to which he aspires. We cannot help receiving pleasure, for such is the entire material of creation, it is all that was created. However, we can change the object of our aspirations, what it is that we wish to enjoy: either coarse reception, reception of mere necessities, or the Creator being pleased with us that we bestow to Him, that we receive because such is His wish.

Our "I," the entity that feels pleasure is present in all of our desires, which change ceaselessly in terms of both magnitude and the desired object. This "I" never disappears. The only thing of which one should rid himself is the sensation that he does something to please this "I." One should aspire to sense the desires of the Creator, how He is pleased with him (just as a mother is pleased with her son's achievements).

After *Malchut* decides to receive only for the Creator's sake, i.e., according to the force of her *Masach* (the force of resistance to her egoistic will to receive pleasure), she receives *Ohr Hochma* only in accordance with the magnitude of the Returning Light. Or, conversely, one may say that the magnitude of the Returning Light determines man's willpower and his desire to act for the Creator's sake.

However, the first nine of *Malchut's* ten *Sefirot* are not egoistic, as they are the Creator's properties with which He wishes to correct *Malchut*. Only the last *Sefira* of *Malchut*, *Malchut* herself, the single creation, called *Malchut de Malchut*, is egoistic and remains under the ban of the first restriction: *Ohr Hochma* does not enter where the will to receive pleasure is present. Therefore, the first nine *Sefirot* can receive the Light of *Hochma*.

However, after the second restriction, in order to correct *Malchut* and impart the properties of mercy (*Hassadim*) onto her so she would be able to desire to "bestow," acquire the properties of *Bina*, and convert her initial, primordial egoism into altruism, *Malchut* ascended to *Partzuf Aba*, became *Malchut* in *Partzuf Aba* in *Bina's* place, while *Bina* found herself below *Malchut*. *Bina* herself can receive *Ohr Hochma* without any restrictions, even when below *Malchut*. However, *Bina* adopted the limitations of *Tzimtzum Bet* for the sole purpose of correcting *Malchut*.

Therefore, due to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, by man's requests for spiritual correction, the Light *AB-SAG* descends and lowers *Malchut* from the level of *Bina* back to her own place: *Malchut* descends from *Bina*, and the Light of attainment and wisdom is revealed.

As a result of *Malchut*'s descent, *Bina* purifies herself from all restrictions and limitations and returns to receiving *Ohr Hochma*. And after the *Ohr Hassadim* clothes the *Ohr Hochma*, *MI* shines in *ELEH* and the name *Elokim* is revealed, meaning that *Ohr Hochma* shines.

The structure of the name *Elokim* cannot be found in *MA*, for the lower boundary of Heaven (*Malchut* herself) is limited by *Tzimtzum Aleph*—the ban imposed on the reception of *Ohr Hochma*, and by *Tzimtzum Bet's* 6,000-year long prohibition on the usage of the desires of reception. Hence, *The Zohar* tells us that the name *Elokim* was created with *MI*, and not with *MA*, by the property received by *Malchut* upon her ascent to *Bina*.

17. But as the letters *ELEH* descend from Above, from *Bina* down to *Malchut*, for the mother temporarily lends her clothes to her daughter and adorns her with her own adornments, the name *Elokim* descends from *Bina* (mother) to *Malchut* (daughter). When does she adorn her with her own adornments? When she sees the male essence before her. It is then written of her, "Three times in the year shall all your males appear before the Lord Creator" (*Shemot*, 34:23). For *Malchut* is then called by the male name "Master." As it is written: "Behold the Ark of the Union, the Master of all the earth" (*Yehoshua*, 3:11). The Torah is the Union and the Ark is *Malchut*, called by the male name "Master." For she received the *Kelim* (properties, desires) called "clothes," and the Light called "adornments" from her mother, *Bina*. The letter *Hey* (A from MA) then leaves MA (*Mem* + *Hey*) and the letter *Yod* (I) enters in its stead, and just like *Bina*, *Malchut* assumes the name MI. And then she adorns herself with male clothes, with the clothes of *Bina*, to accept all the husbands of Israel.

As it is written (item 13), *Tzimtzum Bet* is in force from the *Rosh* of *AA* downwards, for *Malchut* of *AA* ascended to *Bina* and created all the lower *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* in the property of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Thus, each *Partzuf* of *AA*, *AVI* and *ZON* has only two *Sefirot K-H*, and three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* separated themselves (their properties) from that degree, and moved to a lower one (their properties became equal to it). This is how *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf AA*) fell to *Sefirot K-H* (*GE*) of *Partzuf AVI*, *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf AVI*) fell to *Sefirot K-H* (*GE*) of *Partzuf ZON*, and *B-ZA-M* (*AHP* of *Partzuf ZON*) fell below *Parsa* to the worlds of *BYA*.

Sefirot K-H (*GE*) that remained in their degree in their *Partzuf* are called *MI*, and *Sefirot B-ZA-M* that separated (in their properties) and descended (by equivalence in properties) to a lower *Partzuf* are called *ELEH*.

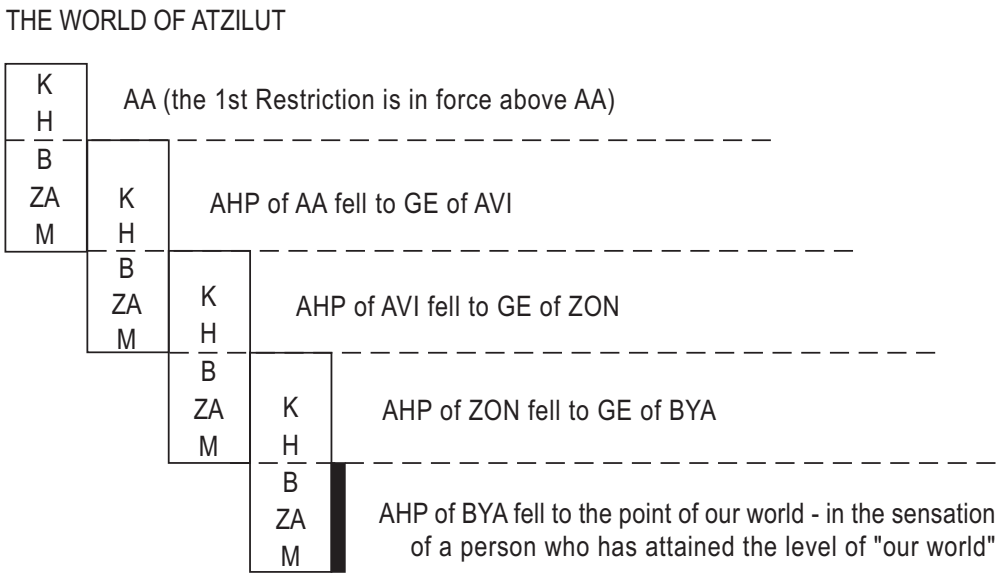

BUT AS THE LETTERS *ELEH* DESCEND FROM ABOVE—when *Malchut* is expelled from *Bina*, the letters *ELEH* get detached from *AVI* and fall to *ZON* (a lower degree), and clothe themselves in *ZON*: *ELEH* of *Aba* (*YESHS – Israel Saba*) clothe *ZA*, and *ELEH* of *Ima* (*Tvuna*) clothe *Malchut*. *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* is a complex *Partzuf*: her *GE* constitute *AVI* (two *Partzufim*), and her *AHP* have the name of a separate *Partzuf YESHSUT*, for they fulfill separate functions with regard to *ZON*: *Bina*: *GE* = *MI* = *GE* of *Aba* + *MI* = *GE* of *Ima*. *ELEH* = *AHP* of *Aba* = *YESHS* (*Israel Saba*) + *T* (*Tvuna*) = *ELEH* = *AHP* of *Ima*.

When *Ohr Haya* descends from Above (as a result of which *Malchut* descends from *Bina's* level back to her own place), three *Sefirot B-ZA-M* thereby return to their degree, and correspondingly, *Sefirot KHB* (called the "holy of holies") enter the now complete *Partzuf* consisting of five *Sefirot*. (Here, the Light is called by the name of the *Sefirot* it fills.) Previously, there was only *Ohr Ruach-Nefesh* in *K-H*, and now *Ohr Neshama-Haya-Yechida* was added to *KHB*, while *Ruach-Nefesh* descended to *ZA-M*.

However, when *AHP* of *Rosh de AA* (*B-ZA-M* of *Rosh de AA*) that fell to its *Guf* ascend (return from *Guf* to *Rosh de AA*), the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* ascend along with them to *Rosh de AA*. (These are the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* that were clothed in *AHP de AA* in their small state, when *AHP de AA* had fallen to *GE de AVI*.) Once there, the *Kelim* of *GE de AVI* receive the Light called "holy of holies" that shines in *Rosh de AA*.

The reason for this is that when the Upper One descends to the lower one, it becomes like the lower one. And when the lower one ascends to the Upper One it becomes like the Upper One. This is because no space or motion exist in the spiritual, and only a change of properties instantly and automatically moves a *Partzuf* or its part in spiritual space, closer (higher) to the Creator or farther away (lower) from Him. Therefore, spiritual ascent itself implies a change of properties of the lower one to those of the Upper One, and a descent of the Upper One signifies that its properties became equal to the properties of the degree to which it descended.

Hence, in *Katnut*, when *Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP de Rosh* of *Partzuf AA* separate from its head and fall (move according to their now inferior properties) to its *Guf*, from *Peh* to *Chazeh*, where *Partzuf AVI* clothes *Partzuf AA*, they (*B-ZA-M = ZON = AHP de Rosh* of *AA*) become like *AVI* in their properties, without *Ohr Hochma*, and only with the Light of *Bina*, *Hassadim*.

That is why, in *Gadlut*, when *B-ZA-M = AHP de AA* return to the *Rosh* (the degree that is higher than *Guf*), they take with them *GE* of *AVI*, as they all became one degree while in *Katnut*. Therefore, in *Gadlut*, *GE* of *AVI* ascend from *AHP de Rosh* of *AA* to *Rosh de AA* and become equal to it (in their properties), where they receive the Light called "holy of holies" that shines in *Rosh de AA*.

ZON ascend to *AVI* in the same way: after *AVI* receive the Light in *Rosh de AA*, they acquire strength (screen), and lower *Malchut* from *Bina* back to her place in *Malchut*, thereby enabling their *Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP* to return to their degree, *AVI*, as in *AA*. However, when the *Kelim-Sefirot B-ZA-M = AHP de Bina* that were inside *K-H = GE de ZON* ascend to *AVI*, they also take with them *Sefirot* of *ZON*, which they've clothed—*K-H = GE de ZON*. Thus, *K-H = GE de ZON* ascend to *AVI* and there receive the Light called "holy of holies," the Light of *Haya*.

Therefore, it is written that *Ima*-MOTHER DESCENDS TO HER DAUGHTER TO DRESS AND ADORN HER: the letters *ELEH* or *Ima* (*Bina*) in her small state descend to *Malchut*. This means that THE MOTHER DESCENDS TO HER DAUGHTER, for the three *Sefirot* of *Ima* assumed the property of *Malchut*, thereby separating from *Bina* and becoming a part of *Malchut*. This is akin to *Bina* giving part of her *Kelim* to *Malchut*. Yet, this gift is temporary, as though *Bina* LENDS, GIVES (these *Kelim*) FOR TEMPORARY USE, and thus, *Malchut* uses them temporarily.

And then, *Ima-Bina* (mother) ADORNS HER DAUGHTER WITH HER ADORNMENTS. This is so because in *Gadlut*, when the three *Sefirot ELEH*

return to *Bina*, *Malchut* ascends to the degree of *Bina* together with them, and there receives the Light of "holy of holies." And since an ascent to *Bina* implies becoming like *Bina* (in properties), she now has the right to receive the same Light as *Bina*.

It turns out that, as a result of the mother lowering her *Kelim* (properties) *ELEH* to her daughter by intentionally assuming the properties (desires) of *Malchut* instead of her own properties (desires), thereby entering the small state and willingly diminishing herself, upon receiving the properties of *Malchut* instead of properties of *Bina*, mother *Bina* adorned her daughter *Malchut* with her adornments, meaning the Light that subsequently comes in the state of *Gadlut*: the Light of *Bina* entered *Malchut*. This is described as "*Malchut* received her adornments."

There are two kinds of adornments that the daughter *Malchut* receives from her mother *Bina*: the first is *Ohr Hochma* (*Ohr Haya*, the Light of GAR), the Light of perfection, for it imparts the property of perfection to the *Kli* that it is filling, the Light that *Malchut* receives from *Ima* (Supernal Mother), who stands between *Peh* and *Chazeh* of *Partzuf* AA, above its *Parsa*. The second adornment is *Ohr Neshama*, which still designates imperfection, as it is received from the lower mother, *Partzuf* of *Tvuna* that stands between *Chazeh* and *Tabur de* AA, below its *Parsa*.

Naturally, to receive either Light, *Malchut* must ascend to the corresponding degree. In other words, she must change her properties so as to be able to receive, to merit that Light.

When *Malchut* ascends to *Tvuna* and receives her adornments from *Tvuna*, these adornments are still imperfect, for *Malchut* remains with a "question" (without the Light of *Hochma*), as *Tvuna* was before the raising of *MAN*. This means that to attain perfection, *Malchut* still needs to receive *MAN* from the lower ones, called the "husbands of Israel." In this state, the lower ones, called the righteous or "the husbands of Israel," receive the Light from ZA, which ascended to *YESHS* = *Israel-Saba*.

However, when *Malchut* ascends another degree, to the place of the Supernal Mother, *Bina*, above *Chazeh de* AA, and there receives her adornments from *Ima* and not from *Tvuna*, then these adornments are perfect, for they contain *Ohr Haya*; there is no more "question" in her, as she is considered a male, bestowing *Kli*, and the husbands of Israel receive from her.

And all the husbands of Israel appear before her and receive the Light from her. And *Malchut* is CALLED MASTER (Hebrew – *Adon*). The regular *Malchut*

is called by the Creator's female name *Adonay* (mistress) or *ADNI*, whereas in this state she is called by the male name *Adon* (master).

And this is because *Malchut* no longer has a question, for *MAN* is no longer raised within her, as she has reached perfection (Light of *Haya*) and is therefore called "husband" or master (*Adon*). Hence, the prophet said: BEHOLD THE ARK OF THE COVENANT, THE MASTER (*Adon*) OF ALL THE EARTH (*Yehoshua*, 3:11). *Malchut* is called the "Ark," for *ZA*, who bestows upon her, is called the "Covenant." *The Zohar* calls *Malchut* the "Master of all the earth" or "husband."

As a result of the letter *Hey* in the word *MA* (*Mem-Hey*), signifying the female essence, leaving *Malchut*, for the letter *Hey* signifies the presence of a question in *Malchut*, i.e., the absence of *Ohr Hochma*, whereas *Ohr Hochma* brings absolute knowledge, all questions disappear, and with them the letter *Hey*. The letter *Yod* ascends to the place of *Hey*, and *Malchut* assumes the name *MI* as *Ima*, which signifies *Malchut*'s reception of the name *Elokim*, as the name *Ima*.

18. Israel receives the last letters (*ELEH*) from Above, from *Bina* down to that place, i.e., to *Malchut*, who is now called *MI*, just like the name *Bina*. I pronounce the letters *ELEH* and my whole soul weeps so as to receive these letters *ELEH* from *Bina* into the house of *Elokim*, which is *Malchut*. So that *Malchut* would be called *Elokim*, just as *Bina* is called *Elokim*. How can I receive them? "With joyous songs of praise sung in the voice of the Torah, and festive throngs" (*Tehilim*, 42:4). Rabbi Elazar said, "My silence has erected the Temple Above, which is *Bina*, and the Temple below, which is *Malchut*. Of course, as people say, 'A word is worth a gold coin (Hebrew – *Sela*), but silence is worth two.' So the words 'a word is worth a gold coin' mean that I spoke and came to regret it. Silence, my silence, is worth twice as much, for the two worlds, *Bina* and *Malchut*, were created by this silence. For had I not kept silent (see item 11), I would not have attained the unity of both worlds."

After *Hey* has left *MA* and *Yod* ascended in her place, thereby forming *MI*, Israel elevates the LAST LETTERS *ELEH* to *Malchut* by raising *MAN*. As we've already explained, in *Katnut*, *ELEH* of the Upper One fell to *GE* of the lower one. Hence, they refer to the lower one in *Gadlut* as well. For when *B-ZA-M* = *ELEH* of the Upper One return to its *Rosh*, they thereby elevate *GE* of the lower one, too. The lower one thus acquires the *ELEH* of the Upper One and the Light with which they filled themselves in their present *Gadlut*.

To equalize with the lower one and enter the state of *Katnut*, the Upper One deliberately makes *Tzimtzum Bet* on its *AHP*. And upon connecting to the

lower one, the Upper One returns to the state of *Gadlut*, and passes the Light to that part of the lower one which they've both occupied in the state of *Katnut*.

This scenario is similar to one when a good, strong person joins a company of wicked men, and connects with them by pretending to be like them. And when such contact is established between them, he begins to correct them, little by little, precisely through this connection that has formed between them beforehand.

Each *Partzuf* in the small state is divided into two parts: *GE* and *AHP*. However, since there is a "column" of *Partzufim* between our world and the Creator, there is a connection between them via the common parts of the upper and the lower ones. Precisely because there is a part of an Upper One in each lower one, the lower one can receive strength from Above, through this common property, and ascend independently up to the Creator Himself.

Each Upper One that falls to the lower one completes its *Kelim* to ten *Sefirot*: *AHP* fall to *GE* of the lower one, and together they make up ten *Sefirot*, since they stand at the same level. In turn, *AHP* of the lower one falls into *GE* of the next lower one, and so on.

Afterwards, in *Gadlut*, when *GE* of the Upper One receive the strength to attach their *AHP* to themselves and elevate them, *GE* of the lower one ascend together with *AHP*, as they were joined below. Therefore, upon ascending, *GE* of the lower one continue to be joined with *AHP* of the Upper One, and together they form a *Partzuf* of ten *Sefirot*.

I PRONOUNCE THE LETTERS *ELEH*: Israel (one who wishes to receive the properties of the Creator) raises *MAN* (prayer for it) to receive in *Malchut* the Light of *Gadlut* (for self-correction) with the help of the letters *ELEH*, *Ima-Bina*. This is achieved by praying near the Gates of Tears, after which no one ever returns empty-handed, that is, after raising *MAN*, *ELEH* descend from *AVI* to *Malchut*, the house of *Elokim*. This is because after receiving *ELEH*, *Malchut* herself receives the name *Elokim*, just like *Ima*.

A WORD IS WORTH A GOLD COIN, BUT SILENCE IS WORTH TWO: the words (spiritual action) of Rabbi Elazar (the spiritual *Partzuf* of that name) elevated *Malchut* to *Tvuna*, below *Chazeh de AA*, where there is still no Light of *Hochma*, which designates the presence of a question in *Malchut*, a request for *Ohr Hochma*. And this is called "gold" (Hebrew – *Sela*, a gold coin), for that is the name of *Malchut*.

However, Rabbi Elazar's silence enabled Rabbi Shimon to reveal *Ohr Haya* by raising *Malchut* to the Supernal Mother, whereupon both worlds were

simultaneously created, for the lower world, *Malchut*, was created together with the Upper World, *Bina*, of which *The Zohar* speaks: SILENCE IS WORTH TWICE (two worlds) AS MUCH.

19. Rabbi Shimon said, "From here on the perfection of the written is said to bring forth their host by number." For these are two degrees, and each must be recorded, that is, noted: one is called *MA* and the other *MI*. *MI* is the Upper One, and *MA* is the lower one. The Upper Degree registers, speaks, and brings forth their hosts by number, where the letter *Hey* alludes to the one that is known and unequaled, namely *MI*. This is similar to the phrase, "*HaMotzi Lechem*"—He who brings forth bread from the earth (an appeal to the Creator), where the letter *Hey* refers to the knowledge of the known, lower degree, namely *MA*. And together they are one degree, *Malchut*. However, the Upper One is *MI de Malchut* and the lower one is *MA de Malchut*, the one that brings forth their host by number, for the number 600,000 refers to the number of stars that stand together, and they bring forth innumerable hosts.

The Zohar alludes to the words of the prophet (*Yeshayahu*, 40:26): "Raise your eyes to the height of Heavens and see: WHO HAS CREATED THESE (them) – *MI BARAH ELEH*? He that brings out their host by number, He calls them all by name; no one shall be hidden from the greatness of His might and the force of His power."

The word "recording" means "marked by the letter *Hey*," for two degrees must be recorded in *Malchut*: *MI* and *MA*. With the help of the Light that is received at the time of ascent above *Chazeh de AA* to the Upper World, *Malchut* becomes like the upper world and assumes the name *MI*, for the letter *Hey* exits *MA* (*Mem-Hey*), and the letter *Yod* ascends to its place. Thus, *Malchut* is called *MI*, like the Upper World, and is adorned with the male property.

Nevertheless, *MA*, the previous degree of *Malchut*, does not disappear. The reason for this is that the degree of *MI* is essential in order to pass the Light, the perfection of the "holy of holies" to the generations, the posterity of *Malchut*, *NRN* of the righteous, the lower ones. However, the birth and procreation of these generations (sons) depend on the name *MA*. Hence, if either (*MA* or *MI*) is missing in *Malchut*, she will not be able to beget future generations, to create new souls (lower *Partzufim* filled with Light).

Therefore, *Malchut* BRINGS OUT THEIR HOST BY NUMBER—this is the degree of *MI*, which *Malchut* inherits from the Supernal Mother, for the letter *Hey* before the words "brings out" (*Motzi* = *HaMotzi*) alludes to the fact that *Malchut* contains the perfect Light, called "adornments," which she

receives from *AVI*. This is the maximal Light that may fill *Malchut* during the 6,000 years.

The same letter, *Hey*, designates the presence of the Light of *YESHSUT*, the degree of *MA* within *Malchut*. For this degree must also be recorded, be present in *Malchut*. And these two degrees, *MI* and *MA*, are present in *Malchut*: *MI* above and *MA* below.

The Zohar calls *Malchut* the "world being revealed." That is to say, whatever *Malchut* reveals, the lower ones receive. Those individual attainments, individual sensations of the Light that descend from *Malchut* are what they call "their world." Similarly, whatever we feel in our sensory organs is what we call "our world." But this is nothing more than what we receive from *Malchut* of the lowest degree in the world of *Assiya*, *Malchut* of the previous degree.

However, we should know that the actual notion of "our world" indicates the true attainment of the degree called "our world," i.e., man's sensation of his ultimate disconnection from the Creator, total helplessness, and the realization of his absolute egoism. One can attain this sensation only if the spiritual Light shines on him from Above, in contrast to which he will see his true spiritual state. However, in order to reach such a state, one must make great efforts in the study of Kabbalah so as to draw upon himself the influence of the Surrounding Light ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155).

However, when man attains this state, he immediately raises such a request to the Creator that his *MAN* is not left unanswered, and he receives the strength to transcend "our world" and ascend with his properties to a Higher Degree—*Malchut* of the world of *Assiya*. And then it is she that becomes his world.

Here we are speaking about very high degrees. The *Malchut* that is being revealed is *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, *Nukva de ZA*. And the fact that *The Zohar* calls her "Supernal" indicates the state of *Malchut* when she attains the degree of *MI* during her ascent and clothing the Upper World, the Supernal Mother. Therefore, *Malchut* herself is then called "Supernal," and the degree of *MA* is, accordingly, called "lower."

KNOWS ALL THE HOSTS BY NUMBER: number designates perfection. Light without a number indicates that the Light is imperfect, whereas the Light with a number is perfect. The action of *ZA* with regard to passing the Light from *Bina* to *Malchut* is described in the phrase: THE HEAVENS TELL OF THE CREATOR'S GREATNESS. THE HEAVENS (*ZA*) TELL (Hebrew—*Mesaper*, from the word *Mispar*—number, the Light's perfection). *ZA* passes this Light from *AVI* to *Malchut*, called THE CREATOR'S GREATNESS.

This Light is called 600,000, for the degree of *Malchut* designates units, the degree of *ZA*—tens, the degree of *YESHSUT*—hundreds, the degree of *AVI*—thousands, the degree of *AA*—tens of thousands.

There are two parts in *AVI*: their own part, where they are regarded as thousands, and the part from *Ohr Hochma* that is received from *Rosh de AA*, where they are regarded as *AA*, that is, tens of thousands. However, they cannot be considered a complete degree of *AA*, but only as its *VAK*, for they clothe *AA* from the *Peh* down to the *Chazeh*. And since *VAK* = *Vav Ketzavot* = 6 *Sefirot* x 10 = 60, the degree of *VAK de AA* equals 60 x 10,000 = 600,000.

Therefore, when *Malchut* ascends to *AVI*, she receives a complete, perfect number—600,000, where 60 signifies that it is merely *VAK*, for *Malchut* has not yet reached *Rosh de AA* and that she still lacks this degree. And the degree of 10,000 refers to *AA*, the part that clothes in *AVI*, for *AVI* are *VAK de AA*. Therefore, *Malchut* contains the number 600,000.

Thus, two degrees are recorded in *Malchut*:

- *MI*, the degree of *AVI* that clothes in *Malchut*, through which *Malchut* receives the degree of the Upper World and is called accordingly, while the Light in it is called 600,000.
- *MA*, the degree of *YESHSUT* that clothes in *Malchut*, through which *Malchut* has a question, the sensation of lack of *Ohr Hochma*, and the request for its reception. *Malchut* is therefore called the "lower world."

These two degrees create one *Partzuf* within *Malchut*: her part that is above the *Chazeh* is clothed in *AVI*, and her part that is below the *Chazeh* is clothed in *YESHSUT*. Therefore, in the generations, in *Malchut*'s descendants, each *Partzuf* consists of two parts (degrees): from the Upper Part (*MI*) there is a Light of 600,000, and from the lower part (lower world, *MA*), there is an absence of number (perfection) in each descendant.

The phrase, THEY BRING FORTH INNUMERABLE HOSTS is not interpreted as infinitely big. Rather, "Innumerable" indicates the imperfection of the Light that is received in the lower part, as it comes from *YESHSUT*, the degree that is without a number.

Malchut's descendants are therefore defined as imperfect, as these two degrees exist in her as one, and are connected as one. Hence, there are two degrees in *Malchut*'s descendants: the Upper One—600,000, and the lower one—without a number. However, the lower one is defined as supplement to perfection and is not considered a flaw.

The reason for this is that the blessing of the seed, propagation depends only on the lower world, *MA*, without a number, as it is said in the Torah that Avraham complained that he is childless (*Beresheet*, 15:5), and the answer was: "Look now toward Heaven, and count the stars. Will you be able to count them? So shall be your descendants." From this we see that the blessing of the seed comes from the lack of a number, i.e., the name *MA*.

Hence, after all the perfection that *Malchut* attains from the Light of *AVI* (*MI*), *Malchut* has an additional blessing from *MA*, which is called the "lack of a number," and both these degrees are included in her descendants—the souls and generations.

20. All of these 600,000 and all their innumerable hosts, He calls the names. What does this mean: "calls the names?" If you say that He calls them by their names, it is not so, for then it would have said, "calls by name." However, when this degree does not ascend in the name *Elokim*, but is called *MI*, it does not beget and does not reveal those that are concealed within it. And although they were all concealed within it, meaning that even though the letters *ELEH* have already ascended, the "precious garment" of *Ohr Hassadim* is still concealed. And while it is concealed, it is not called by the name *Elokim*. For He created the letters *ELEH* and they ascended in His Name—clothed themselves in "precious garments" of *Ohr Hassadim*, as a result of which *ELEH* combine with *MI*, and are called *Elo-im*. Then, by the power of this name, He brought them forth in perfection, defined as CALLS THEIR NAMES, which means that He called by name and brought forth every type and species to exist in perfection. Hence, it is said: HE BROUGHT FORTH THEIR HOST BY NUMBER—called them all by name, that is, by the name *Elokim*.

It was already mentioned that the perfection of the Light, which is the Creator's name *Elo-im*, descends to the souls, generations, descendants, two degrees joined in one. This degree includes 600,000 from the Upper Degree, and innumerable hosts from the lower, and the Creator's name descends on both of them.

The blessing of the seed depends entirely on *MA*, for it is determined by *Ohr Hochma*, as this Light designates perfection. Whereas the Light without a number, *Ohr Hassadim*, comes precisely from the name *MA*. As is already known, *Ohr Hochma* is accepted only when clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. Until such clothing occurs, even though *ELEH* ascend to *MI*, the name *Elokim* (*ELO-IM* = *ELEH* + *IM*) does not act.

Hence, it is written that *MI* DOES NOT BEGET (ANY OFFSPRING), even though the point of *Malchut* left the thought (*Bina*) and descended back to her place, and all ten *Sefirot* and the Light returned to the *Partzuf*, THE NAME *ELEH* IS still CONCEALED, for she still cannot receive *Hochma* in the absence of *Hassadim*.

However, BECAUSE HE CREATED *ELEH*, meaning that after He added a *Zivug* to the screen of *MA* (lower world, *Malchut*), there appeared *Ohr Hassadim*, called WITHOUT A NUMBER. And *ELEH* were filled with *Ohr Hassadim*, which means *BARAH* = CREATED *ELEH*, as clothing in *Ohr Hassadim* is called *BARAH* (creation). Only after this are they called *ELOKIM*, for only after the reception of *Ohr Hassadim* can they receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "the Light of a number," the Light of 600,000, as a result of which, the letters combine and form the complete name *Elokim*.

The same perfection (clothing of *Hochma* in *Hassadim*) also extends to the souls and descendants that emerge from the name *Elokim*. AND HE IS CALLED BY THIS NAME: all that emerges is called by this name, with these properties He creates all descendants—*Partzufim* from His *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. THE NAME 600,000 is *Hochma*, TOGETHER WITH *HASSADIM*, so that they will have the perfection of the name, so that Light will clothe Light, as they are clothed in the NAME. It is therefore written: SEE, I CALL THEM BY NAME, for "to call" means to revive and bring to perfection.

21. He asks, "What is the meaning of 'by the greatness of His might and wealth?'" This is the head of the degree, where all desires ascend and remain concealed. The strong one that ascended in the name *Elokim*, as it is said, "This is the secret of the Upper World, called *MI*." No man is missing from the 600,000 that He created by the power of this name. And because no one is missing from these 600,000, it follows that wherever the sons of Israel perished and were punished for their transgressions, we subsequently find that not one from the 600,000 had disappeared, so that everything would remain the same Above and below. And just as no one had disappeared from the 600,000 Above, no one has disappeared from this number below.

FROM THE GREATNESS OF HIS MIGHT AND WEALTH signifies *Keter de AVI*, called the HEAD OF DEGREES. This is *Bina* of *AA*, which became *Keter de Partzuf AVI*, WHERE ALL DESIRES ASCEND (*MAN* of the lower ones), and receive all the degrees from there. This degree is filled with *Ohr Hassadim*, and exists in perfection even in the absence of *Ohr Hochma*, as its Light of *Hassadim* comes from *GAR de BINA* of *AA*. In other words, it has such

a powerful Light of *Hassadim* that although this degree emerged from *Rosh de AA*, it is not regarded as having left it, for it feels no need for *Ohr Hochma*. This degree, *Keter* of *AVI*, is the *Rosh* of all the degrees in the world of *Atzilut*, from where *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON* receive the Light.

THE STRONG ONE IS THE SECRET OF THE UPPER WORLD, the property of *MI* that is present in *Malchut*, from where the number 600,000 descends, for she clothes the Upper World, *AVI*. Therefore, it is written that NO ONE DISAPPEARS FROM THOSE 600,000 because there *Malchut* receives *Ohr Hochma*, called "600,000." Hence, it is said that AS NO ONE DISAPPEARED ABOVE, SO IT IS BELOW, for *Malchut* clothes *AVI*, described in the phrase: THE MOTHER ADORNS HER DAUGHTER WITH HER OWN ADORNMENTS, by which *Malchut* becomes completely similar to *AVI*. And just as the Light of *AVI* is perfect (which is why it is called "600,000" and NO ONE HAS DISAPPEARED, i.e., no lack of *Ohr Hochma* is felt), *Malchut* is perfect in this number, which means NO ONE HAS DISAPPEARED below.

The Letters of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba

22. Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba said: "In the first four words of the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED *Et – Beresheet Barah Elokim Et*, the first two words begin with the letter *Bet*, and the following two begin with *Aleph*" (The letter *Aleph* is pronounced both as "A" and "E"). It is said that when the Creator thought to create the world, all of the letters were still concealed, and even 2,000 years before the creation of the world, the Creator gazed into the letters and played with them.

In the language of Kabbalah, the same sentence appears in the following way: when the Creator (*Bina*) decided to create the world (*ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*), the *Kelim* of *ZON* (*Zeir Anpin* and *Nukva*) were still in *Bina*. *Hochma* and *Bina* (*Aba ve Ima – AVI*) are called 2,000 years. Before the creation of the world (the birth of *ZON*), all the letters (the *Kelim* of *ZON*) existed in *AVI* in the form of *MAN*, and *MAN* always stimulates a desire in the Upper One to attend to it.

With regard to the lower *Partzuf*, the Upper One is called the Creator, for it truly begets it, and whatever the lower one receives, comes directly from its Upper One. Moreover, one may say that this is all that the Upper One desires, its entire existence is meant exclusively for the lower one. Therefore, the Upper One always waits for the lower one's genuine request for the desire to ascend spiritually, which is called *MAN*. Provided this desire is sincere, the Upper One immediately responds and passes the powerful Light of correction to the lower one.

Since the lower one is *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, and all that is below this *Partzuf* (all the worlds of *ABYA* and our world) is considered a part of it, *AVI* of the world of *Atzilut* constitute the Upper *Partzuf*. The desires and properties of *ZON* are called "letters," and here *The Zohar* explains the properties that *ZON* (the spiritual worlds and our world, we ourselves) were

created with, which properties are desirable, which require correction, and how this correction is achieved.

Since the properties of the future Creature are determined by the Creator's purpose in creating it, it is said that even before the creation of the world, the Creator played with the letters. The word "played" suggests that the Creator's interaction with the Creature is like His game with the leviathan (the legendary sea monster), with the property that is opposite from Him. At the end of correction all the letters unite and combine into the one name of the Creator.

The order of the Hebrew alphabet indicates the descent of the Direct Light from Above, the Inner Light that fills the *Partzuf*. The reverse order of the letters from the end of the alphabet alludes to the ascent of the Returning Light. The direct order of the alphabet refers to mercy, whereas the reverse order—to the strict law and restrictions on using egoistic desires.

When Adam sinned, the letters detached themselves from him, and only the letters *Shin* and *Tav* (the *Kelim* for the Light of *VAK* of *Nefesh*) remained in him. The *Kelim* for the Light of *Neshama* are represented by the letters from *Aleph* to *Yod*; the letters from *Yod* to *Kuf* are the *Kelim* for the Light of *Ruach*, and the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*—the *Kelim* for *GAR* of *Nefesh*—disappeared from him.

This is why Adam gave his son, born after his sin, the name *SHeT* (Seth): *Shin-Tav*, according to the two last letters of the alphabet—the *Kelim* that remained in him. The *Kli Shin-Tav* are only fit for the Returning Light from below upwards, but not for the reception of the Upper Light from Above downwards. However, after it receives *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin* (the letter *Yod*), *Shin-Tav* turns into a combination *Shin-Yod-Tav*. And if the Creator creates the world by the letter *Bet*, it then enters between *Shin* and *Tav* and forms the word *Shabbat* (*Sh-B-T*), the state of spiritual perfection, the goal of creation. For this reason, the first word in the Torah—*Beresheet* consists of: *Bara* (created) *Sh(in)-Y(od)-T(av)*.

23. When the Creator thought to create the world, all the letters of the alphabet came to Him in reverse order from last (*Tav*) to first (*Aleph*). The letter *Tav* entered first and said, "Master of the world! It is good, and also seemly of You, to create the world with me, with my properties. For I am the seal on Your ring, called *EmeT* (truth), that ends with the letter *Tav*. And that is why You are called truth, and why it would befit the King to begin the universe with the letter *Tav*, and to create the world by her, by her properties."

The Creator answered: "You are beautiful and sincere, but do not merit the world that I conceived to be created by your properties, since you are

destined to be marked on the foreheads of the truly faithful who fulfill all of Torah from *Aleph* to *Tav* (from the first letter to the last), and perished because of you" (Talmud Bavli, *Shabbat*, 55)

What does a particular name of the Creator mean? The name of the spiritual object indicates the way one can receive the Light that fills it, the way one can attain its spiritual degree. Generally speaking, the twenty-two letters are the ten *Sefirot-Kelim* in the *Ibur* (embryonic phase) of the future *Partzuf* in the *Sefira Yesod*, for that is where the screen of the embryo of the new *Partzuf* is located. That is why *Yesod* is called a "number," as it measures the size of a new *Partzuf*.

Bearing in mind that each name determines specific spiritual properties and states of an object, one can understand what is meant by a change of name, place, or action.

HaVaYaH is the basis of all the letters, but the filling of each letter clarifies the letter itself. The filling of a letter is heard as the letter is pronounced. As we read the letter *Yod* in the word *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*), we actually pronounce three sounds (y-o-d); although we write only one letter, the sounds "o-*Vav*" and "d-*Dalet*" are heard together with the sound "y." When we say "*Hey*," the sound "ey"—*Yod* or "ey"—follows the sound "h." Therein lies the clarification of the name *HaVaYaH* in the process of its emergence.

The Creator's form-properties are revealed in His deeds; hence, the three lines in *Bina* (the Creator) are imprinted and act in His created beings (the lower worlds) as a seal and its imprint. Therefore, the name *MB* exists in *Bina*, as well as in *ZA* and *Malchut*. However, in *ZA*, this name is divided into the ten sayings and thirty-two forces of creation of *Elokim*, which create *Malchut*, the creature.

Bina is designated by the letter *Mem*, *Malchut*—by *Bet*; the name *MB* designates the creation of *Malchut* by *Bina*. The letter *Aleph* designates *ZA*, which passes all the twenty-two letters (from *Aleph* to *Tav*) to *Malchut* (*Bet*). This is why *Malchut* is called *ET* (*Aleph* pronounced as '*E*'-*Tav*).

Malchut is the central part of creation and its purpose. She is the only creation and includes all the worlds with all that inhabits them, us included. Depending on its states, parts of *Malchut* or *Malchut* herself (which is one and the same) have different properties designated by the different letter combinations. For this reason, *Malchut's* parts receive various "codes" (combinations) of letters (properties) or names.

All the words in the world originate here, in *Malchut*. There is not a single property in the world that is not included in *Malchut*. Each property of *Malchut*, each of the creatures (for all creatures are her parts) is designated by

the property that distinguishes it from the others, by the unique set of letters-properties that forms its name.

Malchut is called *Shechina* (Divinity), as she is filled with the Light, *Shochen* (Dweller—the Creator). The Creator is called *Shochen* when *Malchut* feels Him as such, within her. If man, being part of *Malchut*, purifies himself of egoism, either partially or completely, and thus fills his corrected desires with the Light (the Creator), he becomes part of the *Shechina*.

Malchut consists of four parts that are named by their properties (also called faces): face of a lion, face of an ox, face of an eagle, and face of a man. Alternately, *Malchut* is likened to a spiritual kernel, surrounded by four shells, which correspond to the four *Klipot* (impure forces): *Ruach Se'ara* (Stormy Wind), *Anan Gadol* (Great Cloud), *Esh Mitlakachat* (Blazing Flame), and *Noga* (Radiance).

Kabbalah can describe spiritual actions either as names of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim* or as names of *HaVaYaH*, *EKYEH*, and so forth, with their fillings and *Gematriot* (plural for *Gematria*—the numeric value). Although the most frequently used language is that of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*, sometimes the language of *HaVaYaH* with its fillings can also be applied, even in parallel or simultaneously with the former.

Most Kabbalistic terms are composite: *Maatzil* (the Creator) comes from the word *Tzel* (shadow), as the Creature emerges from the Creator's concealment, from His restrictions. Another name for the Creator is *Boreh* (combination of *Bo*—come and *Re'eh*—see).

A name denotes attainment. Upon attaining an object, man gives it a name. Similarly, man gives a name to the Creator according to the property that he attains, depending on how he feels the Creator. There are several kinds of names to the Creator, based on His properties. For example, the Creator's name *EMET*—"Truth" is based on the sensations of His Light within the *Partzuf*.

Below are the names of the Creator with the corresponding names of the *Sefirot*:

– ***Keter:*** *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey* (*EKYEH*)

– ***Hochma:*** *Yod-Hey* (*YA*)

– ***Bina:*** *HaVaYaH* with the punctuation *Segol-Holam-Hirik*, as *Elokim*: *Yod* (*Yod-Vav-Dalet*) - *Hey* (*Hey-Yod*) - *Vav* (*Vav-Aleph-Vav*) - *Hey* (*Hey-Yod*).

– ***Hesed:*** *Aleph-Lamed* = *EL* (pronounced *KEL*)

– ***Gevura:*** *Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Mem* (*ELOKIM*)

– ***Tifferet:*** *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey* (*HaVaYaH* without punctuation)

– ***Netzah:*** *HaVaYaH TZEVAOT*

– ***Hod:*** *ELOKIM TZEVAOT*

– ***Yesod:*** *Shin-Dalet-Yod = SHADDAY*

– ***Malchut:*** *ADONAY* (pronounced *ADNI*)

Merging the two worlds, the Upper and the lower, is designated by the words *HaVaYaH-ADNI*, implying the ascent of *Malchut-ADNI* to the level of *Bina-HaVaYaH* with the punctuation of *Elokim*.

The name ZA of *HaVaYaH* comes from the right line (*Hesed*), and the name *ADNI*, from the left line (*Gevura*). Joining of these two lines forms the middle line, where the Light of *Hochma* shines on account of the presence of the Light of *Hassadim* from the right line. Such state is designated by a combination of the two names *HaVaYaH-ADNI*:

YOD-Aleph-HEY-Dalet-VAV-Nun-HEY-Yod. The union (*Zivug*) of ZA and his *Nukva* is designated by mixing the two names.

HaVaYaH-ADNI: *Yod-Aleph-Hey-Dalet-Vav-Nun-Hey-Yod*. The opening *Yod* indicates the Light of *Hochma* in ZA, the *Yod* at the end refers to the passing of this Light to *Nukva*.

As a result of the second restriction, *Malchut* ascended to *Bina*, and governs *Bina* and ZA with her desire. Since it is impossible to receive the Light of *Hochma* in the three *Sefirot*—*Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*, which are governed by *Malchut's* egoistic desire, the Light of *Hochma* is absent in the *Partzuf*, and only the Light of *Hassadim* is present.

This is designated in the following way: the letter *Yod* enters the word Light (*Ohr* contains the letters *Aleph-Vav-Reish*, signifying the Light of *Hochma*), and forms the word *Avir* (air, containing the letters *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*), signifying the Light of *Hassadim*. If the *Partzuf* returns to the *Gadlut* state, the letter *Yod* exits it, and it is refilled with the Light of *Hochma*. Consequently, *Avir* (air) becomes *Ohr* (Light).

Unfilled *HaVaYaH* designates *Partzuf Keter*. *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *AB* (72) designates *Partzuf Hochma* (AA). *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *SAG* (63) designates *Partzuf Bina* (AVI). Together, these three *HaVaYaH* form *MB* (42) letters—the sacred name of the Light that corrects the souls by its influence on the *Kli*, the screen.

All that was created is the desire to receive pleasure, which we call "creature." Only this desire was created, and nothing else. All the worlds and all that inhabits

them, our world with everything within it, are but degrees of the desire to receive pleasure. The intensity of the desire determines its place in the spiritual realm, where all creation and our world—as its lowest point—are located. Man's actual location (the world, his spiritual degree) determines the particular kind of pleasure he desires, how he chooses to enjoy.

In order for the creature to emerge from the Creator, the Light emanating from Him must descend through four stages, whereas the fifth stage already perceives itself as a separate and independent (from the Creator) desire to enjoy precisely the Light emanating from the Creator.

Upon emerging from the Creator—a result of a sequential emanation of His Light—the desire to receive pleasure (*Kli*-vessel) also consists of five parts designated by the letters: the tip of the *Yod*, *Yod*, *Hey*, *Vav*, *Hey*. These five parts (four letters) are called the Creator's name *HaVaYaH*, because the *Kli* gives the Creator a name according to its sensation of Him, according to its sensation of the Light that fills it. The Light that fills the *Kli* is called "filling."

The *Kli* created by the Creator is divided into five parts, called "worlds." Each world is in turn divided into five more parts, called *Partzufim* (faces). Then, each *Partzuf* (singular for *Partzufim*) consists of five parts called *Sefirot*. In all, there are 5 x 5 x 5 = 125 spiritual objects or degrees from the lowest degree to the Creator Himself.

Each *Partzuf* consists of five parts (*Sefirot*), designated by a dot and four letters: *Keter*-dot + *Hochma*-*Yod* + *Bina*-*Hey* + ZA-*Vav* + *Malchut*-*Hey* = *HaVaYaH*. The difference between each of the 125 *Partzufim* lies in the type of Light that fills them, whereas the core of the *Kli*, the letters *HaVaYaH*, remain the same. A desire cannot appear unless the Creator's Light had previously passed through the five stages; only the fifth stage is considered a birth of a new creation (desire).

The whole universe (all the worlds) is nothing but the ten *Sefirot* or the Creator's name *HaVaYaH*.

SEFIRA	LETTER	PARTZUF	WORLD	LIGHT
Keter	A dot, the tip of the letter *Yod*	*Galgalta*	*AK*	*Yechida*
Hochma	*Yod*	*AB*	*Atzilut*	*Haya*
Bina	*Hey*	*SAG*	*Beria*	*Neshama*
ZA	*Vav*	*MA*	*Yetzira*	*Ruach*
Malchut	*Hey*	*BON*	*Assiya*	*Nefesh*

A filling of *HaVaYaH* with Light is referred to as its revelation. Thus, the letters emerge from the state of concealment when they are not filled. In all there are five *Partzufim*: *Keter* (*Galgalta*), *AB*, *SAG*, *MA* and *BON*. The first—*Partzuf Keter*—is the main one and the source of all the rest. Its ten *Sefirot* is plain (inner) *HaVaYaH*, for each of the four letters of its *HaVaYaH* comes outside, revealing a new *Partzuf* that clothes it.

So then, out of *Partzuf Keter-Galgalta*, from the letter *Yod* comes *Partzuf Hochma* (*AB*), from the letter *Hey*—*Partzuf Bina* (*SAG*), from the letter *Vav*—*Partzuf ZA* (*MA*), and from the letter *Hey*—*Partzuf Malchut* (*BON*). Thus *Partzuf Keter* is designated by plain *HaVaYaH*, and the *Partzufim* that clothe it are designated by filled *HaVaYaH*. The recording of *HaVaYaH* with the Light that fills it is called *Miluy* (filling). For the purposes of brevity when naming a *Partzuf*, the notion of *Gematria* was introduced. *Gematria* is the numerical value of the Light that fills the *Partzuf*.

Wisdom (*Hochma*) is called calculation (*Heshbon*), *Gematria*. A calculation is made only in a place where Light is received: (i) a preliminary calculation is made as to how much Light the *Partzuf* can receive for the Creator's sake; (ii) the Light is received in accordance with the calculation; (iii) calculation of the received amount, called *Miluy*, *Gematria*.

Malchut cannot receive the Light of *Hochma* without the Light of *Hassadim*, and in that event, *Hochma* cannot shine in her. Then *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and becomes like an embryo inside of her, by which she receives the right line—*Hassadim*. Upon joining the past and the present states, *Malchut* receives *Hochma* into *Hassadim*, and the Light of *Hochma* shines in her. All these actions of *Malchut* are accompanied by calculations, called *Gematriot*.

The *Gematria* (numerical value) of the *Partzuf* unfilled with the Light, the *Gematria* of the empty *HaVaYaH* is as follows:

HaVaYaH = *Yod* + *Hey* + *Vav* + *Hey* = 10 + 5 + 6 + 5 = 26. The *Gematria* of a filled *HaVaYaH* is formed by filling each letter; In Hebrew, each letter has a full name: A-*Aleph*, B-*Bet*, etc.. Hence, there are four kinds of fillings in *HaVaYaH*: 1) *AB*, 2) *SAG*, 3) *MA* and 4) *BON*.

1) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *AB*:
Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 10 + 6 + 4 = 20
Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15
Vav: *Vav* + *Yod* + *Vav* = 6 + 10 + 6 = 22
Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

In all: 20 + 15 + 22 + 15 = 72 = *AB*, where "A" designates the letter *Ayin* = 70, and not *Aleph* = 1. *HaVaYaH* filled with this Light is called *Partzuf AB* (*Partzuf Hochma*), for the letter *Yod* with its filling signifies the Light of Wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*. Such a filling is called "*HaVaYaH* with the filling of *Yod*."

2) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *SAG*: the *Partzuf* that is filled with Light of Mercy, *Ohr Hassadim*, is called *SAG*, for its *Gematria* is this:

SAG = *Samech* (60) + *Gimel* (3) = 63:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 10 + 6 + 4 = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

Vav: *Vav* + *Aleph* + *Vav* = 6 + 1 + 6 = 13

Hey: *Hey* + *Yod* = 5 + 10 = 15

In all: 20 + 15 + 13 + 15 = 63 = *Samech* + *Gimel* = *SAG*

If the *Kelim* and their filling originate from the first restriction, the letter *Yod* is present in the filling of *HaVaYaH*. And if the *Kelim* are filled with the Light of the second restriction, it is the letter *Aleph*, present in the filling of *HaVaYaH*. The difference between the *Gematriot* of *AB* and *SAG* lies in the filling of the letter *Vav*: *Gematria* of *Vav* in *Partzuf AB* is twenty-two (from the filling of *Ohr Hochma*), whereas *Gematria* of *Vav* in *Partzuf SAG* is thirteen (from the filling of *Ohr Hassadim*). From the aforesaid, it is clear that *Partzuf AB* originates from the first restriction, whereas the letter *Vav* (ZA) in *Partzuf SAG* originates from the second restriction.

3) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *MA*:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Aleph* = 6

Vav: *Vav* + *Aleph* + *Vav* = 13

Hey: *Hey* + *Aleph* = 6

Such a filling of *HaVaYaH* is called 20 + 6 + 13 + 6 = 45 = *Mem* (40) + *Hey* (5) = *MA* (the letter *Hey* is pronounced as "ah").

4) *HaVaYaH* with the filling of *BON*:

Yod: *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet* = 20

Hey: *Hey* + *Hey* = 10

Vav: *Vav* + *Vav* = 12

Hey: *Hey* + *Hey* = 10

Such a filling of *HaVaYaH* is called 20 + 10 + 12 + 10 = 52 = *Nun* (50) + *Bet* (2), pronounced as *BON* for easier articulation. This is the *Gematria* of

Partzuf Malchut, and it is equivalent to twice the value of the unfilled *HaVaYaH*: *HaVaYaH* = 26, and 26 x 2 = 52 = *MA*.

Partzuf Malchut cannot receive the Creator's Light due to the absence of a screen. Instead, it can only passively receive what *Partzuf ZA* gives it. Hence, the twofold twenty-six indicates that whatever *Malchut* has comes to her from *ZA*.

From the four kinds of *HaVaYaH*, it becomes clear that the root of creation is neither *Partzuf Hochma* nor *Bina*, but only *ZA*, as it is the first *Partzuf* built on the second restriction.

The primary ten *Sefirot* are located in *Partzuf Keter*, whereas *Partzufim AB*, *SAG*, *MA*, and *BON* are merely branches stemming from the first *Partzuf*. However, when the Light spreads within the *Partzuf*, it contains five inner Lights *NRNHY* and five outer Lights. The five outer Lights of *Bina* come out of the right ear, and the five inner Lights of *Bina* come out of the left. The five outer Lights of *ZA* come out of the right nostril, and the five inner Lights of *ZA* come out of the left.

Since the two *Malchuyot* (plural for *Malchut*) are remote from one another, as a branch in our world, man's ear holes are also separated and distanced. The two nostrils are separated by a smaller distance, whereas the five inner and outer Lights of the common Light of the *Peh* (mouth) come out of the same opening. Thus, as they exit the mouth, they collide and interweave, and as a result of their collisions, letters (*Kelim*) are born.

Since twenty-two letters originate from *Bina-SAG* = *Samech* + *Gimel* = 60 + 3 = 63, the opening through which they come out is called 63 + 22 = 85 = *Peh* + *Hey* = *PeH* (mouth). The letters come out of the *Peh* of *ZA*, for *Yesod* of *Ima* is located there.

We received our entire Torah, all of the knowledge about the spiritual worlds, from our Great Patriarchs, who ascended spiritually above our world, sensed the Upper Worlds, and described them to us. This is how we received the whole Torah—both the written and the oral parts.

We cannot imagine the spiritual world because our sensory organs cannot detect it. Thus, to describe the objects and concepts still unattainable by us, Kabbalists use several techniques, languages. The whole Torah speaks only of the creation, governing, and correction of the world; never about history, geography, or anything else. As it is said in the Torah itself, the Torah is the sacred names, that is, manifestations of the Creator, the degrees and methods of His attainment.

Kabbalists, those who ascend to the spiritual world and thus establish direct contact with the Creator, convey this information to us using four languages:

1. The language of the *TaNaKh* (**T**orah—Pentateuch, **N***evi'im*—Prophets, ***K****etuvim*—Writings/Hagiographa). This is the language of the written Torah.
2. The language of laws.
3. The language of legends.
4. The language of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*—the language of Kabbalah.

All the languages speak about the same thing—the attainment of the Creator by us, those living in this world. For this is the sole purpose of our creation, and according to the Creator's design, we must devote all of our physical, mental, and spiritual abilities only to it. And if we were to aspire only to this, we would naturally use our language only for this purpose. After all, everything that is given to us is only for the fulfillment of this exclusive goal—the attainment of the sensation of the Creator, while still in this life.

And this is why the first language mastered by humankind was Hebrew. However, as they distanced from fulfilling their mission, humankind conceived other languages. All the other languages in the world have their inner meaning, too, but since their alphabets were not revealed to us by Kabbalists, we study the spiritual forces depicted in the Hebrew alphabet, the source of all the others.

Every *Partzuf* is divided into two parts: right and left. The right part consists of *Ramach* = *Reish* – *Mem* – *Chet* = 248 parts (organs) filled with the Light of *Hassadim*; and the left part consists of *Shasah* = *Shin* – *Samech* – *Hey* = 365 parts (tendons) filled with the Light of *Hochma*. ZA is called a "voice"; he is generally the Light of *Hassadim*. But when he joins with *Malchut*, called "speech," *Malchut* receives the Light of *Hassadim* with *Hochma* from ZA, and thus "speech" is formed.

The seven primary *Sefirot* of ZA are called "Seven Heavens." The seventy names of ZA originate from the 70 (7 x 10) *Sefirot* of ZA. ZA himself is called "Heaven" and *Malchut* is called "earth." The *Sefirot* of ZA are also called *Ruach*, owing to the Light of *Ruach* within them, which ascends to *Bina* (ears) and transforms into sound: *Hochma* in the left ear and *Hassadim* in the right.

There is a difference between language and alphabet, as in our world there are people who can speak, but cannot read or write. The most ancient spoken language is that of the *TaNaKh*, which dates back to Adam. The language of laws originated from it, followed by the language of legends. All of these languages combined and each of them in particular are used in our holy scriptures.

The language of Kabbalah was the last to develop. It is the most difficult language, since proper understanding of it requires sensing the spiritual categories

that this language narrates. Kabbalah is also the most precise language of all. It is the only language that can accurately render all the spiritual information.

However, only through direct study with a Kabbalist-teacher can a student learn it and grasp its information. And since for many generations there were only a few Kabbalists, unconnected with one another, the language of Kabbalah was the last to evolve. Even today it can only be "learned" directly from a Kabbalist-teacher.

Initially, Kabbalists enciphered their knowledge of the spiritual world as letters, whose outlines reflected the interrelationships of spiritual forces. In other words, each spiritual degree is characterized by a unique interrelationship of spiritual forces. By assigning each spiritual property with a particular symbol, one can depict the interrelationship, as well as the general product of the union of spiritual forces of each degree, i.e., its essence.

Thus, Kabbalists created the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. *The Zohar* pays much attention to analyzing the connection between the letters, which helps a student to synthesize his knowledge and find new ways of discovering spiritual forces and their actions within.

As our forefather Avraham writes in his *Book of Creation* (*Sefer Yetzira*), letters represent the stones from which the building-word is constructed. As our sages tell us, the world was created with the letters of the "sacred language," each letter representing a certain holy, spiritual, altruistic force of creation.

The properties of this force are reflected in the letter's outline, its importance with regard to other letters, its potential combinations with the others, its potential punctuation marks, its crowns and notations, its numerical value (*Gematria*) and variations.

However, this only concerns separate letters and their combinations. There are also certain rules that enable us to determine the properties of spiritual forces not from letters, but from whole words. Moreover, quite often we can replace letters or even parts of a word with similar ones.

The language itself, the roots of its words, indicate the properties of the spiritual object they describe. For example, Adam originated from *Adama*—earth, which emphasizes his insignificance, and from the word *Adameh*—similar (to the Upper One), which emphasizes his eminence. The name Yaakov comes from the word *Ekev*—to get around (*Esau*). There are many such examples in the Torah, for everything is named after its root, as after the patronymic name of one's father.

Once we have established that certain combinations of letters (*Kelim*, language of letters) can be used instead of the language of *Sefirot* and *Partzufim*

when describing spiritual actions, the entire description of the spiritual worlds amounts to portraying objects and actions in the form of letters and their combinations. This is how the whole of the Torah is written, in words. Thus,

a) The shape of each letter and the elements of its structure indicate all the properties and the general state of a spiritual object, *Sefira*, or *Partzuf*, which this particular letter depicts;

b) The order of letters in a word indicates the connection between spiritual objects, *Sefirot*, and their shared properties and actions. Attainment of a word's spiritual meaning signifies an ascent to the spiritual level of the object. When that happens, he who attains it becomes this very word, assumes its name. Man's name keeps changing as he ascends the spiritual degrees; it is determined by the degree he is on, as he assumes the name of that degree. It is therefore said that everyone can become like Moshe, i.e., attain the degree called "Moshe";

c) The word itself in its "corporeal" reading, its "corporeal" meaning indicates the spiritual root and its branch—consequence in our world;

d) A combination of words indicates an entire spiritual process, which, as a rule, has a corresponding action (commandment) in our world.

Names change depending on the aspect that requires clarification:

a) By elements of *Sefirot*:

Keter	-	has none
Hochma	-	fire
Bina	-	water
ZA	-	air
Malchut	-	earth

b) By colors:

Keter	-	has none
Hochma	-	white – the basis of all colors
Bina	-	red – most prominent
ZA	-	green – most perfect
Malchut	-	black – cannot be changed by any other color

Colors are present only in the *Guf* (body) of the *Partzuf*, but never in the *Rosh* (head). These colors are projected onto *Malchut* from Above, and she passes them on to all the lower ones.

c) By lines:

Hesed	-	right	-	white
Gevura	-	left	-	red
Tifferet	-	central, includes all the colors	-	green

Quite often, colors and elements are used instead of the names of *Sefirot* and their properties: fire, water, air, earth (*The Zohar*, *Vayera*, item 32). *Malchut* is called "earth," but *Malchut* that ascends with her properties to *Bina* is called "earth of the Temple." In the Temple, the four sides of the world—*Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet* and *Malchut* join the four elements of the world—fire, water, air and earth. Out of the two points of *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are joined together, the Creator made one *Partzuf* —Adam.

The four foundations of the world, or the four sides of the world:

Fire	North	*Shuruk*	Left Line	*Gevura*
Air	East	*Hirik*	Middle Line	*Tifferet*
Water	South	*Holam*	Right Line	*Hesed*
Earth	West	–	–	*Malchut* – receives from all

Four fundamental metals are created as a result of a *Zivug* of the four foundations with *Malchut*: gold, silver, copper and iron. All of these names, as well as many others, are used in the Torah instead of the names of the ten *Sefirot*. Therefore, although the languages of the Torah, legends, the Talmud, and the Scriptures are extraordinarily vivid, only the concise language of Kabbalah provides an accurate description of the spiritual worlds.

The four kinds of symbols used with letters:

Taamim—tone modulations used in pronouncing letters—signify the Direct Light, which spreads from Above downwards in the body of the *Partzuf*.

Nekudot—letter punctuation marks—signify the Light during its gradual exit from the body of the *Partzuf* from below upwards.

Tagin—crowns above the letters—represent *Reshimot* (reminiscences/records) of the previously present Light (*Taamim*). *Tagin* originate from *GAR de Bina*.

Otiot—letters—represent *Reshimot* of the Light's exit from the body of the *Partzuf* (*Nekudot*). Letters originate from *Zat de Bina*.

The ten *Sefirot* are divided into three primary parts—*Taamim*, *Nekudot*, and *Otiot*:

Taamim	-	Keter
Nekudot	-	Hochma
Otiot	-	ZAT de Bina and ZON

According to the Light in them, *Sefirot* are divided into:

Taamim	-	Hochma
Nekudot	-	Bina
Otiot	-	ZON

The letters were created in the following order: the letter *Aleph*, which was initially on the right side, begot the letter *Shin*, which emerged from it and moved to the left side. The letter *Shin* consists of three sides: the left, the middle, and the right. The letter *Vav* is thereby formed by three letters, and upon joining with *Aleph*, it formed the word ***A****leph*-***Sh****in* = *ESH* (fire) in the left side.

Out of the interaction of the right and the left sides these two letters came forth in contradiction between them, as the right line includes water, while the left line includes fire. Their collisions begot the letters *Reish*, *Vav,* and *Chet*, which formed the word *Ruach* (wind). This wind entered between the two sides (fire and water) and joined them together, thereby establishing the order of the first letters and their perfection.

At first, *The Zohar* offers a general description of the three lines in ZA, designated by the three names of the Creator: *El*, *Elokim* and *Elokeinu*, and then proceeds to clarify the descent of the degrees of filling ZA and *Malchut* with the Light of *Hochma* in the form of letter combinations, in the order of the degrees' descent from Above downwards. *Mayim* – water, *Esh* – fire, *Ruach* – wind constitute the three lines in ZA from *AVI*. This is why the first letters in ZA come from *AVI*.

Then the following combinations emerged: *Aleph* revealed *Mem* from its right side, so *Mem* stands to the left line of *Aleph*. *Mem* revealed *Shin* as the middle line, as *Mem* initially consists of the left line, for it exists in the form of a concealed letter *Mem* in the word *Elokim*, which pertains to the left line, and so forth. This is how all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet were born.

THE LETTERS OF THE HEBREW ALPHABET

LETTERS	NAME	PRONUNCIATION	GEMATRIA
א	*Aleph*	[a], [e]	1
ב	*Bet*	b, v	2
ג	*Gimel*	g	3
ד	*Dalet*	d	4
ה	*Hey*	[a], [e]	5
ו	*Vav*	v, [u], [o]	6
ז	*Zayin*	z	7
ח	*Chet*	h	8
ט	*Tet*	t	9
י	*Yod*	y, i	10
כ (ך)	*Chaf*	h, k	20
ל	*Lamed*	l	30
מ (ם)	*Mem*	m	40
נ (ן)	*Nun*	n	50
ס	*Samech*	s	60
ע	*Ayin*	[a], [e]	70
פ (ף)	*Peh*	p, ph	80
צ (ץ)	*Tzadik*	tz	90
ק	*Kuf*	k	100
ר	*Reish*	r	200
ש	*Shin*	sh, s	300
ת	*Tav*	t	400

The letters *Aleph* and *Ayin* do not have any particular sound, and only the accompanying punctuation mark determines their pronunciation.

The letters *Bet*, *Chaf* and *Peh* with a dot inside them are pronounced as "b," "k," and "p." The absence of a dot changes their pronunciation to "v," "ch" and "f."

The letter ***Hey*** is not pronounced, but rather aspirated.

The shapes of the letters *Mem*, *Nun*, *Tzadik*, *Peh*, *Chaf* (pronounced *MANTZEPACH*) change when placed at the end of a word, as seen in the table of letters.

The shape, external form of letters: the protruding element of a letter indicates that the Light in this part of the letter is greater than in the other. The filling (*Miluy*) indicates the height of the degree. A punctuation mark (*Nikud*) indicates the origin of each part of the *Partzuf*: whether it came from the Upper *Partzuf* (and constitutes its part in the present one), from the lower *Partzuf*, or from itself.

The *Kelim-Sefirot* themselves are called "letters," and their punctuation marks (*Nekudot*) indicate the Light that enters and exits them. The Light of *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* can enter the *Kelim*, but the Light of *Keter* or *Hochma* cannot. A dot above a letter (*Holam*) signifies the Lights *Keter* and *Hochma*, which never clothe the *Kli*, hence the location of the dot above the letter.

Two horizontally positioned dots (*Tzere*) allude to *Sefirot Hochma* and *Bina*, that *Bina* does not receive the Light of *Hochma*, and contains only the Light of *Hassadim*, the Light of Mercy (*AVI* back-to-back). *Bina* herself is also called *Tzere*, for ZA receives everything from her. If there is a third dot (*Segol*) between these two dots, it means that ZA raised his request for the Light of *Hochma* to *AVI*. Such a request of ZA in *AVI* is called *Daat*. *Daat* receives the Light of *Hochma* in order to pass it on to ZA. The punctuation mark *Kamatz* (a "T" shaped mark under the letter) indicates that ZA collects (*Mekabetz*) the Light of *Hochma*.

A dot indicates *Malchut* with a reflecting screen, but not a receiving one. Such a form testifies to the absence of Light in the *Kli*; it is merely a black dot, as the law of restriction rules over it.

The *Sefira Hod* is an inclusion of *Malchut's* properties into ZA, out of which ZA makes a whole *Partzuf Malchut*. The letter *Hey* in the word *Hod* signifies *Keter* in *Malchut*, and the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* are located among the impure forces that cling to them. This is designated by an elongated leg of the letter *Kuf* (dipping below the line), which indicates that the impure forces receive their strength from the spiritually pure forces through this element, the *Kuf*.

The white background is a plain, indistinguishable and thereby imperceptible Light (by us). Whatever we can distinguish may only be expressed by restricting the diffusion of this white color. The forms and degrees of its restriction are called letters. That is why we see black outlines on white background, and attain only the black restrictions.

We can describe the diffusion of Light in the worlds using attraction and restriction of the Light. And these two forces must act simultaneously. Similarly, when we perceive something in our sensory organs, we only sense it by way of restriction, as the object's surface or a light wave collides with our sensory organ, which restricts its expansion, and can thereby perceive it.

The spiritual roots of the forms are as follows: A circumference originates from the first restriction of the Light in the world of *Ein Sof* (Infinity), the first restriction on the diffusion of Light. Since this restriction was equal and uniform, it assumed the form of a circumference.

A vertical line, length without width, signifies that the notion is unattainable by us, and is therefore called a "thin line" of the diffusion of the Light of *Hochma*. The Light of *Hochma* can only be received with the help of the screen in *Malchut*, which creates Returning Light that clothes the Light of *Hochma*. Therefore, the Upper Light that comes to the *Kli* is called a line.

A horizontal line, width without height: when a vertical line—the diffusion of the Light of *Hochma* from Above downwards—collides with the screen, their collision (of desires) compels the vertical line to shift into the horizontal line (to the right), resulting in a shape of the English letter L. Its width is determined by the force of the Returning Light that ascends from the screen from below upwards.

A rectangle is formed by the interlacing of the descending Light of *Hochma* and the Returning Light: five vertical descending lines—five *Sefirot* of the Light of *Hochma* and five horizontal lines from right to left—five *Sefirot* of the Light of *Hassadim*. The size of the rectangle's side is called *Amah*, consisting of five parts—*Tefachim* (plural for *Tefach*). (Both *Amah* and *Tefach* are distance measuring units.) This is why we describe the *Kli* as a rectangle.

The two kinds of diffusion of Light, the Light of *Hochma* and the Returning Light, are called the right and the left cheeks, respectively, which turn into the upper and the lower lips. Since, after the first restriction, the Light may not be received in *Malchut*, the Returning Light is only received in four parts of the *Kli*, not in five. This is why there are 4 x 4 = 16 teeth on the lower jaw and 16 teeth on the upper jaw (The Returning Light stems from resistance, from "chewing" the Light before receiving it inside).

In the second restriction, a Triangle is formed, as *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and forms a slanted line. Thus the combination of the Direct Light with the Returning Light and restrictions beget various spiritual forms.

The Light of *Hassadim* is defined as "protruding," for a protrusion beyond the limits of a spiritual body means that:

1) The Light is so great that it comes out by elevating, protruding the limits;
2) It originates from the middle line, *Tifferet*.

A cavity in the body occurs due to the following reasons:

1) The Light is insufficient; the Light cannot shine there;
2) The Light of *Hochma* is present, but the lack of *Hassadim* prevents it from shining.

PUNCTUATION MARKS IN THE HEBREW ALPHABET *(NEKUDOT)*

Sefira	Punctuation Mark	Pronunciation
Keter	Kamatz	a
Hochma	Patach	a
Bina	Segol	e
Hesed	Tzere	e
Gevura	Shva	-
Tifferet	Holam	o
Netzah	Hirik	i
Hod	Kubutz	u
Yesod	Shuruk	u
Malchut	No Mark	-

Nekudot are defined by three lines:

IN THE ROSH (HEAD)

Kamatz - Keter - right line
Patach - Hochma - left line
Tzere - Bina - middle line
Holam - Tifferet - middle line

IN THE GUF (BODY)

Segol	-	Hesed	-	right line
Shva	-	Gevura	-	left line
Shuruk	-	Tifferet	-	middle line

IN THE EXTREMITIES

Hirik	-	Netzah	-	right line
Kubutz	-	Hod	-	left line
	-	Malchut	-	middle line (has no designation)

The levels of *Nekudot*:

Above the letters	-	Light of Neshama
In the letters	-	Light of Ruach
Under the letters	-	Light of Nefesh

Zivug de Nekudot is the *Zivug* between *Hochma de Aba* and *Hochma de Ima*.

Zivug de Otiot is the *Zivug* between *Bina de Aba* and *Bina de Ima*.

The letters combined together designate Returning Light during the screen's ascent from *Tabur* to *Peh*. They are combined, for they all ascend to their root, which unites everything, whereas the use of the will to receive, even for the Creator's sake, causes separation.

A state of separated letters occurs when the Light enters the *Kli* (vessel, the letters of *HaVaYaH*); the four letters thereby separate, since the Light makes a distinction between the *Sefirot*: depending on their different properties, it clothes in them in different ways.

HaVaYaH with filling *Aleph* comes on a screen with *Aviut Aleph* (thickness one), *HaVaYaH* with filling *Hey* comes on a screen with *Aviut Bet* (thickness two). A plain name refers to *Aviut Shoresh* (zero thickness) with the Light of *Nefesh*. Plain letters refer to a *Partzuf* with a screen of *Aviut Aleph*.

The truly faithful, who believe in the three fundamentals: the Creator, His Providence and the Torah, need the two lines to be in constant balance for their spiritual advancement. The left line is wisdom, the Light of *Hochma* that enters the desire to receive, which pertains to the left side, and the right line is faith, the Light of *Hassadim* (mercy), the altruistic desire to bestow.

Existing in knowledge only means that man is under the rule of the impure forces (*Klipa*) of the left side, which renders him totally unable to feel the spiritual, leaving him in spiritual darkness. Alternately, existing only in faith means that man is under the rule of the impure forces (*Klipa*) of the right side that convinces him that he has achieved perfection, that there is

nothing else to work on, nothing to correct within him. This, too, denies him the opportunity to advance.

The Zohar continues: And the Creator answered further (the letter *Tav*): "The word *MaveT* (death) ends with you. And since these are your properties, you are not suitable for Me to create the world with you." Immediately following, the letter *Tav* departed from Him.

The moment the Creator set about creating the world-*ZON* by selecting their properties, all twenty-two letters of *ZON* appeared before Him, starting from the last—*Tav*, and ending with the first, *Aleph*—the head of all letters. The reason for the letters coming in reverse order is that they constitute the *MAN* of *ZON*, the *Kelim* of *ZON*, which emerge from below upwards. The usual alphabetical order corresponds to the Light (*MAD*), which descends from Above downwards. But the order of *MAN* is opposite to that of *MAD*, for it ascends from below upwards.

Letters are none other than desires, properties, and thoughts that, in man's opinion, are suitable for the attainment of the spiritual, the Creator, of His Providence. Man skips from one thought to another: one moment he thinks that it is possible to attain the Upper Worlds with one property, next he believes he can enter the spiritual realms by mastering another property, then he begins to stubbornly observe all the commandments and pray zealously, or disregards all the actions and plunges into contemplation and reading. Sometimes he craves only knowledge, and sometimes only faith, right down to fanaticism.

Just as there are two extremes in our world—knowledge and faith, in the spiritual world, as man now consciously ascends the spiritual ladder to the Creator, there is spiritual work in the attainment of knowledge and faith. Hence, Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag's commentary on *The Zohar* is entitled *The Sulam* (The Ladder).

Each of the twenty-two Hebrew letters represents a certain property. At times it seems that the property of the letter *Tav* is suitable for the attainment of the spiritual; at times he believes that some other letter is more appropriate. This occurs because in the process of his spiritual ascent, man begins to increasingly understand the true Goal of creation and the Creator, which is exactly what is demanded of him.

Thus, he continues to sort through it all, until his search yields the truth: only with the help of the letter *Bet*, which stands at the beginning of the word *Berachah* (blessing)—contact with the Creator,—only with the help of this force can one achieve the goal.

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us how the letters—properties, forces, and desires—come to the Creator. By offering up his prayer (*MAN*), man asks for some property that seems like a real goal to him. And each letter tries to prove that it is best suited for the attainment of the sensation of the Creator and merging with Him. But the Creator shows that the best and the only letter is *Bet*, as only it can help man to establish contact with Him. This is why the Torah begins with this letter.

The description of the spiritual forces designated by each letter is incredibly deep, and in order to attain full clarity we need to bridge several other preliminary explanations: the creation of the world includes its existence and process of perfection so that the world could attain the goal for which it was created.

The Creator created the world consisting of two contrasting forces; against each pure, altruistic force, He created an impure, egoistic one, which is its equal and opposite. Just as there are four pure worlds *ABYA*, the Creator created opposite them four impure worlds *ABYA*.

Therefore, in our world—the last degree of the world of *Assiya*—a spiritually evolved person that senses the Creator and has entered with his properties into the spiritually pure world, looks no different from an egoistic and spiritually undeveloped person, who has not attained the spiritual realm. This means that one who does not perceive the spiritual is totally unable to differentiate between spiritual purity and impurity.

We see that in our world one cannot advance with the help of the pure forces. On the contrary, it is his egoistic aspirations that provide man with the strength to conquer everything in the world. How often do we see fervent fanatics immersed in their impure desires to capture for themselves both this world and the next, whereas one that aspires to the Creator has no strength for even a slightest spiritual movement! In our world there is no proof or confirmation that man advances on the right path. And under no circumstances should one draw conclusions based on one's life experience or "common sense."

So how can a person in this world exist and advance towards the Goal of creation if he is unable to tell good from bad, pure from impure? There is one sign by which one can distinguish purity from impurity: impure forces bear no spiritual fruit. Thus, those that advance through the impure worlds *ABYA* do not attain anything spiritual, whereas those who are connected to the pure forces reap spiritual fruit on their path.

As it is explained in the "Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot" (items 19-23), if man advances along the right path, he attains the secrets of the Torah in

three to five years. The Creator helps those who wish to acquire altruistic desires over and above their own requests, and thus one attains the desired goal. From below, man aspires to the Creator with his small desire (*MAN*), and from Above, the Creator pours onto him tremendous spiritual desires and strength (*MAD*).

This is the only opportunity to check whether or not the path that one is on is correct, whether it leads to altruism or to even bigger egoism. By no means can one consider his well-being, soaring elation, his happiness and success in life as proofs of correct advancement. It is precisely in those states of feeling perfection, well-being, and contentment that he must ask himself: "Have I attained the secrets of the Torah?" And until he has attained them, his "perfection" is impure.

Man should always strive for the middle line—a balance of faith and knowledge—in the following three notions: the Creator, His Providence, and the Torah. And under no circumstances should he advance by either faith or knowledge alone. If he only wants to attain the Creator, His Providence or the Torah, he enters spiritual darkness, for it is impossible to receive the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*) without the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*).

Such a state is referred to as the left impure force, "*Klipat Esau*." And if man strives to advance through faith alone, he enters the impure force of the right side, "*Klipat Yishmael*," which tells him he is in a state of perfection. In this case, he sees no point in his work and is thus unable to continue to advance.

In other words, even if one is full of joy, which is exactly what the Torah urges him to feel (to perceive the Creator's Providence with joy, for joy signifies justification of creation, understanding that His Providence is always just and kind), unless he has attained the secrets of the Torah, his path is considered erroneous, as he lacks the intention "for the Creator's sake," which reveals the secrets of the Torah.

This article explains the particular properties of the Hebrew letters—how all the letters come before the Creator, each asking Him to create the world with its property. Each of the twenty-two letters represents a spiritual degree in the worlds *ABYA*, and each believes that its pure spiritual properties are most suitable for the task, that by attaining its degree and acquiring its properties, the inhabitants of the world will be able to elevate the pure forces over the impure ones, so much so that they will reach the end of correction, the Goal of creation.

However, the Creator answers each letter that against it are the corresponding impure forces, and therefore man will be unable to properly separate the pure forces from the impure ones, and afterwards, utilize the pure forces to achieve

the goal. This occurrence repeats itself until the appearance of the letter *Bet*, which represents the degree called "the Creator's blessing," against which there are no impure forces of any kind.

And the Creator consented to create the world with the letter *Bet*, with its property; for it has no impure counterpart, only *Bet* presents an opportunity to carry out an analysis between good and evil, to determine when man works for himself and when he works for the Creator's sake. Therefore, only by its force, by its property can the world exist: so as to extract from the "mixture" of one's desires only what's pure, and elevate them above the impure, down to complete eradication of the latter, and the consequent attainment of complete correction of one's nature.

As it follows from *The Zohar,* only the Creator's help, called "a blessing," is the force of man's salvation, the only thing capable of freeing him from the rule of the impure forces. And this force, called "blessing," descends only upon those that advance along the right path.

The right path is a combination of three conditions: (i) one's efforts in studying (only!) genuine Kabbalistic sources; (ii) contact with a true Kabbalist, whom he accepts as his teacher; and (iii) contact with like-minded people, who seek spiritual elevation. A more detailed explanation will be provided to serious students only.

All twenty-two letters are divided into three degrees: *Bina*, *Zeir Anpin* (ZA), and *Malchut*, since there are no *Kelim* (letters) above *Bina*. Twenty-two letters in *Bina* are called "big," twenty-two letters in ZA are called "medium," and twenty-two letters in *Malchut* are called "small."

Each of the three *Sefirot* of *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* are further divided into three degrees: The twenty-two letters of *Bina* contain their own *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*. Likewise, ZA has his own ten *Sefirot*, in which his *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* also contain twenty-two letters. The same applies to *Malchut*.

The twenty-two letters of each degree are divided into three types. The letters from *Aleph* to *Tet* (1–9) are considered units; these are the nine *Sefirot* of *Bina*. The letters from *Yod* to *Tzadik* (10–90) are considered tens; these are the nine *Sefirot* of ZA. And finally, the four letters *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin* and *Tav* (100–400) are considered hundreds; and these are the four *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, since *Malchut* is located below and downwards of *Chazeh de* ZA, which corresponds in height to the four *Sefirot* of ZA.

Bina, units, big letters, nine letters: *Aleph*, *Bet*, *Gimel*, *Dalet*, *Hey*, *Vav*, *Zayin*, *Chet*, *Tet*.

ZA, tens, medium letters, nine letters: *Yod*, *Chaf*, *Lamed*, *Mem*, *Nun*, *Samech*, *Ayin*, *Peh*, *Tzadik*.

Malchut, hundreds, small letters, four letters: *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, *Tav*.

However, it is known that units are in *Malchut*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Bina*, which contradicts the aforesaid that units are in *Bina*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Malchut*. Such inverse dependence is caused by the inverse relationship between the Lights and the *Kelim*: the lowest Light enters the Highest *Kelim*. The Upper *Kelim* are the first to emerge, from *Keter* down to *Malchut* (*Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*), whereas the first to enter them is the smallest Light, *Nefesh*, followed by *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*.

Therefore, if there are only units in the *Kelim*, from *Aleph* to *Tet*, then only the Light of *Nefesh* is present. And if tens are added to the *Kelim*, the Light of *Ruach* appears, and if hundreds are added to the *Kelim*, the Light of *Neshama* fills them.

This is why hundreds are defined as *Bina*, tens as ZA, and units as *Malchut*. However, with regard to the *Kelim*, the order is inversed: units are in *Bina*, tens are in ZA, and hundreds are in *Malchut*.

Bina:	Light (100)	-	Kelim (1)
ZA:	Light (10)	-	Kelim (10)
Malchut:	Light (1)	-	Kelim (100)

The letters descend from *Bina* to ZA and from there to *Malchut*. When they descend from *Bina* to ZA, they descend as three lines: 22/3 = 7 letters in each, with the remaining letter being added to the middle line. These twenty-two letters descend in three lines to *Malchut*, which consists of five final letters *MANTZEPACH*, thereby bringing the total number in *Malchut* to 22 + 5 = 27 letters.

The middle line is called "Heaven," "firmament." Therefore, when *The Zohar* speaks of letters in the firmament, it means that the two middle lines, 7 + 7 = 14 = *Yod* + *Dalet* = *Yad* (hand) writes all the twenty-two letters in the firmament (ZA) through the middle line. That is how one should interpret the words of the Torah regarding the letters that appear in the sky or having seen the hand that writes the letters in the sky.

The twenty-two letters of the Torah are the *Kelim* to be filled by the Light of *NRN*. Units—from *Aleph* to *Yod*—are the *Kli* intended for the Light of *Bina* (*Neshama*). Tens—from *Yod* to *Kuf*—are the *Kli* meant for the Light of ZA (*Ruach*). Hundreds—from *Kuf* to *Tav*—are the *Kli* for the Light of *Malchut* (*Nefesh*).

Letters are the *Kelim*, into which the Light clothes; in all, there are twenty-two special properties, and thus twenty-two symbols of their description, called letters. Just as the combinations of the twenty-two letters suffice for the description of all existing knowledge, the various couplings, unions (*Zivugim* of *Sefirot*) of the twenty-two *Kelim*, properties, desires of the *Partzuf* are sufficient for receiving and bestowing Light, fulfilling all spiritual actions and bringing all the letters (man's desires) to correction.

Letters represent the various correlations of *ZON*:

a) ZA, consisting of six parts of his extremities, husband to *Malchut*, designated by the letter *Vav*, *Sefira Yesod*—level of an embryo;

b) ZA designated by the letter *Vav*, *Sefira Tifferet*, consisting of six parts of his hands—level of nursing;

c) ZA that stands between *AVI*, while *Nukva* must ascend to him, thereby reaching the level of reception of *Ohr Hochma*.

d) ZA, the letter *Vav*, above him are ten *Sefirot Keter-Hochma*, below him are ten *Sefirot Bina-Tifferet-Malchut*—and together they make up the letter *Aleph*. And the final corrected state will come when *Malchut* ascends to *Keter* of ZA (the Upper *Yod* in the letter *Aleph*) at the end of correction. When *Malchut* ascends above *Parsa* (*Vav*), she receives the Light herself, whereas when she descends below *Vav*, she receives from ZA. As *Malchut* ascends, she forms *Taamim* (tone marks), when she descends, she is called *Nekuda* (point), and when she merges with ZA, she is referred to as a point inside *Vav* (*Shuruk*).

The order of ***ATBaSH***: There is a special combination of letters, e.g. the first with the last ('A' through 'T'), the second with the second last ('B' through 'Sh'), etc., which designate the conditions for diffusion of the Upper Light from Above downwards.

MANTZEPACH: All the worlds and *Partzufim* were created with the twenty-two letters of *Malchut*. The screen is located in the head of the *Partzuf*, preventing the Light from entering. It repels the Light, calculates how much it can receive for the Creator's sake, and only then accepts it.

Each of the five levels of the will to receive that exist in *Malchut*, in the *Guf* of the *Partzuf*, has a corresponding restriction in the screen, located in the *Peh*, to prevent the Light from entering the body. Therefore, the screen in the *Peh* consists of five parts, forces.

These five restrictive forces of the screen, five exertions of the screen are designated by the five final letters of the alphabet: *Mem-Nun-Tzadik-Peh-Chaf* (abbreviated as *MANTZEPACH*). They are called "final letters" because they are written only at the end of words. These forces determine the reception of Light in the body of the *Partzuf*, and therefore beget the other twenty-two letters (*Kelim*, corrected desires, which receive the Light). Although the five letters *MANTZEPACH* are only found at the end of words, in oral speech they represent the five groups of pronunciation of the twenty-two letters. And the letters *MANTZEPACH* stand at the head of each group.

Out of the five letters *MANTZEPACH* originate five groups of sounds:

1. *Peh–Keter*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the throat; they are called *AChHA—Aleph-Chet-Hey-Ayin*. *Aleph* is the Light of *Partzuf Keter* of *Atzilut*, concealed from the lower ones and called *Atik*. *Chet* is the Light of *Partzuf Hochma* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *Arich Anpin* and also concealed from the lower ones. *Hey* is the Light of *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, called *Ima* (mother), who receives the Light of *Hochma* from *Aba* (father) in order to pass it on to her children (*ZON*). *Ayin* is the Light of *Zeir Anpin's* face. Since the Light of *ZA* that enters *Malchut* is called "the Torah," it is said that the Torah has *Ayin* (70) faces, that the Creator (*ZA*) has *Ayin* (70) names. After all, with regard to *Malchut*, *ZA* is the Creator. Therefore, seventy souls descended to Egypt, and so forth.

2. *Chaf–Hochma*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the palate; they are called *GIChiK—Gimel-Yod-Chaf-Kuf*. The letters *AChHA* transfer the Light to the letters *GIChiK*: *Aleph* passes the Light to *Gimel*, which carries reward (*Gemul—Gimel*) for the righteous. *Chet* passes the Light of *Hochma* to *Yod*, but this Light is concealed. *Hey* illuminates *Chaf* with the Light of *Bina*, which carries joy. *Ayin* illuminates *Kuf*. Just as *Ayin* = 70, as it consists of seven *Sefirot*, *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut*, each containing ten *Sefirot* of its own, *Kuf* = 100, as it consists of ten *Sefirot* from *Keter* to *Malchut*, each consisting of its own ten. Hence, the palate fully complements the throat.

3. *Nun–Bina*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the tongue, called *DaTLaT—Dalet-Tet-Lamed-Nun-Tav*.

4. *Mem–ZA*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the lips, called *BOMoCH—Bet-Vav-Mem-Chaf*.

5. *Tzadik–Malchut*: a group of four sounds-letters emerges from the teeth, called *ZaSSHRaTZ – Zayin-Samech-Shin-Reish-Tzadik*.

Voice and speech: Voice is formed in *ZA*, speech—in *Malchut*. If he who is righteous, and who exists in the worlds *BYA*, raises his prayers (*MAN*) to

Malchut of the world of *Atzilut*, he causes *ZON* to ascend to *AVI*, and unites them in a constant *Zivug* so as to assure the Light's descent to the lower ones. *ZON* receives the Light from *AVI*; this Light is called "voice" and "speech," and this is the power of the righteous—to create the pure and destroy the impure with their voice.

Man's speech is conceived in the lungs: as the air exits the lungs and reaches the mouth, it turns to voice, and as it leaves the mouth, it becomes speech. Two lips accept the voice from the two parts of the lungs (the left and the right) and turn it into speech. Each lung consists of five parts so as to pass to the five parts in the mouth: to the guttural letters *AChHA*, the labial letters *BOMoCH*, the palatal letters *GIChiK*, the lingual letters *DaTLaT* and the dental letters *ZaSSHRaTZ*.

The seven primary *Sefirot* of *ZA* are called "Seven Heavens." The seventy names of *ZA* originate from the seventy (7 x 10) *Sefirot* of *ZA*. *ZA* himself is called "Heaven," and *Malchut* is called "earth." The *Sefirot* of *ZA* are also known as *Ruach* (because of the Light of *Ruach* in them), which ascends to *Bina* (ears), where it turns to sound, with *Hochma* in the left ear and *Hassadim* in the right.

THE LETTER *TAV*

Each of the twenty-two letters corresponds to a particular spiritual degree, on which it acts. The letter itself is that spiritual degree. Hence, the letter *Tav* claims that its properties are the most suitable for the creation of the world, that its properties can bring the world to correction and to the goal of creation, for it defines the property of "truth," the Creator's seal.

The impure forces exist solely on account of the miniature Light received from the pure forces; this Light is called *Ner Dakik* (tiny candle). Without this Light, the impure forces would neither be able to exist nor to function—tempting man with the pleasures they received from the tiny spark of Light that fell from the pure *Sefirot*. Therefore, the last, lowest pure degree lets a little bit of the Upper Light down to the impure forces.

Without the support of the pure forces, the impure forces would instantly disappear. A question arises: who needs them to exist and what for? Obviously, the impure forces were created on a par with pure ones by the Creator Himself, for there is no other power in the entire universe besides Him.

It was necessary to create impure forces in order to concentrate them in the enormous desires to receive pleasure, in immense egoism. The system of

the impure worlds of *ABYA* serves as a kind of storehouse of desires to receive pleasure, from which, to the extent of his correction, man can take more and more new desires so as to correct them. Thus, by attaching uncorrected impure forces to himself and correcting them, man can gradually ascend higher and higher, up to the level of the Creator. For this purpose the Creator created impure forces and sustains them through the system of pure ones.

The impure system of the worlds *ABYA* exists on the same level, parallel to the pure one. Our world is located under these two spiritual systems. Our world is also called egoistic and impure, but its forces and desires are so insignificant that they are located below the worlds of the impure *ABYA*.

When, with the help of Kabbalah, one surmounts the level of our world's egoism, he enters the pure world of *Assiya*. And immediately after, the impure world of *Assiya* begins to influence him, tempting him with its false pleasures. By overcoming the temptations of the impure world of *Assiya*, one ascends spiritually. But until one surmounts the impure desires of his body, of our world, he will not begin to sense, or enter the spiritual worlds, for he would not be able to withstand the impure forces that act there.

Unlike the forces that act in the spiritual world, man in our world is only influenced by the small egoistic force called his "body," his ego. Man can struggle with this force, either winning or losing his battles. But even if he is defeated, man retains that tiny spark of Light (*Ner Dakik*), which sustains his existence.

Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag gives the following example: man's work in this world resembles writing on a school blackboard, where any mistake may be wiped off without harming the writer, where he can make corrections and write anew, until he learns to write correctly. Only when he learns to write correctly is he allowed to enter the spiritual realm.

Therefore, our world is the most insignificant of all. Everyone must begin here, and everyone is bound to return here, and be born again and again until he crosses the boundary between our world and the spiritual one. (There are many additional conditions required for the soul to not descend to this world anymore, and those who will merit, will understand).

Hence, the vertical line, the leg of the letter *Kuf*, descends below the writing line, which signifies the Light descending through this letter down to the impure forces. And no other letter descends below the writing line, like the *Kuf* does.

For the impure forces to exist (any creature, whether pure or impure, can only exist by receiving Light), the last, lowest degree of pure forces descends into the impure forces and gives them the Light necessary for their existence and

realization of their role: to entice man with their pleasures and convince him to act according to the law of the impure forces.

At first, the left leg of the letter *Tav* also descended below the writing line. But the Creator saw that the impure forces would then be too closely connected to pure ones, so He severed this connection and returned the left leg of the letter *Tav* back to the writing line, to the level of the pure forces.

As a result of this shortening, the left leg of the *Tav* doubled in thickness, as it folded in two, and no Light passes to the impure forces anymore. On the contrary, it even becomes the Creator's seal by holding the impure forces at bay and preventing them from stealing the Upper Light, for as soon as any impure forces touch it, they instantly die.

And all the life-force necessary for the sustenance of the impure forces is passed by the Creator through the letter *Kuf*, because, being the first letter of *Malchut*, it is remote from them; thus, there is no fear or risk that its connection to the impure forces would become too strong.

Malchut consists of only four letters from Above downwards: *Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, and *Tav*. *Kuf* is the first, *Tav* is the last, and below it are the impure forces. Therefore, if they receive the Light they need according to the thought of creation from *Kuf*, the furthest letter from them, the impure forces have no way of "stealing" more Light than *Malchut*, who consists of four letters, is obliged to give them.

This is why this letter is called *Kuf*, to show that it gives strength to the impure system of *ABYA*—a fake (nonexistent) man, just as a monkey (*Kof* in Hebrew) resembles a human being.

And it misleads people by pretending to be the truth and claiming that its path leads to the attainment of spirituality, the Creator, *Lishma*, the sensation of the Creator. However, the pure forces maintain that only with the help of the Torah can man attain adequate correction of his properties so as to merge them with the Creator.

And this is what the letter *Tav* claimed: because it is the Creator's seal of truth, it stands at the end of the pure system and does not allow the impure forces to cling to pure ones, and pose as if they are pure. This is why its properties are worthy of becoming the basis for the creation of the world—so that via the analysis of good and evil, purity and impurity, inhabitants of this world may be sure that by acquiring its properties they will achieve the goal of their creation.

The four letters *Kuf-Reish-Shin-Tav* make up the four *Sefirot* of *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*: *Keter-Hochma-Bina-Tifferet*, where *Tifferet* consists of six *Sefirot*—*Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*. But when the letter *Kuf* is by itself, without *Reish-Shin-Tav*, the Torah, which spreads to the worlds *BYA*, also shines upon the impure forces, and the angel of death receives the strength to destroy all that lives. This state is designated by the letter *Kuf*. But when *Malchut* is corrected, she is designated by the letter *Hey*, whose difference from *Kuf* lies in the long leg of the *Kuf* (*Malchut de Malchut*).

This long left leg, which turns the *Hey* into *Kuf*, indicates that the Light descends from the pure forces (*Partzufim*) to the impure worlds of *BYA*, the impure forces referred to as death. And when *Malchut* joins with *Bina* and receives the strength from *Bina* to ascend and receive the Light, the other letters join *Malchut*, and she draws the Light of life from *Bina*.

In this state, the left leg of the *Kuf* is reduced in half, turning the *Kuf* into *Tav*, whose left leg is twice as thick, due to its shortening. The part of *Malchut* that passed Light to the impure forces now ascended out of them, hence there are two kinds of *Malchut*: *Miftacha* (key)—the part that joined with *Bina*, and *Man'ula* (lock)—the part that ascended out of the impure forces.

These two parts of *Malchut* manifest in different ways: *Miftacha*—openly and *Man'ula*—secretly. Two paths of bringing man to correction emerge from them: the good path of the Torah and the path of suffering.

However, after *Malchut* corrects her properties and joins with *Bina*, she no longer parts from *Bina*, but, upon receiving Light from her, *Malchut* pours it onto the worlds, and the impure forces lose their strength to sow death and rule over the world. And if a case arises where a sinner must be punished, the impure forces must first receive permission to punish him, for without permission they may not reveal the *Man'ula*.

Thus, after *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, thereby correcting her properties, the impure forces are no longer free to rule the world, unless they are permitted. The reason for this is the letter *Tet*, the last letter of *Bina*, which sends the Light of life to all with the help of the *Miftacha*. After *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, she becomes a *Miftacha*, and does not let go of this connection. Respectively, the impure forces, the leg of the letter *Kuf*, can no longer sow death.

Three places emerge from this: (i) where only the properties of the letter *Tet* rule by shining with the Light of life of this world; (ii) the entire world after *Malchut* joins with *Bina*, defined as *Miftacha*, when the letter *Tet* shines upon all, but permits the punishment of sinners according to the rule: "You advance

towards the goal either by the path of the Torah or by the path of suffering"; (iii) hell, the place of eternal punishment by the letter *Kuf*, in contrast with the first place, ruled by the letter *Tet*, where life is eternally prosperous.

All the letters with all their secret properties, described by those who understand them, are located in the Temple. All the Upper and lower worlds are created and function in the framework of their laws-properties, and the Supernal Name, the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* rules over all.

The *Mishkan* (tabernacle) in the Temple was also designed with the help of letters, for its builder, Betzalel, knew how to join the letters that made Heaven and earth. And since he was unique in possessing this wisdom, he was entrusted with the building of the sanctuary.

As the Creator chose Betzalel Above, so He wished him to be chosen below, as He said to Moshe Above: "Choose Betzalel." So Moshe said to his people below: "The Creator has chosen Betzalel." For such was Betzalel's name-property (*Be Tzel El*)—"In the Creator's shadow."

The Creator is called ZA or the *Sefira Tifferet* in *Partzuf* ZA, which shines upon the *Sefira Yesod*, called *Tzadik* (righteous one). Betzalel is called *Yesod*, which receives the Light of *VAK*—an incomplete Light—from *Tifferet*, which is hence called "sitting in the shadow," and, in turn, shining into *Malchut*. Thus, like *Tifferet*, the *Sefira Yesod* that passes this Light also consists of six *Sefirot*: *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*.

The name of the letter *Tav*, "truth," indicates that in order to reach its level, its degree, one must attain the property of truth. Therefore, the letter *Tav* claimed that with its properties man can fully analyze good and evil, renounce his impure desires as false, and to the degree that he renounces them, draw closer to the pure desires (forces), and thereby be certain that he will reach the goal of creation—correction of all his desires (*Gmar Tikkun*, end of correction).

This corresponds to the saying: "The Creator is close only to those who truly ask Him for help." For only with His help can one achieve correction and spiritual elevation. However, this help only comes to those who genuinely, "truly" demand it. As soon as man is able to cry out wholeheartedly for the Creator's help, he instantly receives it. And if he does not receive an answer from the Creator—it is a sign that his request is not yet complete, that he did not yet fully realize his egoistic nature and properties as worthless, has not yet fully felt his helplessness and inability to exit and correct his properties by himself. This is why letter *Tav* was certain that once man acquires its property of truth, he will be able to reach the goal.

But the Creator answered her that it is not worthy of becoming the basis of creation, for the forces of judgment that would arise from it would be so strong that even the complete righteous, who fulfilled the entire Torah from *Aleph* to *Tav* (A to Z) and reached the property of truth, will nevertheless be punished by it, for they have not destroyed all the sinners, as it is written in the Talmud (*Shabbat*, 55).

Furthermore, the Creator declines its request, for it is also the seal of death, as its power brought death to this world. For man is bound to die, as the serpent forged its seal and deceived Adam in his understanding of the Tree of Knowledge. This is why the world cannot exist with its properties.

THE LETTER *SHIN*

24. The letter *Shin* appeared before the Creator and said: "Maker of the world, it befits the world to be created with me, for Your own name *Shadday* begins with me." The Creator replied: "You are fine, handsome, and truthful, but since the letters (properties) of the word *Sheker* (falsehood) took you to be with them, I cannot create the world with your properties, for *SheKeR* (falsehood) exists only because the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* took you."

Malchut consists of ten *Sefirot* and has two endings:

1) If she has only her own properties, she contains all ten *Sefirot*, from *Keter de Malchut* to *Malchut de Malchut*. In this case she firmly restricts the diffusion of Light and is designated by the letter *Tav*;
2) If *Ima-Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* fills *Malchut* with her Light, *Partzuf Malchut* ends not in the *Sefira Malchut*, but in the *Sefira Yesod*, and is designated by the letter *Shin*.

The three tips of the letter *Shin* are called its crown and signify the Light of *Bina*, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy), which descends from *Partzuf Ima-Bina* into *Partzuf Malchut*. This Light of *Bina*, *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of Mercy), creates new altruistic properties in *Malchut*, altruistic intentions to receive the Light for the Creator's sake, after which *Partzuf Malchut* can receive the *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) from ZA (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 22). When bonded so, ZA and *Malchut* are called "husband and wife," and the Light that *Malchut* receives from ZA is called "100 blessings."

This new ending of *Partzuf Malchut* in the *Sefira Yesod* instead of in the *Sefira Malchut* is therefore called *Yesod de Nukva* or "the central point of existence,"

for all that exists in the world originates from it and exists thanks to it. *Partzuf Malchut* is the sum of all the creatures, and we are all its parts. All the worlds and all that inhabit them constitute various parts of *Partzuf Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

Each Upper *Partzuf* is considered the Creator of its adjacent lower *Partzuf*, for the latter originates (born) from it. Therefore, in relation to all the creatures, *Zeir Anpin* of the world of *Atzilut* is considered and called "the Creator," our Creator.

And, like the *Tav*, the letter *Shin* is called "truth" and "the Creator's seal," for a seal signifies the end of a spiritual object—*Partzuf*, like a seal fixed at the end of a letter, written in the name of the Creator. The Creator's seal is similar to Himself; this is why the seal is called the mark of truth, for only the presence of a seal gives a letter the force of truth, and confirms the truthfulness of its content.

However, the significance of the letter *Shin* is greater than that of the letter *Tav*, for *Shin* is the first letter of the word *Shadday*, one of the Creator's names-properties, designating His power, by which He said "*Dai*" (enough) to creation—stop and do not descend further (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12)—do not descend below the letter *Shin*.

This reveals that the world and its inhabitants can only exist with the help of the letter *Shin*, thanks to its property that restricts the diffusion of Light. The Creator said: "Stop, Creature, at the letter *Shin*, and do not spread to the letter *Tav*," for if the Light had spread to *Tav*, the impure forces would have received such great strength that man would have no hope of escaping them and reaching altruistic properties. This is why the ending point of *Shin* is called "the central point of existence."

Therefore, after the letter *Shin* saw the Creator refuse the letter *Tav*, precisely because ending the diffusion of Light with *Tav* creates conditions for correction of the world that are too difficult for man to meet, the letter *Shin* claimed that its property of *Shadday* is suitable for the creation of the world, and was certain that the Creator would choose it—its properties—as the basis of creation, for it possesses all the advantages that *Tav* lacked, which was the reason for the Creator's refusal.

And it has *Tav's* advantage, as well: it is the Creator's seal—truth. Moreover, it has an additional advantage: it is called by the name *Shadday*, the new ending of *Malchut* for the inhabitants of the world, instead of the ending by the property

of the letter *Tav*. Based on all that, the letter *Shin* found the strength and courage to appear before the Creator with the proposition to create the world with it.

But the Creator answered that precisely because of *Shin*'s additional advantages compared to those of the letter *Tav*, the impure forces opposite it are strengthened. For opposite each letter (spiritually pure forces or properties) there is an opposing impure force (egoistic desire), as it is written: "The Creator had made one opposite the other" (*Kohelet*, 7:14).

The strengthening of the impure forces from the properties of the letter *Shin* occurred as a result of her properties joining the impure properties of falsehood, forging spiritual purity of the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*: falsehood would be unable to exist in the world, for it would be recognized at once, had the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* not put *Shin* at the head of the word *SheKeR* (falsehood). And when truth stands at the head of the word that designates the property of falsehood, man naturally tends to err.

There are two sources of impure forces: the first is a small luminescence (*Ner Dakik*), which the pure force itself (the Creator) sends to the impure forces (desires) so as to sustain them. This is done so they would not disappear until there is a need to "punish" the sinners with them. However, these are small forces—their height is not great, for they receive only a small luminescence, sufficient to sustain their life.

This small luminescence descends into the impure forces from the letter *Kuf*, which results in these impure forces becoming similar to man in the worlds *BYA*, as a monkey in comparison to a human being, as it is said: "The Creator had made one opposite the other" (*Kohelet*, 7:14).

The second source of impure forces arises from the lower ones' spiritual fall: as a result of people's evil, egoistic actions, the Light passes from the system of the pure forces into the impure. And the first transgression is Adam's sin, by which the system of the impure forces assumed an identical formation to that of the pure system, stationing itself opposite, parallel to it. As a result, the impure worlds *ABYA* emerged opposite the pure ones.

The second source of impure forces is the letter *Reish*, which indicates that the impure forces rise and attach themselves to the pure forces, right up to the level of *Bina* of *Malchut*, designated by the letter *Dalet*.

As was previously stated, the twenty-two letters of *Partzuf Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* are divided in three groups of letters: units in *Bina*, tens in *ZA*, and hundreds in *Malchut*.

PARTZUF	SEFIROT	LETTERS
BINA (IMA)	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*
ZA	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*
MALCHUT	*Bina* *ZA* *Malchut*	*Aleph-Tet* *Yod-Tzadik* *Kuf-Tav*

The letters *Aleph-Bet-Gimel* correspond to *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina*, called "the head" of a spiritual object (*Partzuf*). The letters from *Dalet* to *Tet* refer to the body of the *Partzuf*.

Aleph	-	Keter	**HEAD**
Bet	-	Hochma	
Gimel	-	Bina	
Dalet	-	Hesed	**BODY**
Hey	-	Gevura	
Vav	-	Tifferet	
Zayin	-	Netzah	
Chet	-	Hod	
Tet	-	Yesod	

The body only receives what descends to it from the head. Therefore, *Dalet*, the first letter of the body, through which the body receives Light from the head, is called *Dalah ve Aniyah* (poor and destitute). *Dalet* only receives what *Gimel* gives it. Since *Gimel* contains the Light of *Hassadim*, that is, what descends into *Dalet*.

And this is why the letter *Gimel* is called *Gomel Hassadim* (merciful One) (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 104), according to its action with regard to *Dalet*, which would otherwise be completely without Light. The protruding sharp angle on the right side of *Dalet* is the sign of *Dalet's* abundance of *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, opposite the pure (altruistic) *Malchut*, stands the impure *Malchut*, who is pride and does not wish to receive the Light from *Gimel* and rely on it. Instead, she rises up in the desire to be the head, and in so creates the sharp angle of the *Dalet*. That indicates that the presence of *Ohr Hassadim* disappears, transforming it into the letter *Reish*, which is written as it is pronounced—with two letters: *Reish* and *Shin*.

The true merging of the pure ZA and *Malchut* is called *ECHaD* (one), consists of the letters *Aleph*, *Chet* and *Dalet*, for the letters from *Aleph* to *Chet* are the nine *Sefirot* of ZA. He passes the Light from *Gimel* of *Bina* to *Gimel* of *Malchut*, resulting in *Malchut* being filled with the Light of *Hassadim*, thereby becoming *Dalet* with a protruding right angle. As a result of this, ZA and *Malchut* become one.

When the lower ones (people) sin in their actions (intentions), they give the impure *Malchut* the strength to cling to the pure one—*Dalet*, to erase the sharp angle of the Light of *Hassadim* and turn it into the letter *Reish*. Thus, the word *Echad* (one) becomes *Acher* (other, alien, foreign): *Aleph-Chet-Dalet* of the word *Echad* are transformed into *Aleph-Chet-Reish* of the word *Acher*, for instead of the connection with the Creator emerges a connection with other, impure forces, called "*Elokim Acherim*" (other gods), which cling to ZA and *Malchut* of the pure world of *Atzilut*.

This leads to the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* distorting the Creator's seal (*Shin*), the letter of truth. As a result, *Yesod* of *Malchut*, which receives from *Yesod de* ZA, becomes linked to the impure source instead of the pure, for a new *Yesod* of the impure *Malchut* was formed with the help of the letter *Shin*.

From here the impure forces develop up to ten *Sefirot* with a head and a body, whereas *Shin* becomes the source of all that desolates, for destruction of purity begets impurity. And from this emerged the system of the impure worlds *ABYA* of the impure man.

Thus, we have learned how the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* became the two sources of emergence and development of impure forces. And since the impure forces pose as pure, they are called false, counterfeit letters whose purpose is to annihilate the system of the pure forces and their unity with the Creator, so as to forge themselves out of the devastation of the pure forces.

The birth of the impure forces from the destruction of the pure ones is possible on account of the letter *Shin*, *Yesod* of *Malchut*, joining with the impure forces as a result of the forging of the letter *Reish* out of *Dalet*. Thereby,

Echad turns into *Acher*, and the system of the impure forces (*Elokim Acherim*, other gods) is created.

And had the letters *Kuf* and *Reish* not captured the letter *Shin*, such an enormous system of impure forces, so capable of lying and falsifying everything in the eyes of man, would not have come into being.

Therefore, the Creator answered the letter *Shin*: "Though you are good, you will stand at the head of the word *Sheker* (falsehood) together with the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*. Indeed, upon capturing you, with your power they will be able to create an entire system of impure forces of falsehood and forgery. Hence, I cannot create the world with your properties, for since there is an impure system opposite from you, it is impossible to achieve the goal of creation with you."

THE LETTERS *KUF* AND *REISH*

25. From the aforesaid, it follows that whoever wishes to tell a lie will succeed if he first tells the truth as a base on which the lie will then grow and start to act. And this is because the letter *Shin* is a letter of truth, in which the Patriarchs had been united, for the three lines in the writing of the letter *Shin* (ש) signify the three Patriarchs, who designate the *Sefirot*-properties *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet*.

The letters *Kuf* and *Reish* indicate the evil side, as they form the impure side, called *KaR* (cold), which lacks warmth and life, for it draws its sustenance from *Malchut* when she turns from living water into ice. However, to create an opportunity to exist, these letters attach the *Shin* to themselves, thus creating the combination *KeSHeR* (tie, knot), which embodies strength and survival.

For the Light of *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* of *Bina*, which she receives from *Yesod de ZA*, creates a new ending in *Malchut*, a new *Kli*-desire to receive the Light called "100 blessings" from *ZA*. And since *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* are called the Patriarchs, and the Light that passes to *Malchut* descends from them, the letter *Shin* that designates them is called "truth."

By eliminating the sharp angle of the letter *Dalet*, the impure forces turn it into the letter *Reish*. By this, they convert the word *ECHaD* into *ACHeR*, thereby stealing *Yesod* of the pure *Malchut*, designated by *Shin*. Also, with the letter *Shin* they build the *Yesod* of the impure *Malchut*, which leads to a very strong clinging of impure forces to pure ones. This clinging is called *KeSHeR*, the reciprocal tie joining pure and impure forces, a knot that is not easily severed.

From the aforesaid, we see that the reason for the letters wishing for the world to be created with them is that each of them believes that only its properties can correct the world. The letter *Shin* thinks that the Light of *Hassadim* will bring the souls to the goal of creation. However, the letters *Kuf* and *Reish*—*KaR* (cold)—do not desire this Light, for receiving the Light of Mercy for the sake of bestowal is pure, but receiving it for the sake of pleasure is impure.

THE LETTER *TZADIK*

26. Subsequently, the letter *Tzadik* appeared before the Creator and said: "Master of the world, You should create the world with me, for *Tzadikim* (the righteous) are marked by me. You, who is called a *Tzadik* (righteous one), are also recorded within me, for You are righteous and You love righteousness. Therefore, my properties are suitable to create the world by."

The Creator answered: "*Tzadik*, you are truly righteous, but you must remain concealed and not be revealed to the extent required were the world to be created by you, so as to not give the world an excuse." The concealment of the letter *Tzadik* is necessary, for first came the letter *Nun*, which was then joined by the letter *Yod* from the Creator's Holy Name *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey* (*HaVaYaH*), who stood above it as a mark of the bond between the Creator and His creations, mounted the letter *Nun* and joined it on its right hand side, thereby creating the letter *Tzadik*.

The reason for the necessity of concealing the letter *Tzadik*, which makes it unsuitable for the creation of the world with it, is that when the Creator created Adam, i.e., ZA, He created him as two *Partzufim*-objects—male and female, connected to each other back to back. This is why the letter *Yod* stands with its back to the back of the letter *Nun*, both facing opposite directions, just as the letter *Tzadik* is depicted: the face of *Yod* turned upwards, while the face of *Nun* is turned downwards.

And the Creator also said to *Tzadik*: "In the future I will revoke the relationship of back-to back, and will join them face-to-face. In another place shall you so rise as such, but not at the beginning of creation. For in the beginning of creation, you must be connected back-to-back by the letters *Nun* and *Yod*, for this form indicates that the Light in you is concealed. Therefore, the world cannot be created with you." The letter *Tzadik* then left.

Tzadik came to suggest that the world should be created with its properties, for when it saw that the *Tav*'s request was turned down by the Creator due to

its heavy laws, and the letter *Shin*—due to the impure forces clinging to it—it thought that its properties could be suitable for the creation of the world. After all, it, too, contains the Creator's seal, and no impure forces cling to it.

That is why *Tzadik* said to the Creator that the righteous are sealed by its name as a mark of their union with Him, by circumcision and turning up of the place of contact (*Zivug*) with the Creator, which, thanks to these corrections, repels all the impure forces.

The Creator, called *Bina*, is also marked by *Tzadik*, for He is righteous like ZA, since the Upper Part of *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* (*Aba ve Ima—AVI*) corresponds to the male and female parts, like ZA and *Malchut*. And *AVI* are forever joined so as to send down the Light of Mercy and thus sustain the existence of all that are below them. This is why *Tzadik* thought itself suitable for creating the world, for the world lives by the Light of Mercy, and can reach the goal with its help.

The letter *Tzadik* is called the *Sefira Yesod* of ZA. When *Yesod* joins with *Malchut*, it is defined as *Tzadik* (righteous), for the nine *Sefirot* of ZA are from *Yod* to *Tzadik*, and *Kuf* is the beginning of *Malchut*, which consists of four *Sefirot*—*Kuf*, *Reish*, *Shin*, and *Tav*.

When *Malchut* is joined with *Yesod* of ZA, *Kuf* is joined with *Tzadik*, and *Yesod* is called *Tzadik* (righteous). And to this the Creator replied to *Tzadik* that it is *Tzadik* in *Yesod* of ZA: "And you are *Tzadik* in Me, for *AVI* are forever joined so as to pour down the Light of Mercy and sustain the existence of the lower ones. And you are righteous, for *Malchut* is also connected to you, just as in the alphabet, *Kuf* follows *Tzadik*. Yet, in spite of all that, you do not merit for your properties to become the basis of the world."

Yesod of ZA includes in itself *Malchut* in the form of the letter *Kuf* in the word *TzadiK*. And when *Malchut* is included in *Yesod* as *Tzadik*, it is designated by the letter *Nun*, for *Nun* is *Gevura* of ZA (*Yod-Keter*, *Chaf-Hochma*, *Lamed-Bina*, *Mem-Hesed*, *Nun-Gevura*).

When ZA grows and becomes big, his *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* become *Sefirot Hochma-Bina-Daat*. Thus, *Gevura* becomes *Bina*. And when ZA becomes small once again, *Bina*, too, returns to being *Gevura* (*Nun*). This fall is designated by *Nun*'s head looking down.

The letter *Tzadik* consists of the letters *Nun* and *Yod* connected back-to-back. The letter *Nun* designates *Malchut* with the properties of the *Sefira Yesod* included in her; *Yod* designates the actual *Yesod* of ZA. Their connection—back-to-back, facing out in opposite directions—indicates that impure forces cling to their backs.

They conceal their backs from strangers since there is a flaw in their backs—the desire to receive the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*). This flaw must be concealed so as to prevent the impure forces from clinging to their backs. Therefore, the letter *Tzadik* is unsuitable for the world to be created by its properties. Its very shape reveals an opportunity for the impure forces to cling to it; this is why Adam (created out of ZA and *Malchut* when they are joined as *Tzadik*) is also created consisting of two halves, male and female, joined at their backs.

And if the letter *Tzadik* were to argue that in the big state, in the presence of *Ohr Hochma*, ZA and *Malchut* unite face-to-face, it would be told that such connection is impossible at their place, but only during their ascent to *AVI*. For if such a connection were possible in their own place, the impure forces would immediately cling to them. For this reason, the letter *Tzadik* is unworthy of becoming the basis of the universe.

THE LETTER *PEH*

27. The letter *Peh* entered and said: "Master of the world, it would be good to create the world with me, for the future liberation of the world is inscribed in me, as the word *Pedut* (liberation, redemption) begins with me. That is, liberation is deliverance from all suffering. And it is therefore fitting to create the world with me."

The Creator answered her: "Though you are fine, the word *Peshah* (transgression) begins with you and is secretly denoted by you, like a serpent that strikes and hides its head in its body. So a sinner bows his head, hiding from others' eyes, but stretches out his hands to sin. So is the shape of the letter *Peh*, whose head is hidden inside it." And the Creator also said to the letter *Ayin* that it would be unfitting to create the world with its properties, for within it is the property of *Avon* (crime, sin). And though *Ayin* tried to object, saying that its properties are contained in the word *Anavah* (humility), the Creator refused it nonetheless.

Pedut (Liberation) begins with the letter *Peh*, meaning that the property of *Peh* is contained in future liberation. This is why the letter *Peh* claims that it is worthy of being the basis of the world. Indeed, both *Galut* (exile) and *Ge'ula* (redemption) depend on *Malchut*: when *Malchut* has no inner Light of *Hochma*, the people of Israel are exiled from the land of Israel. For in our world, the land of Israel corresponds to *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*, the spiritual land of Israel.

Just as in the spiritual world, ZA (Israel) distances from *Malchut* (the land of Israel), the people of Israel separate and leave their land in our world. And when the children of Israel correct their actions, they cause ZA (Israel) to fill his *Malchut* (the land of Israel) with Light, build her with his Light and unite with her face-to-face. As a result, the children of Israel of our world merit redemption and return to their land.

The Light from ZA, which builds and fills *Malchut*, descends from *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod* in ZA. *Hochma* of *Malchut* clothes in *Netzah* and *Bina* of *Malchut* clothes in *Hod*. The letters *Ayin* and *Peh* are *Netzah* and *Hod* in ZA. This is why *Peh*, the *Sefira Hod* in ZA, claimed that it was suitable to be the basis of the world, for the Light of *Hochma* that brings redemption to the entire world stems from *Peh* to *Malchut*. Thus, if the world achieved its property, it would undoubtedly reach the end of correction—complete redemption.

The letter *Peh* thought that it was more suitable to become the basis of the world than *Ayin* because although *Ohr Hochma* enters *Netzah-Ayin* and *Hod-Peh*, and is mainly present in *Netzah-Ayin*, redemption depends on *Hod-Peh*, nonetheless. That is because initially, *Bina* liberates *Malchut* from her restrictions and thereby redeems her.

By receiving from *Bina* her properties of mercy, *Malchut* merits redemption. This is fulfilled in the following way: *Bina* transcends her own properties and joins with *Malchut*, as a result of which, upon receiving the Light of *Hassadim*, *Malchut* can now receive the Light of *Hochma*. The restrictions imposed on the reception of Light mostly affect the left side, i.e., *Hod-Peh* in ZA. And that is why the letter *Peh* thought that since the Light of *Bina* enters it, and not *Netzah-Ayin*, it is better suited to become the basis of the world.

However, all the individual corrections made during the 6,000 years of the world's existence until the end of correction are considered incomplete, for the Upper Light, which allows for the discovery and analysis of all the impure forces within oneself, is not present in its entirety. Therefore, the Light may not be received in the worlds of BYA, below *Parsa*, below the boundary that separates the world of *Atzilut* from the worlds of BYA.

Parsa is *Malchut* that ascended to *Bina* in order to restrict the diffusion and reception of Light into those parts of her that are located below *Bina*. And as a consequence of Adam's attempt to nevertheless receive the Light under the *Parsa*, impurity slipped into *Malchut*, of which it is said that the serpent appeared before Chava (Eve) and brought impurity upon her (Talmud, *Shabbat*, 146). This impurity will only be corrected at the end of correction.

The thing is that the absence of the Upper Light in the force capable of discerning good from evil in all of *Malchut's* thickness gives rise to a flaw called "tears"—two tears that fall into a vast sea from the two eyes of *Hochma* and *Bina* that are concealed from all.

The two eyes are *Hochma* and *Bina*, and the tears signify the flaw in them from the presence of the impure force that appeared in them as a result of Adam's sin. This led to the ruin of the two Temples. These tears in *Malchut's* eyes will only dry at the end of correction, when death disappears from the world and all the Light shines in *Hochma* and *Bina* (item 56).

So the letter *Peh* was told that although it brings the world *Pedut* (redemption) with its Light, and although all redemptions pass only through it, this Light is incomplete. All the individual corrections are imperfect, for they come and go, just as the two Temples.

For the properties of *Peshah* (transgression) and *Pedut* (redemption) in the letter *Peh* are not sufficiently perfect and complete so as to withstand the sin of Adam, for in the absence of the full Light of *Hochma*, there is clinging of impure forces. Hence, the letter *Peh* is unworthy of being the basis of the world.

And since the property of *Peshah* (transgression) is concealed, the force of the serpent is present therein, deceiving people and leading them to their death. And it is impossible to kill it, just as a snake bites and immediately hides its head in itself (similar to the head of the letter *Peh*), which makes it impossible to kill it, for one may only kill the serpent within oneself by striking the "head." This is why the letter *Peh* is unsuitable for the creation of the world.

THE LETTER *AYIN*

Bina of the world of *Atzilut* is called *Ima Ilaa* (Supernal Mother) and also *Anavah* (modesty, humility). (Here, the capital "A" designates the letter *Ayin*, not to be confused with *Aleph*). The *Sefira Netzah* of *Zeir Anpin* (designated by the letter *Ayin*) clothes into *Malchut* with all of its Light, and ascends to *Bina*, who adorns her with her own adornments: *Bina* clothes into *Netzah* of ZA. But since the letter *Peh*, signifying *Peshah* (transgression) is concealed in *Netzah*, the Creator refused to create the world with its properties, as it is written in item 27.

Two words render the meaning of the word "transgression" in Hebrew: *Peshah* and *Avon*. However, "transgression" is mainly concentrated in the letter *Peh*, for *Malchut* of ZA connects into the *Sefira Hod* of ZA.

As a result of Adam's sin, *Klipot* (shells, impure forces) cling to *Malchut* of ZA. But *Netzah* of ZA is a property of ZA himself, and impure forces cannot cling to it. Yet, as it is written in the Talmud (*Baba Kama*), even *Netzah* is subject to *Klipot* clinging to it.

This flaw—the ability of the impure forces to cling to *Netzah* of ZA—is called "transgression." However, the word *Avon* (not *Peshah*) indicates that *Netzah* is pure and direct, and that the transgression is caused by its connection with the *Sefira Hod*.

The reason the Creator turns to the letters *Peh* and *Ayin* at the same time is that *Netzah* and *Hod* are like two body parts—two legs. This is why they both appeared before Him with their requests. However, *The Zohar* clarifies each of them (their properties) one at a time.

THE LETTER *SAMECH*

28. The letter *Samech* appeared before the Creator and said: "Creator of the world, it would be good to create the world with my properties, for within me is *Smicha* (support) for the fallen, as it is written: 'The Creator supports (*Somech*) all who fall.'" The Creator replied: "That is why you are needed in your place; do not move from it. If you move from your place, contained in the word *Somech*, those who fall will lose your support, for they rely on you (your properties)." Having heard this, the letter *Samech* departed.

The letter *Samech* stands for *Sefira Tifferet* in ZA, i.e., *Bina* in the body of ZA. Since *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina* (*KHB*) were transformed into *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet* (*HGT*) in ZA, they were emptied of the Light of *Hochma*, and were left with only the Light of *Hassadim*, thus changing their name from *KHB* to *HGT*.

As we know, *Bina* consists of two parts: the Upper Part, called GAR: *Gimel* (three) *Rishonot* (first ones)—the first three *Sefirot KHB*, and the lower part, called ZAT: *Zayin* (seven) *Tachtonot* (lower ones)—the seven lower *Sefirot* from *Hesed* to *Malchut*. The Upper Part of *Bina* is called *Aba ve Ima* (*AVI*). Being filled with the Light of Mercy, *Aba ve Ima* exist in a state of perfection—without any desire to receive, but only to bestow.

AVI are designated by *Samech* (numerical value – 60), for they include the first three *Sefirot KHB* and three *Sefirot* of ZA, which, in view of the absence of *Ohr Hochma* in ZA, are not called *KHB*, but rather *HGT*. Therefore *AVI* consist of six *Sefirot*, each consisting of ten, totaling 60 = *Samech*.

ZAT of *Bina* receive the Light from Above and pass it on to *ZA*. This part of *Bina* has the property of *ZA*, rather than of *Bina*, as it needs to receive exactly what *ZA* needs, and then pass it to him. Since, unlike *Bina*, who does not wish to receive anything, *ZAT* of *Bina* need to receive *Ohr Hochma* for *ZA*, they feels a lack for it, and thus separate from *Bina* and an independently existing object-*Partzuf* forms out of her lower part.

This *Partzuf* is called *YESHSUT*, and it is designated by the letter *Mem* (numerical value – 40), for it consists of four *Sefirot—Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* of *Partzuf AVI*. Owing to its shape (properties), the block-letter *Mem* is called *Mem Stumah* (closed).

However, this separation of *AVI* into two parts occurs only when they have no Light of *Hochma*, but only the Light of *Hassadim*. Consequently, the Upper Part of *Bina* remains in its perfection, whereas the lower part feels a flaw in its state by not receiving *Ohr Hochma*. And since spiritual objects are separated by the differences in their properties, the sensation of imperfection separates the lower part of *Bina* from the Upper.

However, if those below improve their "intentions" (called "actions" in the spiritual), and ask *ZA* for help in correcting their actions, overcoming the egoism of impure desires, and acquiring spiritually pure, altruistic desires, *ZA* then turns to the superior *YESHSUT*, which turns to *AVI*. *AVI* then send their request even higher, receive the Light of *Hochma* and pass it to *YESHSUT*.

Finally, *YESHSUT* and *AVI* unite into one *Partzuf*, for having received *Ohr Hochma*, *YESHSUT* becomes as perfect as *AVI* are perfect being filled with *Ohr Hassadim*. *YESHSUT* passes the Light of *Hochma* down to *ZA*, who then passes it to *Malchut*. The Light that *Malchut* receives from *ZA* is referred to as 100 blessings, for *Samech* = 60 joins with *Mem* = 40.

However, when man sins in his intentions (desires, actions), he does not turn to *Malchut* with a request for help, causing the Light of *Hochma* to disappear from *ZA*, and *ZA* returns from *Gadlut* (big state) back to *Katnut* (small state). (When *ZA* contains the Light of *Hochma*, he is called "big"; and when he is filled with only the Light of *Hassadim*, he is called "small"). And the united *Partzuf Bina* is once more divided into *AVI* and *YESHSUT*.

In this small state (*Katnut*), *ZA* and *Malchut* are in danger of impure forces (*Klipot*) clinging to them. To make certain this does not happen, for then they may fall from the world of *Atzilut* below the *Parsa* into the worlds *BYA*, *AVI* send them the property of *Samech* (the Light of Mercy). And although it is only the Light of *Hassadim* without the Light of Wisdom (Light of *Hochma*), it provides *ZA* and *Malchut* with the sensation of perfection in acts of bestowal, and thus

impure forces can no longer cling to them, for the sole intention of the impure forces is to receive the Light of Wisdom from a pure *Partzuf*.

And this is why the Light that fills ZA in *Katnut* is called *Samech*, which testifies to its action: *Samech* "supports" ZA and *Malchut* so that they wouldn't fall from the world of *Atzilut* below the *Parsa*.

That is why the letter *Samech* thought that if the world were created with its properties, it would be able to reach the goal of creation and merge with the Creator. Its Light could shine in ZA and *Malchut* even in their small state, and the *Klipa* (impure force) would not attempt to snatch the Light from them. On the contrary, the impure, egoistic forces would flee from its Light. *Samech* believed that if the world were to be created with its properties, it would be able to protect all creatures, even when their actions were corrupted, for even in such a state, the impure force would not be able to harm them.

But the Creator said to *Samech* that precisely because its role is to support those who fall and to protect the lower ones in times of their spiritual descent, it must stay in its place and not move from it. For if the world were created by it, its power would always prevail over all, ridding ZA and *Malchut* of the chance to grow out of their small state.

And if ZA and *Malchut* don't stimulate the lower ones (people) to raise MAN—request for help in achieving *Gadlut*, the Upper Light will not be able to descend to bring the creatures to the end of correction and redemption. Therefore, the letter *Samech* must support the lower ones until they merit more. But when they do merit, they will be able to receive the great Light called "100 blessings" into their entire *Partzuf*. So the Creator refused to create the world with the letter *Samech*.

"Because the lower ones need *Samech* only in their *Katnut*, in the absence of the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*), ZON need you and you can help them. However, they need you only in their *Katnut*. But you do not help to bring them to perfection, and so you cannot be the basis of the world."

THE LETTER *NUN*

29. The letter *Nun* entered and said to the Creator: "It would be good for You to create the world with me, for *Norah Tehilot* (great praises) is written with me, as well as 'Praising of the righteous.'"

The Creator replied: "Return to your place, for you are the reason that the letter *Samech* returned to its place. And rely on it for support. For the

letter *Nun* exists in the word *Nefilah* (fall), which must be corrected by the letter *Samech*. This is the reason why it needed to return to its place—so as to strengthen the lower ones." The letter *Nun* left Him at once.

When *Nun* saw that the Creator sent the letter *Samech* away (as its properties are only used in the state of *Katnut*, that is, only to support those who had fallen from the *Gadlut*), it thought that it was worthy of being the basis of the world. This is because not only does *Nun* have all the advantages of *Samech*, but it can also use *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *Gadlut*. Thus, the reason for the Creator's refusal to *Samech* does not apply to *Nun*.

The *Sefira Gevura* in ZA is called *Nun*, for it is entirely mitigated by *Bina's* property of mercy, called *Nun* = 50 gates of *Bina*. It is this property of *Gevura* that gives ZA the name *Norah Tehilot* (great praises). *Ima-Bina* is called *Tehilah* (praise), and since *Gevura* descends from *Bina*, it is referred to as *Norah Tehilot*, while *Nun* is used in the *Sefira Yesod*, in the *Gadlut* of ZA during his *Zivug* with *Nukva*. Like *Ima*, this is whence *Nukva* receives the name *Tehilah*, while ZA becomes one in both *Tehilot*—*Ima* and *Nukva*.

Therefore, the letter *Nun* said that, being in *Gevura*, the left line of ZA, it attracts the Light of Mercy emanated by *Samech* (*Bina*, *Ima*), which is also called the "Upper *Tehilah*," as a result of which ZA acquires its properties and the name *Norah Tehilot* to match them. This is why *Nun* has all the properties of *Samech*: the Light of Mercy that bestows perfection and repels the impure forces-desires.

The letter *Nun* added: "However, I have an additional advantage in that I am used during the big state of ZA in his *Yesod*, in the letter *Tzadik*, of which I am the left element." This *Nun* in the letter *Tzadik* is that same *Nun* that is defined as *Norah Tehilot* (praises of the righteous), for even when ZA achieves *Gadlut* during the ascent of ZON to *AVI*, *Nun* also acts in *Yesod* of ZA, connecting *Nukva* back-to-back with ZA, so that ZA receives the Light of Mercy from *AVI* (*Samech*).

And so *Nun* is called "praises of the righteous," for *Yod* (righteous one, the basis of the world) mounts it. *Nun* is called "great praises," for it attracts the Light of Wisdom to *Malchut* in the state of *Gadlut*.

Therefore, we find that *Malchut* receives all her beauty from *Nun*, which is located in *Yesod* of ZA. This is why the letter *Nun* claimed that it merits for the world to be created with its properties, for its luminescence adds to the Light of Wisdom that unites and revives ZON, and does not merely support them, like the letter *Samech*.

So the Creator answered it: "You are wrong in thinking that you merit leading the world to complete correction by your properties, without the clinging

of impure forces, for even your properties need to be supported by the letter *Samech*. Indeed, this is precisely why you are connected back-to-back with the letter *Yod*, and the Light of *Samech* guards you against the clinging of the impure forces onto you. And that is why your properties, which rely upon the strength of *Samech*, are merely ones of support. Hence, you are unworthy of becoming the basis of the world."

THE LETTERS *MEM* AND *LAMED*

30. The letter *Mem* entered and said: "Master of the world, it would be good for You to create the world by me, for *Melech* (King) is called by me." The Creator replied: "That is so, but I shall not create the world by you, for the world needs a King. Return to your place. Also, I shall not create the world with the letters *Lamed* and *Chaf* that form the word *MeLeCH* (King), as the world cannot exist without a King."

The letter *Mem* is the *Sefira Hesed* in ZA, which receives the Light from its corresponding *Sefira Hesed* in *Bina*. When, in addition to the Light of Mercy in his small state, ZA receives the Light of Wisdom and becomes big, his *Sefirot HGT* turn into *Sefirot Hochma-Bina-Daat* (*HBD*). In other words, *Hesed* in ZA ascends and becomes *Hochma*, thereby revealing a new Light, the Light of *Hochma*, the Light of the Creator's face.

This is why the letter *Mem* claimed that it was suitable for the world to be created by it, for it reveals the Creator's Light to the world, thereby eliminating any risk of impure forces clinging to it, and so the world is guaranteed complete correction.

But the Creator answered that it is forbidden to reveal this Light to the world, for the world needs for this great Light to first clothe itself in the three letters of the word *MeLeCH*. In other words, the great Light may be revealed in the world only if *Mem* joins with the letters *Lamed* and *Chaf*. So the Creator said, "Go and join with them."

Mem in the word *Melech* is *Hesed*. *Lamed* is *Bina*, which passes the Light to ZA. The letter *Chaf* is *Malchut*, *Nukva* of ZA, for there cannot be a *Melech* (*King*) without *Malchut* (Kingdom). Also, all of the Light becomes revealed only thanks to *Malchut*.

In this case, *Malchut* shines from ZA in three places:

1) *Malchut* becomes a *Kisseh* (throne) for a *King* (ZA). A *Kisseh* derives from *Kissui* (cover, concealment), so it is designated by the bent letter *Chaf*.

2) *Malchut* clothes ZA. Because the great Light is revealed only to Israel, *Malchut* clothes ZA, and when her kingdom is revealed, ZA frees himself from her garment and throws it over all the nations of the world, idolaters, and the Light of his face pours upon Israel. And all the righteous then point their finger at the Creator and say: "This is the Creator, to whom I aspired!" This diffusion of Light is designated by the letter *Chaf*.

3) *Malchut* becomes a crown on the head of ZA. And this is the property of the letter *Chaf*, of *Keter* (crown of ZA).

THE LETTER *CHAF*

31. At this time the letter *Chaf* descended from the *Kisseh* – the Creator's throne, and stood before the Creator. It trembled and said to Him: "Creator of the world, with my properties I merit to become the basis of the world, for I am *Kavod* – Your Glory." When the letter *Chaf* descended from the Creator's throne, all the worlds trembled, and the throne itself, verging on collapse. The Creator then answered: "*Chaf*, what are you doing here? I will not create the world by you. Return to your place, for you exist in the word *Kelayah* (destruction) and in the word *Kalah* (bride)."

The Creator's throne is the world of *Beria*. The appearance of the letter *Mem* before the Creator led to the letter *Chaf* falling from His throne. As a result, *Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *Beria* trembled, as well as all the lower worlds with all their inhabitants.

All the arguments that the letters raised in their wish for the world to be created with each of them is like raising *MAN*—a request for precise measure of help from Above in the form of Upper Light (called *MAD*), corresponding to that particular letter.

If so, *ZON* will rule the world, and this ruling is effected by the very Light descending from *ZON* in the exact quantity of *MAD* that each letter evoked and caused, for the *MAD* precisely corresponds to the *MAN* in both quantity and quality, whereas *MAN* is the actual property of the letter. Hence, each letter argues that it can draw the kind of Light from Above that will surely bring all creatures to the goal.

Similarly, the Creator's answers to each of the twenty-two letters of *ZON de Atzilut* constitute the descending *MAD* (the Upper Light, strength, help) that precisely corresponds to the *MAN* raised by that particular letter. And when the

Upper Light that descends from a particular letter begins to rule the world, this signifies the Creator's reply to that letter. Since the impure forces cling to one of the letter's properties, as the Creator created two precisely balanced, opposing systems of pure and impure forces, this reveals the letter's inability to rule the world. And thus, the Creator dismissed each letter's individual claim to build the world by its property in order to bring it to the goal of creation.

Herein lies the Creator's "game" with each of the twenty-two letters, giving each the opportunity to reveal its properties, power and forces, until it becomes clear from their aspirations and analysis, which of them truly merits the world being governed by it.

From this we see that when the letter *Mem* began to reveal its great Light in the world, in doing so, it caused the fall of the *Kisse* (throne). This is so because the *Kisse* has two properties: (i) it covers and conceals the Creator, where the word *Kisse* derives from the word *Kissui*; (ii) it reveals the Creator's greatness in the worlds with the help of the three letters *MeLeCH*. Then, *Malchut* that became a *Kissui*, the Creator's cover, ascends and turns to *Chaf*—the Creator's own garments—thus revealing the King (Creator), and it becomes a crown on His head.

But as soon as the letter *Mem*, which was not clothed in *Chaf*, began to reveal the Light of the Creator's face, the letter *Chaf* fell from the *Kisse* (the throne of His Glory), stopped concealing Him, and stated that from now on only the Creator's revealed glory would rule over it, without any kind of concealment, as desired by *Mem*.

Owing to *Chaf's* fall from the throne, two hundred thousand worlds that originate from *Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *Beria*, as well as the worlds below them, shook and trembled on the verge of collapse. For the entire connection between the lower degree or *Partzuf* and the one above it lies in the fact that *Malchut* of the Upper Degree becomes *Keter* of the lower. And the property of the letter *Chaf* consists in clothing *Malchut* of an Upper spiritual object in *Keter* of a lower one.

There are three distinctive features to the throne: (i) six steps leading to the throne, six *Sefirot—Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* of the lower one; (ii) four legs of the throne, the Light in *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the lower one; (iii) *Malchut* of the Upper One that descends to the lower one, clothes into it, and all the Light from the Upper One is passed through her to the lower one.

Thus, when *Chaf* fell from the throne of the Creator's glory, the connection between the world of *Atzilut* and the throne (world of *Beria*) was severed. This is so because *Chaf* (*Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*) that clothes in *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the world of *Beria* pours all the Light onto the world of

Beria, called the throne of His glory. But when *Chaf* fell from the throne, the connection between the world of *Atzilut* and the world of *Beria* was severed, *Chaf* trembled, for it lost the power to bestow upon the world of *Beria*, and two hundred thousand worlds (*Hochma* and *Bina* out of *Sefirot Keter-Hochma-Bina-Daat* of the world of *Beria*) trembled in fear of collapsing, for they lost all of their life-force, which they receive from the world of *Atzilut*.

Similarly, in the world of *Atzilut*, *Bina* of the world of *Atzilut*, the Creator, is connected with ZON. This is because *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *Atzilut* consists of ten *Sefirot*, and her last *Sefira*, *Malchut*, clothes in ZA of the world of *Atzilut* with the property of the letter *Chaf*. *Malchut* of the *Sefira Bina*, which clothes in ZA, is the letter *Chaf*. And this letter *Chaf* is the Creator's throne in ZA. For the Creator is *Bina*, *Sefira* above ZA. And ZA becomes a throne for *Bina*. And during the fall, the connection between *Bina* and ZA is severed, since *Chaf* is *Malchut* of *Bina*; it clothes into ZA and passes all the Light to him.

And it therefore trembled (lost its ability to bestow upon ZA), and so did two hundred thousand worlds, which are the Light for ZA, called *Hochma* and *Bina* or *KHBD*—the four legs of the throne—for all the Light departed from them. And the worlds trembled in fear of collapsing, that is, *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod* in ZA that include all the worlds below them, for all the Light of *Bina* departed thence.

The Creator told the letter *Chaf* that because it fell from the throne of His glory, the first three *Sefirot* of ZA trembled, and all the other worlds are on the verge of total collapse and destruction without any hope of restoration; hence, *Chaf* must return to its place in the throne of glory.

Chaf's return to its place in the Creator's throne takes place just as He refuses to create the world with the letter *Mem*, for the world needs a King. That is, the trembling of the letter *Chaf* as it fell from the Creator's throne, which in turn, made the worlds tremble in fear of possible collapse, and the Creator's answer to the letter *Mem* transpire simultaneously.

THE LETTER *YOD*

32. The letter *Yod* entered and said: "Maker of the world! It would be good to create the world by me, for Your Holy name begins with me." The Creator replied: "It is sufficient that you are inscribed in My Name, in Me, and all of your aspirations are to Me, and you should not be uprooted from it all."

Since *Yod* is the first letter of the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*), the beginning of the Creator's revelation to creatures, the first degree of the Upper Light, the letter *Yod* argued for the world to be created with its properties, for the world would then be absolutely guaranteed complete correction. However, the Creator objects to it. As was already stated, the letters' questions and the Creator's answers signify the Creator playing with each letter, where the letters' questions are their *MAN*, and the Creator's answers are *MAD* in the form of the Upper Light.

So, by telling *Yod*, "It is sufficient," the Creator thus explained the creation of restriction—that the Light is only allowed to descend to its level, but no further. And this restriction is fixed in the Creator's name *Shadday* (*Shin-Dalet-Yod*). After *Yod* began to spread with the great Light, the Creator stopped it, forbidding it to spread to the letter *Tav*, but only to *Shin* (as was said above, in item 25). He said to it: "Enough, and do not spread further. Otherwise you will not be able to remain forever in My Name *HaVaYaH*."

As the sages said: "My Name is not pronounced as it is written. For it is written *HaVaYaH*, but pronounced *Adonay*" (Talmud, *Pesahim*, 50). Indeed, the name *HaVaYaH* is not subject to change, as it is written: "For I, the Lord (*HaVaYaH*), do not change" (*Malachi*, 3:6). For corruption and its correction emerge in the days of the world's existence, meaning that constant changes are coming. Therefore, until the end of correction, the Creator is called *Adonay*, for this name is subject to change, and not *HaVaYaH*, which can never be altered.

Yet, in the future, after the end of correction, *HaVaYaH* will be pronounced as it is written. Therefore, the Creator said, "If I see some fault or evil in you, by this you will be removed from My Name, for My Name, *HaVaYaH*, may not contain anything flawed or corrected—neither corruption nor correction. And this is why the world cannot be created by your properties." There are three degrees in the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*: in the *Sefira Hochma* of *ZA*, in *Hochma* of *AVI*, and in *Hochma* of *Arich Anpin*, called "concealed wisdom."

HaVaYaH begins with a dot, which then turns into *Yod*. Subsequently, *Yod* (*Ohr Hochma*) spreads to the sides and downward and turns into the letter *Dalet*, which consists of a horizontal roof-like line that indicates the property of *Bina-Ima* (mercy, *Hassadim*, width). When *Ohr Hassadim* stops spreading in width, *Ohr Hochma* begins to spread downward in the form of a vertical line. This is the leg of the letter *Dalet*, the property of *Hochma-Aba*.

The common property of *AVI* is designated by the letter *Dalet*. *AVI* beget *ZA*, designated by the letter *Vav* inside the *Dalet*, and eventually forms the shape

of the letter *Hey*. Thus, the request of *ZA* (*Vav*) to receive from *AVI* compels them to unite their properties of *Hochma* (vertical line) and *Hassadim* (horizontal line), with the help of the letter *Yod*. Consequently, *AVI* receive the Light from *Yod* and pass it on to *ZA*.

The screen with the desires of *Malchut* is called "a point," since the collision between the screen and the coming Light yields Returning Light. And since the received Light always consists of ten Lights, the screen is called "ten points."

Yod designates the spreading of *Nekudot* inside *Partzuf Keter*, from the Light of *Hochma* downwards, while *Vav* signifies the spreading of *Nekudot* inside *Partzuf Hochma*. However, there is no sign in *HaVaYaH* that indicates the diffusion of Light in *Keter*.

Entrance or exit of the letter *Yod* in a word signifies either presence or absence of the Light of *Hochma*. There are four kinds of correction:

1. The First *Ibur*—conception of the small state of *ZON*. This is an absolutely passive spiritual state, where the letter *Yod* enters the word *Ohr* (Light) and transforms it into *Avir* (air), becoming the *VAK* of the *Partzuf*.
2. The letter *Yod* exits the word *Avir*, which converts it back to *Ohr*: the Light of *Hochma* enters *VAK* of *Partzuf*;
3. The Second *Ibur*—conception of the *Gadlut* state of *ZON*: *AHP* of *Bina* ascend from *ZON* to *Bina*, and *GE de ZON* ascend with them, for they were together in the *Katnut* state, defined as conception of *GE de ZON*;
4. The diffusion of the Light of *Hochma*.

THE LETTER *TET*

33. The letter *Tet* entered and said: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world with me, for it is by me that You are called *Tov* (Good)." The Creator replied: "I will not create the world by you, for your goodness is concealed within you and is invisible. Therefore, it cannot take any part in the world that I wish to create, and will only be revealed in the world to come. And since your goodness is concealed within you, the gates of the palace will sink into the ground, for the letter *Chet* is opposite from you, and when you join together, the word *CHeT* (sin) will be formed. This is why these two letters are not recorded in the names of the holy tribes." The letter *Chet* immediately moved aside.

The letter *Tet*, whose numeric value of nine, is the inner property of the *Sefira Yesod* in ZA, while the outer property of *Yesod* in ZA is the letter *Tzadik*, whose numeric value of ninety, and it joins with *Nukva de* ZA, forming the notion of *Tzadik* (righteous one). Besides being the inner property of *Yesod* in ZA, *Tet* is also the ninth letter among the letters of *Bina* in ZA.

Also, *Tet* is called *Tov* (good). And since *Tov* is called *Tzadik*, for it is the inner Light of *Yesod*, called *Tzadik*, to whom no impure forces could cling, *Tet* calls on the above to justify its claim to become the basis of the world.

In the Talmud (*Hagiga*, 12), the sages wrote: "In the Light by which the Creator created the world, Adam saw from one end of the world to the other. But the Creator saw that the deeds of the generations of the Flood and the builders of the Tower of Babel are detrimental, and concealed that Light for the righteous in the future." Because the Creator saw that their actions will bring the threat of the clinging of the impure forces, He concealed this Light, Thus, the Light descended secretly from the Supernal Righteous (*AVI*) to the righteous one (*Yesod* in ZA), the letter *Tet*.

And so the Creator told *Tet* that because He must conceal it from the sinners and only the righteous will be worthy of it in the world to come, it cannot partake in the creation and correction of the world, for the world is ZON, and the letter *Tet* is constantly in danger of being clung to by impure forces.

And since this Light shines only secretly inside *Yesod* of ZA, and not openly, *Nukva* will not be able to receive this Light directly, but only through its concealment in her. Therefore, the gates of *Nukva* sink into her *Sefira Yesod*, which safeguards them against the clinging of the impure forces, and they are confident that the impure forces will not be able to rule over her gates. For even at the time of the ruin of the Temple, the impure forces could not rule over the gates of the Temple, and sank into the ground, that is, the ground consumed them. "But because you are in need of such protection, I cannot create the world with you," the Creator answered *Tet*.

There are two pipes (channels) in *Yesod de* ZA in the world of *Atzilut*: the right one serves for the birth of the souls, and the left one for throwing away waste to the impure forces. The letter *Chet* is *Hod*, whose property is *Malchut* in ZA, the left pipe in *Yesod* of ZA, for the properties of the letter *Chet* are the properties of *Kuf* included in *Yesod*, whereas *Kuf* emanates *Ner Dakik* (tiny Light) to the impure forces, from which they receive the strength to be similar to an image of a pure man, as a monkey compared to a man, for the Creator created purity parallel to impurity.

These two pipes are located very close to each other, separated only by a thin partition, called "a garlic husk." Consequently, the left pipe has the strength to rule over the right one, thereby forming *CHeT* (numerical value 8 + 9 = 17).

The numerical value of *CHeT* (17) equals that of the word *TOV* (9 + 6 + 2 = 17), which means that the impure force opposes the pure one. And if the right pipe (the letter *Tet*) prevails, the word *CHeT* (sin) will turn into *TOV* (good, goodness).

Since the left pipe (*CHeT*) has the strength to rule over the right one (*Tet*), the impure forces can suck the Upper Light for themselves. This would give power to the sinners of the world. This is why neither *Chet* nor *Tet* are present in the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, to show that they (the tribes) are above the letter *Chet*, the root of all the opposing impure forces.

When all the letters merited receiving a blessing through the letter *Bet*, they lined up in their alphabetical order, in which the letters *Tet* and *Reish* joined. The letter *Tet* ascended, but did not take its place until the Creator asked her: "*Tet*, why did you ascend, but do not take your place?" It replied: "You created me to begin the words *Tov* (goodness) and Torah, as it is written: 'And the Creator saw that the Light was good.' How then can I join and stand beside the letter *Reish*, when it begins the word *Rah* (evil)?"

The Creator answered: "Return to your place, for it is precisely you that needs the letter *Reish*. For man, whom I intend to create, combines all those properties—you as the right property, and *Reish* as the left." After that, both *Tet* and *Reish* returned to their places.

Three lines emerge in ZA of the world of *Atzilut*. However, they emerge from their source, *Bina*. (As a result of the second restriction, *Malchut* ascends to *Bina*, which leads to *Sefirot Bina-ZA-Malchut* falling into a lower *Partzuf*, into ZA.) *Bina* is called *Eloh-im* (*Aleph-Lamed-Hey-Yod-Mem*), and as a result of second restriction, her part *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (the *ELEH* of the word *Eloh-im*, *AHP*) fell into a lower *Partzuf*, to ZA. Only the letters *Yod-Mem* (the *IM* of *Eloh-im*) remained in *Bina*. This means that only half, (*VAK*, *GE*) remained in her from the previous level of *GAR*. Whatever is left is designated by a sign called *Holam—Vav* with a dot above it, as this is the right line, *Ohr Hassadim*.

Then, in the big state, the letters *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (*ELEH*) returned to *Bina* and joined with *Yod-Mem* (*IM*). Subsequently, the level of *GAR* returned, yet the Light of *Hochma* in *Bina* was incomplete, for the Light of *Hassadim* disappeared and the Light of *Hochma* cannot shine without the Light of *Hassadim*. The

returned letters A-L-H are *Shuruk—Vav* with a dot inside it, because, due to the restrictions in it, it constitutes the left line.

These restrictions are effective until *ZON*, upon ascending to *Bina*, begin to receive the Light, and the middle line emerges and reduces *GAR* of *Hochma* in the left line. As a result, the right line joins with the left: *Ohr Hochma* shines in the *Ohr Hassadim*. This middle line is called *Hirik—Vav* with a dot under it, or the screen of *Hirik*, for the Light enters the *Partzuf* because of it.

And since *Bina* regained *GAR* with *ZA's* help, *ZA*, now that he had acquired the three lines, begins to receive this Light from *Bina*, too. *Yod-Mem* (*IM*), *Tet* and *Holam* constitute the right line, *Aleph-Lamed-Hey* (*ELEH*), *Reish* and *Shuruk* constitute the left.

Now let us translate this into the language of *Sefirot*. When *Bina* returned once more to the state of *Gadlut*, *ELEH* returned to *IM*, the left line merged with the right, and this drove *Tet* (right line, *Hassadim*) away from *Reish* (left line). This is because being opposite to each other, they cannot stand side by side until the Creator (*ZA*, middle line) reduces the *GAR* of both the left and right lines by the force of His screen, which is expressed by the words: "And the Creator commanded it to return to its place."

GAR de Hochma is called *Man'ula*—the lock that prevents the Light from entering a *Partzuf*, and its diminution is called *Miftacha*—the key that opens a passage for the Light, *VAK* of *Hochma*, to spread in the left line into a *Partzuf*. Then, *Tet*, the right line, receives *Ohr Hochma* from the left, joins with *Reish*, receiving from it the Light of *Hochma*. Otherwise it would have remained in *VAK*. Adam, too, is created from the union of these two lines.

But why was the letter *Tet* reluctant to join with the letter *Reish*, and had to be forced to do so by the Creator? In the spiritual world, a root rules over all its branches, and the branches submit to its rule. Therefore, *Tet* did not wish to join with *Reish*, as it was then bound to become a branch and submit to its root, *Reish*.

However, the Creator wanted *Tet* to receive the Light of *Hochma* from *Reish* so that this union would enable man to receive the Light of *GAR*. Thus, when *ELEH* return to *Bina*, He made it so *Bina*'s restrictions would be weakened so as to allow the *Reish* to join with the *Tet* and receive the Light of *Hassadim* from it. It follows that *Tet* becomes the root with regard to *Reish*, for without its *Hassadim*, *Reish* would be unable to shine, due to the restrictions placed on its Light.

THE LETTER *ZAYIN*

34. The letter *Zayin* entered and said: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world by me, as *Shabbat* is preserved with me, for it is written: 'Remember (*Zachor*) the day of *Shabbat*, so as to keep it.'" The Creator replied: "I will not create the world by you, for within you is a force of war, as sabers and swords, called *Klei Zayin* (weaponry), are made by you. And you are like the letter *Nun*, with which the world was not created, for within it is *Nefilah* (fall)" (item 29). Having heard that, the letter *Zayin* left Him.

The letter *Zayin* is depicted as a combination of *Vav* and *Yod*, as a head over it, which signifies the big state and the great Light in *Malchut*, ZA's wife, for *Malchut* includes herself into her husband, ZA (designated by *Vav*), and becomes a crown (*Yod*) on his head. Together, these two letters, *Vav* with *Yod* standing above it, form the letter *Zayin*.

Therefore, it is written: "Remember the day of *Shabbat*, so as to keep it holy." As a result of *Shabbat*'s elevation, that is, *Nukva's* ascent to the head of ZA, when she becomes his crown, she includes herself in the word *Zachor* (remember) and receives the name *Nukva Kedoshah* (holy *Nukva*). This is why the letter *Zayin* claimed that since this Light is so great and holy that it brings absolute rest on this day, for purity is completely separated from impurity in this state called *Shabbat*, it is worthy of becoming the basis for the creation of the world.

Zayin is the *Sefira Netzah* in ZA. When *Nukva* is included in *Netzah* and merges with its properties, she gains the strength to ascend along with ZA to *AVI*. There she becomes a crown on his head, by which he is adorned, which signifies the day of *Shabbat*. However, since this correction occurs solely as a result of her inclusion in the male essence and their ascent to *AVI*, and not in her regular place, where she normally abides with ZA, *Nukva* cannot be corrected completely during the 6,000 years.

The reason for this is that when *Nukva* returns to her place on weekdays, her connection with the letter *Zayin* is defined as a *Kli Zayin* (weapon), and all the wars with the impure forces emerge from her, like the weekdays that prepare *Shabbat*.

For every man must defeat the impure force within him on the weekdays, and thus merit the King's daughter—*Shabbat*. However, during the 6,000 years, the Light of *Shabbat* is insufficient for the neutralization of the impure forces, for weekdays return and surround the *Shabbat*. This continues until the end of correction, when there will be only *Shabbat* as the day of absolute perfection for all eternity.

This is also why the Creator replied to *Zayin*: "I will not create the world with you, for when you are in your place, your Light is not yet perfect. Only after you defeat the impure forces in war will man be able to attain you." And the shape of the letter *Vav* (ZA) resembles a spear, ready to strike and pierce through the impure forces. For *Gevurot* (courage) signifies the left line of *Bina*'s male part (*Nun*).

THE LETTERS *VAV* AND *HEY*

35. The letter *Vav* entered and said: "It would be good to create the world with me, for I am a letter from Your Name *HaVaYaH* (*Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*)." The Creator replied: "*Vav*, both you and the letter *Hey* should just be glad to be contained within My Name. This is why I will not create the world with your properties."

Although the letter *Yod* expressed a similar request, *Vav* thought that *Yod* had been turned down because of its excessive size (spiritual force). This is why *Vav* claimed that it would be good to create the world with its properties, i.e., according to the letters *Vav-Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH*, with the Light of the Supernal *Bina* (*Ima*) of the world of *Atzilut*.

The Creator responded with the same answer he had given to the letter *Yod*—that He restricted it by saying to *DaY* (*Dalet-Yod*): "Stop at the letter *Shin* and spread no more, so that the impure forces would not cling to you." Hence, the letters *Vav* and *Hey* are not suitable for the world to be created with their properties, for even they need protection against the impure forces.

Sefira Tifferet is designated by the big letter *Vav* (*Vav* with a head), for it has all six (*Vav*) *Sefirot*: *Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*. *Yesod* is the *Sefira* that is responsible for passing the Light from ZA to *Malchut*. This is why it has the same Light as in *Malchut*—*NHY* without *HGT*, and this is also why *Yesod* is called the small *Vav* (*Vav* without a head).

THE LETTERS *DALET* AND *GIMEL*

36. The letters *Dalet* and *Gimel* appeared before the Creator. However, the Creator told them right away: "It is enough that you are both together, so that as long as the poor exist on earth, there is someone to treat them with mercy (*LiGmol Hesed*)." The letter *Dalet* derives from *Dalut* (poverty), while *Gimel* renders mercy to it (*Gomelet Hassadim*). "Therefore, you cannot part, and it is enough for you to aid one another in this way."

It was already stated (item 24) that although *Dalet* receives the Light from *Gimel* and its sharp right angle protrudes from the Light of *Hassadim*, the impure forces are nonetheless strong enough to cling to it, separate it and make the sharp angle smooth, thus transforming it into the letter *Reish*.

This is why the letter *Dalet* requires special protection so as not to be corrupted and to be able to continue being fulfilled by *Gimel* so as to keep the needy ones (*Dalut*) in the world from disappearing. Thus, it is sufficient for these two forces to sustain and complement one another, to fulfill one another in reciprocal union so as to prevent the impure forces from ruling. And this role is enough from them. This is why the Creator did not want to create the world with them.

THE LETTER *BET*

37. The letter *Bet* entered and said to the Creator: "Maker of the world, it would be good to create the world by me, as by me You are blessed Above and below. For *Bet* is *Berachah* (blessing)." The Creator replied to *Bet*: "Of course, I will create the world by you, and you shall be the basis of the world!"

The letter *Bet* is the property of *Hochma* (wisdom), or rather *Hesed* in *Hochma*, a point in a palace, for *Ohr Hassadim* is a palace for *Ohr Hochma* and is called *Berachah* (blessing). Passing through all of the worlds from the Creator down to the lowest degree of the lowest world, this Light does not diminish in any way.

Rather, just as this Light is at the Highest Degree that receives it from the World of Infinity, it is just as great, magnificent, and mighty in the world of *Atzilut*, and likewise all the way down to the world of *Assiya*. And it does not get coarser or weaker as it passes through all the screens from Above downwards.

That is why the letter *Bet* vied for the world to be created with its properties, as the Light of blessing is the same both Above and below; no screen can weaken it and no coarse desires can harm it.

This is also why the property of mercy (*Hassadim*) is most suitable for the creation of the world, for no impure forces can cling to it. This is because the impure forces can only cling to a place where there is a deficiency. And since there is no deficiency of any kind in the property of mercy, there can never be any contact between *Bet* and the impure forces.

The Creator agreed with *Bet* that its property is perfect and suitable for the creation of the universe by Him. As it is said: "*Olam* (world) *Hesed* (mercy)

YiBaneh (will be built)," where *YiBaneh* means *Boneh* (building) and *HaVana* (understanding). (In Hebrew, the letters *Vav* and *Bet* are denoted by the letter *Bet*). This is because the Creator determined that this property is entirely sufficient for precisely evaluating and separating pure from impure.

And if man seeks an idol in the Creator's stead, a *Berachah* (blessing) does not descend upon him, for blessing stems from the Creator alone. Thus, it is possible to determine who is righteous and who is a sinner, who works for the Creator's sake and who works for himself, for the world is built by mercy.

Yet, the Creator did not order the Light of Mercy to rule the world. He merely intended it for a good beginning, sufficient to bring the world to perfection. This is because the Light of *Hassadim* is incomplete (*VAK*, and not *GAR*), insufficient for begetting new souls, for their union and multiplication, as no *Partzuf* (spiritual object) can beget until it attains the full Light of *Hochma*, termed *GAR* or head. Until then, the *Partzuf* remains in a state of imperfection.

Our normal (the lowest possible) state is determined by the property of the letter *Bet*. Hence, the Creator laid it as the basis for the creation of the world. In other words, the basis of a state is a state of a pure *Partzuf* (object), when nothing at all can diminish or impede it.

In such a state, an addition of *Ohr Hochma* to *Ohr Hassadim*, necessary for the birth of a new *Partzuf* is no longer considered basic and essential. Rather, it is defined as an addition, i.e., it depends solely on the good deeds of the lower ones. And the fundamental Light, *VAK*, will never be lacking.

THE LETTER *ALEPH*

38. The letter *Aleph* stood outside and did not enter to appear before the Creator. The Creator said to it: "Why do you not come to me like all the other letters?" *Aleph* replied: "Because I saw all the letters leaving your presence without the desired answer. And besides, I saw You presenting the letter *Bet* with this great gift. And, indeed, the King of the universe cannot take back his gift and give it to another!" The Creator replied: "Although I will create the world by the letter *Bet*, it is you who will stand at the head of all the letters, and there shall be no unity in Me, but through you alone; all accounts and deeds of this world shall always begin with you, and all of unity shall be in you alone."

As we already know, all the letters' questions are *Aliyat MAN*—their individual requests, prayers, desires to ascend to the Creator. And the Creator's answers

to them are called *Yeridat MAD*—the descent of the Light from Above, giving strength and abundance according to the letters' requests. The great perfection in the letter *Aleph* stems not from the lower ones' request for spiritual ascent and correction, but from a force (Light) descending from Above and elevating those that dwell below.

This is why from the beginning of correction to its end, *Aleph* (unlike the other letters, whose properties fuel the process of correction during the 6,000 years) is never stimulated to raise its request to the Creator. And only if the Light that bestows strength for spiritual ascent descends from Above and begins to shine upon *Aleph* will it be stimulated. However, this will only take place at the end of correction.

Aleph did not raise its plea (*MAN*) to the Creator, for it saw that all the other letters asked, but to no avail, for there was an opposite property in the system of the impure forces against each of their properties. Therefore, *Aleph* decided that it was no better than the rest, that there is a corresponding impure force against it as well.

Furthermore, it raised no requests (*MAN*) to the Creator because it saw that the Creator decided to create the world with the letter *Bet*, mercy. And since it had no doubt that His decision was irrevocable, it decided not to ask Him.

Although it is true that the world was already created with the property of *Bet*, and that the Creator will not turn His gift over to another letter, the *Partzuf* that was created by the property of *Bet* is incomplete, small, *VAK* without a head. And since a *Partzuf* needs a head in order to reach the state of *Gadlut*, which is possible only when the *Partzuf* is filled not only with the Light of Mercy (*Hassadim*), but also with the Light of Wisdom (*Hochma*), more letters are necessary for the connection, conception and birth of a new *Partzuf*, a new state.

A state of *Gadlut* can only be achieved with the help of the property of the letter *Aleph*. Only *Aleph* can bring a *Partzuf* to *Gadlut*, to supplement its body, *VAK*, with a head, *GAR*, *Mochin*—the Light of *Hochma*. The letter *Aleph* brings the union between *ZA* and *Malchut* in a face-to-face position, whereas previously, in *Katnut*, while being filled with only the Light of Mercy, *ZA* and *Malchut* were connected back-to-back. This is why *Aleph* creates a head for all the letters, and hence stands at the head of the alphabet.

The Creator said: "That is why My Unity in the world is expressed only through the property of the letter *Aleph*. Furthermore, all rewards and punishments, distancing and drawing nearer, as well as the aspiration for spiritual correction (*Teshuvah*), all of which lead to the achievement of the end of correction, will

only happen by the property of the *Aleph*. I have made *Bet* the basis of the *Partzuf* so that it would be in no way dependent on the deeds of the lower ones. Thus, even if they begin to sin, those above will remain unaffected."

He continued: "But the Light in you, *Aleph*, is directly related to the actions of the lower ones. So if they sin, the Light of Wisdom (the Light of *GAR* in you) will immediately disappear. But if they correct their actions (*Teshuvah*), the Light of *Hochma* will return. And My unity with all the creatures at the end of correction will only be realized through the letter *Aleph*."

Letters are *Kelim* (plural for *Kli*—vessel), desires. And this refers to both the individual letters of the alphabet and those that form words. In the names of spiritual objects, letters signify the force of their desire, which the Light can fill. Letters of a simple name, without filling, designate its basis without Light—*Kli* of *Aviut* zero with the Light of *Nefesh*. Letters of a fulfilled name designate the magnitude of desires that are filled by Light.

There are two sources of letters: *Yod* and *Aleph*. *Yod* is a genuine source, for when we write something, we begin with a dot (*Yod*), and then, as we proceed from the dot in one of the four directions, we get a line. Letters are *Kelim*, desires, in which the Light (pleasure) is received.

A desire for something specific may only emerge if: (i) the initial, still unconscious desire is filled with delight, and (ii) the delight exits the desire. It is the memories (*Reshimot*) of past pleasures that lead to the emergence of a true desire to receive it, to feel it once more. And this is the very desire that is called *Kli*.

A filled *Kli* cannot be called a desire, for it is satisfied. Therefore, expulsion of the Light and sensation of spiritual descent constitute the period of the creation of new *Kelim* for future receptions of Light, for new attainments. Because the first restriction is the reason for the disappearance of Light from all the vessels, its black dot, *Yod*, is the basis of all the letters-*Kelim*.

However, the second restriction is the only true root of all the worlds, because the first restriction was only made on a point, (Phase Four, *Malchut*, the fourth letter *Hey* in the Creator's name *HaVaYaH)*. The second restriction, however, was made on *Bina*, in whom the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, were joined. The union of the two points forms a line, either vertical or horizontal. If it is a horizontal line, it is called "firmament" or *Parsa*.

The sum of consequences of both the first and second restrictions forms a slanted line (\); *GE* (*Keter-Hochma*) is depicted to its right, and *AHP* (*Bina-ZA-Malchut*) to its left. *Keter-Hochma* remain on their previous level and are

designated by the letter *Yod*, the first root of the world, whereas, a result of the second restriction, designated by a slanted line (\), *Bina-ZA-Malchut* fell to a lower level. And since the letter *Yod* is the first, though a very remote root of the worlds, and all the worlds were created afterwards and in accordance with the law of the second restriction, the letter *Aleph* stands at the head of the alphabet.

The kind of Light that fills the spiritual *Kli* or *Partzuf* can also be seen from its designation: if it is filled with the Light of Wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*), the filling is designated by the letter *Yod*; and if it is filled with the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), it is the letter *Aleph*.

39. The Creator made the Upper letters, which refer to the *Sefira Bina*, large, and the lower letters that refer to *Malchut*—small. Therefore it is said: "*Beresheet Barah*" (in the beginning He created)—two words that begin with *Bet*, and then *Elokim Et* (the Creator Himself)—two words that begin with *Aleph*. The first set of *Aleph* and *Bet* are letters of *Bina*, and the second set of *Aleph* and *Bet* are letters of *Malchut*. And they should mutually affect one another with their properties.

When the Upper One wishes to give Light to the lower one, it should clothe in the lower one, signified by the first two letters *Bet* and the two letters *Aleph* in the first four words of the Torah. For the first, Upper *Bet* is *Bina*, the second, lower *Bet* is ZA, and the first *Bet* clothes into the second one.

Similarly, the first *Aleph* refers to *Bina* and clothes into the second *Aleph* in ZA so as to fill it with Light. Therefore, the two letters *Bet* are like one letter *Bet* and the two letters *Aleph* are like one letter *Aleph*, since the lower letter merely constitutes the influence of the Upper One, which tells us that the Upper *Partzuf* fills the lower one.

The world cannot be created with *Aleph*, for the word *Arur* (cursed) begins with it, and had the world been created with *Aleph*, the impure forces, called "cursed," would have received great power from the pure forces, called *Baruch* (blessed). This is why the world (*Nukva* of ZA) is created with the letter *Bet*. Likewise, Adam in *Nukva* of ZA is also created by the power of *Bet*. Thus, *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* constitutes the root of all creation, all the worlds, and all that inhabit them.

Supernal Wisdom

40. Rabbi Yudai asked, "What does the word *BERESHEET* mean?" It is the wisdom, upon which the world, *ZA*, is established to enter the concealed supernal secrets, namely the Light of *Bina*. Here are the six Supernal and great properties, *VAK de Bina*, from which everything emerges. The six river mouths, *VAK de ZA*, that flow into the Great Sea (*Malchut*) were formed from them. The word *BERESHEET* consists of the words *BARAH* (created) and *SHEET* (Aramaic: six), meaning that six properties were created. Who created them? He who is unmentioned, concealed, and unknown: *Arich Anpin*.

There are two types of *Ohr Hochma* (Light of Wisdom) in the world of *Atzilut*:

1. The original Light, *Ohr Hochma* of *AA*, called "the concealed *Ohr Hochma*." This Light of *Hochma* is present only in *Partzuf AA* and does not spread to the lower *Partzufim*.
2. *Ohr Hochma* that descends via thirty-two paths from *Bina*, who ascended to *Rosh de AA* to receive *Ohr Hochma* and pass it to *ZA*. Hence, the word *Beresheet* means *Be-Resheet*, with-*Hochma*. However, this is not the true *Ohr Hochma* that is concealed in *AA*, but rather the Light that descends via thirty-two paths from *Bina* to *ZA* and sustains *ZON*.

It is written that the world is established on the "concealed supernal secrets," for when *ZON* (called "world") receive the Light of *Hochma* of thirty-two paths, they ascend to *AVI*, the concealed supernal secrets. Hence, it is said that *ZON* enter the concealed supernal secrets and attain the degree of *AVI*, as the lower one that ascends to the Upper One becomes equal to it in its properties.

The word *BERESHEET*, besides being divided into *BE-RESHEET*, is also divided into *BARAH-SHEET* (in Hebrew, both words are spelled the same), which translates as CREATED SIX—created six *Sefirot* (properties), called *VAK* (abbreviation of the words *Vav Ketzavot*, six extremities/properties of *ZA*, from which all creatures emerge).

The *Sefira Bina* fulfills the function of the *Sefira Hochma*, the source of *Ohr Hochma* for ZA. Because *Malchut* ascended to *Bina*, and *Bina* departed from *Rosh de AA* and became like its *Guf* (body), she cannot receive the *Ohr Hochma* of AA.

But then, thanks to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, human beings who are spiritually present in the worlds of *BYA*, *Bina* returns to *Rosh de AA*, receives *Ohr Hochma* from AA, passes it to *ZON*, and *ZON* pass it to all the worlds. It follows that all the worlds emerged from these six properties (extremities), into which *Bina* was divided.

It is therefore written that all six riverheads originate from *Bina*, and descend into the Great Sea. *Bina's* division into six properties, *VAK*, when she exits *Rosh de AA*, is called "six sources," for this is only a source of Light for ZA. But then, when *Bina* returns to *Rosh de AA*, they become *Ohr Hochma*, called the rivers that descend to *Partzuf* ZA.

And they are called "six rivers," as it is written: "He will drink off the brook in the way; therefore, will he lift up the head" (*Tehilim*, 110:7). Afterwards, ZA passes this Light into the Great Sea, to his *Nukva*. The rivers and brooks signify the Light of ZA. *VAK de Bina* is considered the sources of the Light of Wisdom, *Hochma*, for it emerged from *Bina* in the form of *VAK* with the sole purpose of creating a source of Light for *ZON*. And had *Bina* not emerged, *ZON* would have had no chance of receiving the Light.

The word *Beresheet* has several meanings: *Bere* = *Barah*—created six properties without *Ohr Hochma*, as the word *Barah* signifies concealment. Hence, the word *Beresheet* has two meanings:

1. *Hochma*, as the word *Resheet* means *Hochma*.
2. *Barah Sheet*, which shows how the *Sefira Hochma* was divided into six parts without a *Rosh*, without *Ohr Hochma*. These six parts are the source of Light for *ZON* (called the "world"), and these six parts of ZA together with *Malchut* are called the "seven days of creation."

However, since the word *Barah* is inside the word *Beresheet*, this means that it was created by "Him who is concealed and unknown," i.e., the concealed *Hochma* of *Arich Anpin*, for it expelled *Bina* from its *Rosh* and turned her into *VAK*. In other words, it created the six parts described in *Beresheet*.

Beresheet designates *Hochma*. The Light cannot descend to ZA until *Ima-Bina* comes outside, for because of *Tzimtzum Bet*, *ZAT de Bina* fell to *ZON*. Hence, when *Bina* is in *Gadlut*, ZA receives *Ohr Hochma* in his *Kelim*, the desires of *Bina*. The word *Barah* in *Beresheet* = *Barah Sheet* also means *Bar* (Hebrew, to exit, to transcend).

The Lock and the Key

41. Rabbi Chiya and Rabbi Yosi were walking along a road. As they reached a field, Rabbi Chiya said to Rabbi Yosi, "The words *BARAH SHEET* (created six) certainly allude to *BERESHEET*, for the six Supernal Days, *VAK de Bina*, shine on the Torah (*ZA*), while the others, *GAR de Bina*, are concealed."

ZA of the world of *Atzilut* is called the Torah. The six Supernal Days are *VAK de Bina* that are above *ZA*. Hence, the first word of the Torah, *BERESHEET* = *BARAH* (created) and *SHEET* (six) indicates that the *Sefira Bina* turns to the *Sefira Hochma* in order to receive *Ohr Hochma* and pass it to *ZA*. Since *ZA* is unable to receive all the *Ohr Hochma* (*GAR de Hochma*, the Light of the ten *Sefirot*) from *Bina*, but only *VAK de Hochma* (Light of six *Sefirot*), this is stressed in the word *BARAH SHEET*—CREATED SIX. This means that *ZA* receives from *Bina* the Light of only six *Sefirot*, *HGT NHY* or *VAK de Hochma*, whereas *GAR de Hochma*, the Light of *Sefirot KHB*, is concealed from him.

The reason for this is that although *Partzuf Atik* belongs to *Tzimtzum Aleph* (the first restriction), it is obliged to shine down on all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, and on all the worlds *BYA* with the Light of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Therefore, with regards to the lower *Partzufim*, it appears as a *Partzuf* that belongs to *Tzimtzum Bet*.

In other words, it deliberately imposed on itself an outward (with regards to others) restriction of its Light, to enable the lower *Partzufim* to receive from it. Hence, it elevated *Malchut* from the *Peh* to the *Eynaim* and made a *Zivug* on the screen that stands in *Nikvey Eynaim*, thus begetting *Partzuf AA*.

This is why *AA* is a *Partzuf* with properties of the second restriction, and acts as *Keter* of the entire world of *Atzilut* instead of *Atik*. This was designed so by *Partzuf Atik* itself, which split into two parts: *GE* remained in *Atik*, and *AHP* became part of the second *Partzuf*, *AA*. And since *Malchut* ascended to *NE*

(*Nikvey Eynaim*), *Partzuf AA* remained without *Malchut*, the *Sefira Ateret Yesod* was used in its stead, and *Malchut* became concealed in the *NE* of *Partzuf Atik*. Also, *GE de Atik* became concealed from the lower *Partzufim*, *Malchut* stood in *NE* of *Rosh de Atik*, *AHP de Atik* became *GE de AA*, and *Ateret Yesod* became *Malchut de AA*.

All the subsequent *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* emerged similar to these *Partzufim*. Thus, they all split into two parts, *GE* and *AHP*: *Partzuf Bina* was split into two *Partzufim*: *GE de Bina* formed *Partzuf AVI* and *AHP de Bina* formed *Partzuf YESHSUT*. *Malchut* ascended and remained in *AVI*, while *Partzuf YESHSUT* remained without *Malchut*.

The same applies to *ZON*: *GE* formed the big *ZON* and *AHP* formed the small *ZON*. *Malchut* remained in *NE* of the big *ZON*, while the small *ZON* have only nine *Sefirot* without *Malchut*, which is replaced in them by *Ateret Yesod*, as in *Partzuf Atik*. Therefore, just as *Keter* (*Atik*) split into two parts: *GAR* = *Atik* and *ZAT* = *AA*, so was *Bina* divided into *GAR* = *AVI* and *ZAT* = *YESHSUT*, and *ZON* into *GAR* = the big *ZON* and *ZAT* = the small *ZON*: *Malchut* remained in *GAR* and *Ateret Yesod* replaced it in *ZAT*.

As a result, the Upper Part of each degree remains concealed, just like *Partzuf Atik*, for *Malchut* does not descend from the place where she had ascended (*NE*) to her previous place in the *Peh*. And although in *Gadlut*, *AHP* return to their place or ascend to their own *GE* (which is one and the same), *GE* do not become filled with *Ohr Hochma* (the Light of *GAR*) as a result, since *Malchut* remains concealed in *GE*. Moreover, *Malchut* exists under the ban of *Tzimtzum Aleph* on the reception of *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, *GE* remain with *Ohr Hassadim*.

Only the lower part of each degree is filled with the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*) in *Gadlut*: there was *Avir* (air) = *Aleph-Vav-Yod-Reish*, then the letter *Yod* departed from this word, and only the letters *Aleph-Vav-Reish* remained to form the word *Ohr* (Light)—*Ohr Hochma* or *GAR*.

It follows that all *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* have *GE*, *GAR* of *Kelim*, *Sefirot KHB HGT* with *Ohr Hassadim*, the Light of *VAK*, whereas *AHP*, *Sefirot NHY*, *Vak de Kelim* in the *Gadlut* of the *Partzuf* are filled with *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *GAR*. *GE* (*GAR de Kelim*) are filled with the Light of *VAK* (*Ohr Hassadim*), and *AHP* (*VAK de Kelim*) are filled with the Light of *GAR* (*Ohr Hochma*). It is therefore said that there's no greater Light for *ZA* in the world of *Atzilut* than the Light of *VAK* = six days, while *GAR* are concealed even in the *Partzufim* above *ZA*.

42. However, it is said in the secrets of creation of *BERESHEET* that He who is Holy and Concealed established the laws in *Bina*, in the secret and concealed, meaning *Malchut* of *Partzuf Atik*, which is a *Partzuf* with *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, who ascended to *Bina* and removed *AHP de AA* below its *Rosh*. And the same law that He established in *Bina* He established and concealed within, and everything is locked under one key. And He hid this key in a hall. And although everything is hidden in that hall, the most important thing is in that key, for it locks and unlocks everything.

HE WHO IS HOLY AND CONCEALED is *AA*, for its *Hochma* is concealed. THE LAWS ARE ESTABLISHED IN IT, meaning in *Malchut de Atik*. The deficiency of the *Kelim de AHP* is confirmed. *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*, called "the central point of all creation," is also the sole creation on which *Tzimtzum Aleph* was imposed. Contrary to her, if the screen stands not in *Malchut*, but in *Yesod* or, more precisely, in *Ateret Yesod*, the place of the covenant (circumcision), the place of the *Zivug* that was permitted after *Tzimtzum Bet*, this screen allows for the reception of Light. Hence, it is called the "point of population," and not the "central point."

– *Keter*

– *Hochma*

– *Bina*

– *ZA Yesod*

– *ZA—Malchut* that received *ZA's* properties to "bestow," the populated place

– *Malchut*—no *Zivug* can be made; the deserted place

The thing is that there is no *GAR* in *AA*, for the Supernal *Malchut* of *Atik*, within *AA*, is already corrected to the point of being in *NE* of her own *Partzuf*. In *Gadlut*, the screen descends from *NE* to *Peh*, which makes *AHP* return to their place, and a *Zivug* transpires on all ten *Sefirot*, which receive the *GAR* of the Light, *Ohr Hochma*.

Therefore, the screen in *NE* is called a "lock," for it blocks the entry of *GAR* of the Light into the *Partzuf*. The *GAR* of the Light are called *Ohr Hochma*. Yet, by descending from *NE* to *Peh*, the screen lets the Light into the *Partzuf*, and is therefore called *Nikvey Eynaim* (pupils of the eyes).

Although *Atik* itself is in *NE* together with *Malchut*, it affects *AA*, and not *Atik* itself, as *AA* was created by the screen, located not in *Malchut*, but in *Ateret Yesod* (or simply in *Yesod*), and there is no *Malchut* in it. This is why it is not

Malchut that rules in *NE de AA*, but *Ateret Yesod*. And this is why, unlike the Light of *Atik*, its Light can be attained, for *Malchut* in *Atik* is the central point, which does not make a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. Although with regards to *Atik*, *AA* is *AHP* of *Atik*, *AA* itself has its own *GE* and *AHP*.

Subsequently, *AA* created *AVI* and confirmed the absence of *Ohr Hochma* in them, due to the absence of *AHP de Kelim*. These *AHP* are the HALL in which the entire Light of *Hochma* is concealed (*GAR de Neshama*, *GAR de Haya*, and *GAR de Yechida*). This KEY IS KEPT HIDDEN IN A HALL: *Bina* is a hall for *Ohr Hochma*. *Malchut* ascends to *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) and rules there, but the absence of *Ohr Hochma* is not felt there, for the properties of *AVI* want only *Ohr Hassadim*; this is what is important to them, as it completely substitutes the *Ohr Hochma*. And *VAK de Bina* is ruled by the key, *Ateret Yesod*.

IN THAT KEY, FOR IT LOCKS AND UNLOCKS EVERYTHING—concealments and revelations are made by *Malchut* that stands in *NE*: when *Malchut* ascends to *NE* she conceals *Ohr Hochma*, since in such a case, the *Partzuf* remains without its *Kelim* of *AHP*—it cannot use its desires to "receive" for the Creator's sake. Consequently, it contains no *Ohr Hochma*, for *Ohr Hochma* can only be received in *Kelim de AHP*.

And when a *Partzuf* receives strength from Above to resist the egoistic desires of reception of its *Kelim de AHP*, and can receive for the Creator's sake, this means that it has acquired a screen against its desires, and can also work with them for the Creator. It then brings its *Malchut* back from the *NE* to the *Peh*. Put differently, it elevates its *Kelim* (desires of *AHP*) to the *Rosh* and begins to calculate how much Light it can receive within them for the Creator's sake. However, the received pleasure must not be too great, or it will make the *Partzuf* enjoy it egoistically. Afterwards, the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma* in its *Guf*.

Thus, only *Malchut* that stands in *NE* allows or forbids the Light from entering the *Partzuf*. And since she must let the Light into the *Partzuf* in *ZAT* (where the rule belongs not to *Malchut* that ascended to *NE*, but to *Ateret Yesod*, called "key"), whereas the *GAR* of each *Partzuf* remain with *Ohr Hassadim* (they desire only the Light of *Hassadim*), letting the Light in or preventing it from entering the *Partzuf* depends only on the key, and not on *Malchut* herself.

43. That hall conceals tremendous treasures piled one upon the other. And there are fifty tightly closed gates in that hall, which are meant to block access to the Light. They were divided into four sides and became forty-nine gates, for one gate has no side, and it is unknown whether it exists above or below. Hence, it remained closed.

There are many types of *GAR*: *GAR* of *Ohr Neshama*, *Haya,* or *Yechida*. Each of them contains countless individual degrees and details. Hence, it is written, ONE UPON THE OTHER. Yet, as long as *Malchut* stands in *NE*, all these degrees of Light remain concealed and unknown.

A gate signifies a vessel—a desire to receive the Light. In the spiritual world, there are no bodies, only desires. The desire itself is called "a body." If there is no desire, there is no body, as there is no vessel to receive the Light (pleasure). The bigger the desire, the "bigger" the body. However, all the bodies are similar in structure; just as a human body in our world consists of 613 parts, the spiritual body consists of 613 spiritual parts (desires).

If one is able to use one of the desires of his spiritual body for the Creator's sake, such action is referred to as a *Mitzva* (commandment, good deed). The received Light is called "Torah."

A spiritual *Partzuf* has a *Rosh* (head), the place where decisions are made. It contains only those desires that are known to be fit with a screen (resistance to the desires) to use them spiritually, altruistically, and to "reverse" them from "for one's own sake" to "for the sake of the Creator." If one has fulfilled all 613 commandments of the Torah and the seven *Mitzvot* (plural for *Mitzva*) of the nations of the world (620 *Mitzvot* in all), he thereby ascends 620 degrees and completely merges with the Creator.

To observe all the commandments means to completely fill one's spiritual *Partzuf* with the Light of the Torah by fulfilling observant commandments (*Mitzvot Aseh*—positive *Mitzvot*) and prohibitory commandments (*Mitzvot Lo Taaseh*—negative *Mitzvot*). The fulfillment of the later lies in the unwillingness to receive the pleasure that is found within them.

There are two types of desires or gates: when they are closed and receive nothing, and when they open and receive the Upper Light. When they are all closed, there are fifty of them. However, only forty-nine of the fifty can be opened. There are ten *Sefirot KHB HGT NHYM* or five *Sefirot KHB ZA-M* (as *ZA* consists of six *Sefirot HGT NHY*). However, *Malchut* also consists of these six, and hence includes all ten *Sefirot*. And since each of the five *Sefirot* consists of ten, in all they make up fifty.

However, since a *Zivug* is made not on *Malchut*, but on *Ateret Yesod*, *Malchut de Malchut* itself does not receive the Light. Instead, Light is received by the four *Sefirot KHB ZA* that precede *Malchut*. Each of them consists of ten, hence 4 x 10 = 40 plus nine *Sefirot* from *Keter* to *Yesod* in *Malchut* herself yields 40 + 9 = 49.

Only one *Sefira* (*Malchut de Malchut*) out of the fifty does not receive the Light. This is because until all the *Kelim* (desires) have been completely corrected, the Light cannot enter it, as it is known in advance that *Malchut de Malchut* has no strength to oppose such a powerful egoistic desire to receive pleasure.

Instead of being in *Malchut de Malchut*, the screen stands in *Yesod de Malchut*, and this place is called *Brith* (Covenant), the place where the *Mitzva* of circumcision must be kept, so as to make a *Zivug* not on *Malchut* herself (on the first restriction), but on *Yesod*, or rather, *Ateret Yesod* (on the second restriction). *Malchut de Malchut* itself is called "*Shaar Nun*" (the 50th gate). This refers to *Malchut* of each *Partzuf* in the worlds *ABYA*.

And although *Malchut* of *Partzuf AVI* descends from *NE de AVI* to her place in *Peh*, while *AHP* and *YESHSUT* that clothe them ascend to the degree of *AVI*, and *AVI* merges with *YESHSUT* into one *Partzuf*, as a result of which, *Ohr Hochma* descends to them from *AA*, *AVI* are unwilling and therefore do not receive anything from *Ohr Hochma*, and remain only with *Ohr Hassadim*, as though *Malchut* had never even descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh*.

Therefore, it is impossible to tell by the Light of *AVI* whether *Malchut* is located at the *NE* or at the *Peh*. On the contrary, by looking at *AVI*, it always seems to us that *Malchut* stands at *NE*. Only by the state of *YESHSUT* can we determine *Malchut's* location, for when she ascends to *AVI* in *Gadlut* (big state), *YESHSUT* receive *Ohr Hochma*.

Although *Malchut* herself can receive *Ohr Hochma* in *AVI*, since *AVI* receive no *Ohr Hochma* whatsoever, they do not utilize their own *Malchut*. Since *YESHSUT* already has *Ateret Yesod* instead of *Malchut*, it receives the Light or "opens up," whereas *AVI* remain closed.

However, the absence of the 50th gate, the *Zivug* on *Malchut* herself in *YESHSUT*, causes the absence of the corresponding Light of *Hochma* in all the *Partzufim*. It is written about it: "fifty gates of *Bina*, and all are given to Moshe, except for one, the last secret of the absence of the Upper Light." For this Upper Light can be received only within the *Kelim* (desires) of *Malchut* herself, of primordial egoism, which will occur at the end of all the corrections, at the completion of the 6,000 years.

44. Those gates have one lock with a narrow space inside for inserting the key. It is unmarked, and recognized only by the impress of the key, which is unknown in that narrow space, but only in the key itself. And it is written of this secret: *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED). "In the beginning" is the key, and all is concealed

within it, as it unlocks and locks. And six gates are contained in this key, which locks and unlocks. When it locks those gates, encloses them within itself, it is written IN THE BEGINNING (*BERESHEET*): a revealed word, though it is usually concealed. *BARAH* (CREATED) is a concealed word everywhere, implying that the key unlocks it and locks it up.

Malchut that stands in *NE* is called a "lock," for she prevents *Ohr Hochma* from entering the *Partzuf*. The entire *Partzuf* ends in *Hochma* (the Light can only be in *K-H*). Hence, it is merely *Nefesh-Ruach*. After all, in the absence of *Kelim-Sefirot B-ZA-M*, the Lights *Neshama-Haya-Yechida* are absent. *Yesod de Malchut* is the 49th gate, the maximum that can be before the end of correction, for *Malchut de Malchut* itself is the 50th gate.

If the key (*Ateret Yesod* of the Light) enters *Yesod de Malchut* (the 49th gate), then this Light lowers *Malchut* to her place, from *NE* to *Peh*. This Light opens the *Partzuf* and *Ohr Hochma* fills it. This is why *Ateret Yesod* is called a "key."

However, there is a special *Reshimo* that allows one to not use *Malchut de Malchut* as a place of *Zivug* before the final correction of all the others (except for *Malchut de Malchut*, *Kelim*-desires). This *Reshimo* is in *AVI*: since they never receive *Ohr Hochma* (they do not use this key), their real *AHP* do not ascend. Nevertheless, even their false *AHP* is sufficient to let *YESHSUT* receive *Ohr Hochma* and realize that knowledge signifies the presence of *Ohr Hochma*.

If the Light that corresponds to *Ateret Yesod* enters the corresponding *Sefira* in *Malchut* (in *Yesod de Malchut*, the 49th *Sefira*), then *Malchut* (the 50th gate) does not forbid this Light to fill the *Partzuf*, does not "lock up" the *Partzuf*, as she contains the *Reshimo* of prohibition only on that which enters *Malchut* herself. The reason for it is that the *Reshimo* (the key's memory) rules in *ZAT de Bina*, that is, in *YESHSUT*. Hence, this Light is called a "key."

And the word *BERESHEET*–IN THE BEGINNING–includes in itself only the key (*Ateret Yesod*, the 49th *Sefira*), excluding *Malchut de Malchut*, the 50th gate. However, none of the *Sefirot KHB* of all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* receive *Ohr Hochma*; *Ohr Hassadim* shines within them instead.

Therefore, the words IN THE BEGINNING CREATED (*BERESHEET BARAH*) mean CONCEALED *HOCHMA*, for the word *BARAH* (created) is derived from the notion of *BAR* (beyond), which signifies moving *Malchut de Malchut* beyond the reception of *Ohr Hochma*; hence, this part of the *Kelim* was locked up by the absence of Light.

Avraham

45. Rabbi Yosi said, "I heard from the great source of Light, i.e., from Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, that *BARAH* is a concealed word, the key to which locked it up and did not unlock it. And since the key locked up the word *BARAH*, there was no world and no possibility of its existence, and nothingness enveloped all. And when nothingness rules, there is no world, nor its existence."

46. So when did this key unlock those gates, and everything became ready for the existence and evolution of the generations? When Avraham appeared, as he is the property of *Hesed* (mercy), of which it is written, "These are the generations of Heaven and earth *Be-Hibar'am* (with which He built)." However, one should pronounce the word not as *Be-Hibar'am*, but as *Be-Avraham* (in Hebrew, these two words consist of the same letters, but in a slightly different order). Then, all that was concealed in the word *BARAH* was revealed as letters, meaning that the *Kelim* opened up to listen. And there appears the Pillar of Procreation, the sacred *Yesod*, upon which the world's existence is based, for the word *BARAH* consists of the same letters as the word *AVAR* (passed).

He asks: "When it is revealed, can one act and produce generations?" This question includes three questions:

1. When will it be revealed? When *Malchut* descends from the *Eynaim* (where she ascended as a result of *Tzimtzum Bet*) to her previous place in the *Peh*, which leads to the revelation of the forty-nine gates of *Hochma*;
2. When can it be used? When *Ohr Hochma* clothes in *Ohr Hassadim*, as a result of which *AHP* can receive *Ohr Hochma*, for unless it is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *MI* = *GE* cannot shine within *ELEH* = *AHP*, as the Light is not yet suitable for reception and use by the lower ones;

3. What does it mean to produce, multiply generations? Generations are the souls that exist in the worlds *BYA*, begotten by *ZA de Atzilut*. After *ZA* receives the Lights of *Hochma* and *Hassadim* (the Light of perfection), this Light enables him to make a *Zivug* with *Nukva* and beget the souls of the righteous.

WORLD OF AK

WORLD OF ATZILUT: AA of the world of Atzilut

AVI of the world of Atzilut

ZON of the world of Atzilut produce and feed the souls of the righteous

— Parsa -

WORLD OF BERIA
WORLD OF YETZIRA } the souls of the righteous in the worlds BYA
WORLD OR ASSIYA

— Machsom, the transition from egoism to altruism - - - - - - - - - - -

OUR EGOISTIC WORLD

Avraham is the property of the *Sefira Hesed* in *Partzuf ZA* during its *Gadlut* (big state), when *Hesed* ascends and becomes *Hochma*: *Sefirot HGT* become *HBD*:

PARTZUF ZA

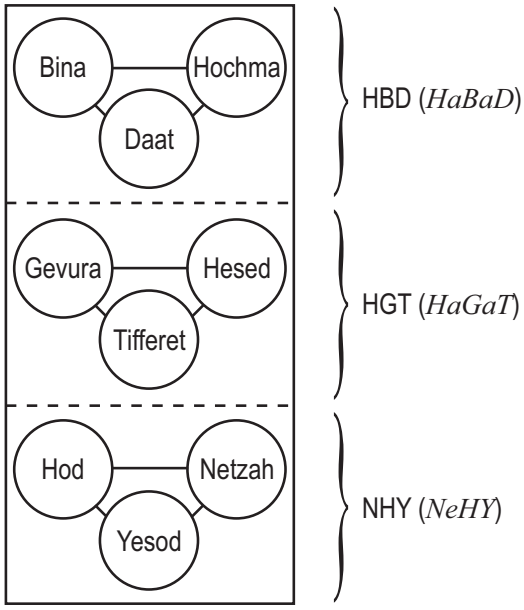

Before Avraham appeared, everything was concealed in the word *BARAH* and nothingness ruled over the world—there was neither *Ohr Hochma* nor *Ohr Hassadim* in *ZON*. However, when Avraham (the Light of *Hesed* that descends to *ZA*) appeared, the gates were opened for *Ohr Hochma*, for *Malchut* descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh*, and *YESHSUT* merged with *AVI* into one degree, which led to the descent of *Ohr Hochma* to *YESHSUT*, for *Ohr Hassadim* of Avraham's properties was already present in *ZA*.

Ohr Hochma then clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *MI* (*GE*) joined *ELEH* (*AHP*), the Creator's name *ELO-IM* was completed, and *Hochma* filled *ZA*. Then *Malchut* descended from *Eynaim* to *Peh* in *ZA*, and *ZA* received new *AHP* from *Bina*, thereby entering *Gadlut* and passing the Light through his *Yesod* into *Malchut*, called the "lower world." As a result, *Malchut* begets the souls of the righteous.

47. When *Yesod* of *ZA* joins the word *BARAH* (*Malchut*), there occurs a concealed and supernal division of the Creator's name and greatness, called *MI*, and *ELEH* comes into being. Also, the sacred name *MA* comes from *BARAH*. The sacred concealed *ELEH* exists just like *Yesod*. Yet, when *Yesod* attains its complete state, the *Partzuf* attains its complete state, the letter *Hey* corresponds to *Yesod* and the letter *Yod*—to *ELEH*.

Here, *The Zohar* clarifies which Light is present in *ZA*, depending on his states. In the *Sefira Yesod* of *Partzuf ZA* there is an end, meaning a place of contact with *Malchut*, the place of the covenant between the Creator (*ZA*) and the *Shechina* (the souls of the righteous), also called "Israel" or *Malchut*. This place of contact is called *Ateret Yesod* (encirclement of *Yesod*) or *Keter de ZA* (the crown of *ZA*).

The word *BARAH* signifies *Katnut* (small state), which comes as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *NE*. *AVI* never abandon the properties of *GAR de Bina* (properties of mercy); they do not desire to receive. Having ascended and standing in them, *Malchut* is called *Man'ula* (lock), which prevents the Light from spreading below her. *Ateret Yesod de ZA* is called *Miftacha* (key), for it is through its property that the Light can be received in the *Partzufim* located below *AVI*.

This is possible on condition that *ELEH* = *AHP* ascend to *MI* = *GE*. *Ohr Hochma* can be received in the *Kelim ELEH* that wish to receive it, but only upon their ascension above *Parsa*. However, until the properties of *Malchut* acquire the property of *Bina*, until they are "softened" by this property, there is no way to receive the Light, and *Malchut* is called "the 50th gate."

Hence, we see that the words *MI BARAH ELEH* signify not the question, "Who created these?" but the action: *MI* = *GE BARAH* (created) *ELEH* = *AHP* by

the descent of *Malchut* from *NE* back to *Peh*. As a result, *ELEH* = *AHP* ascended to the *Rosh* and there received the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*).

Upon descending to *Peh*, *Malchut* is called *MA*, as that is the name of the lower world. Her screen in the *Peh* makes a *Zivug*, onto which descends *Ohr Hassadim*, called "Light of blessing," for it abolishes the prohibition and the lock imposed on the diffusion of Light.

48. When the letters *Hey* and *Yod* wished to complement one another, the letter *Mem* emerged from them, and the word *ELO-HIM* = *ELE* + *Hey* + *Yod* + *Mem* was formed by the union of both sides. The word *AVAR* + *Hey* + *Mem* = Avraham originated from *ELEH*. However, one might say that the Creator took the words *ELEH* and *MI*, joined them and formed the word *ELOKIM*, whereas the words *MA* and *AVAR* formed the word Avraham, where the word *MI* designates the fifty gates of *Bina*, and the word *MA* refers to the numerical value of the holy name, for *HaVaYaH* with the filling of the letter *Aleph* forms the *Gematria* of MA—45.

Both this world and the world to come exist in these two letters, *Yod* and *Hey*. This world is in *Yod*, and the world to come is in *Hey*. Hence, the world to come was created with *MI*, and this world with *MA*.

It is therefore written: "These are the created (*Be-Hibar'am*) generations of Heaven and earth," where the letters *Be-Hibar'am* make up the word "Avraham," for there was no perfection until the letters formed this word. Therefore, the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* is first mentioned in the Torah only after the name Avraham.

Ohr Hassadim in *MA* and *Ohr Hochma* in *ELEH* wished to complement one another and be complemented within one another. As a result, *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, and *Malchut* receives from both *Hassadim* and *Hochma*. In so doing, *MA* and *MI* join and create MM, i.e., *Malchut* that receives *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* from Above.

The Vision of Rabbi Chiya

49. Rabbi Chiya prostrated himself on the ground and kissed it. He wept and said: "Dust, how hard and heartless you are, how many you have consumed, all the pillars of Light and all the great souls were consumed by you. And the greatest of all, Rabbi Shimon, the Light of the entire world, of all the worlds, who illuminates and governs over the descending Light, upon which our world exists, is also consumed by you, and yet you govern the world?" But then he collected himself at once and said: "Do not be proud, dust, for the pillars of the world will not be betrayed to you, and Rabbi Shimon will not be consumed by you!"

Malchut is the sole creation. And this sole creation is nothing but a desire to receive pleasure. It was made this way, and its essence cannot be changed. Yet, what can be changed is the intention—for which or whose sake to receive the pleasure.

As a result of *Malchut's* union with *Bina* with an altruistic will to bestow delight, give pleasure, *Malchut* acquires *Bina's* desire in addition to her own. That is, an additional desire appears in *Malchut*—to bestow, opposite to her nature.

Only this desire of *Bina* in *Malchut* can result in a *Zivug* and reception of Light. When *Malchut* receives all the desires that she possibly can from *Bina*, and fills them with Light, only her own initial egoistic property will remain uncorrected, but even that will be corrected from Above by the Creator Himself. The order of correction and reception of Light in *Bina's* properties inside of *Malchut* is referred to as the reception on the *Zivug* of *Yesod*, and it takes place sequentially along 6,000 degrees, called "6,000 years."

Malchut de Malchut of the world of *Atzilut* cannot receive any Light during the 6,000 years until all of its parts are completely corrected. All the *Zivugim* (plural for *Zivug*) throughout the 6,000 years are made not on *Malchut* herself, but on the properties she received from *Bina*. The place of such a *Zivug* is called *Yesod*

de Malchut or *Ateret Yesod*. Whereas *Malchut* herself (egoistic desires) remains closed to the Light, and is therefore called the "closed gates."

The reception of Light during the 6,000 years, correction of the *Partzufim*, and the gradual filling of *Malchut* with the Light, takes place with the help of *Bina's* desires in *Malchut*, which are called *Miftacha* (*Yesod de Malchut*), for the impure (egoistic) force has no power over this part of *Malchut*.

Yesod de Malchut means that *Malchut* only acts with the properties she received from a Higher *Sefira–Yesod*, which is free from the influence of the impure forces (*Klipot*). All the properties, except for those of *Malchut*, are altruistic, since they originate from *Bina*. However, since we wish to emphasize that a *Zivug* is made on an altruistic desire, above the egoistic desire of *Malchut*, we usually say *Yesod* instead of *Bina*. And since *Yesod* is the *Sefira* immediately above *Malchut*, we say that a *Zivug* is made not on the egoistic desires of *Malchut*, but on *Yesod*. And since, upon acquiring the properties of *Yesod*, *Malchut* can receive the Light, such reception of Light on *Yesod de Malchut* is called "*Miftacha*" (from the word *Mafte'ach*, key)—the key that opens the way for the Upper Light.

However, since *Malchut* herself, that is, *Malchut de Malchut* ("closed gates") remains inaccessible to the Light for 6,000 years, Rabbi Chiya (a particular spiritual degree) could not understand how Rabbi Shimon (the spiritual *Partzuf* called Rabbi Shimon) could achieve such complete perfection. Indeed, Rabbi Shimon is a *Partzuf* of such spiritual height that it receives the Light of *Yechida*. And it is impossible to receive this Light without utilizing a *Zivug* on *Malchut de Malchut* itself.

And yet, this part of *Malchut* remains uncorrected until the completion of the 6,000 years (the end of correction), and thus cannot be used. By defying these desires, it is as though one has already partially corrected it. And all the prohibitory commandments refer to *Malchut de Malchut*; hence, the ban imposed on its use is called "a restriction."

Yet, if it is impossible to fill the "stony heart" (*Lev HaEven*), i.e., *Malchut de Malchut* (the root of egoism, the basis of creation), with Light, how can even a single soul achieve complete correction? After all, complete correction implies the reception of Light in the entire *Malchut*. Each soul, each part of *Malchut* that man is destined to correct contains a part of all the other parts of *Malchut*, including a part of *Malchut de Malchut*, which he may not work with until the end of correction.

On the other hand, Rabbi Chiya sees Rabbi Shimon in a state of complete correction. So how could the latter have attained such state? This

contradiction roused Rabbi Chiya so greatly that he prostrated himself on the ground and cried out.

It is impossible to constantly "translate" the words of the Torah or *The Zohar* into a language we can understand, that "ground" signifies egoism and "dust" refers to the impure forces, that "crying out" implies raising *MAN*, and so forth. All the words and definitions in the text of *The Zohar* should be perceived sensuously rather than literally, as physical actions of our world. In other words, whatever *The Zohar* speaks of is related only to inner, spiritual sensations and experiences of one who perceives the spiritual realm.

All the worlds constitute the "environment," the spiritual sphere, within which the Creator made His only creation—man (Adam). Everything else was created only in order to help man to achieve his spiritual mission of becoming like his Creator.

Just as in our world, the world itself and all its inhabitants, except man, are robots operated by their animal nature, rather than creatures with free will, in the spiritual worlds, all the spiritual beings, except for the soul, are operated by their spiritual nature. Upon being born in our world, man, too, is an animal without freedom to act against his egoistic desire to receive pleasure. He usually stays that way throughout his existence on earth, being not at all different from the still, vegetative, and animate levels of nature, automatically following orders of his inner master, egoism.

Only with the help of Kabbalah can one gradually receive Upper, spiritual strength, and consequently acquire freedom of choice, that is, liberate himself from the influence of the impure, egoistic forces, and become free in his desires, like the Creator. However, such an opportunity is only given to one who can control his automatically-driven, egoistic nature: according to the strength of his screen, man ascends (moves inwardly, in his sensations) from this world to the spiritual.

After creating the spiritual worlds as a home for his future creation, the Creator created the creature (soul, Adam). The soul constitutes the desire to delight in the sensation of the Creator, of His Light. The sensation of the Creator is called "Light." There is nothing else in the entire universe besides the Light and the soul!

Although the soul itself is *Malchut de Malchut* (the only egoistic creation), the Creator imparted onto it the property of altruism, having created it mixed with the *Kelim* (desires) of *Bina*, thereby demonstrating how wonderful it would be to be like Him.

While performing altruistic actions, the soul (Adam) decided to use its natural egoism, *Malchut de Malchut* itself, to receive the Creator's Light with

altruistic intentions. Yet, when it began to let the tremendous Light of *Yechida* into *Malchut de Malchut*, it could not resist and wished to enjoy it egoistically. This change in the soul's desires is referred to as its fall.

As a result of the fall, Adam's soul split into myriad parts (600,000), all of which fell into captivity of impure, egoistic forces (acquired egoistic desires). After the fall, Adam corrected some of the souls (obtained an anti-egoistic screen), but only partially. And then, of the total number of souls, some were selected for correction, lowered into this world, and clothed into bodies, generation after generation.

The descent (distancing from the Creator) into our world (egoistic sensations of only one's own desires) occurs as a result of attaching an additional "makeweight" of egoism to the soul. In the spiritual world, movement (farther from the Creator or closer to Him) and distance (from Him) are determined by the correlation of egoistic and altruistic desires within the soul.

The purpose behind the souls' descent to our world is to transform one's egoistic desires with the help of Kabbalah, and to return to the Creator with one's intentions, by performing altruistic actions. The souls' descent continues until each of them and all of them together achieve complete correction.

And the most exalted souls that refer to the degrees of *Yechida* and *GAR* of *Haya* depend on the correction of *Malchut* herself in *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* ("closed gates"). These will only be corrected at the completion of the 6,000 years, after the correction of all the rest. This is due to the inverse relationship between the souls and the Light that fills them: the more egoistic the soul is, and the lower it is located, the greater the Light that enters the general *Partzuf* (the common soul) at the time of its correction.

THE LIGHT OF SOULS	Yechida	Haya	Neshama	Ruach	Nefesh
MALCHUT (types of souls)	Keter	Hochma	Bina	ZA	Malchut

This is why these exalted souls are consumed by dust (impure force), i.e., the impure force rules over them with its enormous and insolent power, for it is certain that no one and nothing can save these souls from captivity.

This is why Rabbi Chiya wept: "Dust, how cruel you are!" That the most exalted souls are "consumed by you without any hope of escaping you!" In other words, the actual root of creation, the primordial egoism cannot be corrected.

It turns out that as a result of the exalted souls' captivity by the rule of the impure forces, all the righteous that bring Light to the entire world cannot achieve perfection themselves. Since all the souls are interconnected, not a

single individual soul can arrive at the end of correction until all the souls are corrected. This is why they are susceptible to the ruthless rule of the dust.

At first, Rabbi Chiya wanted to say that Rabbi Shimon himself was also consumed by dust, i.e., did not achieve complete correction. He had heard that Rabbi Yosi also reasons that the closed gates are closed for all. Yet, after some contemplation, he inquired: "If Rabbi Shimon revives all the worlds and governs them, how can it possibly be that he has not reached perfection?"

Therefore, he concludes that Rabbi Shimon was not consumed by the dust, that he did achieve complete correction and is probably in a state of absolute perfection. The thing that Rabbi Chiya could not understand, however, is how any individual soul could achieve the end of correction prior to (without) the complete correction of all the others. This, Rabbi Chiya could not explain to himself.

50. Rabbi Chiya stood up and started to walk and weep. Rabbi Yosi joined him. He fasted for forty days so that he might see Rabbi Shimon. He was told he still was not worthy of seeing him. He wept and fasted for another forty days. He was then shown a vision: Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar were discussing him, Rabbi Chiya, the words he said to Rabbi Yosi, and thousands are listening in on their discussion.

Although the fasting that *The Zohar* speaks of is a spiritual act, in our world such a description is a good example of how strong a desire should be in order to be answered from Above. Other spiritual actions include weeping, tears—the small state (*Katnut*) of a spiritual *Partzuf*, in this case referred to as "Rabbi Chiya." Naturally, Rabbi Shimon and all the other characters of *The Zohar* are spiritual *Partzufim*, rather than people of our world.

Truth be told, the spiritual level of a person known by a certain name in our world may coincide with his spiritual root described in the Torah. However, elucidation of this matter exceeds the scope of this particular article. It is nonetheless essential to note that Pharaoh in the corporeal Egypt, naturally, was not a spiritual Pharaoh, the way he is described in *The Zohar* (the *Partzuf* that includes all of *Malchut*), and Laban, portrayed in the Torah as a villain, is in fact the Supernal Spiritual Light of *Partzuf AB*, the Supernal Light of *Hochma*. This will be explained later on.

The strong desire to attain the degree of Rabbi Shimon allowed Rabbi Chiya to see him, for he was certain that Rabbi Shimon had not been consumed by the dust. He came to this conclusion precisely because of his conversation with Rabbi Yosi, and hence passionately desired to see Rabbi Shimon.

51. In that same vision, Rabbi Chiya saw several great celestial wings: how Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar mounted them and soared to the Assembly of Heaven, while the wings waited for them. Afterwards, they both returned to their place and shone brighter than ever before, brighter than the light of the sun.

The Heavenly Assembly refers to the Assembly of the angel Matatron. However, his full name is not pronounced, and the name Matat is used instead, for pronouncing a name is equivalent to an action, which is not always desirable. The term Supernal Assembly refers to the Assembly of the Creator Himself, while the Heavenly Assembly refers to the Assembly of Matat.

The wings that were waiting for Rabbi Shimon and his son Elazar are angels (spiritual forces, similar to robots or draft animals in our world), whose task is to help the souls to ascend from one spiritual degree to another. And just as these wings must assist the souls in their ascent, they must assist them to descend to their places. Therefore, it is said that the wings were waiting for Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Elazar to bring them back down.

And when Rabbi Chiya saw them returning from the Heavenly Assembly back to their place (to Rabbi Shimon's Assembly), he noticed a new light on their faces, and radiance surrounded them that was brighter than the sun.

52. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "Let Rabbi Chiya enter and see how much the Creator renews the faces of the righteous in the world to come. Happy is he who comes here without shame. Happy is he who stands in the other world as a rigid pillar opposite all." And Rabbi Chiya saw himself entering, and Rabbi Elazar and all the other pillars of the world that were there stood up before Rabbi Chiya. And he, Rabbi Chiya, was ashamed; he entered, bending, and sat at the feet of Rabbi Shimon.

Rabbi Shimon opened (opened the way for the Light) and said: "Happy is he who enters without shame." And all that were present there felt no shame. Only Rabbi Chiya was ashamed. This is because they had the strength to withstand the power of the dust, and Rabbi Chiya did not. They were all perfect, whereas Rabbi Chiya had a flaw—the desire to attain. And this is what he was ashamed of.

53. A voice sounded: "Lower your eyes, do not raise your head, and do not look." He lowered his eyes and saw Light that shone from afar. The voice returned and said: "The Supernal Ones, concealed and enclosed, who have eyes that watch over the entire world, look and see: the lower ones are sleeping, and the Light of their eyes is concealed in their pupils. Wake them!"

After he followed the instruction to lower his eyes and not raise his head (not use his desire to receive Light, but only desires to bestow), he merited hearing

(Light of *Hassadim*) the appeal, with the help of which he attained everything he wished. The voice divides all souls into two groups: the first is a group of Supernal Holy Ones that are concealed, who merited their eyes to be opened to behold the entire world, and the second group of souls have the Light of their eyes concealed in their eye-sockets, which is what blinded them. This is why the voice called upon the souls of the first group to behold, i.e., to use the reception of the Upper Light, to draw the Upper Light together with the second group.

54. Who among you turns darkness into Light and savors bitter as sweet even before he came here, that is, while still living in the other world? Who among you hopes and waits each day for the Light that shines when the Lord distances, when His greatness grows and He is called the King of all kings of the world? For he who does not wait for this each day while living in this world, has no place in the other world either.

The Creator's goal is for man to fully attain Him while still living in this world, to feel Him as he did prior to descending into this world, prior to incarnating in a physical body. From this the division of people of our world into two groups is clearly evident, and the voice appeals to them.

The voice emphasizes to each group their main advantage. To the souls of the first group, it says that they turned darkness into Light. These are the souls of the world of *Atzilut*, for the Creator created two opposite systems in the worlds *BYA*: the system of darkness and bitterness opposite the system of Light and sweetness. Therefore, in the Torah of the worlds *BYA* there is a division into suitable and unsuitable, pure and impure, permitted and forbidden, holy and unholy, whereas the Torah of the world of *Atzilut*, which consists wholly of the Creator's names, contains nothing impure whatsoever.

And the sinner Laban is regarded as a holy name in the world of *Atzilut*, as well as the Pharaoh. And all the names that represent impure forces in the worlds *BYA* become corrected in the world of *Atzilut*, exalted and pure spiritual objects and forces with corresponding holy names. Therefore, the souls that have attained the Light of the world of *Atzilut* transform all darkness into Light and all bitterness into sweetness. In other words, the whole difference between the holy, pure, and good, and their opposites lies in the correction of the desire and in acquiring an anti-egoistic screen over the will to receive.

And to the second group the voice said that they're waiting for the Creator's help, and He will rise (*Shechina*, His manifestation to the lower ones) from the dust (in their sensations). But those who do not wait for Him, being preoccupied with other aspirations, will not rise from the dust, and the sensation of the Creator will remain concealed from them.

55. In his vision, Rabbi Chiya saw many of his friends gathering around the standing pillars. And he saw them being elevated to the Heavenly Assembly, some are elevated, while others are lowered. And above them all, he saw Matat, the owner of wings, approaching.

As the voice was calling, Rabbi Chiya saw several souls of the righteous, belonging to the two groups, standing around the two pillars that were already present in Rabbi Shimon's assembly, and whom he had already seen ascending to the Heavenly Assembly. Some were ascending, and some were descending; moreover, this motion ensued in mutually opposite directions.

This way the two groups help one another according to the calling voice, which instructs the first group to descend and the second to ascend. Rabbi Chiya saw also that due to the excitement of all these souls over their aspirations, i.e., the power of the two groups, Matat descended from the Heavenly Assembly to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon and swore an oath.

56. The angel Matat swore that he heard from behind the curtain how each day the Creator remembers and grieves over *Malchut*, cast into the dust. And when He remembers her, He strikes 390 firmaments, and they all tremble with terrible fear before Him. And the Creator sheds tears for the *Shechina* (Divinity), *Malchut* that has fallen to the dust. And those tears simmer like fire, and fall into the Great Sea. And by the power of these tears, the Ruler of the Sea, called Rachav, is revived, blesses the Creator's holy name, and vows to swallow up everything, from the first days of creation, and to absorb all within himself, when all the nations gather against the holy nation, and the waters will dry, and Israel will walk through dry land.

This vow signifies that the Creator never forgets, but remembers each day that the *Shechina* lies in the dust. However, this does not refer to the entire Holy *Shechina*: this, the Creator need not vow, for it is revealed and seen by all who dwell in the Upper Worlds that everything He does is for the *Shechina* (*Malchut*) alone.

But this refers only to *Malchut de Malchut*. She is the one Rabbi Chiya thinks about being held captive by the impure forces, completely abandoned. Hence, he wept: "Oh dust that consumes all!" And here, the angel Matat, who has come to the Assembly of Rabbi Shimon, revealed to Rabbi Chiya a great secret—that the Creator's rule is absolute, and He remembers *Malchut de Malchut* each day.

A *Zivug* (union of the *Masach*-screen and the Light-pleasure) is defined as a stroke of Light onto the screen, a result of the desire to enter and cross the screen's barrier, while the screen restricts and repels it. This act of repelling is called the Returning (reversed) Light, as it rises from the screen from below upwards and clothes the coming Light.

This may be compared to the example of the host (Creator) offering delicious food (Light) to his guest (*Kli*), who wishes to enjoy the delicacies. However, as a result of the shame from being the receiver, the guest refuses to receive, and the screen repels the food (Light). It is as though the guest (*Kli*) says to the host (Creator) that he refuses to receive the pleasure (Light) for himself, for his own enjoyment. This repelling of the food (Light) forms the Returning Light, for it stems not just from not wanting to feel shame, as it is in our world, but from the spiritual *Kli's* desire to be like the Creator.

The Returning Light is that altruistic intention, desire. This is also the spiritual *Kli*, and only within it can the Light be received; only in this intention can one feel the Creator.

After the *Kli* was able to repel all the pleasure coming to it, and demonstrated that it could meet the condition of the first restriction (to refrain from egoistic reception), it began to calculate how much Light it could receive for the Creator's sake. The *Kli* receives only the amount of pleasure that it is certain it can receive for the Creator's sake.

The delight that was received inside the *Kli* is referred to as the Inner Light. The amount of Light received inside the vessel determines the degree of similarity to the Creator; the *Kli* acts like the Creator: just as He desires to bestow pleasure upon the *Kli*, so the *Kli* wishes to bestow upon Him, to the extent of the Inner Light received. Therefore, the size of the *Kli*, (from *Peh* to *Tabur*, where it receives the Light) determines the degree of merging with the Creator. In this place, the *Kli* is merged with Him in properties and intentions.

If the *Kli*'s powers of resistance are not sufficient to receive for the Creator's sake, and it can only refrain from reception, the *Kli* is considered to be in the "small" state, *Katnut*. The *Kli* that was created by the Creator is the strongest. However, afterwards, as it begins to descend, its screen gradually weakens until the *Kli* can no longer receive for the Creator's sake. It is left with just enough strength to not receive for itself. This is why from this state onward there is a ban on reception of Light into the *Kli's* desires "to receive." The *Kli* may only use its *GE*, but not its *AHP*. And the boundary beyond which the Light cannot spread is called *Parsa*, the firmament. This barrier is built from Above; thus, even if the *Kli* suddenly wishes to receive the Light for itself, it will not be able to do so.

The screen divides the firmament and consists of four parts: *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut* (*HBTM*), the four letters of *HaVaYaH*. Because *Malchut* joined with *Bina* and thereby corrected her egoistic properties into altruistic ones, the screen is located not in *Malchut*, but in *Bina*. *Bina* is counted as hundreds; therefore, the four parts *HBTM* equal 400. However, there is no *Zivug*

(reception of Light) on *Malchut de Malchut* itself (after all, it is called the "closed gates"). This means that *Malchut* contains ninety *Sefirot*, and not 100: 9 *Sefirot*, each consisting of ten.

Therefore, the screen that is called "the firmament" and that makes a *Zivug* with the Upper Light by reflecting it consists of 390 parts, for the part of *Malchut de Malchut* is lacking. The firmament is therefore said to consist of 390 firmaments, and on it a daily *Zivug* with the *Shechina* is made, whereas a *Zivug* on the dust, which signifies the ten parts of *Malchut de Malchut*, is forbidden. The impact between the screen and the incoming Light resembles shuddering from fear to receive the Light inside of oneself, beyond the limits of one's restrictions.

There are five *Sefirot* in the *Rosh* (head) of a *Partzuf*:

Keter	- *Galgalta* (or *Metzach*)	- forehead
Hochma	- *Eynaim*	- eyes
Bina	- *Awznayim*	- ears
ZA	- *Hotem*	- nose
Malchut	- *Peh*	- mouth

Just as the secretion from one's physiological eyes is called tears, the secretion of the Light of *Hochma* from the part of the spiritual *Kli* called "eyes" is referred to as "tears." Tears constitute the part of the Light that is rejected by the *Partzuf* due to the absence of a screen on *Malchut de Malchut*. All the Light that comes to a *Partzuf* wishes to enter and fill it with its pleasure, even the part of the *Partzuf* that has no screen to receive with altruistic intentions. Therefore, the screen immediately repels this portion of the Light.

But between the strike of the Light from Above and the resistance of the screen from below, tiny drops of Light seep through the screen, which, due to its hurry, is unable to repel them. These drops have nothing to do with the level of *Hochma* of the *Partzuf*, as they lack the clothing of the Returning Light. They exit the *Partzuf Hochma* and receive the name "tears." But it is nonetheless Light!

This is similar to a state where we are filled with tears of compassion for another person. Indeed, all that exists in our world exists because it derives from its spiritual prototype, and all that transpires in this world, transpires only because it stems from its Upper, spiritual root.

After all, the fact that the Upper Light strikes the screen, trying to break through its restriction, stems from its origin in the Highest Place, the Creator Himself, and is unrelated to the creature's desire to receive this Light within

the bounds of its altruistic capabilities. The Light stems from the world of Infinity, from the Creator Himself, long before the *Kli* appeared and wished to restrict itself.

The Upper Light wishes to fill the desire to enjoy that it created, as it is said, "the Creator wishes to dwell in His creatures below." The Light and the Creator are one and the same; after all, man defines the sensation of the Creator as spiritual Light. And this Upper Light strives to force its way through the screen and enter man's desires, but the screen hurls it back. Thus, this repelled Upper Light becomes Returning Light, which designates man's altruistic intentions to bestow delight upon the Creator.

As a result of the collision with the screen, portions of the Light fall outside, for these tears originate from the Creator's love and compassion for His creation. In our world, this spiritual action results in an emission of tears in an individual overwhelmed with suffering and love. However, spiritual tears do not disappear.

This is described in *Song of Songs* (8:6): "For love is as strong as death, jealousy is as cruel as hell; the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, the very flame of the Lord!" This is because these tears stem from the Upper One's love and compassion for the lower one. And just as flaming tears shed by someone in our world burn, so do the boiling and burning Upper tears burn like fire, like the very flame of the Lord!

Being related to the property of *Hochma*, *Malchut* is called "sea." It is therefore said that the tears (Light of *Hochma* without first being clothed in Light of *Hassadim*) fall into the sea, *Malchut*. And it is written that the many sea waters will not extinguish the Creator's love for His creatures, expressed in these tears.

It was said during the creation of the world: "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place" (*Beresheet*, 1:9). But the angel that governed the sea did not wish to swallow these waters, and was hence killed (was emptied of Light). Now, as the tears fall, he is revived.

The reason for this is that during the creation of the world, *Malchut de Malchut* itself had not undergone any kind of correction, as the Creator created the worlds *ABYA* in a special correction, called *MAN de Bina* or *Ateret Yesod*, and not *MAN de Malchut* or *Malchut de Malchut*. In other words, correction is possible only if man corrects not *Malchut de Malchut* itself (his essence), but, while completely refraining from its use (use of egoism), he acquires higher, altruistic desires from *Bina* and receives the Creator's Light in them (in *Sefirot KHB-ZA de Malchut*, in 390 *Sefirot*).

These higher, altruistic desires are referred to as desires of *Bina* or as *MAN de Bina*, and the reception of Light in them (*Zivug*) is made not on egoism (*Malchut* herself), but on the will to bestow, called *Ateret Yesod*. This *Zivug* is therefore sufficient to fill only the first nine *Sefirot* in *Malchut*, but does not fill *Malchut* herself.

Prophet Yeshayahu (Isaiah) writes in this regard: "Who are you with, partners? I started the worlds, and you are to complete them!" The correction of *Malchut de Malchut* is incumbent solely upon the creatures. Hence, when the sea ruler was told: "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place," he objected and did not wish to swallow up the created waters, for due to the uncorrected state of *Malchut de Malchut*, the impure forces prevailed and ruled over him. And that is why he was killed.

However, these tears correct *Malchut de Malchut*, and thus revive the sea ruler so that he would rise from the dead, sanctify the name of the Lord, fulfill the Creator's will, and swallow up the primeval waters. For then, all the impure forces, all the evil in the world will disappear and all (desires) will gather in one place (property), whose name is *Atzilut*. This is because the world of *Atzilut* will spread from the end of the world of *AK* down to our world, and there will come the end of correction, for the worlds of *BYA* will return in their properties to the world of *Atzilut*.

In the future, at the end of correction, after the correction of the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, when only *Malchut de Malchut*, the last, tenth *Sefira*, remains to be corrected, when all the nations of the world (*Malchut de Malchut*) unite to destroy Israel (the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, the desire to correct all the ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut*), the act of the sea ruler will be revealed in that he will swallow up all the primeval, evil waters, and the waters (severe restrictions) will dry up, and the sons of Israel (those who aspire for the Creator) will walk through dry land.

The prophet Micha (Micah) says of this: "As we fled the land of Egypt, we saw wonders." However, this was only the beginning, for it was only in the End Sea (the Red Sea; the Hebrew name signifies the end of *Malchut*, or *Malchut de Malchut*), and only for a limited time. But, at the end of correction, death will disappear forever.

This is how Matat explained his oath: the Creator never forgets *Malchut*, which is cast in the dust. For even though a daily *Zivug* with the *Shechina* is made on only 390 firmaments, on the nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut* and not on *Malchut de Malchut* itself, which remains lying in the dust, and, as it seems to us, completely forgotten by the Creator, nothing could be further from the truth. In truth, He corrects it with each *Zivug*, because with each *Zivug*, as a result of the 390

firmaments being struck, the tears fall outside. And these tears are not lost, but fall into the Great Sea (*Malchut de Malchut*), which receives from them slow, yet gradual corrections, even if it is the Light of *Hochma* without the clothing of the Light of *Hassadim*. As it becomes more and more corrected, the sea ruler is revived until the tears accumulate to the necessary amount for the correction of the entire *Malchut*, so that all of her intentions would be for the Creator's sake.

This will occur when all the nations of the world unite to attack Israel. Then, the sea ruler will rise back to life and swallow up all the primeval waters, for *Malchut de Malchut* will receive the lacking correction, for each day the Creator cares for her until she, His only creation, reaches her final correction.

And here Rabbi Chiya's delusion was revealed to him: he understood that nothing disappears in the dust, but, on the contrary, each day *Malchut* undergoes corrections, just as Matat swore.

57. Through all this, he heard a voice: "Clear this place, clear this place! The *Mashiach* (Messiah), the King-Redeemer is coming to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon," for all the righteous gathered there are the heads of groups and assemblies, whereas all of the assembly members ascend from this assembly to the Assembly of Heaven. And the *Mashiach* visits all these assemblies and seals the Torah that stems from the mouths of the righteous. And at that moment, the *Mashiach* comes to the assembly of Rabbi Shimon, surrounded by the heads of all the Supernal assemblies.

As a result of the great revelation—the end of correction—concealed in the oath of Matat, all of the righteous present at Rabbi Shimon's Assembly were elevated, especially the two groups of the righteous that caused Matat to appear and take his oath. As a result, all of them attained Upper Degrees and reached the levels of "heads of assemblies," for each assembly has members and a head, and the difference between them is similar to the difference between *VAK*, *GE* of the degree or *Partzuf*, from *GAR*, the complete *Partzuf*.

Hence, it is written that the place should be cleared for the *Mashiach*. After all, when Matat revealed the secret of the end (of correction), and specifically how creation will be delivered from egoism, a voice appeared and commanded to prepare a place for the *Mashiach*, the King-Redeemer, for the end of correction is connected to the King-*Mashiach*.

However, only the righteous of Rabbi Shimon's assembly, who are above all the heads of assemblies, merit his coming, for only those who are on the same spiritual level as the King-*Mashiach* (all those who have already corrected all of their other properties—the first nine *Sefirot* in their part of desires-*Malchut*—all

of the properties except for the original egoism, *Malchut de Malchut*) can merit the revelation of his face.

The level of the *Mashiach* is the Light of *Yechida*. And if all the members had not reached the level of the heads of the assemblies, the *GAR* of the degrees, i.e., corrected all that they could, they would not have merited the revelation of the *Mashiach's* face. But the heads of the Assemblies are not *GAR* of the low degrees. Rather, they represent a level so high that all the members have merited reaching the Heavenly Assembly of Matat.

And now all the members merited becoming the heads of the Assemblies, wherefrom they merited an ascent to the Heavenly Assembly. Moreover, thanks to their corrections, they merited the *Mashiach* himself coming to all these assemblies to be adorned with their deeds in the Torah. And now all the members have merited reaching the level of the assemblies' heads. This is why the *Mashiach* is adorned with the Torah of the assemblies' heads. Thus, thanks to them, the *Mashiach* himself ascends to a Higher Degree.

58. At that time, all the members stood up. Rabbi Shimon stood up, too, and his Light rose to the firmament. The *Mashiach* said unto him: "Happy are you, Rabbi, for your Torah has risen in 370 beams of Light, and each beam divides into 613 beams (properties) that ascend and bathe in the rivers of the holy *Apharsemon* (persimmon). And the Creator confirms and signs the Torah of your assembly, of the assembly of Chizkiyah (Hezekiah), the King of Judah, and the assembly of Achiyah ha Shiloni (Ahijah the Shilonite)."

When the *Mashiach* revealed himself to them and came to Rabbi Shimon's Assembly, all the members stood up (ascended from the level of *VAK* to *GAR*), and Rabbi Shimon stood on the same degree as the *Mashiach*. And the Light rose to the height of the firmament. This indicates that Rabbi Shimon has attained the Light of the ten firmaments, the previously missing tenth firmament on account of the closed gates of *Malchut de Malchut*, and has attained the Light of *Yechida*, which he now was able to receive, as he could make a *Zivug* on *Malchut de Malchut*. And the Light of *Yechida* that shines from this *Zivug* is called *Mashiach*. The "sitting" level is 390, or *VAK*; the "standing" level is 400, or *GAR*.

The *Mashiach* said to Rabbi Shimon that his Torah gave rise to the Light of *Yechida* in *Partzuf Atik*, because:

Units (0 – 9) are in *Malchut*;
Tens (10 – 90) are in *ZA*;
Hundreds (100 – 900) are in *Ima*;
Thousands (1,000 – 9,000) are in *Aba*;

Tens of thousands (10,000 – 90,000) are in *Arich Anpin*;
And hundreds of thousands (100,000 – 900,000) are in *Atik*.

Since each *Sefira* of *Atik* equals 100,000, the four *Sefirot* of *HaVaYaH* (*HBTM* of *Atik*) total 400,000.

However, in this case, he should have said that the Torah performed the deed in 400,000; yet, he said that the Light emanated by *Ima* is not used on 400, but only on 370, for although the Torah had reached the zenith of the firmament, it still could not reach *GAR* of the last, Supernal Hundred. Hence, there are only 370, while the Upper Thirty are absent in *Ima*.

The same applies with regard to thousands—the Light of *Aba* does not use *GAR* of each thousand, but only *VAK*, i.e., 600 instead of 1,000. Instead of the *GAR* of each thousand, it uses thirteen (*Hochma* of the "thirty-two *Netivot* (paths of) *Hochma*"). The number thirteen signifies *Hochma* of the "thirty-two *Netivot Hochma*," the weak Light of *Hochma*, called the holy *Apharsemon*.

It is therefore said that the Torah attained 370 Lights, and each of them divides into 613 beams; thus, in the 400 of *Ima*, thirty of the Upper Light of *Hochma* are absent, which leaves it with only 370. And each thousand lacks the Upper 400 (*GAR of Hochma*). Instead of using the thirteen paths of the holy *Apharsemon*, each thousand contains no more than 613, for all the supernal secrets are concealed in Rabbi Shimon's assembly. And the Creator Himself sealed them, for He ascends and becomes adorned with the achievements of all the righteous in the Torah.

We know from the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 99:1) that everything the prophets ever said refers only to the days of the *Mashiach*'s coming, but in the future (Yeshayahu, 64), everyone will behold the Creator themselves. For all the degrees and levels that refer to the days of the *Mashiach* will then be corrected, and all the secrets of the Torah will be revealed, everyone will attain complete revelation of the Light, of the Creator, as it is said, everyone will see with their own eyes (sight implies *GAR de Hochma*).

From the aforesaid, it becomes clear that there exists an opportunity to correct one's individual *Malchut de Malchut* even before all the souls achieve it in the future. In such a case, man reaches his *individual* level of attainment of 400, although his *general* level cannot be higher than 370, as in the case of everybody else. This is the degree that Rabbi Shimon, Rabbi Chizkiyah, and Achiyah ha Shiloni had reached.

59. The *Mashiach* said: "I have come here not to confirm the Torah of your assembly, but only because the 'owner of wings' is on his way here. For I know that he shall not enter any other assembly, but only yours." Meanwhile, Rabbi

Shimon told him of the oath taken by the "owner of wings." Right then the *Mashiach* trembled in awe and raised his voice, and the Heavens shook, and the Great Sea boiled, and the Leviathan stirred, and the entire world threatened to overturn.

At that moment, he saw Rabbi Chiya in Rabbi Shimon's adornments. He asked, "Who gave man in this world the adornments, garment of the other world?" (garment of the other world onto the body of this world). Rabbi Shimon answered, "This is Rabbi Chiya, the cresset of the Torah!" He said to him, "Gather him and his sons (those who have left this world), and they shall join your Assembly." Rabbi Shimon said, "Time was granted to him, he was granted time" (Rabbi Chiya's time has not yet come).

The *Mashiach* said to Rabbi Shimon that he came not for the sake of the Torah, but because the "owner of wings" has come to the assembly, wishing to know what Matat had said. For Matat had revealed that the end of correction would be preceded by terrible suffering for Israel—the Heavens and the Great Sea would tremble, and the world would be on the verge of collapse, as predicted in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 97): "All is broken." Hence, he raised his voice, wishing to mitigate all this upheaval.

The *Mashiach* was surprised to see Rabbi Chiya's garment (that Rabbi Chiya exists in a physical body of our world, in the property of this world), for if he had merited the appearance of Matat and his oath, he had attained the degree of complete correction of all his evil. And since he merited seeing the *Mashiach's* face, to receive the Light of *Yechida*, he had obviously completed his work in this world, and there is nothing left for him to do here. Hence, he should leave it and enter Rabbi Shimon's assembly in the Garden of Eden.

But Rabbi Shimon persuaded Rabbi Chiya that he needs to continue performing new, additional corrections in this world. And both the *Mashiach* and Rabbi Shimon explained to Rabbi Chiya what else specifically he still needed to do in this world.

60. Rabbi Chiya trembled in awe when the *Mashiach* left, and his eyes fulfilled with tears. For the *Mashiach* left Rabbi Shimon's Assembly weeping from the great desire for the final correction and redemption. And Rabbi Chiya was also anguished from the fervent desire to reach the end of correction. Rabbi Chiya cried and said: "Happy is the lot of the righteous in the other world, and happy is the lot of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, who has merited all of this."

Who Is Your Partner?

61. *Beresheet*: Rabbi Shimon opened: "Put my words in your mouth. How much effort should man exert in the Torah day and night, for the Creator is attentive to those who study it. And with every word that man attains by his efforts in the Torah, he builds a firmament."

The Creator gave the righteous the power of His speech. And just as the Creator creates the creature by the power of His word, so the righteous create new Heavens by its power. This is why Rabbi Shimon opened his speech by explaining the words, "In the beginning, the Creator created Heaven and earth," as the word *Barah* (created) also means "closing" and "limiting." And we must understand why the Creator had created it in such a closed form. He answers, "To put the correction of Heaven and earth in the words of the righteous, to make them His partners—participants in the creation of Heaven and earth."

There are two kinds of renewal of Heaven and earth that the Creator enclosed in the mouths of the righteous:

1. The correction of Adam's sin, the correction of the past. Even before the creation of Adam, the Creator had made a secret correction of Heaven and earth, as it is described in the beginning of the Torah, in the chapter *Beresheet*: *ZON de Atzilut* ascended to *AVI* and to *AA*, while Adam ascended to *ZON* and *YESHSUT*. As a result, Adam received the Light of *NRN de Atzilut*, for he clothed *YESHSUT* and *ZON de Atzilut*, i.e., ascended to their level.

Adam is located within the worlds *BYA* and he ascends together with these worlds. All the worlds can ascend above their permanent state or descend to their places with Adam inside of them. Adam's spiritual level and the Light that he receives are determined by his location (see page 212).

DURING ASCENT	PERMANENT STATE
	Atik
AVI	AA
ZON	AVI
Adam - Beria	YESHSUT + ZON
Parsa of the world of Atzilut	
Adam - Yetzira	Beria
Adam - Assiya	Yetzira
	Assiya

In other sources, such as the Talmud (*Bava Batra*, 58:2), this is described as Adam's ascent to the level of the sun (*ZA de Atzilut*). This Light is called "*Zihara Ilaa*" (*Zihara* is the Aramaic word for *Zohar* in Hebrew or "radiant Light" in English).

As a result of his sin, Adam fell spiritually to the level of our corporeal world (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12:1). And instead of *NRN de Atzilut* that he used to receive before his fall, he now receives the Light from the worlds *BYA* that are below *Parsa*. And as a result of Adam's sin, Heaven (*ZA*) and earth (*Malchut*) of the world of *Atzilut* descended to the level of *VAK de ZA* and the point of *Malchut* respectively, as they descended below *Tabur de Partzuf AA*.

And the righteous that live in this world, but already exist spiritually in the spiritual worlds of *BYA*, are entrusted with the task of correcting all that transpired through Adam's fault, and to return, to renew the Heavens and the earth (*ZON de Atzilut*) and elevate them to *AVI* and *AA*—*ZA* to *AA* and *Malchut* to *AVI*, as it was before the sin. And as a result of their work, the righteous will receive the Light of the world of *Atzilut* that the corrected Adam is entitled to, for they (their souls, spiritual *Kelim* or inner spiritual *Partzuf*) are his parts.

2. However, even before the sin, Adam was not in the perfect state for which the Creator had created him. Hence, after the righteous correct the consequences of Adam's sin and attain *NRN de Atzilut*, which existed in Adam before the sin, new work awaits them—to receive new Upper Light that has yet to descend. In other words, if the first goal is to correct the sin, the second is to attain even more. It is called to "create new Heaven and earth," new properties of *ZON*, in which new, Higher Light can be received.

This new level or degree that has never been present in any *Kli* is described as "neither hath an eye seen the Creator beside thee," and the degrees which

the righteous attach to the worlds are called "new Heaven" and "new earth," for they are truly new and have never before existed in reality.

And this Heaven and earth, which the righteous correct to the level that preceded Adam's sin, during the creation (*Beresheet*), are not called new, as they've already existed and the Creator Himself corrected them even before Adam's sin. Hence, they are called renewed, and the righteous who correct them are not called the Creator's partners.

"Encloses in their mouths" implies reception of such Upper Light that was neither received by Adam nor emanated from the Creator. And now, by the actions of the righteous, which are called partners, participants and co-creators, it comes out and shines in creation. Thus we see that all the righteous are divided into two groups: those who correct Adam's sin and those who create new degrees of attainment. The latter are called the Creator's partners.

ZA is called voice and *Malchut* is called speech. When a righteous person studies the Torah and thereby raises *MAN* (by the voice and speech of his Torah) from his soul to *ZON*, his voice ascends to *ZA* and his speech ascends to *Malchut*. The voice of the Torah that ascends with *MAN* to *ZA* is called the Creator (*Kadosh Baruch Hu*).

Also, each renewed word in the Torah builds a new firmament. A word means speech, and any speech that renews the Torah by those who study it ascends in the form of *MAN* to *Malchut*, who is called "word and speech." This creates a new firmament in the form of a screen, on which a *Zivug* between the Creator and the *Shechina* is made. This is what the righteous, who study the Torah, attain by raising *MAN*!

However, renewal in the words of the Torah does not imply anything new in the voice of the Torah. For *Malchut* has to recreate herself for each new *Zivug*, for after each *Zivug*, *Malchut* returns to the state of virginity thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous, who constantly renew her properties, her *Yesod*—the *Kli* for the reception of Light from *ZA*. Hence, it is written that the Torah is renewed by each word, for a word (*Malchut*) is renewed by the speech of the righteous in the Torah, as, after each *Zivug*, the previous *Kli* disappears and a new one appears.

62. We have learned that just as the Torah is renewed by one's mouth, that renewal ascends and appears before the Creator. And the Creator accepts this wisdom, kisses it, and adorns it with seventy adornments. And the renewed wisdom itself ascends and settles on the head of the righteous that revive the

worlds, and then flies, soaring through 70,000 worlds, until it ascends to *Atik*, the *Sefira Keter*. And all that exists in *Atik* is concealed, Supernal wisdom.

When a person raises *MAN* from his Torah, this word, which is *Nukva de ZA*, ascends and connects to the Creator in a *Zivug* with Him. The Creator takes this word, kisses, and adorns it, and these are the two types of *Zivugim* (plural for *Zivug*) in *ZON*:

1. *Zivug de Neshikin* (kisses);
2. *Zivug de Yesodot* (bases/foundations).

Each *Zivug* consists of two *Zivugim*, for a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma* must clothe itself into the *Partzuf* (garment) of *Ohr Hassadim*. Therefore, a preliminary *Zivug* must be made on *Ohr Hassadim*, whose role is to become a garment for *Ohr Hochma*. This is why each *Zivug* consists of two *Zivugim*:

1. *Zivug* on the degree of *Hochma*, called *Zivug de Neshikin*, because it stands at the *Peh de Rosh* of the *Partzuf*, at the level of *Rosh* and *GAR*.
2. *Zivug* on the degree of *Hassadim*, called *Zivug de Yesodot*, because it takes place at the level of the bodies of the *Partzufim*.

Therefore, it is said that the Creator took *Nukva* in this word and kissed her, i.e., made a *Zivug de Neshikin* at the level of *GAR*, and then adorned her, i.e., made a *Zivug de Yesodot* at the level of *Hassadim*. As a result, *Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, and *Nukva* received the complete Light.

IN SEVENTY ADORNMENTS: the complete Light of *Nukva* is called "seventy adornments," because *Malchut* is the seventh day, and when she receives from *ZA*, her *Sefirot* become tens, just as the *Sefirot* of *ZA*; this turns *Malchut* into 7 x 10 = 70. *Mochin* (wisdom), *Ohr Hochma* is called *Atara* (adornment or crown). Hence, what she receives is called "seventy adornments." After *Malchut* receives the Light of *Hassadim*, with the help of the *MAN* of the righteous, she becomes fit to receive the Upper Light of *Hochma*, the seventy adornments.

As was said above, there are two kinds of renewal of Heaven and earth (*ZON*):

1. When everything returns to the state preceding Adam's sin. In that instance, *Malchut* is called the "word of the Torah" (*VAK*), where the Torah is *ZA*.
2. When Heaven and earth are created with a new Light, which even Adam did not attain prior to his sin. And this attainable word is called *GAR*.

It is written (Talmud, *Berachot*, 7:1) that the righteous sit with adornments on their heads, for *Malchut* ascended to adorn the head of the righteous (*ZA*)

in his *Yesod*, called *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds), or, rather, in his *Ateret Yesod*—the place of circumcision. And this transpires thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous that have already attained the Upper Light of Adam's *Zihara Ilaa*, just as Rabbi Shimon and his friends have already attained it.

Ohr Hochma is called *Ohr Haya*. Since *ZA* desires only *Hassadim*, he can receive *Ohr Haya* only with the help of his *Nukva*, *Malchut*. It turns out that *ZA* lives, i.e., receives *Ohr Haya*, only if he is in a *Zivug* with *Nukva*, called *Olam* (world). That is how the name *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds) originated.

Also, *Nukva*, the adornment on his head, becomes important (*Keter* – crown) because *ZA* receives this Light only thanks to his *Malchut*. Although *Malchut* was born from *ZA*, since it is *Malchut* and no other that evokes, makes reception of the Light of Life possible, *ZA* calls her his mother. Indeed, *ZA* receives *Ohr Haya* (the Light of Life) from her.

Therefore, it is written that *Malchut* flies and soars in 70,000 worlds, and after her *Zivug* with *ZA* on his *Atara* (adornment on his head), she ascends even higher, to *AA*, where the seven *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, called 70,000 worlds, become corrected, as one *Sefira* of *ZA* equals 10,000. After that, *Malchut* ascends higher still—to *Atik*. And all of these ascents of *ZON* to *Atik* transpire thanks to the efforts made by the righteous that raise *MAN*: a *Zivug* on *Atara* elevates *ZON* to *AVI*, from which they ascend to *AA* (70,000 worlds), and from there to *Atik*, the highest possible point of ascent.

It is therefore written that all the words of *Atik's* Supernal wisdom are locked, since *Malchut* receives the Upper Light upon ascending to *Atik*, and each degree that she receives from *Atik* is called "concealed," "Supernal wisdom," i.e., *GAR de Hochma*. This is because words of wisdom signify the degree of *Hochma*, and the words "concealed," "secret," and "Supernal" refer to *GAR*. Also, they are revealed only to those who attain the level of *Atik*, but not below, as *Tzimtzum Bet* (the second restriction) already exists in *AA*.

63. And when this hidden wisdom, which is renewed here in this world, ascends, she joins *Atik*, ascends and descends, enters 18 worlds, where no eye has seen the Creator besides you. They emerge from there and appear before *Atik*, complete and perfect. Meanwhile, *Atik* tests her and finds her most desirable above all else. He then takes her and adorns her with 370,000 adornments. And she, the renewed Torah, ascends and descends, and is transformed into a firmament.

During the ascent of *Malchut* to *Atik*, she joins the *Zivug* that transpires there, and creates *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light) by accepting *Ohr Yashar* (Direct

Light) at the level of *Atik*'s properties. The ascent of *Malchut* means that *Malchut* elevates *Ohr Hozer* from herself upwards. *Malchut's* descent means that she sends *Ohr Yashar* from Above downwards. And then *Malchut* receives the hidden, secret, and Supernal wisdom. The word "joins" signifies her contact with the *Ohr Hozer* and the *Ohr Yashar* within *Atik* itself.

This *Zivug* is made in *Atik* on its *Yesod*, but not on *Malchut*, since *Malchut de Atik* is concealed until the end of correction. Like *Yesod de ZA* during its ascent to *AVI*, this *Yesod* is called *Chai Olamim*. The difference between them is that *Yesod de Atik* is called "No one else but you can see the Creator," for a *Zivug* on *Yesod* elevates *Ohr Hozer* and clothes *Ohr Yashar* with it. This screen is defined in *AVI*, below *Atik*, as wings that block the Upper Light. This shows that the screen possesses a force of restriction, law, judgment. This is why *Ohr Hozer* is also called "the Light of Restriction." Thus, *Ohr Hozer* exists in *AVI*.

Conversely, the screen in *Yesod de Atik*, of which it is said that there "the Creator no longer hides from you" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:20), while it does raise *Ohr Hozer*, it does not conceal the Creator thereby, does not have the properties of wings. This is the reason why it is called *Chai Olamim* (reviver of worlds).

Nevertheless, it remains concealed until man attains that level himself, as is written: "Only your eyes shall see the Creator." There are no wings or anything else there that conceal Him from outsiders' eyes, for no restrictions are imposed and everything is revealed. And neither are there any restrictions in *Ohr Hozer*, but only mercy and benevolence, as in *Ohr Yashar*.

The name *Chai Olamim* implies that a *Zivug* is made not on ten *Sefirot* of *Ohr Yashar* from Above downwards and ten *Sefirot* of *Ohr Hozer* from below upwards, and not on the whole of the twenty *Sefirot*, i.e., not on *Malchut* herself, but on *Yesod de Malchut*. In this instance, there are nine *Sefirot* of *Ohr Yashar* and nine *Sefirot* of *Ohr Hozer*, as *Yesod* is the ninth *Sefira*: 9 + 9 = 18 = 10 + 8 = *Yod* + *Chet*, which is pronounced in reverse order as *Chet-Yod* (*Chai*), for this is the Returning Light. The word "life" (*Chaim*) is derived from the word "alive" (*Chai*), for he who is able to make a *Zivug* on *Yesod* receives the Upper Light of life, *Ohr Hochma*.

Tremendous Upper Light manifests in *Atik* as a result of this *Zivug*. This is because all the worlds and all that inhabit them join *Nukva*, and together they attain true perfection, the level for which they were initially conceived and created by the Creator.

Hence, it is said that word flies in the firmament, which signifies the creation of *Ohr Hozer* from below upwards, which leads to *Ohr Yashar* descending from

the Creator, from Above downwards. And the clothing of *Ohr Hozer* on *Ohr Yashar* creates a firmament, because the screen that appears in *Malchut* for the creation of *Ohr Hozer* comes as a result of the good deeds of the righteous, their *MAN* (requests for spiritual ascent) aimed at pleasing the Creator. So then, after this screen makes a *Zivug* with the Upper Light, it becomes a firmament, with the help of which, the righteous attain the full height of the degree on which they have now made a *Zivug*.

This occurs because when this degree descends to the righteous through the firmament, it clothes in *Ohr Hozer* (garment of this firmament), which, together with the *Ohr Yashar* clothed within it, turn over and they descend below the screen (firmament) and thereby become attainable by the righteous.

Those righteous that have achieved such perfection that they can raise *MAN* to such exalted *Zivug* have already rid themselves of egoism completely and have no desire to receive anything for themselves. Instead, they raise their *MAN* (request) with the sole purpose of pleasing the Creator. Therefore, by their corrections (*MAN*), they correct the screen in *Malchut*, and, by creating *Ohr Hozer* in her, which ascends from the screen of *Malchut* upwards, make her capable of a great *Zivug*. This is because all that ascends is altruism, bestowal, repelling, and rejecting reception for oneself and egoistic pleasure.

Then there is a *Zivug* with the Upper Light, and the Upper Light clothes in the ascending Returning Light. This descending Upper Light clothes into the Returning Light and enters into the righteous that have raised *MAN*. The expression "from below upwards" implies the repelling of Light by a person, and "from Above downwards" designates a person's reception.

And since the Upper Light comes to man through a firmament, it takes the Light reflected from the firmament as its garment, and one receives the Upper Light clothed in Returning Light. This means that, even after one already receives the spiritual information of the entire degree, he delights in the Upper Light that descends to him only to the extent in which he can please the Creator thereby, i.e., to the extent of his strength, the magnitude of his screen, and the amount of Returning Light that clothes the Direct Upper Light.

Such reception of the Upper Light (only to the extent of the magnitude of *Ohr Hozer* created by man) is called the reception for the Creator's sake. And wherever one cannot find a way to bestow upon the Creator, he does not receive. Hence, his reception is clothed in bestowal: the Upper Direct Light is clothed in Returning Light, meaning the lower one receives only the clothed Upper Light from the Upper One, i.e., only through the firmament.

64. And thus, every deed creates firmaments that appear before *Atik*, and he calls them "new Heavens" or, rather, "renewed firmaments," concealed by Supernal wisdom. And all the other parts of the Torah that are not renewed by means of Supernal wisdom appear before the Creator, ascend and become "the lands of life" (*Artzot HaChaim*). They then descend and adorn one land. And it becomes renewed, and a new land comes into being from all that was renewed in the Torah.

The righteous are constantly raising newer and newer *MAN*, and thus receive newer and newer degrees of attainments from *Atik*, with the help of the firmaments created by the Upper *Zivug*. From these firmaments emerge new Heavens, which are renewed in the degrees of *Atik*. These exalted attainments of the righteous are therefore called the hidden secrets of Supernal wisdom, for they descend clothed in the garments received from the firmaments.

Malchut is called "earth" and *Bina* is called "the lands of life" (*Artzot HaChaim*). When *Malchut* attains all the degrees of *Bina*, she acquires the name "the land of life." *Malchut* is also called the "new land," for she exchanges her own properties for those of *Bina*. And everything that was previously *Malchut* now becomes *Bina*.

Therefore, it is written that in the future, *BON* will become *SAG*, and *MA* will become *AB*, for Heaven is *ZA* that now ascended to the degree of *Atik* (*AB* or *Hochma*). The earth, *Nukva de ZA*, *Malchut*, became *SAG*, *Bina*. Hence, the new land and the new Heavens are *Malchut* and *ZA* that became *SAG* and *AB*, *Atik* and *AA*.

65. It is written, "When the new land and the new Heavens, which I make." It is not written, "I have made," in past tense, but rather "I make," in present tense, for they are constantly made from the renewal and secrets of the Torah. And it is written of this: "And I shall place it in your mouth, and in the shadow of your hands' garments, that I may take the Heavens, and lay the foundations of the land" (*Yeshayahu*, 51:16). It is simply said "Heavens," for it implies the Heavens renewed by the Torah.

Everything that is described in the Torah is written in the present tense, as there is no time in the spiritual; everything is written with regard to the one who attains the Torah at that given moment. This is what *The Zohar* wants to stress here: the matter concerns man's constant work on himself, on his nature. And the righteous that have already attained the Upper Light continue creating newer and newer Heavens and lands, as is written, "The righteous ascend from summit to summit," and this process is infinite.

66. Rabbi Elazar said, "What is the meaning of 'in the shadow of your hands' garments?'". He answered, when the Torah was passed to Moshe, tens of thousands of Supernal angels appeared so as to raise him with the flames of their mouths, but the Creator protected him. So now, when the renewal in the Torah ascends and appears before the Creator, He protects it and shelters the one who performed it, so as to prevent the angels from finding out and envying him, until new Heaven and earth are made out of this renewal in the Torah. Hence, it is said, "To take the Heavens and lay the foundations of the land from the shadow of your hands' garments." It follows that all that is concealed from the eyes achieves a supernal result. This is why it is said, "In the shadow of your hands' garments." Yet, why should it be concealed from the eyes for the sake of a supernal result? Hence, it is immediately said, "So that I may take the Heavens and lay the foundations of the land." As we have learned—so that new Heavens and earth will appear out of this concealment.

The phrase "In the shadow of your hands' garments" alludes to *Ohr Hozer*, the garment that stems from the firmament, clothing and covering of the *Ohr Hochma*. Like a shadow, this garment conceals *Hochma* from outsiders' eyes, so they do not know what is inside. Why are High Degrees concealed from angels? So they would not envy man, for when the angels, which are made of a very light material (without egoism), look at one who is righteous and see his negative properties, they envy him for the High Degree that he has achieved. They then begin slandering that righteous, the properties that they discover in him. This brings harm to the righteous.

Therefore, when a degree clothes into the garment of a firmament (*Ohr Hozer*), this garment measures the degree itself, its magnitude, to prevent man from receiving more than his intention for the Creator's sake allows, i.e., only to the extent of *Ohr Hozer*. Thus, he is protected from the angels' envy and from their ability to harm his spiritual condition, for he becomes equal to them in his properties: his Returning Light makes him equal.

Like everything else that fills the worlds, *Melachim* (angels) are man's inner properties and forces. In order to avoid harming himself by wishing to attain Higher Degrees before he has acquired *Ohr Hozer*, these degrees must be concealed. However, in addition to *Ohr Hozer*, one should exercise caution against his desire.

This explains the rule: "The eye sees and the heart covets," and man would not be able to protect his intention, to keep it for the Creator's sake alone, and would desire to receive for himself. However, once clothed in the garment of

the firmament, he can be certain that he will not receive above his intention to receive for the Creator's sake.

Let us briefly examine how a desire is conceived in man. One looks at something for the first time, not yet knowing what he is going to see. It is as if an object accidentally falls into his field of vision. Naturally, no ban can be imposed on it, as this occurrence is not dependent on man; thus, it is neither rewarded nor punished.

However, when looking at it for the second time—here, man already has freedom of choice. And if the second look is going to result in the desire to receive pleasure, it is forbidden. If man cannot restrain himself, and looks for the second time, his eyes send a signal to his heart, and the heart begins to desire. Thus, man has the power to decide whether or not to allow the desire to be born within him. This is the meaning of the phrase: "The eye sees and the heart covets."

67. He said to these gates and to the words that were set one upon the other in the renewed Torah: "Who are you with? You are my partners. Just as I make the Heavens and the earth with My words, as it is written, 'By the Creator's word were the Heavens made,' so you create new Heavens and earth by your labor in the Torah."

The properties of reception are called "gates," because, like open gates, they are always ready to receive. "Words" are the properties of bestowal, of raising *MAN* to the Creator. The phrase "Set one upon the other" signifies one clothing the other, and so occurs reception for the sake of bestowal.

68. However, if one were to claim that the renovation of the Torah by one who does not even know what he is saying creates a firmament, then look at one who is not familiar with the secrets of the Torah: since he renews the Torah without having sufficient knowledge, all that he renews ascends, and the reverse side of man (male part of the impure force), and the false tongue (from *Nukva* of the impure force, called *Tehom Raba*—great abyss) comes toward him. This reversed man skips 500 *Parsaot* (measures of distance) to receive this renewal of the Torah, takes it and makes a false firmament out of it, called *Tohu* (abyss).

As we already know, the righteous raise *MAN* to please the Creator. This is called the "words of the Torah," for the words are renewed as a result of the Upper *Zivug*, and *ZON* receive a new Light from this *Zivug*, to the extent that they come to merit the renewal of Heaven and earth by their actions. They thereby become the Creator's partners—fellow workers, for, just like Him, they renew Heaven and earth with their words.

Although one who is not familiar with the secrets of the Torah (the ways of the Creator) so as to know how to protect himself and to not harm the Higher Degrees tells himself that his intention is for the exalted goal, he deludes himself, for he does not know that which his soul surely knows—that his intentions are for himself. Terrible punishment awaits him, for he allows the impure forces to destroy those who labor in the Torah. *The Zohar* explains: if one does not know the exact meanings of the words, i.e., if he raises *MAN* to the great *Zivug* without a thorough understanding of all the intricate details of the act, the reverse man and the false tongue capture his word.

Klipot (one's impure forces) also consist of male and female parts. The male part is called "fruitless return," and the female part is called "falsehood." The male part of the *Klipa* is not as bad as the female part. And when it is by itself, it does not prompt one to lie by the Creator's name; on the contrary, goodness strikes his eye, yet the eye itself is evil. And he who falls into the hands of the male impure force uses the Creator's name in vain, for he detaches himself from the Creator and receives no Light from Him, i.e., he utters words and seemingly acts, but fruitlessly, for these actions are not the screen's interaction with the Light.

Hence, the sages said: "The Creator says of all who is proud: He and I cannot be together" (Talmud, *Suta*, 5:1), for his intentions are to receive everything for himself, for his own benefit, for his pride and vanity, as the sensation of one's "I" is the greatest manifestation of pride. Hence, man falls under the power of the evil eye. Consequently, the *MAN* that he raises receives no response from Above, and he utters the Creator's name in vain. Therefore, the male part of the impure force is called empty, fruitless, false, vain, unsuccessful, and futile, for the Creator cannot unite with him due to the dissimilarity of their properties.

If, however, one feels not his similarity to the Creator, but rather his oppositeness in properties from Him, and perceives himself as the most evil of all, he can then lower himself before the Creator, suppress all of his properties out of hatred for them, and the Creator Himself will perform the remaining part of his correction. However, one who is proud not only fails to understand the extent of his remoteness from the Creator, he actually believes that he is entitled to receive more than others, and that the Creator owes him something.

Nukva de Klipa is called "falsehood." After one falls into the net of the male part of the impure force, the latter makes a *Zivug* with its *Nukva* (impure, bitter, and evil force), which, as a result of its connection to the male part, falsifies the Creator's name, descends and instigates man, and then ascends, complaints

against him, and takes his soul. However holy this soul was, *Nukva de Klipa* grabs all of it for itself.

Naturally, this refers to one who works on himself and advances spiritually, for whom working for the Creator's sake is his life's calling. Yet, he may occasionally fail to observe precisely all the restrictions, and thus find himself in such states. An ordinary person, however, who neither works on himself nor studies Kabbalah, is obviously entirely unrelated to either pure or impure spiritual forces.

For example, the male impure force says that one must study the Torah, but then steals the results of his work for itself. As a result, man loses interest in his studies, and must once more consolidate himself in his efforts and advancement. And although he attains the Creator and the revelation of Light to a certain degree, it is nonetheless fruitless, for all of his attainments vanish from him, and he gains nothing from them.

Therefore, the Torah refers to it as the "reverse man," for initially he ate and drank and said "Go," i.e., raise *MAN* to the Creator and receive the Light for the sake of the exalted goal, but not for yourself. Thus, it pretends that it is not the impure force, but its opposite. However, due to its property called "fruitless return," it then makes a *Zivug* with its *Nukva* (the great abyss), which steals man's soul and destroys him with its falsehood, and man is left without even the slightest part of his soul that is holy and pure!

Hence, it is written that he skips through 500 *Parsaot*: initially, *ZON* of the impure forces have only *VAK* in *ZA* and a point in *Malchut*. Consequently, they can only be equal to *ZON de Atzilut* in their *Katnut* (small state), when they are also *VAK* and a point, and have neither the power nor the place to connect to *Bina*.

Nevertheless, thanks to the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, the male impure force is given the opportunity to skip through *ZAT de Bina*, which sustain the pure and holy *ZON*. *ZON* contain *Sefirot HGT NH* (*Netzah-Hod*) = 5 x 100 = 500, since a *Sefira* in *Bina* equals 100. And this occurs thanks to the *MAN* raised by one who is uncertain of his intentions (whether or not he acts for the Creator's sake).

The "reverse man" then makes a *Zivug* with his *Nukva* on this false *MAN*, and receives the Upper Light for the construction of his *Partzuf*, much like the spiritually pure Heavens that were created on the pure *MAN*. Also, the new Heavens created on the impure *MAN* are called "reverse," "empty." And since the impure *Malchut* took part in this, these Heavens are called *Tohu* (abyss/chaos).

69. And this reverse man then flies across the empty firmament, traversing 6,000 *Parsaot* in one bound. And as soon as this empty firmament stops, an impure woman emerges at once, seizes onto this empty firmament, and partakes in it. She leaves it and slays hundreds of thousands, for as long as she remains in this firmament, she has the authority and power to fly and traverse the whole world in an instant.

All that stems from the empty firmament stems from the impure force, which is correspondingly opposite the Supernal, holy wisdom of *Ohr Hochma*. The *Sefira Hochma* equals 1,000, and so it is written that it flies across the firmament in 6,000 = six *Sefirot HGT NHY* of *Partzuf Hochma*, each of which equals 1,000.

After the new heavens of the impure male part, called the "empty heavens," were completed, the power of its female half, *Nukva* ("the great abyss"), was revealed. Her force attacked the firmament with falsehood by the Creator's name; she soared through the sky, and the heavens were then called *Tohu*.

Since *Nukva* of the impure forces partakes in this firmament, she becomes stronger and grows even more than the male level of the impure part. This is because the male impure part reaches up to *VAK* of *Hochma*, which equals 6,000 *Parsaot*, whereas *Nukva* grows to the full ten *Sefirot*, i.e., the entire world.

Therefore, she is immensely powerful and can destroy many, for, as Rashi says, "The Creator created one opposite the other." And just as new, Holy Heavens and lands are created thanks to the *MAN* raised by the righteous, new, impure heavens and lands are created through the *MAN* raised by those who do not know exactly how one should work for the Creator.

70. It is written of it: "Do not facilitate fruitless transgression." Transgression is related to the male part, and is as heavy as wagon shafts. What is this transgression? It is the impure *Nukva*. With reins she draws the male impure part to fruitlessness. And then, as a result, a transgression is committed, as the male part draws itself towards this *Nukva*, who grows strong and flies off to slay people. And many does she slay. And who is it that caused all this? It is those that study the Torah, but do not attain *Ohrah* and *Morah* (Light and bestowal). May the Creator be merciful to them!

As was already mentioned above, the male impure part is not as evil as the female part. This is so because it makes itself similar to the holy part of the creature; hence, it is called fruitless. However, due to this similarity, it has great power to ensnare man, as, for example, just as the sages do, it encourages people to study the Torah. Yet, its goals are different from that of the Creator; it wants to receive wisdom (*Hochma*), and not to become altruistic.

And after one is caught in its toils, the male impure force makes a *Zivug* with its impure *Nukva*, and, like heavy wagon shafts, they pull man into an abyss so great and dark that he doesn't even realize that he is in darkness. On the contrary, he considers himself wise and righteous. The male part only catches man, binds him, and then brings him to the impure *Nukva* and casts him at her feet. Only then does he falter, falls into the great abyss and perishes.

71. Rabbi Shimon said to his friends: "I beg of you not to utter any discernments from the Torah, no matter what you may hear from the Great Tree of Truth, so that you would not assist the impure *Nukva* in slaying multitudes of people for naught." They all opened and mouthed: "Save us, O Merciful One! Save us, O Merciful One!"

Rabbi Shimon said that if you have attained the discernment yourselves, then you are allowed, but if not, you must listen to the Great Tree (the great learned sage, whose wisdom and purity can be trusted) to learn how to work for the Creator.

72. Come and see, the Creator created the world by the Torah. And He looked into the Torah not once, not twice, not thrice, and not four times. Only after that did He create the world. This should show people how not to err.

73. Opposite these four times, the Creator saw, counted, prepared, and investigated what He had created. It is therefore written, "*Beresheet* (In the beginning) *Barah* (created) *Elokim* (the Creator) *Et* (the)"—four words, corresponding to the four above. And then, it is written: "Heaven"—opposite all four words, for the Creator looked into the Torah before He began to manifest His thought into reality.

The four words signify four time periods or four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*. "Saw" designates *Hochma*, "counted"—*Bina*, "prepared"—ZA, and "investigated"—*Malchut*. After these four, the Creator created what He created.

We find the same in the Torah: *Beresheet* is *Hochma*, *Barah* is *Bina*, *Elokim* is ZA, and *Et* (the) is *Malchut*, which includes everything from *Aleph* to *Tav*—all the letters and all the properties. Hence, she is designated in the Torah by the word *Et* = *Aleph-Tav* (from the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *Aleph*, to the last, *Tav*). And after these four, He created the Heavens and the earth, i.e., revealed the next, lower degree, below *Malchut*.

The Donkey Driver

74. Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, was on his way to visit his father-in-law, Rabbi Yosi, the son of Lakunya, and Rabbi Aba accompanied him. A man followed behind them, driving their donkeys. Rabbi Aba said, "Let us open the gates of the Torah, as it is time to correct our path."

In Aramaic, the language in which *The Zohar* was written, "driver" means "one who pricks." This is because the donkey driver's function amounts to forcing the donkeys to move by pricking them with the edge of his stick.

75. Rabbi Elazar opened and said, "It is written: My Sabbaths you are to observe." Let us see: the Creator created the world in six days. And each day would reveal His deeds, and gave strength to that day. When did He reveal His deeds and give them strength? On the fourth day of creation, for the first three days were concealed completely, and would not be revealed. The fourth day arrived, and He revealed the deeds and forces of all the days.

The phrase "He gave that day strength" means that He gave everything to the day of *Shabbat*. For the six days are *Sefirot HGT NHY* that reveal on *Shabbat* (*Malchut*) the work and the forces that were carried out during these days.

Yet, if the deeds of all the days are concealed, and only reveal at their end, on *Shabbat*, then why is it written that they are revealed on the fourth day of creation? The thing is that *Malchut* is called both the fourth and the seventh days: she is fourth with regard to the first three *Sefirot HGT*, called the "Patriarchs" (*Hesed* is Avraham, *Gevura* is Yitzchak, and *Tifferet* is Yaakov), and seventh with regard to the six *Sefirot*, after three additional *Sefirot*, called the "Sons": *Netzah* is Moshe, *Hod* is Aaron, and *Yesod* is Yosef.

Malchut herself is King David—the day of *Shabbat*. *Malchut* grows and gradually accumulates her corrections in two principal stages, called *Ibur* (conception). The first three days correspond to *Ibur Aleph* (the first conception), and the

second three days correspond to *Ibur Bet* (the second conception, *Gadlut*, the reception of *Ohr Hochma*).

In other words, *Malchut* is gradually created from *Sefirot HGT* of ZA in three days, and forms on the fourth day as the *Sefira Netzah de* ZA. Hence, at this stage in her growth, *Malchut* is referred to as fourth from the Patriarchs. And then *Shabbat* comes to our land (*Malchut* is called both land/earth and *Shabbat*). The state that *Malchut* achieves as a result of her growth from *Sefirot NHY* of ZA is called *Shabbat* on earth. And this state she attains as the seventh *Sefira* from all the *Sefirot* of ZA.

The first three days are not revealed in *Malchut*, for as long as a *Partzuf* lacks *Malchut*, it is defined as concealed or secret. The weekdays are defined so. And when *Malchut* completely attains the degree where she stands, she thereby attains herself. This state is defined as *Shabbat*.

However, if *Malchut* receives from the six *Sefirot de* ZA, shouldn't they (the six weekdays) be more important than *Malchut-Shabbat* (inferior *Sefira* with regard to those she receives from)?

The truth is that all the weekdays constitute individual degrees of correction (weekdays' work) that are devoid of *Malchut*. Hence, they are called "weekdays," for a *Partzuf* without *Malchut* is considered a closed degree, unable to receive Light, and is therefore deprived of holiness. After all, in the absence of *Malchut*, there is no GAR of the Light, *Ohr Hochma*. And only when *Malchut* is revealed in the *Partzuf* (signifying the arrival of *Shabbat*) is the holiness of the ENTIRE degree revealed; ENTIRE, because all six days receive what they have earned, and the Light shines in all the weekdays thanks to them alone.

When the first three days of creation *HGT* emerged before the emergence of *Malchut*, these three *Sefirot* were devoid of Light, i.e., they were concealed. And when *Malchut* appeared, the fourth day arrived, and the importance and holiness of all four days manifested, for *Malchut* complements the entire degree, and the perfection of creation becomes revealed thanks to her. In the language of Kabbalah, this is described in the following way: all six days of creation are *Ohr Hochma*, and *Shabbat* is *Ohr Hassadim*. *Ohr Hochma* is present on weekdays, but cannot shine for lack of *Ohr Hassadim*, and when *Ohr Hassadim* arrives on *Shabbat*, all the *Ohr Hochma* shines thanks to this *Ohr Hassadim* of *Shabbat*.

76. There is fire, water and air—*HGT*—the three first days of creation. Although they are the initial Supernal foundations of all that will follow, their actions are not revealed until the earth, meaning *Malchut*, reveals them. Only then does the work of each of the Supernal foundations reveal itself. Hence, the power of the first three days is revealed only on the fourth.

77. However, the third day may be better described as one that reveals the creation of the first three days, as it is written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH GRASS. That is to say, the revelation of the earth's (*Malchut*'s) deeds already took place on the third day. Yet, although it was written on the third day, *Tifferet*, it was actually the fourth day, *Malchut*. *Malchut* joined the third day, for *Tifferet* and *Malchut* are inseparable. And then the fourth day revealed its deeds—to elucidate the work of each and every one of *HGT*, for the fourth day is the "fourth leg" of the Supernal Throne (the *Sefira Bina*), whose four legs are *HGTM* (*Hesed*, *Gevura*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut*).

Malchut reveals the holiness and spiritual power of the three days. Therefore, *Malchut* ascended and joined the third day, so as to reveal by the unity of these three days (three lines) their exalted spiritual essence.

It is hence written that the deed is revealed on the fourth day, for *Malchut* alone completes their revelation at the conclusion of the three days. And afterwards, three more days emerge, which are *NHY*. After the revelation of the holiness of the first three days, *HGT*, called the "Patriarchs," which are the foundation of *ZA*, *ZA* enters them (his main part is manifested), and the time comes for the Sons (*NHY*, the last three of the six days of creation) to be born.

This is why it is written that *ZA* is defined as the fourth leg of the throne of *Bina*, and the throne remains imperfect and incomplete until its fourth leg (foundation) manifests. Indeed, *ZA* is incomplete until *Malchut* manifests within him, i.e., until the fourth day arrives. And only after the emergence of *Malchut* can *ZA* father the Sons—the three final days of creation.

78. All of the actions of all the *Sefirot*, both on the first three days of creation, *HGT*, and on the last three, *NHY*, are dependent on the day of *Shabbat*, *Malchut*, *GAR* of the entire degree of *ZA* and its perfection. Hence, it is written, AND THE CREATOR RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY, *SHABBAT*. This refers to the fourth leg of the throne, as the seventh and the fourth days are both *Malchut*. Only the fourth day is *Malchut* that includes the *Sefira Tifferet* of *ZA*, from his chest upwards. Also, the seventh day is *Malchut* of the entire *ZA*, and they merge together face to face in a *Zivug*.

Although the first three days, *HGT*, end with the fourth day (the result of their actions), they nonetheless remain not entirely complete; their perfection manifests only on *Shabbat*, together with the last three days, *NHY*.

It is therefore written that *Shabbat* is the fourth leg of the throne, even though it is the seventh day, for, although it emerges after the Sons, it also completes the deeds of the Patriarchs, as the first three days did not complete

their corrections on the fourth day, and a seventh day, *Shabbat*, is needed to complete them.

The reason for this is that on the fourth day, *Malchut* is in the state of *Katnut*, called the small phase of the Moon. As a result, the Moon (*Malchut*) returns to the state called *Shabbat*, when all the Light of all the days of creation manifest and shine within her. This is why the Light of the first three days of creation becomes revealed only on *Shabbat*.

79. Yet, if *Shabbat* is *Malchut*, then why does the Torah say, "My Sabbaths you are to observe," implying two? It is written of the two parts of *Shabbat*: the night (*Malchut*) and the day (ZA) that shines in *Malchut*. Thus, there is no division between them, for they merge face to face in a *Zivug*, and are therefore called two Sabbaths.

He asks: two *Malchuyot* (plural for *Malchut*) of the fourth and the seventh days are completely separate, as is written, "You shall keep my Sabbaths," implying two? Yet, when we clarify that the fourth day manifests in perfection only on the seventh day, it becomes clear that there is only one *Shabbat*. But what is meant here is ZA and *Malchut* that shine in the holiness of *Shabbat*, for this day is the male, bestowing part (*Zachar*) that manifests in the female part (*Malchut* or *Nukva*). Hence, they are called Sabbaths (plural). However, by merging in perfection, they become a single whole. As a result, ZA also assumes the name of *Shabbat*.

80. Following behind them with the donkeys, the donkey driver asked: "Why is it said, 'You shall fear sanctity?'" They replied: "This refers to the sanctity of *Shabbat*." The donkey driver asked: "What is the sanctity of *Shabbat*?" They replied: "It is the sanctity that descends from Above, from *AVI*." He said to them, "If that is so, then *Shabbatot* (plural for *Shabbat*) are without sanctity, for sanctity descends on it from Above, from *AVI*." Rabbi Aba answered him: "It is indeed so." And it is said: "And call *Shabbat* a delight, a holy day dedicated to the Creator." *Shabbat* and a holy day are mentioned separately. The donkey driver asked: "If that is so, then what does a holy day mean to the Creator?" He replied: "That is when sanctity descends from Above, from ZA, and fills *Shabbat*, *Malchut*." The donkey driver objected, "But if sanctity descends from Above, then *Shabbat* itself is not a holy day. And yet, it is written, 'You shall sanctify *Shabbat*,' meaning *Shabbat* itself." Rabbi Elazar said to Rabbi Aba, "Leave this man alone, for there is much wisdom in him, of which we do not know." So he said to the donkey driver, "Speak, and we shall listen."

The donkey driver's question is this: if *Shabbat* is ZA, then why is it described as holy? After all, sanctity is the property of *AVI*, and only *AVI* are called holy.

Hence, he objected that *Shabbat* should be separated from sanctity. *Shabbat* (ZA) is not holiness in itself, but because it receives holiness from Above, from *AVI*. That, which ZA receives from *AVI* is what is called the Creator's holiness.

81. The donkey driver opened and said, "It is written: *Shabbatot*, i.e., there are usually two. And this alludes to the border of *Shabbat*, which is 2,000 *Amah* (cubits) in each direction from the city. This is why the word *Et* was added before the word *Shabbatot*, which designates the plural form—both the Upper *Shabbat* and the lower *Shabbat* joining into one."

Although it is said: "Man shall not leave his place on the seventh day" (*Shemot*, 16), i.e., the singular form is used, in many places in the Torah, the word *Et* is used; for example, in the sentence: "***Et*** 2,000 *Amah* in each direction from its place." The word *Et*, consisting of the first and the last letters of the alphabet, *Aleph* and *Tav*, designates *Malchut* entering into union with ZA, which signifies the state of *Shabbat*; hence, the Light of *AVI* becomes revealed and shines (as a supplementary luminescence) upon ZON. This is because *AVI* are called "two thousand," and so the word *Et* is present here to designate a supplement of Light to *Shabbat*.

There exist a *Shabbat* Above and a *Shabbat* below: the Upper *Shabbat* is *Partzuf Tvuna*, and the lower part of *Partzuf Bina*, whereas the lower *Shabbat* is *Partzuf Malchut*, *Nukva de* ZA of the world of *Atzilut*. In the world of *Atzilut*, *Partzuf Bina* is divided into two *Partzufim*: the Upper Part of *Bina* is called *Partzuf AVI* and the lower part of *Bina* (the part where she receives the Light from the Upper Part so as to pass it to ZA) is called *Partzuf YESHSUT* (*Israel Saba ve Tvuna*) or simply *Tvuna*. The relationship between *Bina-AVI* and *Tvuna* is similar to that of ZA and *Malchut*. *Bina* is called the "Upper World" and *Malchut* is called the "lower world." On *Shabbat*, ZON ascend to *Bina*, ZA to *AVI*, and *Malchut* to *Tvuna*.

On *Shabbat*, *Malchut* merges with *Tvuna*. However, this does not mean that no difference is left between them, for *Malchut* receives the Light from *Tvuna* only because she ascends to *Tvuna's* level. Yet, at her place on the last, lowest degree of the world of *Atzilut*, *Malchut* is unable to receive the Light from *Tvuna*. And to the extent that *Malchut* cannot yet receive the Light from *Tvuna* in her regular state, she is defined as "closed."

Also, *Tvuna* suffers from *Malchut* being closed because while in her place, *Malchut* cannot receive the Light from *Tvuna*, for the revelation of *Tvuna* is possible only through *Malchut*. On *Shabbat*, *Tvuna* and *Ima* join to form one *Partzuf*, which is not closed. Yet, since its Light shines only when *Malchut* ascends to it, *Tvuna* feels the closed state of *Malchut*, and suffers, too.

82. One *Shabbat* was left, unmentioned Above, and felt ashamed. She said to Him, "The Creator of the universe, from the day I was created, I am called *Shabbat*, but there is no day without night." The Creator replied to her: "My daughter, you are *Shabbat*, and I have given you this name. But now I am surrounding and adorning you with the most exalted adornment." He then raised His voice and proclaimed, "Those who sanctify shall fear. And this is the night of *Shabbat* that radiates fear." But who is she? It is the merging together of I (*Malchut*, the nights of *Shabbat*) with the Creator Himself (ZA) into a single whole. And I've heard from my father that the word *Et* refers to the boundaries-borders of *Shabbat*. *Shabbatot* (two Sabbaths) denote a circle and a square within, which total two. According to them, there are two sanctities we should mention during the *Shabbat* blessing: *Vayechulu* consists of thirty-five words, and *Kiddush*, too, consists of thirty-five words. Collectively, they make up to the seventy names of ZA, with which ZA (the Creator), and *Malchut* (the Assembly of Israel) adorn themselves.

83. Since the circle and square are *Shabbatot*, they are both included in the instruction, "My *Shabbatot* you are to observe." However, the Upper *Shabbat* is not included in the instruction "Observe," but rather in "Remember." For the Supernal King, *Bina* is as perfect as memory. This is why *Bina* is called "King," whose perfection lies in peace and in memory. Hence, there is no contradiction Above.

Malchut de Malchut is called the central point of creation, and receives no Light even on *Shabbat*, as, being a *Man'ula* (lock), she is closed to the Light. And the entire Light enters her only in the form of *Miftacha* (key), into *Yesod de Malchut*, in *Malchut* that joins *Bina* with her properties, while *Malchut* herself is therefore referred to as "locked."

This central point of creation is the only thing that the Creator created, and is comprised of all the creatures, including human souls. And she argues with the Creator that in the beginning of creation, in the world of *AK*, the entire Light was revealed and shone upon the creatures thanks to her, for there was no other *Malchut* in the world of *AK*, except for the central point. And only due to *Tzimtzum Bet* (second restriction), now in the world of *Atzilut*, was she restricted and closed to the reception of Light.

And this is a great and wonderful secret, for, as *Malchut* objects, even on the first day, it is said: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning—one day." (*Beresheet*, 1:6) In other words, unity is revealed in both night and day together. Yet, why is the night of the first *Shabbat* not mentioned in the

Torah, and only the words "on the seventh day" are used? The Creator replied to *Malchut* that a future *Shabbat* is implied—*Shabbat* of the seventh millennium, when the day of *Shabbat* will come and remain forever.

Meanwhile, during the 6,000 years, the Creator elevates *Malchut* to *Bina*, and as a result, she receives Supernal Adornments, greater than the ones she had had in the world of *AK*. For there she acted as the end of all *Sefirot*, but now she has risen to act in the place of *GAR*, in *AVI*, which are called "holy of holies."

If *Malchut* is in *Yesod*, the lack of *Ohr Hochma* is felt. But if *Malchut* ascends to *AVI* (where *Ohr Hassadim* is present, and there is absolutely no need for *Ohr Hochma*), this state is defined as perfect.

Malchut is called "fear," for she was restricted to refrain from receiving the Creator's Light within her desire to receive pleasure. Therefore, she does not receive the Light from Above within her desire to receive pleasure. Instead, she receives the Light only in *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light), when she refuses to use her egoism.

This occurs in the following way: first, *Ohr Yashar* (Direct Light) comes from the Creator to *Malchut* and wishes to enter her (*Malchut* feels both the delight and her own desire to receive and enjoy it). Secondly, by wishing to be like the Creator, *Malchut* repels the Light (prohibits herself from receiving the delight).

This renunciation of egoistic pleasure is called *Ohr Hozer* (Returning Light), because *Malchut* repels the Light (pleasure) from her. Thirdly, after *Malchut* has created *Ohr Hozer*, she begins to receive *Ohr Yashar* in it (her new desire to receive only because the Creator wants her to). This reception is possible because *Malchut* has an anti-egoistic force, will power, called a screen.

The spiritual world is a realm of sensations, desires, and forces, not vested in shells-garments, like the corporeal bodies in our world. Similarly, all the characters depicted in Kabbalah do not designate any images; rather, they demonstrate interactions of forces and properties.

Therefore, a circle implies that the Light shines completely unrestrictedly in every place and to the same extent, so there can be no change in its radiance. A square or a rectangle indicates restrictions, which create differences between the sides: right and left, top and bottom. Hence, the head has a round shape with regard to the rectangular shape of the body, for the *Rosh* (head) is free of restrictions, but *VAK* (body) are not.

Shabbat is a spiritual state, when *ZON* ascend to *AVI* and clothe them. As a result, the lower *Shabbat* (*ZON*) and the Upper *Shabbat* (*AVI*) merge into one.

The Upper *Shabbat* (*AVI*) is designated by a circle, and the lower *Shabbat* (*ZON*) is designated by a square. On *Shabbat*, *ZON* merge with *AVI*, depicted as the square's ascent and insertion into the circle.

Ohr Hochma is designated by the letter *Ayin*. Since *Ohr Hochma* is revealed only during the ascent of the lower *Shabbat* to the Upper, *Ohr Hochma* is divided into two parts: one half for the Upper *Shabbat*, and one for the lower. Hence, the passage of *Vayechulu* (*Beresheet*, 2:1) consists of thirty-five words that refer to half of the Light of the Upper *Shabbat*, whereas the blessing itself consists of thirty-five words that refer to half of the Light of the lower *Shabbat*. And the common soul, called the "Assembly of Israel" or *Malchut* (*Shabbat*), is adorned with this Light.

Since the circle and the square merge and assume the name *Shabbatot* (two *Shabbats*), the Light of both the circle and the square is defined as protecting—GUARD. And, although the word GUARD alludes to restrictions and borders that one must observe and fear violating, whereas the Upper *Shabbat* (designated by a circle) has no restrictions and borders, due to the joining of the two *Shabbatot* into one, there still appeared restrictions and borders.

The Upper *Shabbat* is called REMEMBER, and not OBSERVE, as it is completely free of restrictions. However, since it merged with the lower *Shabbat*, called OBSERVE, it, too, needs to GUARD, which normally relates to *Malchut* alone. Only due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* did the need to guard, which is present in *Malchut*, arose in *Bina*. But *Bina* herself remains only in the property of REMEMBER, for only egoistic desires to receive pleasure need GUARDING.

The Upper *Shabbat* (*Bina*) is designated by the letters *MI* = *Mem-Yod*. The lower *Shabbat* (*Malchut*) is designated by the letters *MA* = *Mem-Hey*, and has the form of a square, which implies a presence of controversy between its properties—the right and the left sides, which give it its square form.

84. There are two types of peace below: one is Yaakov (*Tifferet*), and the other is Yosef (*Yesod*). Therefore, PEACE is written twice in the greeting: "PEACE, PEACE to the distant one and to the near one." "The distant one" refers to Yaakov, and "the near one" refers to Yosef. Or, as it is written, "From afar I see the Creator," "Came to a stop far in the distance."

"Below" signifies *ZON*, containing one of the properties, Yaakov or the *Sefira Tifferet de ZA*. *ZON* also contain the property called Yosef, or *Yesod*. Both these *Sefirot* indicate the place of a potential *Zivug* between *ZA* and *Malchut*, for Peace signifies *Zivug*. The Upper *Zivug* (Yaakov) is intended for reception of *Ohr Hochma* from Above, and the lower *Zivug* (Yosef) fills *Malchut* only with *Ohr Hassadim*.

It was already mentioned that it is impossible to receive *Ohr Hochma* without it being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. *Ohr Hochma* or the *Zivug* that is made on it is therefore defined as distant, for it must first be clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* before it can receive *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, it is written, "From afar I saw the Creator."

The lower *Zivug* is called "the near one," because the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hassadim* without any preliminary actions. Furthermore, with the help of this *Ohr Hassadim*, the *Partzuf* subsequently receives *Ohr Hochma*. This is why the word "peace" is used twice: "Peace, peace to the far and to the near"—a greeting to Yaakov and Yosef, respectively, both of whom take part in the great *Zivug* (the reception of *Ohr Hochma*) in *ZA*.

These two greetings are defined in *ZON* as a square, as there is controversy between them, defined as the controversy between the right and the left sides, and they end in the letter *Hey*—*Nukva* or *Malchut*, whereas the Upper *Nukva* (*Bina*) ends with the letter *Yod*, which designates not the female part, but the male. Hence, there is no controversy in her.

Even the notions of "near" and "far" do not exist in *Bina* herself, for she refers to *GAR*, perfection, and *GAR* can receive *Ohr Hochma* nearby, meaning they do not need to clothe in *Ohr Hassadim* beforehand, but can receive *Ohr Hochma* without *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is said that the Upper *Malchut* is the King, who has peace. Thus, unlike *ZON*, two notions of peace are absent in him.

85. "From afar" is the Supernal Point, standing in His palace, of which it is said, "You are to guard." "You shall fear My sanctity" refers to the point standing in the center, which must be feared more than anything, for its punishment is death, as it is written, "All who transgress in it shall perish." Who are these transgressors? They are those who have entered the space of the circle and the square, and committed a sin. Hence, it is written, "You shall fear!" This point is called "I," and there is a prohibition on its revelation, called *HaVaYaH*. "I" and *HaVaYaH* are a single whole. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba dismounted from their donkeys and kissed him. They said, "So great is your wisdom, and yet you drive donkeys behind us! Who are you, then?" He replied to them: "Do not ask me who I am, but let us go on and study the Torah. Each of us will speak his wisdom so as to illuminate our path."

The distant point refers to the point that opens the way to the *Partzuf* for thirty-two streams of *Ohr Hochma*. And this is the letter *Bet* in the first word of the Torah—*Beresheet*, called the "point in the hall," from which *Ohr Hochma* descends to *ZON*, when *ZON* ascend to *AVI*. For then, the two *Shabbatot* (the

Upper—*AVI* and the lower—*ZON*) merge. It is written about them: "I saw the Creator from afar," for *ZON* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma* without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*.

Hochma and *Bina*, called the "point in the hall," are referred to as "distant from *ZON*," for they need the garment of *Ohr Hassadim* from the lower world, *Nukva*, called *MA*. *Malchut* of the world of *AK* is the central point, called the "lock," whereas *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* (the point in the hall) is the "key," as the Light from *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*) can be received in it.

The circle is called *AVI*, the square—*ZON*. *ZON* ascend to *AVI* and thus the square enters the circle. As a result, two properties appear in *Malchut* of *AVI*: the "lock" (*Malchut de Malchut*, the central point or *Malchut de AVI*), and the "key" (the point in the hall, *Yesod de Malchut* or *Malchut de YESHSUT*). *Malchut de AVI* is called space, for she is unattainable, and he who wishes to fill her with Light is punished by death. It is written about it: "You shall fear My sanctity."

The point itself is called "I," and *AVI* is *HaVaYaH* that merges with it. And they are defined as a single whole; hence, the point itself is referred to as *AVI*, meaning that it is characterized as holy, as the property of *AVI*.

As was already mentioned before, *The Zohar* and the entire Torah speak exclusively of spiritual degrees, the structure of spiritual worlds, and the revelation of the Creator's governance to us. There is not a word in the Torah that refers to our world. The whole Torah is, as it is said, "The Creator's sacred names." And those who reduce it from its spiritual heights to the corporeal level with their commentaries cast it down completely.

Rashi says that the Torah only speaks in human tongue, but it tells us of man's spiritual paths toward his Creator. Therefore, when we read that one Rabbi went to visit another, the real meaning is that one spiritual degree, called, for example, Rabbi Elazar, passes to another spiritual degree, called, for example, Rabbi Yosi.

ZA has his own *AVI*, who are called the Upper *AVI*. The wife of *ZA* (*Nukva* or *Malchut*) contains *AVI*, too, called *YESHSUT*. First, *ZA* attains the *AVI* of his wife (*YESHSUT* or *Ohr Hassadim*). Then it rises to a Higher Degree and attains the *AVI* themselves—*Ohr Hochma* (also called *Ohr Haya*).

The righteous who ascend the spiritual degrees are the constituents of *Partzuf ZA*. Since the degree of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba is *Ohr Hassadim* (the Light of *Neshama*), this ascent means it went to (spiritually) see (in *Ohr Hochma*) another spiritual degree.

In the spiritual worlds, the donkey driver constitutes a special spiritual force that helps the souls of the righteous move from one spiritual degree to another. Without this help sent by the Creator from Above, it is impossible to exit your degree and ascend to the next. Hence, the Creator sends a Higher soul from Above to each of the righteous (those who wish to ascend). Each receives his own, according to his degree, properties, and purpose.

And so, at first the righteous fails to recognize this exalted soul; he considers it low, that it leeched onto him on his spiritual path. Such state is called *Ibur*—conception of the righteous' soul. Since the Higher soul has not yet completed its assistance and purpose, it is not yet perceived by the righteous for what it really is.

However, after it completes its task in its entirety, and brings the righteous' soul to the Upper Degree for which it is intended, the righteous then reveals the exalted properties of the soul that helped him. This is referred to as the revelation of the soul to the righteous.

In our case, the soul that was sent to help the souls of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba was the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba—a very exalted and perfect soul, the Light of *Yechida*. Yet, initially, it is revealed to the righteous in its smallest scope, called *Ibur*, conception (in sensations). Hence, they perceive it as the level of a spiritual donkey driver—a simple soul.

The Hebrew word for donkey is *Hamor*, which also means matter, *Homer*! Thus, one who can control his donkey, his body, his desires, ascends above matter as a spiritual being. And since he wishes to ascend above matter in his desires, he is considered a righteous. However, here, *The Zohar* speaks of Higher Degrees.

The donkey driver's task is to take the riders, mounted atop of their donkeys, from place to place; yet, he walks in front of his donkeys, thereby leading them through spiritual degrees. Since every word in the Torah has several meanings, due to the multiplicity of the Upper Roots (wherefrom word notions descend), the notion of a "donkey driver" is more precisely referred to as a "donkey guide," and implies properties that are coarse, sinful, and most base.

Therefore, Rabbi Aba said: "Let us open the gates of the Torah, for the time has come for us to correct our path," that is, to open their souls with the help of the secrets of the Torah, so their path would be correct and lead them to the Creator. Rabbi Elazar then began to discuss a passage from the Torah that says, "You shall observe my *Shabbatot*," as he stood at this degree (the Light of *YESHSUT*) in his properties. He therefore concluded that *Shabbat* itself is the property of *ZON*, which has not yet reached the property of sanctity, but only

receives the Light of *YESHSUT* on *Shabbat*. It is written about this Light, "You shall fear my sanctity," for when *Ohr Hochma* passes from *YESHSUT* to *ZA*, it evokes fear in them.

And here they receive the donkey driver's help, who reveals to them the secret of *Ohr Haya*. He explains that the phrase "You shall observe my *Shabbatot*" signifies the Upper and the lower *Shabbatot*, which come together, due to the ascent of *ZON* to *AVI*. As a result, *ZON* themselves become holy (the square within the circle) and acquire the properties of *Bina*: mercy, altruism, *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is written with regard to them: fear not and observe. For *Ohr Haya* repels foreign, impure forces and desires, and all restrictions are lifted on *Shabbat*; hence, there is no fear.

And, according to the donkey driver's explanation, the phrase "You shall fear My sanctity" refers only to the central point that is used in *GAR de AVI*, in *GAR* of *Ohr Haya*, which is unattainable and where fear does exist.

At that, the soul of the donkey driver has fulfilled its role, for it brought them to the attainment of *Ohr Haya*. Only then did they merit the attainment of the height of the soul that had helped them, since they attained its revelation and were thus able to appreciate it.

This is why Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba dismounted from their donkeys and kissed him, for the attainment of the Upper One is defined as a "kiss." However, this exalted soul has not yet finished aiding them: it must still help them attain *Ohr Yechida*. Yet, since the attainment of *Ohr Haya* already provides perfection, they've already attained thereby the degree of the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba.

The level of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself is the degree of attainment of *Ohr Yechida*. Therefore, by attaining only *Ohr Haya*, they mistakenly thought that the soul guiding them belongs to the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. However, after the donkey driver had revealed to them the secret of the attainment of *Ohr Yechida*, they realized that their companion is none other than Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself.

And the reason why they could not recognize him before is that the powers of the helping soul cannot be seen until its role is fulfilled. Hence, they asked him to reveal his name, but he told them not to inquire about his name, for without having completed all the corrections, they do not merit the revelation of the secrets of the Torah. And he must help them in their studies of the Torah, for he still needs to illuminate their path, as they have not yet attained the desired goal.

86. He said to him: "Who appointed you to walk here and be a donkey driver?" He replied: "The letter *Yod* waged war with two letters, *Chaf* and *Samech*, for me to come and join. The letter *Chaf* did not want to leave its place because it has to support those who fall, for without a screen, they cannot survive."

87. The letter *Yod* came to me alone, kissed me and wept with me. It said to me, "My son, what can I do for you? I disappear from many good deeds and from secret, supernal, basic letters. But I shall return to you and will be of help to you. And I shall give you two letters that are more exalted than those that have disappeared—the letters *Yod* and *Shin*. They shall become for you a treasury that is forever full. So, my son, go and drive the donkeys. And that is why I am here in this role."

As we already know, the donkey driver is an auxiliary force given to someone who wishes to ascend to a higher spiritual degree on his path toward the Creator, just as donkeys carry people on their backs, thereby helping them travel from one place to another. As this happens, the righteous one falls from his previous degree and enters the embryonic state of the new degree, just as the soul that came to help him. However, the property of *Ibur*-embryo (*Ibur* is also derived from the word *Haavarah*, crossing) means that all the Light that it had in the previous degree disappears upon the conception (*Ibur*) of a new, Higher Degree.

And that is what they wanted to know of the donkey driver: "How did the Creator bring you here in the state of *Ibur*, in our state of *Ibur*, as a result of which the Light in us has disappeared? Who lowers you from the Higher Degrees?" And that is why the donkey driver replied that the letter *Yod* waged war against the letters *Chaf* and *Samech*, to join with them. The degree of *Hassadim* is called *Samech* (*Ohr Neshama*).

"When the time has come for you to attain *Ohr Haya* (*Yod* from *HaVaYaH*, the degree from which I descended to help you to attain *Ohr Haya*), *Hochma* really wanted to connect *Ohr Neshama* (that was previously in you) to me. And here *Yod* wages war against *Chaf* and *Samech*. *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* clothes in the lower *Partzuf*, designated by the letter *Chaf*. There used to be *Ohr Neshama*, and now there is *Ohr Haya*, whereas *Yod*, which desires *Ohr Neshama* as well, merges with it, and rejects the *Chaf*."

This is so because the connection between the degrees, from the Highest Degree in the world of *Atzilut* to the end of the world of *Assiya*, is realized only by *Malchut* of the Upper One descending to the lower one and clothing in it. *Malchut* of the Upper One herself cannot descend from her degree of *YESHSUT*

(the degree of *Neshama*) even for a moment, as the chain connecting the degrees would be instantly broken.

The property of *Samech* is the property of the Light itself, which the soul receives from *Sefirot HBD HGT* of *AVI* (above the *Chazeh*), and which *AVI* pass to *ZON* when the letters are in *Katnut*, and support them (the Hebrew word for support is *Somech*, derived from the letter *Samech*) so that *ZON* will not fall from the world of *Atzilut*.

The letter *Chaf*, *Hassadim*, is unwilling to leave its place and join *Hochma*, as it needs to connect the Upper *Partzuf* to the lower one. Thus, it must always remain in its place, for all the degrees are constant, and only the soul changes while moving from one degree to another within the worlds. This is why the soul is called the "inner part" with regard to the world (the external part)—the soul exists and moves about within the world by changing its properties.

Hence, the Light of the soul did not wish to join the letter *Yod* (degree of *Hochma*, the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba) as it descended to help Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba. This is because they needed a new Light that would build a new degree within them, the degree of *Ohr Haya*, whereas each new degree is built from scratch, from the state of *Ibur* (conception). As that happens, the entire previous degree with all of its Light disappears. Similarly, in their case, the new degree starts with *Ibur* and reaches the level of *Haya*. This resembles a seed that must first abandon its present form and rot, in order to become a tree afterwards.

It is therefore written that it came to me without the Light of *HBD HGT de AVI*, called *Samech*, the Light of *Hassadim*. *Samech* is the property of mercy, a selfless desire to give, pure spiritual altruism. Hence, it is unwilling to join *Yod*, *Ohr Hochma*. Yet, *Ohr Hochma* cannot enter and fill the *Partzuf* without first being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, for this clothing of *Ohr Hochma* in *Ohr Hassadim* means that the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma* not for itself, but for the Creator's sake. But *Ohr Hassadim*, *Samech*, does not wish to receive anything within itself; it wants nothing to do with *Ohr Hochma*! This is why the letter *Yod* wept, being unable to fill the *Partzuf* with its Light, for *Hassadim* refused to accept *Hochma*.

It is written in this regard: Hence, I must now disappear, and you, the donkey driver, go to the state of *Ibur*, to rebuild the degrees of gradual development of a new *Partzuf*-state with you: *Ibur* (embryo), *Leidah* (birth), *Yenika* (nursing), and *Mochin* (maturity).

And know that such is the order of creating (begetting) each new degree: every time one is to attain a new degree, he must undergo (in his properties) a complete disappearance of the previous degree (level of attainment, Light), and

begin anew. He must receive new attainments, from the lowest new degree, *Ohr Nefesh* (*Ibur*), to *Ohr Ruach* (*Yenika*), and so on, as though he had never attained any spiritual level at all.

It is impossible to take with you anything from a previous degree. Hence, one must start anew from the lowest level of *Ibur*, called THE DONKEY DRIVER. *Ohr Haya de AVI* is called *YESH* (*Yod-Shin*), where *Yod* is *Hochma* and *Shin* is *Bina*. And, of course, they are more important than the *Ohr Neshama* that was in the *Partzuf* before them.

88. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba rejoiced, wept, and said, "You sit on the donkey, and we shall drive it." He replied to them, "Have I not told you that it is the command of the King that I act as I do, until the other donkey driver appears" (this hints at the *Mashiach*, who, as it is said, will appear poor and riding a donkey). They said to him, "You have not even told us your name! Where do you dwell?" He told them, "My dwelling place is wonderful and very precious to me. It is a tower that soars in the air, grand and unique. Only two live in this tower: the Creator and I. That is the place, in which I dwell. And I am exiled from there in order to drive the donkeys." Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba looked at him, and his words were unclear to them, for they tasted sweeter than manna and honey. They said to him, "Perhaps you will tell us the name of your father, so that we could kiss the earth at his feet?" He responded, "What for? It is not my habit to boast of the Torah."

After they have attained the greatness of the donkey driver's degree, they could no longer bear his small state of *Ibur*, which he inhabited for their sake. Hence, they told him that since they have already attained *Ohr Hochma*, he has done enough and can leave the state of *Ibur*. And should a need arise to add anything else to them, they would be able to enter *Ibur* on their own, and he does not need to suffer for their sake.

However, the donkey driver warned them beforehand to not ask him his name, for they still require revelations of secrets of the Torah. Once again, he hinted that it is the degree of *Ohr Yechida* that they lack, which is implied here. This degree signifies the reception of the Light of the King Messiah's face, which he mentioned by hinting at the poor donkey driver, as described by a prophet (*Zachariah*, 9:9). And he is commanded by the Creator to help them attain *Ohr Yechida*.

This is why they asked him about the type of his soul: "For you did not wish to reveal your name, as we have not yet received from you that which we must

attain. But if so, at least tell us where you live, what is your degree? At least then we will know what we lack, what else we must receive, attain from you."

He replied that his place is much higher than his present location, for now he himself cannot attain his own individual level. This is a result of the Upper *Partzuf* descending to the place of the lower one and becoming completely identical to it, and while there (in that state), the Upper *Partzuf* can no longer attain its own level. The tower that soars in the air is *Bina*, *Hassadim*. The *Mashiach*'s tower (the great tower) designates the time (state) of ascent to *GAR de AA*, when *Ohr Hochma* is available.

89. But the place of my father's dwelling was in the Great Sea. And he was a big fish that continually circled the Great Sea, from one end to the other. And he was mighty and he grew old, until he swallowed up all the other fish in that sea. And then he released them, and they were thriving and filled with all of the very best of the world. And it was in his power to swim across the entire sea in one instant. And He pulled him out and hauled him in with an arrow, like a warrior, and brought him to the place that I told you about, to the tower that soars in the air, but he returned to his place and disappeared in that sea.

The concealed *Zivug* is called *Shaar HaNun* (the 50th gate). The Great Sea is *Malchut*. All the *Zivugim* from *Partzuf Atik de Atzilut* and below do not include the Great Sea in its entirety, all the *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, but only the first nine *Sefirot* of *Malchut*. Moreover, none of the *Zivugim* include *Malchut de Malchut*.

This *Sefira*, *Malchut de Malchut*, is the only creation, because all the other *Sefirot* constitute properties of spiritual forces and desires above *Malchut*, existing in and referring to the Creator, the sole purpose of which is the correction of *Malchut de Malchut*. The only *Zivug* on this *Malchut* exists in *Atik*, and it will be revealed to all only at the end of correction.

Rav Hamnuna-Saba emerged from this concealed *Zivug* in *Atik*; hence, the donkey driver calls him "my father." And he says that his father lived in the Great Sea, as this *Zivug* was on the entire *Malchut*, on *Malchut de Malchut*, called the "Great Sea."

Yet, if one were to argue that all *Partzufim* make a *Zivug* on the Light with a screen that stands before *Malchut*, then that *Zivug* was made on the 50th gate, on all the parts of the desire, on the full depth of the Great Sea (*Malchut*), down to the very last of her desires and properties, from *Keter de Malchut* to *Malchut de Malchut*, from end to end of the Great Sea. Nevertheless, this occurs only

In *Partzuf Atik de Atzilut*, but not below it. And this is not the donkey driver himself, but his father.

This occurs because the great *Zivug* absorbs all the other particular *Zivugim* ("swallows all the other fish in the Great Sea") and all the souls in all the worlds, for they are all much weaker than it. Hence, it is as though they do not exist in its greatness and might. And since it includes absolutely everything, they are all called by the name *Nunin*, from the letter *Nun* (50).

This indicates that after all the major corrections that follow this great *Zivug*, all those Lights and souls, absorbed during its *Zivug*, return and are born anew for eternal life, for they are completely filled with Light as a result of the great *Zivug,* when the Light absorbed them completely.

All the *Zivugim* below *Partzuf Atik* stem from unifications of the *Sefirot* with one another. These unifications are defined as interruptions in a *Zivug*, whereas the *Zivug* in *Atik* is direct and without unification. Thus, it is defined as "instant," for it goes on uninterrupted. It is therefore written that "he crosses the entire sea in an instant," without any garments-unifications. And it mounts an attack, for there is great power of reception of *Ohr Hochma* in this *Zivug*; hence, he said: "Begets, like an arrow in the hands of a warrior."

It is written of this *Zivug* in *Partzuf Atik*: "No one else but you saw the Creator." However, no birth is possible without the forces of resistance, since, as is written: "The seed that is not shot like an arrow does not beget." (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 16). Hence, after he had begotten me and hid me in the Great Tower, he returned to his concealed *Zivug*.

90. Rabbi Elazar contemplated his words and replied: "You are the son of the Holy Source, you are the son of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, you are the son of the Source of the Torah, and you drive donkeys behind us!" They wept and kissed him, and continued their journey. Then he said: "If it pleases our master, let him reveal his name to us."

It is written "looked," because sight signifies *Hochma*, and no other words, such as "said," "heard" (*Bina*) or "thought" could be used in its stead. Since they have not yet attained to the full extent of perfection what the donkey driver had told them, and their attainment reached only as high as *Ohr Haya*, they were delighted with what was begotten by Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, for Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba is *Ohr Yechida*.

He asked him to reveal his name, that is, to receive his degree, for the attainment of a name denotes the attainment of the spiritual degree. Therefore, the saying, "the entire Torah consists only of the Creator's names," means that the

entire Torah constitutes the degrees that one must attain, up to the very highest, called "Love" ("Introduction to The Study of the Ten Sefirot," items 70-71).

Each degree in the attainment of the Upper Worlds has its own name. All the Creator's names: Moshe, Pharaoh, Avraham, the Temple, Sinai—every single word in the Torah—are degrees of perception of the Creator, degrees of attaining Him, for nothing exists besides man and his Creator. Everything else that exists in the world, as it seems to us, are the various degrees of our perception of the Creator Himself. He may appear to us as this world, and He may appear as the world of *Assiya*, as *Yetzira*, *Beria*, *Atzilut*, or He may be revealed completely, without partial concealments of the spiritual world or total concealment of our world. Thus, the word *Olam* (world) is derived from the *Haalamah* (concealment).

91. He opened and began. It is written, "Benayahu (Benaiah) Ben (the son of) Yehoyada (Jehoiada)." This narrative is beautiful, but it serves to show us the exalted secrets of the Torah. And the name Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada indicates the secret of the Light of Wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*. *Ben Ish Chai* is the righteous who revives the worlds. *Rav Paalim* means that He is the Master of all that transpires, and that all the forces and Supernal Troops stem from Him. He is called the Creator of Force, the Master of all, and He is in everything.

It is written in Prophets: "Benayahu, the son of Yehoyada," (*Shmuel* II, 23:20). Here, *The Zohar* reveals to us the exalted secrets of the Torah, for the holy name of Yehoyada consists of two: *Yod-Hey-Vav*, the first three letters of *HaVaYaH*, and *Yeda* (knowledge).

Keter of the world of *Atzilut* is called *RADLA* (unattainable head), whereas *Atik* itself surrounds all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*—*AA*, *AVI*, and *ZON*. *Atik* is called *Makif* (surrounding), for the other, lower *Partzufim* cannot attain it or its *Zivug*. Moreover, they cannot attain anything that comes from it. In other words, there is nothing descending *from Atik* to the lower *Partzufim*. Even *AA* is concealed from them; hence, it is called the "concealed *Hochma*." However, it is not defined as unattainable, like *Atik*, for it contains a *Zivug* on *Ohr Hochma*. Nevertheless, this Light does not descend to the lower ones, but only a small luminescence from it, called *He'arat Hochma*, reaches them.

And all the Light that fills the worlds through the 6,000 years comes from *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, who are called *Hochma* of the thirty-two paths or thirty-two forces (*Elokim*) of creation, i.e., thirty-two types of *He'arat Hochma*. This Light of *Hochma* is the result of *Bina's* ascent to *AA*, where she receives *Ohr Hochma* and shines downward. Therefore, all the Light of *Hochma* that is revealed through

the 6,000 years, before the end of correction, is no more than the Light of *Bina*, which received *Ohr Hochma* upon ascending to *AA*.

AA is called *Yeda* (knowledge) because it gives *Ohr Hochma* to *Bina*, and knows all the routes of *Ohr Hochma* into *Bina* and through her on to the lower ones. While making a *Zivug*, *AA* itself does not pass its Light downwards, but as *AVI* ascend to *AA*, they receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "thirty-two streams" or "paths of wisdom," which can be attained by the lower ones.

Everything that is written in *The Zohar* refers to all the souls in general. However, there are exceptions that are not normally studied. There exist special, exalted souls that merit becoming a *Kli*, *MAN* for the great *Zivug* of *RADLA* after their exile, and to receive from this *Zivug* in the Upper World the degree of *Yechida*. These are the souls of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada, Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba and a very few chosen others. These exalted souls reveal themselves to the righteous in this world, and as a result, the righteous merit delighting in *Ohr Yechida*, which shines only in such exalted souls, while still being in this world.

Therefore, the name of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada indicates that it stems from the inner wisdom, the unattainable Light of *Hochma* of *Atik*. This name also causes the concealment of the Light of *Hochma*, for the name Yehoyada: *Yod-Hey-Vav* + *Yeda* means that only he who attains the first three letters *Yod-Hey-Vav* of the Creator's name *HaVaYaH* shall attain Him, and no other shall.

Therefore, this name remains concealed in its place. At first, the donkey driver explains the quality of this *Zivug* in *Atik*—its height, the power of the Light that emerges onto it in *Rosh de Atik*, which the name of this *Zivug*, "*Ben Ish Chai Rav Paalim ve Mekabtziel*," indicates. And then he explains what is concealed and what descends to the souls.

It was already stated that this *Zivug* takes place at the end of the correction of the entire *Malchut*. Hence, it includes all the individual *Zivugim* and the degrees that emerge on them through the 6,000 years. All the Lights accumulate into one. All the types of *MAN* combine into one and ascend to ask for this *Zivug*, which includes all the suffering and punishments gradually accumulated during the 6,000 years.

Hence, the height and greatness of this *Zivug* and the degree of Light that emerges from it are infinite, and it destroys all the impure forces once and for all. *Yesod de ZA*, from which the Light of this *Zivug* (the combination of all the Lights over the full course of the 6,000 years) is emanated, is called "*Ish Chai Rav Paalim*"—a vivid man of many actions. However, *Malchut*, which contains within

her all the *MAN*, suffering, and work performed during the 6,000 years, is called *Mekabtziel* (gathering one).

The Zohar also calls it *Tzadik Chai Olamim*—the righteous, who revives the worlds, for it thereby points to the *Sefira Yesod*, which gives the Light to *Malchut*. The *Sefira Yesod* does not have a place to receive the Light for itself. Hence, it lives (*Chai*) only to pass the Light to *Malchut*. This is why it is called *Tzadik* (the righteous one), who revives the worlds (*Chai Olamim*).

Its other name, *Rav Paalim* (performing many actions) indicates that it includes all the *MAD* of all the good deeds and all the degrees that were revealed through the 6,000 years. This is because all these degrees are now being revealed all at once in a cumulative, integrated Light, as they leave *Yesod* and enter *Malchut*. And since *Yesod* now gathers all the Light that was emanated during the 6,000 years into one, and passes it to *Malchut*, this action determines its name—*Rav Paalim.*

92. *Rav Paalim* is also *Mekabtziel*—the Exalted Tree, gathering and performing many actions, Supreme Above all. Where did it come from? From which degree did it originate? Once more, the source indicates—from *Mekabtziel*, for it is an exalted and concealed degree that none has seen. It includes everything, for it gathers all of the Upper Light within it, and everything originates from it.

Malchut-Nukva is also named *Mekabtziel*, for she receives and gathers all the Light from *Yesod* within herself. Hence, *Yesod* is called *Rav Paalim*. The degree that emerges onto this *Zivug* is called the "Supreme and Exalted Tree" that originated from *Yesod* and entered *Malchut*. *The Zohar* goes on to explain that to show us the quality and the origin of this exalted degree, the name *Mekabtziel* (gathering) is used; *Yesod* accumulates the Upper Light and passes it to *Nukva*. And both *Yesod* and *Malchut* are called *Mekabtziel*.

And the degree that emerges onto this *Zivug* of *Yesod* and *Malchut* is called "None but you has seen the Creator." This degree emerges after the complete correction has been achieved, at the moment of attachment of the final correction that completes them all. Therefore, this degree is defined as all-inclusive, for it collects all the Light over the full course of 6,000 years, and thereby manifests at once in its true perfection.

93. All of the degrees gather in this Supernal, Sacred, and Concealed Hall, where everything is concealed. All of the worlds are inside that hall. All the holy forces are sustained and revived by it, and all are dependant on it.

The Zohar speaks of *Rosh de Atik*, where all the degrees and all the Light of all the worlds are concentrated and concealed. It further explains how this *Zivug* can occur up to the final correction, so it would combine all the degrees emerging one after another during the 6,000 years. And it would emerge instantly during the 6,000 years of the world's existence, when the degrees are in a state of constant ascents and descents, for as soon as a new degree, a new attainment of the Creator, of the Light, is revealed, the present degree disappears. This occurs due to the sin of the lower ones, who cannot retain this degree permanently (world—*Olam*, from the word *Haalamah*—concealment. The complete revelation of the Creator to His Creatures will take place at the end of the 6,000 years; thus, the world-concealment will cease to exist).

So, whenever a degree disappears, it does so only from the sensation of one who attains a new degree. In reality, this degree ascends to *Rosh de Atik* and hides there, so as to, by joining other degrees, be manifested at the end of correction.

In the same way, *Atik* gathers all the degrees revealed in the world during the 6,000 years, and conceals them within itself until the time of the end of correction comes; WHEN IT CORRECTS THE LAST PORTION OF WHAT IT MUST CORRECT, AND THUS CANNOT NO LONGER SIN. AND IT NO LONGER NEEDS TO SIN TO CORRECT THE NEXT PORTION OF EGOISM; HENCE, THIS FINAL DEGREE REMAINS PERMANENTLY AND DOES NOT DISAPPEAR. Then, *Atik* gathers all the degrees, and they all manifest simultaneously.

Everyone has his own *Partzuf Atik*. How can one accelerate his advancement along the degrees of correction in this world and in the spiritual worlds? It is written in the Talmud that an old man bends as he walks, as if he's looking for something that he had lost.

An old man symbolizes someone of wisdom, *Hochma*, for even without having lost anything, he looks beforehand for things he can correct in himself, and thus finds them. Hence, he does not require the previous degree of attainment to disappear from him. And if one does not discover new egoistic properties in need of correction within him, his previous degree disappears and a new one begins. However, this process is considerably slower than when one acts like an old man in search of shortcomings.

Throughout the 6,000 years, *Atik* is defined as unattainable. Therefore, its head is called *RADLA* (an abbreviation for the Aramaic words, *Reisha de Lo Etiada*, the "unattainable head"), whereas the name *Atik* is derived from the word *Ne'etak* (isolated) from the lower ones, for it does not shine upon them.

And, although it accumulates within all the Lights that emerge from it itself and become revealed in the lower worlds, the Light of the end of correction remains concealed nonetheless. It follows that after each degree disappears due to the sins of the lower ones, it ascends to *Rosh de Atik* and conceals itself there.

However, *Guf de Atik*, from its *Peh* downward, is located inside all the other *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, i.e., it is attainable by them. Thus, by clothing in the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, *Atik* shines through them and gives the Light to them and to all the lower worlds of *BYA*. And any Light that shines on creation during the 6,000 years comes only from *Guf de Atik*, and not from some other spiritual object.

We usually say that whatever is present in the *Rosh* of a *Partzuf* manifests in its *Guf*. This is also true with regard to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *AK* and all the other *Partzufim* in all the worlds, except in *Partzuf Atik*! This is so because *Atik* remains in *Tzimtzum Aleph* and descends down to our world. However, with regard to other *Partzufim* below it, *Atik* acts as though it is in *Tzimtzum Bet*, making a special *Zivug* on itself and the Light from it descends to the lower worlds.

The Light that comes to revive the worlds is called "sustenance" or *Ohr Hassadim*, and the Light that comes to stimulate the growth of the *Partzufim*, to turn a small *Partzuf* (*Katnut*) into a big one (*Gadlut*) is called *Ohr Hochma*. Both these Lights originate in *Guf de Atik*. *Ohr Hochma*, which makes a *Partzuf* big, is called the Light that elevates the *Partzuf*, for the lying position is called *Ibur* (embryo), the sitting position is called *Katnut* (small), and the standing position—*Gadlut* (big).

94. He slew two—Ariel and Moav (Moab). Two Holy Temples existed thanks to *Atik* and received from it: the First Temple and the Second Temple. Since *Atik's* disappearance, the process that stemmed from Above had ceased. It is as though he struck and destroyed them.

Only *Malchut de Malchut* must be corrected, and nothing else. All the other properties do not require correction. This *Malchut de Malchut* is *Malchut* of *Olam Ein Sof* (the World of Infinity), *Behina Dalet*, *Nukva de ZA* or *Partzuf BON*—the Creator's only creation, the will to receive (pleasure) for oneself. It is this desire that caused the breaking of the *Kelim* (vessels)—the sin of Adam.

And all the work of the righteous during the 6,000 years concerns the correction of *Malchut*, so she becomes precisely as she was prior to the breaking of the *Kelim* and the sin of Adam. As a result, the great *Zivug* on *Tzimtzum Aleph* in *Rosh de Atik* will be revealed. The Light of this *Zivug* enables man to sort and separate his impure desires from the pure ones, and thus forever rid himself of

the impure egoistic forces. This is exactly what Prophet Yeshayahu writes about: "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8).

Since *Malchut*, *Partzuf BON* of the world of *Atzilut*, is completely corrected already and does not require any further corrections, her *Partzuf BON* ascends to the level of *Partzuf SAG* of the world of *AK*. Thus, *Malchut* completely attains the properties of *Bina*.

However, meanwhile, after the great *Zivug* in *Atik*, but before the ascent of *Partzuf BON* to *SAG*, the Light of *Atik* stops shining. As a result, the two Temples were destroyed. The two temples are the two Lights of *Hochma*: the Light of *AVI*, *Ohr Hochma de Haya* that shines in the First Temple, and the Light of *YESHSUT*, *Ohr Neshama* that shines in the Second Temple. And all the Light that Israel received from *Atik* disappears.

However, all these destructions and disappearances of Light are corrections and milestones on the path to deliverance and complete correction. They signify not devastation, but creation of perfection, as they are precisely those final corrections that bring *BON* back to *SAG*.

Since all the roots and sources of what transpires in this world exist in the spiritual realm, and must all manifest once in our world, every spiritual root must "touch" its branch in our world, and it does not matter when this occurs. In the spiritual world, everything unfolds in accordance with a strict cause-and-effect process, whereas in our world those same consequences can manifest at a completely different time.

An example of this is the destruction of the First and the Second Temples. While this event has already transpired in our world, in the spiritual world it occurs only when the last stage of correction is attained. Due to the complexity of time-transcending notions, we will examine this matter in another book. However, one way or another, only our inner spiritual properties can become the Temple in which we will feel the Creator and in which He will forever dwell!

At the end of correction, *Ohr Haya* and *Ohr Neshama* will be called the First and the Second Temples, respectively. Also, until the end of correction, *Ohr Haya*, which is received on the *Zivug* of *Malchut* and included in *Yesod*, is called *Shabbat* (Sabbath), while *Ohr Neshama* is called *Hol* (weekdays). As we can see, there is absolutely no connection between these Lights and the days of the week in our world.

After the destruction of the spiritual Temples (the disappearance of Light), they will be recreated from Above by the screen of *Bina*, called "Heaven." This is because the screen of *Partzuf SAG* is a property of absolute mercy and is completely

unrestricted in its actions, desiring only to bestow and refrain from receiving *Ohr Hochma*. Thus, it is beyond the influence of any restrictions and limitations.

As a result of this *Zivug*, the two Temples will be restored forever, and "the Light of the Moon (*Malchut*) shall be as the Light of the Sun (*Bina*)" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:26). The Light of *Bina*, which is now the Light of ZA (called "the sun"), will be seven times more powerful, as *ZAT de Atik*. From there, this Light will descend to *AVI* and create the first seven days of creation, for ZA (the sun) will become like *AB* and contain the Light of *Guf de Atik*. *Malchut* will become like ZA and receive his Light, the Light of the sun.

At the end of correction, a *Zivug* on *Malchut* herself (the primordial, but corrected egoism) will transpire, and all the particular *Zivugim* that were made on all the Lights through the 6,000 years (made not on *Malchut*, but on her inclusion in *Yesod*) will thereby disappear.

The Temple will be restored from Heaven, for *Bina* herself does not wish to receive *Ohr Hochma*. And it will not occur because she cannot, but because she does not want to. This degree is referred to as "in the hands of Heaven." For example, it is written in the blessing on the new moon: "Life, which contains the fear of Heaven, and the fear of sinning." This life is above our reasoning and desires, for it is said that faith must be "above reason"; otherwise, sins will ensue.

Thus, one desires nothing more than to go by faith above his reason and desires, for he is afraid to sin. However, there exists an even Higher Degree: when he no longer fears sinning, as he now has a screen, but still prefers to proceed by faith above reason and desires, for he yearns to be dissolved in the Upper One.

The reason for the Light's disappearance from *Guf de Atik* prior to these corrections is that the two *Malchuyot* (*Bina* and *Malchut*, called *SAG* and *BON*) no longer exist. After the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, *BON* were annulled along with the screen of *SAG*, as *Guf de Atik* contains the connection between *Bina* and *Malchut*, designed for their interaction during the 6,000 years.

As a result of such interaction between *Bina* and *Malchut*, an opportunity arises to partially, gradually correct *Malchut*. In this mutual *Zivug* with *Malchut*, which is merged with *Bina* (*Bina's* properties), *Atik* first creates *AA* and then all the other *Partzufim* of the worlds of *Atzilut* and *BYA*.

And since the screen of *Malchut* (*Masach de BON*) now disappears, the screen of *Bina* (*Masach de SAG*) disappears as well, as they are merged together. In the absence of *Malchut* and the screen, this *Zivug* stops, and all the Light of *Guf de Atik* emanating from this *Zivug* on the mutual screen of *Malchut* and

Bina disappears. Therefore, all the Light that descended from its *Guf* (called Temples) disappeared.

In *Rosh de Atik* there is a *Zivug* on *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. Merged with *Bina* and existing for 6,000 years, the screen of *Malchut* disappears. As a result, the Light disappears as well. *Malchut* has yet to ascend to *SAG* to receive her perfection, as there is still no new Light. This complete absence of Light is called "destruction." However, *Malchut* then receives the Light of *AVI*, and the worlds of *BYA* merge with the world of *Atzilut*.

95. And the Holy Throne (*Malchut*) is overthrown. Hence, the prophet Yechezkel (Ezekiel) wrote, "I am in exile," signifying that the degree called "I," which is *Malchut*, is in exile. Why? "By the river *Kevar*." *Kevar* (already) is the river that had already existed, but has now disappeared. As it is written, "The river is destroyed and dried up." It was "destroyed" in the first Temple and "dried up" in the second. Hence, it is written: "He struck and destroyed both, Ariel and Moav." Moav (or *Mi Av*) means "from the Heavenly Father." They were all destroyed for Him, and all the Light that shone upon Israel disappeared.

The word *Kursa*, derived from the word *Kisse* (throne) or *Kissuy* (cover) signifies the combination of the properties of *Malchut* and *Bina*, which leads to the Light descending to *BYA* during the 6,000 years. The Holy Throne is overthrown, because the screen of *Bina* (*Kisse*) has been annulled, as it is said, "I am in exile," where "I" designates *Malchut*.

The entire spiritual complex is structured like a ladder, where *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* becomes (descends to) the *Keter* of the lower one. This is also indicated in the names: *Malchut* is called "I" (*Ani = Aleph-Nun-Yod*) and *Keter* is called "no" (*Ein = Aleph-Yod-Nun*), as it is completely unattainable. Only that which is perceived within *Malchut* can be attained; hence, it is called "I."

Only *Malchut* of the Upper *Partzuf* acts as a link between the *Partzufim*: the Upper One makes a *Zivug* on its *Malchut*, creates *Ohr Hozer*, and receives (clothes) the Upper Light within it, and then *Malchut* of the Upper One descends to the lower *Partzuf* in the form of *Ohr Hozer*. This state of the Upper One clothing in the lower one is called the exile of the Upper One, for the *Zivug* with the Upper Light disappears from it, and the Upper Light disappears from all the *Partzufim*. And the river dries up—the corrected screen is called the "river," for it causes the Upper Light's descent to the lower ones.

However, now that the screen (river) disappears, the descent of the Upper Light disappears as well. The destruction of the river in the First Temple causes

the disappearance of *Ohr Haya*; the river in the Second Temple dries up, and *Ohr Neshama* vanishes along with it. The river in the First Temple is destroyed because the *Zivug* in *AVI* is stopped; the Light in *YESHSUT* is exhausted, and the river in the Second Temple dries up.

The source of *Ohr Haya* and *Neshama* is *Aba*, called the "Heavenly Father," for he shines in *ZA*, called "Heaven," with the Light that elevates *ZON* to *YESHSUT* (the Second Temple) and to *AVI* (the First Temple). Because the Light stops shining from *Guf de Atik*, all of the Light descending to Israel disappears. This refers not only to the Light of the two Temples, but to all of the Light shining upon Israel, including *Ohr VAK* and the Light in the worlds of *BYA*.

96. Further, He descended and struck the lion. Initially, when this river rolled its waters down, Israel was in a state of perfection, for they offered up gifts and sacrifices to atone for their sins and to save their souls. Then, the image of a lion would descend from Above, and they would see it on the altar as it trampled the bodies of the sacrifices, devouring them, and all the dogs (all those who slander Israel) would fall to silence.

The fire that consumes the sacrifices laid on the Temple altar resembled a lion, and towered over the sacrifices, like a lion (Talmud, *Yoma*, 21:2), and that fire burned the sacrifices laid down by the sons of Israel. However, this is a corporeal image that a regular person perceives in our world.

But we shall follow our higher analysis and detach ourselves from this corporeal image; we will explain the action in the spiritual world that this language actually alludes to. All the languages in the Torah, including that which describes a rather corporeal image of sacrifice, speak only of spiritual actions. The most precise language for the description of these actions is the language of Kabbalah. However, this language is clear only to those who have ascended to the spiritual worlds and see both the roots, i.e., the events that transpire in the spiritual worlds, as well as their corporeal consequences.

Before the Light of *Atik* disappeared, when the Upper Light still shone upon Israel, like a river rolling its waters, Israel was in a state of perfection: by means of sacrifice, it raised its *MAN* (request), thus evoking a *Zivug* on its screen, and *MAD* (the Light, abundance) descends on it. As a result of these actions, it grew closer to the Heavenly Father, and all the impure forces distanced from it, for it purified its souls, and purification signifies distancing from the impure forces (desires), the way a soiled garment is cleansed from dirt.

Hence, the Hebrew word for sacrifice is *Korban*, derived from the word *Karov* (near). Thus, sacrifice signifies a person tearing away a part of his inner

animal egoism for the sake of drawing closer to the Creator. This is what brings Israel closer to their Heavenly Father.

And since Israel existed in perfection and raised *MAN* for the Creator's pleasure alone, its *MAN* would ascend to *Bina*. The Light of *Bina* is called *Ohr Hassadim*, and its form resembles the image of a lion, like the property of bestowal, *Hesed*. This means that the lion-*Bina* receives Israel's good desires and deeds. And it was seen how *Bina* consumes Israel's *MAN*—*Ohr Hassadim* descends from *Bina* onto this *MAN*, like a lion trampling his prey (*MAN*) and devouring it.

A lion devouring its prey is the principal aspect of sacrifice, for it signifies raising *MAN* to strengthen a screen and create *Ohr Hozer*. And since the magnitude of the received *Ohr Yashar* is determined by the magnitude (height) of *Ohr Hozer*, which creates the screen, it follows that existence and growth of *Ohr Yashar* is dependent on the *Ohr Hozer*. The greater the *Ohr Hozer*, the greater the descending *Ohr Yashar* becomes.

In other words, to the extent that every one of us desires to "bestow," he evokes a corresponding response from Above, from the root of his soul. And just as in our world a living being's life and strength depend on nutrition (it simply dies without it), the Upper Light depends on the Light reflected by the screen. When it stops, the Upper Light disappears from the *Partzuf*, i.e., man stops feeling it.

The Upper Light descends from *Bina* as *Ohr Yashar* (called a "lion"), i.e., in the form of "bestowal," in accordance with *Bina's* nature. And man sees (feels!) how *Ohr Yashar* clothes in *Ohr Hozer*, which ascends from its sacrifice (rejection of egoism), the lion's nourishment.

It devours its prey and thereby grows: the extent of Israel's perfection and their ability to offer sacrifices, to "bestow," determines the magnitude of their *MAN* and the force with which the *Ohr Yashar* strikes the screen, which reflects the Direct Light (pleasure) from below upwards with all its might. Moreover, it does so in great fear: for what if it fails to reflect the Light and desires to enjoy the Light of this commandment selfishly?

That is precisely where one's work lies. It is called "faith above reason," for it must rise above one's reason (egoism) and intellect. Conversely, those who receive inner confidence that it is enough to advance within one's nature are called "sacred still," a pure inanimate (non-developing) being, as such reason prevents them from spiritual growth.

Therefore, if the height of *Ohr Hozer* is great, it is defined as a lion that tears and devours its prey, as a victor, for it grows and ascends to a higher spiritual level thanks to the efforts of the lower one (man).

The impure force, the selfish will to receive pleasure is called "a dog," as it is written: "The leech has two daughters (who demand): Give-give." (*Mishley*, 30:15). They bark like a dog, and demand (to receive) both this world and the next. And the Higher One ascends, the stronger this impure force, called *Klipa*, becomes. And its strongest part corresponds to *Ohr Yechida*, opposite the lion devouring its prey).

The lion represents mercy and bestowal, unwillingness to receive anything for oneself. As it is written in *The Ethics of the Fathers*, 95: "A *Chassid*, the merciful righteous one, says, 'What's yours is yours, and what's mine is yours,'" so is the impure force (dog) aimed wholly at reception, and has no aspiration to bestow. As it is said in the Talmud (*Bava Batra*, 10:2), "The righteous among the nations of the world: all their mercy is for themselves alone;" hence, they are connected to the impure force of a dog. (Under no circumstances should any of this be interpreted literally, for, as it was repeatedly explained, the whole of the Kabbalah speaks only of man's-prototype. Israel is one's inner aspiration to the Creator, and *Goy* (a gentile) signifies egoism (regardless of and unrelated to one's origin). Relate this to the above-mentioned corporeal and spiritual Temples, where there is no connection between rocks and spiritual objects. It is also unclear to the uninitiated why altruism is the property of a lion, while a dog, a loyal animal, is the root of egoism and impurity).

It is therefore said that when Israel was perfect, it acquired the property of a lion, and all the dogs left it be, for it gave *Malchut* the strength to raise *Ohr Hozer* to great heights (devoured its prey, like a victor), and the impure force, like a dog, was afraid to come near it, and would hide in fear of the lion.

97. Yet, when sins increased, he descended to the lower degrees and slew the lion. This was because the lion refused to give up its prey as before, and this is as though he killed it. Therefore, he struck the lion and threw it into a pit, to the Evil Side (according to his understanding). The Evil Side saw this and sent a dog to devour the sacrifices from the altar in the lion's stead. What is the name of that lion? And what is the nickname of that dog? Baladan is its name; Baladan is formed by the words *Bal-Adam*, where the letter *Mem* is replaced by *Nun*, for he is not a human being at all, but a dog, and his face is like a muzzle of a dog.

("He" refers to Benayahu Ben Yehoyada Ben Ish Chai, *Rav Paalim u Mekabtziel*, in whom the degree of *Atik*, all of the Light, shines all at once.) Due to the disappearance of the screens of *Malchut* (*BON*) and *Bina* (*SAG*), Israel below could no longer raise *MAN* (the will to "bestow," the screen, the lion's nourishment). The *Zivug* stopped, and the Upper Light (lion) disappeared in its Root Above.

"Threw it into a pit"—the root of the desire to receive for one's own sake is in the eyes, as Rashi said: "The eye sees, and the heart burns with desire" (The weekly portion *Shlach*). This will to receive for oneself is called an "empty, waterless pit" (*Beresheet*, 37:24). The Upper Light does not fill it. Although it is empty, it is unworthy of being a vessel for the Light, as it is written: "He and I cannot dwell in the same abode" (Talmud, *Suta*, 5).

Thus, the lion was thrown into a pit, for it was struck before the eyes of the impure egoistic force, called an "empty, waterless pit." And these pits now emerge from their hideouts and reveal their power, and in place of a lion appears a barking dog.

ZA-MA = 45 is called Adam = *Aleph* + *Dalet* + *Mem* = 1 + 4 + 40 = 45, when he receives the Light from *Bina*. The property of *Bina* is bestowal. Hence, it is written: "Man is your name" (Talmud, *Yevamot*, 61), referring only to those who attain the property of bestowal, but not to the others, of whom it is said: "Even their mercy is only for their profit" (Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 10:2), and who are therefore called Baladan (Bal-Adan).

98. On a day of snow, on the day misfortunes descend from the Supernal Court Above, it is written, "Her household shall not fear snow," that is, the Supernal Court, called "snow." For her household is clothed twofold, and can thereby endure a strong fire. So the book says.

Strictness, judgment (*Din*) or restriction imposed on the use of egoism in the male part is called "snow" that stems from the Supernal Court. These restrictions are very powerful, but are mitigated below the *Chazeh*, where *Malchut* receives them. *Nukva* describes these restrictions in the following way: "Surround me with roses," (*Shir HaShirim*, 2) referring to two fires: the Upper—*Bina*, and the lower, her own—*Malchut*.

After *Malchut* acquires these two fires, she weakens the strictness of the cold snow with her fire. Hence, it is written in *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs) that her household shall not fear snow (the Supernal Court), i.e., the restrictions imposed on the male part, for her household is clothed twofold. In other words, on the contrary, the snow helps her withstand the heat of her fire. And only now that the screen and *Zivug* are gone, and the two fires are no more, the restrictions of the snow return.

99. What is written next? "And he struck an Egyptian." This refers to a secret: every time Israel sinned, the Creator would conceal Himself and restrict them from receiving all the goodness and all the Light that He shone upon them. "He struck an Egyptian." "He" refers to Moshe, the Light that shines upon Israel. For in Egypt he was born, grew up, and attained the Supernal Light.

The Torah speaks not of man, but of the Light that disappeared and concealed itself. Hence, it is defined as "slain." Gone is the great Light, with which Moshe shone upon Israel. And this Light is called the "Egyptian," for in Egypt Moshe was born, grew up, and attained the great Supernal Light, the Light that delivered Israel from Egypt.

100. A man of mirror. It is written, mirror and man, as it is written, a Godly man, the husband of that mirror, of the Creator's glory, *Malchut*. For with this degree he merited ruling over the entire land in all of his desire—a feat unmatched by any other.

The difference between Moshe and the other prophets is that Moshe is the foundation of *ZA*, as he constructs and passes the Light from *ZA* to *Malchut*, whereas the other prophets are the foundation of *Malchut*, and receive from her. Hence, it is written of him: "Godly man," the husband of *Malchut*, called the "Creator's greatness." And why is Moshe called the husband of *Malchut*? Because he attained the level of *ZA* and gives the Light to *Malchut*. Therefore, it is written that his attainments are beyond anyone else's, for the other prophets receive from *Malchut*, and are therefore ruled by her.

He who attains *Malchut* receives from her. The degree called Moshe means that he who attains it gives the Light to *Malchut*, instead of receiving from her. Yet, how can this be? How can one possibly rise above *Malchut* if all our souls originate from her and exist in the worlds of *BYA*? This indicates the state of ascent above *Malchut*, which is how Moshe ascends to *Bina*.

101. This is the Creator's staff that was delivered to him, as it is written, "With the Creator's staff in my hand." This is the staff that was created on the evening of the sixth day of the creation, before *Shabbat*. And His Holy Name is contained in it. And with this staff Moshe sinned by striking it twice against the rock. The Creator said to him: "Moshe, it is not for this purpose that I have not given you My staff; thus, it will no longer be in your possession henceforth."

The words "evening" and "twilight" signify the state of mitigation of *Malchut's* strictness by the properties of *Bina* to an extent that it becomes impossible to distinguish *Malchut* from *Bina*. This is because on *Shabbat*, *Malchut* ascends to *AVI* and becomes *Bina*. However, on the twilight of *Shabbat*, *Malchut* is not yet *Bina*, but is no longer *Malchut* (everything in the book speaks only of the properties of spiritual objects, for nothing but desires exists in the spiritual worlds. Only in our world are desires clothed in physical bodies).

Hence, it is said that ten things were created in the twilight, when there is no distinction between the thing itself and its origin, *Bina* or *Malchut*, for *Malchut* herself shows no distinction. And such is the property of the staff that was created in the twilight, before the world's first *Shabbat*. Hence, it possesses the holy (special) property of the Creator's name, an allusion to the properties of *Bina*, from which holiness (altruism) descends. And *Malchut* is ready to receive this holiness.

And these two properties of *Bina* and *Malchut* are contained in the Creator's staff, utterly indistinguishable from one another, for they were created in the twilight. Hence, with the help of this staff, i.e., by means of the property of uniting *Malchut* with *Bina*, all the fortunes and wonders, all of the Light can be brought to Israel, for this is the purpose behind the Light's descent from *Bina* to *Malchut*. With the help of this property (the staff), Moshe merited an ascent to *Bina*, up to the degree of "Godly man." Therefore, the staff is called the Creator's staff, according to the name of *Bina*.

Malchut is called *Tzur* (rock), and upon ascending to *Bina*, she is called *Sela* (another name for a rock). The inner *Zivug* between *ZON* (*ZA* and *Malchut*) in the state of their ascent to *AVI*, when *Nukva* uses *Ima's Kelim*, is called "speech." The outer *Zivug* between *ZON*, when they are in their own place, is called "*Zivug de Hakaa*" (a *Zivug* by Striking).

It is hence written to Moshe in the weekly Torah portion *Bashalach*: "You shall strike the rock (*Tzur*), and it shall bring forth water" (*Shemot*, 17:6), for a *Zivug de Hakaa* occurs within *Malchut* herself. However, it is written in the weekly portion *Chukat*: "Speak ye unto the rock before all eyes, that it give forth its water" (*Bamidbar*, 20:8), for the "rock" is in *Bina*, and the *Zivug* within her is called "speech."

And herein lies the sin of Moshe: he struck twice: in addition to first striking the *Tzur*, he struck the *Sela*, which lacks the strike, and only has a *Zivug* in the form of speech. Since there is no distinction in the Creator's staff, and it is unclear whether it refers to *Malchut* or to *Bina*, he also applied it to *Sela-Bina*. And the Creator told him that the staff was given to him to use with *Tzur*, but not with *Sela*.

102. At once He descended to him in strictness and wrenched the staff from the Egyptian's hand, for the moment the staff was taken from him, it was taken for good. And he was killed by it: because of the sin of striking the rock with the staff, he died and did not enter the Holy Land. And that Light was concealed from Israel.

It was already mentioned in item 94 that as a result of a great *Zivug* in *Atik*, only *BON* were supposed to disappear, but not *SAG*, for *BON* could have immediately risen and forever become like *SAG*. However, as *SAG* and *BON* were merged, *SAG* disappeared together with *BON*.

The Light of Moshe disappeared from Israel for the same reason—because he committed an even greater sin and harmed the union of *BON* and *SAG* by striking the *Sela*. Hence, harsh judgment descended upon him, which refers to the disappearance of the Light of *SAG*. Indeed, *SAG* is no longer connected to *BON* in any way, and the annulment of *BON* has no influence on it.

This is the meaning of what is written in Psalms: "He resembled those who draw axes at a copse of trees, but now all of his adornments are smashed by hatchets and axes" (*Tehilim*, 74:5). Due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, and her correction there, *Malchut* is like a "copse of trees," for *SAG*, too, is annulled by the merging with *BON*, *Malchut's* ascent, as if struck with "hatchets and axes."

Hence, it is written that the staff was taken from the Egyptian, and will never return to him, for the staff refers to *Malchut*. So the Light disappears for good, because *BON* renews itself afterwards and becomes *SAG* forever. Thus, it is no longer necessary to use the staff for striking.

It is written in this regard that he was slain by the same staff, for had he been careful and used it only once—striking the *Tzur*, but not the *Sela*—*SAG* would not have been annulled together with *BON*, and he would not have died. Instead, he would have immediately risen to *SAG*.

This is why it is written that Moshe shall not enter the Holy Land, Israel, as Israel is *BON* in the state of ascent to *SAG*, and it is called the Holy Land, for the Light of *Bina* (called the Holy Light) shines in it. However, until the end of correction arrives, there are still ascents and descents, which cause destructions (disappearance of the Light) and revelations (shining of the Light). But at the end of correction, *BON* will remain within *SAG* permanently as *Eretz Israel*, and there shall be no more exiles from it.

103. "The most respected of the thirty" refers to the Upper One that receives from Above and passes downward, one that receives and brings closer. However, he does not go to the first three, but they come to him and give to him wholeheartedly, but he does not come to them.

GAR (*HBD*) are called "thirty," as each of the three *Sefirot HBD* consists of ten, which amounts to thirty. And their Light shines in all of the 6,000 years. The soul of Benayahu appears out of the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, which accumulates

all the *Zivugim* during the 6,000 years. Hence, it is called *Rav Paalim* (performing many actions) and *Mekabtziel* (gathering all into one degree-*Partzuf*, called Benayahu Ben Yehoyada).

Therefore, he receives the Light of all of the Supernal Thirty, which descends to his soul. Indeed, he consists of particular *Zivugim* that have transpired through the 6,000 years, which he gathers into one. And, although they give him the best of their properties wholeheartedly, he still cannot draw closer to them and subsequently receive from them. This is because the disappearance of the screen in *ZON* made the screen in *SAG* disappear as well. Hence, he cannot come to them, raise *MAN*, and receive from them further.

104. Despite not being considered one of them, David heard the meaning that is never detached from the heart, for they can never be separated. David paid attention with all his heart, but he did not pay attention to David. For by the praises, hymns, and mercy that the moon offers the sun, the moon draws the sun closer so as to be with it.

David is *Malchut*; *Malchut* comes from the word *Melech* (King). Therefore, David is King, for his properties are the properties of *Malchut* (kingdom). And this is the fourth leg (support) of *GAR*. Hence, it is written that although he cannot be together with the thirty (*GAR*), he nonetheless clings to these properties, and never detaches himself from them.

This is because *Malchut's* entire perfection is revealed in him, for it stems from the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, which destroys all the impure forces of *BON*, as it is said: "He destroys evil forever."

Therefore, David resolved to never part with it again, for it is his perfection. However, Benayahu Ben Yehoyada paid no attention to David, as David is the fourth support of *GAR*. Hence, it is as though he is unable to receive from *GAR*. And since he cannot receive from David, he pays no attention to him.

With the help of the *MAN* of *Malchut* (called *Se'ara*—stormy wind), which is raised to *ZA* (called "Heaven"), as a result of the hymns, praises, and mercy, *Malchut* receives the Light of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada's soul, which is absolute perfection, and merges with it for all eternity.

105. Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba fell down on their faces before him and could not see him anymore, then rose and went in every direction, but could not see him. They sat and wept, and could not even speak to one another. Then, Rabbi Aba said, "It is true what we have learned, that the Torah accompanies the righteous on all their paths. The righteous of the other world come to

them to reveal to them the secrets of the Torah. And this must have been Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, who came to us from the other world to reveal these secrets to us. But before we could recognize him, he vanished." They rose and wanted to lead their donkeys on, but could not. They repeatedly tried to goad the donkeys, but still they could not move. They grew frightened and left their donkeys behind. And to this day this place is called "the place of donkeys."

Because they could not bear such a powerful Light, which was revealed to them upon the disclosure of those secrets, they fell (*Katnut*) and then rose (*Gadlut*), for it was so unbearable. After they merited receiving from it such a great degree, this Light disappeared at once and did not reappear, and they could not attain it anymore. Hence, they wept (a kind of *Katnut*) out of great grief that they had lost such exalted attainment, and they could not speak (absence of *Kelim*).

The bitterness of their loss made them realize that it was the degree of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba himself, and not lower, as they had mistakenly thought before. The forces that they received from the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba are called "donkeys," with which they can raise *MAN*, the request to attain Higher Degrees, *Haya* and *Yechida*.

In other words, the soul is a spiritual force of Light; like a pulling force of a donkey that helps overcome egoistic desires and move from place to place in the spiritual world, onto a Higher Degree. To raise *MAN* means to feel what is lacking and what needs to be attained—this is what man's work is all about.

Such is the work of a righteous soul—it helps man by lifting him up onto his donkey (egoism) and taking the lead (pulling) in order to illuminate (give strength) for him the path of the righteous. And now, when its role has been completed, this soul disappears, although they would have very much liked to continue ascending and riding its donkeys, i.e., they wished to raise *MAN* anew to return and attain once more.

However, they could no longer receive the strength to raise *MAN*. Thus, they were struck by fear and left their donkeys in that place, which is hence called "the place of donkeys," for they could not use them any longer.

106. Rabbi Elazar opened and said: "Oh, how great is Your goodness, which You have hidden away for those who fear You! (*Tehilim*, 31:20). How infinite is the goodness that the Creator shall bestow on humankind in the future, on those sin-fearing, exalted righteous, who study the Torah as they arrive at that Upper World."

The words "great goodness" refer to *Gadlut*, the attainment of the Light of *GAR*. For the basis of a *Partzuf* is its *VAK*—the amount of Light necessary for its

existence, received from the *Zivug* of *AVI*, who make this *Zivug* and emit *Ohr Hassadim*, necessary to sustain the worlds. And all the extra Light, necessary for existence, is called *GAR* or *Ohr Hochma*—the additional, delectable and great Light.

This *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of *GAR*, stems from *Bina*, which is called "the world to come." It is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim* that emerges from a *Zivug* of the *Sefira Yesod* (*Chai Olamim*—life of the worlds), and from there descends to the righteous who fear to sin.

The *Zivug* of *AVI*, when they are at the degree of *Bina*, gives *Ohr Hassadim* to *ZA* for the sustenance of the worlds. However, when *AVI* ascend to *AA* and beget new souls by their *Zivug*, their *Zivug* is inconstant, as it emits *Ohr Hochma*, called "new souls."

107. The name "great goodness" can be further described as containing all the secrets of the Supernal wisdom, which descend from ZA to *Malchut*. There is a great tree, called ZA or *Rav* (great, strong), and there is a small tree, *Malchut*, which grows from it. And it is elevated to the Highest Firmament.

In addition to the attainment of the Light of *GAR*, there is also the inner part of the Supernal wisdom with its secrets, which become revealed in the *Zivug* of *Atik* at the completion of the 6,000 years, the end of correction. *MA* designates the lower world, *Malchut*. The great and strong tree is *ZA* in the state of ascent to *Partzuf AB*, as in this state he receives *Ohr Hochma*, and *Hochma* signifies strength (not "reason—strength" but the strength of *Ohr Hochma* lies in the fact that it allows one to go against reason, in defiance of common sense, in faith above reason).

However, when *ZA* is in his place, he is simply called "a tree," for he lacks *Ohr Hochma* and has only *VAK*, *Ohr Hassadim*. *Malchut* is also called a tree and grows together with *ZA*; *ZA* ascends to *Aba*, to the utmost height, to the Supernal Firmament—*Atik*.

108. The "great goodness" is the Light that was created on the first day of creation and concealed so as to be revealed in the future for the righteous in the other world. Your Deeds are the Supernal Garden of Eden, which the Creator has created by His act.

The Light that was created on the first day of creation is the Light in which Adam saw from one end of the world to the other. Hence, the word "Light" is used five times in the Torah's description of the first day of creation. This Light is intended for the righteous in the world to come, for it is concealed in *Yesod de Aba* and in *Yesod de Ima*, which are collectively called "righteousness and justice."

(In Hebrew, the words *Tzedek*—justice and *Tzadik*—righteous/just have the same root. This name is given to one who attains the Creator's governance and sees that His governance is just; hence, he justifies all of the Creator's actions, and is thus called righteous. The other meaning of the word 'righteous' refers to man's belief that the Creator is righteous, because in spirituality, one assumes the name of the degree one has attained. If he attains that the Creator is righteous by receiving this knowledge from the degree onto which he ascends, then he is already called by the name of that degree.)

Ohr Hochma can be received only in "precious garments," called righteousness and justice, that is, only with these intentions. The above excerpt speaks of an open action, implying unrestricted diffusion of Light, as it will be after the end of all the corrections. In the Torah, such a state is called "the Supernal Garden of Eden."

In the meantime, only the complete and perfect righteous ones, the souls of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada and others that merited reception of Light from the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, gather all the Light of the 6,000 years. These souls' place of rest is referred to as the Garden of Eden.

There exists the lower Garden of Eden of earth, which is *VAK*, and the Supernal one, *GAR*. All the souls dwell in the lower Garden of Eden, and only on new moons and Sabbaths do they ascend to the Supernal Garden of Eden, and then return to their place. However, there are individual, special persons (souls), whose place is in the Supernal Garden of Eden. These are the souls of which Rabbi Shimon says: "I saw them ascending, but their numbers were few."

109. All the righteous stand in the lower Garden of Eden, clothed in precious adornments, similar in quality and form to those which they wore in this world, meaning in the same form as people in this world and according to man's actions in this world. They stand there and fly away through the air, ascend to the Assembly in the Supernal Garden of Eden, fly there and bathe in the dew of the pure river of *Apharsemon* (persimmon), then come down and fly below in the lower Garden of Eden.

The main difference between *GAR* and *ZAT* with regard to both *Partzufim* and souls is that *GAR* (*KHB*) do not need the garment of *Hassadim*. They can receive *Ohr Hochma* as it is. However, *Partzufim* of *VAK* and the souls born from *ZON*, whose basis is *VAK* (*Ohr Hochma* clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*), can only receive *Ohr Hochma* when it is clothes in *Ohr Hassadim*.

The *Ruach de Tzadikim* (spirit of the righteous) in the lower Garden of Eden is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, just as human souls in this world. And with the help

of these precious garments, they can ascend to the Supernal Garden of Eden and there receive *Ohr Hochma*. Afterwards, they return to their place in the lower Garden of Eden, for that is their permanent place.

They ascend by the power of *Ohr Hassadim*, called "air," and fly to the Supernal Garden of Eden to receive *Ohr Hochma*, called the river of *Apharsemon*. However, they cannot stay there, so they immediately descend from the Supernal Garden of Eden to the lower. *The Zohar* compares them to human souls, for both the Upper and the lower human souls need to receive the garment of *Ohr Hassadim* in order to correct themselves and ascend.

110. And sometimes these righteous appear as people in order to perform miracles, like celestial angels, just as we have seen the luminescence of the Upper Light, but did not merit to see and discover the wisdom's great secrets.

DID NOT MERIT TO DISCOVER THE WISDOM'S GREAT SECRETS—for the donkey driver had left them and disappeared. There are special souls that abide in the Supernal Garden of Eden. They have risen so high that the souls from the lower Garden of Eden ascend to them only on new moons and Sabbaths, and, being unable to stay there, immediately descend to their permanent place. However, they are nonetheless similar to human souls, which descend from the Supernal Garden of Eden to this world and meet people, just like the angels that seldom descend to this world.

Now they have seen the Light of the Supernal Luminary, the Light of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba that descended on them from the highest point, the Supernal Garden of Eden, and was revealed before them in this world (while they are still living in this world).

AS PEOPLE refers to the souls that abide in the lower Garden of Eden, which have the form of people, and the Light of the Supernal Garden of Eden influences them. They can receive this Light during their ascent on new moons and Sabbaths, whereupon they merit meeting the souls of the Supernal Garden of Eden, and then descend to their permanent place.

However, one may also say that the words AS PEOPLE refer to the people of our corporeal world, while the souls from the Supernal Garden of Eden sometimes descend to this world and, like exalted angels, appear before the eyes of the righteous.

111. Rabbi Aba opened and said: "And he who is doomed said to his wife, 'We shall die, for I have seen the Creator.' Even though he was not aware of his actions, as it is written, 'He did not know that it was an angel'; however,

since it is written, 'Man shall not see Me and live,' we know that he has died. And we have merited this great Light to accompany us, and the world exists because the Creator Himself sent him to us, to reveal the secrets of His Supernal wisdom to us. How joyous is our share!"

When the angel saw him who was doomed, he did not yet have the proper level of attainment; thus, the angel was unwilling to reveal his name. Yet, although he did not know and did not attain him, he still feared the words, "Man shall not see Me and live" (*Shemot*, 33:20).

But we have merited complete attainment, for we came to know his name, Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. And we live and exist in this world. It is therefore clear that the degree of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba is called "Show me Your glory" (*Shemot*, 33:18), Moshe's request of the Creator.

But the Creator replied: "You cannot see My face, for man shall not see Me and live." From this we see that they have attained more than Moshe. This state is described by sages as, "There was no prophet more exalted than Moshe, but there was a sage" (*Yalkut Shimoni*, the end). It is also written: "A sage is preferred to a prophet" (Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 12:1). Thus, they have spiritually ascended to merit the appearance of such an exalted soul, while still being in this world.

112. They walked and came to a mountain. The sun had set. The branches of the tree on that mountain started rattling and singing. As they were still walking, they heard a resounding voice proclaim, "Sons of the Holy Creator, dispersed among the living in this world, illuminated by the sons of the Assembly, gather in your places and rejoice with your Creator in the Torah." They grew frightened and stopped, then sat down.

"They came to a mountain" refers to the words of King David, who said (*Tehilim*, 24:3): "Who shall ascend the mountain of the Lord, and who shall stand in His holy place?" meaning who is worthy of it? After they climbed the mountain, the sun had set (the Light left the *Partzuf*). But they heard something from the trees, as it is written: "Then shall all the trees of the wood sing for joy" (*Tehilim*, 96:12).

They heard a voice that told them to return to their place, rejoice in the Creator and His Torah, and descend from the mountain. And it calls them by the name of that High Degree, which they've achieved. But it hints that people are not worthy of being at that degree and in this world simultaneously. Yet, although they were frightened, they remained on the mountain, sat down, and did not move. "Grew frightened," "stopped," and "sat down" are the spiritual states of the *Partzuf*.

We see how *The Zohar* explains the path of the righteous, those who cross the *Machsom* (the barrier that separates our world from the spiritual) and start ascending the rungs of the spiritual ladder. This path is diverse, and each book of the Torah describes it in its own way: the language of Kabbalah, legends, judicial laws, historical accounts of the Pentateuch, etc.. *The Zohar* draws a vivid picture for us—like a guidebook for those who will find themselves in the place of these exalted travelers in the spiritual world. Once there, you will see for yourselves what is implied by such notions as "mountain," "tree," and "voice." Then *The Zohar* will become your true guidebook!

It is impossible to provide a more detailed description of the *Partzufim*, i.e., an inner perception of one who ascends spiritually. This is because the reader must first have certain analogous sensations of his own. If one could see only once what the described content (or something similar) really means, one would be able to clearly imagine what it speaks of.

It is the same in our world: even if we have never been to a certain country, we can imagine what others describe to us by analogy with what we already know. But in this case, there is no analogy. One who sees the spiritual world for the first time realizes how wrong all of his previous visualizations have been! Hence, we can say nothing about many of the states described in *The Zohar*.

113. Meanwhile, a voice called out again, "O, mighty rocks, great hammers of thunder, *Bina* stands upon a pillar, so enter and assemble." At that moment, they heard the mighty voice of thousands of trees, which was saying, "The Creator's voice breaks the cedars." Both Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba fell down on their faces. Great fear fell upon them. They rose hastily and left, not hearing anything else, then came down the mountain and kept on walking.

It was previously said that they could not load their donkeys, meaning that they were unable to raise *MAN*, because Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba had already completed his helping mission. This is why they lost the power of their donkeys, and could not continue using them to raise *MAN* and merit Higher Degrees.

Therefore, Rabbi Elazar said earlier that they did not merit seeing and attaining the secrets of the Supernal wisdom. The fact is that after they attained the level of *Yechida*, i.e., revealed the soul of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada with the help of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, the disappearance of the screen (*Masach*) of *BON* caused the loss of *Masach de SAG*. Hence, they could no longer raise *MAN*.

The Light stopped descending to them from *Guf de Atik* specifically to give them the opportunity, or rather the strength to recreate *Masach de SAG*.

Consequently, *BON* will become like *SAG*, they will resume raising *MAN*, and will once more be able to ascend from degree to degree.

Hence, as soon as both Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba left their donkeys, they lost strength to raise *MAN* in order to bring *BON* back to the level of *SAG*. However, the voice proclaimed that they are as strong as rock and thunder, for so far they have endured all the trials. And they will gather strength to endure the mighty rocks and to overcome all the obstacles as before, until they obliterate these obstacles, like great hammers of thunder crashing down from Above.

Bina, though herself colorless, is called "the source of colors." This is because she is all mercy, whereas all the other properties originate specifically from her by enduring all the trials, like rocks. From all this, *Bina* receives new forms, hence she received the powers of a new screen onto which emerge all the new degrees and *Partzufim*.

Together with the voice that informed them of *Bina's* new powers, they heard another voice, "The Creator's voice breaks the cedars" (*Tehilim*, 29:5), which let them know that all the cedars (obstacles) on their path to higher attainments have been removed. This gave them strength to climb down the mountain and continue their path onto Higher Degrees.

114. Upon reaching the house of Rabbi Yosi, the son of Rabbi Shimon Ben Yosi Ben Lakunya, they saw Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai. They rejoiced. Rabbi Shimon rejoiced, too. He said to them, "You have traveled this path of Heavenly signs and wonders correctly, for as I was sleeping, I saw you and Benayahu Ben Yehoyada, who was sending you two crowns with an old man, so as to adorn you. I am certain that the Creator was on this path too, because I see how your faces have changed." Rabbi Yosi said, "Truly, it is said that a sage is preferred to a prophet." Rabbi Elazar came and put his head on the knees of his father, Rabbi Shimon, and told him of what had happened.

Here *The Zohar* gives an allegorical explanation of two states: first, they merited attaining the Light of *SAG* (called Rabbi Yosi) once more, and secondly, now *SAG* and *AB* join in a constant *Zivug*. We see this from their meeting with Rabbi Shimon, who signifies *Ohr Hochma*. In other words, they merited their *BON* returning and becoming like *SAG* in its constant and eternal *Zivug* with *AB*.

Benayahu Ben Yehoyada sent them two crowns through Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba: *Ohr Yechida*, called Benayahu Ben Yehoyada himself, and a new Light *AB-SAG*, which they have just attained. This Light also came to them by the powers of Benayahu Ben Yehoyada as a reward for overcoming all the trials, thanks to

which they, of all others, merited this degree, which is emanated from the great Light of his soul.

Hence, it follows that he sent them two crowns. However, all these descents on their spiritual path were not failures; rather, the Creator Himself was leading them to that High Degree, which they have now attained. This is why it is written: I AM CERTAIN THAT THE CREATOR WAS ON THIS PATH (with you). However, HOW YOUR FACES HAVE CHANGED, for you have attained something else, described by the phrase, A SAGE IS PREFERRED TO A PROPHET.

115. Rabbi Shimon was frightened and wept. He said, "I have heard the Creator and I am awed." This verse was spoken by the prophet Havakuk (Habakkuk), when he saw his death and his resurrection by Elisha. Why was he named Havakuk? Because it is written that at around this time there would be a *HOVVEK-ET*—a son will be embraced. For Havakuk was the son of the Shunamit. And there were two embraces: one from the mother and one from Elisha, as it is written, "He put his mouth to his."

First, it is unclear how the prophet Elisha could pass a seed in his blessing to the Shunamit, for this seed cannot exist (procreate). Indeed, Elisha was the greatest prophet after Moshe and his soul came from the Supernal Garden of Eden. Hence, his *BON* (in Hebrew, the words *Ben*—son and *BON* are spelled the same way: *Bet-Nun*) was already absolutely pure and perfect.

Therefore, when he passed his son to her, he tied him to the male side, whereas he tied Havakuk only to the female side. And since the female side, *Nukva*, is closer to the impure force, it clung itself to him, and he died. Thus, the reason for his death lies in the exalted level of the prophet, for his *BON* is pure and free from the clinging of impure forces.

Hence, the prophet prayed: "The Creator has hidden it from me and had not told me!" (*Melachim II*, 4:27). In other words, he had not the slightest clue that he could die by being connected only to *BON*. That is why it was necessary to return, revive, and attach him to the Upper World, to the resurrection of the dead.

The essence of the embryo is the white (*Ohr Hochma*) in it, as it is written (Talmud, *Nidah*, 31:1) that *Aba* (father) is *Hochma*, for *Hochma* is called "white," as it is said, "He made everything with *Hochma* (wisdom)" (*Tehilim*, 104). However, there is also a need for clothing in *Ohr Hassadim*, the intention "for the Creator's sake," as it is impossible to receive *Ohr Hochma*, the Light of Wisdom, attainment and delight, without the clothing of *Ohr Hassadim*, without an altruistic intention.

So the mother must provide the red, the screen, which provides *Ohr Hassadim*, required for the clothing of *Ohr Hochma* in it. As a result of the *Ohr Hassadim* embracing (clothing, enveloping) *Ohr Hochma* in itself, an embryo can exist. And here the embryo's entire embrace came only from the mother, the Shunamit, i.e., only from the female side (*BON*).

Hence, when Elisha revived him, he gave him the white (*Hochma*) and the red (*Hassadim*) once more. It follows that it was Elisha himself who embraced him the second time. It is hence said that there were two Havakuks (from the word *Hibuk*—embrace): one from the mother and the other from Elisha.

116. I have discovered in the book of King Solomon that the name Havakuk consists of seventy-two names. Elisha created it with words. Each word consists of three letters, for the letters of the alphabet that the Father confirmed to him initially flew away when he died. But Elisha embraced him and confirmed in him all these letters in his seventy-two names. In all, there are 216 letters in his seventy-two names, three letters in each.

The embryo is built of 216 = *RYU* (*Reish* = 200 + *Yod* = 10 + *Vav* = 6) letters, designating *Ohr Hochma*, which descends to *YESHSUT*. This means that the embryo has *RYU* letters, which amounts to the *Gematria* of *RE'IYAH* = *Reish-Aleph-Yod-Hey*, i.e., the Light of vision. *Re'iyah* means vision in Hebrew, and vision is possible only in *Ohr Hochma*, for "seeing" means "attaining," and the Light of the eyes is the Light of *Hochma*.

When a growing *Partzuf* attains *Gadlut*, receives the clothing of *Ohr Hassadim* of the Upper World from *AVI*, and *RYU* clothe in *Ohr Hassadim*, this *Partzuf* is called *AB* (72) names, as each three letters join into one and *RYU* = 216 letters turn into *AB* = seventy-two groups with three letters in each group, or *AB* = seventy-two names.

When *Ohr Hassadim*, the clothing of the *Partzuf*, comes only from the lower world, it is defined as *RYU* = 216 letters. And when it attains *AB*, *Hassadim* of the Upper World, each three letters form a group, and this results in *AB* = seventy-two names, as it is written, HE CONFIRMED IN HIM ALL THESE LETTERS. When Elisha revived Havakuk, the son of the Shunamit, he created the name Havakuk, *AB* = seventy-two letters from *RYU* = 216, for he gave him *Ohr Hassadim* of the Upper World from *AB*.

Because of it, all 216 letters made groups of three and formed three lines from Above downwards: right, left and middle. A cell made of three letters—the right, left, and middle lines, situated horizontally (referring to the same screen and type of *Kli*)—is regarded as one. Therefore, *AB* (seventy-two) letters is used

instead of *AB* (seventy-two) names, because each letter is considered to include three, merged into one. When *Ohr Hochma* enters these seventy-two cells, the *Partzuf* is called *AB* and is said to have the complete Light of *Hochma*.

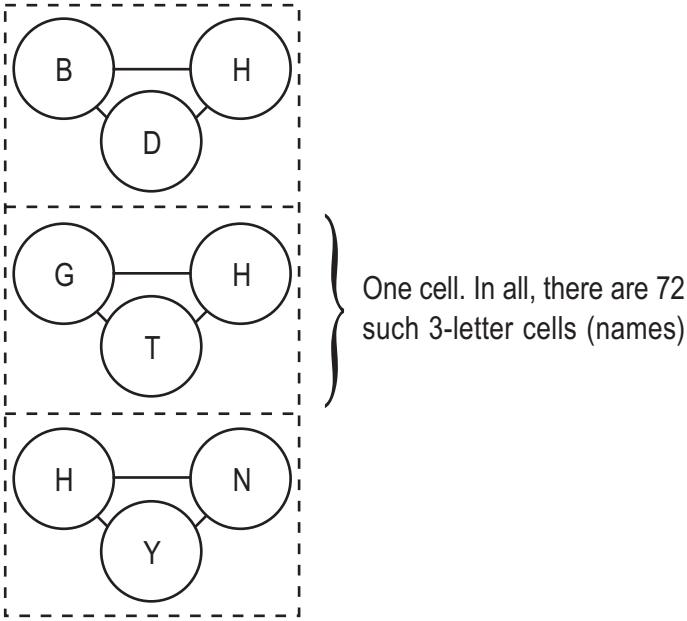

Ohr Hassadim is the Light that brings peace in the state of the *Partzuf* at a given moment, for its property is not to wish anything for itself, but to bestow. However, *Ohr Hassadim* received from the lower world is merely comfort "for want of something better," whereas *Ohr Hassadim* received from the Upper World creates such a powerful property of "bestowal" that the *Partzuf* receives *Ohr Hochma*, thereby showing that although it has *Ohr Hochma*, it still prefers *Ohr Hassadim*.

This is similar to a person in our world, who says that he needs nothing. Yet, there is a distinction: does he say this in a state when he has nothing and can have everything he wants, but still wishes to restrict himself to bare essentials and to give away the rest?

Therefore, when the growing *Partzuf* (the son—*BON*) had only *Ohr Hassadim* from the lower world, it could not receive *Ohr Hochma* in it, and was thus called *RYU* letters. But since the impure forces still cling to them and tempt the *Partzuf* to receive *Ohr Hochma* for itself, *Ohr Hochma* cannot be clothed within them.

These *RYU* letters that Havakuk had since the day of his birth FLEW AWAY WHEN HE DIED. Hence, it was essential to give him *RYU* letters and *AB* names once more. And Elisha did just that by HIS SPIRIT, for he was obliged

to recreate in him *RYU* letters in order to combine them into *AB* cells with the help of the Upper *Hassadim* (combine everything into three lines), when everything unites into *AB* names.

117. Elisha confirmed all of these letters in the soul of Havakuk so as to revive him by the letters of the seventy-two names. And he called him Havakuk, for that is his complete name, which describes all of his properties, as it alludes to two Havakuks and to the 216 letters of the Holy Name, as the *Gematria* (numerical value) of the name Havakuk is 216, from which the seventy-two names were formed. By *AB* names he revived him and brought his spirit back, and by *RYU* letters he revived his body and let it live. This is why he is called Havakuk.

Havakuk = *Chet* + *Bet* + *Kuf* + *Vav* + *Kuf* = 8 + 2 + 100 + 6 + 100 = 216. The word Havakuk indicates two embraces (*Hibukim*, plural for *Hibuk*). Like all Hebrew names, it refers to the property of its bearer. For instance, Yaakov is derived from "*Akev*" ("got around" Esav), and Avraham signifies *Av* —father, *Am*—of the nation).

The first embrace came from *Ima*, but it did not yet allow *Ohr Hochma* into the *Partzuf*, into *RYU* letters, for the impure force clings to the red in *Ima*. But then Elisha embraced him with *Hassadim* of the Upper World that came from *AVI*. This united the letters into groups (names), and *Ohr Hochma* entered and filled these names permanently, since the impure force cannot cling to *Hassadim* of the Upper World.

As in the above example, even if all the *Ohr Hochma* were to be offered, the *Partzuf*, upon receiving protection in the form of a desire for *Hassadim* of the Upper World, receives such great strength (desire) to bestow that it never wants *Hochma*. This is precisely why *Hochma* can fill it for all eternity.

Therefore, the name Havakuk denotes two *Chibukim* (embraces): one from the mother and one from Elisha, thereby imparting him with perfection from all sides: from both the *Ohr Hochma* and the *Ohr Hassadim*. "Embraces" signify *Ohr Hassadim* that stems from *AVI*, and *Ohr Hochma* received within *Ohr Hassadim* is called "the secrets of *RYU*."

It is hence written that HE REVIVED HIS SPIRIT BY *AB* NAMES AND HIS BODY BY *RYU* LETTERS. And he was revived by Elisha's embrace, for *RYU* letters had formed names, that is, the three lines, in which *Ohr Hochma* could be received, thanks to the reception of *Ohr Hassadim* from *AVI* (the Upper World).

The impure forces (man's egoistic desires) cannot attack in this Light. Hence, death (the result of receiving *Ohr Hochma* for oneself) does not exist.

Subsequently, he receives *Ohr Hochma*, which yields the complete correction of his *Guf*.

However, the *Partzuf* (son of the Shunamit) had *RYU* letters from the moment of birth, and they left him when he died. Then why is he called Havakuk (two embraces)? After all, the first embrace of *Ima* (mother) left him the moment of his death, and Elisha revived him from death by embracing him only once. Thus, does he not contain only the embrace of Elisha?

The thing is that Elisha has given him nothing new at the time of resurrection, except for the embrace, the Light from the Supernal *Ima*—*SAG*, whose Light evokes the resurrection of the dead. And *RYU* letters were simply revived by his lower mother—*BON*. These are the same *RYU* of *BON* with which he was born. Otherwise, it would have been an entirely new soul, of which one would not have been able to say that it was dead and then resurrected.

Therefore, now he truly has two embraces, for the first one has now been revived as well, when *BON* ascended to *SAG*. And since *BON* is in the place of *SAG*, his *Hassadim* are regarded as those of the Supernal Mother. They completely neutralize the impure forces and death, for their properties (desires) are only of bestowal, which the impure force cannot bear. Thus, they can no longer tempt man. This is why he is called Havakuk, after the action of the two embraces.

118. He said, "I have heard the Creator and I am awed by His Name." I have heard of what I had and have had a taste of the other world at the moment of death, before Elisha resurrected him, and I am awed. He began asking for mercy for his soul. He said, "O, Creator, the deeds that You have performed for me throughout the years were my life." And whoever connects to the past years (the name of the *Sefirot* of *Atik*), connects to life. Throughout the years, bestow life upon the degree that has no life of its own, upon *Malchut de Malchut*.

His fear comes from the past, previous states, for now he has become perfect on all his sides, and therefore fear has no place. This fear remained from the past, when he left the world. This describes the state between death and resurrection. However, he continues receiving fear from the past state, so it would help him create a screen for raising *MAN*. It is precisely this fear from past times (states) that stimulates him to raise *MAN* (request for mercy).

This is the secret of the future screen, after *BON* becomes *SAG*. For then "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8), and there will be no force evoking fear of death and suffering or able to cause harm to one's purity and holiness. Hence, there will be no need to shun, no one to beware of or avoid.

So if one has attained such an exalted spiritual state, where could he possibly acquire fear? After all, he will not be able to ascend without it! Only if he takes fear from his past states! For the *Partzuf* retains the memories, records, recollections of past states, even after its ascent to *SAG*, when *BON* become like *SAG*.

If not for the recollections of fear from the past states, the *Partzuf* would not have been able to create a screen in a state when it has nothing left to fear. While explaining this, Rabbi Shimon told them of Havakuk, to teach them how to acquire fear, just as Havakuk did by taking fear from the past.

THE DEEDS THAT YOU HAVE PERFORMED... THROUGHOUT THE YEARS... WERE MY LIFE—because he lived through two periods: the years preceding his death and the years following his resurrection. Between these two periods, there was a state of exiting this world, death (during which he existed in the other world). That is to say, because I remember the time of my death, I thereby connect to life of the Upper World, which Elisha bestowed by resurrecting me.

ZAT de Atik is called the "past (sometimes ancient) years," since they receive their Light from *Malchut* of the world of *AK*, *Malchut* of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. However, *ZAT de Atik* do not shine upon the lower *Partzufim* and worlds with their Light of *Tzimtzum Aleph*. *ZAT de Atik* shine downward during the 6,000 years with diminished Light, restricting it according to the laws of *Tzimtzum Bet*. Only at the end of correction will they begin to pass down all of their Light. It is written in the Torah that the Light that *Atik* had passed during the 6,000 years is designated with the small letter *Hey* in the word Avraham.

However, because Havakuk's death has purified him completely, since at the end of correction he merited merging with the "past years" of *Atik*, he received the required strength in Elisha's embraces and resurrection. It is hence written that after he has purified himself and felt fear at the moment of his death, the power of this fear enabled him to establish contact with *ZAT de Atik* and receive the Light called "eternal life."

For having purified himself through death, *BON* received complete correction, upon ascending and becoming *SAG* at the time of death. Subsequently, it reaches the degree of *Malchut de Malchut*, a *Zivug* on which can only be made at the end of correction, and attains this degree, the Light of his life.

119. Rabbi Shimon wept and said: "And I have seen from the Creator what I have heard." He raised his hands above his head, and said: "But you have merited seeing Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, the Light of the Torah, face to face, while I have not." He fell on his face and saw him who uproots mountains and

lights candles in the Temple of the King (*Mashiach*). He said to him, "Rabbi, in the other world we shall be neighbors with the heads of the assemblies before the Creator." From here on, he called his son Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba by the name Pnei'el (the face of God), as it is written: "For I have seen the Creator face to face."

He praised himself for using the same fear from the past, just like Prophet Havakuk.

All corrections are already ready and waiting in the hall of the King (*Mashiach*), down to the very last detail. They must all be revealed at the end of all corrections, with the appearance of the King. And the souls in that hall are those who merited completion of their individual corrections, for there is an individual correction and a general one.

Malchut de Malchut is the only creation, and it is divided into parts called souls. These parts merge with people of our world, and each of them, while existing within man, must attain one's own correction, i.e., gradually replace one's properties (desires) with those of the Creator. This is considered the soul's individual or personal correction. So then, the souls that have attained their individual correction reach and exist in the state called "abiding in the hall of the King-*Mashiach*."

The Light in that hall (the Light of the Torah), also called Hamnuna-Saba, completely liberates man from the impure forces, i.e., purifies him from all his primordial egoistic desires and corrects *Malchut de Malchut*, which "appears to the righteous as a high mountain" (Talmud, *Sota*, 52). This correction is made by creating a new *SAG*-like screen with the purpose of raising *MAN* (the request for final correction). *MAN* is called *Me'orei Esh* (sparkles of fire), as it is written: "Man's soul is the Creator's candle" (*Mishley*, 20:27).

The light of the sun designates the Light's descent, *MAD*, just as sunlight descends upon us from Above, whereas a fire's flame signifies *Ohr Hozer* that rises from below upwards, like candlelight. *The Zohar* therefore says that these two corrections, aimed at destroying the impure forces and ascending to light the candles in the hall of the King-*Mashiach*, are in the hands of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba.

And the perfect righteous in need of these two final corrections merit receiving them only through revealing the soul of Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba. And he stated that they (the disciples of Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba) will merit the honor of serving in the hall of the King-*Mashiach* after their death, and will become his neighbors and the heads of the Creator's Assembly.

The Two Points

120. Rabbi Chiya began and opened, "The beginning of *Hochma* (wisdom) is fear of the Creator, and those who observe this rule receive all the goodness." He asks, "The beginning of wisdom? One should rather say that the end of wisdom is the fear of the Creator, for fear of the Creator is the property of *Malchut*, which is at the end of *Hochma* (wisdom)." He replies, "Yet, *Malchut* is the beginning of the entrance to the degrees of reception of the Supernal wisdom." Hence, it is written, "Open to me the gates of justice," meaning that the gates of *Malchut*, called "justice," are the Creator's gates. And if man does not enter these gates he shall not reach the Supernal King through any other, for He is concealed and detached, and has erected many gates on the path to Him.

Fear of the Creator is the *Sefira Malchut*. Yet, how can *Malchut* serve as an entrance if she is the last of the ten *Sefirot*? Indeed, she may be called the end of *Hochma* or of a *Partzuf*, but not the beginning. However, this is not an allegorical expression, but the essence itself, for HE IS CONCEALED AND DETACHED and no thought of man can attain Him. Hence, He has put up many gates ON THE PATH TO HIM, and thanks to these gates He grants sufferers the opportunity to draw closer to him, the opportunity for attainment.

This is precisely what the verse, "Open to me the gates of justice," (*Tehilim*, 118) alludes to; these are the very gates that the Creator made, through which people can come to Him. HOWEVER, AT THE END OF ALL THE GATES ERECTED A SPECIAL GATE WITH MANY LOCKS. This gate is *Malchut de Malchut*, the ultimate point of all creation, the ultimate point of all Supernal gates.

And this last gate (from Above downwards) is the first gate to Supernal wisdom (from below upwards), for it is impossible to attain the Supernal *Hochma*

(wisdom) without attaining precisely this final gate, as it is the first gate with regard to attainment of the Supernal wisdom. It is therefore written (*Tehilim*, 111:10): "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom," as fear of the Creator is called the final gate, which stands first on the path to Supernal attainment.

121. And at the end of all the gates He erected a special gate with several locks, several entrances, and several chambers, one atop of the other. And He said, "Whoever wishes to reach Me, let this be the first gate on his way to Me. Whoever enters through this gate—will enter." Only this is the first gate to the Supernal wisdom, the gate of fear of the Creator, *Malchut*, which is hence called "beginning."

The locks, entrances, and chambers are three successive processes of attainment, of realizing the spiritual in one's inner sensation. The thought that created the world was the Creator's thought to make a creation (the human soul) in order to fill it with delight. However, it is impossible to feel delight as long as one is removed from the Creator, for He is the only One in existence. And He has created us in such a way that the nearer we come to Him, the greater delight we feel, whereas the farther we are from Him, the more we suffer.

Those of us who live in and perceive only this world can only accept the above words on faith or reject them. However, Kabbalists, who ascend spiritually and draw closer to the Creator, make these assertions and describe their attainments for us. And as to how and when we shall travel the same path to the Creator and attain complete unity with Him, this depends on us alone. However, regardless of whether we want to or not, we will need to travel the entire path from our world to complete unity with the Creator while still existing in this body, during one of our lifetimes in this world. This is the purpose of creation, and until it is fulfilled, man must reincarnate and return to this world, as the sages said: "The Creator wished to dwell in the lower ones."

Our world is built completely opposite from the Creator, as it was created in the property of egoistic will to receive pleasure, and this property is the exact antithesis to the Creator's property (desire) to delight us. Additionally, there is no trace of a will to receive pleasure in the Creator Himself.

It is hence said about a person in our world: "Man is born akin to a wild ass" (*Iyov*, 11:12). Therefore, to those who live in this world, the Creator's governance seems completely opposite to the purpose of creation—to delight the creatures. After all, that is how we perceive His rule over us, and feel the surrounding world in our egoistic sensations.

According to the Creator's plan, one must correct his egoistic desires and make them altruistic, whereupon the Creator fulfills them with supernal, absolute delight (to the extent of their correction). Until one attains this state, he continues to suffer from his desire to enjoy either this world or the spiritual.

These sensations are called "gate locks," for all the numerous contradictions to the oneness of the Creator's actions that we feel in this world separate us from the Creator and prevent us from drawing closer to Him. However, when we exert to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* with love, with our heart and soul, as devotedly as it was prescribed for us, with the sole intention of pleasing the Creator and without any benefit for ourselves, all of the forces that separate us from Him and every contradiction that we overcome on our path to Him becomes a gate of attainment of His Supernal wisdom, of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because every contradiction reveals its own uniqueness in the attainment of the Creator's governance.

Thus, those very questions and contradictions, which initially seemed to prevent us from accepting the oneness of the Creator's governance, then turn into knowledge, thanks to which we come to understand and attain the oneness of His governance.

And those who merit this transform darkness into Light (within themselves) and bitterness into sweetness. This is how they feel their attainments—in precisely those past sensations of darkness and bitterness. For the forces that repel us from the Creator, that form our minds and are perceived by the body as bitter turn into gates of attainment of Supernal Degrees. This way, darkness becomes Light and bitterness becomes sweetness.

And the more negative the Creator's governance is first perceived, the deeper man eventually comes to realize the perfection of His governance. At last, the entire world ends up on the scale of merit, for every force and insight now serve as *SHAAREY TZEDEK* (the gates of truth), through which one can enter and receive from the Creator everything that He intended to bestow at the Thought of Creation. Thus, it is written about such contradictions that turn into realization of unity: "These are the gates to the Creator; the righteous shall enter them" (*Tehilim*, 118:20).

Hence, until one merits turning his will "to receive for himself" into the will "to receive for the Creator" with the help of the Torah and *Mitzvot*, all the gates to the Creator have sturdy locks (the sensation of imperfection in the Creator's governance), as they then play their opposite role: to distance and turn one away

from the Creator. And they are called locks, for they lock the gates of contact with the Creator and distance us from Him.

However, if we make efforts to overcome them so they stop influencing us and weakening our love for the Creator, we will thus turn these locks into entrances, darkness into Light, and bitterness into sweetness. This is because for every lock we receive a special degree of attainment of the Creator. These degrees become entrances that lead to the degrees of sensation of the Creator Himself. And the degrees themselves turn into halls or chambers of wisdom.

Thus, we see that locks, entrances, and chambers constitute the three types of perception of one material, our will to receive or egoism. Indeed, before we turn the egoistic desire to receive into reception (of pleasure) for the Creator's sake, altruism, this material transforms Light into darkness and sweetness into bitterness, in accordance with our (egoistic) taste. In other words, egoism finds suffering in the same types of influence that bring pleasure to altruism. Therefore, to perceive the Light (delight) that surrounds us, we only need to change our senses. But until we do, this Light will be perceived by us as darkness and suffering.

Initially, whatever examples of the Creator's governance we see, they distance us from Him. This is because we perceive them negatively; at that very moment, our egoism (will to receive pleasure) begets locks. However, once we transform our desires to "reception for the Creator's sake," these locks become entrances, and entrances turn into chambers—vessels of wisdom, *Ohr Hochma*.

As we already know, the end of all the degrees, i.e., the very last degree, below which nothing can possibly exist, is called *Malchut de Malchut*. To attain Supernal wisdom, one must first overcome this last gate, which turns into the first gate to ascend from below upwards, toward the chamber of Supernal wisdom, the *Sefira Hochma*. All gates become entrances and chambers of the Creator's wisdom. This is why it is written, IN THE BEGINNING (the first words in the Torah), for IN THE BEGINNING signifies fear of the Creator, the last gate (*Malchut*), which becomes the first on the path to attainment of the Supernal wisdom.

122. The letter *Bet* in the word *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING) indicates that the two are joined together in *Malchut*. Both are points: one is concealed, while the other is revealed. However, since there's no division between them, they are called THE BEGINNING, which signifies only one, rather than two, for he who takes one, takes the other as well, and all is one,

for He and His Name are one, as it is written, "And you shall know that this is the Creator's only name."

The Hebrew letter *Bet* has a numerical value of two, indicating two points. These two points symbolize the correction of the egoistic point of *Malchut*, onto which the point of mercy (*Bina*) imposes a restriction of use. Correction is achieved when *Malchut* (strictness) ascends to *Bina* (mercy), as it is written, "So they both walked" (*Rut*, 1:19), i.e., *Bina* and *Malchut*. Hence, the screen in *Malchut* consists of both points, and they are thereby joined together as one.

It is explained in *Megilat Rut* (*The Book of Ruth*) how *Malchut* (Ruth) merges with *Bina* (Naomi), which then leads to the correction of *Malchut* and the birth of David, the first King (the word King (*Melech*) is derived from *Malchut* (kingdom) of Israel).

HOWEVER, ONE IS CONCEALED, WHILE THE OTHER IS REVEALED, for the judgment in the point of *Malchut* is concealed, whereas only the property of mercy in the point of *Bina* is revealed. Otherwise, the world could not exist, as it is written, "In the beginning, He created the world with the property of judgment, but seeing that it cannot exist, He attached to it the property of mercy" (*Beresheet Raba*, item 1).

Although the restriction is concealed, this does not mean that a *Zivug* is not made on it, since these two points merge into one, and the point of *Malchut* receives a *Zivug* together with the point of *Bina*, though it participates in it secretly. Therefore, it is written, IN THE BEGINNING, for the word "beginning" indicates one point, which includes two that are as one.

Because *Malchut* participates with *Bina* in all the *Zivugim* that are made during the 6,000 years (albeit secretly), she corrects herself to such an extent that at the end of all the corrections, even her property of restriction is corrected, and she acquires the property of *Bina*. It is written of this state that on that day He and His Name will be one.

Since the property of restriction is also concealed within the letter *Bet* of the word *BERESHEET* (in the beginning), this property is called *RESHEET* (first) in *Hochma* (wisdom). However, the correction of this property occurs only at the end of corrections, when the Supernal wisdom is revealed, as the prophet said: "For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Creator" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9). This is because the last gate will become the first. Hence, it is written, "That they may know that it is Thou alone whose name is the Lord, the Most High over all the earth," (*Tehilim*, 83:19) for the Creator's wisdom will be revealed in our world to all.

123. Why is *Malchut* called "fear of the Creator?" It is because *Malchut* is the Tree of Good and Evil: If man merits, it is good, but if he does not, it is evil. This is why fear dwells in that place. And this gate leads to all the goodness that exists in the world. ALL THE GOODNESS signifies two gates, two points that are as one. Rabbi Yosi said that ALL THE GOODNESS refers to the Tree of Life, for it is entirely good and completely without evil. And because it is without evil, it is entirely good, without evil.

It is written of the last gate: THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM IS FEAR OF THE CREATOR. So why is it called "fear of the Creator?" Because this is the secret of the Tree of Knowledge, by which Adam sinned, for the use of that point (egoistic desires) is punishable by death (disappearance of the Light). And great fear is needed to refrain from touching (using) it before all the other desires have been corrected. Nevertheless, at the end of correction, when even this point is completely corrected, death will cease to exist for all eternity. That is why it is called "fear."

The Creator created one creation—the egoistic *Malchut*. The goal of creation is to fill her with the Creator's Light using an altruistic intention. As a result, *Malchut* merges with the Creator and receives limitless delight.

Malchut, the only creation, consists of five parts: *KHB ZA-M*. Her parts *KHB ZA*, excluding *Malchut de Malchut*, have altruistic properties, which they received from the Light.

As a result of her decision to refrain from receiving Light into egoistic desires, called *Tzimtzum Aleph* (the first restriction), *Malchut* receives the Light only in her first four desires: *KHB-ZA*. *Malchut de Malchut* remains inaccessible to the Light. So how can she be corrected?

To correct *Malchut de Malchut's* properties (desires), the Creator creates the conditions under which *Bina* and *Malchut* mix, and consequently, *Malchut* acquires the properties of *Bina*.

This process needs to occur more than once, so that all of *Malchut's* parts will be mixed with *Bina*. Every time it takes place in an increasingly deeper layer of *Malchut*, it is called the breaking of holiness, for *Bina* descends and passes her properties to *Malchut*, but she herself breaks during this mixing, as though losing her altruistic properties.

Thus, we can conclude that all the shattering of vessels, the breaking of Adam's soul, the ruin of the First and Second Temples, and other spiritual disasters take place not as punishment, for punishment (as we understand it)

does not exist in the spiritual, but only so as to enable the altruistic desires of *Bina* penetrate deeper into the egoistic desires of *Malchut*.

The last point of *Malchut*, the yet uncorrected *Malchut de Malchut*, is that very point the use of which is punishable by death (the Light's disappearance is considered death). It is forbidden to use *Malchut de Malchut* until all the other properties of *Malchut* (*KHB-ZA*) have been fully corrected. Or rather, if man refrains from using egoism (the point of *Malchut de Malchut*), and uses only his other altruistic desires, he gradually constructs a "non-reception" screen on *Malchut de Malchut*.

Having filled all of his corrected desires with Light, man achieves the end of correction—of what he could correct by himself. As soon as that happens, i.e., as soon as one receives the Light in all of his soul's first nine *Sefirot* (*KHB-ZA*, excluding *Malchut*), the Light called *Mashiach* descends from Above, which imparts *Malchut de Malchut* with the altruistic property of bestowal, of acting for the Creator's sake. This concludes the entire correction process of man's soul, and he attains complete unity with the Creator. The Creator's goal is for man to attain this state while still living in our world and in his physical body, to combine all the worlds, spiritual and material, within himself.

AND THIS GATE LEADS TO ALL THE GOODNESS, for there is nothing better than the revelation of the Supernal wisdom in the world, included in the Thought of Creation. And since fear of the Creator is the last gate to the Supernal wisdom, it also constitutes the gate to all the goodness.

THESE TWO GATES ARE AS ONE refers to the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are united in the letter *Bet* of the word *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING), the first word in the Torah. And the two points are mentioned because they allude to the state following the correction, when these two points are called "the two gates," for both turn out to be good and free from evil, thereby bringing man only perfect goodness.

Nevertheless, until the end of correction, one must strain to separate within him the desires that refer to the point of *Bina* from those that refer to the point of *Malchut*, to reject the desires of *Malchut*, and, in defiance of egoism, use the desires of *Bina*. During man's work on self-correction, called "6,000 years," these two points are referred to as "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil."

RABBI YOSI SAID—Rabbi Yosi does not object to the words of Rabbi Chiya. They are talking about two different states: Rabbi Chiya alludes to a state past the end of correction of *Malchut*, when both points become a gate, and there is no more evil within them. And Rabbi Yosi explains a state in the correction

process, when the two points, *Bina* and *Malchut*, exist within us as our Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Hence, he tells us that ALL THE GOODNESS IS (can only be found in) THE TREE OF LIFE.

ZA filled with the Light of *Ima-Bina* is called "The Tree of Life," for he possesses only good properties. And the two points of good and evil, *Bina* and *Malchut*, remain within *Malchut* until the end of correction; hence, *Malchut* is called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil."

124. To all those who act, it is the faithful mercy of David that upholds the Torah. Those who keep the Torah seemingly create it themselves. All those who study the Torah—there is no action in them as they study, but those who keep the Torah—in them there is action. And the world exists by this force, eternal are the wisdom and the Torah, and the throne stands just as it should stand.

It was previously said that fear of the Creator constitutes the last gate, though it is the first gate to the Supernal wisdom. It turns out that ALL THOSE WHO STUDY THE TORAH have already corrected the last gate, and the two points become for them two entrances, all goodness without evil. Hence, it is said that THERE IS NO ACTION IN THEM, i.e., no analysis of good and evil, for they have already corrected everything.

However, those who have not yet reached the end of correction are referred to as those who keep the Torah. There is action in them, for they have not yet corrected good and evil in everyone's Tree of Good and Evil—not everyone has realized in one's inner tree (in all of one's properties) what is good and what is evil with regard to the spiritual truth.

It is therefore said that THOSE WHO KEEP THE TORAH SEEMINGLY CREATE IT THEMSELVES. As a result of man's effort to refrain from their use, all the distracting and impeding forces (thoughts and desires) of the point of *Malchut* become gates, all the locks become entrances, and all the entrances become chambers of wisdom filled with *Ohr Hochma*.

It follows that all the wisdom and the entire Torah become revealed only through the efforts of those who keep the Torah. Hence, they SEEMINGLY CREATE IT THEMSELVES. The forces of good and evil are combined within them, and they become those who keep the Torah, for the Torah is revealed thanks to their inner work of separating and correcting good and evil.

Such people are called "those who act," for they seemingly create the Torah by themselves. After all, without perceiving the Creator (The Torah, Light) as concealed, and then overcoming this concealment, thereby turning it into gates, entrances, and chambers the Torah could never have been revealed.

The perfection of the Creator's actions lies in the fact that by creating man so paltry (with such insignificant egoistic desires, completely opposite to the Creator in his properties, and utterly powerless to change himself), the Creator gave man an opportunity to become like Him (in properties, greatness, and the sensation of creating himself), to create within and by himself all of the worlds and the Torah. By revealing the Light, it is as though man actually creates it.

Thus, since these individuals reveal the Torah, they are regarded as its creators. The word is SEEMINGLY used to indicate that the Torah was created before the creation of our world (Talmud, *Pesachim*, 54:1), and of course, it is the work of the Creator Himself. Yet, without the good deeds of those who keep the Torah, it would not have been revealed to the world. Hence, they are regarded as the makers and creators of the Torah.

The wisdom and the Torah are eternal; that is, they exist even after the end of correction, for fear of the Creator is needed even then. However, once the entire egoism is corrected, there is no place from which to take this fear, for the Tree of Good and Evil becomes only good, and can no longer furnish fear of the Creator.

However, because they received fear in the past, they can continue using it in the present, after the end of correction, when there is nothing left to fear, as there are no restrictions in *Malchut*. And the only reason they can do so is that during the correction they worked on creating within them the sensation of the Creator's absolute rule and the eternity of the Torah. And since this fear is never-ending, the Creator's throne remains forever standing in their attainment.

The Night of the Bride

125. Rabbi Shimon was sitting and studying the Torah on the night when the Bride, *Malchut*, unites with her husband, *Zeir Anpin*. And all the friends present in the bridal chamber on that night, the eve of the holiday of *Shavuot* (Pentecost), must stand together with the bridegroom under the *Huppah* (wedding canopy), and be with him this whole night, and rejoice with him in the corrections of the Bride, i.e., study the Torah, then Prophets, then Holy Scriptures, and finally the wisdom, for these corrections are the Bride's adornments. And the Bride receives corrections, adorns herself with them, and rejoices with them all of that night. And on the next day, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, she only comes to the *Huppah* together with them. And her friends, who studied the Torah all night long, are called the sons of the *Huppah*. And as she approaches the *Huppah*, the Creator asks about them, blesses and adorns them with the Bride's adornments. Happy are those who merit this!

All the days of exile are called night, for this is when the Creator's face is concealed from Israel, as the impure forces rule and separate His loyal servants from Him. Yet, this is the time when the bride unites with her husband (in Hebrew, "husband" and "master" are the same word, so one must keep in mind the second meaning of the word as well). The *Huppah* is a wedding canopy, under which the ritual of union between a bride and a bridegroom (their merging in a *Zivug*) takes place.

The union between the bride and her husband (*The Zohar* uses the word "husband" instead of "bridegroom") occurs thanks to the Torah and *Mitzvot* (commandments) of the righteous, referred to as "those who keep the Torah." And all the Supernal Degrees, called "secrets of the Torah," become revealed thanks to them alone, for they are also called MAKERS (as though CREATING the Torah itself), as is described in item 124. Therefore, the time of exile is called the NIGHT WHEN THE BRIDE UNITES WITH HER HUSBAND. AND

ALL THE FRIENDS, THE SONS OF THE BRIDE'S JOY, ARE CALLED THOSE WHO KEEP THE TORAH.

And after THE END OF CORRECTION and complete deliverance, of which the prophet Zachariah writes (14:7): "And there shall be one day, which shall be known to the Creator, neither day nor night, but it shall come to pass come evening time: there shall be light." THE NEXT DAY, THE BRIDE AND HER HUSBAND ENTER THE *HUPPAH*, for *BON* will become like *SAG* and *MA* will be like *AB* (see item 64).

This state is therefore defined as the next day and a new *Huppah*. Whereas at this time (in this state), the righteous are called SONS OF THE *HUPPAH*, in whom there is no action, for then, as it is written: "They shall not do evil upon My holy mountain, for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Creator, as waters cover the sea" (*Yeshayahu*, 11: 9).

And since these righteous elevated *BON* to *SAG* by their actions, i.e., made its properties similar to those of *SAG*, they are considered to have made a new *Huppah*, they are called "sons of the *Huppah*."

The night of *Shavuot* (Pentecost) is when THE BRIDE UNITES WITH HER HUSBAND, for the *Huppah* takes place on the next day, the day of *Shavuot*, the day of the reception of the Torah. On that day, all of creation achieves the state of the end of correction, as it is said: "He will swallow up death forever; and the Creator Himself will wipe away the tears off all faces" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8).

The Torah describes this state as "engraved upon the scrolls" (*Shemot*, 32:16). In Hebrew, the word "engraved" is *Harut*, but it should be pronounced *Herut* (freedom), freedom from the angel of death. However, the sin of the golden calf followed and the High Degree was lost. Since *Shavuot* is the day when the Torah was received, it is also regarded as the end of correction.

Therefore, all the necessary preparations (the corrections carried out during the concealment period) are completed beforehand, on the night before the holiday of *Shavuot*. This night is hence defined as the night when the bride unites with her husband so as to enter the *Huppah* the following day, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, when all the corrections are completed and liberated from the angel of death, thanks to the actions of the righteous, who erect a new *Huppah*.

All of the bride's friends, those who keep the Torah, also called "sons of the bridal chamber," must be merged with the *Shechina-Malchut* (the bride) all of that night, called "exile." Only then do their acts in the Torah and *Mitzvot*

correct and purify the good in her from the taint of evil, so she would emerge with the properties that contain only good, without evil.

Hence, those who keep the Torah should rejoice together with the bride for all the great corrections that they've made in her. Then they joyously continue with their corrections in THE TORAH, then in PROPHETS and finally in the HOLY SCRIPTURES. All the degrees and revelations of the secrets of the Torah, which make up the framework of the *Shechina* herself at the end of her correction, are made exclusively by the righteous, who keep the Torah during the exile.

Therefore, all the degrees that emerge at the time (state) of the exile are called the bride's corrections and adornments from the Torah, Prophets and Holy Scriptures, for *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, and *Tifferet* constitute the Torah, *Sefirot Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Yesod* are the Prophets, and *Malchut* is the Holy Scriptures. The Light of *VAK* is called *Midrashim* and the Light of *GAR* is called "the secrets of the Torah." And all these corrections must be made in *Malchut* (the bride) on the night when she completes her corrections (precisely in the darkness of exile from the spiritual does man carry out the work of his inner correction).

It is known that the end of correction does not bring anything new or that was previously unknown. Rather, all the *MAN* and *MAD*, along with all degrees and *Zivugim* that have emerged consecutively during the 6,000 years will merge into one degree and become corrected with the help of the Light of *Atik*.

The bride will then enter her *Huppah*, and THE CREATOR WILL ASK ABOUT EVERYONE, about every man who had even once raised *MAN* for the Supernal, final *Zivug*. For the Creator waits for all the small *Zivugim* to assemble, as though asking about and waiting for each of them. And when they've gathered, a great *Zivug* will unfold, called *RAV PAALIM U MEKABTZIEL* (HE WHO BLESSES AND ADORNS HER). And when all the creatures are blessed and adorned together, correction comes to an end. This is referred to as "the adornment of the bride's crown."

126. This is why Rabbi Shimon and all of his friends stayed up that night, and each of them renewed the Torah again and again. Rabbi Shimon was joyous, and so were his friends. Rabbi Shimon said to them: "My sons, how blessed is your lot, for it is you who shall accompany the Bride tomorrow to the *Huppah*, for all those who correct Her and rejoice in Her this night shall have their names recorded in the Book of Remembrance. And the Creator shall bless them with seventy blessings and adornments of crowns of the Upper World."

The Book of Remembrance, mentioned by the prophet (*Malachi*, 3:15): "You will say, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all? And now we regard the wicked as blessed: they have settled in their wickedness, tried the Creator, and were liberated.' Then those who feared the Creator spoke with each other, and the Creator hearkened and heard, and a Book of Remembrance was recorded before Him for those who fear the Creator and honor His Name. 'They shall become chosen for Me on the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his own son, who serves him.'"

But how can we understand that when they spoke ill of the Creator, they referred to fear of the Creator, as the prophet says? Moreover, they were inscribed in the Book of Remembrance as those who "feared the Creator and honored His Name?"

The thing is that at the end of correction, when the great general *Zivug* of *Atik* manifests, great Light will be revealed in all the worlds, and in this Light everyone will return to the Creator in absolute love. The Talmud (*Yoma*, 86:2, "Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot") says: "He who attains the repentance from love shall have his sins turned to merits."

Here, the prophet refers to the sinners claiming the futility of spiritual work: on the great day of the end of correction, when the Light of repentance from love shall shine, all the most malicious and deliberate, worst imaginable sins, will turn to merits, and their words shall be deemed not slight, but fear of the Creator.

Therefore, all the sins, as well as all the good deeds, are recorded before the Creator, for He will need them on that great day of His miracle: all the merits gather and complete the *Kli*, which receives the Light necessary for the final correction. Hence, it is said that the Creator shall record the names of those who fear Him in the Book of Remembrance, for He will need them on that day to complete the common *Partzuf*. This is exactly what the prophet says: those who remain shall be close to the Creator, like sons who served Him.

It is therefore said that everyone and everything will be recorded in the Book of Remembrance, even the sins. However, The Creator will record them as though they are merits, as though they served Him. These are the words of the prophet.

The number seventy signifies the Light of *Hochma*, GAR, adornment, a crown, and the Light of *Hassadim* is called "a blessing," for the world was created with the letter *Bet* (blessing), as it is written: "The world was built by mercy"

(*Tehilim*, 89:3), which is *VAK*. But at the end of correction, the Light of *Hassadim* will also be like seventy crowns, like the Light of *Hochma*, for *MA* and *BON* will ascend to *AB* and *SAG*. Therefore, *The Zohar* says that the Creator will bless them with seventy blessings and adornments of crowns of the Upper World.

127. Rabbi Shimon opened and said, "The Heavens declare the Creator's greatness. I have already explained this, but when the bride awakens to enter the *Huppah* on the following day, with all the friends who rejoiced with her through that night, she rejoices with them, corrects herself and shines with her adornments."

128. And on the following day, a multitude of masses, hosts, and legions join her. And she, together with all these masses, hosts and legions, awaits all those who corrected her by studying the Torah on that night. This is so because *Zeir Anpin* unites with *Malchut*, and she sees her husband, and it is said: "The Heavens declare the Creator's greatness." "The Heavens" alludes to the Bridegroom (ZA), who enters the *Huppah*. "The Heavens declare," i.e., shine, like the luminescence of a sapphire, upon the entire *Malchut*, from end to end.

The day of the end of correction is called "tomorrow," as it is written in the Talmud: "Do today, and receive the reward tomorrow" (*Eruvin*, 22:1). The masses are the worldly masses who do not serve the Creator, the hosts are those who serve the Creator, and the legions are chariots of warriors in armor—the Supernal groups of angels that accompany the souls, as it is said: "For He bid His angels to guard over you on all your paths" (*Tehilim*, 91:11). Just as the Creator waits for everyone, as was previously stated, so does the *Shechina*.

"Heavens" is the bridegroom entering the *Huppah*—the state of the end of correction, of which it is written: "And the light of the moon (*Malchut*) shall be as the light of the sun (ZA)" (*Yeshayahu*, 30:26). The Creator is called the "Heavens," and at the end of correction He is referred to as the "bridegroom," as it is said: "Just as a bridegroom rejoices over his bride, so shall your Creator rejoice over you." (*Yeshayahu*, 62:5).

Wherever it is said that the Creator descends, it indicates His strictness and judgment, for it speaks of diminishing His greatness in the eyes of the lower ones, as it is said: "His might and greatness are in His place." But at the end of correction, when all sins turn to merits, for it will become clear that all the spiritual descents were nothing other than spiritual ascents, the Creator becomes the "bridegroom" and the *Shechina* becomes his "bride."

The Hebrew word for "bride" is *Kalah*, as in the words *Kalat Moshe* (*Bamidbar*, 7), which describes the completion of the altar. Hence, in the Torah, the word *Kalah* signifies the end of construction. The Hebrew word for "bridegroom" is *Hatan*, and it signifies the descent along spiritual degrees, as it is said in the Talmud: "Descends the steps" (*Yevamot*, 63:1). However, this descent is greater than all the previous ascents, for it takes place on the way towards the bride at the moment of the end of correction.

The *Huppah* represents the total of all the Returning Light received on the *MAN* raised by the righteous in all the *Zivugim* at all the times during the 6,000 years. This is because now they have all gathered into one great Returning Light, rising and soaring over the Creator and the *Shechina*, over the bridegroom and his bride, like a *Huppah*—wedding canopy.

In this state, the righteous are called "Sons of the *Huppah*," for each of them has a part in this *Huppah*, to the extent of the *MAN* they raise to the screen of *Malchut*, which evoked, produced the Returning Light, corresponding in magnitude to this *MAN*. At the end of correction, the Creator is called *Hatan* (bridegroom), for He *Nechit Darga*—descends from His degree to his bride, and enters the *Huppah*.

At this time (in this state), the Heavens say—this is a great *Zivug* of the future, as the Talmud says: "The wife speaks to her husband" (*Berachot*, 3:1). The word "speaks" (*Mesaperet*) implies a *Zivug*, and is derived from *Sapir* (sapphire), the name of the *Shechina*, as it is said in the Torah, "...and under His feet—like a pavement of sapphire" (*Shemot*, 24:10).

THE LUMINESCENT SAPPHIRE is the Returning Light, ascending from below upwards. LUMINESCENT, LIKE LUMINESCENCE—The Returning Light, LUMINESCENT is equivalent to the Direct Light, LUMINESCENCE. This great *Zivug* gathers all of the Returning Light from all the *Zivugim* made during the 6,000 years, and the Direct Light will shine in it, as it is said, FROM END TO END.

129. The Creator's glory = *EL*—is the bride, *Malchut*, called *EL*, as it is written: "*EL* rages each day." She is called *EL* on all the days of the year. And now, on the holiday of *Shavuot*, when she already entered the *Huppah*, she is called GREATNESS and she is called *EL*, greatest of the great, luminescent out of the luminescent, dominion over dominions.

El is the name of great mercy. Yet, here it says: "*El* rages each day," which is contrary to mercy. The Torah says: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." The *Shechina* is a small star, the Moon, which reigns at

night. It is called "fear of Heaven," for it is the property of the righteous, who must raise *MAN* through their aspiration to be corrected, thereby evoking the Returning Light to descend on *Malchut* from Above and correct her.

It is therefore written: "The Creator hath made it so man would fear Him" (*Kohelet*, 3:14). This is so because it is impossible to raise the *MAN* without fear. The absence of fear of the Creator is referred to as *Malchut's* reign at night, in the state of darkness. In the absence of Light, all the restrictions and suffering are revealed, as they are opposite to the property of day, mercy. Thus, fear of the Creator emerges; were it not for this fear, the property of morning and day could not be revealed.

So it is written: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." Night also enters morning, for without a night, there would be no morning, and one cannot do without night. It is hence written that *EL* RAGES EACH DAY. After all, the property of mercy, called *EL*, is revealed only with the help of the night, through the property of RAGE. Hence, this property is also regarded as mercy; and consequently, the *Shechina* is called *EL*.

This is why it is said that the CREATOR'S GREATNESS = *EL*—IS THE BRIDE, *MALCHUT*, CALLED *EL*, for it is impossible to achieve the state of "day" without the state of "night." So it is in each of the six days of creation, of which it is said: "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day." We see that the night is included in the name "day." And just as they are all called the six DAYS of creation, the 6,000 years are called "night" in the property of mercy.

And in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, a day shall come; the light of the moon will become like that of the sun, as the prophet said (*Zachariah*, 14:7): "It shall come to pass, that at evening time there shall be light." This will cause the degrees of *Malchut* to increase twofold, for even during the 6,000 years, the light of the moon was according to the aforesaid, "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning."

And at the end of correction, when the moon becomes like the sun (*ZA*), the moon will be twice as great as before, as it will become greatness itself, for its greatness will equal that of *ZA*, of which *The Zohar* says: THE GREATEST OF THE GREAT, DOMINION OVER DOMINIONS. Although it merged with the light of the morning during the 6,000 years, as it is said, "And there shall be evening, and there shall be morning, one day," now that it is as big as the sun (*ZA*), it becomes Light, itself, LUMINESCENT OUT OF THE

LUMINESCENT. Previously, its Light was solely the result of the inclusion of the properties of Higher *Sefirot* into it.

Also, DOMINION OVER DOMINIONS, for during the 6,000 years, its reign was that of a small star, reigning only at night. Now, however, it also reigns during the day, for it is as big as the sun.

130. The hour when the Heaven (ZA) enters the *Huppah* and shines upon *Malchut*, all of her friends, who corrected her by studying the Torah, are known by their names, as it is said: "The Heavens declare the work of His hands." "The work of His hands" refers to the members of this covenant, called "the work of His hands." As you say: "Confirm for us the work of our hands," which is the mark of the covenant, imprinted on man's body.

"Friends" are those who keep the Torah, which includes both good and evil deeds, even those parts of them that are still evil and uncorrected; EACH IS KNOWN BY A NAME (his corrected part), as it is said: THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. "Heavens" is the Book of Remembrance, which constitutes the Light of the great *Zivug* that leads to repentance (correction) out of love, when sins become merits (Talmud, *Yoma*, 86:2).

And even those who were speaking ill things, it is said about them: "Then they shall impart their fear of the Creator upon one another" (item 126). Therefore, the action defined as "upholding the Torah," which includes both good (for the worthy) and evil (for the unworthy), now becomes completely good and holy. And it turns into THE WORK OF HIS HANDS—the Creator's actions, for THE HEAVENS SPEAK even of the unworthy. It turns out that all the friends have performed only good deeds and carried out holy work, for they would all correct *Malchut*, and ALL ARE KNOWN BY THEIR NAMES.

It is therefore said: CONFIRM FOR US THE WORK OF OUR HANDS (*Tehilim*, 90:17). However, it is unclear whose hands are meant: His or ours? Only one thing is meant here—that the covenant is referred to as "the work of our hands," for its confirmation is *Yesod* (*Yesod* is not only the name of a *Sefira*, it also means "basis," "foundation" in Hebrew), the foundation of the entire construction.

The correction of *Yesod* is *Brit Milah* (circumcision). Hence, it is said that the existence of the covenant is called "the work of our hands," for we separate the *Orlah* (foreskin) from *Yesod* through the work of our hands. But this only concerns the period up to the end of correction. And at the end of correction, THE WORK OF HIS HANDS will be revealed. In other words, the Creator Himself will detach the *Orlah* from us, and THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. But until that state comes, we are entrusted with the

correction of the circumcision. Therefore, we ask: CONFIRM FOR US THE WORK OF OUR HANDS.

131. Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba then said as follows: "Do not let your mouth cause your body to sin," i.e., one must not allow his mouth to get close to evil and be the cause of sin for the sacred flesh, which bears the mark of the holy covenant with the Creator. If he does so, he shall be dragged to hell. And the ruler of hell, called Domeh, stands at the gates of hell with hundreds of thousands of angels, but he is forbidden to approach those who have kept the holy covenant in this world.

There is a warning here: let each man be careful of what he utters, so that his prayer is pure when he raises *MAN* with the help of the Torah and *Mitzvot*. If the impure force clings to his prayer, it will receive his *MAN*. As a result, man will develop a grudge against the Creator and foreign thoughts, thereby causing the *Orlah* to once again cling to the holy covenant. Consequently, his holy soul will fall into the captivity of the impure forces, and they will drag it to hell. This is similar to what Rabbi Elazar said about falling into Lilit's hands (item 68).

THE SACRED FLESH, WHICH BEARS THE MARK OF THE HOLY COVENANT alludes to the holy soul guarded by the holy covenant, as it is said: "From my flesh I shall see the Creator," i.e., from my nature, my properties. Yet, doubts evoke the return of the impure force of the *Orlah*. It touches the holy covenant, and the Divine soul is instantly driven away. Hence, "The Tree cried out: Sinner, do not touch me," for this Tree is *Yesod*, *Ateret Yesod* (foreskin—the very essence of creation, egoism), the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

DOMEH, THE RULER OF HELL—DOMEH is derived from *Dmamah*—lifelessness, for he robs man of his soul and leaves him lifeless. This is the angel that fills man's heart with doubts regarding the Creator's greatness, and creates within him a sinful desire to perceive His plans as though they were plans of one born of a woman, i.e., as though they were of this world. And since he likens the Creator's thoughts in man's perception to those of man, he is named so (*Domeh* also means likeness, similarity).

At first, man understands that the Creator's thoughts and ways are different from ours, for the created mind can grasp neither Him nor His thoughts nor His governance, as our mind is inferior to His. But, through sin, the angel Domeh plants a silly spirit within man, which forces him to say that the mind of one born of a woman is similar to the Creator's. This leaves man open to doubts, which DRAG HIM TO HELL.

Therefore, the power of the angel Domeh is in his name, as it is said: "Who is as mighty as You, who is LIKE You, the King that kills and resurrects?" This indicates that the connection with the one who is LIKE him leads to death, whereas in the realization that there is none like Him, man finds life.

However, the doubts and thoughts that man receives from the angel Domeh are countless, as *The Zohar* says, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ANGELS ARE WITH HIM, and they are all standing at the gates of hell, through which man is dragged there, though the gates themselves are not yet considered hell.

BUT HE (THE ANGEL) IS FORBIDDEN TO APPROACH THOSE WHO HAVE KEPT THE HOLY COVENANT IN THIS WORLD. And even if one did not fully keep (observe) the covenant, and there is still good and evil in his deeds, he is nonetheless regarded as one who has kept the holy covenant. So, unless one comes to doubt, the angel Domeh is forbidden to drag him to hell.

132. When this happened to King David, fear enveloped him. Right then, Domeh ascended before the Creator, and said: "Master of the world, it says in the Torah (*Vayikra*, 20:10): 'And the man that commits adultery with another man's wife...' David broke his covenant, is it not so?" The Creator replied to him: "David is righteous, and his holy covenant remains pure, for it is known to Me that Bat Sheva was destined for him since the creation of the world."

Although David committed no sin, as the Talmud explains (*Shabbat*, 56:1) that he who says that David sinned is wrong, he was enveloped with fear nonetheless, as if he really had sinned, for Domeh cited the Torah in his complaint.

However, Bat Sheva had been destined for David since the creation of the world (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 107:1); thus, he did not violate his covenant. Yet, if Bat Sheva had been destined for David, why was she first married to Uriah? After all, a wife is half of her husband's body. And if she is half of David's body, how could Uriah have taken her, if there is nothing in him that corresponds with her?

The fact is that Bat Sheva is David's true *Nukva* (female) from the day of the creation of the world, for David is the male part of *Malchut*, while Bat Sheva is the *Nukva* in *Malchut*. But since, as the world was being created, *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* to receive the property of mercy (bestowal) from her, Bat Sheva, too, required this correction in *GAR*. Without it she could not have given birth to the soul of King Solomon.

And Uriah the Hittite was an exalted soul, the properties of *GAR*, wherefrom the name "Uriah," which consists of Ur = *Ohr* (Light) and i(a)h = i (*Yod*) + h (*Hey*) = the first two letters of the Creator's Name *HaVaYaH*, is derived. In other words, Uriah signifies "the Creator's Light." And the fact that his name contains only

the first two letters *Yod-Hey* = *Hochma-Bina*, and lacks the last two letters *Vav-Hey* = *ZA-Malchut* indicates that his Light is the Light of *GAR*. Therefore, to correct Bat Sheva in the property of mercy, she was joined with Uriah. As a result, she became fit for queenship, and became the Queen of Israel.

133. Domeh said to Him: "Master of the World, what is revealed to You is concealed from him." The Creator answered: "Whatever David did was done with My permission. For no man goes to war without first giving his wife a *get* (document of divorce)." Domeh then said: "But if this is so, David should have waited three months, which he did not." The Creator replied: "This extension is only necessary to make certain that the woman is not pregnant from her previous husband. But it is known to Me that Uriah never went near her, for My Name is imprinted in him as testimony. Indeed, Uriah is *Ohr-Iah*, the Creator's Light, though it is written *Uriahu* = *Ohr* + *i* + *a* + *hu* (*Yod-Hey*-Vav), without the last *Hey*, *Malchut*, which proves that he did not use *Malchut*."

The letters *Yod-Hey* in Uriah's name (*Aleph-Reish-Yod-Hey*) indicate that he had never touched Bat Sheva. This is because Uriah refers to *GAR* without *VAK*. And *The Zohar* emphasizes that whenever *VAK* is used, the name *Uriahu* is applied. However, it is written here that Uriah was Bat Sheva's first husband, meaning that he had nothing of *VAK* in him, but only *GAR*—the Light of *Hochma* without the Light of *Hassadim*, for *Vav* signifies *Hassadim*. This is why he could not come near Bath Sheba.

134. Domeh said to Him: "Master of the World, this is exactly what I have said: if You knew that Uriah had never laid with her, then who revealed it to David? He should have waited three months. And if You will say that David knew that Uriah had never laid with her, why did he send Uriah to his wife, saying: 'Go down to your house, and wash your feet?'"

Usually the readers of the Torah give this example of "a love triangle" as evidence of King David's less than exalted qualities and of the inconsistency of the Creator's judgment—how He forgave David for "killing" Uriah, and so forth. We must remember that the Torah speaks only of the spiritual worlds and their laws, which have no obvious consequences in our world. There is a cause-and-effect connection: whatever occurs in our world is a result of a Higher cause, but in no way is it vice versa, i.e., whatever is described in the Upper World does not necessarily need to manifest in ours. To consider the Torah a narrative about our world relegates the Torah of the world of *Atzilut*, the Creator's holy names, the Creator's Light, to the lowest level of creation, which is strictly forbidden: "Do not make an idol for yourself."

135. He replied to him: "Of course, David did not know, but he waited more than three months, as four months had passed." As we have learned, on the 15th day of *Nissan*, David ordered all the people of Israel to prepare for war, Yoav—on seventh day of *Nissan*. They conquered the lands of Moav and remained there for four months, until he went to Bat Sheva in the month of *Elul*. And on *Yom Kippur*, the Creator forgave him his sin. But there are those who say that David dispatched his orders on the seventh day of *Adar*, the troops assembled on the 15th day of *Iyar*, he went to Bat Sheva on the 15th day of *Elul*, and on *Yom Kippur* the Creator forgave him and spared him from death at the hands of the angel Domeh.

Domeh is in charge of adultery. And since David was forgiven on the Day of Atonement, he thereby escaped death at the hands of Domeh. However, death was a consequence of Uriah's death at the hands of Amon's sons, as is recorded in the book of Kings (*Melachim*, 1, 15:5), "For David did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from anything that He commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite."

136. Domeh said: "Master of the World, I have nonetheless one claim against him: why did he open his mouth and say: 'The Lord is righteous, for a mortal does so,' thus condemning himself to death. Hence, I have the power to bring death upon him." The Creator replied to him: "You are not allowed to bring death upon him, for he has repented and confessed: 'I have sinned before the Creator,' even though he did not sin. But he did sin in one matter—the killing of Uriah. I have recorded his punishment, and he had received it." Then Domeh immediately gave up his complaints, and returned, despondent, to his place.

The last letter *Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH* has two points—restriction (strictness) and mercy. And all the corrections of *Malchut* with the help of the covenant (circumcision) are intended to conceal strictness and reveal mercy. Then, the Creator's name descends into *Malchut*. Even though *Malchut* exists there under the ban of the first restriction (strictness and judgment), and all the impure forces cling onto her, this point is nonetheless concealed, and only *Bina*'s property of mercy is revealed. Thus, the impure forces-desires, which are foreign to holiness and spirituality, are powerless and cannot cling to her.

To violate the covenant means to reveal the strictness and judgment in *Malchut* (the letter *Hey*). As a result, the impure forces immediately cling to her, for this is their property—a part of them. The holy soul, the Creator's name, thereby disappears at once, as it is written (*Iyov*, 4:9): "By the breath of God they perish."

David himself is the part of *Malchut* related to *Malchut's* property of mercy. Hence, he requires special care so as to prevent *Malchut's* property of strictness from being revealed in him. For he who reveals the property of strictness and violates the covenant with the Creator, surrenders himself to the impure forces, which condemn him to death. This is because the property of strictness reveals itself within him before the impure force (the angel Domeh), who wished to cling to David's soul and drag it to hell.

Although he was innocent, David begged the Creator's forgiveness for adultery, and received it. But with regard to David sending Uriah to his death, Domeh had no right to ask the Creator for punishment, as he is only in charge of adultery.

137. And David said to this: "Were it not for the Creator's help, Domeh had nearly claimed my soul." "Were it not for the Creator's help" means "had the Creator not been my guard and guide against the angel Domeh." "Nearly" means that only the distance as thin as a thread remained for Domeh to drag my soul to hell.

David is *Malchut*, of whom it is written (*Mishley*, 5:5): "Her feet descend to death," for she is the end, conclusion of holiness (the spiritual). The impure forces originate in *Malchut*, and she sustains them, as it is said (*Tehilim*, 103:19): "His kingdom rules over all."

However, when *Malchut* exists in her corrected property of mercy (item 122), she is defined as consisting of two points: her own point of judgment and the point of mercy that she received from *Bina*. Her point of judgment is concealed, while the point of mercy is revealed. And thanks to this correction, all that the impure forces can get from *Malchut* is a *Ner Dakik* (tiny luminescence), which only sustains their existence, but does not allow for their spreading.

Ner Dakik, the source of existence for the impure forces, is also known as *Hoteh Dakik*, a small sin, the root of sins, as it is written (Talmud, *Sukkah*, 52:1): "Initially, the impure force seems as thin as a spider web, but then grows as thick as a shaft." And it is called small (*Dakik*), for judgment and restrictions are concealed within the property (point) of mercy.

However, he who violates the covenant causes the point of judgment in *Malchut* to be revealed. As a result, the impure forces cling to *Malchut* and draw much Light from her, thus receiving the strength to spread and expand. And he who does so is said to be forsaking his own soul, as it is written: "By the breath of God they perish" (*Iyov*, 4:9).

And when he merits returning to the Creator, he returns and corrects *Malchut* with the property of mercy. This is why this process is called *Teshuva*

(return), from the word of *Tashuv* (to return) + "A," where "A" (*Hey*) designates the Creator. In other words, it is the return to the property of mercy, whereas the property of judgment goes back to being concealed in the property of mercy, like a small candle, and nothing more.

It is therefore written: WERE IT NOT FOR THE CREATOR'S HELP, referring to His acceptance of my return and repelling the angel Domeh by bringing *Malchut* back to her place (to the property) of mercy, reducing the property of judgment to a mere small candle, a hair's-breadth fire, whose LIGHT SEPARATES ME FROM THE IMPURE FORCE.

This is that minimal Light that must always remain between *Malchut* and the impure force, so as to allow *Malchut* to exist and be sustained by this small Light, called "small sin," so small that DOMEH WOULD NOT DRAG MY SOUL TO HELL FOR IT.

It is precisely the magnitude of this Light that saved me from the hands of Domeh, for had the property of judgment not returned to *Malchut* in the measure of a small sin, I would have fallen into the hands of Domeh.

138. Therefore, man should be careful not to say what David said, for one cannot say to the angel Domeh that "It was an error" (*Kohelet*, 5:5), as it was with David, when the Creator won the dispute against Domeh. "Why should the Creator be angry over your word" (*Kohelet*, 5:5), i.e., for what you have said. "Destroyed the work of your hands" (*Kohelet*, 5:5) i.e., the sacred flesh, the holy covenant, which you have broken, and are therefore to be dragged to hell by the angel Domeh.

There are two ways to return to the Creator ("Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," items 45, 59, 64; Talmud, *Yoma*, 86:2):

1) Repentance out of fear, when intentional sins become unintentional,

2) Repentance out of love, when intentional sins become merits.

Before the end of correction, when the forces of strictness, restriction, and judgment are still needed in the world, as it is written (*Kohelet*, 3:14), "The Creator hath so made it that man should fear Him," *Malchut* must sustain the existence of the impure forces as *Ner Dakik*, so they will not disappear from the world.

Therefore, at such a time (in this state), *Malchut's* corrections are made in two points: mercy and judgment. However, judgment is concealed, while mercy acts openly. This is why the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is feared: if man is worthy—it is good, if not—it is evil (items 120–124).

Therefore, DURING THE 6,000 YEARS, WE RETURN TO THE CREATOR ONLY OUT OF FEAR, which causes our intentional sins to turn into unintentional ones—errors. As a result of our repentance, we bring *Malchut* back to the property of mercy. But strictness and judgment are concealed in her to the extent of a small candle (small sin), since *Malchut* must still remain in the property of fear. Hence, this return is called "the return out of fear."

The small sin that must remain is also called "unintentional sin," an "error," a "mistake," for it is not regarded as a sin in and of itself. Rather, it only leads man to commit an unintentional sin. Man sins intentionally only after having first committed an unintentional sin: he committed something unintentionally, but it turned out that he has sinned.

Thus, this small sin remains in *Malchut*, but although it remains, it is not really considered a sin. Yet, through this concealed judgment and strictness we come to intentional sins. This is why it is said: "Initially, it is as a hair's-breadth," i.e., like a small sin. But then, unless we properly guard our covenant, it "becomes as thick as a shaft," as the property of strictness and judgment becomes revealed in *Malchut*.

It is hence said that Domeh stands at the gates of hell, as the power of a small sin is only an entrance, for it is said that it looks as thin as a spider web. Therefore, our repentance is called "forgiven sins," which turn into unintentional errors, as though they were mistakes. For a small sin remains, which is capable of leading us to intentional sins.

All this refers to the repentance out of fear, whereas the second kind is the repentance out of love, when intentional sins turn to merits (item 126).

Therefore, MAN SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO SAY WHAT DAVID SAID, i.e., not to utter the word that causes the property of judgment in *Malchut* to be revealed (as David had done). FOR ONE CANNOT SAY TO THE ANGEL DOMEH THAT IT WAS AN ERROR, for he is unsure as to whether he can return to the Creator right away, so that his sin would be forgiven and made unintentional, AS IT WAS WITH DAVID, WHEN THE CREATOR WON THE DISPUTE AGAINST DOMEH.

It happened with David because throughout his life all of his actions before the Creator were pure, he had committed no crimes, and the only exception was his act toward Uriah. Hence, the Creator became his defender, and helped him return to Him at once, and his sin was turned into an error, as it is said in *The Zohar* (item 137): WERE IT NOT FOR THE CREATOR'S HELP, DOMEH

HAD NEARLY CLAIMED MY SOUL. But other people should fear this angel, for an unintentional sin may lead them to hell at the hands of Domeh.

DESTROYED THE WORK OF YOUR HANDS, THE SACRED FLESH, THE HOLY COVENANT, WHICH YOU HAVE VIOLATED, AND ARE THEREFORE TO BE DRAGGED TO HELL BY THE ANGEL DOMEH. The correction in us called "the holy covenant" is regarded as "the work of our hands," as it is written: "Confirm the work of our hands." The holy soul is called the sacred flesh, as it is said, "Out of my flesh shall I see the Creator" (*Iyov*, 19:26) (item 131). Because of the revelation of the property of strictness and judgment in *Malchut*, the correction of the covenant was corrupted, and Domeh drags the soul to hell.

Therefore, THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS (item 130). In the end of correction, the Heavens will declare the work of His hands, as the reward for all these corrections will be revealed. It will become clear that this was THE WORK OF HIS HANDS, and NOT OURS', and THE HEAVENS DECLARE this. And the great *Zivug RAV PAALIM U MEKABTZIEL* will be made on these actions (corrections) (item 92). DECLARE refers to the Light's descent from Above.

Know that this is the only difference in our world before and after the end of correction. Before the end of correction, *Malchut* is called the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, for *Malchut* is the revelation of the Creator's governance over this world. And until people achieve the state where they can receive His Light (as He conceived and prepared for everyone back at the Thought of Creation), the world will be ruled by good and evil, by reward and punishment.

The reason for this is that our *Kelim de Kabbalah* (vessels of reception) are impure, stained by egoism, which (i) prevents the Creator's Light from filling theses desires, and (ii) separates us from the Creator. And the infinite goodness that He has prepared for us may only be received in altruistic desires, for these delights are not limited by the bounds of creation, like egoistic pleasures, in which fulfillment instantly douses the pleasure.

Hence, it is written: "The Creator hath made everything for His own glory" (*Mishley*, 16:4), i.e., all the deeds in the world were initially created by Him so that we could please Him. Therefore, people in our world are engaged in things that are totally opposite from what they should be doing, according to the purpose of their creation. After all, the Creator clearly states that He created the world for Himself: "I have created it for My glory" (*Yeshayahu*, 43:7).

Yet, we claim the exact opposite—that the whole world was created for us, and we desire to swallow it whole, for our own pleasure, satisfaction, indulgence, and exaltation. So it is no surprise we are unworthy of receiving the Creator's perfect goodness. And thus He rules over us through good and evil, in the form of reward and punishment, for one depends on the other: reward and punishment give rise to good and evil.

Because we use our desires to receive (pleasure), thus becoming opposite from the Creator, we perceive His governance towards us as evil. This stems from the fact that man cannot perceive obvious evil from the Creator, as this would greatly undermine the creatures' perception of the great and perfect Creator, for the Perfect one cannot create evil.

Therefore, to the extent that man feels bad and evil, and denies the Divine Providence, a veil immediately falls over him, and the sensation of the Creator's existence disappears. This is the worst punishment in the world!

Hence, the sensation of good and evil in the Creator's governance gives us a feeling of reward and punishment. This is because he who exerts efforts not to lose faith in the Creator's existence and governance, even if he tastes evil in His governance, is rewarded with finding strength to not lose faith in the governance and good purpose of the Creator's "evil" influence. But if he had not yet merited the opportunity to exert efforts in believing that the Creator pursues a definite purpose by sending him unpleasant sensations, he is punished with remoteness from faith in the Creator and the sensation of His existence.

Therefore, although He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the world, it remains semi-concealed from those who perceive both good and evil. For when they perceive evil, the impure force is allowed to conceal the Creator's governance and faith in Him. Thus, man suffers the worst punishment in the world—the sensation of detachment from the Creator—and becomes filled with doubts and denial of the Creator's existence and governance. And when he returns to the Creator, he receives a corresponding reward, and is able to unite with Him once again.

But through this very governance of reward and punishment, the Creator has prepared for us the opportunity to utilize this governance in order to achieve the end of correction, when all people attain their corrected *Kelim* (desires), and use them to bring pleasure to the Creator, as it is written that He has created everything for Himself! In other words, our bestowal must be absolute.

Then the great *Zivug* of *Atik* will be revealed, we will all return to the Creator out of love, all our intentional sins will turn to merits, all evil will be felt as

infinite goodness, and His Divine Providence will be revealed in the entire world. Thus, ALL SHALL SEE that only He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the world, and that no one acts besides Him. After the sensation of evil and punishment is turned to one of goodness and reward, and our egoistic desires become altruistic, we are given the opportunity to attain the Maker, for we conform to the work of His hands by blessing and exalting Him above all evil and all punishments we had once suffered.

However, the most important point to stress here is that until the end of correction, all the corrections were considered as THE WORK OF OUR HANDS. This is why we receive rewards or punishments for them. But in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, it will be revealed that all the corrections and all the punishments are THE WORK OF HIS HANDS.

Thus, it is said, THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS. This is because the great *Zivug* signifies what the Heavens will declare, that all the deeds are the work of His hands, that He has done, is doing, and will do all the deeds in the whole of creation.

139. Thus, "the Heavens declare the work of His hands." These are the friends who have united in the bride (*Malchut*) by studying the Torah on the night of the holiday of *Shavuot*. They are all participants of the covenant with her, and are called "the work of His hands." And she praises and notes each and every one of them. What is Heaven, firmament? It is the firmament, where the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiac are located. This firmament is called the Book of Remembrance, and it declares and records them, so they shall become the sons of His palace, and He will fulfill all their desires.

Yesod of *Zeir Anpin*, onto which a *Zivug* is made for the revelation of all the Supernal Degrees, called the sun, the moon, the stars, and the signs of the zodiac, is referred to as the "firmament." All of the Supernal stars exist on the firmament, called *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin*. And everything exists thanks to it, for it makes a *Zivug* with *Nukva*, called earth, and shines upon her with all these stars, i.e., gives these stars to her.

It turns out that *Malchut* is smaller than the sun (ZA). But at the end of correction, the light of the moon will be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun will be seventy times greater than before—*Malchut* will become as big as *Zeir Anpin* during the six days of creation. When will this be? Rabbi Yehuda answers: on the day when death disappears forever, and the Creator and His Name are as one.

The Heaven or the firmament (ZA) is *HaVaYaH*, called "the sun." *Malchut* (*Nukva*) receives from it, and is called "the moon." During the 6,000 years, *Malchut* receives the Light from the six days of creation, but *Zeir Anpin* does not reveal that the Creator and His Name are one. Hence, the moon is smaller than the sun. Its lesser size is a result of *Malchut's* consisting of both good and evil, reward and punishment.

There is a considerable difference between "Him" and "His Name." "His Name" is *Malchut*, where all the *Zivugim*, and all the states of unification and separation are accumulated. But at the end of correction, when death is said to disappear forever, *HaVaYaH* and His Name will be one. The Name (*Malchut*) will be like the Light of *Zeir Anpin*—only goodness without evil, and the private governance will be revealed in her, which means that the light of the moon will become equal to that of the sun.

Therefore at this time (in this state), *Nukva* will be called "the Book of Remembrance," for all human deeds are recorded in her. *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin* is called "remembrance," for it remembers the deeds of the entire world, studies, and analyzes all the creatures that receive from it.

During the 6,000 years before the end of correction, the Book of Remembrance exists sometimes together and sometimes separately. But at the end of correction, these two degrees will merge into one, and *Malchut* herself will be called "the Book of Remembrance," when ZA and *Malchut* become a single whole, for *Malchut*'s Light will equal that of ZA.

Therefore, the firmament is a place where the sun, the moon, the stars, and the signs of the zodiac are located. The firmament is *Yesod* of ZA, which emanates all the Light of the world and sustains all existence. It passes the Light onto *Malchut* when she is smaller than it, and the state, "He and His Name are one" has not yet been achieved. And at the end of correction, it will be exactly like *Malchut*, who is hence called the Book of Remembrance.

Thus, when *Malchut* receives all the properties of *Zeir Anpin* (the firmament, called "Remembrance"), she will become the Book of Remembrance, i.e., she and the firmament will be one.

140. Day after day brings *Omer*—a sheaf. The holy day out of those days (*Sefirot*) of the King (*Zeir Anpin*) praises the friends, who study the Torah on the night of *Shavuot*. They say to each other, "Day after day shall bring a sheaf," and praise it. And the words "night after night" refer to all the degrees, *Sefirot* of *Malchut*, that reign in the night, praise one another by

each receiving from a friend, from another *Sefira*. And the state of complete perfection makes them beloved friends.

Having explained that THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE WORK OF HIS HANDS is THE BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE. *The Zohar* continues to clarify the writings in the *Book of Malachi* (3:14-16): "You have said, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all? And now we regard the wicked as blessed: they have settled in their wickedness, tried the Creator, and were liberated.' Then those who feared the Creator spoke WITH EACH OTHER, and the Creator hearkened and heard, and a BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE was recorded before Him for those who fear the Creator (every day) and honor His (holy) name. 'And they shall become chosen for Me,'—the Lord said,—'on the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his son, who serves him,—on the day that I shall work a miracle, on the day of the end of correction.'"

Before the end of correction, before we prepare our desires "to receive" only for the Creator's sake, and not for self-gratification, *Malchut* is called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," for *Malchut* governs the world in accordance with man's deeds. Inasmuch as we are not yet ready to receive all the delight that the Creator prepared for us in His Thought of Creation, we have no choice but to submit to *Malchut*'s governance of good and evil.

And this very governance prepares us for the eventual correction of our desires to receive (*Kelim de Kabbalah*) into desires for bestowal (*Kelim de Hashpaa*), thus achieving the goodness and delight that He conceived to bestow upon us.

As was previously stated, the sensation of good and evil creates in us a feeling of reward and punishment. Therefore, when one tries to retain his faith in the Creator while he is feeling evil, but still continues to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* as he did before, he is rewarded.

And if he cannot overcome this test and is distanced from the Creator, he becomes filled with doubts with regard to the good governance. Alternatively, he stops believing that the Creator governs the world altogether, or feels resentment towards the Creator in response to these unpleasant sensations. The Creator punishes for all thoughts, just as He does for all actions (Talmud, *Kidushim*, 40:1).

It is also said that one's righteousness is of no help to him on the day of his sin. But sometimes man's doubts are so overpowering that he regrets even the good deeds he had previously done, and says (*Malachi*, 3:14): "You have said, 'How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all?'" He becomes

a complete sinner, who regrets his righteous past (complaining that he wasted time and effort instead of enjoying this world like the others!), and his doubts and regrets cause him to lose all of his good deeds, as the Torah warns us: "One's righteousness is of no help to him on the day of his sin."

Yet, even in this state, man can return to the Creator. However, he is said to be beginning on his path anew, as though he is a newborn, for all of his past good deeds are gone.

One should not take the aforesaid literally, even in its spiritual context, for he who works to achieve unconditional altruistic deeds constantly experiences descents and ascents, is filled with doubts, and tries to overcome them. Only one who advances in this manner feels that he is starting his work every time anew, that he understands no more than a newborn baby. Conversely, one who belongs to the masses—who works in his egoistic desires—is constantly filled with self-reverence and thinks that on each new day, he adds to the previous one, and nothing seems to disappear. This makes his spiritual growth impossible.

Only one who truly ascends the spiritual degrees feels like a newborn baby before his Creator at each moment. After all, as he ascends from one degree to the next, the previous state (degree) disappears, and until he attains a Higher Degree, he is in total darkness and feels that he is starting from scratch, rather than supplementing his assets, which is how the spiritually inanimate (*Domem de Kedusha*) feel.

The governance of good and evil causes us to ascend and descend—each in his own way... Each ascent is considered a separate day (sensation of Light). As a result of the great descent that he has just undergone by regretting his past good deeds, man moves into a state of ascent, as one who is born anew.

Therefore, at each ascent, it is as though one starts over on his path to the Creator. Thus, each ascent is regarded as a separate day, for there is a break (night) between these states. And each descent is hence considered a separate night.

This is what *The Zohar* tells us: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF—in each ascent we draw nearer to the Creator's greatest day (the end of correction), HE PRAISED THE FRIENDS AND THEY WOULD SPEAK WITH EACH OTHER. This is because through the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, they will all merit returning to the Creator out of love, for the desire "to receive" will be completely corrected, and they will begin to receive only for the Creator's sake, so as to bestow delight upon Him.

In this great *Zivug* (unity), we will reveal all the supreme goodness and delight of the Thought of Creation. And we will then see with our own eyes that

all those punishments we experienced in the states of descent, which made us doubt and regret the efforts exerted in the Torah, all those punishments would correct and purify us. And now, at the end of correction, they are the direct cause for our sensation and reception of the Creator's goodness.

Had it not been for the terrible suffering and punishments, we would not have been able to achieve the state of being filled with perfect delight. Therefore, even these intentional sins turn into merits, as it is said: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF—each ascent in *Malchut*, up to the end of correction, is like a separate day.

This day is revealed by the word, which supports the Torah in all its greatness. What is this word? When they say, "How futile it is to serve the Creator! When we carried out the Creator's will, and walked heavy-hearted before Him—what is the use of it all?"

These words brought punishments that have now become merits, for all the perfection and magnificence of that great day can now be revealed thanks to these very punishments of the past. Thus, those who uttered these words are now regarded as those who fear the Creator and praise His Name. (And these words could only have been spoken by those who made efforts to advance on the Path of Truth, and felt frustrated upon receiving uncorrected egoism of a Higher Degree. In other words, frustration comes only to those who truly work for the Creator's sake.)

Hence, it is said about them: "The Lord said, 'On the day that I shall determine, and I shall spare them, as a man spares his son, who serves him,'" for all the nights—states of descent, suffering and punishments, which sever their connection with the Creator—now become merits and good deeds. And the night turns into day, darkness turns into Light, and there are no divisions between days, and all 6,000 years gather into one great day.

And all the *Zivugim* that were made one after another, revealed the ascents and the separate, consecutive degrees, have now gathered into one degree of one great *Zivug*—Unity, which shines in the world from end to end. Hence, it is written: DAY AFTER DAY SHALL BRING A SHEAF, that is, the intervals between days now become magnificent glory, for they have been turned into merits. Thus, everything becomes the Creator's one glorious day!

And the words "night after night" refer to all the degrees that reign in the night. They praise one another, and each receives everything that man feels as suffering in a state of descent—this is called night. And through such sensations, intervals are formed between the sensations of day.

On the whole, each degree is separated from one another. Night is an aspiration to attain the Creator. And while each night is full of darkness, now all the nights (states of feeling emptiness, hopelessness, heaviness of efforts, the Creator's concealment) gather together and form a unified vessel of reception of Supernal wisdom, which fills the entire earth with Knowledge of the Creator, and the nights shine like days.

For each night receives its own part of Knowledge only by joining with the other nights. Thus, each night is said to help the other nights in the Knowledge. Put differently, man is ready to receive the Knowledge only if he joins with the other nights.

And since night is a feeling of lacking knowledge, attainment, and sensation of the Creator by uniting, they form a perfect vessel of reception of the Knowledge of the Creator. And they praise one another, for each has received his share of the Knowledge of the Creator thanks exclusively to his friend, through uniting with him. Only in unity do they merit reception of the Supernal Knowledge. Hence, it is said that through the perfection achieved by all, the nights became beloved friends.

141. Does he speak of the others in the world who do not obey the Creator, and whom He does not wish to hear? But they made lines through all the earth, that is, these things make a line out of those that reside Above and out of those that reside below. From the first—firmaments are made, and from the second, from their return—earth. And should you say that they revolve around the earth in one place, it is said that they are also at the end of the world.

Thus far, we have discussed the most terrible punishments and suffering in the world—being detached from the Creator and losing faith in Him. Moreover, *The Zohar* tells us that all the punishments, all the suffering of hell and of the body, which stem from personal sins and fill this world, also gather and are included into one great *Zivug*, as it is written: "And it shall come to pass, that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so the Lord will rejoice over you to cause you to perish, and to destroy you" (*Devarim*, 28:63).

All will gather and become one great Light, and everything will turn to great joy and bliss. It is therefore said that THERE IS NO SHEAF AND NO THINGS IN THE OTHER WORDS OF THE WORLD, which man perceives in this world as suffering. But they will turn to joy and bliss, and thus the holy King, too, shall wish to hear them.

So, all the suffering during the 6,000 years will gather at the end of correction and will become a tremendous delight, as the prophet said: "In those days and

in that time, said the Lord, even if the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, there shall be none" (*Yirmiyahu*, 50:20).

Everything will turn to merits, so much so that they will ask and search "for the past sins that can be included in the *Zivug*, and which can be laughed at, for they were felt as suffering and now they are joy and bliss," but they will not find any. There will be no more suffering in its true form, as it was in the past, although they greatly desire to find it and feel it, for all suffering will have now been turned to great Light.

This Supernal Degree, created by the great *Zivug* out of all the souls and all the deeds, both good and evil, is now defined as a pillar of Light, which shines from one end of the world to the other. And this unity is perfect, as is said by the prophet (*Zachariah*, 14:9): "And the Creator shall be one (for all), and His Name one"—all the senses will grasp the Creator's complete and perfect name, "the Infinitely good."

Precisely because this most Supernal Degree is achieved as a result of bringing together all the suffering and punishments, it fills the entire universe with Light, including earth. However, it should be noted that the suffering of which *The Zohar* speaks is not the suffering of the body's lack of pleasure. It is the suffering caused by the absence of unity with the Creator!

But if suffering is so useful, why is it written, "neither them nor the reward for them?" Suffering is necessary, for it is correction. However, the true suffering, for which man can receive the degree of the end of correction, is caused by temporary distancing from the Torah and *Mitzvot* as a result of feeling the pain of suffering, and this pains the Creator. Thus, the *Shechina* suffers, for when man suffers in his heart, he speaks ill of her, willingly or unwillingly. Although the Torah tells him to be patient, to endure and have faith above reason—selfless faith that all of this is the correction that he must undergo—he debases the *Shechina* by being unwilling to endure them and achieve the end of correction.

Man's soul is also a *Partzuf* consisting of ten *Sefirot*. In its initial, spiritually undeveloped, unborn state, the soul is defined as a point, as a potential future spiritual body. If man works on himself, this point within him gradually acquires a screen, and he makes a *Zivug* on it. He repels all the pleasures for the sake of the Creator's desires, and receives Light in this point. Thus, he "amplifies" it to the size of a *Partzuf* and transforms it into a body, a newborn *Partzuf*.

Afterwards he continues to cultivate his screen, gradually nurturing the small state into the big one, until he receives all of the Light destined for him

by the Creator within his spiritual body. This state is called "the end of the personal correction." When all the personal corrections merge into one, the general correction of the entire world (of *Malchut*) will occur. *Malchut* is a *Partzuf* that consists of separate souls; each soul, the *Partzuf* of each soul, is part of *Malchut*, and *Malchut* is a collection, the sum of all the *Partzufim* that are to be made by all the people. To make a *Partzuf* is to acquire a screen and become filled with Light.

THOSE THAT RESIDE ABOVE AND THOSE THAT RESIDE BELOW refers to the order of time in the spiritual, eternal world, which is different from ours. When the Creator wished to create the world, He immediately created everything: all the souls filled with Light in a state of absolute perfection, called "the end of correction," where all the creatures receive the infinite delight that He envisioned.

This ultimate state was born with the Creator's first thought to create the world, and it exists in its final form from the very first moment, for the future, present, and past are merged in the Creator, and the factor of time does not exist in Him.

All human progress is necessary only to enable us to imagine that the following is also possible:

1. Change of time: the stretching of time into infinity, i.e., when time stops and the present merges with the past and the future; when time reverses its course or disappears. Yet, time is the only thing that provides us with a perception of existence. By "switching off" time, we stop perceiving that we exist!
2. Transformation of space: expanding and contracting of space into a point; space taking other forms, other dimensions; infinity and total absence of space altogether.

I've already dealt with these issues in my book, *Kabbalah, Science and the Meaning of Life*, and I would prefer not to digress from the text of *The Zohar*. However, to understand our true state, and not the one we currently perceive, it is essential to remember that notions of time and space do not exist with regard to Creator. In reality, we are completely different and exist in a completely different form and state from what we presently perceive. We feel this way because our sensations are distorted by our egoism, which infuse our senses and possess our bodies, like a cloud.

Therefore, all that is described in the Torah refers strictly to the spiritual realm. This information transcends time, referring at once to our past, present

and future, for time exists only with regard to those who are still confined to their egoistic *Kelim* (desires). From this we can understand what is said in the Torah: "The Creator showed Adam each generation and its representatives, and showed it to Moshe as well" (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 38:2).

Yet, if the above described unfolded before the creation of these generations, how can the Creator show them to Adam and Moshe? It is possible because all the souls with all their destinies from the moment of their creation to the end of their correction emerged before the Creator in their completeness and reside in the Supernal Garden of Eden. From there they descend and enter the bodies of our world, each at their own "time." And there, "Above," the Creator revealed them to Adam, Moshe, and all the others who were worthy of it. However, this is a difficult notion, and not every mind is ready to grasp it.

Therefore, *The Zohar* says (*Terumah*, 163) that the way the six *Sefirot* of *Zeir Anpin* unite as ONE above *Chazeh de Zeir Anpin*, where they are free from the *Klipot*, *Malchut* unites with *Zeir Anpin* below his *Chazeh*, so that unity exists below, as it does Above. For the Creator (*Zeir Anpin*) is One (male) Above. And *Malchut* becomes One (female), so that One (male) would be with One (female). This is the secret of unity expressed in the words: "He and His Name are one"; "He" (ZA) and "His Name" (*Malchut*) are within one another.

The degree that is born at the end of correction, in the state of "He and His Name are one," already exists Above as the sum of all the 600,000 souls and deeds during the 6,000 degrees (called "years") in the world, which will emerge before the end of correction, but exist in their eternal form Above, where the future is as present.

Therefore, the pillar of Light that will shine upon the world from one end to the other at the end of correction already exists in the Supernal Garden of Eden, which illuminates it with the same brilliance that will be revealed to us in the future. This is because at the end of correction the two degrees will shine as one, and "He and His Name will be one." A pillar (line) of Light will appear, made of those that reside Above (the souls that reside in the Supernal Garden of Eden) and those that reside below (the souls clothed in the bodies of our world). And "One receives One"; these two degrees shine together, and reveal the Creator's unity thereby, as it is said that on that day "He and His Name will be one."

From the aforesaid one can assume that the pillar of Light that shines in the Supernal Garden of Eden descends and shines in the Garden of Eden of our world. But this is not so. Rather, FROM THE FIRST—FIRMAMENTS

ARE MADE, for this degree exits onto a *Zivug* of *Yesod* of *Zeir Anpin*, called "firmament." Therefore, all the *Zivugim* that ascend above the firmament shine upon those that receive them from the firmament and below. The degree above the firmament is referred to as "Heaven," and the degree that receives from the firmament is called "earth."

When the line (pillar) of Light unites the inhabitants of Above and those of below, the distinction between the Supernal Garden of Eden and the inhabitants of this world still remains. This is because the inhabitants of the Supernal Garden of Eden receive from a *Zivug* above the firmament, and what they receive is called "the new Heaven for the inhabitants of Above." And only a small luminescence, called "the new earth," descends below the firmament to the inhabitants of below. This is what *The Zohar* says: "From the first—firmaments are made, and from the second, from their return—earth."

Although in this great *Zivug*, as in all *Zivugim*, all that is decided above the firmament, above the *Zivug*, spreads down to earth, below the line of the *Zivug*, one should not think that this *Zivug* (like all the previous ones) is merely a thin line of Light, called "one," a limited, inner place, as it is written at the beginning of creation: "Let the waters gather together unto one place," i.e., in the inner place of the worlds (and not the outer), a place of Israel.

But the Light of this *Zivug* revolves around the world and fills it whole. This Light reaches even the outer parts of the worlds (the nations of the world), as the prophet writes: "The earth shall be filled with Knowledge of the Creator" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9).

142. And since out of them Heavens were created, who resides there? He returned and said, "There is a shelter for the sun in them. This is the holy sun, called *Zeir Anpin*, and it dwells and resides there, and adorns itself with them."

143. Since *Zeir Anpin* resides in those firmaments and clothes in them, he emerges like a bridegroom out of his wedding canopy, and rejoices and races along these firmaments, and exits them and enters, and races toward a tower in a different place. He emerges from one end of Heaven, from the Upper World, from the Highest place, from *Bina*. And his season—where is it? It is the opposite place below, i.e., *Malchut*, which is the year's season that forms all the ends and binds everything—from Heaven to this firmament.

The Zohar speaks of the great secret of the sun coming out of its hiding. It is worth noting that Kabbalists often use the word "secret" only to explain and as if reveal the mystery in the passages that follow. The reader should nevertheless

understand that there are no secrets in the world. Man attains everything from his degree. Even in our world, in the process of his mental development, man attains new notions on every new degree. And whatever he considered a secret only yesterday now becomes clear and revealed before him.

The same is true with regard to spiritual attainments. Kabbalah is called a secret wisdom, for it is concealed from ordinary people, it is a secret to them. But as soon as one acquires a screen and begins to perceive the spiritual world, he sees the secret becomes a reality. And this process continues until he completely attains the entire universe, all of the Creator's secrets ("Introduction to the Study of the Ten Sefirot," item 148).

The sun emerges from its hiding (sheath—*Nartik*), from under the *Huppah*, and rushes to a tower at a different place—after the great *Zivug* under the *Huppah*. *Zeir Anpin* leaves his hiding and enters *Malchut*, called the tower of *Oz* (strength) of the Creator's Name, for *Malchut* then ascends and unites with *ZA*, and they become as one.

The end of *Malchut* is called "the year's season." And until the end of correction, the impure forces, called "the end of days," attach themselves to it. Now, after the end of correction, it is still necessary to correct this part of *Malchut*, called "the end of days." To this end, the sun emerges from its hiding, LIKE THE BRIDEGROOM EMERGING FROM UNDER THE *HUPPAH*, and shines, and enters the tower of *Oz* (*Malchut*), races and shines on all the ends of *Malchut* to correct "the year's season" of the lower end of Heaven.

For this last action corrects all the ends of *Malchut* and unites all from the Heavens to the firmament. In other words, *Malchut* receives the Light of THE END OF HEAVENS above the firmament (*ZA*).

144. There is nothing hidden on account of the year's season and the phase of the sun that revolves in all directions. And there is no concealment, i.e., not a single Supernal Degree is hidden from him, for all were bound together and everyone appeared before him, and none could be concealed from him. Thanks to him and thanks to them he returned to them, to the friends, in the phase of complete return and correction. All this year and all this time is for the Torah (to study it), as it is written: "The Creator's Torah is perfect."

After the great *Zivug*, a restriction was imposed on all the Upper Light (item 94). Therefore, a new *Zivug* (TOWER) is necessary, which reveals anew all of the Upper Light that was concealed on account of the disappearance of the degree of *BON*, before it begins to ascend to *SAG*. Thus, NOTHING IS

CONCEALED FROM THAT PHASE OF THE SUN THAT REVOLVES IN ALL DIRECTIONS.

Indeed, a *Zivug* between the phase of the sun and the year's season corrects the ends of *Malchut* on all sides, until the correction is completed. Thus, *BON* ascends and becomes like *SAG*, which amounts to the complete correction of *BON*, whereupon THERE IS NO CONCEALMENT, NOT A SINGLE SUPERNAL DEGREE IS CONCEALED FROM HIM, for all the degrees and the Upper Light are once more revealed in their perfection. AND NOTHING CAN BE CONCEALED FROM Him, for all the degrees and Light gradually return to Him, until all become revealed.

It is hence said that the revelation does not occur at once, for while in its phase, the sun travels and shines in sufficient measure for a COMPLETE RETURN, as it is written that He punishes the sinners and cures the righteous, whereupon they all merit the complete revelation of the Star.

145. The word *HaVaYaH* is written six times, and there are six verses from "the Heavens declare" and until "The Creator's Torah is perfect" (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8). And this is the secret of the word *BERESHEET*, which consists of six letters: THE CREATOR CREATED ET (THE) HEAVENS AND THE EARTH, six words in all. The other sources of the verse from "The Creator's Torah is perfect" and until "they are better than gold" (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8) correspond to the six utterances of the name *HaVaYaH* in them. The sources from "the Heavens declare" through "The Creator's Torah is perfect" are for the six letters in the word *BERESHEET*, whereas the six names are for the six words from "the Creator created" through "the Heavens and the earth."

It is known that any degree born or revealed in the worlds is first revealed through its letters, which signifies the, as yet, unattainable. Afterwards, it appears in the combination of letters. This degree then becomes attainable, its contents become known, as previously described with the letters *RYU* = 216 and *AB* = 72 (item 116).

The six letters in the word *BERESHEET* contain everything that exists in Heaven and on earth, but in an unattainable form, and are hence designated by these letters alone, without their combinations. Then there are the six words: *Bara Elokim Et Ha-Shamayim Ve-Et Ha-Aretz* (THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH), where everything that the word *BERESHEET* contains (Heaven, earth, and all their inhabitants) is already attained.

The same principle allows us to understand what is included in the six verses from "the Heavens declare" to "The Creator's Torah is perfect." This is

just the beginning of the revelation of attaining the end of creation in the form of letters, as with the six letters in the word *BERESHEET*.

And the complete revelation, the attainment of the end of creation begins with the verse "The Creator's Torah is perfect." This verse contains six names, each of which constitutes unique attainment, thus indicating that only after the completion of this degree do all the letter combinations become revealed and attained in the great *Zivug* at the end of correction, as it is said, NOTHING IS CONCEALED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIM.

This is why *The Zohar* says that THE WORD *BERESHEET*, WHICH CONSISTS OF six, IS WRITTEN (SPEAKS) ABOUT THIS SECRET. The word *BERESHEET* contains six letters, where Heaven and earth are concealed, before they become revealed in the six words, THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH.

The same applies to the six verses (*Tehilim*, 19:2-8): the great *Zivug* of the end of correction is not yet revealed from THE HEAVENS DECLARE to THE CREATOR'S TORAH IS PERFECT. Only after NOTHING IS CONCEALED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIM are the six names revealed, which in turn reveal the end of correction in its full perfection.

146. As they were sitting and talking, Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, entered. He said to them: "Certainly, the face of the *Shechina* has come, hence I called you *Pniel* (*Pnei*–face + *El*–Creator = the Creator's face)" (item 119), for you have seen the *Shechina* face to face. And now that you have attained Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada, it certainly refers to *Atik*, the *Sefira* of *Keter*, just as everything else that occurred afterwards, as it is written in the Torah: "And he slew the Egyptian." And he who is concealed from all—is *Atik*.

It is said in the continuation of "The Donkey Driver," who revealed the soul of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada to Rabbi Elazar and Rabbi Aba, as a result of which Rabbi Shimon called them *Pniel*. For the soul of Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada is a spiritual degree destined to be revealed in the future, at the end of correction. This is why they were in a state of concealment of the Upper Light (item 113), as was already mentioned with regard to the *Zivug* of the sun's phase and the year's season, until they have found Rabbi Shimon Ben Lakunya and others, thus meriting all the Light once again.

Therefore, Rabbi Shimon says to them, YOU HAVE ATTAINED, BENAYAHU BEN-YEHOYADA WAS REVEALED TO YOU. This means that they have already attained the six verses, the essence of THE HEAVENS DECLARE, and exist in the six names. When they have attained the soul of

Benayahu Ben-Yehoyada with the help of the donkey driver, their attainment had not yet been revealed to them, as they still existed in the six verses—the reason for their concealment. But now they have attained and revealed his soul, that it is the great *Zivug* of *Atik*, when everything is revealed to all.

147. The words, "He slew the Egyptian" are explained in another place, i.e., at a different degree, in a different way. He opened and said, "He slew the Egyptian, a man of good stature, five cubits high." All of this refers to the same secret. This Egyptian is the one who is well-known and is described as "very great in the land of Egypt in the eyes of the Jew," for he is great and honored, as that old man had already explained (item 99).

The Torah describes the killing of the Egyptian in the book *Shemot* (*2:12*). As we have already learned from the article about Rabbi Hamnuna-Saba, it is expressed differently at a different degree (in a different language, the language of *Divrey HaYamim*). However, these two verses are the same secret, for it is written in the book *Shmuel* 1 (11:23): "And he slew the Egyptian, a prominent man," while in *Divrey HaYamim* it is written: "And he slew the Egyptian, a man of good stature, five cubits high." Both verses are the same secret, which *The Zohar* continues to clarify.

148. This case was examined at the Divine Assembly. "A prominent man" and "a man of good stature" are the same, as they constitute *Shabbat* and the bounds of *Shabbat*. As it is written: "You shall measure it from outside the city." It is also written, "You shall not impede limitations in measure." Hence, he was a man of good stature. Precisely such, from one end of the world to the other. Such is he, Adam, the first man. And should you disagree, referring to the written "five cubits," know that these five cubits extend from one end of the world to the other.

The matter concerns the Divine Assembly, of which Rabbi Shimon said: "I saw those ascending, but how few they were" (Talmud, *Sukkah*, 45:2). There is a lower assembly of the angel Matat. However, the described above takes place in the Supernal Assembly, which will be clarified further.

"A prominent man" is the degree of Moshe, of whom it is written in the Torah: "And there hath not since risen a prophet in Israel such as Moshe" (*Devarim*, 34:10), of whom it is written "My servant Moshe is not so; he is trusted in all My house; with him do I speak mouth to mouth, clearly, and not with riddles" (*Bamidbar*, 12:7-8).

"A prominent man" also constitutes a measure, which extends from one end of the world to the other. Moreover, its form and size correspond to *Shabbat* and

the bounds of *Shabbat*, where the bounds of *Shabbat* are the end of its measure. During the 6,000 years, the bounds of *Shabbat* are limited by only 2,000 *Amah* (cubits). However, after the end of correction, the bounds of *Shabbat* will extend from one end of the world to the other, as it is written: "And the Lord shall be King over all the earth" (*Zachariah*, 14:9).

As we already know, the Light can descend and fill the *Partzufim* down to the level of *Parsa* of the world of *Atzilut*. *Shabbat* is a spiritual state when the worlds of *BYA* with all that inhabit them rise above the *Parsa* to the world of *Atzilut*. Above *Parsa* are only pure forces, corrected desires (*Kelim*). Hence, naturally there is no need to separate pure *Kelim* from impure ones and to correct them during *Shabbat*.

However, the Light of *Shabbat* shines not only in the world of *Atzilut*, but beyond its bounds as well. It thus affects the sixteen *Sefirot* from *Parsa* down to *Chazeh* of the world of *Yetzira* so the soul can be in the state of "*Shabbat*" with these desires, too. The language of our world describes this as the permission to transcend the bounds of the city of *Atzilut* (seventy *Amah*) by 2,000 *Amah* down to the *Chazeh* of the world of *Beria*, and then another 2,000 *Amah* from *Chazeh* of the world of *Beria* to *Chazeh* of the world of *Yetzira*. (Seventy *Amah* are regarded as being within the city limits.)

However, after all the *Kelim* (desires) are corrected, there will be no restrictions; the world of *Atzilut* will extend down to our world, and only the state of *Shabbat* will prevail in the entire world—in all desires of all creatures.

It is hence written: A PROMINENT MAN and A MAN OF GOOD STATURE are one and the same, for they constitute *Shabbat* and the bounds of *Shabbat*, as is said: AND YOU SHALL MEASURE FROM OUTSIDE THE CITY, and it is also written: YOU SHALL NOT IMPEDE JUDGMENT IN MEASURE. It follows that an object's measure represents its limit, just as the words A MAN OF GOOD STATURE alludes to the end, the bounds of *Shabbat* after the end of correction, which will extend from one end of the world to the other.

AND HE SHALL BE PRECISELY MAN OF GOOD STATURE indicates that size does not rule over him; rather, he rules over size, and it is he who determines this size according to his own will. SUCH IS HE, ADAM, who, prior to his sin, extended and shone from one end of the world to the other (Talmud, *Hagigah*, 12:1), as the bounds of *Shabbat* after the end of correction.

FIVE CUBITS FROM ONE END OF THE WORLD TO THE OTHER—because the five cubits are the five *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*

that expand and fill everything from one end of the world to the other after the end of correction.

149. It is, as is written, "like a weaver's beam" (*Shmuel* 1, 17: 7) "as the Divine staff" (*Shemot*, 4:20) that was in his hand, which reveals by the secret name (Light) confirmed in it by the Light of the letter combinations that Betzalel and his disciples engraved, called "weaving," as is written, "He filled them and others, and BOUND them." And that staff—within it shone a secret name, inscribed on all its sides by the Light of the sages, who confirmed the secret name in forty-two properties. And the rest of what is written from here onward is similar to what the old man had already explained. Happy is his lot!

The secret of the letter combinations in sacred names is called "weaving," like a weaver joins his threads into a fabric, the letters join into combinations of sacred names, which designate man's spiritual level of their attainment. Hence, *The Zohar* says that the Creator's staff in Moshe's hand had engraved the letter combinations of the secret name, which Betzalel and his disciples engraved as they worked on the Tabernacle.

The Creator's staff is therefore called a "weaver's beam." The Hebrew word for "beam" is *MANOR* (from *OHR*—Light). This refers to the Light of the letter combinations in the secret name, which Betzalel weaved and engraved, as it is said, "by the Light of the letter combinations that Betzalel engraved."

However, the staff does not shine in all directions until the end of correction, for there is a distinction between the Creator's staff and that of Moshe. It is written of the staff of Moshe: "Put forth your hand and take it by the tail (of a snake), and it shall become a staff in your hand" (*Shemot*, 4:4). This means that it did not shine from all sides.

However, after the end of correction, it will shine in all directions, as it is said: "And the secret name shone from within that staff in all directions by the Light of sages, who confirmed the secret name in forty-two properties." For the secret name that was engraved on the staff shone in all directions, i.e., in the property called "He will eradicate death forever" (*Yeshayahu*, 25:8). It will thus begin to shine evenly in all directions, whereas the Light of the name engraved on the staff is the Light of *Hochma* of the Name *MB*.

150. Be seated, dear friends. Be seated and let us renew the correction of the Bride on this night, for whomever joins her on this night shall be guarded Above and below in the coming year. And this year shall pass over him in peace. Such people are described in the verse: "The angel of the Lord stands

round those that fear Him, and delivers them. O taste and see that the Creator is good" (*Tehilim*, 34:8-9).

As was already stated in item 125, there are two explanations of the aforesaid. The first is that since the day of the giving of the Torah is the Light of the end of correction that abolishes death forever and brings freedom from the angel of death, one should exert to receive this Light on the day of *Shavuot* (Pentecost), as Light is renewed on the holiday and brings deliverance from death.

According to the second explanation, *Malchut* is called a "year," and the renewal of the Light by those who keep the Torah after the end of correction will also bring the complete and final correction of the year (*Malchut*). This is because the renewal of the Light by those who keep the Torah is referred to as the correction of the night of the bride, *Malchut*, called a "year." And this brings us to a corrected year.

Heaven and Earth

151. Rabbi Shimon opened and said, "In the beginning the Creator created the Heavens and the earth." This verse should be examined carefully, for whoever claims that there is another Creator disappears from the world, as it is written, "He who claims that there is another Creator perishes from both the earth and from Heavens, for there is no other Creator, but the Almighty."

Here *The Zohar* continues to discuss the correction of the bride. It starts with the first sentence of the Torah: IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, with the root and the source of all the corrections of the bride (*Malchut*) during the 6,000 years.

Malchut's entire correction occurs only through her union with *Bina* and the reception of *Bina's* properties. In the verse, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, the Creator is called *Elokim*, signifying *Bina*. This means that He created the world by the property of *Bina* for the purpose of correction.

Elokim consists of *MI-Bina* and *ELEH-Malchut*. Thanks to the constant union of *MI* and *ELEH*, the world can exist. The Creator is *Bina*, called *Elokim*, and as a result of *Ohr Hochma* clothing in *Ohr Hassadim*, the union of *MI* and *ELEH* provides *ELEH* with the property of *Bina*. It is through this correction that the world is able to exist.

The union of *MI* and *ELEH* does not permit for the existence of other, foreign, egoistic forces within the *Partzuf*. These are the so-called "other gods," who cannot sustain the world, as they separate *MI* from *ELEH* and do not clothe the Light of pleasure (*Hochma*) in the altruistic intention of *Hassadim* (for the Creator's sake), which leads to *Ohr Hochma* departing the *Partzuf*, leaving *ELEH*. Therefore, it is forbidden to believe that man is governed by any other forces besides the Creator, for instead of existence and reception of the Light of Life, such belief brings the world and man only ruin and disappearance of this Light.

152. With the exception of *ELEH*, everything is written in Aramaic. This is called "translation." He asks: However, should you suggest that it is because the holy angels do not understand the translation, i.e., the Aramaic language, then everything should have been said in Hebrew, so the holy angels would hear and be grateful for it. He replies: This is exactly why it is written in the translation (in Aramaic), as the holy angels neither hear nor understand it, and hence will not envy people, which would be detrimental to the latter. For in this case, even the holy angels are called Creators, and they are included in the group of Creators, but they have not created Heaven and earth.

Aramaic is referred to as "translation." It is very close to the holy language of Hebrew, but angels neither need nor know it nonetheless. Yet, they know and need all the other languages of the nations of the world. This is so because the translation from the holy language is called its "reverse side," its *VAK* without *GAR*.

In other words, there is an altruistic language, which is hence called "holy," and its reverse, preliminary stage, hence called "translation," is the Aramaic language. No other language in the world but Aramaic can act as translation from the holy language. All the other languages in the nations of the world (egoistic desires) are strictly egoistic and are unrelated to altruism. They are not *AHP* with regard to *GE* (the holy language).

Therefore, the translation is truly close to the holy language. However, there is one distinction here, which renders it unnecessary to angels: the holy language is like the scale pointer that shows the extent of balance between the right and left scales, where the pointer moves between the two scales and delivers its judgment—toward the scale of reward (for merits) or towards the scale of punishment (for sins). It brings everything back to the state of correction, to purity and holiness, and is hence called the holy language ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 120).

As it is written in item sixteen, Heaven, earth, and all that inhabit them were created by *MA*, i.e., *Malchut*, as it is written, "*MA* = WHAT = HOW glorious is Your name in all the earth, which You have set above the Heavens!" Indeed, Heaven was created by the name (property) of *MA* (*Malchut*), whereas the Heaven that is mentioned alludes to *Bina*, called *MI*. But all is explained by the name *Elokim*.

The name *Elokim* is revealed in Heaven and earth, which were created by the power of *MA*, by attaching the letters *ELEH* from *Ima-Bina* with the help of *MAN* and good deeds of the lower ones. Therefore, the Light of *GAR*, i.e., *Ohr Hochma*, called *Elokim*, is consistent neither in Heaven (*Bina*) nor on earth (*ZON*).

Typically, only *GE* are present above the *Parsa*, in *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*, whereas their *AHP* is below the *Parsa*, in the worlds *BYA*, for *ZON* themselves are unwilling to receive *Ohr Hochma* unless it is to be passed on to the *Partzufim*—the souls of the righteous—in the worlds of *BYA*.

When the lower ones, the righteous that exist spiritually in the worlds of *BYA*, raise *MAN* from below upwards, from their place in *BYA* to *Malchut de Atzilut*, *MA* turns into *MI* and the letters *ELEH* join with *MI*. Together, they create the word *Elokim*, which is the Light of Heaven and earth. However, if the lower ones corrupt their deeds by sinking into egoistic intentions, the Light disappears and leaves *Sefirot K-H* with the Light *Ruach-Nefesh* (called *MI* or *MA*), while the letters *ELEH* fall into the impure forces, for *MI* is *GE* and *ELEH* is *AHP*.

Therefore, the entire correction depends exclusively on attaching the letters *ELEH* to *MI* with the help of *MAN*. Hence, this correction is called the "holy language," like the scale pointer, which determines the balance between egoistic desires and altruistic intentions, i.e., the reception for the Creator's sake. This is why the scale pointer is set in the middle, and by means of such interaction of the properties of *Malchut* (the will to receive) and *Bina* (the will to bestow), one can achieve the reception of *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake.

The Light is called "holy," as it passes the holy name *Elokim* to *ZON*, descends from *Bina* to *ZON*, and transfers the letters *ELEH* to the pure and holy side, to the scale of merit. This is why the Hebrew word for "scales" is *Mawznaim* (from the word *Awzen*), for the Light in *AHP* (*Awzen-Hotem-Peh*) is named according to its highest Light, the Light of *Awzen* of the *Sefira Bina* or *Ohr Neshama*.

Keter	Galgalta	Forehead/Skull	Yechida	GE
Hochma	Eynaim	eyes	Haya	
		Parsa		
Bina	Awzen	ear	Neshama	AHP
ZA	Hotem	nose	Ruach	
Malchut	Peh	mouth	Nefesh	

And the language of translation called *Targum* is opposite to the holy language of *Mawznaim* (scales). It is so because when the lower ones do not raise *MAN* and do not harbor pure intentions, it is defined as an aspiration to use only the desires to receive, designated by the letters *ELEH*, and which do not aspire to unite with the desire (property) of bestowal (the letters *MI-Bina*). As a

result, *AHP* of *ZON*, called *MA*, descend and Heaven and earth (*ZON*) return to the state of *VAK*.

Such a state is called the language of *Targum*. The *Gematria* of the word *Tardema* (sleep) matches that of the word *Targum*. In Hebrew, the word *Targum* is spelled with the same letters as the words *Tered MA*, which means "descending *MA*," for through this spiritually impure language, *AHP* = *MA* (designated by the words *Tered MA*) becomes revealed. This leads to the descent from the scale of merit to the scale of punishment. While this is happening, the state of *GE* is called "sleep."

However, all this refers only to *ZON*, to Heaven and earth created in *MA*, the desires of reception. This is because they have emerged as a result of a *Zivug* on *Yesod*, called *MA*. But the holy angels that emerged from the *Zivug de Neshikin* (kissing *Zivug*) of *AVI*, and which have only *MI* but no *MA* (only altruistic desires of bestowal, the property of *IMA-Bina*), permanently exist in the state of *VAK* without *GAR*, that is, without *Ohr Hochma*.

On the other hand, their *VAK* is *Ohr Hassadim* of *MI* = *Ima-Bina*. *Ohr Hassadim* in *Bina* is as important as *GAR*, for it fills desires with just as perfect a sensation as does the *GAR*, to the point that they reject *Ohr Hochma*, just like *Ima*. And there is holiness in them; hence, *GAR* are called holy, as well.

There are two reasons why angels do not respond to the language of *Targum*, which adds *MA* to *ZON* and returns *ZON* to the state of *VAK*:

1. Even when *ZON* are in the state of *GAR* due to the influence of the holy language, angels do not receive *GAR* (*Hochma*) from it, as, just like *Ima*, they want only *Ohr Hassadim*.
2. The addition of the *Achoraim* (*AHP*) does not apply to angels whatsoever; they lack the properties of *MA*. Hence, *The Zohar* says that THE HOLY ANGELS HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO NEED for translation AND DO NOT LISTEN to it. They do not need it because they neither lose anything when it is present nor gain anything when it is absent, as they constitute the property of *VAK* and lack the property of *MA*.

AND THEY SHALL NOT ENVY MAN—this sentence refers primarily to the damnation of other gods, the forces that prevent man from revealing *GAR*, *Ohr Hochma*. As a result, he loses the Light and the letters *ELEH*, for angels do not have the properties of *GAR de Hochma* either, but only *GAR de Hassadim*. Thus, they feel ashamed of their descent to such a low degree, and envy us for considering ourselves significant.

The Zohar says that in this case, even the holy angels are called "Creators," but they have not created Heaven and earth and are called "Creators-*Elokim*" (forces) because they come from *Ima-Bina* (called *Elokim*), thus existing in the general *Elokim*. But THEY HAVE NOT CREATED HEAVEN AND EARTH, for they cannot uphold the existence of Heaven and earth in *GAR de Hochma*. However, Heaven and earth (the correction of the world to its ultimate merging with the Creator) cannot exist unless man settles there (man must consist of egoistic and altruistic desires) and sows and reaps (corrects his egoistic desires by uniting with the properties of *Bina*). This existence is possible only in the Light of *GAR de Hochma* (the reception of *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake). Hence, angels do not create Heaven and earth.

153. He asks: earth is called *Arka*, when it should read, *Ar'a*. He answers: because *Arka* is one of the seven lands below, where the sons of Cain's sons reside. Indeed, after being banished from the face of the earth, they descended there and fathered generations; wisdom became so lost that all understanding was lost, and this is a double land, consisting of darkness and Light.

Each of the seven *Sefirot* (the six *Sefirot* of *ZA* and *Malchut*) contain the properties of the other six. Thus, each one of them contains the seven *Sefirot HGT NHYM*. In other words, *Malchut*, too, has seven *Sefirot*, and the lower world contains seven lands, as well, called *Eretz*, *Adama*, *Arka*, *Gia*, *Neshia*, *Tzia* and *Tevel*.

Our land is called *Tevel* and is the highest of the seven lands. *Arka* is the third of the seven lands. The souls of Cain and Abel descend from the word *Elokim*, but due to the impurity that Chava (Eve), Adam's wife, received from the serpent, the soul of Cain emerged first from the letters *ELEH*, followed by the soul of Abel, which emerged from the letters *MI*. These two *Partzufim* were meant to unite and incorporate their properties in one another, which would make the name *Elokim* shine in both of them, as when *MI* is permanently present in *ELEH*. However, the impure force that emerged together with Cain's soul incited him against his brother (*MI* of the word *Elokim*) to the point that he rose against Abel (*MI* in *Elokim*) and slew him. This is because the disappearance of the property of *MI-Bina* from *ELEH* is tantamount to murder.

Without the support of the properties of *MI*, *ELEH* (Cain's own property) fell into the impure forces: from the spiritual level of the holy land to the impure place (of egoistic desires). And he lost his descendants (*Partzufim* filled with Light) because of the rule of the impure forces (the disappearance of the screen).

Thus, the holy language within him was substituted for translation, for he had lost the wisdom (*Ohr Hochma*). After all, the impure forces lack wisdom, as they have only the Light of *HB* without *Daat*.

The slaying of Abel, i.e., the exit of Light from this *Partzuf* (item 152), occurs because *MI* is formed in *ZON* exclusively by the power of *MAN* (raised by the pure thoughts of the righteous in the worlds of *BYA*). Then appear the letters *ELEH*, and the word *Elokim* becomes as complete in *ZON* as it is in *AVI*. *Malchut* ends just like *ZA*, like *Ima*, due to the replacing of the letter *Hey* with *Yod* (item 17).

However, the letter *Hey* does not disappear from *MA* forever. Rather, it simply enters the inner part of *Malchut* and hides there (the will to receive receives its fulfillment from altruistic actions, from *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, its egoistic aspirations are temporarily unfelt, as they are concealed in *Ohr Hassadim*). Meanwhile, the letter *Yod* is revealed in *MI*.

This is why the Creator's holy name *Elokim* is also found in *ZON*, in Heaven and earth. However, Cain raised *MAN* not in holiness and purity, but wished to use the letters *ELEH*—which relate to him—for his own pleasure. This is described as, AND CAIN ROSE UP AGAINST ABEL, HIS BROTHER, for he put himself above his brother, to rule over *MI* (Abel).

However, *AHP* of *Nukva* (the hitherto concealed letter *Hey* of *MA*) were immediately revealed, and the word *MI* disappeared from *Malchut*. Hence, Abel's soul, which stems from *MI* of *Nukva* (*MI* fill the *Partzuf* with Light and are considered its soul) ascends and disappears as well, as is described by the words, AND SLEW HIM, for the Light's exit from the *Partzuf* is referred to as death.

This is why *The Zohar* describes this process in the following way: The serpent's impure force was within Cain (*Beresheet*, 2:4); hence, he wished to strengthen the letters *ELEH*, annul *MI*, and govern them. That is why he revealed *AHP* of *Nukva* (*MA*) and *MI* disappeared from *Nukva*, whereupon Abel's soul, which descends from *MI*, disappeared as well (AND SLEW HIM).

Thus, Cain himself (*ELEH*) fell under the rule of the impure forces, called *Arka* or *Eretz Nod*, as it is written in the Torah: "And he settled in the land of Nod" (*Beresheet*, 4:16).

The Zohar calls it a double land, one that contains both Light and darkness. This is because Light and darkness mix and act (rule) together, as there are two rulers in that land, who divide the power equally between them. One rules over darkness, the other over Light. Hence, in this state one is unable to separate Light from darkness, and only help from Above, the descending Light of reason, enables one to tell between the true Ruler and the lord of darkness.

154. And there are two rulers there—one rules over darkness and one over Light, and they become hostile to each other. When Cain descended there, they joined together and became complete. And they all saw that they were Cain's descendants. Therefore, their two heads are like two serpents, except for when the ruler of Light defeats the other, the ruler of darkness. Hence, they enter Light and darkness, and become as one.

We need to review item 14, which expounds on the creation of the holy name *Elokim*. First, the letters *ELEH* ascend and join *MI* to form a simple word, since *Ohr Hassadim* is still insufficient, whereas holiness (*Ohr Hochma*) cannot enter the *Kli* (desire) without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. Hence, it is concealed in the name *Elokim*.

That is why a *Zivug* takes place in *MI*— to receive *Ohr Hassadim*, which clothes *Ohr Hochma*, thereby correcting the name *Elokim*: *MI BARAH ELEH—BARAH* is the source of *Ohr Hassadim*, which clothes *Ohr Hochma*, thus connecting *MI* to *ELEH*, which brings correction to the name *Elokim*. *MI-Bina* consists of *GAR* (*AVI* with the property of pure altruism), who never receive *Ohr Hochma*, and *ZAT* (*YESHSUT*), who do receive *Ohr Hochma*.

Therefore, as the letters *ELEH* begin to ascend to *MI*, they first rise to *ZAT de MI* (*YESHSUT*), who receive *Ohr Hochma*, but are currently concealed in the name *Elokim*. Then transpires the second *Zivug* on *GAR de MI*, *AVI*, altruistic desires, which provide *ELEH* with *Ohr Hassadim*, thus bringing correction to the name *Elokim*.

AVI	–	GAR de Bina	–	Ohr Hassadim
YESHSUT	–	ZAT de Bina	–	Ohr Hochma
ZON				

Since *ELEH* lacks *Ohr Hassadim*, those deprived from *Ohr Hochma* are called *Partzuf* Cain. Not only did Cain fail to raise *MAN* to receive *MI* with *Hassadim*, he also wished to receive *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*, thereby destroying the *Partzuf* named Abel, for the egoistic desires of *AHP de Malchut* of *Atzilut* were exposed. The Light disappeared from *Partzuf* Abel, signifying its death, whereas Cain himself fell into the impure forces—*ELEH*.

The place of these impure forces is called *Arka*. Also, two rulers exist there, emerging from the impure *ELEH*: when *AHP de MA* in *Malchut* is concealed, while *AHP de MI* are revealed, they can pass the Light from the perfect, pure, and holy name *Elokim* to the souls. *Ohr Hochma* of *ELEH* (received by

YESHSUT) then clothes in *Hassadim* (received from *AVI*), and the holy name *Elokim* becomes revealed.

However, since the impure forces cling only to the *AHP* of the pure forces (to *MA*), the letters *ELEH* within them exist in two incomplete states: (i) when no *Hassadim* are present at all; (ii) when *Ohr Hochma* in *ELEH* cannot clothe in *Hassadim* due to the lack of *Hassadim de MI*; hence, *ELEH* are kept in darkness.

This is the male part of the impure *ELEH*, as these *Kelim* are intended for *Ohr Hochma*. However, they have no *Hochma* due to the lack of *Hassadim de MI*. Hence, they are kept in darkness, devoid of both *Hochma* and *Hassadim*. Yet, these are great *Kelim*, for if they had been able to receive *Ohr Hassadim*, they would have been able to receive *Ohr Hochma* within it, too.

The female part of the impure *ELEH* stems from *AHP de MA* of the holy *Nukva*, the *Kli* for *Ohr Hassadim*. However, the impure *Nukva* is considerably injured, as she is the basis for everyone's remoteness from the Creator, as she impersonates the holy *Malchut*. Depending on the extent of her corruption, she has a multitude of impure names. Yet, she still retains a tiny Light (*Ner Dakik*), since her *Kelim* stem from *AHP de MA*, the roots of which are *Kelim* of *Ohr Hassadim*.

These male and female parts of the impure *ELEH* are *ZA* and *Malchut* of the impure forces, the two rulers in *Arka*. The male part rules over darkness and the female part rules over the Light that is there. They complain against each another, since they are opposite. The male part complains because it is the *Kelim* of the letters *ELEH*, which are empty of *Ohr Hochma*; it hates the forces of remoteness from the Creator and forgery, existing within the *Kelim* of the female part of the impure forces, and prefers to remain in its darkness.

Nukva of the impure forces, however, who has a small Light of *Hassadim*, does not aspire for *Ohr Hochma*, let alone for the darkness in which her male part abides. Therefore, she complains about the male part and distances from it. As *The Zohar* says, two rulers govern there: one (the male part) over darkness, and the other (the female part) over Light, and they are hostile towards each other, for the male part rules over darkness and the female rules over Light. Hence, they hate, slander, and complain against each other. And since they are thereby distanced from one another, they cannot expand their dominance and are incapable of causing any harm.

However, after Cain had sinned and dropped the pure letters of *ELEH* of his soul into the impure forces of *Arka*, his *ELEH*, which are concealed from *Hassadim*, clothed in the tiny Light present in the impure forces. This revives

the small *Kelim de Hochma* in Cain's *ELEH*, for the Light of the impure forces bestows life upon them, just like the pure Light of *Hassadim*.

As a result, the male part of *ELEH* of the impure forces, too, made a *Zivug* with this *Nukva*, who clothed Cain's *ELEH*, since he has these *Kelim*, as well. With the help of this *Zivug*, Cain fathered his descendants, the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that remain in the letters *ELEH*, which are not mixed with the male impure *Kelim* of *ELEH* that clothed in the Light of *Nukva* of the impure forces.

This is why *The Zohar* says that when Cain descended there, everything merged and became complete, for the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that remained in Cain's *ELEH* were clothed in the Light of *Nukva* of the impure forces. Consequently, her male impure force wished to enjoy the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* that are in Cain's *ELEH*.

Hence, they made a *Zivug*, i.e., spread and completed one another, and everyone saw that they were the descendants of Cain, that this *Zivug* produced the descendants, the clothing of the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* in Cain's impure *ELEH*. Thus, the sparks of *Ohr Hochma* of Cain's soul were revealed, and everyone saw that they were Cain's descendants, born of a vile *Zivug*.

Therefore, their two heads are like two serpents, for they were born from a union of the male and female parts of the impure *ELEH*, which are initially opposite to one another. Therefore, Cain's descendants have two heads, from the two impure forces: one craves the darkness of the desires to receive *Ohr Hochma*, and the other craves the Light within the impure desires of the impure *Nukva*. And the two serpent heads correspond to the two animals that belong to the system of the pure forces: the bull and the eagle.

However, the two heads exist only when the male part is dominant, when darkness rules. Indeed, by clothing in the Light of *Nukva* in order to enjoy the small sparks of *Ohr Hochma*, the male part also supports (against its will) the dominance of its *Nukva*, for it wants her Light. As a result, their descendants have two heads: the first pulls in one direction and the second in another.

Nukva of the impure forces does not need their male part whatsoever, as her male part exists in darkness and cannot give her anything. Therefore, *Nukva* dominates and prevails in her impurity, leaving nothing of the properties of the male part. Consequently, Cain's two-headed descendants become one-headed.

The Zohar tells us that the ruler of Light defeats the lord of darkness. When the impure *Nukva*, which has the Light, dominates, she defeats the male impure part, as well as the other male ruler. She defeats the male part, fully subduing it to her rule, and they include themselves in her Light and darkness, and become

as one. Consequently, the rule of the male part (darkness) is included under the rule of the female part (Light), and the two heads become one.

155. For these are the two rulers, called Afrira and Kastimon, who resemble holy angels with six wings. One has the image of a bull, and the other of an eagle. And when they unite, they create an image of man.

The male impure force is called Kastimon (from the word *Kosti*, devastation), for it is darkness and is unfit for man's life. And the impure *Nukva*, the female part, is called Afrira (from the word *Afar*, dust), and is unfit for sowing. She is called so in order to show that although she contains Light, she is insufficient for sowing the seed and producing harvest to feed human beings.

The Zohar also says that she resembles holy angels with six wings, for the six wings of the holy angels correspond to the letter *Vav* in the name *HaVaYaH*. In contrast, there are only four wings in the impure forces, corresponding to the name *ADNI*, indicating the height of the impure forces with regard to the holy angels, opposite them.

The Upper Light is called "wine," bringing joy to the Creator and to human beings. However, wine residue contains *Sigim* or wine yeast. And from this waste emerges the foremost wrecker of the world, for he is still connected to purity (to yeast) and has the image of a man. However, as he descends to bring people harm, he assumes the image of a bull. This is why a bull is the first of the four main types of wrecker.

Hence, *The Zohar* tells us that Kastimon is a wrecker in the image of a bull, thus indicating that it is the basis of all wreckers that are called "the impure bull." It is the *Sigim* of the Supernal *Ohr Hochma* of the holy name *Elokim*, the impure *ELEH* that correspond to the pure *ELEH* of the name *Elokim*. For *Sigim* and yeast stand below it, but since it is still connected to purity, it has the image of man, for *Ohr Hochma* of the name *Elokim* is *Tzelem* (image and likeness) of man, of which it is said: "*Be Tzelem Elokim*—created man in image and likeness."

Yet, when separated from purity (altruism) through deterioration of its desires and, consequently, of its properties, it descends to its place (befitting these properties) in *Arka*, and assumes the image (properties) of a bull. And its *Nukva* assumes (in *Arka*) the form (properties) of an eagle, in congruence with her goal and action of *Linshor* (to fall out)—to bring about the fall of human souls under her power.

Hence, the word *Nesher* (vulture) is derived from the word *Neshira* (fall), just as leaves fall from a tree, for the role of the impure *Nukva* is to seek people out

and bring them to a state of night and darkness, to the destruction of the holy covenant, as a result of which people's souls depart from them (item 131).

Therefore, *The Zohar* tells us: "And when they unite, they form the image of man," i.e., if they return and unite with purity, existing as wine yeast, they return and assume once more the image of man, just as before they descended to Arka and became wreckers.

156. When they are covered with darkness, they turn into a serpent with two heads, and move like a serpent. They soar in the void and bathe in the Great Sea, and when they approach the chains of Aza and Azael, they rile and rouse them and leap into the mountains of darkness, thinking that the Creator wishes to bring justice upon them.

I suggest that the reader will try to comment on *The Zohar* on his own, without any help, and then compare his thoughts with those stated below. This way, we might understand what Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag has done for us with his commentary. Prior to the appearance of his commentaries on the books of the ARI and *The Zohar*, there was no way for us to understand Kabbalah correctly, and only a handful of people in each generation could climb the spiritual ladder on their own.

Now, however, I assure the reader that simply by constantly reading even my books, which retell the compositions of the great Kabbalists, Rabbi Ashlag and his elder son and my teacher, Rabbi Baruch Ashlag, anyone can attain ascension to the Creator. I think that those who have already read previous books realize that this is truly possible!

As *The Zohar* already mentioned in item 154, when the impure *Nukva* dominates man through her Light, the two heads become as one. However, in the darkness, when the male part, called Kastimon, dominates, they turn into a serpent with two heads, for the male part is unable to annul the power of the female part, as it needs to be clothed in her Light. Hence, the serpent has two heads. And they move like a serpent—aiming to bring harm (the property of the serpent), to tempt Chava to dine on the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.

By the power of the *Rosh* of the impure *Nukva* they soar in the void, which contains the root of the impure force, called "void" or the greatest fall, as it is written: "They ascended up to Heaven, they descended down to the abyss" (*Tehilim*, 107:26). By the power of the impure male part, they bathe in the Great Sea, in *Ohr Hochma* of the impure forces.

Therefore, *Arka* is called the Land of Nod, as it constantly sways from the rule of the two heads: those that reside there keep alternating between ascending up to the Great Sea and descending down into the void.

The angels Aza and Azael are very exalted angels. Indeed, even after they had fallen from Heaven into our world, into the mountains of darkness, linked by a metal chain, so great was their power that with their help Bil'am (Balaam) attained the degree of prophecy, of which it is written: "Sees the Creator's presence" (*Bamidbar*, 24:4).

This is described as "falls and opens his eyes," for Aza is referred to as "falling" because of his fall from Heaven to earth. And Azael is called "he who opens his eyes" with regard to Aza, at whose face the Creator throws darkness. And with regard to Bil'am's prophetic degree, our sages have said the following: "There has not been a prophet in Israel like Moshe, not in Israel, but there was one among the nations of the world, and his name was Bil'am" (*Bamidbar-Raba*, 14)—so great was his prophetic degree.

And the reason for their downfall from Heaven to earth lies in their complaints against man at the moment of his making. Yet, there were many angels complaining and objecting, so why did the Creator cast down only these two? The answer to this question can be found in items 416-425 of the chapter "*Balak*" in *The Zohar*. Briefly, it says that when the desire to create Adam (or man, since the Hebrew word for man is Adam) appeared in the Creator, He summoned the Supernal angels, seated them before Him, and told them of His desire to create man.

The angels replied: "What is man, that You are mindful of him?" (*Tehilim*, 8:5), meaning what are the properties of this man that You so wish to create? He replied to them: "This man will be similar to Me and his wisdom will surpass yours, for the human soul includes all the angels and Supernal Degrees, just as his body includes all the creatures of this world."

Therefore, at the moment of creation of man's soul, the Creator summoned all the Supernal angels, so they would pass all of their properties and forces to man's soul. It is therefore written: "Let us make man in our image, in our likeness," meaning that man's "image and likeness" includes all of the properties of all the angels.

The words "image and likeness" are written in quotation marks, since the words *Tzelem* and *Demut* (image and likeness) are not mere words that simply describe likeness. Rather, they constitute very meaningful spiritual notions.

But the angels' question should be interpreted as follows: "What kind of a creature is this man and what is his nature? How shall we benefit from passing (including) our properties in him?" The Creator replied to this: "This man will be similar to Me and his wisdom will surpass yours." In other words, the Creator thus promised them that man will embrace all of their qualities (the properties of *Tzelem*), and that he will be wiser than them. However, because of their connection to him, they will also benefit from his great attainments and acquire everything that they presently lack.

This is because the human soul includes all the spiritual degrees and all the utmost properties of all the angels. And just as his body includes all the materials and creatures of our world with all of their properties, so was the Creator's wish that his soul would absorb the whole of creation within it.

It is written in the Torah: "Yaakov and Israel shall be told of the Creator's works (*Bamidbar*, 23:23)." The sages have said that in the future the angels will ask Israel for things that they do not know themselves, for Israel's attainments will be beyond that of the angels. Hence, all the angels took part in the creation of man and integrated all their properties within him.

However, once man was created and sinned, thus becoming guilty before the Creator, the angels Aza and Azael appeared before the Creator with accusations "that man, whom You have created, has sinned before You." For these words, the Creator cast them down from their exalted and holy degree, and thus, they began to deceive human beings.

Of all the angels, only these two, Aza and Azael, came before the Creator to complain about Adam's sins, for only they knew that man shall return to the Creator. However, Aza and Azael also knew that the harm brought to them by man's sin will not be corrected by this return. Moreover, they would prefer man to not return in his desires to the Creator at all. This is why they were the only ones that complained about Adam's sin, because from their perspective, this sin is incorrigible.

The thing is that the breaking of the vessels and Adam's sin constitute the same breaking, disappearance of the screen (anti-egoistic willpower or intention to act for the Creator's sake). The difference is that the breaking of the vessels signifies the breaking of the screen in the *Partzuf* called "world," while Adam's sin is the breaking, disappearance of the screen in the *Partzuf* called "soul." The difference between these two *Partzufim* is that the *Partzuf* called "world" is external with regard to the inner *Partzuf* called "soul." The soul exists within the world and is sustained by it.

The breaking has its causes and consequences. It is necessary for mixing all the properties of *Bina* and *Malchut*, and must transpire both in the spiritual world and within the soul, to impart the properties of *Bina* to *Malchut*, and thus enable her to correct herself.

The breaking of the world of *Nekudim* led to the breaking of the eight *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura*-2/3 of *Tifferet* and 1/3 of *Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod-Malchut*, four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M* in each one that in turn consists of ten *Sefirot*, in all: 8 x 4 x 10 = 320 (*SHACH*) parts. As a result of the mixing of all the parts, each part in turn consists of 320 parts. All of these 320 parts, called *Nitzotzin* (sparks), acquired the egoistic will to enjoy by receiving the Creator's Light, which signifies their descent into the impure forces.

In the spiritual realm there are no locations or departments of pure and impure. However, for the purpose of conveying information more vividly, we envision the reception of lower properties as a descent, the reception of more spiritual properties as an ascent, the attainment of equivalence of form as a union, and the emergence of a new property as separation. The appearance of egoistic desires in a spiritual object is considered a descent into the impure forces, although these forces exist within us (and not vice versa), and simply become more apparent. There is nothing surrounding us, for everything is within: all the worlds and desires, both pure and impure.

By studying Kabbalah we attract the emanation of the Light that surrounds our soul (see "Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155), which cultivates within us a desire for correction. Then, as we attain the degrees of the spiritual worlds, we begin to feel the spiritual Light that corresponds to each degree, through which we begin to discern egoistic and altruistic parts in each of our properties.

By comparisons to the Light, we perceive our egoistic parts as evil, and to the extent that we sense it, we distance ourselves from it and refuse to use these desires. Conversely, we perceive our altruistic desires as good for us, but, having no strength to use them, we submit a request, receive the necessary strength, and accept the Light for the Creator's sake, thereby ascending to a higher degree, where this process repeats itself.

The return (*Teshuva*—repentance) means that by raising *MAN* (request for correction), we elevate some of the 320 corrupt parts from the impure forces, into which they fell, back to the world of *Atzilut*, where they existed prior to Adam's sin. However, we are powerless to sort out and correct, i.e., to elevate the

thirty-two parts of *Malchut* herself, which exist in the eight *Sefirot* of this *Partzuf* (world), for their level of corruption is beyond our ability to repair them.

Therefore, out of the 320 (*SHACH* = *Shin* + *Chet* = 300 + 20) parts, we can, that is, we are entitled to and must sort out and correct only 320 – 32 = 288 parts (*RAPACH* = 288) by our return to the Creator, i.e., 9 x 32, where nine designates the first nine *Sefirot* in each *Sefira* that we are allowed to correct. Yet, we are unable to correct *Malchut* of each *Sefira*, for this requires a Light of a special power. We will receive this Light from the Creator only after the correction of all the other 288 parts, that is, at the end of correction.

These thirty-two parts of *Malchut*, which are impossible and thus prohibited to correct, are called *Lev HaEven* (*Lamed-Bet Even*—thirty-two stones). As I've repeatedly mentioned, there is no such notion as "prohibition" in Kabbalah; this word is used when it is necessary to point out the futility of trying despite one's weakness and limitation. "Prohibited" means impossible, beyond one's power. Moreover, it is not the Creator's prohibition; rather, as a result of one's personal faith and experience, one should admit that "prohibited" alludes to whatever is still beyond one's power to correct.

Therefore, *GAR de AVI* are concealed, and their Light does not shine. After all, for all of its ten *Sefirot* to shine, a *Zivug* needs to be made on *Malchut* herself, for *Lev HaEven*, the thirty-two uncorrected parts of *Malchut* herself are a supplement to their ten *Sefirot*. And as long as these *Kelim* are missing, a complete *Zivug* is impossible. However, when the complete analysis and correction of the 288 (*RAPACH* = *Reish* + *Peh* + *Chet* = 200 + 80 + 8 = 288) *Nitzotzin* is completed, *Lev HaEven* will be corrected by itself, and no effort or corrections shall be required on our part.

So the prophet says: "A new heart also shall I give you, and a new spirit shall I put within you; and I shall take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I shall give you a heart of flesh" (*Yechezkel*, 36:26). Then *AVI* will receive their Light. However, this will occur at the end of correction, and before the end of correction, *AHP* of *AVI* will not be able to receive correction by means of our return, for we will be able to correct all of our egoistic desires, except for our very essence, *Malchut de Malchut*.

These angels—Aza and Azael—are the real *AHP de AVI* that were destroyed during the breaking of the vessels, and were nearly restored before the sin of Adam. However, Adam's sin destroyed them once more, this time until the very end of correction.

Hence, both angels were complaining to the Creator about their Light, which has disappeared because of Adam, for they saw that there was no hope that Adam would correct them through his return to the Creator. Moreover, they saw that by his return, Adam had lowered their degree even more, for now the entire correction and return was limited to only 288 parts, without any participation or even mentioning of the thirty-two forbidden parts, *Lev HaEven*, which refer to the correction of *AVI*, whose Light is the Light of these angels, just as the *Kelim* of the true *AHP de AVI* are their *Kelim*.

Each raising of *MAN* designates cutting off, separation of impurity—*Lev HaEven*—from the food, *RAPACH* = 288 *Nitzotzin*, the parts that can be corrected. It follows that by preventing Aza and Azael from participating in the correction of *Lev HaEven*, we lower them even more. This is why the two angels complained to the Creator and tried to impede Adam from returning. After all, his return lowers them even further, for the thirty-two parts refer to them.

Therefore, when the Creator saw that their complaints threatened to weaken man's strength to return to Him, He told them that Adam's sin did not spoil anything for them. For although there is greatness and holiness in them while they are in Heaven and no impure forces can cling to them, still this perfection is incomplete, as they cannot exist in our world, in a place of impure forces.

The Creator told them: "Hence, you have lost nothing as a result of Adam's sin, for you are no better than him anyway, as your degree is merely the result of the place of your residence." And since the Creator's words constitute His actions, they fell instantly from Heaven to earth (into egoism, of course, not to the physical earth!).

And since they came (spiritually descended) to the corporeal life (as Kabbalah defines it), they began to sort through and analyze the thirty-two parts of complete egoism, called the "daughters of men," of which the Torah says: "And the sons of great (angels) saw the daughters of men (egoistic *Nukva*), that they were fair (they saw in her an opportunity for egoistic reception of pleasure), and they took them as wives (used their egoistic desires), whomsoever they chose (they themselves chose precisely this low state)" (*Beresheet*, 6:2). For they did not want to separate the impurity of the thirty-two egoistic parts and prefer only 288, but took everything they wished, including *Lev HaEven*.

Hence, they also transgressed with *Nukva* Lilit (Lilith) the sinner, and wished to draw the entire world toward sin, to fling it into the last stage of egoism, for they did not wish man to return, as it completely contradicts their root.

What did the Creator do? He put them in iron chains! For the Creator saw that if they had the power to return to Heaven after the sin, all the people would fail in their attempts to aspire to the Creator in their desires, as the dominance of these egoistic angels (forces) in man would be too great. (Rashi—the great eleventh century Kabbalist and Biblical commentator—says that the entire Torah speaks in the words of man. Hence, everything is described in notions of time and sequence of events. Similarly, the Creator seemingly creates and only then sees the results of his work).

Therefore, although their root is quite high, the Creator gave the root of the impure forces His permission to act (here we see that the Creator governs all the forces in creation). This root is called *Barzel* (iron), as it is written: "There was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building" (*Melachim*, 1, 6:7), for iron is an impure force.

And since this impure force clang to the two angels and bound them, as if with iron chains, by the desires that it dictates to them, such a state is characterized as being in the mountains of darkness, from which they can no longer ascend until the end of correction.

And when they approach the chain of Aza and Azael, rile and rouse them, it designates the awakening of the fourth part of the will to receive, *Malchut de Malchut*, the greatest desire to receive, called "wrath and rage." And they leap over the mountains of darkness, thinking that the Creator wishes to bring justice upon them, for being bound by iron chains, they could not ascend to their roots and receive *Hochma.*

Therefore, this action is considered leaping, an attempt to ascend, followed by a fall, as a result of which they descend even deeper into the mountains of darkness. And they think that because of their leaps (attempts to receive the Light from their root), the Creator is becoming increasingly stricter with them; thus, they decide to stop leaping.

However, even though they cannot give anything, as their attempts to reach up are mere leaps and falls, it is nonetheless enough for the two rulers to receive *Ohr Hochma* from them, as this gives them the strength to swim in the sea of *Hochma* of the impure force, whereas before they had only the strength to bathe in it.

The reason for this is that there is no action in this exalted impure force, and everything is limited only in thoughts and desires, for such is the essence of the impure forces (desires) that separate us from the Creator—before the level of an action is achieved, purity disappears from it. Therefore, the impure forces will never reach the level of an action.

Hence, the work for the impure forces is called *Avoda Zara* (alien work or idol worshipping), as it is alien to spiritual work "for the Creator's sake," and is performed according to the instruction and desires that the impure forces insert into man's thoughts. In this alien work for an alien master, the Creator punishes even for mere thoughts and desires, as the prophet said: "That the house of Israel may understand in their own heart" (*Yechezkel*, 14:5). And the sages have said that man is accused and punished even for thoughts, desires, and doubts in the alien work that transpires in his heart in exactly the same measure as for a completed action. Hence, the leaps of Aza and Azael are sufficient in their desire to receive *Hochma*, although in reality they received nothing.

157. And these two Creator-appointed rulers swim in the Great Sea, fly up from there, and at night go to Naamah, the mother of witches, for whom the first people fell (*Beresheet*, 6:1-4). And they wish to approach her, but she leaps 60,000 *Parsa'ot* and assumes several different forms, so that people may be deceived and enticed by her.

After receiving power from Aza and Azael, they can now make a *Zivug* with Naamah, as the first angels Aza and Azael erred. From that *Zivug* with Aza and Azael, Naamah gave birth to all the spirits and witches of the world. The Torah calls Aza and Azael the "sons of Gods" or the "sons of the great" (*Beresheet*, 6:2).

Yet, how could such exalted angels stoop to such depraved actions with Naamah, and why did she give birth to spirits and witches, and not to people?

The thing is that the Upper World (*AVI*) was created by the letter *Yod*, by the male part, which have nothing of the fourth part of *Malchut*, called *Malchut de Malchut*. However, *ZON* (the lower world) was created by the letter *Hey*, which includes *Malchut de Malchut*. *AVI* aspire only to *Ohr Hassadim*, to altruistic actions (bestowal), for *Bina* emerged as such in the four stages of *Malchut's* birth, even before the appearance of the first *Kli* (*Malchut de Malchut*).

Nevertheless, *ZON* need *Ohr Hochma*, since *ZA* was created as such in the four stages of *Malchut's* birth. Also, *ZA* wishes to receive *Ohr Hochma* within *Ohr Hassadim*, which he already has.

The *Zivug* of *AVI*, called the "Upper World," begets angels who desire *Ohr Hassadim*, just like *AVI*, from whom they were born. Human souls are born from the *Zivug* of *ZON*, called the "lower world," and they, like *ZON*, from whom they were born, desire only *Ohr Hochma*.

The moment the common soul of all the creatures (Adam) was born from *ZON de Atzilut*, *ZON* existed at the level of the Upper World (*AVI*) and clothed

it. Like *AVI*, they, too, ended in the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*. And the letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH* was concealed in their posterior side, *Achoraim* or *AHP*.

Hence, Adam's level was quite high because *ZON* was in the Upper World and ended in the letter *Yod*. The level of *ZON* was that of the angels that were born from *AVI*; therewith, *ZON* received *Ohr Hochma* according to their desires, as *ZON* are meant to.

As a result, *ZON* contain the name *Elokim*, Supernal *Hochma*, the perfection of the Upper World. This is because the ban of the first restriction to not receive *Ohr Hochma* does not apply to the letter *Yod*. Cain and Abel were born from this state: Cain was born from *ELEH* and Abel from *MI*. *Malchut* herself (the last letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*) was concealed in them both, and only the letter *Yod* was revealed; hence, they contained Supernal *Hochma*.

However, on the whole, *Hochma* is received in *Kelim ELEH*, *ZAT de Bina*, by Cain's soul. This property of Cain is concealed in *MI*, as the last *Hey* is concealed inside *Yod*, and Cain wanted to make a *Zivug* with it, to receive *Ohr Hochma* in *Malchut de Malchut*, concealed in Abel's soul.

It is by this that he slew Abel, for after the last *Hey* was revealed, the ban of the first restriction to receive *Ohr Hochma* in it was revealed. Hence, the Creator's name *Elokim* disappeared from them both: *MI*, since it refers to *GAR*, ascended and disappeared (signifying Abel's slaying), and Cain's *ELEH*, since it refers to *ZAT*, fell into the impure forces, called *Arka*.

However, although it fell into the impure forces, sparks of *Ohr Hochma* still remain in these *Kelim* (desires), as it is written that his daughters did not suffer from it greatly, and the sparks of *Bina* still remained in them. From this we can understand that Naamah, one of Cain's daughters, was the most beautiful of all the women in the world, for the sin transpired mainly in Cain's male part, and not in his female part, as is described in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 74:2).

Therefore, after the Creator cast Aza and Azael into this world (created by the letter *Hey*), and they've seen Naamah, a new hitherto non-existent desire appeared within them—the desire to receive *Ohr Hochma*, for in their essence they desire only *Ohr Hassadim*, and only the image of Naamah bore a new desire for *Ohr Hochma* within them.

And since there is no *Hey* (the last *Hey*, on which there is a ban to receive *Ohr Hochma*) in their essence and in that of Naamah (the last revealed one, for it originates from Cain's *ELEH*), they erred in her, thinking that she is able to receive *Ohr Hochma*, and made a *Zivug* with her.

Their error was twofold:

1. Despite the fact that they do not have the last *Hey* from birth, since the place determines, and they exist in this world, the last *Hey* already governs them, and they are forbidden to receive *Ohr Hochma*.
2. They thought that the last *Hey* was absent in Naamah's structure, when in fact, it was concealed. Hence, spirits and witches were born from their *Zivug*.

From this we can understand what is written in the Talmud (*Hagiga*, 16:1), that witches are half-angels half-people, for with regard to their fathers, Aza and Azael, they are angels, whereas with regard to Naamah, they are like people. But she could not give birth to people, for the seed within her came from angels, and not from people.

The reason for the harm that they cause lies in the fact that they were born from depravity, the greatest possible distance from the Creator. Hence, their impurity accompanies them and brings harm wherever it possibly can. Therefore, *The Zohar* says that at night they come to Naamah, the mother of witches, for whom the first people fell (see *Beresheet*, 6:1-4).

Indeed, after they received strength from these angels, who were the first to engage in depravity with Naamah, they could continue to engage in depravity with her. *The Zohar* indicates that this is precisely why they come at night, for the power of *Hochma* of the impure forces rules only in the darkness of night, the time of judgment and restrictions, and also as the consequence of roots, namely Aza and Azael, who reside in the mountains of darkness.

However, after engaging in depravity with them, she leapt 60,000 *Parsa'ot*, i.e., she rose so high that she wanted to annul the *Parsa* below *VAK de* AA, whose each *Sefira* is defined as 10,000; hence, its *VAK* = 6 *Sefirot* equal 60,000.

But as soon as they think to approach her, she leaps 60,000 *Parsa'ot*, but immediately falls back down and is unable to touch them, for there is no action in these upper impure forces, and all transgressions and all errors are only in thoughts and intentions.

Yet, there is still enough power in her to deceive and entice people, even if man does not reach the level of impure actions and is only drawn to her in his thoughts and desires. However, the Creator punishes for such thoughts and desires, as He does for actions, as the prophet warns us: "the house of Israel may understand in their own heart" (*Yechezkel*, 14:5). And the impure force assumes

several different shapes, such as depravity with married women, murder and other things laid upon Lilit.

158. These two rulers soar in the entire world and then return to their places. And they rouse the sons of Cain's sons with a spirit of evil desires to beget children.

"Soar in the entire world"—they bring harm to man in all of their thoughts, wherever they can, and lure him into the darkness of night. For after man sins, they return to their permanent place in *Arka*, where they rouse the sons of Cain to defile the descendants with impurities.

Moreover, *The Zohar* says that besides pushing the sons of Cain to sin in *Arka*, they also soar in our world (*Tevel*), and compel the sons of this land to sin.

159. The Heavens that rule there are not like ours, and the land bears neither seed nor fruit by the power of Heaven, as ours does, and the grains grow again only once in several years. Hence, it is written of them that they could not correct *Shemaya* and *Arka*, and perished from the Supernal land, called *Tevel*, where they will not be able to exist, nor rule over it, nor cause human beings to sin because of the night. Hence, they disappeared from *Arka* and from the place of *Shemaya* that were created by the name *ELEH* (as mentioned in item 14).

Our Heavens receive the Light essential for the birth of subsequent *Partzufim* from ZA, which has *Ohr Hochma*. Hence, our land, which receives in *Malchut de* ZA, receives a grain and a seed.

However, the Heavens in *Arka* do not have the Light to bear fruit and give birth due to the rule of the impure forces that are there. Hence, unlike our land, *Arka* cannot produce; its land has no power to receive and grow a seed, and this property appears in it only once in several years.

Here *The Zohar* speaks of the two rulers: Afriron and Kastimon, who could not correct *Shemaya* and *Arka*, to make them bear fruit. Therefore, these rulers are not allowed to be here and seduce people in our land (*Tevel*), to sin, for when they are here, they bring harm to our land so as to make it like their *Shemaya* and *Arka*.

Therefore, *The Zohar* says that they disappeared from the Supernal land of *Tevel*, from our land, for here they sought to bring harm by the power of the night. They provoke people toward sin by virtue of the night, and it is a curse that hangs over *Arka* because of their rule there.

Our Heavens were created by the name *ELEH*, for our Heavens receive from ZA, which was corrected by *ELEH's* properties, by the words: IN THE

BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED, where *MI* is connected to *ELEH*. Hence, our land is corrected by the Supernal holiness and purity. Therefore, these two rulers are not allowed to rule here.

160. Hence, there exists a *Targum*, a translation (from Hebrew to Aramaic, which *The Zohar* dubs *Targum*), so the holy angels will not think that it is said about them, so they will not harm us. This is the secret of the word *ELEH*—as we have already stated, it is a holy word that cannot be translated into a *Targum*.

Everything but the word *ELEH* has been translated into the language of the *Targum*, as it is said in item 149, that *ELEH* disappeared from both *Arka* and *Shemaya*, for the word *ELEH* is untranslatable, as it constitutes the full connection between *ELEH* and *MI*, which causes the descent of *Ohr Hochma*. And should anyone sin and corrupt the letters *ELEH*, as Cain had done, they would fall to the impure forces, so even the holiness of the *Targum* (*VAK* of the pure forces) would depart from them.

Among All the Sages of the Nations of the World, There Are None Like You

161. Rabbi Elazar said, "It is written: 'Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?' What kind of praise is this?" Rabbi Shimon replied: "Elazar, my son, this has been said in several places. However, one should not understand the verse, 'For among all the sages of the nations of the world, and in all their kingdoms, there are none like You' in its simple, literal interpretation. This is because it naturally gives rise to evil intentions of sinners—those who think that the Creator is not aware of their dark thoughts, doubts and intents. Therefore, their folly must be clarified. A philosopher of one of the nations of the world came to me and said, 'You say that your Creator governs the entire Heavens, and that all the Heavenly hosts are unable to attain Him, nor come to know His dwelling place. However, this does not add to His greatness, as it is written, 'among all the sages of the nations of the world, and in all their kingdoms, there is none like You.' What kind of a comparison is this when He is compared to man, who is nothing?'"

This is similar to what is written about sinners in Psalms (*Tehilim*, 73:11-12): "And they say: 'How does the Creator know? And is there knowledge in Him? Behold the wicked; they are always at peace, rich and powerful.'" This is exactly what the philosopher says. He was one of the greatest sages among the nations of the world, and he came to Rabbi Shimon to dishonor Israel's wisdom and work in absolute faith for the Creator's sake, which ought to be in great wholeness, perfection, purity, and integrity, for no thought can grasp Him.

This sage was a representative of the philosophers who asserted that the main principle in working for the Creator is to attain Him, rather than serve Him in faith, for in their understanding, they attain Him. And now he has come to ridicule Israel's approach.

Hence, he said: "The Creator is above all human wisdom, and thereby He rules, and He bid you to work for Him in faith and purity, and have no doubts in Him, for the human mind cannot grasp Him. After all, even the Heavenly hosts, His legions and angels are unable to attain Him, as it is written of those who say: 'Blessed be the Creator in His place,' for they do not know 'His place.'"

However, the phrase, "as among all the sages of the world, there is none like the Creator" does not imply the Creator's greatness. Indeed, if this prophetic expression is used in order to exalt the God of Israel and show that He is greater than the god attained by the sages of the nations of the world by their human strength and reason, then naturally, this does not add to the glory of the God of Israel, as He is being compared to trifle and transient forces. On the contrary, this statement shows great disdain for your Creator, when you compare Him to the sages of the nations of the world, who are mortal and restricted creatures. Those were the words that the scholarly sage, who represented the wisdom of the nations of the world, uttered before Rabbi Shimon.

Clearly, *The Zohar* is referring to some overseas sage who paid a visit to Rabbi Shimon. Just like all the other names of places and characters mentioned in the Torah, the Talmud, and the Kabbalah, names of places, animals, people, and actions described in *The Zohar* speak only of the spiritual world, the Creator's actions, and how one can achieve the goal of creation. In no way does any of this relate to events in our world!

Therefore, the "sage of the nations of the world" symbolizes man's own egoistic property to research and know everything, instead of having faith above reason, as the Torah demands. This human property, called a "sage of the nations of the world," the egoistic reason, is in a state of constant argument with man's spiritual, altruistic property, called "Israel" or the aspiration to the Creator. Thus, by opposing it, man builds himself and grows.

162. Furthermore, you claim, as your Torah says, that "There had not risen a prophet since in Israel like Moshe." There are none in Israel, but there is one among the nations of the world! So I claim the same: there is none like You among all the sages of the nations of the world, but among the sages of Israel there is one like You. However, if there is one like Him among the sages of Israel, then He cannot be the Supreme Ruler. Look closely into my words, and you shall see that I am right.

Here the philosopher (man's egoistic voice) spoke wisely. He understood that should he speak directly, he would hear precise answers to his questions. It is written: "Among all the sages of the nations of the world, there are none like

You," meaning that there is no one that can attain You. For the words, "there are none like You" imply that You have no equals, that it is impossible to attain You, attain Your degree.

However, since the sages of the nations of the world (human reason) take pride in their attainment of the Creator (that they understand His intentions and actions), they consider themselves similar to Him, for attainment means similarity of properties with the attained degree. This is why it is considered a lie, and that there are none like Him, for they do not attain the Creator, but only delude themselves by thinking that they do.

The philosopher (within man) understood that, and hence began (leading man astray from the path of faith, which surpasses and defies reason) with a completely different question: "If it is explicitly said that no one is equal to the Creator among the sages of the other nations, does it not mean that there are those who *can* attain Him among the sages of Israel? Otherwise, why would it be necessary to specify that there are none like Him among the sages of the nations of the world?

"But if this is so, and He is similar to you, then He cannot be the Supreme Ruler! Thus, how can you say that the God of Israel cannot be attained by reason and that He governs all? You speak by means of faith in His greatness, but indeed there are those among your sages who are like Him, i.e., those who attain Him."

163. Rabbi Shimon said to him, "You object correctly that there are those among the sages of Israel who are similar to the Creator, for who resurrects the dead back to life, if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Eliyahu and Elisha came and resurrected the dead back to life! Who causes rain to fall if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Eliyahu came and abolished rain, and then summoned it through his prayer! Who created the Heavens and the earth, if not the Creator Himself? Yet, Avraham came, and, as it is written, the Heavens and the earth were revived."

Rabbi Shimon replies that the (inner) sage speaks the truth when he asserts that there are those among the sages of Israel who are similar to the Creator. However, in no way does this revoke the simple faith in the Creator's unattainability by human reason. Of course, He is the master and ruler of the Heavens, and He is so much higher than all of them that even the Supernal angels cannot attain Him and do not know His place.

Yet, the Torah and *Mitzvot* (commandments) were given to us precisely for this purpose—so that by observing the *Mitzvot* (making a *Zivug* between the screen

and the Light) and studying the Torah (receiving the Light) for the Creator's sake, we, Israel (those who aspire to the Creator) would completely merge with Him (in our properties), so His Light would permeate us and clothe in us to such an extent that we would merit (begin to desire and receive the power of a screen) carrying out the same actions as the Creator: resurrecting the dead (correcting egoism), summoning rains (*Ohr Hassadim*), and reviving Heaven and earth (filling all the *Partzufim* in all the worlds with the Light of our actions).

In that, we are just like Him, as it is said: "By Your deeds (by experiencing them on myself) I will know You." However, we attain all this only through absolute and devout faith (the property of *Bina*), which leaves within us no desires whatsoever to attain Him with our reason (to verify first and act next), as in the path of sages of the nations of the world (our egoism). Our egoism consists of a *Partzuf* called a "sage of the nations of the world." Its *Rosh* (head) designates knowledge and desire to attain everything, and its *Guf* (body) is the will to receive pleasure for oneself.

The philosopher argues that if Israel can do what the Creator does, then Israel attains Him. This is correct, for if one is able to act like the Creator, then, to the extent of his actions, he attains and perceives Him. After all, it is said: "By Your deeds I will know You." If one acts like the Creator, then he understands the Creator's analogous actions in his own actions, and thus perceives Him. However, one must first advance by faith above reason, and as a result, he attains the Creator's properties, thereby becoming like Him in his actions.

164. (Rabbi Shimon continues:) "Who governs the sun, if not the Creator? Yet, Yehoshua came and stopped it. The Creator issues His decree, yet Moshe immediately issues a decree of his own, and it is carried out. The Creator wishes to punish, and the righteous of Israel annul His verdict. Moreover, He bid us to closely follow His ways and to be like Him in every way." The philosopher then went and became Israel, and lived in the village of Shachalayim, and they called him Yosi HaKatan (Little Yosi). He studied the Torah a great deal, and was among the sages and the righteous of that village.

The problem is that if a person does everything only by means of his faith, he denies himself the chance to attain the Creator, for attainment comes through applying reason. However, the moment he begins to apply his reason, he immediately diminishes his faith. So how can one combine faith with reason?

It is true that those who aspire to draw nearer the Creator (those who are called Israel) diminish their simple, devout faith. However, they do this only because He bids them to do so in order to attain His actions, and thus become like Him, as it is said in the Torah: "Follow His way" (*Devarim*, 21). Hence,

they observe His commandments. The philosopher was so overwhelmed by this truth that he became "Israel" and started observing the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

He was overwhelmed when he had found that Israel's actions, their attainments of the spiritual worlds, did not diminish their faith above reason, for all of their actions and attainments were based on faith. Israel attains the Creator because He bids them to, not because they desire this with their egoism.

165. And now the time has come to take a closer look at this verse. It is written that all the nations of the world are nothing before Him. Yet, how does this exalt Him? Hence, it is written: "Who sees the King of the nations of the world?" Yet, is the King of the nations of the world also not the King of Israel? The Creator wishes to elevate Israel in all places; this is why He is called everywhere "the King of Israel." The other nations of the world say that they have another King up in the Heavens, for it seems to them that He governs only them, and not us.

The nations of the world are certain that their Supernal King is not the King of Israel, that the King who sits in the Heavens and governs them is only their King, and that the King of Israel has no power over them. Thus, it seems to man's egoism that it exists under some other (non-altruistic) system of governance, and not altruism. The egoism fails to realize that the Creator made it exactly the way it is so as to achieve His goal: using egoism, to bring man to altruism, from "for one's own self" to "for the Creator's sake."

166. It is written: "Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?" (*Yirmiyahu*, 10:7) That is, their Supernal King is there to threaten and persecute them, and do with them as He pleases. Hence, He should be feared. And all fear Him Above and below. For it is written that among all the sages of the nations of the world (the angels that rule over these nations) and in their Kingdoms (Above) there is none like You. There are four Kingdoms Above that rule over all the nations of the world according to the Creator's will. And there is no one who can do even the smallest action without His personal instruction. The sages of the nations of the world are the forces that rule them from Above, and all the wisdom of the nations of the world comes from these rulers. "In all their Kingdoms" means that the Creator's will rules over them.

These lines describe how the bride, who is in a state of exile, prepares herself for her future, final correction. The power of the nations of the world (in every one of us) amounts to conquering us (the altruistic desires for the Creator) and placing us under their power (serving only the body). They wish to drive us away

from the Creator's rule and let other desires, called "the nations of the world" dominate us. Our egoistic desires, the nations of the world, do so because of their power (tempting us with various pleasures) and wisdom (appealing to our common sense).

Their actions over us (spiritual aspirations) stem from the system of the impure forces and their impure (egoistic) angels (our inner egoistic forces), which give power and reason to the nations of the world. With the help of their wisdom, they (our egoistic desires) lead us (the sons of Israel, those who aspire only to the Creator) to all sorts of doubts and desires to understand the Creator, His ways and thoughts, without any fear or reverence before His greatness and supremacy.

Because of these doubts, we draw far from the Creator and His Supernal Light, which, as a result, passes on to them (our egoistic desires), as it is written, "Tzur (the capital of the impure forces) was built only on the ruins of Jerusalem (the capital of the pure forces)." Thus, they acquire the strength to persecute and humiliate Israel, and force them to submit to their will (suppress the only true path to the spiritual—faith above and in defiance of reason—with their persuasions and proof of their "real" rightfulness). And as it was already explained in the "Introduction to the Book of Zohar" (items 69-71), our inner spiritual enslavement leads to our external, corporeal enslavement, persecution, and humiliation by the nations of the world.

This is the secret of the four Kingdoms that rule over us in our four (spiritual and therefore physical) exiles, which correspond to *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*, symbolized by Nebuchadnezzar, as it is written: "Here is that idol, its head made of pure gold, its breast and its arms of silver, its belly and its thighs of brass, its shins of iron, and its feet part iron and part clay" (*Daniel*, 2:32-33).

When this idol governs us, the nations of the world mock us, claiming that they have a King of their own. However, such was the Creator's plan, as it is said: "The Creator hath so made it, that men should fear Him" (*Kohelet*, 3:14), for the sensation of the Creator, called *Shechina*, is also referred to as fear before Him. However, since we do not yet feel the greatness and supremacy of the Creator, we do not merit fearing Him, and live in fear of the King of the nations of the world.

This points to the fact that we have no other way of completely and eternally merging with the Creator other than by means of tremendous fear before His greatness, by assuming His Torah and His desires (*Mitzvot*) in devout and complete faith, without any doubts in His properties.

Only then will we merge with Him in absolute, eternal union, and the Creator will impart us with all the goodness for which He had created us. He conceived this in the beginning of creation, and it became the purpose behind the whole of creation. This state is considered the complete and final deliverance and correction.

However, before the attainment of such an exalted spiritual state, this is how the prophet describes those who aspire to the Creator: "You have sown much, and brought in little; you eat but you have not enough; you drink but your thirst is not quenched" (*Haggai*, 1:6), for in all of our actions (of those who aspire to the spiritual) the impure force (egoism) constantly takes all the Light for itself. This occurs as a result of our doubts with regard to faith in the Creator, which the impure force itself cultivates within us.

However, the purpose of these punishments is not to cause us grief! Everything happens according to the Creator's plan and serves only to promote us toward correction. Therefore, as long as man can listen only to egoistic arguments, the Creator develops us gradually, using these forces. With their help, we gradually become fit to feel fear of the Creator, through the many trials and sufferings our exile from the spiritual brings us.

But in the end, we merit the reception of complete and devoted faith and fear before His greatness. It is written of this state: "He remembered His mercy and His allegiance toward the house of Israel, and all the worthless creatures of the earth witnessed the help and deliverance at the Creator's hands" (*Tehilim*, 98:3).

This is because at the end of days, the Creator will remember us in His mercy, and will give us the strength to receive complete and devout faith in Him. Thus, Jerusalem (the capital of altruism) will be rebuilt on the ruins of Tzur (the capital of egoism), for all the Light, which *Malchut* of the impure force was robbing of us throughout our exile from the spiritual, will return to us when we acquire complete and devout faith, and will shine within us with all its might.

All the worthless creatures of the earth (manifestations of egoism) will then see with their own eyes how our Creator saves (corrects) them. For all the nations of the world (within us) will see that they have always possessed this Light until the very last moment before their correction so as to give it back to us at the appropriate time. And all shall see that "one man's rule over another is to the detriment of the ruler!" (*Kohelet*, 8:9).

The burden of our slavery and the impure force's rule over us (over holiness) harms only the impure force, for it thereby compels us to attain complete and devoted faith in the Creator even faster! And the prophet speaks of this time,

"Who would not fear the King of the nations of the world?" for it has now been revealed that He is the King of the nations of the world, who persecutes and dominates those nations. It previously seemed to them (our egoistic intentions) that they persecuted us (our altruistic intentions), but now the opposite has been revealed to them—that they were merely blind enactors of the Creator's will, our servants and our slaves, whose purpose is to bring us to perfection.

It seemed to us that they were beating us. Now it turns out that they were beating themselves, for thanks to these blows (suffering from unrealized egoistic desires and constant frustration), they have accelerated our deliverance and attainment of perfection (our realization of the need to choose the path of faith above reason). Thus, they have also accelerated their own demise (their own correction).

And wherever it seemed to us (our reason) that they rebelled against the Creator (argued that the Creator is not the source of all reality) and acted (supposedly) however they pleased so as to humiliate us and satiate their base egoistic desires, and it appeared that there was no (Supernal) judge and no law (the advancement of creation toward its goal), it has now been revealed that they have always been fulfilling the Creator's will, to bring us (all our desires, them included) to perfection.

The same applies to every person in the world—whether he wants to or not, at all times and in every way, he fulfills only the Creator's will. Why then is he not called the Creator's servant? Because he acts unconsciously, not of his own will. To compel man to fulfill His will, the Creator gives him some alien desire to enjoy, which forces him to carry out an action, but he does so as a slave of his desire, and not as someone who fulfills the Creator's will.

For example, the Creator may give man an alien desire to make money, thereby compelling him to open a restaurant so as to carry out altruistic actions as a slave of his egoistic desire.

In other words, to compel us to do what is necessary, the Creator created within us an egoistic desire to receive pleasure, thus obliging us to do His will by enabling us to find pleasure in the actions and objects on which He wants us to work. This is why we live in constant chase of pleasures, whereas in truth we are constantly and unconsciously fulfilling the Creator's will. This resembles a situation in which children are given many toys to play with, but as they play, they also carry out work.

The entire world is doing the Creator's will, but our goal, the purpose of our development is to do it consciously. We must attain and realize His will; we must ascend so high that we will want to do it wholeheartedly and on our own,

rather than as we do it now—unconsciously and coercively. We must achieve a state when our desires fully coincide with those of the Creator, which designates complete and conscious union with Him.

Thus, it becomes clear that the King of the nations of the world is the same Creator that rules over them and compels them to fulfill all His desires, as a King does with his slaves. And now fear before the Creator is revealed to all the nations of the world. The phrase, "all the nations of the world" alludes to the angels that rule over those nations, such as Afriron, Kastimon, Aza, Azael and others, from whom the sages of the nations of the world (our egoism and reason) receive their wisdom, and with whose help they oppress Israel (our altruistic desires).

IN THEIR KINGDOMS refers to the four existing Kingdoms, which govern the seventy nations of the world (*ZON* = seven *Sefirot*, each of which containing ten sub-*Sefirot*: in all seventy *Sefirot*) and over us (altruistic aspirations) in our four exiles, which correspond to the impure *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M* (described as Nebuchadnezzar). As the prophet writes: "Here is that idol, its head made of pure gold (the first Kingdom), its breast and its arms of silver (the second Kingdom), its belly and its thighs of brass (the third Kingdom), its shins of iron, its feet part iron and part clay (the fourth Kingdom)" (*Daniel*, 2:32-33).

There is not one among them who can make even the smallest action of their own, but only what You bid them. However, this will only be revealed at the end of correction, and all will know that all of our misfortunes and suffering that had the power to separate us from the Creator were but loyal executors of the Creator's aspiration to draw us closer to Him. Moreover, these cruel forces did nothing else but obey His orders.

And the sole purpose of all that transpired was to bring us to a state where we can receive all the perfection and infinite goodness that He intended to bestow upon us from the very beginning in His plan of creation. The Creator must lead us to complete and devout faith, the result of which will be, as the prophet said: "Then, at once, the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold all crumbled to pieces and became like the chaff on summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, and no trace was left of them; and the stone that smote their image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth" (*Daniel*, 2:35).

Absolute faith is called "unbreakable (non-crumbling) stone." After one merits absolute faith, the impure force (his inner egoistic desires and thoughts) disappears as though it had never existed. And all the worthless creatures

(reason, logic, philosophy, and common sense), which inhabit the earth, witness deliverance at the hands of the Creator, as the prophet said: "They shall not do evil nor destroy in all My holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters fill the sea" (*Yeshayahu*, 11:9).

167. Yet, among all the sages of the nations of the world and in all their kingdoms, I have found in the ancient books that even though the Heavenly hosts and legions fully obeyed their given orders and each would receive precise instructions to be carried out, but who among them can do it if not You, who will do it better than You? For You excel over them all in both properties and deeds. Hence, it is written: "There is none like You."

The Creator Himself carries out all the creatures' actions with His Light, and leads them to His goal. Man's sole task is the realization of all creation and governance, to wholeheartedly agree with all of the Creator's actions, and take an active part in the process of spiritual creation.

168. Rabbi Shimon said to his friends: "This wedding must be a wedding for all of you, and each of you should bring a gift (his own part in the common *Malchut*) to the Bride." He said to Rabbi Elazar, his son: "Present the Bride with a gift, for on the following day *Zeir Anpin* will look as he enters the wedding canopy at the sound of these songs and praises of the sons of the wedding canopy, who stand before the Creator."

Who Is This?

169. Rabbi Elazar opened and said, "Who is this coming up from the wasteland?" (*Shir HaShirim, 3:6*). *MI ZOT*—who is this—is the common ground of the two questions, the two worlds, *Bina* and *Malchut*, which are bound together. COMING UP—coming up to become the "Holy of Holies." For *MI* is *Bina*, called the Holy of Holies. And she joins with *ZOT* (*Malchut*), so that *Malchut* could come up FROM THE WASTELAND, for she inherits THIS from the wasteland, to become a bride and enter the bridal canopy.

The Zohar explains the following passage: "Who is this coming up from the wasteland, leaning upon her beloved!?" (*Shir HaShirim*, 8:5). It describes a state at the end of correction, when the bride enters the wedding canopy. *MI ZOT*: *MI* is *Bina* and *ZOT* is *Malchut*. At the end of correction, *Bina* and *Malchut* unite, and both are called "holy." But until the end of correction only *Bina* is called holy, while *Malchut* ascends to *Bina* and receives holiness from her.

Nevertheless, at the end of correction, *Malchut* becomes like *Bina*, and they both become holy. *Malchut* completely unites with *Bina* through equivalence of form, and fully merges with the source of life, for a screen (the restriction imposed on reception of Light within *Malchut*) creates the Returning Light that combines all *Sefirot* into one.

The Creator's *Ohr Hochma* can be received precisely in this Returning Light. As a result, *Malchut* ends with the letter *Yod* and becomes forever similar to *Bina*. Hence, it is written that *Malchut* and *Bina* unite by equalizing their desires to form a single whole.

Similarly, the Light of *Malchut* will be forever connected to the Light of *Bina*, for *Malchut* herself ascends to the level of the "Holy of Holies," thus becoming exactly like *Bina*. SHE COMES UP just like a sacrifice, which is the "Holy of Holies," for *MI* (*AVI*, *Bina* or the "Holy of Holies") joins *ZOT* (*Malchut*), so

Malchut would ascend and become the "Holy of Holies." Sacrifice is the part of *Malchut* (man's animal egoism) that ascends with its properties to *Bina*.

And when *MI* (*Bina*) joins *ZOT* (*Malchut*), and *ZOT* becomes the "Holy of Holies," there is no longer a diminution of *Malchut's* state, for this diminution occurred only because of the deterioration of *Malchut's* properties, when new egoistic desires emerge within her.

Now that *Malchut* has become as holy (altruistic) in her properties as *Bina*, death disappears, and the fall of *Malchut* into her egoistic desires is impossible, for she has been fully corrected and has attained the properties of *Bina*, which are referred to as holy. Through *Malchut's* acquisition of these properties, the Upper Light (life) enters her. *Malchut* emerges from the wasteland (the sensation of life's absence for want of altruistic properties) and enters her wedding canopy.

This occurs thanks to man's efforts, called "those who keep the Torah" (item 124). These efforts are the foremost part of creation, for they create the Torah and bring *Malchut* to the great *Zivug* at the end of her correction, to her complete fulfillment with the Light. This great *Zivug* on the entire corrected *Malchut* (including *Malchut de Malchut*) can be achieved by precisely this sensation (by man) of the spiritual wasteland.

170. She comes up from the wasteland of the soft utterance of lips, as it is written, "And your mouth is comely" (*Shir HaShirim*, 4:3). This is because the Hebrew word *Midbar* (desert/wasteland) is derived from *Dibur* (speech). It is written of the mighty forces, that these mighty forces strike Egypt with all the plagues of the wasteland, for all that the Creator did to them was not in the wasteland, but in settlements. And the phrase "in the wasteland" means "by the power of speech, of spoken word." This comes up from articulation, from the mouth (*Malchut*) as she ascends and comes under the wings of *Ima* (mother, *Bina*). Then, through speech, she descends upon the entire holy nation (the difference between speech and articulation is that articulation is an action that forms speech).

Before the end of correction, when *Malchut* is still called the "Tree of Good and Evil," all corrections occur through *MAN* (prayers or requests), through which the righteous (those who wish to become similar to the Creator in their properties) elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*. Consequently, *Malchut* receives *Bina*'s properties for as long as *Malchut* remains there, for spiritual ascent signifies an attainment of properties. *Malchut* becomes as holy (altruistic) as *Bina*.

MAN is a silent prayer in the heart of man, for *Malchut* signifies "speech." Yet, until the end of correction, good words cannot exist without bad ones. That

is, this will not happen until both voice and speech come from *Bina* herself, when *Malchut* becomes like *Bina*, which designates the unity of voice and speech—the *Zivug* of *ZON* in their corrected state of *Gadlut*.

ZA receives the voice from *Ima* and passes it in his speech to *Malchut*. Hence, this speech is completely good, devoid of any evil. Thus, *Malchut* receives from *Bina* the Light of holiness, *Hassadim*. Unless it is corrected by the completely good, altruistic voice of *Bina*, *Malchut's* voice will always consist of both good and evil. This is why impure, egoistic forces cling to her, and *Malchut* cannot receive anything from holiness (*Bina*).

Hence, *MAN* that the righteous raise in their prayers is like a soft murmur of lips, a voiceless speech, as the prophet says: "Only the lips move, but the voice cannot be heard" (*Shmuel I*, 1:13). This is because there is no connection between *MAN* and the impure force, and *Malchut* can be elevated to *Bina* so she can receive her voice from *Bina*.

As a result, a holy edifice of *Malchut* is erected, and she receives the Light from a *Zivug* between voice and speech, and the holiness of her speech descends upon the heads of the righteous that raised *MAN* and thereby revived *Malchut*.

This is why it is written that SHE COMES UP FROM THE WASTELAND, for the bride (*Malchut*) is now invited to a great *Zivug* under the wedding canopy. This occurs thanks to the raising of *MAN* by the righteous, who thereby united *Bina* (voice, *Ima*) with *Malchut* (speech). As a result, *Malchut's* speech became as beautiful as that of *Bina*.

All of these individual *Zivugim* made by the various righteous (each of whom constitutes a small part of the common *Malchut*) during the 6,000 years, now connect all of *Malchut's* parts (souls of the righteous) together in one great *Zivug*, as the bride (*Malchut*) enters her wedding canopy.

In other words, it is precisely this soft prayer, the raising of *MAN* during the 6,000 years by a voiceless speech (seeing as good is still mixed with evil in the voice of *Malchut*), that creates the conditions for the great *Zivug* of *Malchut* with *ZA*, of man with the Creator.

And since *Malchut* received the voice of *Bina* (from *Ima*-Mother) thanks to the help of the righteous (all the good deeds performed by the righteous during the 6,000 years), everything is now combined into the great Supernal *Zivug* under the wedding canopy. This is because *Malchut* becomes completely good without a hint of evil—the "Holy of Holies," just like *Ima*.

Silent speech is defined as the movement of lips without the participation of the palate, larynx, tongue, and teeth. This is how *MAN* is raised when *Malchut* ascends between the wings of *Bina*, i.e., receives the voice of the wings of *Ima* in her speech. Afterwards, having acquired the speech, she descends upon the heads of the holy nation. For after the reception of voice through *Ima's* property of mercy, *Malchut* becomes as holy as *Bina* herself, and her holiness descends upon those who corrected her. Consequently, they are called the "holy nation," for now the speech of *Malchut* is as holy as that of *Ima-Bina*.

There is "voice" and there is "speech." "Voice" is the inner part, whereas "speech" is its outward appearance. This appearance is based on exhaling (the silent letter *Hey*). *ZA* is called "voice," and *Malchut* is called "speech." Letters are sung according to the note signs (*Taamim*), followed by the letters with their punctuation marks.

The level of *Ohr Haya* (called *Kol*—voice) emerges on the screen in the *Peh* of the third degree of thickness, known as "teeth." From this Light *ZA* receives *Ohr Hochma*, and his voice is then heard outside (begets the souls of the lower ones).

Yet, the voice of *ZA* is not heard below the level of *Neshama*, for his screen is not strong enough to receive *Ohr Hochma*. The level of *Ohr Yechida* in *ZA*, called *Dibur* (speech), emerges on the screen in the *Peh* of the fourth degree of thickness. This screen is the most powerful, as it reveals all of the Light, and is called "lips."

The Light of *NRNHY* reveals the inner, Supernal and concealed wisdom, *Hochma*, the concealed thought, the inner Light of *Bina*, which cannot shine to the lower ones, that is, in *ZA*, because *ZON* cannot receive from *Peh de AA*. Nevertheless, the two levels of the Light—*Haya* and *Yechida*—that descend from *AA* are converted into voice and speech with *Bina's* help, even though it is the Light of thought, wisdom and reason.

Voice is formed in *ZA*, and speech in *Malchut*. If a righteous one raises his prayers (*MAN*) to *Malchut*, thereby causing *ZON* to ascend to *AVI*, who are in constant union, to provide Light for the lower ones, *ZON* receive this Light from *AVI*, which is called "voice and speech." The property of the righteous is to create the pure and destroy the impure with their voice. In the beginning, there was only one language (one speech) in the world, *Lashon HaKodesh*—the holy language. In Hebrew (as in English) the same word (*Lashon*) means "tongue" (both as a body part and as a means of communication).

171. He asks: "How does *Malchut* ascend in speech?" And he replies: "When man first awakens in the morning and opens his eyes, he must bless his Creator and Master. How is he to bless Him? The way it was done by the first

***Hassidim*: they would prepare a vessel of water beside them, so that when they woke at night, they would wash their hands at once, and, having blessed the Torah, would rise to study it. When the rooster crowed, precisely heralding midnight, the Creator was with the righteous in the Garden of Eden. And it is forbidden to perform a blessing in the morning with unclean hands."**

He asks: since it is written that the beginning of *Malchut's* correction must be expressed in a quiet murmur of lips, how can he who wakes up (spiritually) immediately pronounce a blessing at the top of his voice? After all, the blessing must also be uttered in whisper so as to first receive a voice from *Ima*, and with this voice (by the force of *Ima-Bina*) elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*, and impart onto her altruistic properties.

The Zohar replies: The first *Hassidim* have corrected this. As man falls asleep (falls to the level of the Light in his *Partzuf* called "sleep"), his holy soul (the Light that was in his spiritual *Partzuf*) ascends, and only the impure spirit of the primordial serpent (egoistic properties) remains in him, for sleep constitutes the 60th part of death (Talmud, *Berachot*, 57:2).

Since death is an impure property of the primordial serpent, the impure spirit (egoistic desires) does not leave man completely as he wakes up (receives a new Light from Above), but remains on man's fingertips (not all of man's desires change under the influence of the Light received from Above, called "the Light of morning" or "the Light of awakening").

And the greater holiness and Light that was present in man before he fell asleep (before he fell into a diminished spiritual state, called "sleep"), the more the impure (egoistic) force clings to these desires when the altruistic intentions exit them during sleep.

Fingertips constitute the purest place (desires) of the entire body (all desires), man's most spiritual desires, for they can be filled with *Ohr Hochma* (*Ohr Hochma* enters these desires during a *Zivug*, with the help of a screen). Therefore, even after awakening (at the beginning of the spiritual ascent), the impure (egoistic) force does not leave this place, wishing to receive at least some of that great Light, which can fill these most altruistic human desires.

Hence, hands must be washed in order to remove the residual egoistic desires. For this to happen, two vessels need to be prepared: the Upper One (cup) and the lower one that will accept the removed impurity.

The Upper Vessel designates *Bina*, whose Light drives the impure force away. Hence, washing the fingertips with water (the forces or desires of *Bina*) expels the impure force (man's egoistic desires) from them. Thus, *Malchut* rids herself

of her evil (egoism) and becomes holy and good. Afterwards, one can study the Torah and bless the Creator for it, for washing hands is similar to raising *MAN* in a whispered prayer to the wings of *Ima*.

And when the rooster crows (this is a special spiritual sign of the angel Gavriel), it is precisely midnight, as it is written: "The greater star to rule the day and the lesser star to rule the night" (*Beresheet*, 1:16). For the lesser star, the holy *Shechina-Malchut* grew smaller, clothed in impure forces and "her feet descend to death" (*Mishley*, 5:5).

This is so because during the 6,000 years, up to her final correction, *Malchut* constitutes the Tree (foundations) of Good and Evil: if one is worthy, she becomes good for him and purifies him, if not—she turns evil. Accordingly, the rule of night is also divided into two parts: the first refers to a state called "unworthy—evil," and the second refers to a state called "worthy—good."

The first correction of *Malchut's* good part is made exactly at midnight (in a state so called "midnight"), for it is then that *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*. Put differently, *Malchut* ascends to *Malchut de Ima-Bina* and corrects herself within it. As a result, the strictness and judgment in *Malchut* become holy and good, completely devoid of evil. This means that strictness and judgment fall onto the impure forces, but for Israel, they turn into mercy.

Yitzchak signifies restriction, the property of *Malchut* within *Bina*. The Hebrew word for a "rooster" is *Tarnegol*, and also *Gever* (man) and designates the angel Gavriel, who attends to *Malchut*, the lesser star. The strictness of *Bina* pierces the wings of the rooster (Gavriel), and through it *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*.

And when Gavriel passes the voice of *Bina* to *Malchut*, his call reaches all the roosters of this world, the property of judgment in the spiritual void. Such a state is called "this world" or *Malchut de Malchut*. Everyone speaks only in this voice, which was corrected by *Bina's* property of mercy.

Therefore, the voice of *Malchut* (her judgment) no longer dominates the second half of the night, and the voice of *Bina* claims this place. This is what the "rooster of this world" heralds—the property of judgment in *Malchut de Malchut*.

Hence, a rooster's crow (change of properties) is heard precisely at midnight (when states change), for this crow means that *Malchut* has already been corrected by the voice of *Bina*, and that this voice is already within *Malchut*. This is defined as the moment of midnight, which marks the beginning of the second half—absolute goodness, devoid of evil.

After *Malchut* receives the voice of *Bina*, the righteous (man's properties in the worlds of *BYA*) raise *MAN* with the help of their study of Torah after (in the state of) midnight. They keep raising *MAN* to the "cheerful strictness" in *Ima*, of which it is written: "She rises also while it is yet night" (*Mishley*, 31:15), for it is precisely at night that the Supernal *Malchut* reveals herself in all her splendor.

And the actual revelation of *Malchut* takes place in the Garden of Eden, i.e., she is meant for those righteous who have corrected her with their work and studies (in the state) after midnight. The Creator rejoices with them (merriment signifies fulfillment with *Ohr Hochma*) in the Garden of Eden, for the corrected *Malchut* is called "the Holy *Shechina*" or "the Garden of Eden," for she receives *Hochma* and rejoices with the righteous that constitute *MAN* within her.

And the phrase that describes how impurity (egoistic desires) is washed away (corrected to altruistic properties) from man's fingers (his most exalted desires) is true not only with regard to nighttime. Man ascends from the lower degree of "sleep" onto a higher degree of "awakening," the difference between the two states being that previously, he was receiving only the vital *Ohr Hassadim*, called "sleep," while "awakening" signifies reception of *Ohr Hochma*. This is because the impure force constantly clings to man's fingertips (precisely for man to correct it and thus attain greater spiritual heights), and he is obliged to wash his hands (make his desires and intentions "for the Creator's sake") before uttering a blessing (appealing to the Creator for reception).

172. For when man is asleep, his soul (spirit) leaves him. And as soon as his soul departs from him, the impure spirit replaces it at once, and it fills his hands and defiles them, and it is forbidden to utter a blessing without washing one's hands. And should you object that when man is awake and his soul does not leave him, the impure force does not descend upon him, then, if he enters a washroom, he is forbidden from reading even a single word of the Torah until he washes his hands. And if you say that it is because his hands are soiled, this is not true, for how are they soiled?

173. But woe unto those who do not beware and do not guard the Creator's honor and do not know the foundation of this world. There is a certain spirit that dwells in every cesspool of the world, a spirit that relishes depravity and excrement, and it immediately settles on the fingers of man's hands.

Just like Rabbi Y. Ashlag, I refrain from commenting on items 172 and 173 of *The Zohar*, and he who merits it—will understand this text himself.

He Who Rejoices on Holidays

174. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "He who rejoices on holidays and does not give a part to the Creator, the evil eye hates and slanders him, removes him from this world, and brings him many miseries."

We have already said (item 68) that the impure forces (egoistic spiritual forces within man that know of and hence desire the pleasures hidden in the Creator's Light) consist of male and female parts. The male part brings less harm than the female. It leads man to transgressions such as lying in the name of the Creator, as though it inspires man to observe the *Mitzvot*, but not in complete purity (with the sole purpose of pleasing the Creator). Instead, it causes man to also add a touch of personal benefit and selfish enjoyment, as it is written: "Eat not the bread of an ill-willer, nor desire his treats; for as one reckons within himself, such is he: 'Eat and drink,' he shall say to you; but his heart is not with you" (*Mishley*, 23:6-7).

Since the male impure force has absolutely no intentions to bestow, the commandment remains devoid of fear and love (without a heart). Yet, since the male impure force has already caught man in its net, it gains power to make a *Zivug* with its female half (the impure *Nukva*), which is a bitter and evil impure force that lies in the name of the Creator, and, upon seducing man, captures his entire soul.

Hence, *The Zohar* says that the evil eye hates and slanders man, and removes him from this world by provoking him to fail to observe the commandment of rejoicing on a holiday (the reception of *Ohr Hochma*, joy on a higher degree)—so that this joy would not be for the sake of the Creator. It is as though he eats alone and does not share his food with the needy, which leads to the male impure force making a *Zivug* with *Nukva* and capturing man's soul.

175. The Creator's role is to cheer the poor, according to His ability. For the Creator appears on the holidays so as to look at His broken *Kelim*. He comes to them, and He sees that there is nothing to rejoice in, and He weeps for them, and ascends Above to destroy the world.

To understand this passage and the angels' objections, one must first understand the words of the sages (*Midrash Raba*, 86): "When creating the world, the Creator asked the angels: 'Shall we create man in our image (*Tzelem*) and likeness?' And the four angels (forces, properties) of creation gave their answers:

Mercy said, LET US CREATE, for he creates *Hassadim*, mercy. Truth said, LET US NOT CREATE, for he is all falsehood. Justice said, LET US CREATE, for he dispenses justice. Peace said, LET US NOT CREATE, for he is all enmity."

What did the Creator do? He took truth and concealed it in the ground, as it is written: "cast down truth to the ground" (*Daniel*, 8:12). Our entire purpose in the study of the Torah and *Mitzvot* lies in that, thanks to them, as the Talmud says (*Psachim*, 50, 2): "From *Lo Lishma* (intentions for oneself) man comes to *Lishma* (intentions for the Creator's sake)."

And since man is born with such insignificant desires and powers, he is unable to immediately engage in the Creator's *Mitzvot* for the sake of pleasing the Giver of these *Mitzvot*, for as it is said: "Man is born akin to a wild ass" (*Iyov*, 11:12). Due to his egoistic nature, he is unable to make any inner movement or action if it is not for his own benefit.

Therefore, the Creator allows man to begin observing the *Mitzvot* solely for his own sake, seeking personal benefit. Yet, in spite of this, his actions attract spiritual Light to him. And then, with the help of the received Light, he comes to observe the *Mitzvot* for the Creator's sake, in order to please Him.

This is exactly what Truth presented when it objected to man's creation and said that he is all falsehood. After all, how can man be created to study the Torah and observe *Mitzvot* in a state of absolute falsehood, i.e., "for oneself?"

However, Mercy said, "Let us create," for man performs merciful deeds. Although the *Mitzvot* of mercy, which man observes (even if mechanically) initially "for his own sake," are mere external actions without the intention of bestowal, with their help he gradually corrects his intentions until he becomes capable of observing all the *Mitzvot* "for the Creator's sake." Hence, there exists an absolute certainty and guarantee that through his efforts, man will achieve the goal—altruistic actions "for the Creator's sake." And that it is okay to create man.

Peace also asserted that man is all "enmity;" hence, he can observe the *Mitzvot* "for the Creator's sake" only if it also brings him personal benefit. However, due to such mixed intentions and actions, man exists in constant conflict with the Creator, for it seems to him that he is great and righteous, and he utterly fails to see his shortcomings. In other words, he is completely unaware that all his work in the Torah and *Mitzvot* is exclusively for his own benefit.

And because he feels this way, he fills up with anger and resentment towards the Creator: why does the Creator not treat him as it befits one so perfectly righteous? It follows that he alternates between states of peace and conflict with the Creator. That is why Peace objected to the creation of man.

However, Justice said that man should be created, for he dispenses justice. By observing the *Mitzva* (singular for *Mitzvot*) of giving charity to the poor, even with the intention "for oneself," he gradually acquires the property of "bestowal," learns to act "for the Creator's sake," and merits eternal peace with Him.

After the Creator heard these opinions, He agreed with the angels of Mercy and Justice, and cast down Truth to the "ground." By this, He allowed man to begin observing the *Mitzvot* with the intention "for oneself," despite its falsehood.

It follows that the Creator cast Truth down to the ground because He had accepted the claims of Mercy and Justice, that thanks to the *Mitzva* of giving charity to the poor, man will ultimately come to Truth, i.e., work for the Creator's sake, and Truth will rise from the ground.

The only creation created by the Creator is *Malchut de Malchut*, egoism, and it can only be corrected by "instilling" the Creator's properties of *Bina* or mercy into it. Yet, if these properties are opposite, how can such a thing be accomplished? After all, in the spiritual world, distance is proportionate to the difference in properties. So how can *Malchut* be united with *Bina*?

To this end, the *Kli* was broken: the spiritual, altruistic desire lost its screen and became egoistic. Yet, it retained sparks of the Light, and these sparks exist within egoistic desires. This is why egoistic desires have power over us.

These sparks of the Upper Light are the source of various pleasures and love, for Light is pleasure. And since these particles of Light are clothed in impure garments and exist under the rule of the impure forces, man starts perceiving these feelings of love and delight as being inherent in the impure forces, as though these egoistic garments contain pleasures, and such is their property. And he associates the properties of love and pleasure with the impure forces,

failing to understand that the impure forces draw him solely with the spiritual spark that has fallen into them.

However, as the impure force is very appealing, it lures man into all kinds of transgressions, such as theft, robbery, and murder. At the same time, it gives us the desire to observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* for our own sake. Even if we start observing them not "for the Creator's sake," but "for ourselves," (for our own benefit, to fulfill our base aspirations, according to the desires of the broken, egoistic *Kelim*-vessels), we gradually come to the intention "for the Creator's sake," and merit the goal of creation—to receive all the pleasure that was prepared for us back in the Thought of Creation—"to delight man." Thus, the impure forces destroy themselves, but that is exactly the purpose for which the Creator conceived and created them.

The Zohar says that the Creator appears on these holidays to look at all the broken *Kelim*. On holidays, when man observes the *Mitzva* of rejoicing because of the great Light that he receives from the Creator, the Creator appears to look at His broken vessels, by which man is given an opportunity to observe the *Mitzvot* not "for the Creator's sake." The Creator comes and looks at how well these broken vessels have fulfilled their mission to bring man to observance of the *Mitzvot* with the intention "for the Creator's sake."

However, the Creator comes to them and sees that there is nothing to rejoice in. He weeps over them, for He sees that nothing spiritual (altruistic) was created from the broken vessels, that man has yet to correct even a single broken vessel (egoistic desire). In other words, there's not one vessel that was intentionally broken by the Creator that has brought man to the intention "for the Creator's sake," and he rejoices on holidays solely for his own pleasure.

So the Creator weeps and regrets breaking the vessels, for He broke them and cast Truth to the ground only for man's sake, to give him an opportunity to start working in falsehood (in the intention "for oneself") and gradually come to Truth, to the intention "for the Creator's sake." Yet, when He sees that man has not changed at all in his aspirations for selfish pleasure, it is as though the vessels were broken in vain, and so He weeps for them.

And He rises Above, to destroy the world—meaning, He ascends so as to stop the Light's descent and thereby destroy the world. The world and creatures can exist only if they receive the Creator's Light (even if unconsciously). However, if man's state and selfish actions cannot lead him to the intention "for the Creator's sake," the Light itself becomes detrimental to him, for in pursuit of this Light, man sinks ever deeper into egoistic desires (impure forces) and growing

dependency on egoism. Therefore, it is more desirable and beneficial for man to stop feeling pleasure in his impure desires, so that it would not destroy him completely and prevent him from sinking into such powerful egoistic desires that, having become a slave to their pleasures, he would never be able escape them and attain the spiritual.

176. The members of the assembly then appear before the Creator and say: "Master of the world, You are called merciful and forgiving, send Your mercy upon Your sons." He answers them: "Have I not done so, when I created the world based on mercy? As it is written, 'The world is built by mercy' and the world is established upon it. However, if they do not show mercy to the poor, the world will be destroyed." The Heavenly angels then say to Him: "Master of the world, here is a man who had eaten and drunk to his heart's content, and could have been merciful to the poor, but did not do anything." The prosecutor appears, receives permission, and persecutes that man.

The exalted souls, called "the members (or the sons) of the assembly" begin praying for the lower ones, so the Creator would have mercy on His sons and not discontinue the flow of Light descending onto them. They do everything within their power to justify man's state of being, and say that as long as he observes his *Mitzvot* in faith, he is called "the Creator's son," and hence deserves the Creator's mercy, as a son deserves the mercy of his father.

The Creator replies to them that He created the world by the property of mercy, and the world stands on this property alone. In other words, man will not be corrected by the Creator's Light as long as he disdains the poor, for the world's creation was the result of the Creator's agreement with the angel of Mercy, which states that due to man's merciful deeds, the world will be able to exist and will gradually come to the intention "for the Creator's sake." But now, since people are not showing mercy, there will be no correction.

Then the Supernal angels said, "Master of the universe, here is a man who had eaten and drunk, and had his fill, and could have been merciful to the poor, but did not give them anything." In this case, the angels begin to accuse man, instead of defending him, even the angels of Mercy and Justice. And all those who did not wish to create an egoistic man with desires "for oneself," but agreed to it only because they assumed that by deeds of mercy and justice he would escape his egoism "for one's own sake" and achieve the altruistic property "for the Creator's sake." Now, they, too, turn against man.

And if man is unable to acquire the intention "for the Creator's sake," the angels repent and regret at having agreed to his creation, and they now accuse

him before the Creator. And after it becomes clear that man will not achieve the altruistic property "for the Creator's sake" by observing the *Mitzvot*, he is passed into the hands of the prosecutor.

177. There are none greater in our world than Avraham, who acted with mercy toward all creatures. It is written of the day that he prepared a feast: "The child grew and was weaned, and Avraham made a great feast on the day that Yitzchak was weaned." So Avraham prepared a feast and invited all the leaders of that generation. It is well known that at every feast, the supreme prosecutor is about, watching. And if there are any poor people in the house, he leaves that house and does not return there. However, if the prosecutor enters a house and sees rejoicing without the poor—without having first shown mercy to the poor—he ascends Above and brings accusations against the host of that feast.

178. Because Avraham was the leader of his generation, the prosecutor descended from Heavens and stood at the door of his house, disguised as a poor man. And nobody so much as looked at him. Avraham was attending to kings and ministers, and Sarah was feeding all of their children, for they did not believe that she had born a child, but rather claimed that Yitzchak was a foundling, whom they had bought at the marketplace. This is why they brought their children with them, and Sarah nursed them in front of all. And the prosecutor stands at the door. Sarah said: "The Creator has made laughter for me" ("For anyone who hears will laugh on account of me" (*Beresheet*, 21:6). The prosecutor ascended at once and stood before the Creator, and said to Him, "O Master of the world, You have said that You love Avraham, and here he had prepared a feast, but had not given anything to You nor to the poor, had not sacrificed even a single pigeon for Your sake. And Sarah says that You have laughed at her."

Until the end of correction, it is impossible to fully rid oneself of the impure forces. Hence, however hard even the most exalted righteous may try to observe the Creator's *Mitzvot* in purity of their altruistic intentions, without any touch of personal benefit, the impure forces can nonetheless accuse them and find faults in their observance of the *Mitzvot*.

Therefore, the Creator prepared another opportunity for the righteous to silence the prosecutor—by bribing him with a certain portion of holiness and purity, thus silencing him. This way, the prosecutor is reluctant to accuse a righteous one and does not want him to disappear, for then the prosecutor, too, will be deprived of his part of holiness, the Light that he receives as the righteous one observes each *Mitzvot*.

Hence, the need for external hair in *Tefillin* (phylacteries), scapegoat rite, red heifer, and so forth. (*The Zohar*, *Emor*, p. 88). From this we see how extraordinary, multifaceted, and complex this world is created, how impossible it is to judge human deeds and the Upper Governance by external manifestations, as they are seen by us, and how "entangled" and inseparably intertwined all the connections between the pure and impure forces really are.

Even when we look at our great leaders-Kabbalists, we see how much they've suffered, how they were forced to submit to the will of petty rulers or ignorant masses, and how persecuted they were—those who were closest to the Creator! Everyone feels these obstacles, even those who are just beginning on their spiritual journey.

But here, in the example of Avraham, *The Zohar* does not speak about an ordinary prosecutor, for Avraham had surely given food to all the poor, as he had always done even before he invited his distinguished guests to his table. But this prosecutor demanded his share of holiness, of the Light. However, Avraham did not wish to give anything of holiness to impurity. Rather, he wanted to overcome its power and push it away from himself completely. This is why the prosecutor ascended Above and accused Avraham.

The Zohar tells us that the prosecutor was not really poor, but only disguised himself as such, and demanded to be treated at Avraham's festive table. Avraham felt that this was an impure force that assumed the image of a poor man; hence, he refused to give it anything.

This is why it is written: "He did not sacrifice even a single pigeon," for in accordance to the sacrificial rites (rejection of egoistic parts, of man's "I"), only two pigeons are offered, which symbolize the two combined points in *Malchut*: the property of *Malchut* that was corrected by the property of mercy, *Bina*. This common point contains both the properties of restriction and mercy, but the property of restriction is concealed, whereas the property of mercy is revealed (item 122).

Without this combination of *Malchut*'s properties with those of *Bina*, called the "mitigation" or "sweetening" of *Malchut*, the world (*Malchut*) cannot exist, i.e., receive the Creator's Light. Therefore, it is necessary to offer precisely two baby pigeons. One of them was sent by Noah from his Ark, never to return (*Beresheet*, 8), for one pigeon designates the property of restriction in *Malchut* that is unmitigated by *Bina*'s property of mercy. And since Noah could not correct anything in her, the pigeon never returned to him (*The Zohar Shlach*, p. 52).

The prosecutor's claims and complaints concerning Avraham's feast on the day when Yitzchak was weaned stem from his demand to receive his share, the corrections of the part of *Malchut* that cannot be corrected until *Gmar Tikkun* (the end of correction). And this is the property of the restriction within *Malchut*, with which the world cannot exist; hence, it must be concealed. This property is the pigeon that did not return to Noah.

Man was not entrusted with the task of correcting his Creator-given primordial egoism, for it is impossible to alter what the Creator had made. However, man can hide his *Malchut*, his egoism (refrain from using it), and instead act by receiving his desires from *Bina*. This is why a combination of the properties of *Malchut* (egoism) and *Bina* (altruism) was formed in man—to let him make the effort and conceal the properties of *Malchut*, and act only according to the properties of *Bina*.

When one is able to completely reject the use of his egoism and is guided only by the properties of *Bina*, he will achieve a state called "the end of his correction." Correction is made during the 6,000 years, i.e., along the degrees of the 6,000 consecutive actions.

Then, man's *Mashiach* (Messiah/savior), the Upper Light, comes to him and transforms all of man's egoism (the primordial nature that he was rejecting during the 6,000 years) into altruism. Then, one's egoistic properties serve for the reception of the Light of pleasure for the Creator's sake, and he no longer needs to refrain from using them.

The property of *Malchut*, with which man cannot work for the Creator's sake until his final correction, is referred to as "restriction." Using the properties of *Malchut* herself remains forbidden until she is completely corrected through gradual purification by the properties of *Bina* during the 6,000 years. Alternatively, *Malchut* is called "strictness" or "judgment," for this restriction is also the source of all punishments and prohibitions.

Avraham could not correct this property of restriction in *Malchut*, i.e., receive the Light and fill *Malchut* entirely. Hence, he received nothing in this part, and that is exactly the way he treated the prosecutor, who ascended at once and began to accuse Avraham before the Creator, claiming that Avraham failed to correct anything in *Malchut*'s property of restriction with his feast. This property of restriction is called "poor," for it does not receive Light; hence, it constitutes the essence of *Malchut*, her egoism.

Since the Creator mitigated the restrictive property of *Malchut* with the property of mercy, and mixed *Malchut* with *Bina* for the sole purpose of giving the

world an opportunity to exist, the Light that is received thanks to the property of mercy is defined as the part of Light belonging to all the world's inhabitants. This part helps *Malchut* become corrected. Since the Creator created *Malchut* in order to personally fill her with Light, she is regarded as His personal part.

As a result of a miracle of nursing the babies that were brought to Sarah, Avraham received all the Light that exists in the property of mercy, and began to doubt his ability to correct the poor part of *Malchut*. This part receives nothing (for it cannot be used during the 6,000 years) and constitutes the Creator's personal part.

Therefore, the prosecutor ascended, accusing Avraham of not giving to the poor, i.e., not giving to the part of the Creator, *Malchut de Malchut* herself, which no man can correct by himself, as even Noah was unable to do so. And he gave nothing to You nor to the poor, and sacrificed not even a single pigeon for Your sake.

And Sarah says that You have laughed at her. Sarah is the part of *Bina* that shines in *Malchut*. With the words: "Any who hears will laugh on account of me" (*Beresheet*, 21:6), Sarah-*Bina* gave *Malchut* such powerful *Ohr Hassadim* that *Malchut* stopped feeling her egoistic desires, felt the perfection of altruism, and temporarily acquired the properties of *Bina*, while under the influence of *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, there emerges fear that due to such a sense of perfection and absence of suffering from unfulfilled desires, the absence of the feeling of deficiency, *Malchut* would remain uncorrected. Such a state is similar to the following description of Adam's state in the Torah (*Beresheet*, 3:22): "Lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live forever." In other words, he must not stop feeling his own nature nor forget the fact that he is obliged to correct his defect in the "Tree of Knowledge." And that is why Adam was cast down into a place that is suitable for correction, the lowest possible egoistic place, called our world.

179. The Creator said to him: "Who in the world is like Avraham?" And the prosecutor did not leave from there until he had consumed the entire fare. So the Creator decreed that Yitzchak is to be sacrificed. And He said that Sarah shall die from grief for her son. The cause of this grief is that he did not give anything to the poor.

Yitzchak's sacrifice was aimed at the correction of *Malchut*, to compensate for what Avraham could not correct at his great feast in honor of Yitzchak's weaning. Sarah's death was the result of the great Light that she passed to

Malchut, saying: "The Creator has made laughter for me," alluding to the Light that obstructs the correction of *Malchut*.

Therefore, the Light that descends to *Malchut* and gives her the sensation of perfection prevents her from correcting herself. Hence, the Creator stopped it. This is the significance of Sarah's death, for Sarah constitutes the Light of *Bina* that enters *Malchut*. Thus, all that the Torah speaks of is but the essence of the process of *Malchut's* correction, until her correction is completed.

The Torah and Prayer

180. Rabbi Shimon opened and said: "It is written that Hizkiyahu (Hezekiah) turned his face to the wall and prayed to the Creator." Let us see how great and potent the power of the Torah is, and how high it rises above all. He who engages in the Torah has no fear of those Above or below, nor of any hardships or illnesses of this world, for he is connected to the Tree of Life and learns from it each day.

181. For the Torah teaches man how to walk a path of truth; it teaches him how to return to his Master and cancel what is predestined for him. And even if man is shown that what is predestined for him cannot be cancelled, it is nonetheless completely cancelled and annulled, then disappears at once and does not prevail over him in this world. Hence, man should study the Torah day and night, and never abandon it, as it is written: "Contemplate Him day and night." Whomever abandons the Torah, it is as though he abandons the Tree of Life.

"Contemplate Him day and night"—"Him" implies the Creator! In another place in *The Zohar*, it is said that Hizkiyahu's prayer was accepted by the Creator, for nothing (no egoistic desires) separated him from the wall (the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator, akin to the Wailing Wall).

This was the advice that he received from the Torah, when, through his efforts in the Torah, he realized how to achieve complete return to the Creator, whereby nothing would separate him from the Creator (from the wall, the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator). As a result, the decree of his death (the Light's exit from the *Partzuf*) was revoked. So great is the power of the Torah.

182. Come and see—such is the advice given to man. When he goes to bed at night, he must accept the Creator's governance from Above, and wholeheartedly

entrust his soul with Him. Thus, man is immediately spared all the illnesses, slander, and evil eyes, and they will no longer have power over him.

Here we come to a precise understanding of certain definitions from the Torah, which are quite different from the notions that we are accustomed to. Daylight signifies the sensation of unity with the Creator. It is called "Light," for this is how man defines his good feelings. Therefore, daylight is when man feels closeness of the Creator and the greatness of spirituality.

Darkness coincides with nighttime in our world. Accordingly, with regard to man's spiritual states, darkness designates the absence of the sensation of the Creator, of the Upper Light, due to the actions of the impure, egoistic forces that separate man from the Creator. At night in our world, we sleep. The spiritual *Partzuf* is filled with the minimal amount of Light in an unconscious state called "sleep." The amount of Light within the *Partzuf* is so little that it is defined as one sixtieth—6 (*Sefirot* of ZA) x 10 (in each part)—of death or complete absence of spiritual Light, for the impure forces rule here.

Due to these two forces that govern and control us, we cannot completely and permanently merge with the Creator. As the result of our sensation of the state of night, the impure forces that rule at night impede us in our efforts, for their power over us keeps returning, thus creating gaps in our unity with the Creator and in our work for His sake.

To correct this, Rabbi Shimon gives us his advice: every "night" (a feeling of separation from the spiritual), when man goes to "sleep" (sinks deeper into the sensations of this world), he must wholeheartedly accept the Creator's governance, entrust himself completely under His rule. For if the night (the sensation of night) is corrected as in the act of creation, when day follows night, as it is said, "And there was evening and there was morning, one day," both night and day become as a single whole.

And the night, called "the rule of *Malchut*," shall not mix with any impure force, and shall not attack man because of the disappearance of the sensation of the Creator on account of egoistic desires and obstacles of "reason." For first, man has realized the necessity of the night for the attainment of the next day (greater sensation of the Creator, a bigger altruistic desire), and perceives these two states as a single whole and as an advancement, despite the fact that in his sensations, a night designates remoteness from spirituality.

In the language of spiritual work, this means that if man feels remoteness from the Creator, and is therefore without joy, despite all the possible pleasures, for him this state is called "night." It is precisely in such a state of complete

absence of sensation and lack of faith in the Creator that man can, through his own effort, without feeling any taste in the Torah, yield before the Creator's rule. That is, he closes his eyes (as one who goes to sleep) and says: "I bring myself under the Creator's rule and submit to His will." This state is called "descent for the sake of a subsequent ascent," and serves as a springboard, by which man attains an even brighter "day."

However, to this end man must completely accept the Supernal Kingdom's rule, so that nothing will separate him from the Creator. In other words, he must submit to the Supernal Rule unconditionally, whether it brings life or death, so that no force in the world will be able to stop him from uniting with the Supernal Ruler, as it is written, "Love your Creator with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might" (*Devarim*, 6:5).

If man accepts everything that the Creator sends him with all his heart, he is certain that nothing will separate him from the Creator. This determines the fulfillment of the condition of entrusting one's soul with the Creator. For he gives himself into the Creator's hands in advance, by deciding to fulfill all His desires (commandments) to the fullest, right up to self-sacrifice.

Hence, as man sleeps, when his soul (the sensation of the Creator), the Light that previously filled him, leaves his body (desires), he does not feel the taste of the sixtieth part of death, for the impure (egoistic) forces have no power over him. In other words, they do not separate him from the Creator. Rather, he merely fails to feel the Creator temporarily.

Thus, the impure forces cannot interrupt his spiritual work even in the state called "night," for his evening and morning are already as one day—the Creator's Light. The night becomes a part of the day, for it is precisely because of the night that he recognizes his future merit of receiving an even greater Light.

This is because his night stems not from the rule of the impure forces. Instead, he understands that the Creator intentionally sends him such states. Thus, even in such sensations as darkness and lack of feeling, absence of aspiration and taste for the spiritual, he sees an opportunity to merge with the Creator. And this means that nothing stands between him and the wall.

183. And in the morning, when he rises from his bed, he must bless the Creator, enter His house, and bow before Him in fear and trepidation, and only then should he pray. He should take advice of his holy Patriarchs, as it is written, "By Your great mercy shall I come into Your house, to bow in fear of Your holy greatness."

Thanks to Your great kindness, I can now bless You for being merciful to me, for ending my spiritual descent, and for letting me come into Your house once more, for allowing me to feel You. However, I am happy not because my suffering gave way to pleasure, but because now I can thank You. I come to Your house so as to kneel in awe before Your holy greatness, which I now attain more than ever before.

The prayer in our heart is the correction within *Malchut* (the *Shechina*, the sensation of the Creator, or the common soul of Israel), and the fulfillment of this common soul with the Upper Light (the sensation of the Creator), in accordance with all of its corrected desires. Hence, all our pleas are expressed in plural form, for we pray not for our own soul, but for the common soul of Israel. Naturally, all that is present in the *Shechina* is subsequently present in every soul of Israel, and vice versa, all that the common soul of Israel lacks is also absent in each soul.

Therefore, before we start praying, we need to understand (feel) what is lacking in *Malchut* (the *Shechina*), to know what we need to correct in her and how we can fulfill her. Our heart, the center of our desires, is a part of this *Malchut* (the *Shechina*). All the generations of Israel are included in the common soul—the *Shechina*. However, we need not correct what has already been corrected by previous generations, but only what is left after those generations of souls.

Our Patriarchs, the spiritual *Partzufim* called "Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov," also known as the *Sefirot Hesed*, *Gevura*, and *Tifferet* of *Partzuf ZA de Atzilut*, include the entire community of Israel, all the properties that subsequently manifest in the corrected *Malchut*, who, in her corrected state, is called "Israel." The Patriarchs designate the three spiritual roots of the 600,000 souls of Israel in all the generations. In other words, these are the three sources of desires born within man's part of *Malchut* for the purpose of his correction.

All the good deeds, the reception and bestowal of Light carried out by the "community of Israel" (by Kabbalists) in all the generations, first trigger reception of the Upper Light by our holy Patriarchs (*Sefirot de ZA*), for all the Upper Light descends through them from Above downwards. From them, this Upper Light descends onto the "community of Israel," the righteous of that generation who exist with their properties in the worlds of *BYA*, and evoke the descent of this Light with their prayers.

Such is the order of spiritual degrees: each branch can receive only through its root (the preceding, Higher Degree), but never independently. The main Light remains in the root, and only an insignificant part of it descends to the

branch that evokes it. Therefore, all the corrections completed in the community of Israel (the *Shechina*, the common soul) are stored and preserved in the souls of our holy Patriarchs.

(The Light received in the corrected *Kelim* remains forever within them. Our description of the Light's exit and descent should be understood as a metaphor, for the *Partzuf* receives new empty desires that require correction, and the sensation of emptiness from the received empty desires is perceived as the Light's departure. Nevertheless, upon correcting these newly received desires, in them the *Partzuf* will receive an even greater Light than before).

Therefore, the essence of our prayer lies in supplementing the *Shechina* with whatever it needs to achieve complete correction, after all the previous corrections that were performed in it by the past generations of Kabbalists. Hence, he who spiritually ascends must first make all the corrections that have already been performed in the *Shechina*, and only then will he be able to recognize what is left for him to correct.

This is why it is written that one cannot enter the *Beit Knesset* (synagogue, but in Hebrew it means "the house of assembly" or "the house of prayer," from the word *Kones*—"to assemble") before he assembles his prayer and asks the holy Patriarchs for guidance, for he needs to know what has already been corrected and what still needs to be corrected. This is possible only after he receives everything that the Patriarchs have corrected through the *Shechina*. Only then will he come to know what is left for him to correct in the *Shechina*.

The Patriarchs have corrected the prayer in the *Shechina*. Prayer and the *Shechina* are one and the same, for prayer is a request, a raising of *MAN*, a *Kli*, the corrected *Malchut* or the desire for the Creator's sake. The correction performed by Avraham is called *Shacharit* (the morning prayer), by Yitzchak—*Mincha* (the afternoon prayer), and by Yaakov—*Arvit* (the evening prayer). Therefore, one must first repeat in his prayer everything that was already corrected by them, and then he will discover how to construct his personal plea, and what other imperfections are left that only he can, and consequently, must correct.

184. Man cannot enter the *Beit Knesset* (synagogue, house of prayer) unless he first receives permission from Avraham, Yitzchak and Yaakov, for they have corrected the prayer to the Creator. It is therefore written, "And in Your great mercy shall I enter into Your house" (*Tehilim*, 5:8). The aforesaid refers to Avraham, for his property is mercy, the *Sefira Hesed*. "I will bow before Your holy chamber" refers to Yitzchak, for thanks to him *Malchut* is called *Heichal*—chamber, the *Sefira Gevura*. "In fear and trepidation" refers to

Yaakov, for his property is the *Sefira Tifferet*, called "fear." And man must first enter into these properties, and only then enter the *Beit Knesset* to raise his prayers. Such a state is described by the verse, "Here is My slave, Israel, by whom I am adorned."

Here *The Zohar* analyzes the first three main corrections, made by the Patriarchs in the *Shechina*. Avraham corrected the property called *Bait* (house, permanent dwelling), which allows man to merge with it and to always exist in the Creator's properties and sensations, just as he can always dwell in his house.

Yitzchak complemented the correction and corrected *Malchut* in the property called the "holy temple," so that the King Himself would always dwell in it, as a king always dwells in his chambers. Yaakov added to the correction by the property of fear, which corresponds to a gate in front of a house, and designates the condition that (if met) allows man to enter *Malchut*, Avraham's house, and into Yitzchak's holy temple that are both within her.

Upon including within him all three corrections of the Patriarchs in full perfection, he attains what has already been corrected in the holy *Shechina*, and then proceeds to correct what has not been corrected.

Avraham is the source of the property of mercy in the souls of Israel. Therefore, he corrected the holy *Shechina* in such a way that it could receive *Ohr Hassadim*, the Light of Mercy. And the *Shechina* received this Light in its entirety for all the souls of Israel. Had it remained this way, all the souls of Israel would have been in complete and eternal unity with the Creator, and the *Shechina* would have been filled with Light (pleasure). Thus, no man would ever wish to part with the *Shechina* (the sensation of the Creator) even for a single moment.

Yet, Avraham's entire correction consisted in the creation of a perfect, bestowing *Kli*, which consisted only of *Ohr Hassadim*. There was no way of corrupting its properties or introducing imperfection within it, for, just like Avraham's property of mercy (*Hesed*), this *Kli* (desire) consisted only of the will to bestow upon, and please the Creator, as it is written: "Mine is yours and yours is yours designates the property of mercy" (*Avot*, 85). By imparting creation with his property, Avraham completely separated the impure forces (thoughts and desires) from the *Shechina*, and made it completely holy and pure.

However, the Thought of Creation does not end here, for it lies in fulfilling the souls with delight. And the extent of pleasure depends on the aspiration to enjoy, on the degree of hunger. Only the extent of preliminary hunger, the will to receive pleasure, determines the extent of the subsequent reception of pleasure.

The *Shechina* (*Malchut de Atzilut*, the sum of the souls) received its correction from Avraham—the Supernal force of *Hassadim*, the *Sefira Hesed* of *ZA de Atzilut*—and acquired the property of mercy from it. This property is completely free from any selfish will to receive, that is, its desire to receive something from the Creator has completely disappeared, and only the will to bestow upon Him remains. This desire is called "bestowal for the sake of bestowal." However, this brought no correction to the souls (parts of the *Shechina*), for their role is to receive the pleasure prepared for them by the Creator. To that end, they must first have the "will to receive." After all, pleasure is felt only when preceded by an aspiration or desire for it, and is determined by the extent of this desire.

It is hence written that Avraham fathered Yitzchak: Yitzchak found the *Shechina* in absolute spiritual perfection, in the property of pure selfless bestowal, filled with *Ohr Hassadim* because of all the corrections made by Avraham. However, in accordance with his properties, Yitzchak (the left spiritual force) felt imperfection in this state of the *Shechina*—that it was not yet corrected to "receive" *all* that was conceived in the Thought of Creation.

Therefore, he corrected it by turning it into a *Kli* (vessel) of reception, by supplementing it with the will "to receive," so that it could receive all the perfection prepared for it. Yitzchak evoked in the *Shechina* the will to receive pleasure from the Creator, albeit in the form of "reception for the Creator's sake"—with the intention of receiving pleasure in order to delight Him.

The reception for the Creator's sake means that although man fervently wishes to receive pleasure, he receives not because he wishes to enjoy, but only because the bestowing Creator wishes for him to receive it. And had the Creator not wished it so, man would have no desire to receive from Him.

Reception for the Creator's sake is equivalent to selfless bestowal. Thus, the egoistic, impure force, cannot cling to such a desire.

Hence, Yitzchak corrected the *Shechina* and brought it to complete perfection, for now it can receive all that the Creator conceived to bestow upon it, as this is the purpose of His creation.

Thus, after being corrected by Yitzchak, the state of *Malchut-Shechina* is called *Heichal* (the Creator's chambers), for now He can fill it with Himself, His Light, which means that He dwells in its halls.

Yet, Avraham's correction, called "house," did not yet allow the *Shechina* to be filled and worthy of the Creator's presence. Hence, Yitzchak is considered to have corrected all the *Gevurot* (willpower and resistance to egoism in the souls of Israel). This means that he mitigated all the laws and restrictions in the

Creator's governance. This is because all restrictions and punishments come into this world for the sole purpose of correcting the souls' will to receive, to make them suitable for reception of the infinite goodness contained in the Thought of Creation. And since Yitzchak corrected the *Shechina* to complete perfection, all its restrictions and forces have been corrected, and all of its properties have attained the desired goal.

However, his correction, too, did not retain this form in the *Shechina*, and became corrupted, for the world was still unprepared for the end of correction. Hence, Yitzchak fathered a sinner, Esav, who, being unable to resist the temptation to receive for himself, corrupted Yitzchak's correction in the *Shechina*. Unlike Yitzchak, he could not resist the selfish reception. This means that even when it became clear to him that the bestowing Creator did not wish for him to receive, he wanted to receive nonetheless, for such was his desire of self-gratification.

Therefore, the impure force (*Klipot*-shells, the husk, or rind surrounding the pure forces) clung to the *Shechina*. Thus, the legs (*Sefirot NHYM*) of *Partzuf Malchut de Atzilut* descended to the place of the *Klipot* below *Parsa*, where egoistic desires dominate the desires of *NHYM*.

Yet, the *Rosh* and the Upper Part of the *Guf* down to the *Tabur* of *Partzuf Malchut* remained above the rule of the impure forces. Hence, his head (*Rosh*) understands how he should act (hence, Yitzchak's head is buried together with the bodies of Avraham and Yaakov in the *Machpela* cave), but the body (*Guf*) still wants to receive pleasure for its own sake.

And since Yaakov saw the damage caused by Esav, he corrected the *Shechina* by adding his property of fear to it, as it is written: "His hand had hold on Esav's heel" (The Torah, *Beresheet*, 25:26). Because Yaakov realized what imperfection Esav had caused in *Shechina* (in the created souls), he corrected himself in fear to such an extent that he raised the holy *Shechina* as a crown-adornment. By this he also retained the corrections made by Avraham and Yitzchak.

However, Yaakov's correction was not final, for this fear is more similar to the fear of transgression than the selfless fear that comes from within. For this fear of his is born in him from Esav's hip, even though he had not transgressed by receiving, as did Esav. But the end of correction will bring a different state: Esav's hip will be annulled, as it is written: "Death will forever vanish from the world," and fear will remain only because the Creator is almighty and great.

Yaakov attained this genuine fear by himself. However, the entire "community of Israel," all the souls that form the *Shechina*, still need to correct themselves in all the generations, from the first to the last, to the end of correction. (Only

Moshe attained the property of true fear—one out of greatness and love—only he, and no one else. Hence, as the Talmud says, description of fear out of love for the Creator doesn't even exist.)

The Zohar cites the words of the Psalm (5:8): "By Your great mercy I shall come into Your house," since Avraham corrected the *Shechina* up to the property of a "house" that is filled with goodness, i.e., with *Ohr Hassadim*. The words, "So as to bow before Your holy chamber," refer to Yitzchak, who corrected the *Shechina* from a "house" to a "chamber" that befits the Creator. The words, "in fear" refer to Yaakov, who corrected the *Shechina* with his property of fear, whereupon he made it a *Kli* (vessel) of reception that includes all the corrections made by Avraham and Yitzchak.

Yet, how did he find out what else needed correction in the *Shechina*? Only by correcting and including himself in these three corrections performed by the holy Patriarchs before him. This means that, just as they did, Yaakov can act according to the conditions of these corrections. In other words, Yaakov merged with their properties, thereby ascending to their level.

Thus, man must first attain these properties and correct them within him. Only after he assumes the properties of these three corrections into himself can he start correcting them from where our Patriarch Yaakov left off, i.e., elevating fear to the extent of the Creator's greatness and omnipotence, and drawing the Upper Light with his prayer, with his awe of the Creator's greatness. And the Upper Light will bring with it the fulfillment of the *Shechina* and the end of its correction. Hence, man's prayer must include two objectives: to obtain fear of the Creator's true greatness, and with this attainment, to achieve the final correction of his egoism.

Rabbi Shimon's Departure from the Cave

185. Rabbi Pinchas stood before Rabbi Rachuma on the shore of Lake Kinneret. He was wise, old, and almost blind. He said to Rabbi Pinchas: "I have heard that our friend Shimon Bar-Yochai has a jewel, a son. I have looked upon the Light from that jewel, and it shines like the light of the sun, and illuminates the entire world."

A fully corrected *Malchut* is called a jewel (usually a pearl). Rabbi Nachum tells Rabbi Pinchas that Rabbi Shimon has already merited complete correction, for a "son" designates the next state, the next *Partzuf* that emerges or is born from the preceding one. And Rabbi Pinchas sees this while looking (with his spiritual sight, called *Ruach HaKodesh*—the Holy Spirit) at the Light of this pearl, which shines like the sun emerging from its hiding (*Nartik*—sheath). This means that after the future correction of *Malchut* (the moon), her Light will become like that of the sun, and will illuminate the entire world.

And when the Light of the moon becomes like that of the sun, it will rise to the zenith and illuminate the whole world with a pillar of Light, from Heaven to earth. And it will shine until Rabbi Shimon completes the correction of *Atik*. This speaks to the fact that he has already merited attaining the degrees of the Creator's two revelations, i.e., the end of correction.

186. And that Light extends from the Heavens down to the earth and illuminates the whole world until *Atik-Keter* appears and sits upon its throne, which occurs at the end of correction. And that Light abides entirely in your household (for the daughter of Rabbi Pinchas was wife to Rabbi Shimon, and Rabbi Elazar was therefore his grandson). And a tiny ray of Light (called "the son of the household," Rabbi Elazar) separates from the Light that fills the household, comes forth and shines upon the whole world. Happy are those

who merit such a destiny! Come out, my son, come out! Go after that jewel, which illuminates the world, for it is a good time to do so!

Since the daughter of Rabbi Pinchas was the wife of Rabbi Shimon (Rabbi Shimon and his wife designate two spiritual *Partzufim* that are below Rabbi Pinchas), Rabbi Shimon (together with his wife) belonged to the household (was included in the *Partzuf*) of Rabbi Pinchas. This refers to Rabbi Elazar, the *Partzuf* that emerged from the Light and illuminated the world, which filled the household (ten *Sefirot*) of Rabbi Pinchas, i.e., came out of the *Partzuf* called "Rabbi Shimon and his wife."

187. He came out before him and stood waiting to board a ship. Two women were with him. He saw two birds soaring over the water. He raised his voice and said, "Birds, you soar over the sea; have you seen the place where one could find Bar-Yochai?" He waited some and said, "Birds, O birds, fly away." They flew away and disappeared into the sea.

Rabbi Shimon fled from the authorities that condemned him to death, and hid in a cave with his son. And no one knew where he was. Therefore, Rabbi Pinchas set out to look for him.

Although everything described here is historically true, it is nonetheless essential for us to understand the words of *The Zohar* as the actions of Supernal spiritual causes, whose consequences determine all that transpires on earth. The egoistic authorities (forces) of a *Partzuf* as exalted as Rabbi Shimon's try to overcome his own altruistic aspirations and deprive him of the Light, that is, to kill him. And he hides from them in a cave, i.e., assumes a small state (*Katnut*) and shines with the Light of Mercy. This is referred to as "hides in a cave"—becomes invisible to egoistic forces, for they desire *Ohr Hochma* and cannot see *Ohr Hassadim*.

188. Before he boarded the ship, the birds approached again, and in the beak of one of them was a letter. It read that Rabbi Shimon, the son of Yochai, had left the cave together with his son, Rabbi Elazar. Rabbi Pinchas went to them and found them completely changed: their bodies were covered with sores (like holes in the ground—see the Talmud, *Bava Batra*, 19:2) from staying in the cave for so long. He wept and said, "Woe that I have seen you so!" Rabbi Shimon replied: "O how happy is my lot that you have seen me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not have been what I am!" Rabbi Shimon opened about the *Mitzvot* of the Torah and said, "The *Mitzvot* of the Torah that the Creator gave to Israel are all described in a general form."

While staying in the cave (in *Ohr Hassadim*) for many years (degrees), Rabbi Shimon had no choice but to sit in the sand (the external garment—*Levush* covering the *Partzuf* with a particular property, called "earth") in order to cover his naked body (desires) so he could study the Torah (receive the Upper Light in his *Partzuf* with the intention for the Creator's sake). As a result of being covered with sand, his entire "body" was covered with "rust and sores" (but these were necessary corrections).

And not only did the *Partzuf* called Rabbi Shimon need the correction of concealment in *Hassadim* (cave) and the cover of an external garment (Returning Light), but his next state, fathered by him, called his son, Rabbi Elazar (a lower *Partzuf*), also needed these corrections to attain all of the Creator's Light.

He wept and said: "Woe that I have seen you so!" Rabbi Shimon replied: "O how happy is my lot that you have seen me so, for had you not seen me so, I would not have been what I am!" In other words, if I would not look as I do, I would not have merited all the secrets of the Torah, for all that I have attained, I have attained during those thirteen years (thirteen successive corrections) of hiding in the cave.

Rabbi Shimon opened. It is written of the *Mitzvot* of the Torah: "The *Mitzvot* of the Torah that the Creator gave to Israel are all described in a general form." All of the *Mitzvot* of the Torah are described in the passage from the Torah, starting with "In the beginning the Creator created" and ending with "Let there be Light." These are the *Mitzvot* of fear and punishment, which include all the *Mitzvot* of the Torah. This is why they are called "in general."

The First Commandment

189. *BERESHEET BARAH ELOKIM* (In the beginning the Creator created) is the first *Mitzva* (commandment), the root and foundation of everything. And it is called "fear of the Creator" or *Resheet* (beginning), as it is written: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom." Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom, for this fear is called "the beginning." And it is the gate that leads to faith. And the whole world is based on this *Mitzva*.

It is difficult to understand why fear is called "the beginning," and why it precedes wisdom and faith. *The Zohar* answers: it is because fear is the beginning of every *Sefira*, and it is impossible to attain any *Sefira* (property) without first attaining the property of fear. Yet, this implies that fear is merely a means of attaining other qualities or properties. But then, if it is only a means, then why is it included in the list of *Mitzvot* (plural for *Mitzva*) as the first *Mitzva*? Can it be that fear is a kind of prerequisite?

Therefore, *The Zohar* says that it is impossible to attain perfect, selfless faith in any way other than through fear of the Creator. And the extent of fear will determine the extent of faith. Hence, the whole world is based on the *Mitzva* of fear, for the whole world exists only thanks to the Torah and *Mitzvot*, as the prophet said: "If not for My union with day and night, I would not have appointed the ordinances of Heaven and earth" (*Yirmiyahu*, 33:25).

And since fear is the beginning and the gate to the other *Mitzvot* (for fear is also the gate to faith), the whole world is based on this property of fear. It is hence written that the *Mitzva* of fear includes all of the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah; and were it not for fear, the Creator would not have created anything.

190. There are three types of fear, two of which have no real basis, but one does. If man fears that his children may die, or fears illness or bodily suffering, or fears for his material well-being, this kind of fear (even if constant) is not the basis or root, for only desirable consequences constitute the cause of fear.

This is called "the fear of punishment in this world." But there is also another type of fear: the fear of punishment in the world to come, in hell. These two types of fear—the fear of punishment in this world and in the world to come—do not constitute real basis and root.

191. The real fear is the fear of the Creator, for He is great and almighty, for He is the Source of everything, and all else is nothing compared to Him. Man should concentrate all his attention on attaining this kind of fear.

There are three kinds of fear before the Creator, but only one of them is considered true fear. If one is afraid of the Creator, and observes His *Mitzvot* so he and his children will be well and prosperous, this constitutes the first kind, the fear of the various punishments in this world. If he observes the Creator's *Mitzvot* because he fears punishments in hell, this is the second kind of fear. *The Zohar* says that neither of these two kinds is true, for man observes the *Mitzvot* only out of fear of punishment, for the sake of his own benefit, and not because these are the Creator's *Mitzvot*.

In this case, his personal wellbeing is the cause of his observance, and his fear is merely a consequence of his will to receive pleasure. Rather, true fear must stem from the Creator's greatness and omnipotence, for He rules over all and is the source of everything. All the worlds emerge from Him, and His deeds testify to His greatness. And all that He created is nothing compared to Him, for it adds nothing to Him.

Thus, we can plainly see that there is no difference in action: one observes out of the first or second kinds of fear, while the other observes out of the third kind. To an onlooker, they perform the same actions, the Creator's *Mitzvot*. But the enormous difference between them lies only in their *intention*, their motivation—why they observe the Creator's decree!

Hence, it is impossible to discern man's spiritual degree by his external observance of the *Mitzvot*, which is visible to all. Moreover, those who observe them in order to receive an immediate reward from others usually do so with the utmost outward zeal. But one whose intentions and thoughts are directed inwardly, who seeks true observance, as a rule, does not stand out amidst the masses in any way.

One must constantly seek to perfect and complement his intentions only by observing the *Mitzvot* at an increasingly deeper level, while focusing on inner contemplation and direction of his thoughts. In no way should he engage in excessive "mechanical observance," on which there is a clear prohibition: "Do not exaggerate in the *Mitzvot*."

On the contrary, one must devote all his attention to the attainment of true fear, as the Creator's first *Mitzva* decrees. As Rabbi Baruch Ashlag said, "Fear of the Creator is the constant, selfless desire that is expressed in the thought: 'Have I done everything I could for the Creator, or is there anything more that I can do for Him?'"

192. Rabbi Shimon started to weep, wailing, "Woe if I reveal and woe if I do not reveal. If I say, the sinners will know how to work for the Creator's sake, and if I do not say, it will not reach my friends." Wherever there is true fear, opposite it and correspondingly below stands an evil fear, which strikes and prosecutes. It is the scourge that whips the sinners (punishing them for their sins). This is why he is afraid to reveal it, for the sinners may learn how to avoid punishment, and punishment constitutes their correction!

Here Rabbi Shimon warns that he cannot reveal everything in its entirety (this refers to *Avoda Lishma*—work "for the Creator's sake"), for he fears it may harm the sinners. Here he wishes to reveal how one can draw nearer and merge with the Tree of Life, and therewith refrain from touching the Tree of Death. However, this refers only to those who have already corrected themselves with regard to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

Nevertheless, the sinners (those who have yet to correct their transgressions in the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil) are not entitled to know this, for they still need to toil in all the required tasks until they correct themselves in the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Thus we see that the Torah defines a sinner as one who is yet to correct the Tree of Knowledge in his soul.

The prohibition on revealing the true essence of the work for the Creator's sake is based on the words of the Torah: "Behold, Adam has become as one of us in knowledge of good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live forever" (*Beresheet*, 3:22).

After Adam's sin in the Tree of Knowledge, the Creator banished him from the Garden of Eden to prevent Adam from connecting to the Tree of Life and gaining eternal life. This is because then, what he corrupted in the Tree of Knowledge would remain uncorrected. Therefore, to let only the righteous know this wisdom, Rabbi Shimon reveals it by way of allusion.

193. But he who fears the punishment by whippings, the true fear of the Creator cannot descend upon him. Instead, evil fear overtakes him in the form of fearing punishment by whipping.

194. Therefore, the place that is named "fear of the Creator" is called the beginning of knowledge. This is why this *Mitzva* is included here. And it is the foundation and source of all the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah. And whoever observes the *Mitzva* of fear of the Creator, thereby observes all the others. But he who does not observe the *Mitzva* of fear of the Creator, does not observe the other *Mitzvot* of the Torah, for this *Mitzva* constitutes the foundation for all the others.

Here *The Zohar* repeats that in one place it is written, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom," while in another it says, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge." And *The Zohar* explains that where the property of fear ends, another evil fear begins, one that slanders and whips. In this regard, it is said in Kabbalah that the legs of a pure *Partzuf Malchut* descend to a place of impure forces.

However, he who observes the *Mitzva* of fear because the Creator is great and almighty unites with Him (becomes equal to the Creator in his properties), so as to not feel shame in receiving from Him. Besides this correction, no other work exists for the creatures.

This is called "fear of the Creator for the sake of life," for as a result of merging with the Creator, creatures are filled with life. Otherwise, they fall under the power of the restriction, as *Tzimtzum Aleph* (first restriction) restricted the reception of Light in egoistic desires. Such a *Kli* (desire) becomes a cause of death, for it is an empty place (devoid of Light). Hence, creatures must fear failing to make the corrections that they were entrusted with.

However, those who observe the *Mitzvot* out of fear, rather than out of realization of the Creator's greatness and His decree, are ruled and whipped by the fear of an empty *Malchut*. And since the end of fear lies in the evil scourge, true fear is called "The beginning of knowledge of the fear of the Creator," which indicates the necessity to aspire only to this kind of fear, and beware of the evil kind. Because of this, Adam's sin is corrected.

195. Therefore, it is written, IN THE BEGINNING (signifying fear) THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. For whoever transgresses here, transgresses all of the Torah *Mitzvot*. And his punishment is the evil scourge, i.e., the evil fear that whips him. The words, AND THE EARTH WAS UNFORMED AND CHAOTIC, AND DARKNESS WAS UPON THE FACE OF THE DEEP, AND THE SPIRIT OF THE CREATOR refer to the four punishments of the wicked.

196. WITHOUT FORM refers to strangulation. CHAOTIC refers to stoning, i.e., the stones that fall into the great deep to punish the sinners. DARKNESS signifies burning, the fire that falls upon the heads of the wicked to burn them down. THE SPIRIT OF THE CREATOR refers to beheading.

Those who observe the *Mitzva* of fear before the Creator not because such is His decree, but because they are afraid of punishment, fall into the impure force's trap, called "without form." As a result, they are lost, having no understanding of the Creator's thoughts and deeds. And this impure force is defined as a rope on man's neck, blocking the inflow of pure (holy) air to his soul and preventing him from gaining life. And to the extent of man's ignorance, the impure force strangulates him!

And when he is caught in the impure force's noose, tightening around his neck, it has the power to control man at its will: to stone, burn, or behead him. Stoning means that impure thoughts befall his head with desired pleasures, thus pulling him down into the deep. There they punish him with darkness (burning), and the impure force turns him on fierce fire until it burns all the pure life-force out of him.

197. The spirit of the Creator means beheading, for the scorching wind (*Ruach Se'ara*) is a flaming sword—punishment for whoever does not observe the Torah and *Mitzvot* that are mentioned after the *Mitzva* of fear, called "foundation," as it includes all the *Mitzvot*. This is because after the word *BERESHEET* (BEGINNING), which signifies fear, it is written WITHOUT FORM, CHAOS, DARKNESS and SPIRIT—in all, the four penalties of death. And then follow the rest of the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

Following the first sentence of the Torah, the remaining part of the Torah refers to the rest of the *Mitzvot*, which are particular with regard to the general and all-inclusive *Mitzva* of fear.

The Second Commandment

198. The second *Mitzva* (commandment) is inseparably connected with the *Mitzva* of fear, and it is the *Mitzva* of love—for man to love his Creator with perfect love. What is perfect love? It is a great love, as it is written, "He walks before the Creator in complete sincerity and perfection" (*Beresheet*, 17:1), which signifies perfection in love. Thus, it is written, "And the Creator said, 'Let there be Light'" (*Beresheet*, 1:3)—this is perfect love, called "great love." This is precisely how man should love his Creator.

There exists conditional love, which appears as a result of all the goodness received from the Creator ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," items 66-74), as a result of which man merges with the Creator with all his heart and soul. Yet, although he merges with the Creator in complete perfection, this love is considered imperfect. It is similar to Noah's love (*Beresheet Raba*, 30), who constantly needed to reinforce his feeling—to see that the Creator sends him only goodness.

Avraham, however, needed nothing to reinforce his love for the Creator, as it is written: "He walks before the Creator in complete perfection." For the words "walks before" mean that he needs nothing to reinforce his feeling of love for the Creator. And even if he does not receive anything from Him, his love remains constant and perfect, and he wishes to merge with the Creator with his heart and soul.

199. Rabbi Elazar said, "I have heard what perfect love means." He was told, "Tell this to Rabbi Pinchas, as he truly exists on that degree." Rabbi Elazar said, "Perfect love means that it is perfect on both sides; if it does not include both sides, such a love is imperfect."

He was told to turn to Rabbi Pinchas, for Rabbi Pinchas had already attained the degree of perfect love and will be able understand him correctly.

The words "on both sides" refer to both the good side and the evil side. In other words, if the Creator gives him not only goodness, but restrictions, too (which he perceives as unpleasant), and even if He takes his soul away, still man's love for the Creator remains perfect, as though he receives from Him nothing but the very best in the world.

200. Therefore, there is he who loves the Creator in order to gain riches, live a long life, have many healthy children, and rule over his enemies—he receives everything he wants, and this is why he loves the Creator. However, should he receive the opposite, should the Creator lead him through a wheel of suffering, he will come to hate the Creator, and will feel no love toward Him whatsoever. Therefore, such a love is baseless.

Since his love depends on what he receives from the Creator, when reception stops, so does his love. Clearly, man can love only one or the other—himself or the Creator!

201. Love is considered perfect if it exists on both sides—on the side of judgment and the side of mercy (success in life). As we already mentioned, when one loves the Creator, even if He were to take away his soul, this love would remain perfect on both sides: mercy and judgment. Therefore, the Light of the First Act of Creation was revealed and then concealed. And because of this concealment, strict judgment appeared in the world, and both sides, mercy and judgment, united to form perfection. And this is the desired love.

The Light that was created on the first day of creation (in the verse "Let there be Light") was later concealed, as it is written, for the righteous in the world to come. It was concealed so as to let strict judgment appear in this world.

This leads to the unification of the two sides (mercy and judgment) into one, for man receives an opportunity to reveal the perfection of love even when the Creator takes his soul away, and he is given an opportunity to supplement and perfect his love. And had the Light not been concealed, strict judgment would not have been revealed, and the GREAT LOVE would have been concealed from the righteous, and there would be no way of revealing it.

202. Rabbi Shimon kissed him. Rabbi Pinchas approached, kissed and blessed him. He said, "It is clear that the Creator has sent me here. This is the tiny ray of Light that was said to be shining in my house, and would later light up the whole world" (item 186). Rabbi Elazar said that fear must certainly not be forgotten from all the *Mitzvot*; especially in this *Mitzva*, the *Mitzva* of love, fear must be attached to this *Mitzva* at all times. How is it attached? Love is

good when it brings goodness, health, sustenance, and life from the Beloved One. And it is here that fear of sinning must be revived, so that the wheel does not turn against him, as it is written, "Happy is the man who always fears," for his fear is contained in his love.

203. This is how fear should be evoked from the perspective of strict judgment, for once man realizes that strict judgment hovers over him, he must evoke within him fear of his Master. Thus, his heart will not be hardened, of which it is written, "He that hardens his heart shall fall into evil," into the other side. This is called evil. Therefore, fear unites with both sides—with goodness and love, as well as with strict judgment, and consists of both. And if fear is united with the good side and love, as well as with the strictness of judgment, such a love is perfect.

The *Mitzva* of fear includes all the *Mitzvot* of the Torah; it is the gateway to faith in the Creator—to the extent of his fear, man acquires faith in the Creator's governance. Hence, he must not forget fear in observing every *Mitzva*, especially the *Mitzva* of love, at which time fear needs to be roused even more, for fear must constantly be present in the *Mitzva* of love. Therefore, man must evoke fear within him in the two states of love: in love from the good side, when he receives good sensations from the Creator, and in love from the evil side, when the Creator sends him harsh restrictions, according to judgment.

However, it would be incorrect to think that perfect love means a state where one receives bad feelings from the Creator, to the extent of feeling one's soul being taken away. It is incorrect to think that one should not fear the Creator's judgment and strictness, and, despite his feelings to cling unto Him with love, fearlessly and wholeheartedly.

First, one must rouse fear within him lest his love for the Creator will weaken. Thus, he combines love and fear. Second, from the other side of love, from the side of feeling the strictness, he must rouse within him fear before the Creator, and not let his heart harden, so it would not stop heeding the unpleasant sensations of punishment. Thus, here, too, he includes fear and love, and if he acts so in both sides of love, his love remains forever connected to fear, thus becoming perfect.

It is written about the good side's inclusion of fear into love: "Happy is the man who always fears." The word "always" indicates that although man always receives only goodness from the Creator, he fears Him nonetheless, for he fears that he may sin.

And it is written about the evil side's inclusion of fear into love, when man feels punishments and strictness of judgment: "He who lets his heart be hardened shall fall into awe." This means that one should in no way and under no circumstances let his heart be hardened under the judgment's influence. Otherwise, he will fall into the impure forces, called "evil." In such a case, he must rouse within him even more fear of the Creator, and mingle his fear into the love.

However, neither kind is fear for oneself, for one's own well-being. Rather, they both refer to man's fear of diminishing his intentions and actions for the Creator's sake, and his attempts to direct them all towards pleasing Him.

Thus, we have clarified the first two *Mitzvot* of the Torah—the *Mitzvot* of fear and love. The *Mitzva* of fear is the basis for all the other *Mitzvot* and of the entire Torah. It is contained in the first word of the Torah, *BERESHEET* (IN THE BEGINNING), and in its first sentence, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. Fear is called BEGINNING, from which THE HEAVENS and THE EARTH are born, meaning *ZON* and their descendants, the worlds of *BYA*. And the second sentence in the Torah refers to punishment in the form of four kinds of spiritual death: WITHOUT FORM means strangulation, CHAOTIC means stoning, DARKNESS means burning, and SPIRIT means beheading. The *Mitzva* of love is described in the Torah in the verse: AND THE CREATOR SAID, 'LET THERE BE LIGHT.'

There are two sides to this *Mitzva*, which are called "kindness and longevity" and "with all one's soul." This implies that man should feel love even under the worst kinds of circumstances, i.e., when the Creator takes his soul away, just as he feels it when everything is well.

Just to reveal this perfect love, the Light of creation was concealed. Fear must also be included in both sides of love: in the part where man must fear to commit a sin, thereby reducing his love for the Creator, and in the part where he must fear because of the concealment and the Creator's judgment. Yet, to understand these spiritual categories, we must clarify them in a slightly different manner.

Calls for love are used repeatedly in the Torah: "Love thy neighbor…," "Do not do what you hate to another," and so on. But the basis of all this is love between man and the Creator; this is where our requests are directed: "Draw us nearer with love…," "He who chooses Israel with love…"

The revelation of the Creator is the revelation of His love for man. However, altruistic love is completely different from our understanding of love. Our love always relies on egoistic reasons. And should the reasons suddenly disappear, love disappears at once.

We can take as an example the natural love between father and son. Parents naturally love their only son more than anything in the world. Accordingly, the son should hold the same kind of love for his parents. Yet, we see that this is not so: if the son feels unconditional love from his parents, then, in accordance with nature's law and regardless of himself, his love for them will decrease.

This is so because the father's love for his son is natural; and just as the father wants his son to love him, his son wants to be loved by his father. This reciprocal desire gives rise to fear in both their hearts: the father is afraid that the son may hate him (even a little), and the son fears the same.

This constant fear begets good deeds between them: each of them aspires to show his love to the other, so as to promote reciprocity. Yet, when their love reaches peaks, and there is nothing else that can be added to it, the beloved son discovers absolute and unconditional love in the heart of his loving father.

The loved one immediately stops fearing that he will be loved less; neither can he hope that the love for him will grow. And this leads to a situation where the son grows lazy and stops expressing his love with good deeds. And as they lessen, his love lessens, too, until it is reversed into its opposite—hatred, for he deems everything his father does as worthless and insufficient in comparison with what the father's actions out of "absolute" love should be. Therefore, the union of love and fear within man brings him to the state of perfection.

The four letters *HaVaYaH* (*Yod* + *Hey* + *Vav* + *Hey*) correspond to *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*. *The Zohar* calls them, FEAR, LOVE, TORAH, COMMANDMENT, respectively.

YOD	–	HOCHMA	–	FEAR
HEY	–	BINA	–	LOVE
VAV	–	ZA	–	TORAH
HEY	–	MALCHUT	–	COMMANDMENT

Partzuf AA is the main *Partzuf*, and includes the entire world of *Atzilut*. It shines upon all the other worlds through its garments, called *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON*, where *AVI* and *YESHSUT* clothe *AA* from its *Peh* to *Tabur*, while *ZON* clothe *AA* from *Tabur* down to its *Sium Raglaim* (end of legs) that stand on *Parsa*.

AA is called "the concealed *Hochma*," as its *Ohr Hochma* is concealed in its *Rosh* and does not shine upon the other *Partzufim* and worlds, and only its *Bina* shines below. Thus, it is *Bina* (and not *AA*) that is called *BERESHEET*—BEGINNING, for she is the foundation and the source of all the worlds.

And she is also called FEAR OF THE CREATOR, i.e., fear of His greatness, "for He is the only Master and the root of all, and all that exists is as nothing compared to Him." And *ZON* (called HEAVEN AND EARTH) emerge from *Bina*. It is therefore written in the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING (with fear) *AVI*, THE CREATOR CREATED HEAVEN (*ZA*) AND EARTH (*Malchut*).

Hence, it is said: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of wisdom (*Hochma*)" and "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge (*Daat*)." *Ohr Hochma* stems not from the *Sefira Hochma de AA*, but from *Bina de AA* alone. For when *Bina de AA* ascends to *Rosh de AA*, it turns to the *Sefira Hochma* and then passes the Light downward. It follows that the *Sefira Bina*, fear of the Creator, is the source of *Ohr Hochma*; hence, it is said, "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of *Hochma*."

Also, fear is the beginning of knowledge, for the *Sefira Daat* is the beginning of *ZON*: *ZON* raise their request to *Rosh de AA* in order to receive *Hochma*. And this request of *ZON* regarding reception of *Ohr Hochma*, which is received and felt by *AA*, is called *Daat*, knowledge. This is why it is written: "Fear of the Creator is the beginning of knowledge (*Daat*)."

The Zohar also tells us that afterwards fear and love unite so as never to part again, for *Hochma* is called "love." Indeed, the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH* is *Bina*, i.e., *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*) that wants only *Ohr Hassadim*, whereas *Ohr Hochma* is concealed within it.

And the place of revelation of *Ohr Hochma* is *ZAT de Bina*, called *YESHSUT*, the first letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*. Therefore, this place is called love, and it is the second *Mitzva* that follows the first *Mitzva* of fear, which shines in *ZON*, for this *Ohr Hochma* does not stem from *Hochma de AVI*, but from *Bina*, and *Bina* is known as fear.

And *The Zohar* says that fear unites with love so as to never let it go. This means that *Bina* forever unites with *Hochma* and does not part with it. And wherever there is *Bina*, *Hochma* is there alongside her. And although it seems to write that one *Mitzva* is fear and another is love (that these are separate *Mitzvot*), they are nonetheless always together and are never apart: just as the first *Mitzva* includes the first, so the first includes the second.

The reason they have separate names is that we distinguish them by their dominance: in the first *Mitzva*, it is *AVI*, *GAR de Bina*, *Bina* herself along with her property. Hence, it is called "fear." However, in the second *Mitzva* it is *Hochma* that is dominant; hence, it is called "love."

Therefore, the words of the Torah, IN THE BEGINNING THE CREATOR CREATED constitute concealment, and the revelation of these words begins

with the words LET THERE BE LIGHT, designating the ascent of *Bina* (BEGINNING) to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* becomes like *Hochma*.

The combination of *Hochma* and *Bina* is then called GREAT LOVE. This is the meaning of the words, LET THERE BE LIGHT, for *Bina* ascends to *AA* and passes the Light to all the lower worlds with GREAT LOVE, i.e., by means of two Lights: *Hassadim* and *Hochma*.

This is why it is said that the CREATOR'S LOVE IS CLARIFIED FROM TWO SIDES, as it is written: LET THERE BE LIGHT IN THIS WORLD AND IN THE WORLD TO COME. Because the Creator saw that this world cannot receive the Light, He concealed His Light and raised it above *Parsa de AA*, called (according to its corrected properties) "the world to come," above *Chazeh de AA*, where *AVI* or *GAR de Bina* reside.

Parsa is located below *Chazeh de AA*, and it separates the Supernal Waters (*AVI*) from the lower waters (*YESHSUT* + *ZON*). Since *Ohr Hochma* does not shine below *Chazeh de AA*, it is said that the Light is concealed from *Partzufim YESHSUT* and *ZON*.

Thus, we see that *Bina* is divided into two parts: *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*), located above the *Chazeh* (*Parsa de AA* or the Supernal Waters), upon whom the Upper Light shines, meaning that secrets are revealed within them. He who ascends to this degree receives its Light, thereby meriting "wealth (*Hochma*) and longevity (*Hassadim*). His sons (his future corrections) are like olive sprouts (olive oil symbolizes *Hochma*), they gather round his table (*Hassadim*), and he rules over his enemies (impure forces), and whatever his wish may be, he succeeds in it (for *Ohr Hochma* is clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*)." *ZAT de Bina* are the lower waters, located below *Chazeh de AA*. The Light is concealed from them, and those who receive from them must love the Creator with the kind of love called "even if He takes away his soul."

These are the two degrees of love for the Creator. That is to say, love for the Creator is not the desire and decision of man alone. Rather, like any of our other desires, it appears only by attaining a particular degree: if one attains the degree of *YESHSUT*, it allows him to love the Creator "even if He takes away his soul." However, an even more perfect love emerges within him who reaches the degree of *AVI*: he receives such Light from it that his love for the Creator becomes perfect on both sides.

Yet, fear must be included in both kinds of love. For at the degree of *AVI*, one needs fear so as to not sin while in a state of spiritual ascent in *AVI*. And while at the degree of *YESHSUT*, one must fear lest his heart be hardened,

for *Hochma* and *Bina* correspond to love and fear in a state of eternal unity. Therefore, one must include the properties of *Bina* (fear) into *GAR de Bina* (*AVI*), as well as into *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*).

Only then will love be perfect on both sides, in both forms: *GAR* and *ZAT de Bina*. Love cannot possibly be perfect only on one side, but only if fear exists on both sides, for *Hochma* (love) cannot exist without *Bina* (fear).

It follows that conditional love is the degree of *AVI*, whereas unconditional (perfect) love is the degree of *YESHSUT*. Yet, *YESHSUT* is below *AVI*. The thing is that man first receives Higher *Sefirot* of his emerging *Partzuf*, in the order *KHB-ZA-M*, but the Light enters them in the reverse order of *NRNHY*: first, he receives the *Sefira Keter* with the Light of *Nefesh*, and in the end he receives the *Sefira Malchut*, though the Light of *Yechida* enters *Keter*. Therefore, if we measure according to the *Sefirot* (*Kelim*), the degree of *AVI* = *GE* = *K-H* (conditional love) is smaller than the degree of *YESHSUT* = *AHP* = *B-ZA-M* (unconditional love).

The Third Commandment

204. The third *Mitzva* is to know that there is an Almighty Lord who governs the world, to unite this every day in the six Supernal limbs: *HGT NHY* of *Zeir Anpin*, and to unify them in the six words of the prayer "Hear O Israel," and with it to direct our desires upwards. Therefore, we must prolong the word "one" in the six words: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our Creator, the Lord is one."

In correspondence with the instruction to prolong the word "one," he who utters this verse should pronounce this word lengthily, as ooone. However, *The Zohar* obviously alludes not to a simple utterance of one's mouth, but rather to our true heartfelt intentions.

What is indicated here is that one needs to *know* and make a *union*. First, one must know the two sides of love, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. *AVI* are called the "big and great ones in *Hassadim*," whereas *YESHSUT* is called "the Master of the World," for it contains judgment and restriction.

After man has attained both degrees of love and merited perfect love, he needs to know that there is a great Master who governs the entire world, and to unite this knowledge every day by using the six Supernal limbs, sides, that is, to raise *MAN* to *ZON de Atzilut*, and *ZON* will raise their *MAN* to *YESHSUT*. As a result, *ZON* and *YESHSUT* will ascend and unite with *Partzuf AVI*. This common *Partzuf* has six Supernal sides-limbs, for they all clothe *VAK*, the six lower *Sefirot* of *AA*.

Because of this unity, *YESHSUT* ascends above *Parsa de AA*, to the place from the *Peh* down to the *Chazeh*, the place of the Supernal Waters. This is the permanent place of *AVI*, and the place where Light is revealed. When *YESHSUT* is filled with this Light, it passes it to *ZON*, which pass it on to the lower worlds, leading to the revelation of *Ohr Hassadim* in all the worlds. This is the secret of the union of "Hear, O Israel."

The six words: "**Hear,** O **Israel**, the **Lord** is **our** Creator, the **Lord** is **One**" constitute the six sides of *ZON*, which need to be united so as to unite them with the six Supernal sides, that is, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. And man must direct his intentions and *NRN* upwards, so they, too, would unite with Supernal unity, just as *MAN*.

To achieve unity in *VAK de ZA*, in its six sides, the word "one" must be prolonged, meaning to receive *Ohr Hochma* within it, for *Ohr Hochma* descends from *Ein Sof* (infinity) to Supernal *VAK*, i.e., to *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, and unites *VAK de ZA* with the Light of *Ein Sof*. This is because the *Gematria* (numerical value) of the Hebrew word *Echad* (one) is *Aleph* + *Chet* + *Dalet* = 1 + 8 + 4 = 13, which indicates reception of *Ohr Hochma*.

Hence, while pronouncing the word "one," one should intend to draw *Ohr Hochma* to *VAK de ZA*. However, this unity lacks the intention to receive the Light of *GAR* in *ZA*, but only to enlarge its *VAK* through unity with the Supernal *VAK*, and to receive *VAK de Gadlut*.

205. It is therefore written, "Let the waters under the Heavens be gathered together onto one place." This means that all the degrees under the Heavens will gather onto one place, to become perfect in the six ends. Therewith, fear must be attached to the unity of the words: "Hear, O Israel," which is done by prolonging the pronunciation of the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*. This is why the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* is written larger than the other letters. It is written, "Let the dry land appear," to let the letter *Dalet* (designating dry land) be attached to that unity.

As was already explained, the unity contained in the words "Hear, O Israel" refers to the reception of *Gadlut* by *VAK*. This is because "one place" signifies the Supernal *VAK*, where the Light of *Ein Sof* shines within *Ohr Hochma*, under the Heavens (*Bina*), with regard to the earth (*ZA*). The words "onto one place" imply the unification of all the six Upper and lower sides, so the lower *Partzufim* will receive *Ohr Hochma* and unite with *VAK de ZA*, but only as *VAK de Gadlut*.

As we have already clarified, there are two kinds of fear and two kinds of love: the Upper fear and love are called *AVI*, whereas the lower fear and love are called *YESHSUT*. However, perfection is attained only by attaining both degrees together. Hence, the Light is concealed in *YESHSUT*, so the lower kind of love ("even if He takes away the soul") will be revealed. But even in this case, fear must cling to love and prevent the hardening of the heart; only then does one reveal perfect love, merges with *AVI* and *YESHSUT*, and receives the complete Creator's goodness.

In the unity of "Hear, O Israel," and after *ZON* ascend and unite with their properties in the six Upper sides to receive within them the "Great Love" in the word "one," they receive the Light that was made on the first day of creation, of which it is written: "And the Creator said, 'Let there be Light'" (*Beresheet*, 1:3).

And to all of this unity one must attach fear, since he needs to reveal and receive the Light that is deliberately concealed in *YESHSUT*, so as to unite the lower love and fear, for they still cannot be considered perfect.

Therefore, it is said that one should prolong the pronunciation of the *Dalet* in the word *Echad* (one) when reciting the prayer, *Shema Israel*, *Adonay Eloheinu*, *Adonay EchaD-D-D!* (Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our Creator, the Lord is One). In this case, the letter *Dalet* is written in large font. This is because big letters refer to *Tvuna*, and the big *Dalet* in the word *Echad* indicates that its place is in *Tvuna*, and that the Light is concealed there. By attracting it, not by utterance, of course, but by the spiritual action, man unites its concealment with the lower fear and love.

AND THE DRY LAND APPEARED means that there is no perfection in the Upper fear and love, expressed in the six words of the prayer "Hear, O Israel" with the help of the word "one." These words correspond to "Let there be Light," until the unity of fear and love is achieved below. This unity is revealed in the Light that is concealed in *Tvuna*, designated by the letter *Dalet* (D) in the word *Echad.*

Therefore, after the WATERS GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE, signifying the descent of *Ohr Hochma* into the six parts of *ZA*, DRY LAND APPEARED. It denotes the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*, which should be pronounced with (spiritual) prolongation, with the aim to turn it into land through the concealment of the Light.

All of this is essential in order to unite the *D*, *Tvuna*, with *AVI*, resulting in the descent of the Light to *VAK de ZON*, so that love could be made perfect.

206. After *Malchut* unites with ZA Above (in *VAK de ZON*), they must now be united below, in the masses, i.e., in all six sides of *Malchut*, in the words, *BARUCH SHEM KVOD MALCHUTO LEOLAM VAED* (Blessed be the great name of His kingdom for ever and ever), which contain six other words of unity. And then, what was dry land will become fertile soil, yielding fruit and plant.

After the Supernal union is achieved, when the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* becomes whole Above, in *AVI*, it is essential to unite the *Dalet* in the word *Echad* below, in *VAK*, in the six aspects of *Nukva de ZA* (Rachel), who

stands from *Chazeh de ZA* and below. All 600,000 souls of Israel, called "the inhabitants of *Nukva*," are included in Rachel.

After ZA unites in the Light of *AVI*, and the concealment of *Tvuna* (in the words DRY LAND APPEARED or in the letter *Dalet*) is revealed in him, *Nukva* must be filled with these two revelations. This is designated by the six words, *BARUCH SHEM KVOD MALCHUTO LEOLAM VAED*, corresponding to the six *Sefirot HGT NHY* of *Nukva*.

It was already explained that the Light was concealed in order to reveal both sides of love—good and evil. Yet, neither side of love, good or evil, can be revealed through concealment, but only through revelation of judgment. Before judgment was revealed, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* was DRY LAND—utterly useless. This is because it emerged from the Light due to the concealment. Even fear to unite in the lower fear and love, which supplement the Upper fear and love was absent from it, for the judgment that reveals the lower fear and love was not yet revealed.

Strictness and judgment are located in the legs of *Partzuf* Leah, which are included in the *Rosh* of *Partzuf* Rachel. ZA has two *Nukvaot* (plural for *Nukva*): Leah (above his *Chazeh*) and Rachel (below his *Chazeh*). Leah's legs end at the *Chazeh de ZA* and touch Rachel's *Rosh*.

World of Atzilut

Atik		
AA		
AVI		
YESHSUT		
Nukvaot of ZA		ZA
Leah:	Head	Head
	Body	Mouth
	Legs	Chest
Rachel:	Head	Chest
	Body	Legs
	Legs	Feet

Parsa

Worlds of BYA

Machsom

Our World

Since strictness and judgment are located at the end of the legs of *Partzuf* Leah, this affects only *Partzuf* Rachel, as each spiritual property acts only from the place of its manifestation and below. Therefore, the concealment in the lower love and fear manifests only in the place in Rachel where the force of strictness and judgment is manifested.

Prior to the revelation of judgment, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* was dry land, a place that is unfit for living. Now, however, after the descent of *Partzuf* Rachel into *VAK*, below *Chazeh de ZA*, the dry land became fertile, suitable for settlement and cultivation of fruits. In other words, the lower love and fear were revealed in it in completion and perfection. And they complement the Upper love and fear, so that all are perfect on both sides, for that is when all the goodness is revealed in *AVI*.

It is therefore said, THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH-*ERETZ* (the word *Eretz* is derived from *Ratzon*—desire), for it is the property of the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* in the six *Sefirot* (sides) of *Nukva de ZA* (where the property of strictness and judgment is already revealed). The letter *Dalet* that was in DRY LAND and made its property inanimate and unfit to live on turns into EARTH in *Nukva de ZA* (as a result of a *Zivug* with *ZA*), can now be settled and cultivated; hence, the Creator called it "earth."

207. It is written, AND THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH. This refers to the same unity below, by the words, BLESSED BE HIS GREAT NAME FOR EVER AND EVER, when the earth, called "desire," became what it should be. For the word "earth" (*Eretz*) means desire (*Ratzon*). Hence, the expression IT WAS GOOD appears twice on the third day of creation: once for the Upper unity and once for the lower. For *Malchut* merges with both sides of *ZA*—with *VAK de ZA* and with her own *VAK*. Henceforth, the earth brings forth grass, for it has been corrected to yield fruit.

The Upper unity (described by the words, WATERS GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE) passes the Light that was created on the first day of creation from Above downwards, from the six Upper sides of *AVI* to *VAK de ZA*. This is called by the first word, IT WAS GOOD, uttered by the Creator on the third day of creation.

And then occurs the lower unity, designated by the verse, BLESSED BE HIS GREAT NAME FOR EVER AND EVER. This means that the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* attains perfection only from the six sides of *Nukva*, as described by the verses, AND THE CREATOR CALLED THE DRY LAND EARTH and

THE EARTH SHALL BRING FORTH GRASS, for in *VAK de Nukva*, DRY LAND turned to EARTH, yielding fruits.

With regard to this unity of *VAK de Nukva*, the Creator said, IT WAS GOOD, for the second time on the third day of creation. It follows that when IT WAS GOOD is said for the first time, it refers to the Upper unity. And the second time refers to the lower. Because of the lower unity, both sides of love achieve perfection, and the Light of *AVI* descends to *VAK de Nukva*, and bears fruit for the 600,000 souls of Israel that inhabit her.

The Fourth Commandment

208. The fourth *Mitzva* is to know that *HaVaYaH* (the Creator) is *Elokim* (Lord), as it is written: KNOW THIS DAY AND LAY IT IN YOUR HEART THAT *HaVaYaH*–CREATOR IS *ELOKIM*—LORD. That is, the name *Elokim* is included in the name of the *HaVaYaH*, and there is no distinction between them.

HaVaYaH is *ZA*, and *Elokim* is *Nukva de ZA*. It is essential to unite *ZA* with *Nukva* by making their properties similar, so there is no distinction between them. Thus, the name *Elokim* of *Nukva* will be included in the name *HaVaYaH* of *ZA*, so that *Nukva* herself will become as *HaVaYaH*.

This union signifies the reception of *Ohr Hochma* (*GAR*) in *ZON*, for the union implied by the words HEAR, O ISRAEL is the reception of the Light of *VAK* from *AVI* in *ZON*. The unity in question here is the reception from *AVI* in *ZON* of the Light of *GAR* (*Hochma*). One can never receive an entire degree in one go: first *VAK* is received, and only then *GAR*.

209. Hence, it is written, "Let the stars in Heaven shine upon the earth." This means that both names, *HaVaYaH* and *ELOKIM*, are as one. This way, *Malchut* (*Elokim*) should merge with the name *HaVaYaH* (*ZA*). The black Light (*Malchut*) with the white Light (*ZA*), as one, without distinction. The white cloud by day (*ZA*) with the pillar of fire by night (*Malchut*); the property of day (*ZA*) merged with the property of night (*Malchut*), so they shine as one star.

Nukva is called "a small star." Initially, there were two stars, *ZA* and *Malchut*, and both were the same size. But the moon (*Malchut*) complained that two stars cannot use one crown (source of Light). The Creator reply to *Malchut* was, "Go and diminish yourself" (Talmud, *Hulin*, 60:2).

As a result, the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* descended below the *Parsa* to the world of *Beria*, and only one *Sefira*, *Keter de Malchut*, remained in the world

of *Atzilut*. The task of the righteous is to elevate the nine lower *Sefirot* of *Malchut* from the world of *Beria* to the level of ZA, to correct her distinction from ZA, i.e., to grow and make her equal to ZA once more, so she will make a *Zivug* with ZA face to face. Thus, they shall correct the detachment of *Malchut* from ZA that was born of the moon's complaint.

The moon complained because it was unable to receive the Light directly from *Ima*, but only via ZA. Hence, the Creator gave it His advice: diminish yourself to a point (the *Sefira Keter*) and lower the nine *Sefirot* from *Hochma* to *Malchut* below the *Parsa*. Then, through the unity of "Hear, O Israel," rebuild *Malchut* in *VAK*, in the lower unity of "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever," for the power of judgment within it corrects the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad*, turning the DRY LAND into the fruit-yielding EARTH.

Therefore, the now black point of *Malchut* that caused its fall became as important as Light, for it is precisely the strictness of judgment that builds the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* and makes it fruit-bearing. And if *Malchut* had not had this power of judgment, the letter *Dalet* in the word *Echad* (*Tvuna*) would have remained DRY LAND. Hence, when the Light spreads inside her, the power of judgment and restriction becomes more important than Light itself, for it becomes the cause, the source of the Light of *VAK*, *Ohr Hassadim*.

Thus, it is now possible to receive *Ohr Hochma* in *VAK de Malchut*, while elevating *ZON* to *AVI*. For now, just like ZA, *Nukva* can unite with *AVI* in her properties. This was the basis of her previous complaint, for the Light-restricting power within her turned into the cause of the Light's diffusion. Hence, ZA and *Malchut* are considered a single whole: each of them constitutes the source of Light for the other, whereas previously, *Malchut* was completely dependent on ZA, and therefore felt humiliated.

As a result of the union between ZA and *Nukva* in *AVI*, ZA connects to *Aba*, and *Nukva* to *Ima*. ZA turns into white clouds in the daylight and *Nukva* turns into a pillar of fire in the Light of night, i.e., the properties of day and night merge into one property, as it is written: AND THERE WAS EVENING AND THERE WAS MORNING, ONE DAY. Together they illuminate the earth and those who inhabit *Nukva* in the worlds of *BYA*.

210. This is the sin of the primeval serpent that unites below but separates Above; hence, it caused what it caused to the world. What should be united Above, should be separated below. The black light, which is *Malchut*, should be united Above with ZA into a single whole and then separate it from the "evil side."

The union and fulfillment of *ZON* with *Ohr Hochma* occurs only when they ascend to *AVI*, above *Chazeh de AA*, where *ZA* merges with *Aba* and *Nukva* merges with *Ima*. As a result, they unite, and *ZA* passes *Ohr Hochma* to *Malchut*. However, in the permanent place of *ZON*, below *Chazeh de AA*, they cannot form a union and allow *Nukva* to receive *Ohr Hochma*.

This is exactly what provoked Adam's sin and allowed the Serpent to bring death into the world (cause the disappearance of *Ohr Hochma* from *Malchut*), by compelling Adam and Chava (Eve) to make a *Zivug* (union) in the permanent place of *ZON*, below *Chazeh de AA*. As a result, the Upper *Zivug* stopped in *AVI*, as *ZA* started passing *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI* down to *Malchut*.

Thus, all the parts (souls) of *Malchut* existing in the world stopped receiving *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*. This is regarded as death, for as soon as the impure forces approach *ZON* to draw their *Ohr Hochma*, *AVI* immediately terminate their *Zivug* for the sake of *ZON*, to prevent the impure force from clinging to *ZON*. And as soon as *Ohr Hochma* departs from *ZON*, the impure force leaves them at once, for it approaches *ZON* with the sole purpose of feeding on *Ohr Hochma*.

However, after being in *Ima* and receiving *Ohr Hochma*, *Malchut* descends to her permanent place and passes this Light to the souls of the righteous, called the "inhabitants of *Malchut*." She unites with them via equivalence of their properties, for in the absence of unity with *ZA* below, *Malchut* draws far from the evil side and the impure forces cannot receive from her.

211. Nevertheless, one should know that *Elokim* and *HaVaYaH* are one, without distinction. *HaVaYaH* is *Elokim*. If man knows that all is one and does not cause any separation, then even the opposite, impure forces disappear from the world, instead of descending below.

Although there is fear that a *Zivug* will occur in *ZON* in their place below, this is no cause to stop aspiring for a *Zivug* Above, in *AVI*. Moreover, one must attain that *HaVaYaH* is *Elokim*, which is achieved by uniting *ZA* with *Nukva*. And if man raises his *MAN*, thereby causing *ZON* to ascend to *AVI* and unite there, the impure forces are completely rejected by the Light, weaken and finally disappear from the world.

212. The secret behind the word *Me'orot*, which consists of the words *Mavet* (death) and *Ohr* (Light), is that the impure forces follow knowledge, understanding, and thought. And this is Light, which is the opposite from death—*Mavet*, for the Light (*Ohr*) is inside death—*Mavet* (spelled as *Me'ot*) in

the word *ME'ohrOT*. This alludes to the fact that Light separates death, but when Light disappears, the letters unite and form the word "death."

The impure forces follow reason (knowledge, understanding, and thought). Reason signifies "Light," and the impure force is "death," where Light connects the letters, while death separates them.

Here is the explanation of this: the power of restriction in *Malchut* is the source of the emergence of the impure forces. Because *ZON* united with *AVI* so as to receive the Light of *VAK* and *GAR*, the power of restriction in *Malchut* turned into Light by receiving the Light of *VAK* in the union below. Then, it ascended to *AVI* once more, and *Malchut* merged with *ZA* at the degree of *AVI*.

This union Above is designated by the word *Me'orot* = *Ohr* + *Mavet*. As a result of the Light of *VAK* and *GAR* descending to *Nukva* in the union with *ZA* at the level of *AVI*, the power of restriction in *Malchut* turns into Light, and all the impure forces that were created by this restriction disappear, for their root turns to Light. Consequently, the letters of the word *Mavet* of the impure forces disappear, and the words *Me'ohrot Ohr* appear instead.

213. Chava started with these letters, and brought evil into the world. As it is written, the woman SAW that it was good to bring the letters of the word *Me'ohrot* back. From there she took the letters *Vav-Tav-Reish-Aleph*, leaving only the letters *Mem* and *Vav*. And they took with them the letter *Tav*, thus forming the word *Mem-Vav-Tav* (*Mavet*—death). And they brought death into the world.

Thanks to the unity of the letters in the word *Me'ohrot*, designating the reception of *Ohr Hochma* in *ZON*, in the unity of *ZON* Above, the received Light separates the letters of *Mavet* in *AVI*, for it shines within them and forms a new combination of the letters *Me'ohrot*. And if *ZON* make a union below, at their permanent place, the Light disappears from the combination of letters *Me'ohrot*, and the word *Mavet* (death) remains.

AND THE WOMAN SAW THAT THE TREE WAS GOOD (*Beresheet*, 3:6). The Hebrew equivalent for the words "and saw" is *Vetir'e* = *Vav-Tav-Reish-Aleph*. These are the letters that depart from the word *Me'ohrot* (stars), leaving only *Mem-Vav*. They attach the letter *Tav* (*Nukva* of the impure forces) and form the word *Mavet*—the name for *Klipot*.

Chava drew these letters from the word *Me'ohrot*, meaning she followed the serpent's advice to unite *ZON* at their place below. In doing so, she violated the holy union of the letters in the word *Me'ohrot*, for the union of *ZON* below

immediately causes the separation of *AVI* and the word *Me'ohrot* into *Ohr* (Light) and *Mavet* (death).

The impure forces, called "death," contain a male part, called "Sam," and a female part, called "Lilit." The letter *Mem* is the male part of the word *MaveT*, called "Sam," and the letter *Tav* is its female part, called "Lilit." Thus, there was a *Zivug* between the male and female parts, the letters *Mem*, *Tav* and *Yesod* (*Vav*), forming the word *MaVeT*, as the name of the impure force.

This signifies the appearance of the serpent before Chava, and the transference of impurity from it to her. As she followed its advice, the letter *Tav* entered her, splitting the word *Ohr* (Light) and combining the letters into the word *Vetir'e* (AND SAW). Then, the male part of the impure force (*Mem-Vav*) appeared and made a *Zivug* with *Tav*, which was already present in Chava; thus, death (*MaVeT*) appeared in the world.

214. And look: said Rabbi Elazar: "My father, I have learned that after Chava had removed the letters *VeTiR'E* from the word *Me'ohrot*, the letters *Mem* and *Vav* did not remain. Only the letter *Mem* remained, for the letter *Vav*, which is the letter of life, turned into death. This occurred because it attached the letter *Tav* to itself, thus forming the word *MaVeT*." He replied: "Blessed are you, my son!"

Rabbi Elazar answered that the letter *Mem* remained alone, without the letter *Vav*, for *Vav* designates *Yesod*, whereas Sam (the male part of the impure forces) lacks *Yesod*; hence, it is written that it is unable to procreate offspring, akin to a castrated man. The letter *Vav* designates *Yesod*, the place of a *Zivug*, the union of the male and female parts of *ZON*. The letter *Vav* always designates life, *Yesod* of the pure forces, whose *Zivug* bears fruit, for it is made on the screen that stands in *Yesod*.

Here, the pure letter *Vav* became impure and turned into *Yesod* of the impure force, *MaVeT*. After *Vav* received from *Yesod* of the pure forces, it united in a *Zivug* with *Tav*, and the word *MaVeT* was formed. This was precisely the sin of Adam, which defiled the pure *Vav*.

The Fifth Commandment

215. The fifth *Mitzva*. It is written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES (*Beresheet*, 1:20). This verse contains three *Mitzvot*. The first is to study the Torah, the second is to procreate and multiply, and the third is to remove the foreskin on the eighth day. And it is necessary to study the Torah on all the days, at all times, in order to correct one's soul and spirit.

The four previous *Mitzvot* originate in the first four days of creation, and are intended for the correction of the degrees *H-B-ZA-M* of the world of *Atzilut*.

The **First *Mitzva*** originates from the word *BERESHEET* (*Bina*, fear of the Great and Mighty Creator, who rules over all), referring only to *GAR de Bina* that is located in *AVI*. The position of *AVI* is from *Peh* to *Chazeh de AA*, *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*.

The **Second *Mitzva*** originates from the words LET THERE BE LIGHT, and is meant for the correction of *ZAT de Bina* (called *YESHSUT*), located from *Chazeh* to *Tabur de AA*, i.e., below its *Parsa*. However, when it is said, LET THERE BE LIGHT, this means that *YESHSUT* ascended and united with *AVI*, forming one *Partzuf* above *Chazeh de AA*. And from there they ascended to *Rosh de AA*.

Such a state (degree) is called "Great love," designated by the first letter (*Hey*) of the name *HaVaYaH*: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*, and the Light passes from it to *ZON*. However, *ZON* cannot receive *Ohr Hochma* from *AVI*, for they are *GAR de Bina* and will always remain only with *Ohr Hassadim*, unwilling to receive, hence their name, "fear."

ZON, however, receive *Ohr Hochma* from *ZAT de Bina* (*YESHSUT*), which ascended above *Parsa de AA*, called "Great love." However, *YESHSUT*, which stand below *Parsa de AA*, cannot pass *Ohr Hochma* to *ZA*, for *Ohr Hochma* is concealed within them. Also, their *Tvuna* is called DRY LAND.

The **Third *Mitzva*** originates from the two stars that were created on the third day of creation, of which it is written: LET THE WATERS UNDER THE HEAVENS BE GATHERED TOGETHER ONTO ONE PLACE, AND LET THE DRY LAND APPEAR... and LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH GRASS. This *Mitzva* is intended for the correction of *VAK de ZON*, whose union Above stems from the verse, LET THE WATERS, referring to *ZA*, whereas the union below stems from the verse, LET THE EARTH PUT FORTH GRASS, and refers to *VAK de Nukva*.

The **Fourth *Mitzva*** originates from the verse, LET THE STARS, and is meant for the correction of *GAR* in *ZA* and *Malchut*. Thus, all the corrections necessary for *AVI*, *YESHSUT* and *ZON de Atzilut* have already taken place in the first four days of creation. *ZON* received *GAR* (*Ohr Hochma*), and, being of equal height, can now make a *Zivug* face to face. Therefore, the rest of the *Mitzvot* are intended for this *Zivug* of *ZON*.

The **Fifth *Mitzva*** is LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES. Now there is a need to bring *ZON* to a perfect face-to-face *Zivug*, i.e., (i) to receive *Ohr Neshama* onto this *Zivug*, so that Adam, too, will receive this Light and make a holy and pure *Zivug*, which is attained by man's efforts in the study of the Torah; (ii) to give birth to holy souls; and (iii) to correct the holy covenant by circumcision and rejection.

Man's efforts lie in that he studies the Torah, although he realizes that he does not attain it (receives nothing in his corrected desires, called *Guf*, body). He merely utters its words with his "mouth" (not yet able to receive the Light (Torah) in his body for the Creator's sake), but as a result, he attains *Ohr Nefesh*.

Man's efforts should correspond to his readiness to do everything in his power to attain and understand the Torah, which causes him to attain *Ohr Ruach*. However, he must not limit himself to such attainments, but rather multiply his efforts so as to attain *Ohr Neshama*. Thus, every day he must aspire to correct his *Nefesh* and *Ruach*, and by increasing them, attain *Neshama*.

216. Because man labors in the study of the Torah, he corrects the other holy soul, as it is written, SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES, referring to the life-giving holy soul, *Malchut*. For when man does not study the Torah, he lacks the holy soul and the holiness that descends from Above. Yet, when he does study the Torah, he merits its Light, just like holy angels.

Nukva de ZA that makes a face-to-face *Zivug* with *ZA* in the state of *Gadlut* is called "living," for *ZA* is then called the "Tree of Life." Consequently, *Nukva* is called "Life." By raising *MAN* during the study of Torah for the Creator's sake,

man causes *ZON* to make a *Zivug* and receives *Ohr Nefesh* from it. And if he does not study the Torah for the Creator's sake, he cannot even attain *Ohr Nefesh*, for he fails to bring about the Creator's *Zivug* with the *Shechina*. And a *Zivug* can be attained only by raising *MAN*.

It is therefore written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES, for the Torah is called "water." If man raises *MAN* with the help of the Torah, he merits *Ohr Nefesh* (holy spirit) from *Ohr Haya* (Life). Moreover, he merges with the Creator only after he attains *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, and *Neshama* from *HAYA* (Supernal holy life). He unites *Ohr Nefesh* with *Ohr Ruach*, *Ohr Ruach* with *Ohr Neshama*, and *Ohr Neshama* with the Creator.

217. It is written, "Angels of the Creator shall bless Him." This refers to those who study the Torah, as they are called His angels on earth. It is also written, BIRDS SOARING OVER THE EARTH. This refers to this world. However, in the world to come, as it is said, the Creator will make them wings like those of an eagle so they may soar in the whole world.

Why does *The Zohar* mention angels? Because angels are spiritual forces—mechanical enactors of the Creator's will. They were repeatedly compared to animals in our world (e.g., a horse) that fulfill man's will. Angels are spiritual forces without freedom or egoism; hence, they never sin and have no need for the Torah, which is why they are spiritually inanimate, motionless—they do not grow spiritually.

Man is created in such a way that before he carries out any task, he needs to realize what he is supposed to do. But angels carry out their assignments even before they hear and understand what the Creator wants from them, for His desire rules over them. Hence, nothing prevents them from instant fulfillment of His will. They always follow the Creator, just like man's shadow follows him. This is why they are believed to act before they even hear.

Man can therefore act like an angel (even though his desires are of egoistic nature) if his desires become like those of angels, whose actions precede their understanding (hearing). Just like an angel, such a person fulfills all the Creator's desires before he realizes, hears and understands them, for he follows the Creator as a shadow follows man.

This can be illustrated by the following example: when a strong wind throws dust in one's eyes, he quickly shuts them, even before his brain and thoughts feel and realize the need to do so: the action (shutting the eyes) precedes the actual realization of the thought of dust.

Although the physical body of such a person exists together with us in this world, his spiritual body (desires) becomes angel-like, and his actions precede his hearing. He does not need to hear in order to fulfill the Creator's will, but observes any *Mitzva* even before his brain realizes what he is doing. Therefore, he is regarded as an angel.

Hence, *The Zohar* says that in the future the Creator will provide him with wings to enable him to soar over the whole world. For until man attains the holy soul (*Ohr Nefesh*—the smallest spiritual Light), the impure force rules over him, as the prophet said: "The souls of your enemies, them shall he sling out, as from the hollow of a sling" (*Shmuel I*, 25:29).

Hence, one cannot merge with the Creator and observe His desires (*Mitzvot*) until he has acquired faith in the Creator's names and knows that He is absolutely good to all and bestows only goodness. And if one has not yet attained the holy soul, and the impure force still rules over him, when his thoughts soar above the world, it seems to him as though the Creator's rule is not quite as good as it should be according to His names. This feeling of his brings corruption to the Creator's holy names, and he cannot find a quiet place for himself, cannot have faith in His names and draw closer to Him.

Therefore, he stains himself with such impurity that it leads him toward lack of faith in the Creator and in His names. However, nothing of this affects the spiritual; it occurs simply because man has not yet attained the spiritual realm, and is making no effort to do so.

But as soon as he receives the holy soul (*Ohr Nefesh*), his body (desires and thoughts) instantly becomes angel-like: his actions precede realization. It is written about such a person: "And the birds shall soar above the earth," for in the future, the Creator will give him wings, and he will soar above the whole world.

For he soars mentally above the whole world and sees how the Creator governs all. Yet, not only does he not err when seeing the manifestation of this governance, he receives the strength to raise *MAN* to increase his spiritual anti-egoistic powers. By looking upon all the forms of the Creator's rule over this world and, seeing the harshness of the external manifestations of this rule, such a person is given an opportunity to ask for the strengthening of his faith. And owing to his faith in the Creator's unity and absolute kindness of His rule, he raises *MAN* and receives increasingly greater Light for the Creator's sake.

218. It is written in this regard: LET BIRDS SOAR OVER THE EARTH, for the Torah, called THE WATERS, will SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES from its place of life, *Malchut*, and all will descend

down below. This is what King David referred to, when he said, THE CREATOR CREATED IN ME A PURE HEART to study The Torah, and A HOLY SPIRIT WAS RENEWED WITHIN ME.

So as to continue to explain the aforementioned text, *The Zohar* compares the Torah to water—just as living creatures emerged from water, in the same way the Light of life descends from *Malchut* (called "life") upon the entire world. This is the Light for which King David asked the Creator. He begged for a pure heart in order to study the Torah and raise *MAN*, for this would lead him to the reception of the holy spirit of renewal—the strength to merge with the Creator even more.

The Sixth Commandment

219. The sixth *Mitzva* is to procreate and multiply, for he who does so turns the stream, called *Yesod de ZA*, into an inexhaustible fountain. And the sea, *Malchut*, shall be filled from all directions, and new souls shall come forth from that tree, and a multitude of forces shall appear together with those souls, to guard them. Hence, it is written: LET THE WATERS SWARM WITH SWARMS OF LIVING CREATURES. This is the mark of the holy Covenant. The stream grows stronger, turns into a river, and thus brings more and more new souls to life.

An awakening from below causes an awakening from Above: raising *MAN*, the prayers and requests of the lower ones to receive strength so they can perform spiritual, altruistic actions, stimulate a *Zivug* Above between the Creator and the *Shechina*. As a result, the stream, *Yesod de ZA*, fills with water and descends to *Nukva de ZA*, filling her on all sides, wishing to both revive all the worlds (to bestow *Ohr Hassadim*) and bear new souls (pass *Ohr Hochma* downward, for birth is possible only in *Ohr Hochma*).

There are two kinds of *Zivugim de ZON*: (i) a "*Zivug* of existence" on *Ohr Hassadim*, from which *Ohr Hassadim* descends to provide the lower souls with what they need for their existence. This *Zivug* on *Ohr Hassadim* also gives birth to angels. (ii) A "*Zivug* of birth" on *Ohr Hochma*, which leads to the creation of new *Partzufim*, new human souls.

These new souls emerge from the Tree (*ZA*). However, although they are called new, the genuinely new souls originate in the world of *Ein Sof* (Infinity), whereas these souls were already within Adam, and fell into the impure forces as a result of his sin. Now they are revived with the help of the Tree of Life (*ZA*); hence, they are called "new souls." A multitude of other forces, called Heavenly

hosts or armies, descends along with them. But completely new souls descend to the world only after the correction of Adam's sin has been completed.

Yesod de ZA is called a "covenant," because we (*Malchut*, souls) feel and receive from it all the Light of our life. It constitutes the source of our life, descending to us from the Tree of Life (*ZA*). *ZA* ascends to *AVI* (called "garden") in order to take the waters from them and fill *Malchut*, his *Nukva*. A *Zivug* on *VAK* (*Hassadim*) is called WATERS SWARM, and a *Zivug* on *GAR* (*Hochma*) is called LIVING CREATURES.

220. A number of birds (angels) that soar above the whole world enter *Malchut* along with those souls. When a soul comes into this world, the bird that came from that tree along with that soul accompanies it. How many angels leave with each soul? Two: one on the right, and one on the left. If one so merits, they guard him, as it is written: FOR HE WILL GIVE HIS ANGELS CHARGE OVER YOU. Yet, if he does not merit, they report and accuse him. Rabbi Pinchas said: "There are three angels that guard man, if he so merits, as it is written, IF THERE BE AN ANGEL OVER HIM, A DEFENDER, ONE AMONG A THOUSAND THAT WARNS MAN. If there be an ANGEL—is the first; A DEFENDER—is the second; one among a thousand THAT WARNS man—is the third."

221. Rabbi Shimon said: "In all, there are five angels, for the verse continues: 'there is one after the giver and two more, so in all there are five.'" He replied: "This is not so. 'The giver' refers solely to the Creator Himself, and not to an angel, for only the Creator is permitted to give, but no one else."

A number of angels come forth together with the begotten souls. These angels are called "soaring" or "flying." They help the souls to sentence to the scale of merit, or, conversely, complain to the Creator about these souls, and push them toward the scale of sin, which entails punishments. These angels soar above the world, see how the Creator rules over all, and report all this to the soul. If the soul so merits, it sentences itself and the entire world to the scale of merit; if not, it sentences itself and the entire world to the scale of sin.

Therefore, Rabbi Pinchas does not dispute Rabbi Shimon when he says that only two angels are born with a soul. Rather, he says that as long as there are only two angels in man, he cannot sentence to the scale of merit completely, and keeps moving between the scales of sin (punishment) and merit (reward). However, through one's good deeds, the third angel is born within him, which enables man to sentence everything to the scale of merit. Hence, only with the help of the three angels can he achieve his correction.

222. And he who abstains from procreating and multiplying belittles (so to speak) the form that includes all other forms, the form of man, causes that stream, *Yesod* of ZA, to dry out, and harms the holy Covenant (*Yesod* of ZA) from all sides. It is written of such a man, "Go forth and look upon the corpses of those that have transgressed against the Creator." Of course, those who transgress against Me. This is said about the body, as the soul never even enters the screen, i.e., the Creator's domain. And such a man shall be banished from the world.

Malchut is called a "form," a "property" that contains all of the other properties, for all the forms of *NRN* of the righteous and of the angels in the three worlds of *BYA* originate from her. They constitute all the hosts and armies. And those that do not procreate and multiply thereby diminish the form of *Malchut* and prevent her from using all of her hosts and armies. For with the help of *MAN* that the lower ones raise, the Light descends from Above and stimulates a *Zivug* between the Creator and the *Shechina*. This *Zivug* creates *NRN*—the souls of the righteous and the angels in the worlds of *BYA*.

And those that impede this *Zivug* cause the stream (*Yesod* of *ZA*) to dry out and stop the flow of its male waters into the holy *Shechina*, *Malchut*. In doing so, they harm the holy covenant in all of its properties, for they delay the two parts of the *Zivug*: *VAK* (on *Ohr Hassadim*) and *GAR* (on *Ohr Hochma*).

This is because the *Mitzva* of procreation and multiplication constantly develops the soul. As a result, man defeats his body forever, so it can rise again during the resurrection from the dead. And he who abstains from procreating and multiplying turns his body into a corpse, of which it is written: GO FORTH AND LOOK UPON THE CORPSES OF THE PEOPLE, for his soul will not be able to enter the Creator's domain and merge with Him. Thus, he is rejected from the world to come.

The Seventh Commandment

223. The seventh *Mitzva* is to perform circumcision on the eighth day, and thus remove the impurity of the foreskin, for *Malchut* constitutes the eighth degree of all the degrees, beginning with *Bina*. And the soul that soars from her must appear before her on the eighth day; hence, she constitutes the eighth degree.

Nukva de ZA is called *Haya* if she rises and clothes *Ima-Bina*, the eighth degree from *Malchut* (provided that you count all ten *Sefirot* from below upwards). *Malchut* is hence called "the eighth," for she ascended eight degrees, from her own place to that of *Bina*. And when she reaches *Bina*, she receives the name *Haya*, just like *Bina*.

Therefore, man's soul, which is born in *Malchut* (that ascended to *Bina*), must appear before *Malchut* in all the appropriate corrections of circumcision, removal of the foreskin and the rolling up of its remains, on the eighth day from its birth in *Malchut*. This is because then it becomes clear that it is a soul that was born from none other than the holy degree of *Haya*.

Because of the force of circumcision and rolling up, man's soul sloughs the impure force, and the soul can receive the perfection of *Ohr Haya*. LET THE WATERS SWARM—thus *Malchut* receives the Supernal male waters from *ZON*, and is filled with them.

224. It then becomes clear that the type of this soul is *Haya*. That is, belonging to that holy degree of *Haya* (*Malchut*), and not to any other degree. And this is implied by, LET THE WATERS SWARM, as is explained in the book of Hanoch, the waters of the holy seed merge in the properties of the soul of *Haya*. And it is the property of the letter *Yod*, marked on the sacred flesh, more than any other mark that exists in the world.

Because of the circumcision, the Supernal male waters fill man's soul the way they were received in *Nukva* (called "the soul of *Haya*"). The Upper World,

called *Bina*, is designated by the letter *Yod*, and the lower world, *Malchut*, is designated by the letter *Hey*—its property. However, as *Malchut* ascends to *Bina*, the letter *Hey* disappears from her, and, just like *Bina*, turns into *Yod*.

Similarly, through man's observance of the *Mitzva* of spiritual circumcision, the letter *Hey* disappears, and just like in the *Nukva* that ascended to *Bina*, the property of the letter *Yod* appears in him instead. And if man's body acquires the property of *Yod*, he can receive the soul of *Haya* from *Nukva*.

225. The verse, LET BIRDS SOAR OVER THE EARTH, refers to Eliyahu, who flies across the whole world in four flights in order to be present in the place, where the Holy Covenant is made. And a chair must be prepared for him, and it must be said out loud, THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. For this is not done so, he will not appear in that place.

Angels originate from *AVI*; hence, they remain exclusively in the sky and consist of *HGT NHY*. Therefore, when they appear in this world to fulfill their tasks, they are said to make six flights, for they clothe in six *Sefirot*.

However, Eliyahu stems from *Malchut* (not from *AVI*). Hence, he is constantly connected to the earth. And since *Malchut* contains only four *Sefirot* of *ZA*, for her position is parallel to the *Sefirot TNHY* (*Tifferet-Netzah-Hod-Yesod*, pronounced, Tanhi) from *Chazeh de ZA* downward, it is written that Eliyahu flies on four flights, i.e., by clothing in *Sefirot TNHY*.

Under no circumstances should one interpret the words about Eliyahu's presence at every rite of circumcision literally. Yet, if he is obliged to be there, why should he be invited?

The Zohar explains this in another place (*Shlach*, 18): there are four impure forces, called "Stormy Wind," "Great Cloud," "Blazing Flame," and *Noga*. The lowest of them, Stormy Wind, is at the center, as though clothed by Great Cloud, which is in turn clothed by Blazing Flame. And they are all clothed from the outside by *Noga*.

All the worlds, forces, and everything that was ever created exists within man. And these are our spiritual forces, by which we can attain the goal of creation. The first three impure forces are completely impure (egoistic). Whereas *Noga* is half good and half evil. But how is that possible if the spiritual is always true? How can it be half good (altruistic) and half evil (egoistic) at the same time?

In fact, this is impossible. *Noga* is a neutral force that can be used by the pure force (then *Noga* is considered good) or by the impure force (and then it is considered evil). Hence, *Noga* is called "half good and half evil" although

neutral in itself. It may be attached to either pure or impure forces, and this depends entirely on man.

MAN'S SPIRITUAL FORCES

Pure	-	altruistic
Noga	-	neutral
Blazing Flame	-	egoistic
Great Cloud	-	egoistic
Stormy Wind	-	egoistic

These four impure forces are located at the end of each spiritual *Partzuf*, in its *Sefira Yesod*. The *Sefira Yesod* has two layers of skin, one atop of the other. One layer is called *Orla*, and contains the three impure forces. The other is called *Preia*, and this is *Noga*.

The first man, Adam, was born circumcised, meaning that he did not have the three impure forces at all—he was completely unaware of his egoistic desires. In other words, they could not cling to him. *Noga* prevailed in him, in his sensations. Yet, since it was separated from the three impure forces and attached to the pure force (Adam's altruistic desires), *Noga* itself was considered completely good.

The three impure forces are collectively called the Serpent. These three impure desires were roused in Adam and tempted him to use them. In so doing, Adam attracted the *Orla* to himself, as it is described in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 38:2). As soon as he attached *Orla* to himself, his pure soul (the Light of the world of *Atzilut*) immediately disappeared, for his desires became egoistic, and he fell with his properties (desires) to the world of *Assiya*, to its lowest degree, called "this world," and was condemned to death (disappearance of the Supernal spiritual Light).

Therefore, it is written about him that since he violated the prohibition of not eating the fruits of the Tree of Knowledge, he attached the *Orla* to himself. Consequently, the impure desires acquired both layers of skin on the *Sefira Yesod* of *Partzuf* Adam, and *Preia*, called *Noga*, became impure, too, because of its contact with the *Orla*, with the three impure forces. However, there is a distinction between them, which lies in the fact that prior to Adam's sin, *Preia* was pure, and all of its impurity stems from its contact with the *Orla*.

Accordingly, there are two types of correction: circumcision and rolling up of the remaining skin. The *Orla* must be cut off and cast in the dust, since only thus can man free himself from these egoistic desires. *Preia*, however, can be left

attached to *Yesod*. But the skin around the *Sefira Yesod* must be rolled up. This is a special spiritual action that frees the *Preia* from the impure forces remaining in it. Hence, this action causes the Light to return to the *Partzuf*. This Light previously disappeared because of the egoistic desires that ruled in the *Partzuf* before the spiritual circumcision took place.

However, this is still insufficient for the fulfillment of the spiritual *Partzuf*, Adam, with the Light, as it was before he sinned, i.e. used the Serpent's impure forces and tasted the forbidden fruit from the Tree of Knowledge (received *Ohr Hochma* in egoistic desires). For now, after Adam's sin and fall, a special angel by the name of SAM makes accusations and complaints against man.

To neutralize the power of SAM, Eliyahu took upon himself his role of a prosecutor, and was thereby granted an opportunity to defend Israel (one who aspires to the Creator) when he circumcises himself (his egoistic desires).

Hence, it is said that Eliyahu must be present at each rite of circumcision (Hebrew, *Brit Mila*—the Covenant with the Creator). For since it is he, rather than SAM, who complains to the Creator about Israel's neglect of their Covenant, he can also testify that when Israel aspires to the Creator, it is loyal to the covenant. As a result, the Light returns to the *Partzuf*.

This is why, besides the chair occupied by the man who holds the baby (*Sandak*–godfather), one more chair must be prepared for the prophet Eliyahu. For the chair designates the beginning of correction, the influence of the Upper One on the lower one. The first chair, on which the *Sandak* sits, belongs to the Creator, for the filling of Light as the result of the circumcision and the rolling up of the impure forces. The second chair is saved for Eliyahu, so he can neutralize the impure forces' complaints to the Creator against man, so they would not be able to accuse man.

However, to make Eliyahu appear, one must say out loud: THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. The thing is that a male baby is circumcised on the eighth day after *Shabbat* (*Malchut* with the Light of *AVI*, called "holy") has passed over him. Since the sloughed desires (*Orla*) are cast away, the impure force sees that it is given a part of the Creator's Covenant. Because of this gift, it stops complaining and accusing man. On the contrary, it begins to advocate him before the Creator.

The spiritual desires (objects) pass their properties from one to another. Since the *Orla* was attached to *Yesod*, after the circumcision (separation from *Yesod*) it takes part of the pure desires with it. And since we throw it to the dust,

to the impure forces, they draw from it that weak Light, which they can receive from the circumcision and the rolling up.

This is why the impure forces stop complaining against Israel, and no longer wish to destroy this Light, for in so doing they will lose the part that they draw from it. Thus, they become defenders of the pure forces, to allow the pure forces to be filled with Light.

Yet, Eliyahu cannot bear this correction, for although the *Klipa* stops impeding and slandering Israel, it takes part of the Light for itself in return. To correct this, Eliyahu takes upon himself all the accusations against Israel, and refuses to give anything from the pure to the impure forces.

Thus, although the impure force stopped complaining against Israel, and actually became its defender, Eliyahu himself continues to accuse in order to wrest all the power from the impure forces and fully separate them from the pure. Hence, a chair must be prepared for Eliyahu, for it is he who fully separates the impure forces from the pure ones.

One must therefore verbalize the words: THIS IS THE CHAIR OF ELIYAHU. For after the circumcision, part of the Light still remains in the impure forces, and the mention of Eliyahu completely deprives them of any contact with the Light.

Thus, if man does not express his desire to detach himself completely from the impure forces, through his own effort (by the screen positioned in *Peh*), it does not happen, even though the first chair belongs to the Creator. This is because the Creator starts the process of creation (makes His foundation in the form of a chair), and man continues and corrects his nature by performing altruistic deeds.

226. And the Creator created great Leviathans. They were two: *Orla* and *Preia*, male and female forces, and all living creatures. This is the mark of the Holy Covenant, the soul of the holy *Ohr Haya*, as it is written, LET THE WATERS SWARM, the Supernal Waters that descend to this Covenant.

Leviathan and his wife designate that which is opposite from *Orla* and *Preia*. They are also called *Nachash* (Serpent) and Alcaton (his wife). *Orla* is the Serpent, and *Nachash* is the male part that must be cut off and committed to dust. *Preia* is the correction, liberation from the Serpent's female part, Alcaton. Through these corrections, *Ohr Haya* of *AVI* descends from Above.

227. The reason why Israel below is marked in the holy form, similar to its form from Above, is to separate the pure part from the impure, to distinguish

between the holiness of Israel and the other nations that originate from the other side. And just as Israel was marked, so were the animals and birds—to determine which of them belong to Israel, and which belong to the nations of the world. Happy is the lot of Israel!

Man's attitude toward all the living creatures in our world is similar to the attitude of the general spiritual creation, called "man," toward his parts. This is because Adam includes absolutely everything within his spiritual body. And there is nothing except for this spiritual *Partzuf*, called "man" or "Adam."

All spiritual objects, angels, souls, both pure and impure forces are parts of Adam's body. All that is described in Kabbalah speaks only of the spiritual world, of one creature called "man," Adam. Adam's various parts, his various desires—are called "Israel," "nations of the world," "pure animals," "impure animals," and so forth.

All that man must do in our world (for every one of us was created in the image of Adam, recreating Adam's entire *Partzuf* within him) is build a pure, altruistic *Partzuf* within him. This is done by cutting off all of the egoistic desires in his heart, and separating the pure from the impure in all his desires, on all the levels of his soul.

The Eighth Commandment

228. The eighth *Mitzva* is to love an outsider from another nation, who desires to come under the wings of the *Shechina, Malchut*, who takes under her wings those who separate themselves from the other, impure side, and draw near her, as it is written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH A LIVING SOUL AFTER ITS KIND.

Malchut, *Nukva de ZA*, is called the *Shechina*, for she does not distance from us even when our properties are distant from her, as it is said: WHEREVER YOU ARE BANISHED, THE *SHECHINA* WILL BE WITH YOU, and ABIDES IN THEM, IN THEIR IMPURITY. *ZA* is called *Shochen* (dweller) and *Nukva* is called *Shechina*.

The revelation of the Creator in *Malchut*, of the *Shochen* in the *Shechina*, of *ZA* in *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* is possible only by a face-to-face *Zivug* of *ZON* in *Gadlut*. This is because the Light of this *Zivug* is so great that it reveals unity even in the most remote and concealed places, in the most opposite and uncorrected desires.

However, the creation of *Gadlut de ZON* occurs gradually: first, a *Partzuf* of *ZON* in *Katnut* is created with the Light of *VAK*, and only then does it grow to reach *Gadlut*. Moreover, this process takes place in each state of *ZON*. Furthermore, even as *ZON* in *Gadlut* make a *Zivug* and receive *Ohr Hochma*, the Light from their previous state of *Katnut* does not disappear, but facilitates a *Zivug* in *Gadlut*. And this Light of *Katnut* is called the "Wings of *Shechina*."

Hence, it is written in the Torah: "And the cherubim shall spread out their wings on High, screening the ark-cover with their wings" (*Shemot*, 25:20). For the main thing is to cover the Light of the great *Zivug* with their wings, so that even the most distant ones would receive the Light, and, at the same time, keep it out of the reach of the impure forces.

This is so because those who have yet to completely purify their egoistic desires are rejected by the Light for fear that the Light may fall to the impure forces. But now the wings guard the Light so vigilantly that even the closest ones will not err and let the Light through to the impure forces.

Therefore, an outsider is one who decides to join the people of Israel (to correct his egoistic desires and make them altruistic), and to be circumcised (reject his egoistic desires), for his body (collection of desires) still retains the properties of the *Orla*, as his ancestors (previous spiritual states) did not stand at the foot of Mount Sinai (did not receive the Light, called the Torah, and were not corrected by it), i.e., have not yet rid themselves of the serpent's impurity (have neither revealed all the impure egoistic desires within them nor recognized them as evil). Nevertheless, other altruistic desires have the power to elevate him to the level of Supernal purity.

This occurs through raising *MAN*, by evoking the great *Zivug* of *ZON* (where the Wings of *Shechina* rule and cover the Light of this *Zivug*). We can also elevate the outsider's soul (his yet uncorrected desires) to that level and sanctify it in the Light of this *Zivug*.

And although this soul is not yet completely pure, it can receive the Light from this *Zivug*, for the wings protect it and do not allow its Light through to the impure forces (desires), even though they are very close to it. And it is said, UNDER THE WINGS OF *SHECHINA*, for this soul can receive the Light only from the wings of *Malchut-Shechina*, i.e., receive only the small, outer Light of *Malchut*. This is not the Light in the body of *Malchut* (*Shechina*) herself, let alone that of *ZA* (the Creator, *Shochen*). Rather, it is merely the Light of the Wings of *Shechina*.

The outsider's soul (his egoistic desires) can be corrected (made altruistic) only during the great *Zivug*, for only then is the Light protected by the Wings of *Shechina*. Hence, we (altruistic desires) must first raise *MAN* for the great *Zivug*, and receive its Light in our souls (desires corrected by the screen). Then, the *Shechina* spreads her wings, protects this *Zivug*, and takes the outsider's soul under them. It follows that initially, we elevate the outsider's soul with the help of our *MAN*, and then the *Shechina* takes it under her wings.

229. One might say that the soul of *Haya* exists in Israel and is ready for anything. He specified, "After its kind," which refers to both Israel and to an outsider. Like chambers and passages between them, the same exists in the land called *Haya*, under the wings.

Here *The Zohar* tells us that although the new soul (the corrected properties called the "outsider") receives the Light, just like the properties called "Israel," Israel receives from the inner Light, whereas the outsider receives from the outer. It was already mentioned that wings designate the Light of *VAK*, received during the great *Zivug*, but from the previous state of *Katnut*, so as to cover the Light of the great *Zivug*.

This *VAK* includes *Sefirot HGT NHY*, where *HGT* are called "chambers," in which one can abide and sit (sitting means *Katnut* as opposed to standing, which is *Gadlut*). The *Sefirot NHY* are called "passages," entrances to the chambers, and it is impossible to sit there; their only role is to allow access to the chambers.

The reason for this lies in the property of *Tifferet*, the main *Sefira* in *HGT*. *Tifferet* is their middle line, a complete *Kli* for the reception of *Ohr Hassadim*. And the main *Sefira* in *NHY* is *Yesod*, which constitutes their middle line. It contains no property of the receiving *Kli*, and is used only for passing the Light onto *Malchut*, for the creation of the Returning Light. Hence, *NHY* are called "entrances."

As for the outsiders (to purify from egoistic desires) from the seventy nations of the world (seventy egoistic properties), the chambers in *HGT* of the wings, as well as the passages in *NHY* of the wings are prepared for them. They receive *Ohr Nefesh* from the passages (*NHY*) and *Ohr Ruach* from the chambers (*HGT*).

230. The right wing of *Malchut* has two passages, which are split from this wing in two so as to let in two nations that are close to Israel. And under the left wing there are two additional passages, called Amon and Moav. And they are all called the souls of *Haya*.

Previously, *The Zohar* mentioned that there are many entrances-passages, yet now it speaks of only two. This is because it speaks in general: there are two entrances for the nations belonging to the right line, and two entrances for the nations belonging to the left line. There are also two nations in all of the right line, which include all the nations of the right side, and there are two nations of the left line, which include all the nations of the left side.

The nations of the right side refer to the two general passages in the right wing. And *The Zohar* does not reveal what these nations are. And as for the nations of the left side, generally called "Amon and Moav," there are two passages in the left wing that are meant for them.

All the souls of the outsiders that come from all the nations are collectively called *Nefesh Haya*, for they can receive only from the great *Zivug* of *ZON* when

ZON are inside *AVI*. Thus, *Malchut* is called *Nefesh Haya*, for she receives *Ohr Haya* from *AVI*. And since the souls (*Nefashot*) of the outsiders receive from the wings of *Nefesh Haya*, they are named after the received Light.

231. Each wing contains a multitude of closed chambers and halls. From them, spirits emerge and are divided among all the outsiders, called *Nefesh Haya*, but each "after his kind." And they all come under the wings of the *Shechina*, but no further.

Each wing includes *VAK* (*HGT NHY*), called "passages" and "chambers." Each nation has its own chamber in *HGT* and its own passage in *NHY*. Each receives *Nefesh* in the passages and *Ruach* in the chambers. It is written that the chambers are closed, since *HGT de VAK* have only *Ohr Hassadim* without any *Ohr Hochma*; hence, they are called "closed."

232. However, the soul of Israel stems from the body of that tree (ZA), and from there the souls fly off to this land (*Malchut*). Therefore, Israel is the darling son of *Malchut*, and is sustained by her womb, and not by the wings that are on the outside of the body. Moreover, the outsiders have no part in the Holy Tree (ZA), especially not in its body. They refer only to the wings of *Malchut*, and no further. The outsider's place is under the wings of the *Shechina*, and no further. The righteous among the outsiders also refer to the outer side, and not to the inner. It is hence written: LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH A LIVING SOUL (*Nefesh Haya*) AFTER ITS KIND. All receive *Nefesh* from that *Haya*, but each according to its kind.

ZA is referred to as the "Tree of Life" and his *Nukva* is called the "Land of Life." For in the state of *Gadlut*, they both ascend and clothe *AVI*, who have *Ohr Haya* (the Light of Life). Therefore, it is said that the soul of Israel stems from the body of that tree, meaning from *ZA* himself.

And the souls from that tree fly off to the Land of Life: as a result of a *Zivug* between the tree (*ZA*) and the land (*Malchut*), *ZA* gives the souls of Israel into *Nukva*, and Israel receives these souls from her, as opposed to the outsiders, who receive their souls from the wings of *Malchut*, but not from *Malchut* herself, not from what *ZA* passed to *Malchut*.

The reason for this is that *Nukva* has three *Partzufim*, which clothe one another. They are called *Ibur* (embryo), *Yenika* (nursing), and *Mochin* (adulthood, *Gadlut*). The big (*Mochin*) *Partzuf* is the innermost of the three, and is clothed by *Partzuf Yenika*, which is in turn clothed by *Ibur*.

Israel receives from the innermost *Partzuf* (*Gadlut* of *Nukva*); hence, it is called the "darling son," for it stems from the inner part of *Malchut*, and not from her outer part (wings).

NHY de Malchut are called "womb," for it is the place where the souls of Israel are conceived and grown. However, this does not refer to the *NHY* of the two outer *Partzufim*, called *Ibur* and *Yenika*, as they are the wings of the *Shechina-Malchut*. Here *The Zohar* refers to the *NHY* of the *Partzuf* in *Gadlut*, the innermost *Partzuf* (the womb of *Malchut*).

This is what the words of the prophet refer to: "Is Ephraim a darling son unto Me? Is he a child that is dandled? For as often as I speak of him, I do earnestly remember him still; therefore, My heart yearns for him, I will surely have compassion upon him" (*Yirmiyahu*, 31:19). Because the souls of Israel stem from the inner part of *Malchut*, *The Zohar* says that they appeared from *Malchut*'s womb, from *NHY* of the *Partzuf* in *Gadlut*, and not from *NHY* of the two outer *Partzufim*, called "wings."

The outsiders (desires for correction) have no part in the Supernal Tree, especially not in its body. Their place is under the wings of the *Shechina*, and no further. The outsiders that come (to correct themselves) are called righteous, for the *Shechina* is also called the "righteous one." They come under her wings and unite within her. Yet, they have no place above the *Shechina*, and receive from *Nefesh Haya*, from a *Zivug* of *Malchut* with *ZA* in *Gadlut*. But they only receive the portion of the Light called "wings"; hence, they are said to be under the wings of the *Shechina*, where each receives according to his properties.

The Ninth Commandment

233. The ninth *Mitzva* is to show mercy to the needy and supply them with food, as it is written: LET US MAKE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS, and this man will consist of two parts, male and female. IN OUR IMAGE refers to the rich; AFTER OUR LIKENESS refers to the poor.

234. For from the male side, they are rich, but from the female side, they are poor. And as they are united together, merciful to each other, and help each other, so below should the rich and the poor be united as one, and should share with each other, and show mercy to one another.

235. We see this in the book of King Shlomo (Solomon): he who shows mercy to the poor with all his heart, his image never differs from that of Adam, the first man. And since he was created in the image of Adam, he therefore governs all the creatures on earth by his image, as it is written: "And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth" (*Beresheet*, 9:2), all fear that image, existing in him. For this *Mitzva*, to show mercy to the poor, is the most important of all the *Mitzvot* for elevating man to the image of Adam.

236. How do we know this? From Nebuchadnezzar. Even though he dreamt a dream, as long as he had mercy upon the poor, that dream did not come true. However, as soon as he started looking badly upon the poor, his image changed at once, and he distanced from people. Hence, it is written, LET US MAKE MAN. It is said in the form as it was said of charity in another verse. Therefore, MAKE—is the same as charity.

The rich and the poor correspond to the male and the female principles, to ZA and his *Nukva*. However, there is nothing here that hints at the obligation of the rich to be merciful to the poor and provide for his needs. But this instruction differs from the rest in that in all the others, the Creator's command is separated

from the action that follows it, as it is written, AND THE CREATOR SAID: 'LET THERE BE LIGHT. AND THERE WAS LIGHT;' and also, AND THE CREATOR SAID: 'LET THE WATERS BE GATHERED…' AND IT WAS SO; and so on in all the *Mitzvot*.

And none of the other *Mitzvot* contain the Creator's instruction mixed with action. This is so because the entire creation originated from *AVI*, where *Aba* spoke and *Ima* acted—*Aba* gave the Light to *Ima*, and after he gave it to her, he started acting on it himself. For only with the property of *Aba* could creation not have manifested in action, as there are no boundaries in creation, in which actions could be revealed.

Hence, *Aba* issues a command that designates the passage of Light from him to *Ima*. However, since this is merely a command, and not an action (like a force instead of an action), the future tense is used. The same language is used in the description of man's creation: AND THE CREATOR SAID, "LET US CREATE MAN." Note that the plural form is used: LET US CREATE.

Before the creation of the world of *Atzilut* (called the world of correction), an action known as *Shevirat HaKelim* (the breaking of the vessels in the world of *Nekudim*) took place in the spiritual worlds. It is written: "The Creator kept creating and destroying worlds, until He created this world (*Atzilut*), and He told it to stop spreading below the boundaries in which it was created" (*Beresheet Raba*, 3:7).

The breaking of the vessels was essential, for it was the only opportunity to mix the egoistic properties (desires) with the altruistic ones; after all, distance in the spiritual is determined by the disparity of properties (desires). And that is why egoism and altruism are infinitely remote from each other. Yet, if this is so, how can egoism possibly be corrected? How can such properties or even notions of the existence of altruistic desires be introduced to man?

So then, to allow egoistic desires to be corrected, the Creator performed the breaking of the vessels—the striking impact between opposite desires, egoistic and altruistic. It is called "striking," for it is impossible to unite these desires by any means other than an "explosion."

As a result of this explosion, the altruistic, pure *Kelim* (desires) penetrated the egoistic, impure ones, and gave man an opportunity for free will and self-correction. After the destruction of the pure *Kli* and the descent of its parts into impurity, the world of *Atzilut* was formed.

Out of all the mixed desires, the world of *Atzilut* selected only altruistic ones, attached them to itself, corrected them and filled them with Light. Out

of these corrected parts, it made the worlds *BYA* with everything that exists within them.

These corrections of the broken and mixed *Kelim* by the world of *Atzilut* are depicted in the first chapter of the Torah, which speaks of creation. It uses the instructions of exposing and separating the egoistic *Kelim* from the altruistic ones, as, for instance, in the following verses: AND THE CREATOR DIVIDED LIGHT FROM DARKNESS; THE CREATOR DIVIDED WATERS FROM DRY LAND; THE CREATOR DIVIDED DAY FROM NIGHT, and so forth. All these examples speak of the separation of the pure forces from the impure ones, of good from evil. And all that diverged became part of the pure system.

Therefore, the entire act of creation is contained in the depiction of the first day of creation, in the words, LET THERE BE LIGHT, as this is when Light was separated from darkness. This is because, on the whole, purity is called "Light" and impurity is called "darkness." And all the other definitions of purity and impurity are only particular names designating their various manifestations.

The world of *Atzilut* made only a partial correction: it only separated altruistic desires from egoistic desires, Light from darkness, and thus created the system of creation, described in the beginning of the Torah. However, this does not complete the correction, as darkness and impurity are simply detached from participating in creation, but remain utterly uncorrected. They are simply separated as an entirely unnecessary part, and this completely defies the perfection of the Creator, who created everything (including darkness) for His final goal. Moreover, correction ends specifically with the correction of darkness, as it is said: "Night shines as day; darkness as Light." (*Tehilim*, 139:12).

To correct this, man was created containing everything, and consisting of all the properties of creation: from the absolute goodness to total evil. This enables man to execute the correction and achieve complete perfection. In other words, he must turn evil to good, bitter to sweet, and darkness to Light. As a result, death will disappear forever, and the Creator will manifest as the King of all creation.

Hence, there is a great difference between the description of man's creation and that of all the other creatures and parts of creation. Here, the action itself was mixed with the instructions, for the instructions, descriptions come from *Ima*, not from *Aba*, who said, LET US CREATE MAN—together with *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

The reason for this is that *Malchut* includes everything, for she also gives the Light of sustenance to the impure forces to keep them from disappearing from

the world, as, like all the other elements of creation, the impure forces cannot exist without Light, and immediately disappear. It is written in this regard: HER FEET DESCEND TO DEATH, for the impure forces receive a tiny spark of Light to sustain their existence.

This is why *Malchut* is called *Assiya* (action), for she spreads and rules in the whole of creation. She is also called "darkness," for she shines with a spark of Light, to sustain the darkness and evil.

Hence, when *Ima* unites with *Malchut* and their properties mix, she receives the properties of darkness, of which it is said: LET US CREATE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS, for Light is called "image," and darkness is called "likeness." Indeed, after *Ima* mixes with *Malchut*, these two forces, IMAGE and LIKENESS, appear in her as well. As a result, man, who was created by her, contains these two forces—IMAGE and LIKENESS, too.

From the phrase, LET US MAKE, it follows that *Ima* consists of two parts, male and female. Although *Ima* is a male part (giving is a male property), she is connected to *Malchut*. Besides, the male property suggests the presence of Light, while the property of *Nukva* (the female part) is poverty and darkness.

And since *Ima* accepted *Malchut* as her partner with the purpose of creating man (accepted the properties of *Malchut*), she is now filled with poverty and darkness. It follows that man consists of the properties of *Ima* (wealth and Light), as well as of the properties of *Malchut* (poverty and darkness).

And it is this precise combination of the properties of *Ima* and *Malchut* that enables man to correct *Malchut*, fill her with Light, and spread spiritual purity and holiness throughout the entire earth (*Malchut*). It is written that at the end of correction, "the Creator and His Name shall be one," for the darkness in *Malchut* will be transformed into Light, as in the male part, *HaVaYaH*. Everything will be as one in the male property, as it is said, "There will be no poor in your nation."

This *Mitzva* says that as *Ima* united with *Malchut* so as to correct her, which is why *Ima* includes Image and Likeness, man needs to correct his qualities in order to correct the parts of darkness within him. To this end, he must diminish his properties, just like *Ima*, and give his part (charity) to the poor *Malchut*, who is deprived of Light. He must show mercy to the LIKENESS (poverty) within him, and provide it with everything it needs.

By observing this *Mitzva*, man receives IMAGE and LIKENESS from *Ima*, the Upper Light that was received by Adam, created in IMAGE and LIKENESS. This is why he has the power to rule over all the animals in the world (all of his

animal desires) to such an extent that no impure force (desire) remains within him, which he cannot defeat and correct.

The Zohar gives the example of Navuchadnetzar (Nebuchadnezzar): although the Supreme verdict with regard to him was reached, his dream did not come true as long as he was merciful to the poor. However, as soon as he allowed his evil eye to look badly upon the poor, the sentence was immediately executed, and his image changed (those who are interested can turn to *The Book of Daniel*). Thus we see that this *Mitzva* is greater than all the others, and that it can overrule the Supreme verdict made against man.

"Charity" signifies the union of *Bina* and *Malchut*. Similarly, the story about the marriage of Rut (Ruth) the Moavite, King David's grandmother (*Malchut*), and Boaz, who was merciful to her (this marriage started Israel's Royal Dynasty), describes the correction of *Malchut* by *Bina* (See *Megilat Rut—The Book of Ruth*).

The Tenth Commandment

237. The tenth *Mitzva* obliges man to put on *Tefillin* and to attain the Supernal properties, as it is written, THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE. He opened and said, "Your head upon you is like the Carmel." This text refers to the Supernal head—the *Tefillin* worn on the head of the Holy, Supernal King *HaVaYaH*, written in separate letters. Each letter in the holy name *HaVaYaH* corresponds to a certain paragraph in the *Tefillin*. Thus, the Holy, Supernal Name is written in the scrolls of *Tefillin*, in the secrets of the letters. For THE NAME OF THE CREATOR IS UPON YOU, AND THEY SHALL BE AFRAID OF YOU refers to the head *Tefillin*, which contains the Holy Name *HaVaYaH*.

By being merciful to the poor, one merely begins to receive the Creator's Supernal image. *Bina* absorbs the properties of *Malchut*, described by the verse, LET US CREATE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS. By unifying *Bina*'s properties with those of *Malchut*, *AHP de Bina* (the letters *ELEH*) fell to *ZON*, and only the letters *MI* (*GE*) remained in *Ima*. *AHP de Bina* that fell to *ZON* consist of *Aba* and *Ima*: *Aba* assumes the properties of *ZA*, and *Ima* assumes the properties of *Nukva*.

Since *AVI* descended to the place of *ZON*, they became like *ZON*. And from them *ZON* receive the state of *Katnut*, called *TZELEM Elokim*, likeness to *Bina* (*VAK*), for *Ima* lost the *GAR* of her own state, that is, since her *AHP* fell to *ZON*, she lost the Light of *GAR* (see diagram on next page).

Therefore, only the letters *MI* = *GE* = *K-H* remained in *Ima*, whereas her *B-ZA-M* = *AHP* = *ELEH* fell to *ZON*. Thus, of the five Lights *NRNHY* that were inside *Ima*, she retained only *Ohr Ruach* in *Keter* and *Ohr Nefesh* in *Hochma*. Thus, *Ima* can only give *ZON* the Light of *VAK* = *Ruach* + *Nefesh*, but not the Light of *GAR* = *NRNHY*. Also, *ZON* are considered to have acquired likeness to

the Upper One only upon receiving the Lights *NRNHY*. And this is achieved by the fulfillment of the *Mitzva* of *Tefillin*.

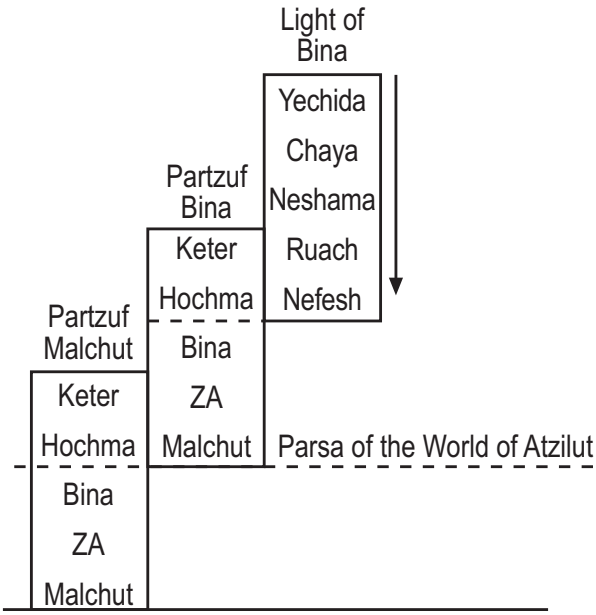

Yet, a question arises: we have already learned that to create the *Partzuf* of lower man out of *ZON*, *ZON* must ascend to *AVI* and receive the Light of *GAR*, for a small *Partzuf* without *Ohr Hochma* cannot beget. So why is it said that *Ima* is in a state of *Katnut*?

When *ZON* attain reception of the Light of *AVI*, they thereby ascend to *AVI* and become similar to *AVI* in their properties, for each lower one that ascends to the Upper One becomes like it. Indeed, only the magnitude of the screen distinguishes between spiritual objects, as only the magnitude of the screen determines all of the object's properties.

Thus, upon ascending and clothing *AVI*, *ZON* become like *AVI*, and all the properties of *AVI* are now naturally adopted by *ZON*. Just as *AVI* create *ZON*, *ZON* in *AVI* beget and pass the Light into the *Partzuf* of lower man. Hence, there is no need to even change names, for everything occurs at the degree of *AVI*. And upon ascending there, *ZON* are already called *AVI*, and the Light that they pass to man is regarded as the Light intended for *ZON*.

It is written: THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE. The Hebrew word "image" that is used in the Torah is *TzeLeM*, and is formed by three letters: *Tzadi-Lamed-Mem*. In item 2, we said that there are no *Kelim* for *Ohr*

Haya and *Yechida*; rather, there are only *Kelim Bina-ZA-Malchut* for the Lights *NRN*: *Nefesh-Ruach-Neshama*.

So even when we say that there is a *Kli* called *Keter*, we imply that the count starts with *Bina de Keter*, not with *Keter de Keter*. *Bina* and *ZON*, the *Kelim* that remained in the *Partzuf*, are divided into three lines: the line of *Bina—HBD*, the line of *ZA—HGT*, and the line of *Malchut—NHYM*. This is characteristic of *Ohr Hassadim*.

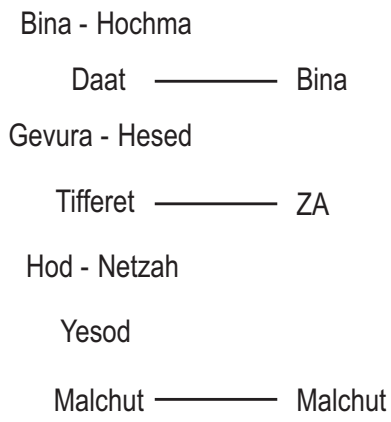

However, when *Ohr Hochma* is transferred, *Partzuf Bina* divides into two *Partzufim*: *AVI* and *YESHSUT*. These constitute *HBD* = three and *HGT* = three. Along with *ZAT* = seven *Sefirot*, from *Hesed* to *Malchut*, and form the *Gematria* of thirteen (3 + 3 + 7) of the word *Echad*, which alludes to the complete name, state, and attainment.

The thing is that *Sefirot Keter* and *Hochma* are concealed in *AA*, and only its *Sefira Bina* sends her Light down. This *Sefira Bina de AA* is divided into two *Partzufim*, *AVI* and *YESHSUT*: her *GAR* shines in *AVI* and her *ZAT* shines in *YESHSUT*. These two parts of *Bina* are called *M* (*Mem*) and *L* (*Lamed*) of the word *TzeLeM*:

1. *AVI* are called *M* of the word *TzeLeM*, as they form a closed ring guarding *Ohr Hochma*, preventing it from reaching the other, lower *Partzufim*. This *Ohr Hochma* is referred to as "concealed" (from all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*), and only *Ohr Hassadim*, *Ohr Ruach*, descends from them to all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut* during the 6,000 years until the end of correction.
2. *YESHSUT* is called *L* of the word *TzeLeM*, as it bows its head (*GAR*) and resembles a tower. It is written about this tower: "The Tower of Oz (strength) of the Creator's name." This is because *YESHSUT* is

called a "tower," and *ZA* is known as the "righteous one." After all, *YESHSUT* is *ZAT de Bina*, the properties of *ZON* that are included in *Bina*; hence, it passes its *Ohr Hochma* to *ZON*.

If *ZON* in *Katnut* are filled with *Ohr Hassadim* (*Ruach* called *Avir*—air), then during the reception of *Ohr Hochma* from *YESHSUT*, the letter *Yod* in the word *Avir* exits, and *Avir* turns into *Ohr* (Light). Hence, *YESHSUT* is called a "tower," i.e., a *Partzuf* in *Gadlut* that contains *Hochma*, soaring in the air (*Avir*).

However, this state in *ZON* is inconstant. *YESHSUT* intermittently returns to *Katnut* and to *Gadlut*; therefore, such a state is called "soaring." *ZA* is called *Tz* (*Tzadi*) of the word *TzeLeM*, for such is his property inside this tower. Thus:

- *AVI*—M (*Mem*)—*Hochma* that is concealed inside a ring.
- *YESHSUT*—*L* (*Lamed*)—*Bina*, though as she ascends to *AA*, she becomes *Hochma* (tower) and passes *Ohr Hochma* down.
- *ZON*—*Tz* (*Tzadi*)—*Daat*, receives the Light from *YESHSUT*.

However, one should not confuse the three letters *Tz-L-M* with the three lines called *HBD*: *TzeLeM* consists of three *Partzufim*, one inside the other. *Partzuf Hochma* (M of the *TzeLeM*, *AVI*) is the innermost *Partzuf*; *Partzuf Bina* (*YESHSUT*, *L* of the *TzeLeM*) clothes it from *Chazeh de AVI* downward; and from *Chazeh de YESHSUT* downwards, *Partzuf Bina* is clothed by *Partzuf Daat*, *ZA*, *Tz of* the word *TzeLeM*.

The words, THE CREATOR CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE (*TzeLeM*), mean that with the help of the spiritual observance of the *Mitzva* of *Tefillin*, *Ohr Hochma* is received in accordance with the ascending order of the letters *Tz-L-M*. This is the Light that Adam received after his creation, whereas we first stimulate the reception of this Light in *ZON*, and from *ZON* we stimulate its reception into ourselves.

THE HEAD *TEFILLIN* CONTAINS THE NAME OF THE HOLY KING, INSCRIBED IN THE LETTERS *HaVaYaH*—the head *Tefillin* is the name of the Supernal King, inscribed in the letters *HaVaYaH*. The *Tefillin* are called the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—all goodness), as it is written: YOUR HEAD UPON YOU IS LIKE THE CARMEL. This is because when the heads of *ZA* and *Malchut* put on the head *Tefillin* (the Upper Light of *TzeLeM*), they become like the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—all goodness).

This Light is called "The name of the Supernal, Holy King," the four letters of *HaVaYaH*, where each letter is written separately: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*. And the reason why man feels that the letters are written separately is that each

Partzuf contains the four letters of *HaVaYaH*, and each of them designates an independent *Partzuf*.

Every letter constitutes a separate passage on the parchment (in the *Tefillin*); four separate passages correspond to the four letters of *HaVaYaH*. A passage (Hebrew—*Parashah*) represents a separate and complete *Partzuf*, and its corresponding letter in *HaVaYaH* symbolizes the Light in this *Partzuf*. The order of *Partzufim* corresponds to the order of the letters of *HaVaYaH*: *Yod-Hey-Vav-Hey*. Such a *Tefillin* is called the *Tefillin* of *Rashi*.

However, there is a *Tefillin* with the order of passages (*Partzufim*) *Yod-Hey-Hey-Vav*, called *Tefillin Rabeinu Tam*. The passages that are written on fragments of parchment are identical, but the order of putting them into the boxes of *Tefillin Rabeinu Tam* is different: *Yod-Hey-Hey-Vav*.

238. The first passage in the *Tefillin* corresponds to the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH* (*Hochma*) and refers to the *Mitzva*, "Sanctify to Me all the firstborn." This is because *Hochma* is the firstborn of all the Supernal Ones. It opens the place of conception for the future firstborn with the help of a thin line of Light that emanates from *Yod*, which opens the womb and impregnates it.

AVI are designated by the letter *Yod* of the name *HaVaYaH*, where *Yod* signifies *Aba* and the filling of *Yod* (according to its pronunciation: *Yod* = *Yod* + *Vav* + *Dalet*), i.e., *Vav* + *Dalet* constitutes *Ima*. *Partzuf AVI* is called "holy" and "first born," for *Partzufim YESHSUT* and *ZON* are called holy only when they receive holiness (*Ohr Hochma*) from *AVI*. All the holiness in the world of *Atzilut* comes from *AVI*.

This is so because *Ohr Hochma* is called "holiness" and *AVI* is *Mem* of the word *TzeLeM* (*Hochma de Atzilut*), for the Supernal *Hochma* of the world of *Atzilut* is concealed within them. *AVI* themselves are defined as *Bina* in the property of *Hassadim*, as *Hochma* is concealed within *Rosh de AA*, and the lower ones can receive it only if *Bina* ascends to *Hochma*, to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* unites with *Hochma* of *Rosh de AA* and assumes the name *Hochma*. However, she is not the ordinary *Hochma*; she is called "*Hochma* of the thirty-two paths" of descending *Ohr Hochma*, and only this *Hochma* bestows *Ohr Hochma* upon all the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*.

This is why *The Zohar* says that this thin ray of Light, called the "path of Light," opens the womb and conceives the future offspring. *Yod* consists of three parts: (i) the upper "spike" of the letter *Yod*, a small line above the point, which is called *Rosh* and designates *Partzuf AA* that is concealed in *AVI*; (ii) the body of

the *Yod*, which forms *Partzuf AVI*; and (iii) the lower "spike" of the letter, which designates *Yesod*, the end of *Partzuf AVI*.

Through the continuous *Zivug* between *Yesod de Aba* and *Yesod de Ima*, the great waters descend onto all the lower worlds with all that inhabits them. This *Zivug* on *Ohr Hassadim* is called a "*Zivug* that revives the worlds." *Yesod de Ima* is also called *Rechem* (womb), for all *Rachamim* (mercy) stems from this part of Its *Partzuf*. Yet, if *AVI* do not make a *Zivug*, this part of *Ima* is closed, and mercy does not descend below. Only *Yesod de Aba* can open *Yesod de Ima*, whereupon *Ima* passes her great waters to the lower ones.

239. The second passage in the *Tefillin*, WHEN YOU COME, corresponds to the first letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, the hall (*Bina*) that opens up under the influence of the letter *Yod* (*Aba*) in fifty entrances, passages, and chambers concealed within it. The revelation that *Yod* made in that hall was done so as to hear the voice of the *Shofar* (a ram's horn), *Bina*. The *Shofar* is closed on all sides, but the letter *Yod* came and opened it so that its sound could be heard. And since it opened the *Shofar* and derived sound from it, *Yod* led all to freedom.

The letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH* is *YESHSUT*, *L* in the word *TzeLeM*. It is called a "tower soaring in the air," a hall with fifty entrances, for the concealed *AVI* are designated by the *M* of *TzeLeM*, by the ring that surrounds *Ohr Hochma* and prevents it from shining outside. And they shine only with *Ohr Hassadim*.

However, by rising to *Rosh de AA*, where *Bina* turns into *Hochma*, *YESHSUT* can pass *Ohr Hochma* to *ZON*. *Bina*, who turns into *Hochma* in order to receive *Hochma* for *ZON*, is called the "fifty gates of *Bina*," for she consists of five *Sefirot KHB-ZA-M*, ten in each. Each of these fifty *Sefirot* consists of a chamber and an entrance: *HGT* are called a "chamber" and *NHY* are called an "entrance," a "passage," implying the absence of a *Kli* for reception. Instead, it serves for transferring the Light into, or out of the chamber.

Therefore, the second passage used in the *Tefillin*: AND WHEN YOU COME designates the letter *Hey* in the name *HaVaYaH*, *YESHSUT* of the world of *Atzilut*, which ascends to accept *Ohr Hochma* and pass it on to *ZON* below.

Yod opened this hall so as to hear the voice that comes from the ram's horn, for this horn is closed on all sides. As was already mentioned, *YESHSUT* (*Bina*) united with *Malchut* by lowering her three *Sefirot ELEH* (*Bina* and *ZON*) to *ZON*, while *YESHSUT* remained with only two *Sefirot K-H*, *MI*.

Then, as a result of raising *MAN*, *Malchut* descends from the *Eynaim* (eyes), the *Eynaim* of *YESHSUT* open up, *Malchut* descends to her own place in the *Peh*, and

the three letters *ELEH* reunite with *MI* to form the name *ELOKIM*. *GE = KH de ZON* ascend to *Bina* along with these *ELEH*. However, although *ELEH* ascended and joined *MI*, the name *ELOKIM* is still considered closed, for it has only *Ohr Hochma*, and *Ohr Hochma* cannot shine in *ELEH* without *Ohr Hassadim*.

These three letters *ELEH* are therefore defined as a horn (*Shofar*), and *ZON* that ascended to *Bina* along with *ELEH* are concealed within them. And these *ZON* in *ELEH* are referred to as a "voice." This voice sounds in the hall with the help of the letter *Yod*, for *Yod* designates *AVI* that bestow the Light from Above, which facilitates the lowering of *Malchut* from *Nikvey Eynaim de YESHSUT* to her place in the *Peh*, and raising *ELEH* back to *Bina*. Hence, *Yod* opens up the hall of Light in *YESHSUT* in order to pass this Light to *ZON* from the *Shofar* (the ascended letters *ELEH*).

ZON, too, ascend to *Bina* along with *ELEH* and there receive *Hochma*. This great Light in *ZA* is called a "voice," and its reception is known as "listening to the voice." However, this horn is closed on all sides, on the sides of *Hochma* and *Hassadim*, for the letters *ELEH* (called a "horn") fall to *ZON*, where they remain closed and inaccessible both to *Ohr Hochma* and to *Ohr Hassadim*.

Consequently, two corrections are needed: (i) to elevate and unite them with *Bina*, enabling them to once more attain their *Ohr Hochma*; (ii) to provide them with *Ohr Hassadim* so it can serve as a garment for *Ohr Hochma*.

First, *Yod* (*AVI*) pass the Light to *Hey* (*YESHSUT*), whereupon *ELEH* rise above *Malchut*, to *Bina*, together with *ZON*, and there receive *Ohr Hochma*. However, this *Ohr Hochma* is called concealed or closed, for it cannot shine without being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*. This means that the voice has not yet emerged—*ZA* has not yet been born.

After that, *Yod* enters into the word Light = *Ohr*; hence, it turns into *Avir* = air (*Ohr Hassadim*). And since the horn (the letters *ELEH*) received air (*Ohr Hassadim*), they can beget *ZA* (the voice of the *Shofar*), for being clothed in *Ohr Hassadim*, *Ohr Hochma* can enter *ZA*.

The general Light that *ZA* receives is called "voice." And this voice frees all the slaves that were enslaved by the egoistic desires in all the worlds, for *ZA* shines down on all the lower ones. Thus, the sons of Israel (man's spiritual aspirations) merit the Light of deliverance (defeat the earthly, egoistic ones).

240. At the sounds of the *Shofar*, the sons of Israel were delivered from Egypt. And so shall the *Shofar* be blown in the future, the next time at the end of days. And all deliverance originates from this *Shofar*, which is *Bina*. This is why the deliverance from Egypt is mentioned in this chapter of the Torah, for

this *Shofar* stems from the force of the letter *Yod*, which opens the womb and delivers the captives to freedom. And this is the letter *Hey*, the second letter of the name *HaVaYaH*.

All of the Light in *ZON* comes from the horn (*ELEH*), including the great Light that delivers Israel from Egypt, and the Light that is destined to be revealed in the future, at the end of days (complete deliverance from egoism). This is why the *Tefillin* contain a passage that refers to the exodus from Egypt, for the Light delivering from Egypt comes from the horn, which is inside *YESHSUT*. This is done by the power of *AVI*, called *Yod de HaVaYaH*, which open the womb of *YESHSUT* (*ELEH*) and free the voice (*ZA*) from its captivity.

This Light has sufficient power to deliver Israel from slavery. Only after the attainment of this Light (*Ohr Haya*), and not a degree lower, can *ZA* and *Nukva* be called "voice" and "speech." All deliverance comes only from *Ohr Haya* (only upon ascending the spiritual degree of *Ohr Haya* can man liberate himself from egoism and become free).

241. The third passage in the *Tefillin* is the secret of the Unity in "Hear O Israel," the letter *Vav* in *HaVaYaH*, which includes all and designates *ZA*, who contains the unity of all. Everything merges in unity within him, and he receives all. The fourth passage that reads, "You shall hear," includes two sides, *Hesed* and *Gevura*, which unite with the Assembly of Israel, called the lower *Gevura* or *Malchut*. And this is the last letter *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, which takes and includes them all.

The third passage in the *Tefillin* (Hear O Israel) is *Partzuf ZA*, the letter *Vav* in *HaVaYaH*, which includes all four passages contained in the *Tefillin*. Although the first two passages (*AVI* and *YESHSUT*) represent *Hochma* and *Bina*, they do not really constitute *Hochma* and *Bina* themselves, but rather, their part, which clothes in *Rosh de ZON*, called *M* and *L* of *TZeLeM de ZA*.

Similarly, the fourth passage, *Malchut* of *ZA*, does not imply that this is *Malchut* herself. Rather, it refers to her part that is included in *ZA* and is called *Mochin* (brain) *de Gevura*. There are three parts of *Mochin* in *ZA*: *Hochma*, *Bina*, and *Daat*, which are accordingly called *M*, *L* and *Tz* of *TzeLeM de ZA*. They are the same *H-B-ZA-M* as in *Mochin de ZA*. This is because *Daat* (*Tz*) includes *Hesed and Gevura*. And this *Hesed* in *Daat* is defined as *ZA* himself, and *Gevura* is defined as the inclusion (of the properties) of *Nukva* in *ZA*. And these *H-B-ZA-M* constitute the four passages contained in the *Tefillin*.

This is why *ZA*, the letter *Vav* in the name *HaVaYaH*, includes all four passages. And all the unions that come from *AVI* and *YESHSUT* are done within

him, i.e., for his sake. For all the Higher *Partzufim* that precede ZA are united (with the Creator), and need no *MAN* from the lower ones to reach the state of unity. Whereas all the *MAN* raised by the lower ones to the Upper *Partzufim* are meant solely for the unification of ZA, and in no way affect the constant unity of the Higher *Partzufim* with the Creator.

The unification of *Hochma* with *Bina*, as a result of which *Bina* becomes like *Hochma*, occurs only on account of ZA being raised to *Bina* in the form of *MAN*. For when ZA is raised to *Bina* as *MAN*, *Bina* ascends to *Rosh de* AA and there receives *Hochma* for ZA. Since *Bina* aspires only to mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), she never receives *Ohr Hochma* for the Creator's sake, but only if the lower ones are in need of it. Her role, her properties are only to bestow, and not to receive. (Note that in the spiritual, "reception" is always for the Creator's sake.)

Hence, *Bina* ascends to *Rosh de* AA only for the sake of ZON. And it is ZA alone that ascends to *Bina* and stimulates her to ascend to *Rosh de* AA, where she makes a *Zivug* with *Hochma* and passes this Light to him. It is therefore said that ZA receives all, as *Bina* passes everything that she receives in *Rosh de* AA to him. And *Ohr Hochma* is revealed only in the place of ZA (not *Bina*), as he descends back to his place below *Chazeh de* ZA.

The prayer "Hear O Israel" designates ZA, the letter *Vav* of the name *HaVaYaH*, the Supernal unity (item 207) that reveals love only from the good side. And since it refers only to "Love your Creator…," it contains no restrictions or strictness of judgment.

However, in the fourth passage, "You shall hear," the last *Hey* of the name *HaVaYaH*, *Nukva de* ZA that is included in him, *Gevura* in *Rosh de* ZA, reveals both sides of love—good, as well as evil (item 206), reflected in the words of this passage. It ends with the words: "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever," which corresponds to the inclusion and unity of *Nukva* in ZA, meaning not *Nukva* herself, but her part in ZA, i.e., *Mochin de Daat*.

Gevura in *Daat* is the second *Hey* in *HaVaYaH*. It accepts all the Light of the Supernal unity contained in "Hear O Israel," and includes all. And since it contains all the perfection of unity, it reveals all the Light and both sides of love, for the property of judgment that complements love to perfection exists only within it, and not Above.

It is therefore written: "Your head upon you is like the Carmel," designating the head *Tefillin*. Indeed, after ZA is clothed in all four Lights, designated by the four paragraphs of the *Tefillin*, which are the three letters *Tz*, *L*, and *M* of

the word *TzeLeM*, his head is defined as the Carmel (*Car Maleh*—completely filled with goodness).

242. *Tefillin* are the letters of the holy name. Therefore, "Your head upon you is like the Carmel" refers to the head *Tefillin*. The letter *Dalet* refers to the hand *Tefillin*, *Malchut*, who is depleted of Light, compared to the head *Tefillin*, ZA, but she contains the perfection of the Upper One.

The hand *Tefillin* designates *Malchut*. And she is poor in comparison with *Bina*, the Upper World. Yet, she has her own perfection, for she now receives it from *Bina* thanks to the unity between *Nukva* and ZA in "Blessed be His great name for ever and ever."

And since she is not the *Nukva* that is included in ZA (his body), but a separate *Nukva* of ZA, she takes all four passages from him, *H-B-ZA-M* of ZA, for she has a separate, complete *Partzuf*. However, these four passages of the Torah are in the same place; they are not separated from each other by partitions, as in the *Tefillin* of ZA.

The reason for this is that a passage of the Torah is the Light, and the place where it dwells is a *Kli* (the *Tefillin* in our world is a box made of a "pure" animal's skin, into which four parchment scrolls are placed, and the corresponding passages from the Torah are written on each). As we know, every *Zivug* emanates Light. Since ZA receives four Lights *H-B-H-G* in four *Kelim*, as a result of four *Zivugim*, he contains four compartments for four passages, each compartment containing a particular passage from the Torah.

However, no *Zivug* is made on *Malchut* herself. Everything that *Malchut* has, she receives from ZA. *Malchut* receives all four Lights (four passages from the Torah that result from one *Zivug* with ZA); hence, she has only one place for all four passages (Lights).

243. "The King is held captive in the tubs" means that he is tied down and held in those four compartments of the *Tefillin* for the purpose of being properly united with that holy name. And he who makes this correction, exists in image and likeness, *TZELEM*, with the Creator. Just as the holy name is united in the Creator, the holy name is united in him. "Male and female he created them" refers to the head and the hand *Tefillin*. And it is one.

"The King is held captive in the tubs" signifies ZA, who is bound and unified in those compartments of the *Tefillin*. The compartments of the *Tefillin*, which contain the passages from the Torah, are called "tubs" or "troughs," just like the tubs from which sheep drink water, for the waters of *Ohr Hochma* and

Ohr Hassadim are bound and restricted by these *Kelim*, the compartments of the *Tefillin*. And it is the Creator who is bound tight and held in these *Kelim*, so as to be unified in the holy name.

The compartments of the *Tefillin* are the *TNHY* of *Tvuna*, the lower part of *YESHSUT* (*Israel-Saba* and *Tvuna*, where *Israel-Saba* is the male part and *Tvuna* is the female). This part of *Tvuna* is called the big letter *Dalet* of the word *Echad* (one) in the verse, "Hear O Israel, our Creator is one." It is written about this letter: "Let the dry land appear."

As was already mentioned in the third *Mitzva*, because this "dry land" was revealed in ZA, he can pass the Light to *Malchut*. Thus, were it not for these four places in ZA, the dry land within him, he would have been unable to give the Light to *Nukva*. Hence, it is said that ZA "is tied down and held in those places" that stem from dry land so as to enable him to unite and pass the revelation of the Creator's Light into the holy name, *Nukva*. As a result, the dry land becomes fertile and produces fruit.

Therefore, he who has completed the corrections of these four passages from the Torah acquires the image and likeness (*TzeLeM*) of the Creator. In other words, when man "below" (below the world of *Atzilut*, in the worlds *BYA*) "puts on" the *Tefillin* (attains the level of this degree), he receives the Light of *H-B-H-G* from ZA. This Light is called *TzeLeM*, since *Hochma* and *Bina* are called M and L, whereas *Hesed* and *Gevura* are called *Tz*. And just like *Elokim*, *Bina* unites with the holy name of *Malchut*, thereby uniting the holy name within man, for man is a part of *Malchut*.

There are two parts—male and female—in the Light of *Hochma* and *Bina* (called *TzeLeM*): *TzeLeM* of ZA and *TzeLeM* of *Nukva*, the head *Tefillin* and the hand *Tefillin*. Hence, it is said that the Creator created a man and a woman, referring to the head *Tefillin* and the hand *Tefillin*.

The Eleventh Commandment

244. The eleventh *Mitzva* is to give a tithe of the fruits of the earth. Here there are two *Mitzvot*: to separate a tithe of the fruits of the earth, and to bring the first fruits of the trees, as it is written, "Behold, I have given you every herb-yielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). Here it is written, I HAVE GIVEN YOU. Elsewhere it is written, "And to the children of Levi, behold, I have given all the tithe in Israel" (*Bamidbar*, 18:21). It is also written, "And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree, is the Creator's" (*Vayikra*, 27:30).

These verses say that the Creator gave everything to Adam. Yet, why does that oblige us to separate a tithe, to bring the first fruits of the earth, and why are we forbidden from eating them? After all, this contradicts the aforesaid.

The thing is that the process of (spiritual) nourishment includes exposure, selection, and separation of the holy sparks of the Light from the impure forces. In the process of feeding (reception of Light), the sparks of the Light (*Nitzotzin*) that are contained in the food unite with man's soul, with his very flesh, and the waste, except for the sparks, leaves the body. This continues throughout man's life (6,000 degrees of ascent); he gradually accumulates within him all the holy sparks, with which he complements his soul. Without them, the soul cannot attain completeness and perfection.

I think that the reader already understands that *The Zohar* in no way speaks about the process of feeding, digestion, and secretion of our physical body. As the whole of the Torah, *The Zohar* speaks only of the goal of creation and the ways of its attainment. Therefore, I call upon the reader (in defiance of what his mind suggests to him after the first reading) to realize that these texts are written in the language of branches, when spiritual objects are described in the language of our world; yet, despite the corporeal language, the objects remain spiritual!

It is written in the weekly portion *Lech Lecha* that Adam was forbidden to eat meat: "I have given you every herb…" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). However, since Adam sinned, and egoism, impurity entered his body, it was said to Noah: "Every moving thing that lives shall be for food for you; as the green herb have I given you all" (*Beresheet*, 9:3), that is, including meat.

Since Adam was created in absolute perfection, everything was sorted and corrected within him, which corresponds to the animate part of creation, as it is written (*Beresheet*, 2:19): "Out of the ground the Creator formed every beast of the field," and also, "whatsoever the man would call every living creature, that was to be the name thereof." This means that Adam attained every name (spiritual level) of the animal souls, for the pure forces were already separated from the impure ones.

Hence, Adam was not given the task of exposing, sorting, and correcting animals by eating them, for even before the creation of man, the Creator corrected this in the world of *Atzilut*. And only the inanimate and vegetative (parts of the soul) remained uncorrected, containing both pure and impure forces. Therefore, Adam was instructed to expose the sparks that his soul lacked in the inanimate and vegetative food.

However, as a result of Adam's sin, pure and impure desires (forces) were mixed once more. And as Adam's soul was shattered into many parts, all of which fell into the impure forces, all the animals (animate desires) were corrupted along with him (with the human level of desire). Thus appeared the need to expose, sort, and correct them. Therefore, after the sin the Creator ordered Adam and the subsequent generations to eat animals, and thus extract the sparks from impurity.

It is said that Adam was created IN THE IMAGE AND AFTER LIKENESS, i.e., with the help of the *TzeLeM Elokim*, the Light of *Bina*, by the four passages from the Torah in the *Tefillin*. And this is his soul. However, after he was born with this holy soul, thanks to his good deeds, he merited raising *MAN* and receiving *Ohr Haya*, and then, on *Shabbat*, attaining *Ohr Yechida* as well.

Therefore, Adam was left to correct the creation with the help of only a tithe and offerings. And by feeding on tithe and offerings, he attained the revelation of his desires and raised *MAN* to the level of *Ohr Haya* and *Yechida*. Yet, after he sinned, all of his corrections and everything that had filled his soul was corrupted, mixed, and egoism took over the body.

Due to our egoism, tithe and offerings are forbidden for us, for fear that we will desire Supernal purity. Instead, we are obliged to extract and pass them on

to the *Cohanim* and *Levi'im* (parts of the soul). And if we observe this Creator's *Mitzva* of spiritually separating a tithe of the fruits of the earth and the offerings (as He commanded), we will receive the strength to raise *MAN* and receive *Ohr Haya* on *Shabbat* (the ascent of the worlds is called *Shabbat*) in the same way that Adam attained this state while feeding on tithe and offerings.

Thus, after man receives *Ohr Neshama* by putting on the *Tefillin*, he can raise *MAN* with the help of the two *Mitzvot* (tithe and offerings) in order to receive *Ohr Haya*. As it is explained, Adam was receiving *Ohr Haya* by feeding on tithe and offerings. However, we are forbidden to feed on them (to try to receive this Light for the Creator's sake) because of the egoism that acts in our body (desires). Instead, we are bid to give a tithe and the offerings to the *Cohanim* and the *Levi'im*. As a result, we receive the strength to receive this Light.

The Twelfth Commandment

245. The twelfth *Mitzva* is to bring the first fruits of the trees as an offering, as it is written, "And every tree in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed" (*Beresheet*, 1:29). All that is worthy of Me shall not be eaten by you. I have given you My permission and I have given you all the tithe and offerings of the trees. "To you," and not to the subsequent generations.

From the aforesaid, it becomes clear that we, the subsequent generations, are forbidden to feed on tithe and offerings. The Light called "tithe" and "offerings" is so great that until all the *Kelim* (desires) of Adam's soul have been corrected, it is impossible to receive it for the Creator's sake.

Hence, it is forbidden to even try, lest we sin, as it happened to Adam. There is a *Mitzva* to not receive this Light, which refers to *Malchut de Malchut*. Every time the sparks are revealed, it is sufficient to let this Light be, to refrain from receiving it during the 6,000 years. Herein lies its actual correction until, at the end of correction, the Creator's great Light, called *Mashiach* (Messiah), manifests and gives us the strength to receive tithe and offerings for the Creator's sake.

The Thirteenth Commandment

246. The thirteenth *Mitzva* is to perform the redemption of a first-born son so as to strengthen him in life. For there are two appointed angels in charge—one over life and one over death. And they both rule over man from Above. And when man redeems his son, he redeems him from the angel in charge of death, so that the angel can no longer govern the first-born son. Hence, it is written, AND THE CREATOR SAW EVERYTHING THAT HE HAD MADE—this is in general, AND, BEHOLD, IT WAS... VERY GOOD alludes to the angel of life, while the word VERY alludes to the angel of death. Therefore, by this act of redemption, the angel of life is strengthened and the angel of death is weakened. Life is purchased by this redemption, for the evil side leaves him be and clings to him no more.

The ascent of the worlds occurred on the sixth day of creation: *ZA* ascended to the place of *AA*, *Malchut* ascended to *AVI*, and Adam attained *Ohr Haya*. As a result, the angel of death (egoism) lost his power completely. On the contrary, he became very good, for upon being corrected, egoism becomes a great and holy *Kli*, the one *Kli* that can receive the greatest Light.

Such a state will come at the end of the general correction, when, due to the revelation of this great Light, death (egoism) will disappear forever. This is the meaning of the verse: "when the Creator saw EVERYTHING that He had made (i.e., at the end of all creation), He saw that it was very good."

However, since Adam's sin, the worlds can no longer ascend as high. This is why we need special *Mitzvot* in order to perform special preparations and actions for the reception of *Ohr Haya*, at least in a state called *Shabbat*. This is precisely the *Mitzva* to redeem one's first-born son, when we weaken the powers of the angel of death and strengthen the angel of life, much like what the Creator did to Adam by the preliminary ascents of all the worlds, for

during such an ascent, called *Shabbat*, the angel of death becomes very good. Such is the power of that *Mitzva*.

Yet, it is not observed as fully as previously, when the angel of death lost all of his power. Now, by observing the *Mitzva* of redemption of the first-born son, we merely distance from the angel of death without actually destroying the impure forces, and they no longer cling to him. And after preventing the impure forces from clinging, accomplished with the help of this *Mitzva*, he can receive life, i.e., *Ohr Haya* of the state of *Shabbat*.

The Fourteenth Commandment

247. The fourteenth *Mitzva* is to observe *Shabbat*, which is a day of rest from all the actions of creation. There are two *Mitzvot* here: to observe the day of *Shabbat* and to adorn its holiness, namely to receive *Ohr Hochma*, called "holiness;" and to observe *Shabbat* as a day of rest for all the worlds, in which all actions are multiplied and realized even before this day is sanctified.

Shabbat is a state of the spiritual worlds where the Light descending from Above elevates *ZA* to *AA*, *Nukva* to *AVI*, the worlds of *BYA* to *YESHSUT*, and *ZON* of the world of *Atzilut*. As a result, man's *NRN* (whoever has it, whoever is spiritually present in the worlds of *BYA*) also ascends to *Atzilut* with the worlds of *BYA*, and there receives *Ohr Haya*.

	Atik
ZA -	AA
M -	AVI
BYA -	YESHSUT + ZON

Parsa of the World of Atzilut

It follows that there are two *Mitzvot*: to refrain from working and carrying things from one household to another. This is so because when all the worlds are completely freed from the impure forces, we must guard against the impure forces, so they do not return and mingle with the holiness of *Shabbat*. And he who works causes the impure forces to mingle with the pure ones.

The second *Mitzva* is to adorn the day of *Shabbat*: through the pleasures of *Shabbat* (the ascent of the worlds of *ABYA*), man receives (in his spiritual desires existing in the world of *BYA*) the Light of the world of *Atzilut* from Above. This Light of *Atzilut* is called "holiness" (*Hochma*); hence, man becomes sanctified by it.

All purifications and corrections take place only in our work and struggle with the impure forces, preventing us from drawing nearer and merging with the Creator in our properties. It is precisely in the wars with the impure forces that we extract the sparks of the Light that they swallowed up, and each extraction of a spark of the Light from the impure forces and its ascent to the world of *Atzilut* is defined as independent, individual work.

In the beginning, these sparks were sorted and extracted from the impure forces by the Creator Himself. This is described in His actions in the six days of creation. And when all the extractions of the Light sparks ended, the work was considered finished, and the corrected state, called *Shabbat*, arrives; and it is the day of rest, for there is nothing else to correct.

Hence, *Shabbat* is the day (the state when the Light shines in the worlds) when all the correction work in all the worlds ceases. For every *Shabbat* (the state of ascent in the spiritual worlds to the level of correction of all the impure forces), the same state of the perfection of creation's first *Shabbat* returns and brings rest to all the worlds of *ABYA*. All the impure forces become detached, remote, and return to their place (*Tehom Raba*—great abyss), and all the worlds ascend to the world of *Atzilut*, defined as perfect unity. And we are destined to receive this holiness, the Light of the world of *Atzilut*; it descends upon us through our observance of the two *Mitzvot*: REMEMBER AND GUARD THE DAY OF *SHABBAT*.

248. Because that day was sanctified, the creation of bodiless spirits was to be completed. Asks: "Was the Creator unable to delay the sanctification of that day until the bodies for those spirits were created?" And answers: "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil contained an evil side that wanted to govern the world. And many spirits separated and went forth, armed, to clothe in the bodies of this world."

Because that day was sanctified, the creation of bodies for the spirits was to be completed. This means that the day had been sanctified before the Creator had time to create bodies for those spirits. It is written about this on the first *Shabbat* of creation: "And on the seventh day the Creator finished His work, which He has made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work, which He has made."

This passage from the Torah is unclear. For if the Creator completely finished all His work by Himself, then He left nothing for us to do. After all, He finished everything Himself. However, the Creator sorted the Light sparks and separated the pure forces from the impure ones precisely to enable us *to do*,

i.e., to complete this work by making our own efforts in the observance of the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

And the rest that is mentioned here refers only to what the Creator Himself had to do. Therefore, the Torah says that the Creator finished His work, for He has completed all the preparations for us, and nothing else is required of Him, for the rest HE HAS MADE for us to do. This enables us to do and to complete creation.

Hence, it is written that the Creator did not have time to create bodies for the spirits before the arrival of *Shabbat*. These bodiless spirits constitute all of our impure and evil forces that drive man to transgressions. And the Creator intentionally left them this way, for it is precisely because they are present within us that we have freedom of will in our work with the Torah and *Mitzvot*.

As a result of Adam's sin in *Malchut*, called "The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," pure and impure forces were mixed. At that, the impure forces wished to rule over the forces of good in the world, so the forces of good would never prevail over them. Thus, a number of armed spirits went forth, intending to attack the bodies, capture them, and clothe in them.

Two points merged in *Malchut*: one was corrected by receiving the properties of *Bina*, mercy, and the other is the strictness of judgment, the result of restrictions within *Malchut* herself. When *Malchut* is united with the pure forces, her property of restriction is concealed, and the point of mercy is revealed (item 123). Then man is said to merit only goodness.

However, if man transgresses, he attacks the good point and thereby reveals the point of restriction in *Malchut*. Thus, the forces that wish to harm and destroy the corrected part and to rule over man become revealed, and this is evil.

However, if he merits for the point of mercy to reveal itself and dominate, he can elevate *Malchut* to *Bina*, thereby causing Supernal mercy and Light to descend. However, if he does not merit, and the point of restriction is revealed in *Malchut*, not only does he thereby harm *Malchut*, but he also harms the point of *Bina* that unites with *Malchut*. Thus, this point turns from good to evil, from mercy to judgment, as restriction is revealed in *Malchut* herself, and every revealed property dominates.

This is why the point of judgment was revealed in *Malchut* after Adam's sin. By this, Adam damaged the point (property) of *Bina* that united with *Malchut*, too, turning it from mercy to strictness, judgment. Yet, the correction of *Malchut* is possible only with the help of this point, for it is called "goodness." And when this point of *Bina* is revealed within her, *Malchut* is called "goodness," too.

But now that the very point of *Bina* in *Malchut* was damaged and turned from good to evil, the impure force thought that the time has come for it to dominate the world and clothe human bodies, meaning Adam and his sons (spiritual *Partzufim*). In other words, the body (desires) of the impure force inherits the place of Adam's body. Thus, the correction of *Malchut* from the good point becomes impossible, for no more goodness comes to *Malchut* from *Bina*, and this property has become evil, strictness, and judgment, due to the restricted reception in *Malchut*.

And many armed and destructive impure forces went forth to attack so as to clothe human bodies (desires) in this world, and rule over them. For the impure force thought that nothing could protect and save the pure forces from it because of the harm that Adam's sin brought to the system of governance and the point of mercy in *Malchut*.

249. However, as the Creator saw this, He roused the wind from within the Tree of Life, ZA, and struck the other Tree, *Malchut*. And the other, good side was awakened, and the day was sanctified. For the creation of bodies and the awakening of spirits on that night of *Shabbat* stem from the good side, and not from the evil one.

Since the Creator saw the strengthening of the power of judgment and the impure forces, their ability to clothe the bodies in this world (completely excluding the possibility of correcting the world in the future), He roused the wind within the Tree of Life and struck the other Tree (made a *Zivug* with it), *Malchut*. Due to this *Zivug*, the Tree of Life passed the spirit of life to the other Tree, *Malchut*, thus enabling *Malchut* to tear away from the impure forces.

As a result, the good side reappeared in *Malchut*, as it was prior to Adam's sin, and the sanctity of *Shabbat* descended to the world. That is, although the impure forces had the strength to clothe in bodies, and were more powerful than the pure forces, and, according to the law, they were supposed to prevail, at that moment the Creator intervened, disregarding the destruction caused by Adam's sin.

Consequently, *ZON* (the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good) united in a *Zivug*, as before Adam's sin, and the Light of sanctity of *Shabbat* descended into the world. This action of the Creator caused *Shabbat* (the Light of *Shabbat*) to descend into the world, and the impure forces lost the opportunity to clothe in human bodies in this world. The impure force remained as a bodiless spirit, which enables man to draw closer to the Creator (with his properties). This is referred to as his return (*Teshuva*).

The creation of bodies and the arousal of spirits on that night of *Shabbat* stems from the good side, and not from the side of the impure forces, for the Creator's action remains in creation forever. Just as on the first *Shabbat* of creation, the Creator completely disregarded the damage of Adam's sin, instead compelling *ZON* to make a *Zivug*, and the day was sanctified as before the sin, for He destroyed all the power of the impure forces, despite the fact that they had the strength to rule.

The same applies to all *Shabbatot* (plural for *Shabbat*)—the spiritual ascents for those who exist in the worlds of *BYA*—during the 6,000 years. Although man is still full of impurity, for he has yet to correct the sins of the Tree of Knowledge, when he makes a *Zivug* (of the Light with a screen) on the night of *Shabbat* (in a spiritual state of that name), the impure forces (of man) have no power over him (his altruistic desires). In this *Zivug*, man assumes the body and spirit of a newborn, as though he was unharmed by Adam's sin, as though he himself corrected the Tree of Knowledge.

And despite the fact that man has yet to merit liberation from his egoism, the impure forces have no power over him on that night. Thus, he can receive the bodies and spirits in his *Zivug* on the side of the Tree of Good, but not from the impure forces.

250. And had he hastened on that night to put forward the other side, before the good side came forward, he would not have been able to withstand it for even an instant. But the Creator provided the remedy in advance. And He sanctified the day beforehand. And He warned to appear before the other side. And the world exists. And that the opposite side thought to rule in the world, i.e., in defiance of it, the good side was created and strengthened on that night. And the good, holy bodies and spirits were created on that night from the good side. Therefore, the delight of sages who know this spans from *Shabbat* to *Shabbat*.

251. However, when the other (impure) side saw that what it had planned to do was already done by the holy side, it started to check its own forces and properties, and saw all those who perform a *Zivug* naked and in the candlelight. Therefore, all of the sons born from that *Zivug* are enslaved by the spirit of the other side. And these naked spirits of the wicked are called "harming," and they are ruled and killed by Lilit.

252. And since the day was sanctified, and holiness rules in the world, the other side diminishes itself and hides on each *Shabbat* day and on each *Shabbat* night. With the exception of Asimon and his group, who walk secretly in the

Candlelight, to observe the naked *Zivug*. And then they hide inside the cave, called *Tehom Raba* (the great abyss). And as soon as *Shabbat* ends, many hosts fly and prowl in the world. As a result, everything is corrected by the song of the sufferers, "He who dwells in concealment," to prevent impurity from governing holiness.

According to the law, the impure force was supposed to rule in the world, for it was stronger than the pure one, and it was to clothe in human bodies. But then, the earth would have been given over to the wicked, and all the generations in the world originating from man would have stemmed from the side of the impure forces. And there would have been no chance of correction, for impurity would have dominated over all the generations to such an extent that there would have been no opportunity to get hold of the good side even for a moment.

However, the Creator provided a remedy, thereby forestalling the defect, for He elevated *Shabbat* and removed the impure forces, which caused the Light of peace and rest to be revealed in all the worlds. And all the impure forces were thrown into *Tehom Raba* (the great abyss). Thus, the world was revived, as this enabled the creation of bodies and spirits from the pure side in a *Zivug* of the *Shabbat* night, and the world advances toward the desired goal.

So what does it mean to forestall the defect via a remedy? The whole of creation is based on a cause and effect sequence, and all that transpires not according to the worlds' development is called "forestalling" (skipping several degrees, bypassing some of the causes and effects in this chain).

And since the sanctity of *Shabbat* came as an awakening from Above, from the Creator's desire, without any desire or request from below, for Adam had yet to make any corrections and draw closer to the Creator in order to merit *Shabbat* (when the Creator Himself prevented the defect by providing a remedy for the correction of the world), this action on the Creator's behalf is called "forestalling."

Just as the impure force planned to assume power over the world, the good side forestalled its actions on that night. For this night that followed the sin in the Tree of Knowledge was given entirely to the impure forces. Hence, they thought that they would obviously rule over the world. However, the opposite had happened—sanctity took their place: pure bodies and spirits were created on that night by the good side. This is because such a preparation took place that all the *Zivugim* on that night created bodies and spirits from the good side, without any participation of the impure force. In other words, what transpired was exactly the opposite of the impure force's expectations.

Therefore, the time of sages who know this spans from *Shabbat* to *Shabbat*—for at this time, bodies and spirits are created from the pure, good side. And

when the impure force sees that what it wanted to create was created by the opposite side, it collects its evil powers and searches through the whole world, and sees all those who make a *Zivug* in the candlelight, exposing their naked bodies. And ill sons are made from this *Zivug*. The impure side sends these sons its evil spirits of the wicked, called "wreckers." As a result, they are ruled and killed by Lilit. Garments refer to *Ohr Hassadim*, the garments of *Ima*, the intention "for the sake of the Creator."

When the sanctity of *Shabbat* comes into the world, and *Shabbat* rules in the world, the power of the impure force dwindles and hides on the night and on the day of *Shabbat*. Hence, this is the time of sages.

And only the wreckers, called "Asimon and his group," walk secretly in the candlelight, to observe those who expose their *Zivug*. Afterward, they hide in the *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba*. Thus, although Asimon has the power to see the *Zivug* in the candlelight and on *Shabbat*, he cannot do harm on *Shabbat*, but must immediately return to the *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba*. Only after *Shabbat* is over can he resume causing harm.

Rabbi Shimon felt the difficulty of explaining the words regarding *Shabbat* being the time of sages. For each day (not only on *Shabbat* night), starting at midnight, the Creator walks around the Garden of Eden and makes *Zivugim* with the sages. *The Zohar* asks the same question (*Veyikahel*, item 194), and answers that there is a difference between a *Zivug* on a week night and one that is made in the candlelight on *Shabbat*. On weekdays, the impure force has the power to inflict maladies on the newborns, and Lilit has the power to kill them.

However, on *Shabbat* nights, although the wrecker Asimon and his group are present, he has not the power to harm, but only after *Shabbat* is over. However, opposite his opportunity to cause harm after *Shabbat* there exists a correction, called *Havdalah*, the separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays through a blessing, a prayer, and a cup of wine, which completely annul the power of this wrecker. Hence, there is a significant difference between a *Zivug* on a week night and a *Zivug* on the night of *Shabbat*.

The thing is that there is a source of Light, ZA, Supernal unity, and a source of fire, *Malchut*, lower unity (item 209). Also, there are three details in the candle flame (this refers to a spiritual candle, designated in corporeality by a wick floating in olive oil):

- White Upper flame;
- Lower flame;
- The coarse part—wick and oil, supporting the lower flame.

This lower flame is called "devouring flame." It designates judgment, the power of restriction in the candle. Thus, it devours everything below it, the wick *and* the oil. And the Upper white flame signifies mercy contained in the candle, for white means mercy.

And he who makes a *Zivug* in the candlelight will see his children damaged, and Lilit will be able to kill them, for the candle contains the strictness of judgment, and the impure forces can therefore cling to such a *Zivug*. Due to the strictness of judgment, their bodies (the impurities contained in the bodies that participate in a *Zivug*, each of which finds what suits them) become revealed.

Therefore, a *Zivug* is permitted only at midnight, i.e., only in the darkness, when there is absolutely no Light, when *Malchut* is said to "awaken at night," and mercy is revealed. However, if there is some candlelight, it reveals the impurity in the bodies, and the impure forces cling to them.

In the candlelight, the impure force sees impurity in the bodies of those making a *Zivug*, and it informs on them and clings to their bodies. However, all the restrictions of strictness and judgment disappear on the night of *Shabbat*, and the coarse lower flame becomes like the white Upper flame. This means that even candlelight is permitted. Moreover, under the influence of the sanctity of *Shabbat*, all the impurity disappears from man's body, hence there is no fear to reveal the body in the candlelight.

Yet, even on *Shabbat*, when the coarse flame turns white and the judgment of restrictions disappears, the white flame of the candle nonetheless requires the light's coarse part, so it would act as foundation. And the coarse foundation designates an indispensable presence of judgment and restrictions, for coarseness constitutes restriction.

Nevertheless, these restrictions do not appear on *Shabbat*. This resembles a coin without any image, so its denomination is unknown. Therefore, the wrecker, this coarse, detrimental part of the candle that supports the white flame, is called Asimon (Hebrew, *Token*), signifying a coin without image.

The coarse part of the candle secretly ascends along with the white candlelight, as the candle cannot burn without it. Hence, this coarse part sees the exposed *Zivug* and can therefore do harm after the end of *Shabbat*. Although the revelation (exposure) of bodies does no harm on the night of *Shabbat* (the impurity of the body remains concealed during *Shabbat*), as soon as *Shabbat* is over, the impure force can reveal itself and harm.

And since, after *Shabbat*, Asimon and his group return to their forms (properties) and rise up from the Great Abyss (*Tehom Raba*) to the place of

settlement, they soar above the world and can cause harm. There is a song: "He who sits in the shadow of the Supernal One," for man saves himself from harmful forces by praying and returning to the Creator:

"He who sits in the shadow of the Supernal One (dwells under the shelter of the Supernal One) dwells in the shadow of the Almighty. I will say to the Lord: 'my refuge and my fortress, my God, in whom I trust.' Surely he will save you from the fowler's snare and from the deadly pestilence. He will cover you with his feathers, and under his wings will you find refuge; his faithfulness will be your shield and rampart. You will not fear the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that stalks in the darkness, nor the plague that destroys at midday. A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand, but it will not come near you. You will only observe with your eyes and see the punishment of the wicked..." (*Tehilim*, 91:1-8).

253. What places do they visit on the night of the end of *Shabbat*? When they come out in haste and wish to govern the holy nation, they see it standing in prayer and singing this song: "He who sits in the shadow (concealment) of the Supernal One," first separating *Shabbat* from the weekdays in his prayer, and then over a cup of wine, these forces flee thence and fly away to the desert. May the Merciful One save us from them and from the evil side.

Here the question concerns only the night of the end of *Shabbat*, but not the night of weekdays, as the night of the end of *Shabbat* still contains some force of the sanctity of *Shabbat*. Hence, although the impure forces rise from *Tehom Raba* and fly to conquer Israel, when they see Israel's actions in song of prayer and in the blessing over a cup of wine, they fly away to the wasteland, an unpopulated place. Thus, people escape their reach.

It follows that impure forces dwell in three places:

- On *Shabbat*, they dwell in *Nukva* of *Tehom Raba* and have no power to cause harm;
- When *Shabbat* is over, they are kept in the wasteland with the help of prayer, *Havdalah*, separation of *Shabbat* from weekdays, and the blessing over a cup of wine. They have the power to cause harm, but can't, as they are in an unpopulated place;
- On other nights they are also present in populated places.

254. The three that cause evil to themselves: a) he who curses himself; b) he who throws away bread or bread crumbs bigger than an olive; c) he who lights the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel attains sanctity in the prayer, "And You are holy." And the light from that candle ignites hellfire.

255. There is a place in hell for those who transgress *Shabbat*. And as they are punished in hell, they curse him who lit the candle before its time, and they say to him, "Behold: the Creator will thrust you about with a mighty throw, and He will seize you firmly. He will violently roll and toss you like a ball into a large land; there shall you die" (*Yeshayahu*, 22:17-18).

One wrecker is called the "evil eye." And he loves cursing, as it is said; "Yea, he loved cursing, and it came unto him; and he delighted not in blessing, and it is far from him" (*Tehilim*, 109:17). When man curses himself, he thereby empowers the evil eye to love cursing, and it rules over him—thus, man brings harm to himself.

There is nothing in this world that does not have an Upper Root Above. Especially bread, on which man's life depends, has its own special root Above. Therefore, he who neglects his bread brings harm to the root of his life Above. Everyone understands this, but only to the extent of the portion that satiates him, giving him life.

However, if a piece of bread and crumbs are smaller than an olive, there are those who neglect and throw them away, as such amount cannot satiate man. Yet, the sages instructed us to bless as a meal even an olive-sized amount of bread, obliging us to treat such portion as satiating, so we have no right to neglect such an amount. And he who neglects it brings harms to himself.

The reason for this is explained in the Talmud: "They asked the Creator: Master of the world, it is said in your Torah that one should not turn his face and accept bribes. Yet, You turn Your face to Israel..." The Creator replied: "How can I help turning my face to Israel if they observe the law 'down to the size of an olive...'" (*Berachot*, 20:2). In other words, by accepting an olive-sized bread crumb as a satiating meal, we merit revealing the Creator's face, even though we are unworthy of it. Therefore, those who neglect the amount of bread the size of an olive and do not consider it a satiating meal do not merit revealing the Creator's face; hence, they bring harm to themselves.

He who lights the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel has reached sanctity in the blessing, thereby ignites hellfire. This is because prior to that moment, it was *Shabbat*; its sanctity prevailed, and hellfire has no power on *Shabbat*. Hence, he who transgresses *Shabbat* and lights the candle prematurely, Ignites hellfire and brings harm to himself, for the transgression of *Shabbat* is regarded as the gravest transgression. Hence, there is a special place in hell for those who transgress *Shabbat*. And they who are punished in hell curse the sinner for igniting hellfire prematurely.

256. For he should not light the candle at the end of *Shabbat* before Israel separates *Shabbat* from the weekdays in their prayer and over a cup of wine, as until that time, it is still *Shabbat*, and the sanctity of *Shabbat* still rules over us. And during the separation by means of blessing over a cup, all those hosts and legions that the rulers appointed to govern the weekdays return each to their place to resume the work for which they are responsible.

The main prohibition remains in effect only until the blessing in the prayer. Nevertheless, one should beware of lighting a candle before the actual separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays in the blessings over a cup, as it is still *Shabbat*. Of course, one can light a candle for the actual separation of *Shabbat* from the weekdays, i.e., for the blessing over a lit candle.

257. As soon as *Shabbat* starts and the day is sanctified, holiness awakens and rules over the world; the power of weekdays disappears and returns only when *Shabbat* ends. However, although *Shabbat* is over, other forces do not regain their power until Israel says the prayer, "He who separates holiness from the weekdays." Only then does holiness disappear, and the legions that govern the weekdays awaken and return to their places, each to its above-appointed post.

258. Nevertheless, the impure forces do not assume control until the flame of the candle is lit, for they all come from the root (element) of fire, from which everything originates, and they descend to rule over the lower world. All this happens if one lights the candle before Israel has finished the blessing in the prayer.

Malchut is called the "pillar of fire" (item 209), and the forces that exist in the candlelight are the restrictions in *Malchut*. It is impossible to use these forces before the candle is lit.

259. Yet, if he waits until they complete the blessing, the wicked in hell justify the Creator's justice over them, and they bring upon him all the blessings, recited by the congregation: "Therefore, the Creator gives you of the dew of Heaven," "Blessed shall you be in your town," and "Blessed shall you be in the field."

By reciting the blessings, we evoke the descent of the great Light, and its power saves us from hell. And since the wicked in hell see this, they regret committing their sins and justify the Creator's judgment brought upon them by seeing their punishment. And since man evoked such justification of the Creator's judgment, all the blessings, recited at the end of *Shabbat* by the congregation become fulfilled in him.

260. "Blessed is he who considers the poor; the Creator will deliver him in the day of disaster" (*Tehilim*, 41:2). What do the words "in the day of disaster" mean? This refers to the day when evil gains power and wants to take his soul away from him. The word "poor" alludes to someone very sick. "He who considers" refers to one who realizes the need to be cured from transgressions before the Creator. Another explanation is that this is the Day of Judgment in the world. "He who considers" signifies one who knows how to save himself from it, as it is written: "The Creator will deliver him in the day of disaster," meaning that on the day when the judgment against man dominates the world, the Creator will deliver him.

"The day of disaster" is a state when the impure forces, called "evil," govern man and take his soul away. "He who considers the poor" is one who tells the sick to return to the Creator to correct himself. It is him who the Creator delivers from the rule of the impure forces.

The Zohar continues by saying that there are three sources of evil for the soul of a man that attracts it onto himself. Hence, it advises one who considers and is compassionate to the poor, to appeal to the sick man's heart (he who feels sick in his own evil, egoism) to return to the Creator. Then the Creator will cure him. And on this day of disaster, which man caused to his soul, the Creator will deliver him through this reward.

Even if judgment dominates the world, the Creator will deliver him, for he taught the sick to return to the Creator and explained to them the need for correction. And the difference in the explanations is that the first refers to an individual who discovers evil within himself, and the second refers to the evil of the entire world. And here, the Creator, too, will deliver man as a reward for fulfilling this *Mitzva*.

The Intention in the Prayer

It is written in *The Zohar* (*Veyikahel*, pp. 32-52): "Each day a voice calls upon all people in the world, 'This depends on you. Separate a part of yourself and devote it to the Creator.'" At some point in life, thoughts and desires to draw closer to the spiritual come to every person, and it depends on us whether or not we heed that inner call. The voice reassures man that by casting aside his needless, transient, and earthly desires, by ceasing his endless chase for their appeasement, he will attain true and eternal happiness.

From this we can understand the secret meaning of prayer: he who fears the Creator and directs his heart and desires in his prayer, carries out great and exalted corrections. If one wishes to enter the spiritual realm and feel the Creator, the only thing he must do is pray, i.e., ask the Creator to correct his nature, to transform it from the nature of our world (egoistic) into the nature of the spiritual realm (altruistic). He will then enter eternity and transcend the boundaries of our world. Being completely enslaved by his egoism, man is unable to change himself on his own.

To correct himself, man needs to receive the strength that exists outside of him, beyond the bounds of his egoism. He must ask to receive this strength; hence, the only thing man must do is pray.

However, prayer is not uttered by one's mouth. Rather, it is the desire in our heart, for the Creator reads the desires in our hearts. Therefore, man's only task is to transform his heart's desires—for his heart to wish to change its own desires. Yet, even this man is unable to do it by himself; he must ask the Creator for it.

Thus, everything boils down to exalting the Creator's rule, faith in Him, in His singularity, His power, His ability and desire to help. All of man's efforts aim to create the only true desire within him—to feel the Creator! Here, *The Zohar*, as well as all the other books of Kabbalah and the Torah, speak of those who

have already attained the spiritual worlds with their desires and properties, and, while being in our world, perceive and exist in the two worlds simultaneously. The prayer the book refers to here constitutes the spiritual actions of one who has already acquired spiritual instruments, and can utilize them in exactly the same way we use our hands and auxiliary means in our world.

First, in the songs and hymns of the Supernal angels, and according to the order of chants sung by the sons of Israel below, *Malchut* adorns and corrects herself as a wife who adorns herself for her husband. The sons of Israel are those who wish to become *Yashar* (straight) and *El* (Creator), i.e., to draw closer to, or go straight to the Creator. Such people, who exist in the Upper Worlds with their spiritual (altruistic) instruments (desires), can change the states of Higher *Sefirot* and worlds by their spiritual actions.

Our prayer-book was compiled by the sages of the Great Assembly twenty centuries ago. Before that, everyone addressed the Creator in accordance with what he or she felt. About twenty centuries ago, coarser souls began descending to our world, which needed orderly prayers. Hence, the members of the Great Assembly (great Kabbalists) created the prayer book that we still use today.

In an orderly fashion, the prayer book expounds all the consecutive degrees of man's correction. Behind the words of the prayer book, one who understands sees the spiritual actions that he needs to perform. This information is conveyed in letters, in their forms and combinations, as well as in the sequence of sentences and parts of the whole prayer.

According to the order of the prayer, correction of the worlds comes first by the morning blessings (See *Tefilat Kol Peh*) up to the prayer of *Shmone Esreh*, correction in a sitting position. Then, when they reach the words *Emet ve Yatziv* that conclude *Kriyat Shema*, all the worlds achieve correction. And as they reach the words *Gaal Israel*, all the corrections are to take their places; hence, they continue reciting the *Shmone Esreh* prayer while standing.

In spirituality (and, consequently, in corporeality) a person can be in one of three states: lying, sitting, or standing. A newborn infant in our world and a spiritually newborn person develop in the same order. Lying means that the position of the head, the legs, and the body are at the same level. In the spiritual, this corresponds to the embryonic state, when all that exists in the ten *Sefirot* is the same. This is the lowest spiritual state.

Sitting means that the head is above the body, and the body is above the legs, but one cannot use his legs. Such a state is called *Katnut* (smallness) or *VAK*. Standing implies absolute distinction between the levels of the head, body, and

legs. It is called *Gadlut* (big state) or *GAR*. Thus, according to one's ability to ask for correction, he gradually receives strength from the Creator and grows.

Therefore, when he reaches the words *Emet ve Yatziv*, everything has already been corrected: all of the worlds bear *Malchut* in them, while *Malchut* herself bears the Supernal King. When man reaches the words, *Gaal Israel*, the Supernal King advances along the degrees, along the three lines, and comes forward to receive *Malchut*.

The Supernal King (the Creator), with regard to all created beings, constitutes *ZA* of the world of *Atzilut*, for *Malchut de Atzilut* is the sum of all creations. Everything that was ever created, including us and all the worlds with all that inhabit them, is a part of *Malchut*.

In our initial state, we are the parts of *Malchut* that receive the smallest portion of the Creator's Light, *Ner Dakik* (tiny candle). As we draw closer to the Creator in our properties (making them similar to His), we receive increasingly greater Light, in proportion to our advancement, which we feel as infinite bliss, peace, delight, eternity, and as a life-force.

The degrees of our closeness to the Creator (our "I" and Him, *Malchut* and *ZA*) are described in Kabbalah using a special language: the nearing of properties is considered a transition from the state of "back to back" between *ZA* and *Malchut* to the state of "face to face." The souls' union with the Creator is described as a *Zivug*—sexual act between *ZA* and *Malchut*, whereupon *ZA* passes the Light to *Malchut*, and each soul, in proportion to its correction, can thereby receive this Light.

Naturally, the Creator remains in a state of absolute rest, and all His alleged movements are felt with regard to *Malchut*, depending on the changes in her properties. At times she feels Him more and at times less, and she perceives this as His movement toward her.

We must stand in humility and awe before the Supernal King, each in his place, for He extends His right hand to *Malchut* in *Magen Avraham*, the first blessing in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, designating the right line. Then He puts His left hand under the head of *Malchut*, as it is written: "Let his left hand be under my head, and his right hand embrace me" (*Shir HaShirim*, 2:6) in the blessing *Ata Gibor*, the second blessing in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, designating the left line.

The entire magnificent *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs) speaks of the Supernal merging of all the creatures with the Creator. Since our world is created as a reflection of the spiritual world, spiritual merging can only be described with the corresponding words of our world. Because our world is egoistic, the spiritual,

altruistic actions, directed toward the merging of properties and desires, are described in the words of our world as *Malchut* (man's soul) drawing closer to the Creator in her properties, followed by their gradual unification. First, it manifests in the form of an embrace, followed by a kiss, then a coition, when the soul is sufficiently corrected to receive the Light (*Ohr Hochma*) from the Creator.

Afterward, ZA and *Malchut* embrace and unite in a kiss of the blessing *HaEl HaKadosh*, designating the middle line. From this state and higher on, everything transpires in the state of a kiss, up to the last three blessings in the *Shmone Esreh* prayer. This is the spiritual, true meaning of the first three blessings of the *Shmone Esreh* prayer.

In other words, if one is able to make a spiritual action that corresponds to the conditions described in these blessings, he attains unity with the Creator that it is called "embrace" and "kiss." The detailed explanation of the spiritual actions is given in *The Study of the Ten Sefirot* by Rabbi Ashlag. The language of *The Zohar* and the Torah describes these actions with words of our world.

The language of Kabbalah describes them by using the names of *Sefirot*, *Partzufim*, and Lights. The most complete and precise language for the description of spiritual actions is the language of *Sefirot*. Therefore, this was the language chosen by Kabbalists for their inner work and for explaining to us the practice and method of spiritual ascent.

Man must aspire to the Creator in his heart and desires in order to acquire the intentions that bring him to correction in all the spiritual states described in this prayer—for his mouth and his heart (desires) to become a single whole, so his lips will not speak against the wishes of his heart. The Creator awaits only the sincerity of our desires so as to fulfill them at once and bring us closer to Him:

Beloved of the soul, Compassionate Father!
Draw Your servant to Your will.
Your servant will hurry like a hart, will bow before Your majesty.
To him Your friendship will be sweeter
Than the dripping of the honeycomb and any taste.

Majestic, Beautiful Radiance of the universe!
My soul pines for Your love.
Please O God, heal her now showing her the pleasantness of Your radiance.
Then she will be strengthened and healed
And eternal gladness will be hers.

All-worthy One, may Your mercy be aroused
And please take pity on the son of Your beloved.
Because it is so very long that I have yearned intensely to see the splendor of strength.
These my heart desires, and please take pity and do not conceal Yourself.

Please be revealed and spread upon me, my Beloved, the shelter of Your peace.
Illuminate the land with Your glory, we shall rejoice and be glad in You.
Make haste, do love, for the time has come, and pardon us as in days of old.

(Song Yedid Nefesh)

When the Creator and *Malchut* merge in a kiss, he who needs advice and assistance can ask for it, for this state is called the "time of desire." And since man appealed before the King and Queen in the twelve intermediate blessings of the *Shmone Esreh* prayer, he thereby corrected and prepared his heart's desires for the last three blessings. He aroused the Creator's desire for him, for thanks to these last three blessings, he merges with the Creator in Supernal Unity.

The "time of desire" is an appropriate state for making requests and receiving the answer—the strength for self-correction. The King and Queen are ZA and *Malchut*. Each blessing constitutes a sequence of individual corrections of man's soul. Consequently, man ascends to a Higher spiritual level. Thus, he gradually attains Supernal Unity with the Creator.

Then, he must fall on his face, and when *Malchut* holds the souls within her, submit his soul to the Creator's absolute power, as this is the appropriate time (state) to entrust one's soul amongst all the other souls, for *Malchut* is the source of life.

To fall on one's face and entrust one's soul means that man has but a single desire—to completely rid himself of his egoistic desires, and receive the Creator's altruistic desires in their stead. Upon receiving the Creator's desires, man becomes similar to Him, and to the extent of his similarity, he merges with the Creator. By merging with the Creator, man acquires all that the Creator has: immortality, complete knowledge of all creation, might, and perfection.

The secret of the Light is available only to the chosen ones: when *Malchut* holds human souls by her single desire to merge with the Creator (because the same desire fills man's heart), he submits himself entirely to the aspiration for this merging, so as to include his soul in the collective merging between *Malchut* and the Creator. And if his soul is received by the Creator, man instantly merges with Him and enters the source of life (*Tzror HaChaim*), both in this world and in the world to come.

Although Kabbalah is considered a secret teaching, it holds no secrets. It is perceived as secret only by those who are yet unable to create the spiritual organs within themselves with which to perceive their surroundings. We are the only ones who conceal our surroundings from ourselves in default of the corresponding sensory organs.

The King (Creator, ZA) and Queen (*Malchut*) must be connected to the souls on all sides, Above and below, and be adorned with the souls of the righteous (those who wish to merge with the Creator, entrust their souls to Him). And if man directs all the intentions of his heart (desires) to this goal and completely submits his soul to the Creator's will, the Creator makes peace and a covenant with him (both in the Upper Covenant, called *Yesod*, and in the lower covenant). He blesses *Malchut* by this peace and covenant, and surrounds her on all sides.

Unity on all sides means that the souls attain similarity with the Creator in all their properties. The righteous are those who want to merge with the Creator, attain the entire creation, and as a result, discover the righteousness of the Creator, who created and thus governs them. Those who wish to justify all the Creator's actions are called "righteous."

Although they have not yet reached this state and are only en route to it, even if only at the very beginning of their path, and they are yet to correct even a single desire and only feel the smallest aspiration to draw closer to the Creator, they are already called "righteous," after this desire. The Creator surrounds *Malchut* on all sides, and *Malchut* feels Him with all of her corrected properties, sensations.

Thus, man also receives the name *Shalom* (peace), for he has made a covenant with *Malchut* below, similar to the covenant of the *Sefira Yesod* Above. And when such a man leaves our world, his soul rises through all the Heavens and none stand in its way, and the Creator calls for it and says: "Let Peace come." The soul reveals the thirteen elevations of the holy peach and no one stands in its way. Hence, happy is he who makes an offering to the Creator.

As soon as the soul tears itself from egoism altogether, it completely merges with the Creator and is no longer obliged to descend into this world, clothe in a physical body, and receive an additional portion of egoistic desires. An offering to the Creator signifies rejection of the body's egoistic desires; it is called a "sacrifice," for our body is no different from that of an animal.

Therefore, the aspiration to rid oneself of the animate body and its desires is called an "offering." Depending on the kind of desires man is already able to wish to rid himself of, his offering takes the form of a bird (one part of his

desires) or cattle (another part). Certain parts of *The Zohar* and some of the ARI's compositions discuss this matter in great detail.

Rabbi Chiya raised his voice: "Oh, Rabbi Shimon, you are alive, and I was already mourning over you! Yet, it is not you that I mourn for, but for all my friends and for the whole world that will remain orphans after you." Rabbi Shimon is like a torchlight, shining both Above and below. With this Light below, he illuminates the whole world. Woe unto this world when this Light will leave it and rise up Above. Who will shine in this world with the Light of the Torah? Rabbi Aba rose, kissed Rabbi Chiya, and said, "If such words are within you, I thank the Creator for sending me to you, so that I could be closer to you. How happy I am with my lot!"

All of the characters described in *The Zohar* are spiritual objects, *Partzufim*. As does the whole Torah, *The Zohar* speaks only of things that exist in the spiritual worlds, rather than in our world. Therefore, all of the objects, animals, plants, and people described in *The Book of Zohar* constitute spiritual degrees, desires, and *Partzufim*.

The Creator deliberately sends into our world special souls that are close to Him, to help all the others to attain the spiritual in this lifetime, while they are still in this world. These great Kabbalists serve as guides for those who have realized that they lack spiritual sight, and are hence ready to follow them blindly.

Rabbi Yehudah said after him: When the Creator told Moshe to choose among the people those who are wise and understanding, Moshe looked at the people and could not find any. Then he was instructed to pick the heads of the tribes who were known for their wisdom. The word "understanding" is not used here, for the degree of the understanding is higher than that of the wise. What is the difference between one who is wise and one who understands? Wise is one who learns from a *Rav* (Teacher) and wants to attain wisdom. Wise is one who knows all that he has to know.

He who understands consists of several levels-degrees, for he sees into every thing and knows for himself and for others. The mark of him who understands is formulated in the phrase: "The righteous one knows his animal soul." The righteous one signifies *Yesod* that passes the Light to *Malchut* (animal), for the *Gematria* of *HaVaYaH* of *Malchut* is fifty-two = *BON* = *BeHeMaH* (beast) = *Bet-Hey-Mem-Hey* = 2 + 5 + 40 + 5 = 52.

Malchut constitutes the level called "wise at heart," as wisdom is found within the heart. But he who understands, sees Above and below, for himself and for others. He who is wise designates *Malchut*, for it is *Malchut* that reveals

wisdom. He who understands is *Yesod* that stands above *Malchut*. *Ohr Hochma* in *Malchut* shines only from below upwards. It is impossible to receive the Light from Above downwards, as it would surely enter egoistic desires. Therefore, it is said that the wise (*Hacham*) sees only for himself, from himself upwards, and cannot pass the Light to others below.

It is hence said that wisdom is found within the heart, as the heart receives from below upwards; whereas he who understands (the *Sefira Yesod*, *Tzadik*, the righteous one) shines with the Light of Mercy, *Ohr Hassadim*, from Above downwards. He sees that he receives for himself, and shines upon the others, i.e., shines upon *Malchut*, as it is written: "The righteous knows his animal soul."

Raising a Prayer

Here *The Zohar* speaks about the prayer, which every man offers his Creator (*Veyikahel*, pp. 32-52). This inner action of man constitutes his greatest and most valuable work in his efforts for the Creator's sake.

The Creator made man at the farthest, completely opposite spiritual level to His: with only the egoistic will to enjoy. And since man has no other properties-desires but the egoistic will to receive pleasure, not only is he unable to change himself, he cannot even wish for the desire to change.

We can change only under the influence of the Creator's Light, by receiving His properties from Him. Hence our only task is to cultivate a desire to change. As soon as this true desire appears within man, the Creator will immediately give him the strength needed for its realization. So the problem is not how to realize a prayer; it is, rather, how to attain it, how to formulate one's request for the strength to become like the Creator!

A prayer is a sensation, a desire in one's heart. Man does not realize it completely and cannot describe it, for the sensation in one's heart *is not subject to any control and conscious correction*—it cannot be "created" by one's own will. The sensations in one's heart constitute the consequence of man's mental and spiritual condition, the result of the current degree of his spiritual development.

Thus, the desire to change is also in the Creator's hands. However, He gave us the opportunity to stimulate this process and to determine our own spiritual advancement:

- He allows Kabbalists to write books, and when we read them, we develop the desire to draw closer to Him;
- He allows some of the true Kabbalists to be revealed to a wide circle of those who desire spiritual development;

- Indiscernibly, He transforms our desires (modifies our souls) so we suddenly take an interest in spirituality;
- He changes our desires with regard to this world, helping us realize its insignificance and transience through sensations of disappointment and suffering.

By creating man a worthless egoist, i.e., by making a worthless creation that is seemingly so unbefitting Him, the Creator allowed man to create himself and elevate himself to an equal degree to that of the Creator Himself—to attain His level of perfection. Thus, the Creator reveals the perfection of His creation: although He created man a worthless creature, He thereby enables him to make a "Creator" of himself (in his properties).

Man cannot claim that although he is created with only one desire, he is unable to induce the reception of an altruistic desire instead of his natural, egoistic one. The Torah, Kabbalah, teachers, and suffering are all prepared to accelerate his advancement toward the goal of creation by the path of the Torah, or otherwise, the path of suffering.

However, the path of suffering is not only undesirable for man, whose life on earth makes him feel as though he is caught between the millstones of a tirelessly revolving mill. Ruthlessly and methodically, it pulverizes him both mentally and physically, to the very last day of his life. But this painful path is equally undesirable in the eyes of the Creator. After all, His goal is to delight man, which is in accord with the path of the Torah—a quick and painless way to transform our desires from egoistic into altruistic.

Since only the Creator can accomplish this (and He will, either painfully or painlessly, in accord with our conscious request), the development of such a request toward Him is all that man must do in his life. It is hence written: "Let him pray all day long!" Yet, we now understand that this phrase does not speak of sitting over a prayer-book, but refers to man's inner work on himself.

There are various forms of work that man must do in action, with his body, as in the case of physically observing the *Mitzvot*. And then there is man's inner, most important work, when observance of the *Mitzvot* depends on the words and desires of the heart.

Never does Kabbalah allude to or even mention our physical body, for it is no different from the body of an animal—it is born, functions, and dies as an animal. And all the various forms of work that the body performs are mere mechanical actions utterly unconnected to man's inner intention, and can even be outright opposite to it.

Therefore, the body's actions are completely disregarded in Kabbalah. Instead, man's *desire* is taken into account and is regarded as an action. In itself, when stripped off the physical body (in which it presently exists), it constitutes man's inner spiritual action.

The spiritual world is a world of incorporeal desires that have no volume, size, movement, or time. Just as in our imagination, where our desires are fulfilled instantly by the power of thought, everything in the spiritual world is determined only by our desires-thoughts, and not by physical actions.

Nevertheless, since in this world we temporarily exist in a physiological body, our task is to observe the Creator's *Mitzvot* both physically (with our body) and spiritually. Physically, we can observe them, as a person usually does—because of his upbringing or for a reward in this world (money, health, luck, peace, and so forth) or in the world to come (the best that he can imagine). Alternatively, he performs these actions because he was taught from childhood to do so mechanically, so he cannot avoid doing them in view of the acquired desire (instinct)—if he does not do them, he suffers.

This feeling of suffering is exactly what compels him to carry out the mechanical actions of the *Mitzvot*. It is not even the desire to receive a reward in this world or in the world to come: in this case, the reward is instantaneous—man feels no discomfort, since he does what he is accustomed to do.

Hence, it seems to such a man, who observes the *Mitzvot* because of the acquired nature (habit), that he demands no reward for his actions either in this world or in the world to come. After all, he truly does not think about any reward, as his habit, which became his second nature, compels him to perform these actions. If he feels this way, he is absolutely positive that he acts "for the Creator's sake." The fact that his habit, his second nature, compels him to perform the *Mitzvot* mechanically, escapes his awareness.

However, since our body is no more than an animal, the mechanical fulfillment of the *Mitzvot* by force of habit or for a reward is quite sufficient for him. There is a difference between those who observe because of upbringing or habit, and those who do it for a reward: the former do not even care whether or not the Creator actually exists; they perform purely mechanical actions that they cannot help performing, for they immediately begin to suffer for lack of habitual actions.

Yet, one who observes the *Mitzvot* because he has faith in reward and punishment believes in the Creator, His Torah, and His governance, but simply

uses it for his own benefit. By observing the *Mitzvot* with such an intention and remaining in it all of his life, he, naturally, does not grow spiritually. And he who does not grow in our world is called "still" (inanimate), as we divide all nature into the following levels: still, vegetative, animate, and speaking (human). Therefore, such people are regarded as spiritually still (*Domem de Kedusha*), but they are already "spiritually" still, as opposed to those who observe mechanically, by force of habit.

In Kabbalah, the word "body" implies desire. A desire or a body can be egoistic or spiritual (altruistic). The gradual passing of the egoistic body and its replacement with the altruistic one is called man's "spiritual birth."

Man's spiritual growth is designated by an increasingly growing intention to observe the *Mitzvot* only because such is the Creator's desire. Man observes it only for His sake, completely selflessly, as if no reward of any kind will ever be given to him in return, not even in the form of his own self-content. It is as though the Creator does not know who fulfills His desire, as though man himself is uncertain of whether or not he observes the *Mitzvot*. Yet, he does it anyway, for such is the Creator's will.

So then, the notion of "body" in Kabbalah alludes to man's corrected desires, whereas uncorrected desires, without a screen, cannot be used. It is as though they are not considered body parts, existing beyond the body. Hence, they are considered foreign forces or desires—*Klipot* (shells).

The only existing creation besides the Creator is the egoistic will to enjoy Him that was created by Him. This desire can be either egoistic (corrupted) or altruistic (corrected), spiritually pure or impure. All the spiritual forces: angels, *Klipot*, etc., constitute our uncorrected or corrected desires (the will to bestow delight upon the Creator). Nothing else exists in the universe!

There are twelve parts in the spiritual body that perform spiritual actions: two arms and two legs, each consisting of three parts, in all 4 x 3 = 12. These parts of our spiritual body (our desires that were corrected by the screen) observe the positive *Mitzvot*.

Just like the body of a spiritual object (*Partzuf*), man's body is his altruistic desires, in which he can receive the Creator's Light according to his intentions (screen). Man's desires are determined by his intentions.

All the work with the intention "for the Creator's sake" is performed by the external body parts: the twelve parts of arms and legs, and by the twelve internal body parts: brain, heart, liver, mouth, tongue, five parts of the lungs,

and two kidneys. These inner corrections of the body are meant for reception of the Supernal spirit, Light, inside the body, and represent man's most important work with regard to the Creator.

These inner actions are called *Mitzvot*. They depend on speech, such as a prayer—supplications, blessings, and praises. And he who comes to know this work is happy in all things. Man does not realize that his prayer permeates all the Heavens, rising up to the very pinnacle of the universe and reaching the Creator Himself.

As was repeatedly mentioned, not a single word in the Torah speaks of our world, especially not of our body. All the words in the Torah are the Creator's sacred names—the various sensations of the Creator felt by those who attain Him. As we have explained, the attainment and sensation of the Creator is impossible without a screen, an altruistic intention, meaning that all that man desires is to please his Creator. Only the sensations in the heart (the essence of man) can perform this work, and never the physiological organs of our animate body, which is no different from that of an animal.

When the morning Light begins to shine, separating Light from darkness, a call pierces through all the Heavens: *prepare for the opening of entrances and chambers, and each go to your position*. For the ones that serve at night are not the ones that serve in the daytime. And when the night comes, the daytime servants are once more replaced by the nighttime ones.

When the morning Light begins to shine—when man begins to realize that his egoistic desires are death and darkness, whereas altruism and spirituality are life and Light, the Light within man thereby separates from darkness, and he begins to analyze and realize his states, to feel spiritual ascents and descents—he feels his proximity to the Creator as Light, while remoteness from Him and descents into his egoistic desires feel like darkness.

However, one can feel it only if he feels the Creator (even if only a little, even if indistinctly). To start feeling the shame of receiving from the Creator and the insignificance of one's nature (the sensation of darkness), one must first feel the Creator. Only His Light contains all that man needs: strength for correction, desires, life. Hence, the main thing to which man must aspire is the sensation of the Creator, but not for pleasure, for correction.

The forces that serve in the daytime are called the "rulers, the government of the day," and the forces that serve at night are called the "rulers, the government of the night." As soon as the morning call is heard, they all take their positions,

Malchut and Israel descend and enter the *Beit-Knesset* (the House of Assembly—a place, where all of man's wishes are collected; hence, it is called the house of prayer) to exalt the Creator and begin their singing and blessings.

It is written: "We shall praise Your mercy in the morning and Your faith at night." Feeling the Creator's Light descending upon him, man perceives it as morning that comes after the darkness, and upon feeling such a state, he praises the Creator in his heart. All alien thoughts retreat before the influence of the Creator's Light, and all impure desires become restrained.

After man has corrected himself in the positive *Mitzvot* (in the first part, in the corrections of *Tzitzit* and *Tefillin*), he must unite all of his heart's desires in inner work (in the second part), and wholeheartedly dedicate himself to the work of praises, since speech rises upwards.

It is impossible to offer a brief explanation of the *Mitzvot* of *Tefillin* and *Tzitzit*, observed only by those who spiritually attained the level of *Partzuf* ZA.

These servants, who stood in their places in the air, are appointed to rule over the four sides of the world. Gazaria soars in the air to govern the East, and all the others that are appointed are together with him, and await the words of the prayer that rises on that side from below. And this ruler takes the prayer.

If the words of a prayer are proper, then all these rulers absorb them and rise with them to the firmament, where the other rulers stand. Upon absorbing these words, they proclaim, "Blessed be Israel. Blessed be the lips that utter these words!"

The letters that were hanging in the air then fly up and form the holy name that rules in the air and consists of twelve letters. This is the name by which Eliyahu flew before rising up to the sky. The letters fly up in the air, and the ruler, who holds the keys to the air in his hand, rises to Heaven along with all the other rulers, and pass the letters into the hands of another ruler for further ascent.

After *Malchut* had been separated from ZA, ZA filled himself with only *Ohr Hassadim* and became the right line, whereas *Malchut* formed the left line. These two lines are in conflict with one another, just as the right and the left lines of *Bina* oppose one another. This continues until ZA ascends to *Bina* as the middle line, balances the right and the left lines, and makes peace between them by uniting them in a single, middle line.

Similarly, ZA and *Malchut*, the two opposite lines, need a middle line to balance them, to bring them balance and peace, and to unite them. This occurs

with the help of *MAN* (*Mei Nukvin*), the prayers of the righteous, for they offer up the desires from this world. Also, the screen that they raise is called the *Masach* (screen) *de* (of) *Hirik*—the middle line—causing the left and the right lines to unite, and *Malchut* to unite with *ZA*.

Thus, a prayer becomes a request, *MAN*, and the middle line that leads to peace and unity between *ZA* and *Malchut*. Just like *Yesod* Above (the middle line) unites the Creator with the *Shechina-Malchut* by gathering all the created souls, man's prayer creates the middle line and unites all by its ascent—bringing peace and unity between the Creator and the *Shechina* (His creatures), the unity of souls with their Creator.

Hence, just like the *Sefira Yesod* Above, man, too, is called *Shalom* (peace). Moreover, the world below precedes and determines the world Above, for the awakening from below (requests of the lower ones) precedes and evokes the awakening from Above.

The spiritual world is a world of desires. There are only two desires:

1. The Creator's desire to bestow perfect delight upon His creation, i.e., upon man;
2. The will to receive pleasure for oneself, created by the Creator, called creation, or man's essence.

Nothing else exists except for these two desires! Everything we can possibly imagine derives only from these two spiritual forces. Man's desire is called a "prayer," for intentionally or unintentionally, this desire appeals to the One who created man, to the Creator. Spiritually, man develops in accordance with his prayer.

However, one's true prayer is his request for spiritual correction and elevation. Such a prayer, a desire in the heart, can be achieved only by consistent study of Kabbalistic sources, which affect man's egoistic desire with their concealed inner Light, and evoke him to ascend spiritually ("Introduction to The Study of Ten Sefirot," item 155).

A soul is none other than man's corrected, altruistic desire, his spiritual *Partzuf*, his desire to receive the Creator's Light with the screen (intention) "for the Creator's sake."

Man's speech in a prayer is none other than parts of his soul (the soul itself) clothed in a body. A prayer is man's soul in this world, *VAK de Nefesh* of *Malchut de Malchut* within *Malchut de Assiya*.

World of AK
World of Atzilut
World of Beria
World of Yetzira
World of Assiya: Keter
Hochma
Bina
ZA
Malchut = K + H + B + ZA + M
K + H + B + ZA + M
GAR + VAK = Soul of Man

Yet, how can one's prayer, his desire, rise through all the degrees of all the worlds of *BYA* and reach *Malchut de Atzilut* so as to become *MAN* and the middle line, uniting *Malchut* with *ZA*? After all, it is well known that no degree can rise above itself, let alone make such an incredible leap from the lowest degree of the spiritual ladder (our world) to the world of *Atzilut*.

To understand that, we must first thoroughly understand the meaning of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*. As a result of this ascent, each degree splits into two parts: *Keter* and *Hochma* of each degree remain within it, while *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* fall to a lower degree. This occurs because *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* and thereby created in *Bina* a new *Sof* (end) of the degree. This is because *Malchut* exists under the prohibition of the first restriction, and hence cannot receive the Light. Due to the second restriction, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* are located below the new *Sof* of the degree. Thus, being below *Malchut* that ascended to *Bina*, they are defined as a lower degree.

Keter = Galgalta	Together they are called GE (Galgalta-Eynaim)
Hochma = Eynaim	
Parsa = Ascended Malchut	
Bina = Awzen	Together they are called AHP (Awzen-Hotem-Peh)
ZA = Hotem	
Malchut = Peh	

Afterward, through the *MAN* raised by the lower ones, the Light *AB-SAG* descends and gives strength to *Malchut*, which stands in *Bina*, to descend to her own place: *Malchut* descends from *Bina* to her own place, thereby returning all the *Sefirot* to their places and uniting them all into one degree, consisting of ten whole *Sefirot*. Consequently, *Bina* and *ZON*, which were below each degree, return to their degree, to their previous level. Thus, each degree restores itself back to ten *Sefirot*.

However, although *Malchut*, who stood in *Bina* as the new *Sof* (end) of the degree, returns from *Bina* to her own place at the end of every ten *Sefirot*, this new *Sof* that she created in *Bina* does not entirely vanish from *Bina*. As a result, *Bina* and *ZON* do not descend to their place. Instead, they must rise above the new *Sof* and there create the left line with regard to *Keter* and *Hochma*, which never fell from their degree and constitute the right line.

This is why the new *Sof* remains in its place in all the degrees even after *Malchut's* descent from *Bina*. And this *Sof* is called the "firmament," while *Bina* and *ZON*, which fell from their degree, but now have returned to it, are called "air." For each lower degree is defined as *VAK* (called *Avir*—air) with regard to the Upper One.

Keter	= Galgalta	GE
Hochma	= Eynaim	GE
		Parsa (Firmament)
Bina	= Awzen	AHP (Air)
ZA	= Hotem	AHP (Air)
Malchut	= Peh	AHP (Air)

Since *Bina* and *ZON* fell from their degree, they became as *VAK* (air) with regard to it, as the entire lower degree with regard to the Upper. And after the descent of *Malchut* from *Bina*, the air (*Bina* and *ZON*) that was under the firmament rises above it and becomes the left line.

When *Bina* and *ZON* ascend above the firmament, they take with them the lower degree, where they existed when they were below, and elevate it along with them above the firmament. It is so because unlike our world, there are no ascents and descents in the spiritual; a descent constitutes the deterioration of one's properties from one spiritual level to a lower one.

Hence, being equivalent in properties with the lower degree, when *Bina* and *ZON* ascend together, they take the entire lower degree along with them. For after being together once, and having become similar, they receive help, ascend, and never part again.

Ultimately, *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* forms an entrance, an opening, a gate for the lower degree, through which it can ascend to the Upper One. Hence, when *Malchut* descends from *Bina*, thus allowing the lower part, *AHP de Bina*, to ascend, the lower degree can rise along with the ascending *AHP de Bina*.

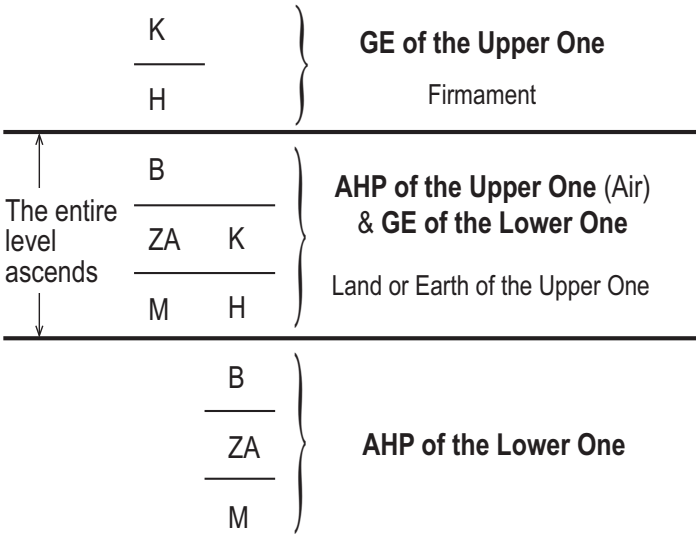

Thus, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* and her subsequent descent due to the influence of *Ohr AB-SAG*, three parts were formed in each degree:

- Air, *Bina* and *ZON* that fell down;
- The firmaments, the new ends of degrees that appeared through *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*. These never disappear, even if *Malchut* returns to her place;
- The entrances for the lower degrees that were formed through *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, when the lower degree ascends along with her. Without it, the lower degree can never reach the Upper One, for no degree can ascend above itself.

This process is described in the Chassidic tales as the mission of a righteous one (the Upper Degree) in our world: to descend to the most vile and corrupt people (the lower degree). In other words, while essentially remaining itself, the Upper Degree should corrupt its properties so as to equalize with the lower

degree. Thus, it shows to the lower ones that in its desires, thoughts, and actions, it is the same as them.

Then, when he completely unites with them, and they fully trust him, when he becomes "one of them" (designating the union of *AHP* of the Upper One with *GE* of the lower one), he gradually, inconspicuously or openly, begins to correct them—by his own example, he propagates his thoughts to them. These thoughts cannot be perceived from an outsider, but only from "one of their own." That is, the Upper One receives additional Light (strength) in its *GE* so as to be able to raise its own *AHP*, correct its desires of reception, start working with them for the Creator's sake, and elevate them to its own level.

And since there is no distinction between the desires of *AHP* of the Upper One and *GE* of the lower one, into which *AHP* of the Upper One fell, they both rise together. This way, the Upper One elevates, i.e., improves, corrects a certain part of the lower one's properties (*GE*), and elevates them to its true level.

Therefore, the most important thing in our state is to come to feel *AHP* of the Upper Degree, located at the very center of our heart, and to become equal with it in our properties so as to afterwards rise together with it.

This process is described in the book *Attaining the Worlds Beyond*, which provides a more personal perspective of this spiritual process:

Inside the internal sensations of the Kabbalist exists a part of the Higher Level, of the future state (*AHP*). One who perceives a Higher Spiritual Level as an unattractive vacuum, rather than a state full of Light, does not receive from the Higher level.

Even though the Higher Level is full of Light, the lower level perceives the Higher only to the degree that the lower qualities permit one to do so. Since the present qualities are not sufficient to receive the Higher Light, the individual does not perceive it.

We can perceive the Upper Level because all the spiritual steps are arranged sequentially from lowest to highest. Moreover, the subsequent states overlap with one another; the lower half of the Higher state is situated within the Upper half of the lower state (*AHP* of Upper falls into *GE* of lower).

Thus, the lowest part of our Upper State is always present within us, but is usually not felt by us. The Upper State above us is referred to as "the Creator" because it functions as the Creator for us.

It gives birth to us and it gives us life and guidance. Since we do not have a perception of this Higher State, we often insist that the Creator does not exist.

But if we are in a state in which we clearly see the Creator's Upper Domain over all the creations in this world, then we lose the possibility to choose freely.

We can see only One Truth, only One Force, and only One Will that operates in everything and in everyone.

Since the Will of the Creator is to grant each human being a free will, then the concealment of the Creator from His creations is necessary. Only if He is hidden can we argue that we can aspire *of our free will* to attach ourselves to the Creator—to act for His sake, without any trace of self-interest.

The entire process of self-correction is possible only when the Creator is concealed from us. As soon as He reveals Himself to us we immediately become His servants and fall into the control of His thought, grandeur and power.

At that point, it is impossible to determine what our true thoughts are. Thus, in order to allow us to act freely, the Creator has to conceal Himself.

On the other hand, to give us a chance to break free from the blind slavery of egoism, the Creator must reveal Himself. This is so because a human being obeys only two forces in this world: the force of egoism—the body—and the force of the Creator—altruism.

It follows, then, that alternating the two states is necessary. These states are the concealment of the Creator from us when we perceive only ourselves and the egoistic forces governing us, and the revelation of the Creator when we feel the power of the spiritual forces.

In order for one who is still under the influence of egoism to perceive the closest Upper Object (the Creator), the Creator must equalize some of His qualities with those of the lower being—the person seeking a connection with the Creator.

He will endow some of His altruistic qualities with egoistic attributes, and can then come into balance with the person seeking connection with Him.

The Upper Part elevates the *Malchut-Midat HaDin* to the level of His *Galgalta ve Eynaim.* As a result, His *AHP* acquires egoistic qualities. In this manner, His *AHP* "descends" to the lower part (the spiritual level of the seeker) and comes into a state of equivalence with the qualities of the lower part.

Initially the lower part was not able to perceive the Upper Spiritual State. However, because the Creator hid His highest altruistic qualities behind egoistic ones, He was able to descend to the level of the person so that the person was able to perceive Him.

Because we perceive higher qualities as being egoistic, we are unable to truly grasp their essence. It appears that there is nothing positive in the spiritual that may bring pleasure, inspiration, confidence, or tranquility.

It is precisely at this point that we have an opportunity to exercise our willpower. We may, instead, declare that the absence of pleasure and taste in the spiritual and in Kabbalah is because of the Creator's deliberate concealment for our own sake. Because we do not yet possess the necessary spiritual qualities, it is therefore impossible for us to perceive the Upper spiritual pleasures; rather, all our earthly desires are governed by egoism.

It is crucial for beginners to understand that they are given depression and distress in order to overcome them.

They may direct their pleas for relief to the Creator, they may study, or they may do good deeds. The fact that such people do not experience pleasure or vitality from spiritual aspirations is directed from Above.

This gives them the free will to conclude that their lack of pleasure comes from a lack of appropriate altruistic qualities in themselves. Hence, the Upper One must hide His true qualities from them.

Therefore, we must remember that the first stage of perceiving the spiritual is the feeling of spiritual deprivation. If the lower part is capable of realizing that the Upper One is concealing Himself because of their incongruity of qualities, and if that lower part asks for help to correct its own egoism by raising a prayer (*MAN*), then the Upper Part partially reveals Himself (lifts His *AHP*) and displays His true qualities, which prior to this moment, were disguised beneath egoism.

As a result, spiritual pleasure also becomes apparent. Thus, the lower part begins to experience the grandeur and the spiritual pleasure felt by the Higher Being, Who possesses spiritual altruistic qualities.

Because the Upper Part elevated His altruistic qualities in the eyes of the individual, He thus elevated the individual to the middle of His State (He lifted *GE* of the lower together with His own *AHP*).

This spiritual state is known as a person's "lesser spiritual level" (*Katnut*). The Upper Part, in a way, elevates the lower part to His own spiritual level by revealing both His grandeur and the grandeur of altruistic qualities. By seeing the magnificence of the spiritual and comparing it to the material, we may spiritually rise above our world.

When we perceive the spiritual, regardless of our will, our egoistic qualities are changed into altruistic ones, that is, into the qualities of the Creator. In

order to allow the lower part to take complete possession of the Higher first level, the Upper Part wholly reveals Himself and all His qualities to that lower part; meaning He reveals his Grandeur, makes *Gadlut*.

At this point, the person perceives the Upper Part as the One and Only Absolute Sovereign of everything in the universe. At the same time, the lower part grasps the highest knowledge of the purpose of creation and of the Upper's dominion.

It becomes clear to the lower part that there is no other way to conduct oneself than in the way prescribed by Kabbalah. Thus, the lower part's reason now requires proper action. As a result of this clear awareness of the Creator, one must deal with the contradiction between faith and knowledge, between the right and the left lines.

Now, having acquired altruistic qualities (*Katnut*), the lower part prefers to proceed only by means of faith in the strength of the Creator. This serves as an indication of the seeker's sincere desire to come closer to the Creator.

However, the Creator's revelation of His grandeur (*Gadlut*) now obstructs one from advancing by faith. Consequently, the individual must willingly dispense with the acquired knowledge.

When one pleads to proceed blindly, relying only on one's faith in the magnificence of the Creator, rather than by realizing His power and grandeur, and only by using reason in proportion to one's faith, the Creator is compelled to limit His disclosure. When such an action compels the Creator to diminish His disclosure of His general dominion, His omnipotence, and His Light (*Ohr Hochma*), this is called "the screen of *Hirik*."

Through this screen, we are able to diminish the revelation of the Upper reason (the left line) to the point at which this revelation can be balanced with faith, the right line. The correct correlation between faith and knowledge is called a "spiritual balance," or the middle line.

We, as individuals, determine the state we desire to be in. Once the correct correlation of faith and knowledge is in place, we can then attain perfection. This is known as "the middle line."

The part of revealed knowledge (the left line) that we can use in proportion to our faith (the right line), by proceeding by faith above reason (the middle line), is added onto those spiritual qualities that we possessed before, in the state of *Katnut*. The newly acquired spiritual level is known as *Gadlut*, meaning big and complete.

After the first complete spiritual level has been attained, we will become equal in qualities to the very first (the lowest) state of the spiritual ladder. As was mentioned earlier, all the states, or steps of the ladder, overlap with each other.

Having reached the first level, we may discover the presence of a higher level within us. Using the same principle as when advancing to the first level, we can proceed step by step to the goal of creation—complete unification with the Creator on the Highest level.

An essential part of our spiritual ascent is a special process that requires that, on discovering a greater evil within us, we ask the Creator to grant us the strength to overcome that evil. We then receive strength in the form of a greater spiritual Light.

This continues until we actually reach the original level and size of our souls: at that point, our egoism is completely corrected and filled with Light.

When we are distracted by outside thoughts, we feel that thoughts obstruct us from ascertaining the spiritual, because our strength and minds are wasted on extraneous concerns, while our hearts become filled with petty desires. At times like this, we lose faith in the fact that only the Kabbalah contains the true life.

Once we overcome this condition, we come out of our state and move into the Light, receiving a Higher Light that helps us ascend further. In this manner, our extraneous thoughts work to help us in our spiritual advancement.

We can overcome obstacles only with the help of the Creator. We can only work on something if we perceive some personal benefit in the task. However, our bodies, hearts and intellects do not understand what benefits can result from altruism.

Therefore, as soon as we try to make even the slightest altruistic move, we lose all strength of the mind, heart and body. We are left with nothing else but to turn to the Creator and ask Him for help. In this way, unwillingly and without any free choice, we advance toward the Creator until we merge with Him completely.

The lower half of the Higher spiritual object is found within the Upper half of the lower spiritual object. In the lower object, the screen (*Masach*) is found in the eye area. This is known as "spiritual blindness," because in such a state only the lower half of the Higher object is visible to us, since the screen of the lower spiritual object conceals part of the Higher spiritual object.

The Higher spiritual object drops its screen to the lower one, then reveals itself to the lower object, which in turn begins to view the Higher object as the Higher One views itself. As a result, the lower object receives the state of fullness (*Gadlut*).

The lower object, then, sees that the Higher One is in a "great" state, and realizes that the Higher object's prior concealment and apparent manifestation as the "small" state (*Katnut*), was done exclusively for the benefit of the lower one. In this way, the lower object could become aware of the importance of the Higher One.

A person in the right line (*Kav Yamin*) is happy with his lot (*Chafetz Hesed*). This is called a "small spiritual state" (*Katnut*), because a person feels no need for the Torah. He does not feel evil, egoism within himself, and without the need for self-correction, he needs no Torah.

Hence, he needs the left line (*Kav Smol*). He has to critically appraise his state (*Heshbon Nefesh*), decide what he wants from the Creator and from himself, and whether he understands the Torah and advances toward the goal of creation. Here he sees his genuine state and is obliged to integrate it in the right line. In other words, he has to be content with what he has and be pleased with his state, as if he has everything that he wishes.

In the left line, which brings about suffering as a result of the absence of the desired, a need is awakened for the help of the Creator, which comes in the form of Light of the soul.

In the right line, in a state when a person desires nothing for the self, there exists only the Light of Mercy (*Ohr Hassadim*), the joy from the similarity in spiritual qualities. But this state is not perfect, because it lacks knowledge and the understanding of the inner meaning. In the left line there is no perfection because the Light of Wisdom can illuminate only if there is congruence in qualities between the Light received and the recipient of the Light.

The congruence results in *Ohr Hassadim*, which is found in the right line. Spiritual gains can be made only by having a desire. But the right line has no desire for anything. All the desires are concentrated in the left line. However, the desired cannot be received into the egoistic desires.

Thus, it is necessary to unite these two qualities so that the Light of knowledge and pleasure of the left line can enter the Light of altruistic qualities of the right line, and the Light of the middle line will illuminate the created being. Without the Light of the right line, the Light of the left is not revealed and is perceived only as darkness.

The ascent from our world, in which we do not consciously perceive *AHP* of the Upper One, occurs in the following way:

All of one's thoughts about the Creator and spirituality constitute his contact with *AHP* of the Upper One. How can this Upper *Partzuf* descend to

him? Only by equalizing one's desires (properties) with it. All of man's thoughts and desires (or lack thereof), with regard to the spiritual, constitute his contact with the Upper One. When man feels a lack of desire for spirituality, it means that the Upper *Partzuf* descended and entered him, equalized itself with him; hence, man feels spiritual emptiness.

It is precisely in this state of not being drawn to the spiritual that man should tell himself that it only seems to him this way, whereas in truth, by faith above reason, he desires and acts for the sake of nearing the spiritual. In other words, if, in the state when the Upper One "falls" (spiritual values lose their significance) in his eyes, one can nonetheless aspire to spirituality, he thereby binds, connects himself to *AHP* of the Upper One. This is because *AHP* of the Upper One deliberately degraded its properties and assumed an outward form similar to the properties (desires) of man.

Therefore, as soon as one can establish contact with *AHP* of the Upper One (even if it appears to him absolutely unattractive, precisely because it lowers its properties to man's level), this *AHP* of the Upper One immediately elevates man to its *GE*. Thus, man ascends to a Higher Degree.

"Piercing through the air" means that the air boundary, consisting of *Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, created as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, is pierced by *Malchut's* descent from *Bina* to her place, for then the air rises above the firmament and reaches *GAR* (*GE*) of the degree.

Thus occurs the piercing of the firmaments. For the firmaments constitute the borders of new ends, which appeared because the air (*Bina* and *ZON*) was pushed off from its own degree to a lower one, and was not allowed to return to its degree. Hence, the firmament is pierced from *Malchut's* descent, and no longer prevents *Bina* and *ZON* from ascending and joining that degree.

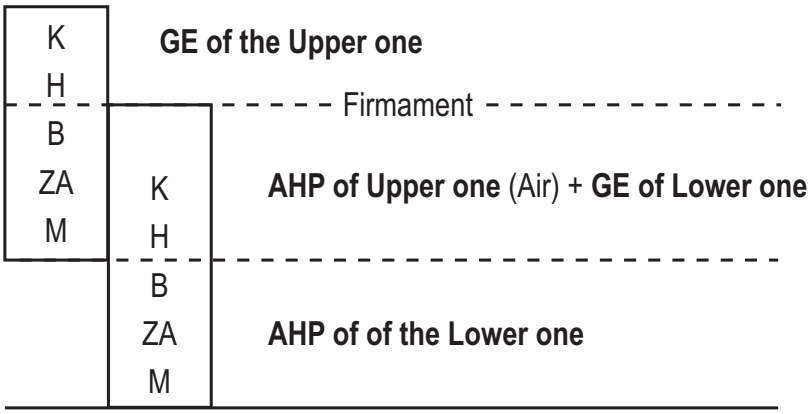

1. *Malchut* ascended to *Bina* = firmament.

2. *Malchut* descends back. This creates a passage for *AHP* to its *GE*. Thus, the entrances for the lower degree are opened: due to *Malchut's* descent to her place and the piercing through the firmaments, *Bina* and *ZON* ascend to a Higher Degree above the firmament together with the lower degree that they were with during their descent.

In other words, the Upper One deliberately opened up the entrances to enable the lower degree to ascend to a Higher Degree, and not for *Bina* and *ZON* (*AHP* of the Upper One), who simply return to their place.

The Light that lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* to her own place at the end of the ten *Sefirot* stems from *Partzufim AB-SAG*. These are the *Partzufim Hochma* and *Bina* of the world of *AK*. Although the second restriction—*Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*—occurred in *Partzuf Bina* of the world of *AK*, the *Partzufim Bina* (*SAG*) and *Hochma* (*AB*) of the world of *AK* were unaffected by it, and *Malchut* remains in her place at the end of the ten *Sefirot*.

Only the Creator Himself, meaning the properties of the Light, can correct and transform man's egoistic properties to altruistic. Indeed, man is simply unable to pull himself out of his current state "by his own hair," as from birth he has absolutely no spiritual strength (desires). Hence, only the Upper Light can correct him. And it can only be *Ohr Hochma*, for this is the Light that the Creator emanates. *Ohr Hochma*, unrestricted by *Tzimtzum Bet*, is located in *Partzuf AB* of the world of *AK*. *Partzuf SAG de AK* is a *Partzuf* of *Bina*.

Therefore, when one raises his *MAN* (prayer), it reaches the Highest *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, which turn to *SAG-Bina-Ima* (mother), who in turn appeals to *AB-Hochma-Aba* (father), receives *Ohr Hochma* from him and passes it to her children—the souls of the righteous, those who wish to become righteous and to ascend spiritually.

Hence, when *Hochma-AB* unites with *Bina-SAG* in the world of *AK*, this Light (*Ohr AB-SAG*) descends from *Partzuf Bina de AK* to *Partzuf Bina de Atzilut*, called *EKYEH* = *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey*. *Partzuf Bina de Atzilut* sends the Light to all the degrees of the worlds of *BYA*. Upon attaining a particular *Partzuf*, this Light lowers the *Malchut* of each degree (that ascended to *Bina*) from the degree of *Bina* to her previous place.

Starting with *AVI*, all the *Partzufim* are in the state of *Katnut*: *AHP* of the Upper *Partzuf* is inside *GE* of the lower one. The received *Ohr Hochma* descends to him who raised *MAN*, thus evoking *Gadlut* in all the *Partzufim*, through which

the Light descends to him. The Light descends to each *Partzuf* along his personal path, which is precisely what connects everyone, each soul, to the Creator.

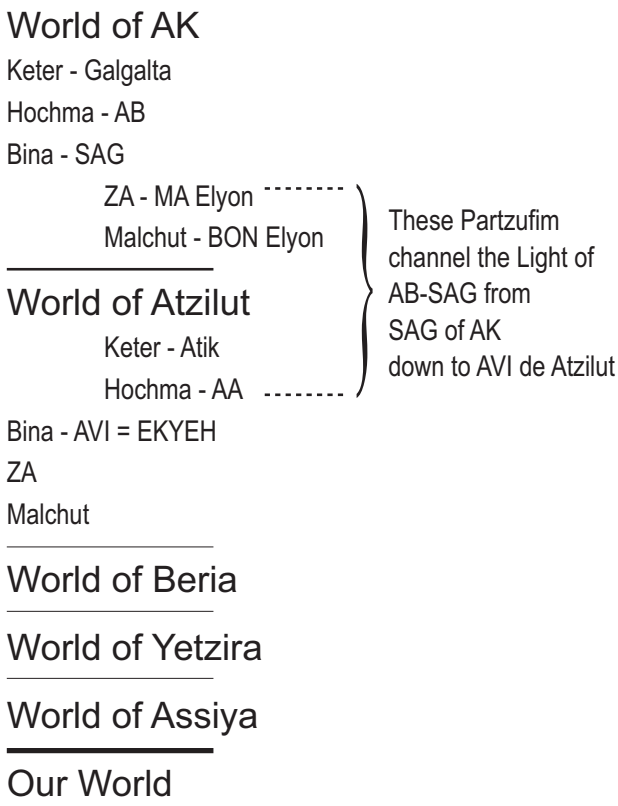

This is why the name *EKYEH* is referred to as the ruler of air that moves the boundary of air because of *Malchut's* descent from *Bina* to her previous place. Each degree and each world consists of four *Sefirot H-B-ZA-M*, each of which Consists of its own individual ten *Sefirot*, where, as a result of *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* in each degree, *Bina-ZA-Malchut* of each degree fell to a lower degree.

Thus, there are four kinds of airspace in each world that are governed by the three names of *EKYEH*: *EKYEH* in the air of *Hesed*, *EKYEH* in the air of *Gevura*, and *EKYEH* in the air of *Tifferet*. *Malchut* receives from them, and all three names govern in her air together.

The triple name, *EKYEH*, comprises twelve letters. This twelve-letter name rules in the air by lowering *Malchut* from *Bina* to her previous place, returning *Bina* and *ZON* (called "air"), who fell to a lower degree, back to the degree above the firmament. For *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina* created an entrance, to enable the

lower one rise to the Upper Degree as soon as it opens, i.e., during *Malchut's* return to her place.

Hence, when the prophet Eliyahu (a particular spiritual degree) wished to soar to the sky, *Malchut* of each degree ascended to *Bina* of the corresponding degree, while *Bina* and *ZON* of this degree fell to the lower degree, and a firmament was formed between them. It turned out that each degree doubled: now it contained its own degree, as well as *Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, who fell and clothed the lower degree.

This occurred at each degree of the worlds of *ABYA*, down to the lowest one: *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Malchut* of the world of *Assiya* fell and emerged in our world below *Malchut*. *Malchut de Assiya* ends at its firmament, which is a new end, in *Bina*. Also, this degree doubled, as *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Yesod* of the world of *Assiya* fell and clothed in its degree.

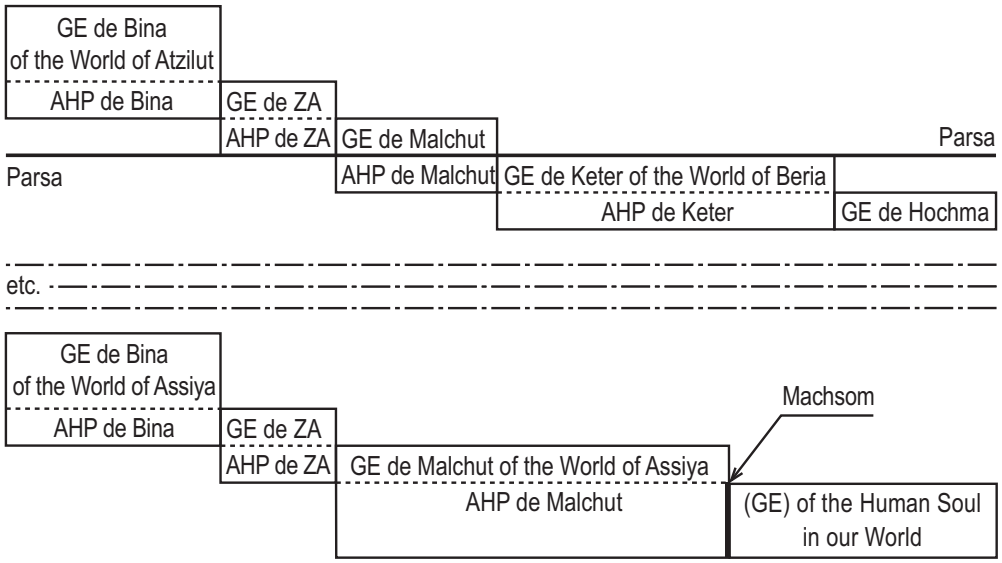

In the diagram, *GE* of man in our world are put in brackets, for he who exists (spiritually, not with his body) at the degree of our world has no desires of bestowal. Hence, it is said that he who exists with his properties in this world, in egoism, has only a point in his heart, from which he can start his spiritual development.

Similarly, the *Sefira Yesod* of the world of *Assiya* also ends with its firmament and contains *Bina* and *ZON* of the *Sefira Hod de Assiya*. The *Sefira Netzah de Assiya* also doubled, and so on up to *Bina de Atzilut*. This is why the prophet Eliyahu rose up and united with *Bina* and *ZON*, who fell from *Malchut de Assiya*

to this world. He equalized with them and clothed in them, whereupon they became like him—reached his degree.

Not all ten *Sefirot* of the world of *Assiya* are shown in the above diagram, but as it was previously mentioned, each degree is divided into its own *GE* and *AHP*. Man's task is to find *AHP* of the Upper One within him, and connect to it, merge with it in all of his sensations and desires.

Subsequently, the twelve-letter name exerted its influence (thanks to the Light *AB-SAG*), causing *Malchut de Assiya* to descend from *Bina* of *Malchut de Assiya* to its place, *Malchut de Malchut*, the end of the ten *Sefirot*. And as before, *Bina* and *ZON* ascended to their degree above the firmament of *Malchut*. And since Eliyahu's properties were already merged with this air (with the ascending *Bina* and *ZON*), he rose together with them above the firmament of *Malchut*, as he was similar to them.

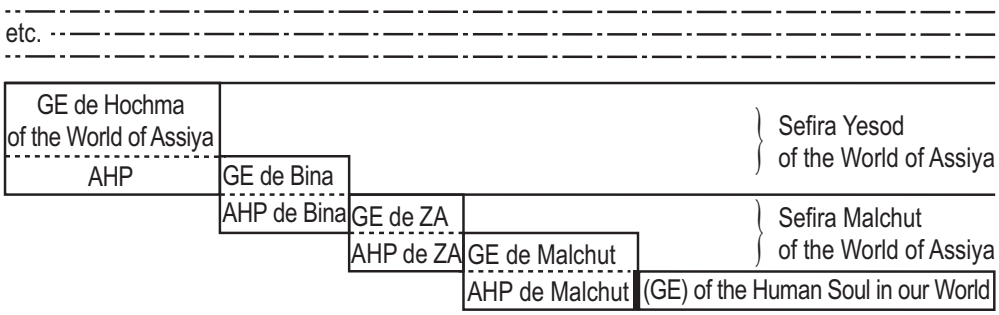

And since he rose above the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*, he entered the air (*AHP*) of *Yesod de Assiya*, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Yesod* that fell down there. Then he merged in his desires with this air and is considered to have clothed in it, for they were previously at the same degree. Then the influence of the twelve-letter name lowered *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Yesod de Assiya* to her place at the end of the ten individual *Sefirot* of *Yesod de Assiya*.

After that, *Bina* and *ZON* (the air of *Yesod*) ascended above the firmament of *Yesod*. And since Eliyahu had already merged with this air, he (man's soul, his desire) too ascended above the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*, due to his concord with them.

And because he rose above the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*, he met with the air (*AHP*) of *Hod de Assiya*, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Hod de Assiya* that fell down there. Subsequently, he merged in his desires with this air and clothed it, for they were previously at the same place (spiritually similar to one another).

As soon as man merges in his properties with *AHP* of the Upper One, the influence of the twelve-letter name (the descent of the Light of *AB-SAG* from Above) brings *Malchut* back (gives strength to the screen) to the end of the ten individual *Sefirot* of *Hod de Assiya*. And the air, its *Bina* and *ZON*, returned to their place above the firmament of *Hod de Assiya*. They took Eliyahu (man's soul, his desires) with them, for he had merged with them, and they elevated him to the firmament of *Hod de Assiya* in view of his similarity with them.

And when he was already in the firmament of *Hod de Assiya*, he met with the air (*AHP*) of *Netzah de Assiya* and merged with it in his properties. When the influence of the twelve-letter name (the Light of correction, *AB-SAG*, that was sent by the Creator) brought *Malchut* back to her place (*Malchut* descended from *Bina* to *Malchut* of this *Sefira*, because she received strength from the Light to resist the egoistic desires of *AHP* and make them altruistic), the air of *Netzah* ascended above the firmament, and being merged with Eliyahu (man's soul), took him with it. Being already in the firmament of *Netzah*, he met with the air of *Tifferet* and so on, until he ascended with this air above the firmament of *Tifferet de Assiya*.

In the same way, the air (*AHP*) of each degree rose higher, up to the Highest Degree of the world of *Assiya*. From there, it rose to *Malchut de Yetzira*, and from there—one step at a time—along all the degrees of the world of *Yetzira* and the world of *Beria*, up to the Heavens (*ZA*) of the world of *Atzilut*.

It is therefore said about the prophet Eliyahu that the Creator's spirit (the Light *AB-SAG*) elevated him (merged with *AHP* of the Upper One) to the Heavens: spirit means *Ruach*, *Sefirot Bina* and *ZON* of the Upper Degree, called "air," that fell down to the lower degree. And this air (spirit) elevates one from a lower degree to a Higher One through all the individual degrees, from the lowest degree (*Sof de Assiya*) up to the world of *Atzilut*.

An Upper Degree is regarded as the Creator of the lower degree: it creates it, vitalizes it with Light, and governs it. At each degree, man considers the next Highest spiritual degree with regard to him as the Creator. As Rabbi Zushe said: "Every day I have a new Creator." In other words, as man ascends to a Higher Degree (which he calls "day" or "Light"), he thereby reveals a new property of the Creator in this Higher Degree.

The air of each of the four sides of the world (in *Sefirot Hesed-Gevura-Tifferet-Malchut*) has its own rulers, who hold the keys to the activation of the twelve-letter name so as to lower *Malchut* from *Bina* to her own place. The ascending order of these four kinds of air is as follows: West-*Malchut*, East-*Tifferet* (including *NHY*), North-*Gevura*, and South-*Hesed*.

Hesed	–	SOUTH
Gevura	–	NORTH
ZA	–	EAST
Malchut	–	WEST

It is not the rulers that raise a prayer (the desire that man feels in the very depths of his heart) from air to air, and then from firmament to firmament. The air raises a prayer from the firmament, each air to its firmament: first, the prayer ascends to the air of the *Sefira Malchut de Assiya*, i.e., to *Bina* and *ZON* (*AHP*) that fell from *Malchut de Assiya* down to our world. They resemble the prayer itself, for this air (*AHP*) is similar to a prayer (the Upper One lowered itself deliberately to equalize its properties with the lower one); hence, they merge as one degree.

Then the one that rules there, Zvuliel (Zebuliel), activates the twelve-letter name, which lowers *Malchut* from *Bina de Assiya* to her place. This causes the air to return to its degree and rise above the firmament of the world of *Assiya*. And since the air became similar to the degree of the actual prayer, it also takes the prayer along with it, raising it above the firmament of the *Sefira Malchut de Assiya*. This is similar to the ascent of Prophet Eliyahu.

And since the prayer ascended to the firmament of the world of *Assiya*, it meets the air of *Yesod de Assiya* that fell there, as in the case of Eliyahu. It also encounters the ruler of the air of the East, Gazaria (Gazardiel), because East designates the *Sefira Tifferet* (ZA is often called *Tifferet*, as the properties of this *Sefira* dominate and determine all the properties of ZA), which includes the *Sefira Yesod*, for *Tifferet* includes *Sefirot NHY*.

This ruler activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina de Yesod* to her place, which causes the air of *Yesod* to ascend to its degree, the firmament of *Yesod*. By merging with the prayer into one degree via equivalence of form, he takes it with him and raises it above the firmament of *Yesod*. Then, a similar action occurs in the air and firmament of *Sefirot Netzah*, *Hod*, and *Tifferet*.

Since the prayer ascended to the firmament of *Tifferet*, it encounters the Northern air, i.e., *Bina* and *ZON* of *Gevura de Assiya* that fell there. There it unites with this air into one degree. Then the ruler of the North, Petachia (Petahyah), activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* to her place. Consequently, the air returns, ascends to the firmament of *Gevura* and takes with it the prayer, which merged with it into one degree during its fall.

Since the prayer has already reached the firmament of *Gevura*, it meets with the Southern air, *Bina* and *ZON* of *Hesed de Assiya* that fell there, and merges with this air. Then the ruler of the Southern air, named Pisgania (Pesagniyah), *Hesed de Assiya*, activates the twelve-letter name and lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Hesed de Assiya* to her place. The Southern air returns and ascends to its degree in the sixth firmament, *Hesed de Assiya*, called "south."

Since the prayer has reached the sixth firmament, it encounters the air that fell from the seventh firmament, which is *Bina* that includes *GAR*, and the prayer merges with this air into one degree. When the twelve-letter name lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* (the seventh firmament) to her place, the air returns to its degree (the seventh firmament) and takes the prayer with it, as they merge during its fall.

Since the prayer has reached the seventh firmament, it encounters the air that fell from *Malchut de Yetzira*, and merges with it. Next, the general ruler, Sandalphon, who governs the entire world of *Assiya*, takes it and activates the twelve-letter name, which lowers *Malchut* from *Malchut de Yetzira* to her place. And the air ascends and returns to its degree, the firmament of *Malchut de Yetzira*, takes the prayer with it, and elevates it to the firmament of *Malchut de Yetzira*.

In exactly the same way, the prayer ascends through all seven *Heichalot* (halls) of the worlds *Yetzira* and *Beria* up to the world of *Atzilut*. This clarifies the question posed in the beginning: how can a prayer ascend from the very lowest degree of the world of *Assiya* to the world of *Atzilut*, for no degree can ascend above itself? From the aforesaid, it follows that since the prayer merges with the first air that fell from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world, it is exactly this air that elevated them to the firmament of *Malchut*, whereas the air of *Yesod de Assiya* was elevated to the firmament of *Yesod*, and so forth. In other words, the air with which the prayer merges and ascends elevates it to *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut*.

He who falls from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world descends from the spiritual degree called *Malchut de Assiya* to the spiritual degree called our world. Of course, this in no way refers to the physical existence in our world. *AHP* of the Upper Degree are considered fallen when one feels in his heart (in the center of all of his desires) the desire to attain the spiritual, merge with it, and annul his egoistic properties because they harm and impede his advancement.

One should not think that the fall of *Bina* and *ZON* to our world from the world of *Assiya* can be experienced by anyone. And only he who felt this way and was then able to make a sufficient amount of quantitative and qualitative efforts, merits being elevated above our world by *AHP* of the Upper One.

On the Southern side (*Hesed*), there is he who governs the air of that side, and his assistants. His name is Pisgania, and he holds the keys to the air of this side. All those who suffer pray to their Creator from the depths of their broken hearts (the very sensation of suffering constitutes a prayer, and requires no words). If their speech (desires) is worthy, it ascends to the air of this side, and the ruler accepts and kisses it ("embrace," "kiss," and *Zivug* are forms of spiritual union of *Partzufim*), and then declares: "The Creator will be merciful and will spare you in His mercy."

All of the holy rulers (*Ohr Hochma* is called holy) and their assistants of that side rise together with him. The letters of the Creator's holy name, of the twelve-letter name *EKYEH* soar: four letters *Aleph-Hey-Yod-Hey* on each side, which rule the corresponding sides of air. They ascend on this side of the air to the Southern firmament, *Hesed* (the sixth firmament), to the ruler of the firmament of the Southern side, named Anafiel.

On the Northern side (*Gevura*) there is Petachia, who governs the air with his assistants. If he who prays for his enemies and haters, i.e., for those who make him suffer is righteous, then as the speech of his prayer rises to the air of that side, the ruler accepts his heart's speech and kisses it (unites it with his properties so as to raise it higher).

The air that comes from the North stirs and calls upon all the firmaments, and they all take this speech, raise it to the Northern, fifth firmament, kiss it and say: "The Lord will cast your enemies down and take them away from your face." This occurs in the following order: after the governor of the air had accepted the prayer and kissed it, which means that it merged with the degree of the air and the ruler, the air stirs on the Northern side (the new end that *Malchut* made as she ascended to *Bina*, called *Techum*—space, from the word *Tohu*—chaos), and the twelve-letter name lowers *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Gevura de Assiya* back to her place.

The air that fell into the restrictions (*Dinim*) of this space is aroused by the desire to rise to the firmament of *Gevura*. Also, all the degrees that merged with it during its fall rise along with it to the firmament of *Gevura* due to their similarity to it. Similarly, the prayer that was merged with it during its fall ascends along with it to the fifth firmament.

The order of the ascent (offering up of a prayer) starts from here: it ascends and pierces through the air (*AHP*), which fell from *Malchut de Assiya* to our world, and ascends with it to the first firmament, the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*. The prayer ascends and approaches the ruler (in its properties), who was

appointed to control the Western side, *Malchut*. There are nine entrances where the assistants to the ruler, Zvuliel stand.

The ten *Sefirot* of *Malchut* herself have nine (not ten) entrances, for a restriction to receive the Light is imposed on *Malchut* of the *Sefira Malchut*, and it is connected to *Yesod de Malchut*. Hence, *Yesod* and *Malchut* of *Malchut* share the same entrance.

However, a question arises: "Why do all the parts of the air have one ruler for the air and a separate ruler for the firmament? For example, on the Eastern side Gazaria controls the Eastern air and Shimshiel controls the Eastern firmament (*Tifferet*, the fourth firmament). Similarly, Pisgania controls the Southern air on the Southern side, and Anafiel controls the Southern firmament. And on the Northern side, the ruler Petachia governs the Northern air, and Gadriel is in charge of the Northern firmament. So why does only *Malchut* have one general ruler, called Zvuliel, who governs both the air and the firmament?"

The reason is that due to *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, *Bina* and *ZON* of each degree fall to a lower degree, the degree of air. However, only the lower part of *Bina* (*ZAT* or *VAK de Bina*) falls, whereas *Keter*, *Hochma*, and the Upper half of *Bina* (*GAR de Bina*) remain at the same degree. Only the lower half of *Bina*, *ZAT de Bina* (*ZA* and *Malchut*) fell from this degree and became air.

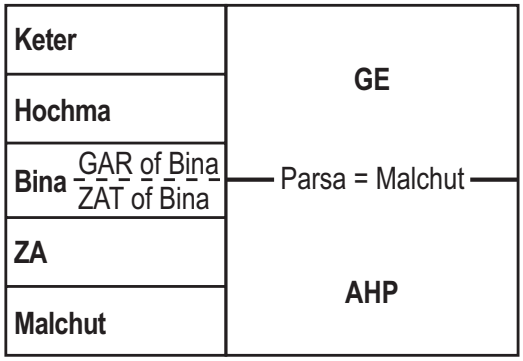

Therefore, two separate rulers were needed: one for the Upper Degree remaining above the firmament, and the other—for the lower half of the degree that fell and turned into air. The degree (ten *Sefirot*) of *Malchut*, from whom all nine lower *Sefirot* fell to the lower degree during *Malchut's* ascent to *Bina*, retained only one *Sefira Keter de Malchut*, which remained as a point below *Yesod de ZA*.

Nevertheless, even this point refers more to the *Sefira Yesod*, which is superior to *Malchut*, because its properties are more similar to *Yesod*. And since all of

Malchut refers to the properties of air (except for her individual *Keter*), she has only one ruler.

The ruler wishes to act in the firmament in the daylight, but does not receive permission until the moon rises, i.e., until nightfall, when all the rulers and forces emerge. And when the day breaks (the Upper Light starts shining), they all ascend (the spiritual properties become corrected and improve under the Light's influence) to the Highest of the nine entrances, the point of *Keter de Malchut*, which remained at its degree above the firmament (*Parsa*).

And when the prayer ascends, it enters through this Upper entrance, and all the rulers with their assistants emerge from it, led by their Supreme ruler, Zvuliel, the only ruler of the air of this Upper entrance, who is above the firmament of *Malchut de Assiya*. They all emerge, kiss the prayer, and accompany it up the second firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*.

Malchut constitutes the left line—*Hochma* without *Hassadim*. Therefore, when she dominates, the Light does not shine and darkness prevails. *Hochma* cannot shine without *Hassadim*, which means that when *Malchut* rules, it is nighttime (not daylight). Indeed, all nine of her lower *Sefirot*, from which all the rulers (of man) and forces (man's desires) of the left side originate, rule at night.

This is why it is said that *Malchut* descends from *Bina* to her place, although her nine lower *Sefirot* remained untouched by the impure force, for *Malchut* descended from the firmament, which transformed her into air. Even so, they (nine *Sefirot*) have no power in her place, and must rise above the firmament to the Upper entrance, *Keter de Malchut*. There they enter the right side (*Hassadim*), and the prayer ascends with them because of their similarity (in desires, properties), achieved while they were below the firmament (in the state called "our world").

And since the prayer (*MAN*) rose above the firmament of *Malchut* (to *GE* of the Upper One), it encounters the air (*AHP* of the still Higher One) that fell there from the second firmament. After the descent of *Malchut* from *Bina* of *Yesod de Assiya* to her place, this air ascends to the firmament of *Yesod*, and takes with it all the rulers, their assistants, and the prayer, which were merged with it during its fall, and elevates all of them to the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*.

And when the prayer ascends to this firmament (*Yesod*), the twelve gates of this firmament open up. A special ruler, Ana'el (Anahel), who is in charge of many forces, stands at the twelfth entrance, and when the prayer ascends, proclaims to all the entrances: "Open the gates." And all the entrances open up, and the prayer enters through them.

This happens because *Tifferet* has twelve borders of the diagonal, defined by the *Sefirot H-G-T-M*, each of which contains three lines of *HGT*, twelve in all. And all that exists in *Tifferet* is also present in *Yesod*, but there these twelve borders are called "twelve gates," through which the prayer enters.

And then awakens a very old ruler, who stands at the Southern side. His name is Azriel-Saba, sometimes referred to as Machaniel, for he is responsible for 600,000 groups (camps—*Machanot*). All the groups have wings and eyes; they stand and listen to all those who are quietly praying, to the prayers that come from the depths of the heart and are directed only to the Creator. Only such prayers are heard by those who have ears.

There is a special opening in the *Sefira Yesod de Hesed* (Supernal mercy) that descends from the right line of *Bina*. Hence, the ruler of this mercy is called Azriel-Saba. He is called *Saba* (grandfather), because *Hochma* and *Bina* are called "old men." And he is appointed to rule over 600,000 groups (camps), because 600 = 6 x 100, where 6 = *HGT NHY Sefirot* in *Bina*. And since each *Sefira* in *Bina* is designated by 100, 6 x 100 = 600. And the thousands stem from *Ohr Hochma*, which shines in each of these *Sefirot*. Hence, 600 x 1,000 = 600,000 groups.

GAR de Tvuna, the lower part (*ZAT*) of *Bina*, are called "ears." Only *Ohr Hassadim* shines in them, without *Hochma*. *VAK de Tvuna* are called "eyes," and *Ohr Hochma* shines in them.

Malchut and *Bina* constitute two kinds of air, West and North, which unite and intermix, and form a diagonal, a combination of judgment and mercy that mitigates strictness and judgment. Hence, they hear good words from one who merits it, i.e., they accept one's prayer to the extent of the mercy in the diagonal. Alternatively, they hear bad things about one who does not merit, accepting one's prayer to the extent of the judgment in the diagonal.

If man's ears hear the prayer (which means that he speaks not from the depths of his heart, but with his mouth, so outwardly that his ears hear it, but not his heart), no one will accept it Above. Therefore, man must be watchful: no one should hear his prayer, for the speech of the prayer unites in the Upper World, in *ZA*, and the speech of the Upper World must not be heard.

Consider how the Torah is read: one reads and the others keep silent. However, if they all read it out loud, they lessen the faith Above, for the voice and speech of one mingle with the voice and speech of the others, and undermine faith, i.e., *Malchut*. The voice and speech (*ZA* is called "voice" and *Malchut* is called "speech") of one must be similar to the voice and speech of the other.

Two reasons are mentioned above as to why a prayer must be speech without voice, unheard by man's ear. The first is that *Malchut*, who begets people, consists of two points: the Light cannot be received from *Malchut* with a measure of judgment, whereas the Light can be received from *Malchut* that is corrected in *Bina* with a measure of mercy.

Similarly, man consists of a combination of these two points. If he merits, the measure of judgment becomes concealed, the measure of mercy is revealed, and he merits receiving the Upper Light. However, if he does not merit, the measure of judgment becomes revealed and the Light disappears from him.

Therefore, the Upper ear has an inclined form so as to be able to receive the prayer of man-righteous one, him who merits the concealment of the measure of judgment, so that the listening ear would not arouse judgment, concealed in the speech of the prayer. Hence, if an outsider hears the prayer before it ascends, he evokes the judgment concealed in the speech of the prayer, and it cannot be heard Above.

There is another reason for this: the speech of the prayer constitutes parts of *Malchut*. And he who prays must be a part of *Malchut*. Hence, the prayer must ascend and be included in the Supernal *Malchut*, called "speech." Then *Malchut* unites with ZA (voice) and the prayer is accepted, i.e., the Light is accepted from ZA.

Therefore, one must not raise his voice during prayer so as to allow the Supernal voice, the Light of ZA, to descend to the praying person. The speech ascends to *Malchut*, merges with ZA with the help of *Malchut*, and receives a completely corrected voice from ZA. As a result, the prayer can receive the Light. It is therefore said that the words of a prayer pronounced by man's voice must not be heard.

He who reads the Torah must also be a part of ZA, called "Torah." And the voice of one who reads Torah must be instead of the voice of ZA. Hence, it is forbidden to hear someone else's voice, for it will be the voice of one who exists under judgment, and not under mercy.

Thus, the voice of an outsider harms the voice of one who reads the Torah, and *Malchut* is unable to receive the Light from ZA. Yet, if this is the voice and speech of one man, then the voice, called ZA, and speech, called *Malchut*, merge into one combination. But if voice and speech of an outsider join the reader's, it will harm him.

With regard to everything mentioned above, one can say that only he who approaches the described state can understand what *The Zohar* narrates.

Spiritual actions are understood in one's heart, his desires, his properties. If they do not correspond to those that are described above, no explanation of any kind will help. An "outsider" designates man's "foreign" (distant from spiritual aspirations) thoughts and desires.

When a quiet, concealed, and secret prayer ascends, the governor Azriel-Saba himself and all of his assistants, who are in charge of the 600,000 groups (camps), and all those who have eyes and ears emerge and kiss the ascending word of the prayer.

This is said in the verse: "The Creator's eyes and ears are upon them." The Creator's eyes rest upon the righteous. The Creator's eyes refer to those below who have eyes, meaning the angels that exist in the firmament of *Yesod de Assiya*. They exist Above, at the degree of GAR, for eyes signify the property of *Hochma*. However, these eyes are the eyes of the *Sefira Yesod*, as it is written: "The Creator's eyes rest upon the righteous," as *Yesod* is called the "righteous one."

The third firmament is the *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod de Assiya*. The prayer ascends to this firmament. The ruler Gadria, who controls this firmament with his assistants, acts three times a day during the ascent of the three lines to the world of *Atzilut*, when the luminous scepter of Light ascends and descends, but does not stay in one place, for *Ohr Hochma* of the left line (called the "scepter of Light") wants to shine.

The word "scepter" (Hebrew, *Sharvit*) signifies eyesight, and *Ohr Hochma* is called the Light of eyesight. The scepter moves three times and conceals itself, because *Hochma* reveals itself only when the three lines move in the three points: *Holam* (the dot above the letters), *Shuruk* (the dot inside the letters), and *Hirik* (the dot below the letters).

When the prayer, which is the middle line, ascends and carries the screen of *Hirik*, the scepter (the Light of the left line) descends and bows its head before the prayer, designating the concealment of GAR, called "head." This is because the middle line reduces the left line with the help of the screen of *Hirik*. This third firmament of *Sefirot Netzah* and *Hod de Assiya* is called the "firmament of the scepter," for the scepter of Light acts within it.

When the prayer ascends, the ruler bows his head before it (diminishes his level) and then strikes the iridescent rock with his scepter. The rock stands at the center (the middle line) of the firmament, and 365 hosts emerge from the rock, which were concealed within it since the Torah descended to the earth. Because they objected to this descent, the Creator reproached them, and they concealed themselves in the rock.

Here, by analogy with the aforesaid and in accordance with the definitions of such notions as a "scepter," a "rock," "hosts," "Light," "concealment," "to bow," the reader is offered an opportunity to translate from the language of legends into the language of spiritual actions. And when the reader attains what is written, he will feel it within him!

And they do not emerge from there, except for when the prayer ascends. Then they praise the Creator, saying: "Our Creator, how great is Your name upon the earth!" This prayer is called "Great," because it ascends to all these firmaments, and they bow before it.

This occurs because the angels that opposed the descent of the Torah (see the article "Heaven and Earth"), i.e., the middle line, to the earth (*Malchut* and the worlds of *BYA*), emerge from the left line. And they wanted the left line to dominate in *Malchut* and in the worlds of *BYA*, but not the middle one, called the "Torah," which reduces the *GAR* of the Light of the left line.

Malchut, called "earth," includes all the worlds of *BYA*. However, the Creator (middle line) reproached and compelled her to receive the Light of the middle line and conceal herself in the rock, in the forces of judgment, which exist in the middle line that stands at the center of the firmament.

However, the prayer can ascend only by activating the left line, namely *Bina* and *ZON* that fell to the lower degree, then ascended once more above the firmament, and became the left line. They take the prayer that existed with them during their descent to the lower degree.

This is why the ruler receives the scepter, the Light of the left line, for during the ascent of the prayer, the left line shines in his domain. The 365 hosts then awaken and receive the Light of the left line from the scepter. Hence, they exclaim: "The Creator, Our Lord, how great is Your name upon the earth!" for the prayer ascends to this firmament, called "Great," and includes the screen of *Hirik* of the left line, from the *GAR*. Thus, they bow their heads, i.e., do not use the *GAR* of *Ohr Hochma*, but only *VAK*.

Afterward, the prayer clothes in the Supernal adornments and rises to the fourth firmament, *Tifferet*. Then the sun (*Tifferet*) emerges at its level, the Supreme ruler Shimshiel, and the 365 hosts ascend to this firmament along with him. They are called "the days of the sun," for these levels stem from the sun, *Tifferet*. And they all clothe and adorn *Malchut* in the Heavens of the Garden of Eden.

The prayer pauses there to merge with the air of *Gevura* of those degrees, because it was not supposed to pause at the previous firmament, *NHY*, as they are included in *Tifferet*. And the prayer remains there until all the hosts have

risen with it to the fifth firmament (*Gevura*), where Gadriel rules; he is in charge of all the hosts of the other nations, for *Gevura* constitutes the left line, which the other nations hold on to.

And when the prayer ascends, carrying within the screen of the middle line (which reduces the left line from *GAR* to *VAK*), it shakes him and all of his hosts, and they lose all their strength, emerge and bow their heads, i.e., *GAR*, and adorn this prayer.

They ascend with it to the sixth firmament, *Hesed*, and the legions and hosts come forth and accept the prayer until they reach the seventy gates, *HGT NHYM*, each of which consists of ten, as *Hesed* includes all seven lower *Sefirot*. The Supreme ruler, Anafiel, stands there and adorns the prayer with seventy adornments.

And since the prayer was adorned, all the legions and hosts of all the firmaments that accompanied the prayer from firmament to firmament unite and raise the prayer to the seventh firmament, *Bina*, which includes *GAR*.

The prayer enters the seventh firmament, and the Supreme ruler Sandalphon, who is in charge of all the guards at the entrances, ushers the prayer into the seven halls of the world of *Yetzira*. These are the seven halls of the King, the seven halls of *Malchut de Atzilut*, where *ZA* rules.

When the prayer, adorned with all of these adornments, ascends there, it unites *ZA* with *Malchut*, for everything grows with similarity to everything else. And the Creator's name, i.e., *Malchut* is adorned from Above and from below, and on all sides, as *Malchut* merges with *ZA* into one. And then *Yesod* (the righteous one) fills *Malchut* with its blessings.

Happy is the lot of him who can put his prayer in proper order, so the Creator will clothe in this prayer. He waits until all the prayers of Israel finish ascending and unite into a complete and perfect prayer, whereupon everything will become perfect both Above and below.

Besides the prayer, there are the *Mitzvot* of the Torah that depend on speech and action. There are six *Mitzvot* that depend on speech:

1. To fear the Great and Mighty Creator;
2. To love the Creator;
3. To bless the Creator;
4. To proclaim the Creator's unity;
5. To bless the nation, which is incumbent on *Cohanim* (priests);
6. To entrust one's soul with the Creator.

Out of the six above-mentioned *Mitzvot*, the first finds its place in the blessings that King David sang during his offerings in the Torah, where man must fear his Master, for these songs stand in a place called "fear" or *Malchut*. And all of these written blessings constitute the essence of fear of the Creator, *Malchut*. And man must sing these songs with his desires in fear.

Man must achieve a level of spiritual development where his desires will coincide with what is said in the texts of these blessings. It is impossible to force someone to wish something; all our feelings are the product, the result of our spiritual level. The Light of that degree influences one's egoism and corrects it with the power of that degree. Therefore, man can only ask for correction, but it will come from Above, from the Light, from the Creator.

Here we have a list of degrees that man must gradually go through in his correction. These degrees are usually called *Mitzvot*, and in all there are 620 of them between us and the Creator: 613 *Mitzvot* of the Torah for Israel (altruism) and seven *Mitzvot* of the Torah for all the nations (egoism). Here they are expounded in a different way: since the most important is to ask for correction (and if the request is genuine, the answer in the form of Light immediately descends to it), all of man's work on himself, all of his efforts in the study, work and actions are aimed only at the creation of a true request, *MAN*. Hence, the stages of man's spiritual development are described as his path in prayer; as if he stands and prays, although this process continues within him throughout his life on earth.

The second *Mitzva*: to love the Creator (as it was repeatedly stated, this feeling is the result of correction; see "Introduction to the Study of Ten Sefirot," item 45—the four degrees of sensation of governance, from darkness to love), when in his prayer one reaches *Ahavat Olam* (great love) and *Le El* (for the Creator). These two blessings precede the appeal, *Shema Israel* (Hear, O Israel) and *Ve Ahavta Et* (and love the Creator), the blessing of the Creator for one's love for Him that follows the appeal *Shema Israel*. And this is the secret of love for the Creator.

The third *Mitzva*: since man reaches a place in the prayer that is called *Lehishtabe'ach* (blessed is the Creator), he must attain praises and blessings of the Creator in his desire, as in parts of the prayer *Yotzer Ohr* (He who creates Light) and *Yotzer HaMeohrot* (maker of the stars).

The fourth *Mitzva* is to proclaim the Creator's unity, i.e., *Shema Israel* (Hear, O Israel, our Creator is one!). From this point (degree) on, one must express the secret of the Creator's unity (in all His manifestations to man) in his heart's

desire (one's heart must be filled only with the sensation of the One, Upper Force). Afterward, the *Mitzva* to remember and remind others of the exodus from Egypt (egoism) is observed, as it is written: "Remember how you were a slave in Egypt."

The fifth *Mitzva* is for a *Cohen* to bless the people (the Light's descent to the *Partzuf*), so that Israel will be included when the prayer (the *Cohanim*'s blessing) ascends, for at this time (state), *Knesset Israel* (all those who correct themselves by aspiring to the Creator and constitute a part of *Malchut de Atzilut*), i.e., *Malchut*, receives a blessing (Light).

The sixth *Mitzva* and the desired time (state, spiritual level when man wishes only to give all of his desires, i.e., his soul, to the Creator, meaning that he can act for the Creator's sake in all of his desires) is to entrust one's soul with the Creator with complete desire in one's heart. When one falls (willingly accepts the small state) on his face (*Hochma*) and proclaims (raises *MAN*): "I entrust my soul with You, O Creator." The intentions and desires of his heart are to give his soul completely to the Creator (this desire is the consequence of this spiritual degree and comes naturally to those who attain it).

These six *Mitzvot* of the prayer correspond to the 600 *Mitzvot* of the Torah. And the remaining thirteen *Mitzvot* are required in order to attract the thirteen properties of mercy (thirteen *Midot HaRachamim*), which include all the rest. The prayer is adorned with 600 *Mitzvot*, which corresponds to *HGT NHY*, to what the prayer, *Malchut*, receives from *ZA*.

Happy is he who heeded and focused his desire on this (who was able to raise a proper request for his correction), who completed all that was required each day (in the Creator's daylight), and directed his heart's intentions and desires to fulfill this *Mitzva*, which depends on the word.

The End

Appendix One
Further Reading

To help you determine which book you would like to read next, we have divided the books into five categories—Beginners, Intermediate, Advanced, All Around, and Textbooks. The first three categories are divided by the level of prior knowledge readers are required to have. The Beginners Category requires no prior knowledge. The Intermediate Category requires reading one or two beginners' books first; and the Advanced level requires one or two books of each of the previous categories. The fourth category, All Around, includes books you can always enjoy, whether you are a complete novice or well versed in Kabbalah.

The fifth category—textbooks—includes translations of authentic source materials from earlier Kabbalists, such as the Ari, Rav Yehuda Ashlag (Baal HaSulam) and his son and successor, Rav Baruch Ashlag (the Rabash).

Additional translated material that has not yet been published can be found at *www.kabbalah.info*. All materials on this site, including e-versions of published books, can be downloaded free of charge.

BEGINNERS

Kabbalah for Beginners

Kabbalah for Beginners is a book for all those seeking answers to life's essential questions. We all want to know why we are here, why there is pain, and how we can make life more enjoyable. The four parts of this book provide us with reliable answers to these questions, as well as clear explanations of the gist of Kabbalah and its practical implementations.

Part One discusses the discovery of the wisdom of Kabbalah, and how it was developed, and finally concealed until our time. Part Two introduces the gist of the wisdom of Kabbalah, using ten easy drawings to help us understand the structure of the spiritual worlds, and how they relate to our world. Part Three reveals Kabbalistic concepts that are largely unknown to the public, and Part Four elaborates on practical means you and I can take, to make our lives better and more enjoyable for us and for our children.

Kabbalah Revealed

This is a clearly written, reader-friendly guide to making sense of the surrounding world. Each of its six chapters focuses on a different aspect of the wisdom of Kabbalah, illuminating the teachings and explaining them using various examples from our day-to-day lives.

The first three chapters in *Kabbalah Revealed* explain why the world is in a state of crisis, how our growing desires promote progress as well as alienation, and why the biggest deterrent to achieving positive change is rooted in our own spirits. Chapters Four through Six offer a prescription for positive change. In these chapters, we learn how we can use our spirits to build a personally peaceful life in harmony with all of Creation.

Wondrous Wisdom

This book offers an initial course on Kabbalah. Like all the books presented here, *Wondrous Wisdom* is based solely on authentic teachings passed down from Kabbalist teacher to student over thousands of years. At the heart of the book is a sequence of lessons revealing the nature of Kabbalah's wisdom and explaining how to attain it. For every person questioning "Who am I really?" and "Why am I on this planet?" this book is a must.

Awakening to Kabbalah

A distinctive, personal, and awe-filled introduction to an ancient wisdom tradition. In this book, Rav Laitman offers a deeper understanding of the fundamental teachings of Kabbalah, and how you can use its wisdom to clarify your relationship with others and the world around you.

Using language both scientific and poetic, he probes the most profound questions of spirituality and existence. This provocative, unique guide will inspire and invigorate you to see beyond the world as it is and the limitations of your everyday life, become closer to the Creator, and reach new depths of the soul.

Kabbalah, Science, and the Meaning of Life

Science explains the mechanisms that sustain life; Kabbalah explains why life exists. In *Kabbalah, Science, and the Meaning of Life*, Rav Laitman combines science and spirituality in a captivating dialogue that reveals life's meaning.

For thousands of years Kabbalists have been writing that the world is a single entity divided into separate beings. Today the cutting-edge science of quantum physics states a very similar idea: that at the most fundamental level of matter, we are all literally one.

Science proves that reality is affected by the observer who examines it; and so does Kabbalah. But Kabbalah makes an even bolder statement: even the Creator, the Maker of reality, is within the observer. In other words, God is inside of us; He doesn't exist anywhere else. When we pass away, so does He.

These earthshaking concepts and more are eloquently introduced so that even readers new to Kabbalah or science will easily understand them. Therefore, if you're just a little curious about why you are here, what life means, and what you can do to enjoy it more, this book is for you.

From Chaos to Harmony

Many researchers and scientists agree that the ego is the reason behind the perilous state our world is in today. Laitman's groundbreaking book not only demonstrates that ego has been the basis for all suffering throughout human history, but also shows how we can turn our plight to pleasure.

The book contains a clear analysis of the human soul and its problems, and provides a "roadmap" of what we need to do to once again be happy. *From Chaos to Harmony* explains how we can rise to a new level of existence on personal, social, national, and international levels.

INTERMEDIATE

The Kabbalah Experience

The depth of the wisdom revealed in the questions and answers within this book will inspire readers to reflect and contemplate. This is not a book to race through, but rather one that should be read thoughtfully and carefully. With this approach, readers will begin to experience a growing sense of enlightenment while simply absorbing the answers to the questions every Kabbalah student asks along the way.

The Kabbalah Experience is a guide from the past to the future, revealing situations that all students of Kabbalah will experience at some point along their journeys. For those who cherish every moment in life, this book offers unparalleled insights into the timeless wisdom of Kabbalah.

The Path of Kabbalah

This unique book combines beginners' material with more advanced concepts and teachings. If you have read a book or two of Laitman's, you will find this book very easy to relate to.

While touching upon basic concepts such as perception of reality and Freedom of Choice, *The Path of Kabbalah* goes deeper and expands beyond the scope of beginners' books. The structure of the worlds, for example, is explained in greater detail here than in the "pure" beginners' books. Also described is the spiritual root of mundane matters such as the Hebrew calendar and the holidays.

ADVANCED

The Science of Kabbalah

Kabbalist and scientist Rav Michael Laitman, PhD, designed this book to introduce readers to the special language and terms of the authentic wisdom of Kabbalah. Here, Rav Laitman reveals authentic Kabbalah in a manner both rational and mature. Readers are gradually led to understand the logical design of the Universe and the life that exists in it.

The Science of Kabbalah, a revolutionary work unmatched in its clarity, depth, and appeal to the intellect, will enable readers to approach the more technical works of Baal HaSulam (Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag), such as *The Study of the Ten Sefirot* and *The Book of Zohar.* Readers of this book will enjoy the satisfying answers to the riddles of life that only authentic Kabbalah provides. Travel through the pages and prepare for an astonishing journey into the Upper Worlds.

Introduction to the Book of Zohar

This volume, along with *The Science of Kabbalah*, is a required preparation for those who wish to understand the hidden message of *The Book of Zohar*. Among the many helpful topics dealt with in this text is an introduction to the "language of roots and branches," without which the stories in *The Zohar* are mere fable and legend. *Introduction to the Book of Zohar* will provide readers with

the necessary tools to understand authentic Kabbalah as it was originally meant to be, as a means to attain the Upper Worlds.

The Zohar

The Book of Zohar (The Book of Radiance) is an ageless source of wisdom and the basis for all Kabbalistic literature. Since its appearance nearly 2,000 years ago, it has been the primary, and often only, source used by Kabbalists.

For centuries, Kabbalah was hidden from the public, which was deemed not yet ready to receive it. However, our generation has been designated by Kabbalists as the first generation that *is* ready to grasp the concepts in *The Zohar.* Now, we can put these principles into practice in our lives.

Written in a unique and metaphorical language, *The Book of Zohar* enriches our understanding of reality and widens our worldview. Although the text deals with one subject only—how to relate to the Creator—it approaches it from different angles. This allows each of us to find the particular phrase or word that will carry us into the depths of this profound and timeless wisdom.

ALL AROUND

Attaining the Worlds Beyond

From the introduction to *Attaining the Worlds Beyond:* "...Not feeling well on the Jewish New Year in September 1991, my teacher called me to his bedside and handed me his notebook, saying, 'Take it and learn from it.' The following morning, my teacher perished in my arms, leaving me and many of his other disciples without guidance in this world.

"He used to say, 'I want to teach you to turn to the Creator, rather than to me, because He is the only strength, the only Source of all that exists, the only One who can really help you, and He awaits your prayers for help. When you seek help in your search for freedom from the bondage of this world, help in elevating yourself above this world, help in finding the self, and help in determining your purpose in life, you must turn to the Creator, who sends you all those aspirations in order to compel you to turn to Him.'"

Attaining the Worlds Beyond holds within it the content of that notebook, as well as other inspiring texts. This book reaches out to all those seekers who want to find a logical, reliable way to understand the world's phenomena. This fascinating introduction to the wisdom of Kabbalah will enlighten the mind, invigorate the heart, and move readers to the depths of their souls.

Basic Concepts in Kabbalah

This is a book to help readers cultivate an *approach to the concepts* of Kabbalah, to spiritual objects, and to spiritual terms. By reading and re-reading in this book, one develops internal observations, senses, and approaches that did not previously exist within. These newly acquired observations are like sensors that "feel" the space around us that is hidden from our ordinary senses.

Hence, *Basic Concepts in Kabbalah* is intended to foster the contemplation of spiritual terms. Once we are integrated with these terms, we can begin to see, with our inner vision, the unveiling of the spiritual structure that surrounds us, almost as if a mist has been lifted.

Again, this book is not aimed at the study of facts. Instead, it is a book for those who wish to awaken the deepest and subtlest sensations they can possess.

Together Forever

On the surface, *Together Forever* is a children's story. But like all good children's stories, it transcends boundaries of age, culture, and upbringing.

In *Together Forever*, the author tells us that if we are patient and endure the trials we encounter along our life's path, we will become stronger, braver, and wiser. Instead of growing weaker, we will learn to create our own magic and our own wonders as only a magician can.

In this warm, tender tale, Michael Laitman shares with children and parents alike some of the gems and charms of the spiritual world. The wisdom of Kabbalah is filled with spellbinding stories. *Together Forever* is yet another gift from this ageless source of wisdom, whose lessons make our lives richer, easier, and far more fulfilling.

TEXTBOOKS

Shamati

Rav Michael Laitman's words on the book: Among all the texts and notes that were used by my teacher, Rabbi Baruch Shalom Halevi Ashlag (the Rabash), there was one special notebook he always carried. This notebook contained the transcripts of his conversations with his father, Rabbi Yehuda Leib Halevi Ashlag (Baal HaSulam), author of the *Sulam* (Ladder) commentary on *The Book of Zohar, The Study of the Ten Sefirot* (a commentary on the texts of the Kabbalist, Ari), and of many other works on Kabbalah.

Not feeling well on the Jewish New Year in September 1991, the Rabash summoned me to his bedside and handed me a notebook, whose cover contained only one word, *Shamati* (I Heard). As he handed the notebook, he said, "Take it and learn from it." The following morning, my teacher perished in my arms, leaving me and many of his other disciples without guidance in this world.

Committed to Rabash's legacy to disseminate the wisdom of Kabbalah, I published the notebook just as it was written, thus retaining the text's transforming powers. Among all the books of Kabbalah, *Shamati* is a unique and compelling creation.

Appendix Two
About Bnei Baruch

Bnei Baruch is a group of Kabbalists in Israel, sharing the wisdom of Kabbalah with the entire world. Study materials in over 20 languages are based on authentic Kabbalah texts that were passed down from generation to generation.

HISTORY AND ORIGIN

In 1991, following the passing of his teacher, Rabbi Baruch Shalom HaLevi Ashlag (The Rabash), Rav Michael Laitman, Professor of Ontology and the Theory of Knowledge, PhD in Philosophy and Kabbalah, and MSc in Medical Bio-Cybernetics, established a Kabbalah study group called "Bnei Baruch." He called it Bnei Baruch (Sons of Baruch) to commemorate the memory of his mentor, whose side he never left in the final twelve years of his life, from 1979 to 1991. Rav Laitman had been Ashlag's prime student and personal assistant, and is recognized as the successor to Rabash's teaching method.

The Rabash was the firstborn son and successor of Rabbi Yehuda Leib HaLevi Ashlag, the greatest Kabbalist of the 20th century. Rabbi Ashlag authored the most authoritative and comprehensive commentary on *The Book of Zohar*, titled *The Sulam Commentary (The Ladder Commentary)*. He was the first to reveal the complete method for spiritual ascent, and thus was known as Baal HaSulam (Owner of the Ladder).

Today, Bnei Baruch bases its entire study method on the path paved by these two great spiritual leaders.

THE STUDY METHOD

The unique study method developed by Baal HaSulam and his son, the Rabash, is taught and applied on a daily basis by Bnei Baruch. This method

relies on authentic Kabbalah sources such as *The Book of Zohar,* by Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai, *The Tree of Life,* by the Holy Ari, and *The Study of the Ten Sefirot,* by Baal HaSulam.

While the study relies on authentic Kabbalah sources, it is carried out in simple language and uses a scientific, contemporary approach. Developing this approach has made Bnei Baruch an internationally respected organization, both in Israel and in the world at large.

The unique combination of an academic study method and personal experiences broadens the students' perspective and awards them a new perception of the reality they live in. Those on the spiritual path are thus given the necessary tools to research themselves and their surrounding reality.

THE MESSAGE

Bnei Baruch is a diverse movement of many thousands of students worldwide. Students can choose their own paths and the personal intensity of their studies, according to their unique conditions and abilities. The essence of the message disseminated by Bnei Baruch is universal: unity of the people, unity of nations and love of man.

For millennia, Kabbalists have been teaching that love of man should be the foundation of all human relations. This love prevailed in the days of Abraham, Moses, and the group of Kabbalists that they established. If we make room for these seasoned, yet contemporary values, we will discover that we possess the power to put differences aside and unite.

The wisdom of Kabbalah, hidden for millennia, has been waiting for the time when we would be sufficiently developed and ready to implement its message. Now, it is emerging as a solution that can unite diverse factions everywhere, better enabling us, as individuals and as a society, to meet today's challenges.

ACTIVITIES

Bnei Baruch was established on the premise that "only by expansion of the wisdom of Kabbalah to the public can we be awarded complete redemption" (Baal HaSulam).

Therefore, Bnei Baruch offers a variety of ways for people to explore and discover the purpose of their lives, providing careful guidance for the beginners and the advanced students alike.

Kabbalah Today

Kabbalah Today is a free monthly paper produced and disseminated by Bnei Baruch. It is apolitical, non-commercial, and written in a clear, contemporary style. Its purpose is to expose the vast body of knowledge hidden in the wisdom of Kabbalah at no cost and in a clear, engaging format and style for readers everywhere.

Kabbalah Today is distributed for free in every major U.S. city, as well as in Toronto, Canada, London, England, and Sydney, Australia. It is printed in English, Hebrew, and Russian, and is also available on the Internet, at *www.kabtoday.com*.

Additionally, a hard copy of the paper is sent to subscribers at delivery cost only.

Internet Website

Bnei Baruch's homepage, *www.kabbalah.info*, presents the authentic wisdom of Kabbalah using essays, books, and original texts. It is the largest Kabbalah website on the net, and contains a unique, extensive library for readers to thoroughly explore the wisdom of Kabbalah. Additionally, there is a media archive, *www.kabbalahmedia.info*, containing more than 5,000 media items, downloadable books, and a vast reservoir of texts, video and audio files in many languages. All of this material is available for free download.

Kabbalah Television

Bnei Baruch established a production company, ARI Films (*www.arifilms.tv*) specializing in production of educational TV programs throughout the world, and in many languages.

In Israel, Bnei Baruch broadcasts are aired live through cable and satellite on Channel 98 Sunday through Friday. All broadcasts on these channels are free of charge. The programs are adapted specifically for beginners, and do not require prior knowledge of the material. This convenient learning process is complemented by programs featuring Rav Laitman's meetings with publicly known figures in Israel and throughout the world.

Additionally, ARI Films produces educational series and documentaries on DVDs, as well as other visual teaching aids.

Kabbalah Books

Rav Laitman writes his books in a clear, contemporary style based on the key concepts of Baal HaSulam. These books serve as a vital link between today's readers and the original texts. All of Rav Laitman's books are available for sale,

as well as for free download. Rav Laitman has thus far written thirty books, translated into ten languages.

Kabbalah Lessons

As Kabbalists have been doing for centuries, Rav Laitman gives a daily lesson at the Bnei Baruch center in Israel between 3:15-6:00 a.m. Israel time. The lessons are simultaneously translated into six languages: English, Russian, Spanish, German, Italian, and Turkish. In the near future, broadcasts will also be translated into French, Greek, Polish, and Portuguese. As with everything else, the live broadcast is provided gratis to thousands of students worldwide.

Funding

Bnei Baruch is a non-profit organization for teaching and sharing the wisdom of Kabbalah. To maintain its independence and purity of intentions, Bnei Baruch is not supported, funded, or otherwise tied to any government or political organization.

Since the bulk of its activity is provided free of charge, the prime source of funding for the group's activities is donations, tithing—contributed by students on a voluntary basis—and Rav Laitman's books, which are sold at cost.

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THE FAINT TRACES OF THE JEWISH MYSTICAL TRADITION: THE KABBALAH IN 15–18TH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

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Abstract
This article investigates the influence of the Kabbalah on Jewish architecture and synagogal art. Due to the destruction of the Eastern European kabbalist-related architecture and the preservation of only two indisputably "kabbalist" synagogues, the Abuhav and the Ashkenazi Ari Synagogue in Safed, Israel, secondary research that includes literature, religious texts, and historical photographic documentation analysis was undertaken. This allowed the identification of the elements of architecture, paintings, and sculptures that could be inspired by the Kabbalah or potentially created according to its rules and recommendations. However, it is impossible to unambiguously indicate the Kabbalah as the primary source of inspiration neither for architectural forms nor artistic representation in the interiors of synagogues. Because of the metaphysical orientation of its believers and the difficulties following the representation of abstract ideas by formal solutions, the outcome of the research proved, in most cases, the lack of any direct kabbalistic influences on architecture.

Keywords: **The Kabbalah; Kabbalist Architecture; Architectural History; Jewish Architecture; Jewish Culture; Synagogal Architecture.**

1. INTRODUCTION

Since medieval times, "illusive" kabbalist mysticism has remained one of Jewish culture's most captivating and controversial elements. Numerous studies on Jewish buildings, including synagogues, have been carried out; however, there is still a lack of research on the influence of the Kabbalah on architecture. There are two reasons for this state: the first one is connected to the closeness of kabbalist symbols to Jewish ones and, sometimes, the lack of a possibility to describe them as belonging to a concrete belief; the second one, probably the most important, concerns the elusive character of the Kabbalah: the system of beliefs is based more on a religious or rather philosophical interpretation of knowledge with a limitation of its physical portrayal following the second of the Ten Commandments: "You shall not make for yourself a sculptured image, or any likeness of what is in the heavens above, or on the earth below, or in the waters under the earth" (Exodus 20:4; as, with differences, in Deuteronomy 27:15 and Leviticus 26:1). This limitation, even strengthened in Leviticus 19:4 ("Do not turn to idols or make molden gods for yourself: I הוהי am your God"), significantly affected Jewish art and architecture focusing on other than images and sculptures of humans and animals forms of artistic representation. This had a serious implication: the main focus of Jewish artists shifted to images and forms of plants, geometric forms, and writings. Excluding the

art made under the more or less forceful influence of other cultures, as in the case of the zodiac in synagogues during the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the area of Palestine, strict laws were partially reinterpreted in the 16th century by R. Yosef Karo who, following the 12th-century R. Ephraim of Regensburg, in chapter 141 of his Shulchan Arukh stated that two-dimensional paintings of human figures were permissible without human faces and complied with the aesthetic of distortion found in illuminated medieval Ashkenazi manuscripts that used bird's heads, blank faces, veils, helmets, crowns, or rear views to depict the human face as mentioned by [1]. Therefore, the relationship between the Kabbalah and architecture is ambiguous and thus open to various interpretations; furthermore, synagogues have never been sacred places like churches but are buildings that serve their purposes [2], and the religious symbols in their interiors are neither necessary nor obligatory. Thus, new point of view is presented on applying kabbalist culture in architecture from the 15th to the 18th century, both in Safed, then in the Ottoman Empire and Eastern Europe. Publications on the historical aspects of the Kabbalah and architecture are virtually non-existent, except for an article by Huberman [3] and a book mainly concerning modern architecture written by Gorlin [4].

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The article aims to answer the question about the origins and identification of the possible cultural influence of the Judaism-based Kabbalah on architecture. Therefore, the research on the relationship between the intangible Kabbalah and its tangible representation requires analytical literature studies covering the current state of knowledge, bibliographical studies of the *Zohar* and other religious texts, and observation and analysis of the existing architecture and related art. This article presents an analytical approach to understanding the complex relationship between sophisticated intangible kabbalistic culture and its tangible architectural expression. Potential problems in the research follow the difficulties in identifying intangible factors that influence physical space and the extremely rare presentations of potential kabbalist symbols in medieval, renaissance, and baroque Jewish architecture. Inevitably, there also are significant discrepancies between opinions presented in different sources on what is and what is not the kabbalist architecture or art. Moreover, there is a risk of confusion about some of the typical patterns or symbols with kabbalist motifs used within other parts of Jewish culture, which are especially significant due to the limited number of known kabbalist synagogues and the lack of explanatory sources what hinders precise identification of the artistic representation.

3. ROOTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KABBALAH

The Kabbalah, which means "tradition", is a theosophic conception of God [5]. Among its main doctrines are the nature of Eyn (Ein) Sof (the Supreme Being or the Infinite regarded as the pure essence of God) and its Emanations (Sephiroth) presented in the classical form of the Tree of Life (such as The Tree of Life (depicting ten Sephirot) from *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* by Athanasius Kircher published in 1652; Fig. 1), the cosmogony (Fig. 2), the creation of angels [6] and men, the destiny of men and the universe, and the Revealed Law [7].

Since the kabbalistic doctrine explains that all creation remains an emanation of the Infinite, the soul's

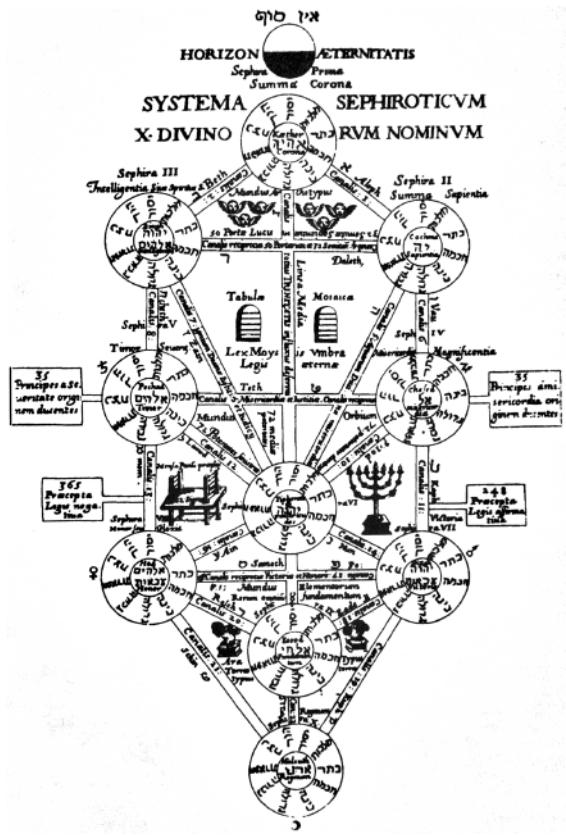

Figure 1.
The Tree of Life (Sephirot) from Oedipus Aegyptiacus by Athanasius Kirchner (1652) [8]. Public domain

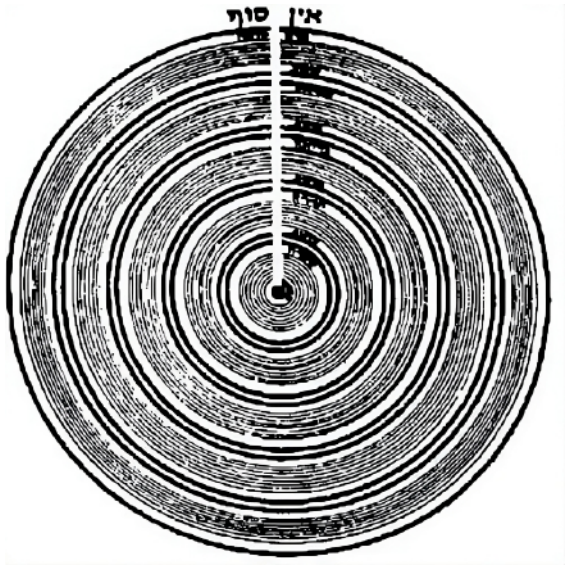

Figure 2.
The cosmogonic organization of the world represented by spheres associated with Sephirot within Ein Sof (schema) [9]. Public domain

existence is eternal. Except for the heretical forms of Sabbateism, and later Frankism, its systems were considered as conservative ideologies within the frame of Rabbinical Judaism [10]. The main book explaining the Kabbalah, *Sefer ha-Zohar* (the Zohar; Fig. 3), was probably written during the fast development of the philosophical and religious system in the 13th century [11,12] and divided into two, philosophical and practical, sections. Understanding the *Zohar* depends on knowledge of traditional Jewish culture and the specific philosophical kabbalist system and an open-minded perception of the sense and purpose of human beings in the world.

However, there are different opinions on the authorship of the *Zohar* and the place and time when it was written. Cited above Scholem also claims that the authorship of most of its text should be contributed to Moses de Leon in the 13th century instead of the 2nd-century sage Simeon bar Jochai, earlier recognized as the principal author. This was opposed by Liebes, who stated that the authorship belongs to the whole group that worked on the Kabbalah based on

Figure 3.
The cover of Zohar; Cremona, 1559–1560 [13]. Public domain

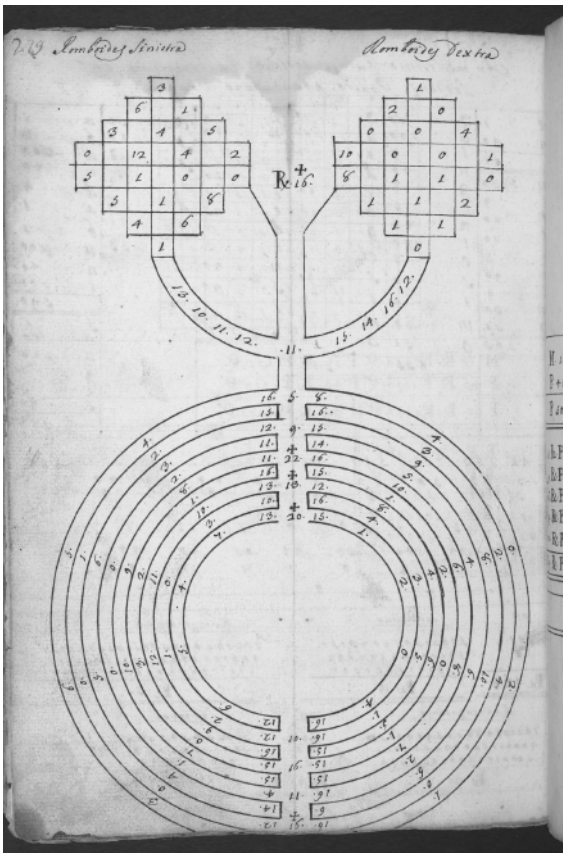

Figure 4.
Letters with assigned numerical values from the 16th-century treatise on Gematria [14]. Public domain

analysis of ancient tradition and texts, including those from the outside of the rabbinic tradition [15, as cited in 16]. According to Meroz [17] the part of the Zohar that describes angelology, Paradise, and theurgy was written during the 11th century, before the date commonly recognized as the time of its publication. At this time, the concept of Sephirot (sing. Sephirah; Keter – Crown, Chochmah – Wisdom, Binah – Understanding, Chessed – Kindness, Gevurah – Might, Tiferet – Beauty, Netzach – Victory, Hod – Majesty, Yesod – Foundation, and Malchut – Kingdom, also known as Shekhinah, the last in the chain and the closest to the material world) (The Beginning of Wisdom 1:3) as an explicit description of the organization of emanations of God, with their direct astronomical association, as a system did not exist. However, in Chronicles I 29:11 from ca. 500 BCE the description of God's attributes resembling all the emanations exists, as well as, in fragments, in Matthew 6:13 and John in Revelation 5:12-13 as stated by Van Auken [18]; these seem to be the source of the direct inspiration for the future development by kabbalists.

Eventually, the Kabbalah reached the height of its influence in the later Middle Ages and significantly influenced the development of Eastern European Hassidism. According to the Lurianic Kabbalah, named after the prominent kabbalist Rabbi Isaac Luria (ha'ARI; 1534 1572), who eventually died in Safed, Eyn (Ein) Sof reveals himself through the above-mentioned 10 Sephirot. The Sephirot vary in their gender attributions. According to some teachings, including *Zohar*, the left pillar represents female principles and the right one male principles, while the central pillar that unites male and female principles remains gender neutral (Zohar 1:17a); thus, particular Sephirot correspond to different genders.

Following the recognition of the Kabbalah as one of the essential elements of medieval Jewish philosophy and mysticism, gematria (Fig. 4) was applied to find a hidden relationship between letters of the Hebrew alphabet, numerals, and attributed energies [19]. Gematria, a numerological system with ancient roots referenced in the Mishnah in 200 CE, which was also known to ancient Babylonians and Greeks, and later Christian Gnostics [20], created new philosophical possibilities for a specific interpretation of written text. According to its followers, decoding the numeral values of Hebrew letters could reveal hidden meanings that would allow for understanding the world. However, the relationship between letters, their values, and architecture that has remained, for example, a part of the folk culture in Safed [21] cannot be explicitly confirmed due to the main purpose of gematria: in this case, architecture, as opposed to symbolic art, did not play any significant role for kabbalists.

The Kabbalah, as a Judaism-based theosophical system of beliefs, could affect the development of architecture in two ways: through the religious rules, customs, and beliefs that may influence space in terms of its function and, more often, through the creation of art in architecture in the form of symbols. Therefore, these two groups of factors need to be considered together. Moreover, including historical conditions in the analysis can shed light on the arguable existence of kabbalist symbols in architecture. In both the groups of factors, the relationship between the intangible Kabbalah and its tangible representation can be divided into interconnected elements; these elements, of both a quantitative and qualitative nature, include the frequency of the physical representation of the symbols in architecture and art, their physical location, and the level of encoding in their information. As in the case of aesthetics, the effective reading of the encoded information depends on the observer's knowledge.

4. THE KABBALAH IN ARCHTIECTURAL SPACE

Even though its sources may be indicated in ancient times, the Kabbalah was developed, as mentioned above, in medieval Spain and later in the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. To analyze the relationship between the Kabbalah and architectural space in these socio-political contexts, rules and traditions are taken into consideration. It is assumed that the system had a limited influence on architecture, especially in terms of its function, due to the highly developed and continuously evolving intellectual base that did not correspond to any physical representation, as explained above. In other words, most kabbalists did not possess a strong interest in creating the architectural space that, as explained below, is a common custom of any religion in the process of institutionalization. Although the architecture of the synagogues originates from the same source as the later Christian churches, the Roman basilica, the plans of the first of them, such as the ancient synagogue in Delos, strongly resembled Roman villas. In medieval times, the form of the ancient Roman basilica evolved through the addition of transepts into more complex forms of Latin or

Orthodox churches [22]. These forms were also used as a model for other styles of synagogues in medieval Europe, including Spain, and mosques. More complex changes have occurred in aesthetics, especially in the case of synagogues' interiors. Here, the patterns and religion-based symbols directly referring to religious texts have started to play an increasing role in architectural design. There is no clear indication of the use of kabbalist symbols in architecture and related art before the 15th century due to the lack of synagogues built before this date and serving continuously as kabbalist temples until today. Moreover, the symbols of the Kabbalah in the majority of cases, are often not depictable graphically due to their usually multi-layer meaning, which would lose at least part of its complex essence when represented (only) in the physical world.

Conversely, as in other systems of beliefs and religions, symbols with encoded meaning that remain more open to interpretation than those in precisely explained kabbalist texts appear on the walls and ceilings of kabbalist synagogues. A similar phenomenon to the one described above occurs in the case of Christianity, in which symbols that were more sophisticated than a simplified representation of fish started to be popular in art and architecture during the process of the religion's institutionalization. As an outcome, tangible artifacts, as well as paintings and other physical forms of information, came to be necessary and were very often simplified due to the potential recipients of the encoded information, part of the religious system. Eventually, the richly decorated interiors of the kabbalist synagogues were filled with kabbalist symbols. Even though the kabbalist influences on architecture and related art remain controversial, some architectural solutions indicating a connection to the kabbalist system were applied in the medieval, renaissance, and baroque synagogues, above all in Israel, Poland, Ukraine, and Belarus. For this purpose, the kabbalist-associated elements of architecture, including the forms, patterns, and symbols appearing in synagogues from the 15th to the 18th century in those areas, have been analyzed.

5. KABBALAH-BASED DESIGN: A CASE STUDY OF THE ABUHAV SYNAGOGUE IN SAFED

The Abuhav Synagogue, built in the 15th century in what was then Ottoman Safed and is now Israel, presents one of the examples of a kabbalist synagogue since it was designed, according to local tradition, by Rabbi Yitzhak Abuhav of Castile from Toledo [23]. During this time, before the conquest by the Ottomans in 1516, Safed remained under Mamluk

Figure 5.
The courtyard of the Abuhav synagogue; phot. R. Lindeman [24]

Figure 6.
The ceiling of the Abuhav synagogue with the representation of musical instruments; phot. H. Johnson [25]

rule. As in the case of other synagogues, the exterior of the synagogue remains relatively simple in terms of aesthetics.

Because it was almost totally destroyed in the first earthquake in 1759, when only the southern walls with the ark survived, as well as in the second one in 1837, and eventually rebuilt, the current building merely resembles its original form and interior [26]. The synagogue's design was not based on Spanish archetypes but followed the new approach to synagogal architecture with the application of kabbalist forms and symbols.

The main exceptions are the preservation of the courtyard at the entrance following the Christian law prohibiting its exposure [27], the use of stone as a building material, the rectangular shape of the windows, and the only simplified resemblances to the Moorish style in the portal of the main entrance and the frames of the windows on the second floor. To enter the stone-built Abuhav Synagogue, it is necessary to pass through the courtyard. This provides time to allow one to focus on the correct thoughts before entering the synagogue, as mentioned in the *Zohar* (1:11a:6). On the other hand, R. Yosef Karo in his *Shulchan Arukh* 90:20 and R. Joel Sirkes, who recognized the Kabbalah as an integral part of Judaism [28], in his *Bayit Chadash* at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, noted without any reference to the Kabbalah the simple logic of having a courtyard in front of the sanctuary to allow a person to compose their thoughts prior to prayer. This role of courtyards in the design of medieval synagogues is also visible in many other late medieval cases, including the examples in the Jewish City in Casimir, Poland.

The interior architecture likely contains kabbalist references, probably originating in numerology. However, architectural solutions may possess some encoded meaning and observers' interpretation depends on their ability to read this information according to their knowledge of a certain culture. In some cases, this meaning can be confirmed just by the existence of written texts describing the intention as well as the process of design and construction of religious buildings. As one of the most significant elements, according to oral tradition, the interior design includes four columns in the main hall that probably represent the four worlds of holiness – Azilut, Beriya, Yetzira, and Asiya – in opposition to the four worlds of impurity (Ball Ha'Sulam's Introduction to the *Zohar* 10). Alternatively, the number four could have a different meaning; here, it may refer to the four angels of Ezekiel's vision (The Beginning of Wisdom 9:12) with animal faces; the prophet himself played a significant role in kabbalist mysticism [29]. Moreover, the number four may refer to the four components, namely fire, earth, water, and air, the four directions of the world, and four materials described as gold, silver, brass, and iron (Zohar 2:23b:8 9; 2:24a:1; 1:80a:9 10). The number of steps to the centrally located bimah probably refer to the six days of creation (Zohar 1:140b:21; Or Neerav, PART VI 5:5); the bimah itself may represent the seventh day of creation. Along the southern wall, the Ark, as the most important element of the synagogue, is divided into three sections that refer to the three patriarchs mentioned in the *Zohar*: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Zohar 1:11a:6). In addition, three Arks are mentioned in Exodus 25:11. One of the Arks contains one of the oldest scrolls of the Torah, and its authorship is attributed to the founder of the synagogue. However, the meaning of all these elements associated with numbers, even though appealing in terms of relation to the Kabbalah, cannot be unambiguously verified, in my opinion.

The number of windows in the dome, 10, may represent the Ten Commandments, in opposition to the law stating that the number should be 12 to represent the tribes of Israel. This number of windows in the Abuhav Synagogue suggests different symbolic meanings, or it may simply relate to the construction of the ceiling. Instead, the number 12 appears as a symbol of Jewish musical instruments painted on the dome's ceiling. However, due to the restoration of the synagogue after the earthquakes mentioned earlier, it is impossible to confirm that the symbols had also been painted in the previously existing buildings. Here, the floral patterns are typical of all Jewish synagogal art and thus do not create additional kabbalist connotations. Conversely, the above-mentioned symbols of musical instruments in the dome refer to music as a sensual connection with the spirit. The seven traditional musical instruments (Fig. 6) are presented in three groups (*shofar* (horn), *pa'amon* (bell), and *hazozerot; chalil* (flute) and *tziltzele*; and *tof* (tambourine) and *oud*) and the remaining five separately (*kinnor* (lyre), *nevel, nechiloth, meziltayim* (cymbals), and harp). What should be underlined is that although musical instruments appear relatively often in synagogue paintings, their number is significantly limited in opposition to the Abuhav Synagogue interior. The importance of music in the Kabbalah was stressed by Rabbi Abraham Abulafia, for whom a mystical combination of Hebrew letters as the intellectual exercise of pure thought to express the rhythm of cosmic life was compared to musical composition exerting a similar influence on the human soul [30]. Glazerson [31] notes the complex, uplifting, and explanatory role of music with the relationship between octaves and spheres explaining the kabbalistic meaning of traditional Jewish musical instruments and music itself with the use of gematria. Moreover, as Avenary [32] claims, kabbalistic attempts to reveal the secrets of creation, or the heavens, often refer to musical symbols, metaphors, and allegories. He argues that, according to kabbalists, music, which plays a role leading to knowledge as well as the constant repetition of music's revelation through mystical intention, indicates that music is God's creation.

Colors play, or at least used to, a significant role in the medieval Kabbalah [33] as a physical representation of certain phenomena. Therefore, the ceiling of the Abuhav Synagogue and the bimah remain Kabbalah-related parts of the interior aesthetics due to the two colors used in their respective cases, which were popular in the architecture of Kabbalist Safed: white and blue.

According to Sagiv [34], the color blue, widely used in art and architecture in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern regions for its protective powers, possesses a specific meaning in Jewish culture which does not result from external influences. In the Kabbalah, the colors white and blue or black described in the Zohar (1:51a) refer, respectively, to the divine infinity that can be neither affected nor changed and the lower realm that can be destroyed when lacking a connection with God. This reveals the purpose of the blue light, as a part of it cleaves to white light, as a necessary factor eventually motivating to rise toward the divine and to avoid destruction. Blue remains associated with the highest emanations, like *Chochmah* – wisdom, and the lowest ones, like *Malchut* – kingdom. Moreover, the relationship between these two colors remains significant due to the importance of Israel approaching the Chochmah because, as cited in the Zohar, "it is Israel alone which impels the blue light to kindle and to link itself with the white light, Israel, who cleave to the blue light from below" (1:51a).

6. KABBALIST INFLUENCE IN THE INTERIOR: A CASE STUDY OF THE ASHKENAZI ARI SYNAGOGUE IN SAFED

The second synagogue in Safed that presents kabbalist influences is the Ashkenazi Ari Synagogue (Fig. 7) built in the late 16th century in memory of Isaac Luria (known as Ari). The location of both kabbalist synagogues in the same small town highlights the important role that Safed played in the 16th century as a center of the Kabbalah [35]. As in the previous case, the synagogue was demolished in the earthquake in 1837 and subsequently rebuilt. Since it was created after the earthquake by an artist of unknown origin from Kolomyia, Ukraine [36], the Holy Ark in the Ashkenazi Ari Synagogue [37] presents a type of ark used in the 18th century in the wooden Eastern European synagogues. The entire structure is carved in olive wood and covered with colorful patterns and ornaments, as in the case of the interiors of those synagogues. The first two levels of the ark are divided by an architrave. The Holy Ark, to which there are three steps, consists of three levels: the first one, the base, with double doors to the scrolls of the Torah covered with a parochet, is framed by Corinthian columns and pillars on each side decorated with plant ornaments and blessing hands (the latter); the second one presents the tablets with the Ten Commandments from the Book of Exodus (Exodus 24:12) surrounded by

Figure 7.
The Ari Ashkenazi Synagogue in Safed; phot. E. Dyan [43]

Figure 8.
The Ari Ashkenazi synagogue ark – upper parts with the representation of a lion and the Tree of Life; phot. R. Lindman [44]

plant ornaments and flanked by single columns; and the third level, remaining bent inside and topped with a crown, includes a rich three-dimensional plant ornament including a lion with an anthropomorphic face (Fig. 8). The lion's human face resembles the lion in the polychromies of the Cold Synagogue in Mogilev created after 1740 by Chaim ben Yitzchak ha-Levi Segal of Sluck [38] and refers to the face of man (*Zohar*, 1:20b:4); it also contains the acronym ARI. The image of the lion, accepted as a symbol in Eastern European Jewish culture although debated, resembles and represents the great kabbalist Rabbi Itzhak Luria known under this acronym, in whose honor the synagogue is named [39].

There is one more important kabbalistic artistic influence on the second level of the Holy Ark: the tablet with the Ten Commandments is presented in the form of the Tree of Life. The Tree of Life has been adopted by various cultures, religious systems, and beliefs [40], including the Kabbalah, here for the purpose of the graphical depiction of the relationships between the sephirot. The kabbalistic reference follows the relationship between the Sephirot and the Ten Commandments: according to kabbalists, Jews, through their performance of the commandments and prayers, could influence the realm of sephirot [41]. This can also be directly understood as the relationship between the ten sephirot of holiness represented by the Ten Commandments combined with their antagonist anti-Sephirot of impurity or darkness mentioned in *Maaseh Nissim* on Pesach Haggadah, Magid, The Ten Plagues 18:1. The Tree of Life as a kabbalistic

symbol used to be represented on the covers of Jewish prayer books in Eastern Europe, as in the case of the prayer book in the Voupa Synagogue [42].

7. KABBALISTIC INFLUENCES IN SYNAGOGUES IN POLAND, UKRAINE, LITHUANIA, AND BELARUS

Since the evolution of the Kabbalah and, eventually, the appearance of Hassidism, some of its original concepts, however, rarely, have appeared in the synagogal art in Eastern Europe. It should also be underlined that there is an important connection between the Lurianic Kabbalah and Hassidism in Eastern European countries and Safed: the Lurianic cult of saints represented by, respectively, tzadiks and famous kabbalists [45] flourished in both areas. Albeit restricted by the Catholic church and authorities [46, 47], numerous synagogues started to appear in Eastern European cities and towns after the subsequent expulsions of Jewish communities from Spain, Portugal, and other countries. These synagogues were built, as previously, of stone or what was new, requiring a skilful labor force, of wood; both types created a new chapter in the history of original Jewish architecture due to their unique design. The stone-made synagogues were characterized by their strong defensive characteristics because of the numerous conflicts, wars, and pogroms in the multiethnical area, as in the case of the synagogue in Pinsk, Belarus, while the wooden ones created a new type of architectural solution. Built from the beginning of the 17th century in the eastern areas of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, where the Kabbalah and Hassidism were most influential [48], those synagogues possessed wooden structures of the main mass and complex, multilevel pitched roofs supported by complex wooden trusses and separated from the ceilings [49], which took the form of vaults or cupolas. The form of the building resembled small Polish manor houses built in the same territory; thus, most probably, they were the source of the architectural inspiration for the Jewish religious buildings. On the other hand, their richly ornamented ceilings strongly resemble Turkish military tents from the 17th and 18th centuries.

Another opinion was presented by Lukomski [50], who claimed that the form of the roofs resembles a compilation of European Renaissance and Chinese (?) architecture. The bimahs in the synagogues were situated in the middle of the buildings, in some cases surrounded by four columns supporting the ceilings. The most formidable remained the richly painted interiors, with numerous writings, patterns, and symbols covering all the accessible areas of the walls and ceilings. Most of the wooden synagogues have been destroyed by wars, fires, and other catastrophes, but there is still at least partially preserved documentation of many of them; however, the ceilings of two synagogues in Hvizdets and Khodoriv, with their polychromies, have recently been reconstructed and exhibited in, respectively, Polin Museum in Warsaw and Beth Hatefutsoth Museum in Tel Aviv.

Conversely, originally, the typical Eastern European Hassidic houses of prayer, called shtiblekh, kloyzn, and beth midrash [53], were mostly modest (Fig. 9), one-floor residential buildings adopted for religious practices. In the evenings and at night, they also served as places of religious study for men. Their plans were simple, and their interiors were not decorated, following the religious attitude towards physical matter and the poverty of the Hassidic communities; as Hassidim became more affluent, their

Figure 9.
The Baal Shem Tov's beth midrash in Medzhybizh [51]. Public domain

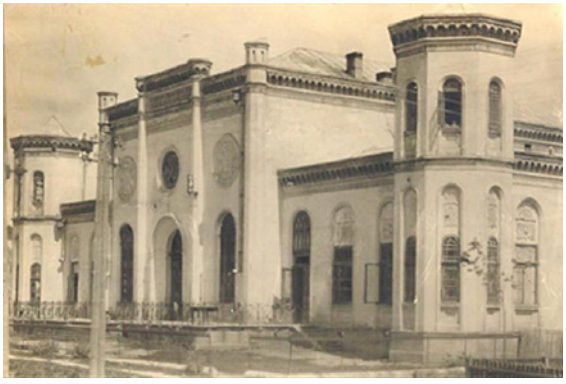

Figure 10.
Hasidic synagogue in Chortkiv, 1910 [52]. Public domain

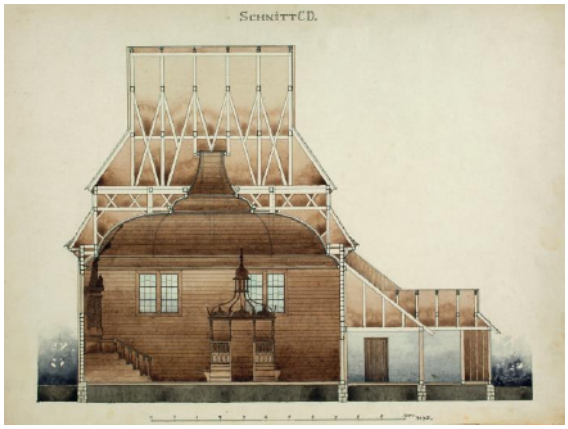

Figure 11.
Section of the synagogue in Hvizdets with crown-based shape of dome; draw. A. Breyer [57]. Public domain

Figure 12.
Double-headed eagle; polychromy in the Hodoriv Synagogue; phot. A. Breyer [58]. Public domain

synagogues also became more elaborate. Therefore, no direct kabbalist influences can be found in their architectural form and artistic decoration; the same relates to the architecture of the late Hassidic synagogues from the 19th and 20th centuries (Fig. 10), practically owned by *tzadiks* from the most prominent Hassidic, families possessing also "dynastic" residences, as in Sadhora or Chortkiv, nowadays both in Ukraine.

Although it is difficult to identify specific kabbalist influences in the architecture of Eastern European synagogues due to the Kabbalah remaining an inseparable part of Judaism, some important exceptions exist. One of the most prominent architectural solutions with a kabbalist origin adopted in the interiors of Eastern European wooden synagogues is the form of the above-mentioned separated roof structure ceilings in the form of vaults with centrally located cupolas. The domes on pendentives based on octagons had the shape of a crown. Here, the specific shape of the ceilings, even though originating in a structural solution, may additionally depict the relationship between the imaginable God's domain and the human world that directly refers to infinite mercy. This type of crown-based shape of domes was visible, among others, in the 17th – and 18th-century wooden synagogues in Valkininkai [54], Smotrych, Hrodna [55], Sniadowo, Hvizdets (Fig. 11), Voupa [56], Nowe Miasto, and Grojec, all located in what are now Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Poland and thus the former lands of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (16th 18th centuries). Such an architectural representation of a connection between God or Heaven and humans also exists in buildings of other religions: the high ceiling of a gothic Christian cathedral depicting stars in the sky is visible, for example, in the case of the 13th-century Sainte Chapelle in Paris, France, and an even more complex representation of the sky covers the ceiling of the 17th-century Fatima Masumeh Shrine in Qom, Iran.

The most aesthetically impressive and at least partially unambiguous kabbalist influences on the interior architecture of Eastern European synagogues remain connected with the design of the Holy Ark, as in the case of the Ashkenazi Ari Synagogue in Safed. The Holy Ark in the wooden synagogue in Warka [59], Poland, built at the beginning of the 19th century and burned down in 1939, had a sculpture on the second level of a chariot referring to the kabbalistic supernal holy chariot related to the patriarchs mentioned in the Zohar (1:18a:10, 1:19a:6, 1:130b, 2:23b:9) or, above all, to the chariot (Merkavah) described in Ezekiel's prophetic vision (Ezekiel 1:4 26); the latter alludes to the mystic part of Hassidic culture. It is also possible that the artist who made the ark considered more than one meaning of the chariot. Even though a single-headed eagle is included in the design of the Holy Ark in Suchowola [60], Poland, its origins as a kabbalist symbol may be disputed.

A different situation arises in the case of symbols of double-headed eagles. A double-headed eagle is another important kabbalistic symbol included in the Holy Arks of the synagogues in Vyzuonos, Saukenai, Valkininkai (all in Lithuania), and Radozhin (Belarus) [61] and part of the polychromies on the vaults or walls of the synagogues in Khodoriv, Voupa, and Jablonow (Poland). The head of the eagle (Fig. 12), according to mentioned earlier Huberman [3], refers to the kabbalistic symbolism popular in Poland in the 17th century: it represents the dualism

of the right-hand line as grace and the left-hand line as a line of judgment, while the eagle itself represents mercy as God's feature on the middle line. What is interesting at first sight is that the double-headed eagle in those synagogues could represent the expanding Russian Empire [62] that conquered the areas of the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at that time. This explanation seems to not be correct: such a meaning of the symbol in a synagogue would border idolatry. The double-headed eagle follows the Eastern European kabbalistic allegorical representation of the dualism of mercy in the form of an animal motif. Other symbols include the menorah, David's Star (Shield), and lions; however, the ones represented in those synagogues in the Holy Arks or the polychromies cannot be interpreted as specifically kabbalist art. The same applies to various types of floral patterns that are commonly depicted or sculptured in synagogues.

Eventually, the conscious inspiration from the Kabbalah, including form, light, and symbols, started to appear in architectural design no earlier than modern times with the increased interest in and popularization of the system, as described by Gorlin [4]. From the perspective of the kabbalists, however, these tangible applications may seem to be entirely deprived of the original meaning and simply naïve.

8. CONCLUSIONS

The ambiguity of the kabbalistic symbols and forms confirms that Jewish architecture and art are more complex and open to interpretation than could have been predicted. Moreover, searching for more veiled kabbalist meaning is most frequently irrelevant and may lead to a profound overinterpretation of architectural space. The same symbols and architectural forms could be subjected to a different comprehension, and the intention of the authors could be hidden and vague, as in the case of symbols of eagles, especially when the architecture and art are created in a hostile or rather unpredictable, environment and have to keep deeply encoded information, readable only to insiders. Only the Eastern European wooden synagogues, which mostly did not survive the Second World War, together with the still-existing Abuhav and Ashkenazi Ari Synagogues in Safed, remain possibly influenced by the Kabbalah in the form of the only few symbols and the polychromies on the ceilings and walls. However, in their architectural forms, no explicit kabbalistic influence has been found. This specific relationship between the Kabbalah and architecture may require future analysis due to the fast development of new research methodologies and potential discoveries of new iconographic and textual documents in currently unavailable archives.

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תרגומי הזוהר

בועז הוס

א. מבוא

ספרות הזוהר, שנתחברה בשלהי המאה השלוש עשרה וראשית המאה הארבע עשרה, זכתה למעמד סמכותי ומקודש בקהילות יהודיות רבות, בתחילה, בקרב חוגי מקובלים בספרד, ומאוחר יותר, בעיקר, לאחר גירוש ספרד, בקרב קהילות יהודיות רבות אחרות. ספר הזוהר נתפס כמקור הסמכות המרכזי בענייני קבלה, והיתה לו השפעה מרובה גם בשאלות מנהג והלכה. למרות הערעור על מעמדו של הזוהר בקרב המשכילים היהודיים בעת החדשה, המשיך הזוהר לשמור על מעמדו המקודש בקרב קהילות מסורתיות רבות, ואף בחוגים שאימצו את ערכי ההשכלה זכה הזוהר להערכה מחודשת כטקסט בעל ערך היסטורי וספרותי. לצד המרכזיות של הזוהר בתרבות היהודית הוא עורר עניין רב בקרב חוגים לא יהודיים, בקרב מקובלים נוצרים בתקופת הרנסנס והברוק, ובקרב חוגים אזוטריים ואוקולטיים בעת החדשה. בשנים האחרונות ניכרת התעוררות מחודשת בעניין בקבלה ובזוהר בקרב חוגים רבים בארץ ובעולם.[1]

הפצת ספרות הזוהר מעבר לחוגי העילית הרבנית ששלטה בשפה הארמית היתה כרוכה בתרגום הזוהר לשפות שונות. במהלך השנים, מאז הופעתה של הספרות הזוהרית בשלהי המאה השלוש עשרה, ועד ימינו, תורגם הזוהר לשפות רבות. תרגומי הזוהר בתקופות השונות נוצרו והופצו בידי סוכני תרבות מחוגים מגוונים, שפעלו מתוך אידאולוגיות שונות ויועדו לקהלי קוראים שונים. האידאולוגיות השונות שבמסגרתן נוצרו תרגומי הזוהר, כמו גם קהלי הידע שאליהם הם נועדו, עיצבו את אופיים והיקפם של התרגומים השונים.

* על העזרה בתרגומים מצרפתית, מגרמנית ומלטינית ברצוני להודות לאורי סגל, לרוני רייך ולאלה קליימן.

1 לתולדות התקבלות הזוהר, ראו הוס, ספר הזוהר, ובהרחבה בספרי העתיד לצאת לאור בקרוב: הוס, פרקים בתולדות.

בדברים הבאים אציע סקירה של תולדות תרגומי הזוהר ושל המגמות האידאולוגיות והגורמים החברתיים שבמסגרתם הם נוצרו.[2] במסגרת סקירה זו (שאיננה מתיימרת להיות ממצה), אצביע על התחרות בין חוגים אידאולוגיים שונים על השליטה בהון התרבותי (כמו גם על הרווחים הכלכליים), שהעניק תרגום הזוהר. ככל שערכו של הזוהר כמצרך תרבותי עלה בקהילות שונות שלא יכלו לקרוא את הזוהר בשפת המקור (וככל שהתערערו ההגבלות המסורתיות על הפצת הזוהר), הלכה והתגבשה תחרות בין גורמים שונים סביב השליטה על תרגום הזוהר והפצתו. עם זאת, כפי שנראה להלן, סוכני התרבות שעמדו מאחורי ייצור תרגומי הזוהר ושיווקם לא רק הגיבו לדרישות השוק התרבותי אלא אף הכתיבו ויצרו במידה רבה דרישות אלה.

ב. התרגומים הראשונים לעברית של ספרות הזוהר

תרגומים ראשונים של מאמרי זוהר לעברית נוצרו עוד לפני שכתיבת הטקסטים הזוהריים הסתיימה ועוד טרם התגבשה כלל התפיסה של יחידה ספרותית המכונה בשם "ספר הזוהר".[3] בכתבי ר' יוסף ג'יקטיליה ובכתביו של ר' משה דה ליאון, שנכתבו בשלהי המאה השלוש עשרה, מופיעים מאמרים בעברית המקבילים למאמרים המופיעים בקורפוסים הזוהריים בשפה הארמית.[4] גם בקורפוסים זוהריים שבכתבי יד מופיעים לעתים מאמרי זוהר בעברית, המקבילים למאמרים המופיעים בכתבי יד אחרים ובדפוסי הזוהר בארמית. אולם, קשה לדעת בוודאות אם במקרים אלה מדובר בתרגום מארמית לעברית, או להפך, שהרי מאמרים אלה נוצרו בתקופה שבה יוצרי הספרות הזוהרית עדיין התלבטו בין השפה העברית לשפה הארמית כשפה המועדפת לכתיבת יצירותיהם. מאמרים רבים בעברית, שלהם יש מקבילה בארמית בקורפוסים הזוהריים, מופיעים בספר מראות הצובאות של ר' דוד בן יהודה החסיד, מקובל שפעל בראשית המאה הארבע עשרה, וכפי שהראה משה אידל, אף כתב תרגום קדום לספר הזוהר, הגנוז בכתבי יד.[5] אף שנראה שר' דוד בן יהודה החסיד תרגם מאמרים אלה מארמית

2 לסקירות חלקיות של תרגומי הזוהר, ראו תשבי ולחובר, עמ' 112–116; שלום, קבלה, עמ' 239–242; לרשימה של תרגומי הזוהר, ראו דן וליבס, קטלוג, א, עמ' 211–214. לסקירה מפורטת של תרגומי זוהר באנגלית, ראו קר, הזוהר באנגלית.

3 על התגבשות התפיסה על אודות הזוהר כיחידה ספרותית, ראו הוס, הופעתו, עמ' 507–542.

4 ראו גינת, פירוש המרכבה, עמ' 29; אלטמן, אור זרוע, עמ' 240–243; וולפסון, ספר הרימון, עמ' 47–48; ליבס, שקל הקדש, עמ' 274–277.

5 בכ"י וטיקן 62 (סרט 179) [להלן יצוין באות ס' מספר הסרט בספרייה לתצלומי כתבי

הוא אינו מציין שהם מתורגמים מ״ספר הזוהר״ (שכלל אינו נזכר בכתביו) או מכל חיבור אחר.

תרגומים לעברית של מאמרי זוהר המצוטטים בשם ״מדרש יהי אור״ מופיעים בספר מנורת המאור לר׳ ישראל אלנאקווה, שנכתב בטולדו, במחצית השנייה של המאה הארבע עשרה.[6] בשלהי המאה החמש עשרה, בשנת רנ״א, תרגם ופירש ר׳ יצחק מר חיים, מקובל ספרדי ששהה באיטליה, את תחילת האדרא זוטא באיגרת ששלח לר׳ יצחק מפיסא.[7] פרפרזות רבות של מאמרי זוהר בעברית מופיעות בראשית המאה השש עשרה בספר צרור המור לר׳ אברהם סבע.[8] תרגומים מקיפים יותר של הזוהר לעברית נכתבו בשלהי המאה השש עשרה, בכללם תרגום שנכתב במצרים על ידי ר׳ יהודה מסעוד,[9] תרגום אנונימי שנכתב בשנת של״ו, אף הוא במצרים,[10] ותרגום נוסף שמחברו אינו ידוע, שהועתק בשנת שס״ג על ידי אדם ושמו ברכיאל.[11]

יד אשר בבית הספרים הלאומי והאוניבסיטאי בירושלים], ובכ״י וטיקן 186 (ס׳ 255) מצוי חיבור המכיל מקבילות עבריות לטקסטים מכל פרשיות הזוהר לספר בראשית (פרט להקדמת הזוהר). לדעת מ׳ אידל, חיבור זה הוא תרגום הזוהר לעברית של ר׳ דוד בן יהודה החסיד. ראו אידל, תרגומו, עמ׳ 67–68. על המקורות הזוהריים המתורגמים לעברית בספר מראות הצובאות לר׳ דוד בן יהודה החסיד, ראו מאט, מראות הצובאות, עמ׳ 13–15.

6 ראו ענלאו, מנורת המאור, א, עמ׳ 21–22; ב, עמ׳ 26–28, ג, עמ׳ 29–34. וראו תשבי ולחובר, עמ׳ 112. יש לציין גם שתרגום של קטע זוהרי מפרשת ויקהל, ח״ב קצט ע״א–ע״ב, מופיע בסיום מדרש יונה שנדפס על ידי ילינק, בית המדרש, ח״א, עמ׳ 103–105. וראו צונץ, הדרשות בישראל, עמ׳ 415, הערה 98.

7 גרינופ, אגרת קבלית, עמ׳ 370–374.

8 ראו גרוס, אברהם סבע, עמ׳ 68.

9 חלקים של האוטוגרף של החיבור, שנכתב בין השנים שמ״ח לשנ״ד, מצויים בכתבי היד הבאים: ניו יורק, בהמ״ל Ms. 1769 (EMC 683) (ס׳ 10867); רמת גן, אוניברסיטת בר אילן 1065 (לשעבר מוסיוף 170) (ס׳ 22988); ניו יורק, בהמ״ל Ms. 2009 (Acc. 4108) (ס׳ 50716); סנט־פטרסבורג Evr. Antonin A 9 (ס׳ 69772); סנט־פטרסבורג Evr II A 801 (ס׳ 65665); ירושלים מוסד הרב קוק 745 (ס׳ 26406). וראו אביב״י, כתבי האר״י, עמ׳ 98; אביב״י, אהל ש״ם, עמ׳ 77–80. חיבור זה נזכר אצל יוסף סמברי: ״הר׳ יאודה מסעוד בעל שו״ת והעתיק ספר הזוהר ללשון הקודש ואגב גררא פי׳ כמה מאמרים בספר הזוהר ועלה לארץ ישראל ונפטר שם״ (סמברי, דברי יוסף, עמ׳ 414).

10 החיבור מצוי בכ״י ירושלים, ביס״ל 147 Heb. 8^0, 1א–89א. הפירוש בנוי על פי סדר הדפים של דפוס מנטובה, והוא קיצור ופרפרזה עברית של דרשות הזוהר לספר בראשית בתוספת פירוש קצר. על פי הקולופון, התכוון המחבר לפרש גם את שאר הקורפוס הזוהרי: ״תם ונשלם תהלה לבורא עולם ספר בראשית בעזר אל שומר הברית ביום א׳ ה׳ ימים לחודש אדר שנת השל״ו ליצירה פה מצרים ואתפלל לפני שוכן ערבות אשר הוא משפיל ומרים יזכני להשלים חמשה ספרים וגם רעיא מהימנא וספר התקונים״ (שם, 80ב). וראו שלום, כתבי יד, עמ׳ 85.

11 החיבור מצוי בכ״י אוקספורד בודלי 1561 (Opp. 107) (ס׳ 16929). תרגום פרשת בראשית

תרגום מאמרי זוהר לעברית, בעיקר בשלהי המאה החמש עשרה ובמהלך המאה השש עשרה, השתלב בפרקטיקות נוספות שבאמצעותן הופצה הספרות הזוהרית בתקופה זו — ציטוטים מן הספרות הזוהרית, העתקת כתבי יד והדפסת הקורפוס הזוהרי. אולם, בניגוד לאמצעים אלה שתרמו להפצת הזוהר בקרב חוגי העילית הרבנית ששלטה בשפה הארמית, תרגום הזוהר לעברית נועד להרחיב את מעגל הקוראים של הזוהר מעבר לחוגים אלה, לאוכלוסייה משכילה רחבה יותר שקראה עברית אך התקשתה בקריאת הארמית. כך, ר׳ יצחק מר חיים המקובל הספרדי הסביר במכתבו לחכם האיטלקי, ר׳ יצחק מפיסא, שהוא תרגם לעברית מאמר זוהר משום שיהודי איטליה אינם בקיאים בשפה הארמית: ״משום שאינכם מורגלים בארץ הזאת בתרגום ירושלמי אמרתי להעתיקו מלה במלה אל לשון הקדש״.[12] כידוע, הדפסת הזוהר באמצע המאה השש עשרה עוררה התנגדות עזה בקרב חוגים שטענו שהזוהר הוא טקסט אזוטרי שאסור להפיצו ברבים. ייתכן שהתנגדות מעין זו היא הגורם לכך שהתרגומים הראשונים לעברית נשארו גנוזים בכתבי יד. כפי שנראה בהמשך, תרגומי זוהר לעברית בדפוס הופיעו במסגרת של אנתולוגיות שהוגדרו כ״פשט הזוהר״. עד ימינו יש חוגים האוסרים לתרגם את החטיבות הזוהריות שנתפסו כאזוטריות במיוחד (בעיקר את האדרות ואת ספרא דצניעותא).[13]

ג. תרגומי הזוהר ללטינית שנכתבו על ידי מקובלים נוצרים במאה השש עשרה

למן ראשית המאה השש עשרה תורגם הזוהר גם ללטינית. במסגרת התפיסה הרנסנסית, על קיומה של חכמה קדומה — prisca theologia או philosophia pereniss — שהתגלתה לאדם הראשון ולמשה והגיעה לביטויה העמוק ביותר בנצרות, גילו חכמים נוצרים עניין רב בקבלה ובספר הזוהר, שנתפסו כקרובים במיוחד לידע האלוהי המקורי. במסגרת זו, יזמו מקובלים נוצרים תרגומים של ספר הזוהר. כך, בראשית המאה השש עשרה, הובאו תרגומים מן הזוהר בלטינית (המבוססים על ציטוטי הזוהר בפירוש התורה של רקנאטי),

מכתב יד זה נדפס על ידי עובדיה הדיה בירושלים בשנת תש״ו. ראו הדיה, ספר הזוהר השלם. וראו תשבי ולחובר, עמ׳ 112, הערה 8; ולהלן, הערה 155.

12 גרינופ, אגרת קבלית, עמ׳ 370. גם ר׳ מנחם ציון, המקובל האשכנזי שפעל בשלהי המאה החמש עשרה, היה מודע לקושי של קוראיו בהבנת השפה הארמית. בספרו ״צפוני ציוני״ הוא כותב, לאחר שהוא מצטט מאמר זוהרי: ״[משום ש]אין כל אדם בקי בלשון ארמית אצטריך להביא דברי הרמב״ן כי המה דברים מחוורים יותר״ (ציון, צפוני ציוני, עמ׳ סא).

13 איסור זה נקבע בעקבות התגובה החריפה של רבני בגדד, חברון וירושלים, בכללם הבן איש חי, על פרסום תרגום של האדרא זוטא לערבית יהודית. ראו להלן, הערה 81.

בחיבוריהם של פאולוס ריקיוס (Paul Ricius), פטרוס גאלאטינוס (Pietro di Galatino) ואוגוסטינוס יוסטיניאנוס (Agostino Giustiniani).[14] באותה תקופה תורגמו קטעים מן הזוהר ללטינית עבור הקרדינל איג׳ידיו די ויטרבו (Egidio de Viterbo), ככל הנראה על ידי ברוך מבניוונטו.[15] המקובל הנוצרי הצרפתי גיום פוסטל (Guillaume Postel) סיים את תרגומו הראשון של הזוהר ללטינית בשנת 1553, וקיווה להדפיס אותו בבית הדפוס של אופורינוס (Oporinus) בבזל. לאחר שכתב היד של תרגום זה, שאופורינוס סירב להדפיס, אבד, תרגם פוסטל, בין השנים 1562–1569, חלקים מן הזוהר שנית — הפעם על סמך מהדורת דפוס קרימונה. תרגום זה אף הוא לא הופיע בדפוס.[16] בהקדמה לתרגומו השני לזוהר כתב פוסטל שהזוהר מכיל את התורה שבעל פה שניתנה למשה בסיני והועלתה על הכתב על ידי שמעון הצדיק הנזכר בברית החדשה, שהיה שייך לקבוצה יהודית סודית שהאמינה בישו.[17] לדעתו, האמיתות של הברית החדשה ושל הזוהר זהות זו לזו ומכילות את תורתיה של הדת האמתית, שנזנחה בידי היהודים שדחו את ישו ונשכחה על ידי הנוצרים.[18] פוסטל, שראה את עצמו כ״אפיפיור של התאולגיה הטבעית והזוהרית״ (hujus theologoae naturalis et Zoharinae Papa), ראה בתרגום הזוהר משימה משיחית, המסמלת את תחילתו של העידן הרביעי של ההיסטוריה.[19]

14 ראו סקרה, הזוהר, עמ׳ 25–34; שלום, התחלותיה, עמ׳ 31; מרחביה, שתי מובאות, עמ׳ 566–567. קטעים קצרים של מאמרי זוהר תורגמו ללטינית עוד קודם, ככל הנראה במאה הארבע עשרה. ראו שם, עמ׳ 560–568.

15 ראו סקרה, הזוהר, עמ׳ 23, 34–42.

16 ראו שם, עמ׳ 23, 51–61; קונץ, פוסטל, עמ׳ 110, 112–113, 137; פטרי, מגדר, עמ׳ 39–40, 92. לדעת קונץ (קונץ, פוסטל, עמ׳ 84), פוסטל החל לתרגם את הזוהר בשנת 1548. פוסטל (שהחל ללמוד קבלה עם יוהן וידמנשטטר [Widmanstetter] ושהכיר את ספריותיהם של הקרדינל איג׳ידיו דה ויטרבו ושל המדפיס דניאל בומברג) מספר שמי שסייעה לו בהבנת הזוהר היתה האם יוהנה (Madre Zuana), הבתולה מונציה, אישה לא מלומדת שטיפלה בחולים ובעניים, שאותה פגש בזמן שהותו בונציה וזיהה אותה כשכינה וכהופעה של ישו בדמות נשית. סקרה הדפיס קטעים מתרגומו של פוסטל (סקרה, הזוהר, עמ׳ 61–78) ואת ההקדמה לתרגום (שם, עמ׳ 104–114). לאחרונה התגלה בספרייה העירונית ברואן עותק של זוהר בדפוס קרימונה עם הערות בכתב ידו של פוסטל, שעליו ביסס פוסטל את תרגומו השני לזוהר. על כך ראו נבו, מפוסטל לסימון, עמ׳ 75–88. פוסטל תרגם אף את ספר הבהיר. על כך ראו קונץ, פוסטל, עמ׳ 85, הערה 27; פטרי, מגדר, עמ׳ 40.

17 מקגין, מקובלים ונוצרים, עמ׳ 25. כפי שנראה להלן, מקובלים נוצריים בתקופה מאוחרת יותר זיהו את שמעון הצדיק הנזכר בברית החדשה (לוקס ב, כה–כח) כר׳ שמעון בר יוחאי.

18 שם, עמ׳ 26.

19 שם, עמ׳ 25.

תרגומי הזוהר ללטינית במאה השש עשרה נעשו כאמור במסגרת התפיסה שהקבלה בכלל, וספר הזוהר בפרט, מכילים ידע אלוהי קדום, כמו גם טכניקות פרשניות, המגלות ומאששות את אמיתותן של הדוקטרינות הנוצריות. בעקבות כך, גילו המקובלים הנוצרים עניין בהרחבת ההיכרות עם הזוהר בקרב הנוצרים — באמצעות תרגומו ללטינית — כמו גם בהפצתו בשפות המקור בקרב היהודים. ואכן, בנוסף לתרגומי הזוהר ללטינית, מקובלים נוצרים נטלו חלק בהעתקת כתבי יד של הזוהר ואף היו מעורבים בהדפסות הזוהר באיטליה במחצית המאה השש עשרה.[20]

לתרגומי הזוהר ללטינית ולמעורבותם של נוצרים בהדפסת הזוהר היתה השפעה על הפולמוס הפנים יהודי בשאלת הדפסת הזוהר. ר׳ ישראל פינצי, מהמתנגדים החריפים להדפסה, טען שהדפסת הזוהר תשחק לידי הנוצרים המעוניינים בתרגום הזוהר: ״ופן ח״ו יבא גם כן בידי האומות ויעתיקו אותה בלשונם לעשות בהם מעשים כרצונם״.[21] לעומת זאת, ר׳ עמנואל מבניוונטו, המגיהַ של מהדורת מנטובה שי״ח של הזוהר, טען שממילא לנוצרים יש יותר כתבי קבלה: ״הן מכתיבת יד הן מדפוס בלשונם״.[22]

ד. אנתולוגיות של תרגומי זוהר לעברית ולאידיש במאה השבע עשרה

כאמור, תרגומים של הזוהר לעברית לא הופיעו בדפוס במאה השש עשרה,[23] ככל

20 כך, למשל, כתבי יד זוהריים הועתקו עבור הקרדינל איג׳ידיו די ויטרבו (כ״י רומא, קזנטנזה S.M. 2971 [Sacerdote 178] [ס׳ 388]) ועבור יוחנן אלברכט וידמנשטטר, רקטור האוניברסיטה של וינה (כי״י מינכן Heb. 217 [ס׳ 23122]; Heb. 218 [ס׳ 31424]; Heb. 219 [ס׳ 31425]). גיום פוסטל (שלמד אצל וידמנשטטר) טען שהוא יעץ לר׳ משה בסולה לתמוך בהדפסת הזוהר. ראו תשבי, הפולמוס, עמ׳ 98–99.

21 אסף, לפולמוס, עמ׳ 8. מעניין לציין שר׳ משה בסולה, שכזכור עמד בקשרים עם גיום פוסטל, הביע חשש דומה לאחר ששינה את דעתו והפך מתומך בהדפסת הזוהר למתנגד. ר׳ משה בסולה לא חשש מפני עצם הפצת הזוהר לנוצרים, אלא מכך שלא יימצאו יהודים שיוכלו להסביר להם את פירוש הדברים!: ״שלישית כי בריבוי מציאות הספרים בדפוס יקנו מהם רבים אשר לא מ[ב]ני ישראל המה וישאלו חכמי ישראל פירוש הדברים ואין מגיד ואין משמיע כי הדברים עתיקין ואין אתנו יודע אפילו כטפה מן הים, ואמרו הגויים רק עם סכל ונבל הגוי הזה אשר אין להם מדע והשכל בספריהם, ויוציאו לעז גם על המחברים, דבר שאי אפשר לשמע ונמצא שם שמים מתחלל״. מצוטט אצל תשבי, הפולמוס, עמ׳ 161.

22 הקדמת ר׳ עמנואל מבניוונטו לספר מערכת האלוהות, ד ע״א. וראו תשבי, הפולמוס, עמ׳ 142, הערה 45.

23 יוצאים מן הכלל הם הפרפרזות של הזוהר בעברית, הכלולות בפירושו לתורה של ר׳ אברהם סבע, צרור המור, שנדפס בונציאה רפ״ג, ונציאה ש״ו, ונציאה שכ״ז וקראקא שנ״ה.

הנראה בגלל ההתנגדות להפצת הזוהר ברבים. תרגומים של הזוהר לעברית — ולאידיש — נדפסו לראשונה רק במאה השבע עשרה. גם אז נדפסו אנתולוגיות של מאמרי זוהר, בעיקר מאמרים שנתפסו כ"פשט" הזוהר, ולא תרגומים מקיפים. אנתולוגיה קצרה של תרגומי זוהר לעברית, ספר מקור חכמה של ר' יששכר בער מקרמניץ, נדפסה בפראג בשנת שע"א (1611),[24] ובראשית המאה השבע עשרה בפולין הכין ר' שמואל בן בנימין מלובלין ילקוט של תרגומי זוהר לעברית, בשם "ספר דברים עתיקים", שעל סמך ההסכמות המופיעות בכתב היד שלו נועדו לדפוס.[25] באותה התקופה הופיע גם עיבוד באידיש של מאמר מן הזוהר המתאר את היכל היכלות הנשים הצדיקות שבגן עדן, שנדפס בתוך החיבור "מעשה גדול מר' שמעון בר יוחאי", שצורף ל"ספר עולם הבא" שנדפס בהנאו בשנת ש"פ (1620).[26] במחצית השנייה של המאה, בקושטא ת"כ (1660), נדפסה בפעם הראשונה אנתולוגיה מקיפה יותר של מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים לעברית בספר "מעולפת ספירים" של ר' שלמה אלגאזי.[27] העיבוד לאידיש של המאמר הזוהרי העוסק בהיכלות הנשים הצדיקות בגן עדן נדפס מספר פעמים במאה השבע עשרה, למן שנת ש"פ.[28] סיפורים מן הזוהר (כמו גם ממקורות קבליים אחרים) בתרגום לאידיש (ובכללם המאמר על היכלות הנשים הצדיקות) נדפסו בספר "מעשה ה'" לר' שמעון עקיבא בער בן יוסף, שנדפס לראשונה בשלהי המאה השבע עשרה (חלק ראשון, בפפד"מ תנ"א, וחלק שני בפיורדא תנ"ד ובמהדורות רבות נוספות במאה השמונה עשרה).[29] מעשיות מן הזוהר

24 ראו שלום, ביבליוגרפיה, עמ' 196; גריס, ספרות ההנהגות, עמ' 16, 76–80; אלבוים, פתיחות והסתגרות, עמ' 186–188, 197.

25 כ"י אוקספורד בודלי 1563 (Opp. 103, לשעבר Opp. 885) (ס' 16931). בסוף כתב היד מופיעות הסכמות רבנים מהשנים ת"ב–ת"ז המצביעות על כך שהחיבור נועד להדפסה.

26 ראו צפתמן, הסיפורת ביידיש, עמ' 42. החיבור מבוסס על מאמר זוהר מ"רב מתיבתא", ראו זוהר, ח"ג קסז ע"ב. ציטוטים מן הזוהר מתורגמים לאידיש הובאו לראשונה בסדר מצוות נשים של ר' בנימין סלוניק שנדפס בקראקא של"ז (ואף תורגם מאוחר יותר לאיטלקית). ראו שמרוק, ספרות יידיש, עמ' 56; פראם, הלכה, עמ' 159, הערה 79.

27 שלום, ביבליוגרפיה, עמ' 204; גריס, ספרות ההנהגות, עמ' 75–76.

28 המאמר, המבוסס כאמור על זוהר, ח"ג קסז ע"ב, נדפס שוב בתרגום שונה, בשם "מעשה אויז דען זוהר פרשת לך לך", בפראג בשנת 1665 ובפיורדא בשנת 1692. ראו מעשה מן הזוהר פרשת לך לך (מהד' פראג) ומעשה מן הזוהר פרשת לך לך (מהד' פיורדא) וראו צפתמן, הסיפורת ביידיש, עמ' 49, 73. מאמר זה, בתרגום לאידיש, נכלל גם בספר "מעשה ה'", שיידון להלן. מאמר זוהר נוסף באידיש נדפס בפיורדא תנ"ח, בשם "מעשה אויז דען זוהר פרשת ויחי". ראו, מעשה מן הזוהר פרשת ויחי.

29 החלק הראשון נדפס שנית בפפד"א תס"ז. החלק השני נדפס שנית בפפד"מ תפ"ב, ושוב בפפד"א תקמ"ח ותקנ"ו. ראו, בן יוסף, מעשה ה'. מהדורה המאחדת בתוכה את שני

באידיש, נדפסו גם בספר "אביר יעקב" של אותו המחבר, שנדפס לראשונה בזולצבך ת"ס.[30]

כאמור, תרגומי הזוהר נועדו להרחיב את מעגל קוראי הזוהר לקהל שלא יכול היה לקרוא את הזוהר במקורו. משום שהזוהר נתפס כטקסט אזוטרי, שאף הדפסתו בארמית עוררה פולמוס ער, נאלצו סוכני התרבות שעסקו בתרגום הזוהר לעברית (ומאוחר יותר לשפות אחרות) להצדיק את מפעלם. מחבריהם של האנתולוגיות הראשונות של תרגומי הזוהר לעברית שהועלו על הדפוס הצדיקו את תרגומיהם באמצעות הבחנה בין חלקים אזוטריים ואקזוטריים של הזוהר, ובאמצעות הטענה שהאנתולוגיות מכילות מאמרי "פשט" המותרים להפצה ברבים.[31] כך, ר' יששכר בער מקרמניץ מתאר את ספרו "מקור חכמה" כלקט של פרפרזות על "פשטי הזוהר" המיועד ל"המון בני העולם". לדבריו, "אין תועלת בהבאת דבריו בלשונו כהוויתו וצורתו מכמה פנים האחד ממנו הוא שכל דברי לשון הזוהר הם סתומים וחתומים לרוב המון בני העולם גם סוגיות מאמריו וכיוצא בו ועוד יש כמה טעמים לדבר כהנה וכהנה".[32] גם ר' שלמה אלגאזי הדגיש שהאנתולוגיה שלו "מעולפת ספירים" מכילה לקט של מאמרי הזוהר "על דרך הפשט": "וקראתיו מעולפת ספירים, להיות הדברים ספיריים לקוטים מספר הזוהר על דרך הפשט". ההבחנה בין "פשט" הזוהר לבין ה"סוד" שבזוהר אפשרה הפצה של מאמרי זוהר לרבים באמצעות תרגומיהם לעברית ולאידיש, תוך שמירה על הדימוי של הזוהר כטקסט אזוטרי. כך הועצם הונם התרבותי של אלה שנתפסו כשולטים בגוף הידע האזוטרי שבזוהר.

החלקים, ובה מסודרים הסיפורים מן הזוהר יחד, נדפסה לראשונה באמשטרדם תס"ח ושוב בפפד"מ תפ"ב, פפד"א תפ"ד, פפד"מ תפ"ה, רדלהיים תק"ג ופיורדא תק"מ. מהדורה בשם "מעשי ה'" הכוללת גם את ספר "מעשה נסים" נדפסה באמשטרדם תפ"ג. על אודות חיבור זה ומהדורותיו השונות, ראו צפתמן, הסיפורת ביידיש, עמ' 62–66, 85, 89, 91–94, 120–122, 124, 132, 148, 152, 160. וראו גם באומגרטן, הקדמה, עמ' 302; הנ"ל, טקסטים מיסטיים, עמ' 87; ויסלר, קולות האמהות, עמ' 43; גריס, הספר כסוכן תרבות, עמ' 101. מעשיות מן הזוהר באידיש הלקוחות משני חלקיו של ספר מעשה ה' נדפסו גם ב"מעשה בוך" שנדפס בפפד"מ תס"ג. ראו צפתמן, שם, עמ' 84–85. על אודות ר' שמעון עקיבא בער בן יוסף, ראו ויסלר, שם, עמ' 82.

30 ומהדורות נוספות באמשטרדם תע"ז ובפיורדא תפ"ט. וראו באומגרטן, טקסטים מיסטיים, עמ' 69; ויסלר, קולות האמהות, עמ' 43. בתחילת המאה השמונה עשרה נדפס בפראג "אין וואונדרליך שין מעשה אויז דען זוהר", מצורף לספר עולם הבא, והוא תרגום לסיפור מתוך מדרש הנעלם לפרשת וירא. ראו צפתמן, הסיפורת ביידיש, עמ' 89.

31 על ההבחנה בין "פשט" ל"סוד" שבזוהר, ראו הוס, הפירוש האנתולוגי, עמ' 10.

32 קרמניץ, מקור חכמה א ע"ב. וראו אלבוים, פתיחות והסתגרות, עמ' 187.

ה. הדפסת תרגומי זוהר ללטינית על ידי מקובלים נוצרים בשלהי המאה השבע עשרה וראשית המאה השמונה עשרה

במאה השש עשרה תורגם הזוהר ללטינית, אולם רק בשלהי המאה השבע עשרה הופיעו לראשונה חלקים נרחבים של הספרות הזוהרית בלטינית בדפוס, בספרו רב ההשפעה של המקובל הנוצרי כריסטיאן קנור פון רוזנרות (Christian Knorr von Rosenroth), "הקבלה העירומה" (*Kabbalah Denudata*). בניגוד למקובלים היהודים שהדפיסו במאה השבע עשרה רק תרגומי זוהר שנתפסו כאקזוטריים, תרגם המקובל הנוצרי, בחלק השני של ספרו, שנדפס בשנת 1684 בפרנקפורט על נהר מיין,[33] דווקא את החטיבות הזוהריות שנתפסו כאזוטריות ביותר: ספרא דצניעותא, אדרא רבא ואדרא זוטא.[34] ספרו של פון רוזנרות היה, עד למאה העשרים, המקור החשוב ביותר להפצת הקבלה בכלל וספר הזוהר בפרט בתרבות האירופית. כפי שנראה בהמשך, חלק מתרגומי הזוהר לשפות אירופיות שנדפסו במאה התשע עשרה והעשרים התבססו על תרגומיו של קנור פון רוזנרות.

בדומה למקובלים הנוצרים במאה השש עשרה, גם קנור פון רוזנרות מצא בקבלה בכלל ובספר הזוהר בפרט את המקור הקדום והטהור של החכמה הקדומה שנמסרה מדור לדור:

> בכתבים הקבליים של היהודים קיוויתי למצוא את השרידים של הפילוסופיה הברברית־היהודית הקדומה... לא הייתי לי שאיפה גדולה יותר מאשר ליהנות מהשמש עצמה והזוהר הבהיר שלה, לאחר שיתפזרו ענני המכשלות וההסתרות. בקושי יכולתי לקוות לראות אותה, אלא אם אלך בעקבות הנחל עד למעיין עצמו, אשר אותו חשבתי למצוא בספרים העתיקים הללו.[35]

33 חלקו הראשון של הספר נדפס בזולצבאך בשנת 1677. בחומרים הנכללים בקבלה העירומה נדפסו גם תרגומים לחלקים מחיבורים קבליים שונים, בכללם שערי אורה לר׳ יוסף ג׳יקטיליה, ספר פרדס רימונים לרמ״ק, ספר עמק המלך לר׳ נפתלי בכרך, ספר שער השמים לר׳ אברהם כהן הירירה ועוד. לתיאור תוכנה של הקבלה העירומה, ראו קר, קבלה נוצרית, עמ׳ 68–77. על כך שהקבלה העירומה, על שני חלקיה, סובבת סביב הזוהר ונועדה לסייע ללימוד שלו, ראו קילכר, הספרייה של קנור, עמ׳ 221.

34 קנור פון רוזנרות, הקבלה העירומה, ח״ב, עמ׳ 347–598. כמו כן, תרגם קנור פון רונזרות שלושה מאמרים מהקדמת הזוהר עם פירושים לוראיניים, ראו שם, עמ׳ 146–186. על אפשרותה של השפעה שבתאית על בחירת הטקסטים המתורגמים, ראו הוס, זוהר זולצבך.

35 קנור פון רוזנרות, הקבלה העירומה, ח״א (2), עמ׳ 75–76. במקור: "In Scritptis

בעקבות המקובלים הנוצרים של תקופת הרנסנס, קנור פון רוזנרות והמקובלים הנוצרים שפעלו עמו בחצרו של הדוכס כריסטיאן אוגוסט (Christain August) בזולצבך ראו בקבלה ובזוהר אמצעי מוצלח להמרת דתם של יהודים. בכרך הראשון של "הקבלה העירומה" טען פון רוזנרות שמניסיונו למד שהעמקת הידע של הנוצרים בקבלה מאפשרת דיאלוג טוב יותר עם היהודים. לדבריו, הצגת אמיתותיה של הנצרות בטרמינולוגיה המקובלת על היהודים תוכל לשכנע אותם להתנצר.[36] תרגומי הזוהר וכתבים קבליים אחרים ב"קבלה העירומה" נועדו, לדבריו, להעמיק את ידיעתם של הנוצרים בקבלה לצורך זה, והוא קיווה שבדרך זו יגיעו היהודים לקריאה בכתבי הקודש הנוצריים: "ועל ידי כך, לבסוף, הם יוכלו לקרוא את הכתבים שלנו וכך בהדרגה, יובלו חזרה לדרך האמת".[37]

מבחינה זו, תרגום הזוהר ללטינית היה רק חלק ממיזם מיסיונרי קבלי־נוצרי רחב הרבה יותר של קנור פון רוזנרות ובני חוגו. בשנת 1684 (תמ"ד), באותה השנה שנתפרסמו תרגומי הזוהר של קנור פון רוזנרות ללטינית, יזמו ומימנו המקובלים הנוצרים בזולצבך את הדפסת הזוהר (בשפת המקור), בבית הדפוס של אורי בן שרגא בלוך. הדפסה זו נועדה, ללא ספק, להרחיב את ההיכרות של היהודים עם הזוהר, שכאמור נתפס על ידי המקובלים הנוצרים כעולה בקנה אחד עם הדוקטרינות הנוצריות. את המיזם הקבלי־נוצרי השלימה, באותה שנה גם כן בזולצבך, הדפסה של הברית החדשה בסורית באותיות עבריות — "דיתיקא חדתא". ייתכן שהדפסה זו נועדה לאפשר ליהודים הבקיאים בלשון הארמית של הזוהר לקרוא את הברית החדשה באותה שפה, וכפי שקיווה קנור

Judaeorum Cabbalisticis me inventurum sperem, si quid superest Antiquae Philosophiae Barbarico-Judaicae. Nihil magis in votis habui, quam ut dissipatis omnibus obstantium impedimentorum nubilis Sole ipso atque Luce ejusdem clariore, frui mihi liceret; quam aspicere posse vix speravi, nisi ipsorum vestigiis insistens rivulorum horum ductu ipasm persequerer scaturiginem; quam in antiquioribus illis Libris me inventurum adhoc opinor". וראו קודר, השפעת הקבלה, עמ' 111.

36 תפיסה דומה, כפי שהראתה ארנסטין ון דר ול, עמדה מאחורי תרגום ספר יצירה ללטינית, על ידי יוהן סטפן ריטנגל (Johann Stephan Rittangel) בשנות הארבעים של המאה השבע עשרה. ראו ון דר ול, יוהן סטפן ריטנגל, עמ' 124. המלומד ההולנדי יוהן מוריאן (Jonannes Moriaen) טען במכתב לסמואל הרטליב (Samuel Hartlib), משנת 1647, שיש צורך בידע טוב יותר של הקבלה לצורך המרתם של יהודים, והציע להכשיר אדם מיוחד שיעסוק בכך במשך שש או שבע שנים וכל חצי שנה יפרסם ספר על הקבלה. ראו שם, עמ' 125, 132.

37 קנור פון רוזנרות, הקבלה העירומה, ח"א (2), עמ' 74. במקור: "quo tandem & scripta nostra illi legere possent & ita pedetentim ad veritatis iter reducerentur". וראו קודר, השפעת הקבלה, עמ' 113.

פון רוזנרות (כנזכר בקטע שצוטט לעיל), אף לעמוד על הקרבה הרבה שבין הזוהר לברית החדשה.[38]

תרגומי הזוהר ללטינית של קנור פון רוזנרות לא נועדו רק לצרכים מיסיונריים, אלא אף לצרכים פנים נוצריים, במסגרת האידאולוגיה האקומנית של קנור פון רוזנרות ובני חוגו. כפי שהראתה אליסון קודר, קנור פון רוזנרות שילב את המסורת הרנסנסית, שראתה בזוהר שריד של התאולוגיה הקדומה, עם הקריאה הפרוטסטנטית הרדיקלית לשיבה לנצרות־היהודית האפוסטולית הקדומה. לדעתו, השיבה למסורת קדומה זו, המיוצגת בספר הזוהר, תוכל ליישב את המחלוקות הפנים נוצריות שהביאו למלחמת שלושים השנה:

> משום שחשדתי שהקרע הגדול של הדתות הנוצריות נבע מההבדל הגדול בעקרונות פילוסופיים והגדרות מטפיסיות שבין הנוצרים... מיד עלה בדעתי לחפש אחר אותה פילוסופיה קדומה, שהתחזקה בתקופת ישו והשליחים... כאשר עמדתי לחקור אותן דעות עתיקות על האל ושאר השאלות הרוחניות והתאולוגיות, נתקלתי בספר הקדום ביותר של היהודים, המכונה ספר הזוהר... גיליתי שהמסורות והפרקים עצמם, שמוטב לכנותם פרגמנטים, הם קדומים דיים, ומסבירים באופן מספק את הדעות ואת ההיפותזות הקדומות ביותר.[39]

38 יש לציין שבמחצית השנייה של המאה השמונה עשרה נעשו גם כמה ניסיונות לתרגום הברית החדשה לעברית (בהם היה פעיל במיוחד פטר סרריוס, מורו של קנור פון רוזנרות). על כך, ראו ון דר ול, פטר סרריוס, עמ׳ 79–80. ון דר ול לא ציינה במאמרה שהניסיונות לתרגם את הברית החדשה לעברית באותה תקופה אמנם לא יצאו לפועל, אך תרגום לסורית באותיות עבריות — שאפשר ליהודים לקרוא בברית החדשה — נדפס באותה תקופה. דומה שהתרגום לסורית באותיות עבריות היה עדיף בעיני המקובלים הנוצרים, הן משום שהוא עקף את הצורך לתרגם מחדש את הברית החדשה (התרגום העברי מן המאה השש עשרה נתפס בעיניהם כמסורבל ומיושן), הן משום שהלבוש הסורי של הברית החדשה הדגיש בעיניהם את הדמיון בינה לבין הזוהר. מעניין לציין בהקשר זה גם את התרגומים לעברית של הברית החדשה של יוהן קמפר, המומר השבתאי שעסק אף בפרשנות הזוהר, ואת פירושיו לזוהר שליוו את תרגום הזוהר ללטינית של תלמידו אנדריאס נורליוס. ראו להלן, הערה 46.

39 קנור פון רוזנרות, הקבלה העירומה, ח״א (2), עמ׳ 3–4. במקור: "Caeterum, cum tanta Religionum Christianarum divortia non aliunde orta esse suspicarer, quam a tanta Principiorum Philosophicorum, definitionumque Metaphysicarum inter Christianos diversitate... Illico mentem subiit, illam ipsam indagare Philosophiae antiquitatem, quae ipsius etiam Christi & Apostolorum tempore viguit... Scrutaturus igitur antiquas illas de Deo, caeterisque quaestionibus Pneumaticis atque Theologicis opiniones, in antiquissimum illum Judaeorum librum incidi quem Sohar, seu splendorum appellant...

לדעתו של קנור פון רוזנרות, הפילוגים בנצרות נבעו מהסתמכותם על הפילוסופיה היוונית, שלדעתו עיוותה את המסורת היהודית הקדומה. על ידי חזרה למקורה הקדום של הנצרות, המצוי בספרות הקבלה בכלל ובזוהר בפרט, יוכלו הפרוטסטנטים והקתולים — ואף היהודים — להתאחד שוב תחת אמונה אחת.[40] מבחינה זו, לפרויקט הזוהרי של קנור היתה מטרה משיחית מובהקת, שייתכן, כפי שהציע אנדריאס קילכר, הושפעה מהתנועה השבתאית, שמילנָריסטים נוצרים, ובכללם, מורו של קנור פון רוזנרות, פטר סרריוס, גילו בה עניין רב.[41] לאחרונה, הצבעתי על מספר עדויות שמעידות, ככל הנראה, על מעורבותם של שבתאים יהודים במפעל הדפסת "הקבלה העירומה" וזוהר מהדורת זולצבך; בכללם עדות על כך שקנור פון רוזנרות והנסיך כריסטיאן אוגוסט למדו זוהר אצל מקובל מאיזמיר.[42]

יש להדגיש שלמרות החשיבות הרבה שקנור העניק לקבלה, בדבריו ניכרת גם אמביוולנטיות ביחס לערכו של הזוהר, שאותו הוא מתאר כטינופת (Sordes) המכילה בתוכה זהב ואבנים טהורות:

> השלכתי עצמי לדרך, שמעטים פסעו בה, ושאף אחד שאני מכיר לא עבר בה. דרך המלאה, יתירה מכך, בכל כך הרבה אבנים חדות, מהמורות, בורות ובוץ שכזה, שאין זה מפתיע שרבים כל כך, שבאופן בלתי נמנע נמלאו חשש, עזבו אותה בשאט נפש... לכן, אציג בפניך בקצרה את הזהב ואבני החן שחשפתי עד כה מתוך הטינופת הזו, ואת התקווה המובילה אותי קדימה.[43]

ipsa tamen capitula atque tradita, quae fragmenta potius dicenda sunt, antique satis esse, & antiquissimas explicare opiniones atque hypotheses abunde reperi". וראו קודר, השפעת הקבלה, עמ' 114; קילכר, הספרייה של קנור, עמ' 222.

40 קילכר, הספרייה של קנור, עמ' 222; קודר, השפעת הקבלה, עמ' 117.

41 קילכר, שם, עמ' 218–223.

42 על כך מוסר ההבראיסט ההולנדי גיום סורנהוסיוס (Guilielmus Surenhusius) במכתב שנדפס כהקדמה לספרו של אנדריאס נורליוס, "כוכב השחר", שיידון להלן. על פרשה זו ועדויות נוספות למעורבותם של שבתאים במפעלי ההדפסה בזולצבך, ראו הוס, זוהר זולצבך.

43 קנור פון רוזרות, הקבלה העירומה, ח"א (2), עמ' 4 במקור: "viam ingressus sum paucis tritam, a nemine, quod sciam, emensam, caeterum tot scrupis, salebris, voraginibus, praecipitiis, tantoque coeno refertam, ut mirum non sit quin plerique inevitabili territi fastidio, eam deseruerint... atque adeo paucis Tibi delineabo, quod aurum, quasque gemmas ex his sordibus jamjam eruerim & quae me spes ducat ulterius". וראו קודר, השפעת הקבלה, עמ' 114–115. לדעת קודר, אמירות שליליות אלה כלפי הזוהר נועדו להדוף את הביקורת של נוצרים אנטישמים. אולם דומני שאין סיבה לפקפק בהערכה האמביוולנטית של הזוהר על ידי קנור פון רוזנרות. כפי שנראה בהמשך, הערכה

בראשית המאה השמונה עשרה נדפסו שתי אנתולוגיות נוספות של תרגומי זוהר ללטינית. בשנת 1720 באמסטרדם, פרסם ההבראיסט השוודי אנדריאס נורליוס (Andreas Norrelius),[44] ספר קצר בשם: "כוכב השחר של האמונה האורתודקסית של המקובלים הקדמונים".[45] האנתולוגיה כוללת מאמרי זוהר עם פירושים כריסטולוגיים, הלקוחים מ"שער השילוש" של ספר "מטה משה", פירוש הזוהר של מורו של נורליוס, היהודי (השבתאי) המומר יוהן קמפר (Johannes Kemper — לשעבר, משה בן אהרון כהן מקרקוב).[46] מאמרי הזוהר ופירושיו של קמפר מובאים בשפת המקור (ארמית ועברית) ובתרגום ללטינית, עם הערות מפורטות של נורליוס, שהקדים לספרו הקדמה ארוכה הכוללת גם תרגום ללטינית של הפיוט המפורסם "בר יוחאי נמשחת אשריך".[47] ספרו של נורליוס נדפס שנית, בתרגום לצרפתית, בראשית המאה העשרים.[48]

בעקבות מקובלים נוצרים אחרים מתקופת הרנסנס והברוק, גם נורליוס קיבל את קדמות הזוהר ואת ייחוסו לרשב"י (שאותו הוא מזהה עם שמעון הצדיק, שעל פי הברית החדשה החזיק בזרועותיו את ישו התינוק).[49] נורליוס, כמו

אמביוולנטית דומה מאפיינת את הגישה לזוהר של הוגים יהודים בתקופה המודרנית. וראו גם הוס, התפעלות וסלידה, עמ' 203–237.

44 על אודות נורליוס, ראו שפס, ר' יוהן קמפר, עמ' 167; הנ"ל, יהודי ברוק, עמ' 68–75; אסולין, המרת דת, עמ' 468–469.

45 ראו שלום, ביביליוגרפיה, עמ' 116; שפס, ר' יוהן קמפר, עמ' 167; הנ"ל, יהודי ברוק, עמ' 68; אסולין, המרת דת, עמ' 426, הערה 11. על בחירת השם של הספר (על פי האיגרת השנייה של פטרוס א, 19), ראו בהקדמתו של נורליוס, כוכב השחר, עמ' 22 (מעניין לציין שנורליוס מביא שם את הפסוק גם בתרגום לסורית באותיות עבריות).

46 על אודות קמפר ופירושו לזוהר, ראו שפס, ר' יוהן קמפר, עמ' 146–177; הנ"ל, יהודי ברוק, עמ' 60–67; אסולין, המרת דת, עמ' 423–470; וולפסון, יוהן קמפר, עמ' 139–187. בנוסף לפירושו לזוהר תרגם קמפר לעברית וכתב פירוש (בשם "מאירת עיניים") לבשורה על פי מתי, ותרגם לעברית את האיגרת לעברים. מבחינה זו, כמו מבחינות רבות אחרות, יש דמיון בין הפעילות של בני חוגו של קנור פון רוזנרות בזולצבך לפעילותם של קמפר ותלמידו נורליוס. על כך, ראו הוס, זוהר זולצבך.

47 נורליוס מספר שמצא את השיר ב"סדר תפילות" שיצא לאור ב־1681, ומאוחר יותר ראה אותו גם בספר "אמרי בינה" (לר' יששכר בער מקרמניץ). ראו נורליוס, כוכב השחר, עמ' 8–9; הנ"ל, כוכב השחר (צרפתית), עמ' 343–344. השיר מובא בתרגום ללטינית לצד המקור העברי.

48 התרגום לצרפתית יצא לאור בשם "Aurore de la Foi Orthodoxe des Anciens Cabbalistes" בכתב העת האוקולטי ה"מסווה של איסיס" (*Le Voile D'Isis*), כרך 38, 1933, בתרגום של המומר ז'אן דה פאולי (Jean de Pauly), על ידי פול וויו (Paul Vulliaud). על תרגומים אחרים לזוהר של דה פאולי ושל וויו ארחיב להלן.

49 נורליוס, כוכב השחר, עמ' 6; הנ"ל, כוכב השחר (צרפתית), עמ' 342. כזכור, כבר גיום פוסטל טען ששמעון הצדיק הנזכר בברית החדשה הוא מחבר הזוהר. ראו לעיל, הערה 17. טענה זו מופיעה גם באיגרת שנזכרה לעיל, שהנסיך כריסטיאן אוגוסט שלח לבן דודו,

מורו קמפר, הניח שהזוהר מכיל דוקטרינות יהודיות מקוריות הזהות לדוגמות של הנצרות האוונגלית.[50] גם לנורליוס, כמו לקנור פון רוזנרות ובני חוגו, היו שאיפות מיסיונריות בתרגום הזוהר. נורליוס הכריז בשער ספרו שהוא מיועד ליהודים ולנוצרים (Judaeis aeque ac Christianis) והוא הדפיס כאמור את מאמרי הזוהר ופירושיו הכריסטולוגיים של קמפר גם בשפת המקור. בהקדמה לספרו הוא אומר שמטרתו היא להפיץ בין היהודים — ולחזק בקרב הנוצרים — את אמונת השילוש, וקורא ליהודים להכיר בכך שהנוצרים מחזיקים באמונה הטהורה והאמיתית של אבותיהם.[51] נורליוס ניסה, ללא הצלחה, אף להדפיס את תרגום הברית החדשה לעברית שנעשה בידי קמפר. גם בכך (כמו גם בקשר האפשרי לשבתאות שיידון להלן) יש דמיון בין הפעילות של נורליוס וקמפר באופסלה בראשית המאה השמונה עשרה, לבין מפעלם של קנור פון רוזנרות ובני חוגו בזולצבך בשלהי המאה השבע עשרה.[52]

כפי שהזכרתי, תרגום הזוהר של נורליוס נוצר בהקשר שבתאי הטקסטים הזוהריים שהוא תרגם לקוחים מספר "מטה משה" של מורו של נורליוס, המומר יוהן קמפר, שהיה שבתאי לפני המרתו. כפי שהראתה שפרה אסולין, בפירושו של קמפר מופיעים מוטיבים קבליים־שבתאיים מובהקים, ולדעתה, ייתכן שהוא התנצר מתוך מניעים שבתאיים.[53] זאת ועוד, בהקדמה לספרו מספר

הנסיך פרידריך הראשון מסקסוניה, בשנת 1684. איגרת זו נדפסה בספרו של גוטפריד כריסטיאן זומר, שיידון להלן.

50 כך טוען גם גיום סורנהוסיוס במכתב שנדפס בהקדמה של נורליוס. לדבריו, תרגומיו של נורליוס, עם פירושיו של קמפר, ומראי המקום למקבילות בברית החדשה נועדו להראות את ההרמוניה שבין התאולוגים היהודים הקדומים לאוונגליסטים (האיגרת של סורנהויסוס נדפסה, ללא מספור עמודים, לאחר ההקדמה של נורליוס, כוכב השחר. וראו הנ"ל, כוכב השחר [צרפתית], עמ' 357). תפיסה זו עומדת גם ביסוד פירושו הכריסטולוגי לזוהר של מורו של נורליוס, המומר השבתאי יוהן קמפר. ראו שפס, ר' יוהן קמפר, עמ' 162; אסולין, המרת דת, עמ' 436–437, עמ' 468, הערה 100.

51 "Accedite itaque Israëlite, qui majorum vestrorum vestigia vos premere creditis, atque hic, positis odiis, priscam vestratium contemplamini Theolgoiam. Ad nos, inquam, tanquam ad fratres, fraterno accedite animo; nos enim majorum vestrorum veram ac germanam profitentes fidem" (נורליוס, כוכב השחר, עמ' 22; הנ"ל, כוכב השחר [צרפתית], עמ' 352) (תרגום: ובכן התקרבו בני ישראל, אתם, המאמינים שאתם הולכים בעקבות אבותיכם, וכאן, ללא שנאה, בחנו את התאולוגיה העתיקה שלכם. התקרבו אלינו, אני אומר, ברוח של אחוה, כאל אחים; שהרי אנחנו מאמינים באמונה האמיתית והנכונה של אבותיכם).

52 על תרגום הברית החדשה של קמפר ועל ניסיונו של נורליוס להדפיס תרגום זה, ראו אסולין, המרת דת, עמ' 424; שפס, ר' יוהן קמפר, עמ' 164–165.

53 ראו אסולין, שם, עמ' 423–470.

נורליוס על ספר "עוז לאלוהים" של המקובל השבתאי נחמיה חיון שנדפס בברלין בשנת 1713, ועומד על הדמיון בין פירושיו לזוהר לבין פירושיו הכריסטולוגיים של קמפר.[54] לאחר הקדמתו של נורליוס, נדפס מכתבו של ההבראיסט ההולנדי גיום סורנהוסיוס (Guillaume Surenhusius), המספר שחיון הוכיח על סמך ספר הזוהר את תורת השילוש ודוגמות נוצריות אחרות (כוונתו היא כמובן לתורת "תלת־קשרי דמהימנותא", שגם נורליוס גילה בה עניין רב).[55] כאמור לעיל, ייתכן שגורמים שבתאיים השפיעו על מפעל התרגום ועל הפצת הזוהר של פון רוזנרות ובני חוגו. כפי שנראה בהמשך, חוגים שבתאיים עמדו גם מאחורי תרגומים של הזוהר לשפות היהודים המדוברות באותה התקופה.

תרגומים נוספים של מאמרי זוהר ללטינית מראשית המאה השמונה עשרה מצויים באנתולוגיה של גוטפריד כריסטוף זומר (Gottfried Christoph Sommer), שנדפסה בגוטה (Gotha) ב־1734, תחת הכותרת הארמית־עברית: "זהר דמזהר כשמשא, כולי רזיא בהימנותא קדמיתא, נפיק מספר הזוהר של ר' שמעון בן יוחאי";[56] ובלטינית: *Specimen Theologiae Soharicae*. בדומה לתרגומיהם של פון רוזנרות ונורליוס, גם מאחורי מפעל התרגום של זומר עמדה מגמה קבלית־נוצרית מיסיונרית. זומר, שחילק את ספרו לעשרים סעיפים על פי דוגמות נוצריות שונות, האמין בהתאמה שבין הזוהר לברית החדשה, וכלל בספרו מאמרי זוהר שהיו קרובים לדעתו לדוקטרינות נוצריות.[57] כפי

54 נורליוס, כוכב השחר, עמ' 22–23; הנ"ל, כוכב השחר (צרפתית), עמ' 353. בהמשך מתאר נורליוס את הפולמוס שהתעורר באמסטרדם סביב ספרו של חיון. וראו שפס, יהודי ברוק, עמ' 70. נורליוס העתיק בכתב ידו פרק מספר "עוז לאלוהים" של נחמיה חיון, הדן ב"תלת־קשרי דמהימנותא", וצירף לו תיאור מפורט יותר של פולמוס חיון. הוא אף חזר ותיאר את פולמוס חיון ואת קשריו עם יהודים שהיו מעורבים בו בזיכרונותיו משנת 1747. ראו שפס, ר' יוהן קמפר, עמ' 168–174; הנ"ל, יהודי ברוק, עמ' 69–70; אסולין, המרת דת, עמ' 434–435.

55 האיגרת של סורנהוסיוס מובאת כאמור ללא מספור עמודים, לאחר הקדמתו של נורליוס; ובתרגום לצרפתית, עמ' 356. בניגוד לקנור פון רוזנרות ובני חוגו, כמו גם לידידו נורליוס, שהאמינו שהפצת הזוהר תסייע ליהודים להבין את אמיתות הנצרות, סורנהויסוס לומד מפרשת חיון שלא ניתן לשכנע את היהודים בני זמנו באמיתות הדוגמות הנוצריות.

56 ראו זומר, זהר דמזהר כשמשא. וראו שלום, ביבליוגרפיה, עמ' 145; בנץ, הקבלה הנוצרית בגרמניה, עמ' 127.

57 כך בשער הספר, מציג זומר את ספרו: "Specimen Theologiae Soharicae Cum Christiana Amice Convenientis Exhibens Articulorum Fidei Fundamentalium Probationes, E Sohare, Antiquissimo Iudaeorum Monumento petitas" (תרגום: דוגמה של התאולוגיה הזוהרית, העומדת בהתאמה עם התאולוגיה הנוצרית, המציגה הוכחות של עיקרי האמונה הבסיסיים, שנלקחו מהזוהר, מונומנט קדום ביותר של היהודים).

שיובא בהמשך, תרגום של ספרו של זומר, שנעשה במחצית השנייה של המאה השמונה עשרה, נכלל בספרו של פרידריך כריסטוף אוטינגר (Fridrich Christoph Oetinger) "לוח הלימוד של הנסיכה אנטוניה" (*Offentliches Denkmal der Lehrtafel Prinzessin Antonia*) שנדפס בטובינגן בשנת 1763. תרגומים נוספים לגרמנית, ואף לאידיש, שהתבססו על ספרו של זומר, הופיעו במאה התשע עשרה, ועל כך ארחיב להלן. כזכור, גם תרגומיו של קנור פון רוזנרות היו בסיס לתרגומי הזוהר לאנגלית ולצרפתית בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה וראשית המאה העשרים, תקופה שבה תורגם לצרפתית גם ספרו של נורליוס. כך, תרגומי הזוהר ללטינית של נורליוס וזומר — ובעיקר של פון רוזנרות, היו למקור המרכזי להיכרות עם הזוהר בתרבות האירופית הלא יהודית עד ראשית המאה העשרים.

ו. תרגומי הזוהר לאידיש ולדינו במאה השמונה עשרה והקשרם השבתאי

בתקופה שמקובלים נוצרים עסקו בתרגום הזוהר ללטינית הופיעו כמה תרגומים של הזוהר לשפות היהודיות המדוברות — אידיש ולדינו. כאמור, כבר בשלהי המאה השבע עשרה נתפרסמו כמה מאמרי זוהר, בעיקר מעשיות מן הזוהר באידיש. אולם תרגום מקיף יותר של מאמרי זוהר לאידיש, ספר "נחלת צבי", נדפס לראשונה בראשית המאה השמונה עשרה (פרנקפורט על נהר מיין תע"א). התרגום שנכתב על ידי ר' זעליג חוטש הוצא לאור על ידי נינו, החכם השבתאי ר' צבי הירש חוטש, שחיבר גם פירוש לתיקוני זוהר בשם "חמדת צבי" (אמשטרדם תס"ו). תרגום זה זכה למהדורות רבות במאה השמונה עשרה והתשע עשרה, חלקן בשם "נופת צופים".[58]

בניגוד לתרגומי הזוהר לעברית וללטינית שנועדו לציבור משכיל ששלט בשפות התרבות הגבוהה, תרגומי הזוהר לאידיש נועדו לציבור הלא משכיל, ובכללו לנשים.[59] בשער ספר "נחלת צבי" נדפס הפסוק "הקהל את העם האנשים

58 על ספר זה ומהדורותיו, ראו באומגרטן, טקסטים מיסטיים, עמ' 67; הנ"ל, הקדמה לספרות, עמ' 292–295; גריס, ספרות ההנהגות, עמ' 67, 96.

59 עדות יחידה על לימוד זוהר של נשים קודם למאה השמונה עשרה מופיעה בדברי ר' אברהם ברכיה ממודינא, בהקדמה לספר "אשמרת הבקר" (ג ע"א) המספר על סבתו, פיוריטה בת שבע: "שכל ימיה לא פסקה פומה מגירס' במקרא ובמשנה ובספרי הפוסקי' ובראש כולם הרמב"ם וגם שיח היה לה בספר הזוהר כפי השגתה". וראו דיוויס, מלומדת אשכנזית, עמ' 104; חיות, בין העולמות, עמ' 218, הערה 23; חיות מציין בהקשר זה גם את יוהנה הבתולה מונציה, שלדברי גיום פוסטל, גילתה לו את סודות הזוהר (אף שלא שלטה בעברית ובארמית), ראו שם, שם. אידל מציין שיוהנה היתה האישה הראשונה

והנשים והטף וגרך אשר בשעריך למען ישמעו" (דב' לא, יב). ר' וואלף, אב בית דין של קהילת דאסוי, כתב בהסכמתו שהספר נועד לנשים ולמי ש"כחו כנשים".[60] ר' צבי הירש חוטש המביא לדפוס כתב בהקדמתו:

> ספר הזה לא נעשה לחקרי לב אשר לבבם כאולם ועולים בעלת הסולם כי דרך נשים לי פה לעצום עיני לברר על כל נעלם רק להמוני עם שאין ידם משגת אל ספר הזוהר גם כי למביני הזוהר אינו מצוי לכל אדם גם לאשר בידם נמצא קשה עליהם להבדיל בין קודש לקודש להיות צופה ומפצה ולחפוש ולדלוג כצפור בודד מגג אל גג למצוא חפצו ודברי מוסר ולהניח הסודות.[61]

בדומה לעורכי האנתולוגיות של מאמרי הזוהר המתורגמים לעברית, גם ר' צבי חוטש והמסכימים לספרו הגדירו את מאמרי הזוהר שב"נחלת צבי" כ"פשטים" ו"דברי מוסר". ר' נפתלי הכהן כ"ץ מפרנפקורט כתב בהסכמתו לספר: "והנה עתה רוצה להדפיס פשטים ודברי מוסר מספר הזוהר בלשון אשכנז לזכות בו את הרבים קטן כגדול שם נשים ועמי הארץ אשר ליקט וחיבר...".[62]

לצד הטענה שהטקסטים הכלולים בספר "נחלת צבי" שייכים לרובד הפשט של הזוהר, מביא ר' נפתלי הכהן כ"ץ הצדקה נוספת להדפסת הזוהר באידיש:

> אם אמרתי למנוע להדפיס בלשון אשכנז משום קדושת דברי הזוהר... אשר זקוקין דנורא נפקא מפי ר' שמעון בן יוחאי וחבריו ותלמידיו ואינו ראוי לשוטט בו עיני כל... הנה ונהפך הוא. הלא רשב"י עצמו חיברו בלשון לעז הוא לשון תרגום שהיו מדברים כל העם בזה הלשון[63] ואם

שיוחסה לה הבנה של סודות הזוהר, ראו אידל, מיסטיקאים משיחיים, עמ' 155, עמ' 381, הערה 3. לתרגום הזוהר של פוסטל ומעורבתה של יוהנה בו, ראו לעיל, הערה 16. על אישה נוספת בת המאה השש עשרה, סבתו של ר' אליער בן אברהם אילנבורג, שהיתה בקיאה בקבלה, ראו דיוויס, מלומדת אשכנזית, עמ' 101–105 (נכדה, המספר על כך, איננו מציין אילו ספרי קבלה היא קראה).

60 על הקטגוריה "נשים ומי שכחם כנשים", ראו בהרחבה ויסלר, קולות האמהות, עמ' 38–44.

61 חוטש, נחלת צבי, הקדמה.

62 נפתלי הכהן מדגיש שר' צבי חוטש נמנע מלכלול את סודות הזוהר בספרו: "ובפרט שדיגולו ודילוגו עלי אהבה שדולג ופוסק הסודות והרמזים החמורים שלא יכשלו בו ויגלו פנים שלא כהלכה ויבא לידי קיצוץ בנטיעות ח"ו כי אם הדברים הפשוטים למבין ודברי מוסר להשיב רבים מעון".

63 טענה דומה מופיעה גם בהקדמתו של ר' משה פרנקפורט לתרגומו לאידיש ל"מנורת המאור", אמשטרדם תפ"ב. וראו בר לבב, תפיסת המוות, עמ' 305.

> אמנם טעמים אחרים ונימוקים עמוקים בזה שחיבר בלשון תרגום כנמצא בספרים הנגלים והנסתרים עם כל זה לא היה חש אם יקראו בו נשים ועמי הארץ.[64]

מטענה זו משתמע שספר הזוהר — כולו — נכתב מלכתחילה כטקסט אקזוטרי, ומכאן שלא רק שאין למנוע את הפצתו, אלא שיש לעודד את תפוצתו באמצעות תרגומו ללשון המדוברת.

ר׳ וואלף, אב בית דין של קהילת דאסוי, הצדיק את הדפסת תרגומי הזוהר אף בטענה שסודות הקבלה יהפכו גלויים בימי המשיח: ״ועתה אשר עלה על דעתו הנקיה להדפיס ספר הזוהר מהמאמרים הנגלים להיות נאמרים בכל לשון אשר שומעים הנשים ולמי שכחו כנשים למען ידעו לדעת ה׳ ותמלא הארץ דעה וכמ״ש בס׳ הזוהר הקדוש דביומא משיחא אפילו רבייא וכו׳״.[65] הטענה שבתקופת הגאולה בטלות ההגבלות על הפצת הידע הקבלי והלימוד בזוהר, שמקורה בספרות הזוהרית עצמה,[66] הופיעה במקורות רבים במחצית הראשונה של המאה השש עשרה ושימשה להצדקת הדפסותיו הראשונות של הזוהר.[67]

64 חוטש, נחלת צבי, הסכמה. אותה טענה בדיוק העלה ר׳ יהודה אריה ממודנה כדי לסתור את קדמות הזוהר ואת ייחוסו לרשב״י: ״גם לזאת לבי יבין ואין מענה, אם רשב״י או תלמידו היו מחברים ספר הזוהר ותיקונים, והיו באים לידי כך לכתוב דברים שבע״פ וסתרי התורה, וודאי לא היו כותבים אותם אלא בלשון הקדש... ולא בלשון מובן לנשים ועמי הארצות״ (מודנה, ארי נוהם, עמ׳ סח).

65 על פי זוהר, ח״א קיז ע״ב: ״וכד יהא קריב ליומי משיחא, אפילו רביי דעלמא זמינין לאשכחא טמירין דחכמתא״ (תרגום: קרוב לימות המשיח, אפילו ילדים עתידים למצוא את סודות החכמה).

66 כך, בקטע מפורסם מתיקון ו של תיקוני זוהר, המצוטט פעמים רבות בתקופות מאוחרות יותר, נאמר: ״וכמה בני נשא לתתא יתפרנסון מהאי חבורא דילך כד אתגליא לתתאי בדרא בתראה בסוף יומיא ובגיניה וקראתם דרור בארץ וגו׳״ (תרגום: כמה בני אדם למטה יתפרנסו מחיבור זה שלך, כאשר יתגלה לתחתונים בדור האחרון בסוף הימים, ובזכותו וקראתם דרור בארץ וכו׳) (תיקוני זוהר, תיקון ו, כג ע״ב–כד ע״א).

67 ראו למשל את דברי ר׳ יהודה חייט בהקדמתו לפירושו למערכת האלוהות, שנכתבו בראשית המאה השש עשרה: ״ואשרינו מה טוב חלקנו שזכינו אל ספר הזהר מה שלא זכו קדמונינו אשר קטנם עבה ממתנינו כמו רב האי גאון ורב ששת גאון והר׳ אליעזר מגרמישה והרמב״ן והראב״ד והרשב״א והחכמי׳ אחרים זולתם שלא טעמו מדבשו כי בזמנם לא נתגלה. ואל תתמה מזה כי בודאי לא נתגלה עד הדור האחרון אשר אנחנו בו היום. וסיוע לזה מצאתי בספר התקונים הנז׳ וזה לשונו. אמ׳ ליה אליהו לר׳ שמעון ר׳ כמה זכאה אנת דמהאי חבורא דילך יתפרנסון כמה עילאי עד דאתגלייא לתתאי בסוף יומיא ובגיניה [תרגום: אמר אליהו לר׳ שמעון ר׳ ר׳ אשריך שמהחיבור הזה שלך יתפרנסו כמה עליונים עד שיתגלה לתחתונים בסוף הימים ובזכותו] **ושבתם איש אל אחזתו ואיש אל משפחתו תשבו** [וי׳ כה, י] עכ״ל. הנה מבוא׳ מכאן שהחבור הזה היה עתיד להיות

באותה תקופה נכתבו, ככל הנראה, גם תרגומים ראשונים של הזוהר לספרדית יהודית. תרגומים כאלה שמועד חיבורם המקורי אינו ידוע, מצויים בכתבי יד מתקופה מאוחרת יותר, שהוחזקו בידי כת הדונמה — השבתאים שהמירו את דתם לאסלאם.[68] העובדה שגם ר׳ צבי חוטש, שהדפיס את תרגום הזוהר לאידיש, היה שבתאי מצביעה על כך שחוגים שבתאיים הם שעמדו מאחורי הפצת הזוהר בשפות המדוברות במחצית הראשונה של המאה השמונה עשרה (כזכור, גם לחלק מתרגומי הזוהר ללטינית היתה זיקה לשבתאות). דברי הביקורת של ר׳ משה חגיז, בספרו ״משנת חכמים״ (ואנזבק תצ״ג) על תרגום זוהר ללשונות המדוברות והוראתו לנערים ולנשים מכוונים אף הם, ככל הנראה, כנגד שבתאים שעסקו בהפצת זוהר בקרב השכבות הלא משכילות של האוכלוסייה:

> ועכשו כל נער ריק ופוחז חסר מכל תופס ספר הזוהר בידו ויוצא בו לרה״ר [רשות הרבים] וישתבח בעיר שהוא יודע בו לדורשו ולהגיהו ולהעתיקו מלשון ללשון ויושב וקורא בו בפני הנשים והטף ללועזות בלע״ז. ומה תמיה קיימת יש לי על גדולי הדור שאין מוחין בידם, בפרט

גנוז ובאותו זמן יתהנו ממנו העליוני׳ והם המלאכים עד שיבא דרא בתראה שאז יתגלה לתחתונים ובזכות העוסקים והמתטפלים בו יבא משיח **כי תמלא**(!) **הארץ דעה את ה׳** [יש׳ יא, ט] בסבתו אשר זה יהיה סבה קרובה לביאתו וז״ש ובגניה **ושבתם איש אל אחזתו** [וי׳ כה, י]״ (הקדמת ר׳ יהודה חייט לספר מערכת האלוהות, ב ע״א־ע״ב). הטענה שהמגבלות על לימוד הזוהר הוסרו עם התקרב הגאולה מובאת בקטע אנונימי, המצוטט על ידי ר׳ אברהם אזולאי בהקדמתו לספר ״אור החמה״: ״ומצאתי כתוב כי מה שנגזר למעלה שלא יתעסקו בחכמת האמת בגלוי היה לזמן קצוב עד תשלום שנת הר״ן ומשם ואילך יקרא דרא בתראה והותרה הגזירה והרשות נתונה להתעסק בספר הזוהר. ומשנת ה״ש ליציר׳ מצוה מן המובחר שיתעסקו ברבים גדולים וקטנים כדאיתא ברעיא מהימנא״ (אזולאי, אור החמה, הקדמה, 1 ע״ב). ר׳ יצחק דלאטש כתב בפסק שלו בזכות הדפסת הזוהר (שנדפס בראש זוהר מהדורת מנטובה): ״שזכות העיון בספר הזהר מספיק להשיב שבותנו ולהעביר גלותנו ועליו אמרו זכו — אחישנה, כי בעבורו יהיו ישראל נגאלין ויקרא דרור בארץ... ובמקום אחר יבשר הזהר שבדור שעתיד המשיח להתגלו׳ בו יותן הרשו׳ להתגלו׳ ספרו וחבורו״.

68 תרגום האדרא רבא מצוי בכ״י ירושלים, ביס״ל Heb. $8^0$917, ותרגום האדרא זוטא בכ״י ירושלים, ביס״ל Heb. $8^0$918 ו־Heb. $8^0$2086. וראו בניהו, התנועה השבתאית, עמ׳ קפב, רעא, הערה 46. תרגום של פרשיות זוהר (פרשת פנחס עד תחילת פרשת מטות) מצוי בכ״י קימברידג׳ הארוורד Heb. 79 (ס׳ 34488), שהועתק על ידי חבר הדונמה, משה צורי עשאל, תלמידו של יהודה טובה לוי במאה השמונה עשרה (ראו שם, דף שצט ע״ב). כתב היד נמסר לגרהרד קסלר שהיה פרופסור לסוציולוגיה באוניברסיטת איסטמבול, על ידי אחד מתלמידיו, בן כת הדונמה. וראו גלצר, ברלין ודניס, כתבי יד עבריים, עמ׳ 23; פנטון, קובץ חדש, עמ׳ 331, הערה 7.

> על עיר גדולה של חכמים וסופרים... איך מניחים ללמוד בספר קדוש זה של הזוהר בישיבות בחברת אנשים בפרהסיא, ועל הכל בלשון לע״ז.[69]

תרגומי הזוהר לשפות המדוברות במאה השמונה עשרה נוצרו אם כן במסגרת המאמץ השבתאי להפצת הזוהר, שזכה כידוע למעמד מרכזי בתנועה השבתאית. כפי שהראתי במקום אחר, חוגים שבתאיים היו מעורבים בהדפסות של הספרות הזוהרית במחצית הראשונה של המאה השמונה עשרה ובהפצת מנהגי הקריאה הריטואלית בזוהר, ומרבית הפירושים לזוהר שנדפסו בתקופה זו (בכללם פירושו של ר׳ צבי חוטש שנזכר לעיל) נכתבו על ידי שבתאים.[70] הפצת הזוהר, בין השאר באמצעות תרגומיו לשפות המדוברות, היוותה כר פעולה מתאים במיוחד עבור מאמינים שבתאים לאחר שהתנועה השבתאית הפכה לתנועה מחתרתית, שהרי הפצת הזוהר היתה אינטרס שבתאי מובהק שניתן היה לפעול למענו מבלי להצהיר במפורש על האמונה במשיחיותו של שבתאי צבי. אולם, כפי שעולה מדברי ר׳ משה חגיז שצוטטו לעיל וממקורות רבים נוספים, מעורבותם של השבתאים בהפצת הזוהר לא נעלמה מעיני מתנגדיהם. כך, באופן דיאלקטי תרמה השבתאות בעת ובעונה אחת להפצה נרחבת של הזוהר כמו גם להסתייגותם של חכמים מהעיסוק הנרחב בזוהר ולקריאה מחודשת להגביל את הנגישות אליו.[71]

ז. תרגומי הזוהר הראשונים לגרמנית

בשלהי המאה השמונה עשרה הופיע לראשונה, ככל הידוע לי, תרגום של מאמרי הזוהר לשפה אירופית (לא יהודית) מדוברת. כפי שהזכרתי לעיל, התאוסוף השוואבי המפורסם פרידריך כריסטוף אוטינגר כלל בספרו ״לוח הלימוד של הנסיכה אנטוניה״ תרגום גרמני (שנעשה על ידי ידידו קרל הרטמן) של מאמרי הזוהר, שנדפסו בלטינית בספרו של גוטפריד כריסטיאן זומר, שנדון לעיל.[72] בשנת 1824 בברלין הופיע תרגום נוסף של מאמרי זוהר לגרמנית (שנדפסו לצד

69 חגיז, משנת חכמים, נו ע״ב; וראו בניהו, התנועה השבתאית, עמ׳ קפב; תשבי ולחובר, עמ׳ 52. רפפורט־אלברט, על מעמד הנשים, עמ׳ 241–242. הוס, השבתאות, עמ׳ 67.

70 הוס, השבתאות, עמ׳ 61–68.

71 שם, עמ׳ 69–71.

72 ראו אוטינגר, לוח הלימוד. ספרו של אוטינגר נדפס שנית במאה התשע עשרה. ראו אוטינגר, כתבים. למהדורה מדעית מוארת של החיבור, ראו ברימאייר והאוסרמן, לוח הלימוד (לתרגומי הזוהר ראו שם, חלק א, עמ׳ 104–130; וראו גם ההערות, שם, חלק ב, עמ׳ 75–116).

המקור הארמי), המבוסס אף הוא על האנתולוגיה של זומר, על ידי התאולוג הפרוטסטנטי והמזרחן פרידריך אוגוסט תולוק (Friedrich August Tholuck)[73] בהקדמה לספר, שנדפס בעזרת החברה הלונדונית להפצת הנצרות ליהודים, חוזר תולוק על התפיסה הקבלית־נוצרית שהזוהר כולל מקבילות לדוקטרינות הנוצריות: "חיבור זה מכיל דברים העולים בקנה אחד עם הדוקטרינות הנוצריות, בכללים, כמו גם בפרטים".[74] מטרת האנתולוגיה של תרגומי הזוהר היא, לדברי תולוק, להרחיב את ידיעותיהם של תאולוגים נוצרים בקבלה, ולספק להם נשק בשליחותם להפצת הבשורה הנוצרית ליהודים.[75] תולוק קיווה שאת ספרו יקראו גם יהודים, ובהקדמתו פנה גם ל"בני ישראל הקוראים בדפים אלה" (Die kinder Israel aber, welche diese blatter lessen). מאוחר יותר, בורשה בשנת 1844, יצאה לאור האנתולוגיה של תולוק בתרגום לאידיש, על ידי המיסיון האנגליקני.[76]

73 ראו תולוק, מקומות חשובים. עיבוד מחודש של הספר יצא לאור על ידי ביסנתלס (W. J. Biesenthals) בשנת 1852. ראו ביסנתלס, קטעים מהזוהר. מהדורות נוספות של חיבור זה יצאו לאור גם כן בברלין בשנים 1854, 1857 ו־1876. ראו שלום, ביבילגיורפיה, עמ' 154.

74 במקור: "Dieses werk, enthalt auffalende übereinstimmungen mit der christlichen lehre, sowohl im ganzen als in einzelnen", תולוק, מקומות חשובים, עמ' 6.

75 "Aus diesem wichtigen buche theilen wir nun heir eine reihe merkwürdiger aussprüche mit, die schon früher ein christlicher gelehrter, Sommer, gesammelt hatte. Es sind vorzugswise solche, welche mit den christlichen lehren grosse ubereinstimmung haben. Die evangelischen glaubensboten unter den juden werden sie benutzen können, theils um selbst eine tiefere einsicht in die alten rabbinischen lehren zu bekommen, theils um die Israeliten zu überzeugen, das so vieles, was sie im Christenthum verschmähen, schon von ihren ältesten für heilig geachteten lehrern ausgesprochen worden istå damit auch durch sie den ehrwürdigen glaubensboten unter Isreael neue Waffen in die hand gegeben, manche kinder Abrahams erleuchtet, und manche christliche theologen mehr befeuert warden mögen für das studium der schriften der Israeliten und für die verbreitung christlicher erkenntniss unter ihnen", שם, עמ' 5–6; תרגום: מן הספר החשוב הזה אנחנו מוסרים כאן שורה של מאמרים ראויים לציון שאסף כבר קודם לכן מלומד נוצרי, זומר. אלה הם בעיקר כאלה, שיש להם התאמה רבה לתורה הנוצרית. שליחי האמונה הנוצרית בקרב היהודים יוכלו להשתמש בהם בכדי להגיע, בעצמם, לתובנה עמוקה יותר של הכתבים הרבניים הקדומים, ובכדי לשכנע את בני ישראל שכל כך הרבה ממה שהם מואסים בנצרות הוכרז כבר על ידי אבותיהם כדבר תורה קדוש... באמצעותם גם יינתן ביד השליח המכובד של האמונה בקרב בני ישראל, כלי נשק חדש, ויאיר לכמה ילדי אברהם ויעורר את רצונם של תאולוגים נוצרים ללימוד הכתבים של היהודים ולהפצת הכרה נוצרית בקרבם.

76 ראו וויכטיגי שטעלין. מאמרי הזוהר שבספר זה זכו לגלגול נוסף, כאשר נדפסו (בארמית),

במחצית השנייה של המאה התשע עשרה יצאו לאור מהדורות נוספות של ספרו הגרמני של תולוק, וכן מהדורה נוספת של ספרו של אוטינגר. באותה התקופה הופיעו לראשונה תרגומים של הזוהר לשפות אירופיות אחרות — אנגלית וצרפתית. תרגומים אלה נסמכו גם כן על התרגומים הלטיניים מתקופת הברוק (אולם לא על תרגומיו של זומר, אלא על אלה של קנור פון רוזנרות) ועל התפיסה הנוצרית־קבלית שעמדה ביסודם. אולם, כפי שאראה להלן, תרגומים אלה לא נוצרו מתוך אידאולוגיה נוצרית־מיסיונרית אלא מתוך מגמות אזוטריות ואוקולטיות של מפנה המאה התשע עשרה (ה־Fin de Siècle). לפני שאפנה לדון בתרגומים אלה ברצוני לעמוד בקצרה על תרגומים אחדים של הזוהר שנעשו בידי יהודים במאה התשע עשרה.

ח. תרגומי זוהר שנכתבו בידי יהודים במאה התשע עשרה

בניגוד למאה השמונה עשרה, שבה, כפי שראינו לעיל, נכתבו כמה תרגומים של מאמרי זוהר לאידיש וללדינו, הרי במהלך מרביתה של המאה התשע עשרה נכתבו מעט מאוד תרגומים של הזוהר שנועדו לקהל יהודי. בשנות השלושים של המאה התשע עשרה הכין ר׳ אליקים מילזהאגי מברודי תרגום מקיף של הזוהר לעברית, שלדבריו היה חלק מפירוש מקיף לזוהר שהכין, שלא נדפס ואבד.[77] מילזהאגי היה מקורב לחוגי משכילי גליציה, ותרגומו היה, ככל הנראה, התרגום הראשון לזוהר שנכתב מפרספקטיבה משכילית־מודרנית.

במחצית השנייה של המאה התשע עשרה נדפסה לראשונה אנתולוגיה של מאמרי זוהר בתרגום ללדינו. בשנת תרי״ט (1859) יצאה לאור בבילגראד אנתולוגיה בשם ״ספר לקט הזוהר אין לאדינו״, שהוכנה על ידי אברהם בן משה פינצי, ונדפסה מאוחר יותר במהדורות נוספות.[78] פינצי כלל בספרו רמ״ח מאמרי זוהר, בעיקר מעשיות ודברי מוסר. בשער ספרו הוא כתב כך: ״והמשכילים

על ידי אפריים דיינארד, במסגרת התקפתו החריפה על הזוהר: ״ועל כל לא נשאר לי עתה רק לשוב אל מה שאמרתי בראשית המאמר הזה כי הזהר מלא דעות נוצריות, אשר מצאו חן מאד בעיני המיסיאן, עד כי מצאה לנכון להדפיס ספר מיוחד בשם ׳וויכטיגע שטעלן פון זהר׳ ככתבו ובלשונו בזהר עם העתקה אשכנזית וזארגאן... והנני להעלות בחכה איזה מאמרים אשר הנוצרים החזיקו בהם בשתי ידים״ (דיינארד, עלטה, עמ׳ 51).

77 אליקים מילזאהגי מספר על תרגומו בספרו זהרי ראבי״ה (שנכתב כמבוא לתרגום זה), המצוי בכ״י ירושלים, ביס״ל Heb. $4^{0}121$. ראו, מילזהאגי, זהרי ראבי״ה, עמ׳ 4א. הוא מביא דוגמה מתרגומו שם, עמ׳ 30ב. וראו שלום, כתבי יד, עמ׳ 40; תשבי ולחובר, עמ׳ 113.

78 פינצי, ליקוטי הזהר. הספר נדפס שוב בשאלוניקי תרכ״ז ובאיזמיר תרל״ז.

יזהירו כזוהר הרקיע מזהירים, זכים וברים, כולם ברורים, ובלשון לעז מבוארים, רמ״ח מאמרים, כמספר רמ״ח אברים, ומתוכם לקחת דברי מוסרים״.

תרגומים של מאמרי זוהר לצרפתית הופיעו בספרו של הרב הראשי של יהודי אלג׳יריה, מיכאל וייל, ״המוסר של היהדות״, שנדפס בפריז בשנת 1875.[79] כפי שנראה להלן, באותה תקופה לערך החלו לעסוק בתרגום מאמרי זוהר לצרפתית (על סמך תרגומיו הלטיניים של קנור פון רוזנרות) גם בחוגים אוקולטיים לא יהודיים.

בשנת 1887 נדפס בפונה שבהודו התרגום הראשון — וככל הידוע לי היחיד — של הזוהר לערבית־יהודית. בניגוד לאנתולוגיה של מאמרי הזוהר בלדינו, שכללה מאמרים שנתפסו כ״פשט״ הזוהר, התרגום שנדפס בפונה הוא של אחד החלקים האזוטריים ביותר של הזוהר, האדרא זוטא. כותרת הספר: ״כתאב אל אדרא זוטא מתרגם בל ערבי״ (ובשער האנגלי: *Idra Zuta, or the lesser Holy Assembly, translated from the Aramic Chaldee into Arabic [in Hebrew Characters*], והוא תורגם ונדפס על ידי היהודי הבגדדי אברהם דויד יחזקאל (שמו המלא: אברהם סלמאן דויד חי יחזקאל). ה״כתאב אל אדרא זוטא״ היה הראשון בסדרה של תשעה חיבורים בערבית־יהודית (מרביתם תרגומים של חיבורים קבליים, בכללם ספר שומר אמונים וספר יצירה) שנדפסו על ידי יחזקאל בבית הדפוס שהקים בפונה, שפעל בין השנים 1878–1888.[80] תרגום האדרא זוטא לערבית־יהודית עורר תגובה חריפה מאוד של חכמים מירושלים, מחברון ומבגדד, והם הוציאו חרמות כנגד תרגומו של יחזקאל. כך למשל כתבו

79 וייל, המוסר של היהדות, ב, עמ׳ 62–130. וראו פנטון, הקבלה והאקדמיה, עמ׳ 225. מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים לצרפתית נכללו עוד קודם בספרו של המלומד אדולף פרנק, הקבלה או הפילוסופיה הדתית של העברים, שיצא לאור בפריז, בשנת 1843 (ותורגם שנה מאוחר יותר לגרמנית, בידי אדולף ילינק). ראו פרנק, הקבלה.

80 על בית הדפוס של אברהם דוד יחזקאל בפונה, ראו ששון, אהל דוד, א, עמ׳ 429; יערי, הדפוס העברי, ב, עמ׳ 83–85, 87–88. יחזקאל פרסם אף תרגום של ״דרוש בענין האמונה האמיתית״. חיבור קצר זה נדפס לראשונה בסוף ספרו של יצחק לופס, כור מצרף האמונות ומראה האמת, שנדפס במץ תר״ז. ראו לופס, כור מצרף. הדרוש מהווה סיכום של דרוש בוקר לאברהם של התאולוג השבתאי מיכאל קרדוזו. ראו ליבס, סוד האמונה השבתאית, עמ׳ 44–45. בנוסף לחיבורים בערבית־יהודית, יחזקאל פרסם גם מבוא לקבלה באנגלית. ראו יחזקאל, מבוא לקבלה. בספר תרגומים לאנגלית של חלקים מתוך ספרו של ההיסטוריון היהודי פטר בער על הכתות הדתיות של היהודים משנת 1823; ראו בער, הכתות של היהודים. תרגומים אלה נדפסו לראשונה, בהמשכים, בגיליונות כתב העת ״קול ישראל״ (*The Voice of Israel*) של יהודים נוצרים (Jews who believe in Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah), שיצא לאור בלונדון בשנים 1845–1846.

רבני ירושלים הספרדים, ר׳ רפאל מאיר פניז׳יל ור׳ יעקב שאול אלישר במכתב למערכת העיתון חבצלת:

> עינינו דאבה ולא מיני עוני לבד כי לשמע אזן דאבה נפשינו כי בעיר פונא בערי (הינדייא) הודו נדפסו השתי אדרות אדרא רבא ואדרא זוטא בלשון ערבי, מי יאמין לשמועה הרעה הזאת? ומי לא ירגז וירעש מחילול ה׳ הגדול הזה דתבר גזיזי? מי לא יסמר שערות ראשו מראות ברע, רזין טמירין ונעלמים יבאו לידי המונים ועמי הארץ אשר לא ידעו שכול להיכן הדברים מגיעים? אוי ואבוי! איכה נהייתה תורה הקדושה למשל ומליצה ח״ו וללעג וקלס בעיני העמים! איכה באו פריצים וחללוה! איכה רמסו כבודה בעפר לדוש ח״ו חלילה(!). אהה עלינו! איכה נהיתה הרעה הגדולה בימינו! ובכן מה שמוטל עלינו לעשות היא לגזור גזירה קשה בכח שכינת עוזינו אשר לא זזה מכותל המערבי ובכח תורתינו הק׳ שלא יורשה שום אחד מבני ישראל להגות באדרות הנדפסות הנז״ל בשום אופן בלשונות אחרים, וכל אשר בשם ישראל יכונה, חיובא רמיא עליו להשתדל לגנזם ולטמון אותם במקום אשר לא ישלוט שום יד זר כלל ולבערם מן העולם ועל הרב אברהם סלימאן דוד חי הי״ו אנו גוזרים בכח ב״ד יפה שישתדל לקבצם ולטמון אותם בגניזה.[81]

במכתב שכתב אברהם דויד יחזקאל לר׳ רפאל מאיר פניז׳יל, ״הראשון לציון״, התרעם המתרגם־מדפיס על כך שרבני ירושלים אסרו על תרגומו, מבלי לעיין בו כלל, והצדיק את התרגום, בהסתמך על דברי ר׳ חיים ויטל בהקדמת עץ חיים: ״...שאני נשענתי על עמודי העולם ואמרתי אדרבה מצווה ללמוד וללמד ולכתוב ולתרגם בערבי בלשון הנהוג בינינו כמ״ש [כמו שאמר] בהקדמת עץ חיים להרב חיים ויטאל ז״ל״.[82]

כאמור, בניגוד למרבית התרגומים הקודמים ללשונות היהודים, שתרגמו את ״פשט״ הזוהר ונמנעו מתרגום החטיבות האזוטריות של הספרות הזוהרית, בחר אברהם דויד יחזקאל לתרגם ולהדפיס דווקא את אחד הטקסטים הסודיים

81 החבצלת, יח, 18 (י״ב אדר תרמ״ח), עמ׳ 138. על החרמות של חכמי בגדד וחברון שנדפסו בכתב העת של יהודי כלכותה ״פרח״, ועל תשובותיו של יחזקאל לחרמות אלה, ראו ששון, אהל דוד, א, עמ׳ 429–430.

82 גריבסקי, מגנזי ירושלים, ב, עמ׳ טו–טז. וראו יערי, הדפוס העברי, עמ׳ 84–85. אברהם דויד יחזקאל התכוון בוודאי לדברי ר׳ חיים ויטאל בזכות העיסוק בקבלה ובזוהר, בהקדמת עץ חיים, עמ׳ ט–יג. בהמשך מספר אברהם סלימאן שהספרים שהדפיס כבר אזלו, ושהוא נמנע מלהדפיס מהדורה נוספת משום שהוא עסוק בתרגום הזוהר.

ביותר של הזוהר. מדוע בחר יחזקאל לתרגם דווקא חטיבה זו ולעורר עליו את חמתם של רבני בגדד, חברון וירושלים?

התשובה לכך מצויה בעדויות שמצאתי על חברותו של יחזקאל בחברה התאוסופית ועל קשריו עם מנהיגיה, מדאם בלבצקי (Mme. Helena P. Blavatsky) והקולונל אלקוט (Colonel Henry Steel Olcott), שעמם הוא נפגש בזמן שביססו את תנועתם בהודו וביקרו בפונה.[83] שמו של יחזקאל נזכר במסמכים שונים של החברה התאוסופית, ובספרו האנגלי הוא מוסיף לשמו את ראשי התיבות F. T. S., שמשמעותם Fellow of the Theosophical Society. בלבצקי עצמה, כמו גם חברים אחרים בתנועה התאוסופית (וכפי שאראה בהמשך, גם חברים בתנועות אוקולטיות אחרות שפרחו באותה תקופה), גילו עניין רב בקבלה. משום שידיעתם על הקבלה היתה שאובה מן המסורת הקבלית הנוצרית, הטקסטים הזוהריים שהכירו היו בעיקר הטקסטים שנודעו באירופה הנוצרית בזכות תרגומיו של קנור פון רוזנרות. בדיוק באותה השנה שבה נדפס בפונה תרגומו הערבי־יהודי של יחזקאל לאדרא זוטא, נדפס לראשונה תרגום לאנגלית של החטיבות הזוהרית שנכללו ב"קבלה העירומה", ובכללן האדרא זוטא, על ידי אדם שהיה מקורב לחוגים התאוסופיים באנגליה, סמואל לידל מקגרגור מת'רס (Samuel Liddel MacGregor Mathers). על הזיקה בין שני התרגומים (שהביאה אותי לחפש אחר עדויות לחברותו של יחזקאל בחברה התאוסופית) מלמדת העובדה שבשניהם מכונה האדרא זוטא בשם *The Lesser Holy Assembly*!

ט. תרגומי הזוהר לאנגלית ולצרפתית על ידי חוגים אוקולטיים בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה וראשית המאה העשרים

סמואל לידל מקגרגור מת'רס, המתרגם הראשון של הזוהר לאנגלית (שהיה נשוי לאחותו של אנרי ברגסון) היה חבר בקבוצות אוקולטיות אנגליות שונות, וייסד בשנת 1888 את מסדר "השחר המוזהב" (The Golden Dawn).[84] בשנת 1887 הוא פרסם בלונדון תרגום אנגלי של מאמרי זוהר, שהתבסס על תרגומיו של קנור פון רוזנרות לספרא דצניעותא ולאדרא רבא וזוטא (והתפרסם במהדורות רבות

83 על פעילותה של החברה התאוסופית בהודו בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה, ראו קמפבל, התנועה התאוסופית, עמ' 75–103; ון דר ויר, מפגשים אימפריליים, עמ' 55–58.

84 על אודות מת'רס ומסדר השחר המוזהב, ראו גודווין, ההשכלה התאוסופית, עמ' 222–225, 362.

נוספות).[85] האידאולוגיה התאוסופית של מת׳רס (שעמדה גם מאחורי תרגום הזוהר של יחזקאל) התבססה במידה רבה על ההנחות של קנור פון רוזנרות ושל מקובלים נוצרים אחרים, שלפיהם הקבלה והזוהר מכילים את שרידי החכמה הקדומה, ה־Philosophia Pereniss, וכן את דרכי הפרשנות המספקים את המפתח להבנה נכונה של הנצרות. בדומה למקובלים הנוצריים של תקופת הרנסנס והברוק, מת׳רס ראה בזוהר אמצעי לחשיפה של הנצרות המקורית. אולם מת׳רס, שבדומה לחבריו בתנועה התאוסופית התנגד לנצרות הממוסדת, ניסח קריאה רדיקלית הרבה יותר למהפכה רוחנית נוצרית, שתרגום הזוהר עתיד לקדם:

> I say fearlessly to the fanatics and bigots of the present day. You have cast down the Sublime and Infinite one from His throne, and in His stead have placed the demon of unbalanced force; you have substituted a deity of disorder and of jealousy for a God of order and love; you have perverted the teaching of the crucified One. Therefore at this present time an English translation of the Qabbalah is almost a necessity, for the Zohar has never before been translated into the language of this country, nor as far as I am aware, into any modern European vernacular.[86]

באותה התקופה נדפסו בארצות הברית תרגומים נוספים של מאמרי זוהר לאנגלית, שנכתבו מפרספקטיבה דומה על ידי המלומד והבונה החופשי יצחק מאייר (Isaac Myer), שעסק בנומיסמטיקה ובאגיפטולוגיה.[87] בניגוד לתאוסופים האנגלים (וכפי שראה בהמשך, גם בניגוד לאוקולטיסטים הצרפתים) מאייר לא התבסס על תרגומיו של קנור פון רוזנרות, אלא תרגם מן המקור. תרגומי הזוהר שלו נכללו בספרו על הקבלה שנדפס בפילדלפיה בשנת 1888 (שנה לאחר שנדפסו תרגומיהם של יחזקאל ומת׳רס!). בין השאר תרגם מאייר את תחילת האדרא רבא תחת הכותרת: "An Anceint Lodge of Initiates".[88] בדומה למת׳רס, מאייר קיבל את קדמות הקבלה בכלל, והזוהר בפרט, אולם הוא הדגיש פחות את

85 ראו מת׳רס, הקבלה החשופה.
86 מת׳רס, הקבלה החשופה, עמ׳ 2.
87 ראו מאייר, המדליה של ווטרלו; הנ״ל, חרפושיות; הנ״ל, הספרים העתיקים ביותר.
88 מאייר, קבלה, עמ׳ 440–443. תרגומי זוהר נוספים נדפסו שם, עמ׳ 335–438. לדבריו, תרגומיו נדפסו עוד קודם, בשנת 1886 בעיתונם של הבונים החופשיים בפילדלפיה, *The Keystone*.

הקרבה של הקבלה לנצרות המקורית, ובמקומה הדגיש את הדמיון בינה לבין "דת החכמה הקדומה" של אסיה:

> The Qabbalah of the Hebrews is undoubtedly of great antiquity, a reminiscence of an ancient "Wisdom Religion" of Asia, for we find its doctrines, in germ, in the ancient Budhist, Sanskrit, Zend, and Chinese books, also examples of its peculiar exegesis in the occult book, Genesis, and in Jeremiah. The present text-book of the Qabbalah is the Sepher ha-Zohar, Book of Illumination, or Splendor.[89]

בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה נדפסו כמה תרגומים של הזוהר לצרפתית, שנכתבו אף הם במסגרת ההתעניינות ההולכת וגוברת בתורות אזוטריות ואוקולטיות בתקופת מפנה המאה.[90] הראשון מבין תרגומים אלה הוא תרגום האדרא רבא של האוקולטיסט אליפז לוי, הוא הכומר הקתולי לשעבר, אלפונס לואי קונסנט (Alphonse Louis Constant) המבוסס, בדומה לתרגום האנגלי של מת׳רס, על ה"קבלה העירומה" של פון רוזנרות. תרגומו של אליפז לוי, "ספר הזוהרים" (*Le Livre des Splendeurs*),[91] נדפס לאחר מותו בפריז 1894, על ידי תלמידו פאפוס (Papus), הלא הוא הרופא ג׳ראר אנקוס (Gerard Encausse) חבר החברה התאוסופית הצרפתית וקבוצות אוקולטיות רבות נוספות (בשנת 1887 הוא פרסם תרגום של ספר יצירה לצרפתית).[92] אליפז לוי, שתרגם את האדרא רבא עוד בשנות השבעים של המאה התשע עשרה, הדגיש, בדומה לתאוסופים האנגלים והאמריקנים, את קדמות הקבלה שהיתה לדבריו ידועה לישו וליוחנן השליח (אך לא לפאולוס, שרק חשד בקיומה), ושסודותיה גנוזים לדבריו בספר

89 מאייר, שם, עמ׳ 439. תרגומים נוספים לאנגלית (מפרשיות בראשית, נח ולך לך) מפרספקטיבה דומה נדפסו בראשית המאה העשרים בירחון התאוסופי *The Word*, שיצא לאור בניו יורק על ידי נורהו דה מנהר (Nurho de Manhar), הלא הוא ויליאם ויליאמס (William Williams) מחברי מסדר השחר המוזהב. ראו קר, הזוהר באנגלית. מהדורות נוספות של הספר יצאו לאור בסן דיאגו 1978, 1980 ו־1985.

90 על העניין בתורות אוקולטיות ואזוטריות בתקופה זו, ראו גודווין, ההשכלה התאוסופית; הנ"ל, התאוסופיה בצרפת; מנדס־פלור, אוריינטליות ומיסטיקה.

91 ספר זה יצא במהדורות רבות נוספות, ואף תורגם לאיטלקית בשנת 1920. וראו שלום, ביבליוגרפיה, עמ׳ 94.

92 על אודות פאפוס והקרע בינו לבין מנהיגי החברה התאוסופית, מדאם בלבצקי והקולונל אלקוט, ראו גודווין, התאוסופיה בצרפת, עמ׳ 19–27. לרשימת הקבוצות והמסדרים שפאפוס השתייך אליהם, ולרשימת כתבי העת שנטל בהם חלק, ראו שם, עמ׳ 26.

"החשוך והנפלא" (tenebreux et merveilleus), ספר הזוהר, שתמציתו היא הספרא דצניעותא.[93] על פי תפיסתו אליפז לוי, הזוהר כולל את סודות ההתגלות האוניברסלית שהיהדות בישרה לעולם, סודות המשותפים לבונים החופשיים (שתורתם איננה אלה רפורמה של היהדות בהתאם לעקרונות של ישו והשליח יוחנן), לגנוסיס הטהור, לטמפלרים ולתנועות אוקולטיות אחרות.[94] תרגומו של אליפז לוי נועד לדבריו להפיץ את הבשורה האוניברסלית של הקבלה, שתביא לאחדות של היהודים והנוצרים, להסרת הבערות והפנטיות, ולביסוס שלום עולמי, לא רק על בסיס הפילוסופיה של הנאורות, אלא על בסיס דתי:

> לימוד הקבלה יהפוך לעם אחד ויחיד את הישראלים והנוצרים. לשווא ישאפו הבורות והקנאות להנציח את המלחמה. השלום כבר מוצג בשם הפילוסופיה, ומחר הוא יקוים על ידי הדת, משוחרר משלטון התשוקות

93 לוי, ספר הזוהרים, עמ' 2: "C'est qu'en effet les Hébreux possèdent une science que saint Paul soupçonnait sant la connaître et que saint Jean, initié par Jésus, cachait et révélait à l fois sous le hiéroglyphs gigantesques de l'apocalypse, empruntés pour la plupart à la prophétie d'Ezéchiel. C'est qu'il existe un liver ténébreux et merveilleux qui s'appelle le Sohar ou la splendeur. Ce livre immense et plus volumineux que le Talmud n'est pourtant que le dévelppment d'une théogonie en quelque pages qui se nomme le Siphra Dzeniûta" (תרגום: למעשה היהודים החזיקו בידע, שפאולוס הקדוש חשד בקיומו מבלי להכירו ושיוחנן הקדוש, שנחנך על ידי ישו, כיסה וגילה בעת ובעונה אחת בסימני הקודש הכבירים של האפוקליפסה, שנלקחו ברובם מנבואת יחזקאל. שכן קיים ספר, חשוך ונפלא, ששמו הזוהר. ספר עצום זה, רחב היקף יותר מן התלמוד, אינו אלא פיתוח של תיאוגוניה המופיעה בעמודים ספורים, המכונים ספרא דצניעותא).

94 שם, עמ' 3–4: "Le publication de cet ouvrage fera comprendre la haine implacable que les prêtres du catholicisme portent à la franc-maçonnerie, qui est la judaïsme reformé suivant la pensée de Jésus et de son apôtre de prédilection, Jean le Boanergès, dont la révélation kabbalistique a toujours été l'évangile du christianisme occulte et des écoles du gnosticisme non profané. A ces écoles se rattachent les joannites, les templiers non idolâtres et les huats initiés de la maçonnerie occulte. Là sont les clés de l'avenir, car là sont conservés les secrets de la révŕlation unique et universelle dont le judaïsme, le premier et le suel peut-être entre tous les religions, a preêché la doctrine au monde" (תרגום: פרסומה של יצירה זו [ספר הזוהר, ב"ה] תבהיר את השנאה הבלתי־ניתנת לפיוס של הכמרים הקתולים למסדר הבונים החופשיים, המהווה יהדות המתוקנת על פי הגותו של ישו ושליחו הנבחר, יוחנן בן־רגש (מרקוס יג, 17), שהחזון הקבלי שלו היה תמיד ספר הבשורה של הנצרות האוקולטית, ושל האסכולות הגנוסטיות הטהורות. לאסכולות אלה מצטרפים בני המסדר של יוחנן, הטמפלרים שאינם עובדי־אלילים והחניכים המתקדמים של המסדר הסודי של הבונים. שם מצויים מפתחות העתיד, שכן שם גנוזים סודות ההתגלות הייחודית והאוניברסלית, אשר את תורתה הטיפה היהדות (הראשונה ואולי היחידה מבין כל דתות, לעולם).

> האנושיות. יש להתכונן לאירוע כביר זה על ידי גילוי האוצרות הנסתרים של החכמה היהודית לאנשי המדע. לשם כך אנו מפרסמים את התרגום והביאור של התיאוגוניה של הזוהר המצויה בספרא דצניעותא.[95]

בשנת 1895, שנה לאחר הדפסת "ספר הזוהרים" של אליפז לוי, נדפסו תרגומים לצרפתית של כל החטיבות הזוהריות שב"קבלה העירומה" על ידי האוקולטיסט הנרי שטו (Henrie Chateau), חבר ה"מסדר הקבלי של צלב הוורד" (L'Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix), עם הקדמה של פאפוס.[96] תרגום נוסף של הספרא דצניעותא בשם "מפתח הזוהר" (*La Clef du Zohar*) של אלבר ג'וּנֶה (Albert Jounet), סוציאליסט נוצרי וחבר החברה התאוסופית הצרפתית,[97] נדפס בפריז בשנת 1909. ג'ונה, שתרגומו נכתב מפרספקטיבה נוצרית־אוקולטית, הניח שאף על פי שהזוהר נכתב במאה השלוש עשרה, הרי הוא מכיל דוקטרינות קדומות העולות בקנה אחד הן עם האזוטריקה הנוצרית הן עם המיסטריות המצריות, האשוריות, הבבליות, הפרסיות, הסיניות, ההודיות, הקלטיות והיווניות.[98]

בדומה לאליפז לוי, גם אלבר גו'נה ראה בהפצת הזוהר אמצעי לאיחוי

95 שם, עמ' 6–7. במקור: "L'etude de la Kabbale ne ferait plus qu'un seul et même people des Israélites et des Chrétiens. En vain l'ignorance et la fanatisme voudraient perpétuer la guerre, la paix est déjà figurée au nom de la philosophie, et demain elle sera ratifiée par la religion affranchie de la domination des passions humaims. C'est ce grand événement qu'il faut préparer en faisant connâitre aux homes de science les magnificences cachées de la sagesse judaïque. C'est pour cela que nous punlions la traduction et l'explication de la théogonie du Sohar contenue dans le Siphra Dzeniûtta".

96 שטו, הזוהר. וראו שלום, ביבליוגרפיה, עמ' 33–34; פנטון, הקבלה והאקדמיה, עמ' 226. שָטוֹ מספר שבתרגומו, המבוסס על "הקבלה העירומה", הוא הסתייע במקור הארמי והעברי וכן בתרגום לאנגלית של מת'רס. ראו שטו, שם, עמ' XI.

97 על אודות ג'ונה (שכינה עצמו גם בשם Alber Jhouney) ופרישתו מהחברה התאוסופית, שלדעתו הזניחה את הקבלה לטובת מגיה פגאנית, ראו גודווין, התאוסופיה בצרפת, עמ' 9, 20.

98 ג'ונה, מפתח הזוהר, עמ' 1: "Mais, les doctrines enseignées par le Zohar se relient à celles d'ouvrages mystiques hébreux, antérieurs au XIIIe Siècle; et elles concordent aisément avec le Christianisme ésoterique et les vérités primitives conservées dans les Mystères ègyptiens, assyriens, chaldèens, persans, chinois, hindous, celtes et Hellènes" (תרגום: אולם, התורות המוצגות על ידי הזוהר מתקשרות לאלה של יצירות מיסטיות עבריות, הקודמות למאה השלוש עשרה; והן מתיישבות בקלות עם הנצרות האזוטרית ועם האמיתות הקדומות השמורות במיסטריות המצריות, האשוריות, הבבליות, הפרסיות, הסיניות, ההודיות, הקלטיות והיווניות). בנוסף, מזכיר ג'ונה, בהסתמך על ספרו של אדולף פרנק, את ההתאמה הרעיונית בין הזוהר לבין המדע המודרני.

הקרע בין היהודים לנוצרים. אולם בניגוד ללוי ולאוקולטיסטים אחרים, גו׳נה הציג עמדה נוצרית־מיסיונרית מובהקת, הקרובה מאוד לעמדתם של המקובלים הנוצרים מתקופת הברוק, כמו גם לעמדתו של תולוק. לדברי ג׳ונה, ההיכרות עם הזוהר תאפשר לנוצרים להכיר באמיתות האוקולטיות המצויות בברית הישנה, וליהודים להכיר בתורת השילוש, באינקרנציה ובגאולת האדם על ידי האל.[99] אז, ״יתפללו היהודים והנוצרים בצוותא לישו, השוכן בנצח ומצפה להשלמה ביניהם, בכדי לגלות את כבודו בעולם״.[100] את הקדמתו סיים ג׳ונה ב״הבטחה הקבלית שהמשיח יבוא לעולם, בזכות ספר הזוהר״.[101] למרות ההערצה הרבה שלו לזוהר, שלדבריו ״אין חולק על הרוממות הדתית והפילוסופית שלו״ (La sublimité religieuse et philosophique du Zohar est incontestée),[102] ג׳ונה גילה אמביוולנטיות אוריינטליסטית טיפוסית בנוגע לזוהר (ששורשיה, כפי שהוצג לעיל, מצויים בקבלה הנוצרית). לדבריו, הזוהר, בדומה לספרים מזרחיים אחרים, הוא כאוטי וחסר שיטתיות לוגית:

> כמו מרבית הספרים המזרחיים, ובמיוחד אלה שנכתבו כתורות־סתרים, הזוהר נדמה כתוהו. ראשית כול, הוא מורכב מיצירות מגוונות, המעורבבות בלי סדר. שנית, יצירות אלו אינן נשמעות למתודות הלוגיות של המערב. סופרי המזרח הולכים בעקבות כללי הקומפוזיציה המוזיקלית יותר מאשר על פי כללי החיבור הספרותי.[103]

99 שם, עמ׳ 3–4: “A connaitre les secret de la Kabbale, les chretiéns posséderaient mieux la science occulte enclose dans l’Ancien Testament... Et, selon la prophétie de Genese: Japhet habiterait les tabernacles de Sem. Les Juif, par l’exploration de la Kabbale et la relation de ses arcanes avec les Dogmas du Christianisme, apprendraient que ces Dogmas n’ont pas la portée idolàrtique qu’ils leur prêtent. Ils saisiraient que la Trinité c’est un Dieu unique, et l’Incarnation, le Salut des homes par ce Dieu” (תרגום: באמצעות הכרת סודות הקבלה, הנוצרים יבינו טוב יותר את הידע הנסתר החבוי בברית הישנה... ולפי הנבואה שבבראשית [ט, כז], יפת ישכן באהלי שם. היהודים, באמצעות חקירת הקבלה והיחס שבין סודותיה לבין הדוגמות של הנצרות, ילמדו כי אין לדוגמות הללו את המשמעות האלילית שהם מייחסים להן. הם יבינו כי השילוש הוא אל יחיד, וההתגשמות בבשר — ישועת בני האדם על ידי אל זה).

100 שם, עמ׳ 4. במקור: “Alors, Juifs et chrétiens élèveraient ensemble leurs prièrs au Christ, qui plane dans l’éternite et qui attend leur réconciliation pour manifester sa gloire au monde”.

101 שם, שם. במקור: “Et, selon la promesse kabbalistique: ‘le Messie viendrait dans le monde à cause des mérites du livre Zohar”.

102 שם, עמ׳ 2.

103 שם, שם. ובמקור: “Comme la plupart des livres orientaux, surtout de ceux qui

כפי שנראה בהמשך, אמביוולנטיות דומה באה לידי ביטוי גם בכתביהם של מלומדים יהודים שעסקו בחקר הזוהר ובתרגומו בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה וראשית המאה העשרים. תרגום מקיף ראשון של הזוהר לצרפתית (ולשפה אירופית בכלל), שנכתב מפרספקטיבה נוצרית דומה, ואף מכיל זיופים נצרניים רבים נדפס בפריז, על ידי אמיל לפומה (Emile Lafuma) בין השנים 1906–1912. מחברו של התרגום (שבניגוד לתרגומים החלקיים שנסקרו לעיל, התבסס על המקור הארמי) ז׳אן דה פאולי (Jean de Pauly), שטען שהוא אציל אלבני אך היה ככל הנראה היהודי המומר הידוע לשמצה פאולוס מאיר, נפטר בשנת 1903 לפני שתרגומו עלה על מכבש הדפוס.[104]

מחבר התרגום, דה פאולי, קיבל את קדמות הזוהר, ובעקבות המקובלים הנוצרים שקדמו לו, טען שהזוהר מכיל אמיתות נוצריות. לדבריו, הזוהר הוא: ״ספר המתאים להשכיל את בני האדם ולהוסיף גם כן לתהילת האל... אין דבר המתאים יותר כדי להשיג מטרה זו מאשר תרגום של הזוהר, שתורותיו, גם אם הן קודמות לנצרות, מאששות את האמיתות הנוצריות״.[105] המוציא לאור, לפומה, שכתב דברים דומים בהקדמתו לתרגום הזוהר, הביע יחס אמביוולנטי לזוהר,

s’avèrent initiatiques, le Zohar parait un Chaos. D’abord il est formé de diverses oeuvres, assemblées sans ordre. Ensuite chacune de ces oeuvres n’obéit pas aux méthods logiques de l’Occdent. Les écrivains d’Orient suivent plutôt les lois de la compositions musicale que de la littéraire”.

104 דה פאולי, ספר הזוהר. על ספר זה ועל הזיופים הנצרניים הרבים שבו, ראו שלום, מברלין לירושלים, עמ׳ 132–133. ובהרחבה, על נסיבות חיבורו והדפסתו בבית הדפוס של אמיל לפומה, ראו בורל, התרגום הצרפתי, עמ׳ 120–129 (מחבר המאמר הוא נינו של לפומה). על אודות דה פאולי וזיהויו כמומר פאולוס מאיר, שהיה שותף לעלילת דם בוינה בשנת 1893, ראו שלום, ביבליוגרפיה, עמ׳ 120; פנטון, הקבלה והאקדמיה, עמ׳ 229; בורל, שם, עמ׳ 124–125.

105 במקור: “un livre propre à éclairer les homes et à contribuer ainsi à la gloire de Dieu... Or rien n’est plus propre à atteindre ce but qu’une traducion du Zohar, don’t les enseignements, bien qu’antérieurs au Christianisme, corroborent les vérités chrétiennes”. דה פאולי כתב זאת במכתב ללפומה משנת 1900, המצוטט במאמרו של בורל, התרגום הצרפתי, עמ׳ 125. לפומה כתב דברים דומים בהקדמתו לכרך הראשון של תרגום הזוהר. ראו דה פאולי, ספר הזוהר, א, עמ׳ 4: “Or, le ‘Zohar’ enseigne en particulier le dogme de la faute originelle; Il est donc en ceci, et en bien de d’autres choses probablement, l’echo d’enseignemets et de traditions remontant à l’ancienne synagogue et antérieurs àl’époque de l’avénement du christianisme. Bien des idées juives, devenues chrétiennes, persistent dans le ‘Zohar’...” (תרגום: בנוסף, ה״זוהר״ מלמד במיוחד את הדוגמה של החטא הקדמון; ובעניין זה, אם כן, ובודאי בעניינים רבים אחרים, הנו הד לתורות ולמסורות ששרדו מהיהדות העתיקה, והקודמות להופעת הנצרות. רעיונות יהודיים רבים, שנהפכו לנוצריים, נמצאים ב״זוהר״).

בטרמינולוגיה המזכירה את דבריו של קנור פון רוזנרות שנדונו לעיל. לפומה השווה את הזוהר לנהר עצום שבמקורו (המסורת היהודית־נוצרית הקדומה) מימיו טהורים, אך במשך הזמן מימיו הזדהמו בדוקטרינות ובמסורת מוטעות.[106] למרות זאת, טען, הקורא המשכיל יכול למצוא במימיו "גושי זהב טהור ואבני חן".[107]

תרגומו של דה פאולי זכה להד רב כאשר יצא לאור, ובמהלך המאה העשרים יצאו לאור כמה אנתולוגיות של מאמרי זוהר בצרפתית, שהתבססו עליו.[108] בנוסף לתרגום הזוהר, מהמקור הארמי, תרגם דה פאולי אף את האנתולוגיה של מאמרי הזוהר בלטינית, של ההבראיסט השוודי אנדריאס נורליוס, שכזכור כללה גם פירושים של נורליוס ושל מורו השבתאי המומר יוהן קמפר. תרגומו של דה פאולי, המלווה בהערותיו, נדפס בשנת 1933 על ידי פול וויו (Paul Vulliaud) בכתב העת האוקולטי "המסווה של איסיס" (*Le Voile d'Isis*) תחת הכותרת: "כוכב השחר של האמונה האורתודקסית של המקובלים הקדמונים" ("Aurore de la Foi Orthodoxe des Anciens Cabalistes").[109] וויו, שהיה מתלמידיו של האוקולטיסט שר ג'וספין פלדן (Sar Josephin Peladan, ממשיכי דרכו של אליפז לוי) — וידידו של חוקר הדתות המפורסם מירצאה אליאדה — פרסם בשנת 1930 תרגום של הספרא דצניעותא לצרפתית, המבוסס על תרגומו של דה פאולי.[110]

106 שם, עמ' 5: "Pour nous, le 'Zohar' ne saurait être mieux comparé qu'à un fleuve immense et majestueux, dont les eaux claires et limpides à la source (tradition primitive de la Révélation conservée dans toute sa pureté par des homes justes) sont rendues boueuses et impures par les affluents qu'il reçoit dans son cours (fausses doctrines sur l'essence de Dieu, traditions primitives obscurcies par le péché et les passions humaines)" (תרגום: עבורנו, אין השוואה טובה יותר ל"זוהר" מאשר לנהר עצום ורב־הוד, אשר מימיו שהיו בהירים וצלולים במקור [המסורת הקדומה של ההתגלות, הנשמרת בכל טהרתה על ידי אנשי צדק] הזדהמו בבוץ על ידי זרמים שקיבל במהלך מסלולו [תורות שווא בדבר מהות האל, מסורות קדומות שטושטשו על ידי החטא והתשוקות האנושיות]).

107 שם, שם: "mais, qui, malgré cela, roule dans ses flots tumultueux et troublés, des pépites d'or pur et des pierres précieuses que le lecteur instruit et sage peut recueillir..." (תרגום: אך אשר, למרות זאת, נושא בנחשוליו הגועשים והעכורים גושי זהב טהור ואבני חן שאותם יכול ללקט הקורא המלומד והנבון).

108 ראו בורל, התרגום הצרפתי, עמ' 127–128. מהדורה נוספת של תרגומו של דה פאולי, בשלמותו, יצאה לאור בפריז 1970. בשנת 1977 יצא לאור תרגום של הזוהר לספרדית המבוסס על תרגומו של דה פאולי, ולאחרונה יצאה לאור אנתולוגיה של מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים לרומנית, המבוססת על תרגומו של דה פאולי. ראו להלן, הערה 202.

109 ראו לעיל, הערה 48. וראו פנטון, הקבלה והאקדמיה, עמ' 228.

110 וויו, תרגום ספרא דצניעותא. על אודות וויו, ראו פנטון, הקבלה והאקדמיה, עמ'

י. תרגומי זוהר שנכתבו במסגרת נאו־רומנטית וציונית בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה וראשית המאה העשרים

בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה וראשית המאה העשרים עסקו בתרגום הזוהר לשפות שונות גם כמה מלומדים יהודים אירופים, שהושפעו מהמגמות הנאו־רומנטיות והאוריינטליסטיות של עידן מפנה המאה, ושחלקם היו מקורבים לחוגים תאוסופיים ואוקולטיים. כפי שנראה להלן, חלק מהוגים אלה שילבו תפיסות אוקולטיות של הקבלה והמיסטיקה עם גישות לאומיות וציוניות. הזיקה בין שתי המגמות הללו נבעה מפרספקטיבה אוריינטליסטית־יהודית, שראתה גם בציונות וגם בפנייה למיסטיקה ולקבלה שיבה אל המקור המזרחי של היהדות.[111]

כזכור, אברהם דוד יחזקאל, שתרגם את האדרא זוטא לערבית־יהודית בפונה שבהודו בשנת 1888, היה חבר בתנועה התאוסופית. לחברה התאוסופית ולחוגים שהתפצלו ממנה היו מקורבים גם יהודים אחרים שעסקו בתרגום הזוהר. בעל התקווה, נפתלי צבי אימבר, שהיה מקורב לחוגים אוקולטיים ותאוסופיים, ושהאידאולוגיה הציונית שלו השתלבה בעניין שגילה בקבלה ובמיסטיקה,[112] סיפר שהרב הרפורמי שלמה שינדלר, ונשיא הסניף הבוסטונאי של החברה התאוספית גורג׳ איירס (George Ayers) הציעו לו, בשנת 1893, לתרגם את הזוהר לאנגלית.[113] אימבר אמנם הסתייג מתכנית זו משום שראה את הזוהר כמשני בחשיבותו לספרים קבליים אחרים, ובראשם ספר

229–231; בורל, התרגום הצרפתי, עמ׳ 123–124. לביקורתו של שלום על תרגומו של וויו, ראו שלום, תרגום וויו, עמ׳ 347–362, 444–455.

111 הוס, לא לשאול כל שאלות, עמ׳ 63–64.

112 בזמן שהותו בטורקיה ובארץ ישראל היה אימבר בן חסותם של לורנס ואליס אוליפנט, ה״ציונים הנוצרים״, שגילו עניין רב במיסטיקה. בשנות נדודיו בארצות הברית, שאליה היגר בשנת 1891, יצר אימבר קשר עם חברי התנועה התאוסופית, הרצה על קבלה, ייסד כתב עת לענייני קבלה בשם ״אוריאל״ (*Uriel*) (שרק גיליון אחד שלו יצא לאור בשנת 1895) ואף ניסה לייסד חוג קבלי בשם ״המעגל הפנימי״ (“The inner circle”). ראו קבקוף, בעל התקווה, עמ׳ 12–15. קבקוף פרסם שני קטעים ממאמריו של אימבר על הקבלה ב״אוריאל״, שם, עמ׳ 178–181. במאמרים אלה מכנה אימבר את החסידים בשם ״תאוסופים יהודים״ (שם, עמ׳ 179) ואת הצדיקים, בשם ״מהטמות״ (שם, עמ׳ 295) — המושג שמדאם בלבצקי השתמשה בו כדי לכנות את מוריה הרוחניים. לביקורת חריפה של אימבר על בלבצקי (שלדבריו, המציאה את המהטמות שלה על סמך ידע שהיה לה על החסידות), ראו קבקוף, בעל התקווה, עמ׳ 10–12.

113 אימבר סיפר על תכנית זו במאמר שכתב בכתב העת הקבלי ״אוריאל״ (ראו לעיל, הערה קודמת). המאמר נדפס על ידי קבקוף, בעל התקווה, עמ׳ 181. עוד על תכנית זו, ראו שם, עמ׳ 16.

יצירה,[114] אך פרסם כמה מאמרי זוהר (בעיקר ממדרש איכה הזוהרי) מתורגמים לאנגלית בספרו *Treasures of Two Worlds*, שיצא לאור בלוס אנג׳לס בשנת 1910.[115] בדומה להוגים יהודים לאומיים אחרים, שיידונו להלן, אימבר ראה בקבלה בכלל, ובזוהר בפרט, מסורת יהודית רוחנית ויטאלית, העומדת בניגוד למסורת הרבנית המאובנת (תפיסה שמקורה בקבלה הנוצרית):

> ...that book [The Zohar] is in opposition to Rabbinical tradition: as it explains the laws according to their esoteric meanings and spiritual solutions, which are in conflict with the dim, dogmatic dead letter.[116]

במסגרת מפעלי התרגום הגדולים של ספרות יהודית לגרמנית, בראשם תרגום המקרא לגרמנית של בובר ורונצוויג, כמו גם התרגומים מן הספרות החסידית של בובר, הופיעו בראשית המאה העשרים גם כמה תרגומים של הזוהר לגרמנית.[117] בתרגום הזוהר עסקו בתקופה זו שני מלומדים יהודים, שהיו פעילים בתנועה הציונית ומקורבים לתנועה האנתרופוסופית (שהתפצלה, בראשותו של רודולף שטיינר, מהסניף הגרמני של החברה התאוסופית בשנת 1913).[118] ארנסט מילר, שהיה חבר בתנועת הסטודנטים הציונים בפראג (ואף עלה לארץ ולימד

114 "The second in rank is the Zohar (light), whose authors were Simon Bar Yochai and his son Eleazar... Those who take the Zohar as the principal book in that science commit a mistake, as it is only a commentary of the five books of Moses, explaining the laws in their esoteric meanings, and these only a Cabbalist can understand" (שם, עמ׳ 180–181). ביומנו מדבר אימבר בצורה ביקורתית יותר נגד הזוהר: "This book [Sefer Yezirah] is the real source and fountain of the Kabbalah — not the Zohar, which is a union of exegetical hypotheses and mythological mysticism in a marriage certainly not made in heaven" (שם, עמ׳ 38).

115 אימבר, אוצרות, עמ׳ 76–110. אימבר אינו מציין את מקורם של המאמרים שהוא מתרגם, והוא משלב בהם הערות ארוכות שלו.

116 קבקוף, בעל התקווה, עמ׳ 179.

117 החוקר האנגלי כריסטיאן גינצבורג (Christian Ginsburg) מוסר שהמלומד איגנץ שטרן (Ignatz Stern), שפעל בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה, הכין תרגום לגרמנית של ספרא דצניעותא ושל האדרא רבא והאדרא זוטא, שנותרו לדבריו גנוזים בכתבי יד, לצד כתבים רבים אחרים של שטרן. ראו גינצבורג, הקבלה, עמ׳ 230. יש לציין שתרגומים של מאמרי זוהר נכללו בספרו של אריך בישוף (Erich Bischoff), שיצא לאור בברלין בשנת 1913. ראו בישוף, יסודות הקבלה.

118 בשנת 1913 יצא לאור בברלין בהוצאת החברה התאוסופית ספר על אודות הפילוסופיה הרוחנית של הזוהר, המבוסס על הרצאה שנישאה באסיפה הכללית הראשונה של החברה האנתרופוסופית בברלין. ראו זלין, המשמעות של הזוהר.

ביפו בין השנים 1907–1909) וחסיד השיטה האנתרופוסופית, פרסם, יחד עם שמואל הוגו ברגמן (שהתעניין אף הוא באנתרופוסופיה) תרגומים של כמה מאמרי זוהר לגרמנית בסוף הכרך, "על היהדות" (*Vom Judentum*), של אגודת הסטודנטים הציונים של פראג, בר כוכבא, שיצא לאור בשנת 1913.[119] בין השנים 1913–1920 פרסם מילר תרגומי זוהר בכתב העת "היהודי" (*Der Jude*).[120] בשנת 1920 הוא פרסם בברלין ובוינה ספר על אודות הזוהר הכולל תרגומי זוהר,[121] ובשנת 1932 פרסם בוינה אנתולוגיה של מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים לגרמנית.[122]

באותה השנה שמילר פרסם את ספרו על הזוהר, יצאה לאור בברלין אנתולוגיה נוספת של מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים לגרמנית של יעקב זיידמן (Jankew Seidman),[123] שהיה אף הוא מקורב לחוגים הציוניים.[124] אנתולוגיה זו

119 על היהדות, עמ' 274–284.

120 ראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 147, הערה 114; לפין, דר יודה, עמ' 362, הערה 78.

121 ראו מילר, הזוהר ומשנתו. בהקדמה מודה מילר לרודולף שטינר, למרטין בובר ולשמואל הוגו ברגמן. הספר יצא שנית במהדורה מורחבת בוינה וליפציג 1923, ושוב בציריך 1957 (עם הקדמה של ברגמן). ראו מאיר, שם, עמ' 147, הערה 115.

122 ראו מילר, הספר הקדוש. הספר יצא לאור שנית ב־1982, וב־1984 תורגם להולנדית. ראו מילר, הספר הקדוש (הולנדית). ב־1946 נתפרסם באנגלית ספר נוסף של מילר, תולדות המיסטיקה היהודית (שתורגם מגרמנית בידי מוריס סימון, המתרגם של הזוהר לאנגלית. הספר אף יצא בצרפתית בשנת 1950). על מילר ועיסוקו בקבלה ובזוהר, ראו הקדמתו של ברגמן לספרו של מילר, הזוהר ומשנתו (מהד' ציריך), עמ' 7–14; מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 147.

123 זיידמן, מן הזוהר הקדוש. אחד המאמרים המתורגמים בזוהר הופיע בכתב העת "היהודי" (*Der Jude*), 7 (1918–1919), עמ' 337. בנוסף לביקורתו החריפה של שלום, שנדפסה בשנת 1920, באותו כתב עת (שלום, על אנתולוגית הזוהר, עמ' 363–369), התפרסמה באותה שנה ביקורת חריפה על הספר ב"התקופה" שעליה חתום יג"ש, הוא יעקב נפתלי שמחוני. ראו שמחוני, ספרות הקבלה החדשה, עמ' 510; וראו מאיר, ר' נחמן מברסלב, עמ' 12–13. בביקורת זו מתייחס שמחוני לביקורתו של "גרהרט שולם" ("המבקר הזה הוא כפי שנראה משמו, דוקא יהודי אשכנזי, אשר קרא ושנה בספרות הקבלה המקורית עד כדי למצא את מומי המתרגם שלנו על נקלה, ובבקרת ארכה וחריפה מאד יצא לקנא שם שמים" [שמחוני, שם]). בהמשך המבקר עוסק בספרו של מילר ואותו הוא דווקא משבח (שמחוני, שם, עמ' 511).

124 זיידמן, שהיה נשוי לאחייניתו של פרויד, מאיירת (ומחברת) ספרי הילדים הידועה תום (מרתה) פרויד־זיידמן, התאבד בשנת 1929, לאחר שנקלע למצוקה כלכלית בעקבות ניסיונו להקים הוצאת ספרים. להיכרותו של שלום עם תום פרויד (עוד טרם נִשאה לזיידמן), ראו שלום, מברלין לירושלים, עמ' 143–144. על קשריו של זיידמן עם ביאליק ועל מעורבתו בהוצאת "אופיר", ראו גינצבורג, תאוריית הפיתוי, עמ' 268–269.

נכתבה ברוח נאו־רומנטית, וגרשם שלום, שפרסם עליו מאמר ביקורת (הראשון במאמריו שעסק בענייני קבלה) האשים את המחבר שתחת השפעתו של בובר וחוג ציוני פראג, בר כוכבא, הוא תרגם את הזוהר בצורה מעורפלת בסגנון האקספריוניזם הגרמני.[125]

במסגרת המגמות הנאו־רומנטיות והלאומיות החלו באותה תקופה מלומדים יהודים במזרח אירופה לתרגם מאמרי זוהר לעברית ולאידיש. בשנת תרפ״א, בחלק השני של מאמרו ״מפתח לספר הזוהר״, שיצא לאור בהמשכים בכתב העת ״התקופה״ בורשה, פרסם הלל צייטלין אנתולוגיה של קטעי זוהר מתורגמים ומבוארים, על פי נושאים שונים, כגון גוף האדם, נשמת האדם, עולמות, אלהות (מאמר זה מקדים מבחינות רבות את האנתולוגיה הגדולה של ישעיה תשבי ופישל לחובר, ״משנת הזוהר״, שנדפסה בשנת תש״ט ותידון להלן). את החלק הראשון של מאמרו פתח צייטלין בתיאור נאו־רומנטי נלהב של הזוהר:

> מהו ה״זהר״? הרי הוא נשמה אלהית נשגבה, שירדה פתאם מעולם האצילות ארצה למען הגלות לעיני בני־האדם במליוני אורות וצללים צבעים וגוונים. נטל הקדוש־ברוך־הוא אבן אחת יקרה מכתרו והשליכה ארצה והאבן התפוצצה, התפזרה, זרעה אלפי־אלפים נגוהות, ששה, שמחה ושחקה ברבוא־רבבות קויה־גוניה, אשר מן הנצח באו, למען האר את כל הפנות החשכות ולמען השביע את כל מה שצמא ושוקק לאור ולמען החיות והחם את כל מה שהמית הקר של המדע והחשך של הבערות, העורון והכבדות של הטבע והרשעות והקושי והאכזריות של בני האדם. ה״זהר״ נגלה לעם־ישראל ולכל באי־עולם בהשפעת תמונות, משלים, ספורים, דברים־ברקים, מחשבות חניתות, רומי־שמים, עמקי־תהומות, תפארת־כוכבים, שפת הררי־אל, שיחת אילני־עד עמק סבכי יער...[126]

אולם עמדתו של צייטלין כלפי הזוהר אינה חד־משמעית. התפעלותו הנאו־רומנטית מן הזוהר משולבת גם בהבעת הסתייגות, המזכירה את דבריו של קנור פון רוזנרות ושל מתרגמי זוהר לא יהודים אחרים שנדונו לעיל:

> ה״זהר״ — ערב של אמתות עמוקות שבעמוקות ודמיונות, קוים ישרים ועקומים, דרכים ישרים ודרכים מביאים במבוכה, ציורים ברורים שלמים ומתאימים וציורים משונים וזרים גבורת־ארי ורך־ילד, קול מפל מים

125 ראו ביאל, גרשם שלום, עמ׳ 73; קילכר, היסטוריה ואקטואליה, עמ׳ 170–171.

126 צייטלין, מפתח לספר הזוהר, עמ׳ 213 (וראו גם את בהדפסה המחודשת שנערכה על ידי בנו, אהרן צייטלין: צייטלין, בפרדס החסידות, עמ׳ 105).

ולחש־מעין, בורות חשך ומערות סתר, קצור, בהירות וחריפות של חכמת־עולם ושיחות ארכות, ההולכות ונמשכות בלי גבול, נכנסות אלה אל אלה, מתערבות אלה באלה, כבחלום ארך ומסבך... לפי תכנו ועשרו ה״זהר״ הוא כלו — אלהות; חיצוניותו, לפעמים ערבוב וערפל.[127]

בשנים תרפ״ג–תרפ״ד נדפסה בשני כרכים בורשה בהוצאת אחיאסף אנתולוגיה של אגדות הזוהר של הסופר וההיסטוריון עזריאל נתן פרנק.[128] פרנק, בדומה להוגים רבים אחרים בני זמנו, הדגיש את ערכו של הזוהר כטקסט ״לאומי״:

באופן זה שפך ״הזהר״ את רוחו על כולנו, כל בני אומתנו, בא ונבלע בתוך דמנו, נפשנו, רוחנו ונשמתנו, והוא ששתל בקרבנו את הרוך והתום, החמלה והחנינה, השאיפה לגדולות, להוד, לתפארת, לעג לייסורי הגלות וענויי העולם הזה, לגלוג למכשולים וחתחתים הנמצאים על דרכי חיינו — כל אותן המדות שבני אומתנו בכללם מצויינים בהן ואינן נפוצות בין בני שאר האומות. ה״זהר״ נטע את אלו בקרב ההוגים בו והם נטעו אותן בלב כל בני האומה, אשר היו נהוגים על ידיהם.[129]

מטרת התרגום של אגדות הזוהר לעברית מוצגת כך:

למען תת ליודעי עברית ברב או במעט למצער משהו מן המשהו מן היופי שב״זהר״, מאותם הדברים שהיו, כאמור, לחלק מנפשנו, רוחנו ונשמתנו, החלטנו לבור מתוך הספר הזה את מבחר דברי האגדה שבו ולערכם באופן שיהיו מובנים לסתם בני אדם, גדולים וקטנים בשנים, שלמדו עברית ורגילים קצת אצל כתבי הקודש... כסבורנו שבספר זה יצלח בידינו להשכין יפיפותם של ספרי הקבלה בספרות העברית החדשה, הנועדה למקרא יודעי עברית ולומדיה.[130]

אולם, בדומה לצייטלין, גם בדברי פרנק ניכרת אמביוולנטיות ביחס לזוהר. לצד ההערצה הרבה לזוהר, הוא טוען: ״מלבד זאת נמצאים בספר ׳הזהר׳ שבושים רבים מאד, דברים מסורסים, מוקדם ומאוחר וחסרים...״.[131]

באותן שנים פרסם שמואל צבי זצר, המלומד המזרח אירופי שהתיישב

127 שם, שם.

128 פרנק, אגדות הזהר. וראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ׳ 146, הערה 106. ספר זה, כפי שציין מאיר, זכה לאחרונה לשתי מהדורות בתרגום לפולנית. וראו להלן, הערה 201.

129 פרנק, אגדות הזהר, עמ׳ XII.

130 שם, עמ׳ XV–XIV.

131 שם, עמ׳ XIV.

מאוחר יותר בארצות הברית (ובסוף חייו עלה לישראל), תרגומים של מאמרי זוהר לאידיש, ומאוחר יותר פרסם תרגומים לעברית.[132] בדומה להוגים יהודים לאומיים אחרים בני זמנו, תיאר זצר את הזוהר בלשון אקספרסיבית נמלצת: "ספר־ההוד־והיסוד בתורת הסוד, ספר הזוהר, זה הים המיסטי הגדול והעמוק, שגליו מתרוממים לשיא במתי הדמיון האנושי ומתנפצים בחלל האוויר הגבוה לרסיסי צבעים וגוונים שלא תשבע העין לראותם".[133] במבוא לתרגום מדרש איכה הזוהרי הוא אומר שתרגומו נועד להעניק לקורא "עונג רוחני גדול", וזה לשונו:

> עיקר דאגתי היתה לזה שלא יפוג מהדברים שהייתי מתרגם, אותו הריח העדין המשכר שנודף מהם במקורם, שלא יאבד כלום על־ידי ההרקה מכלי אל כלי מאותו רוח השירה הנפלאה, מאותה הציוריות הנשגבה, שהם מצטיינים בהם, שעד כמה שאפשר לא יאבד אף משהו מתקפו של אותו הרושם הכביר, שהדברים במקורם מסוגלים לעשות על הקורא, גם כשיהיו נקראים מתוך תרגומי.[134]

לצד מלומדים אלה יש לציין גם את הסופר ש"י עגנון, שכלל קטעי זוהר מתורגמים לעברית בספרו "ימים נוראים", שנדפס לראשונה בירושלים תרצ"ח.[135]

132 תרגומי הזוהר של זצר לאידיש יצאו לאור תחת הכותר "פון זוהר", בכתב העת "דאס ווארט", כרכים 1–4 (1921–1924). מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים לעברית נדפסו על ידי זצר בשנת תש"ז בספר השנה ליהודי אמריקה, ובגיליונות כד–כה ולח–לט של כתב העת "הדאר" (תשי"ד). תרגומים אלה נדפסו שנית לאחר מותו. ראו זצר, כתבים, עמ' 17–110. וראו שלום, ביבליוגרפיה, עמ' 144; מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 138–139, הערה 80. מאיר מציין שם גם את תכניתו של י"ד איזנשטיין להוציא ספר בשם "אוצר הקבלה" שהיה אמור לכלול קטעים מספר הזוהר ו"מילון זוהרי".

133 זצר, כתבים, עמ' 113.

134 שם, עמ' 73.

135 בספרו "לפנים מן החומה" מספר ש"י עגנון על מקובל מבית אל, ר' אברהם חיים מוולז'ין, שסייע לו בהכנת התרגומים מן הזוהר. וראו מאיר, נפתולי סוד. מעניין לציין גם שיעקב אורנשטיין מספר בזיכרונותיו על תרגום לזוהר שנעשה על ידי אביו, בן היישוב הישן בירושלים, בתחילת המאה העשרים: "אבא היה בנו של אחד מגדולי הרבנים של ירושלים, סבא היה לא רק גדול בתורה, אלא ראש הקנאים הקיצוניים של ירושלים, עוזרו ויד ימינו של הרב מבריסק... אבא לא העז כמובן לצאת נגד אביו, אולם בחדרי חדרים השתדל לקנות השכלה, ומאמציו לא היו לשווא. הוא למד בכוחות עצמו גרמנית על בוריה, גם למד באורח יסודי ארמית עתיקה, ולא אחת נלוויתי עליו כשהלך לספריה של הכנסיה הסורית, הקרובה לקבר הקדוש, כדי לעיין בכתבי יד עתיקים. זמן רב לפני שאנשי מדע מקצועיים חלמו על כך, התחיל אבא לעסוק בתרגום הזוהר לעברית. אולם מכיוון שאת רוב שעות היום והלילה הקדיש לצרכי פרנסה, עלה בידו לתרגם רק את מחציתו" (אורנשטיין, בכבלים, עמ' 21–22). וראו פלח, שני מקובלים.

בתקופה שבין שתי מלחמות העולם יזמו שתי הוצאות ספרים מפעלי תרגום מקיפים של הזוהר לעברית. במסגרת הוצאת הספרים דביר שפעלה בברלין, חיים נחמן ביאליק יזם תכנית להוצאת הזוהר בתרגום לעברית, שמעולם לא יצאה אל הפועל.[136] באותה התקופה החל הלל צייטלין בפרויקט לתרגום הזוהר לעברית ביוזמת הוצאת עיינות, שפעלה אף היא בברלין. לדברי שמעון רבידוביץ, שעמד בראש ההוצאה, תרגום הזוהר היה בין התכניות הראשונות של הוצאת עיינות, שראתה במפעל זה "חובה לאומית מיוחדת במינה".[137] ואולם רק התרגום להקדמת הזוהר ראה אור לאחר מותו של צייטלין בשואה.[138]

ההתעניינות ההולכת וגוברת בקבלה בכלל ובזוהר בפרט במחצית הראשונה של המאה העשרים הביאה לתחרות בין גורמים שונים על ההון התרבותי שהעניק תרגום הזוהר. תחרות זו באה לידי ביטוי בביקורתו של הלל צייטלין על מתרגמי זוהר שפעלו לפניו. כך, באיגרת לרבידוביץ, טען צייטלין כנגד הלשון הרבנית הלא יפה של תרגום מסורתי לזוהר "ספר שערי זוהר תורה" (שיידון להלן) של ר' יודל רוזנברג (אותו הוא מכנה בשם "רוזנצוויג"!), וביקר את בחירתו של רוזנברג לתרגם את הזוהר תרגום חלקי בלבד: "העתקה זו אין לה כל ערך תורני ומדעי. הרב המעתיק (רוזנצוויג שמו) לקט רק דברי דרוש אחדים מכל פרשה ופרשה והעתיקם לעברית רבנית לא מדוייקת ולא יפה".[139] את האנתולוגיה של עזריאל נתן פרנק מבקר צייטלין בצורה חריפה יותר, באומרו: "ערכו פחות הרבה יותר מערכו של ספר 'שערי זוהר תורה' לפי שכולו מחזיק רק דפים אחדים ואין בו ולא כלום, ישנן רק העתקות ממקומות קלים אחדים בשביל בני הנעורים ולא יותר".[140] במאמר שכתב מאוחר יותר ב"דער מאמענט" ב־1932 ביקר צייטלין גם את הניסיונות לתרגם את הזוהר מתוך "קונצפציות מודרניות".[141] לעומת זאת, ביאליק, שכאמור שאף להכין תרגום לזוהר במסגרת מפעל הכינוס בהוצאת דביר, העלה בפני רבידוביץ ספקות על כך שצייטלין הוא

136 וראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 124. מאיר מציין שם שעוד בשנת תרע"ג הציע ביאליק לתרגם כתבי קבלה מארמית לעברית במסגרת מפעל הכינוס.

137 המצודה, א (תש"ג), עמ' 36. וראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 130. על מפעל תרגום זה ותולדותיו, ראו בהרחבה מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 119–157.

138 המצודה, א (תש"ג) עמ' 40–81 (ונדפס שנית, ראו צייטלין, בפרדס החסידות, עמ' 229–279).

139 "מכתב לשמעון רבידוביץ", המצודה, ג־ד (תש"ה), עמ' 340. וראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 146.

140 המצודה ג–ד (תש"ה) עמ' 341; מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 146.

141 ראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 147–148. במאמר זה מציין צייטלין לטובה את תרגומו של ארנסט מילר.

המתרגם הנכון לזוהר, ואף טען, ככל הנראה בניסיון לטרפד את מפעל התרגום של צייטלין, שבידו מצוי תרגום של הזוהר מוכן לדפוס![142]

יא. תרגום הזוהר לאנגלית בהוצאת סונסינו

כפי שראינו לעיל, במסגרת ההתעניינות ההולכת וגוברת בקבלה בכלל ובזוהר בפרט בראשית המאה העשרים, תורגם הזוהר במלואו (ובתוספת זיופים) לצרפתית על ידי היהודי המומר ז׳אן דה פאולי. לאנגלית תורגמו רק מאמרי הזוהר שמקורם ב״קבלה העירומה״ של רוזנרות, על ידי מייסד מסדר ה״שחר המוזהב״ מת׳רס, וכמה מאמרי זוהר נוספים תורגמו על ידי יצחק מאייר ונפתלי הרץ אימבר. מהדורה מקיפה של הזוהר באנגלית (שאינה כוללת חטיבות זוהריות שונות, בכללן החטיבות שנתפסו כאזוטריות במיוחד) הוכנה לראשונה רק בשנות השלושים של המאה העשרים, בין השנים 1931–1934, בהוצאת סונסינו (Sonsino) על ידי צוות של מלומדים יהודים, מוריס סימון, הרי ספרלינג ופול לברטוף (Maurice Simon, Harry Sperling, Paul P. Lavertoff), ובשיתוף פעולה של החוקר היהודי יהושע אבלסון (Joshua Abelson), שכתב את ההקדמה למהדורה. בהקדמתו לתרגום הזוהר חזר אבלסון על התפיסה המקובלת באותה תקופה, שהזוהר הוא יצירה של דורות רבים, הכוללת בתוכה רבדים קדומים.[143] אבלסון מבטא גם את התפיסה הנאו־רומנטית, שהזוהר בפרט והקבלה בכלל מייצגים את הרוח המיסטית המעניקה חיות ליהדות הרבנית:

> Indeed herein may be said to lie the undying service which the Cabbalism has rendered Judaism, whether as creed or as life. A too literal interpretation of the words of Scripture giving Judaism the appearance of being nothing more than an ordered legalism, an apotheosis of the “letter which killeth” a formal and petrified system of external commands bereft of all spirit and denying all freedom of the individual — these have been, and are still in some quarters, the

142 רבידוביץ, שיחותי עם ביאליק, עמ׳ 41, 46, וראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ׳ 139.

143 סימון, ספרלינג ולברטוף, הזוהר, א, עמ׳ XI: “From the survey of the whole subject, one is drawn irresistibly to the conclusion that the Zohar, so far from being a homogeneous work, is a compilation of a mass of material drawn from many strata of Jewish and non Jewish mystical thought and covering numerous centuries”.

blemishes and shortcomings cast in the teeth of Rabbinic Judaism. The supreme rebutter of such taunts and objections is Cabbalah. The arid field of Rabbinism was always kept well watered and fresh by the living streams of Cabbalistic lore.[144]

אולם, גם אבלסון מבטא עמדה אמביוולנטית, האופיינית למלומדים המודרניסטים שעסקו בתרגום ובמחקר הזוהר במחצית הראשונה של המאה העשרים, בכנותו את הזוהר: "A veritable storehouse of anachronisms, incongruities and surprises".[145]

מהדורות סונסינו של הזוהר היתה (ובמידה רבה עודנה) המקור העיקרי להיכרות עם הזוהר של העולם הדובר אנגלית במאה העשרים. רק בשנים האחרונות, כפי שנראה בהמשך, נוצרו תרגומי זוהר מקיפים נוספים לאנגלית, שנועדו למלא את מקומה של מהדורה זו.

יב. תרגומי זוהר לעברית של ר׳ יודל רוזנברג ושל ר׳ יהודה אשלג

בתקופה המודרנית תורגם הזוהר לעברית גם בקרב חוגים מסורתיים, שפעלו בלא ספק בזיקה להתעוררות העניין בזוהר בקרב חוגי המשכילים והציונים (ואולי אף בתגובה לעניין שגילו לא יהודים בקבלה ובזוהר). ר׳ יודל רוזנברג, הרב הפולני החסידי, שהיגר לקנדה בשנת 1913 (והידוע בעיקר בזכות חיבורו המזויף על הגולם מפראג) תרגם חלקים גדולים של הספרות הזוהרית, תרגום שכזכור זכה לביקורת מזלזלת מצד הלל צייטלין. רוזנברג, שהחל במפעל התרגום והעריכה של הזוהר בעברית בפולין, והמשיך בו בקנדה, ערך את מאמרי הזוהר שתרגם על פי סדר פסוקי התורה, והדפיס את תרגומו בתוספת פירוש קצר בשם ״זיו הזוהר״, לצד המקור הארמי. בדומה למתרגמים המסורתיים שלפניו, נמנע רוזנברג מלתרגם את החלקים האזוטריים של הזוהר, ובראשם, הספרא דצניעותא והאדרות. הכרך הראשון של תרגומו יצא לאור בורשה תרס״ו (1906) בשם ״ספר שערי זהר תורה״, והתרגום השלם יצא לאור מאוחר יותר במונטריאול וניו יורק בין השנים 1924–1930 תחת הכותר: ״ספר זהר תורה על חמשה חומשי תורה״.[146] ר׳ יודל רוזנברג שפעל במסגרת מסורתית (אך ידע

144 שם, עמ׳ XIV.

145 שם, עמ׳ XII.

146 רוזנברג, שערי זהר תורה; הנ״ל, ספר זהר תורה; הנ״ל, הזוהר הקדוש (לתהלים, לשה״ש, למשלי ולקהלת), (התרגום נדפס שנית על ידי נכדו של רוזנברג, צבי יצחק גאלסס, בניו

רוסית והכיר את ספרות ההשכלה), הקדים לספרו הסכמות של רבנים רבים, בהן של האדמו״ר אריה ליב אלטר מגור ושל האדמו״ר שלום דב שניאורסון מלובביץ, אך לצדם הוא הדפיס אף את מכתבו של המלומד א״א הרכבי, ראש המחלקה לספרות יהודית וכתבי יד מזרחיים בספריית סנט פטרסבורג.[147] בהקדמה לספרו חוזר רוזנברג ומשתמש בטיעונים המסורתיים השונים, שהובאו גם בתקופות קדומות יותר להצדקת הפצת הזוהר, ובראשם, בהסתמך על ספר ״תיקוני הזוהר״ ועל ספר ״חסד לאברהם״, הטיעון שהזוהר עתיד להתגלות בדור האחרון: ״הרי מבואר... שעתיד ספר הזהר להתגלות בהתגלות חדשה מפורסמת בדור האחרון, והתגלות זו היינו התפשטות בין הכלל ישראל״.[148] כתקדים למפעל התרגום (והקיצור) של דברי הזוהר, מביא רוזנברג את ספר מקור חכמה של ר׳ יששכר בער מקרמניץ (מן המאה השבע עשרה), ומצטט באריכות מדברי ההקדמה לספר זה.[149] אולם, לדבריו, ספרו של ר׳ יששכר לא ״פעל מטרת המחבר״, משום שהוא לא תרגם את דברי הזוהר מילה במילה, לא הביא את המקור לצד התרגום, וכתב את תרגומו־קיצורו רק לפרשות בראשית ונח.

מפעל תרגום הזוהר של רוזנברג לעברית בא בהקשר ההתעוררות הלאומית בתקופתו, העלייה בהיקף קוראי העברית ופרסומה של ספרות חילונית בעברית. כך הוא אומר בהקדמתו: ״ואנו רואים בעוה״ר [בעוונותינו הרבים] שספרי מינות מתרבים מאד בעתים הללו וקוניהם מרובים וכמעט צודים נפשות בחרמם עי״ז [על ידי זה] שמייפים ספרים בכל מיני יופי. והעיקר שנכתבו בלשון צח וקל. וספרים הקדושים המלאים זיו של אור התורה הקדושה מונחים בקרן זוית. ובפרט ספר הזהר הקדוש שמביטים עליו כעל דבר נסתר שאינו מובן כמו על איזה קמיע״.[150] בהקדמתו לתרגום שיר השירים, משלי וקהלת מציין

יורק 1955). כמו כן, הדפיס רוזנברג סיפורים על גיבורי ספר הזוהר, בעברית ובאידיש. ראו הנ״ל, נפלאות הזוהר. על תרגומי הזוהר של רוזנברג, ראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ׳ 145, הערה 104. מפעל תרגום ועריכת הזוהר של רוזנברג נדון בפירוט בפרק הרביעי בספרו של רובינסון, מקובל במונטריאול, העתיד לצאת לאור בקרוב. אני מודה לפרופ׳ רובינסון שהעמיד לרשותי את כתב היד של פרק זה.

147 מכתבו של הרכבי הכיל, על פי בקשתו של רוזנברג, תרגום של מילים זרות שבזוהר לעברית.

148 רוזנברג, ספר זהר תורה (מהד׳ ניו יורק) כרך א, ה ע״א.

149 שם, שם. כתקדים נוסף, רוזנברג מציין את אזכור ״זוהר בלשון הקדוש״, שבפירוש ״דרך אמת״ המיוחס לר׳ חיים ויטאל, המלווה את דפוסי הזוהר (ח״א לד ע״ב) ואת האזכור שם של ״זוהר קטן״ (ח״ב קטז ע״ב). רוזנברג אינו מודע לכך שזהו הכינוי של דפוס מנטובה (לעומת דפוסי קרימונה) ומניח שמדובר בקיצור הזוהר שהיה קיים בתקופת רח״ו.

150 שם, שם.

רוזנברג ש"לימוד הזוה"ק היא התרופה האחת מיוחדת ללחום לעומת ההפקרות של אפיקורסית[!] הנפרצת מאד בימים אלה".[151] משום שבתקופה המודרנית נתמעטה ידיעת הארמית בקרב היהודים, רוזנברג טוען שיש לתרגם את הזוהר לעברית: "ושהדי במרומים שהרעיון הזה לא נתן שנה לעיני ומנוחה לנפשי זמן רב והכריח אותי בחזקה לקחת עלי עבודה קשה כזו להעתיק מספר הזהר בלשון הקדש כל המאמרים המבארים עומק הפסוקים אשר יוכלו להיות מובנים לכלל ישראל".[152] אף שהפרקספקיבה של התרגום של רוזנברג היא מסורתית והרקע למפעלו הוא, לדבריו, המאבק בהשכלה החילונית, ניכרת בדבריו השפעת ההתעוררות היהודית הלאומית בת זמנו. כך, בפרפרזה על דברי המקובל בן המאה השש עשרה, ר' אברהם אזולאי, כותב רוזנברג: "ודע כי עיקר כוונת הרשב"י ע"ה בחבור הזהר היה לזה להיות אור הלאומי [היינו השכינה] באפס שפע באין תומך ובאין עוזר לה".[153]

התרגום המקיף ביותר של הזוהר לעברית, שנכתב מפרספטקיבה קבלית מסורתית (אם כי במסגרת שיטה קבלית חדשנית ורדיקלית ביותר), הוא תרגום ופירוש הזוהר המפורסם של הרב יהודה אשלג, שהיה מקורב לחוגים חסידיים בפולין לפני שעלה לארץ בשנת 1921. לפני שאפנה לדון בפירושו של ר' יהודה אשלג, ה"סולם", שנדפס למן שנת תש"ה, מן הראוי לציין גם את הוצאתו לאור של תרגום קדום של פרשת בראשית של ספר הזוהר, המיוחס לר' ברכאל קופמן,[154] על ידי ר' עובדיה הדיה מישיבת בית אל בפתח תקוה, שנת תש"ו. כפי שהראה לאחרונה יונתן מאיר, המו"ל בנדט כהן תכנן להוציא לאור תרגום זה עוד קודם, במסגרת הוצאת ילקוט בברלין.[155] החלטתו של הדיה להוציא לאור את התרגום הקדום המיוחס לר' ברכאל היא, בין השאר, תגובה לתרגומו של ר' יודל רוזנברג, שאותו הוא מבקר בפירוש, ואולי גם לפרויקטים אחרים של תרגום הזוהר לעברית שנעשו בזמנו.

פירוש הסולם הוא מפעלו הספרותי האחרון של הרב אשלג, שעסק קודם בעיקר בכתיבת פירושים לטקטסים לוריאניים, שבמסגרתם פיתח את שיטתו הקבלית הייחודית. אשלג החל לחבר את פירושו לזוהר בשנת 1943, וסיים

151 שם, ב ע"א.

152 שם, ה ע"א.

153 שם, שם. ושוב, שם ע"ב. והשווה לאזולאי, חסד לאברהם, מעין א, נהר כד. שם, כמובן, ה"רוח הלאומית" אינה נזכרת.

154 ראו לעיל, הערה 11.

155 ראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 150, הערה 127. על פעילותו של בנדט כהן והוצאת ילקוט, ראו שם, עמ' 148–149, הערה 120.

אותו סמוך לפטירתו, בשנת 1954.[156] במסגרת פירושו לזוהר, המבוסס על שיטתו הקבלית, תרגם הרב אשלג את מרבית הקורפוס הזוהרי לעברית. בדומה לרוזנברג, גם אשלג גייס הסכמות רבות למפעל הפירוש והתרגום שלו, בעיקר של אדמו"רים חסידיים (אך גם של הרבנים הראשיים יצחק הרצוג ובן ציון עוזיאל). פירוש ה"סולם", ובכללו תרגום הזוהר לעברית, מהווה את שיאו של מפעל הפצת הקבלה והסרת המגבלות האזוטריות על העיסוק בזוהר ובקבלה שיזם הרב אשלג.[157] בהקדמתו לפירוש ה"סולם" הרב אשלג חוזר על התפיסה המסורתית המצדיקה את הפצת הזוהר בנימוקים אסכטולוגיים:

> וכעת בדורנו זה, אחר שכבר קרובים אנו לגמר ב' אלפים האחרונים, לפיכך ניתנה עתה הרשות לגלות דבריו ז"ל [האר"י, ב"ה] ודברי הזוהר בעולם בשיעור חשוב מאד, באופן שמדורנו זה ואילך יתחילו להתגלות דברי הזהר בכל פעם יותר ויותר, עד שיתגלה כל השיעור השלם שבחפץ השי"ת.[158]

על סמך התפיסה האסכטולוגית, הרב אשלג מצדיק את הפצת הזוהר כולו לציבור הרחב. בניגוד למקובלים בתקופות קדומות יותר שהסתפקו בתרגום "פשטי" הזוהר, ואף בניגוד לר' יודל רוזנברג שנמנע מתרגום החלקים האזוטריים של הזוהר (וכך גם מתרגמי זוהר סונסינו לאנגלית), הרב אשלג פירש ותרגם את כל הזוהר (חוץ מהשמטות לזוהר ומתיקוני הזוהר שתורגמו לאחר פטירתו על ידי תלמידו ר' יהודה צבי ברנדווין).[159] במאמר שכתב לרגל סיום הדפסת ה"סולם" טען שההיקף של מפעל הביאור והתרגום שלו הוא ההוכחה שדורו הגיע לימות המשיח!

> ומכאן הוכחה ברורה שכבר הגיע דורנו זה לימות המשיח כי עינינו הרואות שכל הביאורים על ספר הזוהר שקדמו לנו לא ביארו אפילו עשרה אחוזים מהמקומות הקשים בזוהר וגם במקצת שביארו סתומים דבריהם כדברי הזוהר עצמו. ובדור זה זכינו לפירוש הסולם שהוא ביאור מלא על כל דברי הזהר ומלבד זה שאינו מניח דבר סתום בכל הזהר בלי לפרשו. אף כי הביאורים מיוסדים על פי השכל העיוני הפשוט,

156 ראו אשלג, הסולם.

157 ראו גארב, יחידי הסגלות, עמ' 58–59; הוס, למות ביום אחר, עמ' 7–8; מאיר, נפתולי סוד.

158 אשלג, הסולם, א, עמ' יז.

159 ראו ברנדווין, תיקוני הזוהר.

שכל מעיין בינוני יכול להבינם ומתוך שנגלה הזוהר בדורנו זה, הרי זו הוכחה ברורה שאנחנו נמצאים כבר בימות המשיח בתחלתו של אותו הדור שעליו נאמר **ומלאה הארץ דעה את ה'** וגו' [יש' יא, ט].[160]

יש לציין, שלמרות פעילותו של הרב אשלג במסגרת חרדית לא ציונית, הוא קשר את הפצת הזוהר לתקומה הלאומית, וראה הן בהקמת מדינת ישראל הן בהפצת הזוהר באמצעות פירוש "הסולם" הוכחה לתחילת הגאולה:

ומתוך שנגלה הזהר בדורנו זה הרי זו הוכחה ברורה שאנחנו נמצאים כבר בימות המשיח בתחילתו של אותו הדור שעליו נאמר **ומלאה הארץ דעה את ה'** [יש' יא, ט]... היוצא מדברינו שדורנו זה הוא הדור של ימות המשיח. ולפיכך זכינו לגאולת ארצנו הקדושה מידי הנכרים. גם זכינו להתגלות ספר הזהר. שהוא תחילת קיום הכתוב **ומלאה הארץ דעה את ה'** [יש' יא, ט] **ולא ילַמדו עוד כי כולם יֵדעו אותי למקטנם ועד גדולם** [יר' לא, לג].[161]

יג. התרגומים האקדמיים הראשונים לזוהר

חלק מתרגומי הזוהר שהופיעו במחצית הראשונה של המאה העשרים נכתבו מפרספקטיבה אקדמית מודרנית, תוך שימוש בכלים היסטוריים ופילולוגיים ביקורתיים. חלק מהמלומדים היהודים שעסקו בתרגום הזוהר שנדונו לעיל, בכללם הלל צייטלין, נתן פרנק, יהושע אבלסון ואחרים, היו בעלי השכלה אקדמית או עסקו במחקר כאוטודידקטים.

המייצג המובהק ביותר של הגישה האקדמית לחקר הקבלה והזוהר במאה העשרים הוא גרשם שלום, שבדומה להוגים אחרים שנדונו לעיל, פנה לעסוק במיסטיקה היהודית במסגרת האידאולוגיה הציונית ובהשפעת המגמות הנאו־רומנטיות של ראשית המאה העשרים. מחקריו החשובים ביותר של שלום על ספר הזוהר הם מאמרו "האם חיבר ר' משה דה ליאון את ספר הזוהר", משנת

160 אשלג, מתן תורה, עמ' קנב–קנג.

161 שם, קנג–קנד. עם זאת, מבחינת הרב אשלג, הן גאולת הארץ הן פירוש הזוהר אינם בחינת סיום תהליך הגאולה, אלא תחילתו בלבד: "אבל בשתי אלה זכינו רק בבחינת נתינה מהקב"ה, אבל אנו לידינו עוד לא קבלנו כלום. אלא שניתנה לנו הזדמנות בזה להתחיל בעבודת השי"ת לעסוק בתורה ובמצוות לשמה, שאז נזכה להצלחה גדולה ככל המובטח לדורו של המשיח, מה שלא ידעו כל הדורות שלפנינו. ואז נזכה לזמן הקבלה של שתי אלה: 'שלמות ההשגה' ו'הגאולה השלמה'" (שם, שם).

תרפ״ו (בו הוא מערער על ייחוס הזוהר לר׳ משה דה ליאון),[162] ושני הפרקים המוקדשים לספר הזוהר בספרו זרמים עיקריים במיסטיקה היהודית (*Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*), שנדפס לראשונה בשנת 1941, שבהם הוא חזר מדעתו, וקבע שהזוהר כולו נתחבר על ידי ר׳ משה דה ליאון.[163] כפי שנראה להלן, בנוסף למחקרים אלה, תרגם שלום מספר מאמרי זוהר לגרמנית, ומאוחר יותר גם לאנגלית.

אף ששלום הגיע במחקריו למסקנה שהזוהר הוא יצירה פסאודואפיגרפית שנכתבה על ידי ר׳ משה דה ליאון, לא נפגם ערכו של הזוהר בעיניו כאחד הספרים הראויים ביותר לציון בספרות היהודית ובספרות המיסטית בכלל:

> To the streak of adventurousness which was in Moses de Leon, no less than to his genius, we owe one of the most remarkable works of Jewish literature and of the literature of mysticism in general.[164]

עם זאת, לצד ההערכה הרבה לספר הזוהר ולגאוניותו של מחברו, שותף שלום להרגשת האמביוולנטיות ביחס לזוהר, שכפי שראינו אפיינה את יחסם של הוגים מודרניסטים שונים למיסטיקה היהודית. האמביוולנטיות של שלום ביחס לזוהר באה לידי ביטוי בדבריו על נוכחותם של דרכי מחשבה ורגש פרימיטיביים בזוהר, לצדה של מיסטיקה קונטמפלטיבית עמוקה:

> Again and again one is struck by the simultaneous presence of crudely primitive modes of thought and feeling and of ideas whose profound contemplative mysticism is transparent... a very remarkable personality in whom as in so many mystics, profound and naive modes of thought existed side by side.[165]

בשנת 1935 פרסם שלום, בברלין בהוצאת שוקן, את ספרו ״סודות הבריאה: פרק מהזוהר״ (*Die Geheimnisse der Schöpfung, Ein Kapitel aus dem Sohar*), המכיל תרגום גרמני להתחלת ספר הזוהר (זוהר, ח״א טו ע״א–כב ע״א), וכן מבוא היסטורי ותוכני לזוהר.[166] מאוחר יותר, בשנת 1949, בשיתוף פעולה עם

162 שלום, האם חיבר, עמ׳ 16–29.
163 שלום, זרמים, עמ׳ 156–204.
164 שם, עמ׳ 204.
165 שם, עמ׳ 175.
166 שלום, סודות הבריאה (הספר יצא לאור במהדורה נוספת בשנת 1992). כבר במבוא למהדורה הראשונה של תרגום זה חזר שלום מקביעתו המוקדמת על אודות מחבר

שרי אבל (Sherry Abel), שלום הוציא לאור מבחר מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים לאנגלית, ולהם הקדים תרגום אנגלי של המבוא ההיסטורי שכתב לתרגום מאמר הזוהר לגרמנית (מאוחר יותר תורגמה אנתולוגיה זו לשפות רבות).[167] מטרת הכרך הקטן של תרגומי הזוהר לאנגלית, היא, לדברי שלום: "conveying to the reader some notion of the power of contemplative fantasy and creative imagery hidden within the seemingly abstruse thinking of the Kabbalists".[168]

גרשם שלום פסל — לעתים בחריפות רבה — את תרגומי הזוהר שנוצרו בעת החדשה, משום שאינם עומדים בקריטריונים אקדמיים ואף משום העדר ערך ספרותי של כמה מהתרגומים הללו. כזכור, בראשית דרכו האקדמית פרסם שלום ביקורת חריפה על המגמה האקספרסיבית ועל הערפול שבתרגום מאמרי זוהר לגרמנית של יעקב זיידמן.[169] במבוא לתרגומי הזוהר שלו בגרמנית ביקר שלום את תרגומי הזוהר שנעשו לפניו לגרמנית ולשפות אירופיות אחרות, מבלי להזכירם בשמם.[170] בסקירת תרגומי הזוהר שערך שלום, שנתפרסמה תחילה בתוך הערך "זוהר" באנציקלופדיה יודאיקה (ומאוחר יותר נדפסה בתוך הקובץ "קבלה" (*Kabbalah*), שלום ביקר את תרגומו של ר' יודל רוזנברג החסר לדבריו כל ערך ספרותי, ואת תרגומו של הרב אשלג על כך שהוא מילולי מדי ורצוף טעויות רבות.[171] שלום פסל כמובן את תרגומו של דה פאולי לצרפתית בגלל הזיופים הנצרניים הרבים שבו.[172] הוא אמנם ציין את הסגנון הנאה של התרגום לאנגלית של ספרלינג, סימון ולברטוף, אך טען שהם חטאו בהבנה חלקית, או מוטעית, של חלקים רבים של הזוהר העוסקים בענייני קבלה.[173]

הזוהר, והציג לראשונה את העמדה שאותה הרחיב מאוחר יותר בספרו (שלום, זרמים). ראו שלום, סודות הבריאה, עמ' 12 (ובתרגום לאנגלית, המצוין בהערה הבאה, עמ' 14); ביאל, גרשם שלום, עמ' 118, 266, הערה 19.

167 שלום, זוהר. הספר יצא במהדורות רבות נוספות, ואף בתרגומים לפורטוגזית, לצרפתית, להולנדית, לספרדית ולאיטלקית. ראו, שלום, זוהר (פורטוגזית); שלום, זוהר (צרפתית); שלום, זוהר (הולנדית); שלום, זוהר (ספרדית); שלום, זוהר (איטלקית).

168 שלום, זוהר, עמ' 23.

169 ראו לעיל, הערה 123.

170 שלום, סודות הבריאה, עמ' 19.

171 שלום, קבלה, עמ' 240.

172 שם, שם.

173 שם, שם. וראו גם את התייחסותו של שלום לתרגום של דה פאולי לצרפתית ושל ספרלינג, סימון ולברטוף לאנגלית, בתוך שלום, זרמים, עמ' 387–388, הערה 34.

השיפוט הערכי של שלום את תרגומי הזוהר המודרניים (הנעדר מדיוניו בתרגומי זוהר שנוצרו בתקופות מוקדמות יותר) מהווה ביטוי לתחרות על ההון התרבותי של הזוהר, שכפי שראינו, ערכו עלה בקרב חוגים שונים, יהודים ולא יהודים, בראשית המאה העשרים. בביקורתו על מתרגמי הזוהר המודרניים טען שלום לשליטה שלו ושל תלמידיו על ההון התרבותי של הזוהר, בזכות המיומנות שלהם בשיטות המחקר ההיסטוריות והפילולוגית, מיומנות שלא היתה מנת חלקם של מתרגמי זוהר אחרים בתקופה זו. ואכן, התרגום היחיד ששלום מוכן להכיר בערכו, בלי הסתייגות, הוא "משנת הזוהר" של תשבי (תלמידו של שלום) ולחובר, שכפי שנראה להלן, התבסס על הפרספקטיבה המחקרית מבית מדרשו של שלום.[174]

עם זאת, יש לציין שתרגומי הזוהר לגרמנית ולאנגלית תפסו מקום שולי בפעילות הענפה של שלום בחקר הקבלה. שלום עצמו, כמו גם תלמידיו, גילו עניין מועט בהפצת הזוהר לקהל הרחב ושילובו בתרבות העכשווית. ניסיון יחיד להפיץ את הזוהר לקהל הישראלי הרחב, שנעשה במסגרת האסכולה הירושלמית של חקר הקבלה,[175] הוא המפעל הגדול של ישעיה תשבי ופישל לחובר "משנת הזוהר". הכרך הראשון יצא לאור בהוצאת ביאליק בשנת תש"ט, הכרך השני יצא לאור רק בשנת תשכ"א וקיצורו יצא לאור בהוצאת ספריית דורות בשנת תשכ"ט.[176] מטרת הספר, כפי שתיארה ישעיה תשבי בהקדמה למהדורה הראשונה, היתה: "לפתוח אוצר גנוז זה לפני הקורא העברי, והריהו מגיש לו מבחר מקיף מכל חלקי הזוהר".[177] מעניין לציין, שאף שתשבי היה תלמידו של גרשם שלום ו"משנת הזוהר" משקפת במידה רבה את עמדותיו של שלום בקשר לזוהר, היוזמה למפעל לא היתה של שלום אלא של פישל לחובר ושל שמואל אבא הורודצקי.[178] יש להדגיש גם ש"משנת הזוהר" היא אנתולוגיה שמגמתה

174 "Many selected pieces were translated in a meticulous and fine style by F. Lachover and I. Tishby" (שלום, קבלה, עמ' 240).

175 בתקופה מאוחרת יותר הועלו תכניות לתרגום הזוהר במסגרת "מפעל הזוהר" שיזמה רבקה ש"ץ אופנהיימר. אולם תכניות אלה לא יצאו אל הפועל. על מפעל הזוהר של ש"ץ אופנהיימר, ראו רובין, מפעל הזוהר, עמ' 167–174. רונית מרוז, כפי ששמעתי מפיה, מתכננת במסגרת המחקר המקיף שלה על ספרות הזוהר, אף לתרגם את הזוהר לעברית.

176 ראו תשבי ולחובר; תשבי, פרקי זוהר. תרגום של פ' לחובר למאמר "קן הציפור" מזוהר שמות יצא לאור עוד קודם, בכתב העת סער (תש"ג), עמ' 3–8.

177 תשבי ולחובר, עמ' 5.

178 שם, שם. לדעת זאב גריס היה זה גרשם שלום שדחק במוסד ביאליק לבטל את התקשרותם עם הורודצקי, ושכנע את תשבי לחבור אל לחובר לסיום מפעל "משנת הזוהר". ראו גריס, תרומת ישעיה תשבי, עמ' 21. בעקבות זאת, תבע הורודצקי את מוסד

"לשקף את תורת הזוהר ואת אופיו הספרותי במשנה סדורה ומרוכזת",[179] ולא להציע בפני הקורא הישראלי תרגום מקיף של הזוהר, כפי שהחל לעשות בדיוק באותה תקופה ר' יהודה אשלג, וכפי שעוד קודם תכנן לעשות הלל צייטלין. מבחינה זו, המפעל של תשבי ולחובר קרוב ברוחו — ומהווה השלמה — למפעל הכינוס של ביאליק, שתכנן להוציא תרגום של הזוהר, במסגרת שאיפתו לכנוס ולערוך את הקלסיקה של הספרות היהודית ברוח ציונית חילונית.[180]

בדומה לשלום, גם תשבי פסל את תרגומי הזוהר המודרניים שלא נכתבו מפרספקטיבה אקדמית. בסקירת תרגומי הזוהר שבמבוא ל"משנת הזוהר" כתב תשבי על תרגומו של ר' יודל רוזנברג: "במקום הבהרת העניינים גרמה עריכת המתרגם לערבוב הפרשיות ולקריעת המאמרים לגזרים. לשון התרגום מגומגמת".[181] על תרגומו של צייטלין (שממנו שרד כזכור רק התרגום להקדמת הזוהר) הוא כתב: "הן התרגום והן הביאור אינם ממלאים את התקוות, שתלו בעבודתו של צייטלין. נוסח המקור לא הוגה כלל, ובמקומות רבים התרגום אינו מדוייק וסגנונו איננו מתאים ללשון הזוהר. בביאור הוכנסו דברים רבים, שאינם לפי פשט הזוהר".[182] תשבי מבקר גם את התרגום לאנגלית של ספרלינג, סימון ולברטוף, על ש"עשו את מלאכתם באמונה, אבל חוסר ידיעתם בתורת הקבלה הכשילם לפרקים". הוא פסל כמובן את תרגומו לצרפתית של דה פאולי, "המלא שיבושים גסים וסילופים נצרניים", וציין שארנסט מילר "שאף לדיוק מלא, אבל לעיתים קרובות טעה בהבנת הדברים. עצם המבחר לקוי בכך, שכמעט כל המאמרים שבו מקוטעים".[183] במהדורה השנייה של "משנת הזוהר", משנת תשי"ז, הוסיף תשבי התייחסות לתרגום ופירוש ה"סולם". תשבי ביקר את הביאורים ש"קשה להסתייע בהם להבנת הזוהר כפשוטו", אך לא התייחס לאיכות התרגום.[184]

ביאליק לדין, והם פרסמו את מבואותיו בהוצאה נפרדת. ראו גם מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 154–155.

179 תשבי ולחובר, עמ' 5.

180 על כך עמד מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 155.

181 תשבי ולחובר, עמ' 113, הערה 7.

182 שם, הערה 6.

183 שם, עמ' 114.

184 שם, עמ' 116. וראו מאיר, ספר הזוהר להלל צייטלין, עמ' 147.

יד. התרגומים האקדמיים לזוהר בשלהי המאה העשרים

ספרם של תשבי ולחובר, ובכללו תרגומי הזוהר, יצאו לאור בתרגום לאנגלית בשנת 1989 (ועוד קודם לכן, בתרגום לצרפתית, בשנת 1977).[185] בשני העשורים האחרונים של המאה העשרים ובראשית המאה העשרים ואחת יצאו לאור אנתולוגיות נוספות של מאמרי זוהר לאנגלית,[186] ותרגומים של חטיבות זוהריות שונות לאנגלית, שנוצרו אף הם במסגרות אקדמיות, או על ידי חוקרים שהיתה להם זיקה למוסדות אקדמיים.[187] בכלל תרגומים אלה יש להזכיר את האנתולוגיה של דניאל מאט (1983),[188] שהקדימה את מפעל התרגום המקיף שלו, שיידון להלן; תרגום (חלקי) של סתרי אותיות של סטפן וולד (1988);[189] תרגום של מדרש הנעלם רות, על ידי לורנס אנגלנדר והרברט בסר (1993);[190] תרגום של שמונה סיפורים זוהריים של אריה ויינמן (1997);[191] תרגום של זוהר איכה של שת ברודי (1999);[192] ותרגום הספרא דצניעותא על ידי פנחס גילר (2001).[193]

185 תשבי ולחובר, משנת הזוהר (אנגלית); תשבי ולחובר, משנת הזוהר (צרפתית).

186 יש לציין שבאותה תקופה יצאו לאור גם כמה אנתולוגיות של תרגומי מאמרי זוהר לשפות אחרות, המשקפים את הפרספקטיבה האקדמית של חקר הקבלה, בכללם תרגומים לשפות שונות של האנתולוגיה של שלום שנדונה לעיל (ראו הערה 167) כמו גם תרגום לספרדית של אסתר כהן ואנה קסטנו. ראו כהן וקסטנו, זוהר.

187 לסקירה ביבליוגרפית מקיפה של תרגומים אלה ושל תרגומי זוהר לאנגלית שיצאו לאור עוד קודם, ראו קר, הזוהר באנגלית. יש לציין שפרט לתרגומים ה"אקדמיים" של הזוהר לאנגלית, יצאו לאור במחצית השנייה של המאה העשרים תרגומים נוספים של הזוהר לאנגלית, בהם מהדורה נוספת של תרגומו של מת'רס, שנערכה על ידי דגבורט רונס (Dagbort D. Runes). ראו רונס, חכמת הקבלה. תרגום מעניין הוא זה של הספרא דצניעותא והאדרות (שנעשה לדברי המחברים מן המקור) של שני מהנדסים, שטענו שהתיאורים האנתרופומורפיים של טקסטים אינם אלא תיאורים של מכונה לעשיית מן! ראו ששון ודייל, הקבלה מפוענחת (עוד על התאוריה הזו ראו הנ"ל, מכונת המן). לתרגום נוסף של הספרא דצניעותא, של האדרות (ובכללם גם של הטקסט המכונה בשם אדרא דבי משכנא), ראו רוזנברג, אנטומיה של האל.

188 מאט, ספר הזוהר. קיצור של הספר יצא לאור בשנת 2002. ראו מאט, זוהר מואר ומבואר. מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים כלולים גם בספרו של מאט, הקבלה המהותית.

189 וולד, תורת השם האלוהי.

190 אנגלנדר ובסר, הלימוד המיסטי של רות.

191 וינמן, סיפורים מיסטיים.

192 ברודי, פירושים קבליים, עמ' 153–206.

193 גילר, קריאה בזוהר, עמ' 158–169. גילר תרגם (שם, עמ' 169–171), גם את הקטע הידוע בשם "אדרא דבי משכנא" מזוהר, ח"ב קכב ע"ב–קכג ע"ב.

לצד האנתולוגיות והתרגומים של חטיבות זוהריות ספציפיות לאנגלית, הופיעו בשלהי המאה העשרים שני מפעלים מקיפים של תרגומי זוהר — לצרפתית ולאנגלית, שנעשו על ידי חוקרים שפעלו במסגרות אוניברסיטאיות וביססו את תרגומיהם על מחקר פילולוגי ביקורתי. שרל מופסיק החל במבצע תרגום הזוהר לצרפתית, שנקטע עקב מותו ללא עת בשנת 1981,[194] ודניאל מאט, יבדל"א, הוציא את שלושת הכרכים הראשונים של תרגומו לאנגלית (הכוללים תרגומים של גוף הזוהר לפרשיות ספר בראשית), זוהר מהדורת פריצקר, בשנים 2004–2006.[195] שני התרגומים הללו מלווים בפירושים הכוללים דיונים במקורותיהם של מאמרי הזוהר ובסוגיות פילולוגיות. המבואות המפורטים לתרגומים הללו, מסכמים, על סמך מחקריהם של שלום ותלמידיו, את הגישה המחקרית האקדמית לזוהר.[196] עם זאת, מפעלי תרגום מקיפים אלה מציגים עמדה שונה מעמדתו של שלום ביחס להפצת הזוהר ומקומו בתרבות המודרנית. עמדה זו משתקפת בראש ובראשונה בבחירה של מופסיק ומאט להציג תרגום שלם של הזוהר, ולא להסתפק ביצירת אנתולוגיה של מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים. אף ששני החוקרים משתמשים במתודות אקדמיות ומציגים עמדה פרשנית מודרנית של הזוהר, אין הם רואים בזוהר מסמך בעל ערך היסטורי הראוי בעיקר (או בלבד) למחקר, אלא משאב תרבותי שלו משמעות רוחנית לקורא המודרני. גישתו האמביוולנטית של שלום לזוהר, שנדונה לעיל, באה לידי ביטוי במתח שבין ה"התפעלות" לַ"סלידה" מן הטקסטים הקבליים, כמו גם בהנחה שהתפיסות המיסטיות היהודיות, שהיו בעלות משמעות וערך בהקשרן ההיסטורי, איבדו את הרלוונטיות שלהן לאדם המודרני.[197] בניגוד לכך, התרגומים של מופסיק ושל מאט נכתבו מתוך אמפטיה המבטאת בעיקר "התפעלות" מן הזוהר. עמדה זו, המזכירה את הגישה של התרגומים ה"נאו־רומנטיים" של הזוהר מראשית המאה העשרים, באה לידי ביטוי מובהק בהקדמתו של דניאל מאט לזוהר מהדורת פריצקר, בסעיף שכותרתו: "כיצד לקרוא בספר הזוהר":

The Zohar's teachings are profound and intense... follow the words

194 מופסיק, זוהר בראשית (כרכים א–ד); הנ"ל, ספר רות; הנ"ל, שיר השירים; הנ"ל, זוהר איכה.

195 מאט, זוהר (מהד' פריצקר).

196 תרגומיו של מופסיק מלווים בהקדמות שנכתבו על ידו. תרגומו של מאט מלווה בנוסף להקדמה מפרי עטו (מאט, זוהר [מהד' פריצקר], א, עמ' XV–XXV) במבוא שכתב ארתור גרין (שם, א, עמ' X–LXXXI). עוד הוציאה הוצאת סטנפורד כרך נלווה לתרגום הזוהר, המכיל נוסח נרחב של המבוא של גרין. ראו גרין, מדריך לזוהר.

197 הוס, לא לשאול כל שאלות, עמ' 63–64; הנ"ל, התפעלות וסלידה.

> to what lies beyond and within; Open the gates of imagination... Above all, don't reduce everything you encounter in these pages to something you already know. Beware of trying to find "the essence" of a particular teaching... here essence is inadequate unless it stimulates you to explore ever deeper layers, to question your assumptions about tradition, God and self.[198]

דברי ההקדמה של מרגוט פריצקר, המולטי־מיליונרית האמריקנית היהודית, שיזמה ומימנה את מפעל התרגום של דניאל מאט, מדגימים יפה את הרקע ליצירת התרגום, הפונה לקהל המבקש להסתמך על סמכותו של המחקר האקדמי המודרני, אך מחפש בזוהר משמעות רוחנית רלוונטית לחייו:

> I wanted to be able to study the Zohar from an English translation that would draw upon the research and scholarship of the last half-century. I determined to sponsor such a translation... my family and I now present the Zohar to the English speaking public, with the hope that the radiance that flows from this great work and from the Jewish mystical tradition will bring light to those who seek it.[199]

כפי שנראה להלן, בתקופה שמפעל תרגום הזוהר לאנגלית של מאט החל, עסקו בתרגום הזוהר לאנגלית גם מיכאל ברג וחברי המרכז לקבלה. אף שאיני סבור שחיבורים אלה נוצרו כתגובה ישירה זה לזה, הרי הופעתם באותה תקופה משקפת תחרות בין חוגים שונים הטוענים לשליטה על ההון התרבותי של הזוהר (אלה כבעלי מיומנות אקדמית בחקר הזוהר, ואלה כיורשי המסורת הפרשנית הקבלית של הרב אשלג), ופועלים להפצתו בקרב הקהל דובר האנגלית, בעיקר בקרב יהודי ארצות הברית. מתח זה מתבטא, כפי שנראה בהמשך, בהכרזתו של מיכאל ברג שהוא נמנע במכוון מליצור תרגום מדעי לזוהר. גם בדברי ארט גרין, בסיום הקדמתו למהדורת מאט, המתייחסים לאלמנטים הטריוויאליים והאופנתיים המאפיינים חלק מן המתעניינים בקבלה ובזוהר בזמננו, יש לדעתי רמז ברור למרכז לקבלה מיסודו של שרגא ברג.[200]

198 מאט, זוהר (מהד׳ פריצקר), א, עמ׳ XXV–XXIV.
199 שם, עמ׳ XV–XIV.
200 שם, עמ׳ LXXX.

טו. העידן החדש של תרגומי הזוהר

בשלהי המאה העשרים וראשית המאה העשרים ואחת מתרחשת פעילות רבה של תרגומי זוהר. לצד תרגומים לעברית, אנגלית וצרפתית, הופיעו בשנים האחרונות תרגומים (לרוב של מבחר מאמרי זוהר) לשפות שונות, בכללן גרמנית, הולנדית, איטלקית, ספרדית, פורטוגזית, רומנית, הונגרית, פולנית ורוסית.[201] בעוד שחלק מן התרגומים הללו נוצרו מן המקור, תרגומים אחרים מבוססים על תרגומים קודמים, בכללם תרגומיהם של ז׳אן דה פאולי, של גרשם שלום, של עזריאל נתן פרנק, של ארנסט מילר, של ר׳ דוד שלום בצרי (שתרגומיו לעברית יידונו להלן) ושל ר׳ יהודה אשלג.[202] לצד התרגומים שנוצרו מתוך פרספקטיבה אקדמית, שנדונו בסעיף הקודם, תרגומים רבים אחרים שנדפסו בשנים האחרונות, נכתבו במסגרת פעילותן של קבוצות קבליות חדשות, שלחלקן מאפיינים מובהקים של תרבות ה״עידן החדש״. בתרגומים אלה אדון להלן.

ר׳ דוד שלום בצרי, ראש ישיבת המקובלים ״השלום״, ואחד המקובלים הבולטים במרחב הציבורי הישראלי בשנים האחרונות (הידוע בעיקר בזכות טקס גירוש הדיבוק שערך בשנת 1999) ליקט, תרגם וערך קובץ בשם ״מעשיות הזהר״ שנדפס בין השנים תשמ״א־תשמ״ט, ותורגם לאחרונה לאנגלית, לספרדית ולצרפתית.[203] לצד הלקט של בצרי (הכולל מאמרים הנתפסים כ״פשט הזוהר״),

201 לגרמנית, ראו גסטרין, זוהר; להולנדית, ראו מילר, הספר הקדוש (הולנדית); שלום, זוהר (הולנדית); לספרדית, ראו דוחובנה, זוהר; כהן וקסטניה, זוהר; ברנתן, זוהר; חיול, זוהר; בצרי, מעשיות הזוהר (ספרדית); לפורטוגזית, ראו שלום, זוהר (פורטוגזית); לאיטלקית, ראו שלום, זוהר (איטלקית); תואף ותואף, ספר הזוהר; לרומנית, ראו פרנצ׳יסק, זוהר; להונגרית, ראו בירו ורטי, זוהר; לפולנית, ראו פרנק, אגדות הזוהר (פולנית) (אני מודה ליונתן מאיר שמסר לי את האינפורמציה על ספר זה); לרוסית, ראו קרבצוב, זוהר; באוך, זוהר פרשת פנחס.

202 תרגום לרומנית המבוסס על תרגומו של דה פאולי, ראו פרנצ׳יסק, זוהר. תרגום לספרדית המבוסס על תרגום זה, ראו דוחובנה, זוהר. תרגומים לשפות שונות המבוססים על תרגומו של שלום, ראו לעיל, הערה 167. תרגום להולנדית, המבוסס על תרגום של מילר, ראו זוהר (הולנדית). תרגום לפולנית, המבוסס על תרגומו של פרנק, ראו פרנק, אגדות הזוהר (פולנית). תרגומים המבוססים על מעשיות הזוהר של בצרי, ראו להלן, הערה 203. תרגום לרוסית המבוסס על תרגומו של אשלג ראו באוך, זוהר פרשת פנחס. לתרגום לאנגלית המבוסס על תרגומו של אשלג (שיידון בהרחבה להלן), ראו ברג, הזוהר. האנתולוגיה של מאמרי זוהר בהונגרית מבוססת, על פי שער הספר, על תרגומיהם של מילר ומופסיק, כמו גם על תרגום הסולם ועל תרגום הזוהר לאנגלית, מהדורת סונסינו. ראו בירו ורטי, זוהר.

203 הספר יצא בשלושה כרכים (תרגום למאמרים מספר בראשית, שמות ויקרא). ראו בצרי, מעשיות הזוהר. בשנת תשנ״ג יצאו לאור שני כרכים נוספים, בצרי, מעשיות הזהר החדש.

הופיעו בשנים האחרונות כמה תרגומים מקיפים של הזוהר לעברית, שנכתבו במסגרת פעילותן של ישיבות מקובלים. תרגום של הזוהר לעברית כלול בתוך ביאורו האנתולוגי של הרב דניאל פריש, "מתוק מדבש" שיצא לאור לראשונה בין השנים תשמ"ו–תש"ן.[204] הרב דניאל פריש, מקובל מהעדה החרדית, שלימד בישיבות המקובלים שער השמים ומשכן בנימין, הוציא עוד קודם, יחד עם ר' ידידיה ברנסדופר, את "אוצר הזוהר", מפתח מקיף לספרות הזוהר (בארבעה כרכים), הכולל מאמרי זוהר המסודרים על פי נושאים ומתורגמים באופן חלקי לעברית.[205] דניאל פריש הקדים לספרו הקדמות של רבנים שונים (בהם רבני הבד"ץ של העדה החרדית, ר' יצחק יעקב וייס ור' יעקב הלל). בהסכמות, כמו גם בהקדמתו של פריש, הכוללת גם "מאמר בגודל חשיבות לימוד ספר הזהר ושאר סודות התורה בזמנינו",[206] חוזרות התפיסות המסורתיות על המשמעות האסכטולוגית של הלימוד בזוהר, ועל כך שבנוסף לסודות הקבלה, הזוהר מכיל דברי מוסר ויראת שמים, שאותם יכולים ללמוד גם מי שאינם בקיאים בקבלה.[207] תרגום של הזוהר לעברית כלול גם בפירושו האנתולוגי של יחיאל ברלב "ידיד נפש", שיצא לאור בין השנים תשנ"ב–תשנ"ט.[208] יחיאל ברלב, שהחל לעסוק בקבלה לאחר שחזר בתשובה, כתב אף מבוא לקבלה (תחת השם "ידיד נפש" גם הוא) והוציא לאור תרגום של התלמוד הירושלמי,[209] הקדים אף הוא הסכמות של רבנים לספרו (של הרב עובדיה יוסף, של ר' שלום עובדיה הדיה ראש ישיבת

לתרגומי הספר ראו בצרי, מעשיות הזוהר (אנגלית); בצרי, מעשיות הזוהר (ספרדית); בצרי, מעשיות הזוהר (צרפתית).

204 פריש, מתוק מדבש (זוהר); פריש, מתוק מדבש (תיקוני הזהר); פריש, מתוק מדבש (זוהר חדש).

205 פריש, אוצר הזוהר.

206 פריש, מתוק מדבש (זוהר), א, יד–יט.

207 פריש מבחין בין פירושיו ותרגומיו ל"חלק הנגלה" שבזוהר, הנדפסים באותיות מרובעות, לבין פירושיו ל"חלק הנסתר" המודפסים באותיות רש"י. ראו שם, עמ' ד.

208 בר לב, ספר הזוהר.

209 ראו, בר לב, ידיד נפש; בר לב, תלמוד ירושלמי. כמו כן, הוציא בר לב סידור עם כוונות האר"י (בר לב, סידור ידיד נפש) ומהדורה של מגיד מישרים (קארו, מגיד ישרים [מהד' בר לב]) וספרים רבים נוספים. יחיאל בר לב מציג את דרכו לקבלה בהקדמה לפירושו לספר הזוהר, שם הוא מספר כיצד סקרנותו התעוררה לאחר שנתקל במושג "ספירות" בספר "נפש החיים". בר לב מספר שבתחילה הוא עיין בספר "שערי אורה" לר' יוסף ג'יקטיליה ב"הוצאת האוניברסיטה" (כוונתו למהדורת בן שלמה), אך ניסיונותיו ללמוד קבלה בעזרת ספר זה לא העלו דבר. רק לאחר שנתקל במהדורה מסורתית של "שערי אורה" החל לעסוק בקבלה. מורו בקבלה היה לדבריו ר' חיים פרידלנדר. כמו כן, ציין על בר לב כי קיבל הדרכה ועידוד מהאדמו"ר מלעלוב ומ"צדיק אחד מבאר שבע", הוא ככל הנראה ר' אליעזר אבוחצירא.

בית אל, ושל האדמו"ר מסדיגורה). בניגוד לפריש, ששילב את התרגום לעברית בפירושו לדברי הזוהר, בר לב שילב את תרגומו בגוף המקור הארמי (המובא כאמור בליווי ביאורים המבוססים על פרשני הזוהר המסורתיים). עם זאת, התרגום לעברית בספרו של ר' יחיאל ברלב, כמו גם של ר' דניאל פריש (בדומה לפירוש הסולם של הרב אשלג), אינו העיקר, והוא מהווה רק חלק ממפעל שעיקרו הוא הפירוש לזוהר. בניגוד לכך, התרגום לעברית עומד במרכז מהדורת הזוהר שיצא לאור בעשרה כרכים בשנת תשנ"ח בהוצאת "יריד הספרים".[210] בניגוד לפירושיהם של אשלג, בר לב ופריש, מהדורת "יריד הספרים" אינה כוללת פירוש, והתרגום לזוהר מובא לצד המקור הארמי (המנוקד). התרגום נכתב על ידי הרב שלמה כהן, שעמד בראש צוות שעסק במלאכת התרגום, והמהדורה כוללת, בנוסף להסכמות של רבנים (הרב עובדיה יוסף, הרב יצחק כדורי והרב שריה דבליצקי), מבוא נרחב של הרב יהודה אדרי. במבוא אדרי דן באריכות בשאלת חיבור הזוהר (וכן בתולדות הקבלה, במבנה הזוהר, בפירושי הזוהר וכיו"ב), ובדבריו שם הוא קיבל את העמדה המסורתית בנוגע לקדמות הזוהר (מעניין לציין שאת דיונו בשאלה זו הוא פתח בציטוט של הלל צייטלין!).[211] אדרי, וכמוהו שלמה כהן בהקדמה הקצרה שלו, חוזרים על הטיעון ה"אסכטולוגי" כהצדקה למפעל שלהם.[212] שלמה כהן מדגיש שהוא נמנע מלתרגם את האדרא רבא, את האדרא זוטא ואת הספרא דצניעותא, וזאת בהתאם לאיסור של הבן איש חי על תרגום חלקים אלה (איסור שכזכור הוכרז בעקבות תרגום האדרא זוטא שהודפס בערבית על ידי אברהם דוד יחזקאל). ייתכן שהדגשה זו באה להבחין בין תרגום זה לבין תרגומו של הרב אשלג, שכלל את החטיבות הללו בתרגומו.[213]

בנוסף לתרגומי הזוהר לעברית, שנוצרו במסגרת פעילותם של מקובלים בני זמננו, הופיעה לאחרונה אנתולוגיה של מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים לאנגלית

210 ראו ספר הזהר (מהד' יריד הספרים).

211 שם, א, עמ' 18–26.

212 למשל, שם, א, עמ' 20.

213 אדרי במבואו מתייחס בכבוד רב לרב אשלג ולמפעל התרגום והפירוש שלו, שלדבריו "גרם למהפכה בהתייחסות ללימוד ספר הזוהר, שכן, לראשונה, תורגם כל ספר הזוהר, הכתוב ברובו בלשון הארמית, לעברית מדוברת... ספריו של הר"י אשלג הם הנסיון המוצלח ביותר להגיש לבן ימינו את תורת הנסתר בשפתו ובדרך הגיונו. ואין כמותם מבוא לכל המבקש לטעום ולדרוך בשבילי הסוד" (שם, עמ' 42). השאלה המתבקשת, שאליה אדרי אינו מתייחס, היא מדוע אם כן יש צורך בתרגום נוסף של הזוהר? כאמור לדעתי, הגורם לכך הוא ההפצה האינטנסיבית של פירוש הסולם בהוצאת המרכז לקבלה.

ומבוארים על ידי חסיד חב״ד, ר׳ משה מילר.[214] משה מילר, שהכריז על כוונתו להוציא מהדורה שלמה של הזוהר מתורגם לאנגלית, הפיץ באינטרנט את תרגומיו לזוהר בלוויית מאמר מקיף הטוען לקדמות הזוהר, ובו הוא מתנגד בחריפות למסקנות של האסכולה האקדמית מיסודו של גרשם שלום (Scholem and Tishby and their ilk), אך אינו נמנע מלהסתמך בדבריו על מחקרים אקדמיים מן השנים האחרונות (בראש ובראשונה על מחקריו של משה אידל).[215]

תרגום מקיף ביותר של הזוהר לאנגלית, שיצא לאחרונה במסגרת פעילותם של חוגי המקובלים החדשים, הוא התרגום של המרכז לקבלה בראשותו של הרב שרגא ברג, שנעשה על ידי בנו, מיכאל ברג. התרגום יצא לאור בעשרים ושלושה כרכים בין השנים 1999–2003.[216] מהדורה זו, שכבר הוזכרה לעיל, היא תרגום של פירוש הסולם של הרב אשלג. המהדורה כוללת את מאמרי הזוהר בשפת המקור ובניקוד, על פי החלוקה לסעיפים של הרב אשלג. לאחר כל סעיף מובא תרגום לאנגלית של פירוש הסולם, ובו משולבים מאמרי זוהר (הנדפסים בפונט שונה מאשר דברי הפירוש של הרב אשלג). את המהדורה מקדימים מבואות ארוכים של הרב שרגא ברג ושל בנו מיכאל ברג, המציגים את תפיסות היסוד של הקבלה החדשנית של הרב ברג והמכון לקבלה — קבלה בעלת מאפיינים פוסט־מודרניים מובהקים.[217] שרגא ברג, כמו בנו, מקבלים את התפיסות הקבליות המסורתיות על אודות קדמות הזוהר, סמכותו וקדושתו, אך משלבים תפיסות אלה בתפיסות אופייניות לתנועות ה״עידן החדש״. כך, מיכאל ברג מסביר את תכלית עבודת התרגום שלו על פי התפיסה המסורתית שהלימוד בזוהר והפצתו יקרבו את הגאולה, אלא שלגבי דידו, הגאולה היא העלאה לרמה גבוהה יותר של המודעות הגלובלית:

> The following translation of the Zohar strives to open a door to the great cosmic mysteries for those who are genuinely interested in understanding the structure and laws of the universe. It is thus utterly vital for the spiritual and physical survival of humanity; and its teachings are designed to lead humanity to the days of the

214 מילר, זוהר, מבחר מתורגם ומבואר.

215 מילר, האותנטיות של הזוהר.

216 ראו ברג, זוהר.

217 על עקרונות הקבלה הברגיאנית, המהווים פיתוח פוסט־מודרני של הקבלה של הרב אשלג, ראו הוס, למות ביום אחר, עמ׳ 7–11.

Mashiach, the long-prophesized return of the golden age, when peace, compassion, wisdom and love will prevail among people, when harmony will rule in the depths below as it does in the heights above. Such are the true goals of all metaphysical systems... Transformation of consciousness is the point, for from that comes the elevation of global consciousness, given our current condition, we cannot afford to ignore the gift of these Holy words any longer. It is time to change the world.[218]

שרגא ברג מקשר במבוא שלו את ההפצה של הזוהר (המכונה על ידו בשם "הגביע הקדוש") ברבים, עם הגעת העידן החדש, עידן הדלי:

The critical moment of change would arrive in conjunction with the Aquarian Age... The Aquarian influence will be a subtle force that will permit the gradual spread of the Holy Grail unit it becomes an integral force of humankind.[219]

בשונה מהמקובלים המסורתיים שעסקו בתרגום הזוהר, ובשונה מהמתרגמים היהודים המודרנים שהדגישו את אופיו ה"יהודי" של הזוהר כטקסט דתי או לאומי, שרגא ברג מדגיש את האופי האוניברסלי של הזוהר (הדגשה המזכירה את גישתם של המקובלים הנוצרים בתקופת הרנסנס והברוק, והחוגים האוקולטיים בעידן ה־Fin de Siècle): "The entire world will come to understand that the holy Zohar, which ushered in the second revelation, was intended for all humankind."[220]

הדגשה זו באה לידי ביטוי באימוץ המושג הנוצרי המובהק, "הגביע הקדוש", ככינוי לזוהר. בקטע המשלב תפיסות אסטרולוגיות אופייניות של העידן החדש, ברג טוען שהפרסום של ה"גביע הקדוש" בכללותו (והכוונה להשלמת התרגום של הזוהר לאנגלית) יאפשר משיכת השפעות אסטרליות חיוביות לעולם (באמצעות קריאה־סריקה של הזוהר) ויביא לחיסולו של הכאוס מחיינו:

To address these influences, which can at times be positive or

218 ראו ברג, זוהר, א, עמ' LXXVII.
219 שם, עמ' XXVIII.
220 שם, עמ' XXV.

negative, the Holy Grail was assigned the task of tapping these positive influences and eliminate the negative influences. Each year brings with it a host of different influences. Nevertheless, the scanning-reading charts that will become available after the publishing of the entire Holy Grail, will assign the appropriate section of the Holy Grail to each and every week in any given year. Thus, the practitioner will have at his/her fingertips the relevant and timely connecting-section towards the elimination of chaos from our lives.[221]

בדומה למתרגמים רבים אחרים של הזוהר לשפות שונות, מיכאל ברג מבקר ופוסל את תרגומי הזוהר הקודמים לאנגלית. כך, ברג טוען נגד מהדורות הזוהר המקוצרות (כוונתו בוודאי למהדורת סונסינו) ונגד האנתולוגיות של הזוהר שהופיעו באנגליות:

Those who think they are familiar with the text, from often highly abridged editions or ones that assemble aphorisms into subject categories, will invariably find this edition utterly different from what they have been accustomed to thinking of as the Zohar. The other works are best viewed as being like the trailers one sees long before the actual movie arrives: and like many trailers they have created an entirely misleading impression of what they were supposed to represent faithfully.[222]

ברג טוען שהוא נמנע במכוון לכתוב פירוש מדעי לזוהר. דברי ברג הופיעו אמנם לפני הדפסת מהדורת פריצקר של הזוהר, אולם כפי שהצעתי לעיל, הם מבטאים התנגדות לגישה האקדמית שבמסגרתה נוצר תרגומו של דניאל מאט, ומשקפים תחרות על הפצת הזוהר בקרב הקהל דובר האנגלית המגלה עניין במיסטיקה היהודית בשנים האחרונות (וכפי שראינו בדברי מרגוט פריצקר, מחפש לעתים להסתמך על המחקר האקדמי):

Those involved with producing this edition were faced with the question of whether to present in it a formal academic manner —

221 שם, עמ׳ XXI–XX.
222 שם, עמ׳ LXXIII.

with footnotes, scholarly digressing on linguistic matters, and so on — or to offer it to the world in a form as simple and unadorned as possible, so that its purpose would remain solely what it always has been: to bring light where formerly there was none. We chose the later course, since providing material for yet more obscure treaties on metaphysical theology serves no real purpose, but it does betray the real purpose of the Zohar.[223]

טז. סיכום

תרגומי הזוהר השונים שנסקרו במאמר זה נוצרו בהקשרים היסטוריים, חברתיים ופולטיים שונים ונכתבו מתוך עמדות אידאולוגיות ומגמות פרשניות שונות ומגוונות. לתרגומי הזוהר הרבים שנוצרו במהלך הדורות, וממשיכים להיווצר גם כיום, מאפיין אחד משותף — השאיפה של מתרגמיהם להפיץ את הזוהר בקרב קהלי קוראים שאינם יכולים לקרוא אותו במקורו. אולם התרגומים השונים נבדלים זה מזה בקהל הקוראים שאליו הם פונים, בבחירת החומר הזוהרי המתורגם, בנימוקים שבהם הם מצדיקים את התרגום ובגורמים האידאולוגיים־הפוליטיים שעומדים מאחורי מפעלי התרגום השונים.

לעתים אנו מוצאים גורמים אידאולוגיים משותפים לתרגומים שנוצרו לשפות שונות. כך, חוגים שבתאיים במאה השמונה עשרה עמדו מאחורי תרגומי זוהר לאידיש וללדינו, ואולי היו מעורבים אף בתרגומים של הזוהר ללטינית. מקובלים נוצרים, יהודים מומרים ומיסיונרים תרגמו בתקופת הרנסנס והברוק, ואף בתקופה המודרנית, מאמרי זוהר ללטינית, לגרמנית, לצרפתית ואף לאידיש! חוגים תאוסופיים ואוקולטיים תרגמו בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה וראשית המאה העשרים את הזוהר לאנגלית ולצרפתית. מלומדים יהודים שהיו קרובים לחוגים הללו תרגמו מאמרי זוהר לערבית ולגרמנית ובחוגים יהודים נאו־רומנטיים ולאומיים תרגמו בראשית המאה העשרים את הזוהר לעברית, לאידיש ולאנגלית. תרגומים שונים לאנגלית, לצרפתית ולעברית נכתבו במאות העשרים והעשרים ואחת מתוך פרספקטיבה אקדמית, בהסתמך על גישה מחקרית ההיסטורית־פילולוגית. תרגומים אחרים לעברית ולאנגלית נוצרו באותה תקופה במסגרת חוגים אורתודוקסיים, מתוך גישות קבליות, מסורתיות וחדשניות.

223 שם, עמ׳ LXXI; וראו שם, עמ׳ LXXV.

הפרספקטיבות האידאולוגיות השונות שתרגומי הזוהר נוצרו במסגרתן, כמו גם קהלי היעד השונים שאליהם הם כוונו, הן שעיצבו את אופיים ואת היקפם של התרגומים השונים. כפי שראינו, חלק ניכר מן התרגומים מלווים בפירושים ובמבואות, המציגים את תפיסותיהם האידאולוגיות השונות של מחברי התרגומים. המגמות האידאולוגיות באות לידי ביטוי אף בהיקף התרגומים ובבחירת החומר המתורגם. חלק מן המתרגמים בחרו לתרגם חטיבות זוהריות מסוימות, ואחרים יצרו על סמך קריטריונים שונים אנתולוגיות של מאמרי זוהר מתורגמים. רק מיעוט התרגומים הם תרגומים מקיפים של הזוהר (ומרביתם לא הושלמו). כך, מקובלים נוצרים, דוגמת זומר ונורליוס, בחרו לתרגם מאמרים זוהריים הקרובים להשקפות נוצריות, על פי הבנתם. חוגים קבליים מסורתיים בחרו לרוב לתרגם מאמרים שנתפסו כ"פשט" הזוהר, בעיקר מעשיות ודברי מוסר. גם בתרגומים מקיפים יותר, שנכתבו בידי יהודים במאה העשרים, דוגמת תרגום "סונסינו" לאנגלית ותרגום "יריד הספרים" לעברית, נמענו מלתרגם את החלקים הנחשבים לאזוטריים ביותר — האדרות וספרא דצניעותא. דווקא חלקים אלה תורגמו בידי בני כת הדונמה ללדינו, ועל ידי המקובל הנוצרי קנור פון רוזנרות ללטינית. בעקבות פון רוזנרות, הפכו טקסטים אלה למרכזיים בתודעתם של חוגים אוקולטיים במפנה המאה התשע עשרה.[224] האנתולוגיות המודרניות של מאמרי זוהר שנכתבו מפרספקטיבה מחקרית מחולקות לרוב על פי נושאים המשקפים את הקטגוריות שעל פיהן מתנהל המחקר האקדמי בזוהר.

בין החוגים האידאולוגיים השונים שעמדו מאחורי מפעלי תרגום הזוהר התנהלה פעמים רבות תחרות על השליטה בהון התרבותי (ולעתים גם על הרווחים הכלכליים) שהעניק תרגום הזוהר. ככל שערכו של הזוהר כמצרך תרבותי עלה בקהילות שונות שלא יכלו לקרוא את הזוהר בשפת המקור (וככל שהתערערו ההגבלות היהודית המסורתיות על הפצת הזוהר), התגברה התחרות בין גורמים שונים סביב השליטה על תרגום הזוהר ועל הפצתו. סוציולוג התרבות הצרפתי פייר בורדייה טען: "ניתוח העולמות של היצור התרבותי, בין אם מדובר במקרי התיאטרון והקולנוע ובין בעיתונאים הפוליטיים, בין בשדה האינטלקטואלי ובין בשדה הדתי, ניתוח זה מראה שהיצרנים אינם מייצרים — ובכל מקרה, הרבה פחות ממה שחושבים — מתוך התייחסות לקהל

224 ובהשפעת חוגים אלה, כאמור, תורגמה האדרא זוטא, על ידי חכם יהודי בגדדי בהודו גם לערבית־יהודית.

לקוחותיהם אלא מתוך התייחסות למתחריהם״.[225] דברים אלה נכונים במידה רבה גם לגבי הניתוח של ייצור תרגומי הזוהר, בעיקר בעידן המודרני.

כפי שראינו בסקירה זו, בשלהי המאה התשע עשרה וראשית המאה העשרים התעורר עניין רב בקבלה בקרב חוגים תאוסופיים ואוקולטיים באנגליה, בצרפת ובארצות הברית. במסגרת זו נוצרו תרגומי זוהר שונים לשפות אירופיות, שמרביתם התבססו על תרגומי הזוהר ללטינית של קנור פון רוזנרות (בכללם תרגומיהם של מת׳רס לאנגלית ושל אליפז לוי, הנרי שָׁטוֹ ואלבר ג׳וּנֶה לצרפתית). ייתכן שהופעתם של התרגומים הללו עודדה את כתיבתם של תרגומי זוהר של מלומדים יהודים שהתבססו על המקור הארמי לגרמנית, ומאוחר יותר לאנגלית. כזכור, לצד התרגומים הללו הופיעו בראשית המאה גם תרגומים לעברית ולאידיש, שחלקם נכתבו מפרספקטיבה מסורתית וחלקם מפרספקיבה נאו־רומנטית ולאומית (ובמקרה של הלל צייטלין, תוך שילוב שתי הגישות). התרגומים הללו עוררו ביקורת רבה מצד גרשם שלום ותלמידיו, שטענו שהם אינם עומדים בקריטריונים אקדמיים, ויצרו תרגומים לעברית, לגרמנית ולאנגלית, שהתבססו על שימוש בכלים פילולוגיים והיסטוריים. התחרות על ״ההון התרבותי״ של הזוהר עודדה אף את ייצורם של תרגומי זוהר בחוגים מסורתיים. דומה שאין זה מקרה שמפעל התרגום הגדול של הרב אשלג, שנכתב במסגרת שיטתו הקבלית הייחודית, נוצר באותה תקופה שבה התפרסמה האנתולוגיה המקיפה של תשבי ולחובר.

בשלהי המאה העשרים וראשית המאה העשרים ואחת מתרחשת פעילות נמרצת של תרגום זוהר, בעיקר לאנגלית, לצרפתית ולעברית. מאחורי מפעלי התרגום החדשים של הזוהר פועלים חוגים שונים המתחרים על ההון התרבותי של הקבלה בכלל ושל הזוהר בפרט, הזוכים בשנים האחרונות לפופולריות מחודשת בחוגים רבים, בארץ ובעולם. כפי שראינו, בשנים האחרונות הופיעו שלושה תרגומים חדשים של הזוהר לעברית (של דניאל פריש, של יחיאל בר לב ושל שלמה כהן), שנוצרו בחוגים מסורתיים. לדעתי, יש לראות בהופעת התרגומים הללו תגובה להפצה האינטנסיבית של פירוש ה״סולם״ בידי חוגים קבליים חדשים, בעיקר על ידי ״המרכז לקבלה״ (ולאחרונה אף בידי קבוצת ״בני ברוך״). אף ההופעה של שני תרגומים מקיפים חדשים של הזוהר לאנגלית בשנים האחרונות, מהדורת פריצקר של דניאל מאט והוצאת המרכז לקבלה של מיכאל ברג, איננה מקרית לדעתי, והיא מעידה על תחרות על קהל הקוראים מקרב הציבור דובר האנגלית בארצות הברית המתעניין בקבלה. אמנם איני

225 בורדייה, שאלות בסוציולוגיה, עמ׳ 223.

חושב שאף אחד מן הפרויקטים הללו נוצרו כתגובה ישירה למשנהו, אך אני סבור שהם משקפים מאבק תרבותי בין המגמה המודרנית האקדמית (הקשורה גם למגמות ההתחדשות הדתית בקרב יהודי ארצות הברית)[226] של תרגומו של מאט, לבין המגמה הקבלית הפוסט־מודרנית של "המרכז לקבלה". כזכור, לאחרונה הופיע תרגום נוסף לאנגלית מפרספקטיבה מסורתית של משה מילר, המכריז על כוונתו לתרגם את הזוהר כולו. בדבריו יוצא מילר במפורש נגד המגמות האקדמיות המאפיינות תרגומי זוהר שיצאו לאחרונה לאנגלית. התחרות על השליטה בהפצת הזוהר, שמצד אחד העניין בו הולך וגובר בציבורים רבים, אך מצד אחר מעטים בימינו יכולים לקרוא בו במקור, מבטיחה אם כן את הופעתם של תרגומי זוהר נוספים בעתיד.

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226 וראו גם גולדיש, קבלה, אקדמיה ואותנטיות, עמ' 65–69.

227 מאחר שבמאמר זה משמשים מחקרים רבים כמושאי מחקר, היינו בתפקיד של "מקורות", רשימת המקורות ורשימת המחקרים אוחדו לרשימה אחת.

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"This Earth will be Uncrowned, without Depression, Flat". An Edition and an Annotated Translation of the *Iranian Bundahišn* 34

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Abstract

The chapter thirty-four is one of the most interesting and important sections of the *Iranian Bundahišn*. It describes the eschatological events that will occur at the end of the Zoroastrian cosmic era such as the resurrection of the body and the final judgment. This article provides a critical edition of the text in Middle Persian (MP) based on the codex TD1 accompanied by an annotated translation including a commentary on the most relevant mythological and religious issues.

Keywords

Zoroastrianism – Pahlavi Literature – Eschatology – Iranian Philology

Eschatological ideas are of considerable significance in the Zoroastrian belief system. Zoroastrian literature—in particular that found in Pahlavi texts—contains two different but coexisting types of eschatological beliefs. The first connects the individual with his specific fate in Paradise, Hell or the neutral Middle Abode or Section (MP *hammistagān*).[1] The second, 'universal' concept connects the whole of humanity to an ultimate fate determined by the decisive

1 For a detailed description of these three abodes and their literary sources in the Zoroastrian tradition, see Gignoux (1968). On the eschatological seers and otherworldly travelers in Zoroastrianism, see Agostini (2014).

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and ultimately victorious struggle of the forces of Good against the forces of Evil.[2]

Chapter thirty-four of the late Pahlavi cosmological book *Iranian Bundahišn* ("Primal Creation")[3] contains particularly interesting and complete accounts of universal eschatological events, such as the resurrection (MP *ristāxez*) of the dead and the Renovation (MP *frašgird*; Av. *fraš̄ō.kərəti* "making brilliant")[4]—both of which will take place at the end of twelve millennia of Iranian cosmic history and lead to a new and undefiled world.[5] Chapter thirty-four thus completes the previous chapter's recounting of the apocalyptic events[6] at the end of the tenth millennium: the deeds of Zoroaster, and of the two first Zoroastrian saviors *Ušēdar* (Av. *Uxšiiaṯ.ərəta-*; "who makes Order grow") and *Ušēdarmāh* (Av. *Uxšiiaṯ.nəmah-*; "who makes Homage grow") during the last two millennia, who foretell the coming of *Sōšāns* (Av. *Saošiiaṇt*; "redeemer, sacrificer"),[7] the final savior and resurrector.[8]

2 For a general survey of the themes of individual and universal eschatology, see Pavry (1926), Colpe (1986), Shaked (1998). On the eschatology in ancient Mazdeism, see Kellens (1994). On the concept of eschatology in Sasanian times, see Shaked (1970).

3 For a general survey, see Mackenzie (1990), Cereti (2001: 86–105), Macuch (2009: 137–39). The Iranian or Greater *Bundahišn*, whose manuscripts originally came from Iran, contains a long version of the book composed of thirty-six chapters. A corrupted, shorter version of the book, whose manuscripts come from India, is termed the Indian *Bundahišn*. Chapter thirty-four of the Iranian *Bundahišn* corresponds to the thirtieth and last within the Indian tradition.

4 For further information, see Hintze (2001).

5 On the millennia and millennialism, see Gignoux (1990). On the scheme of millennia and the four ages in the Iranian and Indo-Iranian world, see respectively Widengren (1995), Hultgård (1995: 81–101), Lincoln (1986: 117–40), Church (1973).

6 On the Iranian apocalypse and its motifs, see Boyce (1984), Gignoux (1986, 1988), Cereti (1995*a*: 11–27; 2000), Agostini (2013*b*, 2016, forth.).

7 This character is often found in the Avesta as *Astvaṯ.əreta-* "who gives Order bones" (*e.g., Yašt* 19:92; Hintze 1994: 370–72, ed. and trans.). See also Cereti (1995*a*: 223). On the etymology of the *Saošiiaṇt*, see Kellens (1974). On the rise of the savior in the Avesta, see Hintze (1995). See also Boyce (1975: 234–35).

8 These three saviors are the posthumous sons of Zoroaster. The eleventh millennium of the cosmic history of the world is associated with the first, the twelfth with the second, whereas the time of the *Sōšāns* will last only fifty-seven years during which he will resurrect the dead. According to the tradition found in the *IBd*. 33: 36–38 the sons will be born from three virgin maidens made pregnant by the seed of the Prophet after bathing in the waters of Lake Kayansē (Agostini 2003: 81–82, 95–96, ed. and trans.). See also *Yašt* 13: 128–29 (Malandra 1971: 101, 145, ed. and trans.). For a description of the future arrival of the three saviors, see Dk 7.1: 42–54 (Molé 1967: 12–13). See also Cereti (1995*a*: 217–18, 220). For a discussion of the historical

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This work presents an edition of chapter thirty-four of the *Iranian Bundahišn* according to the oldest and most accurate Pahlavi manuscript (TD1), providing an annotated translation of the chapter that includes a commentary on the main characters, as well as literary and religious motifs.

Keys

+	words emended
< >	words supplied conjecturally or from other manuscripts
[ ]	words excluded from the text

Abbreviations

DD:	*Dādestān ī dēnīg*
Dk:	*Dēnkard*
IBd:	*Iranian Bundahišn*
PRdd:	*Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī dēnīg*
PV:	*Pahlavi Vendidad*
SBD:	*Saddar Bundahesh*
ŠnŠ:	*Šayest nē Šayest*
TD1:	*The Bondahesh. Being a Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript TD1* (Iranian Culture Foundation 88) Teheran 1970
WZ:	*Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*

Text[9]

(TD1 94*r*.: 11–97*v*.: 7)
abar ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn

development of these three saviors, see Boyce (1984: 67–70). On the evolution of this myth in Zoroastrian tradition, together with a rich survey of textual sources, see Cereti (1995*b*).

9 The transcription of the text is based on codex TD1, the most ancient and complete manuscript and one that takes its name from the Parsi priest, Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, who first made it known. The loss of leaves—the first and particularly the last folia—have hampered efforts to give it a precise dating. West (1880: xxiii) proposed a date for the manuscript around 1531 CE in Kerman. I have nevertheless chosen to add relevant words or given variants in transliteration from other manuscripts of the *Bundahišn* belonging either to the same Iranian tradition (such as DH and TD2) or to the Indian tradition (such as M51 and K20). For a description of all the manuscripts of this book, see Cereti (2001: 88–90). For a transcription of this chapter based on the collection of all the Iranian and Indian manuscripts, see Pakzad (2005: 374–88).

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1) gōwēd pad dēn kū az ān čiyōn mašya ud mašyāni ka az zamīg abar rust hēnd nazdist āb pas urwar ud pas šīr ud pas gōšt xward hēnd mardōm-iz ka-šān <zamān>[10] ī murdan <madan>[11] nazdist gōšt ud šīr ud pas az nān xwardan-iz be ēstēnd ud +ēwāz tā be murdan āb xwarēnd **2)** ēdōn-iz pad hazārag ī ušēdarmāh nērōg ī āz ēdōn kāhēd kū mardōm pad ēk pih xwarišnīh 3 šab <ud> rōz pad sagrīh ēstēnd **3)** pas az ān az gōšt-+xwarišnīh[12] be[13] ēstēnd urwar <ud> pēm <ī> gōspandān>[14] xwarēnd ud pas az ān pēm-xwarišnīh-iz <abaz>[15] ēstēnd pas az urwar-xwarišnīh-iz <abaz>[16] ēstēnd ud āb-xwarišn bawēnd pēš pad 10 sāl ka sōšāns āyēd ō a-xwarišnīh ēstēnd ud nē mīrēnd pas sōšāns rist ul hangēzēnēd

4) čiyōn gōwēd kū zarduxšt az ohrmazd pursīd kū tan ī wād +wānīd ud āb wāzīd az kū abāz kunēnd ud ristāxēz čiyōn bawēd **5)** ū-š passox kard kū ka[17]-m[18] asmān +abē-stūn pad mēnōg ēstišnīh dūr-kanārag ud rošn ud az gōhr <ī> xwēn-āhan ud kā-iz-im zamīg dād kē hamāg axw ī astōmand barēd u-š abar dāštārīh-ē ī gētīg nēst ka-m xwaršēd ud māh ud stārag andar andarwāy rōšn +kirbīhā[19] wazīd hēnd ud ka-m jōrdā dād kū andar zamīg be +parganēnd[20] ud abāz rust pad abzōn abāz bawēd ud ka-iz-im andar urwar rang dād gōnag gōnag ud ka-iz-im andar urwarān ud abārīg tis ātaxš dād pad a-sōzišnīh ka-iz-im andar burdār mād pus dād ud srāyēnīd <ud> jud jud mōy ud pōst ud nāxun <ud> xōn ud pay ud čašm ud gōš <ud> abārīg pēšag be dād ka-iz-im ō āb pāy dād kū be tazēd ud ka-iz-im abr dād +mēnōgīg[21] kē ān <ī> gētīg āb barēd ud ānōh kū-š kāmag wārēd ud ka-iz-im way dād kē čašm dīd pad wād nērōg ēr <ud> abar čiyōn kāmag +wazēd[22] pad dast frāz nē šāyēd griftan <ud> ēk ēk az awēšān ka-<m>[23] dād padiš duš-kartar būd kū ristāxēzišnīh +čē-m[24] andar ristāxēz ayārīh ī [čiyōn] awēšān ast ī ka-m awēšān kard nē būd bāwēd būd abar

10 Iranian Mss. omit. Indian Mss. add.
11 See previous footnote.
12 Iranian Mss. hwršnyk.
13 TD1 omits.
14 TD1 omits. DH and TD2 add.
15 Indian Mss. add.
16 See previous footnote.
17 TD1 omits.
18 Iranian Mss. omit. Indian Mss. add.
19 TD1 kirbīh.
20 TD1 plkynd.
21 TD1 mynwkk.
22 TD1 wzyst'. DH and TD2 wcyyt. Indian Mss. wcyt.
23 Indian Mss. add.
24 TD1 MEš.

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niger kū ka ān ī nē būd ēg-im be kard ān ī būd čim abāz nē šāyēd kardan <čē pad>[25] ān hangām az mēnōg ī zamīg ast <ud> az āb xōn <ud> az urwar mōy ud az wād gyān čiyōn-šān pad bundahišn +padīrift xwāhom **6)** nazdist ast ān ī gayōmard ul hangēzēd <ud> pas ān ī mašya ud mašyāni ud pas ān ī abārīg <kasān>[26] ul hangēzēd **7)** ud <pas>[27] <50 ud 7 sāl sōšāns rist hangēzēnēd ud>[28] harwisp mardōm ul +hangēzēnd kē ahlaw kē druwand mardōm har kas az ānōh abāz hangēzēnd kū-šān gyān be +šud ayāb nazdist ō zamīg ōbast hēnd **8)** ud pas ka-šān harwisp axw ī astōmand tan <ud> kirb abāz +wirāyēd ēg-šān ēwēnag be dahēnd ud ān rōšnīh abāg xwaršēd nēm-ē be ō gayōmard ud nēm-ē pad abārīg mardōm be dahēnd **9)** pas mardōm mardōm be +šnāsēnd kū ruwān ruwān tan <tan>[29] be šnāsēd kū ēn man ast pid ud ēn man ast brād <ud> ēn man ast nārīg <ud> ēn man ast kadār-iz-ē nazdīk paywandtar **10)** pas bawēd hanjaman ī isadwāstarān kū mardōm pad ēn zamīg be ēstēnd **11)** andar ān hanjaman har kas nēk kunišnīh ud wad kunišnīh xwēš wēnēnd ahlaw andar druwand owōn paydāg čiyōn gōspand <ī> spēd andar ān ī syā bawēd **12)** andar ān hanjaman ahlaw kē-š pad gētīg druwand dōst +būd[30] ān druwand garzēd az ān ahlaw kū čim andar gētīg az +kunišn ī[31] nēk ī-t xwad warzīd ī man āgāh nē kard +hē[32] agar +hamgōnag ān ahlaw ōy nē +āgāhēnīd ēg-iš pad ān hanjaman šarm abāyēd widārdan **13)** pas ahlaw az druwand judāg kunēnd ud ahlaw ō garōdmān <barēnd>[33] ud druwand abāz ō dušox +abganēnd[34] ud 3 rōz <ud> šab dušoxīg tanōmand <ud> gyānōmand andar dušox pādifrāh widārēnd ud ahlaw andar garōdmān ud tanōmand ān 3 rōz <ud šab>[35] urwāhmanīh +wēnēnd **14)** čiyōn gōwēd kū pad ān rōz ka ahlaw az druwand jūdāg bawēnd har kas ars tā zang padiš frōd āyēd ka pus az hambāz ī pid <ud> brād az +ōy[36] <ī> brād <ud> dōst az +ōy[37] <ī> dōst judāg +kunēnd[38] **15)** har kas ān ī xwēš kunišn widārēnd +griyēd ahlaw abar druwand druwand +griyēd abar xwēš-tan

25 TD1 omits.
26 TD1 and DH omit. TD2 adds. K20 mltwm'n. M51 mltwm.
27 Iranian Mss. omit.
28 TD1 omits.
29 TD2 adds.
30 TD1 YHWWNyt.
31 TD1 and M51 kwnšnyh.
32 Iranian and Indian Mss. HWEm.
33 Only TD2 adds.
34 Iranian Mss. LMYTWNyt. Indian Mss. wynyt.
35 TD1 and Indian Mss. omit.
36 Only DH has correctly OLE.
37 See previous note.
38 Only TD1 has OB̲YDWNyt.

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ast +kē[39] pid ahlaw <ud> pus druwand ud ast kē brād- ahlaw <ud> ēk druwand awēšān kē-šān xwad [ī] +kunišnīh rāy <ī> kard ēstēd čiyōn dahāg ud frāsyāb ud +waman[40] <ud> abārīg ī az ēn ēwēnag-iz +margarzānān pādifrāh ēwēnag widārēnd <ī> ēč mardōm nē widārīd <ī> pādifrāh <ī> "+ṯīšrąm xšafnąm"[41] xwānēnd **16**) andar ān frašagird kardārīh awēšān mardān ī +ahlawān ī nibišt kū zīndag hēnd 15 mard ud 15 kanīg ō ayārīh <ī> sōšāns be rasēnd **17**) ud gōzihr mār čiyōn andar[42] spihr az tēx ī māh ō zamīg oftēd ud zamīg owōn homānāg dard bawēd čiyōn mēš ka-š gurg pašm rūnēd **18**) pas ātaxš ud +ērmān yazd +ayōxšust ī andar kōfān <ud> garān[43] widāzēnēd <ud> pad zamīg rōd homānāg ēstēd **19)** ud pas harwisp mardōm andar ān +ayōxšust ī wīdāxtag be widārēnd <ud> pāk be kunēnd <ud> kē ahlaw ēg-iš owōn +sahēd čiyōn ka <andar>[44] šīr ī garm hamē rawēd ud ka druwand ēg-iš ham-ēwēnag +sahēd kū <pad gētīg>[45] andar +ayōxšust <ī> widāxtag hamē rawēd **20)** pas pad ān ī mahist dušram harwisp mardōm ō +hamīh[46] rasēnd pid [ī] <ud> pus <ud> brād ud hamāg dōst mard az mard +pursēnd kū ān and sāl kū +būd[47] hē agar pad ruwān dādestān čē būd ahlaw +būd[48] hē ayāb druwand **21)** nazdist ruwān tan wēnēd u-š pursēd pad ān <ī> guft +passox mardōm āgenēn ham wāng bawēnd <ud> buland stāyišnīh ō ohrmazd <ud> amahraspandān barēnd **22)** ohrmazd pad ān gāh +hangirdēnēd dām [dām] bawēd ku-<š>[49] kār-ē abar nē abāyēd kardan andar ān ka-šān +rist wirāyēd **23)** ud yazišn ī pad rist +wirāyišnīh sōšāns abāg ayārān kunēd <ud> gāw ī hadayāns pad ān yazišn kušēnd az pīh ī ān ī gāw ud hōm ī spēd ānoš +wirāyēnd <ud> ō harwisp mardōm dahēnd <ud> harwisp mardōm ahōš bawēnd <ī> tā hamē ud hamē +rawišnīh **24)** ēn-iz gōwēd kū +kē[50] mard paymān būd hēnd eg-šān pad dād ī 40 sālag abāz wirāyēnd ud ān kē xwurdag nē rasīd būd hēnd eg-šān pad dād <ī> 15 sālag abāz dahēnd har kas zan ud +frazand dahēnd ud abāg zan māyišn owōn kunēnd čiyōn <kū>[51] nūn andar gētīg be +frazand zāyišnīh nē bawēd **25)** pas sōšāns az dādār framān hamāg

39 TD1 and DH has AMT.
40 TD1 also adds the pāzand word vāman.
41 Written in Avestan in TD1.
42 DH and TD2 add z̲myk.
43 TD1 omits.
44 Iranian Mss. omit.
45 Indian Mss. add.
46 TD1 hm'y. All Mss. ham.
47 TD1 YHWWNyt.
48 See previous note.
49 TD1 omits.
50 TD1 AMT.
51 Only DH adds.

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mardōm mizd ud pādāšn dahēd kunišn passazagīhā ān-iz ast ī ēdōn ahlaw [kū gōwēd] kū nayēd ō garōdmān ī ohrmazd ud čiyōn xwad[52] abāyēd kirb ul stānēd tā hamē ud hamē-rawišnīh pad ān abāgīh rawēd **26)** ēn-iz gōwēd kū kē yašt nē kard ēstēd <ud> gētīg-xarīd nē framūd ēstēd <ud> jāmag <pad>[53] ahlaw-dād ō arzānīgān nē dād ēstēd ānōh brahnag u-š ohrmazd yašt be kunēd u-š mēnōg gāhān kār ī wastarag ōh kunēd **27**) pas ohrmazd gannāg mēnōg <ud> wahman akōman <ud> urdwahišt indar <ud> šahrewar sawul <ud> +spandarmad tarōmad ī ast ī "+naŋhaiθi"[54] ud hordād ud amurdād tairiz ud zairiz ud rāst gōwišnīh ān ī drō gōwišn [ī] <ud> srōš- +ahlē xēšm ī xurdruš girēnd **28)** pas 2 druz frāz mānēnd ahreman ud āz **29)** ohrmazd ō gētīg āyēd xwad zōt srōš- +ahlē rāspīg ud +ēbyānghan pad dast dārēd **30)** ud gannāg mēnōg ud āz pad ān ī gāhānīg nērang zad[55] abzārīhā ud +agār <tar ān widarag ī asmān ī padiš andar dwārist, abāz ō tom>[56] ud tār <dwārēnd>[57] **31)** ud gōčihr mār pad ān +ayōxšust ī widāxtag ī sōzīhēd <ud> +ayōxšust andar ō dušōx tazēd ud ān gandagīh ud +rēmanīh andar zamīg kū dušōx būd pad ān +ayōxšust sōzīhēd ud pāk +bawēd[58] <ud> ān alam (?)[59] <ī> gannāg mēnōg padiš andar dwārist pad ān ī +ayōxšust +gīrīhēd **32)** ān zamīg dušōx abāz ō frāxīh ī gēhān āwarēnd <ud> bawēd frašagird andar axwān pad kāmag gēhān amarg tā hamē ud hamē rawišnīh **33)** ēn-iz gōwēd kū ēn zamīg +an-abesar ud an-šēb ud hāmōn be bawēd ud kōf <ud> čagād ud gabr ud ul dārišn ud frōd dārišn nē bawēd

Translation[60]

On Resurrection and the Final Body[61]

(1) The *dēn*[62] says: When Mašya and Mašyāni grew forth from the earth, they first consumed only water, but afterwards they ate plants, then milk, and finally

52 DH and TD2 NPŠE.

53 TD1 omits. All Mss. adds.

54 In the original manuscript it is written in Avestan.

55 TD1 zyt.

56 TD1 omits.

57 Iranian Mss. omit.

58 TD1 YHWWNt.

59 TD1 'lm. TD2 'ml.

60 This translation is based on the new translation of the *Iranian Bundahišn* I am currently preparing together with Samuel Thrope, with certain changes.

61 On the final eschatological body (MP *tan ī pasēn*), see Timuş (2004).

62 In this context it might be translated as "scriptures" or "tradition" though most of Western scholarship is inclined to translate the term as "religion". For a general review of this word, see Shaki (1996).

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meat. So too, when the time comes to die, people will first stop eating meat and milk, then bread as well. From then on, until they die, they will drink only water.[63] **(2)** Just so, during the millennium of Ušēdarmāh, the hunger pangs[64] will decrease to such an extent that people will be satisfied with one meal every three days and nights.[65] **(3)** After that, people will stop eating meat and will consume only vegetables and sheep's milk. They will soon give up milk too, and then vegetables as well; they will be drinkers of water.[66] Ten years before Sōšāns comes, they will stop eating, but they will not die. Then Sōšāns will raise the dead.

(4) It also says: Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd: "How will you restore the (physical) body after the wind has wasted it and the water washed it away? What will be the resurrection?"[67] **(5)** Ohrmazd replied: "When I created the unpillared heavens fastened on a spiritual[68] foundation, broad and light, from the substance of shining metal; when I created the earth that bears all material

63 Mašya and Mašyāni are the first human couple who grew as a single stalk of rhubarb plant generated by the spreading of the dying Gayōmard's seed into the earth, as found in the *IBd*. 14: 5–6 and in the *WZ* 3: 72 (respectively, Pakzad 2005: 181, and Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 52–53, ed. and trans.). Once subsequently separated, they became a human couple and started to discover their various human needs. They began to consume milk and flesh and then to discover their sexualities. As Shaked (1987: 246) correctly pointed out, this was regarded as a fall from perfection in Iran as well as in Jewish and Christian traditions. A decrease of appetite followed by abstinence from the food of men before the resurrection and the Renovation of the world is a *condicio sine qua non* to recover the initial innocence and purity subsequently lost to humanity after the transgressions of the first couple. Similarly *DD* 34: 3 (Jaafar-Dehaghi 1998: 106–7, ed. and trans.). On the first man and the first human couple, see Christensen (1917: 11–101).

64 Skjærvø (2011: 167) translates as "bodily needs".

65 Similarly *Dk* 7.10: 2 (Molé 1967: 98–99, ed. and trans.). *WZ* 34: 39 says that the physical desire for food will be reduced by a quarter as the Renovation of the world approaches (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 122–23, ed. and trans.).

66 Similarly *SBD* 35: 36–37 (Dhabhar 1932: 529, trans.).

67 This passage likely has a scriptural origin. The conversation between Zoroaster and Ohrmazd might have occurred during a *ham-pursagīh* "consultation, conference". According to Pahlavi literature, Zoroaster had seven meetings with Ohrmazd from whom he received the divine revelation, the *dēn* (see Hultgård 1983: 395–99; *PRdd* 47: 1–2; Williams 1990: I, 168–69, ed.; II, 76, trans.).

68 I have translated the Pahlavi word *mēnōg*. This complex concept—together with its counterpart *gētīg*—are central to the Zoroastrian dualist worldview found in Middle Persian literature. The term *gētīg* alludes to the material, physical, visible, and tangible aspect of the world; *mēnōg* refers to the aspect of the world that is essentially spiritual, mental, invisible, and intangible. The distinction between the material and spiritual worlds is not an ethical division; good and evil exists in both states of existence. At the same time, *mēnōg* appeared prior to *gētīg* in the process of creation, and every *gētīg*, material being,

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existence but has no physical support; when I loosed the Sun, Moon and stars in the atmosphere moving through me as bodies of light; when I created the grain that is sown in the earth and returns growing forth, overflowing; when I gave colors to the plants after their kind, and I placed in them and others a burnless fire; when I created the child in its mother's womb and protected him, fashioning hair and skin, nails and blood, sinews and eyes, ears, and other limbs; when I gave feet to the water to flow; when I created the spiritual clouds that bear material water and rain where they will; when I created the visible air that by the power of the wind blows above and below as it wills, and hands cannot catch it: creating each one of these was more difficult than the resurrection. For, at the resurrection, beings' created forms will be an aid for me that I did not have when I created them; it will be as it was. Consider this: if I could create what was not, how could it be that I not be able to recreate what was? For at that time I will ask the spirit of the earth for the bones, the water for the blood, the plants for the hair and the wind for the soul, just as they received them at the beginning."[69] **(6)** First, the bones of Gayōmard[70] will rise up, then Mašya and Mašyāni, and finally the bones of all others will stir.[71] **(7)** After fifty-seven years[72] Sōšāns will raise the dead and raise up all men, the righteous and

has a *mēnōg*, spiritual, counterpart. For an insightful and definitive study on these two concepts, see Shaked (1971).

69 The previous answer of Zoroaster to Ohrmazd about the feasibility of the resurrection shows that this topic was very sensitive and troubling, if not simply embarrassing, among Zoroastrian scholars of the Sasanian and Post-Sasanian periods (see Shaked 1994: 32–33; Zaehner 1961: 316). This argument may be strengthened by the abundant treatment of this question in Pahlavi literature: cf. *PRdd* 52 (Williams 1990: I, 194–95, ed.; II, 90, trans.); *DD* 36: 1–3 (Jaafar-Dehaghi 1998: 108–11, ed. and trans.) and *DD* 48: 54–55 (Lincoln 1986: 128, trans.); *WZ* 34: 1–24 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 114–19, ed. and trans.; Zaehner 1955: 343–45, 348–50, ed. and trans.). On this topic, see also Molé (1963: 113–20). This passage has striking similarities with the biblical book of Ezekiel 37: 1–14. Cf. also Job 19: 26.

70 Gayōmard is the first Man who is mortally wounded by Ahreman during his onslaught against the creation of Ohrmazd and he is traditionally viewed as the forefather of mankind (Av. *Gaiϊa- marətan-* "mortal life"). For a detailed review of this character, see Yarshater (1983: 416–20; Christensen 1931: 42, 58, 61 and 154). On the relationship between Yima and Gayōmard, see Shaked (1987).

71 Cf. *WZ* 34: 18–19 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 118–19, ed. and trans.) in which it is said that the *yazad* Ērman (see below) will bring back the bones, the blood, the hair, the light and the soul of Gayōmard, Mašya and Mašyāni, and then Ohrmazd will reassemble their bones.

72 Similarly *Dk* 7.11: 1 (Molé 1967: 102–3, ed. and trans.). Cf. *DD* 35: 5 (Jaafar-Dehaghi 1998: 106–7, ed. and trans.); *WZ* 34: 46 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 124–25, ed. and trans.). See *Dk* 7.6: 12 (Molé 1967: 68–69, ed. and trans.) in which it is said that Zoroaster succeeded in making manifest the *dēn* in all the seven continents after a period of fifty-seven years

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the wicked;[73] every person will stir again from the place when his soul left him or near the place where he fell to earth.[74] **(8)** And when every physical being, body, and form is restored, then they will give them character and they will give half of the light of the sun to Gayōmard and half to other people.[75] **(9)** Then people will begin to recognize each other, soul to soul and body to body. They will know: That is my father; That is my brother; That is my wife; That is my family. **(10)** Then the assembly of Isadwāstar will take place, where all people on the earth will meet.[76] **(11)** In that assembly every person will see his good deeds and his evil deeds, and the righteous shall be distinguished from among the wicked as white sheep among the black.[77] **(12)** In that assembly, if there is a righteous man who during his life had a wicked friend, that wicked man will accuse the righteous man, saying: "When we were in the physical world, why did you not make known to me the good deeds that you alone did?"

If the righteous man indeed did not tell him, then he must be shamed in that assembly.[78]

(13) Then they will separate the righteous from the wicked. They will take the righteous men to Heaven and they will cast the wicked men back into Hell.

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following the revelation. On the symbolism of the number 57, see Windischmann (1863: 241–43), Jackson (1928), Boyce (1975: 291), Vevaina (2005: 218–19), and Timuş (2015: 221–22). I must highlight an insightful and ground-breaking forthcoming work by Antonio Panaino (to whom I am very grateful for allowing me to read his final draft) in which he argues that the number 57 can be explained as a symbolic evocation of a very precise astronomical period of the moon.

73 *PRdd* 48: 67 (Williams 1990: I, 182–83, ed.; II, 83, trans.) tells us that all the sinners deserving of death (*margarzān*) will be resurrected aside from those who thought and committed evil acts against God and the other deities. *ŠnŠ* 17: 7 (Kotwal 1969: 72–73, ed. and trans.) says that all sinners will be raised up with the exception of followers of demons, pederasts and heretics.

74 *PRdd* 48: 56 (Williams 1990: I, 180–83, ed.; II, 84, trans.) adds that the Sōšāns will perform five *yasna* (rituals), resurrecting one fifth of the total number of dead each time. Cf. also *AJ* 17: 14–15 (Agostini 2013*a*: 89–91, 115, ed. and trans.).

75 Cf. *WZ* 35: 59 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 140–41, ed. and trans.).

76 Isadwāstar (Av. *Isat.vāstra*) is the eldest son of Zoroaster. He traditionally represents the priestly class in the scheme of the tripartite society as said in the *IBd* 35: 56 (57) (Pakzad 2005: 404–5, ed.; Skjærvø 2011: 160, trans.). Cf. *PRdd* 48: 97 (Williams 1990: I, 188–89, ed.; II, 87, trans.) in which, on the contrary, it is said that this assembly will take place after the ordeal of the molten metal river. Cf. also *WZ* 35: 28–31 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 132–35, ed. and trans.).

77 Cf. *WZ* 35: 32 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 134–35, ed. and trans.) in which white and black horses take the place of the sheep. Similarly Matthew 25: 32–33.

78 Similarly *WZ* 35: 42–43 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 136–37, ed. and trans.).

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For three days and nights the wicked in Hell will endure terrible punishments of body and soul, but during those same three days and nights the righteous in Heaven will enjoy all the pleasures of the soul and the body.[79] **(14)** One says this: On the day when they divide the righteous from the wicked, every person's tears will fall to his ankles when sons will be taken from the embrace of their fathers, brothers separated from brothers and friends from friends.[80] **(15)** Every man will suffer for his own deeds. The righteous will weep for the wicked and the wicked for themselves. It may be that a father was righteous and his son wicked and it may be that one brother was righteous and the other wicked. But each one will be judged for his own deeds, just as Dahāg, Frāsyāb,[81] and others of this sort deserving the harshest penalties will suffer punishments that no men have ever endured; they call this punishment of the three nights.[82] **(16)** In the midst of the Renovation, fifteen men and fifteen maids—those righteous people about whom it was written that they are living—will arrive in order to help Sōšāns. **(17)** The dragon Gōčihr[83] will fall through the firmament from the tip of the Moon to the earth and the earth will feel as much pain as a sheep whose fleece is torn off by a wolf. **(18)** Then fire and divine Ērmān[84] will

79 Similarly *WZ* 35: 43–46 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 136–37, ed. and trans.). In contrast to the only mental and spiritual (*mēnōg*) rewards and punishments in the three otherworldly abodes, at this stage the nature of the rewards and punishments is also material and physical (*gētīg*). On the interplay between *gētīg* and *mēnōg* in eschatological times, see Shaked (1970: 224–27).

80 Similarly *WZ* 35: 41 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 136–37, ed. and trans.).

81 (Az)dahāg (Av. *Ažī- dahāka-*) appears many times in the Avesta as a three-headed, six-mouthed and six-eyed dragon-like monster, chief of the demonic hordes of Ahreman. In Pahlavi literature he is depicted as one of the most bitter enemies of Iranians. For a survey on this character, see Skjærvø (1989). Frāsyāb (Av. *Fraŋrasyan*) is quoted several times in the Avesta and in Pahlavi literature. He plays an important role in the Iranian epics as the enemy of the Kayanian dynasty and the symbol of Turān. For a survey on this character, see Yarshater (1985).

82 On this punishment, see further *PV* 7: 52 (see Moazami 2014: 210–11, ed. and trans.) and *ŠnŠ* 8:7 (see Tavadia 1930: 106, ed. and trans.).

83 On the identification and the astrological and astronomical implications of Gōčihr (Av. *gaočiϑra*), see West (1880: 125, n. 3), Panaino (1995: 65, 81, 101–3; 2005), Raffaelli (2001: 91–92, 106–7). For the Islamic tradition, see Hartner (1983).

84 Ērmān (Av. *Airyaman-*) plays several different roles in Zoroastrian tradition. He is both a healer and a messenger. According to the *WZ* 35: 21–22 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 132–33, ed. and trans.) he is defined as *kardār* "efficient" because he holds in his hands a net (similar to that of a fisherman) by which he takes back souls from Hell to the surface during the time of resurrection. See also *WZ* 35: 49 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 138–39, ed. and trans.). For a general review, see Boyce (1985).

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melt the metal of the mountains and the hills which will form a river on the earth.[85] **(19)** Every man will pass through that molten metal and will be pure. To a righteous man it will seem like he is walking through warm milk, while to a wicked man it will seem that he is in the material world walking through molten metal.[86] **(20)** All people will come together in that great affliction, fathers and sons, brothers and friends, and they will ask each other: "Where have you been all these years? What was the judgement of your soul? Were you righteous or wicked?" **(21)** First, souls will see their bodies and question them and the bodies will answer. People will join in one voice, loudly singing praises to Ohrmazd and the Immortal Spirits. **(22)** At that time, Ohrmazd will perfect the creatures; that is, he will not have to do any more work when they are resurrected. **(23)** And Sōšāns, with his helpers, will perform the rite of the resurrection of the dead. In that sacrifice they will kill the bovine Hadayāns[87] and from its fat they will prepare white *haoma*, the elixir of immortality. They will give it to every man and every man will be eternal forever and ever.[88] **(24)** It also says this: Those men who had reached their middle years will be resurrected at the age of forty. The youths who had not, will return at the age of fifteen.[89] Every person will be given his wife and children and he will know his wife just as in

85 Cf. *PRdd* 48: 70 (Williams 1990: I, 184–85, ed.; II, 84–85, trans.) and *AJ* 17: 15 (Agostini 2013*a*: 90–91, 115, ed. and trans.) in which it is said, on the contrary, that the holy immortal Šahrewar will melt the metal. On fire as an element in the cosmic conflagration at the end of the world in Hellenism, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, see Van der Horst (1994).

86 Similarly *PRdd* 48: 71–72 (Williams 1990: I, 184–85, ed.; II, 85, trans.) and *DD* 31: 10 (Jaafar-Dehaghi 1998: 102–3, ed. and trans.).

87 Hadayāns (also *Hadayōš* in Pahlavi texts), found in Pahlavi literature also as Srisōg, is the primordial bovine that originally seems to have been quite distinct from the sole-created Bull (gāw ī ēwdād) (see Boyce 1975: 89–90). See also Hintze (2005).

88 Cf. *WZ* 35: 15 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 130–31, ed. and trans.) in which it is told that the sacred *haoma* is already kept ready in the sea. *WZ* 35: 59 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 140–41, ed. and trans.) adds that the fat of the bovine Hadayāns will be given as food to the resurrected men according to their deeds.

89 Cf. *AJ* 17:15 (Agostini 2013*a*: 90, 115, ed. and trans.) in which all men will resurrected only at the age of fifteen. Cf. also *WZ* 35: 51 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 138–39, ed. and trans.) and *PRdd* 48: 101 (Williams 1990: I, 188–89, ed.; II, 87, trans.) in which, on the contrary, all men will be resurrected only at the age of forty. The dead will be resurrected at the ages of perfection, that is, fifteen and forty years old. The first age is that of the navjote, the ritual of initiation to the Zoroastrian faith that can be compared to the Jewish Bar Mitzvah. The other is the age of maturity, when, according to tradition, Zoroaster performed his first conversion, that of Mēdyōmāh, to the new faith (see *WZ* 24: 1 and 25: 1; Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 84–87, ed. and trans.).

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the material world, but no children will be born from their union.[90] **(25)** Then, by the order of the creator, Sōšāns will dispense rewards and retribution to all men according to their deeds. He will lead the righteous man to Ohrmazd's Heaven and he will raise up his body just as he wishes and he will walk in that company forever and ever. **(26)** It also says this: Whoever did not pray, did not purchase an indulgence,[91] and did not act rightly and give clothes to the poor, he will stand naked there. But Ohrmazd will pray over him and the spirit of the Gathas will serve as his garment. **(27)** Then Ohrmazd will seize the Evil Sprit; Wahman will seize Akōman; Ardwahišt will seize Indar; Šahrewar will seize Sawul; Spandarmad will seize Tarōmad who is Nanhais; Hordād and Amurdād will seize Tairiz and Zairiz; Right Speech will seize False Speech; and righteous Srōš will seize Xēšm of the bloody club.[92] **(28)** And then two demons will remain: Ahreman and Greed. **(29)** Ohrmazd will come to the material world. He himself shall be the priest and righteous Srōš[93] his officiant, and he will hold the sacred girdle[94] in his hand. **(30)** And with the recitation of the Gathas he will strike powerfully the Evil Spirit and Greed and incapacitate them, and through that passage in the sky where they first broke in they will scurry back to darkness and gloom.[95] **(31)** And the dragon Gōčihr will burn in the molten metal. The metal will pour into Hell and the stench and filth of the earth where Hell was located will burn off in that metal and it will become pure.[96]

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90 Similarly *PRdd* 48: 106 (Williams 1990: I, 190–91, ed.; II, 88, trans.). Cf. *WZ* 35: 52 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 138–39, ed. and trans.).

91 *Gētīg-xarīd* must be intended as the acquisition, during life, of a sure place in the afterlife (see Molé 1960: 178–82; 1961: 152–55). According to the *SDB* 42: 1 (Dhabhar 1909: ٤٢), to the man who has performed this ritual the Spirit of Gathas will show his place in Paradise after death.

92 Similarly *WZ* 35: 37 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 134–35, ed. and trans.). This paragraph opens with a description of the final battle between the forces of Good and those of Evil. The six Holy Immortals (Amahraspand, Av. *Amǝšaspǝnta-*) of Ohrmazd start the fight against the six arch-demons of Ahreman. *IBd* 27 (Pakzad 2005: 317–28, ed.; Skjærvø 2011: 76–78, trans.) lists the main characteristics of these six arch-demons and the other minor demons. On the list of the demons, cf. Dk 5.7: 4 (Amouzgar, Tafazzoli 2000: 39–41, ed. and trans.).

93 Av. *Sraoša-*. A popular Zoroastrian deity and otherworldly judge. On this character, see Malandra (2014).

94 *Ēbyānghan* (Av. *aiwyåŋhana-*) is a synonim of the *kustīg*, that is, the holy girdle. On the symbolism of the *kustīg*, see Modi (1922: 178–96).

95 Similarly *PRdd* 48: 94–95 (Williams 1990: I, 186–89, ed.; II, 86–87, trans.). Cf. *WZ* 35: 35 (Gignoux, Tafazzoli 1993: 134–35, ed. and trans.) and *AJ* 17: 16 (Agostini 2013*a*: 91, 115, ed. and trans.).

96 The passage in the *PRdd* 48: 68 (Williams 1990: I, 182–83, ed.; II, 84, trans.) saying that the resurrected sinners deserving of death will be thrown headless back into Hell for a further

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The hole (?)[97] in through which the Evil Spirit burrowed will be sealed by the metal.[98] **(32)** The earth where Hell had been will be returned to the world, flourishing. It will be the longed-for Renovation of souls and the earth will be undying forever and ever.[99] **(33)** It also says this: This earth will be uncrowned, without depression, flat; there will be no mountains, peaks, hollows, ascents or descents.[100]

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nine thousand years of punishment seems to suggest—to the contrary—that Hell will not disappear.

97 Doubtful word. Messina (1935: 278) and Skjærvø (2011: 171) give 'hole'. West (1880: 129) gives "vault". See also West (1880: 129, n. 5).

98 Cf. *PRdd* 48: 86 (Williams 1990: I, 186–87, ed.; II, 86, trans.). On the imprisonment of Evil at the end of times in Manichaeism, one should refer to the *βῶλος* and the manichaen "tomb" (see Polotsky 1996: 63).

99 Once the earth is purified and men eternal, the ultimate destiny of Ahreman and Evil is not unequivocally clear. As Ahriman is not a created being and does not exist, doctrine cannot accept the idea of his annihilation (see Shaked 1967). On the other hand, the Zoroastrian eschatology does not envisage the presence of Evil in the renovated world. In any case, even though evil will continues to exist, it will not be able to harm the creatures of Ohrmazd any longer (see Gnoli 1994: 522; Molé 1961: 173). See also Zaehner (1961: 320–21).

100 On the concept of the eschatological flat earth in Zoroastrianism, Hellenism and Islam, see Lincoln (1983).

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Vendidad (*Vidēvdād*) or Laws against the Demons

Avesta — The Sacred Books of Zoroastrianism, Book 3.

Translated by James Darmesteter (From *Sacred Books of the East*, American Edition, 1898.)

Edited by Joseph H. Peterson

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General Introduction

The *Vidēvdād* (or *Vendidad*) is an ancient collection of Zoroastrian myths, prayers, and religious observances, intended to defend against sources of infection and evil. Particular attention is given to disposal of the dead and other "dead matter" (*nasu*), to keep disease from spreading, as well as avoid polluting the earth, water, etc. Its present form is thought to have become fixed around the middle of the first millennium BCE.[1] Of the twenty-one books of the Sasanian canon of the *Avesta* that were detailed in the *Denkard*, this is the only one which has survived in its entirety. James Darmesteter translated the text in 1880, relying heavily on the Pahlavi translation. In 1898 he published a revised translation. Fritz Wolff later translated the major texts of the Avesta into German, based on Bartholomae's monumental Avestan dictionary. According to Kellens, "Darmesteter is sometimes superior in his understanding of the *Vidēvdād*." [2] His notes in particular remain invaluable.

In preparing this edition, I have replaced the spelling of Zoroastrian technical terms with more familiar forms, following Kotwal and Boyd, 1982, as much as possible.

The *Denkard* Book 8, chapter 44 gives this synopsis of the contents:[3]

1. The Vendidad contains particulars of Ohrmazd having produced the pleasure of mankind by that place where they specially made a residence, and the advantage from the same production. 2. About the formation of sixteen perfect places specially enumerated, and also the adversity which has happened to each separately.

3. About Ohrmazd's disclosing the religion first among mankind to Yim (Jamshed); its non-acceptance by Yim owing to attachment (asrunoih) to the religion of the ancients; and the acceptance of other things to develop, extend, and improve the world thereby. 4. About the reason of the needfulness of making the enclosure (var) that Yim made, the command and instruction by Ohrmazd to Yim, the making by Yim just as Ohrmazd commanded and instructed, and whatever is on the same subject.

5. About what the comfort of the spirit of the earth is most owing to, what its discomfort is more particularly owing to, and from what its greatest gratification has arisen.

1 Rose 2011, pp. 9, 243.

2 J. Kellens, "Avesta, the holy book of the Zoroastrians" *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 1987.

3 West, 1892, pp. 152 ff.

6. About the sin of pollution owing to carrying a corpse by a single person, relating, however, to that which a dog has not seen. 7. About the food, clothing, and place of him who becomes polluted and worthy of death through a corpse, on account of carrying it alone (aevako-barih rai). 8. About how the several precautions of mankind and other pure creatures are taken, as regards a corpse which has become polluted by another corpse.

9. About the pleasure of the spirit of the earth owing to sowing and tilling, and its vexation owing to not sowing and not tilling; the blessing upon the sowers, and the advantage and merit owing to sowing, on account of particulars about the nourishment and protection of the religion thereby. 10. About the destruction of the demons which arises from the sprouting, growing, and ripening of corn; and the good success of mankind from the eating of it.

11. About the sin of burying a corpse through sinfulness, and for how much time is the uselessness of the ground in which the burial may be performed. 12. About the power of the good religion for wiping away sin from human beings.

13. About the sin of deceiving by an avaricious person (pashto) as regards what he has consumed and given, and the grievousness of other breaches of promise; the danger, even in the worldly existence, from maintaining him, and the retribution it is important for him to make.

14. About where there is steadfastness in the religion there is also a manifestation of this: when one becomes liberal — as to every benefit that exists for him — towards those of the same religion who come forward with a request. 15. About the extent of sleeping in the day and night, and other matters as to occupation which occurs daily.

16. About the grievous sinfulness of having taken a false oath, so that, apart even from the testifying retribution of the property, the oath taken thereon has also an efficacy very much for the accusers, which, on account of Mihr, Srosh, and Rashn, is an awful destroyer and adversary for one's own person, wife, child, and property; also the grievous bridge-judgment which is an appendage to one's own soul.

17. About the sin of bringing firewood, with which dead matter is mingled, to a fire; and this too, that is, how and when one is innocent therein. 18. About a ditch (joi), which is not always a stream (navo), when the water has to pass through it, and also that which is always a stream, when one wants to increase the water therein, how often and how one has to inspect them for fear of dead matter having been there.

19. About death which is by reason of water or fire, and does not occur through the supremacy of water or fire, but is owing to the demons. 20. About the great advantage owing to rain, and connected with raining on dead matter and the bodily refuse of depositories for the dead. 21. About the greatness and goodness of 'the law opposed to the demons' for cleansing, as compared with other utterances.

22. About pollution owing to bodily contact (ham-kerpakih) with a corpse, and to bodily contact with him who is in bodily contact with a corpse. 23. About the wicked villain who is an unrighteous apostate alive, and abstaining from association (avakih) with him. 24. About how long is the time of pollution of a house in which a dog or human being passes away, the carrying away theretofore of anything going thereto, and the avoidance of it; the place into which any one goes out, the feeding, and other things in that house within three steps, and whatever is on the same subject. 25. About a woman whose child dies in the womb, and which becomes dead matter; and whatever is on the same subject.

26. About useless and polluted clothing, that which is cleansed for six months. 27. About the grievous sinfulness of irregularly letting forth clothing, as much as a single double hem, upon a corpse.

28. About how long is the time of the uncultivated state of the land — free from admitting water and being sown — on which a human being or a dog passes away; the inspection of the whole land on account of the risk of dead matter having been there, and afterwards admitting water upon it; the sin when, through not exploring, dead matter is in that place, and the water comes on to it, and whatever is on the same subject.

29. About how to bring a corpse out of the water, the extent of the pollution of the water around the corpse, the purity after bringing away the corpse from it, and whatever is on the same subject. 30. About where the bodies and bones of the departed are deposited, and whatever is on the same subject.

31. About how soon is the rushing of the fiend of corruption (druj i nasush) upon a human being or dog that has passed away at the appointed time, and upon one who has done so before the appointed time through the defectiveness (ahugagih) of the worldly existence; where the clothing of this one is which is useless, and which and how is the washing of that which is for washing. 32. About the heinous pollution and grievous sinfulness of devouring dead matter, or of bringing it to fire or water through sinfulness. 33. About the winter, the demon-produced terror, the spider and locust, sickness of many kinds, and much other evil, which become threatening in the world

owing to the formation of dead matter. 34. About how to cleanse wood, corn, and fodder from the dead matter which comes upon it.

35. About medical treatment with spells, the knife, and herbs; how to test a medical man, the fee for curing, and whatever is on the same subject. 36. About the place on which a corpse is fettered (garovi-aito), and also that in which it is buried through sinfulness; and in how much time it becomes pure, in each case separately. 37. About the much lodgment of the demons there where a corpse is buried (nikan), and the merit of laying open (ashkarinidano) the place of burial (nikanih) of a corpse.

38. About the duration of not drinking by a woman who has miscarried (visistako); also her not feeding on the liquid of that which is watery food. 39. About the washing of a metallic, stony, or any other cup-like article, upon which dead matter has come, and which is not pronounced useless. 40. About the animal (gospend) that has eaten dead matter, and the plant with which dead matter is mingled. 41. About the sin of holy water being brought to water which is tainted with dead matter.

42. About the house (khano) in which a dog or a human being passes away. 43. About how large and how one has to make the vault (kadako) for the sake of a corpse in a dwelling (man), carrying the corpse to it, when the time comes to expose and avoid it, and whatever is on the same subject.

44. About the baseness (garash) and grievous sinfulness of the decree (vijirih) of death, unnatural intercourse [sodomy]. 45. About a dry corpse which has been dead throughout a year. 46. About the merit of having brought unto purity a corpse-burning fire, a fire burning bodily refuse, or of an encampment (saray-icho); also those which artificers, each separately, keep in use one has to secure, when the work is done, for the appointed fireplace (dad-gas, i.e. Dadgah).

47. About washing the polluted who have been in bodily contact with a corpse, or moving it; divers preferences as to the purifier, the rite of washing, and the reward of purifiers, worldly and also spiritual. 48. About the shining of the sun, moon, and stars alike discontentedly upon the polluted. 49. About the gratification of all the creatures of Ohrmazd by the purifier, when he produces purification for the polluted and suchlike beings (anguni-aitoan); also his reward. 50. About the strength and aid which are given to the fiend of corruption (druj i nasush) by him who does not understand purifying, and yet would accomplish it; also the sin thereof at the bridge of judgment [Chinwad]. 51. About the triumph of the Yatha-ahu-vairyo in smiting the fiend and in healing.

52. About the species of dogs; the worthiness of the shepherd's dog, the village dog, and others also; how to maintain and nourish (srayinidano) them with nourishment, and the sin owing to killing or even improperly maintaining them, each separately; and whatever is on the same subject. 53. And this, too, when a dog becomes useless (abon) or hurtful, what is to be done with it, and how it is to be kept. 54. About authorisedly killing the dog-wolf. 55. About the thirty-one dispositions among dogs, which are just as among the three special professions and divers others of five descriptions. 56. About the grievous sinfulness of killing a water beaver [or otter], and statements (gokan) of the penalty.

57. About the sin which gave an Iranian to foreigners (an-Airano). 58. About the sin for those three males who have debauched a woman who is pregnant, or the wife with a child at the breast, or a daughter of others; and the sin owing to similar sin. 59. About the guardianship and nourishment which it is important to provide for a child that is seen to be improperly protected, or for a dog when it is born without a guardian; and whatever is on the same subject.

60. About menstruation, the heinousness of its pollution, and how much one has to abstain from it. 61. The cleansing from the menses, the time of the cleansing, and the nature of the cleansing of any person or thing polluted by the menses, or that which becomes inefficient thereby; and whatever is on the same subject. 62. And about the grievous sinfulness of having sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman.

63. About the deadly bridge penalty of those who have not sustained the judges. 64. About the care of the hair and nails, and the sin owing to want of care.

65. About the apostasy of him who is bringing a mouth-veil, a vermin-killer, various sacred twigs, or a goad or scourge which is exceptional, and maintains that it is that which is necessary. 66. About the disapproved one, and the bridge-judgment upon him, who sleeps on through the whole night, so as not to accomplish his proper duty. 67. And the approval and reward of him who does not sleep over religious observances, so as to accomplish his proper duty. 68. About the progress of secretly-advancing ruin (sejo) through that exhibitor of evil religion who wears no sacred thread-girdle [kusti], and his not wearing it as it were by law.

69. About the proper duty and great value of the Parodarsh bird, and the great good work that gives it a morsel of meat which is the size of its body, the liberalization of the primitive temperament through righteousness for the righteous man. 70. About the hurry of

the fire for kindling for the untroubled watching of the night, and the merit owing to law- fully kindling it; also the blessing of the fire on mankind, when pleased and untroubled.

71. About the four special sins by which the fiend receives vigorous pregnancy, and the atonement for each separately. 72. About the grievous sinfulness, trouble, lamentation (navikih), and harm that proceed from a courtesan; also the advantageousness of her destruction. 73. About the retribution for the sin of having sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman.

74. About the combat (kushishno) of the evil: spirit with Zartosht, the victory of Zartosht therein, and whatever is on the same subject. 75. About Zartosht having inquired of Ohrmazd how, and by what means, one has to confound the evil spirit and other demons, and his reply. 76. About the gratification of Vohuman, the archangel, owing to the washing and bringing back to use of polluted clothing; also praise unto Ohrmazd for his narrating the care of the clothing.

77. About the reward which they give up to a human soul for the sake of kindness, and whereto and how is the attainment to exaltation of him who is given it. 78. About the going of Vohuman to meet the souls of the righteous, the notification of their position, their announcement for reward, and the contented progress of the souls of the righteous to their [home], to the throne of Ohrmazd and the archangels, which is made of gold. 79. About the terror of the demons owing to the scent of the righteous, and the fear that arose among them owing to the birth of Zartosht.

80. About the great powerfulness of plants of a poisonous character for the forcible keeping away of much adversity; the production of entire species (pur saradako) of plants by Ohrmazd for the curing of the creatures from disease (ayoyakih); the success of the Gaokerena plant — which is the white haoma — in curing, as compared with other plants; and the diligence of Airyaman in the medical treatment of the world.

81. Information about the ritual (nirang) through which the violence of the fiend was minimized at the original creation; and the great powerfulness of the Airyaman supplication, the Ahunwar, and other Gathic Avesta, for restraining the demons from destroying the world of righteousness.

82. It is righteousness that is perfect excellence. It is the excellence of righteousness that is perfect.

Abbreviations

Av. Avestan
Bd. *Bundahishn*
Dd *Dadestan-i Denig*
Dk *Denkard*
Gr. Greater
HN *Hadokht Nask*
MX *Menog-i Khrad*
Riv. *Rivayats*
Vd *Vendidad (Videvdad)*
Y *Yasna*
Yt *Yasht*

FARGARD 1. Sixteen perfect lands created by Ahura Mazda, and as many plagues created by Angra Mainyu.

Synopsis:[4]

This chapter is an enumeration of sixteen perfect lands created by Ahura Mazda, and of as many plagues created in opposition by Angra Mainyu.

Many attempts have been made, not only to identify these sixteen lands, but also to draw historical conclusions from their order of succession, as representing the actual order of the migrations and settlements of the old Iranian tribes. But there is nothing in the text to support such wide inferences We have here nothing more than a geographical description of Iran, seen from the religious point of view.

Of these sixteen lands there are nine which can be identified with certainty, as follows:

Avestan	Old Persian	Greek	Modern Name
Sughdha (2)	Suguda	Σογδιανή	Soghd (Samarkand)[5]
Mouru (3)	Margu	Μαργιανή	Marv (Merv)
Bakhdhi (4)	Bākhtri	Βάκτρα	Balkh[6]
Haroyu (6)	Haraiva	ʼΑρεία	Harē(rud)[7]
Vehrkana (9)	Varkāna	Ὑρκανία	Gurgān, Jorgān
Harahvaiti (10)	Harauvati	ʼΑραχωσία	Av-rokhaj, Arghand-(āb)
Haetumant (11)		ʼΕτύμανδρος	Helmend
Ragha (12)	Ragā[8]	Ῥαγαί	Raī
Hapta hindu (15)	Hindava	ʼΙνδοί	Hind (Punjab)

as we are able to follow their names from the records of the Achaemenian kings or the works of classical writers down to the map of modern Iran.

For the other lands we are confined for information to the Pahlavi Commentary, from which we get:

AVESTAN NAME.	PAHLAVI NAME.	MODERN NAME.
Vaekereta (7)	Kāpūl	Kabul

4 For an analysis see Boyce, 1992, pp. 3 ff. and Christensen, 1943.

5 I.e. Sogdiana. -JHP

6 I.e. Bactria in northern Afghanistan. -JHP

7 I.e. Aria in western Afghanistan. -JHP

8 See however § 16, note. -JD. All the identifiable lands are in eastern or northeastern Iran, with the possible exception of Rai in the south, the identification of which is disputed. -JHP

Urva (8)	Mēshan	Mesene
Varena (14)	Patashkhvārgar or Dailam	Tabaristān or Gīlān
Rangha (16)	Arvastāni Rūm	Eastern Mesopotamia

The identification of Nisaya (5) and Chakhra (13) remains an open question, as there were several cities of that name. We know, however, that Nisaya lay between Balkh and Marv. The first province Airyanem Vaeja, or Eranwej, we identify with the medieval Arrān (nowadays known as Karabagh).

There must have been some systematical idea in the order followed, though it is not apparent, except in the succession of Sughdha, Mouru, Bakhdhi, Nisaya, Haroyu, Vaekereta (numbers 2-7), which form one compact group of north-eastern provinces; the last two provinces, Hindu and Rangha (numbers 15-16), are the two limitroph provinces, east and west (Indus and Tigris); and the Rangha brings us back to the first province, Eranwej, whose chief river, the Vanguhi Daitya, or Aras, springs from the same mountains as the Rangha-Tigris.

The several plagues created by Angra Mainyu to mar the native perfection of Ahura's creations give instructive information on the religious condition of several of the Iranian countries at the time when this Fargard was written. Harat seems to have been the seat of puritan sects that pushed rigorism to the extreme in the law of purification. Sorcery was prevalent in the basin of the Helmend river, and the Paris were powerful in Cabul, which is a Zoroastrian way of saying that the Hindu civilisation prevailed in those parts, which in fact in the two centuries before and after Christ were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Moslem conquest.

Translation

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama[9] Zarathushtra, saying:

I have made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it:[10] had I not made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it, then the whole living world would have invaded the Airyana Vaeja.[11]

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9 Or Spitamide. Zarathushtra was descended from Spitama at the fifth generation.

10 'Everyone fancies that the land where he was born and has been brought up is the best and fairest land that I have created' (Comm.)

11 Gr. Bd: 'It is said in the Sacred Book: had I not created the Genius of the native place, all mankind would have gone to Eran-Vej, on account of its pleasantness.' — On Airyanem Vaeja or Eran-Vej, see following note.

2.[12] The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Airyana Vaeja,[13] by the Vanguhi Daitya.[14]

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the serpent in the river[15] and Winter, a work of the Daevas.[16]

3. There are ten winter months there, two summer months;[17] and [even] those are cold for the waters,[18] cold for the earth, cold for the trees.[19] Winter falls there, the worst of all plagues.

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12 Clause 2 in the Vendidad Sada is composed of Zend quotations in the Commentary that illustrate the alternative process of creation: 'First, Ahura Mazda would create a land of such kind that its dwellers might like it, and there could be nothing more delightful. Then he who is all death would bring against it a counter-creation.'

13 Airyanem Vaeja, Iran-Vej, is the holy land of Zoroastrianism: Zarathushtra was born and founded his religion there (*Bd*20.32; 32.3): the first animal couple appeared there (*Bd*14.4; Zadspram, 9.8). From its name, 'the Iranian seed,' it seems to have been considered as the original seat of the Iranian race. It has been generally supposed to belong to Eastern Iran, like the provinces which are enumerated after it, chiefly on account of the name of its river, the Vanguhi Daitya, which was in the Sassanian times (as Veh) the name of the Oxus. But the Bd. distinctly states that Iran-Vej is 'bordering upon Adarbajan' (29.12); now, Adarbaijan is bordered by the Caspian Sea on the east, by the Rangha provinces on the west, by Media proper on the south, and by Arran on the north. The Rangha provinces are out of question, since they are mentioned at the end of the Fargard (verse 20), and the climatic conditions of Iran-Vej with its long winter likewise exclude Media and suit Arran, where the summer lasts hardly two months (cf. § 4, note 6). The very name agrees, as the country known as Arran seems to have been known to the Greeks as 'Αριανία (Stephanus Byz.), which brings it close to our Airyanem. On the Vanguhi Daitya, see following note.

14 The Vanguhi Daitya, belonging to Arran, must be the modern Aras (the classic Araxes). The Aras was named Vanguhi, like the Oxus, but distinguished from it by the addition Daitya, which made it 'the Vanguhi of the Law' (the Vanguhi by which Zarathushtra received the Law).

15 'There are many Khrafstras in the Daitik, as it is said, The Daitik full of Khrafstras' (Bd20.13). Snakes abound on the banks of the Araxes (Morier, *A Second Journey*, p. 250) nowadays as much as in the time of Pompeius, to whom they barred the way from Albania to Hyrcania (Plut.)

16 Arran (Karabagh) is celebrated for its cold winter as well as for its beauty. At the Naoroz (first day of spring) the fields still lie under the snow. The temperature does not become milder before the second fortnight of April; no flower is seen before May. Summer, which is marked by the migration of the nomads from the plain to the mountains, begins about the 20th of June and ends in the middle of August.

17 Vendidad Sada: 'It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter' (see Bd25).

18 Some say: 'Even those two months of summer are cold for the waters...' (Comm.; see *Mainyo-i-khard* 44.20).

19 Vend. Sada: 'There reigns the core and heart of winter.'

4. The second of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the plain[20] which the Sughdhas inhabit.[21]

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the locust,[22] which brings death unto cattle and plants.

5. The third of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Mouru.[23]

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created plunder and sin.[24]

6. The fourth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Bakhdhi[25] with high-lifted banner.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the ants and the ant-hills.[26]

7. The fifth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Nisaya,[27] that lies between the Mouru and Bakhdhi.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of unbelief.[28]

8. The sixth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the house-deserting Haroyu.[29]

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20 Doubtful.

21 Old P. Suguda; Sogdiana.

22 The plague that fell to that country was the bad locust: it devours the plants and death comes to the cattle' (Gr. Bd.)

23 Margu; Μαργιανή; Marv.

24 Doubtful. The *Gr. Bd.* has: 'The plague that fell to that country was the coming and going of troops: for there is always there an evil concourse of horsemen, thieves, robbers, and heretics, who speak untruth and oppress the righteous.' — Marv continued to be the resort of Turanian plunderers till the recent Russian annexation.

25 Bakhtri; Βάκτρα; Balkh.

26 'The corn-carrying ants' (Asp.; cf. Farg. 14.5).

27 By contradistinction to other places of the same name. There was a Nisaya, in Media, where Darius put to death the Mage Gaumata (Behishtun I, 58). There was also a Nisā in Fars, another in Kirman, a third again on the way from Amol to Marv (Tabari, tr. Noeldeke, p.101, 2), which may be the same as Νισαία, the capital of Parthia (Παρθαύνισα ap. Isid. of Charax 12); cf. Pliny VI, 25 (29). One may therefore he tempted to translate, 'Nisaya between which and Bakhdhi Mouru lies;' but the text hardly admits of that construction, and we must suppose the existence of another Nisaya on the way from Balkh to Marv.

28 There are people there 'who doubt the existence of God (Comm.)

29 Harōyu, Old P. Haraiva (transcribed in Greek and Latin ʼΑρεία Aria instead of ʼΑρεία Haria, by a confusion with the name of the Aryans); P. Harē (in Firdausi and in Harē-rūd; Harāt is an Arabicised form. — 'The house-deserting Harē:

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created tears and wailing.[30]

9. The seventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Vaekereta,[31] of the evil shadows.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the Pairika Knathaiti,[32] who claves unto Keresaspa.

10. The eighth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Urva of the rich pastures.[33]

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of pride.[34]

11. The ninth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Khnenta which the Vehrkanas[35] inhabit.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the unnatural sin.[36]

12. The tenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Harahvaiti.[37]

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because there, when a man dies in a house, the people of the house leave it and go. We keep the ordinances for nine days or a month: they leave the house and absent themselves from it for nine days or a month' (*Gr. Bd.*) See Vd5.42.

30 'The tears and wailing for the dead,' the voceros. The tears shed over a dead man grow to a river that prevents his crossing the Chinwad bridge (Saddar 96; Arda Viraf 16.7, 10).

31 Vaēkereta, an older name of Kabul (Kāpūl: Comm. and Gr. Bd.); perhaps the Ptolemeian Βαγάρδα in Paropanisus (Ptol. VI, 18).

32 The Pairika, in Zoroastrian mythology, symbolises idolatry (uzdes-parastih). The land of Kubul, till the Moslem invasion, belonged to the Indian civilisation and was mostly of Brahmanical and Buddhist religion. The Pairika Khnathaiti will be destroyed at the end of the world by Saoshyant, the unborn son of Zarathushtra (when all false religions vanish before the true one; Vd19.5). — Sama Keresaspa, the Garshasp of later tradition, is the type of impious heroism: he let himself be seduced to the Daeva-worship, and Zarathushtra saw him punished in hell for his contempt of Zoroastrian observances.

33 Urva, according to *Gr. Bd.* Mēshan, that is to say Mesene (Μεσήνη) the region of lower Euphrates, famous for its fertility (Herod. I, 193): it was for four centuries (from about 150 B.C. to 225 A.D.) the seat of a flourishing commercial state.

34 'The people of Meshan are proud: there are no people worse than they' (Gr. Bd.)

35 'Khnenta is a river in Vehrkāna (Hyrcania)' (Comm.); consequently the river Jorjan.

36 See Vd8.31-2. -Dar. Hum 1991 II, p. 228 (shyaothna yānaō-vaeipya): "pederasty" -JHP

37 Harauvati; 'Αραχωσία; corrupted into Ar-rokhag (name of the country in the Arabic literature) and Arghand (in the modern name of the river Arghand-āb).

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead.[38]

13. The eleventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the bright, glorious Haetumant.[39]

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the evil work of witchcraft.

14. And this is the sign by which it is known, this is that by which it is seen at once: wheresoever they may go and raise a cry of sorcery, there[40] the worst works of witchcraft go forth. From there they come to kill and strike at heart, and they bring locusts as many as they want.[41]

15. The twelfth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Ragha[42] of the three races.[43]

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of utter unbelief.[44]

16. The thirteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Chakhra.[45]

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the cooking of corpses.[46]

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38 See Vd3.36 ff.

39 The basin of the ʼΕτύμανδρος or Erymanthus, now Hermend, Helmend, that is to say, the region of Saistān.

40 In Haetumant. — 'The plague created against Saistan is abundance of witchcraft: and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practise astrology: those wizards produce ... snow, hail, spiders, and locusts ' (*Gr Bd.*) Saistan, like Kabul, was half Indian (Maçoudi, II, 79-82), and Brahmans and Buddhists have the credit of being proficient in the darker sciences.

41 This clause seems to be a quotation in the Pahlavi Commentary.

42 Ragha, transcribed Rāk and identified by the Commentary with Adarbaijan and 'according to some' with Rai (the Greek 'Ραγαί in Media). There were apparently two Raghas, one in Atropatene, another in Media.

43 'That means that the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen, were well organised there' (Comm. and *Gr. Bd.*)

44 'They doubt themselves and cause other people to doubt' (Comm.)

45 There were two towns of that name (Charkh), one in Khorasan, and the other in Ghaznin.

46 'Cooking a corpse and eating it. They cook foxes and weasels and eat them' (*Gr. Bd.*) See Vd8.73-4.

17. The fourteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the four-cornered Varena,[47] for which was born Thraetaona, who smote Azi Dahaka [Zohak].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women,[48] and barbarian oppression.[49]

18. The fifteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Seven Rivers.[50]

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women, and excessive heat.

19. The sixteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the land by the sources (?) of the Rangha,[51] where people live who have no chiefs.[52]

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created Winter,[53] a work of the Daevas.[54]

20. There are still other lands and countries,[55] beautiful, deep, beloved, promotive, and bright.[56]

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47 Varn, identified by the Comm. either with Patashkhvārgar or with Dailam (that is to say Tabaristan or Gilan). The *Gr. Bd.* identifies it with Mount Damavand (which belongs to Patashkhvargar): this is the mountain where Azi Dahaka [Zohak] was bound with iron bonds by Thraetaona [Faridoon]. — 'Four-cornered:' Tabaristan has rudely the shape of a quadrilateral.

48 Vd16.11 ff.

49 The aborigines of the Caspian littoral were Anarian savages, the so-called 'Demons of Mazana [Mazendaran].'

50 Hapta hindava, the basin of the affluents of the Indus, the modern Panjab (= the Five Rivers), formerly called Hind, by contradistinction to Sindh, the basin of the lower river. [Hum34: "the PhlT of V1.18 quotes the fragment *haca ushastara hinduua auui daosha<s>tarem hindum* 'from the eastern river to the western river'.]

51 'Arvastin-i-Rum (Roman Mesopotamia)' (Comm.), that is to say, the basin of the upper Tigris (Rangha = Arvand = Tigris).

52 'People who do not hold the chief for a chief' (Comm.), which is the translation for *asraosha* (Comm. ad XVI, 18), 'rebel against the law,' and would well apply to the non-Mazdean people of Arvastān-i-Rūm.

53 The severe winters in the upper valleys of the Tigris.

54 The *Vendidad Sada* has here: taozyāka danheush aiwishtāra, which the *Gr. Bd.* understands as: 'and the Tajik (the Arabs) are oppressive there.'

55 'some say: Persis' (Comm.)

56 Dar: "beautiful and deep, longing and asking for the good, and bright." Humbach: "... esteemed, brilliant and bright" (Humbach, Helmut. *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts 2, Commentary*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1991, p. 54.) -JHP

FARGARD 2. Myths of Yima [Jamshed]

Introduction to Fargard 2.

Compare this translation with those given in Malandra 1983, pp. 178 ff., and Boyce 1990, pp. 94 ff.

For a comparison of the underground enclosure of Yima with the the Indic/Sanskrit Yama as ruler of the underground, see Lincoln 1991, p. 28. Also see Boyce *History* I 1996, pp. 92 ff.

Synopsis:

This Fargard may be divided into two parts.

First part (1-20). Ahura Mazda proposes to Yima, the son of Vivanghat, to receive the law from him and to bring it to men. On his refusal, he bids him keep his creatures and make them prosper. Yima accordingly makes them thrive and increase, keeps death and disease away from them, and three times enlarges the earth, which had become too narrow for its inhabitants.

Second part (21 to the end). On the approach of a dire winter, which is to destroy every living creature, Yima, being advised by Ahura, builds a Vara to keep there the finest representatives of every kind of animals and plants, and they live there a life of perfect happiness.

It is difficult not to acknowledge in the latter legend a Zoroastrian adaptation of the deluge, whether it was borrowed from the *Bible* or from the Chaldaean mythology. The similitude is so striking that it did not escape the Moslems, and Macoudi states that certain authors place the date of the deluge in the time of Jamshed. There are essential and necessary differences between the two legends, the chief one being that in the monotheistic narration the deluge is sent as a punishment from God, whereas in the dualistic version it is a plague from the Daevas: but the core of the two legends is the same: the hero in both is a righteous man who, forewarned by God, builds a refuge to receive choice specimens of mankind) intended some day to replace an imperfect humanity, destroyed by a universal calamity.

Translation

I.

1. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

Who was the first mortal, before myself, Zarathushtra, with whom thou, Ahura Mazda, didst converse,[57] whom thou didst teach the Religion of Ahura, the Religion of Zarathushtra?

2. Ahura Mazda answered: The fair Yima, the good shepherd,[58] O holy Zarathushtra! he was the first mortal, before thee, Zarathushtra, with whom I, Ahura Mazda, did converse, whom I taught the Religion of Ahura, the Religion of Zarathushtra. 3. Unto him, O Zarathushtra, I, Ahura Mazda, spake, saying: 'Well, fair Yima, son of Vivanghat, be thou the preacher and the bearer of my Religion!' And the fair Yima, O Zarathushtra, replied unto me, saying: 'I was not born, I was not taught to be the preacher and the bearer of thy Religion.'

4. Then I, Ahura Mazda, said thus unto him, O Zarathushtra: 'Since thou dost not consent to be the preacher and the bearer [propagator][59] of my Religion, then make thou my world increase, make my world grow: consent thou to nourish, to rule, and to watch over my world.'

5. And the fair Yima replied unto me, O Zarathushtra, saying: 'Yes! I will make thy world increase, I will make thy world grow. Yes! I will nourish, and rule, and watch over thy world. There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind not hot wind, neither disease nor death.'

6.[60] Then I, Ahura Mazda, brought two implements unto him: a golden seal and a poniard inlaid with gold.[61]

7. Behold, here Yima bears the royal sway![62]

8. Thus, under the sway of Yima, three hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

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57 'On the Religion' (Comm.)

58 His being a good shepherd means that he held in good condition herds of men and herds of animals' (Comm.)

59 Cf. Boyce, 1990, p. 94. -JHP

60 Vd2.6 is composed of unconnected *Avesta* quotations, which are no part of the text and are introduced by the commentator for the purpose of showing that 'although Yima did not teach the law and train pupils, he was nevertheless a faithful and a holy man, and rendered men holy too (?).' See Fragments of the Vendidad.

61 As the symbol and the instrument of sovereignty. 'He reigned supreme by the strength of the ring and of the poniard' (Asp.) Thus Faridoon gives royal investiture to Iraj 'with the sword and the seal, the ring and the crown' (Firdausi). — The king is master 'of the sword, the throne, and the ring.'

62 Dar. includes this sentence in the previous verse, and lists verse 7 as obscure, but thus Geldner and Wolff.

9. Then I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.'

10. Then Yima stepped forward, in light,[63] southwards,[64] on the way of the sun,[65] and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus: 'O Spenta Armaiti,[66] kindly[67] open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

11. And Yima made the earth grow larger by one-third than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

12. Thus, under the sway of Yima, six hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

13. And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.'

14. Then Yima stepped forward, in light, southwards, on the way of the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus: 'O Spenta Armaiti, kindly) open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

15. And Yima made the earth grow larger by two-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

16. Thus, under the sway of Yima, nine hundred winters passed away,[68] and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with

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63 That is to say, his body being all resplendent with light. See Albiruni' *Chronology* (tr. by Sachau, p. 202): 'Jam rose on that day (Noruz) like the sun, the light beaming forth from him, as though he shone like the sun.'

64 The warm South is the region of Paradise (Hadhokht Nask, section 2.7): the North is the seat of the cold winds, of the demons and hell (Vd19.1; Vd7.2).

65 Thence is derived the following tradition recorded by G. du Chinon: 'Ils en nomment un qui s'allait tous les jours promener dans le Ciel du Soleil d'où il aportait la sciance des Astres, aprez les avoir visités de si prez. Ils nomment ce grand personnage Gemachid' (Relations nouvelles du Levant, Lyon, 1671, p. 478).

66 The Genius of the Earth.

67 'Do this out of kindness to the creatures' (Comm.)

men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

17. And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.'

18. Then Yima stepped forward, in light, southwards, on the way of the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus: 'O Spenta Armaiti, kindly) open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

19. And Yima made the earth grow larger by two-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

II.

20. The Maker, Ahura Mazda, called together a meeting of the celestial Yazatas in the Airyana Vaejo of high renown, by the Vanguhi Daitya.[69]

The fair Yima, the good shepherd, called together a meeting of the best of the mortals,[70] in the Airyana Vaejo of high renown, by the Vanguhi Daitya.

21. To that meeting came Ahura Mazda, in the Airyana Vaejo of high renown, by the Vanguhi Daitya; he came together with the celestial Yazatas.

To that meeting came the fair Yima, the good shepherd, in the Airyana Vaejo of high renown, by the Vanguhi Daitya; he came together with the best of the mortals.

22. And Ahura Mazda spake unto Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat! Upon the material world the evil winters are about to fall, that shall bring the fierce, deadly frost; upon the material world

68 Yima, according to Yt9.10, made immortality reign on the earth for a thousand years. The remaining century was spent in the Vara ('for a hundred years, Jim was in the Var,' says the Gr. Bd.) On Yima's fall, see Yt19.34; see Yt5.25-31.

69 See Vd1, notes to verse 2.

70 The best types of mankind, chosen to live in the Var during the Malkōshān and repeople the earth when the Var opens.

the evil winters[71] are about to fall, that shall make snow-flakes fall thick, even an aredvi deep on the highest tops of mountains.[72]

23. 'And the beasts that live in the wilderness,[73] and those that live on the tops of the mountains,[74] and those that live in the bosom of the dale[75] shall take shelter in underground abodes.

24. 'Before that winter, the country would bear plenty of grass for cattle, before the waters had flooded it. Now after the melting of the snow, O Yima, a place wherein the footprint of a sheep may be seen will be a wonder in the world.

25. 'Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square,[76] and thither bring the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires.[77] Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for man; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, for oxen and sheep.

26. 'There thou shalt make waters flow in a bed a hathra long; there thou shalt settle birds, on the green that never fades, with food that never fails. There thou shalt establish dwelling-places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and as gallery.[78]

27. 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth;[79] thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth.

28. 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of tree, of the highest of size and sweetest of odour on this earth;[80] thither thou shalt

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71 The Commentary has here Malkosan, a word wrongly identified with the Hebrew Malqōsh, which designates the beneficent autumn rains. Malkosan are the winters let loose by a demon or wizard named Malkōsh, in Av. Mahrkūsha 'the death-causing' (see Westergaard's Fragments, VIII).

72 'Even where it (the snow) is least, it will be one Vitasti two fingers deep' (Comm.); that is, fourteen fingers deep.

73 The Comm. has, strangely enough, 'for instance, Ispahan.'

74 'For instance, Aparsen (the Upairisaena or Hindu-Kush).'

75 'For instance, Khorastan (the plain of Khorasan).'

76 'Two hathras long on every side' (Comm.) A hathra is about an English mile.

77 That is to say, specimens of each species.

78 The last three words are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα of doubtful meaning.

79 The best specimens of mankind, to be the origin of the more perfect races of the latter days.

80 'The highest of size, like the cypress and the plane-tree; the sweetest of odour, like the rose and the jessamine' (Comm.)

bring the seeds of every kind of fruit, the best of savour and sweetest of odour.[81] All those seeds shalt thou bring, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

29. 'There shall be no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up,[82] nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.[83]

30. 'In the largest part of the place thou shalt make nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part thou shalt bring a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred.[84] That Vara thou shalt seal up with thy golden seal, and thou shalt make a door, and a window self-shining within.'

31. Then Yima said within himself: 'How shall I manage to make that Vara which Ahura Mazda has commanded me to make?' And Ahura Mazda said unto Yima: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat! Crush the earth with a stamp of thy heel, and then knead it with thy hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay.'[85]

32. [And Yima did as Ahura Mazda wished; he crushed the earth with a stamp of his heel, he kneaded it with his hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay.[86]]

33. And Yima made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square. There he brought the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires. He made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, for oxen and sheep.

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81 'The best of savour, like the date; the sweetest of odour, like the citron' (Comm.)

82 'A man, afflicted with leprosy, is not allowed to enter a town and mix with the other Persians' (Herod. I, 139); he was supposed to have sinned against the sun). Ctesias has a tale or how Megabyzes escaped his enemies by simulating leprosy.

83 In order that the new mankind may be exempt from all moral and physical deformities.

84 This division of the Var into three quarters very likely answers the distinction of the three classes.

85 In the *Shah Namah* Jamshid teaches the Divs to make and knead clay 'by mixing the earth with water;' and they build palaces at his bidding. It was his renown, both as a wise king and a great builder, that caused the Moslems to identify him with Solomon.

86 From the Vendidad Sada.

34. There he made waters flow in a bed a hathra long; there he settled birds, on the green that never fades, with food that never fails. There he established dwelling-places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery.

35. There he brought the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth.

36. There he brought the seeds of every kind of tree, of the highest of size and sweetest of odour on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of fruit, the best of savour and sweetest of odour. All those seeds he brought, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

37. And there were no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no one malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

38. In the largest part of the place he made nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part he brought a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That Vara he sealed up with the golden ring, and he made a door, and a window self-shining within.

39. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What are the lights that give light in the Vara which Yima made?

40. Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are uncreated lights and created lights.[87] The one thing missed there is the sight of the stars, the moon, and the sun,[88] and a year seems only as a day.[89]

87 The endless light, which is eternal, and artificial lights. The Commentary has here the following Av. quotation: 'The uncreated light shines from above; all the created lights shine from below.'

88 The people in the Var cannot see them, since the Var is underground. That is why the Var has lights of its own.

89 As there is no daily revolution of the sun.

41. 'Every fortieth year, to every couple two are born, a male and a female.[90] And thus it is for every sort of cattle. And the men in the Vara which Yima made live the happiest life.'[91]

42. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is he who brought the Religion of Mazda into the Vara which Yima made? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It was the bird Karshipta,[92] O holy Zarathushtra!'

43. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who are the Lord and the Master there? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Urvatat-nara,[93] O Zarathushtra! and thyself, Zarathushtra.'

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90 See the description of Eranwej according to a later source, the Mainyo-i-khard (as translated by West); 'Ohrmazd created Eranwej better than the remaining places and districts; and its goodness was this, that men's life is three hundred years; and cattle and sheep, one hundred and fifty years; and their pain and sickness are little, and they do not circulate falsehood, and they make no lamentation and weeping; and the sovereignty of the demon of Avarice, in their body, is little, and in ten men, if they eat one loaf, they are satisfied; and in every forty years, from one woman and one man, one child is born; and their law is goodness, and religion the primeval religion, and when they die, they are righteous (= blessed); and their chief is Gopatshah, and the ruler and king is Srosh' (44.24).

91 'They live there for 150 years; some say, they never die' (Comm.)

92 'The bird Karshipta dwells in the heavens: were he living on the earth, he would be the king of birds. He brought the Religion into the Var of Vima, and recites the *Avesta* in the language of birds' (Bd19 and Bd24). The Comm. identifies the Karshiptan with the Chakhravak, that is the Chakravaka of poetical reputation in India.

93 Zarathushtra had three sons during his lifetime, Isat-vastra, Hvare-chithra, and Urvatat-nara, who were respectively the fathers and chiefs of the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen. Urvatat-nara, as a husbandman, was chosen to be the *ahu* or temporal Lord of the Var, on account of the Var being underground. Zarathushtra, as a heavenly priest, was, by right, the *ratu* or Spiritual Lord in Airyana Vaejah, where he founded the Religion by a sacrifice (Bd33 and Introd. III, 15).

FARGARD 3. the Earth

Introduction to Fargard 3.

"Les Guèbres," says Chardin (ed. Langlēs, VIII, 358), "regardent l'agriculture, non seulement comme une profession belle et innocente, mais aussi comme méritoire et noble, et ils croient que c'est la première de toutes les vocations, celle pour quoi le Dieu souverain et les dieux inférieurs, comme ils parlent, ont le plus de complaisance et qu'ils recompensent le plus largement. Cette opinion, tournée en créance parmi eux, fait qu'ils se portent naturellement à travailler à la terre et qu'ils s'y exercent le plus: leurs prētres leur enseignent que la plus vertueuse activité est d'engendrer des enfants (cf. Farg. IV, 47) et aprés de cultiver une terre qui serait en friche (cf. infra, § 4), de planter un arbre soit fruitier, soit autre."

The classical writers (Xenophon, Oeconomica, IV, 4 seq.; Polybius, X, 28, quoted § 4, note) express themselves to the same effect, and their testimony has been lately corroborated, in a most unexpected way, by a Greek inscription (discovered at Deremendjik, near Magnesia, on the Maeander: by Cousin and Deschamps, *Bullein de Correspondance hellénique*, XIII: 529), emanating from no less an authority than King Darius himself, who congratulates his satrap in Asia Minor, Gadates, "for working well the King's earth and transplanting in lower Asia the fruits of the country beyond Euphrates.

The third Fargard may serve as a Commentary to those texts.

Synopsis.

The principal subject is, as the *Denkard* has it:

What comforts most the Genius of the Earth (§§ 1-6)?

What discomforts most the Genius of the Earth (§§ 7-11)?

What rejoices the Earth most (§§ 12-35)?

In each of these three developments a series of five objects is considered. Series I and II, though expressed in symmetrical terms, do not answer one another: there is greater symmetry, as to the ideas, between the second series and the third. Series I and II are a dry enumeration. The third series contains two interesting digressions, one on the funeral laws (§§ 14-21), and the other on the sanctity of husbandry (§§ 24-33).

The Fargard ends with a development forbidding the burial of the dead (§§ 36-42); it is a sort of commentary to § 8.

The subject of this chapter has become a commonplace topic with the Parsis, who have treated it more or less antithetically in the *Mainyai-khard* (chaps. 5 and 6) and in the Riv. [ch. 98] (Gr. Riv. pp. 434-437).

Translation

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the first place where the Earth[94] feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful steps forward, O Spitama Zarathushtra! with the log in his hand,[95] the Baresma[96] in his hand, the milk[97] in his hand, the mortar[98] in his hand, lifting up his voice in good accord with religion, and beseeching Mithra,[99] the lord of the rolling country-side, and Rama Hvastra.'[100]

2,3. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the second place where the Earth feels most happy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful erects a house with a priest within,[101] with cattle, with a wife, with children, and good herds within; and wherein afterwards the cattle continue to thrive, virtue to thrive,[102] fodder to thrive, the dog to thrive, the wife to thrive, the child to thrive, the fire to thrive, and every blessing of life to thrive.'

4. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the third place where the Earth feels most happy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where one of the faithful sows most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathushtra! where he waters ground that is dry, or drains ground that is too wet.'[103]

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94 'The Genius of the Earth' (Comm.)

95 The wood for the fire altar.

96 The Baresma (now called barsom) is a bundle of sacred twigs which the priest holds in his hand while reciting the prayers. (See Vd19.18 seq. and notes.)

97 The so-called jīv or jīvām, one of the elements of the Haoma sacrifice.

98 The Havana [hawan] or mortar used in crushing the Haoma or Hom.

99 Mithra, the Persian Apollo, sometimes like him identified with the Sun, is invoked here as making the earth fertile. 'Why do not you worship the Sun? King Yazdgard asked the Christians. Is he not the god who lights up with his rays all the world, and through whose warmth the food of men and cattle grows ripe?' (Elisaeus.)

100 The god that gives food its savour: he is an acolyte to Mithra.

101 With the domestic chaplain (the Panthaki).

102 By the performance of worship.

103 Under the Achaemanian kings countrymen who brought water to places naturally dry received the usufruct of the ground for five generations (Polybius, X, 28). But for those underground canals (called qanats), which bring water from the

5. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels most happy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where there is most increase of flocks and herds.'

6. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels most happy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where flocks and herds yield most dung.'

II.

7. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the first place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the neck of Arezura,[104] whereon the hosts of fiends rush forth from the burrow of the Druj.'[105]

8. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the second place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein most corpses of dogs and of men lie buried.'[106]

9. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the third place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon stand most of those Dakhmas on which the corpses of men are deposited.'[107]

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mountains all through the Iranian desert, Persia would starve.

104 The neck of Arezura (Arezurahe griva) is "a mount at the gate of hell, whence the demons rush forth" (Bd12.8; Dadistan 33.5); it is also called "the head of Arezura" (Vd19.45), or 'the back of Arezura' (Bd12.2). Arezura was a fiend, son of Ahriman, who was killed by the first man, Gayomard (*Menog-i Khrad* 27.15). The mount named from him hes in the North (which is the seat of the demons): it seems to belong to the Alborz chain, like the Damavand (Bd12.8), where Azi Dahaka [Zohak] was bound (Vd1.18, notes).

105 Hell, the Druj being assimilated to a burrowing Khrafstra. See Vd7.24.

106 'It is declared in the good religion, that, when they conceal a corpse beneath the ground, Spendarmad, the archangel, shudders; it is just as severe as a serpent or scorpion would be to any one in a sleeping-garment, and it is also just like that to the ground. When thou makest a corpse beneath the ground as it were apparent, thou makest the ground liberated ftom that affliction' (*Saddar* 33, tr. by West, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, XXIV). See Vd6.51; Vd7.45.

107 With regard to Dakhmas, see Vd6.45. 'Nor is the Earth happy at that place whereon stands a Dakhma with corpses upon it; for that patch of ground will never be clean again till the day of resurrection' (*Gr. Riv.* 435, 437). Although the erection of Dakhmas is enjoined by the law, yet the Dakhma in itself is as unclean as any spot on the earth can be, since it is always in contact with the dead see (Vd7.55). The impurity which would otherwise be scattered over the whole world, is thus brought together to one and the same spot. Yet even that spot, in spite of the Riv., is not to lie defiled for ever, as every fifty years the Dakhmas ought to be pulled down, so that their sites may be restored to their natural purity (see Vd7.49 ff. and this Farg. verse 13).

10. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein are most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu.[108]

11. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels sorest grief? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon the wife and children of one of the faithful,[109] O Spitama Zarathushtra! are driven along the way of captivity, the dry, the dusty way, and lift up a voice of wailing.'

III.

12. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Who is the first that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who digs out of it most corpses of dogs and men.'[110]

13. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Who is the second that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who pulls down most of those Dakhmas on which the corpses of men are deposited.'[111]

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14. Let no man alone by himself[112] carry a corpse.[113] If a man alone by himself carry a corpse, the Nasu[114] rushes upon him, to defile him, from the nose of the dead, from the eye, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organs, from the hinder parts. This Druj Nasu falls upon him, [stains him] even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.

108 'Where there are most Khrafstras' (noxious animals).

109 Killed by an enemy.

110 This joy answers the second grief of the earth (§ 8; cf. note). There is no counterpart given to the first grief (§ 7), because, as the Commentary naively expresses it, "it is not possible now so to dig out hell," which will be done at the end of the world (Bd30.32).

111 This answers the third grief (§ 9; cf. note).

112 No ceremony in general can be performed by one man alone. Two Mobeds are wanted to perform the Vendidad service, two priests for the Barashnum, two persons for the Sag-did (Anquetil, II, 584 n.) It is never good that the faithful should be alone, as the fiend is always lurking about, ready to take advantage of any moment of inattention. If the faithful be alone, there is no one to make up for any negligence and to prevent mischief arising from it. Never is the danger greater than in the present case, when the fiend is close at hand, and in direct contact with the faithful.

113 A corpse from which the Nasu has not been expelled by the Sag-did ceremony (described Vd8.14-22).

114 The word Nasu has two meanings: it means either the corpse (nasai), or the corpse-demon (the Druj Nasu, that is to say the demon who takes possession of the dead body and makes his presence felt by the decomposition of the body and infection).

15. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! What shall be the place of that man who has carried a corpse [alone]?[115] Ahura Mazda answered: 'It shall be the place on this earth wherein is least water and fewest plants, whereof the ground is the cleanest and the dryest and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful.'[116]

16. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

17. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces[117] from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.

18,19. 'There, on that place, shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure,[118] and therein shall they establish him with food, therein shall they establish him with clothes, with the coarsest food and with the most worn-out clothes. That food he shall live on, those clothes he shall wear, and thus shall they let him live, until he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairishta-khshudra.[119]

20,21. 'And when he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura,[120] or of a Pairishta-khshudra, then the worshippers of Mazda shall order a man strong, vigorous, and skilful,[121] to cut the head off his neck,[122] in his enclosure on the top of the mountain: and they shall deliver his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-eating creatures made by the beneficent Spirit, unto the vultures, with these words: "The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

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115 He cannot purify himself like the Nasa-salar (Vd8.13). 'He who carries a man, knowing that the man is dead and that the Sag-did has not been performed, commits a sin worthy of death (margarzan).' As the absence of Sag-did makes the infection worse, it is the same crime as if a man were to introduce a plague into the country.

116 To avoid any contact of that man with pure beings.

117 A pace (gāma) is as much as three feet (pādha; Vd9.8).

118 The Armesht-gāh, the place for the unclean; see Introd. V, 15.

119 Hana means, literally, 'an old man;' Zaurura, 'a man broken down by age;' Pairishta-khshudra, 'one whose seed is dried up.' These words have acquired the technical meanings of 'fifty, sixty, and seventy years old.'

120 When he is near his death. The carrier alone (ēvak-bar), being margarzān (see note 22 above), ought to have been put to death at once. The rigour of theory was abated in practice and delayed to the moment when the guilty man was to have paid to nature the debt due to religion.

121 'Trained to operations of that sort' (Comm.); a headsman.

122 Perhaps: 'to flay him alive and cut off his head.' See Vd9.49, text and note.

If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance:[123] if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance, for ever and ever." '

22. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Who is the third that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who fills up most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu.'[124]

23. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Who is the fourth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy? Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who sows most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathushtra! who waters ground that is dry, or drains ground that is too wet.[125]

24. 'Unhappy is the land that has long lain unsown with the seed of the sower and wants a good husbandman, like a well-shapen maiden who has long gone childless and wants a good husband.

25. 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him will she bring forth plenty of fruit: even as it were a lover sleeping with his bride on her bed; the bride will bring forth children, (the earth will bring forth) plenty of fruit.[126]

26,27. 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, here shall I ever go on bearing, bringing forth all manner of food, bringing corn first to thee." [127]

28,29. 'He who does not till the earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost not till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, ever shalt thou stand at the door of the stranger, among those who beg for bread; the refuse and the crumbs of the bread are brought unto thee,[128] brought by those who have profusion of wealth." '

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123 By the performance or the Patet.

124 This joy answers the fourth grief or the earth (§ 10).

125 This is identical with § 4, which is developed in the following clauses (§§ 24-34).

126 The text has: 'she brings either a son or plenty of fruit,' she being either the woman or the earth.

127 'When something good grows up, it will grow up for thee first' (Comm.) Perhaps: 'bringing to thee profusion of corn' ('some say, she will bring to thee 15 for 10;' Comm.)

128 'They take for themselves what is good and send to thee what is bad' (Comm.)

30. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! What is the food that fills the Religion of Mazda?[129] Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is sowing corn again and again, O Spitama Zarathushtra!

31. 'He who sows corn, sows righteousness: he makes the Religion of Mazda walk, he suckles the Religion of Mazda; as well as he could do with a hundred man's feet, with a thousand woman's breasts,[130] with ten thousand sacrificial [Yenghe hatam] formulas.[131]

32. 'When barley was created, the Daevas started up;[132] when it grew,[133] then fainted the Daevas' hearts; when the knots came,[134] the Daevas groaned; when the ear came, the Daevas flew away.[135] In that house the Daevas stay, wherein wheat perishes.[136] It is as though red hot iron were turned about in their throats, when there is plenty of corn.[137]

33. 'Then let people learn by heart this holy saying [manthra]: "No one who does not eat, has strength to do heavy works of holiness,[138] strength to do works of husbandry, strength to beget children. By eating every material creature lives, by not eating it dies away." '

34. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! Who is the fifth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

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129 Literally, 'what is the stomach of the law?'

130 'He makes the Religion of Mazda as fat as a child could be made by means of a hundred feet, that is to say, of fifty servants walking to rock him; of a thousand breasts, that is, of five hundred nurses' (Comm.)

131 With the recitation of 10,000 *Yenghe hatam*, that is to say, as if one had performed for his weal as many sacrifices as contain 10,000 Yenghe hatam.

132 John Barleycorn got up again / And sore surpris'd them all.

133 Doubtful.

134 Doubtful.

135 The general meaning of the sentence is how the Devs are broken down 'by the growing, the increasing, and the ripening of the corn' (Dk., 1.1. § 10 [Dk8 44.10]).

136 Doubtful.

137 Doubtful. Wolff: "When the grain is rightly placed (for threshing), then the Daevas perspire (with fear);. when the mill is rightly placed (to grind the grain), then lose the Daevas lose their composure, if the flour is rightly placed (for making dough), then the Daevas cry, if the dough is rightly placed (for baking), then the Daevas perish (Av. paredhen; Wolff follows AirWb 869 in reading farzen) (with fear); kept permanently in the house, flour dough is effectual for striking down the Daevas, in the mouth, it is very hot (to them) — you see them turn to flee. Thus grain grows abundantly, so one should recite the Mãthra..."

138 'Like the performance of the dvāzda hōmāst' (the longest and most cumbersome of all Zoroastrian ceremonies).

Ahura Mazda answered: '[It is he who kindly and piously gives[139] to one of the faithful who tills the earth,] O Spitama Zarathushtra!

35. 'He who would not kindly and piously give to one of the faithful who tills the earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! Spenta Armaiti[140] will throw him down into darkness, down into the world of woe, the world of hell, down into the deep abyss.'[141]

IV.

36. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within half a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra,[142] five hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

37. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, a thousand stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

38. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy one! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within the second year, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

39. Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

40. When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the Religion of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it.[143]

'But if he be not a professor of the Religion of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it,[144] then his sin is taken from him, if he makes

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139 The Asho-dad or alms. The bracketed clause is from the Vendidad Sada.

140 The Genius of the Earth offended.

141 Conjectural translation.

142 See Introduction.

143 A born Zoroastrian or a catechist [i.e. Zoroastrian by choice, a convert]: in both cases, he must have known that he was committing sin.

144 He did not know that he was committing sin.

confession of the Religion of Mazda and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.[145]

41. 'The Religion of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! takes away from him who makes confession of it the bonds of his sin;[146] it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust;[147] it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful;[148] it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse;[149] it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the worst sin of usury;[150] it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

42. 'In the same way the Religion of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathushtra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain.[151]

'So let all the deeds he doeth be henceforth good, O Zarathushtra! a full atonement for his sin is effected by means of the Religion of Mazda.'

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145 He makes Patet and says to himself; 'I will never henceforth sin again' (Comm.)

146 If not knowingly committed; see § 40 and the following notes.

147 Doubtful. From the commentary it appears that draosha must have meant a different sort of robbery: 'He knows that it is forbidden to steal, but he fancies that robbing the rich to give to the poor is a pious deed' (Comm.)

148 Or better, 'a Mazdean,' but one who has committed a capital crime; 'he knows that it is allowed to kill the margarzān, but he does not know that it is not allowed to do so without an order from the judge.' See Vd8.74 note.

149 'He knows that it is forbidden to bury a corpse; but he fancies that if one manages so that dogs or foxes may not take it to the fire and to the water, he behaves piously (Comm.) — He fancies that the prohibition of burying the dead is meant only for the protection of the fire and the water, not of the earth herself.

150 Or, possibly, 'the sin of usury.' 'He knows that it is lawful to take high interest, but he does not know that it is not lawful to do so from the faithful' (Comm.)

151 'From chaff' (Comm.)

FARGARD 4. Contracts and offenses.

Synopsis.

This Fargard is the only one in the *Vendidad* that deals strictly with legal objects.

I a. Classification of the contracts according to the value of their object (§ 2). — A contract is cancelled by paying the amount of the contract higher by one degree (§ 3-4).

Religious responsibility of the family for the breach of a contract by one of its members (§§ 5-10).

Punishment of the Mihr-Druj (one who breaks a contract), (§§ 11-16).

II a. Definition of the outrages known as agerepta (threatening attitude), avaoirishta (assault), aredush (blows), (§ 17).

Penalties for menaces — (§§ 18-21); for assaults (§§ 22-25); for blows (§ 26-29); for wounds (§§ 30-33); for wounds causing blood to flow (§§ 34-36); for broken bones (§§ 37-39); for manslaughter (§§ 40-43).

III a. Contract of charity to co-religionists (§§ 44-45).

IV a. Heinousness of false oath (§ 46).

III b. Dignity of wealth; of marriage; of physical weal(§§ 47-49a).

IV b. Heinousness of false oath. Ordeal (§§ 49b-55).

Part of this Fargard has been made unduly obscure by the transposition of § 46) wrongly inserted between the clause on charity (§§ 44-45) and the corresponding development on the dignity of material goods. This transposition is found in all known manuscripts and belonged to the older text from which they are derived.

Translation

I.

1. He that does not restore a loan to the man who lent it, steals the thing and robs the man.[152] This he doeth every day, every night, as long as he keep in his house his neighbour's property, as though it were his own.[153]

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152 He is a thief when he takes a view not to restore; he is a robber when, being asked to restore, he answers, I will not" (Comm.)

153 Every moment that he holds it unlawfully, he steals it anew. 'The basest thing with Persians is to lie; the next to it is to be in debt, for this reason among many others, that he who is so, must needs sink to lying at last' (Herod. I, 139) The debtor in question is of course the debtor of bad faith, 'he who says to a man, Give me this, I

Ia.

2. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How many in number are thy contracts, O Ahura Mazda? Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are six in number, O holy Zarathushtra.[154] The first is the word-contract;[155] the second is the hand-contract;[156] the third is the contract to the amount of a sheep;[157] the fourth is the contract to the amount of an ox;[158] the fifth is the contract to the amount of a man [person];[159] the sixth is the contract to the amount of a field,[160] a field in good land, a fruitful one, in good bearing.'[161]

3. The word-contract is fulfilled by words of mouth. It is cancelled by the hand-contracct; he shall give as damages the amount of the hand-contract.

4. The hand-contract is cancelled by the sheep-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the sheep-contract. The sheep-contract is cancelled by the ox-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the ox-contract. The ox-contract is cancelled by the man-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the man-contract. The man-contract is cancelled by the field-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the field-contract.

5. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, how many are involved in his sin?[162] Ahura Mazda

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will restore it to thee at the proper time, and he says to himself; I will not restore it' (Comm.)

154 At first view it seems as if the classification were twofold, the contracts being defined in the first two clauses by their mode of being entered into, and in the last four by their amount. Yet it appears from the following clauses that even the word-contract and the hand-contract are indicative of a certain amount, which, however, the commentators did not, or were unable to, determine.

155 The word-contract may be a contract of which the object are words: the contract of jādangōi (ukhdhō-vachah), by which one offers to speak and intervene for some one's benefit, or the contract between master and pupil (for teaching the sacred texts).

156 The contract for hiring labour (?).

157 'Viz. to the amount of 3 istīrs [in weight],' (Comm.) An istīr (στατήρ) is as much as 4 dirhems (δραχμή).

158 'To the amount of 12 istīrs (=48 dirhems),' (Comm.)

159 'To the amount of 500 dirhems.' The exact translation would be rather, 'The contract to the amount of a human being' (promise of marriage).

160 'Upwards of 500 istīrs.'

161 A sort of gloss added to define more accurately the value of the object, and to indicate that it is greater than that of the preceding one.

162 Literally, how much is involved? The joint responsibility of the family was a principle in the Persian law: 'Leges apud eos impendio formidatae, et abominandae aliae, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit' (Am.

answered: 'His sin makes his Nabanazdishtas[163] answerable for three hundred (years).' [164]

6. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabanazdishtas answerable for six hundred (years).'[165]

7. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabanazdishtas answerable for seven hundred (years).'[166]

8. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabanazdishtas answerable for eight hundred (years).'[167]

9. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabanazdishtas answerable for nine hundred (years).'[168]

10. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, how many are involved in his sin? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabanazdishtas answerable for a thousand (years).'[169]

11. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda

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Marcellinus XXIII, 6).

163 The next of kin to the ninth degree.

164 See § 11. This passage seems to have puzzled tradition. The Commentary says, 'How long, how many years, has one to fear for the breach of a word-contract? — the Nabanazdishtas have to fear for three hundred years;' but it does not explain farther the nature of that fear; it only tries to reduce the circle of that liability to narrower limits: 'only the son born after the breach is liable for it; the righteous are not liable for it; when the father dies, the son, if righteous, has nothing to fear from it.' And finally, the Rivayats leave the kinsmen wholly aside; the penalty falling entirely upon the real offender, and the number denoting only the duration of his punishment in hell: 'He who breaks a word-contract, his soul shall abide for three hundred years in hell' (*Gr. Riv.* 94).

165 See § 12. 'His soul shall abide for six hundred years in hell' (*Gr. Riv.* 1.1.)

166 See § 13. 'His soul shall abide for seven hundred years in hell' (*Gr. Riv.* 1.1.)

167 See § 14. 'His soul shall abide for eight hundred years in hell.'

168 See § 15. 'His soul shall abide for nine hundred years in hell.'

169 See § 16. 'His soul shall abide for a thousand years in hell.'

answered: 'Three hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, three hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'[170]

12. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, six hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'[171]

13. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'[172]

14. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'[173]

15. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, Nine hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'[174]

16. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, a thousand stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'[175]

IIa.

17. If a man rise up with a weapon in his hand, it is an Agerepta.[176] If he brandish it, it is an Avaoirishta. If he actually smite a man with

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170 One tanapuhr and a half, that is 1800 dirhems. See Introd.

171 Three tanapuhrs, or 3600 dirhems.

172 Three tanapuhrs and a half or 4200 dirhems.

173 Four tanapuhrs, or 4800 dirhems.

174 Four tanapuhrs and a half, or 5400 dirhems.

175 Five tanapuhrs, or 6000 dirhems.

176 In this paragraph are defined the first three of the eight outrages with which the rest of the Fargard deals. Only these three are defined, because they are designated by technical terms. We subjoin the definitions of them found in a Sanskrit translation of a Patet (Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. B. 5, 154), in which their etymological meanings are better preserved than in the Zend definition itself:-- *Agerepta*, 'seizing,' is when a man seizes a weapon with a view to smite another. *Avaoirishta*, 'brandishing,' is when a man brandishes, a weapon with a view to smite another. *Aredush* is when a man actually smites another with a weapon, but without wounding him, or inflicts a wound which is healed within three days.

malicious aforethought, it is an Aredush. Upon the fifth Aredush[177] he becomes a Peshotanu.[178]

18. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He that committeth an Agerepta, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, five stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the second Agerepta, ten stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, ten stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the third, fifteeen stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, fifteen stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

19. 'On the fourth, thirty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, thirty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the fifth, fifty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, fifty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the sixth, sixty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, sixty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the seventh, ninety stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, ninety stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

20. If a man commit an Agerepta for the eighth time, without having atoned for the preceding,[179] what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

21. If a man commit an Agerepta,[180] and refuse to atone for it,[181] what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

22. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirishta, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ten stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, ten stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the second Avaoirishta, fifteen stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, fifteen stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

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177 Viz. on the sixth commission of it, as appears from § 28.

178 He shall receive two hundred stripes, or shall pay 1200 dirhems (see Introd.)

179 Literally, 'without having undone the preceding.'

180 Even though the Agerepta has been committed for the first time.

181 Literally, 'and does not undo it.' If he does not offer himself to hear the penalty, and does not perform the Patet (see Introd.)

23. 'On the third, thirty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, thirty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the fourth, fifty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, fifty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the fifth, seventy stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, seventy stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the sixth, ninety stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, ninety stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

24. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirishta for the seventh time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

25. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirishta, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

26. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredush, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, fifteen stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

27. 'On the second Aredush, thirty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, thirty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the third, fifty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, fifty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the fourth, seventy stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, seventy stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'On the fifth, ninety stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, ninety stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

28. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredush for the sixth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

29. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredush, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

30. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another and hurt him sorely, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

31. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, thirty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'The second time, fifty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, fifty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'The third time, seventy stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, seventy stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'The fourth time, ninety stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, ninety stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

32. If a man commit that deed for the fifth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

33. If a man commit that deed and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

34. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood come, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, fifty stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'The second time, seventy stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, seventy stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'The third time, ninety stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, ninety stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

35. If a man commit that deed for the fourth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

36. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood come, and if he refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

37. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he break a bone, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, seventy stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

'The second time, ninety stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, ninety stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

38. If he commit that deed for the third time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

39. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he break a bone, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

40. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he give up the ghost, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, seventy stripes with the Sraosho-charana;

41. If he commit that deed again, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

42. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he give up the ghost, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

43. And they shall thenceforth in their doings walk after the way of holiness, after the word [manthra] of holiness, after the ordinance of holiness.

IIIa.[182]

44. If men of the same faith, either friends or brothers, come to an agreement together, that one may obtain from the other, either goods,[183] or a wife,[184] or knowledge,[185] let him who desires goods have them delivered to him; let him who desires a wife receive and wed her; let him who desires knowledge be taught the holy word [manthra spenta],

45. during the first part of the day and the last, during the first part of the night and the last, that his mind may be increased in

182 We return here to contracts; the logical place of §§ 44-45 would be after § 16.

183 The analysis of the Vd. in the Dk. has here: 'a proof that one professes the Religion well is to grant bountifully to the brethren in the faith any benefit they may ask for.'

intelligence and wax strong in holiness. So shall he sit up, in devotion and prayers, that he may be increased in intelligence: he shall rest during the middle part of the day, during the middle part of the night,[186] and thus shall he continue until he can say all the words which former Aethrapaitis[187] have said.

IVa.

46. Before[188] the boiling water publicly prepared, O Spitama Zarathushtra! let no one make bold to deny having received [from his neighbour] the ox or the garment in his possession.

IIIb.

47.[189] Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the man who has a wife is far above him who lives in continence;[190] he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has children is far above the childless man;[191] he who has riches is far above him who has none.

48. And of two men, he who fills himself with meat receives in him Vohu Mano[192] much better than he who does not do so;[193] the latter is

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184 Woman is an object of contract, like cattle or fields: she is disposed of by contracts of the fifth sort, being more valuable than cattle and less so than fields. She is sold by her father or her guardian, often from the cradle. 'Instances are not wanting of the betrothal of a boy of three years of age to a girl of two' (see Dosabhoy Framjee's work on *The Parsees*, p. 77; cf. 'A Bill to Define and Amend the Law relating to Succession, Inheritance, Marriage, etc.,' Bombay, 1864).

185 On the holiness of the contract between pupil and teacher, see Yt10.116. Cf. above, p.35, n. 4.

186 He sleeps 'the third part of the day and the third part of the night' (Yasna 62.5).

187 A teaching priest (Parsi Herbad).

188 This clause is intended against false oaths taken in the so-called Var-ordeal (see § 54 n.) It ought to be placed before § 49 bis, where the penalty for a false oath is given.

189 §§ 47-49 are a sort of commentary to the beginning of § 44.

190 What king Yazdgard found most offensive in Christianity was 'that the Christians praise death and despise life, set no value upon fecundity and extol sterility, so that if their disciples would listen to them, they would no longer have any intercourse with women and the world would end' (Elisaeus).

191 'In Persia there are prizes given by the king to those who have most children' (Herod. I, 136). , He who has no child, the bridge (of Paradise) shall be barred to him. The first question the angels there will ask him is, whether he has left in this world a substitute for himself; if the answer be, No, they will pass by and he will stay at the head of the bridge, full of grief and sorrow' (Saddar 18; Hyde 19). The primitive meaning of this belief is explained by Brahmanical doctrine; the man without a son falls into hell, because there is nobody to pay him the family worship.

192 Vohu Mano is at the same time the god of good thoughts and the god of cattle.

all but dead; the former is above him by the worth of an Asperena,[194] by the worth of a sheep, by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man.[195]

49. This man can strive against the onsets of Asto-vidhotu;[196] he can strive against the well-darted arrow; he can strive against the winter fiend, with thinnest garment on; he can strive against the wicked tyrant and smite him on the head; he can strive against the ungodly fasting Ashemaogha.[197]

IVb.

49 (bis). On the very first time when that deed[198] has been done, without waiting until it is done again,

50. down there[199] the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should cut off the limbs from his perishable body with iron[200] knives, or still worse;

51. down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should nail[201] his perishable body with iron nails, or still worse;

52. down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should by force throw his perishable body headlong down a precipice a hundred times the height of a man, or still worse;

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193 'There are people who strive to pass a day without eating, and who abstain from any meat; we strive too and abstain, namely, from any sin in deed, thought, or word: ... in other religions, they fast from bread; in ours, we fast from sin' (Saddar 83). — ' The Zoroastrians have no fasting at all. He who fasts commits a sin, and must, by way of expiation, give food to a number of poor people' (Albiruni, *Chronology*, p. 217).

194 A dirhem.

195 Or: 'is worth an Asperena, worth a sheep, worth an ox, worth a man,' which means, according to the Commentary: 'deserves the gift of an Asperena, of a sheep's value, an ox's value, a man's value.'

196 Asto-vidhotu, the demon of death (Vd5.8). The man who eats well has greater vitality.

197 The Commentary has: 'like Mazdak, son of Bāmdāt [Bamdat],' the communistic heresiarch who flourished under Kobad (488-531) and was put to death under Noshirvan.

198 The taking of a false oath. Cf. § 46.

199 In hell.

200 So Wolff, Bartholomae, and Kanga (Av. ayaŋhaēnāiš). Dar: brass.

201 Doubtful.

53. down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should by force impale[202] his perishable body, or still worse.

54. Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: to wit, the deed of a man, who knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden,[203] truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu[204] and a lie unto Mithra.[205]

55. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu and a lie unto Mithra, what is the penalty that he shall pay?[206] Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

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202 Doubtful.

203 The water before which the oath is taken contains some incense, brimstone, and one danak of molten gold (*Gr. Riv.* 101).

204 The god of truth (Yt12). The formula is as follows: 'Before the Amshaspand Vohuman, before the Amshaspand Ardwahisht, here lighted up . . . etc., I swear that I have nothing of what is thine, N. son of N., neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor clothes, nor any of the things created by Ohrmazd' (l.l.96). Cf. above, § 46.

205 He is a Mithra-druj, 'one who lies to Mithra.'

206 In this world.

FARGARD 5. Purity Laws.

Synopsis.

This chapter and the following ones, to the end of the twelfth, deal chiefly with uncleanness arising from the dead, and with the means of removing it from men and things.

The subjects treated in this Fargard are as follows:--

I (1-7). If a man defile the fire or the earth with dead matter (Nasu), involuntarily or unconsciously, it is no sin.

II (8-9). Water and fire do not kill.

III (10-14). Disposal of the dead during winter when it is not possible to take them to the Dakhma.

IV (15-20). Why Ahura, while forbidding man to defile water, sends water ftom the heavens down to the Dakhmas, covered with corpses. How he purifies that water.

V (21-26). On the excellence of purity and of the law that shows how to recover purity, when lost.

VI (27-38). On the defiling power of the Nasu being greater or less, according to the greater or less dignity of the being that dies.

VII (39-44). On the management of sacrificial implements [alat] defiled with Nasu.

VIII (45-62). On the treatment of a woman who has been delivered of a still-born child; and what is to be done with her clothes.

Translation

I.

1. There dies a man in the depths of the vale: a bird takes flight from the top of the mountain down into the depths of the vale, and it feeds on the corpse of the dead man there: then, up it flies from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain: it flies to some one of the trees there, of the hard-wooded or the soft-wooded, and upon that tree it vomits and deposits dung.

2. Now, lo! here is a man coming up from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain; he comes to the tree whereon the bird is sitting; from that tree he intends to take wood for the fire. He fells the tree, he hews the tree, he splits it into logs, and then he lights it in the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda. What is the penalty he shall pay?[207]

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207 For defiling the fire by bringing dead matter into it (see Vd7.25 seq. contrarily to the rule, 'Put ye only proper and well-examined fuel (in the fire).' For the purification of unclean wood, see Vd7.28 seq.

3. Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any Nasu that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

4. 'For were there sin upon a man for any Nasu that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshotanu,[208] bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail![209] so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

5. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Here is a man watering a corn-field. The water streams down the field; it streams again; it streams a third time; and the fourth time, a dog, a fox, or a wolf carries some Nasu into the bed of the stream: what is the penalty that the man shall pay?[210]

6-7. [Repeat st. 3-4.]

IIa.

8. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does water kill?[211] Ahura Mazda answered: 'Water kills no man: Asto-vidhotu binds him, and, thus bound,[212] Vayu[213] carries him off; and the flood takes him up,[214] the flood takes him down,[215] the flood throws him

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208 'People guilty of death [i.e. a mortal sin -JHP]' (Comm.) Cf. Yasna 53.9 b.

209 After their death, 'When the soul, crying and beaten off, is driven far away from Paradise' (Comm.) This is imitated from the Gathas (Yasna 46.11c; 51.13b; cf. Vd13.8-9).

210 For defiling the earth and the water: 'If a man wants to irrigate a field, he must first look after the water-channel, whether there is dead matter in it or not ..... If the water, unknown to him, comes upon a corpse, there is no sin upon him. If he has not looked after the rivulet and the stream, he is unclean' (Saddar 75).

211 Water and fire belong to the holy part of the world, and come from God; how then is it that they kill? 'Let a Gueber light a sacred fire for a hundred years, if he once fall into it, he shall be burnt.' Even the Mobeds, if we may trust Elisaeus, complained that the fire would burn them without regard for their piety, when to adore it they came too near (Vartan's War, p. 211 of the French translation by l'Abbé Garabed). The answer was that it is not the fire nor the water that kills, but the demon of Death and Fate. 'Nothing whatever that I created in the world, said Ohrmazd, does harm to man; it is the bad Nāi (read Vāi) that kills the man' (Gr. Riv. 124).

212 'Asti-vahat is the bad Vai who seizes the life (of man): when his hand strokes him, it is lethargy; when he casts his shadow upon him, it is fever; when he looks in his eyes, he destroys life and it is called Death' (Bd28.35). Cf. Vd4.49; Vd19.29.

213 'The bad Vai' (Comm.) Vai (Vayu) is the Genius of Destiny, good or evil.

214 To the surface.

215 To the bottom.

ashore; then birds feed upon him. When he goes away,[216] it is by the will of Fate he goes.'

IIb.

9. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does fire kill? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fire kills no man: Asto-vidhotu binds him, and, thus bound, Vayu carries him off; and the fire burns up life and limb. When he goes away, it is by the will of Fate he goes.'

III.

10. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the summer is past and the winter has come, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?[217] Ahura Mazda answered: 'In every house, in every borough, they shall raise three rooms for the dead.'[218]

11. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large shall be those rooms for the dead? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Large enough not to strike the skull of the man, if he[219] should stand erect, or his feet or his hands stretched out: such shall be, according to the law, the rooms for the dead.

12. 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or for three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly,[220] the plants to grow, the hidden floods[221] to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth.[222]

13. 'And as soon as the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall lay down the dead (on the Dakhma), his eyes towards the sun.

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216 When he departs.

217 'In case a man dies during the snowy seasdon, while it is difficult or impossible to take the corpse to the Dakhma, which usually stands far from inhabited places. The same case is treated again in Vd8.4 seq.

218 One for men, another for women, a third for children. As not every house is considerable or rich enough to have these three accommodations, there will be a common Zad-marj for the village. The Zad-marj is a small mud house where the corpse is laid, to lie there till it can be taken to the Dakhma (Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, 583). The Zad-marj is still used in Persia, and in the Gujarati provinces (where it is called Nasa-khana, 'house for corpses'). In Bombay they use the simpler and more economical method given in Vd8.8.

219 'Being in life' (Comm.)

220 To come back.

221 They were hidden under the earth.

222 'Until the winter is past' (Comm.)

14. 'If the worshippers of Mazda have not, within a year, laid down the dead (on the Dakhma), his eyes towards the sun, thou shalt prescribe for that trespass the same penalty as for the murder of one of the faithful;[223] until the corpse has heen rained on, until the Dakhma has heen rained on, until the unclean remains have been rained on, until the birds have eaten up the corpse.'

IV.

15. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Is it true at thou, Ahura Mazda, seizest the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha[224] with the wind and the clouds?

16. That thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the corpses?[225] that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the Dakhmas? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the unclean remains? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the bones? and that then thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back unseen? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back to the sea Puitika?[226]

17. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is even so as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathushtra! I, Ahura Mazda, seize the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha with the wind and the clouds.

18. 'I, Ahura Mazda, take them to the corpses; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the Dakhmas; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the unclean remains; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the bones; then I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back unseen; I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back to the sea Puitika.

19. 'The waters stand there boiling, boiling up in the heart of the sea Puitika, and, when cleansed there, they run back again from the sea Puitika to the sea Vouru-kasha, towards the well-watered tree,[227]

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223 See Vd3.41; note; cf. below, §§ 21-26.

224 Vouru-kasha or Frakh-kart, the Ocean, wherefrom all waters come and whereto they return (Vd21.4).

225 Zartosht wonders that Ohrmazd fears so little to infringe his own laws by defiling waters with the dead. In a *Rivayat*, he asks him bluntly why he forbids men to take corpses to the water, while he himself sends rain to the Dakhmas (*Gr. Riv.* 125).

226 The sea where waters are purified before going back to their gathering place, the sea Vouru-kasha (see § 19). 'All the thickness, salt, and impurity of the sea Putik wishes to go to the Frakh-kart sea; but a mighty high wind, blowing from the Var Satves, drives it away: whatever is clean and movable passes to the Frakh-kart sea, and the rest (the unclean element) flows back to the Putik' (Bd13.10).

227 The tree of all seeds (Harvisptokhm), which grows in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha; the seeds of all plants are on it. There is a godlike bird, the Sinamru [simurgh], sitting on that tree; whenever he flies off the tree, there grow out of it a thousand boughs; whenever he alights on it, there break a thousand boughs, the seeds of which are scattered about, and rained down on the earth by Tishtar

whereon grow the seeds of my plants of every kind by hundreds, by thousands, by hundreds of thousands.

20. 'Those plants, I, Ahura Mazda, rain down upon the earth, to bring food to the faithful, and fodder to the beneficent cow; to bring food to my people that they may live on it, and fodder to the beneficent cow.'

V.

21. 'This[228] is the best, this is the fairest of all things, even as thou hast said, O pure [Zarathushtra]!'

With these words the holy, Ahura Mazda rejoiced the holy Zarathushtra:[229] 'Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good,[230] that purity, O Zarathushtra, that is in the Religion of Mazda for him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds.'[231]

22. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! This Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathushtra,[232] by what greatness, goodness, and fairness is it great, good, and fair above all other utterances?

23. Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much above all other floods as is the sea Vouru-kasha, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathushtra.

24. 'As much as a great stream flows swifter than a slender rivulet, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathushtra.

'As high as the great tree[233] stands above the small plants it overshadows, so high above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathushtra.

25. 'As high as heaven is above the earth that it compasses around, so high above all other utterances is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Mazda.

(Tishtrya), the rain-god (Yt12.17; MX62.37 seq.; Bd27; cf. Vd20.4 seq.)

228 The cleansing, the purification.

229 'When Zartosht saw that man is able to escape sin by performing good works, he was filled with joy' (Comm.)

230 Quotation from the Gathas (Yasna 48.5c).

231 That is to say, 'Who performs the rites of cleansing according to the prescriptions of the law.'

232 The Law (Datem), that part of the religious system of which the Vd. is the specimen, and the object of which is the purification of man.

233 'The royal cypress above small herbs' (Comm.)

'[Therefore], he will apply to the Ratu,[234] he will apply to the Sraosha-varez;[235] whether for a draona-service[236] that should have been undertaken[237] and has not been undertaken;[238] or for a draona that should have been offered up and has not been offered up; or for a draona that should have been entrusted and has not been entrusted.[239]

26. 'The Ratu has power to remit him one-third of his penalty:[240] if he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever.'[241]

VI.

27. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on the same carpet, on the same pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Druj Nasu[242] envelope with corruption, infection, and pollution?

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234 'To take the rule' (Comm.), which probably means, 'to know what sort of penance he must undergo;' as, when a man has sinned with the tongue or with the hand, the Dastur (or Ratu) must prescribe for him the expiation that the sin requires. The Ratu is the chief priest, the spiritual head of the community.

235 'To weep for his crime' (Comm.), which may mean, 'to recite to him the Patet, or, to receive at his hand the proper number of stripes.' The Sraosha-varez is the priest that superintends the sacrifice. He receives the confession of the guilty man and very likely wields the Sraosho-charana.

236 The Srosh-dron, a service in honour of any of the angels, or of deceased persons, in which small cakes, called draona, are consecrated in their names, and then given to those present to eat.

237 When it ought not to be.

238 When it ought to be.

239 The meaning of the sentence is not certain. The Commentary has: 'Whether he has thought what he ought not to have thought, or has not thought what he ought to have thought; whether he has said what he ought not to have said, or has not said what he ought to have said; whether he has done what he ought not to have done, or has not done what he ought to have done.'

240 When the Ratu remits one-third of the sin, God remits the whole of it (Saddar 29).

241 Cf. Vd3.41.

242 Nasu [Nasa] (νεκυς) designates both the corpse and the corpse-demon (the Druj that produces the corruption and infection of the dead body).

28. Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Druj Nasu rushes forth,[243] O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the eleventh and defiles the ten.[244]

'If the dead one be a warrior, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the tenth and defiles the nine.

'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the ninth and defiles the eight.

29. 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the eighth and defiles the seven.

'If it be a house-dog, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the seventh and defiles the six.

30. 'If it be a Vohunazga dog,[245] the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the sixth and defiles the five.

'If it be a Tauruna dog,[246] the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the fifth and defiles the four.

31. 'If it be a porcupine dog, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the fourth and defiles the three.

'If it be a Jazu dog,[247] the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the third and defiles the two.

32. 'If it be an Aiwizu dog, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the second and defiles the next.

'If it be a Vizu dog, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the next, she defiles the next.'

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243 In opposition to the case when the dead one is an Ashmogh (§ 35), as no Nasa issues then.

244 Literally, 'If she goes as far as the eleventh, she defiles the tenth.' That is to say, she stops at the eleventh and defiles the next ten. In the *Rivayats*, the Avesta distinctions are lost, and the defiling power of the Nasa is the same, whatever may have been the rank of the dead: 'If there be a number of people sleeping in the same place, and if one of them happens to die, all those around him, in any direction, as far as the eleventh, become unclean if they have been in contact with one another' (*Gr. Riv.* 470).

245 A dog without a master (Vd13.19).

246 A hunting-dog.

247 This name and the two following, Aiwizu and Vizu, are left untranslated in the Pahlavi translation.

33. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If it be a weasel,[248] how many of the creatures of the good spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP] does it directly defile, how many does it indirectly defile?

34. Ahura Mazda answered : 'A weasel does neither directly nor indirectly defile any of the creatures of the good spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP], but him who smites and kills it; to him the uncleanness clings for ever and ever.'[249]

35.[250] O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the dead one be such a wicked, two-footed ruffian, as an ungodly Ashemaogha,[251] how many of the creatures of the good spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP] does he directly defile, how many does he indirectly defile?

36. Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year.[252] Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! such a wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP], and indirectly defiles them.

37. 'Whilst alive he smites the water;[253] whilst alive he blows out the fire;[254] whilst alive he carries off the cow;[255] whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body;[256] not so will he do when dead.

38. 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! such a wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha robs the faithful man of the full possession of his food, of his clothing, of his wood, of his bed, of his vessels;[257] not so will he do when dead.'[258]

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248 A weasel. The weasel is one of the creatures of Ahura, for 'it has been created to fight against the serpent garza and the other khrafstras that live in holes' (Bd19.27).

249 Not that the unclean one cannot be cleansed, but that his uncleanness does not pass from him to another.

250 §§ 35-38; cf. Vd12.21-24.

251 Ashemaogha, a heretic.

252 The frog is a creature of Ahriman's, and one of the most hateful. Cf. Vd14.5.

253 By defiling it (a capital crime; see Vd7.25).

254 He extinguishes the Warharan fire (a capital crime; cf. Vd7.25.)

255 As a cattle-lifter.

256 As an assassin.

257 By defiling them, he deprives the faithful of their use.

258 'When a wicked man dies, the Druj who was with him during his lifetime, seizes him and drags him down to Ahriman; therefore, his body, as the Druj is no longer

VII.

39. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When into our houses here below we have brought the fire, the Baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar,[259] O holy Ahura Mazda! if it come to pass that either a dog or a man dies there, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

40. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Out of the house, O Spitama Zarathushtra! shall they take the fire, the Baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar; they shall take the dead one out to the proper place[260] whereto, according to the law, corpses must be brought, to be devoured there.'

41. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When shall they bring back the fire into the house wherein the man has died?

42. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wait for nine nights in winter, for a month in summer,[261] and then they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died.'

43. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! And if they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man iias died, within the nine nights, or within the month, what penalty shall they pay?

44. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshotanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

VIII.

45.[262] O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone,[263] she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

46. Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed

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with it, becomes pure. On the contrary, when it is a righteous man that dies, the Amahraspands take his soul to Ohrmazd and the Druj settles in the house of the body and makes it impure' (Gujastak Abalish).

259 In order to perform a sacrifice.

260 The Dakhma.

261 Corruption being worse in summer.

262 §§ 45-54 = Vd7.60-69.

263 The pregnancy, without lasting more than nine calendar months (9 times 30 days), generally extends along ten months on the calendar (for instance from January 10 to October 10).

through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful;'

47. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How tar fiom the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

48. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful;[264]-

49. 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure,[265] and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

50. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

51. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Gomez[266] mixed with ashes, three draughts of it, or six, or nine, to send down the Dakhma within her womb.[267]

52. 'Afterwards she may drink boiling[268] milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap;[269] she may take cooked milk without water, meal without water, and wine without water.'[270]

53. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine?

54. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gomez and water, by the nine holes,[271] and thus shall she be clean.'

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264 The carrier alone is kept thirty feet from the faithful (Vd3.18), as he is cut off from the community: his food is not brought to him, he has a store prepared for him. The woman, when armesht, is only temporarily isolated; she stays in the house and her food is brought to her all but from hand to hand (Vd16.6).

265 The place for the man or woman in state of uncleanness, or Armesht-gah.

266 Urine of the ox: the so-called Nirang-din; cf. Vd8.37; Vd19.21. 'Three cups, or six, or nine, according to her strength' (Asp.)

267 Her womb is a Dakhma, as it contained a dead body. — These nine draughts of gomez mixed with ashes are like an interior barashnom, as the Barashnom consists of nine successive purifications with gomez and dust.

268 Doubtful.

269 Doubtful.

270 'The water would be defiled;' cf. Vd7.70 seq.

271 She shall perform the nine nights' Barashnom, for the details of which see Vd9. That Barashnom is taken forty days after the delivery.

55. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing?

56. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine nights long shall she remain so: nine nights long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing. Then, when the nine nights have gone, she shall wash her body, and cleanse her clothes with gomez and water.'[272]

57.[273] O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Havanan, or by an Atare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Abered, or by an Asnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraosha-varez,[274] or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman?[275]

58. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Havanan, or by an Atare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Abered, or by an Asnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraosha-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

59. 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work,[276] and who must sit in the place of infirmity,[277] those clothes shall serve for their coverings

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272 'If a woman brings forth a still-born child, after a pregnancy of one month to ten months, the first food she shall take is nirang (= gomez) ... fire and ashes; and she is not allowed until the fourth day to take water or salt, or any food that is cooked with water or salt: on the fourth day they give her nirang, that she may cleanse herself and wash her clothes with it, and she is not allowed to wash herself and her clothes with water until the forty-first day' (*Gr. Riv.* 568).

273 §§57-62 = Vd7.17-22.

274 These are the names of the different priests who were engaged in the sacrifices. The Havanan strains the Haoma; the Atarevakhsha kindles the fire; the Frabaretar brings to the Zaotar all that he needs; the Aberet brings the water; the Asnatar washes and strains the Haoma; the Rathwishkar mixes the Haoma and the milk; the Zaotar chants the hymns and says the prayers; the Sraosh-varez superintends the sacrifice. Nowadays there are only two priests, the Zaotar (Zot) and the Rathwishkar (Raspi), the latter performing all the accessory services formerly performed by several priests. Cf. *Nirangistan*, 71 sq.

275 In short, by any of the faithful, when in state of purity.

276 An Armesht; literally, 'an infirm person,' that is to say, one who is unclean, during the time of his uncleanness (Vd9.33 seq.), when all work is forbidden to him.

277 The Armesht-gah, the place of seclusion of the Armesht.

and for their sheets,[278] until they can withdraw their hands for prayer.[279]

60. 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's[280] weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

61. 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body,[281] even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in Paradise.

62. 'He makes himself a viaticum unto the world of the wicked, into that world,[282] made of darkness, the offspring of darkness,[283] which is Darkness' self. To that world, to the world of Hell, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own religion, O sinners!'[284]

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278 The clothing defiled by the dead can only serve for Dashtan women, even after it has been washed and exposed for six months to the light of the sun and of the moon (Saddar 91; cf. Vd7.10 seq.).

279 Until they are clean. The unclean must have their hands wrapped in an old piece of linen, lest they should touch and defile anything clean.

280 See Vd4.48, note 4.

281 Cf. Vd8.23 seq. It appears from those passages that the dead must lie on the mountain naked, or 'clothed only with the light of heaven' (Vd6.51). The modern custom is to clothe them with old clothing (Dadabhai Naoroji, *Manners and Customs of the Parsis*, p. 15). 'When a man dies and receives the order (to depart), the older the shroud they make for him, the better. It must be old, worn out, but well washed: they must not lay anything new on the dead. For it is said in the Zand *Vendidad*, If they put on the dead even so much as a thread from the distaff more than is necessary, every thread shall become in the other world a black snake clinging to the heart of him who made that shroud, and even the dead shall rise against him and seize him by the skirt, and say, That shroud which thou madest for me has become food for worms and vermin' (Saddar 12). After the fourth day, when the soul is in heaven, then rich garments are offered up to it, which it will wear in its celestial life (Saddar 87).

282 'Where darkness can be seized with the hand' (Comm.; cf. *Aogemadaeca* 28); something more than the 'visible darkness.'

283 The Commentary has, 'the place of those who impregnate darkness, for the Druj who conceives seed from the sinner comes from that place' (cf. Vd18.30 seq.).

284 Quotation from the Gathas (Yasna 31.20).

FARGARD 6. Purity laws

Synopsis.

I (1-9). How long the earth remains unclean, when defiled by the dead.

II (10-25). Penalties for defiling the ground with dead matter.

III (26-41). Purification of the different sorts of water, when defiled by the dead.

IV (42-43). Purification of the Haoma.

V (44-51). The place for corpses; the Dakhmas.

Translation

I.

1. How long shall the piece of ground he fallow whereon dogs or men have died? Ahura Mazda answered: 'A year long shall the piece of ground he fallow whereon dogs or men have died, O holy Zarathustra!

2. 'A year long shall no worshipper of Mazda sow or water that piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died; he may sow as he likes the rest of the ground; he may water it as he likes.[285]

3. 'If within the year they shall sow or water the piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died, they are guilty of the sin of "burying the dead" towards the water, towards the earth, and towards the plants.'[286]

4. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda shall sow or water, within the year, the piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

5. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshotanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'[287]

6. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to till that piece of ground again,[288] to water it, to sow it, and to plough it, what shall they do?

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285 Cf. Vd7.45 seq.

286 'To the water which they pour out, to the earth which they plough. to the plants which they sow' (Comm.)

287 'If they plough and sow it, one tanapuhr (see Introd. V, 19); if they pour water on it, one tanapuhr; if they plough, sow, and water it, two tanapuhrs' (Comm.)

288 Even when a year's space is past, the ground is not free ipso facto.

7. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall look on the ground for any bones, hair, dung, urine, or blood that may be there.'

8. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they shall not look on the ground for any bones, hair, dung, urine, or blood that may be there, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

9. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshotanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

II.

10. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the little finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

11. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahe-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

12. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the fore-finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

13. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahe-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

14. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the middle finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

15. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahe-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

16. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a finger or as a rib, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

17. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahe-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

18. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as two fingers or as two ribs, and if grease or marrow flow from it on the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

19. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

20. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as an arm-bone or as a thigh-bone, and if grease or marrow flow from it on the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

21. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, four hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

22. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a man's skull, and if grease or marrow flow from it on the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

23. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, six hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

24. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground the whole body of a dead dog, or of a dead man, and if grease or marrow flow from it on the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

25. Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, a thousand stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

III.

26. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse in a stream of running water, what shall he do?

27. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Taking off his shoes, putting off his clothes, while the others wait,[289] O Zarathushtra! he shall enter the river, and take the dead out of the water; he shall go down into the water ankle-deep, knee-deep, waist-deep, or a man's full depth, till he can reach the dead body.'[290]

28. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If, however, the body be already falling to pieces and rotting, what shall the worshipper of Mazda do?

29. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall draw out of the water as much of the corpse as he can grasp with both hands, and he shall lay it

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289 Ready to help him in case of need.

290 'If he is able to draw out the corpse and does so, it is a pious deed worth a tanapuhr (that is, one by which a tanapuhr sin can be cancelled); if he is able to draw it out and does not do so, it is a tanapuhr sin. Gugoshasp says, It is a margarzan sin (a capital crime)' (Comm.)

down on the dry ground; no sin attaches to him for any bone, hair, grease, dung, urine, or blood that may drop back into the water.'

30. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a pond does the Druj Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

31. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the pond, and lay it down on the dry ground.

32. 'And of the water they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able or not; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

33. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a well does the Druj Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

34. Ahura Mazda answered: 'As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the well, and lay it down on the dry ground.

35. 'And of the water in the well they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able or not; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

36. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of a sheet of snow or hail does the Druj Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

37. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps[291] on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the pond, and lay it down on the dry ground.

38. 'After the corpse has been taken out, and the snow or the hail has melted, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

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291 Nine feet on the four sides.

39. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water of a running stream does the Druj Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

40. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps down the stream, nine steps up the stream, six steps across. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the pond, and lay it down on the dry ground.

41. 'After the corpse has been taken out and the stream has flowed three times,[292] the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

IV.

42. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the Haoma that has been touched with Nasu from a dead dog, or from a dead man, be made clean again?

43. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathushtra! If it has been prepared for the sacrifice,[293] there is to it no corruption, no death, no touch of any Nasu.[294] If it has not been prepared for the sacrifice, [the stem] is defiled the length of four fingers:[295] it[296] shall be laid down on[13] the ground, in the middle of the house, for a year long. When the year is passed, the faithful may drink of its juice at their pleasure, as before.'

V.

44. O Maker of the material world, thou holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bodies of the dead,[297] O Ahura Mazda?

45. Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the highest summits,[298] where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, O holy Zarathushtra!

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292 Three times the measure up the stream (that is nine feet).

293 Pounded and strained.

294 Because the Haoma is the plant of life; when strained for the sacrifice, it is the king of healing plants (Bd24); the dead shall become immortal by tasting of the white Haoma (ibid. Bd31).

295 Four fingers from the point touched by the Nasu. That part of the stem shall be cut off (Framji): the rest can be made clean.

296 What is left of the stem.

297 In places where there are no Dakhmas; for instance, in the country.

298 'On the top of a mountain' (Comm.) Cf. Vd8.10.

46. 'There shall the worshippers of Mazda fasten the corpse, by the feet and by the hair, with iron,[299] stones, or clay, lest the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds shall go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees.

47. 'If they shall not fasten the corpse, so that the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds may go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees, what is the penalty that they shall pay?'

48. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshotanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-ashtra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

49. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bones[300] of the dead, O Ahura Mazda?

50. Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall make a receptacle[301] out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, and of the wolf, and wherein rain-water cannot stay.

51. 'They shall make it, if they can afford it, with stones, plaster, or earth;[302] if they cannot afford it, they shall lay down the dead man on the ground, on his carpet and his pillow, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun.'[303]

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299 Dar: brass. -JHP

300 When the flesh has been stripped off the bones, thay may be. collected in a stone ossuary. See following note.

301 "When the corpse-eating birds have eaten the fat, that fat which, when it is not possible to eat it, becomes rotten, offensive, and fraught with noxious creatures, then men shall properly convey the bones away to the bonne-receptacle (astōdān), which one is to elevate so from the ground, and over which a roof so stands, that in no way does the rain fall upon the dead matter, nor the water reach up to it therein, nor are the dog and fox able to go to it, and for the sake of light coming to it a hole is made therein" (*Dadistan* 18.3; tr. West).

302 Such stone ossuaries have been found at Bushir, by Mr. Malcolm; earth ossuaries, found at Susa, were brought to the Louvre by M. Dieulafoy.

303 The dead must see the sun: that is why the astodan has holes for letting the light in (see note 16 above).

FARGARD 7. Purity Laws, Avestan medicine.

Synopsis.

I (1-5). How long after death the Druj Nasu takes possession of the corpse.

II (6-9 = V, 27-30). How far the defiling power of the Druj Nasu extends.

III (10-22). Cleansing of clothes defiled by the dead.

IV (23-24). Eating of Nasu an abomination.

V (25-27), Bringing Nasu to fire or water an abomination.

VI (28-35). Cleansing of wood and corn defiled by the dead.

VII a (36-40). Physicians; their probation.

VII b (41-44). Their fees.

VIII (45-59), Purification of the earth, of the Dakhmas. The Dakhmas and the Daevas,

IX (60-72; 66-69 = V, 45-54). Treatment of a woman who has brought forth a still-born child.

X (73-75). Cleansing of vessels defiled by the dead.

XI (76). Cleansing of the cow.

XII (78). Unclean libations.

This chapter would offer tolerable unity, but for a digression on medicine, which would be better placed as an introduction to the last three chapters. Sections II and IX, parts of which have already been found in Fargard V, are more suitably placed here. This chapter, as a whole, deals with the action of the Druj Nasu, from the moment she takes hold of the corpse, and shows how and when the several objects she has defiled become clean, namely, clothes, wood, corn, earth, women, vessels, and cows.

Translation.

I.

1. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a man dies, at what moment does the Druj Nasu rush upon him?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Directly after death, as soon as the soul has left the body, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the Druj Nasu comes and rushes upon him, from the regions of the north,[304] in the shape of a

304 Hell lies in the north; see Vd2.10 n.; Vd3.7 n.; Vd19.1; HN, section 3.25; Bd15.19.

raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.[305]

[3. 'On him she stays until the dog has seen the corpse[306] or eaten it up, or until the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it.[307] When the dog has seen it or eaten it up, or when the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it, then the Druj Nasu rushes away to the regions of the north in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.']

4. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the man has been killed by a dog, or by a wolf, or by witchcraft, or by the artifices of hatred,[308] or by falling down a precipice, or by the law,[309] or by calumny,[310] or by the noose,[311] how long after death does the Druj Nasu come and rush upon the dead?

5. Ahura Mazda answered: 'At the next watch after death,[312] the Druj Nasu comes and rushes upon the dead, from the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.'

II.[313]

6. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on the same carpet, on the same pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Druj Nasu envelope with corruption, infection, and pollution?

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305 Khrafstra is a general denomination for noxious animals.

306 Until the Sag-did has been performed (see Vd8.16 seq.)

307 The Sag-did may be performed by birds of prey as well as by dogs. The dog smites the Nasu when it brings its muzzle near to the dead, the bird (mountain hawk, sparrow (?), or eagle) when its shadow passes over the body (Comm. ad § 2; cf. § 29). § 3 is from the *Vendidad Sada*.

308 'By poison' (Comm.)

309 Literally, 'by men;' that is to say, put to death by the community according to law (Comm.)

310 If he has been condemned unjustly.

311 If he has strangled himself.

312 The day is divided into five watches or ratu. If the man dies a natural death, the Druj comes directly; if the death be violent and unlooked for, the Druj comes later (as the corruption does not set in so quickly).

313 §§ 6-9 = Vd5.27-30.

7. Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the eleventh and defiles the ten.

'If the dead one he a warrior, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the tenth and defiles the nine.

'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the ninth and defiles the eight.

8. 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the eighth and defiles the seven.

'If it be a house dog, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the seventh and defiles the six.

9. 'If it he a Vohunazga dog, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the sixth and defiles the five.

'If it be a Tauruna dog, the Druj Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! she goes as far as the fifth and defiles the four.'[314]

. . . 'Those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets[315].'. . .

III.

10. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of his bedding[316] and pillow does the Druj Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

11. Ahura Mazda answered: 'The Druj Nasu defiles with corruption, infection, and pollution the upper sheet and the inner garment.'[317]

12. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can that garment be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! that has been touched by the carcass of a dog or the corpse of a man?

13. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathushtra!'

How so?

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314 This enumeration is less complete than that in the fifth Fargard, as it comprises only the first four sorts of dogs; the rest is to be supplied as in Farg. V, 31-38.

315 This phrase, which forms part of § 19, is wrongly inserted here.

316 The bedding on which he has died.

317 The upper sheet of the bed and the inner garment of the body, that is to say, only those clothes which have been in direct contact with the dead.

'If there be on the garment seed, or blood, or dirt, or vomit, the worshippers of Mazda shall rend it to pieces, and bury it under the ground.[318]

14. 'But if there be no seed [on the garment], nor blood, nor dirt, nor vomit, then the worshippers of Mazda shall wash it with gomez.

15. 'If it be leather, they shall wash it with gomez three times, they shall rub it with earth three times, they shall wash it with water three times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for three months at the window of the house.

'If it be woven cloth, they shall wash it with gomez six times,[319] they shall rub it with earth six times, they shall wash it with water six times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for six months at the window of the house.

16. 'The spring named Ardvi Sura, O Spitama Zarathushtra! that spring of mine, purifies the seed of males, the womb of females, the milk of females.'[320]

17.[321] O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Havanan, or by an Atare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Abered, or by an Asnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraosha-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman?

18. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Havanan, or by an Atare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Abered, or by an Asnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraosha-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

19. 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work, and who must sit in the place of infirmity, those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets, until they can withdraw their hands for prayer.

20. 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

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318 According to the Commentary only that part which has been defiled is rent off; the rest may still be used.

319 See Vd19.21.

320 This clause is a quotation from Yasna 65.5, intended to illustrate the cleansing power of water. Ardvi Sura is the goddess of the waters. See Vd21.6 notes.

321 §§ 17-22 = Vd5.57-62.

21. 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in Paradise.

22. 'He makes himself a viaticum unto the world of the wicked, into that world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness, which is Darkness' self. To that world, to the world of Hell, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own religion, O sinners!'

IV.

23. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again who has eaten of the carcass of a dog or of the corpse of a man?[322]

24. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathushtra! His burrow[323] shall be dug out, his heart shall be torn out, his bright eyes shall be put out; the Druj Nasu falls upon him, takes hold of him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean thenceforth, for ever and ever.'[324]

V.

25. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has brought a corpse with filth into the waters, or unto the fire, and made either unclean?

26. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathushtra! Those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that most increase spiders and locusts;[325] those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that most increase the grass-destroying drought.[326]

27. 'Those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that increase most the power of the winter,[327] produced by the fiends, the cattle-killing,

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322 The carcase-eater lodges the Nasu in himself; he becomes a Nasu, and therefore must be destroyed; cf. below, § 76 seq. [Cannibalism. See Vd8.73-74. -JHP]

323 His house, as he is assimilated to a devouring Khrafstra; see Vd3.7.

324 Till the resurrection. 'It is prescribed in the *Vendidad* that if a man shall eat of a carcase, his house and family shall he destroyed, his heart shall be torn out of his body, his eyes shall be put out, and his soul shall abide in hell till the resurrection' (Saddar 71). 'He who eats of a carcase with sinful intent is both unclean and margarzan; Barashnum and Nirang are of no avail for him, he must die. If there has been no sinful intent, he may wash himself; one may give him the ashes and the gomez (Comm.); he is unclean, he is not margarzan' (Old Riv. 115 b).

325 'It is said in the *Avesta* that when there are many gnats and locusts it is owing to corpses having been brought to water and to fire' (*Saddar* 72).

326 § 26 refers chiefly to the damage produced by the defilement of the waters, and § 27 to that produoed by the defilement of the fire.

thick- snowing, overflowing, the piercing, fierce, mischievous winter.[328] Upon them comes and rushes the Druj Nasu she takes hold of them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.'[329]

VI.

28. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the wood be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto Nasu has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

29. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathushtra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled[330] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds,[331] they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the wood on a Vitasti[332] a all around, if the wood be dry; on a Frarathni[333] all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.[334]

30. 'But if the Nasu has already been expelled[335] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the wood on a Frarathni all around, if the wood be dry; on a Frabazu[336] all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

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327 See note above.

328 In the same way (by the bringing of corpses to water and to fire), winter grows colder, and summer grows warmer' (*Saddar* 72).

329 Whoever shall do that deed, shall pay for it in this world and in the next; they shall flay his body in the presence of the assembly, they shall tear him limb from limb, and his corpse shall be thrown away to dogs and ravens, . . . and when his soul comes to the other world, he shall suffer tortures from the Devs. If he has not made his Patet [confession], his soul shall remain in hell till the day of resurrection' (*Gr. Riv.* p. 123).

330 That is to say, if the Sag-did has not yet been performed. Read: 'If the Nasu has been expelled...' (that, is to say, if the Sag-did has been performed). See note 6.

331 See above, verse 3, note 3.

332 Twelve fingers; a span.

333 The Frārāthni is, as it seems, as much as a forearm.

334 'After a year,' according to the Commentary.

335 Read: 'But if the Nasu has not yet been expelled.' It appears from the similar passages (Vd8.35, 36, and 98, 99) and from the general principles of uncleanness that the words 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled,' in § 29, have been misplaced there from § 30, and that the corresponding words in § 30 belong to § 29; because uncleanness spreads less far, when the Sag-did has taken place.

336 A measure of unknown extent; 'an arm's length,' it would seem.

31. 'Thus much of the wood around the dead shall they lay down, apart on the ground, according as the wood is dry or wet; as it is hard or soft; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

32. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the corn or the fodder be made clean O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto Nasu has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

33. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathushtra!' How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled[337] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the corn on a Frarathni all around, if the corn be dry on a Frabazu all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

34. 'But if the Nasu has already been expelled[338] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the corn on a Frabazu all around, if the corn be dry; on a Vibazu[339] all around, if it be wet then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

35. 'Thus much of the corn around the dead shall they lay down, apart on the ground, according as the corn is dry or wet; as it is sown or not sown; as it is reaped or not reaped; [as it is beaten or not beaten];[340] as it is winnowed or not winnowed;[341] [as it is ground or not ground][38]; as it is kneaded [or not kneaded];[342] they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

VIIa.

36. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda want to practice the art of healing, on whom shall he first prove his skill? on worshippers of Mazda or on worshippers of the Daevas?[343]

37. Ahura Mazda answered: 'On worshippers of the Daevas shall he first prove himself, rather than on worshippers of Mazda. If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daevas and he die; if he treat

337 Read: 'If the Nasu has already been expelled . . .' See § 29 note.

338 Read: 'If the Nasu has already been expelled . . .' See § 30 note.

339 A measure of unknown extent; 'an ell,' it would seem.

340 From the *Vendidad Sada*.

341 Doubtful.

342 This is supplied, as it seems to be required by the context and by the Pahlavi translation.

343 On Zoroastrians or on idolaters (or, what is tantamount, on Iranians or on non-Iranians).

with the knife a second worshipper of the Daevas and he die; if he treat with the knife for the third time a worshipper of the Daevas and he die, he is unfit for ever and ever.

38. 'Let him therefore never attend any worshipper of Mazda; let him never treat with the knife and worshipper of Mazda, nor wound him with the knife. If he shall ever attend any worshipper of Mazda, if he shall ever treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, and wound him with the knife, he shall pay for his wound the penalty for willful murder.[344]

39. 'If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daevas and he recover; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daevas and he recover; if for the third time he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daevas and he recover; then he is fit for ever and ever.[345]

40. 'He may henceforth at his will attend worshippers of Mazda; he may at his will treat with the knife worshippers of Mazda, and heal them with the knife.

VIIb.

41. 'A healer shall heal a priest for a blessing of the just;[346] he shall heal the master of a house for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal the lord of a borough[347] for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal the lord of a town for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal the lord of a province for the value of a chariot and four.[348]

42. 'He shall heal the wife of the master of a house for the value of a she-ass; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a borough for the value of a cow; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a town for the value of a mare; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a province for the value of a she-camel.

43. 'He shall heal the heir of a great house for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal an ox of high value for the value of an ox of aver- age value; he shall heal an ox of average value for the value of an

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344 For baodhō-varshta, literally, 'done with full conscience.'

345 'some say, One who has been qualified may become disqualified; one who has been disqualified shall never become qualified' (Comm. ad § 43).

346 The priest will say to him: Be holy! (that is to say, be one of the blest!) 'Thus he will become holy (*i.e.* be will go to Paradise); there is no equivalent in money. Some say, It is given when the priest has not 3000 stirs' (Comm.)

347 A group of several houses; Aspendiˆrji and Anquetil say, 'a street.'

348 'A value of seventy stirs' (Comm.)

ox of low value; he shall heal an ox of low value for the value of a sheep; he shall heal a sheep for the value of a piece of meat.[349]

44. 'If several healers offer themselves together, O Spitama Zarathushtra! namely, one who heals with the knife, one who heals with herbs, and one who heals with the Holy Word [manthras],[350] let one apply to the healing by the Holy Word: for this one is the best-healing of all healers who heals with the Holy Word; he will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful.'[351]

VIII.

45. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on the ground, clothed with the light of heaven and beholding the sun, is the ground clean again?[352]

46. Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain on the ground for a year, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun, then the ground is clean again, O holy Zarathushtra!'[353]

47. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been buried in the earth, is the earth clean again?

48. Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain buried in the earth for fifty years,[354] O Spitama Zarathushtra! then the earth is clean again.'[355]

49. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on a Dakhma, is the ground, whereon the Dakhma stands, clean again?

50. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Not until the dust of the corpse, O Spitama Zarathushtra! has mingled with the dust of the earth.[356] Urge

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349 Cf. the tariff of fees for the cleanser, Vd9.37 seq.

350 'By spells' (Comm.; cf. *Odyssea* XIX, 457). This classification was not unknown to Asclepios: he relieved the sick 'now with caressing spells, now with soothing drink or balsam, now with the knife' (Pindaros, *Pyth.* III, 5 I).

351 Cf. Yt3.6. The treatment by the Holy Word seems not to consist only in the recitation of spells, but the spells must be accompanied by the ceremony of the Barashnum (see Vd22).

352 Restored to the purity of its nature, and fit to till; as it remains Nasu till that time.

353 See Vd6.1 seq.

354 The time necessary to consume the corpse to its last particle.

355 Cf. Vd3.36 seq.

356 A space of time estimated at fifty years (Comm.) See Vd3.13.

every one in the material world, O Spitama Zarathushtra! to pull down Dakhmas.[357]

51. 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are undone.[358]

52. 'Not for his soul shall the two spirits wage war with one another;[359] and when he enters Paradise, the stars, the moon, and the sun shall rejoice in him; and I, Ahura Mazda, shall rejoice in him, saying: " Hail, O man! thou who hast just passed from the decaying world into the undecaying one!" '[360]

55.[361] O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are there Daevas: Where is it they offer worship to the Daevas: What is the place whereon troops of Daevas rush together, whereon troops of Daevas come rushing along? What is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads?

56. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Those Dakhmas that are built upon the face of the earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! and whereon are laid the corpses of dead men, that is the place where there are Daevas, that is the place whereon troops of Daevas rush together; whereon troops of Daevas come rushing along; whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

57. 'On those Dakhmas, O Spitama Zarathushtra! those Daevas take food and void filth. As you, men, in the material world, you cook

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357 See Vd3.9, text and note, and § 13.

358 'A tanapuhr sin is remitted thereby' (Comm.)

359 When a man dies, hell and Paradise, fiends and gods struggle for the possession of his soul: Astovidhotush, Vizaresha, and the bad Vayu drag the souls of the wicked to hell; Mithra, Sraosha, Rashnu, and the good Vayu take the souls of the good to Paradise (see Vd19.29 seq.; Hadhokht Nask; Menog-i Khrad 2). The struggle lasts for three days and three nights (the sadis), during which time the relatives of the dead offer up prayers and sacrifices to Sraosha, Rashnu, and Vayu, to assure him their protection (See Vd9.56).

360 Hadhokht Nask 16 and Vd19.31.

361 §§ 53, 54 belong to the Commentary; they are composed of disconnected quotations, part of which refers to the different deeds by which a tanapuhr sin may be redeemed, while the other part refers to the rules of what may be called the book-keeping of good actions and sins.

meal and eat cooked meat, so do they. It is, as it were, the smell of their feeding that you smell there, O men!

58. 'For thus they go on reveling, until that stench is rooted in the Dakhmas. In those Dakhmas arise the infection of diseases, itch, hot fever, naeza,[362] cold fever, rickets, and hair untimely white.[363] On those Dakhmas meet the worst murderers, from the hour when the sun is down.[364]

59. 'And people of small understanding who do not seek for better understanding,[365] the Jainis[366] make those diseases grow stronger by a third,[367] on their thighs, on their hands, on their three-plaited hair.'[368]

IX.

60.[369] O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

61. Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;'

62. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

63. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful;-

64. 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure, and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

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362 Doubtful.

363 Albinism was regarded as sent by the demons. When Zāl was born with white hair, his father Sām exposed on the Alburz 'that child of Dev, with an old man's head' (Firdausi).

364 Cemeteries are the meeting-place of robbers and murderers.

365 'Who do not seek for instruction.'

366 [i.e. Genie, jinn, djinn -JHP] 'The Jahi' (Comm.) The Jaini seems to be the Jahi as 'killing,' as bringing sickness.

367 The general meaning of the sentence seems to be that, for want of hygiene, diseaes grow worse through the infection from the Dakhmas.

368 Doubtful.

369 §§ 60-69 = Vd5.45-54. See the Commentary there.

65. O Maker of the material word, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

66. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Gomez mixed with ashes, three draughts of it, or six, or nine, to send down the Dakhma within her womb.

67. 'Afterwards she may drink boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap; she may take cooked milk without water, meal without water, and wine without water.' 68. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine?

69. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gomez and water, by the nine holes, and thus shall she be clean.'

70. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! But if fever befall her unclean body, if these two worst pains, hunger and thirst, befall her, may she be allowed to drink water?[370]

71. Ahura Mazda answered: 'She may; the first thing for her is to have her life saved. From the hands of one of the holy men, a holy faithful man, who knows the holy knowledge,[371] she shall drink of the strength-giving water. But you, worshippers of Mazda, fix ye the penalty for it. The Ratu being applied to, the Sraosha-varez being applied to,[372] shall prescribe the penalty to be paid.'[373]

72. What is the penalty to be paid?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The deed is that of a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'[374]

X.

73. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the eating-vessels be made clean that have been touched by Nasu from a dog, or Nasu from a man?

370 Before those three days have passed.

371 If there is near her a pious and intelligent man, who recognises that her life would be endangered by too strict an adherence to the rule, he will let her depart from it.

372 See Vd5.25.

373 For the water having been defiled.

374 A penalty to be undergone by the husband, at least in modern practice: 'If through fear of death or of serious illness she has drunk water before the appointed time, her husband shall make Patet for her fault before the Dastur' (*Old Riv.* 98 b).

74. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They can, O holy Zarathushtra!'

How so?

'If they be of gold, you shall wash them once with gomez, you shall rub them once with earth, you shall wash them once with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of silver, you shall wash them twice with gomez, you shall rub them twice with earth, you shall wash them twice with water, and they shall be clean.

[75. 'If they be of iron,[375] you shall wash them thrice with gomez, you shall rub them thrice with earth, you shall wash them thrice with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of steel, you shall wash them four times with gomez, you shall rub them four times with earth, you shall wash them four times with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of stone, you shall wash them six times with gomez, you shall rub them six times with earth, you shall wash them six times with water, and they shall be clean.[376]]

'If they be of earth, of wood, or of clay, they are unclean for ever and ever.'[377]

XI.

76. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the cow be made clean that has eaten of the carcass of a dog, or of the corpse of a man?

77. Ahura Mazda answered: 'She can, O holy Zarathushtra! The priest shall not, within a year, take from her either milk or cheese for the libation, nor meat for the libation and the Baresma.[378] When a year has passed, then the faithful may eat of her as before.'[379]

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375 Dar: brass. -JHP

376 From the *Vendidad Sada*.

377 The power of resistance to uncleanness follows the value of the materials: gold, silver, iron, steel, stone, earth, wood, clay.

378 [barsom -JHP] The libation waters (Zaothra) are mixed with milk (jīv). The cheese (or butter) and the meat are elements of the dron as gōshōdā.

379 'Whatever comes from her, if dropped, is clean; if taken, unclean. If she he big with young [pregnant -JHP], the young is born clean, if conceived before her eating of the corpse; if conceived afterwards, it is born unclean' (Comm.)

XII.

78. Who is he, O holy Ahura Mazda! who, meaning well and desiring righteousness, prevents righteousness? Who is he who, meaning well, falls into the ways of the Druj?[380]

79. Ahura Mazda answered: 'This one, meaning well and desiring righteousness, prevents righteousness; this one, meaning well, falls into the ways of the Druj, who offers up water defiled by the dead and unfit for libation; or who offers up in the dead of the night water unfit for libation.'[381]

380 Possibly, 'works for the Druj.'

381 'From what hour may sacrifice to the Good Waters be offered? From sunrise to sunset. . . He who offers up libations to the Good Waters after sunset, before sunrise, does no better deed than if he should throw them downright into the jaws of a venomous snake' (*Nirangistan*, § 48).

FARGARD 8. Funerals and purification, unlawful sex.

Synopsis.

I (1-3). Purification of the house where a man has died.

II (4-13). Funerals.

III (14-22). Purification of the ways along which the corpse has been carried.

IV (23-25). No clothes to be thrown on a corpse.

V (26-32). Unlawful lusts.

VI (33-34). A corpse when dried up does not contaminate.

VII (35-72). Purification of the man defiled by the dead.

VIII (73-80). Purification of the fire defiled by the dead.

IX (81-96). The Warharan fire.

X (97-107). Purification in the wilderness.

This chapter, putting aside section V, may be entitled; Funerals and Purification. Logical order may easily be introduced into it, by arranging the sections as follows: I, IV, II, III, VI, VII, X, VIII, IX.

Translation.

I.

1. If a dog or a man die under a hut of wood or a hut of felt[382] what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?[383]

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall search for a Dakhma, they shall look for a Dakhma all around.[384] If they find it easier to remove the dead, they shall take out the dead, they shall let the house stand, and shall perfume it with Urvasna or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadha-naepata, or any other sweet-smelling plant.[385]

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382 A movable shelter, by contradistinction to a fixed abode, something like the oba of the Tartars, one of those huts made of boards or felt and called thāruma by the Arabs, which served as pavilions for princes as well as tents for nomads.

383 That sort of abode, having only one room, can have no chamber for the dead (Vd5.10).

384 If there is a Dakhma In the proximity, they remove the corpse at once. If there is no Dakhma or the season prevents its access, they purify the hut first.

385 'so, when a dog or a man dies, the first thing to do is to take the corpse out (from the house), and to purify the house, inside and outside, with perfumes burnt on the fire' (Comm.) See Vd11.4. Urvāsna is the rāsan plant, a sort of garlic; Vohū-gaona, Vohū-kereti, and Haδā-naēpata are respectively (according to Framji) benzoin, aloe, and pomegranate.

3. 'If they find it easier to remove the house, they shall take away the house, they shall let the dead lie on the spot, and shall perfume the house with Urvasna, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadha-naepata, or any other sweet-smelling plant.'

II.

4. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and it is raining,[386] or snowing, or blowing[6], or it is dark, or the day is at its end, when flocks and men lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?[387]

5. Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful;'-

6. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

7. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful;-

8. 'On that place they shall dig a grave,[388] half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if it be soft;[389] [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cowdung];[390] they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth.[391]

9.[392] 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth.

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386 'No corpse must be taken to the Daknma when rain is falling, or threatening. If one is overtaken by rain on the way, if there be a place to lay it down, they shall lay it down; if there be none, they must go on and take it to the Dakhma, they must not retrace their steps.... When arrived at the Dakhma, if they find it full of water, they may nevertheless lay down the corpse' (Comm.)

387 If it is the season of rain or snow. See Vd5.10 seq.

388 This is the case when the house is too small for containing a special chamber for the dead (as prescribed Vd5.10). Nowadays they dispense even with that grave: the corpse is laid on the floor, on a slab of marble, by which it is sufficiently isolated from the ground to prevent its being defiled.

389 Soft earth, being not impervious to liquids, lets contagion through more easily.

390 *Vendidad Sada*.

391 Substances more impervious.

392 §§ 9-10; see Vd5.12-13.

10. 'And when the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall make a breach in the wall of the house,[393] and two men, strong and skillful,[394] having stripped their clothes off,[395] shall take up the body from the clay or the stones, or from the plastered house,[396] and they shall lay it down on a place where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds.

11. 'Afterwards the corpse-bearers shall sit down, three paces from the dead, and the holy Ratu[397] shall proclaim to the worshippers of Mazda thus: "Worshippers of Mazda, let the urine be brought here wherewith the corpse-bearers there shall wash their hair and their bodies!" '

12. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies? Is it of sheep or of oxen? Is it of man or of woman?

13. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is of sheep or of oxen; not of man nor of woman, except a man or a woman who has married the next-of-kin:[398] these shall therefore procure the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies.'[399]

III.

14. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the way, whereon the carcasses of dogs or corpses of men have been carried, be passed through again by flocks and herds, by men and women, by the

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393 'The master and mistress of the house are carried away through a breach (made in the wall of the house); others through the door' (Comm.) — 'The more scrupulous parties have it [the body] removed by a side, in preference to the usual general entrance' (H. G. Briggs, *The Parsis*, 1852, p. 50).

394 The corpse-bearers or nasu-kasha (Khāndyas). 'The corpse must be carried by two persons (see Vd3.13 seq.), no matter who they are; they may be a man and a woman, or two women' (Comm.)

395 'As they are exchanged for the special clothes in which they carry corpses (Comm.), the so-called jāma-i dakhma, 'the Dakhma clothes.'

396 The Dahhma (see Vd6.50 seq.)

397 The priest who directs the funerals, 'the chief of the Nasu-kashas' (Comm.), the so-called Nasā-sālār.

398 The next-of-kin marriage or Hvaetvadatha (kwetodas) is one of the good works that Ahriman dreads most (Shayest-na shayast 18; West, *Pahlavi Texts*, I, 389). 'Ahriman and the demons are less predominant in the body of him who practises khwetodas' (West, II, 422). Therefore their maēsma is as powerful as the gomez.

399 'When back in the village they perform the regular Barashnum with consecrated gomez' (Comm.)

fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful?

15. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It cannot be passed through again by flocks and herds, nor by men and women, nor by the fire of Ahura Mazda, nor by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, nor by the faithful.[400]

16. 'They shall therefore cause a yellow dog with four eyes,[401] or a white dog with yellow ears, to go three times through that way.[402] When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Druj Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.[403]]

17. 'If the dog goes unwillingly, O Spitama Zarathushtra, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go six times[404] through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Druj Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.]

18. 'If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go nine times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, has been brought there, then the Druj Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.]

19. 'An Athravan shall first go along the way and shall say aloud these victorious words:

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400 The way by which the corpse has passed is haunted by the Druj Nasu: the Drug is expelled from it by the same proceeding as it was expelled from the dead, by the Sag-did. The Sag-did for the purification of the way seems to have fallen into desuetude.

401 A dog with two spots above the eyes.

402 'Afrag says, the dog goes straight along the length of the way; Maidyo-mah says, he goes across it from side to side' (Comm.)

403 See Vd7.3.

404 'Three times suffice if the dog goes of his, own accord; if he goes by force, it counts as nothing; if he goes but with reluctance, that shall suffice' (Comm. ad § 18).

"Yatha aha vairyo:[405] - The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.
"The gifts of Vohu-mano[406] to the deeds done in this world for Mazda.
"He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

20. "Kem-na mazda:[407] - What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Atar and Vohu-mano,[408] through whose work I keep on the world of righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule![409]

'"Ke verethrem-ja:[410] - Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-mano and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

21. '"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Druj! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O creation of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Druj! Rush away, O Druj! Perish away, O Druj! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!"

22. 'Then the worshippers of Mazda may at their will bring by those ways sheep and oxen, men and women, and Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and the faithful.

'The worshippers of Mazda may afterwards[411] prepare meals with meat and wine in that house; it shall be clean, and there will be no sin, as before.'

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405 A prayer in frequent use, and considered of great efficacy, generally known as the Ahuna Vairya or Ahunwar. It was by reciting it that Ohrmazd in his first conflict with Ahriman drove him back to hell (Bd1).

406 Of Paradise, as Vohu-mano (Good Thought) is the doorkeeper of heaven (see Vd19.31).

407 Yasna 46.7.

408 I have no protection to expect but from my virtue (Vohu-mano, 'Good Thought') and from thy fire, which in the fire ordeal (Var Nirang) will show my innocence.

409 That is to say, one must take Religion as one's rule.

410 Yasna 44.16. This stanza, which in the original Gatha refers to the human incarnation of Sraosha, that is to say, to king Vishtaspa, the victorious, protector of the Prophet and his, Religion, is applied here to the god Sraosha, as a protector of the soul in its passage from this world to the other (Vd7.52).

411 On the fourth day. For three days and nights after the death it is forbidden to cook meat in the house (Comm.)

IV.

23. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body,[412] enough to cover the feet, what is the penalty that he shall pay?[413] Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

24. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover both legs, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

25. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the whole body, what is the penalty that he shall pay? Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahe-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

V.

26. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man, by force, commits the unnatural sin [sodomy], what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

27. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man voluntarily commits the unnatural sin, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

28.[414] When is it so?

'It is so if the sinner be a professor of the Religion of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it.

'But if he be not a professor of the Religion of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it, then his sin is taken from him, if he makes confession of the Religion of Mazda and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

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412 The dead must be stripped of his clothes, and is exposed on the heights 'clothed with the light of heaven' (Vd6.51). — The modern use is to have him wrapped in a shroud as old and as much worn out as possible (Vd5.61).

413 See Vd5.60; Vd7.20.

414 See Vd3.38-42, text and notes.

29. 'The Religion of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! takes away from him who makes confession of it the bonds of his sin; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the worst sin of usury; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

30. In the same way the Religion of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathushtra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain.

'So let all the deeds he doeth be henceforth good, O Zarathushtra! a full atonement for his sin is effected by means of the Religion of Mazda.'

31. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the man that is a Daeva? Who is he that is a worshipper of the Daevas? that is a male paramour of the Daevas? that is a female paramour of the Daevas? that is a wife to the Daeva?[415] that is as bad as a Daeva: that is in his whole being a Daeva? Who is he that is a Daeva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daevas after death?[416]

32. Ahura Mazda answered: 'The man that lies with mankind as man lies with womankind, or as woman lies with mankind, is the man that is a Daeva; this one is the man that is a worshipper of the Daevas, that is a male paramour of the Daevas, that is a female paramour of the Daevas, that is a wife to the Daeva; this is the man that is as bad as a Daeva, that is in his whole being a Daeva; this is the man that is a Daeva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daevas after death: so is he, whether he has lain with mankind as mankind, or as womankind.'[417]

VI.

33. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Shall the man be clean who has touched a corpse that has been dried up and dead more than a year?[418]

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415 'As a wife is obedient to her husband, so is he to the Daevas' (Comm.)

416 Demons are often the restless souls of the wicked, excluded from heaven. The Persian sect of the Mahabadians, believed that the soul that had not spoken and done good became an Ahriman or jinn (*Dabestan*).

417 [i.e. the recipient is equally guilty. -JHP] The guilty may be killed by any one, without an order from the Dastur (see § 74 n.), and by this execution an ordinary capital crime may be redeemed (Comm. ad Vd7.52).

418 The corpse, dried up, contains no longer any of the solid and liquid elements that generate corruption and infection (see above, Vd6.50, note 16).

34. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall. The dry mingles not with the dry.[419] Should the dry mingle with the dry, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshotanu, bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'[420]

VII.

35. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the man be made clean that has touched the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man?

36. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathushtra!' How so?

'If the Nasu has already been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, he shall cleanse his body with gomez and water, and he shall be clean.[421]

37. 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds,[422] then the worshippers of Mazda shall dig three holes in the ground,[423] and he shall thereupon wash his body with gomez, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog,[424] they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front [of the man].[425]

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419 'This principle still prevails even with Moslem Persians: 'Pour encourir leur immondicité; dans l'attouchement des Chrétiens et autres idolatres, il est nécessaire que s'ils les touchent, leurs vētements soient mouillés. C'est à cause, disent-ils, qu'étans secs l'immondicité ne s'attache pas; . . . . ce qui est cause que dans les villes où leurs Mullas et Docteurs ont plus d'autorité, ils font parfois défendre par leurs Kans que lorsqu'il pleut, les Chrétiens ne sortent pas de leurs maisons, de crainte que par accident, venans à les heurter, ils, ne soient rendus immondes' (G. da Chinon, p. 88 seq.; cf. Chardin). Still nowadays, in Persia, the Jews are not allowed to go out of their house on a rainy day, lest the religious impurity, conducted through the rain, should pass from the Jew to the Moslem.

420 See Vd5.4.

421 If the Sag-did has been performed, a simple ghosel is enough. See Vd7.29, notes 27 and 31.

422 If the Sag-did has not been performed, the Barashnum is necessary.

423 The first three holes, which contain gomez. For the disposition of the holes, see the following Fargard.

424 Three times; every time that the unclean one passes from one hole to another (Comm. ad IX, 32).

425 To look at him, or, rather, at the Nasu in him, whilst the priest sings the spells that drive the Nasu.

38. 'The worshippers of Mazda shall dig three other holes[426] in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gomez, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front [of the man]. Then shall they wait until he is dried[427] even to the last hair on the top of his head.

39. 'They shall dig three more holes[428] in the ground, three paces away from the preceding, and he shall thereupon wash his body with water,[429] not with gomez.

40. 'He shall first wash his hands; if his hands be not first washed, he makes the whole of his body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle with water[430] the forepart of his skull.'[431]

41. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the forepart of the skull, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush?[432]

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, between the brows, the Druj Nasu rushes.'

42. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, between the brows, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush?
Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the back part of the skull the Druj Nasu rushes.'

43. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back part of the skull, whereon does the Druj Nasu

426 Containing gomez too.

427 He rubs himself dry with handfuls of dust (see Vd9.29 seq.)

428 Containing water.

429 As a master does not take away the dunghill from his house with his own hands, but has it taken away by his servants, so the water, being of higher dignity than the gomez, has the worst of the impurity taken by the gomez, and intervenes only when there is nothing left that can attain it (*Abalish*, tr. Barthelemy, ch. V and note 29).

430 The water is shed from a spoon, tied to a long stick, 'the stick with nine knots' (Vd9.14).

431 Bareshnum; from which word the whole of the operation has taken its name.

432 The Nasu is expelled symmetrically, from limb to limb, from the right side of the body to the left, from the forepart to the back parts, and she flies, thus pursued, downwards from the top of the head to the tips of the toes. The retreating order of the Nasu is just the reverse of the order in which she invaded the different members of the first man: she entered Gayomard by the little toe of the left foot, then went up to the heart, then to the shoulder, at last to the summit of the head (Gr. Bd.) Death still seizes the foot first.

rush?
Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, on the jaws, the Druj Nasu rushes.'

44. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, on the jaws, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ear the Druj Nasu rushes.'

45. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ear, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ear the Druj Nasu rushes.'

46. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ear, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right shoulder the Druj Nasu rushes.'

47. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right shoulder, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left shoulder the Druj Nasu rushes.'

48. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left shoulder, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right arm-pit the Druj Nasu rushes.'

49. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right arm-pit, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left arm-pit the Druj Nasu rushes.'

50. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left arm-pit, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, upon the chest, the Druj Nasu rushes.'

51. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the chest in front, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the back the Druj Nasu rushes.'

52. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right nipple the Druj Nasu rushes.'

53. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right nipple, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left nipple the Druj Nasu rushes.'

54. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left nipple, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right rib the Druj Nasu rushes.'

55. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right rib, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left rib the Druj Nasu rushes.'

56. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left rib, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right hip the Druj Nasu rushes.'

57. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right hip, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left hip the Druj Nasu rushes.'

58. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left hip, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the sexual parts the Druj Nasu rushes. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind.'

59. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the sexual parts, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right thigh the Druj Nasu rushes.'

60. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right thigh, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left thigh the Druj Nasu rushes.'

61. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left thigh, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right knee the Druj Nasu rushes.'

62. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right knee, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left knee the Druj Nasu rushes.'

63. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left knee, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right leg the Druj Nasu rushes.'

64. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right leg, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left leg the Druj Nasu rushes.'

65. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left leg, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ankle the Druj Nasu rushes.'

66. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ankle, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ankle the Druj Nasu rushes.'

67. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ankle, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right instep the Druj Nasu rushes.'

68. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right instep, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left instep the Druj Nasu rushes.'

69. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left instep, whereon does the Druj Nasu rush? Ahura Mazda answered: 'She turns round under the sole of the foot; it looks like the wing of a fly.

70. 'He shall press his toes upon the ground, and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole with water; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left sole. Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole with water; then the Druj Nasu turns round under the toes; it looks like the wing of a fly.

71. 'He shall press his heels upon the ground, and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe with water; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left toe. Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe with water; then the Druj Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

[72. 'And thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:

'"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," etc.

[(**Exorcism:**)]

'"What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" etc.

'"Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?" etc.[433]

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta!

Perish, O fiendish Druj! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish,

O creation of the fiend! Perish O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Druj! Rush away, O Druj! Perish away, O Druj! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!" '[434]]

VIII.

73. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a

433 As in §§ 19, 20.

434 From the Vendidad Sada; cf. § 21.

Nasu-burning fire, whereon Nasu is being burnt or cooked,[435] what shall they do?

74. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall kill the man that cooks the Nasu; surely they shall kill him.[436] They shall take off the cauldron, they shall take off the tripod.

75. 'Then they shall kindle wood from that fire; either wood of those trees that have the seed of fire in them, or bundles of the very wood that was prepared for that fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.[437]

76. 'Thus they shall lay a first bundle on the ground,[438] a Vitasti[439] away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

77. 'They shall lay down a second bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire: then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a third bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fourth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fifth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

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435 For food. See Vd7.23-24. [Cannibalism -JHP]

436 'He who burns Nasu (dead matter) must be killed. Burning or cooking Nasu from the dead is a capital crime. . . . Four men can be put to death by any one without an order from the Dastur: the Nasu-burner, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the criminal taken in the deed' (Comm.)

437 A new fire is kindled from the Nasu-burning fire: this new fire is disposed in such a way that it should die out soon: before it has died out, they kindle a new fire from it and so on for nine times: the ninth fire, derived from the one impure, through seven intermediate fires, more and more distant from the original impurity, will represent the fire in its native purity and can enter into the composition of a Warharan fire. — On the modern process, see Dosabhoy Framji, *History of the Parsis*, II, 113.

438 In a hole dug for that purpose; such is at least the custom nowadays. The ceremony is thus made an imitation of the barashnom. The unclean fire, represented by the nine bundles, passes through the nine holes, as the unclean man does (see above, § 37 seq. and Vd9.12 seq.), and leaves at each of them some of the uncleanness it has contracted.

439 A span of twelve fingers.

'They shall lay down a sixth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a seventh bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

They shall lay down an eighth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

78. 'They shall lay down a ninth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

79. 'If a man shall then piously bring unto the fire, O Spitama Zarathushtra! wood of Urvasna, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadha-naepata, or any other sweet-smelling wood;

80. 'Wheresoever the wind shall bring the perfume of the fire, thereunto the fire of Ahura Mazda shall go and kill thousands of unseen Daevas, thousands of fiends, the brood of darkness, thousands of couples of Yatus and Pairikas.'[440]

IX.

81. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a Nasu-burning fire to the Daityo-gatu,[441] what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten thousand fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

82. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire wherein impure liquid has been burnt,[442] what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a thousand fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.

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440 It will have all the power of the Warharan fire.

441 'The proper abode,' the Warharan fire. The Warharan fire is composed of a thousand and one fires belonging to sixteen different classes (ninety-one corpse-burning fires,' eighty dyers' fires, etc.) As the earthly representative of the heavenly fire, it is the sacred centre to which every earthly fire longs to return, in order to be united again, as much as possible, with its native abode. The more it has been defiled by worldly uses, the greater is the merit acquired by freeing it from defilement.

442 The hēhr, that is to say all sort of impurity that comes from the body.

83. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire wherein dung has been burnt,[443] what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought five hundred fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

84. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire from the kiln of a potter, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought four hundred fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

85. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire from a glazier's kiln, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Daityo-gatu as many fire-brands as there were glasses [brought to that fire].'[444]

86. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire from the aonya paro-berejya, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Daityo-gatu as many fire-brands as there were plants.'[445]

87. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire from under the puncheon of a goldsmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a hundred fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

88. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire from under the puncheon of a silversmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body? Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ninety fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

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443 'The fire of a bath,' according to Framji; the use of the bath was prohibited; according to Josuah the Stylite (ch. XX, tr. Martin), king Balash (484-488) was overthrown by the Magi for having built bath houses. The reason of this prohibition was probably that it entailed the defilement of the fire, as they were warmed with cow dung.

444 Doubtful.

445 Meaning unknown. Perhaps a fire for burning weeds.

89. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire from under the puncheon of a blacksmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought eighty fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

90. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! It a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire from under the puncheon of a worker in steel, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought seventy fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

91. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire of an oven,[446] what shall be his reward when his soul has parted from his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought sixty fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

92. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire from under a cauldron,[447] what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as it he had, here below, brought fifty fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

93. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire from an aonya takhairya,[448] what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought forty fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

94. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a herdsman's fire to the Daityo-gatu, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought thirty fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

[95.[449] O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire of the field,[450] what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

446 A baker's fire.

447 The kitchen-fire.

448 Meaning unknown.

449 From the *Vendidad Sada*.

450 The hunter's fire, an encampment's fire.

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought twenty fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.']

96. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Daityo-gatu the fire of his own hearth,[451] what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten fire-brands to the Daityo-gatu.'

X.

97. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can a man be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has touched a corpse in a distant place in the wilderness?[452]

98. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathushtra.'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gomez; he shall wash it thirty times, he shall rub it dry with the hand thirty times, beginning every time with the head.[453]

99. 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gomez; he shall wash it fifteen times, he shall rub it dry with the hand fifteen times.[454]

100. 'Then he shall run a distance of a Hathra.[455] He shall run until he meets some man on his way, and he shall cry out aloud: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, and who is powerless in mind, powerless in tongue, powerless in hand.[456] Do make me clean." Thus shall he run until he overtakes the man. If the man will not cleanse him, he remits him the third of his trespass.[457]

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451 By which one warms one's self; the fire least exposed to uncleanness.

452 Where the regular process or purification cannot be performed. — The Pahlavi Commentary to this chapter will be found in West, *Pahlavi Texts*, II, p. 455.

453 Perhaps better: 'this is as good as the chief purification' (that is to say as a regular Barashnom). — If the Sag-did has been 'performed, the Sī-shū (thirty-fold washing) is enough. Cf. above, §§ 35, 36.

454 If the Sag-did has not been performed, he cleanses himself in a summary way till he comes to a place where the Barashnom can be performed.

455 See Bd26, note 1.

456 On account of my uncleanness, I am armēsht, excluded from active life and unfit for any work.

457 As he takes it upon his own head.

101. 'Then he shall run another Hathra, he shall run off again until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he remits him the half of his trespass.[458]

102. 'Then he shall run a third Hathra, he shall run off a third time until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he remits him the whole of his trespass.

103. 'Thus shall he run forwards until he comes near a house, a borough, a town, an inhabited district, and he shall cry out with a loud voice: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, and who is powerless in mind, powerless in tongue, powerless in hand. Do make me clean." If they will not cleanse him, he shall cleanse his body with gomez and water; thus shall he be clean.'[459]

104. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he find water on his way and the water make him subject to a penalty,[460] what is the penalty that he shall pay?

105. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

106. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he find trees[461] on his way and the fire make him subject to a penalty, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.

107. 'This is the penalty, this is the atonement which saves the faithful man who submits to it, not him who does not submit to it.

Such a one shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Druj.'[462]

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458 The half of the remnant, that is the second third.

459 'He may then attend to his business; he may work and fill; some say he must abstain from sacrifice (till he has undergone the Barashnom)' (Comm.)

460 As he defiled it by crossing it.

461 'Trees fit for the fire' (Comm.) If he touches those trees, the fire to which they are brought becomes unclean by his fault.

462 Hell. Imitated from Yasna 49.11d. See Vd14.18.

FARGARD 9. The Nine Nights' Barashnum.

On the name Barashnom, see Vd8.40, note 50.

Synopsis.

I a (1-11). Description of the place for cleansing the unclean (the Barashnom-gah).

I b (12-36) Description of the cleansing.

II (37-44). Fees of the cleanser.

III (47-57). The false cleanser; his punishment.

§§ 45, 46 belong better to the following Fargard.

The ceremony described in this Fargard is known among the Parsis as barashnom no shaba, or 'nine nights' Barashnom,' because it lasts for nine nights (see § 35). It is the great purification, the most efficacious of all; it not only makes the defiled man clean, but it opens to him the heavens (see Vd19.33). So, although it was formerly intended only for the man defiled by the dead, it became, during the Parsi period, a pious work which might be performed without any corpse having been touched; nay, its performance was prescribed, once at least, at the time of the Nū zūdī [Navjote -JHP] (at the age of fifteen, when the young Parsi becomes a member of the community), in order to wash away the natural uncleanness that has been contracted in the maternal womb (Saddar 36). It must also be undergone by a priest who wants to appear before the Warharan fire or perform the Yasna or the Vendidad office.

Translation.

Ia.

1. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: O most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! To whom shall they apply here below, who want to cleanse their body defiled by the dead?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'To a pious man,[463] O Spitama Zarathushtra! who knows how to speak, who speaks truth, who has learned the Holy Word [manthra], who is pious, and knows best the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda. That man shall fell the trees off the surface of the ground on a space of nine Vibazus[464] square;

3. 'in that part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees, the part which is the cleanest and driest, and

463 A priest.

464 Nine ells (?). See Vd7.34.

the least passed through by sheep and oxen, and by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful.'

4. How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

5. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.

6. 'Then thou shalt dig a hole,[465] two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

7. 'Thou shalt dig a second hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter end ice have come.
'Thou shalt dig a third hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.
'Thou shalt dig a fourth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.
'Thou shalt dig a fifth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.
'Thou shalt dig a sixth hole,[466] two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

8. How far from one another?
'One pace.'
How much is the pace?
'As much as three feet.

9. 'Then thou shalt dig three holes more,[467] two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'
How far from the former six?
'Three paces.'
What sort of paces?
'Such as are taken in walking.'
How much are those (three) paces?
'As much as nine feet.

10. 'Then thou shalt draw a furrow all around with a metal knife.'
How far from the holes?
'Three paces.'
What sort of paces?
'Such as are taken in walking.'

465 Those holes are intended to receive the liquid trickling from the body. In summer, the air and the earth being dry the hole may be less deep, as it is certain that it will be empty and will have room enough for that liquid.

466 These six holes contain gomez. 'The holes must be dug from the north to the south' (Comm.)

467 The three holes to contain water.

How much are those (three) paces?
'As much as nine feet.

11. 'Then thou shalt draw twelve furrows;[468] three of which thou shalt draw to surround and divided [from the rest] (the first) three holes; three thou shalt draw to surround and divide (the first) six holes; three thou shalt draw to surround and divide the nine holes; three thou shalt draw around the [three] inferior holes, outside the [six other] holes.[469] At each of the three times nine feet,[470] thou shalt place stones as steps to the holes; or potsherds, or stumps,[471] or clods, or any hard matter.'[472]

Ib.

12. 'Then the man defiled shall walk to the holes; thou, O Zarathushtra! shalt stand outside by the furrow, and thou shalt recite, *Nemascha ya armaitish izhacha*;[473] and the man defiled shall repeat, *Nemascha ya armaitish izhacha*.

13. 'The Druj becomes weaker and weaker at every one of those words which are a weapon to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu, to smite Aeshma of the murderous spear,[474] to smite the Mazainya fiends,[475] to smite all the fiends.

14. 'Then thou shalt take for the gomez a spoon of iron[476] or of lead. When thou takest a stick with nine knots,[477] O Spitama Zarathushtra!

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468 'The furrows must be drawn during the day; they must be drawn with a knife; they must be drawn with recitation of spells. While drawing the furrows the cleanser recites three Ashem vohus ("holiness is the best of all good," etc.), the *Fravarānē* ("I declare myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower or Zarathushtra, a foe of the fiend," etc.), the *Khshnuman of Srosh*, and the Srosh Baj; they must be drawn from the north' (Comm. ad § 32). The furrow, or kesh, plays a greater part in the Mazdean liturgy than in any other. By means of the furrow, drawn with proper spells, and according to the laws of spiritual war, man either besieges the fiend or intrenches himself against him (See Vd17.5) In the present case the Druj, being shut up inside the kesh and thus excluded from the world outside, and being driven back, step by step, by the strength of the holy water and spells, finds at last no place of refuge but hell.

469 'The three holes for water, the six holes for gomez' (Comm.)

470 The nine feet between the holes containing gomez and those containing water, the nine feet between the first holes and the furrows; and the nine feet between the last hole and the furrows.

471 Dādara.

472 That the foot of the unclean one may not touch the earth.

473 Yasna 49.10c.

474 See Vd10.13.

475 See Vd10.16.

476 Dar: brass. -JHP

to sprinkle (the gomez) from that spoon, thou shalt fasten the spoon to the end of the stick.

15. 'They shall wash his hands first. If his hands be not washed first, he makes his whole body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle the forepart of his skull;[478] then the Druj Nasu rushes in front, between his brows.[479]

16. Thou shalt sprinkle him in front between the brows; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the back part of the skull.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the back part of the skull; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the jaws.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the jaws; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right ear.

17. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ear; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left ear.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ear; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right shoulder.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right shoulder; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left shoulder.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left shoulder; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right arm-pit.

18. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right arm-pit; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left arm-pit.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left arm-pit; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the chest.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the chest; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the back.

19. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the back; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right nipple.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right nipple; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left nipple.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left nipple; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right rib.

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477 So long that the cleanser may take gomez or water from the holes and sprinkle the unclean one, without touching him and without going inside the furrows.

478 With gomez at the first six holes, with water at the next three.

479 See Vd8.40-71.

20. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right rib; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left rib.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left rib; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right hip.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right hip; then the Druj Nasu rushes 'upon the left hip.

21. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left hip; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the sexual parts.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the sexual parts. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right thigh.

22. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right thigh; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left thigh.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left thigh; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right knee.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right knee; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left knee.

23. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left knee; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right leg; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left leg; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right ankle.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ankle; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left ankle.

24. 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ankle; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the right instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right instep; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left instep; then the Druj Nasu turns round under the sole of the foot; it looks like the wing of a fly.

25. 'He shall press his toes upon the ground and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left sole.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole; then the Druj Nasu turns round under the toes; it looks like the wing of a fly.

26. 'He shall press his heels upon the ground and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe; then the Druj Nasu rushes upon the left toe.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe; then the Druj Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

27. 'And thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words:

> '"Yatha ahu vairyo: - The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.
> '"The gifts of Vohu-mano to deeds done in this world for Mazda.
> '"He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

'"Kem-na mazda: - What protector hadst thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom, but thy Atar and Vohu-mano, through whose work I keep on the world of Righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

'"Ke verethrem-ja: - Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-mano and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Druj! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Druj! Rush away, O Druj! Perish away, O Druj! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness."[480]

28. 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words: - "Yatha ahu vairyo." etc.[481]

'At the second hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words: - "Yatha ahu vairyo," etc.

'At the third hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words: - "Yatha ahu vairyo," etc.

'At the fourth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words: - "Yatha ahu vairyo," etc.

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480 See Vd8.19-21.

481 As in preceding clause.

'At the fifth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words: - "Yatha ahu vairyo," etc.

'At the sixth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words: - "Yatha ahu vairyo," etc.

29. 'Afterwards the man defiled shall sit down, inside the furrows,[482] outside the furrows of the six holes, four fingers from those furrows. There he shall cleanse his body with thick handfuls of dust.

30. 'Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground for him to rub his body, and they shall wait there until he is dry even to the last hair on his head.

31. 'When his body is dry with dust, then he shall step over the holes (containing water). At the first hole he shall wash his body once with water; at the second hole he shall wash his body twice with water; at the third hole he shall wash his body thrice with water.

32. 'Then he shall perfume (his body) with Urvasna, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadha-naepata, or any other sweet-smelling plant; then he shall put on his clothes, and shall go back to his house.

33. 'He shall sit down there in the place of infirmity,[483] inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until three nights have passed. When three nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gomez and water to make them clean.

34. 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until six nights have passed. When six nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gomez and water to make them clean.

35. 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue, until nine nights have passed. When nine nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gomez and water to make them clean.

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482 Between the furrows of the six holes containing gomez and the furrows of the holes containing water.

483 The Armēsht-gah (see Vd5.59, note 70).

36. 'He may thenceforth go near the fire, near the water, near the earth, near the cow, near the trees, and near the faithful, either man or woman.

II.[484]

37. 'Thou shalt cleanse a priest for a blessing of the just.[485]

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a province for the value of a camel of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a town for the value of a stallion of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a borough for the value of a bull of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the master of a house for the value of a cow three years old.

38. 'Thou shalt cleanse the wife of the master of a house for the value of a ploughing[486] cow.

'Thou shalt cleanse a menial for the value of a draught cow.

'Thou shalt cleanse a young child for the value of a lamb.

39. 'These are the heads of cattle — flocks or herds — that the worshippers of Mazda shall give to the man who has cleansed them, if they can afford it; if they cannot afford it, they shall give him any other value that may make him leave their houses well pleased with them, and free from anger.

40. 'For if the man who has cleansed them leave their houses displeased with them, and full of anger, then the Druj Nasu enters them from the nose [of the dead], from the eyes, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organs, from the hinder parts.

41. 'And the Druj Nasu rushes upon them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean thenceforth for ever and ever. 'It grieves the sun indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! to shine upon a man defiled by the dead; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars.

42. 'That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathushtra! who cleanses from the Nasu the man defiled by the dead; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.'

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484 Cf. the tariff for the fees or physicians, Vd7.41-43.Cf. the tariff for the fees or physicians, Vd7.41-43.

485 See Vd7.41, note 43.

486 Doubtful.

43. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be his reward, after his soul has parted from his body, who has cleansed from the Nasu the man defiled by the dead?'

44. Ahura Mazda answered: 'The welfare[487] of Paradise thou canst promise to that man, for his reward in the other world.'

45.[488] Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Druj who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Nasu who from the dead defiles the living?'

46. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gathas that are to be said twice.[489]

'Say aloud those words in the Gathas that are to be said thrice.

'Say aloud those words in the Gathas that are to be said four times.

'And the Druj shall fly away like the well-darted arrow, like the felt of last year,[490] like the annual garment[491] of the earth.'

III.

47. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man who does not know the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda, offers to cleanse the unclean, how shall I then fight against that Druj who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Druj who from the dead defiles the living?

48. Ahura Mazda answered : 'Then, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the Druj Nasu appears to wax stronger than she was before. Stronger then are sickness and death and the working of the fiend than they were before.'[492]

49. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall bind him; they shall bind his hands first; then they shall strip him of his

487 Literally, 'the grease.'

488 This clause and the following one as far as 'and the Druj shall fly away' are further developed in the following Fargard.

489 The *Bish-āmrūta* formulas, the *Thrish-āmrūta* formulas, and the *Chathrush-āmrūta* formulas respectively. These are enumerated in the following Fargard.

490 The felt of an oba made for a season (?). See Vd8.1.

491 The grass.

492 The plague and contagion are stronger than ever.

clothes, they shall cut the head off his neck, and they shall give over his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-eating creatures made by the beneficent Spirit, unto the vultures, with these words:[493] -

"'The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

50. "'If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever." '[494]

51. Who is he, O Ahura Mazda! who threatens to take away fullness and increase from the world, and to bring in sickness and death?

52. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the ungodly Ashemaogha,[495] O Spitama Zarathushtra! who in this material world cleanses the unclean without knowing the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda.

53. 'For until then, O Spitama Zarathushtra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fullness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'[496]

54. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fullness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

55, 56. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fullness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until that ungodly Ashemaogha has been smitten to death on the spot, and the holy Sraosha of that place has been offered up a

493 'The cleanser who has not performed the cleansing according to the rites, shall he taken to a desert place; there they shall nail him with four nails, they shall take off the skin from his body, and cut off his head. If he has performed Patet for his sin, he shall be holy (that is, he shall go to Paradise); if he has not performed Patet, he shall stay in hell till the day of resurrection' (*Fraser Ravāet*, p. 398). See Vd3.20-21 and note 29.

494 See Vd3.20 seq.

495 [Ashmogh. -JHP] See Vd5.35.

496 See Vd13.52 seq. The false cleanser is punished as would be a man who would introduce an epidemic. He undergoes the same penalty as the ēvak-bar, but with none of the mitigation allowed in the case of the latter, on account of the sacrilegious character of his usurpation.

sacrifice,[497] for three days and three nights, with fire blazing, with Baresma tied up, and with Haoma prepared.

57. 'Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fullness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

497 The sadis sacrifice, that is to say, the sacrifice that is offered up to Sraosha for three days and three nights after the death of a man for the salvation of his soul.

FARGARD 10. Formulas recited during the process of cleansing

Introduction.

Nowadays, before laying the dead in the coffin, two priests recite the Ahunavaiti Gatha (Yasna 28-34): it is the so-called Gāh sārnā (chanting of the Gathas: gāthāo srāvayēiti). From the following Fargard it appears that formerly all the five Gathas and the Yasna Haptanghaiti were recited. Certain stanzas were recited several times and with a certain emphasis (framrava): and they were followed with certain spells. The object of this Fargard is to show which are those stanza; how many times each was recited, and to give the corresponding spells.

Translation.

1. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Druj who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Druj who from the dead defiles the living?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gathas that are to be said twice.[498]

'Say aloud those words in the Gathas that are to be said thrice.[499]

'Say aloud those words in the Gathas that are to be said four times.'[500]

3. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gathas that are to be said twice?

4. Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gathas that are to be said twice, and thou shalt twice say them aloud:[501]-

ahya yasa ... urvanem (Y28.2).

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humatenam ... mahi (Y35.2),
ashahya aad saire ... ahubya (Y35.8),
yatha tu i ... ahura (Y39.4),
humaim thwa ... hudaustema (Y41.3),
thwoi staotaraska ... ahura (Y41.5).

498 The so-called Bish-āmrūta.

499 The Thrish-āmrūta.

500 The Chathrush-āmrūta.

501 The Bish-āmrūta are the opening stanzas of the five Gathas and five stanzas in the Yasna Haptanghaiti.

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usta ahmai ... manangho (Y43.1),
spenta mainyu ... ahuro (Y47.1),
vohu khshathrem ... vareshane (Y51.1),
vahista istis ... skyaothanaka (Y53.1).

5. 'And after thou hast twice said those Bis-amrutas, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:-

"'I drive away Angra Mainyu[502] from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

6. "'I drive away the Nasu,[503] I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness." '

7. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gathas that are to be said thrice?

8. Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gathas that are to be said thrice, and thou shalt thrice say them aloud:-

ashem vohu ... (Y27.14),
ye sevisto ... paitī (Y33.11),
hukhshathrotemai ... vahistai (Y35.5),
duzvarenais ... vahyo (Y53.9).

9. 'After thou hast thrice said those Thris-amrutas, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:-

"'I drive away Indra, I drive away Sauru, I drive away the daeva Naunghaithya,[504] from this house, from this borough, from this town,

502 The chief demon, the Daeva of the Daevas.

503 The very demon with whom one has to do in the present case.

504 Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairi are (with Akemmano [Akoman], here replaced by the Nasu), the six chief demons, and stand to the Amesha Spentas in the same relation as Angra Mainyu to Spenta Mainyu. Indra opposes Asha Vahishta and turns men's hearts from good works; Sauru opposes Khshathra Vairya, he presides over bad government; Naunghaithya opposes Spenta Armaiti, he is the demon of discontent; Tauru and Zairi oppose Haurvatat and Ameretat and poison the waters and the plants. — Akem-mano, Bad Thought,

from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

10. "'I drive away Tauru, I drive away Zairi, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world." '

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11. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gathas that are to be said four times?

12. Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gathas that are to be said four times, and thou shalt four times say them aloud:-

yatha ahu vairyo ...[505] (Y27.13),
mazda ad moi ... dau ahum[506] (Y34.15),
a airyema ishyo ... masata mazdau[507] (Y54.1).

13. 'After thou hast said those Chathrus-amrutas four times, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:-

"'I drive away Aeshma, the fiend ot the murderous spear,[508] I drive away the daeva Akatasha,[509] from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

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opposes Vohu-mano, Good Thought.

505 Translated in Vd8.19.

506 Translated in Vd11.14.

507 Translated in Vd20.11; see Vd11.7.

508 Aeshma, Khishm [Eshm], the incarnation of anger: he sows quarrel and war. 'He is the chief source of evil for the creatures of Ohrmazd, and the Kayanian heroes mostly perished through him' (Bd28.17). [Aeshma appears as Asmoday or Asmodeus in Christian and Jewish writings in the apocryphal *Book of Tobit* 3.8. -JHP]

509 The fiend who corrupts and perverts men.

14. '"I drive away the Varenya daevas,[510] I drive away the wind-daeva, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness."

15. 'These are the words in the Gathas that are to be said twice; these are the words in the Gathas that are to be said thrice; these are the words in the Gathas that are to be said four times.

16. 'These are the words that smite down Angra Mainyu; these are the words that smite down Aeshma, the fiend of the murderous spear; these are the words that smite down the daevas of Mazana;[511] these are the words that smite down all the daevas.

17. 'These are the words that stand, against that Druj, against that Nasu, who from the dead rushes upon the living, who from the dead defiles the living.

18. 'Therefore, O Zarathushtra! thou shalt dig nine holes[512] in the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees; where there is nothing that may be food either for man or beast; "for purity is for man, next to life, the, greatest good, that purity, O Zarathushtra, that is in the Religion of Mazda for him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds." [513]

19. 'Make thy own self pure, O righteous man! any one in the world here below can win purity for his own self, namely, when he cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

20. ' "Yatha ahu vairyo: - The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," etc.[514]
'"Kem-na mazda: - What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" etc.
'"Ke verethrem-ja: - Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?" etc.
'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Druj! ... Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!" '

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510 The fiendish inhabitants of Varena (Gilan). Varena, like the neighhouring Mazana (Mazandaran), was peopled with savage, non-Aryan natives, who were considered men-demons. See Vd1.18 and notes.

511 The demoniac races of Mazandaran; Mazandaran was known in popular tradition as a land of fiends and sorcerers.

512 The nine holes for the Barashnom; see above, Vd9.6 seq.

513 See Vd5.21.

514 The rest as in Vd8.19-20.

FARGARD 11. Special formulas for cleansing several objects

This chapter, like the preceding, is composed of spells intended to drive away the Nasu. But they are of a more special character, as they refer to the particular objects to he cleansed, such as the house, the fire1 the water, the earth, the animals, the plants, the man defiled with the dead. Each incantation consists of two parts, a line from the Gathas which alludes, or rather is made to allude, to the particular object (§§ 4, 5, 6, 7), and a general exorcism, in the usual dialect (§§ 8-20), which is the same for all the objects.

Translation.

1. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? how the fire? how the water? how the earth? how the cow? how the tree? how the faithful man and the faithful woman : how the stars? how the moon? how the sun? how the boundless light? how all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt chant the cleansing words, and the house shall be clean; clean shall be the fire, clean the water, clean the earth, clean the cow, clean the tree, clean the faithful man and the faithful woman, clean the stars, clean the moon, clean the sun, clean the boundless light, clean all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

3. ['So thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words]; thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya five times: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," etc.

'The Ahuna-Vairya preserves the person of man:
'"Yatha ahu vairyo: - The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," etc.
'"Kem-na mazda: - What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" etc.
'"Ke verethrem-ja: - Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?" etc.
'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta!" etc.[515]

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4. 'If thou wantest to cleanse the house, say these words aloud: "As long as the sickness lasts my great protector [is he who teaches virtue to the perverse]." [516]

515 As in Vd8.19, 20.

'If thou wantest to cleanse the fire, say these words aloud: "Thy fire, first of all, do we approach with worship, O Ahura Mazda!" [517]

5. 'If thou wantest to cleanse the water, say these words aloud: " Waters we worship, the Maekainti waters, the Hebvainti waters, the Fravazah waters."[518]

'If thou wantest to cleanse the earth, say these words aloud: "This earth we worship, this earth with the women, this earth which bears us and those women who are thine, O Ahura!" [519]

6. 'If thou wantest to cleanse the cow, say these words aloud: "The best of all works we will fulfil while we order both the learned and the unlearned, both masters and servants to secure for the cattle a good resting-place and fodder." [520]

'If thou wantest to cleanse the trees, say these words aloud: "For him,[521] as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow up." [522]

7. 'If thou wantest to cleanse the faithful man or the faithful woman, say these words aloud: "May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come hither, for the men and women of Zarathushtra to rejoice, for Vohu-mano to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!" [523]

8. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words. Thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya eight times:-

'"Yatha ahu vairya:- The will of the Lord is the law of rightenusness," etc.
'"Kem-na mazda:- Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda?" etc.

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516 Yasna 49.1. The allusion is not quite clear. This line was recited by the Genius of the sky at the moment when Ahriman was invading the sky (*Gr. Bd.*) Perhaps the small house of man is compared here with that large house, the world.

517 Yasna 36.1.

518 Yasna 38.3.

519 Yasna 38.1. 'Who are thine,' that is, 'who are thy wives?'

520 Yasna 35.4. 'Let those excellent deeds be done for the behoof of cattle, that is to say, let stables be made, and water and fodder he given' (Comm.)

521 'For him,' that is to say, to feed him; also 'out of him;' for it was from the body of the first-horn bull that, after his death, grew up all kinds of plants (Bd4).

522 Yasna 48.6. See Vd17.5.

523 Yasna 54.1. See Vd20.11. There is no special spell for the cleansing of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the boundless light (see §§ 1, 2), because they are not defiled by the unclean one, they are only pained by seeing him (Vd9.41); as soon as he is clean, they are freed from the pain.

"'Ke verethrem-ja:- What protector hast thou given unto me?" etc.
"'Who is the victorious?" etc.
"'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" etc.[524]

9. 'I drive away Aeshma,[525] I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement.
['I drive away Khru, I drive away Khruighni.[526]
'I drive away Buidhi, I drive away the offspring of Buidhi.[527]
'I drive away Kundi, I drive away tle offspring of Kundi.[528]]
'I drive away the gaunt Bushyasta, I drive away the long-handed Bushyasta;[529] [I drive away Muidhi,[530] I drive away Kapasti.[531]]
'I drive away the Pairika[532] that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. I drive away the uncleanness that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

10. 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

11. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant four Ahuna-Vairyas:-

"'Yatha aha vairyo:- The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," etc.
"'Kem-na mazda:- What protector hast thou given unto me?" etc.
"'Ke verethrem-ja:- Who is the victorious?" etc.
"'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" etc.[533]

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524 As in Vd8.19, 20.

525 See Vd10.13.

526 Khrū and Khrūighni are not met with elsewhere; their names mean, apparently, 'wound' and 'the wounding one.' They may have been mere names or epithets of Aeshma khruidru, 'Aeshma of the murderous spear.'

527 Būidhi may be another pronunciation of Būiti (see Vd19.1).

528 Kuñdi is very likely the same as Kuñda (Vd19.41) who is the riding-stock of the sorcerers (Bd28.42).

529 See Vd18.16.

530 A demon unknown. Perhaps Intoxication.

531 Unknown. Perhaps Colocynth, the type of the bitter plants.

532 A female demon, the modern Parī [fairy -JHP], often associated with Yatu, 'the wizard.'

533 As in Vd8.19, 20.

12. 'Aeshma is driven away; away the Nasu; away direct defilement, away indirect defilement.
['Khru is driven away, away Khruighni; away Buidhi, away the offspring of Buidhi; away Kundi, away the offspring of Kundi.]
'The gaunt Bushyasta is driven away; away Bushyasta, the long-handed; [away Muidhi, away Kapasti.]
'The Pairika is driven away that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. The uncleanness is driven away that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

13. 'Thou art driven away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

14. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant "Mazda ad moi" four times: "O Mazda! say unto me the excellent words and the excellent works, that through the good thought and the holiness of him who offers thee the due meed of praise, thou mayest, O Lord! make the world of Resurrection appear, at thy will, under thy sovereign rule." [534]

15. 'I drive away Aeshma, I drive away the Nasu,' etc.[535]

16. 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' etc.[536]

17. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant the Airyama Ishyo four times: "May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come hither!" 'etc.[537]

18. 'Aeshma is driven away; away the Nasu,' etc.[538]

19. 'Thou art driven away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' etc.[539]

20. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant five Ahuna-Vairyas:-

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534 Yasna 34.15.

535 The rest as in § 9.

536 The rest as in § 10.

537 As in § 7.

538 As in § 12.

539 As in § 13.

‘“Yatha ahu vairyo:- The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness,” etc.
‘“Kem-na mazda:- Whom hast thou placed to protect me?” etc.
‘“Ke verethrem-ja:- Who is he who will smite the fiend?” etc.[540]
‘“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Druj! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Druj! Rush away, O Druj! Perish away, O Druj! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!” ‘

540 See Vd8.19, 20.

FARGARD 12. The Upaman, how long it lasts for different relatives

Introduction.

This chapter is found only in the *Vendidad Sada*; it is missing in the Zand-Pahlavi *Vendidad*. This is owing, as it seems, only to the accidental loss of some folios in the one manuscript from which all the copies as yet known have been derived; and, in fact, even in the most ancient manuscripts the following Fargard is numbered the thirteenth (Westergaard, *Zend-Avesta*, preface, p. 5).

The directions in the preceding chapter are general, and do not depend on the relationship of the faithful with the deceased person; whereas those in this Fargard are of a special character, and apply only to the near relatives of the dead. Their object is to determine how long the time of 'staying' (upaman) should last for different relatives. What is meant by this word is not explained; but, as the word upaman is usually employed to indicate the staying of the unclean in the Armesht-gah, apart from the faithful and from every clean object, that word *upaman* seems to show a certain period of mourning, marked by abstention from usual avocations.

The length of the upaman varies with the degrees of relationship;. and at every degree it is double for relations who have died in a state of sin (that is, with a sin not redeemed by the Patet: see Vd9.49 note 30). The relative length of the upaman is as follows:--

For the head of a family (§ 7):		6 months (or a year).
First degree.	(For father or mother (§1)) For son or daughter (§ 3) For brother or sister (§ 5):	30 days (or 60).
Second degree.	For grandfather or grandmother (§ 9) For grandson or granddaughter (§ 11):	25 days (or 50).
Third degree.	For uncle or aunt (§ 13):	20 days (or 40).
Fourth degree.	For male cousin or female cousin (§ 15):	15 days (or 30).
Fifth degree.	For the son or daughter of a cousin (§ 17):	10 days (or 20).
Sixth degree.	For the grandson or the granddaughter of a cousin (§ 19):	5 days (or 10).

Translation.

1. If one's father or mother dies, how long shall they stay [in mourning], the son for his father, the daughter for her mother? How long for the righeous? How long for the sinners?[541]

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

2. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters;[542] then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter,[543] O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

3. If one's son or daughter dies, how long shall they stay, the father for his son, the mother for her daughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

4. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

5. If one's brother or sister dies, how long shall they stay, the brother for his brother, the sister for her sister? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

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541 How long if the dead person died in a state of holiness (a dahma)? How long if in the state of a Peshotanu [mortal sin -JHP]?

542 This refers probably to the sacrifice that is offered on each of the three days that follow the death of a Zoroastrian for the salvation of his soul.

543 All the other objects over which the Amesha-Spentas preside (such as the cow, the metals, etc.)

6. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again? Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

7. If the master of the house[544] dies, or if the mistress of the house dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They[545] shall stay six months for the righteous, a year for the sinners.'

8. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'you shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

9. If one's grandfather or grandmother dies, how long shall they stay, the grandson for his grandfather, the granddaughter for her grandmother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

10. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

11. If one's grandson or granddaughter dies, how long shall they stay, the grandfather for his grandson, the grandmother for her

544 The chief of the family, the paterfamilias. The Zoroastrian family is organised on the patriarchal system.

545 All the familia, both relatives and servants.

granddaughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

12. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

13. If one's uncle or aunt dies, how long shall they stay, the nephew for his uncle, the niece for her aunt? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty days for the righteous, forty days for the sinners.'

14. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

15. If one's male cousin or female cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay fifteen days for the righteous, thirty days for the sinners.'

16. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

17. If the son or the daughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous: How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay ten days for the righteous, twenty days for the sinners.'

18. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

19. If the grandson of a cousin or the granddaughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay five days for the righteous, ten days for the sinners.'

20. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gathas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may euter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathushtra!'

21. If a man dies, of whatever race he is, who does not belong to the true faith, or the true law,[546] what part of the creation of the good spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP] does he directly defile? What part does he indirectly defile?

22.[547] Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! such wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the Good Spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP], and indirectly defiles them.

23. 'Whilst alive he smites the water; whilst alive he blows out the fire; whilst alive he carries off the cow; whilst alive he smites the

546 An infidel, whether he is a relation or not.

547 §§ 22-24 = Vd5.36-38, text and notes.

faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body; not so will he do when dead.

24. 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! such wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha, robs the faithful man of the full possession of his food, of his clothing, of his wood, of his bed, of his vessels; not so will he do when dead.'

FARGARD 13. The dog.

Synopsis.

I (1-7). The dog of Ohrmazd and the dog of Ahriman.

(a. 1-4). Holiness of the dog Vanghapara ('the hedgehog').

(b. 5-7). Hatefulness of the dog Zairimyangura ('the tortoise').

II (8-16). The several kinds of dogs. Penalties for the murder of a dog.

III (17-19) On the duties of the shepherd's dog and the house-dog.

IV (20-38). On the food due to the dog.

V (29-38). On the mad dog and the dog diseased; how they are to be kept, and cured.

VI (39-40). On the excellence of the dog.

VII (41-43). On the wolf-dog.

VIII (44-48). On the virtues and vices of the dog.

IX (49-50). Praise of the dog.

X (51-54). The water-dog.

This Fargard is the only complete fragment, still in existence, of a large canine literature: a whole section of the *Ganba-sar-nijat Nask* [Duwasrud Nask] was dedicated to the dog (the so-called Fargard Pasush-haurvastan; West, *Denkard* (Pahlavi Texts, IV), VIII, 23; 24, 5; 33, etc.)

Translation.

Ia.

1. Which is the good creature among the creatures of the Good Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Evil Spirit?

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'The dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghapara,[548] which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka;[549] this is the good creature among the creatures of the Good Spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP] that from

548 The hedgehog. 'The hedgehog, according to the Bd19.28, is created in opposition to the ant that carries off grain, as it says that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants, (Bd19.28; cf. Saddar 57). When the Arabs conquered Saistan, the inhabitants submitted on the condition that hedgehogs should not be killed nor hunted for, as they got rid of the vipers which swarm in that country. Every house had its hedgehog (Yaqout, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 303). Plutarch counts the hedgehog amongst the animals sacred to the Magi (*Quaestiones Conviviales*, IV, 5, 2)

midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Evil Spirit.

3. 'And whosoever, O Zarathushtra! shall kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghapara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, kills his own soul for nine generations, nor shall he find a way over the Chinwad bridge,[550] unless he has, while alive, atoned for his sin.'[551]

4. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghapara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahe-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraosho-charana.

Ib.

5. Which is the evil creature among the creatures of the Evil Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Good Spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP]?

6. Ahura Mazda answered: 'The daeva Zairimyangura,[552] which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyaka,[553] this is the evil creature among the creatures of the Evil Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Good Spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP].

7. 'And whosoever, O Zarathushtra! shall kill the daeva Zairimyangura, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyaka, his sins in thought, word, and deed are redeemed as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for.[554]

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549 .Dusaka is the popular name of the hedgehog (Pers. zuza). It is not without importance which name is given to a being: 'When called by its high name, it is powerful' (Comm.); cf. § 6, and Vd18.15.

550 The bridge leading to Paradise; see Vd19.30.

551 Cf. § 54. Framji translates: 'He cannot atone for it in his life even by performing a sacrifice to Sraosha' (cf. Vd9.56, text and note).

552 The tortoise (Framji and *Rivayats* [218]).

553 'When not so called it is less strong' (Comm.) Zairimyāka is a lucky name, and means, as it seems, who lives in verdure; Zairimyangura seems to mean 'the verdure-devourer.'

554 See Vd14.5.

II.

8. 'Whosoever shall smite either a shepherd's dog, or a house-dog, or a Vohunazga dog,[555] or a trained dog,[556] his soul when passing to the other world, shall fly[557] howling louder and more sorely grieved than the sheep does in the lofty forest where the wolf ranges.

9. 'No soul will come and meet his departing soul and help it, howling and grieved in the other world; nor will the dogs that keep the [Chinwad] bridge[558] help his departing soul howling and grieved in the other world.

10. 'If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away [sheep] from the fold, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the loss, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding.[559]

11. 'If a man shall smite a house-dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away [anything] from the house, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the loss, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding.'

12. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog, so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

13. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a house-dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered; 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

14. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Vohunazga dog so that it gives up the ghost and tlie soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

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555 See § 19, note.

556 A hunting-dog.

557 'From Paradise' (Comm.)

558 See Vd19.30.

559 Baodhō-varshta; see Vd7.38 n.

15. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Tauruna dog[560] so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, five hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

16. 'This is the penalty for the murder of a Jazhu dog, of a Vizu dog,[561] of a porcupine dog,[562] of a sharptoothed weasel,[563] of a swift-running fox; this is the penalty for the murder of any of the creatures of the Good Spirit [Spenta Mainyu] belonging to the dog kind, except the water-dog.'[564]

III.

17. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the shepherd's dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He comes and goes a Yujyesti[565] round about the fold, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

18. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the house-dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He comes and goes a Hathra round about the house, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

19. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the Vohunazga dog?.

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He claims none of those talents, and only seeks for his subsistence.'[566]

IV.

20. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a shepherd's dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

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560 Tauruna seems to be another name of the trained or hunting-dog (cf. § 8 compared with §§ 12-15), though tradition translates it 'a dog not older than four months.'

561 Unknown. See Vd5.31, 32.

562 A porcupine. See Vd5.31.

563 A weasel. See Vd5.33.

564 The otter. 'For the penalty in that case is most heavy' (Comm.) See § 52 seq. and Vd14.

565 A distance of sixteen Hathras (16,000 paces).

566 'He cannot do the same as the shepherd's dog and the house dog do, but he catches Khrafstras and smites the Nasu' (Comm.) It is 'the dog without a master' (gharīb), the vagrant dog; he is held in great esteem (§ 22), and is one or the dogs which can be used for the Sag-did.

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of the first rank.'

21. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a house-dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of middle rank.'

22. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a holy man, who should come to his house in the character of a priest.'[567]

23. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Tauruna dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a young man, born of pious parents, and who can already answer for his deeds.'[568]

24. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a shepherd's dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'[569]

25. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a house-dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahe-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

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567 The Vohunazga dog has no domicile, therefore he is not compared with the master of a house, but with a wandering friar, who lives on charity.

568 Probably, 'Who has performed the nu-zud [navjote -JHP], fifteen years old.' The young dog enters the community of the faithful at the age of four months, when he is fit for the Sag-did and can expel the Nasu.

569 'I also saw the soul of a man, whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not; but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly, and thighs of the man. And I asked thus: What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment? Srosh the pious and Atar the angel said thus: This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the food of the dogs of shepherds and house-holders; or beat and killed them' (*Arda Viraf* 48, translated by Haug).

26. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahe-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

27. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Tauruna dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda ansvvered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahe-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraosho-charana.

28. 'For in this material world, O Spitama Zarathushtra! it is the dog, of all the creatures of the Good Spirit [Spenta Mainyu], that most quickly decays into age, while not eating near eating people, and watching goods none of which it receives. Bring ye unto him milk and fat with meat;[570] this is the right food for the dog.'[571]

V.

29. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog that bites without barking, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

30. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie thereto a muzzle, an asti[572] thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that collar they shall tie it; by the two sides[573] of the collar they shall tie it.

31. 'If they shall not do so, and the mad dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, the dog shall pay for the wound of the wounded as for wilful murder.[574]

32. 'If the dog shall smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his right ear.

'If he shall smite another sheep or wound another man, they shall cut off his left ear.

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570 The same food as recommended for the dog by Columella (*Ordacea farina cum sero*, VII, 12; cf. Virgil, *Pasce sero pingui*, Georg. III, 406).

571 'Whenever one eats bread one must put aside three mouthfuls and give them to the dog ... for among all the poor there is none poorer than the dog' (*Saddar* 31).

572 A measure of unknown amount. Framji reads *ishti*, 'a brick' thick.

573 By the left and the right side of it.

574 According to Solon's law, the dog who had bitten a man was to be delivered to him tied up to a block four cubits long (Plutarchus, *Solon* 24). The Book of *Deuteronomy* orders the ox who has killed a man to be put to death.

33. 'If he shall smite a third sheep or wound a third man, they shall make a cut in his right foot.[575] If he shall smite a fourth sheep or wound a fourth man, they shall make a cut in his left foot.

34. 'If he shall for the fifth time smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his tail.

'Therefore they shall tie a muzzle to the collar; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie it. If they shall not do so, and the mad dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, he shall pay for the wound of the wounded as for wilful murder.'

35. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog, who has no scent, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall attend him to heal him, in the same manner as they would do for one of the faithful.'

36. O Maker oi the material world, thou Holy One! If they try to heal him and fail, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

37. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie thereto a muzzle, an asti thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that collar they shall tie it; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie it.

38. 'If they shall not do so, the scentless dog may fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, and come to grief: if he come to grief so, they shall be therefore Peshotanus.

VI.

39. 'The dog, O Spitama Zarathushtra! I, Ahura Mazda, have made self-clothed and self-shod; watchful and wakeful; and sharp-toothed; born to take his food from man and to watch over man's goods. I, Ahura Mazda, have made the dog strong of body against the evil-doer, when sound of mind and watchful over your goods.

40. 'And whosoever shall awake at his voice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! neither shall the thief nor the wolf carry anything from his house, without his being warned; the wolf shall be smitten and torn to pieces; he is driven away, he melts away like snow.'[576]

575 'They only cut off a piece of flesh from the foot' (Brouillons d'Anquetil).

576 Doubtful.

VII.

41. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which of the two wolves deserves more to be killed, the one that a he-dog begets of a she-wolf, or the one that a he-wolf begets of a she-dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Of these two wolves, the one that a he-dog begets of a she-wolf deserves more to be killed than the one that a he-wolf begets of a she-dog.

42. 'For the dogs born therefrom fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house-dog, on the Vohu-nazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such dogs are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other dogs.[577]

43. 'And the wolves born therefrom fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house-dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such wolves are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other wolves.

VIII.

44. 'A dog has the characters of eight sorts of people:-

'He has the character of a priest,

'He has the character of a warrior,

'He has the character of a husbandman,

'He has the character of a strolling singer,

'He has the character of a thief,

'He has the character of a disu,

'He has the character of a courtezan,

'He has the character of a child.

45. 'He eats the refuse, like a priest;[578] he is easily satisfied,[579] like a priest; he is patient, like a priest; he wants only a small piece of bread, like a priest; in these things he is like unto a priest.

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577 'Ultroque gravis succedere tigrim
Aura canis, majore tulit de sanguine foetum.
Sed praeceps virtus ipsa venabitur aula:
Ille tibi et pecudum multo cum sanguine crescet.' - Gratius Faliscus, *Cyneg*. 165 seq.

578 A wandering priest (see above, note 20).

579 'Good treatment makes him joyous' (Comm.)

'He marches in front, like a warrior; he fights for the beneficent cow, like a warrior;[580] he goes first out of the house, like a warrior;[581] in these things he is like unto a warrior.

46. 'He is watchful and sleeps lightly, like a husbandman; he goes first out of the house, like a husbandman;[582] he returns last into the house, like a husbandman;[583] in these things he is like unto a husbandman.

'He is fond of singing, like a strolling singer;[584] he wounds him who gets too near,[585] like a strolling singer; he is ill-trained, like a strolling singer; he is changeful, like a strolling singer; in these things he is like unto a strolling singer.

47. 'He is fond of darkness, like a thief; he prowls about in darkness, like a thief; he is a shameless eater, like a thief; he is therefore an unfaithful keeper, like a thief;[586] in these things he is like unto a thief.

'He is fond of darkness, like a disu;[587] he prowls about in darkness, like a disu; he is a shameless eater, like a disu; he is therefore an unfaithful keeper, like a disu; in these things he is like unto a disu.

48. 'He is fond of singing, like a courtezan; he wounds him who gets too near, like a courtezan; he roams along the roads, like a courtezan; he is ill-trained, like a courtezan; he is changeful, like a courtezan;[588] in these things he is like unto a courtezan.

'He is fond of sleep, like a child; he is tender like snow[42], like a child; he is full of tongue, like a child; he digs the earth with his paws,[589] like a child; in these things he is like unto a child.

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580 'He keeps away the wolf and the thief' (Comm.)

581 This clause is, as it seems, repeated here by mistake from § 46.

582 When taking the cattle out of the stables.

583 When bringing the cattle back to the stables.

584 The so-called Looris of nowadays.

585 He insults or robs the passer by, like a Loori.-' The Looris wander in the world, seeking their life, bed-fellows and fellow-travelers of the dogs and the wolves, ever on the roads to rob day and night' (Firdausi).

586 'When one trusts him with something, he eats it up' (Comm.)

587 According to Framji, 'a wild beast.'

588 The description of the courtesan follows closely that of the singer: in the East a public songstress is generally a prostitute. Loori means both a singer and a prostitute.

589 Doubtful.

IX.

49. 'If those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house-dog, pass by any of my houses, let them never be kept away from it.

'For no house could subsist on the earth made by Ahura, but for those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house-dog.'[590]

X.

50. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a dog dies, with marrow and seed[591] dried up, whereto does his ghost go?

51. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It passes to the spring of the waters,[592] O Spitama Zarathushtra! and there out of them two water-dogs are formed: out of every thousand dogs and every thousand she-dogs, a couple is formed, a water-dog and a water she-dog.[593]

52. 'He who kills a water-dog brings about a drought that dries up pastures.

'Until then, O Spitama Zarathushtra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

53. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

54, 55. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until the murderer of the water-dog has been smitten to death on the spot, and the holy soul of the dog has been offered up a sacrifice, for three days and three nights, with fire blazing, with Baresma tied up, and with Haoma prepared.[594]

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590 'But for the dog not a single head of cattle would remain in existence' (*Saddar* 31).

591 Marrow is the seat of life, the spine is 'the column and the spring of life' (Yt10.71); the sperm comes from it (Bd16). The same theory prevailed in India, where the sperm is called majj-samudbhava, 'what is born from marrow;' it was followed by Plato (Timaeus 74, 91; cf. Censorinus, De die natali, 5), and disproved by Aristotle (De Part. Anim. III, 7).

592 To the spring of Ardvi Sura, the goddess of waters.

593 There is therefore in a single water-dog as much life and holiness as in a thousand dogs. This accounts for the following. — The water-dog (udra upāpa; Persian sag-īābī) is the otter.

594 See Vd9.55, 56, note 34.

56. [‘Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.’][595]

595 See Vd9.53-57.

FARGARD 14. Atoning for the murder of a water-dog

Synopsis.

This Fargard is nothing more than an appendix to the last clauses in the preceding Fargard (§ 50 seq.) How the murder of a water-dog (an otter) may be atoned for is described in it at full length. The extravagance of the penalties prescribed may well make it doubtful whether the legislation of the *Vendidad* had ever any substantial existence in practice. These exorbitant prescriptions seem to be intended only to impress on the mind of the faithful the heinousness of the offense to be avoided.

Translation.

1. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who smites one of those water-dogs that are born one from a thousand dogs and a thousand she-dogs,[596] so that he gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall pay ten thousand stripes with the Aspahe-astra, ten thousand stripes with the Sraosho-charana.[597]

'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda[598] ten thousand loads of hard, well dried, well examined[599] wood, to redeem his own soul.

3. 'He shall godly and piously, bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda ten thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvasna, Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, Hadha-naepata,[600] or any sweet-scented plant, to redeem his own soul.

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596 See preceding Fargard § 51.

597 He shall pay 50 tanapuhrs (= 15,000 istirs = 60,000 dirhems). If he can afford it, he will alone in the manner stated in the *Avesta*; if he cannot afford it, it will be sufficient to perform a complete Izashne [Yasna -JHP] (sacrifice),' (Comm.)

598 To the altar of the Warharan fire.

599 It is forbidden to take any ill-smelling thing to the fire and to kindle it thereon; it is forbidden to kindle green wood, and even though the wood were hard and dry, one must examine it three times, lest there may be any hair or any unclean matter upon it, (*Gr. Riv.*) Although the pious Arda Viraf had always taken the utmost care never to put on the fire any wood but such as was seven years old, yet, when he entered Paradise, Atar, the genius of fire, showed him reproachfully a large tank full of the water which that wood had exuded (see *Arda Viraf* 10).

600 See above, Vd8.2, note 4.

4. 'He shall godly and piously tie ten thousand bundles of Baresma, to redeem his own soul.

'He shall offer up to the Good Waters ten thousand Zaothra libations with the Haoma and the milk, cleanly prepared and well strained, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, and mixed with the roots of the tree known as Hadha-naepata, to redeem his own soul.

5. 'He shall kill ten thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly. He shall kill ten thousand Kahrpus, who are snakes with the shape of a dog.[601] He shall hill ten thousand tortoises.[602] He shall kill ten thousand land-frogs;[603] he shall kill ten thousand water-frogs. He shall kill ten thousand corn-carrying ants;[604] he shall kill ten thousand ants of the small, venomous mischievous kind.[605]

6. 'He shall kill ten thousand worms of those that live on dirt; he shall kill ten thousand raging flies.[606]

'He shall fill up ten thousand holes for the unclean.[607]

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601 'Mār bānak snakes: they are dog-like, because they sit on their hindparts' (Comm.) The cat (gurba = Kahrpu) seems to be the animal intended. In a paraphrase of this passage in a Parsi Rivayat, the cat is numbered amongst the Khrafstras which it is enjoined to kill to redeem a sin (India Office Library, VIII, 13); cf. G. du Chinozi, p. 462: 'Les animaux que les Gaures ont en horreur sont les serpents, les couleuvres, les lezars, et autres de cette espece, les crapaux, lea grenouilles, lea écrevisses, les rats et souris, et sur tout le chat.'

602 See Vd8.6-7.

603 'Those that can go out of water and live on the dry ground' (Comm.) 'Pour les grenouilles et crapaux, ils disent que ce sont ceux (eux?) qui sont cause de ce que les hommes meurent, gātans les eaus où ils habitent continuellement, et que d'autant plus qu'il y en a dans le païs, d'autant plus lea caus causent-elles des maladies et enfin la mort,' G. du Chinon, p.465.

604 Herodotus already mentions the war waged by the Magi against snakes and ants (I, 140).-- 'Un jour que j'étois surpris de la guerre qu'ils font aux fourmis, ils me dirent que ces animaux ne faisaient que voler par des amas des grains plus qu'il n'étoit nécessaire pour leur nourriture,' G. du Chinon, p.464. Firdausi protested against the proscription: 'Do no harm to the corn-carrying ant; a living thing it is, and its life is dear to it.' The celebrated high-priest of the Parsis, the late Moola Firooz, entered those lines into his *Pand Nāmah*, which may betoken better days for the wise little creature.

605 Perhaps: 'of the small, venomous kind, with a mischievous track' (Bd19.28: when the grain-carrier travels over the earth, it produces a hollow track: when the hedgehog travels over it, the track goes away from it and it becomes level:' cf. Vd13.2, note).

606 Corpse-flies; see Vd7.2.

607 'The holes at which the unclean are washed' (Comm.; see Vd9.6 seq.)

'He shall godly and piously give to godly men[608] twice the set of seven implements for the fire,[609] to redeem his own soul, namely:-

7. 'The two answering implements for fire;[610] a broom;[611] a pair of tongs; a pair of round bellows extended at the bottom, contracted at the top; a sharp-edged sharp-pointed[612] adze; a sharp-toothed sharp-pointed saw; by means of which the worshippers of Mazda procure wood for the fire of Ahura Mazda.

8. 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of the priestly instruments of which the priests make use, to redeem his own soul, namely: The Astra;[613] the meat-vessel; the Paitidana;[614] the Khrafstraghna;[615] the Sraosho-charana;[616] the cup for the Myazda;[617] the cups for mixing and dividing;[618] the regular mortar;[619] the Haoma cups;[620] and the Baresma.

9. 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the war implements of which the warriors make use, to redeem his own soul;

'The first being a javelin, the second a sword, the third a club, the fourth a bow, the fifth a saddle with a quiver and thirty iron[621]-headed

608 To priests.

609 For the sacred fire.

610 Two receptacles, one for the wood, another for the incense.

611 To cleanse the Atash-dān or fire-vessel (Yasna 9.1).

612 Literally, 'sharp-kneed.'

613 The Aspahē-ashtra.

614 As everything that goes out of man is unclean, his breath defiles all that it touches; priests, therefore, while on duty, and even laymen, while praying or eating, must wear a mouth-veil, the Paitidāna (Parsi Penom), consisting 'of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to, at least, two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head' (Haug, *Essays*, 2nd ed. P.243, n. 1; cf. Comm. ad Vd18.1, and Anquetil II, 530).

615 The 'Khrafstra-killer;' an instrument for killing snakes, etc. It is a stick with a leather thong at its end, something like the Indian fly-flap.

616 See General Introduction.

617 Doubtful.

618 The cup in which the juice of the hom and or the urvarām (the twigs of hadha-naepata which are pounded together with the hom) is received from the mortar (Comm.)

619 The mortar with its pestle.

620 The cup on which twigs of Haoma are laid before being pounded, the so-called tashtah (Anquetil II, 533); 'some say, the hom-strainer' [a saucer with nine holes], Comm.

621 Dar: brass. -JHP

arrows, the sixth a sling with arm-string and with thirty sling stones;[622]

'The seventh a cuirass, the eighth a hauberk,[623] the ninth a tunic,[624] the tenth a helmet, the eleventh a girdle, the twelfth a pair of greaves.

10. 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the implements of which the husbandmen make use, to redeem his own soul, namely: A plough with yoke and ...[625]; a goad for ox; a mortar of stone; a round-headed hand-mill for grinding corn;

11. 'A spade for digging and tilling; one measure of silver and one measure of gold.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How much silver?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a stallion.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How much gold?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a he-camel.

12. 'He shall godly and piously procure a rill of running water[626] for godly husbandmen, to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the rill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The depth of a dog, and the breadth of a dog.[627]

13. 'He shall godly and piously give a piece of arable land to godly men, to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the piece of land?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much as can be watered with such a rill divided into two canals.[628]

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622 These are six offensive arms: the next six are defensive arms. — Cf. W. Jackson: *Herodotus* VII, 61, or *The Arms of the Ancient Persians illustrated from Iranian Sources*; New York, 1894.

623 'Going from the helm to the cuirass' (Comm.)

624 'Under the cuirass' (Comm.)

625 Yuyō-semi ayazhāna pairi-darezāna.

626 The most precious of all gifts in such a dry place as Iran. Water is obtained either through canals of derivation or through underground canals (kārēz, kanāt).

627 Which is estimated 'a foot deep, a foot broad' (Comm.)

628 Doubtful.

14. 'He shall godly and piously procure for godly men a stable for oxen, with nine hathras and nine nematas,[629] to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the stable?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It shall have twelve alleys[630] in the largest part of the house, nine alleys in the middle part, six alleys in the smallest part.

'He shall godly and piously give to godly men goodly beds with Sheets and cushions, to redeem his own soul.

15. 'He shall godly and piously give in marriage to a godly man a virgin maid, whom no man has known,[631] to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What sort of maid?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A sister or a daughter of his, at the age of puberty, with ear-rings in her ears and past her fifteenth year.

16. 'He shall godly and piously give to holy men twice seven head of small cattle, to redeem his own soul.'

'He shall bring up twice seven whelps.

'He shall throw twice seven bridges over canal.

17. 'He shall put into repair twice nine stables that are out of repair.

'He shall cleanse twice nine dogs from stipti, anairiti, and vyangura,[632] and all the diseases that are produced on the body of a dog.

'He shall treat twice nine godly men to their fill of meat, bread, strong drink, and wine.

18. 'This is the penalty, this is the atonement which saves the faithful man who submits to it not him who does not submit to it. Such a one shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Druj.'[633]

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629 Meaning unknown.

630 Twelve ranks of stalls (?).

631 Match-making is a good work (Vd4.44).

632 Meaning unknown.

633 See Vd8.107.

FARGARD 15. Regarding certain sins and obligations

Synopsis.

I (1-8). On five sins the commission of which makes the sinner a Peshotanu.

II a (9-12). On unlawful unions and attempts to procure miscarriage.

II b (13-19). On the obligations of the illegitimate father towards the mother and the child.

III (20-45). On the treatment of a bitch big with young.

IV (46-51). On the breeding of dogs.

Translation.

I.

1. How many are the sins that men commit and that, being committed and not confessed, nor atoned for, make their committer a Peshotanu?[634]

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are five such sins, O holy Zarathushtra! It is the first of these sins that men commit when a man teaches one of the faithful another faith, another law,[635] a lower doctrine, and he leads him astray with a full knowledge and conscience of the sin: the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshotanu.

3. 'It is the second of these sins when a man gives bones too hard or food too hot to a shepherd's dog or to a house-dog;

4. 'If the bones stick in the dog's teeth or stop in his throat; or if the food too hot burn his mouth or his tongue, he may come to grief thereby; if he come to grief thereby, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshotanu.[636]

5. 'It is the third of these sins when a man smites a bitch big with young or affrights her by running after her, or shouting or clapping with the hands;

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634 That is to say: he shall receive two hundred strokes with the Aspahe-ashtra or the Sraosho-charana; or pay three hundred istirs.

635 The Commentary has, 'that is, a creed that is not ours.'

636 He who gives too hot food to a dog so as to burn his throat is margarzan (guilty of death); he who gives bones to a dog so as to tear his throat is margarzan (*Gr. Riv.* 639).

6. 'If the bitch fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, she may come to grief thereby; if she come to grief thereby, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshotanu.[637]

7. 'It is the fourth of these sins when a man has intercourse with a woman who has the whites or sees the blood, the man that has done the deed becomes a Peshotanu.[638]

8. 'It is the fifth of these sins when a man has intercourse with a woman quick with child,[639] whether the milk has already come to her breasts or has not yet come: she may come to grief thereby; if she come to grief thereby,[640] the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshotanu.

IIa.

9. 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered,[641] and she conceives by him, let her not, being ashamed of the people, produce in herself the menses, against the course of nature, by means of water and plants.[642]

10. 'And if the damsel, being ashamed of the people, shall produce in herself the menses gainst the course of nature, by means of water and plants, it is a fresh sin as heavy [as the first].[643]

11. 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, let her not, being ashamed of the people, destroy the fruit in her womb.

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637 If a bitch is big with young [pregnant -JHP] and a man shouts or throws stones at her, so that the whelps come to mischief and die, he is margarzan (*Gr. Riv.* 639).

638 [i.e. during menstruation. -JHP] See Vd16.14 seq.

639 When she has been pregnant for four months and ten days, as it is then that the child is formed and a soul is added to its body (Anquetil II, 563).

640 Or better; 'if the child die.' 'If a man come to his wife [during her pregnancy] so that she is injured and bring forth a still-born child, he is margarzan' (*Old Riv.* 115 b).

641 'Whether she has a husband in the house of her own parents or has none; whether she has entered from the house of her own parents into the house of a husband [depending on another chief of family] or as not' (Comm.)

642 By means of drugs. [i.e. abortion -JHP]

643 'It is a tanapuhr sin for her: it is sin on sin' (the first sin being to have allowed herself to be seduced), Comm. 'If there has been no sin in her (if she has been forced), and if a man, knowing her shame, wants to take it off her, he shall call together her father, mother, sisters, brothers, husband, the servants, the menials, and the master and the mistress of the house, and he shall say, "This woman is with child by me, and I rejoice in it;" and they shall answer, "We know it, and we are glad that her shame is taken off her;" and he shall support her as a husband does' (Comm.)

12. 'And if the damsel, being ashamed of the people, shall destroy the fruit in her womb, the sin is on both the father and herself, the murder is on both the father and herself; both the father and herself shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.[644]

IIb.

13. 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, and she says, "I have conceived by thee;" and he replies, "Go then to the old woman[645] and apply to her for one of her drugs, that she may procure thee miscarriage;"

14. 'And the damsel goes to the old woman and applies to her for one of her drugs, that she may procure her miscarriage; and the old woman brings her some Banga, or Shaeta, a drug that kills in the womb or one that expels out of the womb,[646] or some other of the drugs that produce miscarriage and [the man says], "Cause thy fruit to perish!" and she causes her fruit to perish; the sin is on the head of all three, the man, the damsel, and the old woman.

15. 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child be born.

16. 'If he shall not support her, so that the child comes to grief,[647] for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

17. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If she be near her time, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

18. Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child be born.[648]

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644 For baodhō-varshta; see Vd7.38.

645 The nurse (Framji) or the midwife.

646 Banga is bang or mang, a narcotic made from hempseed, ahaēta is another sort of narcotic.

647 And dies.

648 §18 = § 15.

19. 'If he shall not support her ....[649] 'It lies with the faithful to look in the same way after every pregnant female, either two-footed or four-footed, two-footed woman or four-footed bitch.'

III.

20. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If (a bitch[650]) be near her time, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

21. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He whose house stands nearest, the care of supporting her is his;[651] so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

22. 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support; he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

23. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for camels, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

24. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for camels or whoso holds it,[652] the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

25. 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

26. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for horses, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

27. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for horses or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

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649 The sentence is left unfinished: Framji fills it with the words in § 16, 'so that the child,' etc. It seems as if §§ 17, 18 were not part of the original text, and as if § 17 were a mere repetition of § 20, which being wrongly interpreted as referring to a woman would have brought about the repetition of § 15 as an answer. See § 20.

650 The subject is wanting in the text: it is supplied from the Commentary and from the sense. [i.e. in heat -JHP]

651 The bitch is lying on the high road: the man whose house has its door nearest shall take care of her. If she dies, he shall carry her off [to dispose of the body according to the law]. One must support her for at least three nights: if one cannot support her any longer, one entrusts her to a richer man' (Comm. and Framji).

652 'In pledge or for rent' (Framji).

28. 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

29. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for oxen, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

30. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for oxen or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

31. 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

32. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a sheep-fold, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

33. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the sheepfold or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

34. 'If he shall not support her so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

35. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying on the earth-wall,[653] which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

36. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who erected the wall or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

37. 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

38. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the moat,[654] which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

39. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who dug the moat or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

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653 The wall around the house.

654 The moat before the earth-wall.

40. 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

41. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the middle of a pasture-field, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

42. Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who sowed the pasture-field or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; [so long shall he support her, until the whelps be bo If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.]

43. 'He shall take her to rest upon a litter of nemovanta or of any foliage fit for a litter; so long shall he support her, until the young dogs are capable of self-defence and self-subsistence.'

44. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are the dogs capable of self-defence and self-subsistence?

45. Ahura Mazda answered: 'When they are able to run about in a circuit of twice seven houses around.[655] Then they may be let loose, whether it be winter or summer.

'Young dogs ought to be supported for six months,[656] children for seven years.[657]

'Atar,[658] the son of Ahura Mazda, watches as well (over a pregnant bitch) as he does over a woman.'

IV.

46. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to have a bitch so covered that the offspring shall be one of a strong nature, what shall they do?

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655 Probably the distance of one yujyeshti; see Vd8.17.

656 Catulos sex mensibus primis dum corrohorentur emitti non oportet... (Columella, *De re agraria*, VII, 12).

657 The age when they are invested with the kusti and sudre, and become members of the Zoroastrian community.

658 'When a woman becomes pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavor so that there may be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch over it. And, when the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days — if they burn a fire it would be better — so that the demons and fiends may not be able to do any damage and harm; because, when a child is born, it is exceedingly delicate for those three days' (Saddar 16; West, *Pahlavi Texts*, III, 277).

47. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall dig a hole in the earth, in the middle of the fold half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if the earth be soft.

48. 'They shall first tie up [the bitch] there, far from children and from the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda,[659] and they shall watch by her until a dog comes there from anywhere; then another again, and then a third again,[660] each being kept apart from the former, lest they should assail one another.

49.[661] 'The bitch being thus covered by three dogs, grows big with young, and the milk comes to her teats and she brings forth a young one that is born from several dogs.'

50. If a man smite a bitch who has been covered by three dogs, and who has already milk, and who shall bring forth a young one born from several dogs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

51. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

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659 'From children, lest she shall bite them; from the fire, lest it shall hurt her' (Comm.)

660 Cf. Justinus III, 4: maturiorem futuram conceptionem rati, si eam singulae per plures viros experirentur.

661 The text of this and the following clause is corrupt, and the meaning is doubtful.

FARGARD 16. Purity laws regarding menstruation

Synopsis.

I (1-7). On the uncleanness of women during their sickness.

II (8-12). What is to be done if that state lasts too long.

III (13-18). Sundry laws relating to the same matter. See Introd. V, 12.

Translation.

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a woman who has the whites or sees blood, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall clear the way[662] of the wood there, both plants and trees;[663] they shall strew dry dust on the ground;[664] and they shall isolate a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth part of the house,[665] lest her look should fall upon the fire.'

3. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

4. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen paces from the fire, fifteen paces from the water, fifteen paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.'

5. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has the whites or sees the blood?

6. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three paces[666] from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has the whites or sees the blood.'

In what kind of vessels shall he bring her bread? In what kind of vessels shall he bring her barley-drink?

'In vessels of iron,[667] or of lead, or of any common metal.'[668]

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662 The way of the Dashtānistān.

663 Lest the wood shall be touched and defiled by the woman on her way to the Dashtanistan.

664 Lest the earth shall be touched and defiled by her. Cf. Farg. 9.11.

665 Nowadays a room on the ground-floor is reserved for that use.Nowadays a room on the ground-floor is reserved for that use.

666 The food is held out to her from a distance in a metal spoon.

7. How much bread shall he bring to her? How much barley-drink shall he bring?

'Two danares[669] of dry bread, and one danare of liquor, lest she should get too weak.[670]

'If a child has just touched her, they shall first wash his hands and then his body.[671]

II.

8. 'If she still see blood after three nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until four nights have passed.

'If she still see blood after four nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until five nights have passed.

9. 'If she still see blood after five nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until six nights have passed.

'If she still see blood after six nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until seven nights have passed.

10. 'If she still see blood after seven nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until eight nights have passed.

'If she still see blood after eight nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until nine nights have passed.

11. 'If she still see blood after nine nights have passed, this is a work of the Daevas which they have performed for the worship and glorification of the Daevas.[672]

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667 Dar: brass. -JHP

668 Earthen vessels, when defiled, cannot be made clean; but metal vessels can. See Farg. 7.73 seq.)

669 A danare is, according to Anquetil, as much as four tolas; a tola is from 105 to 175 grains.

670 'soshyos says: For three nights cooked meat is not allowed to her, lest the issue shall grow stronger.

671 A child whom she suckles. The meaning is, Even a child, if he has touched her, must undergo the rites of cleansing. The general rule is given in the Commentary: 'Whoever has touched a Dashtan woman must wash his body and his clothes with gomez and water.' The ceremony in question is the simple Ghosel, not the Barashnum, since the woman herself performs the former only (see below, § 11 seq.)

672 Abnormal issues are a creation of Ahriman's (Farg. 1.18).

'The worshippers of Mazda shall clear the way[673] of the wood there, both plants and trees;[674]

12. 'They shall dig three holes in the earth, and they shall wash the woman with gomez by two of those holes and with water by the third.

'They shall kill Khrafstras, to wit: two hundred corn-carrying ants,[675] if it be summer; two hundred of any other sort of the Khrafstras made by Angra Mainyu, if it be winter.'

III.

13. If a worshipper of Mazda shall suppress the issue of a woman who has the whites or sees blood, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshotanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahe-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

14. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall again and again lasciviously touch the body of a woman who has the whites or sees blood, so that the wlutes turn to the blood or the blood turns to the whites, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

15. Ahura Mazda answered: 'For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her, thirty stripes with the Aspahe-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraosho-charana.

'For the second time he comes near unto her, for the second time he lies by her, fifty stripes with the Aspahe-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraosho-charana.

'For the third time he comes near unto her, for the third time he lies by her, seventy stripes with the Aspahe-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraosho-charana.'

16. For the fourth time he comes near unto her, for the fourth time he lies by her, if he shall press the body under her clothes, if he shall go in between the unclean thighs, but without sexual intercourse, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahe-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraosho-charana.

17. 'Whosover shall lie in sexual intercourse with a woman who has the whites or sees blood does no better deed than if he should burn

673 The way of the Barashnum-gah, where the cleansing takes place.

674 See Farg 9.3 seq.

675 Cf. Farg. 14.5.

the corpse of his own son, born of his own body and dead of naeza,[676] and drop its fat into the fire.[677]

18. 'All wicked, embodiments of the Druj, are scorners of the judge: all scorners of the judge are rebels against the Sovereign: all rebels against the Sovereign are ungodly men; and all ungodly men are worthy of death.'[678]

676 A disease (Vd7.58). There is another word neza, 'a spear,' so that one may translate also 'killed by the spear' (Asp.)

677 'Not that the two deeds are equal, but neither is good' (Comm.) The sin in question is a simple tanapuhr (Vd15.7), and therefore can be atoned for by punishment and repentance, whereas the burning of a corpse is a crime for which there is no atonement (Vd1.17; Vd8.73 seq.)

678 Literally, 'is a Peshotanu;' 'he is a tanapuhr sinner, that is to say, margarzan (worthy of death),' Comm.

FARGARD 17. Hair and nails.

Introduction to Fargard 17.

Anything that has been separated from the body of man is considered dead matter (nasu), and is accordingly unclean. As soon as hair and nails are cut off, the demon takes hold of them and has to he driven away from them by spells, in the same way as he is from the bodies of the dead.

On similar views and customs in different countries, see *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, X, 146; Aulus Gellius, X, 15, 15; Méusine, 1878, pp.79, 549, 583; L. de Rosny, *Histoire des dynasties divines*, 308.

Translation.

I.

1. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the most deadly deed whereby a man offers up a sacrifice to the Daevas?'[679]

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man here below, combing his hair or shaving it off, or paring off his nails, drops them[680] in a hole or in a crack.[681]

3. 'Then by this transgression of the rites, Daevas are produced in the earth; by this transgression of the rites, those Khrafstras are produced in the earth which men call lice, and which eat up the corn in the corn-field and the clothes in the wardrobe.

4. 'Therefore, thou, O Zarathushtra! whenever here below thou shalt comb thy hair or shave it off, or pare off thy nails, thou shalt take them away ten paces from the faithful, twenty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, fifty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma.

5. 'Then thou shalt dig a hole, a disti[682] deep if the earth be hard, a vitasti deep if it be soft; thou shalt take the hair down there and thou shalt say aloud these victorious words:

"For him, as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow up."[683]

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679 Any offense to religion is considered an offering to the Daevas, whose strength is thereby increased. See Yt5.95.

680 Without performing the requisite ceremonies.

681 Doubtful.

682 A dishti = ten fingers. A vitasti = twelve fingers.

683 [at ah'yāi ashā mazdå urvarå vaxshat.] See above, Vd11.6; the choice of this line was determined by the presence of the word plants in it: man was considered a

6. 'Thereupon thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shall chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

II.

7. 'For the nails, thou shalt dig a hole, out of the house, as deep as the top joint of the little finger; thou shalt take the nails down there and thou shalt say aloud these victorious words:

"The things that the pure proclaim through Asha and Vohu-mano." [684]

8. 'Then thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

9. 'And then:

"O Asho-zushta bird![685] these nails I announce and consecrate unto thee. May they be for thee so many spears and knives, so many bows and falcon-winged arrows and so many sling-stones against the Mazainya Daevas!" [686]

10. 'If those nails have not been consecrated (to the bird), they shall be in the hands of the Mazainya Daevas so many spears and

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microcosm, and every element in him had its counterpart in nature; the skin is like the sky, the flesh is like the earth, the bones are like the mountains, the veins are like the rivers, the blood in the body is like the water in the sea, the hair is like the plants, the more hairy parts are like the forests (Gr. Bd.) Cf. *Rig-veda* X, 16,3; *Ilias* VII, 99; *Empedocles*, fr. 378; *Epicharmus ap. Plut. Consol. ad Apoll.* 15; Edda, *Grimnismal*; 40.

684 [ashā vohū mananghā ýā sruyē parē magaonō.] Yasna 33.7; understood (with a play upon the word sruyē 'is heard,' and 'nails of both hands') as: 'O Asha, with Vohu-mano, the nails of the pure [are for you].'

685 [paiti-tē merekha ashō-zushta imå srvå vaēdhayemi imå srvå āvaēdhayemi imåse-tē srvå merekha ashō-zushta hyāre arshtayasca karetayasca thanvareca ishavasca erezifyō-parena asanasca fradaxshanya paiti daēvō māzanyān.] 'The owl,' according to modern tradition. The word literally means 'friend of holiness.' 'For the bird Asho-zushta they recite the Avesta formula; if they recite it, the fiends tremble and do not take up the nails; but if the nails have had no spell uttered over them, the fiends and wizards use them as arrows against the bird Asho-zusta and kill him. Therefore, when the nails have had a spell uttered over them, the bird takes and eats them up, that the fiends may not do any harm by their means' (Bd19). The bird Asho-zusta is also called Bird of Vohuman (*Saddar* 14), both names being taken from the first words of the line quoted above.

686 See above, Vd10.14, note 13; Vd10.16, note 14. The nails are cut in two and the fragments are put in the hole with the point directed towards the north, that is to say, against the breasts of the Devs (see above, Vd7.2, note 1). See Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, 117; India Office Library, VIII, 80.

knives so many bows and falcon-winged arrows, and so many sling-stones (against the Mazainya Daevas).[687]

11. 'All wicked, embodiments of the Druj, are scorners of the judge: all scorners of the judge are rebels against the Sovereign: all rebels against the Sovereign are ungodly men; and all ungodly men are worthy of death.'[688]

687 Repeated by mistake from § 10.

688 See preceding Fargard, § 18.

FARGARD 18.

Synopsis.

I (1-13). On the unworthy priest and enticers to heresy.

II (14-29). The holiness of the cock, the bird of Sraosha, who awakes the world for prayer and for the protection of Atar.

III (30-59). On the four sins, that make the Druj pregnant with a brood of fiends.

IV (60-65). On the evil caused by the Jahi (the prostitute).

V (66-76). How intercourse with a Dashtān woman is to be atoned for.

Translation.

I.

1. 'There is many a one, O holy Zarathushtra!' said Ahura Mazda, 'Who wears a wrong Paitidana,[689] and who has not girded his loins with the Religion;[690] When such a man says, "I am an Athravan," he lies; do not call him an Athravan, O holy Zarathushtra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

2. 'He holds a wrong Khrafstraghna[691] in his hand and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Athravan," he lies; do not call him an Athravan, O holy Zarathushtra! thus said Ahura Mazda.

3. 'He holds a wrong twig[692] in his hand and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Athravan," he lies; do not call him an Athravan, O holy Zarathushtra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

4. 'He wields a wrong Ashtra mairya[693] and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Athravan," he lies; do

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689 See above, Vd14.8, note 19.

690 The word translated girded is the word used of the Kusti, the sacred girdle which the Parsi must never part with (see § 54); the full meaning, therefore, is, 'girded with the law as with a Kusti' (cf. Yasna 9.26 [81]), that is to say, 'never forsaking the law,' or, as the Commentary expresses it, 'one whose thought is all on the law' (cf. § 5).

691 See above, Vd14.8, note 20.

692 The bundles of Baresma [barsom -JHP] or the urvaram (see Vd3.1, note 3 and Vd14.8, note 23).

693 The ashtra (Aspahe-ashtra) with which the priest, as a Sraosho-varez, chastises the guilty.

not call him an Athravan, O holy Zarathushtra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

5. 'He who sleeps on throughout the night, neither performing the Yasna nor chanting the hymns, worshipping neither by word nor by deed, neither learning nor teaching, with a longing for (everlasting) life, he lies when he says, "I am an Athravan," do not call him an Athravan, O holy Zarathushtra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

6. 'Him thou shalt call an Athravan, O holy Zarathushtra! who throughout the night sits up and demands of the holy Wisdom,[694] which makes man free from anxiety, and wide of heart, and easy of conscience at the head of the Chinwad bridge,[695] and which makes him reach that world, that holy world, that excellent world of Paradise.

7. '(Therefore) demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

8. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is it that brings in the unseen power of Death?'

9. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the man that teaches a wrong Religion;[696] it is the man who continues for three springs[697] without

694 That is to say, studies the law and learns from those who know it.

695 See Vd19.30. 'It gives him a stout heart, when standing before the Chinwad bridge' (Comm.)

696 [akha daēna, *lit.* 'bad religion' -JHP] 'The deceiver Ashemaogha' (Comm.); the heretic. See Vd15.2.

697 'For three years' (Comm.)

wearing the sacred girdle,[698] without chanting the Gathas, without worshipping the Good Waters.

10. 'And he who should set that man at liberty, when bound in prison,[699] does no better deed than if he should cut a man's head off his neck.[700]

11. 'For the blessing uttered by a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha does not go past the mouth (of the blesser); the blessing of two Ashemaoghas[701] does not go past the tongue; the blessing of three[13] is nothing; the blessing of four[13] turns to self-cursing.

12. 'Whosoever should give to a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha either some Haoma prepared, or some Myazda consecrated with blessings, does no better deed than if he should lead a thousand horse against the boroughs of the worshippers of Mazda, and should slaughter the men thereof, and drive off the cattle as plunder.

13. 'Demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

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698 The Kusti, which must he worn by every Parsi, man or woman, from their fifteenth year of age (see below, § 54 seq); it is the badge of the faithful, the girdle by which he is united both with Ohrmazd and with his fellow-believers. He who does not wear it must be refused water and bread by the members of the community; he who wears it becomes a participator in the merit of all the good deeds performed all over the Zarathustrian world (Saddar 10 and Saddar 46). The Kusti consists 'of seventy-two interwoven filaments, and should three times circumvent the waist. ... Each of the threads is equal in value to one of the seventy-two Has of the Yasna; each of the twelve threads in the six lesser cords is equal in value to the dawazdih hamaist...; each of the lesser cords is equal in value to one of the six Gahambars; each of the three circumventions of the loins is equal in value to *humat*, good thought, *hukht*, good speech, *huaresta*, good work; the binding of each of the four knots upon it confers pleasure on each of the four elements, fire, air, water, and the earth' (Edal Daru, apud Wilson, *The Parsi Religion Unfolded*, p. 163). Another piece of clothing which every Parsi is enjoined to wear is the Sudre, or sacred shirt, a muslin shirt with short sleeves, that does not reach lower than the hips, with a small pocket at the opening in front of the shirt, the so-called giriban or kissai karfa, 'the pocket for good deeds.' The faithful man must, while putting on his Sudre, look at the giriban and ask himself whether it is full of good deeds.

699 See Introd. III, 10. Cf. § 12.

700 Doubtful. The Commentary seems to understand the sentence as follows: 'He who should free him from hell would thus perform no less a feat than if he should cut off the head of a man and then make him alive again.'

701 Perhaps better: 'The second ..., the third ..., the fourth blessing of an Ashemaogha.'

II.

14. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who is the Sraosha-varez[702] of Sraosha? the holy, strong Sraosha, who is Obedience incarnate, a Sovereign with an astounding weapon.'[703]

15. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the bird named Parodarsh,[704] which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatas,[705] O holy Zarathushtra! the bird that lifts up his voice against the mighty Ushah:[706]

16. '"Arise, O men! recite the *Ashem yad vahistem* that smites down the Daevas.[707] Lo! here is Bushyasta, the long-handed,[708] coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world, as soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' [she says,] 'O poor man! the time[709] is not yet come.'"

17. '"On the three excellent things be never intent, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; on the three abominable things be ever intent, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

18. 'On the first part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the master of the house for help, saying:

19. '"Up! arise, thou master of the house! put on thy girdle [[kusti]] on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed

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702 'Who is he who sets the world in motion?' (Comm.)

703 Sraosha, Srosh, the Genius of Active Piety. He first tied the Baresma [barsom], sacrificed to Ahura, and sang the Gathas. Thrice in each day and night he descends upon the earth to smite Angra Mainyu and his crew of demons. With his club uplifted he protects the world from the demons of the night, and the dead from the terrors of death and from the assaults of Angra Mainyu and Asto-vidotu [Astwihad]. It is through a sacrifice performed by Ohrmazd, as a Zoti, and Srosh, as a Raspi, that at the end of time Ahriman will be forever vanquished and brought to nought (Yasna 57, Yt11, etc.)

704 'He who foreshows the coming dawn; the cock.'

705 'When he is not called so, he is powerful' (Comm.) See Vd13.2, 6.

706 Ushah, the second half of the night, from midnight to the dawn. [Ushahin -JHP]

707 The cock is 'the drum of the world.' As crowing in the dawn that dazzles away the fiends, he crows away the demons: 'The cock was created to fight against the fiends and wizards; ... he is with the dog an ally of Srosh against demons' (Bd19). 'No demon can enter a house in which there is a cock; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chant the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to flight' (Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, translated by Shea, p. 57; see Saddar 32, and J. Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt*, 1696, p.371).

708 The demon of sleep, laziness, procrastination. She lulls back to sleep the world as soon as awaked, and makes the faithful forget in slumber the hour of prayer.

709 'To perform thy religious duties' (Comm.)

hands.[710] Here comes Azi,[711] made by the Daevas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

20. 'On the second part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the husbandman for help, saying;

21. '"Up! arise, thou husbandman! Put on thy girdle [[kusti]] on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands. Here comes Azi, made by the Daevas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

22. 'On the third part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the holy Sraosha for help, saying: "Come thou, holy, well-formed Sraosha, [then he brings unto me some clean wood with his well-washed hands.[712]] Here comes Azi, made by the Daevas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

23. 'And then the holy Sraosha wakes up the bird named Parodarsh, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatas, and the bird lifts up his voice against the mighty Ushah:

24. '"Arise, O men! recite the *Ashem yad vahistem* [Ashem Vohu] and the *Naismi daevo*.[713] Lo! here is Bushyasta, the long-handed, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world as soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' [she says,] 'O poor man! the time is not yet come.'"

25. '"On the three excellent things be never intent, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; on the three abominable things be ever intent, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

26. 'And then bed-fellows address one another: "Rise up, here is the cock calling me up." Whichever of the two first gets up shall first enter Paradise: whichever of the two shall first, with well-washed hands, bring clean wood unto Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, Atar, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as it required, will thus bless him:

27. '"May herds of oxen and sons accrue to thee: may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayst thou live on in the joy of thy soul all the nights of thy life."

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710 The Parsi, as soon as he has risen, must put on the kusti, wash his hands, and put wood on the fire.

711 āzi, the demon of avidity; he extinguishes the fire, while he devours the wood.

712 The text seems to be corrupt: it must probably be emended into 'bring into me...'

713 The prayer 'Righteousness is the best of all good...' (the Ashem Vohu), and the profession of faith [creed]: 'I scorn the Daevas...' (Yasna 12.1).

'This is the blessing which Atar speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well examined by the light of the day, well cleansed with godly intent.

28. 'And whosoever will kindly and piously present one of the faithful with a pair of these my Parodarsh birds, a male and a female, O Spitama Zarathushtra! it is as though he had given[714] a house with a hundred columns, a thousand beams, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows.

29. 'And whosoever shall give meat to one of the faithful, as much of it as the body of this Parodarsh bird of mine, I, Ahura Mazda, need not interrogate him twice; he shall directly go to Paradise.'

III.

30. The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her asked the Druj: 'O thou wretched, worthless Druj! Thou then, alone in the material world, dost bear offspring without any male coming unto thee?'

31. The Druj demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! It is not so, nor do I, alone in the material world, bear offspring without any male coming unto me.

32. 'For there are four males of mine; and they make me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed.'[715]

33. The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Druj: 'O thou wretched, worthless Druj! Who is the first of those males of thine?'

34. The Druj demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! He is the first of my males who, being entreated by one of the faithful, does not give him anything, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up.[716]

35. 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed.'

36. The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Druj: 'O thou wretched, worthless Druj! What is the thing that can undo that?'

37. The Druj demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that undoes it, namely, when a man unasked, kindly and

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714 'In the day of recompense' (Comm.); he shall he rewarded as though he had given a house, etc.... he shall receive such a house in Paradise.

715 Sin makes the Druj mother of a spontaneous progeny, as the sinner is 'the brood of the Druj' (Yasna 61.10).

716 See Vd3.34.

piously, gives to one of the faithful something, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up.

38. 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

39. The holy Sraosha, letting down his club upon her, asked the Druj: 'O thou wretched, worthless Druj! Who is the second of those males of thine?'

40. The Druj demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! He is the second of my males who, making water, lets it fall along the upper forepart of his foot.

41. 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed.'

42. The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Druj: 'O thou wretched, worthless Druj! What is the thing that can undo that?'

43. The Druj demon answered: 'O holy, wall-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that undoes it, namely, when the man rising up[717] and stepping three steps further off, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya,[718] two humatanam,[719] three hukhshathrotemam,[720] and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya[721] and offer up one Yenhe hatam.[722]

44. 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, 'who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

45. The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Druj: 'O thou wretched, worthless Druj! Who is the third of those males of thine?'

46. The Druj demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! He is the third of my males who during his sleep emits seed.

47. 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive progeny by their seed.'

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717 'Nec stando mingens ... facile visitur Persa' (Amm. Marc. XXIII, 6); *Arda Viraf* 24; *Menog i Khrad* 2.39; *Saddar* 56. Cf. Manu IV, 47 seq., and Polack, *Persien* I, 67: 'Von einem in Paris weilenden Perser hinterbrachte man dem König, um seine Emancipation und Abtrünnigkeit vom Gesetz za beweisen, dass er Schweinefleisch esse und stehend die Function verrichte.'

718 See Vd8.19.

719 Yasna 35.2: one of the Bish-amruta (Vd10.4).

720 Yasna 35.5: one of the Thrish-amruta (Vd10.8).

721 Making four Ahunwars in all; see Vd10.12.

722 See Yasna 21.

48. The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Druj: 'O thou wretched, worthless Druj! What is the thing that can undo that?'

49. The Druj demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! this is the thing that undoes it, namely, if the man, when he has risen from sleep, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanam, three hukhshathrotemam, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yenhe hatam.[723]

50. 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

51. Then he shall speak unto Spenta Armaiti,[724] saying: 'O Spenta Armaiti, this man do I deliver unto thee;[725] this man deliver thou back unto me, against the happy day of resurrection; deliver him back as one who knows the Gathas, who knows the Yasna,[726] and the revealed Law,[727] a wise and clever man, who is Obedience incarnate.

52. 'Then thou shalt call his name "Fire-creature, Fire-seed, Fire-offspring, Fire-land," or any name wherein is the word Fire.'[728]

53. The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Druj: 'O thou wretched, worthless Druj! Who is the fourth of those males of thine?'

54. The Druj demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! This one is my fourth male who, either man or woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle and the sacred shirt.[729]

55. 'At the fourth step[730] we Daevas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to

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723 See § 43 and notes.

724 The Genius of the Earth (see Vd2.10).

725 In the same way as she received the seed of the dying Gayomard, from which she let grow, in the shape of a plant, the first human couple, Mashye and Mashyane (Bd15.1-2).

726 The Yasna Haptanhaiti.

727 Literally, 'the answers made to the questions (of Zarathushtra).'

728 Atar, the Fire, is the ideal father of the son to be born, as Spenta Armaiti, the Earth, is his ideal mother. The fire is considered male (Dk., apud West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 410) and (as Apam Napat) has made and shaped man (Yt19.52).

729 The kusti and the sudre; see above, § 9, note 10. It is the sin known as kushād duvārishnī (*Menog i Khrad* 2.35; Arda Viraf 25.6).

730 'Going three steps without kusti is only a three Sraosho-charana sin; from the fourth step, it is a tanapuhr sin' (Comm.)

destroy the world of Righteousness, and he destroys it like the Yatus and the Zandas.'[731]

56. The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Druj: 'O thou wretched, worthless Druj, what is the thing that can undo that?'

57. The Druj demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! There is no means of undoing it;

58. 'When a man or a woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle or the sacred shirt [kusti and sudre -JHP].

59. 'At the fourth step we Daevas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of Righteousness, and he destroys it like the Yatus and the Zandas.'

IV.

60. Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

61. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who grieves thee with the sorest grief? Who pains thee with the sorest pain?'

62. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the Jahi,[732] O Spitama Zarathushtra! who mixes in her the seed of the faithful and the unfaithful, of the worshippers of Mazda and the worshippers of the Daevas, of the wicked and the righteous.[733]

63. 'Her look dries up one-third of the mighty floods that run from the mountains, O Zarathushtra; her look withers one-third of the beautiful, golden-hued, growing plants, O Zarathushtra;

64. 'Her look withers one-third of the strength of Spenta Armaiti;[734] and her touch withers in the faithful one-third of his good

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731 The Yatu is a sorcerer; the Zanda is an apostle of Ahriman. [i.e. *zandiks* (heretics) -JHP]

732 The courtesan, as an incarnation of the female demon Jahi. [i.e. prostitute. Pahlavi equivalent is "jeh" (see Bd1 and Dk. Book 9, chapter 11) Kanga, in his *Avestan Dictionary* says that a Jahi is a rake, a libertine, one who leads a licentious life (p. 191) -JHP].

733 '[Whether she gives up her body to the faithful or to the unfaithful], there is no difference; when she has been with three men, she is guilty of death' (Comm.)

734 The earth.

thoughts, of his good words, of his good deeds, one-third of his strength, of his victorious power, and of his holiness.[735]

65. 'Verily I say unto thee, O Spitama Zarathushtra! such creatures ought to be killed even more than gliding snakes,[736] than howling wolves, than the wild she-wolf that falls upon the fold, or than the she-frog that falls upon the waters with her thousandfold brood.'

V.

66. Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

67-68. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has the whites or sees blood, and he does so wittingly and knowingly,[737] and she allows it willfully, wittingly, and knowingly, what is the atonement for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed they have done?'

69. Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has the whites or sees blood, and he does so wittingly and knowingly, and she allows it willfully, wittingly, and knowingly;

70. 'He shall slay a thousand head of small cattle; he shall godly and piously offer up to the fire[738] the entrails[739] thereof together with

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735 'If a Jahi (courtesan) look at running waters, they fall; if at trees, they are stunted; if she converse with a pious man, his intelligence and his holiness are withered by it' (*Saddar* 67). Cf. Manu IV, 40 seq.

736 It is written in the law (the *Avesta*): 'O Zartosht Spitaman! with regard to woman, I say to thee that any woman that has given up her body to two men in one day is sooner to he killed than a wolf, a lion, or a snake: any one who kills such a woman will gain as much merit by it as if he had provided with wood a thousand fire-temples, or destroyed the dens of adders, scorpions, lions, wolves, or snakes' (*Old Riv.* 59 b).

737 [i.e. while menstruating -JHP] 'Knowing her state and knowing that it is a sin' (Comm.)

738 To the Warharan fire.

739 The omentum (afsman) or epipleon. Catullus, describing the sacrifice of the Magi, has: '... Accepto veneretur carmine divos / Omentum in flamma pingue liquefaciens' (LXXXIX [i.e. Carmen 90]. Strabo XV, 13. 'Ascending six steps they showed me in a Room adjoining to the temple, their Fire which they fed with Wood, and sometimes Burn on it the Fat of the Sheep's Tail.' *A Voyage Round the World,* Dr. J. F. Gemelli, 1698.

Zaothra-libations;[740] he shall bring the shoulder bones to the Good Waters.[741]

71. 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire a thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvasna, Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, Hadha-naepata, or of any sweet-scented plant.[742]

72. 'He shall tie and consecrate a thousand bundles of Baresma; he shall godly and piously offer up to the Good Waters a thousand Zaothra-libations, together with the Haoma and the milk, cleanly prepared and well strained, — cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, and mixed with the roots of the tree known as Hadha-naepata.[743]

73. 'He shall kill a thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly, two thousand of the other kind; he shall kill a thousand land-frogs and two thousand water-frogs; he shall kill a thousand corn-carrying ants and two thousand of the other kind.[744]

74. 'He shall throw thirty bridges over canals; he shall undergo a thousand stripes with the Aspahe-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraosho-charana.[745]

75. 'This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed that he has done.

76. 'If he shall pay it, he makes himself a viaticum into the world of the holy ones; if he shall not pay it, he makes himself a viaticum into the world of the wicked, into that world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness, which is Darkness' self.'[746]

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740 The ceremony here described is nearly fallen into desuetude: it is the so-called Zohr-atash (zaothra for the fire), which is for the fire what the Zohr-ab is for the waters.

741 This is the Zohr-ab. According to the *Shayest* (11.4), when an animal is immolated, the heart is offered to the fire and the shoulder is offered to the waters.

742 See Vd14.3 seq.

743 See Vd14.4, and Vd14.8, note.

744 See Vd14.5.

745 Five tanapuhrs, that is six thousand dirhems.

746 See Vd5.62.

FARGARD 19.

Synopsis.

I (§§ 1-3). Angra Mainyu sends the demon Buiti to kill Zarathushtra: Zarathushtra sings aloud the Ahunwar, and the demon flies away, confounded by the sacred words and by the glory of Zarathushtra.

Ia (§§ 4-10). Angra Mainyu himself attacks him and propounds riddles to be solved under pain of death. The Prophet rejects him with heavenly stones, given by Ahura, and announces to him that he will destroy his creation. The demon promises him the empire of the world if he adores him, as his ancestors have done, and abjures the religion of Mazda. Zarathushtra rejects his offers scornfully. He announces he will destroy him with the arms given by Ahura, namely, the sacrificial implements and the sacred words. Then he recites the *Tat thwa peresa*, that is to say, the Gatha in which he asks Ahura for instruction on all the mysteries of the material and spiritual world.

The rest of the Fargard contains specimens of the several questions asked by Zarathushtra and the answers given by Ahura. It is an abridgement of the Revelation (cf. HN).

II (11-17). How to destroy the uncleanness born from a contact with the dead? — By invoking the Mazdean Religion. A series of invocations taught by Ahura and developed by Zarathushtra (15-16)

III (18-19). How to promote the prosperity of the creation? — By the rites of the Baresman [barsom].

IV (20-25). How to purify man and clothes defiled by the dead? — With gomez, water, and perfume.

V (26-34). On the remuneration of deeds after death; on the fate of the wicked and the righteous; the Chinwad bridge.

IIa (34-42). Another series of invocations.

VI (43-47). The demons, dismayed by the birth of the Prophet, rush back into hell.

As may be seen from the preceding analysis, the essential part of this Fargard are sections I and VI, the rest being an indefinite development. It appears also from section VI, that the attacks of Buiti and Angra Mainyu against Zarathushtra and the attempts to seduce him are supposed to take place at the moment when he was born, which is confirmed by the testimony of the *Warsht-mansr Nask* (West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 226 seq.)

Translation.

I.

1. From the region of the north, from the regions of the north,[747] forth rushed Angra Mainyu, the deadly, the Daeva of the Daevas.[748] And thus spake the evil-doer Angra Mainyu, the deadly: 'Druj, rush down and kill him,' O holy Zarathushtra! The Druj came rushing along, the demon Buiti,[749] who is deceiving, unseen death.[750]

2. Zarathushtra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya:[751] 'The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-mano to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.'

He offered the sacrifice to the good waters of the good Daitya![752] He recited the profession of the worshippers of Mazda![753]

The Druj dismayed, rushed away, the demon Buiti, who is deceiving, unseen death.

3. And the Druj said unto Angra Mainyu: 'Thou, tormenter, Angra Mainyu! I see no way to kill Spitama Zarathushtra, so great is the glory of the holy Zarathushtra.'

Zarathushtra saw (all this) within his soul: 'The wicked, the evil-doing Daevas (thought he) take counsel together for my death.'

I a.

4. Up started Zarathushtra, forward went Zarathushtra, unabated by Akem-mano,[754] by the hardness of his malignant riddles;[755] he went

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747 From hell; cf. II, 10n; III, 7 n; HN25; Bd15.19.

748 'The fiend of fiends,' the arch-fiend.

749 Buiti is identified by the Gr. Bd. with the Būt, the idol, worshipped by Budasp (a corruption of Bodhisativa). Buiti [Buddha] would be therefore a personification of Buddhism, which was flourishing in Eastern Iran in the two centuries before and after Christ. Buidhi (Vd11.9 may be another and more correct pronunciation of Bodhi.

750 .Idolatry (see previous note) being the death of the soul.

751 [i.e. Ahunwar], a prayer in frequent use, and considered of great efficacy. It was by reciting it that Ohrmazd in his first conflict with Ahriman drove him back to hell (Bd1).

752 The river in Eranwej; see Vd1.3.

753 The *Fravarane* (Y11.16).

754 See Vd10.10 n.

755 This is a fragment of an old legend in which Zarathushtra and Angra Mainyu played respectively the parts of Oedipus and the Sphinx. Cf. Yt5.81, where the same legend is told in nearly the same terms of the sorcerer Ahktya and Yavisht i

swinging stones in his hand, stones as big as a house,[756] which he obtained from the Maker, Ahura Mazda, he the holy Zarathushtra.

'Whereat on this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, whereat dost thou swing (those stones), thou who standest by the upper bank of the river Dareja,[757] in the mansion of Pourushaspa?'[758]

5. Thus Zarathushtra answered Angra Mainyu: 'O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! I will smite the creation of the Daeva; I will smite the Nasu, a creature of the Daeva; I will smite the Pairika Knathaiti,[759] till the victorious Saoshyant come up to life[760] out of the lake Kasava [Kasaoya],[761] from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn.'

6. Again to him said the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'Do not destroy my creatures, O holy Zarathushtra! Thou art the son of Pourushaspa;[762] by thy mother I was invoked.[763] Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as Vadhaghna[764] gained, the ruler of the nations.'

7. Spitama Zarathushtra said in answer: 'No! never will I renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, either for body or life, though they should tear away the breath!'

8. Again to him said the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'By whose Word wilt thou strike, by whose Word wilt thou repel, by

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Friyan. [See also the Pahlavi Text *Yavisht i Friyan*.]

756 The Commentary has, 'Some say, those stones are the Ahunwar.' If one keeps in mind how much the Moslem legend of Ibrahim owes to the legend of Zarathushtra, one may easily admit that this passage in our text is the origin of the story of how Iblis tempted Ibrahim, and was pelted away, whence he was named 'the stoned One' (ar-ragīmū).

757 'The Daraja is the chief of the rivers, because the house of Zartosht's father stood on its bank and Zartosht was born there' (Bd24.15.)

758 The father of Zarathushtra.

759 The incarnation of idolatry; cf. Vd1.9.

760 The unborn son of Zarathushtra, who, at the end of time, will destroy Ahriman and bring about the resurrection of the dead. See Yt13.62; Yt19.92, 94 seq.

761 The Zarah sea in Saistan. See Yt19.66.

762 'I know thee' (Comm.)

763 The Commentary has, 'Some explain thus: Thy forefathers worshipped me: worship me also.' Zarathushtra's forefathers must naturally have followed a false religion, since he announces the true one.

764 Azhi Dahaka or Zohak, who, as a legendary king, is said to have ruled the world for a thousand years. See Mx57.24-25: "Ahriman shouted to Zartosht thus: 'If thou desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I will give thee a thousand years' dominion of the worldly existence, as was given to the Vadakan monarch Dahak [Zohak].'"

whose weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel) my creation, who am Angra Mainyu?'

9. Spitama Zarathushtra said in answer: 'The sacred mortar, the sacred cups, the Haoma, the Word taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons! By this Word will I strike, by this Word will I repel, by this weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel thee), O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! The Good Spirit [Spenta Mainyu -JHP] made the creation;[765] he made it in the boundless Time. The Amesha-Spentas made the creation, the good, the wise Sovereigns.'

10. Zarathushtra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya.

The holy Zarathushtra said aloud: 'This I ask thee: teach me the truth, O Lord! ...'[766]

II.

11. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! [he was sitting by the upper bank of the Dareja,[767] before Ahura Mazda, before the good Vohu-mana, before Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Armaiti;]

12. 'How shall I free the world from that Druj, from that evil-doer, Angra Mainyu? How shall I drive away direct defilement? How indirect defilement? How shall I drive the Nasu from the house of the worshippers of Mazda? How shall I cleanse the faithful man? How shall I cleanse the faithful woman?'

13. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Invoke, O Zarathushtra! the good Religion of Mazda.

'Invoke, O Zarathushtra! though thou see them not, the Amesha-Spentas who rule over the seven Karshvares of the earth.[768]

'Invoke, O Zarathushtra! the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time,[769] and Vayu,[770] whose action is most high.

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765 The first duty of every good Mazda-worshipper is to think of Ohrmazd as the creator, and of Ahriman as the destroyer (Mx2.9).

766 This verse is the beginning of the *Tat thwa peresa* Gatha (Yasna 44); see the introduction to this Fargard.

767 See note 11 above.

768 See verse 39.

769 By contradistinction to the duration of the world, which is limited to 12,000 years (Bd34.1).

770 The Genius of Destiny; see Vd5.9.

'Invoke, O Zarathushtra! the powerful Wind, made by Mazda; and Spenta [Armaiti],[771] the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

14. 'Invoke, O Zarathushtra! my Fravashi,[772] who am Ahura Mazda, the greatest, the best, the fairest of all beings, the most solid, the most intelligent, the best shapen, the highest in holiness, and whose soul is the holy Word [manthra spenta]![773]

'Invoke, O Zarathushtra! this creation of mine, who am Ahura Mazda.'

15. Zarathushtra imitated my words from me, (and said): 'I invoke the holy creation of Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke Mithra,[774] the lord of the rolling countryside, a god armed with beautiful weapons, with the most glorious of all weapons, with the most victorious of all weapons.

'I invoke the holy, well-formed Sraosha,[775] who wields a club in his hand, to bear upon the heads of the fiends.[776]

16. 'I invoke the most glorious Holy Word [manthra spenta].

'I invoke the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu, whose action is most high.

'I invoke the mighty Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta (Armaiti), the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke the good Religion of Mazda, the fiend-destroying Law of Zarathushtra.'

III.

17. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the good world, Ahura Mazda! With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I make people worship this creation of Ahura Mazda?'[777]

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771 The fourth Amesha-Spenta, who in her spiritual character is an incarnation of pious humility and in her material character the Genius of the Earth; see Vd2.10.

772 On the Fravashis, see Yt13.

773 See Yasna 1.1.

774 See Vd3.1 n 6.

775 See Vd18.14, note.

776 See Vd18.22 ff.; Yasna 57.19 ff; Yt11.

777 The sacrifice intended is a sacrifice to nature. The Baresman, as representative of the vegetal nature, receives the zaothra-libations, which are representative of the fertilizing rains.

18. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Go, O Spitama Zarathushtra! towards the high-growing trees,[778] and before one of them that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty, say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem vohu!" [779]

19. '[The priest] shall cut off a twig of Baresma, long as an aesha, thick as a yava.[780] The faithful one, holding it in his left hand, shall keep his eyes upon it without ceasing,[781] whilst he is offering up to Ahura Mazda and to the Amesha-Spentas, the high and beautiful golden Haomas, and Good Thought and the good Rata,[782] made by Mazda, holy and excellent.'

IV.

20. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou, all-knowing Ahura Mazda! thou art never asleep, never intoxicated, thou Ahura Mazda! Vohu-mano[783] gets directly defiled: Vohu-mano gets indirectly defiled; the Daevas defile him from the bodies smitten by the Daevas:[784] let Vohu-mano be made clean.'

21. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt take some gomez from a bull ungelded and such as the law requires it.[785] Thou shalt take the

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778 The tree, whatever it is, from which the Baresma is taken.

779 See verse 22.

780 Perhaps: 'long as a ploughshare, thick as a barleycorn.' See the English system of measures, in which three barleycorns = one inch. — See Nirangistan 90.

781 The Parsis are recommended to keep their eyes on the Barsom during the sacrifice: 'A man is offering the Dron, he has said all the required *Avesta*, but he has not looked at the Barsom: what is the rule? It would have been better if he had looked at it; however he may proceed to the meal' (Old Rav. 97 b). See *Tahmuras Fragments*, 30-31.

782 Rata impersonates the liberalities done by men to God (as offerings) and by God to men (as riches, etc.).

783 Vohu-mano is often used as a designation of the faithful one, literally, 'the good-minded;' this is the meaning which is given to it in this passage by the Commentary, and it certainly belongs to it in the second part of verse 24; but in the first part of the same clause it is translated 'clothes,' a meaning which is not unlikely in itself, as Vohu-mano, being the Amahraspand of cattle, may designate, and in fact did designate, the skins of cattle and leather (Comm. ad Farg. XVIII, 2). On the whole the description in the text applies to the cleansing both of the man and of the clothes, and Vohu-mano sometimes means the one, and sometimes the other. — From the first meaning is derived the modern use of Vahman, 'Such a one,' 'N.'

784 From dead bodies.

785 The so-called Varasiō; 'it must be or a white colour; if a single hair on its body be found other than white, the animal is rejected as unfit for the purpose' (Sorabji Kavasji Khambata, in the Indian Antiquary, VII, 180). On the preparation of the gomez, see Wilson, *Parsi Religion Unfolded*, pp. 434-435.

man who is to be cleansed to the field made by Ahura,[786] and the man that is to cleanse him shall draw the furrows.[787]

22. 'He shall recite a hundred Ashem vohu: "Holiness is the best of all good: it is also happiness. Happy the man who is holy with perfect holiness!"

'He shall chant two hundred Ahuna-Vairya: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-mano to the deeds done in this world for Mazda! He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king."

'He shall wash himself four times with the gomez from the ox, and twice with the water made by Mazda.[788]

23. 'Thus Vohu-mano shall be made clean, and clean shall be the man. The man shall take up Vohu-mano[789] with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left: and thou shalt lay down Vohu-mano under the mighty light of the heavens by the light of the stars made by the gods, until nine nights have passed away.[790]

24. 'When nine nights have passed away, thou shalt bring libations unto the fire, thou shalt bring hard wood unto the fire, thou shalt bring incense of Vohu-gaona unto the fire, and thou shalt perfume Vohu-mano therewith.

25. 'Thus shall Vohu-mano be made clean, and clean shall be the man.[791] He shall take up Vohu-mano with the right arm and the left, with the left arm and the right, and Vohu-mano[792] shall say aloud: "Glory be to Ahura Mazda! Glory be to the Amesha-Spentas! Glory be to all the other holy beings." '

V.

26. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou all-knowing Ahura Mazda: Should I urge upon the godly man, should I urge upon the godly woman, should I urge upon the wicked Daeva-worshipper who

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786 The place of the cleansing, the Barashnum-gāh (see Vd9.3). [Also see Modi, *Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees (Bombay, 1928)*]

787 See Vd9.10.

788 'Or better six times with the gomez and thrice with the water' (Comm.; see Vd8.37 ff.; Vd9.28 ff.)

789 'The clothes' (Comm.).

790 The clothes of the unclean shall be exposed to the air for nine nights, all the time while be himself is confined in the Armesht-gah. The rules for the cleansing of clothes that have been worn by the dead himself are different (see Vd7.12 ff.)

791 'Thus Vohu-mano shall be clean — the clothes; thus the man shall be clean — he who wears those clothes' (Comm.)

792 The faithful one.

lives in sin, to give the earth made by Ahura, the water that runs, the corn that grows, and all the rest of their wealth?'[793]

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shouldst, O holy Zarathushtra.'

27. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are the rewards given? Where does the rewarding take place? Where is the rewarding fulfilled? Whereto do men come to take the reward that, during their life in the material world, they have won for their souls?

28. Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the man is dead, when his time is over, then the wicked, evil-doing Daevas cut off his eyesight. On the third night, when the dawn appears and brightens up, when Mithra, the god with beautiful weapons, reaches the all-happy mountains, and the sun is rising:

29. 'Then the fiend, named Vizaresha,[794] O Spitama Zarathushtra, carries off in bonds[795] the souls of the wicked Daeva-worshippers who live in sin. The soul enters the way made by Time, and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. At the head of the Chinwad bridge, the holy bridge made by Mazda,[796] they ask for their spirits and souls the reward for the worldly goods which they gave away here below.[797]

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793 See verse 29 end.

794 The demon Vizaresh is he who, during that struggle of three days and three nights with the souls of the departed, carries terror on them and beats them: he sits at the gate of hell (Bd28.18).

795 'Every one has a noose cast around his neck: when a man dies, if he has been a righteous man, the noose falls from his neck; if a wicked, they drag him with that noose down into hell' (Comm.; see Vd5.8).

796 The Chinwad bridge extends over hell and leads to Paradise; for the souls of the righteous it widens to the length of nine javelins; for the souls of the wicked it narrows to a thread, and they fall down into hell (see *Arda Viraf* 5.1; Dk. Book 9, chapter 20.3). The Chinwad bridge has become the Sirath bridge of the Moslems. Not long ago they sang in Yorkshire of 'the Brig o' Dread, na brader than a thread' (Thorns, *Anecdotes*, 89), and even nowadays the peasants in Nièvre tells of a little board— 'Pas pu longue, pas pu large / Qu'un ch'veu de la Sainte Viarge,' which was put by Saint Jean d'Archange between the earth and Paradise: 'Ceux qu'saront la raison (=l'oraison?) d'Dieu / Par dessus passeront. / Ceux qu'la sauront pas / Au bout mourront.' (Mélusine, p. 70.)

797 See verse 26, and Vd3.34-5; Vd18.33 ff.

30. 'Then comes the beautiful, well-shapen, strong and well-formed maid,[798] with the dogs at her sides,[799] one who can distinguish,[800] who has many children,[801] happy, and of high understanding.

'she makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the Hara-berezaiti;[802] above the Chinwad bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves.

31. 'Up rises Vohu-mano[803] from his golden seat; Vohu-mano exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou Holy One, from that decaying world into this undecaying one?" [804]

32. 'Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Amesha-Spentas, to the Garonmanem,[805] the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

33. 'As to the godly man that has been cleansed,[806] the wicked evil-doing Daevas tremble at the perfume of his soul after death, as doth a sheep on which a wolf is pouncing.[807]

34. 'The souls of the righteous are gathered together there: Nairyo-sangha[808] is with them; a messenger of Ahura Mazda is Nairyo-sangha.

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798 The soul of the dead, on the fourth day, finds itself in the presence of a maid, of divine beauty or fiendish ugliness, according as he himself was good or bad, and she leads him into heaven or hell: this maid is his own Daena, his Religion [daena also means conscience], that is the sum of his religious deeds, good or evil (HN, section 2.9). [See also Dd21.]

799 The dogs that keep the Chinwad bridge (see Vd13.9).

800 The good from the wicked.

801 Doubtful. Those children would he the righteous, as the sons of the Druj are the wicked (Vd18.30 ff.)

802 The Chinwad bridge rests by one end on the Alborz (Hara-berezaiti) and by the other on the Chikad Daitik in Eranwej (Comm. ad 101 ed. Sp.; Dk. IX, 20, 3).

803 The doorkeeper of Paradise; a Zoroastrian Saint-Pierre [St. Peter].

804 See Vd7.52; *Hadhokht Nask*, part 2.16.

805 The Garothman of the Parsis; literally, 'the house of songs;' it is the highest Paradise.

806 That has performed the Barashnum.

807 Ohrmazd is all perfume, Ahriman is infection and stench (Bd1; Eznig, *Refutatio Haeresiarum* II); the souls of their followers partake of the same qualities; and by the performance of the Barashnum both the body and the soul are perfumed and sweetened.

808 See Vd22.7.

Ila.

'Invoke, O Zarathushtra! this very creation of Ahura Mazda.'

35. Zarathushtra imitated those words of mine: 'I invoke the holy world, made by Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke the earth made by Ahura, the water made by Mazda, the holy trees.

'I invoke the sea Vouru-kasha.[809]

'I invoke the beautiful Heaven.[810]

'I invoke the endless and sovereign Light.'[811]

36. 'I invoke the bright, blissful Paradise of the Holy Ones.

'I invoke the Garo-nmanem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

'I invoke the sovereign Place of Eternal Weal,[812] and the Chinwad bridge made by Mazda.

37. 'I invoke the good Saoka,[813] who has the good eye.

'I invoke the whole creation of weal.

'I invoke the mighty Fravashis[814] of the righteous.

'I invoke Verethraghna,[815] made by Ahura, who wears the Glory made by Mazda.[816]

'I invoke Tishtrya,[817] the bright and glorious star, in the shape of a golden-horned bull.[818]

809 See Vd5.15 ff.

810 Asman, the highest heaven, as distinguished from the firmament (thwasha) that lies nearer the earth.

811 The endless Light is 'the place of Ormazd' (Bd1); it is Infinite Space conceived as luminous.

812 Misvāna gātva, another name of the heavenly spaces; it designates heaven as the abode and source of all blessings, of all *savah*, or *saoka*.

813 A Genius defined, 'Genius of the good eye,' by opposition to 'the bad eye.' Saoka (Sōk) is an auxiliary to Mithra (Mihr); she receives first, from above, all the good destined to man, and transmits it to the lower sky or firmament. (which is the seat of Destiny) through the moon and Ardvisur (Gr. Bd.)

814 See Yt13.

815 The Genius of Victory (Warharan). See Yt14.

816 The hvareno (Khurra or Farr) or light of sovereignty. See verse 39 and see Yt19.

817 Tishtrya (Tir), the star of rain. See Yt8.

818 Tishtrya appears successively under three forms, during the month named from him (the first month of summer, 21 June-21 July): ten days as a man, ten days as

38. 'I invoke the holy, beneficent Gathas,[819] who rule over the Ratus:[820]

'I invoke the Ahunavaiti Gatha;

'I invoke the Ustavaiti Gatha;

'I invoke the Spentamainyush Gatha;

'I invoke the Vohukhshathra Gatha;

'I invoke the Vahishtoishti Gatha.

39. 'I invoke the Karshvares of Arzahe and Savahe;

'I invoke the Karshvares of Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu;

'I invoke the Karshvares of Vourubaresti and Vouruzaresti;

'I invoke the bright Hvaniratha;[821]

'I invoke the bright, glorious Haetumant;[822]

'I invoke the good Ashi;[823]

['I invoke the good Chisti;[824]]

'I invoke the most pure Chista;[825]

'I invoke the Glory of the Aryan regions;[826]

'I invoke the Glory of the bright Yima, the good shepherd.[827]

40. 'Let him be worshipped with sacrifice, let him be gladdened, gratified, and satisfied, the holy Sraosha, the well-formed, victorious, holy Sraosha.[828]

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a bull, ten days as a horse. 'As a bull he is most to be invoked' (Comm.), to prepare his final victory over the demon of Drought, Apaosha.

819 The five collections of hymns which form the oldest and holiest part of the *Yasna* and of the *Avesta* (Yasna 28-34; Yasna 43-46; Yasna 47-50; Yasna 51; Yasna 53); they are named after their initial words.

820 The chiefs of creation; 'they rule over the Ratus inasmuch as it is by their means that these other Ratus are invoked' (Comm.)

821 The earth is divided into seven Karshwars [(Pah.) (Arezahi, Sawahi, Fradadhafshu, Widadhafshu, Wouru-bareshti, Wourujareshti, and Xwaniratha)], of which the central one, Xwaniratha, is the finest and contains Iran.

822 See Vd1.14.

823 Ashi (Ashishvang), the Genius that imparts riches to the righteous: see Yt17.

824 An angel of religious knowledge.

825 Religious knowledge: invoked with Daena (Religion; Siroza, 24)

826 The light of sovereignty, khwarrah (Phl.) (Av. 'khwarenah') , which if secured by the Aryans makes them rule over their enemies (see verse 37 and Yt19.56-93).

827 See Vd2.2.

'Bring libations unto the Fire, bring hard wood unto the Fire, bring incense of Vohu-gaona unto the Fire.

'Offer up the sacrifice to the Vazishta fire,[829] which smites the fiend Spenjaghra:[830] bring unto it the cooked meat and full overflowing libations.[831]

41. 'Offer up the sacrifice to the holy Sraosha, that the holy Sraosha may smite down the fiend Kunda,[832] who is drunken without drinking,[833] and throws down into the Hell of the Druj the wicked Daeva-worshippers, who live in sin.

[42.[834] 'I invoke the Kara fish,[835] who lives beneath waters in the bottom of the deep lakes.

'I invoke the ancient and sovereign Merezu,[836] the most warlike of the creatures of the two Spirits.[837]

'I invoke the seven bright Sru[838] ...'

VI.

43. 'They cried about, their minds wavered to and fro,[839] Angra Mainyu the deadly, the Daeva of the Daevas; Indra the Daeva, Sauru

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828 That he may smite Aeshma and the other fiends.

829 The fire of lightning.

830 The demon that prevents the fall of rain; a companion in arms of Apaosha.

831 Doubtful.

832 The same as Kundi; see Vd11.9.

833 Whereas Aeshma, the other arch-enemy of Sraosha, borrows part of his strength from drunkenness (Yasna 10.8).

834 From the *Vendidad Sada*. The clause may have belonged to the original text; it is preceded by another clause which certainly did not belong to it, and part of which is cited in the commentary ad Farg. VIII, 103, where it would have been more suitably placed: 'When he has been cleansed in the next inhabited place, he may then sow and till the pasture fields, as food for the sheep and as food for the ox.'

835 The Kar-māhī, the Ratu or chief of the creatures that live in water. See Vd20.4, note; Yt14.29.

836 A ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. From its two epithets, 'ancient' and 'sovereign,' it appears that it must designate one of the first principles, that is to say, some form of Heaven, Light, Space, or Time.

837 Doubtful.

838 Hapta sravō bāmya.... [Wolff: "ich rufe herab die strahlenden sieben Hörner [Srū's] [Ebenfalls ein Sternbild?] — ihre Kinder ... [pusa-?] werden [?]" (I call down the radiating seven horns (Sru)...(also a constellation?) — their children ... [pusa-? perhaps 'flock'] become (?))]

839 Up and down, in hope and despair.

the Daeva, Naunghaithya the Daeva, Taurvi and Zairi;[840] Aeshma of the murderous spear;[841] Akatasha the Daeva;[842] Winter, made by the Daevas; the deceiving, unseen Death; Zaurva,[843] baneful to the fathers; Buiti the Daeva;[844] Driwi[845] the Daeva; Daiwi[846] the Daeva; Kasvi[847] the Daeva; Paitisha[848] the most Daeva-like amongst the Daevas.]

44. 'And the evil-doing Daeva, Angra Mainyu, the deadly, said: "'What! let the wicked, evil-doing Daevas gather together at the head of Arezura!" [849]

45. 'They rush away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daevas; they run away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daevas; they run away casting the Evil Eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daevas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezura!

46. '"For he is just born the holy Zarathushtra, in the house of Pourushaspa. How can we procure his death? He is the weapon that fells the fiends: he is a counter-fiend to the fiends; he is a Druj to the Druj. Vanished are the Daeva-worshippers, the Nasu made by the Daeva, the false-speaking Lie!"

47. 'They rush away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daevas, into the depths of the dark, raging world of hell.

'Ashem vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.'

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840 See Vd10.9-10.

841 See Vd10.13.

842 Vd10.13.

843 Old age.

844 See above, verse 1 and note.

845 Malice; see above, Vd2.29.

846 Lying; see above, Vd2.29.

847 Spite; see above, Vd2.29.

848 Opposition, or counter-action, the same as Paityāra; a personification of the doings of Ahriman and of his marring power.

849 At the gate of hell; see above, Vd3.7 and note.

FARGARD 20. Thrita, the first healer.

Synopsis.

It has already been seen (Farg. VII, 44) that there are three kinds of medicine one that heals with the knife, one that heals with herbs, and one that heals with sacred spells. The present Fargard deals with the origin of medicine, particularly the herbs-medicine. Its inventor was Thrita, of the Sāma family, to whom Ahura Mazda brought down from heaven ten thousand healing plants that had been growing up around the tree of eternal life, the white Hom or Gaokerena (§ 4).

This Thrita is mentioned only once again in the *Avesta*, in Yasna 9.7, where he appears to have been one of the first priests of Haoma. This accounts for his medical skill; as Haoma is the plant of eternal life, it is but natural that one of his first priests should have been the first healer.

This Fargard has only an allusion to the origin of the knife-medicine [surgery], which was, as it seems, revealed by Khshathra Vairya (§ 3). The last paragraphs (§§ 5-12) deal with the spell-medicine.

The functions ascribed here to Thrita were sometimes conferred on his semi-namesake Thraetaona [Faridoon] (see *Westergaard Fragments*, II). Hamza makes Thraetaona the inventor of medicine (Ed Gottwaldt, p. 23; cf. Mirkhond, *Early Kings of Persia*, tr. by Shea, p. 152); the Tavīds (formulas of exorcism) against sickness are inscribed with his name, and we find in the *Avesta* itself his Fravashi invoked 'against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever (Vd7.58), incontinence, against the plagues created by the serpent (Yt13.131).' We see from the last words of this passage that disease was understood as coming from the serpent; in other words, that it was considered a sort of poisoning,[850] and this is the reason why the killer of the serpent (Azi-Dahaka) [Zohak] was invoked to act against it.

Translation.

1. Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who was he who first of the healers,[851] of the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong, the Paradhatas,[852] drove back sickness to

850 This theory, which modern science would not utterly reject, accounts for the great part which the serpent plays in the worship of Asclepius; as sickness comes from him, from him too must or may come the healing.

851 Those who knew how to take care or their own bodies, like Isfandyar: some say that no sword could wound him' (Comm.)

852 The Paradhata or Peshdad, the kings of the first Iranian dynasty.

sickness, drove back death to death;[853] and first turned away the point of the sword and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thrita it was who first of the healers, of the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong, the Paradhatas, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the sword and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.

3. 'He asked for a source of remedies; he obtained it from Khshathra-Vairya,[854] to withstand sickness and to withstand death; to withstand pain and to withstand fever; to withstand Sarana and to withstand Sarastya;[855] to withstand Azana and to withstand Azahva; to withstand Kurugha and. to withstand Azivaka; to withstand Duruka and to 'withstand Astairya; to withstand the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu had created against the bodies of mortals.

4. 'And I Ahura Mazda brought down the healing plants that, by many hundreds, by many thousands, by many myriads, grow up all around the one Gaokerena.[856]

5. 'All this do we achieve; all this do we order; all these prayers do we utter, for the benefit of the bodies of mortals;[857]

6. 'To withstand sickness and to withstand death; to withstand pain and to withstand fever; to withstand Sarana and to withstand Sarastya; to withstand Azana and to withstand Azahva; to withstand Kurugha and to withstand Azivaka; to withstand Duruka and to withstand Astairya; to withstand the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

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853 That is to say, who kept sickness in bonds, who kept death in bonds' (Comm.)

854 As Khshathra-Vairya presides over metals, it was a knife he received, 'of which the point and the base were set in gold.' He was therefore the first who healed with the knife, as well as the first who healed with herbs. As for the healing with the holy word, see § 5 and seq.

855 Headache and cold fever.

856 There are two Haomas: one is the yellow or golden Haoma, which is the earthly Haoma, and which, when prepared for the sacrifice, is the king of healing plants; the other is the white Haoma or Gaokerena, which grows up in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha, where it is surrounded by the ten thousand healing plants, created by Ohrmazd in order to oppose so many diseases that had been created by Ahriman (Bd9; see Vd22.2). A frog goes swimming around the Gaokerena to gnaw it down: but two Kar Mahi (Vd19.42) keep watch and circle around the tree, so that the head of one of them is continually towards the frog (Bd18).

857 We do all that is necessary for healing; we give, as Dastobar (Dastur), the necessary prescriptions; we recite the needed prayers. — This section is a transition to the spell-medicine.

7. 'To thee, O Sickness, I say avaunt! to thee, O Death, I say avaunt! to thee, O Pain, I say avaunt! to thee, O Fever, I say avaunt! to thee, O Evil Eye, I say avaunt! to thee, O Sarana, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Sarastya, I say avaunt! to thee, O Azana, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Azahva, I say avaunt! to thee, O Kurugha, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Azivaka, I say avaunt! to thee, O Duruka, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Astairya, I say avaunt!

8. 'Give us, O Ahura, that powerful sovereignty, by the strength of which we may smite down the Druj! By its might may we smite the Druj![858]

9. 'I drive away Ishire and I drive away Aghuire; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sarana and I drive away Sarastya; I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivaka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya; I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

10. 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yatus and Pairikas,[859] and all the wicked Jainis.[860]

11. 'A Airyema ishyo. May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman[861] come here, for the men and women of Zarathushtra to rejoice, for Vohu-mano to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

12. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yatus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Jainis.'

[13. Yatha ahu vairyo:- The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-mano to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

Kem-na mazda:- What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Atar and Vohu-mano, through whose work I keep on the world of Righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

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858 This clause is borrowed, with some alteration, from Yasna 31.4; the original text is, 'May that strong power come to me, by the might of which we may smite down the Druj!'

859 See Vd11.9.

860 [i.e. genie, jinn, djinn -JHP] 'Jai' (Comm.), that is Jahi; cf. Vd18.62, and Vd22.2, note. — Clause 10 is imitated from clause 12.

861 On Airyaman, see Vd22. Clauses 15-12 are borrowed from Yasna 54.1, and form the prayer known as *Airyema ishyo*.

Ke verethrem-ja:- Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-mano and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Druj! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Druj! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness![862]]

862 See Vd8.19-20.

FARGARD 21. Healing spells

Synopsis.

I (1). Praise of the holy bull.

II (2-3). Invocation addressed to rain as a healing power.

III a (4-7). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the sun.

III b (8-11). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the moon.

III c (12-17). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the stars.

IV (18-21), Spells against disease.

The largest part of this Fargard is filled with a uniform spell, intended, as it seems, for the protection of lying-in women (§§ 6-7, 10-11, 14-15), who are under the special care of Ardvi Sura Anahita, the great goddess of the waters. That spell is repeated three times, in a joint invocation to the sun, to the moon, and to the stars respectively; that strange association is perhaps owing to the fact that both the light and the waters spring up from the Hara Berezaiti and return there (see § 4, note 1).

Translation.

I.

1. Hail, bounteous bull![863] Hail to thee, beneficent bull! Hail to thee, who makest increase! Hail to thee, who makest growth! Hail to thee, who dost bestow his part[864] upon the righteous faithful, and wilt bestow it on the faithful yet unborn! Hail to thee, whom the Jahi kills,[865] and the ungodly Ashemaogha, and the wicked tyrant.[866]

II.

2. 'Come, come on, O clouds, from up above, down on the earth, by thousands of drops, by myriads of drops:' thus say, O holy Zarathushtra! 'to destroy sickness, to destroy death, to destroy the

863 The primeval bull who was created by Ohrmazd and killed by Ahriman with the help of the Jahi. — Clause 1 is to be recited when one meets an ox or any kind of cattle, *Gr. Riv.* 386.

864 Possibly, 'who dost kill the Jahi (by means of gomez).

865 His daily food.

866 The wicked kills animals, out of mere cruelty, beyond his needs (Yasna 29.1; Y32.12, 14; Y48.7).

sickness that kills,[867] to destroy death that kills, to destroy Gadha and Apagadha.[868]

3. 'If death come after noon, may healing come at eve!

'If death come at eve, may healing come at night!

'If death come at night, may healing come at dawn!

'And showers shower down new water, new earth, new plants, new healing powers, and new healing.

IIIa.

4. 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters,[869] rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way:[870] thus rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the aerial way.

5. 'Up! rise up and roll along! thou swift-horsed Sun, above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garo-nmanem[871]),[872] along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

6. 'And the Holy Word [manthra spenta] shall keep away the evil:[873] Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk;

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867 Cf. Bd3.3, 6, 4.

868 Names of diseases.

869 Waters and light are believed to flow from the same spring and in the same bed: 'As the light comes in through Alburz (Hara Berezaiti) and goes out through Alburz, so water also comes out through Alburz and goes away through Alburz' (Bd20.4). Every day the sun, moon, and stars rise up from Alburz, and every day all the waters on the earth come back together to the sea Vouru-kasha, and there collected come down again to the earth from the peaks of Alburz (*Gr. Riv.* 43'). As light comes from three different sources (the sun, the moon, and the stars), the waters are invoked three times, first in company with the sun, then with the moon, lastly with the stars, as if there should be three different movements of the rain connected with the three movements or light.

870 Waters come down from the sky to the earth and rise back from the earth to the sky (see Vd5.15 seq.)

871 'If thou art a righteous man' (Comm.)

872 The translation of this clause is doubtful.

873 The spell refers to the cleansing and generative power of the waters; cf. the invocation to Ardvi Sura, Vd7.16: the waters are supposed to make females fertile as they make the earth. This spell was probably pronounced to facilitate childbirth.

7. 'Rich in seed, in milk,[874] in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that give food to the child.

IIIb.

8. 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way:

'Thus rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the earth.

9. 'Up! rise up, thou Moon, that dost keep in thee the seed of the bull;[875]

'Rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garonmanem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

10. 'And the Holy Word [manthra spenta] shall keep away the evil: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk;

11. 'Rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that give food to the child.

IIIc.

12. 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way:

'Thus rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything that grows.[876]

13. 'Up! rise up, ye deep Stars, that have in you the seed of waters;[877]

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874 There are, in the text, two words for 'milk,' the one referring to the milk of women, the other to the milk of cows.

875 When the primeval bull died, 'what was bright and strong in his seed was brought to the sphere of the moon, and when it was cleansed there in the light of the astre, two creatures were shaped with it, a male and a female, from which came two hundred and seventy-two kinds of animals' (Bd4, Bd10).

876 The plants that grow under the action of 'those stars that have in them the seed of waters ' (cf. § 13).

877 See Yt12.29.

'Rise up above Hara Berezaiti and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garanmanem), along the path made by Mazda. along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

14. 'And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk;

15. 'Rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

16. 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way:

'Thus rise up and roll along! ye in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything that rises.

17. 'In your rising away will the Kahvuzi[878] fly and cry, away will the Ayehi[879] fly and cry, away will the Jahi who follows the Yatu, fly and cry.

IV.

[18.[880] 'I drive away Ishire and I drive away Aghuire; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sarana and I drive away Sarastya. I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azhivaka; l drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya; I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

19. 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yatus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Jainis.

20. 'A Airyema ishyo:- May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathushtra to rejoice, for Vohu-mano to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

21. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yatus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Jainis.

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878 'He who diminishes glory, Ahriman' (Comm.)

879 'sterility, Ahriman' (Comm.)

880 §§ 18-23 = Vd20.9-13.

22. ‘Yatha ahu vairyo:- The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness!

‘Kem-na mazda:- What protector hast thou given unto me ... ?

‘Ke verethrem-ja:- Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching ... ?

23. ‘Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Druj! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Druj! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!]

FARGARD 22. Angra Mainyu creates 99,999 diseases; Ahura Mazda counters with the Holy Manthra and with Airyaman

Synopsis.

It has already been seen that of all healers, the most powerful is the one who treats with the Holy Word (Manthra Spenta), that is with sacred spells (Vd7.44): Of all sacred spells, the most efficacious is the Airyema ishyo, which forms the fifty-fourth Ha of the *Yasna*. This is expressed under a mythological form in the following Fargard (cf. *Westergaard's Fragments*, IV).

Angra Mainyu having created 99,999 diseases, Ahura applies for remedy to the Holy Word (Manthra Spenta; §§ 1-5). — How shall I manage? asks Manthra Spenta (§ 16). Ahura sends his messenger to Airyaman with the same request.

This Fargard is unfinished or, more correctly, the end of it is understood. Airyaman comes at once to Ahura's call, and digs nine furrows. It is no doubt in order to perform the Barashnom, by the virtue of which the strength of the demon and of the demon's work will be broken. The Fargard ends therefore with spells against sickness and agailist death, added to the usual spells of the ordinary Barashnom.

Translation.

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra, saying: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion,[881] the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I arrive!)

2. 'Then the ruffian looked at me;[882] the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, thou most glorious Manthra Spenta!

3. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka,[883] made by Mazda and holy.

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881 'The Garothman' (Comm.), Paradise.

882 And cast on me the evil eye; 'it was by casting the evil eye on the good creatures of Ohrmazd that Ahriman corrupted them' (Eznig, *Refutatio Haeresiarum* II). See Vd20.3.

883 The Genius of the good eye; see Vd19.37, and note.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

4. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females big with young, of all species of small cattle; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

5. 'And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.

6. 'Manthra Spenta, the all-glorious, replied unto me: "How shall I heal thee? How shall I drive away from thee those nine diseases, and those ninety, those nine hundred, those nine thousand, and those nine times ten thousand diseases?"'

II.

7. The Maker Ahura Mazda called for Nairyo-sangha:[884] Go thou, Nairyo-sangha, the herald, and drive towards the mansion of Airyaman, and speak thus unto him:

8. Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee:

'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I ascend, there may I arrive!)

9. 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the vow-fulfiller!

10. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy,

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy,

11. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

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884 The messenger of Ahura Mazda. He is a form of Atar, the Fire (Yasna 17.11).

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females big with young, of all species of small cattle. I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

12. 'And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that make, the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

III.

13. In obedience to Ahura's words he went, Nairyo-sangha, the herald; he drove towards the mansion of Airyaman, he spake unto Airyaman, saying:

14. Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I arrive!)

15. 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the vow-fulfiller!

16. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds ; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

17. 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females, big with young, of all species of small cattle; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

18. 'And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

IV.

19. Quickly was it done, nor was it long, eagerly set off the vow-fulfilling Airyaman, towards the mountain of the holy Questions,[885] towards the forest of the holy Questions.

20. Nine kinds of stallions brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.[886]

Nine kinds of camels brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

Nine kinds of bulls brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

Nine kinds of small cattle brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

He brought with him the nine twigs;[887] he drew along nine furrows.[888]

[21.[889] 'I drive away Ishire and I drive away Aghuire; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sarana and I drive away Sarastya; I drive away Azhana and I drive away Azhahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azhivaka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya. I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

22. 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yatus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Jainis.

23. 'A Airyema Ishyo:- May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathushtra to rejoice, for Vohu-mano to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura.

24. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yatus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Jainis.

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885 The mountain where 'the holy conversations' between Ohrmazd and Zarathushtra took place (cf. Vd19.11).

886 According to Framji, 'He brought with him the strength of nine stallions,' to infuse it into the sick man (cf. Yasht 8.24).

887 That is to say, 'the nine-knotted stick' (Framji; cf. Vd9.14).

888 To perform the Barashnom, 'the great service of the Nirang Din, through which all evil, moral and natural, including evil passions, disease, and death will be removed' (Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, p. 341).

889 From the *Vendidad Sada*; as Vd20.9-13.

25. ‘Yatha ahu vairyo:- The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-mano to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

‘Kem-na mazda:- What protector hast thou given unto me O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Atar and Vohu-mano, through whose work I keep on the world of righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

‘Ke verethrem-ja:- Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-mano and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

‘Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Druj! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Druj! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!’]

[end of the *Vendidad*]

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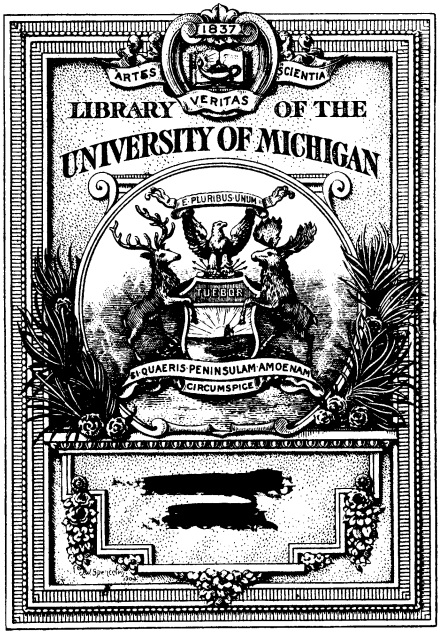
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PAHLAVI TEXTS

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PART I

THE BUNDAHIS, BAHMAN YAST, AND SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

Oxford

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INTRODUCTION

TO

PAHLAVI TEXTS.

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1. THE PARSI SCRIPTURES.

THOUGH we must look to the Avesta for information regarding the main outlines of the Parsi religion, it is to Pahlavi writings we must refer for most of the details relating to the traditions, ceremonies, and customs of this ancient faith, which styles itself emphatically 'the good religion of the Mazdayasnians,' and calls its laity bahdînân, or 'those of the good religion.' In the fragments of the Avesta which still exist, we may trace the solid foundations of the religion, laid by philosophic bards and lawgivers of old, with many a mouldering column and massive fragment of the superstructure erected upon them by the ancient priesthood. These are the last remnants of the faith held by Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord (Isaiah xlv. 1), the righteous one (Is. xli. 2), or eagle (Is. xlvi. 11), whom He called from the east, and the shepherd who performed His pleasure (Is. xliv. 28); scattered fragments of the creed professed by Darius in his inscriptions, when he attributes his successes to 'the will of Aûramazdâ;' and mouldering ruins of the comparatively pure religion of oriental 'barbarism,' which Alexander and his civilising Greek successors were unable wholly to destroy, and replace by their own idolatrous superstitions. While in the Pahlavi texts we find much of the mediæval edifice built by later Persian priestcraft upon the old foundations, with a strange mixture of old and new materials, and exhibiting the usual symptom of declining powers, a strong insistence upon complex forms and minute details, with little of the freedom of treatment and simplicity of outline characteristic of the ancient bards.

To understand the relationship between these two classes of Parsi sacred writings, it must be observed that the Avesta and Pahlavi of the same scripture, taken together, form its Avesta and Zand, terms which are nearly synonymous with 'revelation and commentary.' Both words are derived from verbal roots implying 'knowledge;' Avesta being the Pahlavi avistâk, which may most probably be traced to the past participle of â, 'to,' + vid, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'what is announced' or 'declaration;' and Zand, being the Pahlavi form of Av. zaiṅti (traceable in the word âzaiṅtiš), must be referred to the root zan, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'knowledge, understanding[1].' European scholars, misled probably by Muhammadan writers, have converted the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' into 'Zend-Avesta,' and have further identified Zand with the language of the Avesta. This use of the word Zand is, however, quite at variance with the practice of all Parsi writers who have been independent of European influence, as they apply the term Zand only to the Pahlavi translations and explanations of their sacred books, the original text of which they call Avesta. So that when they use the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' they mean the whole of any scripture, both the Avesta text and Pahlavi translation and commentary. And the latter, being often their only means of understanding the former, has now become of nearly equal authority with the Avesta itself. It is probable, indeed, that the first Zand was really written in the Avesta language, as we find many traces of such Avesta commentaries interpolated both in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the Parsi scriptures; but this is rather a matter of European inference than of Parsi belief. The later (or Pahlavi) Zand appears also, in many places, to be merely a translation of this earlier (or Avesta) Zand, with additional explanations offered by the Pahlavi translators.

Regarding the sacredness of these Pahlavi translations, in the eyes of the Parsis, there can be no manner of doubt, so far as they cannot be shown to be inconsistent with the

[1] See Haug's Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, second edition, London, 1878; pp. 121, 122.

original Avesta text. But besides these translations there is another class of Pahlavi religious writings whose authority is more open to dispute. These writings are either translations and Zands of Avesta texts no longer extant, or they contain the opinions and decisions of high-priests of later times, when the Pahlavi language was on the decline. Such writings would hardly be considered of indisputable authority by any Parsi of the present day, unless they coincided with his own preconceived opinions. But for outsiders they have the inestimable value either of supplying numerous details of religious traditions and customs which would be vainly sought for elsewhere, or of being contemporary records of the religious ideas of the Parsis in the declining days of their Mazdayasnian faith. It is with a few of such writings this volume has to deal; but before describing them more minutely it will be desirable to give some account of the Pahlavi language in which they are written.

2. The Pahlavi Language and Literature.

The term 'Pahlavi,' in its widest extent, is applied to all the varying forms of the mediæval Persian language, from the time when the grammatical inflexions of ancient Persian were dropped, till the period when the modern alphabet was invented, and the language became corrupted into modern Persian by the adoption of numerous Arabic words and phrases. Some traces of Pahlavi words and phrases, written in old Semitic characters, have been found in the legends of coins struck by certain kings of Persian provinces, subordinate to the Greek successors of Alexander, as early as the third century B. C.[1] Further traces have been discovered in the legends on some provincial coins of the time of the Arsacidan dynasty. But, practically, our acquaintance with Pahlavi commences with the inscriptions, on rocks and coins, of Ar*d*akhshîr-i Pâpakân (A.D. 226–240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, and ends with certain religious

[1] See Levy's Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Eran's, und zur Kunde der ältern Pehlewi-Schrift; Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1867; XXI, 421–465.

writings of priests and other devout Parsis of post-Muhammadan times, among the latest of which is one dated A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881). Any fragments of Pahlavi composition of later date than A.D. 1000, must be considered merely as modern imitations of a dead language, and cannot be quoted as authorities for the use of any particular Pahlavi words or construction.

With regard to the origin of the word Pahlavî, or language of Pahlav, many suggestions have been offered; but the most probable explanation[1] is that which connects it with the Parthva of the cuneiform inscriptions, the land of the Parthians known to the Greeks and Romans, and of the Pahlavâs mentioned by Sanskrit writers; the change of Parthva into Pahlav being very similar to that of Av. Mithra into Pers. Mihr. No doubt the language of the Parthians themselves was not Pahlavi, but they were the actual rulers of Persia for some centuries at the time when the Pahlavi language was forming there; and, being formidable to their neighbours, it is not surprising that their name became identified with everything Persian, in the same way as the Roman name has been applied by the Persians, not only to the later Greek empire of Constantinople, but even to the earlier conqueror, Alexander the Great.

Strictly speaking, the mediæval Persian language is only called Pahlavi when it is written in one of the characters used before the invention of the modern Persian alphabet, and in the peculiarly enigmatical mode adopted in Pahlavi writings. Whenever it is transcribed, either in Avesta characters, or in those of the modern Persian alphabet, and freed from this peculiarity, it is called Pâzand.

The peculiar mode of writing Pahlavi, here alluded to, long made the character of the language a standing puzzle for European scholars, and was first satisfactorily explained by Professor Haug, of Munich, in his admirable Essay on the Pahlavi Language already cited.

Like the Assyrians of old, the Persians of Parthian times appear to have borrowed their writing from a foreign race.

[1] See Haug's Essay on the Pahlavi Language, Stuttgart, 1870; pp. 33-37.

But, whereas the Semitic Assyrians adopted a Turanian syllabary, these later Aryan Persians accepted a Semitic alphabet. Besides the alphabet, however, which they could use for spelling their own words, they also transferred a certain number of complete Semitic words to their writings, as representatives of the corresponding words in their own language. These Semitic representatives (the number of which might at any time be increased or diminished at the discretion of the writer) were probably never very numerous, and not more than four hundred of them are to be found in the Pahlavi writings now extant; but, as they represent nearly all the commonest words in the language (excepting those specially relating to religious matters), they often constitute more than half the bulk of a Pahlavi text.

The use of such Semitic words, scattered about in Persian sentences, gives Pahlavi the motley appearance of a compound language; more especially as Persian terminations are often added to the Semitic words. But there are good reasons for supposing that the language was never spoken as it was written. The spoken language appears to have been purely Persian; the Semitic words being merely used as written representatives, or logograms, of the Persian words which were spoken. Thus the Persians would write malkân malkâ, 'king of kings,' but they would read shâhân shâh. This is still the mode in which most Parsis read their Pahlavi literature; and it is only by assuming it to have been their universal practice, in former times, that we can account for the total and immediate disappearance of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi, from their language, when the Persians adopted their modern alphabet. As the Semitic words were merely a Pahlavi mode of writing their Persian equivalents (just as 'viz.' is a mode of writing 'namely' in English), they disappeared with the Pahlavi writing, and the Persians began at once to write all their words, with their new alphabet, just as they pronounced them.

In the meantime, the greater part of the nation had become Muhammadans, and a new influx of Semitic words commenced, but of a very different character. The Semitic

portion of the Pahlavi writing was nearly pure Chaldee, and was confined (as already stated) to the graphic representation of most of the simplest and commonest words unconnected with religion; but it seems to have formed no part of the spoken language, at all events in later times. Whereas the Semitic portion of modern Persian is borrowed from Arabic, and includes most words connected with religion, science, and literature; in fact, every class of words except that which was usually Semitic in Pahlavi writings; and these Arabic words form an essential part of the spoken language, being as indispensable to the modern Persian as words of Norman-French origin are to the English.

In Pahlavi writings, moreover, besides the four hundred Semitic logograms already mentioned, we also find about one hundred obsolete forms of Iranian words used as logograms; much in the same way as 'ye' may be used for 'the,' and 'Xmas' for 'Christmas' in English. The use of all these logograms was, however, quite optional, as their usual Persian equivalents might be substituted for any of them at any time, according to each particular writer's taste and discretion. But whenever they are employed they form what is called the Huzvâris portion of the Pahlavi; while the other words, intended to be pronounced as they are spelt, form the Pâzand portion.

Many attempts have been made to explain the word Huzvâris, but it cannot be said that any satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed. Like the word Pahlavî it seems hardly to occur in any old Pahlavi text, but only in colophons, chapter-headings, and similar notes of modern writers; it seems, therefore, more reasonable to trace it to modern Persian than direct to any more ancient source. Its Pahlavi form, hûzvâris or aûzvârisn, appears to represent the modern Persian uzvâris, which is rarely used; the usual Persian form of the word being zuvâris. Now zuvâris is precisely the form of an abstract noun derived from the crude form of a verb zuvârîdan, which has been admitted into some Persian dictionaries on the authority of Golius[1],

[1] See Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, Pars altera, London, 1669.

with the meaning 'to grow old, to become thread-bare.' If such a verb really exists in Persian, although its meaning may imply 'decrepitude or decay' rather than 'antiquity or obsoleteness,' yet its abstract noun would not be altogether inapplicable to the logograms used in Pahlavi, which are, in fact, last remnants of older writings.

The word Pâzand is probably derived from Av. paiti-za*n*ti, with the meaning 're-explanation,' that is, a further interpretation of the Pahlavi Zand in the Persian vernacular. This term is applied not only to the purely Persian words in Pahlavi texts, but also (as already noticed) to transliterations of the said texts, either in Avesta or modern Persian characters, in which all the Huzvâri*s* words are replaced by their Pâzand equivalents. These transliterations form what are called Pâzand texts; they retain the exact idiom and construction of the Pahlavi original, and represent the mode in which it was read. It may be remarked, however, that all such Pâzand texts, as have been examined, seem to have been written in India, so that they may be suspected of representing some corrupt Gu*g*arâti pronunciation of Persian, rather than the peculiar orthography of any period of the Persian language.

This theory of the origin and development of Pahlavi writing could hardly be upheld, unless we could trace the same artificial mixture of Huzvâri*s* and Pâzand in all accessible Pahlavi records, from their earliest appearance to the present time. This we are able to do, even in the scanty materials afforded by the legends on the provincial Persian coins of the third century B.C. and second century A.D. already mentioned. But we can trace it with greater certainty not only in the coin legends, but also in the rock inscriptions of the earlier Sasanian kings (A.D. 226–388), in the latest of which we find the written language differing very slightly from that contained in the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis of the present day, although the characters differ very much in form. And, finally, in the legends on the coins of the later Sasanian kings (A.D. 388–651) and on seals of their times, we find even this difference in the shapes of the letters disappearing by degrees. In

fact, all the materials at our disposal tend to show that Huzvâri*s* has been an essential constituent of all Pahlavi writings from the time of Alexander's successors to that of the disuse of Pahlavi characters; but we have no reason to suppose that the spoken language of the great mass of the Persian people ever contained the Semitic words which they thus used as Huzvâri*s* in their writings.

Although the use of Huzvâri*s*, until explained recently, rendered the nature of the Pahlavi language very obscure, it added very little to the difficulty of understanding the Pahlavi texts, because the meaning of nearly every Huzvâri*s* logogram was well known; being recorded in an old glossary preserved by the Parsis, in which every logogram is explained by its proper Pâzand equivalent. The extant copies of this old glossary generally contain the Huzvâri*s* and Pâzand words written in the Pahlavi character, together with their traditional pronunciation, either in Avesta or modern Persian letters; there is, therefore, no particular difficulty in reading or translating the Huzvâri*s* portion of a Pahlavi text, although doubts may often be entertained as to the accuracy of the traditional pronunciation.

The real difficulty of reading Pahlavi texts lies in the Pâzand portion (so far as it may be unexplained by existing vocabularies), and is chiefly occasioned by the ambiguity of some of the Pahlavi letters. The alphabet used in Pahlavi books contains only fourteen distinct letters, so that some letters represent several different sounds; and this ambiguity is increased by the letters being joined together, when a compound of two letters is sometimes exactly like some other single letter. The complication arising from these ambiguities may be understood from the following list of the sounds, simple and compound, represented by each of the fourteen letters of the Pahlavi alphabet respectively:—

a, â, h, kh. b. p, f. t, *d*. *k*, *g*, *z*, *v*. r, l. z. s, yî, yad, yag, ya*g*, dî, dad, dag, da*g*, gî, gad, gag, ga*g*, *g*î, *g*ad, *g*ag, *g*a*g*. sh, *s*, yâ, yah, yakh, îh, îkh,

dâ, dah, dakh, gâ, gah, gakh, *g*â, *g*ah, *g*akh. ع gh. ك k. م m. ن n, v, w, û, ô, r, l. ى y, î, ê, d, g, *g*.

From this list it is easy to see the confusion produced by the letter س s being exactly like the letter ى y doubled, and by the letter ش sh being identical with a compound of ى y and ا â; and there are, in fact, some compounds of two letters which have from ten to fifteen sounds in common use, besides others which might possibly occur. If it be further considered that there are only three letters (which are also consonants, as in most Semitic languages) to represent five long vowels, and that there are probably five short vowels to be understood, the difficulty of reading Pahlavi correctly may be readily imagined.

When Pahlavi writing was in common use this difficulty was probably no more felt by the Persians, than the complexity of Chinese characters is felt as an evil by a Chinese mandarin, or the corrupt system of English orthography by an educated Englishman. It is only the foreigner, or learner, who fully appreciates the difficulty of understanding such cumbrous systems of writing.

With regard, however, to their Huzvâri*s* logograms the Persians seem to have experienced more difficulty. As the actual sounds of these Semitic words were rarely pronounced, in consequence of their Pâzand equivalents being substituted in reading, there must have been some risk of their true pronunciation being forgotten. That this risk was understood by the Persians, or Parsis, is proved by the existence of the Huzvâri*s*-Pâzand glossary already described, which was evidently compiled as a record both of the pronunciation and meaning of the Huzvâri*s* logograms. But its compilation does not appear to have been undertaken until the true pronunciation of some of these logograms had been already lost. Thus, although the traditional readings of most of the Semitic portion of the Huzvâri*s* can be readily traced to well-known Chaldee words, there are yet many other such readings which are altogether inexplicable as Semitic

words. In most such cases, however, European scholars have found that the Huzvâris word can be easily read in some other way which at once connects it with some ordinary Chaldee equivalent. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the compilers of the glossary had in some instances lost the correct pronunciation of these old Semitic words, and that, in such cases, they adopted (as a Parsi would probably do at the present day) the most obvious reading of the letters before them, which thenceforth became an artificial word to be handed down to posterity, by successive generations of writers, with all the authority of old tradition.

In the same manner the artificial pronunciation of the Iranian portion of the Huzvâris may be explained. The compilers of the glossary found a number of words in the Pahlavi texts, which were written in some obsolete or contracted manner; they knew the meanings of these words, but could not trace the true readings in the altered letters; they, therefore, adopted the most obvious readings of the written characters, and thus produced another series of artificial words, such as anhômâ for aûharmazd, yahân for yazdân, madônad for maînôk, shatan for shatrô, &c.

Naturally enough the Parsis are loth to admit the possibility of any error in their traditional readings of Huzvâris, and very few of them have yet adopted the views of European scholars further than to admit that they are ingenious hypotheses, which still require satisfactory proof. They are quite right in demanding such proof, and they may reasonably argue that the conflicting opinions of various European scholars do not tend to increase the certainty of their explanations. But, on the other hand, they are bound to examine all proofs that may be offered, and to consider the arguments of scholars, before utterly rejecting them in favour of their own preconceived notions of traditional authority.

Fortunately, we possess some means of ascertaining the ancient pronunciation of a few Huzvâris words, independent of the opinions of comparative philologists, in the inscrip-

tions already mentioned as having been engraved on rocks, and impressed on coins, by the earlier kings of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia. The earliest of these rock inscriptions records the name and titles of Artakhshatar son[1] of Pâpak, the first Sasanian monarch (A. D. 226–240); it is engraved in Greek and two kinds of old Pahlavi characters, which have been called Chaldæo-Pahlavi and Sasanian-Pahlavi, because the one bears more resemblance to Chaldee, both in its letters and the language they express, and the other is more frequently used by the subsequent Sasanian monarchs. A similar tri-lingual inscription records the names and titles of his son and successor Shahpûhar I (A. D. 240–271), who has also left a long bi-lingual inscription, in Chaldæo and Sasanian-Pahlavi, in a cave near Persepolis. Another long bi-lingual inscription, fragments of which have been found on stones among the ruins of Pâî Kûlî, is attributed to his early successors, who have also left us several uni-lingual inscriptions in Sasanian-Pahlavi, two of which are of great length, but none later than the end of the fourth century.

The language of the earlier of these inscriptions differs from that of the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis, chiefly in the use of several Semitic words unknown to the manuscript Huzvâri*s*, the non-existence of Iranian Huzvâri*s* (which is evidently a growth of later times), and the less frequent use of Persian terminations affixed to Semitic words. These differences, however, are hardly greater than those which distinguish the English of Chaucer from that of our own day. Moreover, they gradually disappear in process of time, as we find the later inscriptions of the fourth century approaching much closer, in language, to the manuscripts.

As the alphabets of these inscriptions are less imperfect and ambiguous than that of the Pahlavi manuscripts, they render the pronunciation of many words much more certain. They consist of eighteen letters, having the following sounds :—

[1] So stated in the inscription, but Pahlavi MSS. call him the son of Pâpak's daughter and of Sâsân (see Bund. XXXI, 30).

1. a, â. 2. b. 3. p, f. 4. t, *d*. 5. *k*, *g*, ן. 6. kh, h. 7. d. 8. r, v, w, û, ô. 9. z. 10. s. 11. sh, *s*. 12. k. 13. g. 14. l, r. 15. m. 16. n. 17. y, î, ê. 18. doubtful, being equivalent to Chaldee ן and to Pahl. MS. -man[1].

Comparing this list of sounds with that of the sounds of the manuscript alphabet (pp. xvi, xvii) it is evident that the inscriptions must afford a means of distinguishing â from kh, s from any binary compound of y, d, g, or *g*, sh from any compound of y, d, g, or *g* with â, h, or kh, n from v, r, or l, and y, d, g from each other; all which letters and compounds are left in doubt by the manuscript alphabet. Unfortunately we do not possess trustworthy copies of some of the inscriptions which are evidently the most important from a linguistic point of view[2]; but such copies as have been obtained supply corrections of traditional misreadings of about twenty-five Huzvâri*s* logograms, and at the same time they confirm the correctness of three traditional readings which have been called in question by most European scholars. So far, therefore, the inscriptions would teach the Parsis that the decisions of comparative philologists are not likely to be right more than seven times out of eight, even when they are tolerably unanimous.

The Chaldæo-Pahlavi character appears to have soon

[1] Whether the sound of this letter can ever be satisfactorily settled remains doubtful. Levy, in his Beiträge, cited on p. xi, considers it to be the Semitic ן, on palæographical grounds; but there are serious objections to all the identifications that have been proposed.

[2] The Sasanian inscriptions, of which new and correct copies are most urgently wanted, are:—1. An inscription of thirty-one lines high up in the left side-compartment (behind the king) of the centre bas-relief of Naqs-i Ra*g*ab, near Persepolis. 2. Two inscriptions, of eleven and twelve lines respectively, on the stones of the edifice near the south-west corner of the great platform at Persepolis, south of the Hall of Columns (see Ouseley's Travels in Persia, vol. ii. p. 237 and plate 42). 3. All the fragments of the Pâî Kûlî inscription, of which probably not more than half have yet been copied.

Of the very long inscription behind the king's horse in the bas-relief of Naqs-i Rustam, containing more than seventy lines very much damaged, a copy taken by Westergaard in 1843, with his usual accuracy, probably gives nearly all that is legible. And of the Hâ*g*îâbâd and shorter inscriptions, little or nothing remains doubtful.

gone out of use, after the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty, as the latest known inscription, in which it occurs, is that of Pâî Kûlî, which contains the name of Aûharmazd I (A. D. 271–272); while the long inscriptions of Naqs-i Rag*a*b and Naqs-i Rustam, which contain the name of Varahrân II (A. D. 275–283), are engraved only in Sasanian-Pahlavi. From these facts it seems probable that Chaldæo-Pahlavi went out of use about A. D. 275. The Sasanian characters continue to appear, with very little alteration, upon the coins until the end of the fifth century, when most of them begin to assume the cursive form of the manuscript Pahlavi, which appears to have altered very slightly since the eighth century.

The oldest Pahlavi manuscript known to be extant, consists of several fragments of papyrus recently found in a grave in the Fayûm district in Egypt, and now in the Royal Museum at Berlin; it is supposed to have been written in the eighth century. Next to this, after a long interval, come four manuscripts written on Indian paper, all by the same hand, in A. D. 1323–1324; they are two copies of the Yasna and two of the Vendidad, containing the Avesta with its Zand, or Pahlavi translation and commentary; two of these old MSS. are now preserved in Kopenhagen, one in London, and one in Bombay. Next to these in age are two MSS. of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, written probably about fifty years later; one of these is now in Kopenhagen and one in Bombay. Another MS. of nearly the same age is also a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi texts, written in A. D. 1397, and now in Munich; where there is also one of the oldest Pâzand-Sanskrit MSS., a copy of the Ar*d*â-Vîrâf-nâmak, written in A. D. 1410. Another Pâzand-Sanskrit MS., a copy of the Khurdah Avesta, of about the same age, exists in Bombay. Pahlavi and Pâzand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are rather more numerous.

Pahlavi literature reached the zenith of its prosperity about thirteen centuries ago, when it included the whole literature of Persia. Seventy years later its destruction commenced with the fall of the Sasanian dynasty (A. D.

636–651); and the subsequent adoption of the modern Persian alphabet gave it its death-blow. The last remnants of Pahlavi writings are now contained in the few manuscripts still preserved by the Parsis in Western India, and their almost-extinct brethren in Persia. A careful estimate of the length of these remnants, so far as they are known to Europeans, has shown that the total extent of existing Pahlavi literature is about thirty-six times that of the Bundahiſ, as translated in this volume. One-fifth of this literature consists of translations accompanying Avesta texts, and the remaining four-fifths are purely Pahlavi works which are nearly all connected with religion. How much of this literature may have descended from Sasanian times can hardly be ascertained as yet; in fact, it is only very recently that any trustworthy data, for determining the age of a few Pahlavi writings, have been discovered, as will be explained hereafter, when considering the age of the Bundahiſ.

3. THE BUNDAHIſ.

The term Bundahiſ, 'creation of the beginning,' or 'original creation,' is applied by the Parsis to a Pahlavi work[1] which, in its present state, appears to be a collection of fragments relating to the cosmogony, mythology, and legendary history taught by Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered, in any way, a complete treatise on these subjects. This term is applicable enough to much of the earlier part of the work, which treats of the progressive development of creation under good and evil influences; but it is probably not the original name of the book. Its adoption was no doubt partly owing to the occurrence of the word bûn-dahiſn, or bûn-dahiſnîh, twice in the first sentence, and partly to its appropriateness to the subject. But the same sentence seems to inform

[1] When this work forms part of a collection of Pahlavi texts, the whole manuscript is sometimes called 'the great Bundahiſ.' There also exists a Saddar Bundahiſ, or Bundahiſ of a hundred chapters, which is a comparatively modern compilation, detailing the chief customs and religious laws of the Parsis in a hundred sections.

us that the actual name of the treatise was Zand-âkâs, 'knowing the tradition.'

The work commences by describing the state of things in the beginning; the good spirit being in endless light and omniscient, and the evil spirit in endless darkness and with limited knowledge. Both produced their own creatures, which remained apart, in a spiritual or ideal state, for three thousand years, after which the evil spirit began his opposition to the good creation under an agreement that his power was not to last more than nine thousand years, of which only the middle three thousand were to see him successful. By uttering a sacred formula the good spirit throws the evil one into a state of confusion for a second three thousand years, while he produces the archangels and the material creation, including the sun, moon, and stars. At the end of that period the evil spirit, encouraged by the demons he had produced, once more rushes upon the good creation, to destroy it. The demons carry on conflicts with each of the six classes of creation, namely, the sky, water, earth, plants, animals represented by the primeval ox, and mankind represented by Gâyômar*d*; producing little effect but movement in the sky, saltness in the water, mountains in the earth, withering in plants, and death to the primeval ox, and also to Gâyômar*d* after an interval.

Then follows a series of chapters describing the seven regions of the earth, its mountains and seas, the five classes of animals, the origin of mankind, generation, the five kinds of fire and three sacred fires, the white Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds, the three-legged ass, the ox Hadhayô*s*, the bird *K*âmrô*s*, and other birds and animals opposed to the evil creation, the rivers of the world, the seventeen species of liquids, the lakes, the origin of the ape and bear, the chiefs of the several kinds of creatures and creations, the calendar, lineal measures, trees and plants, the characteristics of various demons, the spiritual chiefs of the various regions of the earth, and the resurrection and future existence; all which descriptions are given on the authority of the Dîn, which may have been some particular

book, or revelation generally. The concluding chapters give the genealogies of the legendary Persian kings and heroes, and of Zaratûst and certain priests, together with an epitome of Persian chronology from the creation to the Muhammadan conquest.

As the work now stands it is evidently of a fragmentary character, bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations; and the extant manuscripts, as will be seen, differ among themselves both as to the extent and arrangement of the text. Many passages have the appearance of being translations from an Avesta original, and it is very probable that we have in the Bundahis either a translation, or an epitome, of the Dâmdâd Nask, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. This may be guessed from a comparison of the contents of the Bundahis with those of the Dâmdâd Nask, which are detailed in the Dînî-vagarkard as follows[1]:—'It contained an explanation of the spiritual existence and heaven, good and evil, the material existence of this world, the sky and the earth, and everything which Aûharmazd produced in water, fire, and vegetation, men and quadrupeds, reptiles and birds, and everything which is produced from the waters, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, the production of the resurrection and future existence; the concourse and separation at the Kinvad bridge; on the reward of the meritorious and the punishment of sinners in the future existence, and such-like explanations.' Moreover, the Dâmdâd Nask is twice quoted as an authority in the Selections of Zâdsparam (IX, 1, 16), when treating of animals, in nearly the same words as those used in the Bundahis.

The first manuscript of the Bundahis seen in Europe was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761, and he published a French translation of it in his great work on the Zend-Avesta in 1771[2]. This manuscript,

[1] See Haug's Essays, &c., second edition, pp. 127, 128.

[2] Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c., par Anquetil Duperron; Paris, 1771. Tome seconde, pp. 343-422, Boun-dehesch.

which is now in the National Library at Paris, was a modern copy, written A. D. 1734, and contained a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi writings besides the Bundahiś. And Anquetil's translation, though carefully prepared in accordance with the information he had obtained from his Parsi instructor, is very far from giving the correct meaning of the original text in many places.

In 1820 the very old codex from which Anquetil's MS. had been copied was brought to Europe, from Bombay, by the Danish scholar Rask, and was subsequently deposited in the University Library at Kopenhagen. This most important codex, which will be more particularly described under the appellation of K20, appears to have been written during the latter half of the fourteenth century; and a facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahiś, which it contains, was very carefully traced from it, lithographed, and published by Westergaard in 1851[1].

In a review of this lithographed edition of the Pahlavi text, published in the Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen in 1854[2], Haug gave a German translation of the first three chapters of the Bundahiś. And Spiegel, in his Traditional Literature of the Parsis[3], published in 1860 a German translation of many passages in the Bundahiś, together with a transcript of the Pahlavi text of Chaps. I, II, III, and XXX in Hebrew characters. But the complete German translation of the Bundahiś by Windischmann, with his commentary on its contents, published in his Zoroastrian Studies[4] in 1863, was probably the most important step in advance since the time of Anquetil, and the utmost

[1] Bundehesh, Liber Pehlvicus. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descripsit, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit, N. L. Westergaard; Havniæ, 1851.

[2] Ueber die Pehlewi-Sprache und den Bundehesh, von Martin Haug; Göttingen, 1854.

[3] Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen in ihrem Zusammenhange mit den angränzenden Literaturen, dargestellt von Fr. Spiegel; Wien, 1860.

[4] Zoroastriche Studien. Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagengeschichte des alten Iran, von Fr. Windischmann (nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Fr. Spiegel); Berlin, 1863.

that could be done on the authority of a single MS. which is far from perfect.

In 1866 another very old codex, containing the Pahlavi texts of the Bundahis and other works, was brought to Europe by Haug, to whom it had been presented at Surat in 1864. It is now in the State Library at Munich, and will be more minutely described under the appellation of M6. In this codex the Bundahis is arranged in a different order from that in K20, and Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI–XXXIII are omitted.

A second complete German translation of the Bundahis, with a lithographed copy of the Pahlavi text, a transliteration of the text in modern Persian characters, and a glossary of all the words it contains, was published by Justi in 1868[1]. Its author, having had access to other MSS. (descended from M6) at London and Oxford, was able to rectify many of the deficiencies in Windischmann's translation; but, otherwise, he made but little progress in elucidating difficult passages.

Other European writers have published the result of their studies of particular parts of the Bundahis, but it does not appear that any of them have attempted a continuous translation of several chapters.

Whether the existence of previous translations be more of an assistance than a hindrance in preparing a new one, may well be a matter of doubt. Previous translations may prevent oversights, and in difficult passages it is useful to see how others have floundered through the mire; but, on the other hand, they occasion much loss of time, by the necessity of examining many of their dubious renderings before finally fixing upon others that seem more satisfactory. The object of the present translation is to give the meaning of the original text as literally as possible, and with a minimum of extra words; the different renderings of other translators being very rarely noticed, unless there be some probability of their being of service

[1] Der Bundehesh, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, übersetzt, und mit Glossar versehen, von Ferdinand Justi; Leipzig, 1868.

to the reader. Some doubtful words and passages still defy all attempts at satisfactory solution, but of these the reader is warned; and, no doubt, a few oversights and mistakes will be discovered.

With regard to the original text, we have to recover it from four manuscripts which are, more or less, independent authorities, and may be styled K20, K20b, M6, and TD. The first three of these have evidently descended, either directly or through one or more intermediate copies, from the same original; but the source of TD, so far as it can be ascertained, seems to have been far removed from that of the others. All the other MSS. of the Bundahiś, which have been examined, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand, are descended either from K20 or M6, and are, therefore, of no independent authority.

K20 is the very old codex already mentioned as having been brought from Bombay by Rask in 1820, and is now No. 20 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen. It consists now of 173 folios of very old and much-worn Indian paper of large octavo size, but five other folios are certainly missing, besides an uncertain number lost from the end of the volume. This MS. contains twenty Pahlavi texts, written twenty lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; the Bundahiś is the ninth of these texts, and occupies fols. 88–129, of which fol. 121 is missing. Three of the texts, occurring before the Bundahiś, have dated colophons, but the dates are A.Y. 690, 720, and 700, all within 36 folios; it is, therefore, evident that these dates have been copied from older MSS.; but at the same time the appearance of the paper indicates that the actual date of the MS. cannot be much later than A.Y. 720 (A.D. 1351), and there are reasons for believing that it was written several years before A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), as will be explained in the description of M6. Owing to its age and comparative completeness this MS. of the Bundahiś is certainly the most important one extant, although comparison with other MSS. proves that its writer was rather careless, and frequently omitted words and phrases. The

loss of fol. 121, though it has hitherto left an inconvenient gap in the text (not filled up by other MSS.), is more than compensated by the three extra chapters which this MS. and its copies have hitherto alone supplied. The text on the lost folio was supposed by Anquetil to have contained a whole chapter besides portions of the two adjacent ones; this is now known to be a mistake, Anquetil's Chap. XXVIII being quite imaginary; the end of Chap. XXVII has long been supplied from other MSS., but the beginning of the next chapter has hitherto been missing.

Only two copies of K20 appear to be known to Europeans; the best of these is the copy brought from Surat by Anquetil, No. 7 of his collection of manuscripts, now in the National Library at Paris; this was written in A. D. 1734, when K20 appears to have been nearly in its present imperfect state, though it may have had some 15 folios more at the end. This copy seems to have been carefully written; but the same cannot be said of the other copy, No. 21 in the University Library at Kopenhagen, which is full of blunders, both of commission and omission, and can hardly have been written by so good a Pahlavi scholar as Dastûr Dârâb, Anquetil's instructor, although attributed to him.

K20b consists of nineteen loose folios[1], found by Westergaard among some miscellaneous fragments in the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen, and now forming No. 20b in that collection. The first two folios are lost, but the third folio commences with the Pahlavi equivalent of the words 'knew that Aharman exists' (Bund. Chap. I, 8), and the text continues to the end of Chap. XI, 1, where it leaps at once (in the middle of a line on the fifteenth folio) to Chap. XXX, 15, 'one brother who is righteous,' whence the text continues to the end of Chap. XXXI, 15, which is followed by Chaps. XXXII, XXXIV, as in K20. This

[1] I am indebted to the late Professor N. L. Westergaard for all information about this MS., and also for a tracing of the Pahlavi text of so much of Chap. XXXI as is contained in it.

MS. is not very old, and contains merely a fragment of the text; but its value consists in its not being a descendant of either K20 or M6, as it clearly represents a third line of descent from their common original. It agrees with K20 in the general arrangement of its chapters, so far as they go, and also in containing Chap. XXXI; but it differs from it in some of the details of that chapter, and agrees with M6 in some verbal peculiarities elsewhere; it has not, however, been collated in any other chapter. The omission of nearly twenty chapters, in the centre of the work, indicates that some one of the MSS. from which it is descended, had lost many of its central folios before it was copied, and that the copyist did not notice the deficiency; such unnoticed omissions frequently occur in Pahlavi manuscripts.

M6 is the very old codex brought to Europe by Haug in 1866, and now No. 6 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich. It consists of 240 folios of very old, but well-preserved, Indian paper of large octavo size (to which thirteen others, of rather later date, have been prefixed) bound in two volumes. This MS. contains nineteen Pahlavi texts, written from seventeen to twenty-two lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; eleven of these texts are also found in K20, and the Bundahiš is the fourteenth of the nineteen, occupying fols. 53–99 of the second volume. Two of the other texts have dated colophons, the dates being fifty days apart in A. Y. 766 (A. D. 1397), and as there are 150 folios between the two dates there is every probability that they are the actual dates on which the two colophons were written. The arrangement of the Bundahiš in this MS. is different from that in K20, giving the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, and omitting Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI. These omissions and the misplacement of Chaps. I–XIV render it probable that the MS., from which the Bundahiš in M6 was copied, was already in a state of decay; and this supposition is confirmed by upwards of fifty peculiar mistakes, scattered over most parts of the

text in M6, which are evidently due to the illegibility of the original from which it was copied, or to its illegible words having been touched up by an ignorant writer, instances of which are not uncommon in old Pahlavi MSS. Eliminating these errors, for which the writer of M6 cannot be held responsible, he seems to have been a more careful copyist than the writer of K20, and supplies several words and phrases omitted by the latter. The close correspondence of K20 and M6 in most other places, renders it probable that they were copied from the same original, in which case K20 must have been written several years earlier than M6, before the original MS. became decayed and difficult to read. It is possible, however, that K20 was copied from an early copy of the original of M6; in which case the date of K20 is more uncertain, and may even be later than that of M6.

Several MSS. of the Bundahi*s* descended from M6 are in existence. One is in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and contains the chapters in the following order:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–VII, 17 (to 'Arag river'), XII–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, VII, 12–XI; followed by Sls. Chap. XX, 4–17, also derived from M6. Another is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji at Bombay, and contains the chapters also in a dislocated state (due to the misplacement of folios in some former MS.) as follows:—Chaps. XV–XXIII, I–XI, 5 (to 'and the evil spirit'), XII, 2 (from 'Si*k*idâv')–XII, 12 (first word), XI, 5 (from 'produced most for Khvanîras')–XII, 2 (to '*and* Kôndras, Mount'), XXX, 32 (from 'the renovation arises in')–XXX, 33, XXXII, XXXIV, Sls. Chap. XVIII, Bund. Chaps. XII, 12 (from 'Aîra*k*')–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX. A third is in the library of Dastûr Nôshirvânji Jâmâspji at Poona, and contains the text in the same order as M6. A fragment of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahi*s*, also descended from M6, occupies eight folios in the Additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378 in the Library of the British Museum; it contains Chaps. XVIII, XIX, 17, and XX, 1–2 (to 'one from the other').

There are also several Pâzand manuscripts of the Bun-

dahiś, written in Avesta characters, and likewise derived from M6. One of the best of these is No. 22 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London; it is old, and has the date A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567) in a Pahlavi colophon on fol. 111, but this may have been copied from an older MS.; its contents are arranged as follows:—Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, followed by several short Pâzand texts, only part of which are derived from M6, and the last of them being left incomplete by the loss of the folios which originally formed the end of the volume; instead of these lost folios others, containing Chaps. XV–XVII, have been added and bound up with the rest. Another MS., No. 7 in the same collection. which is dated A.Y. 1174 (A.D. 1805), is a modern copy derived from No. 22 through one or more intervening MSS.[1]; it contains precisely the same text, but with many variations in orthography, indicative of the very uncertain character of Pâzand spelling. Two fragments of the Pâzand text are also contained in the MSS. No. 121 at Oxford, already mentioned; they consist of Chaps. V, 3–7 (to 'would have known the secret') and XXV, 18–22. Another fragment, evidently copied from an old MS., is found on fols. 34, 35 of the Rivâyat MS. No. 8 of the collection in the India Office Library; it consists of Chap. XVIII, 1–8.

The Pâzand text of the Bundahiś, derived from M6, is also written in Persian characters in M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection at Munich), dated A.Y. 1178 (A.D. 1809). It is interlined by Persian glosses, word for word, and consists of Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, and XXX on fols. 81–119, with Chaps. XV–XVII on fols. 120–126, a repetition of Chap. XV and part of XVI on fols. 223-227, and Chap. XXXII on fol. 232.

Thus far, it will be noticed, we have two good independent authorities, K20 and M6, for ascertaining the text of the Bundahiś in the fourteenth century, so far as Chaps. I–

[1] This is proved by an omission in fol. 40, which clearly indicates the loss of a folio in an intermediate MS.

XXVII, XXX, XXXII, and XXXIV are concerned; and we have also, in K20b, a second authority for so much of Chap. XXXI as occurs in K20; but for Chaps. XXVIII and XXIX we have nothing but K20 to rely on, and part of Chap. XXVIII is lost in that manuscript. Such was the unsatisfactory state of that part of the text until Dec. 1877, when information about the MS. TD was received, followed by further details and a copy of Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI–XXXIII in Oct. 1878[1].

TD is a manuscript of the Bundahi*s* which contains a much more extensive text than the MSS. already described, but whether it be an extension of the hitherto-received text, or the received text be an abridgement of this longer one, is likely to be a matter of dispute among Pahlavi scholars until the whole of the new text has been thoroughly examined. At any rate, the contents of this MS., combined with those of some MSS. of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, afford a means of fixing the date of this recension of the Bundahi*s*, as will be seen hereafter.

This MS. belongs to a young Mobad named Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria in Bombay, and was brought from Persia a few years ago by a Mobad named Khodabakhsh Farod Abadan. It occupies the first 103 folios of the volume containing it, and is followed by 112 more folios containing the Nîrangistân. The first original folio, which contained the text as far as Chap. I, 5 (to 'endless light'), has been lost and replaced by another (which, however, is now old) containing some introductory sentences, besides the missing text. The last original folio of the Bundahi*s*, containing the last five lines of the last chapter, has also been lost and replaced by another modern folio, which contains the missing text followed by two colophons, both expressing approval of the text, and asserting that the MS. was written by Gôpatshah Rûstâm Bôndâr. The first of these colophons

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, of Bombay (who is well known for the interest he takes in all matters relating to the ancient customs and history of his fellow-countrymen), for obtaining this information, and to the owner of the MS. for his liberality in supplying me with all the details and extracts mentioned in the text.

is undated, but gives the testimony of Dastûr Rûstâm[1] Gûstâsp Ardashîr, who is known to have written another MS. dated A.Y. 1068 (A.D. 1699). The second colophon is by Dastûr Jamshêd Jâmâsp Hakîm, and is dated A.Y. 1113 (A. D. 1743), which was probably the date when this last folio was supplied to complete the old defective MS.

With regard to the age of the older part of this MS. we can arrive at an approximation in the following manner :— A valuable MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk, which also belongs to Tehmuras Dinshawji, was written (according to a colophon which it contains) by Gôpatshah Rûstôm[2] Bândâr Malkâ-mardân in the land of Kirmân, who was evidently the same person as the writer of TD. Another MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk was written by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, also in the land of Kirmân, in A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572). Comparing these two genealogies together it seems evident that Gôpatshah was a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of Marzapân, and, therefore, a grand-uncle of Marzapân himself. Allowing for these two generations, it is probable that Gôpatshah wrote TD about A.Y. 900 (say A. D. 1530) ; although instances have occurred in which a son has written a MS. at an earlier date than that of one written by his father.

The introductory sentences on the first restored folio are evidently a modern addition to the text, after it had acquired the name of Bundahis ; but they seem to have been copied from some other MS., as the copyist appears to have hardly understood them, having written them continuously with the beginning of the text, without break or stop. The spelling is modern, but that may be due to the copyist ; and the language is difficult, but may be translated as follows[3]:—

'The propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd, the radiant,

[1] This Dastûr is said to have sprung from the laity, and not from a priestly family.

[2] The vowels â and ô (or û) often interchange in Pahlavi MSS. from Persia, probably owing to peculiarities of dialect, and the very broad sound of Persian â, like English a in call.

[3] English words in italics are additions to complete the sense.

glorious, omniscient, wise, powerful, and supreme, *by what is* well-thought, well-said, *and* well-done in thought, word, *and* deed, and the good augury of all the celestial angels *and* terrestrial angels upon the virtuous creation, I beseech.

'Written at the second fortunate conjunction (akhtar) in the high-priestship (dastûrîh) of the God-devoted, all-sagacious cultivator of righteousness, the lover of good works who is God-discerning, spirit-surveying, *and* approved by the good, the high-priest of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, the glorified[1] Spendyâ*d son* of Mâh-vindâ*d*, *son* of Rûstôm, *son* of Shatrôyâr.

'The writing[2] of the Bûndahi*s was* set going by the coming of the Arabs to the country of Iran, whose heterodoxy (dû*s*-dînîh) and ignorance have arisen from not understanding the mysteries of Kayân[3] orthodoxy (hûdînôîh) and of those revered by the upholders of the religion. From their deep seats it draws the purport of benedictions, *and* from dubious thinking of actions *it draws* words of true meaning, the disclosure of which is entertaining knowledge.

'On account of evil times, even he of the undecayed family of the Kayâns and the Kayân upholders of the religion are mingled with the obedient and just of those heterodox; and by the upper *class* the words of the orthodox, uttered in assembled worship, are considered as filthy vice. He also whose wish was to learn propriety (varâ*g*) through this treatise (farhâng), might provide *it* for himself, from various places, by trouble and day and night painstaking, *but* was not able.'

The text of Chap. I then commences (without any intermediate stop) with the words zak zand-âkâsîh, 'that knowledge of tradition.' As the whole text of the Bundahi*s* occupies about 203 pages in TD, and each page contains

[1] Literally, 'immortal-soulled,' a term implying generally that the person is dead; but it seems to have been applied to King Khûsrô I (Nôshirvân) during his lifetime. The time when this priest lived has yet to be discovered.

[2] Reading zektîbûn-i, equivalent to Pâz. nivîs-i; the MS. has zak tîbnâ.

[3] The hero tribe or princely race of the Kayânian dynasty, from which later Persian rulers have fancied themselves descended.

seventeen lines rather longer than those in K20, it is evident that the text in TD must be more than twice the length of that in K20, which occupied originally about eighty-three pages of twenty lines each. This additional text consists not only of additional matter in many of the chapters, but also of extra chapters, which give the work a more complete appearance than it presents in the manuscripts hitherto known. The whole number of chapters in TD appear to be forty-two, the general character of the contents of which may be gathered from the following list of the headings of each chapter, with the space it occupies in TD, and a reference to the corresponding chapter of the translation in this volume (such chapters as seem to be entirely wanting in K20 being marked with an asterisk):—

1. The knowledge of tradition, first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit, afterwards about the nature of the creatures of the world, from the original creation till the end; 19 pages; see Chap. I.

2. On the formation of light; 11 pages; see Chap. II.

3. The rush of the destroyer at the creatures; 6 pages; see Chaps. III, IV.

4. On the opposition of the two spirits, that is, in what manner the arch-fiends have come spiritually in opposition to the celestial angels; 10 pages; see Chap. V for two of the middle pages.

5. On the waging of the conflict (âr*d*îk) of the creations of the world, encountering the evil spirit; 1 page; see Chap. VI.

6. The second conflict the water waged; 3 pages; see Chap. VII.

7. The third conflict the earth waged; 1 page; see Chap. VIII.

8. The fourth conflict the plants waged; ½ page; see Chap. IX.

9. The fifth conflict the primeval ox waged; ⅓ page; see Chap. X.

*10. The sixth conflict Gâyômar*d* waged; 1⅓ page.

*11. The seventh conflict the fire waged; ⅓ page.

*12. The eighth conflict the constellations waged; ⅓ page.

*13. The ninth conflict the celestial angels waged with the evil spirit; three lines.

*14. Tenth, the stars practised non-intermeddling (agû-mêgisn); ½ page.

*15. On the species of those creations; 2⅓ pages.

16. On the nature of lands; 1⅓ page; see Chap. XI.

17. On the nature of mountains; 4½ pages; see Chap. XII.

18. On the nature of seas; 2½ pages; see Chap. XIII.

19. On the nature of rivers; 5⅓ pages; see Chaps. XX, XXI.

20. On the nature of lakes; 1¼ page; see Chap. XXII.

21. On the nature of the five classes of animals; 5⅓ pages; see Chap. XIV.

22. On the nature of men; 7½ pages; see Chap. XV[1].

23. On the nature of generation of every kind; 5 pages; see Chap. XVI.

24. On the nature of plants; 3½ pages; see Chap. XXVII.

25. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing; 2⅓ pages; see Chap. XXIV.

26. On the nature of fire; 4⅔ pages; see Chap. XVII.

*27. On the nature of sleep; 2⅓ pages.

*28. On the nature of wind and cloud and rain; 9⅔ pages.

*29. On the nature of noxious creatures; 4½ pages[2].

*30. On the nature of the wolf species; 2 pages.

31. On things of every kind that are created by the spirits[3], and the opposition which came upon them; 7¾ pages; see Chaps. XVIII, XIX.

32. On the religious year; 4 pages; see Chaps. XXV, XXVI.

*33. On the great exploits of the celestial angels; 17½ pages.

34. On the evil-doing of Aharman and the demons; 7 pages, as in Chap. XXVIII.

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[1] TD contains half a page more near the beginning, and a page and a half more at the end.

[2] Probably Chap. XXIII of the translation forms a part either of this chapter or the next.

[3] This word is doubtful.

*35. On the body of man *and* the opinion of the world[1]; 7 pages.

36. On the *spiritual* chieftainship of the regions *of the earth;* 3½ pages, as in Chap. XXIX.

*37. On the *K*inva*d* bridge *and* the souls of the departed; 5⅔ pages.

*38. On the celebrated provinces of the country of Iran, the residence of the Kayâns; 5 pages[2].

*39. On the calamities of various millenniums happening to the country of Iran; 8⅔ pages[3].

40. On the resurrection and future existence; 6⅔ pages; see Chap. XXX.

41. On the race and offspring of the Kayâns; 8⅔ pages, as in Chaps. XXXI–XXXIII.

42. On the computation of years of the Arabs; 2¼ pages; see Chap. XXXIV.

Comparing this list of contents with the text in K20, as published in Westergaard's lithographed facsimile edition, it appears that TD contains, not only fifteen extra chapters, but also very much additional matter in the chapters corresponding to Chaps. I, II, V, XVI, XXVIII, and XXXI of the translation in this volume, and smaller additions to those corresponding to Chaps. III, IV, XV, XVII, and XXXIV. The arrangement of the chapters in TD is also much more methodical than in the Indian MSS., especially with regard to Chaps. XX, XXI, XXII, and XXVII, which evidently occupy their proper position in TD; and so far as Chap. XX is concerned, this arrangement is confirmed by the insertion of its first sentence between Chaps. XIII and XIV in the Indian MSS., which indicates that the whole chapter must have been in that position in some older copy. In fact, the Indian MSS. must probably be now regarded merely as collections of

[1] The meaning is doubtful and must depend upon the context.

[2] This chapter begins with a translation of the first fargard of the Vendidad, and concludes with an account of buildings erected by various kings.

[3] Containing an account of the kings reigning in the various millenniums, and concluding with prophecies similar to those in the Bahman Yast.

extracts from the original work; this has been long suspected from the fragmentary character of the text they contain, but it could hardly be proved until a more complete text had been discovered.

Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined; it is, therefore, to be hoped that its owner will be induced to publish a lithographed facsimile of the whole, after the manner of Westergaard's edition. So far as appears in the lengthy and valuable extracts, with which he has kindly favoured me, no decided difference of style can be detected between the additional matter and the text hitherto known, nor any inconsistencies more striking than such as sometimes occur in the Indian MSS. On the other hand, it will be noticed that heading No. 25 in the list of contents seems to be misplaced, which is an argument against the text being in its original state; and the style of the Bundahi*s* is so much less involved and obscure than that of the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam (see Appendix to the Bundahi*s*), which treat of some of the same subjects, that it may be fairly suspected of having been written originally in a different age. But the writer of the text, as it appears in TD, calls Zâ*d*-sparam[1] one of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11 of the translation); it may, therefore, be suspected that he merely re-edited an old text with some additions of his own, which, however, are rather difficult to distinguish from the rest. No stress can be laid upon peculiarities of orthography in TD, as they are, in all likelihood, attributable to copyists long subsequent to Zâ*d*-sparam's contemporaries.

Any future translator of the Bundahi*s* will probably have to take the text in TD as the nearest accessible approach to the original work; but the present translation is based, as heretofore, upon the text in K20, corrected in many places from M6, but with due care not to adopt

[1] He writes the name Zâ*d*-sparham.

readings which seem due to the illegibility of the original from which M6 was copied, as already explained. In Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII, however, TD has been taken as a principal authority, merely checked by K20, and having its additional passages carefully indicated; and in Chap. XXXI, K20b has also been consulted.

Since the present translation was printed, any lingering doubts, as to the genuineness of the text in TD, have been, in a great measure, dissipated by the discovery that a small fragment[1] of an old MS. of the Bundahi*s*, which has long been in Europe, is evidently a portion of a text of similar character to TD, and of exactly the same extent. This small fragment consists of two folios belonging to an old MS. brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843–44, and which is evidently the codex mentioned by him in the preface to his Zend-Avesta, p. 8, note 3. These two folios, which are numbered 130 and 131 in Persian words, now form the commencement of this old mutilated MS., of which the first 129 folios have been lost. They contain very little more than one page of the Bundahi*s* text, namely, the last sentences of the last chapter (corresponding to Bund. XXXIV, 7–9), followed by a colophon occupying less than two pages. This fragment of the text contains some additional details not found in the Indian MSS., as well as a few other variations of no great importance. It may be translated as follows:—

'[. . . . Sâhm[2] was in those *reigns of* Aûzôbô, Kavâ*d*, and Mânû*sk*îhar.] Kaî-Kâyûs, till *his* going to the sky, seventy-five years, and after that, seventy-five years, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôbô sixty

[1] I am indebted to Professor G. Hoffmann, of Kiel, for directing my attention to this fragment, and also for kindly sending me a facsimile of it. It had been recognised as a portion of the Bundahi*s* by Dr. Andreas some years ago, and probably by the owner of the MS., the late Professor Westergaard, long before that.

[2] See Bund. XXXI, 27. As the beginning of this sentence is lost, its translation is uncertain. Details not found in K20 and M6 are here enclosed in brackets, and words added by the translator to complete the sense are printed in italics.

years; Kaî-Lôharâsp a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years; [total (mar) one thousand years[1]. Then the millennium reign came to Capricornus, and Zaratûhast[2] the Spîtâmân, with tidings (pêtkhambarîh) from the creator Aûharmazd, came to King Vistâsp; *and* Vistâsp *was* king,] after receiving the religion, ninety years.

'Vohûman, *son* of Spend-dâd, a hundred and twelve years; Hûmâî, daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâî, son of *K*îhar-âzâd, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâî, son of Dârâî, fourteen years; and Alexander the Rûman[3] fourteen years.

'The Askânians should bear the title in an uninterrupted sovereignty two hundred and so many[4] years; and Artakhshatar, son of Pâpak, and the number of the Sâsânians *bear* it four hundred and sixty years, until the withering Arabs obtained a place[5] [as far as the year 447 of the Persians; now *it is* the Persian year 527][6].'

The colophon, which follows, states that the MS. was finished on the thirteenth day of the ninth month A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, *son* of Anôshakrûbân, *son* of Rûstâm. This MS. is, therefore, of nearly the same age as TD; but there has been no opportunity of collating the fragment of it, which is still extant, with the corresponding portion of TD. That it was a MS. of the same character as TD (that is, one containing the same text as K20, but with much additional matter) appears clearly

[1] From the beginning of Frêdûn's reign, when the millennium of Sagittarius commenced.

[2] The usual way of spelling Zaratûst in old MSS., excepting K20 and a few others.

[3] Here written correctly Alaksandar-i Arûmâî.

[4] Reading va and; as the final letter is d and not *d* it cannot be read nâvad as a variant of navad, 'ninety.'

[5] The words are, vad *g*înâk ayâft khûskô-i Tâzîkânŏ, but the exact meaning is rather doubtful.

[6] The last date is doubtful, as the Pahlavi text gives the ciphers only for 'five and twenty-seven,' omitting that for 'hundred.' These Persian dates must either have been added by some former copyist, or Chap. XXXIV must have been appended to the Bundahis at a later date than the ninth century, when the preceding genealogical chapters were probably added to the original work (see p. xliii). The Persian year 527 was A.D. 1158.

from the fragment translated above. Regarding its original extent, it is possible to make an approximate estimate, by calculating the quantity of text which the 129 lost folios must have contained, from the quantity actually existing on folio 130. According to this calculation, the original extent of the text of the Bundahiš in this MS. must have been very nearly 30,000 words; and it is remarkable that a similar calculation of the extent of the text in TD, based upon the actual contents of ten folios out of 103, gives precisely the same result. This coincidence is a strong argument in favour of the absolute identity of the text lost from Westergaard's MS. with that actually existing in TD; it shows, further, that the original extent of the Bundahiš may now be safely estimated at 30,000 words, instead of the 13,000 contained in K20 when that MS. was complete.

That this fragment belonged to a separate MS., and is not the folio missing from the end of TD, is shown not only by its containing more of the text than is said to be missing, but also by the first folio of the fragment being numbered 130, instead of 103, and by its containing fifteen lines to the page, instead of seventeen, as would be necessary in order to correspond with TD.

Regarding the age of the Bundahiš many opinions have been hazarded, but as they have been chiefly based upon minute details of supposed internal evidence evolved from each writer's special misinterpretation of the text, it is unnecessary to detail them. The only indication of its age that can be fairly obtained from internal evidence, is that the text of the Bundahiš could not have been completed, in its present form, until after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia (A. D. 651). This is shown not only by the statements that the sovereignty 'went to the Arabs' (Chap. XXXIV, 9), that 'now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they (the negroes) are again diffused through the country of Iran' (Chap. XXIII, 3), and that 'whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer' (Chap. XXV, 19, referring probably to the Muhammadan year not corresponding with the seasons), but also, more positively

by the following translation of an extract from Chap. 39 in TD:—

'And when the sovereignty came to Yazdakar*d* he exercised sovereignty twenty years, *and* then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude. Yazdakar*d* did not prosper (lâ *s*âkaftŏ) in warfare with them, *and* went to Khûrâsân and Tûrkistân to seek horses, men, and assistance, and was slain by them there. The son of Yazdakar*d* went to the Hindûs and fetched an army of champions; before it came, conducted unto Khûrâsân, that army of champions dispersed. The country of Iran remained with the Arabs, and their own irreligious law was propagated by them, and many ancestral customs were destroyed; the religion of the Mazdayasnians was weakened, *and* washing of corpses, burial of corpses, *and* eating of dead matter were put in practice. From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this *has* not happened, for through their evil deeds—on account of want, foreign habits (Anîrânîh), hostile acts, bad decrees, and bad religion—ruin, want, and other evils have taken lodgment.'

None of these passages could have been written before the Muhammadan conquest; but the writer, or editor, of the text as it appears in TD, supplies the means of approximating much more closely to the date of his work, in a passage in Chap. 41 of TD, in which he mentions the names of several of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11). Among these, as already noticed, he mentions 'Zâ*d*-sparham *son* of Yûdân-Yim,' who must have been the writer of the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, a translation of which is added as an appendix to the Bundahi*s* in this volume. This writer was the brother of Mânû*sk*îhar son of Yûdân-Yim, who wrote the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk[1], and from colophons found in certain MSS. of the Dâ*d*istân (which will be more particularly described in the next section of this introduction) it appears that this Mânû*sk*îhar was

[1] It is quite possible that Mânû*sk*îhar was also the reviser of the Bundahis; see the note on Dâ*d*akîh-i Ashôvahistô in Chap. XXXIII, 10.

high-priest of Pârs and Kîrmân in A. Y. 250 (A. D. 881). This date may, therefore, be taken as a very close approximation to the time at which the Bundahi*s* probably assumed the form we find in TD; but that MS., having been written about 650 years later, can hardly have been copied direct from the original. Whether that original was merely a new edition of an older Pahlavi work, as may be suspected from the simplicity of its language, or whether it was first translated, for the most part, from the Avesta of the Dâmdâ*d* Nask, in the ninth century, we have no means of determining with certainty. Judging, however, from Chap. I, 1, the original Bundahi*s* probably ended with the account of the resurrection (Chap. XXX), and the extra chapters, containing genealogical and chronological details (matters not mentioned in Chap. I, 1), together with all allusions to the Arabs, were probably added by the revising editor in the ninth century. The last, or chronological, chapter may even have been added at a later date.

A Gu*g*arâti translation, or rather paraphrase, of the Bundahi*s* was published in 1819 by Edal Dârâb Jamshêd Jâmâsp Âsâ, and a revised edition of it was published by Peshutan Rustam in 1877[1]. In the preface to the latter edition it is stated that the translator made use of two MSS., one being a copy of a manuscript written in Iran in A. Y. 776 by Rustamji Meherwanji Mar*g*abân Sheheriâr[2], and the other a MS. written in India by Dastûr Jamshêdji Jâmâspji in A. Y. 1139[3]. It is also mentioned that he was four years at work upon his translation. The editor of the new edition states that he has laboured to

[1] Bundehe*s* ketâb, iâne duniâ-ni awal-thi te âkher sudhi pedâes-ni sahruât-ni hakikat; bi*g*i-vâr sudhârine *kh*apâwanâr, Peshutan bin Rustam; Mu*m*bai, 1877.

[2] There is no doubt whatever that the writer of the preface is referring to M6, although his description is incorrect. M6 was written at Bhrô*k* in India A. Y. 766 by Pêshôtan Râm Kâmdîn Shaharyâr Nêryôsang Shâhmard Shaharyâr Bâhrâm Aûrmazdyâr Râmyâr; but some portion of it (probably not the Bundahi*s*) was copied from a MS. written A. Y. 618 (A. D. 1249) by Rûstam Mihirâpân Marzapân Dahi*s*n-ayâr, who must be the copyist mentioned in the preface to the Gu*g*arâti translation.

[3] This is probably the copy derived from M6, and mentioned in p. xxx as being now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji.

improve the work by collecting all the further information he could find, on the various subjects, in many other Pahlavi works. The result of all this labour is not so much a mere translation of the Bundahis, as a larger work upon the same subject, or a paraphrase more methodically arranged, as may be seen from the following summary of its contents:—

The headings of the fifty-nine chapters, which form the first part of the work, are:—Ahuramazd's covenant, account of the sky, of the first twelve things created, of Mount Alborg, of the twelve signs of the zodiac, of the stars, of the soul, of the first practices adopted by the creatures of the evil spirit Ahereman, of Ahereman's first breaking into the sky, of Ahereman's coming upon the primeval ox, of Ahereman's arrival in the fire, of Ahereman's coming upon Gaiomard, of the coming of Ahuramazd and Ahereman upon Gaiomard at the time of his creation, of the lustre residing in both spirits; further account of the arrangement of the sky, another account of all the mountains, of depressions for water, of great and small rivers, of the eighteen rivers of fresh water, of the seven external and seven internal liquids in the bodies of men, of the period in which water falling on the earth arrives at its destination, of the three spiritual rivers, of the star Tehestar's destroying the noxious creatures which Ahereman had distributed over the earth, of the prophet Zarathost's asking the creator Ahuramazd how long these noxious creatures will remain in the latter millenniums, of driving the poison of the noxious creatures out of the earth, of the divisions of the land, of the creator Ahuramazd's placing valiant stars as club-bearers over the heads of the demons, of all the things produced by the passing away of the primeval ox, of the 282 species of beasts and birds, of the bird named Kamros, of the bird named Karsapad and the hollow of Vargamkard, of the birds who are enemies opposed to the demons and fiends, of the bitter and sweet plants among the fifty-five kinds of grain and twelve kinds of herbs, of the flowers of the thirty days, of the revolution of the sun and moon and stars, and how

night falls, and how the day becomes light, of the seven regions of the earth, of depressions, of the creatures of the sea, of the flow and ebb of the tide, of the three-legged ass, of the Gâhambârs, of Rapithvan, of the revolution of the seasons, of the production of mankind from the passing away of Gaiomard, of the production of offspring from the seed of men, of all fires, of all the clever work produced in the reign of King Jamshed and the production of the ape and bear, of the production of the Abyssinian and negro from Zohâk, of the splendour and glory of King Jamshed, of the soul of Kersâsp, of Kersâsp's soul being the first to rise, of the names of the prophet Zarathost's pedigree, of his going out into the world, of his children, of the orders given by Ahereman to the demons when the creator Ahuramazd created the creatures, of the weeping and raging of the evil spirit Ahereman, of the weeping of the demon of Wrath in the presence of Ahereman when the prophet Zarathost brought the religion, of the computation of twelve thousand years.

The headings of the thirteen chapters, which form the second part, are: — Account of the last millenniums, of the appearance of Hosedar-bâmi, of his going out into the world, of the appearance of Hosedar-mâh, of Sosios, of the fifty-seven years, of giving the light of the sun to men on the day of the resurrection, of the rising again of the whole of mankind on that day, of the resurrection, of the means of resurrection, of the annihilation of the evil spirit Ahereman and the demons and fiends on the day of resurrection, of the creator Ahuramazd's making the earth and sky one after the resurrection, of the proceedings of all creatures after the resurrection.

The third part contains an abstract of the contents of the hundred chapters of the Sad-dar Bundahis, and concludes with an account of the ceremonial formula practised when tying the kusti or sacred thread-girdle.

4. THE SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM.

In some manuscripts of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk the ninety-two questions and answers, which usually go by that name, are preceded and followed by Pahlavi texts which are each nearly equal in extent to the questions and answers, and treat of a variety of subjects, somewhat in the manner of a Rivâyat. Of the texts which follow the questions and answers the following are the principal:—

Incantations for fever, &c.; indications afforded by natural marks on the body; about the hamîstakân ('the ever-stationary,' or neutral state of future existence) and the different grades in heaven; copy of an epistle [1] from Herbad Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim [2], which he addressed to the good people of Sîrkân [3], about the decisions pronounced by Herbad Zâd-sparam son of Yûdân-Yim; copy of a letter from Herbad Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim to his brother, Herbad Zâd-sparam, on the same subject, and replying to a letter of his written from Nîvshâpûhar; copy of a notice by Herbad Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim and high-priest (rad) of Pârs and Kîrmân, of the necessity of fifteenfold ablution on account of grievous sin, written and sealed in the third month A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881); memoranda and writings called 'Selections of Zâd-sparam son of Yûdân-Yim,' the first part treating of many of the same subjects as the Bundahis, together

[1] This long epistle contains one statement which is important in its bearing upon the age of certain Pahlavi writings. It states that Nîshahpûhar was in the council of Anôshak-rûbân Khûsrô, king of kings and son of Kavâd, also that he was Mobad of Mobads and a commentator. Now this is the name of a commentator quoted in the Pahlavi Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VIII, 64, and very frequently in the Nîrangistân; it is also a title applied to Ardâ-Vîrâf (see AV. 1, 35). These facts seem to limit the age of the last revision of the Pahlavi Vendidad, and of the composition of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân and Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak to the time of King Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). The statement depends, of course, upon the accuracy of a tradition three centuries old, as this epistle must have been written about A.D. 880.

[2] Some Parsis read this name Gôshnajam, others Yûdân-dam.

[3] Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji thinks this is the place now called Sîrgan, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, on the road to Bandar Abbâs, which is no doubt the case.

with legends regarding Zaratûst and his family; the second part about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul; and the third part about the details of the renovation of the universe. The last part of these Selections is incomplete in all known MSS., and is followed by some fragments of a further series of questions and answers regarding the omniscient wisdom, the evil spirit, Kangdez, the enclosure formed by Yim, &c.

A translation of so much of the Selections of Zâd-sparam as treats of the same subjects as the Bundahis, has been added as an appendix to the translation of that work in this volume, because the language used in these Selections seems to have an important bearing upon the question of the age of the Bundahis. The time when the Selections themselves were written is fixed with considerable precision by the date (A. D. 881), when their author's brother, Mânûskîhar, issued his public notice, as mentioned above. But Zâd-sparam uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the Bundahis, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style; it is, therefore, evident that he had the Bundahis before him to quote from, and that work must consequently have been written either by one of his contemporaries, or by an older writer. So far the Selections merely confirm the information already obtained more directly from TD (see p. xxxviii); but the involved style of their language seems to prove more than this. In fact, in none of the text of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk and its accompaniments is there much of the simplicity of style and directness of purpose which are the chief characteristics of most of the language of the Bundahis. So far, therefore, as style can be considered a mark of age, rather than a mere personal peculiarity of a contemporary writer, the contrast between the straightforward language of the Bundahis and the laboured sentences of Mânûskîhar and Zâd-sparam, sons of Yûdân-Yim, tends to prove that the bulk of the Bundahis was already an old work in their days, and was probably saved from oblivion through their writings or influence. That this original Bundahis or Zand-âkâs was an abridged translation of the Avesta of the

Dâmdâ*d* Nask appears pretty evident from Zâ*d*-sparam's remarks in Chap. IX, 1, 16 of his Selections.

The first part of these Selections consists of 'sayings about the meeting of the beneficent and evil spirits,' and the first portion of these 'sayings' (divided into eleven chapters in the translation) is chiefly a paraphrase of Chaps. I–XVII of the Bundahi*s* (omitting Chaps. II, V, and XVI). It describes the original state of the two spirits, their meeting and covenant, with a paraphrase of the Ahûnavar formula; the production of the first creatures, including time; the incursion of the evil spirit and his temporary success in deranging the creation, with the reason why he was unable to destroy the primitive man for thirty years; followed by the seven contests he carried on with the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man, and fire, respectively, detailing how each of these creations was modified in consequence of the incursion of the evil spirit. In the account of the first of these contests the Pahlavi translation of one stanza in the Gâthas is quoted verbatim, showing that the same Pahlavi version of the Yasna was used in the ninth century as now exists. The remainder of these 'sayings,' having no particular connection with the Bundahi*s*, has not been translated.

With regard to the Pahlavi text of the Selections, the present translator has been compelled to rely upon a single manuscript of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, brought by Westergaard from Kirmân [1] in 1843, and now No. 35 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen; it may, therefore, be called K35. This MS. is incomplete, having lost nearly one-third of its original bulk, but still contains 181 folios of large octavo size, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page; the first seventy-one folios of the work have been lost, and about thirty-five folios are also missing from the end; but the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers, together with one-third of the

[1] That is, so far as the late Professor Westergaard could remember in 1878, when he kindly lent me the MS. for collation with my copy of the text, already obtained from more recent MSS. in Bombay, the best of which turned out to be a copy of K35.

texts which usually precede them, and three-fifths of those which usually follow them, are still remaining. This MS. has lost its date, but a copy[1] of it exists in Bombay (written when it was complete) which ends with a colophon dated A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572), as detailed in p. xxxiii; this may either be the actual date of that copy, or it may have been merely copied from K35, which cannot be much older. The latter supposition appears the more probable, as this colophon seems to be left incomplete by the loss of the last folio in the Bombay copy, and may, therefore, have been followed by another colophon giving a later date.

This copy of K35 was, no doubt, originally complete, but has lost many of its folios in the course of time; most of the missing text has been restored from another MS., but there are still twelve or more folios missing from the latter part of the work; it contains, however, all that portion of the Selections which is translated in this volume, but has, of course, no authority independent of K35. The other MS. in Bombay, from which some of the missing text was recovered, is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji; it is a modern copy, written at different periods from forty to sixty years ago, and is incomplete, as it contains only one-fourth of the texts which usually follow the ninety-two questions and answers, and includes no portion of the Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam.

Another MS. of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk and its accompaniments, written also at Kirmân, but two generations earlier than K35 (say, about A.D. 1530), has been already mentioned (see p. xxxiii). It is said still to contain 227 folios, though its first seventy folios are missing; it must, therefore, begin very near the same place as K35, but extends much further, as it supplies about half the text still missing from the

[1] The fact of its being a copy of K35 is proved by strong circumstantial evidence. In the first place, it contains several false readings which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35, so that it is evidently descended from that MS. But it is further proved to have been copied direct from that MS., by the last words in thirty-two of its pages having been marked with interlined circles in K35, the circle having been the copyist's mark for finding his place, when beginning a new page after turning over his folios.

Bombay copy of K35, though it has lost about fourteen folios at the end. This MS. must be either the original from which K35 was copied, or an independent authority of equal value, but it has not been available for settling the text of the Selections for the present translation.

5. The Bahman Yast.

The Bahman Yast, usually called the 'Zand of the Vohûman Yast,' professes to be a prophetical work, in which Aûharmazd gives Zaratûst an account of what was to happen to the Iranian nation and religion in the future.

It begins with an introduction (Chap. I) which states that, according to the Stûdgar Nask, Zaratûst having asked Aûharmazd for immortality, was supplied temporarily with omniscient wisdom, and had a vision of a tree with four branches of different metals which were explained to him as symbolical of four different periods, the times of Vistâsp, of Ardakhshîr the Kayânian, of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and of certain demons or idolators who were to appear at the end of a thousand years. It states, further, that the commentaries of the Vohûman, Horvadad, and Âstâd Yasts mentioned the heretic Mazdak, and that Khûsrô Nôshirvân summoned a council of high-priests and commentators, and ordered them not to conceal these Yasts, but to teach the commentary only among their own relations.

The text then proceeds (Chap. II) to give the details of the commentary on the Vohûman Yast as follows:—Zaratûst, having again asked Aûharmazd for immortality, is refused, but is again supplied with omniscient wisdom for a week, during which time he sees, among other things, a tree with seven branches of different metals, which are again explained to him as denoting the seven ages of the religion, its six ages of triumph in the reigns of Vistâsp, of Ardakhshîr the Kayânian, of one of the Askânian kings, of Ardakhshîr Pâpakân and Shahpûr I and II, of Vâhrâm Gôr, and of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and its seventh age of adversity when

Iran is to be invaded from the east by hordes of demons or idolators with dishevelled hair, who are to work much mischief, so as to destroy the greater part of the nation and mislead the rest, until the religion becomes nearly extinct. The details of this mischief, written in a tone of lamentation, constitute the greater part of the text, which also notices that the sovereignty will pass from the Arabs, Rûmans, and these leathern-belted demons (Tûrks) to other Tûrks and non-Tûranians who are worse than themselves.

Distressed at this narrative Zaratûst asks Aûharmazd (Chap. III, 1) how the religion is to be restored, and these demons destroyed? He is informed that, in the course of time, other fiends with red banners, red weapons, and red hats, who seem to be Christians, will appear in the north-west, and will advance either to the Arvand (Tigris) or the Euphrates, driving back the former demons who will assemble all their allies to a great conflict, one of the three great battles of the religions of the world, in which the wicked will be so utterly destroyed that none will be left to pass into the next millennium.

Zaratûst enquires (III, 12) how so many can perish, and is informed that, after the demons with dishevelled hair appear, Hûshêdar, the first of the last three apostles, is born near Lake Frazdân; and when he begins to confer with Aûharmazd a Kayân prince is born in the direction of Kînistân (Samarkand), who is called Vâhrâm the Vargâvand, and when he is thirty years old he collects a large army of Hindu (Bactrian) and Kînî (Samarkandian) troops, and advances into Iran, where he is reinforced by a numerous army of Iranian warriors, and defeats the demon races with immense slaughter, in the great conflict already mentioned, so that there will be only one man left to a thousand women.

The writer then proceeds to describe the supernatural agencies employed to produce this result: how the evil spirit (III, 24) comes to the assistance of the demon-worshippers; how Aûharmazd sends his angels to Kangdez, to summon Pêshyôtanû, the immortal son of Vistâsp, with his disciples, to re-establish the sacred fires and restore the

religious ceremonies ; and how the angels assist them against the evil spirits, so that Vâhrâm the Var*g*âvand is enabled to destroy the fiendish races, as already detailed, and Pêshyôtanû becomes supreme high-priest of the Iranian world.

Finally, the writer gives some details regarding the missions of the last three apostles, returning for that purpose (III, 44) to the birth of Hûshê*d*ar, the first of the three, whose millennium witnesses both the invasion and the destruction of the fiendish races. Hûshê*d*ar proves his apostolic authority, to the satisfaction of Var*g*âvand and the people, by making the sun stand still for ten days and nights. His mission is to 'bring the creatures back to their proper state;' and it is not till near the end of his millennium that Pêshyôtanû appears, as before described. As this millennium begins with the invasion of the fiendish races and the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, it must have terminated in the seventeenth century, unless it was to last more than a thousand years. A very brief account is then given of the millennium of Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, the second of the three apostles, whose mission is to make 'the creatures more progressive' and to destroy 'the fiend of serpent origin' (A*z*-i Dahâk). During his millennium (which appears to be now in progress) mankind become so skilled in medicine that they do not readily die; but owing to their toleration of heretics the evil spirit once more attains power, and releases A*z*-i Dahâk, from his confinement in Mount Dimâvand, to work evil in the world, till Aûharmazd sends his angels to rouse Keresâsp the Sâmân, who rises from his trance and kills A*z*-i Dahâk with his club at the end of the millennium. Afterwards, Sôshyans, the last apostle, appears to 'make the creatures again pure;' when the resurrection takes place and the future existence commences.

Whether this text, as now extant, be the original commentary or zand of the Vohûman Ya*s*t admits of doubt, since it appears to quote that commentary (Chap. II, 1) as an authority for its statements; it is, therefore, most probably, only an epitome of the original commentary. Such an epitome would naturally quote many passages verbatim

from the original work, which ought to bear traces of translation from an Avesta text, as its title zand implies a Pahlavi translation from the Avesta (see p. x). There are, in fact, many such traces in this epitome, as indicated by the numerous sentences beginning with a verb, the mode of addressing Aûharmazd, the quotation of different opinions from various commentators, and other minor peculiarities. Some of these might be the result of careful imitation of other commentaries, but it seems more likely that they are occasioned by literal translation from an original Avesta text. In speculating, therefore, upon the contents of the Bahman Ya*s*t it is necessary to remember that we are most probably dealing with a composite work, whose statements may be referred to the three different ages of the Avesta original, the Pahlavi translation and commentary, and the Pahlavi epitome of the latter; and that this last form of the text is the only old version now extant.

With regard to the age of the work we have the external evidence that a copy of it exists in a manuscript (K20) written about five hundred years ago, and that this copy is evidently descended from older manuscripts as it contains several clerical blunders incompatible with any idea of its being the original manuscript, as witness the omissions noted in Chaps. II, 10, 13, 14, 22, 27, 45, III, 30, 32, the misplacement of II, 18, and many miswritings of single words. Owing to the threefold character of the work, already noticed, the internal evidence of its age can only apply to its last recension in the form of an epitome, as an oriental editor (to say nothing of others) generally considers himself at liberty to alter and add to his text, if he does not understand it, or thinks he can improve it. That this liberty has been freely exercised, with regard to these professed prophecies, is shown by the identification of the four prophetical ages of the Stû*d*gar Nask in the first chapter of the Bahman Ya*s*t being different from that given in the Dînkar*d*. The Dînkar*d* quotes the Stû*d*gar Nask (that is, its Pahlavi version) as identifying the iron age with some period of religious indifference subsequent to the time of Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mâraspend, the supreme high-priest and

prime minister of Shahpûr II (A.D. 309–379); but the Bahman Yast (Chap. I, 5) quotes the Nask as identifying the same age with the reign of an idolatrous race subsequent to the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). This example is sufficient to show that the compiler of the extant epitome of the Bahman Yast commentary largely availed himself of his editorial license, and it indicates the difficulty of distinguishing his statements from those of the former editors. At the same time it proves that the epitome could not have been compiled till after Iran had been overrun by a foreign race subsequent to the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân. It is remarkable that the compiler does not mention any later Sasanian king, that he does not allude to Muhammadanism, and speaks of the foreign invaders as Turanians and Christians, only mentioning Arabs incidentally in later times; at the same time the foreign invasion (which lasts a thousand years) is of too permanent a character to allow of its having reference merely to the troublous times of Nôshirvân's successor.

Perhaps the most reasonable hypotheses that can be founded upon these facts are, first, that the original zand or commentary of the Bahman Yast was written and translated from the Avesta in the latter part of the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, or very shortly afterwards, which would account for no later king being mentioned by name; and, secondly, that the epitome now extant was compiled by some writer who lived so long after the Arab invasion that the details of their inroad had become obscured by the more recent successes of Turanian rulers, such as the Ghaznavîs and Salgûqs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is hardly possible that the epitomist could have lived as late as the time of Gingîz Khân, the great Mongol conqueror (A.D. 1206–1227), as that would bring him within 150 years of the date of the extant manuscript of his work, which has no appearance of being an immediate copy of the original; but the rule of the Salgûqs would certainly have afforded him sufficient materials for his long description of the iron age. The Avesta of the Bahman Yast was probably compiled from older sources (like the rest of the Avesta) during

the reigns of the earlier Sasanian monarchs; but it was, no doubt, very different in its details from the epitome of its commentary which still exists.

These hypotheses, regarding the threefold origin of the present form of this Ya*s*t, derive some confirmation from the inconsistencies in its chronological details; especially those relating to the periods of the invaders' reign and of Hûshê*d*ar's birth. The Zoroastrians have for ages been expecting the appearance of Hûshê*d*ar, the first of their last three apostles, but have always had to postpone their expectations from time to time, like the Jews and other interpreters of prophecy; so that they are still looking forward into the future for his advent, although his millennium has long since expired according to the chronology adopted in the Bahman Ya*s*t. This chronology, of course, represents the expectations of Zoroastrians in past times, and seems to express three different opinions. First, we have the statement that the last great battle of the demon-races is to take place at the end of Zaratû*s*t's millennium (see Chap. III, 9), when the wicked will be so destroyed (compare III, 22, 23) that none will pass into the next millennium (III, 11), which is that of Hûshê*d*ar (III, 43). And that the reign of evil is to precede the end of Zaratû*s*t's millennium is evidently assumed also in Chap. II, 41, 63. Such opinions may reasonably be traced to the original Avesta writer, who must have expected only a short reign of evil to arise and fall near the latter end of Zaratû*s*t's millennium, which was still far in the future, and to be followed by the appearance of Hûshê*d*ar to restore the 'good' religion. Secondly, we are told (I, 5, II, 22, 24, 31) that the invasion of the demon-races, with its attendant evils, is to take place when Zaratû*s*t's millennium is ended; on their appearance Hûshê*d*ar is born (III, 13), and when he is thirty years old (compare III, 14 with III, 44) Vâhrâm the Var*g*âvand is also born, who at the age of thirty (III, 17) advances into Iran with an innumerable army to destroy the invaders. Such statements may be attributed to the original Pahlavi translator and commentator who, writing about A.D. 570–590, would have before his eyes the disastrous

reign of Aûharmazd IV, the son and successor of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, together with the prowess of the famous Persian general Bahrâm *K*ôpîn, which drove out all invaders. This writer evidently expected the reign of the demon-races to last less than a century, but still at some period in the near future; merely illustrating his theme by details of the disasters and wars of his own time. Thirdly, we find it stated (III, 44) that Hûshê*d*ar will be born in 1600, which seems to mean the sixteen hundredth year of Zaratû*s*t's millennium, or six hundredth of his own (say A.D. 1193–1235), also that the reign of the demon-races is to last a thousand years (III, 34), and that Pêshyôtanû does not come to restore the religion till near the end of the millennium (III, 51); it also appears (III, 49) that Var*g*âvand occupies a prominent position when Hûshê*d*ar comes from his conference with Aûharmazd at thirty years of age (III, 44, 45). Such details were probably inserted by the compiler of the epitome, who had to admit the facts that the reign of the demon-races had already lasted for centuries, and that Hûshê*d*ar had not yet appeared. To get over these difficulties he probably adopted the opinions current in his day, and postponed the advent of Hûshê*d*ar till the beginning of the next century in his millennium, and put off the destruction of the wicked, as a more hopeless matter, till near the end of the millennium. Both these periods are now long since past, and the present Zoroastrians have still to postpone the fulfilment of the prophecies connected with their last three apostles, or else to understand them in a less literal fashion than heretofore.

For the Pahlavi text of the Bahman Ya*s*t the translator has to rely upon the single old manuscript K20, already described (p. xxvii), in which it occupies the 13½ folios immediately following the Bundahi*s*; these folios are much worn, and a few words have been torn off some of them, but nearly all of these missing words can be restored by aid of the Pâzand version. The Pahlavi text is also found in the modern copies of K20 at Paris and Kopenhagen, but these copies (P7 and K21) have no authority independent of K20. In India this text has long been exceedingly rare,

and whether any copy of it exists, independent of K20, is doubtful.

The Pâzand version is more common in Parsi libraries, but contains a very imperfect text. Of this version two modern copies have been consulted; one of these occupies fols. 38–62 of a small manuscript, No. 22 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich; the other is a copy of a manuscript in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay. Both these MSS. are evidently descended from the same original, which must have been a very imperfect transliteration of a Pahlavi text closely resembling that of K20, but yet independent of that MS., as a few words omitted in K20 are supplied by these Pâzand MSS. (see B.Yt. II, 13, 14, 22, &c.) To a certain extent, therefore, these Pâzand MSS. are of some assistance in settling the text of a few sentences, but the greater part of their contents is so imperfect as to be utterly unintelligible; they not only omit Chaps. I, 1–8, II, 17, 30–32, 40, III, 9, 12, 17–44, 58–63 entirely, but also words and phrases from nearly every other section of the text. Adhering scrupulously to the Pahlavi original for a few consecutive words, and then widely departing from it by misreading or omitting all difficult words and passages, this Pâzand version is a complete contrast to the Pâzand writings of Nêryôsang, being of little use to the reader beyond showing the extremely low ebb to which Pahlavi learning must have fallen, among the Parsis, before such unintelligible writings could have been accepted as Pâzand texts.

There is also a Persian version of the Bahman Yast, a copy of which, written A.D. 1676, is contained in a large Rivâyat MS. No. 29, belonging to the University Library at Bombay. According to the colophon of this Persian version it was composed in A.D. 1496 by Rustam Isfendiyâr of Yazd, from an Avesta (Pâzand) MS. belonging to his brother Jamshêd. This Persian version contains less than three per cent of Arabic words, and is more of a paraphrase than a translation, but it adheres very closely to the meaning of the Pahlavi text from Chaps. I, 1 to III, 9, where a dislocation occurs, evidently owing either to the displacement

of two folios in an older MS., or to the second page of a folio being copied before the first, so that §§ 10–14 follow §§ 15–22. From the middle of § 22 the folios of the older MS. seem to have been lost as far as the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (§ 51), to which point the Persian version leaps, but the remainder of this paraphrase is much more diffuse than the Bahman Yast, and is evidently derived from some other Pahlavi work.

This conclusion of the Persian version describes how adversity departs from the world, and ten people are satisfied with the milk of one cow, when Hûshêdar-mâh appears and his millennium commences. On his coming from his conference with Aûharmazd the sun stands still for twenty days and nights, in consequence of which two-thirds of the people in the world believe in the religion. Meat is no longer eaten, but only milk and butter, and a hundred people are satisfied with the milk of one cow. Hûshêdar-mâh destroys the terrible serpent, which accompanies apostasy, by means of the divine glory and Avesta formulas; he clears all noxious creatures out of the world, and wild animals live harmlessly among mankind; the fiends of apostasy and deceit depart from the world, which becomes populous and delightful, and mankind abstain from falsehood. After the five-hundredth year of Hûshêdar-mâh has passed away, Sôshyans (Sâsân) appears, and destroys the fiend who torments fire. The sun stands still for thirty days and nights, when all mankind believe in the religion, and the year becomes exactly 360 days. Dahâk escapes from his confinement, and reigns for a day and a half in the world with much tyranny; when Sôshyans rouses Sâm Narîmân, who accepts the religion and becomes immortal. Sâm calls upon Dahâk to accept the religion, but the latter proposes that they should together seize upon heaven for themselves, whereupon Sâm kills him. All evil having departed from the world mankind become like the archangels, and the resurrection takes place, which is described with many of the same details as are mentioned in Bund. XXX.

Accompanying this Persian version in B29 is another

fragment from the same source, which treats of the same subjects as the third chapter of the Bahman Yast, but is differently arranged. It confines itself to the millennium of Hûshêdar, and may possibly be some modification of the contents of the folios missing from the version described above. After some introductory matter this fragment contains a paraphrase (less accurate than the preceding) of Chap. III, 23–49 of the Bahman Yast; it then proceeds to state that Hûshêdar destroys the wolf race, so that wolves, thieves, highway robbers, and criminals cease to exist. When Hûshêdar's three-hundredth year has passed away the winter of Malkôs arrives and destroys all animals and vegetation, and only one man survives out of ten thousand; after which the world is repeopled from the enclosure made by Yim. Then comes the gathering of the nations to the great battle on the Euphrates, where the slaughter is so great that the water of the river becomes red, and the survivors wade in blood up to their horses' girths. Afterwards, the Kayân king, Vargâvand, advances from the frontiers of India and takes possession of Iran to the great delight of the inhabitants, but only after a great battle; and then Pêshyôtanû is summoned from Kangdez to restore the religious ceremonies.

A German translation of some passages in the Bahman Yast, with a brief summary of the greater part of the remainder, was published in 1860 in Spiegel's Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, pp. 128–135.

6. The Shâyast lâ-shâyast.

Another treatise which must be referred to about the same age as the Bundahis, though of a very different character, is the Shâyast lâ-shâyast or 'the proper and improper.' It is a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general. Its name has, no doubt, been given to it in modern times [1], and has pro-

[1] But perhaps before the compilation of the prose Sad-dar Bundahis, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which seems to refer to the Shâyast lâ-shâyast

bably arisen from the frequent use it makes of the words shâya*d*, 'it is fit or proper,' and lâ shâya*d*, 'it is not fit or proper.' And, owing to its resemblance to those Persian miscellanies of traditional memoranda called Rivâyats, it has also been named the Pahlavi Rivâyat, though chiefly by Europeans.

It consists of two parts, which are often put together in modern MSS., and bear the same name, but are widely separated in the oldest MSS. These two parts, consisting respectively of Chaps. I–X and XI–XIV in the present translation, are evidently two distinct treatises on the same and similar subjects, but of nearly the same age. That they were compiled by two different persons, who had access to nearly the same authorities, appears evident from Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13–16, 18, 20 being repetitions of Chaps. I, 1, 2, X, 4, 20–23, 7, 31, with only slight alterations; such repetitions as would hardly be made in a single treatise by the same writer. Minor repetitions in the first part, such as those of some phrases in Chaps. II, 65, IV, 14, repeated in Chap. X, 24, 33, might readily be made by the same writer in different parts of the same treatise. To these two parts of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast a third part has been added in the present translation, as an appendix, consisting of a number of miscellaneous passages of a somewhat similar character, which are found in the same old MSS. that contain the first two parts, but which cannot be attributed either to the same writers or the same age as those parts.

The first part commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, and the names of the chief commentators on the Vendidad. It then gives long details regarding the precautions to be taken with reference to corpses and menstruous women, and the impurity they occasion; besides mentioning (Chap. II, 33–35) the pollution

in its opening words, as follows:—'This book is on "the proper and improper" which is brought out from the good, pure religion of the Mazdayasnians;' though this term may possibly relate to its own contents. There is also a Persian treatise called Shâyast na-shâyast, which gives a good deal of information obtained from the Persian Rivâyats, and copies of which are contained in the MSS. Nos. 56 and 116 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

caused by a serpent. It next describes the proper size and materials of the sacred thread-girdle and shirt, giving some details about the sins of running about uncovered and walking with one boot, and thence proceeding to the sin of unseasonable chatter. Details are then given about good works, and those who can and cannot perform them; in which reference is made to Christians, Jews, and those of other persuasions (Chap. VI, 7). The next subjects treated of are reverencing the sun and fire, the sin of extinguishing fire, confession and renunciation of sin, atonement for sins, especially mortal sins, both those affecting others and those only affecting one's own soul; with a digression (Chap. VIII, 3) prohibiting the rich from hunting. The remainder of this first treatise is of a miscellaneous character, referring to the following subjects:—The Hâsar of time, priests passing away in idolatry, the discussion of religion, ceremonies not done aright, throwing a corpse into the sea, evil of eating in the dark, the four kinds of worship, when the angels should be invoked in worship, the ephemeral nature of life, proper looseness for a girdle, when the sacred cake set aside for the guardian spirits can be used, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant, providing a tank for ablution, the Gâthas not to be recited over the dead, food and drink not to be thrown away to the north at night, unlawful slaughter of animals, how the corpse of a pregnant woman should be carried, forgiveness of trespasses, evil of walking without boots, when the sacred girdle is to be assumed, breaking the spell of an inward prayer, ten women wanted at childbirth, and how the infant is to be treated, sin of beating an innocent person, evil of a false judge, men and women who do not marry, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, prayer on lying down and getting up, Avesta not to be mumbled, doubtful actions to be avoided or consulted about, evil of laughing during prayer, crowing of a hen, treatment of a hedgehog, after a violent death corruption does not set in immediately, necessity of a dog's gaze, putrid meat and hairy cakes or butter unfit for ceremonies, when a woman can do priestly duty, &c.

The second part also commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, followed by the proper meat-offerings for various angels and guardian spirits. Next come miscellaneous observations on the following subjects:—The simplest form of worship, necessity of submitting to a high-priest, advantage of a fire in the house, sin of clothing the dead, presentation of holy-water to the nearest fire after a death, nail-parings to be prayed over, advantage of light at childbirth, offerings to the angels, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant and a child is born, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, evil of drawing well-water at night, food not to be thrown away to the north at night, advantage of prayer at feasts, treatment of a hedgehog, praying when washing the face, the proper choice of a purifying priest, no one should be hopeless of heaven, necessity of a wife being religious as well as her husband, the ceremonies which are good works, and the cause of sneezing, yawning, and sighing. These are followed by a long account of the mystic signification of the Gâthas, with some information as to the errors which may be committed in consecrating the sacred cakes, and how the beginning of the morning watch is to be determined.

The third part, or appendix, commences with an account of how each of the archangels can be best propitiated, by a proper regard for the particular worldly existence which he specially protects. This is followed by a statement of the various degrees of sin, and of the amount of good works attributed to various ceremonies. Then come some account of the ceremonies after a death, particulars of those who have no part in the resurrection, the duty of submission to the priesthood, whether evil may be done for the sake of good, the place where people will rise from the dead, Aêshm's complaint to Aharman of the three things he could not injure in the world, the occasions on which the Ahunavar formula should be recited, and the number of recitals that are requisite, &c. And, finally, statements of the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, blessings invoked

from the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month, and the special epithets of the same.

With regard to the age of this treatise we have no precise information. All three parts are found in a MS. (M6) which was written in A.D. 1397 (see p. xxix), and nearly the whole is also found in the MS. K20, which may be a few years older (see p. xxvii), and in which the first part of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast is followed by a Persian colophon dated A.Y. 700 (A.D. 1331), copied probably from an older MS. The text in both these old MSS. seems to have been derived almost direct from the same original, which must have been so old when M6 was written that the copyist found some words illegible (see notes on Chaps. VIII, 19, X, 34, XII, 14, 15, &c.) Now it is known from a colophon that a portion of M6, containing the book of Ar*d*â-Vîrâf and the tale of Gô*s*t-i Fryânô, was copied from a MS. written in A.D. 1249; and we may safely conclude that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast was copied, either from the same MS., or from one fully as old. So far, therefore, as external evidence goes, there is every reason to suppose that the whole of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, with its appendix[1], was existing in a MS. written about 630 years ago.

But internal evidence points to a far higher antiquity for the first two parts, as the compilers of those treatises evidently had access, not only to several old commentaries, but also to many of the Nasks, which have long been lost. Thus, the first treatise contains quotations from the commentaries of Afarg, Gôgô*s*asp, Kûshtanŏ-bû*g*ê*d*, Mê*d*ôk-mâh, Rôshan, and Sôshyans, which are all frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad (see Sls. I, 3, 4, notes); besides mentioning the opinions of Mar*d*-bû*d*, Nêryôsang, Nôsâî Bûr*z*-Mitrô, and Vand-Aûharmazd, who are rarely or never mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It also quotes no less than eleven of the twenty Nasks or books of the complete Mazdayasnian literature which are no longer extant, besides the Vendidad, the only Nask that still survives in the full extent it had in Sasanian times.

[1] Except Chaps. XXII, XXIII (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXII).

The Nasks quoted are the Stûdgar (Sls. X, 8), the Bagh (X, 26), the Dâmdâd (X, 22), the Pâzôn (IX, 9), the Ratûstâîtîh (X, 29), the Kîdrast (X, 28), the Spend (X, 4), the Nihâdûm (X, 3, 22, 23), the Dûbâsrûgêd (X, 13), the Hûspâram (X, 21), and the Sakâdûm (X, 25), very few of which are mentioned even in the Pahlavi Vendidad. The second treatise mentions only one commentator, Vand-Aûharmazd, but it quotes eight of the Nasks no longer extant; these are the Stûdgar (Sls. XII, 32), the Dâmdâd (XII, 5, 15), the Spend (XII, 3, 11, 15, 29), the Bâg-yasnô (XII, 17), the Nihâdûm (XII, 15, 16), the Hûspâram (XII, 1, 7, 14, 31, XIII, 17), the Sakâdûm (XII, 2, 10, 12, XIII, 30), and the Hâdôkht (XII, 19, 30, XIII, 6, 10).

Of two of these Nasks, the Bagh and Hâdôkht, a few fragments may still survive (see notes on Sls. X, 26, Haug's Essays, p. 134, B. Yt. III, 25), but those of the latter Nask do not appear to contain the passages quoted in the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. With regard to the rest we only know that the Dâmdâd, Hûspâram, and Sakâdûm must have been still in existence about A.D. 881, as they are quoted in the writings of Zâd-sparam and Mânûskîhar, sons of Yûdân-Yim, who lived at that time (see pp. xlii, xlvi); and the Nihâdûm and Hûspâram are also quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It is true that the Dînkard gives copious information about the contents of all the Nasks, with two or three exceptions; and the Dînkard seems to have assumed its present form about A.D. 900 (see Bund. XXXIII, 11, notes); but its last editor was evidently merely a compiler of old fragments, so there is no certainty that many of the Nasks actually existed in his time.

Thus far, therefore, the internal evidence seems to prove that the two treatises called Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which constitute the first two parts of the present translation, are more than a thousand years old. On the other hand, they cannot be more than three centuries older, because they frequently quote passages from the Pahlavi Vendidad which, as we have seen (p. xlvi, note 1), could not have assumed its present form before the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531–579). As they contain no reference to any

interference of the governing powers with the religion or priesthood, it is probable that they were written before the Muhammadan conquest (A.D. 636–651), although they do not mention the existence of any 'king of the kings,' the usual title of the Sasanian monarchs. And this probability is increased by there being no direct mention of Muhammadanism among the contemporary religions named in Chap. VI, 7, unless we assume that passage to be a quotation from an earlier book. We may, therefore, conclude, with tolerable certainty, that the Pahlavi text of the first two parts of the present translation of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast was compiled some time in the seventh century; but, like the Bundahi*s* and Bahman Ya*s*t, it was, for the most part, a compilation of extracts and translations from far older writings, and may also have been rearranged shortly after the Muhammadan conquest.

The fragments which are collected in the appendix, or third part of the present translation, are probably of various ages, and several of them may not be more than seven centuries old. The commentator Bakht-âfrî*d*, whose work (now lost) is quoted in Chap. XX, 11, may have lived in the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (see B. Yt. I, 7). And Chap. XXI must certainly have been written in Persia, as the lengths of noonday shadows which it mentions are only suitable for 32° north latitude. As regards the last two chapters we have no evidence that they are quite five centuries old.

For the Pahlavi text of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast and its appendix we have not only the very old codex M6 (see p. xxix) for the whole of it, but also the equally old codex K20 (see p. xxvii) for all but Chaps. XV–XVII, XX, XXII, and XXIII in the appendix. In M6 the first two parts are separated by twenty folios, containing the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, and the second part is separated from the first three chapters of the appendix by four folios, containing the Patit-i Khû*d*; the next three chapters of the appendix are from the latter end of the second volume of M6, Chap. XXI is from the middle of the same, and the last two chapters are from some additional folios at the beginning of the

first volume. In K20 the first two parts are separated by ninety-two folios, containing the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, Bundahiſ, Bahman Yaſt, and several other Pahlavi and Avesta texts; Chap. XVIII precedes the first part, Chap. XIX precedes the second part, and Chap. XXI is in an earlier part of the MS.

Derived from K20 are the two modern copies P7 and K21 (see p. xxviii). Derived from M6 are the modern copy of the first two parts in M9 (No. 9 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), a copy of Chaps. XIV, XV in L15 (No. 15 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London), a copy of Chap. XX, 4–17 in O121 (No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, see p. xxx), and a copy of Chap. XVIII in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahiſ at Bombay. While an independent Pahlavi version of Chap. XXIII occurs in a very old codex in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay, which version has been used for the text of the present translation, because that chapter is incomplete in M6.

Pâzand versions of some of the chapters, chiefly in the appendix, are to be found in some MSS., but all derived apparently from M6. Thus, in the Pâzand MSS. L7 and L22 (Nos. 7 and 22 in the India Office Library at London, see p. xxxi), written in Avesta characters, Chaps. XVIII, XX, XV follow the last chapter of the Bundahiſ, and Chap. XIV occurs a few folios further on. And in the Pâzand MS. M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), written in Persian characters, the following detached passages occur in a miscellaneous collection of extracts (fols. 126–133):—Chaps. XX, 14–16, X, 18, 19, IX, 9, 10, XX, 12, 13, 4, 5, VIII, 2, 4–14, XX, 11. A Persian version of Chap. XVIII also occurs in M5 (No. 5 of the same collection) on fol. 54.

It does not appear that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast has ever been hitherto translated into any European language[1], nor

[1] Except Chap. XVIII, which was translated into German by Justi, as the last chapter of his translation of the Bundahis (see p. xxvi).

is any Persian or Gugarâti translation of it known to the present translator, though a good deal of the matter it contains may be found in the Persian Rivâyats, but generally given in a different form. Owing to the technical character of the treatise, it is hazardous for any one but a Parsi priest to attempt to translate it, so that errors will, no doubt, be apparent to the initiated in the present translation. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the laws and customs mentioned in the text were those current in Persia twelve centuries ago, which may be expected to differ, in many details, from those of the Parsis in India at the present day. This is a consideration which a Parsi translator might be too apt to ignore; so that his thorough knowledge of present customs, though invaluable for the decipherment of ambiguous phrases, might lead him astray when dealing with clear statements of customs and rules now obsolete and, therefore, at variance with his preconceived ideas of propriety.

7. Concluding Remarks.

The Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are specimens of three distinct species of writings. Thus, the Bundahiš and its appendix, which deal chiefly with cosmogony, myths, and traditions, may be roughly compared to the book of Genesis. The Bahman Yašt, which professes to be prophetical, may be likened unto the Apocalypse. And the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which treats of religious laws regarding impurity, sin, ritual, and miscellaneous matters, bears some resemblance to Leviticus. But, though thus dealing with very different subjects, these texts appear to have all originated in much the same manner, a manner which is characteristic of the oldest class of the Pahlavi writings still extant. All three are full of translations from old Avesta texts, collected together probably in the latter days of the Sasanian dynasty, and finally rearranged some time after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; so that, practically, they may be taken as representing the ideas entertained of their prehistoric religion by Persians in the

sixth century, but modified so far as to suit the taste and exigencies of the tenth.

But, notwithstanding the wide range of subjects embraced by these texts, it would be rash for the reader to assume that they afford him sufficient information for forming a decided opinion as to the character of the Parsi religion. The texts translated in this volume contain barely one-eleventh part of the religious literature extant in the Pahlavi language, without taking the Pahlavi versions of existing Avesta texts into account, which latter are even more important than the former, from a religious point of view, as they are considered more authoritative by the Parsis themselves. What proportion the literature extant may bear to that which is lost it is impossible to guess; but, omitting all consideration of the possible contents of the lost literature, it is obvious that the remaining ten-elevenths of that which is extant may contain much which would modify any opinion based merely upon the one-eleventh here translated. What the untranslated portion actually contains no one really knows. The best Pahlavi scholar can never be sure that he understands the contents of a Pahlavi text until he has fully translated it; no amount of careful reading can make him certain that he does not misunderstand some essential part of it, and were he to assert the contrary he would be merely misleading others and going astray himself. How far the translations in this volume will enable the reader to judge of the Parsi religion may perhaps be best understood by considering how far a careful perusal of the books of Genesis, Leviticus, and the Revelation, which constitute one-eleventh part of the Protestant Bible, would enable him to judge of Christianity, without any further information.

But, though these translations must be considered merely as a contribution towards a correct account of mediæval Zoroastrianism, the Bundahis does afford some very definite information upon one of the fundamental doctrines of that faith. The Parsi religion has long been represented by its opponents as a dualism; and this accusation, made in good faith by Muhammadan writers, and echoed more

incautiously by Christians, has been advanced so strenuously that it has often been admitted even by Parsis themselves, as regards the mediæval form of their faith. But neither party seems to have fairly considered how any religion which admits the personality of an evil spirit, in order to account for the existence of evil, can fail to become a dualism to a certain extent. If, therefore, the term is to be used in controversy, it behoves those who use it to define the limits of objectionable dualism with great precision, so as not to include most of the religions of the world, their own among the number.

If it be necessary for a dualism that the evil spirit be omnipresent, omniscient, almighty, or eternal, then is the Parsi religion no dualism. The Bundahis distinctly asserts that the evil spirit is not omniscient and almighty (Chap. I, 16); that his understanding is backward (I, 3, 9), so that he was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd till he arose from the abyss and saw the light (I, 9); that he is unobservant and ignorant of the future (I, 19) till it is revealed to him by Aûharmazd (I, 21); that his creatures perish at the resurrection (I, 7, 21), and he himself becomes impotent (I, 21, III, 1) and will not be (I, 3, XXX, 32). Nowhere is he supposed to be in two places at once, or to know what is occurring elsewhere than in his own presence. So far, his powers are considerably less than those generally assigned by Christians to the devil, who is certainly represented as being a more intelligent and ubiquitous personage. On the other hand, Aharman is able to produce fiends and demons (Chap. I, 10, 24), and the noxious creatures are said to be his (III, 15, XIV, 30, XVIII, 2); in which respects he has probably rather more power than the devil, although the limits of the latter's means of producing evil are by no means well defined.

The origin and end of Aharman appear to be left as uncertain as those of the devil, and, altogether, the resemblance between these two ideas of the evil spirit is remarkably close; in fact, almost too close to admit of the possibility of their being ideas of different origin. The only important differences are that Zoroastrianism does not believe in an

eternity of evil as Christianity does, and that Christianity has been content to leave all its other ideas about the devil in a very hazy and uncertain form, while Zoroastrianism has not shrunk from carrying similar ideas to their logical conclusion. If, therefore, a belief in Aharman, as the author of evil, makes the Parsi religion a dualism, it is difficult to understand why a belief in the devil, as the author of evil, does not make Christianity also a dualism. At any rate, it is evident from the Bundahis that a Christian is treading on hazardous ground when he objects to Zoroastrianism on the score of its dualism.

Another misrepresentation of the Parsi religion is shown to have no foundation in fact, by a passage in the Selections of Zâd-sparam. Several writers, both Greek and Armenian, contemporaries of the Sasanian dynasty, represent the Persians as believing that both Aûharmazd and Aharman were produced by an eternal being, who is evidently a personification of the Avesta phrase for 'boundless time.' This view was apparently confirmed by a passage in Anquetil Duperron's French translation of the Vendidad (XIX, 32–34), but this has long been known to be a mistranslation due to Anquetil's ignorance of Avesta grammar; so that the supposed doctrine of 'boundless time' being the originator of everything is not to be found in the Avesta; still it might have sprung up in Sasanian times. But the Selections of Zâd-sparam (I, 24) distinctly state that Aûharmazd produced the creature Zôrvân (precisely the term used in the phrase 'boundless time' in the Avesta). Here 'time,' although personified, is represented as a creature of Aûharmazd, produced after the first appearance of Aharman; which contradicts the statement of the Greek and Armenian writers completely, and shows how little reliance can be placed upon the assertions of foreigners regarding matters which they view with antipathy or prejudice.

With reference to the general plan of these translations of Pahlavi texts a few remarks seem necessary. In the first place, it will be obvious to any attentive reader of this introduction that a translator of Pahlavi has not merely to translate, but also to edit, the original text; and, in some

cases, he has even to discover it. Next, as regards the translation, it has been already mentioned (p. xxvi) that the translator's object is to make it as literal as possible; in order, therefore, to check the inevitable tendency of free translation to wander from the meaning of the original text, all extra words added to complete the sense, unless most distinctly understood in the original, are italicised in the translation. And in all cases that seem doubtful the reader's attention is called to the fact by a note, though it is possible that some doubtful matters may be overlooked.

The notes deal not only with explanations that may be necessary for the general reader, but also with various readings and other details that may be useful to scholars; they are, therefore, very numerous, though some passages may still be left without sufficient explanation. References to the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad are made to Spiegel's edition of the original texts, not because that edition is superior, or even equal, in accuracy to that of Westergaard, but because it is the only edition which gives the Pahlavi translations, because its sections are shorter and, therefore, reference to them is more definite, and because the only English translation of the Avesta hitherto existing[1] is based upon Spiegel's edition, and is divided into the same sections.

No attempt has been made to trace any of the myths or traditions farther back than the Avesta, whence their descent is a fact that can hardly be disputed. To trace them back to earlier times, to a supposed Indo-Iranian personification or poetic distortion of meteorological phenomena, would be, in the present state of our knowledge, merely substituting plausible guesses for ascertained facts. In many cases, indeed, we have really no right to assume that an Avesta myth has descended from any such Indo-Iranian origin, as there have been ample opportunities for the infiltration of myths from other sources, yet unknown,

[1] Bleeck's Avesta; the Religious Books of the Parsees; from Professor Spiegel's German Translation; London, 1864. Not much reliance can be placed upon the correctness of this translation, owing to defects in the German one.

among the many nations with which the religion of the Avesta has come in contact, both before and since the time of Zaratûst. For, notwithstanding the ingenious rhetoric of the expounders of myths, it is still as unsafe, from a scientific point of view, to disbelieve the former existence of Zaratûst as it is to doubt that of Moses, or any other practically prehistoric personage, merely because mythic tales have gathered about his name in later times, as they always do about the memory of any individual who has become famous or revered.

In many cases the original Pahlavi word is appended, in parentheses, to its English equivalent in the translation. This has been done for the sake of explanation, when the word is technical or rare, or the translation is unusual. For, with regard to technical terms, it has been considered best, in nearly all cases, to translate them by some explanatory phrase, in preference to filling the translation with foreign words which would convey little or no distinct meaning to the general reader. Some of these technical terms have almost exact equivalents in English, such as those translated 'resurrection' and 'demon,' or can be well expressed by descriptive phrases, such as 'sacred twigs' and 'sacred cakes.' Other terms are only approximately rendered by such words as 'archangel' and 'angel;' others can hardly be expressed at all times by the same English words, but must change according to the context, such as the term variously rendered by 'worship, ceremonial, prayer, or rites.' While the meaning of some few terms is so technical, complicated, or uncertain, that it is safer to use the Pahlavi word itself, such as Tanâpûhar, Frasast, Gêtî-kharî*d*, Dvâ*z*dah-hômâst, &c.

The following is a list of nearly all the technical terms that have been translated, with the English equivalents generally used to express them:—Âfrîn, 'blessing;' aharmôk, 'apostate, heretic;' aharûbŏ, 'righteous;' aharûbŏ-dâ*d*, 'alms, almsgiving;' akdînô, 'infidel;' ameshôspend, 'archangel;' armê*s*t, 'helpless;' ast-hômand, 'material;' aûsôfrî*d*, 'propitiation, offering;' baghô-bakhtô, 'divine providence;' baresôm, 'sacred twigs or twig-bundle;'

baresômdân, 'twig stand;' dakhmak (Huz. khazân), 'depository for the dead;' dashtânistân, 'place for menstruation;' dînô, 'religion, revelation, religious rites;' drâyân-*g*ûyi*s*nîh, 'unseasonable chatter;' drevand, 'wicked;' drônô, 'sacred cake;' drû*g*, 'fiend;' frashakar*d*, 'renovation of the universe;' fravâhar, 'guardian spirit;' fravar*d*îkân, 'days devoted to the guardian spirits;' ganrâk maînôk, 'evil spirit;' gar*z*i*s*n, 'confession of sin;' gâs, 'period of the day, time;' gâsânbâr, 'season-festival;' *g*a*s*nŏ, 'feast;' gâû*s*-dâk (Av. gâu*s* hudh*a*u), 'meat-offering, sacred butter;' *g*avî*d*-rastakân, 'the heterodox;' *g*îv (Av. gâu*s* *g*îvya), 'sacred milk;' gômê*z*, 'bull's urine;' hamêmâl, 'accuser;' hamrê*d*, 'direct pollution, contagion;' ha*z*ârak, 'millennium;' hîkhar, 'bodily refuse;' kâr, 'duty;' kêshvar, 'region;' khayebît, 'destroyer;' khrafstar, 'noxious creature;' khvêtûk-das, 'next-of-kin marriage;' kirfak, 'good works;' kûstîk, 'sacred thread-girdle;' magh, 'stone ablution-seat;' maînôk, 'spirit;' marg-ar*g*ân, 'worthy of death, mortal sin;' myazd, 'feast, sacred feast;' nasâî, 'corpse, dead matter;' nasâî katak, 'corpse chamber;' nîrang, 'religious formula, ritual;' nîrangistân, 'code of religious formulas;' nîyâyi*s*n, 'salutation;' padâm, 'mouth-veil;' pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh, 'ablution, ceremonial ablution;' pâhlûm ahvân, 'best existence;' paîtrê*d*, 'indirect pollution, infection;' parâhôm, 'hôm-juice;' parîk, 'witch;' patîtîh, 'renunciation of sin;' patîyârak, 'adversary;' pôryô*d*kêshîh, 'primitive faith;' ra*d*, 'chief, spiritual chief, primate, high-priest;' rîstâkhê*z*, 'resurrection;' satûîh, 'the three nights;' *s*êdâ, 'demon;' shapîk, 'sacred shirt;' shnâyi*s*n, 'propitiation, gratification;' shnûman, 'dedication formula, propitiation;' spênâk maînôk, 'beneficent spirit;' tanû-i pasînŏ, 'future existence;' tô*g*i*s*n, 'retribution;' tôrâ-i khadû-dâ*d*, 'primeval ox;' vâ*g*, 'inward prayer;' vi*g*âri*s*n, 'atonement for sin;' vishâ*d*-dûbâri*s*nîh, 'running about uncovered;' yasnô, 'ritual;' ya*s*t, 'prayers, ritual, form of prayer, worship, consecration;' ya*s*tanŏ, 'to consecrate, solemnize, propitiate, reverence;' yâtûk, 'wizard;' yazdân, 'angels, sacred beings, celestial beings, God;' ya*z*i*s*n,

'ceremonial, ceremony, sacred ceremony, ceremonial worship, worship, reverence, rites, prayer;' yêdatô, 'angel;' zand, 'commentary;' zôhar or zôr, 'holy-water;' zôt, 'officiating priest.'

With regard to the orthography of Pahlavi names and words, advantage has been taken of the system of transliteration adopted for this series of Translations of the Sacred Books of the East, by making use of italics for the purpose of distinguishing between certain Pahlavi letters which were probably pronounced very nearly alike. Thus, besides the usual letters ן for v and ז for z, the Pahlavi letter ר is often used to denote those same sounds which, in such cases, are represented by the italic letters *v* and *z*. An extension of the same mode of distinction to the letters l and r would be desirable, but has not been attempted in this volume; these two letters are usually written ל, but in a few words they are represented by ן or by ר, in which cases they would be better expressed by the italics *l* and *r*. Some attempt has been made to adhere to one uniform orthography in such names as occur frequently, but as there is no such uniformity in the various languages and writings quoted, nor even in the same manuscript, some deviations can hardly be avoided.

In conclusion it may be remarked that a translator of Pahlavi generally begins his career by undervaluing the correctness of Pahlavi texts and the literary ability of their authors, but he can hardly proceed far without finding abundant reason for altering his opinion of both. His depreciatory view of Pahlavi literature is generally due partly to want of knowledge, and partly to his trusting too much to the vile perversions of Pahlavi texts usually supplied by Pâzand writers. But as his knowledge of Pahlavi increases he becomes better able to appreciate the literary merits of the texts. If the reader should have already formed some such low estimate of the ability of Pahlavi writers, it may be hoped that these translations will afford him sufficient reason for changing his opinion; if not, they will have signally failed in doing those writers justice.

BUNDAHIS

OR

THE ORIGINAL CREATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the original text is written continuously, with very few stops marked.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Oriental words are usually 'spaced.' Italics occurring in them, or in names, are intended to represent certain peculiar Oriental letters. The italic consonants *d*, *n*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like j, *hv* like wh, *k* like ch in 'church,' N like ng, *s* like sh, *z* like French j. For further information, see 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East' at the end of the volume.

4. In Pahlavi words all circumflexed vowels and any final ŏ are expressed in the Pahlavi original, but all other vowels are merely understood.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Dâ*d*. for Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk. Huz. for Huzvâri*s*. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khar*d*, ed. West. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Sp. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Sp. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

K20b (uncertain date), a fragment of the text, No. 20b in the same library.

M6 (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

BUNDAHIS.

CHAPTER I.

0. In the name of the creator Aûharmazd.

1. The Zand-âkâs ('Zand-knowing or tradition-informed')[1], which is first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit[2], *and* afterwards about the nature of the creatures from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence (tanû-î pasînŏ). 2. As *revealed* by the religion of the Mazdayasnians, so it is declared that Aûharmazd is supreme in omniscience and goodness,

[1] The Pâzand and most of the modern Pahlavi manuscripts have, 'From the Zand-âkâs,' but the word min, 'from,' does not occur in the old manuscript K20, and is a modern addition to M6. From this opening sentence it would appear that the author of the work gave it the name Zand-âkâs.

[2] The Avesta Angra-mainyu, the spirit who causes adversity or anxiety (see Darmesteter's Ormazd et Ahriman, pp. 92–95); the Pahlavi name is, most probably, merely a corrupt transliteration of the Avesta form, and may be read Ganrâk-maînôk, as the Avesta Spe*n*ta-mainyu, the spirit who causes prosperity, has become Spênâk-maînôk in Pahlavi. This latter spirit is represented by Aûharmazd himself in the Bundahis. The Pahlavi word for 'spirit,' which is read madônad by the Parsis, and has been pronounced mînavad by some scholars and mînôî by others, is probably a corruption of maînôk, as its Sasanian form was minô. If it were not for the extra medial letter in ganrâk, and for the obvious partial transliteration of spênâk, it would be preferable to read ganâk, 'smiting,' and to derive it from a supposed verb gandan, 'to smite' (Av. ghna), as proposed by most Zendists. A Parsi would probably suggest gandan, 'to stink.'

and unrivalled[1] in splendour; the region of light is the place of Aûharmazd, which they call 'endless light,' and the omniscience *and* goodness of the unrivalled Aûharmazd is what they call 'revelation[2].' 3. Revelation is the explanation of both *spirits* together; one is he who is independent of unlimited time[3], because Aûharmazd and the region, religion, and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be; *while* Aharman[4] in darkness, with backward understanding and desire for destruction, was *in* the abyss, and it is *he* who *will* not be; and the place of that destruction, and also of that darkness, is what they call the 'endlessly dark.' 4. And between them was empty space, *that* is, what they call 'air,' in which is now *their* meeting.

5. Both are limited and unlimited spirits, for the supreme is that which they call endless light, and the abyss that which is endlessly dark, so that between them is a void, and one is not connected with

[1] Reading aham-kaî, 'without a fellow-sovereign, peerless, unrivalled, independent.' This rare word occurs three times in §§ 2, 3, and some Pâzand writers suggest the meaning 'everlasting' (by means of the Persian gloss hamîsah), which is plausible enough, but hâmakî would be an extraordinary mode of writing the very common word hamâî, 'ever.'

[2] The word dînô (properly dênô), Av. daêna, being traceable to a root dî, 'to see,' must originally have meant 'a vision' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. p. 152, note 2), whence the term has been transferred to 'religion' and all religious observances, rules, and writings; so it may be translated either by 'religion' or by 'revelation.'

[3] This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of § 3 is altogether rather obscure, and suggestive of omissions in the text.

[4] The usual name of the evil spirit; it is probably an older corruption of Angra-mainyu than Ganrâk-maînôk, and a less technical term. Its Sasanian form was Aharmanî.

the other; and, again, both spirits are limited as to their own selves. 6. And, secondly, on account of the omniscience of Aûharmazd, both things are in the creation of Aûharmazd, the finite and the infinite; for this they know is that which is in the covenant of both spirits. 7. And, again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Aûharmazd is in the future existence, and that also is unlimited for ever and everlasting; and the creatures of Aharman will perish at the time when[1] the future existence occurs, and that also is eternity.

8. Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that Aharman exists, *and* whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; *and* because He accomplishes the end by many means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, *and* they remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking[2] and unmoving, with intangible bodies.

9. The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd; and, afterwards, he arose from the abyss, and came in unto the light which he saw. 10. Desirous of destroying, and because of *his* malicious nature, he

[1] Substituting amat, 'when,' for mûn, 'which,' two Huzvâris forms which are frequently confounded by Pahlavi copyists because their Pâzand equivalents, ka and ke, are nearly alike.

[2] Reading aminîdâr in accordance with M6, which has amînîdâr in Chap. XXXIV, 1, where the same phrase occurs. Windischmann and Justi read amûîtâr, 'uninjured, invulnerable,' in both places. This sentence appears to refer to a preparatory creation of embryonic and immaterial existences, the prototypes, fravashis, spiritual counterparts, or guardian angels of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced.

rushed in to destroy that light of Aûharmazd unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; *so* he fled back to the gloomy darkness, and formed many demons and fiends; *and* the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence.

11. Aûharmazd, by whom the creatures of the evil spirit were seen, creatures terrible, corrupt, and bad, also considered them not commendable (bûrzisnîk). 12. Afterwards, the evil spirit saw the creatures of Aûharmazd; they appeared many creatures of delight (vâyah), enquiring creatures, and they seemed to him commendable, and he commended the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd.

13. Then Aûharmazd, with a knowledge[1] of which way the end of the matter *would be*, went to meet the evil spirit, and proposed peace to him, *and* spoke thus: 'Evil spirit! bring assistance unto my creatures, and offer praise! so that, in reward for it, ye (you and your creatures) may become immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless.'

14. And the evil spirit shouted thus[2]: 'I *will* not depart, I *will* not provide assistance for thy creatures, I *will* not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I *will* destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I *will* force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.' 15. And the explanation thereof is this, that the evil spirit reflected in this manner, that

[1] The Huz. khavîtûnast stands for the Pâz. dânist with the meaning, here, of 'what is known, knowledge,' as in Persian.

[2] Literally, 'And it was shouted by him, the evil spirit, thus:' the usual idiom when the nominative follows the verb.

Aûharmazd was helpless as regarded him[1], therefore He proffers peace; and he did not agree, but bore on even into conflict with Him.

16. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are not omniscient and almighty, O evil spirit! so that it is not possible for thee to destroy me, and it is not possible for thee to force my creatures so that they *will* not return to my possession.'

17. Then Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that: If I do not grant a period of contest, then it *will* be possible for him to act *so* that he *may* be able to cause the seduction of my creatures to himself. As even now there are many of the intermixture of mankind who practise wrong more than right. 18. And Aûharmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period! so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.' For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit *would* be undone.

19. Then the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like two men quarrelling together, who propose a time thus: Let us appoint such-and-such a day for a fight.

20. Aûharmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, *for* three thousand years everything proceeds *by* the will of Aûharmazd, three thousand years *there is* an intermingling of the wills of Aûharmazd and Aharman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away[2] from the creatures.

[1] The words dên val stand for dên valman.

[2] That is, 'the adversary is kept away.' In Pahlavi the third

21. Afterwards, Aûharmazd recited the Ahunavar thus: Yathâ ahû vairyô ('as a heavenly lord is to be chosen'), &c.[1] once, *and* uttered the twenty-one words[2]; He also exhibited to the evil spirit His own triumph in the end, and the impotence of the evil spirit, the annihilation of the demons, and the resurrection *and* undisturbed future existence of the creatures for ever and everlasting. 22. And the evil spirit, who perceived his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded, and fell back to the gloomy darkness; even so as is declared in revelation, that, when one of its (the Ahunavar's) three *parts* was uttered, the evil spirit contracted *his* body through fear, and when two parts of it were uttered he fell upon *his* knees, and when all of it was uttered he became confounded

person plural is the indefinite person, as in English. These 9000 years are in addition to the 3000 mentioned in § 8, as appears more clearly in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

[1] This is the most sacred formula of the Parsis, which they have to recite frequently, not only during the performance of their ceremonies, but also in connection with most of their ordinary duties and habits. It is neither a prayer, nor a creed, but a declaratory formula in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows:—

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus, ashâd *kîd* hakâ,
Vanghêus dazdâ mananghô, skyaothnanãm anghêus mazdâi,
Khshathremkâ ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dadad vâstârem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide), for the sake of righteousness, *to be* a giver of the good thoughts of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. pp. 125, 141).

[2] The word mârîk must mean 'word' here, but in some other places it seems to mean 'syllable' or 'accented syllable.'

and impotent as to the harm he caused the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* he remained three thousand years in confusion[1].

23. Aûharmazd created *his* creatures in the confusion of Aharman; first he produced Vohûman ('good thought'), by whom the progress of the creatures of Aûharmazd was advanced.

24. The evil spirit first created[2] Mîtôkht ('falsehood'), and then Akôman ('evil thought').

25. The first of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world *was* the sky, and his good thought (Vohûman), by good procedure[3], produced the light of the world, along with which was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; this *was* because the renovation (frashakar*d*)[4] which happens to the creatures *was* known to him. 26. Afterwards *arose* Ar*d*ava-

[1] This is the first third of the 9000 years appointed in §§ 18, 20, and the second 3000 years mentioned in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

[2] It is usual to consider dâ*d*an (Huz. yehabûntan), when traceable to Av. dâ=Sans. dhâ, as meaning 'to create,' but it can hardly be proved that it means to create out of nothing, any more than any other of the Avesta verbs which it is sometimes convenient to translate by 'create.' Before basing any argument upon the use of this word it will, therefore, be safer to substitute the word 'produce' in all cases.

[3] Or it may be translated, 'and from it Vohûman, by good procedure,' &c. The position here ascribed to Vohûman, or the good thought of Aûharmazd, bears some resemblance to that of the Word in John i. 1–5, but with this essential difference, that Vohûman is merely a creature of Aûharmazd, not identified with him; for the latter idea would be considered, by a Parsi, as rather inconsistent with strict monotheism. The 'light of the world' now created must be distinguished from the 'endless light' already existing with Aûharmazd in § 2.

[4] The word frashakar*d*, 'what is made durable, perpetuation,' is applied to the renovation of the universe which is to take place about the time of the resurrection, as a preparation for eternity.

his*t*, and then Shatvaîrô, and then Spendarma*d*, and then Horvada*d*, and then Amerôda*d*[1].

27. From the dark world of Aharman *were* Akô-man and Andar, and then Sôvar, and then Nâkahê*d*, and then Ṭâîrê*v* and Zâîrî*k*[2].

28. Of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world, the first *was* the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.

Chapter II.

0. On the formation of the luminaries.

1. Aûharmazd produced illumination between the sky and the earth, the constellation stars and those also not of the constellations[3], then the moon, and afterwards the sun, as I *shall* relate.

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[1] These five, with Vohûman and Aûharmazd in his angelic capacity, constitute the seven Ameshaspends, 'undying causers of prosperity, immortal benefactors,' or archangels, who have charge of the whole material creation. They are personifications of old Avesta phrases, such as Vohû-manô, 'good thought;' Asha-vahi*s*ta, 'perfect rectitude;' Khshathra-vairya, 'desirable dominion;' Spe*n*ta-ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion;' Haurvatâ*d*, 'completeness or health;' and Ameretâ*d*, 'immortality.'

[2] These six demons are the opponents of the six archangels respectively (see Chap. XXX, 29); their names in the Avesta are, Akem-manô, 'evil thought;' I*n*dra, Sauru, N*a*unghaithya, Tauru, Zairi*k*a (see Vendîdâd X, 17, 18 Sp., and XIX, 43 W.), which have been compared with the Vedic god Indra, *S*arva (a name of *S*iva), the Nâsatyas, and Sans. tura, 'diseased,' and *g*aras, 'decay,' respectively. For further details regarding them, see Chap. XXVIII, 7–13.

[3] The word akhtar is the usual term in Pahlavi for a constellation of the zodiac; but the term apâkhtar, 'away from the akhtar,' means not only 'the north,' or away from the zodiac, but also 'a

2. First he produced the *celestial* sphere, and the constellation stars are assigned to it by him; especially these twelve whose names *are* Varak (the Lamb), Tôrâ (the Bull), Dô-patkar (the Two-figures or Gemini), Kala*k*ang (the Crab), *S*êr (the Lion), Khû*s*ak (Virgo), Tarâ*z*ûk (the Balance), Gazdûm (the Scorpion), Nîmâsp (the Centaur or Sagittarius), Vahîk[1] (Capricornus), Dûl (the Waterpot), and Mâhîk (the Fish); 3. which, from their original creation, *were divided* into the twenty-eight subdivisions of the astronomers[2], of which the names are Padêvar, Pêsh-Parvîz, Parviz, Paha, Avêsar, Be*s*n, Rakhva*d*, Taraha, Avra, Nahn, Miyân, Avdem, Mâshâha, Spûr, Husru, Srob, Nur, Gêl, Garaf*s*a, Vara*n*t, G*a*u, Goî, Muru, Bunda, Kahtsar, Vaht, Miyân, Kaht[3]. 4. And all his original creations,

planet,' which is in the zodiac, but apart from the constellations. The meaning of akhtar, most suitable to the context here, appears to be the general term 'constellation.'

[1] Written Nahâ*z*îk here, both in K20 and M6, which may be compared with Pers. nahâz, 'the leading goat of a flock;' but the usual word for 'Capricornus' is Vahîk, as in Chap. V, 6. None of the other names of the signs of the zodiac are written here in Pâzand, but it may be noted that if the ah in Vahîk were written in Pâzand (that is, in Avesta characters), the word would become the same as Nahâ*z*îk in Pahlavi.

[2] Literally, 'fragments of the calculators,' khur*d*ak-i hâmârîkân. These subdivisions are the spaces traversed daily by the moon among the stars, generally called 'lunar mansions.'

[3] All these names are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their eccentric orthography, in which both K20 and M6 agree very closely. The subdivision Parviz is evidently the Pers. parvên, which includes the Pleiades, and corresponds therefore to the Sanskrit Nakshatra K*r*ittikâ. This correspondence leads to the identification of the first subdivision, Padêvar, with the Nakshatra A*s*vinî. The Pâzand names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, and the first step towards recovering the true

residing in the world, are committed to them[1]; so that when the destroyer arrives they overcome the adversary *and* their own persecution, and the creatures are saved from those adversities.

5. *As* a specimen of a warlike army, which is destined for battle, they have ordained every single constellation of those 6480 thousand small stars as assistance; and among those constellations four chieftains, appointed on the four sides, are leaders. 6. On the recommendation of those chieftains the many unnumbered stars are specially assigned to the various quarters and various places, as the united strength *and* appointed power of those constellations. 7. As it is said that Tîstar is the chieftain of the east, Satavês the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, *and* Haptôk-rîng the chieftain of the north[2]. 8. The great *one* which they

Pahlavi names would be to transliterate the Pâzand back into Pahlavi characters. The ninth subdivision is mentioned in Chap. VII, 1 by the name Avrak.

[1] That is, to the zodiacal constellations, which are supposed to have special charge of the welfare of creation.

[2] Of these four constellations or stars, which are said to act as leaders, there is no doubt that Haptôk-ring, the chieftain of the north, is Ursa Major; and it is usually considered that Tîstar, the chieftain of the east, is Sirius; but the other two chieftains are not so well identified, and there may be some doubt as to the proper stations of the eastern and western chieftains. It is evident, however, that the most westerly stars, visible at any one time of the year, are those which set in the dusk of the evening; and east of these, all the stars are visible during the night as far as those which rise at daybreak, which are the most easterly stars visible at that time of the year. Tîstar or Sirius can, therefore, be considered the chieftain of the eastern stars only when it rises before daybreak, which it does at the latter end of summer; and Haptôk-ring or Ursa Major is due north at midnight (on the meridian below the pole) at about the same time of the year. These stars, there-

call a Gâh (period of the day), which they say is the great *one* of the middle of the sky, till *just* before the destroyer came was the midday (or south) *one* of the five, that is, the Rapîtvîn [1].

fore, fulfil the conditions necessary for being chieftains of the east and north at the end of summer, and we must look for stars capable of being chieftains of the south and west at the same season. Now, when Ursa Major is near the meridian below the pole, Fomalhaut is the most conspicuous star near the meridian in the far south, and is probably to be identified with Vanand the chieftain of the south. And when Sirius rises some time before daybreak, Antares (in Scorpio) sets some time after dusk in the evening, and may well be identified with Satavês the chieftain of the west. Assuming that there has been a precession of the equinoxes equivalent to two hours of time, since the idea of these chieftains (which may perhaps be traced to Avesta times) was first formed, it may be calculated that the time of year when these leading stars then best fulfilled that idea was about a month before the autumnal equinox, when Ursa Major would be due north three-quarters of an hour after midnight, and Fomalhaut due south three-quarters of an hour before midnight, Sirius would rise three hours before the sun, and Antares would set three hours after the sun. In the Avesta these leading stars are named Ti*s*trya, Satavaêsa, Vana*n*t, and Haptôi-ri*n*ga (see Tî*s*tar Yt. 0, 8, 9, 12, 32, &c., Rashnu Yt. 26–28, Sîrôz. 13).

[1] This translation, though very nearly literal, must be accepted with caution. If the word mas be not a name it can hardly mean anything but 'great;' and that it refers to a constellation appears from Chap. V, 1. The word khômsâk is an irregular form of the Huz. khôm*s*yâ, 'five,' and may refer either to the five chieftains (including 'the great one') or to the five Gâhs or periods of the day, of which Rapîtvîn is the midday one (see Chap. XXV, 9). The object of the text seems to be to connect the Rapîtvîn Gâh with some great mid-sky and midday constellation or star, possibly Regulus, which, about B. C. 960, must have been more in the daylight than any other important star during the seven months of summer, the only time that the Rapîtvîn Gâh can be celebrated (see Chap. XXV, 7–14). Justi has, 'They call that the great one of the place, which is great in the middle of the sky; they say that before the enemy came it was always midday, that is, Rapîtvîn.'

9. Aûharmazd performed the spiritual Yazisn *ceremony* with the archangels (ameshôspendân) in the Rapîtvîn Gâh, and in the Yazisn he supplied every means necessary for overcoming the adversary[1].
10. He deliberated with the consciousness (bôd) *and* guardian spirits (fravâhar) of men[2], and the omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men, spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advantageous, when[3] I shall present you to the world? *that* you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend (drûg), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end I *shall* have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and in the end give you back to the world, *and* you *will* be wholly immortal, undecaying, and undisturbed; or *that* it be always necessary to provide you protection from the destroyer?'
11. Thereupon, the guardian spirits of men became of the same opinion with the omniscient wisdom about going to the world, on account of the evil *that* comes upon them, in the world, from the fiend (drûg) Aharman, and *their* becoming, at last, again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect, and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting.

Windischmann has nearly the same, as both follow the Pâzand MSS. in reading hômîsak (as a variant of hamîsak), 'always,' instead of khômsâk.

[1] Or 'adversity.'

[2] These were among the fravashis already created (see Chap. I, 8).

[3] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

CHAPTER III.

1. On the rush of the destroyer at the creatures it is said, in revelation, that the evil spirit, when he saw the impotence of himself and the confederate[1] (hâm-dast) demons, owing to the righteous man[2], became confounded, *and* seemed in confusion three thousand years. 2. During that confusion the arch-fiends[3] of the demons severally shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for we *will* cause a conflict in the world, the distress and injury from which *will* become those of Aûharmazd and the archangels.'

3. Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up *his* head until the wicked *G*êh[4] came, at the completion of the three thousand years. 4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for I *will* cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Aûharmazd and the archangels *will* arise.' 5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit

[1] The Pâzand MSS. have garôist, for the Huz. hêmnunast, 'trusted.' Windischmann and Justi have 'all.'

[2] Probably Gâyômar*d*.

[3] The word kamârakân is literally 'those with an evil pate,' and is derived from Av. kameredha, 'the head of an evil being,' also applied to 'the evil summit' of Mount Arezûra (Vend. XIX, 140, 142), which is supposed to be at the gate of hell (see Chap. XII, 8). That the chief demons or arch-fiends are meant, appears more clearly in Chap. XXVIII, 12, 44, where the word is kamârîkân.

[4] The personification of the impurity of menstruation.

rose not from that confusion, through fear of the righteous man.

6. And, again, the wicked *G*êh shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for in that conflict I *will* shed thus much vexation[1] on the righteous man and the labouring ox that, through my deeds, life *will* not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls (nismô)[2]; I *will* vex the water, I *will* vex the plants, I *will* vex the fire of Aûharmazd, I *will* make the whole creation of Aûharmazd vexed.' 7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed *G*êh upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in *G*êh.

8. He shouted to *G*êh thus: 'What is thy wish? so that I may give *it* thee.' And *G*êh shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give *it* to me.'

9. The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's (vazak) body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to *G*êh, and that brought the thoughts of *G*êh to him[3].

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[1] The word vêsh or vîsh may stand either for bêsh, 'distress, vexation,' as here assumed, or for vish, 'poison,' as translated by Windischmann and Justi in accordance with the Pâz. MSS.

[2] That this is the Huzvâris of rûbân, 'soul,' appears from Chap. XV, 3–5, where both words are used indifferently; but it is not given in the Huz.-Pâz. Glossary. It is evidently equivalent to Chald. nismâ, and ought probably to have the traditional pronunciation nisman, an abbreviation of nismman.

[3] This seems to be the literal meaning of the sentence, and is confirmed by Chap. XXVIII, 1, but Windischmann and Justi understand that the evil spirit formed a youth for *G*êh out of a toad's body. The incident in the text may be compared with Milton's idea of Satan and Sin in Paradise Lost, Book II, 745–765.

10. Afterwards, the evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky; and he led them up, fraught with malicious intentions. 11. He stood upon one-third[1] of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth.

12. *In* the month Fravar*d*în and the day Aûharmazd[2] he rushed in at noon, and thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him, as a sheep by a wolf. 13. He came on to the water which was arranged[3] below the earth, and then the middle of this earth was pierced *and* entered by him. 14. Afterwards, he came to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gâyômar*d*, and then he came to fire[4]; so, just like a fly, he rushed out upon the whole creation; and he made the world quite as injured and dark[5] at midday as though it were in dark night. 15. And noxious creatures were diffused by him over the earth, biting and venomous, such as the snake, scorpion, frog (kalvâk), and lizard (vazak), so that not so much as the point of a needle remained *free* from noxious creatures. 16. And blight[6] was diffused by him over the

[1] Perhaps referring to the proportion of the sky which is overspread by the darkness of night. The whole sentence is rather obscure.

[2] The vernal equinox (see Chap. XXV, 7).

[3] Literally, 'and it was arranged.'

[4] For the details of these visitations, see Chaps. VI–X.

[5] Reading khûst tôm; but it may be hangî*d*tûm, 'most turbid, opaque.'

[6] The word makhâ, 'blow, stroke,' is a Huzvâri*s* logogram not found in the glossaries; M6 has dâr, 'wood,' but this may be a misreading, due to the original, from which M6 was copied, being difficult to read.

vegetation, and it withered away immediately. 17. And avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, lust, and lethargy were diffused by him abroad upon the ox and Gâyômar*d*.

18. Before *his* coming to the ox, Aûharmazd ground up the healing fruit[1], which some call 'bînâk,' small in water openly before *its* eyes, so that *its* damage *and* discomfort from the calamity (zani*s*n) might be less; and when it became at the same time lean and ill, as *its* breath went forth and it passed away, the ox also spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, *and* their work, labour, and care are to be appointed.'

19. And before *his* coming to Gâyômar*d*, Aûharmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gâyômar*d*, so long as he might recite a prayer (vâ*g*) of one stanza (vi*k*ast); moreover, Aûharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall. 20. When Gâyômar*d* issued from the sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained *free from* noxious creatures; the *celestial* sphere was in revolution, *and* the sun and moon remained in motion: *and* the world's struggle, owing to the clamour of the Mâzînîkân demons[2], was with the constellations.

21. And the evil spirit thought that the creatures of Aûharmazd were all rendered useless except

[1] The word mîvang is an unusual form of mîvak, 'fruit.' It is probably to be traced to an Av. mivangh, which might mean 'fatness,' as Windischmann suggests.

[2] The Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta, and Mâzendarân demons, or idolators, of Persian legends.

Gâyômar*d*; and Astô-vîdâ*d*[1] with a thousand demons, causers of death, were let forth by him on Gâyômar*d*. 22. But his appointed time had not come, *and* he (Astô-vîdâ*d*) obtained no means of noosing (âvizî-*d*anŏ) *him;* as it is said that, when the opposition of the evil spirit came, the period of the life and rule of Gâyômar*d* was appointed for thirty years. 23. After the coming of the adversary he lived thirty years, and Gâyômar*d* spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer *has* come, mankind *will* be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty and good works.'

24. And, afterwards, he (the evil spirit) came to fire, and he mingled smoke and darkness with it. 25. The planets, with many demons, dashed against the *celestial* sphere, and they mixed the constellations; and the whole creation was as disfigured as though fire disfigured every place and smoke arose over *it.* 26. And ninety days *and* nights the heavenly angels were contending in the world with the confederate demons of the evil spirit, *and* hurled *them* confounded to hell; and the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.

27. Hell is in the middle of the earth; there where the evil spirit pierced the earth[2] and rushed in upon it, as all the possessions of the world were

[1] The demon of death, Astô-vîdhôtu in the Avesta (Vend. IV, 137, V, 25, 31), who is supposed 'to cast a halter around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, but if their good works have exceeded their sins they throw off the noose and go to heaven' (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 321). This name is misread Asti-vihâ*d* by Pâzand writers.

[2] See § 13.

changing into duality, *and* persecution, contention, and mingling of high and low became manifest.

CHAPTER IV.

1. This also is said, that when the primeval ox[1] passed away it fell to the right hand, *and* Gâyômar*d* afterwards, when he passed *away*, to the left hand. 2. Gô*s*ûrvan[2], as the soul of the primeval ox came out from the body of the ox, stood up before the ox *and* cried to Aûharmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus: 'With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin *has* broken into the earth, and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled? Where is the man[3] of whom it was said by thee thus: I *will* produce *him*, so that he may preach carefulness?'

3. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are made ill[4], O Gô*s*ûrvan! you have the illness which the evil spirit brought on; if it were proper to produce that man in this earth at this time, the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it.'

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[1] Literally, 'the sole-created ox' from whom all the animals and some plants are supposed to have proceeded (see Chaps. X and XIV), as mankind proceeded from Gâyômar*d*. It is the ox of the primitive creation, mentioned in Chap. III, 14, 18.

[2] The spiritual representative of the primeval ox, called G*eus*-urvâ, 'soul of the bull,' in the Avesta, of which name Gô*s*ûrvan is a corruption. The complaint of Gô*s*ûrvan is recorded in the Gâthas, the oldest part of the Avesta (see Yas. XXIX).

[3] Referring to Zaratû*s*t.

[4] In K20, 'You are ill.'

4. Forth Gôsûrvan walked to the star station (pâyak) *and* cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station *and* cried in the same manner, *and* forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst was exhibited to her, *and Aûharmazd said* thus[1]: 'I will produce for the world *him* who will preach carefulness.' 5. Contented became the spirit Gôsûrvan, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures;' that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world.

CHAPTER V.

1. Seven chieftains of the planets have come unto the seven chieftains of the constellations[2], as the planet Mercury (Tîr) unto Tîstar, the planet Mars (Vâhrâm) unto Haptôk-rîng, the planet Jupiter (Aûharmazd) unto Vanand, the planet Venus (Anâhîd) unto Satavês, the planet Saturn (Kêvân) unto the great *one* of the middle of the sky, Gôkîhar[3]

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[1] As the text stands in the MSS. it means, 'and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst demonstrated to her thus;' but whether it be intended to represent the fravâhar as producing the creature is doubtful. The angel Gôs, who is identified with Gôsûrvan, is usually considered a female, but this is hardly consistent with being the soul of a bull (see Chap. X, 1, 2), though applicable enough to a representative of the earth. In the Selections of Zâd-sparam, II, 6, however, this mythological animal is said to have been a female (see Appendix to Bundahis).

[2] Five of these are mentioned in Chap. II, 7, 8, to which the sun and moon are here added.

[3] As this name stands in the MSS. it may be read Gûrgdâr (as in the Pâz. MSS.), Gûrkîhar, or Dûrkîhar; the reading is very uncertain, and Windischmann suggests Gûrg-kîhar, 'wolf progeny' (compare vehrkô-kithra in Ardabahist Yast 8). A shooting star,

and the thievish (dûggun) Mûspar [1], provided with tails, unto the sun and moon and stars. 2. The sun has attached Mûspar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm (vinâs).

3. Of Mount Albûrz [2] it is declared, that around the world and Mount Têrak [3], which is the middle of the world, the revolution of the sun is like a moat [4] around the world; it turns back in a circuit [5] owing to the enclosure (var) of Mount Albûrz around Têrak. 4. As it is said that *it is* the Têrak of Albûrz from behind which my sun and moon *and* stars return again [6]. 5. For there are a hundred

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or meteor, is probably meant (see Chap. XXX, 18, 31), and as it is the special disturber of the moon, it may be Gô-kîhar (Av. gao-kithra, 'of ox-lineage'), a common epithet of the moon; the Pahlavi letter *k* being often written something like the compound r*k*; and this supposition is confirmed by the Gôk-kihar of TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44.

[1] This is written Mûs-parîk in TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44, and seems to be the mûs pairika of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 23, as noticed by Windischmann; it is probably meant here for a comet, as it is attached to the sun. The zodiacal light and milky way have too little of the wandering character of planets to be considered planetary opponents of the sun and moon.

[2] The hara berezaiti, 'lofty mountain-range,' of the Avesta, which is an ideal representative of the loftiest mountains known to the ancient Iranians, the Alburz range in Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian. See Chaps. VIII, 2, XII, 1, 3.

[3] The Taêra of Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6. See Chap. XII, 2, 4.

[4] The word mayâ-gîr is a Huz. hybrid for âv-gîr, 'a water-holder, or ditch.'

[5] The word may be either âvêgak or khavîgak, with this meaning.

[6] This appears to be a quotation from the Rashnu Yast, 25. The Huz. word for 'month' is here used for the 'moon.'

and eighty apertures (rôgîn) in the east, and a hundred and eighty in the west, through Albûrz; *and* the sun, every day, comes in through an aperture, and goes out through an aperture[1]; *and* the whole connection and motion of the moon and constellations and planets is with it: every day it always illumines (or warms) three regions (kêshvar)[2] *and* a half, as is evident to the eyesight. 6. And twice in every year the day and night are equal, for on the original attack[3], when[4] it (the sun) went forth from its first degree (khûrdak), the day and night were equal, it was the season of spring; when it arrives at the first degree of Kalakang (Cancer) the time of *day* is greatest, *it is* the beginning of summer; when it arrives at the sign (khûrdak) Tarâgûk (Libra) the day and night are equal, *it is* the beginning of autumn; when it arrives at the sign Vahîk (Capricorn) the night is a maximum, *it is* the beginning of winter; and when it arrives at Varak (Aries) the night and day *have* again become equal, as when it

[1] This mode of accounting for the varying position of sunrise and sunset resembles that in the Book of Enoch, LXXI, but only six eastern and six western gates of heaven are there mentioned, and the sun changes its gates of entrance and exit only once a month, instead of daily.

[2] See § 9 and Chap. XI.

[3] The reading of this word is doubtful, although its meaning is tolerably clear. The Pâz. MSS. read har dô, 'both;' Justi reads ardab, 'quarrel;' and in the Selections of Zâd-sparam it is written ârdîk. It seems probable that the word is kharah, 'attack,' which being written exactly like ardê (Av. ashya, see Yas. LVI, 1, 1) has had a circumflex added to indicate the supposed d, and this false reading has led to the more modern form ârdîk (Pers. ârd, 'anger'). But probabilities in obscure matters are often treacherous guides.

[4] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which,' throughout the sentence (see note to Chap. I, 7).

went forth from Varak. 7. So that when it comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gâtha days [1], it goes in *and* comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret, and been able to introduce disaster.

8. From there where the sun comes on on the longest day to *where* it comes on on the shortest day is the east region Savah; from there where it comes on on the shortest day to *where* it goes off on the shortest day is the direction of the south regions Frada*d*afsh and Vîda*d*afsh; from there where it goes in on the shortest day to *where* it goes in on the longest day is the west region Arzah; from there where it comes in on the longest day to there where it goes in on the longest day are the north regions Vôrûbar*s*t *and* Vôrû*g*ar*s*t [2]. 9. When the sun comes on, it illumines (or warms) the regions of Savah, Frada*d*afsh, Vîda*d*afsh, and half of Khvanîras [3]; when it goes in on the dark side, it illumines the regions of Arzah, Vôrûbar*s*t, Vôrû*g*ar*s*t, *and* one half of Khvanîras; when *it is* day here *it is* night there.

[1] The five supplementary days added to the last of the twelve months, of thirty days each, to complete the year. For these days no additional apertures are provided in Albûr*z*, and the sun appears to have the choice of either of the two centre apertures out of the 180 on each side of the world. This arrangement seems to indicate that the idea of the apertures is older than the rectification of the calendar which added the five Gâtha days to an original year of 360 days.

[2] This sentence occurs, without the names of the kêshvars or regions, in the Pahl. Vend. XIX, 19. For the kêshvars see Chap. XI.

[3] Often corrupted into Khanîras in the MSS.

CHAPTER VI.

1. On the conflict[1] of the creations of the world with the antagonism of the evil spirit it is said in revelation, that the evil spirit, even as he rushed in and looked upon the pure bravery of the angels and his own violence[2], wished to rush back. 2. The spirit of the sky is himself like one of the warriors who has put on armour; he arrayed the sky against the evil spirit, and led on in the contest, until Aûharmazd had completed a rampart around, stronger than the sky and in front of the sky. 3. And his guardian spirits (fravâhar) of warriors and the righteous, on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky; such-like as the hair on the head is the similitude (ângunî-aîtak) of those who hold the watch of the rampart. 4. And no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back; and he beheld the annihilation of the demons and his own impotence, as Aûharmazd *did* his own final triumph, producing the renovation *of the universe* for ever and everlasting.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The second conflict was waged with the water, because, as the star Tîstar *was* in Cancer, the water which is in the subdivision they call Avrak[3] was

[1] This is the doubtful word translated 'attack' in Chap. V, 6 (see the note there); it also occurs at the beginning of each of the following four chapters.

[2] Reading zôrîh; but it may be zûrîh, 'falsity.'

[3] The ninth lunar mansion (see Chap. II, 3) corresponding with the middle of Cancer. Tîstar (Sirius) being in Cancer probably

pouring, on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, *and* came again into notice for mischief (âvârak) in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constellation; the month Tîr is the fourth month[1] of the year, *and* Cancer the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer, into which Tîstar sprang, *and* displayed the characteristics of a producer of rain; and he brought on the water aloft by the strength of the wind. 3. Co-operators with Tîstar were Vohûman and the angel Hôm, with the assistance of the angel Bûrg and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement.

4. Tîstar was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull[2]; thirty days *and* nights he was distinguished in brilliance[3], and in each form he produced rain ten days *and* nights; as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms. 5. Every single drop of that rain became as big as a bowl, and the water stood the height of a man over the whole of this earth; *and* the noxious creatures on the earth being all killed by the rain, went into the holes of the earth[4].

means that it rises about the same time as the stars of Cancer, as is actually the case.

[1] See Chap. XXV, 20.

[2] See Tîstar Yt. 13, 16, 18, where it is stated that Tîstar assumes the form of a man for the first ten nights, of a bull for the second ten nights, and of a horse for the third ten nights. Also in Vend. XIX, 126 Tîstar is specially invoked in his form of a bull.

[3] Or it may be translated, 'he hovered in the light,' as Windischmann and Justi have it.

[4] In comparing the inundation produced by Tîstar with the Noachian deluge, it must be recollected that the former is represented as occurring before mankind had propagated on the earth.

6. And, afterwards, the wind spirit, so that it may not be contaminated (gûmîkht), stirs up the wind *and* atmosphere as the life stirs in the body; and the water was all swept away by it, and was brought out to the borders of the earth, and the wide-formed[1] ocean arose therefrom. 7. The noxious creatures remained dead within the earth, and their venom and stench were mingled with the earth, and in order to carry that poison away from the earth Tîstar went down into the ocean in the form of a white horse with long hoofs[2].

8. And Apâôsh[3], the demon, came meeting him in the likeness of a black horse with clumsy (kund) hoofs; a mile (parasang)[4] away from him fled Tîstar, through the fright which drove *him* away. 9. And Tîstar begged for success from Aûharmazd, and Aûharmazd gave *him* strength and power, as it is said, that unto Tîstar was brought at once the strength of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers[5]. 10. A mile away from him fled Apâôsh, the demon, through fright at *his* strength; on account of this they speak of an arrow-*shot* with Tîstar's strength in the sense *of a mile.*

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[1] The term farâkhû-kar*d*, 'wide-formed,' is a free Pahlavi translation of Av. vouru-kasha, 'wide-shored,' or 'having wide abysses,' applied to the boundless ocean (see Chap. XIII, 1).

[2] For the Avesta account of this expedition of Tîstar, see Tîstar Yt. 20–29.

[3] Miswritten Apav*s* or Apava*s* in Pâzand, by all MSS. in this chapter, but see Chap. XXVIII, 39.

[4] The word parasang is here used for Av. hâthra, which was about an English mile (see Chap. XXVI, 1).

[5] A quotation from Tîstar Yt. 25.

11. Afterwards, with a cloud for a jar (khûmb)—thus they call the measure which was a means of the work—he seized upon the water *and* made it rain most prodigiously, in drops *like* bull's heads and men's heads, pouring in handfuls *and* pouring in armfuls, both great and small. 12. On the production of that rain the demons Aspengargâk[1] *and* Apâôsh contended *with it*, and the fire Vâzist[2] turned *its* club over; and owing to the blow of the club Aspengargâk made a very grievous noise, as even now, in a conflict with the producer of rain, a groaning and raging[3] are manifest. 13. And ten nights and days rain was produced by him in that manner, and the poison and venom of the noxious creatures which were in the earth were all mixed up in the water, and the water became quite salt, because there remained in the earth *some* of those germs which noxious creatures ever collect.

14. Afterwards, the wind, in the same manner *as before*, restrained the water, at the end of three days, on various sides of the earth; and the three great seas *and* twenty-three small seas[4] arose therefrom, *and* two fountains (*k*ashmak) of the sea thereby became manifest, one the *Kê*kast lake, and one the Sôvbar[5], whose sources are connected with the

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[1] Mentioned in Vend. XIX, 135, thus: 'thou shouldst propitiate the fire Vâzista, the smiter of the demon Spengaghra.' It is also written Spêngargâk in Chap. XVII, 1, and Aspengarôgâ in Chap. XXVIII, 39.

[2] That is, the lightning (see Chap. XVII, 1).

[3] Or, 'a tumult and flashing.' Justi has 'howling and shrieking;' the two words being very ambiguous in the original.

[4] See Chap. XIII, 6.

[5] See Chap. XXII, 1–3.

fountain of the sea. 15. And at its north side[1] two rivers flowed out, *and* went one to the east *and* one to the west; they are the Arag river and the Vêh river; as it is said thus: 'Through those finger-breadth tricklings do thou pour *and* draw forth two such waters, O Aûharmazd!' 16. Both those rivers wind about through all the extremities of the earth, and intermingle again with the water of the wide-formed ocean. 17. As those two rivers flowed out, *and* from the same place of origin as theirs, eighteen[2] navigable rivers flowed out, and after the other waters have flowed out from those navigable *streams* they all flow back to the Arag[3] river and Vêh river, whose fertilization (khvâpardârîh) of the world *arises* therefrom.

CHAPTER VIII.

0. On the conflict which the evil spirit waged with the earth.

1. As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook[4], *and* the substance of mountains was created in the earth. 2. First, Mount Albûr*z* arose; afterwards,

[1] Probably meaning the north side of the Arêdvîvsûr fountain of the sea, which is said to be on the lofty Hûgar, a portion of Albûr*z*, from the northern side of which these two semi-mythical rivers are said to flow (see Chaps. XII, 5, XX, 1).

[2] See Chap. XX, 2.

[3] Here written Arêng, but the usual Pahlavi reading is Arag; the nasal of the Av. Rangha being generally omitted in Pahlavi, as other nasals are sometimes; thus we often find sag for sang, 'stone.'

[4] The word *g*udnî*d* is a transposition of *g*undî*d*, a graphical variant of *g*unbî*d*, 'shook.'

the other ranges of mountains (kôfânîhâ) of the middle of the earth; for as Albûrz grew forth all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Albûrz. 3. At that time they came up from the earth, like a tree which *has* grown up to the clouds *and its* root[1] to the bottom; and their root passed on that way *from* one to the other, *and* they are arranged in mutual connection. 4. Afterwards, about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands; *and* the passage for the waters within the mountains is the root which is below the mountains; they forsake the upper *parts* so that they may flow into it, just as the roots of trees pass into the earth; a counterpart (ângunî-aîtak) of the blood in the arteries of men, which gives strength to the whole body. 5. In numbers[2], apart from Albûrz, all the mountains grew up out of the earth in eighteen years[3], from which *arises* the perfection[4] of men's advantage.

Chapter IX.

1. The conflict waged with plants was that when[5] they became quite dry. 2. Amerôdad the arch-

[1] M6 has rakâk, but this and many other strange words are probably due to the copyist of that MS. having an original before him which was nearly illegible in many places.

[2] Or, 'as it were innumerable;' the word amar meaning both 'number' and 'innumerable.'

[3] See Chap. XII, 1.

[4] The word must be farhâkhtagân, 'proprieties,' both here and in Chap. IX, 6, as farhâkhtisn is an ungrammatical form.

[5] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note to Chap. I, 7).

angel, as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, *and* mixed *them* up with the water *which* Tîstar seized, and Tîstar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. 4. Ten thousand[1] of them grew forth of one special description, for keeping away the ten thousand species of disease *which* the evil spirit produced for the creatures; *and* from those ten thousand, the 100,000 species[2] of plants have grown forth.

5. From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs[3] was given forth, *and* grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants ever increased. 6. And near to that tree of all germs the Gôkar*d* tree[4] was produced, for keeping away deformed (dûspa*d*) decrepitude; *and* the full perfection of the world arose therefrom.

CHAPTER X.

0. On the conflict waged with the primeval ox.

1. As it passed away[5], owing to the vegetable principle (*k*îharak) *proceeding* from every limb of the ox, fifty and five species of grain[6] *and* twelve species of medicinal plants grew forth from the earth, and their splendour and strength were the

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[1] See Chap. XXVII, 2.

[2] Here 120,000 are mentioned, but see Chap. XXVII, 2, and Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, VIII, 2.

[3] Or, 'of all seeds' (see Chap. XVIII, 9).

[4] The white-Hôm tree (see Chaps. XVIII, 1–6, XXVII, 4).

[5] See Chap. IV, 1. [6] See Chaps. XIV, 1, XXVII, 2.

seminal energy (tôkhmîh) of the ox. 2. Delivered to the moon station[1], that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, fully prepared in every way, and produced life in a body. 3. Thence *arose* two oxen, one male *and* one female; and, afterwards, two hundred and eighty-two species of each kind[2] became manifest upon the earth. 4. The dwelling (mânîst) of the birds is in the air, and the fish are in the midst of the water.

Chapter XI.

1. On the nature of the earth it says in revelation, that *there* are thirty and three kinds[3] of land. 2. *On* the day when Tîstar produced the rain, when its seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions; this portion[4], as much as one-half, is the middle, *and* six portions are around; those six portions are *together* as much as Khvanîras. 3. The name

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[1] See Chap. XIV, 3. In the Mâh Yt. 0, 7, blessings are invoked for 'the moon of ox lineage' (gaokithra) in conjunction with the 'sole-created ox and the ox of many species.' In the Avesta the gender of these two primeval oxen appears doubtful, owing probably to the dual gen. masc. of their epithets being of the same form as a sing. gen. fem.

[2] That is, of each sex. See Chap. XIV, 13, 27. In all three occurrences of this number K20 has 272, but all other MSS. have 282 (except M6 in this place only).

[3] K20b has 'thirty-two kinds.'

[4] That is, Khvanîras; or it may be 'one portion,' as hanâ, 'this,' is often used for aê, 'one,' because the Pâzand form of both words is *e*.

kêshvar ('zone or region') is also applied to them, and *they* existed side by side (kash kash)[1]; as on the east side of this portion (Khvanîras) is the Savah region, *on* the west is the Arzah region; the two portions on the south side are the Frada*d*afsh *and* Vîda*d*afsh regions, the two portions on the north side are the Vôrûbar*s*t *and* Vôrû*g*ar*s*t regions, *and* that in the middle is Khvanîras. 4. And Khvanîras has the sea, for one part of the wide-formed ocean wound about around it; *and from* Vôrûbar*s*t *and* Vôrû*g*ar*s*t a lofty mountain grew up; so that it is not possible for any one to go from region to region[2].

5. And of these seven regions every benefit was created most in Khvanîras, and the evil spirit also produced most for Khvanîras, on account of the superiority (sarîh)[3] which he saw in it. 6. For the Kayânians and heroes were created in Khvanîras; and the good religion of the Mazdayasnians was created in Khvanîras, and afterwards conveyed to the other regions; Sôshyans[4] is born in Khvanîras, who makes the evil spirit impotent, and causes the resurrection *and* future existence.

[1] Possibly an attempt to connect the term kêshvar with kash; but the sentence may also be translated thus: 'and *they* formed various districts like this portion; on the east side is the Savah region,' &c.

[2] In the Pahlavi Vend. I, 4a, and in the Mainyô-i-khar*d*, IX, 6, it is added, 'except with the permission of the angels' or the demons.

[3] So in M6; but K20 has za*d*ârîh, which would imply, 'for the destruction of what he saw of it.'

[4] Always spelt so in the Bundahi*s* MSS. K20 and M6, and corrupted into Sôshyôs in Pâzand; but it is more usually written Sôshâns in other Pahlavi works, and its Avesta form is Saoshyãs (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

CHAPTER XII.

1. On the nature of mountains it says in revelation, that, at first, the mountains have grown forth in eighteen years; and Albûrz ever grew till the completion of eight hundred years; two hundred years *up* to the star station (pâyak), two hundred years to the moon station, two hundred years to the sun station, and two hundred years to the endless light[1]. 2. While the other mountains have grown out of Albûrz, in number 2244 mountains, *and* are Hûgar the lofty[2], Têrak of Albûrz, Kakâd-i-Dâîtîk, and the Arezûr ridge, the Aûsîndôm mountain, Mount Apârsên which they say is the mountain of Pârs, Mount Zarid also which is Mount Mânûs, Mount Aîrak, Mount Kaf, Mount Vâdgês, Mount Aûshdâstâr, Mount Arezûr-bûm, Mount Rôyisn-hômand, Mount Padashkhvârgar which is the greatest in Khvârîh, the mountain which they call Kînŏ, Mount Rêvand, Mount Dârspêt the Bakyir mountain, Mount Kabed-sikaft, Mount Sîyâk-mûî-mand, Mount Vafar-hômand, Mount Spendyâd *and* Kôndrâsp, Mount Asnavand *and* Kôndras, Mount

[1] These are the four grades of the Mazdayasnian heaven.

[2] In all the geographical details, mentioned in the Bundahis, there is a strange mixture of mythical tradition with actual fact. The author of the work finds names mentioned in the Avesta, by old writers of another country, and endeavours to identify them with places known to himself; much in the same way as attempts have been made to identify the geographical details of the garden of Eden. Most of the names of these mountains occur in the Zamyâd Yast, or in other parts of the Avesta, as will be noticed in detail further on. The number 2244 is also mentioned in § 7 of that Yast. A very able commentary on this chapter will be found in Windischmann's Zoroastriche Studien, pp. 1–19.

Si*k*idâv [1], a mountain among those which are in Kangde*z* [2], *of* which they say that they are a comfort and delight of the good creator, the smaller hills.

3. I *will* mention them also a second time; Albûr*z* [3] is around this earth and is connected with the sky. 4. The Têrak [4] of Albûr*z* is that through which the stars, moon, *and* sun pass [5] in, and through it they come back. 5. Hûgar the lofty [6] is that from which the water of Arêdvîvsûr [7] leaps down the height of a thousand men. 6. The Aûsîndôm [8] mountain is that which, being of ruby

[1] The Av. Si*k*idava of Zamyâd Yt. 5.

[2] See Chap. XXIX, 4, 10; the name is here written Kande*z* in K20. In M6 the word is kôf, 'mountain,' which is almost identical in form; if this be the correct reading, the translation will be, 'a mountain among those in the mountain which they say is agreeable and the delight,' &c. This mountain is, however, probably intended for the Av. A*n*tare-kangha, 'within Kangha,' of Zamyâd Yt. 4.

[3] The Haraiti-bare*s* of Zamyâd Yt. 1; but it is more usually called Hara berezaiti (see Chap. V, 3).

[4] A central peak of the mythic Albûr*z*, around which the heavenly bodies are said to revolve (see Chap. V, 3). It is the Av. Taêra, mentioned in Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6.

[5] So in M6, but K20 has 'go in.'

[6] This appears to be another peak of the mythic Albûr*z*, probably in the west, as it is connected with Satavês, the western chieftain of the constellations (see Chaps. XXIV, 17, and II, 7). It is the Av. Hukairya berezô, of Yas. LXIV, 14, Âbân Yt. 3, 25, 96, Gô*s* Yt. 8, Mihir Yt. 88, Rashnu Yt. 24, Fravardîn Yt. 6, Râm Yt. 15.

[7] See Chap. XIII, 3–5.

[8] In Aûharmazd Yt. 31 and Zamyâd Yt. 2, 66, an Ushidhâo mountain is mentioned as having many mountain waters around it, but this seems to be a near neighbour of the Ushidarena mountain (see § 15). The details in the text correspond with the description of the Hindva mountain, given in Tî*s*tar Yt. 32, thus: us Hindva*d* paiti garôi*d* yô hi*s*taiti maidhîm zrayanghô vouru-kashahê, 'up on the Hindva mountain, which stands amid the wide-shored

(khûn-âhinŏ), of the substance of the sky[1], is *in* the midst of the wide-formed ocean, so that its water, which is from Hûgar, pours down into it (the ocean). 7. *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâîtîk ('the judicial peak') is that of the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the *K*învar bridge[2] stands; and they take account of the soul at that place. 8. The Are*z*ûr[3] ridge [of the Albûr*z* mountain] is a summit at the gate of hell, where they always hold the concourse of the demons. 9. This also is said, that, excepting Albûr*z*, the Apârsên[4] mountain is the

ocean;' and the Pahlavi name, Aûsîndôm, has probably arisen from the us Hindva*d* of this passage, as suggested by Justi. (See Chaps. XIII, 5, and XVIII, 10, 11.)

[1] The sky is considered to be a true firmament, or hard and indestructible dome.

[2] The *K*invatô-peretu of the Avesta, mentioned even in the Gâthas. In the Pahlavi Vend. XIX, 101, it is stated that 'they pass across by the *K*inva*d* bridge, whose two extremities are their own heavenly angels, one stands at *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâîtîk, and one at Albûr*z*;' the former mountain seems not to be mentioned in the Avesta, but the bridge is the path of the soul to the other world; if righteous the soul passes by it easily over Albûr*z* (the confines of this world) into paradise, but if wicked it drops off the bridge into hell.

[3] See Vend. III, 23, XIX, 140. The words in brackets may perhaps be inserted by mistake, but they occur in all MSS. examined, and there is nothing inconsistent with tradition in supposing Are*z*ûr to be the extreme northern range of the mythic Albûr*z* which surrounds the earth, being the place where demons chiefly congregate.

[4] Justi adopts the reading Harpârsên, which occurs in K20 four times out of eleven, but is corrected thrice. Windischmann suggests that this mountain is the Av. *s*kyata (or i*s*katâ) upairi-saêna of Yas. X, 29, and Zamyâd Yt. 3, which the Pahlavi translator of the Yasna explains as 'the Pârsên crag.' It seems to be a general name for the principal mountain ranges in the south and east of Iran, as may be seen on comparing this passage and Chap. XXIV,

greatest; the Apârsên mountain they call the mountain of Pârs, and its beginning is in Sagastân[1] and its end in Khûgîstân. 10. Mount Mânûs[2] is great; the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born.

11. The remaining mountains have chiefly grown from those; as it is said that the elevation (afsârîh) of the districts had arisen most around those three mountains[3]. 12. Mount Aîrak[4] is in the middle from Hamadân to Khvârizem, and has grown from Mount Apârsên. 13. Mount [Kînŏ][5], which is on its east, on the frontier of Tûrkîstân, is connected also with Apârsên. 14. Mount Kaf[6] has grown from the same Mount Apârsên. 15. Mount Aûshdâs-

28, with Chap. XX, 16, 17, 21, 22, where the Haro, Hêtûmand, Marv, and Balkh rivers are said to spring from Mount Apârsên; but its application to the southern range is perhaps due to the etymological attempt, in the text, to connect it with Pârs. The Selections of Zâd-sparam, VII, 7, have Kînîstân for Khûgîstân.

[1] This name can also be read Sîstân.

[2] In § 2 it is also called Zarid, but in Zamyâd Yt. 1 Zeredhô and Aredhô-manusha are mentioned as neighbouring mountains. The word 'great' is omitted in M6.

[3] That is, around the ranges of Albûrz, Apârsên, and Mânûs.

[4] Perhaps intended for the Erezishô of Zamyâd Yt. 2. The description would apply to any of the mountains near Nîsâpûr.

[5] This name is omitted in the MSS., but is taken from § 2 as suggested by Justi. Perhaps it may be connected with 'the country of Sênî' (Chap. XV, 29), which is explained as being Kînîstân, probably the land of Samarkand, which place was formerly called Kîn, according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabarî's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298.

[6] Not Kâf, nor is it mentioned in the Pahlavi Vend. V, 57, as supposed by Justi; the kâf kôp ârâyad of Spiegel's edition of the Pahlavi text being a misprint for kâfakŏ pârâyad, 'it traverses a fissure' (see Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 326, note 2).

târ[1] is in Sagastân. 16. Mount Arezûr[2] is that which is in the direction of Arûm. 17. The Padashkhvârgar[3] mountain is that which is in Taparîstân and the side of Gîlân. 18. The Rêvand[4] mountain is in Khûrâsân[5], on which the Bûrzîn fire[6] was established; and its *name* Rêvand *means* this, that *it* is glorious. 19. The Vâdgês[7] mountain is that which is on the frontier of the Vâdgêsians; that quarter is full of timber *and* full of trees. 20. The Bakyîr[8] mountain is that which Frâsiyâv of Tûr used as a stronghold, and he made his residence within *it;* and *in* the days of Yim[9] a myriad towns and cities were erected on its pleasant *and* prosperous territory. 21. Mount Kabed-sikaft[10] ('very rugged')

[1] The Av. Ushi-darena of Yas. I, 41, II, 54, III, 55, IV, 45, XXII, 31, XXV, 22, Aûharmazd Yt. 0, 2, 97.

[2] Called Arezûr-bûm in § 2, which name stands for the sixth and seventh mountains, Erezurô and Bumyô, in Zamyâd Yt. 2. The land of Arûm was the eastern empire of the Romans.

[3] Evidently the mountain range south of the Caspian, now called Albûrz; but whether this actual Albûrz is to be considered a part of the mythic Albûrz is not very clear.

[4] The Av. Raêvaus, 'shining,' of Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is also called the Ridge of Vistâsp (see § 34).

[5] Or, 'the east.' [6] See Chap. XVII, 8.

[7] The Av. Vâiti-gaêsô, the twelfth mountain in Zamyâd Yt. 2; Bâdghês in Persian.

[8] In § 2 it is Bakyir, which Justi thinks is another name for Mount Dârspêt ('white poplar'); the latter name not being repeated here makes this supposition probable.

[9] K20 has rûm and M6 has lanman, but both explained by the Pâz. gloss Yim, which is also the reading of the Pâz. MSS. If the gloss be rejected the most probable translation would be, 'and *in* our days Shatrô-râm (or râmisn), the victorious, erected on it a myriad towns and cities.'

[10] Windischmann suggests that this may be intended for the Av. skyata or iskatâ mentioned in the note on Apârsên in § 9.

is that in Pârs, out of the same Mount Apârsên. 22. Mount Sîyâk-hômand ('being black') *and* Mount Vafar-hômand ('having snow')[1], as far as their Kâvûl borders, have grown out of it (Apârsên) towards the direction of *K*'înŏ. 23. The Spend-yâ*d*[2] mountain is in the circuit (var) of Rêvand[3]. 24. The Kôndrâsp[4] mountain, on the summit of which is Lake Sôvbar[5], is in the district (or by the town) of Tûs. 25. The Kondrâs[6] mountain is in Aîrân-vê*g*. 26. The Asnavand[7] mountain is in Âtarô-pâtakân. 27. The Rôyi*s*n-hômand[8] ('having growth') mountain is that on which vegetation has grown.

28. Whatever[9] mountains are those which are in every place of the various districts *and* various

[1] The Av. Syâma*k*a and Vafray*a*u of Zamyâd Yt. 5; and probably the Siyâh-kôh and Safêd-kôh of Afghânistân. With regard to *K*'înŏ, see the note on § 13. The former mountain is called Sîyâk-mûî-mand, 'having black hair,' in § 2, which is certainly a more grammatical form than Sîyâk-hômand.

[2] The Av. Spe*n*tô-dâta of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

[3] The term var often means 'lake,' but we are not informed of any Lake Rêvand, though a mountain of that name is described in § 18; so it seems advisable to take var here in its wider sense of 'enclosure, circuit, district.'

[4] The Av. Kadrva-aspa of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

[5] See Chap. XXII, 3. All MSS. have Sôbar here.

[6] If the circumflex be used in Pahlavi to indicate not only the consonant d, but also the vowel î, ê when it follows a vowel, as seems probable, this name can be read Kôîrâs; in any case, it is evidently intended for the Av. Kaoirisa in Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is written Kôndras in § 2.

[7] The Av. Asnav*a*u of Zamyâd Yt. 5, Âtash Nyây. 5, Sîrôz. 9. See also Chap. XVII, 7.

[8] The Av. Raoidhitô, the eighth mountain of Zamyâd Yt. 2.

[9] So in M6 and the Pâz. MSS., but K20 has, 'The country mountains.'

countries, and cause the tillage *and* prosperity therein, are many *in* name and many *in* number, *and* have grown from these same mountains. 29. *As* Mount Ganâvad, Mount Asparôg, Mount Pâhargar, Mount Dimâvand, Mount Râvak, Mount Zarîn, Mount Gêsbakht, Mount Dâvad, Mount Mîgîn, *and* Mount Marak [1], which have all grown from Mount Apârsên, of which the other mountains are enumerated. 30. For the Dâvad [2] mountain has grown into Khûgîstân likewise from the Apârsên mountain. 31. The Dimâvand [3] mountain is that in which Bêvarâsp is bound. 32. From the same Padashkhvârgar mountain unto Mount Kûmîs [4], *which* they call Mount Madôfryâd ('Come-to-help') — that in which Vistâsp routed Argâsp — is Mount Mîyân-i-dast ('mid-plain') [5], *and* was broken off from that mountain there. 33. They say, in the war of the religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, *and* slid down *into* the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by

[1] This list is evidently intended to include the chief mountains known to the author of the Bundahis, which he could not identify with any of those mentioned in the Avesta.

[2] This is the Pâzand reading of the name, on which very little reliance can be placed; the Pahlavi can also be read Dânad, and it may be the Deana mountain, 12,000 feet high, near Kaski-zard.

[3] See Chap. XXIX, 9. This volcanic mountain, about 20,000 feet high and near Teheran, still retains this ancient Persian name, meaning 'wintry.' It is the chief mountain of the Padashkhvârgar range, which the Bundahis evidently considers as an offshoot of the Apârsên ranges.

[4] The present name of a mountain between Nîsâpûr and the desert.

[5] The name of a place about midway between Astarâbâd and Nîsâpûr. This mountain is called Mîgîn in § 29, probably from a place called Mezinan in the same neighbourhood.

it, and it was called 'Come-to-help' by them. 34. The Ganâvad[1] mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân)[2] at the abode of the Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire, nine leagues (parasang) to the west. 35. Râvak Bîsan[3] is in Zrâvakad; this place, some say, is Zravad, some call *it* Bîsan, some Kalâk; from this the road of two sides of the mountain is down the middle of a fortress; for this reason, that is, because it is there formed, they call Kalâk a fortress; this place they also call within the land of Sarak. 36. Mount Asparôg[4] is established from the country of Lake Kêkast[5] unto Pârs. 37. Pâhargar ('the Pâhar range') is in Khûrâsân. 38. Mount Marak[6] is in Lârân. 39. Mount Zarîn is in Tûrkîstân. 40. Mount Bakht-tan[7] is in Spâhân.

41. The rest, *apart* from this enumeration, which they reckon *as* fostering hills of the country in the religion of the Mazdayasnians, are the small hills, those which have grown piecemeal in places.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. On the nature of seas it says in revelation, that the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Albûrz[8], *and* so

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[1] The Pers. Kanâbad, or Gunâbad, is near Gumin.

[2] Another name for Mount Rêvand (§ 18). See Chap. XVII, 8.

[3] Probably in Kirmân.

[4] The mountain ranges of western Persia, including the Mount Zagros of classical writers.

[5] See Chap. XXII, 2.

[6] Probably the Merkhinah range in northern Lâristân.

[7] The Bakhtiyârî range in the province of Ispahân.

[8] Or perhaps better thus: 'the wide-formed ocean is in the

wide-formed is the ocean that the water of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Arêdvîvsûr[1], *which* some say is the fountain lake. 2. Every particular lake is of a particular kind[2], some are great, and some are small; some are so large that a man with a horse might compass *them* around in forty days[3], which is 1700 leagues (parasang) in extent.

3. Through the warmth and clearness of the water, purifying more than other waters, everything continually flows from the source Arêdvîvsûr. 4. At the south of Mount Albûrz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, *and* that water goes with warmth and clearness, through the channels, on to Hûgar the lofty[4]; on the summit of that mountain is a lake[5]; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. 5. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with Mount Aûsîndôm[6] amid the wide-formed ocean; from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, *and* one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of Aûharmazd acquire

direction of the south limit of Albûrz, *and* possesses one-third of this earth.'

[1] The Av. Ardvî sûra of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.

[2] Literally, 'for every single lake *there is* a single kind;' but we may perhaps read lâ, 'not,' instead of the very similar râî, 'for,' and translate as follows: 'every single lake is not of one kind;' which expresses very nearly the same meaning.

[3] Compare Âbân Yt. 101.

[4] See Chap. XII, 5.

[5] Lake Urvis (see Chap. XXII, 11).

[6] See Chaps. XII, 6, and XVIII, 10, 11.

health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere.

6. Of the salt seas three are principal, *and* twenty-three are small. 7. Of the three which are principal, one is the Pûtîk, one the Kamrû*d*, and one the *S*ahî-bûn. 8. Of all three the Pûtîk [1] is the largest, in which is a flow *and* ebb, on the same side as the wide-formed ocean, *and* it is joined to the wide-formed ocean. 9. Amid this wide-formed ocean, on the Pûtîk side, it has a sea which they call the Gulf (var) of Satavês [2]. 10. Thick and salt the stench [3] wishes to go from the sea Pûtîk to the wide-formed ocean; with a mighty high wind therefrom, the Gulf of Satavês drives away whatever is stench, *and* whatever is pure and clean goes into the wide-formed *ocean* and the source Arêdvîvsûr; *and* that flows back a second *time* to Pûtîk [4]. 11. The control [5] of this sea (the Pûtîk) is connected with the

[1] The Av. Pûitika of Vend. V, 52, 57, and evidently the Persian Gulf.

[2] So called from the constellation Satavês (§ 12), see Chap. II, 7. The details given in the text are applicable to the Gulf and Sea of 'Umân, the Arabian Sea of Europeans. The description of this Gulf, given in the Pahl. Vend. V, 57, which is rather obscure, is as follows: 'In purification *the impurities* flow, in the purity of water, from the sea Pûtîk into the wide-formed ocean; at the southernmost side *the water* stands back in mist, and the blue body of Satavês stands back around it. Pûtîk stands *out* from the side of Satavês, this is where *it is*. From which side it stands is not clear to me. The water comes to Satavês through the bottom; some say that it traverses a fissure.'

[3] Perhaps a better reading would be stûrg sûr-i gôndakîh, 'the intense saltness which is stench.' The author appears to have had some vague idea of the monsoon.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'the other (the stench) flows back to Pûtîk.'

[5] Reading band; but it may be bôd, 'consciousness, sensitiveness.'

moon and wind; it comes again *and* goes down, in increase and decrease, because of her revolving. 12. The control[1] also of the Gulf of Satavês is attached to the constellation Satavês, in whose protection are the seas of the southern quarter, just as *those* on the northern side are in the protection of Haptôk-rîng[2]. 13. Concerning the flow *and* ebb it is said, that everywhere from the presence of the moon two winds continually blow, whose abode is in the Gulf of Satavês, one they call the down-draught, and one the up-draught; when the up-draught blows *it is* the flow, and when the down-draught blows it is the ebb[3]. 14. In the other seas there is nothing of the nature of a revolution of the moon therein, *and* there are no flow *and* ebb. 15. The sea of Kamrûd[4] is that which they pass by, in the north, in Taparîstân; that of Sahî-bûn[5] is in Arûm.

16. Of the small seas that which was most whole-

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[1] See p. 43, note 5.

[2] See Chap. II, 7.

[3] This is not a confused attempt to explain the tides as the effect of the land and sea breezes, as might be suspected at first, but is a reasonable conclusion from imaginary facts. Assuming that the wind always blows eastward and westward from the moon, it follows that as the moon rises an easterly wind must blow, which may be supposed to drive the flood tide westward into the Persian Gulf; until the moon passes the meridian, when the wind, changing to the west, ought to drive the ebb tide eastward out of the Gulf, thus accounting for one flow and ebb every day, dependent on the position of the moon.

[4] Evidently the Caspian, which lies north of Taparîstân, a province including part of Mâzendarân.

[5] Or perhaps Gâhî-bûn, meaning probably the Mediterranean or Euxine, if not both of them; the author appears merely to have heard of the existence of such a sea in Asia Minor (Arûm). In the Selections of Zâd-sparam, VI, 14, it is called Gêhân-bûn.

some[1] was the sea Kyânsîh[2], *such* as is in Sagastân; *at* first, noxious creatures, snakes, and lizards (vazagh) were not in *it*, *and* the water was sweeter *than in* any of the other seas; later (da*d*î-gar) *it became* salt; at the closest, on account of the stench, it is not possible to go so near as one league, so very great are the stench and saltness through the violence of the hot wind. 17. When the renovation *of the universe* occurs it *will* again become sweet[3].

CHAPTER XIV.

1. On the nature of the five classes of animals (gôspend) it says in revelation, that, when the primeval ox passed away[4], there where the marrow came out grain grew up[5] of fifty and five species, *and* twelve[6] species of medicinal plants grew; as it says, that out of the marrow is every separate creature, every single thing whose lodgment is in the marrow[7]. 2. From the horns *arose* peas (mî*g*ûk),

[1] Comparing nîstûm with Pers. ni*s*t, 'healthy.'

[2] The Av. Kãsu of Vend. XIX, 18, and Zamyâd Yt. 66, 92 (see also Chaps. XX, 34, and XXI, 7). A brackish lake and swamp now called Hâmûn, 'the desert,' or Zarah, 'the sea,' and which formerly contained fresher water than it does now.

[3] The MSS. here add the first sentence of Chap. XX, and there is every reason to believe that Chaps. XX–XXII originally occupied this position, between XIII and XIV, (see the list of the contents of TD in the Introduction.)

[4] See Chaps. IV, 1, and X, 1.

[5] All MSS. have lakhvâr, 'again,' but this is probably a blunder for lâlâ, 'up.'

[6] K20 has 'fifteen' here, but 'twelve' in Chaps. X, 1, and XXVII, 2.

[7] K20 has 'of every single thing the lodgment is in the marrow.'

from the nose the leek, from the blood the grape-vine[1] from which they make wine—on this account wine abounds with blood—from the lungs the rue-like herbs, from the middle of the heart[2] thyme *for* keeping away stench, *and* every one of the others as revealed in the Avesta.

3. The seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station[3]; there it was thoroughly purified, *and* produced the manifold species of animals[4]. 4. First, two oxen, one male and one female, and, afterwards, one pair of every single species was let go into the earth, *and* was discernible in Aîrân-vêg *for* a Hâsar ('mile'), which is like a Parasang ('league')[5]; as it says, that, on account of the valuableness of the ox, it was created twice, one time as an ox, and one time as the manifold species of animals. 5. A thousand days and nights they were without eating, and first water and afterwards herbage (aûrvar) were devoured by them.

6. And, afterwards, the three classes (kar*d*ak) of animals were produced therefrom, as it says that first were the goat and sheep, and then the camel

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[1] Probably ka*d*ûk-i raz may mean 'the pumpkin and grape.'

[2] Reading dîl; but the word may also be read sar, 'the head,' or jigar, 'the liver.'

[3] See Chap. X, 2.

[4] This translation suits both text and context very well, but gôspend pûr-sar*d*ak is evidently intended for the Av. gâus pouru-saredhô, 'the ox of many species,' of Mâh Yt. 0, 7, and Sîrôz. 12.

[5] Reading mûn aê parasang humânâk; if 3 be read for aê the translation must be, 'three of which are like a Parasang,' for a Hâsar cannot be equal to three Parasangs (see Chaps. XVI, 7, and XXVI). The phrase in the text probably means merely that a Hâsar is a measure for long distances, just as a Parasang is.

and swine, and then the horse and ass. 7. For, first, *those* suitable for grazing were created therefrom, those are now kept in the valley (lâî); the second created were those of the hill summits (sar-i dêz)[1], which are wide-travellers, *and* habits (nihâdak) are not taught to them by hand; the third created were *those* dwelling in the water.

8. As for the genera (khadûînak), the first genus is that which *has* the foot cloven in two, *and is* suitable for grazing; of which a camel larger than a horse is small *and* new-born. 9. The second genus is ass-footed, of which the swift[2] horse is the largest, *and* the ass the least. 10. The third genus is that of the five-dividing paw, of which the dog is the largest, *and* the civet-cat the least. 11. The fourth genus is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures[3] is the largest, and the chaffinch[4] the least. 12. The fifth genus is that of the water, of which the Kar fish[5] is the largest, *and* the Nemadu[6] the least.

13. These five genera are apportioned out into

[1] Justi reads gîrîsa*k*, the Av. gairishâ*k*ô, 'mountain-frequenting,' of Tî*s*tar Yt. 36; but this is doubtful.

[2] Pahl. zibâl = Pers. zîbâl.

[3] The Pâz. sin-i se avinâ is the Pahl. sên-i 3 khadûînak of Chap. XXIV, 11, 29, the Sîn bird or Sîmurgh of Persian legends, the Av. saêna. The word avinâ is a Pâz. misreading either of âînak, 'kind, sort,' or of an*g*anâk, 'dividing.' The mixture of Pâzand and Pahlavi in this and some other chapters is rather perplexing, but the Pâzand misreadings can usually be corrected after transliterating them back into Pahlavi characters.

[4] Reading va taru (Pers. tar).

[5] See Chaps. XVIII, 3, and XXIV, 13.

[6] If this Pâzand word be written in Pahlavi letters it may be read va magan, which may stand for va magil, 'and the leech;' but this is very uncertain.

two hundred and eighty-two[1] species (sardak). 14. First are five species of goat, the ass-goat[2], the milch-goat, the mountain-goat, the fawn, *and* the *common* goat. 15. Second, five species of sheep, that with a tail, that which has no tail, the dog-sheep, the wether, *and* the Kûrisk sheep, a sheep whose horn is great; it possesses a grandeur[3] like unto a horse, *and* they use *it* mostly for a steed (bâra), as it is said that Mânûskîhar kept a Kûrisk as a steed. 16. Third, two species of camel, the mountain *one and that* suitable for grazing; for one is fit to keep in the mountain, *and* one in the plain; they are one-humped *and* two-humped. 17. Fourth, fifteen species of ox, the white, mud-coloured[4], red, yellow, black, *and* dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard ox, the fish-chewing[5] ox, the Fars ox, the Kagau, *and* other species of ox. 18. Fifth, eight species of horse, the Arab, the Persian, the mule[6], the ass, the wild ass (gôr), the hippopotamus (asp-i âvî), *and* other species of horse. 19. Sixth, ten species of dog, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog which is the house-protector, the blood-hound, the slender hound[7], the water-

[1] K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3).

[2] The khar-bûz (see Chap. XXIV, 2).

[3] Supposing se koh to be a Pâz. misreading of Pahl. sukûh. Justi's translation is: 'it inhabits the three mountains, like the horse.'

[4] Pâz. ashgun is evidently for Pahl. hasgûn.

[5] Transcribing the Pâz. mâhi khu ushân into Pahlavi it may be read mâhîkân-khvashân (khashân?).

[6] Instead of these first three species M6 has 'the white, black, yellow, bay, *and* chestnut.' K20 omits 'the ass' by mistake.

[7] These first four species are the Av. pasus-haurvô, vis-haurvô, vôhunazgô, and taurunô of Vend. V, 92–98, XIII, 21, 26–74, 117, 164, 165.

beaver[1] which they call the water-dog, the fox, the ichneumon (râsu), the hedgehog which they call 'thorny-back,' the porcupine[2], *and* the civet-cat; of which, two species are those accustomed[3] to burrows, one the fox *and* one the ichneumon; *and* those accustomed to jungle are such as the porcupine which has spines on *its* back, *and* the hedgehog which is similar. 20. Seventh, five species of the black[4] hare; two are wild species, one dwelling in a burrow[5] *and* one dwelling in the jungle. 21. Eighth, eight species of weasel; one the marten, one the black marten, the squirrel, the B*e*z ermine[6], the white ermine, *and* other species of weasel. 22. Ninth, eight species of musk *animals;* one is that which is recognised by *its* musk[7], one

[1] The Av. bawri*s* upâpô of Âbân Yt. 129.

[2] The word indra has usually been taken as a Pâz. misreading of the Pahl. aûdrak (Av. udra, 'otter,' of Vend. XIII, 48, 167, 169, XIV, 2), but this would be more probably read andra. The Pahl. sûgar, 'porcupine,' is just as likely to be misread indra, and its meaning suits the context better.

[3] The Pâz. âmokhte*s*n, which is an ungrammatical form, is evidently a misreading of the Pahl. âmûkhtagân.

[4] K20 has seyâ, M6 has zyâgi hest. Perhaps some old copyist has corrected sîyâk-gôsh into khar-gôsh, and so both the epithets have crept into the text, the word 'black' being superfluous.

[5] Reading khan-mâni*s*t, the Pâz. khu being an obvious misreading of khan.

[6] The Pâz. b*e*z is written bedh in the Pâzand MS. (the z in M6 being shaped something like dh), and Justi supposes it represents the Arabic abyadh or baîdhâ, 'white,' and is explained by the Pers. sapêd, 'white,' which follows; but there is nothing in the text to indicate that the second name is an explanation of the first. It is more probable that b*e*z represents the Pers. bî*g*âd, 'reddish, rufous, variegated,' an epithet quite applicable to the ermine in its summer fur.

[7] Or, 'is known as the musk *animal*.'

the musk *animal* with a bag in which is their pleasant scent, the Bis-musk[1] which eats the Bis-*herb*, the black musk which is the enemy of the serpent *that is* numerous in rivers, *and* other species of musk *animals*. 23. Tenth, one hundred and ten species of birds; flying creatures (vey = vâî) such as the griffon bird[2], the Karsipt[3], the eagle, the Kahrkâs[4] which they call the vulture, the crow, the Ardâ, the crane, *and* the tenth[5] is the bat. 24. There are two of them which have milk in the teat *and* suckle *their* young, the griffon bird and the bat which flies in the night; as they say that the bat is created of three races (sardak), the race (âyina) of the dog, the bird, *and* the musk *animal;* for it flies like a bird, has many teeth like a dog, *and* is dwelling in holes like a musk-rat. 25. These hundred and ten species of birds are distributed into eight groups (khadûînak), mostly as scattered about as when a man scatters seed, *and* drops the seed in *his* fingers to the ground, large, middling, *and* small. 26. Eleventh[6], fish were created of ten

[1] A kind of musk-rat; the bîs it eats is said to be the Napellus Moysis.

[2] Pahl. sênô mûrûk, the sîmurgh of Persian tradition, and Av. mereghô saênô of Bahrâm Yt. 41.

[3] See Chap. XIX, 16. [4] See Chap. XIX, 25.

[5] Counting the 'flying creatures' and 'the vulture' as distinct species, 'the bat' is the tenth. It has been generally supposed that we should read 'eleventh,' and consider the bats as an eleventh group, especially as the MSS. call the next group (the fish) the 'twelfth;' but this view is contradicted by the remarks about the bats being mingled with those about the birds, and also by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14 (see App. to Bund.), not mentioning any group of bats among the other animals.

[6] All the MSS. have 'twelfth,' but they give no 'eleventh' nor 'thirteenth,' though they have 'fourteenth' in § 29. These irre-

species; first, the fish Ariz[1], the Arzuvâ, the Arzukâ, the Marzukâ, *and* other Avesta names[2]. 27. Afterwards, within each species, species within species are created, so the total is two hundred and eighty-two species[3].

28. Of the dog they say that out of the star station, that is, *away* from the direction of the constellation Haptôk-rîng, was given to him further by a stage (yôgist)[4] than to men, on account of *his* protection of sheep, *and* as associating with sheep *and* men; for this the dog is purposely adapted[5], as three more kinds of advantage are given to him than *to* man, *he has* his own boots, his own clothing[6], *and* may wander about without self-exertion. 29. The twelfth[7] is the sharp-toothed beast of

gularities seem to indicate that part of this chapter has been omitted by some old copyist.

[1] See Chaps. XVIII, 5, and XXIV, 13.

[2] None of these names are found in the portion of the Avesta now extant.

[3] K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3). The actual total number of species mentioned is 186, leaving ninety-six for the 'species within species.' Zâd-sparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14, differs from the numbers given in the text merely in giving ten species of ox, instead of fifteen; so the total of his details is 181, leaving 101 sub-species to make up his grand total of 282 (see App. to Bund.)

[4] A yôgist (compare Sans. yogana) was probably from fifteen to sixteen English miles, as it consisted of sixteen hâsar, each of one thousand steps of the two feet (see Chap. XXVI, 1). This sentence seems to imply that on account of the useful qualities of the dog he has a part of the lowermost grade of paradise allotted to him, further from the demon-haunted north than that allotted to the men whose inferior order of merit does not entitle them to enter the higher grades of paradise.

[5] Reading âhang-hômand, 'having a purpose.'

[6] Compare Vend. XIII, 106.

[7] All the MSS. have 'fourteenth,' but they give no 'thirteenth.'

which the leader of the flock is in such great fear, for that flock of sheep is very badly maintained which has no dog.

30. Aûharmazd said when the bird Vâresha[1] was created by him, *which* is a bird of prey, thus: 'Thou art created by me, O bird Vâresha! so that my vexation may be greater than *my* satisfaction with thee, for thou doest the will of the evil spirit more than that of me; like the wicked man who did not become satiated with wealth, thou also dost not become satiated with the slaughter of birds; but if thou be not created by me, O bird Vâresha! thou wouldst be created by him, the evil spirit, *as* a kite[2] with the body of a Varpa[3], by which no creature would be left alive.'

31. Many animals are created in all these species for this reason, that when one shall be perishing *through* the evil spirit, one shall remain.

Chapter XV.

1. On the nature of men it says in revelation, that Gâyômar*d*, in passing away[4], gave forth seed; that seed was thoroughly purified by the motion of

[1] No doubt 'a hawk' (Pers. vâ*s*ah or bâ*s*ah), as mentioned by Justi; Av. vâre would become vâ or bâ in Persian.

[2] Compare gûrîk with Pers. varik, varkâ, varkâk, varkak, vargâh, 'an eagle, falcon, kite, or hawk.'

[3] Transcribing the Pâz. varpa êyi into Pahlavi we have varpak-aê, which is very nearly the same in form as varî*k*ak-aê, 'a hut or cottage' (Pers. gurî*k*ah-ê); so the formidable bird which the evil spirit might have created was 'a kite with a body like a cottage.'

[4] See Chap. IV, 1.

the light of the sun, and Nêryôsang[1] kept charge of two portions, and Spendarmad[2] received one portion. 2. And *in* forty years, with the shape of a one-stemmed Rîvâs-*plant*[3], *and* the fifteen years of *its* fifteen leaves, Matrô and Matrôyâô[4] grew up from the earth in such a manner that their arms rested behind on *their* shoulders (dôsh), and one joined to the other they were connected together and both alike. 3. And the waists of both of them were brought close *and* so connected together that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the *one* whose living soul (nismô) of Aûharmazd is not away[5]. 4. As it is said thus: 'Which is created before, the soul (nismô) or the body? And Aûharmazd said that the soul is created before, and the body after, for him who was

[1] Av. Nairyô-sangha of Yas. XVII, 68, LXX, 92, Vend. XIX, 111, 112, XXII, 22, &c.; the angel who is said to be Aûharmazd's usual messenger to mankind.

[2] The female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Chap. I, 26).

[3] A plant allied to the rhubarb, the shoots of which supply an acid juice used by the Persians for acidulating preserves and drinks.

[4] These names are merely variants of the Mâshya and Mâshyôî of the latter part of this chapter (nom. dual, m. and f., of Av. mashya, 'mortal'). This is shown by the Pandnâmak-i Zaratûst, saying: 'and my human nature is from Matrôîh *and* Matrôyâôîh, *from* which first generation and seed from Gâyômard I have sprung.' And the names are also found in the more Persian forms Maharîh and Maharîyâôyîh (see the note to § 22). Windischmann considered the meaning to be that 'they grew up on the day Mitrô of the month Mitrô,' that is, the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the Parsi year; this is not confirmed, however, by Zâdsparam in his Selections, Chap. X, 4 (see App. to Bund.)

[5] That is, whether they had souls or not. That nismô is the Huzvâris for rûbân, 'soul,' appears clearly in § 4, where both words are used for the same thing.

created; it is given into the body that it may produce activity, and the body is created only for activity;' hence the conclusion is this, that the soul (rûbân) is created before and the body after. 5. And both of them changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man, *and* the breath (nismô) went spiritually into them, which is the soul (rûbân); and now, moreover, in that similitude a tree had grown up whose fruit was the ten varieties of man[1].

6. Aûharmazd spoke to Mashya *and* Mashyôî thus: 'You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion[2] by me; perform devotedly the duty of the law, think good thoughts, speak good words, do good deeds, and worship no demons!' 7. Both of them first thought this, that one of them should please the other, as he is a man for him; and the first deed done by them was this, when they went out they washed[3] themselves thoroughly; and the first words spoken by them were these, that Aûharmazd created the water and earth, plants and animals, the stars, moon, and sun, and all prosperity whose origin and effect are from the manifestation of righteousness[4]. 8. And, afterwards, antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were

[1] This evidently refers to another tree, which is supposed to have produced the ten varieties of human monstrosities (see § 31).

[2] This would be a translation of the Avesta phrase, 'the best of Ârmaiti (the spirit of the earth).'

[3] Comparing mê*gîd* with Pers. ma*g*îd; but the verb is very ambiguous, as it may mean, 'they feasted themselves,' or 'they made water.'

[4] The last phrase appears to be quoted from the Pahlavi Hâ*d*ôkht Nask, I, 2.

thoroughly corrupted, and they exclaimed that the evil spirit created the water and earth, plants and animals, *and* the other things as *afore*said. 9. That false speech was spoken through the will of the demons, *and* the evil spirit possessed himself of this first enjoyment from them; through that false speech they both became wicked, and their souls are in hell until the future existence.

10. And they had gone thirty days without food[1], covered with clothing of herbage (giyâh); *and* after the thirty days they went forth into the wilderness, came to a white-haired goat, and milked the milk from the udder with their mouths. 11. When they had devoured the milk Mâshya *said* to Mâshyôî thus: 'My delight was owing to it when I had not devoured the milk, and my delight is more delightful now when it is devoured by my vile body.' 12. That second false speech enhanced the power of the demons, and the taste of the food was taken away by them, so that out of a hundred parts one part remained.

13. Afterwards, in another thirty days and nights they came to a sheep, fat[2] *and* white-jawed, and they slaughtered *it;* and fire was extracted by them out of the wood of the lote-plum[3] and box-tree, through the guidance of the heavenly angels, since both woods were most productive of fire for them;

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[1] Reading akhûrisn instead of the khûrisn of all MSS. which is hardly intelligible. Perhaps âv-khûrisn, 'drinking water,' ought to be read, as it is alluded to in Chap. XXX, 1.

[2] Comparing gefar with Av. garewa and Pers. *g*arb, but this identification may not be correct.

[3] The kûnâr, a thorny tree, allied to the jujube, which bears a small plum-like fruit.

and the fire was stimulated by their mouths; and the first fuel kindled by them was dry grass, kendâr, lotos, date palm leaves, *and* myrtle; and they made a roast of the sheep. 14. And they dropped three handfuls of the meat into the fire, *and* said: 'This is the share of the fire [1].' One piece of the rest they tossed to the sky, *and* said: 'This is the share of the angels.' A bird, the vulture, advanced *and* carried *some* of it away from before *them*, as a dog ate the first meat. 15. And, first, a clothing of skins covered them; afterwards, it is said, woven garments were prepared *from* a cloth woven [2] in the wilderness. 16. And they dug out a pit in the earth, and iron was obtained by them and beaten out with a stone, and without a forge they beat out a cutting edge [3] from it; and they cut wood with it, *and* prepared a wooden shelter from the sun (pê*s*-khûr).

17. Owing to the gracelessness which they practised, the demons became more oppressive, and they themselves carried on unnatural malice between themselves; they advanced one against the other, *and* smote and tore *their* hair *and* cheeks [4]. 18. Then the demons shouted out of the darkness

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[1] Most of this sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

[2] Reading khê*s*-i-i ta*d*, which Pahlavi words might be easily misread ashâbê tad, as given in Pâzand in the text. That Pâz. tadha stands for Pahl. ta*d*ak (Pers. tadah, 'spun, woven') is quite certain.

[3] Or 'an axe,' according as we read têkh or tash. The order of the foregoing words, barâ tapâk-i, 'without a forge,' appears to have been reversed by mistake.

[4] Reading rô*d* as equivalent to Pers. rûî, 'face,' but it ought to be rôd. Perhaps the word is lût, 'bare,' and the translation should be, 'tore *their* hair bare.'

thus: 'You are man; worship the demon! so that your demon of malice may repose.' 19. Mâshya went forth and milked a cow's milk, *and* poured *it* out towards the northern quarter; through that the demons became more powerful, and *owing to* them they both became so dry-backed that in fifty winters they had no desire for intercourse, and though they had had intercourse they would have had no children. 20. And on the completion of fifty years the source of desire arose, first *in* Mâshya and then *in* Mâshyôî, for Mâshya said to Mâshyôî thus: 'When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Mâshyôî spoke thus: 'Brother Mâshya! when I see thy great desire I am also agitated[1].' 21. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, as they reflected thus: 'Our duty even for those fifty years was this.'

22. From them was born in nine months a pair, male and female; *and* owing to tenderness for offspring[2] the mother devoured one, and the father one. 23. And, afterwards, Aûharmazd took tenderness for offspring away from them, so that *one* may nourish a child, and the child may remain.

24. And from them arose seven pairs, male *and*

[1] This is merely a paraphrase of the original.

[2] Or, 'the deliciousness of children' (shîrînîh-i farzand). Justi has, 'owing to an eruption on the children the mother deserted one,' &c.; but the legend of devouring the first children is still more clearly mentioned in the Pahlavi Rivâyat, which forms the first book of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk (preceding the ninety-two questions and answers to which that name is usually applied) as follows: Maharîh va Maharîyâôyîh dûshâram râî nazdistô farzand-i nafsman barâ vastamûnd, 'Mâshya and Mâshyôî, through affection, at first ate up their own offspring.'

female, *and* each was a brother and sister-wife; and from every one of them, in fifty years, children were born, and they themselves died in a hundred years. 25. Of those seven pairs one was Sîyâkmak, the name of the man, and Nasâk[1] of the woman; and from them a pair was born, whose names were Fravâk of the man and Fravâkaîn of the woman. 26. From them fifteen pairs were born, every single pair of whom became a race (sardak); and from them the constant continuance of the generations of the world arose.

27. Owing to the increase (zâyisn) of the whole fifteen races, nine races proceeded on the back of the ox Sarsaok[2], through the wide-formed ocean, to the other six regions (kêshvar), and stayed there; and six races of men remained in Khvanîras. 28. Of those six races the name of the man of one pair was Tâz and of the woman Tâzak, and they went *to* the plain of the Tâzîkân (Arabs); and of one pair Hôshyang[3] was the name of the man and Gûzak of the woman, and from them arose the Aîrânakân (Iranians); and from one pair the Mâzendarâns[4] have arisen. 29. Among the number (pavan aê mar) were those who are in the coun-

[1] Or 'Vasâk.'

[2] See Chaps. XVII, 4, XIX, 13; the name is here written Srisaok in the MSS., and is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

[3] Av. Haoshyangha of Âbân Yt. 21, Gôs Yt. 3, Fravardîn Yt. 137, Râm Yt. 7, Ashi Yt. 24, 26, Zamyâd Yt. 26. His usual epithet is paradhâta (Pahl. pês-dâd), which is thus explained in the Pahlavi Vend. XX, 7: 'this early law (pês-dâdîh) was this, that he first set going the law of sovereignty.' For this reason he is considered to be the founder of the earliest, or Pêsdâdian, dynasty. See Chaps. XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4.

[4] The people of the southern coast of the Caspian, the Mâzainya daêva, 'Mâzainyan demons or idolators,' of the Avesta.

tries of Sûrâk[1], those who are in the country of Anêr[2], those who are in the countries of Tûr, those who are in the country of Salm which is Arûm, those who are in the country of Sênî, that which is *K*înîstân, those who are in the country of Dâî[3], *and* those who are in the country of Sînd[4]. 30. Those, indeed, throughout the seven regions are all from the lineage of Fravâk, *son* of Sîyâkmak, *son of* Mâshya.

31. As there were ten varieties of man[5], *and* fifteen races from Fravâk, there were twenty-five races all from the seed of Gâyômar*d*; *the varieties are such* as *those* of the earth, of the water, the breast-eared, the breast-eyed, the one-legged, those also who have wings like a bat, *those* of the forest, with tails, *and* who have hair on the body[6].

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[1] Not Syria (which is Sûristân, see Chap. XX, 10), but the Sûrîk of the Pahlavi Vend. I, 14, which translates Av. Sughdha, the land east of the Oxus (see Chap. XX, 8). Windischmann reads it as Pâz. Erâk.

[2] Probably for Av. anairya, 'non-Aryan,' which seems specially applied to the lands east of the Caspian.

[3] The countries of Tûr, Salm, Sênî, and Dâî are all mentioned successively in Fravardîn Yt. 143, 144, in their Avesta forms Tûirya, Sairima, Sâini, and Dâhi. The country of Tûr was part of the present Turkistân, that of Salm is rightly identified with Arûm (the eastern Roman Empire, or Asia Minor) in the text; the country of Sênî (miswritten Sênd), being identified with *K*înîstân, was probably the territory of Samarkand, and may perhaps be connected with Mount *K*înŏ (see Chap. XII, 2, 13); and the land of Dâî must be sought somewhere in the same neighbourhood.

[4] Bactria or any part of north-western India may be intended; wherever Brahmans and Buddhists existed (as they did in Bactria) was considered a part of India in Sasanian times.

[5] Grown on a separate tree (see § 5).

[6] Only seven varieties of human monsters are here enumerated,

Chapter XVI.

1. On the nature of generation it says in revelation, that a woman when she comes out from menstruation, during ten days and nights, when they go near unto her, soon becomes pregnant. 2. When she is cleansed from her menstruation, *and* when the time for pregnancy has come, always when the seed of the man is the more powerful a son arises from it; when that of the woman is the more powerful, a daughter; when both seeds are equal, twins and triplets. 3. If the male seed comes the sooner, it adds to the female, and she becomes robust; if the female seed comes the sooner, it becomes blood, *and* the leanness of the female *arises* therefrom.

4. The female seed is cold and moist, and *its* flow is from the loins, and the colour is white, red, and yellow; and the male seed is hot and dry, *its* flow is from the brain of the head, *and* the colour is white and mud-coloured (ha*s*gûn). 5. All[1] the seed of the females *which* issues beforehand, takes a place within the womb, and the seed of the males will remain above it, *and* will fill the space of the womb; whatever refrains therefrom becomes blood again, enters into the veins of the females, *and* at the time any one is born it becomes milk and

for the last three details seem to refer to one variety, the monkeys. The Pârsî MS. of miscellaneous texts, M7 (fol. 120), says, 'The names of the ten species of men are the breast-eyed, the three-eyed, the breast-eared, the elephant-eared, the one-legged, the web-footed, the leopard-headed, the lion-headed, the camel-headed, *and* the dog-headed.'

[1] M6 has 'always.'

nourishes him, as all milk arises from the seed of the males, *and* the blood is that of the females.

6. These four things, they say, are male, *and these* female: the sky, metal, wind, *and* fire are male, *and* are never otherwise; the water, earth, plants, *and* fish are female, *and* are never otherwise; the remaining creation consists of male and female.

7. As regards the fish[1] it says that, at the time of excitement, they go forwards and come back in the water, two *and* two, the length of a mile (hâsar), which is one-fourth of a league (parasang), in the running water; in that coming *and* going they then rub *their* bodies *together*, and a kind of sweat drops out betwixt them, *and* both become pregnant.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. On the nature of fire it says in revelation, that fire is produced of five kinds, namely, the fire Berezi-savang[2], the fire which shoots up before Aûharmazd the lord; the fire Vohu-fryân[3], the fire which is in the bodies of men and animals; the fire Urvâzi*s*t[4], the fire which is in plants; the fire

[1] K20 has 'the male fish,' which is inconsistent with the preceding sentence.

[2] These Avesta names of the five kinds of fire are enumerated in Yas. XVII, 63–67, and the Pahlavi translation of that passage interchanges the attributes ascribed to the first and fifth in the text, thus it calls the first 'the fire of sublime benefit in connection with Varahrân (Bahrâm).' See also Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, XI, 1.

[3] 'The fire of the good diffuser (or offerer), that within the bodies of men' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 64).

[4] 'The fire of prosperous (or abundant) life, that within plants' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 65).

Vâzist[1], the fire which is in a cloud *which* stands opposed to Spêngargâk in conflict; the fire Spênist[2], the fire which they keep in use in the world, likewise the fire of Vâhrâm[3]. 2. Of those five fires one consumes both water and food, as that which is in the bodies of men; one consumes water *and* consumes no food, as that which is in plants, which live and grow through water; one consumes food *and* consumes no water, as that which they keep in use in the world, and likewise the fire of Vâhrâm; one consumes no water and no food, as the fire Vâzist. 3. The Berezi-savang is that in the earth and mountains *and* other things, which[4] Aûharmazd created, *in* the original creation, like three breathing souls (nismô); through the watchfulness and protection *due* to them the world ever develops (vakhshêd).

4. And in the reign of Takhmôrup[5], when men continually passed, on the back of the ox Sarsaok[6], from Khvanîras to the other regions, one night

[1] 'The fire Vâzist, that which smites the demon Spengargâ' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 66). See Chap. VII, 12.

[2] 'The propitious fire *which* stands in heaven before Aûharmazd in a spiritual state' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67).

[3] The Bahrâm fire, or sacred fire at places of worship.

[4] M6 has min, instead of mûn, which alters the translation, but not the meaning. This appears to be a different account of the fire Berezi-savang to that given in § 1, but it merely implies that it is fire in its spiritual state, and the name can, therefore, be applied to any natural fire which can be attributed to supernatural agency, such as burning springs of petroleum, volcanic eruptions, ignis fatuus, phosphorescence of the sea, &c.

[5] The second Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

[6] Written Srisaok in the MSS. in Chap. XV, 27; where it also appears that the sea was 'the wide-formed ocean.' See likewise Chap. XIX, 13.

amid the sea the wind rushed upon[1] the fireplace—the fireplace in which the fire was, such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox—which the wind dropped with the fire into the sea; and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shot up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox, so that it becomes quite light, *and* the men pass again through the sea. 5. And in the reign of Yim[2] every duty was performed more fully through the assistance of all those three fires; and the fire Frôbak[3] was established by him at the appointed place (dâ*d*-gâs) on the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvâri*z*em[4], which Yim constructed for them; and the glory of Yim saves the fire Frôbak from the hand of Dahâk[5]. 6. In the reign of King Vi*s*tâsp, upon revelation from the religion[6], it was established, out of Khvâri*z*em, at the Rôshan ('shining') mountain in Kâvulistân, the country of Kâvul (Kâbul), just as it remains there even now.

7. The fire Gû*s*asp, until the reign of Kaî-Khûsrôb[7], continually afforded the world protection in the manner *aforesaid*[8]; *and* when Kaî-Khûsrôb[7] was

[1] Compare staft with Pers. *s*itâftan, 'to hasten.'

[2] The third Pê*s*dâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 3, 4, XXXIV, 4).

[3] Also written Frôbŏ, Frôbâ, Frôbâk, or Frôbâg.

[4] The Av. *Hv*âirizem of Mihir Yt. 14, a province east of the Caspian.

[5] It is doubtful whether va gadman, 'and the glory,' or nismô, 'the soul, reason' (see Chaps. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4), should be read. And it may even be that 'the fire Frôbak saves the soul of Yim,' &c. For Dahâk see Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

[6] Or, 'upon declaration from revelation.'

[7] Here written Kaî-Khûsrôbî.

[8] In § 3. The 'three breathing souls' of spiritual fire are sup-

extirpating the idol-temples of Lake *Kêkast*[1] it settled upon the mane of *his* horse, and drove away the darkness and gloom, and made *it* quite light, so that they might extirpate the idol-temples; in the same locality the fire Gûsasp was established at the appointed place on the Asnavand mountain[2].

8. The fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô, until the reign of King Vistâsp, ever assisted[3], *in* like manner, in the world, *and* continually afforded protection; *and* when the glorified[4] Zaratûst was introduced to produce confidence in the progress of the religion, King Vistâsp and *his* offspring were steadfast in the religion of God[5], *and* Vistâsp established *this fire* at the appointed place on Mount Rêvand, where they say the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân) is[6].

9. All those three fires are the whole body of the fire of Vâhrâm, together with the fire of the world, and those breathing souls are lodged in them; a counterpart of the body of man when it forms in the womb of the mother, *and* a soul from the spirit-*world* settles within *it*, which controls the body while living; when that body dies, the body mingles with the earth, *and* the soul goes back to the spirit.

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posed to be incorporated in its three earthly representatives, the fires Frôbak, Gûsasp, and Bûrzîn-Mitrô respectively.

[1] That is, of the province around that lake (see Chap. XXII, 2).

[2] See Chap. XII, 26. Compare Selections of Zâd-sparam, VI, 22.

[3] Taking vagîd as equivalent to Pers. guzîd; but it may be equivalent to Pers. vazîd, 'grew, shot up.'

[4] The epithet anôshak-rûbân (Pers. nôshirvân) means literally 'immortal-souled.'

[5] Or, 'of the angels,' which plural form is often used to express 'God.'

[6] See Chap. XII, 18, 34.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. On the nature of the tree they call Gôkar*d*[1] it says in revelation, that *it was* the first day when the tree they call Gôkar*d* grew in the deep mud[2] within the wide-formed ocean; *and* it is necessary as a producer of the renovation *of the universe*, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. 2. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those which enter as opponents, a lizard[3] as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hôm[4]. 3. And for keeping away that lizard, Aûharmazd has created there ten Kar fish[5] which, at all times, continually circle around the Hôm, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard. 4. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed[6], that is, no food is necessary for them; *and* till the renovation *of the universe* they remain in contention. 5. There are places *where* that fish is

[1] A corruption of the Av. gaokerena of Vend. XX, 17, Aûharmazd Yt. 30, Haptân Yt. 3, Sîrôz. 7. In the old MSS. of the Bundahi*s* the form gôkar*d* occurs thrice, gôkarn once, and gogrv once.

[2] Reading gil, 'mud.' Windischmann and Justi prefer gar, 'mountain,' and have 'depth of the mountain.'

[3] That the writer of the Bundahi*s* applies the term vazagh to a lizard, rather than a frog, appears from the 'log-like lizard's body' of Chap. III, 9.

[4] That is, the Gôkar*d* tree, which is the white Hôm (see Chap. XXVII, 4).

[5] The Av. karô masyô of Vend. XIX, 140, Bahrâm Yt. 29, Dîn Yt. 7; see also Chap. XXIV, 13.

[6] Windischmann and Justi prefer translating thus: 'Moreover, the lizard is the spiritual food of those fish;' but this can hardly be reconciled with the Pahlavi text.

written *of as* 'the Ariz[1] of the water;' as it says that the greatest of the creatures of Aûharmazd is that fish, and the greatest of those *proceeding* from the evil spirit is that lizard; with the jaws of *their* bodies, moreover, they snap in two whatever of the creatures of both *spirits has* entered between them, except that one fish which is the Vâs of Pan*k*âsa*d*varân[2]. 6. This, too, is said, that those fish are so serpent-like[3] in that deep water, they know the scratch (mâli*s*n) of a needle's point by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing.

7. Regarding the Vâs of Pan*k*âsa*d*varân it is declared that it moves within the wide-formed ocean, and its length is as much as what a man, while in a swift race, will walk *from* dawn till when the sun goes down; so much that it does not itself move[4] the length of the whole of its great body. 8. This, too, is said, that the creatures of the waters live also specially *under* its guardianship.

9. The tree of many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say *it is* the proper-curing, some the energetic-curing, some the all-curing[5].

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[1] See Chaps. XIV, 26, and XXIV, 13.

[2] The Av. vâsîm yăm pa*nk*âsadvarăm of Yas. XLI, 27.

[3] Transcribing the Pâz. mârâdu into Pahlavi we have mâr âyin, 'snake's manner.' Compare the text with Bahrâm Yt. 29.

[4] K20 omits the words from 'walk' to 'move.'

[5] This is the tree of the saêna or Simurgh, as described in Rashnu Yt. 17, and these three epithets are translations of its three titles, hubi*s*, eredhwô-bi*s*, and vîspô-bi*s*. See also Chap. XXVII, 2, 3.

10. Between[1] these trees of such kinds[2] is formed the mountain with cavities, 9999 thousand myriads *in number*, each myriad being ten thousand. 11. Unto that mountain is given the protection of the waters, so that water streams forth from there, in the rivulet channels, to the land of the seven regions, as the source of all the sea-water in the land of the seven regions is from there[3].

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Regarding the three-legged ass[4] they say, that it stands amid the wide-formed ocean, and its feet are three, eyes six, mouths[5] nine, ears two, and horn

[1] This must have been the original meaning of the Huz. dên (bên in the Sasanian inscriptions) before it was used as a synonym of Pâz. andar, 'within.' The mountain is between the white-Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds.

[2] Transcribing the Pâz. oînoh into Pahlavi we have ân-gûnak, 'that kind;' or the word may be a miswriting of Pâz. ânô, 'there.'

[3] This description of the mountain seems to identify it with the Aûsîndôm mountain of Chaps. XII, 6, and XIII, 5.

[4] The Av. khara, 'which is righteous *and* which stands in the middle of the wide-shored ocean' (Yas. XLI, 28). Darmesteter, in his Ormazd et Ahriman (pp. 148–151), considers this mythological monster as a meteorological myth, a personification of clouds and storm; and, no doubt, a vivid imagination may trace a striking resemblance between some of the monster's attributes and certain fanciful ideas regarding the phenomena of nature; the difficulty is to account for the remaining attributes, and to be sure that these fanciful ideas were really held by Mazdayasnians of old. Another plausible view is to consider such mythological beings as foreign gods tolerated by the priesthood, from politic motives, as objects worthy of reverence; even as the goddess Anâhita was tolerated in the form of the angel of water.

[5] This is the traditional meaning of the word, which (if this

one, body white, food spiritual, *and* it is righteous. 2. And two of its six eyes are in the position of eyes, two on the top of the head, and two in the position of the hump[1]; with the sharpness of those six eyes it overcomes *and* destroys. 3. Of the nine mouths three are in the head, three in the hump, and three in the inner part of the flanks; and each mouth is about the size of a cottage, and *it is* itself as large as Mount Alvand[2]. 4. Each one of the three feet, when it is placed on the ground, is as much as a flock (gir*d*) of a thousand sheep comes under when they repose together; *and* each pastern[3] is so great in its circuit that a thousand men with a thousand horses may pass inside. 5. As for the two ears *it is* Mâzendarân which they will encompass. 6. The one horn is as it were of gold *and* hollow, and a thousand *branch* horns[4] have grown upon it, some befitting[5] a camel, some befitting a horse, some befitting an ox, some befitting an ass, both great and small. 7. With that horn it will vanquish *and* dissipate all the vile corruption *due to* the efforts of noxious creatures.

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meaning be correct) ought probably to be read yông, and be traced to Av. *ee*aungh (Yas. XXVIII, 11). In the MSS. the word is marked as if it were pronounced gûnd, which means 'a testicle.'

[1] The hump is probably supposed to be over the shoulders, as in the Indian ox, and not like that of the camel.

[2] Near Hamadân, rising 11,000 feet above the sea, or 6000 above Hamadân. It may be one of the Av. Aurva*n*tô of Zamyâd Yt. 3. The Pâzand MSS. read Hunavand.

[3] Literally, 'the small of the foot,' khûr*d*ak-i ragelman.

[4] Or, 'a thousand cavities (srûbŏ, Pers. surub, 'cavern') have grown in it.'

[5] Reading zîyâk; compare Pers. ziyîdan, 'to suit, befit.'

8. When that ass shall hold *its* neck in the ocean *its* ears will terrify (asahmê*d*), *and* all the water of the wide-formed ocean will shake with agitation, *and* the side of Ganâva*d*[1] will tremble (shîvanê*d*). 9. When it utters a cry all female water-creatures, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, will become pregnant; and all pregnant noxious water-creatures, when they hear that cry, will cast *their* young. 10. When it stales in the ocean all the sea-water will become purified, which is in the seven regions of the earth—*it is* even on that account when all asses which come into water stale in the water—as it says thus: 'If, O three-legged ass! you were not created for the water, all the water in the sea would have perished from the contamination which the poison of the evil spirit has brought into its water, through the death of the creatures of Aûharmazd.'

11. Tîs*t*ar seizes the water[2] more completely from the ocean with the assistance of the three-legged ass. 12. Of ambergris also (ambar-i*k*) *it* is declared, that it is the dung of the three-legged ass; for if it has much spirit food, then also the moisture of the liquid nourishment goes through the veins *pertaining* to the body into the urine, *and* the dung is cast away.

13. Of the ox Hadhayôs[3], which they call Sarsaok[4], it says, that in the original creation men passed from region to region *upon it*, *and* in the

[1] A mountain (see Chap. XII, 29, 34).

[2] See Chap. VII, 11.

[3] Written Hadayâv*s* in the MSS. in Chap. XXX, 25, and Hadhayã*s* in the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, Part II, reply 89; it is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

[4] See Chaps. XV, 27, XVII, 4.

renovation *of the universe* they prepare Hûsh (the beverage producing immortality) from it. 14. It is said, that life is in the hand of that foremost man, at the end of *his* years[1], who has constructed the most defences around this earth, until the renovation *of the universe* is requisite.

15. Regarding the bird *K*âmrôs[2] it says, that *it is* on the summit of Mount Albûr*z*; *and* every three years many come from the non-Iranian districts for booty (gir*d*)[3], by going to bring damage (zîyân) on the Iranian districts, and to effect the devastation of the world; then the angel Bûr*g*[4], *having* come up from the low country of Lake Arag[5], arouses that very bird *K*âmrô*s*, *and* it flies upon the loftiest of all the lofty mountains, *and* picks up all those non-Iranian districts as a bird *does* corn.

16. Regarding Kar*s*ipt[6] they say, that it knew how to speak words, *and* brought the religion to the enclosure which Yim made, and circulated *it;* there they utter the Avesta in the language of birds.

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[1] Transcribing the Pâz. *s*vadyi into Pahlavi we have *s*natîh, 'term of years.' The whole sentence is very obscure.

[2] Written *K*amrô*s* in Chap. XXIV, 29. It is the Av. *K*amrao*s* (gen. of *K*amru) of Fravardîn Yt. 109. See also Chap. XXVII, 3.

[3] Or, 'to an assembly.'

[4] The Av. Bere*g*ya of Yas. I, 21, II, 27, III, 35, 'a spirit co-operating with the Ushahina Gâh, who causes the increase of herds and corn.'

[5] Or, 'of the district of Arag' (see the note on Chap. XII, 23). Although no Lake Arag is described in Chap. XXII, some of the epithets referring to its Avesta equivalent Rangha are more applicable to a lake than to a river, as in Bahrâm Yt. 29. Possibly the low lands between the Caspian and Aral, or on the shores of the Caspian, are meant.

[6] The Av. vi*s* kar*s*ipta of Vend. II, 139, where, however, vi*s*

17. Regarding the ox-fish they say, that it exists in all seas; when it utters a cry all fish become pregnant, and all noxious water-creatures cast *their* young.

18. The griffon bird [1], which is a bat, is noticed (kar*d*) twice in another chapter (babâ).

19. Regarding the bird Ashôzu*s*t [2], which is the bird Zobara[3]-vahman *and* also the bird *S*ôk [4], they say that it has given an Avesta with *its* tongue; when it speaks the demons tremble at it *and* take nothing away there; a nail-*paring*, when it is not prayed over (afsû*d*), the demons *and* wizards seize, *and* like an arrow it shoots at *and* kills that bird. 20. On this account the bird seizes *and* devours a nail-*paring* when it is prayed over, so that the demons may not control *its* use; when it is not prayed over it does not devour *it*, *and* the demons are able to commit an offence with it.

21. Also other beasts and birds are created all in opposition to noxious creatures, as it says, that when the birds *and* beasts are all in opposition to noxious creatures and wizards, *&c.*[5] 22. This, too, it says, that of all precious[6] birds the crow (valâgh) is the most precious. 23. Regarding the white falcon it

does not mean 'bird,' and the Pahlavi translator calls it 'a quadruped.' In the Pahl. Visp. I, 1, 'the Karsipt is the chief of flying creatures,' and the Bundahi*s* also takes it as a bird (see Chaps. XIV, 23, XXIV, 11).

[1] See Chaps. XIV, 11, 23, 24, XXIV, 11, 29.

[2] The Av. Ashô-zu*s*ta of Vend. XVII, 26, 28.

[3] Compare Pers. *z*ûlah, 'a sparrow or lark.'

[4] Compare Pers. *s*ak, 'a magpie.'

[5] This quotation is evidently left incomplete.

[6] The Pahlavi word is ambiguous; it may be read zîl, 'cheap, common,' or it may be zagar = yakar, 'dear, precious,' but the

says, that it kills the serpent with wings. 24. The magpie (kâskînak) bird kills the locust, *and* is created in opposition to it. 25. The Kahrkâs[1], dwelling in decay, which is the vulture, is created for devouring dead matter (nasâî); so also are the crow (valâk)[2] and the mountain kite.

26. The mountain ox, the mountain goat, the deer, the wild ass, *and* other beasts devour all snakes. 27. So also, of other *animals*, dogs are created in opposition to the wolf species, *and* for securing the protection of sheep; the fox is created in opposition to the demon Khava; the ichneumon is created in opposition to the venomous snake (garzak) *and* other noxious creatures in burrows; so also the great musk-*animal* is created in opposition[3] to ravenous intestinal worms (kadûk-dânak garzak). 28. The hedgehog is created in opposition to the ant which carries off grain[4], as it says, that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants; when the grain-carrier travels over the earth it pro-

latter seems most probable, although the crow is perhaps as 'common' as it is 'precious,' as a scavenger in the East. Singularly enough Pers. arzân is a synonym to both words, as it means both 'cheap' and 'worthy.'

[1] The Av. kahrkâsa of Vend. III, 66, IX, 181, Âbân Yt. 61, Mihir Yt. 129; its epithet zarmân-mânisn, 'dwelling in decay,' is evidently intended as a translation of the Av. zarenumainis, applied to it in Bahrâm Yt. 33, Dîn Yt. 13.

[2] The text should probably be valâk-i sîyâk va sâr-i gar, 'the black crow and the mountain kite,' which are given as different birds in Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, II, 5.

[3] K20 omits the words from this 'opposition' to the next one.

[4] The môr-i dânak-kash is the Av. maoiris dânô-karshô of Vend. XIV, 14, XVI, 28, XVIII, 146.

duces a hollow track[1]; when the hedgehog travels over it the track goes away from it, and it becomes level. 29. The water-beaver is created in opposition to the demon which is in the water. 30. The conclusion is this, that, of all beasts and birds and fishes, every one is created in opposition to some noxious creature.

31. Regarding the vulture (karkâs) it says, that, even from his highest flight, he sees when flesh the size of a fist is on the ground; and the scent of musk is created under his wing, so that if, in devouring dead matter, the stench of the dead matter comes *out* from it, he puts *his* head back under the wing *and* is comfortable again. 32. Regarding the Arab horse they say, that if, in a dark night, a single hair occurs on the ground, he sees *it*.

33. The cock is created in opposition to demons *and* wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with Srôsh[2], in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog. 34. This, too, it says, that it would not have *been* managed if I had not created the shepherd's dog, which is the Pasus-haurva[3], *and* the house watch-dog, the Vis-haurva[3]; for it says in revelation, that the dog is a destroyer of such a fiend as covetous-

[1] Comparing sûrâk with Pers. surâgh in preference to sûrâkh or sûlâkh, 'a hole.'

[2] Av. Sraosha, the angel who is said specially to protect the world from demons at night; he is usually styled 'the righteous,' and is the special opponent of the demon Aêshm, 'Wrath' (see Chap. XXX, 29).

[3] These are the Avesta names of those two kinds of dog (see Chap. XIV, 19).

ness, among those which are in the nature (aîtîh) of man and of animals. 35. Moreover it says, that, inasmuch as it will destroy all the disobedient, when it barks it will destroy pain[1]; and its flesh and fat are remedies for driving away decay and pain from men[2].

36. Aûharmazd created nothing useless whatever, for all these (kolâ aê) are created for advantage; when one does not understand the reason of them, it is necessary to ask the Dastûr ('high-priest'), for his five dispositions (khûk)[3] are created in this way that he may continually destroy the fiend (or deceit).

Chapter XX.

1. On the nature of rivers it says in revelation, that these two rivers flow forth from the north, part from Albûrz *and* part from the Albûrz of Aûhar-

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[1] Or it may be thus: 'For it says thus: Wherewith will it destroy? When it barks it will destroy the assembly (gird) of all the disobedient.'

[2] This is the most obvious meaning, but Spiegel (in a note to Windischmann's Zoroastrische Studien, p. 95) translates both this sentence and the next very differently, so as to harmonize with Vend. XIII, 78, 99.

[3] The five dispositions (khîm) of priests are thus detailed in old Pahlavi MSS.: 'First, innocence; second, discreetness of thoughts, words, and deeds; third, holding the priestly office as that of a very wise and very true-speaking master, who has learned religion attentively and teaches *it* truly; fourth, celebrating the worship of God (yazdân) with a ritual (nîrang) of rightly spoken words and scriptures known by heart (narm naskîhâ); fifth, remaining day and night propitiatingly in *his* vocation, struggling with his own resistance (hamêstâr), and, *all* life long, not turning away from steadfastness in religion, and being energetic in *his* vocation.'

mazd[1]; one towards the west, that is the Arag[2]; *and* one towards the east, that is the Vêh river. 2. After them eighteen rivers flowed forth from the same source, just as the remaining waters have flowed forth from them in great multitude; as they say that they flowed out so very fast, one from the other, as when a man recites one Ashem-vohû[3] of a series (pa*d*îsâr). 3. All of those, with the same water, are again mingled with these rivers, that is, the Arag river *and* Vêh river. 4. Both of them continually circulate through the two extremities of the earth, and pass into the sea; and all the regions feast owing to the discharge (zahâk) of both, which, after both arrive together at the wide-formed ocean, returns to the sources whence they flowed out; as it says in revelation, that just as the light comes in through Albûr*z* *and* goes out through Albûr*z*[4], the

[1] So in K20, and if correct (being only partially confirmed by the fragment of this chapter found in all MSS. between Chaps. XIII and XIV) this reading implies that the rivers are derived partly from the mountains of Albûr*z*, and partly from the celestial Albûr*z*, or the clouds in the sky. M6 has 'flow forth from the north part of the eastern Albûr*z*.'

[2] For further details regarding these two semi-mythical rivers see §§ 8, 9.

[3] The sacred formula most frequently recited by the Parsis, and often several times in succession, like the Pater-noster of some Christians; it is not, however, a prayer, but a declaratory formula in 'praise of righteousness' (which phrase is often used as its name in Pahlavi). It consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows:

Ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî,
u*s*tâ astî; u*s*tâ ahmâi
hya*d* ashâi vahi*s*tâi ashem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to perfect rectitude' (Asha-vahi*s*ta the archangel).

[4] See Chap. V, 5.

water also comes out through Albûrz and goes away through Albûrz. 5. This, too, it says, that the spirit of the Arag begged of Aûharmazd thus: 'O first omniscient creative power[1]! from whom the Vêh river begged for the welfare that thou mightest grant, do thou then grant *it* in my quantity!' 6. The spirit of the Vêh river similarly begged of Aûharmazd for the Arag river; *and* on account of loving assistance, one towards the other, they flowed forth with equal strength, as before the coming of the destroyer they proceeded without rapids, and when the fiend shall be destroyed[2] they *will* again be without rapids.

7. Of those eighteen principal rivers, distinct from the Arag river *and* Vêh river, and the other rivers which flow out from them, I *will* mention the more famous[3]: the Arag river, the Vêh river, the Diglat[4] river they call also again the Vêh river[5], the Frât river, the Dâîtîk river, the Dargâm river, the Zôndak river, the Harôî river, the Marv river, the Hêtûmand river, the Akhôshir river, the Nâvadâ[6] river, the Zîsmand river, the Khvegand river, the Balkh river, the Mehrvâ river they call the Hendvâ river, the Spêd[7] river, the Rad[8] river which they call also the Koir, the Khvaraê river which they call

[1] So in M6, but K20 has, 'First is the propitiation of all kinds.'

[2] Literally, 'when they shall destroy the fiend.'

[3] For details regarding these rivers see the sequel.

[4] The Pâz. Deyrid is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Diglat or Digrat, which occurs in § 12.

[5] So in K20, but M6 (omitting two words) has, 'they call also the Didgar.'

[6] No further details are given, in this chapter, about this river, but it seems to be the river Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6, the Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

[7] K20 has 'Spend.'

[8] Called Tort in § 24.

also the Mesrgân, the Harhaz[1] river, the Teremet river, the Khvanaîdis[2] river, the Dâraga river, the Kâsîk river, the Sêd[3] ('shining') river Pêdâ-meyan *or* Katru-meyan river *of* Mokarstân.

8. I *will* mention them also a second time: the Arag[4] river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Albûrz in the land of Sûrâk[5], *in* which they call it also the Âmi; it passes on through the land of Spêtos, which they also call Mesr, and they call it there the river Niv[6]. 9. The Vêh[7] river

[1] Miswritten Araz in Pâzand, both here and in § 27.

[2] M6 has Khvanaînidis, but in K20 it is doubtful whether the extra syllable (which is interlined) is intended to be inserted or substituted; the shorter form is, however, more reconcilable with the Pahlavi form of Vendeses in § 29.

[3] As there is no description of any Sêd river it is probably only an epithet of the Pêdâ-meyan or Katru-meyan (pêdâk being the usual Pahlavi equivalent of Av. kithrô). Justi suggests that Mokarstân (Mokarsta rûd in M6) stands for Pers. Moghulstân, 'the country of the Moghuls,' but this is doubtful.

[4] Sometimes written Arang or Arêng, but the nasal is usually omitted; it is the Av. Rangha of Âbân Yt. 63, Rashnu Yt. 18, Râm Yt. 27, which is described more like a lake or sea in Vend. I, 77, Bahrâm Yt. 29. This semi-mythical river is supposed to encompass a great part of the known world (see Chap. VII, 16), and the Bundahis probably means to trace its course down the Âmû (Oxus) from Sogdiana, across the Caspian, up the Aras (Araxes) or the Kur (Cyrus), through the Euxine and Mediterranean, and up the Nile to the Indian Ocean. The Âmû (Oxus) is also sometimes considered a part of the Vêh river or Indus (see §§ 22, 28).

[5] Sogdiana (see Chap. XV, 29), the country of the Âmû river.

[6] The combination of the three names in this clause, as Justi observes, renders it probable that we should read, 'the land of Egypt,' which is called Misr, and where the river is the Nile. The letter S in Pâz. Spêtos is very like an obsolete form of Av. g, or it may be read as Pahl. îk or îg, so the name may originally have been Gpêtos or Ikpêtos; and the Pâz. Niv, if transcribed into Pahlavi, can also be read Nîl.

[7] The 'good' river, which, with the Arag and the ocean, completes

passes on in the east, goes through the land of Sînd[1], *and* flows to the sea in Hindûstân, and they call it there the Mehrâ[2] river. 10. The sources of the Frât[3] river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed *upon it* in Sûristân, *and* it flows to the Diglat river; and of this Frât *it is*[4] that they produce irrigation over the land. 11. It is declared that Mânûskîhar excavated the sources, *and* cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânûskîhar excavated for *the benefit of* his own soul, *and* he seized the water *and* gave to drink[5]' 12. The Diglat[6] river comes out from Salmân[7], *and* flows to the sea in Khûgistân. 13. The Dâîtîk[8] river is the river

the circuit of the known world, and is evidently identified with the Indus; sometimes it seems also to include the Âmû (Oxus), as Bactria was considered a part of India; thus we find the Balkh and Teremet rivers flowing into the Vêh (see §§ 22, 28).

[1] See § 30.

[2] No doubt the Mehrvâ or Hendvâ river of § 7, and the Mihrân of Ouseley's Oriental Geography of the pseudo Ibn 'Haûqal, pp. 148–155, which appears to combine the Satlig and lower Indus. The final n is usually omitted by the Bundahis after â in Pâzand words. This river is also called Kâsak (see § 30).

[3] The Euphrates, which rises in Armenia (part of the eastern empire of the Romans), traverses Syria, and joins the Tigris.

[4] Or, 'and its convenience is this;' a play upon the words farhat and Frât, which are identical in Pahlavi.

[5] Referring probably to canals for irrigation along the course of the Euphrates.

[6] The Tigris (Arabic Diglat), Hiddekel of Gen. ii. 14, Dan. x. 4, and perhaps the Av. tighris of Tîstar Yt. 6, 37; misread Dêîrid in Pâzand.

[7] The country of Salm (see Chap. XV, 29), son of Frêdûn (see Chap. XXXI, 9, 10). The name can also be read Dîlmân, which is the name of a place in the same neighbourhood.

[8] The Av. Dâitya of Vend. XIX, 5, Aûharmazd Yt. 21, Âbân Yt. 112, Gôs Yt. 29. The 'good dâitya of Airyana-vaêgô' is also

which comes out from Aîrân-vêg, *and* goes out through the hill-country[1]; of all rivers the noxious creatures in it are most, as it says, that the Dâîtîk river is full of noxious creatures. 14. The Dargâm river is in Sûde. 15. The Zend[2] river passes through the mountains of Pangistân, *and* flows away to the Haro river. 16. The Haro[3] river flows out from the Apârsên range[4]. 17. The Hêtûmand[5] river is in Sagastân, and its sources are from the Apârsên range; this is distinct from that which Frâsîyâv conducted away[6]. 18. The river Akhôshir is in Kûmîs[7]. 19. The Zîsmand[8] river, in the direc-

mentioned in Vend. I, 6, II, 42, 43, Âbân Yt. 17, 104, Râm Yt. 2, but this may not be a river, though the phrase has, no doubt, led to locating the river Dâîtîk in Aîrân-vêg.

[1] Pâz. gopestân in K20, which is evidently Pahl. kôfistân, but not the Kôhistân of southern Persia. M6 has 'the mountain of Pangistân,' which must be incorrect, as according to §§ 15, 16, this is in north-east Khurâsân, and too far from Aîrân-vêg in Âtarô-pâtakân (Âdar-bîgân), see Chap. XXIX, 12. Justi proposes to read Gurgistân (Georgia), and identifies the Dâîtîk with the Araxes. But, adhering to the text of K20, the Dâîtîk rises in Âdar-bîgân and departs through a hill-country, a description applicable, not only to the Araxes, but also more particularly to the Safêd Rûd or white river; although this river seems to be mentioned again as the Spêd or Spend river in § 23.

[2] Written Zôndak in § 7. This can hardly be the Zendah river of Ispahan, but is probably the Tegend river, which flows past Meshhed into the Heri river.

[3] This is the Heri, which flows past Herat.

[4] See Chap. XII, 9.

[5] The Etymander of classical writers, now the Hêlmand in Afghânistân. The Av. Haêtumat of Vend. I, 50, XIX, 130, Zamyâd Yt. 66, is the name of the country through which it flows.

[6] See § 34 and Chap. XXI, 6.

[7] The district about Dâmaghân.

[8] Perhaps the Zarafsân.

tion of Soghd, flows away towards the Khvegand river. 20. The Khvegand[1] river goes on through the midst of Samarkand *and* Pargâna, and they call it also the river Ashârd. 21. The Marv[2] river, a glorious river in the east[3], flows out from the Apârsên range. 22. The Balkh river comes out *from* the Apârsên mountain of Bâmîkân[4], *and* flows on to the Vêh[5] river. 23. The Spêd[6] river is in Âtarôpâtakân; they say that Dahâk begged a favour[7] here from Aharman and the demons. 24. The Tort[8] river, which they call also the Koir, comes out from

[1] This is evidently not the small affluent now called the Khugand, but the great Syr-darya or Iaxartes, which flows through the provinces of Farghânah and Samarkand, past Kokand, Khugand, and Tashkand, into the Aral. The Pâz. Ashârd represents Pahl. Khshârt, or Ashârt (Iaxartes).

[2] The Murghâb.

[3] Or, 'in Khûrâsân.'

[4] Bâmian, near which the river of Balkh has its source.

[5] Justi observes that it should be 'the Arag river;' but according to an Armenian writer of the seventh century the Persians called the Oxus the Vêh river, and considered it to be in India, because Buddhists occupied the country on its banks (see Garrez in Journal Asiatique for 1869, pp. 161–198). It would seem, therefore, that the Oxus was sometimes (or in early times) considered a part of the Arag (Araxes), and sometimes (or in later times) a part of the Vêh (Indus).

[6] So in M6, but K20 has 'Spend,' both here and in § 7. The name of this river corresponds with that of the Safêd Rûd, although the position of that river agrees best with the account given of the Dâîtîk in § 13.

[7] Compare Râm Yt. 19, 20. K20 has 'there,' instead of 'here.'

[8] Called Rad in § 7 (by the loss of the first letter of the original Pahlavi name); by its alternative name, Koir, Justi identifies it as the Kûr in Georgia, flowing into the Caspian, or sea of Vergân, the Av. Vehrkâna (Hyrcania) of Vend. I, 42, which is Gûrgân in Pahlavi.

the sea of Gîklân[1], *and* flows to the sea of Vergân[2]. 25. The Zahâvayi[3] is the river *which* comes out from Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* flows to the sea in Pârs. 26. The sources of the Khvaraê[4] river are from Spâhân[5]; it passes on through Khûgîstân, flows forth to the Diglat[6] river, and in Spâhân they call it the Mesrkân[7] river. 27. The Harhaz[8] river is in Taparîstân, and its sources are from Mount Dimâvand. 28. The Teremet[9] river flows away to the Vêh river. 29. The Vendeses[10] river is in *that part of* Pârs which they call Sagastân. 30. The Kâsak[11] river comes out through a ravine (kâf) in the province of Tûs[12], and they call it there the Kasp river; more-

[1] M6 has Pâz. Keyâseh, but this is in Sagastân (see Chap. XIII, 16).

[2] The MSS. have Vergâ, but the final nasal after â is often omitted in Pâzand readings in the Bundahiś.

[3] Not mentioned in § 7. Possibly one of the rivers Zâb, which rise on the borders of Âdarbîgân, flow into the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf, the sea on the coast of Pârs. Or it may be the Shirvân, another affluent of the Tigris, which flows through the district of Zohab.

[4] The Kuran, upon which the town of Shûstar was founded by one of the early Sasanian kings, who also dug a canal, east of the town, so as to form a loop branch of the river; this canal was called Nahr-i Masrûqân by Oriental geographers (see Rawlinson, Journal Roy. Geogr. Soc. vol. ix. pp. 73–75).

[5] Ispahân in Persian.

[6] Miswritten Dayrid in Pâzand (see § 12).

[7] Written in Pâzand without the final n, as usual. This is the old name of the canal forming the eastern branch of the Kuran at Shûstar; it is now called Âb-i Gargar.

[8] Flows into the Caspian near Amûl.

[9] Probably the river which flows into the Âmû (Oxus) at Tarmaz; but, in that case, the Oxus is here again identified with the Vêh (Indus) as in § 22, instead of the Arag (Araxes) as in § 8.

[10] Called Khvanaîdiś, or Khvanaînidiś, in § 7.

[11] Called Kâsîk in § 7.

[12] Close to Meshhed.

over, the river, which is there the Vêh, they call the Kâsak[1]; even in Sînd they call *it* the Kâsak. 31. The Pê*d*âk-mîyân[2], which is the river *K*atru-mîyân, is that which is in Kangde*z*[3]. 32. The Dâra*g*a river is in Aîrân-vê*g*, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratû*s*t[4]. 33. The other innumerable waters and rivers, springs *and* channels are one in origin with those[5]; so in various districts *and* various places they call *them* by various names.

34. Regarding Frâsîyâ*v*[6] they say, that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea Kyânsîh[7], suitable for horses, suitable for camels, suitable for oxen, suitable for asses, both great and small[8]; and he conducted the spring Zarînmand (or golden source), which is the Hêtûmand[9] river they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the source of the Va*k*aêni[10] river into the same sea, *and* made men settle *there*.

[1] Or, 'this same Vêh river they call there the Kâsak; even in Sênî they call *it* the Kâsak;' Sênî is apt to be miswritten Sênd or Sînd (see Chap. XV, 29).

[2] See § 7. The latter half of both names can also be read mâhan, mâhô, or mahân. Pêshyôtan, son of Vi*s*tâsp, seems to have taken a surname from this river (see Chap. XXIX, 5).

[3] See Chap. XXIX, 10.

[4] See Chaps. XXIV, 15, XXXII, 1, 2.

[5] Or, 'are from those as a source.'

[6] The MSS. have 'Pôrûshasp,' but compare § 17 and Chap. XXI, 6. The two names are somewhat alike in Pahlavi writing.

[7] See Chap. XIII, 16.

[8] Compare Chap. XIX, 6. K20 omits the words 'suitable for asses' here.

[9] Another Hêtûmand according to § 17. Possibly a dried-up bed of that river.

[10] K20 has Vataêni; *k* and t being much alike in Pâzand. The

CHAPTER XXI[1].

1. In revelation they mention seventeen[2] species of liquid (mayâ), as one liquid resides in plants[3]; second, that which is flowing from the mountains, that is, the rivers; third, that which is rain-water; fourth, that of tanks *and* other special *constructions;* fifth, the semen of animals and men; sixth, the urine of animals and men[4]; seventh, the sweat of animals and men; the eighth liquid is that in the skin of animals and men; ninth, the tears of animals and men; tenth, the blood of animals and men; eleventh, the oil in animals and men, a necessary in both worlds[5]; twelfth, the saliva of animals and men, with which they nourish the embryo[6]; the thirteenth is that which is under the bark[7] of plants, as it is said that every bark has a liquid, through which a drop *appears* on a twig (têkh) *when placed* four finger-breadths before a fire[8]; fourteenth, the milk of animals and men. 2. All these, through growth, or

'navigable (nâvtâk) waters' may be 'the Nâvadâ river' of § 7, 'the river Nâhvtâk' of Chap. XXI, 6, and Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

[1] This chapter is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

[2] Only fourteen are mentioned in the details which follow.

[3] Most of these details are derived from the Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 7–9, 13, 14; and several varieties of water are also described in Yas. LXVII, 15.

[4] This sixth liquid is omitted by K20.

[5] Departed souls are said to be fed with oil in paradise.

[6] K20 omits the word pûs, 'embryo.'

[7] The meaning 'bark' for Pâz. ayvan is merely a guess; Anquetil has 'sap' (compare Pers. âvînâ, 'juice'), but this is hardly consistent with the rest of the sentence.

[8] See Chap. XXVII, 25.

the body which is formed, mingle again with the rivers, for the body which is formed *and* the growth are both one.

3. This, too, they say, that of these three rivers, that is, the Arag river, the Marv river, *and* the Vêh[1] river, the spirits were dissatisfied, so that they would not flow into the world, owing to the defilement of stagnant water (armêst) which they beheld, so that they were in tribulation through it until Zaratûst was exhibited to them, whom I (Aûharmazd) will create, who *will* pour sixfold holy-water (zôr) into it *and* make *it* again wholesome; he will preach carefulness[2]. 4. This, too, it says, that, of water whose holy-water is more and pollution less, the holy-water has come in excess, *and* in three years it goes back to the sources[3]; *that* of which the pollution *and* holy-water have both become equal, arrives back in six years; *that* of which the pollution is more and holy-water less, arrives back in nine years. 5. So, also, the growth of plants is connected, in this manner, strongly with the root[4]; so, likewise, the blessings (âfrîn) which the righteous utter, come back, in this proportion, to themselves.

6. Regarding the river Nâhvtâk[5] it says, that Frâsîyâv of Tûr conducted it away; *and* when[6]

[1] K20 has 'Hêtûmand,' but M6 has 'Sapîr,' the Huz. equivalent of 'Vêh,' which is more probable.

[2] Or, 'abstinence *from impurity*.'

[3] The source Arêdvîvsûr (see Chap. XIII, 3, 10).

[4] That is, by the sap circulating like the waters of the earth. The greater part of this sentence is omitted in K20.

[5] Probably 'the Nâvadâ' and 'navigable waters' of Chap. XX, 7, 34, and Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

[6] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

Hûshêdar[1] comes it *will* flow again suitable for horses; so, also, *will* the fountains of the sea Kyânsîh[2]. 7. Kyânsîh[2] is the one where the home (*g*înâk) of the Kayân race is.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. On the nature of lakes it says in revelation, that thus many fountains of waters have come into notice, which they call lakes (var); counterparts of the eyes (*k*ashm) of men are those fountains (*k*ashmak) of waters; such as Lake *K*ê*k*ast, Lake Sôvbar, Lake Khvârizem[3], Lake Frazdân, Lake Zarînmand, Lake Âsvast, Lake Husru, Lake Satavês, Lake Urvis.

2. I *will* mention them also a second time: Lake *K*ê*k*ast[4] is in Âtarô-pâtakân, warm is the water *and* opposed to harm, so that nothing whatever is living in *it;* and its source is connected with the wide-formed ocean[5]. 3. Lake Sôvbar is in the upper district and country on the summit of the mountain of Tûs[6]; as it says, that the Sû*d*-bâhar[7] ('share of benefit') is propitious and good from which abound-

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[1] Written Khûrshêdar, as usual in Bundahi*s* (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

[2] Written Kayâseh in Pâzand (see Chap. XIII, 16).

[3] Pâz. Khvârazm both here and in § 4.

[4] Av. *K*aê*k*asta of Âbân Yt. 49, Gô*s* Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, Sîrôz. 9. The present Lake Urumiyah in Âdarbî*g*ân, which is called Khe*g*est, or *K*e*g*est, by 'Hamdu-l-lâh Mustaûfî.

[5] Implying that the water is salt.

[6] The Kôndrâsp mountain (see Chap. XII, 24). This lake is probably a small sheet of water on the mountains near Meshhed.

[7] Evidently a punning etymology of the name of this lake.

ing liberality is produced. 4. Regarding Lake Khvârizem[1] it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, *that is*, Arshisang[2] the rich in wealth, the well-portioned *with* abounding pleasure. 5. Lake Frazdân[3] is in Sagastân; they say, where a generous man, *who is* righteous, throws anything into it, it receives *it;* when not righteous, it throws *it* out again; its source also is connected with the wide-formed *ocean.* 6. Lake Zarînmand is in Hamadân[4]. 7. Regarding Lake Âsvast it is declared that the undefiled[5] water which it contains is always constantly flowing into the sea, so bright and copious[6] that *one* might say that the sun had come into it *and* looked at Lake Âsvast, into that water which is requisite for restoring the dead in the renovation *of the universe.* 8. Lake Husru[7] is within fifty[8]

[1] The province of Khvârizem was between the Aral and Caspian, along the ancient course of the Oxus (see Chap. XVII, 5). This lake has been identified with the Aral.

[2] Av. ashis vanguhi, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel whose praises are celebrated in the Ashi Yast; in later times she has been considered as the angel dispensing wealth and possessions. She is also called Ard (Av. areta, which is synonymous with asha), see Chap. XXVII, 24.

[3] The 'Frazdânava water' of Âbân Yt. 108 and Farhang-i Oîmkhadûk, p. 17. Justi identifies it with the Âb-istâdah ('standing water') lake, south of Ghaznî. It is here represented as a salt lake.

[4] K20 adds, 'they say.' This lake cannot be the spring Zarînmand of Chap. XX, 34.

[5] Pâz. avnasti transcribed into Pahlavi is avinastag, 'unspoiled,' the equivalent of Av. anâhita in Yas. LXIV, 1, 16, Visp. I, 18.

[6] K20 has 'glorious' as a gloss to 'copious.'

[7] The Av. Haosravangha of Sîroz. 9, 'the lake which is named Husravau' of Zamyâd Yt. 56. It may be either Lake Van or Lake Sevan, which are nearly equidistant from Lake Urumiyah.

[8] M6 has 'four leagues.'

leagues (parasang) of Lake *K*ê*k*ast. 9. Lake (or, rather, Gulf) Satavês[1] is that *already* written *about*, between the wide-formed ocean *and* the Pûtîk. 10. It is said that in Kamîndân is an abyss (zafar), from which everything they throw in always comes *back*, and it *will* not receive it unless alive (*g*ânvar); when they throw a living creature into it, it carries *it* down; men say that a fountain from hell is in it. 11. Lake Urvis is on Hûgar the lofty[2].

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. On the nature of the ape *and* the bear they say, that Yim, when reason (nismô) departed from him[3], for fear of the demons took a demoness as wife, and gave Yimak, who was *his* sister, to a demon as wife; and from them have originated the tailed ape and bear *and* other species of degeneracy.

2. This, too, they say, that in the reign of A*z*-i Dahâk[4] a young woman was admitted to a demon, and a young man was admitted to a witch (parîk), and on seeing them they had intercourse; owing to that one intercourse the black-skinned negro arose from them. 3. When Frê*d*ûn[5] came to them they fled from the country of Iran, *and* settled upon the sea-coast; now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they are again diffused through the country of Iran.

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[1] See Chap. XIII, 9–13.

[2] See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 4.

[3] See Chap. XXXIV, 4. This is the Jamshêd of the Shâh-nâmah. Perhaps for 'reason' we should read 'glory.'

[4] See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

[5] See Chap. XXXIV, 6.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing it says in revelation, that first of the human species Gâyômar*d* was produced, brilliant and white, with eyes which looked out for the great *one*, him who *was* here the Zaratûstrôtûm (chief high-priest); the chieftainship of all things was from Zaratûst[1]. 2. The white ass-goat[2], which holds *its* head down, is the chief of goats, the first of those species created[3]. 3. The black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep; it was the first of those species created[3]. 4. The camel with white-haired knees *and* two humps is the chief of camels. 5. First the black-haired ox with yellow knees was created; he is the chief of oxen. 6. First the dazzling white (arûs) horse, with yellow ears, glossy hair, *and* white eyes, was produced; he is the chief of horses. 7. The white, cat-footed[4] ass is the chief of asses. 8. First of dogs the fair (arûs) dog with yellow hair was produced; he is the chief of dogs. 9. The hare was produced brown

[1] So in all MSS., but by reading mûn, 'who,' instead of min, 'from,' we should have, 'him who *was* here the chief high-priest *and* chieftainship of all things, who was Zaratûst.' The Pahlavi Visp. I, 1, gives the following list of chiefs: 'The chief of spirits is Aûharmazd, the chief of worldly existences is Zaratûst, the chief of water-creatures is the Kar-fish, the chief of *land*-animals is the ermine, the chief of flying-creatures is the Kar*s*ipt, the chief of the wide-travellers is the . . . , the chief of those suitable for grazing is the ass-goat.'

[2] See Chap. XIV, 14.

[3] It is doubtful whether the phrase, 'the first of those species created,' belongs to this sentence or the following one.

[4] Or, 'cat-legged.'

(bûr); he is the chief of the wide-travellers. 10. Those beasts which have no dread whatever of the hand are evil. 11. First of birds the griffon of three natures[1] was created, not for here (this world), for the Karsipt[2] is the chief, which they call the falcon (*k*ark), that which revelation says was brought to the enclosure formed by Yim. 12. First of fur animals the white ermine was produced; he is the chief of fur animals; as it says that *it is* the white ermine which came unto the assembly of the archangels. 13. The Kar-fish, *or* Ariz[3], is the chief of the water-creatures. 14. The Dâîtîk[4] river is the chief of streams. 15. The Dâraga[5] river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of the father of Zaratûst was on its banks[6], *and* Zaratûst was born there. 16. The hoary forest[7] is the chief of forests. 17. Hûgar the lofty[8], on which the water of Arêdvîvsûr flows *and* leaps, is the chief of summits, since *it is that* above which is the revolution of the constellation Satavês[9], the chief of reser-

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[1] The Sîmurgh (see § 29 and Chap. XIV, 11, 23, 24). In Mkh. LXII, 37–39, it is mentioned as follows: 'And Sînamrû's resting-place is on the tree which is opposed to harm, of all seeds; and always when he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom.'

[2] See Chap. XIX, 16. In § 29 *K*amrôs is said to be the chief.

[3] See Chaps. XIV, 12, 26, XVIII, 3–6.

[4] See Chap. XX, 13.

[5] See Chap. XX, 32.

[6] The MSS. have 'in Balkh' instead of 'on the banks.'

[7] The arûs-i razur is the Av. spaêtitem razurem of Râm Yt. 31.

[8] See Chap. XII, 5.

[9] See Chap. II, 7.

voirs[1]. 18. The Hôm which is out-squeezed is the chief of medicinal plants[2]. 19. Wheat is the chief of large-seeded[3] grains. 20. The desert wormwood is the chief of unmedicinal[4] *plants*. 21. The summer vetch, which they also call 'pag' (gâvirs), is the chief of small-seeded grains[5]. 22. The Kûstîk (sacred thread-girdle) is the chief of clothes. 23. The Bâzâyvâna[6] is the chief of seas. 24. Of two men, when they come forward together, the wiser and more truthful is chief.

25. This, too, it says in revelation, that Aûharmazd created the whole material world one abode, so that all may be one; for there is much splendour and glory of industry in the world. 26. Whatsoever he performs, who practises that which is good, is the value of the water of life[7]; since water is not created alike[8] in value, for the undefiled water of Arêdvîvsûr is worth the whole water of the sky and earth of Khvanîras[9], except the Arag river[10], created by Aûharmazd. 27. Of trees the myrtle *and* date,

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[1] The meaning of Pâz. gobarâ is doubtful, but it is here taken as standing for Pahl. gôbalân, equivalent to the plural of Pers. gôl or kôl, 'a reservoir;' Satavês being a specially 'watery' constellation (see Tîstar Yt. 0). Justi traces gobarân to Av. gufra, and translates it by 'protecting *stars*.'

[2] Pâz. khvad and ba*k*agâ evidently stand for Pahl. hû*d* (Av. huta) and be*z*ashk.

[3] Compare Av. a*s*-dânunãm-*k*a yavananãm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

[4] Pâz. aba*k*agâ stands for Pahl. abe*z*ashk.

[5] Compare Av. kasu-dânunãm-*k*a vâstranãm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

[6] Justi identifies this with Lake Van, but perhaps Lake Sevan may be meant.

[7] Or, 'its value is water.' K20 omits the word 'water.'

[8] Reading ham instead of hamâk, 'all.'

[9] See Chap. XI, 2–6.

[10] See Chap. XX, 8.

on which *model*, it is said, trees were formed, are worth all the trees of Khvanîras, except the Gôkar*d* tree[1] with which they restore the dead.

28. Of mountains Mount Apârsên's beginning is *in* Sagastân *and* end in Khûgîstân, some say *it is* all the mountains of Pârs, *and* is chief of all mountains except Albûr*z*. 29. Of birds *K*amrô*s*[2] is chief, who is worth all the birds in Khvanîras, except the griffon of three natures. 30. The conclusion is this, that every one who performs a great duty has then much value.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. On matters of religion[3] it says in revelation thus: 'The creatures of the world were created by me complete in three hundred and sixty-five days,' that is, the six periods of the Gâhanbârs which are completed in a year. 2. It is always necessary first to count the day *and* afterwards the night, for first the day goes off, *and* then the night comes on[4]. 3. And from the season (gâs) of Mê*d*ôk-shêm[5],

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[1] See Chap. XVIII, 1–4.

[2] See Chap. XIX, 15, where it is written *K*âmrô*s*. This § is at variance with § 11, which gives the chieftainship to Kar*s*ipt.

[3] That is, 'on the *periods for* observance of religious duties.'

[4] The Jewish and Muhammadan practice is just the contrary.

[5] The Av. maidhyô-shema of Yas. I, 27, II, 36, III, 41, Visp. I, 3, II, 1, Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr 2, 8. It is the second season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 105th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midsummer, according to the Bundahi*s*. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of water.

which is the auspicious[1] day Khûr of the month Tîr[2], to the season of Mêdîyârêm[3], which is the

[1] A dispute as to the meaning of this word formed no small part of the Kabîsah controversy, carried on between the leaders of the two rival sects of Parsis in Bombay about fifty years ago. Dastur Edalji Dârâbji, the high-priest of the predominant sect (who adhered to the traditional calendar of the Indian Parsis), insisted that it meant 'solar,' or 'belonging to the calendar rectified for solar time by the intercalation of a month every 120 years;' Mullâ Fîrûz, the high-priest of the new sect (who had adopted the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which is one month in advance of the other), asserted that the word had no connection with intercalation, but meant 'commencing,' or 'pertaining to New-year's day,' as translated into Sanskrit, by Nêryôsang, in Mkh. XLIX, 27. Anquetil translates it either as 'inclusive' or 'complete;' Windischmann simply skips it over; and Justi translates it everywhere as 'inclusive.' Dastur Edalji reads the word vehîgakî or vehîgak; Nêryôsang has vahêza; Mullâ Fîrûz reads nâîkakîk in the Bundahis, but vêhîgakîk in the Dînkard, where the word also occurs; Justi has nâîkakîk. The meaning 'inclusive' suits the context in nearly all cases in the Bundahis, but not elsewhere; if it had that meaning the most probable reading would be vikhêgakîk or nikhêgakîk, 'arising, leaping over, including.' It is nearly always used in connection with dates or periods of time, and must be some epithet of a very general character, not only applicable to intercalary periods, but also to New-year's day and dates in general; something like the Arabic epithet mubârak, 'fortunate,' so commonly used in Persian dates. Dastur Edalji compares it with Pers. bîhrak or bihtarak, 'intercalary month,' which is probably a corruption of it; and this suggests veh, 'good,' as one component of the epithet. The word may be read veh-yazakîk, 'for reverencing the good,' but as veh, 'good,' is an adjective, this would be an irregular form; a more probable reading is veh-îkakîk, 'for anything good,' which, when applied to a day, or any period of time, would imply that it is suitable for anything good, that is, it is 'auspicious.' Sometimes the word is written vehîkak, vêhîkakîk, or vêhîkŏ; and epithets of similar forms in Pahlavi are applied by the writers of colophons to themselves, but these should be read vakhêzak or nisîvak, 'lowly, abject.'

[2] The eleventh day of the fourth month, when the festival commences.

[3] The Av. maidhyâirya of Yas. I, 30, II, 39, III, 44, Visp. I,

auspicious day Vâhrâm of the month Dîn[1]—the short*est* day—the night increases; and from the season of Mê*d*îyârêm to the season of Mê*d*ôk-shêm the night decreases *and* the day increases. 4. The summer day is as much as two of the shortest[2] winter days, *and* the winter night is as much as two of the shortest summer nights[3]. 5. The summer day is twelve Hâsars, the night six Hâsars; the winter night is twelve Hâsars, the day six; a Hâsar *being* a *measure of* time *and*, in like manner, of land[4]. 6. In the season of Hamêspamadâyêm[5], that is, the

6, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 11. It is the fifth season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 290th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midwinter, according to the Bundahi*s*. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of animals.

[1] The twentieth day of the tenth month, when the festival ends.

[2] The word kah-aît is merely a hybrid Huzvâri*s* form of kahist, 'shortest,' which occurs in the next phrase.

[3] This statement must be considered merely as an approximation. The longest day is twice the length of the shortest one in latitude 49°, that is, north of Paris, Vienna, and Odessa, if the length of the day be computed from sunrise to sunset; and, if twilight be included, it is necessary to go still further north. In Âdarbî*g*ân, the northern province of Persia, the longest day is about 14½ hours from sunrise to sunset, and the shortest is about 9½ hours.

[4] According to this passage a hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes; it is the Av. hâthra of the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 43, ed. Hoshangji), which says, 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day, *and* the day *and* night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least—an enumeration of the several measures of the Hâsar.' For the hâsar measure of land, see Chap. XXVI.

[5] So in K20, but this name is rarely written twice alike; it is the Av. hamaspathmaêdaya of Yas. I, 31, II, 40, III, 45, Visp. I, 7, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 12. It is the sixth season-festival, held on the five Gâtha days which conclude the Parsi year, just before

five *supplementary* days at the end of the month Spendarma*d*, the day *and* night are again equal.

7. As from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Fravar*d*în to the auspicious day Anîrân of the month Mitrô[1] is the summer of seven months, *so* from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Âvân to the auspicious month Spendarma*d*, on to the end of the five *supplementary* days[2], is the winter of five months. 8. The priest fulfils the regulation (va*k*ar) about a corpse *and* other things, by this calculation as to summer and winter. 9. In those seven months[3] of summer the periods (gâs) of the days and nights are five—since *one* celebrates the Rapîtvîn—namely, the period of daybreak is Hâvan, the period of midday is Rapîtvîn, the period of afternoon is Aûzêrîn, when the appearance of the stars *has* come into the sky[4] until midnight is the period of Aîbisrûtêm, from midnight until the stars become imperceptible is the period of Aûshahîn[5]. 10. In winter are four periods, for *from* daybreak till Aûzêrîn is all Hâvan, *and* the rest as I *have* said; and the reason of it is this, that the appearance[6] of winter is in the direction of the

the vernal equinox, according to the Bundahi*s*. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of man.

[1] That is, from the first day of the first month to the last day of the seventh month.

[2] That is, from the first day of the eighth month to the last of the five Gâtha days, which are added to the twelfth month to complete the year of 365 days.

[3] All MSS. have 'five months' here.

[4] K20 has 'when the stars *have* come into sight.'

[5] The Avesta names of the five Gâhs are Hâvani, Rapithwina, Uzayêirina, Aiwisrûthrema, and Ushahina.

[6] Pâz. ashâri*s* is evidently a misreading of Pahl. âshkârîh.

north, where the regions Vôrûbar*s*t[1] and Vôrû*g*ar*s*t are; the original dwelling of summer, too, is in the south, where the regions Frada*d*afsh *and* Vîda*d*afsh are; on the day Aûharmazd of the auspicious month Âvân the winter acquires strength *and* enters into the world, *and* the spirit of Rapîtvîn goes from above-ground to below-ground, where the spring (khânî) of waters is, *and* diffuses[2] warmth and moisture in the water, *and* so many roots of trees do not wither with cold and drought. 11. And *on* the auspicious day Âtarô of the month Dîn[3] the winter arrives, with much cold, at Aîrân-vê*g*; *and* until the end, in the auspicious month Spendarma*d*, winter advances through the whole world; on this account they kindle a fire everywhere *on* the day Âtarô of the month Dîn, *and* it forms an indication that winter *has* come. 12. In those five months the water of springs *and* conduits is all warm[4], for Rapîtvîn keeps warmth *and* moisture there, *and one* does not celebrate the period of Rapîtvîn. 13. As the day Aûharmazd of the month Fravar*d*în advances it diminishes the strength which winter possesses, *and* summer comes in from its own original dwelling, *and* receives strength *and* dominion. 14. Rapîtvîn comes up from below-ground, *and* ripens the fruit of the trees; on this account

[1] See Chaps. V, 8, XI, 3. The north, being opposed to the south or midday quarter, is opposed to the midday period of Rapîtvîn, which, therefore, disappears as winter approaches from the north.

[2] If, instead of khânî for khânîk, 'spring,' we read ahû-i, 'lord of,' the translation will be, 'so that the angel of waters may diffuse,' &c.

[3] The ninth day of the tenth month.

[4] That is, warmer than the air, as it is cooler in summer.

the water of springs is cold in summer[1], for Rapîtvîn is not there; *and* those seven[2] months *one* celebrates the Rapîtvîn, *and* summer advances through the whole earth. 15. And yet in the direction of Hindûstân, there *where* the original dwelling of summer is nearer, it is always neither cold nor hot; for in the season which is the dominion of summer, the rain always dispels most of the heat, *and* it does not become perceptible; in the winter rain does not fall, *and* the cold does not become very perceptible[3]. 16. In the northern direction, where the preparation of winter is, *it is* always cold[4]; for in the summer mostly, on account of the more oppressive winter there, it is not possible so to dispel the cold that *one* might make *it* quite warm. 17. In the middle localities the cold of winter *and* heat of summer *both* come on vehemently.

18. Again, the year *dependent* on the revolving moon is not equal to the computed year on this account, for the moon[5] returns one time in twenty-nine, *and* one time in thirty *days*, and there are four

[1] K20 has 'winter' by mistake.

[2] K20 has 'six,' and M6 'five,' instead of 'seven.'

[3] This is a fairly accurate account of the effect of the monsoons over the greater part of India, as understood by a foreigner unacquainted with the different state of matters in a large portion of the Madras provinces.

[4] M6 has khûrâsân instead of ârâyisn, 'preparation,' which alters the sense into 'that is, Khûrâsân, of which the winter is always cold.'

[5] The MSS. have the Huzvâris term for 'month,' which is sometimes used, by mistake, for 'moon.' It is doubtful which word the author intended to use here, but it is usual to count the days of a lunar month from the first actual appearance of the new moon, which usually occurs a full day after the change of the moon.

hours (zamân) more than such a one of its *years*[1]; as it says, that every one deceives where they speak about the moon (or month), except when they say that it *comes* twice in sixty days. 19. Whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer[2].

20. This, *too*, *it says*, that the auspicious month Fravar*d*în, the month Ar*d*avahi*s*t, *and* the month Horvada*d*[3] are spring; the month Tîr, the month Amerôda*d*, *and* the month Shatvaîrô are summer; the month Mitrô, the month Âvân, *and* the month Âtarô are autumn; the month Dîn, the month Vohûman, *and* the month Spendarma*d* are winter[4]. 21. And the sun comes from the sign (khûr*d*ak) of Aries, into which it proceeded in the beginning, back to that *same* place in three hundred and sixty-five days and six short times (hours), which are one year. 22. As every three months it (the sun) advances through three constellations, more or less, the moon comes, in a hundred and eighty days, back to the place out of which it travelled in the beginning[5].

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[1] Meaning, probably, that the lunar year is four hours more than twelve months of 29 and 30 days each, alternately. It should be 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 37 seconds. The sentence seems defective, but it is evident from § 21 that zamân means 'hour.'

[2] That is, the lunar year being eleven days shorter than the solar one, its months are constantly retrograding through the seasons.

[3] Generally written Avardâ*d* in Pâzand, and Khurdâd in Persian.

[4] The names of the months are selected from the names of the days of the month (see Chap. XXVII, 24), but are arranged in a totally different order.

[5] Probably meaning, that the new moon next the autumnal

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. A Hâsar[1] on the ground is a Parasang of one thousand steps of the two feet. 2. A Parasang[2] is a measure as much as a far-seeing man may look out, see a beast *of burden, and* make known that *it* is black or white. 3. And the measure of a man is eight medium spans[3].

equinox is to be looked for in the same quarter as the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, the moon's declination being nearly the same in both cases.

[1] Av. hâthra of Vend. II, 65, VIII, 280, 287, 291, Tîstar Yt. 23, 29. The statements regarding the length of a Hâsar are rather perplexing, for we are told that it 'is like a Parasang' (Chap. XIV, 4), that 'the length of a Hâsar is one-fourth of a Parasang' (Chap. XVI, 7), and that 'a medium Hâsar on the ground, which they also call a Parasang, is a thousand steps of the two feet when walking with propriety' (Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hosh. p. 42). To reconcile these statements we must conclude that the Hâsar is like a Parasang merely in the sense of being a long measure of distance, that it is really the mille passus or mile of the Romans, and that it is a quarter of the actual Parasang. At the same time, as it was usual to call a Hâsar by the name of a Parasang, we are often left in doubt whether a mile or a league is meant, when a Hâsar or Parasang is mentioned. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) also mentions other measures of distance, such as the ta*k*ar (Av. ta*k*ara) of two Hâsars, the asvâst (or aêast) of four Hâsars, the dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) of eight Hâsars, and the yô*g*êst (Av. yi*g*aiasti or yu*g*aiasti) of sixteen Hâsars.

[2] A Parasang is usually from 3½ to 4 English miles, but perhaps a Hâsar is meant here.

[3] Reading vitast-i miyânak instead of vitast damânak. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) mentions three kinds of spans, the Av. vitasti (Vend. VIII, 243, 245, XVII, 13) of twelve finger-breadths (angûst), or about 9 inches, which is a full span between the thumb and little finger (the one mentioned in the text); the Av. di*s*ti (Vend. XVII, 13) of ten finger-breadths, or about 7½ inches, which is a span between the thumb and middle finger; and the

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CHAPTER XXVII.

1. On the nature of plants it says in revelation, that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it; and, afterwards, when the destroyer came, it became coated with bark *and* thorny[1], for antagonism mingled with every single thing; owing to that cause vegetation is also much mixed with poison, like Bîs the height of hemp (kand)[2], that is poisonous, for men when they eat *it* die.

2. In like manner even as the animals, with grain of fifty and five species *and* twelve species of medicinal plants, have arisen from the primeval ox[3], ten thousand[4] species among the species of principal

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Av. uzasti (Pahl. lâlâ-ast) of eight finger-breadths, or about 6 inches, which is a span between the thumb and fore-finger. Other measures mentioned by the same authority are the pâî (Av. padha, Vend. IX, 15, 20, 29), 'foot,' of fourteen finger-breadths, or about 10½ inches; the gâm (Av. gâya, Vend. III, 57, &c.), 'step,' which 'in the Vendîdâd is three pâî,' or about 2 feet 7½ inches, 'and in other places is said *to be* two frârâst' (Av. frârâthni in Vend. VII, 76, 79, 87); so the frârâst, which is probably the distance from the neck to the extended elbow, is half a gâm, or from 15 to 16 inches. Two other measures are mentioned in Vend. VII, 79, 87, 90, IX, 8, the Av. frâbâzu, 'fore-arm or cubit' from elbow to finger-ends, which is about 18 inches (or it may be a half fathom); and Av. vîbâzu, which is probably the 'fathom,' or extent of the two arms out-stretched, from 5½ to 6 feet.

[1] M6 has 'poisonous,' but is evidently copied from an original almost illegible in some places.

[2] Perhaps 'hemp the height of Bîs' would better express the Pahlavi words, but Bîs (Napellus Moysis) is often mentioned as a poisonous plant. The phrase may also be translated 'like Bîs *and* tall hemp.'

[3] See Chap. XIV, 1.

[4] M6 has 'a thousand,' but marks an omission. See Chap. IX, 4.

plants, *and* a hundred thousand species among *ordinary* plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm[1], the many-seeded, *which* has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird[2] strips that tree *and* mingles all the seeds in the water; Tîstar seizes *them* with the rain-water *and* rains *them on* to *all* regions. 4. Near to that tree the white Hôm, the healing and undefiled, has grown at the source of the water of Arêdvîvsûr[3]; every one who eats *it* becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkar*d*[4] tree, as it is said that Hôm is expelling death[5]; also in the renovation *of the universe* they prepare its immortality therefrom[6]; *and* it is the chief of plants[7].

5. These are as many genera of plants as exist: trees and shrubs, fruit-*trees*, corn, flowers, aromatic herbs, salads, spices, grass, wild plants, medicinal

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[1] See Chaps. IX, 5, XVIII, 9, XXIX, 5.

[2] The apparently contradictory account in Chap. IX, 2, refers only to the first production of material plants from their spiritual or ideal representative. The bird here mentioned is *K*amrôs (see Chaps. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29), as appears from the following passage (Mkh. LXII, 40–42): 'And the bird *K*amrôs for ever sits *in* that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is opposed to harm, and conveys *it* there where Tîstar seizes the water, so that Tîstar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain *it* on the world with the rain.'

[3] See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 3–5.

[4] Here written Gôkarn in all MSS. See Chaps. IX, 6, XVIII, 1, 2.

[5] That is, in Yas. IX, where Haoma is entitled dûraosha.

[6] See Chap. XXIV, 27.

[7] See Chap. XXIV, 18.

plants, gum *plants*, *and* all producing[1] oil, dyes, *and* clothing. 6. I *will* mention them also a second time: all whose fruit is not welcome as food of men, *and* are perennial (sâlvâr), as the cypress, the plane, the white poplar, the box, and others of this genus, they call trees and shrubs (dâr va dirakht). 7. The produce of everything welcome as food of men, *that* is perennial, as the date, the myrtle, the lote-plum[2], the grape, the quince, the apple, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the almond, *and* others in this genus, they call fruit (mîvak). 8. Whatever requires labour with the spade[3], *and* is perennial, they call a shrub (dirakht). 9. Whatever requires that they take its crop through labour, *and its* root withers away, such as wheat, barley, grain, various kinds[4] of pulse, vetches, *and* others of this genus, they call corn (*g*ûr*d*âk). 10. Every *plant with* fragrant leaves, *which* is cultivated by the hand-labour of men, *and* is perennial (hamvâr), they call an aromatic herb (siparam). 11. Whatever sweet-scented blossom arises *at* various seasons through the hand-labour of men, or has a perennial root *and* blossoms in *its* season *with* new shoots *and* sweet-scented blossoms, as the rose, the narcissus, the jasmine, the dog-rose (nêstarûn),

[1] Comparing this list with the subsequent repetition it appears probable that hamâk barâ is a corruption of aesam bôd (see §§ 19, 21), and that we ought to read 'gum *plants*, woods, scents, *and plants* for oil, dyes, *and* clothing.' M6 has 'oil *and* dyes for clothing.'

[2] The kûnâr (see Chap. XV, 13).

[3] The Pâz. pêhani (which is omitted in K20) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. pashang, 'a hoe-like spade.'

[4] M6 adds Pâz. gavina (Pahl. gûnak) to gvî*d* gvî*d* mungân, without altering the meaning materially.

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the tulip, the colocynth (kavastîk), the pandanus (kêdi), the *k*amba, the ox-eye (hêri), the crocus, the swallow-wort (zarda), the violet, the kârda, *and* others of this genus, they call a flower (gûl). 12. Everything whose sweet-scented fruit, or sweet-scented blossom, arises in *its* season, without the hand-labour of men, they call a wild plant (vahâr or nihâl). 13. Whatever is welcome as food of cattle and beasts *of burden* they call grass (giyâh). 14. Whatever enters into cakes (pê*s*-pârakîhâ) they call spices (âvzârîhâ). 15. Whatever is welcome in eating of bread, as torn shoots[1] of the coriander, water-cress (kakî*g*), the leek, *and* others of this genus, they call salad (têrak)[2]. 16. Whatever is like spinning[3] cotton, *and* others of this genus, they call clothing *plants* (*g*âmak). 17. Whatever lentil[4] is greasy, as sesame, dûshdâng, hemp, zandak[5], *and* others of this genus, they call an oil-*seed* (rôkanô). 18. Whatever *one* can dye clothing with, as saffron, sapan-wood, za*k*ava, vaha, *and* others of this genus, they call a dye-*plant* (rag). 19. Whatever root, or gum[6], or wood

[1] Reading stâk darî*d*; Justi has 'baked shoots;' Anquetil has 'the three following;' M6 has stâk va karafs, 'shoots and parsley.'

[2] Or târak in § 5, Pers. tarah.

[3] Reading Huz. neskhunân, 'twisting,' but the word is doubtful; Justi has 'sitting *on the plant*,' which is a rather singular description for cotton.

[4] Reading ma*k*ag; Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi read mazg, 'marrow,' but this is usually written otherwise.

[5] Perhaps for zêtô, 'olive,' as Anquetil supposes, and Justi assumes.

[6] Reading tûf (compare Pers. tuf, 'saliva').

is scented, as frankincense[1], varâst[2], kust, sandal-wood, cardamom[3], camphor, orange-scented mint, *and* others of this genus, they call a scent (bôd). 20. Whatever stickiness comes out from plants[4] they call gummy (zadak). 21. The timber which proceeds from the trees, when it is either dry or wet, they call wood (*k*îbâ). 22. Every one of all these plants which is so, they call medicinal (dârûk)[5].

23. The principal fruits are *of* thirty kinds (khadûînak), and ten species (sard*a*k) of them are fit to eat inside and outside, as the fig, the apple, the quince, the citron, the grape, the mulberry, the pear, *and* others of this kind; ten are fit to eat outside, *but* not fit to eat inside, as the date, the peach, the white apricot, *and* others of this kind; those which are fit to eat inside, *but* not fit to eat outside, are the walnut, the almond, the pomegranate, the cocoa-nut[6], the filbert[7], the chesnut[8], the pistachio nut, the vargân, *and* whatever else of this description are very remarkable.

24[9]. This, too, it says, that every single flower is appropriate to an angel (ameshôspend)[10], as the

[1] Pâz. kendri for Pahl. kundur probably.

[2] Justi compares Pers. barghast.

[3] Pâz. kâkura may be equivalent to Pers. qaqulah, 'cardamoms,' or to Pers. kâkul or kâkûl, 'marjoram.'

[4] K20 omits a line, from here to the word 'either.'

[5] The line which contained this sentence is torn off in K20.

[6] Pâz. anârsar is a misreading of Pahl. anârgîl (Pers. nârgîl, 'cocoa-nut').

[7] Pâz. pendak, a misreading of Pahl. funduk.

[8] Pâz. shahbrôd, a misreading of Pahl. shahbalût; omitted in M6.

[9] M6 begins a new chapter here.

[10] These are the thirty archangels and angels whose names are applied to the thirty days of the Parsi month, in the order in

white[1] jasmine (saman) is for Vohûman, the myrtle *and* jasmine (yâsmin) are Aûharmazd's own, the mouse-ear (or sweet marjoram) is Ashavahist's[2] own, the basil-royal is Shatvaîrô's own, the musk flower is Spendarmad's, the lily is Horvadad's, the *k*amba is Amerôdad's, Dîn-*pavan-Âtarô has* the orange-scented mint (vâdrang-bôd), Âtarô *has* the marigold[3] (âdargun), the water-lily is Âvân's, the white marv is Khûrshêd's, the ranges[4] is Mâh's, the violet is Tîr's, the mêren[5] is Gôs's, the kârda is Dîn-pavan-Mitrô's, all violets are Mitrô's, the red chrysanthemum (khêr) is Srôsh's, the dog-rose (nestran) is Rashnû's, the cockscomb is Fravardîn's, the sisebar is Vâhrâm's, the yellow chrysanthemum is Râm's, the orange-scented mint is Vâd's[6], the trigonella is Dîn-pavan-Dîn's, the hundred-petalled rose is Dîn's, all kinds of wild flowers (vahâr) are Ard's[7], Âstâd *has* all the white Hôm[8], the bread-baker's basil is Âsmân's, Zamyâd *has* the crocus, Mâraspend *has the flower*[9] of Ardashîr,

which they are mentioned here, except that Aûharmazd is the first day, and Vohûman is the second.

[1] M6 has 'yellow.'

[2] Synonymous with the Ardavahist of Chap. I, 26.

[3] Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi have 'the poppy.'

[4] M6 has Pâz. lg as only the first part of the word, and Justi translates it by 'red lac,' which is not a plant. Transcribing the Pâzand into Pahlavi, perhaps the nearest probable word is rand, 'laurel.'

[5] M6 has Pâz. mênr; Anquetil has 'vine blossom,' and is followed by Windischmann and Justi, but the word is very uncertain.

[6] The remainder of this chapter is lost from K20.

[7] This female angel is also called Arshisang (see Chap. XXII, 4).

[8] See § 4.

[9] M6 leaves a blank space for the name of the flower; perhaps it is the marv-i Ardashîrân.

Anîrân *has* this Hôm of the angel Hôm[1], of three kinds.

25. It is concerning plants that every single kind *with* a drop of water on a twig (teh) they should hold four finger-breadths in front of the fire[2]; most of all it is the lotos (kûnâr) they speak of.

CHAPTER XXVIII[3].

[1. On the evil-doing of Aharman *and* the demons it says in revelation, that the evil which the evil spirit has produced for the creation of Aûharmazd it is possible to tell by this winter[4]; and his body is that of a lizard (vazagh)[5] *whose* place is filth (kal*k*). 2. He does not think, nor speak, nor act *for* the welfare (nadûkîh) of the creatures of Aûharmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this *welfare*, so that the creatures which Aûharmazd shall increase he will destroy; and *his* eyesight (*k*ashm mî*k*is*n*)[6] does not refrain from doing the creatures harm. 3. As it says that, 'ever

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[1] Reading, in Pahlavi, Hôm yêdatô aê hôm.

[2] See Chap. XXI, 1. Referring to the necessity of drying fire-wood before putting it on the fire. The kûnâr is specially mentioned, as one of the first fire-woods used by mankind, in Chap. XV, 13.

[3] Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI are omitted in M6 and all MSS. descended from it, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand; and, owing to the loss of a folio from K20 before any of its extant copies were written, the first quarter of Chap. XXVIII has hitherto been missing, but is here supplied (enclosed in brackets) from TD, a MS. belonging to Mobad Tahmuras Dinshaw (see Introduction).

[4] Winter being one of the primary evils brought upon creation by Angra-mainyu (see Vend. I, 8–12).

[5] See Chap. III, 9. [6] Referring to 'the evil eye.'

since a creature was created by us, I, who am Aûharmazd, have not rested at ease, on account of providing protection for my own creatures; and likewise not even he, the evil spirit, on account of contriving evil for the creatures.' 4. And by *their* devotion to witchcraft (yâtûk-dînôîh) he seduces mankind into affection for himself and disaffection to Aûharmazd[1], so that they forsake the religion of Aûharmazd, and practise that of Aharman. 5. He casts this into the thoughts of men, that this religion of Aûharmazd is nought, and it is not necessary to be steadfast in it. 6. Whoever gives that man anything, in whose law (dâ*d*) this saying is established, then the evil spirit is propitiated by him, that is, he has acted by his pleasure.

7. The business of Akôman[2] is this, that he gave vile thoughts and discord to the creatures. 8. The business of the demon Andar is this, that he constrains the thoughts of the creatures from deeds of virtue, just like a leader who *has* well-constrained (sardâr-i khûp afsâr*d*ŏ); *and* he casts this into the thoughts of men, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and thread*-girdle. 9. The business of the demon Sâvar[3], that is a leader of the demons, is this, that is, misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness. 10. The business of the demon Nâîkîyas[4] is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures; as it says, that should this *one*

[1] Compare Chap. I, 14.

[2] The six arch-fiends of this paragraph are those mentioned in Chaps. I, 27, XXX, 29.

[3] Written Sôvar in Chap. I, 27.

[4] Written Nâkahê*d* in Chap. I, 27, Nâîkîya*s* when repeated in this sentence, and Pâz. Nâûnghas in Chap. XXX, 29.

give anything to those men whose opinion (dâ*d*) is this, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and thread*-girdle, then Andar, Sâvar, and Nâîkîyas are propitiated by him. 11. The demon Taprê*v*[1] is he who mingles poison with plants and creatures; as it says thus: 'Taprê*v* the frustrater, *and* Zâîrî*k* the maker of poison.' 12. All those six, it is said, are arch-fiends[2] of the demons; the rest are co-operating and confederate with them. 13. This, too, it says, that][3] should *one* give [anything to] a man who says [that it is proper to have one boot], and in his law walking with one boot [is established, then][4] the fiend Taprê*v* is propitiated [by him].

14. The demon Tarômat[5] [is he who] produces disobedience; the demon Mîtôkht[6] is the liar (drô-*g*an) of the evil spirit[7]; the demon Ara*s*k[8] ('malice') is the spiteful fiend of the evil eye. 15. Theirs are the same[9] appliances as the demon Aeshm's[10], as it

[1] Written Tâîrê*v* in Chap. I, 27. [2] See Chap. III, 2.

[3] From this point the Pahlavi text is extant in K20, except some illegible words, the translation of which (supplied from TD) is here enclosed in brackets.

[4] Anquetil, misled by the lacuna in his MS., thought that there was a change of subject here, and began a new chapter at this point. On this account the numbers of his chapters are henceforth one in excess of those in this translation.

[5] Written Tarôkmatŏ in TD, and identified with Nâûnghas (Nâîkîyas) in Chap. XXX, 29; a personification of the Av. tarômaiti, 'disobedience,' of Yas. XXXIII, 4, LIX, 8.

[6] A personification of the Av. mithaokhta, 'false-spoken,' of Yas. LIX, 8, Vend. XIX, 146, Visp. XXIII, 9, Zamyâd Yt. 96.

[7] TD has drû*g* gûmânîkîh, 'the fiend of scepticism.'

[8] Av. araska of Yas. IX, 18, Râm Yt. 16, personified.

[9] The word hômanam in K20 is a false Huzvâri*s* reading of ham, owing to the copyist reading am, 'I am;' TD has ham-afzâr, 'having like means.'

[10] Or Khashm, 'wrath;' so written in K20, but it is usually

says that seven powers are given *to* Aeshm[1], that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith; with those seven powers he will destroy seven[2] of the Kayân heroes in his own time, *but* one will remain. 16. There where Mîtôkht ('falsehood') arrives, Arask ('malice') becomes welcome, [and there where Arask is welcome][3] Aeshm lays a foundation[4], and there where Aeshm has a foundation[5] many creatures perish, *and* he causes much non-Iranianism[6]. 17. Aeshm mostly contrives all evil for the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* the evil deeds of those Kayân heroes have been more complete through Aeshm, as it says, that Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, causes them most[7].

18. The demon Vîzarêsh[8] is he who struggles with the souls of men which *have* departed, those

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Aêshm elsewhere; the Av. aêshma of Vend. IX, 37, X, 23, 27, &c. The Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit appears to be the Av. Aêshmô daêvô, 'demon of wrath.'

[1] TD has 'there were seven powers of Aêshm.'

[2] TD has 'six,' which looks like an unlucky attempt to amend a correct text. Tradition tells us that only five Kayâns reigned (see Chap. XXXIV, 7), and the Shâhnâmah also mentions Siyâwush (Pahl. Kaî-Sîyâvakhsh), who did not reign; but eight Kayâns, besides Lôharâsp and Vistâsp, who were of collateral descent (see Chap. XXXI, 28), are mentioned in the Avesta, whence the author of the Bundahis would obtain much of his information (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74).

[3] The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD.

[4] Reading bunak as in TD; K20 has 'sends down a root.'

[5] So in TD; K20 has 'where Aeshm keeps on.'

[6] That is, 'many foreign customs.'

[7] The word vêsh, 'most,' is only in TD.

[8] So in TD; K20 has Vigêsh. He is the Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who is said to convey the souls of the departed to the *K*inva*d* bridge.

days and nights[1] when *they remain* in the world; he carries *them* on, terror-stricken, *and* sits at the gate of hell. 19. The demon Uda[2] is he who, when a man sits in a private place, or when he eats at meals, strikes *his* knee spiritually on *his* back[3], so that he bawls out [*and* looks out, that chattering he may eat, chattering] he may evacuate (rîê*d*), and chattering he may make water (mêzê*d*), so that he may not attain [unto the] best existence[4].

[20. The demon Akâtâsh[5] is the fiend of perversion (nikîrâyîh), who makes the creatures averse (nikîrâî) from proper things; as it says, that whoever *has* given anything to that person (tanû) whose opinion (dâ*d*) is this, that it is not necessary to have a high-priest (dastôbar), then the demon Aeshm is propitiated by him. 21. Whoever *has* given anything to that person whose opinion is this, *and* who says, that it is not necessary to have a snake-killer (mâr-van), then Aharman, with the foregoing demons, is propitiated by him; this is said of him who, when he sees a noxious creature, does not kill *it*. 22. A snake-killer (mârô-gnô)[6] is a stick on the end of which a leathern *thong* is

[1] TD has 'those three nights,' referring to the period that the soul is said to remain hovering about the body after death (see Hâ*d*ôkht Nask, ed. Haug, II, 1–18, III, 1–17).

[2] So in K20; TD has Aû*d*ak (see Pahl.Vend. XVIII, 70).

[3] TD has merely 'strikes a slipper (pa*d*în-pôsh) spiritually,' that is, invisibly, for the purpose of startling the man.

[4] The short phrases in brackets are taken from TD to supply words torn off from K20, which passes on to Chap. XXIX at this point, but TD supplies a continuation of Chap. XXVIII, which is added here, and enclosed in brackets.

[5] The Av. Akatasha of Vend. X, 23 Sp., XIX, 43 W.

[6] See Pahlavi Vend. XVIII, 5, 6.

provided; and it is declared that every one of the good religion must possess one, that they may strike *and* kill noxious creatures *and* sinners more meritoriously with it.

23. Zarmân[1] is the demon who makes decrepit (dûspa*d*), whom they call old age (pîrîh). 24. *K*îshmak[2] is he who makes disastrous (vazandak), and also causes the whirlwind[3] *which* passes over for disturbance. 25. The demon Varenô[4] is he who causes illicit intercourse, as it says thus: 'Varenô the defiling (âlâî).' 26. The demon Bûsh-âsp[5] is she who causes slothfulness; Sê*g* is the fiend (drû*g*) who causes annihilation; and the demon Nîyâz is he who *causes* distress.

27. The demon Âz[6] ('greediness') is he who swallows everything, and when, through destitution, nothing has come he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied; as it says, that the eye of the covetous is a noose (gamand), and *in* it the world is nought. 28. Pû*s*[7] is the demon who makes a hoard, *and*

[1] A personification of the Av. zaurva of Vend. XIX, 43 W., Yas. IX, 18 Sp., Gô*s* Yt. 10, Râm Yt. 16.

[2] The reading of this name is uncertain.

[3] The small whirlwinds, which usually precede a change of wind in India, are commonly known by the name of shaîtân, which indicates that such whirling columns of dust are popularly attributed to demoniacal agency.

[4] A personification of Av. varena, 'desire,' in an evil sense.

[5] Av. Bûshyãsta of Vend. XI, 28, 29, 36, 37, XVIII, 38, &c. The names of the three demons in this sentence are Persian words for 'sloth,' 'trouble,' and 'want.'

[6] Av. Âzi of Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Â*s*tâd Yt. 1.

[7] Compare Pers. payû*s*, 'covetous,' and piyûs, 'avarice.' Pû*s* is evidently the demon of misers, and Âz that of the selfish.

does not consume *it, and* does not give to any one; as it says, that the power of the demon Âz is owing to that person who, not content with his own wife, snatches away even those of others.

29. The demon Nas[1] is he who causes the pollution and contamination (nisrûstîh), which they call nasâî ('dead matter'). 30. The demon Frîftâr ('deceiver') is he who seduces mankind. 31. The demon Spazg[2] ('slander') is he who brings *and* conveys discourse (milayâ), *and* it is nothing in appearance such *as* he says; and he shows that mankind fights *and* apologizes (avakhshînêd), individual with individual. 32. The demon Arâst[3] ('untrue') is he who speaks falsehood. 33. The demon Aîghâsh[4] is the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with *his* eye. 34. The demon Bût[5] is he whom they worship among the Hindûs, and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse *as* an idol[6]. 35. Astô-vîdâd[7] is the evil flyer (vâê-i sarîtar) who seizes the life; as it says that, when

[1] Av. Nasu of Vend. V, 85–106, VI, 65, 72, 74, 79, VII, 2–27, 70, VIII, 46, 48, 132–228, IX, 49–117, &c.

[2] Av. spazga of Ardabahist Yt. 8, 11, 15.

[3] Always written like anâst.

[4] Av. aghashi of Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24, which appears to be 'the evil eye;' but see § 36.

[5] Av. Bûiti of Vend. XIX, 4, 6, 140, who must be identified with Pers. but, 'an idol,' Sans. bhûta, 'a goblin,' and not with Buddha.

[6] Reading afas vakhsh pavan bûtîhâ mâhmânŏ, kîgûn bût asp parastêdŏ, which evidently admits of many variations, but the meaning is rather obscure.

[7] Here written Astî-vîdâd (see Chap. III, 21). Vend. V, 25, 31 says, 'Astô-vîdhôtu binds him (the dying man); Vayô (the flying demon) conveys him bound;' from which it would appear that Astô-vîdâd and 'the evil flyer' were originally considered as distinct demons.

his hand strokes a man *it is* lethargy, when he casts *it* on the sick *one it is* fever, when he looks in his eyes he drives away the life, and they call it death. 36. The demon of the malignant eye (sûr-*k*ashmîh) is he who will spoil anything which men see, *when* they do not say 'in the name of God' (yazdân).

37. With every one of them are many demons *and* fiends co-operating, to specify whom a second time *would be* tedious; demons, too, who are furies (khashmakân), are in great multitude it is said. 38. They are demons of ruin, pain, and growing old (zvârân), producers of vexation and bile, revivers of grief (nîvagîh), the progeny of gloom, and bringers of stench, decay, and vileness, who are many, very numerous, and very notorious; and a portion of all of them is mingled in the bodies of men, *and their* characteristics are glaring in mankind.

39. The demon Apâôsh[1] and the demon Aspen-*g*argâk[2] are those who remain in contest with the rain. 40. Of the evil spirit[3] are the law of vileness, the religion of sorcery, the weapons of fiendishness, and the perversion (khâmîh) of God's works; and

[1] Av. Apaosha of Tî*s*tar Yt. 21, 22, 27, 28, Â*s*tâd Yt. 2, 6; see also Chap. VII, 8, 10, 12.

[2] Here written Aspen*g*arôgâ, but see Chaps. VII, 12, XVII, 1. He is the Av. Spen*g*aghra of Vend. XIX, 135, and, being a demon, is not to be confounded with the demon-worshipper, Spi*ng*auru*s*ka, of Gô*s* Yt. 31, Ashi Yt. 51.

[3] The 'evil spirit,' Ganrâk-maînôk, seems to be here treated as a demon distinct from Aharman, which is inconsistent with what is stated in §§ 1–6, and is contrary to general opinion. This inconsistency would indicate the possibility of this continuation of Chap. XXVIII in TD, or a portion of it, having been added by an editor in later times (although it is difficult to discover any difference of style in the language), if we did not find a similar confusion of the two names in Chap. XXX, 29, 30.

his wish is this, that is: 'Do not ask *about* me, and do not understand me! for if ye ask *about* and understand me, ye *will* not come after me[1].' 41. This, too, it says, that the evil spirit remains at the distance of a cry, even at the cry of a three-year-old cock (kûlêng), even at the cry of an ass, even at the cry of a righteous man when *one* strikes *him* involuntarily *and* he utters a cry[2]. 42. The demon Kûndak[3] is he who is the steed (bârak) of wizards.

43. Various new demons *arise* from the various new sins the creatures may commit, *and* are produced for such *purposes;* who make even those planets rush *on* which are in the *celestial* sphere, *and* they stand very numerously in the conflict. 44. Their ringleaders (kamârîkân) are those seven *planets*, the head and tail of Gô*k*îhar, and Mû*s*par[4]

[1] Compare Mkh. XL, 24–28: 'The one wish that Hôrmezd, the lord, desires from men is this, that "ye shall understand me (Hôrmezd), since every one who shall understand me comes after me, and strives for my satisfaction." And the one wish that Aharman desires from men is this, that "ye shall not understand me (Aharman), since whoever shall understand me wicked, *his* actions proceed not after me, and, moreover, no advantage and friendship come to me from that man."'

[2] The sentence is rather obscure, but it seems to imply that such cries keep the evil spirit at a distance; it is, however, just possible that it means that the cry of the evil spirit can be heard as far as such cries.

[3] Av. Kunda of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138.

[4] TD has Gôk-*k*îhar and Mû*s*-parîk here, but see Chap. V, 1, where these beings are included among the seven planetary leaders, and not counted in addition to them. This is another inconsistency which leads to the suspicion that this continuation of the chapter may have been written by a later hand. According to this later view, the sun and moon must be included among those malevolent orbs, the planets.

provided with a tail, *which* are ten. 45. And by them these ten worldly creations, *that* is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vileness; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation, and the other creations which exist *in* the world, owing to the fiendishness of those ten. 46. They whom I *have* enumerated are *furnished* with the assistance and crafty (afzârhômand) nature of Aharman.

47. Regarding the cold, dry, stony, and dark interior of mysterious (târîk dên afrâ*g*-pê*d*âk) hell it says, that the darkness is fit to grasp with the hand[1], and the stench is fit to cut with a knife; and if they inflict the punishment of a thousand men within a single span, they (the men) think in this *way*, that they are alone; *and* the loneliness is worse than its punishment[2]. 48. And its connection (band) is with the seven planets, be it through much cold like Saturn[3] (Kêvân), be it through much heat like Aharman; and their food is brimstone (gandak), and of succulents the lizard (vazagh), *and* other evil *and* wretchedness (patyân).]

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[1] Compare Mkh. VII, 31: 'and always their darkness is suchlike as though it be possible to grasp with the hand.'

[2] Compare Ar*d*â-Vîrâf-nâmak (LIV, 5–8): '*As close* as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, so *close and* many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, but they see not, and hear no sound, one from the other; every one thinks thus, "I am alone."'

[3] Or, 'with more cold than Saturn.'

CHAPTER XXIX[1].

1. On [the *spiritual* chieftainship[2] of the regions *of the earth*] it says in revelation, that every one of those six chieftainships[3] has one *spiritual* chief; as the chief of Arzah is Ashâshagaha*d*-ê *Hva*n*d*kãn[4], the chief of Savah is Hoazarôdathhri-hanâ Parê*s*t-yarô[5], the chief of Frada*d*afsh is Spîtôî*d*-i Aûspô-sînân[6], [the chief of Vîda*d*afsh is Aîrî*z*-râsp Aûspô-sînân[7],] the chief of Vôrûbar*s*t is Huvâsp[8], the chief of Vôrû*g*ar*s*t is *K*akhravâk[9]. 2. Zaratû*s*t is

[1] For this chapter, which is numbered XXX by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20 and TD (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXVIII); and the words enclosed in brackets are supplied from TD, being either illegible or omitted in K20.

[2] Perhaps 'patriarchate' or 'episcopate' would be a better translation of ra*d*îh, and 'patriarch' or 'bishop' of ra*d*, in this chapter, as the chief high-priest (dastûr-i dastûrân) and his office are evidently meant by these words.

[3] Of the six other regions, distinct from this one of Khvanîras, see Chap. XI, 2–4.

[4] TD has Ashashâg,h*d*-ê aîgh Nêva*n*dãn; both MSS. giving these names in a barbarous Pâzand form which cannot be relied on. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Ashâvanghu Biva*n*dangha of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

[5] TD has Hôazarôkakhhr-hanâ Parê*s*tyrô, all in Pâzand in both MSS., except Huz. hanâ, which stands for Pâz. ê, here used for the idhâfat i. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. *G*arô-danghu Pairi*s*-tîra of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

[6] So in TD; K20 has Pâz. Spaitanid-i Huspâsnyân. This Dastûr is, no doubt, the Av. (gen.) Spitôi*s* Uspãsnao*s* of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

[7] Omitted in K20, but, no doubt, this Dastûr is the Av. Erez-râspa Uspãsnu of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

[8] Av. Hvaspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

[9] So in both MSS. As in the case of each of the preceding two pair of regions, two consecutive names of Dastûrs have been taken from the Fravardîn Ya*s*t, it may be supposed that the names

spiritual chief of the region of Khvanîras, and also of all the regions; *he is* chief of the world of the righteous, *and* it is said that the whole religion was received by them from Zaratûst[1].

3. In the region of Khvanîras are many places, from which, in this evil time of violent struggling with the adversary, a passage (vi*d*arg) is constructed by the power of the spiritual world (maînôkîh), *and one* calls *them* the beaten tracks[2] of Khvanîras.

4. Counterparts of those other regions[3] are *such places* as Kangde*z*, the land of S*a*ukavastân, the plain of the Arabs (Tâ*z*îkân), the plain of Pê*s*yânsaî, the river Nâivtâk[4], Aîrân-vê*g*, the enclosure (var) formed by Yim, *and* Ka*s*mîr in India[5]. 5. And one immortal chief acts in the government of *each*

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taken for this third pair of regions will also be consecutive, and this Dastûr must, therefore, be identified with the Av. *K*athwaraspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

[1] TD has 'Zaratûst is chief of this region of Khvanîras, and also of the whole world of the righteous; all chieftainship, also, is from Zaratûst, so that the whole religion,' &c.

[2] Justi has 'zones, climates;' but transcribing Pâz. habâvanhâ back into Pahlavi we have a word which may be read khabânŏhâ, pl. of khabân, 'a trampling-place' (comp. Pers. khabîdan). TD has khvabîsnŏ-gâs, which has the same meaning.

[3] Meaning, probably, that they resemble the six smaller regions in being isolated and difficult of access; in other words, either mythical, or independent of Iranian rule.

[4] So in TD, which also omits the second, third, and fourth of these isolated territories. In K20 we might read ra*d* va khû*d*âk, 'chief and lord,' as an epithet of Aîrân-vê*g*. This river must be the Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6.

[5] Reading Ka*s*mîr-i andar Hindû, but TD has Ka*s*mîr-i andarûnŏ; perhaps the last word was originally anîrânak, in which case we should read 'the non-Iranian Ka*s*mîr.'

of them; as it says, that Pêshyôtanû[1] *son* of Vistâsp, whom they call *K*itrô-maînô[2], is in the country of Kangdez[3]; Aghrêra*d*[4] *son* of Pashang is in the land of S*a*ukavastân[5], and they call him Gôpatshah[6]; Par*s*adgâ[7] *Hv*embya is in the plain of

[1] The Av. Peshôtanu of Vishtâsp Yt. 4, where he is described as free from disease and death. TD has Pêshyôk-tanû. See also Chaps. XXXI, 29, XXXII, 5.

[2] TD has *K*itrô-mâônô, and it may be doubted whether the latter portion of the name be derived from Av. mainyu, 'spirit,' or m*a*unghô, 'moon.' The Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk (Reply 89) calls him 'Patshâyôtanû who is called from the *K*îtrôk-mâhanô (or mîyânô),' the *K*atru-mîyân river of Chap. XX, 7, 31.

[3] See § 10. TD has Kangdez-i bâmîk, 'Kangdez the splendid.'

[4] The Av. Aghraêratha Narava of Gô*s* Yt. 18, 22, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Ashi Yt. 38, Zamyâd Yt. 77; he is Aghrîrath, brother of Afrâsiyâb, in the Shâhnâmah; see also Chap. XXXI, 15.

[5] TD has Pahl. Sakîkstân here, but Sôkapastân in § 13 (the letters îk and p being often much alike in Pahlavi writing). K20 has Pâz. Sâvkavatân, S*a*ukâvasta, and Sâvkavastãn.

[6] TD has Gôpat-malkâ, 'king of Gôpat;' and Dâ*d*. (Reply 89) states that 'the reign of Gôpatshah is over the country of Gôpatô, coterminous with Aîrân-vê*g*, on the bank of the water of the Dâîtîk; *and* he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayã*s*, on whom occurred the various emigrations of men of old.' Mkh. (LXII, 31–36) says, 'Gôpatshâh remains in Aîrân-vê*g*, within the region of Khvanîras; from foot to mid-body *he is* a bull, and from mid-body to top *he is* a man; at all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God, and always pours holy-water into the sea; through the pouring of that holy-water innumerable noxious creatures in the sea will die; for if he should not mostly perform that ceremonial, and should not pour that holy-water into the sea, and those innumerable noxious creatures should not perish, then always when rain falls the noxious creatures would fall like rain.' In Chap. XXXI, 20, he is said to be a son of Aghrêra*d*.

[7] So in K20; and Av. Parsha*d*g*a*u occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 96, 127; but TD has Fradakh*s*tar Khûmbîkân, and Dâ*d*. (Reply 89) mentions 'Fradhakh*s*tô son of Khûmbîkân' as one of the seven

Pêsyânsaî[1], *and he* is *Hv*embya for this reason, because they brought *him* up in a *hv*emb ('jar') for fear of Khashm ('Wrath'); [Asâm-i[2] Yamâhust is in the place which they call the River Nâîvtâk]; the tree opposed to harm[3] is in Aîrân-vêg; Urvatadnar[4] *son* of Zaratûst is in the enclosure formed by Yim. 6. Regarding them it says, they are *those* who are immortal, as are Narsih[5] *son* of Vîvanghâû, Tûs[6] *son* of Nôdar[7], Gîw[8] *son* of Gûdarz, Ibairaz[9] the causer of strife, *and* Ashavazd son of Pourudhâkhst[10]; and they will all[11] come forth, to the

immortal lords of Khvanîras, which name corresponds with the Av. Fradhâkhsti Khunbya of Fravardîn Yt. 138.

[1] TD has always Pahl. Pêsânsih. No doubt the Pisîn valley is meant (see § 11).

[2] Or it may be read Aêshm-i. This phrase occurs only in TD, but Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'the Avesta Yakhmâyîsad, son of the same Fryânô,' as one of the seven immortal lords of Khvanîras.

[3] See Chap. XXVII, 2.

[4] See Chap. XXXII, 5.

[5] Or Narsâe in TD; K20 has Pâz. Narêî, but see Chap. XXXI, 3, 5.

[6] Av. Tusa of Âbân Yt. 53, 58, and an Iranian warrior in the Shâhnâmah.

[7] Av. Naotara, whose descendants are mentioned in Âbân Yt. 76, 98, Fravardîn Yt. 102, Râm Yt. 35.

[8] Av. Gaêvani of Fravardîn Yt. 115 is something like this name of one of the Iranian warriors in the Shâhnâmah.

[9] TD has Pâz. Bairazd. Perhaps it is not a name, but a Pâzand corruption of Pahl. aêvarz, 'warrior, trooper' (traditionally); in which case we should have to read 'the warrior who was a causer of strife.'

[10] So in TD; K20 has 'Ashavand son of Porudakhst,' and Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'Ashavazang son of Pôrûdakhstôîh' as one of the seven immortal lords of Khvanîras. He is the Av. 'Ashavazdangh the Pourudhâkhstiyan' of Âbân Yt. 72, Fravardîn Yt. 112.

[11] So in TD, but K20 has 'always.'

assistance of Sôshyans, on the production of the renovation *of the universe.*

7. Regarding Sâm[1] it says, that he became immortal, *but* owing to his disregard of the Mazdayasnian religion, a Tûrk whom they call Nihâ*g*[2] wounded *him* with an arrow, when he was asleep there, in the plain of Pê*s*yânsaî; and it had brought upon him the unnatural lethargy (bûshasp) *which* overcame *him in* the midst of the heat[3]. 8. And the glory (far) of heaven stands over him[4] for the purpose that, when A*z*-i Dahâk[5] becomes unfettered (ara*z*ak), he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him. 9. Of Dahâk, whom they call Bêvarâsp, this, too, it says, that Frê*d*ûn when he captured Dahâk was not able to kill *him*, and afterwards confined him in Mount Dimâvand[6]; when he becomes unfettered, Sâm arises, and smites and slays him.

10. As to Kangde*z*, *it is* in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed (var)[7] of the

[1] This is not Sâm the grandfather of Rustam, but the Av. Sâma, who appears to have been an ancestor of Keresâspa (see Yas. IX, 30), called *S*am, grandfather of Gar*s*âsp, in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah (compare Chap. XXXI, 26, 27). Here, however, it appears from the Bahman Ya*s*t (III, 59, 60) that Keresâspa himself is meant, he being called Sâma Keresâspa in Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136.

[2] It can also be read Nihâ*v* or Nîyâ*g* in K20, and Nihâv or Nihân in TD.

[3] TD has '*as* he lay *in* the midst of the heat.'

[4] TD has 'and the snow (vafar) has settled (nishast) over him.'

[5] See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

[6] See Chap. XII, 31.

[7] TD has a*g*var, 'above,' instead of min var, 'from the bed.'

wide-formed ocean towards that side. 11. The plain of Pêsyânsaî is in Kâvulistân, as it says, that the most remarkable upland (bâlist) in Kâvulistân is where Pêsyânsaî is; there it is hotter, on the more lofty elevations there is no heat[1]. 12. Aîrân-vêg is in the direction of Âtarô-pâtakân[2]. 13. The land of Saukavastân is on the way from Tûrkistân to Kînistân, in the direction of the north. 14. [The enclosure][3] formed by Yim is *in* the middle of Pârs, in Sruvâ[4]; thus, they say, that *what* Yim formed (Yim-kard) is below Mount Yimakân[5]. 15. Kasmîr is in Hindûstân.

CHAPTER XXX[6].

1. On the nature of the resurrection and future existence it says in revelation, that, whereas Mâshya and Mâshyôî, who grew up from the earth[7], first fed upon water, then plants, then milk, *and* then meat, men also, when their time of death *has* come, first desist from eating meat, then milk, then from

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[1] Or, 'the hottest there, through the very lofty elevation, is not heat.'

[2] Pers. Âdarbîgân.

[3] The word var is omitted in K20.

[4] TD has Pahl. Srûbâk.

[5] Or it may be read Damakân, but TD has Kamakân. It can hardly be Dâmaghân, as that is a town and district in Khurâsân; Justi also suggests the district of Gamagân in Pârs, and thinks Sruvâ means 'cypress wood,' there being a Salvastân between Shîrâz and Fasâ.

[6] This chapter is found in all MSS., and has been numbered XXXI by former translators.

[7] See Chaps. XV, 2–16, XXXIV, 3.

bread, till when[1] they shall die they always feed upon water. 2. So, likewise, in the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh[2], the strength of appetite (âz) will thus diminish, when men *will* remain three days and nights in superabundance (sîrîh) through one taste of consecrated food. 3. Then they will desist from meat food, *and* eat vegetables *and* milk; afterwards, they abstain from milk food *and* abstain from vegetable food, *and* are feeding on water; *and* for ten years before Sôshyans[3] comes they remain without food, *and* do not die.

4. After Sôshyans *comes* they prepare the raising of the dead, as it says, that Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd thus: 'Whence does a body form again, which the wind *has* carried *and* the water conveyed (vazîd)[4]? *and* how does the resurrection occur?' 5. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'When through me the sky *arose* from the substance of the ruby[5], without columns, on the spiritual support of far-compassed light; when through me the earth arose, which[6] bore the material life, *and* there is no

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[1] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Chap. I, 7).

[2] Written Khûrshêdar-mâh, or Khûrshêd-mâh, in the Bundahis; see Chap. XXXII, 8, and Bahman Yt. III, 52, 53.

[3] See Chaps. XI, 6, XXXII, 8, Bahman Yt. III, 62.

[4] Compare (Vend. V, 26) 'the water carries *him* up, the water carries *him* down, the water casts *him* away.'

[5] Compare Mkh. IX, 7.

[6] All MSS. have min, 'out of,' but translators generally suppose it should be mûn, 'which,' as the meaning of 'brought out of material life' is by no means clear. Perhaps the two phrases might be construed together, thus: 'there is no *other* maintainer of the worldly creation, brought from the material life, than it.' Windischmann refers to Fravardîn Yt. 9.

maintainer of the worldly creation but it; when by me the sun and moon *and* stars are conducted in the firmament (andarvâî) of luminous bodies; when by me corn was created so that, scattered about in the earth, it grew again *and* returned with increase; when by me colour[1] of various kinds was created in plants; when by me fire was created in plants *and* other things[2] without combustion; when *by me* a son was created *and* fashioned[3] in the womb of a mother, *and* the structure (pîsak) severally of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, ears, and other things was produced; when by me legs were created for the water, so that it flows away, *and* the cloud was created which carries the water of the world *and* rains there where it has a purpose; when by me the air was created which conveys *in one's* eyesight, through the strength of the wind, the lowermost upwards according to *its* will, *and one* is not able to grasp *it* with the hand out-stretched; each one of them, when created by me, was herein more difficult than causing the resurrection, for[4] *it is* an assistance to me in the resurrection that they exist, *but* when they were formed it was not *forming* the future out of the past[5]. 6. Observe that when that which was not was then produced, why is it not possible to

[1] Former translators all read rag, 'vein, pore;' but it probably stands for rang, 'colour, dye,' as in Chap. XXVII, 5, 18.

[2] See Chap. XVII, 1, 2.

[3] Pâz. srahtîd is evidently a misreading of Pahl. srîstîd, 'formed, shaped.' Windischmann compares Fravardîn Yt. 11, 22, 28.

[4] Here kîm is the Pâzand of Huz. mamanam, 'for to me;' being a different word from the interrogative kîm, 'why?' of the next §.

[5] Literally, '*what* becomes out of *what* was.'

produce again that which was? for at that time *one will* demand the bone from the spirit of earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, *and* the life from fire, since *they* were delivered to them in the original creation.'

7. First, the bones of Gâyômar*d* are roused up, then those of Mâshya *and* Mâshyôî, then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years *of* Sôshyans[1] they prepare all the dead, *and* all men stand up; whoever is righteous *and* whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs. 8. Afterwards, when all material living beings assume again their bodies *and* forms, then they assign (barâ yehabûnd) them a single class[2]. 9. Of the light accompanying (levatman) the sun, one half will *be* for Gâyômar*d*, and one half will give enlightenment among the rest of men, so that the soul *and* body will know that this is my father, and this is my mother, and this is my brother, and this is my wife, and these are some other of my nearest relations.

10. Then is the assembly of the Sa*d*vâstarân[3], where all mankind will stand at this time; in that assembly every one sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds; *and* then, in that assembly, a wicked *man* becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black. 11. In that

[1] K20 omits 'Sôshyans.'

[2] The phrase is obscure, and K20 omits the numeral 'one' (the idhâfat of unity); but the meaning is probably that all former distinctions of class, or caste, are abolished.

[3] Windischmann suggests that it may be 'the assembly of Isa*d*-vâstar,' the eldest son of Zaratûst (see Chap. XXXII, 5); perhaps supposed to be presided over by him as the first supreme high-priest after Zaratûst's death.

assembly whatever righteous *man* was friend of a wicked *one* in the world, *and* the wicked *man* complains of him who is righteous, thus: 'Why did he not make me acquainted, when in the world, with the good deeds which he practised himself?' if he who is righteous did not inform him, then it is necessary for him to suffer shame accordingly in that assembly[1].

12. Afterwards, they set the righteous *man* apart from the wicked; *and* then the righteous is for heaven (garôdmân), and they cast the wicked back to hell. 13. Three days *and* nights they inflict punishment bodily in hell, *and* then he beholds bodily those three days' happiness in heaven[2]. 14. As it says that, on the day when the righteous *man* is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one, thereupon, run down unto *his* legs. 15. When, after they set apart a father from his consort (hambâz), a brother from his brother, and a friend from

[1] In the Ardâ-Vîrâf-namak (Chap. LXVIII) it is related that Ardâ-Vîrâf saw the souls of a husband and wife, that of the husband destined for heaven, and that of the wife for hell; but the wife clung to her husband and asked why they should be separated, and he told her it was on account of her neglect of religious duties; whereupon she reproached him for not teaching and chastising her. 'And, afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. And owing to the repentance of that woman she was in no other affliction in hell but darkness and stench. And that man sat in the midst of the righteous of heaven in shame, from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.'

[2] As an aggravation of his punishment in hell. It has generally been supposed that this last phrase refers to the reward of the righteous man, but this cannot be the case unless akhar be taken in the sense of 'other,' which is unlikely; besides, beholding the happiness of others would be no reward to an Oriental mind.

his friend, they suffer, every one for his own deeds, *and* weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked about himself; for there may be a father who is righteous *and* a son wicked, *and* there may be one brother who is righteous *and* one wicked. 16. Those for whose peculiar deeds it is appointed, such as Dahâk and Frâsîyâv of Tûr, *and* others of this sort, as those deserving death (marg-argânân), undergo a punishment no other men undergo; they call *it* 'the punishment of the three nights[1].'

17. Among his producers of the renovation *of the universe*, those righteous men of whom it is written[2] that they are living, fifteen men and fifteen damsels, will come to the assistance of Sôshyans. 18. As Gôkîhar[3] falls in the *celestial* sphere from a moon-beam on to the earth, the distress of the earth becomes such-like as *that of* a sheep when a wolf falls *upon it.* 19. Afterwards, the fire and halo[4] melt the metal of Shatvaîrô, in the hills *and* mountains, *and* it remains on this earth like a river.

[1] According to the Pahlavi Vend. VII, 136 (p. 96, Sp.) it appears that a person who has committed a marg-argân or mortal sin, without performing patît or renunciation of sin thereafter, remains in hell till the future existence, when he is brought out, beheaded three times for each mortal sin unrepented of, and then cast back into hell to undergo the punishment tishrãm khshafnãm ('of the three nights') before he becomes righteous; some say, however, that this punishment is not inflicted for a single mortal sin. This period of three nights' punishment is quite a different matter from the three nights' hovering of the soul about the body after death.

[2] See Chap. XXIX, 5, 6. As the text stands in the MSS. it is uncertain whether the fifteen men and fifteen damsels are a portion of these righteous immortals, or an addition to them.

[3] Probably a meteor (see Chap. V, 1).

[4] Reading khîrman; M6 has 'the fire and angel Aîrman (Av. Airyaman) melt the metal in the hills,' &c.

20. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure; when *one* is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; *but* when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal.

21. Afterwards, with the greatest affection, all men come together, father and son and brother and friend ask one another thus: 'Where has it[1] been these many years, and what was the judgment upon thy soul? hast thou been righteous or wicked?' 22. The first soul the body sees, it enquires of it with those words (gûft). 23. All men become of one voice *and* administer loud praise to Aûharmazd and the archangels.

24. Aûharmazd completes *his work* at that time, *and* the creatures become so that it is not necessary to make any effort about them; *and* among those by whom the dead are prepared, it is not necessary *that* any effort be made. 25. Sôshyans, with his assistants, performs a Yazisn *ceremony* in preparing the dead, *and* they slaughter the ox Hadhayôs[2] in that Yazisn; from the fat of that ox and the white Hôm[3] they prepare Hûsh, *and* give *it* to all men, and all men become immortal for ever *and* everlasting. 26. This, too, it says, that whoever has been the size of a man, they restore him then with an age of forty years; they who have been little *when* not dead, they restore then with an age of fifteen years; and they give every one *his* wife, and

[1] K20 has 'have I;' probably hômanîh, 'hast thou,' was the original reading.

[2] See Chap. XIX, 13.

[3] See Chap. XXVII, 4.

show *him his* children with the wife; so they act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children.

27. Afterwards, Sôshyans *and his assistants*, by order of the creator Aûharmazd, give every man the reward and recompense suitable to *his* deeds; this is even the righteous existence (aît) where it is said that they convey *him* to paradise (vahi*s*t), and the heaven (garô*d*mân) of Aûharmazd takes up the body (kerp) as itself requires; with that assistance he continually advances for ever *and* everlasting. 28. This, too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship (ya*s*t), and has ordered no Gêtî-kharî*d*[1], and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there; and he performs the worship (ya*s*t) of Aûharmazd, and the heavenly angels[2] provide him the use of his clothing.

[1] The Sad-dar Bundahi*s* says that by Gêtî-kharî*d* 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.' The Rivâyat of Dastûr Barzû (as quoted in MS. 29 of Bombay University Parsi Collection) gives the following details in Persian: 'To celebrate Gêtî-kharîd it is necessary that two hêrbads (priests) perform the Nâbar, and with each khshnûman which they pray it is fit and necessary that both hêrbads have had the Nâbar; and the first day they recite the Nônâbar ya*s*t, and consecrate the Nônâbar drôn and the Nônâbar âfrîngân which they recite in each Gâh; in the Hâvan Gâh it is necessary to recite fravarânê (as in Yas. III, 24 W. to end), ahurahê mazd*a*u raêvatô (as in Aûharmazd Yt. 0, to) frasastayaê*k*a, then Yas. III, 25 W., XVII, 1–55 Sp., ashem vohû thrice, âfrînâmi khshathryãn (as in Âfrîngân I, 14, to end). The second day the Srôsh ya*s*t and Srôsh drôn and âfrîngân are to be recited; and the third day it is necessary to recite the Sîrôzah ya*s*t, the Sîrôzah drôn and âfrîngân dahmân; and it is needful to recite the second and third âfrîngâns in each Gâh, and each day to consecrate the barsom and drôn afresh with seven twigs, so that it may not be ineffective.'

[2] Pâz. gehân is probably a misreading of Pahl. yazdân, as

29. Afterwards, Aûharmazd seizes on[1] the evil spirit, Vohûman *on* Akôman[2], Ashavahi*s*t *on* Andar[3], Shatvaîrô *on* Sâvar, Spendarma*d* *on* Tarômat who is Nâûnghas[4], Horvada*d* *and* Amerôda*d* *on* Tâîrê*v* *and* Zâîrî*k*[5], true-speaking *on* what is evil-speaking, Srôsh[6] *on* Aeshm[7]. 30. Then two fiends remain at large, Aharman[8] and Â*z*[9]; Aûharmazd comes to the world, himself the Zôta and Srôsh the Râspî[10], and holds the Kûstî in *his* hand;

neither 'the spirit of the world,' nor 'the spirit of the Gâhs' is a likely phrase. It is possible, however, that maînôk gehân is a misreading of min aîvyahân, 'from the girdle,' and we should translate as follows: 'and out of its girdle (that is, the kûstî of the barsom used in the ceremony) he produces the effect of his clothing.'

[1] Instead of vakhdûnd, 'seize on,' we should probably read vânend, 'smite,' as in the parallel passages mentioned below.

[2] Compare Zamyâd Yt. 96. Each archangel (see Chap. I, 25, 26) here seizes the arch-fiend (see Chaps. I, 27, XXVIII, 7–12) who is his special opponent.

[3] Here written Pâz. Inder. Compare Pahlavi Yas. XLVII, 1: 'When among the creation, in the future existence, righteousness smites the fiend, Ashavahi*s*t *smites* Indar.'

[4] Written Nâkahê*d* in Chap. I, 27, and Nâîkîyas in Chap. XXVIII, 10, where he is described as a distinct demon from Tarômat in XXVIII, 14.

[5] Here written Târê*v* and Zârî*k*.

[6] Av. Sraosha, a personification of attentive hearing and obedience, who is said to watch over the world and defend it from the demons, especially at night; see Vend. XVIII, 48, 51, 70, &c., Yas. LVI, Srôsh Yt. Hâdôkht, &c.

[7] See Chap. XXVIII, 15–17.

[8] Comparing § 29 with § 30 it is not very clear whether the author of the Bundahi*s* considered Aharman and the evil spirit as the same or different demons; compare also Chap. XXVIII, 1–6 with 40, 41.

[9] See Chap. XXVIII, 27.

[10] The Zôta is the chief officiating priest in all ceremonies, and the Râspî is the assistant priest.

defeated by the Kûstî[1] formula the resources of the evil spirit and Âz act most impotently, *and* by the passage through which he rushed into the sky[2] he runs back to gloom *and* darkness. 31. Gô*k*îhar[3] burns the serpent (mâr)[4] in the melted metal, *and* the stench and pollution *which* were in hell are burned in that metal, *and* it (hell) becomes quite pure. 32. He (Aûharmazd) sets the vault[5] into which the evil spirit fled, in that metal; he brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world[6]; the renovation arises in the universe by *his* will, *and* the world is immortal for ever *and* everlasting.

33. This, too, it says, that this earth *becomes* an iceless[7], slopeless plain[8]; even the mountain[9],

[1] The words zak g,hâni, for ân g*e*hâni, are probably a misreading of aîvyahân, 'the kûstî or sacred thread-girdle,' which is tied round the waist in a peculiar manner, during the recital of a particular formula, in which Aûharmazd is blessed and Aharman and the demons are cursed.

[2] See Chap. III, 10–12. [3] See § 18 and Chap. V, 1.

[4] Probably referring to Âz, which means both 'greediness' and 'serpent.' It is, however, possible to read 'Gô*k*îhar the serpent burns in' &c., and there can be no doubt that Gô*k*îhar is represented as a malevolent being.

[5] Or, perhaps, 'hiding-place.' Comparing K20 and M6 together the word seems to be alôm, which may be compared with Heb. אולָם 'a vault,' or Chald. אולָמָא 'a porch;' it may, however, be vâlôm, which may be traced to עלם 'to conceal.' In the old MSS. it is certainly not shôlman, 'hell,' which is an emendation due to the modern copy in Paris.

[6] Or, 'to the prosperity of the world.'

[7] Former translators read anhîkhar, 'undefiled,' but this does not suit the Pahlavi orthography so well as anhasâr, 'iceless' (compare Pers. hasar, khasar, or khasâr, 'ice'); cold and ice, being produced by the evil spirit, will disappear with him.

[8] Pâz. âmâvan is a misreading of Pahl. hâmûn, so the reading is ans*î*p (compare Pers. *s*îb) hâmûn. Mountains, being the work of the evil spirit, disappear with him.

[9] *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâîtîk, see Chap. XII, 7.

whose summit is the support of the *K*învar *bridge*, they keep down, *and* it *will* not exist.

CHAPTER XXXI[1].

0. On the race and genealogy of the Kayâns.

1. Hôshyang[2] *was son* of Fravâk, *son* of Sîyâkmak[3], *son* of Mâshya[4], *son* of Gâyômar*d*. [2. Takhmôrup[5] *was son* of Vîvanghâû[6], *son* of Yanghad[7], *son of* Hôshyang. 3. Yim,][8] Takhmôrup, Spîtûr[9], *and* Narsih[10], whom they also call 'the Rashnû of *K*înŏ[11],'

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[1] For this chapter, which is numbered XXXII by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20, TD, and K20b (a fragment evidently derived from the same original as K20 and M6, but through some independent line of descent).

[2] So in K20, but usually Hôshâng (see Chaps. XV, 28, XXXIV, 3, 4).

[3] See Chap. XV, 25, 30.

[4] See Chaps. XV, 2–24, 30, XXXIV, 3.

[5] Av. Takhmô-urupa of Râm Yt. 11, Zamyâd Yt. 28, Âfrîn Zarat. 2; written Tâkhmôrup in TD, which is the only MS. in which the passage enclosed in brackets is found, the omission of which by K20 was suspected by Windischmann (Zoroastriche Studien, p. 199). This king is the Tahmûras of the Shâhnâmah. See also Chaps. XVII, 4, XXXIV, 4.

[6] Av. Vîvangh*a*u of Yas. IX, 11, 20, XXXII, 8, Vend. II, 8, 28, 94, Fravardîn Yt. 130, Zamyâd Yt. 35.

[7] As this Pâzand name or title begins with a *medial* y, its initial vowel is probably omitted (see p. 141, note 8).

[8] Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, &c., the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah (see Chaps. XVII, 5, XXXIV, 4).

[9] Av. Spityura of Zamyâd Yt. 46.

[10] Here written Nârsî in K20 and K20b, and Nôsîh in TD; but see § 5 and Chap. XXIX, 6. Windischmann suggests that he may be the Av. Aoshnara pouru-*g*îra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2.

[11] An epithet equivalent to 'the Minos of China;' Rashnû being the angel of justice, who is said to weigh the meritorious deeds of

were all brothers. 4. From Yim and Yimak[1], who was *his* sister, was born a pair, man *and* woman, and they became husband *and* wife together; Mîrak the Âspiyân[2] and Zîyânak Zardâhim were *their* names, *and* the lineage went on. 5. Spîtûr was he who, with Dahâk, cut up Yim[3]; Narsih[4] lived then[5] also, *whom* they call Nêsr-gyâvân[6]; they say that such destiny (gadman) is allotted to him[7], that he shall pass every day in troubles, and shall make all food purified *and* pure.

6. Dahâk[8] *was son* of Khrûtâsp, *son* of Zâînîgâv,

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the departed soul against its sins. Neither word is, however, quite certain, as rashnûk may stand for rasnîk, 'spear,' and has also been translated by 'light' and 'hero;' *K*înŏ, moreover, was probably not China, but Samarkand (see Chaps. XII, 13, 22, XV, 29).

[1] See Chap. XXIII, 1.

[2] Av. Âthwyâna of Âbân Yt. 33, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Zamyâd Yt. 36, &c., where it is the family name of Thraêtaona, who is said to be a son of Âthwya in Yas. IX, 23, 24. In the text this name seems to be used rather as a title than a patronymic, and in § 7 it appears to be a family surname.

[3] As stated in Zamyâd Yt. 46.

[4] Here written Nârsak in K20 and K20b, and Nôsîh in TD.

[5] TD has 'together,' instead of 'then.'

[6] So in K20, but K20b has Narst-gyâvân, and TD has Nôsîh-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk). Perhaps we may assume the epithet to have been nîgîr-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk), 'one with a bewildering (or longing) glance.'

[7] Justi supposes this clause of the sentence refers to Yim and the disease which attacked his hand. If this be the case it may be translated as follows: 'they say aîghash is produced on his hand (yadman), so that,' &c.; aîghash being a disease, or evil, mentioned in Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24; compare Chap. XXVIII, 33.

[8] Or Az-i Dahâk, the Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' of Yas. IX, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 29, 34, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Zamyâd Yt. 46–50. A name applied to a foreign dynasty (probably Semitic) personified as a single king, which conquered the dominions of Yim (see Chap. XXXIV, 5).

son of Virafsang, *son* of Tâz, *son* of Fravâk, *son* of Sîyâkmak [1]; by *his* mother Dahâk *was* of Udaî [2], *son* of Bayak, *son* of Tambayak, *son* of Owokhm [3], *son* of Pairi-urvaêsm [4], *son* of Gadhwithw [5], *son* of Drûgâs-kân [6], *son* of the evil spirit.

7. Frêdûn the Âspiyân [7] *was son of* Pûr-tôrâ [8] the Âspiyân, *son* of Sôk-tôrâ [9] the Âspiyân, *son* of Bôr-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Sîyâk-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Spêd-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Gefar-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of Ramak-tôrâ the Âspiyân, *son* of

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[1] For the last three names, see Chap. XV, 25, 28.

[2] Pahl. Aûd in TD; compare 'the demon Uda' of Chap. XXVIII, 19. The following two names look like 'fear' and 'gloom-fear,' both appropriate names for demons.

[3] TD has Pâz. Owôikh; compare Av. aoiwra, 'a species of night-mare,' observing that r and ô are often written alike in Pahlavi.

[4] TD and K20b have Pâz. Pairi-urva-urvaêsm, and K20 has Pai-urvaêsm.

[5] TD has Pâz. Gawithw.

[6] So in TD, but K20 has Pâz. Druz-i ayaskâ, and K20b has Drug-i ayaskâ. It corresponds to Av. drugaska in Vend. XIX, 139, Vistâsp Yt. 26. This genealogy appears to trace Dahâk's maternal descent through a series of demons.

[7] Av. Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya, but generally called 'the Âthwyânian,' who slew the destructive serpent (azi dahâka), see Yas. IX, 24, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 33, 61, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Râm Yt. 23, Ashi Yt. 33, Zamyâd Yt. 36, 92, Âf. Zarat. 2. In the Shâhnâmah he is called Ferîdûn son of Abtîn.

[8] This name is omitted in K20, but occurs in the other two MSS.; it is a Huzvâris hybrid equivalent to Pâz. Pûr-gau and Av. Pourugau, which is a title of an Âthwyânian in Âf. Zarat. 4, Vistâsp Yt. 2. This genealogy consists almost entirely of such hybrid names, which have a very artificial appearance, though suitable enough for a race of herdsmen, meaning, as they severally do, 'one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, with the black ox, with the white ox, with the fat ox, and with a herd of oxen.'

[9] So in TD, but the other two MSS. have Sîyâk-tôrâ, which is probably wrong, as the same name occurs again in this genealogy.

Vanfraghesn[1] the Âspiyân, *son* of Yim, *son* of Vîvanghâû; as these, apart from the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ, were ten generations, they every one lived a hundred years, which becomes one thousand years; those thousand years were the evil reign of Dahâk. 8. By the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ was begotten Frêdûn, who exacted vengeance for Yim; together *with him*[2] also were the sons Barmâyûn *and* Katâyûn, *but* Frêdûn was fuller of glory than they.

9. By Frêdûn three sons were begotten, Salm and Tûg and Aîrîk[3]; and by Aîrîk one son *and* one pair[4] were begotten; the names of the couple of sons were Vânîdâr *and* Anastokh[5], *and* the name of the daughter was Gûzak[6]. 10. Salm *and* Tûg slew *them* all, Aîrîk and *his* happy sons, *but* Frêdûn kept the daughter in concealment, *and* from that daughter a daughter was born[7]; they became aware *of it*, and the mother was slain by them. 11. Frêdûn provided for the daughter[8], also in concealment, for

[1] In TD this name can be read Vanfrôkisn or Vanfrôkgân.

[2] TD has 'as well as *him*.' K20b omits most of this sentence by mistake.

[3] These sons, as Windischmann observes, are not mentioned in the extant Avesta, but their Avesta names, Sairima, Tûirya or Tûra, and Airya or Airyu, may be gathered from the names of the countries over which they are supposed to have ruled (see Fravardîn Yt. 143).

[4] TD has 'two sons *and* one daughter.'

[5] TD has Anîdâr and Anastabŏ.

[6] Or Gûgak, in TD; the other MSS. have Pâz. Ganga here, but Guzak in § 14; it is identical with the name of Hôshyang's sister and wife in Chap. XV, 28. In the Pâzand Gâmâsp-nâmah the name of Frêdûn's daughter is written Vîrak.

[7] Reading min zak dûkht dûkht-ı zâd, as in K20b and TD; some uncertainty arises here from the words dûkht, 'daughter,' and dvâd, 'pair,' being written alike in Pahlavi.

[8] TD has bartman, 'daughter,' indicating that the word in K20 must be read dûkht, and not dvâd, 'pair.'

ten generations, when Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînîk was born from *his* mother, [*so called* because, as he was born, *some* of][1] the light of the sun (khûrshêd) fell upon *his* nose (vînîk). 12. From Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînîk *and his* sister[2] was Mânûs-khûrnar, *and* from Mânûs-khûrnar [*and his* sister] was Mânûskîhar born[3], by whom Salm and Tûg were slain in revenge for Aîrîk[4]. 13. By Mânûskîhar were Fris, Nôdar[5], and Dûrâsrôb[6] begotten.

14. Just as Mânûskîhar *was* of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk[7], who was Mâm-sozak[8], of Aîrak, of Thritak, of Bîtak, of Frazûsak, of Zûsak[9], of Fragûzak, of Gûzak, of Aîrîk, of Frêdûn, *so* Frâsîyâv[10] *was*

[1] The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD; and the whole passage from 'vînîk' to 'sun' is omitted in K20, evidently by mistake.

[2] TD has 'from Mânûs and *his* sister,' and K20b has 'from Mânûs-hûkîhar *and* Mânûs-khûrshêd.'

[3] The words in brackets occur only in TD, and K20b has 'from Mânûs-khûrnar also was Mânûs-khûrnâk, *from* Mânûs-khûrnâk was Mânûskîhar born,' but this introduction of an extra generation is not confirmed by the list of names in § 14. The term khûrnâk (or khûrnak) seems to be merely a transcript of the Avesta word of which khûrshêd-vînîk, 'sun-nose,' is a translation. The other term khûrnar can also be read khûrvar, but K20 has Pâz. *hv*arnar. Mânûskîhar is the Av. Manuskithra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, where he is styled the Airyavan, or descendant of Airyu (Aîrîk).

[4] TD has '*and* vengeance exacted for Aîrîk.'

[5] See Chap. XXIX, 6.

[6] Pâz. Durâsro, but the Pahlavi form, given in the text, occurs in § 31 and Chap. XXXII, 1 in TD, which MS. omits this § by mistake.

[7] The same as Mânûs-i khûrshêd-vînîk, as noted above.

[8] This Pâzand epithet seems to mean 'mother-burning,' and may have some connection with the legend mentioned in § 11. TD has mûn am Gûgak, 'whose mother was Gûgak.'

[9] K20b omits the five names from Aîrak to Zûsak.

[10] Av. Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, of Yas. XI, 21, Âbân Yt. 41,

of Pashang, of Zaêsm[1], of Tûrak, of Spaênyasp, of Dûrôshasp, of Tûg, of Frêdûn. 15. He (Frâsîyâv) as well as Karsêvaz[2], whom they call Kadân[3], *and* Aghrêrad[4] were all three brothers.

[16[5]. Pashang and Vîsak were both brothers. 17. By Vîsak were Pîrân[6], Hûmân, Sân[7], and other brothers begotten. 18. By Frâsîyâv were Frasp-i Kûr, Sân, Shêdak[8], and other sons begotten; *and* Vispân-fryâ[9], from whom Kaî-Khûsrôb was born, was daughter of Frâsîyâv, *and* was of the same mother with Frasp-i Kûr. 19. From Frasp-i Kûr *were* Sûrâk, Asûrîk, and other children; *and* by them were Khvâst-aîrikht, Yazdân-aîrikht, Yazdân-sarâd, Frêh-khûrd, Lâ-vahâk[10], and others begotten, a recital of whom *would* be tedious.

20. By Aghrêrad *was* Gôpatshah[11] begotten. 21. When Frâsîyâv made Mânûskîhar, with the Iranians, captive in the mountain-range (gar) of Padashkh-

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Gôs Yt. 18, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 42, Zamyâd Yt. 56–63, 82, 93; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmah.

[1] Zâdsam in the Shâhnâmah.

[2] Garsîvaz in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] TD has Pahl. Kîdân.

[4] See Chap. XXIX, 5.

[5] The remainder of this chapter is found only in TD.

[6] Pîrân Vîsah is Afrâsiyâb's chief general in the Shâhnâmah, and Hûmân and Pîlsam are his brothers.

[7] This name is very ambiguous in Pahlavi, as it can be read many other ways.

[8] Shêdah in the Shâhnâmah.

[9] She is called Farangîs in the Shâhnâmah.

[10] The reading of several of these names is more or less uncertain, but the object of the author is evidently to apply opprobrious epithets to all the male descendants of Afrâsiyâb.

[11] TD has Gôpat-malkâ here, as also in Chap. XXIX, 5, where it is said to be a title of Aghrêrad (always written Agrêrad in TD).

vâr[1], *and* scattered ruin *and* want among them, Aghrêra*d* begged a favour of God (yazdân), and he obtained the benefit that the army and champions of the Iranians were saved by him from that distress. 22. Frâsîyâ*v* slew Aghrêra*d* for that fault; *and* Aghrêra*d*, as his recompense, begat *such* a son as Gôpatshah.

23. Aûzôbô the Tûhmâspian[2], Kanak-i Barzi*s*t, Arawi*s*anasp, *and* Vaêta*nd*-i Râghinôi*d* *were* the three sons *and* the daughter of Agâima*s*vâk[3], the *son* of Nô*d*ar, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar, who begat Aûzôbô. 24. Kavâ*d*[4] was a child in a waist-cloth (kuspû*d*); they abandoned *him* on a river, *and* he froze upon the door-sills (kavâ*d*akân); Aûzôbô perceived and took *him*, brought *him* up, *and* settled the name of the trembling child.

25. By Kavâ*d* *was* Kaî-Apîvêh begotten; by Kaî-Apîvêh *were* Kaî-Arsh, Kaî-Vyârsh, Kaî-Pisân, and Kaî-Kâûs begotten; by Kaî-Kâûs *was* Sîyâvakhsh begotten; by Sîyâvakhsh *was* Kaî-Khûsrôb[5]

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[1] The mountains south of the Caspian (see Chap. XII, 17).

[2] Av. Uzava Tûmâspana of Fravardîn Yt. 131, called Zav, or Zâb, son of Tahmâsp, in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] None of these names, which TD gives in Pâzand, are to be found in the portion of the Avesta yet extant.

[4] Av. Kavi Kavâta of Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, called Kaî-Qubâd in the Shâhnâmah. There appears to be an attempt, in the text, to derive his name from the 'door-sill' on which he is said to have been found.

[5] The Avesta names of these seven other Kayâns are, respectively, Kavi Aipi-vanghu, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Byârshân, Kavi Pisanangh, Kavi Usadhan, Kavi Syâvarshân, and Kavi Husravangh (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74); omitting the third, they are called, respectively, Armîn, Ari*s*, Pa*s*în, Kaî-Kâvûs, Siyâvush, and Kaî-Khusrô in the Shâhnâmah. TD, omitting the first letter, has Sânŏ for Pisân; it also writes Kaî-Kâyûks and Kaî-Khûsrôvî.

begotten. 26. Keresâsp[1] *and* Aûrvakhsh[2] were both brothers. 27. Athrat[3] *was son* of Sâhm, *son* of Tûrak, *son* of Spaênyasp, *son* of Dûrôshasp[4], *son* of Tû*g*, *son* of Frê*d*ûn. 28. Lôharâsp[5] *was son* of Aûzâv[6], *son* of Mânû*s*, *son of* Kaî-Pîsîn[7], *son of* Kaî-Apîvêh, *son of* Kaî-Kavâ*d*. 29. *By* Kaî-Lôharâsp were Vi*s*tâsp, Zarîr[8], *and* other brothers begotten; by Vi*s*tâsp were Spend-dâ*d*[9] and Pêshyô-tanû[10] begotten; and by Spend-dâ*d* were Vohûman[11], Âtarô-tarsah, Mitrô-tarsah, *and* others begotten.

30. Artakhshatar *descendant* of Pâpak—of whom his mother *was* daughter—*was son* of Sâsân[12], *son* of

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[1] Av. Keresâspa of Yas. IX, 31, 36, 39, Vend. I, 36, Âbân Yt. 37, Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38–44, Âf. Zarat. 3; he is called Gar*s*âsp in the Shâhnâmah.

[2] Av. Urvâkhshaya of Yas. IX, 31, Râm Yt. 28, Âf. Zarat. 3. These brothers were sons of Thrita or Athrat, mentioned in the next §.

[3] Av. Thrita of the Sâma race (see Yas. IX, 30, Vend. XX, 11) and father of Keresâspa, whose genealogy is given in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah as follows: Gar*s*âsp, Atrat, *S*am, Tûrag, *S*îdasb, Tûr, Jamshêd.

[4] Written Dûrôshap in TD, both here and in § 14.

[5] Av. Aurva*d*-aspa of Âbân Yt. 105, Vi*s*tâsp Yt. 34, 46, called Luhrâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

[6] Reading doubtful.

[7] Written Ka-Pîsîn here, but he is the same person as Kaî-Pisân of § 25; the latter part of the name is written both Pisanangh and Pisina in the Avesta.

[8] Probably Zargar (being Av. Zairivairi of Âbân Yt. 112, 117, Fravardîn Yt. 101), but called Zarîr in the Shâhnâmah.

[9] Av. Spe*n*tô-dâta of Fravardîn Yt. 103, Vi*s*tâsp Yt. 25, called Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

[10] See Chaps. XXIX, 5, XXXII, 5.

[11] Called Bahman in the Shâhnâmah, and Ar*d*ashîr the Kayânian in Bahman Yt. II, 17; the successor of his grandfather Vi*s*tâsp (see Chap. XXXIV, 8).

[12] The text is rather obscure, but the Kârnâmak of Ar*d*ashîr-i Pâpakân states clearly that Ar*d*ashîr was son of Sâsân by the

Vêh-âfrî*d* and[1] Zarîr, *son* of Sâsân, *son* of Artakhshatar who *was* the said Vohûman *son* of Spend-dâ*d*.

31. The mother of Kaî-Apîvêh was Farhank[2], *daughter* of *him who is* exalted on the *heavenly* path[3], Urva*d*-gâi-frâ*s*t[4], *son* of Râk, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar. 32. This, too, it says, that the glory[5] of Frê*d*ûn settled on the root of a reed (kanyâ) in the wide-formed ocean; *and* Nôktargâ[6], through sorcery, formed a cow for tillage, *and* begat *children* there; three years he carried the reeds there, *and* gave them to the cow, until the glory went on to the cow; he brought the cow, milked *her* milk, *and* gave *it* to his three sons; as *their* walking *was on* hoofs, the glory did not go to the sons, but to Farhank. 33. Nôktargâ wished to injure[7] Farhank, *but* Farhank went with the glory *away* from

daughter of Pâpak, a tributary ruler of Pârs under Ardavân, the last of the A*s*kâniyân monarchs.

[1] So in the Pahlavi text, which therefore makes Vêh-âfrî*d* a woman's name (like Pers. Beh-âfrîn); but this is doubtful, as the MSS. often confound va, 'and,' and i, '*son* of.'

[2] In the Shâhnâmah Farhang is mother of Kaî-Kâvûs. The Pahlavi name can also be read Farânak, the name of the mother of Ferîdûn in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] Pâz. vîdharg-âfrâ*s*taka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'Urva*d*-gâ *son* of Frâ*s*t.'

[5] The divine glory which was supposed to accompany all legitimate sovereigns of Iran, from the time of Hôshyang even to that of the Sasanian dynasty; it is the Av. *hv*arenangh of the Zamyâd Ya*s*t, and is said to have fled to the ocean for refuge during the reign of foreign dynasties and wicked kings (see Âbân Yt. 42, Zamyâd Yt. 51, 56, 59, 62).

[6] The last syllable is so written, in Pâzand, in § 33.

[7] Reading han*g*î*d*anŏ, 'to injure,' instead of khun*g*danŏ, which may mean 'to embrace;' the difference between the two words being merely the letter î.

the fierce (tîb) father, and made a vow (patyastâk) thus: 'I will give *my* first son to Aûshbâm[1].' 34. Then Aûshbâm saved her from the father; and the first son, Kaî-Apîvêh, she bore and gave to Aûshbâm, was a hero associating with Aûshbâm, and travelled in Aûshbâm's company.

35. The mother of Aûzôbô was the daughter of Nâmûn the wizard, when Nâmak[2] was with Frâsîyâ*v*.

36. And, moreover, together with those begotten by Sâm[3] were six children in pairs, male *and* female; the name of one *was* Damnak, of one Khûsrôv, *and of one* Mârgandak, *and* the name of *each* man and woman together was one. 37. And the name of one *besides* them was Dastân[4]; he was considered more eminent than they, and Sagânsîh[5] and the southern quarter were given to him; and Avar-shatrô[6] and the governorship were given by him to Avarnak. 38. Of Avar-shatrô this is said, that *it is* the district of Avarnak, *and* they offered blessings *to* Srôsh and Ar*d*avahi*s*t in succession; on this account is *their* possession of horses and possession of arms; and on account of firm religion, purity, and manifest joy, good estimation and extensive fame are greatly

[1] This name means 'the dawn;' perhaps it may be identified with Av. Usinemangh or Usenemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 113, 140, whose wife Fr*e*ni may possibly be the Farhank (or Frânak) of the text.

[2] So in TD, but it is probably only a variant of Nâmûn.

[3] The grandfather of Rustam (see § 41). In the Avesta he is usually called Sâma Keresâspa with the title Nairiman*a*u; while in the Shâhnâmah Sâm is son of Narîmân.

[4] Another name for Zâl, the father of Rustam, in the Shâhnâmah.

[5] The same as Sagastân.

[6] Or, perhaps, 'the upper district.'

among them. 39. To Damnak the governorship of Asûristân was given; sovereignty and arranging the law of sovereignty, wilfulness and the stubborn defects they would bring, were among them. 40. To Sparnak[1] the governorship of Spâhân[2] was given; to Khûsrôv the governorship of Râi[3] was given; to Mârgandak the kingdom, forest settlements, and mountain settlements of Padashkhvârgar were given; *where* they travel nomadically, and *there are* the forming of sheep-folds, prolificness, easy procreation, and continual triumph over enemies. 41. From Dastân proceeded Rûdastâm[4] and Hûzavârak[5].]

CHAPTER XXXII[6].

1. On the kindred of Pôrûshasp[7], *son* of Paîtirâsp[8], *son* of Aurvadasp[9], *son* of Hâêkadâsp[10], *son* of

[1] He would seem not to have been a son of Sâm, as he is not mentioned before. The reading of all these names is uncertain.

[2] The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

[3] Av. Ragha of Yas. XIX, 51, Vend. I, 60, whose ruins are near the modern Teherân.

[4] The usual Pahlavi form of Rustam.

[5] Or Aûzvârak; Rustam's brother is called Zavârah in the Shâhnâmah.

[6] This chapter, which is numbered XXXIII by previous translators, is found in all MSS., but in TD it forms a continuation of the preceding chapter, beginning with the name Pôrûshasp.

[7] Av. Pourushaspa of Yas. IX, 42, 43, Vend. XIX, 15, 22, 143, Âbân Yt. 18, &c.

[8] K20 has Pâz. Spitarsp, and M6 has Pâz. Pirtrasp (see note on Chap. XXXIII, 1). The reading in the text is doubtful.

[9] Omitted in K20 and TD.

[10] Av. Haêkadaspa of Yas. XLV, 15, LII, 3.

*K*akhshnûs [1], *son* of Pâîtîrasp, *son* of Hardarsn [2], *son* of Hardâr [3], *son* of Spîtâmân [4], *son* of Vîdast [5], *son* of Ayazem, *son* of Ragan [6], *son* of Dûrâsrôb [7], *son* of Mânûs*k*îhar [8]. 2. As Paîtirâsp *had* two sons, one Pôrûshasp *and* one Ârâsti [9], by Pôrûshasp was Zaratûst begotten for a sanctuary of good religion [10], *and* by Ârâsti was Mê*d*yôk-mâh [11] begotten. 3. Zaratûst, when he brought the religion, first celebrated

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[1] Windischmann suggests Av. *K*âkhshnôis (gen.) of Fravardîn Yt. 114.

[2] K20 has Pâz. Harsn and TD has Harakî*d*ârsnŏ.

[3] TD has Harâî*d*âr, or Arâî*d*âr.

[4] Or Spîtâm (as the last syllable is the patronymical suffix), Av. Spitâma, the usual patronymic of Zaratûst.

[5] May be read Vâdist in TD.

[6] Possibly the same person as Râk in Chap. XXXI, 31; but see XXXIII, 3.

[7] So in TD, but Pâz. Durâsrun in K20, M6.

[8] This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the Va*g*arkar*d*-i Dînîk (pp. 28, 29), as published in Bombay by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjânâ in 1848; and is extended back, through the generations mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 1, 2, 7, 14, to Gâyômar*d*, as follows: 'Pôrûshâspô *son* of Paîtîrâsp, *and* Arâspô son of Paîtîrâsp, Urva*n*dasp, Haê*k*a*d*asp, *K*îkhshnus, Paêtirasp, Hardrsn, Haridâr, Spîtâmânŏ, Vaêdist, Nayâzem, Ragisn, Dûrâsrôb, Mânûs*k*îhar sovereign of Iran, Mânus-khûrnar, Mânus-khûrnâk, Nêryôsang, Varzî*d*-dîn, Vîzak, Airyak, Aithritak, Ibitak, Frazîsak, Zisak, Frasizak, Izak, Aîrî*k*, Frê*d*ûn lord of Khvanîras, Pûr-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Nêvak-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Sôg-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Gêfar-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Vanô-i-fravisn the Âspîkân, Yim lord of the seven regions, Vîvanghâû, Ayangha*d*, Ananghad, Takhmôrup, Hôshâng the Pêsdâ*d*, lord of the seven regions, Fravâk, Sîyâmak, Mashyô whose wife was Mashyăk, Gâyôkmar*d* the first man, and father of all mankind in the material world.'

[9] Av. Ârâstaya of Fravardîn Yt. 95; TD has Ârâstih.

[10] The Pâzand words dargâ hidainis appear to be merely a misreading of Pahl. dargâs-i hûdînôîh.

[11] Av. Maidhyô-m*a*ungha of Yas. L, 19, Fravardîn Yt. 95, 106. He is said to have been Zaratûst's first disciple.

worship[1] *and* expounded in Aîrân-vêg, and Mêdyôkmâh received the religion from him. 4. The Môbads[2] of Pârs are all *traced* back to this race of Mânûskîhar.

5. Again, I say, by Zaratûst[3] *were* begotten three sons and three daughters[4]; one *son was* Isadvâstar[5], one Aûrvatad-nar[6], *and* one Khûrshêd-kîhar[7]; as Isadvâstar *was* chief of the priests he became the Môbad of Môbads, *and* passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; Aûrvatad-nar *was* an agriculturist, *and* the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim[8], which is below the earth; Khûrshêd-kîhar *was* a warrior, commander of the army of Pêshyôtanû, *son* of Vistâsp, *and* dwells in Kangdez[8]; *and* of the three daughters the name of one was Frên, of one Srît, *and* of one Pôrukîst[9]. 6. Aûrvatad-nar and Khûrshêd-kîhar were from a serving (kakar) wife[10], the rest were from a privileged (pâdakhshah) wife.

[1] Reading frâg yast; but it may be frâg gast, 'wandered forth.'

[2] The class of priests whose special duty is to perform all religious rites and ceremonies.

[3] This paragraph is quoted, with a few alterations, in the Vagarkard-i Dînîk, pp. 21–23.

[4] K20 omits the 'three daughters' here, by mistake.

[5] Av. Isad-vâstra of Yas. XXIII, 4, XXVI, 17, Fravardîn Yt. 98.

[6] Av. Urvatad-nara of Vend. II, 143, Fravardîn Yt. 98. K20 and M6 have Aûrvartad-nar, and TD has Aûrvâtad-nar.

[7] Av. Hvare-kithra of Fravardîn Yt. 98; TD has Khûr-kîhar.

[8] See Chap. XXIX, 5. Windischmann and Justi consider the clause about Pêshyôtanû as inserted by mistake, and it is omitted in the Vagarkard-i Dînîk (p. 21); it is found, however, in all MSS. of the Bundahis.

[9] These daughters are the Av. Freni, Thriti, and Pouru-kista of Fravardîn Yt. 139; the last is also mentioned in Yas. LII, 3.

[10] The following is a summary of the Persian descriptions of the five kinds of marriage, as given in the Rivâyats :—

A pâdshâh ('ruling, or privileged') wife is when a man marries,

7 [1]. By Isa*d*vâstar was begotten a son *whose* name was Ururvi*g*a [2], and they call him Aran*g*-i Bîrâ*d*ân [3] ('fore-arm of brothers') for this reason, that, as they

with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds.

A yûkan or ayûk ('only child') wife is an only child, married with the parents' consent, and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a pâdshâh wife. She is entitled to one-third of her parents' property for giving up the child.

A satar ('adopted') wife is when a man over fifteen years of age dies childless and unmarried, and his relatives provide a maiden with a dowry, and marry her to another man; when half her children belong to the dead man, and half to the living, and she herself is the dead man's wife in the other world.

A *k*akar or *k*âkar ('serving') wife is a widow who marries again; if she had no children by her first husband she is acting as a satar wife, and half her children by her second husband belong to her first one; and she herself, in any case, belongs to her first husband in the other world.

A khûd-*s*arâî or khûd-sarâî ('self-disposing') wife is one who marries without her parents' consent; she inherits no property from her parents until her eldest son has given her as a pâdshâh wife to his father.

[1] Instead of this sentence the Va*g*arkar*d*-i Dînîk (pp. 21, 22) has the following, which appears to rest upon a misinterpretation of the text:—

'And Zaratû*s*t the righteous had three wives; all three were in the lifetime of Zaratû*s*t, and all three wives were living throughout the lifetime of Zaratû*s*t; the name of one was Hvôv, of the second Urvi*g*, of the third Arni*g*-baredâ. And from Urvi*g*, who was a privileged wife, four children were born; one was the son Isa*d*-vâstar, and the three daughters, namely, Frên, Srîtak, and Pôru*k*ist; these four were from Urvi*g*. And from the wife Arni*g*-baredâ two sons were born, one Aûrvart-nar, and the second Khûrshê*d*-*k*îhar; and Arni*g*-baredâ was a serving wife, and the name of the former husband of Arni*g*-baredâ was Mitrô-ayâr. And from Hvôv, who was a privileged wife, *were* three sons, namely, Hûshê*d*ar, Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, and Sôshâns, as it says,' &c. (as in § 8).

[2] TD has Pahl. Aûrvarvî*g*ak or Khûrûrûpak.

[3] So in TD.

were from a serving wife, *she* then delivered them over to Isa*d*vâstar through adoption. 8. This, too, *one* knows, that three sons of Zaratû*s*t, namely, Hûshê*d*ar, Hûshê*d*ar-mâh [1], and Sôshyans [2], were from Hvôv [3]; as it says, that Zaratû*s*t went near unto Hvôv three times, *and* each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang [4] received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered *it* with care to the angel Anâhî*d* [5], *and* in time will blend *it* with a mother. 9. Nine thousand, nine hundred, and ninety-nine, and nine myriads [6] of the guardian spirits of the righteous are intrusted with *its* protection, so that the demons may not injure *it* [7].

10. The name of the mother of Zaratû*s*t was Dughdâ [8], *and* the name of the father of the mother of Zaratû*s*t was Frahimravâ [9].

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[1] Av. Ukhshya*d*-ereta and Ukhshya*d*-nemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 128.

[2] Av. Saoshyãs of Vend. XIX, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 129, &c. See Chaps. XI, 6, XXIX, 6, XXX, 3, 4, 7, 17, 25, 27.

[3] Av. Hvôvi of Fravardîn Yt. 139, Dîn Yt. 15; the Pahlavi form of the name, as given once in TD, is Hûvâôbŏ.

[4] See Chap. XV, 1.

[5] Av. anâhita of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.; a female personification of 'unsullied' water, known generally by the epithet ardvî sûra (the Arêdvîvsûr of Chap. XIII), and whose name is also applied to the planet Venus (see Chap. V, 1).

[6] So in M6; other MSS. have '9,999 myriads,' but see Fravardîn Yt. 62.

[7] This last phrase, about the demons, is omitted in TD and the Va*g*arkar*d*-i Dînîk.

[8] The Avesta word for 'daughter.'

[9] TD has Pâz. Fereâhimruvânâ.

[CHAPTER XXXIII[1].

0. The family of the Môbads ('priests').

1. Bahak[2] *was* son of Hûbakht, *son* of Âtarô-bôndak, *son* of Mâhda*d*, *son* of Mê*d*yôk-mâh, *son* of Frâh-vakhsh-vindâ*d*[3], *son* of Mê*d*yôk-mâh, *son* of Kâ*d*[4], *son* of Mê*d*yôk-mâh, *son* of Ârâstîh, *son* of Paîtirâsp[5]. 2. As Bahak was Môbad of Môbads (high-priest) unto Shâhpûhar[6], son of Aûharmazd, *so* Kâ*d* was the great preceptor (farmâ*d*âr) unto Dârâî[7].

3. Âtarô-pâ*d*[8] *was son* of Mâraspend, *son* of Dâ*d*-ar*d*â, *son* of Dâ*d*îrâ*d*, *son* of Hûdînô, *son* of Âtarô-dâ*d*, *son* of Mânûs*k*îhar, *son* of Vohûman-*k*îhar, *son* of Fryânô[9], *son* of Bâhak[10], *son* of Frê*d*ûn, *son* of Fra-

[1] This chapter is found only in TD, where it forms a continuation of the preceding, and affords a means (see §§ 10, 11) for determining the age of the recension of the text contained in that MS. As nearly all the names are written in Pahlavi letters, the pronunciation of many of them is merely a matter of guess.

[2] Here written Bôhak, but it is Bahak or Bâk in § 2; compare Bâhak in § 3, and Av. B*a*ungha of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

[3] Compare Av. Frashâvakhsha of Fravardîn Yt. 109.

[4] Compare Av. Kâta of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

[5] See Chap. XXXII, 2, for the last three generations; TD has Pîrtarâsp here, like the variant of M6 in Chap. XXXII, 1.

[6] The Sasanian king Shâpûr II, who reigned A.D. 309–379.

[7] According to the chronology of the Bundahi*s* (Chap. XXXIV, 8, 9), Dârâî lived only some four centuries before Shâpûr II, for which period only seven generations of priests are here provided. This period, moreover, is certainly about three centuries less than the truth.

[8] This priest was prime minister of Shâpûr II.

[9] Compare Av. Fryâna of Yas. XLV, 12.

[10] This name is repeated in TD, probably by mistake (compare Bahak in §§ 1, 2).

shâîtar[1], *son* of Pôrushasp, *son* of Vînâsp, *son* of Nivar, *son* of Vakhsh, *son* of Vahidhrôs, *son* of Fra*s*t, *son* of Gâk[2], *son* of Vakhsh, *son* of Fryân, *son* of Ra*g*an, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar[3].

4. Mitrô-varâ*z* *was son* of Nîgâs-afzû*d*-dâk, *son* of Shîrtashôsp, *son* of Par*s*tva, *son* of Urva*d*-gâ, *son* of Tâham, *son* of Zarîr, *son* of Dûrâsrôb, *son* of Mânû*s*[4]. 5. Dûrnâmîk *was son* of Zâgh, *son* of Ma*s*vâk, *son* of Nô*d*ar[5], *son* of Mânû*sk*îhar.

6. Mitrô-akâvî*d* *is son* of Mar*d*ân-vêh[6], *son* of Afrôbag-vindâ*d*, *son* of Vindâ*d*-i-pê*d*âk, *son* of Vâê-bûkht[7], *son* of Bahak, *son* of Vâê-bûkht. 7. The mother from whom I was born is Hûmâî, daughter of Freh-mâh, who also *was* the righteous daughter[8]

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[1] This is probably a semi-Huzvâri*s* form of Frashô*s*tar.

[2] Perhaps this name should be read along with the next one, so as to give the single Pâzand name *S*kina*s* or *S*kiva*s*.

[3] See Chap. XXXII, 1, for the last three generations. According to this genealogy Âtarôpâ*d*-i Mâraspendân was the twenty-third in descent from Mânû*sk*îhar, whereas his contemporary, Bahak (§ 1), was twenty-second in descent from the same.

[4] No doubt Mânû*sk*îhar is meant; if not, we must read Mânû*s*-dûrnâmîk in connection with § 5.

[5] Here written Nî*d*ar, but see Chaps. XXIX, 6, XXXI, 13.

[6] Here written Mar*d*-vêh, but see § 8.

[7] Here written Aê-vûkht, but see § 8; it may be Vîs-bûkht, or Vê*s*-bûkht.

[8] The text is amî*d*ar mûna*s* li a*g*a*s* zerkhûn*d* Hûmôî dûkht-i Freh-mâh-i*k* aharôb vûkht (dûkht?). We might perhaps read 'Freh-mâh *son* of *K*ahârôb-bûkht,' but it seems more probable that §§ 7, 8 should be connected, and that the meaning intended is that Hûmâî was daughter of Freh-mâh (of a certain family) and of Pûyi*s*n-shâ*d* (of another family); she was also the mother of the editor of that recension of the Bundahi*s* which is contained in TD; but who was his father? The singularly unnecessary repetition of the genealogy of the two brothers, Mitrô-akâvî*d* and Pûyi*s*n-shâ*d*, in §§ 6, 8, leads to the suspicion that if the latter

of Mâh-ayâr *son* of Mâh-bôndak, *son* of Mâh-bûkht. 8. Pûyisn-shâ*d is son* of Mar*d*ân-vêh, *son* of Afrôbag-vindâ*d*, *son* of Vindâ*d*-i-pê*d*âk, *son* of Vâê-bûkht, *son* of Bahak, *son* of Vâê-bûkht.

9. All the other Môbads who have been renowned in the empire (khû*d*âyîh) *were* from the same family it is said, *and* were of this race of Mânû*s*-*k*îhar[1]. 10. Those Môbads, likewise, who now exist are all from the same family they assert, and I, too, they boast, whom they call[2] 'the administration of perfect rectitude' (Dâ*d*akîh-i Ashôvahi*s*tô)[3]. 11. Yûdân-Yim *son* of Vâhrâm-shâ*d*, *son* of Zaratû*s*t, Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mâraspend, *son* of Zâ*d*-sparham[4],

were his mother's father, the former was probably his own father or grandfather. Unfortunately the text makes no clear statement on the subject, and § 10 affords further material for guessing otherwise at his name and connections.

[1] Compare Chap. XXXII, 4.

[2] Reading va lî*k* laband-i karîtûnd.

[3] This looks more like a complimentary title than a name, and if the editor of the TD recension of the Bundahi*s* were the son or grandson of Mitrô-akâvî*d* (§ 6) we have no means of ascertaining his name; but if he were not descended from Mitrô-akâvî*d* it is possible that §§ 10, 11 should be read together, and that he was the son of Yûdân-Yim. Now we know, from the heading and colophon of the ninety-two questions and answers on religious subjects which are usually called the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk, and from the colophons of other writings which usually accompany that work, that those answers were composed and certain epistles were written by Mânû*s*-*k*îhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, who was high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881), and apparently a more important personage than his (probably younger) brother Zâ*d*-sparham, who is mentioned in § 11 as one of the priests contemporary with the editor of the TD recension. If this editor, therefore, were a son of Yûdân-Yim (which is a possible interpretation of the text) he was most probably this same Mânû*s*-*k*îhar, author of the Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk (see the Introduction, § 4).

[4] The last name is very probably superfluous, Zâ*d*-sparham

Zâd-sparham *son* of Yûdân-Yim[1], Âtarô-pâd son of Hâmîd[2], Ashôvahist *son* of Freh-Srôsh, *and* the other Môbads have sprung from the same family.

12. This, too, it says, that 'in one winter I *will* locate (gâkînam) the religion of the Mazdayasnians, *which* came out into the other six regions.']

having been written twice most likely by mistake. This Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend was probably the one mentioned in the following extract from the old Persian Rivâyat MS., No. 8 of the collection in the Indian Office Library at London (fol. 142 a):—

'The book Dînkard which the dastûrs of the religion and the ancients have compiled, likewise the blessed Âdarbâd son of Mahrasfend, son of Asavahist of the people of the good religion, in the year three hundred of Yazdagard Shahryâr, collected some of the more essential mysteries of the religion as instruction, and of these he formed this book.' That is, he was the last editor of the Dînkard, which seems to have remained unrevised since his time, as the present copies have descended from the MS. preserved by his family and first copied in A.Y. 369.

[1] Zâd-sparham was brother of the author of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk; he was high-priest at Sîrkân in the south, and evidently had access to the Bundahis, of part of which he wrote a paraphrase (see Appendix). His name is usually written Zâd-sparam.

[2] In the history of the Dînkard, given at the end of its third book (see Introd. to Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, p. xxxiv), we are told as follows:—

'After that, the well-meaning Âtarô-pâd son of Hêmîd, who was the leader of the people of the good religion, compiled, with the assistance of God, through inquiry, investigation, and much trouble, a new means of producing remembrance of the Mazdayasnian religion.' He did this, we are further told, by collecting all the decaying literature and perishing traditions into a work 'like the great original Dînkard, of a thousand chapters' (mânâk-i zak rabâ bûn Dînô-kartô 1000-darakŏ). We thus learn from external sources that the group of contemporary priests, mentioned in the text, was actively employed (about A.D. 900) in an attempted revival of the religious literature of the Mazdayasnians, to which we owe either the revision or compilation of such works as the Dînkard, Dâdistân-i Dînîk, and Bundahis.

CHAPTER XXXIV[1].

0. On the reckoning of the years[2].

1. Time was *for* twelve thousand years; *and* it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual *state*, where the creatures were unthinking, unmoving, *and* intangible[3]; *and* three thousand years[4] was the duration of Gâyômar*d*, with the ox, in the world. 2. As *this* was six thousand years the series of millennium reigns[5] of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo had elapsed, because it was six thousand years when the millennium reign came to Libra, the adversary rushed in, and Gâyômar*d* lived thirty years in tribulation[6]. 3. After the thirty years[7] Mâshya *and* Mâshyôî grew up; it was fifty years while they were not wife *and* husband[8], *and* they were ninety-three years together *as* wife *and* husband till the *time* when Hôshyang[9] came.

4. Hôshyang *was* forty years[10], Takhmôrup[11] thirty years, Yim till *his* glory[12] departed six hundred and

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[1] This chapter is found in all the MSS.

[2] TD adds 'of the Arabs (Tâzîkân).'

[3] See Chap. I, 8. [4] See Chaps. I, 22, III, 1.

[5] This system of a millennium reign for each constellation of the zodiac can hardly have any connection with the precession of the equinoxes, as the equinoxes travel backwards through the zodiac, whereas these millennium reigns travel forwards.

[6] See Chap. III, 21–23.

[7] That is, forty years after the thirty (see Chap. XV, 2).

[8] See Chap. XV, 19, 20. [9] See Chaps. XV, 28, XXXI, 1.

[10] K20 omits, by mistake, from 'together' in § 3 to this point.

[11] See Chap. XXXI, 2.

[12] So in K20, but M6 has nismô, 'soul, reason,' as in Chap. XXIII, 1; the word 'glory' would refer to the supposed divine glory of the Iranian monarchs (see Chap. XXXI, 32).

sixteen years and six months, *and* after that he was a hundred years in concealment. 5. Then the millennium[1] reign came to Scorpio, and Dahâk[2] ruled a thousand years. 6. After the millennium reign came to Sagittarius, Frêdûn[3] *reigned* five hundred years; in the same five hundred years of Frêdûn *were* the twelve years of Aîrîk; Mânûskîhar[4] *was* a hundred and twenty years, *and* in the same reign of Mânûskîhar, when he was in the mountain fastness (dûshkhvâr-gar)[5], *were* the twelve years of Frâsîyâv; Zôb[6] the Tûhmâspian *was* five years.

7. Kaî-Kabâd[7] *was* fifteen years; Kaî-Kâûs, till he went to the sky, seventy-five years, *and* seventy-five years after that, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôv sixty years; Kaî-Lôrâsp[8] a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years[9], altogether a hundred and twenty years.

8. Vohûman[10] *son* of Spend-dâd a hundred and

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[1] The seventh millennium, ruled by Libra, is computed by Windischmann as follows: $30 + 40\frac{1}{2} + 50 + 93 + 40 + 30 + 616\frac{1}{2} + 100 = 1000$. The eighth millennium, ruled by Scorpio, is the thousand years of Dahâk.

[2] See Chap. XXXI, 6.

[3] See Chap. XXXI, 7–11.

[4] See Chap. XXXI, 12–14.

[5] See Chap. XXXI, 21.

[6] Written Aûzôbô in Chap. XXXI, 23, 24.

[7] Usually written Kaî-Kavâd in Pahlavi (see Chap. XXXI, 24, 25).

[8] Also written Kaî-Lôharâsp (see Chap. XXXI, 28, 29).

[9] This is the end of the ninth millennium, ruled by Sagittarius, which is computed by Windischmann as follows: $500 + 120 + 5 + 15 + 150 + 60 + 120 + 30 = 1000$.

[10] See Chap. XXXI, 29, 30, where he is said to have been also called Artakhshatar, which seems to identify him with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that Hûmâî may perhaps be identified with Parysatis, and Dârâî Kîhar-âzâdân with Artaxerxes Ochus, as Dârâî Dârâyân must be

twelve years; Hûmâî, who *was* daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâî son of *K*îhar-âzâ*d*[1], that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâî son of Dârâî fourteen years; Alexander the Rûman[2] fourteen years.

9. The A*s*kânians bore the title in an uninterrupted (a-arûbâk) sovereignty two hundred and eighty-four years[3], Ardashîr son of Pâpak *and* the number of the Sâsânians four hundred and sixty years[4], *and* then it went to the Arabs.

Darius Codomannus, while the reign of Kaî-Vi*s*tâsp seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes.

[1] A surname of Hûmâî.

[2] Sikandar-i Arûmâk, that is, Alexander the Roman (of the eastern or Greek empire), as Pahlavi writers assume.

[3] This period is nearly two centuries too short.

[4] The actual period of Sasanian rule was 425 years (A. D. 226–651). According to the figures given in the text, the tenth millennium, ruled by Capricornus, must have terminated in the fourth year of the last king, Yazdakar*d*. This agrees substantially with the Bahman Ya*s*t, which makes the millennium of Zaratû*s*t expire some time after the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân; probably in the time of Khûsrô Parvîz, or some forty years earlier than the fourth year of Yazdakar*d*. According to the text we must now be near the end of the first quarter of the twelfth and last millennium.

APPENDIX TO THE BUNDAHIS.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM,

BROTHER OF THE DASTÛR OF

PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,

A. D. 881.

PART I, CHAPTERS I–XI.

(PARAPHRASE OF BUNDAHIS, I–XVII.)

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Ya*s*t, as translated in this volume. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khar*d*, ed. West. Pers. for Persian. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The MS. mentioned in the notes is K35 (written probably A.D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

SELECTIONS

OF

ZÂ*D*-SPARAM.

THEY call these memoranda *and* writings the Selections (*k*î*d*akîhâ) of Zâ*d*-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim.

CHAPTER I.

0. In propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd and all the angels—who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (yazdân)—*are* the sayings of Herbad Zâ*d*-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim, who is of the south[1], about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light *was* above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. 2. Aûharmazd *was* in the light, and Aharman in the darkness[2]; Aûharmazd *was* aware of the existence of Aharman and of *his* coming for strife; Aharman was not aware of the existence of light *and* of Aûharmazd[3]. 3. It happened to Aharman, in the gloom *and* darkness, *that*

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[1] Zâ*d*-sparam appears to have been dastûr of Sîrkân, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, and one of the most southern districts in Persia (see Ouseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 138, 139, 141, 143–145).

[2] See Bund. I, 2–4.

[3] Or 'of the light of Aûharmazd' (compare Bund. I, 8, 9).

he was walking humbly (frô-tanû) on the borders, *and* meditating other *things* he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him; and because of *its* antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. 4. And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others[1], Aûharmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Aharman away from His territory; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

5. For protection from the fiend (drûg) the spirits rushed in, the spirits of the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, mankind, and fire He *had* appointed, and they maintained it (the protection) three thousand years. 6. Aharman, also, ever collected means in the gloom; and at the end of the three thousand years he came back to the boundary, blustered (patîstâd), and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* smite thee, I *will* smite the creatures which thou thinkest *have* produced fame for thee—thee who art the beneficent spirit—I will destroy everything about them.'

7. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend[2]!'

8. And, again, Aharman retorted thus: 'I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself[3].'

9. Aûharmazd perceived, through the spirit of wisdom, thus: 'Even the blustering of Aharman is capable of performance, if I do not allow disunion

[1] Reading pavan *k*atârânŏ ham-tanû, but the phrase is somewhat doubtful, and rather inconsistent with Bund. I, 10.

[2] Bund. I, 16. [3] Bund. I, 14.

(lâ barînînam) during a period of struggle.' 10. And he demanded of him a period for friendship [1], for it was seen by him that Aharman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, *and* the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship *and* just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. 11. Aharman relied upon *it*, and Aûharmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Aharman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; *and* from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises [2].

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahûnavar *formula* [3]; and in his Ahûnavar these [4] kinds of benefit were shown:— 13. The first is that, of all things, that is proper which is something declared *as* the will of Aûharmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Aûharmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Aûharmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature. 14. The second is this, that whoever shall do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, his reward *and* recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, the punishment at the bridge [5] owing thereto

[1] Bund. I, 17, 18.

[2] Or 'the poison of the serpent, which is much diffused, becomes endless strife.'

[3] Bund. I, 21.

[4] The word ân, 'those,' however, is probably a miswriting of the cipher for 'three.'

[5] The *K*înva*d* or *K*învar bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

is his own; which is shown from this[1] *formula; and* the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven *and* hell are from it. 15. Thirdly, *it is* shown that the sovereignty of Aûharmazd increases that which is for the poor, *and* adversity is removed; by which *it* is shown that there are treasures for the needy *one, and* treasures are to be *his* friends; as the intelligent creations *are* to the unintelligent, so also *are* the treasures of a wealthy *person* to a needy *one*, treasures liberally given which are his own. 16. And the creatures of the trained hand of Aûharmazd are contending *and* angry (âr*d*îk), one with the other, as the renovation *of the universe* must occur through these three things. 17. That is, first, true religiousness in oneself, *and* reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (nav-barhâm), that Aûharmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent; *and* Aharman is all vileness without goodness. 18. Secondly, hope of the reward *and* recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge *and* the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, *and* abstaining from sin. 19. Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, *their* collective warfare; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation[2].

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[1] The MS. has hûman, 'well-meditating,' instead of denman, 'this;' but the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

[2] This commentary on the Ahûnavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by Zâ*d*-sparam, and is much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows:—

20. By this formula he (Aharman) was confounded, *and* he fell back to the gloom[1]; *and* Aûharmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world; first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind[2]. 21. Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on *their* navels; *and* the sun, moon, *and* stars stood still. 23. In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Aûharmazd observed thus: 'What advantage is there from the creation of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving *or* mischievous?' 24.

'As is the will of the living spirit (as is the will of Aûharmazd) so should be the pastor (so excellent should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as excellent as the will of Aûharmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which among living spirits is the work of Aûharmazd (that is, they would do that which Aûharmazd requires); there are *some* who say it is thus: Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward *and* recompense which they will give to good thought, they would give also unto him); Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Zaratûs*t* said that by the gift of good thought, when among living spirits, they comprehend the doing of deeds. The sovereignty is for Aûharmazd (that is, the sovereignty which is his, Aûharmazd has kept with advantage) who gives necessaries [or comfort, or clothing] to the poor (that is, they would make intercession for them).'

Additional phrases are sometimes inserted, and some words altered, but the above is the usual form of this commentary.

[1] Bund. I, 22. [2] Bund. I, 28.

And in aid of the *celestial* sphere he produced the creature Time (zôrvân)[1]; and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Aûharmazd moving, distinct from the motion of Aharman's creatures, for the shedders of perfume (bôî-dâdân) were standing one opposite to the other while emitting *it*. 25. And, observantly of the end, he brought forward to Aharman a means out of himself, the property of darkness, with which the extreme limits (vîrûnakŏ) of Time *were* connected by him, an envelope (pôstô) of the black-pated and ash-coloured kind. 26. And in bringing it forward he spoke thus: 'Through their weapons the co-operation of the serpent (azŏ) dies away, *and* this *which* is thine, indeed thy own daughter, *dies* through religion; and if at the end of nine thousand years, as it is said *and* written, is a time of upheaval (madam kardanŏ), *she is* upheaved, not ended.'

27. At the same time Aharman came from accompanying Time out to the front, out to the star station; the connection of the sky with the star station *was* open, which showed, since it hung down into empty space, the strong communication of the lights and glooms, the place of strife in which is the pursuit of both. 28. And having darkness with himself he brought it into the sky, *and* left the sky so to gloom that the internal deficiency in the sky extends as much as one-third[2] over the star station.

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[1] This is the Av. zrvâna akarana, 'boundless time or antiquity,' of Vend. XIX, 33, 44. He is a personification of duration and age, and is here distinctly stated to be a creature of Aûharmazd. This throws some doubt upon the statements of Armenian writers, who assert that the two spirits sprang from Zrvâna.

[2] Compare Bund. III, 11.

CHAPTER II.

1. On the coming in of Aharman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that *in* the month Fravard*î*n *and* the day Aûharmazd, at noon[1], he came forth to the frontier of the sky. 2. The sky sees *him* and, on account of *his* nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; *and* Aharman came on, scorching *and* burning into it. 3. Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth[2], and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. 4. The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the height of which *was* several feet, and *it was* without branches and without bark, juicy *and* sweet; and to keep the strength of all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the middle of the earth; and at the self-same time *it became* quite withered[3].

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created[4], as it stood as high as Gâyômar*d* on the

[1] Bund. III, 12. [2] Bund. III, 13.

[3] Bund. III, 14, 16.

[4] The primeval ox, or first-created representative of animals, as Gâyômar*d* was of mankind; from which two representatives all mankind and animals are said to have been afterwards developed. There seems to have been some doubt as to the sex of this mythological ox; here it is distinctly stated to have been a female, but from Bund. X, 1, 2, XIV, 3, it would appear to have been a male, and this seems to be admitted by Dâ*d*-sparam himself, in Chap. IX, 7.

bank of the water of Dâîtih[1] *in* the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gâyômar*d* being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Dâîtih by the same measure; and it was a female, white *and* brilliant as the moon. 7. As the adversary came upon *it* Aûharmazd gave *it* a narcotic, which is also called 'bang,' to eat, and to rub the 'bang' before the eye[2], so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, *and* fell upon its right breast[3] trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gâyômar*d*, who was then about one-third the height of Zaratûst, *and* was brilliant as the sun, Aûharmazd forms, from the sweat[4] on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall, and sends it on to Gâyômar*d*; and he also brings his sweat[5] on to him as long as one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[6] is *being* recited. 9. When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw the world when it was dark as night[7]; on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (vazak), and noxious creatures of many kinds; *and* so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the

[1] The Dâîtîk river (see Bund. XX, 13).

[2] This is a misunderstanding of the corresponding phrase in Bund. III, 18. The narcotic here mentioned is usually prepared from the hemp plant, and is well known in India and the neighbouring countries.

[3] See Bund. IV, 1.

[4] The word which, as it stands in the MS., looks like hômanâe, is here taken as a transposition of min khvâe, in accordance with Bund. III, 19; but it may be a variant of anumâe, 'embryo,' in which case the translation should be, 'forms an embryo into the shape of a man of fifteen years.'

[5] Or it may be 'sleep,' both here and in § 9.

[6] See Bund. I, 21.

[7] Bund. III, 20.

reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle's point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. 10. *There were* the coming of a planetary *star* into planetary conjunction, and the moon and planets at sixes and sevens[1]; many dark forms with the face and curls of A*z*-i Dahâk suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; *and* he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Aharman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it[2].

Chapter III.

1. And Gô*s*ûrvan, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamour of a cry to Aûharmazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together[3]. 2. And Aûharmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gâyômar*d*, went from the earth up to the sky. 3. And Gô*s*ûrvan continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: 'With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?'

Chapter IV.

1. This was the highest predominance of Aharman, for he came on, with all the strength which he

[1] Literally, 'in fours and fives.'
[2] Bund. III, 24.
[3] Bund. IV, 2.

had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky[1], in a downward direction, into a confined *and* captive state, so that it was all dark *and* apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, *his* enemy among the struggles for creation. 2. And this is opposing the renovation *of the universe*, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he *has* come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep[2] of the renovation, *as on* that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Aharman, *crying* thus: 'My victory *has* come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gâyômar*d* is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving[3] are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one *has* remained for me to take *and* pervert in combat except Aûharmazd, and of the earth *there* is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?'

4. And he sends Astô-vîdâ*d*[4] upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (aûzvârânŏ) *and* diseases

[1] Compare Bund. III, 11. The involved style of Zâ*d*-sparam is particularly conspicuous in this chapter.

[2] The word seems to be khvâpi*s*nŏ.

[3] Meaning probably the zodiacal signs, but the word is doubtful, being spelt var*d*i*s*nânŏ instead of var*d*i*s*nânŏ. A very small alteration would change it into varôî*s*nânŏ, 'believers,' but there were no earthly believers at the time alluded to.

[4] See Bund. III, 21, and XXVIII, 35.

which are his own, sicknesses of various kinds, so that they may make him ill *and* cause death. 5. Gâyômar*d* was not secured by them, and the reason was because it was a decree of appointing Time (zôrvânŏ) in the beginning of the coming in of Aharman, that: 'Up to thirty winters I appoint Gâyômar*d* unto brilliance and preservation of life.' 6. And his manifestation in the *celestial* sphere was through the forgiveness of criminals *and* instigators of confusion by *his* good works, and for that reason no opportunity was obtained by them during the extent of thirty years.

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (Aûharmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of *its* being within the control (band) of the luminaries[1]; and Saturn (Kêvân) was death towards the creatures. 8. Both were in their supremacy (bâlîst)[2] at the beginning of the crea-

[1] These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bund. II, 0–4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being employed by Aharman for that purpose (see Mkh. VIII, 17–21, XII, 7–10, XXIV, 8, XXXVIII, 5).

[2] The most obvious meaning of bâlîst is 'greatest altitude,' and this is quite applicable to Jupiter when it attains its highest northern declination on entering Cancer, but it is not applicable to Saturn in Libra, when it has only its mean altitude. At the vernal equinox, however, which was the time of the beginning mentioned in the text, when Aharman invaded the creation (see Chap. II, 1), Libra is in opposition to the sun, and Saturn in Libra would be at its nearest approach to the earth, and would, therefore, attain its maximum brightness; while Jupiter in Cancer would be at its greatest altitude and shining with four-fifths of its maximum brightness. Both planets, therefore, were near their most conspicuous position (which would seem to be the meaning of bâlîst

tures, as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called *G*îvân ('living')[1], for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it; *and* Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness *became* more evident and more dominant thereby. 9. And it was when both shall not be supreme *that* Gâyômar*d* was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years[2] Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, *to* Libra. 10. And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricornus[3], on account of whose own lowness[4], and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, Gâyômar*d* suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Aharman can bring upon the creatures of Aûharmazd.

here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.

[1] This reading suits the context best, but the name can also be read Snahan, and in many other ways. It may possibly be the tenth lunar mansion, whose name is read Nahn in Bund. II, 3, by Pâzand writers, and which corresponds to the latter part of Cancer.

[2] Saturn revolves round the sun in about 29 years and 167 days, so it cannot return into opposition to the sun (or to its maximum brightness), at or near the vernal equinox, in less than thirty years.

[3] That is, while Saturn performs one revolution round the sun, Jupiter performs two and a half, which is very nearly correct, as Jupiter revolves round the sun in about 11 years and 315 days. Therefore, when the supposed deadly influence of Saturn has returned to its maximum, the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter is at its minimum, owing to the small altitude of Capricornus, and no longer counterbalances the destructive power of Saturn.

[4] There seems to be no other reasonable translation, but the MS. has lâ instead of râî, and ni*s*kasp instead of ni*s*îv.

CHAPTER V.

1. When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Aûharmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky[1] he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armour[2]; and the sky in its fortress[3] spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Aharman, thus: 'Now when thou shalt have come in I *will* not let thee back;' *and* it obstructed *him* until Aûharmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, *which* is called 'righteous understanding' (ashôk âkâsîh). 2. And he arranged the guardian spirits[4] of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries *to* an enemy descended from the inside.

3. Immediately, Aharman endeavours that he may go back to his own complete darkness, but he found no passage; and he recapitulated, with seeming misgiving, his fears of the worthiness which is to arise at the appearance of the renovation *of the universe at* the end of the nine thousand years.

4. As it is said in the Gâthas, thus[5]: 'So also

[1] See Chap. III, 2. [2] Compare Bund. VI, 2.

[3] Or 'zodiacal signs,' for bûrgŏ means both.

[4] Bund. VI, 3, 4.

[5] This quotation from the Gâthas is from the Pahlavi Yas. XXX, 4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastûr Jâm-

both those spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation—that is, both spirits have come to the body of Gâyômar*d*. Whatever is in life *is so* through this purpose of Aûharmazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness *is so* through this purpose[1] of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked *their* destruction is fully seen, *and* so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of Aûharmazd.'

5. And this was the first contest[2], *that of* the sky with Aharman.

Chapter VI.

1. And as he (Aharman) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, *on* the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tîstar; the equally watery *one*, that is called Avrak[3], gave forth a cloud *and* went down in the day; that is

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âspji's old MS. of the Yasna in Bombay, very nearly as closely as Spiegel's edition does. It appears, therefore, that Dâ*d*-sparam used the same Pahlavi translation of the Yasna as the Parsis do at the present day.

[1] The MS. here omits the words 'through this purpose,' by mistake.

[2] The word âr*d*îk, which Dâ*d*-sparam uses instead of the kharah, 'conflict,' of Bund. V, 6, VI, 1, &c., may be connected with Pers. ârd, 'anger.'

[3] The ninth lunar mansion (see Bund. II, 3, VII, 1).

declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. 2. Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation *of the zodiac* for this reason, because the month Tîr is the fourth month of the year[1].

3. And as Tîstar begged for assistance, Vohûman and Hôm are therefore co-operating with him in command, Bûrg of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. 4. He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, *and* the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. 5. The drops became each separately *like* a great bowl in which water is drawn; and as to that on *which* they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles[2], who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

6. Afterwards, the wind spirit, in the form of a man, became manifest on the earth; radiant *and* tall he had a kind of wooden boot (mûkvŏ-aê-i dârînô) on *his* feet; *and* as when the life shall stir the body, the body is advancing with like vigour, *so* that spirit of the wind stirs forth the inner nature of the atmospheric wind, the wind pertaining to the whole earth is forth, and the water in its grasp is flung out from it to the sides of the earth, and its wide-formed ocean arose therefrom.

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth[3],

[1] Bund. VII, 2–6 is paraphrased in §§ 2–6.

[2] Reading neksûnd barâ min khasandakânŏ instead of the MS. barâ nasûnd min khasandakânŏ.

[3] Compare Bund. XIII, 1, 2.

and among its contents are a thousand sources *and* fountains, such as are called lakes (var); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes *and* are poured forth into it. 8. And the size of some of all the lakes and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, *who* continually compasses *and* canters around *them*, will attain in forty days, which is 1900[1] long leagues (parasang-i akarîk), each league *being* at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died[2], and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tîstar went down into the ocean; and Apâôsh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and *at* the alarm of the first contest Tîstar was in terror (par*d*). 10. And he applied unto Aûharmazd, *who* brought such power unto Tîstar *as* arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name[3], and they call forth such power unto Tîstar as *that of* ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. 11. And without alarm he drove out Apâôsh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

12. And with a cup and measuring bowl, which possessed the diligence even of a guardian spirit (fravâhar), he seized many more handfuls of water,

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[1] Bund. XIII, 2 has 1700, but as neither number is a multiple of forty in round numbers, it is probable that both are wrong, and that we ought to read 1600.

[2] Bund. VII, 7–14 is paraphrased in §§ 9–14.

[3] The Av. aokhtô-nâmana yasna of Tîstar Yt. 11, 23, 24.

and made *it* rain down[1] much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great and small. 13. And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement *and* beating which Tîstar and the fire Vâzist *inflicted* on the opposition of Apâôsh; the all-deciding (vispô-vi*k*îr) fire Vâzist struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (kêbarânŏ).

14. Ten days *and* nights there was rain, and its darting[2] *was* the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove *it* to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Pûîtîk, the Kamîrî*d*, and the Gêhân-bûn[3]. 15. Of these the Pûîtîk itself is salt water, in which is a flow *and* ebb[4]; and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up *and* going down, that of the moon is manifested. 16. The wide-formed *ocean* stands forth on the south side as to (pavan) Albûr*z*[5], and the Pûîtîk stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (var) of Satavês, whose connection is with Satavês, which is the southern quarter. 17. In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow *and* ebb; of the

[1] Or perhaps 'made the cloud rain,' if madam vârânînî*d* stands for a*v*ar vârânînî*d*.

[2] Reading partâ*v* instead of the MS. patûtâ*v*, 'powerful fury.'

[3] This is a variant of the *S*ahî-bûn or *G*âhî-bûn of Bund. XIII, 7, 15; the other two names differ but little from those given in Bund. XIII. In the MS. Pûîtîk occurs once, and Puîtîk twice.

[4] Compare §§ 15–18 with Bund. XIII, 8–14.

[5] Compare Bund. XIII, 1.

curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, *and* have an abode in Satavês; one is the up-drag *and* one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, *and* through the down-drag occurs the ebb[1]. 18. And Satavês itself is a gulf (var) and side *arm* of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity *and* turbidness which *come* from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind[2], while that which is clear through purity goes into the Arêdvisûr sources of the wide-formed ocean. 19. Besides these four[3] there are the small seas[4].

20. And, afterwards, *there* were made to flow from Albûr*z*, out of its northern border, two rivers[5], which *were* the Arvand[6]—that is, the Diglît, *and* the flow

[1] This is even a more mechanical theory of the tides than that detailed in Bund. XIII, 13. Whether the 'curving tails' (ga*g*ak dunbak) are the 'horns' of the crescent moon is uncertain.

[2] By an accidental transposition of letters the MS. has âtarô, 'fire,' instead of vâtô, 'wind.'

[3] The ocean and three principal seas.

[4] Said to be twenty-three in number in Bund. XIII, 6.

[5] Bund. VII, 15, 16, XX, 1.

[6] This appears to be a later identification of the Arag, Arang, or Arêng river of Bund. XX with the Tigris, under its name Arvand, which is also found in the Bahman Ya*s*t (III, 21, 38) and the Âfrîn of the Seven Ameshâspends (§ 9). The Bundahi*s* (XX, 8) seems to connect the Arag (Araxes?) with the Oxus and Nile, and describes the Diglat or Tigris as a distinct river (Bund. XX, 12). This difference is one of the indications of the Bundahi*s* having been so old a book in the time of Zâ*d*-sparam that he sometimes misunderstood its meaning, which could hardly have been the case if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. As the Persian empire has several times included part of Egypt, the Nile must have then been well known to the Persians as the great western river of their world. The last time they had possession of part of Egypt was, for about half a century, in the reigns of Khusrô

of that river *was* to those of the setting *sun* (val frôd-yehevundânŏ)—*and* the Vêh[1] was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. 21. After them eighteen[2] great rivers came out from the same Albûrz; *and* these twenty rivers, whose source is in Albûrz, go down into the earth, and arrive in Khvanîras.

22. Afterwards, two fountains of the sea are opened out for the earth[3], which are called the Kêkast[4]—a lake which has no cold wind, *and* on whose shore rests the triumphant fire Gûsnasp[5]—and, secondly, the Sôvar[6] which casts on *its* shores all turbidness, and keeps its own salt lake clear *and* pure, for it is like the semblance of an eye which casts out to *its* edges every ache and every impurity; and on account of its depth it is not reached to the bottom, for it goes into the ocean; and in its vicinity rests the beneficial fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô[7].

23. And this was the second contest, which was with the water.

Chapter VII.

1. And as he (Aharman) came thirdly to the earth, which arrayed the whole earth against him—

Nôshirvân, Aûharmazd IV, and Khusrô Parvîz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.

[1] See Bund. XX, 9.

[2] Bund. XX, 2, 7.

[3] Bund. VII, 14.

[4] Bund. XXII, 2.

[5] Written Gûsasp in Bund. XVII, 7, and Gûsnâsp in B. Yt. III, 30, 40, while the older form Visnâsp occurs in B. Yt. III, 10.

[6] The Sôvbar of Bund. VII, 14, XII, 24, XXII, 3.

[7] Bund. XVII, 8.

since *there was* an animation of the earth through the shattering—Albûrz grew up[1], which is the boundary of the earth, *and* the other[2] mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number[3]. 2. And by them the earth *was* bound together and arranged, and on them *was* the sprouting *and* growth of plants, wherefrom *was* the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth—especially as antagonism came on the earth, *and* settled on *it* with injury—*and* it came up over the earth just like a tree *whose* branch *has* grown at the top, and its root at the bottom. 4. The root of the mountains is passed on *from* one to the other, *and* is arranged in connection *with them*, and through it is produced the path *and* passage of water *from* below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all *parts* of the body to the heart, the latent vigour which they possess. 5. And, moreover, in six hundred years[4], at first, all the mountains apart from Albûrz were completed. 6. Albûrz was growing during eight hundred years[5]; in two hundred years it grew up to

[1] Bund. VIII, 1–4 is paraphrased in §§ 1–4.

[2] The MS. has âvânŏ, 'waters,' instead of avârîk, 'other,' which alters the meaning into, 'which is the boundary of the waters of the earth, *and* the mountains,' &c.

[3] Bund. XII, 2.

[4] Bund. VIII, 5, and XII, 1, have 'eighteen years.' As both numbers are written in ciphers it would be easy for either to be corrupted into the other.

[5] Bund. XII, 1.

the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, *and* two hundred years up to the sky. 7. After Albûrz the Aparsên mountain[1] is the greatest, as it is also called the Avar-rôyisn[2] ('up-growth') mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastân and its end unto Pârs *and* to *K*înîstân[3].

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation[4], *and* the wind's sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions[5] a little above *it*, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind *in* various places. 9. One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in *each of* the six portions around is as much as Sagastân; moreover, as much as Sagastân is the measure *of what* is called a kêshvar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kêsh ('furrow'). 10. The middle *one* is Khvanîras, of which Pârs is the centre, and those six regions are like a coronet (avîsar) *around it.* 11. One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, *and* a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, *and* imperceptible.

12. This is the third contest, about the earth.

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[1] The Apârsên of Bund. XII, 9.

[2] Written Apû-rôyisn, as if it were an Arabic hybrid meaning 'father of growth.'

[3] Bund. XII, 9, XXIV, 28, have Khûgîstân instead of *K*înîstân; the latter appears to be an old name of the territory of Samarkand (see note to Bund. XII, 13).

[4] Literally, 'creature.'

[5] Bund. XI, 2–4 is paraphrased in §§ 8–11.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. As he (Aharman) came fourthly to the plants—which have struggled (kûkhshî-aîtŏ) against him with the whole vegetation—because the vegetation *was* quite dry[1], Amerôda*d*, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation[2] was seized upon, pounded it up small, and mixed *it* up with the rain-water of Tî*s*tar. 2. After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand[3] special species and a hundred thousand[4] additional species (levatman sar*d*akŏ) so grew as if *there were* a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for[5] keeping away the ten thousand[3] diseases.

3. Afterwards, the seed was taken up from those hundred thousand species of plants, *and* from the collection of seed the tree of all germs, amid the wide-formed ocean, was produced, from which all species of plants continually grow. 4. And the griffon bird (sênô mûrûvŏ) has his resting-place upon it; when he wanders forth *from* within it, he scatters the dry seed into the water, *and* it is rained back to the earth with the rain.

5. And in its vicinity the tree was produced *which is* the white Hôm, the counteractor of decrepitude,

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[1] This chapter is a paraphrase of Bund. IX.

[2] Or, perhaps, 'the worldly characteristics of vegetation.'

[3] Written like 'one thousand,' but see the context and Bund. IX, 4.

[4] In Bund. IX, 4, the MSS. have '120,000,' which is probably wrong, as Bund. XXVII, 2, agrees with the text above.

[5] The MS. has barâ instead of pavan, a blunder due probably to some copyist reading the Huzvâri*s* in Persian, in which language bih (= barâ) and bah (= pavan) are written alike. In Pâzand they are usually written b*e* and pa, respectively.

the reviver of the dead, *and* the immortalizer of the living.

6. This was the fourth contest, about the plants.

CHAPTER IX.

1. As he (Aharman) came fifthly to cattle—which struggled against him with all the animals—and likewise as the primeval ox[1] passed away, from the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five[2] species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from *its* various members; *and* forasmuch as they should see from which member each one *proceeds*, it is declared in the Dâmdâd *Nask*[3]. 2. And every plant grown from a member

[1] See Chaps. II, 6, III, 1, and Bund. IV, 1, X, 1, XIV, 1.

[2] The MS. has 'fifty-seven' in ciphers, but Bund. X, 1, XIV, 1, XXVII, 2, have 'fifty-five' in words.

[3] This was the fourth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which gives a very short and superficial account of its contents. But, according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah, Narîmân Hôshang, and Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn, it was the fifth nask, and was called Dvâzdah-hâmâst (or homâst). For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. The Rivâyat of Kâmah Bahrah, which has a few more words than the other Rivâyats, gives the following account (for the Persian text of which, see 'Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre,' par Olshausen et Jules Mohl):—

'Of the fifth the name is Dvâzdah-homâst, and the interpretation of this is "the book about help" (dar imdâd, but this is probably a corruption of dâmdâd). And this book has thirty-two sections (kardah) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and *it is* a description of the whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and

promotes that member, as it is said that there *where* the ox scattered *its* marrow[1] on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn[2] and sesame, vetches[3] *and* peas; so sesame, on account of[4] *its* marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. 3. And it is also said that from the blood is the vine[5], a great vegetable thing—as wine itself is blood—for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. 4. And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (mây*s* or mâsah) which is called dônak, and was a variety of sesame (*s*amagâ)[6], *and it is* for other noses.

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fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying *animals*, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and *heavenly* path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil.'

This description corresponds very closely with what the Bundahi*s* must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and Dâ*d*-sparam mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the Dâmdâ*d* which also occur in the Bundahi*s* (XIV, 2, 14–18, 21–24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the Bundahi*s* was originally a translation of the Dâmdâ*d*, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahi*s*, or Zand-âkâs. Whether the Avesta text of the Dâmdâ*d* was still in existence in the time of Dâ*d*-sparam is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.

[1] Or 'brains.'

[2] Supposing the MS. galôlag is a corruption of gallak (Pers. ghallah).

[3] Assuming the MS. alûnŏ or arvanŏ to be a corruption of alûm or arzanŏ.

[4] Reading râî instead of lâ. [5] Compare Bund. XIV, 2.

[6] Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be

5. And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs[1] *which* heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. 6. This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohûman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akôman[2], and *it is* for that which *proceeds* from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed *which* was the ox's, they would carry *off* from it, *and* the brilliance was intrusted to the angel of the moon[3]; in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (*g*ânvar-hômand). 8. Forth, from there it produced for Aîrân-vêg, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female[4], *and*, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species[5]; and they were discernible as far as two long leagues *on* the earth. 9. Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, *and* birds flew *in* the atmosphere; *in* every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (âv-dahân) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

10. Secondly, their subdivision is thus:—First, they are divided into three, that is, quadrupeds walking on the earth, fish swimming in the water,

reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bund. XIV, 2. Altering dônak and gûnak into gandanak, and *s*amagâ into *s*ama*s*dar, we might read, 'from the nose is mây*s*, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;' but this is doubtful, and leaves the word mây*s* unexplained.

[1] The MS. has gôspendânŏ, 'cattle,' instead of sipandânŏ, 'rue herbs.'

[2] See Bund. I, 24, 27, XXVIII, 7, XXX, 29.

[3] Bund. X, 2, XIV, 3.

[4] Bund. X, 3, XIV, 4.

[5] Bund. X, 3, XIV, 13.

and birds flying in the atmosphere. 11. Then, into five classes[1], that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, *and* the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, *and* which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-travelling, *and* suitable for grazing. 12. The aquatic are fish *and* every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, *and* bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samûr) and musk *animals*, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of every kind; the wide-travelling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, *which* is all called 'horse;' the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, *and* others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk *animals*, marten, *and* others; then are the birds, and then the fish. 14. And then they were divided into species[2], as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten[3] species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk *animals*, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared *and* all those undeclared *there were*, at first, 282 species[4]; *and* with the species within species *there were* a thousand varieties.

[1] Bund. XIV, 8–12.
[2] Bund. XIV, 13–23, 26, 27.
[3] Bund. XIV, 17 says 'fifteen,' which is probably correct.
[4] Only 181 species are detailed or 'declared' here.

15. The birds are distributed[1] into eight groups (rîstakŏ), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest *they* are so spread about as *when* a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad *that of* heavy weight, then that which is middling, *and* afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Dâmdâ*d Nask*[2], and written by me in the manuscript (nipîk) of 'the summary enumeration of races[3]'—this is a lordly[4] summary—the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them[5] is white *and* yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, *and* others. 17. Of the camel *there are* specially two, *that for* the plain, *and* the mountain *one which* is double-humped. 18. Among the species of ox are the white, mud-coloured, red, yellow, black, and dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard[6], the ox-fish, *and* others. 19. Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kûri*s*k *which*, because of its trampling the hills, *its* great horn, and also being suitable

[1] Bund. XIV, 25.

[2] See § 1; the particulars which follow are also found in Bund. XIV, 14–18, 21–24, showing that the Bundahi*s* must be derived from the Dâmdâ*d*.

[3] The title of this work, in Pahlavi, is Tôkhm-aû*s*mari*s*-nîh-i hangar*d*îkŏ, but it is not known to be extant.

[4] Reading marâk (Chaldee מָרָא), but this is doubtful, though the Iranian final k is often added to Semitic Huzvâri*s* forms ending with â. It may be minâk, 'thinking, thoughtful,' or a corruption of manîk, 'mine,' in which last case we should translate, 'this is a summary of mine.'

[5] Bund. XXIV, 6.

[6] Literally, 'camel-ox-leopard.'

for ambling, became the steed of Mânûskîhar. 20. Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varîkŏ), the roe, *and* the mountain goat. 21. Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. 22. Of musk *animals* with a bag, one is the Bîsh-musk—which eats the Bîsh poison and does not die through it, and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bîsh, *and* less *of it* should succeed in poisoning the creatures—*and* one is a musk *animal* of a black colour which they desired (ayûftŏ) who were bitten *by* the fanged serpent—as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makŏ) is called—which is numerous on the river-banks; *one* throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, *and* then the serpent enters its body, when his[1] serpent, at the time *this* happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. 23. Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffon bird *and* the bat, which have teeth *in* the mouth, *and* suckle *their* young with animal milk from the teat.

24. This is the fifth contest, as to animals.

Chapter X.

1. As he (Aharman) came sixthly *to* Gâyômar*d* there was arrayed against *him*, with Gâyômar*d*, the

[1] This appears to be the meaning here of amat zak garzakŏ, but the whole sentence is a fair sample of Dâ*d*-sparam's most involved style of writing. By feeding the black musk animal with snakes the effect of a snake-bite, experienced by the feeder, is supposed to be neutralized.

pure propitious liturgy (mânsarspend), as heard from Gâyômar*d*; *and* Aûharmazd, in pure meditation, considered that which is good and righteousness as destruction of the fiend (drû*g*ô). 2. And when he (Gâyômar*d*) passed away eight kinds of mineral of a metallic character arose from *his* various members; they are gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver (â*v*gînakŏ), and adamant; *and* on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.

3. Spendarma*d* received the gold of the dead Gâyômar*d*[1], *and* it was forty years in the earth. 4. At the end of the forty years, *in* the manner of a Rîvâs-*plant*, Mashya *and* Mashyôî[2] came up, and, one joined to the other, *were* of like stature *and* mutually adapted[3]; and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature[4], *was* such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which Aûharmazd created. 5. This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in revela-

[1] Compare Bund. XV, 1.

[2] The MS. has Mashâî Mashâyê, but see Bund. XV, 6. The Avesta forms were probably mashya mashyôi (or mashyê), which are regular nominatives dual, masculine and feminine, of mashya, 'mortal,' and indicate that they were usually coupled together in some part of the Avesta which is no longer extant. Pâzand writers have found it easy to read Mashyanî instead of Mashyôî.

[3] Reading ham-ba*s*nŏ ham-dakhîk, but whether this is more likely to be the original reading than the ham-bad*is*n va ham-dasak of Bund. XV, 2, is doubtful. The last epithet here might also be read ham-sabîk, 'having the same shirt,' but this is an improbable meaning.

[4] It is evident that ham-band*is*nîh, 'mutual connection,' in accordance with Bund. XV, 3, would be preferable to the ham-ba*s*nŏîh, 'like stature,' of this text.

tion: 'Which existed before, the glory[1] or the body?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created, the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.' 6. And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man[2], *and* the glory went spiritually into them.

Chapter XI.

1. As he (Aharman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together *against* him, the fire *separated* into five kinds[3], which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aûrvâzîst, the Vâzîst, *and* the Supremely-*benefiting*. 2. And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (garô*d*mân); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. 3. *The Good diffuser* is that which is in men and animals[4], and its business *consists* in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the

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[1] The old word nismô, 'soul' (see Bund. XV, 3, 4), has become corrupted here (by the omission of the initial stroke) into gadman, 'glory.' This corruption may be due either to Dâ*d*-sparam not understanding the word (in which case the Bundahi*s* must have been an old book in his time), or else to some later copyist confounding the old word for 'soul' with the better-known 'glory' of the Iranian sovereigns.

[2] Bund. XV, 5.

[3] Bund. XVII, 1. Three of the Avesta names are here translated, the first two being the Spêni*s*t and Vohu-fryân, which are the fifth and second in the Bundahi*s*, and the fifth being the Berezisavang, which is the first in the Bundahi*s*.

[4] See Bund. XVII, 2.

body, *and* the brightening of the eyes. 4. The Aûrvâzîst is that which is in plants, in whose seed *it* is formed, and its business *consists* in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water[1] and producing the qualities and fragrance of plants and blossoms therefrom, and elaborating the ripened produce into many fruits. 5. And the Vâzîst is that which has its motion in a cloud, and its business *consists* in destroying the atmospheric gloom and darkness, and making the thickness of the atmosphere fine and propitious in quality, sifting the hail, moderately warming the water which the cloud holds, *and* making sultry weather showery. 6. The Supremely-benefiting, like the sky, is that glory whose lodgment is in the Behrâm fire[2], as the master of the house is over the house, *and* whose propitious power *arises* from the growing brightness of the fire, the blazing forth in[3] the purity of the place, the praise of God (yazdânŏ), *and* the practice of good works. 7. And its business is *that* it struggles with the spiritual fiend, it watches the forms of the witches—who walk up from the river[4], wear woven clothing, disturb the luminaries by the concealment of stench, *and* by witchcraft injure the creatures—and the occurrences of destruction, burning, and celebration of witchcraft, especially at night; being an assistant of Srôsh the righteous.

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[1] Reading mayâ-i afsar*d*înî*d*ŏ tâftanŏ instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayâ a*s*ar*d*înî*d*ŏ âftanŏ of the MS.

[2] The Verehrânŏ âtâsh, or sacred fire of the fire-temples.

[3] Reading pavan instead of barâ (see p. 176, note 5).

[4] Or 'sea' (darîyâ*v*ŏ). This long-winded sentence is more involved and obscure in the original than in the translation.

8. And in the beginning of the creation[1] the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Frôbak fire, the mighty Gûsnasp fire, and the beneficial Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire[2], *which* are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. 9. The place of the fire Frôbak was formed *on* the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem[3], the fire Gûsnasp *was* on the Asnavand mountain in Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô on the Rêvand mountain which is in the Ridge *of* Vistâsp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hôshâng[4], when men were continually going forth to the *other* regions (kêshvar) on the ox Srûvô[5], one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, *and* in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire *which* was manifest, is divided into three, *and* they established *it* on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Frôbak fire, the Gûsnasp fire, and the Bûrzîn-Mitrô[6].

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[1] Literally, 'creature.'

[2] The epithets of these three sacred fires are, respectively, vargân, tagîkŏ, and pûr-sûdŏ in Pahlavi.

[3] See Bund. XVII, 5, 7, 8.

[4] Bund. XVII, 4 says, 'in the reign of Takhmôrup,' his successor.

[5] Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahis.

[6] The remainder of 'the sayings of Zâd-sparam, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit,' have no special reference to the Bundahis. They treat of the following matters:—

The coming of the religion, beginning in the time of Frâsîyâv and Mânûskîhar, with an anecdote of Kâî-ûs and the hero Srîtô (Av. Thrita). The manifestation of the glory of Zaratûst

before his birth. The begetting of Zaratûst through the drinking of hôm-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory, as declared in the manuscript on 'the guidance of worship.' The connection of Zaratûst with Aûharmazd, traced back through his genealogy as far as Gâyômard. The persistent endeavours of the fiends to destroy Zaratûst at the time of his birth, and how they were frustrated. His receiving the religion from Aûharmazd, with another anecdote of Kâî-ûs and Srîtô, and of Zaratûst's exclamation on coming into the world. The enmity borne to him by five brothers of the Karapân family, and how it was frustrated; his own four brothers, and some of his wonderful deeds. The worthiness of his righteousness; his compassionate and liberal nature; his giving up worldly desires; his pity; his good selection of a wife; and what is most edifying for the soul. What occurred when he was thirty years old, and his being conducted by the archangel Vohûman to the assembly of the spirits. The questions asked by Zaratûst, and Aûharmazd's replies thereto. The seven questions he asked of the seven archangels in seven different places, in the course of one winter. [Westergaard's MS. K35 ends in the middle of the second of these questions.] The five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions. The three preservatives of religion, with particulars about the Gâthas and the connection of the Ahunavar with the Nasks. Zaratûst's obtaining one disciple, Mêdyôk-mâh, in the first ten years, and the acceptance of the religion by Vistâsp two years afterwards.

The second of the writings of Zâd-sparam consists of his 'sayings about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul;' and the third (which is imperfect in all known MSS.) contains his 'sayings about producing the renovation *of the universe*.'

BAHMAN YAST,

OR

ZAND-I VOHÛMAN YASNO,

OF WHICH ZAND, OR COMMENTARY,

THIS WORK SEEMS TO BE AN EPITOME.

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in this volume. Dâ*d*. for Dâ*d*istân-i Dînîk. Gr. for Greek. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâri*s*. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as translated in this volume. SZS. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, as translated in this volume. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

Pâz. MSS. (modern), No. 22 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, and a copy of one in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay.

Pers. version (composed A.D. 1496, copied A.D. 1679) in a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

BAHMAN YAST.

CHAPTER I.

0. *May* the gratification of the creator Aûharmazd, the beneficent, the developer, the splendid, and glorious, and the benediction of the archangels, which *constitute* the pure, good religion of the Mazdayasnians, *be* vigour of body, long life, and prosperous wealth for him whose writing I am [1].

1. As [2] it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* [3] that

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[1] Or, possibly, '*for* whom I am written,' the meaning of mûn yektîbûnîhêm being not quite clear. In fact, the construction of the whole of this initial benediction is rather obscure.

[2] It is possible that this is to be read in connection with Chap. II, 1, with the meaning that 'as it is declared by the Stûdgar *Nask* that Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, *so* in the Vohûman Yast commentary it is declared that he asked for it a second time.' This introductory chapter is altogether omitted in both the Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, but it is given in the Pers. version. It is also omitted in the epitome of the Bahman Yast contained in the Dabistân (see Shea's translation, vol. i. pp. 264–271).

[3] This was the first nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Sûdkar; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the second nask, called Stûdgar or Istûdgar. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard (which agrees with the account in the Rivâyats), see Haug's Essays, p. 126. In the Dînkard, besides a short description of this Nask, given in the eighth book, there is also a detailed account of the contents of each of its fargards, or chapters, occupying twenty-five quarto pages of twenty-two lines each, in the ninth book. From this detailed statement it appears

Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, then Aûharmazd displayed the omniscient wisdom to Zaratûst, and through it he beheld the root of a tree, on which were four branches, one golden, one of silver, one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron. 2. Thereupon he reflected in this *way*, that this was seen in a dream, and when he arose from sleep Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Lord of the spirits and earthly existences! it appears that I saw the root of a tree, on which were four branches.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân[1] thus: 'That root of a tree which thou sawest, and those four branches, are the four periods which *will*

that the passage mentioned here, in the text, constituted the seventh fargar*d* of the Nask, the contents of which are detailed as follows:—

'The seventh fargar*d*, Tâ-ve-ratŏ (Av. tâ v*e* urvâtâ, Yas. XXXI, 1), is about the exhibition to Zaratûst of the nature of the four periods in the Zaratûstian millennium (hazangrôk zim, "thousand winters"). First, the golden, that in which Aûharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratûst. Second, the silver, that in which Vistâsp received the religion from Zaratûst. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mârspend, was born. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate *and* other villains (sarîtarânŏ), along with destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness *and* virtue, *and* the departure of honour *and* wisdom from the countries of Iran. In the same period is a recital of the many perplexities and torments of the period for that desire (girâyîh) of the life of the good which consists in seemliness. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. ashem vohû vahistem astî, Yas. XXVII, 14, W.).'

If this be a correct account of the contents of this fargar*d*, the writer was evidently consulting a Pahlavi version of the Nask, composed during the later Sasanian times.

[1] Generally understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' who was his ancestor in the ninth generation (see Bund. XXXII, 1).

come. 4. That of gold is when I and thou converse, *and* King Vistâsp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, *but* they *themselves* remain for[1] . . . concealed proceedings. 5. And that of silver is the reign of Ard*a*khshîr[2] the Kayân king (Kaî shah), and that of steel is the reign of the glorified (anôshakrûbân) Khûsrô son of Kêvâ*d*[3], and that which was mixed with iron is the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair[4] of the race of Wrath[5], and when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter (satô zim) of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!'

6. It is declared in the commentary (zand)[6] of the Vohûman Yast, Horvada*d* Yast, and Âstâ*d* Yast

[1] A word is lost here in K20 and does not occur in the other copies and versions, nor can it be supplied from the similar phrase in Chap. II, 16. The meaning of the sentence appears to be that Vistâsp destroyed the idols, but the demons they represented still remained, in a spiritual state, to produce evil.

[2] See Chap. II, 17.

[3] Khusrô Nôshirvân son of Qubâd, in modern Persian, who reigned in A. D. 531–579. Kêvâ*d* is usually written Kavâ*d*.

[4] The epithet vi*g*âr*d*-vars may also mean 'dressed-hair,' but the term in the text is the more probable, as the Persian version translates it by kushâdah muî, 'uncovered hair.' That it is not a name, as assumed by Spiegel, appears clearly from the further details given in Chap. II, 25.

[5] Or, 'the progeny of Aêshm,' the demon. Wrath is not to be understood here in its abstract sense, but is personified as a demon. It is uncertain whether the remainder of this sentence belongs to this § or the next.

[6] If there were any doubt about zand meaning the Pahlavi translation, this passage would be important, as the Avesta of the Horvada*d* (Khordâd) and Âstâ*d* Yasts is still extant, but contains nothing about the heretic Mazdîk or Mazdak (see Chap. II, 21). No Avesta of the Vohûman Yast is now known.

that, during this time, the accursed Mazdîk son of Bâmdâd, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God (yazdân). 7. *And* he, the glorified *one*[1], summoned Khûsrô son of Mâh-dâd and Dâd-Aûharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Âtarô-pâtakân, and Âtarô-frôbâg the undeceitful (akadbâ), Âtarô-pâd, Âtarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfrîd to *his* presence, and he demanded of them a promise[2], thus: 'Do not keep these Yasts in concealment, *and* do not teach the commentary except among your relations[3].' 8. *And* they made the promise unto Khûsrô.

CHAPTER II.

1. In the Vohûman Yast commentary (zand) it is declared[4] that Zaratûst asked for immortality from

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[1] That is, Khusrô Nôshirvân. As the names of his priests and councillors stand in K20 they can hardly be otherwise distributed than they are in the text, but the correctness of the MS. is open to suspicion. Dâd-Aûharmazd was a commentator who is quoted in Chap. III, 16, and in the Pahl. Yas. XI, 22; Âtarô-frôbâg was another commentator mentioned in Sls. I, 3; and Âtarô-pâd and Bakht-âfrîd are names well known in Pahlavi literature, the former having been borne by more than one individual (see Sls. I, 3, 4).

[2] The Pers. version says nothing about this promise, but states that Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so the king put him to death immediately.

[3] A similar prohibition, addressed to Zaratûst, as regards the Avesta text, is actually found in the Horvadad Yt. 10.

[4] This seems to imply that this text is not the commentary

Aûharmazd a second time, *and* spoke thus: 'I am Zaratûst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O creator! when *thou* shalt *make* me[1] immortal, as the tree opposed to harm[2], and Gôpatshah, Gôst-i Fryân, *and* Kîtrôk-miyân son of Vistâsp, who is Pêshyôtanû, were made[3]. 2. When thou shalt make me immortal they in thy good religion *will* believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aûharmazd his pure *and* good religion of the Mazdayasnians, will become immortal; then those men *will* believe in thy good religion.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke[4] thus: 'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! then Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap[5] will become immortal, and

itself, but merely an epitome of it. The Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, begin with this chapter.

[1] Or, 'when I shall *become;*' the verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

[2] Three of these immortals are mentioned in Bund. XXIX, 5, and Gôst-i Fryân is included in a similar enumeration in Dâd. (Reply 89). The tale of Gôst-i Fryân (Av. Yôistô yô Fryananãm, of Âbân Yt. 81 and Fravardîn Yt. 120) has been published with 'The Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf,' ed. Hoshangji and Haug.

[3] Or, 'became;' most of this verb is torn off in K20.

[4] The verb is placed before its nominative in the Pahlavi text, both here and in most similar sentences, which is an imitation of the Avesta, due probably to the text being originally translated from an Avesta book now lost, or, at any rate, to its author's wish that it might appear to be so translated. In such cases of inverted construction, when the verb is in a past tense, the Pahlavi idiom often requires a pronominal suffix, corresponding to the nominative, to be added to the first word in the sentence; thus, gûftŏs Aûharmazd, or afas gûft Aûharmazd, does not mean 'Aûharmazd spoke to him (or said it),' but merely 'Aûharmazd spoke' (lit. 'it was said by him, Aûharmazd').

[5] According to an untranslated passage in the Selections of Zâd-sparam, mentioned in the note on p. 187, this is the name of

when Tûr-i Brâ*d*arvash the Karap shall become immortal the resurrection *and* future existence are not possible.'

4. Zaratûst seemed uneasy about *it* in *his* mind[1]; *and* Aûharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratûst the Spîtâmân with the righteous spirit, and he[2] took hold of Zaratûst's hand. 5. And he, Aûharmazd the propitious spirit, creator of the material world, the righteous *one*, even he put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water, on the hand of Zaratûst, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.'

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one of the five brothers in the Karapân family of sorcerers, who were enemies of Zaratûst during his childhood. Their names, as written in SZS., may be read as follows, 'Brâ*d*arvakhsh, Brâ*d*rôyisnŏ, Tûr Brâgrêsh, Azânŏ, and Nasm,' and the first is also called 'Tûr-i Brâ*d*arvakhsh;' they are described as descendants of the sister of Manûs*k*îhar. In the seventh book of the Dînkar*d* a wizard, who endeavours to injure Zaratûst in his childhood, is called 'Tûr-i Brâ*d*rôk-rêsh, the Karapŏ,' and was probably the third brother, whose name (thus corrected) indicates brâthrô-raêsha as its Avesta form. Karap or Karapân in all these passages is evidently the name of a family or caste, probably the Av. karapanô which Haug translates by 'performers of (idolatrous) sacrificial rites,' in connection with Sans. kalpa, 'ceremonial ritual' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 289–291).

[1] K20 has 'among the spirits;' the word mînisn having become maînôkân by the insertion of an extra stroke.

[2] Reading afas instead of minas (Huz. of agas, 'from or by him,' which is written with the same letters as afas, 'and by him'), not only here, but also in §§ 5, 7, 9. The copyist of K20 was evidently not aware that afas is a conjunctive form, but confounded it with the prepositional form agas, as most Parsis and some European scholars do still. The Sasanian inscriptions confirm the reading afas for the conjunctive form; and Nêryôsang, the learned Parsi translator of Pahlavi texts into Pâzand and Sanskrit some four centuries ago, was aware of the difference between the two forms, as he transcribes them correctly into Pâz. vas and azas.

6. And Zaratûst devoured *some* of it; thereby the omniscient wisdom was intermingled with Zaratûst, and seven days and nights Zaratûst was in the wisdom of Aûharmazd. 7. And Zaratûst beheld the men and cattle in the seven regions of the earth, where the many fibres of hair of every one are, and whereunto the end of each fibre holds on the back. 8. And he beheld whatever trees and shrubs *there were*, and how many roots of plants were in the earth of Spendarmad, where *and* how they had grown, *and* where they were mingled.

9. And the seventh day and night he (Aûharmazd) took back the omniscient wisdom from Zaratûst, and Zaratûst reflected in this *way*, that I have seen *it* in a pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd, *and* I am not surfeited with the dream. 10. And he took both hands, rubbed his body (kerp) again, *and spoke*[1] thus: 'I have slept a long time, *and* am not surfeited with this pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd.'

11. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst thus: 'What was seen in the pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd?'

12. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous creator! I have seen a celebrity (khunîd) with much wealth, whose soul, infamous in the body, was hungry (gurs)[2] and jaundiced and in hell, and he did not seem to me exalted; and I saw a beggar with no wealth and helpless, and his soul was thriving (farpîh) in paradise, and[3] he seemed to me exalted.

[1] This verb is omitted in K20 by mistake.

[2] Or else 'dirty.'

[3] Reading afam instead of minam, both here and in § 14; the

13. [And I saw a wealthy *man* without children, and he did not seem to me exalted;][1] and I saw a pauper with many children, and he seemed to me exalted. 14. And I saw a tree on which were seven branches, one golden, one of silver, one brazen, one of copper, [one of tin][2], one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron.'

15. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûs*t* the Spîtâmân! this is what I say beforehand, the one tree which thou sawest is the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; and those seven branches thou sawest are the seven periods which *will* come. 16. And that which was golden is the reign of King Vis*t*âsp, when I and thou converse about religion, *and* Vis*t*âsp shall accept that religion and shall demolish the figures of the demons, and the demons desist from demonstration into concealed proceedings; Aharman and the demons rush back to darkness, and care for water, fire, plants, and the earth of Spendarma*d*[3] becomes apparent. 17. And that which was of silver[4] is the reign of Ar*d*ashîr[5] the

copyist of K20 having confounded these two words, like those mentioned in the note on § 4.

[1] The passage in brackets is omitted in K20, but is supplied from the Pâz. MSS., being evidently necessary to complete the contrast. It occurs also in the Pers. version.

[2] Supplied from the Pâz. and Pers. versions, being omitted here in K20, though occurring in § 20.

[3] The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Bund. I, 26).

[4] The Pâz. MSS. omit the description of the silver age.

[5] Usually identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus, but his long reign of 112 years may include most of the Achæmenian sovereigns down to Artaxerxes Mnemon, several of whom are called Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes in the biblical books of Ezra and Esther. See Bund. XXXI, 30, XXXIV, 8.

Kayân (Kaî), whom[1] they call Vohûman son of Spend-dâ*d*[2], who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters *them* about, and makes the religion current *in* the whole world. 18. And that which was brazen[3] is the reign of Ar*d*akhshîr[4], the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpûr, when he arranges the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; he makes happiness (bûkhtakîh)[5] prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Âtarô-pâ*d* of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass[6], brings this religion, together with the transgressors, back to the truth. 19. And that which was of copper is the reign of the A*s*kânian king[7], who removes from the world

[1] Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

[2] Contracted here into Spendâ*d*, as it is also in Bund. XXXIV, 8 in the old MSS. This name of the king is corrupted into Bahman son of Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

[3] This brazen age is evidently out of its proper chronological order. The Pâzand and Persian versions correct this blunder by describing the copper age before the brazen one here, but they place the brazen branch before the copper one in § 14, so it is doubtful how the text stood originally.

[4] Artakhshatar son of Pâpakî and Shahpûharî son of Artakhshatar are the Sasanian forms of the names of the first two monarchs (A.D. 226–271) of the Sasanian dynasty, whose reigns constitute this brazen age.

[5] Literally, 'deliverance *from sin*' or 'salvation' by one's own good works, and, therefore, not in a Christian sense.

[6] Referring to the ordeal of pouring molten brass on his chest, undergone by Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Mâraspend, high-priest and prime minister of Shâpûr I, for the purpose of proving the truth of his religion to those who doubted it.

[7] It is uncertain which of the A*s*kânian sovereigns is meant, or whether several of the dynasty may not be referred to. The Greek

the heterodoxy (*g*avî*d*-rastakîh) which existed, and the wicked Akandgar-i Kilisyâkîh[1] is utterly destroyed by this religion, *and* goes unseen and unknown from the world. 20. And that which was of tin is the reign of King Vâhrâm Gôr[2], when he

successors of Alexander were subdued in Persia by A*s*k (Arsaces I), who defeated Seleucus Callinicus about B.C. 236. But the third book of the Dînkar*d* (in a passage quoted by Haug in his Essay on the Pahlavi Language) mentions Valkha*s* (Vologeses) the A*s*kânian as collecting the Avesta and Zand, and encouraging the Mazdayasnian religion. This Valkha*s* was probably Vologeses I, a contemporary of Nero, as shown by Darmesteter in the introduction to his translation of the Vendidad.

[1] I am indebted to Professor J. Darmesteter for pointing out that Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Yas. IX, 75, explains Kala*s*iyâkâ*h* as 'those whose faith is the Christian religion;' the original Pahlavi word in the oldest MSS. is Kilisâyâîk, altogether a misunderstanding of the Avesta name Keresâni, which it translates, but sufficiently near the name in our text to warrant the assumption that Nêryôsang would have translated Kilisyâkîh by 'Christianity;' literally it means 'ecclesiasticism, or the church religion' (from Pers. kilisyâ, Gr. ἐκκλησία). Akandgar is probably a miswriting of Alaksandar or Sikandar; though Darmesteter suggests that Skandgar (Av. ske*n*dô-kara, Pers. *s*ikandgar), 'causer of destruction,' would be an appropriate punning title for Alexander from a Persian point of view. The anachronisms involved in making Alexander the Great a Christian, conquered by an A*s*kânian king, are not more startling than the usual Pahlavi statement that he was a Roman. To a Persian in Sasanian times Alexander was the representative of an invading enemy which had come from the countries occupied, in those times, by the eastern empire of the Christian Romans, which enemy had been subdued in Persia by the A*s*kânian dynasty; and such information would naturally lead to the anachronisms just mentioned. The name Kilisyâkîh is again used, in Chap. III, 3, 5, 8, to denote some Christian enemy.

[2] This Sasanian monarch (A. D. 420–439), after considerable provocation, revived the persecution of the heretics and foreign creeds which had been tolerated by his predecessor, and this conduct naturally endeared him to the priesthood.

makes the sight[1] of the spirit of pleasure manifest, and Aharman with the wizards rushes back to darkness *and* gloom. 21. And that which was of steel is the reign of King Khûsrô son of Kêvâ*d*[2], when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdîk[3], son of Bâmdâ*d*, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox. 22. And that which was mixed with iron [is the reign of the demons with dishevelled hair[4] of the race of Wrath, when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter of thy millennium], O Zaratûs*t* the Spîtâmân!'

23. Zaratûs*t* said thus: 'Creator of the material world! O propitious spirit! what token would you give of the tenth hundredth winter?'

24. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Righteous Zaratûs*t*! I *will* make *it* clear: the token that it is the end of thy millennium, and the most evil period is coming, is *that* a hundred kinds, a thousand kinds, a myriad of kinds of demons with dishevelled hair, of the

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[1] Reading vênâp (Pers. bînâb), but it may be va davâ*g*, in which case the phrase must be translated as follows: 'when he makes the spirit of pleasure and joy manifest.'

[2] See Chap. I, 5. The characteristic of the steel age, like that of the tin one, was the persecution of heretics who had been tolerated by the reigning monarch's predecessor.

[3] Generally written Mazdak, a heretic whose teaching was very popular in the time of King Kêvâ*d* (or Kavâ*d*, A. D. 487–531). His doctrine appears to have been extreme socialism built upon a Mazdayasnian foundation. He was put to death by Khûsrô I, as hinted in the text. It is remarkable that none of the successors of Khûsrô Nôshirvân are mentioned in the Bahman Ya*s*t, so that a Parsi, who even did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the book, might possibly consider the remainder of it as strictly prophetical.

[4] The passage in brackets is omitted in K20 by mistake, and is here supplied from Chap. I, 5, in accordance with the Pâz. and Pers. versions.

race of Wrath, rush into the country of Iran (Aîrân shatrô) from the direction of the east[1], which *has* an inferior race and race of Wrath. 25. They have uplifted banners, they slay those living in the world[2], they have *their* hair dishevelled on the back, and they are mostly a small and inferior (nîtûm) race, forward in destroying the strong doer; O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the race of Wrath is miscreated (vishûd) and its origin is not manifest. 26. Through witchcraft they rush into these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, since they burn and damage many things; and the house of the house-owner, the land of the land-digger, prosperity, nobility, sovereignty, religion[3], truth, agreement, security, enjoyment, and every characteristic which I, Aûharmazd, created, this pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, and the fire of Vâhrâm, which is set in the appointed place, encounter annihilation, and the direst destruction and trouble will come into notice. 27. And that which is a great district will become a town; that which is a great town, a village; that

[1] Or 'of Khûrâsân.' It is difficult to identify these demons with the Arabs, who came from the west, though a dweller in Kirmân might imagine that they came from Khûrâsân. In fact, hardly any of the numerous details which follow, except their long-continued rule, apply exclusively to Muhammadans. It appears, moreover, from § 50 and Chap. III, 8, that these demons are intended for Tûrks, that is, invaders from Turkistân, who would naturally come from the east into Persia.

[2] Reading gêhân-zîvŏ zektelûnd, but the beginning of the latter word is torn off in K20, and the other versions have no equivalent phrase. The Pâzand substitutes the phrase 'black banners and black garments.'

[3] This word, being torn off in K20, is supplied from the Pâz. MSS.

which is a great village, a family; and that which is a [great][1] family, a single threshold. 28. O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! they will lead these Iranian countries of Aûharmazd into a desire for evil, *into* tyranny *and* misgovernment, those demons with dishevelled hair who are deceivers, so that what they say they do not do, and they are of a vile religion, so that what they do not say they do. 29. And their assistance and promise have no sincerity, there is no law, they preserve no security, and on the support they provide no one relies; with deceit, rapacity, and misgovernment they will devastate these my Iranian countries, *who am* Aûharmazd.

30. 'And at that time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! all men will become deceivers, great friends will become of different parties, and respect, affection, hope[2], and regard for the soul will depart from the world; the affection of the father will depart from the son; and *that of* the brother from *his* brother; the son-in-law will become a beggar (kîdyak or kasîk) from his father-in-law[3], and the mother will be parted and estranged from the daughter.

31. 'When it is the end of thy tenth hundredth winter, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun is more unseen and more spotted (vasangtar); the year, month, and day are shorter; and the earth of Spendarmad is more barren, and fuller of highway-

[1] This word is omitted in K20, but supplied from the Pâzand. The whole section is omitted in the Pers. version.

[2] This word, being torn off in K20, is doubtfully supplied from the Pers. paraphrase. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 30–32.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'parents-in-law;' the original is khûsrûînê, followed by some word (probably nafsman) which is torn off in K20. The Pers. version gives no equivalent phrase.

men[1]; and the crop will not yield the seed, *so* that of the crop of the corn-fields in ten *cases* seven will diminish and three[2] will increase, and that which increases does not become ripe[3]; and vegetation, trees, and shrubs will diminish; when one shall take a hundred, ninety will diminish and ten will increase, and that which increases gives no pleasure and flavour. 32. And men are born smaller, and their skill and strength are less; they become more deceitful and more given to vile practices; they have no gratitude and respect for bread and salt, and they have no affection for their country (dêsak).

33. 'And in that most evil time a boundary has most disrespect[4] where it is the property of a suffering man of religion; gifts are few among their deeds, and duties and good works proceed but little from their hands; and sectarians of all kinds are seeking mischief for them[5]. 34. And all the world will be burying *and* clothing the dead, and burying the dead *and* washing the dead *will be* by law; the burning, bringing to water and fire, and eating of dead matter they practise by law and do not abstain from. 35. They recount largely about duties and good works, and pursue wickedness and the road to hell; and through the iniquity, cajolery, and craving of wrath and avarice they rush to hell.

36. 'And in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the

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[1] Or, 'tax-collectors;' Pahl. tangtar va râs-vânagtar.

[2] In K20 'va 3' is corrupted into the very similar va vâi, 'and a portion.'

[3] Literally, 'white.'

[4] Reading anâzarm instead of hanâ âzarm.

[5] That is, for the Iranians in general, who are the 'they' in §§ 32–35.

Spîtâmân!—the reign of Wrath with infuriate spear[1] and the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of Wrath,—the meanest slaves walk forth with the authority of nobles of the land; and the religious, who wear *sacred thread*-girdles on the waist, are then not able *to perform* their ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh), for in those last times dead matter and bodily refuse become so abundant, that *one who* shall set step to step walks upon dead matter; or when he washes in the barashnûm *ceremony*, and puts down a foot from the stone *seat* (magh)[2], he walks on dead matter; or when he arranges the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) and consecrates the sacred cakes (drônô) in their corpse-chamber (nasâî katak)[3] it is allowable.

[1] The Av. Aêshmô khrvîdrus, 'Aêshma the impetuous assailant' (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17); this demon's Pahlavi epithet is partly a transcription, and partly a paraphrase of the Avesta term.

[2] According to Dastûr Hoshangji (Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 65) the term magh is now applied to the stones on which the person undergoing purification has to squat during ablution in the barashnûm ceremony. Originally, however, Av. magha appears to have meant a shallow hole dug in the earth, near or over which the person squatted upon a seat, either of stone or some other hard material (see Vend. IX). The term for the hole was probably extended to the whole arrangement, including the seat, which latter has thus acquired the name of magh, although magh and maghâk still mean 'a channel or pit' in Persian.

[3] The Av. kata of Vend. V, 36–40; a special chamber for the temporary reception of the corpse, when it was impossible to remove it at once to the dakhma, owing to the inclemency of the weather. It should be large enough for standing upright, and for stretching out the feet and hands, without touching either walls or ceiling; that is, not less than six feet cube. The text means that those times will be so distressing, that it will be considered lawful to perform the sacred ceremonies even in a place of such concentrated impurity as a dead-house not actually occupied by a corpse.

37. Or, in those last times, it becomes allowable to perform a ceremonial (ya*z*i*s*n) with two men, so that this religion may not come to nothing and collapse[1]; there *will* be only one in a hundred, in a thousand, in a myriad, who believes in this religion, and even he does nothing of it though *it be* a duty[2]; and the fire of Vâhrâm, which will come to nothing and collapse, *falls* off from a thousand to one care-taker, and even he does not supply it properly with fire-wood and incense; or when a man, *who* has performed worship and does not know the Nîrangistân[3] ('code of religious formulas'), shall kindle *it* with good intentions, it is allowable.

38. 'Honourable[4] wealth will all proceed to those of perverted faith (kêvî*d*-kêshân); it comes to the transgressors, and virtuous doers of good works, from the families of noblemen even unto the priests (môg-mar*d*ân), remain running about uncovered; the lower orders take in marriage the daughters of nobles, grandees, *and* priests; and the nobles, grandees, and priests come to destitution *and* bondage. 39. The misfortunes of the ignoble will overtake greatness and authority, and the helpless and ignoble will come to the foremost place *and* advancement; the words of the upholders of religion, and the seal and decision of a just judge will become the

[1] The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and helplessness.'

[2] The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and the prayers and ceremonies that he orders of priests and disciples they do not fulfil.'

[3] The name of a work which treats of various ceremonial details, and appears to be a portion of the Pahlavi translation of the seventeenth or Hûspâram Nask, containing many Avesta quotations which are not now to be found elsewhere.

[4] The Pâz. MSS. have misread a*z*îr damîk, 'underground,' instead of â*z*armîk.

words of random speakers (andêzŏ-gôkân) *among* the just *and* even the righteous; and the words of the ignoble and slanderers, of the disreputable *and* mockers, and of those of divers opinions they consider true and credible, about which they take[1] an oath, although with falsehood, and thereby give false evidence, and speak falsely and irreverently about me, Aûharmazd. 40. They who bear the title of priest and disciples wish evil concerning[2] one another; he speaks vice and they look upon vice; and the antagonism of Aharman and the demons is much brought on by them; of the sin which men commit, out of five[3] sins the priests and disciples commit three sins, and they become enemies of the good, so that they may thereby speak of bad faults relating to one another; the ceremonies they undertake they do not perform, and they have no fear of hell.

41. 'And in that tenth hundredth winter, *which* is the end of thy millennium, O righteous Zaratûst! all mankind will bind torn hair, disregarding revelation[4], so that a willingly-disposed cloud and a

[1] Literally, 'devour an oath,' which Persian idiom was occasioned by the original form of oath consisting in drinking water prepared in a particular manner, after having invoked all the heavenly powers to bear witness to the truth of what had been asserted (see the Saûgand-nâmah).

[2] Reading râî instead of lâ, 'not.' The whole section is omitted by the Pâz. MSS., possibly from politic motives, as the language is plain enough.

[3] The Persian paraphrase has 'eight.'

[4] Referring probably to the injunctions regarding cutting the hair and paring the nails, with all the proper precautions for preventing any fragments of the hair or nails from lying about, as given in Vend. XVII. One of the penalties for neglecting such precautions is supposed to be a failure of the necessary rains. The

righteous wind are not able to produce rain in its proper time and season. 42. And a dark cloud makes the whole sky night, and the hot wind and the cold wind arrive, and bring along fruit and seed of corn, even the rain in its proper time; and it does not rain, *and* that which rains also rains more noxious creatures than water; and the water of rivers and springs will diminish, and there will be no increase. 43. And the beast *of burden* and ox *and* sheep bring forth more painfully[1] and awkwardly, and acquire less fruitfulness; and *their* hair is coarser *and* skin thinner; the milk does not increase and has less cream (*k*arbi*s*t); the strength of the labouring ox is less, and the agility of the swift horse is less, and it carries less in a race.

44. 'And on the men in that perplexing time, O Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân! who wear the *sacred thread*-girdle on the waist, the evil-seeking of misgovernment and much of its false judgment have come as a wind in which their living is not possible, and they seek death as a boon; and youths and children will be apprehensive, and gossiping chitchat and gladness of heart do not arise among them. 45. And they practise the appointed feasts (*g*a*s*nŏ) of *their* ancestors, the propitiation (aûsôfrî*d*) of angels, *and* the prayers and ceremonies of the season festivals and guardian spirits, in various places, yet that which they practise they do not believe in unhesitatingly; they do not give rewards lawfully, and

words anâstak dînô can also be translated by 'despising the religion.'

[1] The word appears to be dar*d*aktar, but is almost illegible in K20; it may possibly be kûtaktar, 'more scantily,' as the Pâz. MSS. have kôdaktar bahô*d*, 'become smaller.'

bestow no gifts and alms, and even those [they bestow][1] they repent of again. 46. And even those men of the good religion, who have reverenced the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, proceed in conformity with (bar-hamakŏ rûbi*s*n) those ways and customs[2], and do not believe their own religion. 47. And the noble, great, and charitable[3], who are the virtuous of their own country and locality, will depart from their own original place and family[4] as idolatrous; through want they beg something from the ignoble and vile, and come to poverty and helplessness; through them[5] nine in ten of these men will perish in the northern quarter.

48. 'Through their way of misrule everything comes to nothingness and destitution, levity and infirmity; and the earth of Spendarma*d* opens *its* mouth wide, *and* every jewel and metal becomes exposed, such as gold and silver, brass, tin, and lead. 49. And rule *and* sovereignty come to slaves, such as the Tûrk and non-Tûranian (Atûr) of the army[6], and are turbulent as among the moun-

[1] This verb is omitted in K20.

[2] It is rather doubtful whether their own customs are meant, or those of their conquerors.

[3] Or dahâkân may mean 'the skilful.'

[4] Reading dû*d*ak instead of rû*d*ak. At first sight the miswriting of r for d seems to indicate copying from a text in the modern Persian character, in which those two letters are often much alike; but it happens that the compounds dû and rû also resemble one another in some Pahlavi handwriting.

[5] Whether through poverty and helplessness, or through the conquerors, is not quite clear.

[6] Very little reliance can be placed upon the details of this sentence, but it is difficult to make any other complete and consistent translation. Darmesteter suggests the reading hênô, 'army,' but another possible reading is Khyôn (Av. *Hv*yaona), the old name

taineers[1]; and the *K*înî[2], the Kâ*v*ûlî, the Sôftî, the Rûman (Arûmâyak), and the white-clothed Karmak[3] then attain sovereignty in my countries of Iran, *and* their will and pleasure will become current in the world. 50. The sovereignty will come from those leathern-belted ones[4] and Arabs (Tâ*z*îgân) and Rûmans to them, *and* they will be so misgoverning that when they kill a righteous man who is virtuous and a fly, it is all one[5] in their eyes. 51. And the security, fame, and prosperity, the country and families, the wealth and handiwork, the streams, rivers, and springs of Iran, and of those of the good religion, come to those non-Iranians; and the army and standards of the frontiers come to them, and a rule with a craving for wrath advances in the world. 52. And their eyes of avarice are not sated with wealth, and they form hoards of the world's wealth, and conceal *them* underground; and through wickedness they commit sodomy, hold much intercourse with menstruous *women*, and practise many unnatural lusts.

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of some country probably in Turkistân, as Ar*g*âsp, the opponent of Vi*s*tâsp, is called 'lord or king of Khyôn' in the Yâ*d*kâr-i Zarîrân (see also Gô*s* Yt. 30, 31, Ashi Yt. 50, 51, Zamyâd Yt. 87).

[1] Or, 'as the mountain-holding Khûdarak.' Darmesteter suggests that Khûdarak may be an 'inhabitant of Khazar.'

[2] Probably the people of Samarkand, which place was formerly called *K*în according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabarî's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298. See also Bund. XII, 22.

[3] The Kâbulî and Byzantine Rûman are plain enough; not so the Sôftî and Karmak (Kalmak or Krimak).

[4] That is, the Tûrks, as appears more clearly from Chap. III, 8, 9. The Arabs are mentioned here, incidently, for the first time, and again in Chap. III, 9, 51.

[5] Literally, 'both are one.'

53. 'And in that perplexing time the night is brighter[1], and the year, month, and day will diminish one-third; the earth of Spendarmad arises, and suffering, death, and destitution become more severe in the world.'

54. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell: that wicked evil spirit, when it shall be necessary *for him* to perish, becomes more oppressive and more tyrannical.'

55. So Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân thus: 'Enquire fully and learn by heart[2] thoroughly! teach *it* by Zand, Pâzand, and explanation! tell *it* to the priests and disciples *who* speak forth in the world, *and* those who are not aware of the hundred winters, tell *it* then to them! so that, for the hope of a future existence, *and* for the preservation of their own souls, they may remove the trouble, evil, and oppression which those of other religions cause in the ceremonies of religion (dînô yêsnân). 56. And, moreover, I tell thee this, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that whoever, in that time, appeals for the body is not able to save the soul, for *he is* as it were fat, and *his* soul is hungry *and* lean in hell; whoever appeals for the soul, *his* body is hungry *and* lean through the misery of the world, and destitute, and his soul is fat in heaven.'

57. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world who art righteous!'—He is Aûharmazd through righteous invocation, and the rest through

[1] The Pâz. version adds, 'the motion of the sun is quicker.'
[2] Literally, 'make easy.'

praise; some say 'righteous creator[1]!'—'O creator! in that perplexing time are they righteous? and are there religious people who wear the *sacred thread*-girdle (kûstîk) on the waist, and celebrate religious rites (dînô)[2] with the *sacred* twigs (baresôm)? and does the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das) continue in their families?'

58. Aûharmazd said to Zaratû*s*t thus: 'Of the best men is he who, in that perplexing time, wears the *sacred thread*-girdle on the waist, and celebrates religious rites with the *sacred* twigs, *though* not *as* in the reign of King Vistâsp. 59. Whoever in that perplexing time recites Itâ-â*d*-yazam (Av. ithâ â*d* yazamaidê, Yas. V and XXXVII)[3] *and* one Ashem-vohû[4], *and* has learned *it* by heart, is as though, in the reign of King Vistâsp, *it were* a Dvâ*z*dah-hômâst[5] with holy-water (zôhar). 60. And by

[1] This interpolated commentary is a pretty clear indication that the writer is translating from an Avesta text.

[2] Both Pâz. and Pers. have drônô, 'sacred cakes.'

[3] The third hâ or chapter of the Yasna of seven chapters. It worships Aûharmazd as the creator of all good things.

[4] See Bund. XX, 2.

[5] For the following explanation of the various kinds of hômâst I am indebted to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji Jâmâsp-Âsâ-nâ of Bombay:—

There are four kinds of hômâst recited by priests for the atonement of any sin that may have been committed by a woman during menstruation, after her purification:—

1. Hômâst consists of prayers recited for 144 days, in honour of the twelve following angels: Aûharmazd, Ti*s*tar, Khûrshêd, Mâh, Âbân, Âdar, Khurdâd, Amerdâd, Spendarmad, Bâd, Srôsh, and Ardâ-fravash. Each angel, in turn, is reverenced for twelve days successively, with one Yasna each day.

2. Khadûk-hômâst, 'one hômâst,' differs from the last merely in adding a Vendidad every twelfth day, to be recited in the Ush-

whomever prayer is offered up, *and* the Gâtha-*hymns* are chanted, *it is* as though the whole ritual had been recited, *and* the Gâtha-*hymns* consecrated by him *in* the reign of King Vistâsp. 61. The most perfectly righteous of the righteous is he who remains in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, and continues the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage in his family.'

62. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst: 'In these nine thousand years which I, Aûharmazd, created, mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time; for in the evil reigns of Az-i Dahâk and Frâsîyâv of Tûr mankind, in those perplexing times, were living better and living more

ahin Gâh (12 P. M. to 6 A. M.) in honour of the angel whose propitiation ends that day.

3. Dah-hômâst, 'ten hômâsts,' differs from the preceding merely in having a Vendidad, in addition to the Yasna, every day.

4. Dvâzdah-hômâst, 'twelve hômâsts,' are prayers recited for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels, namely, the twelve aforesaid and the following ten: Bahman, Ardibahist, Shahrivar, Mihir, Bahrâm, Râm, Dîn, Rashnû, Gôs, and Âstâd. Each angel, in turn, is reverenced as in the last.

The celebration of hômâst costs 350 rûpîs, that of khadûk-hômâst 422 rûpîs, that of dah-hômâst 1000 rûpîs, and that of dvâzdah-hômâst 2000 rûpîs; but the first and third are now no longer used. The merit obtained by having such recitations performed is equivalent to 1000 tanâpûhars for each Yasna, 10,000 for each Visparad, and 70,000 for each Vendidad recited. A tanâpûhar is now considered as a weight of 1200 dirhams, with which serious sins and works of considerable merit are estimated; originally it must have meant a sin which was 'inexpiable' by ordinary good works, and, conversely, any extraordinary good work which was just sufficient to efface such a sin.

The amount of merit attaching to such recitations is variously stated in different books, and when recited with holy-water (that is, with all their ceremonial rites) they are said to be usually a hundred times as meritorious as when recited without it.

numerously, and their disturbance by Aharman and the demons was less. 63. For in their evil reigns, within the countries of Iran, there were not seven[1] towns which *were* desolate as they *will be* when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! for all the towns of Iran *will* be ploughed up by their horses' hoofs, and their banners *will* reach unto Pa*d*ashkhvârgar[2], and they *will* carry away the sovereignty of the seat of the religion I approve from there; and their destruction comes from that place, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell.'

64. Whoever[3] of those existing, thus, with reverence unto the good, performs much worship for Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd, aware of *it* through righteousness, gives *him* whatsoever Aûharmazd is aware of through righteousness, as remuneration *and* reward of duty *and* good works, and *such* members of

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[1] So in the Pâzand, but 'seventeen' in Persian; in K20 the word is partly illegible, but can be no other number than *s*ibâ, 'seven.'

[2] The mountainous region south of the Caspian (see Bund. XII, 2, 17).

[3] This section is the Pahlavi version of an Avesta formula which is appended to nearly two-thirds of the hâs or chapters of the Yasna, and, therefore, indicates the close of the chapter at this point. The version here given contains a few verbal deviations from that given in the Yasna, but none of any importance. The Avesta text of this formula is as follows:—

Yênhê hâtăm âa*d*, yêsnê paitî,
vanghô mazd*a*u ahurô vaêthâ, ashâ*d* ha*k*â,
y*a*unghăm*k*â, tăs*k*â t*a*us*k*â yazamaidê.

And it may be translated in the following manner:—

'Of whatever male of the existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.'

the congregation, males and females, I reverence; and the archangels, who are also male and female, they are good.

CHAPTER III.

1. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one!* whence do they restore this good religion of the Mazdayasnians? and by what means will they destroy these demons with dishevelled hair[1], of the race of Wrath? 2. O creator! grant me death! and grant my favoured ones death! that they may not live in that perplexing time; grant *them* exemplary living! that they may not prepare wickedness and the way to hell.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! after the ill-omened[2] sovereignty of those of the race of Wrath[3] there is a fiend, Shêdâspîh[4] of the Kilisyâkîh, from the countries of Salmân[5];' Mâh-

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[1] The Pâz. MSS. insert, 'and black clothing' here.

[2] Literally, 'black-marked,' or possibly, 'black standard.'

[3] The Pâz. MSS. add, 'the leathern-belted Tûrks,' that is, people of Turkistân.

[4] This fiend appears to be a personification of Christianity or 'ecclesiasticism' (Kilisyâkîh, see Chap. II, 19), and the writer seems to place his appearance some time in the middle ages, probably before the end of the thirteenth century (see the note on § 44). Darmesteter suggests that Shêdâsp may have been intended as a modern counterpart of Bêvarâsp (Az-i Dahâk), the ancient tyrant; and that this Christian invasion may be a reminiscence of the crusades.

[5] I have formerly read Mûsulmân instead of min Salmân, and hence concluded that the text must have been written long

vand-dâd said that *these people* are Rûman (Arûmâyîk), and Rôshan[1] said that they have red weapons, red banners, *and* red hats (kûlâh). 4. 'It is when a symptom of them appears, as they advance, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun and the dark show signs, and the moon becomes manifest of various colours; earthquakes (bûm-guzand), too, become numerous, and the wind comes more violently; in the world want, distress, and discomfort come more into view; and Mercury and Jupiter advance the sovereignty for the vile[2], *and* they are *in* hundreds and thousands and myriads. 5. They have the red banner of the fiend Shêdâspîh of Kilisyâkîh, and they hasten much their progress to these countries of Iran *which* I, Aûharmazd, created, up to the bank of the Arvand[3],' some have said[4] the Frât[5] river, 'unto the Greeks (Yûnân) dwelling in Asûristân;' they are Greeks by strict reckoning[6],

after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; but this reading is irreconcileable with the context. The position of Salmân (Av. Sairima) is defined by Bund. XX, 12, which places the sources of the Tigris in that country.

[1] The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad, and other texts. Mâhvand-dâd is mentioned in the Pahlavi Yasna (see Sls. I, 4).

[2] The Pâz. MSS. state that 'Mercury and Jupiter beat down the strength of Venus.'

[3] Here written Arang, Arand, or Arvad, but as it is Arvand in §§ 21, 38, that reading seems preferable, the difference between the two names in Pahlavi being merely a single stroke. The Arvand is the Tigris, and the Arang probably the Araxes (see SZS. VI, 20, Bund. XX, 8).

[4] Literally, 'there are *and* were *some* who said;' this phrase occurs several times in the latter part of this text.

[5] The Euphrates.

[6] Or, 'of strict reckoning,' reading sâkht amâr, but both reading and meaning are very uncertain. As it stands in K20 it

and their Assyrian dwelling is this, that they slay the Assyrian people therein, and thus they will destroy their abode, some have said the *lurking*-holes (grêstak) of the demons.

6. 'They turn back those of the race of Wrath[1] in hundreds and thousands and myriads; *and* the banners, standards, and an innumerable army of those demons with dishevelled hair will come to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 7. And the army of the invader[2] is an extending enemy of the Tûrk[3] and even the Karm[4], be it with banners aloft when he shall set up a banner, be it through the excessive multitude which will remain—like *hairs in* the mane of a horse—in the countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created.

8. 'The leathern-belted Tûrk *and* the Rûman Shê*d*âspîh of Kilisyâkîh come forth with simultaneous movement[5], and in three places, with similar strife, there was and *will* be three times a great contest (âr*d*îh), O Zaratûs*t* the Spîtâmân! 9. One in the reign of Kaî-Kâûs[6], when through

may be sâkht *g*umâl, 'extreme beauty,' or Sâkhtîmâr (the name of a place), or this may stand for sâkht tîmâr, 'severe misfortune;' and other readings are possible.

[1] It is not quite clear which party will turn the other back.

[2] Literally, 'extender,' that is, one engaged in extending his own dominions.

[3] The remainder of this § (except the verb 'remain') is Pâzand written in Persian characters in K20.

[4] Possibly the Karmak of Chap. II, 49. In § 20 the Kur*d* and Karmân (or Karms) may refer to the Tûrk and Karm of this §, so it is doubtful whether Tûrk or Kur*d* is meant.

[5] Or, 'for the encounter,' pavan ham-rasi*s*nîh.

[6] See Bund. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7. The letters are here joined together, so as to become Kaî-gâûs, and this form of the name is

the assistance of demons *it was* with the archangels; and the second when thou, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! receivedst the religion and *hadst* thy conference, *and* King Vistâsp and Argâsp[1], miscreated by wrath, *were*, through the war of the religion, in the combat of Spêd-razûr ("the hoary forest[2]"),' some have said *it was* in Pârs; 'and the third when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when all the three, Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, come to this[3] place,' some have said the plain of Nîsânak[4]. 10. 'And all *those of* the countries of Iran, which I, Aûharmazd, created, come from their own place unto Padashkhvârgar[5], owing to those of the race of Wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! so that a report of something of the cave dwellings, mountain dwellings, and river dwellings of these people will remain at Padashkhvârgar and Pârs; some have *said* the fire Visnâsp[6], on the deep Lake *K*êkast which has medicinal water opposed to the demons, is there (in Padashkhvârgar?) as it were conspicuous,' some have said 'originating[7],' 'so that

often read Kâhûs or Kahôs in Pâzand (see Mkh. VIII, 27, XXVII, 54, LVII, 21). The Pâz. MSS. omit § 9.

[1] See Bund. XII, 32, 33.

[2] See Bund. XXIV, 16.

[3] Perhaps 'one' is meant, as hanâ, 'this,' is sometimes substituted for aê, 'one,' both being read *e* in Pâzand.

[4] The reading of this name is quite uncertain.

[5] See Chap. II, 63. The whole of the final clause of this section, about the fire Visnâsp, is inserted parenthetically at this point in the Pahlavi text.

[6] Elsewhere called Gûsnasp, Gûsnâsp, or Gûsasp (see SZS. VI, 22).

[7] The most obvious reading of this word is mâhîk, 'fish,' which can hardly be reconciled with the context. The view here taken is that the writer was translating from an Avesta text, and met

they may use *it* anew, *and* the fire may become shining in these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 11. For when one shall be able to save his own life, he has then no recollection of wife, child, and wealth, that they may not live, *in* that perplexing time, O Zaratûst! yet the day when the hundredth winter becomes the end of thy millennium, which is *that* of Zaratûst, is so that nothing wicked may go from this millennium into that millennium[1].'

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with the word *k*ithra, which means both pê*d*âk, 'clear,' and tôkhmak, 'originating,' but to express the latter meaning he used the synonym mâyakîk, which can be written exactly like mâhîk. Owing to the involved character of this section it is not very clear in English, but it is still more obscure in the Pahlavi text, in which the whole of this clause about the fire is inserted parenthetically after the first mention of Pa*d*ashkhvârgar.

[1] This last clause may be read several ways, and it is by no means easy to ascertain clearly the chronological order of the events which are jumbled together in this last chapter. But it would appear that Zaratûst's millennium was to end at a time when the religion was undisturbed, and just before the incursion of the demons or idolators, the details of which have been given in Chap. II, 22–III, 11, and which is the first event of Hûshê*d*ar's millennium (see § 13). Now according to Bund. XXXIV, 7–9, the interval from 'the coming of the religion,' in the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp, to the end of the Sasanian monarchy was 90 + 112 + 30 + 12 + 14 + 14 + 284 + 460 = 1016 years. If by 'the coming of the religion' be meant the time when Zaratûst received it, as he was then thirty years old, he must have been born 1046 years before the end of the Sasanian monarchy (A. D. 651), and the end of his millennium must have been in A. D. 605, the sixteenth year of Khûsrô Parvîz, when the Sasanian power was near its maximum, and only a score of years before it began suddenly to collapse. This close coincidence indicates that the writer of the Bahman Yast must have adopted the same incorrect chronology as is found in the Bundahis. If, however, 'the coming of the religion' mean its acceptance by Vistâsp, which occurred in Zaratûst's fortieth or

12. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one!* when they are so many in number, by what means will they be able to perish[1]?'

13. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, *and* Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst is born on Lake Frazdân[2]. 14. It is when he comes to his conference *with* me[3], Aûharmazd, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!' *that in* the direction of *K*înistân[4], *it* is said—some have said among the Hindus—'is born a prince (kaî); it is his father, a prince of the Kayân race, approaches the

forty-second year, his birth must have been ten or twelve years earlier, and his millennium must have ended A. D. 593–595. But according to the imperfect chronology of Bund. XXXIV the tenth millennium of the world, that of Capricornus, commenced with 'the coming of the religion,' and ended, therefore, in A. D. 635, the fourth year of Yazdakard, the last Sasanian king, when the Muhammadans were just preparing for their first invasion; so the millennium of Aquarius is very nearly coincident with that of Hûshêdar, and may probably be intended to represent it. It appears, therefore, that the millennium of Hûshêdar is altogether past, having extended from A. D. 593–635 to A. D. 1593–1635.

[1] The Pâz. MSS. omit § 12. The writer having detailed the evils of the iron age, now returns to its commencement in order to describe the means adopted for partially counteracting those evils.

[2] See Bund. XXII, 5, XXXII, 8. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'they bring him up in Zâvulistân and Kâvulistân;' and the Pers. version says, 'on the frontier of Kâbulistân.' With regard to the time of Hûshêdar's birth, see § 44. His name is always written Khûrshêdar in K20.

[3] The Pâz. and Pers. versions say, 'at thirty years of age,' as in § 44.

[4] Possibly Samarkand (see Chap. II, 49, note 2).

women, and a religious prince is born to him; he calls *his* name Vâhrâm the Var*g*âvand[1],' some have said Shahpûr. 15. 'That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky; when that prince is born the star shows a signal.' 16. It is Dâ*d*-Aûharmazd[2] *who* said that the month Âvân and day Vâ*d*[3] is his father's end; 'they rear *him* with the damsels of the king, *and* a woman becomes ruler.

17. 'That prince when he is thirty years old'—some have told the time—'*comes* with innumerable banners *and* divers armies, Hindu and *K*înî[4], having uplifted banners—for they set up *their* banners—having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed[5] as far as the Vêh river'—some have said the country of Bambŏ[6]—'as far as Bukhâr and the Bukhârans within *its* bank,

[1] Bahrâm the illustrious or splendid (Av. var*e*k*a*ngha*n*d, compare Pers. var*g*), an epithet applied, in the Avesta, to the moon, Ti*s*trya, the scriptures, the royal glory of the Kayânians, the Kayânians themselves, and the hero Thrita. This personage may possibly be an incarnation of the angel Bahrâm, mingled with some reminiscences of the celebrated Persian general Bahrâm *K*ôpîn; but see §§ 32, 49.

[2] A commentator who is quoted in the Pahlavi Yas. XI, 22; see also Chap. I, 7.

[3] The 22nd day of the eighth month of the Parsi year, corresponding to October 7th when the year began at the vernal equinox, as the Bundahi*s* (XXV, 6, 7, 20, 21) describes.

[4] That is, Bactrian and Samarkandian.

[5] Or, 'light up with glitter,' according as we read tâ*g*end or tâ*v*end. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 17–44, except one or two isolated phrases.

[6] Spiegel was inclined to identify this name with Bombay, but this is impossible, as the MS. K20 (in which the name occurs) was written some two centuries before the Portuguese invented the name of Bombay. Its original name, by which it is still called by

O Zaratû*s*t the Spîtâmân! 18. When the star Jupiter comes up to *its* culminating point (bâlist)[1] and casts Venus down, the sovereignty comes to the prince. 19. Quite innumerable are the champions, furnished with arms *and* with banners displayed,' some have said from Sagastân, Pârs, and Khûrâsân, some have said from the lake of Pa*d*ashkhvârgar[2], some have said from the Hirâtîs[3] and Kôhistân, some have said from Taparistân[4]; and from those directions '*every* supplicant for a child[5] comes into[6] view. 20. It is concerning the displayed banners and very numerous army, which were the armed men, champions, and soldiers from the countries of Iran *at* Pa*d*ashkhvârgar—whom *I* told thee[7] that they call both Kur*d* and Karmân—it is declared

its native inhabitants, being Mumbaî. The locality mentioned in the text is evidently to be sought on the banks of the Oxus near Bukhârâ; the Oxus having been sometimes considered the upper course of the Arag, and sometimes that of the Veh (see Bund. XX, 22, note 5). It is hardly probable that either Bâmî (Balkh) or Bâmiyân would be changed into Bambŏ, and the only exact representative of this name appears to be Bamm, a town about 120 miles S. E. of Kirmân; this is quite a different locality from that mentioned in the text, but it is hazardous to set bounds to the want of geographical knowledge displayed by some of the Pahlavi commentators.

[1] Compare SZS. IV, 8. Here the triumph of Jupiter over Venus appears to be symbolical of the displacement of the queen dowager by her son.

[2] That is, from the southern shore of the Caspian.

[3] Reading Hiriyân, but this is doubtful, as it may be 'from the citadels (arigânŏ), or defiles (khalakânŏ), of Kôhistân.'

[4] See Bund. XII, 17, XIII, 15.

[5] That is, every man able to bear arms.

[6] Reading pavan, 'into,' instead of barâ, 'besides' (see SZS. VIII, 2, note 5).

[7] See § 10, but as nothing is said there about Kur*d* or Karmân, it is possible that the writer meant to say, 'of whom I told thee,

that they will slay an excessive number, in companionship *and under* the same banner, for these countries of Iran.

21. 'Those of the race of Wrath and the extensive army[1] of Shê*d*âspîh, *whose* names are the two-legged wolf and the leathern-belted demon on the bank of the Arvand[2], wage three battles, one in Spê*d*-ra*z*ûr[3] and one in the plain of Nî*s*ânak;' some have said that *it was* on the lake of the three races, some have said that *it was* in Marûv[4] the brilliant, *and* some have said in Pârs. 22. 'For the support of the countries of Iran is the innumerable army of the east; its having exalted banners[5] is that they have a banner of tiger skin (bôpar pôst), and their wind banner is white cotton[6]; innumerable are the mounted troops, and they ride up to the *lurking*-holes[7] of the demons; they will slay so that a thousand women can afterwards see and kiss *but* one man.

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and whom they call both Kur*d* and Karmân.' It is more probable, however, that he is referring to § 7.

[1] Compare § 7. The 'extensive army' and 'two-legged wolf' are terms borrowed apparently from Yas. IX, 62, 63.

[2] That is, 'the rapid' (Av. aurvan*d*). The other names of this river, Tigris and Hiddekel, have the same meaning. See §§ 5, 38.

[3] See § 9, of which this is a recapitulation, but the first of the three battles is here omitted by mistake.

[4] Marv in the present Turkistân.

[5] Referring to § 17.

[6] Supposing that bandôk may be equivalent to Pers. bandak, but the usual Pahlavi term for 'cotton' is pumbak (Pers. punbah).

[7] Reading grestak as in § 5, but the word can also be read dar dî*d*ak, 'gate watch-tower.' It is possible that the dru*g*ô geredha, 'pit of the fiend,' of Vend. III, 24, may be here meant; the gate of hell, whence the demons congregate upon the Are*z*ûr ridge (Bund. XII, 8).

23. 'When it is the end of the time[1], O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! those enemies will be as much destroyed as the root of a shrub when *it is* in the night on which a cold winter arrives, and in this night it sheds *its* leaves; and they *will* reinstate these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created[2].

24. 'And with speed rushes the evil spirit, with the vilest races of demons and Wrath with infuriate spear[3], *and* comes on to the support and assistance of those demon-worshippers and miscreations of wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 25. And I, the creator Aûharmazd, send Nêryôsang the angel and Srôsh the righteous[4] unto Kangdez[5], which the illustrious Sîyâvakhsh[6] formed, *and to* Kîtrô-mîyân[7] *son* of Vistâsp, the glory of the Kayâns, the just restorer of the religion, *to speak* thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; consecrate the fire *and* waters for the Hâdôkht[8] *and* Dvâzdah-hômâst!

[1] Compare, 'and at the time of the end' (Dan. xi. 40). The writer appears to be here finally passing from a description of the past into speculations as to the future, which he has hitherto only casually indulged in.

[2] The supernatural means supposed to be employed for the destruction of the wicked and the restoration of the good are detailed in the following paragraphs.

[3] See Chap. II, 36.

[4] The two angels who are the special messengers of Aûharmazd to mankind (see Bund. XV, 1, XXX, 29). This message was expected to be sent to Pêshyôtanû near the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 51).

[5] See Bund. XXIX, 10.

[6] See Bund. XXXI, 25.

[7] A title of Pêshyôtanû, written Kîtrô-maînô in Bund. XXIX, 5.

[8] This was the twentieth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats make it the twenty-first, and say very

that is, celebrate *them* with the fire *and* waters, and such *as* is appointed about the fire and waters!"

little about its contents (see Haug's Essays, pp. 133, 134). The Dînkar*d*, in its eighth book, gives the following account of this Nask :—

'The Hâ*d*ôkht as it exists *has* three divisions among its 133 sections. The first *has* thirteen (twelve?) sections, treatises upon the nature of the recital of the Ahunavar, which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject. Admonition about selecting *and* keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, *and* maintaining even those of various high-priests. On the twenty-one chieftainships of the spirits in Aûharmazd, and of the worldly existences in Zaratûs*t*, among which are the worship of God *and* the management of the devout. On the duty *requisite* in each of the five different periods of the day and night, and *the fate at* the *celestial* bridge of him who shall be zealous in the celebration of the season-festivals; he who does not provide the preparations for the feast of the season-festivals, and who is yet efficient in the other worship of God. On how to consider, *and* what to do with, a leader of the high-priest class *and* a man of the *inferior* classes; he who atones for unimportant sin, and he who does not atone even for *that which* is important, *and* whatever is on the same subject. On the apparatus with which ploughed land (?) is prepared. On the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from uttering good words *for blessing* the eating and drinking of food and drink, and rebuking the inward talk of the demons. On the recitations at the five periods of the day, and the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels, each separately, *and* great information on the same subject; the worthiness of a man restrained by authority, the giving of life and body to the angels, the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction which *proceeds* from a fiend. On all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, and all precedence (?), leadership, foresight (?), worthy liberality, virtue (?), and every proper cause and effect of righteousness; the individuality of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of Aûharmazd's opinion, and also much other information in the same section.

'The middle *division has* 102 sections, treatises on spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership of the diligent, and their mighty

26. 'And Nêryôsang proceeds, *with* Srôsh the righteous, from the good *K*akâ*d*-i-Dâîtîk[1] to Kang-de*z*, which the illustrious Sîyâvakhsh formed, and cries out from it thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! O *K*îtrô-mîyân son of Vi*s*tâsp, glory of the Kayâns, just restorer of the religion! walk forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion!"

27. 'Those spirits move on, and they propitiate them; with holy-water the illustrious Pêshyôtanû celebrates the Dvâ*z*dah-hômâst, with a hundred and fifty righteous who are disciples of Pêshyôtanû, in black marten fur, and they have garments as it were of the good spirit. 28. They walk up with *the words:* "Hûmat, hûkht, hûvar*s*t[2]," and consecrate

means, all former deeds of righteousness; righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is adapted by it for that *of* which it is said that *it is* the Hâ*d*ôkht which is the maintaining of righteousness, so that they may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.

'The last *division has* nineteen sections of trusty remedies, that is, remedies whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource among the creatures of God; also the nature of sayings full of humility, well-favoured, most select, *and* adapted for that *of* which it is said that I reverence that chief, the excellent and eminent Hâ*d*ôkht, of which they trust in the sustaining strength of every word of Zaratû*s*t. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî).'

According to tradition three chapters of this Nask are still extant, being the Ya*s*t fragments XXI, XXII of Westergaard's edition of the Avesta Texts; but they do not correspond to any part of the description in the Dînkar*d*. For a description of Dvâzdah-hômâst see Chap. II, 59.

[1] See Bund. XII, 7.

[2] That is, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' a formula often uttered when commencing an important action.

the fire of the waters; *with* the illustrious Hâ*d*ôkht they bless me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; and after that it demolishes one-third of the opposition. 29. And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth, with the hundred and fifty men who wear black marten fur, and they celebrate the rituals (yasnân) of the Gadman-hômand ("glorious") fire, which they call the Rôshanô-kerp ("luminous form")[1], which is established at the appointed place (dâtô-gâs), the triumphant ritual of the Frôbâ fire, Horvada*d*, *and* Amerôda*d*, and the ceremonial (ya*z*i*s*n) with his priestly co-operation; they arrange and pray over the *sacred* twigs; *and* the ritual of Horvada*d* *and* Amerôda*d*, in the chapter of the code of religious formulas (nîrangistân)[2] demolishes three-thirds of the opposition. 30. Pêshyôtanû son of Vi*s*tâsp walks forth, with the assistance of the Frôbâ *fire*, the fire Gû*s*nâsp, and the fire Bûr*z*în-Mitrô[3], to the great idol-temples, the abode of *the demons*[4]; and the wicked evil spirit, Wrath with infuriate spear[5], and all demons and fiends, evil races and wizards, arrive at the deepest *abyss* of hell; *and* those idol-temples are extirpated by the exertions of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû.

31. 'And I, the creator Aûharmazd, come to Mount Hûkaîryâ*d*[6] with the archangels, and I issue

[1] See Bund. XVII, 5, 6. This appears to be an allusion to the removal of the sacred fire by Vi*s*tâsp, from the 'glorious' mountain in Khvâri*z*em to the 'shining' mountain in Kâvulistân.

[2] See Chap. II, 37.

[3] Regarding these three manifestations of the sacred fire, see Bund. XVII, 3–9, SZS. XI, 8–10.

[4] Supplying the word *s*êdâân, 'the demons,' in accordance with §§ 36, 37; there being clearly some word omitted in K20.

[5] See Chap. II, 36. [6] Hûgar the lofty in Bund. XII, 2, 5.

orders to the archangels that they should speak to the angels of the spiritual existences thus: "Proceed to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû!" 32. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures, Srôsh the vigorous, Rashn the just, Vâhrâm[1] the mighty, Âstâd the victorious, *and* the glory of the religion of the Mazdayasnians, the stimulator of *religious* formulas (nîrang), the arranger of the world, *proceed*[2] to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, through the order of which I, the creator, have just written[3].

33. '*Out* of the demons of gloomy race the evil spirit cries to Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures thus: "Stay above in truth[4], thou Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures!"

34. 'And then Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries thus: "Of these nine thousand years' support, which during its beginning produced Dahâk of evil religion, Frâsîyâv of Tûr, *and* Alexander[5] the Rûman, the period of one thousand years of those leathern-belted demons with dishevelled hair is a more than moderate reign to produce[6]."

35. 'The wicked evil spirit becomes confounded when he heard this; Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures will smite Wrath of the infuriate spear with

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[1] The fact that the angel Vâhrâm goes in his spiritual form to the assistance of Pêshyôtanû, rather militates against the idea that he also goes in the form of Vâhrâm the Vargâvand.

[2] This verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

[3] Literally, 'arrive at the writing.'

[4] Or, 'stand up with honesty!'

[5] The latter two names are here written Frâsâv and Alasandar.

[6] From this it appears that the writer expected the evil reign of the unbelievers to last a thousand years, that is, till the end of Hûshêdar's millennium, about A.D. 1593–1635, which corresponds very closely with the reign of the great Shâh 'Abbâs.

stupefaction; *and* the wicked evil spirit flees, with the miscreations and evil progeny he flees back to the darkest *recess* of hell. 36. And Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to the illustrious Pêshyôtanû thus: "Extirpate *and* utterly destroy the idol-temples, the abode of the demons! proceed to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion over the wicked! when they see thee they will be terrified."

37. 'And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû advances, and the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnasp, and the triumphant fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô will smite the fiend of excessive strength; he will extirpate the idol-temples that are the abode of demons; and they celebrate the ceremonial (yazisn), arrange the *sacred* twigs, solemnize the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and praise me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; this is what I foretell[1]. 38. The illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, to the Arvand and Vêh river[2]; when the wicked see him they will be terrified, those of the progeny of gloom and those not worthy.

39. 'And regarding that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand it is declared that he comes forth in full glory, fixes upon Vandîd-khîm[3] ("a curbed temper"), and *having* intrusted *him* with the seat of mobadship of the

[1] Or, perhaps, 'what I said before,' being already narrated in § 29 as performed by Pêshyôtanû before advancing far into Iran.

[2] The Tigris and the Oxus—Indus (see §§ 5, 21).

[3] Probably a title of Pêshyôtanû; a more obvious translation would be, 'restrains a curbed temper, and is intrusted,' &c., but it is hardly probable that the warrior prince Vâhrâm could become a priest. It is Vâhrâm's business to restore the empire, leaving Pêshyôtanû to restore the religion.

mobads[1], and the seat of true explanation of the religion, he restores again these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; and he drives[2] away from the world covetousness, want, hatred, wrath, lust, envy, and wickedness. 40. And the wolf period goes away, and the sheep period comes on; they establish the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnâsp, *and* the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô again at their proper places, and they will properly supply the firewood and incense; and the wicked evil spirit becomes confounded and unconscious, with the demons and the progeny of gloom. 41. And so the illustrious Pêshyôtanû speaks thus: "Let the demon be destroyed, and the witch be destroyed! let the fiendishness and vileness of the demons be destroyed! and let the gloomy progeny of the demons be destroyed! The glory[3] of the religion of the Mazdayasnians prospers, and let it prosper! let the family[4] of the liberal and just, who are doers of good deeds, prosper! and let the throne of the religion and sovereignty have a good restorer!" 42. Forth comes the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, forth he comes with a hundred and fifty men of the disciples who wear black marten fur, and they take the throne of their own religion and sovereignty.'

43. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell, when it is the end of thy millennium it is the beginning of *that* of Hûshêdar[5].

[1] The supreme high-priesthood, or primacy.

[2] Merely a guess, as the verb varafsêd is difficult to understand.

[3] K20 has nismô, 'soul,' but the very-similarly written gadman, 'glory,' is a more likely reading here (see § 32).

[4] Reading dûdak instead of rûdak, as in Chap. II, 47.

[5] The writer having detailed the supernatural means employed for restoring the religion, now returns to the birth of Hûshêdar

44. Regarding Hûshêdar it is declared that he will be born in 1600[1], and at thirty years of age he comes to a conference with me, Aûharmazd, *and* receives the religion. 45. When he comes away from the conference he cries to the sun with the swift horse[2], thus: "Stand still!"

46. 'The sun with the swift horse stands still ten

(§ 13) for the purpose of mentioning some of his actions, and making the chronology of his millennium rather more clear. Nothing is said here about his miraculous birth, the details of which are given in the seventh book of the Dînkard very much as they are found in the Persian Rivâyats. The Dînkard states that thirty years before the end of Zaratûst's millennium a young maiden bathing in certain water, and drinking it, becomes pregnant through the long-preserved seed of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8, 9), and subsequently gives birth to Hûshêdar.

[1] There seems to be no other rational way of understanding this number than by supposing that it represents the date of Hûshêdar's birth, counting from the beginning of Zaratûst's millennium. According to this view Hûshêdar was to be born in the six hundredth year of his own millennium, and not at its beginning, as § 13 seems to imply, nor nearly thirty years earlier, as the Dînkard asserts. As the beginning of his millennium may be fixed about A.D. 593–635 (see note on § 11), the writer must have expected him to be born about A.D. 1193–1235; a time which was probably far in the future when he was writing. And as Vâhrâm the Vargâvand was to be born when Hûshêdar was thirty years of age (compare §§ 14, 44), and was to march into Iran at the age of thirty (§ 17), the great conflict of the nations (§§ 8, 19–22) was expected to begin about A.D. 1253–1295, and to continue till near the end of the millennium, about A.D. 1593–1635, when Pêshyôtanû was expected to appear (§ 51) and to restore the 'good' religion (§§ 26, 37, 42). An enthusiastic Parsi interpreter of prophecy might urge that though this period did not witness any revival of his religion, it did witness a restoration of the Persian empire under Shâh 'Abbâs, and also the first beginning of British power in India, which has been so great a benefit to the scanty remnant of his fellow-countrymen.

[2] The usual epithet of the sun in the Avesta.

days and nights; and when this happens all the people of the world abide by the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 47. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to Hûshêdar, *son* of Zaratûst, thus: "O Hûshêdar, restorer of the true religion! cry to the sun with the swift horse thus: 'Move on!' for it is dark in the regions of Arzâh and Savâh, Fradadafsh *and* Vîdadafsh, Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst, and the illustrious Khvanîras[1]."

48. 'Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst cries, to the sun he cries, thus: "Move on!" 49. The sun with the swift horse moves on, *and* Vargâvand[2] and all mankind fully believe in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians.'

50. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell, that this one brings the creatures back to their proper state. 51. When it is near the end of the millennium Pêshyôtanû[3] son of Vistâsp comes into notice, who is a Kayân that advances triumphantly; and those enemies who relied upon fiendishness, such as the Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, and the vile ones who control[4] the Iranian sovereign with insolence and oppression and enmity to the sovereignty, destroy the fire and make the religion weak; and they convey *their* power and success to him and every one who accepts the law and religion willingly; if he

[1] The seven regions of the earth (see Bund. XI, 2, 3).

[2] It is just possible to read, 'the sun with the swift horse, the splendid, moves on, and all mankind fully believe,' &c. But if the reading in the text be correct it effectually disposes of the idea of Vâhrâm being an incarnation of the angel, as an angel would require no miracle to make him believe in the religion.

[3] See §§ 25–30.

[4] This verb is doubtful, as most of the word is torn off in K20.

accept it unwillingly the law and religion ever destroy *him*[1] till it is the end of the whole millennium.

52. 'And, afterwards, when the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh comes, through Hûshêdar-mâh[2] the creatures become more progressive, and he utterly destroys the fiend of serpent origin[3]; *and* Pêshyô-tanû son of Vistâsp becomes, in like manner, high-priest and primate (rad) of the world[4]. 53. In that millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh mankind become so versed in medicine, and keep and bring physic and remedies so *much* in use, *that* when they are confessedly at the point of death they do not thereupon die, nor when they smite and slay *them* with the sword and knife[5].

54. 'Afterwards, *one* begs a gift of *any* description out of the allowance of heretics, *and* owing to depravity *and* heresy they do not give *it*. 55. And Aharman rises through that spite[6] on to the moun-

[1] This appears to be the meaning, but the latter part of the sentence is not very clear.

[2] See Bund. XXXII, 8. The name is written Khûrshêd-mâh in K20. The Dînkard gives the same account of the miraculous birth of Hûshêdar-mâh as of the first Hûshêdar (see note on § 43); it also repeats the legend of the sun standing still, but for the longer period of twenty days; all which details are also found in the Persian Rivâyats.

[3] Av. azikithra; such creatures are mentioned in Ardavahist Yt. 8, 10, 11, 15; but Az-i Dahâk, 'the destructive serpent,' is probably meant here (see §§ 56–61).

[4] As in the previous millennium. According to the chronology deduced from § 44 the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, which corresponds to the twelfth and last millennium of Bund. XXXIV, is now near the middle of its third century.

[5] The sentence is either defective or obscure, but this appears to be its meaning.

[6] The evil spirit is encouraged, by an act of religious toleration, apparently, to recommence his manœuvres for injuring mankind.

tain of Dimâvand[1], which is the direction of Bêvarâsp, *and* shouts thus: "Now it is nine thousand years, *and* Frêdûn is not living; why do you not rise up, although these thy fetters are not removed, when[2] this world is full of people, and they have brought them from the enclosure which Yim formed[3]?"

56. 'After that apostate shouts like this, *and* because of it, Az-i Dahâk[4] stands up before *him*, *but*, through fear of the likeness of Frêdûn in the body of Frêdûn, he does not first remove those fetters and stake from *his* trunk until Aharman removes *them*. 57. And the vigour of Az-i Dahâk increases, the fetters being removed from *his* trunk, *and his* impetuosity remains; he swallows down the apostate on the spot[5], and rushing into the world to perpetrate sin, he commits innumerable grievous sins; he swallows down one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Aûharmazd; he smites the water, fire, and vegetation, and commits grievous sin.

58. 'And, afterwards, the water, fire, and vegetation stand before Aûharmazd the lord in lamentation, and make this complaint: "Make Frêdûn alive again! so that he may destroy Az-i Dahâk; for if thou, O Aûharmazd! dost not do this, we cannot

[1] Here written Dimbhâvand (see Bund. XII, 31).

[2] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

[3] The var-i Yim kard (see Bund. XXIX, 14). The men and creatures who are supposed to be preserved in this enclosure are expected to replenish the world whenever it has been desolated by wars and oppression.

[4] Whose surname is Bêvarâsp (see Bund. XXIX, 9).

[5] The Pâz. MSS. end here.

exist in the world; the fire says thus: I *will* not heat; and the water says thus: I *will* not flow."

59. 'And then I, Aûharmazd the creator, say to Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel: "Shake the body of Keresâsp the Sâmân, till he rises up!"

60. 'Then Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel go to Keresâsp[1]; three times they utter a cry, and the fourth time Sâm rises up with triumph, and goes to meet A*z*-i Dahâk. 61. And[2] Sâm does not listen to his words, and the triumphant club strikes him on the head, and smites and kills *him;* afterwards, desolation *and* adversity depart from this world, while I make a beginning of the millennium[3]. 62. Then Sôshyans[4] makes the creatures again pure, and the resurrection and future existence occur.'

63. May the end be in peace, pleasure, and joy, by the will of God (yazdânŏ)! so may it be! even more so may it be!

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[1] Also called Sâm in this same section; he was lying in a trance in the plain of Pê*s*yânsaî (see Bund. XXIX, 7–9).

[2] Reading afa*s* instead of mina*s* (see Chap. II, 4, note 2).

[3] The thirteenth millennium, or first of the future existence, when Sôshyans appears. The Dînkar*d* and the Persian Rivâyats recount the same legends regarding the miraculous birth of Sôshyans, and of the sun standing still (for thirty days), as they do with regard to Hûshê*d*ar (see note on § 43).

[4] See Bund. XXXII, 8.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

OR

THE PROPER AND IMPROPER.

AN OLD

PAHLAVI RIVÂYAT

OR

MISCELLANY OF TRADITIONAL MEMORANDA.

OBSERVATIONS.

1–5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:—Âf. for Âfrîngân. Av. for Avesta. AV. for the Book of Ar*d*â-Vîrâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Bund. for Bundahi*s*, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Ya*s*t, as translated in this volume. Chald. for Chaldee. Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâri*s*. Lev. for Leviticus. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khar*d*, ed. West. Nîr. for Nîrangistân. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as here translated. SZS. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam, as translated in this volume. W. for Westergaard. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Ya*s*t, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

B29 (written A.D. 1679), a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

L7, L15, L22, &c. are MSS. No. 7, 15, 22, &c. in the India Office Library at London.

M5 (written A. D. 1723), No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M6 (written A. D. 1397), No. 6 of the same Collection.

M9 (modern), No. 9 of the same Collection.

TD (written about A. D. 1530), a MS. of the Bundahi*s* belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

PART I.—*The Original Treatise.*

CHAPTER I.

0. In the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation may there be the good health, long life, and abundant wealth of all the good and the right-doers specially for him whose writing I am[1].

1. As revealed by the Avesta, it is said in the Vendidad[2] that these seven degrees (pâyak) of sin

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[1] See the note on B. Yt. I, 0.

[2] Referring to Vend. IV, 54–114, where seven classes of assault and their respective punishments are detailed. In our text eight classes of sin are named, although only seven degrees are mentioned; the second and third classes being apparently arranged together, as one degree of sin in § 2. Or the inconsistency may have arisen from the addition of the Farmân, a class of sin or crime not mentioned in the Vendidad, unless, indeed, it be the farmân spôkhtanŏ, 'neglect of commandment' (referring probably to priest's commands), of Pahl. Vend. VI, 15. The other seven classes are thus described in Pahl. Vend. IV, 54–57, 79, 85, 93, 99, 106 :—

'By the man whose weapon (or blow) is upraised for striking a man, that which is his Âgerept is thus implanted in *him*. When it *has* moved forward—that is, he makes *it* advance—*it* is thus his Avôirîst, that is, Avôirîst is implanted in him *and* the Âgerept merges into it, some say that it does not exist. When he comes on to him *with* thoughts of malice—that is, he places a hand upon him—*it* is thus his Aredûs, that is, Aredûs is implanted in him and the Avôirîst merges into it, some say that it does not exist. *At* the fifth Aredûs the man even becomes a Tanâpûhar; *things* at

are mentioned in revelation, *which* are Farmân, Âgerept, Avôirîst[1], Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâî, Yât, and Tanâpûhar[2]. 2. A Farmân is the weight of four

sunrise (avar-khûrshêdîh) and in the forenoon (kâîtîh = kâstîh) are no more apart. . . . Whoever inflicts the Aredûs blow on a man *it is* one-fifth of a wound (rêsh). . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a cruel Khôr ('hurt') on a man *it is* one-fourth of a wound. . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a bleeding Khôr on a man *it is* one-third of a wound. . . . Whoever shall give a man a bone-breaking Khôr *it is* half a wound. . . . Whoever strikes a man the blow *which puts him* out of consciousness shall give a whole wound.'

This description does not mention Bâzâî and Yât, unless they be the two severer kinds of Khôr; but Bâzâî occurs in Pahl. Vend. IV, 115, V, 107, XIII, 38, though Yât seems not to be mentioned in the Vendidad. Aredûs occurs again in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, and Khôr in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, XIII, 38, and Yas. LVI, iv, 2.

[1] Also written avôîrist, avîrist, aîvîrist, avôkîrist, and avakôrist in other places.

[2] Five of these names are merely slight alterations of the Av. âgerepta, avaoirista, aredus, *hv*ara, and tanuperetha (perêtôtanu or peshôtanu). The last seven degrees are also noticed in a very obscure passage in Farh. Okh. pp. 36, 37 (correcting the text from the old MSS. M6 and K20) as follows:—

'Âgerept, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent *person;* Avôirîst, "turning," is that when *one* turns the weapon upon an innocent *person;* when through sinfulness *one* lays the weapon on a sinner the name is Aredûs; for whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; *one* explains Bâzâî *as* "smiting," *and* Yât *as* "going to," *and* the soul of man ought to be withstanding, *as* a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it *has* been so much *away* from the abode of life. *In* like manner Âgerept, Avôirîst, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâî, and Yât are also called good works, *which* are performed in like proportions, *and* are called by the names of weights and measures *in* the same manner. Of peshôtanus tanûm pairyêitê the meaning is a Tanâpûhar; as they call a good work of three hundred a Tanâpûhar, on account of the three hundred like proportions of the same kind, the meaning of its name, Tanâpûhar, thereupon enters into sin. . . . A Khôr is just that description of wound from which

stîrs, and each stîr is four dirhams (*g*ûgan)[1]; of Âgerept and Avôirîst that which is least is a scourging (tâzânŏ), and the amount of them which was specially *that* which is most is said *to be* one dirham[2]; an Aredûs is thirty *stîrs*[3]; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâî is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs; and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs[4].

the blood comes, irrespective of where, how, how much, *and* wherewith it is inflicted; *it is* that which is a wound from the beginning, *and* that which will result therefrom.'

The application of this scale of offences is, however, not confined to these particular forms of assault, but has been extended (since the Avesta was compiled) to all classes of sins, and also to the good works which are supposed to counterbalance them.

[1] The dirham has been variously estimated, at different times, as a weight of forty-five to sixty-seven grains, but perhaps fifty grains may be taken as the meaning of the text, and the stîr may, therefore, be estimated at 200 grains. The Greeks used both these weights, which they called δραχμή and στατήρ.

[2] The amounts of these first three degrees of sin are differently stated in other places (see Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 1–3, 5). It is difficult to understand why the amounts of Âgerept and Avôirîst should here be stated as less than that of Farmân, and some Parsis, therefore, read vîhast (as an irregular form of vîst, 'twenty') instead of vês-ast, 'is most,' so that they may translate the amount as 'twenty dirhams;' but to obtain this result they would have to make further alterations in the Pahlavi text. In a passage quoted by Spiegel (in his Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, p. 88) from the Rivâyat MS. P12, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, it is stated that Farmân is seven stîrs, Âgerept twelve stîrs, and Avôirîst fifteen stîrs. Another Rivâyat makes the Farmân eight stîrs.

[3] All MSS. have Aredûs sî 30, 'an Aredûs is thirty (30),' leaving it doubtful whether dirhams or stîrs are meant; and the same mode of writing is adopted in Chap. XI, 2.

[4] All authorities agree about the amounts of the last five degrees of sin. These amounts are the supposed weights of the several sins in the golden scales of the angel Rashnû (see AV. V, 5), when the soul is called to account, for its actions during life, after the

3. In the administration of the primitive faith[1] there are *some* who have been of different opinions

third night after death (see Mkh. II, 114–122). Its sins are supposed to be then weighed against its good works, which are estimated by the same scale of degrees (see the passage already quoted from Farh. Okh. in p. 240, note 2), and it is sent direct to heaven, or hell, or an intermediate place, according as the good works or sins preponderate, or are both equal. In the Avesta of the Vendidad, however, whence these degrees are derived, we find them forming merely a graduated scale of assaults, extending from first lifting the hand to smite even unto manslaughter; and for each of these seven degrees of assault a scale of temporal punishments is prescribed, according to the number of times the offence has been committed. These punishments consist of a uniform series of lashes with a horse-whip or scourge, extending from a minimum of five lashes to a maximum of two hundred (see Vend. IV, 58–114); each degree of assault commencing at a different point on the scale of punishments for the first offence, and gradually rising through the scale with each repetition of the offence, so that the more aggravated assaults attain the maximum punishment by means of a smaller number of repetitions. Thus, the punishments prescribed for Âgerepta, from the first to the eighth offence, are 5, 10, 15, 30, 50, 70, 90, and 200 lashes respectively; those for Avaoirista, from the first to the seventh offence, extend on the same scale from 10 to 200 lashes; those for Aredus, from the first to the sixth offence, are from 15 to 200 lashes; those for a bruised hurt (*hv*ara), from the first to the fifth offence, are from 30 to 200 lashes; those for a bleeding hurt, from the first to the fourth offence, are from 50 to 200 lashes; those for a bone-breaking hurt, from the first to the third offence, are from 70 to 200 lashes; and those for a hurt depriving of consciousness or life, for the first and second offences, are 90 and 200 lashes. The maximum punishment of 200 lashes is prescribed only when the previous offences have not been atoned for, and it is to be inflicted in all such cases, however few or trifling the previous assaults have been.

[1] In M6 pôryô*d*kêshîh, but pôryô*d*kêshân, 'of those of the primitive faith,' in K20; from the Av. paoiryô*d*kaêsha of Yas. I, 47, III, 65, IV, 53, XXII, 33, Fravardîn Yt. 0, 90, 156, Âf. Rapithwin, 2. It is a term applied to what is considered as the

about it, for Gôgôsasp[1] spoke otherwise than the teaching[2] (*k*âstak) of Âtarô-Aûharmazd[3], and Sôshyans[4] *otherwise* than the teaching of Âtarô-frôbâg Nôsâî[5], and Mê*d*ôk-mâh[6] *otherwise* than the teaching of Gôgôsasp[7], and Afarg[8] *otherwise* than the teaching

true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

[1] One of the old commentators whose opinions are frequently quoted in Pahlavi books, as in Chap. II, 74, 82, 119, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 138, 151, IV, 35, V, 14, 121, VI, 9, 64, VII, 6, 136, VIII, 64, 236, XV, 35, 48, 56, 67, XVI, 5, XVIII, 98, 124, and thirteen times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Gôsasp (as it is here both in M6 and K20) and sometimes Gôgôsôsp.

[2] Probably a written exposition or commentary is meant.

[3] This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân as Âtarô Aûharmazdân.

[4] This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 56, 74, 80, 118, 119, III, 13, VI, 4, 5; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, 151, IV, 6, V, 48, 80, 107, 121, 146, 153, VI, 15, 64, 73, VII, 4, 136, 168, VIII, 28, 59, 303, IX, 184, XIII, 20, XVI, 7, 10, 17, 20–22, 27, XVIII, 98, and forty-six times in the Nîrangistân. He was a namesake of the last of the future apostles and sons of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8), and his name is often written Sôshâns and read Saoshyôs or Sôsyôs by Pâzand writers.

[5] This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân, and may probably be the Âtarô-frôbâg of B. Yt. I, 7; compare also Nôsâî Bûrz-Mitrô, the name of another commentator, in Chap. VIII, 18.

[6] This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 1, 11, 12, 89, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 6, 58, 107, VIII, 48, 110, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 37, and four times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Mê*d*yôk-mâh or Mâî*d*ôk-mâh, and he was a namesake of Zaratûst's cousin and first disciple (see Bund. XXXII, 2, 3). The Va*g*arkar*d*-i Dînîk professes to have been compiled by Mê*d*yôk-mâh, but there appear to have been several priests of this name (see Bund. XXXIII, 1).

[7] Gôsasp in M6.

[8] This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 2, 64, 73, 88, 115, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 115, V, 6, 14, 22, 58,

of Sôshyans. 4. And all those of the primitive faith rely upon these six[1] teachings, and there are *some* who rely more weakly and some more strongly *upon some* of them.

146, VI, 9, VII, 6, 61, 93, 136, VIII, 48, 64, 110, 250, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 14, 37, XIX, 84, Pahl. Yas. LXIV, 37, once in Farh. Okh., and thirty-eight times in the Nîrangistân.

[1] Both MSS. have 'three,' although four teachings and six commentators are mentioned in the previous section, and a fifth 'teaching' is mentioned in Chap. II, 2. The original reading was more probably 'six' than 'four,' as a Pahlavi 'six' requires merely the omission of a cipher to become 'three,' whereas a Pahlavi 'four' must be altered to produce the same blunder.

Several other commentators are mentioned in Pahlavi books, such as Âtarô-pâ*d*, son of Dâ*d*-farukh, twice in the Nîrangistân; Âzâ*d*-mar*d* nine times in Nîr.; Barôshand Aûharmazd once in Nîr.; Dâ*d* Aûharmazd in B. Yt. I, 7, III, 16, Pahl. Yas. X, 57, XI, 22; Dâ*d*-farukh in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, VI, 64, and twice in Nîr.; Dâ*d*-i-vêh seventeen times in Nîr.; Farukhŏ thrice in Nîr.; Kîrâtanŏ-bûgê*d* in Pahl. Vend. V, 80, VI, 15, IX, 184, XIII, 20, he is called the Kirmânîk in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, and Dastûr Hoshangji thinks his name is merely a variant of the next; Kûshtanŏ-bûgê*d* in Sls. II, 57, 81, 118, VI, 6, VIII, 17, Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, IV, 6, V, 48, VI, 53, 64, 73, VIII, 28, XVI, 17, 21, 22, 27, and twenty-two times in Nîr.; Mâh-Aûharmazd in Pahl. Vend. VII, 82; Mâh-gôsaspŏ, Mâh-gôsôspŏ, Mâh-gôspŏ, or Mâh-vasp in Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, Pahl. Vend. III, 138, and ten times in Nîr.; Mâhvand-dâ*d* or Mâh-vindâ*d* in B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, X, 57, XI, 22, XIX, 27; Mar*d*-bû*d* in Sls. II, 86, and twice in Nîr., where he is called the son of Dâ*d*-gun; Nêryôsang in Sls. VIII, 13, Pahl. Vend. V, 22; Nikhshâ-pûhar, or Nîshapûhar in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in Nîr.; Nôsâî Bûrz-Mitrô in Sls. VIII, 18; Parîk or Pîrîk in Pahl. Vend. III, 138, V, 14, 134, VII, 82, 93, VIII, 64, and once in Nîr.; Rôshan or Rôshanô (which, as the Sikand-gûmânî states, was the name of a commentary written by Rôshan son of Âtarô-frôbâg) in Sls. II, 39, 86, 107, B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 5, 14, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, V, 112, 134, 176, VII, 93, XVII, 11, and eleven times in Nîr.; disciples of Vakht-âfrî*d*ŏ (possibly the Bakht-âfrî*d* of Sls. XX, 11, B. Yt. I, 7) are mentioned once in Nîr.; Vand-Aûharmazd in Sls. II, 2, 6, 44, XIV, 5, Pahl. Vend. VI, 73; and Vêh-dôst once in

CHAPTER II.

1. For in the third fargar*d* ('chapter') of the Vendidad of Mê*d*ôk-mâh[1] *it* is declared that when life is resigned without effort[2], at the time when the life departs, when a dog is tied to his foot, even then the Nasûs[3] rushes upon it, and afterwards, when seen by it, the Nasûs is destroyed by it. 2. This is where *it is stated* which is the dog which destroys the Nasûs[4], the shepherd's dog, the village-dog, the blood-hound, the slender hound[5], and the rûkûnîk[6];

the Nîrangistân. It must, however, be observed that the reading of some of these names is very uncertain.

[1] Alluding probably to Mê*d*ôk-mâh's complete commentary on the Vendidad (now no longer extant), as the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48, which treats of Sag-dî*d* or dog-gaze, does not mention Mê*d*ôk-mâh or any of the details described here in the text; these details, however, are to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

[2] Reading amat barâ zôr *g*ân dâ*d*. This phrase occurs only in M6 (as a marginal note) and in the text of its descendants. Assuming that barâ may be a miswriting of pavan (see p. 176, note 5), we might read amat pavan zôr shûyâ*d*, 'when he shall wash with holy-water.'

[3] The 'corruption' which is supposed to enter a corpse shortly after death, whence it issues in the form of a fiend and seizes upon any one who touches the corpse, unless it has been destroyed, or driven away, by the gaze of a dog, as mentioned in the text (compare Vend. VIII, 38–48). The carcase of a dog is considered equally contagious with the corpse of a human being, and when the fiend of corruption (Nasûs or Nas of Bund. XXVIII, 29) has seized upon any one, it can be driven out only by a long and troublesome form of purification described in Vend. VIII, 111–228, IX, 4–117.

[4] This statement is now to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

[5] See Bund. XIV, 19. The Persian Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah and Kâûs Kâmân (quoted in B29) describe these dogs as 'the shepherd's dog, the house-dog, the strange or tame (gharîb) dog, and the puppy.'

[6] Probably the Av. sukuruna of Vend. V, 100, XIII, 48, which

and as to the rûkûnîk there have been divers opinions, *as* Vand-Aûharmazd[1] asserted, from the teaching of Afarg, that it does not destroy *it*. 3. The dog destroys the Nasûs at the time when it sees the flesh, and when it sees the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*[2]. 4. A blind dog also destroys *it* at the time when it places a paw[3] on the corpse; and when it places *it* upon the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*[4]. 5. The birds which destroy the Nasûs are three: the mountain kite, the black crow, and the vulture[5]; the bird, moreover, destroys *it* at the time when *its* shadow falls upon it; when it sees it in the water, a mirror, or a looking-glass, it does not destroy *it*[6].

is translated by hûkar or hûkûr in the Pahlavi version. This fifth kind of dog is called 'the blind (kûr) dog' in the Persian Rivâyats; but Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 asserts that 'Sôshâns said the rûkunîk also destroys it,' and then speaks of the blind dog as in § 4.

[1] See the note on Chap. I, 4.

[2] This is also stated in Pahl. Vend. III, 138.

[3] See Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

[4] The Persian Rivâyats say this is because the Nasûs is concealed beneath the hair and nails (compare Vend. VII, 70).

[5] These are the birds 'created for devouring dead matter' (see Bund. XIX, 25). Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 substitutes an eagle (dâlman) for the vulture.

[6] This sentence is probably defective, as the last clause evidently refers to the dog's gaze (see Pahl. Vend. III, 138), and not to the bird's shadow; the rule, however, is applicable to both. Thus the Persian Rivâyats state that if the bird's shadow falls upon the hair or the nails of the corpse, or if the bird's shadow, or the dog's gaze falls upon a corpse in the water, or upon its reflection in a mirror, the Nasûs is not destroyed. Dastûr Jâmâspji is of opinion that the utility of the bird's shadow is intended to apply only to cases of death in uninhabited places, where a dog is not procurable. As all three birds are such as feed upon corpses, it seems probable that the rule as to their utility was intended to pre-

6. Vand-Aûharmazd said, where a pregnant woman is to be carried by two men[1], both are to be cleansed by the Bareshnûm *ceremony*[2], and the head of the corpse, when they carry it away, is to be set towards the Dakhma[3]. 7. And on account of contamination

vent any neglect of corpses found in wild places, where some of these birds would be sure to approach and let their shadows fall upon the dead, after which the finder of the corpse would suppose that the Nasûs was destroyed or driven away, and the corpse safer to approach.

[1] This is an exceptional case, when not more than two men are available; the usual custom (see Chap. X, 10) is to employ four men and two dogs (double the usual number) in disposing of the corpse of a pregnant woman, on account of the double risk of contamination, owing to the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, having seized upon two corpses at once. In consequence of the exceptional nature of the case, the mode of purification is also exceptional.

[2] A long purification ceremony lasting nine nights, and described in Vend. IX, 1–145. Its name, according to Dastûr Hoshangji, is derived from the first word of the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person, which commence (Vend. IX, 48) as follows: Bareshnûm hê vaghdhanem paourum paiti-hi*nk*ôis, 'sprinkle in front on the top of his head.' As it is usual to quote chapters by their initial words, the initial word of these instructions for the ceremony became a name for the ceremony itself.

[3] The building in which the dead are finally deposited; here called by its Huzvâris name, khazân. The Dakhmas used by the Parsis in India are like low circular towers in external appearance, and consist of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller circular space which is open to the sky. The only opening in the wall is a small doorway, closed with an iron door. In the centre of the circular area is a circular well a few feet in depth, and the space around it is paved so as to slope gently downwards from the enclosing wall to the brink of the well. This paved annular area is divided (by shallow gutters grooved into its surface) into spaces, each large enough for one corpse to be laid upon it, with the head towards the wall and the feet towards the well. These spaces are arranged in two or more concentric rings around the well, and the gutters (which isolate each space on all four sides) drain into the

(pa*d*vîshak)[1] two are not to be carried at one time, and two by one person are not proper; one dog and one person are proper[2]. 8. Every one who understands the care of a corpse is proper; two boys of eight years old, who understand the care, are proper; a woman free from menstruation, or free from dead

well. After a sufficient time has elapsed the dry bones are said to be thrown into the well, and when the well is full the Dakhma ought to be finally closed, and another one brought into use. These Dakhmas are erected upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water; upon the summit of a hill, if possible, as prescribed in Vend. VI, 93, and usually more than a mile from the town. In Bombay the town has gradually approached the Dakhmas, and to some extent surrounded them, but has been kept away from their immediate vicinity by the judicious measures of influential Parsis, who have acquired all the neighbouring land, and refrain from building on it. The reason for thus exposing their dead to the sun and carnivorous birds is that the Parsis consider fire, water, and earth too sacred to be defiled by corpses; and they have less consideration for the air. Next to burning, the Parsi mode of disposing of the dead is the most rapid and effectual, as it avoids most of the concentrated evils which must accumulate in crowded cemeteries in the course of time, and which require ages to dissipate. As it is, most of the offensive effluvium in the immediate vicinity of a Dakhma arises not from direct contamination of the air, but indirectly through the ground, which becomes polluted, in the course of time, by impure filtrations.

[1] Dastûr Jâmâspji prefers reading patôshak, and thinks it means 'necessity,' as in cases where two deaths occur nearly simultaneously in the same house, when both corpses cannot be removed the same day. Such a meaning might suit this passage, but the word occurs again, in § 33 and Chap. IX, 7, where it can refer only to 'contamination,' and the etymology of pa*d*vîshak (Av. paiti + vish) is plain enough.

[2] That is, when two persons cannot be found to carry a corpse, one can do it alone, provided he holds a dog by a string. This course is adopted, Dastûr Jâmâspji says, when a person happens to die in a place where only one Parsi is available.

matter[1], or a man, with a woman or a child of eight years old, is proper.

9. It is not to be carried all covered up[2], for *that* is burying the corpse; to carry *it* in the rain is worthy of death[3]. 10. When clouds have been around[4], it is allowable to carry *it* away from the house; and when rain sets in upon the road it is not allowable to carry *it* back to the house; *but* when it is before a veranda (dâhlîz) *one* should put *it* down there; that is allowable when he who owns the veranda is apprehensive, *and* when he does not allow *it* inside; and, afterwards, it is to be carried away to its place, and when the water stands the height of a javelin (nîzak) inside[5], *one* puts *it* down *and* brings *it* away yet again. 11. Mêdôk-mâh[6] says that there should be a shelter (var)[7] *one* should

[1] In the terms avî-dashtânŏ and avî-nasâî the compound av is written in an obsolete manner, both in M6 and K20. The meaning of the text is that either or both of the corpse-carriers may be any Parsi man, woman, or child who understands the proper precautions. Compare Pahl. Vend. VIII, 28.

[2] K20 has 'when curved it is not to be carried.'

[3] That is, it is a mortal sin to allow rain to fall upon a corpse before it is deposited in the Dakhma.

[4] Or 'withheld,' or 'continuous,' according as we compare hâmûn with Pers. âmûn (âman), amân, or hâmân.

[5] Inside the Dakhma apparently. The meaning seems to be, that when the Dakhma is flooded the corpse is to be laid down in some dry place in its vicinity until the flood has abated. But according to Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17, it is allowable to throw the corpse in when the Dakhma is full of water.

[6] See Chaps. I, 3, II, 1. Here, again, the quotation must be from his complete commentary, as it is not extant in the present Pahlavi Vendidad.

[7] From Av. var, 'to cover, to shelter;' compare Pers. gullah, 'a bower or shed.' Nowadays the Parsis have a permanent shelter near the Dakhma. Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17 says, 'to carry

fasten above that place, *and* it would make *it* dry below[1]; *one* should place the corpse under that shelter, and they may take the shelter *and* bring *it* away.

12. From the fifth fargar*d* of the Vendidad of Mê*d*ôk-mâh[2] they state thus, that at the place where one's life goes forth, when he shall die upon a cloth, and a hair or a limb remains upon the bed-place and the ground[3], the ground conveys the pollution, even not originating with *itself* (ahambûni*k*), in like manner down unto the water[4]. 13. And when *he is* on a bedstead, and *its* legs are not connected with the ground, when a hair or a limb remains behind on the bedstead, it does not convey *the pollution* down. 14. When he shall die on a plastered floor the plaster is polluted, and when they dig up that plaster and spread *it* again afterwards, it is clean. 15. When he shall die on a stone, and the stone is connected with the ground, the stone will become clean, *along* with the ground, in the length of a year; and when they dig up the place, the stone *being* polluted is to be washed at the time. 16. When a stone is connected with the ground, or is separated, and *one* shall die upon it, so much space of the stone as the corpse occupied is polluted[5];

an umbrella (a*v*argash) from behind, *or* to hold up a shelter, is of no use.'

[1] Or, 'it would make *it* very dry,' if we read a*v*îr, 'very,' instead of a*g*îr, 'below;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

[2] Quoting again from his lost commentary.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'floor.'

[4] This translation is somewhat doubtful, but the text seems to imply that the ground is polluted as deep as it contains no water.

[5] K20 has had, 'the stone is all polluted, *and* will become clean at the time when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, in so

when they shall leave it, in the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground; and when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time; when the stone is not made *even* with the ground, above the ground the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time.

17. Dung-fuel *and* ashes, when the limbs of a menstruous woman come upon them, are both polluted; and the salt and lime for washing *her* shift (kartak-shûî) are *to be treated* just like stone[1].

18. If *one* shall die on a terrace roof (bân)[2], when one of his limbs, or a hair, remains behind at the edge of the roof, the roof is polluted *for* the size of the body as far as the water; and they should carry down all the *sacred* twigs (baresôm)[3] in the house, from the place where the pollution is, until there are thirty steps of three feet[4] to the *sacred* twigs, so that the *sacred* twigs may not be polluted; and when his hair or limb has not come to the eaves (parakân) the roof is polluted to the bottom (tôhîk).

19. And when *one* shall die on a rîtâ[5] *it* is polluted

much space as the corpse occupied *it is* polluted;' but the additional matter seems to be struck out. Something analogous to the details in this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. VI, 9.

[1] This section would be more appropriate in Chap. III.

[2] Or 'an upper floor;' Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 has, 'when he shall die on an upper floor, when nothing of him remains behind at the partitions (pardakân), the floor is polluted as far as the balcony (âskûp) *and* the balcony alone is clean; when anything of him remains behind at the partitions, the floor is polluted as far as the balcony, the ground is polluted as far as the water, *about* the balcony alone it is not clear.'

[3] See note on Chap. III, 32.

[4] The gâm, 'step,' being 2 feet 7½ inches (see note on Bund. XXVI, 3) these thirty steps are about 79 English feet.

[5] Meaning uncertain; the word looks like Huzvâri*s*, but it is possible to read rî*d*-aê instead of rîtâ-1.

for the size of the body as far as the water; *in* the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground. 20. A built bridge is *liable* just like a terrace roof. 21. When *one* shall die on the terrace roof of a trellised *apartment* (varam), that is also *liable* just like a terrace roof. 22. When he shall die in a trellised *apartment*, when one of his limbs, or a hair, does not remain on the borders (parakân), it does not convey the pollution down, but when *any* of him remains behind it conveys *it* down; it is allowable when they dig *it* up[1], and *one* also spreads *it* again afterwards, and *it* is clean.

23. When *one* shall die by strangulation and a rope in a crowd, when *there* is no fear of his falling down they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is a fear of his falling down, when that fear is as regards one side of him, they should carry *him* down on that side; and when *he has* fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he has* fallen. 24. When *one* is seated upright *and* shall die, when *there* is fear of his falling on one side they should carry *him* down *on* that one side, and when there is fear on all four sides, *then* on all four sides; and when *he has* fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such place as *he has* fallen[2].

25. And when *one* shall die on a tree, when its

[1] That is, the floor of the apartment; which would probably be formed of earth beaten down, which, in India, is nearly always overspread with diluted cow-dung to hinder cracks in the smooth surface. A better class of floor is spread with lime plaster on a stony surface.

[2] The object of these rules is evidently to avoid disturbing the corpse more than is absolutely necessary, provided there be no fear of its polluting more of the ground by falling upon it.

bark is green and *there* is no fear of falling off, they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is fear of it, they should carry down the whole of the body (tanû masâî). 26. And when the bark of the tree is withered, when *there* is fear of it and when *there* is no fear of it, they should carry *it* down. 27. When he shall die on a branch of a tree which is green, when *there* is no fear of his falling off they should not carry *him* down. 28. And when *there* is fear of it, or *it is* a branch of a withered tree, when also, a hair originating with him, or a limb, remains behind on the particular tree, they should carry down the whole of the body[1]. 29. And when it does not remain behind him on the particular tree, but when *there* is fear of its falling off, they should not carry it below (vad frôd)[2].

30. When a corpse (nasâî-1)[3], from outside of it, remains behind on a jar (khûmbŏ) in which *there* may be wine, the jar is polluted, *and* the wine is clean. 31. And when *one* shall die inside, in the wine in the jar, if not even a hair or a curl originating with him remains behind on the jar, the wine is polluted and the jar not polluted[4]. 32. When *it is*

[1] K20 has a portion of § 30 inserted here by mistake.

[2] The object of these rules is likewise to prevent the risk of the corpse defiling more of the ground than is absolutely necessary by falling upon it, as it might do by the breaking of a dead branch.

[3] Nasâî (Av. nasu) means not only a corpse or carcase of a human being, dog, or other animal of the good creation, but also any portion of such corpse or carcase; that is, *solid* 'dead matter' in general, as distinguished from dirt or refuse from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a corpse or carcase, which is called hîkhar (Av. hikhra).

[4] Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 states, that 'when *one* shall die on a jar of wine, the jar is useless, and the wine becomes just as though *its*

a jar in which *there* is oil[1], and dead matter (nasâî), from outside of it, remains behind on it, this is even *as* though it remains inside it, because the oil comes outside and goes back to the inside, *and* both are polluted, the jar and the oil; and even on making the jar dry[2] it is not fit to put anything in.

33. When a serpent (garzak) is in a jar in which *there* is wine, both are useless and polluted, for it makes *them* contaminated (padvîshak). 34. And when corn shall be in *it*, the jar is polluted and the corn clean; and when nothing originating with *the serpent* inside the jar remains behind on the jar, so much of the corn as includes the serpent, and upon *which* the touch (mâlisn) of the serpent has gone—because the touch of the serpent's seed might be the death of one—is to be taken out *and* to be thrown away. 35. And when hair or dead matter, even not originating with *the serpent*, remains behind on the jar, the jar is polluted, but is serviceable (shâyad) on making *it* dry[3].

36. Brick, earth, and mortar are separated by

course (ravisn) had been within three steps *of the corpse*. And when he shall die in the wine, when nothing of him remains behind on the jar, the jar is proper on making *it* dry' (or, perhaps, 'the jar is fit for bran-flour').

[1] Or 'clarified butter;' in this case the 'jar' is probably a globular vessel, or carboy, made of hide, through which the oil, or liquid butter, penetrates so far as to keep the outer surface greasy, which accounts for the remark about the oil passing in and out. Such vessels, called dabar, are commonly used for oil and liquid butter in India.

[2] Assuming that khûskar stands for khûsk-kar, as it does in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71; otherwise we should have to read thus: 'and the jar is not even fit to put any bran-flour in.'

[3] Again assuming as in § 32; otherwise we must read thus: 'but is fit for bran-flour (khûskar).'

their own substance (pavan mindavam-i nafs-man), and are connected with the ground; being separated by their own substance is this, that so much space as dead matter[1] comes upon is polluted; being connected with the ground is this, that they would convey the pollution down unto the water. 37. Dung-fuel, ashes, flour, and other powdered things are connected with their own substance, and are separated from the ground; being connected with their own substance is this, that when dead matter comes upon them the whole of them is polluted; and being separated from the ground is this, that when dead matter comes upon them it does not make the ground polluted[2].

38. *At* a house *in* which the *sacred* ceremony (yazisn) is prepared, and a dog or a person passes[3] away in it, the first business to be done is this, that the fire is to be preserved from harm; moreover, if it be only possible to carry the fire so that they would carry *it* away within three steps of the corpse[4], even then it is to be carried away, *and* the

[1] Or 'a corpse;' K20 has 'stands upon.' The meaning is that these substances do not communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but only downwards to the ground, which conveys it farther down, so far as it contains no water.

[2] That is, these substances communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but not down to the ground.

[3] The verb vidardanŏ (Huz. vabrûntanŏ), 'to cross over, to pass away' (Av. vi + tar, Pers. gudhastan), can only be used when referring to the death of *good* people or animals; but the verb mûrdanŏ (Huz. yemîtûntanŏ), 'to die, to expire' (Av. mar, Pers. murdan), can be used generally, though usually applied to the wicked and to evil creatures. Pahl. Vend. V, 134 contains nearly the same text as §§ 38, 39.

[4] Under ordinary circumstances fire must not be brought within thirty steps, or about 79 English feet, of a corpse (see Vend. VIII,

wall is not to be cut. 39. Rôshan[1] said that an earthen *one* is to be cut into, *but* a mortar *one* is not to be cut; below and above no account *is taken* of damaging (bô*d*ôzê*d*îh)[2] the wall[3]. 40. To bring the fire within[4] the three steps from the corpse is a Tanâpûhar sin; and when exudation happens to the corpse, it is worthy of death[5]. 41. The prepared food in that house is all useless, and that which is not prepared is usable in the length of nine nights

17). But the spirit of the Mazdayasnian law is reasonable, and, although strict, it allows for practical difficulties and chooses the least of two evils in a more judicious manner than might be expected (a fact which it would be well for Parsis and others to observe in doubtful cases). Here, breaking through the wall of a house is considered a greater evil than the possible pollution of the fire by passing at a distance of three steps, or eight English feet, from a corpse.

[1] The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in Pahlavi translations (see the note on Chap. I, 4).

[2] Literally, 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bô*d*ôzê*d* or bô*d*yôza*d* is a particular kind of sin which appears to consist chiefly of the ill-treatment of animals and injury of useful property. It is mentioned in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1b, Pahl. Vend. V, 107, XIII, 38, Farh. Okh. pp. 32, 33; and in some editions of the Khurdah Avesta it is defined as selling stolen men or animals into misery, or one's own domestic cattle to the butcher, also spoiling and tearing up good clothing, or wasting and spoiling good food.

[3] The meaning is, that if it became necessary to break through the wall in order to remove the fire unpolluted, the sin committed through damaging the wall will not be punished either in this world or the next.

[4] That is, nearer than three steps, which is considered to be the minimum distance at which any degree of purity can be maintained.

[5] A marg-ar*g*ân sin, on committing which the sinner is required to place his life at the disposal of the high-priest (see Chap. VIII, 2, 5, 6, 21). It is usually considered equivalent to fifteen Tanâpûhars (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

or a month[1]. 42. Clothing also *in* like manner, except that which *one* wears on the body; that, even in that time, is not clean, since it remains in use. 43. And the holy-water (zôhar)[2], too, which is taken and remains *in* that place, is to be carried away immediately to the water; also the sacred milk (*g*îv)[3] *and* butter (*g*um)[4] *in* like manner. 44. Of the prayer[5] clothing Vand-Aûharmazd[6] said that it is usable in the length of nine nights *or* a month; the writer[7] (dapîr) said that it is when they perform the washing of hands, and wash *it* thoroughly, it will become clean at the time.

45. If in a house there are three rooms (gun*g*î-nak), and *one* shall die in the entrance place (dargâs), if *it be* so that they may set the door open, and the corpse comes to this side, only this

[1] According to the season of the year, the period of uncleanness being nine nights in the five winter months, and a month in the seven summer months (see Vend. V, 129).

[2] Av. zaothra; this holy-water is consecrated by the priest reciting certain prayers while holding the empty metal cups in his hands, while filling them with water, and after filling them (see Haug's Essays, p. 397).

[3] The Av. gâu*s* *g*îvya, '*product of* the living cow,' which is kept in a metal saucer during the ceremonies, and used for sprinkling the sacred twigs (baresôm), and for mixing with the holy-water and Hôm-juice in the mortar (see Haug's Essays, pp. 403, 405, 406).

[4] Compare Pers. *k*ûm, 'fat;' it is the Av. gâu*s* hudh*a*u, '*product of* the well-yielding cow,' a small piece of which is placed upon one of the sacred pancakes, or wafers (drôn), during the ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407).

[5] Reading ya*s*t; but it may be ga*s*t, 'changed.'

[6] See the note on Chap. I, 4.

[7] There appear to be, as yet, no means of ascertaining the name of the writer of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, who gives his own opinion here.

side is polluted; and if the corpse comes to that side, only that side is polluted; when it comes to both sides at once (aêvâk), only the entrance place is polluted alone, both the dwelling-rooms (khânak) are clean.

46. And the vault of the sacred fires[1] alone does not become polluted.

47. If *one* shall die in a wild spot (vaskar), prepared food which is within three steps is all useless, and beyond four steps it is not polluted. 48. Prepared food is this, such as bread, boiled and roast meat, and prepared broth[2].

49. And the ashes (var) of the sacred fire[3] become in a measure polluted.

50. Should they carry in the fire into that house in which the length of nine nights *or* a month is requisite for becoming clean, *there* is a sin of one Tanâpûhar[4] through carrying *it* in, and one Tanâpûhar through kindling *it;* and every trifling *creature* (khûr or khûl) which shall die and shall remain *causes* a sin of one Tanâpûhar. 51. Also through carrying water in, *there* is a sin of one Farmân; and to pour water on the place where *any* one's life departs is a sin of one Tanâpûhar, and to pour *it* on a different place is a sin of one Yât. 52. And to

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[1] Literally, 'the vault of the fires of Vâhrâm.' Pahl. Vend. V, 134 says 'the vault of the fires is *liable* just like an empty house.' Both this section and § 49 seem out of place.

[2] See Pahl. Vend. V, 134.

[3] Literally, 'the produce of the fire of Vâhrâm,' a term for 'ashes,' which is used in Pahl. Vend. V, 150 along with the equivalent phrase, 'clothing of the fire' (see Chap. III, 27).

[4] See Chap. I, 1, 2 for the degrees of sin mentioned in §§ 50, 51, 53.

undergo ablution[1] inside *the unclean house* is all non-ablution. 53. And whoever goes into it needlessly, *his* body *and* clothes are to be every time thoroughly washed, and his sin is one Tanâpûhar; and when he goes in needfully *it* is neither good work nor sin[2].

54. And this pollution is all in the sharp account (tîkhak amâr) when the life departs[3]; the only *thing* which amounts to polluting is contact with the flesh, and even with the hair and nails. 55. Of the contact which is stated in the Avesta[4], the account is *that it is* from one side, and it ever cleaves to *one;* the curse (ga*z*i*s*n)[5] which is stated in the Avesta advances from all four sides. 56. Sôshyans[6] said it is, until its exhibition to a dog, just as it becomes at the time when its life departs[7]; a priest, a

[1] That is, the ceremonial ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh), or 'washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles,' whilst a certain form of prayer is recited (see AV. p. 148, note).

[2] Here again, as in § 38, the strict letter of the law is relaxed in case of necessity.

[3] Meaning, apparently, that any pollution is taken into account, as a sin, in the investigation the soul has to undergo upon entering the other world. Much of this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 107.

[4] Referring to Vend. V, 82–107, which gives an account of the number of persons through whom the pollution of a corpse or carcase will pass, which is in proportion to the importance of the dead individual. The statement here made is that the infection, passing from one to the other, enters each person only on one side, but the demon of corruption attacks them on all sides.

[5] Meaning, probably, the Nasû*s*, or demon of corruption (see § 1), who is said to rush upon all those polluted as detailed in Vend. V, 82–107.

[6] See Chap. I, 3.

[7] That is, until seen by the dog the corpse remains pervaded by the demon of corruption and hazardous to approach (see §§ 1–4).

warrior, and a husbandman are no use, for merely a dog is stated. 57. Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd[1] said the account is at the time when its life departs; and that which Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd specially said is, 'when anything is inside it (the place) the pollution is as far as to the place where that thing stands.' 58. When a dog, or a goat, or a pig is requisite (dârvâî)[2] it is proper, for *the pollution* does not attack further there; and the pollution of a child in the womb is *along* with the mother.

59. The direct pollution of a hedgehog[3] cleaves to *one*, and not the indirect pollution. 60. Direct pollution (hamrêd)[4] is that when the body is in contact with a corpse, and indirect pollution (paît-

[1] See Chap. I, 4, note. This name is nearly always written Kushtanŏ-bûgêd in Sls. in K20 and M6; it is not mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 107, although the details here quoted are there given in part.

[2] The meaning is not quite clear, but this sentence is probably to be read in connection with the preceding one, as implying that where such domestic animals are kept they can be used for stopping the infection, as effectually as any inanimate object. The pig is here mentioned as a common domestic animal, but Parsis have long since adopted the prejudices of Hindus and Muhammadans as regards the uncleanness of the pig.

[3] As Vend. V, 108–112 says the same of the dog urupi, it would seem that the writer of our text considered the urupi to be a hedgehog (zûzak); the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad renders it by rapuk or rîpûk, which appears to be merely an approximate transcript of the Avesta word; traditionally, this is read raspûk and compared with Pers. râsû, 'ichneumon;' its identification with the hedgehog is certainly doubtful, although it appears to be admitted in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, where the same words are used as in this section.

[4] The technical terms hamrêd and paîtrêd, for contagion and infection, are merely corruptions of Av. hãm-raêthwayêiti and paiti-raêthwayêiti. The definition of the latter one is omitted in K20 by mistake.

rêd) is that when[1] *one* is in contact with him who touched the corpse; and from contact with him who is the eleventh[2] indirect pollution cleaves to *one in* the same manner. 61. The indirect pollution of an ape[3] and a menstruous woman, not acting the same *way*, remains. 62. The shepherd's dog, and likewise the village-dog, and others also of the like kind carry contamination to eight[4]; and when they shall carry *the carcase* down on the ground *the place*[5] is clean immediately; and that, too, which dies on a balcony (âskûp), until they shall carry *it* down to the bottom, is polluted *for* the length of a year.

63. Whoever brings dead matter (nasâî) on any person is worthy of death; he is thrice worthy of

[1] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Bund. I, 7).

[2] Vend. V, 86, 87 limits the pollution to the eleventh person infected, in the extreme case of the corpse having been a priest; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 quotes the opinion of Sôshâns that until a dog has gazed at the corpse the pollution extends to the twelfth, but only the first ten require the ceremonial purification of the bareshnûm, the others being cleansed by ordinary washing with bull's urine and water.

[3] Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, however, that 'everything of the ape (kapîk) is just like mankind.' The meaning of § 61 is very uncertain, as the text can be both read and translated several ways, and none of them are very satisfactory.

[4] That is, in the case of the shepherd's dog (see Vend. V, 92, 93); the carcases of other dogs occasion the indirect pollution of fewer persons, in proportion to their inferior importance; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, with regard to this importance, that when 'in doubt, every man is to be considered as a priest, and every dog as a shepherd's dog,' so as to be on the safe side, by exacting the maximum amount of purification in all doubtful cases.

[5] The Pahlavi text leaves it doubtful whether the place, the people, or the carcase becomes clean, but the first is the most probable.

death[1] at the time when a dog *has* not seen the corpse (nasâî); and *if* through negligence of appliances and means (*k*âr va tûbânŏ) he disturbs *it*, and disturbs *it* by touching it, he knows that *it is* a sin worthy of death; and *for* a corpse that a dog *has* seen, and *one that* a dog *has* not seen, the accountability is to be understood *to be* as much[2], and *for* the death and sickness[3] of a feeble man *and* a powerful *one*. 64. Afarg has said there is no account of appliances and means[4], for *it* is not allowable to commit a sin worthy of death in *cases of* death and sickness.

65. When they move a corpse which a dog *has* not seen with a thousand men, even then the bodies of the whole *number* are polluted[5], and are to be washed for them with ceremony (pî*s*ak)[6]. 66. And *for* that which a dog *has* seen, except that one only when a man shall move *it* all[7] by touching *it*, his washing is then not *to be* with ceremony. 67. And when he is in contact *and* does not move *it*, he is to be washed with bull's urine *and* water. 68. And

[1] That is, he has committed a sin equivalent to three mortal sins (marg-ar*g*ân).

[2] Reading ve*s* as equivalent to vê*s*.

[3] Reading râkhtakîh (compare Pers. rakhtah, 'sick, wounded').

[4] This opinion of Afarg (see Chap. I, 3) is also quoted in Pahl. Vend. III, 48.

[5] This statement is repeated in Chap. X, 33.

[6] That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

[7] This exception (which is repeated in §§ 68, 71) seems to imply that §§ 66, 68, 71 refer to the collection of any fragments of a corpse found in the wilderness, or in water; and the exemption from the troublesome purification ceremony in such cases, is probably intended to encourage people to undertake the disagreeable duty of attending to such fragments.

when he shall move with a stake (dâr)[1] a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, except that one only when he shall move *it* all, the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

69. And when a man shall move a corpse, which a dog *has* not seen, by the hand of another man, *he* who moves it by the hand of a man, *and* he also whose own hand's strength *does it* are polluted in the bodies of both; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar[2] *sin* for him himself and of a Tanâpûhar for the other one, for this *reason*, because his own body and that also of the *other* are both made polluted through sinfulness. 70. And when there is not in him, nor even originating with *him* (ahambûnik), the strength of him whose own hand *it is*, it is just as though he would move it (the corpse) with a stake[3]; and he who held *it* in the way of contact with his hand is to be washed with ceremony; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin for him whose own hand *it is*, and of a Khôr[4] for himself. 71. When he shall move a corpse by the hand of a man, and the corpse is of those which a dog *has* seen—except that one only when he shall move it all[5]—the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

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[1] The interposition of the stake, or piece of wood, prevents the direct attack of the Nasûs, or demon of corruption, which has not been driven away by a dog. That inanimate objects are supposed to stop the progress of the pollution appears from § 57.

[2] See Chap. I, 1, 2. A sin is figuratively said to take root in the body, when it has to be eradicated, or figuratively dug up.

[3] See § 68. If he employs another man to move the corpse merely because he is physically unable to do it himself, he escapes with less pollution than when he is able to do the work himself; but the man employed suffers the same in both cases.

[4] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[5] See § 66.

72. When *one* is going *by* a place at night, and comes back there *on* the morrow, and a corpse lies there, and he does not know whether the evil (dûs) was there when he came by[1], or not, it is to be considered by him that it was not there.

73. Of a flock in which is a sheep by whom dead matter is eaten, of a forest in which is a tree with which dead matter is mingled, and of a firewood-stand (aesamdân) in which is a stick of firewood with which grease is mingled, Afarg said that it is not proper to make the flock and the forest fruitful, and the firewood is useless[2].

74. *About* a door on which a corpse impinges; as to the door of a town and city they have been of the same opinion, that *it* is to be discarded by *his* comrades (hamkâr)[3]; as to a door which is mostly closed (badtûm)[4] they have been of different opinions,

[1] Literally, 'when I came by;' the usual Persian idiom in such phrases.

[2] This statement of Afarg's, so far as it relates to greasy firewood, will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

[3] Or, 'by the community.' The same rule is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

[4] There is some uncertainty about this word. It is not the Pers. badtum, 'worst, vilest,' because that is written va*d*tûm or vatûm in Pahlavi; besides, the rule must apply to other than the vilest doors, otherwise it would not harmonize with § 75. It is not a miswriting of nîtûm, 'lowest, most debased,' for the same reason, and because it occurs elsewhere. It is not a miswriting of bêtman, a possible variant of bêtâ, 'a house' (although 'a house-door' would suit the context very well), because it occurs also in Pahl. Vend. V, 14, XI, 10, in which latter place it is clearly an adjective partially translating Av. b*e*ndvô. And it would be hazardous to connect it with Pers. bîdûn, 'outside,' which seems merely a corruption or misreading of bîrûn. The view taken here is that badtûm stands for bandtûm, 'most shut up,' the nasal being often dropped in Pahlavi, as in sag for sang, 'stone,' &c.

Gôgôsasp[1] said that discarding *it* by *his* comrades is likewise proper, and Sôshyans said that it is not proper; and as to other doors they have been of the same opinion, that it is not proper. 75. The door of one's own chief apartment (shah-gâs) is fit for that of the place for menstruation (dastân-istân), and that of the place for menstruation is fit for that of the depository *for the dead* (khazânŏ)[2], and that of the depository of the dead is not fit for any purpose whatever[3]; that of the more pleasant is fit for that of the more grievous.

76. Any one who, through sinfulness, throws a corpse into the water, is worthy of death on the spot[4]; when he throws only one *it is* one *sin* worthy of death, *and* when he throws ten at one time *it is* then one *sin* worthy of death; when he throws *them* separately *it is* a *sin* worthy of death for each one. 77. Of the water, into which *one* throws dead matter, the extent of pollution is three steps of three feet *in* the water advancing, nine steps of three feet *in* the water *passed* over, and six steps of three feet *in* the water alongside[5]; six steps of three feet in the depth of the water, and three steps of three feet in the water pouring over the dead matter are polluted as regards the depth[6]. 78. When it is thrown *into* the midst of a great standing water, in like manner, the proportion it comes is ever as much as it goes, *and*

[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] The Huz. equivalent of Pâz. dakhmak (see § 6).

[3] See Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

[4] Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 66. [5] See Vend. VI, 80.

[6] That is, the pollution extends about eight English feet up-stream and upwards, sixteen feet sideways and downwards, and twenty-four feet down-stream. Some of the latter part of the sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

is the proportion of it they should always carry *away* with *the dead matter* [1].

79. And when a man comes forth, and a corpse lies in the water, when he is able to bring it out, and it is not an injury to him, it is not allowable to abandon *it* except when he brings *it* out [2]. 80. Sôshyans [3] said that, when it is an injury, it is allowable when [4] he does not bring *it* out; and when it is not an injury, and he does not bring *it*, his sin is a Tanâpûhar [5]. 81. Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd [6] said that even in *case of* injury it is not allowable to abandon *it*, except when he brings *it* out; when he does not bring *it he* is worthy of death. 82. And Gôgôsasp [7] said that it is even in *case of* injury not allowable, except when he brings *it* out; and when, in *case of* injury, he does not bring *it* out his sin is a Tanâpûhar; and when it is no injury to him, and he does not bring *it*, *he* is worthy of death.

83. And when he shall wish to bring *it* his clothing is to be laid aside [8], for it makes the clothing

[1] The sentence is obscure, but this seems to be the meaning; that is, when a corpse or any dead matter is thrown into a pond or tank, the pollution extends sixteen feet from it in all directions; and that quantity of water ought to be drawn off, in order to purify the tank (see Vend. VI, 65–71). As the corpse, in nearly all cases, must be either at the bottom or on the surface, the quantity of polluted water to be drawn off must be a hemispherical mass sixteen feet in radius, or about forty-eight tons of water.

[2] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64, where it states that bringing it out is a good work of one Tanâpûhar, and leaving it is a sin of the same amount.

[3] See Chap. I, 3.

[4] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[5] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[7] See Chap. I, 3.

[8] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

polluted, and whatever *he* is first able *and* best able *to bring* is to be brought out by him. 84. When, too, he is able to bring *it* out through the breadth of the water, then also it is to be brought out so[1]; and when he is not able, it is to be brought out through the length of the water; and showing *it to* a dog *and* the two men are not to be waited for[2].

85. And it is to be carried by him so much away from the neighbourhood of the water that, when he puts *it* down, the water which comes out dropping from the corpse does not reach back to the water; for when the water which comes out from the corpse reaches continuously back to the water *he* is worthy of death; and after that (min zak frâ*g*) it is to be shown *to* a dog, and it is to be carried away by two men. 86. And when he wishes to throw *it* out from the water, Mar*d*-bû*d*[3] said it is allowable to throw *it* out thus, so that the water of the dripping corpse does not reach continuously back to the water; Rôshan said it would be allowable to throw *it* out far.

87. To drag *it* over the water is allowable, to grasp and relinquish *it* is not allowable[4]; and when it is possible to act so that he may convey *it* from a great water to a small water, when the water is

[1] So that less water may be polluted by the corpse taking the shortest route through it; but if that be impossible it must come out quickly, at any rate.

[2] That is, the otherwise indispensable dog's gaze and two bearers must be dispensed with, if not at hand, in order to save time, until the corpse is out of the water (see § 85).

[3] It might be, 'there was a man *who* said,' but Mar*d*-bû*d* occurs in the Nîrangistân as the name of a commentator (see Chap. I, 4, note).

[4] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for this prohibition.

connected *it* is allowable, and when separated *it* is not allowable. 88. Afarg[1] said it is allowable to drag *it* below through the water, but to drag *it* over is not allowable, for this has come *on* the water *as* a danger[2], and that has not come on *it as* a danger. 89. Mê*d*ôk-mâh[1] said it is allowable to drag *it* above, *but* to drag *it* below is not allowable, for the danger has gone out across the water, and the danger is not now to be brought upon it; and on that which is below, *on* which the danger has not come, the danger will at last arrive.

90. When he goes into the water he is to go into it with this idea, that 'should there be many below, then I will even bring all;' for whoever goes in not with this idea, and shall disturb any other one which lies there, will become polluted[3]. 91. And if the corpse be heavy *and* it is not possible to bring *it* out by one person, *and* he goes out with this idea, that 'I *will* go and prepare means, and bring this corpse out of the water;' and when through sinfulness[4] he does not go back his body is polluted *and* worthy of

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[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] Or 'fear.' The difference of opinion between the two commentators on this question in casuistry, appears to have arisen from Afarg regarding the water merely as the representative of a spirit, who might be endangered or frightened by the source of impurity becoming more visible when above the water, while Mê*d*ôk-mâh considered the water in its material aspect, and wished to save it from the further pollution consequent upon drawing the corpse through more of it.

[3] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

[4] These rules generally distinguish clearly between offences committed 'through sinfulness,' that is, wilfully, and those arising from accidental inability; more stress being laid upon the intention than upon the action.

death, and when he is unable to go back he is not polluted.

92. When the corpse is so decomposed (pûdak), when *it* is thus necessary to bring it out, that he must cut off various fragments, even after he cuts *them* off *they* are to be brought out; and for every fragment his hands and knife are to be washed with bull's urine (gômêz), and with dust and moisture (nambŏ) *they* are clean[1]. 93. And *they* are to be torn off[2] by him, and for every single fragment which he brings out his good work is one Tanâpûhar.

94. And when rain is falling the corpse lies in the water; to take *it* from the water to deposit *it* in the rain is not[3] allowable.

95. Clothing which is useless[4], this is that in which they should carry a corpse, and that even when very much *or* altogether useless; of that on which they shall decompose[5] (barâ vishûpênd), and of that on which the excretions (hîkhar) of the dead come, so much space is to be cut away[6], and the rest is to be

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[1] See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for §§ 92, 93.

[2] Or 'twisted off;' the Huz. neskhûntanŏ must be traced to Chald. נְסַח 'to pluck out, to tear away,' and seems to have a similar meaning in Pahlavi; its Pâz. equivalent vîkhtanŏ (Av. vig) ought to be compared rather with Pers. kîkhtan, 'to bruise or break,' than with bêkhtan or pêkhtan, 'to twist.'

[3] This negative is omitted in M6 by mistake.

[4] Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

[5] Or 'go to pieces;' that this is the meaning of vishûpênd appears clearly from Pahl. Vend. VII, 123, but a Persian gloss in the modern MS. M9 explains it as 'deposit fragments from the beak of a bird,' meaning, of course, fragments of dead matter dropped by a carrion bird.

[6] As useless, being incapable of purification; such cuttings are to be buried, according to the Avesta of Vend. VII, 32, though the Pahlavi commentary explains that they are to be thrown away.

thoroughly washed for the six-months' *period*[1]. 96. That which a menstruous woman has in wear (mahmânîh)[2] is to be discarded in like fashion.

97. The clothing which is to be washed for the six-months' *period* is such as is declared in the Avesta[3]. 98. If the clothing be leathern it is to be thoroughly washed three times with bull's urine (gômê*z*), every time to be made quite dry with dust, and to be thoroughly washed three times with water, and to be laid out three months in a place to be viewed by the sun[4]; and then it is proper for an unclean person (armê*s*t)[5] who has not performed

[1] Khshvâ*s*-mâûgôk is merely a corruption of the Av. khshva*s* m*a*unghô, 'six months,' of Vend. VII, 36, where this form of cleansing is thus described: 'If (the clothing) be woven, they should wash *it* out six times with bull's urine, they should scour *it* six times with earth, they should wash *it* out six times with water, they should fumigate *it* six months at the window of the house.'

[2] See Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

[3] That is, woven clothing, as declared in Vend. VII, 36 (quoted above in note 1).

[4] See Vend. VII, 35.

[5] A Persian gloss defines armê*s*t as 'a woman who has brought forth a dead child,' and this is the general opinion; but that seems to be only a particular example of an unclean person who would be included under the general term armê*s*t, for according to Pahl. Vend. IX, 133, 137, 141 a man when only partially purified must remain apart in the place for the armê*s*t (Av. airima, compare Sans. il or rî) for a certain time. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Mkh. (XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, LI, 7), explains armê*s*t as 'lame, crippled, immobility;' it also means 'stagnant,' when applied to water; and its primitive signification was, probably, 'most stationary,' an appropriate term for such unclean persons as are required to remain in a particular place apart from all others, as well as for helpless cripples, and insane persons under restraint (see Chap. VI, 1). The meaning 'most polluted' would hardly apply to tank water.

worship, or it is proper for a menstruous woman. 99. Other clothing, when hair is on *it*[1], is *liable* just like woven *cloth* (ta*d*ak); all the washing of wool, floss silk, silk, hair, and camel's hair is just like *that of* woven *cloth;* and woven clothing is to be washed six times[2].

100. Wool which is connected together, when one *part* is twisted over another, and a corpse rests[3] upon it, is all polluted on account of the connection; and when fleece (mêsh) rests upon fleece, then so much space as the corpse rests upon is polluted. 101. When *one* shall die upon a rich carpet (bûp) when the carpet is on a coarse rug (nama*d*) *and* is made connected, the rug and carpet are both polluted, and when separated the rug is clean. 102. When several cushions are heaped (ni*k*î*d*) one upon the other, and are not made connected, and dead matter comes upon them, they have been unanimous that only that one is polluted on which the dead matter came. 103. A cushion *together* with wool[4] is *liable* just like a carpet with a rug[5] 104. Of several cushions which are tied down together, when dead matter comes to the tie, both are polluted, the cord *and* the cushions; and when the dead matter comes to a cushion, and does not come to the tie, the cushions are all polluted on account of the connection, and the tie is clean[6].

[1] Pahl. Vend. VII, 35 says 'when a single hair is on it.'

[2] As mentioned in a note on § 95.

[3] Literally, 'impinges.' Here, as in many other places, 'dead matter' may be read instead of 'corpse,' as nasâî means both or either of them.

[4] That is, laid upon wool.

[5] See § 101.

[6] See Pahl. Vend. VII, 27.

105. A pregnant woman who devours dead matter through sinfulness is polluted *and* worthy of death, and there is no washing for her[1]; and *as for* the child, when it *has* become acquainted with duties (pîsak-shinâs), ashes[2] and bull's urine are for its eating and for its washing. 106. *As for* a child who is born of solitary carriers *of the dead*[3], although its father and mother may both have devoured dead matter through sinfulness, that which is born is clean on the spot, for it does not become polluted *by* birth.

107. Rôshan[4] said that every one, who, through sinfulness, has become polluted by means of dead matter, is worthy of death, and his polluted body never becomes clean; for this *one* is more wretched than the fox which *one* throws into the water living, and in the water it will die. 108. *One* worthy of death never becomes clean; *and* a solitary carrier *of the dead* is to be kept at thirty steps from *ceremonial* ablution (pâdîyâvîh).

109. Whichsoever of the animal species has eaten their dead matter[5], its milk, dung, hair, *and* wool are polluted the length of a year; and *if* pregnant when it has eaten *it*, the young one has also eaten *it*, and the young one is clean after the length of a year from being born of the mother. 110. When a male which has eaten *it* mounts a female, the female is not polluted. 111. When dead matter is eaten by it,

[1] That is, she cannot be purified.

[2] Reading var (see note on § 49).

[3] Carrying a corpse by a single person being prohibited (see §§ 7, 8); but why he is supposed to devour it is not clear.

[4] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[5] Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 192.

and even while it is not digested it shall die, it is *liable* just like a leathern bag (anbân) in which is dead matter.

112. Gold, when dead matter comes upon it, is to be once thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gô-mêz), to be once made quite dry with dust, and to be once thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean[1]. 113. Silver is to be twice thoroughly washed with bull's urine, and to be made quite dry with dust, and is to be twice thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean[2]. 114. And iron, *in like manner*, three times, steel four times, and stone six times[3]. 115. Afarg said: 'Should it be quicksilver (âvgînak)[4] it is *liable* just like gold, and amber (kahrupâî) just like stone, and all jewels just like iron.' 116. The pearl (mûrvârîd)[5], amber, the

[1] The purification here detailed is prescribed for golden vessels in Vend. VII, 186.

[2] This is the purification prescribed for silver vessels in Vend. VII, 74 W.; it is found in the Vendidad Sâdah, but is omitted (evidently by mistake) in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and has, therefore, been omitted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. By this accidental omission in the MSS. silver is connected with the purification for stone (see § 114).

[3] See Vend. VII, 75 W., much of which is omitted in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and in Spiegel's edition (see the preceding note), the sixfold washing of stone being erroneously applied to silver (see Vend. VII, 187 Sp.), owing to this omission of the intervening text. It appears from this section that the Av. haosafna, which has usually been translated as 'copper,' was understood to be pûlâvd, 'steel,' by the Pahlavi translators.

[4] Or 'a mirror' (Pers. âbgînah), but the word is evidently used for a metal in SZS. X, 2, and very likely here also.

[5] Most of the substances mentioned in §§ 115, 116 are detailed in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188, where it is stated that 'as to the pearl *there* have been different opinions, some say that it is *liable* just like gold, some say that it is just like the other jewels, *and* some say that there is no washing *for it*.'

ruby (yâkand) gem, the turquoise[1], the agate (shapak), coral-stone (vasadîn sag), bone, and other substances (gôhar) which are not particularly mentioned, are to be washed just like wood[2]; and when they are taken into use there is no washing[3], and when they are not taken their washing is once. 117. Of earthen *and* horny *articles* there is no washing; and of other substances which are not taken for use the washing is once, and *they are* declared out of use.

118. Firewood, when green, is to be cut off the length of a span (vitast), one by one, as many *sticks* as there are—and when dry one span and two finger-*breadths*[4]—and is to be deposited *in* some place the length of a year, and water is not to be dropped upon *it;* and *it is* drawn out *after* the length of a year; Sôshyans[5] said that it is proper as firewood for *ordinary* fires, and Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd[6] said that *it is* just as declared in the Avesta: 'The

[1] This is doubtful; the word can be read pirînak, and has the Pers. gloss pîrûzah, 'turquoise,' in some MSS. If read pilînak it might perhaps be taken for 'ivory.' But in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 it is vafarînô, 'snowy,' and the reading there seems to be 'jet-black *and* snow-white stone-coral;' so here the original meaning may have been 'snow-white and jet-black coral-stone.'

[2] Vend. VII, 188 says that 'earthen or wooden or porcelain *vessels* are impure for everlasting.'

[3] Meaning, apparently, that they cannot be purified for immediate use.

[4] That is, one-sixth longer than when green, the vitast being twelve finger-*breadths*, or nine inches (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note). The purification of firewood, here prescribed, is simply drying it for a year in short lengths; but Vend. VII, 72–82 requires it also to be sprinkled once with water, and to be cut into longer pieces.

[5] See Chap. I, 3.

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

washed *one*, even then, is proper in dried clothing [1].' 119. About corn [2] they have been unanimous that so much space is polluted as the dead matter comes upon; and of that which is lowered into pits [3], or is wanted *to be so*, and of that which is scattered (afsîd) at such a place *there are* different opinions; Sôshyans said: 'Should it be of such a place *it* is polluted as much as the dead matter *has* come upon it;' and Gôgôsasp [4] said: 'Should it be *so it* is all polluted, *and* the straw is all polluted.'

120. A walnut [5], through *its* mode of connection, is all polluted, and the washing of both its shell and kernel (pôst va mazg) is just like *that of* wood. 121. A pomegranate also is of such nature as a walnut. 122. *As to* the date, when its stalk [6] is not connected the date is polluted and the stalk *and* stone (âstak) are clean; the washing of the date is just like *that of* corn; and when it is touched upon the stalk, when the stalk, stone, and date are connected, the whole is polluted; *as to* the date when not connected with the stalk, *and* touched at the

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[1] Something similar is said in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71.

[2] According to Vend. VII, 83–93 polluted corn and fodder are to be treated like polluted firewood, but to be cut into pieces of about double the length.

[3] Reading dên gôpân farôstak; the practice of storing corn in dry pits underground is common in the East and in some parts of Europe. In Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 it is dên gôpân âvist, 'concealed in pits.'

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

[5] Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 classes the almond with the walnut as a connected fruit, and the date with the pomegranate as a separated one.

[6] The word is kûrâpak or kûrâzak, but its meaning is doubtful.

stalk, the date is clean, and the washing of the stone is just like *that of* wood. 123. The pomegranate, citron, quince, apple, pear, and other fruit, when in bearing and the rind (pazâ*v*i*s*nŏ) is perceptible on it, when dead matter comes upon it *there* is no pollution of it; and when the rind (pazâmi*s*nŏ) is not perceptible on it, its washing is just like *that of* corn; and rind is ever with the citron[1]. 124. *For* meat, butter, milk, cheese, and preserves (rî*k*âr) there is no washing[2].

Chapter III.

1. The clothing of a menstruous woman which they shall take new for her use is polluted, and that which is in use is not polluted[3]. 2. When a bedchamber (shâ*d*-aûrvân) is overspread, and a carpet (bûp) is laid upon it and a cushion *on* the two[4], *and*

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[1] Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, 'fruit whose rind (pazâ*v*) exists is also just like that in a pod (kûvak), and *for* that which does not remain in a rind, when *pollution* shall come upon it, *there* is no *cleansing* whatever. Afarg said that *there* is ever a rind (pazâ*v*i*s*nŏ) with the citron.'

[2] Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, '*for* everything separated *there* is a washing, except meat *and* milk.' Articles for which there is no washing cannot be purified.

[3] Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5 says, 'when in the place she remains in for the purpose, she does not make the clothing she wears on *her* body polluted, it remains for use within the place.' The meaning is, probably, that clothing already set apart for the purpose does not become further polluted, so as to be unfit for her use. It appears also (Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5) that on the spot where menstruation first appears, not even the twigs uplifted in the sacred ceremony are polluted, unless the circumstances are abnormal.

[4] This phrase, about the carpet and cushion, is omitted in K20 by mistake.

a woman sits upon *it* and menstruation occurs, when she puts a foot from the cushion on to the carpet, and from the carpet out into the bed-chamber, the carpet and bed-chamber are both polluted, for *they are* taken newly for her use, *but* of the cushion *there* is no pollution for this reason, because *it is* in use. 3. And when she sits on the cushion so that she shall have both the carpet and cushion in use, the bed-chamber is polluted by itself; and when all three shall be in use *there* is no pollution whatever [1].

4. Just as she knows that *it is* menstruation, in the place *she is* in for the purpose [2], first the necklace, then the ear-rings, then the head-fillet (*k*ambar), and then the *outer* garments (*g*âmak) are to be put off by her. 5. When in the place she remains in for the purpose, even though she may remain a very long time for that purpose, yet then the *outer* garments are clean, *and there* is no need of leather covering and leather shoes [3].

6. When she knows for certain (aêvar) that *it is* menstruation, until the complete changing (gûharî-*d*anŏ) of all *her* garments, and she shall *have* sat down in the place for menstruation [4], a prayer is to

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[1] §§ 2, 3 are merely corollaries from § 1.

[2] Or, possibly, 'on the spot *she is* in on the occasion;' although it would appear from § 5 that the place referred to is the dashtânistân, or place of retirement for the unclean.

[3] Reading ma*s*k va *s*almîhâ, but both reading and meaning are doubtful. The first word may be mu*s*kŏ, 'musk,' and the other can be read sharmgâh, but, if so, the construction of the sentence is defective, as it stands in the MSS.

[4] The dashtânistân, a comfortless room or cell provided in every Parsi house for unclean persons to retire to, where they can see neither sun, moon, stars, fire, water, sacred vessels, nor righteous men; it ought to be fifteen steps (39½ feet) from fire,

be retained *inwardly*[1]. 7. When worship is celebrated a prayer is to be retained[2] *inwardly*, and should menstruation occur the prayer is to be spoken out by her. 8. When in speaking *out* the prayer should menstruation occur, both afterwards, when the time was certain (a*v*îgûmân), and now *she* is certain[3]. 9. When she retains a prayer *inwardly, and* a call of nature arises, there is no need for her to speak *out* the prayer, for the formula for the call is to be spoken by her[4].

10. Hands sprinkled in *ceremonial* ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*), when a menstruous woman sees *them*, become quite unclean (apâ*d*îyâ*v*) by *her* look[5], and even when she looks hastily, and does not see the *sacred* twigs (baresôm), it is the same. 11. And *on* the subject of a house (khânak-i babâ), when a menstruous *woman* is above *in* it, and the *sacred* twigs

water, and the sacred twigs, and three steps (8 feet) from righteous men (see § 33 and Vend. XVI, 1–10).

[1] This kind of prayer (Av. vâ*k*, 'a word or phrase,' Pahl. vâ*g*, Pers. bâ*z*) is a short formula, the beginning of which is to be muttered in a kind of whisper, or (according to the Pahlavi idiom) it 'is to be taken' and 'retained' inwardly (as a protection while eating, praying, or performing other necessary acts) by strictly abstaining from all conversation, until the completion of the act, when the prayer or vâ*g* 'is to be spoken out,' that is, the conclusion of the formula is to be uttered aloud, and the person is then free to speak as he likes. Different formulas are used on different occasions.

[2] K20 has, 'she retains a prayer.' See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

[3] The meaning is, however, uncertain.

[4] The Pahlavi text is as follows: Amat vâ*g* yakhsenunê*d*, pê*s*înkâr (Pers. pê*s*yâr) barâ yâtûnê*d*, a*s* vâ*g* gûftanŏ kâr lôît mamana*s* nask-i pavan *k*ami*s*n yemaleluni*s*nŏ. Compare Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

[5] See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10.

stand right below, if even fully fifteen steps below, even then the *sacred* twigs are unclean (apâ*d*îyâ*v*)[1]; but when not right *below* fifteen steps are plenty.

12. Prepared food which is within three steps of a menstruous woman is polluted by her, and food which she delivers up (barâ pardaz*ê*d) from her morning meal (*k*âsht) is not fit for the evening meal (*s*âm), nor that which she delivers up from her evening meal for the morning meal; it is not fit even for the same woman[2]; and water which is within three steps of her, when they shall put *it* into a pail (dûbal) or ablution-vessel (pâ*d*îyâ*v*dân), and shall do *it* without handling (ayadman), is *fit* for the hands in *ceremonial* ablution. 13. When she touches the bedding[3] and garments of any one, Sôshyans[4] said that so much space is to be washed with bull's urine (gômê*z*) and water; her bedding which touches the bedding of any one does not make *it* polluted.

14. A menstruous woman who becomes clean in three nights is not to be washed till the fifth day; from the fifth day onwards to the ninth day, when-

[1] Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10 says, 'everything, when at the right distance, is proper, except only that one *case*, when uncleanness is above and cleanness also right below; although it be even much below, yet it is not proper.' In such a case the prescribed distance of fifteen steps is not sufficient; therefore, the dashtânistân should be on the ground floor, not over an underground water-tank, nor within fifteen steps of the water in such a tank.

[2] Or, possibly, ham nê*s*man may mean 'a companion woman,' when two or more are secluded at the same time. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17 says, 'food delivered up by a menstruous woman is of no use whatever, it is not proper; in *parts* free from pollution (*g*avî*d*-*v*a*s*nŏ), in those likewise it is not proper;' the reading *g*avî*d*-*v*a*s*nŏ (proposed by Dastûr Hoshangji) is, however, doubtful.

[3] Or 'clothing,' vistarg.

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

ever she becomes clean, *she* is to sit down in cleanliness one day for the sake of her depletion (tihîk), and then *she* is *fit* for washing; and after nine nights the depletion is no matter[1].

15. A woman who *has* brought forth or miscarried (nasâî), during forty days sees whenever *she* is polluted; but when she knows for certain that *she* is *free* from menstruation *she* is, thereupon, to be associated with meanwhile (vadas), from the forty days[2] onward; but when she knows for certain that *there is something* of it, she is to be considered meanwhile as menstruous.

16. A menstruous woman when she *has* sat one month as menstruous, and becomes clean on the thirtieth day, when at the very same time she became quite clean she also becomes again menstruous, her depletion (tîhîk) is from *its* beginning, and till the fifth day washing is not allowable. 17. And when she is washed from the menstruation, *and has* sat three days in cleanliness, and again becomes menstruous as from the beginning, four days are to be watched through by her, and the fifth day is for washing[3]. 18. When she *has* become *free*

[1] See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22. The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 19) prescribes a fixed period of seven days, except in abnormal cases.

[2] The same period of seclusion as appointed by the Hebrew law, after the birth of a man child (see Lev. xii. 2–4). The Avesta law (Vend. V, 135–159) prescribes only twelve nights' seclusion, divided into two periods of three and nine nights respectively, as the Hebrew woman's seclusion is divided into periods of seven and thirty-three days.

[3] The substance of §§ 16, 17 is given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22, but in language even more obscure than here. The washing mentioned here is merely for the first menstruation; that for the second one being prescribed in § 18.

from the second menstruation she is not in cleanliness *for* nine days *and* nights,—these days *and* nights are for watching,—*and* then *she* is to be washed; when the nine days *and* nights are completed, on the same day washing is good[1].

19. Of leucorrhœa (*k*îharak)[2], when it *has* quite changed colour, that which comes on before *and* also that which is after menstruation, the pollution is just like *that of* menstruation.

20. When she *has* become so completely clean from menstruation that her washing may be as usual (dastôbarag hâe), she does not make the *sacred* twigs (baresôm), *nor* even other things, polluted *when* beyond three steps.

21. On account of severe cold it is allowable *for her* to sit out towards[3] the fire; and while she washes a prayer (vâ*g*) is to be taken *inwardly* by her[4], and the washing of her hands, except with bull's urine (gômê*z*), is not proper till *then;* and when *they are* washed by her, two hundred noxious creatures are to be destroyed by her as atonement for sin.

22. A woman who goes beyond the period of menstruation[5], and, afterwards, sees *she* is polluted, when her pregnancy is certain—except when her

[1] In such abnormal cases the Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 25–28) prescribes seven days' seclusion after recovery.

[2] Av. *k*ithra, see explanation of *k*îharak-hômand (Av. *k*ithravan*d*) in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 1, 34.

[3] Dastûr Jâmâspji reads val bavan-i âtâsh, 'to the part of the fire.' From what follows it would seem doubtful whether this distant approach to the fire is allowable until she is ready for washing.

[4] See § 6, note.

[5] Or, 'goes up from the place of menstruation.'

miscarriage (nasâî yehevûntanŏ) is evident—is then to be washed with bull's urine and water; when her pregnancy is not certain *she* is to be considered as menstruous. 23. Some say[1], moreover, that when miscarriage is certainly manifest *she* is, meanwhile, to be considered as menstruous. 24. Some say that when *she* is doubtful about the miscarriage she is to be washed with ceremony[2].

25. And for any one[3] who comes in contact with a menstruous woman, or with the person whom it is necessary to wash with water and bull's urine, *it* is the root of a sin of sixty stîrs[4]. 26. And for whomever knowingly has sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman *it* is the root of a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars and sixty stîrs[5].

27. Of a menstruous *woman* who sees a fire the sin is one Farmân[6], and when she goes within three steps *it* is one Tanâpûhar, and when she puts a hand on the fire itself[7] *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and *in* like manner *as to* the ashes[8] and *water* goblet[9]. 28. When she looks at water *it* is a

[1] Literally, 'there is *one* who says thus.'

[2] See Chap. II, 65.

[3] Reading aîs instead of adînas, 'then for him.'

[4] That is, the sin is a Khôr (see Chap. I, 2).

[5] According to the Avesta (Vend. XV, 23, 24) he becomes a peshôtanu (Pahl. tanâpûhar). The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 24) makes him unclean for seven days.

[6] See Chap. I, 2. That it was sinful for her to look at fire, even in Avesta times, appears from Vend. XVI, 8.

[7] Literally, 'on the body of the fire.'

[8] That libûsyâ means 'ashes' appears from Pahl. Vend. V, 150; literally it is Huzvâris for 'clothing or covering,' and is so used in Pahl. Vend. VI, 106, VII, 122. Metaphorically, ashes are the clothing of the fire.

[9] Reading dûbalak; but the word is doubtful. Possibly it

sin of one Farmân; when she sits in water *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and when through disobedience she walks out in the rain every single drop is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars for her. 29. And the sun and other luminaries are not to be looked at by her, and animals and plants are not to be looked at by her, and conversation with a righteous man is not to be held by her; for a fiend so violent is that fiend of menstruation[1], *that*, where another fiend does not smite anything with a look (akhsh), it smites with a look.

30. *As to* a house[2] in which is a menstruous woman, the fire of that house is not to be kindled; food which is delivered up from before a menstruous woman is not proper for the same woman[3]. 31. A tray-cloth (khvânŏ *g*âmak) which stands before *her*, when it is not in contact with her, is not polluted; a table-napkin (pata*s*khûr) when apart from *her* thigh, *and* contact does not occur, is proper[4].

32. When *one*[5] wishes to consecrate the sacred cakes (drôn)[6], when *one* holds up the *sacred* twigs

should be read gôbarak for gâv-bar, 'bull's produce,' referring to the bull's urine which, with ashes, is prescribed (Vend. V, 148) as the first food for a woman after miscarriage.

[1] The demoness *G*êh (see Bund. III, 3–9).

[2] By khânak, 'house, abode,' must here be understood merely the woman's place of seclusion. K20 inserts âtâ*s* dên after mûn, which renders it possible (by assuming another preposition) to translate as follows: '*As to* a house in which is a fire, the fire in that house is not to be kindled by a menstruous woman.'

[3] See § 12.

[4] Fit to use again.

[5] Perhaps we should read '*she*' throughout this section, as a woman can perform these rites among women (see Chap. X, 35).

[6] The drôn (Av. draona, corrupted into drûn or darûn by

(baresôm)[1] from the twig-stand (baresôm-dân), and menstruation occurs, and just as it came to *one's* knowledge *one* puts down the *sacred* twigs and goes out, the *sacred* twigs are not polluted.

Pâz. writers) is a small round pancake or wafer of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. It is made of wheaten flour and water, with a little clarified butter, and is flexible. A drôn is converted into a frasast by marking it on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while thrice repeating the words humat hûkht huvar*s*t, 'well-thought, well-said, well-done,' one word to each of the nine cuts. Any drôn or frasast that is torn must not be used in any ceremony. In the drôn ceremony two drôns are placed separately by the priest upon a very low table before him, on its left side, the nearer one having a small piece of butter (gâu*s* hudh*a*u) upon it; two frasasts are similarly placed upon its right-hand side, the farther one having a pomegranate twig (urvarãm) upon it; and between this and the farther drôn an egg is placed. The sacred twigs (baresôm) must also be present on their stand to the left of the priest, and a fire or lamp must stand opposite him, on the other side of the table. The priest recites a certain formula of consecration (chiefly Yas. III, 1–VIII, 9), during which he uplifts the sacred twigs, and mentions the name of the angel, or of the guardian spirit of a deceased person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed. After consecration, pieces are broken off the drôns by the officiating priest, and are eaten by himself and those present, beginning with the priests (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407, 408, AV. p. 147).

[1] The baresôm (Av. baresma) consists of a number of slender rods or tâî (Pahl. tâk), formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these twigs varies according to the nature of the ceremony, but is usually from five to thirty-three. These twigs are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the recital of certain prayers by the officiating priest, during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk or girdle formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together; this girdle, being

33. And during hér menstruation *she* is to be so seated that, from her body, *there* are fifteen steps of three feet to water, fifteen steps to fire, fifteen steps to the *sacred* twigs, and three steps to a righteous man[1]. 34. And her food is to be carried forth in iron or leaden *vessels;* and the person (valman) who shall carry forth the food stands at three steps away from her[2]. 35. When worship is celebrated, every time at the dedication (shnûmanê)[3] of the consecration of sacred cakes (drôn yasṭ) *it* is to be uttered aloud *by her;* some say the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû[4].

CHAPTER IV.

1. A *sacred thread*-girdle (kûstîk), should it be made of silk (parvand), is not proper; the hair (pashm) of a hairy goat and a hairy camel is

passed twice round the twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the kûstîk or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396–399).

[1] See Vend. XVI, 9, 10. All the ceremonial apparatus must be kept as far removed as the sacred twigs.

[2] See Vend. XVI, 11–14, which states that the food is to be carried forth on iron, lead, or the basest metal.

[3] This is the time when the name of the angel or spirit is mentioned, in whose honour the cakes are consecrated (see § 32, note on drôn, and Chap. VII; 8).

[4] The Ithâ is Yas. V (so called from its first word), which forms a part of the drôn yasṭ or formula of consecration (see § 32, note on drôn). The Ashem-vohû is probably that in Yas. VIII, 9, which concludes the consecration. The same details are given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17. These prayers also form a portion of all ceremonial worship, including the Yazisn.

proper, and from *other* hairy *creatures* (mûyînô) it is proper among the lowly (nakhêzîk). 2. The least fulness[1] necessary for *it* is exactly three finger-*breadths;* when *it* is exactly three finger-*breadths* altogether[2] from one side, *and* when the rest is cut off, it is proper. 3. When *one* retains the prayer *inwardly*[3] and has tied his girdle, and ties *it* anew once again, he will untie that which he has tied, *and* it is not proper[4].

4. Cloth of thick silk brocade (dîpâkŏ) and figured silk (parnîkânŏ) is not good for girdling[5]; and *cloth* of hide when the hair is stripped from it, of wool, of hair, of cotton, of dyed silk, and of wood[6] is proper for shirting (*s*apîkîh). 5. Four finger-*breadths* of shirt[7] is the measure of *its* width *away*

[1] Literally, 'width;' that is, *extra* width, or slackness round the waist, as the girdle sits very loosely over a loose shirt; or, as the text implies, the slackness ought to admit three fingers together, projecting edgeways from the waist. After tying it so loosely, any unnecessary length of string may be cut off, when the girdle is put on for the first time. The necessary looseness is again mentioned in Chap. X, 1.

[2] Literally, 'extreme to extreme;' rôê*s*man-â-rôê*s*man being Huzvâri*s* for sarâsar.

[3] That is, has begun the prayer formula (requisite while tying on the girdle) with a bâ*z* or muttered prayer (see Chap. III, 6, note).

[4] The meaning appears to be that he must not tie the girdle a second time without recommencing the prayer formula.

[5] This word, ayîbyâêg,hânîh, is chiefly a transcript from the Avesta name of the kûstîk or girdle, aiwy*a*unghana. Probably garments in general are meant.

[6] Perhaps dârîn may mean cloth of bark, hemp, or flax here.

[7] The sacred shirt, worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted) in India, is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm. It is called sadaro (Pers. sudarah) in Gu*g*arâti, and shapîk (Pers. shabî) in Pahlavi.

from each side, from the neck to the skirt (parîk); and *as to* the length before and behind, as much as is proper to cover up is good. 6. So much length and breadth, when it is double or thickened [1], are not proper; when on the separation (dûrmânak) of the two folds *one* remains clothed on one side, both when he wears the girdle (kûstîk), *and* when he does not wear the girdle, even then it is not undress (vishâ*d*akîh) [2].

7. When a shirt of one fold is put on, *and* the skirt has concealed both sides, the girdle is tied over it, *and* it is proper. 8. When two shirts are put on, and they shall tie the girdle over that which is above, then *it* is for him a root of the sin owing to [3] running about uncovered [4].

9. By a man and woman, until fifteen years of age, *there* is no committal of *the sin of* running about uncovered [5]; *and* the sin of unseasonable

[1] Assuming that aîtabarî*d* stands for astabarî*d*; the Huz. aît being substituted for the Pâz. ast. The text appears to refer to lined or stuffed shirts, such as would be very suitable for the cold winters of Persia, like the clothing padded with cotton wool used by natives of the cooler parts of India in the cold season.

[2] That is, the degree of nakedness which is sinful (see §§ 8–10).

[3] K20 has lâ, 'not,' instead of râî, 'owing to;' this would reverse the meaning of the sentence, but it is not the usual place for the negative particle.

[4] This sin is called vishâ*d*-dûbâri*s*nîh; it is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 167, VII, 48, but not described there. The usual definition of the sin is 'walking about without the sacred thread-girdle;' and it is generally classed with the two other Parsi sins of 'walking with one boot' and 'making water on foot' (see AV. XXV, 5, 6); sometimes a fourth Parsi sin, 'unseasonable chatter,' is associated with them, as in the text, but this is supposed to be punished in a different manner in hell (see AV. XXIII).

[5] Indicating that it is not absolutely necessary to wear the sacred thread-girdle till one is fifteen years old (see Chap. X, 13).

chatter[1] arises after fifteen years of age[2]. 10. The sin of running about uncovered, as far as three steps, is a Farmân each step; at the fourth step *it* is a Tanâpûhar[3] *sin.*

11. A girdle to which *there* is no fringe is proper; and when they shall tie a woman's ringlet (gurs)[4] *it* is not proper.

12. Walking with one boot[5] as far as four steps is

[1] This sin is called drâyân-*g*ûyi*s*nîh, literally, 'eagerness for chattering,' and consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (vâ*g*) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; many details regarding it are given in the next chapter. The sin consists in breaking the spell, or destroying the effect, of the vâ*g*.

[2] This is modified by Chap. V, 1, 2.

[3] See Chap. I, 1, 2. These particulars are deduced by the Pahlavi commentator from Vend. XVIII, 115, which refers, however, to a special case of going without girdle and shirt. He says (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116), 'so that as far as the fourth step it is not more than (aî) a Srôshô-*k*aranâm, and at the fourth step it amounts to the root of a Tanâpûhar within him; some say that *he* is within what is allowed him in going three *steps*. When he walks on very many steps it is also not more than a Tanâpûhar, *and* when he stops again *it is counted* from the starting-point' (compare § 12).

[4] Probably referring to the possibility of tying the girdle over a woman's hair, when hanging loose down to her waist. The present custom among Parsi women in India is to cover up the whole of their hair with a white handkerchief tied closely over the head; but whether this is an ancient custom is uncertain.

[5] This sin, which is mentioned in Bund. XXVIII, 13, is called aê-mûk-dûbâri*s*nîh or khadû-mûk-dûbâri*s*nîh, literally, 'running in one boot,' and is usually so understood, but how there can be any risk of the committal of so inconvenient an offence is not explained. Dastûr Hoshangji thinks that aê-mûk, 'one boot,' was formerly written avî-mûk, 'without boots;' and no doubt avî is sometimes written exactly like khadû, 'one,' (indicating, possibly, a phonetic change of avî into agvi). Perhaps, however, the word alludes to the Persian practice of wearing an outer boot

a Tanâpûhar *sin*, when with one[1] movement; and after the fourth step as much as *one* shall walk is a Tanâpûhar; and when he sits down and walks on the sin is the same that *it would be* from his starting-point (bûnîh); and *there* were *some* who said *it* is a Tanâpûhar for each league (parasang).

13. At night, when they lie down, the shirt *and* girdle are to be worn, for *they are* more protecting for the body, and good for the soul. 14. When they lie down with the shirt and girdle, before sleep *one* shall utter one Ashem-vohû[2], and with every coming and going of the breath (vayô) is a good work of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[3]; and if in that

(mûk) over an inner one of thinner leather, when walking out of doors; so that the sin of 'running in one pair of boots' would be something equivalent to walking out in one's stockings; and this seems all the more probable from the separate account of walking 'without boots or stockings,' avîmû*g*ak, given in Chap. X, 12. But whatever may have been the original meaning of the word, Parsis nowadays understand that it forbids their walking without shoes; this should be recollected by any European official in India who fancies that Parsis ought to take off their shoes in his presence, as by insisting on such a practice he is compelling them to commit what they believe to be a serious sin.

[1] Assuming that hanâ, 'this,' stands for aê, 'one' (see p. 218, note 3). The amount of sinfulness in walking improperly shod appears to be deduced from that incurred by walking improperly dressed (see § 10).

[2] See Bund. XX, 2. The same details are given in Chap. X, 24.

[3] The Av. sraoshô-*k*arana appears to have been a scourge with which offenders were lashed by the assistant priests (see Vend. III, 125, 129, IV, 38, &c.), and a Srôshô-*k*aranâm was, therefore, originally one lash with a scourge. As the gravity of an offence was measured by the number of lashes administered, when this term was transferred from the temporal to the spiritual gravity of sin, it was considered as the unit of weight by which sins were estimated; and, by a further process of reasoning, the good works

sleep decease occurs, his renunciation *of sin* is accomplished[1].

CHAPTER V.

1. Of unseasonable chatter[2] that of children of five years of age has no root; and from five years till seven years, when *one* is under the tuition of his

necessary for counterbalancing sins were estimated by the same unit of weight. Regarding the amount of a Srôshô-*k*aranâm there is much uncertainty; according to Chap. XVI, 5 and Pahl. Vend. VI, 15 it is the same as a Farmân, and this appears to be the case also from a comparison of § 10 with Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116 (see note on § 10); but according to Chap. XI, 2 it is half a Farmân, and the Farmân is also probably the degree meant by the frequent mention of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms as the least weight of sin or good works that will turn the scale in which the soul's actions are weighed after death (see Chap. VI, 3). This uncertainty may perhaps have arisen from aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi. But, besides this uncertainty, there is some discordance between the various accounts of the actual weight of a Srôshô-*k*aranâm, as may be seen in Chaps. X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 5. As a weight the Srôshô-*k*aranâm is not often mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad, for wherever it translates the Av. sraoshô-*k*arana it means 'lashes with a scourge;' but the weight of one Srôshô-*k*aranâm is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. VI, 15, three Srôshô-*k*aranâms in IV, 142, VII, 136, XVII, 11, XVIII, 55, 116, and five Srôshô-*k*aranâms in XVI, 8.

[1] Patîtîkîh, 'the dropping' or renunciation of sin, is effected by confessing serious offences to a high-priest, and also by the recitation of a particular formula called the Patit, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. The priest ordains such atonement as he thinks necessary, but the remission of the sins depends upon the after performance of the atonement and the effectual determination to avoid such sins in future (see Chap. VIII, 1, 2, 8).

[2] See Chap. IV, 9.

father *and* innocent[1], it has no root *in* him, and when sinful it has root *in* the father[2]. 2. And from eight years till *they are* man and woman of fifteen years, if even *one* is innocent during the performance of the ritual (ya*s*tô), but is able to say its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû[3], and does not say *them, it* is the root of unseasonable chatter for him[4]; and when *he* is able to perform *his* ritual by heart (narm), and says *only* the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû, some *have* said that such is as when his ritual is not performed *and there* is no offering (yastôfrî*d*), and some *have* said that it is not unseasonable chatter.

3. Unseasonable chatter *may* occur at every ceremonial (ya*z*i*s*nŏ); *for* him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâpûhar *sin*[5]; *for* him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less, some *have* said three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[6]. 4. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin;* this is where every ceremony, or every morsel, or every *drop of* urine is not completed[7]. 5. Of the unseasonable chatter of

[1] That is, intending no harm, as contrasted with sinful or wilful chatter in defiance of instruction.

[2] Because the father is supposed to be responsible, in the next world, for the sins of the child, even as he will profit by its good works (see Chaps. X, 22, XII, 15).

[3] See Chap. III, 35.

[4] Inattention to prayers evinced by improper silence is thus put upon the same footing as inattention evinced by improper talking. This portion of the sentence is omitted in K20.

[5] See Chap. I, 1, 2. It is a greater sin in the officiating priests than in the other persons present at the ceremony.

[6] Probably a Farmân sin (see Chap. IV, 14, note).

[7] Referring to the three principal occasions when a prayer (vâ*g*) is taken inwardly and retained until the completion of the action; during which time it is unlawful to say anything but the prescribed prayers (see Chap. III, 6, note).

him who has not performed the ritual Afarg[1] said this degree is slighter; Mêdôk-mâh[1] said both are alike, and he spoke further of this, since for him who has not performed the ritual, and does not attend to[2] saying its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû, it is more severe than for him who has performed the ritual, and does not attend to consecrating its sacred cake (drôn). 6. Mêdôk-mâh said that it (the ceremonial)[3] does not become Gêtô-kharîd[4]; Afarg said that it amounts to an offering (yastôfrîd)[5] for every one, except for that person who *knows* the ritual by heart, and through sinfulness will not perform *it;* and it becomes *his* at the time when, during his life *and* by his command, it is recited with this intention, namely: 'I wish to do *it*, my faith (astôbânîh) is in the religion[6].'

7. The deaf and dumb when it is not possible for him to say an Ashem does not commit unseasonable chatter[7]; and when it is possible for him to say an Ashem he shall three times say of it, 'Ashem, ashem, ashem;' and if it be possible for him to say

[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] Literally, 'believe or trust to.'

[3] During which unseasonable chatter occurs.

[4] Generally written Gêtî-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28); but, perhaps, we should here read yastôfrîd, 'offering,' though gêtôk-kharîd occurs in Chap. XII, 30.

[5] The MSS. have merely stôfrîd, which differs from the foregoing gêtô-kharîd only in one Pahlavi letter, so we should probably read the same word in both cases, but which of them it ought to be is uncertain.

[6] Meaning, apparently, that he can obtain the benefit of any past ceremony, forfeited by wilful negligence, by repentance and a repetition of the ceremony during his lifetime.

[7] By omitting to say it (see § 2). This clause of the sentence is omitted in K20.

'ithâ' and 'ashem-vohû' it is well, and when it is only possible for him to say 'ithâ' it matters not[1].

CHAPTER VI.

1. The deaf and dumb and helpless (armêst)[2], though of unblemished conduct and proper disposition, is incapable of doing good works, and from the *time* when he is born till the *time* when he shall die, all the duty and good works which they may perform in the world become his property (nafsman) as much as his even by whom *they* are performed; some say that it is thus: as much as they belong to Zaratûst[3]. 2. Though he does not do the good works not really originating with (ahambûnik) him, and does not commit the sin not really originating with *him*, *it* is better than though *he were* able to do the good works not really originating with him, *and* should not do *them;* but should commit the sin not really originating with *him;* when, afterwards, he passes away, and then also comes to *his* account as to sin and good works, when the good works not really originating with him are more *he is* in heaven (vahist), when the sin

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[1] That is, any one barely able to speak must repeat so much of the indispensable prayers as he is able to pronounce, otherwise he will commit sin.

[2] That is, any one compelled to remain stationary or secluded, owing to bodily or mental infirmity (see Chap. II, 98); an idiot, or insane person, is probably meant here.

[3] This comment seems to imply that its writer was translating from an Avesta text, and here met with a word which some persons thought contained a reference to Zaratûst, but which he first translated so as to suit the context; perhaps Av. zarazdâiti may be suggested.

not really originating with *him* is more *he is* in hell, and when both are equal *he is* among the ever-stationary (hamîstakân)[1]. 3. When the good works are three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[2] more than the sins *he is* in heaven (vahi*s*t), when the good works are one Tanâpûhar more he attains to the best existence (pâhlûm ahvân)[3], when his ceremony (ya*s*t) is per-

[1] That is, he is treated, with regard to the actions merely imputed to him, precisely as all others are with regard to their own actions. With reference to the hamîstakân, Ar*d*â-Vîrâf states (AV. VI, 2, 5–12) that on his journey to the other world he 'saw the souls of several people who remain in the same position,' and he was informed that 'they call this the place of the Hamîstakân ("those ever-stationary"), and these souls remain *in* this place till the future existence; and *they are* the souls of those people whose good works and sin were equal. Speak out to the worldlings thus: "Consider not the easier good works with avarice and vexation! for every one whose good works are three Srôshô-*k*aranâms more than *his* sin is for heaven, *they* whose sin is more are for hell, they *in* whom both are equal remain among these Hamîstakân till the future existence." And their punishment is cold or heat from the changing of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

[2] Probably equivalent to a Farmân sin (see Chaps, I, 1, 2, IV, 14, note).

[3] This appears to be another name for Garô*d*mân, 'the abode of song,' which is the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd. The lower heaven is here called Vahi*s*t, which is a general term for heaven in general. AV. VII–X, XVII, 27, and Mkh. VII, 9–12, 20, 21 describe four grades in heaven and four in hell, besides the intermediate neutral position of the Hamîstakân (AV. VI, Mkh. VII, 18, 19). The four grades of heaven, proceeding upwards, are Hûmat for good thoughts in the station of the stars, Hûkht for good words in the station of the moon, Hûvar*s*t for good deeds in the station of the sun, and Garô*d*mân where Aûharmazd dwells (Vend. XIX, 121). And the four grades of hell, proceeding downwards, are Dû*s*-hûmat for evil thoughts, Dû*s*-hûkht for evil words, Dû*s*-hûvar*s*t for evil deeds, and the darkest hell (Vend. XIX, 147) where the evil spirit dwells. The pâhlûm ahvân of

formed[1]. 4. Sôshyans[2] said that to come into that best existence it is not necessary to perform the ceremony, for when his good works are one[3] Tanâpûhar more than the sin he attains to the best existence, and no account is *taken* of performing his ceremony; because in the heavenly existence (garôdmânîkîh) it is not necessary to perform a ceremony, for an excess of good works must attain Garôdmân[4]. 5. As Sôshyans said, in heaven (vahist) he who is below is elevated to him who is above; *and* it says thus: 'Happy indeed art thou, O man! who art in any way near unto that imperishable existence[5].'

6. Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd[6] said that an infidel (akdînô)[7], when *his* good works are one Tanâpûhar more than *his* sin, is saved from hell.

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the text is merely the Pahlavi form of Av. vahistem ahûm (Vend. VII, 133, XVIII, 69, XIX, 120, Yas. IX, 64), whence the term vahist (Pers. bahist) is also derived.

[1] That is, when his surviving relatives have performed the proper religious ceremonies after his death.

[2] See Chap. I, 3.

[3] Reading aê, 'one,' and supposing that this Pâz. form has been substituted for an original Huz. khadûk, 'one.' This supposition being necessary to account for the aê preceding its noun, instead of following it; and without it we ought to read 'three' instead of 'one,' which seems, however, hardly reconcileable with the context (but compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 136). This is an instance of the ambiguity occasioned by aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi, as already noticed in p. 289, note 3. The word might also be taken as the conditional verbal form aê, 'shall be,' but in that case it is likewise misplaced.

[4] See note on pâhlûm ahvân in § 3.

[5] A somewhat similar exclamation to that in Vend. VII, 136.

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[7] That is, one of another religion; not an apostate, nor an atheist.

7. Of a pure law (dâ*d*) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are *those of* the Sînîk congregation[1]; of a vile

[1] It is not easy to identify this Sînîk va*s*kar*d*îh, but Professor J. Darmesteter suggests that the term may have been applied to the Manicheans settled in eastern Turkistân and western China, whence they may have been called Sînîk (the country of the Sênî, Av. Sâini, being identified with *K*înîstân or China in Bund. XV, 29, because *TS*în is the Arabic name of the latter). This is confirmed, to some extent, by a passage in the Dînkar*d* (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's edition of the Pahlavi text, p. 27), where three foreign religions are mentioned, that of the Jews from Arûm, that of the Messiah from the west, and that of Mânih from Turkistân. Darmesteter further points out the following passages in Barbier de Meynard's French translation of Mas'aûdî, which show that the Manicheans had considerable influence in eastern Turkistân as late as A.D. 944:—

(Meynard, I, 268): '. . . the Turks, the Khuzlu*g*, and the Taghazghaz, who occupy the town of Kû*s*ân, situated between Khurâsân and China, and who are now (A.D. 944) the most valiant, most powerful, and best governed of all the Turkish races and tribes. Their kings bear the title of îrkhân ("sub-khân?"), and they alone, among all these nations, profess the religion of Mânî.'

Again, after stating that the Chinese were at first Samanians (Buddhists), it is added (Meynard, II, 258): 'Their kingdom is contiguous to that of the Taghazghaz, who, as we have said above, are Manicheans, and proclaim the simultaneous existence of the two principles of light and darkness. These people were living in simplicity, and in a faith like that of the Turkish races, when there turned up among them a demon of the dualist sect, who showed them, in tempting language, two opposing principles in everything that exists in the world, such as life and death, health and sickness, riches and poverty, light and darkness, union and separation, connection and severance, rising and setting, existence and non-existence, night and day, &c. Then, he spoke to them of the various ailments which afflict rational beings, animals, children, idiots, and madmen; and he added that God could not be responsible for this evil, which was in distressing contradiction to the excellence which distinguishes his works, and that he was

law are the Zandîk[1], the Christian (Tarsâk), the Jew (Yahûd), and others of this sort (sanŏ)[2].

CHAPTER VII.

1. The morning sun it is necessary to reverence (yastanŏ) till midday, and that of midday it is necessary to reverence till the afternoon time, and that of the afternoon time it is necessary to reverence till night[3]; whenever *one* is quite prepared

above any such imputation. By these quibbles, and others like them, he carried away their minds, and made them adopt his errors.'

The tenets of the Manicheans ought, no doubt, to have been considered by the Zoroastrians as a mixture of truth and error, just as those of the Sînîk congregation are represented to be in our text; but such tenets being an heretical offshoot of Zoroastrianism, it argues unusual liberality in the priests if they preferred Manicheans to Christians, that is, heretics to infidels.

K20 has altered sînîk vaskardîh into nisînîk (or vîdînîk) sikaftîh, which appears to be an attempt to bring the words within the limits of the writer's knowledge, without paying much attention to their collective meaning.

[1] A sect which (according to its name) probably adhered to a certain heretical interpretation (zand) in preference to the orthodox Avesta and Zand. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit version of Mkh. XXXVI, 16, explains a Zandîk as one who 'thinks well of Aharman and the demons.'

[2] Unless this paragraph be a continuation of the quotation from Kûshtanŏ-bûgêd's commentary, which seems unlikely, its contents have an important bearing upon the age of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. As it does not mention Muhammadanism by name it could hardly have been written after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, when that new faith had become much more important, in Persia, than those of the Christians and Jews.

[3] Referring to the recitation of the Khûrshêd Nyâyis, or 'salutation of the sun,' which should be performed thrice a day, in the Hâvan, Rapîtvîn, and Aûzêrîn Gâhs, or periods of the day (see

for activity (khvêskârîh), and shall then do reverence, it is proper. 2. And when anything of that happens which *indicates* when it is not proper to wash the hands, and about this he considers that when he does not reverence the sun it will stop[1], *at* the time previous *to that* in which it occurs the sun is to be fully reverenced by him, and, afterwards, when *his* hands are washed, it is to be reverenced again; and when he does not reverence *it*, except when innocent through not reverencing *it*[2], then it becomes irreverence (lâ yast) of the sun *for* him[3].

3. *As to* the sun it is better when *one* reverences *it* every time at the proper period (pavan gâs-i nafsman); when he does not reverence *it for* once *it* is a sin of thirty stîrs[4]. 4. Reverencing the sun is every time a good work of one Tanâpûhar[5]; and *so* of the moon and fire *in* like manner[6]. 5. When on account of cloudiness the sun is not visible (pêdâk), and *one* shall reverence *it*, it is proper.

Bund. XXV, 9); a few sentences in the Nyâyis, or formula of salutation, are altered to suit the particular Gâh in which it is recited.

[1] K20 has, 'it will protect *it*;' having read netrûnêd instead of ketrûnêd in its original. To pray with unwashed hands would be sinful (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 84).

[2] That is, except when the omission is to avoid a worse evil, as in the instance just mentioned.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'it does not become a Khûrshêd Yast ("a formula of praise in honour of the sun") *for* him.' This Yast forms a part of the Nyâyis.

[4] That is, an Aredûs sin (see Chap. I, 2). M6 has, 'when he does not reverence *it* again.'

[5] That is, a good work sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin, which puts the performance of a Nyâyis on the same footing as the consecration of a sacred cake or drôn (see Chap. XVI, 6).

[6] The moon and fire have each a separate Nyâyis.

6. And while *one* does not reverence the sun, the good works which they do that day are not their own; some say that of the good works which they do within the law (dâ*d*) of the good religion he has no share. 7. While they do not wash dirty hands any good work which they do is not their own, for while *one* does not utterly destroy corruption (nasûs)[1] *there* is no coming of the angels to his body, and when *there* is no coming of the angels to his body he has no steadfastness in the religion, and when he has no steadfastness in the religion no good work whatever reaches unto him.

8. When *one* wishes to perform the propitiation (shnûman)[2] of fire, it is allowable to perform one 'âthrô' by itself, and, when two *and* the 'ma*d* vîspaêibyô âterebyô,' these three are thus the propitiation everywhere[3]; some say that it would be proper to perform *it* while allowable, except that of the heterodox.

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[1] That is, the demon of corruption, who is supposed to enter and reside in all filth of the nature of dead matter, until expelled or destroyed by cleansing.

[2] A shnûman or khshnûmanŏ (Av. khshnûman) is a short formula of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirit intended to be propitiated by it, and is used for dedicating the prayers or ceremony specially to his service (see Chaps. III, 35, X, 2, XIV, 3). The propitiatory formulas for the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month constitute the Sîrôzah, or form of prayer 'relating to the thirty days.'

[3] The propitiation of fire (as given in Sîrôz. I, 9, Âta*s* Nyâyi*s* 5, 6) consists of five sentences, each beginning with the word âthrô, 'of the fire,' and the last sentence also contains the words ma*d* vîspaêibyô âterebyô, 'with all fires.' The meaning of the text appears to be that it is allowable to use only one of these sentences (probably the last), but if two are used besides the last they are amply sufficient for practical purposes.

9. Whoever shall extinguish[1] a fire, by him ten fires are to be gathered together, by him ten punishments are to be endured, by him ten ants are to be destroyed[2], and by him holy-water (zôhar) is to be presented to the sacred fire (âtâs-i Vâhrâm).

Chapter VIII.

1. Sin which *affects* accusers[3] is to be atoned for (vigârisn) among the accusers, and that *relating* to

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[1] Literally, 'kill.'

[2] The ant being a creature of the evil spirit, on account of its carrying away corn.

[3] Vinâs-i hamêmâlân, 'sin *relating* to adversaries.' Sins appear to be divided into two great classes, hamêmâl and rûbânîk. A hamêmâl sin seems to be any secular offence which injures some person or animal who, thereupon, becomes a hamêmâl, 'accuser' (Av. hameretha, 'opponent,' Yas. LVI, x, 10), and who must first be satisfied by atonement, before confession to the high-priest, or renunciation of sin, can be of any avail for removing the sin (compare Matthew v. 23–26). The Rivâyats assert that if a person dies without atoning for a hamêmâl sin, his soul will be stopped at the *K*invad bridge (see Bund. XII, 7) on its way to the other world, and kept in a state of torment until the arrival of the 'accuser,' and after he is satisfied the sinner's soul will be disposed of, in the usual manner, according to the balance of its good and bad actions. It is also probable that only a man of 'the good religion,' or an animal of the good creation, can be an 'accuser.' A rûbânîk sin, on the other hand, seems to be one which affects only the sinner's own soul, and for which the high-priest can prescribe a sufficient atonement. It is doubtful, however, whether the Parsis nowadays have any very clear notions of the exact distinction between these two classes of sins, although aware of their names, which are mentioned in their Patit, or renunciation of sin. The explanations given in some editions of their Khurdah Avesta, or prayer-book, are confined to mentioning certain special instances of each class of sin; thus,

the soul is to be atoned for among the high-priests (ra*d*ân), and when they do whatever the high-priests of the religion command the sin will depart, and the good works which they may thenceforth do will attain completion (avaspôrîk). 2. The sin of him who is worthy of death (marg-ar*g*ân) is to be confessed (gar*z*i*s*nŏ) unto the high-priests, *and he* is to deliver up *his* body[1]; except *to* the high-priests he is not to deliver up *his* body.

3. On account of the dexterity (farhâng) of horsemen it is not *their* business to hunt (nakh*k*îr kar*d*anŏ); and it is not allowable for any one else to hunt for game, except *for him* whose wealth is less *than* three hundred stîrs[2].

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murder, seduction, unnecessary slaughter of cattle, embezzlement, slander, seizing land by force, and a few other evil deeds are stated to be hamêmâl sins; while unnatural offences and intercourse with women of another race and religion are said to be rûbânîk sins. In the Pahlavi Vendidad these classes of sins are rarely mentioned, but hamêmâlân occurs in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, IV, 23, XIII, 38; hamêmâlîh in III, 119; and rûbânîk in XIII, 38; although, perhaps, not always in the sense of sin.

[1] By committing a marg-ar*g*ân or mortal sin, that is, a sin worthy of death, he has forfeited his life, and ought to place it at the disposal of the ra*d*, or high-priest.

[2] This section, intended to preserve game for the poor, is evidently out of place here, as it has no connection with the context. With reference to the property qualification for hunting, it appears, from a passage in the Persian MS. M5 about the proper dowry for a privileged wife, that 2000 dirhams of silver were worth 2300 rûpîs, and that 2 dirhams were 2¼ tolas; this was written in A.D. 1723, when neither the rûpî nor the tola were of uniform amount, though now the rûpî is exactly a tola weight of silver. As the stîr was four dirhams (see Chap. I, 2), three hundred stîrs would have been 1380 rûpîs or 1350 tolas of silver, according to the standards mentioned in M5; so that hunting was intended to be confined to those whose property was less than 1350–1380 rûpîs; but how

4. The ceremonial worship (yazisn) of those worthy of death, which they do not perform by way of renunciation *of sin*[1], is the ceremonial *which* is demon worship; and when the *officiating* priest (aêrpat) does not know *it* the merit (kirfak) of the ceremonial goes to the store (gang) of the angels, and they give the enjoyment which *arises* from that merit in the spiritual *existence* to the soul of that person who *has* at once (aêvâk) become righteous in mind.

5. When the mortal sinner (marg-argânŏ) *has* delivered his body and wealth at once to the high-priests, and engages mentally in renunciation as to the sin which *has* occurred, and the high-priests give him *their* decision (dastôbarîh) as to duty and good works, the duty and good works which *were* before performed by him come back *to him;* and when they inflict punishment for three nights[2], he does not enter hell. 6. And if the high-priest orders the cutting off of *his* head *he* is righteous on the spot[3], and the three *nights'* (satûîh) *ceremony* is to be celebrated for *him*, and the account of the

this limitation is to be reconciled with the fact that hunting was a favourite pursuit of kings and nobles does not appear, unless it be considered as a sacerdotal protest against that practice.

[1] That is, in those cases when they do not have the yazisn performed as an atonement for sin, by order of the high-priest after confession.

[2] This appears to refer to temporal punishment, inflicted by order of the high-priest, for the purpose of saving him from the 'punishment of the three nights' in the other world, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

[3] Reading pavan gînâk; but M6 marks the phrase as pavan dînâk (for dînâ), 'through the decree,' which is probably an error.

three *nights* (satûîh) does not affect him [1]. 7. And if *he does* not *engage* in renunciation *he is* in hell till the future existence; and in *his* future body they will bring *him* from hell, and for every mortal *sin* they will cut off *his* head once, and the last time they *will* make *him* alive again, and will inflict (numâyend) three nights' severe punishment [2].

8. However a man engages in renunciation of sin the duty of his state of renunciation (patîtîh) is to be engaged therein openly and mentally in renunciation; the duty of openness is this, that the sin which he knows *has* assailed him [3], is to be specially confessed (barâ gôbisnŏ) by him; *and* the mental duty is this, that he engages in renunciation with this thought, that 'henceforth I *will* not commit sin.' 9. And that which occurs before the renunciation, except pious alms, it is well for him not to be overlooked [4] by him, *and* not to be kept [5] secret by him; for when he shall overlook [6], or shall keep secret, about sin committed, it becomes for him as

[1] That is, the usual ceremonies after death are not to be withheld in this world, and his soul is able to pass through the usual investigation, as to his sins and good works, on its way to the other world, without delay. This period of three nights (satûîh, 'the triplet'), which Pâzand writers miscall sedôs or sadis, is the time during which the soul is supposed to hover about the body, before finally departing for the other world (see Mkh. II, 114, 158–160, AV. IV, 9–14, XVII, 2–9).

[2] The same statement is made in nearly the same words in Pahl. Vend. VII, 136. This is the future three nights' punishment for impenitent sinners, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

[3] Literally, 'which he knows thus: "It assailed me."'

[4] Reading avênisnŏ, but the word can also be read khunînisnŏ, 'to be made celebrated, to be boasted of.'

[5] Literally, 'carried on, borne away.'

[6] Reading avênêd, but it may be khunînêd, 'boast of.'

much, some say, as three Srôshô-*k*aranâms[1]; some say that when he keeps secret about a sin of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms he is worthy of death; some say much otherwise[2]. 10. Âtarô-pâ*d* son of Zaratûst[3] had remarked (pê*d*âkînî*d*) *to* a disciple, about this duty, thus: 'Conform to the renunciation *of sin!*' and one[4] time a secret was kept by him, and he ordered him thus: 'Henceforth be thou never apparent in this duty!' and after that he looked upon the supplication (avakhshîh) and much repentance of that disciple, and even then he did not become the high-priest (dastôbar) over him.

11. *The rule is*[5] this, that *of those* who would be proper for this priestly duty (dastôbarîh), that person is proper who is perfect in (narm) the commentary (zand) of the law, and the punishment of sin is easy for him, and he has controlled himself; some say thus: 'By whom a course of priestly studies (aêrpatastân) is performed.' 12. And the punishment of sin *being* easy for him, and his *having* controlled himself are proper; and when, in danger before a menstruous woman, he engages in renunciation it is proper.

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[1] Probably the same as a Farmân sin (see Chaps. I, 1, 2, IV, 14).

[2] Or 'many other *things*.'

[3] This Âtarô-pâ*d*-i Zaratûstân is mentioned in a manuscript about 500 years old, belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji, in Bombay, as having lived for 160 years, and having been supreme high-priest for ninety years: he is also mentioned in the sixth book of the Dînkar*d*. He may, possibly, have been the Âtarô-pâ*d* mentioned in B. Yt. I, 7, but it is hazardous to identify an individual by a single name so common as Âtarô-pâ*d* used to be.

[4] Reading aê, 'one,' instead of hanâ, 'this' (see p. 218, note 3).

[5] Assuming that the word âînak has been omitted at the beginning of this section (see Chap. X, 1).

13. Nêryôsang[1] said thus: 'Thou deemest *it* most surprising that, of the renunciation *of sin* with energy, whatever may be its efficacy, they have been so *much* of the same[2] opinion, so that whenever they perform renunciation, however they perform *it*, and before whomever they perform *it*, whenever *a sin* is not even mentally originating with one[3] a renunciation should be performed by him; and when very many mortal sins (margargân) are committed by him, and he engages mentally in renunciation of every one separately, he is not on[4] the way to hell, owing to his renunciation; and if there be one of which he is not in renunciation the way to hell[5] is not closed to him, for he does not rely upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd, and it is allowable to appoint a priestly retribution (rad tôgisn) to fully atone for it, and when thou appointest a priestly retribution for it, and dost not fully atone, it is allowable to inflict *it* justly and strongly (drûbô).'

14. When his sin is committed against (dên)

[1] This cannot be the learned Parsi translator of several Pahlavi texts into Sanskrit, who bore the same name, and is supposed to have lived in the fifteenth century. Being quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad (see Chap. I, 4, note) he must have been one of the old commentators.

[2] K20 has hômanam, 'I am,' instead of ham, 'the same;' a mistake arising from reading am, 'I am,' for ham.

[3] This applies to all cases of merely imputed sin, such as those committed by children, which are imputed to the father, and for which he is spiritually, as well as temporally, responsible.

[4] Reading pavan, 'on,' instead of barâ, 'out of' (see p. 176, note 5).

[5] Most of this clause is omitted in K20 by mistake.

accusers[1] it will be necessary to act so that the head of the family (mîrak) shall not become evil-minded[2], and shall not divorce the wife from matrimony, and they shall not bring[3] *him* on unto him; before his accusers *he* is to be engaged in renunciation, and when not, *he* is to be engaged in renunciation *of the sin* before the high-priests (ra*d*ân), and it will become debts, and debt does not make a man wicked[4]; its effect is this, that in the future existence they may quite forsake him, and this becomes a great shame, and they disturb (kâ*v*ênd) his enjoyment. 15. *As to* the sin which *affects* the accusers, when the female *has* atoned for it, its stem (pâyak) is atoned for; some say that the stem (pâyakghîh) has no root; some say that *it is* just like a tree whose leaves wither away.

16. Sin *relating* to the soul[5], when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him; when it shall be fully atoned for *it* is well, and when he does not fully atone they will make him righteous by the three *nights'* (satûîh) punishment. 17. Kûshtanŏ-bûgê*d*[6] said that even that which *affects* accusers, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him.

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[1] Hamêmâlân (see § 1); the particular instance of hamêmâl sin here referred to is seduction.

[2] Reading dûsmînân instead of the unmeaning dûsmîyân of the MSS.

[3] Reading yâîtyûnã instead of the unmeaning yâîtam of the MSS.; ã being often written very much like m in Pahlavi.

[4] This clause about the hamêmâl sin becoming a debt, to be settled with the 'accuser,' either here or hereafter, is taken from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

[5] That is, rûbânîk sin (see § 1, note).

[6] See Chap. I, 4, note.

18. Nôsâî Bûrz-Mitrô[1] spoke these three sayings, that is, 'Next-of-kin marriage will extirpate mortal sins (marg-argânân), and the *sacred* twigs when their ablution is *such* as *renders them* improper for firewood, and a man when his wife *becomes* pregnant by him.'

19. Whoever commits a sin against (dên) water, *and* kills a lizard, or other noxious water-creature, has atoned for it; also when thou atonest to (dên) fire for that *against* water it is proper[2], *and* when thou atonest to water for that *against* fire it is proper; some say that even a scorpion is proper *to be killed.* 20. And when a sin of one Tanâpûhar[3] is committed by him, and he shall consecrate a sacred cake (drôn), or shall accomplish a good work of one Tanâpûhar[4], it has atoned for it.

21. When he has committed a mortal *sin* (marg-argân), and engages mentally in renunciation, and the high-priest (rad) knows that, though he ought to give up his body, he *will* not give *it* up, it is allowable when he shall kill him; that is, because he relies upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd. 22. Moreover, from the rule (mank) 'yazemna[5] kad nâ hakad' ('through being worshipped what then at

[1] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[2] A blank space is left for this verb in M6, indicating that that MS. was copied from an original already old and not very legible.

[3] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[4] Consecrating a sacred cake is a Tanâpûhar good work (see Chap. XVI, 6). The theory of counterbalancing sins by good works of the same weight is here clearly enunciated.

[5] Written izimn in the MSS. This quotation appears to be, from some part of the Avesta, no longer extant, and being only the first words of the passage its exact meaning is very uncertain. The section, generally, seems to refer to the beneficence of Aûharmazd.

once,' &c.) it is evident, and it becomes his through *ceremonial* ablution of the hands; it amounts to a whole quarry (kânŏ) of good works, and the worship of God (ya*z*i*s*n-i yazdânŏ) is to be performed for him[1]. 23. Âtarô-pâ*d*[2] son of Mâraspend said that it is always necessary to be more diligent in performing one's worship of God *at* the time that many mortal *sins* are committed; all sins *being* admissible into renunciation, when thou shalt atone by complete self-sacrifice (pûr-*g*ân-dâ*d*îhâ), *and* when *one* engages in renunciation of the sin from *its* root, he becomes *free* from the sin in renunciation of which sin he engaged; for Aûharmazd will not leave his own creatures unto the evil spirit, unless on the path of non-renunciation.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The greater Hâsar is one part in twelve parts of the day and night, and the lesser Hâsar is one part in eighteen parts[3].

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[1] It seems that the execution of the sinner after repentance is here considered as furnishing him with a store of good works, so that it is allowable to perform such ceremonies for him, after death, as are usually performed for righteous men; the reason being given in § 23. The end of this section and beginning of the next are omitted in K20.

[2] Whether the prime minister of Shâpûr II, or the last editor of the Dînkar*d* (see Bund. XXXIII, 3, 11), is not clear.

[3] The Hâsar is not only a measure of distance (see Bund. XXVI, 1), but also a measure of time (see Bund. XXV, 5). According to the text here the greater Hâsar must be two hours, and the lesser Hâsar (which is not mentioned in M6) must be one hour and twenty minutes. But Farh. Okh. (p. 43) says, 'dvadasang-hâthrem asti aghrem ayare, "of twelve Hâsars is the

2. The priest (âsrûk) who passes away in idolatry[1] (aûzdâyakîh) thou hast considered as desolate (vîrân)[2]; and there is a high-priest (dastôbar) who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *he is as* a non-Iranian (anâîrân) country[3]. 3. It is declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in idolatry, an apostate (aharmôk) will be born in that dwelling, and a rumour of this calamity is uttered[4] by that supreme high-priest.

4. In order to be steadfast in the good religion it is to be discussed with priests *and* high-priests, and when *one* does not discuss it is proper that he do not teach it.

longest day;" the day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the greatest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least;' according to which statement there are three kinds of Hâsar, that are respectively equivalent to two hours, one hour and twenty minutes, and one hour. As the longest day is said (Bund. XXV, 4) to be twice the length of the shortest day, and the greatest Hâsar is twice the length of the least one, it may be conjectured that the Hâsar varied with the length of the day, being a subdivision (one-eighth) of the time the sun was above the horizon; this would account for the greatest and least Hâsars, which are one-eighth of the longest and shortest days, respectively; but it does not account for the medium Hâsar, which is not a mean between the two extremes, but one-ninth (instead of one-eighth) of the mean day of twelve hours. If the Hâsar of distance were really a Parasang, as is sometimes stated, the connection between it and the Hâsar of time would be obvious, as the average Hâsar of one hour and twenty minutes is just the time requisite for walking a Parasang, which seems indeed to be stated in Farh. Okh. p. 42.

[1] Or it may be 'passes over into idolatry.'

[2] K20 has girân, 'grievous.'

[3] That is, he reads anâîrân instead of vîrân in the foregoing statement.

[4] Or, perhaps, 'this calamity is at once announced.'

5. The ceremonial worship (ya*z*i*s*n) which they perform in a fire-temple[1], when not *done* aright, does not reach unto the demons; *but* that which they perform *in* other places, when they do not perform *it* aright, does reach unto the demons; for there is no medium in worship, it reaches either unto the angels or unto the demons. 6. Of a man who has relinquished a *bad* habit, and through his good capabilities *engages* in renunciation *of sin*[2], the good work advances unto the future existence.

7. Any one who shall die in a vessel (ka*s*tîk) it is allowable, for fear of contamination (pa*d*vîshak), to throw into the water; some say that the water itself is the receptacle for the dead (khazânîh).

8. This, too, *is declared:* 'When in the dark it is not allowable to eat food; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark;' and it is declared by that passage (*g*înâk) which Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratû*s*t, thus: 'After the departure of the light let him not devour, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d*[3]; for if after the departure of the light thou devourest, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d*, the fiend seizes away from thee two-thirds of the existing original wisdom

[1] Literally, 'in the dwelling of fires.' The fire must always be sheltered from the sun's rays, and in a fire-temple it is kept in a vaulted cell, with a door and one or two windows opening into the larger closed chamber which surrounds it.

[2] K20 has, 'and it shall happen through his good capabilities.'

[3] The two archangels whose chief duties are the protection of water and plants, respectively (see Chap. XV, 5, 25–29, Bund. IX, 2).

which, when he seizes *it* away, is the glory and religion which are auspicious for thee that day, so that diligence becomes a vexation this day[1].'

9. In a passage of the fifth fargar*d* of the Pâzôn *Nask*[2] it is declared that *one* mentions these charac-

[1] This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Avesta.

[2] This was the sixth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Pâzî or Pâzag; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the seventh nask, called Pâ*g*am. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, pp. 128, 129. The following is a short summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d* (that published in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185, being taken from the fifteenth nask, whose contents were mixed up with those of the seventh through the abstraction of several folios from the Iranian MS. of the Dînkar*d* before M13, or any other copy, was written in India):—

The Pâzî (or Pâzag) is about the lawful slaughtering of animals in the ceremonial rites of fire and water at the season-festivals; also where, when, and how the festivals are to be celebrated, their advantages, and the duties of the officiating priests. The rotation of days, months, and years, summer and winter, the ten days at the end of the winter, when the guardian spirits visit the world, and the ceremonies to be then performed. The time for gathering medicinal plants. The retribution necessary for the various sins affecting the soul, the advantage of providing for such retribution, and the harm from not providing it. The thirty-three principal chiefs of the spiritual and worldly existences. The miracles of great good works, and the heinous sinfulness of apostasy. How far a wife can give away her husband's property, and when it is lawful for him to recover it. Whither winter flees when summer comes on, and where summer goes when winter comes on. The amount of disaster (vôighn) in one century, and the duration of everything connected with such disaster. The summer and winter months, the names of the twelve months, their meaning, and the angels they are devoted to; also the thirty days of the month, and the five Gâtha days at the end of the year, when the guardian spirits are to be reverenced.

The fifth fargar*d*, quoted in the text, was probably that portion of the Nask which described the duties of the officiating priests.

teristics of four kinds of worship of the celestial beings (yazdân) :—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty (zîfânŏ)[1], *but* the man is good; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty *and* the man is bad. 10. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to, *but* do not accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man good, the archangels *and* angels[2] will approach, *but* do not listen to, *and* will accept; *that* whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man good, the archangels *and* angels will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.

11. In every ceremonial (yazisnŏ), at the beginning of the ceremony[3], and the beginning of the sacred-cake *consecration* (drôn)[4], the angels *and* guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invited to the ceremony. 12. When they invoke the angels they will accept the ceremony, and when they do

[1] K20 has hûzvân, 'tongue, speech,' for zîfân, 'faulty' (compare Pers. zîf, 'sin'), in all occurrences of the word.

[2] K20 omits from this word to 'will approach' in the next clause of the sentence.

[3] That is, shortly before beginning the regular recitation of the Yasna, the angels, in whose honour the ceremony is being performed, are invited to approach by reciting their proper Khshnûmans, or propitiatory formulas (see Chap. VII, 8, and Haug's Essays, p. 404).

[4] This begins with Yas. III, 1, and the spirits are to be invited by adding their proper Khshnûmans to those contained in Yas. III, 3–20 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408).

not invoke them, all the guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invoked at the beginning of 'staomi[1];' and when not, they watch until *the words* 'frashô-*k*arethrãm saoshya*n*tãm[2],' and when they shall invoke them there they will accept the ceremony; and when not, they will watch until *the words* 'vîsp*a*u fravashayô ashaonãm yazamaidê[3],' *and* when they shall invoke *them* there they will accept[4] the ceremony; and when not, *they will watch* until *the words* 'ta*u*s*k*â yazamaidê[5];' and when they invoke them[6] *at* the threefold 'ashem vohû' and *the word* dâmanãm[7],' at the twice-*told* 'aokhtô-nâmanô[8],' the 'ashâ*d* ha*k*â[9],' *or* the 'yâtumanahê *g*asaiti[10],'

[1] This may be at the 'staomi' of Yas. XII, 6, which is recited before the Yasna is commenced; but K20 alters the meaning (by inserting the relative particle) into '*they* are to be invoked at "staomi," the beginning of "all the guardian spirits of the righteous" (Yas. XXVI, 1).'

[2] Yas. XXVI, 20.

[3] Yas. XXVI, 34.

[4] K20 has, 'shall not invoke,' and 'will not accept.'

[5] The concluding words of the yênhê hâtãm formula, probably of that one at the end of Yas. XXVII, just preceding the recital of the Gâthas, up to which time the spirits wait, but, if not invoked, they are then supposed to ascend, away from the ceremony, as mentioned in the text.

[6] K20 has, 'when they do not invoke them.'

[7] Yas. VIII, 10; which is preceded by a thrice-told 'ashem vohû,' at which the officiating priest tastes the sacred cake, being the end of the Drôn ceremony (see Haug's Essays, pp. 404, 408).

[8] Yas. XXII, 33 (§§ 14–33 being recited twice). At this point the officiating priest brings out the mortar for pounding the Hôm twigs (see Haug's Essays, p. 405); Yas. XXII being called the beginning of the Hômâst in the Vistâsp Yast Sâdah.

[9] Yas. XXIV, 30, when the officiating priest turns the mortar right side upwards.

[10] Yas. VIII, 9, which is practically the same place as the threefold 'ashem vohû' before mentioned.

they will accept[1]; and when not, they go up the height of a spear (nîzak) and will remain. 13. And they speak thus: 'This man does not understand that it will be necessary even for him[2] to go from the world, and our prayer (apistân) is for reminding men; it is not *that* our uneasiness *arises* from this, that we are in want of their ceremony, but our uneasiness *arises* from this, that when they do not reverence and do not invoke us, when evil comes upon them it is not possible for us to keep *it* away.'

14. 'O creator! how much is the duration in life of him who is dead?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As much as the wing of a fly, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! or as much as the hearing a wing unto a sightless *one*[3].'

CHAPTER X.

1. The rule[4] is this, that a *sacred thread*-girdle (kûstîk) be three finger-*breadths loose* transversely

[1] K20 has, 'they will not accept.'

[2] Literally, 'for me,' which seems to refer to the man, and not to the spirits.

[3] This appears to be the complete translation of the Avesta sentence partially quoted in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64: 'yatha makhshyau perenem, yatha vâ perenahê,' &c. The last clause is doubtful; the reading adopted here is *k*and zak-i shinavâk-*i* par andarg avênâk, as nothing more satisfactory suggests itself; it might also be translated by 'as much as the sound of a wing in the invisible.'

[4] Reading âînak; Pâzand writers convert it into yak, which can, however, have the same meaning, though they evidently take the word to be Huz. khadûk, 'one,' which is written precisely like âînak in Pahlavi characters. Most of the miscellaneous statements, contained in the latter part of Sls., commence with this phrase.

(pavan targûn)[1], *as* is said in every teaching (*k*â*s*tak)[2], and when it is less it is not proper.

2. The rule is this, that the sacred cake (drôn), set aside at the dedication *formula* (shnûmanê) *on the days devoted to* the guardian spirits[3], is to be used *at* the season-festivals, the Nônâbar[4], the three *nights' ceremony*[5], the Hôm-drôn, and other *rites of* the righteous guardian spirits; and when they shall not do *so*, according to some teachings, it is not proper.

3. In the exposition (*k*â*s*tak) of the Nihâ*d*ûm Nask[6] it says that a man is going to commit rob-

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[1] That is, round the waist (see Chap. IV, 1).

[2] That is, 'interpretation or exposition' (see Chap. I, 3, 4). K20 has, '*and* by every teaching it is proper.'

[3] These fravar*d*îkân are, strictly speaking, the five supplementary days at the end of the Parsi year, but the last five days of the last month are usually added to them, so as to make a period of ten days at the end of the year, during which the guardian spirits of the departed are supposed to revisit their old homes, and for whom the sacred cake is set aside.

[4] The initiatory ceremony of a young priest (see Chap. XIII, 2).

[5] The ceremonies performed by the survivors for three nights after a death (see Chaps. VIII, 6, XVII, 3, 4).

[6] This was the fifteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Nîkâ*d*ûm; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the sixteenth nask, called Niyârum. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*, where it occupies twenty-five quarto pages of that work:—

The beginning of the law (dâ*d*) is the Nîkâ*d*ûm of thirty far-gar*d*s. The section Patkâr-ra*d*istân ('the arbitrator's code') is about umpires and arbitration, contracts by words of four kinds and by signs of six kinds; and twelve sorts of arbitrators are described in four sub-sections, according as they decide by hearing or seeing, and with regard to women and children, foreigners and

bery, *and* a wall falls in upon him, *it is* his destroyer; when a man strikes at him *he is* his adversary, *and* both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the worship of God (ya*z*i*s*nŏ-i yazdânŏ) both of them are in innocence.

4. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, the fire is to be maintained most carefully in the dwelling, because it is declared in the Spend *Nask*[1] that *towards*

those worthy of death. The second section, Za*d*amistân ('the assault code'), is a treatise on assault and the consequences of assault, pain, blood, and unconsciousness; on blows and conflicts, man with man, women with women, and child with child, with their proper penalties; also the murder of slaves and children. The third section, Rêshistân ('the wound code'), is a treatise on various kinds of wounds and their characteristics. The fourth section, Hamêmâlistân ('the accuser's code'), is a treatise on accusation and false accusation of various specified crimes, on lying and slander, the care of pregnant women, impenitence and various offences against priests and disciples, remitting penalties, abetting and assisting criminals, mediation, punishment of children, smiting foreigners, murder, medical treatment, and many other things (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 184, where they are erroneously ascribed to the Pâzôn Nask, owing to the defective text of the MS. M13). The fifth section contained twenty-four treatises on miscellaneous subjects connected with crime and sin (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185).

The passage mentioned in the text cannot be recognised in any of the details supplied by the Dînkar*d*.

[1] This was the thirteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, but is called Sfend in the Rivâyats. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, pp. 131, 132. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*:—

The Spend is a treatise on the origin and combination of the existence, guardian spirit, and glory of Zaratû*s*t; on his generation and birth; on the coming of the two spirits, the good one to sustain, and the bad one to destroy him, and the victory of the good

Dûkdâv[1], the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, *for* three nights, every night a leader (khûdâ)[2] with a hundred and fifty[3] demons rushed for the destruction of Zaratûst, *but* owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling they knew no means of accomplishing *it*.

5. The rule is this, that they have a tank (môg) for the disciples, when they are going to perform the worship of God, *and* are sprinkling the stone *seat* (magôk)[4]; and lest they should make a wet *place* by that sprinkling through taking *water* out from it, it is to be done sitting; for in the Vendidad[5] the high-priests *have* taught, about making

spirit; on his going, at thirty years of age, to confer with Aûharmazd, and his seven conferences in ten years; on the seven questions he proposed to the archangels on those occasions; on the conveyance of the omniscient wisdom into him, showing him heaven and hell, and the intermediate place of those 'ever-stationary,' the account taken of sin and good works, the future existence, and the fate of the religion on earth till the renovation of the universe, with the coming of his future sons, the last three apostles.

[1] The Pâz. Dughdâ of Bund. XXXII, 10 would indicate Pahl. Dûkdân, but the Dînkard has Dûkdâûbŏ and Dûkdâûbag (pointing to Av. Dughdhavan), and the Persian forms are Dughdû and Dughdavîh. Here the name is Dûkdâvŏ, which is transposed into Dûdkâv in Chap. XII, 11; it must have meant either 'milk-maid' or 'suckler' originally.

[2] K20 has sêdâ, 'a demon,' and in Chap. XII, 11, where this section is repeated, the word can be read either sêdâ, 'a demon,' or shâh, 'a king or ruler;' of course 'an arch-fiend' is meant.

[3] M6 appears to have 'sixty,' instead of 'fifty,' but see Chap. XII, 11.

[4] Or magh, on which they squat in the purification ceremony (see B. Yt. II, 36).

[5] Referring probably to Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98; the ground is not to be wetted further than the length of the fore-part of the foot beyond the toes, that is, not more than a hand's breadth; this

water *when standing* on foot[1], that the measure it refers to applies to everything else, not even of a like origin; by him who makes water the Avesta[2] for making water is to be uttered, *and* then *it* is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin[3] for *him*, and when he does not utter *it he* is more grievously sinful.

6. The rule is this, that to recite the Gâthas over those passed away is not to be considered as beneficial, since it is not proper to recite the three Hâs[4] which are the beginning of the Aûstûvat Gâtha whenever *one is* on the road; whenever *one* recites *them* over a man in the house *they are* healing.

7. The rule is this, that in the night wine and aromatic herbs (sparam) and anything like food are not to be cast away towards the north quarter, because a fiend[5] *will* become pregnant; and when *one* casts *them* away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[6] is to be uttered.

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measure is here extended to washing water, hence the necessity of squatting during such ablutions.

[1] This is a sin which is usually classed with 'running about uncovered' and 'walking with one boot' (see Chap. IV, 8, note).

[2] This Avesta is prescribed in Vend. XVIII, 97, and is still in constant use; it consists of three Ashem-vohûs (see Bund. XX, 2), two Humatanãms (Yas. XXXV, 4–6), three Hukhshathrôtemâis (Yas. XXXV, 13–15), four Ahunavars (see Bund. I, 21), and one Yênhê-hâtãm (see B.Yt. II, 64).

[3] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[4] The three chapters (Yas. XLII–XLIV) which begin the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII–XLV).

[5] A drûg, or fiend, is usually considered as a female demon (see Vend. XVIII, 70–77); and the demons are supposed to come from the north, where they congregate on the summit of Arezûr, at the gates of hell (see Vend. XIX, 1, 140, 142, Bund. XII, 8).

[6] See Bund. I, 21. This statement is repeated in Chap. XII, 18.

8. The rule is this, that reverential *should be* the abstinence from unlawfully slaughtering of *any* species of animals; for in the Stûdgar *Nask*[1] it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (têkh), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain. 9. Of animals, the slaughtering of the lamb, the goat (vahîk), the ploughing ox, the war-horse, the hare, the bat (*k*îharâ*z*), the cock or bird of Vohûman, and the magpie (kâskînak) bird, and of birds *that of* the kite, eagle (hûmâî), and swallow is most to be abstained from.

10. A pregnant woman who passes away is not to be carried away by less than four men[2], who are at it constantly with united strength; for *with* other corpses, after a dog's gaze, when they carry *them* along by two men with united strength, they do not become polluted; *but* for a pregnant woman two dogs are necessary, to whose united power *she* is to be exposed; *and* they carry *her* along by four men with united strength, *and* they do not become polluted; *but* when they carry *her* along by two men *they* are to be washed with ceremony (pî*s*ak)[3].

11. The rule is this, that when they beg forgiveness for a person (mar*d*ûm) who *has* passed away,

[1] See B.Yt. I, 1. The passage here referred to is probably one in the middle of the seventeenth fargar*d* of this Nask, which is mentioned as follows, in the ninth book of the Dînkar*d*: 'And this too, namely, those who unlawfully slay sheep and cattle, which diminishes their life and glory.'

[2] This is the usual custom, while that mentioned in Chap. II, 6 is the exceptional case, mentioned at the end of this section, which necessitates extraordinary purification.

[3] That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6).

such *a prayer* is more significant when *one* says thus: 'Whenever a trespass (vinâs) of mine *has* occurred against him, you will take account *of it along* with those of his *which have* occurred against me, and the trespasses *have* passed away one through the other; *any* further trespasses of his *which have* occurred against me are then made a righteous gift by me[1].'

12. The rule is this, that *one* should not walk without boots[2]; and his advantage therefrom is even this, that when a boot (mûgak) is on *his* foot, *and* he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb the dead matter, he does not become polluted; when a boot is not on *his* foot, and he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb *it*, *he is polluted*[3], except when he knows for certain (aêvar) that a dog *has* seen *it*, or *if* not it is to be considered *as* not seen by a dog[4].

13. The rule is this, as revealed *in* the Dûbâsrûgêd *Nask*[5], where a day in the year is indicated,

[1] That is, I pardon them in charity.

[2] Or, perhaps, 'without stockings,' avîmûgak; this seems to be something different from the sin of aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh, 'running in one boot' (see Chap. IV, 12).

[3] Without these words, which do not exist in the MSS., the sentence seems to have no clear meaning.

[4] And, therefore, still containing the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, who will enter into any one who merely touches the dead matter, without disturbing it, and can be driven out only by the tedious and troublesome Bareshnûm ceremony.

[5] This was the sixteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Dûbâsrûgd or Dûbâsrûd; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard, which calls it Dvâsrûzd, and the Rivâyats, which call it Dvâsrûgad, Dvâsrûngad, or Dvâsrûb, it was the eighteenth nask. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 132, 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given

that the *sacred thread*-girdle of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years *and* three months *old* is to be tied on—*it is* better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, *and then* ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than a five-months' child[1], on whom they should put *it* in the womb of *its* mother.

14. The rule is this, that when *one* retains a prayer *inwardly*[2], *and* wind shall come *from* below, *or* wind shall come from the mouth, it is all one[3].

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in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*, which occupies ten quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first eighteen sections of the Dûbâsrû*g*d the first is a treatise on thieves, their arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, with the various kinds of robbery; the second section is about the irresponsibility of a father for the crimes of a grown-up son, and of a husband for those of a separated wife, about the time for instructing children, and when they first become responsible for sin, the crime of giving weapons to women, children, and foreigners, about warriors plundering, the various kinds of judges and their duties, and offences against accusers. Of the twelve next sections one, called Pasû*s*-hôrvistân ('the shepherd's dog code'), is about shepherd's dogs, their duties and rights. Of the last thirty-five sections the first, called Stôristân ('the beast of burden code'), is about the sin, affecting the soul, of unlawfully beating and wounding cattle and beasts of burden, birds and fish; the second section, Ar*g*istân ('the value code'), is a treatise on the value of animate and inanimate objects; the third section, Aratê*s*târistân ('the warrior code'), is a treatise on warriors, arms, armies, generals, battles, plunder, &c.; the fourth section is about warm baths, fires, clothing, winter stores, reaping fodder and corn, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that part of the second section which referred to the responsibility of children. The words from 'as revealed' to 'indicated' are omitted in K20.

[1] K20 has 'nine-months' child.'

[2] See Chap. III, 6.

[3] Literally, 'both are one;' that is, in either case the spell of the vâ*g* or prayer is broken.

15. Also this, that ten women are necessary for affording assistance *to* a woman who is in labour: five women for directing the making of the cradle (gavârak), one woman should be opposite the left shoulder, and one to hold the right shoulder, one woman to throw a hand on her neck, one woman to hold her waist, and one woman, when the infant shall be born, to take *it* up and cut the navel cord, and to make the fire blaze[1]. 16. Three days and three nights no one is to pass between the fire and the child, nor to show the child to a sinful man *or* woman; *they are* to triturate a little sulphur in the sap (mayâ) of a plant, *and* to smear it over the child; *and* the first food to give *it* is Hôm-juice (parâhôm) and aloes (shapyâr).

17. The rule is this, that in case any one shall beat an innocent man, until the pain shall cease it becomes every day the root of a Tanâpûhar sin[2] for him.

18. The rule is this, that when in a country they trust a false judge, and keep *him* among *their* superiors, owing to the sin and breach of faith which that judge commits, the clouds *and* rain, in that country, are deficient, a portion (bavan) of the deliciousness, fatness, wholesomeness, and milk of the cattle and goats diminishes[3], and many children become destroyed in the mother's womb.

19. The rule is this, that a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death; *but* when a woman does not wed a husband it

[1] Literally, 'make the fire high.'

[2] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[3] Most of these evils are also ascribed (see B. Yt. II, 41–43) to neglect of the precautions prescribed with regard to hair-cuttings.

amounts to *a sin* worthy of death; because *for* a woman *there* is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; *but for* a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the Vendidad[1], *there may be* a lineage which proceeds onwards *to* the future existence.

20. The rule is this, that a toothpick is to be cut out clear of bark (pôst pâk)[2], for the high-priests *have* taught that when one's toothpick—made for the mouth with the bark—shall fall, and when a pregnant woman puts a foot upon it, *she* is apprehensive about *its* being dead matter[3].

21. The rule is this, that in accepting the child of a handmaid (*k*akar)[4] discrimination is to be exercised; for in the fourteenth *of the* Nask Hûspâram[5]

[1] This reference is probably to the circumstances detailed in Vend. XVIII, 99–112, but the Pahlavi commentary on §§ 111, 112 of that passage is missing in all MSS. The Avesta to be recited in such cases is precisely the same as that detailed in a note on § 5.

[2] This translation is in accordance with the seventeenth chapter of the prose Sad-dar Bûndahi*s*, or 'Bûndahi*s* of a hundred chapters,' a Pâzand work of later times; but the text here might be translated 'cut out of clean skin,' and in Chap. XII, 13, where the statement is repeated, the word used is also ambiguous.

[3] The Sad-dar Bûndahi*s* says, 'the fear arises that the infant may come to harm.' This section and the three which follow are repeated in Chap. XII, 13–16.

[4] This might mean a *k*akar, or 'serving' wife (see Bund. XXXII, 6), but the further details given in Chap. XII, 14, where this statement is repeated, make it more probable that a concubine is meant.

[5] As this was the seventeenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, it is probable that the word 'fourteenth,' in the text here, refers to some particular chapter or fargar*d*, most likely to the last group of fourteen

the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter.'

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sections, mentioned below, in the summary of its contents; and this is confirmed by another reference in Chap. XII, 7. This nask is called Aspâram in the Rivâyats, and Aspârûm in the Dînî-vagarkard; for its contents, as given by the latter, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies sixteen quarto pages of that work :—

Of the first thirty sections of the Hûspâram, one is the Aêrpatistân ('the priest's code'), a treatise on priestly studies, priests, disciples, and their five dispositions. One section is the Nîrangistân ('religious formula code'), a treatise on the formulas of worship, the Avesta to be recited by the officiating priests twice, thrice, and four times, the five periods of the day and their proper ceremonies, the season-festivals, the sacred girdle and shirt, cutting the sacred twigs, reverencing water, the families of Zaratûst, Hvôv, and Vistâsp, &c. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('quality code'), a treatise on nobility and superiority, buying and selling, cattle, slaves, servants, and other property, houses where men or dogs have been sick, dealings with foreigners, &c. And other sections are about appropriating the property of others, obedient and disobedient wives, foreign wives, advantages of male and female offspring, breeding of cattle, treatment of labourers and children, the evil eye, judges, the origin and cultivation of corn, the degrees of crime and punishment, &c. Of the next twenty sections, one is about the treatment of furious cattle and mad dogs, and the damage they may do. One section on the means of accumulating wealth, the giving of sons and daughters in marriage, the goodness of charity and evil of waste, the five best actions and the five worst, unlawful felling of trees, the sin of burying the dead, &c. And one section on the begetting, birth, and treatment of children. Of the last fourteen sections, one is a treatise, in six fargards, on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c. And a section of seven fargards, at the end, is a treatise on the sufferings of men, women, children, and dogs, on the connection of owner and herds, priest and disciple, on various offences and sins, spiritual and worldly healing, physic and physicians, astrology,

22. The rule is this, that *one* perseveres much in the begetting of offspring, for the acquisition of abundance of good works at once; because, in the Nihâ*d*ûm Nask[1], the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâ*d* *Nask*[2] it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like measure, which come into the father's possession.'

23. The rule is this, that they shall give to the worthy as much of anything as is proper for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâ*d*ûm *Nask*[3] the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'A man gives a hungry *one* bread, *and it is* too much, yet all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

24. The rule is this, where *one* lies down, in circumstances of propriety and innocence, one Ashem-vohû is to be uttered[4], and *in* like manner when he

the proper feeding of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, the duty of a frontier governor during a foreign invasion, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that portion of the last group of fourteen sections which treated of wives, children, and adoption.

[1] See § 3; the passage mentioned here cannot be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkar*d*.

[2] See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted cannot be traced in any of the short accounts of the contents of this Nask. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 15.

[3] See § 3; the passage here quoted is also not to be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkar*d*. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 16.

[4] Compare Chap. IV, 14, where much the same is stated as what occurs in this section.

gets up well; when he does so, every single drawing of the breath (vayô) becomes a good work of three Srôshô-*k*aranâms, that is, a weight of ten dirhams of the full weight of four mads[1].

25. The rule is this, that when an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible it is to be abandoned *and* not executed by him; as it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[2] that Zaratû*s*t *has*

[1] Reading i mad-4, instead of va maz-4; the word mad (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 21) being Huz. for the dâng or quarter-dirham. The amount of the Srôshô-*k*aranâm, as deduced from this statement, differs from those given in Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 5, and must be awkwardly fractional, unless the sentence be altered into 10 *g*ûgân sang nêm zî*s* pûr sang yehevûnê*d*, 'a weight of ten dirhams *and* a half, which is its full weight;' in which case one Srôshô-*k*aranâm would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, as in Chap. XVI, 5.

[2] This was the eighteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the nineteenth nask, called Askârûm or Askâram. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*, where it occupies twenty quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first thirty sections of the Sakâ*d*ûm one is a treatise on the necessity of obedience and understanding the laws, on new-born infants and their proper treatment, on the care of fire and sharp-pointed things, on race-courses, the use of water, salt and sweet, warm and cold, flowing and stagnant, &c. One section is the Ha*k*î*d*akânistân ('annoyances code'), a treatise on irritating words and ill-treatment of living creatures and trees, the finding of buried treasure at various depths and in different places, &c. And one section is the Zîyânakistân ('damage code'), a treatise on damage to animate and inanimate objects. Of the last twenty-two sections, one is the Vakhshistân ('increase code'), a treatise on the progress of growth, breeding of cattle and other animals, pleadings regarding debts, growth of corn, &c. One section is the Varistân ('ordeal code'), a treatise on the detection of witchcraft by ordeal, by heat and cold, &c. One section on asking assistance

not provided about everything whatever, but three times *it has been done* by Zaratûst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta *and* Zand, when *one has* learned it thoroughly by heart[1], is for recitation, *and* is not to be mumbled[2] (*g*ûyi*s*nŏ), for in mumbling (*g*û*d*anŏ) the parts of the Ahunavar[3] are more chattering[4]. 26. As it says in the Bagh *Nask*[5]

and rewarding it, on the unjust judge and the sagacious one, on daughters given in marriage by mothers and brothers, on the disobedient son, &c. And one section on the spirits of the earthly existences, the merit of killing noxious water-creatures, the animal world proceeding from the primeval ox, the evil spirit not to be worshipped, and much other advice.

The passage mentioned in the text appears to have been in the first section of this Nask, as the Dînkar*d* says it treated, among other matters, 'about a man's examining an action before doing it, *and* when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible, *he* is to set it aside *and* not to do *it*.' But nothing is said there about Zaratûst, and what is said here seems to have very little connection with the 'rule' laid down in this section.

[1] Literally, 'made it quite easy.'

[2] Literally, 'not to be devoured or gnawed.'

[3] The formula commencing with the words Yathâ ahû vairyô (see Bund. I, 21); its parts or bagha are the phrases into which it may be divided (see Yas. XIX, 4, 6, 9, 12).

[4] Reading drâîtar, 'more clamourous or chattering;' but the word is ambiguous, as it may be darâktar, 'more rending,' or girâîtar, 'more weighty, more threatening,' &c.

[5] M6 has Bak. This was the third nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Bakô; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the fourth nask. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. In the Dînkar*d*, besides a very brief account of it, in the eighth book, which states that it was a treatise on the recitation of the revealed texts, there is, in the ninth book, a long description of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargar*d*s, occupying fifty quarto pages in the MSS. of the Dînkar*d*. From this it appears that the passage quoted in our text probably occurred in the first

thus: 'Whoever shall mutter, O Zaratûst! my allotment of the Ahunavar[1]—that is, shall softly take *it inwardly—and* shall let *it* escape[2] again—that is, shall utter *it aloud*—so much as a half, or one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, his soul will I shield, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence—that is, I *will* keep it away—by so much of an interval as the width of this earth.'

27. The rule is this, that *one* is to proceed with great deliberation when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, that is, it is not to be done.

28. The rule is this, that an opinion (andâzak) of anything is to be formed through consultation

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fargar*d*. It also occurs, in nearly the same words, in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12–15, and as Yas. XIX is called 'the beginning of the Bakân' in some MSS., it is possible that the three Hâs (Yas. XIX–XXI) which relate to the three short Avesta formulas are really the first three fargar*d*s of the Bagh Nask, which are said to have treated of the same subjects.

[1] The text is corrupted into min zak-i li, Zaratûst! bêstârîh-i min Ahunavar drûgist, which might be translated, in connection with the following phrase, thus: 'Of my vexation, O Zaratûst! from the Ahunavar, the most fiendish is that *one* shall softly take *it*,' &c. But very slight alterations of the Pahlavi letters (in accordance with Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12) convert min into mûn, bêstârîh into bâkhtârîh, and drûgist into drengâd. Instead of 'allotment of the Ahunavar' we might read 'predestination, or providence, from the Ahunavar;' because the Pahlavi translator, by using the word bâkhtârîh or bakhtârîh, appears to have understood the Av. bagha in its sense of 'divinity, providence,' rather than in that of 'part, portion.'

[2] Reading rânînêd or rahôînêd. The Pahlavi translator seems to think the sin consists in breaking the spell of the vâg or inward prayer (see Chap. III, 6) by speaking part of it aloud; but the original Avesta of this passage attributes the sin to obscuring the meaning by imperfect recitation.

with the good; even so it is revealed in the *Kîdrast Nask*[1] that Spendarmad spoke to Mânûskîhar thus: 'Even the swiftest horse requires the whip (tâzâ-

[1] This was the twelfth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it *Kîdrastô* or *Kîdrôstô*; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fourteenth nask called *Girast*. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 131. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

The *Kîdrôstô* is a treatise on the race of man; how Aûharmazd produced the first man, Gâyômard, how the first pair, Mashya and Mashyôî, arose, with their progeny, till the region of Khvanîras was full, when they supplied the six surrounding regions, till they filled and cultivated the whole world. The Pêsdâdian dynasty of Hôshâng, Tâkhmôrupŏ, and Yim, the evil reign of Dahâk, descended from Tâz, the brother of Hôshâng and father of the Arabs, then Frêdûn who divided Khvanîras between his three sons, Salm, Tûg, and Aîrîk, who married the daughters of Pâtsrôbô (compare Pahl. Vend. XX, 4) king of the Arabs, then Mânûskîhar, descendant (nâpô) of Aîrîk, the penal reign of Frâsîyâv ruler of Tûrân, then Aûzôbô the Tûmâspian, descendant of Mânûskîhar, then Kaî-Kavâd and the penal reign of Karsâspô. The Kayânian dynasty of Kâî-Us, Kaî-Khûsrôb son of Sîyâvakhsh, with many tales of the specially famous races of Iran, Tûrân, and Salmân, even to the reigns of Kaî-Lôharâsp and Kaî-Vistâsp. The apostle Zaratûst, and the progress of time and events from the reign of Frêdûn till Zaratûst's conference with Aûharmazd. The race of Mânûskîhar, Nôdar, and others. Avarethrabau's (see Fravardîn Yt. 106) father, Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend. On future events and the reign of the renovation of the universe; the origin of the knowledge of occupation, and the care and industry of the period; the great acquaintance of mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, and the deliverance of the soul, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

As Mânûskîhar is several times mentioned there are several places in this Nask where the statement, quoted in the text as a saying of Spendarmad, the female archangel who has special charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20–24, and Bund. I, 26), may have occurred.

nak), the sharpest steel knife requires the whetstone (afsân), and the wisest man requires counsel (hampûrsîh).'

29. The rule is this, that when *one* laughs outright (barâ khandê*d*) the Avesta and Zand are not to be mumbled, for the wisdom of Aûharmazd is omniscient, *and* good works are a great exercise of liberality, but an extreme abstinence from producing irritation (han*g*î*d*âr-dahî*s*nîh); because in the Ratû*s*tâîtîh *Nask*[1] many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of producers of irritation, in the spiritual *existence.*

30. The rule is this, that *as* there *may* be *some* even of those of the good religion *who*, through unacquaintance with the religion, when a female *fowl* crows in the manner of a cock, will kill the

[1] This was the seventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which calls it Ratû*s*tâîtî; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the eighth nask called Ratu*s*tâî. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 129. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*:—

The Ratû*s*tâîtî is a treatise on indispensable religious practices, the reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a purifying priest, and how to distinguish worthiness and superexcellence from unworthiness, in the priesthood of each of the seven regions of the earth; on the indication and manifestation of an assemblage of the archangels, the formulas and means to be employed in reverencing the angels, the position and duties of the two officiating priests in the ceremonies, and all the business of the orderers of ceremonies, with their various duties; on the greatness and voluntariness of good works, the kinds of voluntariness, and the proximity of Aûharmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world.

It is uncertain under which of these heads the passage mentioned in the text may have occurred.

fowl, so those of the primitive faith[1] *have* said that there *may* be mischief (vinâstârîh) from wizards in that dwelling, *which* the cock is incapable of keeping away, and the female *fowl* makes that noise for the assistance of the cock[2], especially when the bringing of another cock into that dwelling is necessary.

31. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog, then *along* with it[3] a place in the plain, free from danger, is to be preserved; for in the Vendidad[4] the high-priests *have* taught that it is when the hedgehog every day voids urine into an ant's nest that a thousand ants will die.

32. The rule is this, that in the Vendidad[5] seven kinds of things are mentioned, *and* when they are the cause of a man's death, until the forthcoming period *of the day* (gâs-i levîn) comes on, contami-

[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] The cock is considered to be an opponent of demons and wizards (see Bund. XIX, 33), and to warn men against the seductions of the demoness of lethargy (see Vend. XVIII, 33–42, 52).

[3] Assuming that levatman val means levatman valman, but the reading 'he takes *it* back to (lakhvâr val) the plain,' which occurs in the repetition of this section in Chap. XII, 20, seems preferable.

[4] The details which follow are to be found in Bund. XIX, 28, but they appear to be no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidad; though the hedgehog is called 'the slayer of the thousands of the evil spirit,' in Vend. XIII, 5, of which passage the statement in our text seems to be an illustration. The ant is considered noxious.

[5] Vend. VII, 5, 6, where, however, eight modes of death are mentioned, which delay the arrival of the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, till the next period of the day; these are when the person has been killed by a dog, a wolf, a wizard, anxiety, falling into a pit, the hand of man as sentenced by law, illegal violence, or strangulation. In all other cases it is supposed that the fiend of corruption enters the corpse immediately after death (see Vend. VII, 2–4).

nation (nisrûst)[1] does not rush upon him; and for this reason, this, too, is well *for* the good, that is, to show a dog rightly again a previous corpse in the forthcoming period *of the day*[2].

33. The rule is this, that by those who attend to a corpse among the pure *it* is then to be shown *to* a dog very observant of the corpse; for when even a thousand persons shall carry away a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, they are all polluted[3].

34. The rule is this, that meat, when there is stench or decomposition not even originating with *it*, is not to be prayed *over*[4]; *and* the sacred cake (drôn) and butter (gâûs-dâk) which are hairy are also not to be prayed over[5].

35. A woman is fit for priestly duty (zôtîh) among women[6], and when she is consecrating[7] the sacred

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[1] See Bund. XXVIII, 29.

[2] In order that there may be no risk of the fiend of corruption having entered the corpse after it was first exhibited to a dog.

[3] This statement has been already made in Chap. II, 65.

[4] That is, it is not to be used in any religious ceremony. Small pieces of meat are consecrated, along with the sacred cakes, in the Drôn and Âfrîngân ceremonies at certain festivals.

[5] So in K20; but M6 has, 'the sacred cake they present, even that is not to be prayed over.' Although M6 is more carefully written than K20, it seems to have been copied from an original which was hardly legible in some places, of which this is one. The presence of a hair in the cake or butter would render it useless for religious purposes.

[6] But only for some of the minor priestly offices, such as consecrating the sacred cake. According to Avesta passages, quoted in the Nîrangistân, any man who is not a Tanâpûhar sinner can perform certain priestly duties for virtuous men, and any woman who is not feeble-minded (kasu-khrathwa) can perform them for children.

[7] M6 has, 'when she does not consecrate.'

cake (drôn), and one Ashem-vohû[1] is uttered by her, she puts the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) back on the twig-stand, brings *them* away, and the utterance of another one is good; when she says it is not expedient to do *it* with attention before a meal, it is proper. 36. The sacred cake of a disreputable woman is not to be consecrated, but is to be rendered ineligible (avi*g*înakŏ).

37. When *one* places a thing before the fire observantly, and does not see the splendour itself, 'tava âthrô[2]' is not to be said.

38. At night, when[3] *one* lies down, the hands are to be thoroughly washed. 39. That which comes from a menstruous woman to any one, or to anything, is all to be thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gômê*z*) and water[4].

[40. The rule is this, as Âtarô-pâ*d* *son of* Mâraspend[5] said when every one passed away:—'The mouth-veil[6] and also the clothing are to be well

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[1] See Bund. XX, 2; it is rather doubtful whether we should read 'one' or 'two.'

[2] These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when presenting anything to the fire, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.)

[3] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[4] Here ends the original Shâyast lâ-shâyast. § 40 is found only in M6, and is evidently a later addition to that MS. by another hand. Then follows the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, both in M6 and K20; this is an old Avesta-Pahlavi Glossary which has no connection with Sls., although it may be of the same age, as it quotes many Avesta sentences which are no longer extant elsewhere, and amongst others passages from the Nihâ*d*ûm Nask (see Sls. X, 3) and the commentary of Afarg (see Sls. I, 3).

[5] See Bund. XXXIII, 3.

[6] The padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm) 'consists of two

set *apart* from the gifts (dâsarân), so that his soul may become easier.' Completed in peace and pleasure.]

PART II.—*A Supplementary Treatise*[1].

CHAPTER XI.

1. The degrees of sin are these[2], such *as* a Farmân, Srôshô-*k*aranâm, Âgerept, Aîvîri*s*t, Aredû*s*, Khôr, Bâ*z*âî, Yât, and Tanâpûhar, and I *will* mention each of them a second time. 2. A Farmân is the weight of three dirhams of four mads[3]; a

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pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire. On certain occasions a layman has to use a substitute for the penôm by screening his mouth and nose with a portion of his muslin shirt.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1; see also Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 1–4.)

[1] This second part is evidently by another writer, for he not only repeats several passages (Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13–16, 18, 20), which are given in the first part, but he also writes generally in a less simple style. In some MSS. of Sls. alone, such as M9, the second part immediately follows the first, as in this translation; indicating that it has been accepted as a part of the same work. But in M6 the two parts are separated by the Farh. Okh., occupying twenty folios; and in K20 there is an interval of ninety-two folios, containing the Farh. Okh., Bund., B. Yt., and several other texts.

[2] §§ 1, 2 are a repetition of Chap. I, 1, 2, with a few variations. The number of degrees is here raised to nine by the addition of the Srôshô-*k*aranâm (see Chap. X, 24), which is written Srôsha*k*aranâm in both these sections.

[3] Reading i mad-4, instead of va m-4; the mad being a quarter-dirham (see Chap. X, 24, note); or we can read 'weight and quantity (mâyah) of three dirhams.' The amount of the Farmân

Srôshô-*k*aranâm is one dirham *and* two mads; three Srôshô-*k*aranâms are the weight of four dirhams and two mads[1]; an Âgerept is thirty-three stîrs[2]; an Aîvîri*s*t is the weight of thirty-three dirhams; an Aredû*s* is thirty *stîrs*[3]; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâ*z*âî is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs, and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs.

3. Every one ought to be unhesitating *and* unanimous about this, that righteousness is the one thing, and heaven (garô*d*mân)[4] the one place, *which* is good, and contentment the one thing more comfortable.

4. When a sheep[5] is slaughtered and divided, its meat-offering (gâvûs-dâk)[6] is to be thus presented:—the tongue, jaw, and left eye are the

here given appears to agree with that stated in Chap. XVI, 1, but differs very much from the sixteen dirhams mentioned in Chap. I, 2, and the twenty-eight dirhams quoted by Spiegel.

[1] That is, one Srôshô-*k*aranâm is one dirham and a half, and three of them, therefore, are four dirhams and a half; the mad being a quarter-dirham. This computation differs considerably from the amounts stated in Chaps. X, 24, XVI, 5, but corresponds better with the supposition (see Chap. IV, 14, note) that a Srôshô-*k*aranâm is one-third of a Farmân.

[2] Both this amount and the next are evidently wrong, and no doubt the Pahlavi ciphers have been corrupted. Chap. XVI, 5 gives 'sixteen' and 'twenty-five' stîrs, which are probably correct, though the computation in Chap. I, 2 is very different.

[3] Written Aredû*s* 30 sî, 'an Aredû*s* is 30 (thirty),' as in Chap. I, 2; with which also all the remaining amounts correspond.

[4] See note on pâhlûm ahvân in Chap. VI, 3.

[5] Or 'goat.'

[6] Av. gâu*s* hudh*a*u, which is generally represented by a small piece of butter placed upon one of the sacred cakes; but on certain occasions small pieces of meat are used. The object of this section is to point out what part of the animal is suitable for use in a ceremony dedicated to any one of the angels, or spirits, mentioned.

angel Hôm's[1] own; the neck is Ashavahist's[2] own; the head is the angel Vâê's[3] own; the right shoulder (arm) is Ardvîsûr's[4], the left is Drvâsp's[5]; the right thigh (hakht) is *for the guardian spirit*[6] *of* Vistâsp, and the left *for* the guardian spirit of *G*âmâsp[7]; the back is *for* the supreme chief[8]; the loin is the spirits' own; the belly is Spendarma*d*'s[9]; the testicles[10] are *for* the star Vanand[11]; the kidneys are

[1] Av. haoma, the angel of the Hôm plant (see Yas. IX–XI, Bund. XVIII, 1–3, XXVII, 4, 24), the juice of which is used in ceremonial worship by the Parsis.

[2] The same as Ar*d*avahi*s*t (see Bund. I, 26).

[3] M6 has 'Râm' as a gloss; he is the Vayô of the Râm Yt., 'the good Vaê' of Mkh. II, 115, who assists the righteous souls in their progress to the other world; his name, Râm, is given to the twenty-first day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 21).

[4] Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters (see Bund. XXXII, 8). This title is written Arêdvîvsûr in the Bundahi*s*, and applied to the source of pure water (Bund. XIII); while the name Âvân, 'waters,' is given to the eighth month and the tenth day of each month in the Parsi year.

[5] Av. Drvâspa of the Gô*s* Yt., the name of the female angel of cattle, called Gô*s*ûrvan in Bund. IV; her alternative name, Gô*s*, is given to the fourteenth day of the Parsi month.

[6] The word fravash-i, 'the guardian spirit of,' is evidently omitted here, as it occurs with the next name. For Vi*s*tâsp, see Bund. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 7.

[7] Av. *G*âmâspa of Yas. XIII, 24, XLV, 17, XLVIII, 9, L, 18, Âbân Yt. 68, &c., the prime minister of Vi*s*tâsp.

[8] Ratpôk berêza*d* stands for the Av. rathwô berezatô of Yas. I, 46, &c., a 'supreme chief' who is often associated with the chiefs of the various subdivisions of time, and seems to be Aûharmazd himself (see Yas. LVI, i, 10).

[9] The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20–24, and Bund. I, 26).

[10] The word gûnd has here, in most MSS., the usual Persian gloss dahân, 'mouth' (see Bund. XIX, 1), which is a very improbable meaning in this place.

[11] Probably Fomalhaut (see Bund. II, 7, note).

Haptôîring's[1]; the ventricle (naskadakŏ)[2] is *for* the guardian spirit of priests; the lungs are *for* the guardian spirit of warriors; the liver is *for* compassion and sustenance[3] of the poor; the spleen is Mânsarspend's[4]; the fore-legs (bâzâî) are *for* the waters; the heart is *for* the fires; the entrail fat is Ardâî-fravard's[5]; the tail-bone (dunb-gazakŏ) is *for* the guardian spirit of Zaratûst the Spîtâmân[6]; the tail (dunbak) is *for* Vâd[7] the righteous; the right eye is in the share of the moon[8]; and any[9] *that* may be left over from those is *for* the other archangels. 5. *There* have been *those* who may have spoken about protection, and *there have* been *those* who *may have done so* about meat-offerings; whoever *has* spoken about protection is such as *has*

[1] Ursa Major, called Haptôk-rîng in Bund. II, 7.

[2] Translating in accordance with the Persian gloss *k*ustah, given in the modern MS. M9; but nas-ka*d*akŏ may perhaps mean 'the womb.'

[3] Reading sar-âyisnŏ, 'maturity,' the usual equivalent of Av. thraosta (see Yas. XXXIV, 3), and not srâyisnŏ, 'chanting.'

[4] Av. mãthra spenta, 'the beneficent sayings, or holy word,' of which this angel is a personification; his name is often corrupted into Mahraspend or Mâraspend, and is given to the twenty-ninth day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 29).

[5] A personification of the Av. ashaonãm fravashayô, 'guardian angels of the righteous' (see Fravardîn Yt. 1, &c.), whence the first month, and the nineteenth day of each month, in the Parsi year, are called Fravardîn.

[6] This clause and the next are omitted in K20.

[7] The angel of the wind, whose name is given to the twenty-second day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 22).

[8] Or its angel, Mâh, whose name is given to the twelfth day of the Parsi month.

[9] M6 has va aê-maman = va aê*k* (Pers. î*k*, 'any'); K20 has kolâ maman, 'whatever,' and omits the words 'may be left over' and 'other.'

spoken well, and whoever *has* spoken about meat-offerings has not spoken everything which is noteworthy[1]. 6. When *one* shall offer up[2] *what* pertains to one (khadûkag) on account of another it is proper; except the tongue, jaw, and left eye, for *that* those are the angel Hôm's own is manifest from the passage: 'Hizvãm fr*e*renao*d*[3],' *&c.*

Chapter XII.

1. The rule is this, that when one's *form of* worship (ya*s*t)[4] is performed, and it is not possible for him to prepare *it*, the practice of those of the primitive faith[5] is, when the girdle (aîpiyâûng) is twined about a *sacred* twig-bundle (baresôm)[6] of seven twigs (tâk), to consecrate a sacred cake (drônô) thrice, which becomes his *form of* worship that is performed one degree better through the sacred cake; and of the merit of a threefold *consecration*

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[1] Meaning, apparently, that to pray for protection as a favour is better than to pray for it as a return for an offering.

[2] K20 has 'shall give up.'

[3] It is doubtful if this passage can be found in the extant Avesta; but a passage of similar meaning, and containing the words fr*e*renao*d* and hizvô, occurs in Yas. XI, 16, which states that 'the righteous father, Ahuramazda, produced for me, Haoma, as a Draona, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye;' and it then proceeds (Yas. XI, 17–19) to curse any one 'who shall deprive me of that Draona, or shall himself enjoy, or shall give away what the righteous Ahuramazda gave me, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye.'

[4] A Ya*s*t is a formula of praise in honour of the sun, moon, water, fire, or some other angel, as well as a term for prayers and worship in general.

[5] See Chap. I, 3.

[6] See Chap. III, 32, note.

of the sacred cake the high-priests *have* specially taught, in the Hûspâram *Nask*[1], that *it* is as much as *that* of a lesser *form of* worship.

2. The rule is this, that he who is himself more acquainted with religion is he who considers him who is more acquainted with religion than himself as high-priest, and considers *him* as high-priest[2] so that he may not destroy the bridge of the soul[3]; as it says in the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[4] that no one of them, that is an inattentive (asrûshdâr) man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence[5], not though his recitations should be so many that they have made his duty and good works as much as the verdure (sapdak) of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which Aûharmazd *has* given abundantly.

3. The rule is this, that they keep a fire[6] in the house, because, from not keeping the fire properly, *there* arise less pregnancy of women and a weeping (â*v*-dî*d*anŏ) for the loss of strength (tanû) of men[7]; and the chilled charcoal (angi*s*t) and the rest which are without advantage (bar) are to be

[1] See Chap. X, 21. The passage mentioned in the text was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

[2] K20 omits this repetition.

[3] That is, may not render the passage of his soul to heaven, over the *K*inva*d* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7), impossible, owing to the sin of arrogance in this world.

[4] See Chap. X, 25; the passage alluded to was probably at the beginning of the Nask, which treated of 'the reward of the precepts of religion, and the bridge of the destroyers of good preceptors, adapted to their destruction.'

[5] See Chap. VI, 3.

[6] K20 has 'that a fire is to be properly kept.'

[7] K20 has 'and a loss of the strength and wealth of men.'

carried away from the fire; and in the Spend *Nask*[1] *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they should make clean.

4. The rule is this, that when any one passes away it is proper to render useless[2] as much as the smallest mouth-veil[3], for it says in the Vendidad[4] that 'if even those Mazdayasnians should leave on him who is dead, in parting with him, as much as that which a damsel would leave in parting with the *food*-bowl (pa*d*mânakŏ)—that is, a bag (anbânakŏ-hanâ)[5]'—the decree is this, that *it* is a Tanâ-

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[1] See Chap. X, 4; the passage mentioned was probably in that part of the Nask which described the protection afforded by the fire to the new-born Zaratû*s*t.

[2] Probably a negative is omitted, or akârînî*d*anŏ should be translated 'to make no use of.'

[3] See Chap. X, 40. K20 has 'garment.'

[4] Always written Vadîkdâ*d* in this second part of Sls., except in Chap. XIII, 7; whereas in the first part it is written in its uncorrupted form *G*avî*d*-dêf-dâ*d* or *G*avî*d*-*s*êdâ-dâ*d*, 'the law opposed to the demons.' The passage here quoted is Pahl. Vend. V, 171, 172, with one or two verbal variations.

[5] Standing for anbânak-aê, which is corrupted in the Vendidad MSS. into the unintelligible form andanakŏ-1, so that this old quotation throws a rather unexpected light upon a passage in the Vendidad which translators would be almost certain to misunderstand. The allusion is to the bags used by a menstruous woman, when eating, to prevent contamination of the food. The Persian Rivâyats state that three bags (kîsah) are made of two thicknesses of strong linen, one bag to wear on each hand, and the third, which is larger, to hold the metal food-bowl and water-goblet. After thoroughly washing her hands and face, she puts the two bags on her hands, taking care that they do not touch her food, or clothes, or any other part of her body. She then feeds herself with a metal spoon, which must not touch her nose; and when the meal

pûhar *sin*[1] at root, which is hell; *and* in the Vendidad[2] it says that the clothing of the charitable (dahi*s*n-hômand) soul, and even the clothing which they will give *it*, are out of almsgivings (dâsarân)[3].

5. The rule is this, that when any one passes away, after keeping fasting the three *nights*[4], still the presentation of holy-water (zôhar) to the fire is to be performed, which is the presenting of the holy-water to the nearest fire; for in the Dâmdâ*d* *Nask*[5] *it* is revealed that when they sever (tebrûnd) the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the

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is finished the food-bowl and water-goblet are placed on the large bag, and the two smaller bags inside it, till wanted again.

[1] See Chap. I, 1, 2.

[2] This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Vendidad, and it is possible to read Nask Dâ*d* instead of Vadîkdâ*d*. The Dâ*d*î or Dâ*d*ak Nask was the eleventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*, which merely says that its 'Avesta and Zand are not communicated to us by the high-priest.' According to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, which calls it Khûstô, and the Rivâyats, which call it Kha*s*t, it was the twelfth Nask, and they give its contents in more detail than usual (see Haug's Essays, pp. 130, 131).

[3] Meaning that the dead require no clothing, as their future bodies will be clothed out of the garments they have given away in charity. The resemblance of this statement to that contained in Bund. XXX, 28, which must have been abridged from the Dâmdâ*d* Nask (see SZS. IX, 1), renders it possible that it may have been taken from that Nask.

[4] No fresh meat is to be cooked or eaten for the first three days after a death in the house, according to the Sad-dar Bundahi*s*, LXXVIII (compare Chap. XVII, 1–3).

[5] See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted may perhaps be found in the complete text of the Bundahi*s*, as given in TD (Chap. 37; see Introduction, p. xxxvii).

moon, and then out to the sun[1]; and *it* is needful that the nearest fire, which is that to which it *has* come out, should become stronger (zôr-hômand-tar)[2].

6. The rule is this, that they should not leave a nail-*paring* unprayed over (anâfsû*d*ak), for if it be not prayed over (afsând)[3] it turns into the arms *and* equipments of the Mâzanân demons[4]; *this* is explicitly shown in the Vendidad[5].

7. The rule is this, that the labour of child-birth[6] is not to be accomplished at night, except while with the light of a fire, or the stars and moon, upon *it;* for great opposition is connected with it, and in the twentieth of the Hûspâram *Nask*[7] it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.

8. The rule is this, that they should allow the egg and other food[8] for those gifts *and* favours of the

[1] A righteous soul is supposed to step out first to the star station, then to the moon station, and then to the sun station, on its way to Garô*d*mân, the highest heaven; but if its righteousness is imperfect it has to stop at one of these three stations, which are the three lower grades of heaven (see note on pâhlûm ahvân, Chap. VI, 3).

[2] Or 'more provided with zôr,' which may mean 'holy-water,' as the two words zôr and zôhar are occasionally confounded.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'if they shall not pray over *it*.'

[4] See Bund. III, 20, XIX, 19, 20.

[5] Vend. XVII, 29.

[6] Barman-zerkhûni*s*nîh may also mean 'begetting a son.'

[7] See Chap. X, 21. The word 'twentieth' appears to refer to the second group of twenty sections, one of which treated of the begetting, birth, and treatment of children.

[8] Referring to the egg, drôns, frasasts, and gâu*s* hudh*a*u or 'meat-offering' (which may be either butter or meat, see Chap. XI, 4) that are used in the drôn ceremony, or consecration of the sacred cakes (see note on drôn, Chap. III, 32). The object of

sovereign moon (mâh-i khûdâî) and the other angels; if so, it is to be allowed by them thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' and not thus: 'One sacred cake (drônô) in so much food.' 9. And the reason of it is this, that *they* who shall allow thus: 'One sacred cake out of so much food,' and of which *it* is one thing less, even though *one* shall consecrate *it* many times, still then he *has* not repaid; and *they* who should allow thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' though *one* shall reverence *him* with many sacred cakes, it is proper. 10. And in the twenty-two *sections* of the Sakâdûm *Nask*[1] grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings (aûstôfrîd) unto the angels.

11. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, a fire *one* cares for well is to be maintained in the house, because it is revealed[2] in the Spend Nask that *to* Dûkdâv[3], the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, for three nights, every night a leader (shâh)[4] with a hundred and fifty demons came for the destruction of Zaratûst, and yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means *for it.*

this paragraph is, evidently, to reprove niggardliness in such offerings, and to prevent their being mere pretexts for feasting.

[1] See Chap. X, 25. The passage alluded to here was probably in that section, of the last twenty-two, which treated of the spirits of the earthly existences, one portion of which was 'about preparing offerings (aûstôfrîtô) to the angels.'

[2] M6 has 'the fire of Aûharmazd is to be fully maintained, *and* it is revealed,' &c. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 4, with a few variations.

[3] Here written Dûdkâv.

[4] Or it may be read sêdâ, 'a demon,' meaning 'an arch-fiend.'

12. The rule is this, where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until day*light*, and is to be maintained there in the day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth of the Sakâ*d*ûm *Nask*[1].

13. The rule is this[2], that from a toothpick the bark[3] is to be well cut off, for there are *some* of those of the primitive faith[4] who *have* said that, when[5] they shall make it for the teeth *with* the bark on, and they throw *it* away, a pregnant woman, who puts a foot upon it, is doubtful about *its* being dead matter.

14. The rule is this, that *it* is well *if any one of* those who have their handmaid (*k*akar) in cohabitation (zanîh), and offspring is born of her, shall accept all those who are male as sons; *but* those who are female are no advantage, because an adopted *son* (satôr) is requisite, and in the fourteenth of the Hûspâram *Nask*[6] the high-priests

[1] That is, in the first thirty sections of the Nask (see Chap. X, 25); the passage alluded to must have been in that portion which treated of new-born infants and their proper treatment.

[2] §§ 13–16 are a repetition of Chap. X, 20–23, with a few variations.

[3] The word appears to be tôpŏ or tûfŏ, which would rather mean 'scum' or 'gum' (see Bund. XXVII, 19), unless it be considered a miswriting of tôgŏ or tôzŏ, which would mean 'thin bark' or 'bast.' It can also be read tûpar, 'a leather bag,' and the sentence can be so translated as to imply that a toothpick should be cut out of a leather bag, an alternative similar to that suggested by the text of Chap. X, 20.

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

[5] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[6] See Chap. X, 21.

have taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter;' and *there* are many who[1] do not appoint an adopted *son with* this idea, that: 'The child of a handmaid may be accepted by us as a son.'

15. The rule is this, that *one is* to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since *it is* for the acquisition[2] of many good works at once; because in the Spend[3] and Nihâ*d*ûm Nasks[4] the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâ*d Nask*[5] it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like manner, which come *to* the father as his own.'

16. The rule is this, that what they shall give to the worthy is as much as is proper and beyond, for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâ*d*ûm *Nask*[6] the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'When a man gives bread to a man, even though that man *has* too much bread, all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

17. The rule is this, that in the night water is

[1] The writer of M6 evidently found his original illegible at this place, as he wrote . . . maman instead of mûn denman.

[2] M6 has 'performance,' which is probably a misreading, due to the original of that MS. being partially illegible.

[3] See Chap. X, 4. This Nask is not mentioned in Chap. X, 22, and the passage here alluded to is not to be traced in any of the short accounts of its contents.

[4] See Chap. X, 3, 22.

[5] See SZS. IX, 1, and Chap. X, 22.

[6] See Chap. X, 3, 23.

not to be drawn[1] from a well, as in the Bâg-yasnô[2] notice is given about the uncleanness (ayosdâsarîh) of well-water at night.

18. The rule is this, that in the night anything eatable is not to be cast away to the north, because a fiend *will* become pregnant; and when it is cast away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[3] is to be uttered. 19. Those of the primitive faith[4] who *used* to act more orthodoxically (hû-rastakîhâtar), when food *was* eaten by them in the night, for the sake of preservation from sin owing to the coming of strainings *and* sprinklings *on* to the ground, directed a man to chant the Ahunavar[5] from the beginning of the feast

[1] K20 has 'that water is not to be drawn on foot.'

[2] Probably the Bakân-yastô is meant, which was the fourteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkar*d*; but according to the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d* and the Rivâyats it was the fifteenth nask, called Baghân-ya*s*t. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-va*g*arkar*d*, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkar*d*:—

'The Bakân-yastô is a treatise, first, on the worship (yastô) of Aûharmazd, the most pre-eminent of divinities (bakân a*v*artûm), and, secondly, the worship of the angels of the other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are even the names of the days, and the glory, power, triumph, and miraculousness of their life also is extreme; the angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention *and* salutation *due* to them; the worthiness *and* dispensation of favour for worshippers, *and* the business of their many separate recitations unto the angels; the business of unlimited acquaintance with knowledge about the promoters of the treasures of the period, unto whom the creator Aûharmazd *is* to intrust them, *and* they remain to cause industry. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

[3] See Bund. I, 21. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 7, with a few variations.

[4] See Chap. I, 3.

[5] That is, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see Bund. I, 21).

(myazd) unto the end, more especially at the feast of the season-festivals; as it says in the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[1], that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavar is that *which is* most triumphant.

20. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog he takes *it* back to the plain, and its own place is to be preserved free from danger; for in the Vendidad the high-priests *have* taught, that every day, when the hedgehog voids urine into an ant's nest, a thousand ants will die[2].

21. The rule is this, that some who are of the good religion *say*, where *one* is washing *his* face, one Ashem-vohû[3] is always to be uttered, *and* that Ashem-vohû is to be uttered before the *washing;* for when he utters *it* while washing *his* face, *he* is doubtful (var-hômand) about the water coming to *his* mouth.

22. The rule is this, that they select from the purifiers[4]—when their business (mindavam) is as important (rabâ) as purity and impurity—*him* with whom the control[5] of ablution (pâ*d*îyâ*v*îh)[6] and non-ablution is connected; they select *him* especially

[1] See B.Yt. III, 25. The passage here quoted must have been in the first division of the Nask.

[2] This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 31.

[3] See Bund. XX, 2.

[4] The yô*s*dâ*s*arân, 'purifiers' (Av. yao*z*dâthrya), are those priests who retain so much of the purifying effect of the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6) as to be able to assist in purifying others by means of the same ceremony. When that effect has passed away a priest can no longer perform the sacred rites, until he has again undergone the nine nights' purification of the Bareshnûm.

[5] Reading band, but it may be bôd, 'vitality, essence.'

[6] See Chap. II, 52.

with regard to the good disposition and truthful speaking of the man, and *to* the particular work; and on account of *his being* in innocence *he* is to be considered more righteous. 23. As in the Vendidad[1] it says, about the two shares of righteousness, how *one* should tell that *he is* 'a righteous man, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who is a purifier, who should be a speaker that speaks truly, an enquirer of the *sacred* texts—that is, he has performed his ritual (yast)—a righteous *one* who specially understands purification from the religion of the Mazdayasnians, that is, he understands its *religious* formulas (nîrang).' 24. When *it* is so that the control of their ablution is connected with him, so that they consider what *pertains* to the *purifying* bowl (zak-i tâstîk) as his, and ever abstain from it, though the angels hear and consider *them* as clean, and they select for him those who consecrate the water and bull's urine (gômêz) on account of *their* control of purification (yôsdâsarkarîh), *and it* is to be performed very observantly by the consecrators at the place which is to be measured with a measure and very exactly (khûptar)[2]. 25. And the purifier is so much the better when washed again, and when *it is* by some one through whose periodic (zamânîk)

[1] The passage here quoted is from Pahl. Vend. IX, 4–6.

[2] Referring to the Bareshnûm-gâh, or place prepared for the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification with bull's urine and water, which are handed to the person undergoing purification by an officiating priest (see Chap. II, 6). The place is marked out with furrows in the ground, and furnished with stones (magh) to squat upon during the ablutions (see B. Yt. II, 36). The construction of this paragraph is very obscure in many places, and its proper division into sentences is, therefore, uncertain.

care *he* is thus done; for in the periodic interval many secret[1] kinds of pollution are produced. 26. Of the celebrators of the Vendidad the good are *they* who shall again perform the Navashâ*d*ar rite[2]; for, on account of the same nicety (nâ*z*ûkîh) which is written above by me, *and* on account of much also *that is* secret, which has happened *and* mostly arises about it, *there* is no harm from performing *it*. 27. And *any one* of those who shall receive the water and bull's urine *it* is very important to wash beforehand (pavan pê*s*)[3]; because, if *there* be impurity *about* him[4], *and* he puts a hand to the cup (*g*âmak), the water, *and* the bull's urine, *they* are unclean (apâ*d*â*v*ŏ)[5]; when *it is* so that *there* be some one, when so, *it* is better *that* they always wash his eyelids (môyak gâs), *and* to wash them by the clean is good.

28. The rule is this, that thou shouldst not consider even any one hopeless (anâîmê*d*) of heaven,

[1] Reading nihân, but we might perhaps read 'causes (vahân) of pollution of many kinds.' The meaning of the section is, that it is necessary for the purifying priest to maintain his own purity by frequently undergoing the Bareshnûm ceremony himself.

[2] Ya*s*t-i Navashâ*d*ar in all MSS., but the latter word is most probably a corruption of Av. navakhshapara, 'a period of nine nights,' for which length of time the Bareshnûm ceremony must be continued (see Vend. IX, 144, XIX, 80). The 'Navashâ*d*ar rite' is, therefore, 'the ceremony of the nine nights,' which should be frequently undergone by the priests who celebrate the Vendidad ceremonial.

[3] M6 has pavan pî*s*ak, 'with ceremony.'

[4] M6 has 'them.'

[5] M6 has '*one* knows it is unto the cup and bull's urine;' but as M6 was evidently copied from a MS. already nearly illegible in some places, it is generally safer to follow K20, except when M6 supplies words omitted by the more careless writer of K20.

and they should not set *their* minds steadfastly on hell; thereby much sinfulness for which *there* is a desire would be undesirable, because *there* is nothing which is a sin *in* my religion for which *there* is no retribution, as it says in the Gâthas[1] thus:—'Of those who are aware that thou art, O Aûharmazd! is even he who is infamous (raspakŏ); and they know the punishment of him even who is very sinful.' 29. And *as to* him even who is a very sinful person, through the desire[2] of good works which is entertained by him, *there* then comes more fully to him the joy of a soul newly worthy (nuk shâya*d*); as in the Spend *Nask*[3] *it* was shown to Zaratûst about one man, that all *his* limbs were in torment, and one foot was outside; *and* Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd about the reason *of it; and* Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns[4] by name; he was ruler over thirty-three[5] districts, and he never practised

[1] The passage here quoted from the Gâthas will be found in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7.

[2] M6 has merely 'through the good works which are practised by him;' but K20 has '1 hamak' inserted at this point, which seems to indicate the existence of the nearly identical Pahlavi letters kâmak, 'desire,' in the original from which it was copied.

[3] See Chap. X, 4. The passage here quoted was no doubt contained in that part of the Nask which treated of the exhibition of heaven and hell to Zaratûst, which must have been very similar to the Ar*d*â-Vîrâf-nâmak, in which most of the details of this story about Davâns are given (see AV. XXXII).

[4] This is, no doubt, the Av. davãs of Yas. XXXI, 10, which may be translated 'hypocrite.' The Pahlavi translation of the line in which the word occurs is thus rendered in Haug's Essays (p. 351): 'Aûharmazd does not allot to him who is an idler, the infidel who is any hypocrite (davãs) in the sacred recitations. In the good religion it is asserted that even as much reward as they give to the hypocrite they do not give to the infidel.'

[5] K20 has 'thirty-four.'

any good work, except one time when fodder *was* conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.

30. The rule is this, that when a man has performed his *form of* worship (ya*s*t), and his wife has not performed *it*, *it* is extremely necessary to perform the suitable *form of* worship, or to order a Gêtô-kharî*d*[1], so that they may become such as are dwelling more closely *together* in the spiritual *existence* than in the world; and in the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[2] it says that a woman (nâîrîk) who shall be reverent (tarsak) is to be considered as much as she who is suitable (zîyâk).

31. The rule is this, that these five ceremonies (ya*z*i*s*n), when they shall perform *them*, are good works[3]; when *one* does not perform *them*, and the time is manifest to him, and when he shall set *them* aside to perform *them* out of the proper time, they shall go to the bridge[4] *as* sin; the ceremonies which go to the bridge are these, and in the Hûspâram *Nask*[5] it says that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites (lâ ya*s*tanŏ) of the season-festivals[6], the

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[1] Here written gêtôk-kharî*d*, but see Chap. V, 6, and Bund. XXX, 28.

[2] See B. Yt. III, 25; but the passage here quoted is not clearly indicated in the accounts we have of the contents of this Nask.

[3] The distinction between these ceremonies and those whose values as good works are given in Chap. XVI, 6, appears to be that any omission in performing these five at their proper times amounts to an absolute sin, whereas the others are not so indispensable.

[4] That is, they will be taken into account at the judgment on the soul's actions at the *K*inva*d* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

[5] See Chap. X, 21. The passage here quoted was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

[6] The Gâsânbârs or Gâhanbârs (see Bund. XXV, 1–6).

Rapîtvîn[1], the three *nights*[2] *after a death*, the *days devoted* to the guardian spirits[3], and the sun and moon[4].

32. The rule is this, that at every one of these three things, *which* come through hungry living, that is, sneezing, yawning, and sighing, *one* is to speak out a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and one Ashem-vohû[5]; and also when *one* hears the sneezing of any one, to speak *in* like manner is so considered as an action of the good[6]; *and* in the Stûdgar *Nask*[7] it says thus: '"What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?" And Aûharmazd said thus: "Hungry living, O Zaratûst! because the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavar, O Zaratûst! *and* righteousness[8]."'

Chapter XIII.

0. The signification of the Gâthas[9].

1. These three Ashem-vohûs (Yas. XI, end) which

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[1] The midday period (see Bund. II, 8, 9, XXV, 9–14).

[2] See Chap. VIII, 6. [3] See Chap. X, 2.

[4] See Chap. VII, 1–5. [5] See Bund. I, 21, XX, 2.

[6] That is, it is commendable, though not obligatory. The practice of uttering a blessing on hearing a sneeze is still common in many parts of Europe.

[7] See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here quoted is not to be traced in any of the accounts of this Nask.

[8] 'The Ahunavar and praise of righteousness' would be a Pahlavi equivalent for 'the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and Ashem-vohû.'

[9] That is, the mystical meaning or influence supposed to attach to various parts of the ancient hymns, or to the manner in which they are chanted. The term Gâtha or 'hymn' (Pahl. gâs) is applied, in this chapter, not only to the five Gâthas properly so called, but also to the Yasna of seven chapters, and apparently to

represent[1] the Fravarânê (Yas. XI, end) of the preliminary ritual (pê*s* nîrang) and the rotation of these three Hâs ('chapters'), the Fravarânê, Frastuyê, and Âstuyê—fravarânê *being* the beginning of the Fravarânê[2] *which extends* as far as frasastayaê*k*a[3], frastuyê[4], the beginning of the Frastuyê (Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26) *which extends* up to the Âstuyê, and âstuyê[5], the beginning of the Âstaothwanem[6] (Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, end) *which extends* as far as âstaothwanem*k*â daênay*a*u Mâzdayasnôi*s*—*also represent* the Vîsâi-v*e*-ameshâ-spe*n*tâ (Yas. XV), *which is* the beginning of the Stôtânyasnô ('the ritual of praisers')[7], and these three Hâs of the Baghãm (Yas. XIX–XXI).

2. In the exposition (*k*ashî*d*ak) and through the

other portions of the Yasna written in the Gâtha dialect of the Avesta.

[1] This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of this section is altogether very obscure, and the text is more or less corrupt in all MSS. In the celebration of the Yasna or Yazisn the officiating priest tastes the Hôm juice during the recitation of Yas. XI (see Haug's Essays, p. 404), and shortly afterwards he commences the preliminary prayers mentioned in the text.

[2] Both K20 and M6 have Frerân in Pâzand.

[3] Both K20 and M6 omit the initial f.

[4] M6 has âstuyê.

[5] M6 omits this word.

[6] This is the Avesta name of the Hâ or chapter consisting of Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, 19; as Fraoreti is the name of the preceding Hâ, consisting of Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26.

[7] Probably consisting of the three Hâs, Yas. XV–XVII; in which case, the meaning seems to be that the three Ashem-vohûs, at the beginning of this preliminary ritual, are symbolical of each of the three triplets of chapters which follow them; first, of the Fravarânê, Fraoreti, and Âstaothwanem chapters; secondly, of the three chapters of the Stôtân-yasnô; and thirdly, of those of the Baghân Yast.

evidence of revelation (dînô) the wise of those of the primitive faith[1] *have* thus said, that a man of fifteen years[2], and a son and brother of Mazdayasnians—when he confesses *his* failings (mândak) to the high-priests (ra*d*ân), and they shall bring him the whip and scourge[3], and these five Gâthas[4] are chanted and the good waters consecrated by him, and the whole of the renewed-birth *ceremony* (navî*d*-zâ*d*îh)[5] is performed by him—*becomes* a mature youth and not a child, and a share of the prayers of initiation (nâpar) and of the fires is to be given over to him[6]; and when thus much is not performed by him, a share is not to be given. 3. These five[7] Gâthas are made up from the body of a righteous man.

[1] See Chap. I, 3.

[2] Referring to one about to become a priest.

[3] The Av. a*s*tra and sraoshô-*k*arana of Vend. IV, 38–114, &c., which were formerly used for the temporal punishment of sinners. Whether they are here brought to the neophyte as a token of his admission to the priesthood, or are administered to him as a punishment for his offences, is not quite clear.

[4] The five Gâthas are the Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), the U*s*tavaiti (Yas. XLII–XLV), the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI–XLIX), the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), and the Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti (Yas. LII); these collections of hymns are thus named from the words with which each of them commences, excepting the first, which derives its name from the Ahunavar (see Bund. I, 21) which is written in the same metre.

[5] This is the Pahlavi form of the Parsi navazûdî, a term applied to the whole initiatory ceremonial of a nônâbar, or newly initiated priest; the term evidently implies that the ceremony is considered somewhat in the light of 'regeneration.'

[6] That is, he can take his part in the regular priestly duties, including the initiation of other neophytes.

[7] Both K20 and M6 have four in ciphers, which can hardly be right; the sentence is clear enough, but the idea of its writer is rather obscure.

4. Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII), Khshmaibyâ (Yas. XXIX), and A*d*-tâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XXX) *have*, severally, eleven stanzas (va*k*êst), because eleven things move spiritually within the bodies of men, as life, consciousness, religion, soul, guardian spirit, thought, word, deed, seeing, smelling, and hearing; and the bodies of men and other creatures are formed of water, fire, and wind[1].

5. Ashem-Ahurem-mazdãm (Visp. XV) is *to be recited*[2] three times before the coming of Hûshê*d*ar, Hûshê*d*ar-mâh, and Sôshyans; and when they also recite the chapter (hâ*d*) well, and by line (gâs) and stanza, those *apostles* are present[3], and the

[1] These first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti collection of hymns are here supposed to symbolize the three material elements, whose union distinguishes a man's body from inorganic substances; while the eleven stanzas, which each of these chapters contains, symbolize the eleven immaterial existences said to be contained in the same body.

[2] This is doubtful, as no verb is expressed, and the word bâr, 'time,' is struck out in M6, so it is possible to read 'the "three foremost" of the Ashem-Ahurem-mazdãm are the coming of Hûshê*d*ar,' &c. The 'three foremost' (3 levînŏg) would be a possible Pahlavi translation of the Av. ti*s*rô paoiryô and ti*s*ra paoirya of Visp. XV, 4–6, instead of the actual 'three first' (3-i fratûm), as may be seen from Pahl. Visp. VIII, 17, 20, where both pê*s* (= levînŏ) and fratûm are used indifferently for Av. paoiryô. At any rate the idea embodied in the text is that these 'three first' have some reference to the three future apostles of the Parsi religion (see Bund. XXXII. 8, B. Yt. III, 13, 44, 52, 62). In fact, however, they seem to refer to the first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, immediately after which this chapter (Visp. XV) is recited in the full Parsi ritual; the phrase being rendered in the Pahlavi translation thus:—'I reverence the three first by not speaking out, that is, I do not say anything during them, and not wearing out, that is, I do not doze away during them.'

[3] K20 has 'arrive early.'

country becomes more flourishing and more dominant in the world.

6. The twenty-two stanzas of Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ (Yas. XXXI) are the twenty-two judgments (dâ*d*istân) of which it speaks in the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[1] thus:—'Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?' ('where are *they* to be produced beyond every thought? *and* where before?') 'Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just;'—so that when they pray the Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ chapter well, and recite *it* by line and stanza, the judges possess those twenty-two judgments more correctly, and judiciousness is more lodging *in them.*

7. The sixteen stanzas of the *Hv*aêtumaithi *chapter* (Yas. XXXII)[2] are lodging in warriors, so that it becomes possible, during their good protection, to force the enemy *away* from those sixteen countries which the Vendidad[3] mentions in *its* first fargar*d.*

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[1] See B. Yt. III, 25. Both the Avesta text here quoted and the translation suggested must be received with caution, as the MSS. do not agree in the three central words; K20 has mananhê dya vîspâi kaua, and M6 has mananhê kya vîsâi kaia. The former reading has been adopted, with very slight correction, as it seems the more intelligible; but the meaning of the preceding word, anaomô, is far from certain. The writer seems to have been quoting from a Pahlavi version of the Nask which contained this Avesta quotation.

[2] This Hâ, which begins with the words a*hv*yâ*k*â *hv*aêtu*s*, is not called by its initial words, as the preceding chapters are, but has this special name (see the prayers at the end of it) derived from its second word, and which is corrupted in Pahlavi into Khvêtmanŏ.

[3] Here written *G*avî*d*-*s*êdâ-dâ*d* as in Sls. Part I, and not Vadîkdâ*d* as in other parts of Sls. Part II (see § 19 and Chap. XII, 4, 6, 20, 23, 26). Vend. I contains an account of the sixteen

8. The fourteen stanzas of Yathâ-âi*s* (Yas. XXXIII) are for this reason, because seven archangels are more diligent in activity *for* the spirit, and seven archangels[1] for the world, so that they may attain 'to heaven, the home (mêhônŏ) of Aûharmazd, the home of the archangels, the home of those righteous ones,' avi garô-nmânem, maêthanem Ahurahê mazd*a*u, maêthanem ameshanãm spe*n*tanãm, maêthanem anyaêshãm ashaonãm[2]. 9. The three repetitions (dânar) of Y*e*-s*e*vi*s*tô (Yas. XXXIII, 11)[3], *and* the holding up of the holy-water (zôhar) at these *repetitions*, are for the four classes[4], and for this *reason* at Ahurâi mazdâi *and* ashem*k*â frâda*d*[5] the holy-water is

'best of regions and countries' where the Iranian power and religion extended at an early date.

[1] The seven archangels besides their spiritual duties have severally charge of the seven worldly existences, man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, and plants (see § 14 and Chap. XV). But perhaps we should read 'angels,' as they are often mentioned as 'the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

[2] This quotation, of which the Pahlavi translation is first given, and then the Avesta text, is from Vend. XIX, 107.

[3] This stanza is recited thrice, and about the same time the officiating priest strains the Hôm juice, and prepares to pour holy-water into the mortar in which the Hôm twigs were pounded (see Haug's Essays, pp. 402, 406).

[4] Or 'professions' of the community, of which there were originally only three, the priest, warrior, and husbandman; but at a later date the artizan was added. Both K20 and M6 have 'four classes,' but this is inconsistent with the 'three repetitions.' The Avesta generally knows only three classes, but four are mentioned in the Baghân Ya*s*t (Yas. XIX, 46).

[5] That is, probably, at the words Ahurô mazd*a*us*k*â in the first line, and ashem*k*â frâda*d* in the second line of the stanza; but this is doubtful, as the MSS. give the words corruptly, in a mixture of Av. and Pahl., as follows: pavan Ahurâi mazdâi ahârayih-i da*d*ŏîh.

to be held level with the heart of him who is the officiating priest (zôt), and at sraotâ[1] *it* is to be held level with the arm of him who is the officiating priest, so that while the warriors are in battle with foreigners (anâîrân) they may be fuller of breath (vayô-gîrtar), and the husbandmen stronger-armed in the tillage and cultivation of the world.

10. The fifteen stanzas of Yâ-*s*kyaothanâ (Yas. XXXIV) are for this reason, because it is given[2] for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are disclosed in the medical part (bêshâ*z*) of the Hâ*d*ôkht *Nask*[3]. 11. The four repetitions (bâr) of Mazdâ-a*d*môi (Yas. XXXIV, 15)[4] are for the right coming on of the share of these five chieftainships (ra*d*îh), the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratû*s*t[5].

12. The two repetitions of Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1)[6] are for this reason, that the sovereign (dahyûpat) may not at once seize body, conscious-

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[1] The first word in the third line of the stanza; but this, again, has to be guessed from a Pahlavi version in the MSS. which may be read va vâ-srôdâân.

[2] Or 'produced.'

[3] In the last division of that Nask (see B. Yt. III, 25, note).

[4] This last stanza of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha is recited four times.

[5] See Yas. XIX, 50–52. The last of these rulers must have been the supreme pontiff or patriarch of the province, and in the province of Ragha (Rages or Raî, near Teheran) he was both temporal and spiritual ruler.

[6] This first stanza of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha is recited twice, not only in its proper place (as the first stanza of each chapter is, in the Gâthas), but also at the end of every chapter of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, while the officiating priest sprinkles the sacred twigs with the sacred milk or gâu*s* *g*îvya, 'living-cow *produce*' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 405, 406).

ness, and soul. 13. Those four Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs of the first *Gâtha*[1] are for this reason, that is, so that inferiors may become more tolerant of the commands of superiors, and good thoughts, good words, and good deeds be more domesticated (mâh-mântar) in the world, and the fiend more powerless (apâ*d*akhshâhtar).

14. In short (aê-mar)[2], Ahyâ-yâsâ is as (pavan)[3] Aûharmazd and the righteous man, Khshmaibyâ as Vohûman and cattle, A*d*-tâ-vakhshyâ as Ar*d*avahi*s*t and fire, Tâ-v*e*-urvâtâ as Shatvaîrô[4] and metal, the *Hv*aêtumaithi as the Gâtha of Spendarma*d* and the earth, Yathâ-âi*s* as Horvada*d* and water, and Yâ-*s*kyaothanâ as Amerôda*d* and plants.

15. The progress which is in[5] the Ahunavaiti Gâtha the house-rulers should carry on; that which is in the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha the village-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû[6] Gâtha the tribe-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha the province-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Vahi*s*tô-i*s*ti Gâtha the supreme Zaratû*s*ts should carry on; and

[1] After the two Ahyâ-yâsâs, at the end of each chapter of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see Bund. I, 21) is recited four times.

[2] Or 'to sum up.'

[3] It is not quite clear how pavan, 'in, on, with, by, through, as, for,' &c., should be translated in each clause of this section; but the intention is evidently to compare the seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha with the seven archangels and the seven earthly creations which they severally protect (see Chap. XV).

[4] Here written Shatrîvar.

[5] Meaning probably 'the prosperity which is *occasioned* by;' but the exact signification of the word frâk-shâm or frehkashâm (or however it may be read) is uncertain.

[6] Spendômat or Spendamat in Pahlavi.

that which is in the Yasna, which is the place of righteous blessing[1], these four classes themselves should carry on.

16. Of the Yasna *of seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–XLI, 17) the beginning section (kar*d*akŏ) *has* nine stanzas; and its beginning[2] is Humatanãm (Yas. XXXV, 4), and its end is Humatanãm (Yas. XLI, 17 supl.)

17. The six stanzas of Ahyâ-thwâ-âthrô (Yas. XXXVI) are owing to the six hot ordeals (var) which, in the Hûspâram *Nask*[3], are effected by *k*a-thrayâim âthraiãm[4].

18. The five stanzas of Ithâ-â*d*-yazamaidê (Yas. XXXVII) are thanksgiving and praise for the production of the good creations by Aûharmazd.

19. The five stanzas of Imãm-âa*d*-zãm (Yas. XXXVIII) are owing to those five comforts and five discomforts of the earth, which, it is declared in the third fargar*d* in the Vendidad[5], are accomplished

[1] That is, the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–XLI), which is called simply 'the Yasna' in this chapter. This last clause, which is omitted in M6, connects these later hymns with the four classes of the community (see § 9), just as the five older hymns are connected with the five chiefs of the community (see § 11) in the former clauses. This section may be a translation from the Avesta, as the verbs precede their nominatives.

[2] That is, the beginning of the Yasna of seven chapters.

[3] See Chap. X, 21; but the Sakâ*d*ûm Nask (see Chap. X, 25) is probably meant, as it contained a section on ordeals by heat and cold.

[4] These Avesta words are evidently corrupt, but perhaps 'a quadruple fire' is meant. K20 has *k*athrâyâim âthraiãm.

[5] Here written Vandîkdâ*d* (see § 7). The passage here cited is not a quotation, but only a brief summary of Vend. III, 1–37; and appears to have been derived direct from the Avesta, without the assistance of the Pahlavi version, as several words differ from that translation.

thus:—'The first comfort of the earth is from the land on which a righteous man walks forth; the second is when they shall make the dwelling of the good and fires upon it; the third is when they sow corn upon it, and shall take heed of dead matter; the fourth is when all beasts *of burden* are born upon it; the fifth is when every beast *of burden* is on it[1]; and its first discomfort is from the Arezûr ridge[2] and the gate of hell; the second is when they dig[3] it up *for* a dead *body;* the third is when *one* constructs a depository *for the dead* (khazân)[4] upon it; the fourth is from the holes of its noxious creatures; the fifth is when they shall forsake a man in affliction (var*d*akîh) upon it, who is righteous.'

20. The five stanzas of Ithâ (Yas. XXXIX) are just as those which *go* before.

21. The four stanzas of Âhû-a*d*-paiti (Yas. XL) are about the benefit (ar*g*-hômandîh) which is on account of water, earth, plants, and animals.

22. The six stanzas of Stûtô-garô (Yas. XLI, 1–17), the two repetitions of Humatanãm (Yas. XXXV, 4–6), *and* the three repetitions of Hukhsh-athrôtemâi (Yas. XXXV, 13–15) are on account of the existence of the sons of Zaratûs*t*[5].

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[1] The verb is probably omitted by mistake, and we ought to read 'voids urine upon it,' in accordance with Vend. III, 20.

[2] See Bund. XII, 8.

[3] Reading kalêndend (Pers. kalandand), as Vend. III, 27 refers to burial of the dead, and the same idea might be obtained, more fancifully, by reading kilînênd, 'they turn to clay' (compare Pers. gil, 'clay'); but the most obvious reading is karînênd, 'they cut,' and as the sentence stands it would imply that 'they cut up its dead.'

[4] See Chap. II, 6.

[5] The three apostles expected in the future (see § 5 and Bund. XXXII, 8). It is doubtful whether these three passages in the

23. The two repetitions of Ashahyâ-âa*d*-sairî [1] (Yas. XXXV, 22, 23) are for the laudation of righteousness and the destruction of the fiend. 24. The two repetitions of YêNhê-hâtăm [2] are for the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the destruction of the evil spirit and the miscreations (vishû*d*akân). 25. *The two repetitions of* [3] Thwôistaotaras*k*â (Yas. XLI, 12–14) are for the laudation of ceremonial worship (ya*z*is*n*ŏ) and the *sacred* feast (mâzd).

26. The two repetitions of Âtarem*k*a (Visp. XIX, 1–8) [4] are for the laudation of the Frôbâk fire and the fire Vâzi*s*t [5].

27. Of the sixteen stanzas of the U*s*tavaiti *chapter* (Yas. XLII) [6] it is related just as about the *Hv*aêtumaithi *chapter* [7].

Yasna are here intended all to refer to the same subject, but no other subject is mentioned for the two former. Having completed the enumeration of the sections of the Yasna of seven chapters, the writer is now proceeding to notice those passages which are recited more than once in the performance of the ritual.

[1] M6 has gairî, 'in a song,' with the obsolete g, which is very like s, and is also used in the word garô in § 22; this is a variant well worth consideration by translators of the Avesta. K20 has only Ashahyâ.

[2] This formula (see B. Yt. II, 64) is recited after every chapter of the Gâthas, but does not appear to be anywhere recited twice; so the words 2 dânar, 'two repetitions,' may perhaps be inserted here in the wrong place, as they are wanting in § 25.

[3] These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, evidently through mistake.

[4] Visp. XIX, XX follow Yas. XLI in the full Parsi ritual, and the first of them is recited twice.

[5] The Frôbâk is the oldest sacred fire on earth, and the Vâzi*s*t is the lightning (see Bund. XVII, 1, 5, SZS. XI, 5, 8–10).

[6] The first chapter of the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha (see § 2, note 4), so called from its first word u*s*tâ.

[7] See § 7.

28. The twenty stanzas of Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ (Yas. XLIII) are the twenty judgments (dâ*d*istân) between the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit; and for this *reason* they should every time utter Ta*d*-thwâ-peresâ again[1], because they should utter the original judgment again, and the twentieth time the evil spirit becomes confounded.

29. The eleven stanzas of A*d*-fravakhshyâ (Yas. XLIV) are made up from the six chieftainships[2] and the five accomplishments (farhâng) owing to religion; one is thus, not to do unto others[3] all that which is not well for one's self; the second is to understand fully *what* is well-done and not well-done; the third is to turn from the vile and their conversation (andarag-gûftanŏ); the fourth is to confess *one's* failings to the high-priests, and let them bring the whip; the fifth is not to neglect the season-festivals at *their proper* hour (dên hâsar), *nor* the other things which go to the bridge[4]; and the six chieftainships are not his property who has not these

[1] That is, the first line (ta*d* thwâ peresâ ere*s* môi vao*k*â Ahurâ! 'that I shall ask thee, tell *it* me right, O Ahura!') is repeated at the beginning of each of the first nineteen stanzas, and the first stanza being recited twice (as in all chapters of the Gâthas) these words are recited twenty times before the last stanza is reached. The phrases 'and for this *reason*' and 'because they should utter the original judgment again' are omitted in M6.

[2] These cannot be the same 'chieftainships' (ra*d*îh) as those mentioned in § 11, of which there are only five; but perhaps they are the spiritual chieftainships, or primacies, of the six other regions of the earth (see Bund. XXIX, 1).

[3] Assuming that aî*s*an stands for aî*s*ân.

[4] The *K*inva*d* bridge, or route of the soul to the other world (see Chap. XII, 31). Part of these fourth and fifth clauses is omitted in K20 by mistake.

five accomplishments, and he is not fit even for teaching.

30. The nineteen stanzas of Kăm-nemôi-zăm (Yas. XLV) are for this reason, that every one may so persevere in his own duty (khvêsakânîh)[1], that while those are our nineteen propitiations (aûsô-frîd)[2], which it says in the Sakâdûm *Nask*[3] should be my own, the strength and power of the angels shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.

31. The Ustavaiti Gâtha is a Gâtha (gâs) of four chapters[4], and each stanza of five lines (gâs), except Haêkad-aspâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XLV, 15)[5]. 32. The two repetitions of Ustâ-ahmâi (Yas. XLII, 1)[6] are, one *as* a retention *and* embrace of Aûharmazd, and one *as* a destruction of the fiends; *and* Usta-Ahurem-mazdăm (Visp. XXI, 1–5)[7] *in* like manner.

33. Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI) *has* six stanzas, Yêzî-adâis (Yas. XLVII) twelve stanzas, Ad-mâ-yavâ (Yas. XLVIII) twelve stanzas, *and* Kad-môi-urvâ (Yas. XLIX) eleven stanzas. 34. The Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha is a Gâtha of four chapters[8], and

[1] Or, it may be, 'through his own intellect (khvêsak hûsh),' or merely another mode of writing khvêskârîh, 'industry.'

[2] Considering each of the stanzas as an offering to, or propitiation of, (Av. usefriti) the angels.

[3] See Chap. X, 25.

[4] Those detailed in §§ 27–30.

[5] Which stanza has only four lines. Pahl. gâs means both the whole hymn and also each line of the hymn.

[6] The first stanza of the Ustavaiti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

[7] Visp. XXI follows Yas. XLV in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

[8] Those detailed in § 33.

each stanza of four lines; it is made up from the five chieftainships and four classes [1]. 35. The two repetitions of Spe*n*tâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI, 1) [2] are, one *for* the laudation of the beneficent spirit (spendamat), and one for that of the earth [3].

36. One Spe*n*tem-Ahurem-mazdăm (Visp. XXII, 1–11) [4] is the laudation of the creatures of the beneficent spirit, and one is the destruction of the creatures of the evil spirit.

37. The twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha (Yas. L) are those twenty-two judgments which are lodging within judges, as written above [5]. 38. The two repetitions of Vohû-khshathrem (Yas. L, 1) [6] are, one the laudation of living (zîndakîh), and one of the supreme Zaratûs*t*.

39. One Vohû-khshathrem yazamaidê (Visp. XXIII, 1–9) [7] is for the laudation of Shatvaîrô [8], and one of metal. 40. The two repetitions of Avi-

[1] See §§ 9, 11.

[2] The first stanza of the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

[3] It seems probable that the Pahlavi writer has here confounded Spendamat, 'the beneficent spirit,' with the archangel Spendarma*d* who has special charge of the earth; their names being even more alike in Pahlavi than in English, though corrupted from the distinct Avesta forms spe*n*ta mainyu and spe*n*ta ârmaiti, respectively.

[4] Visp. XXII follows Yas. XLIX in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

[5] See § 6.

[6] The first stanza of the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

[7] Visp. XXIII, 1–9 follows Yas. L in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

[8] The archangel who has special charge of metal (see § 14, Chap. XV, 5, 14–19, and Bund. I, 26, XXX, 19); the name is here written Shatrîvar.

apãm (Visp. XXIV, 1–12)[1] are, one for the laudation of waters, and one of plants.

41. The nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII) are on account of those nine things which are[2] . . . the supreme Zaratûstship lodging in the supreme Zaratûsts, the source of fountains, the bridge *over* waters, and even the navigable river, the righteous man, and the righteous woman. 42. And *it is* a Gâtha of one chapter, *and* each stanza of four lines, except Ithâ-î-haithyâ-narô (Yas. LII, 6)[3], for *there* is always one lord and sovereign in the world. 43. And those four lines are for this *reason*, because *it* is declared: *k*athru*s* h*a*may*a*u khshapô dahmayâ*d* parô âfritôi*d*[4], 'four times every night is the "blessing of the holy" (Yas. LIX),' and three *times* Srôsh[5], twice Bûshâsp[6], and once Aêshm[7] will come

[1] After the two recitations of Visp. XXIII, 1–9 there follow Vend. XV, XVI, and Visp. XXIII, 10, and then Visp. XXIV, 1–12 is recited twice, in the full Parsi ritual, followed by Visp. XXV.

[2] Some words are evidently lost here; M6 has m followed by a blank space, and K20 has madam, 'on.' It is not quite certain whether the things mentioned are to be reckoned as four, five, or six; but assuming they are five, it is possible that the four things missing in the text are the four remaining chieftainships (see § 11), the rulerships of the house, village, tribe, and province lodged in the rulers of the same, respectively.

[3] Which stanza has five lines, and is, therefore, here considered symbolical of the ruling monarch, or pontiff.

[4] This Avesta passage does not appear to be extant elsewhere, and its Pahlavi translation, given in the text, is not quite correct; it would be better thus: 'through the "blessing of the holy" four times every night;' dahma âfriti (Pahl. dâhmân âfrînô, 'blessing of the holy') is the technical name of Yas. LIX.

[5] See Bund. XIX, 33, XXX, 29. This angel, invoked by the 'blessing' (Yas. LIX, 8), comes to defend mankind against the wiles of Bûshâsp and Aêshm.

[6] The demoness of sloth (see Bund. XXVIII, 26).

[7] The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17, 20).

to the material world. 44. And the five *lines* of that one *stanza* (Yas. LII, 6) are for this *reason*, because the assistants of the supreme Zaratûst are five, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and she even who is his own wife (nârîk)[1]. 45. The two repetitions of Vahistâ-îstis (Yas. LII, 1)[2] are, one *for* the laudation of sovereigns, and one for the laudation of peace (padmân).

46. The two repetitions of Vahistem-Ahurem-mazdãm (Visp. XXVI)[3] are, one *for* the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and one for the destruction of the fiends. 47. The four repetitions of the Airyamana (Yas. LIII)[4] are for the existence of more submission (aîrmânîh) in the house, village, tribe, and province. 48. The four repetitions of Avad-mizdem (Visp. XXVII) are for the healing of those[5] *who* dwell in the house, village, tribe, and province.

49. The section (kardakŏ) whose beginning is Tad-sôidhis (Yas. LVII, 1–9)[6] is, for the completion

[1] Though bound to be strictly obedient to her husband or guardian, a Mazdayasnian woman occupied a more honourable position in the community than was sanctioned by any other oriental religion.

[2] The first stanza of the Vahistôisti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

[3] Visp. XXVI follows Yas. LII in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice, followed by Vend. XIX, XX.

[4] So called from its first words â airyemâ; it is recited four times after Vend. XX, and shortly afterwards Visp. XXVII is also recited four times, as mentioned in § 48.

[5] M6 has 'of the soul,' which is, no doubt, a blunder due to the illegibility of the MS. from which it was copied.

[6] This is the Fshûshô-mãthra ('a spell or prayer for prosperity')

of the Gâthas, taught as *pertaining* to the Gâthas (gâsânîk *k*â*s*t).

50. The beginning of the Gâthas is Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1), and their end is drigavê vahyô (Yas. LII, 9, end); and *there* are 278 stanzas, 1016 lines, 5567 words (vâ*k*ak), 9999 mârîk, and 16,554 khûr*d*ak[1]. 51. For the lines and stanzas of the Gâthas *were* collected by us, and were:—one hundred stanzas of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), of which each stanza is three lines; forty stanzas of the Yasna *of seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–

of Visp. I, 28, II, 30, Yas. LVI, ix, 6, LVIII, 13. Whether the remainder of Yas. LVII is to be considered as pertaining to the Gâthas is uncertain; it is recited in seven sections by the assistant priest, each section from a different position; these seven positions being the stations of the seven assistant priests who are supposed to be present spiritually, and to be arranged three on each side, and one at the south end, of the ceremonial area, while the chief officiating priest occupies the north end (see Haug's Essays, p. 332).

[1] The numbers of the stanzas and lines are correct, as may be seen from the details given in § 51. Regarding the words there is the uncertainty as to what constitutes a compound word, but, taking each compound in Westergaard's edition of the texts as a single word, the total number of words in the 1016 lines is about 6147; and this could be reduced to 5567 only by omitting the Yasna of seven chapters, and somewhat relaxing the rule as to compound words. The meaning of the last two terms, mârîk and khûr*d*ak, is doubtful, but they are certainly not syllables and letters, as the number of syllables exceeds 13,000. In other places (see Bund. I, 21) mârîk usually means 'a word,' but that meaning is expressed by the term vâ*k*ak here. If the number 9999 be correct, mârîk must signify some particular class of syllable which would include about three-fourths of the whole number of syllables. It may be noted, however, that Zâ*d*-sparam, in the particulars he gives about the Gâthas (see SZS. XI, 10, note 6), states the number of mârîk at 6666. The khûr*d*ak or 'small' things are probably the consonants.

XLI, 17), of which each stanza is three lines; sixty-six stanzas of the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII–XLV), of which each stanza is five lines, except Haê*k*a*d*-aspâ (Yas. XLV, 15), for that one is four lines; forty-one stanzas of the Spe*n*tâ-mainyû Gâtha (Yas. XLVI–XLIX), of which each stanza is four lines; twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), of which each stanza is three[1] lines; *and* nine stanzas of the Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti (Yas. LII), of which each stanza is four lines, except Ithâ-î (Yas. LII, 6), for that one is a stanza of five;—the amount of the foregoing[2] is 278 stanzas[3].

CHAPTER XIV[4].

0. May it be in the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation!

1. When they consecrate a sacred cake (drônô), *and* it becomes demon worship[5], what and how many *things* are not proper?

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[1] All MSS. have 'four,' and then add the exception about Ithâ-î to the account of this Gâtha, instead of mentioning it in the details of the Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti; which blunder is here corrected.

[2] Reading kadmon yehevûni*s*nŏ, but the latter word, with part of the ciphers which follow, is torn away in K20, and in M6 it is written so as to resemble the Avesta letters gnn gnn, which are unintelligible, though something like Pahl. yehevûni*s*nŏ; there can, however, be little doubt as to the general meaning of the phrase.

[3] The number of lines is easily computed from the same details, as follows:—300 + 120 + 329 + 164 + 66 + 37 = 1016 lines, as stated in § 50, and as they still exist in the Gâtha texts.

[4] This chapter is also found in L15, fols. 1–4, and a Pâzand version of §§ 1–3 exists in L22, fols. 126, 127, and L7, fols. 78, 79.

[5] That is, it becomes desecrated through some fault in the cere-

2. The decision is this:—Whoever knowingly consecrates a sacred cake with unpurified *sacred* twigs (baresôm-i apâ*d*iyâ*v*)[1], or with a twig-bundle the number of whose twigs (tâk) is *too* many or *too* few, or of another plant not proper *for sacred* twigs; or holds the end of the twig-bundle to the north[2] *and* utters the Avesta attentively; or whoever consecrates with efficacy unawares, *it* is not to be considered as uttered by him. 3. *Nor by him* who advertently or inadvertently takes a taste (*k*âshnîk), not from the sacred cake with the butter (gâû*s*-dâê)[3], *but* from the frasast; or takes the prayer (vâ*g*)[4] *inwardly* regarding that cake (drônô) before the officiating priest (zôt) takes a taste from the same cake; or shall utter the length of a stanza *in* excess, *and* does not again make a beginning of the *consecration of the* sacred cake; or takes *up* the

mony, for any ceremony, which is too imperfect for acceptance by the celestial beings, is supposed to be appropriated by the demons, as performed for their benefit (see Chap. IX, 5). Demon worship is a term also applied to many other evil actions which are supposed to give the demons special power over the perpetrator of them.

[1] See Chap. III, 32, note.

[2] The supposed direction of the demons (see Chaps. X, 7, XII, 18). When praying, a Parsi must face either the sun, or a fire or lamp; and when the direction of the sun is doubtful, or when it is nearly overhead, he must face to the south, even when he is in so low a latitude that the sun may be somewhat to the north of him.

[3] Which usually takes the place of the meat-offering mentioned in Chap. XI, 4–6, and is placed upon one of the cakes on the left side of the table during consecration, while the frasasts are the cakes on the right-hand side of the table (see Chap. III, 32, note).

[4] That is, prepares for eating by muttering the portion of the grace which is to be recited in a low murmur before eating (see Chap. III, 6, note). This clause is omitted in K20.

dedication *formula* (shnûmanŏ)[1] *too* soon or *too* late; or does not utter the Avesta for the fire when he sees the fire.

4. This is how it is when the period *of the day* (gâs)[2] is retained, and how it should be when *one* may relinquish *it;* that is, when even one of the stars created by Aûharmazd is apparent, *it* is retained, *and* when not *it* is relinquished. 5. It is Vand-Aûharmazd[3] *who* said that when, besides Tîstar, Vanand, *or* Satavês[4], one of the zodiacal *stars* (akhtarîk) is apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished. 6. *There* have been *some* who said that when, besides one of those three, three zodiacal *stars* are apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished[5].

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[1] See Chaps. III, 35, VII, 8.

[2] See Bund. XXV, 9. The text appears to refer to the transition from the Ushahina to the Hâvani Gâh at daybreak; and as certain portions of the prayers are varied according to the period of the day, it is very necessary to know precisely when each period commences, so as to avoid vitiating the whole ceremonial by the use of a wrong prayer.

[3] See Chap. I, 4, note.

[4] Three of the leading stars, probably Sirius, Fomalhaut, and Antares (see Bund. II, 7).

[5] This chapter is followed (in both the old MSS. M6 and K20) by the Pahlavi text of the Patît-i Khûd, or renunciation of one's own *sin*, a translation of which will be found in Bleeck's English version of the Avesta, London, 1864, III, pp. 159–162, derived from Spiegel's German translation of the Pâzand text. This translation is fairly correct on the whole, although some passages might be improved, thus (p. 162), instead of 'all sins which may attack the character of man [or] have attacked my character, if I, on account of much death, have not recognised the death,' &c., we should read 'of all sins which may become the lot of men, and have become my lot, on account of whose excessive number I do not know the number,' &c.

PART III.—*Appendix*[1].

CHAPTER XV[2].

1. *It* is revealed by a passage of the Avesta that Zaratûst, seated before Aûharmazd, always wanted information (vâk) from him; and he spoke to Aûharmazd thus: 'Thy head, hands, feet, hair, face, and tongue are in my eyes just like those even which are my own, and you have the clothing men have; give me a hand, so that I may grasp thy hand.'

2. Aûharmazd said thus: 'I am an intangible spirit; *it* is not possible to grasp my hand.'

3. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Thou art intangible, and Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvaîrô[3], Spendarmad, Horvadad, and Amerôdad are intangible, and when I depart from thy presence, and do not see thee *nor* even them—since of the person whom[4] I see and worship *there* is something—*should* thou and the seven archangels be worshipped by me, or not[5]?'

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[1] This Appendix consists of a number of fragments found in the old MS. M6, and of somewhat the same character as the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, but they have no claim to be considered as a portion of that work. Excepting Chaps. XVIII, XIX, XXI, they are not found in the other old MS. K20, and beyond the fact that they must be more than five centuries old their age is quite uncertain, though some of them are probably older than others.

[2] This chapter follows the Patît-i Khûd in M6, and is also found in L15, fols. 16–28; for a Pâzand version of it, see L22, fols. 113–122, and L7, fols. 70–76.

[3] Written Shatrôîvar throughout this chapter; these six (see Bund. I, 26) with Aûharmazd himself, are the seven archangels.

[4] Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

[5] Zaratûst is doubtful whether he ought to worship beings of

4. Aûharmazd said thus: 'They *should* be; I tell thee, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that each individual of us has produced his own one creation (dâyak) for the world, by means of which they may set going in its body, in the world, that activity which they would exercise in the spiritual existence. 5. *In* the world that which is mine, who am Aûharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohûman are the cattle, of Ar*d*avahi*s*t is the fire, of Shatvaîrô is the metal, of Spendarma*d* are the earth and virtuous woman, of Horvada*d* is the water, *and* of Amerôda*d* is the vegetation. 6. Whoever has learned[1] the care of all these seven, acts and pleases well, his soul never comes into the possession of Aharman and the demons; when he *has* exercised his care of them, he has exercised his care of the seven archangels, *and* ought to teach all mankind in the world.

7. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Aûharmazd in the world, wishes to promote the things of Aûharmazd; *and* whoever he be, with whom Aûharmazd ever is in every place (gâs)[2], it is necessary *that* he should[3] propitiate the righteous man, in whatever

whose existence he had had no tangible evidence, when he no longer saw them; fearing, perhaps, that they might have been mere dreams or optical illusions. But he is told that each of these spiritual beings is the protector of one class of worldly existences, and that the proper treatment of these existences is a man's best means of reverencing the spiritual beings interested in their welfare.

[1] Or 'taught,' for the verb has both meanings.

[2] Or 'at all times;' it is always doubtful whether gâs means 'time' or 'place.'

[3] Throughout this chapter a conditional meaning is given to the verbs by prefixing hanâ, aê, or ı (all representing Pâz. aê or *e*) to the present tense, instead of affixing it.

has happened *and* whatever occurs to him, and should act for his happiness, and afford him protection from the vile. 8. Since the righteous man is a counterpart of Aûharmazd the lord, *and* when the righteous man acts it is caused by him who is Aûharmazd, whoever propitiates the righteous man, his fame and welfare exist a long time in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd and pleasure and joy become his own *in* heaven (vahist).

9. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Vohûman in the world, *and* wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Vohûman; and it is necessary for him, so that Vohûman may be ever with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place (gâs) *and* time, the well-yielding (hûdhâk) cattle, in whatever has happened *and* whatever occurs, and should act for *their* happiness; and in the terrible days and the hurried times (gâs) which *befall* them, he should afford them protection from the oppressive and idle. 10. He should not give *them* as a bribe to a man who is a wicked tyrant, *but* should keep *them* in a pleasant and warm locality and place (gâs); and in summer he should provide them a store of straw and corn, so that it be not necessary to keep *them* on the pastures (*k*arak) in winter; and he should not deliver them *up* for this purpose, that is, "So that I may give them up to the vile," because it is necessary to give to the good; and he should not drive them apart from *their* young, and should not put the young apart from their milk. 11. Since they are counterparts of him (Vohûman) himself in the world, the well-yielding cattle, whoever propitiates those which are well-yielding cattle his fame subsists in the world, and

the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* the best existence[1].

12. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Ar*d*avahi*s*t in the world is *he* who wishes to promote his things; and it is necessary for him, so that Ar*d*avahi*s*t may be with *him* at every place (gâs) and time, *that* he should propitiate the fire of Aûharmazd, in whatever has happened and whatever occurs, *and* should act for *its* happiness; he should not put upon *it* wood, incense, and holy-water[2] which are stolen and extorted, and he should not cook at it a ration (bâhar) which is violently extorted from men. 13. For it is a counterpart of him (Ar*d*avahi*s*t) himself in the world, the fire of Aûharmazd; and whoever propitiates those which are fires of Aûharmazd his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

14. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Shatvaîrô in the world, and wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Shatvaîrô; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Shatvaîrô may be with him at every place and time, *that* he should propitiate melted metal[3] at every place and time. 15. And the propitiation of melted metal is this, that he shall practise habits (âîyînŏ) of the

[1] See Chap. VI, 3.

[2] Holy-water is not put upon the fire, for that would be sinful, but it is presented to the fire, and the outside of the fire-place is sprinkled or washed with it (see Haug's Essays, p. 403). The 'fire of Aûharmazd' means any fire, whether sacred or used for household purposes.

[3] The word may be read either aîyên or asîn (Av. ayangh, Pers. âyan, âhan, or âhîn), which is usually translated 'iron,' but also means 'metal' generally, as it certainly does here, and very probably likewise in B. Yt. I, 1, 5, II, 14, 22.

heart so unsullied and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon *it*, it does not burn. 16. And Âtarôpâ*d* son of Mâraspend[1] even acted in this priestly fashion (dastôbarîh), so that the melted metal, when they drop *it* upon the region (khânŏ) of *his* pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though[2] they were milking milk upon it. 17. When they drop *it* upon the region of the heart of the wicked and sinners, it burns, and they die. 18. And *one* should not commit sin with metal, and with its burning; and should not give gold and silver to the vile. 19. For it is a counterpart of Shatvaîrô himself in the world for him, *and* since he propitiates those which are melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

20. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Spendarma*d* in the world, wishes to promote the things of Spendarma*d*; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Spendarma*d* may be with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the earth and virtuous woman, in whatever has happened and in whatever occurs, *and* should act for *their* happiness. 21. For when he does not spread out (barâ lâ vêshê*d*) this earth, and it does not separate one *piece* from another, his body also *will* not be always

[1] The primate and prime minister of Shâpûr II (A.D. 309–379), who is said to have undergone the ordeal of having melted metal poured upon his chest, in order to prove the truth of the Mazdayasnian religion. The metal used is generally called rûî, 'brass,' but here it is aîyên, 'iron,' though a more fusible metal than either was, no doubt, used.

[2] Reading amat, 'though,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

living upon *it at* every place and time[1]. 22. On account of the lodgment of Spendarma*d* in the earth, when a robber, violent and worthy of death, and wives who are disrespectful to *their* husbands walk about in sinfulness in the world, and their husbands are active *and* virtuous, it becomes much distressed (zanŏîk). 23. This, too, is declared, that, whenever this *earth* becomes distressed (zanîk), it is most *so* at the time when sinners worthy of death are most; for *it* is declared, when sinners worthy of death walk upon *it*, *its* pain and uneasiness become as distressing (dûskhvâr) to it as the dead son on *her* bosom *to* a mother; *and* the lodgment of Spendarma*d* in the earth is little *in* that place whereon sinners worthy of death walk. 24. And her[2] happiness arises from that place when they shall perform tillage and cultivation on it, and a virtuous son is born upon it, and they rear cattle upon it; and it is so one's fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes one's own *in* heaven.

25. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d* in the world, whereas that is necessary which promotes their things, whoever he be it is necessary *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the water and vegetation of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d*, in whatever has happened and in

[1] Meaning that the earth must be tilled in order to support its inhabitants, but there is some doubt as to the exact wording of the translation.

[2] Spendarma*d* is a female archangel; perhaps, however, the earth is meant here, as it is said to be most pleased by the existence of fire-temples, dwellings of righteous people, cultivation, stables, and pastures (see Vend. III, 1–20).

whatever occurs, *and* should seize upon those who consume *and* steal water and vegetation[1]. 26. And he should not act oppressively, he should not walk the world in sinfulness, and should not bring bodily refuse (hîkhar), dead matter (nasâî)[2], *or* any other pollution to water; he should not destroy vegetation unlawfully, and should not give fruit to the idle and vile. 27. For when he commits sin against water and vegetation, even when it is committed against merely a single twig of it, and he has not atoned for it, when[3] he departs from the world the spirits of all the plants in the world stand up high in front of that man, and do not let him go to heaven. 28. And when he has committed sin against water, even when it is committed against a single drop of it, and he has not atoned for *it*, that also stands up as high as the plants stood, and does not let him go to heaven. 29. Since they are counterparts of Horvada*d* and Amerôda*d* themselves, the water and vegetation, whoever propitiates those which be water and vegetation, his fame subsists in the world, and a share of the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his *in* heaven.'

30. Aûharmazd said this also to Zaratûs*t*, namely:

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[1] Reading mûn, 'who,' instead of amat, 'when,' and dûgend, 'they steal,' instead of dûgd (perhaps for dûgak, 'thievish'); and supposing the verb to be vakhdûnê*d*, 'takes, seizes,' and not vâdûnê*d*, 'makes, acts.' If the reverse be assumed, the translation would be thus: 'should act for their *happiness*. When they consume water and vegetation he should not act thievishly and oppressively.'

[2] For the meaning of hîkhar and nasâî, see note on Chap. II, 30.

[3] Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

'My will and pleasure is *that* the observance and propitiation of these seven archangels shall be *as I have* told thee; and do thou, too, speak thus unto men, so that they may commit no sin and may not become wicked, and the splendour of Aûharmazd may become their own *in* heaven.'

31. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy[1].

CHAPTER XVI.

0. In the name of God (yazdân) I write a paragraph (babâ) where the sins which are as it were small are *mentioned* one *by* one.

1. The least sin is a Farmân; *and* a Farmân is three coins of five annas[2], some say three coins. 2. An Âgerept is, as regards whatever weapon (snê*s*) men strike with in the world, whenever the weapon is taken in hand; and taken up by *any* one four finger-*breadths* from the ground *it is* the root[3] of an

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[1] This is the most usual concluding phrase of short Pahlavi texts, and indicates that this account of the best mode of propitiating the archangels is to be considered as a separate text. It is followed in M6 by the paragraphs which constitute the next two chapters.

[2] Reading 3 nûmâî-i 5 ânak, but this is uncertain, and if correct must have been written in India, as the anna is an Indian coin worth nearly three halfpence. The coin of five annas was probably a dirham, as the dirham being about fifty grains of silver (see note on *gûg*an in Chap. I, 2), and the rûpî having formerly been less than 180 grains in Gu*g*arât, the former would be nearly five-sixteenths of the latter, that is, five annas. It may, therefore, be assumed that the amount of the Farmân is here taken at three dirhams, as in Chap. XI, 2; but in § 5 it appears to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, and in Chap. I, 2 as much as sixteen dirhams.

[3] See Chap. II, 69, note.

Âgerept for him; *and* the retribution and punishment for an Âgerept should be fifty-three dirhams (*g*ûgan)[1]. 3. When the weapon turns downwards *it is* the root of an Avôîri*s*t for him, and his sentence (dînâ) is to be changed; his retribution *and* punishment should be seventy-three dirhams[2], which is when anything further occurs. 4. When he shall lay the weapon on *any* one *it is* the root of an Aredû*s* for *him*, and his retribution *and* punishment are thirty stîrs; if the wound thereby made by him be one-fifth of a span (dî*s*t)[3] *it is* no root of an Aredû*s for* him, and his retribution *and* punishment are the same thirty stîrs.

5. I write the degrees of sin:—A Srôshô-*k*aranâm[4] is three coins and a half, a Farmân is a Srôshô-*k*aranâm, an Âgerept is sixteen stîrs, an Avôîri*s*t is twenty-five stîrs, an Aredû*s* is thirty, a Khôr is sixty, a Bâ*z*âî is ninety, a Yât is a hundred and eighty, *and* a Tanâpûhar is three hundred[5].

6. The good works which are in the *ceremonial*

[1] § 5 says sixteen stîrs, which, if equivalent to these fifty-three dirhams, would imply $3\frac{5}{16}$ dirhams to the stîr, instead of four as usually stated (see Chap. I, 2). The amounts mentioned in Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2 are very different.

[2] § 5 says twenty-five stîrs, which, at $3\frac{5}{16}$ dirhams to the stîr (as in the case of Âgerept), would be very nearly eighty-three dirhams, which is probably the number we ought to read in the text, and also, possibly, in Chap. XI, 2.

[3] The dî*s*t is a span of ten finger-breadths (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches) between the thumb and middle finger (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note).

[4] See Chap. IV, 14, note. Comparing the amount here mentioned with that of the Farmân in § 1, the Srôshô-*k*aranâm, which is here made equal to the Farmân, appears to amount to $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, which agrees very nearly with the statement in Chap. X, 24, but differs from that in Chap. XI, 2.

[5] For similar scales of degrees, see Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2.

worship of the sacred beings (ya*z*i*s*n-i yazdân):—*Consecrating* a sacred cake (drôn)[1] is a good work of one Tanâpûhar[2]; a *form of* worship (ya*s*t)[3] is a hundred Tanâpûhars; a Vispara*d*[4] is a thousand Tanâpûhars; a Dô-hômâst[5] is ten thousand; a Dvâ*z*dah-hômâst is a hundred thousand, *and* the merit (kirfak) of every one which is *performed* with holy-water is said *to be* a hundred to one; a Hâ*d*-ôkht[6] is two thousand Tanâpûhars, *and* with holy-water it becomes a hundred to one[7].

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[1] See Chap. III, 32. The Persian Rivâyats explain that this is when the proper ritual is merely recited, without using the sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus; when the twigs are used the merit is ten times as great.

[2] That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

[3] A Ya*s*t is a formula of praise in honour of some particular angel; when recited with all the accessories of sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus, the merit is ten times as great as is mentioned in the text.

[4] The Vispara*d* service includes the Yasna, and when performed with the use of the sacred twigs, holy-water, and other ceremonial apparatus the merit is ten times as great as here stated; some authorities say it is a hundred times as great.

[5] This kind of Hômâst is not mentioned in Dastûr Jâmâspji's explanation of this species of religious service (see B. Yt. II, 59, note); it occurs, however, in the Nîrangistân as a distinct kind, though called merely Hômâst in the Persian Rivâyats.

[6] See B. Yt. III, 25.

[7] The merits of other prayers and ceremonies are detailed in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, that of the ordinary recital of a Vendidad (which includes both Yasna and Vispara*d*) is sixty thousand Tanâpûhars, and when with sacred twigs and holy-water it is a hundred thousand; that of the recital of any Nyâyi*s* (see Chap. VII, 4), or of taking and retaining a prayer (vâ*g*, see Chap. III, 6) inwardly, is one Tanâpûhar.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. This, too, Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Which is the time when *one* must not eat meat?'

2. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'In a house when a person shall die, until three nights are completed, nothing whatever of meat is to be placed on a sacred cake (drôn) therein and in *its* vicinity[1]; but these, such as milk, cheese, fruit, eggs, and preserves, are to be placed; *and* nothing whatever of meat is to be eaten *by* his relations[2]. 3. In all the three days it is necessary to perform the ceremonial (yazisn) of Srôsh for this *reason*, because Srôsh will be able to save his soul from the hands of the demons *for* the three days[3]; and when *one* con-

[1] Reading va hamgôshak, the latter word being apparently used in a parallel passage in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64 in old MSS.; this reading is, however, somewhat doubtful here, and perhaps we ought to read 'on a sacred cake in that roofed place (pavan zak vâmkînîh);' the last word being a possible term for 'roofing' as it stands, though it may be a miswriting of vâmpôs (Pers. bâmpôs, 'roofing').

[2] The Parsis, nowadays (Dastûr Hoshangji says), do not cook for three days under a roof where a death has occurred, but obtain food from their neighbours and friends; but if the cookroom be under a separate roof, as often happens in India, they have no objection to cooking there.

[3] The soul is supposed to hover about the body for the first three nights after death, during which time it has to rely upon the angel Srôsh (see Bund. XXX, 29) for protection from the demons, which the angel, it is presumed, will afford more efficiently if properly propitiated by the surviving relatives. At the third dawn after death (that is, the dawn of the fourth day inclusive of the day of death) the soul is supposed to depart finally for the other world (see AV. IV, 8–36, XVII, 5–27).

stantly performs a ceremonial *at* every period (gâs)[1] in the three days *it* is *as* good as though they should celebrate the whole religious ritual (hamâk dînô) at one time. 4. And after the third night, *at* dawn, *one* is to consecrate three sacred cakes (drôn), one *for* Rashnû *and* Âstâd, the second *for* Vâê the good[2], *and* the third *for* the righteous guardian spirit (ardâî fravard); and clothing[3] is to be placed upon the sacred cake of the righteous guardian spirit. 5. For the fourth day it is allowable to slaughter a sheep[4], *and* the fourth day the ceremonial (yazisn) of the righteous guardian spirit is to be performed; and afterwards are the tenth-day, the monthly, and, then, the annual *ceremonies;* and the first monthly is exactly on the thirtieth day, and the annual on the particular day[5]. 6. When he

[1] These periods of the day are five in summer, and four in winter (see Bund. XXV, 9, 10).

[2] The usual name of the angel Râm (the Vayu of Râm Yt.) who, with the angels Rashnû and Âstâd, is supposed to be stationed at the Kinvad bridge, where the soul has to give an account of its actions during life shortly after the dawn following the third night after death (see AV. V, 3, CI, 21, note, Mkh. II, 115).

[3] This clothing must be new and good, and is supposed to be supplied to the spirit to prevent its appearing unclothed in the other world, where the clothing of the soul is said to be formed 'out of almsgivings' (Chap. XII, 4); to fulfil which condition the clothes provided are presented to the officiating priests (see Saddar Bundahis LXXXVII).

[4] Or 'goat.'

[5] That is, on the exact anniversary of the death; the sentence is rather obscure, but this appears to be the meaning. With regard to the ceremonies after a death, the Persian Rivâyats give more details, which may be summarized as follows:—On each of the first three days a Srôsh Yast is performed and a Srôsh Drôn consecrated (see Chap. III, 32, note). On the third night, in the middle of the Aiwisrûthrem Gâh (dusk to midnight), a renuncia-

shall die *at* a place distant *from that* where the information arrives, when the three *days' ceremonies* (satûîh) are celebrated *at* that place where he shall die *it* is well, when not, their celebration is *to be at* this place, *and* from the *time* when the information arrives, until three nights are completed, it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of Srôsh, *and* after three days and nights it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.'

7. *In* one place *it* is declared, that of him whose begetting is owing to the demons, of him who commits sodomy, and of him who performs the religious rites (dînô) of apostasy, of none of the three do

tion of sin is performed in the house of the deceased; and in the Ushahin Gâh (midnight to dawn) four Drôns are consecrated, one dedicated to the good Vâê (Nâ-î veh), one to Rashn and Âstâd, one to Srôsh, and one to the righteous (ashôân), and in front of the last are placed new and clean clothes with fruit, but without an egg. On the fourth day, at sunrise, the Dahmân Âfrîngân (Yas. LIX) is recited, and then the Khûrshêd and Mihir Nyâyis, after which the people in the house can first eat fresh-cooked meat. During the fourth day also the Yast of the righteous is performed, and the Drôn of the righteous is consecrated; and the same again on the tenth day, together with the recitation of the Dahmân Âfrîngân. On the thirtieth day the Sîrôzah (praise of the thirty days) is to be celebrated, with the dedication to the thirty days; thirty-three beans (lûvak) and thirty-three eggs, with fruit, being placed in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; and, afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh. The next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous; a suit of clothes and fruit being placed in front of the Drôn. And each day a Yast of the righteous is performed, a Drôn of the righteous is consecrated, and an Âfrîngân recited. On the same day every month the same Yast, Drôn, and Âfrîngân are celebrated; a priest also undergoes the Bareshnûm for the deceased, a Gêtî-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28) is performed, and three Vendidads dedicated to Srôsh. On each day at the end of a year the Sîrôzah Yast is performed, and a Drôn

they restore the dead[1], for this *reason*, because he whose begetting is owing to the demons is himself a demon[2], and the soul of him who commits sodomy will become a demon[3], and the soul of him *who* performs the religious rites of apostasy will become a darting snake[4].

8. This, too, is revealed by the Avesta[5], that Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Give ye up the persons of all men, with the submissiveness of worshippers, to that man *to* whom the whole Avesta and Zand is easy[6], so that he may make you acquainted with duties and good works; because men go to hell for this *reason*, when they do not submit *their* persons to priestly control (aêrpatistân), and do not become acquainted with duties and good works.'

9. Query:—There is an action which, according to the Avesta[7], is not good for a person to do, *and* the sentence of 'worthy of death' is set upon *it;* for *one's* better preservation is *one* not to do that action,

dedicated to the thirty days is consecrated, thirty-three beans being placed, with one Drôn, one Frasast (see Chap. III, 32, note), one pentagonal Drôn as the sun, one crescent-shaped as the moon, thirty-three eggs, and fruit, in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân, and the next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous, a suit of clothes being placed before the Drôn, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân.

[1] That is, there is no resurrection for them.

[2] And, therefore, not immortal according to the Parsi faith.

[3] Compare Vend. VIII, 98–106.

[4] Which being a creature of the evil spirit is doomed to destruction.

[5] But it is doubtful if the passage be extant.

[6] That is, the man who knows the whole scripture and commentary by heart.

[7] Reading pavan Avistâk, instead of Avistâk pavan.

or to accomplish *and* urge *it* on, for the advance of religion in a state of uncertainty (var-hômandîh)? 10. The answer is this, that when they act well for *their* better preservation *there* is no fear, on account of acting well, but *one* is not to forsake that[1], too, though *it* be not goodness; a forsaken duty is very bad, for a contempt of it enters into one.

11. This, too, is declared, that Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'From what place do these people rise again? from that place where they first went into *their* mothers, or from that place where the mothers have given *them* birth, or from that place where *their* bodies happen *to be* (aûftêd)?' 12. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'Not from that place where they have gone into *their* mothers, nor from that place where they have been born from *their* mothers, nor from that place where *their* bodies and flesh happen *to be*, for they rise from that place where the life went out from their bodies.' 13. And this, too, he asked, that is: 'Whence do they raise[2] *him* again who is suspended from anything, *and* shall die in the air?' 14. The reply *was:* 'From that place where his bones and flesh first fall to the ground; hence, except when he shall die on a divan (gâs) or a bed (vistarg), before they carry him away, whatever *it*

[1] The religion in a position of difficulty appears to be the meaning, but the reply to this question of casuistry is by no means clear.

[2] Literally, 'they rise,' both here and in the next section, but the change to the plural number is perplexing, unless it refers to those who prepare the resurrection of the dead (Bund. XXX, 4, 7, 17), as here assumed by reading 'they raise.'

is, a fragment[1] is to be taken and to be laid across his limbs; for when the usage is not so, they raise him again from that place where his body arrives at the ground.'

15. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy[2].

CHAPTER XVIII[3].

1. It is said in revelation that Aêshm[4] rushed into the presence of Aharman[5], and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* not go into the world, because Aûharmazd, the lord, has produced three things in the world, *to* which it is not possible *for* me to do anything whatever.'

2. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Say which are those three things.'

3. Aêshm exclaimed thus: 'The season-festival

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[1] Apparently a fragment of the place whereon the death took place is meant by ka*d*âm-ı pârak.

[2] The miscellaneous passages which follow Sls. in M6 terminate at this point, which is the end of the first volume of that MS. The next three chapters are taken from the latter end of the other volume of M6.

[3] Both this chapter and the next are also found in K20, the first being placed before the first part of Sls., and the second before the second part. Chap. XVIII also occurs in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahi*s*, just after Chap. XXXIV of that text (see Introduction, p. xxx), and a Pâzand version of it occupies the same position in L7 and L22, and is translated by Justi as the last chapter of the Bundahi*s*, in his German translation of that work (see Introduction, p. xxvi).

[4] The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17)

[5] See Bund. I, 3. Aêshm, as the chief agent of in his machinations against mankind, rushes into presence in hell to complain of the difficulties he enco

(gâsânbâr)[1], the *sacred* feast (myazd), and next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das).'

[1] See Bund. XXV, 1, 3, 6. The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. An explanation of the cause of the inequality of these intervals has been proposed by Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, which is well worthy of attention, and appears to have been first published in 1867 in Nos. 7 and 8 of his Zartosti Abhyas. His view is that the mediæval Zoroastrians, beginning their year at the vernal equinox (Bund. XXV, 6, 13, 21), recognised originally only two seasons, a summer of seven months and a winter of five (Bund. XXV, 7), and they held a festival, not only at the end of each season, that is, on the 210th and 365th days of their year, but also in the middle of each season, that is, on the 105th and 290th days of their year. That these two latter were mid-season festivals is proved by their Avesta names, Maidhyô-shema and Maidhyâirya, beginning with the word maidhya, 'middle.' Later on, the Zoroastrians divided their year into four equal seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter (Bund. XXV, 20), and without interfering with their old festivals, they would, no doubt, have wished to celebrate the end and middle of each of their new seasons. The ends of these four seasons occur on the 90th, 180th, 270th, and 365th days of the year, and their mid-points are the 45th, 135th, 225th, and 320th days; but the Zoroastrians already held a festival on the 365th day, and celebrated midsummer and midwinter (the 135th and 320th days of their new calendar) on the 105th and 290th days of their year, and they would consider the 90th, 225th, and 270th days too close to their old festivals of the 105th, 210th, and 290th days to allow of the former being held as new festivals; so that they would have only the midspring festival, on the 45th day, and that of the end of summer, on the 180th day, to add to their old festivals. It may be objected that the end of summer was already celebrated on the 210th day, and, for this reason, it is more probable that the festivals were intended to celebrate the beginnings and mid-points of the seasons, rather than their ends and mid-points. According to this view, the six season-festivals were intended, respectively, to celebrate midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring. That they were also intended to commemorate, respectively, the

4. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Enter into the season-festival! if one of those *present* shall steal a single thing the season-festival is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with[1] thy wish; enter into the *sacred* feast[2]! if only one of those *present* shall chatter the *sacred* feast is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with thy wish; *but* avoid next-of-kin marriage[3]! because I do not know a remedy for it; for whoever *has* gone four times near to *it will* not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels[4].'

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creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man, is a belief of later times, derived probably from a foreign source.

[1] Reading pavan, 'with,' instead of barâ, 'beyond,' as in the next clause of the sentence (see p. 176, note 5).

[2] By the sacred feast is meant the consecration of sacred cakes, with meat-offerings and the recital of the Âfrîngâns or blessings (see Chaps. III, 32, XI, 4).

[3] By next-of-kin marriage Parsis nowadays understand the marriage of first cousins, which they consider a specially righteous act; and the passages in Pahlavi texts, which appear to approve of marriages between brother and sister, father and daughter, and mother and son, they explain as referring to the practices of heretics (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's English translation of the Dînkar*d*, p. 96, note). How far this explanation may be correct has not been ascertained, for the passages in question are rather obscure, and have not been thoroughly examined. But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood, about the time of the Muhammadan conquest (when the practice of next-of-kin marriage was most extolled), were anxious to prevent marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith; and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants.

[4] The object of this chapter is evidently to extol the religious merit of next-of-kin marriage. A Persian version of the passage, contained in M5, fols. 54, 55, adds the following details: 'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô [1] *formulas* that are necessary in each place, and how *they* are to be spoken in performing anything [2].

2. One *by him* who goes forth to an assembly, or before grandees *and* chieftains, or on any business; or when he goes to ask for what he wants (val khvahîsnŏ); also when he quits any business; in each of these situations *he* is to say only one *formula*, so that his business may proceed more promptly [3].

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next-of-kin marriage is that of a brother's son and a younger (dîgar) brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who contracts a next-of-kin marriage, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary (see Chap. VI, 2), if it is one of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added; if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the next-of-kin marriage betrothal (paîvand) of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûhars; if any one strives to break off a next-of-kin marriage betrothal he is worthy of death.'

[1] See Bund. I, 21.

[2] It appears from the ninth book of the Dînkar*d*, that the contents of this chapter are derived from the first fargar*d* of the Sû*d*kar Nask (see B. Yt. I, 1, note). The account given by the Dînkar*d* contains fewer details, but, so far as it goes, it is in accordance with our text, except that it seems to transfer the object of § 10 to § 12, and removes the objects of §§ 12, 13 one step onwards; it also adds 'going on a bridge' to § 2. The Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûn*g*yah gives further details, as will be mentioned in the notes below.

[3] The Persian Rivâyat adds to these occasions, when he goes on the water, or a river, or goes to borrow, or to ask repayment of a loan, or goes out from his house, or comes into it.

3. *That* a blessing (âfrînô) may be more benedictory, for this *reason one* utters two *formulas;* for *there* are two kinds of blessing, one is that which is in the thoughts [1], and one is that which is in words.

4. Four are for coming out more thankfully when at a season-festival [2].

5. Five *by him* who goes to atone for sin, in order to expel the fiend; because it is necessary to undergo punishment by the decision (dastôbarîh) of these five persons, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, *the tribe-ruler* [3], the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratûs*t*; and five Ashem-vohûs [4] are to be uttered by him at the end.

6. Six *by him* who goes to seek power, and to battle, so that he may be more successful.

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[1] The words pavan mînis*n* are guessed, for this first clause is omitted by mistake in M6, and these two words are illegible in K20, except part of the last letter.

[2] K20 substitutes for val, 'at,' the following mutilated phrase: [. . . . aNh*a*u khshapô ka*d*âr*k*âî pavan ka*d*âr*k*âî] madam vazlûnê*d* râ*d*îh-i; the portion in brackets being evidently a fragment from the Hâ*d*ôkht Srôsh Yt. 5 with Pahlavi translation (a passage which treats of the efficacy of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô). If this fragment be not merely a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text by mistake, we must translate the whole section as follows: 'Four are for the more thankful coming out of the liberality of a season-festival, when the *passage*, "*on that day nor* on that night *comes there* anything whatever on any one," goes on.' The Dînkar*d* has merely: 'Four by *him* who is at the invocation of the chiefs *of creation and* the celebration of a season-festival.' The Persian Rivâyats omit the section altogether.

[3] This person is omitted both in M6 and K20, but he is wanted to make up the five. This section is omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

[4] See Bund. XX, 2. These are to be recited after the punishment is over.

7. Seven *by him* who goes to perform the worship of God (yazdân), *so that* the archangels may come more forward[1] at the worship.

8. Eight *by him* who goes to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.

9. Nine *by him* who goes to sow corn; these he utters for this *reason*, because the corn will ripen (rasê*d*) in nine months, *and* so that the corn may come forward he will make the mischief of the noxious creatures less[2].

10. Ten *by him* who goes to seek a wife, so that the presents may be favourable for the purpose. 11. Ten *by him* who wishes to allow the male *access* to beasts *of burden* and cattle, so that it may be more procreative[3].

12. Eleven *by him* who goes to the lofty mountains, so that the glory of mountains and hills may bless him *and* be friendly[4].

13. Twelve *by him* who goes to the low districts, so that the glory of that country and district may bless him and be friendly[5].

14. Thirteen *by him* who shall become pathless; *at* that same place he shall utter *them;* or *by him*

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[1] Or 'may arrive earlier;' there being seven archangels has suggested the number seven. This section and the next are omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

[2] The Persian Rivâyats add general cultivation, planting trees, and cohabitation with one's wife.

[3] Instead of §§ 10, 11 the Persian Rivâyats have buying quadrupeds, and driving pegs into the ground for picketing them.

[4] The Persian Rivâyats substitute conference with a maiden, seeking a wife, giving one's children in marriage, and obtaining anything from another.

[5] The Persian Rivâyats add going up hills, mounting anything lofty, going on a bridge, and losing one's way.

who shall pass over a bridge and a river, so that the spirit of that water may bless him[1]; because the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is greater and more successful *than* everything in the Avesta as to all rivers, all wholesomeness, and all protection.

15. Religion is as connected with the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as the hair is more connected with the glory of the face; any one, indeed, would dread (samâ*d*) to separate hairiness *and* the glory of the face.

CHAPTER XX[2].

1. *In* one place it is declared that it is said by revelation (dînô) that a man is to go as much as possible (*k*and vê*s*-ast) to the abode of fires[3], and the salutation (nîyâyi*s*nŏ) of fire[4] is to be performed *with* reverence; because three times every day the archangels form an assembly in the abode of fires, and shed good works and righteousness there; and then the good works and righteousness, which are shed there, become more lodged in the body of *him* who goes much thither, and performs many salutations of fire *with* reverence.

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[1] The Persian Rivâyats substitute going to and entering a city or town; they also add twenty-one recitations on setting out on a journey, so that the angel Bahrâm may grant a safe arrival.

[2] The contents of this chapter conclude the MS. M6; a few lines even having been lost at the end of that MS., though preserved in some of its older copies. A more modern copy, in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains §§ 4–17, appended to the Bundahi*s*. Complete Pâzand versions, derived from M6, occur in L7 and L22, immediately following the Pâzand of Chap. XVIII.

[3] The fire-temple.

[4] That is, the Âtâ*s* Nyâyi*s* is to be recited.

2. This, too, that the nature of wisdom is just like fire; for, in this world, *there* is nothing which shall become so complete as that thing which is made with wisdom; and every fire, too, that they kindle and *one* sees from far, makes manifest *what is* safe and uninjured (aîrâkht); whatever is safe in fire is safe for ever, and whatever is uninjured in fire is uninjured for ever.

3. This, too, that a disposition in which is no wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied (anâhûk) fountain which is choked (bastŏ) and never goes into use; and the disposition with which *there* is wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied fountain, over which an industrious man stands *and* takes *it* into use; cultivation restrains *it*, and it gives crops (bar) to the world.

4. This, too, that these three things are to be done by men, to force the *demon of* corruption (nasûs)[1] far away from the body, to be steadfast in the religion, and to perform good works. 5. To force the *demon of* corruption far away from the body is this, that before the sun *has* come up *one* is to wash the hands[2] and face with bull's urine and water; to be steadfast in the religion is this, that *one* is to reverence the sun[3]; and to perform good works is this, that *one* is to destroy several noxious creatures.

6. This, too, that the three greatest concerns of men are these, to make him who is an enemy a friend, to make him who is wicked righteous, and to make him who is ignorant learned. 7. To make

[1] See Chap. II, 1. [2] See Chap. VII, 7.
[3] See Chap. VII, 1–6.

an enemy a friend is this, that out of the worldly wealth *one* has before him he keeps a friend in mind; to make a wicked *one* righteous is this, that from the sin, whereby he becomes wicked, *one* turns him away; and to make an ignorant *one* learned is this, that *one* is to manage himself so that he who is ignorant may learn of him.

8. This, too, *that* the walks of men are to be directed chiefly to these three places, to the abode of the well-informed, to the abode of the good, *and* to the abode of fires[1]. 9. To the abode of the well-informed, that so *one* may become wiser, and religion be more lodged in *one's* person; to the abode of the good for this *reason*, that so, among good and evil, he may thereby renounce the evil and carry home *the good*[2]; and to the abode of fires for this *reason*, that so the spiritual fiend may turn away from him.

10. This, too, that *he* whose actions are for the soul, the world is then his own, and the spiritual *existence* more his own; and *he* whose actions are for the body, the spiritual *existence* has *him* at pleasure, *and* they snatch the world from him compulsorily.

11. This, too, that Bakht-âfrî*d*[3] said, that every Gâtha (gâsân)[4] of Aûharmazd has been an opposi-

[1] The fire-temple.

[2] Assuming that the word *s*apîrîh, 'the good,' has been omitted by mistake; the sentence appearing to be unintelligible without it.

[3] See B. Yt. I, 7.

[4] The word gâsân being plural, Gâtha must be taken in its collective sense as an assemblage of hymns. The word can also be read dahî*s*n, 'creation,' but this meaning seems improbable here.

tion of the one adversary, and the renunciation *of sin* (patîtîk)[1] for the opposition of every fiend.

12. This, too, that, regarding the world, anxiety is not to be suffered, it is not to be considered as anything whatever, and is not to be let slip from the hand. 13. Anxiety is not to be suffered for this *reason*, because that which is ordained will happen; it is not to be considered as anything whatever for this *reason*, because should it be expedient it is necessary to abandon *it;* and it is not to be let slip from the hand for this *reason*, because it is proper, in the world, to provide a spiritual *existence* for oneself.

14. This, too, that the best thing is truth, and the worst thing is deceit; and *there* is *he* who speaks true *and* thereby becomes wicked, and *there* is *he* who speaks false *and* thereby becomes righteous.

15. This, too, that fire is not to be extinguished[2], for *this* is a sin; and *there* is *he* who extinguishes *it*, *and* is good.

16. This, too, is declared, that nothing is to be given to the vile; and *there* is *he by* whom the best and most pleasant ragout (khûr*d*îk) is to be given to the vile.

17. On these, too, is the attention of men *to be fixed*, because *there* is a remedy for everything but death, a hope for everything but wickedness, everything will lapse[3] except righteousness, it is possible

[1] That is, the Patit or formula of renunciation (see Chap. IV, 14).

[2] Literally, 'killed.'

[3] M6 ends at this point, the next folio being lost. The remainder of the chapter has been recovered from a copy in Bombay, checked by the Pâz. MSS. L7 and L22, all of which must have

to manage everything but temper (gôhar), and it is possible *for* everything to change but divine providence (bakô-bakhtô).

18. This, too, is declared, that Frê*d*ûn[1] wished to slay A*z*-i Dahâk[2], *but* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Do not slay *him* now, for the earth will become full of noxious creatures.'

CHAPTER XXI[3].

1. I write the indication of the midday shadow; may it be fortunate!

2. Should the sun come[4] into Cancer *the shadow* is one foot of the man, *at* the fifteenth *degree* of Cancer *it* is one foot; *when* the sun is at Leo *it* is

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been derived from M6 before it lost its last folio; whereas the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection at Oxford, which ends at the same point, must have been written after the folio was lost.

[1] See Bund. XXXI, 7.

[2] See Bund. XXIX, 9, XXXI, 6, B. Yt. III, 55–61.

[3] The contents of this chapter, regarding the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, immediately follow a tale of Gô*s*t-i Fryânô, which is appended to the book of Ar*d*â-Vîrâf's journey to the other world, both in M6 and K20. As will be seen from the notes, these details about shadows were probably compiled at Yazd in Persia, as they are suitable only for that latitude.

[4] Reading âya*d*-ae (a very rare form), or it may be intended for hômanâe, 'should it be,' but it is written in both MSS. exactly like the two ciphers for the numeral 5. Mullâ Fîrûz in his Avî*g*eh Dîn, p. 279 seq., takes 5 khadûk pâî as implying that the shadow is under the sole of the foot, or the sun overhead; but neither this reading, nor the more literal 'one-fifth of a foot,' can be reconciled with the other measures; though if we take 5 as standing for pan*g*ak, 'the five *toes* or sole,' we might translate as follows: '*When* the sun is at Cancer, *the shadow* is the sole of one foot of the man.'

one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Leo *it* is two feet; *when* the sun is at Virgo *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Virgo *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Libra *it* is four[1] feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Libra *it* is five feet and a half[2]; *at* Scorpio *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Scorpio *it* is seven[3] feet and a half; *at* Sagittarius *it* is eight feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Sagittarius *it* is nine feet and a half; *at* Capricornus *it* is ten feet, *at* the fifteenth of Capricornus *it* is nine[4] feet and a half; *at* Aquarius *it* is eight[5] feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aquarius *it* is seven feet and a half; *at* Pisces *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Pisces *it* is five feet and a half; *at* Aries *it* is four feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aries *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Taurus *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Taurus *it* is two feet; *at* Gemini *it* is one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Gemini *it* is one foot[6].

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[1] K20 has 'three' by mistake.

[2] M6 omits 'and a half' by mistake.

[3] K20 has 'six' by mistake.

[4] Both MSS. omit one cipher, and have only 'six,' but the shadow must be the same here as at the fifteenth of Sagittarius.

[5] Both MSS. have 'seven,' which is clearly wrong.

[6] It is obvious that, as the length of a man's shadow depends upon the height of the sun, each of these observations of his noonday shadow determines the altitude of the sun at noon, and is, therefore, a rude observation for finding the latitude of the place, provided we know the ratio of a man's foot to his stature. According to Bund. XXVI, 3 a man's stature is eight spans (vitast), and according to Farh. Okh. p. 41 a vitast is twelve finger-breadths, and a foot is fourteen (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note), so that a man's stature of eight spans is equivalent to $6\frac{6}{7}$ feet. Assuming this to have been the ratio adopted by the observer, supposing the obliquity of the ecliptic to have been 23° 35′ (as it

3. The midday shadow is written[1], may *its* end be good!

4. I write the indication of the Aûzêrîn (afternoon)[2] *period of the day;* may it be well *and* fortunate by the help of God (yazdân)!

5. When the day is at a maximum (pavan afzûnŏ), *and* the sun comes unto the head[3] of Cancer, *and one's* shadow becomes six feet and two parts[4], he makes *it* the Aûzêrîn period (gâs). 6.

was about A.D. 1000), and calculating the latitude from each of the thirteen different lengths of shadow, the mean result is 32° 1′ north latitude, which is precisely the position assigned to Yazd (the head-quarters of the small remnant of Zoroastrians in Persia) on some English maps, though some foreign maps place it 15′ or 20′ farther south. With regard to the rough nature of this mode of observation it may be remarked that, as the lengths of the shadows are noted only to half a foot, there is a possible error of a quarter-foot in any of them; this would produce a possible error of 2° 4′ in the midsummer observation of latitude, and of 39′ in the midwinter one; or a mean possible error of 1° 22′ in any of the observations; so that the possible error in the mean of thirteen observations is probably not more than 6′, and the probable error is even less, provided the data have been assumed correctly.

[1] Reading nipist, but only the first and last letters are legible in M6, and the middle letter is omitted in K20.

[2] See Bund. XXV, 9.

[3] The word sar, 'head,' usually means 'the end,' but it must be here taken as 'the beginning;' perhaps, because the zodiacal signs are supposed to come head-foremost.

[4] What portion of a foot is meant by bâhar, 'part,' is doubtful. It can hardly be a quarter, because 'two quarters' would be too clumsy a term for 'a half.' But it appears from §§ 5–7 that the shadow, necessary to constitute the Aûzêrîn period, is taken as increasing uniformly from six feet and two parts to fourteen feet and two parts, an increase of eight feet in six months, or exactly one foot and one-third per month, as stated in the text. And, deducting this monthly increase of one foot and one-third from the seven and a half feet shadow at the end of the first month, we have six feet and one-sixth remaining for the shadow at the

Every thirty days it always increases one foot *and* one-third, therefore about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot [1], *and when* the sun is at the head of Leo the shadow is seven [2] feet *and* a half. 7. In this series every *zodiacal* constellation is *treated* alike, and the months alike, until the sun comes unto the head of Capricornus, *and* the shadow becomes fourteen feet and two parts. 8. In Capricornus it diminishes again a foot *and* one-third [3]; *and* from there *where* it turns back, because of the decrease of the night and increase of the day, it always diminishes one foot *and* one-third every one of the months, *and* about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot, until it comes back to six feet and two parts; every *zodiacal* constellation *being treated* alike, and the months alike [4].

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beginning of the month. Hence we may conclude that the 'two parts' are equal to one-sixth, and each 'part' is one-twelfth of a foot.

[1] Meaning that the increase of shadow is to be taken into account as soon as it amounts to half a foot, that is, about every ten days. Practically, half a foot would be added on the tenth and twentieth days, and the remaining one-third of a foot at the end of the month.

[2] Both MSS. have 'eight,' but this would be inconsistent with the context, as it is impossible that 'six feet and two parts' can become 'eight feet and a half' by the addition of 'one foot and one-third,' whatever may be the value of the 'two parts' of a foot.

[3] Both MSS. have 3 yak-1 pâî, instead of pâî 3 yak-1.

[4] This mode of determining the beginning of the afternoon period is not so clumsy as it appears, as it keeps the length of that period exceedingly uniform for the six winter months with some increase in the summer time. In latitude 32° north, where the longest day is about 13 hours 56 minutes, and the shortest is 10 hours 4 minutes, these observations of a man's shadow make the afternoon period begin about $3\frac{3}{4}$ hours before sunset at mid-

CHAPTER XXII[1].

1. May Aûharmazd give *thee* the august rank and throne of a champion[2]!

2. May Vohûman give thee wisdom! may the benefit of knowing Vohûman[3] be good thought, and mayest thou be acting well, that is, saving the soul!

3. May Ar*d*avahi*s*t, the beautiful, give thee understanding and intellect!

4. May Shatvaîrô grant thee wealth from every generous one!

5. May Spendarma*d* grant thee praise through the seed of *thy* body! may she give thee *as* wife a woman from the race of the great!

6. May Horvada*d* grant thee plenty and prosperity!

7. May Amerôda*d* grant thee herds of four-footed *beasts!*

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summer, diminishing to $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours at the autumnal equinox, and then remaining very nearly constant till the vernal equinox.

[1] These last two chapters are found written upon some folios which have been added to the beginning of M6; but, though not belonging to that MS. originally, they are still very old. The first of these two chapters has not been found elsewhere; it is an elaborate benediction, in which the writer calls down, upon some one, a series of blessings from each of the thirty archangels and angels whose names are given to the days of the Parsi month in the order in which they here stand (compare the same names in Bund. XXVII, 24).

[2] The meaning of the word pâ*d*rô*g* or pâ*d*ran*g* (which occurs also in §§ 12, 26, and appears to be a title) may be guessed from the following passage in the Yâ*d*kâr-i Zarîrân, or Vi*s*tâsp-shâhnâmak: Pavan har ra*z*m va pâ*d*ra*z*m-i lak pîrô*g* va vêh pâ*d*rô*g* *s*em yâîtyûnî-ae, 'in every attack and counter-attack of thine mayest thou bring *away* the title of conqueror and good champion!'

[3] The reading is uncertain.

8. May Dînô always secure[1] *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

9. May the light of the sublime Âtarô[2] hold thy throne in heaven!

10. May Â*v*ân grant thee wealth from every generous one!

11. May Khûr hold thee without mystery *and* doubt among the great and *thy* compeers (hambu*d*îkân)!

12. May Mâh give thee an assistant, who is the assistant of champions!

13. May Tî*s*tar hold thee a traveller in the countries of the seven regions!

14. Gô*s*ûrvan the archangel[3] is the protection *of* four-footed *beasts.*

15. May Dînô always remain *for thee as* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

16. May Mitrô be thy judge, who shall wish thy existence *to be* vigorous!

17. May Srôsh the righteous, the smiter of demons, keep greed, wrath, and want[4] far from thee! may he destroy *them, and* may he not seize thee *as* unjust!

18. May Rashnû be thy conductor[5] to the resplendent heaven!

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[1] This verb is doubtful; here and in § 23 it is netrûnâ*d*, 'may she guard,' but in § 15 it is ketrûnâ*d*, 'may she remain.'

[2] Bûr*z* âtarô, 'the sublime fire,' seems to be a personification of the fire Berezi-savang of Bund. XVII, 1, 3, the Supremely-benefiting of SZS. XI, 1, 6.

[3] She is usually called an angel. Either the verb is omitted in this section, or it is not a blessing; and the same may be said of §§ 20, 25.

[4] These are the three fiends, Â*z*, Aeshm, and Nîyâz (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17, 26, 27).

[5] It is very possible that the verb should be yehabûnâ*d*,

19. May Fravar*d*în give thee offspring, which may bear the name of *thy* race!

20. Vâhrâm the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike.

21. May Râm, applauding the life of a praiser of the persistent[1] lord, keep thee perfect (aspar), that is, living three hundred years[2], undying and undecaying unto the end of *thy* days!

22. May Vâ*d* bring thee peace[3] from the resplendent heaven!

23. May Dînô always secure *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

24. May Dînô become thy guest in thy home and dwelling!

25. Arshi*s*ang, the beautiful, is the resplendent glory of the Kayâns.

26. May Â*s*tâ*d* be thy helper, who is the assistant of champions!

27. May Âsmân bless thee with all skill and wealth!

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instead of yehevûnâ*d*, in which case we should have 'give thee a passport.'

[1] The meaning of khvâpar (Av. *hv*âpara) is by no means certain; it is an epithet of Aûharmazd, angels, and spirits, and is then often assumed to mean 'protecting;' but it is also a term applied to the earth and offspring; perhaps 'self-sustaining' would suit both its etymology and its various applications best, but the root par has many other meanings.

[2] That is, two great cycles. It is usual for the copyists of Pahlavi MSS. to wish, in their colophons, that the persons for whom the MSS. are written, whether themselves or others, may retain the MSS. for a hundred and fifty years before leaving them to their children; which period is mentioned because it is supposed to constitute a great cycle of the moon and planets.

[3] Written drûd instead of drû*d*.

28. May Zamyâ*d* destroy for thee the demon and fiend out of thy dwelling!

29. May Mâraspend hold thee a throne in the resplendent heaven!

30. May Anîrân the immortal, with every kind of all wealth, become thy desire! the horses of God (yazdân)[1] who shall come that he may go, and thou mayest obtain a victory.

31. May destiny give thee a helper! he is the guardian of the *celestial* sphere for all these archangels whose names I have brought *forward;* may he be thy helper *at* all times, in every good work and duty!

32. Homage to Srît[2] the teacher! may he live long! may he be prosperous *in* the land! may *his* be every pleasure and joy, *and* every glory of the Kayâns, through the will of the persistent Aûharmazd!

Chapter XXIII.

0. In the name of God and the good creation be health[3]!

1. Aûharmazd is more creative, Vohûman is more

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[1] Both nouns are in the plural, and both verbs in the singular. Anîrân is a personification of Av. anaghra rao*ka*u, 'the beginningless lights,' or fixed stars (which, however, are said to have been created by Aûharmazd in Bund. II, 1), and these stars appear to have been considered as horses of the angels (Bund. VI, 3, SZS. VI, 1). There are several uncertain phrases in §§ 30–32.

[2] This would appear to be the name of the person to whom the benediction is addressed, as it can hardly be meant for the ancient hero Thrita, the Athrat of Bund. XXXI, 27, and the Srîtô of SZS. XI, 10, note.

[3] Two versions of this chapter, detailing the qualities of the

embellished [1], Ar*d*avahi*s*t is more brilliant [2], Shatvaîrô is more exalted [3], Spendarma*d* is more fruitful [4], Horvada*d* is moister [5], Amerôda*d* is fatter [6]. 2. Dîn-pa-Âtarô is just like Aûharmazd [7], Âtarô is hotter [8], Â*v*ân is more golden [9], Khûr is more observant [10], Mâh is more protective [11], Tîr is more liberal, Gô*s* is swifter [12]. 3. Dîn [13]-pa-Mitrô is just like Aûharmazd, Mitrô is more judicial, Srôsh is more vigorous, Rashn is more just, Fravar*d*în is more powerful, Vâhrâm is more victorious, Râm is more pleasing, Vâ*d* is more fragrant. 4. Dîn-*pa-Dînô* is just like Aûharmazd, Dînô is more valuable, Ar*d* [14] is more beautiful, Â*s*tâ*d* is purer, Âsmân is more lofty, Zamyâ*d* is more conclusive, Mâraspend is more

thirty angels and archangels, are extant; one in M6, which has lost §§ 3–5, and the other in a very old MS. in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay. This latter, being complete, is here taken as the text, while the variations of M6, which occur in nearly every epithet, are given in the notes. Which version is the oldest can hardly be ascertained with certainty from the state of the MSS. M6 omits this opening benediction.

[1] M6 has 'more nimble.'

[2] M6 has 'more discriminative.'

[3] M6 has 'more active.'

[4] M6 has 'more complete.'

[5] M6 has 'fatter.'

[6] M6 has 'more fruitful.'

[7] M6 has 'Dînô is more desirous.'

[8] M6 has 'more heating.'

[9] Referring perhaps to the golden channels (Bund. XIII, 4, 5) through which the water of Arêdvîvsûr (a title of the angel Â*v*ân, 'waters') is supposed to flow. M6 has 'more glittering.'

[10] M6 has 'more embellished.'

[11] M6 has varpântar, the meaning of which is uncertain.

[12] M6 has 'more listening.'

[13] The version in M6 ends here; the next folio being lost.

[14] The same as Arshi*s*ang (see Bund. XXII, 4).

conveying the religion, Anîrân is the extreme of exertion *and* listening [1].

5. May it be completed in peace and pleasure!

[1] The reading of both these nouns is uncertain. The days of the Parsi month, which bear the names of these thirty angels, are divided, it will be observed, into four nearly equal divisions, resembling weeks, which are here separated in §§ 1–4. The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, and called by his own name; and each of the three other weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, but called by the name of Dîn, 'religion,' with the name of the following day added as a cognomen. The first week, therefore, consists of the day Aûharmazd followed by six days named after the six archangels respectively (see Bund. I, 23, 26). The second week consists of the day Dîn-with-Âtarô followed by six days named after the angels of fire, waters, the sun, the moon, Mercury, and the primeval ox. The third week consists of the day Dîn-with-Mitrô followed by seven days named after the angels of solar light, obedience, and justice, the guardian spirits, and the angels of victory, pleasure, and wind. And the fourth week consists of the day Dîn-with-Dînô followed by seven days named after the angels of religion, righteousness, rectitude, the sky, the earth, the liturgy, and the fixed stars.

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OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pahlavi forms are always given in preference to Pâzand and Persian, when only one is mentioned; but where only a Pâzand form occurs it is printed in italics, as Pâzand orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters, which would elsewhere be italic, are printed in roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta word; Bd. for Bundahi*s*; Byt. for Bahman Ya*s*t; ch. for chapter of Visparad; com. for commentator and commentary; Gu*g*. for Gugarâti; Huz. for Huzvâri*s*; Int. for Introduction; lun. man. for lunar mansion; m. for mountain; meas. for measure; n for foot-note; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; r. for river; Sl. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast; trans. for translation; wt. for weight; zod. for zodiacal constellation; Zs. for Selections of Zâ*d*-sparam.

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Shâh 'Abbâs, Byt. **3**, 34n, 44n.
Shahpûhar, king, Int. 19; Bd. **33**, 2; Byt. **2**, 18n.
Shahpûr, king, Byt. **2**, 18; **3**, 14.
Shahrivar, angel, Byt. **2**, 59n. See Shatvaîrô.
Shapîk, see Sacred shirt.
Shâpûr II, Bd. **33**, 2n, 3n; Byt. **2**, 18n; Sl. **8**, 23n; **15**, 16n.
Shatrô-râm, man, Bd. **12**, 20n.
Shatvaîrô, angel, Bd. **1**, 26; **27**, 24; **30**, 19, 29; Sl. **13**, 14, 39; **15**, 3, 5, 14-19; **22**, 4; **23**, 1; month, Bd. **25**, 20.
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Shêdak, man, Bd. **31**, 18.
Shêdâspîh, fiend, Byt. **3**, 3, 5, 8, 21.
Shîrâz, town, Bd. **29**, 14n.
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Shîrtashôsp, man, Bd. **33**, 4.
Shirvân r., Bd. **20**, 25n.
Shnûman, ritual, Sl. **3**, 35; **7**, (8;) **9**, 11n; **10**, 2; **14**, 3.
Shûstar, town, Bd. **20**, 26n.
Sighing, cause of, Sl. **12**, 32.
Sikandar, king, Bd. **34**, 8n; Byt. **2**, 19n.
Sikidâv m., Bd. **12**, 2.
Silver age, Byt. **1**, 1n, 5; **2**, 17.
Sîmurgh, bird, Bd. **14**, 11n; **18**, 9n; **24**, 11n.
Sin, Zs. **1**, 13, 18; Byt. **2**, 40; **3**, 57; Sl. **2**, 53, 91, 106; **5**, 6; **6**, 4, 6; **8**, 19; **10**, 3, 18, 25, 27; **12**, 31; **15**, 22, 26-28, 30; **20**, 15; affecting accusers, Sl. **8**, (1,) 14, 15, 17; affecting the soul, Sl. **8**, (1,) 16; degrees of, Sl. **1**, 1, 2; **11**, 1, 2; **16**, 1-5; harm, Bd. **5**, 2; **19**, 20; imputed, Sl. **5**, 1; **6**, 2; **8**, 13; making water on foot, Sl. **4**, 8n; **10**, 5; mortal, Sl. **8**, 7, 18, 21, 23; running about uncovered, Bd. **28**, 8, 10; Byt. **2**, 38; Sl. **4**, (8)-10; unseasonable chatter, Bd. **28**, 19; Sl. **4**, (9;) **5**, 1-7; walking with one boot, Bd. **28**, 13; Sl. **4**, 8n, (12.) See Aredûs, Farmân, Khôr, Renunciation, Tanâpûhar, Worthy of death, Yât.
Sînamrû, bird, Bd. **24**, 11n.
Sînd, land, Bd. **15**, 29; **20**, 9, 30.
Sînîk congregation, Sl. **6**, 7.
Sinners, Sl. **15**, 17; mortal, Sl. **8**, 5; put to death, Sl. **8**, 6, 7, 21, 22n.
Sirius, star, Bd. **2**, 7n; **7**, 1n; Sl. **14**, 5n.
Sîrkân, town, Bd. **33**, 11n; Zs. **1**, 0n.
Sîrôzah, ritual, Sl. **7**, 8n; **17**, 5n.
Sîstân, land, Bd. **12**, 9n. See Sagastân.
Siyâh kôh, m., Bd. **12**, 22n.
Sîyâk-hômand m., Bd. **12**, 22.
— mûî-mand m., Bd. **12**, 2.
— tôrâ, man, Bd. **31**, 7.
Sîyâkmak, man, Bd. **15**, 25, 30; **31**, 1, 6; **32**, 1n.
Sîyâvakhsh, prince, Bd. **28**, 15n; **31**, 25; Byt. **3**, 25, 26; Sl. **10**, 28n.
Snake-killer, Bd. **28**, 22.
Sneezing, cause of, Sl. **12**, 32.
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Sogdiana, land, Bd. **20**, 8n.
Soghd, land, Bd. **20**, 19.
Sôk-tôrâ, man, Bd. **31**, 7; **32**, 1n.
Sôshyans, apostle, Bd. **11**, 6; **29**, 6; **30**, 3, 4, 7, 17, 25, 27; **32**, 7n, 8; Byt. **3**, 61n, 62; Sl. **13**, 5; com., Sl. **1**, 3; **2**, 2n, 56, 74, 80, 118, 119; **3**, 13; **6**, 4, 5.
Sôvar, demon, Bd. **1**, 27; **28**, 9n. See Sâvar.
— lake, Bd. **12**, 24n; Zs. **6**, 22. See next.
Sôvbar lake, Bd. **7**, 14; **12**, 24; **22**, 1, 3; Zs. **6**, 22n.
Spaênyasp, man, Bd. **31**, 14, 27.
Spâhân, land, Bd. **12**, 40; **20**, 26; **31**, 40.
Spans, Bd. **26**, 3; Sl. **16**, 4; **21**, 2n.
Sparnak, man, Bd. **31**, 40.
Spazg, demon, Bd. **28**, 31.
Spêd r., Bd. **20**, 7, 13n, 23.
Spêd-razûr, forest, Bd. **24**, 16n; Byt. **3**, 9, 21.
— tôrâ, man, Bd. **31**, 7.
Spênâk-maînôk, Bd. **1**, 1n. See Beneficent spirit.
Spend nask, Sl. **10**, (4;) **12**, 3, 11, 15, 29.
— r., Bd. **20**, 7n, 13n, 23n.

Spendarma*d*, angel, Bd. **1**, 26; **15**, 1; **27**, 24; **30**, 29; Zs. **10**, 3; Byt. **2**, 8, 16, 31, 48, 53, 59n; Sl. **10**, 28; **11**, 4; **13**, 14; **15**, 3, 5, 20-24; **22**, 5; **23**, 1; month, Bd. **25**, 6, 7, 11, 20.
Spend-dâ*d*, prince, Bd. **31**, 29, 30; **34**, 8; Byt. **2**, 17.
Spendyâ*d* m., Bd. **12**, 2, 23.
Spên*g*argâk, demon, Bd. **17**, 1. See Aspengargâk.
Spêni*ſ*t fire, Bd. **17**, 1; Zs. **11**, 1n.
Spe*n*ta-mainyu, Av., Bd. **1**, 1n.
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Srîtak, woman, Bd. **32**, 7n.
Srîtô, man, Zs. **11**, 10n.
Srob, lun. man., Bd. **2**, 3.
Srôsh, angel, Bd. **19**, (33;) **27**, 24; **30**, (29,) 30; **31**, 38; Zs. **11**, 7; Byt. **2**, 59n; **3**, 25, 26, 32, 59; Sl. **13**, 43; **17**, 3, 5n, 6; **22**, 17; **23**, 3.
Srôshô-*k*aranâm, wt., Sl. **4**, 10n, (14;) **5**, 3; **6**, 3; **8**, 9; **10**, 24; **11**, 1, 2; **16**, 5.
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Sughdha, land, Bd. **15**, 29n.
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Syr-darya, r., Bd. **20**, 20n.
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*S*ahî-bûn sea, Bd. **13**, 7, 15.
*S*am, man, Bd. **31**, 27n.
*S*ân, man, Bd. **31**, 17, 18.
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*S*é*d*, r., Bd. **20**, 7.
*S*êr, zod., Bd. **2**, 2.
*S*îdasb, man, Bd. **31**, 27n.
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Tarmaz, town, Bd. **20**, 28n.
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Tûr, land, Bd. **12**, 20; **15**, 29; **21**, 6; **30**, 16; **31**, 27n; Byt. **2**, 62; **3**, 34.
— Brâgrêsh, Byt. **2**, 3n.
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*Urva*d-*gâ*, man, Bd. **31**, 31n; **33**, 4.
*Urva*d-*gâi-frâst*, man, Bd. **31**, 31.
Urvâkhshaya, man, Bd. **31**, 26n.
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Usinemangh, man, Bd. **31**, 33n.
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*Vaêt*and-*i Râghinôi*d, woman, Bd. **31**, 23.
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— i Vargâvand, king, Byt. **3**, 14, 32n, 39, 44n, 49.
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Vakhsh, man, Bd. **33**, 3.
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Vand-Aûharmazd, com., Sl. **1**, 4n; **2**, 2, 6, 44; **14**, 5.
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Varak, zod., Bd. **2**, 2; **5**, 6, 7.
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*Vendese*s r., Bd. **20**, 29.
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Vîda*d*afsh, region, Bd. **5**, 8, 9; **11**, 3; **25**, 10; **29**, 1; Byt. **3**, 47.
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Vîsak, man, Bd. **31**, 16, 17.
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Worship, four kinds, Sl. **9**, 9, 10; of God, Sl. **8**, 22, 23; **10**, 3, 5; **19**, 7; form of, Sl. **12**, 1.
Worthy of death, Bd. **30**, 16; Sl. **2**, 9, (40,) 63, 64, 76, 81, 82, 85, 105, 107, 108; **8**, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 18, 21, 23; **10**, 19; **15**, 22, 23; **18**, 4 n.
Wrath, race of, Byt. **2**, 22, 24, 25, 36; **3**, 1, 6, 10, 13, 21; — with infuriate spear, Byt. **2**, 36; **3**, 24, 30, 35. See Aêshm, Khashm.

Xerxes, Bd. **34**, 8 n.

Yâ*d*kâr-i Zarîrân, book, Byt. **2**, 49 n.
*Ya*mâhu*s*t, man, Bd. **29**, 5.
*Ya*ngha*d*, man, Bd. **31**, 2. See *Ayan*gha*d*.
Yâ-*s*kyaothanâ hâ, Sl. **13**, 10, 14.
Yasna, ritual, Byt. **2**, 59 n; Sl. **9**, 11 n, 12 n; **13**, 1 n; **16**, 6 n; oldest MSS. of, Int. 21; chapters cited, Sl. **13**, 1, 2 n, 4, 6-12, 16-23, 25, 27-33, 35, 37, 38, 41-45, 47, 49-51; of seven ch., Sl. **13**, 0 n, 15-25, 50 n, 51.
Ya*s*t, ritual, Sl. **12**, 1, 30; **16**, (6;) **17**, 5 n.
Yastôfrî*d*, rite, Sl. **5**, 2, 6. See Aûstôfrî*d*.
Yât sin, Sl. **1**, 1, 2; **2**, 51; **11**, 1, 2; **16**, 5.
Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, Bd. **1**, (21;) Zs. **1**, (19 n;) **2**, 8; Sl. **10**, 7; **12**, 18, 32; **13**, 13; recitations of, Sl. **19**, 1-15.
Yathâ-âi*s* hâ, Sl. **13**, 8, 14.
Yawning, cause of, Sl. **12**, 32.
Yazd, town, Sl. **21**, 0 n, 2 n.
Yazdakar*d*, king, Int. 42; Bd. **33**, 11 n; **34**, 9 n; Byt. **3**, 11 n.
Yazdân, see Angels, God.
— aîrikht, man, Bd. **31**, 19.
— *s*arâ*d*, man, Bd. **31**, 19.
Yazi*s*n, rite, Bd. **2**, 9; **30**, 25; Sl. **3**, 35 n; **13**, 1 n; **17**, 3, 5. See also Ceremonial.
Year, solar, Bd. **25**, 1, 21; lunar, Bd. **25**, 18, 19.
Yênhê-hâtăm formula, Byt. **2**, (64 n;) Sl. **10**, 5 n; **13**, 24.
Yêzî-adâi*s* hâ, Sl. **13**, 33.
Yim, king, Bd. **12**, 20; **17**, 5; **23**, 1; **31**, 3-5, 6 n, 7, 8; **32**, 1 n; **34**, 4; Sl. **10**, 28 n; his enclosure, Bd. **19**, 16; **24**, 11; **29**, 4, 5, 14; **32**, 5; Byt. **3**, 55.
Yimak, queen, Bd. **23**, 1; **31**, 4.
Yimakân m., Bd. **29**, 14.
Yôgêst, meas., Bd. **14**, 28; **26**, (1 n.)
Yûdân-Yim, man, Int. 42, 46, 47, 64; Bd. **33**, 10 n, 11; Zs. **1**, 0.
Yûnân, see Greeks.

Zâb, king, Bd. **31**, 23 n.
— r., Bd. **20**, 25 n.
Zâd*s*am, man, Bd. **31**, 14 n.
Zâ*d*-sparam, priest, Int. 38, 42, 46-49; Bd. **33**, 10 n, 11; Zs. **1**, 0, 19 n; **2**, 6 n; **4**, 1 n; **5**, 4 n, 5 n; **6**, 20 n; **9**, 1 n, 22 n; **10**, 5 n; **11**, 10 n; Byt. **2**, 3 n; Sl. **13**, 50 n.

Zaêsm, man, Bd. **31**, 14.
Zâgh, man, Bd. **33**, 5.
Zagros m., Bd. **12**, 36 n.
Zahâvayi r., Bd. **20**, 25.
Zâînîgâv, man, Bd. **31**, 6.
Zâîrîk, demon, Bd. **1**, 27; **28**, 11; **30**, 29.
Zairivairi, prince, Bd. **31**, 29.
Zâl, man, Bd. **31**, 37 n.
Zamyâd, angel, Bd. **27**, 24; Sl. **22**, 28; **23**, 4.
Zand (com.), Int. (10,) 21; Byt. **1**, 6, 7; **2**, 1, 55.
Zand-âkâs, book, Int. 23; Bd. **1**, 1; Zs. **9**, 1 n.
Zandîk, sect, Sl. **6**, 7.
Zaothra, Av., Sl. **2**, 43 n. See Holy-water.
Zarafsân r., Bd. **20**, 19 n.
Zarah sea, Bd. **13**, 16 n.
Zaratûst, apostle, Bd. **4**, 2 n; **17**, 8; **21**, 3; **24**, 1, 15; Zs. **11**, 10 n; Byt. **1**, 7 n; **2**, 4-7, 9; Sl. **1**, 3 n; **6**, 1; **10**, 25, 28 n; chief, Bd. **29**, 2; his family, Bd. **20**, 32; **29**, 5; **32**, 1-10; Byt. **3**, 13, 47, 48; Sl. **10**, 4, 21 n; **13**, 22; his guardian spirit, Bd. **4**, 4; Sl. **11**, 4; his millennium, Bd. **34**, 9 n; Byt. **1**, 5; **2**, 22, 24, 31, 41; **3**, 11, 43 n, 44 n; attacked by demons, Sl. **10**, 4; **12**, 3 n, 11; addresses Aûharmazd, Bd. **30**, 4; Byt. **1**, 1, 2; **2**, 1, 12, 23, 57; **3**, 1, 12; Sl. **12**, 29; **15**, 1, 3; **17**, 1, 11; addressed by Aûharmazd, Byt. **2**, 58; **3**, 11; Sl. **9**, 8; **10**, 26; **12**, 32; **15**, 30; called righteous, Byt. **2**, 11, 24, 41, 62; called the Spîtâmân, Byt. **1**, 3, 5; **2**, 3, 4, 15, 22, 25, 28, 30, 31, 36, 44, 54-56, 63; **3**, 3, 4, 8-10, 13, 14, 23, 24, 43, 50; Sl. **9**, 14; **11**, 4; **12**, 23; **15**, 4.
Zaratûst, man, Bd. **33**, 11.
Zaratûstrôtûm, Bd. **24**, 1. See also Supreme high-priest or Zaratûst.
Zardâhim, title, Bd. **31**, 4.
Zarid m., Bd. **12**, 2, 10 n.
Zarîn m., Bd. **12**, 29, 39.
Zarînmand lake, Bd. **22**, 1, 6; spring, Bd. **20**, 34.
Zarîr, man, Bd. **31**, 30; **33**, 4; prince, Bd. **31**, 29.
Zarmân, demon, Bd. **28**, 23.
Zav, king, Bd. **31**, 23 n.
Zavârah, man, Bd. **31**, 41 n.
Zâvulistân, land, Byt. **3**, 13 n.
Zend r., Bd. **20**, 15.
Zendah r., Bd. **20**, 15 n.
Zisak, man, Bd. **32**, 1 n.
Zîsmand r., Bd. **20**, 7, 19.
Zîyânak, woman, Bd. **31**, 4.
Zôb, king, Bd. **34**, 6. See Aûzôbô.
Zebara-vahman, bird, Bd. **19**, 19.
Zodiacal signs, Bd. **2**, 2; Sl. **21**, 2, 7.
Zohab, land, Bd. **20**, 25 n.
Zôhar, see Holy-water.
Zôndak r., Bd. **20**, 7, 15 n.
Zôta (priest), Bd. **30**, 30.
Zravad, place, Bd. **12**, 35.
Zrâvakad, place, Bd. **12**, 35.
Zrvâna, Av., Zs. **1**, 24 n.
Zûsak, man, Bd. **31**, 14.

ERRATA.

P. 133, note 6, for 'daughter' read 'grand-daughter.'

P. 161, note 4, for 'Dâ*d*-sparam' read 'Zâ*d*-sparam;' also in p. 167, note 5; p. 168, note 2; p. 177, note 3; p. 182, note 1; p. 184, note 1.

P. 199, note 6, for 'Shâpûr I' read 'Shâpûr II.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . . .	क	[illegible]	[illegible]	ک	ك	כ	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	. . .	. . . .	ख	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	כ	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . . .	ग	[illegible]	[illegible]	گ	. . .	ג	. . .
4 „ aspirata	gh	. . .	. . . .	घ	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	ג	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ق	ق	ק	. . .
6 Nasalis	ṅ (ng)	. . .	. . . .	ङ	{[illegible] (ng) [illegible] (N)}	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . . .	ह	[illegible] (hv)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ה	h, hs
8 „ lenis	’	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ا	ا	א	. . .
9 „ asper faucalis	‘h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	[illegible]	[illegible]	ח	. . .
10 „ lenis faucalis	’h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	[illegible]	[illegible]	ע	. . .
11 „ asper fricatus	. . .	*‘h*	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	[illegible]	[illegible]	ח	. . .
12 „ lenis fricatus	. . .	*’h*	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	. . .	*k*	. . . .	च	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	*k*
14 „ aspirata	. . .	*kh*	. . . .	छ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*kh*
15 Media	. . .	*g*	. . . .	ज	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .
16 „ aspirata	. . .	*gh*	. . . .	झ	. . . .	. . .	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .
17 „ Nasalis	ñ	. . .	. . . .	ञ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

CONSONANTS (*continued*).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . . .	य	𐬬 𐬬 init.	𐭥	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(ʾ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 „ lenis	. . .	(ʾ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 „ asper assibilatus . .	. . .	*s*	. . . .	श	𐬱	𐭩	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 „ lenis assibilatus . .	. . .	*z*	. . . .	. . .	𐬰	𐭦	ژ	. . .	. . .	*z*
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . . .	त	𐬟	𐭬	ت	ت	ת	t
24 „ aspirata	th	. . .	. . . .	थ	𐬠	. . .	. . .	. . .	ת	th
25 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ث	ث	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . . .	द	𐬛	𐭣	د	د	ד	. . .
27 „ aspirata	dh	. . .	. . . .	ध	𐬜	. . .	. . .	. . .	ד	. . .
28 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ذ	ذ	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . . .	न	𐬥	𐭤	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . . .	ल	. . . .	𐭥,𐭩,𐭤	ل	ل	ל	l
31 „ mollis 1	. . .	*l*	. . . .	ळ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 „ mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . . .	स	𐬯	𐭮	س (ث)	س	ס	s
34 „ asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (ʃ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ס	. . .
35 „ lenis	z	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬲	𐭧	ز (ذ)	ز	ז	z
36 „ asperrimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ص	ص	צ	ʒ, ʒh
37 „ asperrimus 2	. . .	. . .	ẓ (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ض	. . .	. . .	. . .

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)										
38 Tenuis	...	*t*	....	ट	....	...	ط	ط	ט	...
39 „ aspirata	...	*th*	....	ठ	....	...	ظ	ظ	...	...
40 Media	...	*d*	....	ड	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	...	...
41 „ aspirata	...	*dh*	....	ढ	....	...	...	ض	...	...
42 Nasalis	...	*n*	....	ण	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	r	...	....	र	[illegible]	[illegible]	ر	ر	ר	...
44 „ fricata	...	*r*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	*r*
45 „ diacritica	...	...	R	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	sh	...	....	ष	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	...	sh
47 „ lenis	zh	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
Labiales.										
48 Tenuis	p	...	....	प	[illegible]	[illegible]	پ	...	פ	p
49 „ aspirata	ph	...	....	फ	....	...	...	...	פ	ph
50 Media	b	...	....	ब	[illegible]	[illegible]	ب	ب	ב	...
51 „ aspirata	bh	...	....	भ	....	...	...	...	ב	...
52 Tenuissima	...	*p*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	m	...	....	म	[illegible]	[illegible]	م	م	מ	m
54 Semivocalis	w	...	....	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	w
55 „ aspirata	hw	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	f	...	....	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	ف	ف	...	f
57 „ lenis	v	...	....	व	[illegible]	[illegible]	و	و	ו	...
58 Anusvâra	...	*m*	....	अं	[illegible] ã	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	...	*h*	....	अः	....	...	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
1 Neutralis	0	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ְ	ă
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ĕ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
3 „ labialis	ŏ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	ا fin.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	. . .	. . . .	अ	𐬀	𐬀 init.	َ	َ	ַ	a
5 „ longa	â	(*a*)	. . . .	आ	𐬁	𐬁	ا	ا	ָ	â
6 Palatalis brevis	i	. . .	. . . .	इ	𐬃	. . .	ِ	ِ	ִ	i
7 „ longa	î	(*i*)	. . . .	ई	𐬄	𐬄	ي	ي	ִי	î
8 Dentalis brevis	*li*	. . .	. . . .	ऌ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
9 „ longa	*lí*	. . .	. . . .	ॡ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
10 Lingualis brevis	*ri*	. . .	. . . .	ऋ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
11 „ longa	*rí*	. . .	. . . .	ॠ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
12 Labialis brevis	u	. . .	. . . .	उ	𐬅	. . .	ُ	ُ	ֻ	u
13 „ longa	û	(*u*)	. . . .	ऊ	𐬆	ا	ُو	ُو	ו	û
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . . .	e	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬇(e) 𐬈(*e*)	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֶ	e
15 „ longa . . .	ê (ai)	(*e*)	. . . .	ए	𐬉, 𐬊	و	. . .	. . .	ֵ	ê
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi	(*ai*)	. . . .	ऐ	. . . .	. . .	ـَيْ	ـَيْ	. . .	âi
17 „ „	ei (ĕi)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ei, êi
18 „ „	oi (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬋	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֹ	o
20 „ longa	ô (au)	(*o*)	. . . .	ओ	𐬌	ا	. . .	. . .	ו֑	. . .
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(*au*)	. . . .	औ	𐬍 (*au*)	. . .	ـَوْ	ـَوْ	. . .	âu
22 „ „	eu (ĕu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
23 „ „	ou (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
25 Palatalis fracta	ï	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Labialis fracta	ü	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

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THE HEBREW GODDESS

By

Raphael Patai

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES

To My Mother

On Her Eightieth

Birthday

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RAPHAEL PATAI

INTRODUCTION

1. THE UBIQUITOUS GODDESS

Goddesses are ubiquitous—this, in a nutshell, is the conclusion one reaches from a perusal of the voluminous and still growing literature on the history of religion.

They stood by the cradle of Homo Sapiens, as evidenced by the discovery in Aurignacian deposits, testifying to his earliest known appearance in Europe, some thirty to forty thousand years ago, of statuettes of nude women with enormous breasts and buttocks, and protruding abdomens. These figurines, representing in a highly stylized and exaggerated form women in an advanced stage of pregnancy, are usually referred to as paleolithic Venuses—of Willendorf, Menton, Lespugne, Laussel, to mention only a few—and are generally regarded by students of prehistory, as having had religious significance.[1]

They are strikingly paralleled by finds of a later provenance, unearthed in Mesopotamia and Syria, and dating from the so-called Halafian age of the fifth millennium B.C. Both the European Old Stone Age, and the Near Eastern, Halafian figurines served the same purpose: to ensure fertility and delivery; in all probability, they served similar ends in relation to the animal and vegetable worlds as well. The earliest attested role of the goddess, therefore, was that of the numinous mother who endowed her worshipers with her own mysterious qualities.

At least as old as the Near Eastern nude statuettes are the myths in which goddesses play a larger, more universal role. The earliest answers to the great question of "Whence?" all reiterate, in various forms, the same idea: it was out of the

body of the primordial goddess that the world-egg emerged, or that the earth was born; or alternately, it was the goddess' body itself that provided the material from which the earth was made. Thus the oldest cosmogonies, like the oldest worship of concretely represented deities, typically start with a primal goddess.

Once these phenomena were ascertained, and long before the data were adequate, attempts at explanation began. One of the earliest was that of the nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists, who posited an early matriarchal social order in which the supposedly general predominance of women was assumed to have been paralleled by a similar situation in the divine realm. The family was ruled by the mother, the people by queens and the heavens by goddesses.

In a modified form this explanation recurs as late as the 1930's in Father Wilhelm Schmidt's theory on the origin of religion. He no longer adhered to the view of unilinear cultural evolution, but instead assumed the existence of several simultaneous "Primitive Cultures" of food-gatherers, whose religion was centered around a High God or a Supreme Being. Out of these developed, says Father Schmidt, the three "primary cultures": the matrilineal-agricultural, the patrilineal-totemic, and the patriarchal-nomadic. Since the cultivation of plants was first undertaken by women, their importance in the social structure greatly increased which, in turn, gave rise to a cult of Mother Earth, as well as to a mythology of the moon conceived as a female. Under the influence of these factors, "the Supreme Being was often thought of as a female."[2] Thus Father Schmidt assigns an early but secondary place to the goddess in his multilineal scheme of religious evolution.

The Freudian position[3] on the goddess is that she represents that stage in the early development of the human individual in which the mother appears to the child as the all-powerful source of both gratification and deprivation. The goddess is a mother figure whose qualities are universal because they stem from unconscious fantasies common to all peoples from time immemorial, and which have their primary source in

the infantile mind. The child in its jealousy of the father repudiates his role in procreation, wishes to deny that the mother is a sexual being, preferring to think of her as pure and virginal—hence the virginity of the goddess image. When the child learns "the truth," its wish that the mother should be a virgin is frustrated, and it then unconsciously regards her as a harlot—hence the goddess is not only a virgin but a harlot. Moreover, in very early fantasy life the frustrated nursling wants to devour the mother's breast, imagines that he actually is destroying the mother, and, projecting his own hostility upon her, fears that she will devour him—hence the bloodthirsty character shared by the ancient Near Eastern virginal and wanton love goddesses.

Jungian analytical psychology considers the Great Goddess as a primordial image or archetype in the sense of an inward image at work in the human psyche and symbolically expressed in her figures as represented in the myths and artistic creations of mankind. The workings of the goddess-archetype can be traced in rites, myths and symbols throughout history, as well as in the dreams, fantasies and creative works of both the sound and the sick of our own day. The archetypal Feminine, designated only relatively late in the history of mankind as the Great Mother, was worshiped and portrayed thousands of years before the appearance of the term. A wealth of symbolic images surrounded her, and she herself appeared in numerous manifestations, as goddesses and fairies, she-demons and nymphs, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile. An essential feature of the primordial goddess archetype is that it combines positive and negative attributes. "This union of opposites in the primordial archetypes, its ambivalence, is characteristic of the original situation of the unconscious, which consciousness has not yet dissected into its antitheses. Early man experienced this paradoxical simultaneity of good and evil, friendly and terrible, in the godhead as a unity; while as consciousness developed, the good goddess and the bad goddess, for example, usually came to be worshiped as different beings."[4]

2. *"CHURCH"-LESS JUDAISM*

In view of the general human, psychologically determined predisposition to believe in and worship goddesses, it would be strange if the Hebrew-Jewish religion, which flourished for centuries in a region of intensive goddess cults, had remained immune to them. Yet this precisely is the picture one gets when one views Hebrew religion through the polarizing prisms of Mosaic legislation and prophetic teaching. God, this view maintains, revealed Himself in successive stages to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and gave His Law to Moses on Mount Sinai. Biblical religion, in this perspective, is universal ethical monotheism, cast in a ritual-legal form.

Historical scrutiny, however, shows that for many centuries following the traditional date of the Sinaitic revelation, this religion, idealized in retrospect, remained a demand rather than a fact. Further study, undertaken in the present volume, indicates that there were among the Biblical Hebrews other religious trends, powerful in their attraction for the common people and their leaders alike, in which the worship of goddesses played as important a role as it did anywhere else on comparable stages of religious development. It will also be attempted to show that the female deities of the early, monarchic period, did subsequently not disappear but underwent transformations and succeeded in their changed forms to retain much of their old sway over religious sentiments. How these different religious trends could coexist requires some explanation.

In contrast to the Roman Catholic faith with its single body, the Church, Judaism has never developed a monolithic structure which could superimpose its authority upon all Jewish communities in the many lands of their diaspora. Local variations exist, to be sure, between one Catholic diocese and another, as well as between folk belief and practice on the one hand and the official teachings and rites of the Church on the other. Yet there is only one Catholic faith, one doctrine and one practice, which unite believers throughout the world.

Doctrines and rites may change, as they did in the course of centuries, but when they do, it is because the Church, as embodied in the Pope and the Roman Curia, decides on a modification and makes it, from that time on, the rule equally mandatory upon the entire far-flung body of the Church.

No such unity exists in Judaism, nor has it ever existed, with the possible exception of a brief period when the Great Sanhedrin exercised central authority in Jerusalem. Prior to that time and after it to this day, Jewish doctrine and practice, although derived from one ultimate source, the Bible, differed from place to place, because, lacking a coordinating and sanctifying central authority, their precise formulation was left to local religious leadership. For example, European Jews, in obedience to a certain medieval rabbinical authority accepted the religious ban on marrying two or more wives, while their brethren in the Middle East continued to consider plural marriages legal, and to practice polygyny to the present time.

Differences in doctrine among Christians led to schism. Among Jews, they led to heterodox groupings without secession, because there was no organized religious body from which to secede or which might have cut off the offending limb. There was, to be sure, disapproval of the views and conduct of other groups than one's own, there were even arguments and conflicts, but however erroneous the ways of others appeared, such errors were never considered serious enough to warrant a formal break. Jewish history contains examples of excommunication of individuals because of apostasy—Uriel Acosta's case comes readily to mind—but no body of religious leaders ever used the weapon of the *herem* ("ban") against any Jewish group, however great the disapproval provoked. A case in point is the situation that developed in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the Jews of Eastern Europe became sharply divided into *Hassidim* (roughly, Mystics) and *Mitnagdim* (Opponents). The antagonism between the two groups increased to such a degree that intermarriage between them was completely out of the question. Yet at no point during the great struggle, did any Hassidic or Mitnagdic

leader go so far as to cast a doubt upon the Judaism of the opposing group. Similar furcations have occurred repeatedly in Judaism, before and since, but without ever splitting Jews into rival, discrete groups.

The relevance of these observations to the subject of the present study is as follows. Whatever formulation was given to the Jewish faith by any local religious leadership, simultaneously, and side by side with it, existed divergent faith-variants within the broad and flexible overall framework of Judaism. Consider the situation in Palestine in the days of the great Hebrew prophets. There was Yahwism, preached by the prophets; there was an official cult, organized by the court, and headed by the king; there were local variants combining elements from these two as well as from other sources, practiced by the simple country folk; and there were sects such as that of the Rechabites who constituted an early example of what religious historians call primitivists. Yet all these trends were part of the "Hebrew religion" of the Biblical period.

The average layman, whether Jew or Gentile, still believes that the official Hebrew religion was a strict monotheism beginning with God's revelation of Himself to Abraham. Scholars date the origin of Hebrew monotheism a few centuries later, during the days of the great prophets. As we shall see, even this qualified statement must be modified somewhat in view of certain doctrines, which succeeded in being admitted into the literary depositories of the official religion during Talmudic times, and in view of the Kabbalistic adumbration of a plurality of persons in the deity. Let us here stress the fact that in addition to "official" Judaism—that crystallization of the religion which represented the consensus of most of the religious leaders of a certain time and place—Judaism has always comprised heterodox variants as well. Moreover, since there was no hard and fast dividing line between official and non-official versions of the faith, there was constant interaction between the two. The feminine numina discussed in this book must, therefore, be considered part of the Hebrew-Jewish religion, whether they were admitted into

the "official" formulation of the faith, or accepted only by the simple people, against whose beliefs and practices the exponents of the former never ceased to thunder.

3. *THE MASCULINE GODHEAD*

Let us now proceed to look at the person of the deity as He appeared, first of all, in the Biblical and Talmudic writings. To begin with, let us restate that the legitimate Jewish faith, beginning with the earliest formulations of its belief-system by the great Hebrew prophets, down to its various present day versions (e.g. those of the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism in the United States), has always been built upon the axiom of One God. This credo had its complementary corollary in the denial of the very possibility of other gods.

As for God, He is not merely the One and Only God, but also eternal, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, aphysical (and therefore invisible), inscrutable and incomprehensible, as well as just, good, compassionate, merciful and benevolent. Since, being pure spirit, he is without body, he possesses no physical attributes and hence no sexual traits. To say that God is either male or female is therefore completely impossible from the viewpoint of traditional Judaism. As Maimonides, the greatest medieval Jewish philosopher, put it, "God is not a body, nor can bodily atrributes be ascribed to him, and He has no likeness at all."

Yet one factor, a linguistic one, defied all theological repugnance to the attribution of bodily qualities to God. It is in the nature of the Hebrew language that every noun has either the masculine or the feminine gender (except a very few which can take either). The two Biblical names of God, *Yahweh* (pronounced, out of reverence for its great holiness, as "Adonai" and usually translated as "the Lord") and *Elohim* (or briefly *El;* translated as "God") are masculine. When a pronoun is used to refer to God, it is the masculine "He"; when a verb describes that He did something or an adjective qualifies Him, they appear in the masculine form (in Hebrew

there are male and female forms for verbs and adjectives). Thus, every verbal statement about God conveyed the idea that He was masculine. Most people, of course, never stopped to think about this, but every Hebrew-speaking individual from early childhood was imbued with the idea that God was a masculine deity. No subsequent teaching about the aphysical, incomprehensible or transcendental nature of the deity could eradicate this early mental image of the masculine God.

In fact, during Biblical and Talmudic times, no efforts were made to counteract the popular image of a masculine God. On the contrary, while the Bible stresses that man cannot see God and survive, and the Talmud contains the axiom that "God sees but cannot be seen," both of these great sourcebooks of Judaism contain innumerable references to God which reinforce belief in His masculinity. The Biblical prophets, psalmists, moralists and historians, as well as the sages, scribes, theologians, rabbis and teachers of the Talmudic period, constantly use unmitigated anthropomorphisms in referring to God. He is a "Man of War," a "Hero," "Lord of Hosts," "King," "Master of the Universe," and "Our Father in Heaven," to mention only a few expressions. Needless to say, these appellations all carry a pronouncedly masculine connotation, and, together, with the words of the prayer, "We are Your sons, and You are our Father," or "Have mercy upon us as a father has on his sons!" indelibly impressed all Jews not only with the Kingship and Fatherhood, but also with the Manhood of God.

Theologians will point out that none of these expressions are indicative of an actual belief in, let alone doctrine of, the masculinity of God. Human imagination, they will argue, needs symbols to fasten on. The fatherhood of God (which connotes His masculinity) is merely such a symbol. We do not mean, when we pray to Our Father in Heaven, that He actually is our male progenitor, but that we feel that we are dependent on Him, as we were on our father in childhood. We certainly have no quarrel with this argument. The God

of Judaism is undoubtedly a father-symbol and father-image, possibly the greatest such symbol and image conceived by man. Nor can there be any doubt as to the greatness of the psychological need answered by this image. This, together with the great moral imperatives, was the unique contribution of prophetic Judaism to mankind.

Comparative religion, however, teaches us that there is in man an equally great, or possibly even greater, need for yet another symbol: that of the divine woman who appears in many different forms thoughout the world, yet remains basically the same everywhere. Most familiar to us in the Western world is the figure of Mary who rose to such prominence in Christianity, and especially in Catholicism. Did Judaism, the mother-religion of Christianity, fail to fulfill this need? Is it conceivable that the human craving for a divine mother did not manifest itself at all in Judaism?

It is true, of course, that official Judaism, to a greater extent than Christianity, let alone the ancient Near Eastern religions, stressed the moral and intellectual aspects of religion to the relative neglect of its affective and emotional side. The prophetic demand for justice and mercy and the knowledge of God as the core of religion rather than ritual observance, points in this direction. By the beginning of the Talmudic period, Judaism was characterized by an emphasis on the study of the law as the essence of religion as against mere belief expressed in traditional and emotion-laden images. It is characteristic of this development, as well as of the incipient reaction to it, that as against the thousands of new religious laws contained in the vast compendium of the Talmud, one finds in it only one single significant addition to the realm of religious faith: the loosely sketched, vague aspect of God's Presence, called *Shekhina,* of whom more anon.

4. *THE GENIUS OF IDOLATRY*

The Biblical God-concept, intuitively grasped by the prophets and gropingly reached by the people, reflects the strictly patriarchal order of the society which produced it; this pa-

triarchal society gave rise to a religion centered around a single, universal deity whose will was embodied in the Law, but who was abstract, devoid of all physical attributes and yet pronouncedly male, a true projection of the patriarchal family-head. But, among the simple people, old popular religious traditions were too strong to be easily overcome. According to a Rabbinic tradition "the instinct of idolatry was eradicated" in the days of Mordecai and Esther, or in those of Hanania, Mishael and Azaria,[5] that is to say well after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by Nebuchadnezzar which took place in 586 B.C. According to another tradition, the idolatrous instinct, or "the Genius of Idolatry," as the name can equally be translated, was overcome only as late as the days of Nehemia, that is, in 445 B.C., when the Levites among the Judaeans "cried with a loud voice unto the Lord their God."[6] Their request, a Talmudic myth recounts, was:

"'Woe and woe! It is he (the idolatrous instinct, or the heavenly Genius of Idolatry) who destroyed the Sanctuary, burnt the Temple, killed all the pious, and exiled Israel from their land, and yet he still jumps about among us. Is it not that You (God) gave him to us only in order to grant us a reward (if we overcome him)? We want neither him nor his reward!'

"(In response) a tablet fell down from heaven and upon it was written 'Truth,'... which is the seal of God. Thereupon they sat in fasting for three days and three nights, until he (the Genius of Idolatry) was delivered up to them. He emerged from the Holy of Holies like a young fiery lion, and the prophet Zechariah said to Israel: 'This is the Genius of Idolatry,' as it is written, 'This is Wickedness.'[7] As they got hold of him, a hair was torn out of his mane and he let out a roar which was heard over four hundred parasangs. They said: 'What shall we do, lest, God forbid, they take pity on him from heaven?' The prophet said to them: 'Lock him into a leaden kettle and seal its mouth with lead, for lead absorbs the voice.'"[8]

What happened to the fiery lion embodying the idolatrous instinct after he was thus rendered harmless, we are not told. What is, however, most remarkable in the above story is that it makes the leonine Genius of Idolatry dwell in the adytum, the Holy of Holies itself, in that innermost sacred chamber of the Temple in which God Himself was believed to dwell. Historically this means that the adytum, and the Jerusalem Temple as a whole, were recognized in the retrospect of Talmudic times as the very center of the idolatrous enticements to which the people succumbed throughout the days of the First Temple and down to the time of Nehemiah, some two generations after the return from the Babylonian exile.

In a more general sense, too, there can be no doubt that down to the very end of the Hebrew monarchy the worship of old Canaanite gods was an integral part of the religion of the Hebrews. As we shall see in the first two chapters, the worship of goddesses played a much more important role in this popular religion than that of gods. The reason is not far to seek. The image of Yahweh, in the eyes of the common people, did not differ greatly from that of Baal or the other Canaanite male gods. Often it would have been difficult to determine whether a certain cult was legitimately Yahwistic, heretically Yahwistic, or unequivocally pagan. The worship of Yahweh thus easily merged into, complemented or supplanted that of the Canaanite male gods.

But Yahwism lacked the female touch which was such an important part of Canaanite religious life. Nothing it could offer replaced the Canaanite goddesses. Therefore, the prophetic denunciations of these idols had little effect. The devotees of the goddesses could not be swayed to give them up and to concentrate instead exclusively on the worship of a male god.

5. *THE HEBREW GODDESS*

Were Asherah, Astarte and the other goddesses served by the Biblical Hebrews, *Hebrew* goddesses or merely foreign abominations as labeled by the prophets? Gods are rarely invented or discovered; rather they are taken over by one

group from another. Even Yahweh had pre-Hebrew antecedents, and so had the deity called El and identified by the Hebrews with Yahweh. The Roman Jupiter goes back to the Greek Zeus pater, who, in turn, is derived from the Sanskrit Diaus pitar. As long as a god is alive, he can easily cross international frontiers and establish himself in a new country in superficially changed but basically identical image and function. This is what probably happened to Asherah, Astarte and Anath: they arrived, at different times no doubt, among the Hebrews, and, although foreign in origin, they soon adopted the Hebrews as their children, and allotted them all the benefits man finds in the worship of a goddess. There can be no doubt that the goddess to whom the Hebrews clung with such tenacity down to the days of Joshiah, and to whom they returned with such remorse following the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, was, whatever the prophets had to say about her, no foreign seductress, but a Hebrew goddess, the best divine mother the people had had to that time.

Following the death of the "spirit of idolatry" in the days of Nehemia, the Hebrew goddess succeeded in surviving. She underwent, to be sure, an astounding metamorphosis, but then that too, is the mark of a living deity. In one of her manifestations she penetrated—in what period we can only conjecture—the rebuilt sanctuary as a female Cherub, poised in marital embrace with her male partner in the dark cell of the Holy of Holies. In another, she became the manifestation of God's presence, the Shekhina—a feminine name just as God's is masculine—the loving, rejoicing, motherly, suffering, mourning, and, in general, emotion-charged aspect of deity.

Her role thereafter was minor and restricted, difficult to trace, for several centuries. One can, however, surmise that she must have gained strength in the course of that time, and gradually asserted her independence, because during the thirteenth century, when Kabbalism invested Judaism with a new vitality, she emerged as a distinct female deity, possessing a will and desire of her own, acting independently of the traditional but somewhat shrunken masculine God, often confront-

ing and occasionally opposing Him, and playing a greater role than He in the affairs of Her children, the people of Israel. Corresponding to this reassertion of her personality, she, although often still called by her old name Shekhina, assumed another name as well, more fitting to her new and high status: *Matronit,* the Matron, Lady or Queen.

The new mythology of the Kabbala, revealed in the writings of the Jewish mystics of the 13th century and amplified in those of the 16th, knows evil goddesses in addition to the good ones. They are the she-demons of yore, Lilith, Naamah, Igrath bath Mahalath, who first appear in Talmudic literature as lowly and hairy female ghouls, and who managed to work themselves up to much higher position, until their queen, Lilith, became God's consort. This happened following the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and the subsequent exile of Israel, which came to be regarded as catastrophic events not only for the people but also for God. The Shekhina, or Matronit, as she now was called, in her motherly love of her children, went into exile with them. This brought about a separation between her and the King, who thereupon allowed Lilith, queen of the demons, to attach herself to him and take the place of the Matronit as his spouse. The similarity between Matronit and Lilith is one of the rather uncanny aspects of Kabbalistic mythology.

The Matronit, meanwhile, continued to be closely concerned with her children. Like a true goddess, she played the role of spouse as well as mother to her people. She also assumed the form of a divine queen and bride, who joined them every Friday at dusk to bring them joy and happiness on the sacred Sabbath. To this day, in every Jewish temple or synagogue she is welcomed in the Friday evening prayers with the words "Come, O bride!" although the old greeting has long been emptied of all mystical meaning and is regarded as a mere poetic expression of uncertain significance.

Is the Hebrew goddess dead or does she merely slumber, soon to awaken rejuvenated by her rest and reclaim the hearts of her sons and lovers? No one can say. But should she manage to revive, we can expect this to take place only in the Land

of Israel. It was there that she first clasped to her bosom the wild Hebrew warriors who irrupted from the desert. It was there that most of her life-history, including her amazing metamorphoses, took place. And it was there—less than four hundred years ago!—that her Rachel and Leah forms revealed to the pious and the learned the divine meaning of earthly love, the last of her great motherly-wifely acts, and that her identity with the ancient Biblical goddess Asherah was recognized[9] in a remarkable flash of intuitive insight. It will be there, therefore, if at all, that she will re-emerge, in who knows what surprising old-new image, to mediate, as of old, between man and God, and to draw the returning faith-bereft sons with new bonds of love to their patiently waiting Father.

Chapter I

THE GODDESS ASHERAH

In embarking now upon an examination of the various forms in which the feminine principle was conceived by the Biblical Hebrews and their successors, the Jews of the Hellenistic, Talmudic and Kabbalistic periods, we begin, so as to proceed in chronological order, with the Goddess Asherah who was the earliest female deity known to have been worshiped by the Children of Israel.

1. THE PROBLEM

The beginnings of the period we are dealing with here go back to the time following the arrival of the Israelite tribes in Canaan. For about six centuries thereafter, that is to say down to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C., the Hebrews worshiped Asherah (and next to her also other, originally Canaanite, gods and goddesses) in most places and times. Only intermittently, although with gradually increasing intensity and frequency, did the prophetic demand for the worship of Yahweh as the one and only god make itself be heard and was it heeded by the people and its leaders. This much is apparent, although the religious history of the period as a whole—inspite of the numerous studies devoted to its untangling—is still obscure, due to the inadequacy of the available sources.

The primary literary sources pertaining to the period are contained in the Biblical canon. While undoubtedly based on

ancient oral tradition, some of it reaching back into the Mosaic period, or even as far as the patriarchal age, the Biblical accounts are preserved in relatively late re-workings, and are therefore not contemporary, in a strict sense of the word, with the events they describe. Editorial revisions were especially thorough when the subject matter pertained to the non-monotheistic phases of early Hebrew religion. References felt to be offensive were toned down or abridged, and we have, of course, no way of knowing how many were altogether excised. In the narratives which deal with the subsequent period of the Hebrew monarchy, the monotheistic point-of-view is even more stringent, so that all references to non-monotheistic forms of popular worship are not only consistently derisive and unrelentingly condemnatory, but kept purposely in vague and general terms.

The archaeological data, while obviously suffering neither from subsequent modification nor from contemporary tendentious representation, are disappointing because of their paucity or lack of clarity. The temples, sanctuaries, high places, altars and other religious structures which were unearthed from the early Hebrew period, contain, as a rule, no clearcut evidence as to the identity of the deity to whom they were dedicated. From a comparison of Biblical references and archaeological discoveries we know that the rituals of both Yahweh and the Canaanite gods followed the same general pattern, and it is precisely this circumstance which makes the identification of the deity worshiped at any particular archaeological site extremely difficult.

In the case of the small figurines and statuettes, of which many hundreds were found all over Palestine, and a considerable percentage of which can be attributed without any doubt to the Israelite monarchic period, there is a difficulty of another kind. While it can be taken for granted that these figurines, mostly nude females, were used in some religious-ritual context, in many cases we cannot be sure whether the goddess so represented was worshiped by the Hebrews or by the Canaanite population elements who lived side by side in early Palestine. The greatest frustration, however, for the historian

of religion is the absence of contemporary literary documents, such as inscribed tablets, monuments, statues, or walls, which would contain clear evidence of the nature of popular Hebrew religion in the early period ending with the Babylonian captivity of 586 B.C.

Having stated what we do not have, let us now turn to the extant evidence on which one can nevertheless base an attempt at reconstructing early Hebrew popular religion. This can be divided into four categories.

1. The evidence of the Bible, which, in spite of the efforts of its monotheistically oriented authors and/or editors, contains incidental information as to the court ritual and popular religion which a few judges and kings and all the prophets strove to suppress, eliminate and replace by monotheistic Yahwism.

2. Local archaeological evidence, admittedly limited, but nevertheless useful, and, with the intensive work going on in Israel, daily increasing in volume and variety.

3. The considerably more ample data contained in Canaanite, Syrian, Mesopotamian, Iranian, Anatolian, and Egyptian archaeology and mythology, with their detailed information about the deities who, according to Biblical evidence, were worshiped by the Hebrews.

4. Literary sources of post-Biblical Judaism, which flow richly especially in the first few centuries of the Christian era; which, because of their less sacred character were not subjected to the same scrupulous scrutiny as the Holy Book; and in which, therefore, many references and recollections of early Hebrew polytheism were able to pass muster.

This enumeration of the types of source material bearing on early Hebrew popular religion indicates the amount and nature of the information we can expect concerning the female deity whose person, image and worship form the subject of the present chapter. We are forewarned that the data will be neither ample nor explicit, neither exhaustive nor detailed, and, in some cases at least, neither conclusive nor irrefutable.

As far as the Biblical books are concerned, their anti-polytheistic attitude manifests itself in, among other things, a pronounced reluctance to allow any ritual detail of pagan worship to enter the references they contain to Israel's religious transgressions. Nevertheless, it is from Biblical sources that we know the names of the three goddesses who were worshiped by the ancient Hebrews down to the days of the Babylonian Exile: Asherah, Astarte, and the Queen of Heaven who was probably identical with Anath. It is with the first of these three that the present chapter deals. Let us begin by reviewing what extra-Biblical sources tell us about Asherah.

2. *THE CANAANITE ASHERAH*

That Asherah was the chief goddess of the Canaanite pantheon we know from the rich mythical material unearthed a few decades ago at Ugarit, the modern Ras Shamra, near the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean. In Ugaritic mythology, as preserved on numerous tablets, written in a language quite close to Biblical Hebrew, and dating from the 14th century B.C., Asherah figured prominently as the wife of El, the chief god. Her full name was "Lady Asherah of the Sea"—apparently, her domain proper was the sea, just as that of her husband El was heaven. She was, however, also referred to simply as Elath or Goddess. She was the "Progenitress of the Gods": all the other gods, numbering seventy, were her children, including Baal, Anath, Mot, and the other chief protagonists of the Ugaritic pantheon. One of her servants was Qadesh wa-Amrur, called the "fisherman of Lady Asherah of the Sea," who fished at her bidding, and in his capacity as her equerry saddled her donkey and helped her to mount. Asherah's relationship to her husband El was not unlike that of an Oriental queen to her master: when entering into his presence, she would prostrate herself, whereupon El would kindly inquire after her desire. When Baal wished to obtain permission from El to build a house, he sent his mother Asherah to intercede with El. Upon the death of Baal, El asked Asherah to name one of her sons to succeed him as king.

Asherah was a motherly goddess and as such she, together with her daughter Anath, served as the wetnurse of the gods. She suckled even human princes who were exceptionally deserving, such as Yassib, the son of King Keret. She also seems to have foretold the fortune of her devotees, for in a 14th century B.C. letter, found at Taanach near Megiddo (in Palestine), reference is made to a "wizard of Asherah" through whom she seems to have spoken.[1]

Little is known of Asherah before the period of the Ugaritic myths. In a Sumerian inscription, set up by an Amorite official in honor of Hammurabi and dating from ca. 1750 B.C., and other contemporary documents she is called Ashratum (i.e. Asherah), the bride of Anu.[2] Since the Sumerian and Akkadian deity Anu closely corresponded to Canaanite El in being the god of heaven, it appears that Asherah held the position of the chief or mother goddess for at least three centuries prior to the Ugaritic period. She was also known in Southern Arabia, where her name had the form Atharath, as in the Ugarit tablets.[3] In the 14th century B.C. Amarna tablets, containing letters written by Canaanite petty chieftains to their overlord, the king of Egypt,[4] the names Asherah and Astarte interchange, which may indicate a lack of clear distinction between the functions and personalities of these two goddesses. As we shall see below, the same confusion between Asherah and Astarte is found in the Bible, and persisted even among scholars down to our days.

Asherah was associated with several cities where she was worshiped in her local manifestations. She was the "Asherah of Tyre" and the "Elath (Goddess) of Sidon"—both Tyre and Sidon having been for long periods not only the capitals of independent states, but also important Mediterranean seaports whose prosperity depended on the bounty of the sea and the good graces of its ruling lady. A third port, Elath, far to the south, on the Gulf of Aqaba, may have been named after her. There were thus Asherahs of many localities (just as there is a Virgin of Fatima, a Virgin of Guadalupe, etc.), and when the Biblical references state that the Israelites served "the Asherahs," this can only mean that they adopted the worship

of several of these local manifestations of the great goddess.

A king of the Land of the Amorites, mentioned in the Amarna letters, was called Abdu-Ashirta, i. e. "Slave of Asherah,"[5] clearly showing that he was a devotee of her cult, which included the sacrificing of cattle and flocks.[6]

3. *WHAT WAS THE HEBREW ASHERAH?*

It was almost inevitable that the cult of this great Canaanite mother-goddess, who was venerated also in many other parts of the Ancient Near East,[7] should penetrate Hebrew religion as well. In fact, it was not long after the Israelite conquest of the Canaanite hill country, in the period of mixed Israelite-Canaanite settlement, that this development took place, together with intermarriage between the Israelites and the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, "among whom they dwelt." The establishment of family and religious ties went hand in hand, and "the Children of Israel. . . served the Baals and the Asherahs."[8]

While it is not easy to reach a definite conclusion as to the physical shape in which Asherah was represented among the Hebrews, a careful perusal of the numerous Biblical references to "the Asherahs"[9] seems to indicate that they were carved wooden images which were set up by implanting their base into the ground. In early times they often stood next to altars dedicated to the Baal;[10] later, a "statue of Asherah" was set up in the Jerusalem Temple itself.[11] The word Asherah in Biblical usage can thus refer either to the goddess herself, or to her image.[12]

From a story told in the *Book of Judges* about Gideon, who lived in the 12th century B.C., we learn that the Asherah worship in those early days was a communal or public affair. However, the wooden image of the goddess belonged to the town's chieftain who, at one and the same time, was also the priest of Asherah and the Baal. This chieftain was none other than Joash the Abiezrite, Gideon's father. When Gideon, an early precursor of zealous Yahwist reformers, demolished the altar of the Baal and cut down the Asherah, he incurred the

wrath of the entire town of Ofra. His immediate punishment by death was demanded by the men of the city, and he was saved only because his father stood by him.[13]

Gideon's act remained, for several generations at least, an isolated incident. The cult of the Goddess Asherah continued among the Hebrews throughout the periods of the judges and the kings. Unfortunately, in the climate of Palestine, with its annual heavy winter rains, wooden objects do not survive. Therefore, however large was the number of the carved wooden poles or statues which represented the Goddess Asherah and around which her communal worship took place, as it did in the town of Ofra until its disruption by Gideon, no archaeological evidence can attest to their existence.

On the other hand, there is ample archaeological evidence as to the importance of Asherah as a household goddess, a variety of the Teraphim. This evidence consists of numerous small clay figurines of nude women already referred to above. These were found all over Palestine and can be dated with confidence as deriving from all ages of the Israelite period. Many of these figurines conform to types which can be taken as stereotyped representations of Asherah. This seems especially to be the case with those figurines which show a woman with protruding breasts below which, however, instead of torso and legs, the figure consists of a straight cylindrical column with a flaring base. One can assume that these figurines are the small clay counterparts of the larger wooden Asherah poles which were set up by implanting them into the ground. (See plates 1-7, and the Asherah figure on plate 8). Judging from the frequent occurrence of these female figurines, not matched anywhere by images of male gods, the worship of the goddess must have been extremely popular in all segments of Hebrew society. One of the reasons for her popularity may have been the belief that she promoted fertility in women and facilitated childbirth. In a 7th-century B.C. Hebrew incantation text, found in Arslan Tash in Upper Syria, the help of the Goddess Asherah is sought for a woman in delivery,[14] Such an invocation of Asherah may have been contained in the original form of the exclamation made by

Leah at the birth of Zilpah's son whom she named Asher.[15] If so, we have here a testimony to the worship of Asherah in the early period in which the patriarchal traditions of *Genesis* originated.

4. *SOLOMONIC IDOLATRY*

While the worship of Asherah was thus a central feature of popular Hebrew religion in the pre-monarchic period, and her statues stood in many a local sanctuary, it remained for King Solomon to introduce her worship into his capital city of Jerusalem.

As is well known, the very manner in which Solomon's Temple was built in Jerusalem was conducive to the establishment of a polytheistic-syncretistic cult. Solomon's religious proclivities are condemned by the Yahwist historian, who begins his account of Solomon's reign by stating that "Solomon loved Yahweh," but feels constrained to add in the same sentence that "he, nevertheless, sacrificed and burnt incense on the high places."[16]

The architects and builders who, at Solomon's request, were sent by King Hiram of Tyre to Jerusalem to build the Temple hewed close to the patterns familiar to them from their own temples. That this was the case is indicated by a comparison of archaeological discoveries with the Biblical description of Solomon's temple. Of the numerous Canaanite and Syrian temples excavated, the one most closely resembling Solomon's is that of Tell Tainat in Syria from the 9th century B.C. That temple, like the one of Jerusalem, was divided into three sections, a vestibule, a nave, and an inner sanctuary, and, like it, had two pillars at its entrance. A much older Canaanite temple, which might be considered as the prototype of Solomon's, dating from the end of the Late Bronze Age, was found at Hazor.[17] In Solomon's temple, all the brass work, including the two pillars Jachin and Boaz, was executed by a Tyrian craftsman also called Hiram.[18] Again, archaeology teaches us that these brass furnishings of the Jerusalem temple were made in a manner customary in temples ded-

icated to "other gods" along the east-Mediterranean coast. It is probable that this similarity in structure and furnishings was matched by a similarity of the worship itself: the difference between Yahweh and other gods lay not in ritual, but in the ideology and morality, which was developed in his name by the great Hebrew prophets.

The chronicler of Solomon's reign reproaches him for having built places of worship for many gods, yet he does so in a curiously restrained manner: Solomon's heart, he says, "was *not whole* with Yahweh his god," and "he did what was evil in the eyes of Yahweh, and went *not fully* after Yahweh as did David his father."[19] In the passage in question, two extenuating circumstances are offered in excuse of Solomon's acts: he did what he did because his wives, to whom "he cleaved in love," turned his heart; and all this happened when Solomon was old.[20] Historical considerations, however, invalidate these excuses.

Firstly, we know that political marriages between a ruler and foreign princesses were an accepted means of strengthening alliances or friendly relations between states. Secondly, the introduction of a foreign princess into a royal household inevitably meant the admission of her gods as well. Thirdly, while such marriages may have taken place any time during the reign of a king, the most ambitious of Solomon's political marriages, that with the daughter of Pharaoh, was entered into at the very beginning of Solomon's reign.[21]. It is reasonable to assume that he married the Sidonian princess[22] about the same time, when he set about to carry out his great building projects for whose execution he needed the friendship and help of the Phoenicians. A Hittite princess at his court—whose presence served as a living political bond between Solomon and the neo-Hittite states of Syria—was also valuable for him at the same time, as were daughters of his Moabite, Ammonite and Edomite vassals. These marriages were in the nature of guarantees of security, without which he would have had to keep powerful troup contingents in constant readiness at a time when he needed all the available manpower in the country for the construction of his grandiose religious and

royal compounds. It is thus more than probable that all these marriages were contracted by Solomon soon after his succession, and that the introduction of the respective divinities worshiped by his wives also took place at the same time.[23]

Among the deities whom Solomon worshiped was "the Goddess of the Sidonians" who, as we have seen, was none other than Asherah. However, the historian recording this calls her " 'Ashtoreth, Goddess of the Sidonians."[24] Also the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite, an uncompromising Yahwist who flourished towards the end of Solomon's reign and in the years following it, reproaches the Israelites once with worshiping " 'Ashtoreth, the Goddess of the Sidonians," and another time with serving Asherah.[25] However, such a confusion of Asherah and Astarte is not confined to the Biblical authors who equally detested both of them; it is found, as mentioned above, already in the Amarna letters written in the 14th century B.C. by people who should have known better because they believed in the two goddesses and worshiped them. But we have to keep in mind that in polytheistic cultures the prevalent tendency often was to identify one god with another, substitute one god for another, combine one god with another, or call one god by the name of another, as we know from many examples in the Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite or Canaanite religions. In any case, there can be little doubt that it was the worship of Asherah, already popular among the Hebrews for several generations, which was introduced by Solomon into Jerusalem as part of the cult of the royal household, for his Sidonian wife.

5. *ASHERAH IN ISRAEL*

Close to the end of Solomon's reign, a dramatic encounter took place between the prophet Ahijah of Shiloh, and Jeroboam the son of Nebat, a young and brave foreman of Solomon's work force. As the two men met in the fields outside of Jerusalem, Ahijah grabbed the new mantle worn by Jeroboam, tore it into twelve pieces, and said to the astonished youth: "Take ten of these pieces, for Yahweh, the God of

Israel, will tear away the dominion over ten tribes of Israel from Solomon, because he forsook Yahweh, and served 'Ashtoreth, the Goddess of the Sidonians, Chemosh, the God of Moab, and Milcom, the God of the children of Ammon. If you will hearken to all that Yahweh commands you, He will be with you and give you Israel."[26]

As is well known, Ahijah's hopes in Jeroboam were bitterly disappointed. No sooner had Jeroboam established himself in the northern part of the country, when he set up two golden calves, one in Beth-el, just a few miles from Jerusalem, and the other in Dan, the northernmost point of Israel. "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up from Egypt," he proclaimed.[27]

One can imagine the pain and the anger felt by Ahijah. As soon as the stern Yahwist prophet had an opportunity, he prophesied the downfall of the house of Jeroboam, as he had foretold its rise some years previously. The charge was again the worship of "other gods and molten images" in general, coupled with a more specific accusation levelled against the people of Israel as a whole: "Because they have made their Asherahs, provoking Yahweh."[28] The fact that of all forms of idolatry only the cult of Asherah was mentioned specifically by Ahijah must mean at least that the one variety of religious worship in which the Israelites engaged more frequently than in any other was the cult of the Goddess Asherah, symbolized and represented by her carved wooden images.

The introduction of the Asherah worship into the ritual of the royal court had to wait for the arrival in the capital of Israel, Samaria, of another Sidonian princess, as bride of King Ahab (873-852). She was Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, King of Sidon, in whose capital city the "Elath of Sidon," i.e. the Asherah of Sidon, had been worshiped as early as at least five centuries prior to his own time. Under Jezebel's influence, and in order to cement the alliance with her father, King Ahab of Israel built an altar to Baal in Samaria, and "made" an Asherah.[29]

The extent of the worship of these Sidonian deities in Ahab's court is attested by the report that 450 prophets of the

Baal and 400 prophets of Asherah ate at the table of Jezebel.[30] It was these prophets whom Elijah met on Mount Carmel, in a great public rain-making contest which ended with the utter defeat of the Canaanite god and a miraculous vindication of Yahweh.[30a] It is interesting to observe that Elijah did not accuse the people of having abandoned Yahweh for the foreign gods but merely of dividing their attentions between both.[31] Although the 400 prophets of Asherah seem to have attended the meeting on Mount Carmel, only the 450 prophets of Baal were challenged to the contest by Elijah, and no further word is said in the entire detailed narrative about the prophets of Asherah. The appeal of the Baal prophets to their god and that of Elijah to Yahweh are surprisingly similar, in fact, almost identical. When Yahweh's fire (lightning?) descends on Elijah's altar and thus proves His superiority, the people side with Elijah, and burst into shouts of "Yahweh is the god!" Thereupon the 450 prophets of the Baal are seized, dragged down into the valley and slaughtered at the River Kishon.[32] No word is said about the fate of the 400 prophets of Asherah. The inference must be that, not being part of the contest, no harm befell them. If so, they must have continued unhindered to serve their goddess. Nor was the Asherah which Ahab had "made" and set up in Samaria removed or in any way harmed either as a result of Elijah's victory over the prophets of the Baal, or during the remaining years of Ahab's reign. It would appear then that only the Baal was considered by Elijah (and the strict Yahwists in general) as a dangerous rival of Yahweh, while the Goddess Asherah was regarded as his inevitable, necessary, or at any rate tolerable, female counterpart.

Ahab died ca. 852 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Ahaziah (ca. 852-51), who in turn was followed by his brother Joram. In 841-42 Jehu overthrew the dynasty and became King of Israel, to be followed, after a reign of 27 years, by his son Joahaz (814-798). It is from the days of this king that the next report about the Asherah of Samaria dates. The *Book of Kings* states tersely that during the reign of Joahaz the people of Israel "departed not from the sins of the house of Jero-

boam, wherewith he had made Israel to sin, but walked therein; and also the Asherah remained standing in Samaria."[33]

The persistence of the Asherah cult in Samaria, indicated by this statement, is in marked contrast to the much lesser tenacity of the Baal cult. For we are told that Joram, son of Ahab, "removed the pillar *(masseba)* of the Baal that his father had made."[34] This pillar of the Baal must have been the same cult object which, when erected by Ahab, was referred to as "an altar for the Baal in the house of the Baal which he had built in Samaria."[35] The absence of any indication of what, if anything, Joram did with the other cult object, the Asherah, which his father Ahab had made,[36] could mean that he did not touch it, because the worship of Asherah was considered, as in the days of Ahab, a legitimate religious pursuit even by those who objected to the Baal cult.

Even more remarkable is the absence of any action on the part of Jehu and his zealous supporters, the Rechabites, against the worship of Asherah in Samaria. Against the Baal-worship Jehu proceeded ruthlessly: by a clever ruse he induced all the prophets of the Baal (evidently, the 450 prophets of the Baal killed by Elijah less than two decades earlier were not all the Baal prophets in the country; or, possibly, new ones arose in the interval), as well as all the priests and worshipers of the Baal, to gather in the temple of the Baal in Samaria, and had them put to the sword there. Then he had the pillar (or pillars) of Baal broken into pieces, and destroyed the Baal temple itself, desecrating its very site by making it a place of latrines.[37] The narrative concludes with a statement which both gives credit to Jehu for what he did and blames him for what he left undone: "Thus Jehu destroyed the Baal out of Israel; but the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he had made Israel to sin, Jehu departed not from them: the golden calves that were in Beth-el and that were in Dan."[38] No word is said in this entire detailed account as to any action against the prophets of Asherah—most of the 400 spared by Elijah must have been still alive,—the priests of Asherah, the worshipers of Asherah, or the Asherah statue itself which still stood unharmed in Samaria, When the reign of Jehu's son,

Joahaz, came to an end (798 B.C.), the statue of Asherah still stood in Samaria,[39] and, if it stood, it must have been worshiped.

This state of affairs continued in the Kingdom of Israel during the remaining three-quarters of a century of its existence after the death of Joahaz. Both the court and the people continued to worship Asherah. Only in the eyes of the post-exilic historian, looking back at the period of the divided monarchy from the vantage point of his advanced Yahwist monotheism, does the Asherah worship appear as a sin. When he gives his melancholy account of what brought about the subjugation of Israel by Shalmaneser King of Assyria, in ca. 722 B.C., he lists several religious transgressions: they set up pillars and Asherahs for themselves upon every high hill and under every leafy tree, and burnt incense there, on all the high places ("*bamoth*"), as did the nations whom Yahweh expelled before them; commited evil acts, thereby angering Yahweh; served idols; made themselves molten images of two calves; made an Asherah; bowed down to the host of heaven; served the Baal; caused their sons and daughters to pass through the fire; and used divination and enchantment. As we see, this list of ritual transgressions, although given in two parts separated by several verses,[40] contains no repetition with the exception of the worship of Asherah: first it is stated that the Israelites set up pillars and Asherahs for themselves upon every high hill and under every leafy tree; then, that they made an Asherah—this time in singular. The context clearly shows the reason for this repetition: the first mention, in plural, refers to the Asherahs of village sanctuaries on hill-tops; the second, to the statue of Asherah which stood in Samaria, in the royal chapel of the capital. The twofold mention of Asherah alone indicates the relatively great importance of the worship of this goddess among all the deities served by the Israelites down to their Assyrian exile.

On the basis of the above rapid survey one can summarize the history of Asherah worship in Israel. The Goddess Asherah was worshiped in Israel from the days of the first settlement in Canaan, the Hebrews having taken over the cult of this

great mother goddess from the Canaanites. For public worship, the goddess was represented by carved wooden images, implanted into the ground, usually next to an altar dedicated to the God Baal, and located on hilltops, under leafy trees. For private religious use, innumerable small clay figurines of Asherah were in circulation, showing the goddess in the nude, with the characteristic gesture of holding her own breasts in emphasis of her fertility aspect.

During the reign of Ahab, under the influence of his Sidonian wife Jezebel, the worship of Asherah received added impetus: a statue of Asherah, probably much more elaborate and impressive than the wooden images simple villages could afford, was made and set up in Samaria, making that city, Ahab's capital, the center of the Asherah cult. At the same time, Beth-el in the south and Dan in the north of the Israelite kingdom remained the centers of the court-approved cult of Yahweh, identified with the Canaanite deity who manifested himself in the shape of a bull-calf, and was related to either Bull-El or his son Hadd, the Baal (i.e. the Lord), of the Ugaritic pantheon.

The cult of Asherah escaped the popular anti-Baal and pro-Yahweh uprising which, led by the prophet Elijah, took place under Ahab. Several years later, when all the Baalists were massacred and Baal's temple in Samaria destroyed by Jehu, the Asherah of Samaria again escaped unharmed and her worship survived down to the end of the Israelite monarchy.

The Assyrians put an end to the Kingdom of Israel in 721 or 722 B.C. yet at least one center of Asherah worship and one statue of the Goddess Asherah survived the national catastrophe by a hundred years. As part of his great Yahwist reform, King Joshiah of Judah, in or after the year 621 B.C., purged Beth-el of the remainder of the religious buildings and institutions erected there by Jeroboam more than 300 years previously. The terse one-verse notice, in which the Book of Kings reports this,[40a] states that Joshiah destroyed the altar and the high place *(bamah)* that Jeroboam had made, "and burned Asherah." No word in this notice about the

Golden Calf which Jeroboam had set up for worship in Beth-el and against which Hosea found it necessary to prophecy as late as the second half of the eight century B.C.,[40b] only a short time prior to the destruction of Israel. The Golden Calf was, in all probability, removed by the Assyrian invaders, and in its place new gods and cults were established all over Samaria, brought along by the new settlers from all parts of the Assyrian Empire.

Beth-el, a town lying some ten miles to the north of Jerusalem, while traditionally a part of the Kingdom of Israel, came under the rule of Judah when Joshiah succeeded in pushing the boundaries of his kingdom a few miles to the north of the old frontier between the two sister-states. In the century that had elapsed between the Assyrian conquest of Israel and this modest expansion of Judah, some remnants of the Israelite population must have managed to hold out in Beth-el and it must have been they who carried on the worship of their old Goddess Asherah. Thus the Goddess survived all the upheavals that passed over Samaria during the Assyrian invasion and following it, until she fell under the axe of Joshiah, that last great Yahwist reformer among the Judean kings, who could tolerate the worship of no other god besides Yahweh in any part of the country under his control.

How are we to explain the extraordinary hold Asherah exercised over the people of Israel? We can only make an informed guess to the effect that she answered the phychological need for a mother goddess which was keenly felt by the people and its leaders alike throughout the centuries following the conquest of Canaan. Equally intriguing is the question, why was the Yahwist opposition to the Asherah worship so much milder, and, at any rate, so much less effective, than the struggle against Baal?

Could it be that even in the eyes of those with the strongest pro-Yahwist sentiments, who were ready to put to death every Baalist and eradicate all physical traces of Baal worship, the cult of Asherah did not appear as an equal ritual sin? Was perhaps the goddess regarded as complementary to, rather than competitive with, Yahweh, and her worship

therefore tolerated? Or was the cult and the accompanying belief so strongly entrenched in the populace that even zealous Yahwists like Elijah, Jehu and the Rechabites, however offensive Asherah was in their eyes, did not dare take action against her? Wherever the answer lies, the continuity of Asherah worship in Israel is a fact which must be recognized and remembered in any attempt to trace the subsequent role played by the concept of a female divinity in the popular religion of the people of Judaea and their heirs, the Jews.

6. *ASHERAH IN JUDAH*

As far as it is possible to reconstruct the history of Asherah worship in Judah from the terse Biblical references, the goddess first penetrated the Jerusalem Temple itself under Rehoboam the son of Solomon (ca. 928-911 B.C.). His mother, Naamah, was the Ammonite wife of Solomon under whose tutelage Rehoboam must have been introduced to the worship of Milcom. Rehoboam's favorite wife was Maacah, the daughter of Abshalom[41]—that is to say, she was his paternal cousin. Maacah bore several sons to Rehoboam; her eldest, Abijah, or Abijam, was his father's favorite, whom Rehoboam appointed to be chief over his older sons by his other wives, and made him heir to his throne during his lifetime. In all this one recognizes, of course, Maacah's hand, whose position remained equally strong after her son Abijam actually succeeded Rehoboam, when she assumed the position of "*Gevirah,*" or queen-mother.[42]

Maacah used her influence to introduce the Asherah already worshiped in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon, into the Temple itself.[43] During the short reign of Abijam (911-908 B. C.) the image of Asherah remained in its place; but Abijam's succession by Asa (908-867)[44] marked the end of both Maacah's dominance as queen-mother and the worship of her Asherah. Under the influence of a prophet, a certain Azariah the son of Oded, Asa, in the fifteenth year of his reign, instituted the first religious reform in the history of the Judaean Kingdom.[45] He "put away the detestable things

(i.e. the appurtenances of idol worship) out of all the land of Judah and Benjamin," removed the sacred male prostitutes, and all the idols, took away the strange altars and the sun-images, broke down the pillars and hewed down the Asherahs, and, finally, removed the Asherah made by Maacah, made dust of it and burnt it in the Kidron valley, at the same time deposing Maacah herself from her exalted position of queen-mother.[46]

One notes that the setting up of the Asherahs which Asa removed from all over the land of Judah is nowhere mentioned in the Biblical sources. This leads to the conclusion that this popular form of Asherah worship was a heritage from the pre-monarchic period discussed above.

Asa's son and successor, Jehoshafat (870-846), continued his father's clean-up work: he removed, we are told, all the Asherahs from the countryside.[47] Although this was already done by Asa, he either did not complete the job, or the Asherahs sprang up again soon after they were removed by him. The seer Jehu son of Hanani complimented Jehoshafat for his zeal,[48] but even this victory of Yahwism over Asherism was short lived.

Some ten years after the death of Jehoshafat, Joash (836-798) ascended the throne of Judah. At first, under the influence of Jehoiada the priest, he "did what was right in the eyes of Yahweh," and engaged in extensive restoration work in the Temple. But, following the death of Jehoiada, Joash gave in to the demands of the princes of Judah, and led the people back to the worship of the Asherahs and the idols. In all probability, it was during this period that an image of Asherah was re-introduced into the Temple itself where it remained until, a century later, King Hezekiah (727-698) removed it. By that time, the countryside too was again overrun by the traditional Canaanite cult objects, such as high places and pillars, and all these were also removed, and destroyed by Hezekiah. In the Jerusalem Temple itself, Hezekiah "cut down the Asherah and broke into pieces the Brazen Serpent which Moses had made, for unto those days the Children of Israel used to burn incense to it, and it was called

Nehushtan."[49] The Asherah referred to must have been a statue which stood in the Temple, just as the Brazen Serpent did and was worshiped like it.

We do not know what was the precise connection between Hezekiah's reforms and the activities of Isaiah and Micah, the two great Yahwist prophets of his day. It is, however, probable that the king's work echoed the prophetic demand. For, in keeping with their monotheistic Yahwist point-of-view, the prophets, within the general framework of their overall opposition to any form of idolatry, spoke up against the Asherah cult in particular. Isaiah regarded the breaking of the altar stones into pieces and the removal of Asherahs and sun-images as the pre-requisites for the expiation of the nation's sin, although he expected this to happen only at a future, indeterminate, date.[50] In the same future day, Micah too expected witchcraft, soothsaying, graven images, pillars and Asherahs to be uprooted from the midst of the people.[51]

However, no sooner was Hezekiah dead than his son and heir Manasseh (698-642) reverted to the old religious customs. The chronicler drily enumerates the sins of which the young king was guilty: "He rebuilt the high places which his father Hezekiah had destroyed; he set up altars for the Baal, and made an Asherah, as did Ahab King of Israel, and he bowed down to all the host of heaven, and served them. And he built altars in the House of Yahweh . . . for all the hosts of heaven, in the two courts of the House of Yahweh. And he made his son to pass through the fire, practiced soothsaying, used enchantments, and appointed them that divine by a ghost or a familiar spirit; he wrought much evil in the sight of Yahweh to anger Him. And he set the statue of the Asherah that he had made in the house (of Yahweh)."[52]

The similarity between this list of ritual sins and the one which is given as the causes which brought about the destruction of Israel is striking.[53] What interests us in the present context is one detail; in both lists of transgressions Asherah alone of all the idolatrous appurtenances is mentioned twice. The reference to King Ahab indicates that Manasseh was considered to have in some way imitated Ahab's Asherah. It is

also noteworthy that the only image said to have been introduced into the Temple in the course of Manasseh's restoration of old forms of worship was that of Asherah. If Manasseh did not bother to replace the Brazen Serpent, the other image removed from the Temple by his father, this was probably due to the fact that with the passage of time the worship of a deity symbolized or represented by a serpent figure had become obsolete. Not so Asherah whose motherly figure must have been dear to many worshipers and whose restoration to her traditional place in the Temple was therefore considered a religious act of great importance. It is tempting to conjecture that the mythical motivation behind Manasseh's act was the conviction that Yahweh's consort, the great mother-goddess Asherah, must be restored to her old and lawful place at the side of her husband.

With Joshiah (639-609 B.C.) another reformer came to the throne whose Yahwist zeal, stimulated by the "discovery" of the Book of Deuteronomy in the 18th year of his reign, surpassed even that of Hezekiah. The Deuteronomic legislation had no such leniency towards Asherah as Elijah, Jehu and the Rechabites had displayed. Its point-of-view was unequivocal; it commanded the complete destruction of the seven nations that had inhabited Canaan, prohibited intermarriage with them and ordered their altars to be broken down, their pillars to be dashed to pieces, their Asherahs hewed down, and their graven images burnt.[54] In addition, it warned: "You shall not plant for yourself an Asherah, any tree, beside the altar of Yahweh your god which you shall make for yourself. Neither shall you set up a pillar, which Yahweh your god hates."[55]

In the remaining twelve years of his life and reign, Joshiah carried out these commandments faithfully. He had all the vessels that were part of the service of the Baal, the Asherah and all the host of heaven, removed from the Temple and burned in the Kidron Valley outside of Jerusalem. Then, as if afraid that even the charred remains of these idolatrous utensils may have power to defile, he had the ashes carried to Beth-el, a place which he seems to have regarded as of old

contaminated by idolatrous practices. Following this, he brought out the image of Asherah herself from the Temple, had it burned in the Kidron Valley, stamped it small to powder, and cast the dust over the graves of those who had worshiped her. Next he demolished the quarters of the Qedeshim, the male sacred prostitutes, which were in the Temple and in which the women wove "houses" (clothes?) for the Asherah. Finally, he turned his attention to the countryside, and cut down the Asherahs wherever they were found, filling their places with human bones. In a similar manner he destroyed, removed and defiled all the other high places and objects of idolatry which were originally set up by Solomon.[56]

However, not even the most thorough and zealous Yahwist reform was able to eradicate the tenacious worship of Asherah. Following Joshiah's death, her worship, and that of her consort, the Baal, with whom Yahweh was popularly identified, sprang up again all over the countryside. Consequently Jeremiah, whose main prophetic activity fell into the 23 years between Joshiah's death (609 B.C.) and the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (586 B.C.), again found it necessary to prophesy against idolatry in general and Asherah worship in particular. Most frequently, it is true, Jeremiah reproaches his people for their worship of the Baal.[57] He never mentions Astarte, whose cult seems to have disappeared from Judah with Joshiah's reform.[58] But he speaks up against the "altars and the Asherahs by leafy trees and upon high hills.[59]

To sum up, we find that the worship of Asherah, which had been popular among the Hebrew tribes for three centuries, was introduced into the Jerusalem Temple by King Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, in or about 928 B.C. Her statue was worshiped in the Temple for 35 years, until King Asa removed it in 893 B.C. It was restored into the Temple by King Joash in 825 B.C. and remained there for a full century until King Hezekiah removed it in 725 B.C. After an absence of 27 years, however, Asherah was back again in the Temple: This time it was King Manasseh who replaced her in 698 B.C. She remained in the Temple for 78 years until the great reformer King Joshiah removed her in 620 B.C. Upon Joshiah's

death eleven years later (609 B.C.), she was again brought back into the Temple where she remained until its destruction 23 years later, in 586 B.C. Thus it appears that of the 370 years during which the Solomonic Temple stood in Jerusalem, for no less than 236 years (or almost two-thirds of the time) the statue of Asherah was present in the Temple and her worship was a part of the legitimate religion approved and led by the king, the court and the priesthood, and opposed only by a few prophetic voices crying out against it at relatively long intervals.

7. *EZEKIEL'S "IMAGE OF JEALOUSY"*

The years immediately preceeding Josiah's reform or following his death must be the time recalled by Ezekiel in his great vision of the sins of Judah which, in his prophecy, appear as the cause of her impending doom. There is, to be sure, no consensus of scholarly opinion on the subject, and some Biblical scholars think that Ezekiel refers to the very time in which the vision came upon him, that is the year 592 B.C., six years after the exile of Jehoiakim and six before the destruction of Jerusalem.[60]

The vision itself, whether based on more than thirty-year old memories or on fresh intelligence (such as a visit to Jerusalem or reports), contains the most detailed account of idolatrous practices in the Jerusalem Temple found in the entire Bible. The prophet, while being visited in his house in Chaldaea by the elders of Judah, suddenly feels the hand of the Lord Yahweh upon him, sees Him as a blinding fiery apparition, feels His hand taking hold of him by a lock of his head, lifting him up between heaven and earth and taking him to Jerusalem, and depositing him there at the northern gate of the inner Temple court.

Then God points out to Ezekiel one by one the "abominations" being committed by the "house of Israel" in His sanctuary: first He shows him the "Image of Jealousy, which provokes to jealousy" standing near the northern gate which leads to the altar. Then, on the inside wall of the court, or of

the Temple building itself, He shows him reliefs of creeping things and beasts and of all kinds of idols, being worshiped by seventy elders of Israel led by Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan: each has a censer in his hand out of which clouds of incense billow upward. Thence God takes Ezekiel to the northern gate of the Temple itself and there shows him the women sitting and weeping for the Tammuz. The next stop is in front of the Temple, between the hall and the altar, where the prophet sees some 25 men prostrating themselves to the rising sun, with their backs turned to the Temple of Yahweh. All this, Ezekiel hears God tell him, provokes Him utterly: His punishment will be unsparing.[61]

Ezekiel's visionary enumeration of idolatrous practices is arranged in a crescendo: every next rite mentioned is a "greater abomination" than the preceeding one.[62] Taken literally, this means that, in the judgment of Ezekiel, the presence of the "Image of Jealousy" was considered the smallest sin, followed in increasing order by the burning of incense to creeping things, beasts and other idols, the mourning of Tammuz, and finally the worship of the sun.

Apart from the fact that the "Image of Jealousy" is regarded by Ezekiel as the least of all the idolatrous transgressions seen by him in his vision, there is one significant difference between it and the rest: in speaking of all the other sins, he describes and condemns idolatrous *acts*: the reliefs on the wall are worshiped by burning incense to them; the Tammuz—by mourning; the sun—by prostrations. Only the "Image" has no worshipers: it merely stands in its place, its mere presence is a sin of the house of Israel.

What was this "Image of Jealousy"?[63] Biblical scholars generally accept the view that it was the statue of Asherah set up in the Temple by King Manasseh. If so, we have here an independent contemporary testimony as to the presence of Asherah in the last years of the Jerusalem Temple. Since, as we have seen above, following the death of Joshiah, the Asherah worship was reestablished all over the countryside, it was to be expected that it would be restored in the Jerusalem

Temple as well. This is borne out by the testimony of Ezekiel's vision.

8. *CONCLUSION*

It is on this note that we take leave of the Biblical Asherah, this elusive yet tenacious goddess to whom considerable segments of the Hebrew nation remained devoted from the days of the conquest of Canaan down to the Babylonian Exile, a period of roughly six centuries. In the eyes of the Yahwists, to whom belonged a few of the kings and all of the prophets, the worship of Asherah was an abomination. It had to be, because it was a cult accepted by the Hebrews from their Canaanite neighbors, and any and all manifestations of Canaanite religion were for them anathema. How Asherah was served by the Hebrews we do not know, apart from the one obscure and tantalizing detail of the women weaving "houses," perhaps clothes, for her in the Jerusalem Temple.

Yet whatever her origin and whatever her cult, there can be no doubt about the psychological importance the belief in, and the service of, Asherah had for the Hebrews. One cannot belittle the emotional gratification with which she must have rewarded her servants who saw in her the loving, motherly consort of Yahweh-Baal, and for whom she was the great mother-goddess, giver of fertility, that greatest of all blessings. The Hebrew people, by and large, clung to her for six centuries in spite of the increasing vigor of Yahwist monotheism. From the vantage point of our own troubled age, in which monotheism has long laid the ghosts of paganism, idolatry and polytheism, only to be threatened by the much more formidable enemy of materialistic atheism, we can permit ourselves to look back, no longer with scorn, but with sympathy, at the goddess who had her hour and whose motherly touch softened the human heart just about to open to greater things.

Chapter II

ASTARTE-ANATH

It is a typical feature of Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean religions that the divinities who people their pantheons form family groups and belong to at least two successive generations. In Chapter Five we shall have a closer look at the manner in which this old Near Eastern concept reemerged in the Kabbalistic mythology of the 13th and 16th centuries. In the present chapter, we propose to discuss the goddess who was considered along the east coast of the Mediterranean the daughter of Asherah and her husband El, and who at times and in certain places overshadowed her mother in popularity and in the hold she exercised on human imagination and emotion.

Her proper name was Anath. However, she was equally well known, far beyond the boundaries of Syria and Palestine, by the name Astarte (Hebrew: 'Ashtoreth, or, in plural 'Ashtaroth), which seems originally to have been her most favored epithet. It is characteristic of the unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of the history of ancient Canaanite religion, that we cannot as yet be sure whether Anath and Astarte were originally one and the same goddess, or two separate female deities, who, in the course of gradual development, became identified. In the following we shall have to leave this problem unsolved, and discuss separately first Astarte and then Anath while presenting also the data which connect the two goddesses.

1. *THE CANAANITE ASTARTE*

Most of the chief gods of ancient Syria, to judge from the Ugaritic sources, had two names; occasionally one was a proper name and the other an epithet. As we have seen above, the Lady Asherah of the Sea was also referred to as Elath, that is Goddess. Her husband, properly named Father Shunem, was in most cases styled El, i.e. "God," or Bull El. Asherah's son Hadd is almost always called Baal or Master. The Divine Mot is also called El's Darling Ghazir. Another god is alternatingly called Prince Yamm (Sea) and Judge Nahar (River). In like fashion, Asherah's daughter seems to be called either Anath or Astarte ('Ashtoreth).

Two names for a deity are a prosodic requirement for classical Semitic poetry, a favorite device of which is the reduplication of significant statements without a repetition of the same words. In order to be able to express the same idea in two parallel sentences, using two sets of synonymous words, the Semitic poet had to have at his disposal two names for his gods who figure so prominently in his mythological poems. The following examples, all taken from the Ugaritic tablets, illustrate the point:

> "Then came the messengers of Yamm,
> The envoys of Judge Nahar . . ."[1]

Or:

> "She penetrates El's field and enters
> The pavilion of King Father Shunem."[2]

Or:

> "And say unto Divine Mot.
> Declare unto El's Darling Ghazir."[3]

Or:

> "He cries to Asherah and her children,
> To Elath and the band of her kindred."[4]

In the same way, the names Anath and Astarte appear in parallel positions making it probable that the two names refer to one and the same goddess:

> "Whose fairness is like Anath's fairness
> Whose beauty like 'Ashtoreth's beauty."[5]

Or in another passage where the first part of the crucial name Anath has to be conjecturally completed:

> "His right hand (Ana)th seizes
> 'Ashtoreth seizes his left hand."[6]

Such Semitic refinements of style were lost on the Egyptians, and thus we read in a 12th century B.C. hieratic papyrus that Neith, the Great, the God's Mother, demands that the Ennead (the nine great gods) should thus address the All-Lord, the Bull Residing in Heliopolis: "Double Seth in his property; give him Anath and Astarte, your two daughters..."[7] Other Egyptian documents, some as early as the 13th century B.C., also show that Anath and Astarte were accepted in Egyptian religion as two separate goddesses of war.[8] By the 18th dynasty, Astarte had become a goddess of healing in Egypt, referred to as "Astar of Syria."[9] Rameses III calls Anath and Astarte "his shield."[10] Both Anath and Astarte, as well as a third goddess derived from the Canaanite-Syrian pantheon, Qadesh, bore the Egyptian title "Lady of Heaven." (See plate 25.) An Egyptian stela erected in Beisan, Palestine, in the 12th century B.C., shows an Egyptian worshiping the goddess "Anath, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods." Of the three, Astarte seems to have been the most popular in Egypt; she had her own priests and prophets[12] as Asherah had in Israel. Also in Moab the name of Astarte appears with the omission of the feminine ending, as 'Ashtar and is coupled with Chemosh on the Moabite Stone of ca. 830 B.C.[13] Astarte seems to have been the consort of Chemosh, Moab's national god.

A Canaanite city, called 'Ashtarot or 'Ashtartu, in the Bashan, is mentioned in several Egyptian documents from the 18th century B.C. on, as well as in the Amarna letters which date from the 14th century B.C.[14]

At a much later period Astarte became the chief goddess of Sidon, replacing Asherah. When this transition occurred is unknown, but by the 4th century B.C. it was completed as can be concluded from the fact that at that time the kings of Sidon were also the priests of Astarte and their wives had the title "priestess of Astarte." However, the changeover could

not have taken place much earlier, because a century later Sidonian king Eshmun'azar reports that he and his mother built a temple for Astarte in Sidon-by-the-Sea and Shamem-Addirim, two sections of Byblos; in other words, in his days the cult of Astarte was still spreading in Phoenicia. The same inscription of Eshmun'azar which contains the above details also tells us the full Sidonian name of Astarte: it was 'Ashtart-Shem-Baal, i.e. "Astarte of the Name of Baal." Astarte and Eshmun, "the Holy Prince, the Lord of Sidon," were termed "the gods of Sidon."[15] The name "Ashtoreth of the Name of Baal" occurred to the north of Sidon over a thousand years earlier: this is how the goddess, in all probability Anath, is called in two passages on the Ugaritic tablets.[16]

This is more or less the gist of what we know about Astarte from Canaanite and Phoenician sources.[17] As we shall see later, the Canaanite mythical material about Anath is much more abundant.

2. *ASTARTE IN THE BIBLE*

In passing now to an examination of the Biblical references to Astarte, let us begin with those which show the clearest correspondence with the extra-Biblical sources. The city of 'Ashtartu[18] in the Bashan is referred to several times in the Bible, as a city of Levites. Once it is called Be'eshterah,[19] once 'Ashterah,[20] but usually 'Ashtaroth, in the plural form which is frequently employed in Biblical place names.[21] 'Ashtaroth was originally the capital city of Og, the legendary giant king of Bashan,[22] and of his people the Rephaim who were smitten by Chedorlaomer.[23] This last mentioned detail is contained in an old semi-historical semi-mythical account which is the only reference to retain the full old name of the city: *'Ashteroth-Qarnaim,* i.e. "Astarte of the Two Horns." The concept behind this designation is graphically illustrated by several Astarte-figurines found at various archaeological sites in Palestine and actually showing the goddess with two horns.[24] (See plates 9 and 10.)

The original meaning of the name Astarte ('Ashtoreth) was "womb" or "that which issues from the womb."[25] Such a

meaning is most appropriate as an appellative for a goddess of fertility: she is called "she of the womb," i.e. the inducer, as well as symbol, of female fertility, just as her brother-consort Baal was the inducer and symbol of male fertility.[26] Thus the primary meaning of the names of the divine couple Baal and Astarte was begetter and conceiver, man and woman, husband and wife.

This being the case, the name 'Ashtoreth or Astarte must have originally been but an epithet of the goddess whose proper name was Anath, just as Baal (Master) was the epithet of the god whose proper name was Hadd.[27]

Now as to the Biblical references to the goddess Astarte, the first mention of her worship by the Hebrews comes from the early period of the Judges, soon after the penetration into Canaan: "And they forsook Yahweh and served the Baal and the 'Ashtaroth."[28] A little later more explicitly: "And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and served the Baalim and the 'Ashtaroth, the gods of Aram, and the gods of Sidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon, and the gods of the Philistines, and they forsook Yahweh and served him not."[29] The first purge of these Baals and Astartes took place at the bidding of Samuel, and was immediately followed by a decisive intervention by Yahweh in favor of His people in their battle against the Philistines. As to the Philistines themselves, their Astarte must have been a goddess of war as well as that of love and fertility, and this is why, when the Philistines defeated Saul, they deposited his armor in the Temple of 'Ashtaroth, undoubtedly as a token of gratitude.

In Chapter I we argued that the goddess whose worship Solomon introduced into Jerusalem in honor of his Sidonian wife was none other than Asherah, the Elath of Sidon. As a result of a confusion between Asherah and Astarte, which, as we have seen, began with the 14th century B.C. Amarna letters and whose sporadic traces can be found down to our present day, the Hebrew historian of the Solomonic era repeatedly refers to the goddess of whose worship Solomon was guilty as "Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians."[32] In a refer-

ence to the same goddess at a later time, she is no longer accorded the title "goddess' but instead is called " 'Ashtoreth, the detestation of the Sidonians."[33] This is how she is spoken of by the historian who records that King Joshiah of Judah defiled the high places which Solomon had built for 'Ashtoreth.

3. *THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE*

The Goddess Astarte is mentioned only nine times in the Bible as against the forty times that Asherah is referred to. The Bible thus fails to convey any idea as to the prevalence of the worship of Astarte among the Hebrews. A somewhat better idea can be gained from the archaeological evidence that has come to light in excavations conducted in the last few decades in many parts of Palestine. By the early 1940's, a total of no less than 300 terra cotta figurines and plaques representing a nude female figure had been unearthed. These nudes fall into several distinct types, such as those with arms extended to the sides and holding stalks or serpents, or with hands holding the breasts, or with one hand placed over one breast and the other over the genital region, or with hands crossed before the breasts. Some are figures of pregnant women, other pillar figurines, etc. The persistence and ubiquity of these figurines is remarkable. They have been found in every major excavation in Palestine, and their prevalence extends from Middle Bronze (2000-1500 B.C.) to Early Iron II (900-600 B. C.), that is, to the end of the period of the divided Israelite monarchy, and even later. The so-called Qadesh-type is clearly associated by its symbolism with a goddess, the other types are asumed by most scholars to have been representations of the goddesses Asherah, Astarte or Anath, although no direct or definite identification could be made so far. According to a very cautious view, it is still an open question whether the figurines represented "the goddess herself, a prostitute of the cult of the goddess," or were talismans "used in sympathetic magic to stimulate the reproductive processes of nature."[34] (See plates 11-18.)

In the following remarks we shall concentrate on one single site which has been studied more thoroughly and systematically than probably any other in the country. This is Tell Beit Mirsim, to the south-west of Hebron, today on the Israel-Jordanian border. The Tell (mound of ruins) was excavated in the course of several years by William F. Albright and identified as the Biblical town Devir.[35] The systematic archaeological study of this tell has shown that the site was first occupied by Canaanites in the Early Bronze Age, Period 4 (ca. 21st century B.C.), that it flourished during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (ca. 21st to 13th centuries B.C.), and that it was destroyed towards the end of the 13th century, evidently by the Hebrews who at that time conquered the area. In the beginning of the Early Iron Age (12th century B.C.) the town was resettled by the Hebrews, and it flourished until the end of the sixth century B.C., when it was destroyed in the course of the general devastation of Judaea at the time of the First Exile (586 B.C.). All in all, there were in Devir some ten or eleven periods of occupation. The town itself was larger than the average Israelite towns of the First Temple period, measuring about 7½ acres inside the walls.[36]

The old name of the town was Kiriath-Sepher, meaning "Book City." At an undetermined date this name was changed to Devir, which is the Biblical term for the Holy of Holies of the Jerusalem Temple.[37] The name seems to indicate that there was a temple or sanctuary in Devir, which is reported to have been given "unto the children of Aaron the priest," together with eight other cities in the territories of Judah and Simeon.[38]

Whether or not the town played a special role in the religious life of the Canaanites prior to the Israelite occupation, we do not know. It is, however, a patent fact that the commonest religious objects found in the Late Bronze levels (21st to 13th centuries B.C.) of Tell Beit Mirsim are the so-called Astarte-plaques, made of clay, generally oval in shape, bearing the impress (from a pottery or metal mould) of the nude figure of the goddess Astarte. In many cases she holds

her arms upraised, grasping lily stalks or serpents or both. The goddess's head is adorned with two long spiral ringlets identical with the Egyptian Hathor ringlets, or she wears a Philistine-type helmet. Other plaques show the goddess with her arms hanging down, or with her hands clasped together under her protruding navel. These plaques go back to earlier prototypes found in Mesopotamia, where they have a long prehistory in the Early Bronze. Other types of naked goddesses, both plaques and figurines, also occur.[39] (See plates 19-23.)

When we come to the Israelite layers (12th to 6th centuries B.C.), the character of the finds changes. In stratum A alone, stemming from the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., no less than 38 recognizable examples of female figurines were found, as well as many more fragments of such figures. These differ from the Astarte-plaques, inasmuch as these Israelite naked female figures wear none of the insignia of the earlier or contemporary Canaanite goddesses. One must assume that these figures do not represent Astarte; they have a style and appearance of their own, with a broader face emphasized by the straight horizontal hair-line across the forehead, with curly hair framing the face as well, and with no trace of the horns or "Hathor" ringlets characterizing the Canaanite Astartes. The breasts are usually strongly emphasized, but below them the body line becomes that of a pillar, with its base flaring outward, which indicates that these figurines were intended to stand up unsupported.[40] Because of the pillar-like appearance of these figurines some scholars suggested that they may have been clay representations of Asherah, the goddess whose larger images were carved out of tree trunks.

However that may be, the archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that these figurines were very popular among the Hebrews in the period of the divided Kingdom. "The clay moulds were doubtless made by a few potters who were good sculptors, and these men (non-Israelites) would sell their moulds to ordinary Israelite potters scattered throughout the land."[41] One type of these nude fertility figurines, repre-

senting women in the process of parturition, was probably used as a charm to bring fruitfulness to women or to ensure an easy delivery, Seals with Hebrew names, such as Elyaqim, Yoyakhin, etc., found in the same Stratum A, prove beyond a doubt that these female figurines were made and bought by Israelites who used them for religious purposes.[42]

4. *THE UGARITIC MYTH OF ANATH*

As mentioned above, the Canaanite mythical material about Anath is abundant. This is due to the discovery and decipherment of the alphabetic cuneiform tablets of Ugarit, written in a language closely resembling Hebrew and dating from the 14th century B.C. In Ugaritic mythology, Anath is the by far most important female figure, the goddess of love and war, virginal and yet wanton, amorous and yet given to uncontrollable outbursts of rage and appalling acts of cruelty. She is the daughter of El, the god of heaven, and of his wife the Lady Asherah of the Sea. She has so many features in common with the Sumerian Inanna and the Akkadian Ishtar that one must regard her as heir and kin of those great Mesopotamian goddesses.[43]

However, instead of being concerned primarily with finding ever new divine, human, and animal bedfellows, as Ishtar was reputed to have been, Anath spent most of her energies in the battle-field. She too, to be sure, was a typical goddess of love, both chaste and promiscuous. Her character is aptly epitomized in a 13th century B.C. Egyptian text in which she and Astarte are called "the goddesses who conceive but do not bear," meaning that they are perennially fruitful without ever losing their virginity. In the Ugaritic myths her constant epithet is "the maiden Anath" or "the Virgin Anath." And, as late an author as Philo Byblius, who flourished in the early second century. A.D., still refers to the virginity of Anath whom he identifies with Athena, the famous virgin goddess of the Greeks. Like Ishtar, Anath was called "lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods," and, again like Ishtar, she loved gods, men and animals. (See plate 24.)

Her foremost lover was her brother Baal. When she approached, Baal dismissed his other wives, and she, in preparation for the union with him, bathed in sky-dew and rubbed herself with ambergris from a sperm-whale. The actual intercourse between Anath and Baal is described with a graphic explicitness which is unique even among the unrestrained accounts of love-making usual in ancient Near Eastern texts. In a place called Dubr, Baal lay seventy-seven times with Anath who assumed the shape of a heifer for the occasion, and, it appears, that the wild bull born to Baal was the issue of this union. A mortal lover of Anath was Aqhat whom, after what must have been an intimate tête-à-tête (description unfortunately missing), Anath addressed as "My darling great big he-man!" On the motherly side, Anath was said to have been one of the two wetnurses of the gods, to have given suck to a son of King Keret, and one of her appellations was "Progenitress of the Peoples." In Egypt, Anath came to be regarded as the wife of the god Seth, and an Egyptian magical text from the thirteenth century B.C. describes in surprisingly sadistic terms how Seth deflowers Anath on the sea-shore.

Yet all these adventures in the fields of love pale to insignificance next to Anath's great exploits in war and strife. In fact, no ancient Near Eastern goddess was more bloodthirsty than she. She was easily provoked to violence, and, once she began to fight, she would go berserk, smiting and killing right and left. One sees her plunge into fighting with real pleasure: she smites the peoples of both East and West, so that their heads fly like sheaves and their hands like locusts. Not satisfied with this, she binds the severed heads to her back and the cut-off hands to her girdle, and plunges knee-deep in the blood of troops, and hip-deep in the gore of heroes. Now she is in her element: her liver swells with laughter, her heart fills up with joy.

It was this bloodthirsty and warlike Anath whose worship penetrated Egypt some time prior to the 13th century B.C. She was, for the Egyptians as well, "Anath, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods," a war-goddess, who was

associated with horses and chariots, and who, equipped with shield and spear, protected the Pharaoh. Indeed, because of her warlike nature. Anath in Egypt was called "the goddess, the victorious, a woman acting as a man, clad as a male and girt as a female.[44]

5. *ANATH IN THE BIBLE*

It is a remarkable fact that the name Anath is never mentioned in the Bible as that of a foreign goddess. The explanation seems to be that the Biblical authors referred to her by her epithet 'Ashtoreth rather than by her proper name, just as they referred to her Canaanite-Phoenician brother and lover by his epithet Baal ("Lord") rather than by his proper name Hadd.

This, however, does not mean that the proper name Anath is entirely absent from the Bible. Mention is made of a Canaanite town in the territory of Naphtali called Beth Anath ("House of Anath"),[45] whose inhabitants were subjected but not dispossessed by the Hebrews. Better known is the priestly town of Anathoth, north of Jerusalem (today Anatha) which was located in the territory of Benjamin, and was the birthplace of Jeremiah and other Biblical figures.[46] Place names such as these point to some connection with the goddess Anath; most probably, their founders named them after the goddess and in her honor, in accordance with the custom prevalent all over pre-Biblical and Biblical Palestine to name localities after deities.

Anathoth is the plural of Anath (as 'Ashtaroth is of Ashtoreth or Baalim is of Baal) and it indicates generalization of the concept; the town was named, not after any local Anath in particular, but after the Anaths in general who manifested themselves in many places. The same form, Anathoth, appears also as the name of two men: one of them, a grandson of Benjamin, lived in the early days of the Israelite judges; the other, a contemporary of Nehemiah, after the return from the Babylonian exile.[47] From the days of the Judges the name of another individual survived, in the sin-

gular: one of the Judges themselves, we read, was a son of Anath. One single heroic deed is reported of this Judge, Shamgar son of Anath: he "smote of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad" and thus saved Israel.[48] It is tempting to conjecture that Anath was the name of the mother (and not of the father) of Shamgar, and that in the brief notice there is a residue of an old myth about a son of the goddess Anath who inherited his mother's warlike qualities. The ox-goad Shamgar used as a weapon reminds us of the two bludgeons, Ayamur ("Driver") and Yagrush ("Chaser"), which Baal, Anath's brother and lover, used to defeat his arch-enemy Yamm.[49]

The last Biblical reference to Astarte-Anath does not contain either of these names but refers to the goddess as "Queen of Heaven." As we shall recall, the title "Lady of Heaven" was given to Anath and Astarte by their Egyptian worshipers,[50] which makes it more than likely that the "Queen of Heaven" who formed the subject of a heated argument between Jeremiah and his Judaean fellow-refugees in Egypt was none other than the "virgin Anath," the "girl" Astarte. Jeremiah was convinced, and tried to convince also the remnant of Judah in Egypt, that the great national catastrophe that had befallen them had come about as a punishment by Yahweh for the people's sin of idolatry. Unless they would repent, the prophet warned them, they would all perish in Egypt as the others had in Judaea.

But the people's interpretation of the downfall of Judaea was diametrically opposed to that of Jeremiah. They too recognized that the calamity that had overtaken them was a divine punishment for a religious sin, but a sin which, they felt, they had committed against the Queen of Heaven and not against Yahweh. The answer given to Jeremiah by "all the people that dwelt in the Land of Egypt, in Pathros"[51] therefore was: "As for the word that you have spoken to us in the name of Yahweh—we shall not listen to you. But we shall without fail do everything as we said: we shall burn incense to the Queen of Heaven, and shall pour her libations as we used to do, we, our fathers, our kings and our princes,

1. Asherah figurine (height 7 1/8 inches), from Tell Duweir, Palestine, from the period of the Hebrew monarchy.

COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. GIFT OF HARRIS P. COLT AND H. DUNSCOMBE COLT, 1934.

2. Asherah head from Tell Erani ("Gat"), Israel, from Iron II period.
COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS.

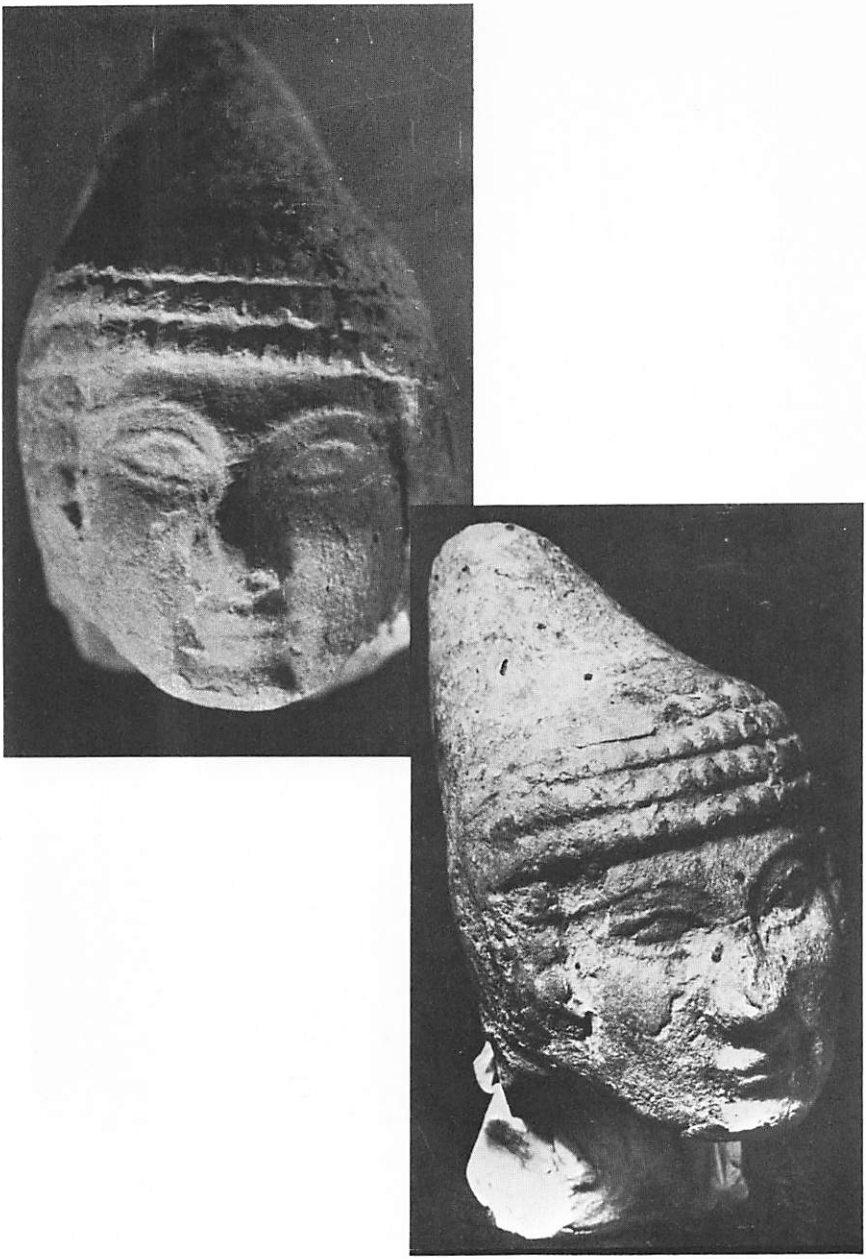

3 and 4. Asherah head from Tell Erani ("Gat") Israel, from Iron II period.
COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS.

5. Asherah head.

COURTESY OF THE SEMITIC MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

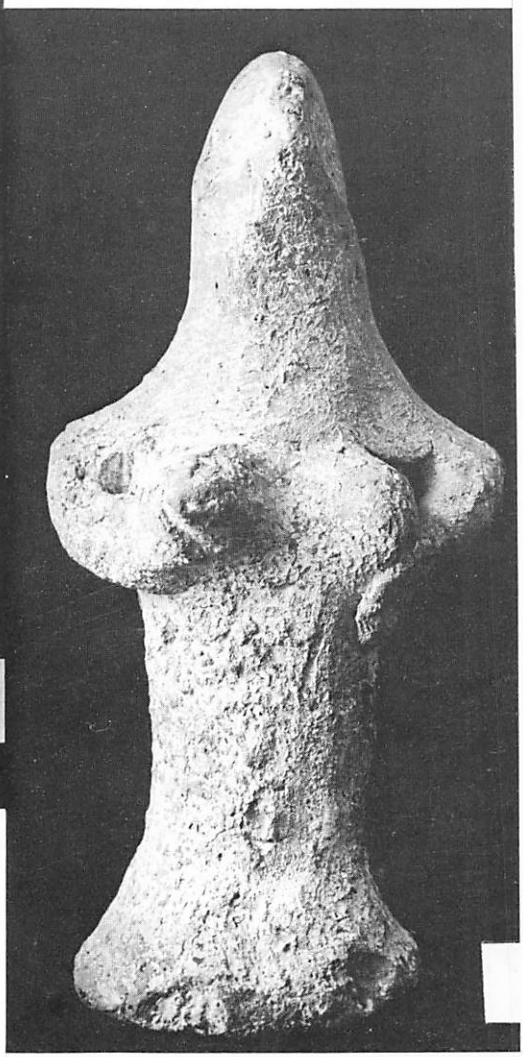

6 and 7. Primitive "bird faced" Asherah figurine from Palestine.
COURTESY OF THE REIFENBERG COLLECTION, JERUSALEM.

8. Figurines and plaques from Middle Bronze to Iron II periods. The two plaques on the left and left-center of the first row are clearly recognizable as Astartes by their horn-like ("Hathor") hair style. The figurine on the right of the second row is an Asherah.

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION FROM JAMES B. PRITCHARD, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1954.

9. Astarte of the Horns (height 8 inches). Left: the ancient mold (18th to 16th centuries B.C.) found in Nahariya, Israel; right: modern cast from it.
COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS.

10. Horned goddess from Sumer (height 4 1/2 inches). Ancient mold and modern cast.

COURTESY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

11. Astarte (height 5 3/4 inches). Molded clay figurine from Megiddo, Israel, Middle to Late Bronze (2,000-1,200 B.C.).

COURTESY OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

12. Astarte plaque from Beth Shemesh, Israel.

COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

13. Astarte holding sacred flowers. Plaque from Beth Shemesh, Israel.
COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

14. Astarte plaque from Beth Shemesh, Israel.

COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

15. Gold pendant from Ras Shamra, Syria, with relief figure of Astarte standing on lion. 15th century B.C.

COURTESY OF THE LOUVRE AND PROF. CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFER.

16. Gold pendant from Ras Shamra, Syria, with relief figure of Astarte, holding flowers.

COURTESY OF THE SYRIAN DIRECTORATE OF ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS, ALEPPO.

17. Astarte with lioness-mask (height 4 3/4 inches). Pottery figurine from Beth Shean, Israel.

COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS.

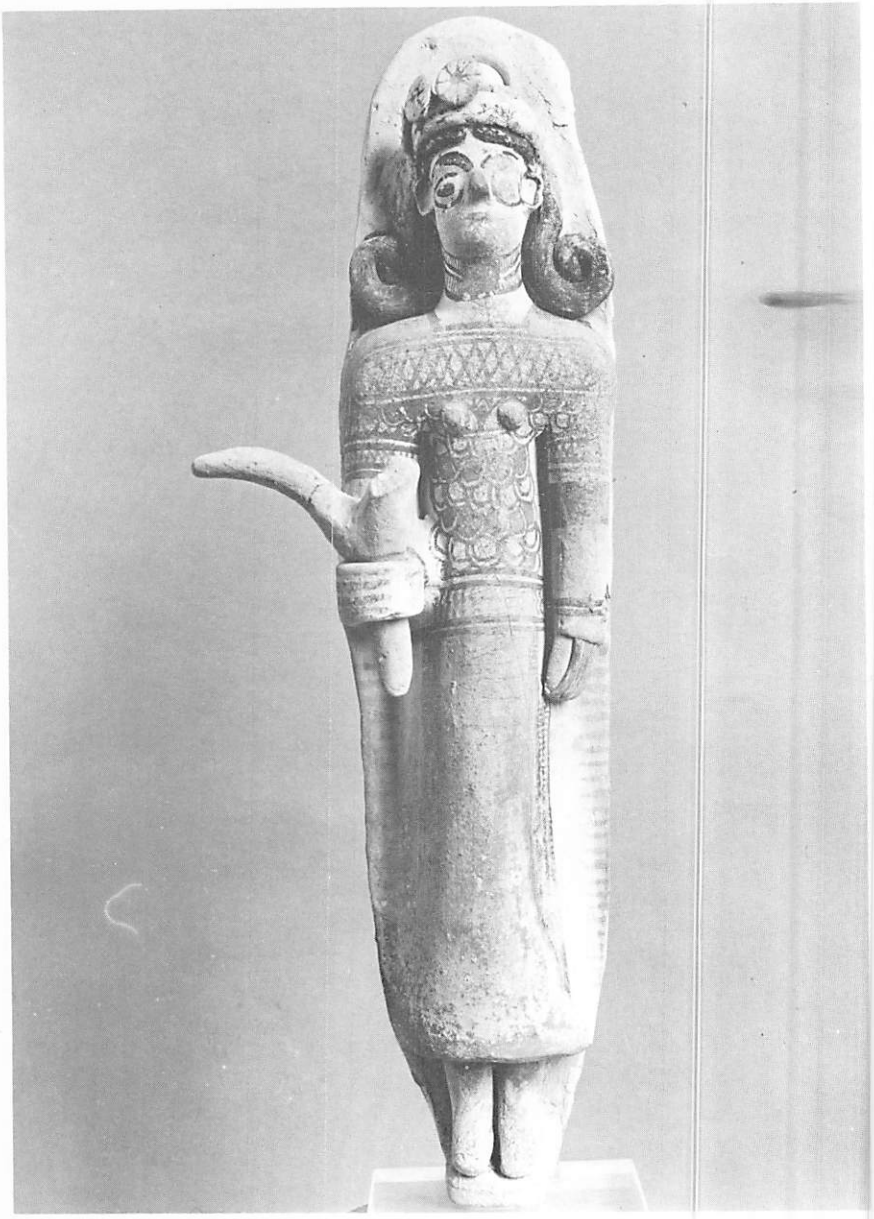

18. Goddess (Astarte?) holding flower. From Cyprus, 1st millennium B.C.
COURTESY OF THE LOUVRE.

19. Queen of the Wild Beasts. Ivory from Minet el-Beida, Tomb III (ca. 13th century B.C.).

COURTESY OF THE LOUVRE.

20. Silver figurine of a goddess, with gold necklace and belt. From Ras Shamra, Syria.

COURTESY OF THE LOUVRE.

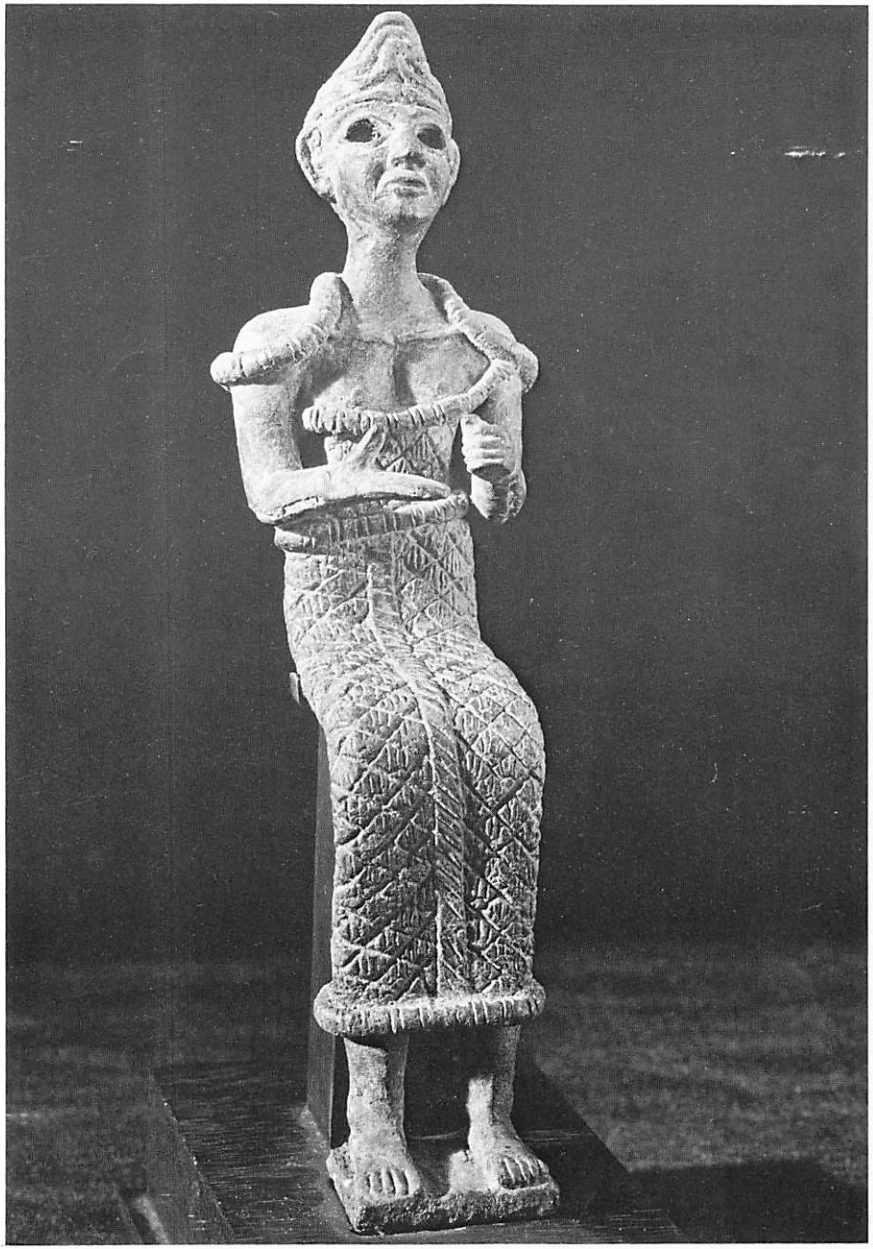

21. Seated goddess. Hurrite art. Ivory from Ras Shamra, Syria, 19th-18th century B.C.

COURTESY OF THE LOUVRE AND PROF. CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFFER.

22. Silver figurine of goddess from the Canaanite temple at Nahariya, Israel, 18th-16th century B.C.

COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS.

23. Bird-faced goddess with child. From Enkomi, Cyprus, 17th-15th century B.C.
COURTESY OF THE LOUVRE.

24. The goddess Anath. Cylinder-seal from Ras Shamra, Syria.
COURTESY OF THE LOUVRE AND PROF. CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFFER.

25. The Canaanite goddess Qadesh, standing on a lion and flanked by Min and Reshef. Egyptian relief.

COURTESY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

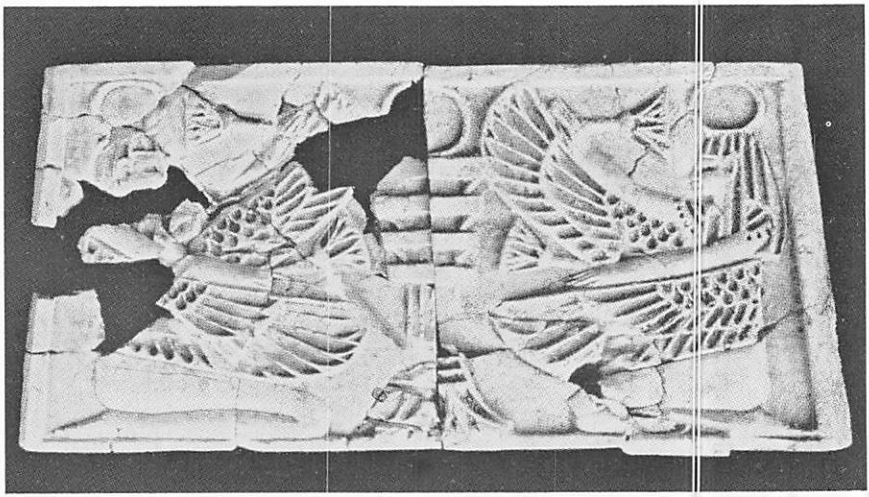

26. Cherubim from Ahab's "Ivory House" in Samaria, ca. 870 B.C. Ivory tablets.

ORIGINAL IN THE PALESTINE MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY, JERUSALEM.

27. Female Cherub with palm-tree. Ivory plaque from the bed of Hazael king of Damascus, late 9th century B.C.

COURTESY OF THE LOUVRE.

28. Female Cherub with palm-tree. Ivory plaque from Arslan Tash, North Syria.
COURTESY OF DR. ELIE BOROWSKI AND THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, TORONTO, CANADA.

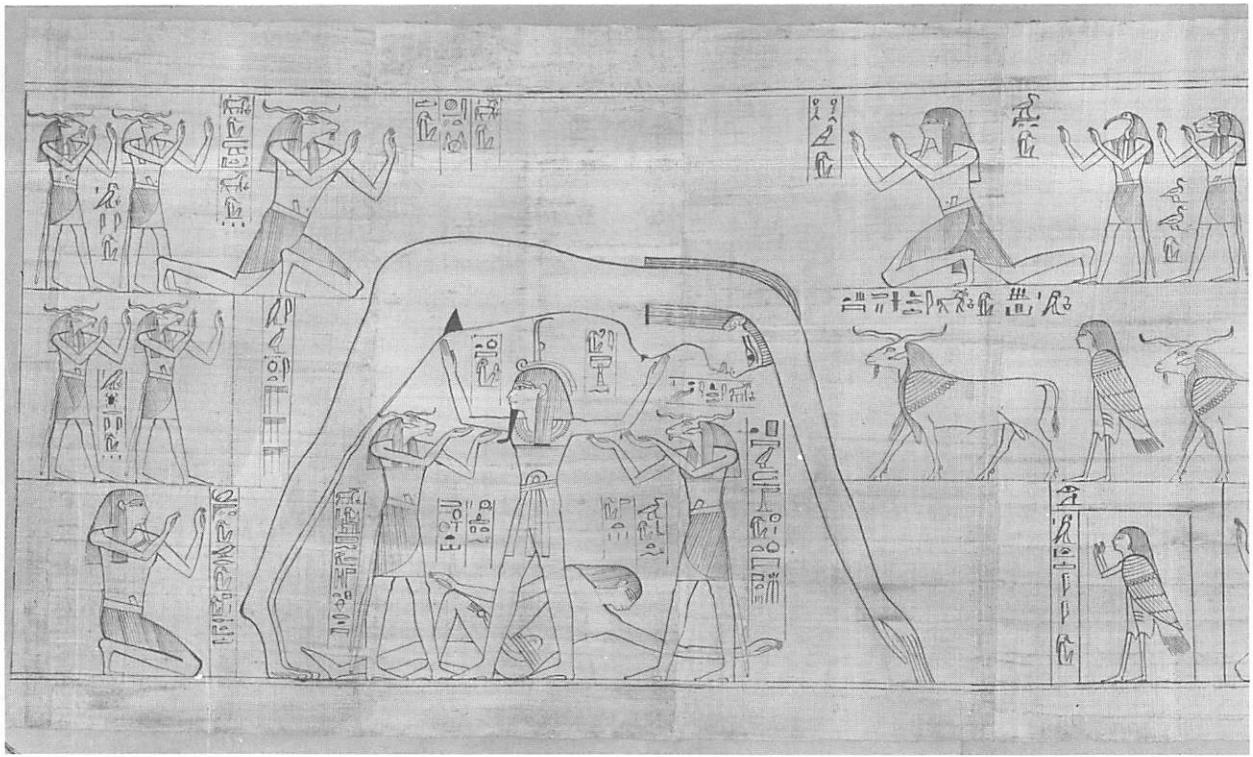

29. Shu raising up Nut. Egyptian drawing.

COURTESY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

30. Ancient Near Eastern bronze tetrad. Origin unknown.

COURTESY OF THE LOUVRE.

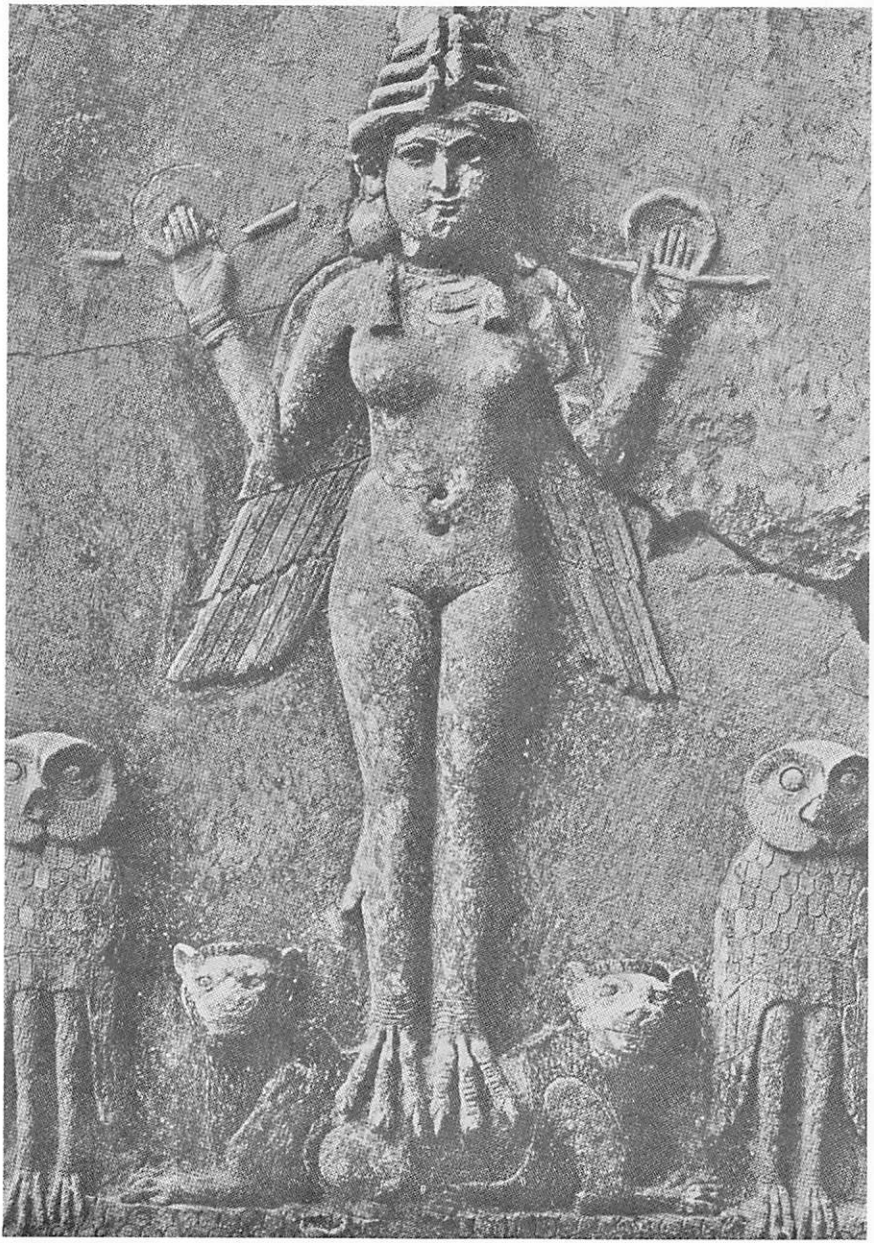

31. Lilith. Sumerian terra-cotta relief, ca. 2,000 B.C. Collection of Colonel Norman Colville.

REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION FROM ERICH NEUMANN, *The Great Mother*, NEW YORK: PANTHEON BOOKS, BOLLINGEN SERIES XLVII, 1955.

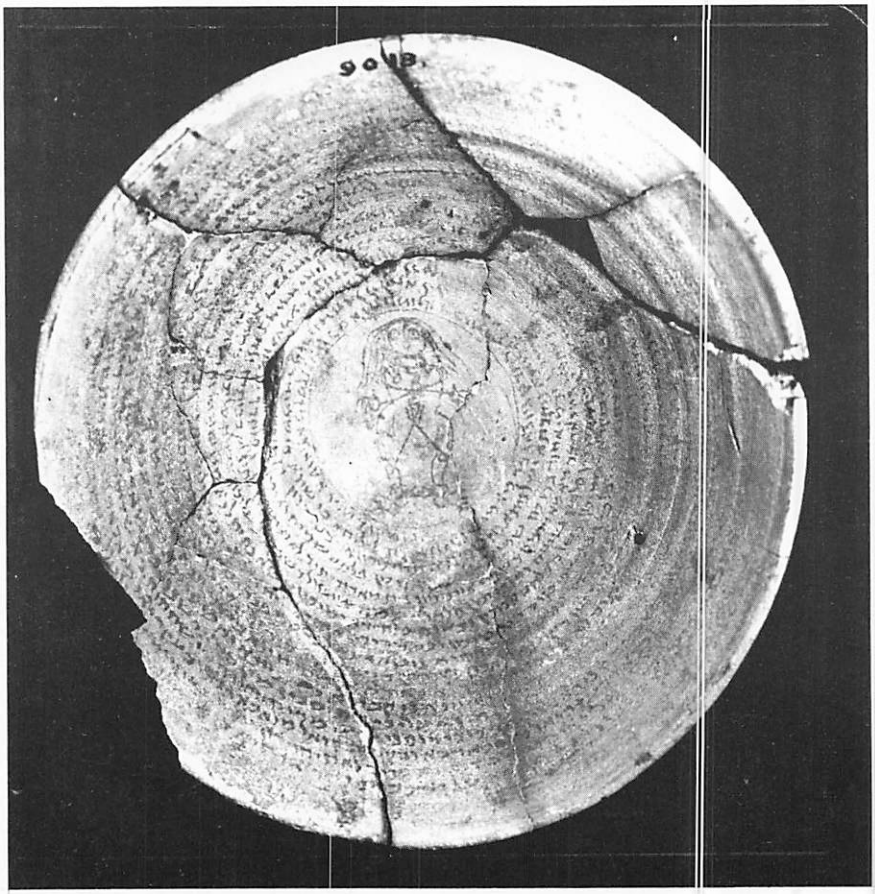

32. Aramaic incantation bowl with Lilith in the center (6th century A.D.).
COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

33. Aramaic incantation bowl from Persia, with Lilith in the center.
COURTESY OF THE SEMITIC MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

34. The Moses-panel in the Dura Europos synagogue (3rd century A.D.), showing the Shekhina with the infant Moses in her arms.

COURTESY OF THE BOLLINGEN FOUNDATION, NEW YORK.

in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem. For then we had plenty of food, and we all were well and saw no evil. But since we ceased burning incense to the Queen of Heaven and to pour her libations, we have wanted everything and have been consumed by sword and famine."

To these words the women added: "Is it that we alone burn incense to the Queen of Heaven and pour her libations? Is it without our husbands that we make her cakes in her image and that we pour her libations?[52]

This unique passage allows us a glimpse of the actual ritual of the Hebrew Astarte worship. The rites were led by kings of Judah and her princes; its participants were the men, women and children of the people; the locale was Jerusalem and the other cities of the realm. About the ritual itself we learn more details from another passage in Jeremiah in which the prophet is addressed by God as follows:

"Do you not see what they do in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem? The children gather wood and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead the dough to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven and to pour out libations to other gods, in order to anger Me!"[53]

The two passages together contain the following features of the ritual performed in honor of the Queen of Heaven:

1. The children were sent to gather wood.
2. The fathers lit the fire.
3. The women kneaded dough and made cakes.
4. The cakes were baked on fire.
5. The women, assisted by the men, burnt incense, and
6. Poured out libations.
7. They poured libations to other gods as well.
8. In return for this veneration, the Queen of Heaven was believed to provide the people with plenty of food, and to secure their well-being in general.
9. It can be assumed that the Kings of Judah led the ritual in Jerusalem, and the princes in the other cities.
10. The burning of incense, the offering up of cakes, and the pouring of libations presupposes altars, which, in turn, may have stood either in sanctuaries in the cities, or on "high places" in the countryside.

The lighting of fire on altars, the burning of incense and the pouring of libations are all rites well known from both the Jerusalem Temple and the other ancient Near Eastern rituals. Only the baking of cakes requires a word of explanation.

In Athens, Artemis was honored with round cakes called *selenai,* which represented the moon. A Babylonian hymn on Ishtar mentions the *kamanu,* sacrificial cakes, offered her. If Hebrew *kawwan* ("cake") is, in fact, derived from Babylonian-Assyrian *kamanu,* then it is likely that the Queen of Heaven worshiped in Jerusalem corresponded to Babylonian-Assyrian Ishtar, who is referred to as *sharrat shame,* Queen of Heaven, and similar titles.[54]

A recent archaeological find enables us to think of another explanation. In the course of excavations conducted at Nahariah (in Israel, north of Acre), on a *bamah* ("high place"), a stone mould was found dating from 17th century B.C. The mould was used for casting small figures of the goddess Astarte —her identity is clearly indicated by the two horns which protrude to the left and right over her ears. She is "Astarte of the Horns," standing naked, except for her tall, conical headdress, looking down at her protruding navel, with an enigmatic smile on her lips.[55] (See plate 9.) Could it be that such moulds were used to bake in them cakes in the shape of Astarte, to be either eaten by the celebrants (perhaps as a precursor of the Holy Communion in which the Host, which is supposed actually to turn into the body of Christ, is eaten), or burnt on the altar? More data will be needed before this question can be answered, but the possibility that this was meant by the cakes in the image of the Queen of Heaven is an intriguing one.[56]

If the equation of the Queen of Heaven with Anath-Astarte is correct, as we believe it to be, then we can determine the period recalled by the Judean exiles in Egypt as the time of their devoted Astarte worship. As we have seen above, the service of Astarte was forcibly terminated by King Joshiah.[57] Joshiah's reforms were carried out beginning with the 18th year of his reign,[58] that is, after the year 621 B.C. The controversy between Jeremiah and the people about the Queen

of Heaven must have taken place within a year or two after the arrival of the Judaean refugees in Egypt, say in 585 B.C. The Astarte ritual, forbidden by Joshiah only 36 years previously, could therefore have been quite well remembered by the older Judean exiles in Egypt. Since Jeremiah began his prophetic activities in the 13th year of King Joshiah's reign,[59] that is, in 626 B.C., his description of the worship of the Queen of Heaven in Jerusalem and the other cities of Judah must date from the five years that elapsed between 626 and the reforms of Joshiah in 621.

That the Judaean exiles meant what they said to Jeremiah, is proved by their history in the subsequent two centuries. In the Jewish military colony at Hermopolis in Egypt, the worship of the Queen of Heaven was pursued in the 5th century B.C. Her temple is mentioned in an Aramaic papyrus from that community, side by side with those of other deities.[60]

The last mention of the name of the old goddess in a Jewish environment comes some 175 years after the determined vow of the Judeans in Egypt to return to the worship of the Queen of Heaven. In one of the letters written by a member of the Upper Egyptian Jewish military colony on the island of Elephantine, dating from 419 or 400 B.C., it is stated that Yedoniah the son of Gemariah, who was the priest and head of the Jewish community, had collected the following donations: for Yaho (i.e. Yahweh) 12 karash and 6 shekels; for Ishumbethel 7 karash, and for Anathbethel 12 karash.[61] Since each contributor gave 2 shekels, and 20 shekels made 1 karash, one can easily calculate that, in addition to the 123 contributors who "gave money to the God Yaho" and whose names are enumerated in the Aramaic document, there were 70 who gave their two shekels each to Ishumbethel, and 120 who gave the same amount each to Anathbethel. Ishumbethel was a male, and Anathbethel a female, Aramaean deity. In the name Anathbethel the two elements Anath and Bethel are unmistakable. It has been argued that these two deities were worshiped by non-Jewish Aramaeans who lived in Elephantine and for whom Jedoniah acted as treasurer or banker.[62] This is unlikely for two reasons. Firstly: it is not proba-

ble that members of competing rival religious sects should entrust their cultic donations to the hands of a man who was the leader of another religious group. The keen religious rivalries which are known to have been a feature of life in Elephantine would have prevented this.[63] Secondly, in at least one letter written by an Elephantinian Jew to another blessings are invoked by Yaho and another deity,[64] which proves that the Jews of the island could and did worship, next to Yahweh, other deities as well.

Chapter III

THE CHERUBIM

Whenever and wherever images were worshiped by the Hebrews, as it frequently happened in the period which ended with the Babylonian captivity of 586 B.C., such practices were always and uncompromisingly condemned in the Biblical and later sources as idolatrous abominations. The legal crystallization of this attitude was the commandment which ruled out the making and worshiping of "graven images or any manner of likeness." Biblical and subsequent Jewish religion has, therefore, justly been called "aniconic."

However, it is the exception that proves the rule. In the case of aniconic Judaism the exception was represented by the Cherubim, those winged human figures which were an integral part, and according to at least one Rabbinic opinion, the most important part, of all the Hebrew and Jewish sanctuaries and temples. The Cherubim were, by any criteria, "graven images," and yet they continued to figure prominently in the Temple ritual down to the very end of the Second Jewish Commonwealth (70 A.D.). Moreover, in their last version the Cherubim depicted a man and a woman in sexual embrace—an erotic representation which was considered obscene by the pagans when they at last had a chance to glimpse it. And nevertheless, the entire contemporary and subsequent Hebrew-Jewish literature contains not a word that could in the remotest be construed as a condemnation of the Cherubim. On the contrary, their presence in the Holy

of Holies, the innermost sanctuary of the Temple, and the ritual significance attributed to them, are invariably referred to as a most sacred mystery. Only the Hellenistic Jewish authors, such as the philosopher Philo of Alexandria and the ex-priest Josephus Flavius, speak about the Cherubim with an embarrassment obviously created by the apprehension lest the pagan Greek readers for whom they wrote consider the Cherubim as but the Jewish equivalent of the statues of their own gods and goddesses and thus find a basis to refute and reject the claim that the Jews worshiped only the one invisible God.

Since one of the two Cherubim was a female figure, we find that, in addition to the Canaanite goddesses whose worship was condemned by the Hebrew prophets and Jewish sages, the Temple of Jerusalem contained a representation of the female principle which was considered legitimate at all times. It is to an examination of the Cherubim, their history, their changing appearance and their evolving symbolism that the present chapter is devoted.

1. THE IVORY CHERUBIM

Excavations in Samaria in the palace of King Ahab of Israel (873-852 B.C.) have brought to light a number of small ivory plaques whose presence in that royal residence earned it the name "Ivory House."[1] Among them is one which shows two crouching female figures facing each other. The women are shown in profile, with both arms stretched forward, and underneath each arm is a wing whose upper edge seems to adhere to the lower contours of the arm. In each hand the figures hold an object which seems to be a large flower, probably a lotus. The upper body of the figures is upright; their legs are bent under so that their knees protrude forward toward each other and their buttocks rest on their upturned heels. The arms and legs are naked, but around the shoulders they wear wide, fringed collars, and breastplates hang down from their necks. Their heads, covered by

Egyptian-type head-cloths which bind their foreheads tightly and flow freely down over the shoulders behind the ears, are crowned by a hollow, ring-like ornament rising vertically upward. Between the two figures is a vertical ritual object, with the same kind of ring on top, and under it a four-tiered structure supported by slender, out-turned legs. This object engages the attention of the two figures who seem to shield or fan it with their wings.[2] (See plate 26.)

Whatever the actual purpose of this ivory plaque, it is the closest illustration found to date of the Cherubim, which in the Solomonic Temple shielded the Ark in the Holy of Holies—closest not only in general arrangement and detail, but also in time of provenance and place of discovery, as well as origin since both Solomon's and Ahab's Cherubim point to Phoenician workmanship. Of all this we shall have more to say later, but one detail should be stressed already here: the two genii from Ahab's ivory palace are *female* figures.

A very similar pair of winged protective female genii is shown on an Egyptian relief from Karnak, from the time of Thutmoses II (ca. 1500 B.C.). The two genii are seated, face each other, their upraised wings touch at the tips, and in each of their hands they hold an *ankh,* the Egyptian key of life.[3]

We cannot go into a discussion of the numerous variations of winged beings, human, animal or composite, which have been unearthed in excavations in Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia and other places in the Near East. Let us only mention in passing that the representation of such imaginary hybrid forms was a favorite theme all over the area for several thousands of years, and that the winged female genii of the Cherub type were merely one of the many sub-varieties of these ubiquitous creatures of fantasy.

That the Cherubim in Solomon's Temple were human and not animal figures has been convincingly argued by Biblical scholars.[4] Others opinioned that they were animal figures, shaped like winged oxen, or winged lions. The Samarian ivory plaque suggests that they were, indeed, winged women.

Before reviewing the Biblical evidence, a word should be said about the meaning and derivation of the term Cherub (Hebrew: *(K'rubh)*. Many attempts have been made to explain this Biblical Hebrew noun, none of them completely satisfactory. It has, however, become accepted that it is related to Akkadian *karibu,* which designates an intermediary between men and the gods, a being who presents the prayers of men to the gods.[5]

2. *THE CHERUBIM OF THE DESERT TABERNACLE*

Let us leave aside the complicated question of the historicity of the book of *Exodus* in general and of the passage describing the Cherubim of the desert Tabernacle in particular. For our present purposes it makes little difference whether *Exodus* truly protrays the conditions of the tribes of Israel during their wanderings in the desert in the 13th century B.C., or whether, to take the other extreme view, it represents the ideas of the post-exilic Judaeans about the early history of their ancestors after their liberation from Egypt. In any case, as far as the Cherubim in Solomon's Temple are concerned, it must be taken for granted that they were patterned after earlier prototypes, which, through the Shiloh Tent which was called "the House of Yahweh,"[6] may well have derived from an ancient period reaching as far back as the age of Moses. This must be considered a distinct possibility even if the actual execution of the Solomonic Cherubim was entrusted to Phoenician artists and craftsmen.

According to the Biblical tradition, in both the desert Tabernacle and the Jerusalem Temple the only supernatural beings represented were the Cherubim. These, however, were shown so often that they must be regarded as the architectural, decorative, and consequently also the religious, *leitmotif* of both sanctuaries.

In the Tabernacle, two figures of Cherubim stood on both sides of the ark-cover, separated by its width of one and one-

half cubits (or 2¼ feet). They were made of beaten gold, and, together with the ark-cover, formed a single piece. Their faces were turned to each other, and downwards toward the ark-cover, which was shielded by their outspread wings. It was upon the ark-cover, from between the two Cherubim, that God was believed to speak to Moses.[7]

Cherubim-figures appeared also on each of the ten curtains which formed part of the sides of the Tabernacle.[8] In addition, Cherubim were depicted on the Veil, which separated the Holy from the Most Holy of the Tabernacle. This Veil hid the Ark and its two Cherubim from all eyes, but it carried a picture of the Cherubim, reproducing on the outside what it concealed within. Like the ten curtains mentioned above, the Veil was made of fine twined linen, blue, purple and scarlet, and was "the work of the skilful workmen."[9]

By simple count we thus find that there were twelve pairs of Cherubim represented in the desert Tabernacle: one over the Ark in the round, and one embroidered on the Veil and ten on the ten curtains.

3. THE CHERUBIM OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

In the Solomonic Temple the Cherubim motive was even more in evidence. There were, first of all, the two Cherubim over the Ark. These were made of olive wood and overlaid with gold. Their height was ten cubits (15 feet), and their wing-span measured the same. Both Cherubim were of equal size and form; their inner wings touched each other, while their outer wings reached the two opposite walls of the Holy of Holies in which they stood: the total span of the two pairs of wings was 20 cubits (or 30 feet), stretching across the entire width of the Holy of Holies.[10] Beneath the inner wings of the Cherubim stood the Ark.[11] The pattern, we are told, for the Cherubim, as for the entire Temple and all its holy vessels, was handed down by David to his son Solomon.[12]

The ten curtains of the Tabernacle embroidered with Cherubim were replaced in the Solomonic Temple by solidly

built walls, and these, in turn, were decorated with the Cherubim-motive: "And he (Solomon) carved all the walls of the House round about with carved figures of Cherubim and palm-trees and open flowers, both within and without." Also on the two wings of the main entrance door to the innermost Sanctuary *(devir)* "he carved carvings of Cherubim and palm-trees and open flowers, and overlaid them with gold," and, similarly, on the outer door of the Temple *(heikhal),* which was made of cypress-wood, "he carved Cherubim and palm-trees and open flowers, and he overlaid them with gold fitted upon the graven work."[13]

According to *Chronicles* there was no door between the Holy and the Holy of Holies, but a veil separated them, as had been the case in the desert Tabernacle. The manner in which it was made and decorated was also the same as in the old Tent of Meeting: blue purple, crimson and fine linen, with Cherubim wrought thereupon.[14]

In addition to the above, Cherubim figured among the decorations of the wheeled bases of the ten lavers. On the frames of these bases "there were lions, oxen and Cherubim," while on the sides of the bases there were engraved "Cherubim, lions and palm-trees according to the space of each, and wreaths round about." All these bases were cast in one mould, and they were placed five to the right and five to the left of the House.[15]

Ezekiel, in his vision of the Temple, singles out the walls and the doors only as being decorated with figures of Cherubim: "It was made with Cherubim and palm-trees, a palm-tree was between Cherub and Cherub, and every Cherub had two faces: there was a man's face towards the palm-tree on the one side, and a young lion's face toward the palm-tree on the other side, thus was it made through all the house round about. From the ground unto above the door were the Cherubim and the palm-trees made, and so on the wall of the Temple... And the Temple and the sanctuary had two doors: each door had two wings, two turning leaves were there to each door. And on

the door-wings of the Temple there were made Cherubim and palm-trees like as were made upon the walls..."[16]

While it may be difficult to establish the precise meaning of each detail of this visionary description of the Cherub-decorated walls and doors of the Temple, it largely corresponds to the Solomonic Temple, with a few added details: in the description of the Temple of Solomon we are not told how the Cherubim and palm-trees were arranged; from Ezekiel we learn that these two decorative motives alternated: one Cherub, one palm tree. We also learn that the Cherubim and palm-trees were quite large: they reached from the floor to above the height of the door. And finally we are told that the Cherubim had two faces each, one human face and one lion's face, turned Janus-like in opposite directions.

As we see, in all the above references to the Cherubim in the Solomonic Temple they are consistently associated with palm-trees. Cherubim and palm-trees appear side by side on numerous ivory plaques, such as those that decorated the bed of Hazael king of Damascus in the late 9th century B.C., or those found in Arslan Tash, northern Syria, and dating from the 9th-8th century B.C. (See plates 27 and 28.)

From all this it becomes evident that the Solomonic Temple contained a surfeit of Cherubim. From the moment one entered the Temple court from where the House itself was visible, nowhere could one's glance escape the impact of this ubiquitous, endlessly repeated decorative motive. The outer walls of the Temple were full of carved Cherubim, and so were the doors and the inner walls. On the right and left sides of the Temple stood five huge lavers, each supported on bases decorated lavishly with Cherubim. The Veil which one faced upon entering the Temple, displayed figures of Cherubim embroidered in white, blue, purple and crimson. And those to whom it was granted to glance behind the Veil into the Holy of Holies, saw there again two huge, sparkling, golden statues of Cherubim, fifteen feet tall and filling with their outstretched wings the entire thirty-feet width of the adytum.

4. *THE CHERUBIM AS YAHWEH'S MOUNTS*

No less interesting than the question of the Cherubim's shape is that of their symbolic import, or, to be more precise, of the successive reinterpretations of their symbolism.

The earliest symbolic meaning attributed by the Hebrews to the Cherubim was that they represented, in a tangible, plastic form, the clouds of the stormy winter sky upon which God was supposed to ride across the face of the earth. That gods ride on clouds is an old mythologem, traces of which can be found among many peoples.[17] Among the Canaanites it is attested in the 14th century B.C. Ugaritic myths, in which "Rider of the Clouds" is one of Baal's epithets.[18] The same epithet, "Rider in the clouds," refers to Yahweh in one of the Psalms, while in another, Yahweh is addressed thusly:

> "Who makest the clouds Thy chariot,
> Who walkest upon the wings of the wind,
> Who makest winds Thy messengers,
> The flaming fire Thy ministers."[19]

Isaiah, in an eschatological vision, sees Yahweh "riding on a swift cloud" on His way to Egypt.[20] The cloud as the mount of God is personified as a Cherub: "He rode upon a Cherub, and did fly; yea, He did swoop down upon the wings of the wind."[21] Yahweh's epithet, "Rider in the clouds," was paralleled by another which referred to him as "the Sitter on the Cherubim."[22]

In a magnificent prophetic epiphany Habakkuk sees Yahweh appearing in an earth-shaking storm, riding on his horses and chariots, treading the sea with his stallions, and making Cushan and Midian tremble.[23] Clouds—winds—Cherubim—horses and chariots, all these, then, appear as interchangeable concepts in the poetic and prophetic imagery of the Bible in speaking of the vehicle or mount on which Yahweh appears. Of them, only the clouds, *'arabhoth* in Hebrew, have the feminine form. Yahweh's horses have the masculine gender,

although mares were known to the Bible as Egyptian chariot horses.[24] However, there seems to have existed an old tradition which held, possibly under the influence of the She-Cherubs, that God's mount, when in animal shape, was a mare. A late trace of this view is found in the midrash which tells of God riding a mare—and, in a more daring version, of taking himself the shape of a mare—and being pursued by the ruttish Egyptian stallions into the Sea of Reeds.[25]

A more personified concept of the Cherubim is expressed in the myth of Genesis, according to which God placed at the east of the Garden of Eden Cherubim with "the revolving sword of flame" to watch over the way leading to the Tree of Life.[26] Related to these angel-like Cherubim is the jewel-bedecked Cherub who was set by God into the Garden of Eden until he became overweening and rebelled.[27]

In connection with the desert Tabernacle there was an explicit mythical tradition according to which God descended onto and into it in a cloud. In fact, the desert Sanctuary was called Tabernacle (Hebrew: *mishkan,* literally; "dwelling place") because of the divine cloud that abode *(shakhan)* on it and in it. When Moses finished the construction of the Tabernacle, "the cloud covered the Tent of Meeting and the glory of Yahweh filled the Tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter into the Tent of Meeting because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of Yahweh filled the Tabernacle. And whenever the cloud rose up from over the Tabernacle, the Children of Israel set out on their journeyings. But when the cloud did not rise up, then they journeyed not till the day that it did rise up. For the cloud of Yahweh was upon the Tabernacle by day, and there was fire therein by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys."[28]

This passage must not be subjected to logical scrutiny (because, the latter would, e.g., lead to the conclusion that Moses was able to enter the Tent only when Yahweh raised the cloud which, however, was the signal for breaking camp and setting out on the day's journey), but instead be treated as a myth. It says that God's presence in the Tabernacle was in-

dicated by a cloud which both seemed to hover over the tent and to fill it, and which at night glowed like fire. This conception of the manifest presence of God on and in the Tabernacle closely parallels that of God's presence on Mount Sinai: there too, cloud covered the mount, and in that cloud was God: "He called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud"; and, at the same time, "the appearance of the glory of Yahweh was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the Children of Israel."[29] The cloud that filled the House was the palpable sign of God's presence in Solomon's Temple as well: after the priests deposited the Ark in the Sanctuary, under the wings of the Cherubim, "when the priests were come out of the holy place, the cloud filled the house of Yahweh, so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud, for the glory of Yahweh filled the house of Yahweh."[30]

The connection between clouds and Cherubim as the vehicle of God is emphasized in the visions of Ezekiel. Once the prophet sees "the glory of the God of Israel rising above the Cherub"; another time he sees four Cherubim, each standing upon a wheel and, in turn, supporting the divine throne. As the glory of Yahweh "mounts up from the Cherub to the threshold of the Temple" the latter fills with a cloud, and "the sound of the wings of the Cherubim is heard even to the outer court as the voice of God Almighty *(El Shaddai)* when He speaks." These Cherubim, moreover, had four faces each: a Cherub-face, a human face, a lion's face and an eagle's face. Their bodies, even their backs, hands and wings, were full of eyes. Each Cherub had four wings, and when they spread them to fly, the whole apparition, the Cherubim, the wheels, the throne and the glory of God, rose up from the earth as one unit.[31]

This then was the myth: in both the desert Tabernacle and the Temple of Solomon, Yahweh's presence was manifested by a cloud, personified in the Cherubim-figures, which made it impossible for Moses, and later the priests, to enter the holy place. That the Cherubim were the translation of

this myth into ritual reality is shown by the statement in *Exodus* that Yahweh was believed to have spoken to Moses "from between the two Cherubim which were upon the Ark of Testimony."[32] As far as the Biblical period is concerned, the Cherubim were thus unmistakably the symbolic representation of the clouds "out of the midst of which" God spoke and which served also as His mount or chariot.

5. *PHILO'S CHERUBIM*

A different view of the Cherubim appears in the earliest post-Biblical Jewish source in which references to them are found. Philo, the early 1st century A.D. Alexandrian Hellenistic Jewish philosopher,[33] gives no less than three interpretations of the Cherubim, ranging from cosmological to theosophic. Philo did visit Jerusalem, and may have seen the Cherubim in the Temple, although he does not mention that he saw them. In general, in describing the Temple he exhibits a remarkable reticence. As long as he speaks of the courtyards and the exterior of the Temple, his description is detailed and even verbose. But when he comes to talk of the Holy of Holies, he manages to say nothing definite about it without, however, stating that there was nothing in it:

"All inside is unseen, except by the High Priest alone, and indeed, he, though charged with the duty of entering once a year, gets no view of anything. For he takes with him a brazier full of lighted coals and incense, and the great quantity of vapor which this naturally gives forth covers everything around it, beclouds the sight and prevents it from being able to penetrate to any distance."[34]

Could Philo have had any reason to refrain from stating categorically that there was nothing in the Holy of Holies? Could it be that he, indeed, knew, either because he was told, or because he himself saw it, that the adytum contained the Cherubim? The manner in which Philo treats the Cherubim of the desert Tabernacle seems to indicate that the question must be answered in the affirmative. When describing that portable sanctuary whose existence, according to tradition, lay

in a period preceding his own by more than a thousand years, Philo talks of the ten curtains which were in it, but does not mention that they were decorated by figures of Cherubim. And as to the Cherubim over the Ark, all he has to say is: "The mercy-seat serves to support the two winged creatures which in the Hebrew are called Cherubim, but as we should term them, recognition and full knowledge."[35] After which he launches into his symbolic explanations of the Cherubim of which more anon.

Philo's tendency to gloss over the tangible form of the Cherubim even in the archaic desert Tabernacle and to direct all attention to their symbolic significance is quite evident. That he was nevertheless greatly preoccupied with the physical appearance of the Cherubim, as he himself may have seen them in Herod's Temple, is shown in his treatise *On the Cherubim*. In that book, soon after setting out to explain the significance of the Cherubim whom God placed "at the East of the garden of Eden," he inadvertently slips over into a discussion of the Cherubim-figures of the Sanctuary. The passage in which this occurs contains Philo's three interpretations of the Cherubim:

"The Cherubim and the sword of flame which turns every way... are an allegorical figure of the revolution of the whole heaven... One of the Cherubim then symbolizes the outermost sphere of the fixed stars... the other of the Cherubim is the inner contained sphere...."

This is one interpretation. The second is:

"But perhaps, on another interpretation, the two Cherubim represent the two hemispheres (of heaven), for we read that the Cherubim stand face to face with the wings inclining to the mercy-seat; and so, too, the hemispheres are opposite to each other...."

The Cherubim which "incline their wings to the mercy-seat" are, of course, no longer the living Cherubim who with their flaming sword bar the way to the tree of life, but the sculptured ones which, according to Biblical tradition, were placed into the desert Tabernacle over the Ark.

In propounding his third interpretation, Philo ostensibly speaks again of the Cherubim of Paradise, but here, too, he cannot rid himself of the image of the two Cherubim with the Ark between them:

"But there is a higher thought than these... While God is indeed one, His highest and chiefest powers are two, even goodness and sovereignty. Through His goodness He begot all that is, through His sovereignty He rules what He has begotten. And in the midst between the two is a third which united them, Reason, for it is through reason that God is both ruler and good. Of these two potencies, sovereignty and goodness, the Cherubim are symbols, as the fiery sword is the symbol of reason... these unmixed potencies are mingled and united... where God is good, yet the glory of His Sovereignty is seen amid the beneficence... where He is sovereign, through the sovereignty the beneficence still appears."[36]

In the Genesis narrative there is not the slightest hint as to the position occupied by the fiery sword in relation to the Cherubim. To say that "the flaming sword which turned every way" was "in the midst between the two" Cherubim and "united them" is, to say the least, forced. It is quite clear that Philo here is thinking again of the Cherubim which stood in the Holy of Holies, with the ark-cover (or "mercy-seat") between them and actually uniting them into one single piece of statuary, as explicity stated in *Exodus:* "of one piece with the ark-cover shall ye make the Cherubim."[37] The uncertainty in Philo's mind concerning this "third which united" the Cherubim is also indicated by his inconsistency with regard to the symbol that stood for Reason. In the above passage he says that Reason was symbolized by the fiery sword; elsewhere, however, he states that God the father is Reason, while Knowledge is God the mother, and these two aspects of the godhead are symbolized by the two Cherubim.

Before turning to the passages in which Philo expresses these ideas, let us note that while in his interpretations of the Cherubim just quoted the idea of bi-sexual symbolism is hinted at or implied, he stops short especially of saying any-

thing about a female aspect of God. God's goodness is the begetter, i.e. the male principle, this he states; but he does not make God's other aspect, His sovereignty, the female principle; instead, all he says is that "through His sovereignty He rules what He has begotten."

In speaking of the creation of the world, however, Philo does take this highly significant step when he says:

"...the Architect who made this universe was at the same time the father of what was thus born, whilst its mother was the Knowledge possessed by its Maker. With His knowledge God had union, not as men have it, and begot created things. And Knowledge, having received the divine seed, when her travail was consummated, bore the only beloved son who is apprehended by the senses, the world which we see. Thus in the pages of one of the inspired company, wisdom is represented as speaking of herself after this manner: 'God obtained me first of all his works and founded me before the ages.'[38] True, for it was necessary that all that came to the birth of creation should be younger than the mother and nurse of the All...I suggest, then, that the father is reason, masculine, perfect, right reason, and the mother the lower learning of the schools, with its regular course or round of instruction..."[39]

The process of *creation* is represented in this passage in symbolic terms, but quite unequivocally, as *procreation*: God, the Father, who is Reason, had union with the Mother, who is God's Knowledge (also called by Philo Wisdom, Lower Learning and Education, and "the Nurse of All"); the Mother "received the divine seed," and, "when her travail was consummated, bore the only beloved son," the visible world. Elsewhere Philo calls God "the husband of Wisdom" who "drops the seed of happiness for the race of mortals into good and virgin soil."[40]

Philo employs a varied terminology in expressing the same idea in different contexts. In two other passages, speaking of the Cherubim of the Sanctuary, he says that they symbolized "the two most ancient and supreme powers (or 'virtues') of the divine God": his creative power, called "God" which

is a "peaceable, gentle, and beneficent virtue," and his kingly power, called Lord, which is "a legislative, chastising and correcting virtue."[41]

It is clear that in all these explanations Philo had in mind one and the same dichotomy which can be subsumed as follows:

God (Elohim)	*Lord* (Yahweh)
Father	Mother
Husband	Wife
Begetter	Bearer
Creator	Nurturer
Reason	Wisdom (Knowledge, Learning, Education)
Goodness	Sovereignty (Kingly Power)
Peaceable	Legislative
Gentle	Chastising
Beneficent	Correcting
Symbolized by Cherub A	Symbolized by Cherub B

Each of these two series of divine attributes is symbolized, according to Philo, by one of the two Cherubim. Here, then, is the earliest indication of the idea that one of the Cherubim in the Temple represented a male, the other a female figure. This is consonant with the Talmudic tradition, to be discussed anon, according to which the Cherubim-couple was shown in marital embrace in a sculpture which stood in the Holy of Holies of the Second Temple. This statuary, we read in Talmudic sources, was shown to the pilgrims who flocked to the Temple on the three pilgrimage-festivals. It is thus probable, or at least possible, that when Philo made his pilgrimage to the Temple, he saw the Cherubim "entwined" like man and wife, as the Talmudic phrase has it. Thus when Philo says that the two divine potencies of goodness (male) and sovereignty (female), represented by the two Cherubim, were "mingled and united," he may be influenced by the Cherubim as he had seen them in the Temple of Jerusalem.

We shall see below that the two divine "virtues" or "powers," formulated by Philo, became subsequently a part

of Talmudic theology and were systematically developed in the theosophy of the Kabbala. What is surprising, at first glance, in Philo's dichotomy of the deity is that he attributes the "legislative, chastising and correcting" activities, as well as the kingly power, to the female, maternal aspect of the deity, and the "peaceable, gentle, and beneficent" virtues, as well as goodness, to God's male, paternal aspect. However, there is a logical consistency in thus assigning these two sets of attributes. The mother is the bearer, nurturer, educator, that is, the establisher and maintainer of order; she, therefore, must be the one who wields the legislative, chastising and correcting powers which are the attributes of sovereignty. The father, who is, of course, the begetter and creator, is, by contrast to the mother, representative of gentleness, beneficence, goodness. In thus assigning "soft" qualities to the father, Philo may also have had in mind Biblical passages such as "Like as a father has compassion upon his children, so has Yahweh compassion upon them that fear Him,"[42] and many others which speak of God's compassion; while in characterizing the mother as the maintainer of order, he may have relied on verses which talk of her as the parent who has to be obeyed, or as a fierce lioness.[43] However this may be, there can be no doubt that it is in this Philonic doctrine that we have to look for the earliest roots of medieval Kabbalistic symbolism in which, as Scholem has pointed out, "women represent not, as one might be tempted to expect, the quality of tenderness, but that of stern judgement," a concept which "was unknown to the old mystics of the Merkabah period, and even to the Hassidim in Germany, but... dominates Kabbalistic literature from the very beginning and undoubtedly represents a constituent element of Kabbalistic theology."[44] In the Kabbala, as in Philo, "Kingdom" is the female aspect of the deity (in the Kabbala "Kingdom" is the tenth Sephira and identical with the Shekhina, the personified, female "Presence" of God), is associated with the stern, uncompromising, divine principle of justice, while the male aspect is manifested in the qualities of compassion and mercy.

6. *JOSEPHUS ON THE CHERUBIM*

Should we hope to obtain additional information about the Cherubim from the writings of Josephus Flavius (ca. 37-100 A.D.), the only eyewitness who left us a detailed description of the Jerusalem Temple as it appeared in the last years prior to its destruction by Titus (70 A.D.), we shall be sorely disappointed. Josephus, like Philo half a century before him, shows extreme reticence even when describing the earlier Cherubim, those that formed part of the desert Tabernacle and the Temple of Solomon. About the former he says:

"Upon its (the Ark's) cover were two images which the Hebrews called Cherubim; they are flying creatures, but their form is not like that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God."[45]

There seems to be an intention here to deny all similarity between the Cherubim and any living creature, and to assert that they were supposed to represent *divine* beings, stationed near the throne of God. Incidentally, instead of "Moses" one should read "Ezekiel"; it is in the latter's prophecies, and not in the Pentateuch, that the Cherubim surrounding the throne of God are described.[46]

Even more remarkable is the omission by Josephus of any reference to the Cherubim which adorned the curtains and the Veil in the desert Tabernacle. He describes the curtain as "composed of purple and scarlet and blue and fine linen, and embroidered with diverse kinds of figures, excepting the figures of animals," and the Veil which separated the Holy from the Holy of Holies as "very ornamental, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces; and they were interwoven into all sorts of variety that might be an ornament, excepting the form of animals."[47] His account, as we see, follows closely the one contained in *Exodus,* except that where *Exodus* mentions the Cherubim, Josephus substitues the words "excepting the figures of animals."

In describing Solomon's Temple, Josephus proceeds in a similar manner: he says nothing about the Cherubim on the

Veil, on the walls of the Temple or in any other place, and purposely emphasizes that there is general ignorance as to the shape of the Cherubim over the Ark. The passage in question reads:

"He (Solomon) also had veils of blue and purple and scarlet and the brightest and softest of linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, which were to be drawn before those doors (leading from the Holy into the Holy of Holies). He also dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was 20 cubits and the length the same, two Cherubim of solid gold; the height of each of them was five cubits; they had each of them two wings stretched out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the southern wall of the secret place, and with another the northern; their other wings, which joined to each other, were a covering to the Ark which was set between them: but nobody can tell or even conjecture what was the shape of these Cherubim."[48]

Let us interject one single comment here. All the measurements contained in this passage are identical with those in *Kings,* except that of the Cherubim's height which is given as ten cubits (15 feet) in *Kings* and as five (7½ feet) by Josephus. It seems that by reducing the height of the Cherubim to one-half of the Biblical figure, Josephus hoped to reduce their importance as well.

Preceding the above quoted sentences, Josephus describes the walls of the Temple which, as we shall recall, were decorated by alternating figures of Cherubim and palm-trees as well as by flowers. All that Josephus has to say, however, is that Solomon, "as he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar so he fixed upon them plates of gold, which had sculptures upon them..."[49] Again, not a word as to what these sculptures represented.[50]

When reading these descriptions of Josephus in which he flatly contradicts Biblical texts, one begins to suspect that he must have had a definite purpose in mind in omitting to mention the Cherubim so ubiquitous in the Solomonic Temple.

It is not difficult to surmise his reasons for so doing. By underplaying the Cherubim in both the desert Tabernacle and the Solomonic Temple, he leads up to the total omission of any reference to them in his description of the Temple of Herod with which, as a priest, he had a thorough, first-hand familiarity. As we shall see below, there can be little doubt that there were Cherubim in the Holy of Holies of the Second Temple; they even played an important role in the ritual of the pilgrimage festivals. If Josephus passes over them in silence, his reason, as that of Philo before him, must have been that as an interpreter of Judaism to the Hellenistic world in general and to Rome in particular he was loath to admit that aniconic Judaism did, in fact, tolerate the representation of human or semi-human and semi-divine figures within the sacred precincts of the Temple. Writing as he did after the destruction of the Temple, he wished to portray it as a place of pure spiritual worship, unmarred by any figure of living creatures, whether human, animal or divine. To be able to do so, he had to obliterate the memory of the Cherubim, and he tried to do this by the simple expedient of silence.

It is, however, not easy to deny something one knows, and especially when that knowledge is of considerable weight. Josephus *knew* that the Holy of Holies contained the statues of the Cherubim-pair, but he wanted to assert that there was nothing at all in that most holy place of the Temple. The result was that he got involved in a peculiar series of self-contradictions which bear looking into. In one passage he writes:

"The innermost part of the temple of all was of 20 cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a Veil. *In this there was nothing at all.* It was inaccessible and inviolable and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies."[51]

Contrast with this what Josephus says in another passage: "...although Theos (Epiphanes), and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Caesar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our Temple, yet has none of them found any such thing (i.e. an ass's head made of gold)

there, nor indeed anything but what was agreeable to the strictest piety; *although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations...*

"But for Antiochus (Epiphanes), he had no just cause for that ravage in our temple that he made... *nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous...*"

This is again contradicted in the very next section where Josephus says: "...nor is there anything (in the Temple), but the altar (of incense), the table (of showbread), the censer, and the candlestick, which are all written in the law: *for there is nothing further there,* nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of; nor is there any feasting within the place."[52]

This curious vacillation between the categorical assertion that there was nothing at all in the Holy of Holies, and the admission that something indeed was there but that it was not anything ridiculous, and that "we," i.e. the Jews or the priests, were not at liberty to reveal to other nations what it was, seems to stem from two mutually contradictory impulses. On the one hand Josephus felt constrained to deny the existence of any image or object in the Holy of Holies in accordance with his tendency to represent Judaism as a purely aniconic religion in both doctrine and ritual. On the other, he felt impelled to impress upon his readers, and especially so in his polemical treatise *Against Apion,* his own thorough familiarity with even the most secret aspects of Jewish religion: thence the sentence on the imperative of secrecy which slipped into his argument.

What was there in the Holy of Holies of which Josephus knew but of which he did not want to speak, we could surmise, even without the evidence of the Talmudic sources, on the basis of his omission of any reference to the Cherubim-reliefs on the walls of the Temple: it could have been nothing else but the figures of the two Cherubim. These figures, as we know from the earlier evidence of Philo as well as the later one of the Talmud, had assumed, by the beginning of the 1st century A.D., the character of sacred mystical symbols.

Yet Jewish apologists familiar with Hellenistic culture and religion, as both Philo and Josephus were, feared that the idolatrous Hellenistic world, if it knew about the Cherubim, could not but regard them as analogous in purport and intent to its own images of gods and goddesses housed in Greco-Roman temples all over the Mediterranean area. To explain that the Cherubim were sacred symbols and not idols, that they tangibly expressed certain attributes of God, without in any manner representing or depicting God himself, would have been a well-nigh impossible task. The impression, therefore, both Philo and Josephus wished to create among their Hellenistic readers was that although in an archaic period of Jewish history, it is true, the Sanctuary contained symbolic figures called Cherubim, of unknown shape and appearance, all that was a thing of the distant past, while in the present Temple (or, from the point-of-view of Josephus, in the recently destroyed Temple) there was no image at all. In the first part of this statement Philo and Josephus are unanimous. In the second, Philo. who wrote while the Temple still stood, avoids the possibility of being caught in a lie by the simple expedient of saying that only the High Priest was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies once a year, and even then he could see nothing because of the incense smoke. Josephus, writing after the destruction of the Temple, is bolder: he asserts that there was nothing in the Holy of Holies of the Herodian Temple; then he invalidates this denial by asserting that there was nothing shameful in it and that he was not at liberty to divulge what the most holy chamber actually contained.

7. *THE CHERUBIM IN EMBRACE*

An echo of Philo's Cherubim-symbolism is found in a midrashic passage attributed to Rabbi Pinhas ben Yair, a second century A.D. Palestinian teacher who seems to have been an Essene and certainly was a man of extreme piety. The passage, which is quite lengthy and contains a symbolic interpretation of each and every part of the Tabernacle, begins as follows:

"The Tabernacle was made so as to correspond to the creation of the world. The two Cherubs over the Ark of the Covenant were made so as to correspond to the two Holy Names..."[53] The "two Holy Names" are, of course, those of God: *Yahweh* ("Lord") and *Elohim* ("God") which is precisely the idea expressed by Philo as we have seen above.

The midrashic source containing the above passage subsequently discourses about the symbolism of the Tabernacle's successor, the Solomonic Temple, and, in returning to the Cherubim, becomes guilty of a curious confusion between the Cherubim statuary that stood in the Temple's Holy of Holies and the cosmic or elemental Cherubim which, as we have seen, were the personification of the world-embracing winds:

"The wings of the Cherubim (in Solomon's Temple) reached from one end of the world to the other..."

This is followed by a remarkable statement which indicates that, at least according to one school of thought, the Cherubim were the most important feature in the entire Temple:

"It was due to them (i.e. the Cherubim), and due to their maker (or: makers) that the Temple stood. They were the head of everything that was in the Temple, for the Shekhina rested on them and on the Ark, and from there He spoke to Moses."[54]

From a Talmudic tradition[55] we learn that the Cherubim, although they were golden statues, were held to have possessed a certain amount of life and mobility: As long as Israel fulfilled the will of God, the faces of the Cherubim were turned toward each other: however, when Israel sinned, they turned their faces away from each other.[56]

As late as the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., the memory of the original function and significance of the Cherubim in the Sanctuary survived among the Babylonian Talmudic masters. According to one of them, a certain Rab Qetina, who flourished in the late 3rd and early 4th century,

"When Israel used to make the pilgrimage, they (i.e. the priests) would roll up for them the *Parokhet* (the Veil separating the Holy from the Holy of Holies), and show them the Cherubim which were intertwined with one another, and

say to them: 'Behold! your love before God is like the love of male and female!' "[57] Rashi, the 11th century commentator, explains the passage: "The Cherubim were joined together, and were clinging to, and embracing, each other, like a male who embraces the female."

Whether the above tradition referred to the First or the Second Temple, was no longer clear to the Babylonian teachers. Some held that it must have referred to the First Temple, because in the Second there were no Cherubim; others, like Rab Aha son of Jacob (a contemporary of Hana bar Qetina), argued that it referred to the Second Temple, and that the Cherubim discussed in it were those painted or engraved on the wall.

Yet another detail concerning the Cherubim is given by Rabbi Shimeon ben Laqish (ca. 200-275 A.D.), an outstanding Palestinian teacher. "When strangers entered the Sanctuary, they saw the Cherubim intertwined with each other; they took them out into the market place and said: 'Israel, whose blessing is (reputedly) a blessing and whose curse is a curse, should occupy themselves with such things!' And they despised them, as it is written, 'All that honored her, despise her, because they have seen her (shameful) nakedness.' "[58]

The same tradition is contained in several Midrashim with a few added details:

"When the sins caused that the gentiles should enter Jerusalem, Ammonites and Moabites came together with them, and they entered the House of the Holy of Holies, and found there the two Cherubim, and they took them and put them in a cage and went around with them in all the streets of Jerusalem and said: 'You used to say that this nation was not serving idols. Now see what we found and what they were worshiping!' "[59]

As to the time when the Cherubim were shown to the people filling the courts of the Jerusalem Temple, the only statement we have is that of Rab Qetina: the exhibition, and the accompanying explanation, were made "when Israel made the pilgrimage" to the Temple. According to Biblical command,

every male Israelite was duty bound to make the pilgrimage to the Temple three times a year: on Passover in the spring; on the Feast of Weeks, seven weeks later; and on the Feast of Booths (Sukkoth) which fell in autumn, two weeks after New Year.[60] Of the three, the greatest and most enthusiastically celebrated was the last one, on which, more than on any other Hebrew holiday, the populace was commanded to rejoice.[61] From descriptions contained in the Mishna and in Talmudic sources we know not only the ritual details of this joyous feast,[62] but also the fact that both men and women participated in it, and that on the seventh day of the festival the two sexes used to mingle and commit what is euphemistically referred to as "lightheadedness." We can only surmise that the showing of the Cherubim representing a male and a female figure in marital embrace, may have preceeded, and, indeed, incited the crowds to, the commission of this "lightheadedness," which could have been nothing but an orgiastic outburst of sexual licence.

Such ritual licence was in accordance with both old Hebrew practice and the religious customs of other ancient Near Eastern peoples. As to its Hebrew antecedents, we happen to know from the incident of the Golden Calf that sexual rioting was the traditional response to the exhibition of statuary symbolizing or representing the deity. When Aaron made the Golden Calf (as a representation of Yahweh) and showed it to the people, they "offered burnt-offerings and brought peace-offerings and...sat down to eat and to drink," and then engaged in sexual intercourse.[63]

Ritual licence as a regularly (in many places annually) recurring feature of temple worship is well attested from all over the ancient Near East. It was, one might say, standard practice of the cultic veneration of the divine powers of life and fertility. As Nelson Glueck recently observed: "The excitement of pagan worship and participation in feasts of sacrificial offerings apparently often led male and female worshipers to join together in feverish consummation of fertility rites."[64]

The mythical counterpart of this orgiastic ritual was, in ancient Israel as well as among the other ancient Near Eastern peoples, the great cosmogonical and cosmological myth cycle, according to which the annual period of vegetative fertility was preceeded by a union of the male and female elements of nature. To ensure that this great cosmological copulation take place in the proper measure and with the requisite intensity, man himself, it was felt, had to perform the sacred sex act thereby both indicating to the elements of nature what was expected of them and inducing them to do the same through the compulsive force of a religio-magical act.[65]

However, what was considered in earlier days as a proper manifestation of popular enthusiasm at the sight of divine statuary, became intolerable in the eyes of the sages, probably in the last century of the existence of the Second Temple of Jerusalem. They felt they had to put an end to the festive "lightheadedness," and where originally the women used to gather in the Great Courtyard of the Temple, the so-called Women's Court, while the men stood without, they ordered that the two sexes should change places, in the hope that this would prevent the repetition of the mass orgy. However, next year, they had to witness the futility of their measure, proving to them once again that in the hour of joy the "evil inclination," that is, the sexual drive, is apt to overpower both men and women. Thereupon they had special galleries built on three sides of the courtyard, leaving open only the side which faced the Sanctuary, and confined the women to them.[66]

When this important reform took place, we do not know. But we can understand, to some extent, the stubborn popular resistance to it if we assume that the exhibition of the Cherubim in embrace was continued at the three annual feasts of pilgrimage, while at the same time the populace was prevented by the reform from indulging in its old traditional practice of *imitatio dei* called for by the momentary glimpse of divine mystery.

8. *THE PROVENANCE OF THE CHERUBIM-IN-EMBRACE*

When these Cherubim-in-embrace replaced the earlier two Cherubim figures which were equal in shape and touched each other only with the tips of their inner wings, is an intriguing question. The incident remembered by Shimeon ben Laqish, when the foreigners broke into the Temple and exposed the holy figures to the sacrilegious glances of the mob, can serve as *terminus ad quem.* Can the date of this incident be fixed with any degree of certainty or at least likelihood?

In the year 170 B.C., Antiochus Epiphanes, the Seleucid King of Syria (175-164 B.C.), on his return from an Egyptian campaign, took Jerusalem, massacred its inhabitants and looted the Temple. He removed all the Temple treasures, including the three large sacred gold objects, the incense altar, the seven-armed candelabrum and the table of the showbread, and, as Josephus indignantly remarks, "he did not abstain even from the Veils which were made of fine linen and scarlet, but took everything along with him to Antiochia."[67] Two years later, Antiochus sent his henchmen to Jerusalem to Hellenize the city; those of the Jewish population who were recalcitrant, were exterminated: the men murdered, the women and children sold into slavery. Whoever could, fled from the city, and in their places foreigners were settled.[68] This was a sequence of events into which an incident such as that of the Cherubim would have well fitted. In contrast to Nebuchadnezzar, who was not interested in combating the religious beliefs and practices of the Judaeans, Antiochus Epiphanes was passionately intent on eradicating Judaism. He may have seized upon the opportunity of publicly humiliating the Jews by parading the Cherubim in the streets.

Another consideration which points to the same conclusion is that it is much more likely that the sages of the Talmud, in whose names the Cherubim-incident is recorded, would retain an oral tradition concerning an event that had occurred four centuries earlier, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes,

rather than one that had taken place almost nine centuries before their time. Legends concerning the cruelties of Antiochus and his henchmen, which provoked the Maccabees to their revolt, circulated in Rabbinic circles throughout the Talmudic period and even following it.[69]

If the Cherubim incident took place in 170 B.C., their male and female figures in embrace must have been introduced into the Holy of Holies some time prior to that date, that is between 170 B.C. and 515 B.C. when the Second Temple was rebuilt. It is however, unlikely that this was done at the time of the rebuilding of the Second Temple. We know that the Cherubim in the Solomonic Temple had a completely different appearance: they were two identical human figures, flanking the Ark on both sides and touching each other only with their wings which met over the Ark. It is not known whether, when Ezra rebuilt the Temple, he had new Cherubim placed into the Holy of Holies; but if he had, it is most probable that his new statuary was a copy of the old one, since his purpose was to *restore* the Temple in the shape it had when it was destroyed a few decades earlier. A change in the shape of the Cherubim could have been made only at a time when there was a tendency to improve upon existing forms, to embellish the building, to refurbish the sacred vessels, to increase the splendor of the appurtenances. By a mere chance we happen to know of such a period.

Among the scanty documents relating to the second Jewish commonwealth, there is a little book about whose historicity there has been much scholarly controversy. It is the so-called *Letter of Aristeas,* which was written in Greek, in Alexandria, in all probability shortly after 132 B.C.[70] This treatise has the pseudepigraphic form of a letter written by Aristeas, a gentile, to his brother Philocrates during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.), and it discusses three major subjects: the golden vessels Ptolemy had made for the Jerusalem Temple; the translation of the Pentateuch prepared at his instance; and a series of questions concerning kingship he put to the Jewish sages together with the latters' philosophical-moralistic answers. The overriding aim of the treatise was to

demonstrate the excellence of Jewish religion and the folly of idolatry.[71]

In spite of the late date of its composition—at least 120 years after the events described in it—and its ample legendary embellishments, *Aristeas* seems to contain a solid kernel of historical truth. As to the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, for instance, scholarly opinion is that, whether the story told in *Aristeas* of the 72 elders sent by the Jerusalem High Priest Eleazar to Alexandria to do the translation is true or not, it seems to be a historical fact that the Pentateuch was translated in the time of Ptolemy II, for it fitted in with his general policy of Hellenization.[72] It seems to me that precisely the same argument supports also the historicity of the presents of exquisite Alexandrian workmanship which, according to *Aristeas,* were sent by Ptolemy II to the Jerusalem Temple. It is in this event that we can find a clue as to the installation of the Cherubim-in-embrace into the Holy of Holies.

The presents were ritual objects, mostly made of gold, to whose description *Aristeas,* and, following him, Josephus,[73] devote an inordate amount of space. They consisted of a table of pure gold (of which more anon); two large golden bowls set with stones, of a capacity of 20 gallons each; several highly polished silver bowls; golden flagons with inlaid stones; etc.[74] The longest description, quite out of proportion with the rest of the treatise, is accorded to the table which was sent to Jerusalem to replace the old table of the showbread, one of the most sacred objects in the Temple.[75] The instructions the king gave to the goldsmiths in making this table are described in detail by *Aristeas*: "where there was no prescription in Scripture, he ordered the construction to follow principles of beauty; where there were written prescriptions, their measurements were to be adhered to."[76]

The table and all the other vessels were duly delivered to the hands of the High Priest Eleazar who "devoted them to God,"[77] in other words, put them to use in the Temple. Thus far the semi-legendary account of Ptolemy II Philadel-

phus' bountiful gifts to the Temple. Does the historical background of the period render it likely that such an event actually took place?

The religious atmosphere in Palestine in the first few decades following the penetration of Hellenism was a relatively liberal one. Many Jewish leaders felt no qualms about paying lipservice to Greek polytheism, as attested, for instance, by the use of the phrase "many thanks to the gods," in a letter written to Apollonius, the head of the finances in the Ptolemaean empire, by the Jewish merchant-prince Tobias in the middle of the 3rd century B.C.[78] Under these circumstances there was no objection raised on the part of the Temple authorities to the introduction of ritual vessels and other objects donated by foreigners.[79] Even as late as in the early 1st century A.D. King Monobaz and Queen Helena of Adiabene (a kingdom on the left bank of the Upper Tigris) had the handles of all the Temple vessels used on the Day of Atonement overlaid with gold, and donated a golden lamp which was placed over the door of the Holy House; Nikanor presented the Temple with bronze door panels; Alexander Lysimachus had all the door-panels covered with gold.[80] Especially close was the relationship between the Temple and the Jewish craft-guilds in Alexandria, headed by those of the gold and silver smiths who are several times mentioned in Tannaitic sources as having carried out repairs on Temple equipment. Thus when the old cymbals and copper mortar, which, according to tradition, dated "from the days of Moses," became damaged, they were repaired by Alexandrian craftsmen; when the family of Garmu refused to divulge the trade-secrets of the preparation of the showbread, and again, when the members of the Eutimos family did the same with regard to the preparation of the incense, the sages tried to break the monopolies of these artisan familes by sending for Alexandrian Jewish experts. While all this took place about the middle of the 1st century A.D.,[81] the practice of importing Alexandrian artifacts to Jerusalem must have begun with the spread of Hellenism to Palestine and Egypt.

The first half of the 3rd century B.C., described in *Aristeas* as a period of what today would be called "interfaith cooperation" between Jerusalem and Alexandria, seems to be the most likely time for the introduction of a new Cherubim statuary into the Temple. At a time when the High Priest replaced the old table of the showbread with a new one, of identical size but executed in a completely different style with the utilization of the latest achievements of the Alexandrian goldsmiths' art, he may have accepted from the same source a new Cherubim group, also conforming in size to the traditional one, but representing the current artistic and symbolic understanding of the ancient figures described in *Exodus* and *Kings*.

We cannot know the details of the work or the process of its execution. Was it Ptolemy who entrusted the Alexandrian Jewish goldsmiths with the task, so sensitive from both the artistic and the religious point of view? Did it precede or follow the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, which made the description of the Cherubim in the desert Tabernacle available to the Hellenized Jewish artisans ignorant of Hebrew? Were they, in giving their Cherubim the shape of a male and a female figure in marital embrace, influenced by Egyptian or Hellenistic mysteries in which they may have participated at that early date as did their descendants several generations later, arousing the ire of Philo?[82] Or did they rather emulate early prototypes of that type of Indian temple sculpture which we know from such late examples as the Konarak façade, showing divine pairs in various positions of ecstatic embrace, and which may have been known to them following the onset of cultural contact between Hellenistic India and Egypt?[83] Did the Cherubim-in-embrace, once installed in the Holy of Holies of the Jerusalem Temple inspire the idea of the male and female aspects of the one God first expressed by Philo? Or did the idea precede the representation, and the golden statue of the Cherubim merely expressed in tangible form notions that had jelled either in Jerusalem or in Alexandria? There are no answers to these ques-

tions, nor will there be unless completely new and unsuspected evidence comes to the surface. The argument of this section must, therefore, remain conjectural, based on circumstancial evidence and a few, more or less equivocal, passages.

One counter-argument may be disposed of before closing this section. If, it may be asked, a Cherubim-statuary was installed in the Temple at or about the time when the new table and other vessels were, why is there no mention made of this in *Aristeas?* The answer, I believe, lies in the same considerations which explained above the reticence of Philo and Josephus when speaking of the decorations of the Tabernacle and the First Temple. Like Philo and Josephus, so their predecessor who wrote *Aristeas,* endeavored to represent Judaism as a pure, aniconic faith. No mention could, therefore, be made in his treatise of the Cherubim who, in the eyes of the pagans, would have appeared as idolatrous symbols. In fact, Aristeas goes even farther in this respect than either Philo or Josephus: in his description of the Temple, which he maintains to have seen on a visit to Jerusalem, the only object inside the Temple he mentions is the curtain.[84]

One last question remains to be answered before we can go on to the Kabbalistic reflection of the Cherubim-in-embrace. This is whether, following the removal and public exhibition of the Cherubim by Antiochus Epiphanes, a new statuary of the Cherubim was set up in the Temple to replace the old one. Such a step could have been taken by the Maccabees when they cleansed and rededicated the Temple in 165 B.C. No mention of the Cherubim is found in the Book of Maccabees, but then that book tells only in most general terms of the restoration of the Temple, so that one could not expect to find in it a reference to the Cherubim in particular. However, on the general principle that *restoration* meant the re-establishment of the status quo, one is inclined to assume that every sacred vessel and object contained in the Temple when it was desecrated by the Syrians was restored in it five years later by the Maccabees. The words of Philo and Josephus quoted above also point in this direction. Nor does the recollection of Rab Qetina about the showing of the Cherubim

to the Temple pilgrims read as if it would refer to a period which came to an end more than four centuries prior to his time, but rather sounds like a tradition handed down from eyewitnesses a few generations previously.

However that may be, the Cherubim-in-embrace were regarded as a fitting symbolic expression of the relationship between God and Israel. Rab Qetina was, of course, far from being the first to speak of this relationship as one like that between man and wife. God as the husband and Israel as His wife had become a prophetic commonplace, from Hosea to Ezekiel, that is for the last two centuries of the First Temple period. It was this relationship that the Cherubim visually depicted, according to the Talmudic sages quoted above.

While the female Cherub thus symbolized Israel, she also became closely attached to God due to her position in the Temple. Once the idea of a female Cherub emerged, it was further developed in Rabbinic literature. A midrash, e.g., says that the Cherubim whom God placed to the east of Eden to watch over the way to the tree of life constantly changed their shapes: at times they were men, at others women, then again spirits, or angels.[85] The angels likewise change their sex according to the will of God: at times He makes them appear in the shape of women, at others in that of men, while occasionally he makes them assume the appearance of wind or fire.[86]

9. *THE CHERUBIM IN THE MIDDLE AGES*

For many centuries after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by Titus (in A.D. 70), and the consequent disappearance of the Cherubim statuary, the problem of the symbolic significance of those winged male and female figures continued to preoccupy some of the most outstanding teachers and thinkers of Judaism. Those among them who were rationalistically inclined, tended to disregard the Talmudic tradition according to which the Cherubim were represented in marital embrace, and concentrated on attributing new symbolic meanings to them. The mystics, on the other hand,

seized precisely upon this aspect of the Cherubim and utilized it for the reinforcement of their basic doctrine about the sanctity and cosmic necessity of cohabitation between man and wife.

Maimonides, the greatest of medieval Jewish philosophers (born in 1135 in Cordoba, Spain; died in 1204 in Cairo Egypt), can be quoted as an example of the former group. In describing the furnishings and sacred vessels of the Sanctuary, he has the following to say about the Cherubim:

"God, may He be exalted, has commanded that the image of two angels (i.e. the Cherubim) be made over the ark, so that the belief of the multitude in the existence of angels be consolidated, this correct opinion, coming in the second place after the belief in the existence of the deity, constituting the originative principle of belief in prophecy and the Law and refuting idolatry, as we have explained. If there had been one image, I mean the image of one cherub, this might have been misleading. For it might have been thought that this was the image of the deity who was to be worshipped—such things being done by the idolaters—or that there was only one individual angel, a belief that would have led to a certain dualism (i.e. belief in one God and one Angel). As, however, two cherubim were made and the explicit statement enounced: "The Lord is our God, the Lord is one,"[87] the validity of the opinion affirming the existence of angels was established and also the fact that they are many. Thus measures were taken against the error that they are the deity—the deity being one and having created this multiplicity."[88]

Maimonides' view is reechoed in the *Midrash HaGadol,* a midrashic compilation which is only somewhat younger than the renowned *Guide of the Perplexed,* and which was made in Yemen. In it we find also a unique description of the Cherubim:

" 'And thou shalt make two Cherubim.'[89] These Cherubim, what was their purpose? To make known that there are Cherubim on high... If so, would one not have sufficed? No, lest people err and say, 'It is God *(Eloah).*' What was their

appearance? Their faces, backs, hands and breasts looked like those of human beings, and they had wings like the wings of the fowl, like the Cherubim of the *Merkaba* (the divine chariot) on high..."[90]

As to the Kabbala, it found in the Cherubim-in-embrace a most welcome basis for two of its central doctrines: one, that only the togetherness of male and female is a state of blessedness; and two, that when a man sins he thereby causes a separation between the male and female aspects of the deity (of which more in the next two chapters), which, in turn, leads to a transcendental and universal disaster. In the Zohar, the *magnum opus* of 13th century Spanish Kabbala, these two ideas are expressed as follows: "Three times a day a miracle took place with the wings of the Cherubim. When the holiness of the King (i.e. God) revealed itself over them, the Cherubim, of themselves, stretched out their wings and covered their bodies with them...A cloud descended, and when it settled upon the Lid, the wings of the Cherubim intertwined and they beat them and sang a song...And the Priest in the Temple heard their voices as he was putting the incense in its place...The two Cherubim, one male and one female, both sang...'And he heard the Voice speaking unto him...from between the two Cherubim, and He spoke unto him.' Rabbi Yitzhak said: From this we learn that God is 'just and right,'[91] that is, male and female, and likewise the Cherubim were male and female."[92]

We shall easily recognize in this passage a late variant of the theme we first found adumbrated by Philo twelve hundred years earlier: the male and female Cherubim representing the male and female elements in God. The Talmudic view quoted above to the effect that the position of the heads of the Cherubim changed reflecting the moral behavior of Israel, is also elaborated in the Zohar:

"Rabbi Yose said: Woe to the world when one Cherub turns his face away from the other, for the verse 'with their faces one to another'[93] (refers only to times) when there is peace in the world. Rabbi Yitzhak said: This is meant by 'The nakedness of thy father and the nakedness of thy mother

shalt thou not uncover'[94]—woe to him who uncovers their nakedness.' "[95]

What this Zoharic passage means is that woe to him who creates strife in the world, because thereby he causes the two Cherubim to turn their faces away from each other, which in turn is but the visible manifestation of the separation of the divine Father (the King) and the divine Mother (the Matronit). Such a sundering of the Father and the Mother is spoken of repeatedly in the Zohar as an uncovering of their nakedness, because the disruption of their union denudes them of each other, weakens them and dishonors them.

A little younger than the Zohar is the Kabbalistic Bible commentary of Bahya ben Asher, the distinguished Spanish exegete who lived in Saragossa and died in 1340. Bahya refers repeatedly to the Cherubim in the Temple whom he considers as having been male and female, in embrace, and representing symbolically a number of important things.

The two Cherubim corresponded to the brain and the heart in man, Bahya says, or the human soul and the human reason. "Of the two Cherubim one was male and the other female, because the human soul and reason are like male and female, one acts, is active, and the other receives, is passive."

"The two Cherubim were different in their substance, one being male and the other female... in order to make manifest how greatly Israel was loved by God, like the love of male and female... The Cherubim in this form were a powerful symbol testifying to the uttermost attachment between God and Israel with nothing intervening between them..."[96]

10. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, let us return for a moment to the earliest period of Hebrew history from which unequivocal data are so scant that they invite conjectures and hypotheses. Hugo Gressmann, in a study about the Ark expressed the view that originally there must have been two images in it, that of Yahweh, and that of his wife Anathyahu or Astarte.[97] Twenty years later, more cautiously, yet along the same lines, Julian

Morgenstern conjectured that the two sacred stones in the Ark originally "represented Yahweh and, in all likelihood, His female companion."[98] The findings of the present study tend to agree with these conjectures. In the beginning, the story can be recapitulated, two images, or slabs of stone, were contained in the Ark, representing Yahweh and his consort. At a later stage, when this anthropomorphic view of the deity was overcome, Yahweh was conceived of as the male, patriarchal and only God whom it was forbidden to represent in visual form. His erstwile female companion now was reduced to the position of a female guardian, represented in the two female Cherubim, who covered the Ark with their wings which, at one at the same time, also served as the seat of Yahweh. Following the destruction of the First Temple, the idea slowly gained ground that the one and only God comprised two aspects, a male and a female one, and that the Cherubim in the Holy of Holies of the Second Temple were the symbolic representation of these two divine virtues or powers. This was followed by a new development, in Talmudic times, when the male Cherub was considered as a symbol of God while the female Cherub, held in embrace by him, stood for the personified Community of Israel. When, finally, the Kabbala developed its mystical theory of the Sephiroth, and especially of the two most important divine entities of the King and the Matronit, and endowed each of them with a mythical, independent existence, it considered the Cherubim-pair as the fitting visual representation of these two divine concepts.

Chapter IV

THE SHEKHINA

Shekhina is the frequently used Talmudic term denoting the visible and audible manifestation of God's presence on earth. In its ultimate development as it appears in the late Midrash literature, the Shekhina concept stood for an independent, feminine divine entity prompted by her compassionate nature to argue with God in defense of man. She is thus, if not by character, then by function and position, a direct heir to such ancient Hebrew goddesses of Canaanite origin as Asherah and Anath. How did the Shekhina originate and develop, and what did she mean for Talmudic Judaism? These are the questions that we shall attempt to answer in this chapter.

1. THE "DWELLING" OF GOD

In Biblical times, when God was imagined to dwell in, or ride upon, clouds, as Baal had been in the older Canaanite mythology,[1] the mythological validation of the sanctity of the desert Tabernacle and the Solomonic Temple was the myth of Yahweh descending in a cloud into the sanctuary.[2] The presence of God in this "cloud of Yahweh" was regarded as something more tangible than its visual aspect: because of the cloud, "Moses was not able to enter into the Tent of Meeting."[4] Similarly, after the completion of Solomon's Temple, "the cloud filled the House of Yahweh so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud, for the

glory of Yahweh filled the House of Yahweh."[5] The archaic nature of this mythologem of the deity's physical presence in his temple is attested by the poetic passage following the above statement: "Then spoke Solomon:

> "Yahweh meant to dwell in darkness,
> But I built a house for Thee
> A seat to abide in forever."[6]

A careful perusal of the passages referring to the manifestation of God in the sanctuary shows that the nouns "cloud" and "glory" are used interchangeably, and that the "cloud" was undoubtedly regarded as the visible form taken by the "glory" of Yahweh when He wished to indicate His presence in His earthly abode, the sanctuary.[7]

Since Yahweh was believed to have "dwelt" in the desert Tabernacle, one of the names of that tent-sanctuary was *mishkan,* "dwelling" or "abode."[8] According to the older Elohistic tradition, Yahweh merely put in temporary appearances in the Tent of Meeting; he was a visiting deity whose appearance in, or departure from, the Tent was used for oracular purposes.[9] In contrast, the younger Priestly tradition makes Yahweh a permanent inhabitant of this sacred Abode,[10] thus retrojecting into the mythical past a belief that was an integral part of the Jerusalem-centered theology of the later monarchy, i.e. that God's permanent abode was on Mount Zion, in His holy Temple.

2. *HOKHMA—WISDOM*

While the quasi-physical manifestation of God's "dwelling" in His sanctuary is thus an integral feature of Biblical theology, the term *Shekhina* does not occur in the Bible. However, in the late Biblical period a theological tendency made its appearance which prepared the ground for the emergence of the Talmudic Shekhina. The trend referred to is that of interposing personified mediating entities between God and man. These entities, originally conceived of either as having been created by God or as being His attributes or emanations,

gradually developed into angel-like beings who act upon man and the world under instruction by God. The most frequently appearing of these intermediaries, or *hyposthases* (as they are called), is *Hokhma* or Wisdom. In the *Book of Job*,[12] Wisdom is described as a personage whose way is understood and place known only by God himself, while the *Book of Proverbs*[13] asserts that Wisdom was the earliest creation of God, and that ever since those primeval days she (Wisdom) has been God's playmate.

In the Apocrypha, this role of Wisdom is even more emphasized.[14] A passage in the *Wisdom of Solomon* states that "she (Wisdom) proclaims her noble birth in that it is given to her to live with God, and the Sovereign Lord of all loved her...."[15] It was observed by Gershom Scholem that the term "symbiosis" used in this passage appears again in the same chapter in the sense of marital connubium, and that it is therefore clear that Wisdom here was regarded as God's wife.[16] Philo states quite unequivocally that God is the husband of Wisdom.[17]

Wisdom played a particularly important role among the Jewish Gnostics. References to the role of Wisdom in the primordial days of the world seem to indicate the existence of a Gnostic *Hokhma*-myth which originated in Jewish circles and was hypothetically reconstructed as follows:

Out of the primeval Chaos God created the seven archons through the intermediacy of his Wisdom, which was identical with the "dew of light." Wisdom now cast her eidolon, or shadow-image, upon the primeval waters of the Tohu wa-Bohu, whereupon the archons formed the world and the body of man. Man crawled about upon the earth like a worm, until Wisdom endowed him with spirit. Satan, in the shape of the serpent, had intercourse with Eve who thereupon bore Cain and Abel. Thus sexuality became the original sin. After the Fall, the sons of Seth fought the sons of Cain. When the daughters of Cain seduced the sons of Seth, Wisdom brought the flood upon the earth. Later, in her efforts to help mankind, Wisdom sent seven prophets, from Moses to Ezra, corresponding to the seven planets. In this myth Wisdom, acting

like a female deity, clearly resembles the Gnostic concept of the *anima mundi,* the "world soul."[18]

Whether this myth reconstruction is or is not correct in all details could be decided only on the basis of a thorough study of Jewish, early Christian and Gnostic sources. However, there can be little doubt as to the importance of Wisdom in Jewish Gnosticism which built its speculations on the role assigned to Hokhma in the late books of the Bible itself.

While Wisdom thus had all the prerequisites for developing into a veritable female deity, no such development took place within Judaism. Instead, post-Biblical Judaism created for itself a new concept of feminine divinity in the figure of the Shekhina, who first appears in the Aramaic translation-paraphrase of the Bible, the so-called *Targum Onkelos.* While the exact date of this work is still in doubt (some scholars, hold that it was written as early as the first century A.D., while others think that it had not attained its final form until the 4th century), it is generally agreed that its author used an older version as the basis of his translation.

3. *THE EARLY SHEKHINA*

Shekhina (sh'khinah) is a Hebrew abstract noun derived from the Biblical verb *shakhan* discussed above, and meaning literally "the act of dwelling." These abstract nouns, constructed from the verbal root-letters with the added *-ah* suffix, have the feminine gender. In actual usage, the term Shekhina, when it first appears, means that aspect of the deity which can be apprehended by the senses. Whenever the original Hebrew Biblical text speaks of a manifestation of God through which He was percieved by man, the *Targum Onkelos* interpolates the term *Shekhina.* For instance, the verse "Let them make Me a Sanctuary that I may dwell *(w'shakhanti)* among them,"[19] is rendered by the Targum Onkelos as follows: "Let them make before Me a Sanctuary that I may let My Shekhina dwell among them." The original "I will dwell *(w'shakhanti)* among the Children of Israel... that I may dwell *(l'shokhni)* among them,"[20] becomes in the Targum "I will

let My Shekhina dwell among the Children of Israel... that I may let My Shekhina dwell among them." The Biblical "that they defile not their camp in whose midst I dwell"[21] becomes "that they defile not their camp in whose midst My Shekhina dwells."[22] The Targum, evidently, could not tolerate a direct reference to God even in a poetic text, and thus it paraphrases the original "He (God) found him (Israel) in a desert land... He compassed him about..."[23] as follows: "He filled their needs in a desert land... He let them dwell around His Shekhina..."

From these examples, to which many more could be added,[24] it appears that the earliest use of the term Shekhina was in the sense of an abstract hypostasis, interpolated wherever a Biblical statement appeared to be too anthropomorphic to the greater sensitivity of a later age. The fact that the noun Shekhina had the feminine gender *(shekhinta* in Aramaic) had no significance at all in these early references.

In the Talmudic literature, the term continued to be used in the same sense. E.g., Rabbi Yehoshua, a 1st-2nd century Palestinian teacher, states that the following features were enjoyed by Israel in the desert: the manna, the quails, the well, the Tabernacle, the Shekhina, the priesthood, the kingship and the Clouds of Glory.[25] A Talmudic discussion flatly equates God with the Shekhina: "Rabbi Yose (2nd century) said: 'Never did the Shekhina descend to earth, nor Moses and Elijah ascend to heaven... Is it correct that the Shekhina never descended to earth? Is it not written, 'And Yahweh came down upon Mount Sinai...'?"[26]

At the same time, however, there is a tendency to endow the Shekhina with more physical attributes than those associated with God, and thus to distinguish between the deity Himself who is beyond all sense-perception and His tangible manifestation as the Shekhina. One passage in which this physical view of the Shekhina is expressed with great clarity is the following:

"All those years that Israel was in the desert, these two caskets, one of a corpse (of Joseph) and the other of the Shekhina (containing the two stone tablets of the Law) were

carried (by the Israelites) side by side. When the passersby would say: 'What is the nature of these two caskets?' they would answer. 'One is the casket of a corpse, and the other of the Shekhina.' 'Is it the custom that a corpse should be carried with the Shekhina?' They would answer: 'This one (i.e. Joseph), observed what is written in the other one.' "[27]

It is evident that the presence of the Shekhina in the casket is imagined in this passage in a manner corresponding to that of Joseph's body in the other casket—both are actual, physical presences.

Similarly, the Biblical notion that the Tabernacle was built in order to serve as a dwelling place for Yahweh is transformed in Talmudic literature into the idea that both the desert sanctuary and the Solomonic Temple were the earthly abode of the Shekhina. It was the Shekhina who, according to R. Azaria in the name of R. Yehuda bar Simon, the 4th century Palestinian Amora, dwelt in the Temple, lining it, as it were, with love.[28]

The notion is made tangible by R. Yehoshua of Sikhnin in the name of R. Levi, a 3rd-4th century Palestinian Amora: "A simile: Like unto a cave on the seashore: when the waves rise, it fills with water, yet the sea is in no way diminished. Thus it was with the Tent of Meeting: it became filled with the glory of the Shekhina but the world was in no way diminished."[29] According to R. Yehoshua (end of 1st century A.D.), "while the Children of Israel were still in Egypt, the Holy One, blessed be He, stipulated that He would liberate them from Egypt only in order that they build him a Sanctuary so that He can let His Shekhina dwell among them... As soon as the Tabernacle was erected, the Shekhina descended and dwelt among them." To this Rab (the early 3rd-century Babylonian Amora) added "On that day a thing came about which had never existed since the creation of the world. From the creation of the world and up to that hour the Shekhina had never dwelt among the lower beings. But from the time that the Tabernacle was erected, she did dwell among them."[30]

According to another opinion however, the Shekhina originally did well here below, on earth. However, when Adam

sinned, she removed herself to the first heaven. When the generation of Enosh sinned, she moved up from the first to the second heaven. The sins of the generation of the Deluge caused her to withdraw to the third heaven; those of the generation of the Tower of Babel—to the fourth. When the Egyptians sinned in the days of Abraham, she withdrew to the fifth heaven. The sins of the Sodomites impelled her to seek refuge in the seventh heaven. But when the seven righteous men (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kehat, Amram and Moses) arose, they brought her back down to earth step by step.[31]

Since the Shekhina dwelt in the Temple, any desecration of that holy place affronted her directly. When King Manasseh set up a graven image in the house of God, he did this purposely so that the Shekhina should see it and be angered.[32]

It was a Talmudic tenet that the physical presence of the Shekhina in the Temple, or in any other place on earth, was of such a nature that it could be localized, and her movements from place to place followed. The classical expression of this view is the statement of R. Yehuda b. Idi in the name of R. Yohanan bar Nappaha (a teacher in Tiberias who died in 279 A.D.), according to which the Shekhina went through the following ten stages of wandering:

> "From the ark-cover she moved onto the Cherub;
> from the Cherub onto the other Cherub;
> from the second Cherub onto the threshold of the Temple;
> from the threshold into the court of the Priests;
> from the court onto the altar in the court;
> from the altar onto the roof of the Temple;
> from the roof onto the wall;
> from the wall into the city of Jerusalem;
> from the city onto the Mount of Olives;
> from the mount into the desert."[33]

The idea is that each of these stations in the wanderings of the Shekhina took her to a place more remote than the previous one from her original dwelling place over the ark-cover. It was, of course, the sins of Israel which caused the Shekhina thus to go into exile. In the desert, the Shekhina

waited six months for Israel to repent. When they failed to do so, she said in desperation, "Let them perish!"[34]

According to another version, the Shekhina dwelt for three and a half years on the nearby Mount of Olives, and cried out from there three times a day: "Return, you backsliding children!"[35] When all this proved futile, she began to fly around and say, "I shall go and return to my place till they acknowledge their guilt,"[36] that is to say, she withdrew to heaven to wait there for repentance to bring redemption.

4. *PERSONIFICATION*

As to the presence of the Shekhina in the Second Temple, opinions were divided. Some said that while in the First Temple the Shekhina dwelt continuously, in the Second Temple she was present only intermittently.[37] Some sages, however, like the 4th century A.D. Palestinian Amora, Shemuel ben Inya, asserted that the Shekhina never graced the Second Temple with her presence, and that this circumstance constituted one of the seven features marking the inferiority of this sanctuary in comparison with the First Temple.[38] Rabbi Yohanan, too, was of the opinion that the Shekhina never dwelt in the Second Temple, the reason being that it was built with the aid of the Sons of Japheth, i.e. the Persians, and, as stated in *Genesis* 9:27, God dwells only in the tents of Shem, that is in a Temple built by the Children of Israel themselves.[39]

Again others held not only that the Shekhina was present in the Second Temple,[40] but that, following its destruction, she transferred her seat to several important synagogues in Babylonia, where her presence was both visible and audible. Especially two synagogues, those of Huzal and of Shaf Weyatibh, had the reputation of serving as alternate dwelling places for the Shekhina. The Shaf Weyatibh synagogue in Nehardea was built, according to tradition, by King Yechonia and his men, of stones and dust they had brought along from Jerusalem.[41] At times the Shekhina would dwell in this synagogue, at others in that of Huzal. Once, so the story goes, the father

of Shemuel and Levi were sitting in the Shaf Weyatibh synagogue in Nehardea, when the Shekhina appeared making a noise, whereupon they got up and left. On another occasion, blind Rab Sheshet sat in the same synagogue when the Shekhina again came, but he made no move to leave. Thereupon ministering angels came to frighten him away, but he said: "Master of the World! If one is afflicted and the other is not, who is to yield?" Whereupon He (i.e. the deity) spoke to them: "Let him be!"[42]

As to the precise nature of the noise made by the Shekhina, another Talmudic passage describes it as follows: "The Shekhina rang before him (Samson) like a bell."[43] As we shall see in another context, God's approach too was said to have been accompanied by the tinkling of bells.

In general, it was an accepted article of faith that wherever their exile took the people of Israel, whether to Egypt, to Babylonia, or to Edom (Rome), the Shekhina went along with them, and that she would remain with them until the time of their redemption.[44]

In addition to her appearance in places of primary or secondary sanctity, the Shekhina would also show herself to individuals and even to animals. According to a Palestinian view, transmitted to Babylonia by Rab Dimi (early 4th century A.D.), the Shekhina spoke to Adam, to the Serpent, and to the fishes, and, as a consequence of this distinction, members of these three species copulate in a face-to-face position, while all the other animals perform the sexual act face to back.[45]

That the Shekhina can be seen is almost a commonplace in the Midrash. The sign of the Abrahamic covenant which the Children of Israel carried on their flesh enabled them to gaze at the Shekhina; had it not been for the circumcision, they would have fallen flat on their faces at her appearance.[46] Even Nadab and Abihu, the two rebellious contemporaries of Moses, "feasted their eyes on the Shekhina, but had no enjoyment from her; Moses, on the other hand, did not feast his eyes on her, but enjoyed her."[47] Already as a babe, Moses was

joined by the Shekhina. When the daughter of Pharaoh found the ark of bulrushes into which he had been placed by his mother, and opened it, she saw the Shekhina in it.[48] Of all men, Moses was the only one to whom the Shekhina spoke "every hour, without setting a time in advance." Therefore, in order to be always in a state of ritual purity and readiness to receive a communication from the Shekhina, Moses separated himself completely from his wife.[49]

The Shekhina joins the sick to comfort them,[50] and helps those who are in need.[51] Moreover, she has special concern for the repentant sinners of Israel: these "are accepted by the Shekhina as if they were righteous and pious persons who never sinned. They are carried aloft and seated next to the Shekhina... He whose heart is broken and whose spirit is low, and whose mouth rarely utters a word, the Shekhina walks with him every day..."[52] Good deeds, even if performed by idolators, attract the Shekhina: when the prophets of the Baal practiced hospitality, the Shekhina descended and rested upon them.[53]

If husband and wife are worthy and deserving, the Shekhina rests between them.[54] On the other hand, Rab Abin bar Ada, a Babylonian Amora of the 3rd-4th centuries, said in the name of Rab: "He who marries a woman not suitable for him, when God lets his Shekhina rest, he will give testimony concerning all the tribes, but him."[55]

A different view of the Shekhina shows her as being attracted by aesthetic and aristocratic qualities. "The Shekhina rests only on him who is wise, heroic, rich and tall of stature."[56] Rabbi Yohanan bar Nappaha (died 279 A.D.) enumerated a very similar list of excellences as attracting the Shekhina: "God lets His Shekhina rest only on him who is heroic, rich, wise and modest."[57] Rabbi Hama bar Hanina, a Palestinian Amora of the 3rd century, said: "When God lets His Shekhina rest, He will let her rest only on the noble families in Israel."[58] According to another view, "the Shekhina rests only where there is no sadness, no sloth, no laughter, no levity, no merriment, and no senseless chatter, but where there is rejoicing over the fulfillment of a commandment."[59]

Lest one think that the Shekhina was thought of as ranking merely with the angels, we adduce a few passages which emphasize her superiority to them: The splendor of the Shekhina feeds the ministering angels. Her radiance, however, is so great that the angels must cover their faces with their wings so as not to see her.[60] The ministering angels are removed from the Shekhina by myriads of parasangs, and the body of the Shekhina herself measures millions of miles.[61]

These ideas are complementary without being contradictory:on the one hand, the Shekhina can be so small as to find place in the Tabernacle or even in the small ark of bulrushes next to the child Moses; on the other, her size overshadows the world. A midrash neatly reconciles the two ideas:

"The emperor said to Rabban Gamaliel: 'You say that wherever ten men are assembled, the Shekhina dwells among them. How many Shekhinas are there?' Thereupon Rabban Gamaliel beckoned the servant and began to beat him (saying): 'Why did you let the sun enter the emperor's house?' ('Nonsense') said the emperor, 'the sun shines all over the world!' 'If the sun,' answered Gamaliel, 'which is only one of a thousand myriad servants of God, shines all over the world, how much more so the Shekhina of God!' "[62]

The problem of how to reconcile the omnipresence of the Shekhina with her "dwelling" in the sanctuary was solved in a different manner by Rabbi Yohanan bar Nappaha by the introduction of the concept of "contraction" of which the Kabbala was later to make extensive use in its cosmogony. Yohanan explained that when Moses heard God say "Let them make Me a Sanctuary,"[63] he was frightened by what he assumed would be a task of immense magnitude, because he knew that even the "heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain" God.[64] But God reassured him that a small Tabernacle would, indeed, be sufficient for Him: "I shall descend and contract my Shekhina between (the planks of the Tabernacle) down below."[65]

5. *THE SHEKHINA CONFRONTS GOD*

These, and many other similar passages clearly demonstrate a pronounced tendency to personify the Shekhina and to conceive of her as a manifestation of the deity in a lower form, capable of being perceived by the human senses. This Shekhina was the direct heir of the Biblical Cloud of Glory which had dwelt in the sanctuary and had been the visible manifestation of Yahweh's presence in His House. There is as yet no indication in any of these passages that the Shekhina was considered a divine entity separate from God to the extent of being able to confront him. However, in view of the mystical dualistic theosophy of Philo and the Cherubim-symbolism of the Second Temple,[66] it was inevitable that the step from regarding the Shekhina as the manifestation of God to seeing in her a discrete divine entity should be taken. The earliest evidence that it was, dates from the end of the 3rd century A.D.

Before presenting the passage in question, a word must be said about the relationship of the two Talmudic concepts of the Shekhina and of the "Holy Spirit." As A. Marmorstein has convincingly shown, these two concepts were used synonymously in the Talmudic period.[67] When, therefore, a Talmudic teacher speaks of the Holy Spirit, he may as well have used the term Shekhina. With this in mind, let us quote a saying of Rabbi Aha, a Galilean teacher who lived ca.300 A.D.

"The Holy Spirit comes to the defense (of sinful Israel by) saying first to Israel: 'Be not a witness against thy neighbor without a cause,'[68] and thereafter saying to God: 'Say not: I will do to him as he hath done to me.' "[69]

This passage has great significance in the historical development of the Jewish God concept. We have here a very early testimony as to the idea that the "Holy One, blessed be He" or God, and the Shekhina or Holy Spirit, are two separate and discrete divine entities. The Holy Spirit is said here to have admonished God not to practice retribution and to refrain from punishing Israel. She (she, because the "Holy Spirit," like the Shekhina, is feminine) was, therefore, considered to have an opinion, a mind, a will, and a personality

of her own. She is opposed to God and tries to influence him.[70]

The Shekhina plays a similar role in another passage which is of considerably later provenance. It is found in Midrash Mishle, whose late age is indicated by the fact that the first to quote it was Rabbi Hananel (died 1050 A.D.). In it we read:

"When the Sanhedrin wanted to add King Solomon to the three kings and four commoners who had no share in the World to Come, Shekhina rose up before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said: "Master of the World! 'seest Thou a man diligent' (i.e. Solomon)...?! They want to count him among 'mean men.' " In that hour, a divine voice was heard saying to them: 'Let him stand before Kings, let him not stand before mean men!' "[71] i.e., do not include Solomon together with those mean men who are excluded from the heavenly Paradise.

A clearcut differentiation between God and the Shekhina is made by Moshe Hadarshan, the early 11th century midrashist of Narbonne, in his book entitled *Bereshit Rabbati*. He says, in the name of Rabbi Akiba (the second century A.D. Tanna), that "when the Holy One, blessed be He, considered the deeds of the generation of Enoch and that they were spoiled and evil, He removed Himself and His Shekhina from their midst and ascended into the heights with blasts of trumpets..."[72]

Although three passages may be considered rather meager evidence, they are sufficient to establish that the idea of two separate divine entities did exist in Talmudic times and that there were at least some teachers who saw nothing exceptionable in it. Others, however, took a different view, and opposed any implication of such a plurality, thereby adding indirect evidence to the existence of such beliefs. Rabbi Eliezer, the Palestinian Amora of the 3rd century, warned that one must carefully refrain from implying a divine plurality even inadvertently in translating Biblical passages which contain references to the physical appearance of God:

"Rabbi Eliezer said: He who translates a Biblical verse literally is a liar, and he who adds to it is a blasphemer. For instance, if he translates the (Hebrew) verse 'And they saw

the God of Israel"[73] (into Aramaic): 'And they saw the God of Israel,' he is a liar, for the Holy One, blessed be He, sees but cannot be seen. If, however, he translates 'And they saw the glory of the Shekhina of the God of Israel,' he blasphemes because he makes three (i.e. instead of one God he refers to three deities), namely Glory, and Shekhina, and God. What 'And they saw the God of Israel' means is that they feasted their eyes on the splendor of the Shekhina."[74]

Rabbi Eliezer here objects to both the literal translation of a Biblical anthropomorphic expression and its paraphrase by the interpolation of such terms as Glory and Shekhina. The basis of his objection to the first method is that it makes it appear as if God could directly be apprehended by human sense organs, which, of course, is untrue with reference to a purely spiritual deity. His objection to the second method must stem from the experience or knowledge that his contemporaries tended to regard such expressions as Glory and Shekhina as designations for discrete deities. While Rabbi Eliezer considered such a view as blasphemous, others, as we have seen above, saw nothing exceptionable in it, at least as far as the Shekhina was concerned.

6. *THE FEMININE SHEKHINA*

The passages which establish the Shekhina as a separate divine personality, indicate her feminity in no way except by the grammatical gender of her name. It should be emphasized, however, that both in Hebrew and Aramaic, the gender of the subject plays a much greater role in the sentence structure than in Indo-European languages. In English, for instance, one can say, as in the last quoted passage, "The Shekhina rose up...and said," without becoming aware at all of the gender of "the Shekhina." In Semitic languages, the verb as well as the adjective have separate male and female forms; in the sentence "the Shekhina rose up...and said," therefore, both verbs impress the reader (or hearer) with the feminity of the Shekhina by taking themselves the feminine forms. Thus, even without any explicit pronouncement to the effect that

the Shekhina was a female divine entity, her sex was kept in the forefront of consciousness by every statement made about her.

In Midrashic homilies, the Talmudic sages allowed themselves considerable latitude in throwing light on the mystery of the deity by comparing him to human beings of both sexes. The following passage, transmitted in the name of Shemuel bar Nahman, a Palestinian teacher of the third and fourth centuries, can serve as an example:

"It is the wont of the father to have mercy, 'Like as a father has compassion upon his children, so has the Lord compassion upon them that fear Him';[75] and it is the wont of the mother to comfort, 'as one whom his mother comforts, so will I comfort you.'[76] God said: 'I shall do as both father and mother.' "[77]

It is, of course, a far cry from saying that God acts like a father and a mother to asserting, as Philo did,[78] that he has two components, a fatherly and a motherly. Yet the Shekhina, with her feminine gender, comes quite close in the Talmudic sources to being regarded as a feminine manifestation of the deity. The following statement by Rabbi Aha, a Palestinian Amora of the early fourth century, definitely points in that direction:

"When the Shekhina left the Sanctuary, she returned to caress and kiss its walls and columns, and cried and said: 'Be in peace, O my Sanctuary, be in peace, O my royal palace, be in peace, O my precious house, be in peace from now on, be in peace!' "[79]

In another passage it is the Community of Israel *(Knesseth Yisrael,* also of feminine gender and subsequently identified with the Shekhina or symbolized by her), who laments the destruction of the Temple:

"The Community of Israel said before the Holy One, blessed be He: 'Master of the World! I remember the safety, the security and the peace which I used to enjoy, and now it is all departed from me. And I cry and lament and say: O, if I could return to former years when the Sanctuary stood, and when you used to come down into it from the high heavens, and let your Shekhina rest on me, and the nations of the world

would praise me! And when I would seek forgiveness for my sins, you would answer me. But now I am covered with shame and disgrace.'

"And she also said before Him: 'Master of the World! My heart breaks in me when I pass by your house and it is destroyed, and the voice of silence is in it and says: The place in which Abraham's seed presented sacrifices before you, and the priests stood on their platform, and the Levites intoned praise on their harps, how can it be that now foxes dance in it?!... But what can I do, since my sins brought this about, and the false prophets who arose in me led me astray from the way of life to the way of death...'

"When the Temple was destroyed by fire, the Holy One, blessed be He, said: 'Now that I have no seat on earth, I shall remove my Shekhina from her (the earth) and shall ascend to my first abode.'... In that hour the Holy One, blessed be He, cried and said: 'Woe to me, what did I do, I let my Shekhina dwell below for the sake of Israel, and now that they sinned, I returned to my first place... I became a laughter unto the nations and a derision to the creatures.' In that hour Metatron (God's chief ministering angel) came, fell upon his face, and addressed God: 'Master of the World! Let me cry in Your place!' But God answered him: 'If you do not let me cry now, I shall retire to a place into which you have no permission to enter, and shall cry there.'... (Thereafter) God said to the ministering angels. 'Come, let us descend, I and you, and see what the enemy did to my house.'... When God saw the Sanctuary, He said: 'Verily, this is my house, and this is my resting place, into which the enemy entered and did what he wanted.' And God cried and said: 'Woe to me because of my House! My sons, where are you? My lovers, where are You? What shall I do to you? I warned you but you did not repent.' "[80]

That the Shekhina is the love-aspect of God is clearly stated in a parable which compares the Temple to Solomon's palanquin: just as the latter was inlaid with love, so did the Shekhina fill the sanctuary.[81] But she also represents the divine punitive power. This is most succinctly expressed in a Tannaitic passage which states that on ten occasions did the Shek-

hina descend from on High: after the Fall, when she entered the Garden of Eden to punish Adam, Eve and the Serpent; when she confused the builders of the Tower of Babel; when she destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah; when she saved the Children of Israel from Egyptian slavery; when she drowned the Egyptians in the Sea of Reeds; when she appeared on Mount Sinai; when she led the Children of Israel in the pillar of cloud; when she entered the Sanctuary; and once more will she descend in the future in the days of the battle of Gog and Magog.[82] We note that in the above list, which actually enumerates only nine descents—one evidently got lost while the tradition still circulated orally—five descents of the Shekhina are punitive expeditions. As we shall see in a subsequent chapter, the punitive aspect of the Shekhina, closely paralleled by the cruel aspect of the ancient Near Eastern love-goddesses, plays an important role in the Kabbalistic figure of the Shekhina-Matronit.

A mixture of the punitive and the merciful aspects of the Shekhina appear in the legends which attribute to her the function of taking the souls of exceptionally meritorious men. There were six individuals, we read in the Talmud, whom the Angel of Death could not overcome, and who died only through a kiss of the Shekhina; they were Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron and Miriam.[83] According to another passage, it was God who took the soul of one of them, Moses, by kissing him on the mouth.[84] But after Moses died, it was the Shekhina who carried him on her wings a distance of four miles to the place where he was to be buried.[85]

Since Moses is said to have to given up all carnal contact with his wife in order to be always ready to receive communication from the Shekhina, it seems probable that a notion clearly stated in the Zohar was already present in rudimentary form in Talmudic times: the idea that the relationship between Moses and the Shekhina was like that of husband and wife.[86] If so, there is an interesting parallel between the Shekhina carrying her dead husband, Moses, to his burial place, and the Ugaritic myth about Anath carrying the body of her husband-brother, Baal, to his burial place.[87]

7. *CONCLUSION*

We have followed, in this chapter, the development of the Shekhina concept from its Biblical antecedents, through its early Targumic beginnings in the first or second century B.C., to the stage it reached a thousand years later, just prior to being taken up by Kabbalism and made into one of the cornerstones of its mystical theosophy. At first, it seems, the Shekhina served merely as a convenient means of solving the problem presented by Biblical anthropomorphisms in the eyes of a later, more sensitive, theology. By interpolating the Shekhina, it was no longer God himself who was said to have acted in a human manner, but his "presence" which, evidently, was conceived as something akin to a "presence" manifesting itself at a spiritualists' seance, a barely visible indication of what is acknowledged to be pure spirit and therefore not apprehensible by the senses.

Before long however, this spiritual "presence" began to take on substance. Her movements from place to place could now be discerned, and, having acquired a physical aspect, she became subject to historical events: more and more closely joined to the fate of Israel, she suffered its vicissitudes, accompanied the people into their exiles and experienced the hopes and despairs with which Israel reacted to the blows dealt her by fate, or, as the Sages of the Talmud would have put it, shared in the punishments meted out by God to his sinful people. In this capacity, the Shekhina came very close to being identified with the *Knesseth Yisrael,* the personified, female "Community of Israel."

Next, almost inadvertently, as the distance between God and the Shekhina grew, the latter took on increasingly pronounced physical attributes. The more impossible it became to think of God himself in anthropomorphic terms, the more Shekhina became humanized. Now she could be heard as well as seen, and, having found her voice, it was inevitable that she should speak not only to man but to God. Once she was allowed to do this, there was no longer any doubt that the

deity was considered as comprised of two persons: God and Shekhina.

In Biblical times, there was nothing strange, let alone heretical, about a plural concept of the godhead. Most of the nations in whose midst Israel dwelt recognized divine pluralities, and the old Hebrew myth saw nothing remarkable in the fact that Yahweh appeared to Abraham in the shape of three men who, however, were unhesitatingly recognized by Abraham as one person. The narrative is masterly in conveying the mystery of this three-in-one deity by changing back and forth between plural and singular,[88] to which has to be added the further mystery of the unexplained change-over of the "three men" into "two angels" by the time they reached Sodom, and their contradictory identification as Yahweh's messengers.[89] Thus, Philo's theosophic discernment of the two aspects of the deity[90] is, in fact, not too far removed from this old Biblical indeterminacy as to the number of persons in the deity, nor is the Talmudic postulation of God and the Shekhina as two divine entities.

Philo assigned masculinity to one, and feminity to the other, aspect of the godhead. Such a step was never taken by Talmudic Judaism, or, at least, such a thought was never clearly formulated or expressed, until the days of the Kabbala. Yet the very fact that all the names of God (Yahweh; Elohim; the Holy One, blessed be He, etc.) were masculine, while the name Shekhina was feminine (as were the other manifestations of the deity, such as the Holy Spirit, the Word, Wisdom, etc.), inevitably pointed in the direction of such a sexual differentiation, which came about, as it was bound to, with the great medieval mystical movement of the Kabbala.

The latency of the feminine element in the Jewish God concept for one millennium and a half is a psychologically remarkable phenomenon. From about 400 B.C. to 1100 A.D. the God of Judaism was a lone and lofty father-figure, and whatever female divinity was allowed to exist in his shadow was either relegated to a lower plane, or her feminity was masked and reduced to a grammatical gender, as in the case

of the Shekhina. Yet in spite of the masculine predominance on the highest level of the Talmudic God concept, popular belief and imagination dwelt in a world peopled and haunted by feminine numina, ranging from lowly and loathsome she-demons to exalted personifications. It is to an examination of these ideas that we next turn.

Chapter V

THE KABBALISTIC TETRAD

Let us now turn to the development of the Hebrew goddess myth in the Middle Ages, when the mythical-mystical figure of a feminine divinity occupied a central place in Jewish religious consciousness.

There are some puzzling factors about this medieval Jewish religious development. One is that it took place in an entirely religion-bound community, whose official doctrines could never have tolerated deviation from strict monotheism. Another, that, on the surface at least, it appears as if the primary factor in the emergence of the goddess figure and her divine family had been mystical speculation about the nature of the deity, which in turn led to the creation of mythical narratives about the relationship among the four members of the supernal Tetrad.

There is, of course, no hard and fast dividing line between mystical symbolism and mythical narrative. On the contrary, these two areas of religious expression imperceptibly merge, and those whose religious inclinations impel them to approach the border region from either side, may suddenly find that they have crossed over to the other. Historical examples show that at times such crossings-over were effected purposely: old polytheistic myths were, in this manner, transformed into mystical theological ideas and thereby fitted into the framework of a narrower, more rigidly monotheistic religion. The best known, though not always readily acknowledged, example of this type of transformation is the re-emergence of the an-

cient Near Eastern mythological feature of divine triads (a group of three gods) in the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

At other times, the searching mind, striking out along unexplored paths of religious discovery, finds itself on the other side, having crossed the invisible border unintentionally and inadvertently. Such an accidental slippage from the realm of mystical speculation into that of mythical narrative occurred in connection with the Kabbalistic interpretation of the mystical meaning of the Tetragrammaton, the secret and most holy four-letter name of God, which to pronounce was considered a mortal sin. An examination of the psychological and traditional channels along which this slippage took place will occupy us in this chapter, together with the attempt to reconstruct the myths of the four divinities constituting the Kabbalistic tetrad. First, however, let us look at the world of the Kabbala in which this tetrad occupied a pivotal position.

1. THE KABBALA

The Kabbala was a great Jewish religious movement which reached its literary zenith in the 13th, and its greatest popularity in the 16th and 17th centuries. Its roots go back to Talmudic notions and ideas, and even beyond them, to doctrines first adumbrated by Philo of Alexandria, the 1st century Hellenistic Jewish philosopher, whose teachings about the Cherubim were examined in Chapter Three. Central to the Kabbala is a secret and esoteric doctrine about the nature of the deity and the relationship between God, World and Man. While the Kabbala as a whole is deeply mystical, it is speculative rather than ecstatic. It emphasizes the intuitive grasp of ultimate truths, but at the same time demands the most exacting observance of all the laws and rules of traditional Judaism. It stresses the personal religious experience, yet, paradoxically, it considers itself as a body of old, transmitted wisdom, as indicated by the meaning of its very name, Kabbala, literally "Reception," that is, something "received" from ancient masters. In fact, the chain of Kabbalistic tradition is

believed to lead back to Adam himself, whose knowledge of all the ultimate secrets was derived directly from divine communication.[1]

The foundations of medieval Kabbalism were laid in Babylonia and Byzantium in the 7th and 8th centuries, when a number of Midrashim with marked Kabbalistic tendencies made their appearance. Several of these (e.g. the *Alpha Beta of Rabbi Akiba* and the *Midrash Konen)* deal with the mysteries of Creation and the structure of the universe. Other writings of the same period describe the heavens, represented as seven celestial palaces (the so-called *Hekhalot),* and the divine chariot *(Merkaba)* which served as the throne of God. These early ventures into mystical cosmogony, cosmology and theosophy were transmitted in the 9th century to Italy and Germany, and, soon thereafter, also to Spain, which in the 13th century became the chief center of the Kabbala.

The most important work of the entire Kabbalistic movement, the *Zohar,* or Book of Splendor, was written ca. 1286 by Moses de Leon (ca. 1240-1305) in Castile, Spain, but was attributed by him to Shimeon ben Yohai, the 2nd-century Palestinian teacher and mystic. With this voluminous book (it contains close to a million words), written in the form of a mystical commentary to the Five Books of Moses, in a somewhat artificial Aramaic, Spanish Kabbala reached its culmination. For the subsequent two centuries, however, Kabbalism remained the esoteric preoccupation of a few select individuals. An important new development took place following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, which brought about a powerful upsurge of Messianic longings for redemption, and resulted in the migration of several leading Spanish Kabbalists to the town of Safed in the Galilee. Within a few years thereafter, Safed became the new center of the Kabbala, and held this position for a short but remarkable period in the 16th century.

From Safed, the Kabbala spread rapidly to all the Asian, African and European centers of the Jewish diaspora. It soon became a veritable mass religion, and as such prepared the ground for the Messianic movement led by Sabbatai Zevi

(1625-1676), and, a century later, for East European Hassidism, the pietistic-mystical sectarianism which nearly caused a schism in Judaism in the 19th century. Thus Kabbalistic mysticism became one of the most powerful forces to lead the Jewish people forward on its historic course, until Englightenment and Emancipation, and then Nationalism and Zionism, took over to serve as vital propellants.

In the Kabbalistic doctrine of God, fully developed in the Zohar, the feminine element plays an extremely important role. As Gershom Scholem, the foremost authority on the subject, put it, the introduction of the idea that the Shekhina was the feminine element in God, opposed to "the Holy One, blessed be He," as the masculine element in Him, "was one of the most important and lasting innovations of Kabbalism. The fact that it obtained recognition in spite of the obvious difficulty of reconciling it with the conception of the absolute unity of God, and that no other element of Kabbalism won such a degree of popular approval, is proof that it responded to a deep-seated religious need... It says something for its vitality that despite the opposition of such powerful forces (as the philosophers and the Talmudists) this idea became part and parcel of the creed of wide circles among the communities of Europe and the East."[2]

The Zohar and the later Kabbalistic works are replete with references to the Shekhina, the female divine entity already familiar to us from her appearances in the earlier Talmudic and Midrashic literatures. In the next chapter we shall discuss in detail this feminine divinity whose favorite Kabbalistic name is "the Matronit," i.e. the Matron. What we wish to consider here is the question of the relationship of the Shekhina to God, and the issue of polytheism versus monotheism represented by it. The learned among the Kabbalists were undoubtedly aware of the problem, grappled with it, and succeeded in solving it in a manner satisfactory to them. One can imagine that by extraordinary mental effort they were able to remain unfailingly aware of the absolute oneness of God even while their imagination was assaulted by the most

outspoken descriptions of passionate embraces between the male and female "elements" of the deity.

But the learned were always few, while the ignorant and near-ignorant were many. The strength of Kabbalism lay not in what it meant for the select few who were able to devote a lifetime to its study, even as the intellectual elite of the anti-Kabbalists did to the study of the Talmud. The Kabbala's significance lay precisely in the great influence it exerted, from the 16th century on, upon the many, the masses, for whom intensive study was out of the question. If the most conspicuous ideas and teachings of Kabbalism nevertheless reached them, it was by word of mouth and in greatly simplified form. To put it differently, a simpler idea had a greater chance of popular acceptance than a more difficult one. The belief in the Shekhina (or Matronit), the matronly, divine figure, who, in a way, functioned as an intermediary between the People of Israel and God, was a simple, easily comprehended idea. Since it "responded to a deep-seated religious need," it won ready acceptance among wide circles in the Jewish communities everywhere. Much more difficult to understand was the complementary doctrine which maintained that God and the Shekhina were one. Lip-service, to be sure, was paid by all to the time-honored orthodox Jewish concept of the Oneness of God. On the logical level, many were even able to assert that the Shekhina and the other elements (of which more below) discerned in God were merely symbols which helped in comprehending the mystery of His nature, or emanations issuing forth from Him, but in no way affecting His fundamental Oneness.

Yet on the deeper level of emotion and imagination, the image of the wifely and motherly, passionate and compassionate female divinity met with immediate, spontaneous and positive response. Especially to popular imagination, the Shekhina was no mere symbol or emanation, but a great heavenly reality whose shining countenance shoved the theoretical doctrine of the Oneness of God into the background. The deep emotional attachment of the simple, unsophisticated followers of the Kabbala to the Shekhina was comparable to the rela-

tionship of the Italian or Spanish villagers to their Madonna. In both cases it cannot be denied that one is faced with the veneration of a goddess, and it is impossible to dispute that she means more for the satisfaction of deep-seated religious-emotional needs than God Himself.

Numerous passages in the Zohar, whatever their possible interpretation as mystical speculations about God, struck a responsive chord in hearts yearning for a divine mother-image. Some of these passages deal with the tragic figure of the Matronit which we shall analyze in the next chapter. Others discuss the divine tetrad, the four major persons of the Zoharic godhead, and several of these passages make it appear that the name Yahweh, composed of four letters, was the basis from which the concept of the divine family of four was derived. We shall, therefore, turn next to that most ancient, most holy and forbidden name of God, the Tetragrammaton.

2. *THE TETRAGRAMMATON*

In the Bible, God is referred to by several names, such as El, Elohim, Shaddai, Yahweh, or a combination of these. In the Talmudic period, the most frequently used name of God was "the Holy One, blessed be He." In the Zohar and Kabbalistic literature in general, God is still called "the Holy One, blessed be He," but, in addition, several other mystical divine names appear, which refer to God in relation to various stages in the history of the universe, or designate certain aspects of His being.

The ancient Biblical Tetragrammaton, Yahweh (YHWH), is regarded in the Kabbala as an abbreviated symbol of four divine elements which form part of the deity. The four elements are *Hokhma* (Wisdom), *Bina* (Understanding), *Tif'eret* (Beauty) and *Malkhut* (Kingship). Moreover, Wisdom is identified with the Father, Understanding with the Mother, Beauty with the Son, and Kingship with the Daughter. These four divine concepts form the Kabbalistic tetrad.

One passage in the Zohar, for instance, states that "the letter Y in the name YHWH is called Father and stands for

Wisdom; the first H is the Supernal Mother, called Understanding; and the W and the second H are the two children, a son and a daughter, who were crowned by their Mother."[3]

A related passage explains that "Wisdom spread out and brought forth Understanding, and they were found to be male and female, Wisdom the Father, and Understanding the Mother... Then these two united, and lighted up each other, and the H (i.e. the Mother) conceived and gave birth to a Son. Through the birth of the Son the Father and the Mother found their perfection *(tiqqun)*, and this led to the completion of everything, the inclusion of everything: Father, Mother, Son and Daughter."[4]

In yet another Zoharic passage more details are given about the origin of this divine family: "The Y brought forth a river which issued from the Garden of Eden and was identical with the Mother. The Mother became pregnant with the two children, the W who was the Son, and the second H who was the daughter, and she brought them forth and suckled them... These two children are under the tutelage of the Father and the Mother... After the Mother gave birth to the Son, she placed him before her, and this is why the first H in the name YHWH must be written close together with the W. The Son received a double share of inheritance from his Father and Mother, and he, in turn, nourished the Daughter. This is why when writing the Tetragrammaton in sacred texts, one must bring the W and the second H close together."[5]

In spite of the explicitness of these passages, which is matched and even surpassed by many others to be dealt with further on, all the modern students of the Kabbala interpret them as nothing more than mystical symbolism.[6] They argue that it is in the nature of the Kabbalistic style to speak of aspects or emanations of the One God as if they were independent entities. Since God is known to be wise, they speak of His Wisdom; since He is possessed of understanding, they speak of His Understanding, etc., and to further clarify these attributes, they designate them as Father, Mother, Son and Daughter.

Two considerations render this interpretation unsatisfactory. One is the "slippage" phenomenon referred to above, which can be observed in many Kabbalistic elaborations of the four "elements" in the deity, dealing with their affairs and vicissitudes, the relationships between them and their reactions to one another. Even if the Kabbalistic tetrad had actually and demonstrably originated in purely mystical speculation, somewhere on the way such a slippage occurred, with the result that the colorful details supplied about the four persons of the deity clearly belong to the realm of myth.

The other consideration which vitiates the mystical-symbolic interpretation of the Kabbalistic tetrad is the existence of numerous divine tetrads in other religions with occasional surprising similarities between the myths told about them and the statements made about the four "elements" of God in Kabbalistic literature.

This not only renders it unlikely that what the Kabbala has to say about the tetrad was engendered merely by mystical symbolism, but makes us suspect that the Kabbalistic myths about the tetrad reflect outside, non-Jewish influences. A rapid survey of polytheistic tetrad myths is here called for to substantiate this assumption.

3. *ANCIENT TETRADS*

Tetrads, although not as common as triads, are found in several religious cultures of antiquity. The earliest known group of four related gods is that of ancient Egyptian religion. The father-god, Shu, we read in early Egyptian mythological texts, was the air that carried the sky. His female counterpart was Tefnut, goddess of moisture. Their union produced a son, Geb, or Earth, and a daughter Nut, or Sky. Geb and Nut were united in tight marital embrace, until Father Shu separated them by raising the sky up from the bosom of the earth.[7] (See plate 29.)

Only somewhat younger is the tetrad myth of the Sumerians, the old, non-Semitic inhabitants of Mesopotamia. The precise family relationship of the gods of the Sumerian pan-

theon is obscure, and in most cases little is known about which god was whose son, husband, father or brother, and which goddess was whose daughter, wife, mother or sister. Nevertheless, is has become clear, primarily thanks to the indefatigable studies of Samuel N. Kramer, that there was a close, first-degree relationship between a group of four gods who were in control of heaven, earth, sea and air, and who, among them, created all the other cosmic entities.[8] The four were the god of Heaven, An; the great mother goddess Ninhursag; the god of water, Enki; and the god of air, Enlil. That they were a clearly defined tetrad is evident not only from their position of primary creator gods, but also from their continued importance after the emergence of the other gods. It is they who "usually head the god lists, and are often listed as performing significant acts together as a group." Moreover, "at divine meetings and banquets they were given the seats of honor."[9]

An, the heaven-god, was once the supreme ruler of the Sumerian pantheon, but as early as the 3rd millennium B.C. his place was taken by Enlil, the air-god, who is also titled "father of the gods," and "king of all lands." He was also the god of Wisdom, and the ruler of the abyss *(absu)*—an early indication of the oft-recurring connection between wisdom and water.

Ninhursag was also called Ninmah, Nintu and Aruru, although her original name seems to have been Ki, meaning "(mother) Earth." She was probably taken to be the wife of An (Heaven), and the two, An and Ki, may have been conceived as the parents of all the gods.[10] In her capacity as the great mother and the earth goddess, Ninhursag was also "the lady who gave birth," the mother of all living things, and especially the mother of the earthly kings. The early Sumerian kings liked to describe themselves as "constantly nourished with milk by Ninhursag."[11]

Enki, king of the watery abyss, calls himself in a paean of self-glorification "the first-born of An,"[12] which would make Ninhursag his mother. However, in another passage of the same long poem, Ninhursag is called "Enlil's sister,"[13] and

she calls Enki "my brother."[14] This apparently reflects another version of the early Sumerian tetrad, according to which An (Heaven) had three children, Ninhursag, Enki and Enlil. The contradiction in the position of Ninhursag, who appears as both mother and sister of Enki and Enlil, can possibly be resolved by referring to the Zoharic explanation of the Tetragrammaton discussed above. The Father ("Wisdom" there too), we shall recall, brought forth the Mother, that is, the Mother was originally the Father's daughter. But then Father and Mother had union, and the Mother gave birth to the Son and the Daughter. Thus the Mother was, at one and the same time, also the sister of her Son and Daughter. It can be conjectured that a lost Sumerian myth may likewise have told how Father An brought forth Ki (Ninhursag) by spontaneous generation (or by masturbation, as Atum was said to have engendered Shu and Tefnut in Egyptian mythology).[15] If so, then Ninhursag, like the Mother in Kabbalism, was both the mother and the sister of her two children.

The tetrad of the Hittites, whose ancient empire centered on the Anatolian plateau and who spoke several unrelated languages, can be mentioned only in passing. The Hittites absorbed so much foreign mythological material that the isolation of original Hittite myths would be a major scholarly task which lies far beyond the present author's competence. However, even a cursory perusal of the readily accessible Hittite myths shows that groups of four gods appear repeatedly. One text-fragment enumerates the four gods Kashku (the Moon-god), Taru (the Storm-god), Hapantalli and Katakhziwuri. Another appeals to "the mighty gods" Naras, Napsaras, Minkins and Ammunkis.[16] A Hittite myth of unquestionably Canaanite origin is the one in which the tetrad Elkunirsa (that is the Canaanite *El qone eres,* "El Creator of the Earth"), his wife Ashertu (Asherah), their son Baal-Hadad, the Storm-god, and their daughter Ishtar (Astarte or Anath) figures prominently.[17]

An ancient Near Eastern bronze figure of unknown provenance shows a divine tetrad in the form of four human figures

rising out of a common stem and held together at their lower legs by a ring. (See plate 30.)

In the ancient Canaanite pantheon itself the four gods El, Asherah, Baal and Anath stand out among all the other gods as a clearly recognizable divine family. Thanks to the major archaeological discovery of the Ugaritic tablets at Ras Shamra, near the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean, we have an exceptionally complete picture of the mythological world of the northern Canaanites in the 14th century B.C. The chief of all gods was El, the father god, often called "bull of his father." His wife Asherah, also referred to as "Lady Asherah of the Sea," was the mother of all other gods whom she suckled at her breasts. Their son Baal, also called Aliyan, Prince, King, and Rider of Clouds, was the god of rain, and fertility, who periodically died and again came to life. Their daughter Anath, usually referred to as the Virgin or the Maiden Anath, or simply as The Girl, was the goddess of love and female fecundity, as well as of the war and the hunt, who enjoyed fighting as much as she did love-making, was bloodthirsty, tempestuous and unrestrained.[18]

In Greek mythology, Cronus, Rhea, Zeus and Hera seem to have formed the original divine tetrad. Cronus and Rhea were brother and sister as well as husband and wife. After castrating his father Uranus ("Sky"), Cronus ruled in his stead, until he, in turn, was castrated and dethroned by his own son, Zeus, who then became King of the gods, and god of the sky and of thunder. The wife of Zeus was Hera, his sister, goddess of the earth, fecundity, marriage and women, and worshipped as Maid, Wife and Widow.

The Roman equivalent of this tetrad was that of Saturn, Ops, Jupiter (Jove) and Juno. Juno's eldest and most common name was Juno Lucina or Lucetia, referring to her original light-nature. In her capacity as the goddess of marriage, she was also known as Matrona, a name which, of course, reminds us of the Kabbalistic name of the daughter-goddess, the Matronit, who will be the subject of the next chapter. Juno Matrona's principal festival was the Matronalia or Matronales, celebrated on May 1, when husbands and wives

would pray to her and offer sacrifices for marital happiness. The priest of Jupiter, the *flamen dialis,* had to be married; his wife was the *flaminica dialis,* priestess of Juno.[19]

Turning now to the great Asian world east of Mesopotamia, and first of all to Iran, we find again the by now familiar tetrad, although in a modified form. The mythical history of the world in Iran begins with Zurvan ("Time"), a hermaphrodite, who existed prior to heaven, earth, and everything else. For a thousand years Zurvan sacrificed in order to have a son, and finally Ohrmazd and Ahriman were conceived in the womb of his female half. Overjoyed, Zurvan vowed that whichever of his children should emerge first will receive the kingdom from him. It was evil Ahriman who ripped the womb open, and presented himself to Zurvan, saying: "I am your son Ohrmazd." Zurvan, however, rejected him, and while he was still talking to Ahriman, the true Ohrmazd was born, whom Zurvan thereupon instructed to rule and order all things.[20]

A divine tetrad figures importantly in Hindu mythology. Shiva is the generative principle, the four-armed and four-legged great lord of procreation, the gigantic Phallus, identical with the Vedic storm-god Rudra, "the Roarer." His home is in the Himalayas where he lives in perfect marital happiness with his wife, Parvati, the Great Mother, symbolized by the female generative organ, and known also by many other names, among them especially Devi (goddess), i.e. *the* goddess, par excellence. Parvati assumes terrifying forms also, such as that of Kali; as such she carries in her many arms a great array of weapons, and demands bloody animal and human sacrifices. She is also known as Shakti ("Power"), and, as a medieval ode puts it, "If Shiva is united with Shakti, he is able to exert his powers as lord; if not, the god is not able to stir." Anyone who truly grasps the goddess's complete nature can master the whole universe, because he becomes one with her. In her resides all love. Her devotees call upon her as children addressing their mother, and she cherishes them, taking them to herself, so that they at last become one with her, experiencing a flood of supreme joy, and tasting boundless, intense bliss.

This divine couple had two children, Ganesha, god of wisdom and remover of obstacles, and Kartikeya, god of war and patron of thieves. Shiva's vehicle is the bull Nandi, and Parvati's a lion.

Shiva, incidentally, is also Nataraja, "Lord of the Dance," who, when attacked by the demon Muyalaka, pressed his toe upon Muyalaka's back, until he broke it, and then, with him underfoot, danced the cosmic dance of creation, maintenance, and destruction.[21]

The last tetrad we shall refer to here is central to Japanese mythology. Izanagi ("The Male Who Invites") and Izanami ("The Female Who Invites") were brother and sister who had union and procreated a great variety of divinities in many different ways. From the left eye of Izanagi, also galled the August Male (his sister-wife is also the August Female), was born Amaterasu, the "Heaven Shining," the sun goddess, and from his nose, Susanowo, the "Impetuous Male." These two couples occupy the central place in Japanese cosmology. Amaterasu is resplendent and shining, and receives from Izanagi the Plain of High Heaven as her dominion. Susanowo is dark, and the rule over the Sea Plain is given to him. He becomes desirous of visiting his mother Izanami who in the meantime had died of burns she suffered in her genitals when she gave birth to the god of Fire, and now inhabits the Land of Darkness. Izanagi is furious at this impertinence of his son, and banishes him from the land. Susanowo thereupon resolves to take leave of his sister, who, however, mistakes his approach for an attack, and meets him fully armed with bow and arrows. Susanowo assures her of his peaceful intentions and suggests that they take an oath together and produce children, which they do.

A number of common features can be distilled from these tetrad myths: the divine tetrad consists of parents and two children, usually a son and a daughter, but occasionally two sons. The four deities making up the tetrad stand for, or are in control of, the major component parts of the world, such as air, moisture, earth and sky (Egypt); heaven, air, water and earth (Sumer); or they represent a combination of such major

components of nature and of cosmic principles, such as earth, vegetation(?), storm (i.e. rain) and fertility (Hittites); heaven, sea, rain and fertility(Canaan); time (?), earth, sky and female fecundity (Greece); sowing (or agriculture), abundance, sky and marriage (Rome); male principle, female principle, heaven (or sun), and sea (Japan); or else they stand for cosmic principles and concepts, such as time (a hermaphrodite, pointing both backward, to the past, and forward to the future), light and darkness (Iran); procreative principle, fertility principle, wisdom and war (India).

Another recurrent characteristic is that the daughter in several tetrads is a goddess of both love (the fertility principle) and war (the destructive principle; thus in Hittite, Canaanite and Japanese mythologies; in Hindu mythology, the same double role falls to the mother goddess). In several tetrads the mother goddess is conceived of as clasping her children, both gods and men, to her breast and suckling them (in Sumerian, Canaanite and Hindu mythologies).

At least in one mythology (Hindu) one of the gods forming the tetrad is Wisdom, and the power of the Father is said to depend on his union with the Mother.

Mention can also be made of the separation of the Son and the Daughter which in Egyptian mythology (as well as in many others in which no tetrads can be discovered)[23] figures as a precondition for the establishment of the existing cosmic order, and of the representation of creation as a victory of the creator-god over opposing forces (in Iranian and Hindu mythologies).

4. *THE FATHER AND THE MOTHER*

We are now ready to turn to the testimony of the Kabbalistic literature itself, and to review those passages which give evidence of "slippage" from the symbolic into the mythological realm. These passages contain numerous accounts of episodes in the life of the divine Father, Mother, Son and Daughter, which in their sum total amount to veritable biographies. As we shall see, so many of these episodes are clearly

mythological that in the face of their cumulative evidence the contention that all this is merely mystical symbolism and speculation about the "aspects," or "emanations," or even "elements" of a one and only God, must appear as pious fiction. The four entities of the godhead in these passages function as independent persons who address, converse with, act upon and react to, each other. Moreover, the deeds they perform, the experiences they undergo and the feelings they display are all well couched in unmistakably mythological terms, strikingly similar to the tetrad myths sketched above.

To begin with, let us refer again to the fact that the explanation of the four consonants of the Tetragrammaton is given in sexual-familial terms. The four letters, as we have seen, are not only stated to symbolize (or stand for) Wisdom, Understanding, Beauty and Kingship (which in themselves could be understood as purely conceptual attributes of God), but are also identified with Father, Mother, Son and Daughter, respectively. In addition, as we have likewise seen, reference is made to the manner, purely sexual, in which these divine components (or may we already be permitted to call them "persons"?) originated: the Father brought forth the Mother, then copulated with her and thus the Son and the Daughter were born.

The relationship between the Father and the Mother is discussed in numerous other passages as well, of which a few are presented here:

"Never does the inclination of the Father and the Mother toward each other cease. They always go out together and dwell together. They never separate and never leave each other. They are together in complete union."[24] We have seen above that this mythological motif (or "mythologem") is contained in the Egyptian myth of Geb and Nut, and the Hindu myth of Shiva and Parvati. Here we may add that the mythologem of the World Parents, of the Sky-father and Earth-mother as the progenitors of the universe, of their clinging together in a permanent embrace, of the timeless bliss they enjoy in their complete and ceaseless union, is quite common all over

the world,[25] which in itself renders it most unlikely that the author of the Zohar happened by coincidence to hit upon the same idea simply on the basis of his mystical speculations about the meaning of the first two consonants of the Tetragrammaton.

In another Zoharic passage, the sexual union of the Father and the Mother (here referred to as "Zaddik," i.e. Righteous One, and his "Female") is described in unflinching physiological detail: "When the seed of the Righteous is about to be ejaculated, he does not have to seek the Female, for she abides with him, never leaves him, and is always in readiness for him. His seed flows not save when the Female is ready, and when they both as one desire each other; and they unite in a single embrace, and never separate... Thus the Righteous is never foresaken."[26]

The unceasing love between the Father and the Mother, and its tangible expression, their permanent union, earned them the name "Companions" *(re'im)*: "The Father and the Mother, since they are found in union all the time and are never hidden or separated from each other, are called 'Companions'... And they find satisfaction in permanent union..."[27] The Supreme Mother is called "Companion" *(ra'aya)*, because the love of the Father never departs from her."[28]

The marital embrace of the father-god and the mother-goddess is so tight and so permanent that the two make the impression of one body, androgynous in nature, like Zurvan in ancient Iranian mythology. The emergence of this idea in Jewish mysticism can be traced back to Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla (1248-1305) whose writings influenced the author of the Zohar, and who, reciprocally, was influenced by the Zohar.[29] In fact, Gikatilla warned against the belief, held by contemporary or earlier Kabbalists, that the deity actually had the physical form of an androgyne: "He who understands this mystery will understand all the *Merkaboth*[30] and all the Grades of Emanation which take the shape of receiver and influencer. And this is the mystery of the androgyne.[31] Not as if there was there the actual shape of an androgyne, God for-

bid that one should believe such a thing and broadcast such a calummy... (But) each Grade of all the Grades of YHWH, blessed be He, has two faces. One face which receives from the one above it, and a second face which emits good to the one beneath it, until it reaches the navel of the earth. Thus, each Grade has two aspects, a (feminine) power of receiving... and a (masculine) power of emanating... and in this manner the *Merkaboth* are called androgyne... This is a great mystery among the mysteries of the Cherubs, and the mystery of the shape of the *Merkaba*..."[32] In the sequel the author makes it clear that, when speaking of the androgynous character of the godhead, he has in mind a double body joined back to back, with two front sides looking in opposite direction—the classical, Midrashic concept of the androgyne.[33]

In spite of Gikatilla's warning, however, the Kabbalistic tendency to discern a male and female element in the deity could not be suppressed. In fact, it remained an established doctrine that God consisted of male and female components. Thus we read in the Zohar:

"The Female (component of the godhead) spread out from her place and adhered to the Male side, until he moved away from his side, and she came to unite with him face to face. And when they united, they appeared as veritably one body. From this we learn that the male alone appears as half a body... and the female likewise, but when they join in union they seem as veritably one body... (On the Sabbath) all is found in one body, complete, for the Matronit clings to the King and they become one body, and this is why blessings are found on that day."[34]

Moses Cordovero (1522-1570), the influential Safed (Palestine) Kabbalist, expatiates on the subject repeatedly in his *Pardes Rimmonim* ("The Pomegranate Orchard") which he completed in 1549. Typical of his approach is the following comment on the highest of the ten Divine Emanations or Sephirot, called Crown: "The Crown itself is comprised of Male and Female, for one part of it is Male, the other Female..."[35]

The view that the deity is androgynous or hermaphroditic in nature, if not in form, must have existed several centuries prior to its first explicit mention by Gikatilla. For we read in an early Midrash that "When the Holy One, blessed be He, created man, He created him as an androgyne."[36] Since it was a pivotal doctrine in Hebrew religion that God created man in His own image,[37] the statement that man was first created in an androgynous shape must have meant that the deity too was imagined as hermaphroditic. This, however, is merely our inference; in no Midrash is there even as much as a reference or an allusion to the hermaphroditic nature of God. In Kabbalistic literature, beginning with the Zohar, on the other hand, with its penchant for sexualizing the entire spiritual world, the doctrine of the male and the female aspects of the godhead had become commonplace, and almost inevitably crystallized into the concept of the androgynous deity.

But to return to the mythical biography of the divine parents, as a result of the enduring marital embrace, the Supernal Mother became pregnant (again like Zurvan in Iranian mythology), and gave birth to a Son and a Daughter:

"The Supernal H (i.e. the Mother) became pregnant as a result of all the love and fondling—since the Y never leaves her—and she brought forth the W (the Son), whereupon she stood up and suckled him. And when the W emerged, his female mate (the Daughter, represented by the second H in the Tetragrammaton) emerged together with him."[38]

The twin birth of the Son and the Daughter took place, according to another version, in the form of the birth of a single but androgynous being. In other words, the second generation of the godhead duplicated in its original shape that of the first. The passage containing this idea combines theogony with cosmogony by referring to the Son as "Heaven" and to the Daughter as "Earth": "Understanding (i.e. the Supernal Mother) brought forth Earth (i.e. the Daughter), but the latter was contained in Heaven (i.e. the Son), and they emerged together, joined together back to back..." Then Heaven took Earth and set her in her proper place, "and when Earth

turned to dwell in her place and became separated from the back of Heaven, she was confused and wished to adhere again to Heaven as in the beginning, because she saw that Heaven was bright while she was dark. But then Supernal Light poured forth, illuminating her, and she returned to her place to gaze at Heaven face to face, whereupon Earth was established and became joyful."[39]

This passage is significant not only mythologically but also cosmogonically. It states, as do the mythical cosmogonies of so many peoples, that the sexual union between the Father-god and the Mother-goddess resulted in the birth of Heaven and Earth. At first, Heaven carried Earth upon his back; then he separated from her and placed her beneath and opposite himself. Earth, dark and desolate, tried to reunite with Heaven in the former position. But Heaven turned his radiance upon her, and, basking in the light reflected from Heaven, Earth was content with her place below, which she has occupied ever since. The basic similarities between this cosmogonic myth and those of other ancient cultures are obvious.

Let us now look at the relationship of the parental couple of the tetrad to their children. The Father and the Mother loved their children exceedingly, adorned their heads with many crowns, and showered them with a flood of blessings and riches. However, the Father loved the Daughter more, while the Mother's favorite was the Son. In fact, the Father's love for his Daughter knew no bounds. He called her not only Daughter, but also Sister, and even Mother, and he constantly kissed and fondled her. For the Mother, this was too much; she suffered pangs of jealousy and reproached the Daughter, demanding that she cease beguiling her husband.[40]

The wifely jealousy of a goddess is a feature frequently encountered in ancient mythologies.[40a] It is a true mythological motif, anchored in an oft-recurring human situation whence it is projected out into the divine realm. To maintain, in the face of the above passage, that the Father, Mother and Daughter figuring in it are but mystical symbols of the different aspects of the One God, requires, to say the least, a tour de force.

Apart from the intrinsic evidence of the passage itself, its derivation, too, shows that it considered its protagonists as separate personalities. For, it so happens that we know the classical example after which the passage was fashioned. It is contained in a Midrash on the Song of Songs in which the love of God for Israel is made tangible by comparing it to the overpowering love a King felt for his only daughter. In his boundless love, the King was not satisfied by calling his daughter "my daughter," but addressed her as "my sister," and even "my mother." And, this exactly is how God addressed His beloved Israel, the Midrash states, and proceeds to illustrate its proposition by citing Biblical passages.[41]

It is on this Midrash that the author of the Zohar based his myth of the exceeding love of God the Father for his daughter, the Matronit, using the identical terms of endearment. There can be little doubt that just as in the Midrash the king and his daughter, standing for God and Israel, are two separate persons, so in the Zoharic myth the two divine figures of the Father and the Daughter were also conceived as discrete and independent personages. The jealousy of the Mother was added by Moses de Leon to the Midrashic prototype of this myth, based probably on his familiarity with similar motifs in other mythologies.

As for the divine Mother's love for her Son, she expressed it by holding him against her breast and giving suck to him, and continuing to do so even after he grew up and was ready to marry:

"As long as Israel is found with the Holy One, blessed be He (i.e. the Son), He, so to speak, is in a state of completeness and He nourishes himself aplenty by sucking the milk of the Supernal Mother..."[42] Only when the Matronit (i. e. the Daughter) was separated from the King (i. e. the Son) did "the Supernal Mother, too, remove herself from the King and cease to suckle him..."[43]

The Mother-goddess suckling her son (or sons) is, as we have seen, a mythologem frequently recurring in accounts of ancient tetrads.

5. *THE SON AND THE DAUGHTER*

In many mythologies, the older of the two couples which form the tetrad withdraws at an early juncture to a remote position, and leaves most of the troublesome dealings with mankind to the younger divine pair. Because of this, most of the myths telling about the lives of the gods focus, not on the parent deities, but on their children, the two younger gods. This is certainly the case in seven out of the nine tetrads sketched above, and this is what we find in the Zoharic mythology as well. The passages dealing with the Father and the Mother, or dwelling on the relationship between them and their Son and Daughter, are relatively short texts, reiterating, or alluding to, a very few events. In contrast, the passages concerning the Son and the Daughter stretch into lengthy narratives, describing in detail the relationship between them, and especially the tragic phase of their tempestuous love affair, their separation which came about with the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem and the exile of the people of Israel. An analysis of this material will be contained in the next chapter. But a summary of those features which bear directly upon the Kabbalistic Tetrad belongs to the present context.

The terminology itself is complex and confusing. The Son is called "the King," "the Holy One, blessed be He," Zohararіel (meaning "Splendor of Ariel," Ariel being a name of the altar, and itself meaning "Lion of El"), Adiryaron ("The Mighty One Sings"), Aktariel ("My Crown is El"), Tetrasia ("Four God," referring to the Tetragrammaton, or to God as the ruler of the four elements, air, earth, water and fire),[44] as well as "Heaven," as we have seen above.

His sister-wife, the divine Daughter, has even more names: Malkhuth ("Kingship," the name of the tenth Sephira), Shekhina ("Dwelling"), Matronit (Matron or Lady), "Pearl" (or "Precious Stone"), "Discarded Cornerstone,"[45] as well as the "Community of Israel," "Female," "Moon," "Hart," "Earth," "Night," "Garden," "Well," "Sea," "The Supernal Woman," "The Light Woman." According to Joseph Gikatilla,

"in the days of Abraham the Shekhina was called Sarah, in the days of Isaac—Rebekah, and in the days of Jacob—Rachel."[45a]

The Son and Daughter, or, as we shall refer to them from now on, the King and the Matronit, were destined to marry, like many a brother and sister in divine families. When their marriage took place, is not stated, but it seems that it could not be celebrated until Solomon had built the Temple in Jerusalem which was to serve as their wedding chamber and thereafter as their bedroom.

The problem of incest involved in the marriage of the King and the Matronit arose but did not bother the Kabbalists. Their view was that under ideal circumstances, which, of course, prevail in heaven, all unions are permitted, because "Above on high there is neither incest, nor cutting off, nor separation, nor keeping apart; therefore, above on high there is union between brother and sister, and son and daughter."[46]

While the love between the King and the Matronit was thus licit, it was very different in character from that between their parents. Where the steady, solid love the the elder couple earned them the name "Companions," the love affair of the King and the Matronit was marked by quarrels, temporary separations and tempestuous reunions, so that the pair was properly referred to as "lovers" *(dodim)*.

The reasons for many of the difficulties besetting the King and the Matronit was that she became closely associated with the People of Israel (this is why she was often referred to by the name "Community of Israel," *K'nesseth Yisrael)*. Hence, when the People of Israel sinned, this resulted in a separation between God, the King, and his wife, the Matronit.

The visible expression of their separation was the destruction of the Temple, their bedroom. Invisible, but no less painfully felt, was the consequent impairment of the King's power, an idea reminiscent of the notion of Hindu mythology that the male god (Shiva) is powerful only when united with the goddess (Shakti), but is unable even to stir without her.[47] As expressed repeatedly in Kabbalistic theosophy: "The King (i.e. God) without the Matronit is not a king, is not great, and is not praised..."[48] Therefore, the separation of the King

and the Matronit was a calamity for both the people of Israel and the godhead itself.

In other mythologies, as well as in the Zohar, it is a commonplace that divine acts influence the fate of men. The reverse of this idea, that human deeds have a spontaneous, almost automatic, effect on the fate of the gods, is not, as far as is known to me, a part of pagan mythologies. But precisely this idea plays an important role in Kabbalistic mythology. Two examples, expressing at the same time the close analogy between the marriage of man and woman and that of the King and the Matronit, will suffice:

"The groom and the bride, as soon as they receive the seven blessings under the wedding canopy, become united following the Supernal example. And therefore, he who commits adultery with another's wife damages the union, and, as it were, causes a separation on high into two authorities. Because the union of the Community of Israel (i.e. the Matronit) is only with the Holy One, blessed be He (i.e. the King), such an adulterer 'Robs his father and his mother'[49] —'his father,' this is the Holy One, blessed be He; 'his mother,' this is the Community of Israel."[50] That is to say, an adulterer, who causes separation between a man and his wife, wreaks grave damage in heaven also, by causing separation between the divine couple.

The second example is a passage which expresses the idea that a man is supposed to practice *imitatio dei* by marrying and begetting a son and a daughter, thus reproducing, in flesh-and-blood, the divine tetrad; and that, by failing to do so, he "diminishes the image" of God, causing separation between members of the divine tetrad:

"When is a man called complete in his resemblance to the Supernal? When he couples with his spouse in oneness, joy and pleasure, and a son and a daughter issue from him and his female. This is the complete man resembling the Above: he is complete below after the pattern of the Supernal Holy Name, and the Supernal Holy Name is applied to him... A man who does not want to complete the Holy Name below

in this manner, it were better for him that he were not created, because he has no part at all in the Holy Name. And when he dies and his soul leaves him, it does not unite at all with him because he diminished the image of his Master."[51]

6. *THE TETRAD AS MYTH*

The above analecta will have to suffice at this stage of our efforts to piece together a mythological biography of the divine tetrad of the Kabbala. That we have to do here with polytheistic myths, or, at least, myth-fragments, cannot be doubted. But if so, it remains now to give consideration to the question of the meaning of these myth-fragments for the author of the Zohar (and of the other Kabbalistic treatises quoted), and for the followers of the Kabbala, the *"m'qubbalim,"* who believed in, and were deeply influenced by, these writings and doctrines. Two problems at once become apparent.

One is that the Kabbala-believing Jews, no less than those of their co-religionists who disapproved of the Kabbala, were strict monotheists. The tenet that there is only One God was equally axiomatic for both groups. Any question as to the possible polytheistic meaning of the passages quoted above, would undoubtedly have met with the most vehement and indignant denial on the part of the Kabbalists, although their opponents were wont to accuse them of precisely such pluralistic heresies.[52] To the believers, however, the mystical doctrines and the books expounding them simply could not contain anything so blasphemous, indeed, anything that was not in complete accord with the teachings of pure faith first embodied in the Bible.

If it was pointed out to them that this or that passage in the Zohar smacked of polytheistic heresy, their answer was ready: what seemed as heresy in a passage was not its *true* meaning, which could be understood only by immersing oneself into the "mysteries" *("razin")* of the hidden truths. To their thought processes, inured to and conditioned by turns of expression such as "this means," "as if," "as it were," and the like, with which every page of the Zohar is replete, any passage,

even one speaking quite clearly of two or four deities, would appear as referring to the One God in His various aspects, the very existence of which was one of the greatest "mysteries."

While such must have been the conscious and habitual mental processes which made the Zoharic doctrine of the Tetrad unexceptionable to the Kabbalists, that doctrine struck a different chord in the sub-conscious realm of emotional response. Man everywhere fashions his gods in his own image, and familism was, and has remained until quite recently, a most important factor, if not the central one, in the socio-psychological image of the Jew. The Jew could not imagine a Jewish life without the family, nor one not centered around the family. The lone, aloof God, adored by the Jews up to the time of the Kabbalistic upsurge, could not satisfy the emotional craving which sought a reflection of earthly life in the heavenly realm. The lone, aloof God, even if cast in the image of the father, even if surrounded by all his heavenly hosts, the angels and archangels, functioning as the heavenly patrons of the elements of which nature and mankind were composed, could not be recognized as a reflection in God of the human condition. And vice versa, human existence, always appearing to Jewish consciousness in the multiple form of man, wife and children, could not be recognized as the true reflection of God, in whose image man was said to have been created, as long as that God was alone.

The removal of this barrier of non-correspondence was a stroke of genius of Jewish mysticism. The divine tetrad, however successfully explained away on the conscious level, evoked an immediate response on the subsconscious emotional level. With it, the similarity of God and man was established down to small details. By marrying and procreating children, the Jewish man now fulfilled a great god-pleasing deed, not only because God commanded him to do so—that alone, one out of 613 commandments, would not explain the central importance of family life—but because in doing so he engaged in an *imitatio dei,* an emulation of God, of the most intrinsic and highest order. By uniting with his wife, begetting children, and maintaining his family, the Jew acted—now he

knew—exactly as God did, because He too lived on high in a family circle of His own, with His Wife, His Son and His Daughter. And more than that: by marrying and begetting children, man directly contributed to the wellbeing of the Divine Family, promoted the happiness and the completeness of the Supernal Couple and their Children. The emotional satisfaction derived by the mystic from this belief, however much or little of it was allowed to rise over the threshold of conscious knowledge, contributed in no small measure to the popular appeal of the Zoharic doctrine.

The second problem centers around the authors of the Kabbalistic treatises, and, in particular, the author of the Zohar. Were they aware of injecting polytheistic ideas into Jewish faith, and if so, from where did they (or he) take the doctrine of the divine tetrad? If not, what train of thought led them to these concepts?

Let us begin by assuming, as all or most modern students of Jewish mysticism have, that Kabbalistic theosophy is nothing but the result of mystical speculation about the nature of God, and that the passages describing the Father, the Mother, the Son and the Daughter and their interrelationships are free inventions created for the purpose of rendering various aspects of the One Divinity intelligible. In this case, we must also assume that the similarities between these inventions and the details contained in the mythologies of other religions about their respective tetrads were due to sheer coincidence. But this is highly unlikely, if not impossible, because the similarities are too numerous, too detailed and too complex. It is impossible that, beginning with the name YHWH as the only point of departure, mystical speculation should develop a system of a divine tetrad which fits in as completely as the Zoharic one does with all the other ancient tetrads from Rome in the West to Japan in the East.

We must, therefore, conclude that the author of the Zohar operated with a much greater supply of raw material than the Tetragrammaton alone. From where he drew his knowledge about other tetrads, and how much he knew about them cannot, at this stage, be determined. Yet that Spanish Kabbalists

were familiar with non-Jewish religious systems, and not only those that flourished around the Mediterranean basin, is a fact that has been recognized by no less an authority on Jewish mysticism than Professor Scholem, who has pointed out that the teachings of Abraham Abulafia (a contemporary of Moses de Leon, born in Saragossa in 1240, died ca. 1291) "represent but a Judaized version of that ancient spiritual technique which has found its classical expression in the practices of the Indian mystics who follow the system known as *Yoga,*" including such features as breathing, body postures, ecstatic visions, etc.[53] If Yoga could influence Abulafia, one is permitted to assume that Indian mythology may have been known to, and reflected in, the thinking of Moses de Leon. A knowledge of Indian theosophy could have reached 13th century Spain, just as a knowledge of Yoga practices, through the intermediacy of the Arabs. As we have seen, it so happens that the Zohar's tetrad shows greater similarity to the Indian than to any other tetrad. The idea that, if not united with the goddess, the God is powerless, found in almost identical phrasing in both the Zohar and Indian mythology, is an especially striking instance.

But if Moses de Leon knew of "pagan" divine tetrads, did he consciously include the idea in his Zohar? To answer in the affirmative would be tantamount to charging him with willful propagation of idolatrous heresies, and I do not believe this was the case. The idea that the Godhead was androgynous by nature was a theosophic doctrine latent in Judaism for many centuries. As we saw above, Philo of Alexandria discerned a male and a female element in the deity as early as the first century. A.D. Thus when Moses de Leon came to explain the "hidden meaning" and the "true significance" of the Tetragrammaton, he followed old, if indistinct, paths in interpreting its first two letters (YH, which in themselves are a short form of the name of God) as referring to the male and female elements in God, identified as Wisdom and Understanding. When speculating about the third and fourth letter, his thinking was influenced by what he knew and remembered of the "pagan" divine tetrads, and possibly in the first

place of the Indian one. The third and the fourth letters thus became identified in de Leon's mind with the mystical offspring of the original divine couple. Had he followed the Indian example, he would have made both children males. But the fourth letter of the Tetragrammaton was an H, like the second one, and therefore it too had to stand for a female divinity. Thus a son and a daughter were made to form parts of the deity.

Once the four mystical aspects of the deity were delineated, further speculation as to their nature and interrelationships led to that inadvertent slippage referred to in the beginning of this chapter. Probably without being aware of his mental processes, de Leon referred again and again to the four aspects of the godhead, briefly for the most part, but with decreasing restraint, as if they were separate persons. Before long, he felt no hesitation in attributing to the four persons interrelationships and feelings which made sense only if one regarded them as four separate gods, very human in their behavior, emotions and reactions. In supplying details, de Leon again drew upon his familiarity with other tetrads, whether consciously or otherwise. His cognitive process must have been similar to that of the prophets and poets of the Hebrew Bible who used phrases in praise of God and attributed deeds to Him which had been applied, in exactly the same terms, to the pagan gods Baal or Bull-El by their Canaanite predecessors.[54] As is well known, in the old days quite a few polytheistic references did in this manner slip into the Biblical image of God,[55] and this is presumably what happened again two millennia later, in the case of Moses de Leon.

To sum up: on the conscious level, de Leon spoke of four aspects of the godhead and this is what his theosophic teachings were taken to mean by the ever-widening circle of Kabbalists. But, in his endeavor to give emphatic, vivid expression to his ideas, he resorted to a rich array of mythological and sexual imagery. The features of this imagery grew out of de Leon's familiarity with Indian and other pagan tetrads. Without being aware of what he was doing, in speaking of the marriage of the Father and the Mother, the subsequent birth of

their Son and Daughter, the emergence out of the Mother's womb of the androgynous Heaven-and-Earth, their separation, the love of the Father for the Daughter, the jealousy of the Mother, and suckling of the King (the Son) by the Mother, the marriage of the King (the Son) and the Matronit (the Daughter), etc., he composed a tetradic myth cycle. He set out to establish a doctrine of quatrinity, of the Divine condition of being fourfold, and ended up with the myth of a tetrad, a group of four separate and independent deities.

If the author, the master himself, was unaware of all this and knew only of the mystical symbolism of the godhead's four aspects which his teachings purported to explore, one need little wonder that his followers felt no qualms in accepting his doctrines. They *knew* intellectually that whatever they read in the Zohar about the Father, Mother, Son and Daughter, referred, in its true meaning, to the four aspects of the one Godhead. Yet, at the same time, they responded emotionally, not to the "true" meaning and purport of the statements, but to what the words actually said. Such simultaneous response on two levels is not an infrequent phenomenon. The Kabbalists not only gained insight into the mythical nature of the Godhead from the Zoharic accounts, but also derived a quasi-sensuous emotional satisfaction from learning about the sexual and familial life of the divine tetrad which gave mythical sanction to the corresponding aspects of their own life on earth. And, although this second-level response remained subconscious, it was in large measure due to it that the Zohar, and with it Kabbalism, achieved such a remarkable popularity in Judaism.

Chapter VI

MATRONIT—THE GODDESS OF THE KABBALA

Let us now turn our attention to the fourth person of the Kabbalistic tetrad, the Daughter, who, in addition to the old Talmudic name of Shekhina, is referred to in Jewish mystical literature by a profusion of names, epithets and appellatives, but most frequently by the Latin loan word *Matronita,* that is "the Matronit," or the Matron. Of the four persons of the Kabbalistic tetrad it is she who plays the greatest role as the central figure in both divine happenings and relationships, and the occurrences through which human fate, and in particular the fate of Israel, is propelled forward. She is the central link between the Above and the Below. She is the person through whom man can most easily grasp the ineffable mystery of the deity, and who most fully identifies herself with the interests, the joys and the woes, of Israel. She is unquestionably the most poignant, and at the same time most Jewish, expression of the idea of a goddess.

Yet, and this is a striking example of perhaps the most fascinating facet of the history of religious and mythical ideas, there is a detailed similarity between the life history, character, deeds and feelings attributed by Jewish mysticism to the Matronit, and what ancient Near Eastern mythologies have to say about their goddesses who occupy central positions in their pantheons. In myths, epics, narratives and visual representations these ancient Near Eastern goddesses are described and depicted in clear, realistic, down-to-earth colors, without the veiling effect the mystical approach of the Kabbala has on its goddes figure. A glance at them will, therefore, materi-

ally aid our understanding and characterization of the goddess of the Kabbala, the Matronit.

1. THE GODDESS OF LOVE AND WAR

Three or four examples will have to suffice to introduce to us the goddess who played a central role in the religious ritual as well as popular consciousness of all Ancient Near Eastern peoples. Her name varied from culture to culture—Inanna in Sumer, Ishtar in Akkad, Anath in Canaan—yet her character remained the same for centuries, even millennia. The life domains in which she primarily manifested herself were love and war, and her personality exhibited everywhere the same four basic traits of chastity and promiscuity, motherliness and bloodthirstiness.

The oldest of them was Inanna, the great Sumerian goddess of love and war, the tutelary deity of Uruk (the Biblical Erech), whose prominence in the Sumerian pantheon was well established by the third millennium B.C. That she was regarded a virgin is evident from the two epithets which accompany her name: in myths and other texts she is most frequently called "the maid Inanna" and "the pure Inanna." Yet throughout Sumerian history she was the goddess primarily responsible for sexual love, procreation and fertility, who freely gave herself to Dumuzi (Tammuz), the earliest mythological ruler of Sumer, and thereafter became the wife of all Sumerian kings. Nor was she immune to the advances of ordinary mortals: an old Sumerian story tells of a gardener who one night managed to take advantage of Inanna's utter weariness and had intercourse with her. Upon awaking in the morning, Inanna was enraged over the indignity, and the vengeance she wrought seems to us to have surpassed all reason. But her behavior was in keeping with her character, for she was a goddess of boundless rage and ruthless destruction, "the lady of battle and conflict," who had "great fury in her wrathful heart." It was she who armed King Hammurabi (ca. 1728-1686 B.C.) with mighty weapons, and was his "gracious protecting genius." More than a thousand years later, in

the days of Nabonidus (555-539 B.C.), she was still worshipped at Uruk in a gold-clad cella, driving a chariot to which were harnessed seven lions.[1]

The direct heir of Inanna in Mesopotamia was Ishtar, the great goddess of love and war in the Akkadian pantheon. The identity of the two is attested by the fact that in some Akkadian texts the two names are used interchangeably. In the Babylonian Ishtar, however, a certain shift occurred in the balance between the virginal and promiscuous poles of her character: her virginal aspect was underplayed, while her promiscuity was emphasized to the extent of making her a divine harlot. In many texts Ishtar is spoken of as the "Cow of the Moon-God Sin," and in this capacity she ruled over the plants, watered them and made them grow. An incantation for childbirth tells of this "Cow of Sin" that she was impregnated by a "restless young bull," and had great difficulty in bearing her young, until two genii of heaven helped her. In her human form, her love easily turned to hate: she first loved then destroyed, a long line of divine, human and animal paramours, including a lion, a horse, a bird, a gardener, several shepherds, the hero Gilgamesh, Tammuz etc. She also was the wife of human kings, such as Sargon of Agade. Her influence extended over all mankind and the entire animal kingdom: when she entered the Nether World, neither man nor beast copulated; when she emerged, all of them were again seized by sexual desire. But she was also the mother of the country, who said of herself, "It is I myself who gave birth to my people," and the mother of several gods among whom the Fire-god was the first born. One of her titles was "sweet-voiced mistress of the gods." Yet she was also "the most awesome of the goddesses," "Ishtar of the battlefield," clad in divine fire, carrying the melammu-headwear, who would rain fire on the enemies. It was she who gave victory to her lovers, the Babylonian kings, entrusting her mighty armed forces to them. Among all the arts of war she was specially interested in charioteering: in the early stages of her career she tried to win the love of Gilgamesh by promising him "a chariot of lapis and gold," and more than a millennium later, in the

Ptolemaic period, she was still known as "mistress of horses, lady of the chariot." When not engaged in love or war she was sitting, awe-inspiringly, on her lion-throne.[2]

The Canaanite Anath, with whose exploits we have become acquainted above in Chapter Two, is so close in character and attributes to Inanna and Ishtar that she must be considered as merely the western variant of the great Mesopotamian goddess.

The Persian counterpart of the great virginal-wanton-motherly-warrior goddess was Anahita. Although the phonemic resemblance between "Anath" and "Anahita" is purely coincidental, the worship of Anath may have spread as early as the first millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean shore as far east as the upper reaches of Euphrates, as indicated by the name of an Assyrian township, Anat (today Ana), a few miles lower down on the river from Dura Europos. The worship of Anahita, Herodotus informs us (in a passage in which he makes the curious mistake of writing "Mithra" instead of "Anahita"), was learned by the Persians from the Assyrians. Other Greek authors state that the cult of Anaitis (as they referred to Anahita) corresponded in every respect to the Babylonian cult of Ishtar, and that the representations of Anaitis were shaped after those of Ishtar.

In the Avesta, the sacred writings which ancient Iranian tradition attributes to Zoroaster (who probably lived in the 10th century B.C.) but which did not assume their extant form until the early Sasanian period (3rd to 4th centuries A.D.), an entire chapter Yasht v) is devoted to her. Her full name was *Ardvi Sura Anahita,* or "The High, Powerful, Immaculate," and she is described as "a beautiful maiden, powerful and tall, her girdle fastened high, wrapped in a gold-embroidered cloak, wearing earrings, a necklace and a crown of gold, and adorned with thirty otter skins." She is, thus, unmistakably a virgin goddess, like her Sumerian, Akkadian and Canaanite counterparts. Yet her virginity, as theirs, did not prevent her from being also the goddess of fertility: she was the goddess of the fertilizing waters, of a

supernatural spring, located in the region of the stars, from which flow all the rivers of the world. She was the one who multiplies the herds and wealth, gives fertility, easy childbirth and ample milk to women, and purifies the seed of men. She was invoked by marriageable girls and by women at the time of childbirth. Nor was she lacking in the attributes of the harlot, and in her sanctuary at Erez in Akilisene, which contained her golden statue, the daughters of the noble families of Armenia used to prostitute themselves to strangers before their marriage. In Lydia, where she was identified with Cybele, the Great Mother, as well as in Armenia and Cappadocia, because the bull was sacred to her, she was confounded with Artemis Tauropolos. And finally, just as Inanna, Ishtar and Anath, Anahita too was the goddess of war, who rode in a chariot drawn by four white horses, Wind, Rain, Cloud and Hail, bestowed victory on the combatants and gave them sturdy teams and brave companions. Because of this warlike character of hers, she was identified by the Greeks also with Athene, while as the goddess of fertility she appeared to them as identical with Aphrodite. Most commonly, however, she was called in the Hellenistic world the "Persian Diana" or "Persian Artemis." In astrology, the Iranians themselves regarded her as the personification of the planet Venus. Her cult, according to Berossus, was introduced among the Persians by Artaxerxes II (404-362 B.C.), who built for her altars and set up her statues in Babylon, Susa, Ekbatana, Persepolis, Baktra, Damaskos (?) and Sardes. From these places, Persian influence carried her cult westward into the Greco-Roman world. At a later period, she was considered the daughter of Ormuzd, and the benefactor of all mankind, mother of all wisdom and queen.[3]

2. *THE MATRONIT IN POPULAR-MYTHICAL VIEW*

The same four traits of chastity and promiscuity, motherliness and bloodthirstiness, characterize the Matronit, the daughter-goddess of Kabbalistic literature.

According to Kabbalistic theory, the Matronit is but the lowest of the ten Sephirot, the mystical aspects or emanations of the Godhead which, to some extent, correspond to the Gnostic *aeons*. Yet whatever the primary meaning and origin of the Matronit as a theosophic concept, she has been built up in Kabbalistic literature, and especially in the late 13th century Zohar—the holiest book of Kabbalism—into a palpable individuum whose acts, words and feelings only make sense if she is considered a true mythological deity. Whatever the intention of the authors of Kabbalistic treatises in creating or developing the female divine figure of the Matronit, one thing is certain: among the Kabbalists there could have been very few, who, while reading or hearing about her uninhibitedly described exploits, were nevertheless able to visualize that she was nothing but an aspect of the manifest nature of the one and only Deity. For the masses of Kabbalists—and Kabbalism was a religious *mass* movement among the Jews from the 15th to the 18th centuries—she undoubtedly assumed the character of a discrete divinity, in other words, she was taken as a goddess, separate and distinct from the male deity who, when contraposited to her, was referred to as her husband, the King. The *popular-mythical,* as against the *scholarly-mystical* view of the Matronit had a marked resemblance to the popular Mariolatry of the Latin countries, where the Virgin is not the Jewish woman whose womb God chose to reincarnate Himself in human form—as the official Catholic doctrine has it—but the Mother of God, herself a goddess, who through the ages never ceased to perform miracles, and to whom, therefore, direct and personal adoration is due. This, precisely was the light in which the Matronit appeared to the uneducated or semi-educated Kabbalistic Jews; in contrast to the divine King who, following the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, withdrew into the remote heights of heaven and made himself inaccessible, the Matronit remained down here on earth, continued to be directly concerned with the welfare of her people, and could be approached directly, any time, any place. She thus supplied the psychologically so important female divine figure in Judaism,

a religion in which this element had been submerged for many centuries prior to the emergence of Kabbalism.

The relatively late re-appearance of the goddess—I say re-appearance because, as we have seen in the first two chapters, in Biblical times goddesses did figure prominently in popular Hebrew religion—is in itself a remarkable feat of religious resurgence. Even more remarkable, however, is the reappearance in the figure of the Matronit of the four basic traits of chastity, promiscuity, motherlines and bloodthirstiness, which place her right alongside the great ancient Near Eastern love-goddesses.

3. *THE VIRGINAL MATRONIT*

Little can be said about the first of these cardinal features in the portrait of the divine Matronit. Virginity, after all, is a state shared by all human and divine females in an early stage of their life history. It becomes remarkable only if, after reaching full nubility, a woman prefers to remain a virgin and actually preserves her virginal state in an environment, whether earthly or Olympic, where the general atmosphere is one of intensive sexual activity or even promiscuity. It becomes more than remarkable, if the feminine figure in question herself engages in such promiscuous sexual activity, and yet, at one and the same time, retains her virginity. Yet this is precisely the paradoxical chastity characterizing several ancient Near Eastern goddesses, and this is the trait shared with them by the Matronit.

The Virgin Mary, to whom reference has already been made earlier, also belongs to this category of female divinities, and her veneration can be adduced as an additional example which will further facilitate our understanding of the paradoxical virginity of the Matronit. Mary bore Jesus to God, and several other sons and daughters to her earthly husband Joseph, yet she nevertheless remained "*The* Virgin" and is adored as such to this day. Similarly with the Matronit, who paradoxically retained her virginity while being the lover of gods and men. Her virginity is spoken of in the Zohar in both

figurative expressions and direct statements. The Biblical verse about the "red heifer, faultless, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke,"[4] is applied to her and explained as meaning that the forces of Evil could never overpower the Matronit, "neither Satan, nor the Destroyer, nor the Angel of Death," all of whom represent the forces of Hell.[5] In contrast to the pagan goddesses who all are said to have succumbed to Satan, she, the Shekhina, is a cup full of blessing of which nobody has as yet tasted, unimpaired, that is, virginal. No stranger is permitted to draw near her, he who tries to approach her suffers the penalty of death.[7] In one aspect the Shekhina is identical with the Holy Land, and in this capacity she was never defiled or enjoyed by a stranger.[8]

4. *THE LOVER OF MEN AND GODS*

In sharp contrast and logical contradiction to this picture of the virgin Shekhina is the one which depicts her as being enjoyed, in addition to the divine King who was her lawfully wedded husband, also by Satan, other gods, heroes of Biblical history and many other men. Yet, and this again is a feature she has in common with ancient Near Eastern love-goddesses, no blame is attached to her because of any of these sundry unions. A goddess behaves in accordance with her divine nature, and the human laws of sexual morality simply do not apply to her—this is the common attitude that finds expression in both the ancient Near Eastern and the Kabbalistic myths. As the father-god El says in an Ugaritic mythical poem"... there is no restraint among goddesses."[9]

In the early mythical ages, we are informed in the Zohar, Jacob became the first husband of the Matronit. However, while Jacob was alive, the union was not consummated because, inveterate polygamist that he was, he continued to have marital relations with his two wives and two concubines even after the goddess attached herself to him. Therefore, only after his death, when his spirit entered the Beyond, did Jacob couple with the Matronit.[10]

With her second husband things were different. This was none other than Moses, who, once she became his wife, separated himself from his earthly helpmeet, Zipporah. Having done this, he was allowed to achieve what Jacob never did: to copulate with the Matronit while still in the flesh.[11]

We hear nothing of the Matronit from the death of Moses —when she took him on her wings and carried him from Mount Nebo to his unknown burial place four miles away[12]— to the time when the Temple was built in Jerusalem. As Solomon labored on the construction of the Sanctuary, the Matronit made her own preparations for her union with her divine husband, the King: She prepared a house for him in which he could take up joint residence with her, and which, in a mystical way, was identical with the Jerusalem Temple itself. When the great day arrived, her Father and Mother adorned her so that her bridegroom should become desirous of her.[13]

The King and the Matronit were not only brother and sister, but twins; in fact, Siamese Twins, who emerged from the womb of the Supernal Mother in the androgynous shape of a male and a female body attached to each other back to back. Soon, however, the King removed his sister from his back, and she, after a futile attempt to reunite with him in the same position, resigned herself to the separation and to facing the King across a distance.[14]

By human standards a marriage between brother and sister would have been incestuous; not so in the heavenly realm: there, a Zoharic text informs us, no incest prohibitions exist, and thus it was completely proper and licit for the King and the Matronit to marry.[15]

The wedding, a veritable *hieros gamos,* was celebrated with due pomp and circumstance. The Matronit, surrounded by her maidens, repaired to her couch set up in the Temple, there to await the coming of the groom. The curtains round about were decorated with myriads of precious stones and pearls. At midnight, the tinkling of bells he wore around his ankles announced the coming of the King. As he approached, he was accompanied by a host of divine youths, and the maidens

of the Matronit welcomed him and them by beating their wings with joy. After singing a song of praise to the King, the Matronit's maidens withdrew, and so did the youths who accompanied him. Alone, the King and the Matronit embraced and kissed, and then he led her to the couch. He placed his left arm under her head, his right arm embraced her, and he let her enjoy his strength. The pleasure of the King and the Matronit in each other was indescribable. They lay in tight embrace, she impressing her image into his body like a seal that leaves its imprint upon a page of writing, he playing betwixt her breasts and vowing in his great love that he would never forsake her.[16]

Some say, that as long as the Temple stood the King would come down from his heavenly abode every midnight, seek out his wife, the Matronit, and enjoy her in their Temple-bedchamber. The Sacred Marriage thus became a daily, or rather midnightly, ritual, performed not by the human representatives of the god and the goddess who usually figured in the ancient Near Eastern New Year rituals, but by the two deities themselves. This divine union had unsurpassed cosmic significance: on it depended the wellbeing of the whole world.[17]

Others say that the King and the Matronit coupled only once a week, on the night between Friday and Saturday. In true mythical fashion, this weekly divine union served as the prototype, in other words, as the mythical validation, of the traditionally practiced weekly union between pious husbands and wives.[18] In the Kabbalistic view, when the learned men, familiar with the heavenly mysteries, couple with their wives on Friday nights, they do this in full cognizance of performing a most significant act in direct imitation of the union which takes place at that very time between the Supernal Couple. If the wife conceives at that hour, the earthly father and mother of the child can be sure that it will receive a soul from the Above, one of those pure souls which are procreated in the divine copulation of the King and the Matronit.[19]

But even more than that. When a pious earthly couple performs the act, by doing so they set in motion all the gen-

erative forces of the mythico-mystical universe. The human sexual act causes the King to emit his seminal fluid from his divine male genital, and thus to fertilize the Matronit who thereupon gives birth to human souls and to angels. [20] The passage in the Zohar in which this particular thought (or mythologem) is expressed is so replete with symbolic expressions calculated to obscure its true meaning that one gains the impression of purposeful avoidance of clarity in order not to offend sensibilities. The King's seminal fluid is referred to as a "river"; the Shekhina or Matronit as "the Sea" or "Living Creature"; the King's male genital is called "the sign of the covenant," and so forth. Yet the meaning of the whole passage is nevertheless clear: it speaks of the sexual union between the King and the Matronit, and the resultant procreation by them of souls and angels.

Yet another version, still preoccupied with the times of divine copulation, speaks not of a weekly, but of an annual cycle. Every year, we are told, the people of Israel sin with tragic inevitability which enables Samael, the Satan (or Azazel), to bend the Matronit to his will. Samael, in the form of a serpent, or riding a serpent, lurks at all times near the privy parts of the Matronit, in the hope of being able to penetrate her. Whether or not he succeeds in thus gratifying his desire depends on the conduct of Israel. As long as Israel remains virtuous, Samael's lustful design is frustrated. But as soon as Israel sins, as they, alas, are bound to do year after year, their sins add to Samael's power, he glues himself to the Matronit's body "with the adhesive force of resin," and defiles her.[21]

Once this happens, the Matronit's husband, the King, departs from her and withdraws into the solitude of his heavenly abode. This unhappy state of affairs continues until, on the Day of Atonement, the scapegoat, which is destined to Azazel,[22] is hurled to its death down a cliff in the Judaean Desert. Samael, attracted by the animal offered to him, lets go of the Matronit who thereupon can ascend to heaven and reunite with her husband, the King.[23]

A new chapter in the life of the Matronit opened when her bedchamber, the Temple of Jerusalem, was destroyed.

Since her husband, the King, was wont to copulate with her only in the Temple, its destruction meant the sudden disruption of the theretofore intensely pursued love-relationship between the two.[24] This event was a stark tragedy for the divine lovers. The Matronit was banished from her holy abode and from the Land of Israel, the King intoned a bitter lament over his great loss, and the sun and the moon and all that is above and below mourned and cried with him.[25] The separation of the King and the Matronit denuded them of each other and both remained in a state of "shameful nakedness."[26] Moreover, since it is a cardinal principle of the physical as well as the metaphysical universe that "blessings are found only where male and female are together," the King, when he thus became deprived of his Matronit, lost stature and power, was no longer King, nor great, nor potent."[27]

Soon, however, in true male fashion, the King was no longer able to endure the misery of solitude, and he let a slave-goddess take the place of his true queen, one of the handmaidens of the Matronit who used to "sit behind the hand-mill." This slave-concubine, who was none other than Lilith, now assumed the rule over the Holy Land, just as the Matronit had ruled over it in former times. This act, more than anything else, caused the King to lose his honor.[28]

As to the Matronit, her misery consisted not only in losing her husband and being banished from her palace and land, but she had to resign herself to being violated in her exile by other gods. And although these unions were involuntary on her part, once the other gods were able to take possession of her, she became tied to them, and the children of those other Gods, the gentiles, were able to suck from her just as the Children of Israel had done while the Temple still stood.[29]

Yet whether at home or in exile, the Matronit is irresistibly attracted to the pious men of Israel and especially when they are engaged in either of the two most meritorious pursuits: the study of the Law and the performance of good deeds. Men of such caliber make it a rule to sleep with their wives only on Friday night: throughout the six days of the week they

live as if they had been castrated and devote themselves to their holy works. But, in doing so, do they not run the risk of unblessedness, since "blessings are found only where male and female are together"? No; because whenever these men are away from their wives, the Shekhina couples with them. Likewise, when such sages keep away from their wives because of the latter's menstrual impurity, or when they are on a voyage, the Shekhina joins them: never are they deprived of the blessed state of male and female togetherness.[30]

5. *THE MOTHERLY MATRONIT*

The third characteristic of the virginal and wanton love-goddesses of the Ancient Near Eastern religions, as we shall recall, is their motherliness. By an apparently paradoxical combination of traits, the same goddess who remains eternally virginal and who is insatiable in her sexual appetite, is also the mother image, the woman who bears, suckles, rears and protects both gods and men.

In Kabbalistic mythology the trait of motherliness originally belonged to the second person in the tetrad, the Mother-goddess, the progenitress of both the Son-King and the Daughter-Shekhina,[31] but it was transferred to the Daughter, as a few references will show. The Shekhina-Matronit, we read in the Zohar, is the (spiritual) mother of Israel, and as such she is the embodiment of the "Community of Israel" (the Hebrew term for which, *K'nesseth Yisrael,* has the feminine gender). She lovingly suckles all the Children of Israel, thereby providing them not only with nourishment but also with complete wellbeing. She is, in fact, called the "Lower Mother" in relation to her people, and in contradistinction from her own mother, who is the "Supernal" or "Higher" Mother. The motherly nature is so strong in the Matronit that she is unable to turn away even from the gentile children foisted upon her: after her exile from Jerusalem, when the "other Gods," that is the deities of the pagans, had their will on her, she gave suck to the heathens just as she had wetnursed Israel.[32]

6. *THE WARLIKE MATRONIT*

The fourth characteristic of the virginal-wanton-motherly Ancient Near Eastern goddesses is their bloodthirstiness. In the old mythological texts the maiden goddess of sexual love is often described as possessed of the most appalling cruelty. The close to three millennia which had elapsed between those myths and the period in which the Matronit of the Kabbala flourished, have, of course, left their mark. In the Mediaeval sources, the warlike traits of the Matronit are drawn with greater restraint. Yet the archaic feature of bloodthirstiness is clearly recognizable in the Kabbalistic references to the Matronit as the chieftain of the divine armies, and the leader of the supernal forces against the opposing human and infernal powers of evil.

It would be futile at this stage to search for connecting links between the bloodthirsty goddesses of the third and second millennia B.C. and the warlike Matronit of the 13th century A.D. The idea of a warlike deity was, of course, nothing strange to Biblical Hebrew faith, but, in keeping with the officially embraced monotheism, all supernatural belligerence was attributed to Yahweh, who, therefore, is referred to as a "man of War," a slayer of dragons, and a victor over human enemies whose life-blood crimsons his garments.[33] In Talmudic times (1st to 5th centuries A.D.), although the chastised and subjugated Judaism of the Roman and Byzantine eras had long ceased to think of god as a warrior, a late faint echo of the ancient pagan goddesses of destruction can perhaps be heard in one of the traits attributed to the Shekhina, the personified Presence of God, imagined as a female entity. She was said to take the souls of exceptionally meritorious individuals who were to be spared the bitterness of being mowed down by the Angel of Death.[34] The remarkable thing in this idea is not the combination of compassion and the snuffing out of human life, but that this function or mercy killing was assigned to the female Shekhina. It was, however, only in the Kabbala that the Shekhina, now conceived as a truly mythical

female deity, assumed a character reminiscent of the ancient Near Eastern bloodthirsty goddesses.

In the Zohar it is the Shekhina-Matronit to whom the King entrusts all his warlike activities: when he wishes to take revenge on the idolatrous nations, the Forces of Evil awaken, and the Shekhina becomes filled with blood and metes out bloody punishment to the sinners.[35] In her wars against the pagans the Matronit commands myriads of supernatural soldiers falling into many categories, such as "lords of supernal faces," "lords of eyes," "lords of weapons," "lords of lamentations," "lords of trembling" and other armed warriors with six faces and six wings, all of whom gird terrible swords, whose clothes are blazing fire, and whose flaming scimitars fly all over the world. This was the army which the Matronit led against the Egyptians in the days of the Exodus.[36]

In fact, the King completely renounced all direct control of his forces and placed them under the command of the Matronit. He entrusted to her all his weapons, spears, scimitars, bows, arrows, swords, catapults, as well as all his fortifications, wood, stones, and subordinated all his war-lords to her, saying: "From now on, all my wars shall be entrusted to your hands." In keeping with this mandate, when the Great Overlord of the Egyptians, who was none other than Samael, leading his six hundred chariots manned by angry warriors (or "accusers," because this battle was, of course, a spiritual rather than a physical contest), charged the fleeing Israelites, it was the Matronit who led the defense, and drove the attackers into the sea. Several generations later, when Sisera attacked the Children of Israel, it was again the Matronit into whose hands the enemy's chariots were delivered and who uprooted them from the world.[37]

As in the glorious past, so in the mystical present of the long exile, the miserable Galuth, the Shekhina-Matronit is the warlike defender and deliverer of Israel. But her power to defeat Israel's enemies depends ultimately on Israel herself. The Shekhina-Matronit is always present in the midst of Israel ready to protect them from all sides and against all nations. But when Israel sins, they thereby weaken the hands

of the Shekhina, her strength fails, and the great commanders of the other nations, that is, their heavenly guardians, gain the upper hand. But as soon as Israel repents, the Shekhina becomes filled with strength, she shatters the power of all those great commanders, destroys the armies of Israel's enemies, and takes revenge on them.[38]

Closely related to the warlike aspect of the Zoharic Shekhina-Matronit is her appearance as an enormous and monstrous being described by the author of the Zohar in terms borrowed from the Midrashic picture of the Behemoth. This mythical cosmic animal is said in the Midrash to be eating every day the grass of the Thousand Mountains and devouring the many beasts that pasture on their slopes, to be drinking in one single gulp all the waters of the Jordan and quenching its thirst from the huge river Jubal which issues from Paradise.[39] This mythologem is elaborated in two Zoharic passages which describe the Shekhina-Matronit as a cosmic woman monster for whom the Thousand Mountains are but one single bite, who swallows in one gulp the waters of a thousand rivers, whose terrifying arms stretch out in 24,000 (or 25,000) directions, with her claws ready to tear or kill. In her hair are caught thousands of shields, while her hair itself streaks down and away from her earning her the epithets "Moon with the hair" and "Comet with the tail." From this long, Lilith-like hair issue hosts of frightful and threatening war lords grouped under such peculiar names as "lords of weights," "lords of severity," "lords of insolence" and "lords of lords," all of whom are also called "lords of purple." No one can escape from the cruel punishment meted out by them, or by the Shekhina herself.

From betwixt the legs of this terrifying woman monster emerges an equally terrifying son, the chief angel Metatron who reaches from one end of the world to the other, and issue two daughters who are none other than the two infamous queens of the she-demons, Lilith and Naamah.

It is consonant with this terrible aspect of the Shekhina-Matronit that also her old Talmudic role of death bringer is remembered and revived in the Zohar which repeatedly asserts

that the words of the Book of Proverbs (5:5) "Her feet go down to death" refer to the Shekhina symbolically represented by the forbidden tree which for Adam was a "tree of death."[40]

7. *MARY AND THE MATRONIT*

An interesting parallel to the warlike aspect of the Matronit is represented by the development of the Virgin Mary not only into the supreme ruler of the world but into the patroness or goddess of Christian armed might. At the opening of the Council of Ephesus in 431, Cyril of Alexandria delivered a sermon in which he described Mary as the mother and virgin "through whom the Trinity is glorified and worshipped, the cross of the Savior exalted and honored, through whom heaven triumphs, the angels are made glad, devils driven forth, the tempter overcome, and the fallen creature raised up even to heaven."[41]

Lest one think that the triumph of heaven and the driving forth of devils attributed to Mary was regarded as taking place on a spiritual plane only, let us refer to Narses (c. 478-c. 573), the Byzantine general and officer of Emperor Justinian, who looked to Mary for directions on the field of battle, expecting her to reveal him the time and hour of attack,[42] and the Emperor Heraclius (c. 575-641) who bore her image on his banner.[43] As early as 438, a portrait of the Virgin, attributed to St. Luke, was sent from Jerusalem to Pulcheria, and, subsequently, this portrait came to be regarded as a kind of palladium and accompanied the Byzantine emperors to the battlefield until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.[44] In the west, the German Knights *("Deutscher Ritterorden")* chose the Virgin as their patroness.[45]

Mary, like the Matronit, was considered as having taken over the royal, governing and controling functions of God to the extent that her sovereignty actually eclipsed that of God. She was regarded as the imperatrix of the universe, the ruler of the world, the mistress who commands, and the queen of heaven and earth.[46] John of Damascus (ca. 750) called her the sovereign lady to whom the whole creation had been made

subject by her son, so that it be preserved through her.[47] St. Peter Damian (1007-10), the Italian cardinal and doctor of the church, calls her *deificata,* i.e. "the deified one," and, two hundred years later, Mechthild of Magdeburg (c. 1210-c. 1285), the German woman mystic, goes as far to call her "goddess."[48]

The parallel between Mary and the Matronit extends to other aspects as well. Like the Matronit, Mary, too, was considered as the spouse of God; like her, she came to be regarded as the mother of men in a general, mystical sense; and like her, she assumed the position of the intermediary between God and men through whom led, if not the only, at any rate the best and easiest, way to God. The old pagan goddess to whom the Israelites sacrificed cakes,[49] reawakened among the Christians to new life in the Mary whom the Kollyridians, a 5th-century sect of enthusiastic women, worshiped by carrying cakes in a procession in her honor;[50] and among the Jews in the Matronit-Shekhina whose identity with Asherah was recognized by Moses Cordovero in 16th century Safed.[51]

8. *THE MEANING OF THE MATRONIT*

We discussed a few of the traits which make up the four aspects of the Matronit, her chastity, her promiscuity, her motherliness, and her warlikeness (or bloodthirstiness), which are the most important components of her personality. The fact that precisely the same four aspects characterize also the Ancient Near Eastern love-goddesses, and that their traces can be rediscovered in the Virgin Mary, makes us pause. Whence, we feel compelled to ask, this resemblance, this persistence of the paradoxical goddess-figure in ostensibly and avowedly monotheistic religions? In trying to answer, the alternative of diffusion *versus* independent invention immediately offers itself. The possibility of diffusion is, of course, present: the prototype was the Sumerian Inanna whose features can be clearly recognized in the Babylonian Ishtar, the Canaanite Anath, and the Persian Anahita. Hebrew monotheism may have been unable to exorcize the tenacious

goddess, and it is not at all impossible that, even if she slumbered for several centuries, she awoke and reclaimed some of her old dues in the figure of Mary in Christianity, and in that of the Shekhina-Matronit in Talmudic and Kabbalistic Judaism. Yes, not at all impossible; but how can one prove it short of the most elaborate research? And if a connection were proven, what would be gained thereby? There still would remain the question of why *this* goddess precisely achieved such a fabulous secondary career, of all the others just as readily available in the rich Ancient Near Eastern pantheons? To answer this, we have to shift from comparative mythology to psychology, and, once we do this, the question of diffusion *versus* independent invention becomes irrelevant. For whether or not the Matronit (and Mary) goes ultimately back to Inanna, her coming to life in new and very greatly changed religious environments shows that she answered a psychological need in medieval Askhenazi or Sephardi Jewry as she had in 3rd millennium B.C. Sumer. How can this psychological need be made tangible?

In trying to answer this question we shall, of necessity, concentrate on the Matronit-Shekhina, the medieval Kabbalistic goddess-figure, with whom this chapter deals. If we want to consider what the Matronit-Shekhina meant psychologically, we must view her entire mythical character comprised of the four major traits discussed above. They present the Matronit-Shekhina as the mythologically objectified projection of the all-round woman, the woman who takes on all the shapes, aspects and appearances of the human female needed by the male of the species not only for biological survival but equally for his psychological existence. The character of his need, which accompanies him from birth to death, from cradle to grave, changes as he lives out his allotted span. No sooner is he born of her, when he wants to be clasped to her ample, motherly breast and given suck by her. As he grows, he needs her protection and direction. As soon as he becomes aware of woman as the opposite sex, he must have her shine on his emotional horizon in virginal purity. When he has to struggle with enemies, or is beset by adversity, he relies,

in fact or in fancy, on her to fight the forces of evil that oppose him. When he smarts under frustration or is discouraged by failure, be imagines her as the furious female who can do for him what he himself cannot do, fearlessly plunging into attack and fighting his battles. In the routine of regulated marital sexuality, she imparts metaphysical, even cosmic, significance to the act. When home-life becomes monotonous and stale, she is there with the thousand painted faces of her allure and the ever-present promise of her availability. And when the ultimate exhaustion overcomes him, it is the hope of her last kiss which makes him forget the bitterness of death and instead think of dying as the beginning of a new life in a happy Beyond.

The Matronit is thus the projection of everything a woman can be in order to sustain man. She symbolizes in her manifold aspects the great affirmation of life, the basic satisfactions one derives from existence, the comforts one finds in mother, nursemaid, lover, bride, wife, wanton seductress, warrior-protrectress, and opener of the gates of the Beyond.

The fact that the image does not lack its contradictory features, betrays something of the male's ambivalence in his relationship to woman. The Matronit, in common with the ancient great love-goddesses, is both virgin and wanton. Virgin, because man must idealize woman, he wants *his* woman to be virginal, to have waited for him through countless aeons, and to remain virginal and chaste even while yielding to his embrace, and to his alone. Wanton, because at the same time, he imagines the woman whose body holds the promise of lust for him, as the embodiment of desirability, loved by men and gods, who not merely yields to him but arouses him, and makes him follow her into and through the labyrinthine mysteries of love. And, paradoxically, but with a deep inner inevitability, he imagines his virgin bride and wanton woman to be one and the same person, and projects both self-contradictory characters into one and the same goddess. A third feature with which the same goddess is embellished is that of the mother. This expresses, if not necessarily Oedipal inclinations, at least the desire to recapture in the beloved's embrace some-

thing of the happy security of the infant cuddling in its mother's arms.

As if this were not enough, the conflated image of the virgin-wanton-mother, in turn, appears as merely one of the two overall aspects united in the goddess: the love aspect, as against which she has another aspect, a cruel and frightening one, that of the pitiless warrior-goddess, who sheds blood, extinguishes life, and enjoys doing this as much as she does making love. And, what is equally paradoxical, man feels himself attracted by the wrathful countenance of this goddess of battle and blood as much as to the virgin-wanton who beckons to him with her chaste-experienced smile, or to the mother who offers him her ample, nourishing breasts.

The goddess thus speaks to man with four tongues: keep away from me because I am a Virgin; enjoy me because I am available to all; come shelter in my motherly bosom; and die in me because I thirst for your blood. Whichever of her aspects gains momentarily the upper hand, there is a deep chord in the male psyche which powerfully responds to it. Her voices enter man and stir him: they bend man to pay homage to her, and they lure man to lose himself in her whether in love or in death.

Then why do women worship her too? - to be like her!

Chapter VII

LILITH

No she-demon has ever achieved as fantastic a career as Lilith who started out from the lowliest of origins, was a failure as Adam's intended wife, became the paramour of lascivious spirits, rose to be the bride of Samael the demon King, ruled as the Queen of Zemargad and Sheba, and finally ended up as the consort of God himself. The main features of Lilith's mythical biography first appear in Sumerian culture about the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. What she meant for the Biblical Hebrews can only be surmised, but by the Talmudic period (2nd to 5th centuries A.D.) she was a fully developed evil she-demon, and during the Kabbalistic age she rose to the high position of queenly consort at God's side.

1. THE BACKGROUND

The earliest mention of a she-demon whose name is similar to that of Lilith is found in the Sumerian king list which dates from ca. 2400 B.C. It states that the father of the great hero Gilgamesh was a *Lillu*-demon. The *Lillu* was one of four demons belonging to a vampire or incubi-succubae class. The other three were *Lilitu* (Lilith), a she-demon; *Ardat Lili* (or Lilith's handmaid), who visited men by night and bore them ghostly children; and *Irdu Lili,* who must have been her male counterpart and would visit women and beget children by them.[1] Originally these were storm-demons, but, because of a mistaken etymology they came to be regarded as night-demons.[2]

Lilith's epithet was "the beautiful maiden," but she was believed to have been a harlot and a vampire who, once she chose a lover would never let him go, without ever giving him real satisfaction. She was unable to bear children and had no milk in her breasts.[3] According to the Sumerian epic *Gilgamesh and the Huluppu Tree* (dating from ca. 2000 B.C.) Lilith (Lillake) built her house in the midst of the Huluppu (willow) tree which had been planted on the bank of the Euphrates in the days of creation. A dragon set up its nest at the base of the tree, and the Zu-bird placed his young in its crown. Gilgamesh slays the dragon with his huge bronze axe, whereupon the Zu-bird flees with its young to the mountain, and Lilith, terror-striken, tears down her house and escapes to the desert.[4]

A Babylonian terracotta relief, roughly contemporary with the above poem, shows in what form Lilith was believed to appear to human eyes. She is slender, well-shaped, beautiful and nude, with wings and owl-feet. She stands erect on two reclining lions which are turned away from each other and are flanked by owls. On her head she wears a cap embellished by several pairs of horns. In her hands she holds a ring-and-rod combination.[5] Evidently, this is no longer a lowly she-demon, but a goddess who tames wild beasts and, as shown by the owls on the reliefs, rules by night. (See plate 31.)

In the course of the ensuing centuries Lilith's shape changed again. A seventh-century B.C. tablet found at Arslan Tash in northern Syria shows her as a winged sphinx across whose body is written the following inscription in the Phoenician-Canaanite dialect:

> "O, Flyer in a dark chamber,
> Go away at once, O Lili!"

These lines are part of an incantation text used to help women in childbirth[6]—one of many extant from the period of the Assyrian Empire and the new Babylonian Kingdom—and they show that by that time the myth of Lilith had all the major features which were elaborated to their fill two thousand years later by Kabbalistic Judaism.

2. *ISAIAH 34:14*

One brief reference to Lilith, and a doubtful one at that, is all that is found in the entire Bible. Isaiah, in describing Yahweh's day of vengeance, when the land will be turned into a desolate wilderness, says:

> "The wild-cat shall meet with the jackals
> And the satyr shall cry to his fellow,
> Yea, Lilith shall repose there
> And find her a place of rest."[7]

The Mesopotamian and North-Syrian material surveyed above supplies the background to this prophetic allusion. Evidently, Lilith was a well-known she-demon in Israel of the 8th century B.C., whose name only had to be mentioned to conjure up the beliefs current about her. That she is said to find a place of rest in the desert seems to tie in with the episode recorded in the Sumerian Gilgamesh-fragment: after Lilith fled into the desert, she evidently found repose there.

3. *THE TALMUDIC LILITH*

The information about Lilith contained in the Talmud and the Midrashim of the Talmudic period is meager. One passage states that she had wings;[8] another, that she had long hair.[9] On this basis Rashi (Shlomo Yiṣhaqi), the medieval Talmud commentator (1040-1105), concluded that the *Lilin* (masculine plural of *Lili,* whose feminine singular is *Lilith),* have human form, except that they have wings, in contrast to the demons who have completely human form and eat and drink like humans, and to the spirits who have neither body nor form.[10] It thus appears, that as far as her overall appearance was concerned, Lilith looked very much like the Cherubim. This detail will become significant in connection with the Zoharic myth about the relationship of Lilith to the Cherubim.

Somewhat more is known about the life history of Lilith and her nefarious activities, as they were imagined in the Tal-

mudic period. Lilith, we learn, was Adam's first wife. However, Adam and Lilith could find no happiness together, not even undestanding. When Adam wished to lie with her, Lilith demurred: "Why should I lie beneath you," she asked, "when I am your equal since both of us were created from dust?" When Lilith saw that Adam was determined to overpower her, she uttered the magic name of God, rose into the air and flew away to the Red Sea, a place of ill repute, full of lascivious demons. There, Lilith engaged in unbridled promiscuity, and bore a demonic brood of more than one hundred a day. God, however, sent after her three angels, Senoy, Sansenoy and Semangelof by name,[11] who soon located her in the same wild waters in which the Egyptians were to drown in the days of the Exodus. The angels gave her God's message, but she refused to return. When they threatened her with drowning her in the sea, she argued: "Let me be, for I was created in order to weaken the babes: if it is a male, I have power over him from the moment of his birth until the eighth day of his life (when he is circumcised and thereby protected), and if a girl, until the twentieth day." The angels, however, insisted, and she, in order to make them desist, swore to them in the name of God: "Whenever I shall see you or your names or your images on an amulet, I shall do no harm to the child." Moreover, she gave her consent to the death of one hundred of her own children day after day—which is the reason why that many demons die every day. This agreement between the three angels and Lilith is the basis for writing the names Senoy, Sansenoy and Semangelof on amulets hung around the necks of new-born babes: when Lilith sees the names, she remembers her oath and leaves the child alone.[12]

However, in spite of her determined refusal to return to Adam, Lilith soon became again attracted to him, and managed to sleep with him against his will. In the meantime Adam had received Eve as his wife, was persuaded by her to eat from the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, and was expelled from the Garden of Eden with the curse of death hanging over his head. When Adam became aware that because of his sin God decreed mortality upon him and all his future

descendants, he embarked upon a period of penitence which lasted for 130 years. He fasted, refrained from intercourse with Eve, and in order to mortify his flesh, wore a belt of rough fig twigs around his naked body. He could, however, not control his involuntary nocturnal emissions which were brought about by female spirits who came and coupled with him and bore him spirits, demons and Lilin. At the same time, male spirits came and impregnated Eve who thus became the mother of innumerable demon children. The spirits thus procreated are the plagues of mankind.[13]

It should be noted that the succubae and incubi who sought out Adam and Eve in the 130 years of their self-imposed separation, remain anonymous in all the sources dating from the Talmudic period. Yet there is basis to assume that Lilith was regarded as one of Adam's succubae, because her seduction of Adam must have served as the mythical prototype and validation of the belief in her power over men who spent a night alone in a house. The danger to which such a man would expose himself was regarded as so acute that Rabbi Hanina, the 1st century A.D. teacher, warns: it is forbidden for a man to sleep alone in a house lest Lilith get hold of him.[14]

4. *LILITH OF THE BOWLS*

The relatively scanty Talmudic material about Lilith is complemented by much richer data contained in Aramaic incantation texts found in Nippur in Babylonia, some 50 miles southeast of modern Hilla in Iraq. Excavations conducted by the University of Pennsylvania brought to light dozens of bowls inscribed with magical texts several of which are directed against Lilith or Liliths. The bowls date from ca. 600 A.D., in other words, are about a hundred years younger than the text of the Babylonian Talmud (which was compiled ca. 500 A.D.), but there is every reason to assume that such incantations against Lilith were not the product of the 6th century but go back to earlier periods. In Nippur of the 6th century there was an important Jewish colony (in ad-

dition to Mandaeans and other groups), and some of the most interesting bowls were, by their own incontrovertible internal evidence, inscribed and used by Jews. While the Talmud contains the views of the learned elite about Lilith, these bowls show what she meant for the simple people. It is surprising to see to what extent the sages and the quacks shared the fear of Lilith and the belief in her evil nature.

From a synopsis of the incantation texts it appears that Lilith was regarded as the ghostly paramour of men and constituted a special danger for women during many periods of their sexual life cycle: before defloration, during menstruation, etc. A mother in the hour of childbirth, and her newborn babe were especially vulnerable and had therefore to be protected from the Liliths. The home, arches and thresholds were the favorite haunts where the Liliths lurk, ready to pounce on anybody foolish enough to go unprotected. A rough drawing sketched on a Jewish bowl shows Lilith naked, with long, loose hair, pointed breasts, no wings, strongly-marked genitals, and chained ankles. At night, the female Liliths join men, and the male Lili-s women, and generate demonic offspring. Once they succeed in attaching themselves to a human, they acquire rights of cohabitation, and therefore must be given a *get,* letter of divorce, in order that they may be expelled. Jealous of the human mates of their bedfellows, they hate the children born of ordinary human wedlock, attack them, plague them, suck their blood and strangle them. The Lilith also manage to prevent the birth of children by causing barrenness, miscarriages, or complications during childbirth. As Montgomery aptly put it over half a century ago, "the Liliths were the most developed products of the morbid imagination—of the barren or neurotic woman, the mother in the time of maternity, the sleepless child."[15]

Let us now turn to a few examples illustrating the manner in which these magic incantations are phrased. The first is the text of the bowl which carries the sketch of Lilith described above (see plate 32.) It reads as follows:

"In the name of the Lord of salvations. Designated is this bowl for the sealing of the house of this Geyonai bar Mamai,

that there flee from him the evil Lilith, in the name of 'Yahweh El has scattered'; the Lilith, the male Lili-s and the female Liliths, the Hag (ghost?) and the Snatcher, the three of you, the four of you, and the five of you. Naked are you sent forth, nor are you clad, with your hair dishevelled and let fly behind your backs. It is made known to you, whose father is named Palhas and whose mother Pelahdad: Hear and obey and come forth from the house and dwelling of this Geyonai bar Mamai and from Rashnoi his wife, the daughter of Marath.

"...Be informed herewith that Rabbi Joshua bar Perahia has sent the ban against you...A divorce-writ *("gita")* has come down to us from heaven and therein is found written your advisement and your intimidation, in the name of Palsa-Pelisa ("Divorcer-Divorced"), who renders to thee thy divorce and thy separation, your divorces and your separations. Thou, Lilith, male Lili and female Lilith, Hag and Snatcher, be under the ban...of Joshua bar Perahia who has thus spoken: A divorce-writ has come for you from across the sea...Hear it and depart from the house and dwelling of this Geyonai bar Mamai and from Rashnoi his wife, the daughter of Marath. You shall not again appear to them, either in a dream by night or in slumber by day, because you are sealed with the signet of El Shaddai, and with the signet of the House of Joshua bar Perahia and by the Seven who are before him. Thou Lilith, male Lili and female Lilith, Hag and Snatcher, I adjure you by the Strong One of Abraham, by the Rock of Isaac, by the Shaddai of Jacob, by Yah (is) his name... by Yah his memorial...I adjure you to turn away from this Rashnoi the daughter of Marath, and from Geyonai her husband the son of Mamai. Your divorce and writ and letter of separation...sent through holy angels...the Hosts of fire in the spheres, the Chariots of El Panim before him standing, the Beasts worshipping in the fire of his throne and in the water... Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluyah!"[16]

Only a few comments are needed for the complete understanding of this text. Its intent is clear: Lilith and her company are adjured to leave the house of Geyonai and his wife Rashnoi, never again to return. The Liliths are given a letter

of divorce and sent forth naked, just as Gomer was by her husband Hosea.[17] In another bowl, both female and male demons are given their *get* (letter of divorce) in order thus to rid of them the house and its inhabitants: "This is the *get* for a demon and spirits and Satan... and Lilith in order to banish them from... the entire house. Yah... cut off the king of the demons... the great ruler of the Liliths. I adjure you... whether you are male or female, I adjure you... Just as the demons write letters of divorce and give them to their wives and again no not return to them, so take your letter of divorce, accept your stipulated share *(ketubba),* and go and leave and depart from the house... Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah."[18]

A medieval story, preserved in Hebrew and Arabic versions, tells of a youth, Dihon ben Shalmon, who marries the daughter of Ashmodai, then gives her a *get* (letter of divorce), whereupon she kills him with a kiss.[19] Rabbi Joshua ben Perahia, whose name is invoked several times in the Nippur bowl, was an early 1st century B.C. sage, who, evidently, was believed by the 6th century A.D. to have been a powerful exorcizer of demons. The divine names and epithets are either traditional Jewish or very close to them. The concluding lines show that certain elements of the Merkabah ("Chariot") mysticism[20] were familiar matters in 6th century Nippur.

Another, considerably later, text is a classical example of a magic ritual whose integral part is its own validation by reference to a myth. It reads as follows:

Shadai

Senoy, Sansenoy, Semangelof, Adam, and the Ancient Eve. Out Lilith.[21]

In the name of Y the God of Israel, the Cherubim-sitter, whose name lives and endures forever. The prophet Elijah was walking on the road and met the Evil Lilith and all her band. He said to her: 'Where are you headed for, O you Unclean One, and you Spirit of Defilement, and all your band, where are they going?' And she answered and said to him: 'My lord Elijah, I am on my way to the house of a woman in childbirth, Mercada...[22] daughter of Donna, to give her the

sleep of death and to take her child which is being born to her, to suck its blood, and to suck the marrow of its bones, and to seal its flesh.' And the prophet Elijah, blessed be his memory, said to her: 'With a ban from the Name (i.e. God), blessed be He, be you restrained and be you like unto a stone,' And she answered and said to him: 'For the sake of Yahweh, release me from the ban and I shall flee and swear to you in the name of Y the God of Israel that I shall desist from this woman in childbirth and her child which is being born to her, and shall surely not harm her. And every time that they mention my names, or I see my names written, I and my band shall have no power to do evil or to harm. And these are my names: Lilith, Abitar, Abiqar, Amorpho, Hakash, Odam, Kephido, Ailo, Matrota, Abnukta, Shatriha, Kali, Taltui, Kitsha.' And Elijah answered her: 'Behold, I adjure you and all your band in the name of Y and the God of Israel (which name in its) numerical value (equals) 613 (or the number of the religious commandments), (the God of) Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and in the name of his Holy Shekhina, and in the name of the ten Seraphim, Ophanim, and Holy Beasts, and the ten books of the Law, and by the might of the God of the Hosts, blessed be He, that you and your band go not to injure this woman, or the child she is bearing, neither to drink its blood, nor to suck the marrow of its bones, nor to seal its flesh, nor to touch them, neither their 256 limbs, nor their 365 ligaments and veins. Just as she cannot count the stars of heaven, and cannot dry up the waters of the sea. In the name of Him who rent Satan, Hasdiel, Shamriel."[23]

The efficacy of the ritual is insured by reciting the first occurrence of a similar rite, performed by a mythical hero, in this case the prophet Elijah. The structure of the text is identical with the one which validates the efficacy of an amulet inscribed with the names of Senoy, Sansenoy and Semangelof by telling the story of how these three angels extorted a promise from Lilith to keep away from all places where their names are displayed. As we shall see later, the thirteen additional names of Lilith reappear in medieval Jewish magic.

On a third incantation bowl the name "Lilith Buznai" appears several times.[24] Some four centuries later, this name in the form "Pizna," reappears in the Midrash Abkir. The context of the bowl says: "Charmed art thou, Lilith Buznai and all the goddesses...and the 360 Tribes, by the word of the granddaughter of the angel Buznai." Evidently, Buznai was the individual name of a female numen, who is described interchangeably as a Lilith and an angel; she was regarded as a goddess, and had a granddaughter who was antagonistic to her. A similar enmity, as we shall see later, existed between the Elder Lilith and the Younger Lilith, according to Kabbalistic mythology.

Lilith's fame and fear spread from Babylonia to the East, into Persia, where magic bowls were used against her by various layers of the population, much in the same fashion as in Babylonia. As in the case of the bowls discussed above, the Persian bowls too talk of Lilith in singular, as well as of "Liliths" in plural, as a category of female, harmful and dangerous demons, in conjunction with male "devils" and male "demons." The following bowl-inscription is written in Aramaic, around a picture of Lilith, similar in execution to the one referred to earlier, though differing in detail (plate 33).[25]

"You are bound and sealed, all you demons and devils and Liliths, by that hard and strong, mighty and powerful bond with which are tied Sison and Sisin... The evil Lilith, who causes the hearts of men to go astray and appears in the dream of the night and in the vision of the day, who burns and casts down with nightmare, attacks and kills children, boys and girls—she is conquered and sealed away from the house and from the threshold of Bahram-Gushnasp son of Ishtar-Nahid by the talisman of Metatron, the great prince who is called The Great Healer of Mercy... who vanquishes demons and devils, black arts and mighty spells and keeps them away from the house and threshold of Bahram-Gushnasp the son of Ishtar-Nahid. Amen, Amen, Selah. Vanquished are the black arts and mighty spells, vanquished the bewitching women, they, their witchery and their spells, their curses and their invocations, and kept away from the four walls of the

house of Bahram-Gushnasp the son of Ishtar-Nahid. Vanquished and trampled down are the bewitching women, vanquished on earth and vanquished in heaven. Vanquished are their constellations and stars. Bound are the works of their hands. Amen, Amen, Selah.[26]

The evidence of the names of the man for whom the bowl was written and his mother seems to indicate that he was a follower of the Parsi religion. As the text itself shows, Lilith was supposed to threaten Bahram-Gushnasp as a result of a magic spell cast on him and his house by witches who were Lilith's devotees.

In the text of another bowl from Persia, this one written in Mandaic (pagan Aramaic), Lilith is rendered harmless by a still more powerful incantation. She is adjured to cease haunting the house of a certain Zakoy, and immobilized as follows: "Bound is the bewitching Lilith with a peg of iron in her nose; bound is the bewitching Lilith with pinchers of iron in her mouth; bound is the bewitching Lilith who haunts the house of Zakoy with a chain of iron on her neck; bound is the bewitching Lilith with fetters of iron on her hands; bound is the bewitching Lilith with stocks of stone on her feet..."[27]

5. *THE BIRTH OF LILITH*

While the major characteristics of Lilith, as we have just seen, were well developed by the close of the Talmudic period, it remained for Kabbalistic mysticism to establish a relationship, and quite a close one at that, between her and the deity. In the six centuries that elapsed between the Babylonian Aramaic incantation texts and the early Spanish Kabbalistic writings, Lilith must have greatly extended her influence, for when she reappears in the 13th century she not only commands considerably greater attention but is surrounded by a larger retinue and her life history is known in much greater mythological detail.

Her birth, to begin with, is described in a number of alternative versions. According to one, she was created before

Adam, in fact on the fifth day of Creation, because the "living creature" with whose swarms God filled the waters[28] was none other than Lilith.[29] Another version, which ties in directly with the earlier (Talmudic) Lilith image, recounts that she was created by God in the same manner in which He had shortly before fashioned Adam. That is to say, God again turned to the earth to obtain raw material, but this time, instead of using clean earth which was the substance of Adam's body, He—for reasons unknown—took filth and impure sediments from the earth, and out of these He formed a female. As was to be expected, this creature turned out to be an evil spirit.[30]

According to a third version, God originally created Adam and Lilith together in such a manner that the female creature was contained in the male. Lilith's soul was originally lodged in the depths of the Great Abyss whence she was called forth by God and joined to Adam. When Adam was created and his body completed, a thousand souls from the Left (i.e. Evil) Side tried to attach themselves to him. But God let out a shout and thus drove them off. All this while Adam lay there, a body without a soul, greenish in color. Then a cloud descended, and God commanded the earth to produce a living soul. This God breathed into Adam who now was able to stand up, and behold, his female was attached to his side. But God sawed his creature into two, whereupon Lilith flew off to the Cities of the Sea where she still lurks ready to harm mankind.[31]

Yet another version considers Lilith not as a being created by God, but as a divine entity which emerged spontaneously, either out of the Great Supernal Abyss, or out of the power-aspect of God (the *Gevurah* or *Din,)* which manifests itself chiefly in the divine acts of stern judgment and punishment. This stern, punitive aspect of God, one of His ten mystical attributes (Sephirot), has at its lowest manifestation some affinity with the realm of evil referred to as "the dregs of the wine," and it is out of this that Lilith emerged together with Samael:

"A mystery of mysteries: Out of the power of the glow of Isaac's noon (i.e. the *Gevurah),* out of the dregs of the wine,

there emerged an intertwined shoot which comprises both male and female. They are red like the rose, and they spread out into several sides and paths. The male is called Samael, and his female (Lilith) is always contained in him. Just as in the side of Holiness, so in the Other (Evil) Side as well, male and female are contained in one another. The female of Samael is called Serpent, Woman of Harlotry, End of All Flesh, End of Days."[32]

In the mystical writings of the two brothers Jacob and Isaac Hacohen of Segovia, Castile, which antedate the Zohar by a few decades, Lilith and Samael are said to have been born by an emanation from beneath the Throne of Glory, in the shape of an androgynous, double-faced being, corresponding, in the spiritual realm, to the birth of Adam and Eve who too were born as a hermaphrodite. The two androgynous twin-couples not only resembled each other, but both "were like the image of what is Above," that is reproduced, in a visible form, the image of the androgynous deity.[33]

Yet another version connects the birth of Lilith with the creation of the luminaries, carefully avoiding, however, any statement to the effect that God actually created her. The "first light," which was the light of Mercy (another of the ten Sephirot), appeared when, on the first day of Creation, God said "Let there be light."[34] When this light became hidden, Holiness became surrounded by a husk of Evil. This idea is expressed by the statement that "a husk *(qelipah)* was created around the brain," and this husk, in turn, spread and brought out another husk and this was none other than Lilith.[35]

6. *LILITH AND THE CHERUBIM*

As soon as Lilith was born, or emerged in one of the mysterious ways described above, her longing for male companionship manifested itself. She began to fly about, soaring up into the heights of heaven and again swooping down, until she reached the Cherubim who surrounded God's throne and who, because their faces were like those of small boys,[36] are called in the Zohar "small faces." To them Lilith attached

herself, impressing herself into their bodies, and once she succeeded in doing this, she refused to separate from them. But when God created man, which He did in order to bring this world to completion, He forcibly detached Lilith from the Cherubim and made her descend to earth. Lilith, thinking that she would become Adam's helpmeet, approached him but again she was frustrated. For, attached to Adam's side, was Eve whose beauty resembled the beauty of Above. When Lilith saw the complete image of Adam and Eve together, she understood that she had no chances, and flew back again up to heaven to re-attach herself to the Cherubim. However, by this time the watchers of the Gate of Above barred her way, and God, addressing a stern rebuke to her, cast her into the depths of the sea.[37]

7. *LILITH AND ADAM*

As noted above, the older sources do not state clearly that it was Lilith herself who, after her Red Sea sojourn, returned to Adam as his succuba. The later sources, however, know it for a fact that this, indeed, did happen. Adam, we read in the Zohar, succeeded in impregnating Lilith during their early shortlived connubium, then, not having been a suitable helpmeet for him, Lilith left him,[38] to return after a while and force herself upon him. Before doing so, however, she managed to attach herself to Cain and to bear him numerous spirits and demons.[39]

The first medieval source to give the myth of Lilith and Adam in full is the lost Midrash Abkir (ca. 10th century), which is followed by the Zohar and later Kabbalistic writings. Adam, we learn, was a perfect saint, and when he understood that because of his sin—or, as a consequence of Cain's fratricide—death came into the world, he separated from Eve, slept alone and fasted for 130 years. But Lilith whose name is Pizna,[40]—or, according to the Zohar, two female spirits, Lilith and Naamah—found him, desired his beauty which was like that of the sun disk, and lay with him. The issue of these unions were demons and spirits, called "the plagues of man-

kind," who lurk under doorways, in wells and in latrines, and lead men astray.[41]

According to the mythical cosmology of the German-born Palestinian Kabbalist Naphtali Herz ben Jacob Elhanan (lived in the second half of the 16th century), in the second of the seven earth-layers, counting from the bottom, dwell "the giant human figures, tall of stature, who were born of Adam in the 130 years during which he begot demons, spirits and Lilin. Lilith used to come to him against his will, and conceive from Adam [and she bore these beings]. And they are always sad and full of sorrow and sighs, and there is no joy at all among them. And these hosts can multiply [and ascend] from that earth to this world upon which we stand, and [here] they become harmful spirits, and [then] they return there..."[42]

That Adam begot on Lilith spirits, demons, and Lilin, became a commonplace in the mystical literature of the 14th-17th centuries, often with the added explanation that it was Adam's own sin which made it possible for Lilith to overcome him against his will.[43]

8. *LILITH THE SUCCUBA*

The next period in Lilith's life was spent in two activities: seducing men and killing children. As to the first, a passage in the Zohar puts it as follows:

"She (Lilith) roams at night, and goes all about the world and makes sport with men and causes them to emit seed. In every place where a man sleeps alone in a house, she visits him and grabs him and attaches herself to him and has her desire from him, and bears from him. And she also afflicts him with sickness, and he knows it not, and all this takes place when the moon is on the wane."[44]

Spontaneous nocturnal emission is the visible sign of Lilith having succeeded in arousing the desire of a man in his sleep and of having satisfied her own lust through him. In doing this, she assumes the shape of either a mature woman or a young virgin. The issue of such unions are evil spirits:

"She forsakes the husband of her youth (i.e. Samael) and descends to earth and fornicates with men who sleep here below, in the uncleanness of emission. And from them are born demons, spirits and Lilin, and they are called 'the plagues of mankind.' "[45]

However, Lilith is well capable of seducing men not only in their sleep but also while awake. Once she succeeds, she turns from a beautiful seductress into a cruel fury, and kills her victim:

"She adorns herself with many ornaments like a despicable harlot, and takes up her position at the crossroads to seduce the sons of man. When a fool approaches her, she grabs him, kisses him, and pours him wine of dregs of viper's gall. As soon as he drinks it, he goes astray after her. When she sees that he has gone astray after her from the path of truth, she divests herself of all ornaments which she put on for that fool. Her ornaments for the seduction of the sons of man are: her hair is long and red like the rose, her cheeks are white and red, from her ears hang six ornaments, Egyptian chords and all the ornaments of the Land of the East hang from her nape. Her mouth is set like a narrow door comely in its decor, her tongue is sharp like a sword, her words are smooth like oil, her lips are red like a rose and sweetened by all the sweetness of the world. She is dressed in scarlet, and adorned with forty ornaments less one. Yon fool goes astray after her and drinks from the cup of wine and commits with her fornications and strays after her. What does she thereupon do? She leaves him asleep on the couch, flies up to heaven, denounces him, takes her leave, and descends. That fool awakens and deems he can make sport with her as before, but she removes her ornaments and turns into a menacing figure. She stands before him clothed in garments of flaming fire, inspiring terror and making body and soul tremble, full of frightening eyes, in her hand a drawn sword dripping bitter drops. And she kills that fool and casts him into Gehenna."[46]

Lilith attempted to play this trick on Jacob, but she was no match for him: "Jacob went to her and came to her place...

and saw all the ornaments of her house, but escaped from her, whereupon her male, Samael, attacked him and fought him but could not prevail upon him."[47]

Even when a man wishes to engage in lawful sexual intercourse with his wife the menace of Lilith is present:

"And behold, that hard shell (i.e. embodiment of evil), Lilith, is always present in the bedlinen of man and wife when they copulate, in order to take hold of the sparks of the drops of semen which are lost—because it is impossible to perform the marital act without such a loss of sparks—and she creates out of them demons, spirits and Lilin... But there is an incantation for this, to chase Lilith away from the bed and to bring forth pure souls.... in that moment, when a man copulates with his wife, let him direct his heart to the holiness of his Master, and say:

'In the name of God.
O you who are wrapped in velvet (i.e. Lilith)
You have appeared.
Release, release!
Neither come nor go!
The seed is not yours,
Nor in your inheritance.
Go back, go back!
The sea rages,
Its waves call you.
I hold on to the Holy One,
Wrap myself into the King's holiness.

Then let him cover his head and his wife for one hour..."[48]

Some forms of unholiness in sexual intercourse are described by R. Naphtali as follows:

"Lilith, God preserve us, has dominion over children who issue from him who couples with his wife in candlelight, or with his wife naked, or at a time when he is forbidden to have intercourse with her. All the children who issue from such unions, Lilith can kill them any time she wishes, because they are delivered into her hands. And this is the secret of the

children's smiling when they are small—because of Lilith who plays with them."[49]

The counterpart of these magic efforts to protect men from the nocturnal enticements of Lilith the succuba, is an incantation whose purpose is precisely the opposite: to obtain a succuba for the night with the help of that other demon-queen, Igrath bath Mahalath. The formula is contained in a 15th century text which reads as follows:

" 'I adjure you, Ograth (i.e. Igrath) bath Mahalath, Queen of the demons, with the great, strong and terrible Name, with the name of his holy angels, and with the name of Bilar the heroic, King of the demons, that you send to me X daughter of Y, the beautiful maiden from among your maidens who follow you, whose number is like the number of the days of the year, and with the name of Metatron and Sandalphon, AAA NNN SSS.' And this must be done either on the eve of Sunday or on the eve of Wednesday. And one must have a separate room, and a clean white bed and clothes, and the room and the bed should be fumigated with aloe wood. And the knowledgeable will understand."[50]

9. *LILITH THE CHILD-KILLER*

Following her rejection by the Cherubim, Lilith remained in the depths of the sea until Adam and Eve sinned, "when the Holy One, blessed be He, brought her up, and she obtained power over those children—the "small faces" of mankind—who deserved to be punished because of the sins of their fathers. She roams all over the world, then approaches the gates of the Garden of Eden and observes the Cherubim watching over the gates. She sits down there, next to the flame of the sword, since it was from that flame that she originated. When the flame turns around (indicating that the world has entered into a phase of punishment), she rushes off and again goes roaming all over the world to seek out the children who deserve to be punished. And she smiles at them and kills them..."[51]

After the completion of her raids on mankind, Lilith returns to the cities of the sea, her headquarters. Only when ultimately God will destroy the Evil Kingdom of Rome, will she move there to take up her abode in the eternal ruins.[52]

In the meantime, Lilith "goes out into the world and seeks out children, and she sees the children of mankind and attaches herself to them to kill them and to draw herself into their souls. And as she is about to go into such a soul, three holy spiritis (i.e. the three angels Senoy, Sansenoy and Semangelof) appear there, and they soar toward her and take that soul from her and place it in front of the Holy One, blessed be He, and there (the children) study in front of Him."[53]

Thus, even if the angels are unable to save the child's life, they at least save its soul. To make sure that one's child is in no way harmed by Lilith, one must perform the act of procreation itself in holiness:

"If a man is in a state of holiness, he has no fear of her (Lilith), because the Holy One, blessed be He, sends those three holy angels whom we mentioned, and they watch over the child (which is being conceived) and she cannot harm him... But if a man is not in a state of holiness, and he draws out a soul from the side of uncleanness, then she comes and plays with that child, and if she kills, it, she penetrates that soul and never leaves it."[54]

Although the above quotations were taken from the Zohar, the practice of protecting a mother and her newborn child from Lilith with the help of the three angels Senoy, Sansenoy and Semangelof, is considerably older not only in the east but also in the west. The famous mystical treatise *Sepher Raziel* (Book of Raziel), written or compiled, in all probability, by Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymos of Worms (1176-1238), contains, e.g., several such incantations. On folio 43a of the Amsterdam 1701 edition, one finds the following instructions:

"Tried and proven for protecting the mother and her child from sorcery and the Evil Eye, and so that in the hour of the birth no demon and evil plague should be able to overpower her and her child.... the seventy names of angels are,

as is well known, very efficacious for all kinds of protection. And also the following names and their drawings as Adam saw them and drew them are very good for the protection of the mother and child" (see figure 1.)

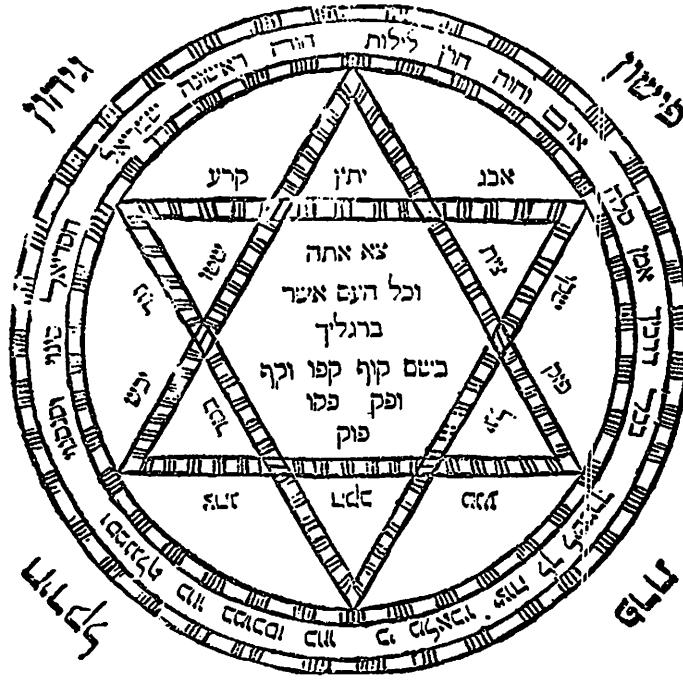

Fig. 1. Amulet to protect woman in childbirth from Lilith. From The Book of Raziel, folio 43a.

On the very next page of the *Book of Raziel* are listed the names of the seventy angels, and under them is a sketch showing twice the three angels Senoy, Sansenoy and Semangelof. It is difficult to make out what the three sketches on the right side represent, but on the left the intention seems to be to show them as bird-headed beings. Over the sketches of the angels the words "Adam and Eve, Out Lilith!" appear twice, and under the picture follows the incantation text which reads as follows (my translation from the Hebrew):

"In the name of EHYE WHA AA BB AO MAK AAA.

I adjure you First Eve [here an epithet of Lilith] in the name of Him Who is your Creator and in the name of the three angels whom your Creator sent after you and the angel in the isles of the sea, to whom you swore that wherever you will find their names you will cause no harm, neither you nor one of your cohorts and servants, and that [you will not damage] anybody who wears their names. Therefore, in their names and seals set down here, I adjure you and your cohorts and your servants that you cause no harm to the women in childbirth, N. daughter of N., nor to the child who was born to her; neither during the day nor during the night, neither through their food nor through their drink, neither in their head nor in their heart, neither in their 248 limbs, nor in their 365 sinews. By strength of these names and figures I adjure you and your cohorts and your servants." (See fig. 2.)

Fig. 2. Amulet to protect woman in childbirth from Lilith.
From The Book of Raziel, folio 43b.

As we see, the *Book of Raziel* follows the classical pattern of incantation rituals which carry in themselves the guarantee of their effectiveness by recounting or at least referring to, a validating myth. Reference to the old about Lilith and the three angels is all that is needed in order to endow the apotropaic measure with unfailing potency.

The myth of Lilith the child-killer remained a potent factor in the lives of the tradition-bound Jews down to the 19th century. To protect the newborn boy-child against Lilith, they would draw a circle with natron or charcoal on the wall of the birthroom and write into it: "Adam and Eve. Out Lilith!" At the same time, they would write the names of the three angels, Senoy, Sansenoy and Semangelof, on the door of the room:[55]

"If children laugh in their sleep, or if they laugh while they are awake but alone, this is a sign showing that Lilith is playing with them, and especially when this happens on the night of the new moon. Whoever notices that they laugh, will do well to tap them on their nose with his finger and say: 'Go hence, Pelonith (i.e. Lilith), you have no portion or inheritance here, you have no satisfaction here!' Then let him recite the entire *'Wihi no'am'* prayer, and do thus three times..."[56]

Solomon's dominance over Lilith, which became an integral part of Medieval Jewish and Muslim Arab demonology, retained an important role in Middle Eastern Jewish exorcisms as recently as the early 20th century. Raphael Ohana writes in his collection of magical remedies:

"In another manuscript book I found written the following: Protection from Lilith. Draw a Seal of King Solomon, peace be upon him, who adjured Lilith that when she would see his seal she and her cohorts would flee, and that she would have no permission to hurt him. And if it be placed on a house, she would not enter it, neither she nor any one of her band. If if it be engraved upon pure silver, it is even better. And this is its shape:[57]

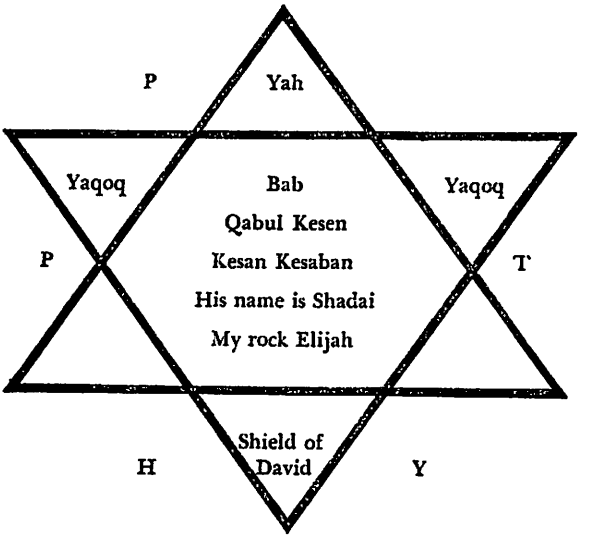

Fig. 3. The magic Seal of Solomon. From Raphael Ohana, *Mar'eh HaYeladim,* p. 94a. 1968

The same magic Seal of Solomon protects also the sick against Lilith, if it is ascertained that it is she who caused the ailment.[58]

The same book contains two further suggestions as to methods one can employ in order to safeguard a woman from Lilith:

"If you place a needle close to the wick in the lamp which is in the house of the woman in childbed, she will be safe from the entry of Lilith. Also, if she take the measure which is used to measure the wheat, and place it close to the bed, and if Lilith is there, she will sit on that measure and will not move from her place until they remove that measure from there. From a Babylonian manuscript book."[59]

10. LILITH AND NAAMAH

Lilith's companion in many of her evil exploits is Naamah, another high-ranking she-demon. Her origin is obscure, but as her name Naamah, "the Charmer," indicates, she is a demoness of extraordinary, irresistible beauty.

In the earlier, Talmudic-Midrashic, mythology, Naamah is still taken to have been a flesh-and-blood woman, the daughter of Lamech and Zillah, and sister of Tubal-Cain,[60] who earned her name by enticing men with the sweet, sensual sounds of her cymbals to worship idols, although, according to the lone dissenting opinion of Abba bar Kahana, she was a pious and well-mannered woman who became Noah's wife.[61] Naamah is still a human female according to those myths which tell about her role in seducing the sons of God. She was so beautiful that she led the angels astray, and from her union with the angel Shamdon or Shomron, sprang Ashmodai who was destined to become the king of the devils.[62]

From being the human mother of Shamdon's demonic brood, Naamah was transformed by the Kabbala into a semi-human, deathless being, who, like Lilith, fulfils the double task of seducing men and strangling children in their sleep. She was so beautiful, that "the sons of man, and even the spirits and demons, went astray after her. R. Yitzhaq said: Those sons of God, 'Aza and 'Aza'el, went astray after her. R. Shimeon said: She was the mother of the demons, for she came from the side of Cain, and she, together with Lilith, was appointed over the *askara* (strangulation) of children. R. Abba said to him: Did you not say that she was appointed to play with people? He answered: True; she comes and plays with people, and at times she bears them spirit-children, and to this day this is her task. R. Abba said: (Since we know that the demons) die like humans, how can she still be alive?" He answered: Right, but Lilith and Naamah, and Agrath the daughter of Mahalath who came from their side, all continue to live until the Holy One, blessed He, eradicates the spirit of uncleanness from the world...'

"Come and see: This Naamah was the mother of demons and from her side come all those demons who lie with men and take the spirit of desire from them, and she makes sport with the men (in their sleep) and causes them to emit seed."[63]

Naamah and her brother Tubal-Cain were descendants of Cain, and the latter was, of course, the son of Satan by Eve:

"In the hour when Adam with the supernal image, with the holy image, descended, and those of Above and Below saw him, they all approached him and made him king over the world. After the Serpent came upon Eve and injected his impurity into her, she gave birth to Cain. From there descended all the generations of the sinful in the world, and also the demons and spirits came from there. Therefore, all the spirits and demons are half human, while their other half comes from the supernal angels. Also, all the other spirits which were born of Adam are, likewise, half from Below and half from Above. After they were born of Adam, he begot on those spirits daughters who resembled the beauty of those Above and the beauty of those Below...

"And there was one male who came into the world from the spirit of Cain's side and he was called Tubal-Cain. And a female came with him after whom the creatures went astray, and she was called Naamah. From her came other spirits and demons, who hang in the air and announce things to those others who are found below. It was this Tubal-Cain who brought murder weapons into the world. And as to Naamah... she is alive to this day and her dwelling is among the waves of the Great Sea."[64]

In a mythical image, reminiscent of Dante's Inferno, the Zohar describes Naamah's beauty which is irresistible even to the most horrid nocturnal monsters: In the darkness of the night, great monsters pursue Naamah: they are Afrira and Qastimon, the two chieftains of the demonic world, who "swim about in the Great Sea, and, when night falls, fly away from there and come to Naamah, the mother of the demons, after whom the early divinities went astray. They try to approach her, but she leaps away six thousand parasangs, and takes on many forms in the eyes of men, in order to seduce them."[65]

Once Naamah arrives in our own world, "she makes sport with the sons of man, and conceives from them through their dreams, from the male desire, and she attaches herself to them. She takes the desire, and nothing more, and from that desire she conceives and brings forth all kinds of demons

into the world. And those sons whom she bears from men visit the women of humankind who then conceive from them and give birth to spirits. And all of them go to the first Lilith and she brings them up...

"At times it happens that Naamah goes forth in the world in order to have intercourse with the sons of man, and a man is found in bounds of desire with her and awakens from his sleep and gets hold of his wife and lies with her, and his urge stems from that desire which he had felt in his dream. In such a case the child which is procreated comes from the side of Naamah, because in her desire he was conceived. When Lilith comes and sees this child, she knows what happened, and she attaches herself to him and rears him like those other children of Naamah, and she comes to him many times but does not kill him...For each time when the moon renews itself in the world Lilith comes and visits all those whom she rears, and makes sport with them and that man suffers damage at that time."[66]

While Lilith and Naamah thus have become unmistakably evil spirits, at least once more in history they assumed human form. This happened when, in order to try Solomon's wisdom, they took the shape of two prostitutes and went to Solomon asking for his judgment in their quarrel over the surviving child.

"Then came two harlots to King Solomon, and they were Lilith and Igrath (according to other sources: Lilith and Naamah). Lilith, who strangles the children because she cannot set up for herself, from one of them, a screen to be a hiding place for her (?). And the other is Igrath...One night David was asleep in the camp in the desert, and in his dream Igrath coupled with him and bore Adad (identical with Hadad the Edomite). And when they asked him "What is your name?' he answered, 'My name is Ad, Ad is my name' *(Ad sh'mi* in Hebrew), and they called him Ashm'dai. He is Ashmodai, the King of the demons who deprived Solomon of his kingdom..."[67]

King Solomon, it may be remarked here, "had dominion over the demons, spirits and Lilin, and knew the language of

each...and when his heart was merry with wine, he would command the wild animals, the fowl of heaven, and the creeping things of the earth, as well as the demons, spirits and Lilin, to dance before him."[68]

It was due to Solomon's power over the demons that he was able to resist the Queen of Sheba who was none other than Lilith.[69] Another country over which Lilith reigned was Zemargad.[70]

11. LILITH AND SAMAEL

As we have seen, according to a Zoharic myth Lilith and Samael emerged in an androgynous form out of the "dregs of wine" of the divine punitive power.[71] Another version which was also current in Kabbalistic circles in the Middle Ages, is silent as to Lilith's provenance, but makes her Samael's wife, and the first among his four wives, to boot. Bahya ben Asher ibn Halawa, the early 14th century Kabbalistic Bible commentator (died in 1340), reports the myth as follows:

"Four women were the mothers of demons: Lilith, Naamah, Igrath and Mahalath. Each one of them has her own hosts and classes of spirits of uncleanness, and they have no number. And it is said that each of them rules on one of the four *Tequfot* (i.e. the vernal equinox, the summer solstice, the autumnal equinox, and the winter solstice) of the years, when they gather on a lofty peak near the Mountains of Darkness. Each of them rules on her *Tequfa,* from the hour of sunset until midnight, they and all their hosts. But King Solomon ruled over all of them and called them (his) slaves and slave-women and used them according to his will. And these four women are the wives of Esau's heavenly patron (i.e. Samael), and following his example, Esau himself took four wives as explained in the Pentateuch."[72]

Nathan Spira (died in 1662) transmits an interesting variant of the same theme. The four women become the "rulers," in the sense of heavenly patrons, of four kingdoms:

"Know that there are seventy heavenly patrons, one appointed over each nation, and they all are under the rule of

Samael and Rahab. Rahab was given as his share all the borders of Egypt which measures 400 by 400 parasangs. Samael was given four kingdoms, and in each of them he has a concubine. The names of his concubines are: Lilith, whom he took as his consort, and she is the first one; the second is Naamah; the third, Even Maskith; and the fourth, Igrath the daughter of Mahalath. And the four kingdoms are: first, the kingdom of Damascus in which is found the House of Rimmon; second, the kingdom of Tyre which is opposite the Land of Israel; third, the Kingdom of Malta which formerly was called Rhodus; and fourth, the Kingdom called Granata, and some say that it is the Kingdom of Ishmael. And in each of these four Kingdoms dwells one of the four aforementioned concubines."[73]

Mixed Egyptian-Arab-demonic descent is attributed to Igrath in a late version of the myth of the four she-demons who rule over the *tequfot* (i.e. the two equinoxes and the two solstices). When Ishmael grew up, his mother Hagar took him an Egyptian wife, "the daughter of Kasdiel the Egyptian sorcerer. And when Ishmael divorced her, as commanded by his father, she was pregnant and gave birth to Mahalath. And the mother and the daughter remained together in that desert which was full of sorcery, and a demon named Igrathiel ruled over it. This demon was attracted to Mahalath who was very beautiful, and she conceived and bore a daughter whom she called Igrath, after that demon. Thereafter Mahalath left the desert and became the wife of Esau. But her daughter Igrath remained in the desert, and she, Naamah, Pelonith (i.e. Lilith), and Nega' rule over the four *tequfot*. Pelonith (Lilith) fornicates with all men, Naamah only with the gentiles, Nega' only with Israel, and Igrath is sent out to do harm on the nights preceeding Wednesdays and Saturdays. But of those who fear God it is said, 'And Nega' will not approach your tents.' "[74]

The marriage between Samael and Lilith was arranged by the "Blind Dragon" who in Kabbalistic mythology is the counterpart On High of "the dragon that is in the sea."[75] "There is a dragon of Above who is the Blind Prince, and he

functions as the intermediary between Samael and Lilith, and his name is *Taniniver* ("Blindragon")... It is he who arranges the match between Samael and Lilith..."[76]

Blindragon's place in the mystical hierarchy of demons is described as follows:

"Asimon (a demon) rides on Naamah, and Naamah rides on Igrath the daughter of Mahalath, and this Igrath rides on several kinds of spirits and bands of midday-demons; and from the left there is the shape of a serpent riding on a blind dragon, and this dragon rides on Lilith the wicked, may she be destroyed quickly in our days, amen."[77]

However, the marriage of Lilith with Samael, also known as the "Angel Satan" or the "Other God," was not allowed to prosper. God was apprehensive lest they fill the world with their demonic brood, and, to prevent this, he castrated Samael. This mythologem, found in several 17th-century Kabbalistic books,[78] is based on the identification of "Leviathan the slant serpent and Leviathan the tortuous serpent"[79] with Samael and Lilith respectively, and on the reinterpretation of the old Talmudic myth according to which God castrated the male Leviathan and killed the female in order to prevent them from coupling and thereby destroying the earth. Leviathan the tortuous, or crooked, serpent is, to the Kabbalists, Lilith, "who seduces men to follow crooked paths."[80] Once Samael was castrated, Lilith, since "she could no longer couple with her husband," took to satisfying her desire by fornicating with men who experience nocturnal emissions.

In another 15th or 16th century Kabbalistic text the midrashic statement that God "cooled" the female Leviathan is reinterpreted to mean that God made Lilith barren, so that she cannot bear offspring "but is mere fornication."[81]

12. *THE TWO LILITHS*

The idea that there are many Liliths is, as we have seen, very old. In the Babylonian incantation texts there appear male Lili-s, in addition to the female Liliths, who are the heirs to the 3rd millennium B.C. Sumerian male and female

demons similarly named. It remained, however, for the 13th century Kabbalists to split the person of Lilith herself into two and to distinguish between an Elder and a Younger Lilith.

In the writings of R. Isaac Hacohen, a Spanish Kabbalist who flourished about the middle of the 13th century, we read that the Lilith who was born androgynously with Samael and who became the wife of that "Great Prince and Great King of all the demons," is Lilith the Elder. In addition to Samael, other demons as well are the bedfellows of this Lilith the Elder who—and this is most remarkable—"is a ladder on which one can ascend to the rungs of prophecy." This can mean only one thing: that Lilith can help those whom she favors—or who gain mastery over her—to rise towards, or actually attain, prophetic powers. Another numinous figure introduced into this mythology is *Qafṣefoni,* the prince and King of Heaven, whose wife is Mehetabel the daughter of Matred.[82] The daughter of this mysterious couple is Lilith the Younger. There seems, however, to be some confusion between Lilith the Younger and Lilith the Elder, because it is the latter who is called *Ṣefoni* ("Northerner") which would make her, and not Lilith the Younger, the daughter of *Qafṣefoni:*

"Know that all the jealousy and altercation between the Princes of Quarrel and the Princes of Peace... is on account of Samael and Lilith who is called Northerner *(Ṣefonit),* as it is written 'Out of the North the Evil One shall break forth.'[83] Both of them (Samael and Lilith) were born in a spiritual birth as androgynes, corresponding to Adam and Eve—below and above two twin figures. And Samael and Lilith the Elder who is the same as *Ṣefonit* are referred to as the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil...[84]

The same mid-thirteenth century author, Isaac Hacohen, also asserts that "on rare occasions Qafṣefoni couples with, and adheres to, and loves a creature whose name is Lilidtha," who, in a mysterious way, resembles Hagar the Egyptian; but whether this Lilidtha is identical with Qafṣefoni's own daughter, Lilith the Younger, cannot be established.

Now, Lilith the Younger became the wife of Ashmodai, King of the demons, and out of this union sprang the great prince *Harba diAshm'dai* ("Ashmodai's Sword"), who rules over 80,000 demons of destruction, and numerous other demon offspring. However, "Lilith the Younger, who has the form of a beautiful woman from head to navel, and from the navel downward is flaming fire—like mother, like daughter—" aroused the desire of Samael. This caused intense jealousy between Samael and Ashmodai, as well as constant fighting between Lilith the Younger and Samael's wife, Lilith the Elder.[85]

Some three centuries after Isaac Hacohen, Moses Cordovero (1522-1570), head of the Safed Kabbalists, retells the myth of the two Liliths with the addition of a few interesting details: Lilith the Elder, he says, has 480 bands of demons under her command, the number being derived from the numerical value of the letters L Y L Y T (30,10,30,10,400) making up the name Lilith. On the Day of Atonement, Lilith the Elder marches out into the desert and, being the demon of screeching—her name taken as if derived from the verb Y L L, to scream—spends the day there screaming. Samael, however, also has a concubine named Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael,[86] who has 478 bands of demons at her disposal—again the letters of her name give the clue to this number (M H L T = 40,8,30,400) —and "she goes and sings a song and a paean in the Holy Tongue. And when the two meet, they fight, on the Day of Atonement, there in the desert, and they taunt each other, until their voices rise to heaven, and the earth trembles under their screams. And all this is brought about by God so that they should not be able to make accusations against Israel (on the Day of Atonement)..."

Lilith the Younger is helped in her fight against Lilith the Elder by her own mother Mehetabel.[87]

The mythological motif of enmity between Lilith and her fellow-demonesses, and the resulting advantage for Israel on the Day of Atonement, is treated by other 16th century Kabbalists as well. Abraham Galante (died 1560 or 1588), an im-

portant Safed Kabbalist and contemporary of Moses Cordovero, recounts the entire story of the annual encounter in the desert between Lilith and Mahalath, but gives a somewhat different characterization to one of the two chief she-demons: Mahalath, according to him, is shown by her name to have been a compulsive dancer: as she marches into the desert at the head of her bands of destructive angels, "she goes and dances and gyrates in ringdances" until she and Lilith fall upon each other and engage in a fierce battle.[88]

Lilith's bands, and presumably Lilith herself as well, were imagined in this period as being covered with hair from head to foot, including their faces, but having a bald head. Their fourteen names, derived directly from the older incantation texts,[89] are: Lilin, Abito, Abizo, Amo(z)rpho, Haqash, Odam, (I)Kephido, Ailo, Tatrota, Abniqta, Shatrina, Kalubtza, Tiltoi, Pirtsha.[90]

But, to return to the two Liliths, this idea is put forward in a different form by Hayyim Vital (1543-1620), a Safed Kabbalist and chief disciple of Isaac Luria. He explains that the original "Lilith the stiff-necked" was the "garb," that is the shell, the outer and evil part, of Eve, the wife of Adam, But, he goes on to say, "there is an even more external (i.e. more evil) Lilith, who is the wife of Samael." In the sequel it is not clear whether Vital speaks of the first or the second Lilith when he says that "there was an angel who was expelled from heaven and he was called 'the flame of the revolving sword,'[91] and at times he is an angel and at times a demon called Lilith. And since the female rules at night, and the demons rule at night, she is called Lilith" (i.e. "Nocturnal").

The notion that Lilith rules at night goes back to the Zohar where the Biblical expression "dread in the nights" *(pahad ba-leloth)*[93] is explained as "Samael and his female," i.e. Lilith.[94] What is more interesting in Vital's thinking is that he regarded the Lilith and the angel as interchangeable, as appearing once in the shape of one and once in that of the other, as made tangible by the flame of the revolving sword. We shall recall that in the 6th century A.D. Nippur incanta-

tion texts the same numen is called once "Lilith Buznai" and once "angel Buznai,"[95] which is yet another example of the great antiquity of some of the ideas put forward by the medieval Kabbalists. The same idea underlies a passage contained in the Zoharic literature itself which reads:

"Come and see: The Shekhina is at times called the Mother, at times the Slave-Woman (i.e. Lilith), and at times the King's Daughter."[96]

In other words, circumstances determine whether one and the same feminine divine essence assumes the form of a good or an evil numen. And, since circumstances constantly change, the goddess appears once as good once as evil. In a different formulation of the idea, Lilith appears as the "nakedness" of the Shekhina, that aspect of her which preponderates in the period of Israel's exile:

"When Israel was exiled, the Shekhina too went into exile, and this is the nakedness of the Shekhina. And this nakedness is Lilith, the mother of a mixed multitude."[97]

13. LILITH'S TRIUMPH AND END

The hour of Lilith's greatest triumph and the high point in her career came with the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple. When that catastrophe took place, "the King (i.e. God) sent away the Matronit and took the slave-woman (i.e. Lilith) in her place... Who is this slave-woman? She is the Alien Crown whose first-born God slew in Egypt... She used to sit behind the hand-mill, and now this handmaid is heir to her mistress.[98] Rabbi Shimeon cried and said: 'The King without the Matronit is not called King; the King who attached himself to the slave-woman, to the handmaid of the Matronit, where is his honor?... He lost the Matronit and attached himself to the Other Place which is called slave-woman... And this slave-woman was destined to rule over the Holy Land of Below, as the Matronit formerly ruled over it...' "[99]

The Zoharic idea that the most terrible outcome of the destruction of the Temple and the Exile of Israel was that because of them God was forced to accept Lilith as his consort

in place of the Matronit, was further elaborated by R. Shlomo Alqabes (ca. 1505-ca. 1484), the Safed Kabbalist and famous author of the Sabbath-song *Lekha Dodi* ("Come, my friend"). In his mystical philosophy, Alqabes attributes it to the sins of Israel that the Shekhina, Israel's mother, had to leave her husband, God, who is Israel's father, and go into exile together with her children. As a result of this separation, God the father consorted with "the slave-woman," i.e. Lilith, and she became the Mistress of His house. The situation was similar to that of a man who had a good wife, the mother of his sons, and then, is his wrath, he turned away from her and went in to her handmaid and she conceived and bore him a son.

"And it is known that there is no glory for a man except with his wife who was destined for him, but not by adhering to handmaids... through which he himself is reduced to a lower rung." Likewise, after the Shekhina in exile "descended to be with us... her rival (Lilith) angers her greatly, and she sobs and sighs because her husband (God) does not throw his light upon her... Her joy has fled because she sees her rival in her house, deriding her, to the extent that the Mistress became a handmaid and the handmaid Mistress. And when our Father sees our Mother lying in dust and suffering because of our sins, He too becomes embittered in his heart and He descends to save her and make the strangers cease violating her. And now, can there be anybody who sees these things without rending his heart to repent and thus to bring back our Mother to her place and to her palace?..."[100]

While thus the Zohar and the later Kabbalists who were influenced by it attribute God's degradation through coupling with Lilith to the cosmic consequences of the destruction of the Temple, the pre-Zoharic gnostic Kabbalists, such as Moses of Burgos, placed the same divine Fall in the very days of Creation. For, they maintained, just as on earth below Lilith and Samael procreated demons and spirits with Adam and Eve, so in the Upper Realm "a spirit of seduction issued forth from Lilith and seduced God the King, while Samael managed to have his will on the Shekhina.[101]

Whatever the beginnings of this connubium between God and Lilith, it is to continue until the coming of the Messiah will put an end to it.

"A voice is appointed to announce to the Matronit and say 'Rejoice greatly, o daughter of Zion, shout, o daughter of Jerusalem, behold, thy King cometh unto thee, he is righteous and victorious, lowly and riding upon an ass.'[102]... For he would be riding, until that time, in a place which is not his, in an alien place... and would remain lowly... for until that time the Righteous One would remain without righteousness. But at that time (he and the Matronit will again) couple with each other and he will become 'righteous and victorious' because he will no longer dwell in the Other Side (i.e. will no longer be tied to Lilith)... And God will restore the Matronit to her place as in the beginning. And what will the rejoicing be? Say, the rejoicing of the King and of the Matronit. The rejoicing of the King over returning to her and separating from the slave-woman, and the rejoicing of the Matronit over coupling again with the King."[103]

Those Messianic days will mark not only the reunion of God and the Matronit and the rejection of Lilith, but also the end of Lilith's existence. For, although Lilith has existed ever since the sixth or even the fifth day of Creation, she is not immortal. In the Days to Come, when Israel will take revenge on Edom, both she, and the Blind Dragon who arranged the match between her and Samael, will be killed.[104]

14. CONCLUSION

It is rather difficult to evaluate the position of Lilith in Jewish religion, and her significance for the Jewish believer. The very fact that as late as the 18th, or even 19th century the belief in her not only survived but remained a potent factor in religious consciousness and conduct is in itself surprising. That these beliefs, and, in all probability, the practices as well, retained essentially the same form in which they first appeared four thousand years previously in Sumer, is remarkable. A citizen of Sumer in ca. 2500 B.C., and an East Euro-

pean Hassidic Jew in 1800 A.D. had very little in common as far as the higher levels of religion were concerned. But they would have readily recognized as most familiar each other's beliefs about the pernicious machinations of Lilith, and each other's apotropaic measures resorted to in order to drive her away or escape her enticements.

It is interesting, moreover, to note that both in ancient Sumer and in Kabbalistic Judaism Lilith's career ran very similar courses. She started out in both faiths as a lowly she-demon, whose activities were confined to the nether realms of existence, who was associated with impure nocturnal animals and who pulled man down to her own base level. Then, in both religions, she succeeded in working herself up, as it were, to higher rungs on the scale of numina, until she became an undoubted goddess in Sumer and the consort of God in Kabbalism. Yet with all these advances in her career, the basic qualities of her personality never changed: she remained the beautiful seductress who joined lonely men in their nocturnal unrest, enjoyed their sex and bore them demonic offspring, while she also found enough time to play her lethal games with children, causing them to laugh happily in their sleep and then strangling them mercilessly so as to get hold of, and array herself in, their innocent souls. There can be little doubt that a she-demon who accompanied mankind—or at least a part of mankind—from earliest antiquity to the threshold of the Age of Enlightenment must be a projection, or objectification, of human fears and desires which, in a deeper sense, are identical with those oft-mentioned "plagues of mankind" said in Kabbalistic literature to be the offspring of Lilith, but recognized by us as her psychogenic progenitors.

The meaning of Lilith becomes more easily comprehensible if one considers the basic similarity between her and the Matronit, the goddess of the Kabbala, whose image was described and analyzed in the previous chapter. Lilith, of course, is the embodiment of everything that is evil and dangerous in the sexual realm, while the Matronit is her exact opposite: a good, even saintly figure. Yet, at the same time, Lilith is also irresistibly attractive, while the Matronit is sternly forbidding

and even warlike. A closer look easily discerns the mask-nature of these contrasting characterizations: behind the evil mask of Lilith and the good one of the Matronit, the numen, embodying man's fears and desires, is disconcertingly, yet reassuringly, the same. Her mythical biography, whether it treats her as Lilith or as the Matronit, remains fundamentally unchanged:

Both the Matronit (who is identical with the Shekhina) and Lilith originated, according to the Kabbalistic doctrine, from an emanation of the deity. We also recall the virginity of the Matronit. Lilith, too, is a virgin, or, at least, assumes at will the bodily form of a virgin when she joins the couch of a sleeping man who embraces her in his unconscious desire. Both the Matronit and Lilith are, on the other hand, promiscuous: no sooner is a man separated, even temporarily, from his wife than the Matronit joins him, couples with him, and thus restores him to that state of completeness which is the privilege and high blessing of the male and female together. Lilith does the same, with the difference, of course, that in contrast to the holy union of man and the Matronit, the union which Lilith enters into with man is an unholy defilement.

Both the Matronit and Lilith are queens: the Matronit the heavenly queen of Israel; Lilith the queen of Sheba and Zemargad.

The motherly aspect of both the Matronit and Lilith is expressed in their giving birth all the time to innumerable souls: although again, the souls brought forth by the Matronit are pure and enter the bodies of children conceived by husbands and wives in purity, while those issuing from Lilith are impure and become demons, "the plagues of mankind."

The Matronit, as we have seen, is a goddess of war also; she kills not only the enemies of God and Israel, but also takes the souls of pious men, substituting in their extreme hour for the Angel of Death. Lilith, likewise, is a killer of men and of children, and the pleasurable laughter of her victims makes us more than suspect that they enjoy death at her hands as much as they would expiring through a kiss of the Matronit.

The Matronit was the wife of Jacob and Moses; Lilith was the wife of Adam and Cain. The Matronit was also the wife of God—her wedding with him having been signified by the dedication of the Temple of Jerusalem. Lilith, too, became the wife of God, at the hour that same Temple was destroyed. Both of them were also enjoyed carnally by Samael the Satan, the Matronit each time Israel sinned, and Lilith when the Blind Dragon arranged a union between them.

Finally, the images of both the Matronit and Lilith were split in two: a distinction was made between the Upper Matronit and the Lower Matronit, and likewise between the Older Lilith and the Younger Lilith.

We thus recognize the identity of opposites in Lilith and the Matronit, or, as one may better put it, the ambivalence of religio-sexual experience. The same impulse or experience can, in the case of one man, be good, in the case of the other, evil. In the case of one, an act can promote the blessed union between God and his Matronit; in the case of the other, the same act, or what seemingly is the same act, can result in a strengthening of the powers of evil, of the Other Side. Thus it is not only God's will that is inscrutable; man's feet lead him also along unpredictable paths, and he rarely if ever knows whether a step he takes leads him toward God or away from Him.

The interplay between man and the two bafflingly similar antithetical goddesses is indicative of the great unity that exists between the realms of the divine and the human in the mystical Jewish world-view. The All is viewed as an inverted triangle poised precariously upon its apex, man. Over him, at the two corners of the triangle's base, hover, at a distance that defies the eye, yet so near as to almost merge with him, the God and the Goddess. God is one, but the Goddess, who is part of him, is two: the Matronit and Lilith. She appears like the revolving flame of the Cherubim's sword in the ancient myth: once she shows her Matronit-face, once her Lilith-visage. The flame revolves so fast that it is impossible to hold in one's eye a separate picture of either. Although the God

and the Goddess are one, innumerable strands of attraction and repulsion run back and forth between them, and likewise between man and the deity. Far from "keeping his silence and sustaining the world," this deity is moved by man as much as he moves man, he rejoices with man and suffers with man, and the two aspects of his female component constantly struggle for man and in man.

Chapter VIII

THE SABBATH—VIRGIN, BRIDE, QUEEN AND GODDESS

The Sabbath, to which we now turn our attention, is an exceptional figure among the female divinities of Judaism. All the numinous images discussed so far were originally either foreign goddesses and demons (Asherah, Astarte, Anath, Lilith, Naamah), or had their beginnings in Jewish divine attributes which were conceptionalized and personified (Shekhina, Matronit). As against them, the Sabbath is a unique example of a day in the week, or more precisely the name and idea of such a day, having been developed into a female numen, and endowed with the character of virgin, bride, queen and goddess.

1. SABBATH AND SEX

The Biblical name Sabbath *(Shabbat),* designating the seventh day of the week, seems to have had some connection with the Akkadian *shabattu* or *shapattu,* the name for the feast of the full moon. Yet neither in Akkadian, nor in any other ancient Near Eastern religion, was there a weekly feast and day of rest in any manner comparable to the Sabbath.

From a passage in Deutero-Isaiah we learn in what way one was supposed to observe the Sabbath in the early post-exilic period:

"If, because of the Sabbath, you turn away your foot
From pursuing business on My holy day,
If you call the Sabbath a delight
And God's holy and honored day,
If you honor it by not following your way
And by not seeking your business
Nor speaking thereof—
Then you will find delight in Yahweh,
And I shall make you ride high
Upon the hills of the earth
And I shall feed you with the heritage
Of your father Jacob—
For the mouth of Yahweh has spoken."[1]

The character and laws of the Biblical Sabbath are validated by the myth of creation: God created the world in six days, and on the seventh, the Sabbath, He rested; He blessed and sanctified it, and consequently it is the duty of every Israelite to do likewise and to refrain from all work on that holy day.[2] With the passage of time, the restrictive Sabbath laws became more and more stringent. By the first century A.D., in some Jewish communities sexual intercourse was included among the acts prohibited on the Sabbath under the penalty of death.[3] While this prohibition was unable to take root in Judaism (in which, on the contrary, the idea was soon to develop that intercourse with one's wife on Friday night was a sacred duty), it became an important law in several marginal Jewish sects such as the Samaritans, the Karaites and the Falashas.[4]

In Talmudic Judaism the performance of the marital act on Friday night was considered a very old religious law. According to a Talmudic tradition, one of the ten ordinances introduced by Ezra was that one should eat garlic on the eve of the Sabbath, because garlic makes one happy, multiplies the semen, arouses love and kills jealousy.[5] Some sages attributed such importance to the performance of the act on Friday night that nothing was supposed to keep them from it. A legendary reflection of this is found in a Talmudic story which tells about Yehuda ben Hiyya that he used to spend

all his time in the house of study and return home only on the eve of the Sabbath. Whenever he thus went home, a pillar of fire could be seen preceeding him. One Friday, however, he became so engrossed in his studies that he forgot about the time and remained poring over his books. When his father-in-law, Rabbi Yannai, waited in vain for the appearance of the pillar of fire, he said: "Turn over his bed, for Yehuda must be dead. Would he be alive he would never had neglected his marital duty." These words had the effect of a command issuing by mistake from the mouth of a ruler, which is carried out before he can rescind it, and at that instant Yehuda died.[6]

Thus as far as sexual intercourse on the Sabbath is concerned, the view that developed in the mainstream of traditional Judaism was diametrically opposed to that held, or to be held later, in several semi-Jewish sects. As we shall see in the course of this chapter, Kabbalism, building on the traditional Jewish view, developed its own approach which endowed the performance of marital intercourse on the Sabbath with a special cosmic significance, and turned the Sabbath itself into a veritable divine Queen and the bride of God Himself.

2. *THE SABBATH OF PHILO*

Philo's comments on the Sabbath begin with a discussion of the significance of the number seven. He refers to the old Pythagorean comparison of the numbers with gods, and, in particular, to the likening of seven to the virgin goddess Athena,[7] and utilizes it in his allegorical explanation of the sacredness of the Sabbath, the seventh day. The number seven, Philo points out, is the only one in the "decade," i.e. the first ten digits, which is neither produced by multiplication with any other number, nor produces one within the decade if multiplied by another. And, he goes on to say, "by reason of this, the Pythagoreans, indulging in myth, liken seven to the motherless and ever-virgin Maiden (i.e. Athena), because neither was she born of the womb nor shall she ever bear."[8]

Elsewhere Philo says that since "it is the nature of seven alone...neither to beget nor to be begotten...other philos-

ophers liken this number to the motherless virgin Nike, who is said to have appeared out of the head of Zeus, while the Pythagoreans liken it to the Sovereign of the Universe: for that which neither begets nor is begotten remains motionless... (and) there is only one thing that neither causes motion nor experiences it, the original Ruler and Sovereign. Of Him seven may be fitly said to be a symbol..."[9]

This rich symbolism of the number seven is transferred by Philo in its entirety to the seventh day of the week, the Sabbath. We are left in doubt as to whether this application was the idea of Philo himself or whether it originated with others. One of the two passages in which Philo discusses the symbolism of the Sabbath is explicitly stated to be a mere recording of what others have invented; the other is phrased so as to indicate that it contains original thoughts of his own on the subject. In the first he says:

"Some have given to it (the Seventh Day, the Sabbath) the name of virgin, having before their eyes its surpassing chastity. They also call her the motherless, begotten by the father of the universe alone (who is) the ideal form of the male sex with nothing of the female. It (the seven) is the manliest and doughtiest of numbers, well gifted by nature for sovereignty and leadership. Some give it the name of "season" (or: "decisive time"), judging its conceptual nature from its manifestation in the realm of sense... For seven reveals as completed what six has produced, and therefore it may be quite rightly entitled the birthday of the world..."[10]

Sabbath as the motherless, chaste virgin, does, of course, not jibe well with the excellences of the day marked by seven, "the manliest and doughtiest of numbers"; but as to the sovereignty and leadership which Philo also attributes to the Sabbath, these—as we know from his speculations about the two Cherubim—he regarded as traits of the *female* component of the deity. In the passage in which Philo presents these ideas as his own, he indulges in an even less restrained sexual symbolism:

"The prophet (Moses) magnified the holy seventh day, seeing with his keener vision its marvelous beauty stamped upon heaven and the whole world, and enshrined in nature itself. For he found that she (the Sabbath) was in the first place motherless, exempt from female parentage, begotten by the Father (God) alone, without begetting, brought to the birth, yet not carried in the womb. Secondly, he (Moses) saw not only these, that she was all lovely and motherless, but that she was also ever virgin, neither born of a mother nor a mother herself, neither bred from corruption nor doomed to suffer corruption. Thirdly, as he scanned her, he recognized in her the birthday of the world, a feast celebrated by heaven, celebrated by earth and things on earth as they rejoice and exult in the full harmony of the sacred number."[11]

Here we have a fully developed mythological picture of the Sabbath, whether arrived at by Philo himself or built upon traditions known to him from other sources. The Sabbath is described as a daughter of God, begotten by her Father alone without the participation of any female, and therefore motherless. She is marvelous in her beauty, ever virginal, incorruptible, but, at one and the same time, endowed with sovereignty and leadership. In these features, we shall recognize without difficulty some of the traits which characterized also other female numina of the Talmudic and Kabbalistic periods.

3. *THE TALMUDIC ANTECEDENTS*

In the Bible, the prohibition of working on the Sabbath is stated in general terms only. In the Mishna and the Talmud, all the activities which count as work, and therefore are prohibited on the Sabbath, are enumerated and discussed in considerable detail.[12] There can thus be no doubt that in the Talmudic period the Sabbath was of primary importance as the weekly day of rest, hallowed by God and observed by men with meticulous scrupulousness, as one of the pivotal religious duties of Judaism.

Yet, in addition to all the legalistic detail, there is one single passage in Talmudic literature which indicates that

the personification of the Sabbath as a bride and a queen dates back to Talmudic times. The two sages mentioned in the passage in question lived in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.:

"Rabbi Hanina used to wrap himself (in festive clothes) towards evening on Friday and say: 'Come, let us go to receive Sabbath the Queen.' Rabbi Yannai used to put on (festive) clothes on the eve of the Sabbath and say: 'Come, O bride, come, O bride!' "[13]

Other Talmudic passages, while not addressing the Sabbath as a bride or a queen, clearly show that the sages of the Talmudic period related with extraordinary love and affection to the Sabbath day. Sayings such as "He who takes three meals on the Sabbath will be saved from three evils: the pangs of the Messiah, the judgment of Gehenna, and the war of Gog and Magog," or "He who celebrates the Sabbath with enjoyments, will be given an inheritance without bounds,"[14] express the spirit in which the Sabbath was regarded. Anecdotes about a pious man called "Joseph the Sabbath-lover" are adduced to illustrate the rewards one can expect to reap if one loves and honors the Sabbath.[15] The Sabbath is like the spice which endows the Sabbath-meals with a delicious scent.[16] The importance of honoring the Sabbath with a festive table is repeatedly emphasized, and one sage, Rabbi Yose ben Yehuda, a Palestinian teacher of the 2nd century A.D., had this to say about it:

"Two ministering angels accompany a man on Sabbath eve from the synagogue to his house. One is a good angel, the other an evil one. As the man arrives in his house, if he finds the candle burning, the table set, and his bed made, the good angel says: 'Be it the will (of God) that it be like this on the next Sabbath!' And the evil angel answers 'Amen' against his will. If not, the evil angel says: 'Be it the will that it be like this on the next Sabbath! and the good angel answers 'Amen' against his will."[17]

In a midrashic passage the Sabbath is not only personified but contraposited to God:

"Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai said: The Sabbath said before God: 'Master of the Worlds! Each day has its mate, but I have none! Why?' The Holy One, blessed be He, answered her: 'The Community of Israel is your mate.' And when Israel stood before Mount Sinai, the Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: 'Remember what I told the Sabbath: 'The Community of Israel is your mate.' Therefore, 'remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.' "[18] The six weekdays, this midrash in effect says, constitute three pairs, and the odd Sabbath-day received Israel as her mate. Israel was thus promised to the Sabbath in the days of creation.

The common feature between the Talmud's and Philo's view of the Sabbath is that both personify her as a woman: Philo makes her the virgin daughter of God, who is also the sovereign and ruler of the world; the Talmud presents her as the bride of Israel and a queen.[19]

4. *THE FALASHA SABBATH*

The Falashas, the black Jews of Ethiopia, who preserved several sacred books in the Geez language from a period as early as the 4th century A.D., went one important step farther than the Talmud in their view of the Sabbath: they not only personified, they deified her. This development, as has been pointed out, "is analogous to what Hellenistic Jewish and subsequent Gnostic speculation has done with such a concept as wisdom."[20] However, the Falasha deification of the Sabbath has been carried to an extreme never duplicated in either Hellenistic Jewish or Gnostic portrayals of the figure of *Hokhma-Sophia.* The only true analogy to it can be found in the Kabbalistic Matronit and Sabbath figures of the 13th and 16th centuries respectively.

The Falashas, whose presence in Ethiopia is first attested historically in the 12th century A.D., preserved a primitive Judaism which relies entirely on the Old Testament and the apocryphal *Book of Jubilees,* includes the practice of animal sacrifices, and knows nothing of the Mishna and the Talmud.[21] One must, therefore, assume that they were cut off from con-

tact with the Palestinian-Babylonian-Egyptian mainstream of Jewish life prior to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A.D.

The Falasha book *Teezaza Sanbat,* or Commandments of the Sabbath, is definitely a Jewish book, written in Geez, the old Falasha language and dating in its present form from the 14th century, although it contains material which may go back to the 5th to 7th centuries.[22] The framework of the book is the story of creation, but its bulk deals with the greatness and the glory of the Sabbath of Israel, her adventures, acts, punitive expeditions and intercessions with God. She is described as the daughter of God, a divine princess, to whom all the angels pay homage and who is exceedingly loved by God Himself. God, we read, "sanctified the Sabbath, glorified her, and blessed her through the Holy Spirit.... The Sabbath will rise from her seat on Friday at dawn.... the archangels will crown the Sabbath of God, and the priests of Heaven will leap for joy...." Ninety thousand angels will crown the Sabbath of God and bring her down from on high. Because of her all will rejoice like calves, and all the angels of Heaven will be glad because of the greatness, the splendor, and the glory of the Sabbath of God. The Sabbath will look upon the souls of the just in the garden, and they will rejoice on Friday....

"The souls of the sinners will love her (the Sabbath) in order that she may bring them out of Sheol (hell)....

"God said to the archangel Michael: 'Go down to Sheol for the sake of the Sabbath rest.' When the Sabbath rises from the right hand of God, Friday at dawn, the angels rise immediately with the Sabbath and crown her. While they praise, glorify and honor her, they fear and tremble greatly....

"The Sabbath of Israel said to God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth: 'I brought Thee those who believe in me and Thee, show mercy to them for my sake.' God answered the Sabbath: 'I pity them for thy sake,' and He sent them away without shame or humiliation....

"Sabbath means: I am God. 'It is not the day but I (who say it),' says God....

"Sabbath said to God: 'Hearken to me, O Lord, (and let me say) but one word. I was with Thee when Thou didst create the Heaven, and didst establish the earth upon the rocks with Thy wisdom.... O Lord, give me Thy consent and send me not to the unjust, the slanderers, the quarrelsome, and the treacherous. Drive me not away towards those who strike me with their spittle, who sit in the sun, who wash not with water, who cover not their... who throw away their spittle, quench not their fire, and accept not my commandments. As to their women, they knead their dough, they cook, draw water, crush in the mortar, shout, neglect my commandments, and rebuke their neighbors....'

"On the day when God reprimands the children of Adam, the Sabbath will stand at the entrance of Hell in the valley of fire and will say: 'By God! May the just not be separated from the sinners before I separate them for my sake. I shall inform Thee of those who rest not and observe not my laws.' God said to her: 'Numerous are those who committed sins before me.' The Sabbath said to God: 'Remember not the sins of Thy servants after they observed Thy Sabbath. Thou hast given me for a witness to the peoples, and Thou hast said through the mouth of Thy servant Moses: 'My Sabbath you shall keep, for it is a sign between you and me throughout your generations.'[23] And Thou hast said: 'You shall keep my Sabbath for it is holy' and a rest unto you, and later it will be a witness. Their other faults will not be reprimanded. Verily, I shall forget their sins because of thee, my witness.' Thou shalt not count them among the infidels because of their faults, and Thou shalt not couple them with the unjust. I conjure Thee by Thy glory. Thou hast granted it to me, and Thou wilt not deny it because of Thy justice. I, Thy Sabbath, rose on that day to deliver my menservants and maidservants from among the oppressors and the wicked, for I am merciful. How can he be clean that is born of woman? Not even the sun and the moon are clean before Thee.[24] O Lord, permit me to deliver my servants forever, without limit. Amen.'

"God said to the Sabbath: 'I shall not confound thee and shall not refuse thee what thou hast asked of me. I grant thee everything that is thine. I say it truly in the name of my justice and of my Sabbath. And now, may they have respite from Hell on that day, since the Sabbath is the witness for those who observe it.' Sabbath said to God: 'Grant it to me.' "[25]

After brief references to the glory of God, the creation of Adam, the fall, and the covenant of Noah, the narrative dwells at some length upon the well known myth of Abraham and Nimrod,[26] then returns to the sin of Adam, recounts the story of the Golden Calf, and finally takes again up the story of the Sabbath:

"When the Sabbath rose from her seat on Friday morning, 640,000 angels followed her, and she worshiped the Creator. About 4,300 angels praised the Sabbath; 680,000 were to her right, 880,000 to her left. God conversed with the Sabbath. He gave the Sabbath (to Israel) to eat the fruits of the earth,[27] to drink, to rest, to worship, to pray, and to show mercy. God said: 'They to whom I gave thee shall descend with thee. They who praise not, are not submissive, invoke not God on my Sabbath, and transgress my laws and commandments, shall be coupled with the wicked.'

"And God said: 'They who honor thee are as if they honored me, who dismiss thee are as if they dismissed me, who serve thee are as if they served me, who receive thee as if they received me, who make of the Sabbath a day of delight are considered as if they had made a loan to me...'

"The Sabbath said to God: 'From Thee come the commandments and the law...' God said: 'May (the angels) descend with thee.' The Sabbath said to God: 'Hearken to me, only one word.' God said to his Sabbath: 'Yes, I listen to thee. He who celebrates thee and honors thee more than the other days, will not have his sins remembered.[28] He who gives alms on the Sabbath, who receives thee after being washed in water, I permit thee to take him from me. To him who gives alms on the Sabbath of God, I shall give the forty-nine gifts I gave to thee.'

"The Sabbath left the camp of God. God said to the angels, his servants: 'Go, descend with her.' He sent them, and the angels followed, numbering 240,000. They brought her to earth. They reported the deeds of men to God....

"God saw (all this) and said: 'The (Sabbath) shall never be worn out, the fruit of the Sabbath shall not perish. Praise me all people.'...

"The Sabbath descended from Heaven to the earth on Friday at the ninth hour (and remained) until Sunday at the rising of the sun so that the earth might see the deeds of the Sabbath....

"The Sabbath said to Michael, Gabriel, Ruma'el and Uriel: 'Bring to me all those who are mine, who believe in me, who neglect me not, who observe me and accept me.' Michael ran with his hosts, descended and seized all those who belonged to the Sabbath, as the Sabbath had told him. The hosts of Michael fought with the hosts of Berna'el and with their nails they took these hypocrites, the host of Hell, by the throat. They drove them to the bottom of Sheol and slapped them on the cheeks. They overpowered the hosts of Berna'el and subjugated them according to their deeds. Michael then ascended to the Sabbath and said to her: 'The riders of Hell assailed me and took me by force.'

"Thereupon the Sabbath said to God: 'O Lord, my creator, give me power over those who love me, and over those who are mine, and withhold not my servants from me!' God said to the Sabbath: 'I shall give thee all those who are mine, as thou hast asked me...for those who fear God, the Sabbath will stand before Him (and defend) the children of Adam on the last day. And she will say to God: 'On that day I shall be witness for those who fear me and know me. And as for those who disregard me and know not God, the hosts of Berna'el will seize them and will throw the sinners into Hell.' "

The story now returns to the days of creation which came to a conclusion with the Sabbath, and the choice of Israel whose special task was to keep the Sabbath.

"God said to his Sabbath: 'Go, descend to the earth.' And the Sabbath descended from the highest heaven to the earth

in the midst of Jerusalem. Abel, Enoch, and Melchizedek the great priest received her. And all the angels of God crowned her, and then they dispersed in the midst of heaven after having departed from her throne....

"When God questions the inhabitans of the earth upon the day of His arrival (the day of the last judgment), the Sabbath will stand before Him on behalf of those who fear Him....

"Sabbath said to God: 'Thy name is great forever. Thy name is gracious.' God said to the Sabbath: 'I am gracious for those who belong to thee.' The Sabbath will rise on the day on which God questions those who fear Him and those who fear Him not. Then the Sabbath will intercede for those who belong to her, and will say to her Creator: 'These are my people; these are my inheritance; these are they who walk in my path, who love me, who believe in me, who neglect Thee not, who find delight in Thee. Now they will enjoy eternal rest. Amen....' "[29]

The personification of the Sabbath is a strong element also in another Falasha writing, the so-called *Abba Elijah*. In it we read that God gave the Sabbath the following names: Luminous, Glorified, Honored, Beautiful, Resuscitating, Rejoicing, Beloved and Guardian; and that the name Sabbath itself means "I am God alone."[30]

So far the old Falasha myth of the Sabbath.

In Ethiopian Jewish and Christian folk-belief there is a certain parallelism between Mary and the Sabbath. In an Ethiopian folksong the Sabbath and Mary are considered mothers of a certain hero, while Michael and Gabriel are his fathers.[31] And a Falasha made the following statement: "The mediatrix of the Christians is Mary; ours is the Sabbath."[32]

To recapitulate the main features of the Falasha Sabbath: she is one of the earliest creations of God, but, in a mystical sense, also identical with God, which, however, does not prevent her from engaging in discussions with God. She is also a queen, crowned by the angels and seated on her throne.

Those who observe the Sabbath-rest and love her, are her people whom she claims from God and whom she rescues from the last judgment even if they sinned. To love and honor the Sabbath is the same as loving and honoring God. She orders the archangels to engage in a battle with the hosts of Satan ("Berna'el") in order to save the pious from his clutches. She is so terrifying in her glory that even the angels tremble when they look at her. In brief, she is a veritable goddess.

5. *THE KABBALISTIC SABBATH*

As might be expected, the laconic Talmudic allusions to the Sabbath as bride and queen were seized upon by the Kabbalists and developed into a Sabbath-mythologem upon which then was built one of their most important mystical rituals. Although the peak of Sabbath-adoration was reached only in the 16th century in the Safed center of the Palestinian Kabbalists, the trend towards it was heralded as early as the 12th century in both poetic and doctrinal exposition.

Abraham ibn Ezra (1092-1167), the famous Hebrew scholar and poet who lived in Spain, Italy and France, describes in a treatise entitled "Epistle of the Sabbath" that on the night of the 14th of Tebeth, 4919 (December 7, 1158), while sojourning in England, he saw a dream in which a man handed him a myrrh-scented letter saying, "Take this letter which the Sabbath sent you." The poet opens the letter and finds in it a poem in which the Sabbath describes herself as "the crown of the religion of the precious ones" and goes on to enumerate her excellences, such as:

> "I am the delight of males and females
> In me rejoice the old and the young."[33]

A century later, a certain Menahem ben Jacob composed a poem in which he addressed the Sabbath as queen and bride. This poem was still reprinted in 19th-century editions of the complete prayer book.[34] The lines

> "How sweet is your rest, O you Queen Sabbath,
> Let us hasten toward you, come, O anointed bride,"

are closely reminiscent of the famous 16th century Sabbath-song *Lekha Dodi* which was to supplant all the earlier poetic praises of the Sabbath and of which more will be said below.

Also in the 13th century, some Jewish mystics introduced a heterosexual notion into the Sabbath concept, justified by the two verbs which open the Fourth Commandment in the parallel versions of *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy* respectively: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy";[35] and "Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy."[36] The Book *Bahir,* the mystical Bible commentator Nahmanides (Moses ben Nahman, 1194-1270), and the Zohar, all reiterate the idea that the words "Remember" and "Observe" refer to two Supernal Sabbaths, one of whom is masculine, the other feminine. As the Zohar puts it:

" 'The children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath'[37]—this refers to the night, the mystery of the female; and 'Remember the Sabbath day'[38] refers to the day, the mystery of the male."[39]

The feminine Sabbath is, moreover, mystically identified with the Shekhina, or the Sephira of Kingship, while the male Sabbath is the *Yesod* ("Foundation") or *Tif'eret* ("Beauty"), i.e. the male aspect of the deity. Since the Shekhina is also identified with the Community of Israel, in this manner the Shekhina becomes the bride, or mate, of the Sabbath-*Yesod.*[40]

If we recall that already Philo discerned a "manly and doughty" aspect in the Sabbath, in addition to her feminine aspects of virginity, beauty and sovereignty, we find that the Kabbalistic distinction between a male and a female Sabbath is, again, an idea which has its roots in antiquity.

Elsewhere the Zohar describes the preparations one is supposed to make for the reception of the Sabbath the queen and bride, in proper fashion, in order thereby to induce her to come and, at the same time, banish her dark rival, Lilith:

"One must prepare a comfortable seat with several cushions and embroidered covers, from all that is found in the house, like one who prepares a *huppa* (canopy) for a bride. For the

Sabbath is a queen and a bride. This is why the masters of the Mishna used to go out on the eve of Sabbath to receive her on the road, and used to say: 'Come, O bride, come, O bride!' And one must sing and rejoice at the table in her honor. And more than this: there is yet another mystery. One must receive the Lady (i.e. the Sabbath) with many lighted candles, many enjoyments, beautiful clothes, and a house embellished with many fine appointments, for through this rejoicing and these arrangements one causes the Evil Handmaid (i.e. Lilith) to remain in the dark, hungry, crying and wailing, wrapped in mourning clothes like a widow. For when the one is fulfilled, the other is destroyed. The Good Inclination is the Holy Matronit, the Holy Kingdom which descends on the Sabbath...and the King proceeds to receive her with many hosts. And the Evil Inclination, the Evil Handmaid, remains in the darkness like a widow without her husband, without a chariot. Those about whom it is said that they offered sacrifices and burnt incense to the Queen of Heaven and the stars, which I (God) have not commanded them to do, they worship the Evil Maid who rules on the eve of Sabbaths and Wednesdays. What did they do? They took dark clothes, and darkened the lights and made a mourning on the Sabbath eves..."[41]

It is a peculiar, yet again almost inevitable, coincidence that the same night on which the pious prepare to receive Queen Sabbath, and on which God Himself proceeds to unite with her, should also be the time when Lilith roams and seduces men. It is up to man, the passage quoted above seems to say, to make his choice between the holy bride, the Sabbath, and the unholy one, Lilith.

Less than a hundred years after the Zohar, the idea of the Sabbath as God's bride, and of God as the Sabbath's bridegroom, was elaborated and made explicit by David ben Joseph Abudarham, a commentator of the prayers and benedictions, who lived in Seville about the middle of the 14th century. In his exposition of this thought, Abudarham adduces evidence from the special Sabbath prayers which he reads as alluding to the betrothal of the divine couple. "The Sabbath,"

he says, "is called bride, and God is called bridegroom." This can be concluded from the fact that the words "You (God) sanctified the seventh day to your name," included in the Friday evening prayer, actually mean "You betrothed the Sabbath day to Yourself."[42] Similarly, the prayer beginning with the words "Moses rejoiced" was included in the Sabbath liturgy because it refers to the rejoicing of the bridegroom, God, over the bride, the Sabbath; and the prayer "You are one" was included because it refers to the union of bride and groom.[43]

The Zoharic image of God the King proceeding with his innumerable hosts to receive his bride the Sabbath, the Holy Matronit, was subsequently translated into a central weekly ritual among the Safed Kabbalists of the 16th century. They developed the custom of leaving the town on Friday toward dusk, and proceeding to the adjacent hills and fields in order to receive the Sabbath in the open. While approaching the queen and bride, the spirits of the marching group would rise to a near-euphoria, and they would begin to intone the *Lekha Dodi,* the Sabbath song which was universally accepted later, and is sung to this day in every synagogue on Friday evening. The poem was written, with liberal borrowings from earlier versions, by Shlomo ben Moshe Halevi Alkabes (ca. 1505-1584), a member of the Safed group of Kabbalists. Like all poems of this sort, the *Lekha Dodi* too is replete with Biblical phrases and allusions to religious ideas, with which one must be thoroughly familiar in order to get its full meaning. The literal prose translation which follows is offered with this author's apologies, in full awareness of his inability to do justice to the poetic and emotional qualities of the Hebrew original.

Come, my friend, to meet the Bride
Let us receive the face of Sabbath.

"Observe" and "Remember" in one utterance
The Only God let us hear.
God is one and his name is one,
For renown, glory and praise.

Come...

Come, let us go to meet Sabbath,
For she is the source of blessing,
Pouring forth from ancient days.
The act was the end, in thought the beginning.[44]

Come...

King's temple, royal city,
Arise, leave the destruction behind,
Long have you sat in the vale of tears,
Now He will show mercy unto you.

Come...

Shake off the dust, arise, put on
The garments of your glory, O my people!
Through the Son of Yishai the Bethlehemite,[45]
Draw nigh to my soul and redeem it!

Come...

Awake, awake, for your light has come!
Arise and shine!
Wake up, wake up, sing a song!
God's glory was revealed to you.

Come...

Be not ashamed, be not confounded.
Why are you humble, why do you sigh?
The poor of my people will find refuge in you,
And the City will be rebuilt on her mound.

Come...

Your spoilers will be despoiled,
All your destroyers will be removed,
Your God will rejoice over you
As the bridegroom rejoices over the bride.

Come...

You will spread out to the right and left
And the Lord you will adore.
Through the Man, the Son of Perez,[46]
We all shall be happy and rejoice.

Come...

Come in peace, O crown of her husband,
In joy and in jubilation,
Amid the faithful of the chosen people,
Come, O Bride, come O Bride!

Come, my friend, to meet the Bride
Let us receive the face of Sabbath.

In addition to this paean, in which the Sabbath is described as God's bride, and God as the Sabbath's husband, also Psalms 29 or 95-99 were recited, and sometimes even musical instruments were played. The fields in which all this took place were, through the arrival of the Sabbath-Shekhina, turned into the "sacred apple orchard," which in itself is a mystical manifestation or aspect of the Shekhina,[47] a sacred grove sanctified by the union of God with His bride and producing the souls of the just. The festive procession going to receive the Sabbath outside the town resembled in both form and spirit the processional fetching of the bride by the entourage dispatched in traditional Middle Eastern Jewish weddings by the bridegroom's family to escort her to the wedding canopy.

Following the end of the evening prayers, the men would return home to be received by their wives—the wife in this instance became for the husband the earthly representative of the Shekhina, with whom he was about to perform that night the sacred act of cohabitation in imitation of, and in mystical sympathy with, the supernal union between God the King and his wife the Matronit-Shekhina-Sabbath. The return from the synagogue to the home on the Sabbath eve was also the occasion on which it was proper to show due reverence to the mother; of Isaac Luria, the great leader and master of the Safed Kabbalists, it is reported that upon entering his home he used to kiss revently the hands of his mother.

Now the husband would approach the table and pick up two bunches of myrtles, each consisting of three twigs, prepared for the bride and the groom, circumambulate the table —all rites imitative and symbolic of observances performed at actual weddings—and sing welcoming songs to the two angels

of peace who were believed to accompany him home from the synagogue. The chanting of chapter 31 (verses 10-31) of the Book of *Proverbs,* which followed, had a double significance. Ostensibly, it was meant as a paean to the "woman of valor," the good wife and mother whose very presence in the house, quite apart from all the care she lavished on her family, made it possible for the husband to live a complete Jewish life, in accordance with the oft reiterated teachings of the Kabbala about the blessed state of male-and-female togetherness. Beyond that, however, there was a deeper meaning: the "woman of valor" whose excellence is described in the twenty-two alphabetically arranged verses, was interpreted as being none other than the Shekhina herself, the divine Matronit, whose image thus mystically merged with that of the man's own wife.

Next came the recitation of an Aramaic poem containing an invitation addressed to God the King to take part in the festive Sabbath meal. At some time during that meal or following it, the husband chanted another mystical Aramaic poem written by Isaac Luria and describing the union of God the King and his bride the Sabbath-Shekhina.[48] The first six stanzas read as follows:[49]

> Let me sing the praises of Him who enters the gates
> Of the orchard of apple trees, holy are they.
>
> Let us invite her[50] now, with a freshly set table,
> With a goodly lamp which sheds light on the heads
>
> Right and left, and the bride in between
> Comes forth in her jewels and sumptuous raiments.
>
> Her husband embraces her, and with her *Yesod,*[51]
> Which gives her pleasure, he presses her mightily.[52]
>
> Cries and sighs have stopped and ceased,
> New faces come, spirits and souls.
>
> He brings her great joy, in a double measure,
> Light pours upon her, and blessings on end.

Upon the completion of this song it is customary to this day among the Hassidic Jews who follow the ritual established

by "the Holy Lion," i.e. Isaac Luria, to say this Aramaic prayer:

"Be it the will before the Ancient One, the Most Holy One, and the Most Secret One, and the Most Hidden of All, that the Supernal Dew be drawn from Him to fill the head of the Small Face and to fall upon the Orchard of Holy Apples, in radiance of face, in pleasure and in joy for all."[53]

The several courses of the meal, the drinking of wine, the numerous songs, the "words of Torah," and the after-meal grace, took so long that by the time the family rose from the table it would be near midnight. And this was as it should be, because it had to be midnight when husband and wife retired to bed in order not to infringe the stringent Kabbalistic rule prohibiting cohabitation prior to midnight. The background of this rule requires some explanation.

6. *THE MYSTICAL UNION*

As we have seen in the first section of this chapter, Friday night was considered in the Talmudic period the proper time for scholars to fulfill the religious commandment of marital intercourse with their wives. This must have been an established custom, just as was the daily performance of the marital act by men of leisure, twice weekly by laborers, once a week by donkey drivers, once in thirty days by camel drivers (whose caravans returned home only once in thirty days), and once every six months by sailors (whose extended sea voyages enabled them to return home only at such long intervals). The passage in the Mishna which contains this information,[54] is couched in the form of a legal decision as to the frequency of marital intercourse required of people of various occupations in fulfillment of the Biblical law which enjoins on a man not to diminish "the food, the raiment and the conjugal rights" of his wife.[55] The subsequent Talmudic specification to the effect that scholars must have marital intercourse with their wives on Friday nights, underwent further refinements as to the precise time most suited for the performance of the act by scholars, and received its final codification as a religious law

by Joseph Caro (1488-1575), in his *Shulhan 'Arukh,* the last great and comprehensive Jewish code, first printed in Venice in 1564-65. Caro, who was also an outstanding mystic and leader of the Safed circle of Kabbalists, advises that the act should be performed "neither in the beginning of the night nor towards its end, lest the husband hear the voices of people and be brought to thinking of another woman, but in the middle of the night."[56] Although this explanation of the rule to perform the act in the middle of the night is plausible enough, since thinking of another woman while coupling with one's own wife was considered a grave sin, there is much more to it than Caro allows to meet the eye. As his Polish commentator, Abraham Abele Halevi Gombiner (1635-1682), remarked about a hundred years later, "The Kabbalists wrote awesome mysteries (about intercourse) precisely after midnight..."[57]

What these "awesome mysteries" were can be summarized from the basic writings of the Kabbala. They consist of two parts: an earlier one, explaining the mystical meaning of marital intercourse on Friday night, and a later one, specifying the mystical significance of restricting marital intercouse to Friday night after midnight.

The first is found in the Zohar which casts its teaching on the subject into the form of a reinterpretation of a passage in *Isaiah:* "Thus saith the Lord concerning the eunuchs who keep My Sabbaths, and choose the things that please Me, and hold fast to My covenant: Even unto them will I give in My house and within My walls a monument and a memorial better than sons and daughters..."[58] The "eunuchs," says the Zohar, are the scholars who study the Law all week long and "castrate themselves for the duration of the six days of the week, tiring themselves out with the study of the Law, and on Friday night they spur themselves to copulation because they know the supernal mystery of the hour in which the Matronit couples with the King." The words "who keep My Sabbaths" mean that those scholars keep themselves waiting for the Sabbath. "Choose the things that please Me" refers to the

time of the coupling of the Matronit. "Hold fast to My Covenant" means that they hold on to that part of the godhead which carries the sign of the Abrahamic covenant, the Sephira of the Yesod, which stands for the masculine member, and through which the King unites with the Matronit. The Zohar concludes the passage with the words, "Happy is the lot of him who sanctifies himself in this holiness and knows this mystery"—that is to say, happy is he, who, knowing this mystery, sanctifies himself by coupling with his wife on Friday night at the time when the King couples with His Matronit, and, by so doing, both imitates the divine act and brings it about helping the godhead to achieve its mystical unity.[59]

The second part of the mystery, that which pertain to the precise time of copulation, is contained in the 16th-century elaboration of the Kabbalistic doctrine. Isaac Luria, in his discussion of the relationship between the King and the Matronit, whom he calls the Small Face and his Female respectively, distinguishes two facets or persons in the latter: one, referred to by the name Leah, representing the lower aspect of the Shekhina-Matronit, and reaching only as high as the chest of the Small Face; and the other, Rachel, the Shekhina's higher aspect, occupying a face-to-face position with the male deity from his chest upward. The Small Face, incidentally, is also called Jacob or Israel when in juxtaposition to Leah and Rachel.

The Small Face is engaged during the day, and during the night up to midnight, in copulation with Leah which is, mystically, of a low degree. From midnight on, on weekdays, and up to midnight on Fridays, a higher type of copulation takes place between the Small Face and Leah. After midnight on Friday the Small Face and Rachel copulate, which is the highest kind of union of the male and the female in the godhead. This, therefore, is the time of grace in which a scholar should unite with his wife, making sure that he does so only after having pronounced the words: "I fulfil the commandment of copulation for the unification of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the Shekhina."[60]

Thus for the Jew reared in the great mystical tradition of his faith, the Sabbath was a day whose pleasures, both physical and spiritual, amply compensated him for the drabness, narrowness, and frequent sorrowfulness of the weekdays. With the Sabbath, a queenly visitor entered even the humblest abode, which, due to her presence, was transformed into a royal palace, with the table set, the candles burning and the wine waiting. The mistress of the house became mysteriously identified with the Queen Sabbath, who was also identical with the Shekhina, the divine Matronit, God's own consort. As to the master of the house, he felt his chest swell and his consciousness expand due to the "additional soul" which came down from on high to inhabit his body for the duration of the Sabbath. All these supernal presences made man and wife feel part of the great spiritual world order in which every act and word was fraught with cosmic significance, and in which the supreme command of the day was "Rejoice!" When midnight came, and the fulfillment of the commandment to rejoice on the Sabbath found its most intense expression in the consummation of the marital act, this was done with the full awareness, not only of obeying a divine injunction, but also of aiding thereby the divinity himself in achieving a state of male-and-female togetherness which God is just as much in need of as man.

It is certainly a very far cry from the ancient Canaanite orgiastic mass festivals performed in honor of Astarte, the goddess of sexual love and fertility, to the mystically oriented and privately observed celebration of marital sex in honor of the Sabbath, the divine queen and consort of God. Yet, quite apart from the historic development which led from the first to the second in the course of nearly three millennia, one can discover in both at least one common feature which indicates their generic relatedness. Both observances are culturally conditioned and traditionally formulated responses to the basic human psychological need to elevate and sanctify the sexual impulse by attributing to the sex act a higher, a religious, a divine significance. In both, the act becomes more than the

end-in-itself that in physiological reality it actually is; it becomes a sacrosanct observance directed at a loftier and greater aim: the exertion of beneficial influence upon the great ultimate realities of the metaphysical world. And in both it is a female deity whose invisible yet omnipresent countenance is supposed to light up into a benign and pleasurable smile when she observes the fervid performance of her favorite rite.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing eight chapters have not discussed all the feminine numina who, in one period or another, played a role in the history of Hebrew and Jewish religion. There were, in addition to those treated, such concepts as the "Holy Spirit," closely akin to, yet distinct from, the Shekhina; the "Community of Israel," a personified guardian spirit of the totality of the Jewish people; and "Wisdom," God's earliest creation and playmate, who had her counterpart in the Greek *Sophia;* none of these received more than a fleeting mention above in various contexts. Several others were not even touched upon, such as the "Word" who also had a Greek counterpart in *Logos;* the "Daughter Voice" *(Bath Qol),* through whom God's will was made audible on earth; the Law *(Torah),* God's beloved whom He made the bride of Moses; the Earth *(Adamah),* considered in a literal sense the mother of all living; the Mother City, and especially Zion, regarded as the mother of the people; and her counterpart, the Daughter of Zion, who represented the Mother's children, the people of Israel.[1] All of these were personified, all were female, and all partook, to a greater or lesser extent, of a numinous character. If they were omitted from the present volume, it was because they did not share, or shared only to a minor degree, those traits which transform a numinous entity into a goddess, that is into a truly divine being believed to possess a will of her own and to be capable of acting independently of any other divine power.

Such independent volition and capability of action was attributed to all the goddesses discussed. In reference to the

early ones, those who established themselves in the Biblical Hebrew religious consciousness, the question of their dependence on or independence of Yahweh never had to be squarely faced up to. Asherah, Astarte and Anath on the one hand, and Yahweh (or Yahweh Elohim) on the other, inhabited two separate realms. Those who believed in the goddesses saw no incompatibility between the sway they held over certain areas of human life and certain departments of nature, and the rule Yahweh exercised over others: in the polytheistic view of the divine, gods may compete with, and occasionally conspire against, one another, but they never cast a doubt on one another's existence. And as to those who believed in Yahweh only, for them the gods and goddesses worshiped by others were merely idols, devoid of any significance whatsoever except the one baleful ability to lead men astray from the path of righteousness.

In the later period, the female divinities occupied a position in relation to God which was similar in one respect to that of Satan: they were capable of independent thought and action—surpassing by far the autonomy of angels who were believed basically to be no more than the instruments of God's will. Yet there was, of course, the fundamental antithesis between good and evil which separated the Cherubim and the Shekhina from Satan and his cohorts. The independence of Satan's will from that of God was the result of his rebellion against his Master, and his opposition to God was always that of evil to goodness. Not so the female divinities, whose every independent act, even if it brought them into conflict with God, stemmed from their own, different, but equally valid, will to good.

The one exception to this rule is Lilith, the female embodiment of evil, Satan's companion, more deadly than any male devil could ever be. Her realm, dark and sinister, yet full of dangerous allure, stands beyond the control of God. The most powerful archangels, unable to subdue her, could only strike a bargain with her which left her ample room in which to pursue her nefarious activities.

The world peopled by these goddesses is calculated not only to repell the orthodox believer in the one and only God, but also to frustrate the logical mind. It is not unlike that old orchard of mysteries against exploring which the Talmud warns in the form of the story about the four sages who "entered the Pardes" and three of whom came to a bad end. If one is armed only with the sword of logic, one runs the grave risk of being caught on the horns of not one, but several, dilemmas: not only that of reconciling the existence of the omnipotent, one and only God with the existence of other, equally, or almost equally, potent divinities, and female ones to boot; but also that of rendering two opposing wills-to-good accordant with each other; and that of distinguishing between the good and evil goddess, who, perhaps, is, after all, but one wearing two different masks.

It is, however, in the nature of religious truth that it transcends logical verities. Faith, luckily for man, can grasp truths intuitively and on a deeper (or, if you wish: higher) level, a level far beyond the reach of the laborious, step-by-step advance of logical thinking. The religious truth of the existence of a once harmonizing once discordant goddess side by side with a one and only and omnipotent God was triumphantly manifested in what can be called the Kabbalistic break-through. The mystical god-concept of the Kabbala, with its one and yet multiple deity, and its goddess-image, the Matronit, whose wifehood to both God and man brought man nearer to God than he ever could get to a lone, patriarchal, male godhead, humanized God, and, simultaneously, divinized man.

What ultimately emerges from this conspectus is that, contrary to the generally held view, the religion of the Hebrews and the Jews was never without at least a hint of the feminine in its God-concept. At times, as in the Talmudic and even more so in the post-Talmudic periods, the female element in the deity was effectively pushed into the background. At others, as in the Biblical, and again in the Kabbalistic eras, it occupied an important place in popular theology, occasion-

ally even to the extent of overshadowing the male deity or the male component of the godhead. Only in the most recent times, after the Kabbalistic upsurge had subsided, and its last reverberations in Hassidism receded, did the female element disappear from the Jewish God-concept to leave it centered upon a strictly monotheistic, spiritual and non-corporeal, but nevertheless masculine, godhead.

In conclusion, it may be in place to append here a comment for the purpose of putting the persistent sexual imagery of the Kabbala in its proper perspective. In the Middle Ages —and from the viewpoint of outlook, mentality and imagery, the 16th century Kabbalists were as medieval as the 13th-century originators of the Kabbala—there was nothing unusual in resorting to the symbolism of coitus in speaking of certain cosmic and divine events. Thus, for instance, in the cosmic realm, the conjuction of the sun and the moon—that is the appearance of these two luminaries close to each other in the sky—was described verbally and visually as a man and a woman in sexual embrace, with an explicitness which today would be considered pornographic, but which in those days was taken for what it was intended: symbolic representations of an otherwise hard-to-imagine event.[2] Or, in the realm of the divine, let us recall the views of Saint Peter Damian, the 11th-century cardinal and doctor of the Roman Catholic Church, who maintained that when the Virgin Mary matured, she possessed such charm and beauty that God, filled with passion for her, sang the *Canticles* in her praise, and that subsequently she was the golden couch upon which God, tired out by the doings of men and angels, lay down to rest.[3] Two hundred years later, another Italian cardinal, the philosopher and ascetic St. Bonaventura, did not hesitate to call Mary "the Spouse of the Eternal Father."[4]

When viewed against this background, the sexual imagery of the union between God and the Sabbath, or between God the King and his consort the Shekhina-Matronit, or, for that matter, between the Matronit and man, will appear neither offensive nor fantastic. The two thousand year old Jewish tra-

dition of viewing the relationship between God and man as one between husband and wife, was, in the course of time, repeatedly transmuted, transformed, expanded, re-applied and refined. What remained unchanged was the basic approach underlying it all: the overriding, irresistible tendency to view both the physical cosmos and the metaphysical world of the divine in human terms, which inevitably centered on the sexual reference, and thereby to reduce the great and awesome mysteries, ever threatening to crush puny man, to a scale and form which he could grasp, or with which, at least, he could grapple, thus gaining the self-assurance he needed to survive.

In strictly human terms, then, all the changing forms of the deity, the attribution to him of sexual qualities and functions, the early veneration of goddesses, their transformation into female divine attributes or manifestations, and their resuscitation at a time when they seemed dead and buried for over a millennium—all this served the one primal and permanent purpose, succinctly expressed first in the Bible and then repeated in numerous elaborations down to the present day: to safeguard human survival through any and every religious law, concept, idea and endeavor. Let man, this view maintains, keep the statutes and ordinances, even those which bid him look up to a Brazen Serpent, in order that he may live by them.[5] It is under this imperative of life that the historical role of the Hebrew Goddess must be viewed and assessed.

APPENDIX

THE GODDESS IN THE DURA SYNAGOGUE?

1. THE SYNAGOGUE AND ITS MURALS

Excavations conducted on a *tell,* close to the eastern frontier of northern Syria, on the right bank of the Euphrates some 40 miles to the south of its confluence with the Khabur, unearthed the remains of the town of Dura Europos. This was a Roman frontier post for about a century, and in 256 A.D. it fell to the advancing Persians. In order to buttress the city wall against the Persian onslaught, the Romans partly demolished the synagogue that had been built against the wall, and partly filled it with sand, mud and rubble. It was due to this latter measure that the murals covering the inside walls of the synagogue remained undamaged through almost seventeen centuries, although as soon as the excavation exposed them to the elements they began to deteriorate rapidly.[1]

An inscription found in the synagogue itself gives the date of its construction: it was built in 245 A.D., replacing an older and smaller synagogue that had occupied the site for a few decades. Some time during the eleven years of its existence, all the interior walls of the synagogue were covered with the murals, whose discovery created quite a stir among historians of religion. That the Second Commandment was not interpreted by early Judaism as an absolute prohibition of all pictorial representation of humans and animals, was known before the Dura discoveries. But here was, for the first time, irrefutable historical evidence of the completely un-

restrained use of polychrome painted murals showing scenes in which men and women appeared and interacted. Here were pictures illustrating Biblical stories, executed according to a master plan that utilized all the vertical wall surfaces of the synagogue, including its western wall in whose center was a scallop-capped niche that originally must have contained the Ark. And, what is more, one of the largest and most elaborate murals flanking the Ark from the left and having the rescue of the infant Moses from the Nile as its subject, is centered upon the naked figure of a woman! The Dura discoveries thus occasioned, not only a correction in the traditional view of the Jewish historical attitude on representational art, but also a revision of the equally traditional ideas concerning Jewish modesty and bashfulness. It had to be conceded, at least, that Jewish communities existed that had assimilated and incorporated into their traditionally Jewish institutions the Hellenistic attitude to the naked human body and its pictorial representation in the service of religion. (See plate 34.)

2. *GOODENOUGH'S INTERPRETATION: ANAHITA*

The three volumes of Goodenough's *magnum opus,* devoted to the interpretation of the symbolism of the Dura Europos synagogue,[2] contain the most exhaustive and penetrating analysis of the murals. Drawing on his unparalleled familiarity with the art of the Greco-Roman world in general, Goodenough has established beyond doubt that the naked woman, shown standing up to her thighs in the water of the Nile and holding the infant Moses in her arms, "startlingly resembles" the usual representations of the goddess Anahita, the most popular deity of Iran in the Sasanian period.[3] This observation, in itself, does not come as too great a surprise, because Dura Europos was a predominantly pagan city in which the Jews constituted but a small minority, and it was to be expected that their pictorial art should be subject to

environmental influences. As Goodenough points out, they spoke Greek, and their art had an undoubtedly Hellenistic base. Only two doors away from the synagogue, a wall painting found in a house shows Aphrodite (with whom Anahita was identified) with Eros beside her, and these two figures "startlingly resemble" the representation of the woman and the infant Moses.[4] Goodenough concludes that "to paint the Moses scene the artist drew upon some painting of Aphrodite, who in Dura was probably often called Anahita, with the baby, and with female attendants in their peculiar dress. So startling an invasion into the Moses story, for representation in a synagogue, would hardly have occurred as the mere borrowing of a form. The infant is indeed Moses coming out from the ark in the Nile, but he comes out to divine company in the arms of the goddess, herself quite as recognizable as though flagged with a written label."[5]

As to the three women standing above "Anahita," Goodenough says, "I see no reason to doubt that following a Jewish tradition, or originally with himself, the master designer at Dura introduced the Nymphs deliberately and skillfully into the scene of the infant Moses, and did so in order to intensify the notion that Anahita-Aphrodite was drawing from the water a Wunderkind with royal nature at least 'hedged' with divinity."[6]

Goodenough thus argues that the synagogue muralist not merely borrowed the form in which Anahita was usually represented in the pagan paintings, but consciously took the figure of Anahita and introduced it into his painting as if saying: Look, Moses was a "divine child," as clearly proven by the fact that he was fetched out of the Nile by the goddess Anahita, who, evidently, would perform such a service to none other but a "divine child." The artist's purpose in doing so, Goodenough explicitly states, was to show that Moses was a "Wunderkind," a Miraculous Child, rivaling in his nature the pagan gods whom the Greeks and Romans liked to depict as "Wunderkinder."[7]

3. *CRITICISM OF GOODENOUGH'S INTERPRETATION*

Anahita, as we have seen above, was not merely the Persian conterpart of Aphrodite and of Artemis, but belonged to that ancient Near Eastern type of great goddesses who were virgins and wantons, loving mothers, and cruel death dealers.[8] Could it be this goddess whom the Dura Europos muralist represented as holding the infant Moses in her arms? Is such an interpretation, given by Goodenough, possible in the light of what we know about the Jewish attitude to pagan gods and goddesses?

We know that, following their penetration of Canaan, the Hebrew tribes adopted several local gods, or deities who held sway in neighboring countries, among them the goddesses Asherah, Astarte and Anath (called the Queen of Heaven).[9] This was bitterly denounced by the Biblical authors and labelled as "awhoring after foreign gods." What, in fact, took place in the early Israelite period was an incorporation of Canaanite gods and goddesses into the popular (as well as court) religion of the Hebrews. However, this phase of their religious history came to an end in the tenth, or at the latest ninth, century B.C., after which time no *new* foreign deity was able to gain a foothold among the Hebrews. They continued, to be sure, for several more centuries to serve the old gods who had won them over in the earlier, more malleable, age, but no new adoption of foreign deities into popular Hebrew religion occurred.

After the Babylonian Exile (586 B.C.), the "foreign" gods underwent a rapid decline among the Jews, although some of the old deities managed to live on, side by side with Yahweh, for another one or two centuries, especially in such relatively isolated places as the military outpost on the Upper Egyptian island of Elephantine. By the time the Hellenistic age came about, in spite of all the attraction Hellenism held for the Jewish upper classes, it would have been completely out of line with this Jewish religious development, which by then was six or seven centuries old, to incorporate the worship

of a new god into the Jewish religious structure. Individual Jews, of course, became in every age, temporarily or permanently attracted to the practices and doctrines of other religions. Apostasy and conversion to other faiths have dotted Jewish history for well over two thousand years. But never since the early Israelite period has Judaism admitted a new god.

These considerations alone contain a refutation of the interpretation of the naked female in the Moses panel of the Dura Europos synagogue as the representation of the goddess Anahita. Even if the 3rd-century Jewish community of Dura lay outside the mainstream of Jewish religious development,[10] the admittance of a pagan goddess in the form of her painted image on a synagogue wall would be totally impossible. As to the centers of Jewish religious development in Palestine and Babylonia, there the fear of idolatrous contamination was so strong that strenuous attempts were made to preclude any contact with idols. As an illustration of this attitude can serve the discussion that began when the Patriarch Gamaliel II (flourished about 100 A.D.), on the occasion of his visit to the Hellenistic city of Acre (north of Haifa), made use of a public bath which was decorated with a statue of Aphrodite. The question whether this was permissible occupied the rabbis even after several generations.[11] A Jewish community, such as that of Dura Europos, even if it was only remotely connected with the great Jewish religious centers of Palestine and Babylonia dominated by such a mentality, could certainly not tolerate the representation of a pagan goddess in its synagogue.

What the attitude of the Dura Jews themselves was to the pagan gods worshiped by the gentiles of their town is clearly demonstrated by another mural in the synagogue. This shows the destructive effect the Ark of the Covenant had on the god Dagon of the Philistine city Ashdod (cf. 1 *Samuel* 5:4). However, instead of showing the broken pieces of the statue of Dagon, the artist painted the broken images of the principal Palmyrene gods, which were worshiped at Dura. The meaning of this painting was correctly recognized by Goodenough

when he remarked that the artist "succeeded very well in using the incident from I Samuel to show the collapse of paganism before the reality of Judaism, the collapse of paganism presumably as he knew it directly in Dura itself."[12] Elsewhere Goodenough repeats the same interpretation: "The gods of local paganism collapse before the Ark of the Covenant, the symbol of metaphysical reality in Judaism."[13] It is remarkable indeed, that he remained unaware of the crass logical contradiction between this statement and the one that precedes it by only three lines and in which he says: "Moses is the divine baby here, with the three nymphs and Anahita-Aphrodite." How, one must ask, did Anahita-Aphrodite escape the fate of the other "gods of local paganism"? How could she be shown standing in triumphant nakedness over the ark (of Moses), when all her divine colleagues lie shattered under the Ark (of the Covenant)? One only has to pose this question in order to recognize that the woman holding the infant Moses in her arms cannot be the *representation* of Anahita-Aphrodite.

A comparison of the "Anahita-Aphrodite" picture with the Dura Europos synagogue murals in which the artist used Hellenistic elements, ideas, or motives, also vitiates Goodenough's interpretation. Neusner, following Goodenough, cites three examples of this artistic procedure.[14] One is the figure of David playing his lyre and surrounded by animals in which the intrusion of the pagan Orpheus-idea is unmistakable. The other is the figure of Moses shown leading the Children of Israel out of Egypt and carrying a staff, which, however, is portrayed as a club. Since the only two Greek heroes ever to carry a club are Theseus and Heracles, Goodenough argues that the Dura moralist "could have put it into Moses' hands only because of its immediate symbolic reference to their [i.e., Theseus' and Heracles'] special characters and to his [i.e., Moses']."[15] The third example cited by Neusner is that of Anahita-Aphrodite holding the infant Moses. However, there is a basic difference between Goodenough's interpretation of David-Orpheus and Moses-Heracles on the one hand, and of the Anahita-Aphrodite figure, on the other. In the first two,

Jochebed prepared for Moses *(Exodus 2:3)*, which undoubt-
artist endowed the Biblical heroes whose pictures he painted. It was David whom he painted, although the manner in which he executed his painting made David's figure reminiscent of Orpheus. Similarly, in painting Moses, he made use of a feature associated with Heracles and Theseus. That the juxtaposition of the Greek and Hebrew heroes, implied by the borrowing of traits or paraphernalia from the former and attributing them to the latter, must have been based upon a current Jewish view influenced by Hellenism, cannot be doubted. In both cases, however, the Hellenistic features were absorbed and assimilated into the traditional Jewish concepts, which became enriched by them. What the artist says by means of the Hellenistic references is: Our David was a greater musician than Orpheus, our Moses a greater hero than Heracles.

If Goodenough were correct in his interpretation of the female figure holding the infant Moses, we would have to assume that the artist, in this single case, completely reversed the procedure he followed in the other pictures. For what Goodenough says is that this picture shows Moses being rescued by the pagan goddess Anahita-Aphrodite, that is to say, that the muralist in this case allowed a Biblical story to be assimilated into Greek or Hellenistic or Persian, but in any case pagan, religious tradition, and that he set down the result in his mural, quite uninhibitedly, and for everybody to see. Had the artist actually had in mind what Goodenough ascribes to him, he would have been guilty of gross idolatry, and also the congregation that tolerated the mural in the synagogue would have been guilty of the same sin.

4. MOSES IN THE ARMS OF THE SHEKHINA

If the female figure holding the infant Moses in her arms is not Anahita, who then is she? Before seeking the answer to this question let us again state clearly that part of Goodenough's interpretation which we accept. There can be no doubt that the muralist did engage in what Goodenough calls

a "borrowing of form." In other words, he painted a female figure whose attributes and posture he borrowed from the current representations of Anahita-Aphrodite, and he did this in order to paint an image that could readily be recognized as a *divine* female. Once we accept that this was the artist's intention, we can easily understand why he "borrowed the form" of Anahita-Aphrodite: simply because there was no other form available to him in which to express the idea that a feminine deity cradled Moses in her arms. In Jewish artistic tradition there was certainly no prototype of the pictorial representation of a divine female; in the gentile environment of Dura, it was almost exclusively the Anahita-Aphrodite image that intruded upon the artist's consciousness.

Who then was this goddess-like figure into whose arms the muralist placed the infant Moses? Our answer is that she was the *Shekhina.*

This conclusion, startling though it may seem initially, can be supported by a number of considerations. The first of these is that the Midrash establishes a very close connection between Moses and the Shekhina, God's feminine aspect, which (or, better, who) in the course of the Talmudic period achieved an increasing independence, and in the post-Talmudic period developed into a discrete feminine divinity.[16] In fact, no other human was represented as having had as intimate a relationship with the Shekhina as Moses. In the Kabbala, this relationship was to culminate in the statement that Moses, and he alone of all men, not only became the husband of the Matronit (=Shekhina), but copulated with her while still in the flesh.[17] In the earlier, Talmudic and Midrashic, sources, this idea is adumbrated in the assertion that, of all men, Moses was the only one to whom the Shekhina spoke "every hour without setting a time in advance," and that therefore, in order to be always in a state of ritual purity and readiness to receive a communication from the Shekhina, Moses separated himself completely from his wife.[18]

When Moses died, the Shekhina, we are told, took him on her wings and carried him from Mount Nebo to his unknown burial place four miles away[19] The Shekhina's func-

tion at the death of Moses is paralleled by her administration to him at his birth. When the daughter of Pharaoh, we read in the Babylonian Talmud, found the ark of bulrushes into which his mother had placed Moses, and opened it, "she saw the Shekhina with him."[20] This tradition is quoted in the name of Rabbi Yose son of Rabbi Hanina, a Palestinian teacher ("Amora") of the second half of the third century A.D., whose sayings are contained in both the Palestinian and the Babylonian Talmuds.

The second consideration is that the Midrash lifts the entire scene on the banks of the Nile out of the realm of the anecdotal which characterizes it in the Biblical narrative, into the realm of the miraculous and mythical. When the mother of Moses placed him into the ark, we read in the Midrash, she put a canopy over him, to take the place of his wedding canopy, because she feared that she would not be granted the sight of his *huppa*. When the handmaidens of Pharaoh's daughter tried to dissuade her from rescuing the child, the Angel Gabriel came and felled them to the ground. The ministering angels in heaven reminded God with all kinds of arguments that Moses must be saved. Gabriel dealt Moses a blow, so as to make him cry and thereby awaken compassion in the heart of Pharaoh's daughter. Moses himself, although only three months old, had the voice of a youth, and he refused to take suck at the breasts of any Egyptian woman, saying (!): "The mouth which will speak with the Shekhina should suck an unclean thing!?"[21]

As to the daughter of Pharaoh, she did not just happen to go down to the river, but was compelled to do so by either of several divine acts. Some say that God sent a severe heat wave over Egypt, and all the Egyptians went down to the Nile to seek relief, among them Batya, the daughter of Pharaoh, with her maidens.[22] Others say that the daughter of Pharaoh suffered from leprosy, or from painful boils, so that she was unable to stand warm water. She therefore went down to the Nile to wash in its cool waves, noticed the Ark, and the moment she touched it or the infant Moses, she became cured.[23] Still others say that she went down to the Nile in

order to purify herself from the uncleanness of her father's idol worship, and that, unbeknownst to herself, she uttered words of prophecy on the banks of the river.[24]

When Batya saw that the touch of Moses cured her of her disease, she said: "This boy is a saint," and decided that he must stay alive. Since he who keeps alive a single soul in Israel is considered by God as if he had sustained an entire world, the daughter of Pharaoh was taken under the wings of the Shekhina and was called the Daughter of God, Bat-Ya.[25]

Thirdly, it should be pointed out that the Midrash literature abounds in passages that clearly indicate that Moses was considered a "divine child." Miriam, the older sister of Moses, was possessed by the spirit of prophecy and foretold that her parents would give birth to a child who would become the savior of Israel. Thereupon Amram, who for three years had separated from his wife, approached her, and she conceived and bore Moses. When the child was born, the whole house became filled with great light, like the light of the sun and the moon. His parents saw that his appearance was like that of an angel of God. They circumcised him, called him Yequtiel (i.e., "My Hope Is God"), and hid him for three months. When they were no longer able to hide him in their home, his mother made him a little ark, which she placed, with Moses in it, among the reed on the bank of the Nile.[26]

After taking him with her into the palace, Batya constantly kissed and hugged him, and she loved him exceedingly, for he was very beautiful. All the people at the court desired to see him, and once they glimpsed him, they could not take their eyes off him.[27] Prenatal, or even preconceptional, annunciation, angelic countenance, light flooding the house, the healing touch, the ability to speak at the age of three months, irresistible charm and beauty—all these are features that unmistakably place the infant Moses into the "divine child" category.

The fourth consideration is the close association in the Midrash of the Shekhina with a sacred casket or ark. After she kept Moses company in the ark of bulrushes, the Shekhina dwelt in the ark in which the Children of Israel carried the

two tablets of the Law in the desert. When the tribes rested, the Shekhina had her abode in the Tent of Meeting, the desert Tabernacle, or hovered over it. During these periods, and subsequently in the Land of Canaan, the Shekhina was most closely associated with the Ark of the Covenant. After Solomon completed the Temple in Jerusalem, the Shekhina hovered, or dwelt, over the ark cover, between the two Cherubim. Some sages held that she was present in the Second Temple as well.[28] The Torah shrines in synagogues were the substitutes for the Ark of the Covenant, and after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 A.D.) the Shekhina, now herself in exile, sought out these synagogues to serve as her resting places. The significance of this association, Shekhina-Ark-Torah shrine, will become evident when we come to discuss the shape of the ark of bulrushes in the Dura synagogue mural.

Fifth and last, the Shekhina was closely associated with certain Babylonian synagogues. According to Abbaye (a Babylonian teacher who died in 339 A.D.), the Shekhina dwelt alternatingly in the Shaf Weyatibh synagogue of Nehardea and the synagogue of Huzal. Nehardea was one of the earliest centers of Babylonian Jewry, situated at or near the junction of the Euphrates and Nahr Malka rivers, some 200 miles to the south-east of Dura Europos; Huzal was located nearby. In these synagogues, the Shekhina was both audible and visible.[29]

Talmudic accounts thus place the Shekhina, in a visible and audible form, into synagogues only 200 miles distant from Dura Europos, and in the same period in which the Dura paintings were executed. As to the Midrashim summarized above under points one to four, although most of the sources in which they are found are centuries younger than the Dura murals, the oral tradition upon which they are based can easily go back into the third century A.D., or even farther. In these Midrashim, Moses is represented as a "Wunderkind"; and the Shekhina is closely associated with Moses in that she is said to have been with him in the ark of bulrushes; to have spoken to him frequently, possibly daily,

during the wandering of the Children of Israel in the desert; to have gone with him physically, dwelling in the casket or ark containing the tablets of the Law; to have been his bride; and to have carried him to his burial on her wings.

We have, of course, no way of knowing how much of these Midrashim was known to the Jews of Dura in general and their synagogue muralist in particular. There is, however, evidence to prove beyond doubt that some Midrashic embellishments of Biblical stories were known to the muralist, because he included them in his paintings. One case in point is his picturing one of Job's friends in kingly splendor, which conforms, not to the Biblical text (in which Job's friends are not further identified), but to the Midrash which states explicitly that Job's friends were kings.[30]

A second example is found in the Moses panel itself, where the two midwives standing before Pharaoh in the right side of the picture are shown wearing the same dresses as worn by the mother and sister of Moses appearing to the left. Identically clad figures mean the same person in the pictorial idiom of the Dura muralist (e.g., in the Exodus panel he shows Moses three times in identical garb, and in the Ezekiel panel he shows Ezekiel twice in identical garb); but the identity of Shifra and Pua (the two midwives) with Jochebed and Miriam (Moses' mother and sister) is not Biblical but Midrashic.[31] Here again the artist displays his familiarity with the Midrash, and these two instances make it probable, or, at the very least, possible, that also in the scene showing the rescue of the infant Moses from the Nile he illustrated a Midrash, or, rather, the cycle of Midrashim that associate Moses with the Shekhina.

It seems to me that the force of the cumulative evidence adduced above indicates quite clearly that the intention of the artist was to stress the greatness, or even divinity, of Moses by showing him held safely over the water, not by a foreign goddess, but by the divine female of Jewish tradition, the constant companion of Moses from cradle to grave, the Shekhina.

The Nile scene gave the artist the finest opportunity to show the infant Moses in the arm of the Shekhina. This was a scene in which, according to the Midrash, the Shekhina was present. However, the muralist could not show the Shekhina with Moses *inside* the ark; that would have been technically too difficult if not impossible. He therefore proceeded to show the boy carried by the Shekhina, just as she carried him, a hundred and twenty years later when he died, to his burial, substituting the figure of the divine female for the unnamed slave-girl whom, according to the Biblical account *(Exodus* 2:5), Pharaoh's daughter dispatched to fetch the child out of the Nile.

It remains to touch, albeit briefly, upon the nudity of the woman holding the infant Moses in her arm, which is undoubtedly the strangest, in the sense of least Jewish, feature in the entire pictorial plethora of the Dura synagogue. The very fact that the picture of a nude female was admitted into the synagogue shows to what extent the Jews of Dura were Hellenized, accustomed to the representation in the nude of the deities of their gentile neighbors, in temples as well as private homes. This circumstance made it *possible* for the artist to introduce the nude figure of a woman into the synagogue. What made it *necessary,* once he conceived the idea of showing the Shekhina with Moses, was that he had no Jewish, modest example he could have followed in depicting the Shekhina, and that in borrowing the form of a gentile goddess he found only nude figures to copy. Thus the only way in which he could express that this woman, in contrast to the others appearing on the panel, was a divinity was to show her in the nude, while all the others he represented fully clothed.

5. *THE ARK OF BULRUSHES, THE ARK OF THE COVENANT AND THE TEMPLE*

We left to the last the question of the peculiar form the muralist gave to the ark of bulrushes in the Moses panel. The vessel is clearly not the little ark woven of bulrushes that

Jochebed prepared for Moses *(Exodus 2:3)*, which undoubtedly had a rounded, basketlike shape. What we see instead is a rectangular box, with a triangular gabled roof on top of its right end.

The peculiar shape of the ark of bulrushes has caught the attention of Goodenough who commented that the ark is sketched in a manner closely resembling the shape of the sarcophaguses found, e.g., in Beth Shearim, Israel. His explanation is that the artist intended to indicate that Moses, the Redeemer, had died and was reborn to new life.[32]

This explanation seems to me farfetched, because we have no evidence to show that the Dura muralist was familiar with the gabled sarcophaguses or that the idea of the infantile death and rebirth of Moses (a non-Jewish mythologem) was known to him. A much closer comparison would be between the shape of the ark of bulrushes and that of the Temple shown twice on the same wall. In fact, the ark of bulrushes is painted unmistakably in the shape of a miniature Temple.

The same shape was given to the Torah shrine or Ark in most Jewish representations from the 1st to at least the 10th centuries A.D. The oldest, found in the Jewish catacombs of Rome and dating from the 1st to the 4th centuries A.D., show the Torah shrine as precisely such a miniature temple with a gabled roof. In the Beth Alpha synagogue, a mosaic, dating from the early 6th century A.D., shows the Torah shrine in the same form, as does a picture in a 10th century Pentateuch manuscript from Egypt.[33] These examples, which could easily be multiplied, indicate that there was a firm tradition in Jewish art to represent the Torah shrine as a miniature Temple, with a gabled roof. The Torah shrine, whose presence in any room turned it into a synagogue, actually symbolized, represented and substituted for, the Temple of Jerusalem which was destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D. In the Dura synagogue, the Torah shrine, or at least the niche in which it stood, did not have such a triangular gabled top, but was capped by a shell-like rounded semi-dome. Corresponding to it, the Ark of the Covenant is also shown with such a shell-

shaped rounded top. Yet this detail cannot alter the fact that the ark of bulrushes is shown in the shape of a miniature Temple, and it, most probably, is symbolic of the Temple, or its predecessor, the desert Tabernacle.

We now recognize that just as the woman holding Moses in her arm represents the lifelong association of Moses with the Shekhina, so the ark of bulrushes in the shape of a miniature Temple or Tabernacle hints at the greatest religious feat performed by Moses: the building of the Tabernacle, the Sanctuary that served as the prototype for all the subsequent Jewish Temples in Jerusalem. The desert Sanctuary was called *mishkan,* "dwelling," because Yahweh was believed to have "dwelt" *(shakhan)* in it or over it in a cloud.[34] It is this idea of the "dwelling" *(Shekhina)* of Yahweh that in time developed into the concept of the Shekhina, the "dwelling" or "presence" of God, as a separate, feminine divine entity. The nude woman in the Moses mural is shown raising her right arm over the Ark—this is how, with ingenious simplicity, the artist illustrates the mystical concept of the Shekhina hovering over the Tabernacle.

In recognizing that this is indeed what the Dura muralist had in mind in painting the nude woman holding the infant Moses in her arms, we find that he proceeded in this picture exactly as he did in the David-Orpheus and Moses-Heracles murals. As in those two, so here too he enriched a Jewish character with features taken from the Hellenistic pictorial imagery of his environment. Far from allowing a pagan goddess to intrude into a Biblical scene, he assimilated, in this picture as well, certain Hellenistic features to embellish with them the Divine Female, the Shekhina.

6. *CONCLUSION*

The above considerations lead us to certain general conclusions with regard to the relationship of the Dura Europos Jews to Hellenism. These conclusions can be subsumed under two categories; first, the extent to which the Jews of Dura accepted Hellenistic cultural features; and, second, the area

they rejected as incompatible with their own Jewish religious traditions.

The area from which the Jews of Dura were willing to accept cultural influences is presented in the synagogue murals as that of the pictorial representation of divine, or quasi-divine heroes, in the Hellenistic style. This is considerably more than a mere "borrowing of *form*," because it implies the assertion that the Biblical heroes and other Jewish figures depicted in a form borrowed from Hellenistic representational art were, in fact, as close to being divine, as were the Greek heroes or deities whose attributes were borrowed for the purpose of giving a visual expression to the divine quality of the Jewish heroes and other figures.

The belief that some Biblical and post-Biblical heroes were superhuman and quasi-divine was an old Jewish tradition that went back to Biblical times and developed more fully in the post-Biblical period, and was certainly an old and established feature of Jewish religion by the time the Dura murals were painted.

We saw above some of the Midrashic traditions that surrounded the birth and infancy of Moses and that leave no doubt as to his quasi-divine character in Tannaitic and Amoraic belief. To them we may add the following generalizations: the typical hero, whether he lived in Biblical or post-Biblical times, was considered in the Talmudic (i. e. Tannaitic and Amoraic) tradition as having been gigantic in bodily size, wielding superhuman strength, enjoying a much longer life span than ordinary mortals, possessed of extraordinary wisdom and beauty, having had, and prevailed in, encounters with angels and demons, and having the power to make even God himself obey him.[35] People who had this mental image of their own "god men," when they learned about Greek gods and heroes, felt no qualms over borrowing the latters' traits and attributes when it came to expressing, in a visual form, the divine qualities of a Moses, or a David, or to depicting the divine female (or: the female in the divinity), the Shekhina.

As against this, the Jews of Dura were rooted firmly enough in their Jewish traditions not to allow the pictorial representation of any pagan deity as such to intrude into their place of worship. In all the panels of the Dura synagogue there is no single example of the representation of a pagan god as such. What is represented clearly and with unmistakable intent are the local idols, i.e. statues of the pagan gods, broken into pieces and lying scattered on the ground before the holy Ark of the Covenant of the God of David. To interpret the woman holding the child as Anahita holding Moses is, therefore, absurd. For the Dura Jews, Anahita was but one of those idols whose statues are shown shattered on another panel. To represent her as a living deity, and, to boot, as rescuing the infant Moses from the Nile, would have been totally impossible.

We thus recognize, in the mirror of the synagogue murals, a community, that was Jewish in its religious traditions and observances, whose Jewishness was sufficiently vital and self-assured to allow the assimilation of Hellenistic pictorial art as well as of features attributed by Greek religion to its gods, but that was, at the same time, tradition bound enough in the manner of Talmudic Judaism, to reject the very idea that the Greek gods could be anything more than lifeless images fashioned by human hands.

NOTES

Chapter I

THE GODDESS ASHERAH

1. James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (hereafter: ANET) Princeton, 1955, pp. 131-34,138,140,145,146,490.

2. William F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel,* Baltimore, 1942, p. 78.

3. *Enciqlopedia Miqra'it* (Jerusalem). s.v. Asherah; J. Halévy, *Revue des Etudes Juives* 12:112f.

4. Albright, *op. cit.* p. 78.

5. *Enc. Miqra'it,* s.v. Asherah; ANET, 483-84.

6. *Enc. Miqra'it,* s.v. Asherah.

7. See all the material ably presented by William L. Reed in his *The Asherah in the Old Testament,* Texas Christian University Press, Fort Worth, Texas, 1949, pp. 69-86.

8. *Judges* 3: 5-7.

9. The textual evidence as to the nature of "the Asherahs" is equivocal. The Asherahs are said to have been "made" (1 *Kings* 16:33; 2 *Kings* 17:26; 21:3; 2 *Chronicles* 33:3) which indicates that they were artifacts, made by human hands, and not merely natural trees as some scholars believe. The expressions to "set up" (*Isaiah* 27:9; 2 *Kings* 17:10; 2 *Chronicles* 33:19) or even "build" (1 *Kings* 14:23) an Asherah point to the same conclusion. Only once is an Asherah said to be "planted" (*Deuteronomy* 16:21) and the verb there probably means "implanted," that is, set into the ground as one would a pillar. On the other hand, the removal of Asherahs is called "cutting them down" (*Judges* 6:25,26,28,30; 2 *Kings* 18:4; 23:14; *Exodus* 34:13), "hewing them down" (2 *Chronicles* 14:2; 31:1; *Deuteronomy* 7:5), "breaking them into pieces" (2 *Chronicles* 34:4,7), "burning" (2 *Kings* 23:15; *Deuteronomy* 12:3), "exterminating" (2 *Chronicles*

19:3), "removing" (2 *Chronicles* 17:6), and "uprooting" (*Micah* 5:13) them.

10. *Judges* 6:25,28.

11. 2 *Kings* 21:3.

12. This is also the conclusion of Reed, *op. cit.*

13. *Judges* 6:25-32. The entire story of Gideon is most instructive in that it illustrates the irruption of Yahwist ideas into the midst of the pre-existing Baal and Asherah worship. The fact that Gideon needed the help of ten men (v. 27) in order to destroy the altar of Baal, cut down the Asherah and build an altar for Yahweh, indicates that the paraphernalia of the Baal and Asherah worship were quite sizable.

It might be pointed out here that there was a significant difference between the image and the altar. The altar was "the altar *of* the Baal," it did not represent the god, but was merely dedicated to him. As against this, the wooden image *was* Asherah, it represented her in the manner in which a statue of an Egyptian or a Greek goddess represented that deity. It is therefore more than probable that the wooden image called "the Asherah" was carved or in some other way so fashioned as to indicate clearly that it stood for the goddess.

14. See sources in Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81, 87.

15. *Genesis* 30:10-13. Since Zilpah was Leah's handmaiden, it was Leah's right to name her children, just as it was Leah's right to introduce Zilpah into Jacob's bed. The text in *Genesis* is extremely laconic, and the exclamations made by Leah and adduced as explanations of the names given to the sons at their birth are purposely kept unclear. Nevertheless, the impression is gained that the names of Zilpah's two sons were originally felt to have had some connection with Canaanite deities. When the first son of Zilpah was born, Leah exclaimed: "By Gad (*baGad*)," and called his name Gad. When, shortly thereafter, Zilpah gave birth to a second son, Leah exclaimed: "By Oshri! (usually translated as "By my happiness!") For women will call me happy." And thus she named him Asher (*Genesis* 30:10-13). The prefix *b-*, used in both cases (*baGad* and *b'oshri*) is the one used when swearing by a god (cf., e.g., "By Yahweh," *Joshua* 2:12; *Judges* 21:7; 1 *Samuel* 24:22; 28:10; 2 *Samuel* 19:8; 1 *Kings* 2:8,23,42; "by Elohim," *Genesis* 21:23; 1 *Samuel* 30;15; *Nehemiah* 13:24; 2 *Chronicles* 36:13; *Isaiah* 65:16).

A deity by the name Gad was worshiped in Canaan, Palmyra, Phoenicia and Arabia as the god of good luck (cf. Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis,* New York, 1964, 45.2). No god by the name Oshri is known. Some scholars, therefore, assume that the text has been editorially emended so that the name of the deity invoked by Leah should conform more

closely to the name Asher which it was supposed to explain, and that the original tradition had Leah exclaim: *basherah*—"By Asherah!" (Cf. Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81,87). The masculine name Asher may have been derived from Asherah, just as the masculine Astar was from Astarte in Canaanite mythology (cf. ANET, pp. 129,140; cf. also the Egyptian form Astar for Astarte, ANET, p. 250).

16. 1 *Kings* 3:2-3.

17. Cf. *Views of the Biblical World,* Jerusalem, 1960, vol. 2, p. 213; cf 1 *Kings* 6:2-10, 15-38.

18. 1 *Kings* 7:13-50.

19. 1 *Kings* 11:4,6.

20. 1 *Kings* 11:2-4.

21. 1 *Kings* 2:46; 3:1.

22. 1 *Kings* 11:1,5.

23. Another consideration which speaks against the attribution of idolatry to Solomon's old-age weakness or folly is the accusation of idolatry levelled by the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite—an uncompromising Yahwist—against all Israel: "They have forsaken me," Ahijah says in the name of Yahweh, "and have worshiped Asthoreth the goddess of the Sidonians, Chemosh the god of Moab, and Milcom the god of the children of Ammon..." (1 *Kings* 11:33). We note that Ahijah accuses the Israelites of serving the same three foreign gods whose worship, according to the earlier passage, was introduced by Solomon in his old age. But while Solomon was said merely not to have gone "fully" after Yahweh, the people as a whole are charged by Ahijah with having "foresaken" Yahweh. It would, therefore, seem that while the royal court worshiped both Yahweh and other gods, the people did not worship Yahweh at all, but served only those other gods. It is hard to imagine that this should have come about as a result of the people imitating the court: popular religion in the Middle East was (and still is) notable for its slowness in accepting changes. It is far more likely that the popular idolatry of Solomon's day was by that time an old tradition which had spread among the Hebrews as a result of their prolonged contact with the nations of Canaan.

24. 1 *Kings* 11:5.

25. 1 *Kings* 11:33; 14:15.

26. 1 *Kings* 11:29-39.

27. 1 *Kings* 12:25-33

28. 1 *Kings* 14:9, 15.

29. 1 *Kings* 16:32-33. In connection with Jezebel's father Ethbaal we again encounter the by now familiar confusion of Asherah and Astarte. From the account in the *Book of Kings* it is evident that Ethbaal and his family must have been the devotees of Asherah, for

only this explains the introduction into Samaria of Asherah worship by Ahab in honor of his wife Jezebel, Ethbaal's daughter. Yet according to Menander, as quoted by Josephus Flavius (*Contra Apionem* 1.18), Ethbaal was the King of Tyre (and not of Sidon), and he was a priest of Astarte.

30. 1 *Kings* 18:19.

30a. Cf. R. Patai, "The Control of Rain in Ancient Palestine," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* vol. 14, 1939, pp. 251-86.

31. Verse 21.

32. 1 *Kings* 18.

33. 2 *Kings* 13:6.

34. 2 *Kings* 3:2.

35. 1 *Kings* 16:32.

36. 1 *Kings* 16:33.

37. 2 *Kings* 10: 18-27.

38. 2 *Kings* 10: 28-29.

39. 2 *Kings* 13:6.

40. 2 *Kings* 17: 10-12,16-17.

40a. 2 *Kings* 23:15.

40b. *Hosea* 8: 5-6.

41. 2 *Chronicles* 11:20, 21, 22; cf. 1 *Kings* 15:2, where Maacah's father is called Abishalom.

42. 1 *Kings* 14:31-15:2; 15:13; 2 *Chronicles* 11:20, 22.

43. 1 *Kings* 15:13; 2 *Chronicles* 15:16.

44. According to one set of sources, Asa was Abijam's brother (1 *Kings* 15:10; 2 *Chronicles* 15:16); according to another, he was his predecessor's son (1 *Kings* 15:8; 2 *Chronicles* 13:23).

45. 2 *Chronicles* 15:10.

46. 1 *Kings* 15:12,13; 2 *Chronicles* 14:2,4; 15:8,16.

47. 2 *Chronicles* 17:6.

48. 2 *Chronicles* 19:3.

49. 2 *Kings* 18:4; 2 *Chronicles* 24:2,17-18; 31:1.

50. *Isaiah* 17:8; 27:9.

51. *Micah* 5:11-13.

52. 2 *Kings* 21:3-7; cf. 2 *Chronicles* 33:3-7,15, 19.

53. Cf. above, p. 42.

54. *Deuteronomy* 7:5; 12:3; cf. *Exodus* 34:13.

55. *Deuteronomy* 16:21-22.

56. 2 *Kings* 23:4,6,7,13,14; cf. 2 *Chronicles* 34:3,4,7. In 2 *Kings* 23:7 the masoretic text has "he demolished the houses of the *qedeshim* that were in the house of Yahweh, where the women wove houses *(batim)* for the Asherah." Apart from the question of how can houses be woven, stylistically it is well-nigh impossible that the word "house" should appear three times in one and the same sentence. The Septu-

agint has *"stolas,"* i.e. garments, for *batim,* which may be based on an original *badim,* i.e. "linens." The expression "(a person) clothed in linens" *(badim)* appears as a standing epithet for a mystical figure in *Ezekiel* (9:2,3,11 etc.) and *Daniel* (12:6,7). Thus it may well be that, from time to time, the Asherah statue was dressed in new linens, and that women considered it a pious act to busy themselves with weaving the material for these garments, on looms set up for this purpose in certain chambers in the Temple compound. The weaving of ritual vestments was a woman's task in Babylonian temples (cf. Woolley, *Antiquaries' Journal* 5:393), at Hierapolis in Syria (Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 42), and in Greece (Gressmann, *Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft,* 1924, pp. 325 ff). It seems that also in Ugarit the makers of sacred vestments had a role in the temple ritual (cf. John Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan,* p. 156, and *I and II Kings,* Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1963, p. 507).

As to the *qedeshim,* most Biblical scholars consider the term to refer to sacred prostitutes of both sexes, and not merely males. I am inclined to read it as "male sacred prostitutes," for had the Biblical author wished to refer to both males and female functionaries he would, in all probability, have said *"qedeshim uqedeshot"* using both the masculine and the feminine plural forms of the noun *qadesh.* The function of the *qedeshim* had something to do with the fertility cult centering in the figure of the mother-goddess Asherah. Possibly, their services were made use of by childless women who visited the sanctuary in order to become pregnant. Such pilgrimages to holy places for the purpose of removing the curse of barrenness have remained an important feature of popular religion down to the present day among Moslems, Jews and Christians alike in all parts of the Middle East. The *qedeshim* may have also functioned in rites of imitative magic in the fertility cult, whose purpose was to ensure fruitfulness in nature, the coming of the autumn rains, the growth of the crops, the multiplication of domestic animals, etc.

Fertility goddesses had male attendants or priests in ancient Near Eastern religions, and, in the case of the *qedeshim* in the Jerusalem Temple, one of their tasks seems to have been to supervise the work of the women weaving linens for Asherah, which, therefore, was done in the chambers of the *qedeshim.*

57. *Jeremiah* 2:8,23; 7:9; 9:13; 11:13,17; 12:16; 19:5; 23:13,27; 32:29,35.

58. 2 *Kings* 23:13.

59. *Jeremiah* 17:2.

60. *Ezekiel* 8:1.

61. *Ezekiel* 8:1-18.

62. Cf. vv. 6,13,15.

63. The word "jealousy" undoubtedly refers to Yahweh: it is His jealousy that the image arouses. The word "image" (*semel* in Hebrew) first occurs in a Deuteronomic injuction prohibiting the making of "a statue (*pesel*), the form (*t'munah*) of any image (*semel*), the likeness (*tabnith*) of male or female; the likeness of any beast which is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl which flies in the heaven; the likeness of any fish which is in the water under the earth" (*Deuteronomy* 4:16-18). *Semel* therefore means here an image which represents a member of one of the four major realms of the animal kingdom, and which is made for idolatrous purposes.

In the *Book of Chronicles,* probably under the influence of Ezekiel's use of the term *semel,* the Asherah image set up by Manasseh is called, not merely "Asherah" as in the original account (2 *Kings* 21:3), but "the statue (*pesel*) of the image (*semel*)," and, the second time briefly "the image (*ha-semel;* 2 *Chronicles* 33:7,15). The identification of Ezekiel's "image of jealousy" with Manasseh's "image of Asherah" is implicit in the terminology of *Chronicles.*

Chapter II

ASTARTE-ANATH, THE QUEEN OF HEAVEN

1. ANET, 130.
2. ANET, 133.
3. ANET, 135.
4. ANET, 131.
5. ANET, 144.
6. ANET, 130, where, in view of the above-mentioned prosodic rule, the missing part of the name should be restored as "(Ana)th," rather than "('Ashtore)th" which is the first choice of H. L. Ginsberg.
7. ANET, 15.
8. ANET, 249-50.
9. ANET, 250.
10. W. F. Albright, *Amer. Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Jan. 1925, p. 82.
11. ANET, 249-50.
12. ANET, 250.
13. ANET, 320. Chemosh was regarded as the local Moabite manifestation of the deity known in many lands as Baal ("Lord") or Molech ("King"), as evidenced by the name Mesha king of Moab gave to one of the cities he built: he called it Beth-Baal-Meon, i.e. House of the Baal of Meon. It is not likely that a zealous devotee of Chemosh like Mesha would have named a city he built after another god. Cf. *Enc. Miqra'it,* s.v. Molech; ANET, 321.

14. ANET, 242, 328, 486 n.

15. ANET, 505.

16. ANET, 149; cf. p. 130.

17. Cf. the material assembled by H. Ranke in *Studies Presented to F. L. Griffith,* London, 1932, pp. 412-18; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel,* Baltimore, 1942, index, s. v. Astarte.

18. Cf. above, p. 55.

19. I. e. Beth 'Ashtarah, *Joshua* 21:27.

20. 1 *Chronicles* 11:44.

21. E. g. 'Anathoth, see below, p. 63.

22. *Joshua* 9:10; 12:4; 13:12, 31; *Deuteronomy* 1:4; 1 *Chronicles* 6:56.

23. *Genesis* 14:5.

24. E. g. the 17th-century B.C. figurine from Nahariah, above, plate 9.

25. The original meaning of the word *'ashtaroth* can be established with the help of four passages in *Deuteronomy* (7:13; 28:4, 18, 51) in which it occurs in a poetic context. In each of the four passages the phrase "the *'ashtaroth* of your flock" is paralleled by "the increase of your kine." According to the rules of Hebrew prosody, the word "increase" (*sheger*) must have roughly the same meaning as *'ashtaroth.* On the other hand, *sheger* (which has its cognate verb-root in Aramaic meaning "to send forth") is a synonym of *rehem,* the well-known Biblical word for "womb" (*Exodus* 13:12). Thus both *sheger* and *'ashtaroth* can mean only "womb," or by transference "that which issues from the womb." Cf. U. Cassuto, *The Book of Exodus* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1959, p. 105. From *"rehem"* is derived the Biblical Hebrew noun *"raham,"* meaning "she of the womb," or "girl" (*Judges* 5.30), and a similar Ugaritic noun meaning the same (Kramer, *Mythologies,* 187). Similarly, from *'ashtaroth* is derived the Canaanite name of the Goddess 'Ashtoreth, meaning "She of the womb," a most appropriate name for a goddess of fertility.

26. The name Baal is derived from a Semitic verb which originally meant "to take possession sexually."

27. When the goddess is styled "the maiden," this epithet is usually followed by her proper name Anath: "the maiden Anath." It seems that a knowledge of the original meaning of the name Astarte, namely "girl," lingered, and that it was therefore found clumsy to refer to the goddess as "the maiden Astarte" which would have meant "the maiden girl."

28. *Judges* 2:13.

29. *Judges* 10:6.

30. *1 Samuel* 7:3-4, 10-13; 13:10.

31. *1 Samuel* 31:10.

32. *'Ashtoreth elohe Sidonim, 1 Kings* 11:5, 33.

33. 2 *Kings* 23:13: *Shiqquṣ.*

34. Cf. James B. Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known through Literature,* New Haven, 1943, pp. 1, 87.

35. *Joshua* 15:15; *Judges* 1:11; cf. *Joshua* 10:38-39; 12:13; 15:49; 21:15; 1 *Chronicles* 6:43.

36. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine,* Pelican Books, 1949, pp. 18, 43.

37. *Joshua* 15:15; *1 Kings* 8:6 etc.

38. Joshua 21:14; *1 Chronicles* 6:43.

39. Albright, *op. cit.,* pp. 105-06. The word "Asherah" on p. 106. line 1, should be emended to read "Astarte." Such a confusion between Astarte and Asherah occurs as early as *Judges* 2:13 and 3:7.

40. Cf. sketches of 15 such figurines in Albright, *op cit.,* p. 133.

41. Albright, *The Excavations of Tell Beit Mirsim* vol. iii. (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, 1943, vol. xxi-xxii), p. 139; cf. pp. 138-41.

42. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible.* New York, 1932, p. 110; *id., Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* 1931, pp. 123-24.

43. Cf. below, Chapter Five.

44. Langdon, *Semitic,* p. 30; ANET 15,136,137,139,140,142,146,151-53,249,250,254; Gordon, in Kramer (ed.), *Mythologies of the Ancient World,* 1961, pp. 187,197-99; Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel,* pp. 75, 85, 197.

45. *Judges* 1:33; cf. *Joshua* 19:38.

46. *Joshua* 21:18; *2 Samuel* 23:27: *1 Kings* 2:26; *Jeremiah* 1:1, etc.

47. *1 Chronicles* 7:8; *Nehemia* 10:20.

48. *Judges* 3:31; cf. 5:6.

49. ANET, 130-31. For another explanation of the name Shamgar ben Anath, see Eva Danelius, "Shamgar ben Anath," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* July 1963, vol. 22, pp. 191-93.

50. Cf. above, p. 55.

51. *Jeremiah* 44:15.

52. *Jeremiah* 44:15-19.

53. *Jeremiah* 7:17-18.

54. Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,* 3rd ed., pp. 441 f., 425; ZATW 6, 301-08.

55. The mould and a modern cast made of it are pictured in *Views of the Biblical World,* vol. 1, Chicago-New York, 1959, p. 290.

56. A certain reinforcement for the above conjecture can be found in Rabbinic tradition according to which the show-bread (*Lehem*

panim) which was offered up daily in the Temple (*Exodus* 25:30) was baked in a mould, cf. Mishna Menahot 11:1; B. Menahot 94a, 97a; cf. Mishna Demai 5:45; Num. Rab. 4:14. The precise translation of the name of this bread-offering is "bread of the Face" (i.e. of God). This is how, e.g., Father de Vaux explains the meaning of the term in his *Ancient Israel,* New York-Toronto-London, 1961, p. 442. The mould in which the bread was baked must have given it a shape which had some relation to its name. If so, it becomes quite likely that the cakes for Astarte were prepared in a similar manner.

57. 2 *Kings* 23:13; cf. above, p. 58.

58. 2 *Kings* 22:3. According to the less plausible version of 2 *Chronicles* 34:3: in the eighth year of his reign.

59. *Jeremiah* 1:2.

60. Cf. *Enc. Miqra'it,* s. v. M'lekhet Hashamayim.

61. ANET, 491.

62. ANET, 491, n. 9.

63. For instance, when Arsames, the satrap of Egypt, left in 410 B.C. on a visit to Darius, the priests of the Elephantinian male god Khnub instigated the destruction of the temple of Yaho in Elephantine, cf. ANET, 492.

64. ANET, 491.

Chapter III

THE CHERUBIM

1. *1 Kings* 22:39.

2. See Lucas N. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible,* London, 1957, figure 214; and E. Auerbach, *Wüste and gelobtes Land,* Berlin, 1936, II. pl. V.

3. Cf. Hugo Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament,* 2nd ed., Berlin-Leipzig, 1927, plate 497.

4. Cf. e.g. Hugo Gressmann, *Die Lade Jahves,* Berlin-Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1920, pp. 64-65; and *Enc. Miqr'ait,* s.v. K'rubh.

5. Cf. *Enc. Miq.,* s.v. K'rubh.

6. *1 Samuel* 1:24.

7. *Exodus* 25: 17-22; 37: 6-9; *Numbers* 7:89. The size of the Cherubim is not stated, but one can reach an estimate on the following basis: The height of the Ark was 1½ cubits (2¼ feet), and, we are told in *Exodus* 25:10,20, that the wings of the Cherubim covered the Ark from above. If we assume that the Cherubim knelt on both sides of the Ark in a position resembling that of the genii of the Samarian ivory plaque, their height in this position must have been about 5

feet, so as to allow their wings to meet over the Ark. This would give us also a wing-length of about 5 feet (from the shoulder of the Cherub to the tip of the wing), in which case the wing would extend horizontally beyond the knee about 2 feet, and the 3¾ feet (or 2½ cubits) length of the Ark would have precisely enough room in the space between the knees and under the wings of the Cherubim.

8. *Exodus* 26:1; 36:8. Each of these curtains measured 28 cubits (42 feet) from top to bottom and 4 cubits (6 feet) in breadth (*Exodus* 26:2; 36:9). If, as seems probable, each curtain was decorated with one pair of Cherubim, the latter must either have been pressed closer together than the Cherubim over the Ark, or were smaller in size. The curtains were many-colored: fine twined linen, blue, purple and scarlet, "the work of the skilful workman" (*Exodus* 26:1; 36:8,35).

9. *Exodus* 26: 31-35.

10. 1 *Kings* 6:23-28; 2 *Chronicles* 3:11-13; 5:7-8.

11. 1 *Kings* 8: 6-7.

12. 1 *Chronicles* 28:18. The Cherubim themselves were "*ṣa'aṣu'im* work" (2 *Chron.* 3:10), an expression rather difficult to understand. In all probability, however, the word *ṣa'aṣu'im is* derived from a root related to the Arabic verb *ṣagha,* to form, to practice the art of the goldsmith, in which case the phrase means "a work of plastic form" or "work of sculpture."

13. 1 *Kings* 6:29-35; 2 *Chronicles* 3:7.

14. 2 *Chronicles* 3:14.

15. 1 *Kings* 7:29, 36,37,39. While we learn nothing positive about the shape of the Cherubim from this passage, we nevertheless can conclude something about them by elimination: since it enumerates three types of figures: lions, oxen *and* Cherubim, the latter were neither lion-shaped nor ox-shaped, as some Biblical scholars opined. Cf. e.g. Tur-Sinai, *Enc. Miq.* s.v. Aron; Graham-May, *Culture and Conscience,* Chicago, 1936, 248-57; etc.

16. *Ezekiel* 41:18-20,23,25.

17. Cf. Raphael Patai, *Hamayim (Water),* Tel-Aviv, 1936, p. 107.

18. ANET, p. 130, 131.

19. *Psalm* 68:5; 104:3-4.

20. *Isaiah* 19:1.

21. *Psalm* 18:11.

22. 1 *Chronicles* 13:7.

23. *Habakkuk* 3, and esp. vv. 7,8,15.

24. Cf. *Canticles* 1:9.

25. Mekhilta diR. Shimon, 51-52,54; Mid. Wayosha, 52; cf. Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis,* New York, 1964, p. 12.

26. *Genesis* 3:24; cf. Graves-Patai, *op. cit.,* 12.d.

27. *Ezekiel* 28:12-19; cf. Graves-Patai, *op. cit.,* 8.a., 1-4.

28. *Exodus* 40:34-38.

29. *Exodus* 24:15-17.

30. *Ezekiel* 9:3; 10:1-22. The details of Ezekiel's vision defy interpretation, although it is clear that his description of the wheeled quadrangular Cherub-chariot is based on certain cultic objects some of which were excavated in Babylonia. The theme of a jewel-bedecked Cherub is exclusively Ezekelian (10:1,9; 28:13-14,16), as is the idea that the bodies of the Cherubim are full of eyes. Perhaps the eyes, as the "stones of fire," are based on bejewelled Cherubim figures? The association of "glowing stones" with divine beings is found already in *Isaiah* (6:6) who calls his six-winged angel, not Cherubim but "Seraphim," i.e. "fiery beings."

31. 1 *Kings* 8:10-11.

32. *Exodus* 25:22.

33. The dates commonly given for Philo's birth and death used to be 30 B.C. and 50 A.D. respectively. Recently, however, this birthdate has been proved to be too early and ca. 15 B.C. has been substituted for it, while his death date has been moved down to ca. 45 A.D. Cf. Moses Hadas and Morton Smith, *Heroes and Gods,* New York, 1965, p. 129.

34. Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* I. XIII, §72, Loeb Class. Libr. p. 141.

35. Philo, *De Vit. Mos.* II. XVI, §76ff., Loeb Class Libr. p. 487. A late echo of this interpretation is found in *Zohar Hadash,* Tiqqunim (Warsaw: Levin-Epstein, no date), p. 95a: "They are Wisdom and Understanding, which are the faces of the Cherubim."

36. Philo, *On the Cherubim* VII. 21-24; IX. 27-30; Loeb Classical Libr. ed. pp. 21-27; cf. also *De Vit. Mos.* II. 98-99.

37. *Exodus* 25:19.

38. *Proverbs* 8:22.

39. Philo, *On Drunkenness,* VIII. 30 and IX. 33, Loeb ed. pp. 333-335; cf. p. 337; *De Spec. Leg.* 1.96, p. 155.

40. Philo, *On the Cherubim* XIV. 49, Loeb p. 39.

41. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 3:8; *Quaest. in Gen.* 57.

42. *Psalm* 103:13.

43. *Proverbs* 30:17; *Ezekiel* 19:2. The attribution of softness to the father and toughness to the mother seems to go back in the Near East to a much earlier period than that of Philo. In the mythology of ancient Ugarit (14th century B.C.), the father of a mythical group of griffons or vultures is designated by a name which is interpreted by Th. Gaster as "softie," while the name of the mother of the griffons means, according to him, "toughie." Cf. Th. Gaster, *Thespis,* New York, Doubleday Anchor Books, pp. 362-63. In ANET, 154, H. L.

Ginsberg makes no attempt to translate or interpret the Ugaritic names of the vultures' father *(Hargab)* and mother *(Samal)*.

44. G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* New York, 1961, p. 37.

45. Josephus Flavius, *Ant.* 3:6:5.

46. *Ezekiel* 9:3; 10:1-22.

47. Josephus, *Ant.* 3:6: 2 and 4.

48. Josephus, *Ant.* 8:2:3.

49. *Ant.* 8:3:2.

50. Contrast this with another passage, *Ant.* 8:5:2, where Josephus describes the royal palace built by Solomon and says that the fourth row of stones in its wall "would make one admire its sculptures, whereby were represented trees and all sorts of plants with the shades that arose from their branches and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees and plants covered the stone beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigiously thin and subtle that you would think they were in motion..."

51. Josephus, *Wars* 5:5:5.

52. Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 2:7 and 8.

53. Midrash Tadshe, ed. Jellinek, *Bet Hamidrash* III, p. 164.

54. *Op. cit.* p. 167.

55. In considering what the Talmudic sources have to say about the Cherubim, one must look at the Talmudic reports in general on the differences between the Solomonic Temple and the one built after the return from the Babylonian exile. To begin with, it has to be pointed out that the sages of the Talmud as a rule referred to the Temple of Solomon as the "First House," or "First Temple," and to the post-exilic Temple as the "Second House," or "Second Temple." In using the latter term, they rarely added any qualifying clause which would make it clear whether they referred to the Temple built by the Babylonian returnees in 520-515 B.C., to the Temple as restored by the Maccabees in 165 B.C., or to the Temple as completely rebuilt by Herod in 20-12 B.C. This lack of precision in itself causes certain difficulties when trying to place Talmudic statements into their proper historical background.

With the above reservation in mind, let us quote the key passage which deals with the question of whether there were any differences in equipment between the First and the Second Temples. According to Shemuel ben Inya (a Palestinian Amora of the early 4th century A.D.) the following features of the First Temple were absent from the Second: "The Ark, the Ark-Cover, the Cherubim, the Fire, the Shekhina, the Holy Spirit, and the Oracular Breastplate." This opinion, however, is contradicted by the general statement immediately following to the effect that those enumerated features "were indeed

present (in the Second Temple) but were of no help," and by the preceeding special reference to "the Fire of the wood-pile" on the altar, about which R. Hanina, the adjutant high priest (2nd half of the 1st century A.D.) said that while the Fire on the altar in the First Temple crouched like a lion, in the Second Temple he himself saw it crouching like a dog (B. Yoma 21b).

These and similar passages indicate quite clearly that the Tannaim, i.e. the Palestinian sages of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. whose words are incorporated in the Mishna, had definite traditions concerning the Temple, which were no longer understood by their heirs and successors, the Amoraim, who lived in the 3rd to 5th centuries either in Palestine or in Babylonia, and whose words are contained in the Palestinian Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud respectively. When a sage like R. Hanina, who also happened to be a high functionary in the Temple (as his name, "Segan hakohanim," i.e. adjutant high priest, indicates), states that he himself saw the Fire on the altar, one will have to rely on him rather than on the statement of Shemuel ben Inya who lived in Babylonia almost three centuries later.

56. B. Baba Bathra 99a.

57. B. Yoma 54a. Rab Qetina's statement was found objectionable by Rab Hisda (another Babylonian Amora of the late 3rd century) on the grounds that such a procedure would have violated the Biblical commandment *(Number* 4:20) which warned: "They (i.e. the priests) shall not go in to see the holy things while they are uncovered." However, Rab Nahman (a contemporary of Rab Hisda) had an answer to this objection: a bride who is still in her father's house is bashful toward her groom; once she lives in her husband's house, she is no longer bashful toward him. Likewise the children of Israel, while they were in the desert, were bashful and would not look at the Shekhina—the visible "Presence" of God, represented by the Cherubim; once they settled in their land, they could feast their eyes on her.

This being settled, a new question arises: does Rab Qetina speak of the First or the Second Temple? If of the First, there was no veil in it (this was the accepted Talmudic view, 2 *Chronicles* 3:14 notwithstanding, based on 1 *Kings* 6:16 which was interpreted as referring to a partition *wall* between the Holy and the Holy of Holies). If, however, he spoke of the Second Temple, in that there were no Cherubim (this in accordance with the view of R. Shemuel b. Inya quoted above). The first, anonymous, answer is that the reference is to the First Temple, and that the Veil mentioned was the Veil of one of the doors. The second answer, given by Rab Aha bar Ya'akov (a Babylonian Amora of the early 4th century), holds that Rab Qetina spoke of the Second Temple, and that he referred not to the Cherubim of

the Ark, but to the Cherubim engraved on the walls of the Temple as stated in the Book of Kings (1 *Kings* 6:29,35).

This explanation is followed by a masterly reinterpretation by Rabba bar Rab Shila (an early 4th century A.D. Babylonian Amora) of one of the phrases appearing in the description of Solomon's Temple. The bases of the lavers, we are told in 1 *Kings* 7:36, were decorated by engraved Cherubim, lions and palm trees, "according to the space of each, with wreaths." The words in quotes, *"k'ma'ar ish w'loyoth"* in Hebrew, are read by Rabba *"k'ish ham'ure b'liwya (shelo),"* that is the Cherubim were "like a man intertwined with his wife."

58. B. Yoma 54b.

59. Lam. Rab. Petihta §9; Pesiqta diR. Kahana ed. Buber, Lyck, 1868, pp. 137b-138a; ed. Mandelbaum, New York, 1962, I, 301; Yalqut Shimoni to Isaiah §474, to Zephaniah §567.

In its midrashic form the tradition seems to refer to an incident that took place at the time of the destruction of the First Temple or somewhat prior to it. It is a midrash to *Lamentations,* Jeremiah's songs of woe over the destruction of the First Temple, and the Ammonites and Moabites mentioned in them figure among the peoples who launched an attack on Jerusalem shortly before Nebuchadnezzar besieged the city in 598 B.C. (2 *Kings* 24:1-2). However, a scrutiny of the events recorded in the *Books of Kings, Chronicles* and *Jeremiah* fails to disclose any occurrence such as the one taken for granted in the above passages, namely a penetration of gentiles into the Holy of Holies of the Temple prior to its destruction. The only juncture at which such an event could have conceivably taken place was the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchednezzar in 598 B.C. The two accounts of this event, contained in the *Book of Kings* and in *Chronicles* are so different as to be irreconcilable, but historians tend to accept the one contained in *Kings* as reflecting what actually transpired. According to that account, King Jehoiakim of Judah (reigned 608-598 B.C.), shortly before his death rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, who thereupon set out to punish him. The Babylonian army reached Jerusalem soon after Jehoiakim's death, and laid siege to it. This was more than Jehoiakim's son and successor, the eighteen-year old Jehoiachin, could endure, and he threw himself on the mercy of Nebuchadnezzar, thereby saving his city and country from destruction, although he himself was taken into captivity to Babylon.

The narrative in *Kings* is so explicit in detailing what happened at that tragic hour in Jerusalem's history that we can be positive that had the Temple been entered by Nebuchadnezzar and thereby desecrated for the first time since it was built, this would certainly have been recounted by the historian. We are told that, when Nebuchadnezzar arrived at Jerusalem, young king Jehoiachin "went out to

the king of Babylon," with his mother, princes, officers and servants, all of whom Nebuchadnezzar took to Babylon as his captives. We are further informed that Nebuchadnezzar took away all the Jewish soldiers, craftsmen and smiths, a total of ten thousand persons. (In *Jeremiah* 52:28 the more realistic figure of 3,023 is mentioned.) Finally, we are apprised that Nebuchadnezzar took all the treasures from the House of Yahweh and the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon had made for the Temple (2 *Kings* 24:8-16). On this latter point, *Chronicles* again has a divergent tradition: Nebuchadnezzar carried off the vessels of the House of Yahweh and put them into his temple in Babylon (2 *Chronicles* 36:6-7,10). The version of *Kings* seems here too to be more reliable: what Nebuchadnezzar was interested in was, not to acquire cult objects for his temple, but to obtain gold: he, therefore, did not hesitate to break the large golden vessels into pieces so as to be able to transport them more easily.

One can thus reconstruct what happened: Nebuchadnezzar demanded, obtained and took away all the gold vessels of the Temple and the Palace, just as the Egyptian Pharaoh Shishak had done in the days of Rehoboam (928-911 B.C.), more than three centuries previously (1 *Kings* 14:25-26). If we check back to the account of Solomon's Temple construction, we shall find enumerated a large number of "pure gold" vessels: altar, table, candelsticks, lamps, cups, snuffers, basins, pens, etc. (1 *Kings* 7:48-50), which went under the collective name "all the vessels that were in the House of Yahweh"—practically the same phrase used in connection with their removal by Nebuchadnezzar: "all the gold vessels which Solomon, King of Israel had made in the Temple of Yahweh as Yahweh had said." The Cherubim were not touched by Nebuchadnezzar because they were not of solid gold: they were made of olive-wood, and merely overlaid with gold (1 *Kings* 6:23, 28). Even if the gold overlay of the Cherubim still existed 350 years after they were made, and was not replaced by brass, as Solomon's golden shields were by his son Rehoboam (1 *Kings* 14:27), it was of small value compared with the many solid gold vessels delivered to Nebuchadnezzar by Jehoiachin. It is, therefore, safe to assume that, whether or not Nebuchadnezzar's officials supervised the removal of all gold vessels from the Temple, the Cherubim were not disturbed, and certainly not dragged out in derision into the streets.

We thus conclude that the Cherubim-incident was merely agadically connected to the First Temple, and that the event to which it referred must have taken place in the days of the Second Temple to which all the three Amoras quoted above have reference. However, we cannot go along with them in interpreting both statements—the one referring to the showing of the Cherubim to the people during their

presence in the Temple at the three feasts of pilgrimage, and the one describing the dragging out of the Cherubim into the streets—as having the Cherubim-reliefs decorating the walls of the Temple as their subject. This interpretation became necessary only because several Babylonian Amoras accepted as axiomatic the view that there were no Cherubim in the Holy of Holies in the Second Temple, just as there was no Ark, Ark-Cover, Fire, Shekhina, Holy Spirit and Oracular Breastplate in it. However, as we have seen, this view is contradicted by more reliable, first hand eyewitness accounts as to the presence of the Fire, and by the general assertion that all the enumerated features did, in fact, exist in the Second Temple as well.

As to the Cherubim, Rab Qetina's statement is unequivocal: the Veil was rolled up and the Cherubim behind it were shown to the people. The Veil is, of course, the curtain separating the Holy from the Holy of Holies. If all that had been meant by Rab Qetina was that the Cherubim engraved on the walls of the Temple were shown to the people, there would have been no need to roll up any veil: The walls were not covered by veils or curtains, and, if they were adorned with reliefs of Cherubim as were the walls of the First Temple, i.e. from the outside as well as the inside (1 *Kings* 6:20), all the Israelites could see them from their courtyard, without even having to approach the Temple building itself.

Secondly, if we assume that there were no Cherubim on the outer walls of the Temple, but there were on the inner walls of the *hēkhal* (the Holy Hall), and that Rab Aha bar Ya'akov (above, p. 123) referred to these, we run up against yet another difficulty. By consulting any modern reconstruction of the floor plan of the Herodian Temple, one at once notices that the line of vision from the court of the Israelites (which was the closest non-priests were allowed to approach the Temple) through the two doors between the *ulam* (vestibule) and the *hekhal* (Holy Hall), into the *hekhal* itself was tightly hemmed in by the large altar of burnt offerings which stood on the southern side, and the eight tables used for the preparation of the sacrifices which occupied the northern side of the Court of Priests (cf. M. Avi-Yonah, *Sepher Yerushalayim,* Jerusalem, 1956, vol. I, pp. 399,406). Due to the narrowness of this line of vision, the two side walls of the *hekhal* were not visible to people outside, in the Court of Israelites. The only part visible was the Veil which was stretched across the back end of the *hekhal.* When the Veil was rolled up, the Cherubim behind it, in the Holy of Holies *(devir),* became visible.

Thirdly, if Shimeon ben Laqish also refers to Cherubim decorating the walls in relief, how did the foreigner "take them out" and carry them around in the streets in cages? Rashi (ad B. Yoma 54b), to be

sure, comments, that "they folded them down from the wall" but this explanation is forced.

Moreover, the showing of the Cherubim to the awe-struck pilgrims, and the taking them out in sacrilegious derision and displaying them to the profane crowd of the market place, have about them the feel of a deep mystery and its wanton desecration; they make sense only if they refer to a unique group of statuary that was so holy that it was normally hidden in the dark interior of the adytum.

60. *Exodus* 23:14-17; 34:23-24; *Deuteronomy* 16:16.

61. *Leviticus* 23:40; *Deuteronomy* 16:14; M. Sukka 5:1.

62. Cf. R. Patai, *Man and Temple,* pp. 24-53.

63. Exodus 32:6. The Hebrew verb *l'ṣaḥeq,* translated above as "engaged in sexual intercourse," is a technical term meaning precisely this. It appears, e.g., in the story of Isaac and Abimelech, where the Philistine king is said to have learned that Rebekah was indeed the wife and not the sister of Isaac when, looking out his window, he saw Isaac *m'saheq,* engage in sexual intercourse, with Rebekah.

64. Nelson Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins,* New York, 1965, p. 166.

65. Cf. Patai, *Man and Temple,* pp. 13,66,70.

66. M. Sukka 5:2; Tos. Sukka 4:1; M. Middoth 2:5; Yer. Sukka 55b middle; B. Sukka 52a; Patai, *Man and Temple,* pp. 27-28.

67. Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes,* 3rd and 4th eds., I. 197, quoting *1 Macc.* 1:20-24; Josephus, *Ant.,* XIII:5:3-4; 2 *Macc.* 5:11-21; Josephus, *Contra Apionem* II:7

68. Schürer, *op. cit.,* pp. 197-98; quoting 1 *Macc.* 1:29-40; 2 *Macc.* 5:23-25; Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5.4.

69. Cf. e.g., Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash,* I. p. 31-46.

70. Cf. Moses Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates,* New York, 1951, p. 54. According to the earlier estimate of Emil Schürer, *op. cit.,* III 611, it was written in ca. 200 B.C.

71. Cf. Schürer, *op. cit.,* III. 609

72. S. Zeitlin, editorial note in Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates,* p. 71.

73. *Ant.* 12: 2: 5,9,10,11,15.

74. *Aristeas* 51-82 and 320; Hadas, *op. cit.* pp. 121-131,225.

75. Cf. *Exodus* 25:23-28; 1 *Kings* 7:48.

76. Hadas, *op. cit.* p. 123. *Aristeas,* and, following him, Josephus devote many pages to the description of the table. We learn that it was decorated with egg designs, garlands of all kind of fruit, visibly projecting clusters of grapes and ears of grain, also dates and apples, olives and pomegranates, etc. "They worked stones of the colors of the several species to resemble the shapes of the fruits..." The legs had lily-shaped capitals; there were leaves of ivy intertwined with acanthus, and "all the parts were carefully made and fitted, the ingenius art corresponding to truth to such a superlative degree that if a breath

of wind blew, the leaves stirred in their place, so closely was every detail modelled on reality" (cf. Hadas, *op. cit.,* 125-27.) Josephus largely repeats *Aristeas'* description of the table, adding that the intricate "sculptures" representing the many types of fruit were so lifelike "that you would guess they were nowise different from real tendrils; for they were so very thin and so very far extended at their extremities that they were moved with the wind and made one believe that they were the product of nature, not the representation of art" (Josephus, *Ant.* 12:2:9). It must have been these decorations which inspired the later Talmudic legends about golden trees planted by Solomon in the Temple which brought forth fruit and thus provided nourishment for the priests (B. Yoma 21b, 39b; Yer. Yoma 41d; cf. Num. Rab. 11:3; 12:4; Mid. Tanhuma Num. ed. Buber, p. 33; Cant. Rab. 3:9; Josephus, *Ant.* 8:5:2; cf. Patai, *Man and Temple,* pp. 90, 101).

For our present purpose it is interesting to note that the "living golden trees" motive represents another example of the attribution by the Talmudic sages to the First Temple of a feature which was introduced only into the Second Temple, and at a relatively late date at that. This strengthens our argument that the exhibition of the Cherubim in cages in the market place, attributed by the Talmudic sages to the First Temple period, actually took place likewise in the days of the Second Temple, during the sack of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes.

77. Josephus *Ant.,* 12:2:11.

78. Cf. Joseph Klausner, *History of the Second Temple* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1952, II. 130.

79. Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte,* 4th ed., III. 362-63.

80. M. Yoma 3:10.

81. Cf. Tos. Sukka 4:6, p. 198; B. Arakhin 10b; A. Büchler, *Studies in Jewish History,* Oxford Univ. Press, 1956, pp. 51 ff.

82. Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* I. 319 ff.

83. According to W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India,* Cambridge, 1938, pp. 414-36.

84. Hadas, *Aristeas* 83, p. 133.

85. Gen. Rab. 203; cf. Mid. Hagadol, Gen. p. 104.

86. Ex. Rab. 25.2.

87. *Deuteronomy* 6:4.

88. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed,* III. 45. Transl. by S. Pines, University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 577.

89. *Exodus* 25:18.

90. *Midrash HaGadol,* ed. M. Margulies, Jerusalem, 1956, p. 580. The original of the word translated above as "breasts" is *"vashdotam."* Margulies in a footnote states that he does not know what this word

means. My suggested translation is based on the following considerations: the context shows that the word must mean a part of the human body. The *alef* inserted between the *v* and the *sh* seems to be a *mater lectionis* for *a,* as is frequently found in *Midrash HaGadol,* e.g. the name Raba is spelled, not in its usual form RBH, but RABH. The feminine plural suffix *-ot,* instead of the usual dual suffix, appears in the text in the word preceeding *vashdotam,* namely *yadotam* ("their hands"), while one would expect *y'dehem* and *sh'dehem.* These deviations from standard Hebrew mask, but cannot obliterate, the meaning of the word *vashdotam,* i.e. "their breasts."

91. *Numbers* 7:89; *Deuteronomy* 32:4.

92. *Zohar* III. 59a.

93. *Exodus* 25:20.

94. *Leviticus* 18.7.

95. *Zohar* II. 176a.

96. Cf. Bahya ben Asher, *Biur 'al HaTorah,* Amsterdam, 1726 (on *Exodus 25),* folios 117b, 117d, 118c. Reference to the symbolic significance of the male and female Cherubim is also found on fol. 118d and 119a.

97. Hugo Gressmann, *Die Lade Jahves,* 1920, pp. 64-65.

98. Julian Morgenstern, "Amos Studies III," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* vol. 15, 1940, p. 121, note 98; *id.* The Ark, the Ephod, and the "Tent of Meeting," Cincinnati, 1945, pp. 95, note 159, 96, 107, 111.

Chapter IV

THE SHEKHINA

1. Cf. Chapter Three, The Cherubim, p. 108.

2. Cf. *ibid.* pp. 109-10.

3. *Exodus* 40:38.

4. *Exodus* 40:35.

5. 1 *Kings* 8:10-11; 2 *Chronicles* 5:14; 7:2.

6. 1 *Kings* 8:12-13; 2 *Chronicles* 6:1-2.

7. The technical term for the visible appearance of Yahweh in the sanctuary or in any other place chosen by Him is the verb *shakhan,* meaning to dwell, or abide. In the great and famous Sinai theophany *(Exodus* 24:16), "Yahweh's glory dwelt *(shakhan)* on Mount Sinai"; and subsequently He commanded Moses to build Him a sanctuary "that I may dwell *(w'shakhanti)* among" the Children of Israel *(Exodus* 25:8) Following the conquest of Canaan, God took up His abode on Mount Zion, and is referred to by *Isaiah* (8:18) as "Yahweh Zeboath who dwells *(shokhen)* in Mount Zion." Zion is God's holy

mountain: "I am Yahweh your God, dwelling *(shokhen)* in Zion My holy mountain," says Joel (4:17). In the *Psalms* (135:21) this concept becomes the basis for a divine epithet: "Blessed by Yahweh out of Zion, the Jerusalem-dweller *(shokhen),* Hallelujah," just as in an older poetic context He is called "the thornbush dweller" *(Deuteronomy* 33:16).

8. The Tabernacle is often called *ohel mo'ed,* "Tent of Meeting," or simply *ha'ohel,* "the Tent," as well. It seems that the oldest Elohistic tradition used the term "Tent of Meeting," while the more recent Priestly tradition preferred the archaic term *Mishkan,* "dwelling" (cf. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel,* pp. 294-95), thereby giving emphasis to the idea that Yahweh actually "dwelt" *(shokhen)* in the desert sanctuary.

9. *Exodus* 33:9; *Numbers* 12:4-10.

10. *Exodus* 40:34-35; cf. de Vaux, p. 295.

11. *Nehemiah* 8:8.

12. *Job* 28:13-28.

13. *Proverbs* 8:22-31.

14. *Wisdom of Solomon, passim* (esp. 7:25 ff); *Sir.* 19:20; 24; *Bar.* 3:9-37; *Secr. of Enoch* 30:8.

15. *Wis. Sol.* 8:3.

16. Cf. Scholem "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der kabbalistischen Konzeption der Schechinah," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1952, vol. 21 Zurich, 1953, pp. 48-49.

17. Philo, *On the Cherubim* xiv. 49. Loeb Class. Libr. p. 39.

18. Cf. Gilles Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1953, vol. 22, pp. 195-234, Quoting Iren. 1.30 and Preuschen, *Adamschriften,* p. 22.

19. *Exodus* 25:8.

20. *Exodus* 29:45-46.

21. *Numbers* 5:3.

22. Cf. also *Numbers* 35:34.

23. *Deuteronomy* 32:10.

24. Cf. Siegmund Maybaum, *Die Anthropomorphien und Anthropopathien bei Onkelos,* Breslau, 1870, pp. 51-54, 63f.

25. Ex. Rab. 2:4.

26. B. Sukka 5a, quoting *Exodus* 19:20.

27. B. Sota 13a-b; cf. Mekhilta, Beshallah.

28. Num. Rab. 12:4 (pp. 46d, 47b); Pesiqta diR. Kahana, ed. Mandelbaum, p. 4.

29. Num. Rab. 12. 4, p. 47b; Pesiqta diR. Kahana, ed. Mandelbaum, p. 4.

30. Num. Rab. 12.6.

31. Pesiqta diR. Kahana, ed. Mandelbaum, pp. 2-3.

32. B. Sanhedrin 103b, quoting 2 *Chronicles* 33:7, 22.
33. B. Rosh Hashana 31a; cf. Pesiqta diR. Kahana, ed. Mandelbaum, p. 234, and parallel sources listed there.
34. B. Rosh Hashana 31a and Rashi, *ibid.*
35. *Jeremiah* 3:22.
36. Hosea 5:15; Pesiqta diR. Kahana, ed. Mandelbaum, 235.
37. Pesiqta diR. Kahana, ed. Mandelbaum, pp. 390-91.
38. Cf. B. Yoma 21 Yer. Taanith 65a.
39. B. Yoma 9b.
40. Cf. B. Yoma 21b.
41. Rashi *ad* Megilla 29a.
42. B. Megilla 29a.
43. B. Sota 9b.
44. B. Megilla 29a.
45. B. Bekhoroth 8a.
46. Num. Rab. 12.8.
47. Pesiqta diR. Kahana, ed. Mandelbaum, pp. 396-97.
48. B. Sota 12b.
49. B. Shabbath 87a; cf. B. Pesahim 87b; Deut. Rab. 11:10 end; B. Yebamoth 62a; Aboth diR. Nathan, p. 10.
50. B. Shabbath 12b.
51. Targum to *Judges* 6:13 and *Psalm* 16:8.
52. Alpha Beta diR. Akiba, ed. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* III. 29.
53. B. Sanhedrin 103b-104a.
54. B. Sota 17a.
55. B. Qiddushin 70b.
56. B. Shabbath 92a.
57. B. Nedarim 38a.
58. B. Qiddushin 70b.
59. B. Shabbath 30a; B. Pesahim 117a.
60. Pesiqta diR. Kahana, ed. Mandelbaum, pp. 110, 161; Ex. Rab. 32.4; Mid. Hagadol Shemini 10a, p. 189.
61. Alpha Beta diR. Akiba, ed. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* III. 29.
62. B. Sanhedrin 39a.
63. Exodus 25:8.
64. 1 *Kings* 8.27.
65. Pesiqta diR. Kahana 20a, 62a; ed. Mandelbaum, pp. 8,33,337, and parallel sources listed *ibid.* in the footnotes.
66. Cf. Chapter The Cherubim, pp. 113-15.
67. Cf. A. Marmorstein, *Studies in Jewish Theology,* Oxford Univ. Press, 1950, pp. 130-31.
68. *Proverbs* 24:28.
69. *Proverbs* 24:29; Lev. Rab. 6.1.

70. Since the passage in Lev. Rab. 6.1, quoted above, speaks of the "Holy Spirit," and not the Shekhina, Gershom Scholem is technically correct when stating that Midrash Mishle (see below) contains the first and only midrashic reference to a differentiation between God and the Shekhina. Cf. Scholem, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der kabbalistischen Konzeption der Schechinah," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1952, vol. 21, Zurich, 1953, p. 59. In substance, however, he is in error, because, as pointed out above, the differentiation between God and the Holy Spirit, found in Lev. Rab. 6.1, is essentially identical with a differentiation between God and the Shekhina.

71. Midrash Mishle ed. Buber, p. 47a, quoting *Proverbs* 22:29; cf. Mishna Sanhedrin 10.2 on the three kings (Jeroboam, Ahab and Manasseh) and the four commoners (Balaam, Doeg, Ahitophel and Gehazi) who have no share in the World to Come, and B. Sanh. 104b.

72. Bereshit Rabbati, ed. Albeck, p. 27. The same midrash is found much earlier in a Hebrew version of the *Book of Enoch,* where, however, the crucial passage reads "I removed my Shekhina from their midst." Cf. Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* II. 114.

73. *Exodus* 24:10.

74. Midrash Hagadol Exodus 555; cf. B. Qiddushin 49a, and Tosafot *ibid.* beginning with "Ham'targem"; *Arukh,* s.v. Tirgem.

75. *Psalms* 103:13.

76. *Isaiah* 66:13.

77. Pesiqta Rab. 139a.

78. See above, pp. 114-15.

79. Lam. Rab. Introduction, 25.

80. Lam Rab. Introduction, 24.

81. Pesiqta diR. Kahana, ed. Mandelbaum, p. 4.

82. Aboth diR. Nathan, ed. Schechter, p. 102, and see parallel sources in the notes.

83. B. Baba Bathra 17a; cf. Cant. Rab. *ad* 1.2 (5)

84. Deut. Rab. 11.10 end.

85. B. Sota 13; Sifre Deut. 355.

86. Cf. below, chapter The Matronit.

87. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel,* p. 85.

88. Plural: *Genesis* 18:2,4,5,8,9,16,22; singular: *Genesis* 18:1,3,10, 13,14,17-21,23-33.

89. *Genesis* 19:1ff., 13. Cf. on this entire problem Aubrey R. Johnson, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God,* Cardiff, 1942. Johnson shows that the same vacillation between singular and plural is found also in other ancient Near Eastern religions, pp. 28-31.

90. Cf. above, pp. 114-15.

Chapter V

THE KABBALISTIC TETRAD

1. Cf. G. Scholem, *Major Treands in Jewish Mysticism,* New York, 1961, pp. 20ff.

2. *Op. cit.,* p. 229.

3. *Zohar* III. 290b. My translation in the text above is free. It renders the sense of the passage instead of trying to give a literal translation which would be clumsy and difficult in English. The same procedure was followed in the rendering of most passages quoted from Kabbalistic literature.

4. *Zohar* III. 290a.

5. *Zohar* III. 65b.

6. Cf. Scholem, *op. cit.,* pp. 211ff.; I. Tishby, *Mishnat Hazohar,* Jerusalem, 1957, I. pp. 98ff.; Zvi Werblowsky, *Joseph Karo—Lawyer and Mystic,* Oxford University Press, 1962, pp. 206ff.

7. Cf. Rudolf Anthes, "Mythology in Ancient Egypt," in Samuel Noah Kramer (ed.), *Mythologies of the Ancient World,* New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1961, pp. 36-37.

8. Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture and Character,* The University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 115.

9. *Op. cit.,* p. 118.

10. *Op. cit.,* p. 122.

11. *Loc. cit.*

12. *Op. cit.,* p. 175.

13. *Op. cit.,* p. 182.

14. *Op. cit.,* p. 258.

15. Cf. Anthes, *op. cit.,* p. 36.

16. ANET, p. 120.

17. Cf. Hans G. Guterbock, "Hittite Mythology," in Kramer, *Mythologies of the Ancient World,* p. 155.

18. Cf. Cyrus H. Gordon, "Canaanite Mythology," in Kramer *op. cit.,* pp. 183-217; Cf. above, chapters I and II.

19. Cf. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie,* s.v. Juno; H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology,* London, 1933, pp. 102, 324.

20. Cf. M. J. Dresden, "Mythology of Ancient Iran," in Kramer *of cit.,* pp. 355-56.

21. Cf. W. Norman Brown, "Mythology of India," in Kramer *op. cit.,* pp. 305-06, 309,311-12.

22. E. Dale Saunders, "Japanese Mythology," in Kramer, *op. cit.,* 417-21.

23. Cf. Raphael Patai, *Man and Earth in Hebrew Custom, Belief and Legend,* Jerusalem, 1942, I. 134ff.

24. *Zohar* III. 290b.

25. E.g. in ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek and Hindu mythologies; in Icelandic, Polynesian, Micronesian, Indonesian, Maori, North and South American Indian, African, Mongolian, Siberian, etc. mythologies. Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature,* rev. ed., Bloomington, Indiana, vol. I, 1955, p. 128: A625. World Parents: sky-father and earth-mother as parents of the universe. The sky-father descends upon the earth-mother and begets the world. A625.1. Heaven-mother—earth-father. A625.2. Raising of the sky. Originally the sky is near the earth (usually because of the conjunction of the sky-father and earth-mother). It is raised to its present place. Cf. also Patai, *Man and Earth,* I. 112ff.

26. *Zohar* I. 162a-b, explaining the secret meaning of *Psalm* 37:25.

28. *Zohar* III. 77b-78a.

29. Cf. Scholem, *op. cit.,* pp. 173-194,185.

30. The *Merkaboth* (sing. *Merkaba)* are the divine chariots which, based on *Ezekiel* 1 and 10, have become the mystical symbol of God in the early Kabbalistic doctrine.

31. "Androginos" is the term used by the author in his Aramaic text.

32. Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla, *Sha'are Orah,* Offenbach, 1715, pp. 61b-62a.

33. Cf. for instance *Gen. Rab.* p. 55; cf. Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *Hebrew Myths,* New York, 1964, 10.1.

34. *Zohar* III. 296a.

35. *Pardes Rimmonim,* VIII. 17.

36. Cf. *Gen. Rab.* p. 55; Cf. Graves-Patai, *Hebrew Myths,* 10.1.

37. Cf. *Genesis* 1:26-27. A hermaphroditic creator god figures also in ancient Greek, Egyptian, Hindu and Aztec mythologies, cf. Stith-Thompson, *Motif-Index,* A 12.

38. *Zohar* III. 77b.

39. *Zohar* I. 30b-31a.

40. *Zohar* I. 156b, Sitre Torah.

40a. Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index,* Index, s.v. Jealousy.

41. Shir Hashirim Rabba 3.11; cf. also Sepher Habahir §43, and Scholem, *Ursprung and Anfänge der Kabbala,* Berlin, 1962, p. 149.

42. *Zohar* III. 17a.

43. *Zohar* III. 88b.

44. Cf. Scholem, *Major Trends,* pp. 56,362,363.

45. The last two names are frequent in the book Bahir, the 12th century Kabbalistic treatise, cf. Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir,* Leipzig, 1923, 49,52,61,65,131.

45a. Cf. G. Scholem, *Von der mystichen Gestalt der Gottheit,* p. 171 and p. 177 where he quotes Joseph Gikatilla, *Sha'are Orah.*

46. Tiqqune Hazohar, tiqqun 34, p. 77; quoted after Tishby, *Mishnat Hazohar,* II. 623.

47. Cf. above, p. 168.

48. *Zohar* III. 5a, 69a.

49. *Proverbs* 28:24.

50. *Zohar* III. 44b.

51. *Zohar* III. 7a.

52. Cf. Scholem, *Major Trends,* pp. 115, 229 and 403, note 75.

53. Cf. Scholem, *op. cit.,* p. 139.

54. Cf. Graves-Patai, *Hebrew Myths,* chapters 1-21.

Chapter VI

MATRONIT—THE GODDESS OF THE KABBALA

1. ANET, pp. 41,44,54,55,56,57,159,178,309; Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians,* Univ. of Chicago Press, 1963, pp. 122,140-141,153,161-62,197,205-06,262.

2. Stephen H. Langdon, *Semitic (The Mythology of All Races,* Vol. V), Boston, 1931, pp. 25-28,94,97; *id., Babylonian Liturgies,* Paris, 1913, pp. 43,95; ANET, 83,84,94,108,111,113,118,119,123,205,250,294, 293,299,383,427,449,451.

3. Cf. Emil G. Kraeling, *Bible Atlas,* New York: Rand McNally, 1956, p. 305 and maps iii and xi; Herodotus i. 131; Roscher, *Ausführl. Lexikon d. Griech. Myth.,* s.v. Anaitis; Strabo xi. 532c; *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics,* s.v. Anahita; G. Widengren, *Numen* I (1954), p. 72, and II (1955), pp. 92,122-23. That Anahita was considered a daughter of Ormuzd is stated by the 4th century A.D. Armenian historian Agathangelus, cf. Fr. Windischmann, "Die persische Anahita oder Anaitis," *Abhandl. d. philosoph.-philolog. Classe d. könig. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.,* München, vol. 8. (1858), pp. 85-128.

4. *Numbers* 19:2.

5. *Zohar* iii. 180b, Raaya Mehemna.

6. *Zohar* iii. 89b-90a, Raaya Mehemna.

7. *Zohar* iii. 267a, Raaya Mehemna.

8. *Zohar* iii. 189a.

9. Gordon, in Kramer (ed.), *Mythologies of the Ancient World,* 204.

10. *Zohar* i. 21b-22a.

11. *Zohar* i. 21b-22a.

12. B. Sota 13b; Sifre Deut. 355.

13. *Zohar* i. 49a, iii. 74b.

14. *Zohar* i. 30b-31a.

15. Tiqqune Hazohar, Tiqqun 34, p. 77; quoted after Tishby, *Mishnat Hazohar,* ii. 623.

16. *Zohar Hadash,* Midrash Haneelam to Ekhah, Warsaw, n.d., p. 183.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Zohar* iii. 296a.

19. *Zohar,* ii. 89a-b.

20. *Zohar* i. 12b.

21. *Zohar* ii. 219b; i. 64a.

22. *Leviticus* 16:8-10.

23. *Zohar* iii. 79a; i. 64a.

24. *Zohar* iii. 42a-b.

25. *Zohar* i. 210a-b.

26. *Zohar* iii. 17a-b, 74b.

27. *Zohar* iii. 69a.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Zohar* i. 84b.

30. *Zohar* i. 49b-50a, 66b; Moses Cordovero (1522-1570), *Pardes Rimmonim,* Gate 16, section 6.

31. See above, chapter 5, "The Kabbalistic Tetrad."

32. *Zohar* i. 84b, iii. 17a-b, 186b.

33. *Exodus* 15:3; *Isaiah* 51;9; *Psalms* 89:11; *Isaiah* 63:1-6.

34. B. Baba Bathra 17a; B. Sota 13b; Sifre Deut. §355; cf. Deut. Rabba, 11:10 end; Cant. Rab. 1 and 3.

35. *Zohar* ii. 29a.

36. *Zohar* ii. 50b.

37. *Zohar* ii. 51a-b.

38. *Zohar* iii. 75a-b.

39. An allusion to the "Behemoth on the Thousand Mountains" was found by the authors of the Midrash in *Psalms* 50:10 where God says: "For every beast of the forest is Mine, and the cattle (in Hebrew: Behemoth) upon a thousand hills." Cf. Midrash Konen 25; Pesiqta Rabbati 80b-81a; Leviticus Rabba 13.3; 22.10; Numeri Rabba 21.18; Pirqe diRabbi Eliezer, ch. 11; and see also Graves-Patai, *Hebrew Myths,* 6. n, o, and p.

40. The chief passages are *Zohar* I. 223a-b, and III. 60. *Proverbs* 5:5 is quoted in *Zohar* I. 35b, 221b, and II. 48b. Cf. G. Scholem's excellent analysis of these passages in his *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit,* Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1962, p. 186.

41. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th ed., s.v. Mary.

42. Cf. Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History,* iv. 24.

43. *Enc. Brit., ibid.*

44. Hastings (ed.), *Dictionary of the Bible,* s.v. Mary, p. 292.

45. *Real-Encyclopedie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* vol. 12, p. 319, s.v. Marie.

46. *Hastings, Dict.* pp. 290, 292; *Real Enc.,* pp. 316-17.

47. *Enc. Brit., ibid.; Real Enc.,* p. 316.

48. *Real Enc., ibid.; Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 3rd ed., s.v. Marienverehrung, vol. 4, p. 764 (Tübingen, 1960).

49. Cf. above, p. 97.

50. *Real Encl.* p. 315.

51. Moses Cordovero, *Pardes Rimonim,* Sha'ar 'Erkhe haKinuyim, ch. 3, Koretz, 1780, p. 120c.

Chapter VII

LILITH

1. Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List,* Chicago, 1939, p. 18, n. 37, and p. 90, n. 131.

2. Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien,* Heidelberg, 1925, ii. 201.

3. Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriology,* ii. 110.

4. Samuel N. Kramer, *Gilgamesh and the Huluppu-Tree,* Chicago, 1939, pp. 1-2. The same story was told in the missing part of Tablet xii of the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic dating from the 7th century B.C.; cf. Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh-Epic and Old Testament Parallels,* Chicago, 1946, p. 94.

5. Emil G. Kraeling, *Bulletin of the American Shools of Oriental Research* 67 (Oct. 1937), pp. 16-18.

6. Cf. William F. Albright, *Bull. of the Amer. Schools of Oriental Research,* No. 76 (December, 1939), p. 9.

7. *Isaiah* 34:14.

8. B. Nidda 24b.

9. B. Erubin 100b.

10. Rashi to B. Sanhedrin 109a.

11. These names, as shown by Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts,* pp. 1252ff., are derived from Byzantine magic names such as Sisynios, Synithoros, and the like; cf. also H.A. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina,* Stuttgart, 1931.

12. Alpha Beta diBen Sira, ed. Eisenstein, *Otzar Midrashim,* p. 47; cf. M. Gaster, MGWJ 29 (1880), 553ff.; Num. Rab. 16.25; *Zohar* i. 34b.

13. B. Erubin 18b; Gen. Rab. 20.11, pp. 195-96; 24,6, p. 236; Tanhuma Genesis Buber 20; etc.

14. B. Shabbath 151a.

15. James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nip-*

pur, Philadelphia, 1913, pp. 77-78, and cf. pp. 75-76 which are paraphrased or summarized above.

16. Montgomery, *op. cit.,* pp. 155-56, bowl no. 8.

17. *Hosea* 2:5.

18. Jehuda L. Zlotnik, *Ma'ase Yerushalmi,* Jerusalem, 1946, p. 33.

19. *Op. cit.,* pp. 66-67.

20. Cf. G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* New York, 1961, pp. 40ff. In an Arabic incantation text against the Qarina (the Muslim equivalent of Lilith), King Solomon is said to have called his vezir and cousin Asaf ibn Barakhia, in whose name we recognize Joshua ben Perahia, and commanded him to write an amulet to ward off the demoness and all her helpers, cf. H.A. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina,* Stuttgart, 1931, p. 18.

21. Gottheil, whose transcript was published by Montgomery, reads, *Yahweh Qadmonah Hayin Lilith.* It seems to me, however, that these words should be read *whawah qadmonah huṣ Lilith,* giving the famous Jewish magical incantation formula as translated above.

22. Montgomery misunderstood this name. In later Jewish magic it has become a commonplace to arrange a formal sale of a child whose life was threatened by an evil spirit and to call him Mercado, i.e. The Sold One, if a boy, and Mercada, if a girl.

23. Montgomery, *op. cit.,* pp. 258ff. My translation. A very similar incantation is reprinted in as recent a popular remedy-book as Raphael Ohana's *Mar'eh haYeladim,* Jerusalem, 1908, p. 61b.

24. Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.* pp. 252-53.

25. Cf. Cyrus H. Gordon, "Two Magic Bowls in Teheran," *Orientalia,* vol. 20, Rome, 1951, pp. 306-15.

26. Cf. Gordon, *op. cit.* pp. 306-07, whose translation was followed above, with a few slight changes.

27. Cf. Gordon, *op. cit.,* pp. 309-10. Lilith appears on numerous other bowls as well, Cf. Gordon, *Orientalia* 10 (1941), pp. 120-21, 279,289 (where "male and female Liliths" are mentioned), 339,340 ("Lilin," masculine plural), 347 ("Liliths"), 348 ("male and female Liliths"), 351 ("I adjure thee, O Lilith Hablas, granddaughter of Lilith Zarnay"), 353 ("bewitching female Liliths"), 354, 356.

28. *Genesis* 1:20-21.

29. *Zohar* i. 34b.

30. Yalqut Reubeni to *Genesis* 2:21, p. 68.

31. *Zohar* iii. 19a.

32. *Zohar* i. 148a, Sitre Torah.

33. Gershom Scholem, "Kabbaloth R. Ya'aqobh weR. Yitzhaq," *Madda'e haYahaduth* vol. II, Jerusalem, 1927, pp. 251,260.

34. *Genesis* 1:3.

35. *Zohar* i. 19b, with I. Tishby's comments in his *Mishnat Hazohar* i. 372.

36. B. Sukka 5b.

37. *Zohar* i. 19b.

38. *Zohar* i. 34b.

39. *Zohar* i. 19b.

40. Cf. above, p. 216, where 'Lilith Buznai" is mentioned.

41. Midrash Abkir; *Zohar* iii. 76b; Yalqut Reubeni to *Genesis* 4:8, p. 95.

42. Naphtali Herz ben Jacob Elhanan, *Emeq Hamelekh,* Amsterdam, 1648, 179d-180a.

43. Cf. Bahya ben Asher ibn Halawa (d.1340), *Commentary to the Pentateuch* (in Hebrew), Venice, 1546, 15d; Manasseh ben Israel (1604-1667), *Nishmat Hayyim,* Amsterdam, 1652, 114b, ch. 12 of the Third Maamar; *Emeq Hamelekh,* 23c-d, chapter 42.

44. *Zohar* i. 19b.

45. *Emeq Hamelekh,* p. 103a; cf. the Yiddish book *Hanhagath Hassidim we'Anshe Ma'asse,* Frankfurt a.M., 1700, pp. 16a-17a.

46. *Zohar* i. 148a-b, Sitre Torah.

47. *Zohar* i. 148b, Sitre Torah.

48. *Emeq Hamelekh,* Sha'ar Tiqqune Hateshuvah, ch. 11, p. 19c. The mythical references in this incantation are clear enough. The statement that Lilith is wrapped in velvet may refer to the scarlet dress which, as we just saw, Lilith was believed to wear when trying to seduce men. The admonition that she should return to the raging sea whose waves call her, refers to the well-known myth according to which Lilith's permanent abode is in the waves of the Red Sea.

49. *Emeq Hamelekh* 84b.

50. Cf. G. Scholem, *Tarbiṣ,* vol. 19 (1948), p. 175.

51. *Zohar* i. 19b. The turn of the flame is reminiscent of the turning of the Cherubim themselves: according to the Talmudic view (B. Baba Bathra 99a) when the Cherubim turned their faces toward each other, this showed that Israel obeyed the will of God; when Israel sinned the Cherubim turned their faces away from each other. The smile of Lilith is reflected in the smile that one can observe on the faces of sleeping children. Therefore, according to Jewish folk-belief, one should wake such a child, whereupon Lilith will flee.

52. *Zohar* iii. 19a.

53. *Zohar* iii. 77a.

54. *Zohar* iii. 77a.

55. *Meqore Minhagim,* 91f., and Raphael Ohana, *Mar'eh ha-Yeladim,* Jerusalem, 1908, p. 52a.

56. Ohana, *loc. lit.,* quoting Liqqute Gure ha'Ari; cf. also *Sepher Zekhirak* 53b; Grunwald, *Mitteil. zur jüd. Volkskunde,* viii, 62; similar

beliefs and practices among other peoples, cf. Wuttke, *Der deut. Volksaberglaube,* 386; Ploss, *Das Kind,* ii. 851; Nyberg, *Kind und Erde,* 222; Graves-Patai, *Hebrew Myths* 10.4.

57. Ohana, *op. cit.,* 94a.

58. *Op. cit.,* 25a.

59. *Op. cit.,* 94a-b.

60. Cf. *Genesis* 4:19, 22.

61. Gen. Rab. 23.3, p. 224, and parallel sources.

62. *Pirqe R. Eliezer,* according to reading of Nahmanides on *Gen.* 4:2; cf. *Mid. Hagadol* i. 118; *Zohar* i. 55a; *Zohar* Ruth 99a, beginning with the words R. Nehemia patah; *Agadat Bereshit* (introd.) 38; Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* I. 150; V. 171: Menahem Zioni b. Meir of Speyer (15th century). *Sepher Zioni,* Cremona, 1560, p. 14b.

63. *Zohar* i. 56a; cf. 19b.

64. *Zohar* iii. 76b.

65. *Zohar* i. 9b.

66. *Zohar* iii. 76b-77a.

67. G. Scholem, *Tarbiṣ* vol. 19 (1948) p. 172; cf. also Mid. Tehillim 72, Buber, p. 324; *Yalqut Reubeni* to *Genesis* 4:8, p. 95, quoting Sepher Miskhan ha'Eduth. The reference to Hadad the Edomite is found in 1 *Kings* 11:14,17.

68. Targum Sheni to *Esther* 1:3.

69. Cf. Scholem, *Tarbiṣ,* vol. 19 (1948) p. 169.

70. Cf. Targum to *Job* 1:15.

71. Cf. above, p. 219.

72. Bahya on *Genesis,* Venice, 1546, 15d; cf. also Isaac Karo, *Toldoth Yitzhak* (Mantua, 1558), to *Genesis,* 16a; *Yalqut Reubeni* Reubeni Gadol, Wilmersdorf, 1681, 53c (Parashat Toldoth); Aharon Shemuel, *Nishmat Hayyim,* Hanau, 1617, 114b (Ma'amar Gimel, ch. 12).

73. Nathan Spira, *Tubh HaAretz,* Venice, 1655, p. 19c.

74. *Psalm* 91:10; Ohana *Mar'eh HaYeladim* 10a-b, quoting Mahari Taitazak.

75. *Isaiah* 27:1.

76. Moses Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim,* Cracow, 1591, Gate 25, ch. 5, p. 186d.

77. *Emeq Hamelekh,* p. 84b, cf. p. 140b.

78. Cf. e.g. *Emeq Hamelekh,* 140b, and Bezalel ben Solomon of Kobrin, *'Amudeha Shiv'ah,* Dusseldorf, 1693, pp. 51c-d.

79. *Isaiah* 27:1.

80. *Emeq Hamelekh,* pp. 84c, 103a, 121b, 130a; *Zohar* ii, 108b.

81. *Op. cit.,* p. 84a; G. Scholem, *Tarbiṣ,* vol. 19 (1948), p. 173.

82. Cf. *Genesis* 36:39.

83. *Jeremiah* 1:14.

84. Cf. G. *Tarbiṣ,* vol. 5, p. 194.

85. Cf. Scholem, "Kabbaloth R. Ya'aqobh weR. Yitzhaq," *Madda'e haYahaduth,* vol. II, Jerusalem, 1927, pp. 251, 255, 258, 260-61. This jealousy in the family of evil divinities mirrors the jealousy the Mother Goddess feels when she sees the boundless love the Father God feels for their daughter the Matronit, cf. above, p.

86. Cf. *Genesis* 28:9.

87. Moses Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim,* Cracow, 1591, Gate 25, ch. 5, p. 186d; Gate 26, ch. 8, p. 188d.

88. Abraham Galante, *Sepher Qol Bokhim,* Venice, 1589, p. 15, to *Lamentations* 1:5.

89. Cf. above, p. 215.

90. *Emeq Hamelekh,* 140b.

91. *Genesis* 3:34.

92. Hayyim Vital, *Sepher 'Eṣ Hayyim,* Koretz, 1784, p. 129d.

93. *Cant.* 3:8.

94. *Zohar* ii. 163b.

95. Cf. above, p. 216.

96. *Zohar Hadash* Tiqqunim, Warsaw: Levin-Epstein, no date, p. 117a top.

97. *Zohar* i. 27b.

98. *Proverbs* 30:23.

99. *Zohar* iii. 69a.

100. Shlomo Alqabeṣ *B'rith haLevi,* ch. 7, cf. ch. 6.

101. G. Scholem *Tarbiṣ,* vol. 5, pp. 50, 194-95; I. Tishby, *Mishnat HaZohar,* i. 299.

102. *Zechariah* 9:9.

103. *Zohar* iii. 69a.

104. *Emeq Hamelekh,* p. 84d.

Chapter VIII

THE SABBATH—VIRGIN, BRIDE, QUEEN AND GODDESS

1. *Isaiah* 58:13-14.

2. *Genesis* 2:2-3; *Exodus* 20:8-11; *Deuteronomy* 5:12-15.

3. Cf. *Jubilees* 50:8.

4. Cf. A. Z. Aescoli, *Sepher HaFalashim,* Jerusalem, 1943, p. 37; Wolf Leslau, *Falasha Anthology,* New Haven, 1951, p. 19.

5. B. Ketubot 62b; B. Baba Kamma 88a; cf. Yer. Megilla 75a mid.

6. B. Ketubot 62b. For the Talmudic belief in the power of the word, cf. R. Patai, *Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual,* pp. 185ff.

7. Cf. Stobaeus, *Ecl.*, i. 1.10.
8. Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* i. 15 (Loeb Class. Libr. i. p. 155).
9. Philo, *De Opif. Mundi* 100 (Loeb i. p. 79).
10. Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 56-58 (Loeb vii. pp. 343, 345).
11. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* ii. 210 (Loeb vi. p. 553).
12. Cf. the tractate *Shabbath* of the Mishna, the Babylonian Talmud and the Palestinian Talmud.
13. B. Shabbath 119a.
14. *Loc. cit.*
15. *Loc. cit.*
16. *Loc. cit.*
17. B. Shabbath 119b.
18. *Exodus* 20:8; Gen. Rab. 11:8, pp. 95-96; cf. Pesiqta Rabbati 117b.
19. The latter is remarkable in view of the fact that the Hebrew noun *Shabbat* has the masculine form and gender.
20. Leslau, *Falasha Anthology, op. cit.* p. 3.
21. *Op. cit.* pp. xli-xlii.
22. *Op. cit.* pp. 9,10.
23. *Exodus* 31:13.
24. Cf. *Job* 25:4-5.
25. Cf. B. Sanhedrin 65b; Pesiqta Rabbatî 23, p. 120a; *Zohar* iii. 288b.
26. Cf. Graves-Patai, *Hebrew Myths,* ch. 25.
27. Cf. *Isaiah* 58-13-14.
28. Cf. B. Shabbath 118b.
29. Leslau, *op. cit.,* pp. 16,17,18,19,21,23-24,30-32,36,37-38.
30. *Op. cit.,* pp. 42,45. A comparison between the Falasha Sabbath and the Mandaean Sunday, also personified and in many ways paralleling the former, was made by L. Troje, "Sanbat," in Richard Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der Christlichen Taufe,* Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1929, pp. 328-77. He also pointed out (p. 347) that the expression "Sabbath of God," found in the *Teezaza Sanbat,* goes back to Philo of Alexandria, *De Cherub.* 87. In that passage (Loeb Class. Libr. ed. p. 61) Philo says that "Moses often in his laws calls the Sabbath, which means 'rest,' God's Sabbath." In fact, in most of the pertinent passages, the Hebrew expression is "the seventh day is a Sabbath *unto* the Lord" *(Exodus* 20:10; 31:15; 35:2; *Leviticus* 23:3). However, in *Exodus* 31:13 and *Leviticus* 19:3 the expression "my Sabbaths" occurs, put in the mouth of God. Thus Troje's conclusion that the expression "God's Sabbath" was coined by Philo, is only partly correct.
31. *Op. cit.,* p. 143, note 9.
32. *Op. cit.,* p. 147, note 95.

33. Cf. I. L. Baruch (ed.) *Sepher HaShabbat,* Tel Aviv, 1936. pp. 333-35.

34. Cf. e.g. *Seder Avodath Yisrael,* Rödelheim, 1868, p. 200.

35. *Exodus* 20:8.

36. *Deuteronomy* 5:12.

37. *Exodus* 31:16.

38. *Exodus* 20:8.

39. *Zohar* ii. 138a; cf. J. Tishby, *Mishnat Hazohar* ii. 487-8,491.

40. *Zohar* ii. 63b.

41. *Zohar* iii. 272b.

42. The Hebrew word *"qiddashta"* which appears in the Sabbath benediction, means both "you sanctified" and "you betrothed."

43. David ben Joseph Abudarham, *Sepher Abudarham,* Prague, 1784, p. 45a.

44. This line alludes to the midrash according to which the Sabbath existed in God's thought even before the creation of the world, although, coming as it did after the six days of creation, it was the end and completion of the Creator's work.

45. The son of Yishai (Jesse) the Bethlehemite was, of course, David; but the poet alludes to a more distant son, or descendant, of Yishai, namely the Messiah whose early coming was a very real expectation among the Safed Kabbalists.

46. Another allusion to the Messiah. David was a descendant of Perez (or Pharez).

47. This is based on B. Taanith 29b. The concept of the Shekhina as the Sacred Apple Orchard is closely paralleled by the Catholic view of Mary as the Olive Tree, expressed, e.g. by St. Alfonso Maria di Liguori (1696-1787) as follows: "...Mary was called the olive tree, like a fair olive tree in the plains (*Ecclus.* 24:19), for as the olive tree produces nothing but oil, the symbol of mercy, thus from the hands of Mary nothing but graces and mercies proceed." See Barry Ulanov (ed.), *The Way of St. Alphonsus Liguori,* New York, 1960, p. 87. This book carries the "Imprimatur" and "Nihil obstat" of the arch-diocese of New York.

48. Cf. G. Scholem, *Eranos Jahrbuch,* vol. 19 (1950), pp. 154ff.

49. This poem is printed in the prayer books following the Lurianic tradition, e.g. *Siddur Torah Or weSha'ar haKolel,* Wilna 1896, pp. 55a-56a.

50. I.e. the Sabbath, who is identified with the Shekhina, and is God's bride.

51. This is a daring simile: *Yesod* ("Foundation"), one of the ten Sephiroth, corresponds to the penis in the human body. It is said to be "hers," because it is through it that God unites with his bride, the Sabbath-Shekhina.

52. The Aramaic original has *katish* which means not only "presses" as translated above, but also "penetrates" or "deflowers," as in Yer. Qiddushin 59a top.

53. *Siddur Torah Or,* Wilna, 1896, p. 56a.

54. M. Ketubot 5:6.

55. *Exodus* 21:10; cf. R. Patai, *Sex and Family in the Bible and the Middle East,* New York, 1959, pp. 43ff., 158ff.

56. Joseph Caro, *Shulhan 'Arukh,* Orah Hayyim §240.

57. Cf. Magen Abraham, a commentary printed in the standard editions of the *Shulhan 'Arukh,* Orah Hayyim, to §240.

58. *Isaiah* 56:4-5.

59. *Zohar* ii. 89a. The above interpretation largely follows that of J. Tishby, *Mishnat haZohar,* Jerusalem, 1961, ii. 537-38.

60. Hayyim Vital, *'Eṣ Hayyim,* Sha'ar haKelalim, 12-13; and *other passages* quoted by S. W. Horodetzky *HaMistorin beYisrael;* Tel Aviv, 1961, iii. 98; cf. also Shabbetai of Rashkow, *Seder Tefilla mikol haShana, Koretz,* 1794, pp. 157b-258b. The rest of the day is also devoted to communion with the world of the divine. In the *Kiddush,* or Sanctification, of the second Sabbath meal, taken in the morning of the Sabbath, after returning from the Morning and Mussaf prayers in the synagogue, the Holy King, the Holy Ancient One, the Holy Apple Orchard (i.e. the Sabbath-Shekhina), and the Small Face are invited to participate in the meal *(Siddur Torah Or,* Wilna, 1896, p. 78b, 82a). The same invitation, in a somewhat different wording, is extended again for the third meal, taken on the afternoon of the Sabbath following the return from Minha prayer in the synagogue. According to another view, the first meal was given in honor of the "Female of the Small Face," i.e. the Shekhina; the second, in honor of the "Holy Ancient One," and the third, in honor of the "Small Face" (cf. Isaiah Halevi Horowitz (ca. 1565-1630), *Sh'ne Luhot HaB'rit,* Amsterdam edition, reprinted in New York, 1946, i. 139b).

The third meal was usually lingered over until the time came to return to the synagogue for the evening prayer. At this prayer it was customary to protract the singing of the word *Barkhu* ("Bless you") as long as one's breath allowed, because the completion of this word signified the precise moment at which the Queen Sabbath departed, and this they would try to postpone as long as possible (cf. Isaac of Vienna (12-13th centuries), *Or Zaru'a;* Jacob Segal (15th c.), *Minhage Maharil,* as quoted in Baruch (ed.), *Sepher Hashabbat,* pp. 59,65).

Although with the appearance of three stars on the darkening sky the Sabbath was definitely over, two more ceremonies remained which extended her felt presence far into the night. One was the *Havdalah* ("Separation"), performed by each family head in his home, in the presence of his wife and children. This consisted of lighting a bunch

of elaborately woven wax candles, drinking a cup of wine, and smelling sweet herbs, all to the accompaniment of appropriate benedictions. The Polish Kabbalist Isaiah Halevi Horowitz quotes his own father to the effect that "One must sing the *Havdalah* to a good and beautiful melody in order to bid the Queen farewell in joy and in song. Also, for the same reason, it is our custom to perform the rite standing, although one could do it sitting down, because one must be standing up in order to accompany her... And one adds a part of the weekday to the holy day at the outgoing of the Sabbath in order to teach and to show that one is reluctant to let the Holy Guest go, and that it is difficult to part from him. Therefore one holds him back, and from most of the houses accompanies him with songs and paeans..." *(Sh'ne Luhot HaB'rit, op. cit.).*

It was the custom of the Hassidim of East Europe "to spend the time from sunset to the hour of the evening prayer (on the Sabbath afternoon) in songs and praises of great joy, and they used to dance and frolic in their great happiness in honor of the Queen Sabbath as she was leaving, in the same manner in which she was received. This resembled the musical entertainment of a bridegroom and bride. And this is what every wise man would do in his congregation to honor the Queen, and this is a wonderful charm *(segulla)* to reduce the disturbers of their souls and to assure themselves of a happy and joyous week..." (Baruch, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

Following the Havdala, several traditional songs were sung, and then came the time for the last ceremony regarded as part of the Sabbath observances although the Sabbath itself had ended at nightfall. This was the festive meal called *Seudat Melawe Malka* ("Meal of Farewell to the Queen"), which, like the three earlier Sabbath meals, went back to a Talmudic tradition (cf. B. Shabbath 117b-118a,119b), and was regarded by Joseph Caro as a religious duty *(Shulhan 'Arukh,* Orah Hayyim, §300, and the commentary of Sha'are Teshuva *ad loc.).* Among the Hassidim, who regarded the time spent at this meal and its attendant merriments as part of the Sabbath, the *Melawe Malka* was the occasion for much gaiety, feasting and dancing protracted far into the night.

CONCLUSION

1. Mother Earth and the city (Zion) as the mother of the people are discussed in detail in Raphael Patai, *Man and Earth in Hebrew Custom, Belief and Legend* (in Hebrew). Vol. II. Jerusalem, 1943, pp. 65-120.

2. Cf. C. G. Jung, *Gesammelte Werke,* Zurich-Stuttgart, 1958, vol. 16, pp. 263ff., "Die Conjunctio."

3. Cf. *Real Encyclopedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* s. v. Maria, vol. 12, pp. 316-17.

4. Cf. Hastings (ed.), *Dictionary of the Bible,* s. v. Mary, p. 290.

5. *Leviticus* 18:5; *Numbers* 21: 8-9.

APPENDIX

1. A. R. Bellinger, F.E. Brown, A. Perkins, and C.B. Welles (eds.), *The Excavations at Dura Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, Final Report,* Vol. VIII, Pt. 1: *The Synagogue* by Carl H. Kraeling, with contributions by C. C. Torrey, C. B. Welles, and B. Geiger (New Haven, 1956).

2. Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period,* Vols., IX,X,XI, *Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue* (New York, 1963-64).

3. *Op. cit.* IX. 202.

4. *Op. cit.* IX. 202.

5. *Op. cit. pp.* 202-03.

6. *Op. cit.* p. 209.

7. *Op. cit.,* 202; cf. also Goodenough, "The Rabbis and Jewish Art in the Greco-Roman Period," *Hebrew Union College Annual* vol. XXXII, (1961), pp. 270-71.

8. Cf. above, pp. 189-90.

9. Cf. above, chapters I and II.

10. Cf. Jacob Neusner, "Judaism at Dura Europos," *History of Religions,* vol. 4, No. 1 (Summer 1964), p. 101.

11. Cf. Mishna 'Avoda Zara 3.4; Bab. 'Avoda Zara 44b; cf. Yer. Shevi'it 38b-c.

12. Goodenough, *op. cit.* X. 76.

13. *Op. cit.* X. 138.

14. Cf. *History of Religions.* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Summer 1964), pp.85-91.

15. Cf. Goodenough, *op. cit.,* X. 121; Neusner, *op. cit.,* p. 90.

16. Cf. above, pp. 150ff,190ff.

17. Cf. Zohar, I. 21b-22a; cf. above, p. 194.

18. Cf. B. Sabbath 87a; cf. B. Pesahim 87b; Deut. Rab. 11.10 end; cf. above, p. 153.

19. B. Sota 13b; Sifre Deut. 355; cf. above, p. 153.

20. B. Sota 12b; Cf. Ex. Rab. 1.23.

21. B. Sota 12b; Cf. Exodus Rabba 1.22-125.

22. Cf. The History of Moses our Master, in Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* ii. 2; *Sepher Hayashar* 242.

23. Exodus Rabbi 1.25; Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer 48.
24. B. Sota 12b. cf. Ex. Rab. 1.22-25.
25. Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer 48.
26. Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer 48; Sepher Hayashar 241-42; The History of Moses our Master, Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash* ii. 2.
27. Tanhuma Exodus 8.
28. Cf. above, p. 144.
29. Cf. above, pp. 144-45 and sources quoted there.
30. Septuagint to Job; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* ii. 236-37; V. 389; Jack Finegan, *Light From the Ancient Past.* Princeton, 1959, p. 498.
31. Sifre Num. 78; B. Sota 11b; Exodus Rab. 1.15; cf. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* ii. 251, 253; v. 393.
32. Goodenough, *op. cit.* ix. 211, 214-17.
33. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* Berlin, 1929, iii. 390-92; *Israel: Ancient Mosaics,* New York, UNESCO, 1960, p. 10 and plate VI.
34. *Exodus* 40:38.
35. Cf. R. Patai, *Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual,* Edinburgh, 1947, (new edition, New York, 1967), pp. 186; Robert Graves and R. Patai, *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis,* New York, 1964, *passim.*

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THE LIGHT OF KABBALAH

Introduction to the Book of Zohar

VOLUME TWO

THE SPIRITUAL SECRET OF KABBALAH

ORIGINAL TEXTS
OF RAV YEHUDA ASHLAG
Commentary by Rav Michael Laitman PhD

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KABBALAH PUBLISHERS

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VOLUME TWO

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VOLUME TWO

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TO THE READER

For many centuries, the wisdom of Kabbalah was inaccessible to anyone who could not read Hebrew. Now, for the first time in the history of the Western World, readers of the English language and serious students of Kabbalah have the opportunity to learn the Wisdom of Kabbalah from the 20th Century's greatest Kabbalist, Baal HaSulam. In this text,* the student will find a systematic, graduated exposition of Kabbalah unlike any treatment found in other available texts. This text comes with a brilliant commentary by Michael Laitman, a scientist and Kabbalist who received the Tradition from that illustrious chain that includes the Ari, Baal HaSulam, and his teacher, Rabash.

"The Wisdom of Kabbalah" is an exhaustive text that the reader will certainly make a steady companion in his exploration of the Upper Worlds for many years to come. Enjoy!

Talib Din, Executive Editor
Bnei Baruch
May 16, 2004

* As Rav Laitman did not translate the Hebrew text word for word, the reader will find that the English translation does not strictly follow the Hebrew text.

FOREWORD

While working on a course of virtual lessons at the World Academy of Kabbalah that Michael Laitman teaches on the Internet, we did our best to preserve the style and spirit of his classes and discussions. This is not a literary text, nor is it a lecture on philosophy. Here you will discover secret, deep layers of information about the Upper World. In this way, through the Kabbalist, the Creator reveals the Thought of Creation and His light.

In one of his Saturday discourses, M. Laitman told us about the attitude of his Teacher, Rabash, to the manuscripts of his great father Baal HaSulam, the commentator on "The Book of Zohar". While publishing the manuscripts, Rabash never allowed himself to make even a single correction of what might seem to be a mistake. M. Laitman acted in a similar way, when he was preparing his Teacher's notes for publication. "What may now seem like a mistake will become clear when we ascend the higher spiritual level", said Rabash to his disciple Michael Laitman. We try to follow the advice of our teachers and make a point of leaving all the "mistakes" and "typos" uncorrected.

This book was not written; to its last line it was orally shared with numerous members of the virtual group, who gather in many places in the world to hear these classes.

While reading this book, you can join the community of beginning Kabbalists, provided you treat it as a very special Kabbalistic text filled with profound meaning. Succumb to your sensations, let the Upper Light lead you, correct, and prepare your soul, your spiritual vessels, for reception of the ultimate delight – merging with the Creator.

The students of
Rav Michael Laitman

PREFACE TO THE BOOK OF ZOHAR

1. The depth of wisdom and learning contained in the Holy Book of Zohar is concealed behind a thousand locked gates.

Why is it "concealed behind a thousand locked gates"? In actual fact, no one conceals anything; everything exists within the framework of the natural laws of the creation. Unlike in this world, there is no key that can unlock the gates to enter where one may or may not be. The spiritual world is completely open; a person just advances from one spiritual level to another, and leaves one realm to enter the next in accordance with the way he changes his own properties.

In our world an object can be moved from one place to another by way of mechanical displacement, whereas in the spiritual world we need to make an inner motion in order to pass from one part of the world to another. This is what they call a locked gate; as long as the person is confined to one part, the next one remains concealed, "locked" from him.

What can be done to open it? Transform yourself in accordance with the part you wish to enter, and then you will get inside. It is pretty simple. Everything exists within man. By inwardly using his potential abilities, anyone can easily move in spiritual space, from his present state to the state of perfect infinity and merging with the Creator.

All wisdom consists in the method of advancing in spiritual space. Hence it is said that the depth of wisdom is "concealed behind a thousand locked gates". It is not concealed behind any kind of external gate.

All the locks and keys are within us. Carrying out inner actions correctly and opening the locks with our own inner keys is our method. This is the purpose of studying "The Book of Zohar" and the wisdom of Kabbalah as a whole.

> *Human language, being poor and meager, can serve us neither as a suitable instrument, nor a sufficient means of expression for uncovering the full meaning of even a single sentence in "The Book of Zohar".*

This means that even if we take the smallest phrase from "The Zohar", which seems quite clear to us, the interpretation of it will definitely depend on our level of attainment. By gradually developing our inner potential, by adapting ourselves to various spiritual laws and properties, we will begin to discover great depth in every word, phrase, or sentence of the book, and not the actions and phenomena that we perceive today. Depth of perception depends solely on the researcher's level of attainment.

> *My explanations are only the rungs of a ladder.*

The structure of the commentary to "The Book of Zohar" resembles a ladder. This does not mean that the first volume of the book is intended for beginners and the last for the most advanced students. Every sentence, every word in the text includes inner levels of attainment of all the described actions and states.

The text is composed in such a way that the reader gradually discovers an increasingly clearer picture. He should only aspire for discovering some inner information concealed in the book. That is all man can understand at this stage, but this initial tune up is quite sufficient for the book to begin affecting us in this way.

> *I intended to help the student attain the heights from which he may see and investigate what the Book itself expounds. Therefore, in this preface, I find it necessary to prepare the student interested in "The*

Zohar" by providing him with correct definitions, to demonstrate how to study the book and learn from it.

In other words, the goal of studying "The Zohar" is to attain the Upper World, to feel and control it, to begin living not just within the limits of this world, but to enter a greater, eternal and perfect realm.

2. At the outset, one should be aware that every concept discussed in "The Book of Zohar", whether in the language of legends or tales, concerns the Ten Sefirot: i.e., KaHaB (Keter, Hochma, and Bina), HaGaT (Hessed, Gevura, and Tifferet), NHYM (Netzah, Hod, Yesod, Malchut), and their derivatives. Just as the spoken language, consisting of the 22 letters with their various permutations, are entirely adequate for uncovering the essence of any object or learning, so too are the concepts and permutations of the Ten Sefirot sufficient to expose the entire wisdom contained in the spiritual universe.

From the study of the four phases of development of the direct light, we know that these phases (zero, one, two, three, and four) are respectively called "the tip of the letter *Yud*", the letters "*Yud*", "*Hey*", "*Vav*", and "*Hey*". They make up the word *HaVaYaH*, the Creator's ineffable name.

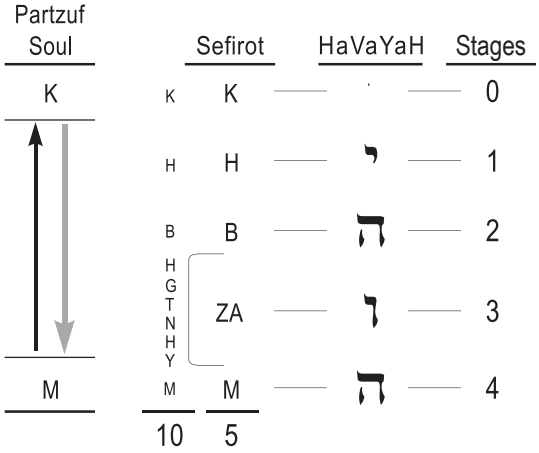

What does *HaVaYaH,* the Creator's name, mean? These symbols contain the information about the entire universe. The rest happens to be their various interpretations. If we describe them as *Sefirot*, they will correspond to *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Zeir Anpin (ZA)* and *Malchut*. We then further divide the *Sefira ZA* into six the *Sefirot Hesed, Gevura, Tifferet, Netzah, Hod*, and *Yesod.* Thus these Ten *Sefirot* are all that we have. *Keter,* the Creator's attitude to the creation, is followed by the *Sefirot*-derivatives, the last of which is *Malchut*, the creation. Accordingly, the Creator's attitude to the creation descends from *Keter* to *Malchut*, while the creation's attitude to the Creator ascends in the opposite direction, from *Malchut* to *Keter*. All that is included in the Ten *Sefirot* is called the Soul or the *Partzuf*. This is all we deal with.

We know nothing beyond that. We can only perceive what enters inside us, and call it our life.

Baal HaSulam says that the combinations of the *Sefirot* and their various, partially used sub-*Sefirot* are quite sufficient to describe all possible states, actions, and properties of everything that takes place between the Creator and the creation.

In our reality, there are three definitions.

In fact, they are not definitions, but, rather, limitations, which we need to understand properly. When we dispose ourselves to "The Book of Zohar" through these three limitations, we understand what it says, and can penetrate its deeper form.

3. First definition (limitation).

There exist four categories of knowledge called:

- *Matter,*
- *Form in matter,*
- *Abstract form, and*
- *Essence.*

If we move outside from within in our analysis, we find that the essence, abstract form, form, and matter are dressed on one another. This is how we perceive any object in our world.

For instance, here is my cup, which has the form of a vessel (Hebrew: *Kli)*. The matter of which it is made is clay. When I speak of it without any reference to its shape or material it is made of, I refer to its abstract form as a *Kli*. In general, what is a glass or a cup? I speak about something abstract, unconnected with a particular, concrete object. Then the essence follows, a category, something that constitutes the notion of a cup, a *Kli* for me.

These are the four degrees of inner attainment of any definition, object, action, or property.

> *It is the same with regard to the Ten Sefirot. One must be aware that the Book of Zohar does not concern itself at all with such concepts as the Essence of the Sefirot or their Abstract Form. Rather, since the Form is the carrier of Matter, the book discusses either the Form of the Sefirot or the Matter they contain.*

If we take essence, abstract form, form in matter and matter (in the order they descend to this world), our attainment starts from matter and rises up. Baal HaSulam says that "The Zohar" only speaks of the first two levels of attainment, matter and form in matter. So this is the first of our limitations pertaining to the study of "The Zohar".

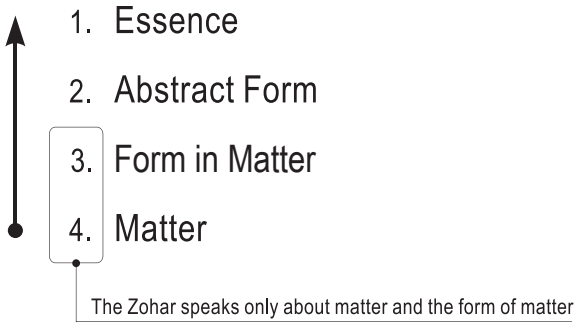

4. Second definition (limitation).

Everything existing in the Divine reality that is concerned with the creation of Souls and their forms of existence is conditioned by the following three states:

- *The World of Infinity,*
- *The World of Atzilut, and*
- *The Three Worlds called Beria, Yetzira and Assiya.*

The World of Infinity is absolutely divine and refers both to the state before the *Tzimtzum Aleph* and to the state of Final Correction.

The World of *Atzilut* is the World of our correction. While being corrected itself, it represents the basis, the source of our life and betterment.

The Worlds of *BYA* are the realm in which we exist.

Know that "The Book of Zohar" investigates only the Worlds of BYA (Beria, Yetzira and Assiya) and nothing else. It touches on the Worlds of Infinity and Atzilut only to the degree that the Worlds of BYA receive from them. Otherwise, "The Book of Zohar" does not concern itself with them at all.

The Worlds of Infinity and Atzilut by themselves are of no interest to us. What we do need to know is where we are and how these worlds can help us.

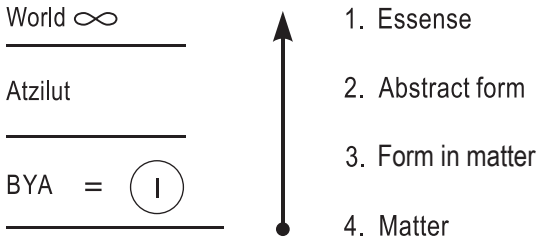

"The Book of Zohar" always speaks about a practical application of everything that we study. It only deals with what is attained in man's Soul, which exists, acts, rules and facilitates man's correction, but never speaks of anything abstract.

Consequently, our approach to "The Zohar" should be purely practical. We should dispose ourselves so that the light it emanates can clearly indicate what we need to correct.

The essence and abstract form refer to what is above our correction. We will attain it as well, but later on, after the Final Correction; hence "The Book of Zohar" does not speak about it. Neither does it mention the Worlds of Infinity and *Atzilut*, where we ascend after the Final Correction. This is not our current task.

Our mission is to go through 6000 years (levels) of correction; therefore "The Zohar" speaks only about this process. It describes me and, through me, the World of Infinity and *Atzilut*, dealing only with what concerns me in my matter and form. Nothing at all is said of what exists without being somehow connected with me.

5. Third definition (limitation):

In each of the Worlds of BYA, there are three aspects:

- *Ten Sefirot,*
- *The Souls, and*
- *The rest of reality.*

The Ten *Sefirot* constitute the descending pure light in the form of gradually diminishing emanations. Thus, to the extent of our ability to communicate with these Ten *Sefirot*, we perceive the light.

The Souls dressed on these Ten *Sefirot* exist within the reality that surrounds them. This way, one element is inside another. There are Souls of two kinds: Upper and human. At a later stage we will understand the notion of "the Upper Souls."

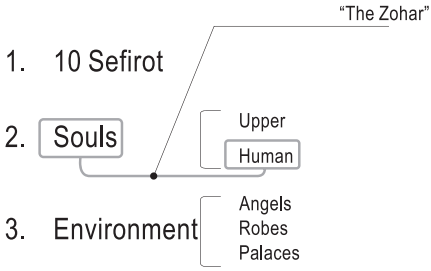

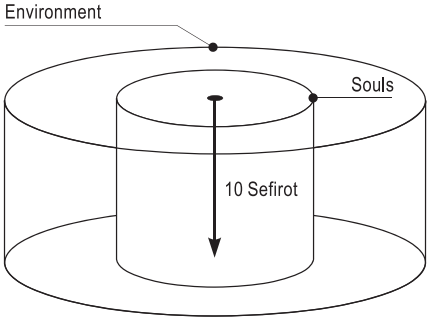

The rest of the surrounding reality is comprised of "angels," "robes," and "palaces."

These are the inferior spiritual forces that surround the human Soul. Their names indicate resemblance to our world: "angels" are similar to animals; "robes" are the forces that are external with regard to man, but very close to him; in similarity to our world, "palaces" are the forces that constitute man's more remote surroundings.

In any case, one should know that, although "The Book of Zohar" meticulously explains every minute detail of every world...

However, one should not deceive oneself thinking that everything is explained about all the worlds. "The Zohar" reveals and expounds only that, which concerns one aspect – the human Souls, and completely ignores everything that pertains to the Ten *Sefirot* or surrounds the Soul (i.e., the Upper Souls, angels, robes, and palaces).

Any other aspect that may be expounded or explained is done so only for the purpose of understanding what it is that Souls receive. "The Book of Zohar" does not utter even a single word about anything that does not relate to Souls.

These three fundamental aspects serve as our point of departure:

- *Not to pass beyond the framework of matter and form in matter;*
- *Not to pass beyond the framework of the worlds BYA;*
- *Not to pass beyond the framework of the human Souls.*

If we remain within the framework of these three limitations, we will understand correctly what "The Book of Zohar" wishes to provide us with. Thus, we will accurately receive its message through the channel that descends from it to us, and establish contact with the book.

We will neither demand something that is absent in it, nor something that we do not need. We will receive from it only what is necessary for our correction. Every single word in it speaks exactly about it. For example, if a person with a philosophical frame of mind tries to understand abstractly what is written in the book, he will definitely fail. Hence, "The Zohar" seems to be "concealed behind a thousand locked gates."

If the person wishes to reveal something about the abstract form and the essence, but has not yet achieved the necessary spiritual level, he will not be able to do that from the level of our world by way of philosophical reasoning. To this end, he will have to reach the proper level in the World of *Atzilut* or the World of Infinity, and begin his research there. In general, "The Book of Zohar" has nothing to do with these issues; it exclusively studies the process of our correction. Once we have corrected ourselves and attained the Upper Reality, we will attain all additional knowledge about the abstract form, the essence, the Worlds of *Atzilut* and Infinity, the Ten *Sefirot*, the Upper Souls, angels, robes, and palaces.

"The Zohar" cannot tell us about all this until, with its help, we correct matter and form in matter, i.e., the worlds *BYA*, in which our Souls exist. Only after the created desire is corrected will it be possible to say how it attains the higher spiritual levels. As long as this desire continues to remain egoistic, it will be unable to grasp anything above its own level.

Naturally, it will not reach the level of the abstract form or the essence in the Worlds of *Atzilut* and Infinity, because it already means to possess the property of bestowal. Neither will it be able to attain what

exists beyond the human Souls, especially in the ten divine *Sefirot*, in the pure light that emanates from the Creator.

"The Book of Zohar" is written is such a way that it can adequately and positively influence the person who wishes to receive its energy in the right way, i.e., in order to be corrected. Unless the person has this intention as regards "The Zohar", then he just leafs through its pages being unaware of the great power that the book emanates.

It is so focused that its light affects us only on condition that we aspire for correction and attainment of the Upper World. The method of establishing contact with the Upper Source of correction is called Kabbalah. All that it includes is given only for attuning oneself to the Upper Light.

> *6. You already know that the Ten Sefirot are called Hochma, Bina, Tifferet, Malchut and their root, Keter. They are ten because Tifferet consists of six Sefirot called Hesed, Gevura, Tifferet, Netzah, Hod, and Yesod. Remember always that when we mention the Ten Sefirot, we mean HuBTuM.*

That is, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut*. As a rule, even the name *Keter* is omitted, because *Keter* represents the Creator. It is attained from the four subsequent *Sefirot*: *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut*.

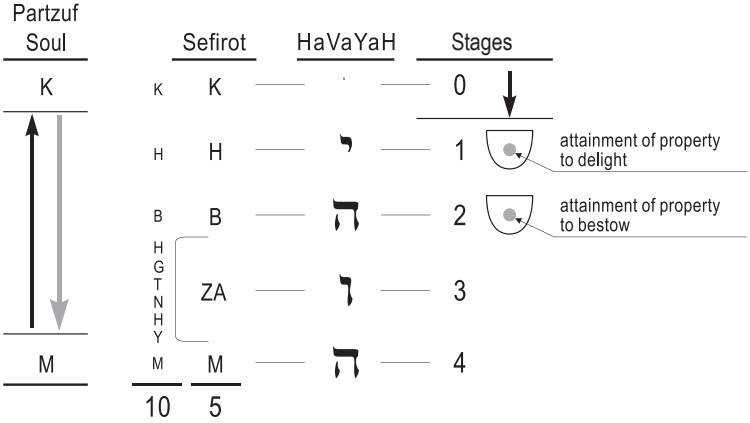

Keter is not even designated by a letter, but by a hook-like tip of the prospective letter "*Yud*". This is similar to the descending light: the moment it begins to create something, it turns into phase one.

The light being unattainable by itself, we therefore pay no attention to it. We can speak about its property of bestowal, when we feel it inside our *Kli*. In phase two we say that it bestows delight upon us. So in the first case, we speak of what the light is in itself, and in the second – what it gives us.

> *7. In "The Book of Zohar" these Ten Sefirot, HuBTuM, are called by the names of four colors: white, red, green, and black.*
> - *White corresponds to the Sefira of Hochma,*
> - *Red corresponds to the Sefira of Bina,*
> - *Green corresponds to the Sefira of Tifferet, and*
> - *Black corresponds to the Sefira of Malchut.*

In our world these *Sefirot* create the four basic colors.

This is similar to an optical instrument that has four lenses with colors corresponding to the ones mentioned above. In spite of the fact that the light is unified, while passing through a lens, it acquires a color and becomes one of the four lights: white, red, green, or black.

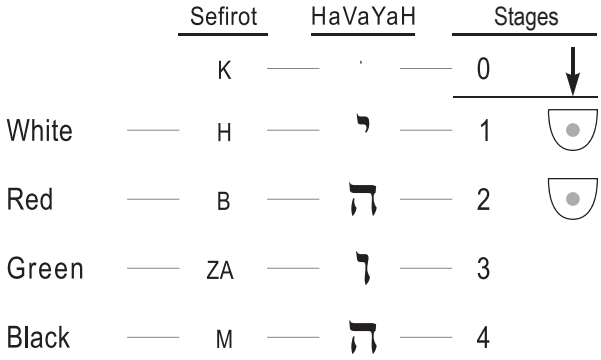

Thus, the light that is found in each of the Sefirot is the Creator's light, simple and unified. In actual fact, it (i.e., the Ten Sefirot) is completely colorless.

The ten (innermost) *Sefirot* of the direct light have no color, but when they pass through the worlds, they acquire different colors, dress into various shells, and thus manifest before us. That is how we perceive this world.

We can describe the same in a different way. There is only the simple, absolutely amorphous light around us. However, in our inner properties we single out in it such pictures as the still, vegetative, animal, and human levels of nature, the worlds, etc. This is achieved with the help of our inner *Kelim*. There is nothing like that in the light itself.

Thus, the light that is found in each of the Sefirot is the light of the Creator. This light is simple and unified, from the Rosh (head) of the World of Atzilut to the Sof (end) of the World of Assiya. The differentiation of this light into the Sefirot HuBTuM happens in the Kelim (vessels), also called HuBTuM. Each Kli (Sefira) is like a thin partition through which the light of the Creator passes. This is the way each Kli (partition) imparts a different color to the passing light. Thus, the Kli de Hochma of the World of Atzilut passes white light. This is because the Kli de Atzilut (vessel of Atzilut) is similar to the light itself, and the light of the Creator does not suffer any changes while passing through it.

This is the secret of the World of Atzilut about which "The Book of Zohar" says: "He, the Light, and His Essence are One". In accordance with this, the light of the World of Atzilut is defined as white light. However, concerning the Kelim of the Worlds of Beria, Yetzira, and Assiya, the light passing through them changes and darkens. Consider, for example, that the light becomes the red light of the Sefira Bina in the World of Beria, the green light of Tifferet in the

World of Yetzira and the black light of Sefira Malchut in the World of Assiya, respectively.

There are other *Kelim* already; hence, the light assumes color. This happens because the *Kelim* in the Worlds of *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya* (as in *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*) are partially or completely uncorrected with regard to the light. If "The Zohar" speaks of colors, we can interpret them as the properties of the *Sefirot*. For instance, when we speak about the color green, it means that the property of ZA is implied, and we are at its level or receive through it.

8. In addition to what was mentioned above, the allegory of the four lights contains an additional important hint. The Upper Lights are called "Sefer" (book).

The wisdom contained in each book is not revealed to the student in the white color it contains...

The light descending to us from the Creator carries its wisdom, reveals itself. This wisdom is not attained from the clear, white color of the light of the Ten *Sefirot*, or from the essence. It is attained from matter and the form in matter, from the Worlds of BYA, through our Souls, i.e., from *Malchut's* reaction to what descends from above. Hence, we cannot grasp the colorless light of *Keter* or the simple light of *Atzilut*, but attain them through the Worlds of *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya*, through black, green, and red colors.

These very colors give us an idea of what Infinity, eternity, and perfection are. Although by themselves these properties are colorless, we are totally unable to attain this achromatism. We can only grasp it after we include in ourselves all the existing colors and the immense variety of their combinations, after they intermix within our completely corrected *Kelim*.

Each of these colors takes its own place in the *Kelim*. Only from absolute attainment, as a result of absorbing the entire palette of colors, do we first come to color white, and then to absolute achromatism.

> *In other words, we do not attain the color white. We reveal everything through the Sefirot Bina, Tifferet and Malchut. These three Sefirot, which are the three Worlds of BYA, are the colors in which the Book of Heaven is written. The letters and their permutations are revealed through the three colors mentioned above. The revelation of Divine light is mediated only through them.*
>
> *Moreover, we must discern the following. While the white color in a book is its foundation, all the letters are "wedded" to it.*

Since the page of a book is white, the black letters stand out against its background. They seem to be stuck to it, while the white color supports them. By concealing the white color of the page, by violating its absolute whiteness, the letters pass us their wisdom.

As a result, we perceive not the color, but the *Kli*, the letters that we read. In other words, we read not the letters themselves, but the deviations we introduce into the light, i.e., black, green, and red shapes, where, as we see, the light is absent. We perceive the white color even through its absence, because we are created beings and perceive everything out of our deficiencies (*Hesronot*), desires.

All wisdom is in the World of *Atzilut* because *Atzilut* is the World of *Hochma*. *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya* correspond to *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*. The World of *Adam Kadmon* (*AK*) is *Keter*.

The Worlds of Infinity and *AK* are the same with regard to us because all that is above *Tzimtzum Bet* and is not included in *Tzimtzum Aleph* is unattainable for us before the Final Correction. From this it follows that both worlds are included into the notion of the World of Infinity. We only attain the World of *Atzilut* through the Worlds of *BYA* because it is a form corrected by *Tzimtzum Bet*.

9. "The Zohar" says that we attain the World of Atzilut as white and its luminescence as letters against a white background in the three Worlds of BYA. These three worlds are the colors, the letters and their permutations, as in a book. This is manifested in two ways: if the three Worlds of BYA receive the light of Atzilut in their place (under the Parsa).

That is, the World of *Atzilut* is a mount, while all the letters, colors and their permutations are determined by our coordinates in the Worlds of *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya*. As the light of Infinity passes through the World of *Atzilut* and enters the Worlds of *BYA*, we can be in and receive the light in them, or we can rise to *Atzilut* and receive the light there.

We can freely move within the Worlds of *BYA*: from *Assiya* to *Yetzira* to *Beria*, and even to *Atzilut*. Our Souls can move provided they transform their inner properties. The Soul rises to the level to which its inner properties correspond.

If the three Worlds of BYA receive luminescence from the World of Atzilut while in their place, when the light is diminished many times over while passing through the Parsa under the World of Atzilut, then it becomes merely the luminescence of the Kelim de Atzilut.

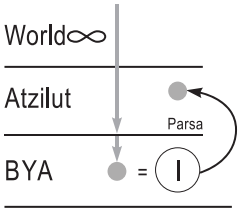

That is, the *Kelim* of the World of *Atzilut* slightly shine in the Worlds of *BYA*. The light that passes from *Atzilut* to the Worlds of *BYA* is called "*Ohr de Tolada*" (light of birth), i.e., microscopic luminescence in comparison with the light in the World of *Atzilut*.

Otherwise, the Worlds of BYA (with the Souls in them) rise above the Parsa to the place of the Sefirot Bina, Tifferet, and Malchut of Atzilut, and "clothe" the World of Atzilut, i.e., receive the light, where it shines.

In this case, they certainly receive the light of *Atzilut*. First, we need to enter into the Worlds of *BYA*, reach their highest point in the World of *Beria*, get as close to the *Parsa* as possible, and force all the Worlds of *BYA* to rise to *Atzilut*. Together with the Worlds of *BYA* we will ascend to the World of *Atzilut* and receive the light that is there.

> *10. All the same, this allegory does not completely reflect the essence, because the book of wisdom of this world consists of a white background and the color of the letters in which there is no spirit (Ruach) of life.*

Actually, the allegory about the World of *Atzilut* is as a white page, and the attainment in the Worlds of *BYA*, being similar to letters, is pretty lifeless. It does not convey the vast breathtaking picture that man attains when he enters into these worlds, feels new spiritual universes, the Upper Souls, angels, palaces. He discovers a wonderful, effervescent life, reveals the forces that govern not our tiny world, but the immense universe.

Naturally, this example fails to express such sensations. Why is it so? Baal HaSulam says: *...because the book of wisdom of this world consists of a white background and the color of the letters in which there is no spirit of life. The revelation of wisdom* (in our sensations) *is not within their essence, but outside of them, i.e., in the intellect of the one studying them.*

As we ascend from the Worlds of *BYA* to the World of *Atzilut* and attain the heavenly wisdom, it exists not on paper, not outside us in some book, but turns into reality that permeates and surrounds us as a result of our inner changes.

> *In accordance with this, one must be aware that the color white contained in the book is a subject of study in and of itself, and the function of the other three colors is to manifest it.*

This is a very important sentence. I advise you to look at it closely.

Here I would like to remind you that we are one group that exists for the sake of achieving one Goal. There are many of us, and we wish to help each other. Only by joining our forces and desires will we be able to fulfill this great mission.

Baal HaSulam writes that when we combine our efforts and aspirations, then each of us frees himself from an existence inside a closed shell. Thus we create one common *Kli* of such enormity that, while passing through the Worlds of *BYA* to *Atzilut*, we attain not the colors of *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya*, but the white background of *Atzilut*. In other words, we reach a state where we transcend the limits of matter and the form in matter, and begin attaining the abstract form – something that is completely inapprehensible in our world.

While reading books in this world only, we attain the wisdom contained in the letters. By reading a book in the spiritual world, we adapt the letters within ourselves and build our inner properties, configure our inner forces, and define the combinations of our *Sefirot*. While passing from letter to letter, from word to word, from phrase to phrase in the books recommended by Kabbalists, we inwardly perform spiritual actions.

By creating these letters within ourselves, we attain through them the white background, i.e., absolute wisdom, the level of *Hochma*. This is the difference between the attainment of spiritual and earthly wisdom. The earthly wisdom is concentrated in our inner *Kelim*, in our knowledge, whereas the spiritual wisdom enables us to attain the light in our sensations, to the extent of similarity of our inner *Kelim* to the properties of light.

11. It should always be borne in mind that there are four categories of knowledge, which were mentioned above, in the first limitation, namely:

- *Matter,*
- *Form in matter,*
- *Abstract form, and*
- *Essence.*

I will explain them first using actual examples from this world. For example, when we say a: "strong person", or "truthful person", or "liar" etc., we discern between the following:

- *The matter the person consists of, i.e., the body.* Matter is the fourth stage, so if we speak about a person, it means the body.
- *The form into which this matter is shaped, i.e., strong, truthful or false* (let us say a liar).
- *The abstract form, i.e., it is possible to comprehend an abstract form of falsehood irrespective of the matter of a person and study these three forms as such, without their being manifested in any matter or body. In other words, it is possible to investigate the qualities of strength, truthfulness or falsehood, to discern their merits or baseness, when they are abstracted from any matter at all*
- *The essence* (of falsehood)

12. Know that the essence of a person, as such, is quite impossible to perceive without his material embodiment, as discussed in the first

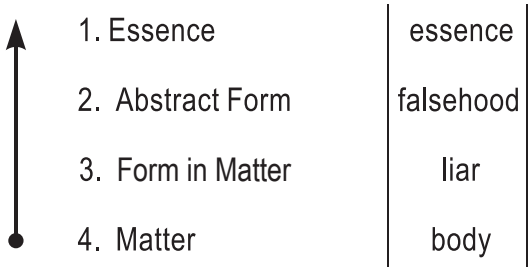

limitation. This is because our five senses and our imagination do not offer us anything more than the revelation of the actions of the essence, but not of the essence itself.

That is, we do not perceive the essence, which is purely divine. We can more or less abstractly attain whatever derives from it, but not the essence itself.

... because our five senses and our imagination do not offer us anything more than the revelation of the actions of the essence, but not of the essence itself.

For example:

• Our vision perceives only the waves from the essence of what we see, according to the light it reflects.

When I am looking at an object, I do not know what it really is. I only perceive it as waves that it reflects. They return to me and create a certain form in my perception.

• Our hearing is simply the power of influence of sound waves, transmitted through the air from some essence. This air, reflected under the influence of a sound wave, exerts pressure on the membrane of the eardrum. This is how we are able to hear that something is near us.

The sound comes from something beyond me. That is, I know nothing about the source of the sound; I have no clue as to what it is by itself. I can only judge it by the way I perceive it.

• Our sense of smell is the irritation of our nerve receptors reacting to smells, by the air emanating from the essence, and this is how we sense a smell.

Everything depends on our nerve receptors and on how they transmit to us this or that smell.

• *Our sense of taste is only a derivative from a contact between some essence and our gustatory receptors.*

These four senses offer us nothing but the revelation of actions emanating from some essence. It never reveals the essence itself.

I have said on numerous occasions that the person, his "I", resembles a black box with five points of entry, our five senses. We perceive only that which enters through them from outside. Moreover, as we have just noted, we perceive not what enters inside, but what is detected by special membranes positioned at the entry (it is unclear how this external influence reaches us considering our inner limitations), which somehow pass the electrical signals to our brain. That is we selectively perceive the reaction of our senses to some external influence.

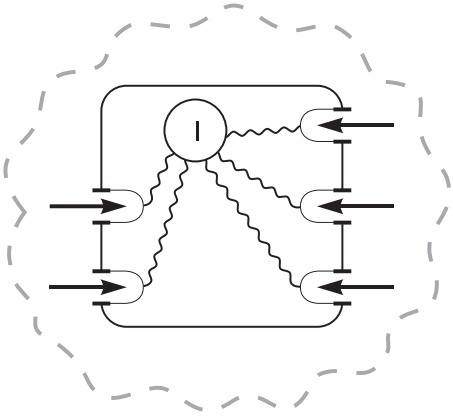

Naturally, if one of our senses is damaged or some of our faculties are defective, then our perception of the world will be rather distorted as compared to the normal one. Concerning the ideal picture, we have no way of knowing anything, because we cannot possibly imagine anything existing beyond us. Hence it is utterly impossible to speak about the essence.

We can imagine the abstract form, yet it is unknown whether we can do that correctly.

Even our strongest sense, the sense of touch, which is able to discern between hot and cold, firm and soft, is nothing but the revelation of actions within an essence. However, these too are only the manifestations of the essence. It is possible to cool down something hot or warm

up something cold. It is possible to melt something solid into a liquid. It is possible to evaporate a liquid and bring it to a gaseous state so that it would become impossible to sense it with the help of our five senses. Nevertheless, the essence is preserved and we can again transform the gas (a totally imperceptible state of some essence) *into a liquid or bring the liquid to a solid state.*

It is as clear as a sunny day that our five senses will not reveal to us any essence at all, but only instances of manifestation of the essence's actions.

Baal HaSulam means that without ascending through the Worlds of *BYA* to the Worlds of *Atzilut* and Infinity in our senses, we will not attain the Creator. We will never be able to perceive something that is outside or above us. Neither our five natural senses - touch, smell, sight, hearing, and taste - nor the Ten *Sefirot* in the Worlds of *BYA* will give us anything.

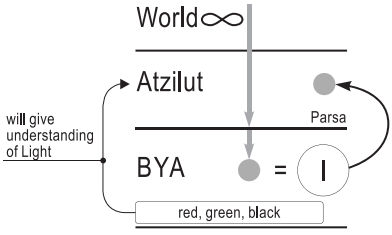

If we wish to attain the Upper categories that are beyond us, we should reach the higher worlds where the white light really exists.

The lights in the Worlds of *Assiya*, *Yetzira*, and *Beria* are black, green and red respectively.

When all of them combined enable us to feel how they stand out against the white background of *Atzilut*, we will attain what this background really is. Here Baal HaSulam stresses that without correcting our inner sensations and rising to the Upper Worlds the person has no opportunity to attain spirituality.

Moreover, we do not even have the ability to perceive our own essence. I feel and know that I occupy a certain volume in this world, that I am solid, hot, that I think, and so on. All of these are the result of

manifestations that influence my essence. However, if someone were to ask me "What is the essence from which all these manifestations emanate?" I would not know how to answer. After all, Supervision prevents us from attaining the essence. We only attain the manifestations and mode of action originating from the essence.

That is, we cannot attain ourselves, let alone the Upper Worlds, until we reach the level where the essence manifests.

13. We are fully capable of comprehending Matter, which we discussed in the first limitation, i.e., manifestations of the action of any essence.

Now he explains to what extent different levels of attainment are accessible to us. Our attainment is graduated: *Malchut*, *Zeir Anpin*, *Bina*, and *Hochma*. How correctly can we perceive each of these categories?

It is quite possible that such awareness can help me make up for the lack of knowledge. Knowing exactly what I do not know can assist me to get my bearings and avoid errors.

Matter reveals the actions of any essence, and the revelation of matter is quite sufficient for us.

The lowest level of attainment is the attainment of matter. It completely satisfies all our needs and desires. That is, when we attain, feel, and absorb the universe at this level, we have no questions left. That is the way we are created. As we begin to ascend, our needs will develop and grow, including our demands for the sensation of matter. But by and large, we are so created that we feel little necessity for it.

This explains why we do not suffer at all from the lack of any possibility to perceive the essence itself. Moreover, we do not desire it. In the same way, we do not feel the need for a sixth digit on our hand.

I am created so that five digits are absolutely sufficient for me. My brain is designed in such a way that I prefer to work with five fingers,

although, if necessary, I may dispense with a smaller number, somehow compensating for the deficiency. However, I am totally unprepared to work with six or seven fingers. Nature has not provided me with any technique for such work. I cannot even imagine what I will do with an additional digit.

> *In other words, the comprehension of matter, i.e., the manifestation of the essence's actions, is sufficient for all our requirements and investigations, both in the attainment of our own essence and in the attainment of any external one.*

So we have no problem with anything that concerns matter. If we only live within its limits, we feel quite satisfied with our attainments.

But imagine a Kabbalist, who attains higher forms, feels the insignificance of lower categories, and think of his overwhelming aspiration to extend the ability of his senses ad infinitum. He wants to acquire thousands of digits-tentacles, longs for the infinite sensation of an endless diversity of colors, until all of it merges in simple, white, absolute, and all-encompassing knowledge.

We, however, seem to have no problem, and happily agree to live with our five little fingers. Larger aspirations appear under the influence of the Upper Light. It generates in us more and more new needs, while at the same time letting us understand that by having more diverse *Kelim* we could perceive a much greater world than what our five senses can pick in a rather warped way.

When something takes place outside us, we perceive it within a very limited, one-sided, and twisted range of sensations. Let us imagine that some outside influence enters into us unobstructed. Were we designed so that everything could penetrate us without any resistance from us, we would be able to perceive absolutely all outside influences. What does it mean that I perceive something which is outside me? The Creator is outside me, so I will clearly feel and perceive Him.

This will become possible if I eliminate all barriers standing in the way of all incoming information. They work as membranes letting information inside only within their limited range. If I move from the color black to green, red, and white, then I will acquire two, or perhaps, twenty new senses, in addition to my natural five. I will then be able to ascend to the World of *Atzilut*, and through these colors perceive the higher light, which will enter me unimpeded.

How is it going to happen? I will not be able to open additional apertures in my "black box". But I need not do that – the sensation of the color white will enter me through my perception of black, green, and red, followed by the Creator's achromatism. This happens because through these undistorted colors that enter into me, I will be able to feel what is inside them, i.e., the Ten *Sefirot* of the direct, pure light.

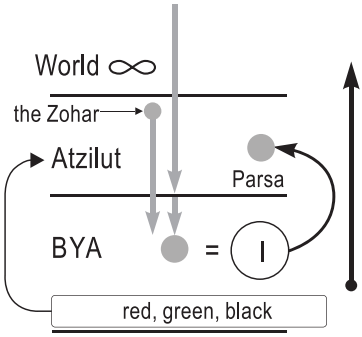

1. Essense	essense
2. Abstract form	falsehood
3. Form of matter	liar
4. Matter	body

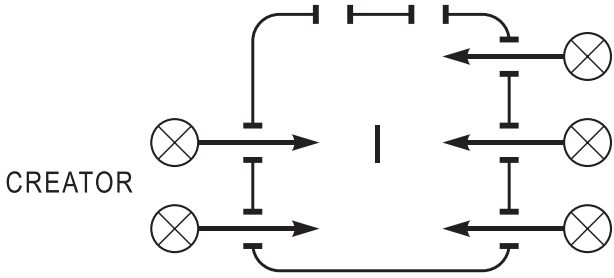

As a result, we see that even without getting out of the Kli itself, the black box, everything depends only on how it is tuned up. "The Book of Zohar" teaches us how to adapt ourselves to the Upper Radiance. The Zohar descends from the highest point of Atzilut, hence its name "radiance".

"The Book of Zohar" explains how we can perceive all spiritual information by changing our inner parameters. In other words, we attain the form in matter, the abstract form, and the essence through the matter of form.

In order to bring us to the World of *Atzilut*, "The Zohar" deals with just two kinds of attainment. After reaching the World of *Atzilut* and the state of *Gmar Tikkun*, we attain the absolute form, and, through it, the essence in the World of Infinity.

We have spoken about four kinds of attainment. When we delve into some material, both within and without us, we attain it as matter, the form that matter takes, the abstract form, and the essence.

We have also said that matter and the form in matter are entirely sufficient to safeguard us against mistakes. Another question is whether we can operate with the abstract form. Being beyond our power and clear sensations, it can be misinterpreted and misleading. It is even more so when it concerns the completely unattainable essence.

Why are we studying it? When we look for contact with the Creator, we should know exactly what we wish to achieve, what we need to hold on to in order to avoid errors on our path. We should be careful not to imagine abstract forms.

As a rule, this happens to people who seem to be very "spiritual". They will tell you about various forces they see, about images and angels, about their previous incarnations and special messages received from above. This is a totally wrong interpretation of the abstract form.

Therefore, "The Zohar" positively forbids delving into abstract forms,

and calls upon the person to remain within the limits of matter and its form.

> *14. We also comprehend the form in matter that is described in the second restriction in an absolutely clear and satisfactory way, for we do so based on the experience of concrete actions that we derive from matter's response. Thus, we acquire all of the sublime knowledge that one can indeed rely on.*

That is, matter is what our senses perceive, whereas the form in matter is something we attain as a result of penetrating matter itself.

Baal HaSulam says that we attain the form in matter absolutely, and that all the Upper knowledge we acquire at the higher levels is true and clear to us. If we advance along this path of attainment to ever higher forms of matter without abstracting the form from matter, then we unfailingly move in the right direction, towards the right goal.

If we move anywhere in this world, there always exist an "I" located at some point, some path, and some goal. While seeing the goal before me, I direct myself toward it. That is, "I" represents one of my qualities, whereas I have no idea about the quality of the goal. I do not direct myself with the help of my senses; they are of no help to me at this stage. I do not imagine how I can see this goal, how I can depict it to myself. The goal possesses a certain quality that is very different from "I". This concerns the distinction between just two levels, whereas, overall, there are 125 of them.

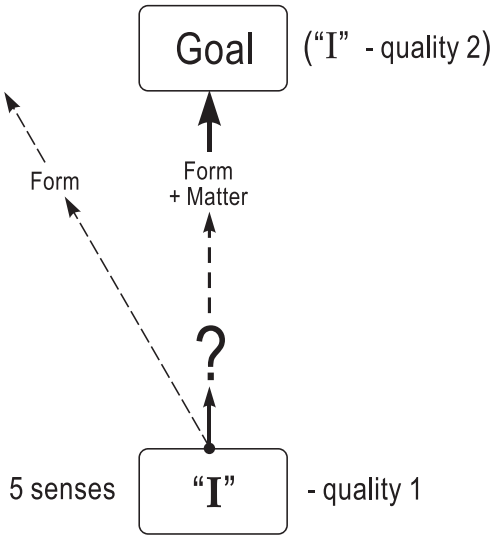

So how can I imagine it, how can I elevate myself, break through this barrier? What should my first step be and toward what goal? I cannot imagine what I want to be. In our world I may, for example, aspire to become a professor; I create this image in myself, see it, and clearly know what it is like. In Kabbalah, however, there is no way to imagine all that.

So if, instead of matter and the form it assumes, I imagine only the abstract form, I will immediately fall into delusion and my subsequent advancement will increasingly deviate from the goal.

Hence "The Zohar" instructs the person seeking spirituality to be extremely careful with forms that are detached from matter, and are unperceived by our sensations.

I cannot say that I feel something spiritual until I acquire a minimal screen. Only having done that will I be able to perceive spiritual objects and properties within it. They will be considered the acquired form of this matter because the form will be determined by the screen. The screen displays for us various properties and their combinations out of matter, which assumes a certain form.

Therefore, he says: "Thus, only from the form of this matter do we acquire all of the sublime knowledge that one can indeed rely on." In the process of studying "The Book of Zohar" we will be repeatedly emphasizing this problem.

> *15. The third restriction is abstract form. This means that, after the form reveals itself to us in matter, the power of our imagination allows us to detach it completely from matter.*

Here Baal HaSulam does not speak about absolute abstractions that we have never seen before (e.g. angels and supernatural forces). He asserts that even when we watch something and then divert our attention from the observed object or phenomenon, we imagine it in an abstract

form. We should not abstractly imagine something which previously had a form.

> *One can observe abstractly or detached from any kind of matter; for example, virtues and laudable qualities that books on moral subjects speak about. When we touch upon qualities of truth, falsehood, anger, heroism, etc., we have in mind their abstract form, free from any matter whatsoever. We endow such abstract form with virtues or flaws.*

Today, in particular, I was asked: "How could such a Kabbalist as Rabbi Shimon be angry?" That is, how can such a highly spiritual person have any unspiritual qualities? Where does this incomprehension emerge from? The reason lies in the separation of form (qualities, properties) from matter. If you combine one with the other, all contradictions will vanish. However, to see that, you will first have to assume those properties.

> *Know that serious scientists regard the third restriction with the utmost caution, for it is impossible to rely upon it with 100% assurance. This is because it is easy to err in something that is detached from matter. For example, a non-religious idealist who praises the abstract category of truth can conclude that he would not intentionally utter an untrue word, not even for the sake of saving people's lives, if the entire world should perish.*

There are many idealists who abstract some category from real life and from man, and place it above all. In other words, they detach a category from the matter in which it is clothed, i.e., from that for which sake it actually exists. Such a truth-loving person, who is ready to sacrifice the world, does not understand that in fact the abstract category of truth turns into its opposite, falsehood.

The Torah forbids it in its laws, stating that we neither have the right to accept abstract form as absolute knowledge, nor rely on it.

But this is contrary to the opinion of Torah, which says:" Nothing is above saving a Soul", even if you are compelled to lie.

Indeed, had he examined truth and falsehood when they are cast into matter, he would judge these categories according to the right, or wrong they give rise to in matter. Then, having conducted numerous experiments in the world, he would see the multitude of victims and losses that liars and their untruths cause. Moreover, he would perceive the great benefit to those that uphold the truth and those who observe the rule of speaking only the truth. He would then come to an agreement that there is no value higher than truthfulness, and nothing lowlier than falsehood.

If an idealist understood this, he would certainly agree with the opinion of Torah and accept that a falsehood, even if it delivers one human life from death, is immeasurably greater in value and importance than any abstract truth. It is because abstract categories that belong to the third restriction absolutely lack clarity. It is not worth discussing abstract forms that have not yet materialized in this world; this is but a waste of time.

There are certain periods in our life, when we define for ourselves some ideals. Later on, as we face them in real life, we see that they do not exist, and as soon as these ideals dress into matter, they acquire an unexpected, unpredictable, and in most cases, very unappealing form.

Hence, we need to accept this limitation in advance, i.e., on no account should we use any abstract notions nor set any abstract rules pertaining to the spiritual world. We have no idea what the spiritual world is like, the next level has never been clothed in any concrete form before.

We have no right to reason about the upper level from our present viewpoint; otherwise we will delude ourselves and never reach it. Thus we can only speak of matter and the form this matter assumes.

What other positive conclusion follows from this? Kabbalah pushes us toward matter, i.e., toward physical sensation of the spiritual. It warns us against engaging in abstract, imaginary actions, and at the same time it instructs us to feel the spiritual forms which our own matter will assume. That is, the screen's different forms dressed on my desires should create in me various spiritual images, and, without detaching one from the other, I would exist in them. This will be called my spiritual world.

If I now abstract one from the other, I will imagine myself in the spiritual worlds today. Most probably I will feel great while soaring in my imagination, but it will be a pure fantasy. By compelling us to remain connected with matter even though we may be studying a form, Kabbalah urges us to dress our matter (will to receive) into the proper form (will to bestow).

16. Now that we have thoroughly explained these four categories – matter, form in matter, abstract form and essence...

The author stops short of discussing the essence here because there is no point in talking about something imperceptible. We may abstractly reason about the essence without knowing what it is, but in this case all our reasoning turns into empty philosophy.

Now that we have thoroughly explained these four categories with simple examples, it is clear that:

- *In principle, we lack any possibility of grasping the fourth category, which is essence;*
- *Studying the third category can lead to fallacy;*
- *Only the first kind of knowledge – matter, as well as the second kind – form cast in matter, is there for our clear and sufficient attainment of the Upper Providence.*

If our matter, i.e., our initial egoism (will to receive) assumes the form of bestowal (altruism), intention for the sake of the Creator, this means that we enter into the Upper World's existence.

With their help, one can also grasp the reality of the spiritual levels of the Upper Worlds of ABYA. Even the smallest component will fall into these four categories. For instance, every component in the World of Beria has its red colored vessel...

The World of *Beria* is all red (*Bina*). *Hochma* is white, *Bina* is red, ZA or *Yetzira* is green, and *Malchut* or *Assiya* is black.

Baal HaSulam says that if we take any of our attainments, sensations in the World of *Beria*, *we will feel in it the Kelim of the color red, whose light translates to those existing in the World of Beria.* That is, while passing through the *Kelim* of the World of *Beria* (i.e., through my own properties, filters), the colorless light is perceived as red.

What is "red" in the spiritual? In our world the branch of this root corresponds to the color red.

The vessels of the World of Beria that have the color red represent a form that is "dressed" onto an essence. This refers to the first way of attainment. Although it is but a color, meaning a detail and manifestation of the actions of the essence, we shall never be able to grasp the essence itself, only the manifestation of its actions. We call such a manifestation "essence", "matter", a "body", or a "vessel". That is, we attain ungraspable essence as matter.

The light of the Creator "dressing" and passing through the color red represents a form that is "dressed" onto the essence. This is the second way of attainment. That is why it appears as a red light that points to it being "dressed" and emanating through the essence, that is, the body and matter of the red color.

In other words, there exists matter and there are levels that are perceived by this matter, which assumes different forms. If it is in the World of *Beria*, it assumes the color red.

However, if a person still wishes to separate the Upper Light from its essence, from its red color (i.e., to separate the color red that emerges in the World of Beria from the colorless inner light), or if he begins to study the light alone, immaterialized, this belongs to the third way of attainment, i.e., the abstract form, and it will result in fallacies.

I cannot speak of the Creator, but only about my properties that are similar to Him. I cannot say that He is kind. And what exactly is my idea of "kindness"? Is my notion of "kindness" the same as what I ascribe to Him? If I become similar to the Creator by ten per cent in the category of "kindness", then to the same extent I can testify that He is kind. I understand Him because I am similar to Him, equal with Him. Only from within my own corrected *Kelim* can I speak about similarity to the Creator. This means to remain within the limits of matter even in the expression of its form.

However, if we only speak about the abstract category of "kindness", then I will modify it in the same way as I did with the category of "truth". I will be ready to sacrifice all humankind for the sake of preserving this category. That is, it will be utterly abstracted from reality.

Why is this possible? The fact is that we consist of a huge *Kli*, some part of which is corrected. In that part I can perceive the Creator correctly, whereas in the rest of my *Kli* I will imagine Him abstractly, not clothed in my properties. So without doubt, my picture of Him would obviously be wrong because the properties in which I wish to imagine Him are still opposite to His.

Hence, on no account should the person be overly focused on abstract form. Yet it exists in us because there is a great number of uncorrected *Kelim* that are opposed to the Creator's form.

It is characteristic of man to reason about form dressed in matter, i.e., about the will and the intention to bestow that a part of his *Kelim* have acquired, about the Creator's properties that have not yet become

his own. All of this exists within our Soul, which is presumably divided into two parts, corrected and uncorrected.

So what does "The Book of Zohar" speak of?

The light enters the corrected part of your Soul, which is similar to the Creator in its properties. You can characterize whatever happens in it as the form equivalent to the Creator because its properties are clothed in matter.

On the other hand, we still have many uncorrected *Kelim*, which are destined to be filled with the Creator's light. However, if we keep reasoning about the light that is still outside our *Kelim*, we will be talking about the Creator's abstract form and will always be in the wrong. This is because it is impossible to reason about the light out of the still uncorrected vessels.

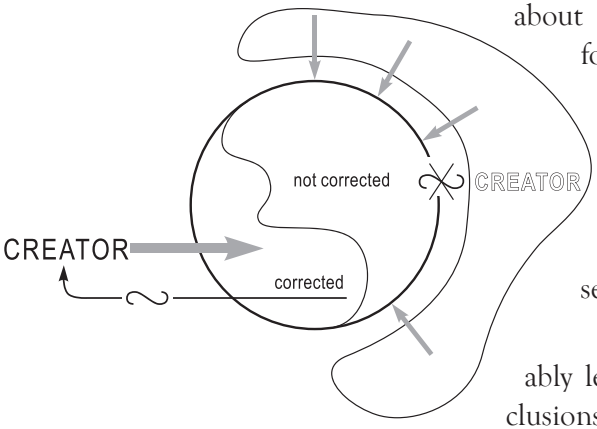

Abstract forms invariably lead to erroneous conclusions; hence "The Zohar" clearly states that only after the person has achieved equivalence of form with the Creator, can he really speak about Him.

We see how Kabbalah directs the person to practical understanding and knowledge, safeguarding him against various mistakes. Unfortunately, we are constantly speaking about something that is not in us; therefore we have no way of determining our position.

Oftentimes, people tell me that they are already in the World of *Beria* or *Atzilut*, or even achieved the *Gmar Tikkun*. I understand them, of course; nothing can be proved or disproved. I can only advise him to

read something, somehow show him the right direction, and try to generate more or less adequate sensations.

Each of us can see for himself how often confused thoughts visit us, and we can never be sure where we really are.

When the person enters the spiritual world, he cannot stand firmly on his feet, but continues treading on a very long path of realization, accumulation of knowledge, and studying various forms dressed in matter.

Only when the person reaches the World of *Atzilut* and begins to raise the *Kelim* of the Worlds of *BYA* (*Gadlut* of the Soul), can one say that he has risen above the common mistake of working with abstract forms.

> *Accordingly, the most stringent ban prohibits the study of the Upper Worlds, and no true Kabbalist would do it, let alone those studying Zohar. There is no use in mentioning the "essence" of even the smallest part in creation, for we are incapable of comprehending it. Since we fail to comprehend the essence of objects in our corporeal world, we will fail even more when trying to comprehend spiritual manifestations.*

I can as little grasp the essence and abstract form of, say, a pencil (I cannot imagine the notion of a pencil detached from its matter). Only the form clothed in matter and mater itself constitute an absolutely reliable source of knowledge.

> *Thus, we have before us the four aspects from our example in the World of Beria:*
>
> • *The vessel of Beria, which represents the red color and is defined as essence or the matter of the World of Beria;*
> • *The filling of the vessel of the World of Beria with the Upper Light, which is the form in matter;*

- *The Upper Light itself, detached from the matter of Beria;*
- *The essence.*

Thus, we have clarified the first restriction in detail: "The Book of Zohar" only speaks about the first and the second kinds of knowledge. Concerning the third and the fourth kinds, not a single word is mentioned in the entire book.

So when we study Kabbalistic books, we should never imagine anything that is not there. Otherwise we simply fail to take advantage of what is given to us, and bluntly misinterpret the author's words. We should only rely on the first two levels of knowledge, matter and form in matter.

17. The second restriction will be explained in the same way. Know that, as we explained the four kinds of knowledge in one component

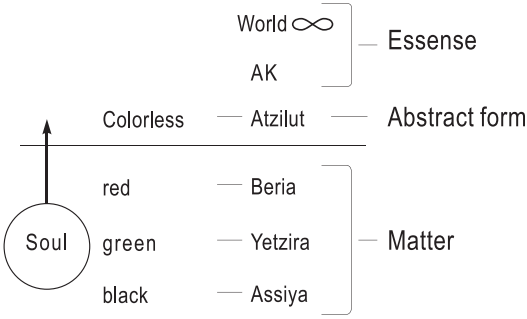

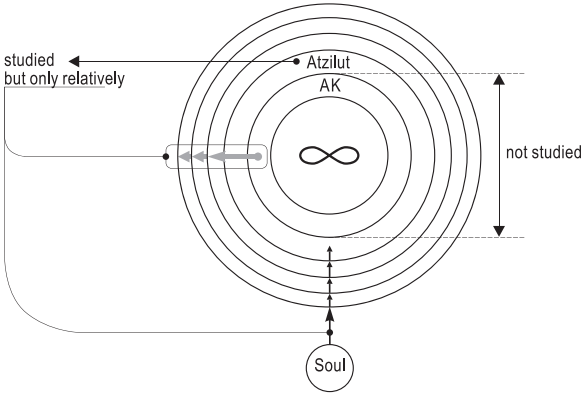

of the World of Beria, so it is in general true with respect to the four Worlds of ABYA, where the colors red, green and black in the three Worlds of BYA are matter and essence. The white of the World of Atzilut is form cast into matter, i.e., into the three worlds called BYA. The World of Infinity, as such, is essence.

Let us take a look at all the spiritual worlds (Fig. 3). The World of Infinity represents the essence (as we know, the World of Infinity includes the World of *Adam Kadmon*) and is followed by the Worlds of *Atzilut*, *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya*. The World of *Atzilut* constitutes the abstract form; the World of *Beria* is matter in which this form dresses. *Atzilut* is colorless, *Beria* is red, *Yetzira* is green, and *Assiya* is black.

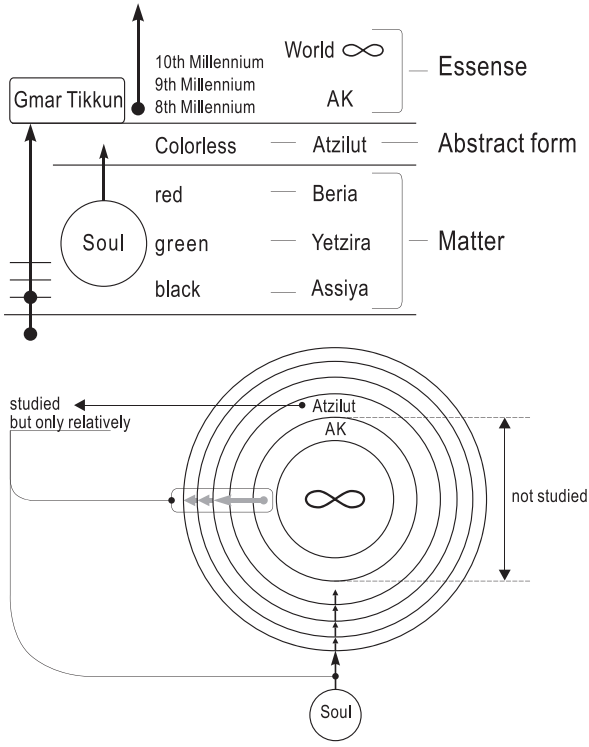

At the beginning of our research of "The Preface to the Book of Zohar" we have said that we do not study the World of *Atzilut*, but only *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya*, since that is where the Souls are. We deal with *Atzilut* only as the Worlds of *BYA* rise to it, or, the other way around, as *Atzilut* shines inside the Worlds of *BYA*. All the more, we do not touch upon the Worlds of *AK* and Infinity.

> *As we have said in the first restriction, the essence is beyond our grasp; it is the fourth kind of knowledge that each being conceals within itself, even in the beings of our world. The white color stands alone and is not "dressed" into the three colors of the three Worlds of BYA; meaning, the light of Hochma is not "dressed in Bina, Tifferet and Malchut, but is an abstract form that we disregard.*

If we attain our world from within (and we certainly will), we should always remember that we only study matter and the form cast in matter. However, the deeper, more inner properties concealed in it remain unattainable. We just imagine them because it is impossible to attain them before the Final Correction.

"The Zohar" exclusively speaks about our ascent to the World of *Atzilut* through the Worlds of *BYA*. (See Fig. 4) The Final Correction (*Gmar Tikkun*) takes place in the World of *Atzilut*. The Book of Zohar deals neither with the ascent to the World of Infinity after the Gmar Tikkun, nor with the so-called eighth, ninth, and tenth millennia.

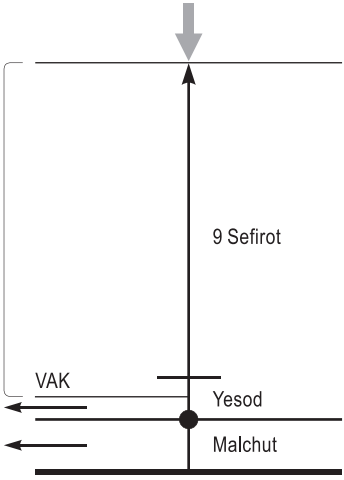

Therefore we will always see matter and its form, whereas the abstract form and essence will remain unattainable because our correction on all the levels will only be partial. Even if some *Reshimo* emerges in us and we correct it, this correction is always limited and fragmentary.

Let me tell you how it works. Suppose there are Ten *Sefirot*, from *Keter* to *Malchut*. We cut off *Malchut*, and stop receiving the Light that descends to us (it tries to fill *Malchut*); hence, we cannot attain the essence. Besides, when we work not from *Malchut* but from *Yesod*, we attain only the first nine *Sefirot*. We only attain them with the intention for the sake of bestowal; thus, it is said that we partially use *Yesod*. Only the part of the *Kli* called *VAK* is used, whereas *GAR* stays inactive, so another attainment (perceived as the abstract form) is severed. We attain *GAR de VAK* in *Gmar Tikkun*, and after that *GAR de GAR*.

There are four kinds of attainment, but at the moment only two of them are available to us. Therefore, we should know what we can and cannot accept as something obvious.

> *There is nothing said about it in the Zohar. It speaks only of the first kind, i.e., the three colors of BYA, considered as matter, and representing the three Sefirot: Bina, Tifferet and Malchut. The Zohar also speaks of the second kind, representing the illumination of the World of Atzilut, "dressed" in the three colors of BYA, i.e., the light or Hochma, "dressed" in Bina, Tifferet and Malchut – the form where it "dresses" itself in matter. The book of Zohar examines only these two kinds.*
>
> *Accordingly, if each student is not utterly conscientious that when studying Zohar his thoughts and comprehension are always within the limits of these two kinds of knowledge, he will immediately become confused on all issues, for it will strip the words of their true meaning.*

That is, if during our studies we do not clearly realize that we work with concrete forms cast in matter, we will totally miss what "The Zohar" tries to explain. Baal HaSulam warns us not to fall into that trap.

A question arises, whether it is realistic to accomplish what he describes. Can I really control myself; see myself as someone who clearly understands all of these questions during the studies, someone who can precisely distinguish these properties in himself? Is this possible at all?

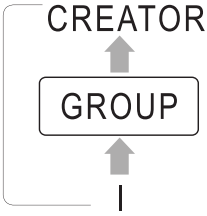

Although he tells us that it is impossible, correct perception occurs subconsciously through our right attitude to reality, i.e., by focusing on the Creator through the group.

For what is a group? It is an indicator of my altruistic direction. If I correctly direct myself at the Creator through the group (I, the group, and the Creator), then I am really focused on Him. This happens because I cannot relate to the group in my desire to attain Him, unless my intentions become altruistic.

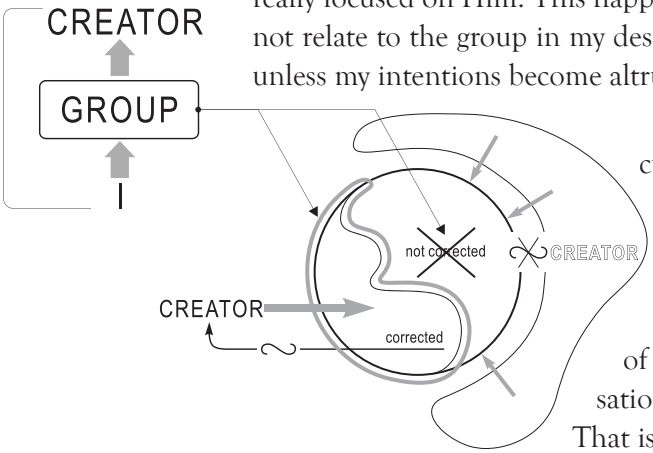

So, if I am focused on the Creator through the group, I will necessarily be dealing with the part of me where my sensations are corrected. That is why I have a very simple indicator of what I should be doing at the moment. It is my study with the group, and my aspiration to the Creator through the group.

Thus, the group helps me to stay within the correct framework and study only what I really need, at the same time avoiding the areas where I can err.

Therefore, we do not really need any special analytical and extrasensory abilities. We are provided with everything necessary for our spiritual growth.

There are a great number of people in our virtual group. All of us study, think of one another, and know that without each other's help we will not be able to attain anything spiritual. Gradually we will achieve unity, interaction, interdependence, and love; we will clearly see and feel how interconnected we are.

This grows out of purely egoistic sentiments. Quite naturally, without any mental effort, I will treat matter and the form in matter correctly, directing myself at the Creator, becoming similar to Him. I will not transcend the limits of my uncorrected, unregulated desires, in which I can imagine abstract categories and assert that their truth is above all, while totally disregarding the likes or dislikes of people. That is, the laws of the Torah testify to my correct, true state, which I can only achieve with the help of the light.

> *18. What we explained about the four Worlds of ABYA is in general true with regard to each one of the worlds. As it is in relation to every small component of each of them, such as in the Rosh of the World of Atzilut, so it is in the Sof of the World of Assiya. This is because every part (state) on the ladder of worlds Assiya, Yetzira, Beria, and Atzilut consists of Ten Sefirot.*

We do not mention *Keter* because it is the source of pure light. Each level, each attainment consists of Ten *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut*.

> *The Sefira Hochma exists as the form and Bina, Tifferet and Malchut as the matter in which the form has materialized. It also has the first and the second definition, whose objects "The Zohar" examines, as well as the Sefira Hochma, when it is vacant of Bina, Tifferet, and Malchut, which is the form that is free of matter...*

That is, if we speak of how the *Ohr Hochma* manifests in *Bina*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut*, in the same manner that form manifests in matter. If we only speak about the worlds *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya* or about the

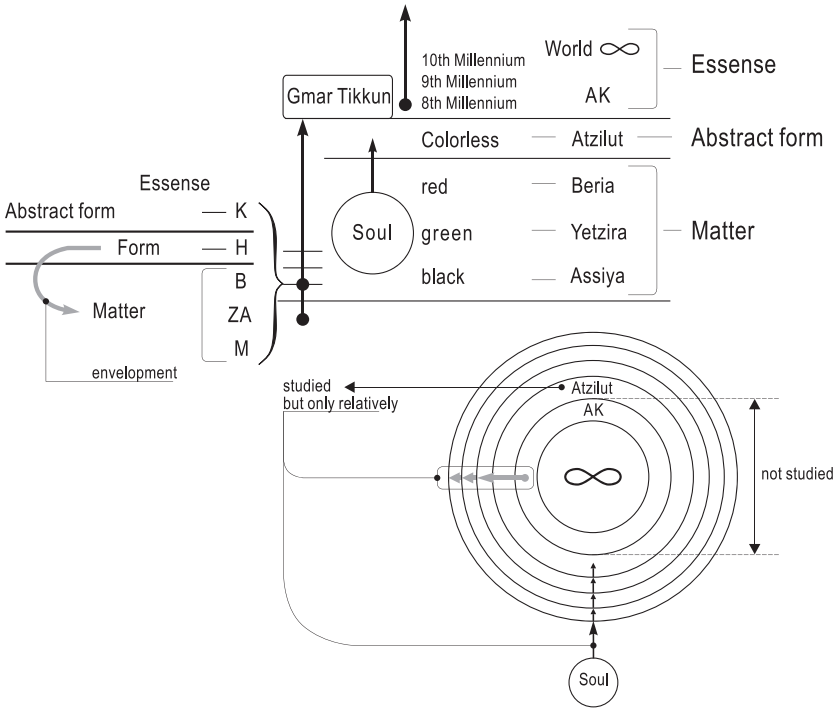

Sefirot Bina, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut* regardless of where they may be, then we imply matter. It is possible to talk about it as well as about the light that fills the corrected *Kelim* (because it is the form assumed by matter) or about the *Kelim* themselves in their corrected or uncorrected form. However, it is utterly impossible to speak about the light which is outside the *Kelim*, let alone imagine the essence which is even higher. There is no way we can say anything about the Creator Himself, the source of the light.

Baal HaSulam writes: "Do not think that you encounter these problems only when you reach higher levels of attainment. It occurs even at the relatively low level of the World of *Assiya*..." He says that each small level consists of its own *Sefirot Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and

Malchut, where *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* constitute matter, *Hochma* is the form, *Keter* is the abstract form, and the essence is above it.

So, we do not speak about what happens in *Keter*, for it is above the level of the Creator's thoughts. This is something we attain after the *Gmar Tikkun*. We never speak of the form that is detached from matter. We either discuss *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya* (*Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*), or the form (the light) which dresses this matter. In other words, we either speak of our *Kelim*, our desires (*Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*) or, provided they are already corrected, of the light that enters into them.

We see how practical "The Zohar" is. Baal HaSulam devotes many pages of his works to this issue, and we will be discussing it while reading the book, because the correct direction to the Goal is dependent on it.

19. We shall now explain the third restriction. Although "The Zohar" examines each world only from the point of Sefirot, which are the illuminations of the Upper Light in these worlds, and each component on the still, vegetative, animate and speaking levels – the creations of the respective worlds, the main object of the examination is, nonetheless, the speaking level in each of the worlds.

Baal HaSulam says that "The Zohar" studies everything that is found in the spiritual worlds. But whatever the book may deal with (be that the light inside the *Kli* or the *Kli* itself), it never speaks separately about the still, vegetative, and animate levels of existence simply because it is not its task.

All that is written in "The Book of Zohar" only concerns man, i.e., the human Souls; the way these Souls are served or how they serve other spiritual entities in the creation.

You may object by saying that millions or billions of various creatures, forces, purposes and ideas may exist in the universe. You are quite right, but "The Zohar" does not deal with it. This is because in order

to research such things one needs to rise to the level that is above "The Book of Zohar", i.e., reach higher that the book's purpose.

"The Zohar's" purpose is very concrete; it must lead us to the Final Correction. Our path completely changes after that. We will continue researching the universe in our corrected properties. This research is impossible to describe in books because no spoken or written word can express it.

Therefore, "The Zohar" exclusively speaks of things pertaining to our Souls, i.e., what should be corrected at the present moment. The rest is none of its concern.

> *We find that a man in this world must receive nourishment from all the four levels (the still, vegetative, animate and speaking) of this world, in order to grow. Even in man's food there are four ingredients from all the four degrees that are a consequence of his body having four degrees (still, vegetative, animate and speaking). These are:*
>
> • *The will to receive in order to sustain oneself;*
> • *The will to receive in excess of the need to sustain oneself, looks for excesses, but is capable of restraining only the beastly desires;*
> • *The yearning for pleasures that society provides, such as universal respect and posts in government;*
> • *The aspiration to the sciences.*

We usually say that man consists of four levels of desire: for bodily pleasures, wealth, power, fame, and knowledge.

• The will to receive in order to sustain oneself, which corresponds to the still level of desire;

• The will to receive beastly desires is the vegetative level of desire; the will to receive that is given in order to increase and fill one with pleasure in his vessel – flesh (*Basar*) of the body;

• The will for human pleasures, which corresponds to the animate level of desire;

• The aspiration to the sciences is the speaking level of desire.

20. We therefore find that a reception from the first level, the measure of the need to sustain oneself, and from the second level – the degree of animate desires that exceed the need to sustain oneself, are for him reception and nourishment from the still, vegetative and animate levels, all of which are lower than his.

If I desire food or sexual pleasures (these are the two basic kinds of pleasure that my body demands), then I receive nourishment from objects that are lower than my own level: from the still, vegetative and animate levels. If I seek wealth, I too depend on the still level (money). If I am after power and fame, I already need people like myself, i.e., the human level. If I am thirsty for knowledge, I receive pleasure from a higher level that is novel to me as well as to many people. My aspirations are then considered spiritual in this world.

21. Similarly, you will learn the categories of the Upper spiritual world. Since all the worlds are imprints of one another from upper to lower, and all that is on the still, vegetative, animate and speaking levels in the World of Beria, is impressed upon the still, vegetative, animate and speaking levels of the World of Yetzira. Moreover, all that is on the still, vegetative, animate and speaking in the World of Yetzira is impressed upon the degrees still, vegetative, animate and speaking levels of the World of Assiya. Again, the still, vegetative, animate and speaking levels in the World of Assiya are impressed upon the still, vegetative, animate and speaking levels of this world.

All of these levels in each world: the still, vegetative, animate and human copy one another, each world being on its own different level of organized matter.

- *The still degree in the spiritual world is called "palaces"*
- *The vegetative level is called "robes"*
- *The animate is called "angels"*
- *The speaking level consists of the Souls of people in their respective world*
- *The Ten Sefirot in each world – is Divinity (the Upper Light dressed in these four levels).*

The Souls of people are the center of each world and receive fulfillment from the entire spiritual reality of the corresponding world. Likewise, a person in the corporeal world receives fulfillment from all the corporeal reality of our world.

In the same way man in our world represents the "crown" of nature, and rules over all the other levels (everything else only exists for his sake), the human Soul in the spiritual world is the central point of the creation and governs all levels of matter in the Upper realm.

- *In Behina Aleph, which is the will to receive in order to sustain one's existence, he receives illumination from palaces and robes, which are there;*

- *In Behina Bet, which is the excess of the animate desires that increase his body, he receives spiritual light from angels who are there in quantities above what is needed to sustain his existence, in order to develop the spiritual vessels in which his Soul is vested;*

- *The reason is that he receives from Behina Aleph and Bet, which are lower in relation to him. These are palaces, robes and angels, and their level is lower than that of human Souls;*

- *In Behina Gimel, representing the human degree of the will to receive that develops the spirit (Ruach) of man – in this world he receives from equals. Thus, he receives from equals there also; meaning*

all of the Souls that find themselves in that world. With their help he magnifies the light of Ruach filling his Soul;

• In Behina Dalet of the will to receive, that is aspiration for sciences (the attainment of Kabbalah in the spiritual world is meant), he receives from Sefirot of the respective world, receiving from them HaBaD of his Soul.

Man's Soul has to develop and perfect itself in each of the worlds using everything that is in that world. This is the third restriction that one needs to be aware of; that the entire Book of Zohar speaks about every component of the Upper Worlds that we study, whether it be Sefirot, Souls, angels, robes or palaces. And although we study them as they are, the student must always bear in mind that they are mentioned only in relation to man's Soul, which receives and is filled by them. It means that they all serve the needs of that Soul. If you follow that line in your studies, you will comprehend everything and be successful in your path.

Baal HaSulam says that by strictly observing all of these limitations one will succeed on his path. That is why he provides such a detailed explanation.

We will keep returning to the limitations pertaining to the four kinds of knowledge: matter, form in matter, abstract form, and essence. We will see them in Souls, angels, robes, palaces, and worlds. Whatever we may feel, we should always separate real attainments from imaginary ones that we can neither test, nor analyze.

We have spoken of the things which we are still unable to feel. It would have been wonderful if I could, with some object in the spiritual world, show you what its matter, form in matter, abstract form, and essence are. Hopefully, we will soon reach that level. Basically, this is what we aspire to achieve.

But even now, as we speak about it, we already subconsciously prepare ourselves. The most important thing is our unity and common desire. Together we aspire to achieve one goal, attract upon ourselves the correcting light of enormous power. Whatever we learn and understand, this light propels us forward.

I strongly advise you to review this material and write a short summary of what is written here. Baal HaSulam's language is a little archaic, and the text is rather confusing, the translation loses some of the Hebrew original's poignancy and vividness. However, I recommend you to go through these four kinds of knowledge, because we will periodically speak about them. Although they look rather "dry" and abstract now, they will gradually become our main instruments of attainment, of delving into new, unknown matter.

Basically, "The Preface to the Book of Zohar" speaks about the limitations we need to observe so as to correctly perceive the information provided by the book.

There is always a problem of communication and mutual understanding between the upper and lower spiritual entities. We see it in our world too: between adults and between children as well as between adults and children. When the matter concerns two high levels, there should always be an intermediary between them. For instance, in order to raise a baby, a mother's body has a special system for producing milk. The baby sucks milk, which is then transformed into blood. Blood is further transformed into its body matter, and so on.

So, in order for the lower level to receive from the upper one, there must be certain ways of passage and modification between them. Both the upper and lower levels should have systems of adjustment, adaptability and communication. Hence, when we come to study Kabbalah, we wish to receive power from above that will elevate and change us in such a way that we may begin to feel the Upper World, acquire an ad-

ditional sense of perception, comprehension and adaptation to the true universe.

Therefore, we need to adapt ourselves to the Upper World in order to take from it what it has to give us. Unless we succeed, we will be lost in our own illusions and superstitions, failing to establish contact with the upper level.

To direct us at this contact precisely, to make it not only correct, but also ultimate in its magnitude, Baal HaSulam provided us with this Preface. It is similar to a healthy baby that receives nourishment from its mother and can completely and properly digest it.

The text instructs us how to restrict ourselves (create a "tube" through which everything will descend to me from the upper level), how to receive correctly and most efficiently rise to the higher level.

Matter is our will to receive pleasure, the only thing created by the Creator. Its form is a way of receiving pleasure: "for one's sake" or "for the sake of the Creator".

We should stay within these two categories and avoid abstract forms of reasoning about egoism and altruism without any connection with matter, or speculate about the Creator, the essence. However, this is insufficient, and from Paragraph 22 onwards, we will enter deeper into these limitations, tuning ourselves up to the wave that "The Zohar" transmits to us.

We will now discuss two limitations, or, rather, a correct combination, contact, communication between the upper level that sends me the light and me.

22. After all that has been said, we are left with describing, with the help of the Ten Sefirot, all the material images that one encounters in the Book of Zohar. Such images are upper and lower, rise and fall, diminishing and expanding, small condition and large one, separation and unification, numbers and so on – in a word, everything that the

lower ones cause in the Ten Sefirot with their good and bad actions (described with earthly words in "The Zohar").

How can one pass from the words of this world to expressing the same through Ten *Sefirot*? There are no words in the spiritual world, only Sentiments. These Sentiments should be transformed, vested into some images, which we can pass to one another. We can write it down or express it in some other way. We do not need a language within ourselves; it becomes necessary only for passing information.

"The Book of Zohar" explains how to pass from such word pairs as higher-lower, expansion-contraction, falls-rises to their correct interpretation and description with the help of Ten *Sefirot*. The Ten *Sefirot* comprise the physical-mathematical language of the spiritual world.

At first sight, it seems peculiar: how is it possible that the Upper Worlds are so inspired that changes in them can be described as caused by the actions of the lower ones?

That is, if I change something within me, I change the entire universe. The worlds with all the forces and spiritual entities that are in them descend and move. Can I influence the Upper Worlds from this world?

Even if you find it necessary to declare that nothing in the Upper Light is of the sort that "dresses" itself and shines in the Ten Sefirot, that it is only in the vessels of Sefirot, which are not divine, they are nevertheless created only with the creation of Souls. This is in order to conceal or reveal the degree of attainment, to the measure and with the swiftness that are required for the Souls to reach the desired Final Correction. It is as in the example mentioned above, with an optical device that consists of the four pieces of colored glass – white, red, green and black.

What is Baal HaSulam trying to convey in this long sentence? He says the following: even though nothing happens in the Creator's light, and everything only takes place in our Souls, we express the light's influ-

ence with theses words. This influence is constant, but it generates bigger and bigger changes in us.

For example, I put a glass of water into the refrigerator. The temperature of water in the glass is 20° Centigrade, while the temperature inside the refrigerator is only 10°. This means that the refrigerator's constant influence cools the water down to its own temperature. That is, the refrigerator's influence is invariable, whereas the temperature of the water in the glass is constantly changing. The same happens with us: the Upper Light exerts on us its constant pressure, but its pressure gradually penetrates our matter, our desire to receive pleasure, and changes it in accordance with its own parameters.

Kabbalah describes all transformations that take place within us under the light's constant influence. It is said: "I, the Creator, do not change My Name". His attitude to us is absolutely good, and He is constantly pressing us in order to elevate us to the level of the Absolute Good. However, since His influence penetrates us ever more deeply, we begin to adapt ourselves to it, and begin sensing our states as imperfect and remote from Him. We begin to aspire for a more elevated state, wish the light to purify us and make us similar to it.

It turns out that by His constant kind pressure, the Creator invokes in us increasingly worse sensations pertaining to our own condition, and increasingly good Sentiments pertaining to Him. Kabbalah describes the constant changes that we go through.

Basically, Kabbalah does not do that so as to tell us what else we are going to experience under the light's constant influence, from our present state up to a complete equivalence of form with the light called the *Gmar Tikkun*. It, rather, encourages us to make our own earnest effort and by our personal and independent participation shorten this process.

At that, we go through the same transformations, but they become desired; hence, we, in anticipation of the bright future states, perceive our spiritual ascent, our life as positive and pleasant. In other words, an

active participation in the process of correction elevates man to a fairly good level the moment he makes his decision.

> *Even if you find it necessary to declare that nothing in the Upper Light is of the sort that "dresses" itself and shines in the Ten Sefirot, that it is only in the vessels of the Sefirot, which are not divine, they are nevertheless created only with the creation of Souls. This is in order to conceal or reveal the degree of attainment.*

The light is constantly playing with us. However, in actual fact, it is not a game. Since we consist of *Reshimo de Yitlabshut* and *Reshimo de Aviut* (information about the light and the *Kli*), consequently, different informational *Kelim* are alternately activated in us. Thus, we evaluate our state either from the point of the light, or from the point of the *Kli*. Therefore, it seems to us that we go through different states. The light, however, is an act according *to the measure and with the swiftness that are required for the Souls to reach the desired correction.*

> *It is similar to the case where the white color in a book and the material that forms its letters are all possible in the three Worlds of BYA, where there are vessels of the Sefirot which have been created, but not the divinity. However, it would be utterly groundless to opine that they exist in the World of Atzilut where the vessels of the Ten Sefirot as well represent the utter divinity, merged with the Upper Light that fills them.*

Baal HaSulam wishes to say the following: in all there are three components: the Creator, the light that is emanated from Him, and the *Kli* that changes under the light's influence in order to reach equivalence of form with the Creator. Both the Creator and His light are invariable, whereas all changes take place in us to make us similar to Him.

> *All of this exists in absolute unity.*

23. In order to understand the above, we must recall what was said in paragraph 17, which stated:

• *The essence that creates reality is a mystery substance, which cannot be comprehended by us, in the essences of the material world. This refers to the Worlds of Infinity and Adam Kadmon, which we call the unattainable essence.*

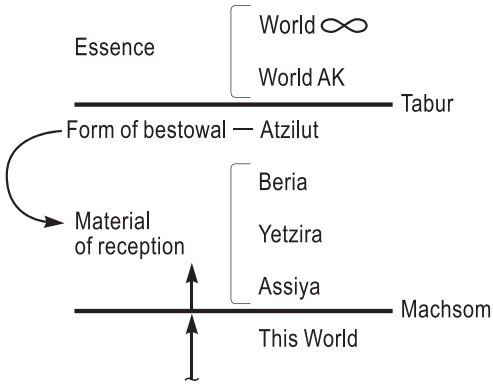

• *The World of Atzilut is the form.*

• *Three Worlds of BYA are the matter.*

• *The luminescence of Atzilut in BYA is the form dressed onto matter.*

Now let us take a look at the drawing in order to understand where we are in our research of "The Book of Zohar." There exist the Worlds of Infinity, *Adam Kadmon, Atzilut, Beria, Yetzira,* and *Assiya.* The Worlds of Infinity and *Adam Kadmon* represent the essence; the World of *Atzilut* is the form, while the Worlds of *Beria, Yetzira,* and *Assiya* constitute matter. Below them are *Machsom*, or *Sium*, and this world.

We spend our time in this world only during a preparation period before we enter the Upper World. Kabbalah tells us about a stage that begins after we cross the *Machsom* and commence our ascent. From that moment, matter (our desire) gradually emerges in us, and takes the form of the World of *Atzilut*. That is to say, the World of *Atzilut* dresses into matter and gives it its form of bestowal. Matter is reception, desire to receive. This desire begins to acquire the form of bestowal.

Now let us try to understand how we attain Infinity. What is "Infinity" for us? Is it simply a lack of comprehension? In such a case it may not be called this name. If we use a certain word to denote something, it means that we first attain, grasp, weigh and graduate it within us, and only then do we give this sensation or state a name. That is to say, if I call

something Infinity, it means that I have experienced that state, and after measuring it in accordance with all accepted standards and rules, give it a name. Thus, Infinity is one of precise physical categories, definitions, measures.

Baal HaSulam asks: *How can you name something that is not comprehended?*

And gives this answer: *The name of the World of Infinity does not express the essence of the One Who Creates Reality per se, but rather points out that all the worlds and Souls are included in Him. This is reflected in the intent of the creation about which it is said "the completion of the action is in its initial design" –connection of all Creation with Him until complete correction. This is what is called the World of Infinity.*

Inasmuch as there is a state in which both the first and the last thoughts merge into one, this merging is called Infinity. We cannot attain it our present state because we have not yet reached the final state. Thus, Infinity means confluence of the two extreme points of the creation. The same is true with our world: when we cannot coordinate cause and effect, everything seems to consist of contrasting, unrelated details.

This happens because the notion of Infinity seems truly infinite to us. However, as we begin correcting our inner properties and rise to the light's level, these notions merge within us, and all contradictions disappear. Good and evil, light and darkness dissolve in one all-embracing notion, and the definition of Infinity vanishes. We enter into it, and it becomes real, clear and attainable.

> *We also call the World of Infinity the "first state of Souls" when all Souls exist in the Creator, filled with all possible delights, the full volume of which will be received at the state of Final Correction.*
>
> *24. Let me give an example from our world. Let us say a person wants to build a nice house. His first thought pictures a house with all the rooms and amenities just as it will be when its construction*

is finished. After that, he lays out the plan of construction in all of its details to explain it to the builders, one detail at a time: wood, bricks, metal frames, etc. Only after that does he begin building the house for real and continues building it until it is done, just as he planned it initially.

You should know that in the World of Infinity, which is the mystery of initial design, all of the Creation is prepared in its complete perfection. However, this allegory does not entirely convey the meaning, because the future and the past are one for the Creator, and the initial design is being implemented in Him. He does not need any instruments for action, as we do. Therefore, the real reality is in Him.

We perceive our remoteness from the Creator as Infinity. If we try to combine within us opposite notions, so that all of them will merge into a single whole, we will enter the World of Infinity, which thus ceases to be infinite, and becomes real, where the present, past, and future merge into one.

We should do our best to pass from our usual notions of "eternity", "infinity" to more concrete, correct, spiritual definitions. All the spiritual notions exist within us, but we only understand them when they are opposed to each other: good and evil, black and white, limited and unlimited, reception and bestowal, etc. If we make a point of superposing these notions in our inner properties, Infinity will gradually become our reality.

This is exactly what happens in the Creator; hence in Him a thought and an action are the same. In the course of our advancement, we will be trying to unite all the notions with one source. We will enter a constant and absolute state when time becomes irrelevant. Little by little, we need to get used to this state. In the article "Habit Becomes a Second Nature" from his book entitled "Shamati" ("I Heard") Baal HaSulam writes that all the concealed, implicit qualities and states are within us because we exist in our present state only in our perception. From the Creator's

perspective, we are in a state of perfection and infinity, in the only state that was ever created by Him. Our task is to correct our sensations, feel our true condition.

Baal HaSulam says that we can achieve this state with the help of ongoing exercise, by developing a habit, which will turn into our second nature. Any action in our world gets into the field of our vision or stays beyond it only depending on whether we can attune ourselves to that action. While learning and acquiring proper habits, we begin to perceive all kinds of events that were passing unnoticed before. It is the same with the spiritual: first, we gradually acquire special senses, and then we can perceive spiritual reality.

"The Book of Zohar" says that the category of Infinity is based on contrast, that spirituality is where the past, present, and future merge. "The Zohar" encourages us to develop rudiments of these sensations.

Baal HaSulam continues with the example of a house: *the World of Atzilut is like a thoughtful and detailed plan that will be realized.*

The purpose is to build a house (i.e., the Worlds of Infinity and *Adam Kadmon*). The World of *Atzilut* is a form, which can be clearly imagined. This is a detailed plan of the house with drawings and specifications – all that exists on paper, but has not yet materialized.

> *You should know that both the initial design, which is the World of Infinity, and deliberative detailed plan, which in its own time will be realized in reality, do not have anything to do with creatures, because everything is still in the design stage where nothing yet has been implemented into practice. That is to say, the worlds of, Infinity, Adam Kadmon, and Atzilut are completely detached from the Souls, from you and me.*
>
> *A person does similarly: although he has thought out all the details (bricks, metal pieces, wood) that he will need during construction, he does not yet have anything save his own mental image of the house.*

The main difference is that the mental plan of a person is not reality, while the Creator's design is the reality itself and is incomparably greater than the reality of creatures.

Therefore, the third state of the creation is absolutely real. In comparison with it (the Worlds of *Atzilut*, *Adam Kadmon and Infinity*), our state is spiritually illusory; it is perceived only within us. This resembles a sick person lying unconscious in his bed. Although he is in this world, he cannot feel it. Or, imagine a person in a dark room, unaware of the enormous world around him.

Thus, we have explained the mystery of the World of Infinity and the World of Atzilut; everything that they convey relates only to the creation of creatures as they all exist in the design, but their essence has not yet been revealed. Just as in our example with a house, there is nothing yet in humanity's construction plan: no bricks, no wood, no metal pieces.

25. The three Worlds of BYA, along with this world, are the embodiments of a planned action, just as construction material is needed before construction is complete. Correspondingly, the Upper Light shines in the Worlds of BYA to the extent that Souls must receive it in order to reach their completion. The Upper Light "dresses" itself into ten Kelim Keter, Hochma, Bina, Hesed, Gevura, Tifferet, Netzah, Hod, Yesod, and Malchut, which are the real Kelim relative to the Creator. That is, they are not related to the Creator, but, rather, newly created for the Souls' needs.

The infinite light dresses into the Ten *Sefirot* of the World of *Atzilut*; through them, it enters into our Souls, and transforms them accordingly.

26. From the example above, one should understand how the three components in the house design are related to one another by causes and consequences, where the root of everything is in the initial design.

There will be no element in the plan that is not aimed at the completion of the action taken in accordance with the initial plan; nothing will be put into practice during construction that was not already included in the initial plan.

Both in the Worlds of *BYA* and in our world, everything happens only in accordance with the initial plan, which is instantly realized in the World of Infinity. In actual fact, we cannot influence anything around us. We gradually come to that conclusion in the course of our life... The only area where we can apply our effort is in accelerating our entry into the spiritual world, and in merging with the Creator. This issue is left to us; it depends on the changes that our *Kelim* go through from our present state up to complete equivalence of form with the World of Infinity.

However, all of our states are as fixed and predetermined as every stage in a construction plan: first, digging a pit, building a foundation, erecting buttresses, etc. Hence, we cannot really change anything in this world save our own aspiration to the Purpose of creation. If we do that of our own free will, we feel comfortable, because the difference between our aspirations and the Creator's state disappears, and in the course of our convergence we attain the World of Infinity. We and the Creator are the two main opposites that include all the other contrasting pairs: good and evil, up and down, black and white, and many other parameters and categories. All of them begin to converge, and by merging into a single point, they usher us into a state called the World of Infinity.

You should understand that there is not even a slightest new element that was not originated in the World of Infinity. That is, the Souls in their initial state are in their perfect state of Complete Correction, which is consistent with saying "completion of action is in the initial plan."

Everything that will be revealed in the Final Correction exists there and initially emanates from the World of Infinity into the World of

Atzilut. This is the same as the mental plan in the example above, where the initial design is realized as the house is being built in reality. This happens with us, the Souls in the Worlds of BYA.

Therefore, there is not the smallest component in this world that did not emanate from the World of Infinity, and this defines the condition of all Souls in the initial state. The World of Atzilut emanates from the World of Infinity, which is the personal relationship toward every new component existing in our world. From the World of Atzilut, every new emanation into the three Worlds of BYA unfolds into action, into the Worlds of Yetzira, Assiya and the lowest level in our world, and is revealed as the Creator's attitude toward creation.

Let us understand that there is nothing new existing in this world that did not emanate from the common root in the Creator's World of Infinity, his personal root in the World of Atzilut, that came down into the Worlds of BYA and became the creation by unfolding into our world.

That is to say, if we observe a creature or an action in this world, we should take it as the Creator's act descending from the World of Infinity. In accordance with it, we need to check very well whether we should intervene in the process, or just change our attitude to it. We see that all of man's attempts to change the world lead to deterioration in ecology, to bigger disappointments and suffering. The reason for that lies in our conviction that everything does not descend from the World of Infinity, but depends on our actions.

If the person stops interfering in the surrounding world and only concentrates on his inner work (i.e., on his attitude to the world), he can transform it beyond recognition and elevate his own perception of the world to the state of Infinity and perfection.

By giving up his attempts to change this world mechanically outside himself, but, rather, trying to correct his attitude, his inner sensations,

man truly acts. This is the most efficient means and the greatest power that is given to us in the entire universe. Whatever inner attitude we may have towards the world, our senses cannot perceive the influence of this attitude on the universe. I believe that science will clearly demonstrate it to us in the near future.

Be that as it may, "The Zohar" teaches us that everything descends from the World of Infinity and all that takes place in our world is a consequence of what happens there. By changing our attitude to it, by aspiring to it, by seeing everything as if it is already there, we can reach it.

> *27. At the same time, we need to understand that all the changes that take place in the World of Atzilut have nothing to do with the Creator himself. We are speaking only about Souls, to the extent of their receiving from the World of Atzilut through the three Worlds of BYA. This world corresponds to the World of Infinity just as the mental plan correlates to the initial design. However, these two worlds (the World of Infinity and World of Atzilut) do not contain any Souls yet. As it is in the mental plan of a person, there is no real wood, nor iron pieces, nor bricks.*
>
> *Souls start opening up in the World of Beria. That is why the kelim of the Ten Sefirot, which measure the volume and pace of Souls, are undoubtedly not divine. Rather, they are newly created, because the Upper Light does not contain any changes or quantitative characteristics. That is also why we correlate the kelim of the Ten Sefirot of three Worlds of BYA with the colors red, green and black.*

The Worlds of *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya* are the consequences of the *Sefirot Bina*, *Zeir Anpin*, and *Malchut*. The colors red, green, and black correspond with them, being the results of the Worlds of *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya*.

> *Moreover, it is impossible even to think that they are divine, because the Upper Light does not undergo any changes.*

These are our inner uncorrected or partially corrected properties against the white background of *Atzilut*. Therefore, before man enters the World of *Atzilut* and reaches the property of *Bina* (complete bestowal), nothing of what he attains is considered quite true. Man is already in the spiritual world, but has not yet reached his true, ultimate state.

> *However, the light that is "dressed" in the ten Kelim in Worlds of BYA is a divine, simple unity without any disturbance. Even the light filling the lowest Kli in the World of Assiya is simple divinity without slightest change, because light has only one nature. Any change is made by the Kelim, the Sefirot that are not divine (i.e., do not refer to the Creator) and consequently have the three aforementioned colors (red, green, and black). These three colors form the basis for numerous combinations.*

We (the Souls) receive the light from the Worlds of *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya* through three filters: red, green, and black. The color white of *Atzilut* passes through these three filters and descends to us already tinted. We perceive these colors and their numerous combinations as a complete palette of our sensations. The Hebrew letters originate in the same three *Sefirot*: *Bina*, *Zeir Anpin*, and *Malchut*. The first nine letters from *Aleph* to *Tet* correspond with *Bina*, or the World of *Beria*. The second group of letters, from *Yud* to *Tzadi*, corresponds with *Zeir Anpin*, or the World of *Yetzira*. The last four letters, from *Kuf* to *Tav* originate in *Malchut*, or the World of *Assiya*. In all, the Kabbalistic alphabet comprises twenty-two letters.

> *28. It is obvious that the Kelim of the Ten Sefirot of the Worlds of BYA receive all their parts and details from the World of Atzilut. They exist there as the mental design of all the parts which will be realized in a corresponding order when the Worlds of BYA are built.* Every slightest detail or action had been completely formed in the World of *Atzilut* before it descended to the Worlds of *BYA*.

Baal HaSulam encourages us to stop thinking that our actions can change anything. If we can adopt this truth, our attitude to life and to the world will change. We will stop wasting our energy on something we cannot change, but instead, will start looking for a point with the help of which we can transform the world.

> *According to this, we discern that the Kelim of the Ten Sefirot HuBTuM of the Worlds of BYA receive from the corresponding Kelim HuBTuM of the World of Atzilut; that is, from the mental design. Therefore, any single part, i.e., in the Worlds of BYA, receives from the corresponding Sefirot: Keter, Hochma, Bina, Zeir Anpin, and Malchut of the World of Atzilut.*

> *So, if we discover within ourselves the slightest spiritual detail consisting of Ten Sefirot, we can reach through it the Ten Sefirot of Atzilut because they are directly connected between them. We call the color of the Kelim de Atzilut white, which is not even a color—it is colorless. However, it is the source of all colors.*

All the roots of the Ten *Sefirot* emanate from it, which give us the entire gamut of sensations.

> *Similar to the white color of the pages of a book of wisdom (notwithstanding the fact that nothing can be comprehended through the white color), it is the carrier of everything that is in a book of wisdom. That is why it shines around every letter and inside every letter, giving them their shape and determining a special position of every combination.*

We cannot see the wisdom of the white color of *Atzilut*; it manifests through its luminescence in the Worlds of *Beria, Yetzira, and Assiya*.

> *Similarly, we can say that the material of the letters (red, green, and black) is absolutely unattainable. This is because the material is lifeless. We receive all our attainments and knowledge through the*

material of the book, which is white. The luminescence around and inside letters gives them their shape, which reveals the wisdom of a book to us.

That is to say, on the one hand, we read the letters; while on the other hand, we read the white color around each letter. Only by superposing the two notions of Infinity, by elevating our sensations, our letters, to the level of the World of Infinity, where they merge into a single whole, and the attainment of the true wisdom takes place.

This is the essence of the Ten Sefirot de Atzilut. They are similar to the white color, and nothing can be known of them: neither quantity, nor changes. However, at the same time, the shining of white onto the Worlds of BYA, which are the three colors of letters, creates the Kelim of Ten Sefirot de Atzilut.

29. From the above, one should understand that the splitting of the World of Atzilut into three components, as described in "Corrections to Zohar", are "He, His light and His actions which are one".

If in our present state we feel the universe around us and ourselves in it, we can complement that picture with the Creator and His influence. As a result, we come up with a pretty complex picture. In reality, however, when we ascend to the spiritual world and enter the World of *Atzilut*, the Creator, His influence on us, the universe that we perceive, all merge into a single whole called "the Creator's merging with the creation", endless, limitless, boundless Oneness.

Such merging takes place at the level of the World of *Atzilut* and higher, when *"the Creator, His light, and His actions are one," hence Atzilut emanates the white color in spite of the fact that there exists only a simple unity with nothing from created beings. This is because the Creator means Divinity itself (the property of bestowal), whose essence we do not comprehend. "His actions" constitute the ten Kelim HuBTuM existing in Him, which were likened to*

the color white in a book of wisdom. Even quantity is impossible to discern in the white, for nothing there would make any quantity, as it is all white.

We can characterize neither the Creator nor His actions in the World of *Atzilut*. Therefore, "The Zohar" speaks of nothing from *Atzilut* and above, but only about the Worlds of *BYA*, because otherwise it is impossible to convey the information to us. We will simply be unable to receive it.

> *The matter of the letters begins in the Worlds of BYA. We first find them in the Kelim: Keter, Hochma, Bina, ZA, and Malchut of the World of Atzilut, but only with the help of the color white, which allows for the letter's shape, whereas there is no color in itself. When we ascend to the World of Atzilut through the Worlds of BYA, we see that the color white has a multitude of forms, although it is formless,* that the Creator performs many actions, although in reality he performs none. Various contradictions begin to merge and disappear in this simple unity, in this attainment of perfection.
>
> *The ten Kelim in the World of Atzilut reveal themselves in numerous changes according to their shining in the World of BYA, which is similar to the way a mental design is implemented in reality when a house is built.*
>
> *Thus, all the changes taking place in the Worlds of BYA occur only under the influence of the shining of the Kelim of the Ten Sefirot HuBTuM de Atzilut. Pertaining to those receiving in the Worlds of BYA, we can differentiate all the numerous changes taking place in the color white. As for the World of Atzilut itself, it is just as the color white does not acquire the colors of the letters. Indeed, there is no quantity whatsoever in it.*

We do not attain the white color with the help of other letters, i.e., by means of the worlds *BYA* that superpose the World of *Atzilut*.

We attain nothing, for there is no quantity or action in it, only a simple, unattainable light.

Kabbalah speaks about how we should correct our perception of the surrounding world in order to feel the World of Infinity instead of it. Everything depends on our sensations and correct adaptations to the true reality in place of the illusion, which we feel in our five senses.

We have said that the notion *"the Creator, the light and His actions in the World of Atzilut are one"* does not fall into several categories the way we perceive it in our world. Our world, our actions, the Creator, His actions, - all of this - and we seem to be absolutely disunited. Nevertheless, as we correct our perception of reality, it will merge within one all-embracing Upper Force, which rules over all.

> *30. "His light" refers to the light inside of the white color of Atzilut that are Kelim. This light is understood by us only as it concerns the Souls receiving from the World of Atzilut. However, we do not mean the Divinity per se, which is the mystery of the word "He."*

There exists two notions of light: one refers to the word "He", the other shines out of this category as the color white. It enters the colors red, green, and black of the Worlds of *BYA*, and descends to us, the Souls.

> *That is to say, when the three Worlds of BYA rise up to Atzilut with the Souls of people, the light that they receive there is determined as Ohr Hochma or Ohr Haya. It is also called "this white light."*

Hence, we say that out of the five *Sefirot* (*Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*) *Keter* is colorless, *Hochma* is white (the World of *Atzilut*), while *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut* are red, green, and black respectively. This is how the colors are distributed. In other words, *Hochma* (*Atzilut*) is white, but only with regard to us. However, if we only speak about the color itself, it has no name there at all.

From this point of view, we call this light "His light", as it is written: "He, the light and His actions are one." All three of these components are said to merge above the Parsa of the World of Atzilut into one notion, the Creator. This light never descends below the Parsa de Atzilut. Only its tiny luminescence can do so.

We know that *Ohr Hochma* can only be present in the World of *Atzilut*, but never under the *Parsa*. It only shines below the *Parsa* in order to "tempt" the *Kelim* by its luminescence and attract them to *Atzilut*.

That is why it is impossible to comprehend the World of Atzilut per se. We only perceive it as the white color of a book's page, which serves a basis for printing the letters.

31. The way "The Zohar" describes the Kelim HuBTuM in the World of Atzilut, which increase or decrease as the result of people's actions, means that in the Upper Light itself there is nothing but its simplicity, because no changes are possible in it.

At our lessons, we study the World of *Atzilut*, the Worlds of *BYA*, how the Souls raise their desires to the world *Atzilut* through the Worlds of *BYA*, and how the World of *Atzilut* begins to emanate the light and pull us up to itself. We learn that certain actions take place in the world *Atzilut* under the influence of *MAN*, our desires. That is, by our actions, desires, demands, we can cause changes, developments.

Baal HaSulam says that there is another aid for the correct understanding of "The Zohar." If we disregard it, we will not receive the spiritual information and will fail to understand what is really written in the book. We will be as millions of other people, who kept reading "The Zohar" one generation after another without understanding anything and imagining all kinds of fantastic pictures.

So should what the correct tune-up to "The Zohar" be? The conclusion is that we never affect anything in the World of *Atzilut* with our actions. And as for all the actions that take place in *Atzilut* with regard to

the Souls, it only seems to us that only they happen in *Atzilut* and only with regard to the Souls.

From what we see in this world, where all of our actions take place, we come to believe that the same actions happen in the World of *Atzilut*.

As much as we become worthy of receiving the light in our world, we receive it. When we fall and become unworthy of the light, it disappears. It seems to us that it happens above, in the World of *Atzilut*, the source of the light. In actual fact, it is constantly and unfailingly shining upon us, whereas all the changes occur within us. This is the same delusion as in trying to change the world around us. It stems from the same source: We erroneously believe that all changes take place outside, and not within us. However, everything depends on the person's inner *Kelim*, his sensations.

Therefore, let us repeat: we should perceive the World of *Atzilut* as something constant, invariable. The phenomena that we research as its changes with regard to us (rises, falls, *AVI* and *ZON* ascending and descending in the worlds, *Atik*, *AA*, *AVI*, *YESHSUT*, and *ZON* of the World of *Atzilut, the Partzufim* that change depending on our *MAN*), all of this we perceive within us.

In reality, no changes ever take place in the World of *Atzilut*. It is very important for us to develop a correct attitude to the universe and to receive the information that is contained in "The Book of Zohar." All that is written there aims at generating necessary changes in us. All our efforts should be directed inward, all the changes in our *Kelim* (from our present state up to the World of Infinity: boundless attainment) take place only within us. Such an understanding can save us many years of futile effort, search, and confusion.

32. This is similar to a candle for which it makes no difference whether you light up tens of thousands of other candles from it or none. There will be no change in the candle itself. The same is with

regard to Adam HaRishon. It matters not whether he will father numerous sons like himself or none at all, for there will be no changes in Adam HaRishon himself.

Similarly, there are no changes in the World of Atzilut, whether the lower ones receive immeasurable abundance from it or receive nothing. All of the growing (advancement) concerns only the lower ones, and occurs within them.

33. *However, why do those who have attained the knowledge of "The Zohar", i.e., the great sages who already live in the World of Infinity, need to describe all the changes in the World of Atzilut. Why do they entangle us this way? They have attained it; for them it is their essence, existence, reality. So why do they describe it in such a confusing form? Do they intend to purposely baffle us? Would it not have been better to describe it in relation to receiving in the Worlds of BYA, and not to pile up so many definitions in the World of Atzilut, to which we would have to look for some kind of excuses?*

Baal HaSulam asks the question that should necessarily arise in our mind: "Why is Kabbalah written in this way? It seems to be thoroughly misleading: it tells us of what happens in the Souls as if it takes place in the worlds." Here is how Baal HaSulam answers: "The same occurs in our world. It seems to us that everything happens outside, that is why we describe our reality the way we do." In actual fact, as we begin to attain the spiritual, our perception of the world changes so that we see and feel it as something invariable, static, and gradually dissolving in our spiritual vision. But until we do feel this way, the world looks quite tangible, consisting of numerous real objects, actions, forces. Why is it all so confused?

Baal HaSulam writes:

That has in it a big secret. When Kabbalists mention the word "secret", it means that they wish to reveal something to us. This is because

in our imperfect state we cannot sense the true reality of the World of Infinity. What we feel is our present condition. The difference between our present state and the World of Infinity is called a "secret". This secret was expressed by the prophets, i.e., by the Kabbalists who have reached a certain level of spiritual attainment called "prophecy".

Here is what they say:

This has the manifestation of Divinity, of the Creator's special power, because these images create an impression that they exist outside, although in reality they only exist in the receiving Souls to show them as if the Creator Himself takes part in all the actions together with them. The Soul asks and the Creator responds, moves toward it, while the Soul advances toward Him. Why does the Creator fill the Souls with a sensation as though something happens beyond them? Baal HaSulam answers: *in order to maximally increase the comprehension of the Souls.*

When I feel that apart from my personal aspiration for the spiritual, the spiritual also advances toward me, I perceive the Creator's plan in addition to my own actions. By manifesting Himself to me, the Creator as it were is moving in my direction. In fact, He just reveals His plan to me, which I perceive as movement toward me. Thus, beside my own action, which elevates me to the spiritual world, I also receive an additional part of the Creator's mind. This is a very subtle point. If the person interprets it correctly, he or she begins to understand the Creator's thoughts in each sensation or action.

It is similar to the father who is hiding himself from his favorite little son in grief and in happiness, although he has in him neither grief nor happiness. We imagine the Creator as "Terrifying", "Cruel", "Kind", and "Loving", in all of His possible manifestations, as if He always changes. *He does that only to force his favorite son to widen his understanding, and to play with him. Only when he grows up and becomes wiser will he discover everything that his father did for him, and learn that there was nothing more than necessary for playing with him.*

The same is true with us. In spite of the fact that all of these images and transformations begin and end in the impressions of Souls, this manifestation of the Creator in our perception creates an imaginary picture, as though they all exist within Him. The Creator does that in order to maximally increase the comprehension of the Souls in accordance with the thought of creation, which is "to delight His created beings". In other words, man should acquire the Creator's mind and achieve His level.

> *34. Do not be surprised by the fact that you will find similar examples in the Creator's governance of this material world. Take our vision, for example. When we see the enormous world before us in all its magnificence, we do not see it as it really is, but only as it is perceived within us. That is, in the rear part of our brain, there is some kind of photo camera that draws everything that we see; not what really exists outside us.*
>
> *Moreover, the Creator designed our brain in such a way that, like a special mirror, it creates in us an illusion that everything we see exists outside our brain. Although what we see outside of us is not reality, we should still be grateful that the Creator made this mirror in our brain that allows us to see and to comprehend everything that is outside us. By doing so, He gave us the capacity to learn, to get complete and clear knowledge, to measure every subject inside and outside. But for that, most of our knowledge would have been non-existent.*

Why is this so? By studying ourselves and the outside world and thanks to the difference between these two states we have an opportunity to develop. Therefore, by feeling ourselves and the Creator Who is, as it were, playing and interacting with us, we not only evolve, but also acquire His wisdom, His thoughts.

> *The same is true in relation to Divine wisdom. In spite of all the changes that happen inside of the receiving Souls, they see everything in the Giver. Only in this way are they privileged to receive all knowl-*

edge and all pleasures in the plan of creation. Other than that, judge by the example. Although we practically see everything in front of us, every sensible person knows precisely that everything we see is only inside our brain. The same is true with the Souls. Although they see all images in the Creator, any researcher of the Upper World knows without doubt that everything is only within them, and not in the Giver.

There is a saying in Kabbalah: "I will know You from within myself." The time has come for us to begin adjusting our perception of both inner and outer reality. We need to realize that we exist in the absolutely corrected, perfect world, and that everything that happens around us is a result of our false, inadequate perception. By correcting it, we can also correct the world in which we live, and our existence in it. If we succeed to correct our perception of the world, we will enter the sensation of the Upper Realm and the Creator, and "The Book of Zohar" will show us how we can fill our Souls correctly.

35. The *Torah* laws forbid making any images. They even prohibit depicting nature, let alone people. This is because man should be engaged in creating inner images.

The meaning of the saying is that the Sefira Malchut, which includes all worlds and Souls, and is the root of all the Kelim, creates this picture inside itself.

The picture that we perceive in *Malchut* is the Creator's picture. That is to say, what we see in the surrounding world, in ourselves, and in what we will later see in the Upper Worlds, is basically a projection of the Creator's light on *Malchut*.

The matter does not concern Malchut as it is in its own place, but, rather, the situation when Malchut descends and spreads to the created beings, becomes visible to all of them in accordance with their perception and imagination. In other words, Malchut exists only

with regard to the receivers, and not by itself. This is the correct perception of the universe.

The Creator says: "In spite of the fact that I appear to you in your properties, i.e., in your perception and imagination, who are you going to compare Me with?" Indeed, before the Creator created the picture of the world and gave it a form, He was the only one that existed in the world without any form or image.

The person who attains the Creator in this world perceives Him as some image. In the Worlds of *Assiya*, *Yetzira*, and *Beria* we always attain His images, i.e., various forms of His manifestation in us. Afterwards, as we rise from the Worlds of *BYA* to the World of *Atzilut* and elevate the entire universe with us, we become a part of the Upper simple light.

That is why all hints that are contained in the letters, dots, or holy names are nothing but imprints of our Kelim in the Creator's simple light.

This happens because the Soul consists of 613 *Kelim*, which we have to correct. Of them, 248 comprise our properties of bestowal (*Galgalta ve Eynaim*), and 365 constitute our properties of reception (AHP). All of them can be subdivided into five parts in accordance with the Creator's ineffable Name. He projects Himself onto us in such a way that the four letters of His Name form a four-phase superposition on our 613 properties. Hence, it turns out that in whatever world or on whatever level I may be, I always expose my Malchut to the Creator's projected image. This is why man is always called "Adam", whether in the World of *Assiya*, *Yetzira*, or *Beria*. This is a kind of the Creator's prototype, which exists on the level where one can project His image on himself.

36. *At first glance, we might find a contradiction in what was said above. Earlier it was said that all the forms emanate only from the Sefira Malchut to the receivers; whereas here it is said that they come from Beria (Bina) and below.*

In reality, forms and images come only from Behina Dalet, which is Malchut. All the Kelim come not from the first Ten Sefirot - Keter, Hochma, Bina, and Tifferet - but from Malchut. However, the properties of mercy and restriction interacted in the World of correction. This means that Sefira Malchut (of restriction) ascended, and made its way into Sefira Bina (the property of mercy).

In accordance with that, from this moment on, the Kelim of Malchut became rooted in Sefira Bina. Thus, the Zohar says that the genuine roots of images (Kelim) are in Malchut. But after that, it says they are in the World of Beria, which means it results from the interaction made for the correction of the world.

In addition, the sages said: "Originally, the Creator created the world based on the property of judgment, but saw that the world could not exist, so He made his interaction with mercy". You should know that the Ten Sefirot KaHaBTuM have many names in the book of Zohar in accordance with their numerous functions.

When they are called "Keter-Atzilut-Beria-Yetzira-Assiya" their task is to distinguish between the Kelim "de Panim" that are called "Keter-Atzilut" (Keter- Hochma), and the Kelim "de Achoraim" called Beria-Yetzira-Assiya" (Bina-Tifferet-Malchut). Such a division results from the interaction between the properties of judgment and mercy.

Since the Zohar hints at the interaction between Malchut and Bina, the Sefira Bina is called "Beria." Before this interaction happened, Bina had neither form nor image, even in relation to receivers.

37. *So it continues: "...but after He had given this form to the structure of "Adam Elion", He descended and "dressed" in it. He is called HaVaYaH, which means the Ten Sefirot KaHaBTuM because the tip of letter "Yud" is Keter, "Yud" is Hochma, "Hey" is Bina, "Vav"*

is Tifferet, and last letter "Hey" is Malchut. This was done so that the Creator could be attained through His properties, Sefirot.

38. Here is an explanation of what was said above. After her interaction with the restrictive properties of Malchut, from Beria (Bina) and below, images and forms descend to the Souls. It happens not in its place, but only where the receivers are.

It is said: "He gave a form to the structure "Adam Elion", and came down and "dressed" into this man's form." Thus, man's form consists of 613 Kelim resulting from the Kelim of a Soul. Since a Soul had 613 spiritual Kelim that are called "248 organs and 365 tendons, it is subdivided into five parts in accordance with 4 letters of HaVaYaH:

- *Tip of the letter "Yud", her Rosh is Keter:*
- *From Peh to Chazeh is Hochma;*
- *From Chazeh to Tabur is Bina;*
- *From Tabur to Sium Raglin there are two Sefirot: Tifferet and Malchut.*

The Torah describes the Partzuf Adam, which represents the 248 affirmative commandments corresponding with "248 organs" and 365 negative commandments corresponding with "365 tendons." It has five parts – the five books of Torah. This is called "the image of Adam Elion", which means that Adam, in the World of Beria (Bina), where the Kelim start and continue to places where the Souls are. This is called "Adam Elion" for there are three Adamic properties in the Sefirot:

- *Adam de Beria;*
- *Adam de Yetzira;*
- *Adam de Assiya.*

However, Keter and Hochma do not have any image that can be related to any dotted letter or the four letters of HaVaYaH. Since the matter concerns the World of Beria, it is confirmed: "Adam Elion".

Always remember that the Zohar says there are no images in the place of Sefirot Bina and Malchut, only in the receivers' place. Since all these Sefirot give the Kelim garments for the Souls to attain the Creator with the help of light descending to them within certain limits in accordance with their 613 organs, we call givers "Adam" as well. However, they are the color white there.

39. *It should not be difficult for you to understand because all four letters of HaVaYaH and the tip of the letter "Yud" are the five Kelim that are always called "letters", which refer to the five Sefirot KaHaBTuM. The tip of the letter "Yud" and the letter "Yud" in the name of HaVaYaH hint at the presence of the Kelim in Keter and Hochma.*

The fact is that when it is said that "images" and "properties" representing Kelim that begin from the World of Beria and below, the matter only concerns the three Sefirot Bina, Tifferet, and Malchut, but not Keter and Hochma, from the point of essence of the Sefirot.

However, you should know that Sefirot are included in each other. There are Ten Sefirot KaHaBTuM in Keter, Hochma, Bina, Tifferet, and in Malchut. In accordance with that, we find that each of the five Sefirot KaHaBTuM has three Sefirot: Bina, Tifferet and Malchut from which Kelim originate.

From that, you need to understand that the tip of the letter "Yud" which refers to the Kelim of Keter, points to Bina and TuM that are included in Keter. The letter "Hey" of the name HaVaYaH that represents the Kli Hochma, points to Bina and TuM that are included in Hochma. Thus, both Keter and Hochma, included even

in Bina and ZON, have no Kelim, while Bina and TUM, included even Keter and Hochma, have Kelim in them.

From that perspective, Adam really consists of five parts. This is because Bina and TuM perform an act of bestowal in each of the five Sefirot, which is concealed in the name "Merkava de Adam." In accordance with that:

- *Adam on level Keter is called "Adam Kadmon,"*
- *Adam on level Hochma is called "Adam de-Atzilut,"*
- *Adam on level Bina is called "Adam de-Beria,"*
- *Adam on level Tifferet is called "Adam de-Yetzira,"*
- *Adam on level Malchut is called "Adam de-Assiya".*

40. There are ten Names of the Creator, which are correspondingly imprinted on our ten basic properties – Sefirot.

- *Sefira Keter is called Ekie;*
- *Sefira Hochma is called Yud-Key;*
- *Sefira Bina is called HaVaYaH;*
- *Sefira Hesed is called El;*
- *Sefira Gevura is called Elokim;*
- *Sefira Tifferet is called HaVaYaH (simple one, different from Bina);*

Since Tifferet and Bina are on the middle line, they resemble one another; therefore they are designated by the same name, albeit it is spelled differently.

- *Two Sefirot – Netzah and Hod are called Tzvaot;*
- *Sefira Yesod is called Chai;*
- *Sefira Malchut is called Adni.*

There is no need to memorize these names; later on we will understand how they originated. We are speaking about the ten none erasable Names. They are called none erasable because if the scribe who writes

the Torah scroll makes a mistake in one of them, the entire segment must be destroyed; it is forbidden to correct such mistakes.

What does that mean in our world? Man cannot perceive the world's picture correctly, unless his Ten *Sefirot* are properly attuned. As with a violin, one can play it only if its strings are properly tuned up. Thus, they form a certain interrelation with one another, each one of them being in its standard, correct state.

Similarly, if at least one of the Creator's Names resonates in us incorrectly, i.e., one of our properties will not be completely similar to His, we will not be able to perceive His manifestation. That is to say, being made up of Ten *Sefirot*, we perceive the Creator's action in ten of His emanations.

At the same time, when we attain all Ten *Sefirot* and completely fill them with the Creator's image, an amazing phenomenon occurs. All Ten *Sefirot* merge, the boundaries between them disappear, and they form the general, Infinite, white light of *Atzilut*, where we ascend upon attaining all the levels of the Worlds of *BYA*.

This is what Baal HaSulam writes in his "Preface to the Book of Zohar". This "Preface" deals with the limitations, which exist between us and our perceived reality. All that we experience within us is only perceived in our egoistic *Kelim* to the extent of their correction. If our properties coincide with those of the Creator, we will be able to understand and sense Him better and better. It is the same as when a radio receiver picks a certain outside wave only because its own wave contour is identical to the outer wave.

In other words, only our equivalence of form with the Creator will enable us to enter the true universe and exist in it. At the beginning, we need to do it in our 613 *Kelim*, subsequently felt as Ten *Sefirot*. Afterwards, they are felt as a single whole, the Creator's general manifestation regarding *Malchut*. When *Malchut* finally becomes similar to the Creator,

it completely merges with the light in its nine first *Sefirot*. All images fade and disappear, whereas we become one with the Infinite, white light.

41. Unless the Creator's light spreads onto all created beings by way of filling these holy Sefirot, how can the creatures be honored to know Him, and to fulfill the following: "The earth will be filled with knowledge of the Creator?"

An explanation is that the Creator tricks the Souls into believing that all the changes in the Sefirot happen in Him. The purpose of that was for the Souls to get to know and comprehend Him. Thus, the saying, "The earth will be filled with knowledge of the Creator" is going to be realized.

42. And woe to them who compare the Creator with any kind of measure, or say that this measure is in the Creator, even if it is a spiritual measure which appears to the Souls. This is especially so if it is a material measure that stems from mortal human nature, whose foundation is dust.

Although the Souls perceive all the changes that occur in them as taking place in the Giver, it should be clear to them that there are neither changes nor measures in Him. He is Divine, and it only seems to them, as it is said: "I am similar to what prophets have said."

Woe to them who err, because they will immediately lose their divine abundance, let alone the fools who see Him as an embodiment in flesh and blood, transient and flawed.

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF ZOHAR

This Introduction is one of four explanations that Baal HaSulam wrote for the "Book of Zohar" to furnish a person with an outlook on evolution, to show where this book leads, and to what goals and heights it should elevate him. In this book, Baal HaSulam researches the deepest layers of the universe. He tries to explain the properties of our reality, to unveil its depth and the extent of our comprehension of it. He tells us how we can change it and ascend to a different, Upper Reality.

Most importantly, this Introduction speaks about our active part in this process. It is very good and commendable to be simply studying Kabbalah. Yet, can we change anything with the help of this knowledge? This is where the study should lead us. This is the only aspect of Kabbalah that should interest us.

"Introduction to the Book of Zohar" is a very deep, summarizing text. While "Introduction to the Study of the Ten *Sefirot*" speaks of the person's path and the levels he ascends on his way to the Goal, this composition is an immersion into the universe. As a submarine dives into the ocean, so does the Zohar descend with us to the unimaginable depths of reality.

As the article, "The Essence of the Wisdom of Kabbalah" says, the task of Kabbalah is to reveal the Creator to the person. The Creator created man and conceals Himself to let him rise to His level. Otherwise, we would feel no need to reach out to Him, to grow and become similar to Him. The Creator is like a loving mother who teaches her child to

walk. She places him on his feet, and then moves slightly away to compel the child to make a few steps towards her. She then moves farther away to encourage him to make a few more steps and so on. This is how our children grow, and we are supposed to grow in the same way with regard to the Creator. We should always perceive His concealment as an appeal to get closer to Him.

The book of Zohar expounds the profound processes that unfold in us while we gradually reveal the Creator. This is called ascending the ladder of the spiritual worlds. Kabbalah tells the person what he sees and feels while gradually ascending this ladder of similarity to the Creator. He can only be revealed to the extent of our equivalence with Him; the more likeness there is between He and I, the better I can feel Him. Therefore, it turns out that to be similar to the Creator is the same as to feel or reveal Him.

> *1. In this introduction, my wish is to clarify issues that seem simple at first. Everyone has tried to explain these issues, and much ink has been spilled in these efforts* (throughout the history of humankind). *Yet to this day, we have not reached a clear enough knowledge in these matters.*
>
> *The questions are as follows:*

Both ancient and modern philosophers and scientists have been puzzled by them.

What questions are these? They are fundamental and critical to our essence and existence.

> *First question:*
>
> *What is our essence?*

Who are we? Are we animals or are we human? Are we intelligent beings? Do we exist or only imagine that we exist? It is quite possible that we are completely different than we imagine. In fact, when we look at

any other small animal, such as a dog or a kitten, our impression about it, about its nature, is completely different.

How can we objectively see ourselves as though we are looking from outside? What does it mean to see from the outside? Starting from where can we imagine ourselves? The question about our essence consists of many conditions.

Second question:

What is our part in the long chain of reality, of which we are but small links?

We can see that we have gone through some states. This world has gone through some states with or without our involvement. Alternatively, perhaps it exists by itself; or we somehow exist in it. Nevertheless, we see everything from the perspective of historic consequence, the cause and effect chain of reality.

Do we play any role? This chain exists for a reason, and so do we. Do we exist parallel to the chain or inside of it? Do we determine the development of this chain and its consequences? Can we influence reality or do anything about it? What is our role? The answer to these questions includes knowledge of all potential development, cause and effect, beginning and end, all the processes, all the intermediate levels, and knowledge about our potential impact in this process.

Third question:

When we look at ourselves, we feel that we are so spoiled and low that no one is more despicable than we are.

Baal HaSulam addresses here the particular inner attainment in which we can actually perceive ourselves. We can feel our insignificance and meanness with the help of the descending Surrounding Light, the *Ohr Makif*, in direct proportion with the descending Upper Light. If we

genuinely attract it with the help of the group and serious study, the Upper Light demonstrates to us the insignificance of our essence.

> *What is the actual matter here? The matter is that, in addition to the animal essence, we have something that is above animal existence. This something is called our egoism. It is based on our aspirations to wealth, honor, fame, power, and knowledge. Animals do not have these aspirations. This is called "Kina", "Ta'avah", and "Kavod" – envy, inclination to pleasures, and aspiration to honor. These aspirations bring a person to a level above the animal. Since they are above animal qualities, these aspirations and qualities are praiseworthy. On the other hand, their common natural utilization puts us below all other levels.*

Therefore, Baal HaSulam says:

> *When we look at ourselves, we feel that we are so spoiled and low that no one is more despicable than we are.*

Animals kill other animals because it is integrated in them at the level of instinct. A lion kills only in order to fulfill his small desire to be sated. However, egoism in humans is so much higher than for its own sake; humans want to destroy everyone. Consequently, the additional egoism that elevates us above animals actually makes us lower than animals.

> *However, if we look at the One who created us, we would think that we were supposed to have become the crown of everything, higher than everything, because an excellent Creator should only perform excellent actions.*

Baal HaSulam tells us here about people who can roughly imagine what the Creator, Perfection, and a desire to bestow mean.

Yet, how did it happen that a perfect Creator created such a mean being that is so much meaner than the rest? What is He like, if He is perfect? Additionally, are we perfect or imperfect? We have observed from Universal laws that imperfection does not emanate from perfection.

Fourth question:

Our mind makes us acknowledge the Creator's absolute kindness and that He only performs kindness, so that there is nothing higher than He.

Fundamentally, our mind does not agree to that. Many believe that the world is governed by a single "evil force". Kabbalists tell us about the essence of the Creator. They are on a different level of attainment. Baal HaSulam provokes us with questions that have not yet materialized for us. Nevertheless, they have been already resolved for him.

Hence, he offsets what he conceived on the upper, perfect level to our imperfect condition. He does this from the foundation of these two points where the first point is he being at the state of the Creator and another point is we at our current state. He demonstrates a difference between these states that are called questions. All our questions come from discrepancies and oppositions to his state. So he says:

Our mind makes us acknowledge (from its perception) *the fact that the Creator is all kind and performs only kindness, so that there is nothing higher than He. However, how could He create so many forms which, from the very beginning, are destined to spend all the days of their existence in suffering and grief?* (Now he is asking at our level). *If that was not done in kindness, could it at least have been done with less evil* (He created us)*?!*

Why did He create us to harm? In addition, why, even now when we are just beginning to study the path we must take in order to reach the Purpose of creation, do we see that every step of the way consists of continuous falling and rising, that the lower the falling, the higher the rising?

Nothing is comprehended unless a *Kli* has been comprehended first, a suffering, and feeling of worthlessness, inferiority, depression, emptiness, opposition to the Creator. Only then, follow the revelation of the Creator and unification with Him.

Why should it all be done this way? Why were we created inferior? Why should we comprehend perfection from our inferior state?

Fifth question:

How could insignificant, temporary, and impure forms come from the Infinite, something without beginning or end (our "final state", as conceived by Baal HaSulam)*?*

How can this be? The fifth question appears similar to the third one. He states that, "*When we look at ourselves, we feel that we are so spoiled and low that no one is more despicable than we are. If we look at the One who created us, we would think that we were supposed to have become the crown of everything, higher than everything, because an excellent Creator should only perform excellent actions.*"

Here he says something similar: *When we look at ourselves, we feel that we are so spoiled and low that no one is more despicable than we are.*

The five questions that he addresses here concern our state with regard to the Creator's. These questions can only be raised and cleared up by someone at His level as compared to ours. Baal HaSulam tells us about the discrepancies between these two levels. He wishes to explain to us why it is necessary to have this difference and how we may reach perfection. This is our challenge, to conceive where we are, where the Creator is, and how to overcome this chasm between us.

Why does he raise these questions? In this Introduction, he partially explains it, but actually, he raises these questions in order to comprehend them. During these lessons, we will discover that not only must we understand these questions while studying this Introduction, but also actualize them within ourselves and subsequently use them to climb to the level where we need to be. That is why we need to study the book of Zohar. Hence, he uses this explanation in his Introduction to this book.

2. In order to comprehensively clear all this up, in advance, we have to carry out certain studies where the subject is not a "forbidden area", meaning, the essence of the Creator. This can in no way be comprehended by our mind; hence, we have neither thought nor concept of Him. The compulsory field of research is the study of the Creator's actions.

In general, we can understand the questions: "What is the Essence?", "What is our role in a chain of reality?", and "Why are we defective, while the Creator is perfect?" and so on. So, for what do we need preliminary studies?

We need them to understand these questions accurately. In other words, we should approach them in a different way, for it is said, *"Many people (in the course of history) have attempted to disclose these questions, and much ink has been spilled"*. Yet in the end, the questions have remained unanswered.

How can we resolve these questions, find the answers, and actually become fully aware of them within ourselves? In order to look at these questions and correctly move towards their realization, it is necessary to put us in an unambiguous position with regard to them. This is what Baal HaSulam does in his studies. He says:

In order to clear all this up comprehensively, in advance, we need to make some preliminary inquiries, where the subject is not a "forbidden area", i.e., the essence of the Creator... Why is it forbidden for us to study the essence of the Creator? Further, he answers this: *...which can in no way be comprehended by our mind.*

Since we cannot comprehend the Creator's essence, we should not study it. This is unattainable for us at our current level of development. Therefore, the only thing we should do is study all that we can possibly comprehend. Moreover, perhaps, if we study what we are able to attain, we will approach the incomprehensible area, the essence of the Creator.

> Here he says: *... the Creator's essence, which can in no way be comprehended by our mind, hence we have no thought and concept about Him...and the compulsory field of research (i.e., the Creator's instruction), is the study of the Creator's actions. As we are told, "Know the Creator and serve Him"*.

If I attain Him, His actions, and His instructions, I will be adapting the correction internally. I will place myself in likeness to Him and this will be called "I perceive His actions and serve Him", work "for the sake of Creator".

It is also said, "*By Your actions I will know You*".

I will attain Him by adapting my actions to His and by becoming similar to Him. If I begin my exploration of Him straightforwardly, this will be called "philosophy." I will not achieve anything this way. I can only comprehend and attain the Creator if I become similar to Him, and then all those conditions and qualities that exist in Him will be formed in me. Subsequently, I will be able to understand His intentions, something that precedes His qualities and actions. From the *Guf* (body) of the *Partzuf* I will rise to its *Rosh* (head).

If I make my body, i.e., all of my desires, similar to all of the Creator's actions, then the inner body of my soul, my desires, the body of the *Partzuf* will be formed. The *Toch* (inner part) or *Sof* (end) of the *Partzuf* will be similar to the Creator's influence on me. This is called "nine of my reversed *Sefirot* become similar to nine of His direct *Sefirot*". It allows me to reach complete balance with the Creator and to grasp His thoughts, the *Rosh* of the *Partzuf*.

Thus we can come to an understanding of the Creator. If the person specifically acts in this manner, he reveals in his study the opportunity to ascend from the level of the creation to the level of the Creator. If we are willing to do this, what kind of inquiries should we make?

First Inquiry:

How can we see creation as something newly formed, something new, something that did not exist in the Creator before it was formed. How can anyone in his right mind understand that there is nothing that was not in the Creator? Simple common sense makes us acknowledge that. One cannot give if he does not have that which he is giving.

If the Creator creates something, it has to be within Him in some form. How can it be that something suddenly appeared from nothing, out of nowhere? What does it mean "out of nowhere"? Has He thought of this? Has He made any plans? What has induced Him to this? From where has he taken the material – thoughts, feelings, and actions to make the creation? Was there a point in Him from which it all began? How can it be if there was nothing within Him, no starting point? Should not there be a beginning? If so, how is it possible to imagine that we appeared not from Him, but from nothing?

I recommend that you stop and try to remember all I say. Do not make an inner effort to adapt the material and put everything within you on the right shelves. Please do not do this!

You should take it easy or it will not enter you. There is no need to be tense; study it freely, with love. Do not attempt to memorize anything! We cannot possibly remember anything of what we learn.

Suddenly we feel that we can only understand something new if it penetrates us from within, becomes our nature. Do not imitate the philosophers who have "spilled much ink" for thousands of years. Nothing has come out of it!

We should reproduce all of these actions within ourselves. When they become our inner properties, we will know, feel, and see it all. Otherwise, our useless attempts to sort this data will fail.

While studying try to concentrate on what we wish to achieve, where we want to be. The most important thing is not to know, but to at-

tract the light of correction, which would elevate us to these states. This is what we should be thinking about during our lessons.

By aspiring to one goal, we try to draw on ourselves the Surrounding light. To this end, we read what the author wrote while being on the high level of attainment where he is merged with the Creator. He wrote his books not to enlighten poor philosophers or us. He instructs us to "know the Creator and serve Him", to adapt His actions in ourselves and become similar to Him. The result will be as King David says, "By Your actions I will know You". This is where our focus must be. So let us stop racking our brains in vain and try activating our hearts, and most importantly the point in them.

Second Inquiry:

Can you say that, from the aspect of the Creator's almightiness, He certainly can create something from nothing, meaning something new that is not in Him?

If we say that He can do everything, then of course, He can create something from nothing, meaning something new, which is not in Him at all. Then the question arises, what kind of reality can we refer to as having no place in the Creator, but is a new formation?

Suppose that we accept our first inquiry as an axiom: yes, the Creator has created something from nothing. We are yet to come to this conclusion, but for now let us admit that we have already accomplished it. In that case, He has created something that is completely not within Him.

Then the question arises, what kind of reality can we refer to as having no place in the Creator, but is a new formation?

So what was it that the Creator decided to create, something that is not within Him and in which He felt the sudden need? Does it not follow that there is an absence of perfection in Him? That something was

missing, and now this something is in demand? Alternatively, if He was perfect before and afterwards, why has He made something new? If this is so, obviously this new "creation" has nothing to do with perfection.

Third Inquiry:

The Kabbalists say that the human soul is a part of the Creator. Therefore, there is no difference between Him and the soul.

There is a person within whom there is an animal soul, a vital force that sustains alike both animals and us. Besides this, we have a tiny particle of the Creator Himself. The soul is within us, but it is a small part from Above. When it is above, it is a small particle; when it is within us, it is already a soul.

The difference is that He is the "whole" and the soul is a "part". This resembles a stone carved from a rock. There is no difference between the stone and the rock except that the rock is a "whole" and the stone is a "part". Thus, we must ask: Although a stone carved from the rock is separated from it by an axe made for that purpose, causing the separation of the "part" from the "whole", how can one imagine that the Creator separates a part from His essence to become detached from Him, meaning a soul, to the point that it can only be understood as part of His essence?

An Axe is a *Kli*, a tool, a material force that splits a "part" from the "whole".

So what is the spiritual axe that cuts a part from the whole? Why does the carved off part remain unchanged with the same properties that are in the Creator? Does the Creator suffer form this process? A piece was cut from Him! Was that part of his perfection reduced? Is it possible that He became imperfect? Does He lack anything? What is the connection between a part (a soul) separated from the Creator and the Creator Himself? Alternatively, is this part completely detached from Him?

3. Fourth Inquiry:

Since the system of impure forces and the Klipot are so far from the Creator's purity that nothing farther remote can be conceived, how can they be emanated from the Creator, much less sustained by Him?

The Kabbalists wish to make our life easier, so they tell us everything in advance. In addition to the usual questions they ask many others, which we would never think of. Here Baal HaSulam speaks about the system of impure forces (*Klipot*) that are absolutely opposite to the Creator. He gives birth to this system of impure worlds and constantly sustains it with His purity. What connection can exist between them if they are opposite?

We say that if spiritual properties are opposite, there can be no contact between them. If they adjoin each other in some point, it means that they have one quality in which they are similar and join.

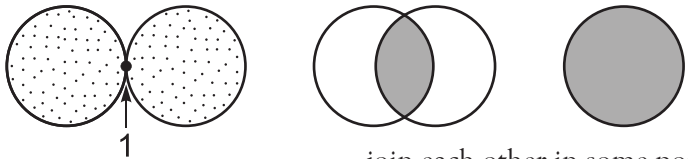

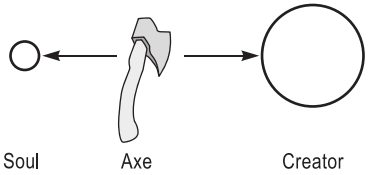

If they are partially superimposed, it means that some of their qualities are similar to each other. If they completely overlap, they are equivalent. The creation is initially opposite to the Creator and separated from Him.

This is what happens with impure forces. There is the Creator and the *Klipot*.

Klipot are born and sustained by the Creator, whereas in fact they are completely separated from each other. How can this be? The Creator creates and sustains *Klipot* while at the same time being completely sepa-

rated from them. This question demands an explanation.

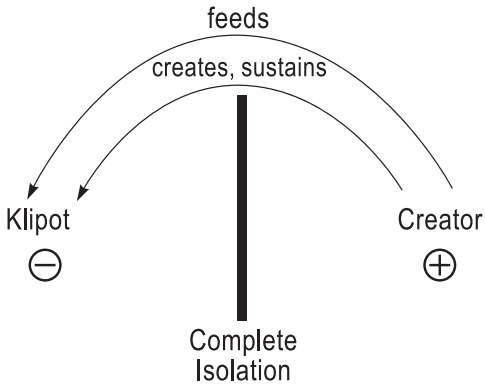

Fifth Inquiry refers to the *"resurrection of the dead"*.

Baal HaSulam says there is a state called "resurrection of the dead". We should agree upon definitions: by "the soul", we mean bestowal or the intention of bestowal. By "the body", we mean the *Guf* of the *Partzuf* or desire. By "resurrection of the dead", we mean rising of the dead bodies (desires).

> *Since the body is so despicable, it is doomed to perish and to be buried.*

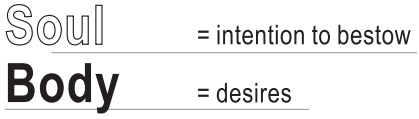

What does it mean, "doomed to perish" and "to be buried"? By the body, we mean desires from the moment of birth, because they have egoistical intentions. "Doomed to perish," means to be completely cut off from the light, become dead. The person considers his "desires with egoistic intentions" to be dead. He is neither able nor willing to use them, wants to bury them. After that, the desires go through corrections, i.e., the intention for one's own sake (which is the intention of the *Klipot*) is transformed into the intention for the sake of the Creator, for the sake of bestowal. This process is called a resurrection of the dead bodies.

The body (of desires) does not change. Only the intention does. The body itself is neutral. There is the egoistical intention "for one's own sake" or the screen that generates *Ohr Hozer* (Reflected light), the intention "for the sake of the Creator". The intention "for one's own

sake" is called *Klipa*. The intention "for the sake of the Creator" is called *Kedusha*. We need to come to the point when the intention "for one's own sake" will be dead in us. If we achieve the intention "for the sake of the Creator", that will be the resurrection.

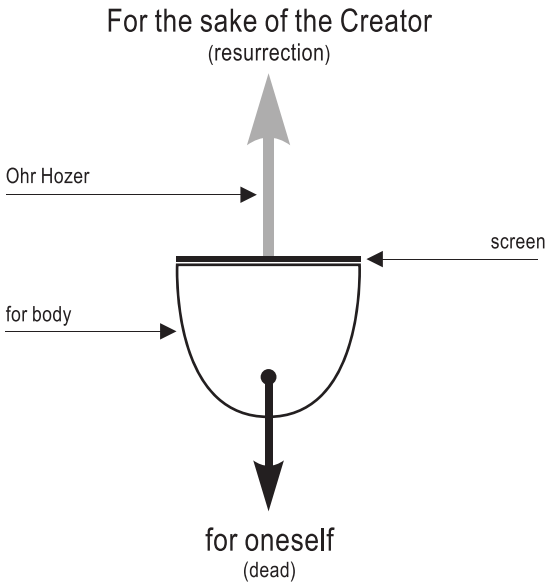

Let us look at what Baal HaSulam writes. While reading the text without commentaries, one may think of fairy tales about the resurrection of dead bodies that arise from the graves and wander around.

Why then does the body return and rise at the "resurrection of the dead"? Could the Creator not delight the souls without it?

Baal HaSulam's question concerns neither the body nor the soul, but rather the reason why we have to go through all these transformations. Why do we have to stay in *Klipot* until we consider them dead and bury them, until they are completely decomposed? We can use the body (desire) and start working on this desire "for the sake of the Creator" only after we free ourselves from the egoistical intention.

Let us suppose that I have a desire with initially egoistic intentions, everything for my own sake. This is my first state. My second state is when under the influence of the Higher Light that I draw upon myself by reading Kabbalistic texts, these desires begin to gradually leave me. I begin to feel my condition as evil and it slowly comes out of me. I sense that they (desires) are dying and reach the condition when I am com-

pletely free of them. On my next level, I begin to adopt the Creator's properties and aspire to Him. This is called resurrection of the body.

By "the body" we always mean the desire. It remains the same; nothing happens to it, only the intention changes. The body always consists of the same desires. I always have 620 desires in my body.

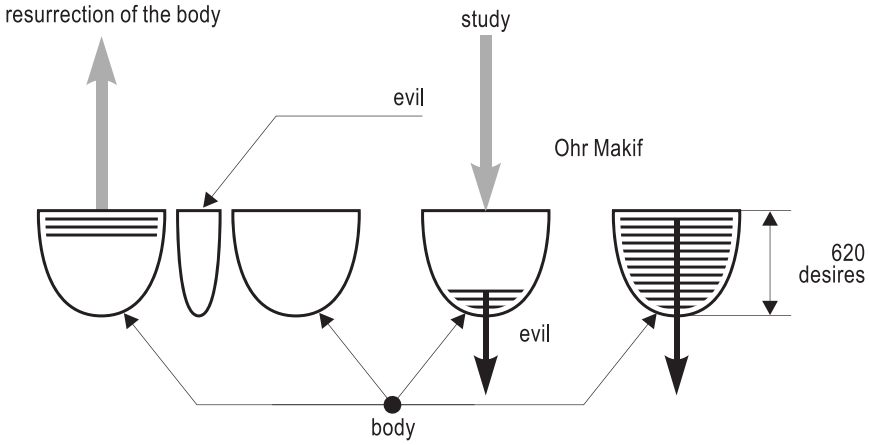

By and large, we can easily understand this. The question always arises about another matter. Why are we bound to receive bad intentions "for our own sake" to begin with? Why should we see them as bad, and then wish to be completely free of them and finally begin to acquire good intentions?

Baal HaSulam says:

Why then does the body return and rise at the "resurrection of the dead"? Could the Creator not delight the souls without it?

Why can we not receive good properties from the beginning and be one with the Creator at once? Why do we have to discover Him through bad properties?

Furthermore, the Zohar says that before the body rots entirely, the soul cannot ascend to its place in Heaven, while there are still remnants of it. That is until all intentions "for one's own sake" disappear; the soul will not be resurrected and merged with the Creator in the similarity of properties.

> *Even more bewildering is what our sages said of the dead bodies that are destined to rise with their flaws, so that they will not be mistaken for others.*

Although we say that the bodies, desires, death, and resurrection refer to intentions, one still finds it extremely difficult to perceive it correctly.

There arises a question: Why should we go through it all? Mortification of our intentions seems clear enough. Transformation of the intention "for one's own sake" into the intention "for the sake of the Creator" is clear too. The problem is different: unless the bodies remain in their flaws, we will not be able to make them similar to the Creator.

> *The Creator will then cure their flaws. We ought to understand why it is important to Him that they will not be mistaken for other bodies...*

Someone should know if the body is different or not; only after that will the Creator correct and revives it. When we reach the stage called "resurrection of the dead bodies" (our dead desires), we clearly understand that this is our body and nothing has changed in it except one thing: the realization that we rid ourselves from our past intentions and now we wish to obtain the intention for the sake of the Creator. As it is said, the Creator then cures their flaws.

> *We ought to understand why it is so important to the Creator that they will not be mistaken for other bodies that he would recreate their flaws and then cure them.*

Besides the resurrection of the body, there should be a realization of flaws. When they are dead and we have none of them left in us, we

should then retrieve them, have them manifest within us in order to give each of them up and correct it.

What does this process look like?

I initially have egoistical intentions, on which I perform a *Tzimtzum* (Restriction). I have no desire to be in any way connected with them. I get rid of them and remain empty. After the *Tzimtzum*, how can I correct them in me?

After I buried all of these dead intentions and they decomposed completely I now begin to resurrect them. I have gained strength and acquired a screen. While excavating each of my egoistical intentions from the ground I say: "Here is my true original property – the intention for my own sake. Now I will transform this intention "for my own sake" into the intention "for the sake of the Creator".

In other words, my egoistical intention comes back to life, and I correct it into a positive one, because I need to make a *Tzimtzum* on the way.

Previously all of my past intentions were 100% negative, so I eliminate them. I remain empty, i.e., I stop using any of my intentions, and let them "decay". I then resurrect them. In what form? I revive them in a negative form, although not the entire 100%. I correct just 1%, and gradually reach 100%.

1. 100% → realization of evil
2. emptiness → TA + screen
3. resurrection → from 1 to 100%
4. correction

1 – I come to the realization of evil;

2 – I remain empty, perform *Tzimtzum Aleph*.

The person must go through these stages. Resurrection of the dead should take place in him after he executed *Tzimtzum* and obtained the screen.

Let us read it again.

> *Fifth Inquiry* refers to the *"resurrection of the dead". Since the body is so despicable, it is doomed to perish and to be buried.*

This includes a complete realization of evil, of my primordial egoistical desires.

> *Why then does the body return and rise at the "resurrection of the dead"* (after I buried it and it remained empty)*? Could the Creator not delight the souls without it?*

No, He cannot.

Furthermore, the Zohar says that before the body rots entirely (until all of my desires die and rot in the ground), *the soul cannot ascend to its place in Heaven, while there are still remnants of it* (I will not be able to fill myself with the light).

> *Even more bewildering is what our sages said of the dead bodies that are destined to rise with their flaws…*

Why should I revive all of my negative desires? This seemingly returns me to my negative properties.

… so that they will not be mistaken for others. I should admit that all of them are my natural properties.

The Creator will then cure their flaws. I should realize that I would never be able to cure these flaws by myself. They can only be cured if I realize them as evil and ask the Creator for a remedy.

We ought to understand why it is so important to the Creator that they will not be mistaken for other bodies that he would recreate their flaws and then cure them (why should these desires be the same as before?).

We should comprehend the resurrection of the dead in this manner alone, and the way it should be realized.

Therefore, little by little we become accustomed to Baal HaSulam's writings and try to understand the flow of his thoughts. We just need to absorb all that we read. It does not matter how much of it we comprehend. We simply wish to be close to him. To the extent of our desire, the light will descend upon us from the level on which he explains it all.

Our will to be on that level is called "understanding", "attainment". While studying "The Introduction to the Study of the Ten *Sefirot*", we read the well-known paragraph 155. It says, "The *Ohr Makif* shines upon the person who wants to attain the higher level. Such an attainment can only be achieved if we ascend to it and become a part of that level".

When we speak about spiritual forms, objects, conditions, actions and states, let us try to be on that level, and not on the level of this world. Leave your "head" in this world. You should simply try to rise there with your desire. This effort will stimulate the emanation, the release of the Higher Light that will elevate us there. One must learn to work with the heart, not with the head.

Sixth Inquiry

Our sages said that man is the center of reality, that the Upper Worlds and this corporeal world and everything in them were not created but for him (The Zohar, Tazriya, 40).

Man is in the center of the universe.

[The Kabbalists] obliged man to believe that the world had been created for him (Sanhedrin, 37). It is seemingly hard to grasp, that for this small human...

By his material size, and by his power in this world, in this universe, man is utterly insignificant. Whatever level we take (vegetative, animal or human), he does not represent something special. In comparison with his poor nature, he is more selfish and evil. So what is his advantage?

Moreover, for what does he need this entire Universe?

Concerning man's value in comparison with the Universe, Baal HaSulam says:

> *He who grasps no more than a wisp of this world's reality, much less of the Upper Worlds, whose height is immeasurable, the Creator troubled Himself to create all this for him. Yet why would man want all that?*

Vast, endless galaxies and spiritual worlds: why is all of this necessary? If it is made for man, at some point he has to use it, manage it, and somehow establish contact with it. However, where is he on this Earth with its various cataclysms? Where is he in our small (compared to others) galaxy, in this entire infinite universe? If we take our entire universe, our world in comparison with Upper Worlds, it is a tiny disappearing particle in the Infinity.

In the upshot, man, the only intelligent, yet the worthless being in our universe, is the center of all worlds! He is destined to command them in the future. It depends on man in what condition they will be. The Kabbalists say that he is directly connected with them. Is he in this state now? For what does he need it? What does he gain from it?

Why was it created for man?

Why did the Creator make it so that the person cannot comprehend what he can gain if he rules over the entire universe and all the Upper Worlds? He feels no need of this to be happy. However, all of this is created for man. Only by using it will he achieve the ultimate state.

This is the last inquiry we have to make. If we complete this research, we will be able to answer the questions that Baal HaSulam raised

at the beginning of this Introduction and understand why we need the Book of Zohar. This is only the Foreword to the book.

Afterwards, while reading the Book of Zohar, we will know what we should do with the help of the book in order to attain all of these states.

> *4. In order to understand these questions and inquiries, one should start by looking at the end, i.e.,, at the purpose of creation. For nothing can be understood in the middle of the process, but only at its end.*

This is a necessary condition. If we want to understand something, we should be sure to know what is going to be at the end. Yet how can we know this? In our world, we do not know about any state beforehand. Could we possibly harm ourselves if we had known the outcome in advance? How could we do anything if we had not anticipated some benefit?

Our problem is that we never know the end in anything. The only thing we know in this small animate world is to give advice to our children: "do this, don't do that". However, they do not listen to us. In our life, we cannot see the end of the next level or its consequences. We normally act without listening to others, and our children do not listen to us, even though we know exactly the right answer. In addition, the entire humanity does the same.

How can we agree with this thought of Baal HaSulam: *in order to understand these questions and inquiries one should start by looking at the end of the action, i.e., at the purpose of creation.* The purpose is the result for the sake of which the creation was created.

> *For nothing can be understood in the middle of the process, but only at its end.*

This is true. The Creator looks at us from "the end of creation", not from its beginning.

He conceives all of His with regard to us and draws us closer to Himself. That is a perfect approach. I am unable to do that in our world. If I only knew in advance the results of what I am doing now and could make corrections to improve it; if I could know the result and see that I should not wish it, there would be nothing better. Yet how can I achieve that?

"The Study of the Ten *Sefirot*" describes in the following way: our spiritual advancement depends on the condition called *"Olamcha Tireh be Hayecha"* (lit. You will see your world in your life time).

It is said: "will see," and not "will receive". Even on this level, the person can see the future world (his future state) from afar. When he does, he can justify his path, receive energy, understanding and strength to rise above his egoistical desires, to acquire "the desire to bestow" and to work on his correction.

"Foreseeing the purpose of creation" and planning your actions and steps from that level is a compulsory condition. Without it, we will never make any correct move and our spiritual life would be exactly the same as our life in this world. The spiritual life does not tolerate things like that.

Every time I find myself in an initial position, I am obliged to ascend to the next state "plus one", to the next level. I have no clue how to do this and I do not know what my condition is going to be pertaining to this level. I need to see it in advance (1), and after that decide upon my actions (2). Only then can I work on it (3). This is the only way to do things right.

If I commence to act without knowing my next state, it will always be fallacious, because from the level I am on now, with my intellect and knowledge, I cannot possibly know what is on the next level, because it is higher. In the initial position, everything that I have in me is opposite to this level because here I am a big egoist. There I am a big altruist, but I do not desire it at all.

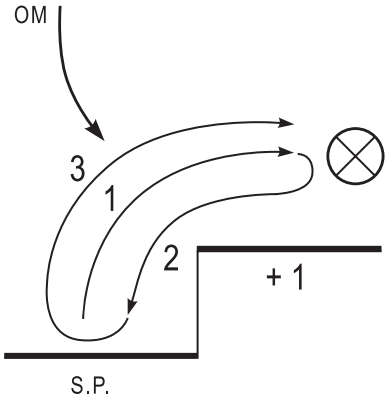

Based upon the prerequisites, principles, and desires that I have in me I cannot imagine my future. It is so opposite to me that whatever I imagine as being there is unattainable. My nature would not allow me to do this. However, even if it did, I would not aspire to it. I would keep away from it.

That is why I somehow need to see my next level. I need to understand and accept it inside of me. I should ask the Creator to help me from Above, to give me the *Ohr Makif,* so that in my third action I would move up to a higher level.

If I do not do that, I would advance in the spiritual world in the same way as in our world, making unsuccessful attempts all the time. Every next step of mine would be less successful then the previous one. Instead of ascending, I would go down more and more. Therefore, Baal HaSulam writes:

> *One should start by looking at the end, i.e., at the purpose of creation. For nothing can be understood in the middle of the process, but only at its end. Moreover, it is clear that there is no act without purpose, for only the insane can be found to act purposelessly.*

People always act with a purpose, so if I wish to ascend spiritually, this should become my purpose. I should acquire new strength, intellect, and properties, which I do not have. I cannot do this with my present properties.

I know that there are "know-alls" who scorn the method of Kabbalah (who believe that they know better ways), **saying the Creator created reality, but then left it to the mercy of fate;** *because of the worthlessness of the creatures, it is not fitting for the exalted Creator to watch over their petty*

little ways. Had the Creator left me here, I would have never been able to rise to the next level. Why?

> *Indeed, without knowledge they have spoken, for it is not possible to comment on our nothingness and lowliness before we decide that we have created ourselves with all our tarnished natures. But while we decide that the Creator, who is perfect in every way, is the one who created and designed our bodies (our properties), with all their admirable and contemptible attributes, surely from under the hand of the perfect worker there cannot emerge an imperfect act, since each act testifies to its performer. What fault is it of a bad garment, if some no-good tailor made it?*

Of course, this is the tailor's fault. If we have some bad properties, it is clear to us that it is the Creator's fault. Here Baal HaSulam offers us a parable from the Talmud (*Ta'anit* 20).

> *This is a tale of Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, who came before a most ugly man…*

Rabbi Shimon wrote "The Book of Zohar". His son was one level higher than Rabbi Shimon was. Having reached the level of his father, he found an even uglier, lower level in himself. It was so ugly that he could not help saying (to himself)**:** *"You are so ugly!" The man replied, "Go and tell the craftsman who made me – how ugly is this instrument you have made".*

If you have a grudge against some of your properties, turn to the Creator. He is the One who created them and He is the One who would correct them.

> *Hence, those who claim that because of our nothingness and lowliness, it is not fitting for Him to watch over us, and therefore He has left us, do nothing more than publicly display their ignorance. Try to imagine, if you had met some man who would create creatures precisely so that they would suffer and agonize their whole lives as we do. Not only that, but he cast them behind his back, not wanting*

even to look after them, to help them a little. How contemptible and low would you regard him? Can such a thing be thought of Him?

The paradox we see here remains a paradox so far.

5. Therefore, common sense... (Baal HaSulam tells us about it from the level he reached) *dictates that we grasp the opposite of what appears to be on the surface...*(what can be seen with the naked eye) *and decide that we are truly noble and worthy creatures...*

Indeed, we are so huge, so great, we can rule over our entire world and the spiritual worlds that are in absolute harmony with the Creator, in complete likeness with Him. We are truly in this state, but we feel just a tiny part of it that is called "this world". Indeed, we are now in a perfect, great state.

There is no end to our immeasurable importance; we are actually worthy of our Maker. For if you wish to find faults in our bodies, then behind all the excuses that you give yourself, it falls only on the Creator who created us and the nature within us. For it is clear that He created us.

He also knows all the ways that stem from our nature and the attributes He created in us. It is as we have said that we have to contemplate the end of the act. Then we will be able to understand it all. As the saying goes: "Do not show a fool an unfinished work".

Because of our lessons, you will see the answers to all the inquiries and questions and all that will be left for you to do is realize it all. I hope that it will be a result of our studying. What is necessary for that? I repeat, by no means should you consider Kabbalah as a usual science. Though Kabbalah is a science, it instructs you how to correct yourself and achieve eternity and perfection.

This is why the work of your mind is insufficient. You ought to desire your own changes with your heart and be on the level where Baal HaSulam is. He is teaching us now from that high level.

Question: I see my defects and try to correct them. I turn to the Creator, the only One who can correct them. I understand the method. The question is how can I speed up the process?

Everything you do is correct and, by the way, you actually do nothing. Why? It is because eventually, under the influence of suffering, and of contemplation, you would have found it necessary to turn to the Creator.

Our problem is in shortening time. In the chain that we should pass, we can only control time. All we can do is speed up the process with the help of a group. You need additional forces to turn to the Creator, so that the Creator would correct you more intensely.

This additional strength can come from your friends, who have the same purpose and agree to interact with you to join all forces to turn to the Creator. This is the only means available, and without it, you cannot accelerate your development.

In the end, the realization of all our actions comes to one thing: how to make our group more direct, more serious, and more intense. Strive to make your friends from the group like fighters who are always standing for our idea, for the Goal. You will then see how many states you go through in one day and you will have enough strength to do that. In just a few weeks, you will not recognize yourself. You will reach much higher levels!

It depends on all groups and on each separate group. Every group will get as much as it puts into the whole process.

Question: Can I see the next step?

I can see it, but only in a way that seeing it would not affect me negatively and I would not wish it selfishly, for myself. How can I adopt the next spiritual level in order to receive strength from it, to have the method of correction so that it will not obstruct my personal ascent? I want it to remain in me, as my own properties, as if I create this next level

within myself. After all, I need to become similar to the Creator. This similarity means creating me on the next level, giving birth to myself.

To this end, I need to get the material for my birth from the next level. It means desires and strength to turn them into properties of bestowal. I am still very small, but I acquire my spiritual form. I can only obtain this from the *AHP* of the higher level. Hence, we perceive the *AHP* of the higher level in different variations; now luminous, now devoid of the light. We should stick to it, because it is our Creator. This is how we see Him. We should constantly cling to Him like a leech regardless of how bad or good, repulsive or attractive He may seem in our feelings; we simply must hold on to Him all the time.

A group can play a very important role in this. It always reminds me of what I need to do. I need a group alarm clock. This is not the kind of an alarm clock you carry on your wrist and fail to pay attention to. If your group were constantly thinking about it, you would always remember the goal and aspire to it. This way you would hold on to the *AHP* of the higher level so fast that it will pull you in against your will.

There is no other alternative. Our main task is to overcome this first level, because reaching it means crossing the *Machsom*. Afterwards, we already begin to feel the Creator. This is a very different kind of work.

Only group work can help, when all its members constantly strive to stay on this higher level. It does not matter how we imagine it. We should be obsessed with the Creator; only this will lead us to the Goal.

Question: Why did the perfect Creator have to create something? Was it perhaps in order to achieve even greater perfection?

He did it to bestow.

Question: How can we see our future state? Without seeing, there is no ascent, yet we cannot see!

We should accept it without seeing, because it comes from the Creator, not because we see and like it. In other words, we should ac-

cept it in our vessels of bestowal, in the intention "for the sake of the Creator", because He desires it. We need to ask for strength to accept it without seeing.

Question: My next level is opposite to me. Does it mean that what I can "see in this life" happens to be just a tiny part of the level closest to my properties? Otherwise, it will repel me and not attract me.

This is precisely why the revelation of the *AHP* of the higher level is defined as a spiritual downfall. If the person realizes that, he immediately finds strength to master this *AHP*.

> *6. Our sages said: "The Creator created the world for no other reason, but to bestow delight upon His creatures (i.e., the sages, who attain the Creator, know His thoughts). Here is where we must place our mind and heart, for it is the final aim of the act of the creation of the world.*

Baal HaSulam says that one sentence "*The Creator created the world to bestow delight upon His creatures*" contains the thought, the act, and the end of the creation. Apparently, that is why he suggests that we should reflect on this phrase. What he actually means is that at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of all the actions that take place in the world, however noble or mean they may seem, on all their levels and in all their combinations, they pursue only one goal: to bestow delight upon the creatures. There is no other motive in any of the Creator's actions.

> *In addition, we must bear in mind that, since the thought of creation is to bestow to His creatures, He had to create in the souls a great amount of desire to receive that which He had thought to give. For the measure of any delight depends on the measure of the will to receive it. The greater is the will to receive, the greater the pleasure, and the lesser the will, the lesser the pleasure from reception.*

We know it from our own experience in this world. I may sit at a table beautifully laid with most exquisite delicacies, but I can enjoy it

only to the extent of my desire. Therefore, we say that the Creator's light fills the entire creation. We are inside this ocean of light, and we shall feel it only in our desire for this light, for its property, for the delight of bestowal.

It is quite natural that if we do not feel anything now, it means that we have no desire whatsoever for this light of bestowal. Nevertheless, the Creator preinstalled in us an enormous desire to receive delight perfectly matched to His desire to bestow.

> *Therefore, the thought of creation itself dictates the presence of an excessive will to receive in the souls, to fit the immense pleasure that the Creator thought to bestow upon them. For the great delight and the great desire to receive must go hand in hand.*

> *7. Once we have learned that, we have come to understand the second inquiry to its fullness, and with complete clarity. For we have learned what is the reality that one can base clear decisions on, that is not a part of His essence, but constitutes a new creation. Now that we know for sure that the thought of creation is to bestow to His creatures, He necessarily created a measure of desire to receive from Him the bounty and delight that he had planned for them. Thus, we see that the will to receive certainly was not a part of His essence before He had created it in the souls, because He can receive from no one. He created a novelty that is absent in Him.*

> *Along with that, we understand, according to the thought of creation, that there was no need to create anything more than the will to receive. For this new creation is sufficient for Him to fulfill the entire plan – to bestow delight upon someone (if this someone exists as a will to receive pleasure). Since the Creator's desire is to bestow delight, He is in need of a will to receive delight. We happen to represent this will.*

However, all the filling in the thought of creation, meaning all the benefits He had planned to render us, stem directly from His essence. They are emanated from His very first thought – to create beings and bestow delight upon them.

He has no need to recreate them, since they are already extracted from the great will to receive that is in the souls. Thus, we clearly see that the whole matter of the renewed creation, from start to end, is only the "will to receive".

This is all we can imagine, except the perceived pleasure, i.e., the Creator Himself. Consequently, whatever or whomever we may speak about, on any levels of development (still, vegetative, animal and human nature), whether fields, bodies, emanations, spirits, or anything that exists in our world and in all the others (from tiny insects to vast galaxies), be it information, force, plasmic or other forms of creation – they are all created and constitute no more than a desire to receive pleasure.

There is nothing like it in the Creator; He made it out of nothing, sustains and fills all. Our life is but the Creator's microscopic filling. We are filled with one billionth of His light and we call it our life.

If we perceive Him clearer, we will feel Him, not what He emanates. We will then define ourselves as being in the spiritual world. That is, all that happens in us is a result of our sensation of the Creator. We should never forget about it, because our life, thoughts and everything good or bad in our hearts and minds is no more than the sensation of the Creator.

Therefore, if we wish to change our state, we just need to change our connection with Him, reach a different level of contact with Him.

8. After the previously mentioned, we have come to understand the third inquiry. We wondered how it was possible to say about souls that they were a part of the Creator, like a stone that is carved from a rock. There is no difference between them except that one is

a 'part' and the other is a 'whole'. It seemed strange: it is one thing to say that the stone that is carved from the rock becomes separated by an axe made for that purpose, but can you say that about the Creator's essence? In addition, with what were the souls divided from His essence and excluded from the Creator to become creatures? From the above we clearly understand that, just as an axe cuts and divides a physical object in two, so the spiritual change of form divides it in two.

If a certain property of mine begins to change with regard to another property, this transformed attribute instantly (to the extent of the inconsistency between the two properties) begins to move away from the original one and may even become opposite to it. This is how the souls are separated from the Creator.

That is, the Creator originally created a desire, filled it with Himself, whereupon it started moving farther and farther away from Him, until it became completely opposite to Him.

For example, when two people love each other, we say that they merge with each other as one body. When they hate each other, we say that they are as far from one another as the east is from the west. However, it is not a question of near or far in this case.

We define people in our world as close or distant to one another by the proximity between their bodies. On the other hand, we may speak about affinity or estrangement between the souls.

Here the matter concerns the equivalence of properties, when each loves what the other loves and hates what the other hates (i.e., if they refer to all of their qualities in the same way), they become lovers (similar in their properties) and merge with one another. If there is some change of form between them, meaning that one of them likes something that the other hates, then to the extent that they differ in form, they become distant and hateful to one another. And if, for

example, they are opposite in form, meaning that everything one likes is hated by the other, and everything he hates is liked by the other, they are deemed as far away from each other as the east is from the west, meaning from one end to the other.

There is not a single common property that would connect them. No contact is possible unless these properties partially coincide. Sometimes people quarrel, then they make up. This way they test the contact between them, share various properties, both similar and dissimilar.

If they are opposite, there is not even the slightest chance for a contact. Such is our initial contrast with the Creator today.

The revelation of the Creator within us is the purpose of our studies.

9. Thus, in spirituality, the dissimilarity of properties acts as an axe in our world, dividing the material. The degree of divergence is determined by the measure of dissimilarity of properties.

I need not pay attention to anything else - neither to my parameters, nor to the parameters of the Creator, nor to any additional conditions. I should think only of one thing: "How can I more closely resemble Him? To that extent I shall discover Him and I shall feel His filling in me. In that measure I shall receive the sensation of pleasure, light, life, eternity, and perfection".

And from here we will understand that, since the [egoistical] desire to receive pleasure is inherent to souls, and as it is already discovered by us that this property is not completely present in the Creator, we can conclude that precisely this dissimilarity of properties (egoistical desire to receive pleasure), which the souls acquired - acts as an axe, separating them from the Creator. Therefore, it is through this difference of properties that the soul separated from the Creator and became to be known as "created".

Until the soul feels its complete separation from the Creator, it is impossible to speak of the existence of creation. At that point, it is still simply the desire to take pleasure, which has not left the Creator and was not separated from Him to become something existing quite independently. Therefore, looking at the world around us, at the 7 billion "homo sapiens ", we cannot say that these are creations (and even more so, we can neither say that about the inanimate, vegetative, and animal levels, because they do not have a sensation of contrast to the Creator).

At present, we also lack this property, this analysis. The first thing we must accomplish is this so-called "comprehension of evil" (*Akarat HaRah*), as it is the comprehension of the polar inverse to the Creator. This is where the creation begins. As soon as we reach it in all our primordial properties, we shall feel, together with the property, how opposite it is to the Creator. Then this property is discerned as independent, completely remote, cut off, chopped off from Him with this axe (this change from the Creator). It therefore already considers itself the creation.

> *However, everything that souls attain from the light of the Creator is received from the essence of the Creator, from what is existing. In the light of the Creator that is received in the Kli (the soul, the will to receive), there is no difference from the Creator's essence. In fact, it comes directly from the Creator as from something existent. The entire distinction between the souls and the Creator's essence is no more than that the souls are just a part of the essence of the Creator. That measure of light received inside of the desire to take pleasure, (that part which was torn off from the Creator since I am not completely similar to Him), separates from the Creator by a dissimilarity of properties, takes the form of being separated from the whole, and is referred to as a soul. In fact there is no difference between them except that one is the whole, while the other being its part, is as a stone chiseled from a rock.*

Ponder upon the depth of the above-mentioned, since it is impossible to explain further this exalted matter.

Nonetheless, we shall try to add a few words regarding the matter.

The most harmless perception about creation is to perceive ourselves existing in the most perfect final state, because that is the only thing created by the Creator, the only one in which we exist. It is only for us that the perception is the final state, as though there were an initial state and an intermediate state. Actually, it is the only existing condition. That is, when the Creator conceived to create creations, His idea instantly became action.

The fact that we are inside of the Creator, completely filled with the light of Infinity, is a concealment. Actually, this is our natural, unique, and true condition. If this is how we perceive it, then another relationship becomes clear - how to discover the measure of connection between us. I am in a static condition completely filled with the Creator, and what separates me from the Creator (prevents the feeling of closeness to the Creator) is my egoism, my internal desire, which is opposite to His desire. Only to the degree in which I can change my internal desire, my direction, will I at once start to feel the Creator, to feel myself as filled with another kind and measure of life.

The small measure of the sensation of the Creator which is in us, named "*Ner Dakik*" ("*Ner*" - "candle", "*Dakik*" - from a word "*Dak*" - very thin, minute part), is a portion of light that enables us to exist in the biological, animal state we are in.

If we can change a measure of light in us, we cardinally change our life - it takes life to the next level, and the greater measure of light in us, the higher the level. The only thing we should do is to let the light that is in us do its work, open ourselves and let it shine in us. We can facilitate this process only from our attitude to the Creator, from our likening to Him. Therefore, ascending spiritual levels is no mechanical

movement. Rather it is an inner increased likening to the light, a sensation of a full, perfect, and eternal life.

One should not merely receive that small particle of light that only supports the animal condition of existence. Rather, we should receive the large portion of light that would sustain one in a condition of life above the biological body; that is the challenge to us.

The following step, the next portion of the light that we receive, will already be spiritual light, and it will already take us on a level of spiritual existence. That is what one should imagine clearly today.

> *10. Now the opportunity presents itself to understand the fourth inquiry. How is it possible that the system of impure forces and Klipot come from the purity of the Creator? Since in fact it is extremely distant from His purity, how is it possible that the Creator would fill and sustain it?*

Moreover, we can imagine the worlds from top down, *AK* (the world of Infinity), then *Atzilut*, *Beria*, *Yetzira*, *Assiya* (the pure worlds) and *Beria*, *Yetzira*, *Assiya* (*Klipot*). The *Parsa* is under the world of *Atzilut*, and our world is under the *Klipot*. That which enters from *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* through all the worlds and comes to the impure worlds, refers to *Ner Dakik* (a small candle, a small luminescence). When the *Ner Dakik* descends to the *Machsom* and reaches us, we receive what is referred to as "our life".

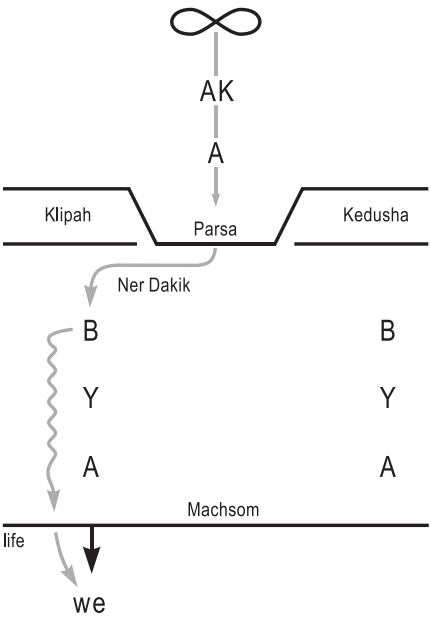

That is, all that fills, supports, revives and pulls us forward in our world, we receive through the system of impure forces.

Baal HaSulam asks, "How can it be that a property at such a spiritual level as the Creator's - complete bestowal - creates impure desires, including us, who are the lowest, and the most insignificant of them? Not only are they created by Him, but He also fills them, albeit with small light. Furthermore, He constantly sustains them and maintains contact".

Let us clarify the question; How can it be that the Creator acts this way? This question arises from the point of view of our previous definition. If we say that in the spiritual world such categories as merging, separation, rapprochement, and remoteness occur to the extent of the similarity of properties, it means there is no connection between the Creator and this system, since the system of impure forces is absolutely antithetical to the Creator. So how could He have created it?

Suppose there was a non-recurring act of birth. However, there is no such concept in the spiritual, since everything exists there permanently, (i.e., born, filled, and sustained permanently). This is unlike our world where there is an event of creation after which the body exists and subsequently dies. It exists and dies precisely because the act of creation has ended. In the spiritual world, it is different. Everything that occurs there is constantly sustained, and therefore eternal. All actions exist constantly at all levels.

Therefore, if the Creator has created impure forces, sustains and supports them, this would contradict the previous conclusion. How is one to reconcile this?

> *First, it is necessary to understand the essence of the system of impure forces and Klipot. Know that the huge desire to receive that we spoke about is the essence of the created souls. This desire is ready to receive all the fulfillment that is in the plan of creation; and, it*

does not remain in the souls in the same form, for if it remained in them permanently (in a form which is antithetical to the Creator) the souls would be forever separated from the Creator. This difference of properties would forever cut them off from the Creator.

To correct this initial remoteness from the Creator, He has created the worlds and has divided them into two systems: the four pure worlds of ABYA and the four impure worlds of ABYA.

Moreover, He has positioned the soul between them.

In our ascent, we constantly choose the middle line - the overlapping of pure and impure forces. The soul ascends to the Creator precisely on this middle line.

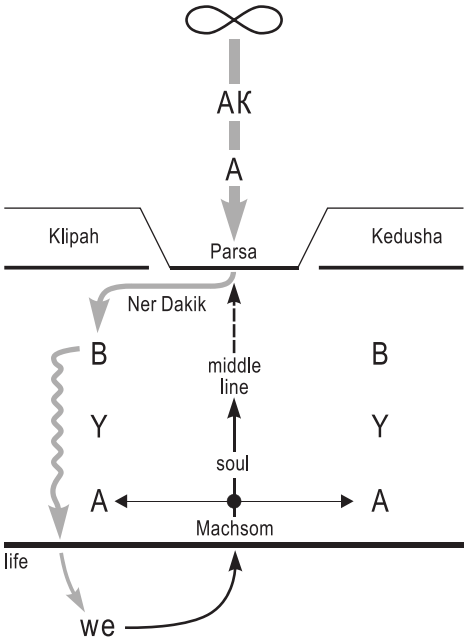

Having created the system of impure and pure forces, this initial huge, impure egoism opposite to Himself, He also creates a system with which we can transform this egoism - having retained all the same desires and only having corrected their intention. Therefore, it turns out that, while ascending the middle ladder from one level to another between the two systems of pure and impure forces (egoistical and altruistic), we choose how to act.

We take from the egoistical system, from our essence, whatever we can, to adapt all our desires to the Creator and to ascend.

Let us consider a simple example.

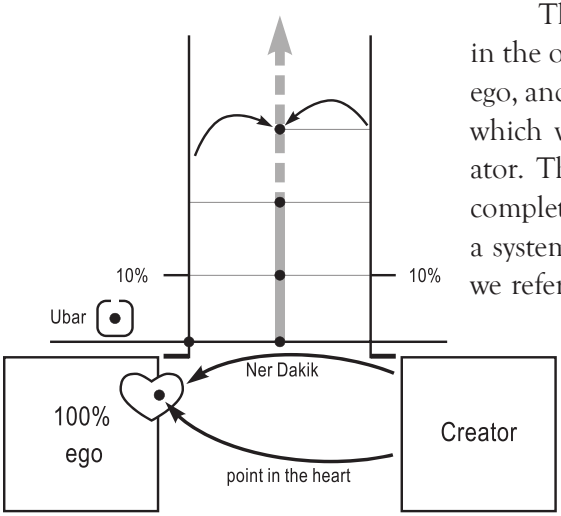

There are two systems: "I" in the original form - an absolute ego, and a system opposite to me, which we agree to call the Creator. They are opposite and are completely divided. Between us is a system of communication that we refer to as the system of pure and impure forces.

What does it give me? To exist, I receive from Him only a small portion of the light, the *Ner Dakik*. Besides, I receive from it a so-called point in the heart. By receiving *Ner Dakik,* I revive my heart.

Having received a point in the heart, after a number of efforts, I arrive at a certain baseline level. On this zero level called "*Ubar*" (embryo), one can compare himself to all the properties of the Creator only as a tiny point. It is in the middle of these properties, and it signifies that everything that I can attach to the Creator's attributes is no bigger than a point.

If I can take 10 % of my desires and assimilate them accordingly to 10 % of the Creator's desires, then the midpoint between them will be my next level. And so on. That is, I always ascend along the middle line, where I compare my egoism with the properties of the Creator, until I completely work through 100 % of my desires. Only then do I achieve 100 % likeness to the Creator.

It transpires that the system of pure and impure forces has neither bad nor good in it. It only exists relative to the observer who needs these

graduated levels of his own comparisons, associations, unions (exact terminology is unimportant) with the Creator. Such an internal system exists in me for this sole purpose. These worlds do not exist outside; they are the essence of my internal structure.

With the help of such levels – these thresholds of sensitivity – one feels either more remote from the Creator or closer to Him. One cannot sense a half or a quarter of any level. Internally one is graduated in such a way that one feels only certain threshold changes in sensations, and they are referred to as steps of the worlds. Naturally, these are inside the person, for nothing exists outside. In general, we do not know what exists outside; hence, it will never exist for us. We address only that which is present inside us. This is what we feel; it is our world, our life.

> *Therefore, Baal HaSulam says that the Creator has created egoistical desire to receive ...and He has given over to the system of pure worlds His property to impart, and has withdrawn from them the desire to receive for the sake of oneself, and has given it over to the system of impure worlds. As a result, this system became completely separated from the Creator and from everything pure.*

> *The Klipot are, therefore, referred to as dead and so are sinners (we, who are under them), because our desire to receive, which is opposite to the Creator, does not allow the light of a life, the light of pleasure, to manifest itself in us (therefore we only experience a small portion of this light's influence upon us, namely our animal life). In addition, we are extremely remote from the Creator, as there is no trace of a desire to receive in Him, only the property of bestowal. However, in the Klipot (and in us), there naturally is no concept of bestowal; there is only a desire to receive, the desire for selfish gratification.*

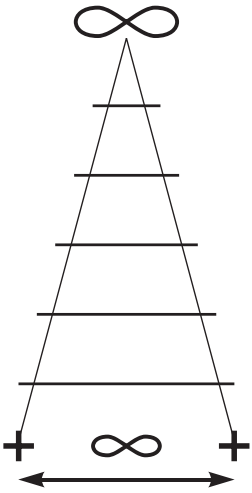

Our spiritual separation from the Creator begins with a small difference of properties with the above and ends up as a complete opposition.

We emerge in the spiritual worlds and then gradually diverge. At the level of our world, we are completely and indefinitely opposite to the Creator. By bridging the chasm between the Creator and the creation, we reach the Higher Infinity, boundless sensation of the Creator.

11. The worlds descended to the level of this world's reality, i.e., to the place where the body and the soul exist. This is the time of being uncorrected and the time of correction. The body is a will to receive, which stems from its root in the thought of creation. While passing through the system of impure worlds, it remains under the influence of this system until its correction begins.

As you know, in Kabbalah the body the body of the *Partzuf* means a will to receive pleasure. As a rule, the Kabbalist will interpret the body as the *Kli* and the soul as the light.

Quite often, both the light and the *Kli* are implied by the word "soul", or sometimes the word "soul" is offhandedly used as the *Kli* without the light. However, normally, while studying our higher spiritual states above the level of this world, we should never think about our biological body, because it is in no way connected with our soul.

All of our properties and desires, all that we can use to influence our soul and our spiritual advancement have nothing to do with our body. The powers we wish to develop in ourselves are not biological; they are spiritual. We must receive them from Above, for only then will we be able to help our soul to ascend to the Creator. We cannot influence the state of the soul by our animal properties.

Therefore, man's properties are quite irrelevant. He may be healthy or sick, intelligent or mentally retarded, or he may possess any character traits. This does not matter at all. Nothing of what refers to our physical

body, nothing we may characterize in man as his human property concerns the spiritual. It neither affects our inner egoistical desire, which is opposite to the Creator, nor the revelation of the light in us.

In order to expose my soul, my inner part that is yet non-existent in me, to such an influence, I need to acquire new *Kelim* that would help my soul to grow and enable me to reveal the Creator in it.

The instrument for the development of my soul is called a screen. I should receive it from Above. I cannot achieve the goal with the animal properties I possess today.

The comprehension that I cannot use the instruments at my disposal, i.e., my mind, will power, even my great desire and total inability to change spiritually, are referred to as the realization of evil, awareness of the insignificance of my own nature. It is not evil in itself; I consider it faulty because it prevents me from discovering the Creator and merging with Him.

In fact, it cannot be regarded as evil; "the realization of evil" is merely a definition. When I reach this state, I really discover a miracle. I see that there is Someone I can turn to, that I can receive the Creator's power – the light, which corrects me by endowing me with a screen.

On the one hand, the sensation of my own insignificance is called "the realization of evil", on the other hand, it leads to the reception of a screen from Above.

Here is another definition demonstrating the absence of evil. The Kabbalists call us sinners because we exist under the system of impure forces. Actually, we are not sinners at all. How can we possibly sin, if we are absolutely unaware of it? In other words, this name is used in a purely figurative sense.

> *The worlds descended to the level of this world's reality, to the place where the body and the soul exist* (the Kli constitutes the impure, egoistic desires, the body and the soul are some essence, a

tiny particle of the light, a point in the heart, the nucleus of the soul). *This is the time of being uncorrected and the time of correction* (in our world we perceive the levels of correction as a temporal factor).

Because the body, which is the egoistical will to receive, is extended from its root in the thought of creation (from the Creator – Yesh mi Ayn, something from nothing), *through the system of impure worlds, and it remains under the influence of that system for the first thirteen years, which is the time of corruption.*

What does it mean "the time when a person remains under the influence of the system of impure forces"? This refers to thousands and thousands of years, when we pass through certain unconscious corrections in our consecutive incarnations.

From 13 years of age and on... That is, when the desire for the spiritual ascent begins to manifest in man *through commandments*, i.e., with the help of correction of his desires. We have 620 desires within ourselves. Of course, we do not understand them at this time. Where are these desires? Perhaps we can count 10 or 20 desires, but certainly not 620. Later on, we will discover that the correction of each desire from the intention for one's own sake to the intention for the sake of the Creator is called fulfillment of the Creator's commandment.

If man observes it, he begins to purify his will to receive, and slowly turns it into the desire to receive delight for the Creator's sake. Thus, the upper soul descends from its root in the thought of creation, passes through the system of pure worlds, and "dresses" in his soul.

What does it mean? *Thus the upper soul* (i.e., the true spiritual light) *from its root in the thought of creation passes through the system of pure worlds* (begins to manifest in us through the system of our gradual corrections). By correcting ourselves, we build our pure *Kli*. The light that will be revealed in it already fills it, but we cannot feel it yet.

This is described by the words: *It passes through the system of pure worlds and "dresses" in his soul. This is called the time of correction.*

There is a preliminary period called the uncorrected state that lasts until the person receives the point in his heart. It starts pushing him towards the spiritual. From this time on the period of correction begins.

> *Thus, man ascends and attains the levels of the thought of creation in the Creator's Infinity, until he can turn his desire to receive for himself into the desire to receive for the sake of the Creator.*

Man gradually receives new portions of the correcting light. With the help of this light, he gradually reveals his soul and the degree of its similarity to the Creator determines the extent of this revelation. In other words, as much as he can create the screen within himself, so can he reveal his soul, his *Kli*. Man feels the light inside of this *Kli*. This is what Kabbalah defines as man's degrees of similarity to the Creator, the levels of his spiritual ascent.

These levels help one another: the lower one helps the higher one, and the higher one helps to reveal one's soul completely with the emerging of the Upper Light in it.

> *Man's properties become equivalent to the Creator's, since reception for the sake of giving is a "pure" form, a bestowal.*

What is a revelation of the *Kli* and the light that fills it? If I wish to reveal and feel this light not for my own enjoyment, but to please the One Who filled me (when I see what delight my revelations bring to Him), then my attainment will be considered bestowal and will take place.

Man achieves complete merging with the Creator... Where does he achieve it? Inside of what he reveals. There he discovers himself, his *Kli*, his intention and the Creator who fills him. He no longer needs to look at the Creator and reveal the *Kli* – now he sees both himself and the Creator within this common thought.

Man achieves complete merging with the Creator, because the spiritual merging is nothing but equivalence of properties. Our sages asked, "How can one merge with the Creator?" – and answered their own question: "By merging with His properties".

In other words, it can be expressed this way: "I will know You from my similarity to You". That is, if I gradually reveal the Creator in accordance with my growing similarity to Him, then I will finally become exactly like Him. It turns out that the Creator's revelation, similarity to Him, correction of the *Kli,* and reception of His light are the same action.

Because of this, man discovers that there is no division between him, the action he performs and the Creator. All of this is a single, undivided whole (as if a vessel is one thing, the light filling it is another, the reaction of the vessel to the light, and that of the light to the vessel is the third). Nothing like that exists. One suddenly realizes that all of this is a single whole, indistinguishable in any way. This condition is called merging with the Creator.

12. Thus, we have clearly explained the correction of the will to receive that is imprinted in the souls by the thought of creation (imprinted in the egoistic desire to receive, which is initially inherent in us). *The Creator has prepared for them two systems of worlds, one against the other, through which the souls pass and divide into two aspects, body and soul, and dress one in the other. With the help of the Kabbalistic method* (that includes a gradual correction of one's desires)**,** *defined as "observing commandments", they convert the property of "reception for himself" into the property of "bestowal".*

They become blessed with all the pleasures in the thought of creation. And along with it (with the sensation of this blessing) *they completely merge with Him.*

That is, a person neither receives the Creator's bounty nor gives Him anything, but reaches the level of the Creator, rises up to the essence – up to the Creator. The result is a paradox, but that is what happens.

"By Your actions I will know You". I receive an example (of how I should act) from Him, the screen (what to operate with), a desire and strength. By following His example, I perform the same actions that He does. This way I build the middle line: from the left side I take my egoistical desires, from the right side – His light and the screen. As much as I can make one similar to the other, I build this combination and create my middle line from it; I perform my own action.

Finally, it leads to a surprising consequence: I do not liken myself to the Creator in action, but by making my actions similar to His, I begin to understand His intention, His thoughts, and the so-called secrets of the Torah. This is called: "By Your actions I will know You". As a result, we discover that the Creator's thought is not just to fill man with some pleasure, and it does not matter that the pleasure is infinite, eternal, and perfect.

The Creator's goal is to elevate man to His Own level, higher than the initial point of his creation. As a result of becoming similar to the Creator, man ascends above the point of his birth. He rises to the higher level and reaches the Creator's thought that had existed even before He created the desire to receive pleasure from nothing.

> *This is the End of Correction. Since there is no longer a need for the system of impure forces, it shall be eliminated from the earth and death shall cease forever.*

These allegorical expressions can seriously spoil our picture, but if we interpret them correctly and immediately apply them, then they only strengthen our knowledge and enrich this internal image.

The word "ground" alludes to the egoistical desire to receive pleasure, since it takes in, imbibes, absorbs, and decomposes all that enters into it. On the other hand, if the ground (the property of reception) is combined with water (*Bina* – the property of bestowal), and a grain is planted into it, these two properties can create the condition for the emergence of a new life.

Later we will be studying all these spiritual roots and why our world is built this way because of it.

> *The system of impure forces shall be eliminated from the earth* (i.e., the intention for one's own sake will disappear from the egoistical desire) *and death shall cease forever* ("death" means the gap between the light and the desire to receive pleasure; and as soon as the light enters the desire to receive, it gains life).
>
> *And all the work in the Torah and commandments* (i.e., drawing the light, Torah comes from the word "*Ohr*", "*Ohra'a*" – "the light"; a "commandment" means the correction of an egoistical desire) *is given to the world during 6000 years of its existence...*

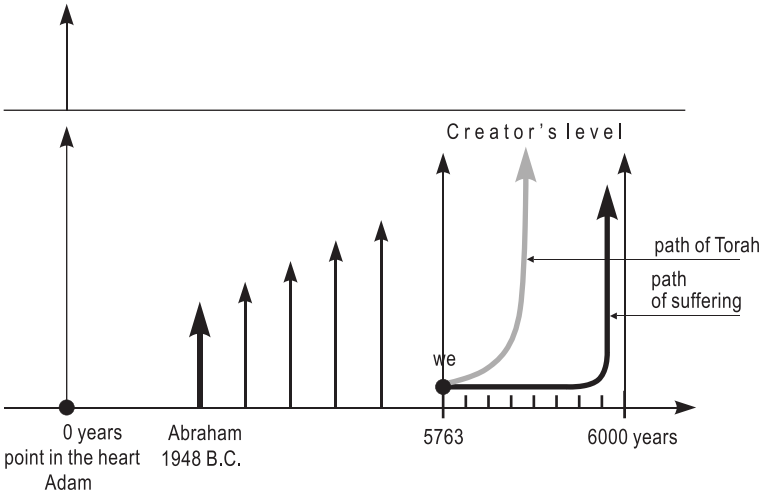

It is 5764 now (according to the Jewish calendar), i.e., a few hundred years from "the end of the world's existence" according to this chronology. In the future, we will clarify what "the End of the world's existence" means.

Let us consider into what periods these 6000 years are divided. Let us follow the development of the two axes – the spiritual and ours.

Adam is the first person who has discovered the point in his heart. What we mean is not the spiritual Adam, but a human being in this world. In about 1948 B.C. Abraham appeared. This is the period when the point in the heart did not merely appear inside a human being; it awakened and began to lead him to the Creator. Until this time, human beings existed like animals, without any aspiration to the Creator.

For the first time, the point in man's heart manifested in Abraham. He strongly desired to merge with the Creator and revealed Him. Now the year is 5764.

During the period of 6000 years, all of humankind is obliged to reach the level of the Creator. Even before Abraham, there were some actions taken in this direction, but at that time, only the preliminary method existed. After Abraham, thousands of people have done it.

Today we can do it to enable all humankind to accomplish it quickly and without suffering, by way of Kabbalah, i.e., by way of the light. If we do not help humankind quickly to pass through the period of realization of evil and to aspire to the Creator, humanity will advance by way of suffering.

Baal HaSulam writes, "These few hundred years may be very critical. They might bring terrible destructions, nuclear wars and immense calamities as a result of which only a small number of people will remain on the Earth. But they will execute the program of the creation; they will include all the other souls."

We can help the rest of the people to accelerate this process, to pass through this period painlessly and comfortably.

> *And all the work in the Torah and commandments that are given to the world during 6000 years of its existence and to each person for the duration of his seventy years of life, are only in order to bring them to the end of correction, to the equivalence of form and merging with the Creator.*
>
> *So we have clarified how the system of impure forces and the Klipot (shells) emerged from the Creator's purity and exists at His expense. It was bound to happen for the creation of bodies* (i.e., egoistical desires) *that will later be corrected by the light (the Torah) and with the help of the screen (observing the commandments).*
>
> *Unless our bodies had been created with the uncorrected* (egoistical) *desires by the system of the Klipot, we would have had no opportunity to correct them* (i.e., man would never have been able to realize his own "I" and reach the Creator's level by himself).

Instead, it would be the same solitary point existing in this infinite light, not as an independent being, but as a desire made by the Creator that does not exist by itself.

Question: Is there any practical method for strengthening the contact with the Creator? Is it possible to merge with Him during this life?

Kabbalah is a practical method of increasing contact with the Creator called a revelation. While existing in our world as we are, a chance just to hear about this idea, this method, already enables us to implement it in this life, i.e., to merge completely with the Creator. We can reveal the entire reality in such a way that we will stop feeling any transition between life and death of our biological body. We can now ascend to the world of Infinity and exist on its highest level.

This is not only the question of increasing our contact with the Creator; we are talking about becoming similar, equal to Him.

We have all the prerequisites for it. Unlike previous generations of Kabbalists, we do not have to wait for ten years. We can do it in ten months. It only depends on our unity and common aspiration. Let us join our forces!

We continue studying item 13 of "The Introduction to the Book of Zohar". Baal HaSulam wrote several introductions to the Zohar: "The Introduction to the Zohar", "The Foreword to the Zohar" and "The Introduction to the Commentary on the Zohar".

"The Foreword to the Zohar" is the most profound and summarizing of all. It touches upon the general system of creation, penetrates its depths. "The Introduction to the Commentary on the Zohar" describes the mechanics of the spiritual ascent. "The Introduction to the Zohar" expounds the peculiarities of the book and explains how it should be approached

Let us have a closer look at the most important of these introductions in order better to understand the scope and power of the universe. We also need it to prepare ourselves for the actual reading of the Zohar.

> *13. However, we must still understand: if the will to receive* (i.e., egoism, a desire to receive for its own sake) *is so bad and corrupt, how could it be planned and stem from the Thought of Creation in the Infinity and Perfection of the Creator Himself, whose wholeness is unspeakable?*

That is, how can there be a root to all that happens to us and in us within the Creator, the root of the imperfection we are in?

The thing is that when the thought of creation had only just begun, everything had also ended. This is because unlike us, the Kli needs no actions. All the souls and their future states immediately emerged in their completeness and utter perfection (in their final, best, ultimate state). *They appeared exactly as the*

Creator had conceived them. Only at the end of correction will the souls achieve this exalted state (from the Creator's perspective it already exists. He is already merged with us in the final, perfect state)**.** *After our will to receive is completely corrected and becomes "pure" bestowal* (with the intention for the sake of the Creator)**,** *it* (the will to receive) *attains complete equivalence of properties with the Creator.*

With regard to the Creator, we have existed in this final state from the moment of our conception. He sees us in this perfect state and appeals to us from it. If we consider those, we will better comprehend His attitude to the creation, to us. We will also know how we should appeal to Him.

The Creator's attitude to us can be compared to the way a mother treats her child. While knowing that her child can be in various states, her love for it is complete. On the other hand, the child is bound to experience the "developmental diseases" and finally achieve complete equivalence of form and correction.

Why does creation go through this transformation with regard to the Creator?

Because the past, present, and future exist as a single whole in the Creator's infinity.

Time does not exist relative to the Creator, because there is no difference between an action and its consequence. They all unite into one.

The same applies to people. While entering the Upper World, a human thought becomes an act, and time contracts to the point of non-existence. As man ascends the spiritual levels, time begins to disappear. In the realm of his sensations, where man is equal with the Creator, he exists beyond time.

By making his properties similar to the Creator, the person begins to feel that his desires, actions, and his ultimate state are the same. There

is no chain of cause and effect. It exists only where something needs to be corrected. Where it is already corrected it ceases to exist, time stops and everything freezes in a state of perfection.

> *Hence, there was no corrupt will to receive* (regarding the Creator) *separated from His Infinity, and vice-versa, the equivalence of attributes that is destined to appear at the end of correction appeared immediately in His eternity* (with the thought of creation)**.**
>
> *This is what our sages meant when they said, "even before the world was created* (the Hebrew word "*Olam*" (world), comes from the word "*Ha'alama*" (concealment). This word refers to a descent from the level of infinite perfection), *He and His Name* (the Creator, His Light and all the creatures) *exist in the "only perfect state", because there was no separation of the will to receive in the souls, but rather they were merged with the Creator in their attributes* (they were completely identical). *That state is described in the words "He and His Name are One."*

"He" designates the Creator; "His Name" means a vessel (*Kli*), the creatures that were created in their perfect, eternal, final state.

When we speak of imperfections, impure forces, suffering and the various states we are to go through from the Thought of creation to its end (from the first state, through the second and into the third one), we should understand that the transition from the first to the third state exists only for us. For the Creator they all merge into one. To the extent of our correction, the corrected part also merges with this one perfect and infinite state.

> *14. From here stem the three states of the souls:*
>
> *The first state is in the world of Infinity, in the Thought of creation, where the souls already have the future form of the end of correction.*

> *The second state is called the period of 6,000 years. With the help of two systems* (the pure, altruistic system and the egoistical, impure system)**,** *the souls divide into body and soul* (meaning the light called "soul" (*Neshama*) and the body (*Guf*) known as a vessel (*Kli*), which is an egoistical uncorrected desire)**.** *We were then given the work in the Torah and Commandments in order to turn the will to receive into the will to bestow.* (This work is performed through corrective actions under the influence of the Upper Light; by drawing the Light upon ourselves, we turn the egoistical intention of our desires into to the altruistic ones)**.**

We do not change the desires themselves. They were created in us. Only the intention to use them selfishly is considered the "will to receive." The intent to use them for the Creator is called the "will to bestow."

Hence, we exist between the pure and impure systems of forces. We can receive forces for correction from the right side, while the left side constantly adds corrupt desires. Thus, we attain our correction.

The corrupt desires that come from the left side, from the impure forces (*Klipot*), are not completely alien to me. Those are my own corrupt desires that are always at my left side, while the lights that correlate to them and correct them are on my right. I ought to take the next desire that corresponds in size to my ability to correct from my left. I then take from the right the appropriate Light to correct that desire (i.e., its egoistical intention). Thus, I create within myself a corrected desire with the intention for the sake of the Creator. This will be defined as my "middle line".

Neither the right nor the left lines are my own. They were given to me from Above by the Creator. They were both created by Him. I only connect them by taking the impure force from the left and correct it using the pure force from the right. Only this singular act is mine. This

means that neither the egoistic desires from my left nor the Light that comes from the right are mine. So what is mine? Mine is the action!

What does it mean, "my action?" If the Light affects the desire and consequently corrects it, then it is the action of the Light and not my own. I am only the character that performs it. It is more accurate to say that what depends on me is to wish that my egoistical desires collide with the Upper Light from the right, and be corrected with its help.

It can also be expressed in another manner (as we read in § 155 of "The Introduction to the Study of the Ten *Sefirot*"). While studying, we have the only opportunity actually to perform a correction in its pure form, in action. During our studies, we concentrate on our desire to be exposed to the influence of the Surrounding Light that would correct and elevate us to the level we read about. At that particular moment, we expose our egoistic desires to the Upper Correcting Light.

Souls may be in two states. The first one relates to the world of Infinity, to the Thought of creation. The second one relates to the relative period of 6,000 years (though it can take less time). During that time, we correct ourselves. This means that under the influence of the Light we gradually correct all of our 620 egoistical desires.

"Gradually" means a consecutive ascent of the 6,000 levels. The entire way can also be divided into 125 levels. It does not really matter how we divide it. What is important is that we must go through all of them. The order in which we progress is as preordained as our actions.

The only thing that is not preordained is our desire for it to happen. Without our desire there will be no correction; the right and the left lines will neither come into contact nor interact. That can happen only if we want it to. This desire is called "*Aliyat MAN*" (raising of *MAN)*, i.e., raising our desire. It appears the moment we want it.

This desire is exactly what we should reach during our studies. As we study, we should only think that this correction will come to each and

every one of us. We ought to long for the tremendous Upper Light to descend upon all of us. There are many of us; we have a large group all over the world. We go through many different states and live in different conditions. With our combined effort, we can draw a very intensive Upper Light that would correct us; we should only want it.

It all depends on the intensity of our desire. If it reaches its maximum (it is really in our power), we will be corrected and achieve the first spiritual level.

While we are in this state (of 6000 years)**, only the souls are corrected, but not the bodies. This means that we must relinquish all the desires to receive for ourselves called the attributes of the body, and remain only with the desire to bestow known as a spiritual desire.**

Plainly speaking, we do not correct the body itself during the six thousand years. This means that we are unable to correct "*Lev HaEven*" (heart of stone), our original egoism. We can only do it by ascending to the higher-level called "*AHP de Aliya*".

> *Even the souls of the righteous cannot be in the Garden of Eden* (a specific level in the world of *Atzilut*) *after death* (when one's egoism dies)**,** *but only after their bodies rot in the ground.*

We have talked about the meaning of the "bodies rotting in the ground". We know that it constitutes a complete revocation of our egoism (we perform *Tzimtzum*). Egoism becomes completely detached from us and we only work with the properties we receive from Above - *GE* (desires of bestowal).

All of our *Kelim de Kabbalah* (vessels of reception) are restricted. By refraining from using them, we seemingly bury them in the ground to rot. What does this "rotting" mean? It is as though we examine each of those desires and acquire *Kelim de Ashpa'a*, *GE* (vessels of bestowal). Abstaining from the use of these desires is called "decomposition" of these desires. We will discuss it later.

After the acquisition of all the altruistic desires (*GE*), we begin to raise the previously rejected *AHP*. Such a return of the *AHP* to the corrected level by retrieving it from the state we put it in is called "resurrection of the dead". We raise the "dead" desires that we did not want to use, revive them with their flaws, thus correcting our egoistical *AHP*. That is the meaning of the dead that have completely rotted rising from their graves. This way the vessels of the *AHP* join with the vessels of *GE*.

One should by no means imagine that this happens with our physical bodies in the material world. We can burn or bury the physical body, perform implants and do whatever else we want with it. We are not talking about this body; it has nothing to do with spiritual terms, and the soul is completely disconnected from it.

> *The third state is the end of correction of the souls after the "resurrection of the dead.* (When the *GE* are already acquired, and the *AHP* are corrected and connected with it, this means that the vessel (*Kli*), all the Ten *Sefirot*, the 620 completely corrected desires, are complete), *when all the bodies* (egoistical desires) *are corrected. In that state, reception for one's self (original), which is the property of the body, is overturned and adopts the form of pure giving, thus becoming worthy of receiving all the bounty, pleasure and delight that is in the thought of creation.*

This means that before the *Kli* has corrected all the Light that comes to it, it is felt as darkness because of the dissimilarity of properties. And vice versa, to the extent that we acquire equivalence of form with the Light, with the Creator, we begin to feel Him. We feel this Light in its true form, as a Giver of perfection, infinity, love, and goodness. It all depends on how similar we can be to the Light that comes from Above.

Therefore, our today's world will begin to expand and to be filled with the Upper World to the extent of our similarity to the Light. This world will be gradually "disappearing" from our sensations. The more we

correct ourselves, the clearer we will see the laws that exist around us in the Upper World. This is how we will feel the universe.

> *At the same time, souls merit complete merging with the Creator through equivalence of properties with Him. That is because they do not take pleasure in their own will to receive, but rather in the desire to give to the Creator* (they become equal to Him)**.** *Consequently, He enjoys when they receive pleasure***,** because they also receive pleasure from Him.

The souls rise to the level called the "Thought of creation". They become equal with the Creator, and they are granted the sensation of unbound infinity. It is said: "The thought of creation is to delight the creatures." They feel endlessness in each of their feelings, pleasures, and attainments, timeless and flawless existence.

Many states follow the correction of the vessels. We are just talking about achieving a state when our *Kelim* (desires) are corrected. Once we are corrected, the Creator begins to elevate us to His own level and higher. We cannot even speak about these states; there are no words in our language to describe them. We can only discuss something that precedes the end of correction, when everything enters the state we refer to as Infinity (*Ein Sof*).

We are unable to understand what follows, because what we feel, understand and attain, what we can absorb and analyze, can only exist because it consists of opposites: black and white, pain and pleasure, or any kind of limit. It is only in the transition between two opposite states that we can feel. We use the opposites to create symbols, express our inner feelings as letters, black symbols against a white background.

As we enter the world of Infinity (*Ein Sof*), where there are neither opposite attributes, nor contrasting sensations of good and evil, our language becomes useless. Consequently, we can read nothing about those states, because Kabbalists have no means to convey them to us.

It is therefore said: "Taste and see that the Lord is good." It can only be verified by tasting, by drawing Inner Light called flavors (*Ta'amim*). There is no other way.

Kabbalah is a purely applied science. By using its methods on themselves, Kabbalists achieve correction. Unlike those who study it theoretically and therefore can never understand what these books have to say, Kabbalists receive their attainments within themselves and understand what it is all about.

> *For the sake of brevity, we shall refer to the three states of the soul as states one, two, and three. You should remember them well.*

Baal HaSulam uses these names quite frequently, referring to them as the first, second and third states. The first one is the Thought, the second is the 6,000-year period of correction, and the third is the final state.

> *15. By looking at these three states, we find that they necessitate one another. If one of them did not exist* (even a tiny detail in any of them – action, cause and effect)**,** *the others would disappear as well.*

These above three states are interwoven, support one another, and exist simultaneously in the present. We should perceive them as initially created, existing relative to us. It depends only on our desire to be included in this or that state and be in it.

This desire is called "*Aliyat MAN*" (raising of *MAN)*. It is the sending out of a prayer and depends only on how much we perceive the greatness of the Upper One as well as the lowness of our own condition.

> *For example, unless the third state, in which the property of reception turns into the property of bestowal, existed, the first state would not have been able to exist in the world of Infinity* (in the primary thought)**.** *Perfection in the first state could only manifest, because it already exists in the third state in the future. Because of the Creator's*

eternity, the third state exists as present, and the perfection of the third state is seemingly copied onto the first one (this way, the first state becomes as ideal as the third one)**.** *Hence, the third state necessitates the existence of the first one.*

In other words, if the Creator had not created the perfect state, the first state would also have been unable to exist regarding Him.

Unless something existed in the second state, where occurs all our work in correction (during 6,000 years)**,** *in reaching spiritual levels, then how could the third state come to pass* (with regard to us)**?** *In this way, the second state determines the existence of the third one.*

It is not enough for something to exist in the Creator, because it exists in Him even without us. He is in a perfect and eternal state. However, for us to feel that we are in the third state, we should go through the second one.

It is the same with the first state in the world of Infinity, where the perfection of the third state exists. It definitely necessitates the existence of the third state, i.e., the second and third states should manifest in complete perfection. Thus, the first state necessitates the emergence of two opposite systems in the second state. This brings forth the body (egoistical desire in the second state), *enabling us to correct it with the help of the impure forces* (and attain the third state that would ensure perfection in the first one)**.**

This leads us to the conclusion about the necessity of the impure forces. We cannot attain the third state unless we fall under the influence of impure forces and receive the material with which we can work and correct ourselves.

Had there been no system of impure worlds, we would neither have had the will to receive (the enormous egoistical desire that matches the Creator's desire to bestow)**,** *nor could we have*

corrected it and achieve the third state, for "man cannot correct that which is absent in him".

The system of impure forces is necessary as storage of all the corrupted desires. We extract and correct them one by one, and ascend the ladder from the first state to the third one, getting closer to the Creator.

Thus, we need not ask how the impure system emerged from the first state (which is perfect and eternal, because *Malchut* in the world of Infinity performed the first restriction [*Tzimtzum Aleph*] and, having no other desires, was merged with the Creator)**.** These impure forces appeared so that we would be able to correct them, and consequently attain the third state.

The gap between the first and the third states makes the impure system necessary. It is expressed in our falling to the full depth of the impure forces and subsequently ascending and correcting them in accordance with the first state. This becomes the third state, because we have now acquired the impure forces and corrected them.

Therefore, the difference between the first and the third states lies in the correction of the impure forces and not merely in the reception of additional forces, desires, and possibilities.

Malchut of the world of Infinity is but a point in the Light. In order to fill the entire Infinity, the greater, outer circle, *Malchut* should acquire impure desires that match the size of that circle. *Malchut* itself is just a point in the circle that is surrounded by impure forces. It first acquires and then corrects them, so they become pure forces of *Malchut*. Thus, it fills up the entire circle, acquires the upper nine *Sefirot* and the point turns to *Partzuf*, the *Kli* the size of *Infinity*.

The first state, *Malchut,* is just a point merged with the Creator. It is perfect, albeit only a point. *Malchut* in the third state is a huge circle. You might say that it is 620 times bigger than the first point. In truth, it is impossible to measure just how much greater the circle becomes with these 620 desires after it connects them to itself and uses them for the

sake of bestowal. This is the actual difference between the first and the third states.

16. But the above words should not lead us to the conclusion that we have no freedom of choice because we are compelled to come to the third state, being that it is rooted in the first one.

It appears that if the first, second, and third states exist, one might ask where my freedom of choice is? Are we just marionettes "tramping" from the first state to the third without any say in the matter? No! We do have freedom of choice. Then, how is it expressed?

The fact is that the Creator has prepared two paths for us in state two.

This means that there are two ways for us to proceed from the first state to the third one: a short way and a long way.

1. The Path of Torah and Commandments

A Commandment (*Mitzva*) is an act intended to correct a desire. When we correct a certain egoistic desire, the act of correction itself is the *Mitzva*. In other words, the act of correction is what the Creator commanded: to correct the egoistical use of a desire to the altruistic one.

The Light does it. The Light is the "Torah" (from the Hebrew word "*Ohr*" - light). There exist many types of light, such as the Light of *Hassadim* (Mercy), the Light of *Hochma* (Wisdom), Light of *AB SAG*, the descending, ascending, and surrounding Light, and the *NaRaNHaY*. However, the Torah is the general Light that descends from Above.

We learned that correction is made by way of Torah and *Mitzvot* (actions influenced by the Light). This way is called the path of Torah, or the path of Light.

2. The Path of Suffering

> *Suffering refines the body and eventually compels us to turn our* (egoistical) *will to receive into the will to bestow and merge with the Creator. Our sages said, "If you repent* **(i.e.,** if you follow the Path of Torah)**,** *then it is fine, but if not, I will place over you a ruthless king, and he will make you repent"* (allusion to the Pharaoh).

In other words, terrible sufferings will compel us in spite of everything to understand that we should only progress spiritually. Mere development of technology, ethics, or any other field will eventually degrade us more and more, with each passing generation.

> *It is written: "By good or by evil. If you merit, I will hasten it* (I will lead you to the third state)**;** *if you do not, then by pain and sufferings." It means that by observing Torah and Commandments, we hasten our correction and do not need the harsh agony and the prolonged time to compel us to correct ourselves* (with the help of the Light, through Torah and Commandments)**.** *If not by way of Torah and Commandments, our correction will in any case be completed through the path of suffering; it will be forced upon us. The path of suffering entails the punishment of the souls in Hell.*

What in fact is "Hell"? In a word, Hell is the feeling of absolute lowness, smallness, and baseness of the egoistical attributes compared to the Upper Light and perfection. It is the difference between the Upper One and me. This is the contrast between the egoistical sensations and the sublime altruistic ones. Hell is a terrible, endless abyss that is felt between these two states.

> Be that as it may, the End of Correction (i.e., state three) is a must for all and is preordained by the first state. Our choice is only between the Path of Suffering and the Path of Torah and Commandments.

> *Thus, we have made clear how the three states of the souls are connected to one another and necessitate each other's existence.*

It is not quite correct to say that there are only two paths, namely the path of Torah and the path of suffering. In fact, it is impossible to be corrected through the path of suffering. Only the Light corrects. We learn in the four phases of the Straight Light: The Light begets the will to receive, i.e., *Behina Aleph*, and then it awakens the will to bestow in *Behina Aleph*, which forms *Behina Bet*. Afterwards, the Light continues acting in the desire to bestow of *Behina Bet* and creates *Behina Gimel*, then *Behina Dalet* and so on.

The Light affects the *Reshimot* in all the worlds. It elevates and lowers, corrects and develops. It is therefore impossible to be corrected by suffering. The only thing that can be achieved through pain is the realization of the necessity of correction. We can either suffer or quickly awaken (before the most terrible calamities befall us), and with the help of studies and a group expose ourselves to the influence of the Surrounding Light.

We must regain our sight before we plunge into real anguish, because eventually we will still have to return to the starting point. We should both grow smarter and do what we must, or wait until sufferings compel us to do the same. There is no other way. Therefore, our freedom of choice is in becoming smarter and taking advantage of the opportunity provided.

This is the only choice we have. We need quickly to realize what we should do. In that case, our journey will be peaceful, comfortable, and quiet. We will know and look forward to everything that awaits us. Thus, we will constantly attain better and better things, feel pleasant feelings, and attract the Surrounding Light upon ourselves.

The alternative is to stubbornly stay put and wait until terrible pain forces us to climb the same steps towards our already existing third state.

We normally err in our interpretation of the concept of free will. We perceive it as an ability to do something freely. However, nothing is

free! We are given a desire to work with, and we can do it either the right way or the wrong way.

My desires are pre-instilled in me. I can work with them exactly as they are within me, in their corrupt way. This means that I do not inspect them in view of the purpose of creation without first checking what I should do with them, what the Creator wants of me. I simply follow them. This situation is regarded as living in this world. In other words, I choose a slow and painful road.

However, there is another way. I can examine my desires, compare them with the future, with my corrected state, know what form they must eventually take, and try to draw the Surrounding Light. This light will correct them and equalize them with the Creator so that I will begin to feel Him.

This is the difference between a senseless existence in the desires of this world below the *Machsom*, and an existence in contact with the Upper World, in aspiration to it, in matching my desires with those of the Upper World. That is the manifestation of our free will.

> *17. From all the above, we understand the third inquiry: when we examine ourselves, we find that we are as corrupt and as despicable as can be...*

There is no need to explain to every person what he really is. The meaning of not knowing one's self entirely is that he must still go through a period of recognition of evil (my individual evil). Then he will see that all of his desires and intentions are only for his own benefit, that he is ready to give up everything to satisfy even the most inconsequential desires that he does not care at all about what happens around him. This is the meaning of baseness, opposition to the Creator.

> *When we examine ourselves, we find that we are as corrupt and as despicable as can be. However, when we look at the Creator, we must be similar to Him, for there is no one higher than He, as is*

becoming of the Creator who created us. That is because the nature of the Perfect One is to perform perfect acts.

How could something imperfect create something perfect, and vice versa, how could something imperfect be emanated by something perfect? That is impossible, for if the Creator is perfect, and He creates something imperfect, it means that this imperfection existed in Him to begin with.

Now we can understand that our body with all of its insignificant egoistical desires is not our real body (it is what we are given from the impure system)**.** *Our real body, eternal and perfect* (corrected), *already exists in the third state.*

The impure thoughts and desires that we receive from the left line (our so-called "impure body), are only given for us to correct. While climbing by means of our corrected desires, as if on the rungs of a ladder, we ascend to the third state. That is where we receive our complete form, in reception for the sake of bestowal. All of the 620 impure desires given to us must be turned into a perfect and pure body.

Thus, state one (in which *Malchut* is merely a point) *necessitates our reception of a corrupt and loathsome shell* (*Klipa*, the will to receive*), of the egoistical desire. State two separates us from the Creator,* (we do not feel it, because it covers all our feelings) *so as to correct it and allow us to receive our eternal body in state three. We need not angrily protest it* (such a loathsome body) *because our work cannot be done except in a body as transitory and as wasteful as ours* (in these detestable and egoistical desires)...

We need something to work with. Unless we had these desires, what would we have to correct? We need somehow to comprehend the acts of the Creator. Why do we need this metamorphosis? Why do we have to go through all these phases of correction? Could we not have been spared this forced correction? We really could, but then we would remain a point, a mere fetus inside the Creator.

When we examine the 620 desires that are opposite to the Creator, correct them, and make them similar to Him, we become equal with the Creator. That is because He created those 620 desires by His will to bestow. When we correct them, we become similar to His bestowal, we acquire the necessary properties, intention, power, and knowledge. We learn what happens inside the Creator Himself and become equal with Him.

Therefore, it is impossible to receive those 620 desires corrected in advance. If that were the case, we would not be able to adopt them in us without turning them from negative to positive, until they become similar to the Creator.

> *Thus we are already in a perfect state, in correspondence with the perfect Creator who has made us in the second state* (it does not matter that the second state is low, because it is not our own)**.** *Since our body is going to die, and since it is here only for the time necessary for the reception of its eternal form, it can cause us no harm.*

The Creator gave us a loathsome, base, and egoistical body by dropping us into infinitesimal negativity. He did this so that we might have a way to ascend. For that reason, these properties were created artificially. They are, in fact, a backward reflection of His attributes, allowing us to make them similar to the Creator.

If we invert them from reception to bestowal, the past intentions die, rot, and disappear, making room for the intentions to bestow to emerge in their place. Hence, this body *is only here for the time necessary for its cancellation and reception of our eternal form.*

> *18. That resolves our fifth inquiry, which was – how could it be that from the Eternal* (like the Creator) *transitory, wasteful actions would be extended* (concrete, discrete and of limited size)**?**

How can something transitory, limited, low, and flawed, stem from something eternal? We do not fully understand these questions because

we do not feel any kind of eternity. That is how opposite it is to our condition.

However, the difficulty still stands. We will understand what Baal HaSulam is saying only when eternity begins to shine on us from Above. It will happen slowly as we begin to attain the Surrounding Light that creates the complete and perfect universe around us and creates this picture in our mind's eye. Only then will we begin to understand this contradiction, how this flawless eternity and perfection, without even a trace of limitation, contrast, or opposites, in which all the points are perfect and eternal and continuous, can come from a source where states and actions are passing, transient and low.

We see that we are indeed in a state worthy of His eternity, meaning that even now we are eternal and perfect beings.

The only thing that obstructs us from feeling this eternity is the shell that wraps us, this being our egoistical impure intention. We are like a magnetic field that reflects everything we project outwardly. When we stop turning inwardly and can turn the current from inside out, we will instantly feel the eternity and perfection we are actually in. We must only neutralize the shell.

> *And our eternity necessitates that the egoistical shell of the body will have been given to us only for a transitory, wasteful work* (in order to turn it to altruism and increase it from being a point to being a circle, meaning the level of the Creator)**,** *for if it had remained eternal, we would have remained separated from the Life of Lives for all eternity.*
>
> *As we have said in item 13, this form of our body, which is the will to receive for ourselves alone* (with the intention for our own sake)**,** *is not at all present in the thought of creation, for there we are formed as state three* (to begin with)**,** *but rather appears* (to us)

only in the second state (so that we acquire it by ourselves in the third state)**.**

It should not appear as a paradox, or something unnatural. We are in fact in the third state, and only exist in the second one with our subjective feelings, in order to correct them to correspond to the real situation.

We must not ponder (there is no question) *over the state of other beings in the world* (they are inconsequential for us)**,** *since man is the center of creation.*

We think that humankind cannot be the center of creation, because we are lost, even on this planet. We exist on a thin layer of the planet, sitting on a vibrating, steaming, and erupting volcano. We are in a vast universe, dependent on some negligible star called "Sun".

If we measure ourselves with respect to the nature of the still or the vegetative, which are so abundant, it will seem that we are a tiny insignificant minority. You can also say the same thing with regard to animate nature, which is thousands of times greater than we in numbers are.

If we exist on this planet as animals, completely disconnected and detached from the Upper World, without accepting upon ourselves the purpose of creation, we naturally become tiny fractions in space and in this world. If we begin to acquire the attributes of the Upper World, we will become lords of the universe. During the ascent to the Upper World, we begin to absorb it into ourselves, to the point of Infinity.

It turns out that without connection with the Upper World we are insignificant. In fact, this is our actual strength. To the extent that we acquire these Upper Forces, being the Light that controls, creates, sustains and fills everything, and come to own that Light, we will rise higher than all of nature.

We must not ponder over other beings in the world, since man (a person who attains the Upper World) *is the center of creation.*

> *All other creations* (still, vegetative, and animate) *do not have their own value, but only as much as they are useful in bringing humanity to completeness. Thus, they ascend and descend with man without any regard for himself.* They all depend on us, on how much we draw them to ourselves for the purpose of our ascent.

When one begins to ascend in spirituality, one finds a wondrous interdependency where one's every inner trait is not one's own, but rather a reflection of an external nature. My animate nature contains the entire nature around me. My vegetative degree is more internal, meaning it is a higher reflection of the entire vegetative nature. My still desires are a higher reflection of the entire universe, of the entire inanimate nature around me.

Once I discover this dependency, I begin to use nature through perception of it, consequently understanding its language and sensations. That is the reason Kabbalists are said to understand the language of the birds and the animals, and feel and understand everything around them. It is metaphorically described as man containing everything within.

After that, while ascending to the Upper Worlds, we discover the entire surrounding nature within us, in our new attributes. Our inner vessels, our perception of the surrounding world, become incomplete. As a result, we are separated and severed from our surroundings.

The absence of the screen, which produced the second restriction, created a division of internal worlds and external worlds. The parts of the *Partzuf* were created from the innermost to the outermost.

Immediately after the conclusive and collective screen is created, everything will unite into one structure of Ten *Sefirot*, and our entire world will be contained in each and every one of us. Then we shall all unite into a single soul, and become *Adam*, the only *Adam* (*Adam HaRishon*), containing everything within.

Therefore, we need not ask about the rest of nature, for it depends on us alone. We now discover how badly we influence it. As we spiritually correct ourselves, we will discover fantastic changes for the better in our surrounding nature. We will not need any genetic engineering to be able to provide for ourselves. Nature will independently create in us everything we need.

Let us continue studying "The Introduction to the Book of Zohar," where we have carefully examined the first three points. Here Baal HaSulam approaches the fourth question.

> *19. If the Creator is kind and only brings goodness, how could he intentionally create his creations so that they are bound to suffer and grieve during their lives?*
>
> *It is said that all this suffering is predetermined in our first state, in which our perfect eternity will be achieved from the future third state, that obligates us to follow the path of Torah or the path of suffering*

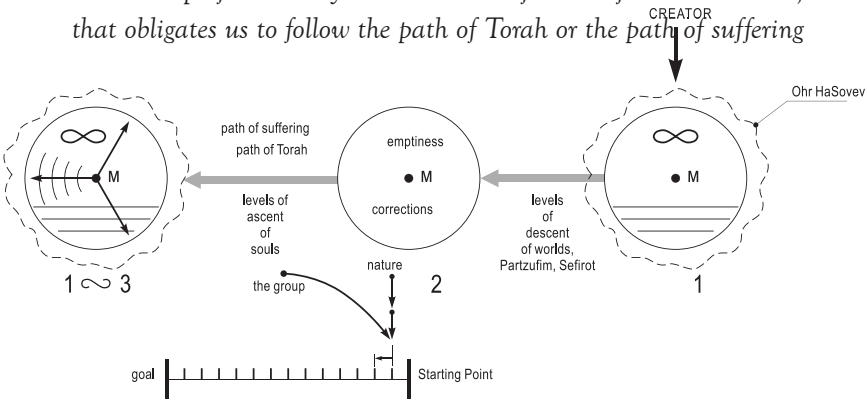

> *in order to achieve eternity in state three.*

What is Baal HaSulam talking about? Let me remind you with the help of a little sketch.

We say that state one, created by the Creator, the state of Infinity, is completely filled with the light and this is *Malchut*. In state two,

Malchut performs a *Tzimtzum*, becomes empty, and during this state it is being gradually filled with the light, performs corrections, which finally lead to the third state, when *Malchut* returns to being completely filled with the light.

This third state is equivalent to the first one, the only difference between them being that the third state was achieved by *Malchut* itself. According to the above sketch, the first state is created by the Creator from outside, by the surrounding light called *Ohr Sovev*. The third state – the world of Infinity - is achieved by the correction of *Malchut* itself, which absorbs all these previous properties. They become the properties of *Malchut,* which fills the entire volume of Infinity by attracting the outer light.

It is not that the Creator governs and fills the world of Infinity, but rather *Malchut* fills this void from within its own desire. We are going to examine how these three states predetermine each other.

There is an opportunity to pass from the first state to the second and then from the second to the third in the following way: from the first state, we pass to the second by descending the so-called levels of descent (the worlds, *Partzufim* and *Sefirot*). This process is usually depicted as one unfolding from up downwards, from the World of Infinity to our world. The passage from the second state to the third constitutes the levels of ascent (correction) of the souls. Naturally, we do not exist between the first and the second stages; there are no created beings yet. The path of creation starts between the second and the third states.

There are two paths: "*the path of Torah and the path of suffering*". The difference is only in time. From the beginning until the end of every path, I should go through a certain number of levels. Every time, while passing from one level to another I need to feel the evil and corruption of my current state and the perfection expected at the next one. I can evaluate the corruption of the current level and the perfection of the future one either under the influence of my group, books and the Rav or under the influ-

ence of blows that I will be dealt. These blows act slowly; they are stretched in time and therefore I prolong my passage on the path of suffering.

However, with the help of books, the Rav, and my group, I can quickly realize the corruption of my current condition and the perfection of the following state and thus move forward of my own free will. That is, the path itself does not mean escaping from a corrupted state to a better state by necessity, but rather it means to be in a state of attainment and exaltation. The path itself becomes an ascent and time spent in each state will literally shrink to a minimum. Here lies the difference between the path of Torah (light) and the path of suffering.

Only with the help of a self-created outside source can I start advancing along the path of Torah instead of the path of suffering. I myself create my group; the group is most important. Only with the help of my complementary element, by switching the natural factor of influence on me with my group's influence, do I start moving much faster. This is the most important factor at our disposal. Our studies cannot guarantee us any advancement. The essence of what we study is to create forces around us that would influence us and move us forward faster than those natural forces that move the rest of humanity. This is the reason we gather; this is why we study and try to understand why Kabbalists, who have already attained this, advise us on how to accelerate our development, our passage from the second state to the third.

So, Baal HaSulam says that *all this suffering is felt only in the Klipa of our body*, (i.e., in our still uncorrected desires), *which was created for nothing else but to die and be buried.*

This means we should bury these desires for the purpose of not using them. The desires that have not been used by man are called dead.

> *This points out that the will to receive* (egotistical desire to obtain everything, to fill oneself) *was created only to be destroyed in the mode in which it exists, in its initial mode, to be wiped out and*

turned into the will to bestow. Suffering is only given to us to discover the insignificance and harm of the will to receive.

In other words, there is a goal in suffering, some causality, and the people who try to follow the right path, replace bodily suffering (from their unsatisfied egotism) with purposeful ones.

When the whole world agrees to set itself free and annihilate the will to receive for its own sake, everyone will only have the desire to give to others. This transformation will happen under the influence of enormous suffering of which Baal HaSulam writes in his article "The Last Generation," and which the ancient prophets predicted to us pointing at our time as a beginning of this period.

When the whole world agrees to set itself free and annihilate egoistical desires, when it chooses to acquire the will to bestow, it will annihilate all the evil in the world and everyone will be sure of a healthy and full life, because each one will have the whole world taking care of him and his needs. However, when everyone only desires to receive for his own sake, this becomes the cause of suffering, atrocities, and wars, from which we cannot escape. This desire weakens the body with disease and pain.

That is, on all our levels suffering is determined by our common egoism. Naturally, as humanity evolves, this suffering will only increase up to the point of becoming so unbearable that everyone will want to get rid of his own egoism just to stop suffering. It is therefore called the path of suffering. Imagine how much suffering every person and humanity, as a whole will have to go through in order willingly to get rid of egoism as a source of suffering. How much of his own evil should each one of us realize? Just imagine what a horrible future is ahead of us in such a case!

On the other hand, by attracting the Upper Light into this world, even our small groups relieve people from suffering, although they know nothing about Kabbalah as a method of achieving happiness. We already give them some subconscious inner factors that help them quickly find correct answers to their questions about suffering. We see how a new per-

son comes to a group and without knowing or understanding what the group is doing, in no time adapts himself to what is being taught there.

It took those who have studied for a long time months or years to reach this level, whereas the newcomers are so quick in the uptake. This happens because we have paved the way for them. Moreover, every generation that is engaged in spiritual work similarly influences all the consecutive generations.

So we should not be thinking of the enormous sufferings awaiting us. By increasing the number of people studying Kabbalah, we help the world to reach the realization of evil faster. In the near future humanity will clearly understand that egoism is the source of every evil. All we will have left to do is to show that there is a method of turning this evil to good.

> *Thus, we can see that all suffering in our world exists only to open our eyes, compel us to get rid of the evil egoism of our body, and attain the perfect form of desire to bestow. The path of suffering is quite capable of pushing us towards this desired condition.*

That is, the sooner the person realizes the reason for his suffering, the sooner his group will be able to help him, the faster he will attain the Upper World, eternity, perfection and wisdom.

> *Know that the commandments pertaining to relations among people are more important than man's relations with the Creator are, because giving to others leads to bestowal upon the Creator.*

That is, where and how can I recognize evil? Where is it and what is its purpose? I can understand it faster by working with my friends in a group.

This is why it is said that relations among people are more effective for finding evil than relations between man and the Creator. Since man's relations with the Creator are hidden from him, he can imagine them in all possible variations, but none of us will know for sure, until our eyes open and we see our true relations with the Creator.

At the same time, the relations among the members of a group as with opponents, antagonists or as real friends moving towards the mutual goal, agreements and disagreements among them - all of this is a testing ground, a laboratory in which the person can quickly discover the reason for his terrible states. He will understand how by making necessary changes he can attain the Upper World.

This is precisely why we are given this world and our life among other people. A huge society is purposefully created around every single one of us. On the other hand, every one of us has an opportunity to create a small society in which he can work on his inner changes. We have it all, so we just need to accomplish it.

> *20. After all the research we have done so far, we can now answer the first question: "What is our essence?", because it is the essence of all the realms of Creation, which represent no more and no less than the desire to receive.*

It follows that we are a "desire to receive pleasure" created by the Creator.

> *Not in the way it appears to us in state two* (in the uncorrected condition, far from perfection, after all the stages of descent of the worlds and *Sefirot*), *as a will to receive for oneself alone* (egoistical desire), *but in state one, in the world of Infinity, in our eternal form, as a desire to bestow, to please the Creator.*
>
> *But even though in reality we have not yet achieved state three* (in our sensations) *and still remain within the limits of time* (i.e., we are still ascending the levels of correction), *it does not in the least diminish our essence* (the question was - what is our essence. The fact that we are now in the state of imperfection, does not diminish our inner essence), *because our third state (the future state) is guaranteed by the presence of state one. The one who will receive it in the future is similar to the one who has*

already received it (if he knows exactly what he receives and is absolutely confident in his future state).

If we had "faith", i.e., not egoism, but a desire to bestow, we would then feel our third state in advance. It would already be shining upon us from afar, even in our uncorrected states, as the *Ohr Makif* (the Surrounding Light) is shining upon us.

In this case, we would not feel any problems, any imperfections, even in state two, because we would receive the luminescence from our future state three. This resembles a person who, with all the responsibilities and tasks he needs to do during the day, awaits the evening when he will receive something extraordinary, something wonderful. You live in the anticipation of the evening. You are confident that it will be something really special, something exciting, and enlightening. Your whole day completely changes. Why? It will only happen in the evening! You draw upon yourself that future state in advance. Therefore, if we could only see our future state (it is only possible in the Reflected Light), it would already be shining upon us today, and it would be like being within that Light.

Oftentimes, when the person is controlled by his egoistical desires, anticipation of a better state is sometimes much more powerful then the actual state, when we achieve it. This is because anticipation is caused by the Surrounding Light, and it is not limited by my *Kelim*, by my desires. It is unlimited because I receive the light from afar; it is not inside of my *Kelim*; it comes from outside; it is around me. It is as the light of Infinity, so anticipation of it is always much more promising and exciting than the feeling of the actual pleasure.

Therefore, even now we can be in that state (although we really are in state two) by receiving the luminescence of state three, but only if we possess the Reflected light. Baal HaSulam says that even though in reality we have not reached state three and remain confined within the bounds of time, this does not in the least diminish our essence, be-

cause our future state three is guaranteed to us by the present state one. And he who will receive in the future is similar to the one who already received.

> *The time factor becomes a problem when the person has doubts* (i.e., when there is a lack of faith) *whether he would complete everything he is supposed to complete in the given time. Since the person achieves such a state when he has no more doubts, it is as if he achieves state three.*

So what is our task today? What is the most important thing to do? We should immediately feel Infinity, eternity, the state of absolute attainment and omnipresence. Life and death of the body become irrelevant. Everything depends on acquiring the attributes of *Bina* (faith). As soon as that happens, the light of state three will start shining upon us.

> *The evil body* (our uncorrected desires) *that we received at present does not diminish our essence, because the body with all of its acquisitions will disappear together with its source - the system of impure forces. The one that disappears is similar to that which has already vanished, as if it had never existed.*

This is what the Creation looks like from the next level, and if we rise above it and look behind and ahead of us, then egoism disappears and the perfect state begins to shine upon us.

> *However, the essence of the soul dressed in the body is only the desire to bestow, which is rooted in the system of four pure worlds: Atzilut, Beria, Yetzira, Assiya. This desire is eternal, because it is the property of the Source of life. It is invariable and therefore eternal.*

In order to have a better understanding, let us look at the following picture.

The Creator created, from top down, the will to receive pleasure. This will to receive is the desire to feel Him. If the Creator is the light, then the desire to receive is the desire to feel the light.

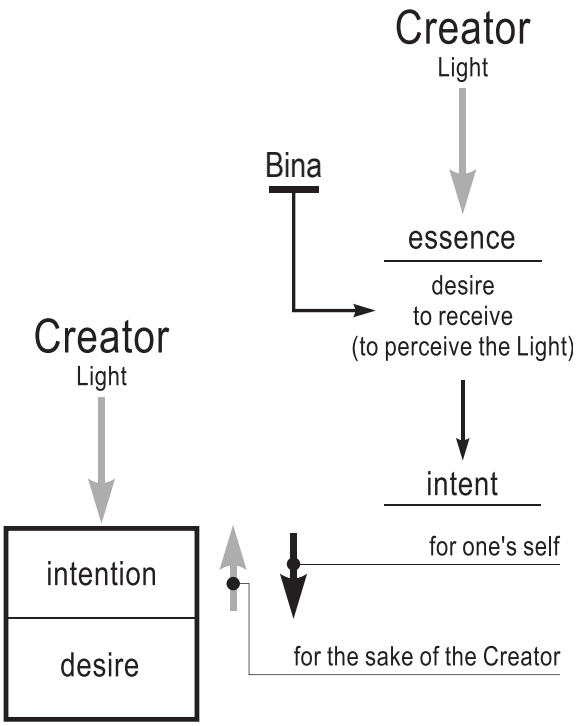

This desire is neither good nor bad; it is the essence of Creation. Because of the breaking of the vessels, it received from *Bina* the intention on how to use the desire: for oneself alone or for the Creator. That superstructure appears above the desire. Therefore there are the desire, the light or the source of the light (the Creator), and the intentions on how to use that desire. That is all.

> *21. Do not be led astray by the philosophers who say that the essence of the soul is a substance of the mind and that it only exists through the concepts it learns and from there it grows and they are its essence. The question of the continuance of the soul after the departure of the body depends solely on the extent of concepts it has acquired, until in the absence of such concepts, there remains nothing to continue.*

Philosophy states that man's existence depends on his knowledge of nature.

What is contained in this knowledge? It is just an understanding of what exists outside of me. First, is this knowledge absolute? Even through research, we understand that the world we feel around us is nothing more than the result of our subjective perception. If we had different senses, we would feel the world quite differently, not as air, solid bodies or liquid, gaseous and plasma states of matter. The world would have a completely different degree of density and other perceived qualities.

The way the world exists around us is merely a consequence of our internal states. That is why philosophy's stipulation that man's life is dependent upon his conception of the outer world cardinally contradicts the opinion of Kabbalah.

> *It is also unaccepted by the heart, and anyone who ever tried to acquire some knowledge knows and feels that the mind itself is a possession and not the possessor.*
>
> *Nevertheless, as we have said, all the substance of the renewed creation, both the substance of spiritual objects and the substance of corporeal objects, is no more and no less than a will to receive.*

Our essence is the will to receive. Moreover, any difference between one essence and another lies in their respective desires to receive that generate needs within every essence, which in turn create certain thoughts and knowledge that are sufficient to satisfy those needs. Therefore, desires are the very core of whatever is within us. Our mind is created to satisfy these desires. Our essence is not the mind; it is the will to receive.

> *Just as human desires differ from one another, so are their needs, thoughts and ideas. For instance, those whose will to receive is limited to beastly desires, their needs, thoughts and ideas all aim to satisfy those desires.*

People only differ in the combinations of their desires. Moreover, we cannot do anything with people. We cannot affect them from outside, no matter what pressure we put upon them. Somehow, we should indirectly find a way to speed up their development and transition from the animate level to the human and from the human to the spiritual. Unless the person's desires change, we would not be able to give him anything that is out of tune with his desires, because his essence is a desire. The current level of development of his desires constitutes his true state.

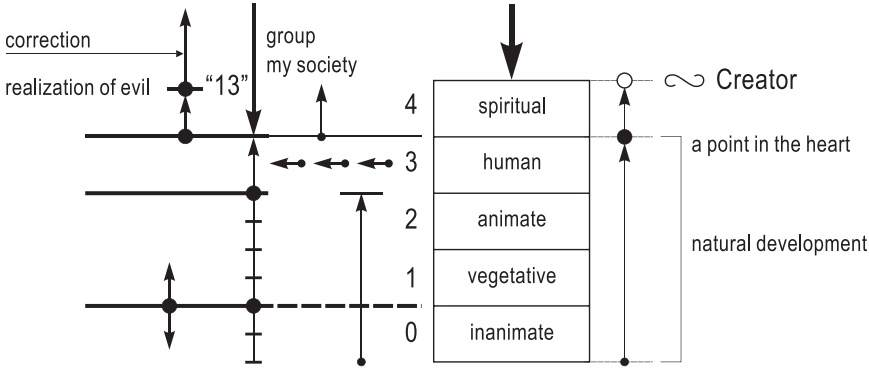

In every one of us, there are five levels of desires: still, vegetative, animate, human, and spiritual. Zero, one, two, three, and four are five types of desires (or five types of *Dargot Aviut*), five kinds of ego. This is the way people evolve. However, if the person reaches a level where he passes from human desires to spiritual ones, a point in his heart emerges and he starts to feel something. This point is a beginning of the spiritual desire, while the end of it is similarity to the Creator. Such is the way of correction.

Desires evolve naturally up to the spiritual level, whereas the development of the point in the heart may follow either the path of Torah or the path of suffering. We live in a society where everyone has his own desires. Consequently, every person exists at a certain level of development: still, vegetative, animate, human, or spiritual.

If people come to us, we need to determine whether they already reached the necessary level. In other words, has the point in their hearts awakened? If yes, then this is my society, my group. I seek such people to build a force around me that would help me to advance in the right direction. Some people come to us with their desires being only on the still, vegetative, animate, and human levels. Human desires include cravings for wealth, honor, fame, and knowledge. Any desire below that level is considered natural.

Therefore, the people whose level of desire is below the level of the point in the heart will never understand us. Nevertheless, as we attract the Surrounding Light upon us, we gradually elevate them as well. More and more people have come to us recently with greater inner readiness to adopt our material at an ever-accelerating pace.

However, until the person's desires change, he will not be able to understand anything. In other words, everyone understands only through the point of his desire. The one who reached a certain level only wants to fulfill the desires at that level. He is neither interested in desires below this level, for he has already overgrown them, nor does he understand the desires above, for he perceives them as quite unreal.

For instance, take a simple person from a village, start telling him how good it is to write music, to paint and discover nature's secrets. Having no such desires, he will simply not understand. Similarly, an ordinary person does not want to be a millionaire. Therefore, each of us acts only from the level of desire that is developed in us; hence, we should relate to it correspondingly. Therefore Baal HaSulam says that the most important thing is not human knowledge or thoughts, but desires. The only thing we can do for people and for ourselves is to stimulate a rapid evolution of desires. This will lead the world towards a perfect state, quickly and painlessly.

For instance, those whose desire to receive is limited only to animal types of pleasure, their needs, thoughts and reasons are directed to

fulfilling this desire in his animal entirety. Even though they use human reason and knowledge for this purpose (in fact, it is time for them to grow up), their mind is as the mind of an animal, since they are enslaved to animal desire and its service.

Sometimes we see influential and very self-confident individuals, who, apparently, understand what they are living for. However, in spite of their self-confidence and understanding, what are their real desires? In fact, they only want to acquire something in this life and content themselves with it.

On the other hand, those whose desire to receive demands by and large human delights such as honor, power (control) over others, which is not available to the animal type, their main needs, thoughts and knowledge are intended only for the completion of their desires, as much as possible. Again, those with the desire to receive generally require all their needs, thoughts, and knowledge only to fulfill entirely this desire.

Mind, thoughts, and knowledge are meant to serve the desires, to fulfill them.

22. These three kinds of desires predominate in every man, but everyone combines them in different proportions. All differences between people come from this point. Speaking about material properties, you can draw an analogy to spiritual properties, according to their spiritual value.

23. Thus, the souls of people with their spiritual investing the Reflected light (Ohr Hozer), which they receive from the Upper Worlds and from which they descend, find only the desire to bestow, the intention for the sake of the Creator. This is the essence of the soul. After its investing into a man's body, it bears in it the necessities, thoughts, and intellect that are aimed at giving, pleasing the Creator according to the value of the soul's desire.

Baal HaSulam says that as we advance and work in contact with the Creator, we begin to understand the Creator and enter Infinity and Perfection. We attain the true creation breaking free from our present existence, rise above the level of life and death. However, we continue working with our desires, investing them with the intention for the sake of the Creator. The same desires remain; they just acquire an opposite direction.

In addition, with the change of direction, they obviously acquire different filling.

> *24. Thus, the essence of the body is only the desire to receive for itself in all its manifestations and with all its acquisitions. Everything it gets is just for filling this depraved desire to receive that has been created only to be destroyed and to disappear from the world* (the intention for one's own sake is meant), *in order accomplish state three at the End of Correction.*
>
> *That is why it* (our egoistical intention) *is mortal and, of course, imperfect, for all its acquisitions are slipping by like a shadow, without leaving anything after them.*

This can be compared with our own experience in this world. We have already lived here for a few decades, but where are all those achievements and pleasures that we so enjoyed some time ago? All of them disappear and the person is left with nothing at the end of his life.

Why are they not accumulating in us? Why do we not feel greater satisfaction every time? Why, in our egoistical state, do we need always to loose the previous one to get a new fulfillment?

The fact is that such is the law of impure forces called *Klipot*. They cannot receive more than a small spark of light and are therefore unable to get the next fulfillment before they get rid of their previous tiny portion.

This is the essence of our life: exhalation and inhalation, emptying and filling. This continues at the same level, like small vibrations: up and down, up and down. Moreover, our entire life is made of such periods of intermittent emptiness and fulfillment.

Therefore, Baal HaSulam says:

That is why it is mortal and, of course, imperfect, for all its acquisitions are slipping by like a shadow, without leaving anything after them.

At the same time, the essence of the soul is just the desire to bestow. All her manifestations and acquisitions are filled with the desire that exists already as in the eternal state 1 and in the future state 3.

What does the second intermediate state mean? This is my starting point from which I should attain my true state three. In fact, we are already in that state. We just need to feel it. Thus, our gradual advancement towards state three and its gradual manifestation represent the stages of the path that we have to go through.

Nothing new ever happens in the world. My eyes begin to open and I gradually reveal the Infinity in my sensations. If the person tunes himself up this way, he will eventually start feeling it.

Try to tune yourselves to this feeling: we exist in the world of Infinity, of which we perceive only a tiny fragment. We just need to discover it. This is what Baal HaSulam says. This way, the shroud will disappear along with all of its manifestations and the eternal, infinite world will emerges.

But what should disappear? By the shroud, we mean our egoistical body that is destined to die, be buried, and completely disappear. The egoistical body is our intention to receive for ourselves.

On the contrary, deliverance from the uncorrected body makes her stronger, so that she can rise up to paradise (Gan Eden).

Paradise, or the Garden of Eden, is *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* that acquired the properties of *Bina*.

> *Thus, we have made plain that the eternity of the soul does not depend on the knowledge it has, as philosophers consider. The eternity of the soul is in her essence, that is, in her desire to bestow.*

The soul is eternal; it is the desire to receive initially created with the intention for the sake of the Creator.

The knowledge that she obtained is her reward, and does not represent her.

The true knowledge is the *Ohr Hochma* that enters into the corrected intentions.

> *25. From this, we will find a complete solution to the fifth analysis, where we asked if it is the case that the body is so imperfect* (by body we only mean the egoistical desire with the intention for oneself) *that, unless it is decomposed, the pure soul* (by soul we mean the Upper Light that enters into the intention for the sake of the Creator) *cannot enter into it, why does it come back and revive by rising from the dead? As it is said by the sages, the dead* (i.e., all these egoistical intentions for oneself) *are resurrected with all their shortcomings, so that nobody could say that they are not the same bodies.*

Why do we have to struggle through these purposely-confusing ideas in the texts of Kabbalists? According to what we saw in previous articles, the soul and her correction depend not on knowledge, but on a change of desires and intentions. Therefore the Kabbalist, even though he writes such articles as we study now that are supposed to shed some light on our state, is least of all concerned about our understanding of what he wants to say. His intentions with regard to us are very different.

He wants us, half-asleep, lost, unconscious and confused to follow his thoughts. He does not demand from us an understanding of the

text we are reading now. What he does demand is our presence in that chain of thought, which he unfolds before us. Hold on to him like a small child. It does not matter how much you understand. The most important thing is your desire to go along with him.

Just be with your teacher, go along with him and he will lead you forward. The person can never understand a higher state with the mind of a lower state, because very different desires, functions, and laws rule on the higher level. He will never rise to the next level before he understands it. It is utterly impossible. The Kabbalist purposely muddles his texts, because he wishes us to feel the need to cling to him. He wants us to follow him in the dark, as if we are small, helpless, and blind.

Hence, this state of confusion, incomprehension and ignorance is good. We just need to realize that it is not the mind we have to use, but our intention to merge with the Creator. We should use our desires, not the intellect, because our intellect cannot function there. It functions only in our world. It is of the animate level, not spiritual. When we make our desires spiritual, going hand in hand with the Kabbalist who guides us, our desires will change. They will generate very different thoughts aimed at fulfilling these new, spiritual desires, to correct them, elevate them even higher, absorb and understand them.

That is, the mind is a pure consequence of our desires and evolves together with them. Therefore, it is said that suffering makes one wiser. It is truly so! Because the mind, the intellect is the consequence of the necessity to escape suffering. You should never hope first to find out something about the spiritual and then rise to the level of your knowledge. Never! The mind only develops in accordance with a change of desire. We always advance this way.

That is why I am saying it again: it does not matter at all what your condition during the lesson is, even if you do not know the language or cannot "switch on" your brain today. The only thing that matters is you desire to follow the author, lecturer, teacher. If you do, then you ad-

vance. And vice versa, when you come to the class relaxed, able to catch everything with your sharp intellect, with your inquiring mind, you basically rob yourself, because you switch all of your energy from obtaining the spiritual information to gaining purely intellectual fulfillment.

> *You have to understand that this is from the plan of creation itself; thus, from state one. We said that, as soon as the plan becomes to delight the creation, it without fail creates in souls a huge desire to receive this pleasure, which is in the plan of creation, for a great pleasure requires a huge desire* (the Creator wished to delight us with Infinity; hence, He created in us infinite desire).

> *We also said that this huge desire to receive is the only new creation, which has been created, so there was no need at all for something bigger to fulfill the plan of the creation. With his perfect nature, the Creator does not do anything superfluous.*

One thing the Creator needed for bestowing delight is the will to receive delight.

> *We also said that this huge desire to receive had been completely expelled from the system of pure worlds and was given to the system of impure worlds. They are the source of the bodies' provenance and existence, with all their acquisitions in this world, until a man reaches the age of thirteen* (i.e., egoistical desires).

It is just an arbitrary number used by Baal HaSulam to confuse us. When he mentions certain numbers, such as 40, 13 or 70 years, he implies a certain inner condition of the person.

Thus, our development can be divided into two periods: first, when we are under the power of egotistical desires – conventionally, this period is called the age before 13, before coming of age. After the age of 13, a person with the help of higher light begins to comprehend his soul, which is to correct his desire from egotistic to altruistic. This transition is conventionally called "13 years".

That is, from this level the person starts to take interest in Kabbalah. He completes the first stage of his development (realization of evil) and starts to correct himself and acquire pure intention. He already exists at the expense of the pure worlds in accordance with the attainment of the soul. That is, before he reaches the state called "13 years", the person exists under the power of impure worlds. In this state, he is constantly given more and more egoism, and he absorbs it to the point when he finally begins to realize how harmful, vain, and evil it is.

Finally, the person comes to a turning point where he feels the need to begin correcting his egoism. This point is called "coming of age". From this point on, he is considered an adult, i.e., he begins to obtain the screen that gives him the ability to work with his desires in the altruistic mode.

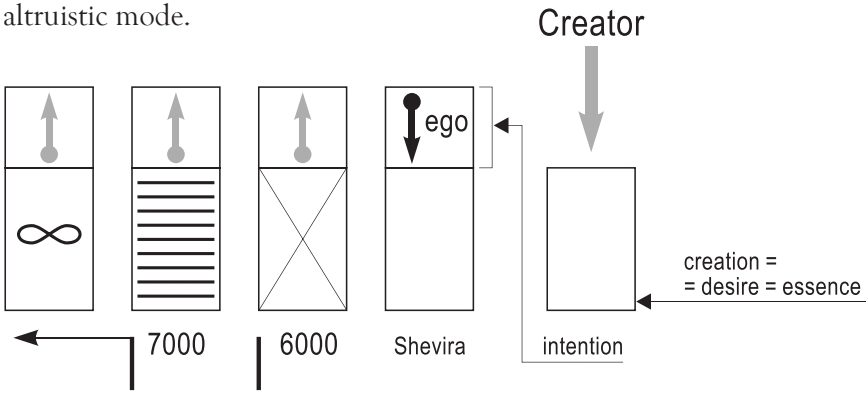

It was also said that during 6000 years that were given us for the work on corrections, the body, i.e., the huge desire to receive, remains uncorrected. All corrections that are the result of our work happen only with the soul (with the intention). *The soul ascending to higher levels of purity and sanctity merely increases the desire to bestow.*

That is why the body is predestined to die, to be buried, to decay, because it does not make any correction and cannot really exist like that. Alas, if that huge desire to receive from this world should disappear, the plan of creation will not be fulfilled. Created beings would

not receive all the great pleasures that He planned for them. An enormous desire to receive delight and great pleasure correlate to one another. As soon as the desire to receive diminishes, the enjoyment from receiving diminishes as well at the same level.

What is Baal HaSulam trying to say?

He talks about the stages of our development. There is the original desire - *Malchut* and the light. At the next stage, the same *Malchut* acquires egotistical intentions for itself. The next stage is uncorrected. We call it *Shevira*. After that, *Malchut* "destroys" itself, since it wishes gradually to acquire the desire for the sake of the Creator. The work during 6,000 years is a gradual transition from the intention for its own sake to the intention for the sake of Creator. At that, the body is not taken into consideration. It is being constantly destroyed. When the intention for the sake of Creator is fully obtained, the will to receive is resurrected. This constitutes the seventh millennium, when the so- called "dead" rise from their graves and gradually join with the pure intention for the sake of Creator. The next stage marks the achievement of final and complete correction, when the intention for the sake of the Creator prevails.

There exist only the Creator and His Creation. Creation is a desire and everything that is above it is intention. The Creator created desire, and this is what our essence is. Intention is a superstructure built above desire, and it only appears to correct this desire and make it similar to the Creator.

At first, we receive an egoistical intention that is directed towards ourselves, our ego. We then transform it into its opposite. This transformation takes place during the so-called 6,000 years. The end of that period marks a complete acquisition of the altruistic intention. In the seventh millennium, the desire is corrected together with the intention. After that, the *Kli* exists in its infinite form. What is "infinite form"? It means no limitation for any of the original desires. The intention for the

sake of Creator makes Creation entirely similar to Him. We do not study what happens with the creation after that.

> *26. As was already said, state one obliges state three to exist. It has appeared in all its completeness, as in state one, according to the plan of creation; nothing less was planed*

Baal HaSulam says that the Creator created *Malchut* in the center of the world of Infinity. *Malchut* is inside the light called the world of Infinity. This is state one.

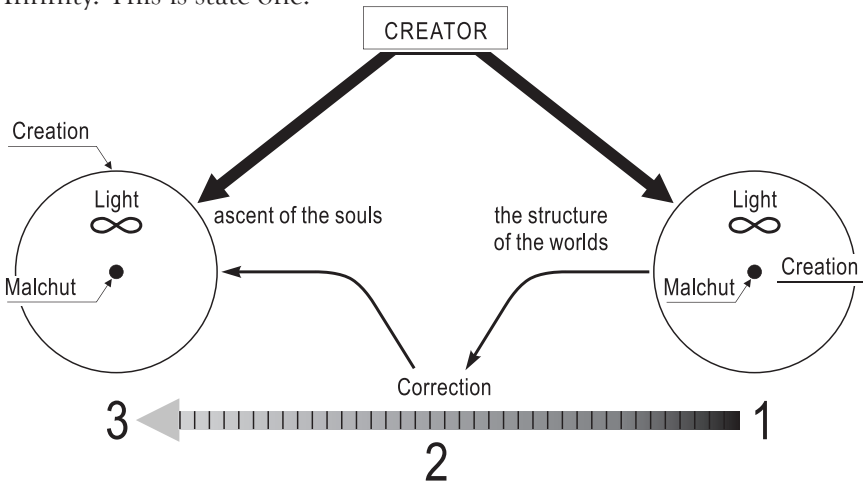

He also created state three, in which *Malchut* exists in the state of Infinity, filled with the light, where all is inside it. So what is the difference? The difference lies in the fact that in the first case only *Malchut* constituted creation; now it expanded and filled the entire volume of the world of Infinity.

This is because having gone through the so-called period of correction it passed from state one to state three. *Malchut* became similar to the entire volume, which we refer to as "the world of Infinity" or the Creator. We can achieve state three either by taking the path of Torah (i.e., correction with the help of the light) or the path of suffering.

In any case, both states are identical as regards the Creator. Time and correction do not exist for the Creator, because with regard to Him both these states are quite obvious and real. Only we, who are moving along this path, gradually pass from one state to the other.

This transition consists of several stages. The first one is called "construction of the worlds", the second – "correction" and the third – "ascent of the souls". The first stage necessitates the existence of the third one.

> *So, state one obliges the resurrection of the dead bodies. That is, their huge desire to receive that became worthless, ended, and decayed in state two* (during correction). *It must again rise from the dead, in its enormous proportions without any reduction, that is, with all its former shortcomings.*
>
> *Work begins anew in order to turn the enormous desire to receive into the desire to bestow for the sake of the Creator. Here we win twice: First, we have an opportunity to obtain the abundance and pleasure that is in the plan of creation. We already have a huge desire to receive, which ascends together with these enjoyments.*
>
> *Secondly, receiving in this way will be equal to the desire to delight the Creator and will be a "pure" bestowal. In other words, we gain the equivalence of properties with the Creator, which is complete merging of our state one with state three.*

Baal HaSulam wishes to tell us that state one, in which the will to receive pleasure was created, is a minimal natural desire. At a later stage, this desire is complemented with a huge "makeweight" – the intention for oneself. This negative intention goes through a period called the "realization of evil", and is completely rejected by the person (considered "dead"). The person who studies Kabbalah acquires the intention for the sake of the Creator with the help of the Upper Light.

That accomplished, the person attaches his desires to the acquired intention and "resurrects" them. When desires are used with the intention for the sake of the Creator, the person becomes completely similar to the Creator.

There are several stages in our development. At first, we only have one desire. Later we acquire the egoistical intention called our "ego". Being our natural properties, our desires are not taken into consideration regardless of what they are and what form they take. The intention (for what purpose we use our desires) is critical.

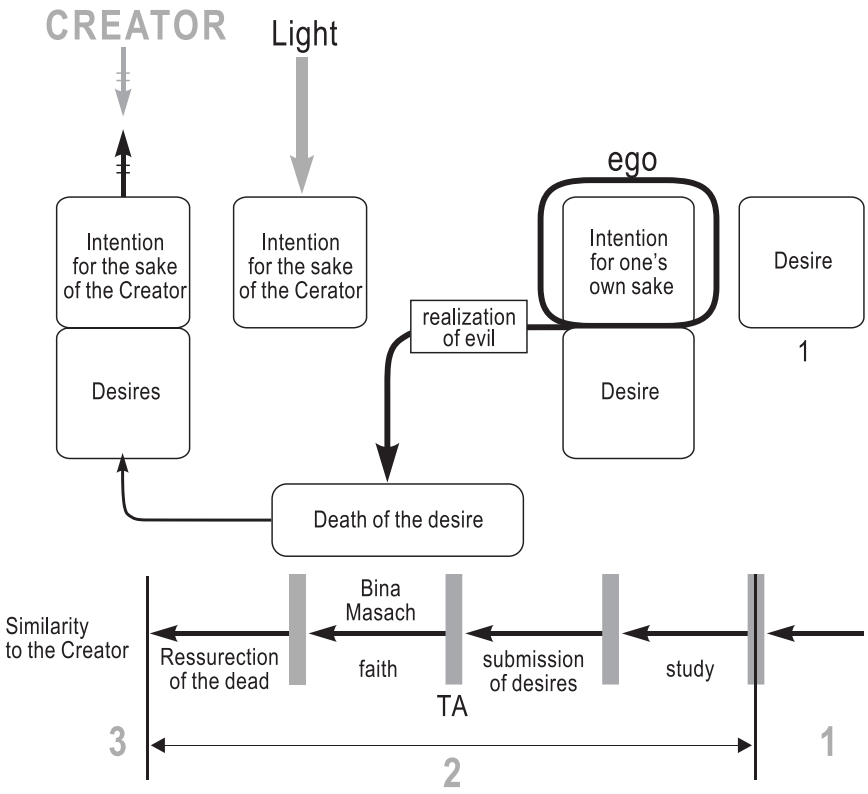

Whatever desires our children may have, we do not consider them egoists. In our view, they resemble small animals, and we treat them with kindness. If a child takes something that does not belong to it, we do not consider it as theft, as something evil. We judge every action by the intention that stands behind it.

Evil begins when I acquire the egoistical intentions. I then recognize them as "dead" and refrain from using them. I detach myself from my previous intentions, neutralize my desires, and acquire the intention for the sake of the Creator under the influence of the Upper Light.

The first stage continues as we study Kabbalah. During our studies, the Surrounding light descends upon us. At some stage we begin to perceive ourselves as egoists, mean, evil people totally opposite to anything spiritual. This happens because under the influence of the Upper Light, we begin to feel our own evil. As we reach a state when we can neither use the intention for our own sake, nor our desires, we will make a kind of *Tzimtzum Aleph* and be ready to receive only spiritual properties. The next stage is the reception of *Masach* (or "faith"), a new *Kli*, the intention for the sake of the Creator.

As soon as we receive it, we proceed to the next stage called "resurrection" and "similarity to the Creator". Baal HaSulam writes about these stages in item 26.

> *27. Indeed, resurrection cannot take place before the End of Correction; that is, at the end of state two.*

Baal HaSulam says: resurrection of the dead (i.e., our desires and intentions we refused to use) takes place when we acquire the intention for the sake of the Creator (*Kelim de Ashpa'a*). At the next stage, we add *AHP* to *Galgalta ve Eynaim*. This is the *AHP* that we ignored, considered dead before, and now revived. Thus, we form a complete *Partzuf* consisting of Ten *Sefirot* similar to the Creator.

Reception of the *Galgalta ve Eynaim* is called "acquisition of the intention for the sake of the Creator". The subsequent adding of the *AHP* occurs when we resurrect our old previously unused desires. So the revival of the dead desires, or as Torah describes it, "resurrection of the dead" happens right before the End of correction. Naturally, not a word of what we say refers to our biological bodies. We only speak of desires. Whatever is found in our world has no continuation.

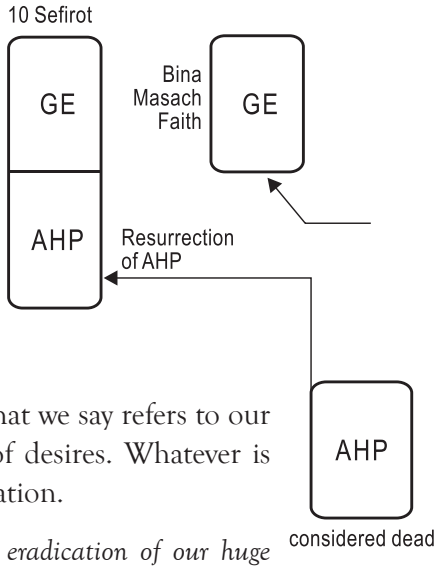

Therefore after we achieved the eradication of our huge desire to receive and earned the desire to bestow, we were privileged to attain the levels of the soul that are called Nefesh, Ruach, Neshama, Haya, and Yechida. We gained the greatest perfection so that the body arises from the dead in all its enormous desire to receive. Now it does not threaten us any more with a separation from our merging with the Creator. On the contrary, by adding the desires of the body (AHP) we get over it and give it the form of bestowal (similarity to the Creator). *This is true about any particular bad property.*

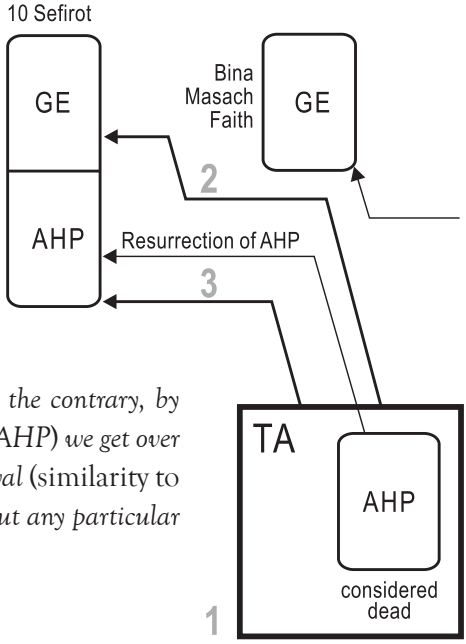

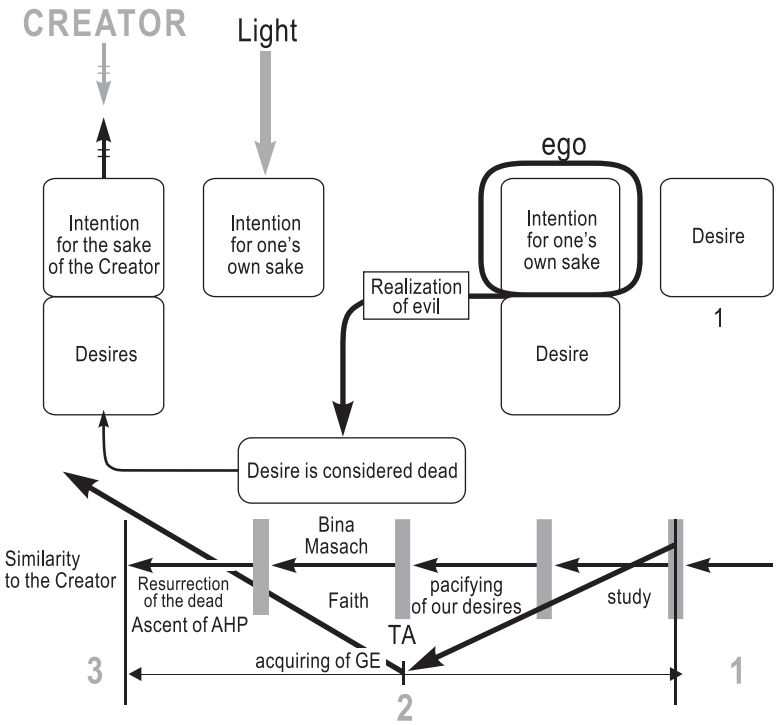

Baal HaSulam says that first of all, we reject our original desires and make a *Tzimtzum* on them. Secondly, we acquire a new desire. Our third action is the resurrection of our old desire.

He says that we apply the same method in our world.

> *It deals fairly with any individual bad property that we want to get rid of. At the beginning, we have to give it up completely so that nothing of it remains* (i.e., completely neutralize it). *Then you can come back* (by gradually attaching the *AHP), get it over again, and bring it* (*AHP*) *to the middle line.*

This period is very long. At the beginning, we just study and gradually conclude that all we are made of is evil. We then obtain Faith and the *Kelim* of *Galgalta ve Eynaim* and ascend them. Starting with the pe-

riod of "resurrection of the dead" we begin to attach to ourselves the *AHP*. The similar process takes place in the worlds as well.

We exist in this world, cross the *Machsom*, acquire the *Kelim* of *GE* (Aviut 0 and 1) and finally reach the *Aviut* 2 (absolute Faith), three and four (resurrection of the dead). The seizure of evil occurs when the *Machsom* is crossed. "Resurrection of the dead" is the *AHP de Aliya*. By acquiring the *GE* we gradually attach to ourselves the *AHP*. Only when the person can start raising his *AHP*, does he become similar to the Creator, because only reception for the sake of the Creator is considered bestowal.

When the *Kelim* of *GE* are all I have, I only learn how to bestow. Real bestowal can only be at the last levels three and four, when by receiving pleasure the person pleases the Creator.

Hence, the resurrection of the dead takes place right before the *Gmar Tikkun* (End of Correction). Only at this level can the similarity to the Creator be achieved.

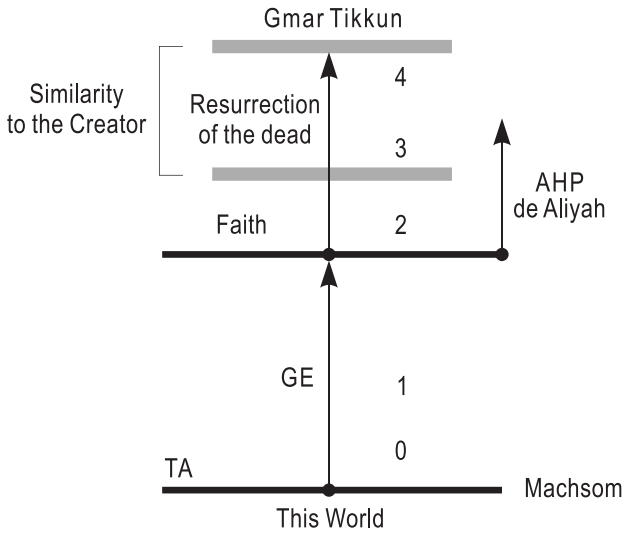

28. As it is said by the sages, "In the future, the dead will rise with their defects and then will make a complete recovery". That is, at the beginning, the same egoistical body rises from the dead. It is a huge, limitless desire to receive, one that was nurtured by the system of impure forces before it was honored to be purified by the light with the help of Kabbalah.

Of course, this is an allegory. No dead bodies are going to rise from their graves. When we begin to work with our previously dead *AHP*, it appears in all its original vileness (*Aviut* 3 and 4). We begin to correct the emerging egoism on the last levels of similarity to the Creator. Prior to that, it was only the period of preparation. Although we are in the spiritual world, these are just the *Kelim de Ashpa'a* (vessels of bestowal). However, at the levels three and four, we achieve reception for the sake of bestowal, which is equivalent to absolute bestowal.

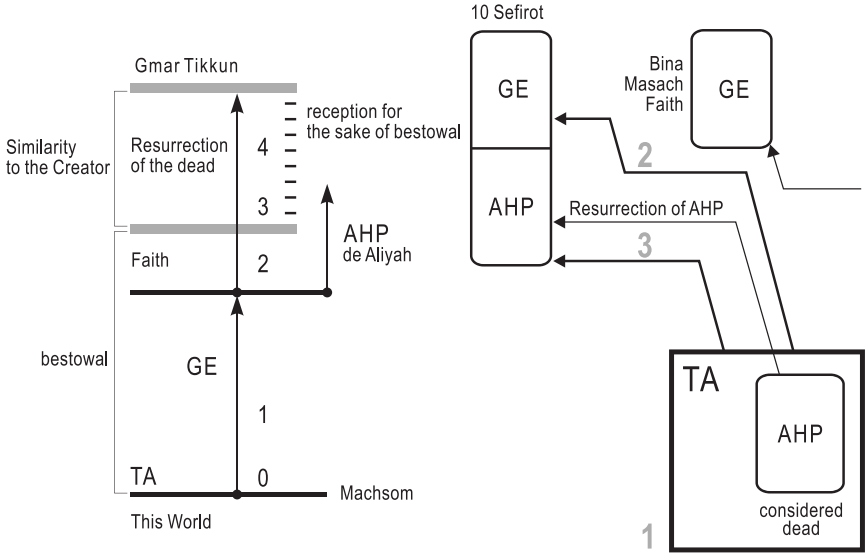

We completely rid ourselves of egoistical desires, acquire altruistic intentions, and begin to resurrect our dead desires from the smallest to

the biggest, while attaching them to the altruistic intentions. Such is the order of correction.

> *Thus, all of our desires recover and achieve the similarity of properties with the Creator*. From this, we can understand why the dead must rise from their graves with all their defects. *The expression "Nobody would say that these are different bodies" means: no one would say that this form is different from the one that was in the Thought of creation. The huge desire to receive the abundance of the plan of creation was only temporarily given into the power of the Klipot...* (the intention for oneself).

As a result, the desire is given to the person to correct with the intention "for the sake of the Creator". He not only becomes similar to the Creator in his actions, he becomes equal to Him in that he achieves the ultimate level of existence. He not only enters the Creator's sensations, but also attains the Thought of creation, eternity, perfection, infinity, and absolute freedom.

At that, our world loses its significance, disappears from the sensations of the person who now includes all the other souls.

We should reach this state while living in this world. We should attain and feel all the spiritual levels while being in our biological body. Everyone has this opportunity.

> *29. From all we have explained, it is possible to answer the second question: What is our role in the long chain of reality in which we are small links throughout our short life?*

We come to this world to spend some 60-70 years and have no clue how we are going to live them or what we can make out of this life. The first 20-30 years are spent to reach adulthood. The last years do not count, because we grow too weak, indifferent, and tired. All we have left is a few years to ask a question about the meaning of life and understand something.

What are we and what is our purpose, how can we do or influence something, if our conscious existence is so brief? Why are we so sensitive to this question that animals never ask themselves?

This is what Baal HaSulam says:

> *You should know that our work during the years of our life consists of 4 periods. In the first period, the person acquires a huge, limitless desire to receive in all its depravity, while remaining under the power of the system of the 4 impure worlds of ABYA. This is the AHP, which we gradually destroy. Why does man first acquire enormous desires from all the Klipot? Unless we had that uncorrected desire to receive, we would not be able to correct it, because you can correct only the properties that you have.*

Our first steps consist in acquiring as many desires as we can, although we aspire for the spiritual! Actually, we do not strive to satisfy our egoistical desires. Yet, as the person's spiritual aspirations grow, his egoistical desires awaken and develop as well. Hence the words: "He who aspires higher than others has bigger egoism" are very true.

Do not be surprised by the growing feeling of our egoism. This happens not only because we understand ourselves better, but also because bigger egoistical properties are revealed in us. This way, we acquire the *Kelim* of the *AHP*, the egoistical vessels in their egoistical form (with the intention for oneself).

> *Hence, the desire to receive, which our body has from its birth in this world, is not enough...* For a certain amount of time we should be under the influence of the *Klipot*, i.e., we unconsciously and unwillingly let the egoistical desires grow in us.

The period during which the egoistical desires grow in the person is called "13 years". *This means that impure forces should control the person and give him some of their light under the influence of which his desire to receive*

would grow, because the pleasures which impure forces supply the desire to receive extend and increase his demands.

Affected by the Upper Light, egoism grows day by day, because we need more and more of this light. By His purposeful influence, the Creator causes our egoism to grow.

> *For example, when man is born, there is a desire only for one portion, no more. When the impure forces fill the desire with this portion, the desire to receive doubles immediately. When the impure forces satisfy the increased desire, it extends and wishes to receive four times more pleasure.*

Unless the person begins to limit himself and acquire the intention for the sake of the Creator (the *Kelim* of *GE*), unless he purifies himself, severs all ties with egoism and makes a *Tzimtzum Aleph* (does away with his *AHP*), he will continue chasing various pleasures of this world. Every time he receives some satisfaction from the *Klipa*, his desire would become twice as big as before. Hence, it is said:

If the person does not purify the desire to receive in order to turn it into bestowal, it grows during his lifetime, until he dies without gaining the desired objective.

This is what happens with us during all our incarnations, until we really understand that the pursuit of pleasure never leads to fulfillment.

I was asked by a local TV station to comment on Madonna's visit to Israel and her plans to make a video clip about Kabbalah. People want to know why she decided to do it in Israel. The presenters were genuinely puzzled asking why would someone who has seemingly everything, millions of dollars, influence and fame, all of a sudden seek Kabbalah, come to Israel, although the situation here is rather volatile. Why would Madonna be promoting Kabbalah?

I told them that the person comes to a state, when he or she ostensibly achieved in this life all he ever wanted. Nevertheless, he suddenly re-

alizes that he in fact has nothing. He understands that by increasing his desires he will only intensify his suffering, i.e., he will increase the emptiness of his *Kelim*, his sensations. So instinctively, he begins to search for an alternative method of fulfillment and discovers that this method is at a level that is higher than the usual pursuit of pleasures.

We see that, after satisfying their big desires, people like Madonna suddenly feel that it is not the end, that there is more pleasure waiting to be received. These desires are purely egoistical, but unfortunately, the hosts of the TV show do not feel that way. Everything depends on the level of development of egoism.

> *Thus, the person is under the power of the Klipot and impure forces. Their task is to extend and increase his desire to receive and make it limitless in order to show him the material (all of his AHP) which he should work on and correct.*

Until the person receives this *AHP*, until he perceives it as dead, unfit to be used for receiving pleasure, he will continue reincarnating repeatedly.

By feeling his dead desires that are totally unable to give him a genuine fulfillment, the person will begin to soar and acquire new, sublime *Kelim* of *GE*. This only happens after the realization of evil.

This process can be accelerated. We should not try to get everything in the world, while receiving blows each time something is achieved with no fulfillment. We do not have to go all the way to the end, when we can save time and avoid suffering with the help of the Upper Light.

By attracting the Upper Light, we see how defective all of our *Kelim* (*AHP*) are. We have not yet used it, but we see how evil and opposite to the light it is. Therefore, we need not spend many more lives to discover the fallaciousness of the egoistical fulfillment.

This is what we call time contraction; this is what the method of Kabbalah is about. We need to draw the Surrounding light, and by using

it, quickly go through the period of realization, correction, and ascent to perfection.

All the stages of this path are predetermined. The only thing that depends on us is the acceleration of time. Without plunging into negative sensations and clashing with our own egoism, we can see the vileness of egoism in advance and avoid its blows.

This is achieved by the most intensive drawing of the Upper Light, which is only possible with the help of a group, of friends who aspire to the Goal together. I can attract the Surrounding light that affects all of us.

If we join our forces, we will make a breakthrough towards the end of state one. If we accumulate the light that everyone can attract, we all would feel its influence and realize our own evil so intensively that we would desire to obtain the Kelim of *GE* (properties of bestowal). Therefore, everything depends exclusively on our intention, on how much we are prepared to adopt this method.

> *30. The second period is from 13 on* (after we come to the realization of the dead state, *AHP*), *when strength is given to the point in the heart of man. It is the opposite side of the pure soul clothed in the desire to receive from the moment of his birth.*

That is, from the moment of birth, we possess the egoistical *Kelim* that keep growing until we wish completely to reject them. Only then does our point in heart awaken. Even before we reach the level of "13 years", we feel it as an aspiration for the Creator, but it is still suppressed by our egoistical desires. As soon as we see their evil and vileness and relinquish them, the point in heart emerges and manifests.

> *Awakening does not come before one reaches the level of "13 years". After that, a man begins to pass into the power of a system of the pure worlds because of his study of Kabbalah. The main purpose during this period is to obtain a spiritual desire and to increase it* (to reach *GE*, i.e., the properties of *Bina*, the screen, Faith, *Kelim*

de Ashpa'a). From his birth, the person only seeks to satisfy his material desires. Therefore, notwithstanding that during 13 years he gains a huge desire to receive (feels his *AHP* in this first period), *his development is not finished yet. The end of development of the desire to receive is an aspiration to spirituality. If for example, during 13 years his desire to receive aimed at receiving wealth and honor in this material world, it is known that this world is not everlasting and that, like a fleeting shadow, everyone appears in it for a brief moment and then disappears.*

When he gains the huge desire to receive spirituality, he wants to absorb all the abundance of the eternal world to come for his own pleasure. Therefore, the essence of the huge desire to receive is to gain spirituality.

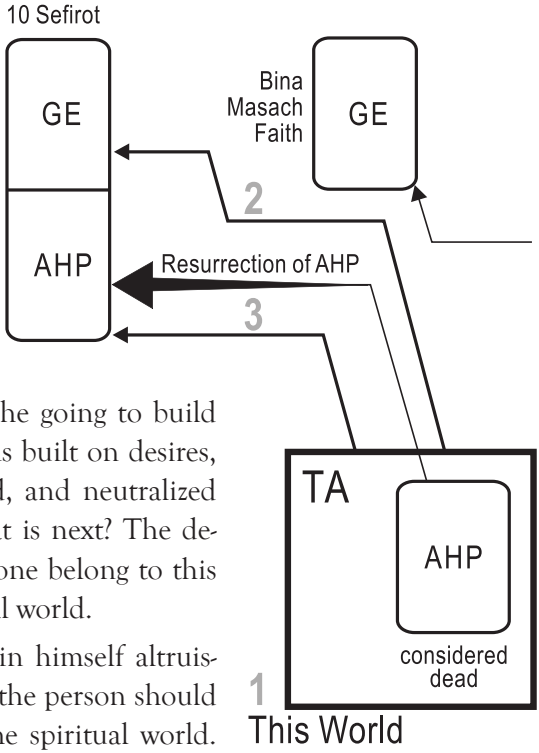

Thus, he acquires the eternal, enormous *AHP*.

After the first period, the person makes the First Restriction (*Tzimtzum Aleph*) and starts working with the vessels of bestowal in order to acquire a screen. What is he going to build his screen on? The screen is built on desires, yet he restricted, destroyed, and neutralized them in state one. So what is next? The desires he restricted in state one belong to this small, simple, and egoistical world.

In order to develop in himself altruistic intentions in state two, the person should lean on new desires for the spiritual world.

First, he grows his desires of this world up to the level of "13 years". They in turn separate into animate desires and the desires for wealth, honor, fame, and knowledge. This happens in all of our previous incarnations.

Feeling them as evil, he restricts them (makes *Tzimtzum Aleph*) and begins to acquire other desires that develop on spiritual levels.

He builds his altruistic *Kelim* (*GE*) on the enormous egoistical desires zero and one, which are much greater than "our world". This state is called "*Katnut*" (small state). Now he has *GE*, or as we say, he achieves the states of *Bina*, the *Masach*, or Faith. Here he begins to build his new desires: two, three, and four. When he reaches the level of "*Gadlut*" (big state), he attaches to himself the *AHP* (levels of *Awzen*, *Hotem* and *Peh*). At this stage, he becomes similar to the Creator.

This is what the entire path of man is like.

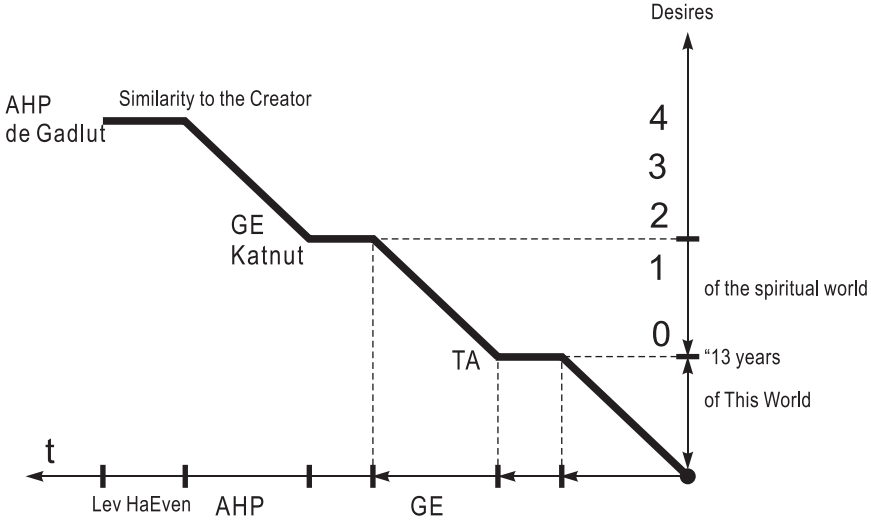

We are now in the middle of the process of realizing evil. After that, we will be building our *GE* and working with the "dead bodies", i.e., with the *AHP*. This stage will be followed by the correction of the *Lev HaEven* when we achieve complete similarity to the Creator.

Baal HaSulam describes these stages of our development in a different way, uses a different language. We can look upon the states either from the point of the light (the *NaRaNHaY*), or from the point of the *Kelim* (the *Sefirot*). We can also divide them into periods that presumably correspond to a human life. This is because all the spiritual roots have their reflections in our world.

Baal HaSulam may use the language of the Torah (the Bible or Talmud) to demonstrate that all the sacred books write about the same topic: the path man must traverse and how he will do that. He says that the problem starts not in this world, but at the stage that follows, because man's desires begin to grow. The *Klipot* (impure forces) emerge and enable the person to transform their influence into something opposite and pure.

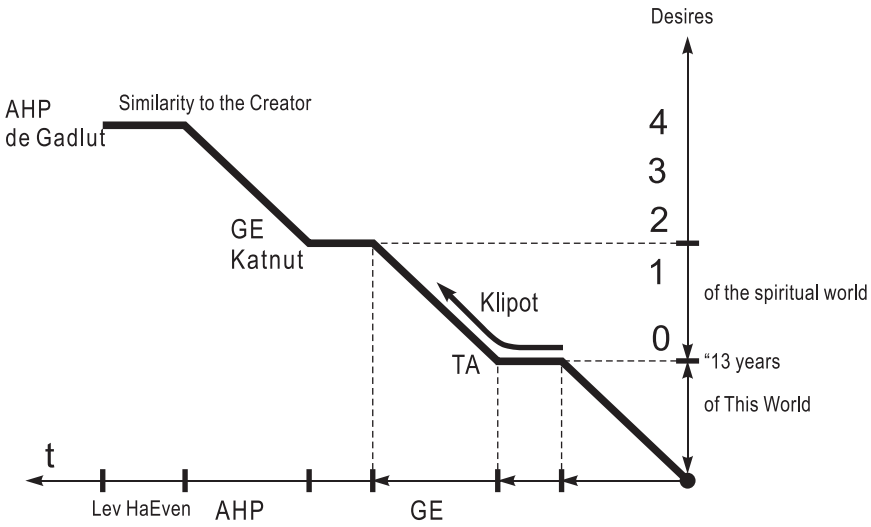

How does it happen? Here is what the Kabbalist says:

31. Our sages say: "The leech has two daughters, crying, give, give (Proverbs 30, 15)": "A leech means Hell (hell is a forced use of the egoistical properties). *The sinners, who fall into the trap of hell,*

bark like dogs: "Bow-wow" ("Hav-Hav" – Heb.: give-give), meaning – "give us the wealth of this world and the wealth of the world to come".

The level at which the person works with the *Klipot* is very important, because this way he obtains the material for his work. He acquires the desires without which he cannot become similar to the Creator. Therefore, there must be periods when we receive uncorrected desires and correct them.

Therefore, the level that comes after 13 years is defined as "pure", which is the meaning of the writing, "the house-maid serves her mistress", that is, to serve the Holy Shechina. It means that the maidservant symbolizes egoistical desires that lead to the spiritual level of bestowal, when the person is awarded "the light of Shechina".

It is the person's responsibility to do everything he can in order to gain the state of "Li Shema" (desire to bestow). If he does not make every effort to reach the state of "Li Shema", he will fall into the garbage bin of the "impure" maidservant, who is the opposite of the "pure" one.

Unless the person who studies Kabbalah begins to purify the acquired impure desires, he falls more and more into the *Klipot*.

The zero level corresponds to our natural petty egoism. Below is the area of the *Klipot*; above is the place of *Kedusha*, the intention for the sake of the Creator. Unless the person makes an effort to apply the right method of spiritual ascent, unless he turns the property "–1" into "+1", "–2" into

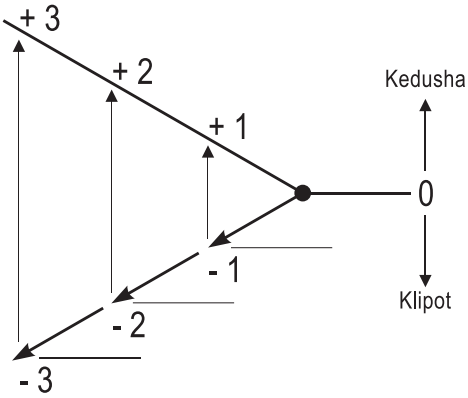

"+2", etc., he falls deeper and deeper under the power of the *Klipot*, until his study of Kabbalah is for his selfish enjoyment, with an intention to pass himself of as an important Rabbi, in order to lock people to him and to turn them into zombies. Thus, he plunges into absolute impurity.

> *This means that the maidservant takes the place of her mistress and prevents the person from approaching the Holy Shechina. The last level of this period is the desire to enjoy the Creator. This resembles man in this world whose passionate desire is so great that it is burning in him day and night, as it is said, "A constant memory does not let me sleep".*
>
> *It is also said about him, "The tree of life is full of passion", that is the five levels of the soul form the Tree of life for 5oo years. Every level lasts 100 years that brings the person to the reception of all these five levels of NaRaNHaY that become revealed in the third period.*

Why are there exactly 500 years? 500 years is a complete level. Every level is called "100 years", because it consists of 10 *Sefirot* and each *Sefira* in its turn has ten sub-levels. Therefore, the number "100" is considered a complete level. If *Nefesh* is a complete level, it is called "100". This means that man created the *Kli* and acquired for it the inner light called "100". This is how the corrected *Kli* filled with the light is designated. It is defined similarly on all the levels: *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Haya*, *Neshama*, and *Yechida*, which totals 500 years. However, this is attained in the third period.

> *32. The third period is in Torah and Commandments Li Shema, that is, for the sake of bestowal and not for receiving a reward. This work purifies man's desire to receive for himself and turns it into the desire to bestow.*

After man acquired all the egoistical desires, not only the *Galgalta ve Eynaim*, but the AHP as well, he begins to work for the Creator. I

would like to remind you that "the desire to bestow" and "the desire to receive" are just names. Human beings do not have pure desires to receive or to bestow. The desire to bestow is the Creator's attribute, while the desire to receive is man, creation. This is his property and there is nothing else in him.

If man wishes to become similar to the Creator, he uses his desire to receive for the sake of bestowal, i.e., he receives pleasure to please the Creator. However, he still receives. Desires remain unchanged, only the intention, the method of using the desire is modified. Therefore, when we say that man passes from the "desire to receive" to the "desire to bestow", we ought to understand that he acquires a new intention for the same old desire. This is why old desires with the intention for one's self are considered dead. At a later stage, they rise and become pure and eternal, if man acquires the intention for the Creator's sake instead of the intention for himself.

Let me say this again: although Kabbalah is called a science, it is attained not in the mind of our world, but in the Upper mind. This world is attained in its *Kelim*, in the mind of our world. To start attaining the Upper World above the *Machsom*, one should acquire the mind that corresponds with the Upper World.

The mind of the Upper World is called "faith above reason"; it is the property of bestowal. This property is exactly what constitutes the mind in the Upper World. You may be sitting at the lesson and understand nothing. It does not matter. Just make an effort and this will attract the Upper Light. The Upper Light will create in you the Reflected light, the correct intention. This intention is where you will feel the Upper World and receive the Upper mind.

This will happen not because you will be racking your brain, but because while being confused, irritated and exhausted, you will continue to aspire to Him. You will succeed not because you slept well and came to the lesson in good spirits, with pen and paper, eager to research the

Upper Realm as the scientists of our world. This will only happen because of your effort.

Quite the contrary, everything will work out from the state of confusion, disillusion, detachment, and weariness. When spirituality seems insignificant and unreal, it means that you are in the most correct state with regard to the Creator. If, while being in these states, you continue aspiring to the Upper World, the necessary spiritual *Kelim* (spiritual mind) will be formed in you.

Man rises to the level where so much light descends upon him that he can already transform his desires into spiritual, altruistic.

> *As soon as man purifies the desire to receive, he becomes worthy and ready to obtain the five parts of the soul that are called the NaRaNHaY. They are in the desire to bestow and cannot be clothed into the body until the desire to receive has a power in him.*

The soul has two components: one is the *Kli* that consists of five parts: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA and *Malchut*. It is alternatively called the body of the soul, or the Partzuf. Inside it there is the light called the *NaRaNHaY* (*Nefesh, Ruach, Neshama, Haya, and Yechida*).

As soon as the egoistical intentions become altruistic, desires begin to fill with the Upper Light to the extent of the *Ohr Hassadim* (or the Reflected light, or the screen – the definition is of no consequence). *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, ZA, and *Malchut* are the five *Kelim* that are filled with the five lights of the *NaRaNHaY.*

> *However, when man is honored to become entirely a desire to bestow without receiving anything for one's self, he earns the same properties that he has in his upper NaRaNHaY (descending from its source in the world of Infinity from state one through the pure worlds of ABYA). These properties descend upon him immediately and clothe in him in accordance with the level.*

The fourth period is the work after rising from the dead. It means that the desire to receive that completely disappeared, died and was buried, rises from the dead in its biggest and worst appearance, as it is said, "In the future, the dead will rise with all their defects", and then turn them into receiving for the sake of giving.

Some special individuals are given this work during their lifetime in this world.

Baal HaSulam says that there are people, who complete this work and reach the levels that are above the "resurrection of the dead", when *Lev HaEven* becomes completely corrected. This is the level we are destined to achieve.

33. Now, there is the sixth analysis left to understand. As it is said by the sages, all worlds, upper and lower, were created only for man, not for anything else. At first glance, it seems very strange that the Creator has tried to create all of this for such an insignificant creature like man, who is like a grain of sand in this world in comparison with the whole universe, let alone with the spiritual worlds.

The matter concerns man's feelings, his mental and spiritual parameters. How can we compare ourselves with the Upper Worlds, when even our world, our universe is a tiny grit in the great cosmos with regard to the smallest level of the Upper World?

We are told that man is created to become the master of all the worlds, to include all of them within him, and that nothing exists except for man with all the worlds within him. How can this be? It utterly contradicts our ideas about ourselves, and the universe that we know by our sensations.

It is even stranger to realize why man needs all these Upper spiritual worlds? What is this universe for? How can we use it? We do not even properly know our own planet. We have no idea of what is a couple of miles below us, or a couple of parsecs

above us. Why do we need all that is created around us? Here is what Baal HaSulam answers:

You should know that the Creator receives joy just from the gratification of those whom He has created, but only to the extent in which creation feels Him, feels that He is giving and wishes to delight them. He starts amusing Himself with them as a father who is playing with his beloved son. As much as the son feels and recognizes the greatness and power of his father, he shows him all the treasures that he prepared for him.

Read this again; *As much as the son feels and recognizes the greatness and power of his father (the Creator)...* This means man acquires the properties of the Creator, for how else would he be able to understand?

Think carefully about what was said and then you can understand and know the great amusement of the Creator with those perfect souls that were honored to feel and understand His greatness throughout all the ways He has prepared for them, until they come up to the relationship between father and son. Everything that was written is for those who perceive the spiritual worlds.

Until we reach these levels and establish the same contact with the Upper Force, we will not be able to understand the purpose of all that was prepared for us. As much as we can feel the greatness of this power, realize it on ourselves, and adopt its properties, we will begin to comprehend how we can rule over the universe and all the Upper Worlds in place of the Creator. Only then shall we discover why He created such immense and awesome worlds for us.

There is nothing more to say about it. It is enough to know that for those pleasures and amusements, it was worth it for Him to create all the worlds, both the Upper and the lower, which we are yet to reveal.

34. In order to prepare His creatures to reach the aforementioned exalted level, the Creator thought of four levels that evolve one out of another. They are called still, vegetative, animate, and human, and they are indeed the four phases of the will to receive that each of the Upper Worlds consists of. For although the vast majority of the will is in the fourth phase of the will to receive, it is impossible for it to materialize all at once, except by the preceding three phases that gradually expose and develop it, until its form has been completed.

Man gradually enters into the sensations of the Creator, becomes similar to Him, masters the system of creation, and begins to rule over the heritage that the Creator prepared for him. Man gradually ascends the four levels still, vegetative, animate, and human, while attaining the four degrees of comprehension of the universe.

These four levels exist in our will to receive and, by correcting each of them, we ascend to the next level of sensation of power over the surrounding world.

35. In the first phase of the will to receive, called still, which is the preliminary exposure of the egoistical desire in this corporeal world, there is but a general movement that includes the whole of the still category. But in particular items there is no apparent movement. That is because the will to receive generates needs and the needs stimulate movement that is sufficient to attain what it wants.

It is the same with us; the most important thing is desire. If there is a desire, I will be able to make a move to receive what I want. If I feel that I am too lazy, (What does it mean, to be lazy? – It means that my will to receive is insufficient), I have to work on increasing my will to receive, and then I will not be lazy anymore.

How can I make this happen within myself? Only with the help of studies, contacts with others like me, by receiving the Kabbalistic method from the books, listening to what Kabbalists advise us.

Our will to receive is small. To increase it to such an extent that we break through the barrier into the spiritual, we need to turn our desire from being small into being an all-conquering one. One can do this only under external impact, under the influence of a group, when I have 35 people around me.

If all of us out there are given the opportunity to unite, then each of us will receive the will that is 200, 300 times greater, according to the number of people now present at our virtual lesson. It will be quite enough to cross the barrier and enter the Upper World right now. We lack only one thing: the union of our aspirations for the spiritual.

> *Since there is only a small will to receive, it dominates the whole of the category at once, but its power over the particular items is indistinguishable.*

This refers to the first phase – the still level of the will to receive. Each subsequent level appears as a superstructure above the preceding one.

> *36. The second phase of the will to receive that is called vegetative is added to the first. Its desire is larger than in the still phase, and it dominates every item of the category. Similarly, in the vegetative world we see a germ, a spark of life in every plant.*

Each one has its own private movement that spreads up and down and to the sides, and moves where the sun shines (reaction of each part to the Upper Light); **the manner of nourishment and excreting waste is also apparent in each item.** There is already a recognition of what is "good" and "evil"; useful things are attracted, harmful are repelled. Already the vegetative type of will to receive exists in us, but is nonetheless a very small, general desire.

A group appears and, in general, it aspires to something. You may say, "Well, isn't it good that the group aspires to something?" Everyone in the group must be an individual, but at the same time, all of them

must be united, merged in a single whole, despite their outstanding individual qualities.

Only then will this gathering of individuals become a group. If they are not prominent individuals, but simply people united on their small level, it is not a group, but an amorphous mass. This difference separates a Kabbalistic group and an ordinary mass of people. A group is made up of people who are developing themselves individually to the maximum, while uniting in one whole to the maximum despite their individuality.

Thus, individuality starts from the second vegetative level, when each of us begins to feel inner movements, to comprehend and distinguish between the notions of "evil" and "good", "to the Creator" and "to myself", "to friends" – "away from them", and so on.

> *37. In addition, we also have the animate level, the third phase of the will to receive that is so great that it generates in each of its parts* (that is, in every individual who reaches the animate level) *a feeling of freedom, which represents a special life of each part that is distinct from the others.*

Plants and trees in the field shed their leaves at the same time, and then begin to grow. The leaves fall because there is no sun; the sun shines for all of them. Conversely, they wake up when the sun rises, turn in the direction of the sun, and so on. That is, there is a common life for all, different from that of the still nature, but it is common for each species.

Each individual animal leads a separate life; each can move around freely, even though there are periods common to specific animal groups, such as mating, development, growth, and rearing. Animals are at the intermediate level, but they have freedom of movement.

In the same way, as we reach the animate level of development where free inner movements awaken within us, work begins on our egoistical de-

sires that are unique for everyone. Yet what is still negative and insufficient on this animate level? Why is it not final? Baal HaSulam says:

> *However, these desires yet lack the sensation of their neighbor* (this is most important), *that is, they are yet unprepared to feel compassion for others' suffering or joy over their good fortune.*

He does not write, "to feel joy over others' suffering or joy over their good fortune", but puts it in the right, altruistic way: *"to feel compassion for others' suffering or joy over their good fortune."*

This is the fourth degree of the will to receive. Why do we need it? Why is it something that distinguishes man (by man we mean his spiritual category) from an animal?

> *38. In addition to all is the human level, the fourth phase of the will to receive. This is the complete, fully developed will to receive, because it includes feelings for others.*
>
> *If you wish to know with absolute accuracy what the distinction between the third (animate) phase of the will to receive, and the fourth (human) one is, I shall tell you that it is as the worth of a single creature against the whole of reality.*

What does the feeling of someone's joy and suffering give me? Why should I feel another's *Kli*, another's desire?

The person who finds himself at the third level of development is an ordinary person. If he reaches the fourth level of the will to receive, he includes in himself all the worlds. Only the quality of feeling his neighbor enables man to grow his will to receive to such a degree where he attains and absorbs the whole universe. This is what he gets from the sensation of others, something that animals lack.

A feeling for others is an altruistic feeling! Animals possess an egoistical sensation of others; they help one another, have families, prides,

packs and herds, i.e., groups of all sorts. They have developed mutual aid on a very high, animate, instinctive, egoistical level.

Baal HaSulam writes in paragraph 37, "to feel compassion for others' suffering". Compassion means to feel someone's suffering as one's own or to be happy for his good fortune. When someone else receives, I feel as if I receive.

If man can reach such a level of his will to receive, he rises above nature, above all the other worlds, starting from phase zero, where he is still at the animate level of development. If he rises to the human level, i.e., absorbs in him all the negative and positive desires of those around him and identifies himself with them, then he turns into an immense vessel that includes all souls, all worlds, including the world of Infinity. This whole circle enters inside his large, common soul.

> *This is because the will to receive at the animate level, which lacks the sensation of others, is unable to beget desires and needs other than what is imprinted in this creature alone. Whereas man, who can feel others, acquires their desires and properties as his own, absorbs them, becomes needy of everything that others have too, and is thus filled with envy wishing to acquire everything.* He then acquires additional egoistical desires, the *Klipot*, that he can now correct.
>
> *When he has a certain share, he wants to double it.* (He sees that someone else has something and craves it). *Therefore, his needs multiply until he wants to swallow all that there is in the whole world.*

He desires all that exists in the world, including the desire called "Pharaoh". He wants the Creator to fill, delight, and serve him. Only owing to our inner quality of envy, meaning sensation of others, can we evolve and reach the level called "man". The rudiments of this opportu-

nity exist outside us. How can we prevent them from leading us to the *Klipot*, away from the Creator? We shall discuss this at length later...

We continue studying "The Introduction to the Book of Zohar." In this Introduction Baal HaSulam tells us about the development of the human soul – from a small Reshimo, which awakens in man, up to the moment when he enters the spiritual world. First, in the form of a spiritual embryo, then as a child, and later on – as an adult, man becomes similar to the Creator and enters the sensation of eternity, infinity, and perfection. He rises above life and death, feels life as an endless process. Therefore, he naturally perceives his state in this world quite differently.

Each of us aspires to achieve such a state because the people who feel good do not come to Kabbalah. All of us need something, but mostly we are restless because of the tormenting question about the point of our life. The point of life can be attained as a result of the revelation of the Upper World, the Creator, the entire universe in which we exist (it is called the Creator on the highest level with regard to us). The remaining lower levels are called the worlds.

Kabbalah explains how man can go through all these intermediate states and rise from the level of this world to the Upper World, and then reach the highest level of merging with the Creator. Since it reveals the most important concerns in our life, man's purpose, what he is going to achieve from his efforts in this world, this wisdom is vitally important for man. Because Kabbalah not only theoretically explains the existing reality, but also ushers the person into the Upper World, it is also important for the entire humankind.

We are just beginning to understand it and hope that others will soon realize it too, thanks to our efforts. The only means for entering the Upper World is the spiritual light that corrects us. We should expose ourselves to this light, so that it will pull us out of this reality into the sensation of the Upper World. Only during the studies can we tune our-

selves up to this Supreme force (the so-called *Ohr Makif* – the Surrounding light). Being surrounded by the Upper Light is the most favorable state. We just need to prepare ourselves, be more sensitive to it, and wish to be influenced, corrected by this light.

The influence of the light depends on our desire, which can be increased at the expense of desires of other people. The way we receive desires for something in this world, from our environment, the virtual group, all of us should tune each other to the reception of the Upper Light and to spiritual ascent. When this becomes the most important thing in our life, when we need the influence of the Upper Light more than anything else, it will reveal itself to us and elevate us to the next level.

Therefore, during our studies we should imagine huge virtual groups with hundreds of people who gather and listen to us in Russian, Hebrew, and English all over the world. We should get to know each other well and encourage it in every way possible. We need to create a common webpage, post our photographs, and share our impressions. You should join this virtual group so that our spiritual aspirations will merge. Then the light of correction will shine upon all of us and elevate us to the Creator.

As a teacher and a guide, I only direct you to the Creator. Do not lock yourselves to me. Your opinions, desires, requests, and demands should be directed to the Creator alone. Even the questions you ask me on the forum, in your letters and in phone conversations should first be turned to Him. You may receive the answer and find the necessary solution within yourself. This will be the Creator's reply to you.

After such attempts, when nothing is clear to you and it makes you suffer, you may turn to me. However, even in this case you may not receive my answer, because the answer to such questions should come from Above. As a teacher, I will not answer them.

Our advancement is directly connected with the higher spiritual level. We should try to demand the *Ohr Makif* from it, address all our questions to it and only from it receive the answers. The group, the teacher, and the books are only the means that help us to advance. This is the attitude we should adopt. Do not replace the Creator with Rav or the group, because they are only auxiliary instruments on our path to Him.

Now we will find out how to advance towards the Creator. Baal HaSulam says:

> *39. We have shown that the Creator's purpose is to bestow upon His creatures, so that they may know His genuineness and greatness, and receive all the delight and goodness He had prepared for them.* We do not yet understand His purpose, but it will gradually transpire. It is most clear to the Kabbalists, on whose behalf Baal HaSulam speaks. They attain the purpose, the meaning, and the final result of the entire creation.
>
> *After that, we* (i.e., the Kabbalists) *clearly find that this purpose does not apply to the still and the large planets such as the Earth, the Moon, or the Sun, however luminous they may be.*
>
> *The Creator's intentions refer neither to the vegetative nor to the animate level of nature* (although they live some form of a biological life), *for they lack the sensation of others* (they cannot even develop it on their own level, let alone on the higher one).

They lack the sensation of others, of jealousy, envy, and real pleasures, even of the animate kind. Animals do not feel pleasure. All they do is dictated by their inner instincts. Since they are unable to absorb the desires of others, they naturally cannot enjoy the pleasures of others either. An animal may be either hungry or not, but it cannot get hungry by simply looking at another hungry animal.

Even on a primitive animate level, desires do not pass from one animal to another, even more the desire to attain a higher spiritual level, which is initially absent in us. Suppose I have no idea what it means to be a scientist, a professor, or an actor. However, I look at them and see how they enjoy it, so I want to be like them. With the help of "*Kinah, Ta'avah ve Kavod*" (envy, craving for pleasures and the desire for honor and fame), I can acquire from others the tastes that are totally unknown to me. This way, my *Kli*, my desire, can constantly grow, and I can infinitely develop it in our world by absorbing all the desires existing in the universe and even on the spiritual level. It resembles a hypothetical situation where, with the help of certain actions, a plant could turn into an animal, or an animal into man. However, only humans can rise to the Divine level. This is possible because the root of such a property is present in us – the sensation of another human being. This property is absent in the inanimate bodies, plants and animals.

We are born with only animal desires, purely animal instincts that existed in primitive people. These are our bodily desires for such natural pleasures as food, sex, home and family. Besides, as a result of envy man develops a desire to receive something that another person has, even if he does not really need it. Even if I have all that my heart desires, but there is someone who enjoys something else; then I want to receive that pleasure too.

Finally, the desires for power and honor bring me pleasure, because I feel people's submission and respect. These are man's ultimate aspirations in this world. It does not matter to me that I do not have it in my pocket; I enjoy people's attitude toward me. This makes me bigger, more significant.

Envy, craving for pleasures, and the desire for fame and recognition develop man to such an extent that he can attach additional egoism from others to his own and begin to advance spiritually.

Man does not receive his desires only from the level of this world. He has a "point in his heart" – the egoistical spiritual desire. In Hebrew, it is called "*Achoraim de Nefesh de Kedusha*." This is the egoistical desire of the upper level. I come to desire to control this Upper level, the Creator. I want Him to do what I wish. The attainment is not limited by the desires of this world; the process continues in the Upper Worlds. Always, my Upper level begins with my desire to enslave the Creator.
When I discover His properties and gradually reveal His perfection, it transforms me in such a way that I already wish him to enslave me, my egoism. I want Him to pass His properties to me, so that I may absorb them and become similar to Him.

However, everything begins with huge egoistical desires. Hence, it is said: "He, who is higher than another has greater egoistical desires." One should not be afraid of that.

Therefore, a few months after the person begins to study Kabbalah, he suddenly notices that his egoism has grown. For example, he never dreamed about millions of dollars before, and all of a sudden, he realizes what the passion for money is. He never thought of honor and recognition, for why would he need that and from whom? From other two-legged creatures? Yet suddenly he begins to crave it; he wants people to pay attention to him. The person who was quite moderate in his animal instincts (food and sex) suddenly loses his mind. It becomes his inner obstacle, which gave him no trouble before.

Everything that happens to the person in the process of his spiritual growth is based on the development of egoism. It is said in the Babylonian Talmud that, since the destruction of the Temple (when we spiritually fell to the level of this world), the real taste for sex and the genuine egoistical desires ("sex" being the core of our animal pleasures) can only be enjoyed by those who aspire to the Upper World ("*Ta'am Biah Nishar Rak le Ovdei HaShem*"). We need to correct additional egoism for advancing spiritually.

Having realized that the Creator's desire, the purpose of creation, is in bestowing pleasure upon created beings, we now clearly see that this purpose refers neither to the inanimate bodies nor to huge planets, since they have no sensation of others. Neither does it concern the plants and animals in our world, because they also lack such a sensation. How will they be able to feel the Creator's goodness if they cannot even feel their own kind?

When we develop and reach the spiritual level called "man", i.e., when our egoism is so developed that we want much more than others, we begin to envy them and desire whatever they have, although initially we never had such desires. We envy their pleasures, honor, fame, and wish to conquer the whole world. This is called the real man. He is still uncorrected, yet he is ready for it because he already has what to correct.

Man alone, after having been prepared with the sensation of others who are like him, after delving into Torah and the commandments, will turn his will to receive (egoistic, enormous desire acquired from outside) *into the will to bestow, and come to equivalence of form with his Maker. Then he reaches the levels that had been prepared for him in the Upper Worlds.* This is the way we ascend the Upper Worlds.

As we receive additional portions of egoism (from the left line), we begin to correct it with the help of the Upper Light by raising a request (commandment) and receiving the Torah (the light of correction) from Above. The correction occurs with the help of the right line, the descending light. Thus, we create ourselves in the middle line. Our egoism of the left line becomes similar to the Creator's properties of the right line.

We build ourselves between the two lines, while receiving the *NaRaNHaY* on all the 120 levels of our ascent to the world of Infinity. The *NaRaNHaY* in the world of Infinity is referred to as the light of the Torah; its parts on the preliminary stages between our level and the world of Infinity are called *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya*, and *Yechida*. While

ascending the five worlds we receive the light of *Nefesh* in the world of *Assiya*, the light of *Ruach* in the world of *Yetzira*, the light of *Neshama* in the world of *Beria*, the light of *Haya* in the world of *Atzilut* and the light of *Yechida* in the world of *Adam Kadmon*.

As we ascend from the world of *AK* to the world of Infinity, we simply are included into the common light already called, not the *NaRaNHaY*, but the Torah. There are no distinctions or subtle nuances in it, just the perfect light.

Thus, rising from our world to the world of Infinity, we pass through the following levels: first "secret", then "allegory", after that "hint" and finally "simplicity". It is called *PaRDeS – Pshat, Remez, Droosh,* and *Sod*. The *Pshat* is the simplest light in the world of Infinity; the *Droosh* (the light in the worlds of *AK* and *Atzilut*) is below it; then the *Remez* is like a hint in the world of *Beria* and *Yetzira* and the *Sod* in the world of *Assiya* and in our world, the secret, concealed light, which we neither feel nor understand.

Therefore the attainment of the *PaRDeS* occurs in the reverse order (from down upwards). This is what the *Gaon* from Vilna says in his prayer book: "The *PaRDeS* constitutes four different levels of attainment: first the simple, then a little deeper, then deeper still and finally very profound knowledge".

Thus, we ostensibly attain the *PaRDeS*, but in fact, we just mechanically study what is written in the book, staying within the bounds of a simple learning of the text on the level of our world. In reality, the attainment of the *PaRDeS*, i.e., of the Torah in the world of Infinity is simple, like the light that is shining there, because even the *NaRaNHaY* becomes one simple light on that level.

Here Baal HaSulam says that the common people who study the Torah think that everything is studied on our level and that the knowledge of the laws of the universe requires no spiritual ascent. He calls such

people "philosophers" or "*Baalei Batim*" (house owners), or sometimes "false sages".

> *40. I know that it is completely unaccepted in the eyes of some philosophers. They cannot agree that man, whom they think of as low and worthless, is the center of the magnificent creation.*

In other words, man should not ascend and absorb the entire Creation. Everyone except for Kabbalists thinks this way. Kabbalists, however, are convinced that just with the help of his egoism, and not through its suppression, man should take in this whole world and become similar to the Creator in his attitude to the universe.

> Baal HaSulam says: *I know that it is completely unaccepted in the eyes of some philosophers...* He speaks about "the know-it-alls" among us, who are not willing to grasp the universe and rise above it. *They are like the worm that is born inside a radish and thinks that the Creator's world is as bitter and dark as the radish it was born in. However, as soon as the shell of the radish breaks and it peeps out, it wonders and says: "I thought the whole world was the size of my radish..."* This is what we say to ourselves today. Each of us feels this way before crossing the *Machsom*. *"I thought the whole world was the size of my radish, and now I see before me a grand, beautiful, and wondrous world!"*
>
> *So too are those who are sunk in the shell of the will to receive; they were born with* (that prevents them from feeling something beyond themselves), *and did not taste the new means, new sensations and the divine properties* (that would enable them to transcend the bounds of their egoism and feel the world beyond themselves) *that can break this hard shell and turn it into a will to bestow contentment upon the Maker* (i.e., become equal to Him). *It is certain that they must determine their worthlessness and emptiness, as that is what they really are like, and cannot*

comprehend that this magnificent reality had not been created but for them.

Indeed, if they had delved into Kabbalah in order to bestow contentment to their Maker (if they had transformed their egoistic desires into bestowal upon the Creator). *They would try to hatch from the shell they were born into and receive the will to bestow, their eyes would immediately open to see and attain all the pleasant and sweet, beyond words, degrees of wisdom, intelligence and clear mind, which have been prepared for them in the spiritual worlds. Then they themselves would say as our sages said: "What does a good guest say? Everything the host did, he did for me alone".* We should attain this level and see all that the Creator is doing for us. "All" implies the level of the world of Infinity.

We learn that the last level of man's attainment is called the "Thought of creation". The first, the second, the third, and then the fourth levels descend from there, from the four stages of the Straight light. The highest level consists of two parts. The lower part of this root level, *Behina Shoresh*, refers to us. The Upper Light descends from it and gives birth to *Behina Aleph*, the first stage of the Direct light, but this is the lower part of the root level. The upper part of the root level is the Creator's Thought, where all that was created is inside Him, on His level. We should reach this level.

Although we are born on the lower part (zero stage), we have to achieve the Creator through our own effort.

Behina Shoresh consists of two parts. The first stage (the will to receive) is born from the lower part. Then the second stage (the will to bestow) emerges. Here the Creator's action manifests with regard to us. His Thought is in the upper part (the zero stage).

We are born in the third stage, and then the fourth stage follows. *Malchut* transforms itself, performs *Tzimtzum Aleph*, acquires a screen,

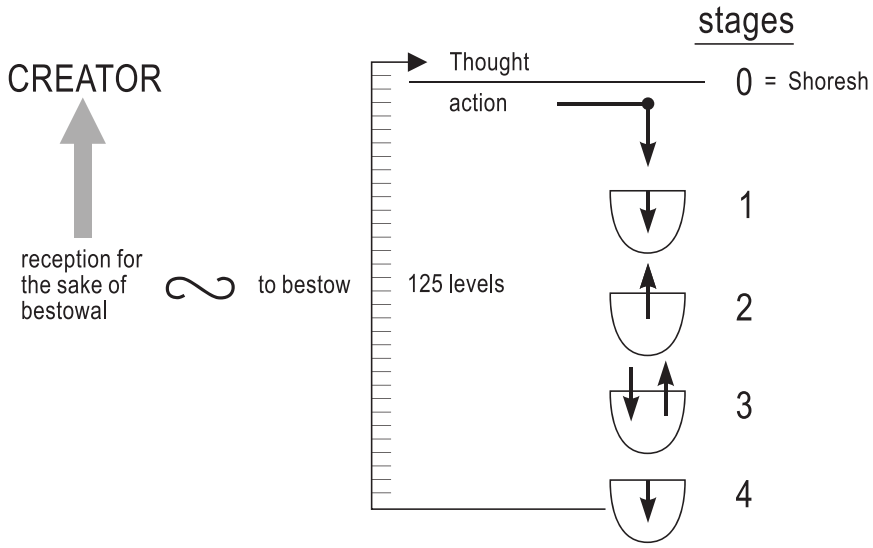

and then ascends 125 levels through a long series of corrective actions. Although it was born because of the Creator's action, by imitating His actions, it rises, achieves His Thought, and merges with Him, since "similarity" in the spiritual world implies likeness to the Creator's actions – the desire to bestow. Our will to receive for the sake of bestowal is equivalent to the Creator's bestowal.

> It is said: *"I will know You by Your actions"*, (i.e., we reach the Creator's level. "I will know You" means I will rise to the level of Your thoughts). This is what similarity gives us. Only after reaching the level of the Creator's thoughts can we really say: *Everything the host did, he did for me alone.*
>
> *41. However, there still remains a need to clarify why man would need all those Upper Worlds the Creator built for him? For what use has he of them?*
>
> *Bear in mind, that reality is generally divided into five worlds, which are Adam Kadmon, Atzilut, Beria, Yetzira, and Assiya. Indeed, in*

each of them there are an infinite number of details, which are the five Sefirot...

Each world consists of five parts, called *Sefirot*. I would call them five *Partzufim*: *Galgalta*, *AB*, *SAG*, *MA*, and *BON*, alternatively, *Atik*, *AA*, *AVI*, and *ZON*. It is not so important how we name them. Baal HaSulam calls them *Sefirot* instead of *Partzufim*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *Tifferet*, and *Malchut*. He does not wish to divide the worlds into *Partzufim*: five worlds with five *Partzufim*, five *Sefirot* in each *Partzuf* amounts to 125 levels. He wants to explain that:

Because the world of Adam Kadmon is Keter, and the world of Atzilut is Hochma, and Beria is Bina and Yetzira is Tifferet and the world Assiya is Malchut. And the lights that dress in those five worlds are called YHNRN, as the light of Yechida shines in Adam Kadmon (the most powerful common light of the Torah, which shines in the world of Infinity)*, the light of Haya shines in Atzilut, the light of Neshama shines in Beria, the light of Ruach shines in Yetzira, and the light of Nefesh shines in Assiya.*

All these worlds and everything in them are included in the holy name Yud Hey Vav Hey, and the tip of the Yud. In the first world, Adam Kadmon, we have no perception. Therefore, the tip of the Yud of the name indicates it; we do not speak of it and always mention only the four worlds ABYA. The Yud is the world of Atzilut, the Hey is Beria, the Vav is Yetzira, and the bottom Hey is Assiya.

42. We have now explained the five worlds that include all the spiritual reality that extends from Infinity to this world. Indeed they are included one in the other and in each of the worlds there are the five worlds, the five Sefirot - Keter, Hochma, Bina, Tiferet, Malchut, where the five lights - NaRaNHaY are dressed, which correspond to the five worlds.

Besides the five Sefirot, in each world there are the four spiritual categories - Still, Vegetative, Animate, Speaking - where the soul of man is regarded as the Speaking in that world, and the Animate is regarded as the angels in that world. The Vegetative are called the clothes, and the Still are called the halls.

They are all dressed one into the other - the Speaking, which are the souls of people, are dressed in the five Sefirot: Keter, Hochma, Bina, Tifferet and Malchut - in that place. The Animate, which are the angels are dressed into the souls, the Vegetative - which are the clothes – dress into the angels and the Still - which are halls - encompasses them all.

The world of Assiya includes our world. The initial point of the Yud is in the world of AK and in the world of Infinity. That point is the beginning of the whole creation and the little tail beneath it points at what emerges and spreads from the point. This corresponds to Shoresh.

Why are these four letters used? This is because the point is a source of the light. If the source of the light moves to the right, it means the light of *Hassadim*. If it moves to the left, it is the lack of *Hassadim*. If this point goes down, it means the spreading of the light of *Hochma*, if it goes up – the light of *Hochma* disappears.

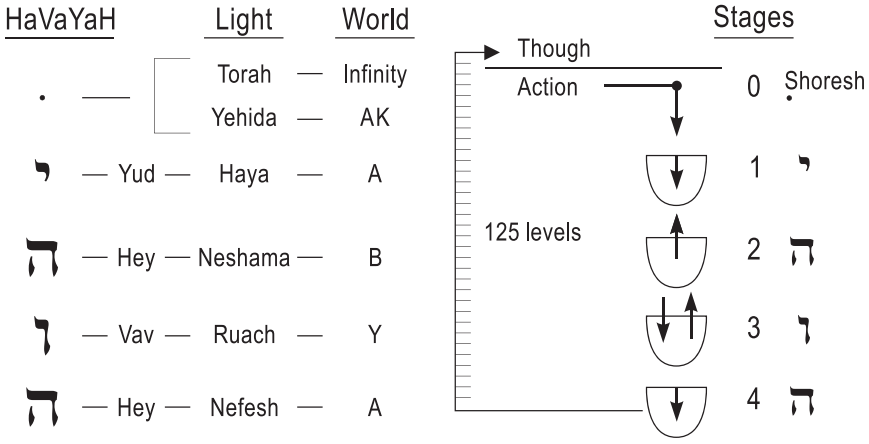

All kinds of combinations occur inside the construction of the *Kli*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, *Bina*, *ZA*, and *Malchut*. Each of these five desires has its own property and interrelates with the rest. In addition, we act with the screen and see how we can fill ourselves, so it turns out that there is never a "pure reception" or a "pure bestowal".

"Pure receptions" and "pure bestowals" only exist in the world of *AK*. It is from there that the light spreads through the world of Infinity down to our world. The light, which descends from the world of Infinity to the world of *AK* splits, into *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya* and *Yechida*, where they descend to us in their pure form.

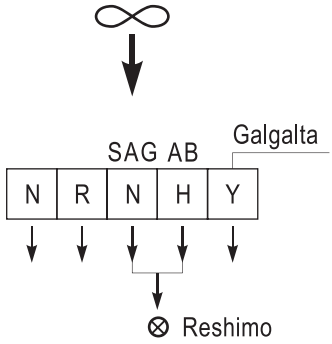

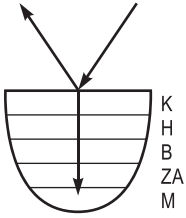

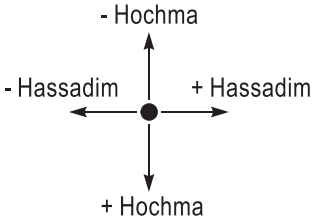

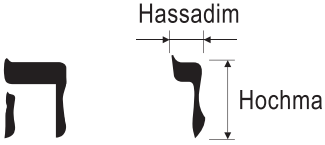

The *Galgalta* is the light of *Yechida*, the *AB* is the light of *Haya*, and the *SAG* is the light of *Neshama*. When the two lights *AB-SAG* come to us, they correct and purify us with all their power.

They influence the *Reshimo* and the *Reshimo* (depending on its structure) chooses how much of the light of *Hochma* and *Hassadim* should affect it. Therefore, the *Reshimo* (its inner structure) determines to what kind of influence it will be exposed. Perhaps, *the* influence of the light on the *Reshimo* would be in the form of

the letter "*Vav*" – a little of the light of *Hassadim* and much of the light of *Hochma*, from up downwards. Alternatively, perhaps it is in the form of the letter "*Hey*", where in the "*Reish*" (the massive spreading of *Hassadim* on the light of *Hochma*) there is a small "*Vav*" inside. This letter consists of the two *Partzufim*, the inner and the outer, like a mother with a fetus (the tiny inner *Partzuf*) inside her womb. This characterizes *Bina* when it is the first (upper) "*Hey*". We will discuss the structure of the letters later on. They constitute the complete spreading of the light in all of its variations; hence, the name HaVaYaH implies the influence from Above.

The inanimate, vegetative, animate and human levels are divided into the *Heichalot* (Baal HaSulam calls them halls, sometimes we call them houses), the *Levushim* (clothes), the *Malachim* (angels) and finally the souls (man).

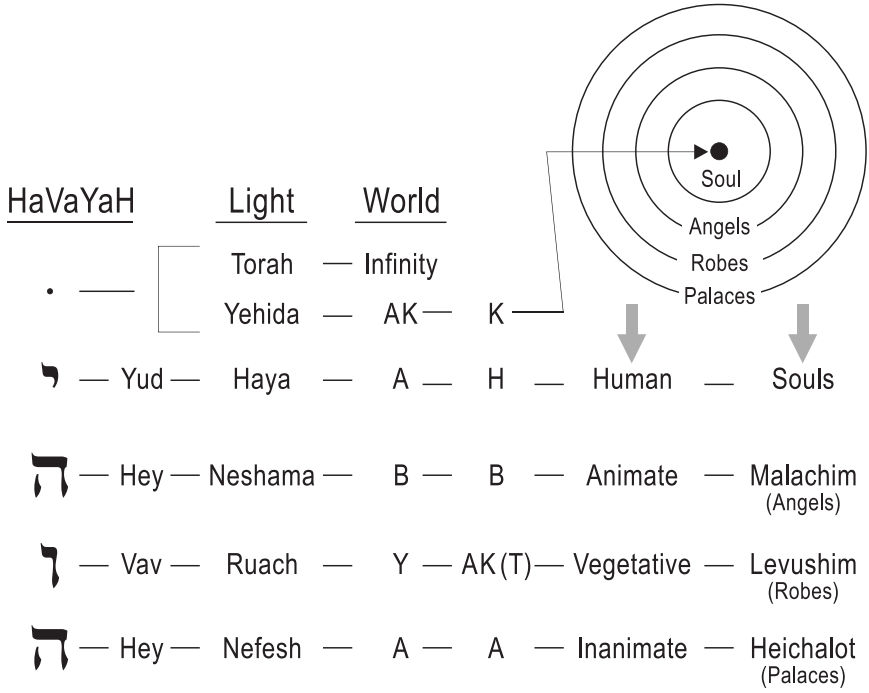

As you may see, there is nothing regarding *Keter* because this is the Creator. If we begin to analyze how these spiritual levels are interrelated, we will discover that the soul is in the center, the angels dress on the soul, the *Levushim* dress on the angels and the halls dress on the *Levushim*. Inside the soul, a part descends from *Keter*. It consists of the Ten *Sefirot* of the Straight light, the Ten *Sefirot* of the "*Kav*" ("line").

Since the soul "dresses" on the Creator, it is in turn surrounded by the angels, the clothes, and the so-called halls. It is preferable to use the Hebrew names, because in Hebrew their structure and inscription include many different elements. These words are very meaningful and they include many levels of information.

> *Since the soul "dresses" on the Creator and the angels, the clothes and the halls dress on the soul, it becomes clear that the angels, the clothes and halls, i.e., the outer universe regarding the soul is only necessary for bonding this soul with the Creator, who is inside it.*

Now we begin to deal with ourselves, and Baal HaSulam speaks about our path from the lowest level. You will not find the things he so clearly and laconically explains in this Introduction anywhere else. He writes openly about the things that are normally ignored. How much of it can we grasp?

While reading these lines please let us think of each other, of how we can help each other by simply joining our desires. Let us assume there are 1000 men and women in the world, who simultaneously listen to me about the Creator's revelation to man. Let us all together want it to happen to us. This is called the raising of prayer, of desire, that will be answered with the Surrounding light. It will, by all means, generate this action in us.

> *43. When man is born, he immediately receives a "holy soul", Nefesh…* Oh! If he only could have it… But he does not. So what do we actually have when we begin to aspire to the Creator? *However,*

not an actual soul, but the posterior of it, meaning its last category, which is called a "point" because of it smallness. It is inserted in man's heart, in his will to receive, which is found primarily in man's heart.

Heart means all our egoism. There is a point in the heart – the reverse side of the soul, its beginning, its root. It is a tiny part that is destined to become the soul and will have to go through inversion in order to become a true point of the soul.

We feel it as opposite to our egoism. Even if I wish for the spiritual, my desire is absolutely egoistic. My point is called "a point in the heart", because it is in the midst of my egoistic desires. It is in the center of my heart. For example, after satisfying all my egoistic desires of this world, I now want to grab the spiritual delights (I can think of no better word).

Know this rule, for all that you will find in reality in general, you will also find in every world, even in the smallest particles of it.

The same laws that rule in the universe influence the very last, microscopic part of it. The Hebrew phrase "*Prat u Klal Shavim*" (the common and the individual are equal) explains the idea. This is because there cannot be even a slightest detail that would not consist of five stages of the Straight light. All that is concentrated in these five stages only spreads through the worlds from our first state to the third. Actually, nothing else was created except for these stages of the Straight light. Every minute detail consists of them. Therefore, "*Prat u Klal Shavim*" is the general law of the universe, even its smallest part.

The smallest soul and the sum of all the souls are equal. There is nothing in the spiritual that would be bigger or smaller than something else would. Moreover, if one is against all the rest of the 599,999 souls, this one is equal to all the others. This is a marvelous property of the spiritual world.

Just as there are five worlds in reality, which are the five Sefirot, Keter, Hochma, Bina, Tifferet and Malchut, so too are there five Sefirot, Keter, Hochma, Bina, Tifferet and Malchut in, each and every world, and there are five Sefirot in the smallest particle of that world.

Everything is divided into five parts.

We have stated that this world is divided into the still, vegetative, animate, and human levels. They correspond to the four Sefirot, Hochma, Bina, Tifferet, and Malchut; or rather in the reverse order, *Malchut, Tifferet, Bina*, and *Hochma*.

Indeed, even in the smallest particle of each species in the still, vegetative, animate, and human levels, there are four inner categories: still, vegetative, animate, and human. The same exists in a single species, i.e., in one person..., in all of us.

Now let us understand what man is. Why should we think about anything else? We are the most active part of the universe, that which is destined to bring everything to the Creator. If we (the soul) merge with the Creator, then the halls, the clothes, and the angels will merge with Him together with us (i.e., the entire universe ascends to the Creator's level). This depends only on our desire and our work. Therefore, we study the level of "man" and the way he ascends to the Creator.

So even in one person, there are also four levels (still, vegetative, animate and human), which are the four parts of his will to receive.

In all, there are five kinds of desires. We call them *Aviut* zero, one, two, three and four. All of these egoistic levels of a desire, still, vegetative, animate and human, exist in our world and are characterized by the general notion of a man's heart.

The still level is represented by the bodily desires for food, sex, family, and home. The vegetative level is the desire for riches. The animate

level is the desire for honor and fame. The human level is the desire for knowledge. Above it, there is only the spiritual desire.

We can see the same inside us. Even on the level of the biological and physical-chemical structure of the body, there are various minerals, non-organic compounds (the still level). Then there are nails and hair (the vegetative level). The next to follow is our flesh (the animate level) and finally, our inner psychology (the human level). Yet all of theses parts are of the animate level. Above them is also the Divine nature that is called a point in heart. Man begins to study Kabbalah only because this point prevails in his heart. Instead of craving this world with its food, sex, family, its chasing after money, fame and even knowledge, man becomes interested in something bigger, even without knowing what it is. This point makes him restless.

> 44. *Earlier than the "thirteen years of age"* (a relative level in man's development) *there cannot be any detection of the point in his heart. However, after "thirteen years", when he begins to delve into Kabbalah, even without any intention for the Creator's sake, (i.e., without any love and fear, as there should be with someone who serves the king), even not For Her Name, the point in his heart begins to grow and reveal its action.*

Man, who begins to feel an aspiration for the spiritual world is considered to have come of age. From then on, he willy-nilly begins to develop the point in his heart, because this desire prevails over the others. He tries all kinds of ways until he finds a group, a book, and a teacher. The point in the heart leads him to the place, to the source that can fill him. We believe it to happen by chance, but it is not so.

However, man should constantly check the source from which he receives. I advise all of you who are sitting before your monitors not to trust me, to check for yourselves where you are. Perhaps you may find a better company, a wiser teacher who will provide you with a more power-

ful influence and lead you to the Purpose of creation. This is our main task. The rest is a means for achieving the goal.

You should have no other image before your eyes except for the Creator. You should say to yourself, "Only in order to achieve Him, am I ready to listen to some wise man, read some books, be in some company of people, make a sacrifice, etc. The Creator should constantly be in front of me; He alone should determine what I do.

This is the correct development of the point in the heart. Even if my desire for the Creator is egoistic, I still aspire for Him and nothing else. By no means should I join someone in order to feel more secure and comfortable.

I once asked my Teacher: "How can I be sure that I am in the right place? I have only one life, so I wish to realize everything I need by myself". His answer was very simple: "Keep looking. This is your free will".

The freedom of will is in a constant search for the right group. Only after you have checked everything, may you begin to work on its improvement. You are obliged to do it because your future depends on your environment, on your books, and teachers. Do not take anything on trust. You should check everything because this is the only way you can grow. Unless you put your effort into the group, unless you try to make it stronger, you will not be able to grow.

The realization of my freedom of will consists in exerting influence on the teacher, the books, the group, and consequently the Surrounding light, so that it will develop me. If man relaxes and wants to get under the wing of some wise person, some Rabbi, he confines himself to the still level and stops growing. Try to avoid such aspirations, although our body desires them very much. We should force ourselves every second to shake them off and realize our free will. Thus, we will only shorten the period of our correction because all the levels are predetermined. We will not reach the next level until we have corrected this one.

Even if man begins to study Kabbalah without any intention for the Creator's sake, the point in his heart begins to grow.

This is what we partially feel and hope that it will continue to develop. The actions performed by the beginning Kabbalist so far do not require the intentions. Man always acts with a certain intention – with the egoistic intention for his own sake. However, regarding the spiritual, these actions are considered to be without intention. We can influence something in the spiritual only in accordance with our altruistic intention. Therefore, at the beginning of our development, even an egoistic intention is good enough. It is important to have a huge desire to conquer the spiritual world and the Creator, even if it is egoistic.

In his book "*Pri Hacham*", Baal HaSulam says in one of his letters on page 70, "This should be similar to the sensation of a man overwhelmed by passion for his beloved. He can neither see nor hear anything; it fills his whole world, he ... loses his mind". In Hebrew, it is called "*Metoraf*" (crazy). There is no other pleasure that can fill his empty *Kli*.

This is exactly the state we have to achieve with regard to the Creator. Only He can fill my vessels. I do not want anything else. This is the final level of this world after which we pass on to the spiritual one.

Man purifies, corrects the still level of his egoistic desire ...

That is what we do today. We do not know anything on this level. We cannot see the difference between the elements. They are still. As a result, we pass through all 613 parts of the point in heart. Actually it consists of 620 parts, but we agreed on 613 parts that exist in every spiritual organ, shell, *Partzuf*, both in the general structure of *Adam* and in each of its individual parts. It does not matter what we speak about, whether it be the five stages or the 10 *Sefirot* or the 613 parts. There can be neither more nor less than that.

To the extent that man aspires for the Creator, he purifies the still part of the desire to receive. He builds the 613 organs of the point in

the heart, which is the still level of the pure soul. When all the 613 actions called the commandments are completed, he creates the 613 organs (the corrected parts) *of the point in the heart, which is the still part of the holy soul.*

Let us imagine our big egoistic heart with a tiny point consisting of 613 desires. I should develop each of them to the maximum and direct them to the Creator. I neither know nor understand any of these 613 desires in the heart. I do not feel the difference between them because these desires are of the still level. However, this is not important. Like a still body, I automatically aspire to the Creator with my might.

Two hundred forty-eight spiritual organs are built through the observance of the 248 actions of "do" (precepts that you have to perform in), *and its 365 spiritual organs are built through the observing of the 365 precepts of "do not do", until it becomes a whole Partzuf of pure Nefesh.*

What does it mean? I have the Partzuf that consists of two parts – 248 and 365, in all – 613.

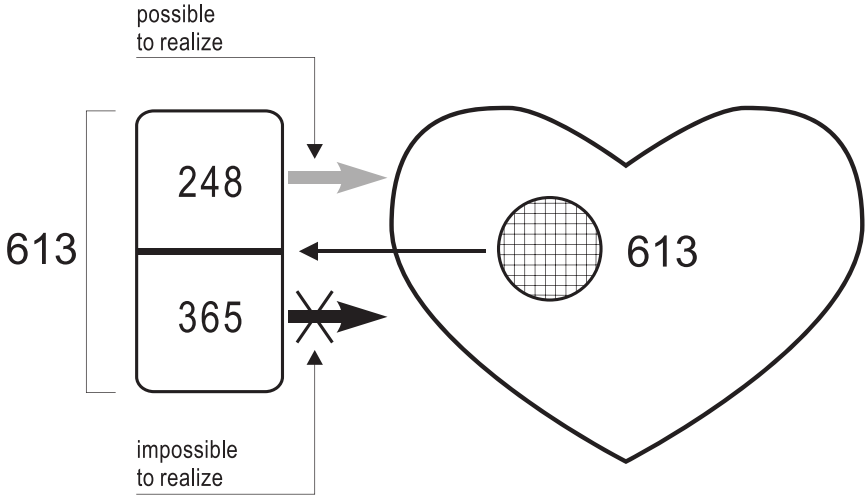

Two hundred forty-eight actions out of 613 that I perform with my desires are those with whose help I can act. Basically, these are my actions in the group, with all the people, friends, and family – the desires in which I can express and realize myself.

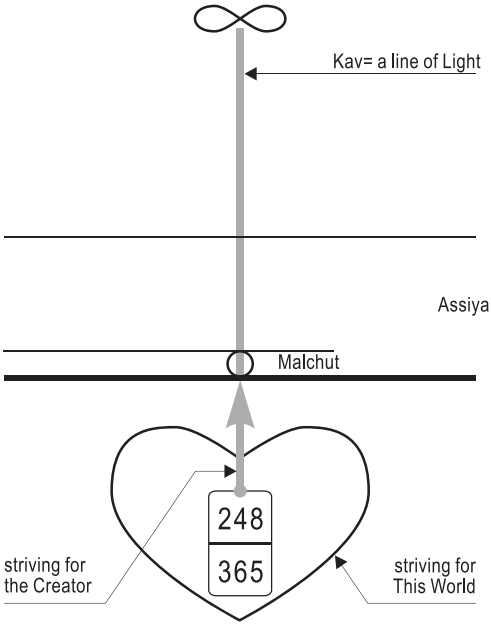

However, there are actions in which I cannot realize myself. I have no idea how to work with them correctly. These are not simply desires to kill or to steal. These are all of my desires that I cannot connect with the spiritual in any way.

This is a natural process. We should not think: "Now I want something, so how am I to deal with this desire, satisfy it or refrain from it?" When I aspire to the Creator on the level of my point in the heart, I still do not have the inner definitions and cannot make this inner analysis. It is not necessary at this point. Consequently, my level is defined as still. I have not yet received the light from Above that breaks my point into 613 tiny squares where I know what properties each of them represents and that they are connected with the Creator. I cannot do that yet. However, when I do it... *"my level of Nefesh rises and dresses Malchut in the spiritual world of Assiya"*.

Below the level of the spiritual worlds, inside my heart (the heart is all our desires, but you should on no account imagine the biological heart) the *Partzuf* emerged (my aspiration to the Creator as something

distinct from the aspirations of this world). If I aspire to the Creator, I rise to the level of *Malchut* of the world of *Assiya* on the first still level.

All the worlds form a descending line ("*Kav*"). "*Kav*" is the line of the light descending from the world of Infinity down to this world. When my *Partzuf* is complete, it rises and "dresses" from Above onto the *Malchut* of the World of *Assiya*, on the light that is there.

In other words, my soul "dressed" on this line with the angels, the clothes, and the halls enveloping my soul. They are added because these are my auxiliary desires that I have realized in order to ascend to this particular level.

> *All the spiritual parts of the still, vegetative and animate levels in the world that correspond to the Sefira of Malchut of Assiya serve and aid the soul of man who has risen there. To the extent that Nefesh* (the soul, the very first level) *uses them, they become spiritual nourishment to it...*

All of these halls, clothes, and angels are our desires, except for the aspiration to the Creator. These are the desires of our world that strengthen my aspiration to the Creator. Even the hindrances in the form of a bad boss or problems with the children, everything that surrounds me in this world, are all the positive and negative influences that aspire together with me and "dress" on my soul, on the *Malchut* of the world of *Assiya*.

This means that, if I carry out a spiritual action and there are people who help me to do that, then as I ascend to a certain spiritual level, all those who helped me, "dress" on me with their inner parts and receive the light. This reception is still unconscious because they have not yet prepared their inner spiritual *Kli*. However, they do take part in the process. This is what makes the connection between all the people in the world so important. Through mutual aid, communication, and trade, our world has now become a small village. The world, as it exists

with regard to the ascending man, rises together with him and enters the clothes of the *Malchut* of the world of *Assiya* and then even higher.

> *To the extent that Nefesh uses them* (the auxiliary desires: the halls, the clothes and the angels) *they give it strength to grow and multiply until it can extend the light of the Sefira of Malchut of Assiya in all the desired perfection to shine in man's body. That complete light aids man to add toil in Kabbalah and receive the remaining higher levels.*
>
> *Just as immediately at the birth of man's body, a point of the light of Nefesh is born and dressed in him, so it is here, when his Partzuf of "pure Nefesh" is born. A point from one level higher is born with it, meaning the last degree of the light of Ruach of Assiya, and fills the inner part of the Partzuf Nefesh.*

As soon as we ascend to that world, instead of it, what remains? The next part forms the so-called "naked" *Partzuf* – the next point in the heart. It has changed and has now divided into its own 613 parts. This second point in the heart is not of *Aviut Shoresh* (0). In order to ascend and dress on *Malchut*, it has to have *Aviut Aleph* (1). This happens because, as the *Partzufim* emerge, one is always born inside another and after completing its own development, pulls the next one after it similar to the forming of a garland.

Therefore, as soon as the *Partzuf, Nefesh,* completes its ascent and dresses on the *Malchut* of the World of *Assiya*, that very instant the point of the following *Partzuf* emerges and begins to push this whole process forward. Like cars of a train move one behind another, the point of the next *Partzuf* will push them up to the level of Infinity. This is an ascending movement, because man should reach the world of Infinity while living in this world – in his body, with his heart and with the point in it.

Here I would like to end this lesson and remind you again that we should unite. It will save much time and effort in our advancement.

None of us will be able to gain individually what we can gain collectively. The growth of our group by just 10% shortens our path by many months. As we grow sufficiently and the members of the group learn to understand one another, even very different people will have much to discuss. We will know how to advance together to the Creator.

In the process of reading "The Book of Zohar", a person gains the sense of the upper world. In any case, reading this book creates internal prerequisites, *Kelim*, with whose assistance we begin to feel what we could not feel before, something that seemed non-existent to us, but now becomes real. Something that could not be felt in our senses suddenly comes into the field of their sensitivity, and the world starts opening up, slowly developing like a photograph, until we enter into this common whole world. "The Book of Zohar" should do this to us. "The Introduction to The Book of Zohar" helps us to understand what stages we should go through.

The conception of a *Partzuf* occurs in such a way that there is an upper *Partzuf*, half of which is above the *Parsa* (so-called *GE*), and another half (*AHP*) is below the *Parsa.* We, the broken souls, broken *Kelim* (*Kelim Shevurim*) exist below the *Parsa*. The little crosses on the picture mark all of us. This does not mean that I gave up on us, but quite the opposite; those who are marked here have a bright future. Now we can raise all the *AHP*. Where? To me. Your upper *Partzuf* is me. Raise all your desires with me and through me get up to the *GE*. From this picture you can clearly see how important it is for us to join together and cling to the *AHP* whose *GE* is above the *Parsa*, above the *Machsom*.

This world below is where we exist and where the *AHP* of the lower *Partzuf* exists together with you, and I rather represent it for you. Together we can latch onto the *GE*, to the part above, and thus be able to ascend.

The more we unite to include these desires into the *AHP*, the more I feel you, so that your desires go through me up to the Creator, the more

effectively we will be able to act. This is the meaning of merging of all the groups in the world. We ought to create a huge, cumulative desire that will be equal to what we call *MAN*, a request to the upper Partzuf, which it cannot refuse. This is our goal.

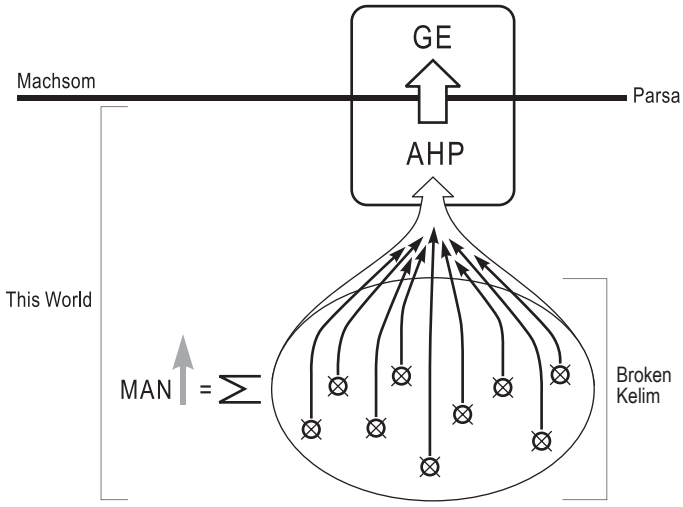

From this we see that there is absolutely no point to be attached to the people whose *GE* is not in the upper world; hence, we see how much we all must participate in the same process of connecting all of our desires into the one and only desire to the Creator.

We have said that man goes through a certain period in his spiritual development called "13 years". This is a period when the aspiration to the Creator has not yet awakened in him. It is then followed by the period of conscious spiritual development, when a person begins to feel a point in the heart, an aspiration to the Creator, and starts developing it deliberately. Now we are developing our point in the heart; therefore, our state is called "13 years" or "coming of age".

Why 13 years? While studying the *Partzufim* of the world of *Atzilut*, we discover that there are 13 corrections of the beard ("*Yud Gimel Tikunei Dikna*") of the upper *Partzuf*. There exists an upper *Partzuf Arich Anpin*

(AA), from whose head the light descends along the hair and the beard. Why "along the beard"? Because with regard to AA the beard constitutes the external *Partzuf*. AA is in the GAR, very powerful light. The light descends along its external *Partzuf* and then weakened so that the lower ones might accept and use it correctly for their growth, causing no harm to themselves.

Such a *Partzuf,* called *Se'arot,* is a part of AA. We receive the upper light through it, whereupon it is transformed in us, and helps us to grow. Therefore, the first 13 years of our development, the first 13 spiritual steps, are considered the years of unconscious development, as with children. Then we come of age and begin to grow consciously. The light that we receive is *Ohr Nefesh* of the world of Assiya. That is what Baal HaSulam writes about in paragraph 45.

> *45. The aforementioned light of Nefesh is called the light of the still level of the world of Assiya. It is correspondingly aimed at purifying the still level of the will to receive in man's body* (it is said about our present condition). *It shines in the spiritual world much like the still category in the corporeal world, whose particles do not move independently ...*

Inanimate objects in our world do not move independently. They have no desire to move or change. Their only desire is to remain constantly in the same state and that is where their effort is directed. For example, the structure of a crystal is only aimed at preserving its particular state. Obviously, if external conditions exceed the forces of internal preservation of the material's properties, then they will destroy such a material, its inner connections.

Therefore, *there is a general movement that surrounds all the details equally,* like the movement of the planet Earth, and everything else in a galaxy, in the universe, in our world. *And so it is with the light of the Partzuf of Nefesh of the world of Assiya. Although there are 613 organs to it, 613 forms of receiving the bounty* (they are already in us, but they are undeveloped yet

existing only in potential) *yet these changes are not apparent, but just a general light whose action surrounds them all equally, without distinction of details* (separate desires)**.**

The light develops desires in one direction or another, like an embryo that is forming inside the mother's womb. Different parts of the embryo's body begin to develop at different times, the head, then the arms, then suddenly the torso, the legs, and so on. There is a specific time for development of every organ or body part. However, on the lowest level of *Nefesh de Nefesh*, there is only a general development with no manifestation of particular stages.

> 46. *Bear in mind, that although the Sefirot are divine...* (related to the Creator, and being in the state of similarity to Him. But do we already have them within ourselves? Believe it, we do. And if we have even the slightest desire, aspiration for the Creator, then we have already achieved some microscopic similarity to Him).
>
> *There is no distinction between the first Sefira Keter in the world of AK and the last Sefira Malchut in the world of Assiya...* There is no difference in the structure of creation. It is either in the world of Infinity, or in our world. We are made of the same components, the same Ten *Sefirot*. The question is in the screen. How can the absence of the screen compress the Ten *Sefirot* into a point, while its presence develops the *Sefirot* to become a huge, infinite vessel? All 613 parts of our spiritual body are compressed into the point within us.

Physicists assert that the entire cosmos developed from a micro point that consisted of an infinitely compressed substance. All of a sudden, there was a bang, and so the universe was created. Some day we will discuss this act of conception and birth of the universe. In fact, the

transition from the spiritual world to the material world happened in exactly this way.

The point, that emerged from the spiritual and became somewhat like the essence of matter, still possessed the same properties. It only changed its form, became material, and yet retained absolute similarity. Our universe, planet Earth, the solar system, and we ourselves, are all created in complete correspondence to the worlds of *Assiya*, *Yetzira*, *Beria*, etc. All the worlds are parallel to each other, and all their parts resemble each other, but each of the upper worlds is made of a more spiritual substance.

> *Bear in mind that although the Sefirot are divine, and there is no distinction between the first Sefira Keter in the highest world of AK and the last Sefira Malchut of the world of Assiya, there is still a great difference with regard to the receivers.* (even though the highest *Sefira* in the world of *AK* and the lowest *Sefira* in the world of *Assiya* are the same. Then what is the difference?). *For the Sefirot are composed of lights and vessels. And the light in the Sefirot is absolutely divine* (emanated by the Creator, the Creator's part inside the *Kli*). *But the vessels called KaHaBTuM in each of the lower worlds of Beria, Yetzira and Assiya are not divine. They are merely covers that conceal the light of Infinity within them and ration a certain amount of light to the receivers, that each will receive according to its degree of purity.*

Here Baal HaSulam wants to say that the universe is arranged in the following way: the world of Infinity, then the world of *AK* (*Adam Kadmon*), which is *Keter* (as regards the others) and all of its parts. It consists of five *Partzufim* called the *NaRaNHaY* (*Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya,* and *Yechida*) that emanate the light. Then follow *Atzilut*, *Beria*, *Yetzira*, *Assiya* and our world, as the last level of the world of *Assiya*.

All of these worlds consist of similar parts, and there is no difference between them. The only distinction is in the material from which they are created.

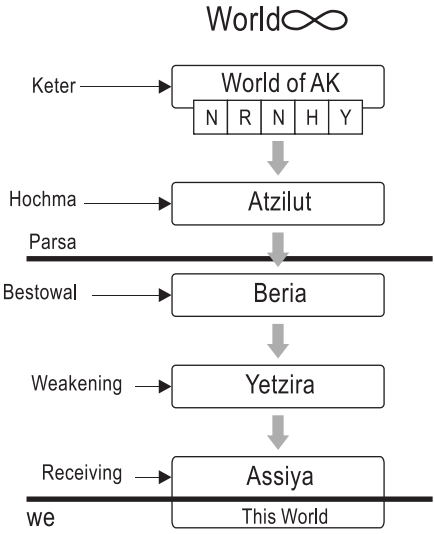

Baal HaSulam says that the worlds of *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya* constitute three huge filters that weaken the light descending to us from the worlds of *AK* and *Atzilut*.

The world of *Atzilut* is *Hochma*, where all the light of Infinity is waiting for our later reception. *Beria* is *Bina*. But the world of *Beria* located below helps us to keep the *Kelim de Ashpa'a* (desires of bestowal) under the *Parsa* and be corrected with their help. *Beria* is *Bina*, the property of bestowal. *Bina* is specially isolated from the world of *Atzilut* to help us. The world of *Yetzira* is a weakening of the property of bestowal and the world of *Assiya* is reception. We are a part of the world of *Assiya*.

The difference between these parts of the universe stems from the fact that the *Sefirot* are divided into the *Kli* and the light. The light of the *Sefira* is divine, whereas the vessels in each of the worlds: *Beria*, *Yetzira*, *Assiya* are not divine. Why? The *Kelim* in the worlds of *BYA* are not divine because they are below the *Parsa*. They consist of the *Kelim* that were broken and corrupted. Now they need to be corrected and elevated to the world of *Atzilut*.

> *Although the light is one, we still name the lights in the Sefirot NaRaNHaY because the light is distinguished according to the attributes of the vessels. Malchut, which is the coarsest cover, hides all the light of the world of Infinity. The light that it does pass on to*

the receivers is only a small portion related to the purification of the still level in the body of man. It is called Nefesh.

If we imagine a person in this world and the world of *Assiya* above him, it means that the only light that will reach him through the world of *Assiya* will be *Nefesh*.

The vessel of Tifferet (*Kli* of the world of *Yetzira*) *is finer than Malchut and the light it passes from the world of Infinity relates to the purification of the vegetative level of man's body, because there the light is more powerful than that of Nefesh. It is called Ruach.*

One receives the light of *Nefesh* in the world of *Assiya* and corrects one's still level. Those who are in the world of *Yetzira* receive from *Assiya* the light of *Ruach*, which corrects the vegetative level of desire.

The vessel of Bina is finer still than Tifferet, and the world that corresponds to it is called *Beria*. Those who are in the world of *Beria* receive *the light of Neshama that purifies the animate level of man's body, and it is called the light. The vessel of Hochma is the finest of all* (this is the world of *Atzilut*). *It passes the light of Haya, which purifies the human level in man and whose action is unlimited.*

		World ∞		Torah	→	Creator (Thought)
Keter	—	AK	→	Yechida	→	similarity to the Creator (Action)
Hochma	—	Atzilut	→	Haya	→	human
Bina	—	Beria	→	Neshama	→	animate
Tifferet	—	Yetzira	→	Ruach	→	vegetative
Malchut	—	Assiya	→	Nefesh	→	still

Why is it unlimited? The reason is that all the light that the Creator passes through the *Kli Keter* is here. The *Kli Keter* is *AK*, while *Yechida* is already completely similar to the Creator. Then follows *Olam Ein Sof*, the world of Infinity, where man reaches the combined light called the Torah, *NaRaNHaY*. In this case, he becomes similar to the Creator not in actions, but in his thoughts. We define *Keter* as "the Creator's actions with regard to creation". "The Creator's thought with regard to creation" that precedes action is above *Keter*.

47. In the Partzuf Nefesh, which man has attained through observing the Torah and Commandments without intent, there already dresses a point from the light of Ruach.

The *Partzuf Nefesh* is the smallest of all. We have already started acquiring it. We obtain the light of *NaRaNHaY de Nefesh* both in the world of *AK* and here in our world. This can be done by observing the *Torah* and Commandments without intent, i.e., by performing all kinds of actions that can correct us. Baal HaSulam describes them in his article "Free Will".

What is the meaning of an "action"? "Action" means working with the book during your studies in the group. This directs you toward the Creator, enables you to increase your desire for Him. If you accumulate all your powers, all your desires combined with the desires of your friends while aspiring to achieve the states described in the book, you will cling to the *AHP* of the superior spiritual *Partzuf* (the teacher) together with others, so that he will elevate you and attract the *Ohr Makif*.

To this end, you do not need to have special intentions for the sake of the Creator, for they cannot yet appear in you. They will appear because of the Upper Light's influence, but we can attract the light while still having egoistic intentions. In this case, the light that shines upon us is called not the *Ohr Pnimi* (it cannot enter us), but the *Ohr Makif*; and it will purify us all the same.

This way we acquire our first *Partzuf NaRaNHaY de Nefesh*. As soon as we complete it, its uppermost point will be the root of the next *Partzuf Ruach*. We will then begin building *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya,* and *Yechida* of the *Partzuf Ruach*. Once we have finished it, the beginning of the next *Partzuf* will be in the point of Yechida: *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya,* and *Yechida* of the *Partzuf Neshama.* When we are done with it, we will begin working on *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya,* and *Yechida* of the *Partzuf Haya, etc.*

This "ladder" originates in the descent of the worlds. During this process the upper world brought forth the next one below, therefore the lowest point of the upper *Partzuf* is connected with the uppermost point of the lower *Partzuf*. Man can say that he passes from one level to another when he reaches the highest point of a given *Partzuf*. An aspiration for the next level automatically awakens in that *Partzuf* and prerequisites of the next level's *Kli* appear. Thus, man keeps ascending.

Yet the work we do in order to advance, i.e., the screens, the depth of self-knowledge, the attainment of the surrounding world and the contact with the Creator, is totally different each time. This resembles a newborn baby that is still unable to hear, see, or understand anything. It gradually develops and begins to participate in the world's doings: first through games and playthings, later through contact with playmates and finally through interaction with adults.

An individual's advancement along the levels occurs because of a diverse influence of the environment and the development of alternative senses, powers, and means. This is what happens in the spiritual world; hence, we observe the same in our world as well. What are the nuances of man's work on these levels? I seem to be surrounded by the same world, and my inner essence remains unchanged. I just interact with myself and with the surrounding world at different depths in order to compare myself with the Creator. More and more, I deeply penetrate my inner world and that which surrounds me, so that they begin to form

one single *Kli*. All the levels of nature, still, vegetative, animal, and human, merge with the Creator. Here Baal *HaSulam* explains how and on what levels it takes place.

All that we can do is called commandments, or drawing the Upper light (the *Ohr Makif*) known as the Torah (from the word "*Ohrah*", "*Ohr*"). The Torah is the most general, all-inclusive Upper light. However, the light that reaches us in our state through all worlds, the *Ohr Makif*, is also called the Torah. This indivisible light is intended for all humankind in its final most exalted state. We receive the *Ohr Makif* that affects us even though we still have no intention for the sake of bestowal. If man does everything he can, he purifies and corrects his still level.

> *When one strives to observe the Torah and Commandments with the desired intent, he purifies the vegetative part of his will to receive and rises to the next level. To that extent, he builds the point of Ruach into a Partzuf. Performing the 248 "Positive" Commandments with the right intent brings forth the formation of the 248 spiritual organs in this point. And the observance of the 365 "Negative" Commandments brings forth 365 additional spiritual organs.*

Although the point of *Ruach* originated in the previous *Partzuf*, it already refers to the next one.

At the vegetative level man already begins to differentiate between good and evil, benefit and harm. Everything useful for the growth of the altruistic desire and intention is attracted and absorbed, while the opposite is repelled. So far, he does not possess the ability to move independently, and lacks the sensation of the past and the future. It still exists together with those similar to him, in the same states moving under the influence of the light. He still cannot work independently, and like a flower, withers at night and springs back to life at dawn.

Nonetheless, he already understands what he needs for his growth, hence he separates the 248 commandments-desires, which he aspires to

work on, and correct from the 365 desires with which he has no right to work. Already at this level, his *Partzuf* is divided into *GE* and *AHP*, 248 and 365, in all 613 desires. In the state of *Nefesh,* he is yet unable to feel or distinguish these desires, let alone analyze them. This will happen at a later stage.

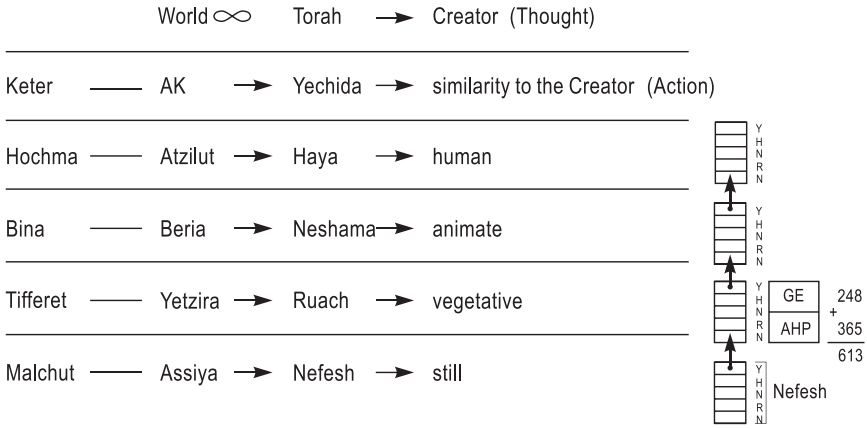

> *When the formation of all 613 organs of the Partzuf is completed, it rises and dresses the Sefira Tifferet of the world of Assiya, which conducts the more important light called Ruach from the World of Infinity. The light Ruach is meant for the correction of the vegetative part in the person's body. The world Assiya has the still, vegetative, and animal parts that belong to the level of the Sefira Tifferet. All of these parts help the Partzuf Ruach of a person to receive the complete light from the Sefira Tifferet, as it happened earlier with the light of Nefesh. Therefore, it is called "spiritual vegetation".*

What does Baal HaSulam wish to say here? All that was corrected in the previous *Partzuf* now begins to help the following one on the level where it works. On the one hand, each *Partzuf* constitutes a prerequisite for mastering the next; on the other hand, mastering of the subsequent *Partzuf* helps the realization of the preceding one.

Suppose I acquired certain skills a few years ago. Today, I become familiar with some notions or theories. I begin to use the skills acquired in the past as a means for implementing the concepts of today. Now I understand better what I acquired previously, and begin to analyze the past and correlate it with the present.

By rising to the level of the *Partzuf Ruach*, I do not stop building my *Partzuf Nefesh*. On the contrary, with the development of *Ruach*, I continue realizing and using the *Partzuf Nefesh*. Nothing disappears and nothing sinks into oblivion of the past. At every level, I realize myself in accordance with my current position, so at the level of *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, or *Haya*, I realize all the previous *Partzufim* I built.

Consequently, I receive a much greater amount of light and the *Kelim*, which form my world of Infinity. It is formed from such multitude of my thoughts and abilities that there is absolutely everything there. All the opportunities are bound with concepts, forces, and intents, so as to prepare the complete realization, beginning with the first level and up to the very last.

> *The nature of this luminescence on the vegetative level of the material world is such that changes in movements are noticeable in every individual part. The spiritual light of the vegetative level is able to shine in a special way upon each of the 613 organs.*

The descending light of *Ruach* singles out each of the particular 613 desires within my inner common desire. I already differentiate between them, see the character of each desire, and understand whether I can adapt it to the Creator or not. I see that it is necessary to modify or put aside some desire to establish contact with the Creator. The light tells me about my soul; hence, it is called *Ruach, Ruchaniut* – the spiritual light. It is with this *Ruach*, spirituality that my individual growth and the contact with the Creator begin.

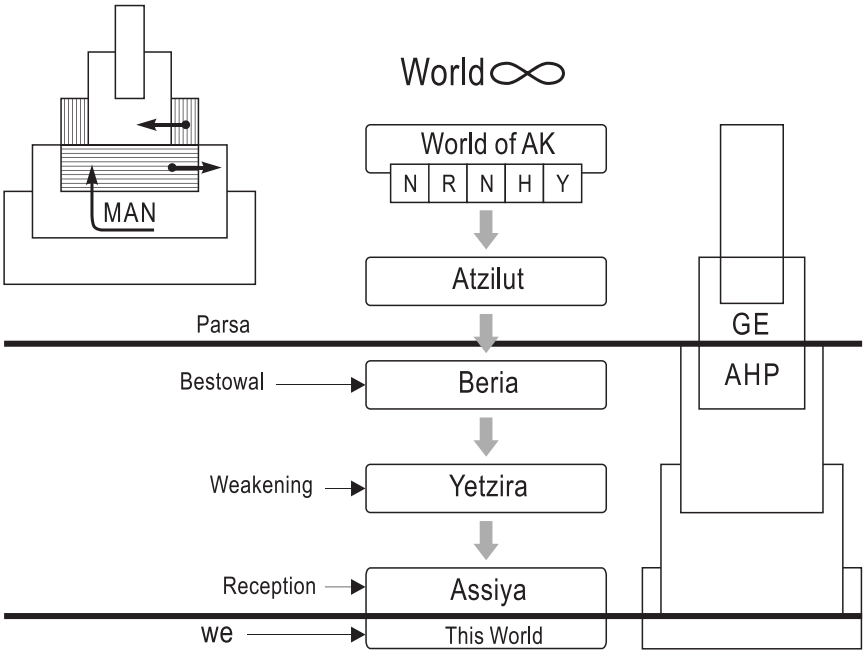

The spiritual light of the vegetative level is able to shine in a special way to each of the 613 organs of the Partzuf Ruach. Every organ expresses its special power of this act. When the Partzuf Ruach is born, it receives the point of a higher level that is the point of the Partzuf Neshama.

The same principle works in the worlds *AK*, *Atzilut*, *Beria*, *Yetzira*, and *Assiya*. Each world is at its own level of *GE*, its *AHP* always being at the level of the lower world. Their ends overlap, as in a telescopic antenna, while none of them exists by itself. It turns out that no *Partzuf* has an independent, free part. In any of them, we see that its entire top, *GE*, dresses onto the upper *Partzuf*, whereas its bottom, *AHP*, sits inside the lower *Partzuf*. In other words, all of our thoughts or desires are connected with either the upper or the lower level. Therefore, development is only possible thanks to this connection. I cannot possibly rise higher

than my own level, unless I bond with the Upper level and receive desire, *MAN,* from the lower level.

Every one of us is just a link in a chain and can only rise if he connects with the upper *Partzuf* and pulls all the others up. It is impossible to advance alone, without being connected with the group.

> *48. However, when a person attains the secrets of the Torah and the tastes of the commandments, he corrects the animal level of his will to receive. By doing this, he expands and builds the point of Neshama that dresses into the 248 and 365 organs of his body.*

We have studied how man advances in the worlds *Assiya* and *Yetzira*. In the world of *Yetzira,* he already has a different attitude to his duties and responsibilities. Unlike in *Assiya*, where he was not aware of what he was dealing with, in *Yetzira* he already distinguishes between the desires of bestowal and reception and acts accordingly. The next level of correction, the world of *Beria*, is where man studies the secrets of the Torah and the tastes of the commandments. In *Beria,* he begins to treat his desires (created in us by the Creator) and the light, the power that he receives from above, in a very different way.

What is his attitude to it? How does it feel to be between something that the Creator created in him and the power that He sends to him now? Man receives the *Kelim* and the light, and has to position himself correctly between these two sources of desire and pleasure. At the level of *Beria,* he continues advancing, while attaining the secrets of the Torah and the tastes of the commandments.

The Torah is the most general light that influences us. What is the meaning of "the general light's secrets" and "the tastes of the commandments"? Man already reaches a level where he feels the light of *Hochma* (wisdom), from which he attains the secrets, i.e., how the light created the creation, how it corrects it, adapts it to itself, and absorbs it. The

secrets of the Torah are the inner processes that take place in our desires under the light's influence.

By attaining the most profound processes in the universe, man corrects the animal level of his desire (by comprehending the Creator's actions, he becomes similar to Him at the deepest levels of his desire) and extends the soul's point of *Neshama*, which develops in 248 and 365 of its organs.

Naturally, this part too consists of 248 and 365 sub-parts, albeit on a different level. If the world of *Assiya* is a general inanimate movement devoid of the intention for the Creator's sake, the world of *Yetzira* is a yet undefined general intention, and the world of *Beria* is an advancement by way of the Torah and commandments. The world of *Beria* may be characterized as the light and the *Kli*. This is a very high spiritual level of the secrets of the Torah and the tastes of the commandments.

In the picture you see the still (*Shoresh, 0*), the vegetative (*Aleph, 1*), the animal (*Bet, 2*) levels of desire. These are desires on the level of *Neshama*, i.e., of absolute bestowal, when man acquires the property of *Bina*.

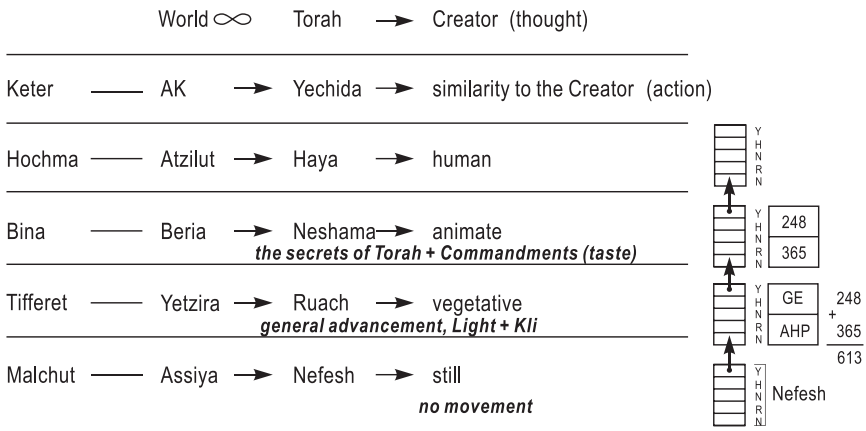

Every part, still, vegetative, and animal, in the world Assiya of the Sefira Bina helps the person's Partzuf Neshama to receive the complete light from the Sefira Bina. This is also called a "pure animal", because it is meant for the correction of the animal level of the person's body. The nature of its luminescence is the same as that in the animal level of the material world described above; it gives the individual a sense of life to each of the 613 organs of the Partzuf. Thus, they feel independent of the Partzuf to the degree that the 613 organs become the 613 Partzufim and each of them contains its special, individual light.

Man is isolated from others in our world. Unlike plants that turn towards the sun, he can move independently. In contrast to plants and animals that are born and die at a certain time (it is less pronounced in animals than in plants, although they mate at specific periods of the year), man is entirely free in his movements, in the sensation of the past and future, in his contact with the world, etc. The soul that reaches the level of *Neshama* is similarly individual.

When this completely individual *Partzuf Neshama* emerges, *the superiority of this light over the light of Ruach in the spiritual world is equivalent to the difference between the animal, vegetative, and still levels of nature in the material world. In addition, a point of the light Haya is placed in the Partzuf Neshama.* Further, man continues developing the level of *Haya*.

49. When a person merits receiving the great light called Neshama and the 613 organs of this Partzuf are each shining with its complete light aimed at him, each of them as a separate Partzuf, the person discovers an opportunity to observe every commandment with the true intent.

A special light of every commandment is shining upon every organ (desire) *of the Partzuf Neshama* (Baal HaSulam speaks of the

previous *Partzuf Neshama* on the animal level). *The power of these lights corrects the "human" part in his desire to receive and turns it into the desire to give* (The light of the level of *Neshama* rises as well, and man corrects the level of *Haya*). *To this extent, a point of the Ohr Haya is built in him.*

When the Partzuf is complete, it rises and dresses the Sefira Hochma. This Kli is exceptionally transparent (the matter concerns the *Kli Haya* as it rises to *Atzilut*) *and, therefore, passes a huge light from the World of Infinity to man. This light is called Ohr Haya. All* (previously acquired) *parts of the world of Assiya, i.e., the still, vegetative, and animal that belong to the Sefira Hochma help the person to receive the complete light of the Sefira Hochma.*

This is called a "spiritual human". His essence is directed towards the correction of the "human" part in the person's body. The meaning of this light in the spiritual world corresponds to the meaning of the human level in the four levels (still, vegetative, animal, and human) of the material world. The greatness of this light exceeds that of the light of the still, vegetative, and animal levels in the spiritual world. This can be compared to the difference between humankind and the still, vegetative, and animal kinds in the material world. The light of Infinity "clothed" in this Partzuf is called the Ohr Yechida.

Yechida is already *Keter*, Infinity, but the Infinity relative to that particular person, that particular *Partzuf*, and not the whole light of the Torah in the world of Infinity. Moreover, this light (we will call it individual Infinity), the light of *Yechida*, is similar to the Creator in its "actions" and is individually infinite.

Here the 248 and 365 commandments are created, the corrected desires, from which we enter the world of *Yechida*. Baal HaSulam and the Zohar do not discuss the world *Yechida*, the world of *AK*; there is only a hint in those books about the world of *Atzilut*. That is because we mostly

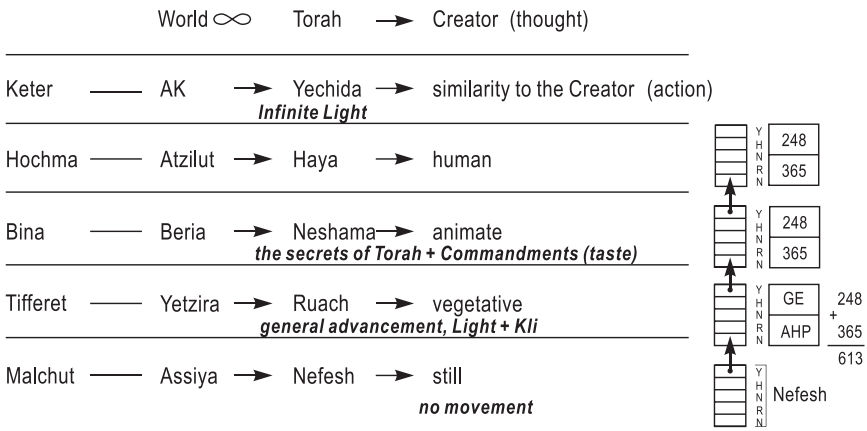

have to undergo correction on the levels of basic desires: still, vegetative, and animal, and then raise these desires of the worlds of *Assiya*, *Yetzira*, *and Beria* into the world of *Atzilut*. As was stated before, those worlds under the *Parsa* weaken the light and contain the yet uncorrected vessels within them. By correcting and raising them into the world of *Atzilut*, we complete our mission.

We spoke only about the world of *Assiya* and the five levels that a person passes through in it: *Nefesh, Ruach, Neshama, Haya, and Yechida* of the world *Assiya*. After that comes the world of *Beria*. All the levels that are shown here only described the five levels of the world *Assiya*.

So, what is the difference between ascending the levels of *Assiya*, *Yetzira*, *Beria*, *Atzilut*, *AK* in the world of *Assiya* and the ascent of the same worlds or levels, *Partzufim*, in the world of *Beria*?

> **50.** *However, you need to know that all of these five lights of NaRaNHaY are merely NaRaNHaY of the light of Nefesh. They do not have anything from the light of Ruach because Ruach exists only in the world of Yetzira, Ohr Neshama is in the world of Beria, Ohr Haya is in the world of Atzilut, and Ohr Yechida is in the world of AK.*

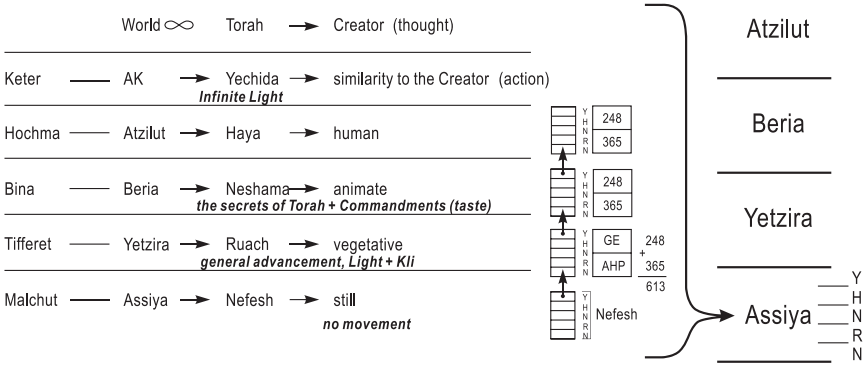

In fact, the work on the still, vegetative, animal, human, and general levels of our correction only refers to the still desire.

However, everything that exists in the general creation is also present in its every part, no matter how tiny it might be. Therefore, the world of Assiya has the five lights of *NaRaNHaY*, which refer to the light of *Nefesh*. Similarly, the world of *Yetzira* has the five lights of *NaRaNHaY* that refer to the light of *Ruach*. In the same way, the world of *Beria* has the five lights of *NaRaNHaY* that are only a part of the light of *Neshama*, and so on.

> *51. You should know that the desire to be spiritually elevated and purified is accepted by the Creator only if it is constant and if there is a certainty that man will never return to his folly. The Creator Himself testifies that man will never return to his previous state.*

How can we merge with Him if we have no points of contact? How can we at least come near Him, let alone enter into Him if He is absolutely opposite to our natural property?

Baal HaSulam writes in this article that we cannot establish any contact with the Upper world. However, everyone in this world is given a prototype of the spiritual world in the form of a group and a teacher. Even though we are not immersed in constant desires of bestowal, by merely wishing to attain them, we, as it were, train ourselves, and can

gradually develop a correct attitude to the spiritual realm. We cannot establish contact with the Upper world unless we can correctly get into touch with the upper *Partzuf*, meaning a group and a teacher.

If man has a constant desire for the spiritual, he can ascend higher. There can be no state in which man always rises and never falls. Moreover, what is a fall? This means not tumbling down from one's spiritual level, but rather acquiring an additional desire without balancing it with the necessary correction, and remaining on the same level of desire.

Suppose I am at the "zero" spiritual level. I am given an additional new desire, but I cannot yet balance it with the property of bestowal. At that, I still retain the level of my previous desire, and in no circumstances fall back into egoism.

The desires of bestowal are always constant in their direction. They can only grow, but never diminish. This is because the person that ascends spiritually is under constant influence of the light. It comes down from the world of Infinity through all worlds, constantly sustains him, and will never let him fall.

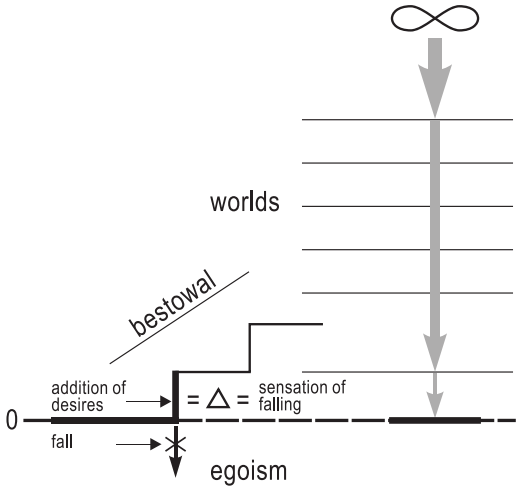

Man is never his own master because only the light can hold him on a certain level, as a magnet holds a piece of iron and does not let it fall.

In the Introduction to "The Study of the Ten *Sefirot*," it is said that the Creator testifies to man's righteousness. How can a person know whether he is righteous or not? It is only possible to know if the Creator reveals Himself to him and does not let him slide back. Naturally, if the Creator

concealed Himself and cut man from His light, he would immediately fall from this level. We are constantly "suspended in the air". Between our world and the world of Infinity, we always depend on the intensity of light, which descends from above and sustains us on this or that level.

However, as man enters the spiritual realm, he is always given a minimal level from which he begins to ascend. By correcting himself completely on a certain level, man turns it into his minimal spiritual platform, below which he will never fall and continues ascending. To the extent of man's similarity to Him, the Creator constantly guarantees that he will never fall from the achieved level.

> *We find that, as it has been said, were a person to correct the inanimate level of his will to receive, he would merit the attainment of the Partzuf Nefesh. He rises and "dresses" the Sefira Malchut of the world of Assiya, and of course, he merits the Final Correction of the still level. That is, he will not return to his past* (under the *Machsom*, below the world of *Assiya*), *but will be able to rise to the spiritual world of Assiya because he is purified and absolutely equal to this world's properties.* According to this law, the transition from this world to the world of *Assiya* is only possible if man acquires a minimal constant spiritual property.
>
> *However, the other levels of the world of Assiya are Ruach, Neshama, Haya, and Yechida. To obtain their lights one needs to correct the vegetative, animal, and human levels in one's desire to receive. The correction does not have to be final "until the Creator Himself testifies that the person will never return to his folly"* (meaning his previous state).

If I passed from this world into the world of *Assiya*, I continue developing, i.e., I build a *Partzuf* consisting of 613 commandments. Since it is impossible to differentiate between the affirmative and negative com-

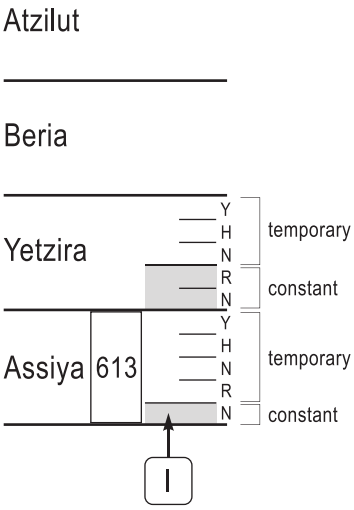

mandments in the world of *Assiya*, I divide them into *Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama*, *Haya*, and *Yechida*.

Baal HaSulam says that man should constantly be in the world of *Assiya* in his sensations, whereas his presence on other levels may not necessarily be permanent. In fact, he will be unable to do that. It is possible only on the level of *Assiya de Assiya*, because the world of *Assiya* is characterized by just this level.

After that, when I ascend to the level of the world of *Yetzira*, it is important for me to make the levels *Assiya* and *Yetzira* in the world of *Yetzira* permanent. The levels *Neshama*, *Haya*, and *Yechida* may remain temporary, and so on.

Every time I reach a certain level, I need to correct it within me. All other levels complementing my *Partzuf* may be temporary. As, for example, an expert on metallurgy should know his field very thoroughly, while his knowledge in other spheres is necessary to him only as much as it can help him to be proficient in his own trade. The same applies to desires. If I work on my desires of the vegetative level, all other levels just assist me to distinguish it in them and work with it.

> *It is said, "Until the Creator Himself testifies to the impossibility of man's return to his previous state".*

How does the Creator testify to that? He shines upon us with a certain light and according to this light's intensity; He keeps us on a certain spiritual level. If He shines more, we rise, if He shines less, we fall. In other words, only the intensity of the light determines our spiritual level, because our desire is constant and unchanging. Only the power

of the light does serve as a counteraction to our desire, it elevates us or pulls us down.

If the light's power reaches a certain distance or level from the Creator, let us say, level two, and then I know exactly that I will not fall below it. This constant power of the light is the Creator's guarantee that I will stay on that level.

> *If man corrects the still level of his desire to receive and deserves to transform the point in his heart into the Partzuf Nefesh, then he ascends and "dresses" the Sefira Malchut of the world of Assiya.*

It is clear that man will not return to his previous state. He ascends to the world of *Assiya* and reaches his constant level, because his correction on that level has been completed. However, the remaining levels of the world of *Assiya* – *Ruach, Neshama, Haya,* and *Yechida* are not finally corrected yet.

So in order to enter the world of *Assiya,* man should completely correct his still level to prevent deterioration. Why? It is because the entire world of *Assiya* corresponds to the still level. All the remaining levels – vegetative, animal, human, and Divine – may still be temporary.

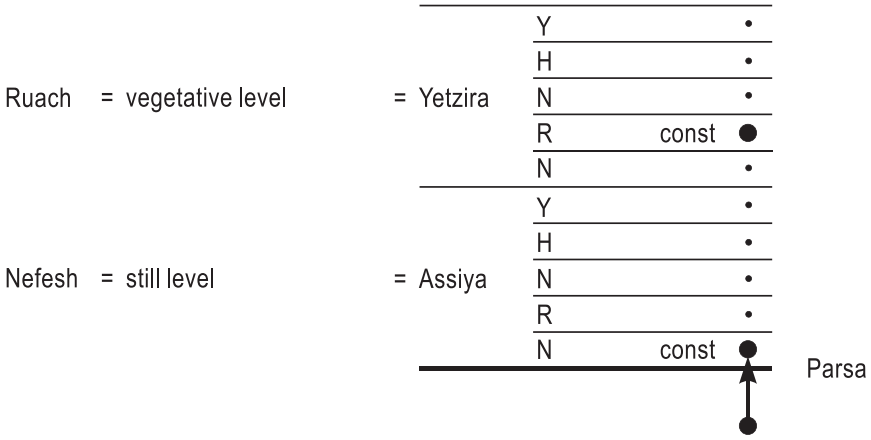

Similarly, to rise to the level of *Yetzira*, I need to make my *Ruach* constant, because the entire level of *Yetzira* corresponds to *Ruach* (the vegetative level).

Thus, the level corresponding to the world in which I am and constituting its characteristic property should be completely corrected in me, while all the others can have various degrees of correction. So if *Yetzira* is *Ruach*, then *Ruach de Ruach* of the entire world of *Yetzira* should be constant and so forth. Baal HaSulam explains it very clearly and it is not difficult to understand it.

> *However, the remaining levels of the world of Assiya – Ruach, Neshama, Haya, and Yechida do not necessarily have to be finally corrected in order to receive the light and correct the vegetative, animal and human levels of its desire to receive.*
>
> *It stems from the fact that the entire world of Assiya in each of its five Sefirot (Keter, Hochma, Bina, ZA and Malchut) is none other than Malchut, which has corrected its attitude to the still level (Assiya* is *Malchut, Yetzira* is *ZA*, the same applies to *Keter, Hochma, Bina,* ZA and *Malchut* of the world of *Yetzira). The five Sefirot are just the five parts of Malchut (the still level of the desire to receive).*
>
> *For example, the Sefira Tifferet of the world of Assiya receives the light from the world of Yetzira, which is Tifferet and the light of Ruach. The Sefira Bina of the world of Assiya receives the light from the world of Beria, which is Neshama. The Sefira Hochma of the world of Assiya receives the light from the world of Atzilut, which is Haya.*

What is Baal HaSulam trying to tell us? If we take the world of *Assiya*, only *Nefesh* is its own level, while it receives *Ruach* from *Tifferet*. Then it receives *Neshama* from *Malchut* of the world of *Beria*, *Hochma* – from *Malchut* of the world of *Atzilut* and *Keter* – from *Malchut* of the world of *AK*.

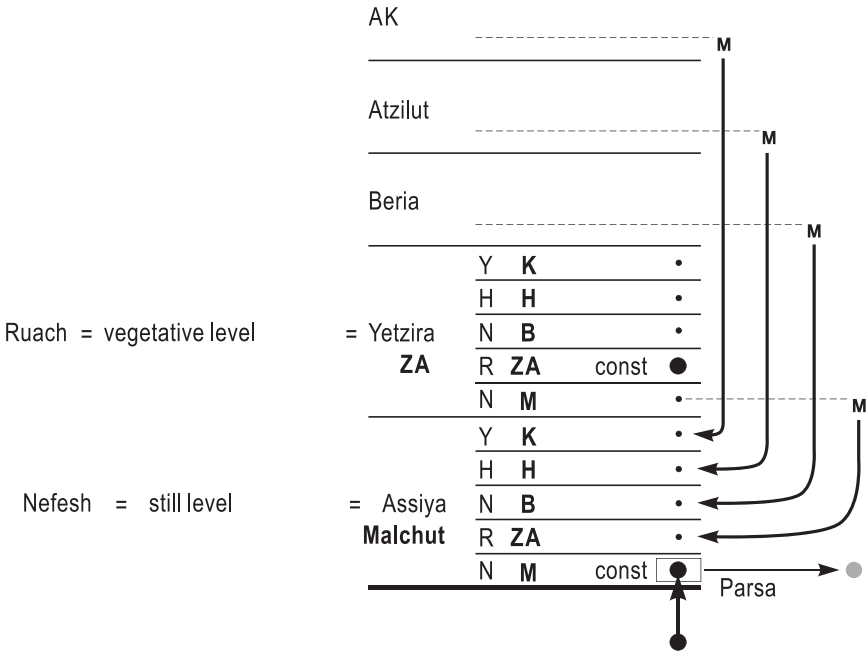

Consequently, since all of this constitutes *Malchut*, it receives each light (except for its own) from the corresponding world. Thus, since ZA here refers to *Malchut*, it receives the light of ZA from the *Malchut* of the world of *Yetzira*, which represents the general ZA. *Bina* that refers to *Malchut* receives the light from the *Malchut* of the world of *Beria*, because *Beria* is *Bina*.

That is, each part receives the light from the part that corresponds to it in the Upper world.

> *Sefira Tifferet of the world of Assiya receives the light from the world of Yetzira, which represents Tifferet and the light of Ruach. The Sefira Bina of the world of Assiya receives the light from the world of Beria, which is Neshama. The Sefira Hochma of the world of Assiya receives the light from the world of Atzilut, which is Haya. Consequently, regardless of the fact that man has not yet corrected any other level but his "still" one* (the last one), *if the three other*

parts of his desire to receive are partially corrected, he can still receive the lights Ruach, Neshama, Haya and Yechida from Tifferet, Bina and Hochma of the world of Assiya. This reception, however, is temporary, because as soon as one of the three parts of his desire awakens, he instantly loses these lights.

Baal HaSulam means that if man completely corrected himself on the still level and only partially on all the others, then he is in the world of *Assiya*. Make a note that even if his uncorrected parts fall, he still retains his constant level. This allows him to retain the level above the *Machsom*. Thus, it turns out that the person who has crossed the *Machsom* will never again fall below it.

52. *After man finally corrects and purifies "the vegetative" part of his desire to receive, he permanently ascends to the world of Yetzira and attains the level of Ruach...*

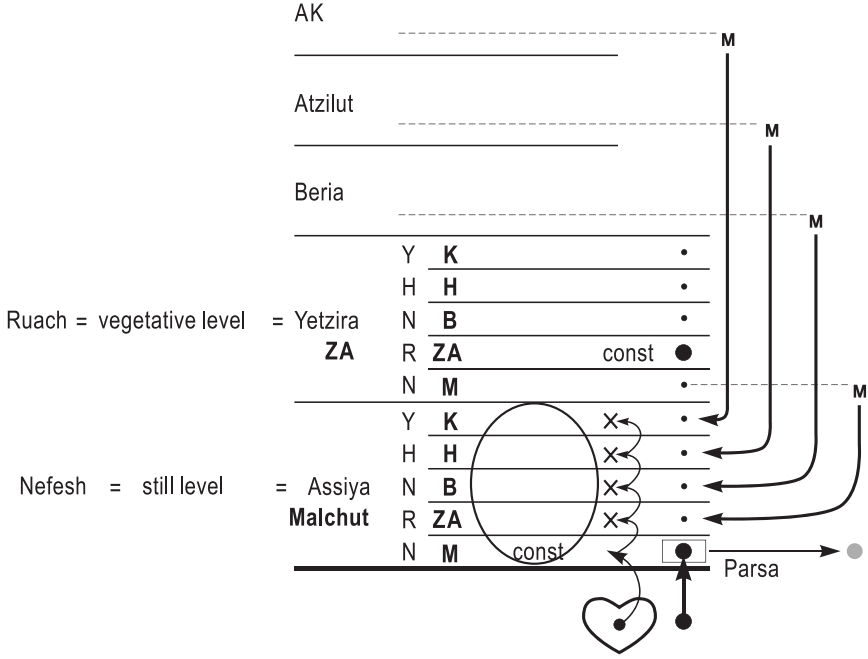

Now the constant is in the world of *Yetzira*. This means that man receives *Neshama*, *Haya,* and *Yechida* from the higher worlds. They fill him, but he does not have to correct them completely. The correction of the level of *Ruach* is quite sufficient. That is, *Nefesh* and *Ruach* should be totally corrected, while all the other higher levels may remain uncorrected. Therefore, if man reached the level of *Ruach* of the world of *Yetzira,* it means that he permanently corrected this state and will never fall below it.

Each level in each world should be completely corrected. This is the way that constant spiritual ascent takes place.

But what if man falls from these levels? When this occurs, it only helps him! Unless he fell, he would not be able to rise. He should fall from these levels in order to acquire the additional *Aviut*. By doing so, he ascends from the level of *Ruach* of the world of *Assiya* to the level of *Ruach* of the world of *Yetzira*.

The same happens to the other levels: the additional desires are acquired and man falls again. Therefore, the falls are essential. The rise entails the fall; the lower the fall, the higher the rise, but it refers only to the levels where man has not yet completely corrected himself. There is always some fixed (previous) level, whereupon man ascends to the higher level. Each consecutive state is more critical (both in minus and in plus) than the previous one.

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> **53.** *After correcting "the animal" part of his desire, man receives and transforms it into the desire to bestow, so much so that the Creator Himself testifies to the permanence of this condition. He achieves the similarity to the world of Beria, ascends, and receives the light of Neshama* (in the world of *Beria*).

That is, he ascends to the world of *Beria*, where the level of *Neshama* is completely corrected. Naturally, the levels *Ruach* and *Nefesh* are also fully corrected on the level of the world of *Beria*. At that, the levels *Haya* and *Yechida* remain uncorrected. This is necessary to ascend to the world of *Atzilut* while correcting the level of *Haya* and proceed to the world of *AK* while correcting the level of *Yechida*.

> **54.** *When man deserves to correct "the human" part of his desire, he becomes similar to the world of Atzilut, ascends there and receives*

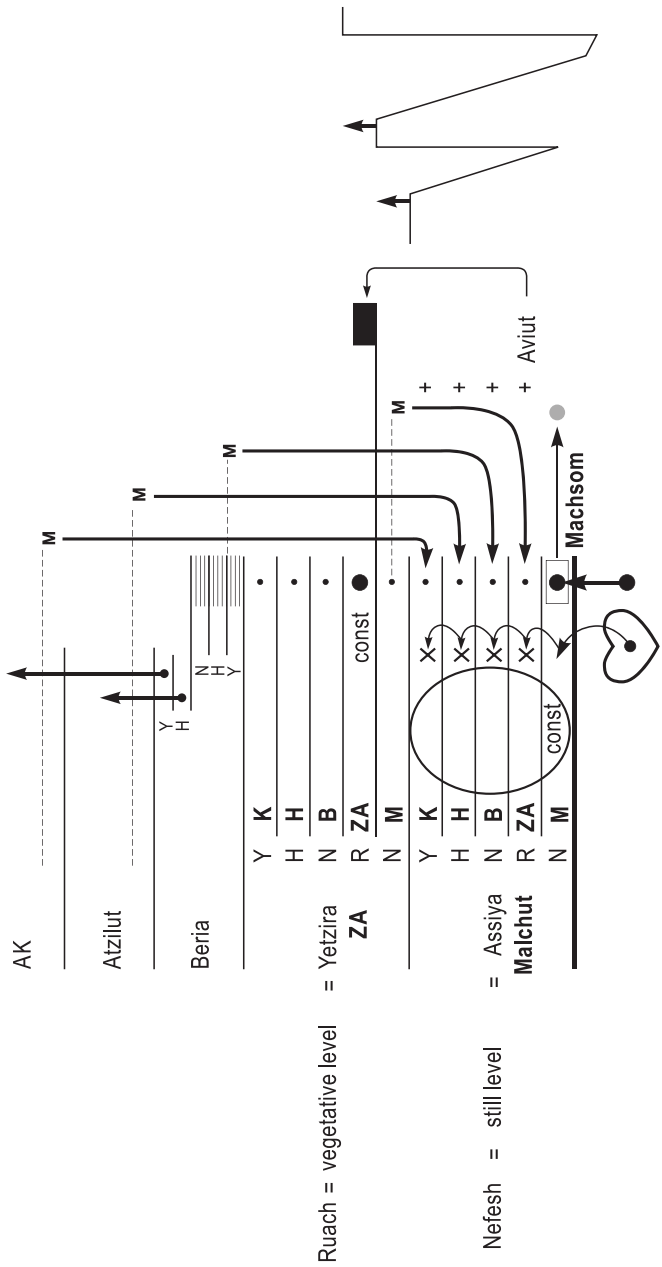
AK
Atzilut
Beria
Y H
N H Y
M
M
M
M
Y K
H H
N B
R ZA
N M
Y K
H H
N B
R ZA
N M
= Yetzira
ZA
= Assiya
Malchut
Ruach = vegetative level
Nefesh = still level
const
const
+ + + +
Aviut
Machsom

the light of Haya. When he deserves even more (i.e., *Yechida*)**,** *he attains the light of Infinity and Ohr Yechida "dresses" into Ohr Haya. There is nothing to be added to that.*

55. *Thus we have found the answers to the previously asked questions: what is the purpose of all these Upper worlds* (what is this special invention for)*? We can see now that man is unable to bestow upon the Creator without the help of these worlds, because to the extent of correction of his desire to receive* (his self-correction) *he attains the lights, the levels of his soul, which is referred to as the NaRaNHaY.*

What does the phrase "all these worlds" mean? This is a calibration of my soul. The gradual correction of each of its parts generates in me a sensation of ascending to the Creator from the state when none of my *Kelim* were corrected (the lowest level) to the state when I completely correct all of my soul's vessels.

Rising from the lowest level inside my *Kli* to the highest one, I as it were pass through five parts called five worlds. Only the absolutely amorphous Upper light surrounds me. The sensations of concealment and revelation of my partial connection with the Creator – all this is felt within me and is determined by the inner part of me that I have corrected.

We shall see later that all the worlds are within us. How? We feel the general light called *Ohr haSovev* (the Surrounding light), which we can neither analyze nor feel inside. We term it "the Creator". The light, which enters and fills us to the extent of our correction, is referred to as *Ohr Pnimi* (the Inner light). This is a partial penetration of the same Surrounding Light that shines in us.

At the End of correction, all the light will enter into us leaving nothing outside. The infinite simple light will be both inside and outside of us.

In other words, we cease to be a closed shell with a minimal dose of the light inside it and achieve the state where the light transcends us. In

our properties, we become absolutely similar to the light and stop being an obstacle in its way. This is what we call the complete merging with the light. Despite the fact that the desire remains opposite to the Creator, by neutralizing and correcting it with the help of our intention (to use it for the Creator's sake) we purify it so that it stops hampering the light.

> *56. One should know that all the aforementioned levels of the NaRaNHaY are the five parts of which the entire creation consists. All that exists in the general creation is also present in its smallest part. For example, one can attain five parts of the NaRaNHaY even in the part of "the inanimate" level of the world of Assiya, because they sort with the five parts of the NaRaNHaY of the entire creation.*
>
> *It is impossible to attain even the light of "the inanimate" level of the world of Assiya without including four parts of man's Aviut.*

Baal HaSulam wants to say that, however small a *Kli* we might take (our small desire), if we ascend to the minimal level, it will still consist of the 10 *Sefirot*: *Keter, Hochma, Bina,* ZA and *Malchut,* and also of five parts: *Nefesh, Ruach, Neshama, Haya* and *Yechida* that originate in the five worlds.

This way, he wishes to show us the structure of the entire universe: the world of Infinity, the world of *AK* where the light is separated into *Nefesh, Ruach, Neshama, Haya* and *Yechida* and descends to the other worlds. The same occurs in each of the worlds – there are *Nefesh, Ruach, Neshama, Haya* and *Yechida.*

Thus the light descends from the Upper world to the lower worlds, each time passing through the corresponding *Kelim*. For example, the light of *Haya* from *Hochma* of the world of *AK* will be bound to only enter into *Hochma* of the world of *Atzilut*, *Hochma* of the world of *Beria*, *Hochma* of the world of *Yetzira* and *Hochma* of the world of *Assiya*. It cannot be any other way, because no *Kli* can distinguish any other light in this particular one, only to what corresponds to its properties. Therefore

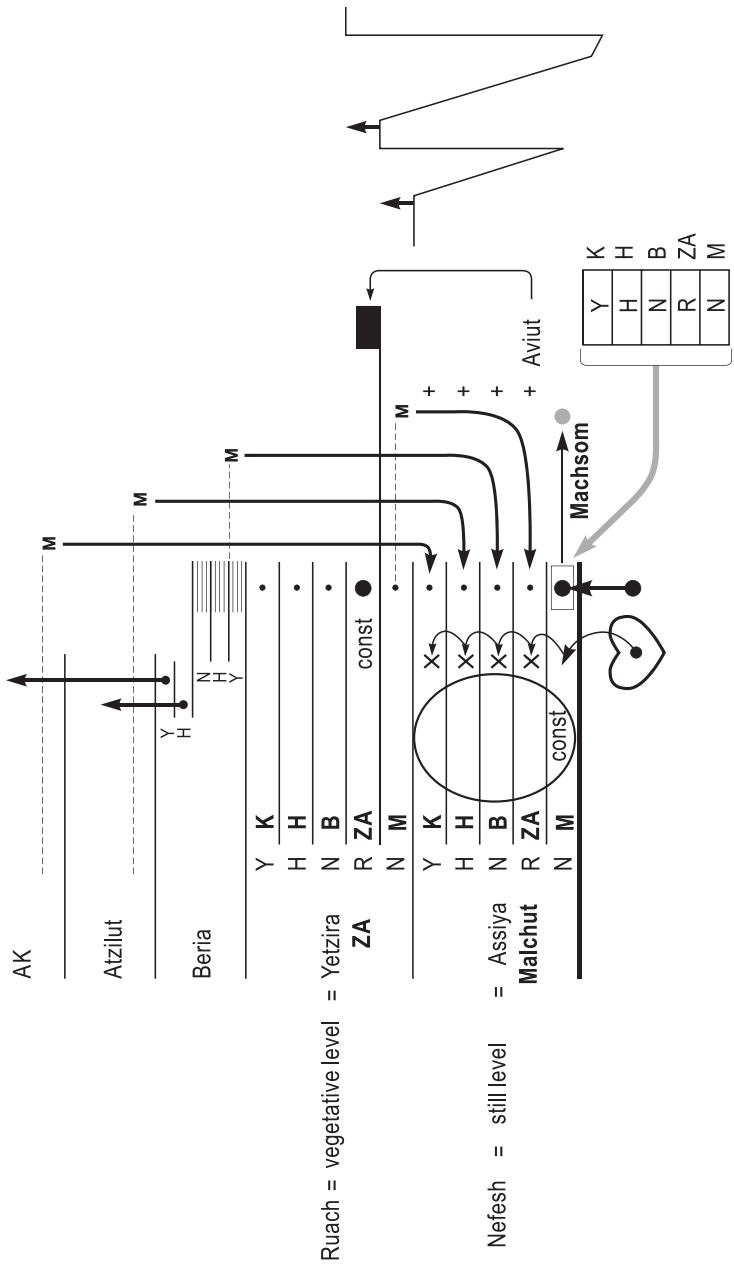
AK
Atzilut
Beria
Y
H
N
H
Y
M
M
M
M
Y K
H H
N B
R ZA
N M
const
Y K
H H
N B
R ZA
N M
const
Aviut
+
+
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Machsom
K
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B
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M
Y
H
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R
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Ruach = vegetative level = Yetzira
ZA
Nefesh = still level = Assiya
Malchut

the *Kli Hochma* picks only the light of *Hochma* (*Ohr Haya*); the *Kli Malchut* picks only the light of *Nefesh*, and so forth.

What does it mean? If man entered the world of *Assiya* with his minimal *Kli*, which consists of five parts, he receives in them the light from all the five worlds. It passes through them, because in fact, the world of *AK* is a source of the light of *Yechida*; the world of *Atzilut* is a source of *Haya*; the world of *Beria* is a source of *Neshama*; the world of *Yetzira* is a source of *Ruach*, and the world of *Assiya* is a source of *Nefesh*.

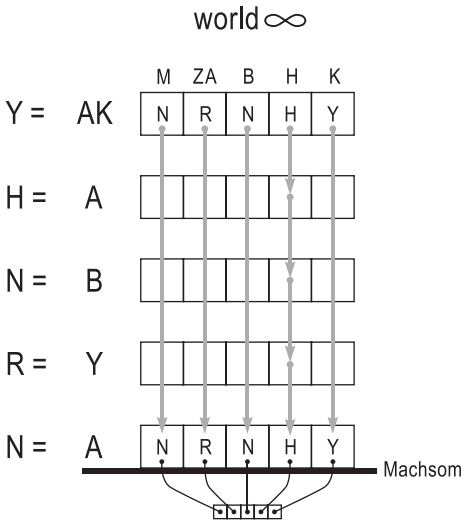

If I reach the minimal level of the world of *Assiya* and cross the *Machsom*, then already on this level I have the sensations of all the worlds, of the entire universe, because I already consist of the 10 *Sefirot* filled with the lights (albeit very small) from each world. That is on the one hand, my minimal level allows me to receive the lights from the other worlds. On the other hand, my work should also include all the worlds.

But how can I include all the worlds on such a low level? The next paragraph speaks about it.

> *It is impossible to even attain the light of "the inanimate" level of the world of Assiya without including the four parts into man's work. Hence everyone should be engaged in the Torah and the commandments* (i.e., use all the possible means of correction and purification) *in order to acquire the level of Ruach. Man should also study the secrets of the Torah to acquire the level of Neshama and the tastes of the commandments* (i.e., to start receiving the

Inner light, since the light of *Neshama* cannot fill the *Kli* without this work)**.**

Baal HaSulam says that even if reaching the minimal level of the spiritual world requires the knowledge and attainment of the Upper light, then naturally, without the study of Kabbalah, the secrets of the Torah one cannot ascend even to the first spiritual level.

If somebody believes that by reading such "literature" as *the Talmud* and the *Halachot*, or by studying other parts of the Torah he can correct himself and enter the Upper world, he is absolutely wrong. This is because entering the spiritual world requires the correction (even though to a minimal extent) of all the five parts of his desire. As the Introduction to "The Book of Zohar" says, they can be corrected only through the study of Kabbalah. Otherwise man will not correct the level higher than the light of *Nefesh*.

57. *From the aforesaid we can understand the darkness and ignorance much more prevalent in our generation than before. Because all who study the Torah neglect the secrets of the Torah* (i.e., do not study Kabbalah)**.**

Therefore the Rambam gives the following example: "If a thousand blind people drag themselves along the road and there is one person who is able to see at the head of that column, then all the blind can be sure they will not go astray. However, if they have no sighted guide among them, they will surely get lost".

The same refers to us. Imagine that there are people who study Kabbalah and attract the light of Infinity, lead the generation after them and the people follow them, and then all will be sure they will never err on their path. But if, instead of Kabbalah, people prefer to study other parts of the Torah (which do not correct the soul), *no wonder that the whole generation errs through their fault.* Consequently, the people (the Jewish people) do not fulfill its

mission. *So deep is my grief that I am unable to continue speaking about it.*

In items 155 and 156 of the Introduction to The Study of the Ten Sefirot, Baal HaSulam explains that without the study of Kabbalah one cannot achieve even the minimal *NaRaNHaY*. Kabbalah has been neglected since the destruction of the Second Temple, i.e., for about 2000 years. The great Kabbalist begins his Introduction with the following words: "I have found a great need to break down the iron wall which separates us from the wisdom of Kabbalah. Unless we do that we will end up by falling into abyss. All our problems, all our sufferings are caused by our inability to attract the Upper light of correction with the help of Kabbalah".

Then he proceeds to explain the reason that led to neglect of Kabbalah.

58. *Indeed I have known the reason: that it is mainly because faith has generally diminished, especially faith in the holy men, the wise men of all generations. And the books of Kabbalah and the Zohar are full of corporeal parables.*

That is, the language of the Kabbalistic books is so confusing that man imagines that Kabbalah speaks about our world and not about the Upper worlds. The language uses the words of our world.

Therefore people are afraid lest they will fail by materializing (making idols) *and will lose more than they will gain* (from studying the books in this way)**.**

That is people would think that the world is ruled not by the Creator, but some Supreme forces are in the objects of our world. The reader thinks that all the books of the Torah speak of this world.

And that is what prompted me to compose a thorough interpretation of the writings of the ARI and now to the holy Zohar (the HaSulam Commentary)**.** *And I have removed completely that concern* (the fear of imagining our world instead of the spiritual one)**,** *for I have proven the spiritual message behind everything, which is*

abstract and devoid of all physical resemblance, above space and time as the readers shall see, in order to allow all to study Kabbalah and the Zohar and be warmed by its sacred light.

And I have named that commentary HaSulam (The Ladder), *to show that the purpose of it is, as with every ladder - that if you have an attic full of goods, then all you need is a ladder to reach it, and then all the bounty of the world is in your hands. But the ladder is not a purpose in and of itself, for if you pause midway and not enter the attic, the purpose will not be fulfilled.*

And so it is with my commentary to the Zohar. Because there has not yet been created the way to clarify these most profound of words. But nonetheless I have constructed a path and an entrance for all, that using it they can rise and scrutinize in depth "The Book of Zohar" itself (i.e., all that the Zohar reveals)**,** *for only then will my purpose of this commentary be completed.*

The Commentary on "The Book of Zohar" is composed to elevate man to the peak called the *Zohar*.

In the chapter "*Bereshit*" we learned that the Zohar corresponds to the *Partzuf Arich Anpin*. It is *Keter* of the world of *Atzilut*, which includes the entire surrounding Upper world as well as the world of Infinity. With regard to us *AA* is the world of Infinity and it is called the *Zohar* (or *Zihara Ila'a*). The task of "The Book of Zohar" is to elevate us to that level.

59. All those who understand what is written in the Book of the Zohar, unanimously agree that it was composed by the Godly sage Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochai. Only those who are far from this wisdom doubt this origin and tend to say, relying on opponents' fabricated tales that its composer is Rabbi Moshe De Leon (who lived in a different time)**.**

In principle, this is not so important for us. He just wants to point out that "The Book of Zohar" is more ancient and valuable than some

tend to believe; hence, he wishes to make things clear regarding the authorship of the book.

Rabbi Moshe de Leon lived in the 11th century. He was an outstanding Kabbalist and wrote a number of books on Kabbalah. As I wrote in my foreword, "The Book of Zohar" was lost and later rediscovered by chance (naturally it was no chance). From the scraps of the book a small number of extracts and separate sheets were compiled into what we now call "The Book of Zohar".

Rabbi Moshe de Leon inherited it from his teacher, who in turn had received it from his teacher. The book was initially found by a merchant in the 7th century A.D. It was used for wrapping spices in the Jaffo market.

The merchant, who happened to be a Jew, had evidently known a little of Kabbalah, because he discovered some very special writings on the parchment folio that contained the purchased spices. He rushed to the market place and started rummaging through the garbage and finally found all these sheets. The entire collection was afterwards passed on to one of his pupils, who left it to his, and so finally the texts reached the Rabbi Moshe de Leon in the 11th century.

The Kabbalist rewrote the book, had it beautifully bound and kept it. He knew that it was too premature to publish the book, because the people were not ready for it yet.

His wife did not know about all that, so when the Rabbi had passed away, she sold the book in the hope of coping with her financial straits. Obviously it was bought by a good business man, for he had it rewritten and put on sale. The book was a success, because at that time there were no similar compositions, except for "The Book of Creation" ("*Sefer Yetzira*") authored by Abraham. However, "The Book of Creation" was far too difficult to be studied, since it contains just a number of vague hints. So "The Zohar" was really like radiant light, splendor at that time.

A great number of rewritten copies spread around instantly. Though it was known to be a part of the famous Rabbi de Leon's legacy, the real Kabbalists knew it had actually been written by the Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochai with the help of the Rabbi Aba in the 2nd or the 3rd century A.D.

Baal HaSulam writes about it, because he wants to elevate the book to the level much higher than that of the Rabbi Moshe de Leon. Judging from all the other compositions penned by the Rabbi de Leon, it becomes clear he was an outstanding Kabbalist, but not of the spiritual level of "The Zohar".

> Therefore he says: *All those who understand what is written in the Book of the Zohar, unanimously agree that it was composed by the Godly sage Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochai. Only those who are far from this wisdom doubt this origin and tend to say that its composer is Rabbi Moshe De Leon.*

This book could not have been written by a man who lived 5 to 7 centuries after the great Rabbi Shimon, because, as we know, the generations have gradually descended from the highest level down to ours, when we start from zero. In general, there are no Kabbalists of that level among us. My Rabbi was the last one; the descent ended with him. We begin this ascent by ourselves.

60. Baal HaSulam tells us that during its long history "The Book of Zohar" was ascribed to many different Kabbalists. But only the person who penetrates the inner meaning of this book and understands from what high spiritual level it descended (from *Arich Anpin* of the world of *Atzilut*, i.e., it reaches the world of Infinity), can also realize that it could be written by none other than Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai.

We know that Kabbalah divides all history into the following periods: first man develops as an animal, then the soul descends into him

(in the year 0 according to the Jewish calendar, i.e., 5764 years ago), and then the development of a point in his heart (soul) begins.

Let us have a look at a graph and see how the body was developing. The spiritual point descended into man's heart 5764 years ago and activated for the first time. The next manifestation of the spiritual desire took place in Abraham in around 1947 B.C. The point in the heart continued its development in parallel with egoism, whose growth led to the destruction of the Temple.

Both the first and the second Temples were ruined, i.e., all spiritual levels fell with regard to the point in heart. "The Book of Zohar" was written after the destruction of the second Temple. Its author Rabbi Shimon lived before and after the destruction of the Temple, but the book could not have been written prior to that event, because there had been no need for such a spiritual source to raise people from the level of a completely shattered screen.

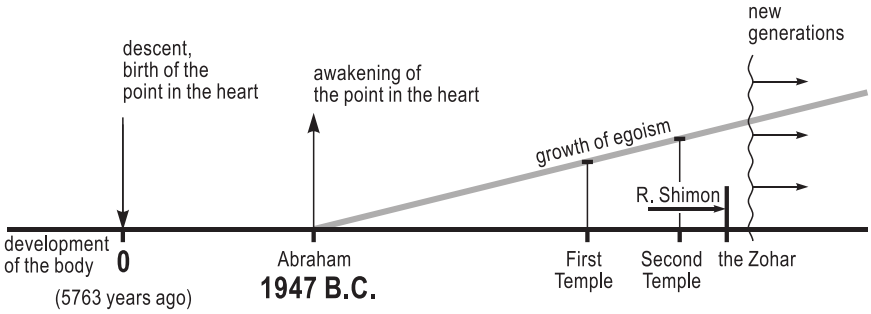

Rabbi Shimon was one of the disciples of the famous sage Rabbi Akiva who left us the entire spiritual legacy available today. This man's story is amazing. He was neither a Jew nor a believer until the age of 40. Then he began to study Kabbalah, and later became a great scholar and teacher. His life was full of unexpected turns, but finally he achieved the highest possible spiritual level.

Needless to say, being Rabbi Shimon's teacher, he was on a much higher level than his disciple. One of Rabbi Akiva's students wrote the

Babylonian Talmud, another – "The Book of Zohar". In other words, Rabbi Akiva was the embodiment of a vast amount of wisdom about the universe that filled many sacred books.

However, Rabbi Akiva could not write a composition like "The Book of Zohar" because before the destruction of the Temple such a great, exalted power was not necessary. There was still nothing to correct. When the Temple ceased to be, his last disciple Rabbi Shimon wrote "The Book of Zohar". Naturally, the book could not have been written by any other man born after the destruction of the Temple.

This happened in around the 2nd Century A.D., and there have been no such Kabbalists ever since. Only in the 16th Century did the Ari's special soul descend to our world and elevate Kabbalah to a new level. In the 20th Century the soul of Baal HaSulam appeared.

This is what the great Kabbalists writes:

> *From the very day that I merited the light of the Creator and saw what was written in the Book of Zohar, I have not had any need to research the facts about its authorship. This is due to the simple reason that the content of the book raised the prominence of Rabbi Shimon to the unattainable height above all other Kabbalists in my heart.*
>
> *However, if I had found that the author of the book is someone else, for example, Rabbi Moses de Leon, the greatness of this Kabbalist would rise in me more than for all the rest, including Rabbi Shimon.*
>
> *Honestly speaking, according to the depth of wisdom in this book, had I learned that its author was one of the 48 prophets* (the Kabbalists who attained a high spiritual level called prophecy), *my heart would rather agree with this than with the fact that Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yochai wrote this book* (for R. Shimon was only a Tana, i.e., a Kabbalist who lived after the destruction of the Temple). *If*

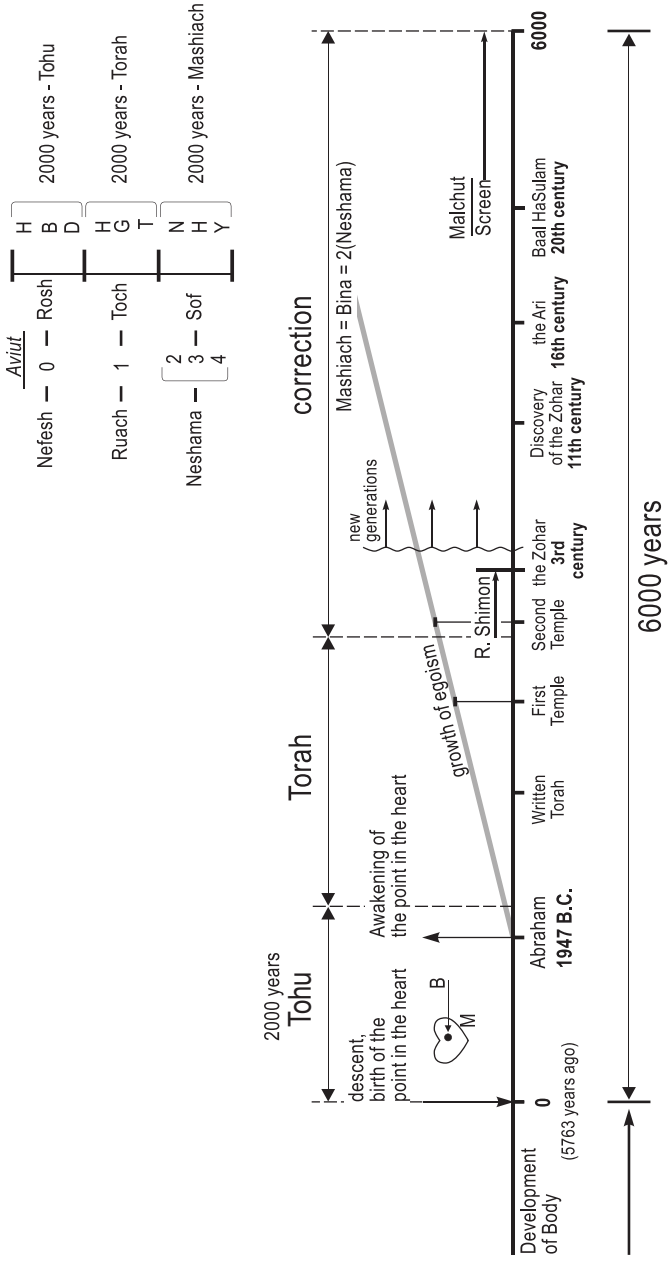
Aviut
Nefesh — 0 — Rosh
Ruach — 1 — Toch
Neshama — 2 3 4 — Sof
H B D
H G T
N H Y
2000 years - Tohu
2000 years - Torah
2000 years - Mashiach
correction
Mashiach = Bina = 2(Neshama)
Malchut
Screen
6000
Baal HaSulam 20th century
the Ari 16th century
Discovery of the Zohar 11th century
new generations
the Zohar 3rd century
Second Temple
R. Shimon
First Temple
growth of egoism
Written Torah
Abraham 1947 B.C.
Torah
Awakening of the point in the heart
2000 years
Tohu
descent, birth of the point in the heart
B
M
Development of Body
0
(5763 years ago)
6000 years

I had learned that Moses had received this book from the Creator Himself on Mount Sinai, I would rest assured. This is how great this book is.

Since I merited creating a commentary suited for anyone with a desire to understand what is written in the book itself, I believe I have fulfilled everything to keep from such work and research (regarding the authorship of "The Zohar"). *This is because, as anyone who understands "The Book of Zohar, I cannot be satisfied with the notion that the author of the Book of Zohar can be someone less holy than Rabbi Shimon* (i.e., born later than R. Shimon, because holiness diminishes with time).

61. We should ask at this point why "The Zohar" was not revealed to earlier generations, whose merit was undoubtedly greater than of the later ones, and who were more worthy of studying the book?

Since, as we see, "The Book of Zohar" was given for the correction of our egoism, a question arises: why could the first generations not receive it? If the Creator created us so opposite to Himself, why could He not at the same time hand us an instruction for correcting that state?

Why do we have to suffer during thousands of years, only to discover later that there is an opportunity to make such a correction? Why are babies and innocent adults living in such pain, why is there so much anguish in the world? This refers to the same question: why is "The Book of Zohar" revealed to us only now?

So I would like to repeat:

Why was "The Zohar" not revealed to earlier generations (that lived before the destruction of the Temple)*?*

Perhaps, it could have encouraged them to disseminate the wisdom of Kabbalah the world over, and humankind could have avoided such a lengthy period of suffering. We have no idea how much time people are

destined to suffer before they accept this method of correction that will elevate them to the level of perfection and eternity.

Their merit was undoubtedly greater than of the later ones, and who were more worthy of studying the book.

On the one hand, their egoism was small, on the other – they had enormous inner resources unsuppressed by egoism, so they undoubtedly could study this book much more effectively. They were much closer to this material than we are with all our mercantile problems, modern technology, stupefying advertising, etc.

We can also ask why the commentary to "The Zohar" was not revealed together with the book to the Ari or to the earlier Kabbalists.

Why is there such a long prelude stretched along the axis of time – the Torah, the Ari (the 16th Century), and Baal HaSulam (the 20th Century) – before we in our time begin discovering "The Book of Zohar"?

The answer is that during the six thousand years of its evolution the world must go through a full period of correction.

We do not take into consideration the world that existed before a new spiritual point (of *Bina*) appeared in man's heart (*Malchut*). Until there is no interaction between the heart and the point in it, nothing else really matters, because it simply constitutes a development of the body, animal existence.

The world during the six thousand years of its existence is like one Partzuf (spiritual entity) *that is divided into three parts: Rosh, Toch, and Sof, or HaBaD (Hochma, Bina, Da'at), HaGaT (Hesed, Gevura, Tifferet) and NHY (Netzah, Hod, Yesod). Alternatively, as our sages said: "The first two thousand years are called Tohu* (lit. Unformed), *the second two thousand years are called the Torah, and the last two thousand years are called the days of Mashiach (Messiah)".*

In the first two millennia (Rosh or HaBaD), the lights were very small, and they were regarded as a head without a body. It only has the light of Nefesh, because there is an inverse relationship between lights and vessels. The rule is that the upper vessels grow first in each Partzuf, whereas, for the lights the opposite applies - the lights with a smaller Aviut dress first in the Partzuf. Thus, as long as there are only the upper parts of the vessels, i.e., the HaBaD vessels, only the lights of Nefesh can dress in the Partzuf, which are the lowest lights.

Hence, the first two thousand years are called the Tohu. In other words, there can still be no correct interaction between the *Kelim* (vessels) and *Orot* (lights).

During the second two thousand years (the Kelim of HaGaT) the light of Ruach (*Aviut Aleph*) *descends to the world. It is also called the light of the Torah* (Torah is something that gives life, *Ruach* already constitutes a movement). *Therefore, the second two millennia are called the Torah.*

The last two thousand years are the Kelim of NHY (the period of correction, or the *Mashiach*, the year 0 according to the Gregorian calendar), *therefore, at this time, the light of Neshama descends.*

The lights that descend are basically *Neshama*, *Haya*, and *Yechida* inside the light of *Neshama*. This is because it is impossible to correct the third and the fourth levels of desire before the *Gmar Tikkun*.

Only the levels zero, one, and two can be completely corrected. *Hence, the level of Neshama is called the days of the Mashiach.*

That is, this level is already a force that brings egoistic desires to correction. The *Mashiach* is a force of *Bina*, i.e., the second level of the screen, because when *Malchut* acquires the properties of *Bina*, it transforms its desires and makes them similar to the Creator's. In other words, it provides *Malchut* with the screen necessary for correction. The

descent of the *Ohr Neshama* to our world corrects *Malchut*. The light of *Neshama* is alternatively called "*Mashiach*" (from the word *Limshoch – to pull*), meaning the light that pulls egoism up to the level of altruism.

> *This order applies to each particular Partzuf* (each soul) *as well as to the entire universe.* Every soul, yours or mine, goes through all periods of its development. Long ago, we were in those periods when our body was developing, and then the point in heart appeared and gradually grew in all of us.

It does not matter in what souls or bodies it all happened, for everything is mixed at the soul's level. The division into nations and sexes is purely relative. All parts gradually and constantly intermix because after *Adam's* soul had broken, all souls were mixed. So, whatever corrections the different souls made, ultimately they become thoroughly interconnected.

> *The lights in the Kelim HaBaD and HaGaT to Chazeh of the Partzuf are concealed, so that the light of Hassadim does shine openly. This means that the luminescence of Hochma appears from Chazeh and below, i.e., in the Kelim of NHYM (Netzah, Hod, Yesod, Malchut). The reason for this lies in the fact that before the Kelim de NHYM began to manifest in the Partzuf of the world, meaning the last two thousand years, the wisdom of "The Zohar" in general, and of Kabbalah in particular, was concealed from the world.*

What does Baal HaSulam mean? The problem is that the light of Hochma cannot shine in the *Kli* unless the light of *Hassadim* enters it previously.

A vessel is created as a desire to receive pleasure. Unless the vessel acquires a screen, which complements the *Ohr Yashar* with the *Ohr Hozer*, no light can enter into the *Kli*. We can explain it in a different way:

until the vessel (egoism) is lined inside with the altruistic intentions (of bestowal), the light of *Hochma* has no way of entering it.

But how can these altruistic intentions manifest? This can only happen during the last two millennia, when the light of *Neshama* descends to our world. Therefore, before this period (i.e., before the *Sof*), prior to the appearance and development of the *Kelim de NHY*, Kabbalah cannot be revealed in our world. In other words, the light of wisdom, the knowledge about the structure of the universe, cannot be revealed to the souls. They are still insufficiently egoistic to be corrected with the light of *Neshama* and to receive even a minimal amount of the *Ohr Hochma*.

We are now living in the year 2004, which corresponds to 5764 of the Jewish calendar. This means that we have less than 240 years left.

> Baal HaSulam says that "*...before the Kelim de NHYM began to manifest in the Partzuf of the world, meaning the last two thousand years, the wisdom of "The Zohar" in general, and of Kabbalah in particular, was concealed from the world. Only during the time of the Ari, when the time for completion of the Kelim from Chazeh and below arrived,* i.e., in each of the three periods: *HaBaD*, *HaGaT*, and *NHY*, the *Kelim* develop and are corrected, afterwards followed by the *Orot* (lights). Suppose that the *Kelim* of *NHY* were developing from the beginning of this period and onwards until the time of the Ari.
>
> *Thanks to the holy soul of Rabbi Isaac Luria (the Ari for short) the radiance of the Supreme wisdom was revealed.* The *Kelim de NHY* were sufficiently developed by his time, hence this special soul descended to our world.

Any descent of souls, including yours and mine, is predetermined by the previous general and individual development of the *Kelim de NHY*. In our time, they are called *NHY*, in the past they were called *HaBaD* and *HaGaT*. So in fact, the history of humankind is a development of

Partzuf from up down. This determines what souls descend to this world, how they dress into bodies, in what society, state or environment they find themselves, etc.

> *But since the soul of the Ari appeared after the development of all the vessels of NHY, he was able to reveal the greatness of "The Book of Zohar" and the wisdom of Kabbalah and by so doing overshadow all of his predecessors.*

That is, from the moment "The Book of Zohar" appeared, it concentrated in itself all the knowledge that had been received from the Kabbalists living before the destruction of the Temple. The book is considered so great, not because the *Kelim* of *NHY* were still undeveloped, but because its wisdom was received by very exalted souls that lived at that time.

Baal HaSulam says that he would have been glad to hear that "The Book of Zohar" was written by one of the 48 prophets or by Moses, for it contains all wisdom of the previous generations.

Only the Ari could be the next in line; only he could explain and elevate Kabbalah by expounding everything that is available to us today. Practically, the Ari introduced the method of correction to the world. Since the *Kelim de NHY* had completed their development, his soul could descend to our world and provide us with everything necessary for the correction of our souls (*Kelim*). His soul is a collective image of all the *Kelim* of *HaBaD*, *HaGaT*, and *NHY*. He, as it were, completed their development. After the *Kelim* manifested, but before the lights entered them, the Ari appeared at once. Therefore, the collection of his works (more than 20 volumes) constitutes a complete method of spiritual ascent, spiritual correction.

None of the Kabbalists before the Ari could understand exactly how the spiritual correction takes place. No one could reach his level of attainment because these *Kelim* were not sufficiently developed in the

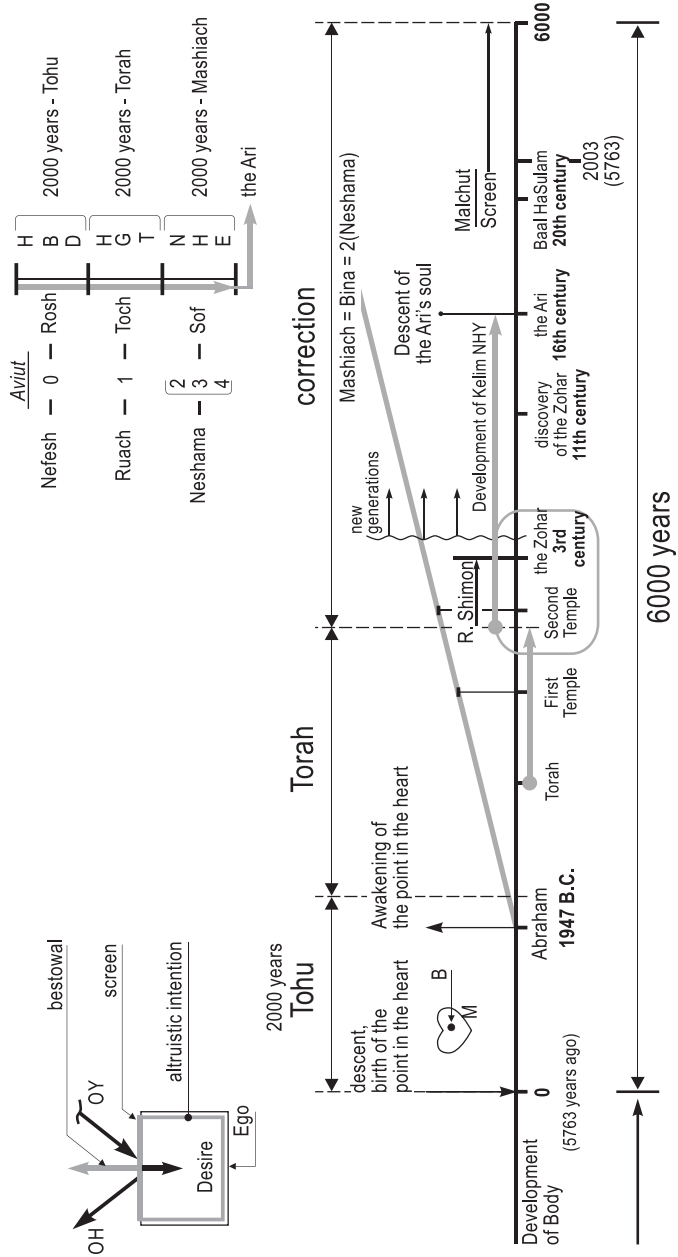
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Descent of the Ari's soul
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creation.

Before the Ari, all humankind existed at the stage of development of the *Kelim HaBaD*, *HaGaT*, and *NHY*, of all Ten *Sefirot*. Since his time and on the acquisition of a screen and reception of the light in these fully developed Kelim has begun. The entire universe was included in these *HaBaD*, *HaGaT*, and *NHY*. However, Baal HaSulam continues:

> *But these Kelim were not fully developed because the Ari did not have enough time to complete all the necessary corrections.*

We shall later discuss why the Ari failed. Naturally, it so happened because there were objective, profound reasons and not because he suddenly fell sick and died. Rather, he fell sick and died because there had been certain prerequisites in the development of these *Kelim*.

> *But these Kelim were not fully developed because the Ari, as we know, passed away in 1572 (5332 according to the Jewish calendar). The world was not yet ready for the Ari's revelations.*

He did not have enough time to pass to the world in action all that he wrote in his books.

> *His legacy, forbidden to be disclosed to the world, was used only by a chosen few.*

In one of his letters, Baal HaSulam tells this story. The Ari lived only 36 years. He never wrote any books by himself. During the last one and a half years of his life he had a disciple by the name of Chaim Vital (Marhu). Chaim was 28 at the time, while the Ari was 36. Think of how young these two men were!

During the time he spent beside the Ari, Chaim Vital learned everything that later allowed him to write more than 20 thick volumes. It seems incredible to us. While reading the Ari's compositions written down by Chaim Vital after his Teacher's death, it is impossible to imag-

ine how this amount of information could be heard in a relatively short period, let alone be put down on paper.

Whatever H. Vital had learned from his great Teacher in only eighteen months, he described in a series of note-books, which were buried with him after his death. In his will he insisted that they be put in his grave in Safed (Tzefat, a town in North Galilee). The Ari and Chaim Vital used to live in this ancient town in the north of Galilee. My students and I often come to this place, and immerse ourselves in the same spring where the Ari used to have his ablutions. There is still a place above the old cemetery where the Ari's house used to stand.

Chaim Vital was unwilling to publish his writings, believing that neither he nor his generation was sufficiently mature for this knowledge. Only years later his son, grandson and great-grandsons began to publish the Ari's compositions. During three hundred years these books were gradually coming out, and today they are known to us as the collection of the Ari's works.

Some of them were revealed at the time of the Baal Shem Tov (Besht). This great Kabbalist lived in the 17th Century in the Ukraine. Like the Ari, the Baal Shem Tov never penned anything by himself.

A few books were written by some of his disciples. Baal HaSulam composed "The Study of the Ten *Sefirot*" and "The Sulam" as commentaries on the Ari's books and "The Book of Zohar".

With the help of these two books, we can complete our correction, because during the time period between the Ari and Baal HaSulam the *Kelim* of *NHY* completed their development and were filled with all principal lights. As this greatest Kabbalist of our time had predicted, starting from the end of the last century the spiritual ascent towards the End of correction began. With the help of his books all subsequent generations will follow our path.

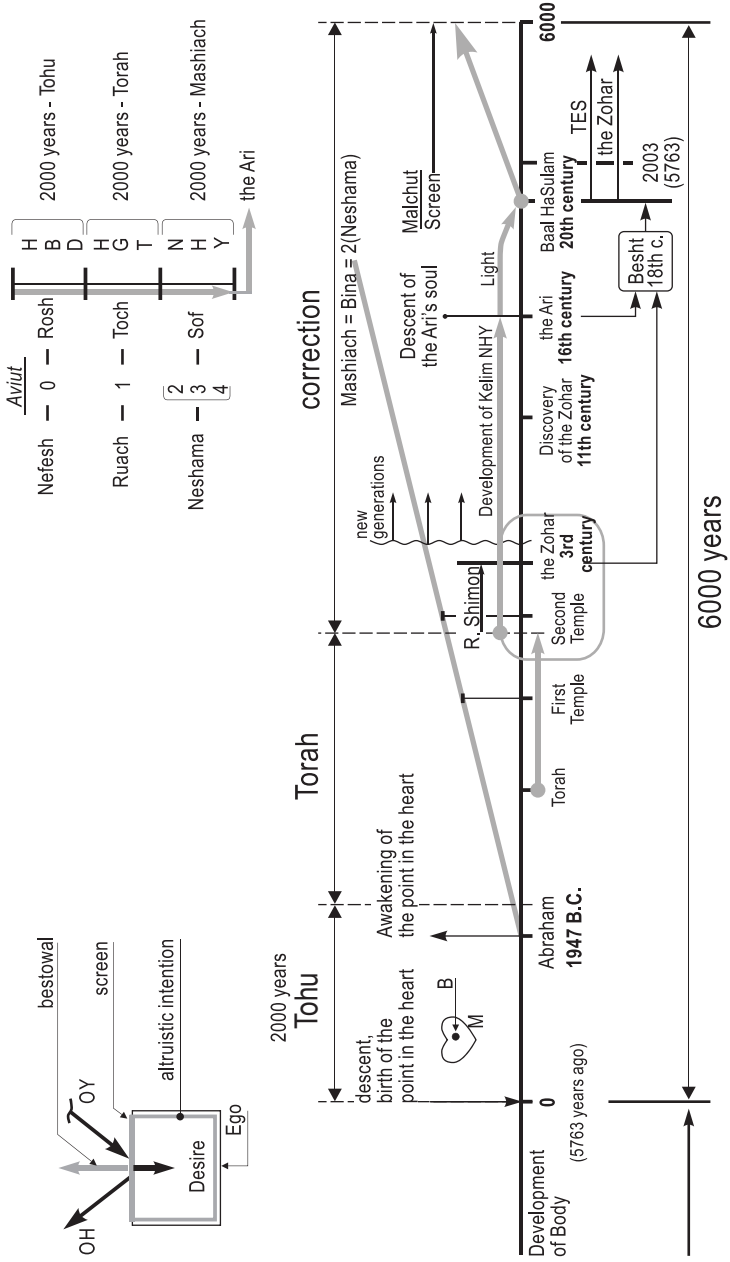
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63. Now we can clearly see that the souls of the earlier generations were immeasurably higher than those of the later generations. The rule for all Partzufim, both pertaining to worlds and to souls, is that the purest vessels are corrected first.

Pure means having a small *Aviut*, small egoism, hence they are easier to correct

Thus, the Kelim of HaBaD (of *Tohu*) *both of the world and the souls were introduced first to our world. Therefore, the souls of the first two millennia are incomparably higher than those that came after them.*

The souls that descended during the first two thousand years of our world's existence were very sublime and pure. Man of that time needed very little. He was quite content with a shelter, a small amount of food, and security. His egoism did not push him towards any serious undertakings. Exalted souls are not necessarily those that have profound attainments. They can feel the spiritual worlds due to their purity.

Despite their tremendous elevation, they could not receive the full amount of light due to the lack of their own lower components, the Kelim of HaGaT and NHYM.

They lacked these two parts; therefore, the light in them was only *Nefesh*.

During the middle period, when the vessels of the worlds and of the souls that emerged were of the Kelim of HaGaT, the souls were still extremely pure.

They were pure because the *Kelim* of *HaGaT* are a replica of the *Kelim* of *HaBaD*, albeit on the corporeal level. We know that there are Ten *Sefirot*: *Keter*, *Hochma*, and *Bina*, then *Hesed*, *Gevura*, and *Tifferet*, then *Netzah*, *Hod*, *Yesod*, and *Malchut*. *Hesed* is similar to *Keter*, *Gevura* is like *Tifferet*. Baal HaSulam says that just because the *Kelim* of *HaGaT*

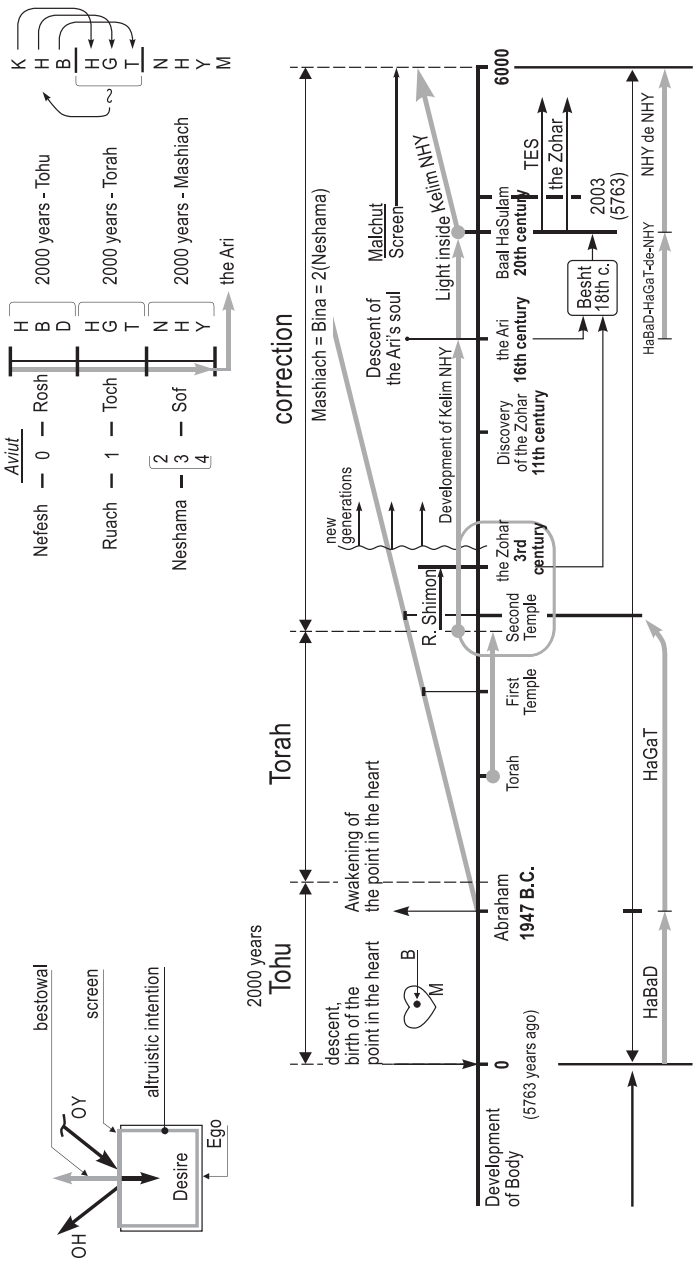
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HaBaD-HaGaT-de-NHY
NHY de NHY

resemble the *Kelim* of *HaBaD* very pure souls descended to our world before the destruction of the Temple.

> *At the same time, the lights were still concealed in the worlds due to the lack of egoism in these Kelim.*

For the most part, egoism is in the Kelim of *NHY*. As soon as these vessels began developing, both the first and then the second Temples were destroyed. The spiritual collapse that took place as a result of a transition from *Bina* to the vessels of reception (*Kelim de Kabbalah*) through *Tifferet* echoed in our world as the physical destruction of the two Temples.

> *Accordingly, in our generation, in which the lowest souls in all creation that could not be corrected until now, they still complement the Kelim-Partzufim of the common soul. The work can only be completed with their help.*

Baal HaSulam says that although the *Kelim* of *NHY* are the worst and most egoistic, yet the completion of the work is impossible without them because they are exactly the vessels to be corrected. Their development starts after the destruction of the Temple, and then followed by the development of the lights in these *Kelim*.

The preliminary light entered into the *Kelim* of *NHY* thanks to the work of the Kabbalists who lived in the period between the Ari and Baal HaSulam. What does the name "preliminary light" mean? If we divide the *Kelim* of *NHY* into Ten *Sefirot*, we will come out with three periods, *HaBaD de NHY*, *HaGaT de NHY*, and *NHY de NHY*. From our time and on *NHY de NHY* constitute the most egoistic *Kelim*.

Therefore, all that is left for us to do is to realize this method of correction, i.e., to use the power that was given to us by Rabbi Shimon, the Ari, and Baal HaSulam. In our time this power is called *Mashiach*.

Hence, Baal HaSulam writes:

> *Now that the vessels of NHY are completed* (as well as the lights in them) *and the vessels of Rosh, Toch, and Sof of the Partzuf* (all the *Kelim* in our world) *can draw on the full measure of the necessary lights in Rosh, Toch, and Sof, the complete lights of NaRaN* (*Nefesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshama* with *Haya* and *Yechida* inside them). *Therefore, only with the completion of preparation of these lowest souls could the highest lights be revealed, and not prior to this.*

Only thanks to us will the light enter into this world. We will attract it with our most evil, awful egoism because by this we complete the structure of the *Partzuf* of the entire creation.

> *64. This was a problem that pre-occupied the sages, and it was clear to them that the earlier generations were much more important than the later ones pertaining to their vessels, properties, and desires, which were considerably closer to the properties of the light.*

Their vessels were very small, pure, and sublime in comparison with ours. They were much closer to the light, whereas we are completely opposite to it in our desires.

> *But the wisdom of Torah* (all understanding, attainment and depth of sensations) *is manifested in the later generations a lot more, due to the increased general volume of the Kli.*

As is well known, the general volume of egoism is contained in the *Sof* of the *Partzuf*. So it turns out that the correction takes place with the help of the last generations.

> *65. This is because actions originate in the pure Kelim, whereas the secrets of Torah stem from the light of the Sefirot.*

The revelation of light occurs inside the soul, in our Kelim, inside our consciousness. Since the Kelim and Orot are inversely related, the lower the Kelim of NHY are, the more the lights of Neshama, Haya, and

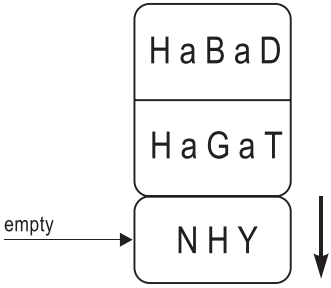

Yechida enter into them. Our generation is therefore able to draw tremendous light to this world.

We are now in the *Kelim* of *NHY*, which approach their completion, but do not possess a screen. The *Kelim* that manifest now are empty. That is why our time is so tough, egoistic, cruel and barbaric in its essence. We are now standing at a threshold of reception of light in the empty *Kelim*.

If we acquire a screen, we shall instantly begin drawing the Upper light. It will pass through our souls to the rest of the world. We are now in a very critical state, when all the *Kelim* are ready, but devoid of light. In other words, our egoism, enormous and empty, is waiting to be filled with light.

A fearful state of dismay, disorientation, and confusion is growing steadily each day. Where is this world heading? Why does it exist? Why are we here? This is our condition today.

We are left with only one choice: to begin working with a screen, because only this way all our empty *Kelim* can be filled with light. If we take "The Book of Zohar", the works of the Ari with Baal HaSulam's commentaries provided specially for our souls, we will be able to attract the Upper Light. *HaBaD*, *HaGaT*, and *NHY* will begin to receive the light of *Neshama*. It is also called the light of *Mashiach* because this light of *Bina* corrects the properties of *Malchut*. All correction is based on this combination, merging of *Bina* and *Malchut*.

By feeling the influence of the light of *Bina* and the light of *Mashiach*, the creation will bond with the Creator. This will mark the complete and final deliverance from egoism, and entrance into eternity and perfection.

By knowing the roots of our past, we can graphically depict the history of our world. This graph can show all possible nuances and minute details. We can see in it the birth and predestination of any historical personality; understand the causes of historic events, catastrophes, and wars.

Everything is predetermined on this axis of human evolution, starting with the point from which our universe emerged, to the formation of the solar system, to the birth of the Earth and people on its surface, to the appearance of the spiritual point in man's heart, when he was sufficiently mature in his animal properties. Taking the point in the heart as a zero point, we begin our count up to the Final ultimate state, when the whole world will reach a state called "the End of Correction". After that, the world will continue its existence as it did before the zero point.

Previously, the bodies were developing, whereas by the end of the six-thousand-year period the souls will continue evolving, because the body will lose its significance. Our world, our universe, however, will not change in any way.

We can see many things on the axis of time. This is a part of the so-called historical Kabbalah or, rather, of the Kabbalistic history. We only need to receive from all this an answer to the age-old question about the meaning of our life.

Why should I know how this complex system is functioning outside me? Of course it is interesting information, but then what next?

Kabbalah is based on one single question: Why do I exist? By searching for the answer to this question, man attains the universe. He is first given the vessels, then is allowed to acquire a screen, and finally is filled with the light. Thus he finds the answer and reaches the Creator's level.

How does the correction take place beginning from 1995 and on according to what Baal HaSulam predicted? We are now living in 2004 or, according to the spiritual chronology, in 5764. How should we proceed?

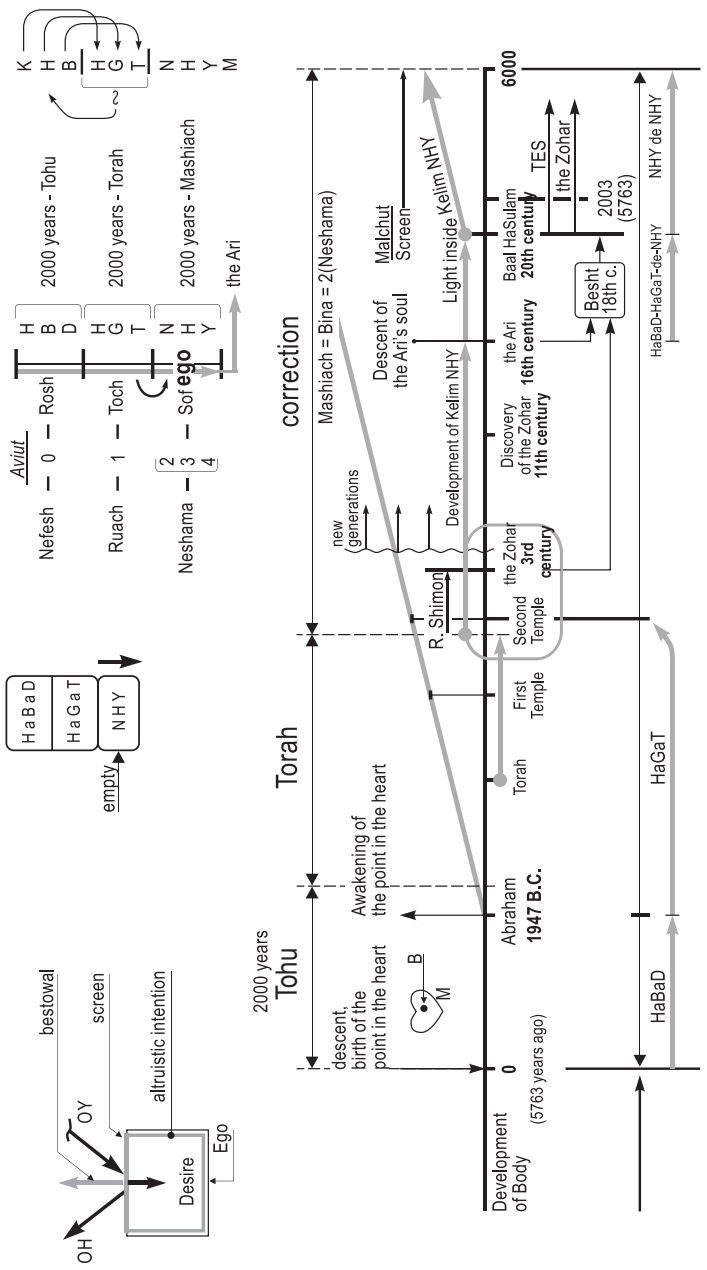
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Baal HaSulam says; if we are destined to make corrections, naturally we should do it on ourselves. What does it mean? It should be done by people living in today's world; hence, each of us has his or her own mission, role, and a precise predestination.

66. Now you must know that everything has an inner aspect and an outer aspect.

The *Kelim HaBaD*, *HaGaT*, and *NHY* are further divided from up downwards into the inner and outer parts. Let us see what the difference between them is. They consist of Ten *Sefirot*, or, alternatively, of *Rosh*, *Toch*, and *Sof*.

Israel refers to the inner part of the world, whereas other nations are considered its outer part.

Please do not misinterpret these names; they do not concern nationalities, but speak of spiritual conformity. If we take this particular *Partzuf*, the *Kelim HaBaD* and *HaGaT* will be called Israel, and the *Kelim* of *NHY* will be called the nations of the world. In this case, we see that without engaging the nations of the world in this work Israel will be utterly unable to receive the Upper light.

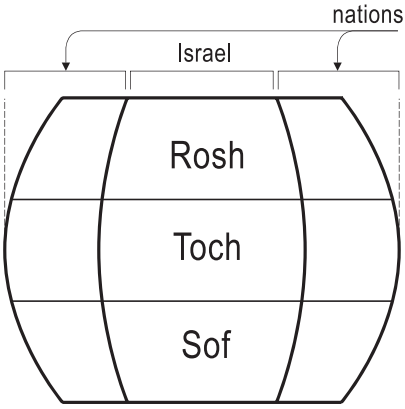

The nations will be left without the light unless Israel passes them Kabbalah, the method of spiritual correction. That is, the combination of Israel and the nations of the world are similar to the combination of *Galgalta Eynaim* and *AHP*.

Within Israel itself, there is an inner aspect that consists of those people who are committed to serve the Creator, and an outer aspect consisting of those who are not involved in spiritual work. Likewise,

amongst the nations of the world there is an inner part called the righteous of the world and an outer part, which consists of those who are destructive and coarse.

In other words, there is a division into *GE* and *AHP*. Each of these parts has its own *GE* and *AHP*. *GE* and *AHP* in *GE* correspond to those who work for the Creator within Israel and those who are not. *GE* and *AHP* in the nations of the world are the righteous people and those who cause damage.

Even amongst those of Israel who work for the Creator, there is an inner part and an outer part. The inner part is comprised of those who are privileged to achieve spiritual attainment, and to grasp the secrets of the creation through attaining the Upper light. The outer part consists of people who only perform actions without comprehending their inner meaning.

Similarly every individual person has the inner part (GE, the point in heart) and the outer part referred to as the nations of the world, or the body.

Both the nations of the world and Israel are also divided into these parts. What is the essence of this division? It began from the time of Abraham who received the very first point in the heart and developed it.

When a man of Israel elevates his inner part over his outer part, meaning that he dedicates most of his time and effort to the enhancement of his innermost part as regards his outer part, the body, then by this he raises his spiritual aspect of the material one.

But if the opposite occurs, and a man of Israel elevates his outer material part over the inner, spiritual one, the outer part (the coarse and harmful elements in the nations of the world) accordingly rises over the inner part (the righteous among the nations of the world) and calamities and wars befall the world.

These actions raise the outer part of the nations of the world, prevail over the inner part, and consequently the destructive elements within the nations of the world prevail over Israel.

Thus, through suffering, everything facilitates the return to a state where *Galgalta Eynaim*, the souls of Israel, draw the Upper light to the world.

> *68. Do not be surprised by the fact that even an individual person, through his or her deeds, can cause an elevation or degradation of the whole world. This is an unalterable law that the whole and its parts are as identical as two drops of water. Everything that occurs in the whole occurs in its parts as well, and vice versa. Furthermore, whatever happens in the parts happens in the whole, because the whole is only revealed through the manifestation of its individual parts, according to both their measure and quality.*

We are all dependent on one another. Until all of us have their vessels corrected, no one will be able to achieve full individual correction. The complete, truly absolute correction is when not only I am corrected through the world, but through me the whole world reaches the same state. We are all parts of one universe, one closed system, one soul called *Adam*, which emerged from the zero point.

Kabbalah correlates the notion of the zero point with the creation of *Adam*. What is *Adam*? *Adam* is the spiritual point in man's heart. We all originate from this point, from which all the *Kelim* of HaBaD, *HaGaT*, and *NHY* – *Tohu*, Torah, and *Mashiach* – began to emerge.

Baal HaSulam writes:

> *So certainly, the influence of every soul, i.e., each one of us, may lower or elevate the whole system, all the Kelim of HaBaD, HaGaT, and NHY.*
>
> *This is how we can understand what is written in "The Zohar" that through the study of this book and the practice of the true wisdom,*

we can put an end to our state of exile and achieve a complete redemption.

A question may arise: What could studying "The Zohar" have to do with redeeming Israel from among the nations of the world? How can it possibly help to redeem the nations of the world and Israel from their egoism?

69. From what we have read, it is clear that the Torah, like the world itself, has an inner and an outer aspect.

There are two levels in the Torah. If man concentrates his efforts on the inner part of the Torah, namely on Kabbalah, in the same degree he elevates the inner part in the world. Then, consequently, a redistribution of forces takes place, when Israel and the nations of the world begin to realize the importance of spirituality, see the greatness of the Creator, and aspire for Him.

Other coarser parts gradually subside, fall off, and lose contact with the nations' aspiration for spirituality.

But if those of Israel who must study Kabbalah and then pass it on to the nations of the world diminish the importance of the inner part of the Torah in comparison with the mechanical observance of the precepts, the outer part of Israel, all opponents of Kabbalah, prevail over Kabbalists. As a result, the outer part of the nations, the destructive elements, rises above the righteous person, which leads the world to wars, catastrophes, hostilities, and suffering.

Furthermore, this leads to strengthening of the outer part of the nations over their inner part, so that the worst and most destructive of them prevail over their inner part, the righteous ones. This brings destruction and death, such as our generation has been a witness to.

Therefore we can see that the redemption of Israel and the rest of the world, wholly depends on the learning of "The Book of Zohar" and

Kabbalah. The opposite is true also. All the afflictions that have befallen Israel and the world are due to their neglecting the study of Kabbalah (as compared to the external rituals) and treating it as something superfluous.

70. This is what "The Book of Zohar" says: "Come and wake up for the sake of spiritual ascent. Your heart is empty and you lack wisdom and the understanding of the Creator".

In other words, "The Zohar" states: whatever you may be doing should only be for the sake of achieving equivalence of form with the Him.

This way, we rise to the level of eternity and perfection. Only Kabbalah can guide and correct us, whereas all other teachings and even the outer part of the Torah increases egoism. The nations with a higher level of egoism are greedy, resourceful, craving for pleasures of this world. Why is this so?

It is because instead of elevating their soul, they focus more on the body. Naturally, since this is not what they are supposed to do, although successful in their undertakings, they push themselves and the whole world to a catastrophe.

It is said about this generation that the Upper spirit (light) disappears and never returns. This is the spirit of Mashiach which is necessary for redeeming all people from suffering. This spirit disappears and stops shining in the world. Woe to those people who cause the light of Mashiach to depart and leave the world by making the Torah dry and tasteless, without Upper understanding and knowledge. They confine themselves to the practical aspects of the Torah and make no effort to try and understand the wisdom of Kabbalah. They do not wish to contemplate the secrets of the Torah, grasp the meaning of man's actions and attain the Creator. Woe to them, who by their actions cause poverty, war, violence, pillage, killings and destructions in the world.

This is a quotation from "The Book of Zohar", not the words of Baal HaSulam or one of the modern Kabbalists.

Thus, all good and bad in the world is predetermined by the presence or absence of the Upper light in it proportionate to the *Kelim* that have already developed in the world – *HaBaD*, *HaGaT*, and *NHY*. It therefore turns out that Israel, whose mission is to bring the Kabbalistic method to the nations, is responsible for the state of the world, both good and bad.

> *71. These words, as we have explained, concern those people who study the outer part of Torah, treating its inner part as something unnecessary, and pay little or no attention to it.*

This fault is typical all over the world. The outer part of Israel influences the inner part, meaning that common believers are openly hostile to Kabbalists and are convinced that they are engaged in something totally wrong. Accordingly, the outer part of the nations of the world prevails over the inner.

All destructive elements raise their heads and wish to destroy the world, and primarily the people of Israel. This is because they do not fulfill their mission. The general governance is designed in such a way that the inner part could influence the outer one, while the outer part would in turn exert pressure and adjust the inner part.

> *After our grave sins, we have born witness to the sufferings predicted by "The Zohar". The finest of us perished, for "the righteous are the first to suffer". Of all the most prominent Kabbalists who used to live in Russia, only a small number remained in this country.*

Baal HaSulam says that 200-300 years ago there were many Kabbalists in Russia and the Ukraine (the Baal Shem Tov with his disciples, the famous cradle of Kabbalistic learning in Kotzk, Poland). All of them have disappeared because, as he states, if the generations fall, the best are first to perish.

> *It is now incumbent upon us, this tiny remnant, to right the wrong* (i.e., the mechanical observance of precepts and the indifference to Kabbalah).
>
> *If every one of us takes upon himself with all his soul and mind to enhance the inner aspect of the Torah and to give it its rightful place, then each of us will strengthen the inner part within him and in the whole world.*

Then our inner part and the inner part of the whole world, meaning the righteous of the nations of the world, those that aspire to the Creator (and wish to justify His actions) unite in such a joint effort that they will correct the world. A correct pyramid construction will be created in which the pure vessels will be at the top, and the coarse vessels will be at the bottom, so that we will draw on ourselves the Upper light.

In this way, the Upper light will be manifested in all the *Kelim* of *HaBaD*, *HaGaT*, and *NHY*, in all souls. Through us it will reach the rest of the world's vessels. Nature on all of its levels, the still, vegetative, animal, and naturally, human, will be good and prosperous. It will receive the spiritual fulfillment that it needs, rise to the level of the Creator, and we will achieve the Purpose of creation.

It depends on how quickly we will accomplish this task in the 236 years left until the end of the 6000-year period starting from where we are now. Instead of it being a path of development of the *Kelim*, it will turn into a path of compulsion by the absence of light, i.e., a path of horrific suffering. The Holocaust and the two world wars may be just a beginning.

Baal HaSulam speaks of the third and the fourth world wars. Already in 1934-1936 he was writing about a neutron bomb. One can find it in his manuscripts. He gives many things different names, but actually he writes about the destructive forces that will be in man's hands in the future. It is in our power to prevent all this; it depends

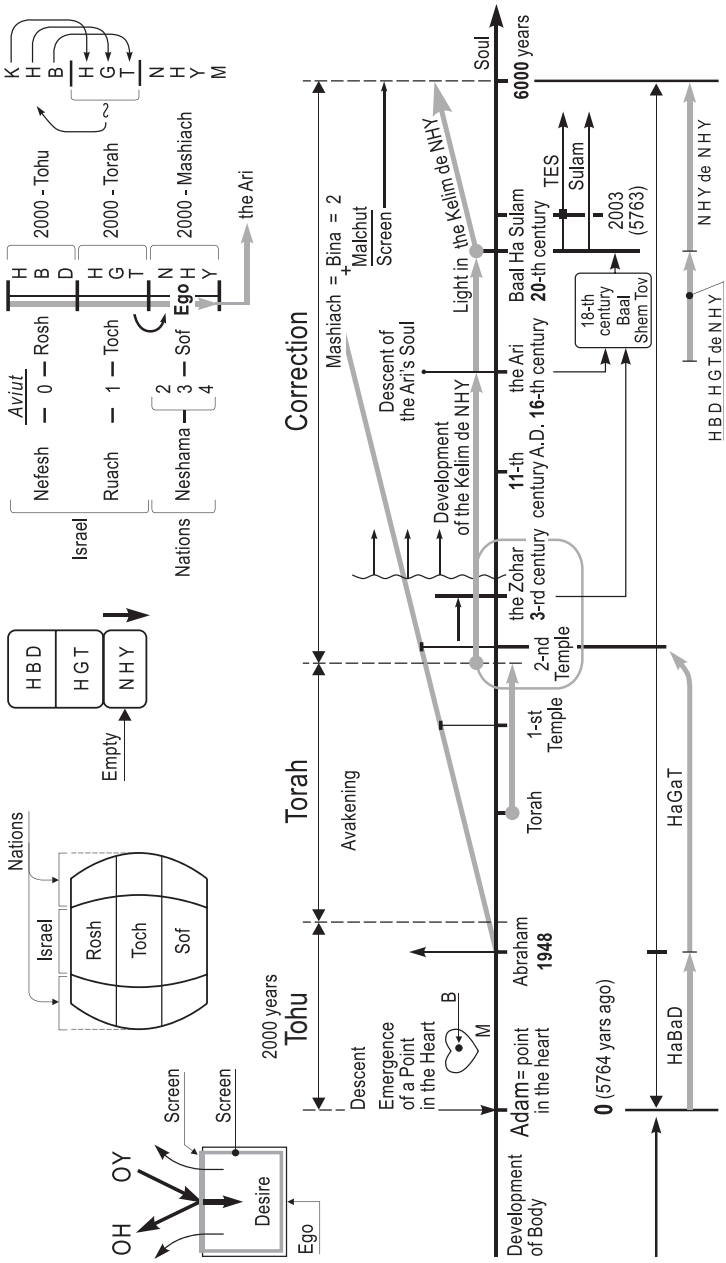
Aviut
Nefesh
0 — Rosh
Ruach
1 — Toch
Neshama
2
3 — Sof
4
Israel
Nations
H B D
H G T
N H Y
2000 - Tohu
2000 - Torah
2000 - Mashiach
Ego
the Ari
K
H
B
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Nations
Israel
Rosh
Toch
Sof
Screen
Screen
OH
OY
Desire
Ego
2000 years
Tohu
Torah
Correction
Descent
Emergence of a Point in the Heart
Avakening
Mashiach = Bina = 2
+ Malchut
Screen
Descent of the Ari's Soul
Development of the Kelim de NHY
Light in the Kelim de NHY
Soul
6000 years
Development of Body
Adam = point in the heart
Abraham 1948
Torah
1-st Temple
2-nd Temple
the Zohar 3-rd century
11-th century A.D.
the Ari 16-th century
Baal Ha Sulam 20-th century
18-th century Baal Shem Tov
TES
Sulam
2003 (5763)
0 (5764 years ago)
HaBaD
HaGaT
H B D H G T de N H Y
N H Y de N H Y

solely on us.

We know that the world consists of four stages of development according to the four phases of the descending light. Correspondingly, there are four destructions and four exiles. Our exile was the last. It has ended physically, and it must end spiritually. The two world wars may be complemented by two more, unless we change. We are not obliged to drink the cup of woe to the end; it is in our power to prevent these two world wars that are looming ahead of us.

So everything depends on us, on the first generation that begins its correction under the influence of the light. All the vessels are completed, we only need to acquire the *Masach* (screen) and start transferring the light to this world. Thanks to that, the world will painlessly achieve its predestination. We have to set it as our goal, for, as we know, the general and the particular are completely equal, so it turns out that each one of us determines the state of the whole world.

I hope that we will be worthy of our great teachers, and capable of bringing their legacy to the world. We have every opportunity to become the Creator's special messengers and fulfill our mission. We are already doing it, i.e., the Creator has already entitled us to accomplish this task. Now the question is whether we are ready to take it upon ourselves or not.

I believe that we will succeed in conducting the light to the world, as befitting the heirs of great Kabbalists. Imagine what spiritual reward is prepared for all of us who take part in this noble mission.

Baal HaSulam has written four introductions to "The Zohar": "The Introduction to the Book of Zohar", "The Preface to the Book of Zohar", "The Preamble to the Commentary of Sulam", and "The Preamble to the Wisdom of Kabbalah". They give us an adequate understanding of the book, so that by tuning ourselves to it, we can draw the Upper, Divine Light, the force, which ushers us into the spiritual realm.

We learn that the light is emanated from the Creator. This light is referred to as a "zero (or root) phase", which is afterwards called *Keter* pertaining to the *Sefirot*. The zero phase builds for itself a *Kli*, phase one, the will to receive, or *Hochma*. By acting inside the *Kli*, the light creates a sensation of its source in it, i.e., of the zero phase.

Therefore, first, the light creates a desire in the zero phase, and then gives it a sensation of itself. Since the desire wants to feel pleasure, enter into it, connect with it, it reveals the root, the source of this desire, namely the zero phase.

Thus, sub-phases emerge within phase one. A desire is created and feels pleasure. Consequently, by feeling pleasure, the desire longs to enter it, "cling" to it. While being "inside", it begins to feel the source of pleasure, and, naturally, this sensation creates in it a new desire to become similar to the source.

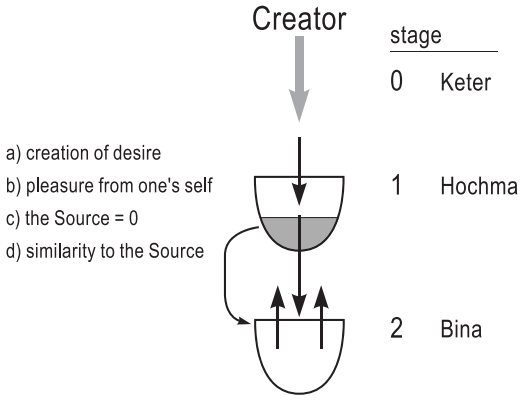

This similarity to the source of pleasure happens to be a transition from phase one to phase two. Phase two wishes to become similar to the source, but this decision is made at the end of phase one. Thus, it gives birth to a new desire – to bestow. This second phase is called *Bina*.

Bina in its turn consists of several sub-phases. In this way, the light's influence inside the desire creates in it a series of consecutive transformations.

Here I see fit to emphasize that the Upper Light affecting us is able to do with us absolutely everything: make us either similar or opposite to

itself. We should only expose ourselves to its maximum influence, try to connect with it as closely as we possibly can. All of this can be achieved by studying "The Book of Zohar", provided we are correctly tuned to the ultimate purpose.

Therefore, all the aforementioned introductions are of great significance to us. Baal HaSulam wishes to expose us to the light that is emanated during the study of "The Zohar", to help us penetrate more deeply into this light with the intention of merging with its source. This depends on us.

While the descending development of the four phases of the light and of all the *Partzufim* in the worlds is a result of the Creator's actions, we must climb the spiritual ladder on our own by exposing ourselves to the influence of the *Ohr Makif*. Hence, we should study the introductions to "The Book of Zohar", which were specially written for this sole purpose.

OUR OTHER BOOKS

Guide to the Hidden Wisdom of Kabbalah with Ten Complete Kabbalah Lesson: provides the reader with a solid foundation for understanding the role of Kabbalah in our world. The content was designed to allow individuals all over the world to begin traversing the initial stages of spiritual ascent toward the apprehension of the upper realms.

Attaining the Worlds Beyond: is a first step toward discovering the ultimate fulfillment of spiritual ascent in our lifetime. This book reaches out to all those who are searching for answers, who are seeking a logical and reliable way to understand the world's phenomena. This magnificent introduction to the wisdom of Kabbalah provides a new kind of awareness that enlightens the mind, invigorates the heart, and moves the reader to the depths of their soul.

The Science of Kabbalah (Pticha): is the first in a series of texts that Rav Michael Laitman, Kabbalist and scientist, designed to introduce readers to the special language and terminology of the Kabbalah. Here, Rav Laitman reveals authentic Kabbalah in a manner that is both rational and mature. Readers are gradually led to an understanding of the logical design of the Universe and the life whose home it is.

The Science of Kabbalah, a revolutionary work that is unmatched in its clarity, depth, and appeal to the intellect, will enable readers to approach the more technical works of Baal HaSulam (Rav Yehuda Ashlag), such as "Talmud Eser Sefirot" and Zohar.

Although scientists and philosophers will delight in its illumination, laymen will also enjoy the satisfying answers to the riddles of life that only authentic Kabbalah provides. Now, travel through the pages and prepare for an astonishing journey into the Upper Worlds.

Kabbalah for Beginners: By reading this book you will be able to take your first step in understanding the roots of human behaviour and the laws of nature. The contents present the essential principals of the Kabbalistic approach and describe the wisdom of Kabbalah and the way it works. Kabbalah for beginners is intended for those searching for a sensible and reliable method of studying the phenomenon of this world for those seeking to understand the reason

for suffering and pleasure, for those seeking answers to the major questions in life. Kabbalah is an accurate method to investigate and define man's position in the universe. The wisdom of Kabbalah tells us why man exists, why he is born, why he lives, what the purpose of his life is, where he comes from, and where he is going after he completes his life in this world.

Root of All Science: The process of examining our world with the help of the human mind and manmade tools is called science. All fields of science deal with what is perceived through our natural five senses, yet the Wisdom of Kabbalah deals with acquiring knowledge that exceeds their limitations.

In Root of All Science, Rav Michael Laitman presents the differences between Kabbalistic scientific method and the current method used by scientists. The distinction is in the ability of Kabbalah to incorporate human awareness in a verifiable analysis of reality. The enormous significance of this additional focus, to both the scientific researcher and the seeker of spirituality, is that it provides the leap in dimensions enabling the observer to penetrate the causal level of all aspects of existence and all events that occur in this world.

Wondrous Wisdom: Today interest in Kabbalah has exploded world-wide. Millions of people are seeking answers as to what this ancient wisdom really is, and where they can find authentic instruction. With so many conflicting ideas about Kabbalah on the internet, in books, and in the mass media; the time has finally arrived to answer humanity's need, and reveal the wisdom to all who truly desire to know. In Wondrous Wisdom you will receive the first steps, an initial course on Kabbalah, based solely on authentic teachings passed down from Kabbalist teacher to student over thousands of years. Offered within is a sequence of lessons revealing the nature of the wisdom and explaining the method of attaining it.

> *But if you listen with your heart to one famous question, I am sure that all your doubts as to whether you should study the Kabbalah will vanish without a trace. This question is a bitter and fair one, asked by all born on earth: "What is the meaning of my life?"*
>
> Rav Yehuda Ashlag,
> from "Introduction to
> Talmud Eser Sefirot"

ABOUT BNEI BARUCH

Bnei Baruch is a non-profit group centered in Israel that is spreading the wisdom of Kabbalah to accelerate the spirituality of mankind. Kabbalist Michael Laitman PhD, who was the disciple and personal assistant to Kabbalist, Rabbi Baruch Ashlag, the son of Kabbalist Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (author of the Sulam Commentary on the Zohar), follows in the footsteps of his mentor in guiding the group.

Rav Laitman's scientific method provides individuals of all faiths, religions and cultures the precise tools necessary for embarking on a highly efficient path of self-discovery and spiritual ascent. The focus is primarily on inner processes that individuals undergo at their own pace. Bnei Baruch welcomes people of all ages and lifestyles to engage in this rewarding process.

In recent years, an awakening of a massive worldwide quest for the answers to life's questions has been underway. Society has lost its ability to see reality for what it is and in its place easily formed viewpoints and opinions have appeared.

Bnei Baruch reaches out to all those who seek awareness beyond the standard view. It offers practical guidance and a reliable method for understanding the world's phenomena. The group's unique method not only helps overcome the trials and tribulations of everyday life, but initiates a process in which individuals extend themselves beyond the standard boundaries and limitations of today's world.

Kabbalist Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag left a study method for this generation, which essentially 'trains' individuals to behave as if they have already achieved the perfection of the Upper Worlds, here in our world.

In the words of Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag, "*This method is a practical way to apprehend the Upper World and the source of our existence while still living in this world. A Kabbalist is a researcher who studies his nature using this proven, time-tested and accurate method. Through this method, one attains perfection,*

and takes control over one's life. In this way, one realizes one's true purpose in life. Just as a person cannot function properly in this world having no knowledge of it, so also one's soul cannot function properly in the Upper World having no knowledge of it. The wisdom of Kabbalah provides this knowledge."

The goal-orientated nature of these studies enables a person to apply this knowledge on both an individual and collective basis in order to enhance and promote the spirituality of humankind, and indeed the entire world.

HOW TO CONTACT BNEI BARUCH

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ZARTHUSHT-NAMEH
(“Book of Zarathushtra”)

Also known as *Zardosht Nameh*, this account of the life of Zarathushtra was written in Persian by a Parsi named Zartushi-Behram. It is dated 1277 A.D. This translation is by E. B. Eastwick, Esq., from Wilson, John, *The Parsi Religion*, Bombay: American Mission Press, 1843, pp. 477 ff.

A later translation into French was done by Rosenberg, regarding which Modi wrote:

> M. Frederic Rosenberg, at St. Petersburg in 1904, under the title of *Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zaratusht Nama) de Zartusht-i-Bahram Ben Pajdu*. It is a very excellent book. It gives the Persian text of the Persian *Zarthusht-nameh*, and then the Persian text of a part of the *Dabistan* which treats of Zoroaster. It gives a translation into French with copious notes. The preface is interesting. It gives a list of technical Persian or Zoroastrian words.[1]

While the composer of this poem doesn’t identify his sources, it is generally thought to draw on two ninth century Pahlavi texts *Denkard* (Books 5 and 7) and the writings of *Zadspram* (chapters 12-24).[2] Those in turn drew on portions of the ancient *Avesta* which are no longer extant, namely the Chihrdad and Spand Nasks.

Rosenberg lists the following manuscripts of *Zartusht-Nameh*:

- Imperial Public Library of St Petersburg (which he designates “P”),
- three at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris,
- two in the British Museum: Royal 16 B VIII 17th century (L) and Add. 27268 (M).
- Bodleian: 1947, 1948,[3] 1949 (prose paraphrase)
- one in Staatsbibliothek de Munich: Cod. Zend. 72 (H).

To this can be added the following (there are probably many more):

- Scotland, University of Glasgow, Library of the Hunterian Museum, T.5.5. R. 6.21; R. 6.80. Dated 1677.

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1 Modi, J.J., *A glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years, from a Parsee point of view*, 1905.

2 Rosenberg xxx.

3 Defective copy of 1947, “badly copied by a European hand.”

- USA, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Houghton Library, **MS Pers 16** ZARTUSHT-i-BAHRAM ben PAZHDU. *Zartusht-Namah*.
- India, K.R.Cama Oriental Institute...

Neither A. H. Anquetil-Deperron's 1760 (Latin) translation, nor Eastwick's are free from errors; Rosenberg however used a crtical approach to correct many of these errors.

-JHP, 2016

Invocation.

In all thy actions secret or displayed,
Be it first thy care to seek thy Maker's aid.
Through Him alone each work attains its end,
And things opposed in just concordance blend.
Omniscient Maker and Support of all,
Creator, Ruler of this earthly ball!
Lord of the seven skies and earths, for thee,
Are spread the highest heavens, thy canopy,
O God of wisdom, Lord of life, thy hand,
Lit up the starry hosts, heaven's glittering band.
Bright sun and moon, and Nahid[4] queen of night,
Tir and Kaiwan, Bahram, and Ohrmazd's light.
All giving Lord! Creator, wise and just,
How great thy bounties on the sons of dust!
Reason and knowledge are thy gifts — to know
The evil from the good and weal from woe.
Let reason be his guide, and man shall gain,
In each estate, a sure escape from pain.
For those who strive to learn the faith of heaven,
Be first their thoughts to God's existence given.
And let them know this truth, — that God is one,
Exists nought like Him, He is God alone.
From man his Maker asks humility,
Of prayer the accents and the suppliant's knee.
Seek ye the truth? from me the truth receive,
And thus instructed listen and believe.

---

4 *Nahid* is the planet Venus; Tir is Mercury; Bahram, Mars; Kaiwan, Saturn; Ormazd, Jupiter.

2. Beginning of the Book.

I saw a book in Khosraw's royal hall,
Writ in the Pahlavi, for so they call
That ancient tongue — the great arch-priest of fire,
Had placed it there — chief of the learned choir.
Within the book in varied tale were told
The deeds of ancient kings and heroes old.
There too the Zand-Avesta's sacred line,
Was traced, holy Zartusht's book divine;
And there the story of his wondrous birth,
And all that marked the sage's stay on earth.
Time-worn the volume and the mystic page,
Was veiled in doubt, and dim with mists of age.

Said, then, the Mobad,[5] "This sacred volume see!
By this in heaven's pure faith instructed be."
Then to my listening ear a part he read,
And strong emotion through his bosom spread.
"Learning," he cried, "herein would much avail,
For mark this long-forgotten lore — this tale
Of whom none knows the source — this ancient creed
May perish, since but few this page can read.
´Tis best that you this tale in verse should dress,
And in fair Persia's tongue its words express,
With wisdom ornament this faith divine,
Renew its canvas in your living line.
If thus the faith you celebrate, of thee
A fair memorial shall established be.
And thus renewed from thee, all men shall learn,
The faith of old — to it for guidance turn.
All will acknowledge that to us is given,
The purest faith and truest road to Heaven.

[3. Notice of the poet himself.]

List to my words, for I too, — late have come,
Among my fellowmen—not here my home.
Bound on my waist the sacred belt [=*kusti*], behold.
I too the sacred volumes can unfold.
Then hearken, for on thee no loved one smiles,
Nor wife, or child, from wisdom's path beguiles."
He said, and as his counsel sage I heard,
My heart was guided by the old man's word.

5 E: priest.

"My name," I said, "will live to future years,
And hope of Heaven's reward the labour cheers.
May God for this, the All-wise, Almighty Sire,
Release my soul from dread of penal fire."
Home I returned, and pleasing visions steep
My eyes in soft forgetfulness and sleep.
I dreamed Srosh[6] stood beside my bed;
And, "sleepest thou idly?" thus the phantom said.
"Awake, bethink thee of thy vow, nor pause,
Till Zartusht sees renewed his sacred laws:
'Tis thine to gladden thus the prophet's soul.
And reach thyself intact the heavenly gaol.
Hid intercession shall avail thee best,
Before thy God — on him securely rest."
Scared by the vision, sleep my eyelids flies,
I wake and bursting tear-drops fill my eyes.

All night, revolving in my anxious mind
These thoughts, I lay, nor rest nor slumber find.
Soon as the sun from out his turret high,
Cast the first links of gold adown the sky,
To Kai-Khosraw my sire's most honoured ear,
The strange relation of my dream I bear.
(Know ye who would my place of birth inquire,
´Twas Kujapur[7] the city of my sire.
The house of Kuja is an ancient name,
The children now, not first, approved to fame).
"Beware," he said, "no vain resistance raise,
He pleases Heaven who at once obeys.
No worldly cares disturb thy tranquil mind,
In this behest thy only labour find."
Thus when I heard his answer, I prepared
To execute my task and back repaired
To the old priest who first aroused my zeal.
"Begin," I cried, "the work, for now I feel
My heart with ardor filled." — Thus then began
The history of the past that ancient man.

---

6 So R. E: "a Darwish" (!) -JHP

7 Literally, "Where-town"! The writer seems to have been unwilling to mention the real place of his abode. -E.

[4. The appearance of Zartusht in the World.]

Tale of the old Priest.

When earth beneath the weight of evil groaned,
No teacher, guide, or chief her children owned.
Reckless of God, they felt no righteous awe,
And cast aside the dictates of his law.
The fiend accursed his banner wide unfurl'd,
And shook his pinions joyous o'er the world.
Exulting laughed haughty Ahriman,
And marked creation struggling in his chain.
Twas in that dark despairing hour, that God,
To helpless man his saving mercy shewed.
To save that rebel race his prophet rose,
Salvation's portal opened to his foes.
From the unconquered race of Faridoon,
From royal sires arose the inspired son.
As shoots the tender offspring of the vine,
So sprung Zartusht from the prophet line.
(Save God alone none knows or good or ill,
Learn this ye wise — ye children of his will.)
From Faridoon descended Petarasp.
The wise and good, his son was named Pourushasp.
Born of his loins the great Zartusht came,
To free the imprisoned world from sin and shame.
A sapling he of that same noble race,
Lords of bright lineage, dignity and (trace.
They called him Zartusht, and his mother's name
Was the chaste Dughdov, fair, unspotted dame.
Said then the priest, "now hear the legend true,
When Dughdov pregnant of her Zartusht grew,
Five slow revolving moons hail passed; again
The sixth pale moon was hastening to her wane.

Dream of the Mother of Zartusht.

She dreamed she wondering marked in heaven's clear skies
A cloud like to an eagle's pinion rue.
So thick a gloom its gathering shadow spread,
The sun is veiled, the day grows dark and dread.
And from that cloud no rain, but, strange to tell,
Lions and tigers, wolves and dragons fell,
The crocodile and panther of the waste,
All that is horrible, misshapen, vast,

The writhing serpent and the bird obscene,
All things detested that the eye has seen,
Or fancy feigned, and still with gathering storm,
Fast falls each savage shape, and grisly form.
Sudden from forth that phantom train appears,
One who than all a ghastlier semblance wears.
On Dughdov rushing, in her tender side
The direful monster tore an opening wide,
And thence the infant Zartusht in his grasp
Dragged forth to light — death seemed in every gasp,
But on their prey ere yet those jaws could close,
Loud threatening shouts as those of men arose.
And in that hour of seeming misery
While hapless Dughdov strove for aid to cry,
"Wail not," her infant said, "for not from these
Shall harm approach me or destruction seize.
God is my guardian and protection. He
From every evil thing shall keep me free;
Then dread not, though you view assembled here,
These monsters grim and loathsome forms of fears."
Cheered with these words, the mother calms her care,
When lo! a hill descends from upper air,
And from its aide, beams forth refulgent light,
Dispels the clouds and breaks the gloom of night.
Then comes a hurrying blast, before whose breadth
Fast fly those grim aspects and shapes of death.
When nearer came that holy light, was seen
An angel form, a youth of heavenly mien.
Fair as the morn, a shepherd youth he seems,
And Jamshed's lustrous glory round him beams.
In his right hand he holds a dazzling wand,
Hell shrinks aghast before the vengeful brand.
His left supports the oracles of heaven,
The written word for man's instruction given,
These when they see, back quail the demon crew,
And hid in air, are lost to human view.
Three shapes alone of all the monster train,
A wolf, a lion, and a pard remain.
The youth advancing in their savage gaze,
Rears his bright wand and darts its dazzling blaze.
Vainly before his steps the fiends retire,
And wrapped in fierce consuming flames expire.
The infant Zartusht, rescued from the tomb,

Again is sheltered in his mother's womb.
Her wound is healed, by mercy from above,
And Hell's fierce rage is foiled by heavenly love
To Dughdov, then, the heavenly stripling said; —
"Arise, nor let thy heart grow faint with dread,
Comfort thee, for from thee a child shall spring,
On whom shall rest the favour of heaven's king.
The world beholds the glad event with joy,
And future ages hail the promised boy.
A prophet of the truth his pen shall trace
To a lost world the mysteries of grace.
Glad earth rejoices at his coming feet,
The wolf and lamb in peace and union meet.
Then let no anxious cares thy breast alarm;
Whom God protects is safe from every harm."
Thus spake the youth, and vanished from her sight,
And with him fled the vision of the night.
Dughdov is left alone, and busy thought
Recalls the dreams with strange forebodings fraught
A neighbouring sage there was, well skilled to read
The circling stars and tell the fates decreed.
Nor of less worth, to him fair Dughdov speaks
Her fears, and pity and instruction seeks.
And asks what destiny prepares? and how
The sure event of future years to know?

Said then the man of age, — "but few I ween
Such dream, such marvels of the night have seen.
First be thy infant born, ere I relate
To thy glad ear the oracles of fate.
All that thy heart desires thy child shall give;
Through him to distant lands thy name shall live.
His glory shall o'ershadow earth — his foes
Shall quail before him and in vain oppose.
Go, then, and when three days are past, return,
And the bright tidings of the future learn."
He said and Dughdov seeks her home — her breast
Is filled with care, nor food nor needful rest
She takes, till fail three suns and the fourth day
Casts o'er the earth its joy-inspiring ray.
Again the seer she seeks; glad smiled the sage,
And rising thoughts his labouring mind engage.

With quadrant viewing, then, he marks with care
What signs and changes in the sun appear,
And next the stars observing he discerns
The horoscope, and slow surveys by turns
Bahram and Nahid, Tir, and Kaiwan old,
Each planet circling in its path of geld.
He sees the moment of conjunction bright
With fortunes fair and joy's unfading light,
And thus he speaks; "I view a destiny
Of hope sublime and wondrous augury,
Know, that thy son, great, virtuous and wise,
High o'er his sires in glory's path shall rise."[8]

5. Interpretation of the dream.

"This night that thou hast seen this dream, and beheld this suffering and woe, thou wert five months gone with child and twenty days and three. When thou art delivered of that holy thing, he shall grow up in righteousness and mercy; his name shall be the glorious Zartusht; all his actions shall be fulfilled in goodness. Every faith and sect opposed to him shall be brought low, through the excellence of his fortune. At the first they shall struggle with him for the mastery, and shall endeavour much against him. Thou shalt experience much evil from the tyranny of the wicked, as thou didst dream of sustaining from the wild beasts. At the end thou slink be prosperous and happy, and shalt rejoice in this child which is yet unborn. And what thou sawest in the latter part or thy dream, for that let thy spirit be raised above the sixth heaven: the bright branch thou saw est which brought the gladness, is the glory of God manifested against the oppressors, which shall keep back from thy child every evil thing. And that writing which the youth held in his hand, with that he shall sow tho seed of righteousness. That is the token of the prophethood, with which the wicked and the fiends shall be blinded. His name shall be perpetual in the world, and all his desire shall be accomplished. The three beasts which remained and were destroyed by that flaming brand, are three foes, the deadliest and worst. They shall endeavour but shall not succeed; and at the last they shall be overthrown. He shall separate the truth and the right way from vanity. The bright sun is not hid by particles of dust, and those only shall doubt of thy son who are void of faith and understanding. In those days shall arise a king who shall make known the true faith; he shall aid in celebrating the faith of Zartusht, and shall establish it in the sight of all. Blessed is the tree that God shall cause to bear such fruit; you shall be blessed in this unblemished pearl, and by this holy child shall rise above the stars.

8 The translator had intended to render the whole text in verse, but abandoned that in favor of plain prose at this point. -JHP

Paradise shall reward those who obey him; the souls of his enemies shall descend to Hell; would that I might live to behold his day — my life and all I possess should be his sacrifice." When Dughdov heard these precious words, she said, "O Prophet of wisdom! How knowest thou that this was my fifth month?" The seer replied, "let the days be reckoned, thou shall know that I have spoken right; thy computation is by the stars' ordination, and thus it is written with dates of the past. Behold what God will bring to thee by thy son; the world shall be filled with his praise, and the righteous shall rejoice in him." When Dughdov heard the interpretation of her dream, she prepared to return to her home. She told the prediction to Pourushasp, the son of Petarasp. When the ninth month arrived the chaste matron prepared all things for the event.

6. The Miracles which attended the birth of Zartusht.

When the time of his birth drew near, his relations were filled with lamentation. His mother called for the wise women and also for those who were dear to her, in order that they might minister to her, and might support her in her travail. The women who were her neighbours, and men evil-enchanters, surrounded the door of her house, and were, you would say, her watchers. When the moon breathed light on the world, the holy Zartusht was born. As he left the womb he laughed; the house was enlightened by that laughter; his father was astonished at him, at his laughter and beauty and loveliness. He said in his heart, "This is the glory of God." Save this child, every infant born into the world has wept. They named the child Zartusht; great and small heard thereof; the word of the seer was fulfilled, as he had foretold the birth of the child. The women were envious of his laughter, and of the brightness of his destiny; they remained covetous of him, since the like of him had not been seen; they said, "We know not how this will be, or what will be the event." Child like this, saw they never; in beauty the world could shew no equal to him: the city was filled with the news of the beauty and laughter of the infant; all who were unclean and evil were stung to the heart at that laughter. In those days were many magicians who filled every place with their art; among them was spread anxiety; their souls were consumed as a torch; they said, "This is a calamity to us, we must remove this child from the world."

7. Miracle II. Escape of Zartusht from Duransarun [*Durasrun].

There was a king in those days; his name was Duransarun; he was the chief of the magicians, and an alien from God. He discovered the birth of Zartusht; he knew that when Zartusht appeared, the art of magic would be lost and forgotten, and that he would establish a pure faith, and would bring

to disgrace all magicians. The pure would receive their faith from him, his glory would reach the sun; the evil he would utterly destroy, and would reveal the pure faith. When the Shah heard of his birth, his face became pale as hay. Instantly he mounted his steed, and departed to the house of Pourushasp. He came to the bed of the child, and behold a face like the early spring, beaming with the glory of God. The Shah discerned the mystery revealed in him; at sight of him the Shah grew pale. He said, "Take him from the cradle." They raised the child, and the wicked king drew forth a dagger of brightness; he thought to dissever the child, that his heart might be relieved from fear and bodings. In that moment he was struck with anguish; you would say it was the agony of death. The hands of the Shah were dried up by the command of God the merciful. When the Shah was disappointed of his hopes, that instant he withdrew from the bed of the child, since God, he saw, protected the infant and defended his life from every evil thing. All the magicians were sad and faint of heart; they were troubled and became like grass. They obeyed the order of the Shah and departed. They were cut to the soul for the anguish of the king; when dismay fell among them, they bore off the infant Zartusht from his father.

8. Miracle III. Escape of Zartusht from the Fire.

They conveyed the child to the desert, and raised a vast heap of timber; they made it like Lajaward, with while naphtha nnd yellow brimstone. They quickly kindled one immense fire and cast Zartusht therein. By the command of God the cherisher, no evil reached Zartusht. That blazing fire became as water. In it Zartusht fell asleep. When that thing was done in the desert by those evil men, they departed. They carried the glad tidings to Duransarun, and told him their enemy had perished. "We kindled a fierce flame, we burned Zartusht therein." When his mother heard thereof, she wandered forth for grief for her loss, like a maniac; she reached the desert und the place where the fire of the magicians was kindled; she saw in the flames the figure of her child, and her breast rejoiced at the sight of her offspring. Pearls were scattered by him in his prophethood, like the starry light of Nahid and Mushtari. Instantly she snatched him to her bosom, and kissed his eyebrows and his forehead two hundred times, thence she bore him secretly to her house. Such was this event in the world. Thus says the Priest of priests; "The world was never free from evil doers, but God the Protector gives victory to the pure and good; the Author of righteousness will protect the right; it is therefore best that you follow the right way."

9. Miracle IV. Escape of Zartusht from the feet of the Oxen.

Short time elapsed when the miracles of Zartusht became known. The fire

had had no effect upon him, and hid mother bore him borne free of pain and hurt. Again the magicians, fiends and Paris displayed their fierceness and bad intention; again they consulted and devised, in order to contrive a way to put him to death. They secretly carried forth Zartusht by order of that Shah the leader of the aliens. They placed him in the narrow way, where the oxen were accustomed to pass; they threw down that unweaned babe in that narrow way, hopeless and forlorn, that when the oxen came by that way they might trample on him and destroy him. When the herd began to move, one advanced before the rest, mightier than the rest in strength and size, like him who presides among an assembly of men. It came forward to the beautiful child, like a mother seeking her offspring; it protected the child between its forefeet with care in the name of God. It was not possible for the rest of the herd to pass on it, or to trample the child under their feet. When one endeavoured to pass that way it stooped down its ears and shielded the child; until they all had passed, it moved not from the place. Then it resought the herd as the hawk its prey. The mother of Zartusht was filled with frenzy; every where she thought to behold her child. When she heard the story of the oxen, she hasted till she reached the spot. Thence she raised up the beloved babe, and returned with thanks to her home: she called down a little curse with wailing and tears on that evil people of wrong doers. — "May the great God do even so to them as they would have done to the child had he not saved it; may they not find a hearing before God, and may their hopes fail in this world and the next."

10. Miracle V. Escape of Zartusht from the feet of Horses.

And when that news reached the wicked Duransarun, that Zartusht had escaped the feet of the bulls and not a hair of his body bad been injured, this news stung him to the heart, and he prepared another device. He sought for a narrow way, where wild horses used to pass. He ordered them to carry forth Zartusht, and cast him without food in that perilous way, that when the horses passed that way they might trample on his body. When the Shah gave this order they obeyed, but were disappointed in their hopes. They threw him where the herd used to pass; they left him there friendless and destitute. In that terrible place, the heart of the mighty, through the burning heat, waxed afraid. When the wild horses began to enter the defile, a single mare advanced before the rest. By the command of God the cherisher, it came and stood by the pillow of the babe; it stood forward in defence of the noble child. The horses were unable to bite it. You would say that was the queen of mares, which both sheltered the child and befriended it. Again when the mother of Zartusht heard the news, she wandered everywhere as one distracted. She at length drew near her child, and her heart was afflicted at his danger. Many thanksgivings gave she to God, that her infant had met no harm from the

horses. Again she bore him to her house; day and night her heart trembled on account of him; but while God was his Protector, what could Dews or Paris do to harm him? If n hundred thousand accursed Dews came to work you ill, if they hear from you the name of God, they will one and all take to flight. Such is the name of the holy God; from it destruction shall reach the wicked.

11. Miracle VI. Escapes of Zartusht from the Wolves.

When the wicked king Duransarun saw no success from the wild bulls and horses, he perceived that God protected the child and was unable to discover any expedient. Again he set about contriving, and hardened his heart like steel. Then he ordered that search should be made for a place the abode of wolves, a place where the wolves harboured, that there they might seize and destroy their young, and then place there the infant Zartusht, and see if their cause of anxiety would thus be removed, that when the savage wolves descended from the mountains, they would find their young ones slain and be seized with fury; then certainly, they would tear Zartusht in pieces, and when hungry would devour his body. They carried out Zartusht as the evil Shah directed. They slew the young wolves, and cast them there, and hastened back from the place. See now the providence of God, and always select the path of righteousness. When the old wolves came to the spot, they saw a painful sight — all their young slain. They beheld a single infant weeping there; and at once they rushed upon him, they prepared to tear him in pieces, and satiate their fury for the loss of their young. The holy Zartusht by the will of God, in that danger moved nor head nor foot. He placed not his hand on the foremost wolf, yet in that instant its mouth was closed. And the life of Zartusht was uninjured. The other wolves became tame, the fury of the savage wolves was calmed. Behold when the leader's heart waxes faint, the army trembles with fear. It was the will of God that the pack of wolves should become friendly, and injure not the child; they sat down besides his pillow, and forgot their resentment for the loss of their young. Such is the power of God, that he makes the savage wolf feel pity; therefore it is right that at all times, you should cause your lips to utter his name. When the jaws of the wolf were closed, and it had taken its watch near the child's pillow, two cows descended from the mountain and come to that wonder of the age; they placed their teats filled with milk without deceit or evil purpose in his mouth. Who till that moment had seen the cow and the wolf together, and the jaws of the wolf closed from doing harm? The breath of the wolf will be with that of the cow, if it be the merciful will of God. God was merciful to that holy child; his body sustained no hurt from the wolves.

By turns the cows gave him milk, until eventide was passed. When the bright sun lit up its crown of light, and the tree of ivory rose up from the

wave,[9] the mother of Zartusht was weeping for her child, and was hastening through the deserts and mountains; she was crying out and making search, and endeavouring to find the road to her child; she knew not herself where her beloved one was, nor did any one shew her the right path. When she saw that wolf on the summit of the mountain, fearless she hastened towards it. She imagined the wolf had torn her child and had rent his limbs. When she found her child, that chaste mother threw herself before God on her knees. She said, "O God, giver of mercies, thou gavest me this dear son, thou savedst him from the wild beasts and evil men. I testify that thou art one; neither in this world, nor in the next, is any like thee; it behoveth all things to praise thee, both the visible and invisible world.

She then took up her child. She wondered at the circumstance of the cow and wolf which she had seen near her child. The news became known to the magicians, that the lamb had escaped from the wolves, that Zartusht was brought back in safety and gladness from that peril. Again they assembled together and prepared every art and contrivance. They said, "This our danger is lengthened out, we see no remedy for this; it is better for us to look into this matter, and obtain some fruit of our labour." There was a chief of the magicians, whose name was Bartarush; he was a powerful wizard, and he said to the magicians, "Why raise you this outcry? I know respecting Zartusht, since I have examined regarding him with diligence, that he will not be destroyed by our counsels, since God protects him from every evil. The glory of God has been revealed in him; we shall not find a key to this closed door. Bahman took him before God, and acquainted him with the secrets of the two worlds, of the prophets of the God of the world. He alone is the guide of the world: — the world shall receive its laws from him; his faith shall be established among men; there shall be a righteous king who shall render him good assistance; — he shall break every enchantment, and shall destroy every work of the Dews." Then the father of Zartusht asked him to tell him that which he knew. "What good, or ill, see you in his destiny? What have his stars in store for him? What meant that laughter at his birth? Tell it, whether betokening evil or good." Bartarush gave him this answer:— "Be thou wary of heart and discerning; your child shall be the leader of the world, since his equal has never appeared. All the propitious powers of heaven watch over him; all goodness is present with him; he shall guide all people in righteousness according to the will of God the cherisher. He shall make known the Zand-Avesta; he shall spread his name through the wide world; he shall drive out the wicked from the world; enchantment shall not remain, nor the doers thereof. The Shah Gushtasp shall receive the faith from him, ho

9 We must confess our inability to follow the poet through these heights and depths. The words in the original are — "when the splendent sun lifted up his crown, and there appeared the ivory from the fountain of ebony." Query. Does not Zartusht Behram here improve upon the Muhammadan idea of the sun rising from a fountain of black mud? —W.

shall bless him in the joy of his heart."

When the father heard these things of him he rejoiced thereat in his heart. There was an old man in those days, wise, pure, and intelligent; his name was Barzinkarus. He came in the early morn to the house of Pourushasp, and said to him, "O holy man, I must bring up Zartusht with affection, like the sun in heaven. I shall esteem him as a beloved son, I shall keep him from evil as a flower. Take me to that dear son, and entrust his valued person to me." The father accordingly gave him to his care, and rested for a while from conversing with him. Zartusht attained his seventh year; the glorious God protected him; no hot wind breathed on him from the devices of the Dews, working magic.

12. Miracle VII. In the seventh year of Zartusht.

When his seventh year was fulfilled, God arranged all his affairs. Bartarush and Duransarun at that time went to him together, to work magic arts upon him and afflict and disgrace his soul. They made many magic rites there, but none of them succeeded. They increased fear and caused dread; the hearts of people were rent in twain, the heart of Zartusht quailed not, and he was not moved thereat; from that house men fled away, and became like dead men from fear. His clear soul in his body knew that he was protected from that magic. The great God was his protection, from the terrible devices of the magicians. When the evil enchanters saw, that their arts availed them not, they left the house disappointed, and their hearts were filled with blood from that woe.

13. Miracle VIII. During the sickness of Zartusht.

After this Zartusht became sick; the hearts of his friends were filled with grief; the filthy magicians heard thereof that sickness had fallen upon him. Bartarush, the chief of enchanters, secretly contrived a device:— He collected drugs from all quarters, and mixed therewith the vilest abomination. He brought thereof to the Shah and desired to kill Zartusht therewith; he told him to take that medicine, that he might be freed from pain and sickness. By the command of the glorious God the holy Zartusht knew the fraud — that it was a drug destructive of life, which should not be given to God's creatures. He took the medicine from that infidel wizard, and poured it instantly on the pound. He said to him, — "Vile demon![10] thy drugs are not efficacious with me; this medicine thou hast brought, thou hast mixed with filthy water. Practise all thy magic arts, they are of no force with me. If you should put on other apparel, what will it avail before one who knows the heart? And should you clothe yourself differently, I should know thee, O thou full of deceit! God

10 E: sorcerer.

has shewn me how to recognize thee — that God who rules the universe, who gives subsistence and life and takes them back at his will." Again, when the evil magicians were grieved on account of Zartusht, although they contrived many things they returned disappointed in all.

[14. Dispute of Zartusht with the magicians.]

Every thing was magic in those days, and nothing was done without the magic art. The fiends impure consorted with the magicians. They walked and sat with them on the earth. They gained all their magic from the fiends, and knew not God, the King of kings. They worshipped the unclean devil, as the pure God is now worshipped. Even Pourushasp, in those days, walked in the way that was known to all. One day several of those magicians who were the chief in that assembly, — Burantarush and Duransarun, — whoever was chief in stratagem and deceit, all he took to his own house and made a splendid banquet. He had collected stores of dainties, and expended much labour on that feast. After they had finished eating, Pourushasp made an assembly at that entertainment. He then said to Burantarush, "You are of all most skilled in magic; make you a good and becoming device, that we may be delighted and exalted. You know magic best this day, since you are chief of the sorcerers of the world." When Zartusht heard what his father said, he said, "Speak not improperly, have you nothing to do with magic or sorcery! How long will you wander in the evil way? If you follow any way but that of righteousness, in the end you will convey yourself to hell; and if your heart is turned to any but God, certainly your place shall be in hell. Follow in that way which God your creator has made manifest to all people. From the deceits of magic you remain in ignorance, and are neglectful of your duty to the God of the world. The end of magic is hell, and all that is gained by it is lamentation."

Then Bartarush said to Zartusht,— "Why speak you vain words, and why are you not silent? What are you before me, or your father, that you always speak in this manner? And know you not my power, that you thus reveal my secrets to all the mighty on the face of the earth. No one should venture to speak thus in my presence. This is what you require, that in this city I should bring your name to disgrace, and make you abased before all people, and spread falsehoods regarding you among all. You have taken away all the lustre of my power and have brought ruin into my affairs. May your name be forgotten among all people, and may your end be disappointed of every hope."

Zartusht said to him,— "You vile one! your falsehoods will not injure me; if you speak falsely of me, your estimation among men will be lessened, but in every thing I say to you, I will use nothing but truth. By my arguments, I will break your head and hands, and will overthrow you with this hand of

mine. I will place you on the ass of impotency, and, however much you contend, you shall be compelled to fly by the order of God, the giver of all things. I will overthrow your power by my arguments, I will cause your destruction, I will break and humble your body." All the magicians were awe-struck at him, at his manner, and his words. When Burantarush heard his words, you would say his reason and senses had left him. He went to his own house. That night through grief he was sick with fever, he lay afflicted with that illness, and also his children and wife; when the holy Zartusht was fifteen years old, he rested not a moment from fear and dread.

15. The doings of Zartusht in his youth.

Day and night before the giver of justice, he bowed down his head to the ground; his heart was not in this world; his body from fear of God was in pain and affliction; he did much good in the world, both in the sight of all and secretly. Every where that there was any poor man who obtruded not his wants, till he was called for, he sent for him and treated him kindly and gave him every thing. Whenever there was any person afflicted, he sympathized with that affliction; he gave him clothes, and cared for him and arranged all his affairs. He held the world in no estimation, neither regarded silver or gold, except in the worship and mention of God. His body was not employed at any time; he spread a good name through the world among both great and small. He whose habits and customs are such as these, be assured that he is pure and truly religious. Every one whose heart is in the fear of God, will be saved from hell. When Zartusht attained his thirtieth year, he was relieved from danger and his works bare fruit.

16. Departure of Zartusht to Iran.

His heart was directed to Iran. He left his place in company with some others. Of those, some who were his relations, accompanied him in this journey. When with his companions he reached the sea, no ship was to be found. Then Zartusht, desirous of a vessel, remained there like one in grief. He wished to return back from thence. He could not take the women by that road, for he was jealous of the men. Inasmuch as it behoved not to take women into the water, it was not right for women to be naked especially in sight of a strange company. He wept to the Almighty God, and prayed for a passage across that sea. Since he prayed with truth and devotion, he was accepted by the holy God.

17. Passage of Zartusht across the Sea.

Zartusht arose and entered the water, and ordered the people to make haste. They all hastened to enter that sea, and removed not their clothes from their limbs. As a vessel moves with the stream, so moved they in the water of

the sea; you would say a bridge had been formed there and that Zartusht crossed quickly thereon. The whole month of Spandarmad, they went on till the day which is called Aniran.[11] On that day the holy Zartusht reached the confines of Iran. There was a feast there in those days; the mighty of that clime in countless numbers, had come to that festal place, and were met together in joy and mirth. Zartusht desired to join that feast. Night came and extinguished the lights of the world; he slept alone that dark night by the way side, but understanding was the companion of his soul.

18. What Zartusht saw in a dream.

He dreamed he saw, that from the east a countless army was collected; and they enme upon him in the way he was going, and drew near him with hostile purpose. They encompassed him on every side, and stopped his passage in all directions. When Zartusht looked that way another army became visible. They came up from the direction of the south, all warlike and fierce men; they joined swords together, the eastern army fled. Since God shewed him this dream, attend to the interpretation thereof.

19. Interpretation of the dream of Zartusht.

The exposition of the dream is on this wise, — for so the interpreter expounded it, — that Zartusht should go before God, and should hear all secrets from him. His heart should be informed of the faith, and should learn the mysteries of the true religion; and on his return from God, from that bright place to this dark world, he should make manifest the true faith and clear the rose-tree of truth from thorns. When the Dews and magicians should hear thereof, they would gird up their loins to do him battle, and would draw near him, preparing light, seeking the battle like lions, and Mediomah having heard thereof would be converted to the true faith, (though grief be ordained in this world) with willing soul and cheerfulness, and would receive from him the true faith, and learn the ordinances of religion. And after that he would read the Zand-Avesta with a loud voice to those fiends and magicians. The fierce fiends would fly and all the accursed magicians. When he had heard the exposition of his dream and had come to that banquet, his heart was glad at that festivity, and joy returned as to its source. After some time, pleased and joyous, he departed from that feast which resembled paradise.

20. The Passage of Zartusht by the water of Daeti.[12]

When he had returned from that feast, he came near waters, when half the month of Ardebehisht had passed,and the earth become like paradise. On the

11 The last day of the month. —W.

12 Compare Dk VII.8.51; Zs 21.4-6.

day you call Day-pa-Mihr, when the sun showed his face, on that day he reached the waters, a deep sea without bottom. The name of it in the Avesta is Daeti, and never has its depth been fathomed. It in a tradition among men, that the waters of this sea are divided in four. The holy Zartusht entered the waters, and his heart was not afraid. The first stream reached the middle of his leg, the second flowed above his knee, the third reached his waist, and the fourth came up to his neck. Be not astonished at whatever I tell you as having been done by God the cherisher.

21. Explanation of the above.

There are nine thousand proofs of the above, that the true faith will be four times renewed. First Zartusht Asfantaman without doubt introduced the true faith; next Hushidar accepts the faith; and then the prophet Mah Hushidar; the fourth the good Sasanish, I shall purify the earth, like paradise. The glorious God shewed him a passage over the waters, as I have said. His body was cleansed by that water, and was not afflicted or fatigued by it. Like gold cleansed by the fire, so value is increased by purifying. His head and his body he washed, and his head was clean, for his loins were girded to obey the will of God.

22. The coming to Zartusht of the Amshaspand Bahman, who conveys him to God.[13]

Then came to the holy Zartusht on that same day Bahman, by the order of God. Refulgent from afar, like the sun and clothed in raiment of light, he said to Zartusht; "Name the thing which you desire in this world? What is your wish?" Zartusht said to him, "O good spirit, I seek nothing but God's pleasure; all wishes are directed to his will, since both worlds are his. My heart seeks nought but truth; my soul follows not after vanity. If I fulfil the commands of God, I accomplish all the desires of my heart. But I think, O holy spirit, that you are my guide in the right way." When the angel Bahman heard his words, he spoke to him suitably, and ssid, "Arise and appear before God, and hear from him all you desire." Immediately Zartusht stood on his feet. When Bahman shewed him the pith, he said to Zartusht, "Close thine eyes an instant, and proceed swiftly." You would say a bird bore him from that place, and took him before God. When Zartusht opened his eyes, he found himself in heaven. First he looked on an assembly, so bright that he saw his shadow in their light. Between him and that assembly was a space of twenty-four steps. Hear and attend! There was another body of pure light and heavenly spirits attended it. Many angels in that instant came to him and one by one were joyed to see him. Each asked of Zartusht, and pointed with his fingers. He went into the presence of the holy God, with glad heart, but

13 Dk VII, 8. 51 sq. ZSp. XXI, 8—11. Dab. I, 232 sq. Comp. Y. 63.7-9, 11, 18, 15. -R.

trembling body. When he came into the divine presence, he performed the fitting worship. And after he had glorified God, he began to inquire certain things.

23. Zartusht inquires of God.[14]

He asked first; — "Who of God's creatures on earth is best?" God gave him this answer; — that God who was and is, — "He of all men is best who is true of heart, also he who is really generous — by whose charity the hearts of all are made glad — who inclines not save to the way of truth, and turns not his eyes upon vanity; also he who is merciful on all things in the world, on fire, water,[15] and animals, whether sheep, cows, or asses. Whose heart obtains a portion of their gratitude, he shall escape from hell forever. Whatever thing is useful to you, if you afflict it, you displease God. And every one who in the world inflicts pain and vexes God's creatures, such a one has transgressed his statutes. Tell these words to that people. Hell shall be his perpetual abode who steps aside from this law."

24. The second question asked of God.

Again, Zartusht inquired of God, the supporter of the just. "Of the angels, who is most devout and most approved by God?" He asked to know their names and appearance, and that he might hear their discourses — also to know of the wicked Ahriman,[16] who would never consent to goodness, also regarding the good and bad deeds done in the world, what is ordained regarding them at the end, and other things of a fleeting nature that always appear under a new shape, and other secret things he had stored up:— All these he laid before God.

God's answer to Zartusht.

Thus he found answer from his God, the answer of the questions he had put; — "My desire is to exhibit goodness, the seeking of evil is the act of Ahriman; I am not pleased with any worker of evil; I have no foreknowledge of evil acts; I desire not grief, nor trouble, nor pain, nor injury, that it should happen to the inhabitants of earth. Think not that evil arises except from Ahriman and from the accursed and impure fiends. The same evil beings are the tribe of Ahriman, their recompense is hell. Behold the fully of those who speak falsely of me and testify that I work evil; I will give up their souls and bodies to hell who ascribe evil unto me." Then in all the sublime sciences, both from the beginning and from the end, in all these severally, God made

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14 Zs. 22.2, Dk. VIII, 14. 3, 6, 9. -R

15 Here, it will be observed, the elements are represented as sentient. —W

16 Here Ahriman is represented as the active Principle of evil. —W.

Zartusht wise, from Gayomard[17] to the last resurrection, from the first creation of the world to the destruction of all things at the end. He acquainted him with the revolution of the heavens, and with the good and bad influence of the stars, with the Hauris also of paradise whose spirits are formed of pure light, also with the forms and stature of the Angels, adorned like lofty cypress trees, also with the Hauris of light, created by God, of whom he has given us hope. All of them are exactly alike, for so God the Creator made them, walking gracefully like cypress trees in the beautiful paradise of the Jins. He shewed him also the face of Ahriman the evil one, revealed to him in the dark and narrow pit of hell, and also the recompense awarded to each person according to their deeds. When Ahriman beheld him from his abode he raised it cry from the pit of hell and said to Zartusht, "from this pure faith be separated, and cast it away from thee — that in this world you may gain your desire; therefore consider in this your own interest."

25. The signs shown to Zartusht.

When Zartusht the wise and pure in faith was made thus informed of the things which pertain to God, returning from thence, as he cast down his eyes, he saw a mountain burning with fire. The order was given that the wise Zartusht should pass through that flaming fire. Through that heap of fire, lofty as a mountain, he passed and his body felt no harm, and after that, by the order of God, behold what happened to him and give ear. Again they melted down vast quantities of brass, and with the lava made his breast like silver. A hair of his body was not lost, nor was his delicate body injured. Again they opened his belly, and dragged forth the inside. Again they returned it to its place and it became as before, by the order of God. Whoso is protected by God, iron in his hand is like wax. Why should he fear fire or water, if his guardian is the holy God?

[26. Explanation of the preceding.]

Then God said to Zartusht, — "With regard to that mountain of fire you passed, and the belly you saw torn, from which flowed a stream of blood, with reference to that, tell all men, that you are their shepherd and they are your flock. Say, that whoever comes not to the true faith, but seeks the way of error, by the order of the evil Ahriman, his blood shall be thus poured forth. His body shall burn, and shall not enter paradise, his soul shall not rejoice therein. When his heart is turned from the pure faith, his body shall be destroyed. And that brass which was three times melted and which poured on thy breast became like ice, no injury came on thee therefrom, not a hair was lost on thy body. One tribe shall turn from the faith, by the order of the deceitful Ahriman. Afterwards when the true faith throughout the world shall

17 The Zoroastrian proto-human, analogous to Adam. Translator reads Adam. —JHP

be diffused and the Dews dispersed, then to fight against them, a high priest shall gird up his loins. Men's hearts shall be in doubt, then this molten brass shall be a miracle to point out their leader. Azarbad Marasfand shall come, and shall overthrow all their devices; he shall pour over himself that molten brass, yet no harm shall reach his body. When men shall behold his deeds, doubt and hesitation shall be removed from their hearts. They shall draw back from crooked paths, and all shall learn the right way.

27. Another interrogation regarding the praise of God [=Niyayesh].

Again Zartusht inquired from the Creator, the knower of mysteries, regarding those who worship and priests and Mobeds of wakeful hearts. "Whoever worships before thee, what shall he say, and wherewithal shall he praise thee? When any desire to celebrate thy praise what form of worship shall they observe? To what Kiblah is it right to turn? Answer once more thus thy servant."

28. Answer of God to Zartusht.

God, the giver of subsistence who alone is without wants, thus answered Zartusht:— "Inform the people of the world, that so they may see things, both hidden and revealed. *Whatever is bright and full of light, let them know that that is the brightness of my glory.* They will not err in their worship of me, if they turn their faces to that which is bright. If they observe my commandments, Ahriman shall fly from them; nothing in the world is better than light, both among small and great. Of light we created angels and paradise, afterwards hell was formed from darkness. Wherever you may be in the two worlds you will find no place void of my light.

Then God taught the *Zand-Avesta* to Zartusht — a sublime work. Wherever pure light is produced there it is not proper to bring darkness. God said to Zartusht, "Go and before Shah Gushtasp read this book, that he may come into the faith. Exhort him to goodness, that he may know me, and that none may impute injustice to me. Day and night, I am bountiful and gracious. From God is whatever you behold in creation. Keep all my counsel and repeat it word by word to Shah Gushtasp. Inform all the Mobeds regarding me, that they may cast aside the way of Ahriman. Inform also, all the people of the world, that Dews and magicians may fly from them." When all this converge with God was ended, the good Zartusht remained astonished. He multiplied the praises of God, and magnified his bounties.

29. Return of Zartusht from Yazdan and the coming of the Amshaspand to him, and the trust committed to Zartusht, and the words spoken to him by the Amshaspand Bahman.

When Zartusht had returned from before Yazdan the God, with the wish of his heart accomplished, the Angel Bahman came to his dwelling, that angel namely who presides over sheep. He said to him,— "Behold all these sheep I commit to your care, wherever the flocks may be. Tell all the Mobeds and learned priests (*Rads*) to acquaint every man of understanding to take great care of sheep, that they may be useful in the world. Let no one kill a calf, or a sheep which is a lamb, nor any sheep that is young; for it will be useful in the world. He will not be acceptable to God who shall thus kill any animal, nor is it right to kill them idly. Tell this commandment, which is a strict one, aright. You must take good care of animals, and thence reap benefit. You have heard from me these words of advice, for I am the guardian of sheep. All the sheep that are in the world, I have received from God the merciful. As I have spoken, do you receive, and tell these words to old and young. Take care you give them not over to the evil, and think not this commandment a small matter. I have told you all my desire, now do you know therest." Then Zartusht received these words from the angel who exerts himself in favor of sheep.

30. Coming of the Angel Ardebihisht and his discourse regarding fire-temples.

The noble angel Ardebihisht came forward, as the former angel withdrew. He said to Zartusht;— "O holy one, accepted of God the beneficent! take my message to the Shah Gushtasp; say, 'O king of earth and majesty, I have committed to thy care every fire-temple, that you may gain renown on earth. Command that they be carefully preserved, and proper support be granted for them, that none venture to extinguish their fires with light water or heavy earth. Command that the Mobeds and priests and the Herbeds, pure and clean of heart, gird up their loins and be diligent and worship at every fire-temple. That they build fire-temples in every city, and increase the rites of the Sadah.[18] When they have erected the abodes of fire-worship, let them bequeath vast possessions for their support. And until their acts bear fruit abundantly, let them not consider this my injunction fulfilled, since that *light is from the light of God, which makes it so resplendent in your view.* What see you in the world better than this, which is ready to fulfil the desires of all. Whoever has uncontrolable want, is in want of its aid — both old and young.

18 This is a festival in honor of the killing of a Dragon by king Hoshang. It is celebrated by the kindling of many fires. —E.

All it asks of men is wood, it asks neither more nor less. Its body is powerful like wood. Every moment it becomes younger. Its body fears neither death nor old age, if you place wood around it. If you pour perfumes on it which are really sweet, it will instantly give forth a pleasing odour. If you give it bad smelling things, it gives forth a bad smell; you will at once discover the difference. It removes from you the pain of cold. It lights up your darkness. Therefore, since its merits are so great, it is right that you should know its value. As God has committed it to my care, so I commit it to you, O chief of men! Whoever despises in his heart this my counsel, his body shall be seized in hell. Whoever fulfils my ordinance, shall find acceptance with God. When the holy Zartusht received from Ardebihisht these words, the angel departed from him.

31. Coming of the Angel Shahriwar and what he says regarding the weapons of war.

He saw the Angel Shahriwar come forward with his mind full of counsel. He said, "O wise and holy one! you who spend day and night in praising, since you have descended to earth from high heaven, bear a message from me to men. Tell every one who possesses arms, swords, javelin, mace, or spear, to keep its edge keen and always free from stain, that when his enemy is before him be may tear his flesh therewith, causing pain. His object will be attained by his weapons, and in battle they will resemble the sun. Let him keep them at his own abode, let him not entrust them to his enemy, nor give them to his foe, for they will effect many things. Tell the people of earth this message — the whole of it from beginning to end."

32. Coming of the Angel Asfandarmad and her+ instruction regarding the Earth.

When the former angel had finished hit discourse, Asfandarmad came forward. When she had surveyed Zartusht well, she blessed him and his family. She said to him;— "O holy man; hear a message from me. Such is the command of God,— that the face of the earth be kept clean from blood and filth and carrion. It is not right that the earth be defiled with these. Wherever there is no cultivation, do not direct flowing water thereon. Let filth and that which is impure, be conveyed to a place by which men do not pass. When the earth is brought under cultivation, men derive countless benefits therefrom. He is the best of kings who encourages the cultivation of the soil." When he heard this advice of good meaning, he found it wholesome and advantageous.

33. Coming of the Angel Khurdad and his directions regarding the care of Water.

When Zartusht had turned his face, the Angel Khurdad advanced before him. He said to Zartusht, "O holy one; I commit to your care streams of water, both the water of canals and that of rivers, which descend from above and spring from below, and the rivulet which flows in the plain; also the canals and waters, which irrigate fields and gardens. Say to the people of earth that their bodies are strengthened and nourished by water. Animal life exists thereby, and earth and fruits are freshened therefrom. Keep carrion apart therefrom. Do not trifle in this business; pollute not water with blood or filthiness, that God may be pleased with thee. If your reason is willingly polluted by yourself, your pain in both worlds shall be increased. Every eatable thing which is defiled, pleasure and wholesomeness is removed therefrom, every one cooks his food with water, and when thirsty, drinks thereof. When the way thereof is clean, there is no danger in the passage. Keep pure auch an incomparable blessing above all, since such is the command of God."

34. Coming of the Angel Amardad and his direction regarding Vegetation.

When Khordad had finished his discourse, instantly Amardad advanced. He [*she][19] spoke regarding vegetable existence to Zartusht. "The holy and undefiled, it is not right to destroy it uselessly, or to remove it without a purpose, for men and animals are gladdened thereby. God is its protector." He then gave every sort of advice to Zartusht, regarding religion and justice. "Order," he said, "the Mobeds, that they travel in the world. They will thus diffuse the faith among men, in doing which they will reveal truth. Let them exert subtlety in every way that they may be able to give an answer to all men. When religion and justice become known, no injustice will be left in the world. Let them know the Avesta and praise God and extol the God of creation. Let them keep fast their girdle [=kusti. -jhp] in holiness, that your good name may remain on earth. Let every one bind his waist with the sacred girdle, since the Kusti is the sign of the pure faith. Let them be diligent, that the four elements be kept pure and free from blemish, the light air and flowing water, bright fire, and heavy earth, the animal body of these four elements was composed by the will of God. It is good that they be kept pure and be considered as the blessings of God." When Zartusht had heard all the mysteries of God he returned back, glad of heart.

19 This Amshapand is a female.

35. Return of Zartusht to this earth and his battle with the Dews.

Having obtained his desire from the bounty of God, he returned to earth rejoicing. All the magicians heard thereof, they hastened to fight with Zartusht With them were all the impure fiends — an army dreadful and without number. When they beheld the wise Zartusht, they bit the finger of astonishment. Then the leaders of the accursed magicians and the princes of the impure fiends said to Zartusht,— "O noble Sir, keep concealed the *Zand-Avesta*, for we approve not of your device, nor the dazzling show of your contrivance. If you know and are acquainted with us, you will not strive to practise magic on magicians." When from those wicked ones, the holy Zartusht heard these words, his heart was filled with laughter. Then he recited one passage of the *Zand-Avesta* and raised his voice aloud. When the Dews heard his words they all fled from the battle; they all hid themselves under the earth; all the magicians were afraid and dispirited. A part of them died on that very spot, and a part were dejected and cast down by the power of God the Protector. He vanquished those Dews nnd magicians. He whom Yazdan protects and aids will be fortunate all his days. In every thing put your trust in God, for you will find no better guide than Him. If you place your reliance on God you may break your own neck without harm.

36. Zartusht visits Balkh and tht court of the Shah Gushtasp.

When the holy and pure Zartusht had won the victory over the army of Ahriman — had overthrown all the magicians and cast down the impure fiends, he took his way towards Balkh to the court of Shah Gushtasp. He arrived there in a fortunate moment, and reposed for a while at his own dwelling. First, however, he praised God exceedingly and then took his way to the Shah. He came with stately step to the palace, and cast his eyes on the king of earth. First he beheld two rows of Princes, standing on their feet, with girded loins, the great men of Iran and of every clime — every where that there was a chief or leader. You would say, that in that palace appeared the splendor of Venus and the moon and sun; and that from their brightness, two ranks were formed; all the wise men dignified with honor and rank. There were two ranks of men in that palace surrounding the throne of Shah Gushtasp. The rank of each was marked according to the degree of his wisdom. All were humbled before him — the king of kings — of noble attributes — but those who excelled in wisdom, were ranked nearest the Shah. The Shah was seated on a throne of ivory. On his bead was a brilliant crown. The holy Zartusht came forward and called down a blessing on the Shah. When Gushtasp heard his words, be was in some degree aware of his

dignity; he asked him of his health and received him honorably, and desired to place him with the wise men. They first brought forward a chair and placed it before him between the two ranks, and said to Zartusht,— "Sit thereon, and bring forth the minute wisdom, you possess." When Zartusht took his seat before those two ranks, he brought forth the rich pearl from its shell. Successfully none could argue with him. Each was cast down when he questioned him. They began to contend with each other, but Zartusht won the victory and succeeded.

37. The Contest of Zartusht with the wise men of Shah Gushtasp. — The first day.

One man from the right band of the Shah contended with Zartusht and sought to vanquish him. He and the one who first contended threw away their shield, and were compelled to yield the victory to Zartusht. Then another succeeded them, and unfolded the secrets of ancient learning. He said much, but found not success. At last he was defeated. Zartusht followed the order of their sitting, and called on each for a display of their learning. Every one who exalted his neck was disappointed and cast away his shield. Three others and a fourth retired. From the fifth he carried off, as you might say, his senses. When all the assembly were reduced to silence, they gave precedence to Zartusht. Gushtasp cast his eyes upon him and was astonished at his discourse. In this manner, from thirty persons who sat on the right, he carried off the palm, and succeeded. In the same way from thirty on the left he bore off the palm and left them silent All the wise men were astonished and their hearts were secretly cast down. Each devoured his own grief. When they were ashamed in the contest, the king of kings called forward Zartusht and seated him beside him. He asked him many questions relative to ancient learning and former history. He found alt his answers right. The king of kings was mightily delighted. The monarch gave him a house of strength near his own palace. All the philosophers were cut to the heart and were ashamed before the king of kings. They went away until the morning, when they would return to the king of kings. They said to each other,— "If thou art a faithful man, thou will contend and disgrace Zartusht. They knew not regarding him, that God supported him in all things. They went home and slept not at all that night but were each engaged in preparation. Zartusht the pure of heart and holy, went to his house from the assembly. Much thanksgiving he made to God that he had enabled him to vanquish his foes.

38. The Contest of Zartusht with the wise men of Shah Gushtasp. — The second day.

The next day, when the azure vault drew forth its sharp sword from the scabbard, the wise men came to the throne of the Shah and formed their ranks

according to custom. The holy Zartusht came forth, sent from God as a guide. They contended with one another, but at the last Zartusht was victorious. When the contest of the wise was over, they were cut to the heart. Through grief and tegret every one said;— "What voice is this!" Each was certain that this was the power of God. Zartusht was like a lion of the forest that leaps from ambush on the herd. The wise men, like the herd, were filled with fear. Zartusht was like the male lion, he drew forth his tongue like a sharp sword, and raised commotion in that assembly; and to the wisdom which that man of God expounded, he brought forward a hundred proofs. The king of kings exalted the rank of Zartusht and brought him near himself. He asked him regarding his name and race — of his city, and famiiy, and descent. Zartusht told him his name and family — the city of his birth, and his family, and parentage. He told the Shah, that, "on the morrow, which was the day of Hormazd, as soon as the lamp of day was kindled, — he should order the captains of his host to assemble together at his palace; also, that the wise men should be collected and should learn to abandon their hopes of exaltation. In the same way as the others contended with me, and strove with me for the mastery in learning, in like manner will I answer them all in every kind of wisdom. I will reply to them aright. After that I will speak of my own pretensions, and will convey to you the message entrusted to me." When Gushtasp Shah heard these words, he surveyed Zartusht well. He ordered that at the dawn of morning, every one should be present at the palace. On that condition the holy Zartusht departed, and came forth to his own dwelling. Much thanksgiving he made to God before whom mysteries are revealed. All night he placed not his head on his pillow, but remained stedfastly praising God. And in another direction, the wise men of Shah Gushtasp went away dispirited and downcast. Their tongues were full of murmuring and strife. Their souls full of fire and contention, that a strange man had come among them and had in such-wise overthrown them. Their honour before the Shah was lost, and such a reproach was cast upon them. It was not right that Zartusht should thus impair their credit and cast their reputation in the dust. Two divisions of them were refuted and confused, and had at once fallen from their dignity. "Tomorrow," they said, " when Zartusht arrives, his place will be near our own. Therefore it behoves us, with one tongue and one mind, to seat ourselves before the Shah of the world. We will refute all his words and will break down his prosperity." With this agreement, each sought his home, and from anxiety remained sleepless.

39. Contest of Zartusht with the wise men of Gushtasp Shah. — The third day.

The third day, as soon as the sun appeared, that king of the lights of heaven, Gushtasp Shah came forth from his palace; and every one who

possessed place or learning, the wise men, came to the palace, all of one mind and full of envy. The captains of the host drew nigh and formed their ranks before the Shah. The blessed Zartusht came forward in the palace of the king of kings. He gave an answer to the wise men of the Shah. In the hour of contest he gave them full measure. Though for a short time they struggled, at last, disappointed they yielded their position. Again, they buckled on their armour; again Zartusht broke it in pieces, and its fastenings. Again, they framed various devices; but they were compelled to abandon their post.

40. Zartusht claims the office of Prophet.

What avails injustice, for when right is not on one's side, he, who possesses right, will overcome his enemies. When not one of the wise men remained who could utter a word before Zartusht, he look his seat next the Shah, above all the rest in dignity and rank. He said to Gushtasp, "O master of the world! I am a prophet sent from God to thee — that God before whom the seven skies and earth are held in perfect obedience. He crested the heavenly bodies in the manner you see, and as men behold. The God who gave life and gives our daily support and who confers benefits on his creatures. The God who has given thee the lands — the throne and crown of the whole world. Who brought thee forth from non-existence and by whose command you have reached this dignity, that your sway is over all people, and the princes of the earth obey thee."

41. Zartusht recites the Zand-Avesta before Shah Gushtasp.

Thus he spoke and drew forth from his robe the Zand-Avesta in the presence of the noble king, and said to him,— "God has given roe this and has sent me to his creatures. Know that according to this should be your acts, for it is the commandment of God the cherisher. Its name is the Avesta and Zand. Learn its statutes and walk therein. If your desire is towards its laws, your abode shall be in the paradise of heaven. But if you turn away from its commandments, you shall bring down your crowned head to the dust. Your God will be displeased with you, and will overthrow your prosperous condition. At the last you shall descend into hell, if you hear not the counsel of the Almighty. Act in nothing by the instigation of the Dews, but hereafter lend attention to my words." To him replied Gushtasp, king of the world, "What proof have you of this? At once produce it. If your proof appears conclusive, it will be right for me to act accordingly. We will acquaint the world with your ordinances, and will keep back the hand of oppression from you." Zartusht replied, "My proof is sufficient, it is the commandment I have brought. God said to me, O free from necessity! This shall be thy warrant to the proud king. After the manifestation of this book, you shall not see one

accursed fiend on the face of the earth. By means of this book which I have brought all fiends and magicians shall be banished from the earth. If you learn well the Zand-Avesta, you will require no argument and advice from me. This book is sufficient argument and advice, which I have brought thee thus openly. By this learn the secrets of the two worlds. Behold in it the revolution of the stars. Discover by it the door of truth and turn not your head to wrong. You know that, like this, in the world no one has spoken things concealed and known." That holy Shah said to Zartusht,— "Read some of this Zand-Avesta to me." Zartusht read to him one entire chapter, and explained to him its meaning. When Gushtasp heard the Zand-Avesta he was not at first pleased therewith. He approved it not, and he was excusable therein, since he was far from that holiness. See ye not the child without understanding? Jewels are valueless before him. When he grows up and becomes wise he learns that which before he despised. In the same way, the ignorant man values not the wisdom which is delivered by learned men. One day when the Shah had become acquainted with that knowledge, and was desirous of those words, the affair of Zartusht was then esteemed by the Shah, that he did not value him in his court, the Shah praised him — the Shah of the world and of majesty! He said to Zartusht, "The claim you have advanced is right; but it cannot be decided hastily nor until I examine it well, and revolve every thing connected with it. I will read the Zand for some days. I will know of its contents whether they be good. First of all, I will read what you advance, and see whether it agrees with reason. I will not take up this affair inconsiderately. I will accept it when I have seen well into it. You, according to your custom, each morning attend my palace and be content of heart. You are at liberty to come, whenever you please. Whatever you desire make it known." Zartusht said, "The king is right, let him do what his heart desires. If you wish to consider the proof for a while, I consent until you accept my message." He spoke and rose from his place and retired to the house appointed by the Shah. The wise men of Gushtasp went forth. Their hearts were filled with grief and dismay. They remained astonished at the success of Zartusht; they bit their lips and fingers with their teeth; they yielded not to his endeavours or to those of the Shah presiding over the world. When they saw the proof of his prophethood, they gave up in despair the arts of magic.

42. The devices of the wise men against Zartusht.

When they heard the words of Zartusht, they hastened to plot his death. They formed every sort of contrivance and consulted variously thereon. When they had agreed with each other in the stratagem to be employed, and had fixed on n contrivance, they resolved to convey secretly to his house things which should involve his life in danger. And by which they might disgrace him, and that would give them a reason for clamour. The holy

Zartusht was ignorant of the arts of that wicked and impure tribe. When he loft his house and came to Shah Gushtasp, he gave the key of his apartment to the porter of the Shah. The wise men learnt thereof and went to the porter of the Shah; they pave a bribe to that traitor, who delivered the key to them secretly. The wise men made secret search for all that is most impure in the world, such as blood and filth and things impure, and the divided heads of a cat and a dog, also the bones of carrion, and much they were, at that moment, able to find. They carried these things to the house of Zartusht. When they had thus arranged a plot against him, they placed them on his pillow and in his robes, and executed this fraud against him. Again they made fast the door, and gave back the key to the porter. They returned it and charged him straitly never to reveal this matter.

43. The clamour raised by the wise men against Zartusht, who is cast into prison.

Thence they went to the Shah; they drew near to his throne. Zartusht was sitting with the Shah Gushtasp, and they were examining the Zand-Avesta. The Shah was amazed at the writing thereof; in reality he approved not thereof. The wise men said, "O prince, vex not thy delicate body, for this Zand-Avesta is nought but magic. You know not, O king, who this man is. This magician intends in any way he can, to bring thee under his power. He has softened you by his magic art, and has inflamed your soul with his words. All night he practises sorcery, and endeavours to destroy your fame. When he shall succeed in bringing you under his power, he will spread wickedness in the earth. You are the Shah, and we are your servants, we are the foremost of your subjects. Be not proud of the words of this man, and display not the power of magic through the world. Be not, as far as you are able, his supporter, for you are not acquainted with his secret, tomorrow you will repent thereof. Pain and grief will increase in your heart. The world is governed by your justice, and from thy endeavours has received peace. At the word of this impure person, cost not the world into trouble and disorder. We have said what we know to be true; as to the rest, you are the Shah and t'is thine to command." When Gushtasp heard their words, he bethought him of the affair. He ordered that search should be made in the house of Zartusht for whatever might be discovered there, — that they should bring it before the Shah and that it should be well examined. Zartusht knew not of his danger, and therefore felt no anxiety. He said his key was with the porter. They went and brought that which they found in his apartment, whatever there was found of food, or whatever apparel, or carpet, there was. The robes and books and apparel, they brought before the king of the world.

44. The false speaking of the wise men before the Shah and the casting of Zartusht into prison.

When they had turned those things over, the heads of the cat and dog were found. The nails, and the hair, and the bones, which had dropped from the bodies of the dead. They placed them together before the Shah, and Gushtasp examined them. The king of kings was wroth thereat, he called forward his wise men. He shewed them those things, and his regard for them was mightily increased. He bit his finger with his teeth, and he uttered abuse against Zartusht. He said, "O sorcerer! O wicked magician, evil in act and thought, and vile in purpose! what is this vile carrion of thine? This thy action is not void of magic. These are clearly the instruments of sorcery. Thou hast not the pure fear of God." Zartusht was amazed at the circumstance; his two eyes were blinded at the carrion. He said to Gushtasp, "O great king! I know nothing of this affair. I brought it not, nor ordered it, and I have not engaged in it at all." He sent for the porter of the king, that perhaps he might inform the Shah of the matter. Gushtasp sent and inquired of him saying,— "Tell me truly of this matter. Who has gone into his house?" The keeper of the gate gave him this answer,— "Who could go into the house of Zartusht? The wind could not pass by that way!" When the keeper of the gate spoke thus, the anger of the Shah increased mightily. He said to Zartusht, "Vile dog! You are worthy of the javelin and of impalement. Do you behold the doom which is before you? You are now among the disgraced. No one will have brought such things from heaven, and concealed them in his bed and garments." That instant he cast from him the Zand-Avesta and ordered Zartusht into confinement. He commanded that they should bear him to prison and should no more listen to his words, since he was none but a chief of sorcerers, who desired to overturn the world. At once, at the order of the Shah, they carried forth Zartusht to prison. They gave order that the keeper of the prison should carry him his daily pittance. A keeper was appointed over him, lest he should suddenly escape. Three days and nights, that holy man abode there and the keeper brought him his food. One loaf and one vessel of water the keeper brought him for his ablutions. Zartusht remained seven days in that doleful state in prison, but he abode in holiness.

45. History of the black Horse.

I have heard of the relater of traditions, that Gushtasp, the just Shah, possessed among his steeds one that was called the Black Horse. He prized that steed above all. When he sat thereon, his heart was lifted up. In the plain, that used was like a moving mountain. In speed, it equalled the breeze. I la elephant-like body beneath the saddle resembled a bride in its graceful motion. It raised its crest like a lion when it rushes forward on its prey. When it leaped forth to the race, you would have thought it moved like the wind.

When Shah Gushtasp went out to battle, he always mounted his black steed. Moon and sun, when they beheld that steed, shed good fortune on the Shah. Whoever went forth to battle on its back, returned back prosperous. It happened that one day in the morning, when the bright sun breathed forth light, when the master of the horse surveyed the steeds, he examined the feet of the black horse. At last he became full of grief and became motionless with sorrow, for the four feet of the horse entered his belly. The master of the horse was filled with fear; he came running to the throne of the Shah and told him what had befallen the black steed. The king of earth was displeased thereat, he said this is a wondrous thing!

The Miracle shewn by Zartusht.

The Shah sent for his wise men, and seated them beside him, in order that they might seek a remedy tor the horse, and examine into the mystery, and say whence arose this matter, and what would be the result of these wonders. All of them assembled together and discussed the good end had appearance of the case,— "This thing has never befallen any one, that we should derive counsel in it from experience. Each of them argued differently, and repealed many magic spells. They devised every kind of counsel, but could not discover a remedy. When the Shah saw they were impotent in this matter, although they were wise and crafty from affliction, he ate nothing that day, but continually bethought him of his steed. All his host, from the grief of their prince, remained lamenting on the ground. From the crowds of men that pressed to the palace, you could not have inserted there the point of a needle. The city was in commotion the whole day. At last, night come, and the sun veiled his face. In the prison, the innocent Zartusht remained the entire day, until evening, he ate nothing and knew not the calamity which had befallen Shah Gushtasp; he knew not, that, from the grief of the king, every one was bereft of his senses. In the evening, the keeper came to him, and brought his food. Zartusht said, "What has happened that you have this day forgotten me?" He told him the tale of the black horse and the manner in which it was lying in the stable. All its limbs had entered its belly, and the Shah remained grieving thereat. The whole day we have been afflicted, nor has any drank water, or eaten bread. When Zartusht heard his story, he was pleased at heart and glad of countenance. He said "O keeper! if you are desirous of honor, tomorrow approach the Shah and say, that if Zartusht is brought out of his dungeon, he will bring out the limbs of the steed. He will remove this grief from your mind, and will restore to its former state the steed. When you leave this (said Zartusht to the keeper) at early morn, repeat all I have told you to the Shah." The next day when the glittering sun put on his crown of twisted rubies, and adorned with light the face of earth, so that door and terrace was clad in gold, the noble keeper came in haste, and told what he had heard, to

the king, that "Zartusht speaks in this wise and will wash the Shah's heart from grief. He says, let me behold the horse, I will bring forth its limbs." The Shah instantly ordered the keeper to bring him from his place of confinement. The keeper returned to Zartusht with the tidings that the king of the world had removed his bonds. Zartusht went from the prison to a bath, and washed his head, and beard and body and feet; and thence he came to the king. They were two roses in a garden of cucumbers. He knew not what reception he should meet with from the king, and marvelled much thereat in his heart. You would have said, his reception was honorable; for the Shah called a blessing on him with an affable countenance. Then Zartusht, in favor of the king, invoked countless blessings. The king of kings seated him there, and told him the story of the steed. He asked him his opinion thereof. "How will the limbs of the horse be freed? Before me you have raised a high claim, but have not established the truth of it. If you are in truth a prophet, bring back the steed to health. Zartusht said, "O fortunate Shah! I think not this a contemptible thing. Whenever you shall perform four things according to compact with successful endeavour, — having made the compact without subterfuge and having fulfilled it without duplicity, — then shall be displayed to you the steed's two fore-feet and two hind-feet, all four of them." The Shah said to Zartusht, "Tell me what are the four things? For I will make a compact with you and n promise which I will never break." Zartusht said, — "I will tell the Shah each of the four things beside the horse." They went to the stable and all the army followed them.

46. The reception of the four promises and the confirmation of what Zartusht had said.

When Zartusht saw the horse, he was astonished, and bit his lip with his teeth. He said to Gushtasp, "O wise king! hear one of the four conditions." At the command of the Shah he spake, "Believe really in your heart the truth, that I certainly am a prophet sent from our Creator, — that God who formed your body and placed your soul therein. The moment that your heart is right, instantly your desire will be accomplished. And if your tongue and heart are at variance, all my labor will be unprofitable." The king of kings accepted the word, and promised that he would never draw back from religion and justice. "I am content to accept this condition from thee. As you direct, so will I obey."

47. The first Prayer and Miracle of the Prophet Zarhusht.

Then Zartusht prayed unto God, and wept before him mightily, when he heard the words of the Shah and saw the whole world spectators of the scene. After lamentation to God, he praised him and placed his hand on the horse. The right fore-leg of the horse came out, since the word of the Shah was true.

The king of kings rejoiced thereat, and his heart was filled with gratitude. All the host of the Shah were glad, and that grief was at once removed from them. They heaped praises on the man of God. And every one joined in extolling him. The situation of Zartusht became prosperous. Such was the commotion, that you would have said it was the day of the resurrection.

48. The second condition and coming down of the second leg.

When one of the four conditions was fulfilled, Zartusht said, "O famous king, give the injunction to Asfandiar, the glorious hero and patron of the age, that ho conclude an agreement with me in your presence, to the effect that he will support the true religion. That be will gird up his loins for the faith of heaven, and will not turn back therefrom. Whoever shews himself the enemy of God, he will destroy his life and body." The hero Asfandiar came before his sire, and accepted from Zartusht the labour imposed on him. He gave him his hand in assurance and swore to him on oath, — to be the friend and support of Zartusht with heart and hand, with sword and speech. Whoever should disobey him, he would remove his soul from his body. When in the presence of the Shah, the hero Asfandiar and Zartusht had thus concluded a compact, Zartusht prayed again and besought God. The right hind-leg of the steed came out by the commandment of God. All the religious men who feared God, repeated the praises of Zartusht. When one fore-leg and one hind-leg had come out, they congratulated the Shah much.

49. The third condition and descent of the third leg.

Again Zartusht said, "O incomparable Shah, worthy of dominion and the throne! It is necessary that you direct some one to accompany me to your palace, — that your royal consort may hear my words and become acquainted with the faith." The king of kings commanded an attendant who conveyed him into the retired apartments, and thence conveyed him to the women's room which were opened to him in the name of God. Zartusht said to the mother of Asfandiar, "O ornament of the crown and throne! God has preferred you before all women, and has given you every blessing since you were found deserving. He gave you a husband such as is the king, and such a son as Asfandiar. In this world all thy wishes have been fulfilled, and thy condition in the next world will be blessed. God the Creator has sent me to the Shah, and has pointed out every path to me. Know that I will purify the world of wickedness by the command cf God. I will make manifest the true faith; I will display the statutes of holiness. Now that the king of kings and Asfandiar have embraced the faith with their whole hearts, they have accepted fully my arguments, my commandments have been received. It now behooves you, O queen of women! to believe implicitly on me. Let your clear

heart accept the true faith, since good morals follow the faith." The chaste queen returned him answer, "Your word I have accepted. I will not turn back from the command of God. And I will hereafter walk only in the way of righteousness. I have heard of all your actions, and have not received your words lightly." When Zartusht heard this answer, he praised the princess exceedingly. He then rose and left the apartment and returned to the black horse. Again he prayed, and lamented vehemently, before the Almighty Creator of the world. Out came the left leg; and the king of kings was turned from his trouble and sorrow.

50. The fourth condition and descent of the fourth leg, and disgrace of the wise men.

Again the holy Zartusht said to Gushtasp, "O sovereign Shah! It is now necessary that the keeper of your gate should come before me. By your order, you must inflict punishment on him, that he disclose who entered my apartment, and who conveyed this calumny to your ear, by which I fell into disgrace. If he will speak the truth, all will be well; but, if he lies, your steed is remediless." Then came forward the keeper of the gate of the Shah in that assembly, by order of the Shah. He said, "Tell me the truth, and what was that deceitful fraud? Who went into the apartment of the man of God? Who was it who brought this affliction on him? Who has ventured to do such things? Who conveyed the carrion into his chamber? If you speak the truth you escape pain, if you adhere scrupulously to what is true. Otherwise this instant thy head from its trunk I will strike off, before this assembly." The Shah gave him such a fright that he trembled like a willow trembling in the wind. When the keeper of the gate heard the words of the Shah, he saw no remedy but to speak the truth. He fell on his face, and cried for mercy. When it was granted, he stood up. He said, "The affair was on this wise. The thing was done by the pitiless wise men. They corrupted me and gave me a bribe, and engaged me in their undertaking. I have not extenuated their case, although they were high in your confidence. For now that I have received a pardon from the Shah, what should I fear, even if I am in bad repute with them." When the king of kings heard his words, he believed in the faith of Zartusht. He ordered that the wise men should be carried forth and impaled alive. Zartusht returned thanks to God publicly and in his own heart.

[51. Appearance of the fourth leg of the black horse.]

Again he repeated another prayer which he had learned from God. The horse drew forth its fourth leg, and leaped up like a lion! When the four legs of the horse were restored, and the Shah was freed from that grief, the wise king stood on his feet, near Zartusht the high priest. He kissed often his eyebrows and head. So did also the hero of the age, Asfandiar. All praised

Zartusht thereat, and offered him congratulation. After this the Shah exalted Zartusht. He led him to his throne and seated him by himself. He begged pardon for the pain he had caused. He accepted Zartusht, whose fortunes thus prospered. He restored to him his property. The heart of Zartusht rejoiced thereat; he knew that God had done this, — who was his guide of infinite power. Truth alone is pleasing to him; falsehood is not acceptable to him. He does as he will, for He is king. No one can ask him the reason of his actions. He raises one from below the ground to the starry host of heaven. Him who possesses an infinite army and lias reached the seventh heaven — him he casts down from thence; his head and neck and back he casts down. Then no one is able to deliver him, since he is King and we are his slaves. Whatever he does is just and right; you ought to rejoice therein.

52. King Gushtasp accepts the Law from Zartusht.[20]

When Zartusht had thus gained the Shah, his dignity and rank were exalted. The Shah received all his statutes and transgressed not the promise he had made; he gave ear to the counsel of Zartusht; he heard with attention all his words. One day when the sun arose and heaven and earth were bright therewith, Zartusht went forth in the morning, and the countenances of the envious grew pale. He asked the Shah after various matters and considered divers expedients. When one hour of the day was passed he engaged in various consultations. The king of the earth, Gushtasp, said to him "O Prophet of the world, observer of truth! I have four wishes to prefer to God, and the demonstration of your power lies therein. Ask thou of God the bountiful, that he may give me herein the victory by your intercession; the difficult will become easy and there will be seen a proof of the true faith." Zartusht said, "Tell them all four that I may know them openly. These four desires of thine are easy. I will ask them of God." The Shah said to him, "O man of power, listen to my words. Of these four requests which I make to you, and of these four wishes which I seek, one is that I should know what will be my final doom; the second, that my body should become such that I shall not have cause to fear my enemies, and no weapon shall be able to injure it in the hour of battle, since when I make known the faith, I shall be compelled to many battles; the third is, that I should know every thing good and evil, concealed and manifest, that I should be informed of all that will happen, every thing that will befall in the world; the fourth, that to the day of resurrection my soul shall not leave my body." When Zartusht heard the word of the Shah, he said, "O sovereign king, I will make these four requests from Him to whom all is easy. Out it is necessary that, of those four requests you should seek one for yourself, and leave the other three for other people, that I may ask them of God. He will however grant them all, since He alone is

20 E: Calling for additional proof. (Per MS AH. -JHP)

God." The king of kings said, "I consent hereto and desire to see paradise that I may know my place therein, and what shall be my condition." Zartusht accepted this request, and consented to ask of God to shew him paradise. When the sun was relieved by the stars and the earth changed its colour, Zartusht went thence to his house and commenced the praise of God. He desired of God the giver of wishes, the petition which the Shah had made. He praised God and retired to sleep, when God showed him all his desire.

53. Story of the coming of Azar Khurdad and Azar Kashasp, and the Amshaspands Bahman and Ardebihisht, to the Shah Gushtasp.

When the lamp which lights up the world was kindled, and the face of day was disclosed from the east, the king of kings took his seat on a throne of gold, a crown being on his head of gold and jewels. Zartusht came before the Shah; he offered praise and went into the court. When the tribunal of the Shah had eat a short time, the keeper of the gate came in with haste. He said, "At the door, are four horsemen, armed as from the battle. Each resembles a moving mountain clothed in mail, and their horses buckled with steel. Horsemen like these, saw I never — with the glory of God and the weapons of war. Through fear of them, I fled; with difficulty I escaped into the palace." The king of kings said, "What may this be!" He said to Zartusht, "What means this! He had scarcely finished the word, when four horsemen came in, clothed in green, and in full armour, raising their spears before the king. Terrible and dreadful were they in pomp and majesty — like four mountains they advanced to the throne. One was Bahman and another Ardebihisht, sent by God from paradise. And with them Azar Khurdad and Azar Kashasp, each of them mounted on a steed. They said to Gushtasp, "O Prince, we four are messengers to you. God says, 'Have you care of Zartusht; support and do not desert him. Since you have received from him the true faith and, from his commandment, the law of the statutes. Remember all his words, and keep your soul from the breath of hell. Never afflict Zartusht, and cast not your own body in peril. Since you have received from Zartusht the wish of your heart, turn not the rein from his government. Since it is I who I have sent Zartusht, and have given the world to be subject to him." When the Shah observed their words, from dread he fell down from his throne. His understanding left his body, and his senses deserted his heart. He became dumb, and his eyes and ears became void. When his senses returned to him a little, he cried, "Have mercy, O God of mercies! I am the least of all thy servants; my loins are girded to observe thy commandments." When they heard his answer, in one moment the horsemen departed like an arrow from a bow. All the host of the Shah collected, and formed ranks round his bed; his body shook with fear like a willow; he wondered at that matter and remained

astonished. When Gushtasp rose from his seat, he went before Zartusht to beg his intercession. He said, "Your commandment is on my life; thy life is to me like the command of God. My body, life, and possessions are thy sacrifice, by the command of God, the Lord of Majesty." Zartusht said, "Fear not, since your affairs are prosperous. I have asked your desire of God, you shall see presently how I have managed it."

54. Zartusht performs the Darun and shews four more Miracles, and the Shah Gushtasp sees his place in Paradise.

Zartusht prepared to perform the Darun. Since he was about to prove the faith by miracles, they placed four things within — wine, and perfumes, and milk, and a pomegranate. Then he read prayers to them from the *Zand-Avesta*, — the noble Prophet Zartusht. After that prayer he told the Shah to drink wine. After drinking, the Shah suddenly slept. In the sleep, he saw the heaven of God; his soul saw all these blessings obviously. He saw his own place in paradise; he saw the mansions of the good and blessed; he saw therein tho rank of every one. Moreover, he saw many wonders. He gave Bashutan the milk for his share; he ate and forgot death. He gave the perfumes of that feast to Jamasp; immediately he knew nil knowledge. He knew every thing that was in the future — all that would happen till the day of the resurrection. After that he gave to Aafandiar of that feast one grain of a pomegranate. He ate and his body waxed like stone; no wound could be inflicted upon him. From this learn the meaning of the saying that Asfandiar was brazen-bodied. After that the king of kings awoke and recovered his senses from that dream of forgetfulness; he rubbed his face on the earth and paid thanksgivings to God. He said, "O God, guide of my path, hear those my prayers in this world and the next; thou art worthy to be king, since thou art without equal, and thy sovereignty never declines." The king of kings called Zartusht forward, and told him all that he had seen. He told all people to receive from him the true faith, and the statutes of righteousness.

When Zartusht was seated on a lofty throne, the Shah desired of him the *Zand-Avesta*. He said to him, "Repeat to me the whole of it, since it is free of doubt or of error." Zartusht was pleased thereat, and he instantly opened the volume; after he had commenced in the name of God, he read the beginning of the Zand. To Gushtasp, the noble Zartusht read some chapters of that volume. When the Dews beheld his actions, they remained astonished thereat. They fled from the rehearsal of the Zand; they all concealed themselves under the earth. He then ordered that the Mobads and the Herbads, pure of heart, should advance. He spoke regarding the fire-temples in the presence of the Shah of the mighty;— that they should see that their works brought fourth fruit every where without hinderance; that they should erect towers in all places, and that to each a Herbad should be appointed;— that they should

kindle a fire in each tower and erect a lofty seat therein. He gave them much silver and gold that they should bequeath much property for its support, and should regard the fire-temples with reverence. The man who worships God will rejoice at the escape from dangers from the Dews.

55. Zartusht admonishes the Shah regarding all holiness.

First regarding the name of the great God and the chief guide, he commenced to speak. That God who created the world and makes the end of the wicked destruction, the creator of the lofty heavens, the kindler of the stars which give light, — his eternal reign finds no decay, since he is king and the giver of benefits. Thus spoke Zartusht from the volume to Gushtasp the king of the earth, "If you believe truly in the existence of God, your abode will be in the paradise of heaven." He told him that "the wicked Ahriman is the enemy of God the Creator. He turns back the hearts of men from the right way, and thus continually seduces them aside, that he may convey them down to hell, whereat he rejoices greatly. When he beholds the bodies of men in torment, he openly rejoices in hell. He scoffs at them and says,— O void of understanding, why did you foolishly commit evil actions. Now that you have turned from the holy God you have bought for yourself the terrors of hell. God had compassion on his creatures and said to me,— 'Zartusht hear thou my message, and since thou goest to them as a prophet, take care that thou dost not treat this office lightly. Tell the people of the world strictly, that they turn back from the way of crookedness. Whoever turns his heart from evil, his place will always be in Paradise.' Every one who is iniquitous, in spite of his wickedness, desires thee O God! He approves not his own iniquity; he guides others to the right way. The Lord of the world sent me to thee, O lion-like Shah! He said to me, 'Go and tell my servants, let them not turn away their faces from my commandments. Let them receive my faith and the right way, then the paradise of heaven will be their reward. Whoever disobeys my statutes shall be a companion of Ahriman in hell. And to the orders also of Zartusht the holy, give ear and listen submissively. He alone has not valued, or esteemed, the world, since he knew that the world passes away. He has neither son nor relation, but has embraced the way of salvation. What is the Shah or servant before him? He regards not their circumstances in any wise. Thirdly, he never declared to men that in the resurrection he would intercede for them. I do not desire your crimes but I lessen your grief and pain. He said, — "Your hopes must rest on your actions; reap the harvest you have sown. Whoever has sown righteousness in this world, his reward also shall be paradise. And if you have acted iniquitously, Ahriman shall receive you in hell." Zartusht told every one near him the same, saying neither more nor less — that whosoever commits crime, his rewards shall be in hell. In the fifth place, he said to the wise and to the Mobeds of enlightened hearts,— "Who in

the world has spoken words like these, both regarding things concealed and known? You would say he resembled pure water truly, for in him was neither excess nor defect. If you can bring any parallel to this, then my words are entirely vain. But if no parallel to this can be brought, then let them look on these words with humility; let them know certainly that this is the word of God and not the word of impure Dews, since the Dews would not speak thus or themselves, nor would they utter the praises of God. Sixthly, Whoever has come as a prophet to bring mankind to the faith, has never told what was within the earth or what will occur hereafter. Zartusht alone has acquired this glory, since, in the *Zand-Avesta*, he has narrated these things; he has told whatever will take place in the world, good or evil, concealed or known, from the time that God created the world till the day of the resurrection. Zartusht has declared all things; he has told every thing in the *Zand-Avesta*, and the time and manner of its occurrence — of the king's remarkable propriety or justice he has recited the history, as you could wish — all their names have been mentioned by him — their words and actions, just or unjust, he has marked the signs of them good or bad, so that on understanding man will recognize them. Seventhly, Be assured that the prophet never flattered the powerful or warlike; whoever was, in his heart and faith, truly with him, his end never failed in affection for him. Such was the holy Zartusht who was permitted to offer his praise near God. He was wont to say to pious men — O ye faithful, whoever acts righteously shall reaps good reward. Eighthly, thus said Zartusht,— O people of earth, ye who commit sin shall abide perpetually in Hell. The soul of each shall be recompensed in the proportion of the sin he has committed; they shall confess that they are sinners and acknowledge themselves to be the creatures of God. Zartusht also said, "Whatever ye desire not yourselves, do it not to another. Whoever has committed sin in the world, is subject to the retribution thereof." Since I consider his words a proof of the truth of his mission, I have recited them to you from the beginning: I have repeated one chapter,attend well thereto and consider carefully what has been said.

56. A Recital of the Praise of God.

In the name of the God of the seven heavens, the powerful and the merciful towards his creatures, the God of beneficence and truth, who will not be pleaded with my iniquity. Who always was and is! To him alone the hearts of the wise are turned; to him belong empire and sovereignty; to him alone is it right to pay homage. Why gird up your loins to obey him, who in weakness resembles thyself? Fix your heart on God in both worlds and ask pardon of him, O ye wise! Whatsoever ye may say contrary to this, be assured that your words are without foundation; he is our God and we are his creatures, abject, weak, and helpless. How shall a God such as he is, be

praised by the words of such creatures as we are; know this in what ye undertake, and call on the name of God for help. Begin with the name of God, and then commence your history; see what manner of belief Zartusht obtained when he inquired of his Creator. Compare the manner of his relation with that of other narrators. If I obtain any strength at all, I shall obtain my desire from the composition of this story. My hope from the God of mercy is this, that he will have compassion on this weak body, that he will grant me my life by his grace, and will save my soul from Hell.[21]

57. Zartusht asks Immortality of God.

Hear attentively this noble story, from the relation of God the cherisher. I have written the story in the Persian language, that it might be easy for your perusal. Thus said Zartusht, the pure in heart, at the time of inquiring of God, at the season when with the angel Bahman he ascended towards high heaven, — "Close the door of death to me, and let the hearts of the wicked be bound, that the faithful may rejoice and may not remember the crooked path." To him said God the cherisher, "O thou who hast embraced the faith, the skilful, I will close the door of death for thee, but you will a second time ask death of me." Zartusht was silent in his request. Then he prayed to his God; God the Creator gave him something which resembled honey. He said to Zartusht, "Drink one drop of this, and tell me what you behold. When the man of holiness drank thereof he saw the world, and every thing in it. As one who slumbers and beholds in sleep, he saw good and evil without concealment; he saw the blood and brains of the bodies of men, and the good and evil thoughts of every one. The words and actions of all were beheld by that good and virtuous person. He saw the number of flocks of sheep — their fleece and every circumstance regarding them. The leaves and roots of trees and of grass were beheld by that undaunted and fortunate person. He saw them exactly as they were by the order of God, neither more nor less. Again he beheld paradise and also hell, dark and frightful. He who believed thus, thought that he beheld these things in a dream. When he recovered his senses by the order cf the God of the two worlds, God said to him, "O faithful servant, tell me what you have beheld." That man of holiness replied, "O thou who hast spread out the heavens and the earth. I have beheld many rich men their souls being in hell and torment, since thy were not thankful for the blessings of God, and were supplicants of Ahriman. I beheld many persons rich in silver and gold, who were day and night in the service of God, and were pleased with all they received and never rested from the praises of God. Their souls were in the paradise of heaven. I saw them in the place of the blest. I saw many rich persons who were afflicted, as being childless. When I beheld their

21 It is difficult to see the connection of this paragraph with the story. It seems like the preface to some other book. — W.

abode in hell, my heart was sorry for them. I saw many persons of the common people who were happy in their children; when I behold their souls in paradise, my heart was glad at their happiness. I saw a tree on which were seven branches whose shades extended every where. One branch was of gold and one of silver, the third was of costly pearl; the fourth was entirely of brass; the fifth of lead, the sixth branch was of hard steel, and the seventh was of mixed iron." God said to Zartusht, "O man of wisdom and understanding! The tree which you saw with seven branches and which overshadowed the world is this, there shall be seven times a stir in the world by the good and bad revolution of the heavens. That golden branch which you beheld is yourself my messenger. My faith and message you have received, which you will deliver to the people of the world.

That branch of silver is the Shah of the earth, who will receive from you the right faith. The skin of the impure Dews will be broken, and they will be compelled to hide under the earth. When they behold their own bodies destitute of strength, they will conceal their evil actions. When Ahriman beholds the condition of his army, he shall utter cries of fury. According to the faith, men shall give due sanctity to (or take due care of) water, fire, earth and air.

The copper branch you saw is the king of the Ashkanians. Whoever at that time owns not the faith, that holy tribe will abhor him. They will not remain long after this, but will be dispersed in wretchedness throughout the world.

The branch which had the appearance of brass, represents the prosperous reign of that king whose name is Ardesher, the son of Sasan. Listen to my relation. He shall adorn the world and shall free the righteous from pain. He shall renovate the true faith, and shall renew its statutes. Everyone shall accept from him the right faith. Since by him the proof of the faith shall be established, all people shall behold his wonders. They shall pour on his breast melted brass, but no injury shall reach his body, since he shall derive strength from me.

The fifth branch you beheld of lead is the king named Bahram. His name shall be known as Bahram, and his people shall rejoice at his reign. He shall he prosperous and happy. The world shall be well governed by him. When the people of the earth shall rejoice, Ahriman shall be grieved thereat; he shall remain in hell in grief and pain, and shall weep in deep tones of sorrow.

The sixth branch of steel, O man of wisdom, which you saw ornamenting the tree, that is the time of Nosherwan, by whose justice youth will be restored to the earth. In his reign the wicked Mazdak shall appear, but there shall be no danger from him. He shall be a heretic from tho true faith, and shall be acquainted with every kind of deceit. But when he begins to oppress

the faithful, while they fly from him fate shall seize him. Leave the wicked to his evil doing,since the evil be does shall return upon him.

[58. The era of iron alloy.]

The seventh branch you saw is of mixed iron. During that time, fly from the world. Many shall be converted to you during the season, but the aspect of the world shall be changed. That man of malice will be a monarch, who shall cast down tho true faith to the earth. The Darwishes shall wear black garments; the honor of the world shall be lost. Whoever lives in the time of that king, his end shall be evil. One virtue shall not be possessed by that generation, nought but malice and sedition and strife and evil. They shall be dealers in deceit and hypocrisy; and fraud and bitterness shall be in their hearts, but honey on their tongues. They shall not respect the bread and salt they have eaten, nor shall they honor their old men. And those whose hearts shall have accepted the faith, shall be afflicted by their enemies. Neither wisdom nor prudence shall be seen among them, nor shall reliance be placed on their words. Those who are faithful shall have no power or strength, nor shall the good be reverenced or respected. Whoever is pure in principle and faith, they shall cast down his name to the ground. Whoever is certainly wickedly disposed, whose tongue is filled with lying and deceit, all his affairs shall succeed and he shall prosper and the world shall be thrown into commotion. The face of the world shall be covered with impunity, nor shall they keep their food separate from it. All kinds of food shall they eat in common, and no one shall be aware of any distinction. They shall have no statutes or Herbads or instructors, nor shall these have any authority with them. Wherever they go, they shall fail of their object. You shall find nothing on earth, save covetousness and impotence and anger and strife; they shall choose the path to hell, and none shall answer according to the faith. Whoever is well affected to the faith, his affairs shall fall into indigence. They shall be shameless and without modesty, and day and night confusion shall prevail. Thus shall the faith become weak, and true believers wax few in number. The prayers of evil men shall be listened to since their condition shall be of indigence. The worship of the fire-temples shall be neglected. A hundred fires shall be reduced to one. Neither wood nor perfumes shall be supplied to them, and the enemies of the faith shall oppose. None shall sympathize or care for them, nor shall any leader for those dispersed persons be found. That sect of impure persons shall bring much riches from out of the earth. The high priests who dwell in Iran shall acknowledge their sway. This sect shall take in marriage many well-born daughters of the true faith. All the sons of the freemen and priests shall remain afflicted in the service of the wicked, day and night. They shall toil in their service — in the service of those unjust and evil persons.

Since they will be faithless and void of mercy — they will not fear to break their promises. In the country of Iran a king shall fall from the hands of the mighty into the power of the wicked. They shall at once work out iniquity and shall know nought save oppression. Whoever is guiltless and true of heart, they shall believe his words to be deceitful; then, whoever is worse than his fellows , his affairs shall prosper more and more. They shall bear witness falsely; that from that falsehood, advantage may accrue to them. They shall have no shame for such crimes, nor shall they have any honesty or faith. When the Hazarahs shall appear,[22] the appearance of the world shall be changed. Many clouds shall appear in the sky but rain shall not descend. From the intense heat and bitter cold many a tree shall lose leaves and branches. The waters of the rivulets shall fail; all things shall become difficult; from the scarcity of rain on the earth, the channels of the rives shall be disclosed, flocks and herds shall decrease in number, and the stature of mankind shall dwindle; the strength of men shall wax weak and inferior, the speed of the horse and the strength of his rider shall grow less, the cow shall lose its valuable qualities. Whoever has bound on the Kusti shall be in fear and shall flee away. The pain and hardships which he will undergo, will make him desire death. They shall forget their prayers to God and their habits shall become opposed thereto. They shall neither recognize the *Nawruz*[23] nor the *Mihragan*[24] nor feast nor entertainment, nor the Frawardigan.[25] Whoever asks a question of the High Priest shall find no wisdom in the answer. Of what has been ordained for the departed soul, every one will be ashamed, and withdraw disappointed. Many a man of the true faith, and of holy mind, shall then go over to the opposite religion — many noble men and many honorable men shall wander destitute through the world! From poverty, and pain, and dishonor, the hearts of men shall be afflicted and their hands shortened.

From the men of that evil generation, you shall not see one in a hundred possessed of understanding. Spandarmad (the angel of the earth) shall open his [*her] mouth and shall cast forth secret treasures. The Turks of Baykand,[26] and of Khattan[27] and of Chin shall lead their armies into Persia. When the

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22 This word hazarah is of doubtful meaning. The passage is very obscure. The word may allude to the thousands of believers. — E.

23 Literally the "new day," the first day of the year, which, with the five which follow, is observed as a festival, now most regarded at its close. —W.

24 A festival in honour of Meher (Mithra) which commences on Mihr the 15th day of the month Mihr, and is observed for six days, the last as, in the former case, being the greatest. —W.

25 The five last days of the year, to be observed as holidays. —W.

26 Name of a city, built by Jamshid. -E.

27 Name of a district in Chinese Tartary. A Muhammadan pilgrim lately created a great sensation among the Parsis of Bombay by asserting that a colony of Gabars exists in this

princes shall lose throne and fortune, their slaves shall possess the crown and empire. They shall collect much wealth and riches, but they shall scatter it on the ground. They shall be guilty of evil actions, but they shall feel no shame for what they do. From hardships, and difficulty, and pain, and weakness, men shall be ready to meet death and pain. Then thus spake God to Zartusht the prophet of the age,— "Tell these things to Mobeds and Rads, and desire them to repeat the same to the wise. Let each know his own advantage and let them not take up iniquity. When they behold misery on the earth, then will be rejoicing and happiness in heaven. If your body is afflicted with pain, your soul from that pain shall find a rich reward. If you indulge your body in luxury, your soul shsll therefrom fall into fire. In truth, know this mystery, that according to thy stale of mind to will thou suffer or enjoy. From good, thou wilt find a good result, and none ever reaped honor from evil actions."

[59. Zartusht asks about the end of the millennium.]

Again Zartusht inquired of God the holy and free from infirmity. "In that evil time — that season of danger — what calamity will befall the faith from evil men? Whoever has the Wasta [*Avesta?] in his mind, or the Kusti bound on his waist, how shall such a one mingle with the people of that generation, his soul being in misery and his body in torment? How shall they pray, privately as directed, or how shall they read the Zand-Avesta?" — Thus the Creator of the world gave answer to Zartusht the good and holy, — "Great affliction shall befall true believers in that evil and disturbed season. He who shall pray then aright, may be accounted twelve phoenixes. A man who prays shall then be as rare as one who observes the whole law at another time; for one word of the Avesta and Zand in that time, shall bo equal to the Vendidad and Hadokht.[28] Again, when the Hazarahs make head, pain and grief shall be multiplied without end. From the hardships which the bodies of the faithful shall endure they shall resemble iron. Such affliction and pain has never been experienced, not even in the days of Zohak and Afrasiab, for even in those days the believers of the Zand were more numerous, and more abundant in wealth and blessings. Then, when the Hazarahs shall grow powerful, none of the faithful shall remain. From every side they shall press towards Iran and shall desolate it beneath the feet of their camels. And when they shall turn back to the mountains, they shall carry off both religion and empire. The affairs of those evil people shall grow desperate, and they shall wander, destitute of house and food. Thus will it be a mingled scene of good and bad, of prosperity and the reverse. The state of the world shall not remain one, like the wind which is now good and now injurious."

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region. —W.

28 The Vendidad and Hadokht: two of the Nasks of the Avesta. -E.

60. Zartusht inquires the third time of God, respecting the latter times.

Zartusht asked three things farther of Hormazd, the Creator and Lord. “After these troublous times, will there be any believers in the true faith? Shall these statutes and laws be restored? Will any one support the true faith? When will the wearers of dark garments be discomfited? And how will the impure fiend be cast down? When life is thus shortened, and toil increased, how will their affairs be conducted? How will their object be accomplished? And how will virtue succeed? O Creator and merciful God! inform thy creatures of this, for my soul is disquieted on account (of the people of those times), my heart is burnt up from pain and affliction.” God the cherisher said to him, “O faithful man, be not sorrowful! For no one remains perpetually in woe, nor does any one suffer in both worlds; whoever has been afflicted in this world shall likewise be pardoned in paradise. And as to what you have inquired respecting those times, whether any one will seek the true faith, — When the mark of blackness comes upon the world, the restoration of the faith shall be prepared in another way. All the desire of the angry Dews shall be fulfilled by the merciless Turk of narrow sight. At that time an army shall come from Rum, of evil thoughts, and acts impure and ill-omened, with red garments and their horse trappings of red, their actions resembling those of impure Dews. When the season for their appearance in the world shall arrive, various signs shall be manifested. The land of Khurasan, from wet and heat, ahnll become dark and gloomy as the gloom of might. The world ahall grow dark with tempests, and the brightness of water shall be obscured. Many earthquakes shall happen, and ill-omened birds be seen. Every city and land shall be made desolate; desire and want shall wax strong upon people; trouble and pain and woe shall increase in that time. Hormazd gathers strength and casts down Nahid; the Turk and the men of Rum shall meet and shall join battle, like the wind Samum.

At the same time shall come the tribe of Arabs, raising strife and battle and violence. From each tribe men shall be slain in every land; the slain shall be in heaps. From the mingling tints of the blood shed, the world shall be red, yellow, and violet. The whole land of Iran shall be desolate from the armies of Turks, and Arabs, and Hindus. All the fire-temples shall be removed thence to the mountains in those troublous times. They shall remove them with difficulty from their places; but they shall bring them into the hill country. They shall bring Adar Gushnasp with care to the faithful, in the land of Karman. The spoiler shall fall on the land of Iran. Flight and dispersion to another country! They shall hide in caves and hollows uf mountains, and no outlet to the mountains shall remain. The father shall have no thought for his son, from the pain and affliction which shall befall himself.”

Then said Zartusht of enlightened heart, after he had wept before God,— "Since the life of this people is shortened, let them not finally fall into misery and torment — let them not, in the end, choose evil, nor fill up the catalogue of their crimes." "From the shortness of their lives there is no fear, since death and life are but the same."[29]

Again Zartusht said,— "O holy God! how will their destruction ensue? When their period has elapsed, what sign of evil will they first discover? What will be the termination of their history and how will their prosperity be destroyed."[30]

God returned the following answer to Zartusht, the prophet of the age, "A black sign shall come forth from Khurasan when the period of empire shall arrive; when Hoshedar [Aushedar] is born, this is the period. I have told you when he is thirty years old and has wisdom, he shall choose the faith and way of the faithful. There shall be a Shah in Hindustan and Chin, of the seed of the Kayanian[31] in that evil time. He shall have a son of becoming worth; the name of that son shall be Bahram. His title shall be Hamawand, by parentage and race of the kings of the world. They shall call his tribe Shahpur; he shall win much honor and delight in the world.

The sign of the period of his coming shall be the falling of stars from heaven. His father shall die of old age in the month of Aban and the day of Bad. And when twenty-one years shall have expired, he shall assemble a vast army. He shall invade every quarter of the globe, and shall win his desire of his enemies. He shall lead his armies to Balkh and Bokhara, and shall survey the world on every side. He shall lead a countless host from Hindustan and Chin, that noble king shall lead them against Iran. He shall lead them forth in glittering array. The faithful shall rejoice at the sight of him. And then, when Hormazd is in the ascendant and has brought beneath him Nahid, then you shall see a man of the true faith gird up his loins from the hill country. From the countries of Khurasan and Seistan, he shall lead a wondrous and countless army. It shall gleam with triple color;, and shall go forth to the succour of Iran. The army of the impure leader shall many of them be cast down and slain in the battle from the ships of Dawal[32] and from Rum and Farang, from the dark-clothed devils, the bicolor wolves. Then shall be three fierce battles in Iran, and many famous men shall be killed. All Fars of Shiraz shall be filled with woe. Grief and mourning shall take the place of joy. Then shall the noble Shah come thither and shall join battle with the foes of Iran; he shall

29 This appears to be the answer of God to the first question put by Zartusht. —E.

30 This second question of Zartusht seems to refer to the enemies of the faith, as the former did to the remnant of believers.— E.

31 The second Persian dynasty. -E.

32 I know not if this word be a proper name or merely the name signifying rich. —E.

read the heavens and shall draw out his enemy from the lowest depth. By the will of God the cherisher, he shall destroy those evil people.

Such shall be the events of those times, and thousands of women shall wander forth; they shall wander through the bazaars and streets. From the want of husbands, they shall seek men; wherever they behold a man, they shall remain gazing on him with wonder. From desire they shall approach him, and shall seek a remedy of their pain. When their period shall truly arrive it shall resemble a tree full of leaves, and fruit on which at night a cold wind blows. Its leaves and fruit shall fall down. I will send tidings to Kangadas. I will send a good angel to Bashutan.[33] He shall gird up his loins for the Shah, and the faith, and he shall come to the land of Iran. Bashutan shall come at my bidding and shall cleanse the world from those who speak against me. With him shall come thrice fifty heroes, and they shall perform the whole Yasht to God. Ahriman shall desire battle, and the strife-loving Dews. From Ahriman a countless host shall approach Bashutan, breathing fury. When they heard the Hadokht from the Zand-Avesta, from those Mobeds and Rads— the Dews shall fly from Iran, they shall be dispersed and afflicted.

Then shall come that Shah of fortunate name, called by all people, Bahram. He shall take the throne, and the imperial crown, and shall free the world from those aliens from God. The Mobed of Mobeds shall sit with him in presence of the wise, and the learned priests. He shall quickly restore the fire-temples and shall gather those which were long dispersed. They shall place him like a Shah on his throne, and the savage wolf shall resemble a cow. He shall remove the wicked from the earth, and shall ait down with the wise according to his desire. Bashutan shall heap countless praises on that country, people, and king. He shall go to his own principality and palacee when he finds all things obedient to him. Such, O my son, is the history of the world; that, in the world no one has cause to fear. Neither good nor evil endure perpetually, nor remain fixed unchangeably."

* * *

I have made this good relation according to the words of Mobeds, the chief of true believers. Who can relate good tales like milk and wine to you except Kaus Kai? When you see this writing, my story, give me the applause due to me. When you rend the whole history of Zartusht in vour heart repeat perfect praise. Every heart in which dwells love for him, the face of that man shall be bright as the sun. Praise be to God the cherisher, that I am acquainted with Zartusht and the faith. I am not a heretic or a demon, nor are my principles or habits such as these. What could I have done, O man of wisdom! had I been born of a wicked father, if I had been brought into the world as a

33 The brother of Asfandiar, who, as before mentioned, was gifted with immortality. —E.

heretic and had prostrated myself before I'blis; if I had abode in hell till the resurrection, and the juggling fiends had accomplished their wish through me. I am unable to utter the praises of God who made me acquainted with wisdom and the faith.

[61. Praise God. End of the book.]

Thanks to God the cherisher, that I was able to complete this memorial; he gave me aid and brought me success. I have written this history; from me be hundreds of blessings on that noble child of heaven, and may his holiness be perfected from the Creator, God the Almighty. Praise and prayer to Zartusht the prophet of the faithful — more numerous than the sands, or leaves of trees. May my blessings rest on that auspicious person.

I have written this admirable history, by the advice of the wise and prudent person, the excellent and faithful Kaus Kai, whose father was Kai-Khosrau and whose city is Rai. A thousand blessings on Zartusht from me, and on Anoshervan!

By the will and command of God, I have written this history of His people, in order that when the faithful read it they may pronounce blessings on me. Whoever blesses Anoshervan, (Zoroaster) may his fortune always prosper. A thousand blessings upon him whoever blesses our Anoshervan. Praise be upon that noble person who desires to intercede for me with God.

It was the six hundred, and forty-seventh year of Yazdegird, the month of Aban, *when the world cools, the day of Adar*,[34] I commenced the work on the day of A'zar. On the feast of Aban I was intoxicated; I finished it on the night of Khur, on this day I completed it. I ask praise and prayer from the reader, I also ask pardon of God. Heaven be the abode of the soul of Anoshervan, which Hoshah Rawan sends from his heart. If you should not know my name, if you will hear or read this story, you will find that my name is Zartosht Bahram bin Pazdawam, a history of both of them, since I have related this history of them. I have interpreted it aright. I have repeated many blessings and praise, so that no one will compose similar.

The end of the *Zartusht-namah*, [the copying of] which was completed on the day of Arshasang, in the month of A'zar, in the year of Izad, 1005 of the prince Yazdegird.

The writer of this history and I that am of God, and of the faith of Zartusht the Mazdayasnan, the son of a Herbad — the Herbad Barzu Bin Kawam-ud-Din, bin Kaikobad, bin Hormazdiar, bearing the title of Sanjanan, worshipper of fire and of Bahram. Whoever reads let him applaud!

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34 E: "which is the month of (?)"

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1880

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Avesta.

THE ZEND-AVESTA

PART I

THE VENDÎDÂD

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES DARMESTETER

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1880

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

THE Zend-Avesta is the sacred book of the Parsis, that is to say, of the few remaining followers of that religion which reigned over Persia at the time when the second successor of Mohammed overthrew the Sassanian dynasty [1], and which has been called Dualism, or Mazdeism, or Magism, or Zoroastrianism, or Fire-worship, according as its main tenet, or its supreme God [2], or its priests, or its supposed founder, or its apparent object of worship has been most kept in view. In less than a century after their defeat, nearly all the conquered people were brought over to the faith of their new rulers, either by force, or policy, or the attractive power of a simpler form of creed. But many of those who clung to the faith of their fathers, went and sought abroad for a new home, where they might freely worship their old gods, say their old prayers, and perform their old rites. That home they found at last among the tolerant Hindus, on the western coast of India and in the peninsula of Guzerat [3]. There they throve and there they live still, while the ranks of their co-religionists in Persia are daily thinning and dwindling away [4].

As the Parsis are the ruins of a people, so are their

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[1] At the battle of Nihâvand (642 A. C.)

[2] Ahura Mazda.

[3] They settled first at Sangân, not far from Damân; thence they spread over Surat, Nowsâri, Broach, and Kambay; and within the last two centuries they have settled at Bombay, which now contains the bulk of the Parsi people, nearly 150,000 souls.

[4] A century ago, it is said, they still numbered nearly 100,000 souls; but there now remain no more than 8000 or 9000 souls, scattered in Yezd and the surrounding villages (Dosabhoy Framjee, The Parsees).

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sacred books the ruins of a religion. There has been no other great belief in the world that ever left such poor and meagre monuments of its past splendour. Yet great is the value which that small book, the Avesta, and the belief of that scanty people, the Parsis, have in the eyes of the historian and theologist, as they present to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in Iran during the five centuries which preceded and the seven which followed the birth of Christ, a period which gave to the world the Gospels, the Talmud, and the Qur'ân. Persia, it is known, had much influence on each of the movements which produced, or proceeded from, those three books; she lent much to the first heresiarchs, much to the Rabbis, much to Mohammed. By help of the Parsi religion and the Avesta, we are enabled to go back to the very heart of that most momentous period in the history of religious thought, which saw the blending of the Aryan mind with the Semitic, and thus opened the second stage of Aryan thought.

Inquiries into the religion of ancient Persia began long ago, and it was the old foe of Persia, the Greek, who first studied it. Aristotle [1], Hermippus [2], and many others [3] wrote of it in books of which, unfortunately, nothing more than a few fragments or merely the titles have come down to us. We find much valuable information about it, scattered in the accounts of historians and travellers, extending over ten centuries, from Herodotus down to Agathias and Procopius. It was never more eagerly studied than in the first centuries of the Christian era; but that study had no longer anything of the disinterested and almost scientific character it had in earlier times. Religious and philosophic sects, in search of new dogmas, eagerly received whatever came to them bearing the name of Zoroaster. As Xanthus the Lydian, who is said to have lived before Herodotus, had mentioned Zoroastrian Λόγια [4], there came to light, in those later times, scores of oracles, styled Λόγια τοῦ Ζωροάσ-

[1] Diogenes Laertius, Prooemium 8.
[2] Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXX, 1, 2. Cf. infra, III, 11.
[3] Dinon, Theopompus, Hermodorus, Heraclides Cumanus.
[4] See Nicolaus Damazcenus, Didot, Fragm. Hist. III, 409.

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τρου, or 'Oracula Chaldaïca sive Magica,' the work of Neo-Platonists who were but very remote disciples of the Median sage. As his name had become the very emblem of wisdom, they would cover with it the latest inventions of their ever-deepening theosophy. Zoroaster and Plato were treated as if they had been philosophers of the same school, and Hierocles expounded their doctrines in the same book. Proclus collected seventy Tetrads of Zoroaster and wrote commentaries on them [1]; but we need hardly say that Zoroaster commented on by Proclus was nothing more or less than Proclus commented on by Proclus. Prodicus the Gnostic had secret books of Zoroaster [2]; and upon the whole it may be said that in the first centuries of Christianity, the religion of Persia was more studied and less understood than it had ever been before. The real object aimed at, in studying the old religion, was to form a new one.

Throughout the Middle Ages nothing was known of Mazdeism but the name of its founder, who from a Magus was converted into a magician and master of the hidden sciences. It was not until the Renaissance that real inquiry was resumed. The first step was to collect all the information that could be gathered from Greek and Roman writers. That task was undertaken and successfully completed by Barnabé Brisson [3]. A nearer approach to the original source was made in the following century by Italian, English, and French travellers in Asia. Pietro della Valle, Henry Lord, Mandelslo, Ovington, Chardin, Gabriel du Chinon, and Tavernier found Zoroaster's last followers in Persia and India, and made known their existence, their manners, and the main features of their belief to Europe. Gabriel du Chinon saw their books and recognised that they were not all written in the same language, their original holy writ being no longer understood except

[1] Fabricius, Graeca Bibliotheca, fourth ed. p. 309 seq.

[2] Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata I. Cf. infra, III, 11, and Porphyrius, de vita Plotini, § 16.

[3] 'De regio Persarum principatu libri tres,' Paris, 1590. The second book is devoted to the religion and manners of the ancient Persians.

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by means of translations and commentaries in another tongue.

In the year 1700, a professor at Oxford, Thomas Hyde, the greatest Orientalist of his time in Europe, made the first systematic attempt to restore the history of the old Persian religion by combining the accounts of the Mohammedan writers with 'the true and genuine monuments of ancient Persia[1].' Unfortunately the so-called genuine monuments of ancient Persia were nothing more than recent compilations referring to the last stage of Parsîism. But notwithstanding this defect, which could hardly be avoided then, and notwithstanding its still worse fault, a strange want of critical acumen[2], the book of Thomas Hyde was the first complete and true picture of modern Parsîism, and it made inquiry into its history the order of the day. A warm appeal made by him to the zeal of travellers, to seek for and procure at any price the sacred books of the Parsis, did not remain ineffectual, and from that time scholars bethought themselves of studying Parsîism in its own home.

Eighteen years later, a countryman of Hyde, George Boucher, received from the Parsis in Surat a copy of the Vendîdâd Sâdah, which was brought to England in 1723 by Richard Cobbe. But the old manuscript was a sealed book, and the most that could then be made of it was to hang it by an iron chain to the wall of the Bodleian Library, as a curiosity to be shown to foreigners. A few years later, a Scotchman, named Fraser, went to Surat, with the view of obtaining from the Parsis, not only their books, but also a knowledge of their contents. He was not very successful in the first undertaking, and utterly failed in the second.

In 1754 a young man, twenty years old, Anquetil Duperron, a scholar of the Ecole des Langues Orientales in Paris, happened to see a facsimile of four leaves of the

[1] 'Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia,' Oxford, 1700.

[2] Thus he recognised in Abraham the first lawgiver of ancient Persia, in Magism a Sabean corruption of the primeval faith, and in Zoroaster a reformer, who had learnt the forgotten truth from the exiled Jews in Babylon.

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Oxford Vendîdâd, which had been sent from England, a few years before, to Etienne Fourmont, the Orientalist. He determined at once to give to France both the books of Zoroaster and the first European translation of them. Impatient to set off, without waiting for a mission from the government which had been promised to him, he enlisted as a private soldier in the service of the French East India Company; he embarked at Lorient on the 24th of February 1755, and after three years of endless adventures and dangers through the whole breadth of Hindustan, at the very time when war was raging between France and England, he arrived at last in Surat, where he stayed among the Parsis for three years more. Here began another struggle, not less hard, but more decisive, against that mistrust and ill-will of the Parsis which had disheartened Fraser; but he came out of it victorious, and succeeded at last in winning from the Parsis both their books and their knowledge. He came back to Paris on the 14th of March 1764, and deposited on the following day at the Bibliothèque Royale the whole of the Zend-Avesta and copies of most of the traditional books. He spent ten years in studying the material he had collected, and published in 1771 the first European translation of the Zend-Avesta [1].

A violent dispute broke out at once, as half the learned world denied the authenticity of the Avesta, which it pronounced a forgery. It was the future founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, William Jones, a young Oxonian then, who opened the war. He had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars: the Zend-Avesta suffered for the fault of its introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil. In a pamphlet written in French [2], with a verve and in a style which showed him to be a good disciple of Voltaire, W. Jones pointed out, and dwelt upon, the oddities and

[1] 'Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Législateur. . . . Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend.' Par M. Anquetil Du Perron, 3 vols. in 4°, Paris, 1771.

[2] 'Lettre à M. A*** du P***, dans laquelle est compris l'examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroastre.'

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absurdities with which the so-called sacred books of Zoroaster teemed. It is true that Anquetil had given full scope to satire by the style he had adopted: he cared very little for literary elegance, and did not mind writing Zend and Persian in French; so the new and strange ideas he had to express looked stranger still in the outlandish garb he gave them. Yet it was less the style than the ideas that shocked the contemporary of Voltaire[1]. His main argument was that books, full of such silly tales, of laws and rules so absurd, of descriptions of gods and demons so grotesque, could not be the work of a sage like Zoroaster, nor the code of a religion so much celebrated for its simplicity, wisdom, and purity. His conclusion was that the Avesta was a rhapsody of some modern Guebre. In fact the only thing in which Jones succeeded was to prove in a decisive manner that the ancient Persians were not equal to the lumières of the eighteenth century, and that the authors of the Avesta had not read the Encyclopédie.

Jones's censure was echoed in England by Sir John Chardin and Richardson, in Germany by Meiners. Richardson tried to give a scientific character to the attacks of Jones by founding them on philological grounds[2]. That the Avesta was a fabrication of modern times was shown, he argued, by the number of Arabic words he fancied he found both in the Zend and Pahlavi dialects, as no Arabic element was introduced into the Persian idioms earlier than the seventh century; also by the harsh texture of the Zend, contrasted with the rare euphony of the Persian; and, lastly, by the radical difference between the Zend and Persian, both in words and grammar. To these objections, drawn from the form, he added another derived from the uncommon stupidity of the matter.

In Germany, Meiners, to the charges brought against the new found books, added another of a new and unexpected kind, namely, that they spoke of ideas unheard of before, and made known new things. 'Pray, who would dare

[1] Cf. the article on Zoroaster in the Dictionnaire philosophique.

[2] 'A Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations,' Oxford, 1777.

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ascribe to Zoroaster books in which are found numberless names of trees, animals, men, and demons unknown to the ancient Persians; in which are invoked an incredible number of pure animals and other things, which, as appears from the silence of ancient writers, were never known, or at least never worshipped, in Persia? What Greek ever spoke of Hom, of Jemshîd, and of such other personages as the fabricators of that rhapsody exalt with every kind of praise, as divine heroes[1]?' Yet, in the midst of his Ciceronian nonsense, Meiners inadvertently made a remark which, if correctly interpreted, might have led to important discoveries. He noticed that many points of resemblance are to be found between the ideas of the Parsis and those of the Brahmans and Musulmans. He saw in this a proof that Parsîism is a medley of Brahmanical and Musulman tales. Modern scholarship, starting from the same point, came to that twofold conclusion, that, on the one hand, Parsîism was one of the elements out of which Mohammed formed his religion, and, on the other hand, that the old religions of India and Persia flowed from a common source. 'Not only does the author of that rubbish tell the same tales of numberless demons of either sex as the Indian priests do, but he also prescribes the same remedies in order to drive them away, and to balk their attempts.' In these words there was something like the germ of comparative mythology; seldom has a man approached the truth so closely and then departed from it so widely.

Anquetil and the Avesta found an eager champion in the person of Kleuker, professor in the University of Riga. As soon as the French version of the Avesta appeared, he published a German translation of it, and also of Anquetil's historical dissertations[2]. Then, in a series of dissertations of his own[3], he vindicated the authenticity of the Zend books. Anquetil had already tried to show, in a memoir

[1] 'De Zoroastris vita, institutis, doctrina et libris,' in the Novi Commentarii Societatis Regiae, Goettingen, 1778–1779.

[2] 'Zend-Avesta . . . nach dem Franzoesischen des Herrn Anquetil Du Perron,' 3 vols. in 4°, 1776.

[3] 'Anhang zum Zend-Avesta,' 2 vols. in 4°, 1781.

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on Plutarch, that the data of the Avesta fully agree with the account of the Magian religion given in the treatise on 'Isis and Osiris.' Kleuker enlarged the circle of comparison to the whole of ancient literature. He tried also to appeal to internal evidence, an attempt in which he was less successful. The strength of his defence was seldom greater than the strength of the attack. Meiners had pointed out the mythical identity of the Mount Alborg of the Parsis with the Mount Meru of the Hindus, as a proof that the Parsis had borrowed their mythology from the Hindus: the conclusion was incorrect, but the remark itself was not so. Kleuker fancied that he could remove the difficulty by stating that Mount Alborg is a real mountain, nay, a doubly real mountain, since there are two mountains of that name, the one in Persia, the other in Armenia, whereas Mount Meru is only to be found in Fairyland. Seldom were worse arguments used in the service of a good cause. Meiners had said that the name of the Parsi demons was of Indian origin, as both languages knew them by the Latin name 'Deus.' This was an incorrect statement, and yet an important observation. The word which means 'a demon' in Persia means quite the contrary in India, and that radical difference is just a proof of the two systems being independent of one another. Kleuker pointed out the incorrectness of the statement; but, being unable to account for the identity of the words, he flatly denied it.

Kleuker was more successful in the field of philology: he showed, as Anquetil had done, that Zend has no Arabic elements in it, and that Pahlavi itself, which is more modern than Zend, does not contain any Arabic, but only Semitic words of the Aramean dialect, which are easily accounted for by the close relations of Persia with Aramean lands in the time of the Sassanian kings. He showed, lastly, that Arabic words appear only in the very books which Parsi tradition itself considers modern.

Another stanch upholder of the Avesta was the numismatologist Tychsen, who, having begun to read the book with a prejudice against its authenticity, quitted it with a conviction to the contrary. 'There is nothing in it,' he

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writes, 'but what befits remote ages, and a man philosophising in the infancy of the world. Such traces of a recent period as they fancy to have found in it, are either due to misunderstandings, or belong to its later portions. On the whole there is a marvellous accordance between the Zend-Avesta and the accounts of the ancients with regard to the doctrine and institutions of Zoroaster. Plutarch agrees so well with the Zend books that I think no one will deny the close resemblance of doctrines and identity of origin. Add to all this the incontrovertible argument to be drawn from the language, the antiquity of which is established by the fact that it was necessary to translate a part of the Zend books into Pahlavi, a language which was growing obsolete as early as the time of the Sassanides. Lastly, it cannot be denied that Zoroaster left books, which were, through centuries, the groundwork of the Magic religion, and which were preserved by the Magi, as shown by a series of documents from the time of Hermippus. Therefore I am unable to see why we should not trust the Magi of our days when they ascribe to Zoroaster those traditional books of their ancestors, in which nothing is found to indicate fraud or a modern hand[1].'

Two years afterwards, in 1793, was published in Paris a book which, without directly dealing with the Avesta, was the first step taken to make its authenticity incontrovertible. It was the masterly memoir by Sylvestre de Sacy, in which the Pahlavi inscriptions of the first Sassanides were deciphered for the first time and in a decisive manner. De Sacy, in his researches, had chiefly relied on the Pahlavi lexicon published by Anquetil, whose work vindicated itself thus—better than by heaping up arguments—by promoting discoveries. The Pahlavi inscriptions gave the key, as is well known, to the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, which were in return to put beyond all doubt the genuineness of the Zend language.

Tychsen, in an appendix to his Commentaries, pointed

[1] 'Commentatio prior observationes historico-criticas de Zoroastre ejusque scriptis et placitis exhibens.' Goettingen, in the Novi Comment. Soc. Reg. 1791.

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to the importance of the new discovery: 'This,' he writes, 'is a proof that the Pahlavi was used during the reign of the Sassanides, for it was from them that these inscriptions emanated, as it was by them—nay, by the first of them, Ardeshîr Bâbagân—that the doctrine of Zoroaster was revived. One can now understand why the Zend books were translated into Pahlavi. Here, too, everything agrees, and speaks loudly for their antiquity and genuineness.'

About the same time Sir William Jones, then president of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he had just founded, resumed in a discourse delivered before that Society the same question he had solved in such an off-hand manner twenty years before. He was no longer the man to say, 'Sied-il à un homme né dans ce siècle de s'infatuer de fables indiennes?' and although he had still a spite against Anquetil, he spoke of him with more reserve than in 1771. However, his judgment on the Avesta itself was not altered on the whole, although, as he himself declared, he had not thought it necessary to study the text. But a glance at the Zend glossary published by Anquetil suggested to him a remark which makes Sir William Jones, in spite of himself, the creator of the comparative grammar of Sanskrit and Zend. 'When I perused the Zend glossary,' he writes, 'I was inexpressibly surprised to find that six or seven words in ten are pure Sanscrit, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the Vyácaran[1], as yushmácam, the genitive plural of yushmad. Now M. Anquetil most certainly, and the Persian compiler most probably, had no knowledge of Sanscrit, and could not, therefore, have invented a list of Sanscrit words; it is, therefore, an authentic list of Zend words, which has been preserved in books or by tradition; it follows that the language of the Zend was at least a dialect of the Sanscrit, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the Prácrit, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been spoken in India two thousand years ago[2].' This conclusion, that Zend is a Sanskrit dialect, was incorrect, the connection assumed being too close; but it was a great

[1] The Sanskrit Grammar.

[2] Asiatic Researches, II, § 3.

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thing that the near relationship of the two languages should have been brought to light.

In 1798 Father Paulo de St. Barthélemy further developed Jones's remark in an essay on the antiquity of the Zend language[1]. He showed its affinity with the Sanskrit by a list of such Zend and Sanskrit words as were least likely to be borrowed, viz. those that designate the degrees of relationship, the limbs of the body, and the most general and essential ideas. Another list, intended to show, on a special topic, how closely connected the two languages are, contains eighteen words taken from the liturgic language used in India and Persia. This list was not very happily drawn up, as out of the eighteen instances there is not a single one that stands inquiry; yet it was a happy idea, and one which has not even yet yielded all that it promised. His conclusions were that in a far remote antiquity Sanskrit was spoken in Persia and Media, that it gave birth to the Zend language, and that the Zend-Avesta is authentic: 'Were it but a recent compilation,' he writes, 'as Jones asserts, how is it that the oldest rites of the Parsis, that the old inscriptions of the Persians, the accounts of the Zoroastrian religion in the classical writers, the liturgic prayers of the Parsis, and, lastly, even their books do not reveal the pure Sanskrit, as written in the land wherein the Parsis live, but a mixed language, which is as different from the other dialects of India as French is from Italian?' This amounted, in fact, to saying that the Zend is not derived from the Sanskrit, but that both are derived from another and older language. The Carmelite had a dim notion of that truth, but, as he failed to express it distinctly, it was lost for years, and had to be re-discovered.

The first twenty-five years of this century were void of results, but the old and sterile discussions as to the authenticity of the texts continued in England. In 1808 John Leyden regarded Zend as a Prakrit dialect, parallel to Pali; Pali being identical with the Magadhi dialect and Zend with the

[1] 'De antiquitate et affinitate linguae samscredamicae et germanicae,' Rome, 1798.

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Sauraseni[1]. In the eyes of Erskine Zend was a Sanskrit dialect, imported from India by the founders of Mazdeism, but never spoken in Persia[2]. His main argument was that Zend is not mentioned among the seven dialects which were current in ancient Persia according to the Farhang-i Jehangiri[3], and that Pahlavi and Persian exhibit no close relationship with Zend.

In Germany, Meiners had found no followers. The theologians appealed to the Avesta in their polemics[4], and Rhode sketched the religious history of Persia after the translations of Anquetil[5].

Erskine's essay provoked a decisive answer[6] from Emmanuel Rask, one of the most gifted minds in the new school of philology, who had the honour of being a precursor of both Grimm and Burnouf. He showed that the list of the Jehangiri referred to an epoch later than that to which Zend must have belonged, and to parts of Persia different from those where it must have been spoken; he showed further that modern Persian is not derived from Zend, but from a dialect closely connected with it; and, lastly, he showed what was still more important, that Zend was not derived from Sanskrit. As to the system of its sounds, Zend approaches Persian rather than Sanskrit; and as to its grammatical forms, if they often remind one of Sanskrit, they also often remind one of Greek and Latin, and frequently have a special character of their own. Rask also gave the paradigm of three Zend nouns, belonging to different declensions, as well as the right pronunciation of the Zend letters, several of which had been incorrectly given by Anquetil. This was the first essay on Zend grammar, and it was a masterly one.

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[1] Asiatic Researches, X. [2] Ibid. X.

[3] A large Persian dictionary compiled in India in the reign of Jehangir.

[4] 'Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament aus einer neueröffneten Morgenländischen Quelle, 'Ἰδοὺ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν,' Riga, 1775.

[5] 'Die Heilige Sage . . . des Zend-Volks,' Francfort, 1820.

[6] 'Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zend Avesta' (übersetzt von F. H. von der Hagen), Berlin, 1826. Remarks on the Zend Language and the Zend-Avesta (Transactions of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, III, 524).

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The essay published in 1831 by Peter von Bohlen on the origin of the Zend language threw the matter forty years back. According to him, Zend is a Prakrit dialect, as it had been pronounced by Jones, Leyden, and Erskine. His mistake consisted in taking Anquetil's transcriptions of the words, which are often so incorrect as to make them look like corrupted forms when compared with Sanskrit. And, what was worse, he took the proper names in their modern Parsi forms, which often led him to comparisons that would have appalled Ménage. Thus Ahriman became a Sanskrit word ariman, which would have meant 'the fiend;' yet Bohlen might have seen in Anquetil's work itself that Ahriman is nothing but the modern form of Angra Mainyu, words which hardly remind one of the Sanskrit ariman. Again, the angel Vohu-manô, or 'good thought,' was reduced, by means of the Parsi form Bahman, to the Sanskrit bâhuman, 'a long-armed god.'

At last came Burnouf. From the time when Anquetil had published his translation, that is to say, during seventy years, no real progress had been made in knowledge of the Avesta texts. The notion that Zend and Sanskrit are two kindred languages was the only new idea that had been acquired, but no practical advantage for the interpretation of the texts had resulted from it. Anquetil's translation was still the only guide, and as the doubts about the authenticity of the texts grew fainter, the authority of the translation became greater, the trust reposed in the Avesta being reflected on to the work of its interpreter. The Parsis had been the teachers of Anquetil; and who could ever understand the holy writ of the Parsis better than the Parsis themselves? There was no one who even tried to read the texts by the light of Anquetil's translation, to obtain a direct understanding of them.

About 1825 Eugène Burnouf was engaged in a course of researches on the geographical extent of the Aryan languages in India. After he had defined the limits which divide the races speaking Aryan languages from the native non-brahmanical tribes in the south, he wanted to know if a similar boundary had ever existed in the north-west; and

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if it is outside of India that the origin of the Indian languages and civilisation is to be sought for. He was thus led to study the languages of Persia, and, first of all, the oldest of them, the Zend. But as he tried to read the texts by help of Anquetil's translation, he was surprised to find that this was not the clue he had expected. He saw that two causes had misled Anquetil: on the one hand, his teachers, the Parsi dasturs, either knew little themselves or taught him imperfectly, not only the Zend, but even the Pahlavi intended to explain the meaning of the Zend; so that the tradition on which his work rested, being incorrect in itself, corrupted it from the very beginning; on the other hand, as Sanskrit was unknown to him and comparative grammar did not as yet exist, he could not supply the defects of tradition by their aid. Burnouf, laying aside tradition as found in Anquetil's translation, consulted it as found in a much older and purer form, in a Sanskrit translation of the Yasna made in the fifteenth century by the Parsi Neriosengh in accordance with the old Pahlavi version. The information given by Neriosengh he tested, and either confirmed or corrected, by a comparison of parallel passages and by the help of comparative grammar, which had just been founded by Bopp, and applied by him successfully to the explanation of Zend forms. Thus he succeeded in tracing the general outlines of the Zend lexicon and in fixing its grammatical forms, and founded the only correct method of interpreting the Avesta. He also gave the first notions of a comparative mythology of the Avesta and the Veda, by showing the identity of the Vedic Yama with the Avesta Yima, and of Traitâna with Thraêtaona and Ferîdûn. Thus he made his 'Commentaire sur le Yasna' a marvellous and unparalleled model of critical insight and steady good sense, equally opposed to the narrowness of mind which clings to matters of fact without rising to their cause and connecting them with the series of associated phenomena, and to the wild and uncontrolled spirit of comparison, which, by comparing everything, confounds everything. Never sacrificing either tradition to comparison or comparison to tradition, he knew how to pass from the one

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to the other, and was so enabled both to discover facts and to explain them.

At the same time the ancient Persian inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun were deciphered by Burnouf in Paris, by Lassen in Bonn, and by Sir Henry Rawlinson in Persia. Thus was revealed the existence, at the time of the first Achæmenian kings, of a language closely connected with that of the Avesta, and the last doubts as to the authenticity of the Zend books were at length removed. It would have required more than an ordinary amount of scepticism to look still upon the Zend as an artificial language, of foreign importation, without root in the land where it was written, and in the conscience of the people for whom it was written, at the moment when a twin language, bearing a striking likeness to it in nearly every feature, was suddenly making itself heard from the mouth of Darius, and speaking from the very tomb of the first Achæmenian king. That unexpected voice silenced all controversies, and the last echoes of the loud discussion which had been opened in 1771 died away unheeded [1].

CHAPTER II.

The Interpretation of the Zend-Avesta.

The peace did not last long, and a year after the death of Burnouf a new controversy broke out, which still continues, the battle of the methods, that is, the dispute between those who, to interpret the Avesta, rely chiefly or exclusively on tradition, and those who rely only on comparison with the Vedas. The cause of the rupture was the rapid progress made in the knowledge of the Vedic language and literature: the deeper one penetrated into that oldest form of Indian words and thoughts, the more striking appeared its close affinity with the Avesta words and thoughts. Many a mysterious line in the

[1] The attacks of John Romer ('Zend: Is it an Original Language?' London, 1855) called forth a refutation only in Bombay (Dhanjibai Framji, 'On the Origin and the Authenticity of the Aryan Family of Languages, the Zend-Avesta and the Huzvarash,' 1861).

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Avesta received an unlooked-for light from the poems of the Indian *Rishis*, and the long-forgotten past and the origin of many gods and heroes, whom the Parsi worships and extols without knowing who they were and whence they came, were suddenly revealed by the Vedas. Emboldened by its bright discoveries, the comparative method took pity on its slower and less brilliant rival, which was then making its first attempts to unravel the Pahlavi traditional books. Is it worth while, said the Vedic scholars[1], to try slowly and painfully to extract the secret of the old book from that uncouth literature? Nay, is there any hope that its secret is there? Translating the Avesta in accordance with the Pahlavi is not translating the Avesta, but only translating the Pahlavi version, which, wherever it has been deciphered, is found to wander strangely from the true meaning of the original text. Tradition, as a rule, is wont to enforce the ideas of its own ages into the books of past ages. From the time when the Avesta was written to the time when it was translated, many ideas had undergone great changes: such ideas, tradition must needs either misunderstand or not understand at all, and tradition is always either new sense or nonsense. The key to the Avesta is not the Pahlavi, but the Veda. The Avesta and the Veda are two echoes of one and the same voice, the reflex of one and the same thought: the Vedas, therefore, are both the best lexicon and the best commentary to the Avesta.

The traditional school[2] replied that translating Zend by means of Sanskrit and the Avesta by means of the Vedas, because Zend and the Avesta are closely related to Sanskrit and the Vedas, is forgetting that relationship is not identity, and that what interests the Zend scholar is not to know how far Zend agrees with Sanskrit, but what it is in itself: what he seeks for in the Avesta, is the Avesta, not the Veda. Both the Vedic language and the Vedas are quite unable to teach us what became in Persia of those elements, which are common to the two systems, a thing which tradition alone can teach us. By the comparative

[1] Roth, Benfey, Haug. Cf. Revue Critique, 1877, II, 81. [2] Spiegel, Justi.

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method, the Zend meregha, which means 'a bird,' would assume the meaning of 'gazelle' to accord with the Sanskrit m*ri*ga; ratu, 'a part of the day,' would be extended to 'a season' out of regard for *ri*tu; mainyu, 'a spirit,' and dahyu, 'a province,' would be degraded to 'anger' and to 'a set of thieves,' and 'the demons,' the Daêvas, would ascend from their dwelling in hell up to heaven, to meet their philological brothers, the Indian Devas. The traditional method, as it starts from matters of facts, moves always in the field of reality; the comparative method starts from an hypothesis, moves in a vacuum, and builds up a fanciful religion and a fanciful language.

Such being the methods of the two schools, it often happened that a passage, translated by two scholars, one of each school, took so different an aspect that a layman would have been quite unable to suspect that it was one and the same passage he had read twice. Yet the divergence between the two methods is more apparent than real, and proceeds from an imperfect notion of the field in which each of them ought to work. They ought not to oppose, but assist one another, as they are not intended to instruct us about the same kind of facts, but about two kinds of facts quite different and independent. No language, no religion, that has lived long and changed much, can be understood at any moment of its development, unless we know what it became afterwards, and what it was before. The language and religion of the Avesta record but a moment in the long life of the Iranian language and thought, so that we are unable to understand them, unless we know what they became and whence they came. What they became we learn directly from tradition, since the tradition arose from the very ideas which the Avesta expresses; whence they came we learn indirectly from the Vedas, because the Vedas come from the same source as the Avesta. Therefore it cannot happen that the tradition and the Veda will really contradict one another, if we take care to ask from each only what it knows, from one the present, and the past from the other. Each method is equally right and equally efficacious, at its proper time and in its right

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place. The first place belongs to tradition, as it comes straight from the Avesta. The second inquiry, to be successful, requires infinite prudence and care: the Veda is not the past of the Avesta, as the Avesta is the past of tradition; the Avesta and Veda are not derived from one another, but from one and the same original, diversely altered in each, and, therefore, there are two stages of variation between them, whereas from the Avesta to tradition there is only one. The Veda, if first interrogated, gives no valuable evidence, as the words and gods, common to the two systems, may not have retained in both the same meaning they had in the Indo-Iranian period: they may have preserved it in one and lost it in the other, or they may have both altered it, but each in a different way. The Veda, generally speaking, cannot help in discovering matters of fact in the Avesta, but only in explaining them when discovered by tradition. If we review the discoveries made by the masters of the comparative school, it will be seen that they have in reality started, without noticing it, from facts formerly established by tradition. In fact tradition gives the materials, and comparison puts them in order. It is not possible, either to know the Avesta without the former, or to understand it without the latter.

The traditional school, and especially its indefatigable and well-deserving leader, Spiegel, made us acquainted with the nature of the old Iranian religion by gathering together all its materials; the comparative school tried to explain its growth. The traditional school published the text and the traditional translations, and produced the first Parsi grammar, the first Pahlavi grammar, and the first translation of the Avesta which had been made since Anquetil. The danger with it is that it shows itself too apt to stop at tradition, instead of going from it to comparison. When it undertakes to expound the history of the religion, it cannot but be misled by tradition. Any living people, although its existing state of mind is but the result of various and changing states through many successive ages, yet, at any particular moment of its life, keeps the remains of its former stages of thought in order, under the control of the

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principle that is then predominant. Thus it happens that their ideas are connected together in a way which seldom agrees with their historical sequence: chronological order is lost to sight and replaced by logical order, and the past is read into the present. Comparison alone can enable us to put things in their proper place, to trace their birth, their growth, their changes, their former relations, and lead us from the logical order, which is a shadow, to the historical order, which is the substance.

The comparative school developed Indo-Iranian mythology. Roth showed after Burnouf how the epical history of Iran was derived from the same source as the myths of Vedic India, and pointed out the primitive identity of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of Iran, with Varuṇa, the supreme god of the Vedic age. In the same direction Windischmann, in his 'Zoroastrian Essays' and in his studies on Mithra and Anâhita, displayed singular sagacity. But the dangers of the method came to light in the works of Haug, who, giving a definite form to a system still fluctuating, converted Mazdeism into a religious revolution against Vedic polytheism, found historical allusions to that schism both in the Avesta and in the Veda, pointed out curses against Zoroaster in the Vedas, and, in short, transformed, as it were, the two books into historical pamphlets[1].

In the contest about the authenticity of the Avesta, one party must necessarily have been right and the other wrong; but in the present struggle the issue is not so clear, as both parties are partly right and partly wrong. Both of them, by following their principles, have rendered such services to science as seem to give each a right to cling to its own method more firmly than ever. Yet it is to be hoped that they will see at last that they must be allies, not enemies, and that their common work must be begun by the one and completed by the other.

[1] It would be unjust, when speaking of Haug, not to recall the invaluable services he rendered in the second part of his career, as a Pahlavi scholar. He was the first who thought of illustrating the Pahlavi in the books by the Pahlavi in the inscriptions, and thus determined the reading of the principal elements in the manuscript Pahlavi.

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CHAPTER III.

THE FORMATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

§ 1. The collection of Zend fragments, known as the Zend-Avesta [1], is divided, in its usual form, into two parts.

The first part, or the Avesta properly so called, contains the Vendîdâd, the Vispêrad, and the Yasna. The Vendîdâd is a compilation of religious laws and of mythical tales; the Vispêrad is a collection of litanies for the sacrifice; and the Yasna is composed of litanies of the same kind and of five hymns or Gâthas written in a special dialect, older than the general language of the Avesta.

These three books are found in manuscripts in two different forms: either each by itself, in which case they are generally accompanied by a Pahlavi translation; or the three mingled together according to the requirements of the liturgy, as they are not each recited separately in their entirety, but the chapters of the different books are intermingled; and in this case the collection is called the Vendîdâd Sâdah or 'Vendîdâd pure,' as it exhibits the original text alone, without a translation.

The second part, generally known as the Khorda Avesta or 'Small Avesta,' is composed of short prayers which are recited not only by the priests, but by all the faithful, at certain moments of the day, month, or year, and in presence of the different elements; these prayers are the five Gâh, the thirty formulas of the Sîrôzah, the three Âfrigân, and the six Nyâyis. But it is also usual to include in the Khorda Avesta, although forming no real part of it, the Yasts or hymns of praise and glorification to the several

[1] A very improper designation, as Zend means 'a commentary or explanation,' and was applied only to explanatory texts, to the translations of the Avesta. Avesta (from the old Persian âbastâ, 'the law;' see Oppert, Journal Asiatique, 1872, Mars) is the proper name of the original texts. What it is customary to call 'the Zend language' ought to be named 'the Avesta language;' the Zend being no language at all; and, if the word be used as the designation of one, it can be rightly applied only to the Pahlavi. The expression 'Avesta and Zend' is often used in the Pahlavi commentary to designate 'the law with its traditional and revealed explanation.'

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Izads, and a number of fragments, the most important of which is the Hadhôkht Nosk.

§ 2. That the extent of the sacred literature of Mazdeism was formerly much greater than it is now, appears not only from internal evidence, that is, from the fragmentary character of the book, but is also proved by historical evidence. In the first place, the Arab conquest proved fatal to the religious literature of the Sassanian ages, a great part of which was either destroyed by the fanaticism of the conquerors and the new converts, or lost during the long exodus of the Parsis. Thus the Pahlavi translation of the Vendîdâd, which was not finished before the latter end of the Sassanian dynasty, contains not a few Zend quotations from books which are no longer in existence; other quotations, as remarkable in their importance as in their contents, are to be found in Pahlavi and Parsi tracts, like the Nîrangistân and the Aogemaidê. The Bundahis contains much matter which is not spoken of in the existing Avesta, but which is very likely to have been taken from Zend books which were still in the hands of its compiler. It is a tradition with the Parsis, that the Yasts were originally thirty in number, there having been one for each of the thirty Izads who preside over the thirty days of the month; yet there are only eighteen still extant.

The cause that preserved the Avesta is obvious; taken as a whole, it does not profess to be a religious encyclopedia, but only a liturgical collection, and it bears more likeness to a Prayer Book than to the Bible. It can be readily conceived that the Vendîdâd Sâdah, which had to be recited every day, would be more carefully preserved than the Yasts, which are generally recited once a month; and these again more carefully than other books, which, however sacred they might be, were not used in the performance of worship. Many texts, no doubt, were lost in consequence of the Arab conquest, but mostly such as would have more importance in the eyes of the theologian than in those of the priest. We have a fair specimen of what these lost texts may have been in the few non-liturgical fragments which we still possess, such as the Vistâsp Yast and

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the blessing of Zoroaster upon King Vistâsp, which belong to the old epic cycle of Iran, and the Hadhôkht Nosk, which treats of the fate of the soul after death.

§ 3. But if we have lost much of the Sassanian sacred literature, Sassanian Persia herself, if we may trust Parsi tradition, had lost still more of the original books. The primitive Avesta, as revealed by Ormazd to Zoroaster and by Zoroaster to Vistâsp, king of Bactria, was supposed to have been composed of twenty-one Nosks or Books, the greater part of which was burnt by Iskander the Rûmi (Alexander the Great). After his death the priests of the Zoroastrian religion met together, and by collecting the various fragments that had escaped the ravages of the war and others that they knew by heart, they formed the present collection, which is a very small part of the original book, as out of the twenty-one Nosks there was only one that was preserved in its entirety, the Vendîdâd [1].

This tradition is very old, and may be traced back from the present period even to Sassanian times [2]. It involves the assumption that the Avesta is the remnant of the sacred literature of Persia under the last Achæmenian kings. To ascertain whether this inference is correct, and to what extent it may be so, we must first try to define, as accurately as we can, the exact time at which the collection, now in existence, was formed.

§ 4. The Ravâet quoted above states that it was formed 'after the death of Iskander,' which expression is rather vague, and may as well mean 'centuries after his death' as 'immediately after his death.' It is, in fact, hardly to be doubted that the latter was really what the writer meant; yet, as the date of that Ravâet is very recent, we had better look for older and more precise traditions. We find such a one in the Dînkart, a Pahlavi book which enjoys great authority with the Parsis of our days, and which, although it contains many things of late origin [3], also comprises many

[1] Ravâet ap. Anquetil, Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres XXXVIII, 216; Spiegel, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft IX, 174.

[2] J. Darmesteter, La légende d'Alexandre chez les Parses.

[3] We find in it a description of the four classes, which strikingly reminds

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old and valuable traditions. According to a proclamation, ascribed to Khosrav Anôsharvân (531–579), the collection of the Avesta fragments was begun in the reign of the last Arsacides, and was finished under Shapûr II (309–380). King Valkash (Vologeses), it is said, first ordered all the fragments of the Avesta which might have escaped the ravages of Iskander, or been preserved by oral tradition, to be searched for and collected together. The first Sassanian king, Ardeshîr Bâbagân, made the Avesta the sacred book of Iran, and Mazdeism the state religion: at last, Âdarbâd Mahraspand, under Shapûr II, purified the Avesta and fixed the number of the Nasks, and Shapûr proclaimed to the heterodox[1]: 'Now that we have recognised the law of the world here below, they shall not allow the infidelity of any one whatever[2], as I shall strive that it may be so[3].'

§ 5. The authenticity of this record has been called in question, chiefly, I think, on account of the part that it ascribes to an Arsacide prince, which seems hardly to agree with the ideas generally entertained about the character of the Sassanian revolution[4]. Most Parsi and Muhammedan writers agree that it was the Sassanian dynasty which raised the Zoroastrian religion from the state of humiliation into which the Greek invasion had made it sink, and, while it gave the signal for a revival of the old national spirit, made Mazdeism one of the corner stones of the new establishment[5]. Therefore it seems strange to hear that the first step taken to make Mazdeism a state religion was taken by one of those very Philhellenic Parthian princes, who were so fully imbued with Greek ideas and manners. Yet this is the

one of the Brahmanical account of the origin of the castes (Chap. XLII; cf. the first pages of the Shikan Gumânî), and which was certainly borrowed from India; whether at the time of the last Sassanians, when Persia learnt so much from India, or since the settlement of the Parsis in India, we are unable to decide: yet the former seems more probable.

[1] Gvêt rastakân. We are indebted to Mr. West for the right translation of this word.

[2] Thus translated by West (Glossary of the Book of Ardâ Virâf, p. 27).

[3] Haug, Essay on Pahlavi, p. 145 seq., 149 seq.

[4] Spiegel, Eranische Alterthumskunde III, 782, n. 1.

[5] S. de Sacy, Mémoires sur quelques antiquités de la Perse. Cf. Masudi, II, 125.

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very reason why we ought to feel some hesitation in rejecting this document, and its being at variance with the general Parsi view speaks rather for its authenticity; for as it was the general post-Sassanian tradition that the restoration of Mazdeism was the work of the first Sassanian kings, no Parsi would ever have thought of making them share what was in his eyes their first and best title of honour with any of the despised princes of the Parthian dynasty.

§ 6. It is difficult, of course, to prove directly the authenticity of this record, the more so as we do not even know who was the king alluded to. There were, in fact, four kings at least[1] who bore the name of Valkhash: the most celebrated and best known of the four was Vologeses I, the contemporary of Nero. Now that Zoroastrianism prevailed with him, or at least with members of his family, we see from the conduct of his brother Tiridates, who was a Magian (Magus)[2]; and by this term we must not understand a magician[3], but a priest, and one of the Zoroastrian religion. That he was a priest appears from Tacitus' testimony[4]; that he was a Zoroastrian is shown by his scruples about the worship of the elements. When he came from Asia to Rome to receive the crown of Armenia at the hands of Nero, he wanted not to come by sea, but rode along the coasts[5], because the Magi were forbidden to defile the sea[6]. This is quite in the spirit of later Zoroastrianism, and savours much of Mazdeism. That Vologeses himself shared the religious scruples of his brother appears from his answer to Nero,

[1] Perhaps five (see de Longpérier, Mémoire sur la Numismatique des Arsacides, p. 111).

[2] 'Magus ad eum Tiridates venerat' (Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXX, 6).

[3] Pliny very often confounds Magism and Magia, Magians and Magicians. We know from Pliny, too, that Tiridates refused to initiate Nero into his art: but the cause was not, as he assumes, that it was 'a detestable, frivolous, and vain art,' but because Mazdean law forbids the holy knowledge to be revealed to laymen, much more to foreigners (Yast IV, 10; cf. Philostrati Vita Soph. I, 10).

[4] 'Nec recusaturum Tiridatem accipiendo diademati in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur' (Ann. XV, 24).

[5] He crossed only the Hellespont.

[6] 'Navigare noluerat, quoniam inspuere in maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant' (Pliny, l.l. Cf. Introd. V, 8 seq.)

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who insisted upon his coming to Rome also: 'Come yourself, it is easier for you to cross such immensity of sea[1].'

§ 7. Thus we hear on one hand from the Parsis that the first collection of the Avesta was made by an Arsacide named Vologeses; and we hear, on the other hand, from a quite independent source, that an Arsacide named Vologeses behaved himself as a follower of the Avesta might have done. In all this there is no evidence that it is Vologeses I who is mentioned in the Dînkarṭ, much less that he was really the first editor of the Avesta; but it shows at all events that the first attempt to recover the sacred literature of Iran might very well have been made by an Arsacide, and that we may trust, in this matter, to a document which has been written perhaps by a Sassanian king, but, at any rate, in a Sassanian spirit. In fact, in the struggle between Ardavan and Ardeshîr, there was no religious interest at stake, but only a political one; and we are expressly told by Hamza that between Ardeshîr and his adversaries there was perfect accordance in religious matters[2]. It can, therefore, be fairly admitted that even in the time and at the court of the Philhellenic Parthians a Zoroastrian movement may have originated, and that there came a time when they perceived that a national religion is a part of national life. It was the merit of the Sassanides that they saw the drift of this idea which they had the good fortune to carry out; and this would not be the only instance, in the history of the world, of an idea being sown by one party and its advantages reaped by their adversaries.

[1] Dio Cassius, LXIII, 4. The answer was mistaken for an insult by Nero, and, as it seems, by Dio himself. In fact Volôgeses remained to the last faithful to the memory of Nero (Suet. Nero, 57). What we know moreover of his personal character qualifies him for taking the initiative in a religious work. He seems to have been a man of contemplative mind rather than a man of action, which often excited the anger or scorn of his people against him; and he had the glory of breaking with the family policy of Parthian kings (Tacitus, Annales, XV, 1, 2). It was under his reign that the first interference of religion with politics, of which the history of Persia speaks, took place, as he was called by the people of Adiabene against their king Izates, who had become a Jew (Josephus, Antiq. XX, 4, 2).

[2] Hamzae Ispahensis Annales, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 31 (in the translation).

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§ 8. Another presumptive evidence of the groundwork of the Avesta being anterior to the age of the Sassanians is given by the language in which it is written. That language not only was not, but had never been, the national language of Persia. It is indeed closely connected with the ancient Persian, as found in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings, from which modern Persian is derived; but the relations between ancient Persian and Zend are of such a kind that neither language can be conceived as being derived from the other; they are not one and the same language in two different stages of its development, but two independent dialects in nearly the same stage, which is a proof that they did not belong to the same country, and, therefore, that Zend was not the language of Persia. Now the language used in Persia after the death of Alexander, under the Arsacides and Sassanides, that is, during the period in which the Avesta must have been edited, was Pahlavi, which is not derived from Zend, but from ancient Persian, being the middle dialect between ancient and modern Persian. Therefore, if the Sassanian kings had conceived the project of having religious books of their own written and composed, it is not likely that they would have had them written in an old foreign dialect, but in the old national language, the more so, because, owing both to their origin and their policy, they were bound to be the representatives of the genuine old Persian tradition. Therefore, if they adopted Zend as the language of religion, it must have been because it was already so when they appeared, that is to say, because the only remnants of sacred literature then extant were written in Zend, and the editors of the Avesta had Zend writings before them.

This does not, of course, prove that all we find in the Avesta is pre-Sassanian, and that the editors did not compose new Zend texts. Although Zend was not only a dead language, but also a foreign one, it was not an unknown language: that it was well understood by the learned class, the priests, appears from the Pahlavi translation, which was made by them, and which, the deeper

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one enters into the meaning of the text, has the fuller justice done to its merits. The earliest date that can be ascribed to that translation, in its present form, is the last century of the Sassanian dynasty, as it contains an allusion to the death of the heresiarch Mazdak, the son of Bâmdâd [1], who was put to death in the beginning of the reign of Khosrav Anôsharvân (about 531). Now the ability to translate a dead language is a good test of the ability to write in it, and in the question of the age of the Zend texts the possibility of new ones having been composed by the editors cannot be excluded à priori. Nay, we shall see further on that there are passages in these texts which look very modern, and may have been written at the time when the book took its last and definitive form. But whatever may be the proportion of the new texts to the old ones (which I believe to be very small), it is quite certain that the bulk of the Avesta is pre-Sassanian.

§ 9. The date assigned by the Dînkart to the final edition of the Avesta and to its promulgation as the sacred law of the nation, agrees with what we know of the religious state of Iran in the times of Shapûr II. Mazdeism had just been threatened with destruction by a new religion sprung from itself, the religion of Mânî, which for a while numbered a king amongst its followers (Shapûr I, 240–270). Mazdeism was shaken for a long time, and when Mânî was put to death, his work did not perish with him. In the Kissah-i Sangâh, Zoroaster is introduced prophesying that the holy religion will be overthrown three times and restored three times; overthrown the first time by Iskander, it will be restored by Ardeshîr; overthrown again, it will be restored by Shapûr II and Âdarbâd Mahraspand; and, lastly, it will be overthrown by the Arabs and restored at the end of time by Soshyos. The Parsi traditions about Âdarbâd, although they are mixed with much fable, allow some historical truth to show itself. He was a holy man under Shapûr II, who, as there were many religions and heresies in Iran and the true religion

[1] Vide infra, p. xli, note 3.

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was falling into oblivion, restored it through a miracle, as he gave a sign of its truth by allowing melted brass to be poured on his breast, without his being injured. Setting aside the miracle, which is most probably borrowed from the legend of Zoroaster, this account receives its true interpretation from the passages in the Kissah-i Sangâh and the Dînkart, which imply that Âdarbâd restored Mazdeism, which had been shaken by the Manichean heresy, and that in order to settle it upon a solid and lasting base, he gave a definitive form to the religious book of Iran and closed the Holy Writ. And even nowadays the Parsi, while reciting the Patet, acknowledges Âdarbâd as the third founder of the Avesta; the first being Zoroaster, who received it from Ormazd; the second Gâmâsp, who received it from Zoroaster; and the third Âdarbâd, who taught it and restored it to its purity.

Therefore, so far as we can trust to inferences that rest upon such scanty and vague testimonies, it seems likely that the Avesta took its definitive form from the hands of Âdarbâd Mahraspand, under King Shapûr II, in consequence of the dangers with which Mânî's heresy had threatened the national religion. As the death of Mânî and the first persecution of his followers took place some thirty years before Shapûr's accession to the throne, it may be presumed that the last revision of the Avesta was made in the first years of the new reign, when the agitation aroused by Mânî's doctrines and imperfectly allayed by the persecution of his disciples had not yet subsided, and the old religion was still shaking on its base[1].

§ 10. It follows hence that Zend texts may have been composed even as late as the fourth century A. D. This is, of course, a mere theoretical possibility, for although the liturgical parts of the Yasna, the Vispêrad, the Sîrôzah, and

[1] Shapûr II ascended the throne about 309 (before being born, as the tradition goes): and as he appears from the Dînkart to have taken a personal part in the work of Âdarbâd, the promulgation of the Avesta can hardly have taken place at an earlier date than 325–330. Âdarbâd and the Fathers at Nicaea lived and worked in the same age, and the Zoroastrian threats of the king of Iran and the Catholic anathemas of the Kaisar of Rûm may have been issued on the same day.

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the Khorda Avesta must be ascribed to a later time than the Gâthas, the Vendîdâd, and the Yasts, and may belong to some period of revision, they certainly do not belong to the period of this last revision. Âdarbâd was only the last editor of the Avesta, and it is likely, nay, it is beyond all question, that the doctors of the law, before his time, had tried to put the fragments in order, to connect them, and to fill up the gaps as far as the practical purposes of liturgy required it. Therefore instead of saying that there are parts of the Avesta that may belong to so late a period as the fourth century, it is more correct to say that no part of it can belong to a later date.

There are two passages in the Vendîdâd which seem to contain internal evidence of their date, and in both cases it points to Sassanian times, nay, the second of them points to the age of Manicheism. The first is found in the eighteenth Fargard (§ 10): Ahura Mazda, while cursing those who teach a wrong law, exclaims:

'And he who would set that man at liberty, when bound in prison, does no better deed than if he should flay a man alive and cut off his head.'

This anathema indicates a time when Mazdeism was a state religion and had to fight against heresy; it must, therefore, belong to Sassanian times. These lines are fully illustrated by a Parsi book of the same period[1], the Mainyô-i-Khard:

'Good government is that which maintains and orders the true law and custom of the city people and poor untroubled, and thrusts out improper law and custom; . . . and keeps in progress the worship of God, and duties, and good works; . . . and will resign the body, and that also which [is] its own life, for the sake of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. And if [there] be any one who shall stay [away] from the way of God, then it orders him to return thereto, and makes him a prisoner, and brings [him] back to the way of God; and will bestow, from the wealth that is his, the share of God, and the worthy, and good works,

[1] See the book of the Mainyô-i-Khard, ed. West; Introduction, p. x seq.

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and the poor; and will deliver up the body on account of the soul. A good king who [is] of that sort, is called like the Yazads and the Ameshâspeñds [1].'

What doctrines are alluded to by the Vendîdâd is not explained: it appears from the context that it had in view such sects as released the faithful from the yoke of religious practices, as it anathematizes, at the same time, those who have continued for three years without wearing the sacred girdle. We know too little of the Manichean liturgy to guess if the Manicheans are here alluded to: that Mânî should have rejected many Zoroastrian practices is not unlikely, as his aim was to found a universal religion. While he pushed to extremes several of the Zoroastrian tenets, especially those which had taken, or might receive, a moral or metaphysical meaning, he must have been very regardless of practices which could not be ennobled into moral symbolism. However it may be with regard to the foregoing passage, it is difficult not to see a direct allusion to Manicheism in lines like the following. (IV, 47 seq.):

'Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the man who has a wife is far above him who begets no sons; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has children is far above the childless man; he who has riches is far above him who has none.

'And of two men, he who fills himself with meat is filled with the good spirit much more than he who does not so; the latter is all but dead; the former is above him by the worth of an Asperena, by the worth of a sheep, by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man.

'It is this man that can strive against the onsets of Astô-vîdhôtu; that can strive against the self-moving arrow; that can strive against the winter fiend, with thinnest garment on; that can strive against the wicked tyrant and smite him on the head; it is this man that can strive against the ungodly Ashemaogha [2] who does not eat [3].'

[1] Chap. XV, 16 seq. as translated by West.

[2] Ashemaogha, 'the confounder of Asha' (see IV, 37), is the name of the fiends and of the heretics. The Parsis distinguish two sorts of Ashemaoghas, the deceiver and the deceived; the deceiver, while alive, is mar-

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That this is a bit of religious polemics, and that it refers to definite doctrines and tenets which were held at the time when it was written, can hardly be doubted. It may remind one of the Christian doctrines; and, in fact, it was nearly in the same tone, and with the same expressions, that in the fifth century King Yazdgard branded the Christians in Armenia[4]. But however eager the Christian propaganda may have been for a time in Persia, they never endangered the state religion. The real enemy was the heresy sprung from Mazdeism itself; and Christianity, coming from abroad, was more of a political than a religious foe. And, in point of fact, the description in the above passage agrees better with the Manichean doctrines than with the Christian[5]. Like Mânî, Christian teachers held the single life holier than the state of matrimony, yet they had not forbidden marriage, which Mânî did; they put poor Lazarus above Dives, but they never forbade trade and husbandry, which Mânî did; and, lastly, they never prohibited the eating of flesh, which was one of the chief precepts of Mânî[6]. We find, therefore, in this passage, an illustration, from the Avesta itself, of the celebrated doctrine of the three seals with which Mânî had sealed the bosom, the hand, and the mouth of his disciples (signaculum sinus, manus, oris)[6].

garzân, 'worthy of death,' and after death is a darvand (a fiend, or one of the damned); the deceived one is only margarzân.

[3] The Pahlavi translation illustrates the words 'who does not eat' by the gloss, 'like Mazdak, son of Bâmdâd,' which proves that this part of the commentary is posterior to, or contemporary with the crushing of the Mazdakian sect (in the first years of Khosrav Anôsharvân, about 531). The words 'against the wicked tyrant' are explained by the gloss, 'like Zarvândâd;' may it not be Kobâd, the heretic king, or 'Yazdgard the sinner,' the scorner of the Magi?

[4] Elisaeus, pp. 29, 52, in the French translation by Garabed.

[5] At least with orthodox Christianity, which seems to have alone prevailed in Persia till the arrival of the Nestorians. The description would apply very well to certain gnostic sects, especially that of Cerdo and Marcio, which is no wonder, as it was through that channel that Christianity became known to Mânî. Masudi makes Mânî a disciple of Kardûn (ed. B. de Meynard, II, 167), and the care which his biographer (ap. Flügel, Mânî, pp. 51, 85) takes to determine the length of time which intervened between Marcio and Mânî seems to betray some dim recollection of an historical connection between the two doctrines.

[6] The patriarch of Alexandria, Timotheus, allowed the other patriarchs,

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§ 11. We must now go a step farther back, and try to solve the question whence came the original texts out of which the editors of the Avesta formed their collection. Setting aside the Dînkarṭ, we have no oriental document to help us in tracing them through the age of the Arsacides, a complete historical desert, and we are driven for information to the classical writers who are, on this point, neither very clear nor always credible. The mention of books ascribed to Zoroaster occurs not seldom during that period, but very often it applies to Alexandrian and Gnostic apocrypha[1]. Yet there are a few passages which make it pretty certain that there was a Mazdean literature in existence in those times. Pausanias, travelling through Lydia in the second century of our era, saw and heard Magian priests singing hymns from a book[2]; whether these hymns were the same as the Gâthas, still extant, we cannot ascertain, but this shows that there were Gâthas. The existence of a Zoroastrian literature might be traced back as far as the third century before Christ, if Pliny could be credited when he says that Hermippus[3] had given an analysis of the books of Zoroaster, which are said to have amounted to 2,000,000 lines[4]. For want of external evidence for ascertaining whether the original texts were already in existence in the later years of the Achæmenian dynasty, we must seek for internal evidence. A comparison between the ideas expressed in our texts and what we know of the ideas of Achæmenian Persia may perhaps lead to safer inferences.

§ 12. That all the Avesta ideas were already fully developed in the time, or, at least, at the end of the

bishops, and monks to eat meat on Sundays, in order to recognise those who belonged to the Manichean sect (Flügel, Mânî, p. 279).

[1] 'Those who follow the heresy of Prodicus boast of possessing secret books of Zoroaster,' Clemens Alex. Stromata I. Cf. the ἀποκαλύψεις Ζωροάστρου forged by Adelphius or Aquilinus (ap. Porphyr. Vita Plotini, § 16).

[2] Ἐπᾴδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου (V, 27, 3).

[3] See Windischmann, Zoroastrische Studien, 288.

[4] 'Hermippus, qui de tota arte ea (magia) diligentissime scripsit et viciens centiens milia versuum a Zoroastre condita indicibus quoque voluminum ejus positis explanavit.' . . . (Hist. Nat. XXX, 1, 2). He had written a book περὶ μάγων (Diog. Laert. Prooem. 8).

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Achæmenian dynasty, appears from the perfect accordance of the account of Mazdeism in Theopompos[1] with the data of the Zend books. All the main features of Mazdean belief, namely, the existence of two principles, a good and an evil one, Ormazd and Ahriman, the antithetical creations of the two supreme powers, the division of all the beings in nature into two corresponding classes, the limited duration of the world, the end of the struggle between Ormazd and Ahriman by the defeat and destruction of the evil principle, the resurrection of the dead, and the everlasting life, all these tenets of the Avesta had already been established at the time of Philip and Aristotle. Therefore we must admit that the religious literature then in existence, if there were any, must have differed but little, so far as its contents were concerned, from the Avesta; its extent was greater of course, and we have a proof of this in this very account of Theopompos, which gives us details nowhere to be found in the present texts, and yet the authenticity of which is made quite certain by comparative mythology[2]. Therefore there is nothing that forbids us to believe, with the Parsis, that the fragments of which the Avesta is composed were already in existence before the Greek invasion[3].

§ 13. But it does not follow hence that the Achæmenian Avesta was the sacred book of the Achæmenians and of Persia, and it must not be forgotten that the account in Plutarch is not about the religion of Persia, but about the belief of the Magi and the lore of Zoroaster. Now if we consider that the two characteristic features of Avestean Magism are, so far as belief goes, the admission of two principles, and so far as practice is concerned, the prohibition of burying the dead, we find that there is no evidence

[1] In Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, §§ 46–47.

[2] Men, when raised from the dead, shall have no shadow any longer (*μήτε σκιὰν ποιοῦντας*). In India, gods have no shadows (Nalus); in Persia, Râshidaddîn was recognised to be a god from his producing no shadow (Guyard, Un grand maître des Assassins, Journal Asiatique, 1877, I, 392); the plant of eternal life, Haoma, has no shadow (Henry Lord).

[3] Persian tradition cannot be much relied on, when it tries to go back beyond Alexander, and on that special point it seems to be more an inference of later ages, than a real tradition; but the inference happens to be right.

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that Achæmenian Persia admitted the former, and there is evidence that she did not admit the latter. But, at the same time, it appears that both the belief and the practice were already in existence, though peculiar to one class, the sacerdotal class, the Magi.

The question whether the Achæmenian kings believed in dualism and knew of Ahriman, is not yet settled. Much stress has often been laid on the absence of the name of Ahriman in the religious formulae engraved by Darius and Xerxes on the rocks at Persepolis and Naqs-i Rustam[1]. But it is never safe to draw wide conclusions from negative facts: Darius and Xerxes speak of Aurâmazda quite in the style of the Avesta, and their not speaking of Ahriman is no sufficient proof of their not knowing him; they did not intend to publish a complete creed, nor had they to inscribe articles of faith.

The account of the Persian religion in Herodotus also leaves, or seems to leave, Ahriman unnoticed. But it must be borne in mind that he does not expound the religious conceptions of the Persians, but only their religious customs; he describes their worship more than their dogmas, and not a single tenet is mentioned. He seems even not to know anything of Ormazd, who was, however, most certainly the supreme god of Persia in his days; yet, in fact, he clearly alludes to Ormazd, when he states that the Persians worship Zeus on the summits of mountains, and call by the name of Zeus the whole circle of the heavens, which exactly agrees with the character of Ormazd[2]. In the same way the existence of Ahriman is indirectly pointed to by the duty enforced upon the faithful to persecute and kill noxious animals, as it was only on account of

[1] Professor Oppert thinks he has found in Darius' inscriptions an express mention of Ahriman (Le peuple et le langue des Mèdes, p. 199); yet the philological interpretation of the passage seems to me still too obscure to allow of any decisive opinion. Plutarch introduces Artaxerxes I speaking of Ἀρειμάνιος, but whether the king is made to speak the language of his own time, or that of Plutarch's time, is left doubtful. As to the allusions in Isaiah (xlv), they do not necessarily refer to dualism in particular, but to all religions not monotheistic. (Cf. Ormazd et Ahriman, § 241.)

[2] Vide infra, IV, 5.

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their being creatures of the evil principle and incarnations of it, that this custom was enjoined as a religious duty[1]. It appears, it is true, from the words of Herodotus, that it was only a custom peculiar to the Magi[2]; but it shows, at least, that the belief in Ahriman was already then in existence, and that dualism was constituted, at least, as a Magian article of faith.

If we pass now from dogma to practice, we find that the most important practice of the Avesta law was either disregarded by the Achæmenian kings, or unknown to them. According to the Avesta burying corpses in the earth is one of the most heinous sins that can be committed[3]; we know that under the Sassanians a prime minister, Seoses, paid with his life for an infraction of that law[4]. Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains, there to be devoured by birds and dogs; the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of Mazdean profession, and its adoption was the sign of conversion[5]. Now under the Achæmenian rule, not only the burial of the dead was not forbidden, but it was the general practice. Persians, says Herodotus, bury their dead in the earth, after having coated them with wax[6]. But Herodotus, immediately after stating that the Persians inter their dead, adds that the Magi do not follow the general practice, but lay the corpses down on the ground, to be devoured by birds. So what became a law for all people, whether laymen or priests, under the rule of the Sassanians, was only the custom of the Magi, under the Achæmenians.

The obvious conclusion is that the ideas and customs which are found in the Avesta were already in existence under the Achæmenian kings; but that taken as a whole, they were not the general ideas and customs of the whole of Persia, but only of the sacerdotal caste[7]. There were

[1] Vide infra, IV, 35; cf. Fargard XIII, 5 seq.; XIV, 5.
[2] Herod. I, 140.
[3] Vide infra, V, 9.
[4] Procopius, De Bello Persico, I, 11.
[5] Ibid. I, 12.
[6] Herod. I, 140.
[7] There are other features of the Avesta religion which appear to have been foreign to Persia, but are attributed to the Magi. The *hvaêtvôdatha*, the holiness of marriage between next of kin, even to incest, was unknown to

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therefore, practically, two religions in Iran, the one for laymen and the other for priests. The Avesta was originally the sacred book only of the Magi, and the progress of the religious evolution was to extend to laymen what was the custom of the priests.

§ 14. We are now able to understand how it was that the sacred book of Persia was written in a non-Persian dialect: it had been written in the language of its composers, the Magi, who were not Persians. Between the priests and the people there was not only a difference of calling, but also a difference of race, as the sacerdotal caste came from a non-Persian province. What that province was we know both from Greek historians and from Parsi traditions.

All classical writers, from Herodotus down to Ammianus, agree in pointing to Media as the seat and native place of the Magi. 'In Media,' says Marcellinus (XXIII, 6), 'are the fertile fields of the Magi . . . (having been taught in the magic science by King Hystaspes) they handed it down to their posterity, and thus from Hystaspes to the present age an immense family was developed, hereditarily devoted to the worship of the gods. . . . In former times their number was very scanty . . . , but they grew up by and by into the number and name of a nation, and inhabiting towns without walls they were allowed to live according to their own laws, protected by religious awe.' Putting aside the legendary account of their origin, one sees from this passage that in the time of Marcellinus[1] (fourth cent. A.D.) there was in Media a tribe, called Magi, which had the hereditary privilege of providing Iran with priests. Strabo, writing three centuries before Marcellinus, considered the Magi as a sacerdotal tribe spread over the land[2]. Lastly, we see in Herodotus (III, 65) that the usurpation of the Magian Smerdis was interpreted

Persia under Cambyses (Herod. III, 31), but it is highly praised in the Avesta, and was practised under the Sassanians (Agathias II, 31); in the times before the Sassanians it is mentioned only as a law of the Magi (Diog. Laert. Prooem. 6; Catullus, Carm. XC).

[1] Or of the historians from whom he copies. Still he seems to speak from contemporary evidence. Sozomenus (Hist. Eccles. II, 9) states that the care of worship belonged hereditarily to the Magi 'as to a sacerdotal race,' ὥσπερ τι φῦλον ἱερατικόν.

[2] Τὸ τῶν Μάγων φῦλον (XV, 14).

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by Cambyses as an attempt of the Medes to recover the hegemony they had lost, and when we learn from Herodotus (I, 101) that the Medes were divided into several tribes, Busae, Paraetakeni, Strouchates, Arizanti, Budii, and Magi, without his making any remark on the last name, we can hardly have any doubt that the priests known as Magi belonged to the tribe of the Magi, that they were named after their origin, and that the account of Marcellinus may be correct even for so early a period as that of Herodotus.

§ 15. Parsi traditions agree with Greek testimonies.

That the priesthood was hereditary, we see from the statement in the Bundahiś, that all the Maubeds are descendants from King Minochihr[1], and even nowadays the priesthood cannot extend beyond the priestly families; the son of a Dastur is not obliged to be a Dastur, but no one that is not the son of a Dastur can become one[2].

That they came from Media, we see from the traditions about the native place of Zoroaster, their chief and the founder of their religion. Although epic legends place the cradle of Mazdean power in Bactria, at the court of King Vîstâsp, Bactria was only the first conquest of Zoroaster, it was neither his native place, nor the cradle of his religion. Although there are two different traditions on this point, both agree in pointing to Media; according to the one he was born in Rai, that is in Media, properly so called; according to the other he was born in Shîz, that is in Media Atropatene.

The former tradition seems to be the older; it is expressed directly in the Pahlavi Commentary to Vendîdâd I, 16[3]; and there is in the Avesta itself (Yasna XIX, 18 (50)) a passage that either alludes to it or shows how it originated.

'How many masters are there?'

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[1] Bundahiś 79, 13.

[2] Dosabhoy Framjee, The Parsees, &c. p. 277.

[3] 'Ragha of the three races,' that is to say, Atropatene (vide infra); some say it is 'Rai.' It is 'of the three races' because the three classes, priests, warriors, husbandmen, 'were well organized there. Some say that Zartust was born there . . . , those three classes were born from him.' Cf. Bundahiś 79, 15, and Farg. II, 43, n. 2. Rai is the Greek Ῥαγαί.

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'There are the master of the house, the lord of the borough, the lord of the town, the lord of the province, and the Zarathustra (the high-priest) as the fifth. So is it in all lands, except in the Zarathustrian realm; for there are there only four masters, in Ragha, the Zarathustrian city[1].'

'Who are they?'

'They are the master of the house, the lord of the borough, the lord of the town, and Zarathustra is the fourth[2].'

This amounts to saying that the high-priest, the Maubedân Maubed, held in Rai the position of the dahvyuma, or lord of the land, and was the chief magistrate. It may be suspected that this was the independent sacerdotal state which is spoken of in Marcellinus, and this suspicion is raised to a certain degree of probability by the following lines in Yaqût:

'Ustûnâwand, a celebrated fortress in the district of Danbawand, in the province of Rai. It is very old, and was strongly fortified. It is said to have been in existence for more than 3000 years, and to have been the stronghold of the Masmoghân of the land during the times of paganism. This word, which designates the high-priest of the Zoroastrian religion, is composed of mas, "great," and moghân, which means "magian." Khaled besieged it, and destroyed the power of the last of them[3].'

According to another tradition Zarathustra was born in Atropatene. The very same commentary which describes Ragha as being identical with Rai, and the native place of Zartust, also informs us that Ragha was thought by others

[1] Or possibly, 'in the Zarathustrian Ragha.'

[2] The Commentary has here: 'that is to say, he was the fourth master in his own land.'

Their spreading and wandering over Mazdean lands appears from Yasna XLII, 6 (XLI, 34): 'We bless the coming of the Athravans, who come from afar to bring holiness to countries;' cf. infra, p. lii, note 1, and Farg. XIII, 22.

[3] Dictionnaire géographique de la Perse, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, p. 33. Cf. Spiegel, Eranische Alterthumskunde III, 565. A dim recollection of this Magian dynasty seems to survive in the account ap. Diog. Laert. (Prooem. 2) that Zoroaster was followed by a long series of Magi, Osthanae Astrampsychi, and Pazatae, till the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander.

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to be Atropatene. Traditions, of which unfortunately we have only late records, make him a native of Shîz, the capital of Atropatene[1]: 'In Shîz is the fire temple of Azerekhsh, the most celebrated of the Pyraea of the Magi; in the days of the fire worship, the kings always came on foot, upon pilgrimage. The temple of Azerekhsh is ascribed to Zeratusht, the founder of the Magian religion, who went, it is said, from Shîz to the mountain of Sebîlân, and, after remaining there some time in retirement, returned with the Zend-Avesta, which, although written in the old Persian language, could not be understood without a commentary. After this he declared himself to be a prophet[2].'

Now we read in the Bundahis that Zartust founded his religion by offering a sacrifice in Irân Vêg (Airyanem Vaêgô)[3]. Although this detail referred originally to the mythical character of Zoroaster, and Irân Vêg was primitively no real country, yet as it was afterwards identified with the basin of the Aras (Vanguhi Dâitya)[4], this identification is a proof that the cradle of the new religion was looked for on the banks of the Aras. In the Avesta itself we read that Zoroaster was born and received the law from Ormazd on a mountain, by the river Darega[5], a name which strikingly reminds one of the modern Darah river, which falls from the Sebîlân mount into the Aras.

To decide which of the two places, Rai or Atropatene, had the better claim to be called the native place of Zoroaster is of course impossible. The conflict of the two traditions must be interpreted as an indication that both places were important seats of the Magian worship. That both traditions may rely on the Avesta is perhaps a sign that the Avesta contains two series of documents, the one emanating from the Magi of Ragha, and the other from the

[1] The Persian Gazn, the Byzantine Gaza, Ganzaka, the site of which was identified by Sir Henry Rawlinson with Takht i Suleiman (Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, X, 65).

[2] Kazwini, apud Rawlinson l. c. p. 69.

[3] Bund. 79, 12.

[4] See Farg. I, p. 3.

[5] See Farg. XIX, 4, 11.

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Magi of Atropatene[1]. Which of the two places had the older claim is also a question hardly to be settled in the present state of our knowledge[2].

Whether Magism came from Ragha to Atropatene, or from Atropatene to Ragha, in either case it had its origin in Media[3]. That Persia should have submitted in religious matters to a foreign tribe will surprise no one who thinks of the influence of the Etruscan augurs in Rome. The Magi might be hated as Medes, but they were respected and feared as priests. When political revolutions gave vent to national hate, the Persian might willingly indulge it, and revel in the blood of the foreign priest[4]; yet whenever he had to invoke the favour of the gods, he was obliged to acknowledge that he could not do without the detested tribe, and that they alone knew how to make themselves heard by heaven[5]. When and how the religious hegemony of Media arose we cannot say: it is but natural that Media[6],

[1] This would be a principle of classification which unfortunately applies only to a small part of the Avesta.

[2] Still, if we follow the direction of the Zoroastrian legend, Magism must have spread from west to east, from Atropatene to Ragha, from Ragha to Bactria; and Atropatene must thus have been the first cradle of Mazdeism. Its very name points to its sacred character; oriental writers, starting from the modern form of the name, Adarbîgân, interpret it as 'the seed of fire,' with an allusion to the numerous fire springs to be found there. Modern scholars have generally followed the historical etymology given by Strabo, who states that, after the death of Alexander, the satrap Atropates made himself an independent sovereign in his satrapy, which was named after him Atropatene. This looks like a Greek etymology (scarcely more to be trusted than the etymology of Ῥαγαί, from ῥήγνυμι), and it is hardly to be believed that the land should have lost its former name to take a new one from its king; it was not a new-fangled geographical division, like Lotharingia, and had lived a life of its own for a long time before. Its name Âtarpatakân seems to mean 'the land of the descent of fire,' as it was there that fire came down from heaven (cf. Ammianus l. c.)

[3] The Pahlavi names of the cardinal points show that Media was the centre of orientation in Magian geography (Garrez, Journal Asiatique, 1869, II).

[4] Magophonia (Herod. III, 79).

[5] Ὡς αὐτοὺς μόνους ἀκουομένους (Diog. Laert. Prooem.); cf. Herod. I, 132; Ammian. l. l.

[6] An echo of the old political history of Media seems to linger in Yast V, 29, which shows Azi Dahâka reigning in Babylon (Bawru); as Azi, in his legendary character, represents the foreign invader, this passage can hardly be anything but a far remote echo of the struggles between Media and the Mesopotamian empires. The legend of Azi is localised only in Medic

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having risen sooner to a high degree of civilisation, should have given to religion and worship a more systematic and elaborate form, and in religion, as in politics, the best organised power must sooner or later get the upper hand. It is likely that it began with the conquest of Media by Cyrus: Media capta ferum victorem cepit. . . . Cyrus is said to have introduced the Magian priesthood into Persia (Xenophon, Cyrop. VIII, 1, 23), which agrees with the legend mentioned by Nikolaus that it was on the occasion of the miraculous escape of Crœsus that the Persians remembered the old λογία of Zoroaster forbidding the dead to be burnt.

The Medic origin of the Magi accounts for a fact which perplexes at first sight, namely, the absence of the name of the Magi from the book written by themselves[1]; which is natural enough if the word Magu was not the name of the priest as a priest, but as a member of the tribe of the Magi. The proper word for a priest in the Avesta is Âthravan, literally, 'fire-man,' and that this was his name with the Persians too appears from the statement in Strabo (XV, 733) that the Magi are also called Πύραιθοι. It is easy to conceive that the Persians, especially in ordinary parlance, would rather designate their priests after their origin than after their functions[2]; but the Magi themselves had no reason to follow the Persian custom, which was not always free from an implication of spite or scorn. The only passage into which the word found its way is just one that betrays the existence of this feeling: the enemy of the priests is

lands: he addresses his prayers to Ahriman by the banks of the Sipît rût (Bundahis 52, 11), his adversary Ferîdûn is born in Ghilân, he is bound to Mount Damâvand (near Rai).

[1] In their own language, the Zend; of which the modern representatives, if there be any left, should therefore be looked for in Atropatene or on the banks of the Caspian sea. The research is complicated by the growing intrusion of Persian words into the modern dialects, but as far as I can see from a very inadequate study of the matter, the dialect which exhibits most Zend features is the Talis dialect, on the southern bank of the Aras.

[2] The Pahlavi has 'one who hates the Magu-men.' In the passage LIII (LII), 7, magéus is not a Magian, and it is translated by magî, 'holiness, godliness,' related to the Vedic magha. Afterwards the two words were confounded, whence came the Greek statement that μάγος means at the same time 'a priest' and 'a god' (Apollon. Tyan. Ep. XVII).

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not called, as would be expected, an Âthrava-*t*bi*s*, 'a hater of the Âthravans' (cf. the Indian Brahma-dvish), but a Moghu-*t*bi*s*, 'a hater of the Magi[1].' The name, it is true, became current in Pahlavi and modern Persian, but it was at a time when the old national quarrels between Media and Persia were quenched, and the word could no longer carry any offensive idea with it.

§ 16. The results of the foregoing research may be summed up as follows :—

The original texts of the Avesta were not written by Persians, as they are in a language which was not used in Persia, they prescribe certain customs which were unknown to Persia, and proscribe others which were current in Persia. They were written in Media, by the priests of Ragha and Atropatene, in the language of Media, and they exhibit the ideas of the sacerdotal class under the Achæmenian dynasty.

It does not necessarily follow from this, that the original fragments were already written at the time of Herodotus[2].

[1] A further echo of the anti-Magian feelings may be heard in Yasna IX, 24 (75): 'Haoma overthrew Keresâni, who rose up to seize royalty, and he said, "No longer shall henceforth the Âthravans go through the lands and teach at their will."' This is a curious instance of how easily legendary history may turn myths to its advantage. The struggle of Haoma against Keresâni is an old Indo-European myth, Keresâni being the same as the Vedic K*ris*ânu, who wants to keep away Soma from the hands of men. His name becomes in the Avesta the name of an anti-Magian king [it may be Darius, the usurper (?)], and ten centuries later it was turned into an appellation of the Christian Kaisars of Rûm (Kalasyâk = * ἐκκλησια[κός] ; Tarsâka).

[2] If the interpretation of the end of the Behistun inscription (preserved only in the Scythian version) as given by Professor Oppert be correct, Darius must have made a collection of religious texts known as Avesta, whence it would follow, with great probability, that the present Avesta proceeded from Darius. The translation of the celebrated scholar is as follows: 'J'ai fait une collection de textes (dippimas) ailleurs en langue arienne qui autrefois n'existait pas. Et j'ai fait un texte de la Loi (de l'Avesta; Haduk ukku) et un commentaire de la Loi, et la Bénédiction (la prière, le Zend) et les Traductions.' (Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes, pp. 155, 186.) The authority of Oppert is so great, and at the same time the passage is so obscure, that I hardly know if there be more temerity in rejecting his interpretation or in adopting it. Yet I beg to observe that the word dippimas is the usual Scythian transliteration of the Persian dipi, 'an inscription,' and there is no apparent reason for departing from that meaning in this passage; if the word translated 'la Loi,' ukku, really represents here a Persian word Abasta, it need not denote the Avesta, the religious book,

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But as the Magi of that time sang songs of their gods during sacrifice, it is very likely that there was already a sacred literature in existence. The very fact that no sacrifice could be performed without the assistance of the Magi makes it highly probable that they were in possession of rites, prayers, and hymns very well composed and arranged, and not unlike those of the Brahmans; their authority can only be accounted for by the power of a strongly defined ritual and liturgy. There must, therefore, have been a collection of formulae and hymns, and it is quite possible that Herodotus may have heard the Magi sing, in the fifth century B. C., the very same Gâthas which are sung nowadays by the Mobeds in Bombay. A part of the Avesta, the liturgical part, would therefore have been, in fact, a sacred book for the Persians. It had not been written by them, but it was sung for their benefit. That Zend hymns should have been sung before a Persian-speaking people is not stranger than Latin words being sung by Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians; the only difference being that, owing to the close affinity of Zend to Persian, the Persians may have been able to understand the prayers of their priests.

§ 17. It may, therefore, be fairly admitted that, on the whole, the present texts are derived from texts already existing under the Achæmenian kings. Some parts of the collection are undoubtedly older than others; thus, the Gâthas are certainly older than the rest of the Avesta, as they are often quoted and praised in the Yasna and the Vendîdâd; but it is scarcely possibly to go farther than a logical chronology. One might feel inclined, at first sight, to assign to a very recent date, perhaps to the last revision of the Avesta, those long enumerations of gods so symmetrically elaborated in the Yasna, Vispêrad, and Vendîdâd. But the account of Mazdeism given by Plutarch shows that the

as in that case the word would most certainly not have been translated in the Scythian version, but only transliterated; the ideogram for 'Bénédiction, prière,' may refer to religious inscriptions like Persepolis I; the import of the whole passage would therefore be that Darius caused other inscriptions to be engraved, and wrote other edicts and religious formulae (the word 'traductions' is only a guess).

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work of co-ordination was already terminated at the end of the Achæmenian period, and there is no part of the Avesta which, so far as the matter is concerned, may not have been written in those times. Nay, the Greek accounts of that period present us, in some measure, with a later stage of thought, and are pervaded with a stronger sense of symmetry, than the Avesta itself. Such passages as the latter end of the Zamyâd Yast and Vendîdâd X, 9 seq. prove that, when they were composed, the seven Arch-Dêvs were not yet pointedly contrasted with the seven Amshaspands, and therefore those passages might have been written long before the time of Philip. The theory of time and space as first principles of the world, of which only the germs are found in the Avesta, was fully developed in the time of Eudemos, a disciple of Aristotle.

§ 18. To what extent the Magian dogmatical conceptions were admitted by the whole of the Iranian population, or how and by what process they spread among it, we cannot ascertain for want of documentary evidence. As regards their observances we are better instructed, and can form an idea of how far and in what particulars they differed from the other Iranians. The new principle they introduced, or, rather, developed into new consequences, was that of the purity of the elements. Fire, earth, and water had always been considered sacred things, and had received worship[1]: the Magi drew from that principle the conclusion that burying the dead or burning the dead was defiling a god: as early as Herodotus they had already succeeded in preserving fire from that pollution, and cremation was a capital crime. The earth still continued to be defiled, notwithstanding the example they set; and it was only under the Sassanians, when Mazdeism became the religion of the state, that they won this point also.

The religious difference between the Persians and their Medic priests was therefore chiefly in observances. Out of the principles upon which the popular religion rested, the sacerdotal class drew by dint of logic, in a puritan spirit,

[1] Cf. V, 8.

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the necessity of strict observances, the yoke of which was not willingly endured by the mass of the people. Many acts, insignificant in the eyes of the people, became repugnant to their consciences and their more refined logic. The people resisted, and for a time Magian observances were observed only by the Magi. The slow triumph of Magism can be dimly traced through the Achæmenian period. Introduced by Cyrus, it reigned supreme for a time with the Pseudo-Smerdis, and was checked by Darius[1]. It seems to have resumed its progress under Xerxes; at least, it was reported that it was to carry out Magian principles that he destroyed the Greek temples, and that the first who wrote on the Zoroastrian lore was a Magian, named Osthanes, who had accompanied him to Greece[2]. New progress marked the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. The epic history of Iran, as preserved in the Shah Nâmah, passes suddenly from the field of mythology to that of history with the reign of that king, which makes it likely that it was in his time that the legends of Media became national in Persia, and that his reign was an epoch in the political history of Magism[3]. But the real victory was not won till six centuries later, when national interest required a national religion. Then, as happens in every revolution, the ultra party, that had pushed to the extreme the principles common to all, took the lead; the Magi ascended the throne with Ardeshîr, one of their pupils[4], and the Magian

[1] Darius rebuilt the temples which the Magus Gaumata had destroyed (Behistun I, 63). The Magi, it is said, wanted the gods not to be imprisoned within four walls (Cic. de Legibus II, 10): Xerxes behaved himself as their disciple, at least in Greece. Still the Magi seem to have at last given way on that point to the Perso-Assyrian customs, and there were temples even under the Sassanians.

[2] Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXX, 1, 8.

[3] Cf. Westergaard, Preface to the Zend-Avesta, p. 17. This agrees with what we know of the fondness of Artaxerxes for religious novelties. It was he who blended the worship of the Assyrian Anat-Mylitta with that of the Iranian Anâhita (the ascription of that innovation to Artaxerxes Mnemon by Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromata I) must rest on a clerical error, as in the time of Herodotus, who wrote under Longimanus, the worship of Mylitta had already been introduced into Persia (I, 131)).

[4] Agathias II, 26.

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observances became the law of all Iran. But their triumph was not to be a long one; their principles required an effort too continuous and too severe to be ever made by any but priests, who might concentrate all their faculties in watching whether they had not dropped a hair upon the ground. A working people could not be imprisoned in such a religion, though it might be pure and high in its ethics. The triumph of Islam was a deliverance for the consciences of many [1], and Magism, by enforcing its observances upon the nation, brought about the ruin of its dogmas, which were swept away at the same time: its triumph was the cause and signal of its fall [2].

CHAPTER IV.

THE ORIGIN OF THE AVESTA RELIGION.

§ 1. What was the religion of the Magi which we find reflected in the Avesta? and whence did it arise?

Magism, in its general form, may be summed up as follows:—

The world, such as it is now, is twofold, being the work of two hostile beings, Ahura Mazda, the good principle, and Angra Mainyu, the evil principle; all that is good in the world comes from the former, all that is bad in it comes from the latter. The history of the world is the history of their conflict, how Angra Mainyu invaded the world of Ahura Mazda and marred it, and how he shall be expelled from it at last. Man is active in the conflict, his duty in it being laid before him in the law revealed by Ahura Mazda to Zarathustra. When the appointed time is come, a son of the lawgiver, still unborn, named Saoshyant, will appear, Angra Mainyu and hell will be destroyed, men will rise from the dead, and everlasting happiness will reign over the world.

[1] De Gobineau, Histoire des Perses, II, 632 seq.

[2] We ought to discuss here the Scythian theory of Magism; but thus far we have been unable to find anywhere a clear and consistent account of its thesis and of its arguments. Nothing is known of any Scythian religion, and what is ascribed to a so-called Scythian influence, the worship of the elements, is one of the oldest and most essential features of the Aryan religions.

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We have tried in another book[1] to show that the religion of the Magi is derived from the same source as that of the Indian *Rishis*, that is, from the religion followed by the common forefathers of the Iranians and Indians, the Indo-Iranian religion. The Mazdean belief is, therefore, composed of two different strata; the one comprises all the gods, myths, and ideas which were already in existence during the Indo-Iranian period, whatever changes they may have undergone during the actual Iranian period; the other comprises the gods, myths, and ideas which were only developed after the separation of the two religions.

§ 2. There were two general ideas at the bottom of the Indo-Iranian religion; first, that there is a law in nature, and, secondly, that there is a war in nature.

There is a law in nature, because everything goes on in a serene and mighty order. Days after days, seasons after seasons, years after years come and come again; there is a marvellous friendship between the sun and the moon, the dawn has never missed its appointed time and place, and the stars that shine in the night know where to go when the day is breaking. There is a God who fixed that never-failing law, and on whom it rests for ever[2].

There is a war in nature, because it contains powers that work for good and powers that work for evil: there are such beings as benefit man, and such beings as injure him: there are gods and fiends. They struggle on, never and nowhere more apparent than in the storm, in which, under our very eyes, the fiend that carries off the light and streams of heaven fights with the god that gives them back to man and the thirsty earth.

There were, therefore, in the Indo-Iranian religion a latent monotheism and an unconscious dualism[3]; both of which, in the further development of Indian thought, slowly disappeared; but Mazdeism lost neither of these two notions,

[1] Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris, 1877. We beg, for the sake of brevity, to refer to that book for further demonstration.

[2] Cf. Max Müller, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 249.

[3] J. Darmesteter, The Supreme God in the Indo-European Mythology, in the Contemporary Review, October, 1879, p. 283.

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nor did it add a new one, and its original action was to cling strongly and equally to both ideas and push them to an extreme.

§ 3. The God that has established the laws in nature is the Heaven God. He is the greatest of gods, since there is nothing above him nor outside of him; he has made everything, since everything is produced or takes place in him; he is the wisest of all gods, since with his eyes, the sun, moon, and stars, he sees everything[1].

This god was named either after his bodily nature Varana, 'the all-embracing sky[2],' or after his spiritual attributes Asura, 'the Lord,' Asura *vi*svavedas, 'the all-knowing Lord,' Asura Mazdhâ, 'the Lord of high knowledge[3].'

§ 4. The supreme Asura of the Indo-Iranian religion, the Heaven god, is called in the Avesta Ahura Mazda, 'the all-knowing Lord[4];' his concrete name Varana, which became his usual name in India (Varu*n*a), was lost in Iran, and remained only as the name of the material heaven, and then of a mythical region, the Varena, which was the seat of the mythical fight between a storm god and a storm fiend[5].

§ 5. The spiritual attributes of the Heaven god were daily more and more strongly defined, and his material attributes were thrown farther into the background. Yet many features, though ever dimmer and dimmer, betray his former bodily or, rather, his sky nature. He is white, bright, seen afar, and his body is the greatest and fairest of all bodies; he has the sun for his eye, the rivers above for his spouses, the fire of lightning for his son; he wears the heaven as a star-spangled garment, he puts on the hard stone of heaven, he is the hardest of all gods[6]. He dwells in the infinite luminous space, and the infinite luminous space is his place,

[1] Ibid.

[2] Οὐρανός; or Dyaus, 'the shining sky' [Ζεύς, Jup-piter], or Svar.

[3] Or perhaps 'the Lord who bestows intelligence' (Benfey, 'Asura Medhâ and Ahura Mazdâo').

[4] This is, at least, the meaning that attached to the name in the consciences of the composers of the Avesta.

[5] Vide infra, § 12.

[6] Orm. Ahr. §§ 27-36.

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his body[1]. In the time of Herodotus, Persians, while invoking Aurâmazda, the creator of earth and heaven, still knew who he was, and called the whole vault of the sky Zeus, that is to say, called it the supreme god[2].

§ 6. In the Indo-Iranian religion, the supreme Asura, although he was the supreme god, was not the only god. There were near him and within him many mighty beings, the sun, wind, lightning, thunder, rain, prayer, sacrifice, which as soon as they struck the eye or the fancy of man, were at once turned into gods. If the Heaven Asura, greater in time and space, eternal and universal, everlasting and ever present, was without effort raised to the supreme rank by his twofold infinitude, there were other gods, of shorter but mightier life, who maintained against him their right to independence. The progress of religious thought might as well have gone on to transfer power from him to any of these gods, as to make his authority unrivalled. The former was the case in India: in the middle of the Vedic period, Indra, the dazzling god of storm, rose to supremacy in the Indian Pantheon, and outshines Varu*n*a with the roar and splendour of his feats; but soon to give way to a new and mystic king, Prayer or Brahman[3].

Not so did Mazdeism, which struggled on towards unity. The Lord slowly brought everything under his unquestioned supremacy, and the other gods became not only his subjects, but his creatures. This movement was completed as early as the fourth century B.C. Nowhere can it be more clearly traced than in the Amesha Spe*n*tas and Mithra.

§ 7. The Indo-Iranian Asura was often conceived as sevenfold: by the play of certain mythical formulae and the strength of certain mythical numbers, the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians had been led to speak of seven worlds, and the supreme god was often made sevenfold, as well as the worlds over which he ruled[4]. The names and the several

[1] Bundahis I, 7; Yasna LVIII, 8 (LVII, 22).

[2] Herod. I, 131.

[3] Cf. 'The Supreme God,' l. l. p. 287.

[4] The seven worlds became in Persia the seven Karshvare of the earth: the earth is divided into seven Karshvare, only one of which is known and

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attributes of the seven gods had not been as yet defined, nor could they be then; after the separation of the two religions, these gods, named Âditya, 'the infinite ones,' in India, were by and by identified there with the sun, and their number was afterwards raised to twelve, to correspond to the twelve successive aspects of the sun. In Persia, the seven gods are known as Amesha Spe*n*tas, 'the undying and well-doing ones;' they by and by, according to the new spirit that breathed in the religion, received the names of the deified abstractions[1], Vohu-manô (good thought), Asha Vahi*s*ta (excellent holiness), Khshathra vairya (perfect sovereignty), Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti (divine piety), Haurvatâ*t* and Ameretâ*t* (health and immortality). The first of them all was and remained Ahura Mazda; but whereas formerly he had been only the first of them, he was now their father. 'I invoke the glory of the Amesha Spe*n*tas, who all seven have one and the same thinking, one and the same speaking, one and the same doing, one and the same father and lord, Ahura Mazda[2].'

§ 8. In the Indo-Iranian religion, the Asura of Heaven was often invoked in company with Mitra[3], the god of the heavenly light, and he let him share with himself the universal sovereignty. In the Veda, they are invoked as a pair (Mitrâ-Varu*n*â), which enjoys the same power and rights as Varu*n*a alone, as there is nothing more in Mitrâ-Varu*n*â than in Varu*n*a alone, Mitra being the light of Heaven, that is, the light of Varu*n*a. But Ahura Mazda could no longer bear an equal, and Mithra became one of his

accessible to man, the one on which we live, namely, *Hv*aniratha; which amounts to saying that there are seven earths. Parsi mythology knows also of seven heavens. *Hv*aniratha itself was divided into seven climes (Orm. Ahr. § 72). An enumeration of the seven Karshvare is to be found in Farg. XIX, 39.

[1] Most of which were already either divine or holy in the Indo-Iranian period: health and immortality are invoked in the Vedas as in the Avesta (see J. Darmesteter, Haurvatâ*t* et Ameretâ*t*, §§ 49 seq.); Asha Vahista is revered in the Vedas as *Ri*ta (vide infra, § 30); Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti is the Vedic goddess Aramati (§ 30); Khshathra vairya is the same as the Brahmanical Kshatra; Vohu-manô is a personification of the Vedic sumati (Orm. Ahr. §§ 196-201).

[2] Yast XIX, 16.

[3] Mitra means literally 'a friend;' it is the light as friendly to man (Orm. Ahr. §§ 59-61).

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creatures: 'This Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, I have created as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of glorification, as I, Ahura Mazda, am myself[1].' But old formulae, no longer understood, in which Mithra and Ahura, or, rather, Mithra-Ahura, are invoked in an indivisible unity, dimly remind one that the Creator was formerly a brother to his creature.

§ 9. Thus came a time when Ahura was not only the maker of the world, the creator of the earth, water, trees, mountains, roads, wind, sleep, and light, was not only he who gives to man life, shape, and food, but was also the father of Tistrya, the rain-bestowing god, of Verethraghna, the fiend-smiting god, and of Haoma, the tree of eternal life, the father of the six Amesha Spe*n*tas, the father of all gods[2].

Yet, with all his might, he still needs the help of some god, of such as free the oppressed heavens from the grasp of the fiend. When storm rages in the atmosphere he offers up a sacrifice to Vayu, the bright storm god, who moves in the wind, he entreats him: 'Grant me the favour, thou Vayu whose action is most high[3], that I may smite the world of Angra Mainyu, and that he may not smite mine! Vayu, whose action is most high, granted the asked-for favour to the creator Ahura Mazda[4].' And when Zoroaster is born, Ahura entreats Ardvî Sûra Anâhita that the new-born hero may stand by him in the fight[5] (see § 40).

[1] He preserved, however, a high situation, both in the concrete and in the abstract mythology. As the god of the heavenly light, the lord of vast luminous space, of the wide pastures above (cf. § 16), he became later the god of the sun (Deo invicto Soli Mithrae; in Persian Mihr is the Sun). As light and truth are one and the same thing, viewed with the eyes of the body and of the mind, he became the god of truth and faith. He punishes the Mithra-drug, 'him who lies to Mithra' (or 'who lies to the contract,' since Mithra as a neuter noun means 'friendship, agreement, contract'); he is a judge in hell, in company with Rashnu, 'the true one,' the god of truth, a mere offshoot of Mithra in his moral character (Farg. IV, 54).

[2] Cf. Plut. de Iside, XLVII.

[3] Or, who workest in the heights above.

[4] Yt. XV, 3.

[5] In the same way his Greek counterpart, Zeus, the god of heaven, the lord and father both of gods and men, when besieged by the Titans, calls Thetis, Prometheus, and the Hecatonchirs to help him.

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§ 10. Whereas in India the fiends were daily driven farther and farther into the background, and by the prevalence of the metaphysical spirit gods and fiends came to be nothing more than changing and fleeting creatures of the everlasting, indifferent Being, Persia took her demons in real earnest; she feared them, she hated them, and the vague and unconscious dualism that lay at the bottom of the Indo-Iranian religion has its unsteady outlines sharply defined, and became the very form and frame of Mazdeism. The conflict was no more seen and heard in the passing storm only, but it raged through all the avenues of space and time. The Evil became a power of itself, engaged in an open and never-ceasing warfare with the Good. The Good was centred in the supreme god, in Ahura Mazda, the bright god of Heaven, the all-knowing Lord, the Maker, who, as the author of every good thing, was 'the good Spirit,' Spe*n*ta Mainyu. In front of him and opposed to him slowly rose the evil Spirit, Angra Mainyu.

We will briefly explain what became, in Mazdeism, of the several elements of the Indo-Iranian dualism, and then we will show how the whole system took a regular form.

§ 11. The war in nature was waged in the storm. The Vedas describe it as a battle fought by a god, Indra, armed with the lightning and thunder, against a serpent, Ahi, who has carried off the dawns or the rivers, described as goddesses or as milch cows, and who keeps them captive in the folds of the cloud.

This myth appears in a still simpler form in the Avesta: it is a fight for the possession of the light of *hv*arenô between Âtar and A*z*i Dahâka [1].

Âtar means 'fire;' he is both a thing and a person. He is sometimes described as the weapon of Ahura [2], but usually as his son [3], as the fire that springs from heaven can be conceived either as flung by it, or as born of it [4].

A*z*i Dahâka, 'the fiendish snake,' is a three-headed

[1] Yt. XIX, 47-52.
[2] Yasna LI (L), 9.
[3] Farg. III, 15; V, 10; XV, 26, &c.
[4] Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, in the Revue Critique, 1877, No. 52.

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dragon, who strives to seize and put out the *hv*arenô: he takes hold of it, but Âtar frightens him away and recovers the light.

The scene of the fight is the sea Vouru-kasha, a sea from which all the waters on the earth fall down with the winds and the clouds; in other words, they fight in the sea above[1], in the atmospheric field of battle[2].

§ 12. The same myth in the Vedas was described as a feat of Traitana or Trita Âptya, 'Trita, the son of waters,' who killed the three-headed, six-eyed fiend, and let loose the cows[3]. 'The son of waters[4]' is both in the Vedas and in the Avesta a name of the fire-god, as born from the cloud, in the lightning. The same tale is told in the same terms in the Avesta: Thraêtaona Âthwya killed A*z*i Dahâka (the fiendish snake), the three-mouthed, three-headed, six-eyed, . . . the most dreadful Dru*g* created by Angra Mainyu[5]. The scene of the battle is 'the four-cornered Varena[6],' which afterwards became a country on the earth, when Thraêtaona himself and A*z*i became earthly kings, but which was formerly nothing less than 'the four-pointed Varu*n*a[7],' that is, 'the four-sided Οὐρανός,' the Heavens.

§ 13. The fight for the waters was described in a myth of later growth, a sort of refacimento, the myth of Ti*s*trya and Apaosha. Apaosha[8] keeps away the rain: Ti*s*trya[9], worsted at first, then strengthened by a sacrifice which has been offered to him by Mazda, knocks down Apaosha[10] with his club, the fire Vâzi*s*ta[11], and the waters stream freely

[1] The *hv*arenô, Persian khurrah and farr, is properly the light of sovereignty, the glory from above which makes the king an earthly god. He who possesses it reigns, he who loses it falls down; when Yima lost it he perished and Azi Dahâka reigned; as when light disappears, the fiend rules supreme. Vide infra, § 39; and cf. Yt. XIX, 32 seq.

[2] See Farg. V, 15 seq.

[3] Rv. I, 158, 5; X, 99, 6.

[4] Generally, apâm napât.

[5] Yasna IX, 8 (25).

[6] Cathru-gaosho Varenô; v. Vendîdâd I, 18.

[7] Catur-asrir Varu*n*o, Rv. I, 152, 2. Cf. Orm. Ahr. § 65.

[8] 'The extinguisher' (?).

[9] Cf. § 36.

[10] Called also Spengaghra (Farg. XIX, 40).

[11] It is the groaning of the fiend under the stroke of that club that is heard in thunder (Bundahis 17, 11; cf. Farg. XIX, 40).

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down the seven Karshvare, led by the winds, by the son of the waters, and by the light that dwells in the waters[1].

§ 14. The god that conquers light is chiefly praised in the Vedas under the name of Indra V*ri*trahan, 'Indra the fiend-smiter.' His Iranian brother is named Verethraghna, which became by and by the genius of Victory (Bahrâm). Yet although he assumed a more abstract character than Indra, he retained the mythical features of the storm god[2], and his original nature was so little forgotten that he was worshipped on earth as a fire, the Bahrâm fire, which was believed to be an emanation from the fire above[3], and the most powerful protector of the land against foes and fiends.

§ 15. In the Indo-Iranian mythology, Vâyu was the word for both the atmosphere and the bright god who fights and conquers in it.

As a god, Vâyu became in Mazdeism Vayu, 'a god conqueror of light, a smiter of the fiends, all made of light, who moves in a golden car, with sonorous rings[4].' Ahura Mazda invokes him for help against Angra Mainyu[5].

§ 16. Another name of Vayu is Râma *hv*âstra: this word meant originally 'the god of the resting-place with good pastures,' the clouds in the atmosphere being often viewed as a herd of cows[6], and the Indian Vâyu as a good shepherd[7]. Hence came the connection of Râma *hv*âstra with Mithra, 'the lord of the wide pastures[8].' In later times, chiefly owing to a mistake in language (*hv*âstra being thought to be related to the root *hv*arez, 'to taste'), Râma *hv*âstra became the god who gives a good flavour to aliments[9].

§ 17. Considered as a thing, as the atmosphere, Vayu is the place where the god and the fiend meet: there is therefore a part of it which belongs to the good and another part which belongs to the evil[10]. Hence came the later notion that between Ormazd and Ahriman there is a void space, Vâi, in which their meeting takes place[11].

[1] Yt. VIII. [2] Yt. XIV. [3] Cf. V, 8.
[4] Yt. XV. [5] Cf. above, p. lxi. [6] See above, § 11.
[7] Cf. Atharva-veda II, 26, 1; Rv. I, 134, 4.
[8] Farg. III, 2; Yasna I, 3 (9). [9] Neriosengh ad Yasna, l. l.
[10] Yt. XV, 5. [11] Bundahis 1, 15.

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Hence came also the distinction of two Vai[1], the good one and the bad one, which, probably by the natural connection of Vayu, the atmosphere, with the heavens[2] whose movement is Destiny[3], became at last the good Fate and the bad Fate, or Destiny bringing good and evil, life and death[4].

§ 18. Azi is not always vanquished; he may also conquer; and it is just because the serpent has seized upon the sky and darkened the light, that the battle breaks out. Azi has carried off the sovereign light, the *h*varenô, from Yima Khshaêta, 'the shining Yima[5].

In the course of time Thraêtaona, Yima, and Azi Dahâka became historical: it was told how King Jemshîd (Yima Khshâeta) had been overthrown and killed by the usurper Zohâk (Dahâka), a man with two snakes' heads upon his shoulders, and how Zohâk himself had been overthrown by a prince of the royal blood, Ferîdûn (Thraêtaona). Yet Zohâk, though vanquished, could not be killed; he was bound to Mount Damâvand, there to lie in bonds till the end of the world, when he shall be let loose, and then killed by Keresâspa[6]. The fiend is as long-lifed as the world, since as often as he is vanquished he appears again, as dark and fearful as ever[7].

§ 19. While the serpent passed thus from mythology into legend, he still continued under another name, or, more correctly, under another form of his name, âzi, a word which the Parsis converted into a pallid and lifeless abstraction by identifying it with a similar word from the same root, meaning 'want.' But that he was the very same being as Azi, the snake, appears from his adversaries: like Azi, he fights against Âtar, the fire, and strives to extinguish it[8], and together with the Pairikas, he wants to carry off the rain-floods, like the Indian Ahi[9].

§ 20. Mazdeism, as might be expected from its main

[1] Mainyô-i-Khard II, 115; cf. Farg. V, 8, n. 3.
[2] Cf. Farg. XIX, 16.
[3] Orm. Ahr. § 257.
[4] Farg. V, 8–9, text and notes.
[5] See above, p. lxiii, n. 1, and Yast XIX.
[6] Cf. § 39.
[7] Cf. Roth, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft II, 216.
[8] Farg. XVIII, 19 seq.
[9] Yasna LXVIII, 7 (LXVII, 18).

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principle, is very rich in demons. There are whole classes of them which belong to the Indo-Iranian mythology.

The Vedic Yâtus are found unaltered in the Avesta. The Yâtu in the Vedas is the demon taking any form he pleases, the fiend as a wizard: so he is in the Avesta also, where the name is likewise extended to the Yâtu-man, the sorcerer.

§ 21. With the Yâtus are often associated the Pairikas (the Paris)[1].

The Pairika corresponds in her origin (and perhaps as to her name) to the Indian Apsaras[2].

The light for which the storm god struggled was often compared, as is well known, to a fair maid or bride carried off by the fiend. There was a class of myths, in which, instead of being carried off, she was supposed to have given herself up, of her own free will, to the demon, and to have betrayed the god, her lover. In another form of myth, still more distant from the naturalistic origin, the Pairikas were 'nymphs of a fair, but erring line,' who seduced the heroes to lead them to their ruin. Afterwards the Pari became at length the seduction of idolatry[3].

In their oldest Avesta form they are still demoniac nymphs, who rob the gods and men of the heavenly waters: they hover between heaven and earth, in the midst of the sea Vouru-kasha, to keep off the rain-floods, and they work together with Âzi and Apaosha[4].

Then we see the Pairika, under the name of Knâthaiti, cleave to Keresâspa[5]. Keresâspa, like Thraêtaona, is a great smiter of demons, who killed the snake Srvara, a twin-brother of Azi Dahâka[6]. It was related in later tales that he was born immortal, but that having despised the holy religion he was killed, during his sleep, by a Turk, Niyâz[7], which, being translated into old myth, would mean that he

[1] Farg. VIII, 80. [2] Orm. Ahr. § 142.

[3] Ibid. p. 176, n. 6. Then pairikâm, the accusative of pairika, was interpreted as a Pahlavi compound, pari-kâm, 'love of the Paris' (Comm. ad Farg. XIX. 5).

[4] Yast VIII, 8, 39, 49–56; Yasna XVI, 8 (XVII, 46).

[5] Farg. I, 10. [6] Yasna IX, 11 (34); Yast XIX, 40.

[7] Bundahis 69, 13. On Niyâz, see Orm. Ahr. p. 216, n. 9.

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gave himself up to the Pairika Khnãthaiti, who delivered him asleep to the fiend. Yet he must rise from his sleep, at the end of time, to kill A*z*i, and Khnãthaiti will be killed at the same time by Saoshya*nt*[1], the son of Zarathu*s*tra, which shows her to be a genuine sister of A*z*i.

§ 22. Then come the host of storm fiends, the Drva*nt*s, the Dvara*nt*s, the Dregva*nt*s, all names meaning 'the running ones,' and referring to the headlong course of the fiends in storm, 'the onsets of the wounding crew.'

One of the foremost amongst the Drva*nt*s, their leader in their onsets, is Aêshma, 'the raving,' 'a fiend with the wounding spear.' Originally a mere epithet of the storm fiend, Aêshma was afterwards converted into an abstract, the demon of rage and anger, and became an expression for all moral wickedness, a mere name of Ahriman.

§ 23. A class of demons particularly interesting are the Varenya daêvas[2]. The phrase, an old one belonging to the Indo-European mythology, meant originally 'the gods in heaven,' οὐράνιοι θεοί; when the daêvas were converted into demons (see § 41), they became 'the fiends in the heavens,' the fiends who assail the sky; and later on, as the meaning of the word Varena was lost, 'the fiends of the Varena land;' and finally, nowadays, as their relation to Varena is lost to sight, they are turned by popular etymology, now into demons of lust, and now into demons of doubt[3].

§ 24. To the Pairika is closely related Bûshyãsta the yellow, the long-handed[4]. She lulls back to sleep the world as soon as awaked, and makes the faithful forget in slumber the hour of prayer[5]. But as at the same time she is said to have fallen upon Keresâspa[6], one sees that she belonged before to a more concrete sort of mythology, and was a sister to Khnãthaiti and to the Pairikas.

§ 25. A member of the same family is *G*ahi, who was

[1] Farg. XIX, 5.

[2] Farg. X, 14. The Mâzainya daêva (see Farg. X, 16 n.) are often invoked with them (Yast V, 22; XIII, 37; XX, 8).

[3] Aspendiârji.

[4] Farg. XI, 9.

[5] Farg. XVIII, 16 seq.

[6] Bundahis 69, 15.

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originally the god's bride giving herself up to the demon, and became then, by the progress of abstraction, the demon of unlawful love and unchastity[1]. The courtezan is her incarnation, as the sorcerer is that of the Yâtu.

§ 26. Death gave rise to several personations.

Sauru, which in our texts is only the proper name of a demon[2], was probably identical in meaning, as he is in name, with the Vedic *S*aru, 'the arrow,' a personification of the arrow of death as a godlike being[3].

The same idea seems to be conveyed by Ishu*s* *hv*â-thakhtô, 'the self-moving arrow[4],' a designation to be accounted for by the fact that *S*aru, in India, before becoming the arrow of death, was the arrow of lightning with which the god killed his foe.

A more abstract personification is Ithyêgô marshaonem[5], 'the unseen death,' death which creeps unawares.

Astô vîdôtu*s*, 'the bone-divider[6],' who, like the Yama of the Sanskrit epic, holds a noose around the neck of all living creatures[7].

§ 27. In the conflict between gods and fiends man is active: he takes a part in it through the sacrifice.

The sacrifice is more than an act of worship, it is an act of assistance to the gods. Gods, like men, need drink and food to be strong; like men, they need praise and encouragement to be of good cheer[8]. When not strengthened by the sacrifice, they fly helpless before their foes. Ti*s*trya, worsted by Apaosha, cries to Ahura: 'O Ahura Mazda! men do not worship me with sacrifice and praise: should they worship me with sacrifice and praise, they would bring me the strength of ten horses, ten bulls, ten mountains, ten rivers.' Ahura offers him a sacrifice, he brings him thereby the

[1] Orm. Ahr. § 145. Cf. Farg. XXI, 1.

[2] Vide infra, § 41; Farg. X, 9; Bundahi*s* 5, 19.

[3] Orm. Ahr. § 212. [4] Farg. IV, 49. [5] Farg. XIX, 1.

[6] Farg. IV, 49. His mythical description might probably be completed by the Rabbinical and Arabian tales about the Breaking of the Sepulchre and the angels Monkir and Nakir (Sale, the Coran, Introd. p. 60, and Bargès, Journal Asiatique, 1843).

[7] See Farg. XIX, 29, n. 2. Closely related to Astô-vîdôtu is Vîzaresha (ibid.); on Bûiti, see Farg. XIX, 1, n. 3.

[8] See Orm. Ahr. §§ 87–88.

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strength of ten horses, ten bulls, ten mountains, ten rivers, Tistrya runs back to the battle-field and Apaosha flies before him[1].

§ 28. The sacrifice is composed of two elements, offerings and spells.

The offerings are libations of holy water (zaothra)[2], holy meat (myazda)[3], and Haoma. The last offering is the most sacred and powerful of all.

Haoma, the Indian Soma, is an intoxicating plant, the juice of which is drunk by the faithful for their own benefit and for the benefit of their gods. It comprises in it the powers of life of all the vegetable kingdom.

There are two Haomas: one is the yellow or golden Haoma, which is the earthly Haoma, and which, when prepared for the sacrifice, is the king of healing plants[4]; the other is the white Haoma or Gaokerena, which grows up in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha, surrounded by the ten thousand healing plants[5]. It is by the drinking of Gaokerena that men, on the day of the resurrection, will become immortal[6].

§ 29. Spell or prayer is not less powerful than the offerings. In the beginning of the world, it was by reciting the Honover (Ahuna Vairya) that Ormazd confounded Ahriman[7]. Man, too, sends his prayer between the earth and the heavens, there to smite the fiends, the Ka*hv*aredhas and the Ka*hv*aredhis, the Kayadhas and the Kayadhis, the Za*n*das and the Yâtus[8].

§ 30. A number of divinities sprang from the hearth of the altar, most of which were already in existence during the Indo-Iranian period.

Piety, which every day brings offerings and prayers to the fire of the altar, was worshipped in the Vedas as Aramati, the goddess who every day, morning and evening,

[1] Yt. VIII, 23 seq.
[2] Prepared with certain rites and prayers; it is the Vedic hotrâ.
[3] A piece of meat placed on the draona (Farg. V, 25, n. 3).
[4] Bundahis 58, 10.
[5] Farg. XX, 4.
[6] Bundahis 42, 12; 59, 4.
[7] Bundahis. Cf. Farg. XIX, 9, 43; Yasna XIX.
[8] Yasna LXI (LX).

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streaming with the sacred butter, goes and gives up herself to Agni[1]. She was praised in the Avesta in a more sober manner as the abstract genius of piety; yet a few practices preserved evident traces of old myths on her union with Âtar, the fire-god[2].

Agni, as a messenger between gods and men, was known to the Vedas as Narâ-*s*ansa; hence came the Avesta messenger of Ahura, Nairyô-sangha[3].

The riches that go up from earth to heaven in the offerings of man and come down from heaven to earth in the gifts of the gods were deified as Râta[4], the gift, Ashi, the felicity[5], and more vividly in Pâre*n*di[6], the keeper of treasures, who comes on a sounding chariot, a sister to the Vedic Puramdhi.

The order of the world, the Vedic *Ri*ta, the Zend Asha, was deified as Asha Vahi*s*ta, 'the excellent Asha[7].'

§ 31. Sraosha is the priest god[8]: he first tied the Baresma into bundles, and offered up sacrifice to Ahura; he first sang the holy hymns: his weapons are the Ahuna-Vairya and the Yasna, and thrice in each day, in each night, he descends upon this Karshvare to smite Angra Mainyu and his crew of demons. It is he who, with his club uplifted, protects the living world from the terrors of the night, when the fiends rush upon the earth; it is he who protects the dead from the terrors of death, from the assaults of Angra Mainyu and Vîdôtu*s*[9]. It is through a sacrifice performed by Ormazd, as a Zôti, and Sraosha, as a Raspî[10], that at the end of time Ahriman will be for ever vanquished and brought to nought[11].

§ 32. Thus far, the single elements of Mazdeism do not essentially differ from those of the Vedic and Indo-European mythologies generally. Yet Mazdeism, as a whole, took an aspect of its own by grouping these elements in a new order, since by referring everything either

[1] Orm. Ahr. § 205.
[2] Farg. XXII, 7.
[3] Neriosengh.
[4] Farg. XIX, 19.
[5] Farsi Ardibehe*s*t.
[6] Orm. Ahr. § 200.
[7] Farg. VII, 52, n. 4; XIX, 46, n. 8.
[8] Yasna LVI.
[9] Farg. XVIII, 51 seq.
[10] Cf. Farg. V, 57, n.
[11] Bundahi*s* 76, 11.

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to Ahura Mazda or Angra Mainyu as its source, it came to divide the world into two symmetrical halves, in both of which a strong unity prevailed. The change was summed up in the rising of Angra Mainyu, a being of mixed nature, who was produced by abstract speculation from the old Indo-European storm fiend, and who borrowed his form from the supreme god himself. On the one hand, as the world battle is only an enlarged form of the mythical storm fight, Angra Mainyu, the fiend of fiends and the leader of the evil powers, is partly an abstract embodiment of their energies and feats; on the other hand, as the antagonist of Ahura, he is modelled after him, and is partly, as it were, a negative projection of Ahura[1].

Ahura is all light, truth, goodness, and knowledge; Angra Mainyu is all darkness, falsehood, wickedness, and ignorance[2].

Ahura dwells in the infinite light; Angra Mainyu dwells in the infinite night.

Whatever the good Spirit makes, the evil Spirit mars. When the world was created, Angra Mainyu broke into it[3], opposed every creation of Ahura's with a plague of his own[4], killed the first-born bull that had been the first offspring and source of life on earth[5], he mixed poison with plants, smoke with fire, sin with man, and death with life.

§ 33. Under Ahura were ranged the six Amesha Spe*n*tas. They were at first mere personifications of virtues and moral or liturgical powers[6]; but as their lord and father ruled over the whole of the world, they took by and by each a part of the world under their care. The choice was not altogether artificial, but partly natural and spontaneous. The empire of waters and trees was vested in Haurvatâ*t* and Ameretâ*t*, health and immortality, through the influence of old Indo-Iranian formulae, in which waters and trees were invoked as the springs of health and life. More complex trains of ideas and partly the influence of analogy fixed the

[1] Orm. Ahr. § 85.
[2] Bundahis I; cf. Yasna XXX.
[3] Yast XIII, 77.
[4] Cf. Farg. I.
[5] Cf. Farg. XXI, 1.
[6] See above, p. lx.

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field of action of the others. Khshathra Vairya, the perfect sovereignty, had molten brass for its emblem, as the god in the storm established his empire by means of that 'molten brass,' the fire of lightning; he thus became the king of metals in general. Asha Vahista, the holy order of the world, as maintained chiefly by the sacrificial fire, became the genius of fire. Ârmaiti seems to have become a goddess of the earth as early as the Indo-Iranian period, and Vohu-manô had the living creation left to his superintendence[1].

§ 34. The Amesha Spentas projected, as it were, out of themselves, as many Daêvas or demons, who, either in their being or functions, were, most of them, hardly more than dim inverted images of the very gods they were to oppose, and whom they followed through all their successive evolutions. Haurvatât and Ameretât, health and life, were opposed by Tauru and Zairi, sickness and decay, who changed into rulers of thirst and hunger when Haurvatât and Ameretât had become the Amshaspands of waters and trees.

Vohu-manô, or good thought, was reflected in Akô-manô, evil thought. Sauru, the arrow of death[2], Indra, a name or epithet of fire as destructive[3], Nâunhaithya, an old Indo-Iranian divinity whose meaning was forgotten in Iran and misinterpreted by popular etymology[4], were opposed, respectively, to Khshathra Vairya, Asha Vahista, and Spenta Ârmaiti, and became the demons of tyranny, corruption, and impiety.

Then came the symmetrical armies of the numberless gods and fiends, Yazatas and Drvants.

§ 35. Everything in the world was engaged in the conflict. Whatever works, or is fancied to work, for the good of man or for his harm, for the wider spread of life or against it, comes from, and strives for, either Ahura or Angra Mainyu.

Animals are enlisted under the standards of either the one spirit or the other[5]. In the eyes of the Parsis, they

[1] Orm. Ahr. §§ 202–206.

[2] See above, p. lxviii. [3] See § 41. [4] Ibid.

[5] A strict discipline prevails among them. Every class of animals has a chief or ratu above it (Bund. XXIV). The same organisation extends to all the beings

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belong either to Ormazd or Ahriman according as they are useful or hurtful to man; but, in fact, they belonged originally to either the one or the other, according as they had been incarnations of the god or of the fiend, that is, as they chanced to have lent their forms to either in the storm tales[1]. In a few cases, of course, the habits of the animal had not been without influence upon its mythic destiny: but the determinative cause was different. The fiend was not described as a serpent because the serpent is a subtle and crafty reptile, but because the storm fiend envelops the goddess of light, or the milch cows of the raining heavens, with the coils of the cloud as with a snake's folds. It was not animal psychology that disguised gods and fiends as dogs, otters, hedge-hogs, and cocks, or as snakes, tortoises, frogs, and ants, but the accidents of physical qualities and the caprice of popular fancy, as both the god and the fiend might be compared with, and transformed into, any object, the idea of which was suggested by the uproar of the storm, the blazing of the lightning, the streaming of the water, or the hue and shape of the clouds.

Killing the Ahrimanian creatures, the Khrafstras[2], is killing Ahriman himself, and sin may be atoned for by this means[3]. Killing an Ormazdean animal is an abomination, it is killing God himself. Persia was on the brink of zoolatry, and escaped it only by misunderstanding the principle she followed[4].

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in nature: stars, men, gods have their respective ratus, Tistrya, Zoroaster, Ahura.

[1] Orm. Ahr. §§ 227–231.

[2] Farg. III, 10; XIV, 5 seq., 8, n. 8; XVIII, 70, &c.

[3] There is scarcely any religious custom that can be followed through so continuous a series of historical evidence: fifth century B.C., Herodotus I, 140; first century A. D., Plutarch, De Isid. XLVI; Quaest Conviv. IV, 5, 2; sixth century, Agathias II, 24; seventeenth century, G. du Chinon.

[4] Thus arose a classification which was often at variance with its supposed principle. As the god who rushes in the lightning was said to move on a raven's wings, with a hawk's flight, birds of prey belonged to the realm of Ormazd. The Parsi theologians were puzzled at this fact. but their ingenuity proved equal to the emergency: Ormazd, while creating the hunting hawk, said to him: 'O thou hunting hawk! I have created thee; but I ought rather to be sorry than glad of it: for thou doest the will of Ahriman much more than mine: like a wicked man who never has money enough, thou art never satisfied with killing birds.

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§ 36. The fulgurating conqueror of Apaosha, Tistrya, was described in mythic tales sometimes as a boar with golden horns, sometimes as a horse with yellow ears, sometimes as a beautiful youth. But as he had been compared to a shining star on account of the gleaming of lightning, the stars joined in the fray, where they stood with Tistrya on Ahura's side; and partly for the sake of symmetry, partly owing to Chaldaean influences, the planets passed into the army of Ahriman.

§ 37. Man, according to his deeds, belongs to Ormazd or to Ahriman. He belongs to Ormazd, he is a man of Asha, a holy one, if he offers sacrifice to Ormazd and the gods, if he helps them by good thoughts, words, and deeds, if he enlarges the world of Ormazd by spreading life over the world, and if he makes the realm of Ahriman narrower by destroying his creatures. A man of Asha is the Athravan (priest) who drives away fiends and diseases by spells, the Rathaêsta (warrior) who with his club crushes the head of the impious, the Vâstryô (husbandman) who makes good and plentiful harvests grow up out of the earth. He who does the contrary is a Drva*nt*, 'demon,' an Anashavan, 'foe of Asha,' an Ashemaogha, 'confounder of Asha.'

The man of Asha who has lived for Ahura Mazda will have a seat near him in heaven, in the same way as in India the man of *Ri*ta, the faithful one, goes to the palace of Varu*n*a, there to live with the forefathers, the Pit*ri*s, a life of everlasting happiness[1]. Thence he will go out, at the end of time, when the dead shall rise, and live a new and all-happy life on the earth freed from evil and death.

But hadst thou not been made by me, Ahriman, bloody Ahriman, would have made thee with the size of a man, and there would no more be any small creature left alive' (Bundahis XIV). Inversely Ahriman created a lovely bird, the peacock, to show that he did not do evil from any incapacity of doing well, but through wilful wickedness (Eznik); Satan is still nowadays invoked by the Yezidis as Melek Taus ('angel peacock').

[1] From the worship of the Pit*ri*s was developed in Iran the worship of the Fravashis, who being at first identical with the Pit*ri*s, with the souls of the departed, became by and by a distinct principle. The Fravashi was independent of the circumstances of life or death, an immortal part of the individual which existed before man and outlived him. Not only man was endowed with a Fravashi, but gods too, and the sky, fire, waters, and plants (Orm. Ahr. §§ 112–113).

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§ 38. This brings us to speak of a series of myths which have done much towards obscuring the close connection between the Avesta and the Vedic mythologies: I mean the myths about the heavenly life of Yima.

In the Veda Yama, the son of Vivasvat, is the first man and, therefore, the first of the dead, the king of the dead. As such he is the centre of gathering for the departed, and he presides over them in heaven, in the Yamasâdanam, as king of men, near Varuṇa the king of gods.

His Avesta twin-brother, Yima, the son of Vîvanghat, is no longer the first man, as this character had been transferred to another hero, of later growth, Gayô Maratan; yet he has kept nearly all the attributes which were derived from his former character: on the one hand he is the first king, and the founder of civilisation; on the other hand, 'the best mortals' gather around him in a marvellous palace, in Airyanem Vaêgô, which appears to be identical with the Yamasâdanam from Yama meeting there with Ahura and the gods, and making his people live there a blessed life[1]. But, by and by, as it was forgotten that Yima was the first man and the first of the dead, it was also forgotten that his people were nothing else than the dead going to their common ancestor above and to the king of heaven: the people in the Vara were no longer recognised as the human race, but became a race of a supernatural character, different from those who continued going, day by day, from earth to heaven to join Ahura Mazda[2].

§ 39. But the life of the world is limited, the struggle is not to last for ever, and Ahriman will be defeated at last.

The world was imagined as lasting a long year of twelve millenniums. There had been an old myth, connected with that notion, which made the world end in a frightful winter[3], to be succeeded by an eternal spring, when the blessed would come down from the Vara of Yima to repeople the earth. But as storm was the ordinary and more dramatic form of the strife, there was another version, according to

[1] See Farg. II.
[2] Farg. XIX, 28 seq.
[3] Cf. Farg. II, Introd. and § 21 seq.

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which the world ended in a storm, and this version became the definitive one.

The serpent, Azi Dahâka, let loose, takes hold of the world again. As the temporary disappearance of the light was often mythically described either as the sleeping of the god, or as his absence, or death, its reappearance was indicative of the awakening of the hero, or his return, or the arrival of a son born to him. Hence came the tales about Keresâspa awakening from his sleep to kill the snake finally[1]; the tales about Peshôtanu, Aghraêratha, Khumbya, and others living in remote countries till the day of the last fight is come[2]; and, lastly, the tales about Saoshya*nt*, the son who is to be born to Zarathustra at the end of time, and to bring eternal light and life to mankind, as his father brought them the law and the truth. This brings us to the question whether any historical reality underlies the legend of Zarathustra or Zoroaster.

§ 40. Mazdeism has often been called Zoroaster's religion in the same sense as Islam is called Muhammed's religion, that is, as being the work of a man named Zoroaster, a view which was favoured, not only by the Parsi and Greek accounts, but by the strong unity and symmetry of the whole system. Moreover, as the moral and abstract spirit which pervades Mazdeism is different from the Vedic spirit, and as the word deva, which means a god in Sanskrit, means a demon in the Avesta, it was thought that Zoroaster's work had been a work of reaction against Indian polytheism, in fact, a religious schism. When he lived no one knows, and every one agrees that all that the Parsis and the Greeks tell of him is mere legend, through which no solid historical facts can be arrived at. The question is whether Zoroaster was a man converted into a god, or a god converted into a man. No one who reads, with a mind free from the yoke of classical recollections, I do not say the Book of Zoroaster (which may be charged with being a modern romance of recent invention), but the Avesta itself, will have any doubt that Zoroaster is no less an essential

[1] See above, p. lxv.

[2] Bundahis XXX.

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part of the Mazdean mythology than the son expected to be born to him, at the end of time, to destroy Ahriman[1].

Zoroaster is not described as one who brings new truth and drives away error, but as one who overthrows the demons: he is a smiter of fiends, like Verethraghna, Apâm Napât, Tistrya, Vayu, or Keresâspa, and he is stronger and more valiant than Keresâspa himself[2]; the difference between him and them is that, whereas they smite the fiend with material weapons, he smites them chiefly with a spiritual one, the word or prayer. We say 'chiefly' because the holy word is not his only weapon; he repels the assaults of Ahriman with stones as big as a house which Ahura has given to him[3], and which were furnished, no doubt, from the same quarry as the stones which are cast at their enemies by Indra, by Agni, by the Maruts, or by Thor, and which are 'the flame, wherewith, as with a stone[4],' the storm god aims at the fiend. Therefore his birth[5], like the birth of every storm god, is longed for and hailed with joy as the signal of its deliverance by the whole living creation, because it is the end of the dark and arid reign of the demon: 'In his birth, in his growth did the floods and trees rejoice; in his birth, in his growth the floods and trees did grow up; in his birth, in his growth the floods and trees exclaimed with joy[6].' Ahura himself longs for him and fears lest the hero about to be born may not stand by him: 'He offered up a sacrifice to Ardvî Sûra Anâhita, he, the Maker, Ahura Mazda; he offered up the Haoma, the Myazda, the Baresma, the holy words, he besought her, saying: Vouchsafe me that boon, O high, mighty, undefiled goddess, that I may bring about the son of Pourushaspa, the holy Zara-

[1] The same view as to the mythological character of Zoroaster was maintained, although with different arguments, by Professor Kern in an essay 'Over het woord Zarathustra,' as I see from a short abstract of it which Professor Max Müller kindly wrote for me.

[2] Yast XIX, 38. [3] Farg. XIX, 4. [4] Rig-veda II, 30, 4.

[5] A singular trait of his birth, according to Pliny, who is on this point in perfect accordance with later Parsi tradition, is that, alone of mortals, he laughed while being born; this shows that his native place is in the very same regions where the Vedic Maruts are born, those storm genii 'born of the laughter of the lightning' ('I laugh as I pass in thunder' says the Cloud in Shelley; cf. the Persian Khandah i barq, 'the laughter of the lightning').

[6] Yast XIII, 93.

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thustra, to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to work according to the law!' Ardvî Surâ Anâhita granted that boon to him who was offering up libations, sacrificing and beseeching[1].

Zarathustra stands by Ahura. The fiends come rushing along from hell to kill him, and fly away terrified by his *hv*arenô: Angra Mainyu himself is driven away by the stones he hurls at him[2]. But the great weapon of Zarathustra is neither the thunder-stones he hurls, nor the glory with which he is surrounded, it is the Word[2].

In the voice of the thunder the Greeks recognised the warning of a god which the wise understand, and they worshipped it as Ὄσσα Διὸς ἄγγελος, 'the Word, messenger of Zeus;' the Romans worshipped it as a goddess, Fama; India adores it as 'the Voice in the cloud,' Vâ*k* Âmbh*rinî*, which issues from the waters, from the forehead of the father, and hurls the deadly arrow against the foe of Brahman. So the word from above is either a weapon that kills, or a revelation that teaches: in the mouth of Zarathustra it is both: now 'he smites down Angra Mainyu with the Ahuna vairya (Honover) as he would do with stones as big as a house, and he burns him up with the Ashem vohu as with melted brass[3];' now he converses with Ahura, on the mountain of the holy questions, in the forest of the holy questions[4]. Any storm god, whose voice descends from above to the earth, may become a godlike messenger, a lawgiver, a Zarathustra. Nor is Zarathustra the only lawgiver, the only prophet, of whom the Avesta knows: Gayô Maratan, Yima, the bird Kar*s*iptan[5], each of whom, under different names, forms, and functions, are one and the same being with Zarathustra, that is to say, the godlike champion in the struggle for light, knew the law as well as Zarathustra. But as mythology, like language and life, likes to reduce every organ to one function, Zarathustra became the titulary lawgiver[6].

[1] Yast V, 18. [2] Orm. Ahr. § 162 seq. [3] Yast XVII, 18.
[4] Farg. XXII, 19. [5] Farg. II, 3, 42; Yast XIII, 87.
[6] The law is generally known as Dâtem vîdaêvô-dâtem (cf. V, 1); as emanating from Ahura it is Mathra Spe*n*ta, 'the holy word,' which is the soul of Ahura (Farg. XIX, 14).

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As he overwhelmed Angra Mainyu during his lifetime by his spell, he is to overwhelm him at the end of time by the hands of a son yet unborn. 'Three times he came near unto his wife Hrôgvi, and three times the seed fell upon the ground. The Ized Neriosengh took what was bright and strong in it and intrusted it to the Ized Anâhita. At the appointed time, it will be united again with a maternal womb: 99,999 Fravashis of the faithful watch over it, lest the fiends destroy it[1].' A maid bathing in the lake Kăsava will conceive by it and bring forth the victorious Saoshyant (Sôshyôs), who will come from the region of the dawn to free the world from death and decay, from corruption and rottenness, ever living and ever thriving, when the dead shall rise and immortality commence[2].

All the features in Zarathustra point to a god: that the god may have grown up from a man, that pre-existent mythic elements may have gathered around the name of a man, born on earth, and by and by surrounded the human face with the aureole of a god, may of course be maintained, but only on condition that one may distinctly express what was the real work of Zoroaster. That he raised a new religion against the Vedic religion, and cast down into hell the gods of older days can no longer be maintained, since the gods, the ideas, and the worship of Mazdeism are shown to emanate directly from the old religion, and have nothing more of a reaction against it than Zend has against Sanskrit.

§ 41. The only evidence in favour of the old hypothesis of a religious schism is reduced to the evidence of a few words which might à priori be challenged, as the life of words is not the same as the life of the things they express, the nature of things does not change with the meaning of the syllables which were attached to them for a while, and the history of the world is not a chapter of grammar. And, in fact, the evidence appealed to, when more closely considered, proves to speak against the very theory it is meant

[1] Bund. XXXIII; Eznik. The whole of the myth belongs to the Avesta period, as appears from Yast XIII, 61; Vendîdâd XIX, 5.

[2] Yast XIX, 89 seq.

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to support. The word Asura, which in the Avesta means 'the Lord,' and is the name of the supreme God, means 'a demon' in the Brahmanical literature; but in the older religion of the Vedas it is quite as august as in the Avesta, and is applied to the highest deities, and particularly to Varu*n*a, the Indian brother of Ahura. This shows that when the Iranians and Indians sallied forth from their common native land, the Asura continued for a long time to be the Lord in India as well as in Persia; and the change took place, not in Iran, but in India. The descent of the word daêva from 'a god' to 'a demon' is a mere accident of language. There were in the Indo-Iranian language three words expressive of divinity: Asura, 'the Lord,' Ya*g*ata, 'the one who is worthy of sacrifice,' Daêva, 'the shining one.' Asura became the name of the supreme God, Ya*g*ata was the general name of all gods. Now as there were old Indo-Iranian formulae which deprecated the wrath of both men and devas (gods), or invoked the aid of some god against the hate and oppression of both men and devas[1], that word daêva, which had become obsolete (because Asura and Ya*g*ata met all the wants of religious language), took by and by from formulae of this kind a dark and fiendish meaning. What favoured the change was the want of a technical word for expressing the general notion of a fiend, a want the more felt as the dualistic idea acquired greater strength and distinctness. Etymology was unable to preserve the Daêvas from this degradation, as the root div, 'to shine,' was lost in Zend, and thus the primitive meaning being forgotten, the word was ready to take any new meaning which chance or necessity should give to it. But only the word descended into hell, not the beings it denoted; neither Varu*n*a, nor Mitra, nor the Âdityas, nor Agni, nor Soma, in fact none of the old Aryan deities fell or tottered. Though the word Indra is the name of a fiend in the Avesta, the Vedic god it denotes was as bright and as mighty in Iran as in India under the name of Verethraghna: and as we do not know the etymological mean-

[1] Rig-veda VI, 62, 8; VII, 52, 1; VIII, 19, 6; Yast X, 34; Yasna IX (60).

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ing of the name, it may have been such epithet as could be applied to a fiend as well as to a god. The same can be said of Naunghaithya. Moreover, both Indra and Naunghaithya are in the Avesta mere names: neither the Avesta nor old tradition knows anything about them, which would look very strange, had they been vanquished in a religious struggle, as they should have played the foremost part at the head of the fiends. As to the third comparison established between the Iranian demon Sauru and the Indian god Sarva, it fails utterly, as Sauru is the Vedic Saru, a symbol of death, and both are therefore beings of the same nature.

§ 42. Therefore, so far as the Vedic religion and the Avesta religion are concerned, there is not the abyss of a schism between them. They are quite different, and must be so, since each of them lived its own life, and living is changing; but nowhere is the link broken that binds both to their common source. Nowhere in the Avesta is the effort of any man felt who, standing against the belief of his people, enforces upon them a new creed, by the ascendancy of his genius, and turns the stream of their thoughts from the bed wherein it had flowed for centuries. There was no religious revolution: there was only a long and slow movement which led, by insensible degrees, the vague and unconscious dualism of the Indo-Iranian religion onwards to the sharply defined dualism of the Magi.

It does not follow hence, of course, that there was nothing left to individual genius in the formation of Mazdeism; the contrary is evident à priori from the fact that Mazdeism expresses the ideas of a sacerdotal caste. It sprang from the long elaboration of successive generations of priests, and that elaboration is so far from having been the work of one day and of one man that the exact symmetry which is the chief characteristic of Mazdeism is still imperfect in the Avesta on certain most important points. For instance, the opposition of six arch-fiends to the six arch-gods which we find in Plutarch and in the Bundahis was still unknown when the Xth Fargard of the Vendîdâd and the XIXth Yast were composed, and the stars were not yet members

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of the Ormazdean army when the bulk of the VIIIth Yast was written.

The reflective spirit that had given rise to Mazdeism never rested, but continued to produce new systems; and there is hardly any religion in which slow growth and continual change is more apparent. When the Magi had accounted for the existence of evil by the existence of two principles, there arose the question how there could be two principles, and a longing for unity was felt, which found its satisfaction in the assumption that both are derived from one and the same principle. This principle was, according to divers sects, either Space, or Infinite Light, or Boundless Time, or Fate[1]. Of most of these systems no direct trace is found in the Avesta[2], yet they existed already in the time of Aristotle[3].

They came at last to pure monotheism. Some forty years ago when the Rev. Dr. Wilson was engaged in his controversy with the Parsis, some of his opponents repelled the charge of dualism by denying to Ahriman any real existence, and making him a symbolical personification of bad instincts in man. It was not difficult for the Doctor to show that they were at variance with their sacred books, and critics in Europe occasionally wondered at the progress made by the Parsis in rationalism of the school of Voltaire and Gibbon. Yet there was no European influence at the bottom; and long before the Parsis had heard of Europe and Christianity, commentators, explaining the myth of Tahmurath, who rode for thirty years on Ahriman as a horse, interpreted the feat of the old legendary king as the

[1] All these four principles are only abstract forms of Ormazd himself, at least in his first naturalistic character of the Heaven God. Heaven is Infinite Space, it is Infinite Light, and by its movement it gives rise to Time and to Fate (Orm. Ahr. §§ 244–259). Time is twofold: there is the limited time that measures the duration of the world (see above, § 39) and lasts 12,000 years, which is Zrvan dareghô-*hv*adâta, 'the Sovereign Time of the long period;' and there is 'the Boundless Time,' Zrvan akarana (Farg. XIX, 9).

[2] When Vendîdâd XIX, 9 was written, the Zervanitic system seems to have been, if not fully developed, at least already existent.

[3] Eudemos (ap. Damascius, ed. Kopp, 384) knows of χρόνος and τόπος as the first principles of the Magi; Boundless Time is already transformed into a legendary hero in Berosus (third century B.C.)

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curbing of evil passion and restraining the Ahriman in the heart of man[1]. That idealistic interpretation was current as early as the fifteenth century, and is prevalent now with most of the Dasturs[2]. To what extent that alteration may have been influenced by Islamism, can hardly be decided; there are even some faint signs that it began at a time when the old religion was still flourishing; at any rate, no one can think of ascribing to one man, or to one time, that slow change from dualism to monotheism, which is, however, really deeper and wider than the movement which, in prehistoric times, brought the Magi from an imperfect form of dualism to one more perfect.

CHAPTER V.

THE VENDÎDÂD.

§ 1. According to Parsi tradition the Vendîdâd[3] is the only Nosk, out of the twenty-one, that was preserved in its entirety[4]. This is a statement to which it is difficult to trust; for, if there is anything that shows how right the Parsis are in admitting that the Avesta is only a collection of fragments, it is just the fragmentary character of the Vendîdâd.

The Vendîdâd has often been described as the book of the laws of the Parsis; it may be more exactly called the code of purification, a description, however, which is itself only so far correct that the laws of purification are the object of the largest part of the book.

[1] Aogemaidê, ed. Geiger, p. 36, § 92; Mirkhond, History of the Early Kings of Persia, tr. Shea, p. 98. Cf. Revue Critique, 1879, II, 163.

[2] 'The Parsis are now strict monotheists, and whatever may have been the views of former philosophical writings, their one supreme deity is Ahura Mazda. Their views of Angra Mainyu seem to differ in no respect from what is supposed to be the orthodox Christian view of the devil.' Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 53. Mandelslo, in the seventeenth century, speaks of Parsîism as a monotheistic religion.

[3] The word Vendîdâd is a corruption of Vîdaêvô-dâtem (dâtem), 'the anti-demoniac law.' It is sometimes applied to the whole of the law (Vendîdâd Sâdah).

[4] See above, p. xxxii.

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The first two chapters deal with mythical matter, without any direct connection with the general object of the Vendîdâd, and are remnants of an old epic and cosmogonic literature. The first deals with the creations and counter-creations of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu; the second speaks of Yima, the founder of civilisation. Although there was no particular reason for placing them in the Vendîdâd, as soon as they were admitted into it they were put at the beginning, because they referred to the first ages of the world. Three chapters of a mythical character, about the origin of medicine, were put at the end of the book, for want of any better place, but might as well have been kept apart[1], as was the so-called Hadhokht Nosk fragment. There is also another mythical Fargard, the nineteenth, which, as it treats of the revelation of the law by Ahura to Zarathustra, would have been more suitably placed at the beginning of the Vendîdâd proper, that is, as the third Fargard.

The other seventeen chapters deal chiefly with religious observances, although mythical fragments, or moral digressions, are met with here and there, which are more or less artificially connected with the text, and which were most probably not written along with the passages which they follow[2].

§ 2. A rough attempt at regular order appears in these seventeen chapters: nearly all the matter contained in the eight chapters from V to XII deals chiefly with impurity from the dead and the way of dispelling it; but the subject is again treated, here and there, in other Fargards[3], and matter irrelevant to the subject has also found its way into these same eight Fargards[4]. Fargards XIII and XIV are devoted to the dog, but must be completed with a part of the XVth. Fargards XVI, XVII, and most part of XVIII deal with several sorts of uncleanness, and their proper

[1] As an introduction to a code of laws on physicians; see Farg. VII, 36–44.
[2] For instance, Farg. V, 15–20; III, 24–29; 30–32; 33; IV, 47–49.
[3] III, 14–22; 36 seq.; XIX, 11–25.
[4] The passages on medicine (VII, 36–44), and on the sea Vouru-kasha (V, 15–20).

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place should rather have been after the XIIth Fargard. Fargard III is devoted to the earth[1]; Fargard IV stands by itself, as it deals with a matter which is treated only there, namely, civil and penal laws[2].

No better order prevails within these several parts: prescriptions on one and the same subject are scattered about through several Fargards, without any subject being treated at once in a full and exhaustive way; and this occasions needless repetitions[3].

The main cause of this disorder was, of course, that the advantage of order is rarely felt by Orientals; but it was further promoted by the very form of exposition adopted by the first composers of the Vendîdâd. The law is revealed by Ahura in a series of answers to questions put to him by Zarathustra[4]; and as these questions are not of a general character, but refer to details, the matter is much broken into fragments, each of which, consisting of a question with its answer, stands by itself, as an independent passage.

We shall treat in the following pages, first of the laws of purification, then of the civil laws, and, lastly, of the penalties both religious and civil.

A.

§ 3. The first object of man is purity, yaozdau: 'purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good[5].'

Purity and impurity have not in the Vendîdâd the exclusively spiritual meaning which they have in our languages: they do not refer to an inward state of the

[1] It contains two digressions, the one on funeral laws, the other on husbandry. See Farg. III, Introd.

[2] It contains one digression on physical weal, which must have belonged originally to Farg. III. See Farg. IV, Introd.

[3] V, 27-30 = VII, 6-9; V, 45-54 = VII, 60-69; V, 57-62 = VII, 17-22.

[4] The outward form of the Vendîdâd has been often compared with that of the Books of Moses. But in reality, in the Bible, there is no conversation between God and the lawgiver: the law comes down unasked, and God gives commands, but gives no answers. In the Vendîdâd, on the contrary, it is the wish of man, not the will of God, that is the first cause of the revelation. Man must ask of Ahura, who knows everything, and is pleased to answer (XVIII, 13 seq.); the law is 'the question to Ahura,' âhuri frasnô.

[5] Farg. V, 21, from Yasna XLVIII (XLVII), 5.

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person, but chiefly to a physical state of the body. Impurity or uncleanness may be described as the state of a person or thing that is possessed of the demon; and the object of purification is to expel the demon.

The principal means by which uncleanness enters man is death, as death is the triumph of the demon.

When a man dies, as soon as the soul has parted from the body, the Drug Nasu or Corpse-Drug falls upon the dead from the regions of hell, and whoever thenceforth touches the corpse becomes unclean, and makes unclean whomsoever he touches [1].

The Drug is expelled from the dead by means of the Sag-dîd, 'the look of the dog:' 'a four-eyed dog' or 'a white one with yellow ears' is brought near the body and is made to look at the dead; as soon as he has done so, the Drug flees back to hell [2].

The Drug is expelled from the living, whom she has seized through their contact with the dead, by a process of washings with ox's urine (gômêz or nîrang) and with water, combined with the Sag-dîd [3].

The real import of these ceremonies is shown by the spells which accompany their performance: 'Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

Thus, in the death of a man, there is more involved than the death of one man: the power of death, called forth from hell, threatens from the corpse, as from a stronghold, the whole world of the living, ready to seize whatever may fall within his reach, and 'from the dead defiles the living, from the living rushes upon the living.' When a man dies in a house, there is danger for three days lest somebody else should die in that house [4].

[1] Farg. VII, 1 seq.

[2] In the shape of a fly. 'The fly that came to the smell of the dead body was thought to be the corpse-spirit that came to take possession of the dead in the name of Ahriman' (Justi, Persien, p. 88).

[3] Farg. VIII, 35–72; IX, 12–36.

[4] Saddar 78.

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The notion or feeling, out of which these ceremonies grew, was far from unknown to the other Indo-European peoples: what was peculiar to Mazdeism was that it carried it to an extreme, and preserved a clearer sense of it, while elsewhere it grew dimmer and dimmer, and faded away. In fact, when the Greek, going out of a house where a dead man lay, sprinkled himself with water from the ἀρδανίον at the door, it was death that he drove away from himself. The Vedic Indian, too, although his rites were intended chiefly for the benefit of the dead, considered himself in danger and, while burning the corpse, cried aloud: 'Away, go away, O Death! injure not our sons and our men!' (Rig-veda X, 18, 1.)

§ 4. As to the rites by means of which the Drug is expelled, they are the performance of myths. There is nothing in worship but what existed before in mythology. What we call a practice is only an imitation of gods, an ὁμοίωσις θεῷ, as man fancies he can bring about the things he wants, by performing the acts which are supposed to have brought about things of the same kind when practised by the gods.

The Parsis, being at a loss to find four-eyed dogs, interpret the name as meaning a dog with two spots above the eyes[1]: but it is clear that the two-spotted dog's services are only accepted for want of a four-eyed one, or of a white one with yellow ears, which amounts to saying that there were myths, according to which the death-fiend was driven away by dogs of that description. This reminds one at once of the three-headed Kerberos, watching at the doors of hell, and, still more, of the two brown, four-eyed dogs of Yama, who guard the ways to the realm of death[2].

The identity of the four-eyed dog of the Parsi with Kerberos and Yama's dogs appears, moreover, from the Parsi tradition that the yellow-eared dog watches at the

[1] In practice they are still less particular: 'the Sag-dîd may be performed by a shepherd's dog, by a house dog, by a Vohunazga dog (see Farg. XIII, 19, n.), or by a young dog (a dog four months old), Comm. ad Farg. VII, 2. As birds of prey are as fiend-smiting as the dog (see above, p. lxxiii, n. 4), they are Nasu-smiters like him, and one may appeal to their services, when there is no dog at hand (see Farg. VII, 3, n. 5).

[2] Rig-veda X, 14, 10 seq.

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head of the *K*inva*t* bridge, which leads from this to the next world, and with his barking drives away the fiend from the souls of the holy ones, lest he should drag them to hell [1].

Wherever the corpse passes by, death walks with it; all along the way it has gone, from the house to its last resting-place, a spirit of death is breathing and threatening the living. Therefore, no man, no flock, no being whatever that belongs to the world of Ahura, is allowed to pass by that way until the deadly breath, that blows through it, has been blown away to hell [2]. The four-eyed dog is made to go through the way three times, or six times, or nine times, while the priest helps the look of the dog with his spells, dreaded by the Dru*g*.

§ 5. The use of gômêz in cleansing the unclean is also derived from old mythic conceptions [3]. The storm floods that cleanse the sky of the dark fiends in it were described in a class of myths as the urine of a gigantic animal in the heavens. As the floods from the bull above drive away the fiend from the god, so they do from man here below, they make him 'free from the death-demon' (frânasu), and the death-fiend flees away hellwards, pursued by the fiend-smiting spell: 'Perish thou, O Dru*g* . . . , never more to give over to Death the living world of the good spirit!'

§ 6. As uncleanness is nothing else than the contagion of death, it is at its greatest intensity when life is just departing. The Nasu at that moment defiles ten persons around the

[1] Gr. Rav. p. 592. Allusions to this myth are found in Farg. XIII, 9, and XIX, 30. The Commentary ad Farg. XIII, 17 has: 'There are dogs who watch over the earthly regions; there are others who watch over the fourteen heavenly regions.' The birth of the yellow-eared dog is described in the Ravâet (l. c.) as follows: 'Ormazd, wishing to keep the body of the first man, Gayômart, from the assaults of Ahriman, who tried to kill him, cried out: "O thou yellow-eared dog, arise!" and directly the dog barked and shook his two ears; and the unclean Satan and the fiends, when they saw the dreadful looks of the yellow-eared dog, and heard his barking, were sore afraid and fled down to hell.'

[2] Farg. VIII, 14–22.

[3] Orm. Ahr. § 124. The use of gômêz has been lately found to be known in Basse-Bretagne (Luzel, Le Nirang des Parsis en Basse-Bretagne, Mélusine, 493).

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corpse[1]: when a year is over, the corpse defiles no longer[2]. Thus the notion of uncleanness is quite the reverse of what is thought elsewhere: the corpse, when rotten, is less unclean than the body still all but warm with life; death defiles least when it looks most hideous, and defiles most when it might look majestic. The cause is that in the latter case the death-demon has just arrived in the fulness of his strength, whereas in the former case time has exhausted his power.

§ 7. As the focus of the contagion is in the corpse, it must be disposed of so that death may not spread abroad. On this point the old Indo-European customs have been completely changed by Mazdeism. The Indo-Europeans either burnt the corpse or buried it: both customs are held to be sacrilegious in the Avesta.

§ 8. This view originated from the notion of the holiness of the elements being pushed to an extreme. The elements, fire, earth, and water are holy, and during the Indo-Iranian period they were already considered so, and in the Vedas they are worshipped as godlike beings. Yet this did not prevent the Indian from burning his dead; death did not appear to him so decidedly a work of the demon, and the dead man was a traveller to the other world, whom the fire kindly carried to his heavenly abode 'on his undecaying, flying pinions, wherewith he killed the demons.' The fire was in that, as in the sacrifice, the god that goes from earth to heaven, from man to god, the mediator, the god most friendly to man. In Persia it remains more distant from him; being an earthly form of the eternal, infinite, godly light[3], no death, no uncleanness can be allowed to enter it, as it is here below the purest offspring of the good spirit, the purest part of his pure creation. Its only function is to repel the fiends with its bright blazing. In every place where Parsis are settled, an everlasting fire is kept, the Bahrâm fire, which, 'preserved by a more than Vestal

[1] Farg. V, 27; cf. n. 5.
[2] Farg. VIII, 33–34.
[3] Ignem coelitus delapsum (Ammian. Marcel. XXVII, 6); Cedrenus; Elisaeus; Recogn. Clement. IV, 29; Clem. Homil. IX, 6; Henry Lord.

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care[1],' and ever fed with perfumes and dry well-blazing wood, whichever side its flames are brought by the wind, it goes and kills thousands and thousands of fiends, as Bahrâm does in heaven[2]. If the necessities of life oblige us to employ fire for profane uses, it must be only for a time an exile on our hearth, or in the oven of the potter, and it must go thence to the Right-Place of the fire (Dâityô Gâtu), the altar of the Bahrâm fire, there to be restored to the dignity and rights of its nature[3].

At least, let no gratuitous and wanton degradation be inflicted upon it: even blowing it with the breath of the mouth is a crime[4]; burning the dead is the most heinous of sins: in the times of Strabo it was a capital crime[5], and the Avesta expresses the same, when putting it in the number of those sins for which there is no atonement[6].

Water was looked upon in the same light. Bringing dead matter to it is as bad as bringing it to the fire[7]. The Magi are said to have overthrown a king for having built bath-houses, as they cared more for the cleanness of water than for their own[8].

§ 9. Not less holy was the earth, or, at least, it became so. There was a goddess who lived in her, Spenta Ârmaiti[9]; no corpse ought to defile her sacred breast: burying the dead is, like burning the dead, a deed for which there is no atonement[10]. It was not always so in Persia: the burning of the dead had been forbidden for

[1] J. Fryer, A New Account of East India and Persia, 1698, p. 265.

[2] Farg. VIII, 81-96; 79-80. Cf. above, p. lxiv.

[3] Extinguishing it is a mortal sin (Ravâets; Elisaeus; cf. Strabo XV, 14).

[4] A custom still existing with the Tâzîk, an Iranian tribe in Eastern Persia (de Khanikoff, Ethnographie de la Perse). Strabo XV, 14. Manu has the same prescription (IV, 53). Cf. Farg. XIV, 8, n. 7.

[5] Strabo XV, 14; cf. Herod. III, 16.

[6] Farg. I, 17; cf. Farg. VIII, 74.

[7] Farg. VII, 25-27; Strabo XV, 14; Herod. I, 138.

[8] King Balash (Josué le Stylite, traduction Martin, § xx). It seems as if there were a confusion between Balash and Kavât; at any rate, it shows that bathing smacked of heresy. Jews were forbidden to perform the legal ablutions (Fürst, Culturgeschichte der Juden, 9).

[9] See above, p. lxxii.

[10] Farg. I, 13.

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years[1], while the burying was still general[2]. Cambyses had roused the indignation of the Persians by burning the corpse of Amasis: yet, years later, Persians still buried their dead. But the priests already felt scruples, and feared to defile a god. Later on, with the ascendancy of the Magian religion, the sacerdotal observances became the general law[3].

§ 10. Therefore the corpse is laid on the summit of a mountain, far from man, from water, from tree, from fire, and from the earth itself, as it is separated from it by a layer of stones or bricks[4]. Special buildings, the Dakhmas, were erected for this purpose[5]. There far from the world the dead were left to lie, beholding the sun[6].

§ 11. Not every corpse defiles man, but only those of such beings as belong to the world of Ahura. They are the only ones in whose death the demon triumphs. The corpse of an Ahrimanian creature does not defile; as its life was incarnate death, the spring of death that was in it is dried up with its last breath: it killed while alive, it can

[1] From the reign of Cyrus (cf. above, p. li). [2] Cf. above, p. xlv.

[3] Still the worship of the earth seems not to have so deeply penetrated the general religion as the worship of fire. The laws about the disposal of the dead were interpreted by many, it would seem, as intended only to secure the purity of water and fire, and they thought that they might be at peace with religion if they had taken care to bury the corpse, so that no part of it might be taken by animals to fire or water (Farg. III, 41, n. 7).

[4] Farg. VI, 44 seq.; VIII, 10 seq. Cf. IX, 11, n. 4. Moreover, the Dakhma is ideally separated from the ground by means of a golden thread, which is supposed to keep it suspended in the air (Ravâet, ap. Spiegel, Uebersetzung des Avesta II, XXXVI).

[5] 'The Dakhma is a round building, and is designated by some writers, "The Tower of Silence." A round pit, about six feet deep, is surrounded by an annular stone pavement, about seven feet wide, on which the dead bodies are placed. This place is enclosed all round by a stone wall some twenty feet high, with a small door on one side for taking the body in. The whole is built up of and paved with stone. The pit has communication with three or more closed pits, at some distance into which the rain washes out the liquids and the remains of the dead bodies' (Dadabhai Naoroji, The Manners and Customs of the Parsees, Bombay, 1864, p. 16). Cf. Farg. VI, 50. A Dakhma is the first building the Parsis erect when settling on a new place (Dosabhoy Framjee).

[6] The Avesta and the Commentator attach great importance to that point: it is as if the dead man's life were thus prolonged, since he can still behold the sun. 'Grant us that we may long behold the sun,' said the Indian *Rishi*.

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do so no more when dead; it becomes clean by dying[1]. None of the faithful are defiled by the corpse of an Ashemaogha or of a Khrafstra. Nay, killing them is a pious work, as it is killing Ahriman himself[2].

§ 12. Not only real death makes one unclean, but partial death too. Everything that goes out of the body of man is dead, and becomes the property of the demon. The going breath is unclean, it is forbidden to blow the fire with it[3], and even to approach the fire without screening it from the contagion with a Penôm[4]. Parings of nails and cuttings or shavings of hair are unclean, and become weapons in the hands of the demons unless they have been protected by certain rites and spells[5]. Any phenomenon by which the bodily nature is altered, whether accompanied with danger to health or not, was viewed as a work of the demon, and made the person unclean in whom it took place. One of these phenomena, which is a special object of attention in the Vendîdâd, is the uncleanness of women during their menses. The menses are sent by Ahriman[6], especially when they last beyond the usual time: therefore a woman, as long as they last, is unclean and possessed of the demon: she must be kept confined, apart from the faithful whom her touch would defile, and from the fire which her very look would injure; she is not allowed to eat as much as she wishes, as the strength she might acquire would accrue to the fiends. Her food is not given to her from hand to hand, but is passed to her from a distance[7], in a long leaden spoon. The origin of all these notions is in certain physical instincts, in physiological psychology, which is the reason why they are found among peoples very far removed from one another by race or religion[8]. But they took in Persia a new meaning as they were made a logical part of the whole religious system.

§ 13. A woman that has been just delivered of a child

[1] Farg. V, 35 seq.
[2] See above, p. lxxiii.
[3] See above, p. xc.
[4] See Farg. XIV, 8, n. 7.
[5] Farg. XVII.
[6] Farg. I, 18–19; XVI, 11. Cf. Bund. III.
[7] Farg XVI, 15.
[8] Cf. Leviticus. See Pliny VII, 13.

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is also unclean [1], although it would seem that she ought to be considered pure amongst the pure, since life has been increased by her in the world, and she has enlarged the realm of Ormazd. But the strength of old instincts overcame the drift of new principles. Only the case when the woman has been delivered of a still-born child is examined in the Vendîdâd. She is unclean as having been in contact with a dead creature; and she must first drink gômêz to wash over the grave in her womb. So utterly unclean is she, that she is not even allowed to drink water, unless she is in danger of death; and even then, as the sacred element has been defiled, she is liable to the penalty of a Peshôtanu [2]. It appears from modern customs that the treatment is the same when the child is born alive: the reason of which is that, in any case, during the first three days after delivery she is in danger of death [3]. A great fire is lighted to keep away the fiends, who use then their utmost efforts to kill her and her child [4]. She is unclean only because the death-fiend is in her.

§ 14. Logic required that the sick man should be treated as an unclean one, that is, as one possessed. Sickness, being sent by Ahriman, ought to be cured like all his other works, by washings and spells. In fact, the medicine of spells was considered the most powerful of all [5], and although it did not oust the medicine of the lancet and that of drugs, yet it was more highly esteemed and less mistrusted. The commentator on the Vendîdâd very sensibly observes that if it does not relieve, it will surely do no harm [6], which seems not to have been a matter of course with those who heal by the knife and physic. It

[1] Farg. V, 45 seq. [2] Farg. VII, 70 seq.

[3] 'When there is a pregnant woman in a house, one must take care that there be fire continually in it; when the child is brought forth, one must burn a candle, or, better still, a fire, for three days and three nights, to render the Dêvs and Drugs unable to harm the child; for there is great danger during those three days and nights after the birth of the child' (Saddar 16).

[4] 'When the child is being born, one brandishes a sword on the four sides, lest fairy Aal kill it' (Polack, Persien I, 223). In Rome, three gods, Intercidona, Pilumnus, and Deverra, keep her threshold, lest Sylvanus come in and harm her (Augustinus, De Civ. D. VI, 9).

[5] Farg. VII, 44. [6] Ibid. p. 86, n. 1.

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appears from the last Fargard that all or, at least, many diseases might be cured by spells and Barashnûm washing. It appears from Herodotus and Agathias that contagious diseases required the same treatment as uncleanness: the sick man was excluded from the community of the faithful [1], until cured and cleansed according to the rites [2].

§ 15. The unclean are confined in a particular place, apart from all clean persons and objects, the Armêst-gâh [3], which may be described, therefore, as the Dakhma for the living. All the unclean, all those struck with temporary death, the man who has touched dead matter, the woman in her menses, or just delivered of child, the leper [4], or the man who has made himself unclean for ever by carrying a corpse alone [5], stay there all the time of their uncleanness.

§ 16. Thus far for general principles. From the diversity of circumstances arises a system of casuistry, the development of which may be followed first through the glosses to the Vendîdâd, in which the labours of several generations of theologians are embodied, and, later on, through the Ravâets. We will give a few instances of it, as found in the Vendîdâd itself.

The process of the cleansing varies according to the degree of uncleanness; and, again, the degree of uncleanness depends on the state of the thing that defiles and the nature of the thing that is defiled.

The uncleanness from the dead is the worst of all, and it is at its utmost when contracted before the Nasu has been expelled from the corpse by the Sag-dîd [6]: it can be cured only by means of the most complicated system of cleansing, the nine nights' Barashnûm [7].

[1] Herod. I, 138. [2] Agathias II, 23.

[3] The Armest-gâh for women in their menses is called Dashtânistân.

[4] Herod. l. l.; Farg. II, 29.

[5] Farg. III, 21, n. 2.

[6] Farg. VIII, 35-36; 98-99; cf. VII, 29-30, and n. 1 to 30.

[7] Farg. IX. The Barashnûm, originally meant to remove the uncleanness from the dead, became a general instrument of holiness. Children when putting on the Kôstî (Farg. XVIII, 9, n. 4) perform it to be cleansed from the natural uncleanness they have contracted in the womb of their mothers. It is good for every one to perform it once a year.

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If the Nasu has already been expelled from the corpse, as the defiling power was less, a simple washing once made, the Ghosel, is enough[1].

The defiling power of the Nasu reaches farther, if the death has just taken place, and if the dying creature occupied a higher rank in the scale of beings[2]; for the more recent the victory of the demon, or the higher the being he has overcome, the stronger he must have been himself.

Menstruous women are cleansed by the Ghosel[3].

As for things they are more or less deeply defiled according to their degree of penetrability: metal vessels can be cleansed, earthen vessels cannot[4]; leather is more easily cleansed than woven cloth[5]; dry wood than soft wood[6]. Wet matter is a better conductor of uncleanness than dry matter, and corpses cease to defile after a year[7].

B.

§ 17. In the cases heretofore reviewed, only religious purposes are concerned. There is another order of laws, in which, although religion interferes, yet it is not at the root; namely, the laws about contracts and assaults, to which the fourth Fargard is devoted, and which are the only remains extant of the civil and penal legislation of Zoroastrianism.

The contracts were divided into two classes, according to their mode of being entered into, and according to the value of their object[8]. As to their mode they are word-contracts or hand-contracts: as to their object, they are sheep-contracts, ox-contracts, man-contracts, or field-contracts, which being estimated in money value are contracts to the amount of 3, 12, 500 istîrs, and upwards[9].

No contract can be made void by the will of one party

[1] Farg. VIII, 36.
[2] Farg. V, 27 seq.; VII, 1 seq.
[3] Farg. XVI, 12.
[4] Farg. VII, 73 seq.
[5] Farg. VII, 14 seq.
[6] Farg. VII, 28 seq.
[7] Farg. VIII, 33–34.
[8] See p. 34, n. 3.
[9] An istîr (στατήρ) is as much as four dirhems (δραχμή). The dirhem is estimated by modern tradition a little more than a rupee.

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alone; he who breaks a contract is obliged to pay the value of the contract next higher in value.

The family and the next of kin are, it would seem, answerable for the fulfilment of a contract, a principle of the old Indo-European civil law[1].

§ 18. Assaults are of seven degrees: âgerepta, avaoirista[2], stroke, sore wound, bloody wound, broken bone, and manslaughter. The gravity of the guilt does not depend on the gravity of the deed only, but also on its frequency. Each of these seven crimes amounts, by its being repeated without having been atoned for, to the crime that immediately follows in the scale, so that an âgerepta seven times repeated amounts to manslaughter.

C.

§ 19. Every crime makes the guilty man liable to two penalties, one here below, and another in the next world.

The penalty here below consists of a certain number of stripes with the Aspahê-astra or the Sraoshô-karana[3].

The unit for heavy penalties is two hundred stripes; the crime and the criminal thus punished are called Peshô-tanu or Tanu-peretha (Parsi: Tanâfûhr). The two words literally mean, 'one who pays with his own body,' and 'payment with one's body,' and seem to have originally amounted to

[1] Farg. IV, 5 seq. [2] Two different sorts of menaces; see IV, 54.

[3] The general formula is literally, 'Let (the priest; probably, the Sraoshâ-varez) strike so many strokes with the Aspahê-astra, so many strokes with the Sraoshô-karana.' Astra means in Sanskrit 'a goad,' so that Aspahê-astra may mean 'a horse-goad;' but Aspendiârji translates it by durra, 'a thong,' which suits the sense better, and agrees with etymology too ('an instrument to drive a horse, a whip;' astra, from the root az, 'to drive;' it is the Aspahê-astra which is referred to by Sozomenos II, 13: *ἱμάσιν ὡμοῖς χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἐβασάνισαν οἱ μάγοι* (the Sraoshâ-varez), *βιαζόμενοι προσκυνῆσαι τὸν ἥλιον*). Sraoshô-karana is translated by kâbuk, 'a whip,' which agrees with the Sanskrit translation of the sî-srôshkaranâm sin, 'yat tribhir gokarmasâtaghâtâis prâyaskityam bhavati tâvanmâtram, a sin to be punished with three strokes with a whip.' It seems to follow that Aspahê-astra and Sraoshô-karana are one and the same instrument, designated with two names, first in reference to its shape, and then to its use (Sraoshô-karana meaning 'the instrument for penalty,' or 'the instrument of the Sraoshâ-varez?'). The Aspahê-astra is once called astra mairya, 'the astra for the account to be given,' that is, 'for the payment of the penalty' (Farg. XVIII, 4).

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'worthy of death, worthiness of death;' and in effect the word Peshô-tanu is often interpreted in the Pahlavi Commentary by margarzân, 'worthy of death.' But, on the whole, it was attached to the technical meaning of 'one who has to receive two hundred strokes with the horse-whip[1].' The lowest penalty in the Vendîdâd is five stripes, and the degrees from five stripes to Peshôtanu are ten, fifteen, thirty, fifty, seventy, ninety, two hundred. For instance, âgerepta is punished with five stripes, avaoirista with ten, stroke with fifteen, sore wound with thirty, bloody wound with fifty, broken bone with seventy, manslaughter with ninety; a second manslaughter, committed without the former being atoned for, is punished with the Peshôtanu penalty. In the same way the six other crimes, repeated eight, or seven, or six, or five, or four, or three times make the committer go through the whole series of penalties up to the Peshôtanu penalty.

§ 20. If one reviews the different crimes described in the Vendîdâd, and the respective penalties prescribed for them, one cannot but wonder at first sight at the strange inequality between crime and penalty. Beccaria would have felt uncomfortable while reading the Vendîdâd. It is safer to kill a man than to serve bad food to a shepherd's dog, for the manslayer gets off with ninety stripes, whereas the bad master is at once a Peshôtanu[2], and will receive two hundred stripes. Two hundred stripes are awarded if one tills land in which a corpse has been buried within the year[3], if a woman just delivered of child drinks water[4], if one suppresses the menses of a woman[5], if one performs a sacrifice in a house where a man has just died[6], if one neglects fastening the corpse of a dead man so that birds or dogs may not take dead matter to trees and rivers[7]. Two hundred stripes if one throws on the ground a bone of a man's corpse, of a dog's carcase as big as two ribs, four

[1] Farg. IV, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42; V, 44; VI, 5, 9, 19, 48, &c.
[2] Farg. IV, 40, and XIII, 24.
[3] Farg. VI, 5.
[4] Farg. VII, 70 seq.
[5] Farg. XVI, 13 seq.
[6] Farg. V, 39.
[7] Farg. VI, 47 seq.

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hundred if one throws a bone as big as a breast bone, six hundred if one throws a skull, one thousand if the whole corpse[1]. Four hundred stripes if one, being in a state of uncleanness, touches water or trees[2], four hundred if one covers with cloth a dead man's feet, six hundred if one covers his legs, eight hundred if the whole body[3]. Five hundred stripes for killing a whelp, six hundred for killing a stray dog, seven hundred for a house dog, eight hundred for a shepherd's dog[4], one thousand stripes for killing a Vanhâpara dog, ten thousand stripes for killing a water dog[5].

Capital punishment is expressly pronounced only against the false cleanser[6] and the 'carrier alone[7].'

Yet any one who bethinks himself of the spirit of the old Aryan legislation will easily conceive that there may be in its eyes many crimes more heinous, and to be punished more severely, than manslaughter: offences against man injure only one man; offences against gods endanger all mankind. No one should wonder at the unqualified cleanser being put to death who reads Demosthenes' Neaera; the Persians who defiled the ground by burying a corpse were not more severely punished than the Greeks were for defiling with corpses the holy ground of Delos[8], or than the conquerors at Arginousae; nor would the Athenians, who put to death Atarbes[9], have much stared at the awful revenge taken for the murder of the sacred dog. There is hardly any prescription in the Vendîdâd, however odd and absurd it may seem, but has its counterpart or its explanation in other Aryan legislations: if we had a Latin or a Greek Vendîdâd, I doubt whether it would look more rational.

§ 21. Yet, if theoretically the very absurdity of its principles is nothing peculiar to the Mazdean law, nay, is a proof of its authenticity, it may be doubted whether it could

[1] Farg. VI, 10 seq.
[2] Farg. VIII, 104 seq.
[3] Farg. VIII, 23 seq.
[4] Farg. XIII, 8 seq.
[5] Farg. XIV, 1 seq.
[6] Farg. IX, 47 seq.
[7] Farg. III, 14 seq. Yet there were other capital crimes. See below, § 23.
[8] Diodor. XII, 58.
[9] Aelianus, Hist. Var. V, 17.

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ever have been actually applied in the form stated in the texts. It may be doubted whether the murder of a shepherd's dog could have been actually punished with eight hundred stripes, much more whether the murder of a water dog could have been really punished with ten thousand stripes, unless we suppose that human endurance was different in ancient Persia from what it is elsewhere, or even in modern Persia herself[1]. Now as we see that in modern tradition bodily punishment is estimated in money value, that is to say, converted into fines, a conversion which is alluded to in the Pahlavi translation[2], it may readily be admitted that as early as the time of the last edition of the Vendîdâd, that conversion had already been made. In the Ravâets, two hundred stripes, or a Tanâfûhr, are estimated as equal to three hundred istîrs or twelve hundred dirhems, or thirteen hundred and fifty rupees; a stripe is therefore about equal to six rupees[3]. How far that system prevailed in practice, whether the guilty might take advantage of this commutation of his own accord, or only with the assent of the judge, we cannot decide. It is very likely that the riches of the fire-temples came for the most part from that source, and that the sound of the dirhems often made the Sraoshô-*k*arana fall from the hands of the Mobeds. That the system of financial penalties did not, however, suppress the system of bodily penalties, appears from the customs of the Parsis who apply both, and from the Pahlavi Commentary which expressly distinguishes three sorts of atonement: the atonement by money (khvâstak), the atonement by the Sraoshô-*k*arana, and the atonement by cleansing.

§ 22. This third element of atonement is strictly religious. It consists in repentance, which is manifested by avowal of the guilt and by the recital of a formula of repentance,

[1] In the time of Chardin, the number of stripes inflicted on the guilty never exceeded three hundred; in the old German law, two hundred; in the Hebrew law, forty.

[2] Ad Farg. XIV, 2.

[3] In later Parsîism every sin (and every good deed) has its value in money fixed, and may thus be weighed in the scales of Rashnu. If the number of sin dirhems outweigh the number of the good deed dirhems, the soul is saved. Herodotus noticed the same principle of compensation in the Persian law of his time (I, 137; cf. VII, 194).

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the Patet. The performance of the Patet has only a religious effect: it saves the sinner from penalties in the other world, but not from those here below: it delivers him before God, but not before man. When the sacrilegious cleanser has repented his sin, he is not the less flayed and beheaded, but his soul is saved [1]. Yet, although it has no efficacy in causing the sin to be remitted, the absence of it has power to cause it to be aggravated [2].

§ 23. Thus far for sins that can be atoned for. There are some that are anâperetha, 'inexpiable,' which means, as it seems, that they are punished with death here below, and with torments in the other world.

Amongst the anâperetha sins are named the burning of the dead, the burying of the dead [3], the eating dead matter [4], unnatural sin [5], and self-pollution [6]. Although it is not expressly declared that these sins were punished with death, yet we know it of several of them, either from Greek accounts or from Parsi tradition. There are also whole classes of sinners whose life, it would seem, can be taken by any one who detects them in the act, such as the courtezan, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the corpse-burner [7].

§ 24. Such are the most important principles of the Mazdean law that can be gathered from the Vendîdâd. These details, incomplete as they are, may give us an idea, if not of the Sassanian practice, at least of the Sassanian ideal. That it was an ideal which intended to pass into practice, we know from the religious wars against Armenia, and from the fact that very often the superintendence of justice and the highest offices of the state were committed to Mobeds.

We must now add a few words on the plan of the following translation. As to our method we beg to refer to the second chapter above. It rests on the Parsi tradition, corrected or confirmed by the comparative method. The

[1] Farg. IX, 49, n.; cf. III, 20 seq.
[2] Farg. IV, 20, 24, 28, 32, 35, &c.
[3] Farg. I, 13, 17; Strabo XV, 14.
[4] Farg. VII, 23 seq.
[5] Farg. I, 12; cf. VIII, 32.
[6] Farg. VIII, 27.
[7] See p. 111, n. 1; Farg. XVIII, 64.

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Parsi tradition is found in the Pahlavi Commentary[1], the understanding of which was facilitated to us first by the Gujarathi translation and paraphrase of Aspendiârji[2], and by a Persian transliteration and translation belonging to the Haug collection in Munich[3], for the use of which we were indebted to the obliging kindness of the Director of the State Library in Munich, Professor von Halm. The Ravâets and the Saddar[4] frequently gave us valuable information as to the traditional meaning of doubtful passages. As for the works of European scholars, we are much indebted to the Commentary on the Avesta by Professor Spiegel, and to the translations in the second edition of Martin Haug's Essays.

We have followed the text of the Avesta as given by Westergaard; the division into paragraphs is according to Westergaard; but we have given in brackets the corresponding divisions of Professor Spiegel's edition.

Many passages in the Vendîdâd Sâdah are mere quotations from the Pahlavi Commentary which have crept into the Sâdah text: we have not admitted them into the text. They are generally known to be spurious from their not being translated in the Commentary[5]: yet the absence of a Pahlavi translation is not always an unmistakable sign of such spuriousness. Sometimes the translation has been lost in our manuscripts, or omitted as having already been given in identical or nearly identical terms. When we thought

[1] Our quotations refer to the text given in Spiegel's edition, but corrected after the London manuscript.

[2] Bombay, 1842, 2 vols. in 8°.

[3] Unfortunately the copy is incomplete: there are two lacunae, one from I, 11 to the end of the chapter; the other, more extensive, from VI, 26 to IX. The perfect accordance of this Persian translation with the Gujarathi of Aspendiârji shows that both are derived from one and the same source. Their accordance is striking even in mistakes; for instance, the Pahlavi avâstâr ﯾﻢﺳﻌﻢﻟﻢ, a transliteration of the Zend a-vâstra, 'without pastures' (VII, 28), is misread by the Persian translator *Avâstâr*, خواستار 'he who wishes,' owing to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi letter ﯾﻢ (av or *Av*), and it is translated by Aspendiârji *Kâhânâr*, 'the wisher.'

[4] The prose Saddar (as found in the Great Ravâet), which differs considerably from the Saddar in verse, as translated by Hyde.

[5] Without speaking of their not being connected with the context. See Farg. I, 4, 15, 20; II, 6, 20; V, 1; VII, 53–54.

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that this was the case, we have admitted the untranslated passages into the text, but in brackets[1].

We have divided the principal Fargards into several sections according to the matter they contain: this division, which is meant as an attempt to resolve the Vendîdâd into its primitive fragments, has, of course, no traditional authority, the divisions into paragraphs being the only ones that rest upon the authority of the manuscripts.

The translation will be found, in many passages, to differ greatly from the translations published heretofore[2]. The nature of this series of translations did not allow us to give full justificatory notes, but we have endeavoured in most cases to make the explanatory notes account to scholars for the new meanings we have adopted, and, in some cases, we hope that the original text, read anew, will by itself justify our translation[3].

We must not conclude this introduction without tendering our warmest thanks to Mr. E. W. West, who kindly revised the MS. of the translation before it went to press, and who has, we hope, succeeded in making our often imperfect English more acceptable to English readers.

JAMES DARMESTETER.

PARIS,
November, 1879.

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[1] Farg. VII, 3; VIII, 95. Formulae and enumerations are often left untranslated, although they must be considered part of the text (VIII, 72; XI, 9, 12; XX, 6, &c.)

[2] Complete translations of the Vendîdâd have been published by Anquetil Duperron in France (Paris, 1771), by Professor Spiegel in Germany (Leipzig, 1852), by Canon de Harlez in Belgium (Louvain, 1877). The translation of Professor Spiegel was translated into English by Professor Bleeck, who added useful information from inedited Gujarathi translations (Hertford, 1864).

[3] The following is a list of the principal abbreviations used in this volume:—

Asp. = Aspendiârji's translation.

Bund. = Bundahis; Arabic numbers refer to the chapter (according to Justi's edition); Roman numbers refer to the page and line.

Comm. = The Pahlavi Commentary.

Gr. Rav. = Le Grand Ravâet (in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Supplément Persan, No. 47).

Orm. Ahr. = Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris, Vieweg, 1877.

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VENDÎDÂD.

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VENDÎDÂD.

FARGARD I.

THIS chapter is an enumeration of sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazda, and of as many plagues created in opposition by Angra Mainyu.

Many attempts have been made, not only to identify these sixteen lands, but also to draw historical conclusions from their order of succession, as representing the actual order of the migrations and settlements of the old Iranian tribes[1]. But there is nothing in the text that would authorise us to look to it even for legendary records, much less for real history. We have here nothing more than a geographical description of Iran, such as might be expected in a religious work like the Vendîdâd, that is to say, one that contains mythical lands as well as real countries. It is not easy to decide with perfect certainty, in every case, whether we have to do with a land of the former or of the latter kind, owing partly to our deficient knowledge of the geography of ancient Iran, partly to the fact that names, originally belonging to mythical lands, are often in later times attached to real ones.

Of these sixteen lands there are certainly nine which have really existed, and of which we know the geographical position, as we are able to follow their names from the records of the Achæmenian kings or the works of classical writers down to the map of modern Iran. They are the following:—

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[1] Rhode, Die heilige Sage des Zendvolks, p. 61; Heeren, Ideen zur Geschichte, I, p. 498; Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde I, p. 526; Haug in Bunsen's work, Aegypten's Stellung, V, 2nd part, p. 104; Kiepert, Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie, 1856, p. 621.—New light was thrown on this record by M. Bréal in his paper 'De la géographie de l'Avesta' (in the Mélanges de mythologie et de linguistique, p. 187 seq.)

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ZEND NAME.	OLD PERSIAN.	GREEK.	MODERN NAME.
Sughdha (2)	Suguda	Σογδιανή	(Samarkand)
Môuru (3)	Margu	Μαργιανή	Merv
Bâkhdhi (4)	Bâkhtri	Βάκτρα	Balkh
Harôyu (6)	Haraiva	Ἄρεια	Hari-rûd
Vehrkâna (9)	Varkâna	Ὑρκανία	Gorgân
Harahvaiti (10)	Harauvati	Ἀράχωτος	Harût
Haêtuma*n*t (11)		Ἐτύμανδρος	Helmend
Ragha (12)	Raga	Ῥαγαί	Raï
Hapta hi*n*du (15)	Hi*n*davas	Ἰνδοί	(Pañgâb)

The real existence of Nisâya (5) is certain, although its position cannot be exactly determined (see the note to § 8).

For the other lands we are confined for information to the Pahlavi Commentary. *K*akhra (13) is only transliterated, whether the name was then too much known to require any further explanation or too little to allow of any. Urva (8) is described as being Masân ('the land of Masân' or 'the land of the Great'), a name which applied, in the Sassanian ages, to the land around Ispahân (Firdausi, ed. Mohl, V, 270).

For 'Varena, the four-cornered' (14), the Commentary hesitates between the Padashkhvârgar mountains (the Elborz) and Kirmân, a hesitation easily accounted for by the fact that Varena is the seat of the struggle between A*z*is Dahâka and Thraêtaona, between the storm serpent and the storm god, and was formerly 'the four-sided Heaven' (see Introd. IV, 12, 23). Modern tradition decides in favour of Padashkhvârgar, probably because the serpent was at last bound to Demavand, the highest peak in that chain. The claims of Kirmân were probably founded on the popular etymology of its name, 'the land of snakes.'

'Vaêkereta, of the evil shadows' (8), is identified with Kapul (Cabul); whether rightly or wrongly, we are unable to decide; yet, as it is spoken of only as the seat of the adventures of Keresâspa (see Introd. IV, 21), it may be suspected that this assimilation rests merely on the fact that, in later tradition, the legend of Keresâspa was localised in the table-land of Peshyansâi, in Kabulistan (Bund. XXX).

In the enumeration there is no apparent order whatever, and Ormazd, in his creations, seems to travel all over the map, forward and backward, without the slightest regard to the cardinal points. Yet, the starting point and the final point have not been arbitrarily chosen: the first land created was 'the Airyana Vaêgô by the Vanguhi Dâitya,' and the last was the land by the Rangha. Now,

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the Vanguhi and the Rangha were originally the celestial rivers that came down from heaven (as two heavenly Gaṅgâs) to surround the earth, the one in the east, the other in the west (Bund. XX); this is why the creation begins with a land by the Vanguhi and ends with a land by the Rangha.

In the Sassanian ages, when the Tigris was definitively the border of Iran in the west, the Rangha was identified with it, and the sixteenth land is accordingly described in the Commentary as being Arvastân-i-Rûm, or Roman Mesopotamia. But all the Avesta passages in which the Rangha is cited refer to its mythical nature, as the river in the far-off horizon, as the surrounding Okeanos, and, now and then, still resembling its Vedic homonym, the Rasâ, as the river that divides the gods from the fiends.

The first land, the Airyana Vaêgô by the Vanguhi Dâitya, remained to the last a mythical region. It was originally the abode of Yima and of the righteous, that is to say, a particular form of paradise (see Introd. IV, 38, and Farg. II). Later on, it was looked for in the countries north of Adarbaijan, probably in order that it should be as near as possible to the seat of the Zoroastrian religion, yet without losing its supernatural character by the counter-evidence of facts. This brought about the division of the Vanguhi Dâitya into two rivers: as the Airyana Vaêgô was localised in the country north of Adarbaijan, the river in it must become identified with the Araxes (Aras); but, at the same time, it continued to surround the world eastward under the name of Veh (Vanguhi), which was the Sassanian name of the Oxus—Indus [1]. It seems that in the time of Herodotus, the Araxes and the Oxus were considered one and the same river [2], as the Oxus and the Indus were later on; this would account for his strange statement that the Araxes, which is confessedly with him the Oxus or Yaxartes, springs from the land of the Matianians, like the Gyndes, and flows eastwards (I, 202; IV, 40; cf. III, 36; IV, 11); and, at the same time, this would account both for how the Airyana Vaêgô could be localised in the basin of the Araxes and how the Oxus could flow eastwards to fall into the Arabian sea [3].

[1] The Oxus and the Indus were believed to be one and the same river (Bund. l. c.; see Garrez, Journal Asiatique, 1869, II, 195 seq.)

[2] Running under the Caspian sea, as Arethusa runs under the Sicilian sea and the Rangha itself under the Persian gulf (Bund. XX; cf. Garrez l. c.)

[3] Whether in the time when this Fargard was written, the Airyana

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It follows hence that no historical conclusions can be drawn from this description: it was necessary that it should begin with the Vanguhi and end with the Rangha. To look to it for an account of geographical migrations, is converting cosmology into history.

Of the counter-creations of Angra Mainyu there is little to be said: they are different vices and plagues, which are generally unconnected with the country to the creation of which they answer. Some of them are expressed by ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, the meaning of which is doubtful or unknown.

If we assume that only lands belonging to the Iranian world were admitted into the list, the mention of the Seven Rivers would indicate that the first Fargard was not composed earlier than the time when the basin of the Indus became a part of Iran, that is, not earlier than the reign of Darius the First.

1. Ahura Mazda[1] spake unto Spitama[2] Zarathustra[3], saying:

2. I have made every land dear to its dwellers, even though it had no charms whatever in it[4]: had I not made every land dear to its dwellers, even though it had no charms whatever in it, then the whole living world would have invaded the Airyana Vaêgô[5].

3 (5). The first of the good lands and countries

Vaêgô was still believed to be in the far-off lands of the rising sun, or already on the banks of the Aras, we leave undecided.

[1] See Introd. IV, 4.

[2] Literally 'the most beneficent,' an epithet of Zarathustra, which was later mistaken for a family name, 'the Spitamide.'

[3] See Introd. IV, 40.

[4] 'Every one fancies that the land where he is born and has been brought up is the best and fairest land that I have created.' (Comm.)

[5] See following clause. Clause 2 belongs to the Commentary; it is composed of quotations that illustrate the alternative process of the creation: 'First, Ahura Mazda would create a land of such kind that its dwellers might like it, and there could be nothing more delightful. Then he who is all death would bring against it a counter-creation.'

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which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Airyana Vaêgô[1], by the good river Dâitya[2].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the serpent in the river[3] and winter, a work of the Daêvas[4].

4 (9). There are ten winter months there, two summer months[5]; and those are cold for the waters[6], cold for the earth, cold for the trees[7]. Winter falls there, with the worst of its plagues.

5 (13). The second of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the plains[8] in Sughdha[9].

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[1] See the Introd. to the Fargard.

[2] 'The good Dâitya.' 'The Dâitîk (Dâitya) comes from Irân Vêg (Airyana Vaêgô), it flows through the mountains of Gorgistân (Georgia,' Bund. p. 51, 19). It was therefore, in the time of the Sassanides, a name of the Araxes.

[3] 'There are many Khrafstras in the Dâitîk, as it is said, The Dâitîk full of Khrafstras' (Bund. p. 51, 20). The serpent in the river was originally the mythical Serpent, Azis, who overthrew and killed the king of Irân Vêg, Yima (see Introd. IV, 18); then it was identified, as appears from the Bundahis, with the snakes that abound on the banks of the Araxes (Morier, A Second Journey, p. 250).

[4] As Irân Vêg is a place of refuge for mankind and all life from the winter that is to destroy the world (see Farg. II, 21 seq.), winter was thought, by a mythical misunderstanding, to be the counter-creation of Irân Vêg: hence the glacial description of that strange paradise (see the following clause).

[5] Vendîdâd Sâdah: 'It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter' (see Bund. XXV).

[6] Some say: 'Even those two months of summer are cold for the waters . . .' (Comm.; cf. Mainyô-i-khard XLIV, 20, and above, n. 4).

[7] Vend. Sâdah: 'There reigns the core and heart of winter.'

[8] Doubtful: possibly the name of a river (the Zarafshand).

[9] Suguda; Sogdiana.

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Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the fly Skaitya[1], which brings death to the cattle.

6 (17). The third of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Môuru[2].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft sinful lusts[3].

7 (21). The fourth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Bâkhdhi[4] with high-lifted banners.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the Bravara[5].

8 (25). The fifth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Nisâya[6], that lies between Môuru and Bâkhdhi.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the sin of unbelief[7].

9 (29). The sixth of the good lands and countries

[1] A word unknown: possibly 'the cattle fly.' It is a fly that hides itself among the corn and the fodder, and thence stings with a venomous sting the ox that eats of it (Comm. and Asp.)

[2] Margu; Margiana; Merv.

[3] Translated according to the Comm. and Asp.

[4] Bâkhtri; Bactra; Balkh.

[5] 'The corn-carrying ants' (Asp.; cf. Farg. XIV, 5).

[6] There were several towns of this name, but none between Môuru and Bâkhdhi. But the sentence may be translated also: 'Nisâya between which and Bâkhdhi Môuru lies,' which would point to Νισαία, the capital of Parthia (Παρθαύνισα ap. Isid. of Charax 12); cf. Pliny 6, 25 (29).

[7] 'One must believe in the law, and have no doubt whatever about it in the heart, and firmly believe that the good and right law that Ormazd sent to the world is the same law that was brought to us by Zardust' (Saddar 1).

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which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Harôyu[1] with its lake[2].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the stained mosquito[3].

10 (33). The seventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Vaêkereta[4], of the evil shadows.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the Pairika Knãthaiti, who clave unto Keresâspa[5].

11 (37). The eighth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Urva of the rich pastures[6].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the sin of pride[7].

12 (41). The ninth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Khne*n*ta in Vehrkâna[8].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the unnatural sin[9].

13 (45). The tenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Harahvaiti[10].

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[1] Haraiva; Areia; the basin of the Hari river, or Herat.

[2] Doubtful.

[3] Doubtful.

[4] 'Kapul' (Comm.; see the Introd. to the Fargard).

[5] See Introd. IV, 21.

[6] According to Asp. Tus (in Khorasan); more probably the land around Ispahan. See the Introd. to the Fargard.

[7] Or better, tyranny: 'the great are proud there' (Comm.)

[8] Varkâna; Hyrcania. 'Khne*n*ta is a river in Vehrkâna' (Comm.); consequently the river *G*or*g*ân.

[9] See Farg. VIII, 31.

[10] Harauvati; Ἀράχωτος; Harût.

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Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead[1].

14 (49). The eleventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the bright, glorious Haêtuma*n*t[2].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the evil witchcraft of the Yâtus[3].

15 (53). And this is how the Yâtu's nature shows itself: it shows itself by the look[4]; and then, whenever the wizard goes and howls forth his spells[5], most deadly works of witchcraft go forth[6].

16 (59). The twelfth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Ragha of the three races[7].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft the sin of utter unbelief[8].

17 (63). The thirteenth of the good lands and

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[1] See Farg. III, 36 seq.

[2] The basin of the Ἐτύμανδρος or Erymanthus; now Helmend. Cf. Farg. XIX, 39.

[3] The wizards; see Introd. IV, 20. [4] The evil eye.

[5] As a Γόης. Witchcraft is exercised either by the eye or by the voice (Asp.)

[6] Vendîdâd Sâdah: 'Then they come forth to kill and to strike to the heart.' A gloss cites, as productions of the wizard, 'snow and hail' (cf. Hippocrates, De Morbo Sacro 1, and Pausanias 2, 34, 4). To that gloss seems to belong the corrupt Zend sentence that follows, and that may mean 'they increase the plague of locusts' (cf. Farg. VII, 26).

[7] Raï. See Introd. III, 15.

[8] 'They doubt themselves and cause other people to doubt' (Comm.)

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countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy *K*akhra[1].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the burning of corpses[2].

18 (67). The fourteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the four-cornered Varena[3], for which was born Thraêtaona, who smote A*zis* Dahâka.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft abnormal issues in women[4] and the oppression of foreign rulers[5].

19 (72). The fifteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Seven Rivers[6].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft abnormal issues in women and excessive heat.

20 (76). The sixteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the land by the floods of the Rangha[7], where people live without a head[8].

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[1] A land unknown. Asp.: China, which is certainly wrong. There was a town of that name in Khorasan (*K*arkh).

[2] See Farg. VIII, 73.

[3] See the Introd. to the Farg. [4] Farg. XVI, 11 seq.

[5] Possibly an allusion to A*zis* Dahâka (Zohâk), who, as a king, represents the foreign conqueror (in later tradition the Tâzî or Arab; possibly in older tradition the Assyrian).

[6] The basin of the affluents of the Indus, the modern Pañ*g*âb (=the Five Rivers).

[7] 'Arvastân-i-Rûm (Roman Mesopotamia),' (Comm.; see the Introd. to the Farg.)

[8] It is interpreted in a figurative sense as meaning 'people who

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Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft winter, a work of the Daêvas[1].

21 (81). There are still other lands and countries, beautiful and deep, desirable and bright, and thriving.

FARGARD II.

Yima (*G*amshêd).

This Fargard may be divided into two parts.

First part (1–20). Ahura Mazda proposes to Yima, the son of Vîvanghat, to receive the law from him and to bring it to men. On his refusal, he bids him keep his creatures and make them prosper. Yima accordingly makes them thrive and increase, keeps death and disease away from them, and three times enlarges the earth, which had become too narrow for its inhabitants.

Second part (21 to the end). On the approach of a dire winter, which is to destroy every living creature, Yima, being advised by Ahura, builds a Vara to keep there the seeds of every kind of animals and plants, and the blessed live there a most happy life under his rule.

The tale in the first part refers to Yima as the first man, the first king, and the founder of civilisation (see Introd. IV, 38); the tale in

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do not hold the chief for a chief' (Comm.), which is the translation for asraosha (Comm. ad XVI, 18), 'rebel against the law,' and would well apply in the Sassanian ages to the non-Mazdean people of Arvastân-i-Rûm. I think we must adopt the literal meaning, and recognise in this passage the source, or at least the oldest form, of those tales about people without a head, with eyes on their shoulders, which Pliny received from the half-Persian Ctesias (Hist. N. VII, 2; V, 8; cf. Aul. Gell. IX, 4; Sanct. August. De Civit. Dei, XVI, 8). Persian geographers mention such people, they place them in the Oriental islands near China, whence they sent ambassadors to the Khan of the Tatars (Ouseley, Catalogue). The mythical origin of those tales may be traced in Indian and Greek mythology (Orm. Ahr. § 222; cf. Pausanias IX, 20).

[1] Vendîdâd Sâdah: 'And the oppression of the land that comes from taoza (?).'

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the second part is a combination of the myths of Yima, as the first dead and the king of the dead over whom he rules in a region of bliss, and of old myths about the end of the world. The world, lasting a long year of twelve millenniums, was to end by a dire winter, like the Eddic Fimbul winter, to be followed by an everlasting spring, when men, sent back to earth from the heavens, should enjoy, in an eternal earthly life, the same happiness that they had enjoyed after their death in the realm of Yima. But as in the definitive form which was taken by Mazdean cosmology the world was made to end by fire, its destruction by winter was no longer the last incident of its life, and therefore, the Var of Yima, instead of remaining, as it was originally, the paradise that gives back to earth its inhabitants, came to be nothing more than a sort of Noah's ark (see Introd. IV, 39, and Orm. Ahr. §§ 94, 131, 184, 185).

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda:

O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

Who was the first mortal, before myself, Zarathustra, with whom thou, Ahura Mazda, didst converse[1], whom thou didst teach the law of Ahura, the law of Zarathustra?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered:

The fair Yima, the great shepherd, O holy Zarathustra! he was the first mortal, before thee, Zarathustra, with whom I, Ahura Mazda, did converse, whom I taught the law of Ahura, the law of Zarathustra.

3 (7). Unto him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazda, spake, saying: 'Well, fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, be thou the preacher and the bearer of my law!'

And the fair Yima, O Zarathustra, replied unto me, saying:

[1] 'On the law' (Comm.)

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'I was not born, I was not taught to be the preacher and the bearer of thy law[1].'

4 (11). Then I, Ahura Mazda, said thus unto him, O Zarathustra:

'Since thou wantest not to be the preacher and the bearer of my law, then make thou my worlds thrive, make my worlds increase: undertake thou to nourish, to rule, and to watch over my world.'

5 (14). And the fair Yima replied unto me, O Zarathustra, saying:

'Yes! I will make thy worlds thrive, I will make thy worlds increase. Yes! I will nourish, and rule, and watch over thy world. There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither disease nor death.'

7 (17)[2]. Then I, Ahura Mazda, brought two implements unto him: a golden ring and a poniard inlaid with gold[3]. Behold, here Yima bears the royal sway!

8 (20). Thus, under the sway of Yima, three hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and

[1] In the Vedas, Yama, as the first man, is the first priest too; he brought worship here below as well as life, and 'first he stretched out the thread of sacrifice.' Yima had once the same right as his Indian brother to the title of a founder of religion: he lost it as, in the course of the development of Mazdeism, Zarathustra became the titular law-giver (cf. Introd. IV, 40; Orm. Ahr. § 156).

[2] The § 6 is composed of unconnected Zend quotations, that are no part of the text and are introduced by the commentator for the purpose of showing that 'although Yima did not teach the law and train pupils, he was nevertheless a faithful and a holy man, and rendered men holy too (?).'

[3] As the symbol and the instrument of sovereignty. 'He reigned supreme by the strength of the ring and of the poniard' (Asp.)

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dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was no more room for flocks, herds, and men.

9. Then I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is no more room for flocks, herds, and men.'

10. Then Yima stepped forward, towards the luminous space, southwards, to meet the sun[1], and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden ring, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

'O Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti[2], kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

11. And Yima made the earth grow larger by one-third than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at his will and wish, as many as he wished[3].

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[1] Thence is derived the following tradition recorded by G. du Chinon: 'Ils en nomment un qui s'allait tous les jours promener dans le Ciel du Soleil d'où il aportait la sciance des Astres, aprez les avoir visités de si prez. Ils nomment ce grand personnage Gemachid' (Relations nouvelles du Levant, Lyon, 1671, p. 478). There is no direct connexion, as it seems, between the two acts of Yima, namely, between his going to the heaven of the sun and his enlarging the surface of the earth. The meaning of the first is given, perhaps, by the tale about the dream of Cyrus: 'He saw in a dream the sun at his feet: thrice he tried vainly to seize it with his hands, as the sun was rolling and sliding away. The Magi said to him that the threefold effort to seize the sun presaged to him a reign of thirty years' (Dino ap. Cicero, De Divin. I, 23). Yima goes three times to the sun, to take thence royal power for three times three hundred years. In Aryan mythology, the sun is, as is well known, the symbol and source of royalty: Persian kings in particular are 'the brothers of the sun.'

[2] The genius of the earth (see Introd. IV, 33).

[3] The happiness which Yima made reign on the earth is also

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12 (23). Thus, under the sway of Yima, six hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was no more room for flocks, herds, and men.

13. And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is no more room for flocks, herds, and men.'

14. Then Yima stepped forward, towards the luminous space, southwards, to meet the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden ring, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

'O Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

15. And Yima made the earth grow larger by two-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at his will and wish, as many as he wished.

16 (26). Thus, under the sway of Yima, nine hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was no more room for flocks, herds, and men.

17 (28). And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is no more room for flocks, herds, and men.'

described Ys. IX, 4; Yt. IX, 8 seq.; Yt. XV, 15. In the Shâh Nâmah he is the founder of civilisation, of social order, of arts and sciences, and the first builder (cf. § 25 seq.)

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18 (31). Then Yima stepped forward, towards the luminous space, southwards, to meet the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden ring, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

'O Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

19 (37). And Yima made the earth grow larger by three-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at his will and wish, as many as he wished.

II.

21 (42)[1]. The Maker, Ahura Mazda, of high renown[2] in the Airyana Vaê*g*ô, by the good river Dâitya[3], called together a meeting of the celestial gods.

The fair Yima, the good shepherd, of high renown[2] in the Airyana Vaê*g*ô, by the good river Dâitya, called together a meeting of the excellent mortals[4].

To that meeting came Ahura Mazda, of high renown in the Airyana Vaê*g*ô, by the good river Dâitya; he came together with the celestial gods.

To that meeting came the fair Yima, the good shepherd, of high renown in the Airyana Vaê*g*ô, by the good river Dâitya; he came together with the excellent mortals.

22 (46). And Ahura Mazda spake unto Yima, saying:

'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat! Upon the material

[1] § 20 belongs to the Commentary.

[2] Or perhaps, 'whose voice was loud,' &c. (while proclaiming the law).

[3] See Farg. I, Introd., and notes to § 2.

[4] Primitively the souls of the righteous (see Introd. IV, 38).

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world the fatal winters are going to fall, that shall bring the fierce, foul frost; upon the material world the fatal winters[1] are going to fall, that shall make snow-flakes fall thick, even an aredvî deep on the highest tops of mountains[2].

23 (52). And all the three sorts of beasts shall perish, those that live in the wilderness, and those that live on the tops of the mountains, and those that live in the bosom of the dale, under the shelter of stables.

24 (57). Before that winter, those fields would bear plenty of grass for cattle: now with floods that stream, with snows that melt, it will seem a happy land in the world, the land wherein footprints even of sheep may still be seen[3].

25 (61). Therefore make thee a Vara[4], long as a

[1] The Commentary has here: Malkôsân, which is the plural of the Hebrew Malkôs, 'rain;' this seems to be an attempt to identify the Iranian legend with the biblical tradition of the deluge. The attempt was both a success and a failure; Malkôs entered the Iranian mythology and became naturalised there, but it was mistaken for a proper noun, and became the name of a demon, who by witchcraft will let loose a furious winter on the earth to destroy it (Saddar 9). What may be called the diluvial version of the myth is thus summed up in the Mainyô-i-khard: 'By him (Gamshîd) the enclosure of Jam-kard was made; when there is that rain of Malakosân, as it is declared in the religion, that mankind and the remaining creatures and creations of Hôrmezd, the lord, will mostly perish; then they will open the gate of that enclosure of Jam-kard, and men and cattle and the remaining creatures and creation of the creator Hôrmezd will come from that enclosure and arrange the world again' (XXVII, 27 seq.; edited and translated by E. West).

[2] 'Even where it (the snow) is least, it will be one Vîtasti two fingers deep' (Comm.); that is, fourteen fingers deep.

[3] Doubtful.

[4] Literally, 'an enclosure.' This Vara is known in later mythology as the Var-Gam-kard, 'the Var made by Yima.'

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riding-ground on every side of the square[1], and thither bring the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires.

Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be a fold for flocks.

26 (65). There thou shalt make waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there thou shalt settle birds, by the ever-green banks that bear never-failing food. There thou shalt establish dwelling places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery[2].

27 (70). Thither thou shalt bring the seeds[3] of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth.

28 (74). Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of tree, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of fruit, the fullest of food and sweetest of odour. All those seeds shalt thou bring, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

29 (80). There shall be no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no poverty, no lying; no meanness, no jealousy; no

[1] 'Two hâthras long on every side' (Comm.) A hâthra is about an English mile.

[2] The last three words are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα of doubtful meaning.

[3] To be sown in the ground, and to grow up into life in due time (? see § 41, text and note).

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decayed tooth, no leprous to be confined[1], nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

30 (87). In the largest part of the place thou shalt make nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part thou shalt bring a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That Vara thou shalt seal up with the golden ring[2], and thou shalt make a door, and a window self-shining within.

31 (93). Then Yima said within himself: 'How shall I manage to make that Vara which Ahura Mazda has commanded me to make?'

And Ahura Mazda said unto Yima: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat! Crush the earth with a stamp of thy heel, and then knead it with thy hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay[3].'

[32. And Yima did as Ahura Mazda wished; he crushed the earth with a stamp of his heel, he kneaded it with his hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay[4].]

33 (97). And Yima made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square. There he brought the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of

[1] See Introd. V, 14. [2] Doubtful.

[3] In the Shâh Nâmah Gamshîd teaches the Dîvs to make and knead clay; and they build palaces at his bidding. It was his renown, both as a wise king and a great builder, that caused the Musulmans to identify him with Solomon.

[4] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

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dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires. He made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be a fold for flocks.

34 (101). There he made waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there he settled birds, by the ever-green banks that bear never-failing food. There he established dwelling places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery.

35 (106). There he brought the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth.

36 (110). There he brought the seeds of every kind of tree, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of fruit, the fullest of food and sweetest of odour. All those seeds he brought, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

37 (116). And there were no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no poverty, no lying; no meanness, no jealousy; no decayed tooth, no leprous to be confined, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

38 (123). In the largest part of the place he made nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part he brought a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That

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Vara he sealed up with the golden ring, and he made a door, and a window self-shining within.

39 (129). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What [lights are there to give light[1]] in the Vara which Yima made?

40 (131). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are uncreated lights and created lights[2]. There the stars, the moon, and the sun are only once (a year) seen to rise and set[3], and a year seems only as a day.

41 (133). 'Every fortieth year, to every couple two are born, a male and a female[4]. And thus it is for every sort of cattle. And the men in the Vara which Yima made live the happiest life[5].'

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[1] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[2] Heavenly lights and material lights. The Commentary has here the following Zend quotation: 'All uncreated light shines from above; all the created lights shine from below.'

We give here the description of Irân-vêg according to a later source, the Mainyô-i-khard (as translated by West): 'Hôrmezd created *E*rã-vêz better than the remaining places and districts; and its goodness was this, that men's life is three hundred years; and cattle and sheep, one hundred and fifty years; and their pain and sickness are little, and they do not circulate falsehood, and they make no lamentation and weeping; and the sovereignty of the demon of Avarice, in their body, is little, and in ten men, if they eat one loaf, they are satisfied; and in every forty years, from one woman and one man, one child is born; and their law is goodness, and religion the primeval religion, and when they die, they are righteous (=blessed); and their chief is Gôpatshâh, and the ruler and king is Srôsh' (XLIV, 24).

[3] Doubtful.

[4] From the seeds deposited in the Vara (see §§ 27 seq., 35 seq.); in the same way as the first human couple grew up, after forty years, in the shape of a Reivas shrub, from the seed of Gayômar*d* received by Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti (the Earth. See Bund. XV).

[5] 'They live there for 150 years; some say, they never die.' (Comm.) The latter are right, that is to say, are nearer the mythical

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42 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is he who brought the law of Mazda into the Vara which Yima made?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It was the bird Karshipta[1], O holy Zarathustra!'

43 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the lord and ruler there?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Urvata*d*-nara[2], O Zarathustra! and thyself, Zarathustra.'

FARGARD III.

The Earth.

I (1–6). The five places where the Earth feels most joy.
II (7–11). The five places where the Earth feels most sorrow.
III (12–35). The five things which most rejoice the Earth.
IV (36–42). Corpses ought not to be buried in the Earth.
There is a resemblance as to words between the first and

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truth, as the inhabitants of the Vara were primitively the departed and therefore immortal.

[1] 'The bird Karshipta dwells in the heavens: were he living on the earth, he would be the king of birds. He brought the law into the Var of Yima, and recites the Avesta in the language of birds' (Bund. XIX and XXIV). As the bird, because of the swiftness of his flight, was often considered an incarnation of lightning, and as thunder was supposed to be the voice of a god speaking from above, the song of the bird was often thought to be the utterance of a god and a revelation (see Orm. Ahr. § 157).

[2] Zarathustra had three sons during his lifetime (cf. Introd. IV, 40), Isa*d*-vâstra, Hvare-*k*ithra, and Urvata*d*-nara, who were respectively the fathers and chiefs of the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen. They play no great part in Mazdean mythology, and are little more than three subdivisions of Zarathustra himself, who was 'the first priest, the first warrior, the first husbandman' (Yt. XIII, 88). Zarathustra, as a heavenly priest, was, by right, the ratu in Airyana Vaêg*ô*, where he founded the religion by a sacrifice (Bund. XXXIII and Introd. III, 15).

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second parts, but there is none as to matter; no clause in the former has its counterpart in the latter. There is more resemblance between the second part and the third; as the first three clauses of the third part (§§ 12, 13, 22) relate to the same things as the second, third, and fourth clauses of the second part (§§ 8, 9, 10).

Parts I and II are nothing more than dry enumerations. Part III is more interesting, as it contains two long digressions, the one (§§ 14–21) on funeral laws, the other (§§ 24–33) on the holiness of husbandry. The fourth part of the chapter may be considered as a digression relating to the first clause of the third part (§ 12).

The things which rejoice or grieve the Earth are those that produce fertility and life or sterility and death, either in it or on it.

The subject of this chapter has become a commonplace topic with the Parsis, who have treated it more or less antithetically in the Mainyô-i-khard (chaps. V and VI) and in the Ravaets (Gr. Rav. pp. 434–437).

The second digression (§§ 24–33) is translated in Haug's Essays, p. 235 seq.

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful steps forward, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the holy wood in his hand[1], the baresma[2] in his hand, the holy meat in his hand,

[1] The wood for the fire altar.

[2] The baresma (now called barsom) is a bundle of sacred twigs which the priest holds in his hand while reciting the prayers. They were formerly twigs of the pomegranate, date, or tamarind tree, or of any tree that had no thorns, and were plucked with particular ceremonies, which alone made them fit to be used for liturgic purposes (cf. Farg. XIX, 18 seq.) The Parsis in India found it convenient to replace them by brass wires, which, when once consecrated, can be used for an indefinite period. It is the baresma which is alluded to by Strabo, when speaking of the bundle of thin twigs of heath, which the Magi hold in their hand

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the holy mortar[1] in his hand, fulfilling the law with love, and beseeching aloud Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, and Râma *Hv*âstra[2].'

2, 3 (6–10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful erects a house with a priest within, with cattle, with a wife, with children, and good herds within; and wherein afterwards the cattle go on thriving, holiness is thriving[3], fodder is thriving, the dog is thriving, the wife is thriving, the child is thriving, the fire is thriving, and every blessing of life is thriving.'

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where one of the faithful cultivates most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! where he waters ground that is dry, or dries ground that is too wet.'

5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where there is most increase of flocks and herds.'

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while reciting their hymns (*τὰς δὴ ἐπῳδὰς ποιοῦνται πολὺν χρόνον ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες*, XV, 3, 14).

[1] The Hâvana or mortar used in crushing the Haoma or Hom (see Introd. IV, 28).

[2] The god that gives good folds and good pastures to cattle (see Introd. IV, 16).

[3] By the performance of worship.

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6 (18). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where flocks and herds yield most dung.'

II.

7 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the neck of Arezûra[1], whereon the hosts of fiends rush forth from the burrow of the Drug[2].'

8 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein most corpses of dogs and of men lie buried[3].

9 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon stand most of those Dakhmas on which corpses of men are deposited[4].'

10 (31). O Maker of the material world, thou

[1] The neck of Arezûra (Arezûrahê grîva) is 'a mount at the gate of hell, whence the demons rush forth' (Bund. 22, 16); it is also called 'the head of Arezûra' (Farg. XIX, 45), or 'the back of Arezûra' (Bund. 21, 17). Arezûra was first the name of a fiend who was killed by Gayômard (Mainyô-i-khard XXVII, 15); and mount Arezûra was most likely the mountain to which he was bound, as Azi Dahâka was to Demâvend (see Introd. IV, 18).

[2] Hell.

[3] See Introd. V, 9.

[4] With regard to Dakhmas, see Introd. V, 10. 'Nor is the Earth happy at that place whereon stands a Dakhma with corpses upon it; for that patch of ground will never be clean again till the day of

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Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein are most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu[1].'

11 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon the wife and children of one of the faithful[2], O Spitama Zarathustra! are driven along the way of captivity, the dry, the dusty way, and lift up a voice of wailing.'

III.

12 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the first that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who digs out of it most corpses of dogs and men[3].'

13 (41). O Maker of the material world, thou

resurrection' (Gr. Rav. 435, 437). Although the erection of Dakhmas is enjoined by the law, yet the Dakhma in itself is as unclean as any spot on the earth can be, since it is always in contact with the dead (cf. Farg. VII, 55). The impurity which would otherwise be scattered over the whole world, is thus brought together to one and the same spot. Yet even that spot, in spite of the Ravaet, is not to lie defiled for ever, as every fifty years the Dakhmas ought to be pulled down, so that their sites may be restored to their natural purity (V. i. Farg. VII, 49 seq. and this Farg. § 13).

[1] 'Where there are most Khrafstras' (Comm.); cf. Introd. V, 11.

[2] Killed by an enemy.

[3] There is no counterpart given to the first grief (§ 7), because, as the Commentary naively expresses it, 'it is not possible so to dig out hell, which will be done at the end of the world' (Bund. XXXI, sub fin.)

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Holy One! Who is the second that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who pulls down most of those Dakhmas on which corpses of men are deposited.'

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14 (44). Let no man alone by himself carry a corpse[1]. If a man alone by himself carry a corpse, the Nasu[2] rushes upon him, to defile him, from the nose of the dead, from the eye, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organ, from the hinder parts. This Drug, this Nasu, falls upon him, stains him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be the place of that man who has carried a corpse alone[3]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It shall be the place on this earth wherein is least water and fewest plants, whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazdâ, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful.'

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[1] No ceremony in general can be performed by one man alone. Two Mobeds are wanted to perform the Vendîdâd service, two priests for the Barashnûm, two persons for the Sag-dîd (Anquetil, II, 584 n.) It is never good that the faithful should be alone, as the fiend is always lurking about, ready to take advantage of any moment of inattention. If the faithful be alone, there is no one to make up for any negligence and to prevent mischief arising from it. Never is the danger greater than in the present case, when the fiend is close at hand, and in direct contact with the faithful.

[2] See Introd. V, 3.

[3] As the Nasu has taken hold of him, he has become a Nasu incarnate, and must no longer be allowed to come into contact with men, whom he would defile.

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16 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

17 (57). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma, three paces from the faithful.

18, 19 (58–63). 'There, on that place, shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure[1], and therein shall they establish him with food, therein shall they establish him with clothes, with the coarsest food and with the most worn-out clothes. That food he shall live on, those clothes he shall wear, and thus shall they let him live, until he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairista-khshudra[2].

20, 21 (64–71). 'And when he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairista-khshudra, then the worshippers of Mazda shall order a man strong, vigorous, and skilful[3], to flay the skin off his body and cut the head off his neck[4], on the top of the mountain: and they shall deliver his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-eating creatures made by Ahura Mazda, to the greedy ravens, with these words: "The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

[1] The Armest-gâh, the place for the unclean; see Introd. V, 15.

[2] Hana means, literally, 'an old man;' Zaurura, 'a man broken down by age;' Pairista-khshudra, 'one whose seed is dried up.' These words seem to have acquired the technical meanings of 'fifty, sixty, and seventy years old.'

[3] 'Trained to operations of that sort' (Comm.); a headsman.

[4] Cf. Farg. IX, 49, text and note.

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If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance[1]: if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance, for ever and ever[2]."'

22 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the third that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who fills up most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu.'

23 (75). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fourth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who cultivates most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! who waters ground that is dry, or dries ground that is too wet[3].

24 (79). 'Unhappy is the land that has long lain unsown with the seed of the sower and wants a good husbandman, like a well-shapen maiden who has long gone childless and wants a good husband.

25 (84). 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him will she bring

[1] The performance of the Patet. See Introd. V, 22.

[2] It seems as if the law had formerly directed that he should be immediately put to death; but that afterwards, when the rigour of the law had abated, the object which had previously been fulfilled by his death, was then attained by his confinement. He was allowed to live in confinement till he was old and all but dead, and he was put to death by the law, just before he would have died in the usual course of nature (see §§ 19, 20). Certain Ravaets put the 'carrier alone' among the number of the margarzân (East India Office Library, Zend MSS. VIII, 144); he is not only to be punished in this world, but in the other too; he is condemned to feed in hell on corpses of men (Ardâ Vîrâf XXXVIII).

[3] Cf. § 4.

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forth plenty, like a loving bride on her bed, unto her beloved; the bride will bring forth children, the earth will bring forth plenty of fruit.

26, 27 (87–90). 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left [hither shall people ever come and beg (for bread[1])], here shall I ever go on bearing, bringing forth all manner of food, bringing forth profusion of corn[2]."

28, 29 (91–95). 'He who does not till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost not till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, ever shalt thou stand at the door of the stranger, among those who beg for bread; ever shalt thou wait there for the refuse that is brought unto thee[3], brought by those who have profusion of wealth."'

30 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that fills the law of Mazda[4]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is sowing corn again and again, O Spitama Zarathustra!

31 (99). 'He who sows corn, sows holiness: he

[1] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[2] Or 'bearing corn first for thee.' 'When something good grows up, it will grow up for thee first' (Comm.)

[3] 'They take for themselves what is good and send to thee what is bad' (Comm.)

[4] Literally, 'What is the stomach of the law?'

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makes the law of Mazda grow higher and higher: he makes the law of Mazda as fat as he can with a hundred acts of adoration, a thousand oblations, ten thousand sacrifices[1].

32 (105). 'When barley is coming forth, the Daêvas start up[2]; when the corn is growing rank[3], then faint the Daêvas' hearts; when the corn is being ground[4], the Daêvas groan; when wheat is coming forth, the Daêvas are destroyed. In that house they can no longer stay, from that house they are beaten away, wherein wheat is thus coming forth[5]. It is as though red hot iron were turned about in their throats, when there is plenty of corn.

33 (111). 'Then let (the priest) teach people this holy saying: "No one who does not eat, has strength to do works of holiness, strength to do works of husbandry, strength to beget children. By eating every material creature lives, by not eating it dies away[6]."'

34 (116). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fifth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

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[1] The translation 'acts of adoration' and 'oblations' is doubtful: the words in the text are *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, which are traditionally translated 'feet' and 'breasts.' The Commentary has as follows: 'He makes the law of Mazda as fat as a child could be made by means of a hundred feet, that is to say, of fifty servants walking to rock him; of a thousand breasts, that is, of five hundred nurses; of ten thousand sacrifices performed for his weal.'

[2] John Barleycorn got up again,
And sore surpris'd them all.

[3] Doubtful; possibly, 'When sudhus (a sort of grain) is coming forth.'

[4] Doubtful; possibly, 'When pistra (a sort of grain) is coming forth.'

[5] Doubtful.

[6] See Farg. IV, 47.

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Ahura Mazda answered: '[It is he who tilling the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! kindly and piously gives[1] to one of the faithful.]

35 (118). 'He who tilling the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! would not kindly and piously give to one of the faithful, he shall fall down into the darkness of Spenta Ârmaiti[2], down into the world of woe, the dismal realm, down into the house of hell.'

IV.

36 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within half a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra[3], five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

37 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 (130). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within the second year, what

[1] The Ashô-dâd or alms. The bracketed clause is from the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[2] The earth. [3] See Introd. V, 19.

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is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

39 (135). Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

40 (137). When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the law of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it[1]. But if he be not a professor of the law of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it[2], then this law of Mazda takes his sin from him, if he confesses it[3] and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

41 (142). 'The law of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who confesses it the bonds of his sin[4]; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust[5]; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful[6]; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse[7]; it takes away (the sin of)

[1] As he must have known that he was committing sin.

[2] If he did not know that he was committing sin.

[3] If he makes Patet (see Introd. V, 22), and says to himself, 'I will never henceforth sin again' (Comm.)

[4] If not knowingly committed; see § 40 and the following notes.

[5] Draosha: refusing to give back a deposit (Comm. ad IV, 1): 'He knows that it is forbidden to steal, but he fancies that robbing the rich to give to the poor is a pious deed' (Comm.)

[6] Or better, 'a Mazdean,' but one who has committed a capital crime; 'he knows that it is allowed to kill the margarzân, but he does not know that it is not allowed to do so without an order from the judge.' Cf. VIII, 74 note.

[7] 'He knows that it is forbidden to bury a corpse; but he fancies that if one manages so that dogs or foxes may not take it to the fire and to the water, he behaves piously' (Comm.) See Introd. V, 9.

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deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the heaviest penalties of sin[1]; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

42 (149). 'In the same way the law of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain[2].

'So let all the deeds thou doest be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for thy sin is effected by means of the law of Mazda.'

FARGARD IV.

Contracts and Outrages.

1–16. Contracts (see Introd. V, 17):—
2. Classification of contracts;
3–4. Damages for breach of contract;
5–10. Kinsmen responsible;
11–16. Penalties for breach of contract.
17–55. Outrages (see Introd. V, 18):—
18–21. Menaces;
22–25. Assaults;
26–29. Blows;
30–33. Wounds;
34–36. Wounds causing blood to flow;
37–39. Broken bones;
40–43. Manslaughter;
46, 49 (bis)–55. False oaths.

Clauses 44–45 refer to contracts, and ought to be placed after § 16. Clauses 47–49, which are in praise of physical weal, have been probably misplaced here from the preceding Fargard (see Farg. III, 33). The right order of this chapter would, therefore, seem to be as follows: 1–16; 44–45; 17–43; 46; 49 (bis)–55.

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[1] Or, possibly, 'the sin of usury.' 'He knows that it is lawful to take high interest, but he does not know that it is not lawful to do so from the faithful' (Comm.)

[2] 'From chaff' (Comm.)

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I.

1. He that does not restore (a thing lent), when it is asked for back again, steals the thing; he robs the man[1]. So he does every day, every night, as long as he keeps in his house his neighbour's property, as though it were his own[2].

II a.

2 (4). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How many in number are thy contracts, O Ahura Mazda?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are six in number[3]. The first is the word-contract[4]; the second

[1] 'He is a thief when he takes with a view not to restore; he is a robber when, being asked to restore, he answers, I will not' (Comm.)

[2] Every moment that he holds it unlawfully, he steals it anew. 'The basest thing with Persians is to lie; the next to it is to be in debt, for this reason among many others, that he who is so, must needs sink to lying at last' (Herod. I, 183). The debtor in question is of course the debtor of bad faith, 'he who says to a man, Give me this, I will restore it to thee at the proper time, and he says to himself, I will not restore it' (Comm.)

[3] The following classification is in fact twofold, the contracts being defined in the first two clauses by their mode of being entered into, and in the last four by their amount. Yet it appears from the following clauses that even the word-contract and the hand-contract became at last, or were misunderstood as, indicative of a certain amount. The commentators, however, were unable to determine that amount, or, at least, they do not state how much it was, which they do with regard to the last four.

[4] The contract entered into by simple word of mouth. 'The immortal Zartust Isfitamân asked of the good, beneficent Hormazd, "Which is the worst of the sins that men commit?" The good, beneficent Hormazd answered, "There is no sin worse than when a man, having given his word to another, there being no witness but myself, Hormazd, one of them breaks his word and says, I don't know anything about it... there is no sin worse than this"' (Gr. Rav. 94).

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is the hand-contract[1]; the third is the contract to the amount of a sheep[2]; the fourth is the contract to the amount of an ox[3]; the fifth is the contract to the amount of a man[4]; the sixth is the contract to the amount of a field[5], a field in good land, a fruitful one, in good bearing[6].'

II b.

3 (13). If a man make the word-contract a mere word[7], it shall be redeemed by the hand-contract; he shall give in pledge[8] the amount of the hand-contract.

4 (16). The hand-contract[9] shall be redeemed by the sheep-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the sheep-contract. The sheep-contract shall be redeemed by the ox-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the ox-contract. The ox-contract shall be redeemed by the man-contract; he

[1] 'When they strike hand in hand and make then agreement by word' (Gr. Rav. l. l.) It would be of interest to know whether word and hand are to be taken in the strict meaning or if they allude to certain formulas and gestures like those in the Roman stipulatio.

[2] 'Viz. to the amount of 3 istîrs [in weight],' (Comm.) An istîr (στατήρ) is as much as 4 dirhems (δραχμή). On the value of the dirhem, see Introd. V, 22.

[3] 'To the amount of 12 istîrs (=48 dirhems),' (Comm.)

[4] 'To the amount of 500 istîrs (=2000 dirhems).' The exact translation would be rather, 'The contract to the amount of a human being,' as the term is applied to promises of marriage and to the contract between teacher and pupil.

[5] 'Upwards of 500 istîrs.'

[6] A sort of gloss added to define more accurately the value of the object and to indicate that it is greater than that of the preceding one.

[7] If he fail to fulfil it.

[8] Or, 'as damages (?).'

[9] The breach of the hand-contract.

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shall give in pledge the amount of the man-contract. The man-contract shall be redeemed by the field-contract; he shall give in pledge the amount of the field-contract.

II c.

5 (24). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, how many are involved in his sin[1]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas[2] answerable for the[3] three hundred-fold atonement.'

6 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the six hundred-fold atonement[4].'

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[1] Literally, how much is involved? The joint responsibility of the family was a principle in the Persian law, as it was in the old German law, which agrees with the statement in Am. Marcellinus: 'Leges apud eos impendio formidatae, et abominandae aliae, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit' (XXIII, 6).

[2] The next of kin to the ninth degree.

[3] See § 11. This passage seems to have puzzled tradition. The Commentary says, 'How long, how many years, has one to fear for the breach of a word-contract?—the Nabânazdistas have to fear for three hundred years;' but it does not explain farther the nature of that fear; it only tries to reduce the circle of that liability to narrower limits: 'only the son born after the breach is liable for it; the righteous are not liable for it; when the father dies, the son, if righteous, has nothing to fear from it.' And finally, the Ravaets leave the kinsmen wholly aside; the penalty falling entirely upon the real offender, and the number denoting only the duration of his punishment in hell: 'He who breaks a word-contract, his soul shall abide for three hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. 94).

[4] See § 12. 'His soul shall abide for six hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. l. l.)

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7 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the seven hundred-fold atonement[1].'

8 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the eight hundred-fold atonement[2].'

9 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the nine hundred-fold atonement[3].'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for the thousand-fold atonement[4].'

II d.

11 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three hundred stripes

[1] See § 13. 'His soul shall abide for seven hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. l. l.)

[2] See § 14. 'His soul shall abide for eight hundred years in hell.'

[3] See § 15. 'His soul shall abide for nine hundred years in hell.'

[4] See § 16. 'His soul shall abide for a thousand years in hell.'

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with the Aspahê-astra, three hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[1].'

12 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[2].'

13 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[3].'

14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[4].'

15 (48). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, nine hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[5].'

16 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

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[1] One tanâfûhr and a half, that is 1800 dirhems.
[2] Three tanâfûhrs, or 3600 dirhems.
[3] Three tanâfûhrs and a half, or 4200 dirhems.
[4] Four tanâfûhrs, or 4800 dirhems.
[5] Four tanâfûhrs and a half, or 5400 dirhems.

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana[1].'

III a.

17 (54). If a man rise up to smite a man, it is an Âgerepta[2]. If a man come upon a man to smite him, it is an Avaoiri*s*ta. If a man actually smite a man with evil aforethought, it is an Aredu*s*. Upon the fifth Aredu*s*[3] he becomes a Peshôtanu[4].

18 (58). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He that committeth an Âgerepta, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, five stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana; on the second Âgerepta, ten stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana; on the third, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.

19 (63). 'On the fourth, thirty stripes with the

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[1] Five tanâfûhrs, or 6000 dirhems.

[2] In this paragraph are defined the first three of the eight outrages with which the rest of the Fargard deals. Only these three are defined, because they are designated by technical terms. We subjoin the definitions of them found in a Sanskrit translation of a Patet (Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. B. 5, 154), in which their etymological meanings are better preserved than in the Zend definition itself:—

Âgerepta, 'seizing,' is when a man seizes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Avaoiri*s*ta, 'brandishing,' is when a man brandishes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Aredu*s* is when a man actually smites another with a weapon, but without wounding him, or inflicts a wound which is healed within three days.

[3] Viz. on the sixth commission of it, as appears from § 28.

[4] He shall receive two hundred stripes, or shall pay 1200 dirhems (see Introd. V, 19).

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Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fifth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the sixth, sixty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, sixty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the seventh, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 (67). If a man commit an Âgerepta for the eighth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

21 (70). If a man commit an Âgerepta[1] and refuse to atone for it[2], what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (73). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the second Avaoirista, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

23 (75). 'On the third, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fourth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; on the fifth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy

[1] Even though the Âgerepta has been committed for the first time.

[2] If he does not offer himself to bear the penalty, and does not perform the Patet (see Introd. V, 22).

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stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana; on the sixth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-a*s*tra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

24 (76). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoiri*s*ta for the seventh time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-a*s*tra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

25 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoiri*s*ta, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-a*s*tra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

26 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredu*s*, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-a*s*tra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.

27 (81). 'On the second Aredu*s*, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-a*s*tra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana; on the third, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-a*s*tra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana; on the fourth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-a*s*tra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana; on the fifth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-a*s*tra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

28. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredu*s* for the sixth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

29 (82). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

30 (85). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another and hurt him sorely, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

31 (87). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the second time, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the third time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the fourth time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

32 (89). If a man commit that deed for the fifth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

33 (90). If a man commit that deed and refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

34 (93). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the

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blood comes, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the second time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the third time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

35 (95). If he commit that deed for the fourth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

36 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood comes, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

37 (99). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he breaks a bone, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; the second time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 (102). If he commit that deed for the third time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu:

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two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

39 (104). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he breaks a bone, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

40 (106). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he gives up the ghost, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

41 (109). If he commit that deed again, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

42 (112). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he gives up the ghost, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

43 (115). And they shall thenceforth in their doings walk after the way of holiness, after the word of holiness, after the ordinance of holiness.

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II e[1].

44 (118). If men of the same faith, either friends or brothers, come to an agreement together, that one may obtain from the other, either goods[2], or a wife[3], or knowledge[4], let him who wants to have goods have them delivered to him; let him who wants to have a wife receive and wed her; let him who wants to have knowledge be taught the holy word.

45 (123). He shall learn on, during the first part of the day and the last, during the first part of the night and the last, that his mind may be increased in knowledge and wax strong in holiness: so shall he sit up, giving thanks and praying to the gods, that he may be increased in knowledge: he shall rest during the middle part of the day, during the middle part of the night, and thus shall he continue until he can say all the words which former Aêthrapaitis[5] have said.

III b.

46 (128). Before the water and the blazing fire[6],

[1] We return here to contracts; the proper place of §§ 44–45 is after § 16.

[2] The goods-contract is a general expression for the sheep, ox, and field-contracts (see above, § 2).

[3] Woman is an object of contract, like cattle or fields; she is disposed of by contracts of the fifth sort, being more valuable than cattle and less so than fields. She is sold by her father or her guardian, often from the cradle. 'Instances are not wanting of the betrothal of a boy of three years of age to a girl of two' (see Dosabhoy Framjee's work on The Parsees, p. 77; cf. 'A Bill to Define and Amend the Law relating to Succession, Inheritance, Marriage, &c.,' Bombay, 1864).

[4] The contract between pupil and teacher falls into the same class (the man-contract, see p. 35, n. 4).

[5] A teaching priest (Parsi Hêrbad).

[6] Doubtful. This clause is intended, as it seems, against false

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O Spitama Zarathustra! let no one make bold to deny having received from his neighbour the ox or the garment (he has received from him).

47 (130). . . . Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the man who has a wife is far above him who begets no sons[1]; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has children is far above the childless man; he who has riches is far above him who has none.

48 (134). And of two men, he who fills himself with meat is filled with the good spirit[2] much more than he who does not do so[3]; the latter is all but dead; the former is above him by the worth of an Asperena[4], by the worth of a sheep, by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man.

49 (137). It is this man that can strive against the onsets of Astô-vîdhôtu[5]; that can strive against

oaths. The water and the blazing fire are the water and the fire before which the oath is taken (see § 54 n.); putting aside §§ 47–49, which are misplaced from Farg. III, 34, one comes to § 50, in which the penalty for a false oath is described.

[1] 'In Persia there are prizes given by the king to those who have most children' (Herod. I, 136). 'He who has no child, the bridge (of paradise) shall be barred to him. The first question the angels there will ask him is, whether he has left in this world a substitute for himself; if he answers, No, they will pass by and he will stay at the head of the bridge, full of grief and sorrow' (Saddar 18; Hyde 19). The primitive meaning of this belief is explained by Brahmanical doctrine; the man without a son falls into hell, because there is nobody to pay him the family worship.

[2] Or, 'with Vôhu Manô,' who is at the same time the god of good thoughts and the god of cattle (see Introd. IV, 33).

[3] 'There are people who strive to pass a day without eating, and who abstain from any meat; we strive too and abstain, namely, from any sin in deed, thought, or word: . . . in other religions, they fast from bread; in ours, we fast from sin' (Saddar 83; Hyde 25).

[4] A dirhem. [5] See Introd. IV, 26.

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the self-moving arrow[1]; that can strive against the winter fiend, with thinnest garment on; that can strive against the wicked tyrant and smite him on the head; it is this man that can strive against the ungodly Ashemaogha who does not eat[2].

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49 (bis).... The very first time when that deed[3] has been done, without waiting until it is done again[4].

50 (143). Down there[5] the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one cut off the limbs from his perishable body with knives of brass, yet still worse shall it be.

51 (146). Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one nail[6] his perishable body with nails of brass, yet still worse shall it be.

52 (149). Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one by force throw his perishable body headlong down a precipice a hundred times the height of a man, yet still worse shall it be.

53 (152). Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: should one by force impale[7] his perishable body, yet still worse shall it be.

54 (154). Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: to wit, that deed which is done, when a man, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden[8], truth-knowing[9]

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[1] See Introd. IV, 26. [2] See Introd. III, 10.
[3] The taking of a false oath. [4] See Introd. V, 18.
[5] In hell. [6] Doubtful. [7] Doubtful.
[8] The water before which the oath is taken contains some incense, brimstone, and one danak of molten gold (Gr. Rav. 101).
[9] Doubtful. Possibly 'bright.'

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water with an appeal unto Rashnu[1] and a lie unto Mithra[2].

55 (156). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu and a lie unto Mithra, what is the penalty that he shall pay[3]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD V.

This chapter and the following ones, to the end of the twelfth, deal chiefly with uncleanness arising from the dead, and with the means of removing it from men and things.

The subjects treated in this Fargard are as follows:—

I (1–7). If a man defile the fire or the earth involuntarily, or unconsciously, it is no sin.

II (8–9). Water and fire do not kill.

III (10–14). Disposal of the dead during winter.

IV (15–20). How the Dakhmas are cleansed by water from the heavens.

V (21–26). On the excellence of purity and of the law that shows how to recover it, when lost.

VI (27–38). On the defiling power of the Nasu being greater or less, according to the greater or less dignity of the being that dies.

VII (39–44). On the management of sacrificial implements defiled by the dead.

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[1] The god of truth. The formula is as follows: 'Before the Amshaspand Bahman, before the Amshaspand Ardibehesht, here lighted up . . . &c., I swear that I have nothing of what is thine, N. son of N., neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor clothes, nor any of the things created by Ormazd' (l. l. 96).

[2] See Introd. IV, 8. He is a Mithra-drug, 'one who lies to Mithra.'

[3] In this world.

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VIII (45–62). On the treatment of a woman who has been delivered of a still-born child; and what is to be done with her clothes.

I a.

1. There dies a man in the depths of the vale: a bird takes flight from the top of the mountain down into the depths of the vale, and it eats up the corpse of the dead man there: then, up it flies from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain: it flies to some one of the trees there, of the hard-wooded or the soft-wooded, and upon that tree it vomits, it deposits dung, it drops pieces from the corpse.

2 (7). Now, lo! here is a man coming up from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain; he comes to the tree whereon the bird is sitting; from that tree he wants to take wood for the fire. He fells the tree, he hews the tree, he splits it into logs, and then he lights it in the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda. What is the penalty that he shall pay[1]?

3 (11). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any dead matter that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

4 (12). 'For were there sin upon a man for any dead matter that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon this material world of mine would have in it only Peshôtanus[2], shut out from the way of holiness,

[1] For defiling the fire by bringing dead matter into it, see Farg. VII, 25 seq. The Vendîdâd Sâdah has here, 'Put ye only proper and well-examined fuel (in the fire).' For the purification of unclean wood, see Farg. VII, 28 seq.

[2] 'People guilty of death' (Comm.; cf. Introd. V, 19).

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whose souls will cry and wail[1]! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

I b.

5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Here is a man watering a corn field. The water streams down the field; it streams again; it streams a third time; and the fourth time, a dog, a fox, or a wolf carries a corpse into the bed of the stream: what is the penalty that the man shall pay[2]?

6 (19). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any dead matter that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

7 (20). 'For were there sin upon a man for any dead matter that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon this material world of mine would have in it only Peshôtanus, shut out from the way of holiness, whose souls will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

II a.

8 (23). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does water kill[3]?

[1] After their death, 'When the soul, crying and beaten off, is driven far away from paradise' (Comm.) Possibly, 'Whose soul shall fly (from paradise) amid howls' (cf. Farg. XIII, 8).

[2] For defiling the earth and the water: 'If a man wants to irrigate a field, he must first look after the water-channel, whether there is dead matter in it or not. . . . . If the water, unknown to him, comes to a corpse, there is no sin upon him. If he has not looked after the rivulet and the stream, he is unclean' (Saddar 75; Hyde 85).

[3] Water and fire belong to the holy part of the world, and come

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'Water kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu[1] ties the noose around his neck, and, thus tied, Vaya[2] carries him off: then the flood takes him up[3], the flood takes him down[4], the flood throws him ashore; then birds feed upon him, and chance brings him here, or brings him there[5].'

II b.

9 (29). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does fire kill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fire kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu ties the noose around his neck, and, thus tied, Vaya carries him off. The fire burns up life and limb, and then chance brings him here, or brings him there[6].'

III.

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the summer is past and the winter has come, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do[7]?

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from God: how then is it that they kill? 'Let a Gueber light a sacred fire for a hundred years, if he once fall into it, he shall be burnt.' Even the Mobeds, if we may trust Elisaeus, complained that the fire would burn them without regard for their piety, when to adore it they came too near (Vartan's War, p. 211 of the French translation by l'Abbé Garabed). The answer was that it is not the fire nor the water that kills, but the demon of Death and Fate. 'Nothing whatever that I created in the world, said Ormazd, does harm to man; it is the bad Nâi (lege Vâi) that kills the man' (Gr. Rav. 124).

[1] Literally, 'binds him;' see Introd. IV, 26; cf. Farg. XIX, 29.

[2] 'The bad Vâi' (Comm.); see Introd. IV, 17.

[3] To the surface. [4] To the bottom.

[5] Or perhaps, 'When he departs, it is by the will of Destiny that he departs' (Comm.)

[6] See preceding note.

[7] In case a man dies during the snowy season, while it is diffi-

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'In every house, in every borough[1], they shall raise three small houses for the dead[2].'

11 (37). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large shall be those houses for the dead?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Large enough not to strike the skull, or the feet, or the hands of the man, if he[3] should stand erect, and hold out his feet, and stretch out his hands: such shall be, according to the law, the houses for the dead.

12 (41). 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or for three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly[4], the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth[5].

13 (44). 'And as soon as the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall lay down the dead (on the Dakhma) his eyes towards the sun.

14 (46). 'If the worshippers of Mazda have not, within a year, laid down the dead (on the Dakhma),

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cult or impossible to take the corpse to the Dakhma, which usually stands far from inhabited places. The same case is treated more clearly and fully in Farg. VIII, 4 seq.

[1] In every isolated house, in every group of houses.

[2] Thence is derived the modern usage of the Zâd-marg, a small mud house where the corpse is laid, to lie there till it can be taken to the Dakhma (Anquetil, Zend-Avesta II, 583).- The object of that provision is to remove the uncleanness of the dead from the place of the living. An older form of the same provision is found in Farg. VIII, 8.

[3] 'Being in life' (Comm.)

[4] To come back.

[5] 'Until the winter is past' (Comm.)

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his eyes towards the sun, thou shalt prescribe for that trespass the same penalty as for the murder of one of the faithful. [And there shall it lie] until the corpse has been rained on, until the Dakhma has been rained on, until the unclean remains have been rained on, until the birds have eaten up the corpse.'

IV.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Is it true that thou, Ahura Mazda, sendest the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha[1] down with the wind and with the clouds?

16 (51). That thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the corpses[2]? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the Dakhmas? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the unclean remains? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow down to the bones? and that then thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back unseen? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back to the sea Pûitika[3]?

17 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is even so

[1] The sea above, the clouds. See Introd. IV, 11.

[2] Zoroaster seems to wonder that Ormazd fears so little to infringe his own laws by defiling waters with the dead. In a Ravaet, he asks him bluntly why he forbids men to take corpses to the water, while he himself sends rain to the Dakhmas (Gr. Rav. 125).

[3] The sea where waters are purified before going back to their heavenly seat, the sea Vouru-kasha (see § 19). Pûitika, 'the clean,' is very likely to have been originally a name or epithet of the sea Vouru-kasha. When the mythic geography of Mazdeism was reduced into a system, the epithet took a separate existence, as it gave a ready answer to that question, which, it may be, was raised first by the name itself: 'Where are the waters cleansed which have been defiled here below, and which we see falling again to us pure and clean?'

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as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, send the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha down with the wind and with the clouds.

18 (55). 'I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the corpses; I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the Dakhmas; I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the unclean remains; I, Ahura Mazda, make them stream down to the bones; then I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back unseen; I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back to the sea Pûitika [1].

19 (56). 'The waters stand there boiling, boiling up in the heart of the sea Pûitika, and, when cleansed there, they run back again from the sea Pûitika to the sea Vouru-kasha, towards the well-watered tree [2], whereon grow the seeds of my plants of every kind [by hundreds, by thousands, by hundreds of thousands].

20 (60). 'Those plants, I, Ahura Mazda, rain down upon the earth [2], to bring food to the faithful, and fodder to the beneficent cow; to bring food to my people that they may live on it, and fodder to the beneficent cow.'

[1] In later mythology, the sea Vouru-kasha and the sea Pûitika were assimilated to the Arabian sea and to the gulf of Oman: the moving to and fro of the waters from heaven to earth and from the earth to heaven was interpreted as the coming and going of the tide (Bund. XIII).

[2] The tree of all seeds (Harvisptokhm), which grows in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha; the seeds of all plants are on it. There is a godlike bird, the Sinamru, sitting on that tree; whenever he flies off the tree, there grow out of it a thousand boughs; whenever he alights on it, there break a thousand boughs, the seeds of which are scattered about, and rained down on the earth by Tistar (Tistrya), the rain-god (Yt. XII, 17; Minokhired LXII, 37 seq.; Bundahis XXVII; cf. Farg. XX, 4 seq.)

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V.

21 (63). 'This[1] is the best of all things, this is the fairest of all things, even as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathustra!'

With these words the holy Ahura Mazda rejoiced the holy Zarathustra[2]: 'Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good[3], that purity that is procured by the law of Mazda to him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds[4].'

22 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! This law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra, by what greatness, goodness, and fairness is it great, good, and fair above all other utterances?

23 (69). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much above all other floods as is the sea Vouru-kasha, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.

24 (71). 'As much as a great stream flows swifter than a slender rivulet, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.

'As high as the great tree[5] stands above the small plants it overshadows, so high above all other

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[1] The cleansing, the purification.

[2] 'When Zoroaster saw that man is able to escape sin by performing good works, he was filled with joy' (Comm.)

[3] As uncleanness is nothing less than a form of death (see Introd. V, 3).

[4] That is to say, 'Who performs the rites of cleansing according to the prescriptions of the law.'

[5] 'The royal cypress above small herbs' (Comm.)

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utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.

25, 26 (73–81). 'As high as heaven is above the earth that it compasses around, so high above all other utterances is this law, this fiend-destroying law of Mazda.

'[Therefore], when the Ratu has been applied to[1], when the Sraoshâ-varez has been applied to[2]; whether for a draona-service[3] that has been undertaken[4], or for one that has not been undertaken[5]; whether for a draona that has been offered up, or for one that has not been offered up; whether for a draona that has been shared, or for one that has not been shared[6]; the Ratu has power to remit him

[1] 'To take the rule' (Comm.), which probably means, 'to know what sort of penance he must undergo;' as, when a man has sinned with the tongue or with the hand, the Dastur (or Ratu) must prescribe for him the expiation that the sin requires. The Ratu is the chief priest, the spiritual head of the community.

[2] 'To weep for his crime' (Comm.), which may mean, 'to recite to him the Patet, or, to receive at his hand the proper number of stripes.' It is difficult to say exactly what were the functions of the Sraoshâ-varez, which seem to have been twofold. The cock is compared to him, as being 'the one who sets the world in motion,' and wakes men for prayer (Farg. XVIII, 14, text and note), which would make him a sort of Zoroastrian Muezzin; at the same time he is the priest of penance. His name may refer to either of his functions, according as it is translated, 'the one who causes hearing,' or 'the executor of punishment;' in the first case he would be the priest who pronounces the favete linguis, the *sr*âusha*r*; in the other case he would be the priest who wields the Sraoshô-*k*arana (see Introd. V, 19).

[3] A service in honour of any of the angels, or of deceased persons, in which small cakes, called draona, are consecrated in their names, and then given to those present to eat.

[4] When it ought not to be.

[5] When it ought to be.

[6] The meaning of the sentence is not certain; it alludes to

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one-third of the penalty he had to pay[1]: if he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever[2].'

VI.

27 (82). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on adjoining carpets, on adjoining pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu envelope with infection, pollution, and uncleanness[3]?

28 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth[4], O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eleventh and defiles the ten[5].

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religious customs which are not well known. The Commentary interprets it as amounting to, 'Whether he has thought what he ought not to have thought, or has not thought what he ought to have thought; whether he has said what he ought not to have said, or has not said what he ought to have said; whether he has done what he ought not to have done, or has not done what he ought to have done.'

[1] When the Ratu remits one-third of the sin, God remits the whole of it (Saddar 29).

[2] Cf. Farg. III, 21.

[3] See Introd. V, 3.

[4] In opposition to the case when the dead one is an Ashemaogha (§ 35), as no Nasu issues then.

[5] Literally, 'If she falls on the eleventh, she defiles the tenth.' The word if refers to the supposition that there are eleven persons at least, and the words 'she defiles the tenth' must be understood to mean 'she defiles to the tenth.' In the Ravaets, the Avesta distinctions are lost, and the defiling power of the Nasu is the same, whatever may have been the rank of the dead: 'If there be a

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'If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the tenth and defiles the nine.

'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the ninth and defiles the eight.

29 (92). 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eighth and defiles the seven.

'If it be a house dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the seventh and defiles the six.

30 (96). 'If it be a Vohunazga dog[1], the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the sixth and defiles the five.

'If it be a young dog[2], the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the fifth and defiles the four.

31 (100). 'If it be a Sukuruna dog[3], the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the fourth and defiles the three.

'If it be a *Gazu* dog[4], the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the third and defiles the two.

32 (104). 'If it be an Aiwizu dog, the Drug

number of people sleeping in the same place, and if one of them happen to die, all those around him, in any direction, as far as the eleventh, become unclean if they have been in contact with one another' (Gr. Rav. 470).

[1] A dog without a master (see Farg. XIII, 19).

[2] A dog not more than four months old.

[3] According to Aspendiârji, a siyâ-gosh, or 'black-eared' lynx, the messenger of the lion.

[4] This name and the two following, Aiwizu and Vîzu, are left untranslated, not being clear, in the Pahlavi translation.

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Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the second and defiles the next.

'If it be a Vîzu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the next, she defiles the next.'

33 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If it be an Urupi dog[1], how many of the creatures of the good spirit does it directly defile, how many does it indirectly defile in dying?

34 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'An Urupi dog does neither directly nor indirectly defile any of the creatures of the good spirit, but him who smites and kills it; to him the uncleanness clings for ever and ever[2].'

35 (113). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the dead one be a wicked, two-footed ruffian, an ungodly Ashemaogha[3], how many of the creatures of the good spirit does he directly defile, how many does he indirectly defile in dying?

36 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year[4]. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-

[1] A weasel. The weasel is one of the creatures of Ahura, for 'it has been created to fight against the serpent garza and the other khrafstras that live in holes' (Bund. 47, 8).

[2] Not that the unclean one cannot be cleansed, but that his uncleanness does not pass from him to another.

[3] See Introd. IV, 10; V, 11.

[4] The frog is a creature of Ahriman's, and one of the most hateful; for, in the sea Vouru-kasha, it goes swimming around the white Hom, the tree of everlasting life, and would gnaw it down, but for the godlike fish Kar-mâhî, that keeps watch and guards the tree wherever the frog would slip in (Bund. XVIII; cf. Orm. Ahr. § 146).

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legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

37 (119). 'Whilst alive he smites the water[1]; whilst alive he blows out the fire[2]; whilst alive he carries off the cow[3]; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body[4]; not so will he do when dead.

38 (120). 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, never ceases depriving the faithful man of his food, of his clothing, of his house, of his bed, of his vessels[5]; not so will he do when dead.'

VII.

39 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When into our houses here below we have brought the fire, the baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar[6], O holy Ahura Mazda! if it come to pass that either a dog or a man dies there, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

40 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Out of the house, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall they take the fire, the baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar; they shall take the dead one out to the proper place[7] whereto, according to the law, corpses must be brought, to be devoured there.'

41 (128). O Maker of the material world, thou

[1] By defiling it (a capital crime; see Introd. V, 8, and Farg. VII, 25).

[2] He extinguishes the Bahrâm fire (a capital crime; Introd. V, 8).

[3] As a cattle-lifter. [4] As an assassin.

[5] By defiling or by stealing them.

[6] In order to perform a sacrifice. [7] The Dakhma.

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Holy One! When shall they bring back the fire into the house wherein the man has died?

42 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wait for nine nights in winter, for a month in summer, and then they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died.'

43 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! And if they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died, within the nine nights, or within the month, what penalty shall they pay?

44 (134). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

VIII.

45 (135)[1]. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

46 (139). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;'—

47 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

[1] §§ 45–54=Farg. VII, 60–69.

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48 (144). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

49 (145). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure[1], and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

50 (147). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

51 (148). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She shall drink gômêz[2] mixed with ashes, three cups of it, or six, or nine, to wash over the grave within her womb.

52 (151). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling[3] milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap[4]; she may take cooked meat without water, bread without water, and wine without water[5].'

53 (154). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live only on that sort of meat, bread, and wine?

54 (155). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights

[1] The Armêst-gâh (cf. Farg. III, 15 seq., and Introd. V, 15).

[2] Urine of the ox: it destroys the Nasu in her womb (Introd. V, 5). The ashes work to the same end, as they are taken from the Bahrâm fire (Comm.), the earthly representative of the fire of lightning, and the most powerful destroyer of fiends (see Introd. V, 8, and Farg. VIII, 80 seq.) 'Three cups, or six, or nine, according to her strength' (Asp.)

[3] Doubtful. [4] Doubtful.

[5] See Introd. V, 13. 'The water would be defiled;' cf. Farg. VII, 70 seq.

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long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live on that sort of meat, bread, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes[1], and thus shall she be clean.'

55 (157). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing?

56 (158). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine nights long shall she remain so: nine nights long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing. Then, when the nine nights have gone, she shall wash her body, and cleanse her clothes with gômêz and water[2].'

57 (160)[3]. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a

[1] She shall perform the nine nights' Barashnûm, for the details of which see Farg. IX.

[2] The modern custom is somewhat different: 'If a woman brings forth a still-born child, after a pregnancy of one month to ten months, the first food she shall take is nîrang (=gômêz) . . . fire and ashes; and she is not allowed until the fourth day to take water or salt, or any food that is cooked with water or salt: on the fourth day they give her nîrang, that she may cleanse herself and wash her clothes with it, and she is not allowed to wash herself and her clothes with water until the forty-first day' (Gr. Rav. 568).

[3] §§ 57–62=Farg. VII, 17–22.

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Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez[1], or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman[2]?

58 (162). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

59 (164). 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work[3], and who must sit in the place of infirmity[4], those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets[5], until they can withdraw and move their hands[6].

[1] These are the names of the different priests who were engaged in the sacrifices. The Hâvanan strains the Haoma; the Âtare-vakhsha kindles the fire; the Frabaretar brings all that is necessary for the sacrifice (Anquetil); the Âbered brings the water (Anquetil and Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, 21); the Âsnâtar cleanses the vessels. Those are the priests who are entrusted with the preparatory or accessory proceedings; the essential duties are performed by the Zaotar and the Rathwiskar, the former chanting the hymns and saying the prayers, the latter performing the various operations during the sacrifice. Nowadays there are only two priests, the Zaotar (Zûtî) and the Rathwiskar (Raspî), the latter performing all the accessory services formerly performed by several priests. As to the Sraoshâ-varez, see above, § 25, note 2.

[2] In short, by any of the faithful, when in state of purity.

[3] An Armêst; literally, 'an infirm person,' that is to say, one who is unclean, during the time of his uncleanness (Farg. IX, 33 seq.), when all work is forbidden to him (cf. Introd. V, 15).

[4] The Armêst-gâh (cf. Introd. V, 15).

[5] The clothing defiled by the dead can only serve for Dashtân women, even after it has been washed and exposed for six months to the light of the sun and of the moon (Saddar 91; cf. Farg. VII, 10 seq.)

[6] Until they are clean. The unclean must have their hands

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60 (168). 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's[1] weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

61 (171). 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body[2], even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in the happy realm[3].

62 (174). 'He shall go away into the world of the fiends, into that dark world[4], made of darkness, the offspring of darkness[5]. To that world, to the

wrapped in an old piece of linen, lest they should touch and defile anything clean.

[1] See Farg. IV, 48, note 4.

[2] Cf. Farg. VIII, 23 seq. It appears from those passages that the dead must lie on the mountain naked, or 'clothed only with the light of heaven' (Farg. VI, 51). The modern custom is to clothe them with old clothing (Dadabhai Naoroji, Manners and Customs of the Parsis, p. 15). 'When a man dies and receives the order (to depart), the older the shroud they make for him, the better. It must be old, worn out, but well washed: they must not lay anything new on the dead. For it is said in the Zend Vendîdâd, If they put on the dead even so much as a thread from the distaff more than is necessary, every thread shall become in the other world a black snake clinging to the heart of him who made that shroud, and even the dead shall rise against him and seize him by the skirt, and say, That shroud which thou madest for me has become food for worms and vermin' (Saddar 12). The Greeks entertained quite different ideas, and dressed the dead in their gayest attire, as if for a feast. Yet the difference is only in appearance; for, after the fourth day, when the soul is in heaven, then rich garments are offered up to it, which it will wear in its celestial life (Saddar 87, Hyde 64).

[3] The Behesht or paradise.

[4] 'Where darkness can be seized with the hand' (Comm.; cf. Aogemaidê 28); something more than the 'visible darkness.'

[5] The Commentary has, 'the place of those who impregnate

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dismal realm, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own souls, O sinners!'

FARGARD VI.

I (1–9). How long the earth remains unclean, when defiled by the dead.

II (10–25). Penalties for defiling the ground with dead matter.

III (26–41). Purification of the different sorts of water, when defiled by the dead.

IV (42–43). Purification of the Haoma.

V (44–51). The place for corpses; the Dakhmas.

I.

1. How long shall the ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A year long shall the ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died, O holy Zarathustra!

2 (3). 'A year long shall no worshipper of Mazda sow or water that part of the ground whereon dogs or men have died; he may sow as he likes the rest of the ground; he may water it as he likes[1].

3 (5). 'If within the year they shall sow or water the ground whereon dogs or men have died, the sin is the same as if they had brought dead matter to the water, to the earth, and to the plants[2].'

4 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda shall sow or water,

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darkness, for the Drug who conceives seed from the sinner comes from that place' (cf. Farg. XVIII, 30 seq.)

[1] Cf. Farg. VII, 45 seq.

[2] 'To the water which they pour out, to the earth which they plough, to the plants which they sow' (Comm.)

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within the year, the ground whereon dogs or men have died, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

5 (9). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshô-tanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana [1].'

6 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to make the ground fit to be tilled again [2], that they may water it, sow it, and plough it, what shall they do?

7 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall look on the ground for any bones, hair, flesh, dung, or blood that may be there.'

8 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they shall not look on the ground for any bones, hair, flesh, dung, or blood that may be there, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

9 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshô-tanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

II.

10 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the little finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

11 (18). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

[1] 'If they plough and sow it, one tanâfûhr (see Introd. V, 19); if they pour water on it, one tanâfûhr; if they plough, sow, and water it, two tanâfûhrs' (Comm.)

[2] Even when a year's space is past, the ground is not free ipso facto.

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12 (20). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the fore-finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

13 (24). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the middle finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

15 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a finger or as a rib, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

17 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

18 (35). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as two fingers or as two ribs, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

19 (39). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshô-tanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

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20 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as an arm-bone or as a thigh-bone, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

21 (44). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a man's skull, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

23 (49). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground the whole body of a dead dog, or of a dead man, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

25 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

III.

26 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse in a stream of running water, what shall he do?

27 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Taking off his shoes, putting off his clothes, boldly, O Zarathustra! he shall enter the river, and take the dead out of the water; he shall go down into the water

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ankle-deep, knee-deep, waist-deep, or a man's full depth, till he can reach the dead body[1].'

28 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If, however, the body be already falling to pieces and rotting, what shall the worshipper of Mazda do?

29 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall draw out of the water as much of the corpse as he can grasp with both hands, and he shall lay it down on the dry ground; no sin attaches to him for any bone, hair, grease, flesh, dung, or blood that may drop back into the water.'

30 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a pond does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

31 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the pond, and lay it down on the dry ground.

32 (69). 'And of the water they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

33 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou

[1] 'If he is able to draw out the corpse and does so, it is a pious deed worth a tanâfûhr (that is, one by which a tanâfûhr sin can be cancelled); if he is able to draw it out and does not do so, it is a tanâfûhr sin. Gûgôsasp says, It is a margarzân sin (a capital crime),' (Comm.)

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Holy One! What part of the water in a well does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

34 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water[1], so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the well, and lay it down on the dry ground.

35 (73). 'And of the water in the well they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

36 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of a sheet of snow or hail does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

37 (75). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

38 (78). 'After the corpse has been taken out, and the snow or the hail has melted, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

39 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water of a running

[1] All the water in the well is unclean, 'as the well has the length and breadth of a man's stature' (Brouillons d'Anquetil, Vendîdâd, p. 206).

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stream does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

40 (80). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps down the stream, nine steps up the stream, six steps across. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall the water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

41 (83). 'After the corpse has been taken out and the stream has flowed three times[1], the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

IV.

42 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the Haoma that has been touched by the corpse of a dead dog, or the corpse of a dead man, be made clean again?

43 (85). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra! If it has been strained for the sacrifice, no corpse that has been brought unto it, makes corruption or death enter it[2]. If it has not been strained for the sacrifice, the stem is defiled the length of four fingers. That length of stem shall be buried in the ground, in the middle of the house, for a year long. When the year is passed, the faithful may drink of its juice at their pleasure, as before.'

V.

44 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou

[1] When three waves have passed.

[2] Because the Haoma is the plant of life; when strained for the sacrifice, it is the king of healing plants (Bund. XXIV); the dead shall become immortal by tasting of the white Haoma (ib. XXXI).

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Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bodies of the dead, O Ahura Mazda?

45 (93). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the highest summits[1], where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, O holy Zarathustra!

46 (95). 'There shall the worshippers of Mazda fasten the corpse, by the feet and by the hair, with brass, stones, or lead, lest the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds shall go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees.

47 (98). 'If they shall not fasten the corpse, so that the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds may go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees, what is the penalty that they shall pay?'

48 (100). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

49 (101). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One[2]! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bones of the dead, O Ahura Mazda?

50 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall erect a building[3] out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, and of the wolf, and wherein rain-water cannot stay[4].

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[1] 'On the top of a mountain' (Comm.) See Introd. V, 10; cf. VIII, 10.

[2] The foregoing clauses (§§ 44–47) refer to the place where the corpse must be laid; the following (49–51) refer to the building, which must be erected on that place, if possible, to receive the corpse.

[3] The Dakhma.

[4] The rain-water that washes away the remains of corpses (V, 16 seq.) must not remain on the Dakhmas (cf. Comm. ad VIII, 7),

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51 (105). 'Such a building shall they erect, if they can afford it, with stones, mortar, and earth[1]; if they cannot afford it, they shall lay down the dead man on the ground, on his carpet and his pillow, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun.'

FARGARD VII.

I (1–5). How long after death the Nasu falls upon the dead.
II (6–9). How far the defiling power of the Nasu extends.
III (10–22). Cleansing of clothes defiled by the dead.
IV (23–24). Eating of corpses an abomination.
V (25–27). Bringing corpses to fire or water an abomination.
VI (28–35). Cleansing of wood and corn defiled by the dead.
VII a (36–40). Physicians; their probation.
VII b (40–44). Their fees.
VIII (45–59). Purification of the earth, of the Dakhmas. The Dakhmas and the Daêvas.
IX (60–72). Treatment of a woman who has brought forth a still-born child.
X (73–75). Cleansing of vessels defiled by the dead.
XI (76). Cleansing of the cow.
XII (77). Unclean libations.

This chapter would offer tolerable unity, but for a digression on medicine, which would be better placed as an introduction to the last three chapters. Sections II and IX, parts of which have already been found in Fargard V, are more suitably placed here. This chapter, as a whole, deals with the action of the Drug Nasu, from the moment she takes hold of the corpse, and shows how and when the several objects she has defiled become clean, namely, clothes, wood, corn, earth, women, vessels, and cows.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material

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but is brought out through trenches dug for that purpose (cf. Introd. V, 10).

[1] This word is doubtful.

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world, thou Holy One! When a man dies, at what moment does the Drug Nasu rush upon him[1]?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Directly after death, as soon as the soul has left the body, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu comes and rushes upon him, from the regions of the north[2], in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras[3].

[3. 'On him she stays until the dog has seen the corpse[4] or eaten it up, or until the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it[5]. When the dog has seen it or eaten it up, or when the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it, then the Drug Nasu rushes away to the regions of the north in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.']

4 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the man has been killed by a dog, or by a wolf, or by witchcraft, or by the artifices of hatred[6], or by falling down a precipice, or by the law[7], or by a murderer, or by the noose[8], how long after death does the Drug Nasu come and rush upon the dead?

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[1] See Introd. V, 3.

[2] Hell lies in the north; cf. XIX, 1; Yt. XXII, 25; Bundahis 36, 12.

[3] See Introd. V, 3.

[4] Until the Sag-dîd has been performed (see Introd. V, 4).

[5] The Sag-dîd may be performed by birds of prey as well as by dogs (see Introd. V, 4). The dog smites the Nasu when it brings its muzzle near to the dead, the bird (mountain hawk, sparrow (?), or eagle) when its shadow passes over the body (Comm. ad § 2; cf. § 29). § 3 is from the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[6] 'By poison' (Comm.)

[7] Literally, 'by men;' that is to say, put to death by the community according to law (Comm.)

[8] If he has strangled himself. Or possibly, 'by want.'

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5 (6). Ahura Mazda answered: 'At the next watch after death[1], the Drug Nasu comes and rushes upon the dead, from the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.'

II[2].

6 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on adjoining carpets, on adjoining pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu envelope with infection, pollution, and uncleanness?

7 (11). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eleventh and defiles the ten.

'If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the tenth and defiles the nine.

'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the ninth and defiles the eight.

8 (17). 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the eighth and defiles the seven.

[1] The day is divided into five watches or ratu. If the man dies a natural death, the Drug comes directly; if the death be violent and unlooked for, the Drug is taken unawares, and it requires time for her to be warned of it and to come.

[2] §§ 6–9 = Farg. V, 27–30.

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'If it be a house dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the seventh and defiles the six.

9 (21). 'If it be a Vohunazga dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the sixth and defiles the five.

'If it be a young dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she falls on the fifth and defiles the four [1].'

. . . 'those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets[2].' . . .

III.

10 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of his bedding [3] and pillow does the Drug Nasu defile with infection, uncleanness, and pollution?

11 (27). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The Drug Nasu defiles with infection, uncleanness, and pollution the upper sheet and the inner garment [4].'

12 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can that garment be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! that has been touched by the carcase of a dog or the corpse of a man?

13 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

[1] This enumeration is less complete than that in the fifth Fargard, as it comprises only the first four sorts of dogs, viz. only those that can perform the Sag-dîd (Comm. ad § 2).

[2] This phrase, which forms part of § 19, is wrongly inserted here.

[3] The bedding on which he has died.

[4] That is to say, only those clothes which have been in direct contact with the dead.

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'If, indeed, the garment has been defiled with seed, or sweat, or dirt, or vomit, the worshippers of Mazda shall rend it to pieces, and bury it under the ground[1].

14 (33). 'But if it has not been defiled with seed, or sweat, or dirt, or vomit, then the worshippers of Mazda shall wash it with gômêz.

15 (35). 'If it be leather, they shall wash it with gômêz three times, they shall rub it with earth three times, they shall wash it with water three times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for three months at the window of the house.

'If it be woven cloth, they shall wash it with gômêz six times[2], they shall rub it with earth six times, they shall wash it with water six times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for six months at the window of the house.

16 (37). 'The spring named Ardvî Sûra, O Spitama Zarathustra! that spring of mine, purifies the seed in man, the fruit in a woman's womb, the milk in a woman's breast[3].'

17[4] (41). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman?

[1] According to the Commentary only that part which has been defiled is rent off; the rest may still be used.

[2] See Introd. V, 16.

[3] This clause is a quotation from Yasna LXV, 5, intended to illustrate the cleansing power of water. Ardvî Sûra is the goddess of the waters.

[4] §§ 17–22 = Farg. V, 57–62.

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18 (43). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

19 (45). 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work, and who must sit in the place of infirmity, those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets, until they can withdraw and move their hands.

20 (49). 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

21 (52). 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in the happy realm.

22 (55). 'He shall go away into the world of the fiends, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness. To that world, to the dismal realm, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own souls, O sinners!'

IV.

23 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again who has eaten of the carcase of a dog or of the carcase of a man[1]?

[1] The carcase-eater lodges the Nasu in himself; he becomes a Nasu, and therefore must be destroyed; cf. infra § 76 seq.

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24 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! His burrow[1] shall be dug out, his life shall be torn out, his bright eyes shall be put out; the Drug Nasu falls upon him, takes hold of him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever[2].'

V.

25 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has brought a corpse with filth into the waters, or unto the fire, and made either unclean?

26 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! Those wicked ones it is, those men turned to Nasus[3], that most increase gnats and locusts[4]; those wicked ones it is, those men turned to Nasus, that most increase the grass-destroying drought.

27 (69). 'Those wicked ones it is, those men turned to Nasus, that increase most the power of the winter, produced by the fiends, the cattle-killing, thick-snowing, overflowing, the piercing,

[1] His house, as he is assimilated to a devouring Khrafstra.

[2] Till the resurrection. 'It is prescribed in the Vendîdâd that if a man shall eat of a carcase, his house and family shall be destroyed, his heart shall be torn out of his body, his eyes shall be put out, and his soul shall abide in hell till the resurrection' (Saddar 71, Hyde 79). 'He who eats of a carcase with sinful intent is both unclean and margarzân; Barashnûm and Nîreng are of no avail for him, he must die. If there has been no sinful intent, he may wash himself; one may give him the ashes and the gômêz (Comm.); he is unclean, he is not margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

[3] Doubtful; possibly, 'those Nasu-makers.'

[4] 'It is said in the Avesta that when there are many gnats and locusts it is owing to corpses having been brought to water and to fire' (Saddar 72, Hyde 80).

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fierce, mischievous winter[1]. Upon them comes and rushes the Drug Nasu, she takes hold of them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever[2].'

VI.

28 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the wood be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto dead matter has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

29 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten[3] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds[4], they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the wood on the length of a Vîtasti[5] all around the dead matter, if the wood be dry; on the length of a Frârâthni[6] all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean[7].

[1] 'In the same way (by the bringing of corpses to water and to fire), winter grows colder, and summer grows warmer' (Saddar 72, Hyde 80).

[2] Whoever shall do that deed, shall pay for it in this world and in the next; they shall flay his body in the presence of the assembly, they shall tear him limb from limb, and his corpse shall be thrown away to dogs and ravens, . . . and when his soul comes to the other world, he shall suffer tortures from the dêvs (Gr. Rav. p. 123).

[3] That is to say, if the Sag-dîd has not yet been performed.

[4] See above, p. 75, n. 5.

[5] Twelve fingers.

[6] The Frârâthni is, as it seems, as much as one foot (fourteen fingers, Vd. II, 22, Comm.)

[7] 'After a year,' according to the Commentary.

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30 (78). 'But if the Nasu has already been smitten[1] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the wood on the length of a Frârâthni all around the dead matter, if the wood be dry; on the length of a Frâbâzu[2] all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

31 (81). 'This is the quantity of wood around the dead matter, that they shall lay down, apart on the ground, according as the wood is dry or wet; according as it is hard or soft; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

32 (83). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the corn or the fodder be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto dead matter has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

33 (84). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the corn on the length of a Frârâthni all around the dead matter, if the corn be dry; on the length of a Frâbâzu all

[1] It appears from the similar passages (VIII, 35, 36, and 98, 99) and from the general principles of uncleanness (see Introd. V, 16) that the words 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten,' in § 29, have been misplaced there from § 30, and that the corresponding words in § 30 belong to § 29; because uncleanness spreads less far, when the Sag-dîd has taken place.

[2] A measure of unknown extent; 'an arm's length,' it would seem.

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around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

34 (89). 'But if the Nasu has already been smitten[1] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, the corn on the length of a Frâbâzu all around the dead matter, if the corn be dry; on the length of a Vîbâzu[2] all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

35 (92). 'This is the quantity of corn around the dead matter, that they shall lay down, apart on the ground, according as the corn is dry or wet; according as it is sown or not sown; according as it is reaped or not reaped; according as it is ground or not ground[3]; according as it is (kneaded)[4] or not kneaded; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

VII a.

36 (94). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda want to practice the art of healing, on whom shall he first prove his skill? on worshippers of Mazda or on worshippers of the Daêvas?

37 (96). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On worshippers of the Daêvas shall he first prove himself,

[1] The same observation applies to the first words of §§ 33, 34, as was observed of §§ 29, 30.

[2] A measure of unknown extent; 'an ell,' it would seem.

[3] This clause is preceded and followed, in the Vendîdâd Sâdah, by clauses which seem to refer to the process of grinding being more or less advanced.

[4] This word is supplied, as it appears, from the context, and from the Pahlavi translation, to be wanting.

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rather than on worshippers of Mazda. If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife for the third time a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die, he is unfit to practise the art of healing for ever and ever.

38 (99). 'Let him therefore never attend any worshipper of Mazda; let him never treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, nor wound him with the knife. If he shall ever attend any worshipper of Mazda, if he shall ever treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, and wound him with the knife, he shall pay for it the same penalty as is paid for wilful murder[1].

39 (102). 'If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if for the third time he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; then he is fit to practise the art of healing for ever and ever[2].

40 (104). 'He may henceforth at his will attend worshippers of Mazda; he may at his will treat with the knife worshippers of Mazda, and heal them with the knife.

VII b.

41 (105). 'A healer shall heal a priest for a holy

[1] For baodhô-varsta, which word is wrongly understood by the Parsis as the designation of a penalty, consisting in the amputation of six fingers (Asp.)

[2] 'Some say, One who has been qualified may become disqualified; one who has been disqualified shall never become qualified' (Comm. ad § 43).

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blessing[1]; he shall heal the master of a house for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal the lord of a borough[2] for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal the lord of a town for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal the lord of a province for the value of a chariot and four[3].

42 (110). 'He shall heal the wife of the master of a house for the value of a she-ass; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a borough for the value of a cow; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a town for the value of a mare; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a province for the value of a she-camel.

43 (114). 'He shall heal the son of the lord of a borough for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal an ox of high value for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal an ox of average value for that of an ox of low value; he shall heal an ox of low value for the value of a sheep; he shall heal a sheep for the value of a meal of meat[4].

44 (118). 'If several healers offer themselves together, O Spitama Zarathustra! namely, one who heals with the knife, one who heals with herbs, and one who heals with the holy word[5], it is this one

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[1] 'Thus he will become holy (i.e. he will go to paradise); there is no equivalent in money. Some say, It is given when the priest has not 3000 stîrs' (Comm.)

[2] A group of several houses; Aspendiârji and Anquetil say, 'a street.'

[3] 'A value of seventy stîrs' (Comm.)

[4] Cf. the tariff of fees for the cleanser, Farg. IX, 37 seq.

[5] 'By spells' (Comm.; cf. Odyssea XIX, 457). This classification was not unknown to Asclepios: he relieved the sick 'now with caressing spells, now with soothing drink or balsam, now with the knife' (Pindaros, Pyth. III, 51).

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who will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful[1].'

VIII.

45 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on the ground, clothed with the light of heaven and beholding the sun, is the ground itself again[2]?

46 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain on the ground for a year, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun, then the ground is itself again, O holy Zarathustra[3]!'

47 (124). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been buried in the earth, is the earth itself again?

48 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain buried in the earth for fifty years, O Spitama Zarathustra! then the earth is itself again[4].'

49 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead

[1] 'It may be that he may not relieve, but he will not harm' (Comm.) The Vendîdâd Sâdah, instead of 'it is this one,' &c., reads as follows: 'Let them address themselves to the one who heals with the holy word; for he is the best healer among all healers, who heals by the holy word; this one it is who will drive away sickness from the body of the faithful.' The treatment by the holy word seems not to consist only in the recitation of spells, but the spells must be accompanied by the ceremony of the Barashnûm (see Farg. XXII and Introd. V, 14).

[2] Restored to the purity of its nature, and fit to till; as it remains Nasu till that time.

[3] See Farg. VI, 1 seq.

[4] Cf. Farg. III, 36 seq.

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man has been laid down on a Dakhma, is the ground, whereon the Dakhma stands, itself again?

50 (127). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Not until the dust of the corpse, O Spitama Zarathustra! has mingled with the dust of the earth[1]. Urge every one in the material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! to pull down Dakhmas[2].

51 (129). 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for[3].

52 (132). 'Not for his soul shall the two spirits wage war with one another[4]; and when he enters the blissful world, the stars, the moon, and the sun shall rejoice in him; and I, Ahura Mazda, shall rejoice in him, saying: "Hail, O man! thou who hast just passed from the decaying world into the undecaying one!"'

55[5] (137). O Maker of the material world, thou

[1] A space of time estimated at fifty years (Comm.) Cf. Farg. III, 13.

[2] Cf. Farg. III, 9, text and note, and § 13.

[3] 'A tanâfûhr sin is remitted thereby' (Comm.)

[4] When a man dies, hell and paradise, fiends and gods struggle for the possession of his soul: Astôvîdhôtus, Vîzaresha, and the bad Vayu drag the souls of the wicked to hell; Mithra, Sraosha, Rashnu, and the good Vayu take the souls of the good to paradise (see Farg. XIX, 29 seq.; Yt. XXII; Mainyô-i-khard II). The struggle lasts for three days and three nights (the sadis), during which time the relatives of the dead offer up prayers and sacrifices to Sraosha, Rashnu, and Vayu, to assure him their protection (cf. IX, 56).

[5] §§ 53, 54 belong to the Commentary; they are composed of disconnected quotations, part of which refers to the different deeds by which a tanâfûhr sin may be redeemed, while the other part refers to the rules of what may be called the book-keeping of good actions and sins.

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Holy One! Where are the fiends? Where are the worshippers of the fiends? What is the place whereon the troops of fiends rush together? What is the place whereon the troops of fiends come rushing along? What is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads?

56 (138). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Those Dakhmas that are built upon the face of the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! and whereon are laid the corpses of dead men, that is the place where the fiends are, that is the place whereon the troops of fiends rush together, that is the place whereon the troops of fiends come rushing along, that is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

57 (140). 'On those Dakhmas, O Spitama Zarathustra! those fiends take food and void filth, (eating up corpses) in the same way as you, men, in the material world, eat cooked meal and cooked meat. It is, as it were, the smell of their feeding that you smell there, O men!

58 (143). 'Thus the fiends revel on there, until that stench is rooted in the Dakhmas. Thus from the Dakhmas arise the infection of diseases, itch, hot fever, humours[1], cold fever, rickets, and hair untimely white. There death has most power on man, from the hour when the sun is down.

[1] Doubtful (naêza).

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59 (148). 'And if there be people of evil spirit who do not seek for better spirit, the *G*ainis[1] make those diseases grow stronger by a third[2], on their thighs, on their hands, on their plaited hair[3].'

IX.

60[4] (151). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

61 (155). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;'—

62 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

63 (159). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

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[1] 'The *G*ahi' (Comm.) The *G*aini seems to be the *G*ahi as bringing sickness (cf. Farg. XXI, 2).

[2] The general meaning of the sentence is that the Dakhmas are seats of infection, of which the action becomes worse and stronger when people live in impiety and vices.

[3] Doubtful.

[4] §§ 60–69 = Farg. V, 45–54.

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64 (160). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure, and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

65 (162). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

66 (163). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She shall drink gômêz mixed with ashes, three cups of it, or six, or nine, to wash over the grave in her womb.

67 (166). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap; she may take cooked meat without water, bread without water, and wine without water.'

68 (169). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live only on that sort of meat, bread, and wine?

69 (170). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live on that sort of meat, bread, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes, and thus shall she be clean.'

70 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! But if fever befall her unclean body, if that twofold plague, hunger and thirst, befall her, may she be allowed to drink water?

71 (175). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She may; the first thing for her is to have her life saved. Having been allowed by one of the holy men, by a holy faithful man, who knows the holy know-

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ledge[1], she shall drink of the strength-giving water. But you, worshippers of Mazda, fix ye the penalty for it. The Ratu being applied to, the Sraoshâvarez being applied to[2], shall prescribe the penalty to be paid[3].'

72 (181). What is the penalty to be paid?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The deed is that of a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahêastra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[4].'

X.

73 (183). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the eating vessels be made clean that have been touched by the carcase of a dog, or by the corpse of a man?

74 (184). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If they be of gold, you shall wash them once with gômêz, you shall rub them once with earth, you shall wash them once with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of silver, you shall wash them twice with gômêz, you shall rub them twice with earth, you shall wash them twice with water, and they shall be clean.

[75. 'If they be of brass, you shall wash them thrice with gômêz, you shall rub them thrice with

[1] The Dastur. [2] See Farg. V, 25.

[3] For the water having been defiled.

[4] A penalty to be undergone by the husband, at least in modern practice: 'If through fear of death or of serious illness she has drunk water before the appointed time, her husband shall make Patet for her fault before the Dastur' (Old Rav. 98 b).

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earth, you shall wash them thrice with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of steel, you shall wash them four times with gômêz, you shall rub them four times with earth, you shall wash them four times with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of stone, you shall wash them six times with gômêz, you shall rub them six times with earth, you shall wash them six times with water, and they shall be clean [1].]

'If they be of earth, of wood, or of clay, they are unclean for ever and ever [2].'

XI.

76 (189). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the cow be made clean that has eaten of the carcase of a dog, or of the corpse of a man?

77 (190). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She can, O holy Zarathustra! The priest shall not, within a year, take from her to the baresma neither the milk and cheese that accompany the libation, nor the meat that accompanies the libation [3]. When a year has passed, then the faithful may eat of her as before [4].'

XII.

78 (193). Who is he, O holy Ahura Mazda! who,

[1] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah. [2] See Introd. V, 16.

[3] The offering of the libation waters (Zaothra) is accompanied with offerings of milk, cheese, and meat, which the priest eats holding the baresma in his hand.

[4] 'Whatever comes from her, if dropped, is clean; if taken, unclean. If she be big with young, the young is born clean, if conceived before her eating of the corpse; if conceived afterwards, it is born unclean' (Comm.)

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with a godly intent, with a godly wish, goes astray from the ways of God? Who is he who, with a godly intent, falls into the ways of the Drug[1]?

79 (194). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The one who, with a godly intent, with a godly wish, goes astray from the ways of God; the one who with a godly intent falls into the ways of the Drug, is he who offers up for libation water defiled by the dead; or who offers up libations in the dead of the night[2].'

FARGARD VIII.

I (1–3). Purification of the house where a man has died.
II (4–13). Funerals.
III (14–22). Purification of the ways along which the corpse has been carried.
IV (23–25). No clothes to be wasted on a corpse.
V (26–32). Unlawful lusts.
VI (33–34). A corpse when dried up does not contaminate.
VII (35–72). Purification of the man defiled by the dead.
VIII (73–80). Purification of the fire defiled by the dead.
IX (81–96). The Bahrâm fire.
X (97–107). Purification in the wilderness.

This chapter, putting aside section V, may be entitled: Funerals and Purification. Logical order may easily be introduced into it, by arranging the sections as follows: I, IV, II, III, VI, VII, X, VIII, IX.

I.

1. If a dog or a man die under the timber-work of a house or the wattlings of a hut, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

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[1] Possibly, works for the Drug.

[2] 'From what hour may the good waters be offered up? From sunrise to sunset. He who offers up the good waters after sunset, before sunrise, does no better deed than if he should shed them downright into the jaws of the venomous snake' (Nîrangistân, in the Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 76).

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2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall look for a Dakhma, they shall look for a Dakhma all around. If they find it easier to remove the dead than to remove the house, they shall take out the dead, they shall let the house stand, and shall perfume it with Urvâsni, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant[1].

3 (8). 'If they find it easier to remove the house than to remove the dead[2], they shall take away the house, they shall let the dead lie on the spot, and shall perfume the house with Urvâsni, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant.'

II.

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and it is raining[3], or snowing, or blowing[4], or the darkness is coming on, when flocks and men lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do[4]?

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[1] 'So, when a dog or a man dies, the first thing to do is to take the corpse out (from the house), and to purify the house, inside and outside, with perfumes burnt on the fire' (Comm.) Cf. XI, 4. Urvâsni is the râsan plant, a sort of garlic; Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, and Hadhâ-naêpata are respectively (according to Aspendiârji) benzoin, aloe, and pomegranate.

[2] If the house is simply a hut or a tent.

[3] 'No corpse must be taken to the Dakhma when rain is falling, or threatening. If one is overtaken by rain on the way, if there be a place to lay it down, they shall lay it down; if there be none, they must go on and take it to the Dakhma, they must not retrace their steps. . . . . When arrived at the Dakhma, if they find it full of water, they may nevertheless lay down the corpse' (Comm.)

[4] If it is the season of rain or snow. Cf. V, 10 seq.

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5 (14). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;'—

6 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

7 (17). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

8 (18). 'On that place they shall dig a grave, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if it be soft; [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cowdung][1]; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth[2].

9 (21). 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth.

10 (23). 'And when the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall make a breach in the wall

[1] Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[2] In the similar case in V, 10, it is prescribed to isolate the corpse in a permanent dead house (the Zâd-marg); the rule prescribed here seems to be older, as it is now obsolete; it was besides less convenient.

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of the house[1], and they shall call for two men, strong and skilful[2], and those, having stripped their clothes off[3], shall take the body to the building of clay, stones, and mortar[4], raised on a place where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds.

11 (29). 'Afterwards the corpse-bearers shall sit down, three paces from the dead; then the holy Ratu[5] shall proclaim to the worshippers of Mazda thus: "Let the worshippers of Mazda here bring the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers there shall wash their hair and their bodies!"'

12 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies? Is it of sheep or of oxen? Is it of man or of woman?

13 (35). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is of sheep or of oxen; not of man nor of woman, except these two: the nearest kinsman (of the dead) or his nearest kinswoman. The worshippers of Mazda

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[1] 'The master and mistress of the house are carried away through a breach (made in the wall of the house); others through the door' (Comm.) In some parts of Germany the dead must not be carried away through the usual house-door, as the dead and the living must not pass through the same door.

[2] The corpse-bearers or nasu-kasha. 'The corpse must be carried by two persons (see Farg. III, 13 seq.), no matter who they are; they may be a man and a woman, or two women' (Comm.)

[3] 'As they are exchanged for the special clothes in which they carry corpses' (Comm.), the so-called *g*âmah-i dakhma, 'the Dakhma clothes.'

[4] The Dakhma (see Farg. VI, 50 seq.)

[5] The priest who directs the funerals, 'the chief of the Nasu-kashas' (Comm.)

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shall therefore procure the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies[1].'

III.

14 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the way, whereon the carcases of dogs or corpses of men have been carried, be passed through again by flocks and herds, by men and women, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful?

15 (40). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It cannot be passed through again by flocks and herds, nor by men and women, nor by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, nor by the consecrated bundles of baresma, nor by the faithful.

16 (41). 'You shall therefore cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears[2], to go three times through that way[3]. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras[4].

17 (45). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white

[1] When back in the village they perform the regular Barashnûm with consecrated gômêz (Comm.)

[2] See Introd. V, 4.

[3] 'Afrag says, the dog goes straight along the length of the way; Maidyô-mâh says, he goes across it from side to side' (Comm.)

[4] Cf. Farg. VII, 3.

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dog with yellow ears, to go six times[1] through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

18 (47). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go nine times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, has been brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

19 (49). 'An Âthravan shall first go along the way and shall say aloud these fiend-smiting words: "Yathâ ahû vairyô[2]:—the will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô[3] shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.

20 (52). '"Kem nâ mazdâ:—whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of

[1] 'Three times suffice if the dog goes of his own accord; if he goes by force, it counts as nothing; if he goes but with reluctance, that shall suffice' (Comm. ad § 18).

[2] A prayer in frequent use, and considered of great efficacy, generally known as the Ahuna Vairya or Honover. It was by reciting it that Ormazd in his first conflict with Ahriman drove him back to hell (Bund. I).

[3] Of paradise, as Vohu-manô (Good Thought) is the door-keeper of heaven (cf. Farg. XIX, 31).

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the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô[1], by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

'"Ke verethrem gâ:—who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha[2] may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

21 (60). '"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!"

22 (63). 'Then the worshippers of Mazda may at their will bring by those ways sheep and oxen, men and women, and Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the consecrated bundles of baresma, and the faithful.

'The worshippers of Mazda may afterwards[3] prepare meals with meat and wine in that house; it shall be clean, and there will be no sin, as before.'

IV.

23 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of

[1] When Ahriman broke into the world he was repelled by Âtar and Vohu-manô (Yasht XIII, 77; cf. Orm. Ahr. § 107).

[2] Sraosha fights for the soul of the good after death (see p. 87, note 4). Kem nâ mazdâ and ke verethrem gâ are lines taken from the Gâthas (Yasna XLVI, 7; XLIV, 16) and diverted from their primitive meaning to suit the present case.

[3] On the fourth day. For three days and nights after the death it is forbidden to cook meat in the house (Comm.)

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skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the feet, what is the penalty that he shall pay[1]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover both legs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 (71). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the whole body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

V.

26 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man involuntarily emits his seed, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man voluntarily emits his seed, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

[1] See Farg. V, 60; VII, 20.

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

28 (83). When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the law of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it. But if he be not a professor of the law of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it, then this law of Mazda takes his sin from him, if he confesses it and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

29 (88). 'The law of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who confesses it the bonds of his sin; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the heaviest penalties of sin; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

30 (95). 'In the same way the law of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain.

'So let all the deeds thou doest be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for thy sin is effected by means of the law of Mazda[1].'

31 (98). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the man that is a Daêva? Who is he that is a worshipper of the Daêvas? that is a male paramour of the Daêvas? that is a female paramour of the Daêvas? that is a she-Daêva?

[1] See Farg. III, 38–42, text and notes.

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that is in his inmost self a Daêva? that is in his whole being a Daêva[1]? Who is he that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death[2]?

32 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The man that lies with mankind as man lies with womankind, or as woman lies with mankind, is the man that is a Daêva; this one is the man that is a worshipper of the Daêvas, that is a male paramour of the Daêvas, that is a female paramour of the Daêvas, that is a she-Daêva; this is the man that is in his inmost self a Daêva, that is in his whole being a Daêva; this is the man that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death: so is he, whether he has lain with mankind as mankind, or as womankind[3].'

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[1] The text has a Vîspô-daêva, a curious expression which comes from the time when daêva still meant 'a god' (see Introd. IV, 41). In the time of the Indo-Iranian, nay, as early as the time of the Indo-European religion, it was the custom, beside special invocations to the several gods, to address one to all the gods, for fear of the resentment of those who might have been forgotten or ignored; thus the Greeks never failed to invoke all gods and goddesses (θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις); in the same way the Indian invoked visvê devâs, 'all the gods,' which, in course of time, gave rise to a special class of gods. Hence, in Mazdeism, arose a class of fiends, the vîspê daêva; but tradition lost the meaning of the word, and the vîspô daevô became 'one who is entirely a Daêva by his wickedness' (Comm.)

[2] Demons are often the restless souls of the wicked, excluded from heaven. The Persian sect of the Mahâbâdians believed that the soul that had not spoken and done good became an Ahriman or gin (Dabistân).

[3] The guilty may be killed by any one, without an order from the Dastur (see § 74 n.), and by this execution an ordinary capital crime may be redeemed (Comm. ad VII, 52).

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VI.

33 (107). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Shall the man be clean who has touched a corpse that has been dried up and dead more than a year?

34 (108). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall. The dry mingles not with the dry[1]. Should the dry mingle with the dry, how soon this material world of mine would have in it only Peshôtanus, shut out from the way of holiness, and whose souls will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth[2].'

VII.

35 (111). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the man be made clean that has touched the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man?

36 (113). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds,

[1] See Introd. V. This principle still prevails even with Musulman Persians: 'Pour encourir leur immondicité dans l'attouchement des Chretiens et autres idolatres, il est nécessaire que s'ils les touchent, leurs vêtements soient mouillés. C'est à cause, disent-ils, qu'étans secs l'immondicité ne s'attache pas; . . . . ce qui est cause que dans les villes où leurs Mullas et Docteurs ont plus d'autorité, ils font par fois défendre par leurs Kans que lorsqu'il pleut, les Chrétiens ne sortent pas de leurs maisons, de crainte que par accident, venans à les heurter, ils ne soient rendus immondes' (G. du Chinon, p. 88 seq.; cf. Chardin).

[2] See Farg. V, 4.

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he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water, and he shall be clean[1].

37 (117). 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds[2], then the worshippers of Mazda shall dig three holes in the ground[3], and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog[4], they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front of the man[5].

38 (121). 'The worshippers of Mazda shall dig three other holes[6] in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front of the man. Then they shall wait until he is dried[7] even to the last hair on the top of his head.

39 (125). 'They shall dig three more holes[8] in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with water, not with gômêz.

40 (127). 'He shall first wash his hands; if his

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[1] If the Sag-dîd has been performed, a simple ghosel is enough (see Introd. V, 16).

[2] If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, the Barashnûm is necessary (see Introd. V, 16).

[3] The first three holes, which contain gômêz. For the disposition of the holes, see the following Fargard.

[4] Three times; every time that the unclean one passes from one hole to another (Comm. ad IX, 32).

[5] To look at him, or, rather, at the Nasu in him, whilst the priest sings the 'fiend-smiting spells.'

[6] Containing gômêz too.

[7] He rubs himself dry with handfuls of dust (see IX, 29 seq.)

[8] Containing water.

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hands be not first washed, he makes the whole of his body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle with water the forepart of his skull.'

41 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the forepart of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush [1]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, between the brows, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

42 (134). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front between the brows, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the back part of the skull the Drug Nasu rushes.'

43 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back part of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, on the jaws, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

44 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, on the jaws, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

45 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

[1] The Nasu is expelled symmetrically, from limb to limb, from the right side of the body to the left, from the forepart to the back parts, and she flies, thus pursued, downwards from the top of the head to the tips of the toes.

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

46 (146). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

47 (149). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

48 (152). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

49 (155). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

50 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, upon the chest, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

51 (161). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the chest in front, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the back the Drug Nasu rushes.'

52 (164). O Maker of the material world, thou

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Holy One! When the good waters reach the back, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

53 (167). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

54 (170). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

55 (173). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

56 (176). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

57 (179). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

58 (182). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the sexual parts the Drug Nasu rushes. If the unclean one be a

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man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind.

59 (187). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the sexual parts, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

60 (190). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

61 (193). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

62 (196). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

63 (199). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

64 (202). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

65 (205). O Maker of the material world, thou

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Holy One! When the good waters reach the left leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

66 (208). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

67 (211). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

68 (214). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

69 (217). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'She is driven to the sole of the foot, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

70 (220). 'He shall press his toes upon the ground, and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole. Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole with water; then the Drug Nasu is driven to the toes, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

71 (225). 'He shall press his heels upon the ground and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt

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sprinkle his right toe with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe. Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe with water; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

[72. 'And thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:

'"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

'"Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me?" &c.

'"Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances?" &c.[1]

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit[2]!"']

VIII.

73 (229). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse-burning fire, whereon a corpse is being cooked or roasted, what shall they do?

74 (233). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall kill the man that burns the corpse; surely they shall

[1] As in §§ 19, 20.

[2] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

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kill him[1]. They shall take off the cauldron, they shall take off the tripod.

75 (237). 'Then they shall kindle wood from that fire; either wood of those trees that have the seed of fire in them, or bundles of the very wood that was prepared for that fire; and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

76 (242). 'Thus they shall lay a first bundle on the ground[2], a Vîtasti[3] away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

77 (245). 'They shall lay down a second bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a third bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fourth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

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[1] 'He who burns Nasâ (dead matter) must be killed. Burning or roasting Nasâ from the dead is a capital crime. . . . Four men can be put to death by any one without an order from the Dastur: the Nasâ-burner, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the criminal taken in the deed' (Comm.)

[2] In a hole dug for that purpose; such is at least the custom nowadays. The ceremony seems to be an imitation of the Barashnûm. The unclean fire, represented by the nine bundles, passes through the nine holes, as the unclean man does (see above, § 37 seq. and Farg. IX, 12 seq.), and leaves at each of them some of the uncleanness it has contracted.

[3] A span of twelve fingers.

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'They shall lay down a fifth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a sixth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a seventh bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down an eighth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

78 (245). 'They shall lay down a ninth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the corpse-burning fire, and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

79, 80 (246). 'If a man shall then piously bring unto the fire, O Spitama Zarathustra! wood of Urvâsna, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhânaêpata, or any other sweet-smelling wood, wheresoever the wind shall bring the perfume of the fire, thereunto Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, shall go and kill thousands of unseen Daêvas, thousands of fiends, the brood of darkness, thousands of couples of Yâtus and Pairikas[1].'

IX.

81 (251). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a corpse-burning fire

[1] See Introd. IV, 20–21.

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to the Dâityô-gâtu [1], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten thousand fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

82 (254). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire wherein excrement has been burnt [2], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a thousand fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

83 (257). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire wherein cowdung has been burnt [3], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought five hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

84 (258). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from the kiln of a brick-maker [4], what shall be

[1] 'The proper abode,' the Bahrâm fire (see Introd. V, 8). The Bahrâm fire is composed of a thousand and one fires belonging to sixteen different classes (ninety-one corpse-burning fires, eighty dyers' fires, &c.) As the earthly representative of the heavenly fire, it is the sacred centre to which every earthly fire longs to return, in order to be united again, as much as possible, with its native abode. The more it has been defiled by worldly uses, the greater is the merit acquired by freeing it from defilement.

[2] 'The fire of the lac-makers and of the dyers' (Asp. and Gr. Rav. 120).

[3] 'The fire of a bath,' according to Aspendiârji; but see Introd. V, 8.

[4] Or, 'from a lime-kiln' (Comm.)

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his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought four hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

85 (259). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from a potter's kiln, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were pots baked in that fire[1].'

86 (260). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of the reapers[1], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were plants in the crop[1].'

87 (261). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a goldsmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

88 (262). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a silversmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

[1] Doubtful.

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ninety fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

89 (263). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a worker in brass, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought eighty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

90 (264). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of a blacksmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought seventy fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

91 (265). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of an oven [1], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted from his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought sixty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

92 (266). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under a cauldron [2], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought fifty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

93 (267). O Maker of the material world, thou

[1] A baker's fire.

[2] The kitchen-fire.

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Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from an encampment[1], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought forty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

94 (268). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a herdsman's fire to the Dâityô-gâtu, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought thirty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

[95 (269)[2]. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of the field[3], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought twenty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.']

96 (270). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of his own hearth, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

X.

97 (271). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can a man be made clean, O holy

[1] Doubtful.

[2] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[3] The hunter's fire.

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Ahura Mazda! who has touched a corpse in a distant place in the fields[1]?

98 (272). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra.'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it thirty times, he shall rub it dry with the hand thirty times, beginning every time with the head[2].

99 (278). 'If the Nasu has not yet been smitten by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it fifteen times, he shall rub it dry with the hand fifteen times[3].

100 (280). 'Then he shall run a distance of a Hâthra[4]. He shall run until he meets some man on his way, then he shall cry out aloud: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, without any wilful sin of mind, tongue, or hand, and who wishes to be made clean." Thus shall he run until he overtakes the man. If the man will not cleanse him, he takes upon his own head the third of his trespass.

101 (287). 'Then he shall run another Hâthra, he shall run off again until he overtakes a man; if

[1] Where the regular process of purification cannot be performed.

[2] If the Sag-dîd has been performed, the Sî-shû (thirtyfold washing) is enough. Cf. above, §§ 35, 36.

[3] If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, he cleanses himself in a summary way till he comes to a place where the Barashnûm can be performed.

[4] See p. 17, n. 1.

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the man will not cleanse him, he takes upon his own head the half of his trespass.

102 (291). 'Then he shall run a third Hâthra, he shall run off a third time until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he takes upon his own head the whole of his trespass.

103 (294). 'Thus shall he run forwards until he comes near a house, a borough, a town, an inhabited district, and he shall cry out with a loud voice: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, without any wilful sin of mind, tongue, or hand, and who wishes to be made clean." If they will not cleanse him, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water; thus shall he be clean[1].'

104 (300). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he found water on his way, the water requires an atonement[2]; what is the penalty that he shall pay?

105 (303). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

106 (304). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he found trees[3] on his way, the fire requires an atonement; what is the penalty he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

[1] 'He may then attend to his business; he may work and till; some say he must abstain from sacrifice (till he has undergone the Barashnûm),' (Comm.)

[2] As he defiled it by crossing it.

[3] 'Trees fit for the fire' (Comm.) If he touches those trees, the fire to which they are brought becomes unclean by his fault.

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107 (308). 'This is the penalty, this is the atonement, which saves him who submits to it; he who does not submit to it, shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Drug[1].'

FARGARD IX.

The nine nights' Barashnûm.

I a (1–11). Description of the place for cleansing the unclean (the Barashnûm-gâh).

I b (12–36). Description of the cleansing.

II (37–44). Fees of the cleanser.

III (47–57). The false cleanser; his punishment.

§§ 45, 46 belong better to the following Fargard.

The ceremony described in this Fargard is known among the Parsis as Barashnûm nû shaba, or 'nine nights' Barashnûm,' because it lasts for nine nights (see § 35)[2]. It is the great purification, the most efficacious of all; it not only makes the defiled man clean, but it opens to him the heavens (see Farg. XIX, 33; cf. Introd. V, 16). So, although it was formerly intended only for the man defiled by the dead, it became, during the Parsi period, a pious work which might be performed without any corpse having been touched; nay, its performance was prescribed, once at least, at the time of the Nû zûdî (at the age of fifteen, when the young Parsi becomes a member of the community), in order to wash away the natural uncleanness that has been contracted in the maternal womb (Saddar 36, Hyde 40)[3].

I a.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O most

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[1] Hell. Cf. Farg. XIV, 18.

[2] As to the word Barashnûm, it seems not to refer to the ceremony itself, and to be nothing more than the Zend word baresh-nûm, 'the top of the head, the skull,' the part of the body that is first to be washed (§ 15).

[3] For the plan of the Barashnûm-gâh, see Anquetil II, p. 456.

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beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall they manage here below, who want to cleanse the body of one defiled by the dead?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'A godly man, O Spitama Zarathustra! who speaks truth, who learns the Holy Word, and who knows best the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda[1], such a man shall fell the trees off the surface of the ground on a space of nine Vîbâzus[2] square.

3 (9). 'It should be the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees, the part which is the cleanest and driest, and the least passed through by sheep and oxen, and by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful.'

4 (11). How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

5 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma, three paces from the faithful.

6 (13). 'Then thou shalt dig a hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come[3].

7 (14). 'Thou shalt dig a second hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a third hole, two fingers deep if

[1] A priest.

[2] The Vîbâzu seems to have been as much as ten paces.

[3] See Introd. V, 16.

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the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a fourth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a fifth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a sixth hole[1], two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

8 (14). How far from one another?

'One pace.'

How much is the pace?

'As much as three feet.

9 (16). 'Then thou shalt dig three holes more[2], two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

How far from the former six?

'Three paces.'

What sort of paces?

'Such as are taken in walking.'

How much are those (three) paces?

'As much as nine feet.

10 (22). 'Then thou shalt draw a furrow all around with a metal knife.'

How far from the holes?

'Three paces.'

What sort of paces?

'Such as are taken in walking.'

---

[1] These six holes contain gômêz. 'The holes must be dug from the north to the south' (Comm.)

[2] The three holes to contain water.

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How much are those (three) paces?

'As much as nine feet.

11 (24). 'Thou shalt draw twelve furrows[1]; three of which thou shalt draw around (the first) three holes; three thou shalt draw around (the first) six holes; three thou shalt draw around the nine holes; three thou shalt draw around the three holes, outside the six holes[2]. At each of the three times nine feet[3], thou shalt place stones as steps to the holes; or potsherds, or stumps, or clods, or any hard matter[4].'

I b.

12 (31). 'Then the unclean one shall walk to the holes; thou, O Zarathustra! shalt stand outside by the furrow, and thou shalt recite, Nemasḱâ yâ

[1] 'The furrows must be drawn during the day; they must be drawn with a knife; they must be drawn with recitation of spells. While drawing the furrows the cleanser recites three Ashem-vohus ("holiness is the best of all good," &c.), the Fravarânê ("I declare myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, a foe of the fiend," &c.), the Khshnûman of Serosh, and the Bâg of Serosh; they must be drawn from the north' (Comm. ad § 32). The furrow, or kesh, plays a greater part in the Mazdean liturgy than in any other. By means of the furrow, drawn with proper spells, and according to the laws of spiritual war, man either besieges the fiend or intrenches himself against him (cf. Farg. XVII, 5). In the present case the Drug, being shut up inside the kesh and thus excluded from the world outside, and being driven back, step by step, by the strength of the holy water and spells, finds at last no place of refuge but hell, and the world is freed from her presence.

[2] 'The three holes for water, the six holes for gômêz' (Comm.)

[3] The nine feet between the holes containing gômêz and those containing water, the nine feet between the first holes and the furrows, and the nine feet between the last hole and the furrows.

[4] That the foot of the unclean one may not touch the earth (see Introd. V, 10).

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ârmaitis ṭzâkâ[1]; and the unclean one shall repeat, Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis ṭzâkâ.

13 (35). 'The Drug becomes weaker and weaker at every one of those words which are to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu, to smite Aêshma of the bloody spear[2], to smite the Mâzainya fiends[3], to smite all the fiends.

14 (40). 'Then thou shalt sprinkle him with gômêz from a spoon of brass or of lead; thou shalt take a stick with nine knots[4], O Spitama Zarathustra! and thou shalt fasten the leaden spoon to the upper part of the stick.

15 (43). 'They shall wash his hands first. If his hands be not washed first, he makes his whole body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle the forepart of his skull; then the Drug Nasu rushes in front, between his brows[5].

16 (50). 'Thou shalt sprinkle him in front between the brows; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back part of the skull.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the back part of the skull; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the jaws.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the jaws; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ear.

17 (56). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ear.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right shoulder.

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[1] Yasna XLIX, 10. [2] See Introd. IV, 22. [3] See Introd. IV, 23.

[4] So long that the cleanser may take gômêz or water from the holes and sprinkle the unclean one, without touching him and without going inside the furrows.

[5] Cf. Farg. VIII, 40–71.

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'Thou shalt sprinkle the right shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left shoulder.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right arm-pit.

18 (64). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left arm-pit.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the chest.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the chest; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back.

19 (70). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the back; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right nipple.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left nipple.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right rib.

20 (76). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left rib.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right hip.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left hip.

21 (82). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the sexual parts.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the sexual parts. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right thigh.

22 (88). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left thigh.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right knee.

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'Thou shalt sprinkle the right knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left knee.

23 (94). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ankle.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ankle.

24 (102). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right instep; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left instep; then the Drug Nasu is driven to the sole of the foot, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

25 (108). 'He shall press his toes upon the ground and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole; then the Drug Nasu is driven to the toes, where what is seen of her is like the wing of a fly.

26 (113). 'He shall press his heels upon the ground and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

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27 (118). 'And thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—

'"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.

'"Ke*m* nâ mazdâ:—Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom, but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

'"K*e* verethrem *g*â:—Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta! Perish, O fiendish Dru*g*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Dru*g*! Perish away, O Dru*g*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit[1]!"

28 (119). 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.[2]

'At the second hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

[1] Cf. Farg. VIII, 19–21.

[2] As in preceding clause.

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'At the third hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the fourth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the fifth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the sixth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

29 (120). 'Afterwards the unclean one shall sit down, inside the furrows[1], outside the furrows of the six holes, four fingers from those furrows. There he shall cleanse his body with thick handfuls of dust.

30 (123). 'Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground for him to rub his body, and they shall wait there until he is dry even to the last hair on his head.

31 (125). 'When his body is dry, then he shall step over the holes (containing water). At the first hole he shall wash his body once with water; at the second hole he shall wash his body twice with water; at the third hole he shall wash his body thrice with water.

32 (130). 'Then he shall perfume (his body)[2] with perfumes from Urvâsna, or Vohu-gaona, or Vohu-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or from any sweet-

[1] Between the furrows of the six holes containing gômêz and the furrows of the holes containing water.

[2] Or, possibly, 'his clothes' (see Farg. XIX, 24).

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smelling plant; then he shall put on his clothes, and shall go back to his house.

33 (133). 'He shall sit down there in the place of infirmity[1], inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until three nights have passed. When three nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

34 (137). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until six nights have passed. When six nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

35 (141). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue, until nine nights have passed. When nine nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

36 (145). 'He may thenceforth go near the fire, near the water, near the earth, near the cow, near

[1] The Armêst-gâh (see Introd. V, 15).

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the trees, and near the faithful, either man or woman.

II.[1]

37 (146). 'Thou shalt cleanse a priest for a holy blessing[2]; thou shalt cleanse the lord of a province for the value of a camel of high value; thou shalt cleanse the lord of a town for the value of a stallion; thou shalt cleanse the lord of a borough for the value of a bull; thou shalt cleanse the master of a house for the value of a cow three years old.

38 (151). 'Thou shalt cleanse the wife of the master of a house for the value of a ploughing[3] cow; thou shalt cleanse a menial for the value of a draught cow[4]; thou shalt cleanse a young child for the value of a lamb.

39 (154). 'These are the different cattle that the worshippers of Mazda shall give to him who has cleansed them, if they can afford it; if they cannot afford it, they shall give him any other reward that may make him leave their houses well-pleased with them, and free from anger.

40 (157). 'For if the man who has cleansed them leave their houses displeased with them, and full of anger, then the Drug Nasu enters them by the nose, by the eyes, by the tongue, by the jaws, by the sexual organs, by the hinder parts.

41 (159). 'And the Drug Nasu rushes upon them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean thenceforth for ever and ever.

'It grieves the sun indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra!

[1] Cf. the tariff for the fees of physicians, Farg. VII, 41–43.
[2] See Farg. VII, 41, note.
[3] Doubtful.
[4] Doubtful.

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to shine upon a man defiled by the dead; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars.

42 (162). 'That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathustra! who cleanses from the Nasu those whom she has defiled; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.'

43 (164). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be his reward, after his soul has parted from his body, who has cleansed from the Nasu any one defiled by her?'

44 (166). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The welfare of the blessed abode thou canst promise to that man, for his reward in the other world.'

45 [1] (167). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Nasu who from the dead defiles the living?'

46 (169). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times; and the Drug shall fade away like the self-moving arrow [2], like the carpet of the earth [3] when the year is over, like its garment [3] which lasts a season.'

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[1] This clause and the following one as far as 'and the Drug' are further developed in the following Fargard.

[2] See Introd. IV, 26.

[3] The grass.

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III.

47 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man who does not know the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda, offers to cleanse the unclean, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do? How shall I then fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?

48 (175). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu waxes stronger than she was before. Stronger then are sickness and death and the working of the fiend than they were before.'

49 (177). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall bind him; they shall bind his hands first; then they shall strip him of his clothes, they shall flay him alive, they shall cut off his head, and they shall give over his corpse unto the greediest of the birds of the beneficent spirit, unto the corpse-eating birds, unto the ravens, with these words[1]:—

'"The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

50 (183). '"If he has committed any other evil

[1] 'The cleanser who has not performed the cleansing according to the rites, shall be taken to a desert place; there they shall nail him with four nails, they shall take off the skin from his body, and cut off his head. If he has performed Patet for his sin, he shall be holy (that is, he shall go to paradise); if he has not performed Patet, he shall stay in hell till the day of resurrection' (Fraser Ravaet, p. 398). Cf. Farg. III, 20 seq.

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deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever [1]."'

51 (187). Who is he, O Ahura Mazda! who threatens to take away fulness and increase from the world, and to bring in sickness and death?

52 (188). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the ungodly Ashemaogha [2], O Spitama Zarathustra! who in this material world cleanses the unclean without knowing the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda.

53 (190). 'For until then, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass [3].'

54 (191). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

55, 56 (192, 193). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until that ungodly Ashemaogha has been put to death, and the holy Sraosha has been in that place, offered up a sacrifice [4], for three

[1] See Farg. III, 20 seq., and Introd. V.

[2] See Introd. IV.

[3] Cf. XIII, 52 seq.

[4] The so-called zanda ravân, 'the sacrifice that makes the soul living,' that is to say, that makes it enter heaven. It is probably to be performed only in case the sinner has performed the Patet (see the note to § 49).

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days and three nights, with fire blazing, with baresma tied up, and with Haoma uplifted.

57 (196). 'Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

FARGARD X.

During the process of cleansing, the voice works with the hand. The spells which must be recited while the unclean one is cleansing himself have already been mentioned in the preceding Fargard, but we find here a detailed list of spells which are to be spoken twice, or thrice, or four times. The exact time when they are to be uttered is not mentioned, and we do not know whether they are to accompany those prescribed in the last Fargard, and are, therefore, to be repeated as often as the unclean one is washed, or whether they are only intended to close the whole ceremony.

These spells, like the former ones, are taken from the hymns or Gâthas, the oldest and holiest part of the Avesta. They were not written for this particular purpose, but, as happens in all religions, advantage was taken of whatever there might be in the old sacred hymns which could be more or less easily applied to the special circumstances of the case. The recitation of these lines is followed by an exorcism, written in the ordinary language of the Avesta, which has been expressly composed for the occasion.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice[1]; say

[1] The so-called bis-âmrûta.

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aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice[1]; say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times[2].'

3 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice, and thou shalt twice say them aloud:—

ahyâ yâsâ . . . urvânem (Yasna XXVIII, 2),
humatenãm . . . mahî (Yas. XXXV, 2),
ashahyâ âa*d* sairê . . . ahubyâ (Yas. XXXV, 8),
yathâ tû î . . . ahurâ (Yas. XXXIX, 4),
humâim thwâ . . . hud*a*ustemâ (Yas. XLI, 3),
thwôi staotaras*k*â . . . ahurâ (Yas. XLI, 5),
u*s*tâ ahmâi . . . mananghô (Yas. XLIII, 1),
spe*n*tâ mainyû . . . ahurô (Yas. XLVII, 1),
vohu khshathrem . . . vareshânê (Yas. LI, 1),
vahi*s*tâ î*s*ti*s* . . . *s*kyaothanâ*k*â (Yas. LIII, 1).

5 (10). 'And after thou hast twice said those words, thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—

'"I drive away Angra Mainyu from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.

6 (12). '"I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement, from this house, from this borough, from this town,

[1] The thri*s*-âmrûta. [2] The kathru*s*-âmrûta.

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from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world."'

7 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice?

8 (16). Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice, and thou shalt thrice say them aloud:—

ashem vohu . . . (Yas. XXVII, 14),
y*e* sevi*s*tô . . . paitî (Yas. XXXIII, 11),
hukhshathrôtemâi . . . vahi*s*tâi (Yas. XXXV, 5),
du*z*varenâi*s* . . . vahyô (Yas. LIII, 9).

9 (16). 'After thou hast thrice said those words, thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—

'"I drive away Indra[1], I drive away Sauru[1], I drive away the daêva N*a*unghaithya[1], from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.

10 (18). '"I drive away Tauru[2], I drive away Zairi[2], from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the

[1] See Introd. IV, 41. [2] See Introd. IV, 34.

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woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world."'

11 (19). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times?

12 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times, and thou shalt four times say them aloud:—

yathâ ahû vairyô . . .[1] (Yas. XXVII, 13),
mazdâ a*d* môi . . . d*a*u ahûm[2] (Yas. XXXIV, 15),
â airyamâ ishyô . . . masatâ mazd*a*u[3] (Yas. LIV, 1).

13 (22). 'After thou hast said those words four times, thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting and most-healing words:—

'"I drive away Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear[4], I drive away the daêva Akatasha[5], from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.

14 (24). '"I drive away the Varenya daêvas[6], I drive away the wind-daêva[7], from this house, from

[1] Translated Farg. VIII, 19. [2] Translated Farg. XI, 14.
[3] Translated Farg. XX, 11.
[4] See Introd. IV, 22.
[5] 'The worker of evil,' a personification of the evil powers, it may be a mere name of Ahriman.
[6] See Introd. IV, 23.
[7] The demon Vâteh, who raises storms (Brouillons d'Anquetil).

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this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world."

15 (25). 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times.

16 (26). 'These are the words that smite down Angra Mainyu; these are the words that smite down Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear; these are the words that smite down the Mâzainya daêvas[1]; these are the words that smite down all the daêvas.

17 (30). 'These are the words that stand against that Drug, against that Nasu, who from the dead rushes upon the living, who from the dead defiles the living.

18 (32). 'Therefore, O Zarathustra! thou shalt dig nine holes[2] in the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest treés; where there is nothing that may be food either for man or beast; for purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good; that purity that is pro-

[1] According to tradition, 'the Dîvs in Mazanderan;' Mazanderan is known, in fact, as a land of fiends and sorcerers; a reputation for which it is very likely indebted to the neighbouring mount Damâvand, to which Azis Dahâka is said to be bound. Yet one may doubt whether it gave its name to the Mâzainya daêvas, or if it took its name from them. Mâzainya was, most probably, like Varenya, an epithet of the Dîvs, which, in course of time, became the name of a class of demons.

[2] The nine holes for the Barashnûm; see above, p. 120, § 6 seq.

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cured by the law of Mazda for him who cleanses himself with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

19 (38). 'Make thyself pure, O righteous man! any one in the world here below can win purity for himself, namely, when he cleanses himself with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

20. 'The will of the Lord is the law of holiness,' &c.[1]

'Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me?' &c.

'Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances?' &c.

'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta! Perish, O fiendish Dru*g*! . . . Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

Fargard XI.

This chapter, like the preceding, is composed of spells intended to drive away the Nasu. But they are of a more special character, as they refer to the particular objects to be cleansed, such as the house, the fire, the water, &c. Each incantation consists of two parts, a line from the Gâthas which alludes, or rather is made to allude, to the particular object, and a general exorcism, in the usual dialect, which is the same for all the objects.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? how the fire? how the water? how the earth? how the cow? how the tree? how the faithful man and the faithful woman? how the stars? how the moon? how the sun? how the boundless light?

[1] The rest as in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

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how all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt chant the cleansing words, and the house shall be clean; clean shall be the fire, clean the water, clean the earth, clean the cow, clean the tree, clean the faithful man and the faithful woman, clean the stars, clean the moon, clean the sun, clean the boundless light, clean all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

3 (7). 'So thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya five times: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

'The Ahuna-Vairya preserves the person of man: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

'"Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me?" &c.

'"Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances?" &c.

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta!" &c.[1]

4 (9). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the house, say these words aloud: "He is my greatest support as long as lasts this dreary world[2]."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the fire, say these words aloud: "Thy fire, first of all, do we approach with worship, O Ahura Mazda[3]!"

[1] As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

[2] Yasna XLIX, 1. The allusion is not quite clear, but there seems to be a comparison between the small house of man and that great house the world.

[3] Yasna XXXVI, 1.

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5 (13). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the water, say these words aloud: "Waters we worship, the waters in the tree, the waters in the stream, the waters in the rain [1]."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the earth, say these words aloud: "This earth we worship, this earth with the women, this earth which bears us and those women who are thine, O Ahura [2]!"

6 (17). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the cow, say these words aloud: "For the cow we order thee to do these most excellent deeds, that she may have a resting place and fodder [3]."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the trees, say these words aloud: "Out of him [4], through his holiness Mazda made the plants grow up [5]."

7 (21). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the faithful man or the faithful woman, say these words aloud: "May the beloved Airyaman come hither, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura [6]!"

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[1] Yasna XXXVIII, 3.

[2] Yasna XXXVIII, 1. 'Who are thine,' that is, 'who are thy wives;' these women are, or rather were, the rivers in heaven, which were considered as the wives of the heaven-god; the rain waters are called 'Ahura's spouses,' Ahurânîs (Yasna LXVIII); cf. Orm. Ahr. § 32 and Introd. IV. Tradition wrongly recognises in these women the Faroers of godly men.

[3] Yasna XXXV, 4. 'Let those excellent deeds be done for the behoof of cattle, that is to say, let stables be made, and water and fodder be given' (Comm.)

[4] The first-born bull from whose body, after his death, grew up all kinds of plants (Bund. IV; cf. Orm. Ahr. § 129 seq.)

[5] Yasna XLVIII, 6. Cf. Farg. XVII, 5.

[6] Yasna LIV, 1. Cf. Farg. XX, 11. There is no special spell for the cleansing of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the boundless

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8 (25). 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words. Thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya eight times:—

'"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

'"Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda?" &c.

'"Who is he who will smite the fiend?" &c.

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" &c.[1]

9 (26). 'I drive away Aêshma[2], I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement.

[I drive away Khrû, I drive away Khrûighni[3]; I drive away Bûidhi, I drive away Bûidhiza[4]; I drive away Kundi, I drive away Kundiza.[5]]

'I drive away the yellow Bûshyãsta, I drive away the long-handed Bûshyãsta[6]; [I drive away Mûidhi[7], I drive away Kapasti.[8]]

light (see §§ 1, 2), because they are not defiled by the unclean one, they are only pained by seeing him (Farg. IX, 41); as soon as he is clean, they are freed from the pain.

[1] As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20. [2] See Introd. IV, 22.

[3] Khrû and Khrûighni are not met with elsewhere; their names mean, apparently, 'wound' and 'the wounding one;' whether they belonged to concrete mythology, or were mere abstractions, is difficult to decide. They may have been mere names or epithets of Aêshma khrûidru, 'Aêshma of the wounding spear.'

[4] Bûidhiza is 'the offspring of Bûidhi,' but the meaning of Bûidhi is unknown.

[5] Kundiza is 'the offspring of Kundi;' Kundi is contracted from Kavandi or Kavanda; the Indian homonym kavandha means literally 'a tub,' and by a mythical metaphor 'a raining cloud' (Rig-veda V, 85, 3; IX, 74, 7); he becomes then the demon in the cloud (Farg. XIX, 41). He is known in Greek mythology under the name of Κάανθος (Kuhn, Herabkunft des Feuers, p. 134).

[6] See Introd. IV, 24; cf. Farg. XVIII, 16.

[7] A demon unknown. Aspendiârji translates it by 'Destruction.'

[8] Unknown. Aspendiârji calls it 'Revenge.'

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'I drive away the Pairika[1] that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. I drive away the demon of uncleanness that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

10 (32). 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

11 (33). 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant four Ahuna-Vairyas:—

'"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

'"Whom hast thou placed to protect me?" &c.

'"Who is he who will smite the fiend?" &c.

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" &c.[2]

12 (34). 'Away is Aêshma driven; away is the Nasu driven; away is direct defilement; away is indirect defilement driven.

['Away is Khrû, away is Khrûighni driven; away is Bûidhi, away is Bûidhiza driven; away is Kundi, away is Kundiza driven.]

'Away is Bûshyãsta driven, the yellow; away is Bûshyãsta driven, the long-handed; [away is Mûidhi, away is Kapasti driven.]

'Away is the Pairika driven that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. Away is the demon of uncleanness driven that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

[1] See Introd. IV, 21.

[2] As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

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13 (40). 'Away art thou driven, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

14 (41). 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant "Mazdâ a*d* môi" four times: "O Mazda! teach me excellent words and excellent works, that through the good thought and the holiness of him who offers thee due praise, thou mayest, O Lord! make the world thrive for ever and ever, at thy will, under thy sovereign rule [1]."

15. 'I drive away Aêshma, I drive away the Nasu,' &c.[2]

16. 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.[3]

17. 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant the Airyamaishyô four times: "May the beloved Airyaman come hither!" &c.[4]

18. 'Away is Aêshma driven; away is the Nasu driven,' &c.[5]

19. 'Away art thou driven, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.[6]

20. 'Then thou shalt say these fiend-smiting and most-healing words; thou shalt chant five Ahuna-Vairyas:—

'"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

[1] Yasna XXXIV, 15.
[2] The rest as in § 9.
[3] The rest as in § 10.
[4] As in § 7.
[5] As in § 12.
[6] As in § 13.

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'"Whom hast thou placed to protect me?" &c.

'"Who is he who will smite the fiend?" &c.[1]

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!"'

Fargard XII.

This chapter is found only in the Vendîdâd Sâdah; it is missing in the Zend-Pahlavi Vendîdâd. This is owing, as it seems, only to the accidental loss of some folios in the one manuscript from which all the copies as yet known have been derived; and, in fact, even in the most ancient manuscripts the following Fargard is numbered the thirteenth (Westergaard, Zend-Avesta, preface, p. 5).

The directions in the preceding chapter are general, and do not depend on the relationship of the faithful with the deceased person; but those in this Fargard are of a special character, and apply only to the near relatives of the dead. Their object is to determine how long the time of 'staying' (upaman) should last for different relatives. What is meant by this word is not explained; but, as the word upaman is usually employed to indicate the staying of the unclean in the Armêst-gâh, apart from the faithful and from every clean object, it seems to follow that the relatives of a dead person were considered unclean from the mere fact of being related to him, and were, on this account, shut out of the frequented parts of the house. So, besides the general uncleanness arising from actual contact with a corpse, there was another form of uncleanness arising from relationship with the dead. The natural link that connects the members of one and the same family is of such a kind that no one can die without death entering all of them. Whether this is the primitive form of mourning, or only a later form of it, we will not discuss here.

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[1] See Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

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On the other hand, the house is unclean too, at least with regard to the relatives; for the time of 'staying' is followed by a purification of the house, that is not to be confounded with that described in the eighth Fargard, which takes place directly after the death and, as it appears, opens the house again only to those who were not connected with the dead man. Even nowadays, in Persia, the house where a relative has died is unlucky, and is looked upon with even more repugnance than is shown in the Avesta. The son deserts the house where his father has died; he could not live and walk in it, 'the unlucky step,' the bad qadîm is in it; 'every man's house must die with him;' therefore, he lets it fall into ruin, and builds another house farther off[1]; a custom to which there seems to be some allusion in the Pahlavi Commentary (ad I, 9).

1. If one's father or mother dies, how long shall they stay[2], the son for his father, the daughter for her mother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners[3]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

2 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter[4], O Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!'

[1] Chardin, Voyages, III, p. 7, 33 (ed. d'Amsterdam, 1711). Cf. Polack, Persien (I, p. 52). [2] See the Introd. to the Farg.

[3] How long if the dead person died in a state of holiness? How long if in the state of a Peshôtanu?

[4] All the other objects over which the Amesha-Spe*n*tas preside (such as the cow, the metals, &c.)

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3 (9). If one's son or daughter dies, how long shall they stay, the father for his son, the mother for her daughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

4 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!'

5 (17). If one's brother or sister dies, how long shall they stay, the brother for his brother, the sister for her sister? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

6 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then

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the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

7 (25). If the master of the house[1] dies, or if the mistress of the house dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They[2] shall stay six months for the righteous, a year for the sinners.'

8 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

9 (31). If one's grandfather or grandmother dies, how long shall they stay, the grandson for his grandfather, the granddaughter for her grandmother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their

[1] The chief of the family, the paterfamilias.

[2] All the familia, both relatives and servants.

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bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

11 (37). If one's grandson or granddaughter dies, how long shall they stay, the grandfather for his grandson, the grandmother for her granddaughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

12 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

13 (43). If one's uncle or aunt dies, how long shall they stay, the nephew for his uncle, the niece for her aunt? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty days for the righteous, forty days for the sinners.'

14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou

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Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!'

15 (48). If one's male cousin or female cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay fifteen days for the righteous, thirty days for the sinners.'

16 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!'

17 (53). If the son or the daughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay ten days for the righteous, twenty days for the sinners.'

18 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou

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Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!'

19 (58). If the grandson of a cousin or the granddaughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay five days for the righteous, ten days for the sinners.'

20 (60). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wash their bodies three times, they shall wash their clothes three times, they shall chant the Gâthas three times; they shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, they shall offer up the bundles of baresma, they shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!'

21 (63). If a stranger dies who does not profess the true faith, or the true law[1], what part of the

[1] The case of a stranger (no relative) who professes the true faith is not provided for here, because it has been sufficiently considered in the preceding chapters.

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creation of the good spirit does he directly defile (in dying)? What part does he indirectly defile?

22[1] (65). Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

23 (70). 'Whilst alive he smites the water; whilst alive he blows out the fire; whilst alive he carries off the cow; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body; not so will he do when dead.

24 (71). 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! that wicked, two-legged ruffian, that ungodly Ashemaogha, never ceases depriving the faithful man of his food, of his clothing, of his house, of his bed, of his vessels; not so will he do when dead.'

FARGARD XIII.

The Dog.

I (1–7). The dog of Ormazd and the dog of Ahriman.
(a. 1–4). The dog Vanghâpara ('the hedge-hog').
(b. 4–7). The dog Zairimyangura ('the tortoise').
II (8–16). Offences against the dog.
III (17–19). On the several duties of the dog.
IV (20–28). On the food due to the dog.
V (29–38). On the mad dog; how he is to be kept, and cured.
VI (39–40). On the excellence of the dog.
VII (41–43). On the wolf-dog.

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[1] §§ 22–24 are the same as Farg. V, 36–38.

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VIII (44–48). On the virtues and vices of the dog.
IX (49–50). Praise of the dog.
X (50–54). The water dog.
See Introd. IV, 35.

I a.

1. Which is the good creature among the creatures of the good spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the evil spirit?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara[1], which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka[2]; this is the good creature among the creatures of the good spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the evil spirit.

3 (6). 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, kills his own soul for nine generations, nor shall he find a way over the *K*invad bridge[3], unless he has, while alive, atoned for his sin by offering up a sacrifice to Sraosha[4].

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[1] The hedge-hog. As it struggles from midnight till the dawn, this supposes the existence of a myth, in which the rays of the sun, beginning from midnight to pierce the veil of darkness, were compared to the prickles of a heavenly hedge-hog.

[2] Duzaka is the popular name of the hedge-hog (Pers. *zuzah*). The name Vanghâpara must have referred to its mythical qualities. It is not without importance which name is given to it: 'When called by its high name, it is powerful' (Comm.); cf. § 6, and Farg. XVIII, 15. The nature of every being lies partly in its name.

[3] The bridge leading to paradise; see Farg. XIX, 30.

[4] Cf. § 54. Aspendiârji translates: 'He cannot atone for it in his life even by performing a sacrifice to Sraosha.'

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4 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

I b.

5 (13). Which is the evil creature among the creatures of the evil spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the good spirit?

6 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The daêva Zairimyangura [1], which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka [2], this is the evil creature among the creatures of the evil spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the good spirit.

7 (18). 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the daêva Zairimyangura, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka, his sins in thought, word, and deed are redeemed as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for.

II.

8 (21). 'Whosoever shall smite either a shepherd's dog, or a house dog, or a Vohunazga dog [3], or

[1] The tortoise (Asp.)

[2] 'When not so called it is less strong' (Comm.) Zairimyâka is a lucky name, as it is connected with a word (zairimya) which denotes the freshness of water and verdure; and it seems to designate the tortoise as 'the fresh-water creature' (Asp.); therefore the name is corrected into 'the injurer (?) of fresh water.'

[3] See § 19 n.

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a trained dog[1], his soul when passing to the other world, shall fly[2] amid louder howling and fiercer pursuing than the sheep does when the wolf rushes upon it in the lofty forest.

9 (24). 'No soul will come and meet his departing soul and help it through the howls and pursuit[3] in the other world; nor will the dogs that keep the *K*inva*d* bridge[4] help his departing soul through the howls and pursuit in the other world.

10 (26). 'If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away sheep from the fold, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the lost sheep, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding[5].

11 (31). 'If a man shall smite a house dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away goods from the house, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the lost goods, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding.'

12 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog, so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-*a*stra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

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[1] A hunting dog (?).
[2] 'From paradise' (Comm.)
[3] Of the Dîvs.
[4] See Introd. V, 4.
[5] Baodhô-var*s*ta; see Farg. VII, 38 n.

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13 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a house dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Vohunazga dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

15 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a young dog[1] so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (48). 'This is the penalty for the murder of a *Gazu* dog, of a Vîzu dog[2], of a Sukuruna dog[3], of a sharp-toothed Urupi dog[4], of a swift-running Raopi[5] dog; this is the penalty for the murder of any kind of dog but the water dog[6].'

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[1] A dog not older than four months.

[2] Unknown. Cf. V, 31, 32.

[3] A lynx. Cf. V, 31.

[4] A weazel. Cf. V, 33.

[5] A fox. The fox belongs to the good creation, as he fights against the demon Khava (Bund. XIX; cf. Orm. Ahr. § 228).

[6] The beaver. 'For the penalty in that case is most heavy' (Comm.) Cf. § 52 seq. and Farg. XIV.

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III.

17 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the dog that must be called a shepherd's dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the dog who goes a Yugyêsti [1] round about the fold, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

18 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the dog that must be called a house dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the dog who goes a Hâthra round about the house, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

19 (53). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the dog that must be called a Vohunazga dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the dog who claims none of those talents, and only seeks for his subsistence [2].'

IV.

20 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a shepherd's dog, of what sin is he guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of the first rank [3].'

[1] A measure unknown; it seems to have been the average distance of fourteen houses (see the gloss ad § 17 in the Introd. V, 4, Farg. XV, 45, and Bund. p. 31, 7).

[2] 'He cannot do the same as the shepherd's dog and the house dog do, but he catches Khrafstras and smites the Nasu' (Comm.) It is 'the dog without a master' (gharîb), the vagrant dog; he is held in great esteem (§ 22) and is one of the dogs who can be used for the Sag-dîd (Introd. V, 4).

[3] Invited as a guest.

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21 (57). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a house dog, of what sin is he guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of middle rank.'

22 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, of what sin is he guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a holy man, in the character of a priest[1], who should come to his house.'

23 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a young dog, of what sin is he guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a young man, born of pious parents, and who can answer for himself[2].'

24 (63). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a shepherd's dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[3].'

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[1] The Vohunazga dog has no domicile, therefore he is not compared with the master of a house; as he smites the Nasu, he is like a holy man, of the wandering class, a sort of begging friar.

[2] Probably, 'Who has performed the nû-zûd, fifteen years old.' The young dog enters the community of the faithful at the age of four months, when he can smite the Nasu.

[3] 'I also saw the soul of a man, whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not;

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25 (66). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a house dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 (69). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a young dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

28 (75). 'For it is the dog, of all the creatures of the good spirit, that most quickly decays into age, while not eating near eating people, and watching goods none of which it receives. Bring ye unto him milk and fat with meat; this is the right food for the dog[1].'

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but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly, and thighs of the man. And I asked thus: What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment? Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel said thus: This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the food of the dogs of shepherds and householders; or beat and killed them' (Ardai Vîrâf XLVIII, translated by Haug).

[1] 'Whenever one eats bread one must put aside three mouthfuls and give them to the dog . . . for among all the poor there is none poorer than the dog' (Saddar 31; Hyde 35).

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V.

29 (80). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog, or one that bites without barking, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

30 (82). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie him to a post, an asti[1] thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that post they shall tie him; by the two sides[2] of the collar they shall tie him.

31 (86). 'If they shall not do so, and the mad dog, or the dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, the dog shall pay for it as for wilful murder[3].

32 (88). 'If the dog shall smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his right ear. If he shall smite another sheep or wound another man, they shall cut off his left ear.

33 (90). 'If he shall smite a third sheep or wound a third man, they shall cut off his right foot[4]. If he shall smite a fourth sheep or wound a fourth man, they shall cut off his left foot.

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[1] A measure of unknown amount. Aspendiârji reads isti, 'a brick' thick.

[2] By the forepart and the back part of it.

[3] As there is no essential difference between man and beast, the beast must answer for its guilt. According to Solon's law, the dog who has bitten any one must be delivered to him tied up to a block four cubits long (Plutarchus, Solon 24); the horse who has killed a man is put to death (Eusebius, Prep. Evang. 5).

[4] 'They only cut off a piece of flesh from the foot' (Brouillons d'Anquetil).

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34 (92). 'If he shall for the fifth time smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his tail.

'Therefore they shall tie him to the post; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie him. If they shall not do so, and the mad dog, or the dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, he shall pay for it as for wilful murder.'

35 (97). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a scentless dog, or a mad dog, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall attend him to heal him, in the same manner as they would do for one of the faithful.'

36 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they try to heal him and fail, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

37 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie him to a post, an a*s*ti thick if the wood be hard, two a*s*tis thick if it be soft. To that post they shall tie him; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie him.

38 (102). 'If they shall not do so, and the scentless dog fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, and he be wounded and die thereof, they shall be Peshôtanus.

VI.

39 (106). 'The dog, O Spitama Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, have made self-clothed and self-shod, watchful, wakeful, and sharp-toothed, born to take his food from man and to watch over man's goods. I, Ahura Mazda, have made the dog strong of body

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against the evil-doer, and watchful over your goods, when he is of sound mind.

40 (112). 'And whosoever shall awake at his voice, neither shall the thief nor the wolf steal anything from his house, without his being warned; the wolf shall be smitten and torn to pieces; he is driven away, he flees away.'

VII.

41 (115). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which of the two wolves deserves more to be killed, the one that is born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf, or the one that is born of a she-dog and of a he-wolf?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Of these two wolves, the one that is born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf deserves more to be killed than the one that is born of a she-dog and of a he-wolf.

42 (117). 'For there are born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf such dogs as fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such dogs are born as are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other dogs.

43 (121). 'And there are born of a he-dog and of a she-wolf such wolves as fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such wolves are born as are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other wolves.

VIII.

44 (124). 'A dog has the characters of eight different sorts of people:—

'He has the character of a priest,

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'He has the character of a warrior,
'He has the character of a husbandman,
'He has the character of a strolling singer,
'He has the character of a thief,
'He has the character of a wild beast,
'He has the character of a courtezan,
'He has the character of a child.

45 (126). 'He eats broken food, like a priest[1]; he is grateful, like a priest; he is easily satisfied[2], like a priest; he wants only a small piece of bread, like a priest; in these things he is like unto a priest.

'He marches in front, like a warrior; he fights for the beneficent cow, like a warrior[3]; he goes first out of the house, like a warrior[4]; in these things he is like unto a warrior.

46 (135). 'He is watchful and sleeps lightly, like a husbandman; he goes first out of the house, like a husbandman[5]; he returns last into the house, like a husbandman[6]; in these things he is like unto a husbandman.

'He sings like a strolling singer; he is intrusive[7], like a strolling singer; he is meagre, like a strolling singer; he is poor, like a strolling singer; in these things he is like unto a strolling singer.

47 (143). 'He likes darkness, like a thief; he prowls about in darkness, like a thief; he is a shame-

[1] A wandering priest (see p. 157, n. 1).
[2] Doubtful.
[3] 'He keeps away the wolf and the thief' (Comm.)
[4] This clause is, as it seems, repeated here by mistake from § 46.
[5] When taking the cattle out of the stables.
[6] When bringing the cattle back to the stables.
[7] Doubtful.

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less eater, like a thief; he is an unfaithful keeper, like a thief[1]; in these things he is like unto a thief.

'He likes darkness, like a wild beast[2]; he prowls about in darkness, like a wild beast; he is a shameless eater, like a wild beast; he is an unfaithful keeper, like a wild beast; in these things he is like unto a wild beast.

48 (153). 'He sings, like a courtezan; he is intrusive, like a courtezan; he walks about the roads, like a courtezan; he is meagre, like a courtezan; he is poor, like a courtezan; in these things he is like unto a courtezan.

'He likes sleeping, like a child; he is apt to run away[3], like a child; he is full of tongue, like a child; he goes on all fours[4], like a child; in these things he is like unto a child.

IX.

49 (163). 'If those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house dog, pass by the house of any of my faithful people, let them never be kept away from it.

'For no house could subsist on the earth made by Ahura, but for those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house dog[5].'

X.

50 (166). O Maker of the material world, thou

[1] 'When one trusts him with something, he eats it' (Comm.)

[2] According to Asp.

[3] He is fearful. [4] Doubtful.

[5] 'But for the dog not a single head of cattle would remain in existence' (Saddar 31; Hyde 35).

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Holy One! When a dog dies, with marrow and seed[1] dried up, whereto does his ghost go?

51 (167). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It passes to the spring of the waters[2], O Spitama Zarathustra! and there out of every thousand dogs and every thousand she-dogs, two water dogs are formed, a water dog and a water she-dog[3].

52 (170). 'He who kills a water dog brings about a drought that dries up pastures. Before that time, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

53 (171). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

54, 55 (172). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until the murderer of the water dog has been smitten to death and the holy soul of the dog has been offered up a sacrifice, for three days

[1] Marrow is the seat of life, the spine is 'the column and the spring of life' (Yt. X, 71); the sperm comes from it (Bundahis XVI). The same theory prevailed in India, where the sperm is called mag*g*â-samudbhava, 'what is born from marrow;' it was followed by Plato (Timaeus 74, 91; cf. Plut. De Plac. Philos. V, 3, 4), and disproved by Aristotle (De Part. Anim. III, 7).

[2] To the spring of Ardvî Sûra, the goddess of waters.

[3] There is therefore in a single water dog as much life and holiness as in a thousand dogs. This accounts for the following.

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and three nights with fire blazing, with baresma tied up, and with Haoma uplifted [1].

56 (174). ['Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass [2].']

FARGARD XIV.

This Fargard is nothing more than an appendix to the last clauses in the preceding Fargard (§ 50 seq.) How the murder of a water dog may be atoned for is described in it at full length. As the water dog is the holiest of all dogs [3], and, as it were, a link between the dog and God, the process of atonement must be one of an extraordinary character. It is this chapter, more than any other, which may make it doubtful whether the legislation of the Vendîdâd has ever existed as real and living law. See, however, Introduction V, 20.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who smites one of those water dogs that are born one from a thousand dogs and a thousand she-dogs [4], so that he gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall pay ten thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana [5].

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[1] The zanda ravân, the same sacrifice as is offered up for three days and three nights after the death of a man for the salvation of his soul. Cf. p. 132, n. 4.

[2] Cf. Farg. IX, 53–57.

[3] See preceding page; cf. Introd. IV, 35, and Orm. Ahr. § 230.

[4] See preceding Fargard, § 51.

[5] He shall pay 50 tanâfûhrs (=15000 istîrs=60000 dirhems;

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'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda[1] ten thousand loads of hard, well dried, well examined[2] wood, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

3 (6). 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda ten thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, Hadhânaêpata[3], or any sweet-scented plant, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

4 (7). 'He shall godly and piously tie and consecrate ten thousand bundles of baresma; he shall offer up to the good waters ten thousand Zaothra libations with the Haoma and the sacred meat[4], cleanly prepared and well strained, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man[5], as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

5 (9). 'He shall kill ten thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly; he shall kill ten thousand

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see Introd. V, 21). 'If he can afford it, he will atone in the manner stated in the Avesta; if he cannot afford it, it will be sufficient to perform a complete Izasnê (sacrifice),' (Comm.)

[1] To the altar of the Bahrâm fire.

[2] 'It is forbidden to take any ill-smelling thing to the fire and to kindle it on it; it is forbidden to kindle green wood, and even though the wood were hard and dry, one must examine it three times, lest there may be any hair or any unclean matter upon it' (Gr. Rav.) Although the pious Arḍâ Vîrâf had always taken the utmost care never to put on the fire any wood but such as was seven years old, yet, when he entered paradise, Atar, the genius of fire, shewed him reproachfully a large tank full of the water which that wood had exuded (see Arḍâ Vîrâf X).

[3] See above, p. 94, n. 1.

[4] Possibly, milk.

[5] A Mobed called sardâr, 'chief,' who prepares, cleanses, and disposes everything for the performance of the Yasna (Comm. and Anquetil, Brouillons ad Farg. XVIII, 72).

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snakes of those that have the shape of a dog[1]; he shall kill ten thousand tortoises; he shall kill ten thousand land frogs[2]; he shall kill ten thousand water frogs; he shall kill ten thousand corn-carrying ants[3]; he shall kill ten thousand ants of those that bite and dig holes and work mischief[4].

6 (16). 'He shall kill ten thousand earth worms; he shall kill ten thousand horrid flies[5].

'He shall fill up ten thousand holes for the unclean[6].

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[1] 'Mâr bânak snakes: they are dog-like, because they sit on their hindparts' (Comm.) The cat seems to be the animal intended by this name. In a paraphrase of this passage in a Parsi Ravâet, the cat is numbered amongst the Khrafstras which it is enjoined to kill to redeem a sin (India Office Library, VIII, 13); cf. G. du Chinon, p. 462: 'Les animaux que les Gaures ont en horreur sont les serpents, les couleuvres, les lezars, et autres de cette espece, les crapaux, les grenouïlles, les écrevisses, les rats et souris, et sur tout le chat.'

[2] 'Those that can go out of water and live on the dry ground' (Comm.) 'Pour les grenouïlles et crapaux, ils disent que ce sont ceux (eux?) qui sont cause de ce que les hommes meurent, gâtans les eaus où ils habitent continuellement, et que d'autant plus qu'il y en a dans le païs, d'autant plus les eaus causent-elles des maladies et enfin la mort,' G. du Chinon, p. 465.

[3] 'Un jour que j'étois surpris de la guerre qu'ils font aux fourmis, ils me dirent que ces animaux ne faisaient que voler par des amas des grains plus qu'il n'étoit nécessaire pour leur nourriture,' G. du Chinon, p. 464. Firdusi protested against the proscription: 'Do no harm to the corn-carrying ant; a living thing it is, and its life is dear to it.' The celebrated high-priest of the Parsis, the late Moola Firooz, entered those lines into his Pand Nâmah, which may betoken better days for this wise and careful creature.

[4] Doubtful. The Commentary has, 'that is, dârak ants (wood ants; termites?).'

[5] Corpse flies.

[6] 'The holes at which the unclean are washed' (Comm.; cf. Farg. IX, 6 seq.)

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'He shall godly and piously give to godly men twice seven sets of implements for the fire, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog), namely:

7 (20). 'Two (loads of the) proper materials for fire[1]; a broom[2]; a pair of tongs; a pair of round bellows[3] extended at the bottom, contracted at the top; an adze with a sharp edge and a sharp-pointed handle[4], a saw with sharp teeth and a sharp-pointed handle, by means of which the worshippers of Mazda procure wood for the fire of Ahura Mazda.

8 (26). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of the priestly instruments of which the priests make use, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog), namely: The Astra[5], the meat-vessel[6], the Paitidâna[7], the Khrafstraghna[8], the

[1] Doubtful: the intended materials would be two loads of wood, and two loads of incense to burn upon the wood (Asp.)

[2] To cleanse the Atash-dân or fire-vessel (Yasna IX, 1).

[3] Or, a fan.

[4] Asp.; literally, 'sharp-kneed.'

[5] The Aspahê-astra; see Introd. V, 19.

[6] Possibly, the milk-vessel.

[7] As everything that goes out of man is unclean, his breath defiles all that it touches; priests, therefore, while on duty, and even laymen, while praying or eating, must wear a mouth-veil, the Paitidâna (Parsi Penôm), consisting 'of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to, at least, two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head' (Haug, Essays, 2nd ed. p. 243, n. 1; cf. Comm. ad Farg. XVIII, 1, and Anquetil II, 530). This principle appears not to have been peculiar to the Zoroastrian Aryans, for the Slavonian priest in Arkona was enjoined to go out of the temple, whenever he wanted to draw breath, 'lest the presence of the god should be defiled by contact with mortal breath' (ne dei presentia mortalis spiritus contagio pollueretur, Saxo Grammaticus, ap. Klek, Einleitung in die Slavische Literatur, p. 105). Cf. Introd. V, 8.

[8] The 'Khrafstra-killer;' an instrument for killing snakes, &c.

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Sraoshô-*k*arana [1], the cup for the Myazda [2], the cups for the juice [3], the mortar made according to the rules, the Haoma cups [4], and the baresma.

9 (32). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the war implements of which the warriors make use [5], as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog); the first being a javelin [6], the second a knife [7], the third a club, the fourth a bow [8], the fifth a quiver [9] with shoulder-belt and thirty brass-headed arrows [10], the sixth a sling with arm-string and with thirty sling stones, the seventh a cuirass [11], the eighth a hauberk [12], the ninth a tunic [13], the tenth a helmet, the eleventh a girdle, the twelfth a pair of greaves [14].

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[1] See Introd. V, 19.

[2] Doubtful.

[3] The cup in which the juice of the hom and of the urvarân (the twigs of hadhâ-naêpata which are pounded together with the hom) is received from the mortar (Comm.)

[4] The cup on which twigs of Haoma are laid before being pounded, the so-called tashtah (Anquetil II, 533); 'some say, the hom-strainer' [a saucer with nine holes], Comm.

[5] The armament detailed in the text agrees partly with that of the Persians and Medians described by Herodotos (VII, 61, 62). It would be desirable for archæologists to ascertain to what time and, if possible, to what province this description refers, as such information might throw some light upon the age of this part of the Avesta at least.

[6] *Αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον.*

[7] *Ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης.*

[8] *Τόξα δὲ μεγάλα.*

[9] Doubtful. *Ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο.*

[10] *Ὀϊστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους.*

[11] *Λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος.*

[12] 'Going from the helm to the cuirass' (Comm.)

[13] 'Under the cuirass' (Comm.); *περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους.*

[14] *Περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας.*

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10 (41). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the implements of which the husbandmen make use, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog), namely: A plough with share and yoke[1], an ox whip[2], a mortar of stone, a hand-mill for grinding corn,

11 (48). 'A spade for digging and tilling; one measure of silver and one measure of gold.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How much silver?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a stallion.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How much gold?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a camel.

12 (54). 'He shall godly and piously procure a rill of running water for godly husbandmen, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the rill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The depth of a dog, and the breadth of a dog[3].

13 (57). 'He shall godly and piously give a piece of arable land to godly men, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the piece of land?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much as can be watered with such a rill on both sides[4].

14 (60). 'He shall godly and piously procure for godly men a house with ox-stalls, with nine

[1] Doubtful. [2] Doubtful.

[3] Which is estimated 'a foot deep, a foot broad' (Comm.)

[4] Doubtful.

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hâthras and nine nematas[1], as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog)[2].'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the house?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Twelve Vîtâras[3] in the largest part of the house, nine Vîtâras in the middle part, six Vîtâras in the smallest part.

'He shall godly and piously give to godly men goodly beds with cushions, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

15 (64). 'He shall godly and piously give to a godly man a virgin maid, whom no man has known, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What maid?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A sister or a daughter of his, at the age of puberty, with ear-rings in her ears, and past her fifteenth year.

16 (67). 'He shall godly and piously give to holy men twice seven head of small cattle, as an atonement unto the soul (of the water dog).

'He shall bring up twice seven whelps.

'He shall throw twice seven bridges over canals.

17 (70). 'He shall put into repair twice nine stables that are out of repair.

'He shall cleanse twice nine dogs from skin humours, hair wax, vermin[4], and all the diseases that are produced on the body of a dog.

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[1] Meaning unknown.

[2] He shall build a caravansary, which is considered a pious work (Mainyô-i-khard IV, 6; XXXVII, 36).

[3] A word of unknown meaning; probably a measure, but possibly 'a passage or alley.'

[4] Those three words are doubtful.

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'He shall treat twice nine godly men to their fill of meat, bread, strong drink, and wine.

18 (73). 'This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall undergo to atone for the deed that he has done.

'If he shall undergo it, he shall enter the world of the holy ones: if he shall not undergo it, he shall fall down into the world of the wicked, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness[1].'

FARGARD XV.

I (1–8). On five sins the commission of which makes the sinner a Peshôtanu.

II (9–19). On unlawful unions and attempts to procure miscarriage.

III (20–45). On the treatment of a bitch big with young.

IV (46–51). On the breeding of dogs.

I.

1. How many are the sins that men commit and that, being committed and not confessed, nor atoned for, make their committer a Peshôtanu[2]?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are five such sins, O holy Zarathustra! It is the first of these sins that men commit when a man teaches one of the faithful a foreign, wrong creed[3], a foreign, wrong law, and he does so with a full knowledge and conscience of the sin: this is a sin that makes him a Peshôtanu.

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[1] Cf. Farg. V, 62.

[2] See Introd. V, 19.

[3] Literally, 'another wrong creed;' the Commentary has, 'that is, a creed that is not ours.' See Introd. III, 10.

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3 (9). 'It is the second of these sins that men commit when a man gives too hard bones or too hot food to a shepherd's dog or to a house dog;

4 (11). 'If the bones stick in the dog's teeth or stop in his throat, or if the hot food burn his mouth or his tongue, so that mischief follows therefrom, and the dog dies, this is a sin that makes the man a Peshôtanu [1].

5 (16). 'It is the third of these sins that men commit when a man smites a bitch big with young or affrights her by running after her, with shouting or with clapping of hands [2];

6 (18). 'If the bitch fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, so that mischief follows therefrom, and she dies, this is a sin that makes the man a Peshôtanu [3].

7 (22). 'It is the fourth of these sins that men commit when a man has intercourse with a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period: this is a sin that makes him a Peshôtanu [4].

8 (25). 'It is the fifth of these sins that men commit when a man has intercourse with a woman quick with child [5], whether the milk has already

[1] He who gives too hot food to a dog so as to burn his throat is margarzân (guilty of death); he who gives bones to a dog so as to tear his throat is margarzân (Gr. Rav. 639).

[2] Or, 'with stamping on the ground' (? Saddar 31).

[3] If a bitch is big with young and a man shouts or throws stones at her, so that the whelps come to mischief and die, he is margarzân (Gr. Rav. 639).

[4] See Farg. XVI, 14 seq.

[5] When she has been pregnant for four months and ten days, as it is then that the child is formed and a soul is added to its body (Anquetil II, 563).

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come to her breasts or has not yet come: if mischief follow therefrom, and she die, this is a sin that makes the man a Peshôtanu [1].

II.

9 (30). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered [2], and she conceives by him, let her not, from dread of the people, produce in herself the menses, against the course of nature, by means of water and plants [3].

10 (34). 'And if the damsel, from dread of the people, shall produce in herself the menses against the course of nature, by means of water and plants, there is a sin upon her head [4].

11 (36). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, let her not,

[1] Or better, 'if the child die.' 'If a man come to his wife [during her pregnancy] so that she is injured and bring forth a still-born child, he is margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

[2] 'Whether she has a husband in the house of her own parents or has none; whether she has entered from the house of her own parents into the house of a husband [depending on another chief of family] or has not' (Comm.)

[3] By means of drugs.

[4] 'It is a tanâfûhr sin for her: it is sin on sin' (the first sin being to have allowed herself to be seduced), Comm. 'If there has been no sin in her (if she has been forced), and if a man, knowing her shame, wants to take it off her, he shall call together her father, mother, sisters, brothers, husband, the servants, the menials, and the master and the mistress of the house, and he shall say, "This woman is with child by me, and I rejoice in it;" and they shall answer, "We know it, and we are glad that her shame is taken off her;" and he shall support her as a husband does' (Comm.)

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from dread of the people, destroy the fruit in her womb.

12 (38). 'And if the damsel, from dread of the people, shall destroy the fruit in her womb, the sin is on both the father and herself, the murder is on both the father and herself; both the father and herself shall pay the penalty for wilful murder[1].

13 (40). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, and she says, "I have conceived by thee;" and he replies, "Go then to the old woman[2] and apply to her that she may procure thee miscarriage;"

14 (43). 'And the damsel goes to the old woman and applies to her that she may procure her miscarriage; and the old woman brings her some Banga, or Shaêta, or Ghnâna, or Fraspâta[3], or some other of the drugs that produce miscarriage and [the man says], "Cause thy fruit to perish!" and she causes her fruit to perish; the sin is on the head of all three, the man, the damsel, and the old woman.

III.

15 (49). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not

[1] For baodhô-varsta; see above, p. 84, § 38, and n. 1.

[2] The nurse (Asp.)

[3] Banga is bang or mang, a narcotic made from hempseed; shaêta means literally gold, and must have been some yellow plant or liquor; ghnâna is 'that which kills [the fruit in the womb];' fraspâta is 'that which expels [the fruit] so that it perishes' (Comm.)

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delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child is born.

16 (51). 'If he shall not support her, so that the child comes to mischief[1], for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

17 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If she be near her time and be lying on the high road, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

18 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered unto a husband or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child is born[2].

19 (58). 'If he shall not support her[3] . . . .

'It lies with the faithful to look in the same way after every pregnant female, either two-footed or four-footed, either woman or bitch.'

20 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If (a bitch[4]) be near her time and be lying on the high road, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

21 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He whose house stands nearest, the care of supporting her is

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[1] And dies. [2] § 18 = § 15.

[3] The sentence is left unfinished: Aspendiârji fills it with the words in § 16, 'so that the child,' &c. It seems as if §§ 17, 18 were no part of the original text, and as if § 17 were a mere repetition of § 20, which being wrongly interpreted as referring to a woman would have brought about the repetition of § 15 as an answer. See § 20.

[4] The subject is wanting in the text: it is supplied from the Commentary as the sense requires it.

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his[1]; so long shall he support her until the whelps are born.

22 (65). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

23 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a camel-stall, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

24 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the camel-stall or who holds it[2], the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

25 (76). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

26 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a horse-stall, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

27 (78). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the horse-stall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

28 (81). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

29 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou

[1] 'The bitch is lying on the high road: the man whose house has its door nearest shall take care of her. If she dies, he shall carry her off [to dispose of the body according to the law]. One must support her for at least three nights: if one cannot support her any longer, one intrusts her to a richer man' (Comm. and Asp.)

[2] 'In pledge or for rent' (Asp.; cf. Comm. ad § 42).

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Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in an ox-stall, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

30 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the ox-stall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

31 (89). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

32 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a sheep-fold, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

33 (94). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the sheep-fold or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

34 (97). 'If he shall not support her so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

35 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying on the earth-wall[1], which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

36 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who erected the wall or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

37 (105). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

[1] The wall around the house.

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38 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the moat[1], which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

39 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who dug the moat or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps are born.

40 (112). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to mischief, for want of proper support, he shall pay the penalty for wilful murder.'

41 (113). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the middle of a pasture-field, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

42 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who sowed the pasture-field or who holds it, the care of supporting her is his.

43 (117). 'He shall with kind charity[2] take her to rest upon a litter of any foliage fit for a litter; so long shall he support her, until the young dogs are capable of self-defence and self-subsistence.'

44 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are the dogs capable of self-defence and self-subsistence?

45 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When they are able to run about in a circuit of twice seven houses around[3]. Then they may be let loose, whether it be winter or summer.

'Young dogs ought to be supported for six months, children for seven years.

[1] The moat before the earth-wall.

[2] Doubtful.

[3] Probably the distance of one yugyêsti; cf. Farg. XIII, 17.

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'Âtar[1], the son of Ahura Mazda, watches as well (over a pregnant bitch) as he does over a woman.'

IV.

46 (127). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to have a bitch so covered that the offspring shall be one of a strong nature, what shall they do?

47 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall dig a hole in the earth, in the middle of the fold, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if the earth be soft.

48 (131). 'They shall first tie up the bitch there, far from children and from the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda[2], and they shall watch by her until a dog comes there from anywhere. They shall afterwards let another dog come near her, and then a third besides[3], each being kept apart from the former, lest they should assail one another.

49 (134)[4]. 'The bitch being thus covered by three dogs, grows big with young, and the milk comes to her teats and she brings forth a young one that is born from (three) dogs.'

50 (135). He who smites a bitch who has been covered by three dogs, and who has already milk, and who shall bring forth a young one born from (three) dogs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

[1] The fire: when a woman is in labour, one lights up a great fire in order to protect her and her child from the fiends (Introd. V, 13).

[2] 'From children, lest she shall bite them; from the fire, lest it shall hurt her' (Comm.)

[3] Cf. Justinus III, 4: maturiorem futuram conceptionem rati, si eam singulae per plures viros experirentur.

[4] The text of this and the following clause is corrupt, and the meaning doubtful.

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51 (137). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD XVI.

I (1–11). On the uncleanness of women during their sickness.
II (11–12). How it can be removed.
III (13–18). Sundry laws relating to the same matter. See Introd. V, 12.

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall clear the way[1] of the wood there, both in growing trees and in logs[2]; they shall strew dry dust on the ground[3]; and they shall erect a building there[4], higher than the house by a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth part, lest her look should fall upon the fire[5].'

3 (9). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen paces from the fire, fifteen paces from the water, fifteen

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[1] The way to the Dashtânistân (see Introd. V, 12).

[2] Lest the wood shall be touched and defiled by the woman on her way to the Dashtânistân.

[3] Lest the earth shall be touched and defiled by her. Cf. Farg. IX, 11, and Introd. V, 10.

[4] The Dashtânistân.

[5] See Introd. V, 12.

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paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma, three paces from the faithful.'

5 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period?

6 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three paces[1] from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period.'

In what kind of vessels shall he bring the food? In what kind of vessels shall he bring the bread?

'In vessels of brass, or of lead, or of any common metal[2].'

7 (15). How much food shall he bring to her? How much bread shall he bring?

'(Only) two danares[3] of long bread, and one danare of milk pap, lest she should gather strength[4].

'If a child has just touched her, they shall first wash his hands and then his body[5].

8 (21). 'If she still see blood after three nights

[1] The food is held out to her from a distance in a metal spoon.

[2] Earthen vessels, when defiled, cannot be made clean; but metal vessels can (see Farg. VII, 73 seq.)

[3] A danare is, according to Anquetil, as much as four tolas; a tola is from 105 to 175 grains.

[4] 'Sôshyôs says: For three nights cooked meat is not allowed to her, lest the issue shall grow stronger.' As the fiend is in her, any strength she may gain accrues to Ahriman.

[5] A child whom she suckles. The meaning is, Even a child, if he has touched her, must undergo the rites of cleansing. The general rule is given in the Commentary: 'Whoever has touched a Dashtân woman must wash his body and his clothes with gômêz and water.' The ceremony in question is the simple Ghosel, not the Barashnûm, since the woman herself performs the former only (vide infra, § 11 seq.; cf. Introd. V, 16).

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have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until four nights have passed.

'If she still see blood after four nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until five nights have passed.

9. 'If she still see blood after five nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until six nights have passed.

'If she still see blood after six nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until seven nights have passed.

10. 'If she still see blood after seven nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until eight nights have passed.

'If she still see blood after eight nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until nine nights have passed.

11. 'If she still see blood after nine nights have passed, this is a work of the Daêvas which they have performed for the worship and glorification of the Daêvas [1].

II.

'The worshippers of Mazda shall clear the way [2] of the wood there, both in growing trees and in logs;

12 (26). 'They shall dig three holes in the earth, and they shall wash the woman with gômêz by two of those holes and with water by the third.

'They shall kill Khrafstras, to wit: two hundred corn-carrying ants, if it be summer; two hundred of

[1] See Introd. V, 12.

[2] The way to the Barashnûm-gâh, where the cleansing takes place.

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any other sort of the Khrafstras made by Angra Mainyu, if it be winter[1].'

III.

13 (30). If a worshipper of Mazda shall suppress the issue of a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (33). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall again and again wilfully touch the body of a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, so that the ordinary issue turns to the dye of the unusual one, or the unusual issue to the dye of the ordinary one, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

15 (36). Ahura Mazda answered: 'For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; for the second time he comes near unto her, for the second time he lies by her, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana; for the third time he comes near unto her, for the third time he lies by her, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16. For the fourth time he comes near unto her, for the fourth time he lies by her, if he shall press the body under her clothes, if he shall press the

[1] See Introd. IV, 35.

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unclean thigh, but without sexual intercourse, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

17 (39). 'Whosoever shall lie in sexual intercourse with a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, does no better deed than if he should burn the corpse of his own son, born of his own body and dead of naêza[1], and drop its fat into the fire[2].

18 (41). 'All such sinners, embodiments of the Drug, are scorners of the law: all scorners of the law are rebels against the Lord: all rebels against the Lord are ungodly men; and any ungodly man shall pay for it with his life[3].'

FARGARD XVII.

Hair and Nails.

Anything that has been separated from the body of man is considered dead matter (Introd. V, 12), and is accordingly supposed to fall into the possession of the demon and to become the abode of death and uncleanness. Therefore, hair and nails, as soon as cut off, are at once the property of Ahriman, and the demon has to be driven away from them by spells, in the same way as he is from the bodies of the dead. They are withdrawn from his power by

[1] A disease (Farg. VII, 58). There is another word naêza, 'a spear,' so that one may translate also 'killed by the spear' (Asp.)

[2] 'Not that the two deeds are equal, but neither is good' (Comm.) The sin in question is a simple tanâfûhr (Farg. XV, 7), and therefore can be atoned for by punishment and repentance, whereas the burning of a corpse is a crime for which there is no atonement (Farg. I, 17; VIII, 73 seq.; Introd. V, 8).

[3] Literally, 'is a Peshôtanu;' 'he is a tanâfûhr sinner, that is to say, margarzân (worthy of death),' Comm.

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the recital of certain prayers, and by being deposited in the earth inside consecrated circles, which are drawn around them as an intrenchment against the fiend (see above, p. 122, n. 1).

This chapter, which has given full scope to the ironical humour of many, is an invaluable document in the eyes of the mythologist, as he finds in it, if not the origin and explanation, at least the oldest record of world-wide superstitions. Not only in Bombay, but all over the world, people are found who believe that hair and nails are weapons in the hands of the evil one. The Esthonians, on the shores of the Baltic, take the utmost care not to drop the parings of their nails on the ground, lest the devil should pick them up, to make a visor to his cap, which will give him full power to injure men, unless the sign of the cross has been made over them[1]. The Gauchos in the Chilian pampas fear to throw their hair to the winds, but deposit it in holes dug in a wall[2]. In Liége good people are advised not to throw away their hair, nor to leave it in the teeth of the comb, lest a witch take hold of it and cast a spell over them[3].

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the most deadly deed whereby a man increases most the baleful strength of the Daêvas, as he would do by offering them a sacrifice?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man here below combing his hair or shaving it off, or paring off his nails drops them[4] in a hole or in a crack[5].

[1] Cf. infra, 'Thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya,' &c., §§ 6, 8, 9.

[2] Cf. infra, §§ 5, 7.

[3] Mélusine, Recueil de Mythologie populaire, publié par H. Gaidoz et E. Rolland, Paris, 1878; pp. 79, 549, 583. To the same train of ideas seems to belong the Eddic myth of Naglfar, the fatal ship wrought out of the nails of the dead, which is to take the crew of the demon to the shore of the earth when the last day of the world is come (Gylfaginning, 51).

[4] Without performing the requisite ceremonies.

[5] Doubtful.

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3 (6). 'Then for want of the lawful rites being observed, Daêvas are produced in the earth; for want of the lawful rites being observed, those Khrafstras are produced in the earth which men call lice, and which eat up the corn in the corn-field and the clothes in the wardrobe.

4 (10). 'Therefore, O Zarathustra! whenever here below thou shalt comb thy hair or shave it off, or pare off thy nails, thou shalt take them away ten paces from the faithful, twenty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, fifty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma.

5 (13). 'Then thou shalt dig a hole, a disti[1] deep if the earth be hard, a vîtasti deep if it be soft; thou shalt take the hair down there and thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting words: "Out of him by his piety Mazda made the plants grow up[2]."

6 (17). 'Thereupon thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shall chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

II.

7 (19). 'For the nails, thou shalt dig a hole, out

[1] A disti=ten fingers. A vîtasti=twelve fingers.

[2] See above, XI, 6; the choice of this line was determined by the presence of the word plants in it: man was considered a microcosm, and every element in him was supposed to come from a similar element in nature, to which it was to return after death, and whence it was to come back again at the time of the resurrection: his bones from the earth, his blood from the water, his hair from the trees, his life from the fire (Bundahis XXXI, Ulamâi Islâm); an old Aryan theory, traces of which are also to be found in India (Rig-veda X, 16, 3), in Greece (Ilias VII, 99; Empedocles, fr. 378; cf. Epicharmus ap. Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. 15), and in Scandinavia (Edda, Grimnismal 40).

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of the house, as deep as the top joint of the little finger; thou shalt take the nails down there and thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting words: "The words that are heard from the pious in holiness and good thought[1]."

8 (24). 'Then thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

9 (26). 'And then: "Look here, O Ashô-zusta bird[2]! here are the nails for thee: look at the nails here! May they be for thee so many spears, knives, bows, falcon-winged arrows, and sling-stones against the Mâzainya Daêvas[3]!"

10 (29). 'If those nails have not been dedicated (to the bird), they shall be in the hands of the Mâzainya Daêvas so many spears, knives, bows, falcon-winged arrows, and sling stones (against the Mâzainya Daêvas)[4].

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[1] Yasna XXXIII, 7. There is here only a play upon the word sruyê, 'is heard,' which chances to be homonymous with the dual of srva, 'nails of both hands.'

[2] 'The owl,' according to modern tradition. The word literally means 'friend of holiness.' 'For the bird Ashôzusta they recite the Avesta formula; if they recite it, the fiends tremble and do not take up the nails; but if the nails have had no spell uttered over them, the fiends and wizards use them as arrows against the bird Ashôzusta and kill him. Therefore, when the nails have had a spell uttered over them, the bird takes and eats them up, that the fiends may not do any harm by their means' (Bundahis XIX).

[3] See above, p. 137, n. 1. The nails are cut in two and the fragments are put in the hole with the point directed towards the north, that is to say, against the breasts of the Dêvs (see above, p. 75, n. 2). See Anquetil, Zend-Avesta II, 117; India Office Library, VIII, 80.

[4] Repeated by mistake from § 10.

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11 (30). 'All such sinners, embodiments of the Drug, are scorners of the law: all scorners of the law are rebels against the Lord: all rebels against the Lord are ungodly men; and any ungodly man shall pay for it with his life[1].'

FARGARD XVIII.

I (1–13). On the unworthy priest and enticers to heresy.
II (14–29). The holiness of the cock.
III (30–60). The four paramours of the Drug.
IV (61–71). On unlawful lusts.
The text and the Pahlavi commentary of this Fargard are translated in Haug's Essays, pp. 243 seq., 364 seq.

I.

1. 'There is many a one, O holy Zarathustra!' said Ahura Mazda, 'who wears a Paitidâna[2], but who has not girded his loins with the law[3]; when such a man says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

2 (5). 'He holds a Khrafstraghna[4] in his hand, but he has not girded his loins with the law; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

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[1] See preceding Fargard, § 18.

[2] See above, p. 168, n. 7.

[3] The word translated girded is the word used of the Kôstî, the sacred girdle which the Parsi must never part with (see § 54); the full meaning, therefore, is, 'girded with the law as with a Kôstî' (cf. Yasna IX, 26 [81]), that is to say, 'never forsaking the law,' or, as the Commentary expresses it, 'one whose thought is all on the law' (cf. § 5).

[4] See above, p. 168, n. 8.

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3 (7). 'He holds a twig[1] in his hand, but he has not girded his loins with the law; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

4 (9). 'He wields the Astra mairya[2], but he has not girded his loins with the law; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

5 (11). 'He who sleeps on throughout the night, who does not perform the Yasna nor chant the hymns, who does not worship by word or by deed, who does neither learn nor teach, with a longing for (everlasting) life, he lies when he says, "I am an Âthravan," do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

6 (14). 'Him thou shalt call an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra! who throughout the night sits up and demands of the holy Wisdom[3], which makes man free from anxiety, with dilated heart, and cheerful at the head of the *K*inva*t* bridge[4], and which makes him reach that world, that holy world, that excellent world, the world of paradise.

7 (18). '(Therefore) demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that

[1] The bundles of baresma or the urvarân (see p. 22, n. 2; p. 169, n. 3).

[2] The Aspahê-astra; see Introd. V, 19.

[3] That is to say, studies the law and learns from those who know it (cf. Introd. V, 2).

[4] See Farg. XIX, 30. 'It gives him a stout heart, when standing before the *K*inva*t* bridge' (Comm.)

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thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier[1].'

8 (21). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is it that makes the unseen power of Death increase?'

9 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the man that teaches a wrong law[2]; it is the man who continues for three years[3] without wearing the sacred girdle[4], without chanting the Gâthas, without worshipping the good waters.

10 (25). 'And he who should set that man at

[1] See Introd. V, 2.

[2] 'The deceiver Ashemaogha' (Comm.); the heretic. Cf. Farg. XV, 2, and Introd. III, 10.

[3] Doubtful.

[4] The Kôstî, which must be worn by every Parsi, man or woman, from their fifteenth year of age (see below, § 54 seq.); it is the badge of the faithful, the girdle by which he is united both with Ormazd and with his fellow believers. He who does not wear it must be refused water and bread by the members of the community; he who wears it becomes a participator in the merit of all the good deeds performed all over the Zarathustrian world (Saddar 10 and 46; Hyde 10 and 50). The Kôstî consists 'of seventy-two interwoven filaments, and should three times circumvent the waist. . . . Each of the threads is equal in value to one of the seventy-two Hâhs of the Izashnê; each of the twelve threads in the six lesser cords is equal in value to the dawâzdih hamâist . . .; each of the lesser cords is equal in value to one of the six Gahanbârs; each of the three circumventions of the loins is equal in value to humat, good thought, hukhat, good speech, huaresta, good work; the binding of each of the four knots upon it confers pleasure on each of the four elements, fire, air, water, and the earth' (Edal Daru, apud Wilson, The Parsi Religion Unfolded, p. 163). In the Brahmanical system also the faithful are bound to their god by means of a sacred girdle, the Mekhalâ.

Another piece of clothing which every Parsi is enjoined to wear is the Sadarah, or sacred shirt, a muslin shirt with short sleeves, that does not reach lower than the hips, with a small pocket at the opening in front of the shirt (see § 54 seq.)

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liberty, when bound in prison[1], does no better deed than if he should flay a man alive and cut off his head[2].

11 (27). 'The blessing uttered on a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha does not go past the mouth (of the blesser); the blessing for two Ashemaoghas does not go past his tongue; the blessing for three is no word at all; the blessing for four is a curse against himself.

12 (29). 'Whosoever should give some Haoma juice to a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha, or some Myazda consecrated with blessings, does no better deed than if he should lead a thousand horse against the cities of the worshippers of Mazda, and should slaughter the men thereof, and drive off the cattle as plunder.

II.

13 (32). 'Demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

14 (33). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who is the Sraoshâ-varez[3] of Sraosha[4]? the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god.'

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[1] See Introd. III, 10. Cf. § 12.

[2] Doubtful. The Commentary seems to understand the sentence as follows: 'He who should free him from hell would thus perform no less a feat than if he should cut off the head of a man and then make him alive again.'

[3] 'Who is he who sets the world in motion?' (Comm.) See above, p. 56, n. 2.

[4] See Introd. IV, 31.

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15 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the bird named Parôdars[1], which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs[2], O holy Zarathustra! the bird that lifts up his voice against the mighty dawn:

16 (37). '"Arise, O men! recite the Ashem vaḋ vahistem that smites down the Daêvas[3]. Lo! here is Bûshyâsta, the long-handed[4], coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world, as soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' she says, 'sleep on, O man! the time[5] is not yet come.'"

17 (41). 'For the three excellent things be never slack, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; for the three abominable things be ever slack, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

18 (43). 'In the first part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the master of the house for help, saying:

19 (43). '"Up! arise, thou master of the house! put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright

[1] 'He who foresees' the coming dawn; the cock.

[2] 'When he is not called so, he is powerful' (Comm.) Cf. XIII, 2, 6.

[3] The cock is called 'the drum of the world.' As crowing in the dawn that dazzles away the fiends, he shared with it the honour of the victory, and was believed to crow away the demons: 'The cock was created to fight against the fiends and wizards; . . . he is with the dog an ally of Srôsh against demons' (Bundahis XIX). 'No demon can enter a house in which there is a cock; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chaunt the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to flight' (Mirkhond, History of the Early Kings of Persia, translated by Shea, p. 57; cf. Saddar 32, Hyde 35, and J. Ovington, A Voyage to Suratt, 1696, p. 371).

[4] See Introd. IV, 24.

[5] 'To perform thy religious duties' (Comm.)

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with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands[1]. Here comes Âzi[2], made by the Daêvas, who is about to strive against me, and wants to put out my life."

20 (46). 'In the second part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the husbandman for help, saying:

21 (46). '"Up! arise, thou husbandman! Put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands. Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who is about to strive against me, and wants to put out my life."

22 (48). 'In the third part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the holy Sraosha for help, saying: "Come thou, holy, tall-formed Sraosha, [then he brings unto me some clean wood with his well-washed hands][3]: here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who is about to strive against me, and wants to put out my life."

23 (51). 'And then the holy Sraosha wakes up the bird named Parôdar*s*, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, and the bird lifts up his voice against the mighty dawn:

24 (52). '"Arise, O men! recite the Ashem ya*d* vahi*s*tem that smites down the Daêvas. Lo! here is Bûshyãsta, the long-handed, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world as

[1] The Parsi, as soon as he has risen, must put on the Kôstî, wash his hands, and put wood on the fire.

[2] See Introd. IV, 19.

[3] The text seems to be corrupt: it must probably be emendated into 'bring into me . . .'

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soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' she says, 'sleep on, O man! the time is not yet come.'"

25 (52). '"For the three excellent things be never slack, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; for the three abominable things be ever slack, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

26 (53). 'And then bed-fellows address one another: "Rise up, here is the cock calling me up." Whichever of the two first gets up shall first enter paradise: whichever of the two shall first, with well-washed hands, bring clean wood unto the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the Fire, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as it required, will thus bless him:

27 (58). '"May herds of oxen grow for thee, and increase of sons: may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayst thou live on in the joy of the soul all the nights of thy life."

'This is the blessing which the Fire speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well examined by the light of the day, well cleansed with godly intent.

28 (64). 'And whosoever will kindly and piously present one of the faithful with a pair of these my Parôdar*s* birds, a male and a female, it is as though he had given[1] a house with a hundred columns, a thousand beams, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows.

29 (67). 'And whosoever shall give to my Parôdar*s* bird his fill of meat, I, Ahura Mazda, need not

[1] 'In the day of recompense' (Comm.); he shall be rewarded as though he had given a house, &c. . . . he shall receive such a house in paradise.

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interrogate him any longer; he shall directly go to paradise.'

III.

30 (70). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Thou then, alone in the material world, dost bear offspring without any male coming unto thee?'

31 (74). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! It is not so, nor do I, alone in the material world, bear offspring without any male coming unto me.

32 (77). 'There are four males who are mine.

'And they make me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

33 (78). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the first of those males of thine?'

34 (79). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! He is the first of my males who, being entreated by one of the faithful, does not give him anything, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up[1].

35 (82). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

36 (83). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! What is the thing that can counteract that?'

37 (84). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This is

[1] Cf. Farg. III, 34.

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the thing that counteracts it, namely, when a man unasked, kindly and piously, gives to one of the faithful something, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up.

38 (87). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

39 (88). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the second of those males of thine?'

40 (89). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! He is the second of my males who, making water, lets it fall along the upper forepart of his foot.

41 (92). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

42 (93). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! What is the thing that can counteract that?'

43 (94). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that counteracts it, namely, when the man rising up[1] and stepping three steps further off, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanãm, three hukhshathrôtemãm, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yênhê hâtãm.

[1] 'Nec stando mingens . . . facile visitur Persa' (Amm. Marc. XXIII, 6); Ardâ Vîrâf XXIV; Mainyô-i-khard II, 39; Saddar 56, Hyde 60. Cf. Manu IV, 47 seq., and Polack, Persien I, 67: 'Von einem in Paris weilenden Perser hinterbrachte man dem König, um seine Emancipation und Abtrünnigkeit vom Gesetz zu beweisen, dass er Schweinefleisch esse und stehend die Function verrichte.'

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44 (98). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

45 (99). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the third of those males of thine?'

46 (100). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! He is the third of my males who during his sleep emits seed.

47 (102). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females.'

48 (103). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! What is the thing that can counteract that?'

49 (104). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! this is the thing that counteracts it, namely, if the man, when he has risen from sleep, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanãm, three hukhshathrô-temãm, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yê*n*hê hâtãm.

50 (107). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

51 (108). Then he shall speak unto Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti[1], saying: 'O Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti, this man do I deliver unto thee; this man deliver thou back unto me, against the mighty day of resurrection; deliver him back as one who knows the Gâthas, who

[1] The genius of the earth (cf. Farg. II, 10).

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knows the Yasna, and the revealed law[1], a wise and clever man, who is the Word incarnate.

52 (112). 'Then thou shalt call his name "Fire-creature, Fire-seed, Fire-offspring, Fire-land," or any name wherein is the word Fire[2].'

53 (113). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug! Who is the fourth of those males of thine?'

54 (114). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This one is my fourth male who, either man or woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle and the sacred shirt[3].

55 (115). 'At the fourth step[4] we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of the holy spirit, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas[5].'

56 (117). The holy Sraosha asked the Drug, with his club uplifted against her: 'O thou wretched and wicked Drug, what is the thing that can counteract that?'

57 (118). Then the Drug demon, the guileful one, answered: 'O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! There is no means of counteracting it;

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[1] Literally, 'the answers made to the questions (of Zarathustra).'

[2] Cf. Introd. IV, 30, and Orm. Ahr. § 205.

[3] The Kôstî and the Sadarah; see above, p. 191, n. 4. It is the sin known as kushâd duvârisnî (Mainyô-i-khard II, 35; Ardâ Vîrâf XXV, 6).

[4] 'Going three steps without Kôstî is only a three Sraoshô-karana sin; from the fourth step, it is a tanâfûhr sin' (Comm.)

[5] For the Yâtus, see Introd. IV, 20; the zanda is a hobgoblin.

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58 (120). 'When a man or a woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle or the sacred shirt.

59 (120). 'At the fourth step we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of the holy spirit, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas.'

IV.

60 (122). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

61 (123). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who grieves thee with the sorest grief? Who pains thee with the sorest pain?'

62 (124). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the Gahi[1], O Spitama Zarathustra! who goes a-whoring after the faithful and the unfaithful, after the worshippers of Mazda and the worshippers of the Daêvas, after the wicked and the righteous[2].

63 (125). 'Her look dries up one third of the mighty floods that run from the mountains; her look withers one third of the beautiful, golden hued, growing plants;

64 (127). 'Her look withers one third of the grass

[1] The courtezan, as an incarnation of the female demon Gahi (see Introd. IV, 15).

[2] '[Whether she gives up her body to the faithful or to the unfaithful], there is no difference; when she has been with three men, she is guilty of death' (Comm.)

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wherewith Spenta Ârmaiti[1] is clad[2], and her touch withers in the faithful one third of his good thoughts, of his good words, of his good deeds, one third of his strength, of his fiend-killing power, and of his holiness[3].

65 (129). 'Verily I say unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! such creatures ought to be killed even more than gliding snakes[4], than howling wolves, than the wild she-wolf that falls upon the fold, or than the she-frog that falls upon the waters with her thousandfold brood.'

66 (133). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the best of all beings, the most knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

67–68 (133). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, and he does so wittingly and knowingly[5], and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and

[1] The earth.

[2] Doubtful. The Pahlavi translation has, 'One third of the strength of Spenta Ârmaiti.'

[3] 'If a Gahi (courtezan) look at running waters, they fall; if at trees, they are stunted; if she converse with a pious man, his intelligence and his holiness are withered by it' (Saddar 67; Hyde 74). Cf. Manu IV, 40 seq.

[4] It is written in the law (the Avesta): 'O Zartust Isfitamân! with regard to woman, I say to thee that any woman that has given up her body to two men in one day is sooner to be killed than a wolf, a lion, or a snake: any one who kills such a woman will gain as much merit by it as if he had provided with wood a thousand fire-temples, or destroyed the dens of adders, scorpions, lions, wolves, or snakes' (Old Rav. 59 b).

[5] 'Knowing her state and knowing that it is a sin' (Comm.)

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knowingly, what is the atonement for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed they have done?'

69 (136). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has an issue of blood, either out of the ordinary course or at the usual period, and he does so wittingly and knowingly, and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly;

70 (137). 'He shall slay a thousand head of small cattle; he shall godly and piously offer up to the fire [1] the entrails [2] thereof together with Zaothra-libations; he shall bring the shoulder bones to the good waters [3].

71 (140). 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire a thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohu-gaona, Vohu-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata, or of any sweet-scented plant [4].

72 (142). 'He shall tie and consecrate a thousand bundles of baresma; he shall godly and piously offer up to the good waters a thousand Zaothra-libations, together with the Haoma and the meat, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, together with the roots of the tree known as Hadhâ-naêpata [5].

73 (144). 'He shall kill a thousand snakes of

[1] To the Bahrâm fire.

[2] The ōmentum (afsman) or epipleon. Strabo XV, 13: τοῦ ἐπίπλου τι μικρὸν τιθέασι, ὡς λέγουσί τινες, ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ. 'Ascending six steps they showed me in a Room adjoining to the temple, their Fire which they fed with Wood, and sometimes Burn on it the Fat of the Sheep's Tail.' A Voyage Round the World, Dr. J. F. Gemelli, 1698.

[3] The meat is eaten by the faithful (Asp.); cf. Herod. I, 132.

[4] Cf. Farg. XIV, 3 seq.

[5] See above, p. 94, n. 1.

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those that go upon the belly, two thousand of the other kind[1]: he shall kill a thousand land frogs and two thousand water frogs; he shall kill a thousand corn-carrying ants and two thousand of the other kind[2].

74 (147). 'He shall throw thirty bridges over canals; he shall undergo a thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[3].

75 (149). 'This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed that he has done.

76 (150). 'If he shall pay it, he shall enter the world of the holy ones; if he shall not pay it, he shall fall down into the world of the wicked, into that dark world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness[4].'

FARGARD XIX.

I (1–11). Angra Mainyu attempts to kill Zarathustra, and, when he fails, tempts him. Zarathustra withstands both assaults with weapons both material and spiritual.

II (11–43). Zarathustra applies to Ahura Mazda for a revelation of the law. He is taught how the fiend may be repelled, how the creation of Mazda is to be worshipped, how uncleanness is to be washed away, and what becomes of the soul after death.

III (43–47). Angra Mainyu and his host, driven to despair, and feeling themselves powerless, flee down into hell.

This chapter may be entitled 'The Revelation,' and considered as the frame-work of the Vendîdâd, the remainder of which should have its place between the first and the third part; as the first part

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[1] 'Two thousand mâr bânak' (Comm.) See above, p. 157, n. 1.

[2] 'Two thousand dârak' (Comm.) See above, p. 157, n. 4.

[3] Five tanâfûhrs, that is six thousand dirhems.

[4] §§ 75, 76=Farg. XIV, 18.

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shows the fiend's struggles to prevent the revelation, and the third shows the effects of it; the second being, as it were, an abstract of the law, an abridged Vendîdâd.

The text and the Pahlavi commentary of this Fargard are translated in Haug's Essays, p. 253 seq., p. 333 seq., and p. 379 seq.

I.

1. From the region of the north, from the regions of the north[1], forth rushed Angra Mainyu, the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas[2]. And thus spake the guileful one, he the evil-doer Angra Mainyu, the deadly: 'Drug, rush down upon him! destroy the holy Zarathustra!' The Drug came rushing along, the demon Bûiti[3], the unseen death, the hell-born.

2 (5). Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya[4]: 'The will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.'

(He added): 'Offer up prayers to the good waters of the good Dâitya[5]!

'Profess the law of the worshippers of Mazda!'

The Drug dismayed, rushed away, the demon Bûiti, the unseen death, the hell-born.

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[1] From hell; cf. p. 75, n. 2.

[2] 'The fiend of fiends,' the arch-fiend.

[3] 'How does death enter the body of man? There are several Druges from Ahriman, who come into the body and the soul of man: one of whom is a Drug known as Bût; she is the forerunner of death; when the time of the end is at hand, she produces in the body of man such excessive heat that he falls ill' (Dâdâr i Dâdûkht, British Museum, Add. 8994, 130 a).

[4] See above, p. 98, n. 2.

[5] The river in Airyana Vaêgô; see Farg. I, 3, and Introd. III, 15.

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3 (7). And the Drug, the guileful one, said unto Angra Mainyu: 'O baneful Angra Mainyu! I see no way to kill him, so great is the glory of the holy Zarathustra.'

Zarathustra saw (all this) from within his soul: 'The evil-doing Daêvas and Drvants[1] (thought he) take counsel together for my death.'

4 (11). Up started Zarathustra, forward went Zarathustra, unshaken by the evil spirit, by the hardness of his malignant riddles[2], swinging stones in his hand, stones as big as a house[3], which he obtained from the Maker, Ahura Mazda, he the holy Zarathustra.

'At what on this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, at what dost thou swing (those stones), thou who standest by the river Darega[4], upon the mountains, in the mansion of Pourusaspa[5]?'

5 (16). Thus Zarathustra answered Angra Mainyu: 'O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! I will smite the creation of the Daêva; I will smite the Nasu, a creature of the Daêva; I will smite the Pairika Knãthaiti[6], till the fiend-smiter Saoshyant come up to life out

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[1] See Introd. IV, 22.

[2] This is a fragment of an old myth in which Zarathustra and Angra Mainyu played respectively the parts of Oedipus and the Sphinx. See, for further explanation, Orm. Ahr. §§ 163–165.

[3] See Introd. IV, 40. The Commentary has, 'Some say, those stones are the Ahuna-Vairya.' In another attempt to account for a mythical expression, which was no longer understood, those thunderbolts were turned into the nine-knotted stick used in the Barashnûm (see Farg. IX, 14; Comm. and Asp.)

[4] See Introd. III, 15.

[5] The father of Zarathustra.

[6] Cf. Farg. I, 10, and Introd. IV, 21.

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of the lake Kãsava, from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn[1].'

6 (20). Again to him said the guileful one, the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'Do not destroy my creatures, O holy Zarathustra! Thou art the son of Pourusaspa[2], just born of thy mother[3]. Renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as the murderer[4] gained, the ruler of the nations.'

7 (24). Thus in answer to him said Spitama Zarathustra: 'No! never will I renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda, though my body, my life, my soul should burst!'

8 (27). Again to him said the guileful one, the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'By whose Word wilt thou strike, by whose Word wilt thou repel, by whose weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel) my creation who am Angra Mainyu?'

9 (29). Thus in answer to him said Spitama Zarathustra: 'The sacred mortar, the sacred cup, the Haoma, the Words taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons! By this Word will I strike, by this Word will I repel, by this weapon the good creatures (will strike and repel thee), O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! To me Spenta Mainyu gave it, he gave it to me in the boundless Time[5];

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[1] See Introd. IV, 39–40. [2] 'I know thee' (Comm.)

[3] Doubtful (cf. § 46); possibly, 'I was invoked by thy mother.' The Commentary has, 'Some explain thus: Thy forefathers worshipped me: worship me also.'

[4] Ajis Dahâka or Zohâk, who, as a legendary king, is said to have ruled the world for a thousand years (Introd. IV, 11).

[5] See Introd. IV, 42. The Ahuna-Vairya was revealed before

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to me the Amesha Spe*n*tas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent, gave it.'

10 (35). Zarathu*s*tra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya. The holy Zarathu*s*tra said aloud: 'This I ask thee: teach me the truth, O Lord[1]! . . .'

II.

11 (37). Zarathu*s*tra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! [he was sitting by the Dare*g*a, on the mountain[2], praying to Ahura Mazda, to the good Vohu-manô, to Asha Vahi*s*ta, Khshathra Vairya, and Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti;]

12 (39). 'How shall I make the world free from that Dru*g*, from the evil-doer Angra Mainyu? How shall I drive away direct defilement? How indirect defilement? How shall I drive the Nasu from the house of the worshippers of Mazda? How shall I cleanse the faithful man? How shall I cleanse the faithful woman?'

13 (42). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Invoke, O Zarathu*s*tra! the good law of Mazda.

'Invoke, O Zarathu*s*tra! the Amesha Spe*n*tas who rule over the seven Karshvares of the earth[3].

'Invoke, O Zarathu*s*tra! the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time[4], and Vayu[5], whose action is most high.

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the creation of the world (Yasna XIX), and consequently in the boundless Time.

[1] This verse is the beginning of a Gâtha (Yasna XLIV), in which Zarathu*s*tra applies to Ahura Mazda to be taught the mysteries of the world and of the law.

[2] See § 4 and Introd. III, 15.

[3] See Introd. IV, 7.

[4] See Introd. IV, 42.

[5] See Introd. IV, 15.

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'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the powerful Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta [Ârmaiti][1], the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

14 (46). 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! my Fravashi[2], who am Ahura Mazda, the greatest, the best, the fairest of all beings, the most solid[3], the most intelligent, the best shapen, the highest in holiness, and whose soul is the holy Word[4]!

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! this creation of mine, who am Ahura Mazda.'

15 (50). Zarathustra took those words from me, (and said): 'I invoke the holy creation of Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke Mithra[5], the lord of wide pastures, a god armed with beautiful weapons, with the most glorious of all weapons, with the most fiend-smiting of all weapons.

'I invoke the holy, tall-formed Sraosha[6], who wields a club in his hand, to bear upon the heads of the fiends.

16 (54). 'I invoke the most glorious holy Word.

'I invoke the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu, whose action is most high.

'I invoke the mighty Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta (Ârmaiti), the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke the good law of Mazda, the fiend-destroying law of Zarathustra.'

17 (58). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the good world, Ahura Mazda! With

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[1] See Introd. IV, 30.
[2] See Introd. IV, 37.
[3] See Introd. IV, 5.
[4] Mâthra Spenta; see Introd. IV, 40.
[5] See Introd. IV, 8.
[6] See Introd. IV, 31, and cf. Farg. XVIII, 22 seq.

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what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward this creation of Ahura Mazda?'

18 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Go, O Spitama Zarathustra! towards that tree[1] that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty amongst the high-growing trees, and say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem vohu[2]!"

19 (63). 'Let the faithful man cut off a twig of baresma, long as a ploughshare, thick as a barley-corn[3]. The faithful one, holding it in his left hand, shall not leave off keeping his eyes upon it[4], whilst he is offering up the sacrifice to Ahura Mazda and to the Amesha-Spentas, and to the high and beautiful golden Haomas, and to Vohu-manô[5] and to the good Râta[6], made by Mazda, holy and excellent[7].'

20 (67). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou, all-knowing Ahura Mazda! thou art never asleep, never intoxicated, thou Ahura Mazda! Vohu-manô[8] gets directly defiled: Vohu-manô gets indirectly de-

[1] The tree, whatever it is, from which the baresma is taken. See p. 22, n. 2.

[2] See § 22.

[3] Doubtful.

[4] The Parsis are recommended to keep their eyes on the baresma during the sacrifice: 'A man is offering the Darûn, he has said all the required Avesta, but he has not looked at the baresma: what is the rule? It would have been better if he had looked at it: however he may proceed to the meal' (Old Rav. 97 b).

[5] See Introd. IV, 7.

[6] See Introd. IV, 30.

[7] Doubtful. Possibly, 'While he is offering up the high and beautiful Haomas, and Vohu-manô (good thoughts) and the good Râta (sacrificial presents).'

[8] Vohu-manô is often used as a designation of the faithful one, literally, 'the good-minded;' this is the meaning which is given to it in this passage by the Commentary, and it certainly belongs

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filed; the Daêvas defile him from the bodies smitten by the Daêvas[1]: let Vohu-manô be made clean.'

21 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt take some gômêz from a bull ungelded and such as the law requires it[2]; thou shalt take the man who is to be cleansed[3] to the field made by Ahura[4], and the man that is to cleanse him shall draw the furrows[5].

22 (73). 'He shall recite a hundred Ashem vohu: "Holiness is the best of all good. Happy, happy the man who is holy with perfect holiness!"

'He shall chant two hundred Ahuna-Vairya: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor."

'He shall wash Vohu-manô four times with the gômêz from the ox, and twice with the water made by Mazda[6].

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to it in the second part of § 25; but in the first part of the same clause it is translated 'clothes,' a meaning which is not unlikely in itself, as Vohu-manô, being the Amshaspand of cattle, may designate, and in fact did designate, the skins of cattle and leather (Comm. ad Farg. XVIII, 2). On the whole the description in the text applies to the cleansing both of the man and of the clothes, and Vohu-manô sometimes means the one, and sometimes the other.

[1] From dead bodies.

[2] The so-called Varasiô; 'it must be of a white colour; if a single hair on its body be found other than white, the animal is rejected as unfit for the purpose' (Sorâbji Kâvasji Khambâtâ, in the Indian Antiquary, VII, 180).

[3] Or better, 'the things that are to be cleansed.'

[4] The place of the cleansing, the Barashnûm-gâh (see Farg. IX, 3).

[5] See Farg. IX, 10.

[6] This can hardly refer to the cleansing of the man, as the man

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23 (76). 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be made clean, and clean shall be the man. Then he shall take up Vohu-manô[1] with his left arm and his right, with his right arm and his left: and thou shalt lay down Vohu-manô under the mighty structure of the bright heavens, by the light of the stars made by the gods, until nine nights have passed away[2].

24 (80). 'When nine nights have passed away, thou shalt bring libations unto the fire, thou shalt bring hard wood unto the fire, thou shalt bring incense of Vohu-gaona unto the fire, and thou shalt perfume Vohu-manô therewith.

25 (82). 'Thus shall Vohu-manô become clean, thus shall the man be clean[3]: he shall take up Vohu-manô with the right arm and the left, with the left arm and the right, and Vohu-manô[4] shall say aloud: "Glory be to Ahura Mazda! Glory be to the Amesha-Spe*n*tas! Glory be to all the other holy beings."'

26 (85). Zarathu*s*tra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou all-knowing Ahura Mazda: Should I urge upon the godly man, should I urge upon the godly woman, should I urge upon the wicked Daêva-worshipper who lives in sin, that they have once to leave behind them the earth made by Ahura,

ought to be washed six times with gômêz and three times with water (see Farg. VIII, 37 seq.; IX, 28 seq.)

[1] 'The clothes' (Comm.)

[2] The clothes of the unclean shall be exposed to the air for nine nights, all the time while he himself is confined in the Armê*s*t-gâh. The rules for the cleansing of clothes that have been worn by the dead himself are different (see Farg. VII, 12 seq.)

[3] 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be clean—the clothes; thus the man shall be clean—he who wears those clothes' (Comm.)

[4] The faithful one.

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that they have to leave the water that runs, the corn that grows, and all the rest of their wealth [1]?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shouldst, O holy Zarathustra.'

27 (89). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are the rewards given? Where does the rewarding take place? Where is the rewarding fulfilled? Whereto do men come to take the reward that, in their life in the material world, they have won for their souls?

28 (90). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the man is dead, when his time is over, then the hellish, evil-doing Daêvas assail him; and when the third night is gone, when the dawn appears and brightens up, and makes Mithra, the god with beautiful weapons, reach the all-happy mountains, and the sun is rising:

29 (94). 'Then the fiend, named Vîzaresha, carries off in bonds [2] the souls of the wicked Daêva-worshippers who live in sin. The soul enters the way made by Time, and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. At the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, the holy bridge made by Mazda [3], they ask for their spirits and souls the

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[1] 'Linquenda tellus, et domus et placens
Uxor, nec harum, quas colis arborum. . . .'

The translation is doubtful in its details; yet there is little doubt that the sentence refers to future life (cf. § 27). Aspendiârji translates, 'Shall the godly man . . . arise (from the dead) . . .?' which seems to be the meaning of the Pahlavi Commentary too.

[2] 'Every one has a noose cast around his neck: when a man dies, if he has been a righteous man, the noose falls from his neck; if a wicked, they drag him with that noose down into hell' (Comm.; cf. Farg. V, 8, and Introd. IV, 26).

[3] The *Kinvad* bridge extends over hell and leads to paradise: for the souls of the righteous it widens to the length of nine javelins;

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reward for the worldly goods which they gave away here below[1].

30 (98). 'Then comes the well-shapen, strong and tall-formed maid[2], with the dogs at her sides[3], one who can distinguish[4], who is graceful[5], who does what she wants, and is of high understanding.

'She makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the Hara-berezaiti[6]; above the *K*inva*d* bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves.

31 (102). 'Up rises Vohu-manô[7] from his golden seat; Vohu-manô exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou holy one, from that decaying world into this undecaying one[8]?"

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for the souls of the wicked it narrows to a thread, and they fall down into hell (cf. Ard*â* Vîrâf V, 1). This bridge is known in many mythologies; it is the Sirath bridge of the Musulmans; not long ago they sang in Yorkshire of 'the Brig o' Dread, na brader than a thread' (Thoms, Anecdotes, 89), and even nowadays the peasant in Nièvre tells of a little board—

'Pas pu longue, pas pu large
Qu'un ch'veu de la Sainte Viarge,'

which was put by Saint Jean d'Archange between the earth and paradise:

'Ceux qu'saront la raison (=l'oraison?) d'Dieu
Par dessus passeront.
Ceux qu'la sauront pas
Au bout mourront.' (Mélusine, p. 70.)

[1] Cf. Farg. III, 34, 35; XVIII, 33 seq.

[2] The soul of the dead, on the fourth day, finds itself in the presence of a maid, of divine beauty or fiendish ugliness, according as he himself was good or bad, and she leads him into heaven or hell: this maid is his own conscience (Yasht XXII).

[3] The dogs that keep the *K*inva*d* bridge (see Farg. XIII, 9).

[4] The good from the wicked. [5] Doubtful.

[6] The heavenly mountain, whence the sun rises, and upon which the abode of the gods rests.

[7] The door-keeper of paradise; a Zoroastrian Saint-Pierre.

[8] Cf. Farg. VII, 52.

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32 (105). 'Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Amesha-Spentas, to the Garô-nmânem[1], the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

33 (108). 'As to the godly man that has been cleansed[2], the wicked evil-doing Daêvas tremble at the perfume of his soul after death, as a sheep does on which a wolf is falling[3].

34 (110). 'The souls of the righteous are gathered together there: Nairyô-sangha[4] is with them; a friend of Ahura Mazda is Nairyô-sangha.

'Do thou thyself invoke, O Zarathustra! this world of Ahura Mazda.'

35 (114). Zarathustra took those words from Ahura Mazda: 'I invoke the holy world, made by Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke the earth made by Ahura, the water made by Mazda, the holy trees.

'I invoke the sea Vouru-kasha[5].

'I invoke the shining sky.

'I invoke the eternal and sovereign luminous space[6].

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[1] The Garothmân of the Parsis; literally, 'the house of songs.'

[2] That has performed the Barashnûm.

[3] Ormazd is all perfume, Ahriman is infection and stench (Bundahis I; Eznig, Refutatio Haeresiarum II); the souls of their followers partake of the same qualities, and by the performance of the Barashnûm both the body and the soul are perfumed and sweetened.

[4] The messenger of Ahura Mazda (cf. Farg. XXII, 7).

[5] See Introd. IV, 11.

[6] See Introd. IV, 42.

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36 (120). 'I invoke the bright, all glorious, blissful abode of the holy ones.

'I invoke the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spe*n*tas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

'I invoke the sovereign place of eternal weal [1], and the *K*inva*d* bridge made by Mazda.

37 (123). 'I invoke the good Saoka [2], whose looks go far and wide.

'I invoke the mighty Fravashis [3] of the righteous.

'I invoke the whole creation of weal.

'I invoke Verethraghna [4], made by Ahura, who wears the glory made by Mazda [5].

'I invoke Ti*s*trya [6], the bright and glorious star, in the shape of a golden-horned bull.

38 (127). 'I invoke the holy, beneficent Gâthas [7], who rule over the ratus [8]:

'I invoke the Ahunavaiti Gâtha;

'I invoke the U*s*tavaiti Gâtha;

'I invoke the Spe*n*ta-mainyu Gâtha;

'I invoke the Vohu-khshathra Gâtha;

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[1] Misvâna gâtva, another name of the heavenly spaces; it designates heaven as the abode and source of all blessings, of all savah, or saoka.

[2] A personification of the Ormazdean weal.

[3] See Introd. IV, 37.

[4] See Introd. IV, 14, and Yasht XIV.

[5] The *hv*arenô or light of sovereignty (Introd. IV, 11).

[6] See Introd. IV, 13, and Yasht VIII.

[7] The five collections of hymns which form the oldest and holiest part of the Yasna and of the Avesta (Yasna XXVIII–XXXIV; XLIII–XLVI; XLVII–L; LI; LIII); they are named after their first words.

[8] The chiefs of creation (Introd. IV, 35); 'they rule over the ratus insomuch as it is by their means that other beings are invoked' (Comm.)

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'I invoke the Vahistôisti Gâtha.

39 (129). 'I invoke the Karshvares of Arzahê and Savahê;

'I invoke the Karshvares of Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu;

'I invoke the Karshvares of Vourubaresti and Vouruzaresti;

'I invoke the bright *Hv*aniratha[1];

'I invoke the bright, glorious Haêtum*an*t[2];

'I invoke the good Ashi[3];

['I invoke the good *K*isti[4];]

'I invoke the most right *K*ista[5];

'I invoke the glory of the Aryan regions[6];

'I invoke the glory of the bright Yima, the great shepherd[7].

40 (133). 'Let him be worshipped with sacrifice, let him be gladdened, gratified, and satisfied, the holy Sraosha, the tall-formed, fiend-smiting, holy Sraosha[8].

'Bring libations unto the Fire, bring hard wood unto the Fire, bring incense of Vohu-gaona unto the Fire.

'Offer up the sacrifice to the Vâzista fire, which

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[1] See Introd. IV, 7. [2] See Farg. I, 14.

[3] See Introd. IV, 30.

[4] An angel of knowledge; the clause is found only in the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[5] Religious knowledge.

[6] The light of sovereignty, *hv*arenô, which if secured by the Aryans makes them rule over their enemies (cf. Introd. IV, 11).

[7] See Introd. IV, 18, and Farg. II.

[8] This praise of Sraosha was probably introduced here with reference to the great part he plays in the fate of the soul after death, and to the performance of the sadis ritual (see above, p. 87, n. 4).

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smites the fiend Spengaghra[1]: bring unto it the cooked meat and the offerings of boiling milk[2].

41 (137). 'Offer up the sacrifice to the holy Sraosha, that the holy Sraosha may smite down the fiend Kunda[3], who is drunken without drinking. He will fall upon the men of the Drug, the slothful ones[4], the wicked Daêva-worshippers, who live in sin.

[42[5]. 'I invoke the Kara fish[6], who lives beneath waters in the bottom of the deep lakes.

'I invoke the ancient and sovereign Merezu[7], the greatest seat of battle in the creation of the two spirits[8].

'I invoke the seven bright Sravah[9] with their sons and their flocks.

III.

43. 'They run about to and fro, their minds waver to and fro[10], Angra Mainyu the deadly, the

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[1] See Introd. IV, 13.

[2] Doubtful.

[3] The same as Kundi; see Farg. XI, 9.

[4] Those who neglect their religious duties. The translation is doubtful.

[5] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah. The clause may have belonged to the original text; it is preceded by another clause which certainly did not belong to it, and part of which is cited in the Commentary ad Farg. VIII, 103, where it would have been more suitably placed: 'When he has been cleansed in the next inhabited place, he may then sow and till the pasture fields, as food for the sheep and as food for the ox.'

[6] The Kar-mâhî (see above, p. 59, n. 4).

[7] According to Professor Justi, 'the milky way' (Handbuch der Zendsprache s. v.), an Iranian representative of the Eddic Bifrost. There is much probability in that translation.

[8] Doubtful.

[9] A word of unknown meaning.

[10] Up and down, in hope and despair.

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Daêva of the Daêvas; I*n*dra the Daêva, Sâuru the Daêva, N*au*nghaithya the Daêva, Taurvi and Zairi[1], Aêshma of the wounding spear[2], Akatasha the Daêva[3], Zaurva[4], baneful to the fathers, Bûiti the Daêva[5], Driwi[6] the Daêva, Daiwi[7] the Daêva, Kasvi[8] the Daêva, Paitisha[9] the most Daêva-like amongst the Daêvas.]

44 (140). 'And he said, the guileful, the evil-doing Daêva, Angra Mainyu the deadly: "What! let the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas gather together at the head of Arezûra[10]."

45 (141). 'They rush, they run away, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away with shouts, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away casting the evil eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezûra!

46 (143). '"For he is just born the holy Zarathustra, in the house of Pourushaspa. How can we procure his death? He is the stroke that fells the fiends: he is a counter-fiend to the fiends; he is a Dru*g* to the Dru*g*. Down are the Daêva-worshippers, the Nasu made by the Daêva, the false-speaking Lie!"

47 (147). 'They run away, they rush away, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas, into the depths of the dark, horrid world of hell.

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[1] See Introd. IV, 34.
[2] See Introd. IV, 22.
[3] See above, p. 136, n. 5.
[4] Old age.
[5] See above, p. 204, n. 3.
[6] Poverty; see above, Farg. II, 29.
[7] Lying; see above, Farg. II, 29.
[8] Meanness; see above, Farg. II, 29.
[9] 'Opposition, or counter-action,' a personification of the doings of Ahriman and of his marring power.
[10] At the gate of hell; see above, p. 24, n. 1.

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'Ashem vohu: Holiness is the best of all good.'

FARGARD XX.

Thrita, the First Healer.

Thrita was the first who drove back death and disease, as Ahura Mazda had brought to him down from heaven ten thousand healing plants that had been growing up around the tree of eternal life, the white Hôm or Gaokerena.

This Thrita is mentioned only once again in the Avesta, in Yasna IX, 7, where he appears to have been one of the first priests of Haoma. This accounts for his medical skill; as Haoma is a source of life and health, his first priests must have been the first healers.

Thrita was originally the same as Thraêtaona[1]. On one hand, we see that in the Rig-veda the great feat of Thraêtaona is ascribed to Trita as well as to Traitâna, and Trita Âptya, 'the son of the waters,' was as well the celestial priest who pours Haoma into rain as the celestial hero who kills the snake in storms. On the other hand, we see that Thraêtaona fulfilled the same functions as Thrita: according to Hamza he was the inventor of medicine[2]; the Tavids[3] against sickness are inscribed with his name, and we find in the Avesta itself the Fravashi of Thraêtaona invoked 'against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever[4], vâvareshi, against the plagues created by the serpent[5].' We see from this passage that disease was understood as coming from the serpent; in other words, that it was considered a sort of poisoning[6], and this is the reason why the

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[1] See Introd. IV, 14.

[2] Ed. Gottwaldt, p. 23; cf. Mirkhond, Early Kings of Persia, Shea, p. 152.

[3] Formules of exorcism.

[4] Cf. Farg. VII, 58.

[5] Yasht XIII, 131.

[6] This theory, which modern science would not utterly reject, accounts for the great part which the serpent plays in the worship of Asklepios; as sickness comes from him, from him too must or may come the healing.

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killer of the serpent was invoked to act against it. Thus Thrita-Thraêtaona had a double right to the title of the first of the healers, both as a priest of Haoma and as the conqueror of the serpent[1].

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who was he who first of the healthful[2], the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong men of yore[3], drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death[4], and first turned away the point of the poniard and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.'

2 (11). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thrita it was who first of the healthful, the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong man of yore, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the poniard and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.

3 (12). 'He asked for a source of remedies[5]; he obtained it from Khshathra-Vairya[6], to withstand sickness and to withstand death, to withstand pain and fever, to withstand the disease[7], rottenness and

[1] It seems as if in the Vedas, too, Trita had been a healing god (Rig-veda VIII, 47, 13 seq.)

[2] Whom no weapon could wound, like Isfendiâr (Comm.)

[3] Or better, Paradhâta (or Pêshdâd), 'the kings of yore,' which became the name of the first Iranian dynasty.

[4] 'That is to say, who kept sickness in bonds, who kept death in bonds' (Comm.)

[5] Doubtful.

[6] As Khshathra-Vairya presides over metals, it was a knife he received, 'of which the point and the base were set in gold.' He was therefore the first who healed with the knife (cf. Farg. VII, 44); and it appears from § 4 that he was also the first who healed with herbs. As for the healing with the holy word, see Farg. XXII.

[7] Doubtful.

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infection which Angra Mainyu had created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals[1].

4 (15). 'And I Ahura Mazda brought down the healing plants that, by many hundreds, by many thousands, by many myriads, grow up all around the one Gaokerena[2].

5 (18). 'All this (health) do we call by our blessing-spells, by our prayers, by our praises, upon the bodies of mortals[3].

7 (19)[4]. 'To thee, O Sickness, I say avaunt! to thee, O Death, I say avaunt! to thee, O Pain, I say avaunt! to thee, O Fever, I say avaunt! to thee, O Disease, I say avaunt[5]!

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[1] The Vendîdâd Sâdah has here eight names of diseases: to withstand Sârana (head-ache), to withstand Sârastya (cold fever), to withstand Azana, to withstand Azahva, to withstand Kurugha, to withstand Azivâka, to withstand Duruka, and to withstand Astairya.

[2] The white Hôm, which is the king of healing plants (see Introd. IV, 28). The healing plants are said to have been created ten thousand in number, in order to oppose so many diseases that had been created by Ahriman (Bundahis IX; cf. Farg. XXII, 2). In India also, healing plants are said to have Soma for their king, and to have come down from heaven: 'Whilst coming down from heaven, the plants said: He will never suffer any wound, the mortal whom we touch' (Rig-veda X, 97, 17; cf. Haurvatât et Ameretât, §§ 46–47).

[3] Or possibly, All those (plants) do we bless, all those (plants) do we pray, all those (plants) do we praise, for (the weal of) the bodies of mortals.

[4] Vendîdâd Sâdah: 6. To withstand sickness, to withstand death, to withstand pain, to withstand fever, to withstand Sârana, to withstand Sârastya, to withstand Azana, to withstand Azahva, to withstand Kurugha, to withstand Azivâka, to withstand Duruka, to withstand Astairya, to withstand the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

[5] Vendîdâd Sâdah: To thee, O Sârana, I say avaunt! to thee,

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8 (21). 'By their might may we smite down the Drug! By their might may we smite the Drug! May they give to us strength and power, O Ahura[1]!

9[2] (23). 'I drive away sickness, I drive away death, I drive away pain and fever[3], I drive away the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

10 (25). 'I drive away all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas[4], and all the wicked Gainis[5].

11 (26). 'May the much-desired Airyaman[6] come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

12 (29). 'May the much-desired Airyaman smite

O Sârastya, I say avaunt! to thee, O Asana, I say avaunt! to thee, O Asahva, I say avaunt! to thee, O Kurugha, I say avaunt! to thee, O Asivâka, I say avaunt! to thee, O Duruka, I say avaunt! to thee, O Astairya, I say avaunt!

[1] This clause is borrowed, with some alteration, from Yasna XXXI, 4; the original text is, 'May the strong power come to me, by the might of which we may smite down the Drug!'

[2] The Vendîdâd Sâdah has, 'I drive away Ishirê, I drive away Aghûirê, I drive away Aghra, I drive away Ughra.'

[3] The Vendîdâd Sâdah has, 'I drive away Sârana, I drive away Sârastya, I drive away Asana, I drive away Asahva, I drive away Kurugha, I drive away Asivâka, I drive away Duruka, I drive away Astairya.'

[4] See Introd. IV, 20–21.

[5] 'Gai' (Comm.), that is Gahi (see Introd. IV, 5); cf. p. 89, note 1, and Farg. XXII, 2, note.

[6] Or better, 'Airyaman, the bestower of good.' On Airyaman, see Farg. XXII. Clauses 11–12 are borrowed from Yasna LIV, 1, and form the prayer known as Airyama-ishyô.

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all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *G*ainis.'

[13. Yathâ ahû vairyô:—the will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.

K*e*m nâ mazdâ:—whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

K*e* verethrem *g*â:—who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta! Perish, O fiendish Dru*g*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Dru*g*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!][1]

FARGARD XXI.

Waters and Light.

I (1). Praise of the holy bull.

II (2–3). Invocation addressed to rain as a healing power.

III a (4–7). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the sun.

III b (8–11). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the moon.

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[1] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

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III c (12–17). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the stars.

IV (18–21). Spells against disease.

I.

1. Hail, holy bull[1]! Hail to thee, beneficent bull! Hail to thee, who makest increase! Hail to thee, who makest growth! Hail to thee, who dost bestow thy gifts upon the excellent faithful, and who wilt bestow them on the faithful yet unborn! Hail to thee, whom the *G*ahi kills[2], and the ungodly Ashemaogha, and the wicked tyrant.

II.

2 (3). 'Come, come on, O clouds, along the sky, through the air, down on the earth, by thousands of drops, by myriads of drops:' thus say, O holy Zarathustra! 'to destroy sickness altogether, to destroy death altogether, to destroy altogether the sickness made by the *G*aini[3], to destroy altogether the death made by the *G*aini, to destroy altogether Gadha and Apagadha[4].

3 (9). 'If death come at eve, may healing come at daybreak!

'If death come at daybreak, may healing come at night!

[1] The primeval bull who was created by Ormazd and killed by Ahriman with the help of the *G*ahi. The praise of the holy bull serves as an introduction to the praise of the waters. There were old myths in which a cloud was compared to a bull in the atmosphere, from whom rain was supposed to come. (See Orm. Ahr. § 122 seq.; cf. Introd. V, 5. Clause 1 is to be recited when one meets an ox or any kind of cattle, Gr. Rav. 386.)

[2] Possibly, 'who dost kill the *G*ahi' (by means of gômêz).

[3] The *G*ahi (see Farg. XX, 10) as bringing sickness (cf. Farg. VII, 59).

[4] Names of diseases.

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'If death come at night, may healing come at dawn!

'Let showers shower down new waters, new earth, new trees, new health, and new healing powers.

III a.

4 (15). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters [1], rise up, go up the aerial way and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way [2]. Rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the aerial way [3].

5 (20). 'Up! rise up and roll along! thou swift-horsed sun, above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem [4])[5], along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

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[1] Waters and light are believed to flow from the same spring and in the same bed: 'As light rises up from Hara Berezaiti [Alborz, the mountain by which the earth is surrounded], so waters spring up from it and come back to it' (Bund. XX); every day the sun, moon, and stars rise up from Alborz, and every day all the waters on the earth come back together to the sea Vouru-kasha, and there collected come down again to the earth from the peaks of Alborz (Bund. VII, Gr. Rav. 431; cf. Farg. V, 15 seq.) As light comes from three different sources, the sun, the moon, and the stars, the waters are invoked three times, first in company with the sun, then with the moon, lastly with the stars, as if there should be three different movements of the rain connected with the three movements of light.

[2] Waters come down from the sky to the earth and come up back from the earth to the sky (see Farg. V, 15 seq.)

[3] Doubtful.

[4] 'If thou art a righteous man' (Comm.)

[5] The translation of this clause is doubtful.

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6 (23). 'And thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell[1]: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk;

7 (27). 'A woman[2] rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall make for thee a thousand springs flow and run towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

III b.

8 (30). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters, rise up, go up the aerial way, and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way. Rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the earth[3].

9 (31). 'Up! rise up, thou moon, that dost keep in thee the seed of the bull[4], rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to

[1] Doubtful; the text is corrupt. The spell refers to the cleansing and generative power of the waters; cf. the invocation to Ardvî Sûra, Farg. VII, 16: the waters are supposed to make females fertile as they make the earth. This spell was probably pronounced to facilitate childbirth.

[2] Or better, 'a female;' there are, in the text, two words for 'milk,' the one referring to the milk of women, the other to the milk of cows.

[3] Doubtful.

[4] When the bull died, 'what was bright and strong in his seed was brought to the sphere of the moon, and when it was cleansed there in the light of the astre, two creatures were shaped with it, a male and a female, from which came two hundred and seventy-two kinds of animals' (Bund. IV, X; cf. Orm. Ahr. §§ 125 and 127).

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abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

10 (32). 'And thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk;

11 (32). 'A woman rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall make for thee a thousand springs flow and run towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

III c.

12 (32). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters, rise up, go up the aerial way, and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way. Rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything grow[1].

13 (33). 'Up! rise up, ye stars, that have in you the seed of waters[2], rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

14 (34). 'And thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make

[1] Doubtful.

[2] When Tistrya, the storm god who gives rain, became a star (see Introd. IV, 36), it was thought that there was a relation between the stars and rain.

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the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk;

15 (34). 'A woman rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall make for thee a thousand springs flow and run towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

16 (34). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of waters, rise up and gather together, go up the aerial way and go down on the earth; go down on the earth and go up the aerial way. Rise up and roll along!

17 (35). 'Up! rise up! away will the Ka*hv*u*z*i[1] fly and cry, away will Ayêhi[2] fly and cry, away will the *G*ahi, who is addicted to the Yâtu, fly and cry.

IV.

[18. 'I drive away Ishirê, I drive away Aghûirê, I drive away Aghra, I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness, I drive away death, I drive away pain and fever; I drive away Sârana, I drive away Sârasti, I drive away A*z*ana, I drive away A*z*ahva, I drive away Kurugha, I drive away A*z*ivâka, I drive away Duruka, I drive away Astairya; I drive away the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

19. 'I drive away all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *G*ainis.

20. 'May the much-desired Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathu*s*tra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward

[1] 'He who diminishes light, Ahriman' (Comm.)

[2] 'Sterility, Ahriman' (Comm.)

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that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

21. 'May the much-desired Airyaman smite all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *G*ainis.

22. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:—the will of the Lord . . .[1].

'K*e*m nâ mazdâ:—whom hast thou placed to protect me . . .[1]?

'K*e* verethrem *g*â:—who is he who will smite the fiend . . .[1]?

23. 'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta! Perish, O fiendish Dru*g*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Dru*g*! Perish, away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

FARGARD XXII.

Angra Mainyu creates 99,999 diseases: Ahura Mazda applies for healing to the holy word and to Airyaman.

Airyaman is an old Indo-Iranian god: in the Rig-veda he is an Âditya (Aryaman), who is seldom invoked alone, but nearly always in company with Mitra and Varu*n*a. His name, like Mitra's, means, 'the friend,' and, like Mitra, he is the god of heavenly light, kind, beneficent, and helpful to man.

In the Avesta the word Airyaman has the same meaning as in the Veda; but the character of the god is more fully developed, and whereas he has no distinct personality in the Vedic hymns, he appears here in the character of a healing god, which is derived in a very natural manner from his primitive and general character.

Airyaman abides in a mansion called the mansion of Airyaman (Airyamnô nmânem), which is the same as 'the bright mansion in

[1] As in preceding Fargard, § 13.

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which Mitra, Aryaman, Varuna abide,' according to the Vedas, that is to say, the sky. In later Parsism, Airyaman appears as 'the Ized of Heaven[1].'

This Fargard is unfinished or, more correctly, the end of it is understood. Airyaman, called out from his mansion, comes and digs nine furrows. It is no doubt in order to perform the Barashnûm[2] or some ceremony of that kind, in order to cleanse the unclean, that is to say, the sick man[3], and to restore him to health by virtue of the Nirang and of the holy word. The Fargard ends therefore with spells against sickness and against death.

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion[4], the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I pass!)

2 (5). 'Then the ruffian looked at me[5]; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought by his witchcraft nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Mãthra Spenta[6], thou most glorious one!

3 (8). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; offer them up[7] as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka[8], made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet,

[1] Aspendiârji. [2] See Farg. IX; cf. infra, § 20, n.

[3] See Introd. V, 14.

[4] 'The Garotman' (Comm.), paradise.

[5] And cast on me the evil eye; 'it was by casting the evil eye on the good creatures of Ormazd that Ahriman corrupted them' (Eznig, Refutatio Haeresiarum II).

[6] The holy word.

[7] Possibly, 'I offer them up as a sacrifice.'

[8] An incarnation of weal; here invoked as procuring health.

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high-humped camels; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

4 (12). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push[1]; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand young of all species of small cattle; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

5 (16). 'And I will bless thee with the fair, holy blessing-spell, the friendly, holy blessing-spell, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.

6 (20). 'Mâthra Spenta, the all-glorious, replied unto me: "How shall I heal thee? How shall I drive away from thee those nine diseases, and those ninety, those nine hundred, those nine thousand, and those nine times ten thousand diseases?"'

II.

7 (22). The Maker Ahura Mazda called for Nairyô-sangha[2]: Go thou, Nairyô-sangha, the herald, and drive towards the mansion of Airyaman, and speak thus unto him:

8 (23). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the

[1] Possibly, 'in which there is no blemish.'

[2] The messenger of Ahura Mazda. He was originally the same as the Vedic Narâ-sansa, a name of Agni, chiefly as the sacrificial fire, that is, as the messenger that goes from the heavens to the earth, and from the earth to the heavens. Mazdeism still knows that he is a form of Âtar, the Fire (Yasna XVII, 11 [68]).

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beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I pass!)

9 (24). 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought by his witchcraft nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the much-desired!

10 (26). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

11 (30). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand young of all species of small cattle; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

12 (34). 'And I will bless thee with the fair, holy blessing-spell, the friendly, holy blessing-spell, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

III.

13 (38). In obedience to Ahura's words he went, Nairyô-sangha, the herald; he drove towards the mansion of Airyaman, he spake unto Airyaman, saying:

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14 (38). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I pass!)

15 (39). 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought by his witchcraft nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the much-desired!

16 (40). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

17 (44). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand young of all species of small cattle; offer them up as a sacrifice unto the good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

18 (48). 'And I will bless thee with the fair, holy blessing-spell, the friendly, holy blessing-spell, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

IV.

19 (52). Quickly was it done, nor was it long, eagerly set off the much-desired Airyaman, towards

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the mountain of the holy questions[1], towards the forest of the holy questions.

20 (54). Nine stallions brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman[2].

Nine camels brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman.

Nine bulls brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman.

Nine head of small cattle brought he with him, the much-desired Airyaman.

He brought with him the nine twigs[3]; he drew along nine furrows[4].

[21[5]. 'I drive away Ishirê, I drive away Aghûirê, I drive away Aghra, I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness, I drive away death, I drive away pain and fever; I drive away Sârana, I drive away Sârastya, I drive away Azana, I drive away Azahva, I drive away Kurugha, I drive away Azivâka, I drive away Duruka, I drive away Astairya; I drive away the disease, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created by his witchcraft against the bodies of mortals.

22. 'I drive away all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

---

[1] The mountain where 'the holy conversations' between Ormazd and Zoroaster took place (cf. Farg. XIX, 11, and Introd. 40).

[2] According to Aspendiârji, 'He brought with him the strength of nine stallions,' to infuse it into the sick man (cf. Yasht VIII, 24).

[3] That is to say, 'the nine-knotted stick' (Asp.; cf. Farg. IX, 14).

[4] To perform the Barashnûm, 'the great service of the Nirang-Dîn, through which all evil, moral and natural, including evil passions, disease, and death will be removed' (Wilson, The Parsi Religion, p. 341).

[5] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

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23. 'May the much-desired Airyaman come here for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for the faithful to rejoice; with the desirable reward that is won by means of the law, and with that boon for holiness that is vouchsafed by Ahura.

24. 'May the much-desired Airyaman smite all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *G*ainis.

25. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:—the will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave him to relieve the poor.

'K*e*m nâ mazdâ:—whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

'K*e* verethrem *g*â:—who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta! Perish, O fiendish Dru*g*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Dru*g*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!']

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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . . .	क	[illegible]	[illegible]	ك	ك	כ	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	. . .	. . . .	ख	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	כ	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . . .	ग	[illegible]	[illegible]	گ	. . .	ג	. . .
4 „ aspirata	gh	. . .	. . . .	घ	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	ג	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ق	ق	ק	. . .
6 Nasalis	ṅ (ng)	. . .	. . . .	ङ	{ङ (ng) / [illegible] (N)}	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . . .	ह	[illegible] (ꝏ *hv*)	[illegible]	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 „ lenis	’	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ا	ا	א	. . .
9 „ asper faucalis	‘h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ح	ح	ח	. . .
10 „ lenis faucalis	’h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ع	ع	ע	. . .
11 „ asper fricatus	. . .	*‘h*	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	خ	خ	ח	. . .
12 „ lenis fricatus	. . .	*’h*	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	. . .	*k*	. . . .	च	[illegible]	[illegible]	چ	. . .	. . .	*k*
14 „ aspirata	. . .	*kh*	. . . .	छ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*kh*
15 Media	. . .	*g*	. . . .	ज	[illegible]	[illegible]	ج	ج	. . .	. . .
16 „ aspirata	. . .	*gh*	. . . .	झ	. . . .	. . .	غ	غ	. . .	. . .
17 „ Nasalis	ñ	. . .	. . . .	ञ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

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CONSONANTS (*continued*).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . . .	य	[illegible] init.	و	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(ẙ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 „ lenis	. . .	(ẏ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 „ asper assibilatus . .	. . .	s	. . . .	श	[illegible]	[illegible]	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 „ lenis assibilatus . .	. . .	z	. . . .	. . .	[illegible]	[illegible]	ژ	. . .	. . .	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . . .	त	[illegible]	[illegible]	ت	ت	ת	t
24 „ aspirata	th	. . .	. . . .	थ	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	. . .	ת	th
25 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ث	ث	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . . .	द	[illegible]	و	د	د	ד	. . .
27 „ aspirata	dh	. . .	. . . .	ध	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	. . .	ד	. . .
28 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ذ	ذ	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . . .	न	[illegible]	ا	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . . .	ल	. . . .	ا, ط, ر	ل	ل	ל	l
31 „ mollis 1	. . .	*l*	. . . .	ळ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 „ mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . . .	स	[illegible]	[illegible]	(ث)س	س	ש	s
34 „ asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (ſ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ס	. . .
35 „ lenis	z	. . .	. . . .	. . .	[illegible]	[illegible]	(ذ) ز	ز	ז	z
36 „ asperrimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ص	ص	צ	ʒ, ʒh
37 „ asperrimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ض	. . .	. . .	. . .

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Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)										
38 Tenuis	...	*t*	....	ट	....	...	ط	ط	ט	...
39 „ aspirata	...	*th*	....	ठ	....	...	ظ	ظ	...	...
40 Media	...	*d*	....	ड	ᨡ	ᨡ	...	...	...	...
41 „ aspirata	...	*dh*	....	ढ	....	...	...	ض	...	...
42 Nasalis	...	*n*	....	ण	ᨢ	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	r	...	....	र	ᨣ	ᨣ,ᨤ,ᨥ	ر	ر	ר	...
44 „ fricata	...	*r*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	*r*
45 „ diacritica	...	...	R	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	sh	...	....	ष	ᨤ	ᨤ	...	...	...	sh
47 „ lenis	zh	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
Labiales.										
48 Tenuis	p	...	....	प	ᨥ	ᨥ	پ	...	פ	p
49 „ aspirata	ph	...	....	फ	....	...	...	...	פ	ph
50 Media	b	...	....	ब	ᨦ	ᨦ	ب	ب	ב	...
51 „ aspirata	bh	...	....	भ	....	...	...	...	ב	...
52 Tenuissima	...	*p*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	m	...	....	म	ᨧ	ᨧ	م	م	מ	m
54 Semivocalis	w	...	....	...	ᨨ	...	...	...	...	w
55 „ aspirata	hw	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	f	...	....	...	ᨩ	ᨩ	ف	ف	...	f
57 „ lenis	v	...	....	व	»	ᨩ,ᨪ	و	و	ו	...
58 Anusvâra	...	*m*	....	अं	ᨫ	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	...	*h*	....	अः	....	...	...	...	...	...

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VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
1 Neutralis	0	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ִ	ă
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ĕ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
3 „ labialis	ŏ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	ا fin.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	. . .	. . . .	अ	ـد	ـد init.	ـَ	ـَ	ַ	a
5 „ longa	â	(*a*)	. . . .	आ	ـد	ـد	ـَا	ـَا	ָ	â
6 Palatalis brevis	i	. . .	. . . .	इ	ـِ	. . .	ـِ	ـِ	ִ	i
7 „ longa	î	(*i*)	. . . .	ई	ـِ	ـِ	ـِي	ـِي	ִי	î
8 Dentalis brevis	*li*	. . .	. . . .	ऌ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
9 „ longa	*lî*	. . .	. . . .	ॡ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
10 Lingualis brevis	*ri*	. . .	. . . .	ऋ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
11 „ longa	*rî*	. . .	. . . .	ॠ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
12 Labialis brevis	u	. . .	. . . .	उ	ـُ	. . .	ـُ	ـُ	ֻ	u
13 „ longa	û	(*u*)	. . . .	ऊ	ـُ	ا	ـُو	ـُو	ו	û
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ε (e) ϱ (*e*)	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֶ	e
15 „ longa	ê (ai)	(*e*)	. . . .	ए	ϰϑ, ϰϑ	ـِ	. . .	. . .	ֵ	ê
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi	(*ai*)	. . . .	ऐ	. . . .	. . .	ـَى	ـَى	. . .	âi
17 „ „	ei (ĕi)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ei, êi
18 „ „	oi (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ـِ	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֹ	o
20 „ longa	ô (au)	(*o*)	. . . .	ओ	ـِ	ا	. . .	. . .	ֹו	. . .
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(*au*)	. . . .	औ	ـِ (*au*)	. . .	ـَو	ـَو	. . .	âu
22 „ „	eu (ĕu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
23 „ „	ou (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
25 Palatalis fracta	ï	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Labialis fracta	ü	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

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THE ZEND-AVESTA

PART III

THE YASNA, VISPARAD, ÂFRÎNAGÂN, GÂHS, AND MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

TRANSLATED BY

L. H. MILLS

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1887

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PREFACE.

It would savour of affectation for me to say very much by way of meeting the necessary disadvantages under which I labour as in any sense a successor of Professor Darmesteter. It is sufficient to state that I believe myself to be fully aware of them, and that I trust that those who study my work will accord me the more sympathy under the circumstances. Professor Darmesteter, having extended his labours in his University, found his entire time so occupied that he was obliged to decline further labour on this Series for the present. My work on the Gâthas had been for some time in his hands[1], and he requested me, as a friend, to write the still needed volume of the translation of the Avesta. Although deeply appreciating the undesirableness of following one whose scholarship is only surpassed by his genius, I found myself unable to refuse.

As to my general treatment, experts will not need to be informed that I have laboured under no common difficulties. On the one hand, it would be extremely imprudent for any scholar not placed arbitrarily beyond the reach of criticism, to venture to produce a translation of the Yasna, Visparad, Âfrînagân, and Gâhs, without defensive notes. The smallest freedom would be hypercriticised by interested parties, and after them condemned by their followers. On the other hand, even with the imperfect commentary which accompanies the Gâthas here, the generous courtesy of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press has been too abundantly drawn upon. One does not expect detailed commentaries in this Series. My efforts have therefore been chiefly confined to forestalling the possible assaults of unfair or forgetful critics, and so to spare myself, in so far as it may be possible, the necessity for painful rejoinder.

---

[1] See the Revue Critique, Nov. 26, 1883.

To print a commentary on the Yasna, &c., which would be clear to non-specialists, and at the same time interesting, would occupy many times more space than could be here allowed. In treating the Gâthas however, even at the risk of too great extension, I have endeavoured to atone for the necessary obscurity of notes by ample summaries, and a translation supported by paraphrase, as such matter has more prospect of being generally instructive than a commentary which must necessarily have remained obscure. These summaries should also be read with the more indulgence, as they are the first of their kind yet attempted, Haug's having been different in their scope. With regard to all matters of mere form, I expect from all sides a similar concession. It will, I trust, be regarded as a sufficient result if a translation, which has been built up upon the strictest critical principles, can be made at all readable. For while any student may transcribe from the works of others what might be called a translation of the Yasna, to render that part of it, termed the Gâthas, has been declared by a respected authority, 'the severest task in Aryan philology[1].' And certainly, if the extent of preparatory studies alone is to be the gauge, the statement cited would not seem to be an exaggeration. On mathematical estimates the amount of labour which will have to be gone through to become an independent investigator, seems to be much greater than that which presents itself before specialists in more favoured departments. No one should think of writing with originality on the Gâthas, or the rest of the Avesta, who had not long studied the Vedic Sanskrit, and no one should think of pronouncing ultimate opinions on the Gâthas, who has not to a respectable degree mastered the Pahlavi commentaries. But while the Vedic, thanks to the labours of editor and lexicographers, has long been open to

[1] 'Es bilden diese fünf Gâthâs, die insgesammt metrisch abgefasst sind, den sprachlich wichtigsten, aber auch den weitaus schwierigsten teil des ganzen Avesta, ja man kann sagen, ohne dass man fürchten muss der übertreibung geziehen zu werden, sie bilden den schwierigsten teil der ganzen indogermanischen philologie.' Altiranisches Verbum; von C. Bartholomae; Einleitung, s. 3.

hopeful study, the Pahlavi commentaries have never been thoroughly made out, and writer after writer advances with an open avowal to that effect; while the explanation, if attempted, involves questions of actual decipherment, and Persian studies in addition to those of the Sanskrit and Zend; and the language of the Gâthas requires also the study of a severe comparative philology, and that to an unusual, if not unequalled, extent.

The keen observer will at once see that a department of science so circumstanced may cause especial embarrassment. On the one hand, it is exposed to the impositions of dilettanti, and the hard working specialist must be content to see those who have advanced with studies one half, or less than one half completed, consulted as masters by a public which is only ignorant as regards the innermost laws of the science; and, on the other hand, the deficiencies of even the most laborious of specialists must leave chasms of imperfection out of which the war of the methods must continually re-arise. In handling the Gâthas especially, I have resorted to the plan of giving a translation which is inclusively literal [1], but filled out and rounded as to form by the free use of additions. As the serious student should read with a strong negative criticism, he may notice that I strive occasionally after a more pleasing effect; but, as we lose the metrical flow of the original entirely, such an effort to put the rendering somewhat on a level with the original in this respect, becomes a real necessity. I have, however, in order to guard against misleading the reader, generally, but not always, indicated the added words by parenthetical curves. That these will be considered unsightly and awkward, I am well aware. I consider them such myself, but I have not felt at liberty to refrain from using them. As the Gâthas are disputed word for word, I could not venture to resort to free omissions; and what a translation would be without either additions or omissions, may be

[1] That is approximately so; absolute literalness, even when treated as I propose, would be unmanageably awkward. In another work, I give a word for word rendering of the Gâthas.

seen from the occasional word for word renderings given. Beyond the Gâthas, I have omitted the curves oftener. I have in the Gâthas, as elsewhere, also endeavoured to impart a rhythmical character to the translation, for the reason above given, and foreign readers should especially note the fact, as well as my effort to preserve the colour of original expressions, otherwise they will inevitably inquire why I do not spare words. To preserve the colour and warmth, and at the same time to include a literal rendering, it is impossible to spare words and syllables, and it is unwise to attempt it. Non-specialists may dislike the frequency of alternative renderings as leaving the impression of indecision, while, at the same time, a decision is always expressed by the adoption of a preferred rendering. The alternatives were added with the object of showing how nearly balanced probabilities may be, and also how unimportant to the general sense the questions among specialists often are.

In transliterating, I have followed the plan used in the preceding volumes to avoid confusion, but since the first volume was published, great progress has been made in this particular, and in a separate work I should have adopted a different arrangement [1]. As to other unimportant variations from the preceding volumes in matters of usage and fashion, I trust that no one will dwell on them for a moment [2]. As regards the usual and inevitable differences of opinion on more serious questions, see the remarks in the Introduction [3]. I would also state that I have often avoided rendering identical passages in identical language, as irksome both to reader and writer. I have also not invariably cited the obviously preferable variations of text which have been adopted, and which are so familiar to the

[1] Chiefly as to ȝ, ξ, ϑ, ϱ, ϛ, ϟ, ϕ, ϰ; but I write ص ṣ, ظ ẓ.

[2] As in Âramaiti, Vohu Manah, &c. I also write Neryosangh, and in a few places Gâtha(â), Ahunavaiti(î), &c. I regret not to have written Mazdâh everywhere.

[3] Where I differ from Professor Darmesteter, I desire to be considered as merely proposing alternative renderings. I have therefore omitted a mass of references to the previous volumes as unnecessary.

eye in Westergaard, Spiegel, and Geldner. The texts of Westergaard have been followed necessarily as to extent of matter, as this work is printed before the completion of Geldner's text. The oft-recurring formulas and prayers at the ends of chapters and sections have been left unrendered, and finally for the most part unnoticed, by striking out the useless notes. Citations of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations have been given occasionally in full, in order to meet the extraordinary statements which sometimes appear to the effect that they have not been vital to the interpretation of the Gâthas. But by giving these extracts and by frequently citing the Pahlavi, Neryosangh, and the Persian, I have perhaps exposed myself to the misconception that I am an extreme advocate of the so-called tradition [1], whereas all conscientious critics will acknowledge that I follow the indications of these works with more reserve than any writer who professes to have studied them; in fact I may well apprehend censure from 'traditionalists' in this particular. These Asiatic renderings are cited by me the more fully when those who neglect them agree with their indications; and they are therefore cited to show that, whereas those most opposed to them are nevertheless forgetfully indebted to them in nearly every line, therefore in all cases of great difficulty they should be studied as an absolute necessity before rash conjectures are adopted. For it is exactly where we are all most in doubt, that their indications become of most worth, when rationally considered. These translations should be examined for the relics of the truth, the hints, and traces of original explanations, which may most abound where they are themselves most faulty as translations. I therefore never search them for exact reproductions. But the citations which I give

[1] The relics of a 'tradition' direct from the fountain-head are present in the Asiatic commentaries, and also the relics of a tradition from later, and, as it were, modern scholarship; and, lastly, there are also present the direct results of an ancient scholarship; but to speak of the Pahlavi translations as 'tradition,' is merely to use a convenient phrase. I know of no scholar who supposes these commentaries to be in a simple sense 'tradition' from the earliest Zend writers.

here constitute only a very small fraction of those needed. An argument should be built up on the fullest statements of the circumstances, elucidated with scientific completeness. This alone would have any prospect of obliging investigators to acknowledge the truth; for not only inertia and prejudice are arrayed on the other side, but even interest. This much is said of the Pahlavi translations; for Ner. is properly cited only as a translation of a translation, and, as such, of the highest authority[1]; so of the Persian.

Zendists will observe that I by no means abandon explanations merely because they are old, a practice which seems almost the fashion. I, however, fully approve of testing and assailing again and again all suggestions whether old or new. I would simply assert that, while the tasks before us remain still so very extensive, it would be better for scholars to exercise their sagacity upon passages which call loudly for wise conjecture, leaving those which are clear as they stand, for later assaults. It will be seen that I myself by no means approve of refraining from conjecture[2], but I would only in all humility insist that we should not abandon ourselves to unprepared conjecture. As is known[3], I have attempted the present rendering after more than ten years of close labour, and after a full trans-

[1] It is to be hoped that our occupations are sufficiently serious to allow us to pass over the imperfections of Neryosangh's Sanskrit style. He was especially cramped in his mode of expressing himself by a supposed necessity to attempt to follow his original (which was not the Gâthic but the Pahlavi) word for word. His services were most eminently scholarly, and, considering his disadvantages, some of the greatest which have been rendered. Prof. R. v. Roth and Dr. Aurel Stein have kindly transcribed for me valuable variations.

[2] It will be regarded, however, as especially desirable that, in a report from a specialist to the learned public in general, the texts should on no account be violated by conjectural improvements where they are at all translatable; alternatives are therefore added. As has been remarked by a recent reviewer on the new version of the Scriptures, there is scarcely a line of very ancient writings which scholars are not tempted to amend; but such emendations are seldom agreed to among specialists. A first translation should always be attempted with the texts as they stand.

[3] See the Athenæum, April 12, 1884; and the Academy, Sept. 13, 1884. On the entire subject in its connection with the Gnostic and modern philosophies, my special labours have included a much longer period of time than that mentioned.

lation of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations, together with an edition of the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts of the Gâthas. It is proper to add that for the purpose of keeping the judgment free from prejudice, and open to honest conviction from the influence of the *Rig*-veda, I have followed the practice for a number of years of transcribing the Hymns of the Veda into English in word for word written studies, having already so treated by far the greater part of them; some of these are in curtailed statement, others needlessly full. I have also, on the other hand, turned a large portion of the Gâthas into Vedic Sanskrit. (This, however, is practically a universal custom, as all words are compared with the Vedic, so far as analogies exist between the Gâthas and the *Rik*s.) If therefore the opposed schools regard me as erring in too implicit a reliance on the hints of the Asiatics on the one side, or in too decided a tendency to read the Gâthic as Vedic on the other, they may be assured that I have not erred from interest or prejudice. That my results will please both parties it is folly to expect, in fact perfection in the rendering of the Gâthas (as of some other ancient works) is for ever unattainable, and not to be looked for; moreover, it would not be recognised, if attained; for no writer, whosoever he may be, can produce a rendering of the Gâthas without meeting the assaults of ignorance or design. However imperfect my results may be supposed to be, it is to be hoped that they will contribute some little toward establishing a convention among scholars as to what the Gâthic and Zend writings mean; meanwhile it is confidently expected that they will fulfil the requirements of the science of comparative theology. Whatever may be the ultimate truth as to questions of close detail, the Yasna, as well as the rest of the Avesta, is clear as to its creed.

My list of obligations is a long one, in fact so long that I fear I can express but little compliment in naming advisers, as I have made it a practice to consult all available persons, as well as books. Making one exception, I will therefore reserve to myself the pleasure of recalling them to a future occasion.

It is sufficient to say here that while I follow a new departure in the treatment of the Asiatic commentaries, yet the most prominent writers of the opposing schools have courteously favoured me with their advice. Availing myself of the exception named, I would take the liberty to express my gratitude, here especially, to Dr. E. W. West, our first authority on Pahlavi, for placing at my disposal various readings of the Pahlavi text of the Yasna, of which we have hitherto only possessed a single MS. in the Pahlavi character, that contained in the oldest Zend writing, the Codex numbered five, in the Library of Copenhagen. The variations referred to were transcribed by Dr. West from the venerable MS., the hereditary property of Dastur Dr. *G*âmâspg*i* Mino*k*ihar*g*i Asana of Bombay, and written only nineteen (or twenty-two) days later than that numbered five in the Library of Copenhagen. By this generous loan I have been enabled to print elsewhere the first text of the Pahlavi of the Gâthas yet edited with comparison of MSS., likewise also for the first time translated, in its entirety, into a European language. For this Dr. West, during an extended correspondence, has furnished me with information on the Pahlavi not obtainable elsewhere, together with corrections and revisions. There is another eminent friend whose sacrifices of time and labour on my behalf have been exceptional, but I will defer the mention of Zend scholars.

I take this opportunity to express my acknowledgments to Professor Dr. von Halm of the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, in Munich, for allowing me the free use of Codex 12[b], of Haug's Collection, both at Stuttgart and Hanover; also to Professor Dr. Wilmanns of Göttingen; Geheimrath Dr. Förstemann of Leipsic; and Herr Rath Bodemann of Hanover, for the loan of a large number of valuable works from their respective public libraries, often, with great liberality, renewed.

L. H. MILLS.

HANOVER, February, 1886.

INTRODUCTION.

MANY readers, for whom the Zend-Avesta possesses only collateral interest, may not understand why any introductory remarks are called for to those portions of it which are treated in this volume. The extent of the matter does not appear at first sight a sufficient reason for adding a word to the masterly work which introduces the first two volumes, and, in fact, save as regards questions which bear upon the Gâthas, I avoid for the most part, for the present, all discussion of details which chiefly concern either the sections treated in the first two volumes, or the extended parts of the later Avesta treated here. But the Gâthas are of such a nature, and differ so widely from other parts of the Avesta, that some words of separate discussion seem quite indispensable, and such a discussion was recommended by the author of the other volumes. A second reason why a word of introduction is necessary, when the translation of the successive parts of the Avesta passes from one hand to another, is a reason which bears upon the subject with exceptional force.

It is this: the Avesta, while clearly made out, so far as the requirements of comparative theology are concerned, yet presents difficulties as to minute detail so great, that as yet no two independent scholars can entirely agree as to their solution. Master and pupil, friend and friend, must differ, and sometimes on questions of no trivial moment.

The preliminary studies requisite to the formation of ultimate opinions are so varied, and of such a nature, involving the rendering of matter as yet totally unrendered with any scientific exactness in either India or Europe, that no person can claim to have satisfied himself in these respects. Scholars are therefore obliged to advance biassed by the fact that they are preponderatingly Iranists, or preponder-

atingly Vedists, and therefore certain at the outset that they must differ to a certain degree from each other, and to a certain degree also from the truth. It was also, as might well be understood without statement, with a full knowledge of the fact that I was inclined to allow especial weight to a comparison with the Veda, and that I modified the evidence of tradition somewhat more than he did, that Professor Darmesteter urged me to accept this task. But while I am constrained to say something by way of a preparatory treatise here, a sense of the fitness of things induces me to be as brief as possible, and I must therefore ask indulgence of the reader if my mode of expressing myself seems either rough or abrupt.

As to what the Gâthas are in their detail, enough has been said in the summaries and notes. From those representations, necessarily somewhat scattered, it appears that they comprise seventeen sections of poetical matter, equal in extent to about twenty-five to thirty hymns of the *Rig*-veda, composed in ancient Aryan metres, ascribing supreme (beneficent) power to the Deity Ahura Mazda, who is yet opposed co-ordinately by an evil Deity called Aka Manah, or Angra Mainyu. In all respects, save in the one particular that He is not the Creator of this evil Deity, and does not possess the power to destroy him or his realm, this Ahura Mazda is one of the purest conceptions which had yet been produced. He has six personified attributes (so one might state it), later, but not in the Gâthas, described as Archangels, while in the Gâthas they are at once the abstract attributes of God, or of God's faithful adherents upon earth, and at the same time conceived of as persons, all efforts to separate the instances in which they are spoken of as the mere dispositions of the divine or saintly mind, and those in which they are spoken of as personal beings, having been in vain.

We have therefore a profound scheme, perhaps not consciously invented, but being a growth through centuries; and this system is the unity of God in His faithful creatures. It is not a polytheism properly so-called, as Ahura forms with his Immortals a Heptade, reminding one of the Sabellian Trinity. It is not a Pantheism, for it is especially

arrested by the domain of the evil Deity. It might be called, if we stretch the indications, a Hagio-theism, a delineation of God in the holy creation. Outside of the Heptade is Sraosha, the personified Obedience (and possibly Vayu, as once mentioned); and, as the emblem of the pious, is the Kine's soul, while the Fire is a poetically personified symbol of the divine purity and power. As opposed to the good God, we have the Evil Mind, or the Angry (?) Spirit, not yet provided with full personified attributes to correspond to the Bountiful Immortals. He has, however, a servant, Aêshma, the impersonation of invasion and rapine, the chief scourge of the Zarathustrians; and an evil angel, the Drug, personified deceit, while the Daêvas (Devas) of their more southern neighbours (some of whose tribes had remained, as servile castes, among the Zarathustrians) constitute perhaps the general representatives of Aka Manah, Aêshma, the Drug, &c. The two original spirits unite in the creation of the good and evil in existence both actually in the present, and in principles which have their issue in the future in rewards and punishments. The importance of this creed, so far stated, as the dualistical creation, and, as an attempted solution, of the hardest problem of speculation, should be obvious to every enlightened eye. If there existed a supreme God whose power could undo the very laws of life, no evil could have been known; but the doctrine denies that there is any such being. The good and the evil in existence limit each other. There can be no happiness undefined by sorrow, and no goodness which does not resist sin. Accordingly the evil principle is recognised as so necessary that it is represented by an evil God. His very name, however, is a thought, or a passion; while the good Deity is not responsible for the wickedness and grief which prevail. His power itself could not have prevented their occurrence. And He alone has an especially objective name, and one which could only be applied to a person. These suggestions, whether true or false, are certainly some of the most serious that have ever been made[1], and we find them originally here.

[1] Haug long since called attention to the likeness of Hegelianism to the

As to the nature of religious rewards and punishments, we have suggestions scarcely less important in the eye of scientific theology, and, as a matter of fact, very much more extensively spread. To say that the future rewards held out in the Gâthas were largely, if not chiefly, spiritual, and in the man himself, would be almost a slur upon the truth. The truth is, that the mental heaven and hell with which we are now familiar as the only future states recognised by intelligent people, and thoughts which, in spite of their familiarity, can never lose their importance, are not only used and expressed in the Gâthas, but expressed there, so far as we are aware, for the first time. While mankind were delivered up to the childish terrors of a future replete with horrors visited upon them from without, the early Iranian sage announced the eternal truth that the rewards of Heaven, and the punishments of Hell, can only be from within. He gave us, we may fairly say, through the systems which he has influenced, that great doctrine of subjective recompense, which must work an essential change in the mental habits of every one who receives it. After the creation of souls, and the establishment of the laws which should govern them, Âramaiti gives a body, and men and angels begin their careers. A Mâthra is inspired for the guidance of the well-disposed. The faithful learn the vows of the holy system under the teaching of the Immortals, while the infidel and reprobate portion of mankind accept the seductions of the Worst Mind, and unite with the Daêvas in the capital sin of warfare from wanton cruelty, or for dishonest acquisition. The consequence of this latter alliance is soon apparent. The Kine, as the representative of the holy people, laments under the miseries which make Iranian life a load. The efforts to draw a livelihood from honest labour are opposed, but not frustrated, by the Daêva-worshipping tribes who still struggle with the Zarathustrians for the control of the territory. The Kine therefore lifts

chief ideas in the Zarathustrian philosophy as centring in its dualism. And I think that it is quite evident, and I believe conceded by experts, that the Hegelian sublated dualism is a descendant from the Zarathustrian through the Gnostics and Jacob Boehme.

her wail to Ahura, and His Righteous Order, Asha, who respond by the appointment of Zarathustra, as the individual entrusted with her redemption; and he, accepting his commission, begins his prophetic labours. From this on we have a series of lamentations, prayers, praises, and exhortations, addressed by Zarathustra and his immediate associates to Ahura and the people, which delineate the public and personal sorrows in detail, utter individual supplications and thanksgivings, and exhort the masses assembled in special or periodical meetings.

Here, it must be noted, that the population among whom these hymns were composed were chiefly agriculturists and herdsmen. Circumstances which affected their interests as such were of course paramount with them, and as their land and cattle represented their most valuable property, whatever threatened them was the most of all things to be dreaded. Accordingly rapine, and the raid, whether coming from Turanians or Daêva-worshippers, were regarded as the most terrible of visitations. But their moral earnestness in their determination to avoid rapine on their part, even when tempted by a desire for retaliation, is especially to be noted [1]. It was as awful when regarded as a sin as it was when suffered as an affliction; and their animus in this particular was most exceptional. While the above facts explain to us, on the one hand, the principal deities, and the peculiar hopes and fears which inspired their worship, they lead us also, on the other hand, to wonder the more that so subtle a theology as we have found expressed in the documents, should have arisen amid so simple a community.

In the course of the recitations we have also special intimations of an organised struggle of the Daêva-party to overwhelm the Zarathustrians. At times they seem very nearly to have accomplished their object. A distinct reference to a battle in the lines occurs, while sanguinary violence is alluded to more than once as in

[1] They pray against Aêshma without qualification. They might practise desolating havoc in time of war; but the raid, as in times of nominal peace, seems to have been foreign to them.

the line, or in skirmish. We conclude from the prevalence of a thankful tone that the Zarathustrians gained the upper hand during the Gâthic period, but although the result may have been assured, the struggle at the time of the last Gâtha was by no means over. In the latest Gâtha, as in the earliest, we have signs of fierce and bloody conflict. The same type of existence prevailed greatly later, in the time of the Yasts, but the scene seems very different, and Zarathustra's human characteristics are wholly lost in the mythical attributes with which time and superstition had abundantly provided him. By way, then, of summarising the chief characteristics of his original system, we may say that he and his companions were struggling to establish a kingdom under the Sovereign Power of God, whose first care was to relieve suffering, and shelter the honest and industrious poor[1]. This kingdom was to be conducted according to His holy Order, or plan of salvation, to be permeated by living Piety, and with the ultimate object of bestowing both Weal and Immortality. This high ideal was also not left as an abstract principle to work its way. Society was far too rudimental, then as ever, for the efficient survival of unsupported principles. A compact hierarchical system seems to have existed, the sacramental object being the fire, before which a priesthood officiated with unwavering zeal; but the traces of this are very restricted in the Gâthas, and, according to all probability, it was greatly less elaborated at their period than later.

Such, in very brief outline, is the system which meets us as Zarathustrianism in that period of Mazda-worship when Zarathustra lived and composed the Gâthic hymns.

As to the further question, 'Who was Zarathustra, and when and where did he live?' diversity of opinion still pre-

[1] The practical operation of this prime principle seems to have been at times beneficial to a remarkable, if not unparalleled, extent. Under the Sasanids the lower classes enjoyed great protection. See the remarks of Professor Rawlinson, The Seventh Oriental Monarchy, page 440 ff. Also recall the extraordinary treatment of the poor during the drought and famine under Perozes. The account is, however, exaggerated. See Tabari II, p. 130, cited by Professor Rawlinson, p. 314.

vails, so much so that as regards it I differ slightly even from my eminent friend and predecessor. As such differences on the subject of the Avesta are however matters of course, I freely state my impressions. Who was then the person, if any person, corresponding to the name Zarathustra in the Gâthas? Did he exist, and was he really the author of these ancient hymns? That he existed as an historical person I have already affirmed; and as to the hymns ascribed to him and his immediate associates, I have also no hesitation. Parts of these productions may have been interpolated, but the Gâthas, as a whole, show great unity, and the interpolations are made in the spirit of the original. And that Zarathustra was the name of the individual in which this unity centres, we have no sufficient reason to dispute. The name is mentioned in the most sacred connections, as well as in those which depict the reality of the prophet's sufferings; and there is no reason at all why it should have come down endeared to humanity, unless it belonged to one, who, in the presence of a Sovereign and a kingdom, could impress his personality with greatly more defined distinctness upon his contemporaries than either that Sovereign or any of his adherents [1]. That any forgery is present in the Gâthas, any desire to palm off doctrines upon the sacred community in the name of the great prophet, as in the Vendîdâd and later Yasna, is quite out of the question. The Gâthas are genuine in their mass, as I believe no scholar anywhere now questions.

For the characteristics of this great teacher, I refer to the hymns themselves, which stand alone, of their kind, in literature. Nowhere, at their period, had there been a human voice, so far as we have any evidence, which uttered thoughts like these. They are now, some of them, the great commonplaces of philosophical religion; but till then they were unheard (agustâ).

And yet we must say of Zarathustra, as of all our first announcers, that while he antedates all whose records have come down to us, he was probably only the last visible link

[1] See especially the remarks preceding Y. L.

in a far extended chain. His system, like those of his predecessors and successors, was a growth. His main conceptions had been surmised, although not spoken before. His world was ripe for them, and when he appeared, he had only to utter and develop them. I would not call him a reformer; he does not repudiate his predecessors. The old Aryan Gods retire before the spiritual Ahura; but I do not think that he especially intended to discredit them. One of the inferior ones is mentioned for a moment, but the great Benevolence, Order, and Power, together with their results in the human subject, Ahura's Piety incarnate in men, and their Weal and Immortality as a consequence, crowd out all other thoughts. His mental insight is as evident from his system as his deep moral inspiration. As to his secondary characteristics, his manner of thought and expression, we find them peculiar to the last degree. He has given us writings in which every syllable seems loaded with thought, sometimes much repeated, and to us of the present day, very familiar; but then, when he wrote, one would suppose that he intended to 'utter his dark speech.' Succinctness is carried to an unexampled extreme[1], while the wonderful idea that God's attributes are His messengers sent out into the human soul to ennoble and redeem, makes him at times so subtle that the latest scholars cannot tell whether he means Asha and Vohu Manah personified as Archangels, or as the thoughts and beneficent intentions of the Deity reproduced in men. I can recall no passage whatsoever in which Vohu Manah, Asha, Khshathra, &c., are not strongly felt to mean exactly what they signify as words, while at the same time they are prayed to, and besought to come, as Gods or angels. Either the personification is purely poetical, which would make it, as found in the Gâthas, considering their age and place, a very remarkable phenomenon, or else, having dogmatically personified the divine attributes, Zarathustra never forgets to express a respect which is higher than 'a respect for persons,' that is,

[1] I regard it as most unfortunate that Zendists should search for easy and natural expression in the Gâthas, and the expression of commonplace detail. It is only in passionate utterance that their style becomes simple.

a respect for the principles which they represent. In making every laudatory statement, however, I take for granted, what I fear is nevertheless far from uniformly granted, and that is, that the reader will weigh well what makes all the difference, namely, the very remote period at which we are obliged to place the Gâthas, and the comparatively rude civilisation amid which we must suppose them to have been composed. We must set the ideas which lie before us in this framework of time and place. If we fail to do so, as a matter of course the thoughts and their expression will contain for us nothing whatever new; but as viewed in the light of relation, after long weighing the matter, I cannot refer to them in any other terms than those which I use, without becoming aware that I am recoiling through fear of exaggeration from stating what I believe to be the truth.

As to the personal sentiment of Zarathustra, we can only say that it was devoted. His word zarazdâiti gives the keynote to his purposes. We are certain that he was a man of courage; but that he was not scrupulous at shedding blood is also evident. He was not reticent under misfortune, while yet endowed with rare persistence to overcome it.

His sphere was not restricted. The objects which concern him are provinces as well as villages, armies as well as individuals. His circle was the reigning prince and prominent chieftains, a few gifted men deeply embued with religious veneration for the sacred compositions which had come down to them from primeval antiquity in ancient metres; and these, together with a priesthood exceptionally pure, leading on a sobered population, were also his public. But three orders appear in it, the king, the people, and the peers. That the times were disturbed is involved in what has already been said. One feature alone needs mention, it is that the agitations involved the tenure of the throne. Vîstâspa had no easy seat, and the prospect of revolution in the sense of supersedure was continually before him. As to the family life of Zarathustra, we can only say that he commanded respect; nothing whatever is further known.

It will be seen from the above sketch that I make the widest distinction between the Gâthic period and that of the

later Avesta. I do so, not influenced very greatly by the fact that the Gâthas are cited in the later Avesta. Most of these citations are indeed genuine and valid as proofs of priority, while others are mere displacements of the Gâthas made for liturgical purposes, as Genesis is read in churches sometimes after portions of later matter. But a book may be cited by another when it is merely prior to it, and not much older. Nor do I lay too much stress upon the difference between the Gâthic dialect and the so-called Zend; but I do lay very great stress upon the totally dissimilar atmospheres of the two portions. In the Gâthas all is sober and real. The Kine's soul is indeed poetically described as wailing aloud, and the Deity with His Immortals is reported as speaking, hearing, and seeing; but with these rhetorical exceptions, everything which occupies the attention is practical in the extreme. G*r*ehma and B*en*dva, the Karpans, the Kavis, and the Usig*s*(-ks), are no mythical monsters. No dragon threatens the settlements, and no fabulous beings defend them. Zarathu*s*tra, *G*âmâspa, Frashao*s*tra, and Maidhyômâh; the Spitâmas, Hvôgvas, the Haê*k*a*t*-aspas, are as real, and are alluded to with a simplicity as unconscious, as any characters in history. Except inspiration, there are also no miracles. All the action is made up of the exertions and passions of living and suffering men. Let the Zendist study the Gâthas well, and then let him turn to the Ya*s*ts or the Vendîdâd; he will go from the land of reality to the land of fable. He leaves in the one a toiling prophet, to meet in the other a phantastic demi-god. However ancient the fundamental ideas in the myths of the Ya*s*ts and Vendîdâd may be (and some of them were certainly older than the Gâthas or the oldest *Ri*ks) in the forms in which they now stand, they are greatly later.

As we enter into further and necessary detail, this seems to be the place for a word as to the relative ages of the several sections which make up these hymns. We see struggle and suffering, fear and anger in some of them, and we naturally group these together as having been composed at a particular stage in Zarathu*s*tra's career. We read expressions of happy confidence, and we refer them to a

period of repose, as we do those sections where meditation, speculation, or dogmatic statement, are prominent; but nothing is certain except that Y. LIII must have been written after Zarathustra had attained to a sufficient age to have a marriageable daughter. An ancient leader may have reached a position of influence from doctrinal productions, and afterwards expressed the vicissitudes of an active political career. One circumstance must, however, be held in view; and that is, that neither the Gâthas, nor any other ancient pieces, which were hardly at first committed to writing, have been preserved in the form in which they were delivered for the first time. The poet himself would file them into better (?) order at each subsequent delivery, and verses which referred originally to one period of time would, if especially striking, be reproduced in subsequent effusions. And pieces which the composer may have left in one shape, his early successors would be likely to modify by interpolations, excerptions, or inversions. I believe that the Gâthas show the presence of less foreign matter than is usual, and that the interpolations which are present in them, are themselves of great antiquity, or even practically synchronous with the original. Certainly few of them show anything like an ingenious attempt at imitation. If there exist any interpolations, and we may say à priori that all existing compositions of their antiquity are, and must have been, interpolated, the additions were the work of the author's earliest disciples who composed fully in his spirit, while the position of sections in this or that Gâtha has little or nothing to do with the question of their relative age, the metres being all ancient, and the U*s*tavaiti, Spe*n*ta-mainyu, &c., showing as decided evidence of originality as any parts of the Ahunavaiti. (See remarks on the Gâtha U*s*tavaiti, p. 91 ff.)

As we proceed from the question of the relative age of the particular sections as compared with each other to that of their age considered as a whole, we are first met by the question as to place. Were the Gâthas first sung in the East or the West of Iran? I would here say that I regard this point as especially open, as I am even inclined to differ in one particular from my eminent friend

Professor Darmesteter, but let it be understood, only or chiefly, as to the place of origin of the Gâthas. I think that the scene of the Gâthic and original Zarathustrianism was the North-east of Iran, and that the later Avesta was composed during the hundreds of years during which the Zarathustrian tribes were migrating westward in Media.

One certain fact is the occurrence of geographical names in Vendîdâd I, which are obviously intended to describe the earliest homes of the Iranian races whose lore was the Avesta. The present forms of those names, as they appear in the Avesta, are indeed not the most ancient, but they occur in passages which plainly repeat very ancient myths. These names describe a region from the middle of the North of Iran to the East of it, including ancient Bactria, but extending as far West as Ragha; and, as the Gâthas are unanimously acknowledged to be the oldest portion of the Avesta, dealing as they do with Zarathustra as an historical person, we naturally look for the scene of his life in the oldest seats. The Zarathustrian Ragha, much further West than the other places mentioned, seems to have a special claim to be regarded as his birthplace, as it possesses so firm a hold upon his name, but the epithet Zarathustrian, together with the special eminence of the governor of Ragha as needing no 'Zarathustra' over him, that is, no imperial chief (see Y. XIX, 19), may both be attributed to successors of Zarathustra. From some reason, probably the migration of Zarathustrian influence toward the West, Ragha became a stronghold of his descendants; or his name, entirely apart from all family connection, may have become a title for leading politico-ecclesiastical officials (compare the Zarathustrótema). There is no mention of a foreign origin of Zarathustra in the Gâthas, nor is there any expression from which we might infer it. His family seems as settled as himself. The Spitâmas are mentioned with the same familiarity as the Hvógvas, and the persons named are, some of them, related to him. He was no isolated figure among the people whom he influenced. Unless then we can place Vistâspa and Gâmâspa, Frashaostra, and Maidhyómáh, in Ragha, we cannot well place Zarathustra there,

for he is to be placed beside them. Tradition of a late and dubious character places Vîstâspa in Bactria; but it is better to leave the exact region undecided, as certainty can never be reached.

The other circumstances which are imperative with many for a decision for the East as the region where Zarathustra laboured, have been stated with perhaps the greatest power and beauty by Darmesteter [1], who still inclines to the West. These are the strong analogies existing between the Zend language and the Vedic Sanskrit on the one side, and between the gods, heroes, and myths of the Avesta, and those of Veda, on the other.

As bearing, however, in favour of a western origin of the Gâthic, as well as of the later Avesta, we must confess that the West Iranian of the Cuneiform Inscriptions possesses the same analogies with the Vedic which the language of the Avesta possesses with it; and no reader should need to be reminded that the West Iranian as well as the East Iranian was in no sense derived from the Vedic. The old Aryan from which all descended was once spread without distinction over both West and East, while, on the other hand, the mythological features of the Avesta, kindred as they are to those of the Eastern Veda, are yet reproduced for us, some of them, in the poetry of the mediæval West as drawn from the Avesta; and the name of Mazda, unknown (?) to the *Ṛ*ks [2], appears cut in the rocks of Persepolis and Behistun, while all the sacred books of the Zarathustrians, including the Gâthas as well as the later Avesta, together with their interpretations, have come down to us from the West, where the Greeks also found their system from the time of Herodotus down.

Added to which we must acknowledge that the differences in dialect between the Avesta and Veda make a wide separation as to place far from startling, while myths as well as religions migrate as by a law.

We must therefore consider well before we venture to differ from those who decide for the West as the scene of Zarathustra's life.

[1] See the Introduction to the first two volumes, and also Ormuzd and Ahriman.

[2] But cp. *R*v. VIII, 20, 17, divó—ásurasya vedhásaḥ (medhasaḥ (?)).

But as we mention the Inscriptions, we must make a very careful distinction. Is their theology that of Zarathustra? If it is, this would certainly constitute a point in conjunction with the descriptions of the Greeks, in favour of a still more extensive prevalence of Zarathustrianism in the West at the dates which the Inscriptions cover.

As to this disputed point, I would answer that their theology may be the Zarathustrian in a sense as yet too little applied to the term, for it may be Gâthic Zarathustrianism, or at least a Mazda-worship at a stage of development corresponding to the stage of Mazda-worship in which it stood when Zarathustra left it; but that it was the later and fully developed Zarathustrianism, provided with all the regulations of the Vendîdâd, seems out of the question.

In the first place there is no certain mention of Angra Mainyu, or of the Amesha Spenta, in the Inscriptions; and this silence must be accounted for[1] in any case[2].

The ready and just suggestion is made that the documents are exceedingly limited; that many deities would not be named on so narrow a space, while the statements of Herodotus and his successors make it probable that the entire system of Zarathustra was known in the near neighbourhood, and must have been very familiar to the persons who ordered the Inscriptions to be cut. To this the necessary rejoinder might be made, that the familiarity of Darius with the later, or indeed with the original, Zarathustrianism, if he was familiar with it, renders the absence of the name of Angra Mainyu at least all the more striking.

What more imperative call could there be for the use of that name than in denouncing the opponents whose overthrow forms the theme of the mighty writings?

As the 'grace of Auramazda' is mentioned on the one

[1] Some relief is given by a mention of the Draogha, but the bagâhya are probably Mithra and Anâhita (see the Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, 4) rather than the Amesha Spenta. As we notice the name of Mithra, however, we must remark that, as the Mithra worship undoubtedly existed previously to the Gâthic period, and fell into neglect at the Gâthic period, it might be said that the greatly later Inscriptions represent Mazda-worship as it existed among the ancestors of the Zarathustrians in a pre-Gâthic age or even Vedic age.

[2] Angra Mainyu and the Amesha are also prominent in the Gâthas.

side, one naturally expects to see some reference to the 'opposition' of His chief adversary on the other, and one also expects to trace some certain recognition of the Bountiful Immortals. I think that both were omitted because their names retained less weight, as we cannot suppose that they were unknown, or, if once known, then forgotten. But allowing that it is not quite fair to reason from such scanty texts, we are met by the positive fact that an important Inscription is written on a tomb[1]; and, as the burial of the dead was one of the most flagrant violations of the Zarathustrian ceremonial law, it is not conceivable that Darius could have been a Zarathustrian according to the later Faith. He was either a heretical schismatic departing from a sacred precept, or he was following the creed of his fathers, a Mazda-worshipper, but not 'of Zarathustra's order,' or, if a Zarathustrian, then a partial inheritor of Zarathustra's religion at an undeveloped stage, while burial was not as yet forbidden by it; and at the same time he neglected also prominent doctrines of the Gâthas.

It is not possible that he could have been an isolated schismatic as to such a particular. If he composed the Inscriptions as a monarch of another religion than that of the later Avesta, it would seem to prove either that he was an adherent to a cruder, or half effaced, form of Gâthic Zarathustrianism, which had found its way during the long periods of its existence westward before the later Zarathustrianism arose in the western settlements, or else that it, the religion of the Inscriptions, simply originated where we find it, from an original and wide-spread Mazda-worship which had not yet forbidden the burial of the dead[2].

[1] And all are the Inscriptions of buried men. See also the statements of Professor de Harlez on the subject.

[2] And perhaps it had also not forbidden cremation. Geiger (see 'The Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times;' English translation by Dârâb Dastur Peshotan Sañgânâ, B. A., p. 90) conjectures that the dakhma were originally places for cremation. If this is a correct surmise, both burial and cremation may have been permitted at the Gâthic period, being forbidden long after. At least the original Mazda-worship did not recoil from cremation, otherwise the story of the attempt to burn the Lydian Crœsus could not have arisen. The earlier Persians had no abhorrence of either burial or burning. Only the developed Zarathustrian Magism of the Medes obeyed the Vendîdâd.

That such a Mazda-worship once existed in primeval Iran seems certain, and that it was greatly earlier than Zarathustrianism [1]. It is also very probable that some form of it survived unadulterated by Zarathustrianism. And this is as probable à priori when we reflect on what might have happened, as it is when we seek for an explanation of the burial of a Mazda-worshipper in a tomb.

As the Asura (Ahura) worship extended into India with the Indians as they migrated from Iran, a form of Asura worship arose in Iran which added the name of Mazda to the original term for God. In the East it began to acquire additional peculiarities out of which, when Zarathustra arose, he developed his original system, while in other parts of Iran, and with great probability in Persia, it retained its original simplicity. At subsequent periods only, the Zarathustrian form spread, first at the Gâthic stage, and later a second time, and from a centre further West, as the Zarathustrianism of the later Avesta which is reported by the Greeks. Either then Darius was a Mazda-worshipper, like his fathers, following an original and independent type of Mazda-worship, or he was following a mutilated Gâthic Zarathustrianism, which may not yet have forbidden burial [2], he and his chieftains adhering to this ancient form, while the masses yielded to the novelties, as the patrician Jews held to Sadduceeism after the masses had become Pharisees, and as the patrician Romans clung to Paganism after Rome had become Catholic. In either case it seems to me that the Mazda-worship of the Inscriptions might be severed from the later Zarathustrianism; and that it must be so severed on some theory or other, all with one voice seem to agree.

In deciding for the North-east [3] as the scene of Zarathustra's personal labours, and for the Gâthic dialect as its more particular form of speech, I am not, I trust, solely

[1] Compare even the Scythic name Thamimasadas, cited by Professor Rawlinson (Herod. 3rd edit. iii, p. 195). Were branches of the Scyths themselves in a sense Mazda-worshippers, or could the name have been borrowed?

[2] And which insisted less upon the personality of Satan.

[3] The name Bactrian cannot be considered as more than a convenient expression.

or unduly influenced by the occurrence of the eastern names in the first chapter of the Vendîdâd, for those names may indicate primeval homes from which the ancestors of Zarathustra migrated toward the west centuries before his appearance. I merely say that the occurrence of the names shows that the ancestors of the Zarathustrian Mazda-worshippers once lived in East Iran; and if that is the case, their descendants may have still lived there when Zarathustra developed his system, and it is also possible that masses of Zarathustrians may long have remained behind in the East Iranian mountains after the Zarathustrians of the later Avesta had gone west. The descendant may have arisen in the home of his ancestors, and in fact. other things being equal, there is a stronger probability that he arose there. I do not think that the appearance of a later Zarathustrianism in the west, is a sufficient reason for doubting that the founder of the system laboured nearer the land of the Vedas, where a Vîstâspa once ruled (?), where a Daêva-worship long lingered, and where the common names of the Irano-indian gods were heard as household words, and which, we may add, was precisely the place where we should suppose the Indo-aryans to have left the Irano-aryans, as they descended into the Pu*ñg*âb.

Having formed an opinion as to the place where Zarathustra laboured, and proceeding to the question as to when he lived and wrote the Gâthas, we find ourselves under the necessity to form our estimate first as to the age of the later parts of the Avesta. While interpolated passages, or indeed whole Yasts, may be very late, I cannot place the later Avesta in its bulk later than the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Darius, for the fact that the Inscriptions preserve either a pre-Zarathustrian Mazdaism, or the Zarathustrianism of the Gâthas long previous as it was in its origin to that of the Vendîdâd, has nothing whatever to do with the relative age of the Inscriptions themselves. The later Avesta, with its forbiddal of burial and cremation, must have existed for a long time side by side with that religion which has left sepulchral monuments, and

whose adherents could contemplate the burning of captives; and analogous facts are universal.

But aside from the seeming difference in the type of Mazda-worship, which simply severs the religion of the Inscriptions from that of the more developed Zarathustrianism, and which has, as we have seen, nothing whatever to do with the question of the relative ages of the Inscriptions and the later Avesta, I think that we have some signs of a later age in the language of the Inscriptions apart from their contents. As, however, Darmesteter is inclined to regard the West Iranian, or Cuneiform, as better preserved than the Zend of the later Avesta, I make my few remarks only with great hesitation.

The termination [illegible]-, which would otherwise be justly considered as an evidence of degeneration in the Zend, I regard as merely a wrong writing for -ahya = Gâthic ahyâ. The letter [illegible] is a relic of the time when the Avesta stood in the Pahlavi character; I think that it is here merely a lengthened [illegible] = ya[1]. Terminations also seem much mutilated in the Cuneiform, and the name Auramazda written as one word, does not seem to me so original.

We must indeed remember that a later generation, owing to an isolated position, often preserves an older dialect, as it may an older form of religion, whereas an earlier generation, if its predecessors have lived in a compact society in smaller districts, varies the ancient forms, as the old Indian developed into Sanskrit and Prâkrit. Still we have little reason to be certain that the civilisation of Media and

[1] Also [illegible] is simply ayam, and should be so transliterated; so also in a throng of other words. Salemann has noticed the origin of [illegible] = ê, but gives no other indication in the present sense. I think that [illegible] and also [illegible], where they equal Aryan ya, should be corrected everywhere, like all other instances of miswriting. Unless indeed we can regard the [illegible], for which [illegible] were often clearly miswritten, as itself of double significance, as in Pahlavi. [illegible] might then regularly and properly equal both ê and ya; so [illegible] may equal long ê or yâ (ayâ). Other instances of miswriting in Zend would be dat. dual -bya. The Aryan -âm was first written as the nasal vowel -ã, and still further carelessly reduced to -a, but never so spoken. On the contrary, in the acc. fem. &c., the nasalisation was over-written, too much expressed. The final nasal caused the scribes to write the preceding letter as if nasalised, 'ã,' but it was never nasalised in speech

Persia was either more or less condensed and social than that of Bactria and the East. But beside a priority to the Inscriptions, we are obliged to consider the time needed for developments. The Greeks of the time of Herodotus probably, and those later certainly, found a form of Zarathustrianism in full development in Media; but if the contemporaries of Herodotus heard familiarly of a Zarathustrianism there, a long period of time must be allowed for its development if it originated in Media, and a still longer period if it found its way there from the East. If, then, the bulk of the later Avesta existed at the time of Herodotus and at that of Darius, how long previously must it have been composed; for such systems do not bloom in a day?

We have the evidence of historical tradition that the Magi[1] were influential even at the time of Cyrus, not dwelling upon the possibility of their existence at the earliest mention of Medes as the conquerors and rulers of Babylon.

Can we then, considering the recognised stagnation of ancient Eastern intelligence, ascribe to the development of the Median Zarathustrianism a shorter period than from one to three centuries? If, then, the bulk of the later Avesta must be placed so long before the Inscriptions of Darius, where shall we place the earlier Avesta with its most important remaining fragments, the Gâthas[2]?

After studying the Gâthas carefully in detail, and becoming also familiar with them as a whole by frequent perusal, we must measure the time needed for the change from their tone to that of the later Avesta. Could it have been less than a century, or centuries? Was not as much time needed for the Zarathustra of the Gâthas to become the Zarathustra of the later Avesta, as was afterwards consumed by the migration of the creed from the North-east, if it really originated there? As there is undoubtedly a

[1] I regard the Magi as representing the Zarathustrianism of the Vendîdâd. This the false Bardiya endeavoured to introduce, demolishing the temples which the old Mazda-worship permitted in Persia. See the Cuneiform Inscription of Behistun II; Darius 61.

[2] All in the Gâthic dialect is old.

difference of several centuries between the dates of the newest and oldest parts of the later Avesta, so we must think of a considerable interval between the oldest parts of the later Avesta and the latest parts of the older Avesta, for there is the other consideration which imperatively constrains us to avoid concluding for short periods in the stages of development. The Vedic Hymns, sung in metres closely similar to those in both the Gâthas and the later Avesta, and naming gods, demons, and heroes so closely related, not to speak of myths, challenge us to say whether they are the oldest of them, older or later than the oldest parts of the Avesta, and, if there exists any difference as to the ages of these ancient productions, how great that difference is. The oldest *Ri*ks have now an established antiquity of about 4000; were the hymns sung on the other side of the mountains as old? The metres of these latter are as old as those of the *Ri*g-veda, if not older, and their grammatical forms and word structure are often positively nearer the original Aryan from which both proceeded. If it were not for two circumstances, we should be forced to ask very seriously which were the older, and to abandon altogether our mention of later dates. Those circumstances are the absence of the Aryan gods from the Gâthas; and, secondly, their abstract conceptions. These latter are so little offset with expected puerilities that it is often hard to believe that the Gâthas are old at all. Their antiquity is placed beyond dispute by the historic mention of Zarathustra. But, if Zarathustra were not indisputably a living man in the Gâthas, their depth and refinement, together with the absence of Mithra, Haoma, &c., would, in themselves considered, force us to place them rather late. As it is, the absence of Mithra and his colleagues, who reappear in the later Avesta, permits us to place the Gâthas considerably later than the oldest *Ri*ks. For no sudden and intentional dismissal of the ancient gods is to be accepted with Haug, nor any religious schism as the cause (!) of the migration of the Indians toward the south. The process was of course the reverse.

The migrating tribes, in consequence of their separation

from their brethren in Iran, soon became estranged from them, and their most favoured Gods fell slowly into neglect, if not disfavour.

We need time to account for this change, and no short interval of time. We can therefore place the Gâthas long after the oldest *Ri*ks. While, therefore, in view of the established age of the *Rig*-veda, the Gâthas may possibly have been composed as early as about 1500 B.C., it is also possible to place them as late as (say) 900–1200 B.C., while the fragments in the Gâthic dialect must be considered somewhat later. The dates of the composition of the several parts of the later Avesta, on the other hand, must be supposed to extend over many centuries, as the various sections in the Zend dialect are so much more numerous than those in the Gâthic, the Gâthas themselves representing practically but one date. Placing then the oldest portions of the later Avesta somewhat earlier than Darius, we are obliged to extend the period during which its several parts were composed so far as perhaps to the third or fourth century before Christ, the half-spurious matter contained in them being regarded as indefinitely later.

It seems necessary to state here for the information of non-specialists, and as bearing very seriously upon all the questions involved, that a very unusually severe controversy prevails upon the exegesis of the Avesta, and that it centres in the question as to the value of the Asiatic translations of it. A similar debate was once held on the *Rig*-veda, but that is now silenced, all agreeing that the traditional renderings are neither to be slavishly followed, nor blindly ignored. Very different has been the fate of Zend philology, and in one important particular the studies are poles apart; for whereas the commentaries on the *Ri*ks are written in Sanskrit, which is clear to experts, those on the Zend-Avesta are written in a language upon which the lexicography is most incomplete, and the elucidation of these explanations themselves remains by far the most

difficult task now before us. Professor von Spiegel has accomplished much toward breaking the rough road of science in this direction, and scholars of the first order have followed his leading, while all with one accord express to him their acknowledgments. But Professor von Spiegel has not intended his editions and citations to represent full translations. He has, as a matter of course, taken it for granted that those who oppose him, as well as those who follow him, have studied his Pahlavi editions, not paying him the undesired compliment of making his commentaries the sole source of their knowledge of tradition. Moreover in no branch of science does scholarship make more rapid strides than in Pahlavi, several important works having appeared since Spiegel's commentaries.

In the attempt to master the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta we must consider many and difficult problems.

In the first place, and as a matter of course, they cannot be at all reasonably attempted without a full knowledge of the Gâthic and Avesta texts so far as they have been as yet otherwise and approximately elucidated. The two problems hang together like the arches of a circular building, and they should be studied together word for word; for the Pahlavi used is not fully that of the books. It is often turned quite out of its course, as Pahlavi, by an effort to follow the more highly inflected Zend literally. Then, again, a question of the utmost importance meets us in estimating the glosses, which are often, but not always, from a later hand. A translation of the Pahlavi must of course first be considered as in the light of the glosses, for the language is so indefinite as to many of its grammatical forms, that such an indication as a gloss, if it be proved to have been written by the same person who composed the text, would be decisive in determining the rendering; but a final translation should be made more strictly in the light of the Gâthic, so far as it affords on its side positive indications, and the glosses, where they do not correspond, should be set apart as from a later hand. Then, once more, and on the contrary, where the gloss is obviously right, and the text erroneous, the former should be appro-

priated unencumbered by the latter [1]. We must recognise the traces of former accurate scholarship whether we see them in text or gloss, and, from the accumulation of the correct surmises, we should construct an argument for the probability of the correctness of the hints of the Pahlavi in cases of great difficulty. In rendering the Pahlavi as a necessary prelude to rendering the Avesta, all possible help should of course be sought from the Asiatic translations of the Pahlavi, from those of Neryosangh in Sanskrit, and from the still later ones in Parsi and Persian. Here, again, those who read the Pahlavi only as rendered by Neryosangh need great caution. If Neryosangh is simply read like the classical Sanskrit, great errors will be committed. He needs a glossary of his own, and should be read solely in the light of the Pahlavi which was chiefly his original. So of the Parsi Persian translations, they must be read with especial attention to their originals. After these original translations have been fully mastered, and compared with an improved rendering of the Gâthic, likewise also studied in the full light of the Veda, the patient scholar will be surprised at the result. He will find that to a certain extensive degree, the two sources of information coincide when reasonably estimated, and, moreover, that where the Pahlavi gives us an indication differing from that derived from the Vedic, the surmise of the Pahlavi is the more often correct. I say 'reasonably estimated,' for not only is the Pahlavi, as a less highly inflected language, incapable of rendering the Avesta literally, but its authors do not uniformly make the attempt to do so; nor do they always follow the order of the Gâthic or Zend. Their translations generally run word for word as to their outward forms, for the ancient interpreters probably regarded such a following as essential to a complete rendering, but they found them-

[1] I would here state to the distinguished scholars who have done me the honour to study my work on the Gâthas, that the Pahlavi translations contained in it are those made in the light of the glosses. Here and there final ones will be added in a later volume, as from the Pahlavi texts sometimes considered apart from the Pahlavi glosses, and in consequence often much nearer the Gâthic than those from both text and gloss.

selves compelled to resort to the most important exceptions. And, lastly, the rejection, or total neglect of the Pahlavi translations and their successors, on the ground that they contain errors, is a policy which seems to me defective, and to the last degree. What absurdities can Sâya*n*a be capable of, and yet who would utter final opinions upon the *Ṛ*ig-veda without either the ability, or the attempt, to read Sâya*n*a[1]?

It is hardly necessary to mention that the restoration of texts goes hand in hand with translation. For how are we to interpret a passage before we know that it exists? And of what inestimable worth are the Pahlavi translations as evidence to texts! Who does not see that where the ancient scribe is most free or erroneous as to form, or root, his rendering often shows plainly which of two words stood before him in his manuscripts. Our oldest MS. (that of Copenhagen, numbered 5) dates from the year 1323 A.D.; and what were the dates of the ancient documents before the eyes of the Pahlavi translator who writes in it?

We must now ask whether our present Pahlavi translations are improvements upon their predecessors, or the reverse. That they are improvements in some few instances is undeniable, for, as we have seen, some of the glosses to them from later hands give the truth where the text is wide. But the glosses which show a later origin are, for the most part, inferior in richness to the texts. Here and there a talented, or fortunate, Parsi threw new light on the subject, but the general tendency was one of deterioration; that is, before the revival of Parsi-learning under Neryosangh (400–500 years ago). This deterioration would naturally decrease as we approach successive periods in going back to the time when MSS. of the Gâthas existed according to positive evidence, that is, to the time when, according to the Ar*d*â Vîrâf, Alexander's servants found skins at Persepolis on which the Avesta had been traced in

[1] Well has Geldner mentioned the 'epoch-making' Études Iraniennes of Darmesteter (KZ. vol. xxviii, p. 186). It is to be hoped that these brilliant pieces will stimulate the study of the relation between the Zend and the New Persian through the Ancient Persian and the Pahlavi.

gilded letters (for it is not positively proved that the informants of Herodotus heard the Magian priests singing their 'theogonies' from written books). At each of these periods scholarship is proved to have been competent by the results which it accomplished. The first of them we must place in the sixth century when, on Spiegel's estimate[1], the Zend characters were modified into their present lucid form from the Pahlavi, and distinct short vowels took the place of the unknown signs which existed previously. Then all MSS. which were to be found must have been collected and copied, and, so to speak, re-edited; and here we must accordingly place a period when the Pahlavi translations were more valuable than those of any later date. As we go further back we come upon another period, when, under Shapur II, Âdarbad Mahraspend brought the surviving portions of the Zend-Avesta together (about A.D. 330). Still earlier the servants of Artaxerxes, the Sasanian, collected yet more abundant writings, when Zarathustrianism was instituted as the state religion. Then, under the Arsacids (possibly under Vologeses the first), those most competent in the realm were directed to gather the then extant documents.

While, if we hold that the entire Avesta was written originally in some character different from the Pahlavi, we must finally infer the existence of an early epoch, when the entire Avesta was brought over in its bulk from the earlier East (or West?) Iranian character in which it was first inscribed. If this character differed radically from the Pahlavi, this transliteration must be regarded as one of the most remarkable of literary events. Notwithstanding all the now rapidly corrected errors, the texts have been handed down with the minutest distinctions of dialect preserved[2], and this proves the existence of competent interpreters at a period practically contemporaneous with the composition of the later portions of the later Avesta. What commentaries must then have existed, not free from

[1] Eranisches Alterthumskunde III, s. 767.
[2] See Hübschmann, KZ. bd. 24, s. 326.

error, as we see from the Zand of the Avesta, but, as to language and general sense, how close! Even if the degree of linguistic knowledge increases only gradually or steadily in going back, without any epochs from the time of Neryosangh to the inferable date of the latest Zend writings, and if the character in which the Avesta was first recorded (after a lengthy life as an orally extended lore) differed only as to mode and fashion, and not radically, from the Pahlavi (which, so far as the later Avesta is concerned, is most probable), we have yet the transliteration of the Gâthas to account for, which perhaps were brought over (after long oral life) from the so-called Aryan character, while the existence of a gradual tradition of a scholarship does not refute the fact that this scholarship must have been at times of the highest character; it makes high scholarship more probable.

What translations, we again remark, may have existed among these early sages! And, if they could once make translations fresh from the exegesis of the latest Zend writers themselves, is it not practically certain, considering the tenacity of life manifested by Zoroastrianism, that their explanations still lurk in the commentaries which have come down to us. And if these inferences be at all correct, how should we labour to discover from our present translations what these predecessors were; and what scholar cannot perceive that gems of evidence as to texts and sense may yet linger in those of our present Pahlavi translations which may yet be otherwise most filled with phantastic error? And shall we not therefore conclude that their expected inaccuracies, whether small or great, cannot destroy their inherent value? What, then, are we to think of it, when the New Persian, a quasi-daughter of the Pahlavi, is superficially referred to for linguistic analogies, when even the Armenian is also scanned, while the Pahlavi is left unmastered? Is a quasi-mother language of the New Persian any the less likely to afford linguistic analogies because an actual translation of the Avesta has been attempted in it, and because the Avesta once stood in its characters, while it may also present claims to be considered to a certain limit a daughter language to both the Gâthic and Zend?

And should the acknowledged difficulty of the character continue to be a reason for avoiding all efforts to make it out[1]?

In the endeavour to divide our Avesta texts into originals and gloss, we are greatly aided by the metre. Interpolated words and phrases are often obvious at a glance, and we should never suspend our efforts to discover all the traces of metre which exist in the Avesta, as a necessary step to the restoration of the documents to their first form; but we should avoid exaggeration, and a carelessly dogmatic procedure in insisting upon reducing lines to an exact, or to a supposed exact, number of syllables[2]. I regard it as unwise to suppose that the metrical lines of the Avesta, or indeed of any very ancient poetical matter, have been composed with every line filed into exact proportions. The ancient poets would have brought out the measures in many a place by accent and a sandhi which are no longer known to us. The Vedic Hymns may, to a great extent, form an exception, but who would not say that where uniform evenness is at hand, an effort to improve the metre has often corrupted the text. Priests or reciters of intelligence would here and there round off an awkward strophe, as year after year they felt the unevenness of numbers. Metre must inevitably bring a perfecting corruption at times, as a deficiency in the metre must also prove a marring corruption. Cases should be carefully discriminated. The expression of passionate feeling, for instance, would be likely to cause

[1] One of the most powerful tributes ever paid to the Pahlavi translators was Haug's conversion to them. Before studying them he lost no opportunity to stigmatise their deficiencies; later, however, he followed them in many an important place, and sometimes with little reserve.

As writers of the opposed extremes seem honestly convinced of the radical error of each other's views, it is obvious that association and interest have much to do with decisions. A scholar should put himself fully under the influence first of one school and then of the other. The necessity for well-balanced studies is extremely great.

[2] It is only lately that the variation from eleven to twelve syllables in the lines of Trish̆up has been applied to the Gâthic metres, nor has the possibility of a shifting caesura been acceded to till lately.

unevenness in lines. The language would be vigorous and idiomatic and of unusual value as a fragment of ancient phrase, but the metre would have suffered.

Then as to conjectured texts; after texts have been improved from all available relics of ancient tradition, or scholarship, as afforded by the Pahlavi translations, and from the evidence of metre, we are at times still left with readings before us which could not have been original. The composers have indeed here and there constructed sentences which they either could not, or would not, make easy, but as a general thing we may say, that where the text, as it stands, gives no satisfactory sense to us, after we have exhausted the resources of previous Asiatic scholarship, or direct analogy, in our efforts to explain it, it is in that case not the text as the composer delivered it. We are then reduced to conjecture, for how are we to translate a text before we are certain that it is integral? Our first efforts should be directed to the detection of losses; for a text may still be of great value when considered as a mass of broken sentences, for, if we are certain that such is its character, we can often fill out the missing members with much probability. But whether we insert supplementary conjectures, or merely bracket later interpolations, we must by all means in cases of real necessity make the effort to amend the text (as also in the Veda).

Even if we fail in our attempted improvements, we are often little worse off than before, for whereas it is possible, or even probable, that the composers wrote what we suggest, it is sometimes not possible that they wrote exactly what stands in our texts. We should even suggest alternative readings where our present ones are only less probable (for the suggestion of an alternative is not the wholesale destruction of a sentence), while even when we declare their outcoming meaning totally unsatisfactory, the MSS. still remain to other writers to begin on afresh. And in estimating what would be reasonable meanings, we should guard carefully against both extremes, and we should especially exercise a strong negative criticism against the recognition of

too much meaning, or too subtle a meaning. Profound and subtle conceptions placed where we are obliged to place the Gâthas, and other ancient portions of the Avesta, are indeed precious relics, as such conceptions at any age show a higher mental power, but we must doubt them only so much the more, and doubt, if we would be scientific and conscientious, till doubt becomes no longer possible. Beyond that we should turn our suspicions against our doubts themselves, which is the proper course if we would exhaust the meanings of the Gâthas. Unless these are a fortuitous concourse of syllables, religiously profound modes of thought are manifest throughout. It is therefore strictly unscientific to force parts of them to express shallow details, and it is above all deplorable to change the text itself in order to produce out of it less enlarged meanings [1]. I say to force parts of them, for the great mass of them confessedly defies all attempts to reduce them to the statements of simple commonplace.

They can never possess the rich colour of the *Ri*ks; it is therefore the more to be deplored if we fail to see their deep, but awkwardly expressed, and oft-repeated thought. I must express my regret that until lately, when the enclitics have been more carefully considered, the form of sentences in the Gâthas does not seem to have been noticed, writers conjecturing infinitives and simple accusatives at the ends of sentences. Both may, of course, fall there, but when we wish to reconstruct a word, we should not change it to a form which is not placed according to prevailing analogies. Infinitives and accusatives generally, both in the Gâthas and the *Rig*-veda, avoid the end of the sentence. The accusative, when it falls there, is generally preceded by qualifying words often in apposition or agreement with it. Also in the conception of translations, authors seem to sup-

[1] Non-specialists must not suppose that our texts are more apparently uncertain than (say) many portions of the Old Testament. Large portions of them are also as clear, at least, as the *Rig*-veda; and the emendations referred to need very seldom affect the doctrines. Let the learned public, however, insist on scholars making honest attempts to render the texts as they stand before their emendations, and greater harmony would result.

pose it impossible that the lines can contain anything but lengthened prosaic sentences (too often with an accusative, or infinitive, pushed awkwardly out to the end). To me the Gâthic sentence is often very short, and so better adapted to poetic expression.

It has been already implied, and it has been taken for granted throughout[1], that the Avesta should be closely compared with the Veda, but let it never be forgotten, in the name of science, that the force and meaning of analogous words in the Gâthic and the Vedic cannot be expected to be uniformly identical, considering the extent of territory, and the length of time, by which those who spoke the two languages were separated. The meanings of the Vedic words could not hold their own even in India, developing into the Sanskrit and Prâkrit which differ widely, how truly misguided is it therefore to attribute necessarily the same shades of meaning to the terms of the two sister tongues. If even the Gâthic hymns stood in the Indian forms, and had been discovered in India, having also reference to Indian history, no thoughtful writer would have rendered them in complete analogy with the *Rig*-veda. The Gâthic usages would have been added in our dictionaries to those of the Vedic, just as the Sanskrit definitions are added.

An additional word seems called for as to the results of Zarathustrian theology. Besides its connection with the modern philosophy through Gnosticism which has been already noticed[2], a relation between it and the Jewish theology since the Captivity has long been mentioned. The hagiology, the demonology, the temptation, the parables, the eschatology, have all been supposed to show traces of the time when Persian power was dominant in Jerusalem, and with it, Persian literature; but the discussion of such questions requires separate treatises.

As to the general benefit which has resulted from Zarathustrianism in the past, few reflections need to be added. If the mental illumination and spiritual elevation of many millions of mankind, throughout long periods of time, are of

[1] See remarks in the Preface, p. xv.

[2] See note on p. xix.

any importance, it would require strong proof to deny that Zarathustrianism has had an influence of very positive power in determining the gravest results. That men should be taught to look within rather than without, to believe that suffering and sin do not originate from the capricious power of a Deity still called 'good,' that the 'good thought, word, and deed' should be recognised as essential to all sanctity, even in the presence of a superstitious ceremonial, that a judgment should have been expected according to the deeds done in the body, and the soul consigned to a Heaven of virtue or to a Hell of vice, its recompense being pronounced by the happy or stricken conscience, these can never be regarded by serious historians as matters of little moment, and if, on the contrary, they are allowed to be matters of great moment, the Zend-Avesta should be revered and studied by all who value the records of the human race.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Barth. = Bartholomae.

B.V. S. = Vendidad Sade, von Dr. Hermann Brockhaus. Leipzig, 1850.

D. = dastur.

De inf. = De infinitivi linguarum sanskritae bactricae persicae graecae oscae umbricae latinae gotticae forma et usu, scripsit Eugenius Wilhelmus, phil. doctor. 1872.

G. = *G*âmâspgi.

H. = Hübschmann.

Inf. = Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen, von Dr. Julius Jolly. 1873.

K. = Kopenhagen MSS.

K. Z. = Kuhnische Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

M. î K. = Mainyô-î Khard. Ed. West. 1871.

Ner. = Neryosangh.

P. = Paris MSS.

*R*v. = *Rig*-veda.

Sp. = Spiegel.

Trlr. = translator.

V. S. = Ein Kapitel vergleichender Syntax, von Dr. Julius Jolly. 1872.

Wg. = Westergaard.

Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

An asterisk denotes irregularities.

THE GÂTHAS.

THE five Gâthas of Zarathustra and his immediate followers are placed here before the other parts of the Yasna on account of their higher antiquity. There existed no other Yasna for years or centuries beside them.

The more remarkable circumstances connected with them have been already discussed in the Introduction.

If it is necessary to recall any of them here, the most prominent would be that they are undoubtedly the productions of a small group of influential men who are referred to in them for the most part by name; that Zarathustra, everywhere else nearly or quite a demi-god, is here a struggling and suffering man. He is a prophet, or a divinely appointed instructor, but thoroughly human and real, so far as his situations become apparent.

Secondly, their historical tone may be emphasised. Their doctrines and exhortations concern an actual religious movement taking place contemporaneously with their composition; and that movement was exceptionally pure and most earnest. Their tone is therefore everywhere serious. Nearly all myths are dropped, and likewise, as perhaps their most striking peculiarity, even the old Aryan gods, who reappear in the later Yasna, Vendîdâd, and Yasts, are, save one, wholly absent.

The movement in its reformatory character seems to have thrown them out, not perhaps with definite intention, but because the minds of the devout enthusiasts excluded them as having inferior interest, in view of the results immediately before them.

So far as a claim to a high position among the curiosities of ancient moral lore is concerned, the reader may trust himself freely to the impression that he has before him an anthology which was probably composed with as fervent a desire to benefit the spiritual and moral natures of those to

whom it was addressed as any which the world had yet seen. Nay, he may provisionally accept the opinion that nowhere else are such traces of intelligent religious earnestness to be found as existing at the period of the Gâthas or before them, save in the Semitic scriptures.

As to their speculative depth; wherever theosophical speculation is put into words, the evidence of their grasp and subjectivity becomes positive. As the extent of documents necessarily produces a certain impression upon the mind of an investigator, it must not be forgotten that the Gâthas were in all probability many times more voluminous than the fragments which now remain to us. The historian may argue from what has survived to what once existed, and the inevitable conclusion is imposing.

For additional details see the Introduction, and the summaries at the head of each Gâtha and chapter.

THE GÂTHA(Â) AHUNAVAITI(Î).

This Gâtha, consisting of seven chapters of the Yasna (XXVIII–XXXIV), takes its name from the similarity of its metre to that of the Ahuna-vairya formula which also occurs before it in the Yasna. It is composed of homogeneous material, but as its material is also homogeneous with that of the other Gâthas, it probably owes its existence as a group of sections to its metrical form. Its lines were intended to number sixteen syllables, and they are put together in stanzas of three. It is all very ancient and probably nearly all original with Zarathustra himself, though parts seem to be put into the mouths of his immediate associates and disciples. Whether any persons existed in the immediate circle of the sage capable of composing hymns like these unaided, is of course a question; but that some were able to put poetical matter together under his guidance or inspiration seems certain.

An analysis and general summary is placed before each chapter as more convenient than massing them all together. The reader is reminded that the rhythm of the original, so far as it could be reasonably conjectured, is somewhat imitated in parts of the translations.

THE GÂTHAS.

YASNA XXIX.

The Wail of the Kine. The Call of Zarathustra. His Prayer for Aid.

This chapter, the second in the manuscripts of the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, is placed here as in a more natural order. It may be regarded as containing the terminus a quo of the divine revelation. The Soul of the Kine, as representing the herds of the holy Iranian people, their only means of honourable livelihood, raises its voice, and expressing the profoundest needs of an afflicted people, addresses Ahura and His Divine Order, Asha, in bitterness.

1. Recalling another and a later 'groan of the creation,' she demands wherefore and for whom she was made, since afflictions encompass her; and as her comfort, if not her existence, was threatened as much by the unsettled habits induced by constant alarms as by the actual incursions of her predatory neighbours, she beseeches the Bountiful Immortals to instruct her as to the benefits of civilised agriculture, and confirm her protectors in its practice, as her only remedy against the evils of which she complains.

2. Ahura answers by a question to Asha, the personified Righteous Order, as to what guardian he had appointed in order to smite back the fury which assails her, intimating that some chief ought to have been set over her originally who would have averted her miseries, training her people in steady tillage and bucolic skill, and repelling the destructive raids.

3. Asha answers that her sufferings were inevitable, that no chief could be appointed who could prevent them since none was himself without his share of injustice and of passionate resentment. He could not answer why this was the case. The question, involving the insolvable problem of the origin of evil, lay at the foundation of those influences which move the stars of destiny; that the religious revelation afforded by the Ratu (as in

chapter XXX) was intended to meet these problems so far as they could be answered[1], and that therefore all who were entering upon active enterprises were in the act of approaching, not him Asha, the subordinate archangel, but Mazda himself, who was the greatest of beings, and alone able to answer their prayers and questions.

4. Zarathustra[2], poetically conceived to be present, here intervenes to reaffirm the homage just paid by Asha. He declares Ahura Mazda to be himself the most mindful of all the previously revealed assertions and directions uttered by himself, and fulfilled in the actions of both the Demon-gods of their enemies, and of good or evil men. He is also said to be fully cognisant of what they will do in the future, and to discriminate between what is good and evil as an infallible judge, allotting to us all our destiny in future sufferings or rewards. 5. Addressing Ahura and Asha, and uniting with the Kine's Soul in her supplication, he questions Mazda in his doubt, not in peaceful confidence, as later in the impressive hymn, each verse of which begins with the words, 'This ask I Thee, aright, Ahura! tell me!' but deprecating from himself, and constructively from the Kine, the impending destruction which he sees will justly fall upon the wicked as visited by the discriminating vengeance acknowledged to be Ahura's attribute (see verse 4). 6. At last Ahura, showing the intention of His questions, answers them himself; no regulating lord in full sympathy with the Righteous Order had as yet been discovered or discoverable, but He himself will make a selection. He therefore declares himself as solemnly appointing Zarathustra to that office.

And Zarathustra, inspired by His Good Mind, and guided by His righteousness, will accomplish more than has as yet been done to rally the thrifty community, and settle their virtuous polity upon its desired basis of training and defence. 7. As Zarathustra is a listener in the colloquy between the Deity, the Kine's Soul, and Asha, the Righteous Order, so the other Immortals beside Asha[3], here join in, as if the appointment just made had not been heard, or was incredible (see below). Mazda is indeed declared to have revealed the sacred Word-of-reason in harmony with the consenting Righteousness, and to have provided food for the Kine and

[1] Something like this is implied.

[2] If verses 4, 5, 6, were originally connected.

[3] Or possibly a company of the religious chiefs poetically conceived to be present.

the needy consumers, but who was there adequately endowed with the Good Mind, who could promulgate that Mãthra with its revealed directions as to sustenance of both body and mind?

8. Ahura repeats his announcement of Zarathustra, as if to silence the objections.

As Zarathustra alone had heard the doctrines from the voice of inspiration, so he desired to declare them, and had authority to do so, together with a settled position of such a character as to make his statements felt.

9. But an unexpected difficulty arises. The Kine's Soul is by no means impressed by the personality of the individual selected as her guardian. So far from being the demi-god of the other parts of the Avesta, Zarathustra's declarations are characterised by her as 'the voice of a pusillanimous man,' while she, on the contrary, expected one truly kingly in his rank and characteristics, and able to bring his desires to effect, while the Bountiful Immortals (or the attending chieftains), as if they had meant their question in verse 7 to be a question uttered in mere perplexity or contempt, join in with chorus, asking when indeed an effective helper will be provided.

10. Zarathustra, undismayed by the coldness of his reception, enters at once upon his office as priest and prophet, praying Ahura for the people; and recognising the names of the 'Immortals,' Khshathra, Asha, and Vohu Manah, in their original sense, asks Ahura to grant to the people in their straits, a Sovereign Authority established in the Divine Order, and bestowing the needed quiet and happiness for which the suffering provinces, as represented by the Kine's Soul in her wail, had expressed their desire.

And as he prays, he avows his own steadfast confidence in Ahura rather than in the Daêvas, as the prime possessor and bestower of blessings.

11. Then, as if eager to receive full equipment upon the spot, he not only beseeches for the Righteous Order, the Kingly Power of God, and His Good Mind for the masses as represented by the Kine, but asks when they are coming to him, and hastening; and he entreats Ahura to bestow His help at once for the great cause, and to a very abundant degree, upon himself and his associates. (It is singular that the name of Âramaiti does not occur in this section.)

Translation.

(Homage to you, O Sacred Gâthas!)

1. Unto you (O Ahura and Asha!) the Soul of the Kine (our sacred herds and folk) cried aloud: For whom did ye create me, and by[1] whom did ye fashion me? On me comes the assault of wrath, and of violent power, the blow[2] of desolation, audacious insolence, and (thievish)[3] might. None other pasture-giver[4] have I than you, therefore do ye teach me good (tillage) for the fields (my only hope of welfare[5])!

Ahura speaks.

2. Upon this the Creator[6] of the Kine (the holy

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[1] K*e* mâ tasha*t* can only mean this here. The Pahlavi translator probably read kahmâi. He has val mûn li tukhshî*d* (?) hômanam.

[2] One might think of 'inertia' as a rendering for remô, (if read), but the afflictions complained of seem rather to imply active violence.

[3] Or read tâyus*k*â (robbery?) with the Pahlavi translation; 'yu' and 'vi' would be written much alike in a manuscript.

[4] Vastâ has been found, as I understand, in some manuscripts. The Persian manuscript of Haug has a curious vâstîrî*d*âr (vâstarî*d*âr?) in the Pahlavi text, which seems to confirm vastâ in the sense given.

[5] As there are very many non-specialists to whom it is important to weigh this present subject as closely as it may be possible, and as everything here is a matter of the keenest questioning among experts, I add occasionally a word-for-word rendering, although necessarily very uncouth: To you the Kine's soul cried-complaining: For whom me did ye fashion? Who me made? Against me assaulting-rapine, violence-and, desolations-[blow], daring-insolence-and, (thievish) might-and (possibly change the text). Not for me a pasture-giver than-you other; therefore to-me teach-ye good (things) for-the-pasture (adj. acc. pl. neut.).

[6] I fear that I cannot follow Haug in his later view, where he follows tradition in rather an extreme manner, rendering 'the cutter (wounder) of the Ox.' Neither Spiegel nor Justi would confide to a later myth to this degree (see Y. XXXI, 9 and XLVI, 9). This is

herds) asked of Righteousness[1]: How (was) thy guardian for the Kine (appointed) by thee when, as having power (over all her fate), ye made her? (In what manner did ye secure) for her, together with pasture, a cattle-chief who was both skilled and likewise energetic? Whom did ye select[2] as her (life's) master who might hurl back the fury of the wicked[3]?

Asha answers.

3. To Him the (Divine Righteousness) answered with[4] his sanctity. (Great was our perplexity); a chieftain who was capable of smiting[5] back (their fury), and who was himself without hate (was not to be obtained by us); among such things as these, those things are not to be known (by beings such as we) which are the influences which approach[6] (and move) the lofty fires[7] (revealing the favour and the will of God[8]).

Of beings He is the mightiest to whom those[9]

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mentioned, however, not as complaining of an error, but solely to guard the reader against the mistake of an eminent authority. (See also Roth, Z. D. M. G., Bd. 25, s. 9.)

[1] Observe the personification of righteousness.

[2] Or, 'what salvation-lord,' governed by dâtâ from the preceding line; so also the Pahlavi translator mûn avŏ pavan nadûkîh khûdâî. Ustâ occurs only here as a verbal form. Supply angha*r* in b.

[3] The Pahlavi aêshmŏ anâêr zani*s*nŏ.

[4] Or read ashem. The Pahlavi has ashavahi*s*tŏ pasukhvŏ gûft. I am not at all inclined to accept vocatives for nominatives in the Gâthas.

[5] Sar-*g*an, compare Verethra*g*an. The Pahlavi indicates this by tanû sardârîh.

[6] Possibly, 'by which he approaches.'

[7] The Pahlavi rôshanŏ î râstŏ.

[8] Cp. Y. XXX, 1: yâ rao*k*ebî*s* daresatâ urvâzâ.

[9] The Pahlavi indicates a third person; and keredushâ is far the most simply explained as a nom. pl. Recall mâ mashâ and man (?) mathâ. Otherwise, 'to whom I will come with activity and invoking.'

who have performed their actions approach with invocations. (He has no need to ask!)

Zarathustra intervenes [1].

4. The Great Creator [2] (is himself) most mindful of the uttered indications which have been fulfilled beforehand hitherto in the deeds of [3] demon-gods [4] and (good or evil) men, and of those which shall be fulfilled by them [5] hereafter. He Ahura is the discerning arbiter; so shall it be to us [6] as He shall will [7]!

5. Therefore it is that we both, my soul [8] and (the soul) of the mother [9] Kine, (are) making our supplica-

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[1] A verse or verses may here have fallen out.

[2] I cannot persuade myself to accept the nearly universally accepted comparison of Mazd*a*u and medhâ. See note on p. 104.

[3] Or, 'He has done by Daêvas?' If thus, absolute and not qualified sovereignty would be indicated. See the last line.

[4] Observe that while 'by Daêva-worshippers' would be an admirable rendering for Daêvâi*s*, because more commonplace and therefore safer, it is here impossible on account of mashyâi*sk*â. We are closely confined to the acceptance of a large idea. Ahura was mindful of what transpired in the deeds of Daêva-gods, and not in those of Daêva-worshippers alone. The inst. must be modified.

[5] As varshaitê is elsewhere used in an active sense, it is possible, but not probable, that a special predestination may be indicated. 'He shall do by means of Daêvas and men.'

[6] 'To us men,' not to us Ameshôspends, of course!

[7] Verbatim. Mazda the-words most-mindful which for have-been-fulfilled before by-means-of- (the actions of) Daêvas-and men-and what-and (shall)-be-done after, He the discriminating lord; so to-us shall-it-be as He shall-choose.

[8] This seems to prove positively that a human being speaks here and in the previous verse; 'the soul of Righteousness' is of course impossible.

[9] Some have referred the word to the root zan obscurely present in it; otherwise a drivable cow; one mature and fit for use. The term used in the Vendîdâd in a common meaning as merely

tions for the two worlds to Ahura, and with hands stretched out in entreaty, when (we pray to the Great Creator[1] with questions in our doubt[2]; (and He will answer).

Not for the righteous liver, not for the thrifty (tiller of the earth), shall there be destruction[3] together with the wicked!

Ahura.

6. Upon this the Lord, the Great Creator, He who understands the mysterious grace[4] by His insight[5], spake thus: Not in this manner[6] is a spiritual master found for us, nor a chieftain moved by Righteousness and appointed (in its spirit); therefore Thee[7] have I named[8] (as such a head) to the diligent tiller of the ground[9]!

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designating a cow at a certain age, may be the familiar use of an adjective here applied in the ancient Gâtha in a sacred sense.

[1] This passage is one of the strongest for the comparison of Mazd*a*u and medhâ. The sense 'asking wisdom in our doubt,' is admirable. I cannot however accept the comparison.

[2] Pavan gûmânîkîh hampûrsânî; root dî.

[3] The Pahlavi awasîni*s*nîh*, but in other connections fra*g*yâiti*s* might well mean 'continued life;' 'life long endured with the wicked.'

[4] The Pahlavi has vishûpi*s*nŏ, which here affords a better meaning; see however Y. XLVIII, 9. We might read as alternative here, 'knowing the calamity to be averted.'

[5] Uncertain. The Pahlavi however indicates 'discernment.'

[6] One is strongly tempted to read aêvô, 'not a single chief,' but the ancient writing read by the Pahlavi translator had aêvâ ahû.

[7] This indicates that Zarathu*s*tra had been the speaker in the previous verses.

[8] Appointed.

[9] Verbatim. Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda knowing the-wonderful (thing) through-insight (?) not thus a master found, nor a ruler righteous-order-from-even from, therefore for thee to-the-thrifty-and to-the-husbandman-and (I) as-a-creator I-have-made.

The Ameshôspends[1].

7. Mazda has created the inspired Word-of-reason which is a Mãthra of fatness (for the offering), the (Divine) Righteousness consenting with Him in his deed. Food he has prepared for the Kine and for the eaters[2], He the one bountiful with his (saving) doctrine; but whom hast Thou, endowed with the Good Mind, who may give forth those (doctrines) by word of mouth to mortals[3]?

Ahura.

8. This man is found for me here who alone[4] has

[1] Or a company of the saints conceived to be present.

[2] So some writers, accepting an irregular reading *hv*arushaêibyô after the indication of the Pahlavi translation. Otherwise compare 'rush' (?), uru=ru, and render 'to the estranged.' We have often to stretch the meaning more than this. Converting instructions are elsewhere suggested for 'all mankind.'

[3] The translation of Neryosangh is added here not merely because it is of interest, but because it is, together with the Pahlavi translation, of the last importance in forming correct conclusions. It may be rendered as follows; and the reader may regard it as a specimen, but by no means a particularly favourable one. At the words âzûtôîs and maretaêibyô different texts were before him and the Pahlavi translator as well. Those words are elsewhere rendered by the latter *k*arpîh and an*s*ûtâân: This greatest magnitude (sic) of the Mãthra, the Lord produced together with righteousness as his fellow-worker [ ]. The Great Wise One discloses the herds to the eaters; and he discloses also the great matter to the well-taught scholars. Who is thine, who endowed with the best mind, gives the two things, with the mouth to those who are prosecuting studies (sic)? To expect an ancient rendering to be closer would be unreasonable. The errors (as to root) are not errors, but the certain signs of differing MSS. This constantly occurs; and it is hardly necessary to add that sometimes from such supposed mistakes we get the only possible means of recovering the original text.

[4] Repeating the announcement in verse 6. The aêvâ in 6 would incline one to read aêvâ (*ye* n*e* aêvâ), but the manuscript before the Pahlavi translator read aêvô=khadûk. It is quite out of the question to suppose his aêtûnŏ and khadûk to be accidental. A sharp distinction is made.

hearkened to our enunciations, Zarathustra Spitama! Our mighty and completed acts of grace he desires to enounce for us, for (Me), the Great Creator and for Righteousness; wherefore I will give him the good abode[1] (and authoritative place) of such an one as speaks[2]!

The Geus Urvan.

9. Upon this the Soul of the Kine lamented (: Woe is unto me) since (I have obtained for myself) in my wounding a lord who is powerless to effect (his) wish, the (mere) voice of a feeble and pusillanimous man, whereas I desire one who is lord over his will (and able as one of royal state to bring what he desires to effect[3]).

The Ameshôspends[4].

((Aye,) when shall he ever appear who may bring to her[4] help strong-handed[5]?)

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[1] So the Pahlavi translator, giving the only critical etymology in his hûdemûnîh, the gloss aside.

[2] The Pahlavi text corrected by the Persian MS. may be rendered as follows: This gift I obtained [ ]. For this one is he who was listening to that which is our teaching, Zartûsht, the Spitâmân. For us, Aûharmazd, and for Aharâyîh is his desire, [that is, that perfectly performed duty, and good works are desired by him]. He recites also a remedy-making (free or erroneous), [that is, he declares a remedy-making against the Drûg who is in the world]; on account of which saying for his word of piety which he utters, they give him a good abode [ ]. (The glosses are often from a later hand and erroneous. Sometimes, however, they contain the truth while the text is futile. I drop them in the present citations when they are of no importance.)

[3] Observe that Zarathustra, like other prophets, met at times little honour from his fellow-countrymen who are here well represented by the voice of the Kine's Soul. (See Y. XLVI, 1.)

[4] Or could not hôi be taken in a reflective sense, and referred to the first person like the possessive sve; see the connection.

[5] Verbatim. Thereupon-and the Kine's Soul wept: (I) who

Zarathustra[1].

10. Do ye, O Ahura and thou, O Righteousness! grant gladness unto these (our disciples), and the sovereign Kingdom (of the Deity) such as (is established) in (His) Good Mind by which one bestows upon them the peaceful amenities of home and quiet happiness (as against the fearful ravages which they suffer[2]), for of these, O Great Creator! I ever thought Thee first possessor[3]!

11. And when shall the (Divine) Righteousness, the Good Mind (of the Lord, and His) Sovereign Power (come) hastening[4] to me (to give me strength for my task and mission), O Great Creator, the Living Lord! (For without his I cannot advance

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(lament) one-not-able-to-effect-his-wish in-wounding as-a-master (or, I established?) [ ], whom as-against I-wish one wish-controlling-and-effecting-as-a-sovereign. When ever he may-(shall)-be who to her (possibly to-me-myself?) shall-give effected-by-the-hand help.

[1] Zarathustra, having accepted his call to be the Ratu or his substitute, at once interposes with a prayer for his suffering charge.

[2] See verse 1, to which reference is continually made as the chief expression of the sufferings to be remedied.

[3] The Pahlavi without glosses may be rendered as follows: Give ye assistance to these, O Aûharmazd, Ashavahist and Khshatraver! So also Vohûman, who gives him a pleasing habitation, and also joy. I also think that the first gain and obtaining of this is from thee. (With the gloss slightly different; but valman should be rendered according to ahyâ.)

The text literally is as follows: (Do) ye to these, O Ahura! happiness (? possibly strength; see the Pahlavi) grant, O Asha! Khshathra-and (=the Kingdom) such (kingdom as) by Vohu Manah by-which amenities peaceful-joy-and (one) may give-or-establish; I-even of this, O Mazda! Thee I thought foremost possessor.

[4] So the Pahlavi translation indicates; compare *g*imâ and frâ man (?) mathâ; otherwise mâmashâ = I hasten (to fulfil my mission).

or undertake my toil.) Do ye now therefore assign unto us your aid and in abundance[1] for our great cause. May we be (partakers) of the bountiful grace of these your equals[2] (your counsellors and servants)[3]!

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[1] The Pahlavi has kabed. For the fundamental idea compare p*ri*ksh + suffix.

[2] The Ameshôspends just mentioned, together with whom Ahura governs and blesses His people. Ahmâ (so conjecturing with Barth.), is also quite sufficiently indicated by the lanman of the Pahlavi. Whether an instrumental *e*hmâ can be accepted is doubtful. The form should be altered.

If *e*hmâ stands, i*s*tem must be understood, or the instrumental taken in a possessive sense.

Ahmâ has no authority from MSS., but is better than anghâmâ, as being nearer the MSS.

[3] As an impartial specimen I render Ner. thus: Whence will that gift come to me, (the gift which is) A*s*avahista, Gvahmana, and Saharevara, [that is, sanctity, the highest (best) mind, and the sovereignty, where is the place of the reward which will thus come to me?]. (Here the translation falls into confusion from an error which is most interesting and instructive, because it is corrected by Ner. in an alternative rendering in the gloss. As has been seldom noticed his original was the Pahlavi word pâ*d*adahi*s*nînê*d*, rather than the Gâthic paitî-zânatâ. This Pahlavi form he could not at first believe to be a second plural. Indeed the Pahlavi glossist may have taken it as a third sg. Neryosangh therefore abortively renders word-for-word as follows: You, O Great Wise One! it offers or presents more excellently through the 'greatest exaltation' (the holy cause). But he recovers himself in the gloss by reading the Pahlavi pâ*d*âdahi*s*nŏ vâdûnyên as an imperative: [Provide a reward through that spotless exaltation (the irreproachable cause)] continuing: Here, O Lord! is the gift (which is) ours, and (which comes) to us from Thee.)

YASNA XXVIII.

Prayers chiefly for Grace and for the Words of Revelation.

2. Zarathustra, having entered upon the duties of his office (XXIX, 11), composes a liturgy for the use of some of his more eminent colleagues, possibly, but not at all probably, for the original mover in the entire religious effort (see the expressions 'to Zarathustra and to us,' 'to Vîstâspâ and to me,' 'to Frashaostra and to me'). This reciter, whoever he may have been intended to be, is represented as standing in the appropriate place as a priest, with hands stretched toward Ahura, or His Fire, and praying for the possession of spiritual graces from an unselfish motive, and in order that he might appease the grief of the Kine's Soul, for whose relief Zarathustra had just been appointed (see XXIX, 1, 6, 8).

3. He approaches Ahura Mazda, spiritually inspired by the Good Mind as he declares, and asking for attainments and boons for both the bodily and spiritual lives, derived from Righteousness, whereby that personified Righteousness might establish the elect in a beatified state.

4. The personality of the Ameshôspends comes again strongly forward, as it does so often in worship, in addresses in which Righteousness (Asha), the Good Mind (Vohu Manah), Khshathra (the active Power of the Divine Sovereignty), and Âramaiti (practical piety in the souls of believers), are besought to come, as the Vedic Gods so often are, to the appeals of the supplicant, and to his help in the act of worship itself, which is recognised to be the one efficient means for furthering the cause of redemption which is ever held in view.

5. As one who offered his soul to heaven, and would know by actual experience the blessed rewards bestowed by the holy ceremonial and moral actions prescribed by Ahura Mazda, the reciter declares that he will teach on in the effort to propagate the holy Religious Order, and possessed by the one desire for its increase, while power shall last.

6. With a piety as fervent as it is profound, and speaking with great earnestness, he asks Righteousness, as a person, when he shall see him, becoming fully acquainted with the Good Mind of God, the way which leads to Him, and above all with Obedience. But although he addresses these lofty abstractions as persons, it is utterly

out of the question to suppose that he did not speak in the deepest meaning of the words as expressing states of mind, and qualities of character: O thou Divine Righteous Order! (Thus he seems to have meant), O thou divine Righteous Order! when shall I see Thee as if present in my own soul and in those of the people whom Ahura has committed to my charge? When shall I know the Divine Benevolence as made one with the disposition of my congregation? When shall I possess by knowledge that only way to our most bountiful Ahura which is, not a mythical angel Sraosha only, but that angel interpreted 'Obedience to Ahura' (observe the dative). One cannot well exaggerate the religious depth or subjectivity. Then, with a bathos which shows how then as ever superstition could hold its own side by side with the truest piety, he exclaims (if the third line was really so composed by him as it has come down to us); 'By such a prayer as a Mãthra spell we can with the greatest vigour repel the unclean beasts and creatures which defile our sanctity, or endanger our lives.'

7. Alluding immediately to this revelation, he beseeches Ahura once more to 'come with His Good Mind,' and to grant, not booty, nor even wealth, but 'Asha-gifts,' and (as a bestower of righteousness) long life and powerful spiritual grace to the leading agent Zarathustra (in all probability the composer of the section), and to himself, the officiating priest with his helpers, in order that, not with carnal weapons, but by his 'lofty' and holy 'words,' they all combined may overcome the torments of the ravagers who had made havoc of the settlements, and who were still liable to overwhelm the faithful with their raids and rapine (see XLIV, 20).

8. With an intentional and interesting alliteration he prays to Asha for an ashi; that is, a blessing, even the strenuously attained-to gifts of the great Benevolence. Âramaiti likewise becomes the object of his petition together with Ahura; and this time for the benefit of Vistâspa the monarch, and for himself that they might hear the gracious Mãthras, which is indeed the burden of the entire piece.

9. Once more he affords an early (or the earliest (?)) instance of the rhetorical trick, and fills one line with three 'vahistas,' praying Ahura, as being of one mind with Asha (here, for the first time in the Avesta, called 'the best'), to grant the same blessing; and this time again with an intentional change, 'to himself and to Frashaostra;' and not for this world, but for 'all the duration of the Good Mind,' using the expression in its concrete sense as heaven; for heaven to him consisted in an inward state. (So also elsewhere in the Avesta,

even where the palate and the olfactory nerve are the media of felicity or of torture, there also conciliating language on the one side, or 'vile speech' pointed with finest irony on the other, is equally prominent. It is the mind which chiefly enjoys or suffers.)

10. Deeply sensible of the spiritual benefits for which he is asking, he seems touched with gratitude. Accordingly he adds one more petition, which is, that he and his coadjutors, the three just mentioned, may never anger the indulgent mercy which had granted them their request; and that they may persevere, as they have begun, in the strenuous service of Ahura, Asha, and Vohu Manah. For they are, as he declares, easy to be entreated, and beings who desire to bestow spiritual blessings upon mortals, rather than to exercise merely capricious favour or cruelty, and who also possess the power to bring their benevolence to effect.

11. As if unwilling to trust his own perception as to his real spiritual needs, he prays Ahura 'to fill up his desire,' not with what he, the reciter, may in particular request, but with what He, Ahura, knows to be the gifts of Righteousness and the divine Benevolence. And these gifts are again mainly the holy revelation, for he knows, so he earnestly declares, the words of those mighty three to be never void, and to be a sustenance able indeed to fill up his wishes, giving him more than he has of himself either the intelligence or the grace to ask.

12. Having added, in verse after verse, some particular to heighten the fervour of his request, he sums up all in a final expression, as remarkable for its earnestness as for its depth, and begs Ahura, as one set for ever for the defence of the Righteous Order and the Good Mind (whose hallowed influences he accurately foresaw were destined to endure for ages), to tell him, with His very 'voice of spirit,' in order that he may declare them to the waiting masses, the laws which pervade the moral universe, and according to which it arose. For according to these holy principles and so alone, could he promulgate a system which might reclaim society from its imperfections and the Iranian saint from his sufferings. Ahura who, be it remarked, is alone addressed in this culminating verse, hears and answers by a revelation of these eternal principles, and this answer is contained in chapter XXX. By a thorough comprehension of that most important document, I hold that we may see how it met its purpose as indicated by the capacities and needs of those to whom it was addressed, and how by discriminating truth from falsehood it helped on the defence of Asha, and the founding of the true Benevolence.

Translation.

1. (A strengthening blessing[1] is the thought, a blessing is the word, a blessing is the deed of the righteous Zarathustra. May the Bountiful Immortals[2] accept and help on[3] the chants. Homage to you, O sacred Gâthas[4]!)

2. With venerating (desire) for this (gift) of gracious help, O Mazda[5], and stretching forth my hands (to Thee) I pray for the first (blessing) of (Thy) bountiful Spirit; (that is, I beseech of Thee that my) actions

[1] Yânîm cannot well mean 'revealed,' except by the most far-fetched conception. The Indian yâna, as in devayấna, should give the fundamental idea, easily reconcileable as it is with the ancient rendering of the Pahlavi translator.

[2] Notice that the Ameshôspends are mentioned in this early heading. In the Gâthas themselves the name, 'Bountiful Immortals,' does not occur.

[3] Possibly, 'take up and continue on the Gâthas.' Literally, 'seize forth.'

[4] It is hardly necessary to say that this is no part of the Gâthas. It is, however, in the Gâthic dialect, and as it needs not, or perhaps cannot, be considered an intentional imitation, it must be very old.

[5] Vocative with the Vendîdâd Sâdah, otherwise the accumulation of genitives would be suspicious. Ahura is, however, beyond any question elsewhere spoken of as 'the most bounteous Spirit.' The usage is like that of the Semitic scriptures; the Holy Spirit is both God and 'of God.' As to the rendering 'bounteous,' I fear that 'holiest' (so many) is too bold. Ashavan occurs side by side with spe*n*ta as applied to Ahura, and ashavan cannot mean 'righteous' there, but must mean 'holy.' The Pahlavi renders etymologically afzûnîk. Comp. *s*vânta. The sole etymological bases for the meaning 'holy' are presented by the Lithuanian and Ecclesiastical Sclavonic; but, as Justi has well remarked, in the conceptions of the Avesta that which increases the kingdom of Ahura is equivalent to what is holy. 'Bountiful' must therefore be understood in a particular sense, only to be rendered by the words, 'gracious, sacred, and august.'

(toward) all (may be performed) in (the Divine) Righteousness; and with this I implore from Thee the understanding of Thy Benevolent Mind, in order that I may propitiate the Soul of the Kine[1] (our herds and folk, which cries so bitterly to Thee).

3. And therefore, O Great Creator, the Living Lord! (inspired) by Thy Benevolent Mind, I approach You[2], (and beseech of Thee[3]) to grant me (as a bountiful gift) for both the worlds, the corporeal and (for that) of mind, those attainments which are to be derived from the (Divine) Righteousness, and by means of which (that personified Righteousness[4] within us) may introduce those who are its recipients into beatitude and glory[5]!

4. O (thou Divine) Righteousness, and thou Be-

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[1] See Y. XXIX, 1.

[2] The plural of majesty, or the literal plural, referring to the Bountiful Immortals as together.

[3] Plural and singular interchange throughout.

[4] Possibly, 'one may introduce.'

[5] See Y. L, 5. *Hv*âthrâ and its allied forms are so often associated with rao*k*ah and the like, that I do not hesitate to accept an Iranian *hv*an=to shine (with Justi). As there is an Indian svar which means 'to roar,' and another 'to shine,' and again a svan=to sound, so in Iranian there is a *hv*an=to sound, and another=to shine, as in asmanem *hv*anva*n*tem. The 'comfortable stone heaven' is difficult. Comfortable, or even 'delectable mountains' (so we should have to say elsewhere), are not very likely to have been recognised or appreciated in the Avesta. 'Glorious beatitude' is a better rendering here. If *hv*âthrâ always means 'comfort,' how comes it that *hv*arenô is said to be *hv*âthrava*t*? 'Comfortable glory' is hardly probable. Compare also the ancient *s*ubha. When it is the fashion to accept a separate Iranian root at every difficulty, small and great, I see no reason for stopping here, where the pressure is considerable. The Pahlavi also may be read to favour my view. (Comp. *hv*eng=*hv*an.)

nevolent Mind (of Deity)! I will worship you, and Ahura Mazda the first[1], for all of whom the Pious ready mind (within us) is[2] causing the imperishable Kingdom to advance. (And while I thus utter my supplications to You), come Ye to my calls to help[3]!

5. (Yea, I will approach You with my supplications, I) who am delivering up (my)[4] mind and soul to that (heavenly) Mount (whither all the redeemed at last must pass[5]), knowing (full well) the holy characteristics and rewards[6] of the (ceremonial and moral) actions (prescribed) by Ahura Mazda. (And)

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[1] Or, 'having no first' (Roth, reading apourvîm).

[2] I am very far from a positive rejection of the forms suggested by the Pahlavi translator, although he should never be pressed on such a point, being often free. As alternative read 'may Piety who bestows increase (fem. participle) come to my calls to give grace.'

[3] The Pahlavi translator, unable to credit '*ye* as=I who' (so also modern authority sometimes with regard to other occurrences of *ye* in this chapter), renders as follows: When I shall be your own (thus for 'worship,' and possibly deceived by the form of the words, ufyânî and naf*s*man being nearly alike in the Pahlavi character), O Ashavahi*s*t and Vohûman! the first [ ], Aûharmazd's also [his own I shall be], through whose unweakened acquisition his rule over them exists [ ], and [hers also I shall be], Spendarmad's, the giver of increase. She comes to me with joy when I invoke her [when I shall call upon you, come ye on toward me with joy]. (A plain and noticeable instance of an alternative rendering in the gloss. The verb was first thought of as a 3rd sing. middle subjunctive, afterwards as an imperative 2nd plural.)

[4] M*eñ* = m + the nasal vowel, and may represent man, or I think also mãm, adverbially for m*e*nâ; or 'mân'='demânê.'

[5] Mount Albor*g*, where the *K*inva*t* Bridge extends; so also important authority; but we might read m*en*gairê=mângairê (Garô*d*man).

[6] Ashi, a blessing given in reward; so elsewhere.

so long as I am able and may have the power, so long will I teach[1] (Your people concerning these holy deeds to be done by them with faith toward God, and) in the desire (for the coming) of the (Divine) Righteousness (within their souls)[2].

6. And, thou Righteousness! when shall I see[3] thee, knowing the Good Mind (of God), and (above all the personified) Obedience[4] (of our lives which constitutes) the way[5] to the most beneficent Ahura Mazda. (Asking this, I thus beseech thee, for) with this holy word of supplication we most hold off[6] with tongue the flesh-devouring fiends, (the very sign and power of all spiritual foulness)[7]!

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[1] I think it is better to hold by the parallel passage and the sense of 'teach' here. The Pahlavi has an irregular form which probably means 'I teach,' but might be intended for 'I am taught.'

After the words 'so long as I have the power,' 'I will teach' is rather more natural than 'I will learn.' Haug's rendering of this word has never been accepted. Those most opposed to tradition follow it here. Perhaps, 'I will teach to desire R.'

[2] The Pahlavi translation corrected by MSS. may be rendered thus: He who gives up his soul within Garô*d*mân does so by the aid of Vohûman [ ], and is also intelligent concerning the veneration which belongs to the doers of good works [ ] in that which is Aûharmazd's [religion]; as long as I am a suppliant and have the power, so long do I inculcate the desire of Righteousness [which is, duty and good works].

[3] Kadâ m*rilikâm* sumânâ abhí khyam (Rv. VII, 86, 2).

[4] Obedience, throughout the Avesta and Parsi literature, guides the soul to heaven.

[5] Or, 'knowing the throne of Ahura' (so the Pahlavi, most scholars following); but the construction would be awkward. 'Finding the way' occurs in the *Ri*ks, and gâtu need not always mean 'place' in the Gâthic, because it has that sense most frequently in the Zend.

[6] Possibly, 'we may teach the foul polluted men.' Or, 'confess the greatest One with Khrafstra(-slaying) tongue.' Perhaps the text is to be amended; yet see XXXIV, 5, 9.

[7] The Pahlavi translation may be rendered thus: O Ashavahist! when do (shall) I see thee? I know this one by means

7. And do Thou, O Lord, the Great Creator! come to me with Thy Good Mind; and do Thou, who bestowest gifts through Thy Righteousness, bestow alike long-lasting life on us. And (that this life may be spent aright, do) Thou by means of Thy lofty words (bestow) the (needed) powerful spiritual help upon Zarathustra and upon us[1], whereby we may overcome[2] the torments of the tormentor.

8. (And) do thou, O (Divine) Righteousness, bestow (upon me) that sacred blessing which is constituted by the attainments of the Good Mind (within my soul)[3]; and do thou also, O Piety! grant unto

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of a good mind's instruction [that is, I see thee in that time when every man is intelligent because he is pious; but when shall it be?]. And the place of Aûharmazd, when do (shall) I see it, I who am a suppliant for a benefit? That place is known through Srôsh [ ], that greatest of Mãthras is to be taught, given forth with tongue to him whose understanding is confused.

[1] It certainly involves a question how the words 'to Zarathustra and to us' can be compatible with Zarathustra's authorship. Vîs-tâspa and Frashaostra (verses 8, 9) are equally excluded. Who is then the individual who thus refers to himself with others? And is this verse an interpolation, and with it 8 and 9? This last seems to me a very feeble suggestion. Was this piece, together with the rest (for they all are connected), the work of some unnamed man of influence, the true author of Zarathustrianism? I think that there is also little gained by this supposition. There is no particular reason why Zarathustra's name should have come down to us as the chief figure, while that of the prime mover failed to reach us. I should say that the piece was composed by Zarathustra and put into the mouth of a leading priest, or that it was composed with many others under his inspiration. Or, can there have been a school, or family, of Zarathustrians, religious poets, similar to the Vedic seers? (See chap. LIII, 2 Zarathustris Spitâmô.)

[2] This mention of 'overcoming an enemy,' strengthens the probability of my view of vâvarôimaidî (vâurôimaidî).

[3] The Good Mind is now, as we should say, 'the Spirit of God' in the mind of God, and again His Spirit in the human soul.

Vîstâspa and to me our wish; (yea) may'st Thou grant (us), O Mazda, ruler[1] (as Thou art! that grace) whereby we may hear[2] (with understanding) Thy benignant words.

9. That best (of gifts therefore) do I beseech (of Thee), O Thou best (of beings) Ahura! who art one in will with (Thy Divine) Righteousness (within us, likewise), the best[3] (of spirits), desiring it (as I now do) for the (heroic) man Frashaostra, and for me[4], upon whom also may'st Thou bestow it (not for time alone), but for all the ages of Thy Good Mind (that reign of Thy Benevolence which shall be to us as Heaven[5])!

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[1] The Pahlavi correctly renders pâdakhshâ.

[2] Probably originally heard, inspired words. Compare Manyeus hakâ Thwâ aunghâ, verse 12. So often. Oral communications are figuratively alluded to everywhere. No literal articulation or sound (!) is of course intended. (Or 'sravayaêmâ = proclaim.')

Neryosangh may be rendered as follows: Grant, O Sanctity! this devotion which (results) from the priority (an error from misreading the characters of the Pahlavi, chiefly his original) of the Good Mind [that is, make me so religious that prosperity may result to me from my good conduct]. Grant thou to the perfect mind [in, or to, the earth (so the Parsis understood Âramaiti)] the wish that proceeds from Gustâspa and from my people [ ]. Grant praisers, O great wise One! kings, who may be announcers of your word, and bestowers of arrangements (for the service); [that is, who may teach thy word, and render it progressive].

[3] The earliest occurrence of Asha Vahista. The Pahlavi: 'Since the best thing that Thou hast [Thy Religion] is better than all other things, the best through Righteousness.'

[4] See verses 7 and 8.

[5] In the millennial (sic) renovation as well as in heaven. See chap. XXX, 4, where Vahista Manah is equivalent to heaven. The Pahlavi gloss has: Aîgh Frashôstar va hâvistân î Frashôstar, vad tanû î pasînŏ hamâî nadûkîh padas vâdûn; that is, for Frashôstar and the disciples of Frashôstar for ever, until the final body provide a benefit thereby.

10. And (impressed and moved) by these gifts of strengthening grace[1] (which Thou may'st give in answer to these prayers) may we never anger You, O Ahura Mazda! (nor Thy) Righteousness (within us), nor yet Thy Kindly Mind (toward us), since we have most earnestly made effort (helping to advance Your cause) in the (chanted)[2] offering of Your praisers, for most easy to be invoked (are Ye). (Yours are verily both) the desire for (spiritual) blessings (for us), and the (Divine) Possession (of their power)[3].

11. And therefore do Thou, O Lord, the Great Creator! fill up and satisfy (my[4]) desire with these attainments (of the grace) of Thy Good Mind, which Thou dost know to be derived from Righteousness, (and) which (are verily) sublime[5], for I have known[6]

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[1] Possibly, 'may we not anger you with our prayers for these blessings.' Kím me havyám áh*rin*âno *g*usheta.

[2] That dasemê may now better be referred to a similar root with dasvare, I regard the more probable because the Pahlavi also freely renders as if it so understood. Its author knew the meaning of dasema = da*s*ama. One is reminded of course of the dá*s*a-gva.

[3] The Pahlavi with its peculiar view of anâi*s* (not to be rejected too confidently; see note at another occurrence of it) is interesting (as corrected by the Persian MS.): On account of a not-coming to you, O Aûharmazd! This I would not do [ ]. Ashavahi*s*t also I will not pain for the sake of a blessing; [that is, I do not desire a single blessing which appears displeasing to Ashavahi*s*t (this turn of the sense is followed by some who have hitherto opposed tradition, but I cannot follow it, although I value every hint of the ancient writers). Also Vohûman, the excellent [I do not harass him].

[4] Or, 'to those whom thou seest as creatures (?) of V. fill up the desire with attainments.'

[5] Possibly, 'the righteous,' erethw*eng*; cp. *ri*tấvânas (?). Pahl. trans. 'î frârûnŏ.'

[6] Possibly, 'I obtain.'

Thine instructions to be never void[1] of their effect (in the struggles) for our (daily) food[2], and therefore worthy objects of desire[3].

12. (Yea, I approach Thee with my prayers, I) who by these (great gifts of grace) will[4] protect (Thy) Divine Righteousness, and (Thy) Good Mind (within us) for ever. And do Thou therefore, O Ahura Mazda! teach me from Thyself, yea, from Thine own mouth of spirit, that I may declare it forth to (these Thy waiting people) by what (powers and according to what laws[5]) the primeval world arose[6]!

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[1] Ner. has analaso(-a*h*) for asûnâ more correctly than the Pahlavi asû*d*ak.

[2] Or, 'well reaching their aim;' but the Pahlavi translator gives his evidence for the meaning 'food'=khûri*s*nŏ. Recall the constant prayers for nourishment in the *Ri*ks. And as favouring the ancient translation, see XXIX, 7, where 'food for the eaters' is declared to be the gift of God, who is at the same time 'bounteous with his doctrine.'

[3] Neryosangh: Eva*m* ye dharmasya vettâra*h* * uttamasya*k*a dâter manasa*h* [ ] ekahelayâ* Mahâ*g*ñânin Svâmin! tebhya*h* * pûr*n*a*m* pari*k*inohi* kâma*m*; [kila, [ ] *s*ubha*m* tebhya*h* kuru]. Eva*m*ka igisne*h* * analaso labhatâ*m* khâdyâni vastrâ*n*i*k*a vadanena.

[4] One is tempted to read nip*a*unghé as an infinitive, but the Pahlavi translation anticipates us all with its more critical barâ netrûnam.

[5] This question is answered in Y. XXX.

[6] Ner. improving upon the Pahlavi has as follows: Yadi sunirîksha*n*atayâ dharma*m* pâlayâmi mana*s*ka* uttama*m* sadâprav*ri*ttaye; [kila, *k*et satyasya sadvyâpârasya*k*a rakshâ*m* karomi]. Tvam tat* Mahâ*g*ñânin Svâmin! prak*ri*sh*t*am me *s*ikshâpaya* [ ] vâ*k*i. Ad*ri*sya Tvatto mukhena [sphu*t*aya] antar bhuvane pûrva*m* babhûva [tâm s*ri*sh*t*im me brûhi].

A translation truly remarkable considering the circumstances under which it was made.

YASNA XXX.

The Doctrine of Dualism.

1. Accustomed to instruct the masses who throng him on public occasions seeking light, the composer constructs this hymn for similar opportunities. He may be regarded as continuing the thoughts in the close of Y. XXVIII, where he besought Ahura to inform him concerning the origin of the world. He says that he will declare the counsels of God, by which, as we see, he means the great doctrines concerning the origin of good and evil. With these he will declare also the praises, the laudatory portions of the Mãthra, and the sacrifices. And he prays that propitious results may be discerned in the heavenly bodies.

2. He further introduces what he has to say by telling the throngs before him that a decisive moment is upon them. They are to choose their religion, and not by acclamation with the foolish decision of a mob, but man by man, each individually for himself. They should therefore arouse themselves and hear with all attention, and gaze at the holy Fire with a good and receptive disposition of mind.

3. He then delivers the earliest statement of dualism which has come down to us. There were two original spirits, and they are called, be it well noted, not two persons, or at least not only two persons, but a better thing, or principle, and a worse one. (The qualifying words are all in the neuter [1].)

At the next sentence they are personified as a pair, each independent in his thoughts, declarations, and actions. Such is the short Theodicy, followed at once by an admonition to those before him to choose the better.

4. These two spirits came together as by natural combination, to make the opposing phenomena of life and its absence, of Heaven and of Hell.

And Hell is described not as a scene of cruelty inflicted on the innocent and the ignorant, but as 'the worst life,' and Heaven as equally remote from a superstitious paradise; that is, as the 'best mental state.'

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[1] It is also noticeable that the name Angra Mainyu does not occur in this section.

This is the proper Zarathustrian creation. It is undeniably 'abstract,' very, and just in proportion as it lacks colour and myth are its depths visible. The account of it is also very limited. But it must never be forgotten that its existence is the probable proof that very much more of the kind existed beside it. Instead of there being one hymn sung like this, Y. XXX, there were probably many. The two original forces or beings, although separate clearly, come together; but they do not lose their distinction. Their difference remains as clear as their union. 5. They do not blend unrecognisably; for having created the two principles, they choose each his own particular realm. Ahura chooses the righteous order of religion, and with it the pious of all ages. The evil spirit chooses the wicked.

The point and meaning of the entire doctrine is that a good God cannot be responsible for permanent evil; that imperfection and suffering are original, and inherent in the nature of things, and permanently so. The swallowing up of sin and sorrow in ultimate happiness belongs to a later period. It is not Gâthic Zarathustrianism. Evil was the work of an independent being.

The great thinker saw his point; and it was that the Deity Himself could not prevent the evolution of base and revolting moral qualities with their consequent miseries in both victim and aggressor. An evil God was therefore their author.

6. But the blood-feuds of War, not to speak of the theological animosity, were too much for his philosophy. The sage could not regard all men and their circumstances with broad and equable impartiality.

The hated Daêva-worshippers, who were doubtless equally conscientious with the Zarathustrians, are said to have failed of correct discernment.

As they were deliberating, so he recalls, the Worst Mind, a very real although 'abstract' Satan, came upon them, to induce them to choose him and his evil realm. They acceded, becoming furious in their intention to injure human life. This may be regarded as a dramatic, but at the same time, in a moral sense, a philosophical statement of a temptation and fall. (For a later one, with more colour and less truth, see the temptation proper of Zarathustra himself[1], recalling as it does so vividly the temptation in the Gospels.)

7. If we can accept the words ahmâikâ to mean merely 'upon

[1] Comp. Vd. XIX, 1–10. Consider how much time would be required for the name of Zarathrustra to become so involved in myth.

this,' we may hold that the statements proceed without a break. Even a gap of lost verses does not interrupt the sense. The clothing of souls with bodies seems indicated. If so, the doctrine of the Fravashis, otherwise foreign to the Gâthas, may have its origin by inference here, and directly in verse 4. After the creation and first activity of the souls of the Archangels on the one hand, and of the Daêvas on the other, together with their respective human adherents, the one choosing good and the other evil, the remaining Ameshôspends unite with Âramaiti in bestowing a body upon the newly created soul. (So we must conclude from the language.) And the prophet breaks in with the prayer that in the future, and possibly at the Frashakar*d*, the completion of progress, these created souls might possess such advantages as they had when Ahura came at first with his acts of creation; that is, that they might be restored again to a state of sinless happiness, provided with bodies by Âramaiti as at the first. (See Yas*t* XIX, 89.)

8. But, as he implies, and perhaps expresses in a lost verse, vengeance shall come upon the wretched beings who choose the Evil Mind as their master. And it shall come, not in the abstract merely by any means, but as executed by a numerous, if not once predominant party, 'the offspring of the Evil Mind.' And when this shall have been completed (and XXXI, 18 shows us that the weapons to be used to bring it about were not to be those of verbal argument alone) then, as he declares with enthusiasm, 'to God shall be the Kingdom,' a Kingdom established in the Divine Benevolence, which will pervade its organic life, and which will likewise, as the personified 'Immortal,' utter encouragements and commands to its loyal citizens. And these citizens will then not only defeat the Lie-demon, who is the life of the Daêva-party, but they will deliver her up as a captive to the great Genius of Truth, the personified Righteousness. 9. And, as he ardently hoped for the coming of the Kingdom into the hands of Ahura, he as ardently beseeches that he and his coadjutors, the princes already named, may be honoured as the immediate agents in bringing on this 'millennial' completion; nay, he even prays that they may be as Ahuras[1] in merciful services, declaring that all their thoughts were centred in that scene where religious light dwelt as personified in her home.

10. Once more he announces the certain defeat and chastisement of the incarnate falsehood and her adherents, which enables

[1] As the Ahuras of Mazda, the Ameshôspends.

him only the more impressively to describe the rapid reunion of the righteous amid the home-happiness of Heaven.

11. Having delivered his brief but weighty communication, he commends his hearers for learning the holy vows of the Religion on account of the duration of the announced rewards and punishments. They shall be long indeed; and upon their complete inauguration full salvation shall be realised for those who shall have learned and heeded the invaluable truths.

Translation.

1. And now I will proclaim, O ye who are drawing near and seeking[1] to be taught! those animadversions[2] which appertain to Him who knows (all things) whatsoever; the praises which are for Ahura, and the sacrifices (which spring) from the Good Mind, and likewise the benignant meditations inspired by Righteousness. And I pray[3] that propitious results may be seen in the lights.

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[1] As 'ish' means approaching with desire, the Pahlavi translator has, freely, khvahîsnŏ.

[2] Read mãzdathâ.

[3] So with long ê; but yaêkâ (P[11] supported by the Pahl.) may be the lost dual neuter of the pronoun, referring to the two principles discussed below. Yê*kâ = I pray for, although the most natural rendering grammatically, does not seem so well adapted here, as a prayer for the success of his communication does not harmonise with the otherwise dogmatic statements of the composer. The urvâtâ (vrata) founded upon the doctrine of dualism bring about salvation. They may therefore be touched upon in this introductory verse. And that the heavenly bodies contained indications bearing directly or indirectly upon human destiny seems to have been early an accepted doctrine. (Compare also chap. XXIX, 3, where 'the lofty fires' seem alluded to as moved by the Deity, and this in immediate connection with the discussion of the most important problems concerning the fate of the holy community.) It is, however, not impossible that the lights of the altar may have been meant. (See sûkâ in the second verse.) The Pahlavi translation

2. Hear ye then with your ears; see ye the bright flames[1] with the (eyes of the) Better Mind. It is for a decision as to religions, man and man, each individually for himself. Before the great effort of the cause, awake ye[2] (all) to our[3] teaching!

3. Thus are the primeval spirits who as a pair[4] (combining their opposite strivings), and (yet each) independent in his action, have been famed (of old). (They are) a better thing, they two, and a worse[5], as to thought, as to word, and as to deed. And between these two let the wisely acting choose aright. (Choose ye[6]) not (as) the evil-doers[7]!

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has dên rôshanŏ pavan vênisnŏ hû-ravâkh-manîh. As to yê*kâ or yaêkâ, the Pahlavi does not favour a verbal form. But if the pronoun is accepted, even then change is needed; yaêkâ yâ = yéka yéna is hardly possible. We should be obliged to render: And which two things (were those?) whereby (adverbially) propitious results have been seen in the stars. Others have experienced difficulty, and even ashayaêkâ(?) has been conjecturally suggested for this place and chap. LI, 2. Neither Sp. nor Westg. report a long ê.

[1] Gôshânŏ srûd nyôkhshisnîh [aîghas gôsh barâ vasammûnd]—Zak î rôshanŏ. Otherwise 'with the eye;' but see yâ raokbîs daresatâ urvâzâ. The altar-flame would not unnaturally be mentioned after the heavenly lights.

[2] Literally, '(be ye) wakeful.'

[3] Hardly, 'to teach us.' Possibly, 'to teach this, each one.'

[4] Pahl. transcribes. Notice that paouruyê (pourviyê) is neut.* as are vahyô and akemkâ, which is not lightly to be passed over.

[5] The Pahlavi freely: Benafsman—[aîghsânŏ vinâs va kirfak benafsman barâ yemalelûnd]. They announced themselves as sin and good works. Ner. yau punyam pâpamka svayam avokatâm.

[6] Barâ vigîd. Ner. vibhaktavân*. If a third plural subjunctive, still the force is as if imperative. Possibly it is preterit.

[7] On this important verse I cite Neryosangh. He may be rendered as follows: Thus the two spirits [Hormigda and Âharmana] who uttered first in the world each his own (principle); [that is, who each uttered, one his own good (deed), and the other his own sin], these were a pair, in thought, word, and deed, a highest

* Adverb (?).

4. (Yea) when the two spirits came together at the first to make[1] life, and life's absence[2], and to determine how the world at the last shall be (ordered), for the wicked (Hell) the worst life, for the holy (Heaven) the Best Mental State[3],

5. (Then when they had finished each his part in the deeds of creation, they chose distinctly each his separate realm.) He who was the evil of them both (chose the evil), thereby working[4] the worst of possible results, but the more bounteous spirit[5] chose the

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and a degraded one. And of these two, the one endowed with good intelligence [ ] was the distinguisher of the true, and not the one endowed with evil intelligence [ ]. (Both he and the Pahlavi fail to credit a plural form in ere*s* vîshyâtâ with Spiegel and Hübschmann.)

The Gâthic verbatim. Yea (=thereupon) the-two the-two-spirits the-two-first-things which-two two-twins two-self-acting-ones were-heard-of in-thought in-word-and in-deed these-two a-better an-evil-and. Of-which-two-and the wisely-acting (ones) aright may discern, not the evil-acting ones.

[1] The Pahlavi read as an infinitive, dazdê=avŏ zak dahi*s*nŏ. (So also an important authority recently.) Otherwise it has the place of a third dual perfect; 'they two made.' The place of an infinitive is not generally at the end of a sentence in Gâthic. Can it be simply a third singular? '(Each) makes' (*k*amasấ karóti).

[2] Pavan zendakîh—va mûni*k* azendakîh. Ner. *g*îvitena*k*a a*g*îvitena*k*a. Observe the singular abstract a*g*yâitî*mk*â, which is not lightly to be passed over. Why not a more ordinary expression? Have we not here an unusual antithesis? The danger is great that by aiming to reduce all to commonplace for the sake of safety, we may demolish many an interesting conception of antiquity.

[3] Observe the subjectivity. These verses settle the question as to the depth of the Zarathustrian hymns. Grammar forces us to see that the composer had large ideas. The entire cast of reflection in the Gâthas tends to be abstract as well as subjective. Not so their invective and partisan exhortations.

[4] Verezyô is a nom. sing. masc., as would seem natural from its position in the sentence. Compare mãthrâi*s* verezyâi*s*.

[5] Observe that Ahura is undoubtedly called spenista mainyu. Elsewhere we must sometimes render, 'His bountiful spirit.'

(Divine) Righteousness; (yea, He so chose) who clothes upon Himself the firm[1] stones of heaven (as His robe). And He chose likewise them who content Ahura with actions, which (are performed) really in accordance with the faith[2].

6. And between these two spirits the Demon-gods (and they who give them worship) can make no righteous choice[3], since we have beguiled[4] them. As they were questioning and debating in their council[5] the (personified[6]) Worst Mind approached them that he might be chosen. (They made their

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[1] Zak î sakht sag nihûftŏ âsmâni*k*. Ner. Gâ*dh*ataram* âkâ*s*a*m* dadau.

[2] 'Who with actions really good piously content Ahura.' Let it be noticed that fraore*t* is not independently translated by the Pahlavi. It is freely included in avŏ Aûharmazd; and yet this is supposed by some to be a word-for-word rendering! Ner. praka*t*âi*s*ka karmabhi*h*.

Verbatim. Of-these-two spirits he-chose-to-himself (he)-who (was) the evil (the one) the worst (deeds) working*. The-Righteous-Order (accusative) (chose) the spirit most-bountiful (he-)who the most-firm stones clothes-on-himself, (those) who-and will-content Ahura with real actions believingly Mazda.

(Properly a verbatim rendering is only possible in an inflected language.)

[3] Lâ râstŏ vi*g*înênd. They suffer judicial blindness; a common idea in the Gâthas; compare, 'who holds them from the sight of the truth,' &c.

[4] The root is indicated by va mûni*k* valman*s*ân frîft. I can see no escape from the above rather adventurous rendering. See also dafshnyâ he*n*tû in chap. LIII, 8. Perhaps the idea of injury here preponderates over that of deceit; 'since we have impaired their power.' The choice between a preterit or an improper subjunctive is also difficult. Possibly, 'so that we may fatally deceive them.' Poss. nom. 'deception came upon them, even A. M.'

[5] This recalls Vendîdâd XIX, 45, where the demons assemble in council to consider the advent of Zarathu*s*tra.

[6] Compare verse 4, where Vahi*s*tem Manô equals heaven. The

fatal decision.) And thereupon they rushed together unto the Demon of Fury, that they might pollute[1] the lives of mortals[2].

7. Upon this[3] Âramaiti (the personified Piety of the saints) approached, and with her came the Sovereign Power, the Good Mind, and the Righteous Order. And (to the spiritual creations of good and of evil) Âramaiti gave a body, she the abiding and ever strenuous[4]. And for these (Thy people) so let[5] (that

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word is the subject of '*g*asa*t*,' and has the proper place of a nominative in the sentence; cp. Vedic usage.

[1] That they might disease (so literally) the lives of those who had not yet been tempted or fallen.

The Pahlavi: Vîmârîni*d*ŏ ahvân î mar*d*ûmân [aîgh, levatman aêshm an*s*ûtâân ahûkînên*d*].

Ner.: Ye ni*g*aghnur bhuvana*m* manushyânâ*m*.

Hübschmann: 'um durch ihn Plagen über das Leben des Menschen zu bringen.'

[2] Verbatim. Of these two spirits not aright may choose the Daêvas, since these we have beguiled (or have injured). To the-questioning ones upon came-he in-order-that he might-be-chosen (subjunctive middle) he-the worst mind. Thereupon to-furious-rapine they rushed-together in-order-that (yena) they might disease (or ruin) the-life of-man.

[3] Or, 'to him;' some unnamed benefactor; hardly 'to us.' The Pahlavi has, avŏ valman, but Ner. has only tatra*k*a. Observe ahmâi in chap. XLIII, 1, and in chap. XLVII.

[4] Root ãn = in. The Pahlavi freely, pavan astûbîh. He seems to have thought of nam + a priv.

Kehrpem is feminine. Ãnmâ may be a neuter in apposition.

Otherwise we must accept -mâ as a suffix. Or can kehrpem (corpus) be a neuter here? The clothing of the spirits with corporeal natures enabled them to advance in the development of moral qualities by self-restraint and pursuit. As has been observed in the summary, no Fravashis appear in the Gâthas. Have we here possibly an indication of the pre-existence of souls? If Âramaiti gave a body, it may be inferred that a period elapsed between the acts of the two spirits and this.

[5] That bodies are to be given to the saints as at the first is to

body) be (at the last), O Mazda! as it was when Thou camest first with creations[1]!

8. And (when the great struggle shall have been fought out which began when the Daêvas first seized the Demon of Wrath as their ally[2]), and when the (just) vengeance shall have come upon these wretches, then, O Mazda! the Kingdom shall have been gained for Thee by (Thy) Good Mind (within Thy folk). For to those, O living Lord! does (that Good Mind[3]) utter his command, who will deliver the Demon of the Lie into the two hands[4] of the Righteous Order (as a captive to a destroyer).

9. And may we be such as those who bring on

be inferred from Yast XIX, 89. (Which see in part ii of the translations of the Zend-Avesta.)

[1] Verbatim. To-this (to us?)-and with-Khshathra came, with-Manah Vohu, with Asha-and (Âramaiti) thereupon a-body the-continuing gave Âr(a)maiti the strenuous (Âramaiti, or the body, a vigorous and strenuous thing).

Of these thine (or to thee) to let-it (the body)-be as thou-camest in-creations the-first.

[2] See verse 6.

[3] What else can be the subject of sastî?

[4] Observe the pronounced personification of Righteousness. As a matter of course the ultimate sense is more commonplace, as is the case with all poetical matter. 'Into the hands of Asha,' is the same as to say, 'into the power of the servant of God.'

But would this be a proper mode of rendering a line of real though rudely primitive poetry? Such renderings are commentary rather than translation. The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows: Thus also in that creation [in the final body] hatred comes to these haters and sinners; [that is, the avengers shall execute chastisement upon them]. And, therefore, O Aûharmazd! what to thee is the sovereignty, by that (so possibly) shall Vohûman give a reward. Through these, O Aûharmazd! [through the religion of Aûharmazd], when one is instructed in Righteousness, [that is, as to the interests of the pious] then the Drûg is given into one's hand, [the Drûg who is Aharmôk].

this great renovation, and make this world progressive, (till its perfection shall have been reached). (As) the Ahuras of Mazda[1] (even) may we be; (yea, like Thyself), in helpful readiness to meet[2] (Thy people), presenting (benefits[3]) in union with the Righteous Order. For there[4] will our thoughts be (tending) where true wisdom shall abide in her home[5].

10. (And when perfection shall have been attained) then shall the blow of destruction fall upon the Demon of Falsehood, (and her adherents shall perish with her), but swiftest in the happy abode of the Good Mind and of Ahura the righteous saints

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[1] Otherwise, 'the Ahura-Mazdas,' or, 'O Mazda and the Ahuras!' I think that the most natural rendering according to the grammar should first be given, notwithstanding something uncommon about it. 'All the Ahura-Mazdas,' has been seen by Roth in chapter XXXI, 4.

[2] The Pahlavi has the gloss [aîghsân hamîshakŏ hangaman madam tanû î pasînŏ kûnisnŏ], needlessly enlarged of course, but showing the proper root, which is mi*t*; (so Spiegel.)

[3] Or possibly sustaining (the feeble). The Pahlavi reads simply dedrûnisnŏ.

[4] The Pahlavi renders hathrâ in the Indian sense as asâr*, endlessly; so others elsewhere. Hathrâ and yathrâ are of course distinctly in antithesis.

[5] The Pahlavi mihânŏ, Persian makân. That maêthâ is an adverbial instrumental meaning, 'in one's home,' seems the more probable from the two hathrâ, yathrâ, adverbs of place. Compare, for instance, athrâ-yathrâ in XLVI, 16, where shaêitî follows. Hübschmann, 'Dort mögen (unsre) Sinne sein, wo die Weisheit thront;' see also husitôis in the next verse.

The Parsi-persian MS. has—Aedûnŏ (sic) ham mâ kih ân i tû hastam (sic); [kû ân i tû 'hwês hastam] în—rastâ'hiz kardan andar *g*ihân.

(c) Kih—minisn bêd [kû minisn pah—dârad] as ângâ dânâî hast [kû, â'hir i *k*îz pah nêkî bih dânad] andar makân.

shall gather, they who proceed in their walk (on earth) in good repute[1] (and honour)[2].

11. Wherefore, O ye men! ye are learning[3] (thus) these religious incitations which Ahura gave in (our) happiness[4] and (our) sorrow[5]. (And ye are also learning) what is the long wounding for the wicked, and the blessings which are in store for the righteous. And when these (shall have begun their course), salvation shall be (your portion[6])!

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[1] Pahlavi, 'mûn vâdûnd zak î *s*apîr nâmîkîh = they are creating a good repute,' as if zaze*n*tê were understood in the sense of produce. See the sense 'bear' as given for hâ, Rig-veda 843, 2 (X, 17). The analogy is, however, not strong.

[2] The Pahlavi translation may here be rendered as follows: Thus in that dispensation [in the later body] the Drûg [who is Ganrâk Mînavad] will be overthrown [ ] when (his) host is scattered. Thus they move keenly on [to seize the reward], which is attained through the good citizenship of Vohûman [when they shall have dwelt in piety]. They who are creating a good renown are thus moving on toward Aûharmazd and Ashavahi*s*t [that is, the person who is of good repute goes forward to seize the reward].

[3] Once more the anomalous form âmûkhti*s*nŏ meets us in the Pahlavi. May this not be intended to express 'learning,' whereas âmûzi*s*nŏ would express 'teaching?' I hardly think so.

[4] The Pahlavi translation is only remotely if at all responsible for *hv*îti*k*â as = sua sponte. This would require *hv*îti as = **hv*âti with difficulty comparing 'yim' and 'y*e*m' (?). It is generally considered now as = hu + iti; but the letter ۳ = 'ی seems doubtful.

[5] Read anitî = 'with impeded progress.' 'In prosperity or adversity.' But these are conjectures.

[6] The Pahlavi: Aêtûnŏ akhar valman*s*ân aîtŏ nadûkîh. I do not think that we ought to regard the words of the original as expressing universal restoration. But they may well have given the first indication toward this later view. Literally, they state it, but not when correctly understood.

(Supplementary note. The Pahlavi word yômâî which transcribes y*e*snâ in verse 4 cannot mean 'by day.' Its imperfect form induced the translators to translate rûzhâ and bhûmandale, but these scholars, as in many other instances, hinted at a correction.)

YASNA XXXI.

The Progress and Struggles of the Cause.

This composition differs from that in XXX as descending from the more general to the particular, and from the doctrinal to the practical. One might even trace an immediate connection, urvâtâ occurring in the last verse of the one and in the first of the other. It is, of course, very possible that the verses before us are only a remnant of those which originally constituted the piece, and here and there one may have been interpolated from other scriptures.

Some writers prefer to assume a loss of the original text or an addition to it at the smallest change of tone, and to assume also a change of subject with it. I do not regard it as very useful to lay too much stress upon these occurrences.

Whether caused by gaps or interpolations, they do not at all affect the fact that the subject-matter is homogeneous and contemporaneous; and, probably, like many more modern compositions, the verses gain in rhetorical effect by being weeded of repetitions.

We might divide as follows 1, 2, an address to the congregation to be connected with XXX as its concluding words; 3–5, an address to Ahura; 6, an address to the faithful; 7–17, to Ahura; 18, to the congregation; 19, to Ahura; 20, 21, to the congregation; 22, an addition.

Treating the section then as containing homogeneous matter which combines well into a unit, I proceed as follows. The sage chants his hymn in the presence of the multitude as before.

1. He declares that while he is reciting things unwillingly heard by the hostile party, those same truths are valued as the best of existing things by those who are sincerely devoted to Mazda, their good disposition quickening their perception.

2. He then declares that if the truths of the holy Religion are not yet clearly seen by the instrumentalities provided, he will approach them still more effectively in accordance with the especial regulation of the spiritual chieftainship, which Ahura Mazda had prepared in response to the lament of the soul of the Kine; i. e. of the Iranian herds and people possibly as representing the entire holy, or clean, creation upon earth. And he further asserts that this regulation concerns the struggle of the two parties, and will bring the cause of the Righteous Order to a successful issue.

3. Changing his address to Ahura, he proceeds to pray at once

for that satisfying decision which would be the natural result of the regulation just promised, and which could be given by the instrumentality of the Sacred Fire and holy ritual, affording mental keenness to the two contending parties. And he declares that this is the doctrine which should be proclaimed for the conversion of mankind. Here we observe that the Zarathustrian Mazda-worship was aggressive and missionary in its spirit, and in a proselyting sense by no means indifferent to the final destiny of the Gentile world. (The later and traditional system announced indeed the restoration and so the conversion of all men, and that not as an object proposed to the efforts of charity, but as a necessary result (so by inference; see Bundahiš (West), pp. 126, 129). I can find no trace of this in the Gâthas.

Here we have only the effort to convert.)

4. Addressing all the Bountiful Immortals, and with the striking title of the Ahuras of Mazda, he prays for the establishment of the 'mighty kingdom' by means of which he might overcome the personified and aggressive falsehood of the opposing and persecuting Daêva-worshippers.

5. In order to enable himself to fulfil his mission, he asks for prophetic and judicial knowledge as to what ought to be done, or as to what is about to happen in the immediate future.

6. He lauds the Mathra which we may suppose him to recognise as delivered to him afresh in answer to his prayer for prophetic light, and he praises co-ordinately with the Word of God that Sovereign Authority of Ahura, which was to be established in a kingdom where goodness would increase, and be prosperous, if not predominant.

7. He takes the heavenly bodies as evidence of the wisdom of Him who created the Sacred Order personified as the 'Immortal' Asha, and also the Good Mind, his equal. And he ascribes the support and extension of their hallowing influence to Ahura, because He never changes.

8. He reiterates, in expressions which form the basis for another hymn, his conception of Mazda as the supreme object of devotion, as the father of the Good Mind personified as His child, as the creator of the Righteous Order, and as both the controller and the judge of human actions. Therefore the Good Mind and Righteousness are to be worshipped as standing in the closest possible relation to him.

9. He ascribes the 'Immortal' Piety to Him as well. She is His own, and elsewhere His own daughter. He is declared, as in

chapter XXIX, to be the Creator of the Kine, and of Understanding, (His own intelligence), to guide Him in the disposition of the destiny of the holy Iranian people. And according to it He makes the path for the Kine, which as a matter of course has no meaning as applied to bucolics, but is full of meaning when read in view of the wail of the Kine's Soul in chapter XXIX, and of the intervention of the Deity in her behalf, for He actually appointed Zarathustra to meet her necessities. He adds, however, that her free choice is not abolished by the construction 'of this path.' It is elsewhere called the 'religion of the Saviour-prophets,' and she is free to proceed in it, guided by the first prophet, the ideal husbandman, or she can follow the profaner nomad.

10. But he thankfully exclaims that she does not pause in indecision, nor does she choose perversely. She selects the guardian appointed by Ahura, the diligent and pious husbandman, elsewhere identified with Zarathustra himself. He is rich with the spiritual wealth of the Good Mind; and she rejects in his favour the idle and free-booting nomad, excluding him from all share in the sacred religious system.

11. The composer then delineates the struggle which inevitably follows this establishment of the needed means of deliverance. When Mazda has completed the inspiration of doctrines, teaching whither the one endowed with free volition (like the Kine [verse 9]) should direct his choice in action (12), there upon the spot, as it were, the ignorant Daêva-worshipper makes himself heard beside God's spokesman. But the prophet is consoled by the reflection that the pious mind will not question the evil Spirit, or the good Spirit superficially. It searches both the Spirits, questioning them, as it were, in their very home. (Hence it is that Ahura speaks so fully concerning Angra Mainyu, delineating his opposition to Him in extended detail. See XLV, 2.)

13. The composer is still more reanimated by the certainty that Ahura is gazing into the depths of all questions, trivial and profound; which is to say that he observes most closely the men who are discussing them. And he declares that he also sees the cruel injustice of the punishments which the tyrants visit upon the smallest offences, as well as the more flagrant wickedness of those who persecute his adherents without even a pretence of justice.

14. As he recalls the divine forecasting omniscience, he asks Ahura once more concerning the future which was close at hand with its portentous events. And he inquires as to the nature of the veritable and not iniquitous confessions, which were properly due to

be made by the righteous believer in order to avert the impending calamities, and secure the upper hand in the struggle for the throne. And he inquires also as to the proper expiatory prayers which were to be offered by the believer. He does not however fail to inquire analogously concerning the wicked, nor to ask how they, as well as the righteous, shall be situated in the final consummation.

15. Particularising as to the latter, he asks what shall be the punishment for those who succeed in installing an evil monarch, one of the Daêva-party, a prince who cannot exist without the ruthless persecution of the pious husbandman, who repudiates the Lie-demon presiding over the counsels and efforts of the opposing religion.

16. He further asks how and by what actions the wise man may become like Ahura, or his faithful adherent, the expressions used implying deep religious feeling.

17. Striving to arouse the perceptions of his hearers, he inquires as to which one of the two parties holds to the greater or more important religion, the disciple of Asha, the personified Righteous Order Ahura's immediate creature (see above), or the opponent. And he prays that no blind guide may deceive him, or those who belong to him, 'but that the enlightened, yea, even Ahura Himself, may speak to him, and become the indicator and demonstrator of the truth.'

18. Closing this address to the Deity, he turns to the congregation, vehemently forbidding them to listen to the doctrines of his opponents, warning them against the ruin and death which would ensue, and fiercely appealing to the sword.

19. Once more addressing Ahura, he prays that they may on the contrary listen to Him who has power to vindicate the conscientious Zarathustrian, inculcating veracity upon him, and encouraging him in its practice; and this by means of the holy sacrifice, or ordeal of the Fire.

20. He solemnly warns those who would seduce the righteous of their ultimate fate, and adds that their sorrows will be self-induced, if they persevere in their hostility. Their own consciences (as we see from Yast XXII) would not only bring on their ruin, but would form a part of their punishment.

21. On the other hand, happiness and immortality will be the lot of the faithful. And these 'eternal two' will be given to them, accompanied by the fulness of Righteousness, and the exuberant vigour of the Good and Kindly Mind within them and bestowing its blessings upon them.

22. In conclusion he apostrophises the manifest certainty of the truths which he declares, and, addressing Ahura, animates the faithful not merely with the hope of the objective recompense, but with the prospect of being efficient as servants of God.

Translation.

1. These doctrines (therefore) we are earnestly declaring to You as we recite them forth from memory, words (till now) unheard[1] (with faith) by those who by means of the doctrinal vows[2] of the harmful Lie are delivering the settlements of Righteousness to death, but words which are of the best unto those who are heartily devoted to Ahura[3].

2. And if by this means the indubitable truths[4] are not seen in the soul[5], then as better (than these words) I will come to you all (in my person) with

[1] Roth, 'wollen wir Worte künden—ungern gehört von denen, welche nach des Unholds Geboten,' &c. Hübschmann preferring 'wir sprechen Worte nicht anhörbar für diejenigen' (Casuslehre, s. 223). A dative of the pronoun is certainly more natural than the ablative as inst. But on the whole agushtâ seems better in its ordinary sense, although in so rendering we are obliged to supply a word.

[2] Valmanšân mûn pavan âfrîngânîh î Drûg zak î Aharâyîh gêhân barâ marenkînênd.

[3] The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows: Both these benedictions, which I (we) recite as yours [the Avesta and Zand], we are teaching by word to him who is no hearer, [to the destroyer of sanctity (the heretical persecutor) [ ]]. Those who utterly slay the world of righteousness through the benedictions of the Drûg [ ], even those might be an excellent thing, if they would cause progress in what belongs to Aûharmazd.

[4] Read perhaps advayâo; see the Pahlavi. Otherwise 'the way' advâo as panthâs; but the participle * does not agree. Compare for meaning kavím ádvayantam, sákhâ ádvayâs.*

[5] The Pahlavi renders 'in the soul' freely by 'believes:' Pavan nikîrišnŏ lâ hêmnunêdŏ aš pavan zak î agûmânîkîh. The general indications are to be observed.

* Is it a loc.?

that power, and in that way according to which Ahura Mazda knows and appoints His ruler[1], that ruler over both the two (struggling) bands[2], in order that we (in obedience to him), may live according to Righteousness[3].

3. And that keenness, that deciding satisfaction, which Thou hast given by (Thy) Spirit[4], and (Thy) Fire, and by Thy Righteousness (itself) to the two battling[5] (sides), do Thou declare unto us, O Ahura! that vow which is for the seeing[6] (as those endowed with mental light). Yea, do Thou declare this that we may know it, O Mazda! With the tongue of Thy mouth do Thou speak it (that as I preach its mighty truths[7]) I may make all the living believers[8]!

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[1] Comp. chap. XXIX, 2, where the Ratu is discussed; here the word might be the abstract.

[2] Roth, 'dieser beiden Parteien (Yasna XXXI).'

[3] He repels and condemns the evil, and he hallows and helps the good.

[4] Most striking is the use of mainyu. It is 'the Spirit' = God. It is 'His Spirit.' It is also used of man's spirit.

[5] Or, 'from the two ara*n*i;' but see ãsayâo in verse 2. The Pahlavi translator has avŏ patkâr*d*ârânŏ shnâkhtârîh; so uniformly. In Y. XLIII, 12, K5 and most MSS., except K4, and likewise excepting the printed B.V.S., read ranôibyô which excludes the dual form; also the fire is not mentioned there. It is however far from impossible that the present Pahlavi translation may be a growth beyond an earlier one more in accordance with ara*n*i. The strivers, or fighters, might describe the two rubbing-sticks (?).

[6] Aîmar (sic), vi*g*âr*d*âr. This meaning suits the connection admirably. The word is otherwise difficult, and this general sense is followed by some who do not so often cite the Pahlavi translator.

[7] See verse 1.

[8] Roth, 'wie ich alle lebenden bekehren soll.' So also the general indication of the Pahlavi translator. Pavan hûzvânŏ î Lak—zîvandakân harvist-gûn hêmnund. Observe that the religious system contemplated universal proselytism.

4. And when the Divine Righteousness shall be inclined to my appeal[1], and with him all those (remaining ones who are as) Mazda's[2] (own) Ahuras then with the blessedness (of the reward), with (my) Piety and with Thy Best Mind (active within me), I will pray[3] for that mighty Kingdom by whose force[4] we may smite the Lie-demon[5].

5. Aye, do Thou tell me that I may discern it, since through (Thy) Righteous Order the better (lot) is[6] given; tell me this that I may know it with (Thy) Good Mind (as it speaks within me), and that I may ponder[7] that to which these my truths[8] belong (and

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[1] The general indications karîtûntâr and bavîhûnam point to the proper sense.

[2] Or, with Roth, 'wenn wirklich sich rufen lassen die Ahura-Mazdas.' Otherwise, 'O Mazda and the Ahuras.' Hübschmann also maintained that Mazd*a*u was here a plural; (see his Y. XXX, 10.)

[3] Roth, rendering ishasâ in accordance with the Pahlavi, 'erbitte ich.'

[4] Mûn pavan zak î valman gûrdîh—khûshî*d*ŏ Drû*g*ŏ aê sufficiently indicates the proper sense. Roth, 'kraft deren wir den Unhold bemeistern mögen.'

[5] The Pahlavi may be rendered thus: Since in that dispensation [in the final body], I shall be an invoker of Ashavahi*s*t, and of Aûharmazd also [ ]; and of her who is veneration 'Spendar-mad' [ ], I desire [that best of things which is the reward] of Vohûman. Let also that authority which belongs to my people [ ] be from the strong one [ ] by whose fortitude [ ] the Drû*g* is overcome [ ].

[6] Literally, 'Ye gave.'

[7] I am far from sure that the indication of the Pahlavi is not correct here. According to it, when properly understood, we have here an accusative with the infinitive; 'that I should establish.' Its own translation is however avŏ li yehabûnâi. M*en*=man or mãm; *en*(g)=ã the nasal vowel. The Pahl. translator recognises m*en* elsewhere as=mînisnŏ. It was from no ignorance (!) of the particular word that he wrote 'li' here.

[8] Or 'my prophet;' comp. *ri*shi; that is, 'that with which my prophet is concerned.'

of which my prophet speaks; yea), tell me those things, O Mazda Ahura! which may not be, and which may be[1].

6[2]. And that verily shall be the best of all words to Him which the All-(wise one) will[3] declare to me in very deed, that word which is the Mãthra of Welfare and of Immortality (for it proclaims His beneficent power). And to the Great Creator (shall there be) a Realm such as that (whose strength I asked for victory[4]), and which (at the last) shall flourish[5] in its holiness to His (glory[6])!

7. (For He has sovereign control.) He who conceived of these (truths of the Mãthra) as their first (inspirer), (and as He thought their existence they

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[1] Or, possibly, 'which shall not be, or which shall be.' Is the subjunctive here used to express obligation? Roth has 'was nicht sein soll oder was sein soll.' Ner. may be rendered as follows: Tell it to me distinctly [ ], that which is the highest gift, and which is given to me through sanctity; [that is, because duty and righteousness are fulfilled by me, the best gift of thy reward (is gained) by this means; but how is it possible to make it (actually) one's own?]. Grant me the knowledge through the best mind; [that is, declare that intelligence to me which comes through good conduct], and by which also safety is (secured) to me [ ]. And declare either that which is not, or that which is, O Great Wise One, the Lord! [ ].

[2] An interval of silence seems here to intervene, or lost verses leave an unexplained transition. The sage turns again to the people.

[3] Vao*k*â*t* K4 (Barth.).

[4] See verse 4.

[5] The Pahlavi has Aûharmazd având (sic) khû*d*âyîh *k*and dên valman vakhshê*d* Vohûmanŏ.

[6] The Parsi-persian MS. is as follows: Û hast buland, kih ân man âgahîhâ (sic) gû-î â*s*kârah [ ] mânsar *i* tamâm raftanî; [kû, tamâm pêdâi*s*n pah râh *i* mânsar bâz ân 'hwêsî *i* Hôrmuzd rasêd], kih pah Ṣawâb dârad—bî-marg raftanî aza*s* [ ]. Hôrmuzd —'hudâî *k*and andar û afzayêd Bahman [Kû*s* pâdi*s*âhî pah tan *i* mard—*k*andî (?) Hôrmuzd pah tan mihmân].

(all) as (His) glorious[1] (conceptions first) clothed themselves in the stars[2]), He is through His understanding the Creator[3] of the Righteous Order. And thus likewise He supports His Beneficent Mind (in His saints). And these (holy creatures) may'st Thou cause to prosper by Thy Spirit (since they are Thine own), O Ahura Mazda! Thou who art for every hour the same[4]!

8. Therefore[5], as the first[6] did I conceive of Thee, O Ahura Mazda! as the one to be adored with the mind in the creation, as the Father of the Good Mind within us, when I beheld Thee[7] with my (enlightened) eyes as the veritable maker of our Righteousness, as the Lord of the actions of life[8]!

9. Thine, O Ahura! was Piety; yea, Thine, O Creator of the Kine! was understanding and the

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[1] Mûna*s* avŏ rôshanîh gûmîkhtŏ khvârîh. *Hv*âthrâ and khvârîh can hardly mean 'comfortable' here. 'Ease' is the later sense.

[2] Rao*k*ebî*s* certainly means, with illuminating objects, stars or shining lights.

[3] Hübschmann, 'der Schöpfer des Asha.'—Casuslehre, s. 190.

[4] Pavan mînavadîkîh vakhshînê*d* [ ] mûn kevani*k* ham khû*d*âî.

[5] Compare the frequent expression 'spe*n*tem a*t* Thwâ menhî,' in chap. XLIII.

[6] Roth, 'vornehmsten.'

[7] When I seized Thee (took Thee in) with my eye. The Pahlavi: Amatam [ ] pavan ham*k*ashmîh avŏ ham vakhdûn*d* hômanih.

[8] Dên ahvânŏ pavan kûni*s*nŏ khû*d*âî hômanih.

Ner. may be rendered as follows: Thus thou wert thought at the first by me, O Great Wise One, the Lord! when thou wert engaged in the production of Gvahmana [ ]. In which (production) they apprehend the father of the Best Mind when they observe him with a full-faced look [ ]. (And thou art the father) of that creation which is manifestly righteous; [that is, thou makest the purer creation good in conduct]. Thou art a King in the world as to action; [that is, where it is fitting to confer a benefit, and also where it is fitting to inflict a punishment, in each of these thou art capable].

Spirit[1], when Thou didst order a path for her (guiding). From the earth's tiller (aided[2]) she goeth[3] (in that allotted way), or from him who was never tiller. (Thy path hath given her choice[4].)

10. (But she did not pause in temptation.) Of the two she chose[5] the husbandman, the thrifty toiler in the fields[6], as a holy master endowed with the Good Mind's wealth[7]. Never, Mazda! shall

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[1] His spe*n*ta mainyu; otherwise 'spiritual (understanding),' but mainyu is used elsewhere (verse 3 and 7) alone, and certainly not as an adjective even with a substantive understood. The rendering 'spirit' as 'Thy spirit' is suspiciously significant; but what is the help? We are forced by grammar so to translate.

[2] The ablative has this force as in Ashâ*t* ha*k*â.

[3] I can hardly accede to an infinitive here: -tê is a rare infinitive termination in Gâthic. Also the infinitive seldom falls to the end of the sentence. The Pahlavi has yâtûnê*d*, a present; but the Pahlavi should never be positively cited for the forms, as it is free.

[4] Observe that we are forced by every dictate of logic and common sense to avoid the commonplace rendering here. Cattle do not have 'paths' made for them, nor do they cry aloud for an overseer, or complain at the appointment of one who does not appear to them promising; nor is it one main effort of religion 'to content the soul of cattle.' Cattle, as the chief article of wealth, are taken to signify all civic life. The 'path' is the path for the people to walk in, securing safety for soul and life and herds. The adhvan is 'the way' which 'is the religious characteristics and teachings of the prophets' (XXXIV, 13).

[5] Observe that this cow (some would say 'ox') chooses her master, unlike other cattle. But observe also, what is more interesting, that she seems reconciled to the guardian appointed by Ahura. In Y. XXIX, 9, she actually 'wept' at the naming of the pusillanimous Zarathu*s*tra, desiring a kingly potentate. Now, however, we see that she must have dried her tears, as she is satisfied with the simple workman whom he represents notwithstanding high rank.

[6] In the later Avesta this first vâstrya f*s*uya*n*t is declared to be Zarathu*s*tra.

[7] Mûn f*s*uîh pavan Vohûmanŏ.

the thieving[1] nomad share the good creed[2]. (For the Kine's choice would bestow it[3]!)

11. (And this doctrine was the first of rules to regulate our actions. Yet the opposer speaks beside Thee.) For when first, O Ahura Mazda! Thou didst create the (holy) settlements, and didst reveal the religious laws[4]; and when Thou gavest (us) understanding from Thine own mind, and madest our (full) bodily life[5], and (didst thus determine) actions (by Thy power), and didst moreover deliver to us (nearer) injunctions whereby (as by a rule) the wisher may place his choices[6],

12. (There strife at once arose, and still is raging.) There (beside Thy prophet) the truthful or liar, the enlightened or unenlightened, lifts his voice (to utter

[1] Pahlavi davãsaha*k*; Ner. pratârayitre.

[2] Khûpŏ-hôshmûri*s*nîh. 'Judicial blindness' is everywhere indicated. (The wicked are kept from the sight of the truth.) Hübschm., Casuslehre, 'der frohen Botschaft.'

[3] This seems implied.

[4] Or, 'madest the worlds and the souls (?).'

[5] Geldner admirably 'flesh.' The Pahlavi: tanû-hômandânŏ *g*ân yehabûn*d*. Notice that 'bodily life or flesh' is mentioned after 'understanding.' Compare Y. XXX, 7, where Âramaiti gives 'a body' after previous creations.

[6] The Pahlavi has the following interesting gloss: [That is, even the actions and teachings of the pious are given forth by thee; and this was also given in this wisdom of thy mind]. And when there is a person in whom there is a desire for the other world, that desire is granted to him by thee; [that is, what is necessary when he is arriving in the other world, this which is thus required (or desired) by him at that time, is given by thee—through that which is thy mind and wisdom]. Although not able to follow the indications of the Pahlavi fully, I think that there is no question but that we have an important statement in the last line. It does not seem to me possible to render less profoundly than 'where the wisher may place his choices,' his religious preferences and beliefs, including all moral volition.

his faith), and with devoted mind and heart[1]. (But without hindrance from this striving, or pausing with feeble search[2], our) Piety steadily[3] questions the two spirits[4] (not here on earth) but (there in the spirit-world) where (they dwell as) in their home[5].

13. (Yea, my Piety questions searchingly, for Thou, O Maker! hast Thy view on all; we cannot question lightly.) What questions are asked which are open[6] (permitted to our thoughts), or what questions (are asked) which are furtive[7] (hiding themselves from the light), or (what decision soever we may make, and the man) who for the smallest sin binds on the heaviest penance, on all[8] with Thy glittering eye(s) as a righteous guard Thou art gazing[9]!

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[1] Avŏ zak libbemman. [2] See verse 13.

[3] Pavan ha*g*i*s*nŏ î: the Persian MS. (Haug XII, b) transliterates khêzi*s*nŏ: Ner. has mano-utthânena (sic). Or, 'immediately.'

[4] The evil as well as the good spirit is questioned. The two spirits of Y. XXX, 3–6 were here inspiring the conflict.

[5] The Pahlavi unvaryingly in the sense of mihânŏ [-a*s* gâs tamman yehevûnê*d*ŏ]; Ner. paralokanivâsân. See Y. XXX, 9; XXXIII, 9; XXXIV, 6. A questioning which was lightly made would indicate a willingness to tamper with error. The Persian MS. following the Pahlavi has: Â*ng*a bâng *i* buland ân *i* durû*gh* guftâr [Ganâ Mînû] wa ân ham *i* râst guftâr [Hôrmuzd], &c. But Neryosangh is more accurate or literal: Atra bumbâm* karoti [antar *g*agati], mithyâvaktâ vâ satyavaktâ vâ, &c.

[6] Pavan zak î âshkârakŏ. [7] Nîhânîk.

[8] Thou seest even the questions and decisions of our thoughts as to matters which are simple or difficult, permitted or occult.

[9] I have not followed what may yet possibly be a valuable and correct hint of tradition. I render Neryosangh: He who asks through what is open [through righteousness], or he who asks through what is secret [through sin]; or he (also) who through, or on account of, a little sin which has been committed, commits the great one to secure a purification; [that is, who for the sake of purification necessary on account of a little sin which has been committed, commits a greater one, in order that the first may not

14. This then I will ask Thee, O Ahura Mazda! (as I seek Thy counsel once again[1]). What events are coming now, and what events shall come in the future[2]; and what prayers with debt-confessions[3] are offered with[4] the offerings of the holy? And what (are the awards) for the wicked? And how shall they be in the (final) state[5] of completion[6]?

15. And I would ask Thee this, O Mazda! (concerning the coadjutor of the wicked): What is the award[7] for him who prepares the throne[8] for the evil, for the evil-doer[9], O Ahura! for him who cannot else reclaim[10] his life, not else save[11] with lawless

become known], upon these two, each of them, look with thy two eyes. [Over sins and righteous actions thou art in one way, everywhere and again, the Lord.] The concretes here may give the right indication.

[1] See verse 5.

[2] Mûn ma*d*ŏ, mûni*k* yâmtûnê*d*ŏ, 'What has come? And what is coming?'

[3] Mûn âvâm. [4] Ha*k*â in the Indian sense.

[5] Angar*d*îkîh, the judgment; but Ner. vipâkatâ, consummation.

[6] Neryosangh has as follows: Tad dvitaya*m* tvatta*h** p*rikkh*âmi, Svâmin! yad âgata*m*, âyâti*k*a, yo* *rin*am dadate dânebhya*h* *pu*n*yâtmane [Hormi*g*dâya yathâ yu*g*yate dâtu*m*], ye*k*a, Mahâ*gñ*ânin! durgatimadbhya*h*; katha*m* teshâ*m* asti vipâkatâ* eva*m* [kila, ya*h* tat kurute, tasmai nidâne prasâdadâna*m* ki*m* bhavati, ya*sk*a tat kurute, tasmai*k*a ki*m* bhavatî 'ti; me brûhi!] This seems to me very close, far more so than we have any right to expect as a general rule from a Parsi living in India, and only five or six centuries ago, too late for 'tradition,' and too early for close criticism.

[7] Roth, 'Ich frage—was die Strafe ist?'

[8] The head of a party seems to have been plotting to introduce a hostile sovereign. [9] Î dû*s*-kûni*s*nŏ.

[10] The Pahlavi translator, nîvîdînê*d*ŏ, (otherwise nivêkînê*d*, which I much suspect has become confused with nîvîdînê*d*ŏ through a clerical blunder); Ner. labhate. They both refer vînastî to vid (so Justi) followed by most. Roth (Yasna XXXI, p. 11), 'der sein Brot nicht findet ohne Gewalthat an der Heerde.'

[11] The Pahlavi translator sees the root han in the sense of

harm to the tiller's herd, to the pious husbandman's flock, who speaks no word with lying, (who abjures the Lie-demon's faith[1])?

16. Yea, I would ask Thee such a thing as this: How such an one as he who, with wise action, has striven to promote (Thy holy) Rule[2] over house, and region, and province, in the Righteous Order and in truth, how he may become like Thee[3], O Great Creator, Living Lord? And when he may so become, (this also I would ask), and in what actions living he may so be[4]?

17. And which of the (religions) is the greater (and the more prevailing[5] as to these questions which thus concern the soul?) Is it that which the

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acquisition, and not from ignorance of the sense given above. In another place, he renders vigîd min; (see XLVII, 5.)

[1] Neryosangh may be rendered as follows: Thus I ask thee: What is for him who seizes upon destruction, and who provides the sovereignty for the wicked [ ], and commits that evil action, O Lord! from which he does not acquire life even through a bribe* (so meaning), [ ] and who is a calamity to the man who acts for herds and men removing calamities from them [ ]?

[2] Roth, 'der die Herrschaft über Hof Gau und Land um das rechte zu fördern hat.'

[3] Pahlavi, Lak hâvand; Neryosangh, tvattulyo; Roth, 'deiner werth.'

[4] I render the Sanskrit of Neryosangh thus (it improves on the Pahlavi): I ask (thee) thus: How [dost thou bestow] the sovereignty upon one when he is beneficently wise? [ ] (in the body) of him who, through the increase of sanctity, is no opposer (of prosperity) in provinces or villages; [that is, with him who is discharging his duty and performing acts of sanctity. He is this teacher's teacher, he does not contend]. Thine equal, O Great Wise One, the Lord! thus is he verily, who (is such) in action, [who is thus Thine equal through activity].

[5] Possibly mazyô has the sense of mazista in chap. L, 1. There 'the most prevailing' seems to be the proper rendering.

righteous believes, or the wicked[1]? (Let then our questionings cease.) Let the enlightened (alone) speak to the enlightened. Let not the ignorant (further) deceive us, (high though he may lift his voice[2]). Do Thou thyself, O Ahura Mazda! declare[3] to us (the truth) as Thy Good Mind's full revealer.

18. (And you, ye assembled throngs!) let not a man of you lend a hearing to Măthra, or to command of that sinner[4] (ignorant[5] as he is), for home, village, region, and province he would deliver to ruin[6] and death. But (fly ye to arms without hearing), and hew ye them all with the halberd[7]!

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[1] Literally, 'Which of the two (creeds as) the greater does the righteous (the believing saint) or the wicked (opponent) believe?'

[2] See verse 12.

[3] Or with others 'be Thou'; but the gloss of the Pahlavi translation contains an explanation which may well afford the true solution as in so many instances in which he is both consciously and inadvertently followed. It reads [aîghmânŏ barâ khavîtûnînŏ—]. May we not see an az=ah in the form, or at least a separate Iranian root, as also in azdâ (L, 1), where the Pahlavi translator gives the same explanation admirably suited to the context.

Neryosangh: Which is it, the pure of soul, or the wicked who teaches as the great one? [ ] The intelligent speaks to the intelligent [ ]. Be not thou ignorant after this; because (ignorance is) from the deceiver. Instruct us, O Great Wise One, the Lord! [ ] Furnish us with a sign through the Best Mind; [that is, make me steadfast in good conduct through the recognition of the dîn]. Such renderings may suffice to show that an examination of these ancient translations in our search for hints is imperative. Yet the practice prevails of omitting a knowledge of the Pahlavi language, on which not only the oldest translation of the Avesta, but also the irregular Sanskrit of Neryosangh, closely depends.

[4] Jolly, 'Keiner von euch höre auf die Lieder und Gebote des Lügners.' Roth, 'Rath und Befehle.'

[5] Compare evîdvâo in verse 17. [6] Dûs-rûbisnîh.

[7] Sazê*d* sanêh, 'prepare the sabre.' It was however a two-handed weapon; see Y. LVI, 12, (4 Sp.).

The Parsi-persian MS.: Wa ma kas aêdûn az sumâ kih û

19. Let them hear Him who conceived of the Righteous Order for the worlds, the (all)-wise One, O Ahura! For truthful speech He rules with absolute sway over words, and ever free of tongue (to guide us in our way[1]). By Thy shining flame[2] (He doth guide us[3], Thine altar's flame with its signs of decision and of grace) sent forth for the good of the strivers[4].

20. (But, O ye listening men!) he who renders

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darwand mânsar *s*unawad wa âmû'htis*n* (sic); [kû az Âs*m*ôkân (?) Awestâ wa Zand ma *s*unawad], *k*ih andar—ma*h*all *s*ahar wa deh dehad bad-raftis*n* wa marg ân *i* Âs*m*ôg*h*; aêdûn (sic) ôs*s*ân Âs*m*ôg*h*ân râ sâzad silâ*h*. (Again very close.)

[1] So conjecturally.

[2] Compare chap. XXX, 2. 'Behold ye the flames with the better mind;' possibly, also chap. XXX, 1, 'the signs in the lights seen friendly.'

[3] According to the grammatical forms the agent here must be a divine being, as *ye* ma*n*tâ ashem ahûbi*s* (see verse 7) is characteristic of the Deity. The vocative, strange as it may seem, does not necessarily exclude Ahura, as the subject referred to in *ye*. Several analogous cases occur. The Deity may here however represent His prophet, as the Daêvas do their worshippers in the later Avesta. Some writers force the language into a reference to the human subject for the sake of the greatly to be desired simplicity.

One places Ahurâ in the instrumental, a case in which the Almighty seldom appears. The above translation needs no alternative, as the language would be the same whoever *ye* refers to.

[4] See note on verse 3, and read as alternative 'from the two ara*n*i.' As an inferior rendering of tradition I cite Neryosangh here: The matter should be heard (taking gûshtâ as a third singular in a subjunctive sense); [that is, a study should be made of it by him] who is even (in any degree) acquainted with the righteous design of Hormigda for both the worlds. He is independent in the literal truth of his words, in his freedom of speech, [and his fear has no existence]. Thy brilliant fire gives the explanation to the contenders. [It makes purity and impurity evident.]

the saint deceived[1], for him shall be later destruction[2]. Long life shall be his lot in the darkness; foul shall be his food; his speech shall be of the lowest[3]. And this, which is such a life[4] as your own, O ye vile! your (perverted) conscience through your own deeds will bring[5] you[6]!

21. But Ahura Mazda will give both Universal Weal and Immortality[7] in the fulness of His Righteous Order, and from himself[8] as the head[9] of Dominion (within His saints). And He will likewise give the Good Mind's vigorous might[10] to him who in spirit and deeds is His friend[11], (and with faith fulfils his vows[12]).

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[1] I follow the admirable lead of the Pahlavi here, as the previous verse mentions veracity. Its indication is pavan frîfisnŏ, freely.

[2] I differ with diffidence from the hint of the Pahlavi here (as elsewhere). It has shîvan=tears, which however is free for 'calamity' and 'sorrow.' Nom. sing.; see its position.

[3] Anâk rûbisnîh yemalelûnêdŏ. This, placed together with such passages as XLVI, 11, XLIX, 11, and LI, 13, formed the basis for the more complete Yast XXII.

[4] Others prefer 'place,' but see âyû in line b.

[5] 'Has led on'?

[6] I cite Ner.: He who betrays the pure through his fraud, may (deceit) be (also his portion) at the last; [that is, let it be so afterwards; it is in his soul]. Long is his journey, and his arrival is in darkness; and evil food and increasing lawlessness is his [ ]. Darkness is your world, O ye wicked! your in-bred deeds, and your dîn, are leading you on.

[7] That Ameretatât means more than long life is clear from amesha.

[8] Afas nafsman patîh. The Gâthic would be more literally perhaps 'from His own Dominion.'

[9] Sardârîh. [10] Vazdvarîh; Ner. pîvaratvam.

[11] One naturally thinks of urvatha (vratha), as having something of the sense of vratyá. But usage compels also the sense of friendship. Hübschmann, Casuslehre, s. 259, 'der durch Gesinnung und Thaten sich ihm als freund erweist.'

[12] Ner.: Mahâgñânî dadau Svâmî* avirdâdât* amirdâdât sampûr-

22. And to the wise are these things clear as to the one discerning with his mind (not blinded by the perverter[1]). With Thy Good Mind and Thy (holy) Kingdom he follows the Righteous Order both in his words and his actions. And to Thee, O Ahura Mazda! such a man shall be the most helpful and vigorous being[2] (for he serves with every power[3])!

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*n*atva*m* pu*n*yâtmane [ ] ni*g*a*m* prabhutva*m* râ*gñ*e * âdhipatyena [ ] uttamena pîvaratva*m* manasâ [-tasmâi dadate], yo ni*g*asya ad*ris*-yamûrte*h* karma*n*â mitra*m*.

[1] So according to frequent indications.

[2] Tanû aîtŏ. Ner.: Sa te—mitram asti niveditatanu*h*.

[3] See chap. XXXIII, 14. The Pahlavi translator renders freely as follows: Manifest things (so possibly; otherwise 'manifestly') (are) these to (so a MS. not yet elsewhere compared) the wise when according to his understanding he disposes and reflects, [that is, he who meditates with thought upon that which his lord and dastur declares to him]. Good is the King for whom they would effect righteousness in word and deed, the man whose body is a bearer of Thee, O Aûharmazd!

YASNA XXXII.

The Struggle is continued in the midst of Reverses.

1. The same author may well be supposed to continue. The first stanzas have been lost, but we observe that the subject of the section is still face to face with the Daêva party. He seems to see them arrayed and engaged in hostile devotions. But he is not intimidated. The friendship of Ahura is before his mind, and he expresses his desire that he and his colleagues may become, or continue, His apostles, notwithstanding the temporal sorrows which, according to XLIII, 11, we see that he clearly anticipated as the portion of those who would propagate the holy faith.

2. Mazda answers him, and through him his followers, as established in His spiritual sovereignty, accepting the devotion of their piety with commendations and implied encouragements. He whom they would serve is supreme; they need not fear.

3. After reporting this response of Ahura, the composer turns with vehemence toward the Daêvas, poetically conceived to be present as if before their adherents, who also, according to verse 1, are supposed to be in sight (or are dramatically so conceived) celebrating their profane devotions; and he addresses them as the 'very seed' of Satan. Their worshippers belong to the religious falsehood and perversity. And they have persistently propagated their evil creed, which is in consequence spreading.

4. They have, so he acknowledges with grief, perverted men's minds, making them spokesmen for themselves, and in consequence deserters from the great Kindly Disposition of Ahura Mazda, and outcasts, fallen from His understanding.

5. They have destroyed the hopes of mankind for a happy life upon earth, and for Immortality in heaven. And in this they are not only the seed of the Evil Mind personified, but his servants rallying at his word.

6. Their leader is striving energetically, so he mournfully bewails, to effect his evil ends; but it is time that he should recall the counteracting measures of Ahura. His holy doctrines are to be announced, and their authority established by the divine Khshathra, His Sovereign Power personified.

7. The composer then contemplates with religious irony the infatuated security of the wretched delinquents whom he is apostrophising. Not a man of them knows the destruction which awaits him, and which, as he intimates, is close at hand, but Ahura, he significantly exclaims, is aware of it. And it will be proportionably severe. The blindness of sinners to danger seems as definite a judgment upon them in his estimate as their blindness to the truth.

8. To point his anger with an instance he names the apostate Yima, whom he supposes to have erred in first introducing the consumption of the flesh of cattle. He disavows community with him as with them all, declaring himself separate from them in Ahura's sight.

9. He acknowledges that their leader has to a certain degree defeated his teachings, and impaired the just estimates of life which he had striven to form within the people, (or that he will do this if not checked), declaring also that he had made inroads upon his property, which was sacred to the holy cause. And he cries aloud to Ahura and to Asha with the words of his very soul.

10. He repeats that their leader threatens to invalidate his teachings, blaspheming the supreme object of nature, the Sun, together with the sacred Kine, injuring the productive land, and carrying murder among the saints.

11. He utters his bitter wail in view of attempted slaughter, and actual spiritual opposition. He points out the plots among the powerful and their illegal confiscation of inheritances, as well those of women as those of men. And he declares that his opponents are endeavouring to injure his adherents, as if repelled by the best spiritual qualities which an individual could possess.

12. He announces the solemn judgment of God upon it all, especially reprobating those who deal treacherously against the mystical Kine; that is, the holy herds and people, and apostrophising those who prefer the Grehma above the saving and sanctifying Asha, and the Kingdom of the Lie-demon above the Divine Khshathra.

13. He declares that Grehma, an opposing chief, desired that evil kingdom in the abode of the personified Hell. And he cannot refrain from adding that he also enviously desires to share in the holy apostleship. But, as he severely rejoins, the messenger of God will hold him afar from the sight of the (Divine) Righteousness. He can have no share in the Faith.

(Here it may be noticed that we have some data for presenting

the main features of the struggle. In several instances, centring perhaps in the actual description of a battle in XLIV, 15, 16, we see traces of the closeness of the controversy. In XLIV, 15, the two hosts seem to be closing in regular lines for the 'holy vows themselves.' Here, on the other hand, we read of willing complaint or 'regretful desire,' while judicial blindness is referred to over and over again under various phrases. One might suppose that the Daêva-party were very near the Zarathustrians in many of their religious peculiarities, but that they could not accede to, or understand, the dualism. After the manner of Pagans they implicated the Gods in their sins. (Compare the drunken Indra.) At all events a bitter and violent war of doctrines was waging with both speech and weapons. I think it looks like the struggle 'of two parties' who each claimed to be the proper representative of some similar form of faith, similar, of course I mean, outwardly.)

14. Deploring the establishment of the Kavis who approach with stratagems and false teachings to aid the opposing party, the composer declares that they say that the Kine herself is to be injured instead of blessed by the very fire-priest who kindles[1] the altar-flame.

15. He supports himself however with the hope of ultimate success, and with the prospect of his reward, when he and his fellow-labourers should be gloriously borne to heaven by Weal and Immortality, the 'eternal two,' who not only, as we see, bear saints to bliss, but also constitute the beatitude of heaven itself.

16. He confides all at last to Ahura, who is able to control all events, and to solve all doubts, and who will support his servants in bringing the wicked to vengeance by means of verbal instructions and commands.

Translation.

(That rival-monarch (thus we may supply the sense of lost verses) for whom some are plotting to secure the sovereignty, and who, once in power, would deliver over home, village, town, and province to ruin and to death[2], is active in his efforts, and offer-

[1] See, however, the notes.

[2] Compare XXXI, 15, 18.

ing the devotions of his false religion to accomplish his ends.) 1. His[1] lord-kinsman will pray[2] (as I Zarathustra prayed), and his labouring villagers, with his (trusted) peers, and his (fellow) Daêva-worshippers[3]. But in my mind is the friendship[4] of Ahura Mazda, the Great Creator, the living Lord; and Thine heralds, O Ahura! may we be; may we hold back[5] those who hate and who offend You!

2. To these (for whom the prophet spake) Ahura Mazda answered, ruling[6] as He does through His Good Mind (within their souls), He replied from His Sovereign Power, our good friend (as he is) through His surpassing[7] Righteousness: We have accepted

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[1] Some prominent teacher, representing the entire Daêva-party, is alluded to; see verses 6, 7, 9, 10.

[2] Compare yâsâ in XXVIII, 2.

[3] Or, 'his are the Daêvas;' but the verb yâsa*t* perhaps affords a sufficient expression for Daêvâ; yâsen or he*n*tî may be understood. We may also understand the Daêvas here, as the embodied Daêvas, in the manner in which the pious worshipper is called Vohu Manah. That Daêva should however be used quite simply for Daêva-worshipper in this early composition is not probable. In the later Avesta it is frequent usage.

[4] Or, 'the friend;' I recoil as much as possible from abstracts, but the Pahlavi has hû-ravâkh-manîh, and Geldner admirably proposed brahman.

[5] Aîgh*s*ân min Lekûm lakhvâr yakhsenunêm; so the Pahlavi translation, first venturing on the meaning 'holding back from;' dar in the sense of pâ, which latter in Iranian can mean hold back from advantages as well as from misfortunes. High modern authority coincides with the most ancient authority on this latter point. It is apt to be a subject of scepticism with some who neglect the evidence of tradition.

[6] 'Pavan sardârîh î Vohûman;' Ner. svâmîtâyâm *. It seems difficult to apply the meaning 'being as a refuge' here; see the following 'from His Kingdom.'

[7] Lit. 'glorious.' This casts light upon the expression *hv*anvaitî*s* verezô.

your good and bountiful Piety, and we have chosen her; ours shall she be[1]!

3. But you, O ye Daêvas! are all a seed from the Evil Mind[2]. He who offers sacrifice[3] to You the most[4] is of the Lie-demon, and (he is a child) of perversion[5]. In advance[6] (are your) deceits whereby ye are famed in the sevenfold[7] earth!

4. For ye (are) confusing our thoughts[8], whereby men, giving forth the worst deeds, will speak[9], as of

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[1] Aîgh Spendarma*d* Lekûm râî *s*apîr dôshêm [bûndak mîni*s*nîh] zak î lanman aîtŏ [aîghmânŏ pavan tanû mâhmân yehevûnâ*d*].

Neryosangh: To these the Great Wise (One), the Lord, answered in the lordship of the highest (best) mind; [that is, if, or since, Gvahmana had arrived, as a guest, within (their) body]; from Saharevara he answered [ ] through (their) righteousness, from the well-inclined, and through good conduct, [if truly good conduct had arrived as a guest within (their) body]. And he said: I befriend your Earth (so Âramaiti was later understood), the perfect-minded one, and your highest one; she is mine [ ].

[2] Compare Yasna XXX, 6. Where the Daêvas are approached by the worst mind as they are consulting.

[3] As those who offer sacrifice to these Daêvas are mentioned separately, we are forced to concede a large idea to the composer. He addresses the Daêvas as poetically conceived to be present, and not merely their worshippers as in verse 1. And this must have its weight in the exegesis of other passages.

[4] The Pahlavi translator has kabed. Or ma*s* for mashyô (?).

[5] Or possibly arrogance, avarmîni*s*ntar; Ner. apamanastara*sk*a.

[6] Sâtûnînê*d* freely, but indicating the root. The word is a locative.

[7] The seven karshvars, or quarters of the earth, were already known.

[8] I correct frô m*e* (=man) mathâ (adj. nom. pl.; compare yimâ keredushâ and mâ mashâ). I do so after the admirable reading of the Pahlavi translator, a*s* frâz mîni*s*nŏ var*d*înê*d* [aîgha*s* barâ frîfê*d*, afa*s* mîni*s*nŏ barâ avŏ vinâs kar*d*anŏ var*d*înê*d*]. Ner. prak*r*ish*t*a*m* mana*h*—mathnâti. Notice that a*k*istâ is awkward as a masc., although I have so rendered as more personal.

[9] Vakhshye*n*tê stood in the ancient writing used by the Pahlavi translator, as also now in some of our surviving MSS.; otherwise

the Demon-gods beloved, forsaken by the Good Mind[1], (far) astray from the understanding of the Great Creator, the Living Lord, and (far astray) from His Righteousness!

5. Therefore ye would[2] beguile mankind of happy life[3] (upon earth) and of Immortality (beyond it), since the Evil Spirit (has ruled) you with his evil mind. Yea, he has ruled[4] you, (ye) who are of the Demon-gods, and with an evil word unto action, as his ruler[5] (governs) the wicked[6]!

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reading vakhshe*n*tê with Justi and most others, and mîmathâ with Bartholomae: 'Ye have caused that men who produce the worst results are flourishing, loved of the Daêvas (as they are).' But in the Casuslehre, Hübschmann preferred 'sie sprechen was den Devas angenehm ist,' also reading vakhshe*n*tê (?) (page 240).

[1] So the Pahlavi also indicates a*s*ân Vohûman sîzd; Ner. Gvahmana*h* * dûre* âste.

[2] Improper subjunctive; otherwise ye (have) beguiled.

[3] The Pahlavi also freely frîfê*d* an*s*ûtâân pavan hû-zîvi*s*nîh.

[4] Fra*k*inas far from necessarily means 'gave'; 'assigned,' 'indicated' renders it more closely. The Pahlavi has here correctly, but freely, *k*âshê*d*.

[5] The Pahlavi has here *s*alîtâîh for khshayô, and in XXVIII, 8 it has pâ*d*akhshâ for khshayâ. I do not think that the word is an accusative there. A simple accusative does not so naturally fall to the end of the sentence in Gâthic; it is generally in apposition when so situated. The nominatives tend toward the end of the sentence.

[6] Ner.: It is through both of these that he is deceiving (sic, unable to follow the Pahlavi which probably renders as a second plural; see mûn lekûm) mankind in regard to prosperity and immortality, [(saying) if it is possible to live, immortality lies in our path]. Since he is yours, O ye base-minded! O ye base Devas! he is inculcating the lowest actions [ ] of the miscreants; he says that sovereignty [is from Âharmana; (that is, the sovereignty) of certain ones (meaning over every one)].

The Gâthic verbatim is as follows: Therefore ye beguiled (would beguile) man of-happy-life, of-immortality-and since you with-evil mind (you) who-(are)-and Daêvas' (worshippers) the evil-and spirit with an-evil (-word as concerning) action with-word (rules), by

6. Full of crime (your leader) has desired to destroy[1] us, wherefore he is famed, (and his doctrine is declared); but if this be so of these, then in the same manner, O Ahura! Thou possessest[2] (because Thou knowest) the true (teachings) in Thy memory[3]. And in Thy kingdom and Thy Righteous Order I will establish Thy precepts (in Thy name)[4].

7. Among these wretched beings[5] (this their leader[6]) knows not that those things[7] which are de-

which (same) means (has-)commanded the wicked (his) ruler (nom. sing. masc.; see Y. XXVIII, 8). The nom., as in Vedic, at the end.

[1] Or, Full of crime ye have striven to attain your ends (?) by those things which are reported. (If verse 5 originally preceded) *e*nakh*s*tâ would naturally be regarded as a singular as paouru-aênâo is an impossible plural masculine. It might, however, be a singular used collectively. In that case we could put the verb in the plural with verse 5 in view. As to concrete or abstract, the first is obviously correct, and is also so rendered by the Pahlavi translation.

[2] Vid (with the perf. vaêdâ) seems to occur in the Gâthas in this sense. Or, 'Thou knowest with the Best Mind.'

[3] Or 'in the memorised recital;' Ner. praka*t*a*m* kalayati.

[4] Parsi-persian MS.: Bisyâr kînah-varzandah kînah 'hwâhad, [kû*s* wanâh-kârân pâdafrâh kûnêd], kih, guft + srûd îstêd [kih guft îstêd]; kû, kih ô*s*ân bî-*s*umâr [kû, pâdafrâh pah ân zamân tamâm bih kunand, kih ruwân bâz ân tan dehad]. Ẓâhir *s*umâr-kunandah Hôrmuzd [kû pah wanâh wa kirfah *s*umâr-kunand]; wân *i* buland âgâh pah Bahman [muzd dânad; kû ân kih bâyad dâdan]. Pah ân *i* Tû *i* *S*umâ, Hôrmuzd! 'hudâ, ân *i* Ṣawâb âmû'htan bih dânêstuwân (sic vid); [kih *S*umâ padi*s*âhî tamâm bih bêd + ya'hnî + bâ*s*ad, har kas pah nêkî âgâh bih bâ*s*ad].

[5] The Pahlavi has kînîkânŏ.

[6] The *hv*aêtu of the first verse, the du*s*sasti of the ninth, &c.

[7] The Pahlavi curiously errs with his rôshanŏ = clear; Ner. parishphu*t*atara*h*. It would be straining a point to call him free in interpreting what is 'collected' and so 'obvious' as 'clear.' We must, however, never forget that the supposed error of the Pahlavi is sometimes the reflex of our own (often necessary) ignorance. Vîdv*a*u must refer back to the same subject as ahyâ in the first verse, or possibly to Aka Manah, going a step further back.

clared as victorious[1] (by his allies) are bound together for the smiting; yea, those things by which he was famed (as victorious) by his (blade of) glittering iron[2]. But the utter destruction[3] of those things Thou, O Ahura Mazda! knowest[4], most surely[5]!

8. Of these wretched beings[6] Yima Vîvanghusha was famed to be; he who, desiring to content[7] our men, was eating kine's flesh in its pieces. But from[8] (such as) these, O Ahura Mazda! in Thy discerning discrimination, am I (to be seen as distinct[9]).

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[1] Possibly, 'which are by Thee announced as destined and proper to be smitten.' The Pahlavi has mûn zanisnŏ âmûkhtênd (sic). Jôyâ=jâyâ to jan, as âkâyia is to kan.

[2] Compare other allusions to weapons, snaithisâ, and possibly dakhshtem.

[3] So also the Pahlavi, ristak and pâ*d*afrâs.

[4] Naê*kît* vîdv*a*u and vaêdi*s*tô ahî are in antithesis and emphatic.

[5] A literal rendering of this difficult verse would be as follows: Of these wretches, nothing knowing (is he that) for the smiting (dat. jâ, jan; cp. form Sk. jâ, jan) (are) the-collected-things, which things (as) victorious (read jayâ) are declared forth, by which (things) he has been heard (of) through glittering iron, of which things Thou, O-Ahura! the ruin, O-Mazda! most knowing art. Others take s*e*nghaitê in the sense of 'cut' (?) and render very differently.

[6] The Pahlavi has shedâân; Ner. tân dveshi*nah*.

[7] Or 'teaching,' so the Pahlavi; Ner. samâsvâdayati.

[8] The Pahlavi translator hits the true rendering here: 'from among these I am chosen out by Thee.' Otherwise we have a question: Am I of these? The allusion is to the fall of Yima. As to the first eating of the flesh of beasts, recall Genesis ix. 3. Some have rendered: With regard to these I am of Thine opinion, O Mazda (?).

[9] The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows: Among (of) these demons Yima of the Vîva*n*hânas is famed to have been a wicked scourge. It was he who taught men thus: Eat ye our flesh in pieces [wide as the breast, long as the arm—(or better with West, 'in lapfuls and armfuls')]. From among these [ ] I am chosen out by Thee, O Aûharmazd! hereafter; [that is, even by Thee I am considered as good].

9. An evil teacher (as that leader is), he will[1] destroy (our) doctrines, and by his teachings he will pervert the (true) understanding of life, seizing away[2] (from me) my riches[3], the choice and real wealth of (Thy) Good Mind. To You and to Asha, O Ahura Mazda! am I therefore crying with the voice of my spirit's[4] (need)!

10. Aye, this man will destroy my doctrines (indeed, for he blasphemes the highest of creatures that live or are made). He declares that the (sacred) Kine[5] and the Sun are the worst of things which eye can see; and he will offer the gifts of the wicked (as priest to their Demon-gods). And at the last he will parch[6] our meadows with drought, and will hurl his mace at Thy saint (who may fall before his arms[7]).

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[1] An improper subjunctive. Otherwise: He (has) destroyed (not irretrievably, of course; the case was not decided, and finally issued favourably).

[2] Apô—ya*n*tâ; otherwise 'they would take'; Ner. apaharati.

[3] Zak î li îshtî avôrtŏ [—khvâstak î pavan dastôbar].

[4] Pavan valman*s*ân milayâ î mînavadîhâ; Ner. vâgbhi*h* mânasav*ri*ttyâ aham—âkrandaye (not following our present Pahlavi text, the gloss however). Observe that in reading Ner. we by no means ipso facto read the Pahlavi, either in correct translation, or as following our texts. Compare XLVI, 2.

[5] One thinks somewhat of the familiar foes of the Vedic kine; but there can be of course no connection. The Iranian sacred Cow did not represent the rain cloud, at least not at all directly.

[6] Read viyâpa*t* as a demon. without sign: 'v' was miswritten for 'y' as often 'y' for 'v.' The Pahlavi language, not to speak of the Pahlavi translation, suggests it. How are we to account for the word vîyâvânînê*d*? We should not arrest our philology at the Zend and Sanskrit. The long vowel is most awkward for a comparison with the Indian vap=shear. And I think that 'destroying the means of irrigation' gives as good a meaning as 'shearing the land.' Notice that elsewhere a more correct form appears, vîâpôtemem (Vd. III, 15, (51 Sp.))=viyâpôtemem.

[7] Literally, 'he will discharge his club at the righteous.'

11. Yea, these will destroy my life, for they consult with the great[1] of the wicked (enlightening themselves by their words[2]). And they are seizing away[3] the gifts of inherited treasures[4] from both household-lord and from house-wife[5]; (wretched men that they are), and those who will fiercely wound (my folk, repelled and in no way kindly moved) by the better mind of the holy[6].

12. (But Ahura will speak His rebuke, for) as to those doctrines which (such) men may be (basely) delivering[7] (repelled) by the holiest action, (and galled[8] by its sacred truth) God hath said: Evil (are they! Yea, unto these He hath said it) who have slain the Kine's life by a blessing (and have cursed her while they offered to help her[9]), men by whom Grehmas are loved above Righteousness, and the Karpans,

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[1] The Pahlavi translator erroneous, or free, as to *k*ikôiteres, indicates the proper sense of mazibîs by pavan masâî [—pavan pêshpâyîh va pâspâyîh—]; but Neryosangh, mahattayâ-pura*h*-saratayâ.

[2] Comp. XXXI, 12, 'there high his voice lifts the truthful or liar.'

[3] Literally, 'he takes.'

[4] Riknah vindisnŏ.

[5] Ka*d*ak-khû*d*âî gabrâ nêsman.

[6] Reshînênd; see V, 10. The ablative of the cause, comp. ashâ*t* ha*k*â; otherwise with Hübschm., 'Sie die Schaden nehmen mögen durch den besten heiligen Geist, O Mazda!' (Casuslehre, s. 241.)

[7] The Pahlavi translator had probably before him a text reading rashayen; he renders freely rêsh srâyênd. With such a text which is far preferable to the one afforded by the MSS. we may read: Whereby (yéna) men will be opposing and retarding (literally wounding) the doctrines which (are derived) from the best (moral and ceremonial) action; but to these men Mazda declared: Evil (are ye). See the previous verse.

[8] See the previous verse.

[9] The Pahlavi has hû-ravâkh-manîh yemalelûnd.

and the Throne of those who have wished[1] for the Demon of lies (as their deity and friend[2]).

13. And the Gr*e*hma will seek[3] for these things by means of his (evil) kingdom[4] in the abode of (Hell which is[5]) the Worst Mind (who both are together) the destroyers of life, and who, O Mazda! will bewail[6] with glad but (envious) wish the message of Thy prophet. (But he will not abate with his vengeance), he will hold them afar from the sight[7] of the truth!

14. His is Gr*e*hma[8]; aye, his! And to (oppose) Thee[9] he will establish the Kavis and (their) scheming

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[1] So also indicated by the Pahlavi bavîhûnd.

[2] There is elsewhere evidence enough of a desire to encroach upon the truth.

[3] So also indicated by bavîhûnê*d*.

[4] Or, 'which kingdoms, sovereign power.'

[5] Comp. XXX 6.

[6] Or, 'they gladly complain;' so also the Pahlavi: Mûn—garzi*s*nŏ kâmak. The singular *g*îgereza*t* is difficult with yaê*k*â. Many would alter the text at once, and the temptation is great.

[7] Hübschm., 'y*e* î*s* pâ*t* daresâ*t* ashahyâ der sie abhalte vom Schauen des Asha' (Casus. 241). So of XLVI, 4. So also indicated by pâ*d*ênd mîn nikêzi*s*nŏ î Aharâyîh; evidence of a struggle, or at least of a desire on the part of a rival party to possess themselves of some religious privilege or precedence. See the previous verse; also XXXI, 10: Never, O Mazda! never shall the thriftless and thieving one share the good doctrine. See still further XLIV, 15, where the two hosts meet in hostility 'on account of the doctrinal vows.'

[8] Gr*e*hma appertains to, but is not the particular evil teacher referred to throughout. The Pahlavi translator indicates bribery as the meaning of the word. Possibly some impious chieftain is meant whose procedure was of that nature. The word occurs in the plural.

[9] Â hôi; Thwôi is difficult. Or (see Y. XLIV, 14), 'Thine understanding has subdued the Kavis.' The Pahlavi translator renders masîh, as if he had read ahuthwôi, offering an important alternative.

plans. Their deeds[1] of power are but deceits since they have come as an aid to the wicked[2], and since he has been (falsely) said (to be set) to conquer the Kine[3], he who shall kindle that (very) help of grace which removes our death afar, (and lightens Thy saving flame).

15. And therefore will I drive from hence[4] the Karpans' and Kavis' disciples. And after these (have thus been driven hence and away) then these (my princely aiding saints) whom they (now) render no longer rulers at will over life, (and deprive of their absolute power), these shall be borne (at

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Read: In his dominion he has established the Kavis and their intended plans. Reading hôithôi, 'his G. is to be bound.'

[1] The predecessors of the Pahlavi translator seem to have understood the word var(e)*k*au as conveying the idea of power rather than that of brilliancy. He renders freely pavan zak î varzânân avârûnŏ dânâkânŏ. Supposing the text to stand, and not supplying a formation from var(e)z, we may hold that there existed a var(e)*k* beside var(e)z, as there undoubtedly was a har(e)*k* (see hareke) beside har(e)z. This casts light on the Vedic vár*k*as.

[2] Amati*k* pa*d*îrênd valman darvandân aîyyârîh [ ] amati*k* avŏ Tôra zani*s*nŏ gûftŏ. The sufferings of the sacred Kine form the central thought of much that occurs.

[3] Can gâu*s* be a genitive here? But if a nominative, must not *ye* refer to it? How then could the Kine 'kindle' the aid of grace? A genitive looks difficult. It is, however, accepted by Spiegel, although he renders differently from my translation. The Pahlavi may give us invaluable relief here by restoring the text. The ancient translator read vao*k*aya*t*. Reading with him, we might render: When the Kine which (yâ?) caused a death-removing help to be declared, was said to be meet for subjection (or slaying, reading an infinitive from *g*an). This rendering is more probable than that from sao*k*aya*t*. The Kine distinctly caused this help to be declared. See XXIX. But I make it a matter of principle to follow the MSS. in a first translation, where that is at all possible.

[4] The Pahlavi translator differs greatly here, having taken anâi*s* with adverbial force, and as possessing the a priv. (they being

last) by the (immortal[1]) two to the home of (Thy) Good Mind (in Heaven)[2]!

16. (And) this entire[3] (reward of the righteous) is from that Best One who teaches[4] in the wide (mental) light of the pious[5], ruling (as supreme), O Mazda Ahura[6]! whose are my woes and my doubt-

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not inclined). He also read somewhat as follows: anâi*s* avaênî(?) as *ye*=from his non-inclination he was blind who (belongs to the Karpan and to the Kavi). Whether a truer text is indicated by him here is doubtful on account of XLIV, 13, and its nâshâmâ; but the unvarying explanation of the Kavis as blind probably derives its origin from some such reading here, or elsewhere in lost documents.

Certainly if âi*s* can be used as a particle, anâi*s* is not altogether impossible in some such sense. Moreover, the Pahlavi translation here and elsewhere has afforded us such a multitude of valuable concretes, that we shall do well to think twice before we reject its most startling suggestions. Lit. trl. 'what (things are) of the K.'

[1] The Pahlavi translation gives a fine suggestion in the concrete sense here; seeing the dual âbyâ, it explains it as referring to Haurvatâ*t* and Ameretatâ*t*, which is very probably correct. So Spiegel also renders. It is very difficult to decide in which sense *yeng* dai*n*tî nôi*t* jyâte*u*s khshayaman*eng* vasô is to be taken. If in an evil sense (as vas*e*-khshaya*n*t is sometimes elsewhere taken) one might think of such a rendering as this: I have driven the Karpans' and Kavis' disciples hence to those (evil rulers) whom they (my servants) render no longer wanton tyrants over life. But these (my champion saints) shall be borne by the two to the home of Thy Good Mind. But strict grammar demands of us that tôi should refer back to *yeng*. Accordingly I suggest as above first.

[2] Observe that Vohu Manah equals heaven. Recall XXX, 4, 'but for the holy Vahi*s*ta Manah; that is heaven.'

[3] The Pahlavi has ham; Neryosangh has sarvam.

[4] Reading sâ*k*(a)yăs*k*î*t* (P[11], s*k*yas*k*î*t*; Pahlavi, âmûkhti*s*nŏ (sic); Ner., *s*ikshâpa*nam*). Otherwise syas*k*î*t*, which may well mean 'lying, reposing' in the wide (mental) light of the pious (or of the offering). Geldner lately admirably suggests a 2nd sg.

[5] Pavan farâkhû hûshîh.

[6] If this 'best one' is the Ratu of XXXIII, 1, all is grammatically clear; but the expressions are rather strong in view of

ings[1] (yea, they lie in His power to heal), when I shall make (my prophets) men to be sought[2] for the harm of the wicked. And this I shall do by the word of my mouth (to defend and avenge my saints)!

XLVIII, 9, where similar language is certainly applied to Ahura. If Ahura is here meant, we have only one instance more to add to the many in which Ahura is spoken of in the third person, with an address to Him thrown in. See the differing views of XLV, 11. Possibly the 'Best One' was Ahura's Spe*n*ta Mainyu.

[1] Zak î pavan gûmânîkîh. As to âithi, âithiva*n*t seems to prove that its meaning must be calamity also in this place. Otherwise one is strongly tempted to heed the vigorous indication of the Pahlavi translator. Here and in XLVIII, 9, he renders 'manifest,' 'what is clear in the midst of my doubt.' The etymology would be far simpler. Alternatively dvaêthâ=terror (bî).

[2] Valman î pûmman khvâstâr. The Pahlavi sees 'to be desired' in ishy*en*g. Otherwise one might render: I will cause (verbal) missiles (comp. zastâ-*is*tâi*s*) to be cast forth from the mouth for the harm of the wicked.

(Supplementary note. 'Parch with drought' in verse 10 may be regarded as having figurative application. The destruction of the means of irrigation, so often resorted to in the same regions later, would point also to a literal sense, but 'waste our meadows like drought' is a safer expression. See further vîvâpa*t*, and vîvâpem=viyâpa*t*, viyâpem.)

YASNA XXXIII.

Prayers, Hopes, and Self-Consecration.

Brighter times seem to have arrived. The vengeance so confidently promised in the close of XXXII is described as near at hand. In fact the first three verses seem to belong as much to XXXII as to the present chapter. They remind one of the choruses of attending saints, or 'Immortals,' in XXIX, perfectly germane to the connection, but referring in the third person to a speaker who closes the last chapter with a first, and who begins again with a first in verse 4. The propriety of a division of chapters here rests upon the fact that the thought comes to a climax at XXXII, 16, beginning afresh at XXXIII, 4. Whether Zarathustra, or the chief composer, whatever his name may have been, composed these three verses relating, as they do, to himself, and put them into the mouth of another, or whether their grammatical form indicates another author, is difficult to determine. I doubt very greatly whether either the expressions 'I approach,' 'I offer,' &c., or the words 'he will act,' 'let him be in Asha's pastures,' are at all meant to express more than some modern hymns which use 'I' and 'he.' Both are in constant employment in anthology with no change in the person indicated. 'I' and 'Thy servant' are merely verbal variations. Here, however, the change is somewhat marked by the allusion to the chastisement of the wicked just previously mentioned in XXXII, 16. 1. It is to be noticed that the strictest canon with the original, as indeed with the later, Zarathustrians of the Avesta was the 'primeval law.' Unquestionably the precepts understood as following from the dualistic principle were intended; that is to say, no trifling with any form of evil, least of all with a foreign creed, was to be tolerated. Ahura has no share in the evolution of anything corrupt. We may even add that He had no power to prevent either sin or sorrow, although He possessed all conceivable power to oppose them. According to these fundamental laws, then, the Ratu is said to act, as sternly severe upon the evil as he is beneficent to the saint. 2. The fierce hostilities hitherto pursued are more than justified. The injury of the wicked by denouncing, planning, or by physical violence, is on a par with advising the good. They who pursue the enemies of Ahura are actually operating in love to God, and sacrificing to religion itself.

3. And accordingly the reciter is made to pray in this immediate connection for a sincere and useful friend (a vahista) to the believer, to whichever class he may belong, whether chief, allied peer, or villager, a friend spiritually enlightened (vîdâs), and, according to Ahura's prescript (XXIX, 2), keen, persevering, and brave in the cultivation of cattle (thwakhshanghâ gavôi). 'Let such an one as this, so asked for by the Lord himself, so needed by the Kine, let him,' he prays, 'be supported in his holy toil for us. Let him till and tend, not in the pastures of our valleys only, but in the spiritual pastures of the Divine Benevolence where the mystic kine is grazing.' 4. Taking up the peculiar 'I who' of XXVIII, the composer returns to the first person, continuing in that form with little exception until the last verse, which, naming Zarathustra in the third person, implies (if it is not an addition, which, however, it may be) that Zarathustra had been the speaker throughout. As it is highly probable that the author who uses this 'I who' is the same who uses it in XXVIII, and if we may take verse 14 as fair evidence that Zarathustra is the speaker here, we acquire some additional grounds for believing that the person who wrote (if we can apply such an expression to the author) the words 'to Zarathustra and to us,' as well as 'to Vîstâspa and to me,' and 'to Frashaostra and to me,' was universally recognised to be Zarathustra himself composing a piece to be recited by another. As if in response to the expression in verse 3, recalling that although a vahista (a best one) to some of each class (verse 1) he was no contenter of the wicked (XLIII, 15), he begins a prayer which is only completed by its izyâ in verse 6, and which gathers force by each preceding profession of fidelity. And true to a practical dualism, he first abjures the leading sin of disobedience to God, and of arrogance, discontent, and dishonesty toward man, accompanied (as it seems to have been) with neglect of the all-important duties to the cattle who shared the sanctity of 'the soul' of their representative. And perhaps it is this practical severity of dualism as opposed to the more facile 'lying' of the opposed religion, which was the cause of that high reputation of the Persians for veracity, which was grouped with avoiding debt by Herodotus among the virtues of the race. 5. I, he goes on to say, or to imply, I who not only abjure disobedience, insolence, complaint, and lying, but especially invoke the great genius who is Obedience himself, Obedience toward God, (Thee), endeavouring as I do by this abjuration and prayer to attain, not to a 'hundred autumns' of booty and glory, but to a long life in the kingdom which was established in the spirit of

the Divine Benevolence, and to paths not only for the war-cart, or for commerce, but to those rigidly straight paths of moral purity in which Ahura dwells, 6. I, he adds once more, who am thus Thine actually invoking (zbayâ) invoker, 'straight' like the paths (erezus), I am seeking with longing (kayâ) to know from that Best Spirit (Thy Spe*n*ta Mainyu?) animated once more by that best mind, to know-what? Shall we regard it as a bathos when we read that he thus with cumulative urgency prays to know what the Best Spirit thought should be done for the recovery and perfection of the fields? If we turn back to XXIX, 1, we shall see that the identical word (vâstryâ) describes the original want of the kine's soul. It was vohû vâstryâ which she implored as her salvation; and it was the sacred agriculturist who alone could afford it, and who as the 'diligent tiller of the earth' always remained the typical saint. And as his useful deeds in reclaiming, irrigating, and cultivating land, were justly ranked among the first services of a human being, and as the last preparation of the gathered grain was perhaps humorously, but yet pungently, said to make the Daêvas start, and shriek, and fly (see Vendîdâd III, 32, Sp. 165), and as further, a life from the fruits of the earth to this day constitutes the main difference between those who live by murderous theft and those who live honestly in nearly the same regions, I think we may not only see no bathos here, but on the contrary admire the robust sense of this early religion[1], and say that a knowledge as to a true policy in the department of agriculture was one of the wisest possible desires, and the most of all things worthy of a 'sight of Mazda and of consultation with Him.' How the fields had better be worked, and how the people could best be kept from bloody freebooting as aggressors or as victims, this involved Ahura's Righteous Order, Benevolence, Power, and Piety, the four energising Immortals all at once. And this only could secure the other two rewarding personifications, Welfare and Immortality.

7. Having prayed for that which is the first virtue of civilised existence, work (verezyêidyâi), he proceeds to further petitions. 'Come Ye,' he beseeches in Vedic fashion. Come Ye, O Ahura, Asha, and Vohu Manah! and behold the attentive monarch, the leading Magavan, as he listens to my instructions with the other

[1] In this particular. As to ceremonies it had at a later period more than its share of absurdities; but as to honest work as against 'foraging on the enemy' there is a great difference between the Gâthas, and some other ancient hymns, for instance the *Ri*ks of the Veda. In fact these latter may be regarded as representing the opposite extreme.

chiefs, and the thronging masses. And let too the sacrificial gifts pour in for offering and worship.

8. He rests at no bare morality for the simple multitude. He knows too well the human foible, therefore he asks with vigour for sacrifice and hymn.

9. Encouraging the two pious chiefs whose souls go hand in hand, he prays that an influence like that of the 'eternal two' might bear their 'spirit' (sic) to the shining home of Paradise, it having attained to perfection by the help of the Best Mind of God within it. (For mainyu in this sense compare XLIV, 11.)

10. Asking of Mazda to grant in His love (or 'by His will') all the happy phases of life which have been, or which shall ever be experienced, he prays that their bodies, that is, their persons, as separate accountable individuals (compare nar*e*m narem *hv*ahyâi tanuyê) might flourish in the graces of the Good Mind, the Holy Sovereignty, and the Sacred Order, till they were blessed with the ustâ, the summum bonum.

11. He here prays all the grand abstractions, Piety, the Righteous Order (which alone can 'push on' the settlements), the Good Mind of God within His people, and His kingdom, to turn their mental ears and listen, and listening to pardon.

12. And specifying the one central object of desire, the Thrift-law, the Avesta of the Ratu, or Saoshya*n*t, he asks Ahura to arise to his help and give him spiritual strength by sustaining him through the inspiring Righteousness and the Good Mind, in an effective invocation.

13. With a spirituality still deeper than his Semitic colleague, he asks, not to see the person of God, but His nature, and especially to be able to comprehend and bring home to his mind what the Sovereignty of God implies with its 'blessed rewards.' And he asks of Piety as first acquired, practised, and then speaking within him, to reveal the Gnosis, the Insight, that is, the Religion.

14. After the fervent language of the previous verses we may accept verse 14 as a legitimate continuation. Its 'Zarathustra' may mean 'I' just as 'David' is used by the Psalmist for 'me.' And the language can mean nothing but a dedication of all that he is and has to God, his flesh, his body, his religious eminence, the obedience which he offers in word and deed, inspired by Righteousness, and the Kingdom which he has succeeded in saving and blessing. (I do not think that I have at all exaggerated the grasp and fervour of this section. Less could not be said, if the words are to be allowed their natural weight.)

Translation.

1. As by the laws of the primeval world, so will our spiritual chieftain act (that chief besought-for by the Kine[1], and named as Zarathustra[2] by the Lord). Deeds most just he will do toward the wicked, as toward the righteous, and toward him whose deeds of fraud[3] and righteous deeds combine (in equal measure).

2. Yea, (he will act with justice but with vengeance, for) he who does evil to the wicked by word, or with thought (and plan), and (who therein does not dally, but toils labouring as) with both the hands, or he (again) who admonishes one for his good[4], such as these are offering (a gift) to their religious[5] faith in the love (and with the approving view) of Ahura Mazda[6]; (they are offering to conscience.)

[1] See XXIX, 1.

[2] See XXIX, 6, 8.

[3] So the Pahl.; and so also Roth (Z. D. M. G., vol. xxxvii. 5, 223) taking mithahyâ as a nom. pl. (comp. va*k*ahya). But I am strongly inclined to a former view of my own. Yêhyâ-mithahyâ look irresistibly like two genitives. I would render as an emphatic alternative 'what fraud he may lay hold of (h*e*myâsaitê with the gen.), reach (of the one), and what (seem) to him the righteous deeds (of the other).' But if Roth and the Pahlavi are right, we have here the origin of the later hamêstagã, the souls in the intermediate place between Heaven and Hell, whose sins and good works have been equal (West, Gloss. to M. î K.). The Persian manuscript of Haug 12 b. has: Kih i*k* (pro ham) û *i* ân ham rasîd êstêd ân i durûg*h*, kih i*k* (ham) û ân *i* 'hâli*s* [kû, hamêstân].

[4] So the Pahlavi also indicates: Val valman î *s*apîr –*k*âshi*s*n. Ner. uttamasya vâ âsvâdayanti dehina*h*.

[5] Literally, 'they are offering a gift to their own choice' (var= varena; comp. yâvarenâ).

[6] They are holding fast by the holy cause, and their vehemence in vengeance does not negative the fact that they are toiling in the love of Ahura. Pahlavi: Pavan zak î lak dôshi*s*nŏ, Aûharmazd!

3. (And so may it be), O Ahura! Let the man who is the best toward the righteous saint, whether lord's kinsman [1], or as village labourer, with the allied [2] peer (of the master), having light, and endowed with energy for the cattle (a Ratu such as Ahura sought to satisfy their wail), let such an one be (for us) [3] in the work-field of the Righteous Order, in the pastures of Thy Good Mind [4].

4. (And I beseech for Thine instruction), I who will abjure [5] all disobedience (toward Thee, praying that others likewise may withhold it) from Thee; I who abjure the Evil Mind as well, the lordly kinsman's arrogance [6], and that lying sin which is (alas!) the next thing to the people [7] (their most familiar fault), and the blaming ally's falsehood, and from the Kine the worst care of her meadows [8] (the crime of stint in labour [9]),

[1] Literally, 'with, or as, the kinsman.'

[2] 'With the true ally.'

[3] See XXIX, 2: 'Let that pasture-giver whom ye would appoint for us, teaching by example and precept vohû vâstryâ, let him be on our sacred pastures, and on our side.'

[4] The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows: He who affords increase to the righteous on account of the relationship [that is, something is given to him?] does so also on account of the labourer's duty, or class [that is, the labourer is to be considered as his own]. Through the loyalty; that is, the loyal class, that which adheres to Aûharmazd, he has a thorough understanding as to what is (true) energy toward the herds. Thus Vohûman (a good mind) is a workman with him to whom Righteousness also belongs.

[5] Hübschm. Casuslehre, 'der ich von dir den Ungehorsam und schlechten Sinn durch Gebet abwenden will' (s. 180).

[6] Observe that *hv*aêtu certainly designates an upper class. Why else arrogance?

[7] Possibly this severity was the cause of the later high reputation of the Zarathustrians for veracity.

[8] Literally, 'from the pasture of the Kine.'

[9] The Pahlavi may be rendered: Him who will not listen to

5. I, who (abjuring these sins), call earnestly on Thine Obedience of all (assisting guardians) the greatest one for our help [1], gaining (thereby [2]) long life in the Realm of (Thy) Good Mind (incarnate in our tribes), and paths that are straight from their Righteous Order, wherein Ahura Mazda dwells [3],

6. (Yea), I who, as this Thy faithful priest, invoke Thee through (my) Righteousness, (now) seek [4] with longing from (Thy) Best Spirit, and with that [5] (best) intention of mind, (to know) what [6] he himself thought of the working of (our) fields [7]. Therefore (because I abjure the Evil Mind, and all disobedience,

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Thee, O Aûharmazd! will I abjure, and Akôman also, for by him there is the despising of relations, and the deception of the labouring men who live close at hand [that is, of neighbours]. And he is ever bringing censure upon the clients. And he holds to the lowest measure of duty toward the Herd.

[1] Avanghâ n*e*, or avanghânê, an infinitive (see Wilhelm, de Infin. p. 16). The Pahlavi has avŏ aîyyârîh.

[2] Sraosha (=listening obedience) is the greatest for help, because by a Mãthra which appeals to him the way to Ahura is found out (XXVIII, 6) and the Demon defeated. If apânô is read, so strictly. The Pahlavi translator seems to have understood apâ n*e*; barâm ayâfînâi pavan dêr-zîvi*s*nîh, zak î pavan khû*d*âyîh î Vohûman.

Ner.: Avâpaya dîrghe *g*îvitatve. This may well restore for us the proper text. Reading apâ n*e* we should render 'obtain for us.'

[3] Ahura Mazda dwells as in His abode amid the paths where His saints walk (see XLVI, 16).

[4] So also indicated by bavîhûnê*d*. Kayâ properly refers to y*e*.

[5] The Pahlavi translator seems to have seen an imperative in avâ, rendering it freely aîyyârînê*d*ŏ.

[6] Yâ may be an instr. sing. or an acc. pl. neut. 'I ask what he thought meet to be done;' yâ does not necessarily equal yéna in every instance.

[7] I need hardly remind the reader that agriculture was the great question of orderly and religious life with the Zarathustrians. Without it there was of course no resource but wandering and plunder for them.

arrogance, falsehood), O Mazda! would I beseech of Thee for a sight of Thee, and for consultation with Thee! (What is Thy will and mind?)

7. Come Ye, then, to my best (regulations. Come to my men, and my laws[1]), my very own, O Mazda! and let them see through the Righteous Order and (Thy) Good Mind (which Thou wilt bestow in Thy drawing near) how I am heard before the rich giver[2] (in the assembly of Thy worshippers). Yea, (come Ye); and let the manifold offerings of worship be manifest among us[3]. (Arouse Ye, and help our zeal[4]!)

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[1] So I render from the context. Otherwise see tâ tôi izyâ in the previous verse.

[2] I was formerly inclined to understand Ahura here, Indian usage permitting. (Indra and other Gods are maghavan.) But modern authority, aided by the ancient Pahlavi translator, brings me to a better mind. The Pahlavi has pavan fravôn magîh. It is better to refer the word to the disciple. The more prominent members of the congregation are meant.

[3] Ner. renders the last line thus: And may these offerings be manifest in the midst of us, and accompanied with (sincerest) worship.

[4] There are certain cases where allowance for an ancient scholar working under great disadvantages becomes a critical necessity. Here the Pahlavi translator was clearly the victim of a manuscript. The word 'âidûm' (sic) stood, as similar words so often stand, in his MS. as 'âi. dûm.' Deeply imbued with a superstitious regard for every letter, and with a public equally scrupulous, he saw no course before him but to translate each as best he could. He chose to render 'âi' by an infinitive, preserving the root, and could only think of a form of 'dâ' for dûm (so also moderns in another case). Many writers, seeing such a step, cast away his paper, regarding themselves as absolved by such a 'blunder' from mastering his translations. But a little honest labour will always bring one back to sounder exegesis. In the next following verse we have identically the same form in another word, which he renders awkwardly but correctly, using dâ again, but as a proper auxiliary.

8. (Come Ye) and show me the worthy aims of our faith, so that I may approach and fulfil them with (Thy) Good Mind, the offering, O Mazda! of the One like You[1], or the words of praises offered with Righteousness. And give Ye as Your offering[2] (of grace to me) the abiding gifts of Your Immortality and Welfare!

9. And let (one like those[3]), O Mazda! bear on to Thee the spirit of the two leaders who cause the holy ritual Truth to flourish; let him[4] bear them to (Thy) brilliant home[5] with[6] preternatural insight, and with the Better Mind. Yea, let him bear that spirit on as a fellow-help[7] in (furthering) the readi-

[1] To approach the offering of a praiser seems certainly an unnatural expression. I think that we are obliged to regard khshmâvatô as another way of saying Yourself rather than 'of Yours'; and if it equals 'Yourself' here, it may elsewhere; see XXXIV, 2, khshmâvatô vahmê, also XLIV, 1, nem*e* khshmâvatô. All acknowledge mavaitê to mean 'to me.' Hübschmann, Casuslehre, s. 200: 'dass ich mit frommem sinne an eure Verehrung, Mazda, gehen kann.'

[2] It is curious that draonô seems to be in apposition here. The word is used merely in the sense of offering in the later Avesta. It might possibly mean 'possessions' here.

[3] See XXXII, 15. There helping princes are spoken of 'as borne by the two (Haurvatâ*t* and Ameretatâ*t*).' Here in immediate connection with the same two it is said: Let one bear the spirit of the two united chiefs. By the term 'spirit,' which sounds so suspiciously modern, we must nevertheless understand very nearly what the word would mean in a modern phrase. By these two leaders we may understand either *G*âmâspa and Vîstâspa (XLIX, 9) or *G*âmâspa and Frashao*s*tra. (Compare yâvarenâ Frashao*s*tîâ *G*âmâspâ.)

[4] 'Let one bear them.'

[5] Khvârîh mânîni*s*nŏ.

[6] The Pahlavi gives its evidence for an instrumental and for a less pronounced meaning than the one above.

[7] Hamkar*d*ârîh. If the second kar is the root, the sense is figurative.

ness[1] of those (in their holy work) whose souls go hand in hand[2].

10. (And not for these alone do I pray, but for us[3] as well.) All prosperous states[4] in being which have been enjoyed in the past, which men are now enjoying, and which shall be known in the future, do Thou grant (me) these in Thy love[5]. (Yea), cause (our) bodily and personal life to be blest with salvation[6] through (Thy) Good Mind, (Thy) Sovereign Power, and (Thy) Sanctity[7].

11. And, O Thou who art the most beneficent Ahura Mazda! and thou who art Âramaiti (our piety), and also the Righteous Order who dost further on the settlements; and Thou, the Good Mind, and the Sovereign Power! hear ye me all, and have mercy[8] for every deed which I do whatsoever[9]!

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[1] Bûndakŏ. [2] Pavan akvînŏ rûbânŏ.

[3] So more probably. See the first person in verses 8 and 11.

[4] So the Pahlavi also, hû-zîvisnîh.

[5] So the Pahlavi also: Pavan hanâ î lak dôshisnŏ. 'In Thy will' is here very weak.

[6] Nadûkîhi*k* î avŏ tanû [am yehabûn]; Ner. *s*ubha*m* tanau.

[7] Neryosangh: Let them continue to live well, and be prosperous in all things [ ] those females (yâ*h* most curiously) who are born thus [that is, come from elsewhere (and not from us)], and who are [gained over by myself]. Those, O Great Wise One! who shall exist [(or) come in the future], let them render these persons thine own through friendship to thee. Cause thou the Best Mind to increase within me, O Lord! [that is, make my mind ever the more piously zealous]. And in view of my righteousness grant me a benefit in my body, or person [ ].

[8] So the Pahlavi also: Am barâ âmûrzê*d*.

[9] Observe that all the Ameshôspends, except the two mentioned in verse 8, are here bidden as persons to listen and be merciful. These recurring instances (recall the two hands of Asha &c.) necessitate the view that the idea of personality is never lost in that

12. And Thou, O Ahura! do Thou (Thyself) arise[1] to me! Through Âramaiti give me power, O most bountiful Spirit Mazda! through (my) faithful appeals and offerings[2]; and for (my) Righteousness grant me mighty strength, and (Thy) thrift-law[3] through (Thy) Good Mind[4].

13. (Arise to give me power), and then for grace in a wide perception[5] (that I may view its depth and extent), do Thou reveal to me Thy[6] nature (?), O Ahura! (the power of Thine attributes), and those of Thy (holy) kingdom, and by these, the blessed gifts[7] of (Thy) Good Mind! And do Thou, O bountiful Piety[8] show forth the religious truths through (Thy) Righteous Order.

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of the abstract quality; and vice versâ; (the latter especially in the Gâthas where the names always retain much, if not all of their original force). As to âdâi; see vanghuyâ (sic) zavô-âdâ in the next verse.

[1] We seem obliged to suppose that Ahura was poetically conceived of as sitting (like Vohûman in Vendîdâd XIX, 31 (Wg.)) upon an ornamented throne, or we may take the expression as pure metaphor equalling 'exert Thy power.' Âramaitî may be a voc.

[2] See âdâi in verse 11.

[3] Pavan zak î Vohûman sardârîh. The 'thrift-law' is the regulation established by the Ratu demanded in Y. XXIX for the redemption of the Kine. It expresses the entire polity and theology of the Zarathustrian people as summed up in the original Avesta.

[4] Neryosangh: Up! O Lord! purify me [that is, make me pure, or free, from the influence of that tormentor, the Evil Mind]; and grant me perfect spirituality and zeal. For we are recipients of Gvahmana, O more mighty spirit [that is, let him be as a guest, arrived within my body]! And let sanctity have power over the murderer (?) [ ], and through the lordship of the Best Mind.

[5] The Pahlavi has here pavan kâmak *k*âshi*s*nŏ, on which see Darmesteter, Études Iraniennes, vol. ii, as per index.

[6] Literally, 'Your.'

[7] Ashi has this meaning in the later Avesta. It also means 'sacred regularity,' 'exactness' in religious duties.

[8] So the Pahlavi also: A*s* pavan Aharâyîh dînô frâz dakh-

14. Thus, as an offering, Zarathustra gives the life[1] of his very body. And he offers, likewise, O Mazda! the priority of the Good Mind, (his eminence gained) by his holiness (with Thy folk); and he offers (above all his) Obedience (to Thee) in deed and in speech, and with these (Thine established) Sovereign Power[2]!

shakînŏ; Ner.: Pu*n*yena dinim pra*k*ihnaya. Possibly, 'give light to our consciences through Asha' would be better.

[1] The tissues; the word seems contrasted with bones elsewhere. The Pahlavi has khayâ, and Ner. *giva*m (sic).

[2] The Pahlavi translation may be rendered as follows: Thus, as a gift of generosity, I who am Zartûst (so freely, and with no error from ignorance (!)) give the life of my own body, as the advance [as the chieftainship] to Vohûman and to Aûharmazd, and to Ashavahist, in actions [that is, I would do the deeds which Aharâyîh desires], and would give obedient attention to the word (literally the hearing of the word) to (i.e. of) Khshatraver.

YASNA XXXIV.

1. A tone of thankfulness continues. As if in gratitude for better fortunes, the prophet declares that he will bestow upon Ahura with the foremost, according to the measure of the gifts which he has received. Those gifts were the secured Immortality (not mere temporal 'deathlessness'), the Righteous Order, and the Sovereign Power established in holiness and bestowing the Universal Weal.

2. The kind of gifts which are proposed for offerings are not sacrificial beasts or fruits, but the actions of the truly pious citizen whose soul is intimately united with Righteousness, the homage of prayer, and the songs of praise. As no piety could exist without strict ecclesiastical regularity, so no ceremonial punctuality was conceived of apart from honour and charity (see verse 5 and Yast XXII).

3. Accordingly the meat-offering, the mention of which immediately follows, is spoken of as offered with homage to the Righteous Order and to the Divine Sovereignty for the benefit of all the sacred settlements, in order to equip the wise man fully, and as a helpful blessing among the Immortals themselves and their adherents.

4. And the Fire is likewise mentioned, which was worshipped not so much like Agni as the friendly god of the hearth and the altar, but more and chiefly like Agni as the priest of the church.

Not unlike Agni, it is called upon both for inward spiritual strength and for temporal blessings in various forms, together with vengeance hurled very much as if in the form of a thunderbolt (zastâ-istâis derestâ-aênanghem). 5. To explain what he means by his supplications for the coming of the Kingdom, and for holy actions (that is, to make it certain that he does not mean punctilious ritualism apart from the noblest charity), he rhetorically asks: 'And what is Your Kingdom, that which Zarathustra establishes and offers to You? (XXXIII, 14). What is the kind of prayer (comp. XLVIII, 8, and LIII, 1) which I must use, so that I may become Yours (Your property) in my actions, not to load Your priesthood with sacrifices, nor to fatten Your princes with booty (as too often in the *Rik*s), nor yet to secure a heavy gift to the poet, but to 'nourish Your poor?' This was the essence of the desired Sanctity and the Sovereign Authority. The Kingdom of God, exalted

and personified as a separate intelligence, is positively said to be something more than a gaudy pageant of material display, even Tavâ Khshathrem yâ erezigyôi dâhî drigavê vahyô (LIII, 9). (See also even Vendîdâd II [part i], where moral duties are lauded.)

And the composer himself seems to be so conscious of the sharply defined difference between such a kingdom and that of the rival religion, that he immediately adds an interdict: 'Such is Your Kingdom, caring for the righteous poor, and therefore we declare You irreconcilably distinct from the Daêvas and their polluted followers. Ye are beyond them and before in the spirit of Your Reign!'

6. He then utters an impressive doubt, which only deepens our admiration at his expressions of faith: 'If it be really true,' he continues (see XLIV, 6), 'that Ye are thus with the Righteous Order and the Good Mind, the God who looks upon the goodness of the heart and the activity of the hands, then give me a sign of it, that I may persevere and increase in the depth of my homage while life shall last.' 7. For the struggle, though not without signs of a favourable issue, was far from over yet. (Hence his misgivings.)

He then asks with some wistfulness after the 'ar(e)drâ,' the men that could help, who from the experience of the grace of God, could turn sorrow into blessing by establishing the holy religious system firmly, but with enlarged and not narrowed understanding. And, still a little dispirited, he declares, as so often: 'None have I other than You; therefore I can wait for the ar(e)drâ. Do ye save us alone by Your already offered means of grace.'

8. 'For Ye have given me already, as it were, a sign. The enemy are checked, and for the moment cowed, if they are not repelled. They among whom there was death for so many when they had the upper hand, and when their ruler persecuted the holy vows, are not only struck with terror by the action which we take, but their chief retribution is, as we hold it, spiritual, and therefore, in the eye of truth the more severe. They will not encourage righteous Order and righteous intentions, and accordingly, the personified Good Intention, grieved, will depart from them.'

9. 'Yea,' he reiterates, amplifying, 'the unfortunate sinners who depart from Thy kindly and sacred Piety in this ignorance of all experience of Thy Good Mind, will suffer an equal desertion. The characteristics of righteousness will, in their turn, avoid them as the unclean creatures flee from us.' 10. 'And this is,' thus he continues, 'a sign or result which the All-wise declares to me to steady my soul as I waver.' 'And these are indeed the cheering proofs of Thy favour,' he adds, addressing Ahura, 'which terrify our enemies

and advance us, giving us a righteous eminence (XXXIII, 14) in Thy Kingdom.'

11. 'Therefore that kindly Piety whom these desert in their judicial ignorance, will increase for us both the all-comprehensive blessings; spiritual Deathlessness begun in anticipation here, and its necessary condition, Welfare. And they shall be increased as food (sic) for Mazda's straitened people, or better, to His glory as their monarch. And by their means Ahura may defend Himself efficiently from the persecuting and idolatrous foe.' 12. Taking into consideration all that depends on a correct understanding as to religious and political duties, he fervently prays to be guided aright in the establishment of a ceremonial and of praises, beseeching Mazda to speak, declaring the kind of worship which may secure the ashis (which are the blessed rewards). And he asks to be taught those religious paths about which no error was possible, the paths which are the Good Mind's own.

13. After a fashion already known to us (as in XXIX), he answers his question himself. That way which Ahura had already revealed as the Good Mind's own, was made up of the revealed precepts of the Saoshya*n*ts. There, as in the paths where Ahura dwells (XXXIII, 5; XLVI, 16), the well-doer may prosper from his devotion to the religious truths, and gain a reward immediately from the hand of God. 14. As if never forgetting the original calamity, the woes of the Kine, he further declares that way to be the one of all to be chosen for this earthly life, as the vestibule to the heavenly one. And he asserts that they who toil for the Kine (who represents here, as generally, the holy settlements as well as their chief source of riches and support) are striving to further and demonstrate the wisdom of that way by every righteous contrivance.

Nay, he declares that the deeds of Piety are themselves the highest wisdom, just as the words and righteous actions of the Saoshya*n*ts not only declare and make, but constitute, 'the way.'

15. Again, concluding with a climacteric and synoptical prayer, he beseeches Ahura to speak and reveal to him all the most available statements, ceremonies, and praises. And never forgetting that all ceremonies, hymns, and sacrifices, sacred as they are, are only means to a greater end; he prays the Deity that He may exert that Sovereign Power which is alone supremely efficient in relieving actual distress (LIII, 9), for by its holy laws and spiritual arms it can alone bring on the Frashakar*d*, and produce that condition in society in which all human progress shall have become complete.

Translation.

1. As to those (three gifts of blessings), Immortality, the Righteous Order, and the (established) Kingdom of Welfare, which Thou, O Mazda! hast given through (holy) deeds, words, and the sacrifice unto these (Thy servants here in my sight[1]), gifts (shall) be offered[2] by us in return to Thee, O Ahura! and with the foremost of them all.

2. Yea, and all those gifts of the Good Spirit[3] have been given (back in gratitude) to Thee by the mind and the deed of the bountiful man, whose soul goes hand in hand[4] with the Righteous Order in the settlement, in homage toward the One like You[5],

[1] The hymns seem to be all composed for public declamation, as is evident from various passages. Similar indications often occur in the Veda. I formerly connected aêshãm with Ameretatâ*t*, &c., 'a thank-offering for these (gifts).'

[2] I am very sorry to oppose progress on such a subject as dastê, but I do not think that it is an infinitive, nor that âitê or mrûitê are such. -Tê, or what it represents, I regard as seldom or never a Gâthic suffix, and especially not, as here, where dastê falls to the end of the sentence. Too little attention has been paid to the Gâthic sentence. The infinitive seldom falls to the end of it; vîdvanôi vao*k*â; ta*t* môi vî*k*idyâi vao*k*â; vîduyê (vîdvê) vohû mananghâ; m*enk*â daidyâi yêhyâ mâ rishis; ashâ fradathâi asperezatâ; â*g*ôi (?) hâdrôyâ; y*e* a*k*i*s*tem vaênanghê aogedâ; but zbayâ avanghânê (?) yâ verezyêidyâi ma*n*tâ vâstryâ; srûidyâi Mazdâ frâvao*k*â; kahmâi vîvîduyê (-vê) vashî; ta*t* verezyêidyâi hya*t* môi mraotâ vahi*s*tem; arethâ vôizhdyâi kâmahyâ t*e*m môi dâtâ; dazdyâi hâkerenâ; but vasmî anyâ*k*â vîduyê (-vê); m*en*dâidyâi yâ Tôi Mazdâ âdi*s*ti*s*, &c. The Pahlavi renders here with admirable freedom as a first person, yehabûnêm.

[3] Observe this expression. It is the spe*n*ta mainyu which, like the 'Holy Spirit of God,' is sometimes identical with Him.

[4] Souls are elsewhere said to go hand in hand; see Y. XXXIII, 9.

[5] I suppose that it is possible that khshmâvatô, here and elsewhere, may refer to the human subject, 'to the praise of your wor-

O Mazda! and with the chants of the (thankful) praisers[1].

3. And unto Thee, O Ahura! will we offer the (thankful) meat-offering with self-humbling praise, and to Thy Righteousness (like Thee a person), and for all the settlements in Thy kingdom which are guarded[2] by Thy Good Mind. For in the perfect preparation of the justly acting (has that offering its power), O Mazda! together with all (others of its kind). Among those like You and worthy of Yourselves, it is a blessing[3].

4. And we pray likewise for Thy Fire, O Ahura! strong through Righteousness (as it is), most swift, (most) powerful, to the house with joy receiving it, in many wonderful ways our help, but to the hater, O Mazda! it is a steadfast[4] harm as if with weapons hurled from the hands[5].

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shipper,' but it does not sound at all natural. I think that khshmâvatô is merely another way of saying 'of you,' as mava*n*t = me. So the Pahlavi also seems to render here: Avô zak î lekûm va nîyâyi*s*nŏ. Ner. also: Samâga*kkh*âmi yushmâkam namask*r*itaye, Mahâ*gñ*ânin.

[1] This recalls the dasemê-stûtãm of Y. XXVIII, 10.

The Pahlavi renders freely and not uncritically, regarding the spe*n*ta nar as Zarathu*s*tra himself: Aftânŏ dên Garô*d*mânŏ stâyem. Ner.: Garothmâne staumi te.

[2] So also the translations: Aîgha*s* parvari*s*n va min frarûnîh. Ner.: Uttamena pratipâlyâ manasâ. Compare Y. XXXII, 2: sâremanô khshathrâ*t*. The singular verb is difficult.

[3] Or, 'for as those justly acting, and in preparation will we offer it as a blessing together with all who are among "Your own."' Here khshmâva*n*t equals 'Your own'; rather than 'Yourselves.'

[4] Or 'visible' as fire, but this seems too feeble a conception for the place. The Pahlavi translator read dere*s*tâ as a participle from dar(e)z, which is quite as possible as that it should be from dar(e)s. He renders yakhsenunê*d* kînŏ; Ner., vidadhâti nigraham. That he so translated because he was not aware that dere*s*tâ could be also a participle from dar(e)s, is no longer tenable.

[5] As by no means a partially selected specimen, let the reader

5. What is[1] then Your Kingdom, O Mazda? What are Your riches? that I may become[2] Your own in my actions, with the Righteous Order, and (Thy) Good Mind, to care for Your poor (in their suffering[3]). Apart from all would we declare You, yea, apart from Daêvas[4], and Khrafstra-polluted mortals!

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consider the following from the Pahlavi: Thus, O Aûharmazd! this which is Thy Fire, which is so powerful, is a satisfaction to him whose is Aharâyîh [-when my chieftain (the glossist seeming to have a text with a first pronoun; otherwise the first translator who never saw? us(e)mahî) becomes one by whom duty and charity are fulfilled], for it is quick and powerful [the Fire], and remains continually in friendship with him, and makes joy manifest to him. And therefore, O Aûharmazd! on him who is the tormentor it takes revenge as if with a mighty wish.

[1] Ka*t* is often a mere interrogative particle, so modern interrogatives are also often merely formal.

[2] Bartholomae admirably follows K4 here with its hakhmî; it gives a more common explanation of vâo, which I am obliged to take in a possessive sense beside n*e*. The manuscript used by the Pahlavi writer had, however, ahmî, as many others now extant.

[3] Note the recurrence of this care for the poor, showing what the frequent mention of righteousness, the good mind, &c. meant.

[4] Observe that daêvâi*s* must mean the Demon-gods and not their worshippers here; par*e* vâo indicates this, and also mashyâi*s* = men, who are separately mentioned. The Pahlavi translator is finely critical here, giving us our first hint as to the meaning: Pêsh Lekûm min harvisp-gûnŏ levînŏ gûft hômanê*d* [aîgh tûbân-kar*d*ar hômanê*d*, &c.]. So with antare-mrûyê (-vê), he was the pioneer also. I render with impartiality: Which (of what kind) is your sovereignty? [that is, what thing can I do, whereby your sovereignty may be increased through my instrumentality?] And which is your wealth? [that is, what thing shall I do whereby riches may be kept in your possession by my means?] How thus in the actions of Aûharmazd shall I become yours? [That is, I (?) shall do that thing through which, by my means, your sovereignty is extended; and also wealth is kept in your possession by me.] For whenever I (?) shall do righteous deeds, [that is, when I (?) shall do duty and good works], Vohûman gives nourishment to our poor. Before all of every kind, even before them ye are

6. If thus Ye are in verity, O Mazda! with the Righteous Order and Thy Good Mind, then grant Ye me a sign[1] of this in this world's entire abiding[2] (while I live amid its scenes), how offering sacrifice and praising[3] You the more devoutly[4], I may approach You (in my worship)!

7. Where[5] are Thine offerers, O Mazda! Thy helpers, who as the enlightened of the Good Mind are producing the doctrines with wide mental light as inherited treasures, (delivering them as Thy word) in misfortune and in woe[6]? I know none other than You; then do Ye save us through Your righteousness!

8. Through these our deeds (of sacrifice and zeal[7]), they are terrified[8] among whom there was (once) destruction, and for many (at the time) when the

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declared; [that is, ye are more capable] than the demons, for their (?) intellect is perverted, (and ye are also before) men.

[1] So also the Pahlavi dakhsak.

[2] So indicated by ketrûnânî. I have no doubt whatever that maêthâ should have this sense. See also Y. XXX, 9.

[3] So also the Pahlavi: Pavan âfrînagânŏ dahisnŏ va stâyisnŏ sâtûnam madam.

[4] Urvâidyâo, if in its original form, looks like a comparative. One naturally thinks of a *vrâd (?) equivalent to 'vridh.'

[5] Rhetorically interrogative as often in English, or indeed a mere particle. (Compare XLVI, 9.)

[6] So also the Pahlavi indicates with its âmûkhtisnŏ (sic) î hûvarisnŏ [î avŏ kâr va kirfak], mûnik pavan âsânîh va mûnik pavan tangîh vâdûnyên frâkh-hushîh. Ner.: Sikshâm satyâya yah samâdhânatve, samkatatve* 'pi kurute vipulakaitanyah [kila, yah kâryam punyam yat samriddhatayâ kurute] takka yat samkatatayâ 'pi kurute, tasya vigñânakaitanyam tasmâd bhavati.

[7] Nâo being taken in a possessive sense.

[8] But the Pahlavi has: 'Min zak î valmansân maman kûnisnŏ lanman bîm'; possibly 'by these actions they terrify us'; the middle in the sense of the active.

oppressor of Thy holy vows was as the stronger oppressing the weaker[1]. They who have not thought (in consonance) with Thy Righteous Order, from these Thy Good Mind[2] abideth afar.

9. Aye, they who desert Thy bountiful Piety, O Mazda! that one desired of Thee[3], O Thou omniscient! and who thus abandon her by reason of the evil-doer, and in their ignorance of (Thy) Good Mind, from such as these (Âramaiti) with her holiness utterly departs[4] as the red Khrafstras (who destroy and pollute all life, flee) from us[5] (Thy faithful servants).

10. Through the action of this (His) Good Mind (as he works his grace within us) the benevolently wise[6] One declared a result as its fruit, He knowing the bountiful Piety, the creatrix of righteous beings[7]. These all, O Mazda Ahura! in Thy Kingdom (are

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[1] It is a mistake to suppose that the Pahlavi translator and his followers, Ner. and the Persian MS. (of Haug's Collection), refer nâidy*a*unghem and nade*n*tô to the same Sanskrit word. They translate them as if referring the first to nâdh, and the last to nid.

[2] Min valman*s*ân barâ rakhîk aîtŏ Vohûman. Asmanô seems an impossible reading, and cannot be reconciled with Vohû.

[3] The hint of the Pahlavi points, as usual, to the general sense, leaving us the task of discovering the grammatical structure.

Here I do not follow the indication of sedkûnyên; Ner. parikshipyanti. The voc. 'O Thou' is free.

[4] So also in general the Pahlavi: Min valman*s*ân kabed Aharâyîh se*g*dak; Ner. tebhya*h** prabhuto dharma*h** prabhra*s*yati.

[5] So if ahma*t* is read, but the MS. before the Pahlavi translator read ahmât; Ner. etebhya*h* (freely). A simpler rendering results; 'as from him flee away.'

[6] Observe the evidence of the Zend to the prevalent meaning of 'khratu.'

[7] Or reading hithãm, and in the sense of 'bond,' we coincide with Ner. sukhanivâsam. Haithãm = the true; hâtãm ? = of beings. Lit. 'the true creatrix of Asha (the holy).'

'helps to our progress') for they smite (our tyrants) with fear[1].

11. And for Thee hath Âramaiti (who is Our Piety) increased both the Universal Weal and (its continuance in) Immortality, and (with them as ever united) the Righteous (ritual and moral) Order (established and made firm) in the Kingdom of (Thy Good Mind). Those powerful lasting two (hath she increased) to (give us the needful) food[2]. And through these, O Mazda! art Thou with Thy perfect expellers of hate[3]. (Thou removest Thy foes afar[4]!)

12. What then are Thy regulations[5]? And what wilt Thou? What of praise, or of (fuller) offering? Speak forth that we hear it, O Mazda! what will establish the blessed rewards of Thine ordinance[6]!

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[1] The word voyathrâ is difficult to place; the Pahlavi translator divided, reading âvo-yathrâ (possibly âvoi athrâ), and rendered frô*d* kûshî-aît=is smitten down; the Persian better: Frôd zadar, is smiting down. We may well hesitate before rejecting this indication, which may point to a better text. Like vafu*s*, it may indicate the severity of the influences of the righteous system, in the midst of genial allusion. The tâ vîspâ might refer quite naturally to du*s*-*s*kayasthanâ in the previous verse. The form voyathrâ (corrected) may represent some derivative from the root bî=to fear. Compare bya*n*tê in verse 8.

[2] So likewise the Pahlavi with its khûri*s*nŏ; otherwise 'for glory;' *hv*ar=svar. Lit. 'To Thee (are) both Weal and Immortality.'

[3] *G*avî*d* bêsh min lak hômanih; Ner. vîtakash*t*as tva*m* asi.

[4] Ner.: Thus both are (to be derived) from thee, Avirdâda's food, and that of Amirdâda also, [the (food) of the Lord-of-water, and of the Lord-of-wood* (so the later Avesta and Parsism)], and in the kingdom of the best mind, righteousness is making a revelation together with the perfect mind. Do thou also bestow zeal and power upon this one, O Great Wise One, the Lord! From torment art thou exempt.

[5] So also vîrâyi*s*nŏ.

[6] Pahlavi ârâyi*s*nŏ.

* Otherwise simply 'water and tree.'

Teach Thou us the paths through Righteousness, those verily trod by (Thy) Good Mind[1] as he lives within Thy saints[2].

13. (Do I ask what is that path?) That way which Thou declarest to me as the path of the Good Mind, O Ahura! (is made[3] in its parts by) the religious precepts and laws of the Saviours, wherein the well-doer thrives[4] from (his) Righteousness[5]. And it marks for the good a reward of which Thou art Thyself the bestower.

14. For that (reward), O Mazda! ye have given as the one to be chosen for (our) bodily[6] life through

[1] The Pahlavi has the gloss: Teach us the way of the original religion.

[2] Neryosangh: Ki*m* te sa*m*mâr*g*anam [kila, kârya*m*, te ki*m* mahânyâyitara*m*?] Ka*h* kâma*h*? Kâ*k*a yushmâka*m* stuti*h*? Kâ*k*a yushmâka*m* i*g*isni*h*? *Srin*omi, Mahâ*g*ñânin! prak*ri*sh*t*a*m* brûhi! yat *k*etsi* dharmasya sa*m*mâr*g*ana*m*, [aho vi*s*eshe*n*a pa*s*ya! tasmât mahânyâyitarât kuru!] *S*ikshâpaya* asmâka*m* dharmasya mârga*m* uttamena svâdhîna*m* manasâ. [Mârga*m* ya*m* pûrvanyâyavanta*m* asmabhya*m* brûhi.]

[3] Observe the certainty of a subtle meaning, 'the way *is* the consciences or laws.'

[4] Geldner has admirably suggested a comparison with vra*g* on account of the connection 'way.' But as this necessitates two urvâz=vrâz, and as Ahura is spoken of as 'dwelling' in 'paths,' I do not think that 'thriving in paths' is very difficult. The prominent thought is not the going, but the 'right going.' That path indicates a reward (so also the Pahlavi *k*âshî*d*ŏ, Ner. âsvâdaya*h*). But we must be thankful for the keen and vigorous discussion. Compare urvâkhshanguha gâya *g*ighaê*s*a. The Pahlavi has hûravâkh-manîh and in Y. XLIV, 8. If vra*g* is compared, the idea must be happy progress; but va r h (Justi) seems the more obvious correspondent.

[5] Asha, very often personified, is a stronger expression than 'correctly.'

[6] Of course our life on earth, merely in the bodily state. Comp. Y. XXVIII, 3. There astavatas*k*â evidently means 'of earth,' mananghô, 'of heaven' (—of corporeal—of mind, without body).

the deeds of Thy Good Mind (in us). They who work in the toil of the mother[1] Kine, these further[2] Your merciful care through the understanding's action[3], and (taught) by Thine Order's (word)[4].

15. Yea, (show me, O Mazda! that path and its reward); tell me the best (of truths); reveal the best words and best actions, and the confessing[5] prayer of the praiser through Thy Good Mind (living within us); and through the Righteous Order, O Ahura! And by Your Sovereign Power and grace may'st Thou make life really progressive[6] (till perfection shall have been reached)!

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[1] Or the 'mature,' 'drivable' (?) cow. She 'goes on her path' of toil.

[2] So frâz yehabûn*d*.

[3] Observe that verez*e*nâ cannot well mean 'stall' in this line. The Pahlavi likewise sees varzî-aît in it; Ner. vidhîyate, both free as to form.

[4] Neryosangh: Sa yato, Mahâ*gñ*ânin! kâmo'smâka*m* yat tanumate *g*îvamate dîyate [â*k*âryâya], uttamena karma*n*e manasâ [khshatriyâya], ya*sk*a gavâ* â*k*ârayitre* A*g*inâmnyâ, [ku*t*umbine], yo yushmâka*m* sunirvâ*n*a*gñ*ânatayâ, Svâmin! buddhyâ*k*a, pu*n*yapradattayâ vidhîyate [dîni*h*].

[5] I concede this shade of meaning to the constant and unvarying evidence of the Pahlavi translator. He translates uniformly by avâm yehabûnê*d* or its equivalents.

[6] Bring on 'millennial' perfection when progress shall have been completed.

The Pahlavi translation is as follows: Pavan zak î lekûm khû*d*âyîh-Aûharmazd! frashakar*d*ŏ pavan kâmakŏ âshkârakŏ dên ahvânŏ yehabûnî-aît.

Ner.: Yushmâkam râ*g*yena, Svâmin! akhshayatvam sve*kkh*ayâ parisphu*t*a*m* dâsyate bhuvane.

THE GÂTHA(Â) USTAVAITI(Î).

This Gâtha, consisting of Yasna XLIII–XLVI, is named from the word which begins it, like the three last collections. The fact that the word ustâ possesses special significance may have influenced the minds of the Parsis of a later age, inducing them to associate this first chapter with happy anticipations, but it was of course not owing to any such circumstance that the name was given to the Gâtha. The Gâtha, like its fellows, has its existence as a unit from the nature of its metre.

It has lines generally of eleven syllables, arranged in stanzas of five. It seemed convenient to chant all the hymns of one particular metre together. This hymn, from some unknown reason, or from pure accident, having stood first in the collection in this metre, the Gâtha was named from its first word.

The question naturally arises at this place whether this Gâtha, in its parts or as a whole, is older than the Ahunavaiti and the others. For supplementary statements on this subject, see the Introduction, page xxvii, also elsewhere. It is sufficient to recall here that the procedure of the Ahunavaiti, and the sequence of the other Gâthas in the MSS. of the Yasna, have little importance in determining the question of relative age. If originally grouped in the order of their age, they might easily become transposed for the purpose of liturgical recitation. (See the inserted Haptanghâiti, and Y. LII.) As to the metres present, they afford no indications as to relative age. The metre of the Ustavaiti, approaching as it does the Trishṭup, may be as old as, or older than, that of the Ahunavaiti. The oldest *Ri*shis sang in Trishṭup. The sole remaining test of the relative age of pieces, is their contents. Do those of the Ahunavaiti show a priority to those in the Ustavaiti as regards the particular circumstances of which they treat? So far as I am able to

judge, no part of the Ahunavaiti is older than Y. XLVI. There we have the man before us at a period in his life before he had attained to his supreme position. He not only laments the unfavourable prospects of his cause, but he is full of vehement animosity, urging on his adherents to the overthrow of some powerful opposing leader, and anticipating an armed struggle so formidable that its partisans are elsewhere alluded to (in Y. XLIV) as 'hosts.' We see him also exhorting the various chiefs of his party as they are evidently standing before him in some large assembly, possibly as the army on the eve of an important encounter.

He refers intimately to the monarch, to his own family, the Spitâmas, and to the Hvôgvas, as represented by Frashaostra. He offers the rewards of Ahura, as he pronounces His threats and condemnations. Every feature bears the strongest evidence of originality. But have we not the same in the Gâthas Ahunavaiti, Spe*n*tâ-mainyu, and the others? Beyond a question. Those passages which express grief, fear, and passionate resentment, we should naturally refer to Zarathustra personally, and to the earlier portion of his career; and we can make no distinction between such passages when they occur in the Ahunavaiti, U*s*tavaiti, or elsewhere. As to chapter XXIX with its logical commencement, as expressing the sufferings to be remedied in the entire effort, together with the call of Zarathustra in immediate connection, and chapter XXX with its theosophical statements, we should say that they were composed later, during a period of success and reflection. But this would be a mere surmise. The time of the sage need not necessarily have been consumed in struggles even during the early years of his career.

Chapter LIII seems to belong to a period of mature age, but not necessarily to a period of advanced age. It celebrates the marriage of Zarathustra's daughter, but maidens were married early. With the exception of Y. LIII, I would say that the occurrence of a piece in this or that Gâtha has little, if anything, to do with determining the question of its relative age.

YASNA XLIII.

Salvation is announced as universal for believers. Reflections of Zarathustra upon the sublimity and bountifulness of Ahura.

As, in every instance, it is probable that verses have fallen out here and there in this important piece, and some may have been inserted, not necessarily from another composer, but from other compositions. After certain limits, however, marked signs of at least external connection are present. After the first three verses, which are quite apart, then from the fourth and fifth on, every alternate verse has the formula Spe*n*tem a*t*thwâ Mazdâ m*e*nhî Ahurâ. It would indeed present no difficulty for a successor to add these words to stanzas otherwise also imitated, but whether from the leading sage or not, whether from him in one strain, or from him as collected from different fragments, the course of thought does not so fail in logical sequence as that it is either impossible, or displeasing, as a whole in a poetical composition.

Verses 1–3 are admirable as preliminary. Verses 4–6, with their lofty descriptions of power and benevolence in the Deity, prepare the way well, with their allusions to the final judgment, for the closer reflections in verses 7–15 upon the prophet's call, uttered at the instigation of Sraosha (his obedient will). Verse 16 is a closing strophe looking much like an addition from another hand, not at all because Zarathustra is mentioned in the third person, but from its general cast. It possesses, however, very great interest from these circumstances. If a later addition, it enables us to see how the principal features of the system were viewed at a period not identical with the earliest, but closely following it.

1. If we can accept the deeply interesting suggestion of the Pahlavi translator, which is, 'Salvation to him to whom there is salvation for every man,' we need then suppose no necessary loss of verses. Otherwise we are obliged to consider the loss of some laudatory verse, or verses, containing such matter as perhaps Y. XXXIV, 14, 'This princely priest has devoted all to Thee, therefore, salvation to him, whosoever he may be.' Whatever may be the actual truth, the main stress of the thoughts is clear and appropriate. Using the word vas*e*-khshayâs in a good sense,

the composer beseeches Ahura to grant those two 'mighty and eternal ones,' which logically form the complement to each other, universal wholeness, welfare of soul and body, without which beatitude was inconceivable, and then the unlimited duration of that condition; for it is quite impossible that 'long life' alone was here meant by a term, the equivalent of which soon after designated the Bountiful Immortals. We have here again ample data for affirming the richness and depth of the religious conceptions.

The 'powerful and continuous two' are sought together with splendour as rewards, not for the gratification of any selfish sentiment, but in order to maintain Asha, the religious Order, on which the sacred polity, and the tribal, as well as the national wealth depended, but more than any general blessings, the individual sanctity of life. 2. And this is signalised as the highest good; and to this a prayer is added for the 'mâya,' which recalls the supernatural wisdom of the Indian Hercules, about which much phantastic and highly coloured myth is grouped; but here, with the ever-recurring contrast, the mâya is the mysterious wisdom of the Divine Benevolence, colourless and abstract indeed, but yet possessing how great religious depth!

3. The highest blessing, in another and more than once repeated phrase, is again besought, as 'the better than the good,' even the attainment of the one who guides to the 'straight paths,' which are the 'way, even the conceptions and revelations of the Saviours' (Y. XXXIV, 13; LIII, 2), in which the believer prospers, and Ahura dwells, as he dwells in his kingdom, and his 'chosen home' itself (Y. XLVI, 16). Whether 'this man who shows the paths' of 'the bodily and mental world' is the same as he who prays for the âyaptâ ahv*a*u astvatas*k*â hya*t*kâ mananghô (the boons of the two worlds) in Y. XXVIII, 3, here referred to in the third person, there speaking in the first, and whether he is Zarathustra himself, are questions. It is only necessary to say that, if any relief is gained by the supposition, then beyond a doubt Zarathustra may have been the composer of both pieces or fragments, here, as in Y. XXVIII, 7, referring to himself as in the third person, there, in Y. XXVIII, also further representing another who prays, referring by name to him as in the third.

But was Zarathustra the only sacred singer, or was he the centre of a group only, of which he was the life? (Compare Yathrâ v*e* afsmâinî (?) s*e*nghânî—*G*âmâspâ Hvôgvâ; Y. XLVI, 17; see also the Introduction.)

4. Proceeding as if the first three verses were absent from his

mind (as indeed they may have been only later brought together with what now follows), the composer begins his ascriptions of praise. He will regard Ahura as all-bountiful and mighty, since He has carefully nurtured, as with His very hand, the aids of grace which He will bestow, as gifts of forbearance on those now wicked, in the hope of penitence, and in the merciful threat of punishment, and to the devout disciple, whose piety is never ceremonial only. And these means of grace, although abounding in the inculcation of moral sanctity in thought, and word, and deed (see Vendîdâd VIII, 100 (Sp. 283)[1], where 'thought' clearly refers to intention in the strongest sense of the term), are yet profane, aside from the flame of that holy Fire which rallied the masses to a national worship, and which was strong for the holy order, as well as by means of it. For these reasons he adores their giver, but for still another. It was because the might of the Good Mind of Ahura approached him within them, and gave him strength for all that was before him. 5. Like the Semitic prophet, he poetically conceives himself as having beheld Ahura, as the chief of the two spirits, and as sovereign over all other powers when the world was born. And he regards Him as having also then established rewards and punishments by his holiness, so separate in its dualistic distinction from all complicity with evil either by infliction or permission. And these rewards and punishments were to have their issue not in time alone, but in 'the last turning of the creation' in its course.

6. And for Ahura's coming in this last changing he fervently beseeches, as well as for the appearance of the Sacred Kingdom, established and guarded by the divine Benevolence. And this consummation, he implies, will take place when the settlements shall be furthered in the Righteous Order, and by means of it, the end of progress having been attained; for then the piety of men's souls will itself be their instructor, delivering the regulations which shall silence the controversy of the two sides (Y. XXXI, 3). And these regulations are as the wisdom of Ahura's understanding (Y. XXVIII, 2), so penetrating that all thoughts lie bare to it (Y. XXXI, 13).

7. He now declares the principles on which he accepted the divine call. Sraosha (verse 12), he says, drew near to question him. As he is called by Ahura, Obedience, the same who constitutes the way to Ahura (or finds His throne (Y. XXVIII, 6)), now draws near

[1] Anaêshem manô, anaêshem vaĉô, anaêshem ŝkyaothnem prove that the thought, word, and deed referred to were not limited to a ritual meaning.

him, (I say Sraosha (i. e. Obedience), for if he is not so described as drawing near in this verse, he assuredly is so described in a verse nearly following (the twelfth)). Beyond a question, the fine subjectivity here expressed was intended. As the seer cried: O Righteousness! when shall I see thee (in myself and within my people), so now he means that his obedient spirit listens to the call of God. 8. And as his personified conscience questions him as to his origin, and the principles on which he would proceed, it represents the obedient people, as well as the obedient sage (for the sense of Sraosha, while originally applied to the personal will, is not restricted to it). 'Loyalty' questions him, that 'loyalty' may report his answers. He therefore responds, speaking in his name as Zarathustra (or else one thoroughly in unison with him, here speaks in his name). And this is his statement as to the indications which shall determine his personality. His course will be without a compromise. The unbelieving opposers, as he declares, shall meet no favour at his hands, but detestation, while to the devout disciple he will be as powerful an aid. And this because his mind and thought are (as if blinded to the present) fixed upon the ideal Kingdom, while for the present he never ceases to toil on, making preparations for the Frashakar*d*, and constructing hymn after hymn to set up the needed machinery of lore.

9. Again, his conscience and obedient will, as the angel of the Deity, questions him; and this time offers him that chief of wished for objects to him, religious knowledge. He mentions the holy Fire, with its proper offering, as the theme of his first inquiry.

10. And he beseeches Ahura to answer and to favour him, since he invokes such a complete endowment, going hand in hand with true Piety, and with no selfish interest in his prayer. He then, with a depth which I confess seems suspicious, asks of Mazda to put his petitions for him, recalling Y. XXVIII, 11, where he beseeches Ahura to fill up his desire with what not he, the speaker, but with what He, Ahura, knows to be the Good Mind's gifts. Or, with a conjectural improvement (?) of the text, he asks of Ahura to question him that he may be questioned indeed, saying as it were, 'search me, and know me.' But the other reading being retained as having superior point, and needing no conjectured text, we may see his further thought: 'Ask Thou our questions for us, and then we shall never fail; then we shall be no desireless (anaêsha) men, spurned by the wailing kine as flinching champions (Y. XXIX, 9), but we shall be indeed Thy rulers, "speaking our mighty wish."

Like the isha-khshathra, whom she sought (Y. XXIX, 9), our wish shall work our will; it will accord with the will of God.'

11. He is, however, not blind to all that lies before him in accepting this call. He worships the bounty and majesty of Ahura while he is impressing his soul with the import of this conference, and that notwithstanding, and none the less, because His will, when obeyed in actions, will bring on earthly sufferings.

12. But notwithstanding all that may be in store for him, he hopes to make those doctrines treasures (Y. XXXIV, 7), that is, a spiritual wealth (compare also Ahura's îsti). One only qualification would he add: 'Wait only before Thou givest the word that I should go forth with Thy new truths (which bring such suffering to him who first pronounces them), wait till my obedient will, listening fully to all which Thou shalt say, shall come to me, and then shall that obedient reverence in me and my beloved, help on our effort, that we may spread abroad the tidings of Thy promised recompense to win the living to Thee (Y. XXXI, 3).' 13. 'And that I may know and make known (so he continues) the true aims and objects of desire to those to whom I am at Thy word to go, grant me for this long life within Thy Realm, although that life be full of bitterness (verse 11; and Y. XXXII, 10, 11; XLVI, 1), for those who propagate Thy cause.' 14. 'Yea, as a friend, both wise and powerful, gives to a friend, send to me not only Sraosha, an obedient listening will, but raf(e)nô frâkhshnenem, abundant grace. Then, and then only, shall I be flanked with a proper ally. Then with Thy Sovereign Power, like my Obedient will, as an angel sent forth from Thee, and inspired by Thy righteous Order in law and ritual, in thought, and word, and deed, then I will go out to arouse and head the chiefs, gathering into spiritual hosts the many believing priests who even now would bear in mind and celebrate Thy mysteries.'

15. And as he began with fearless severity, so he would end without a compromise. 'My patient suffering (so he implies as he proceeds (Y. XLVI, 1)) reveals its lesson to me. My mind is long-enduring, but that patience, although it may seem to some the cowardice of a pusillanimous protector (Y. XXIX, 9), yet it is not such in truth, for it declares within me, and forces me to say: Let no man please the wicked; this is our only prospect of success.'

16. And casting back his thoughts he (or another in his name) sums all up well: 'Thus doth Zarathustra choose the spirit, that spirit which animates the faithful in their chiefs (Y. XXXIII, 9),

and by his side every true believer utters his sympathising prayer: Let the Order of life and of the ritual become incarnate in our tribes, and strong because it has the valiant power of faithful men to obey and to defend it. And let Piety prevail till it covers our land blest with the favours of the sacred sun, and as she lives in the lives of true adherents, may she in sympathy with the Good Mind, thus grant rewards for all our deeds!'

Translation.

1. Salvation to this man[1], salvation to him whosoever (he may be[2])! Let the absolutely ruling Great Creator grant (us, He) the living Lord, the two eternal powers. Yea, verily[3], I ask it of Thee (O Ahura) for the maintaining[4] Righteousness. And may'st Thou also give it to me, (O inspiring) Piety! splendour[5] (as it is), holy blessings, the Good Mind's life[6].

2. Yea, to this one[7] may the man endowed with

[1] Ahmâi as=to us, does not seem to be good grammar here, as it necessitates a forced separation between it and yahmâi-kahmâi*k*î*t*. Cp. ahmâi yahmâi-kahmâi*k*î*t* in Y. XLIV, 16.

[2] I turn from the fine rendering of the Pahlavi with the greatest reluctance: Nadû*k* valman mûn zak î valman nadûkîh ka*d*ârzâî [aîgh ka*d*ârzâî an*s*utâ min nadûkîh î valman nadûkîh], happy is he whose benefit is for every one; [that is, for every man there is happiness from his benefit]; Ner. follows.

[3] There is a question whether the particle ga*t* (gha*t*?) may not have originated from gâ*t*. Barth. here follows the Pahlavi, reading gatôi (?)=pavan yâmtûni*s*nŏ. Lak may have been added, as often, to serve as an alternative rendering.

[4] Or 'I will,' so Prof. Jolly (infinitive for imper.).

[5] So also the Pahl. rayê-hômand, not as a rendering merely, but as a philological analagon. Otherwise 'riches.'

[6] Gaêm recalls sraê*s*ta gaya *g*(i)vai*n*ti.

[7] As ahmâi would more naturally mean 'to this one' in the previous verse, it is desirable to render it in the same way here.

glory[1] give that best of all things, the (spiritual) glory. And do Thou likewise (Thyself) reveal[2] Thine own[3] (gifts) through Thy most bountiful spirit, O Mazda! (And do Thou teach us) Thy wonderful thoughts of wisdom[4], those of Thy Good Mind, which Thou hast revealed (to us) by Thy Righteousness (within us) with the happy increase of (our joy[5]), and on a long life's every day[6].

3. And may that (holy man) approach toward that which is the better than the good[7], he who will show to us the straight paths of (spiritual) profit, (the blessings) of this corporeal life, and of that the mental[8], in those veritably real (eternal[9]) worlds, where dwells Ahura; (that holy man) an offerer of Thine[10], O Mazda! a faithful citizen[11], and bountiful of (mind).

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[1] It is to the last degree improbable that *hv*âthrôyâ (*hv*âthravâ; 'y' miswritten for 'v') indicates a condition of ease and comfort here. The 'easy man' is the farthest possible from the thoughts of the composer. The 'best of all things' makes a word kindred to *hveng* (*hv*an) appropriate here.

[2] *Kîkî* (?), if an imperative (?), may mean guard over; but the Pahlavi translator gives us the better view; he has lak pê*d*âkînŏ; Ner. tvam prakâ*s*aya. Geldner's *kîk*îthwâ is important.

[3] Thwâ = thy properties. [4] The Pahl. has merely pa*d*mânŏ.

[5] This shade of meaning is expressed by the Pahlavi.

[6] Ayâr*e*, acc. pl.

[7] This expression seems to equal the summum bonum; so also 'worse than the evil' is the ultimate of woe.

[8] Cp. Y. XXVIII, 3.

[9] Does haithy*eng* mean 'eternal,' with every passage in which it occurs considered?

[10] Thwâva*n*t may, however, like mava*n*t, simply express the personal pronoun here. The position of aredrô, &c. is awkward if thwâva*n*t = thy: 'Where dwells Ahura, Thyself, O Mazda! beneficent, wise, and bountiful.' But aredra is almost a special term for a zealous partisan.

[11] The Pahl. has khûp-dânâkîh, indicating a meaning which would

4. Yea, I will[1] regard Thee as mighty and likewise bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (I behold) those aids of grace (approach me), aids which Thou dost guard and nurture[2] as (Thy) just awards to the wicked (to hold him far from us), as well as to the righteous (for our help), Thy Fire's flame therewith so strong through the Holy Order[3], and when to me the Good Mind's power comes[4+5].

5. (For) so I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Great Giver, Mazda! when I beheld Thee as supreme[6] in the generation of life, when, as rewarding[7] deeds and words, Thou didst establish evil for the evil, and happy blessings for the good, by Thy (great) virtue[8] (to be adjudged to each) in the creation's final change.

6. In which (last) changing Thou shalt come, and with Thy bounteous spirit, and Thy sovereign power,

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better apply to Ahura than the one given, which cannot be applied to Him.

[1] Subjunctive (see Prof. Jolly, V. S. p. 28).

[2] 'By Thy hand.' [3] The holy Fire of the altar.

[4] *Gimat* may be regarded as an improper subjunctive here.

[5] The Pahlavi: 'and that too which renders justice to the wicked and also to the righteous. And this Thy Fire is burning, since by it the strength of him who lives in Righteousness is (maintained) when that violence which approaches with a good intention comes to me.'

[6] See Y. XXXI, 8, where the word is also rendered as = vornehmster.

[7] Literally, 'When Thou didst render deeds provided with rewards.' We are forced to put the action in the past on account of zãthôi, but the influences originally set in motion were to have their issue in the end of the world.

[8] I render hunarâ literally, and bring its Pahlavi translation to the same sense as necessarily. Otherwise hûnar would generally mean 'skill.' Ner. has tava gu*n*eshu. The Pahlavi would here be recognised by all reasonable scholars as striking in its closeness.

O Ahura Mazda! by deeds of whom the settlements are furthered through the Righteous Order. And saving regulations [1] likewise unto these shall Âramaiti utter, (she, our Piety within us), yea, (laws) of Thine understanding which no man may deceive [2].

7. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Great Giver Mazda! when he (Thy messenger, Obedience) drew near me, and asked me thus: Who [3] art thou? And whose is thine allegiance? And how to-day shall I show the signs that give the light on this (our) question, (signs) as to the lands (from whence thou camest) and in thyself?

8. Then to him I, Zarathu*s*tra, as my first answer, said: To the wicked (would that I could be) in very truth a strong [4] tormentor and avenger, but to the

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[1] The word ratû*s* reminds one of the work of the Ratu for the afflicted kine. In the last changing, which shall complete the Frashakar*d*, he, or his representatives, will appear as the last Saoshya*n*t, introducing 'millennial' blessedness.

[2] I render the Pahlavi here as in evidence: 'Through Thee, O (?) bountiful Spirit! the changing comes [(later (?) gloss) from wickedness to goodness]. And it comes likewise through Aûharmazd's supremacy within a good mind, through whose action the progress of Aharâyîh's settlements is furthered, those which the master is instructing with a perfect mind [ ], and in which this Thy wisdom shall in no wise be deceived thereby.'

[3] As the kine thought little of her deliverer (see Y. XXIX. 9), so Sraosha, the obedient host, is here represented as inquiring as to the antecedents of the newly-appointed prophet. But he asks more properly concerning the settlements from which he comes than the lands. Gaêtha is not da*hv*(h)yu. An origin external to that of other chieftains is not at all necessarily indicated by the question.

[4] The Pahlavi sees a denominative in isôyâ (isôvâ; y for v); it is denom. in the Altiranisches Verbum. It differs, however, as to root. I offer an alternative in its sense. An open tormentor; [that is, I openly torment the wicked] even as much as I desire, do I torment (them) [(later (?) gloss) Ganrâk mînavad].

righteous may I be a mighty help and joy [1], since to preparations [2] for Thy Kingdom, and in desire (for its approach), I would devote myself so long as to Thee, O Mazda! I may praise, and weave my song.

9. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (Thine herald) with Thy Good Mind near approached me, and asked me thus: For what dost thou desire that thou may'st gain, and that thou may'st know it? Then for Thy Fire an offering of praise and holiness (I desired. And on that offering for myself) [3] as long as I have the power, will I meditate [4], (and for its holy power among Thy people will I plan [5]).

10. And may'st Thou likewise grant [6] me (Thy) Righteousness (within me), since I earnestly invoke that perfect readiness (of mind), joining in my prayer with Âramaiti (our Piety toward Thee. Yea, pray Thou Thyself within me through these holy powers). Ask Thou (Thyself) our questions, those which shall be asked by us [7] of Thee; for a question asked by

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[1] We must be cautious in accepting the statement that the Pahlavi translations attempt to be literal. Here is one which is free and far from erroneous: Aêtûnŏ avŏ aharûbŏ min valman î aôg-hômand aîtŏ; [aîghas, râmînam].

[2] The Pahlavi here shows only the correct root. [3] Mâ=smâ?

[4] 'So long as I can, will I be of this mind,' seems hardly expressed here. Observe the nearly parallel construction in verse 8.

[5] The Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian translations would here be regarded once more as extremely close even by opponents, if reasonable in their estimates. Manayâî seems to me hardly an infinitive, as it is comparatively seldom that an infinitive falls to the end of a sentence either in Gâthic or Vedic. I prefer the indication of the Pahlavi with Justi and Bartholomae (in the Altiranisches Verbum).

[6] Read perhaps daidhîs (later shortened to suit the metre).

[7] Or, 'ask us that we may be questioned by Thee.'

Thee (as its inspirer), is as the question of the mighty, whene'er Thy (?) ruler speaks his potent wish.

11. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (Thy messenger) with Thy Good Mind near approached me, and with your words I[1] first impressed (my soul). Woes then 'midst men Thy heart-devoted one[2] declared[3] (to be) my (portion); but that will I do[4] which Thou did'st[5] say was best.

12. And since Thou, coming thus, Thy legal Righteousness in fulness[6] spakest, then declare not to me words as yet unheard (with faith or knowledge; command me not) to go forth (with these upon my task) before Thy Sraosha[7] (Obedience) comes to me, to go on hand in hand with me with holy recompense and mighty splendour[8], whereby to

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[1] The Pahlavi translation bears evidence to a less subtle, and therefore more probable sense here, but at the same time to a rarer grammatical form. It renders dîdaiṅhê as a third person, indicating an instance of a third person in ê, and not in the perfect. It also recognises a reduplicated form by its pavan nikêziṡnŏ nikêzêđŏ.

[2] The Pahlavi translator with a curious error, or still more curious freedom, has rûbâk-dahiṡnîh here and elsewhere. Possibly the Gâthic text before the last compiler differed from ours.

[3] I still prefer Professor Bartholomae's earlier rendering, after the Pahlavi, as more in harmony with mraotâ and mraoṡ.

[4] Professor Jolly has the important rendering 'das will ich thun;' the infinitive in a future or imperative sense.

[5] 'Ye said.'

[6] The Pahlavi unvaryingly kabed.

[7] Here we probably have the missing subject in the other verses.

[8] Reading mãzâ rayâ. (Rayâ cannot well mean 'riches' here.) The Pahlavi also indicates the division by its free or erroneous mas ratû (rađ). Sraosha, an obedient will personified, guides the soul as in the later Parsism. Cp. the Arđâ Vîrâf.

give the contending[1] throngs (?), as a blessing[2], (Your) spiritual gifts (of certainty and peace).

13. Thus I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda! when with Thy Good Mind (Sraosha, Obedience) approached me. (And I would therefore pray thus of Thee, that bounteous one.) In order that I may make known to men the true and sacred aims of their desires (in the rite or daily toil), grant Ye me long life[3] for this, (that blessing[4]) which none with daring may extort[5] from You, even this (gift) of that desired[6] place which has been declared to be within Thy Realm.

14. Yea, as the man enlightened[7] (in Thy law), and who has possessions, gives to his friend, (so give Ye) me, O Great Creator[8]! Thy rejoicing and

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[1] Here we have the important reading rânôibyô as against the dual of K4, &c. (see Geldner). No mention of the fire occurs; and as the form does not agree with ara*n*i, we may well doubt that comparison in view of ãsay*a*u in Y. XXXI, 2, and the unvarying and uniform patkar*d*ârânŏ of the Pahlavi. The rendering 'with the sticks' is, however, admirably adapted, and must be considered as an emphatic alternative.

[2] The Pahlavi supports the reading vî for v*e*; it has barâ. Ashî might also mean merely 'holy,' as adjective.

[3] In Y. XXVIII, 7, he asks for it that he may crush the malice of the foe.

[4] Justi admirably suggested yânem understood.

[5] The Pahlavi divides dâr*s*taitê, and, as I hold, mistakes the root as was inevitable. The ancient scribe feared to restore the severed fragments, which appeared, as so often, in the MSS. before him. I would read dar*s*aitê with Spiegel's c(?) (so Bartholomae, later, however, recurring to a division, with Geldner after the Pahlavi, for the sake of bringing out an infinitive).

[6] Vairy*a*u contracted from vairyay*a*u by a corrupting improvement to regulate the metre.

[7] So the Pahlavi indicates, Bartholomae following as against the rendering 'possessing.'

[8] With regard to Mazd*a*u and medhấ, I should perhaps long

abounding grace, when through Thy sovereign Power, and from (the motives of Thy cause of) Righteous Order, I stand forth[1] to go out to[2], or to arouse, the chiefs[3] of Thy (pure) proclamation, with all those (others) who recite Thy well-remembered[4] Mãthra word.

15. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda! when with the Good Mind's grace Thy Sraosha (Obedience) approached me, (and said): Let the quiet and long-enduring better mind with understanding teach (thee); let not a foremost[5] man

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since have stated that I object to the comparison, not only because medhấ is a feminine, and, as Grassmann has supposed, possibly represented by the Zend madh, Greek math, but because 'wisdom' is an abstract (while su-medhấs, as a compound, does not apply so directly). I hold, however, that mazdâ, the fem. noun in Y. XL, 1 = medhấ. It is also not impossible that this word may be represented (with differing shades of meaning) by both madh and mazdãm (fem.) in Zend.

[1] Read, perhaps, frâkh*s*tâ; or frâ*s*tâ, 'with Thine advancing kingdom I (am) to go forth to'; (frâ + as, participle.)

[2] Prof. Jolly has the important rendering, 'Ich will mich erheben;' the infinitive in a future or imperative sense.

[3] Chieftainships. Compare (not with exactness, however) *s*ár-dhâ*m*si.

[4] The idea of reciting from memory seems to be included in mar*en*tê.

[5] The rendering pourû*s* (?) as = pl. of pûrús is attractive, but dreg-vatô hardly needs, and seldom has, a substantive. The wicked = wicked men; and, on the other hand, nâ constantly claims an accompanying word; (nâ ismanô; nâ vaêdemnô; hvô nâ-erethwô; nâ spe*n*tô, y*e*-nâ, k*e* vâ-nâ, &c.) Also it is improbable that the words nâ and pourû*s*, as = pûrávas, should come together; 'let not a man men evil ingratiate (?).' Compare for sense here purviâs in one or more of its applications. Possibly the meaning is, 'let not a man be foremost in conciliating the wicked.' The Pahlavi likewise has kabed (freely). Ner. has: Mâ nara*h** pra*k*ura*m* durgatinâm bhûyât* yathâ katha*mk*it satkartâ. An important rendering is that of Professor

conciliate the wicked (as sycophant desiring aid), for with that (quiet mind of faith), Thy saints have brought full many a sinner unto Thee (as convert, and in penitence [1]).

16. Thus, O Ahura Mazda! this Zarathustra loves [2] the Spirit [3], and every man most bounteous prays [4] (beside him): Be Righteousness life-strong, and clothed with body. In that (holy) Realm which shines (with splendour) as the sun, let Piety be present; and may she through the indwelling of Thy Good Mind give us blessings in reward for deeds [5]!

Jolly, V.S. s. 47, 'möchte es wenige Verehrer des Lügners geben.' Cp. Y. XLVI, 1, where the composer speaks of the chiefs as on their side, 'not contenting' him.

[1] Or, with the Pahl.: Mûn aêtûnŏ lak harvisp-gûnŏ aharûbânŏ pavan anâk yakhsenund, for they consider all Thy saints as wicked. The rendering above is less natural as conveying the idea of a conversion (comp., however, yâ *g*(i)va*n*tô vîsp*eng* vaurayâ), but it renders the grammatical forms more simply. It is bad policy to force a text to express what we happen to believe to be a more natural idea. Using the hint of the Pahlavi here in an understanding manner, we might then render 'for they hold all sinners as holy.'

[2] I had long since compared vere*n*tê with v*rin*îte (-devấnâm ávas); and am now sustained by Bartholomae's view.

[3] Possibly the Spenista mainyu of Ahura. (See also Y. XLIV, 2.)

[4] The Pahlavi, on the contrary, bears evidence to the meaning 'comes,' which I cannot accept as 'tradition' in view of the following precatives.

[5] Ner.: 'The kingdom becomes established (in a manner completely manifest) in sun-publicity through mental perfection [ ]; and upon the workers of righteousness the Good Mind bestows it.'

YASNA XLIV.

Questions asked of Ahura with thankfulness and devotion.

Many verses may here have fallen out, or, on the other hand, the piece having been made up of homogeneous, but not originally connected fragments, has been left with some abrupt transitions. These, however, occasion very little difficulty in exegetical treatment, and are also not displeasing. The formula, 'This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright' seems to have been suggested by Y. XXXI, 14. We might therefore look upon this piece as composed later than Y. XXXI, but not necessarily in a later generation, or even from another hand. In fact the style is thoroughly homogeneous in certain places with that of pieces which we ascribe without a doubt to Zarathustra, and the signs of struggle point to the earliest period. It is possible that the words in Y. XXXI, and the formula here were of common origin, neither having any extended priority to the other, or the words may be original here, and derived in Y. XXXI.

Whether Zarathustra, or another of the narrow circle of religious leaders, was the composer throughout depends upon the further questions already more than once broached, as to how far a corresponding intellectual cultivation was extended at the period in the community, and as to what is the probability of the existence of more than one man in the small group, endowed with the peculiar qualities everywhere manifested in these hymns (see remarks in the Introduction and elsewhere). It is safest to say that Zarathustra composed most of the matter here before us, and that the supplementary fragments were composed under his dominating, if not immediate, influence.

Verses 1 and 2 seem an introduction, but hardly give added emphasis to the fact that the following questions were expressions of devotion, and only in a few instances appeals for knowledge. Verses 3–5 are certainly questions intended to express veneration while naming particular objects of devout inquiry. Verse 6 stands somewhat apart. Verses 7–11 enter into details touching the moral and religious improvement of the people, 12–14 are polemical, 15 and 16 are prophetical, &c.

1. More closely; the composer beseeches Ahura to speak to him, and in a manner characteristic of Himself as in distinction from the falsifying utterance of the opposing religion, which was so familiarly described as the religion of 'Falsehood.' He is entreated to reveal, as is His wont, 'the holy truth.' And the first question propounded to Him by the composer, as comprehensive of all others, is how he may offer homage, the homage of God Himself or of His bountiful spirit; (see mainyû in verse 2). And he further asks that Ahura may speak to him, showing him by what ceremonial he may conciliate him, and by what helps of grace that spirit, or Ahura Himself, may be inclined to draw near to him in accordance with his frequent prayer.

2. Once more he asks how he may serve that Spirit as the foremost one of Heaven (compare Y. XXXI, 8, and the Parsi vahist) who seeks for this addition of praise to praise, for as the supreme claim to our veneration, He had, as a guardian (Y. XXXI, 13) like Ahura in yet another place, held off destruction from all believing saints and from all repentant men (Y. XXXI, 3), and that although as 'the chief of Heaven,' yet also as a benignant friend.

3. From these introductory petitions, inserted perhaps before many lost verses, he proceeds in another tone, although he may still be said to say what is homogeneous to the foregoing: 'Yea, I ask how I may serve Him, O Mazda! for He is indeed Thyself, and therefore, to show my fervent homage, I ask: Who was, not the first establisher alone, but the first father, of our holy Order as the personified Immortal, and that not by creation, but by generation, as the parent generates the child? Who fixed for stars and sun that "way," the undeviating path through space, long noticed and studied by our fathers, as no random course, or unknown progress save Thee?'

4. The laws of gravitation then become the theme of his praise still expressed in the form of questions, also the atmospheric phenomena, especially the clouds driven by winds, not like the Maruts beyond the mountains perhaps, but still terrible as winds can be. But he cannot leave even the sublime objects of nature without thinking once more of that spiritual power, the strength of righteous character, which was justly more impressive, although still more familiar, and which he designates, as ever, by the 'Good Mind.' Here this great Immortal is left an immortal thought, and is spoken of as 'created,' not 'born' like Asha (in verse third). 5. Beyond a doubt, recognising the satisfactions of energetic life as well as the solaces of slumber, and as forming by their contrast the necessary

change which builds up happiness, he alludes to the supreme arranger as 'well-skilled,' and asks: Who so wisely relieved the day by night? But, again, he cannot close without reverting to the course of moral duty. 6. Seized with a doubt which again only heightens the fervour of his assurance, he asks whether indeed the facts which he proclaims are really what they seem. Whether piety, although aided by the Good Mind, implanted through Ahura's grace within us, will indeed at last, or soon, assign the purified Realm to the servants of Ahura, who were there among the masses before his eyes (taêibyô), or to Ahura Himself as their sovereign controller (taibyô?). And, as including all rural riches in herself, he asks for whom He had made the kine, not now wailing in her grief (Y. XXIX, 9), but 'delight-affording,' on account of the influence of Piety and Benevolence embodied in the Kingdom, inferring that God had made her for these same (the faithful masses). 7. And going yet further back; he asks who made that paternal and filial Piety itself, together with the Realm which it should leaven? Answering his own inquiries by an inference, he adds: I am pressing Thee with fulness in these questions, O Thou bountiful Spirit (compare mainyus, or mainyû in verse 2), the maker of all (sun, stars, and holy qualities). 8. Turning now to verbal revelations, he asks by what means his soul may prosper in moral goodness, praying that it may indeed thus advance as the expected answer would declare. 9. He prays that he may know how he may still further sanctify that Religion which the King of the Holy Realm (compare angheus vahistahyâ pourvîm), the one like Ahura (see Khshmâvatô and thwâvâs, verse 1) would teach, dwelling in the same abode (in which Ahura is also elsewhere said to dwell) with the holy Order, and the Good Mind (see Y. XLVI, 16).

10. Expressing all in a single word, he asks Ahura to reveal to him the Daêna, the Insight, the substance of that Religion which was 'of all things best,' and which alone could 'advance the settlements' with the holy ritual and moral Order as its ally, which would also render all their moral and ceremonial actions, and moral principles just by means of the divine Piety, which was their realisation in practice; and he closes with the exclamation that the wishes and desires of his soul, when most embued with wisdom, will seek for God.

11. Following out the influence of Âramaiti (that personified Piety), he asks to know by what practical means she may approach, and be realised as the characteristic of those to whom the holy Insight should be preached, avowing that God knows how prominent

he is in his devotion to the matter, and with what hatred seated 'in his spirit,' he views the opposing Gods. 12. Then casting a searching glance over the masses, and perhaps eyeing their several groups, each headed by its 'chieftainship' (sardenau senghahyâ), he cries, addressing Ahura formally, but the people really (so also elsewhere frequently), and says: 'Who is the righteous believer as regards these my questions asked of God to express my belief in Him, and who is the sceptic? Which man does the Angra Mainyu govern; or which is as evil as that chief himself?' And, recalling the galling fact that some are tolerated who not only do not assist but oppose his efforts, and perhaps having some half-convinced sections in full sight, he cries with bitterness: 'Why is this sinner, that chief who opposes me as Angra Mainyu opposed Ahura (compare paiti-eretê with âat môi paiti-eretê in Vendîdâd I), why is he not believed to be what in very truth he is? Why is he still countenanced?' 13. And then with a fierceness which reminds us of sâzdûm snaithishâ (Y. XXXI, 18), but which is deeper because proposing a less material remedy, he asks: 'Why must we abide the sight of these opposers, representing their Lie-demon as their Goddess? How can I drive her hence to Hell beneath, not to those who hesitate like these, pausing before they condemn the evil party, but to those who are already filled with their disobedience, and who, having no communion at all with us, receive no light, like these, from the reflected glory of the truth, and who have moreover neither sought nor shared like these, the counsels of Thy Good Mind. Yea, how,' he reiterates, 'can I deliver up that Lying Goddess, in the persons of her adherents, to the Holy Order, in the persons of the saints, into their hands, to slay her, not with the snaithis only, but to destroy her as a falsehood by the Mãthras of Thy doctrine, not barely to withstand these wicked corrupters, as we now do, enduring the silence of these masses at their deeds (verse 12), their fear of them, or their connivance with their creeds, but to spread slaughter among them to their total overthrow?'

15. He then presses on the coming collision, and prays to know to which of the hosts (compare ãsayau, Y. XXXI, 2) that claim the urvâtâ, Ahura will give the prize. 16. And who, he further asks, shall be the champion who shall lead the victors, the verethrem-gan (compare sargâ, Y. XXIX, 3) who will thus take up the snaithis and the Mãthra (verse 14), and so at once contend for 'both the worlds.' And he wishes him not alone pointed out, but approached, as Zarathustra was approached (Y. XLIII), by an obedient will, and moved to his holy work by the inspiring Good

Mind of Ahura, be that champion Ratu whosoever the Lord might wish. Salvation in the shape of success in his great attempt should be his portion (Y. XLIII, 1). 17. Half intimating that he himself may be the coming man, he begs to know when he can have that conference in which, as in the desired hemparsti and darsti of Y. XXXIII, 6, he may communicate more closely with Ahura, and through the revelation which might be vouchsafed, may become a protecting leader to secure the ever-named 'abiding two,' 'Weal' and 'Immortality,' which were the 'better than the good,' the 'vahista' of the saints.

18. A preliminary wish arising, he asks that he may receive the honorary gift of mated mares and a camel, as material for sacrifice before a battle (?), the highest interests of the people even, their lasting Welfare, demanding that he should receive this help. 19. For the monarch, or leading chief, who may withhold this justly deserved and needed help, or honour, he declares by the terms of his following question, that some instant judgment will be forthcoming, for the threats of the future condemnation seem for the moment only trite.

20. As a peroration, he appeals to the reason of the wavering groups, among the masses who still delay to call evil evil (verse 12), and he asks whether the Daêvas, as represented by their adherents, had ever been good rulers, when they had the power. Were not robbery and violence then the law with them as now? And did not the Kine, as representing the sacred herds and people, lift up her wailing voice?

(The piece from verse 12 seems to constitute a religious war-song. These verses seem not to have been originally connected with the calm and thankful contemplations in verses 1–10, but later united with them. Verses 12–20 stand in the closest connection with Y. XLVI, which has, however, preserved more of the elements of sorrow and discouragement which influenced the leader and his followers at times. See also XLIII, 11.)

Translation.

1. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; when praise is to be offered, how (shall I complete) the praise of the One like You [1], O Mazda? Let

[1] Some who seldom cite the Pahlavi follow it here; nîyâyisnŏ zak mûn aêtûnŏ nîyâyisnŏ î Lekûm [dînô]. Otherwise one might

the One like Thee declare it earnestly to the friend who is such as I, thus through Thy Righteousness (within us) to offer friendly help[1] to us, so that the One like Thee[2] may draw near[3] us through Thy Good Mind (within the soul).

2. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how, in pleasing Him, may we serve the supreme one of (Heaven) the better world[4]; yea, how to serve that chief who may grant us those (blessings of His grace, and) who will seek for (grateful requitals at our hands); for He, bountiful (as He is) through the Righteous Order, (will hold off) ruin[5] from (us) all, guardian (as He is) for both the worlds, O Spirit[6] Mazda! and a friend.

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read nemê with B.V. S. (variation) in Y. LVIII, 3, and render, 'how shall I bow myself in your worship?'

[1] The Pahl. hamkar*d*âr is likewise followed. The alteration to hâkôrenâ is very interesting, but, I think, hardly necessary.

[2] Observe the great difficulty in referring Khshmâvatô to a human subject. Here we have 'the homage of the One like You (of Yours(?)' some would say); in Y. XXXIII, 8 we have Yasnem Mazdâ (Ahurâ) Khshmâvatô; in Y. XXXIV, 2 Khshmâvatô vahmê; in Y. XLIX, 6 Tãm daênãm yâ Khshmâvatô Ahurâ. Khshmâvatô is sometimes merely a way of saying 'of Thyself,' as mavaitê=to me.

[3] Observe also the emphasis on his 'drawing near'; otherwise 'let Your one declare it to my friend' (?).

[4] See Roth, Y. XXXI, 8. See, however, also de Harlez's suggestion, perhaps after the hint of the Pahlavi: 'qu'elle a été l'origine?' Here we have another instance where an entire verse seems to allude to Ahura in the third person with an address to Him thrown in, or at the close. In connection with angh*e*us vahi*s*tahyâ Ahura must be the pourvya, as in Y. XXXI, 8, where Roth renders vornehmster. The guardian is also Ahura (see Y. XXXI, 13).

[5] I cannot fully accept the hint of the Pahlavi here as others do who seldom heed it. I do not think that 'sin' is so much indicated as 'destruction.'

[6] Mainyû is suspiciously expressive as a vocative; perhaps 'by spiritual power' would be safer.

3. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright: Who by generation[1] was the first father of the Righteous Order (within the world)? Who gave the (recurring) sun and stars[2] their (undeviating) way? Who established that whereby the moon waxes, and whereby she wanes[3], save Thee[4]? These things, O Great Creator! would I know[5], and others likewise still.

4. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, who from beneath hath sustained the earth and the clouds[6] above that they do not fall? Who made the waters and the plants? Who to the wind has yoked on the storm-clouds, the swift and fleetest two[7]? Who, O Great Creator! is the inspirer of the good thoughts (within our souls)?

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[1] 'As a generator (?).'

[2] Bartholomae follows the Pahlavi here as rendered by Ner. putting hv*eng* and star*e*m (-ãm) in the genitive, which is in itself far better than to regard dâ*t* as governing two accusatives. One would, however, rather expect hv*eng* starãm adhvânem dâ*t*.

[3] All follow the Pahlavi here, which renders with allowable freedom. Nerefsaitî (=Pahl. nerefsê*d*; Ner. nimîlati; Persian kâhad) might possibly be explained as a nasalised form of an Aryan correspondent to arbha, as na*s*=a*s*.

[4] Possibly from thine influence (?).

[5] The infinitive vîduyê (=vîdvê) lies here in an unusual place, at the end of the sentence. It is because the word has no stress upon it. The emphasis rests on the objects which he desires to know about; the entire connection deals with 'knowing'; it has no prominence.

[6] This rendering is not supported by the Pahlavi, which seems to report a rendering from some text with an a privative, and a form of dar. The 'unsupported' object might mean the 'air-space.' See the suggestion of Bartholomae 'the earth and the air-space,' comparing the later Sanskrit.

[7] Or 'for velocity,' adverbially. Velocity, however, in the abstract as the object yoked-on, is rather too finely drawn. I should prefer

5. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who, as a skilful artisan, hath made the lights and the darkness[1]? Who, as thus skilful, hath made sleep and the zest (of waking hours)? Who (spread) the Auroras, the noontides and midnight, monitors to discerning (man), duty's true (guides)[2]?

6. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright these things which I shall speak forth, if they are truly thus. Doth the Piety (which we cherish) in reality increase[3] the sacred orderliness within our actions? To these Thy true saints hath she given the Realm through the Good Mind. For whom hast Thou made the Mother-kine, the producer of joy[4]?

7. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who fashioned Âramaiti (our piety) the beloved, together with Thy Sovereign Power? Who, through his guiding wisdom[5], hath made the son revering the father? (Who made him beloved[6]?) With (ques-

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the fleet ones, the lightnings. My rendering follows the indication of another, as a dual, but not as to full exegesis. One naturally supposes the yoking together of the winds and dark clouds to be meant.

[1] Recall svàr yád ásmann adhipấ u ándho.—*R*v. VII, 88, 2.

[2] Ner.: 'Who gave us the lights with his keen discrimination? And who the darkness? Who, in his keen discrimination, gave (us our) sleep and waking; [that is, our diligence and activity?] Who is he who gave us the time of husaina, and the time of rapithvana [ ], and the method and calculation of him who discerns by means of the just rule [ ]?'

[3] So also the Pahlavi indicates by 'stavar.'

[4] So I prefer; but the indication of the Pahlavi deserves an alternative 'giver of bounty'; skar=kar.

'G*e*us azy*a*u' was later a common expression for a mature animal, but possibly vulgarised from its older special use here.

[5] Root nî (?).

[6] I thus add as the Pahlavi translator indicates such an element in uzemem.

tions such as) these, so abundant [1], O Mazda! I press Thee, O bountiful Spirit, (Thou) maker of all!

8. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, that I may ponder [2] these which are Thy revelations, O Mazda! and the words which were asked (of Thee) by Thy Good Mind (within us), and that whereby we may attain [3], through Thine Order, to this life's perfection. Yea, how may my soul with joyfulness [4] increase in goodness? Let it thus [5] be [6].

9. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how to myself shall I hallow [7] the Faith of Thy people,

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[1] Frakhshnî=in abundance (Pahl. kabed; Ner. pra*k*uram; Persian MS. bisyar). The thought refers back to any*â*k*â* vîduyê [-vê].

[2] Haug sagaciously renders as if m*en*dâidyâi were a miswriting for p*en*dâidyâi, which is in itself very possible, as an 'm' ɛ looks much like an inverted ɔ in MSS. So the Pahlavi records the irregularity also, from which Haug derived his idea. But Haug explains the word as an allusion to the five prayer-hours of the day. I doubt very greatly whether the five prayer-hours existed at the date of the composition of this passage. Such regulations grew up much later. The Pahlavi translator indicates elsewhere an accusative (m*eng*=mãm) with an infinitive 'that I should give forth,' which is in itself far from impossible. He was aware (!) that m*eng* could also equal man; see Y. LIII, 5.

[3] Vaêdyâi is infinitively used for vôizdyâi.

[4] I do think that it is necessary on the whole to postulate two similar words here (although Geldner's suggestion is most keen and interesting). Urvâkh*s*anguha and urvâkh*s*ukhti do not favour a comparison with vra*g* here. The Pahlavi is indifferent: *K*îgûn denman î li rûbânŏ zak î *s*apîr hû-ravâkh-manîh? So Ner. uttamânanda*h*. Barth. beglückend.

[5] Kâ-tâ=kéna-téna.

[6] Or, 'let those things happen to me;' gam means 'come' more frequently than 'go,' here. Lit. 'let it thus advance.'

[7] *K*îgûn denman î li dînô yô*s*-dâsar î avê*g*ak yô*s*-dâsaryôm? Ner.: Katham ida*m* aha*m* yat* dîni*m* pavitratarâm pavitrayâmi; [kila, dîni*m* katha*m* pravartamânâ*m* karomi]? As Zarathu*s*tra is

which the beneficent kingdom's lord hath taught me, even the admonitions which He called Thine equal, hath taught me through His lofty (and most righteous Sovereignty and) Power, as He dwells in like abode[1] with Thine Order and Thy Good Mind?

10. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright that holy Faith which is of all things best, and which, going on hand in hand with Thy people, shall further my lands in Asha, Thine order, and, through the words of Âramaiti (our piety), shall render actions just. The prayers of mine understanding will seek[2] for Thee, O Ahura!

11. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how to these your (worshippers) may (that Piety once again and evermore) approach, to them to whom O Lord, Thy Faith is uttered? Yea, I beseech of Thee to tell me this, I who am known to Thee as Thy foremost[3] of (servants); all other (Gods, with their

represented as sanctifying the Fire (in Y. IX, 1), so here he would doubly sanctify the Faith itself. He would 'hallow its name' and meaning.

[1] Pavana*s*-hamdemûnîh-ketrûnê*d* [pavan hamkhadûkîh].

[2] I cannot regard the caesura in this verse as possessing ordinary importance, the ma*hvya*u (mahy*a*u) *k*istôi*s* is especially dependent on the following words. The Pahlavi translator hints at an important solution, which is, that a pause should be made before us*e*n; 'the wish of mine understanding wishes, and I wish (am wishing); Khûrsand hômanam=I am content. If we can accept a break (a possibility far too little recognised), the us*e*n as representing a nom. sing. would refer back to the meaning in ma*hvya*u (mahy*a*u). But reading îstî*s* (as irregular for îstayô on account of the metre) we might regard us*e*n as a third pl. Or shall we take it as a quasi-third singular, us*e*n being usãm (*e*n=the nasal vowel; comp. û*k*ãm as a third sing. imper. after Barth.)? Let 'the wish (îstî*s*) of my enlightened understanding wish for Thee.'

[3] Compare 'aêshãm tôi, Ahura! *e*hmâ pourutemâi*s* dastê.'

polluted worshippers), I look upon with (my) spirit's[1] hate[2].

12. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who is the righteous one in that regard in which[3] I ask Thee my question? And who is evil? For which is the wicked? Or which is himself the (foremost) wicked one? And the vile man who stands against me (in this gain of) Thy blessing, wherefore[4] is he not held and believed to be the sinner that he is?

13. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how shall I banish this Demon-of-the-Lie from us hence to those beneath who are filled[5] with rebellion? The friends of Righteousness (as it lives in Thy saints) gain no light (from their teachings), nor have they loved the questions which Thy Good Mind (asks in the soul[6])!

Auserkoren is a fine but a bold rendering. Election is, however, included in all divine prescience.

[1] I have no doubt whatever, but that mainyeus and dvaêshanghâ belong together.

[2] The Pahlavi translation is as follows: 'That which I ask of Thee, tell me aright, O Aûharmazd! when shall the perfect mind come to those persons [that is, when does the mind of my disciples become perfect]? When shall it come to those who declare this Thy Religion, O Aûharmazd? Grant to me before these the proclamation of the truth. Against every other spirit which is malevolent I keep my guard.'

[3] Yâis adverbially, or possibly, 'with whom I question.'

[4] *Kyanghat* is, I think, simply the equivalent for *kî* (?) angha*t* =quî fit, how does it happen that? 'Stands' free for 'comes.'

[5] The Pahlavi on the contrary takes perenaunghô in the sense of combating, pavan anyôkhshîdârîh patkârênd='(who) are opposing you through disobedience.' It is far from certain that he does not indicate some improvement in text, or rendering.

[6] Or, 'the counsels of holy men.'

14. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how shall I deliver that Demon-of-the-Lie into the two hands of Thine Order[1] (as he lives in our hosts) to cast her down to death through Thy Mãthras of doctrine, and to send mighty destruction[2] among her evil believers, to keep those deceitful and harsh oppressors from reaching their (fell) aims[3]?

15. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright. If through Thy Righteousness (within our souls) Thou hast the power over this for my[4] protection, when the two hosts shall meet in hate[5] (as they strive) for those vows which Thou dost desire to maintain, how, O Mazda! and to which of both wilt Thou give[5] the day[6]?

16. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright,

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[1] Ashâi with Geldner.

[2] The Pahlavi anticipates us in the correct general sense here. It has nas,hônisnŏ. The Persian MS. renders the Pahlavi, hamâvandî nîst dehand î darwand.

[3] Anâshê seems regarded as an infinitive by the Pahlavi translator, anayâtûnisnŏ. 'For the destruction of those deceivers' is an obvious alternative to the rendering above (â nâshê?).

[4] Geldner and Roth render ma*t*=Sanskrit mad; otherwise 'with complete protection.' Or is ma*t* ablative for genitive: If thou rulest over me to afford me protection? The Pahlavi affords no indication.

[5] The Pahlavi translator erred widely in his attempt to render the word anao*k*anghâ. As it is certain that his MSS. differed from ours often, they probably did so here. The verse alludes beyond a question to some expected battle in a religious war, and perhaps in a religious civil war. It is the most positive allusion to the 'strife of the two parties' (Y. XXXI, 2) which has come down to us. It was a struggle concerning the religious vows, or doctrines; avâis urvâtâis yâ tû Mazdâ dîdereghzô.

[6] The Pahlavi renders vananãm by 'good thing,' explaining 'the sovereign power.'

who smites with victory[1] in the protection (of all) who exist, and for the sake of, and by means of Thy doctrine? Yea, clearly reveal a lord having power[2] (to save us) for both lives. Then let (our) Obedience[3] with Thy Good Mind draw near to that (leader), O Mazda! yea, to him to whomsoever[4] Thou (shalt) wish that he should come.

17. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how, O Mazda! shall I proceed to that (great) conference[5] with You, to that consummation of Your own, when my spoken wish[6] shall be (effected) unto me, (the desire) to be in the chieftainship[7] (and supported) by (the hope of) Weal and Immortality (those saving powers of Thy grace), and by that (holy) Mãthra (Thy word of thought) which fully guides our way through Righteousness (within).

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[1] Verethrem·gâ thwâ, following the Pahlavi with Westergaard, Geldner, and Bartholomae.

[2] Compare Y. XXIX, 2 and Y. XXVIII, 3; or it may mean 'promise to establish' (Barth.). *K*izdî, however, hardly seems to need an infinitive with it; it may mean 'appoint.' Compare dá*m*su (patnî) for a better sense than 'house-lord,' also for d*e*ng patôi*s*.

[3] This casts additional light on the 'one that should come' in Y. XLIII, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15.

[4] This recalls ahmâi yahmâi u*s*tâ kahmâi*k*î*t*.

[5] The comparison with *g*ar has long circulated among Zendists. Many adopt it. It agrees admirably with the Pahlavi as to sense: Aîmat, Aûharmazd! damânŏ kar*d*ârîh î Lekûm, when is Your appointment of the time?

[6] The Pahlavi va mûni*k* zak î li gôbi*s*nŏ hômand khvâstar.

[7] Va sardâr yehevûni*s*nîh madam Haurvada*d* va Amerôdâ*d*; Ner. Svâmino bhavishyanti upari Avirdâde Amirdâde; comp. also Y. XLIX, 8 fraêst*a*unghô *a*unghâmâ. Professor Jolly compares bûzdyâi with φύεσθαι (Inf. s. 194). The long since circulated comparison with bhu*g* seems to me hardly so probable. It may, however, deserve an alternative; 'to enjoy Weal and Immortality'; but accusatives

18. (And, having gained Thine audience and Thine Order's sacred chieftainship), then I ask of Thee, O Ahura! and tell me aright, how shall I acquire that Thy Righteous Order's prize, ten (costly) mares male-mated, and with them the camel[1] (those signs of honour and blessing for Thy chief. I ask Thee for these gifts for sacrifice). For it was told me for the sake of our Welfare (in our salvation), and of our Immortality, in what manner Thou[2] shalt give[3] to these (Thy conquering hosts) both of these Thy (gifts[4] of grace).

19. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; (in the case of the recreant, of him) who does not give this (honoured) gift to him who hath earned it; yea, who does not give it to this (veracious tiller of the earth, to him who in no respect shows favour to the Demon-of-the-Lie, even to the) correct speaker[5] (of Thy sacrificial word), what shall be his sentence at

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do not fall so naturally to the end of the sentence in Gâthic or Vedic, without preceding related or qualifying words.

[1] Those suspected of no partisanship for the Pahlavi translation follow it here as against Haug, who translated the words ustremʌâ by et amplius! It means a camel; so the Pahlavi translator rendered many centuries ago before Europeans even knew what the Indian úshʌra meant, which simple analogy Neryosangh first drew. Horses were material for sacrifice among the Persians according to Herodotus. The reasons for the prayer are not fully expressed.

[2] So better than as a first person aorist subjunctive, if taêibyô is to be read. The Pahlavi, however, read taibyô, which is not lightly to be passed over.

[3] The rendering 'take' has long circulated. I do not, however, prefer it here.

[4] Weal and Immortality, but hî might refer to the two objects, 'the mares' and the 'camel.'

[5] The ideal Zarathustrian; comp. Y. XXXI, 15; XLIX, 9.

the first (now at this time, and because of this false dealing? I ask it), knowing well his doom at last[1].

20. (And how as to our deluded foes?) Have Daêva-(worshippers) e'er reigned as worthy kings? (This verily I ask of Thee, the Daêva-worshippers) who fight[2] for these (who act amiss? Have they well reigned) by whom the Karpan and the Usig(k) gave the (sacred) Kine to Rapine[3], whence, too, the Kavian in persistent strength[4] has flourished? (And these have also never given us tribal wealth nor blessings), nor for the Kine have they brought waters to the fields for the sake of the Righteous Order (in our hosts), to further on their growth (and welfare)!

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[1] So also the Pahlavi followed by all. Ka*d*âr valman pavan zak vinâsi*s*nŏ aîtŏ fratûm; [aîga*s* pavan-vinâskârîh pâ*d*afrâs fratûm maman]? Âkâs hômanam zak mûn valman aîtŏ afdûm [mamana*s* darvandîh]? Ner. (with regard to him) who does not give the reward which has come for the one fitted for, or deserving of, it [to *G*arathustra's equal], (the reward) which the truthful man; [that is, the good man] is giving to him, what is the first thing which happens through this sin of his? [that is, what is his first chastisement in consequence of this fault?] (For) I am aware of what his punishment shall be in the end [ ].

[2] The Pahlavi translator either had a text with some form of pâ, or was otherwise misled. He renders mûn netrûnd, but gives the word the adverse sense of 'hindering' in the gloss. Ner., however, has pratiskhalanti which points to peshyêi*n*tî, and also tends to show that other MSS. of the Pahlavi (and among them the one used by Ner.) read differently from our three, K5, D. J., and the Persian transliteration. Kãm = Ved. kám with dat.

[3] See Y. XXIX, 1.

[4] Professor Wilhelm 'vigour' (De Infin. p. 14).

YASNA XLV.

The Doctrine of Dualism. Homage to Ahura.

This hymn bears fewer traces of a fragmentary condition than others. It recalls Y. XXX, and, like it, appears to belong to a period, or to an interval, of political repose and theological activity. It is smoother and more artificial than is usual, and it goes straight on its way from beginning to end. A powerful adversary had just been crushed. It was the dusasti of Y. XXXII, 9. This may well have been the result of the conflict alluded to in Y. XLIV, 15, 16, and possibly in Y. LI, 9, 10, also urged on by the fierce Y. XXXI, 18 probably often repeated in lost hymns.

An assembly is addressed as in Y. XXX, 1, but this time as coming 'from near and from far.' It may very possibly have been the winning side in a late struggle. The first verse sounds like a congratulation.

It might be said to be intended to be sung, if not shouted, to a multitude whose outskirts were by no means within easy reach with the voice. At all events attention is summoned with three differing expressions. 'Awake your ears to the sound,' literally 'sound ye,' in a receptive sense; ('let the sound peal in your ears'), then 'listen' (sraotâ); and then 'ponder' (măzd*a*unghôdûm). 'The Antizarathustra, the evil teacher par eminence, has been defeated,' he declares, 'and he will never again destroy the peace of our lives (Y. XXXII, 9, 11). His evil creed has been silenced, and his tongue can no longer shout out its periods of persuasion or invective (Y. XXXI, 12) beside our preachers.'

2. He then reiterates the chief doctrine for which the parties had been at war, and which they should now see clearly in the light of their victory. 'The foul evils of society do not lie within the control of the holy Ahura in such a manner as that he either originates, or tolerates them. They are, on the contrary, the product of the personified Anger of the Daêvas, the Mainyu in its evil sense, the Angra (angry?) Spirit. Between this being, or personified abstraction, and Ahura, there is a gulf fixed. (Never do we see any aspersions upon Ahura's name, or a suspicion of His purity as shown by complicity with cruelty, or the toleration of evil passions.) It is also to be noted that the defeated dusasti may have possibly been a Daêva-worshipper chiefly as being a heretic from this Faith

of Ahura, believing Him to be implicated in the creation, or permission of sin and suffering, or, if the burial or burning of the dead was forbidden at this time, then possibly a heretic on these questions also. But yet, as a recreant Mazda-worshipper he may have claimed a rightful allegiance to the urvâtâ, and the future blessings, as well as temporal advantages, involved in a correct discipleship; and so he may have used the name of the sacred tenets of the Religion itself to help on a nefarious warfare. In fact he may have been a self-styled Mazda-worshipper, but not of 'Zarathustra's order,' not owned at all in any degree by the genuine adherents, and met as a real, if not an open, Daêva-worshipper.

The ardent prophet therefore declares the utter severance between the good and the evil, the God and the Demon. It is a popular corollary to Y. XXX, 3–6. The two spirits came together indeed at first to make life, and its negation, and they co-operate, if such a term can be applied to an irreconcilable antagonism out of whose antitheses and friction sentient existence alone becomes possible. Their union consists in opposition, for if they blend, they each cease to be what they are. They are, while upholders of existence, yet separate for ever, and that as to every attribute and interest.

3. And the sage goes on to assert that in this he is proclaiming the first Mãthra of this life which the all-wise Mazda had revealed to him. And, whether sure of the victorious masses before him, or whether on the contrary perfectly aware that many a group among them had been more convinced by the snaithis than by reason, he presses at once upon them that one terrible doctrine which seems unfortunately too needful for all successful and sudden propagandism, and he declares that they who do not act in a manner accordant with what he speaks, and even thinks, (having formerly announced it), to such delinquents this life should end in woe.

4. Proceeding in a happier vein, he then dwells upon the fatherhood of God. He will declare this world's best being who is Mazda Himself. He is the father of the Good Mind within His people, when that Good Mind is active in good works. So our piety, when it is practical, is His daughter, for no pretended good intention can claim relationship with Him, nor can any idle sentiment. He needs the 'ready mind' within His servant, and He is not to be deceived (compare Y. XLIII, 6).

5. Returning once more to the Mãthra, and this time to hold out rewards rather than to utter threats, he declares that Happiness and Immortality would be the portion of those who listened to, and

pondered his revelation, and that Ahura Himself would likewise approach them with the rewarding actions of His Good Mind, for Ahura was also in all good actions on the one hand, just as His Immortal Archangels on the other had their objective existence likewise in the believer's soul.

6. Turning from admonition to worship, he announces, not what he terms the 'first' (verse 3), nor the 'best' (verses 4 and 5), but the 'greatest,' element of all, implying that praise, which he now expresses, includes both prayer and doctrinal confessions, and he calls on Ahura both to listen and to teach. 7. It is the 'greatest' element indeed, for it concerns those spiritual blessings which not only the offerers who are now living will seek after, but those also who shall live in future ; nay, even the spirits of the just desire them in the eternal Immortality. And these blessings are, according to a well-remembered law, woe to the wicked, and that, not only from outward discipline, but from inward grief. And Ahura had established, so he adds, the beneficent, but, as regards the wicked, still solemn regulations by the exercise of His Sovereign Power as the controller of all (Y. XXIX, 4). 8. Zarathustra (or his substitute) then professes his eagerness to serve the Lord with these words which he had called the 'greatest,' and because he had seen Him with his very eyes, which he explains as meaning that he had known Him through the Righteous Order in his soul, and therefore he prays and hopes to pronounce these greatest praises, not in the assembly (Y. LI, 3) alone, but in the 'Home of sublimity or song' (Y. L, 4).

9. And he desires all the more fervently to do homage to Ahura, because He approaches him with the Power of His divine Authority in weal or woe, blessing both men and herds so long as they multiplied under the influences of Piety. 10. As the praises were the 'greatest,' so he seeks to 'magnify' the Lord in the Yasnas of Âramaiti, Ahura being renowned by His unchanging purpose, for He will bestow the 'eternal two' in His holy Kingdom, when it shall have been made firm! 11. Yea, he would seek to magnify Him who contemns the Daêvas and their party as much as they, in their turn, profess to make little of Him and His religious Kingdom, contrasted as they were with Ahura's prophet, who honoured Him in the holy Insight, the Daêna of the Saoshya*n*t. And this Saoshya*n*t is declared to be the controlling master of every faithful worshipper, and he, or the faithful venerator of the reviled Ahura, is also as our friend, brother, nay, like Ahura Himself (verse 4), our very Father in the Faith.

Translation.

1. Yea, I will speak forth; hear ye; now listen, ye who from near, and ye who from afar have come seeking[1] (the knowledge). Now ponder[2] ye clearly all[3] (that concerns) him[4]. Not for a second time shall the false teacher slay our life (of the mind, or the body). The wicked is hemmed in with his faith and his tongue![5]

2. Yea, I will declare the world's two first[6] spirits, of whom the more bountiful thus spake to the harmful[7]: Neither our thoughts, nor commands, nor our

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[1] Ish means 'to come seeking.' The bavîhûnê*d* of the Pahlavi, followed by many, is by no means incorrect.

[2] The reading mãzd*a*unghôdûm was suggested to me by Dr. Aurel Stein previously (as I believe) to its announcement elsewhere. Before this the indication of the Pahlavi (which always hesitates to change a MS. regarded at the time as sacred) had been followed by all with its necessary error.

[3] The '*e*' in *k*ithr*e* must represent a nasalised vowel, as in m*e*hmaidî.

[4] Îm may be merely a particle.

[5] I would here strongly insist upon an alternative rendering in the sense of the Pahlavi. The rendering above is given on principle. A text should never be changed, if it is possible to render it as it is. Read, 'the wicked confessing (varetô, active sense) evil beliefs with his tongue.' The Pahlavi has zaka*s* sarîtar kâmakŏ va zaka*s* darvandîh pavan hûzvânŏ hêmnunê*d*. Many, with this view, would at once read varetâ without MSS.

[6] Observe the peculiar pouruyê (pourviyê, if not a locative), the two first things, principles, forces; so in Y. XXX, 3.

[7] Notice that vahyô akem*k*â (in Y. XXX, 3) necessarily apply to the mainyû, and not only because, as nominatives, the words fall to the end of the sentence. Here we have analogous adjectives applied unmistakably to the two. The neuters correspond with vahi*s*tem manô and a*k*i*s*tem manô, and are of capital importance as

understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our deeds, nor our consciences, nor our souls, are at one[1].

3. Thus I will declare this world's first[2] (teaching), that which the all-wise Mazda Ahura hath told me. And they among you who will not so fulfil and obey this Mãthra, as I now shall conceive and declare it, to these shall the end of life (issue) in woe.

4. Thus I will declare forth this world's best (being). From (the insight of His) Righteousness Mazda, who hath appointed these (things)[3], hath known (what He utters to be true; yea, I will declare) Him the father of the toiling Good Mind (within us). So is His

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expressing that abstract conception which renders the Gâthas so much more impressive as the earliest documents of their kind.

[1] The Pahlavi thus glosses: I do not think what thou thinkest, [for I think what is pious, and thou thinkest what is impious]; nor our teachings, [for I teach what is pious, and thou, what is impious] —nor our religions, for mine is the Gâthic, and thine that of the sorcerer; nor our souls, [for he who takes his stand on my religion, and he who takes his stand on thy religion, are apart; their souls do not occupy the same position]. Ner.: na*k*a dîni*h* [yato me dîni*h* gâthabhavâ te*k*a râkshasî*].

[2] The 'first teaching' was a prominent idea with the Zarathustrians. Z. is called in the later Avesta the paoiryô/kaêsha (sic). He hardly plays the rôle of a reformer in the Avesta. He is mentioned after others chronologically, not as repudiating them. He might better be termed reviver. Yãm is difficult; perhaps daênãm is to be understood, or *y*em (mãthrem) read; see verse 4, angh*e*u*s* ahyâ vahi*s*tem. Neither pourvîm nor vahi*s*tem are adverbs.

[3] Some change the text here to another which corresponds to some of the terms better. It should, however, first be rendered as it stands; the obscurities may well be owing to idiosyncrasy in the composer; possibly also to an affectation of obscurity (or 'dark speech'). How can Mazda be said to 'know Himself?' or how could any but Ahura be spoken of as 'the Father of Vohu Manah and Âramaiti?' He recognised Himself as having generated V. M. and Â. He was conscious of the completed relation.

daughter through good deeds (our) Piety. Not to be deceived is the all-viewing[1] Lord.

5. Yea, thus I will declare that which the most bountiful One told me, that word which is the best to be heeded by mortals. They who therein grant me obedient[2] attention, upon them cometh Weal to bless, and the Immortal being, and in the deeds of His Good Mind cometh the Lord.

6. Aye, thus I will declare forth Him who is[3] of all the greatest, praising through my Righteousness, I who do aright, those who (dispose of all as well aright). Let Ahura Mazda hear with His bounteous spirit, in whose homage (what I asked) was asked[4] with the Good Mind. Aye, let Him exhort me through His wisdom (which is ever) the best.

7. (Yea, I will declare Him) whose blessings the offerers will seek for, those who are living now, as well as those who have lived (aforetime), as will they

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[1] Hishas looks irresistibly like a nom. sing., but may it not be a nom. actoris from the redup. root? Compare hîshasa*t* (although the Pahlavi renders with a different cast of meaning). What Indian word to compare here is hard to say. I prefer Bartholomae's earlier view (as to the meaning) with the Pahlavi harvispŏ nikîrî*d*ar. By dropping the later glosses, the sense of the Pahlavi comes out as usual, much closer to the Gâtha.

[2] Observe the vigour possessed by 'Sraosha.' It designates the angel of Obedience; and at the same time it is the only word which can here bring out the sense when it is understood in its actual meaning; so continually with the words Vohu Manah, Asha, &c.

[3] Lit. 'Him who I, doing aright, (praising Him with His immortals) who (all likewise) are (beneficent).' Or it may be 'that which.'

[4] So with many who hold the least to the hints of the Pahlavi. Otherwise I would render 'there is furtherance,' comparing afrashîma*n*tô.

also who are coming[1] (hereafter. Yea, even) the soul(s) of the righteous (will desire) them in the eternal[2] Immortality. (Those things they will desire which are blessings to the righteous) but woes to the wicked. And these hath Ahura Mazda (established) through His kingdom, He, the creator (of all).

8. Him in our hymns of homage and of praise would I faithfully serve, for now with (mine) eye, I see Him clearly, Lord of the good spirit[3], of word, and action, I knowing through my Righteousness Him who is Ahura Mazda. And to Him (not here alone, but) in His home of song[4], His praise we[5] shall bear.

9. Yea, Him with our better Mind we seek to honour, who desiring (good), shall come to us (to bless) in weal and sorrow[6]. May He, Ahura Mazda, make us[7] vigorous through Khshathra's royal power,

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[1] Bvai*n*ti*k*â (sic) seems, as elsewhere, to express 'those who are becoming.'

[2] The Pahlavi uniformly errs, or is strangely free, with this word. The sense 'continuous' is here admirably adapted.

[3] This word seems evidently used almost in a modern sense of 'character,' 'disposition.' Elsewhere we are in doubt whether to refer it to the Sp*e*nista Mainyu of Ahura, or to Ahura Himself.

[4] Paradise; possibly 'home of sublimity.'

[5] The change from singular to plural is frequent. Ner. varies from the Pahlavi in the last verse, improving upon it: Evam tasmai pra*n*âmam antar Garothmâne nidadâmahe. This was probably an intentional improvement, as the Persian MS. follows our Pahlavi text. His MS. of the Pahlavi probably read barâ yehabûnd.

[6] Or, 'who has created weal and sorrow for us with good intention, (and as our discipline);' but this is hardly probable. Ahura did not originate evil. Sp*e*n*k*â, asp*e*n*k*â are used adverbially (see Y. XXXIV, 7).

[7] I hardly agree to reading verez*e*ny*a*u (sic) here in the sense of 'homes.' The meaning is 'endow us with efficiency' in the pursuit of the objects mentioned in the context. Or 'the propitiation and

our flocks and men in thrift to further, from the good support and bearing[1] of His Good Mind, (itself born in us) by His Righteousness.

10. Him in the Yasnas of our Piety we seek to praise with homage, who in His persistent energy[2] was famed to be (in truth) the Lord Ahura Mazda, for He hath appointed in His kingdom, through His holy Order and His Good Mind, both Weal and Immortality, to grant[3] the eternal mighty pair to this our land (and the creation).

11. (Him would we magnify and praise) who hath despised the Daêva-gods and alien men, them who before held Him in their derision. Far different are (these) from him who gave Him honour. This latter one is through the Saoshya*n*t's bounteous Faith, who likewise is the Lord of saving power[4],

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reverential honour' may have been more directly in the composer's mind; 'may He endow our (worship) with efficiency that it may accomplish its desired result.' See the positions of the words.

The Pahlavi translation also bears witness to the rendering above, with its erroneous or free varzî*d*âr avŏ lanman.

[1] As it is impossible for those who have studied the subject to believe that the Pahlavi translator did not know the meaning of amavandîh in Zend, we must suppose him to have had some form like hazah before him instead of huzã(thwâ*t*).

[2] The Pahlavi translator, rendering this word in the two other places by pavan astûbîh, had evidently some reason for seeing a form of nãman here. The natural conclusion is that his MS. read differently in this place. Ner. renders him appropriately.

[3] Dãn looks like an accusative infinitive here (Bartholomae); otherwise the two verbs must be regarded as having indefinite pronouns understood, 'one assigns,' and 'they grant.'

[4] I cannot see the applicability of Agni's title 'house-lord' here; compare dá*m*supatnî as adj. referring to páti.

a friend, brother, or a father to us, Mazda Lord[1]!

YASNA XLVI.

Personal Sufferings, Hopes, and Appeals.

In treating this most valuable section, we can as usual presuppose that the several verses were not originally composed in the order in which they now appear. Verses 1–3 seem like a cry 'from the depths.' In verse 4 animosity appears; and an appeal to the energy of some of his warlike adherents seems to prove that, with verses 5 and 6, the composer addressed it to an assembly; 7–10 are questions and appeals to Ahura, but, as a matter of course, they are none the less really intended to impress the hearers, as well as to animate the mind of the reciter. Verses 11 and 12 were again intended to be delivered to adherents.

Verse 13 is addressed to them in terms. Verse 14 would be regarded by some as little suited to the connection, and the rest seem spoken to an assembly of chiefs. However different they may be as to the particular time or circumstances of their origin, they are in general so homogeneous even as to pitch of intensity, that, with a little exercise of the mind, we can as usual see the reasons why they were put together, or were consecutively composed; and in poetic diction sudden changes neither displease nor surprise us. 1. Beyond a doubt the leading prophet is the figure in the first and second verses; and those verses are so free from imagery that we hold them as describing beyond any reasonable

[1] He who despised the Daêvas, they returning the contempt is probably the same person expressed by the two hôi in the previous verse. It is therefore Ahura, but the words which mean friend, brother, father, are grammatically connected with *ye*—mainyâtâ, the one who reverenced Ahura. The expression 'father' gives a strong impression that Ahura is referred to, notwithstanding the vocative. Particularly as we have father in verse 4. The word 'brother,' however, inclines one to the more closely grammatical view.

question, together with many other passages in the Gâthas, the afflictions and discouragements of Zarathustra himself. He knows not whither to turn, although he speaks as a public person and in command of forces which are scanty indeed (verse 2), but yet still able to take the field (Y. XLIV, 15, 16); and his movements also concern large districts ('lands'). He is not driven from his house, but from his country. It is superfluous to say that religion, although blended with a natural ambition, is his leading motive. How he shall satisfy Ahura is the one problem which he aims to solve; but his case at this particular juncture shows every discouragement.

2. Not supposing that his yâ = yéna is merely lost in the meaning 'that,' we see that in relieving his burdened mind he exclaims, not that he knows that he is poor in means and troops, but that he knows why it is thus. It is the dregva*n*t's work, whom we may also well understand as the drugva*n*t, the accursed enemy, who holds back (verse 4) the bearers of the Holy Order from all success in their efforts to gain a righteous livelihood from the favoured cattle culture (Y. XXIX, 2), and who, as he with grief long since foresaw, should he attain to power, would deliver up home, village, district, and province to ruin and death (Y. XXXI, 18). He therefore cries to Ahura in common with the Kine herself (Y. XXIX, 9), and his 'behold' is only a changed expression for her exclamations (Y. XXIX, 1).

As a friend, he would have the good Mazda to regard him as seeking an especial form of grace; and he would beseech Him to fill up his need (Y. XXVIII, 11) in his extremity, teaching him, not the value of flocks and followers alone, but of that îsti which lay deeper than the material wealth which he yet lamented, even the blessings of the Holy Order in every home. 3. And therefore he continues: Teach me and tell me of those great thoughts, the khratavô, the salvation-schemes of the Saviours, elsewhere also spoken of as the khratu of life (Y. XXXII, 9); for these saving helpers would, through a severe conflict and after many a reverse, at last bring on 'Completed Progress.'

4. But he must arouse himself from the relief and indulgence of his grief, he therefore springs to action, and with a cry which we hear elsewhere (Y. LIII, 9), and which was in all probability often uttered in hymns now lost to us, he urges the reward for the chief, who at the head of his retainers, shall expel the world-destroyer, the dusasti (Y. XLV, 1), from power and from life. And what is that reward? It seems to be merely the recognition and confirmation of merit among the faithful. The man who shall

expel, or destroy, the heretical tyrant shall be eminent in the recognition of his services in the support of the people and their sacred agricultural civilisation.

That was to be reward enough, and even that prestige (pourvatâtem) was to be given back to God in offering for still further service (Y. XXXIII, 14).

5. And every righteous official is urged to repeat the proclamation as a warning to every polluted Daêva-worshipper whom he can discover, or to whom his voice can reach, as well as to those secret adherents who would seem to need encouragement. The charged official is to assail the destructive opponent (Y. XXXII, 6–8), only after careful discrimination. He is to approach the evil chief, the hostile *hv*aêtu (of the blood), as distinct from the inferior noble, or the peasant clansman, and he is to tell him fully of the price set on his head. 6. 'And the superintendent who has the power, and does not thus carry out these instructions, shall himself be delivered over to the bonds of that Lie-demon whom the evil "kinsman" serves. For there is no compromise in the dualistic moral creed. The man who favours the evil is as the evil, and the friend of the good is as the good himself; so had the Lord ordained.'

7. Then, as so often elsewhere, he turns his thoughts to the outward emblem as the sign of inward grace, the sacramental Fire without which the masses would have had no help to fix the eye, or draw prostrations, and he asks with the question of profound devotion: Whom have they (Thy Saoshya*n*ts, verse 3) set me, as strengthener in these storms, save Thee and Thy symbolic flames? Yet even here he names the Good Mind with them, and the Order.

8. 'But,' he continues, 'may he who would destroy my settlement find every influence and power combined to form his ruin; may all things keep him back from prosperity, and may nothing keep him back from harm.'

9. He calls, then, for a leading helper who may help him magnify Ahura, not merely in religious celebrations, but in that universal advance of the sacred 'cause,' which follows Ahura's 'conciliation' (verse 1).

10. As if to hinder the discouragement of those who hear his own unburdenings of grief, he declares that he will never leave the faithful few who follow him; he will go with them to the 'dread assize' itself, as if to help them pass the last of tests.

11. But the 'wicked,' open or concealed, should not share these hopes; their conscience, ever the remorseless executioner, shall curse them, as they try to pass the Judgment Bridge; and hurled

from that narrow path (it becomes narrow to the faithless), they shall fall to 'eternal' Hell.

12. Their destruction is not, however, yet decided; there is not only hope for the tribesmen of Ahura, but for the pagan, and not for the 'alien' only, but for the Turanian enemy, whose very name had been a synonym for suffering. If these even shall repent, they may be blest; and some had already turned. The converted tribe Fryâna offered many pious proselytes. These would help on the righteous order together with the holy people, and God would dwell with them as well.

13. Rhetorically referring to himself as in the third person, or else representing some second speaker who names his name, he can still offer his reward to any prince who will yet come up with his retainers to his cause, not kept back by the many refusals which he had met (verse 1), nor discouraged by the scant numbers of his bands; and that reward is one which might yet be efficacious to induce self-sacrificing succour, for in addition to what had been said (see verse 4) he could declare spiritual life from Ahura to be the portion of every faithful follower, and with it future temporal wealth. And he should declare this true recruit the 'good mate' in the service, the first helper (verse 9) of the tribes.

14. Here we have what seems a question conceived as uttered by some one in the throng, or else simply rhetorically thrown in: 'Who is that friend, that powerful coadjutor who is thus offered this reward, and for such a service?' Zarathustra names the king. But he diverts the minds of hearers from a pernicious trust in individuals.

He would appeal, so he implies, not to one man only, although that one be Vistâspa, the heroic, but to all whom Ahura would recognise in His assembly, through the inspired suffrage of the mass.

15. And first he addresses the group made up chiefly of his family, the Spitâmas; they were, as he implied, enlightened in the sacred lore, and among the foremost therefore of the Ar(e)dra. 16. He then calls on Frashaostra, with the Hvôgvas, exhorting all to continue in their righteous course, in harmony with those whom they wish for as Saviours for the land, assuring them that they will reach at last that sacred scene where the 'Immortals' dwell with God. 17. 'That scene,' he further adds, 'where the faithful sing their praises in perfection, using the true metres' (as sacred as the Vedic). And he declares that Ahura, who discerns the truth infallibly, will heed and answer; for the praises sung there will be those of obedient men who offer to the cause. 18. He once

more holds out his spiritual rewards as the best gifts of the inspired revelation, threatening as usual commensurate visitation upon the oppressing clans, while both promises and threats are in harmony with Ahura's will, for that alone has been his guide in every statement. 19. After all complaints, and threats, and stern injunctions, he closes with the once more repeated word 'reward,' and that for every man who shall aid in 'his great affair' (Y. XXX, 2), and he appeals to God Himself, asserting His inspiration for all that he has said.

Translation.

1. To what land to turn[1]; aye, whither turning shall I go? On the part of[2] a kinsman (prince), or allied peer, none, to conciliate, give[3] (offerings) to me (to help my cause), nor yet the throngs of labour, (not) even such as these[4], nor yet (still less) the evil

[1] The Pahlavi translator sees the usual meaning in nemôi and nemô. He also accepts kăm zăm adverbially after the constant Greek usage. 'In what land shall I establish my religion (as it is here rejected); whither with my praises (of the true God) shall I go?' The rendering is so much richer that I turn from it with great reluctance.

[2] It is to be regretted that able scholars should so hastily change the Gâthic text here without first trying to render it as it is. This is all the more necessary, as each independent writer disputes emendations. Pairî I think ought to stand. The *hv*aêtu, airyaman, and verez*e*nem are also elsewhere alluded to, as appertaining to the hostile party sometimes, and therefore not among those from among whom (parâ?) the prophet would be expelled.

[3] Dadaitî as a third plural has long been suggested with the eagerness of discovery. Its subjects would then be khshnâus, and that implied in yâ verez*e*nâ. But the construction is difficult thus, and it may be greatly doubted whether we had not better alter our discovery back into the singular with the Pahlavi. I am greatly confirmed in my view of the grammatical form of khshnâus by Bartholomae's decision for a nominal form. Otherwise it would be a third singular, with loss of the final dental.

[4] H*e*kâ seems to be an irregular form (see Y. LVIII, 4). I can

tyrants of the province. How then shall I (establish well the Faith, and thus) conciliate Thy (grace), O Lord?

2. This know I, Mazda! wherefore I am thus unable to attain my wish[1], and why my flocks are so reduced in number, and why my following is likewise scant. Therefore I cry to Thee; behold it, Lord! desiring helpful grace for me, as friend bestows on friend. (Therefore to meet my spirit's need, and this as well) declare and teach[2] to me the Good Mind's wealth.

3. When come, Great Giver! they who are the day's enlighteners[3], to hold the Righteous Order of the world upright, and forward pressing? When are

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only make an exclamatory isque=talisque of it. The Pahlavi renders freely as if some form of hi=to bind were before him (recall hôis?), or perhaps he read haĥâ, rendering as=these all together, hamsâyakik; Ner. ye svasrenayo.

[1] So the Kine complained of him in Y. XXIX, 9 as anaêsha; so also the Pahlavi, explaining akhvâstar [aîgham denman atûbânîkîh maman râî khavîtûnam]. He proceeds li amat kam ramak va amatik kam-gabrâ hômanam, explaining anaêshô as not being an îshâ-khshathra. Mâ=smâ notwithstanding position (?).

[2] 'Nim wahr' has long since circulated as a rendering for âkhsô; and with îstîm in the sense of 'prayer,' it has afforded the admirable sense 'observe, take heed of the desire of the pious.' But we have a positive proof of the meaning 'teach,' 'declare' for khsa; see Y. LXV, 9 (Wg.). So also in Y. XXVIII, 5. That Ahura possessed an îsti is clear from Y. XXXIV, 5. And if the sage could ask, 'What is your îsti (wealth)? what is your kingdom (power over possessions)?' it is certainly not strained to suppose that he could say here; 'tell me concerning your wealth,' especially as he bewails his poverty. Îsti is in antithesis to the idea expressed in kamnafshvâ and kamnânâ. So also the Pahlavi as translated by the Persian 'hezânah.

[3] Ukshâno would seem to be an ancient error for ushâno, as the Pahlavi translator renders as if reading ushâ in Y. L, 10, and

the schemes of the saviour Saoshya*n*ts with (their) lofty revelations (to appear)? To whom for help does he (their chief) approach, who has Thy Good Mind (as his fellow-worker [1])? Thee, for mine exhorter and commander, Living Lord! I choose.

4. (But e'er these helpers come to me, all rests as yet in gloom.) The evil man is holding back [2] those who are the bearers of the Righteous Order from progress [3] with the Kine, (from progress with the sacred cause) within the region, or the province [4], he, the evil governor, endowed with evil might [5], consuming [6] life with evil deeds. Wherefore, whoever hurls him from his power, O Mazda! or from life, stores for the Kine in sacred wisdom shall he make [7].

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not ukhshâ. Otherwise 'increasers of the days' is a fine expression, but suspicious in view of the Pahlavi rendering in Y. L, 10. Ner.'s *vikâ*s*ayitryo (sic) is striking, but I cannot claim for it all that it seems to offer, as Ner. elsewhere renders forms of vakhsh by those of kas. The Persian follows the Pahlavi.

[1] Comp. Y. XLIV, 1.

[2] Pâ in the sense of 'keeping back from welfare' as well as in that of 'protection,' a sense first taught us by the Pahlavi writers, is now at last generally acknowledged. It now, like many other suggestions of the Pahlavi, actually casts light in the rendering of the analogous Vedic word.

[3] So the mass of MSS. with the Pahl. min fravâmi*s*nŏ; Persian az raftan. The expression might refer to the 'going of the kine,' as representing the people in her 'path.'

[4] Comp. Y. XXXI, 18.

[5] Pahl. zak î pavan dû*s*-stahamak; Ner. dush*t*o balâtkârî. The elements seem to be du*z* + hazô + bâo(=vâo).

[6] Ush in Iranian seems to have the sense of destruction combined with it sometimes; hence aoshah, aoshi*s*nŏ.

[7] *K*ar can well mean 'attain to.' Pathm*eng* as=paths (so I formerly rendered) gives a far feebler sense than that indicated by the first Zendist, the Pahlavi writer. The 'wisdom' of preparing stores for the kine, even if we suppose an animal only to be meant,

5. (Yea), he who, as ruler, treats no coming applicant with injury[1], as a good citizen (or nobly wise) in sacred vow and duty, and living righteously in every covenant, who, as an uncorrupted judge, discerns the wicked (that leader who, rejecting me, would keep back those who propagate the Faith), let him, (this righteous judge,) declare (the vengeance) to that (hostile[2]) lord, (my) kinsman. Yea, let him crush him when he sallies forth[3] (to approach us for our harm)!

6. (And he who leaves him in his guilty error has my curse.) Yea, he who has the power[4], and will not thus (with stern reproof[5]) approach him, shall go to

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is obvious. The Iranian winter was something very different from that in India. But the kine is not alluded to without a certain figurative meaning: she represents the people, and as such she cried aloud; and Zarathustra received the commission to relieve her sufferings as such. That the word hu*k*istôi*s* stands in the genitive should not disturb us. The 'care for the kine' was a matter of national importance, and 'wisdom' could not better be exercised than in this direction.

[1] Or we may render 'he who as ruler does not bestow favours upon him who approaches with injury.' The hint of the Pahlavi favours this.

[2] *Hv*aêtavê is here, as in Y. XXXIII, 4; Y. XXXII, 1, and the first verse of this chapter, the hostile chieftain called 'kinsman' in an aristocratic sense by Zarathustra and his group.

[3] I compare uzûithy*a*us*k*a which is used of the breaking forth of water. The Pahlavi translator seems to have had some such idea 'mûn lâlâ hen*gîdŏ*,' but with him the entire line, which divides all writers, favours the sense 'in saving him from his impiety.' Khrûnyâ*t* is a verbal form (with Bartholomae).

[4] The Pahlavi translator sees the root is=to wish in ismanô, 'who does not willingly approach him;' or 'who does not approach desiring (and seeking?) him.'

[5] I am gratified to see that another takes nearly this view of this line. He has 'verfolgt.'

the abode of the Lie, (and) the enchainer[1]. For he is evil who is the best one to the evil, and he is holy who is friendly to the righteous, as Thou didst fix the moral laws[2], O Lord!

7. Whom, then, as guard, O Mazda! hast Thou[3] set me[4] then when that wicked one still held[5] me for his hate? Whom (had I) then but Thee, Thy Fire and Mind, Ahura! by deeds performed in which Thy Righteous rule is saved and nurtured? Therefore that spiritual power[6] (vouchsafing me) for the (holy) Faith (its truths) declare.

8. And as to him who (now by evil power) delivers up my settlements to harm, let not his burning (wrath) in deeds attain[7] me. But bearing back[8] the (evil will and evil influence of such), let these things come (back) to him in anger. Let that to his body come which holds from[9] welfare; but let no (help)

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[1] Haêthahyâ, as a masculine, is awkward, as would be baêthahyâ, so the Pahl. (of the terrifier). A loc. of haithya may be correct, taking dâmãn also as a loc. Otherwise 'to the creatures of the Lie, and the enchainer (or terrifier).'

[2] Or, 'as Thou didst make the souls at first.'

[3] So with K6, K9 (Barth.).

[4] Some render 'me' here, who seem elsewhere loath to translate thwâvan*t* as=like thee, thee. Khshmâvatô, thwâvãs, and mavaitê, in Y. XLIV, 1, may be rendered, 'of you,' 'thou,' and 'to me.'

[5] So the Pahlavi indicates. I have, however, elsewhere, as against tradition, rendered as if the root were dar(e)s; 'has set his eye on me for vengeance.'

[6] One might be tempted to read ta*t* môi dãs tv*e*m; 'that granting me, do Thou speak forth for the faith.'

[7] The Pahlavi translator indicates the root sâ by his rêsh; so read as alternative, 'let him not wound us.'

[8] The meaning 'but contrariwise' has been ventured on. The indication of the Pahlavi is 'in opposing;' pavan pa*d*îrak yâmtûnisnŏ.

[9] The Pahlavi here misses the point, and taking pâyâ*t* in its usual

at all (approach him, which may) keep him back from misery. (And let this happen as I speak) from (vengeful) hate, O Lord!

9. But who is the freely helping one who will teach me foremost[1] how we may adore Thee, Thou the well to be invoked[2] as in Thy deeds, the holy[3], bountiful Ahura? What (words) the Kine's creator[4] spake for Thee by aid of, and to aid, the Righteous ritual Order, these words of Thine, (Thy people coming) with Thy Good Mind, are seeking[5] now (to gain and learn from) me[6], O Mazda Lord!

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sense, falls into confusion. The ancient scholars, like some of their successors, could not always believe that pâ could mean 'to hold back from good' as well as from evil. They recognised it sometimes, giving us our instruction on the subject, but not here.

[1] Did the composer appeal to some powerful coadjutor here, or does he rhetorically express his perplexity?

[2] Zevîstîm must equal forms of hû; but from the constant evidence of the Pahlavi to the meaning 'endearing,' one is much inclined to suggest a reading as if from zush.

[3] Ashavanem is applied to Ahura, and cannot so well mean 'righteous' here. 'Holy' is the more proper term in this connection, while spe*n*tem is necessarily excluded from that meaning by its occurrence with ashavanem in immediate connection.

[4] Notice that the word tashâ occurs here with no mention of wounding in the connection (see note 6 on page 6).

[5] I am here recalled to the Pahlavi by some who rarely name it. I had rendered, 'these words are inciting me (in duty) through Thy Good Mind;' so ish often in the Veda. The Pahlavi translator, like his successors, scandalised at the difficult forms, also anticipated his successors (as elsewhere often) in getting free from the difficulty. He did what is exactly equivalent to what is now practised by scholars (sometimes too often). He rendered the text as if changed from what he could not understand to what he could understand, adhering to the right roots however, which I now follow. He knew that ishe*n*tî mâ did not mean, 'I am seeking,' but he could not credit the words before him.

[6] We have now a suggestion which must often have presented itself to those who read the *Rig*-veda constantly, and that is (so

10. Whoever, man or woman, shall give to me those (gifts) of life which Thou hast known [1] as best, O Mazda! and as a holy blessing through (Thy) Righteous Order, a throne (established) with (Thy) Good Mind, (with these I shall go forth; yea, those) whom I shall (accompany and so) incite [2], to the homage of such as You [3] (on earth), forth to the Judge's Bridge (itself) with all of them shall I lead on [4] (at last).

11. (And they and I have every need for help, for now) the Karpan and the Kavi will join in governments [5] to slay the life of man with evil deeds, they whom their own souls and their own conscience will becry [6]. And when they approach there where the Judge's Bridge (extends, unlike the believing ones of God, who go so firmly forth with me as guide and helper, these shall miss their path and fall [7]), and

Bartholomae) that mâ may equal smâ here and often elsewhere. It is well possible, as the 's' often disappears.

[1] Notice once more the expression, 'Thou hast known;' so in Y. XXVIII, 11, the composer confides the very direction of his petitions to the discrimination of the Deity. We gain from this the true sense of peresâ n*a*u yâ tôi *e*hmâ par*s*tâ; Ahura's question and prayer are mighty when repeated by us, because He has known what is best, and what are the true dâth*eng* for which we should ask.

[2] This sense corresponds admirably with the connection; Ner. utthâpayâmi.

[3] Such as you=you as in the plural of majesty, or as referring to Ahura and His Bountiful Immortals (so often).

[4] 'Go forth.'

[5] Or, 'with kings;' but the Pahlavi has, avŏ khû*d*âyîh ayûgênd mûn Kîk va Karapŏ.

[6] So the Pahlavi indicates. Otherwise 'will harden,' or, if khraodat is read, 'will rage (against).'

[7] Inserted to shed light on the last line; so the later Parsism.

in the Lie's abode for ever shall their habitation[1] be.

12. (But for the penitent there is yet hope; for all our former foes shall not thus fall, as from the *K*inva*t* Bridge to woe, for) when from among the tribes and kith of the Turanian, even among the more powerful ones of the Fryâna, those shall arise[2] who further on the settlements of Piety with energy and zeal, with these shall Ahura dwell together through His Good Mind (in them), and to them for joyful grace deliver His commands[3].

13. Yea, he who will propitiate Zarathu*s*tra Spitâma[4] with gifts midst men, this man is fitted for the proclamation, and to him Ahura Mazda will give the (prospered) life. And he will likewise cause the settlements to thrive in mental goodness. We think[5] him, therefore, Your good companion to (further and maintain) Your Righteousness (and meet for Your approach).

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[1] I am again brought back to the Pahlavi, having formerly rendered 'bodies,' which I would now put in the second place.

[2] The Pahlavi, although as usual free or erroneous as to forms, gives us the valuable hint of hengî-aît for uz*ge*n (sic=*g*ayen).

[3] Here we have the clear evidence of the conversion of a border tribe. The Zarathu*s*trians had saved some Turanian clan from plunder or annihilation, and so secured their friendship. These became known as the 'friendly people.' That true Zarathu*s*trian piety may have arisen among them is of course possible.

[4] It need hardly be said that this reference to Z. in the third person, does not prove that the composer was not Z. himself. One might even say that his authorship was even not less probable on this account.

[5] Let it be noted that the Pahlavi translator gives us our first critical knowledge as to the true writing and meaning of m*e*hmaidî; or will scholars object that he renders in the singular? Valman pavan zak î Lekûm Aharâyîh hamîshak minâm khûp hamkhâk; Ner. dhyâyâmi *s*uddha-sakhâya*m*.

(A voice from among the Chiefs.)

14. (But where is such an one ?) Whom hast thou Zarathustra[1] ! thus a holy friend for the great (effort of the) cause ? Who is it who thus desires to speak it forth ? (Zarathustra answers. Aye, such an one I have.) It is our Kavi Vîstâspa[2], the heroic ; (and not he alone, but all) whom thou shalt (as in Thy prophet) meet[3] in the assembly, O Ahura Mazda ! these likewise will I call (to my attempt), and with Thy Good Mind's words.

15. O ye Haêkat-aspas, Spitâmas ! to you will I now address my words, since ye discern the things unlawful, and the lawful, for these your actions to establish[4] (firmly on its base) for you the Righteous Order through those which are the Lord's primeval laws.

16. (And to the Hvôgvas would I likewise speak.) Thou Frashaostra Hvôgva (whom I see)[5]; go thou

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[1] Shall we regard this verse as misplaced because the subject is in the second person ? It is probable (as of very many verses) that it was often recited by the composer, or others, in a different connection, and perhaps originally so ; but it was a happy thought for the effect to introduce it here. Let it be supposed that this and the previous verse were arranged to be spoken by another voice during the public recital. We see that the interest is much increased by the intruding strophe.

[2] This passage may be regarded as recording the call of Vîstâspa to the holy work. Zu=hû need not always express the invocation of the gods.

[3] Others, 'unite.'

[4] Or, 'ye take to you the righteous character to yourselves,' as the infinitive is difficult ; but in that case Khshmaibyâ becomes awkward. The translation of dâ as 'take' has long been familiar.

[5] Obviously composed for an occasion when the several parties would be present.

(forth) with the generous helpers[1], with those whom we are praying for as for salvation to the land. Go thou where Piety joins hand in hand with the Righteous Order, where are the wished-for Realms of Good Mind, where Mazda in His most honoured[2] home abides,

17. Where in your measured verse[3] I will declare aloud (the praises), not in unmeasured lines, *G*âmâspa Hvôgva! but songs of homage (will I weave) with ever gained Obedience in offering. (And unto Mazda) will I chant them, yea, to Him who will discern aright what things are lawful (or) unlawful[4] (which I thus do, or utter), and with His wonder-working thoughts[5] of Righteousness (attend).

18. (For) whosoever (offers) sanctity[6] to me, to him shall be the best gifts whatsoever. Yea, of my

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[1] Ar(e)dra seems to be especially applied, and might be left unrendered.

[2] I see no impossibility whatever in such a rendering, literally in 'his choice-abode;' so also the Pahlavi indicates: tamman aîgh Aûharmazd pavan kâmak dên demânŏ ketrûnê*d*. The question is of 'going' and 'dwelling,' and the meaning 'abode' is quite in point. As to var, see îstâ khshathrâ; and compare mazdâvarâ. Aside from this, vardmãm = in blessing.

[3] The Pahlavi again, with its followers, gives us our first hint at the general meaning here. What else can his pa*d*mân and apa*d*mânîk mean, but the regularity, that is, the rhythm and cadence of the words?

[4] Dâthem*k*â adâthem*k*â would be 'the truth and the heresy' in general.

[5] If ma*n*tû is taken as an instrumental, (can it be an act. imper.?) vistâ might occupy the place of a preterit, but it looks far more like a participle, and might be regarded as forming a compositum with vahm*eng*. Supply the dat. (?) pers. pron. understood before y*e*.

[6] The alteration to yau*s*, considered as an aorist, has long circulated, but seems now, like so many of the bolder conceptions, to be given up. Yao*s* is the sister word of the Vedic yós, and

(spirit's) wealth will I bestow on him through Thy Good Mind (which I give), but oppressions will I send on him who as oppressor will deliver us to anguish, O Mazda! desiring, as I do, to satisfy Your choice by righteous (vengeance). This is the decision of mine understanding and my will.

19. (Yea, this I earnestly announce.) He who from Righteousness (in mind and life) shall verily perform for me, for Zarathustra, that which is thus most helpful (for my cause) according to my earnest wish (and through my words of urgent zeal) on him shall they bestow reward(s) beyond this earth, with all the mental[1] blessings gained through the sacred mother-kine[2]. And these things (all) did'st Thou (Thyself) command to me, O Mazda, Thou most wise[3]!

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shows us that some shade of sanctity may inhere in that word. The Pahlavi renders more indefinitely by 'yân'=a helpful blessing.

[1] The Pahlavi translator, however, saw mənâ, rendering avŏ li. His text may well have justified him.

[2] Bearing; or is it 'fit to drive?'

[3] The Pahlavi here reports another text.

(Supplementary Notes. Asŕît, in verse 18, may equal 'verily indeed.' Vahistâ, &c.='the best things of my wealth will I assign to him through the Good Mind.' The meaning 'wealth' seems much called for here, and if here, then in verse 2. Vasnâ in verse 19 may mean 'through grace.')

THE GÂTHA(Â) SPE*N*TÂ MAINYÚ (SPE*N*TÂMAINYU(Û)).

This Gâtha, consisting of Yasna XLVII–L, takes its name from its commencing words. Like the other Gâthas it owes its existence as a collection to the nature of its metre, as its matter is homogeneous with that of the others. Its metre may be said to be Trish*t*up, as its lines have each eleven syllables, and are arranged in stanzas of four.

A general view precedes each chapter. The grouping of hymns in this Gâtha has, as usual, little or nothing to do with the question of their relative age.

YASNA XLVII.

The Bountifulness of Ahura.

As in every instance, we may have here only the fragments of a more extended piece; but also, as ever, the circumstance does not diminish the value of what remains. Although some signs of authorship apart from Zarathu*s*tra are present, the later verses are not at all remote, so far as the period of time which they indicate is concerned, from the Zarathu*s*trian verses, and are therefore of nearly equal interest, possessing the advantage moreover of affording data for estimating the progress of change.

1. The Spe*n*tâ mainyû here is not identical with Ahura, but is, as so often, His spirit. It is more than possible that the memorable application of the word spe*n*ta to the seven, giving us the Ameshôspends, the Amshaspands of literature, derives its origin from the first verse here before us, or from lost verses of a similar character. All the seven seem purposely and artificially grouped here, although 'His Spirit' is of course not one of them. The commencing word spe*n*ta further attracted attention in so far as to form the theme for a sort of play upon words in the later epilogue of Visparad XIX. By means of this His indwelling Spirit (which idea, or expression, has probably no direct connection with the 'Holy Spirit' of the Old and New Testaments, but which, as giving the designation 'spirit' to the Ameshôspends, may well have been the original of the 'seven spirits which are before the throne of God'), by means of this

blessed spirit, that is, in accordance with his inmost thoughts, Ahura bestows a gift upon the ideal saint (verses 4, 5), upon him who works the best results for Zarathustra (Y. XLVI, 19), the Ratu, and the prophet (Y. XXIX, 6, 8). And this gift is declared to be the inseparable two, Happiness in every particular, and then both the prospect and realisation of the continuance of that Happiness in Immortality. And these He bestows, not through His immediate action, which no human intellect, or susceptibility, could take in unaided, but by His especially revealed Benevolence, His Best Mind, as His representative, in accordance with His plan of Order and Purity, pervading every moral as well as every spiritual regulation, and by the exercise of His Royal Power, sent forth as the 'archangel' Khshathra, and embodied in the polity of the sacred Zarathustrian state, and this as influenced in all its relations, public and domestic, by practical piety called Âramaiti, Ahura's daughter (the ready mind). Such a revelation of the component parts of the mind and will of the Deity, the simplest labouring class could understand for the moment, and for some decades; but all was, as a matter of course, soon to be overgrown with the old weeds of superstition and of myth.

2. Falling into detail and varying expressions, the composer prays that Ahura may carry out His holy scheme into action by the busy hands and fingers of domestic piety, and by the preached and recited words of the Good Mind from the mouth and tongue of faithful priests. So, and so only, would He become the Father of Asha, the divine Order, and of moral and ritual regularity among men.

3. From discourse concerning God, he arises, as so often, to an address to Him. That Spirit (referred to in the verses 1, 2) is Ahura's own, for He is the One who makes it bounteous; He is the bountiful One who has created the sacred symbolic Kine, the emblem and the substance of 'joy,' representing at once the possessions of the holy people, and those people themselves. And He it is who, in answer to her wail (Y. XXIX, 1, 9), has spread for her the meadows 'of Piety' as arranged in the consultations (Y. XXXIII, 6) made on her behalf.

4. And this 'Spirit,' as might be expected, does not confine its attention to the inspiration of Piety alone. The justice of Mazda is vindicated. The wicked are afflicted under its influence with a long wounding (Y. XXX, 11) for their sins, and for their cynical preference for prosperous men of bad and dishonest character as well as of heretical faith.

5. But he expresses his confidence that Ahura Mazda will, in the end, set all aright. He will, unlike the persons just mentioned, give unto the ashavan, not kasu alone, but paru, (not a meagre share, but fulness) of whatever is the best, while the dregva*n*t and the aka (verse 4), the faithless and the wicked, although they may be isvanô, prosperous, will only taste the enjoyment of their wealth aside from God, and therefore marred. So long as they pursue their usual course, they live in actions inspired not by the bountiful spirit, but by the Evil Mind, a mind as aka as the person alluded to in the words paraos (kâthê) akô dregvaitê in the previous verse.

6. But, as ever, the moral appeals, and ascriptions of praise, lofty as they are, are not left without the support and service of the ritual. God will give these gifts, and all which are the best, but in connection with His Fire imparted to these struggling sides (Y. XXXI, 2), the believing and the faithless (verses 4, 5), through the increase of His Piety and Order; for that piety, as ever the instructress, will convert all those who come to her, and seek her light (Y. XXX, 1; Y. XLV, 1). Nay, she will cause all the living to choose and believe in God (Y. XXXI, 3).

(If the first two verses here are more like the work of a disciple, the last four show again the original tone. It must never be forgotten, however, that later and even interpolated portions are, in their sense, also original, and differ but slightly in their great age from pieces more directly from the first composer.)

Translation.

1. And to this[1] (man, His chosen saint), Ahura Mazda will give[2] both the two (greatest gifts, His)

[1] Or, 'to us;' but in that case it would be the Kine who 'took counsel' as mentioned in the third verse. This is, however, far from impossible, as she is mentioned as uttering her wail, and being answered by her maker in Y. XXIX, 1, 2. So understanding, 'to us' becomes an admirable rendering for verse 1; but in verse 3, it is strained, as the Kine for whom (Y. XXIX, 9) Zarathustra was appointed, could not so readily be declared to be the one which was given to 'us,' she representing 'us' in that place to a great extent. There is a certain plausibility about the rendering 'to us,' but I think ahmâi refers to ashaonê understood (see verses 4 and 5). The Pahlavi, moreover, is against a first person.

[2] Dān (Geldn.) seems to be a 3rd plural aorist subjunctive; the

Universal Weal and Immortality, by means of His bountiful Spirit, and with His Best Mind, from (the desire to maintain His) Righteous moral Order in word and deed, and by the (strength and wisdom) of His Sovereign Power, (established) in Piety (among His folk).

2. Aye, (that blessedness, which is the) best[1] (creation) of this most bounteous spirit, Ahura Mazda will bring forth in action with words from the mouth and tongue of His Good Mind (within His seers), and by the two hands[2] of Âramaiti (His Piety as she lives within the soul). And by such[3] wise (beneficence is) He the father of the righteous Order (within our worship and our lives).

3. And Thou art therein, O Ahura Mazda! the bountiful One who appertains to, and who possesses, that (most bounteous) spirit in that Thou art He who for this[4] (man, in whom this spirit works) hath made the joy-creating Kine. (And as to her), for her, as

plural being owing to the fact that Ahura gives with the other Ameshôspends. Dã might also be the relic of the proper word which represents the participle; comp. dãs (sic).

[1] The idea of the summum bonum seems to have early developed itself, and from this constant use of this word in the neut. singular and plural, and also with anghu.

[2] Notice once more the pronounced personification of both Vohu Manah and Âramaiti; see Y. XXX, 8, and Y. XLIV, 14, &c. The Pahlavi translation notices the dual form pavan kolâ II yadman.

[3] The Pahlavi seems to lead those who regard ôyâ as=a form of ava; it has zak î.

[4] This is the ahmâi of the first verse, (but always possibly='to us,' if the verses are not to be brought into any kind of connection.) Otherwise it obviously refers to ashâunê* in 4 and 5; so the Pahlavi throughout. See ahmâi and hôi in LI, 6.

joyful meadows[1] of her peace, wilt Thou bestow (Thine) Âramaiti (who is our Piety as earth considered), since he[2] (for her) hath taken counsel with Thy Good Mind, Lord!

4. (But this Thy bounteous spirit doth not alone bestow rewards and blessings on the good.) The wicked (foemen of the Faith) are harmed, and from (the motives which move) that bounteous spirit (of Thine own), O Mazda[3]! but not thus the saints. (And yet the ruler's pride would ever slight the righteous.) The feeble man alone stands free to give in kindly obligation[4] to Thy saint, but having wealth and ruling power, the evil (man) is (at the service) of the wicked, and for much[5].

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[1] Many would say that we have here an instance in which the identity of Âramaiti with the earth is recognised in the Gâthas. I would say, on the contrary, that here we have an instance in which a poetical conception gave rise to a later error or fantastical association. Piety, with frugal virtue, induced a thorough husbandry; and secured the hushiti, peaceful home-life. She gave meadows to the Kine; at the next step she poetically represents the meadows, and then the earth. If vâstrâi, it would be for 'nurture.'

[2] Or 'she,' as she once bewailed in a colloquy. Otherwise the person who was appointed to care for her interests is meant. Compare Y. XXXIII, 6, where the righteous Zaotar speaks as desiring counsels (hǝmparstôis) in the interest of the pastures, and the laws of the sacred agriculture. Cp. also the later reproduction of the idea in an extended form in the Vendîdâd. The zaotar of Y. XXXIII, 6, may have been the ashavan of verses 4 and 5.

[3] Voc. with K5 (Barth.).

[4] The Pahlavi gives us, as usual, our first surmise as to the meaning of 'kâthê;' I follow Geldner with regard to it as against Haug. The expressions here are not literal.

[5] Isvâkît connects only indirectly with kaseuskît, as kâthê intervenes. I regard paraos akô dregvâitê as presenting the true antithesis to kaseuskît nâ ashâunê. The isvâ may have kît merely from the influence of jingle, being at the head of the line like kaseus; isvâ means

5. But Thou wilt give these gifts, and through Thy (most blessed and most) bounteous spirit, O Ahura Mazda! to this[1] Thy holy saint, for they are whatsoever is the best; but far[2] from Thy love the wicked has his portion, abiding in the actions of the Evil Mind.

6. Aye, these things wilt Thou give (to him), O Thou Ahura Mazda! and through Thy bounteous spirit, (and) by Thy Fire as in a good bestowal to

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of itself 'possessing means.' Paraos may depend on kâthê understood, as kaseus depends on it expressed. Moreover, hãs in all the instances in which it is used ends the sense, and here is separated by the caesura from paraos, which, however, is of no great importance. The discourse is of the wicked; the holy are incidentally mentioned, and here their ill-treatment is signalised. Akô cannot well mean 'hostile' here; see also akât in the following verse. Isvâkît, if understood with nâ, alters nothing. 'A man was desirous of little for the service of the saint, but even when he himself was rich, (in the desire) of much was the evil for the evil.' Or, taking kaseuskît as governed by isvâkît understood with kâthê as before understood in the last line: 'Only a man (men) (possessed) of little was at the service of the righteous, while an evil man (men) possessed of much (was at the service) of the wicked.' The other translation is: 'Even a man of little means stands to the willing service of the saint, but a man even of large means is hostile (?) to the wicked.' This is very glib and so attractive, but I cannot accept it in view of the context. Gâthic expression is often unfortunately far from glib; but cramped, awkward, and apt to contain more thought than could be conveniently expressed within the counted number of syllables. The glib rendering needs other language than that in the MSS. See the following verse, which directly contrasts the treatment of the good and evil by Ahura Himself.

[1] See ahmâi in verse 1, and ashaunê in verse 4. Ahura treats the saint in a manner the reverse from that practised by the nâ kaseus* and akô, not giving sparingly to the good, nor much to the wicked.

[2] The Pahlavi gives us our first surmise here, as usual, by gavît min hanâ î lak dôshisnih.

the two striving[1] (throngs) through the prosperous increase of our Piety, and of the Righteous ritual and moral Truth; for that (Piety of ours instructing) doth teach[2] the many coming ones who seek her (face)!

YASNA XLVIII.

Anticipated Struggles and Prayers for Champions and Defenders.

This chapter divides itself quite naturally into sections. 1–4 belong together, then 5 and 6, 7 seems less closely connected; then follows 8–12.

1. A struggle is evidently at hand, whether the same as that to which allusion is more than once made, by incitation, as in Y. XXXI, 18; with anxious expectation, as in Y. XLIV, 15, 16; or as if in a sense of victory, as in Y. XLV, 1; or of defeat, as in Y. XLIX, is difficult, or rather impossible to determine. But with the verses 10, 11, 12 in view, together with the dispirited, Y. XLIX, 1, we shall say at once that, if this verse was intended to connect with them, an armed struggle had been expected, whether the decisive one or not, we need not say.

The saint, that is, the pious adherent to the Holy Order, whatever may be the result of the preliminary struggles, is encouraged by a view of the end. 2. But the burdened worshipper craves still further reassurance before the storms of battle came once more upon him. 3. For little as the assurances of Ahura are valued

[1] Or, 'by the two arâ*n*i;' but compare the ăsay*a*u in Y. XXXI, 2 just preceding ranôibyâ; so here the ashavan and dregva*n*t are mentioned in a preceding verse. The Pahlavi is unvarying with patkardârânŏ. I will not positively decide as to this point; generally, however, the preferred rendering is in the text, while on very many questions there is nearly an even balance of probabilities.

[2] Or, 'chooses to herself;' but a causative sense may be expressed by an intensive form; the Pahlavi also here bears evidence in the same sense to a causative by hêmnunê*d*, itself, however, meaning only the object caused; namely, the belief.

by the heretic, to the man who understands the true relations, what Ahura declares by means of His inspired prophets, the secret-announcers, this is, of all things, best; (he need not ask as elsewhere, Y. XXXI, 17). 4. And whoever would hope for spiritual growth and purity must turn his mind to that word of the Deity, and pursue its teachings faithfully, and so at last his fears will vanish, for his doubts will disappear. He will understand as the Lord has taught.

5. This verse seems a prayer to Âramaiti; when the long struggles shall have found their issues, and the one party or the other wins the day, let not that party be the evil alliance with its monarch. For, if the government is set up, and carried on with all the prescribed ceremonial and moral exactness of the wise *K*isti; if men who toil for the sacred Kine, and with the virtue of those who cultivate her, hold the reins of power, and can so suppress the predatory raids on defenceless, as well as unoffending victims, then no gift of Ahura, since the tribes became a nation, could be looked upon as a greater, or as so great a blessing, as the correct Authority, and the Order of the Faith.

6. For that sacred Kine, as so often already implied or stated, was all in all to the pious worshipper. It was she, representing, as she did, all wealth in herds, who alone could sustain the home-life of happy industry. And this is the reason why Ahura had originally caused the herbage to grow for her support.

7. Urging the overthrow of the spirit of Rapine in accordance with the Kine's complaint, he exhorts the armed masses to energetic and offensive valour.

8. He then vehemently, although only rhetorically, asks how he may use the proper prayers to rally the needed coadjutors among the chiefs (Y. XLVI, 9) to carry on the struggle. 9. Again he utters a cry for relief in his suspense, and of entreaty for light as to the rewards, which did not concern this life for its own sake (verse 1) merely or chiefly; but which were spiritual blessings received here in preparation for the spiritual world. 10. 'When,' he repeats as one among similar questions four times repeated, 'when shall the ideal men appear whose thoughtful plans (Y. XLVI, 3) shall drive hence the polluted schemes of the false priests and of the tyrants (Y. XLVI, 1)? 11. And when shall Âramaiti, the kindly piety of home, appear, she who, like the earth, spreads pastures for the peaceful kine, when shall she appear with holy Khshathra (later well called an angel, or archangel) the personified Authority of God over home and state, without which

an anarchy as bad as that of the Evil Authority (verse 5) might continue or recur; and who was the champion-chief who would give them peace through blood (Y. XLVI, 4; LIII, 9)? In a word, to whom, as to the coadjutors of such a leader, would the light of reason, and the true faith come to inspire and to guide them?' 12. There is but one only class of human combatants whom he would thus match against that Demon of furious Rapine (v. 6), toward whom the evil on their part at their first creation rushed as to their leader (Y. XXX, 6), and these are the saving Saoshya*n*ts, the vicegerents of the Immortals upon earth, the religious princes Vî*s*tâspa, *G*âmâspa, Frashao*s*tra, and with them, as the greatest among all, he who was, with much probability, the speaker in the passage, that is, the Ratu appointed by Ahura for the kine and for men, Zarathu*s*tra Spitâma elsewhere and later called, with hyperbole, the first tiller, warrior, and priest.

Translation.

1. If through his action[1] in the offering of gifts in accordance with the Righteous Order, (Thy saint[2]) shall smite the Demon-of-the-Lie (the inspiring spirit of our foes), when that in very truth shall come[3], which has been (and is still yet) proclaimed as a deceit[4], (when it shall come) in the Immortal life, regarding (as it does both) men (to bless), and Daêvas[5] (to afflict them), then shall (Thy faithful worshipper) increase thereby the celebration of Thy praise, O Lord! and with it blessings[6] (for Thy folk).

2. Tell me then, Lord! (the end), for Thou dost

[1] The Pahlavi has also pavan zak dahisnŏ; but a false gloss gives an erroneous concrete [pavan tanû î pasînŏ]. Recall âdâi paitî.

[2] See ashaônô, ashâunê (sic) (Y. XLVII, 4, 5).

[3] Read 'as âshûtâ'=has been pushed on, enacted. I correct here as seems so evidently necessary; but the Pahlavi anticipates with its amat zak yâmtûnê*d*.

[4] Pavan frîftârîh.

[5] See Y. XXIX, 4.

[6] See Y. XXX, 11, sava*k*â ashavabyô.

know it. (Tell me to grant me strength and courage) before those conflicts come which shall encounter me [1] (as leader of Thy tribes); shall the champion of Thy holy Order, O Ahura! smite (at last) the evil heretic, and when? (I ask Thee this); for this if it be gained (is known) to be the (one) good consummation [2] of (our) life.

3. (Yea, tell me then this), for to the enlightened [3] man is that the best of teachings which the beneficent Ahura doth proclaim, and through (the revelations of) His holy Order, bounteous as he and wise with His intelligence, as well as they [4] who declare to us (still other) secret sayings (in His name). The one like Thee (their chieftain [5]) is, O Mazda! endowed with Thy Good Mind's understanding thoughts.

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[1] M*eng*=mãm or man; -*eng* is the nasalised vowel. Man is suspiciously significant here; 'mental battles' is rather advanced for the circumstances. It is, however, not impossible. The Pahlavi favours mãm (?) here; it has avŏ li. We might even read m*e*nâ on its evidence. The Pahlavi indicates the meaning 'crises' under the figure of the 'Bridge,' which was the last great crisis to every man in the eye of the earlier, as well as of the later, Faith; so also in Y. LI, 12. The 'straits of life' would be an admirable meaning; I differ with hesitation.

[2] Pahlavi kar*d*ârîh.

[3] See Y. XLIII, 14.

[4] Yaê*k*îi gûzrâ-s*e*ngh*a*unghô. Or, 'knowing also those who are the teachers of secret doctrines.'

[5] We may, with some effort, connect thwâvãs with vaêdemnâi. Sp*e*ntô vîdv*a*u, however, must refer to the immediately foregoing Ahurô, especially in view of the tv*e*m vîdv*a*u, Ahurâ, of verse 2. 'The one like Thee' might even, as in other cases, be only an oblique way of rendering 'Thyself;' but the expression 'with the understanding of Vohu Manah' induces me to refer the word Thwâvãs to the servant of Ahura; in this case, however, this last line must of course be drawn to verse 4, although not mechanically separated from verse 3.

4. (Yea, tell me the secret of the future struggle[1]; for that enlightened man) must[2] follow close[3] the holy Faith (for which that struggle had its toil and effort). Yea, O Mazda! he who would bend his mind (till it attains to) that which is the better and more holy, must pursue the Daêna close in word and action. His will and wish must be consistent with his chosen creed and fealty, and in Thine Understanding (which discerneth all) shall he in many ways[4] be (versed) at last!

———— [5].

5. (But while I as yet know not the issue, I can yet hope and pray.) Let the good kings obtain the rule. Let not the evil monarchs govern us[6], (but let the righteous gain the day and rule us), with deeds done in a good discernment, O thou pious wisdom, Âramaiti! sanctifying to men's minds the best of blessings for (their) offspring[7]. Yea, for the Kine, (O Âramaiti[5]!)

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[1] See verse 2.

[2] Present for imperative, as sometimes in modern languages in giving directions.

[3] The words are anticipated from the third line.

[4] I follow the Indian sense here with great reluctance. Nanâ may well be, in Iranian, equivalent to 'each several one,' and in fact may not impossibly teach us the origin of the word ('man, man:' comp. nar*e*m,* nar*e*m*). The Pahl. trlr. is so decided for a personal sense, that he renders gabrâ nêsman = man and woman. Did he suppose 'woman' to be literally (!) expressed in the text?

[5] Âramaiti is addressed, unless indeed an instrumental is read without MSS. An instrumental is of course preferable.

[6] The Pahlavi has, with admirable freedom, zakatŏ hû-khû*d*âî pâ*d*akhshâyîni*s*n, va al lanman zak î dû*s*-khû*d*âî *s*alîtâ yehavûnâ*d*ŏ. I read hukhshathrâ khshay*en*tãm, mâ n*e* dû*s*-khshathrâ, to bring the metre somewhat into order, as some gross irregularity is present; the caesura only, not the sense, is affected by the change.

[7] Or, 'from the birth-hour on;' so the Pahlavi. Its gloss reads [akhar min zerkhûni*s*nŏ avinâsîh pâhlûm].

let (Thy) toil be given [1], and may'st Thou cause her to prosper for our life.

6. For she will grant us pleasing homes [2], and, (while we live) in this Thy Good Mind's longing [3] prayer (to gain her welfare), she grants us likewise lasting strength (for every deed which that Thy Good Mind moves us to perform), and therefore hath Mazda caused the plants [4] to flourish for her (nurture), He, Ahura, in the generation of primeval life.

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7. (Then in our coming strife [5] let both her mortal foes be slain.) Let the Wrath-demon of rapine be cast down. Smite ye against the envy (which would plot against our Throne [6]), O ye who, abiding by the Good Mind, and in accordance with our holy Order, desire to hold that refuge [7] fast, to whose sacred bond the bounteous man belongs. And therefore,

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[1] So Bartholomae, who now holds to a third singular here, leaving the text undisturbed, and explaining as an optative.

[2] The Pahlavi seems to render 'comfort' here, using khvârîh in that sense.

[3] So the Pahlavi correctly indicates by its arzûk; Ner. priyataram.

[4] Compare Y. LI, 7. Are the plants here mentioned as in connection with Âramaiti in her figurative association with the earth?

[5] See verses 1, 2.

[6] Or, 'against the blow,' Y. XXIX, 1. The Pahlavi translator here renders pa*d*îrak î arêshak, while in Y. XXIX, 1 he renders î rêshkûn. The variations are probably not real; the renderings referring to some forgotten differences of text; or, as often, he may have anticipated modern freedom, and 'changed his text;' that is, rendered it as if changed to a seemingly more intelligible form; so in a throng of similar cases. This is the only rational explanation of some of his errors. (He was able to render, and has rendered, most grammatical forms in different places.)

[7] The Pahlavi has, however, navîdîh. Did he read vidhyãm, in itself a very possible text?

O Ahura! (to save Thy struggling saint who toils with changing lot) will I place (that refuge) for him in Thy world.

8. (And how shall I beseech Thee for this victory and gift?) What is the (potent [1]) prayer to bring on that Thy holy Reign [2]? What for Thy sacred reward and blessing for my (soul)? How shall I seek the open helpers for (the spread and maintenance of) Thy (great) Order [3], while I myself live [4] on in Thy Good Spirit's deeds?

9. (Aye, when shall faith be changed to sight [5]); and when shall I in verity discern if Ye indeed have power over aught, O Lord! and through Thy Righteous Order (guarding here on earth), O Thou within whose (power lie) my griefs [6] and doubts? Let then Thy saving prophet find and gain aright (for) my delight [7] Thy Good Mind's wonder-

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[1] Compare *e*mava*n*tem aêshem, also peresâ n*a*u yâ tôi *e*hmâ par*s*tâ. Observe that the Pahlavi translator distinguishes the two senses of î*s*ti. In Y. XLVI, 2 he transcribes the Gâthic word, the Persian rendering 'hezânah; Ner. pu*n*yalakshmîm; here, however, he has: Ka*d*âr lak, Aûharmazd, zak î *s*apîr khvahî*s*n î khû*d*âyîh.

[2] Compare verse 5.

[3] Ashâ might certainly equal á*kh*â here (so Bartholomae) if the constant and intentional repetition of the name and idea of Asha, = the personified Order, would not have caused confusion.

[4] The Pahlavi translator renders a word which occupied the place of *g*avarô by yakhsenunî*d*ârîh; Ner. following as to root (freely as to form). As he, however, renders related forms elsewhere by 'living,' 'live,' our only safe conclusion is that he had a different word from *g*avarô (*g*ivarô) before him in his MS.

[5] Compare Y. XXVIII, 6.

[6] I am very far from certain that we do not seriously blunder in not following the indication of the Pahlavi here. See remarks Y. XXXII, 16.

[7] Or, 'let me enjoy as my own;' but môi is difficult. Û*k*ãm might otherwise be a first personal form in the sense of the Vedic u*k*.

working grace[1]; yea, let Thy Saoshya*n*t see how gifts of recompense may be his own.

10. When, Mazda! shall the men of mind's perfection come[2]? And when shall they drive[3] from hence, the soil of this (polluted) drunken joy[4], whereby the Karpans with (their) angry zeal would crush us[5], and by whose inspiration the tyrants of the provinces (hold on) their evil rule[6]?

11. Yea, when shall our perfected Piety appear

Bartholomae's third sing. imper. is also of course well possible; but were not the originally abnormal third singulars in -âm, duhâm *s*ayâm, vidâm, taken over from third pl. subj. '-âm' really equalling the nasal vowel merely *? Comp. also Indian ád*ris*ram, ábudhram, ás*ri*gram, Zend vavazirem, -am=an. 'Tradition' has, Pahl. zîvi*s*nîh; Ner. *g*îvitam; Pers. zîstan, for ûkăm, as if rendering 'enjoyment,' 'experience of life.' * (âm=tâm is more difficult.)

[1] Comparing vápus; otherwise, with the Pahlavi, 'knowing the destruction (of the evil) which Vohûman works;' see Y. XXIX, 6, where the rendering of the Pahlavi is supported by the previous verse.

[2] Comp. Y. XLVI, 3. Kadâ Mazdâ frâ*ren*tê*—saoshya*n*tãm khratavô?

[3] Compare Y. XXXII, 15.

[4] Is Soma-intoxication here referred to? And was the Haoma-worship in abeyance at the time? The Pahlavi seems to have understood 'magic' here, and in the evil sense, that is, judging from the perhaps later gloss. Aside from the gloss, however, the Pahlavi may well have been, nay, more probably was, intended to be read madîh as=madahyâ.

[5] As to this word, we cannot do better than follow Justi (although his work is now a score of years old). The Indian várpas, in the sense of deceit, has also been compared. The last Pahlavi translator was probably confused by finding this word, as so often, divided in his MS. He rendered as best he could, or rather he handed down the shattered documents, or oral teachings, of his predecessors with his own too often lame additions, the whole mass being rich in the relics of the truth.

[6] See verse 5.

together with[1] Thy Righteousness? When shall she come, as having the amenities of home for us, and provided (like our land) with pastures[2] (for the kine)? And who shall give us quiet[3] from the cruel (men) of evil life and faith? To whom shall Thy Good Mind's sacred wisdom come (to guide them in their toil to rescue and avenge us)?

12. (To whom? The answer lieth near.) Such shall be the Saviours of the Provinces, and they who, through Thy Good Mind's grace, shall go on hand in hand with mental keenness[4] (as it spreads among Thy saints) by the doing every deed of Thy commandment, O Ahura! through the help of, and in accordance with, Thy Holy Order; for such as these are set (for us), as steadfast foes of hate!

YASNA XLIX.

Reverses and Hopes. Honour to Frashaostra and other Chiefs.

The chapter divides itself naturally into sections 1–5, 6–11. Verse 12 belongs with chapter L. One of the struggles in the holy cause seems to have gone against the party of Asha. I say 'one

[1] Ma*t* following Ashâ shows that we may also have the preposition in pôi ma*t*.

[2] As Âramaiti is here spoken of as 'having pasture,' that is, as inspiring the thrifty husbandmen who cultivate the meadows by irrigation, or drainage, she became associated herself with those meadows, and so later with the earth; see Y. XLVII, 2.

[3] The Pahlavi sees in râmãm enforced quiet not 'from' but 'to' the wicked; 'who shall deal the finishing blow to the wicked?'

[4] So also the Pahlavi, shnâsinî*d*ârîh.

of the struggles,' for from the account of a reverse which we have here, and from that of a success which meets us in chapter XLV, 1, and again from reverses in XLVI, 1, 2, &c., we naturally conclude that 'the cause' saw many vicissitudes, in which the last Gâtha still leaves us. Whether Y. XLV, 1 records a victory which was subsequent to the reverse before us, referring to a battle alluded to in Y. XLIV, 14, 15, also possibly anticipated in Y. XXXI, can never be decided; the order of the statements in the sequence of our present MSS. has little or nothing to do with the possible order of the events.

1. A border chief, B*en*dva by name, had proved himself too formidable (mazistô) for the moment, and the holy Faith knows how to beg for vengeance on the armed Drûg-worshipper. The weapons of Ahura were not spiritual only, any more than those of Israel were, or those of Mohammed. The death of an armed religious enemy was devoutly to be desired for every moral and political, as well as for every personal reason. 2. For judicial as well as priestly decisions hung on the issue. And this B*en*dva had his functionaries and a system, and they were in full and active operation. And this was, beyond a doubt, a rival and settled system, and not merely an upstart and insurrectionary one. It had caused the true prophet many an hour of thought as well as anger. Its functionaries gave him pause (mânayêitî). Falsity in religion was as ever his opportunity; and invective follows. 'The priestly judge himself who served the Drûg-worshippers was a cheat.' 'The holy Order was his foe, and not his helper.' And he did not contribute at all to the spread of Piety as the Zarathustrians conceived of it, nor indeed really in another sense for the reason that he even repudiated the source of pious wisdom, which is holy counsel. 3. But, however, the evil functionaries might resort to subterfuge and strategy, the opposing powers themselves, the Righteous Order on the one side, and the power of the Lie-demon on the other, were planted in the opposing systems with dualistic clearness, to benefit or injure. There was no compromise, as doubtless the Drûg-party may have wished.

And so the poet cries once more for the divine Benevolence to be his guardian; or perhaps he may have intended a particular chief who represented the Good Mind, while at the same time he swept the entire throng and company who adhered to the Lie-demon, with his interdict, away from his consideration. 4. He declares them closely allied to the Daêva-worshippers, or else he puts their worship of the Daêvas in the place of climax as their

highest offence, not failing to point out what should conciliate sympathy with him always; that is, that those who brought the Daêvas, and opposed Asha, were the devotees of Rapine (aêshmem vareden); for murderous rapine seems to have been, apart from Asha, the universal sin. By this these Daêva-worshippers gained a stolen livelihood, and spent their ill-gotten means in idle waste (fshuyasû afshuya*n*tô). 5. But he who defended the holy Daêna was as meat and drink to the people, wise and faithful, as a settled citizen, and trained in the habits of the holy State.

6. He therefore prays once more for right discernment as to how he may propagate the Faith. 7. And he calls on the steady citizen to listen, beseeching God Himself to give an ear, and to tell him who the faithful prince, or peer, or villager, may be, who may take the lead (see sar*e*) in giving forth (see srâvayaêmâ) that holy Daêna, with its frasasti, to the masses who await it. 8. But he asks the question as if only to give emphasis to his naming a chief and venerated friend. Frashao*s*tra is the man. He is the one fitted for the hearing, apt to proclaim the truth (frasrûidyâi erethwô). And he begs that they both (compare Y. XXVIII, 9) may be lastingly prominent in that holy Realm which was to counteract the depraved polity whose chief had for the moment gained the upper hand (verses 1, 2). 9. But the case is in so far uncertain and undecided, that he cries for help once more to the ideal citizen himself, fearing that he may yet be induced to share the power with the heretic, and still declares that men's souls may reach the reward of priority only through the holy System of Ahura, and under the rulers of His choice.

10. He therefore confides the result to Ahura, and with it, his dependents, those living and those dead. And his thoughts, being turned to heaven (11), they also revert as if by antithesis (the key-note of the Daêna) to future retribution. Those who may be wavering, half-inclined to adhere to the opposing party (verse 9), are warned in words of peculiar meaning. Those that choose the evil sovereign, a du*s*sasti, as in Y. XXXII, 9, or as the sastars of Y. XLVI, 1, will not go forward with the saints to the *K*inva*t* (Y. XLVI, 10), nor will they be met by their consciences under pleasing images, and later by the souls of saints who had gone before, but the wicked dead shall meet them in the home of Lies, with poisoned food, and sneering words. And this shall be a self-inflicted vengeance.

Translation.

1. B*en*dva[1] has ever fought with me; (yea, since he first appeared at hand to threaten, and alas to his advantage in the strife). He is the most powerful (in brutal might), and (in his predominance) would crush my strength as I seek to win back the disaffected (in my host) through Righteous[2] (zeal), O Mazda! Come then with gifts of (vengeful[3]) good to (meet) my sorrow[4]. Through (Thine inspiring) Good Mind obtain (for me[5]) that (B*en*dva's) death[6]!

2. (Aye, he is indeed the greatest[7]), for that

[1] If this word does not simply mean 'a band,' one might suspect a relation of root with bãnayen. The Pahlavi has expressively and freely badtûm here, and vîmarîh in the next verse, with a like word in Y. XXX, 6. This enemy may have been roughly dubbed 'the polluted,' or even 'diseased one;' analogous occurrences are not wanting.

[2] I cannot agree to rendering ashâ 'really,' when applied in an evil sense. The sacred word may mean 'really' when applied to the righteous, but then, in that case, the reality indicated has an element of sanctity in it, and that of no low order. I am also not aware that *ri*téna is applied in an evil sense in the *Ri*g-veda. The use of Asha, like that of Vohu Manah and Khshathra, &c., is obvious in the Gâtha; the six sacred words were, like the theme of a symphony, brought in at every opportunity, with all shades of meaning from those of proper names to those of adverbs. With slight change of text to a nom., we might render, 'He who seeks to please the evil-minded, O Thou A.!'

[3] Comp. Y. XXXIII, 2.

[4] I cannot agree that arapâ should be read rapâ for the sake of a syllable in the metre. The line has more than eleven syllables here, as the Vedic Trish*t*up often has. Moreover the ancient writing before the Pahlavi translator read likewise arapâ, and the sense demands it.

[5] Or, 'may I obtain.' [6] See Y. LIII, 9. [7] See the first verse.

B*en*dva's evil judge doth cause me to hesitate and ponder (in my earnest course of propagation and reform), a deceiver as he is, (estranged) from the Righteous Order, and receiving[1] from it (not happiness) but many a wound. The bountiful and perfect Piety he has not maintained nor strengthened for this[2] land, nor questions with Thy Good Mind hath he asked[3] (to gain him light), O Lord!

3. But (all is not yet lost!); for this religious choice[4] (our holy creed, for which our last lost[5] battle has been fought), O Mazda! Thy blessed Order (our guardian help) has yet been set to save and bless us. (But) for (that evil) Judge, the Demon-of-the-Lie, (is set) to deal (for him) her wounds[6]. Therefore do I pray (the more) for the sheltering leadership of Thy Good Mind (within our folk and our commanders). And all the allies of the wicked I abjure[7].

4. They who with evil scheme and will shall cherish and help on the Wrath of Rapine, and with her Râma[8], and (not by silent favour, but) with their

[1] I would gladly accede to a subjunctive 2nd singular intensive here in a causative sense, but a 3rd singular precedes, and a 3rd singular follows. I cannot therefore recognise a subjunctive in a precative, or imperative, sense here. I think the word is a nominative, as its position in the verse corresponds well to that form. It may mean 'delivering against us many a wound.'

[2] Possibly 'for us in (this) land.'

[3] Comp. Y. XLIV, 13.

[4] Comp. Y. XXX, 2.

[5] See mazi*s*tô in the first verse.

[6] The Pahlavi mûn rêshînê*d* pavan Drû*g*.

[7] The Pahlavi translator gave as our first rendering here: Andarg harvîsp-gûnŏ darvandânŏ min hamkhâkîh andarg yemalelûnam; [aîgh, min dôstîh î levatman valman*s*ân *g*avî*d*âk yehevûnam].

[8] The Pahlavi has arêshkŏ=envy.

very tongues, whose will and wish[1] (run) not with good but evil deeds. These settle and support the Daêvas (in their power, not the Lord). It is[2] the wicked's Faith and Insight (so to do. Their faith is the perverted).

5. But he, O Mazda! is our abundance and our fatness[3], who (will yet dare these unbelieving foes) and guard the Faith (against that envious Wrath[4]), and with the Good Mind's power. For every man of Piety is a wise citizen[5] in accordance with the holy Order, and so are all who are (in truth) within Thy Realm, O Lord!

6. And now, will I beseech of You, O Mazda, and Righteousness (within Thy Mãthra) speaks[6] (to tell me) what lies within Your will's intention, that (having discerned Your Insight as the enlightened

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[1] The Pahlavi gave us our first surmise as to the general meaning of vãs; it renders kâmak.

[2] Or, 'by that which is the evil's Faith.'

[3] The Pahlavi translator gave us our first general indication here as elsewhere; he has shîrînîh and *k*arpîh. Reading 'Mazd*a*u,' we have 'Mazda (is our source of) abundance and refreshment.'

[4] See the fourth verse.

[5] The Pahlavi has, however, khûp shinâsakîh. I differ with hesitation; possibly views may be harmonised.

[6] Compare Y. XXIX, 3, where Asha answers. I cannot well accept mrûitê as an infinitive. Geldner has keenly pointed out that fraêshyâ is inclined to unite with an infinitive, but so are other forms of ish and vas. Moreover the infinitive does not so naturally fall to the end of the sentence in Gâthic or Vedic. (See above, note on Y. XXXIV, 1.) If an infinitive is insisted upon (so long since) let us at least bring the word into more usual shape, using the Pahlavi translator, as in one of his most valuable offices, as an indirect evidence, where his translation is at fault as a rendering. He has: Frâzŏ avŏ zak î Lekûm farmâyêm, Aûharmazd, va Ashavahistŏ*k* râî yemalelûnam. He had 'mrûvê' before him, which might be an infinitive.

ever must), I may as well discern aright how we can herald forth those (truths), and that pure Daêna (with them) which is the Faith of Him who is Thyself[1], O Lord.

7. And (as we speak it forth as taught by Asha) then let the (zealous[2] citizen) give heed, and with Thy Good Mind, O Ahura Mazda! Yea, let him give ear in accordance with (the dictate of) the Holy Order, and do Thou hear alike as well[3]. Who shall be the ally; and who the kinsman-lord himself, who, with his gifts and (legal rules), shall institute and settle for the serving mass a worthy praise (for God[4])?

8. (And I do not ask in vain, for such an one is found for us, and near at hand.) To Frashao*s*tra hast Thou given that most favouring guardian power, the headship[5] of the Holy Order (for us), O

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[1] I think that khshmâvatô equals simply 'yourself' here, as often (so mava*n*t=me); otherwise 'of your disciple,' which would be feeble. Professor Jolly has, V. S., s. 97, 'damit wir ihn verkündigen möchten den Glauben, welcher der euere ist, o Ahura.'

[2] See the ninth verse.

[3] Ahura is elsewhere addressed in close connection with human beings; here the human subject is half lost in Vohûman and Asha. I hardly think that it is wise to change the text without MSS. A lost verse may have relieved all difficulty.

[4] Others 'the good doctrine,' or again 'the good repute;' but as to the latter, frasasti is coupled so constantly in the later Avesta with yasna, and vahma, &c., that I do not feel at liberty to depart from that sense. The Pahlavi has also vâfrîgânîh, quite in harmony with the connection.

[5] This verse is clearly an answer to the questions contained in verse 7. It is a half answer, even if we render d*a*u (dâo) as a subjunctive. As the question in verse 7 certainly concerns a chief of some kind, I cannot see how we can avoid rendering sar*e*m analogously. We need one who gives a refuge rather than one who receives it. Compare the Pahlavi, and also the Persian, sar. The Pahlavi

Ahura! This therefore would I pray of Thee (to confirm to him that gracious gift), and for myself likewise, would I now seek as well that sheltering headship which is within Thy Realm; yea, most blest and foremost[1] may we both for ever be within it.

9. Aye, let the zealous and thrifty husbandman, so formed for giving help and blessings[2], give heed and listen when I call, (O Mazda!) Let not the truthful (tiller, he who hears and speaks Thy word[3]), be he who takes[4] that sheltering chieftainship together with the wicked. Let the believing natures (only) join in that best recompense. And thus in the course of the holy Order are in the fact so joined those two, *G*âmâspa and the 'hero'[5].

10. (And since these champions thus join in that reward), then therefore will I place as well in Thy

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translation gives its evidence without intermission for this meaning, a fact largely overlooked.

[1] I think that the connection fairly proves this meaning; and it has likewise the powerful support of the Pahlavi translation: Hamâi vad avŏ vîspŏ farmânpatŏ hômanânî [aîgh, Frasho*s*tar [ ] vad tanû î pasînŏ hamâî *s*alîtâîh yehabûn].

[2] It is not to be forgotten that su is the root of Saoshya*n*t.

[3] Comp. Y. XXXI, 15.

[4] Or 'gives;' compare peresâ ava*i* yâ maini*s* y*e* dregvâitê khshathrem hunâitî. Professor Jolly, V. S., s. 36: 'Nicht soll wer das Rechte redet, die Herrschaft dem Lügner überlassen.'

[5] Yâhî remains a singular, whereas we should expect a dual; (can it be such, the form being altered, as so often by later reciters, to accommodate the metre?) For *G*âmâspâ and yukhtâ as duals compare utayûitî tevîshî. Yâhî probably refers to Vî*s*tâspa (Y. XLVI, 14). Was it an especial epithet for the kings? The later Persian kings took prominent places in battle. If the duals are not admitted, my rendering would be, 'the souls are united with the reward through the (influence and example of the) valiant *G*âmâspa.' Perhaps *G*âmâspô is to be read.

protection (Thy) Good Mind[1] (in the living) and the spirits (of the dead. Yea, I confide our very) self-humbling praises, (which we offer, unto Thee), by which (Thine) Âramaiti (who is our Piety, exists), and likewise sacrificing zeal. And this would we do to further Thy great Sovereign Power (among Thy folk), and with undying[2] (?) strength.

11. (But as to faithless reprobates); the souls (of the evil dead) shall meet those evil men who serve their evil rulers, who speak with evil words, and harbour evil consciences, these souls (in Hell) shall come with evil food[3] (to welcome them), and in the Lie's abode their dwelling[4] verily shall be[5]!

YASNA XLIX, 12 — L.

The most striking circumstance here, after the rhetorical and moral-religious peculiarities have been observed, is the sixth verse; and as to the question of Zarathustrian authorship, it is the most striking in the Gâthas or the Avesta. In that verse we have Zarathustra, not named alone, which might easily be harmonised

[1] This is probably the foundation for the later identification of Vohû Manah and the faithful disciple.

[2] Here all is conjectural. The Pahlavi reports an adjective from a form of man (or a participle). They who think upon the throne (to seize it) do so with dying power. Wilder conjectures have been made; but the Pahlavi translators seldom wilfully guessed. They took the shattered results of their predecessors, and worked them feebly over; hence their great value, and the unimportance of their errors. They used what intelligence they possessed in re-delivering what they heard and read. Vazdanghâ cannot well be taken in an evil sense, as it is used in a good sense elsewhere. The connection mãzâ with râ has long circulated; mãzâ avêmî râ (?). As the souls of the departed are thought of, perhaps 'undying' is the meaning; compare avemîra (for form) with the Zend avimithris.

[3] See Yast XXII by Darmesteter, as supplemented.

[4] So the Pahlavi; otherwise 'their bodies shall so lie.'

[5] Verse 12 belongs to the next chapter.

with his personal authorship, nor have we only such expressions as 'to Zarathustra and to us' (Y. XXVIII, 7), but we have Zarathustra named as 'mahyâ râ*zeng* sâhî*t*,' 'may he declare my regulations, which could only be said, without figure of speech, by some superior, if not by the prime mover himself. Were these verses then written by the prime mover? And was he other than Zarathustra? If so, the entire mass of the Gâthas was of course written by him, or else their style and character may be regarded as of such a character that they could have been composed by four or five closely connected individuals. But while verses here and there are doubtless the productions of secondary persons, the mass of the Gâthas cannot be regarded as the work of several different composers. They are one man's work, directly or indirectly. If then the present section, which is especially original in its tone, was not from Zarathustra, the man whose heart and soul, and, we may add, whose power were in Zarathustrianism, was not Zarathustra, but some unnamed individual far more important. (See note on Y. XXVIII, 7.) The prominence of the name of Zarathustra was in that case solely owing to the personal activity of Zarathustra supported by the social rank of the Spitâmas. Zarathustra was a princely disciple, on the hypothesis mentioned, and nothing more. The real author of Zarathustrianism was, in that case, in no sense Zarathustra; compare 'to Zarathustra and to us:' nor yet Vîstâspa; compare 'to Vîstâspa and to me:' nor Frashaostra; compare 'to Frashaostra and to us;' and, we may also say, not *G*âmâspa, for he is addressed in the vocative. He was mentally and personally the superior of all of them. In fact he was the power behind both throne and home, and yet without a name! But, in that case, what becomes of Y. XXIX, 6, 8? Is it probable that the founder of a religion (or of a new departure in a religion) would describe another as the chosen of God, if he were not in fact supposed to be thus eminent? Or, if a popular and sincerely enthusiastic religious composer were about to chant a hymn at a meeting of the religious masses, would he be likely to name a person to the animated throngs, whom they themselves did not feel to be the life of their religious faith? especially, if that person were not prominent from the arbitrary circumstance that he was the reigning prince? I do not think that this is at all probable. But if Zarathustra had, as described, the leading name, and composed a portion of the hymns with their lost companions, is it probable that he possessed no decided prominence in this matter above Vîstâspa, Frashaostra, and *G*âmâspa? Was there no central poet, who

composed the mass of the metrical lore, dominating by his influence those who added portions here and there, or was there a quaternion of seers, four Zarathustras, as one might say? As we have said, the hymns decide it. One man's soul is in them, as a composer's feelings are in his compositions, or a master's feelings are in the lines of his disciples. But if there was one central figure instead of four, and he is mentioned as Zarathustra, and as the spokesman in many portions of the Gâthas, being likewise known by inference to be the composer of nearly all of them, how can we account for the words, 'let him, Zarathustra, teach or proclaim my regulations?' Can the verse be regarded as put into the mouth of Ahura, as elsewhere? Hardly, for Ahura is addressed in it. I can therefore only repeat of this verse, as of the others which present analogous questions in Y. XXVIII (with which this chapter L stands in the closest connection), that this thoroughly original piece was composed by Zarathustra as by far the most prominent individual in the religious struggle, dominating his party essentially and positively, and that these verses (6–11) were simply rhetorically put into the mouth of the monarch from the exigency of the style of composition. And I conclude that Vîstâspa was supposed to speak them, because in the presence of Zarathustra, it is extremely improbable that any one but the titular head of the State should have been represented as saying of Zarathustra, 'mahyâ râz*eng* sâhî/.'

1. The piece from Y. XLIX, 12 to Y. L, 1–5 joins well on with Y. XLIX, although the tone is brighter. As he begins with questions in Y. XLVIII, 8–11, after the prospective prayers of Y. XLVIII, 1–7, in which he looks forward to a crisis in the armed struggle, so now after the hostile chief has got the upper hand, he cries out once more with interrogatives, uttering the questions, not of curiosity, but of mournful devotion.

'The storm has broken over us,' so he would seem to say, 'and I have prayed for grace to know how we may administer (Y. XLIV, 9) the all-powerful means of help, the Daêna, in which Thy Righteous Order is set (Y. XLIX, 3). I have cried to Thee for chief and peer (verse 7), naming Frashaostra, *G*âmâspa, and the Yâhin, and now, while I invoke you, praying for what in your selection is the best (Y. XXVIII, 11; Y. XLIV, 10), I would more than ever declare that I have none other help than Thee and Thy saving Order.' 2. And he asks once more to know how he who seeks to further the sacred herds, as the emblem of the moral thrift of the provinces, should proceed in his allotted work. 3. Answering his own question, he says that it is by advance upon the enemy; he declares

that the heroic settler who pushes the holy system to the utmost verge of the sacred territory or still further, was the man 'to gain the Kine' for the seeking prophet. 4. But in the midst of struggles, he anticipates Garô*d*man with its praises. 5. For they were all prepared for both worship and work, since God had approached to aid His prophet, encouraging His discouraged spirit. 6. Here Vîštâspa is represented as intervening; and he addresses Ahura literally, but Zarathu*s*tra really, exhorting him indirectly to continue on in his work of propagation, undismayed by present circumstances. 7. And with Zarathu*s*tra, he would re-engage the other powerful helpers, whom he would yoke on as steeds to gain God's praise in Heaven by passing over every bridge of trial safely. 8. Having heard from Zarathu*s*tra his metric words, he will approach with them to pray, and, as in Y. XXVIII, 2, 3, 'with hands stretched out' with homage, and with vigour. 9. And he looks to attain the object of his prayers by religious self-control, and faithful action. 10. His efforts vie with the heavenly bodies in their praise of God. 11. Therefore he will persevere, and as a praiser-king (so the Pahlavi in one place); and he beseeches that Ahura, the life-giver, may help on the all-engrossing cause.

Translation.

Y. XLIX, 12[1]. What aids of grace hast Thou for Thine invoking Zarathu*s*tra, (O Ahura Mazda!) to grant him through Thy Righteous Order? Yea, what (aids of[2] grace hast thou for me as) through Thy Good Mind given (within my soul), for me who will (still) pray to Thee with praises, O Great Creator! beseeching what in accordance with Your wished-for aim is best?

Y. L, 1. Aye, doth my soul indeed obtain assisting

[1] This verse is placed here as obviously more closely related to chapter L than to chapter XLIX. Lost verses may, however, have intervened between it and Y. L, 1.

[2] Another rendering, regarding ka*t* as a purely interrogative participle, would be, 'Are they (tôi) helpful to the invoking Zarathu*s*tra?' But ka*t* tôi is a familiar form; see Y. XXXIV, 12, where it must mean quid tibi.

grace, and which of Thy blessings is that gift to me, O Lord? What saving champion is found to save both flocks and herds? And who for myself other than Thy Righteous Order, and Thyself, Ahura? Tell me[1], O (ye) invoked ones! Or what of grace is there for me save Thy Best Mind (itself)?

2. (And if Thy guardian is verily to save our wealth) how shall he (obtain, and by what means shall he) seek after[2] that joy-creating Kine (who is the living symbol of our peace[3])? (How shall that man obtain his wish) who shall desire to see her provided with pastures for (the welfare of) this land? (That only way is righteousness.) Do Thou then grant me lands (so would I ask of Thee) which live in justice in the many[4] splendours of the sun, and lands which openly[5] thus live, and which are to be

[1] I should be far from denying that azdâ may equal addhâ, but a strengthening adverb seems to me of no particular force here. I formerly rested at the simple explanation az + dâ = dhâ = desire-exciting, much desired one. But the Pahlavi translator affords an explanation which may surpass that of his successors. He sees the meaning: 'When I shall call upon You,' (that is, freely, 'being invoked,') 'cause Thou (sic) me to understand fully.' This is the remnant of some predecessor's work, who rendered 'tell ye me;' az = ah, otherwise lost in Zend. The plural follows the singular too often to excite much doubt; azdâ = tell ye; so zdî is from az, as syôdûm is from as (recall the well-known Indian analogies). See also the explanation of the Pahlavi at Y. XXXI, 17. If a plural cannot be admitted, then consider a form extended by d.

[2] The Pahlavi translates freely, bavîhûnam.

[3] The Kine must represent the people as well as their live-stock. The raids concerned the owners more than their cattle. In answer to the cry of the Kine, Zarathustra was sent to the people.

[4] I can hardly agree to the rendering 'among people who see the sun' without a needless reconstruction of the text. The Pahlavi likewise has pavan khvârîh; for general meaning, compare Khshathrôi *hveng* daresôi, not as equivalent however.

[5] Âskârak stî.

sought and gained by me (as conquests for the cause). Give Thou this gift!

3. (Yea, let that joy-creating one) be his possession through the Righteous Order (which he helps to bring, that living sign) which (the most valiant citizen) may give to him (at once reward and charge), and in accordance with Thy Sovereign Authority. (May that heroic settler grant him this gift) he who may make the (last imperilled) farm to flourish in the vigour of Thy blest prosperity, the tract which lies the nearest (to the fields) which our foeman holds as his[1].

4. (And therefore both in thankfulness and hope) will I give sacrifice to You with praises, O Ahura Mazda! together with Thine Order and Thy Best Mind (in Thy saints), and in accordance with Thy sacred Sovereign Power, by whose help the wisher (heaven-bound) may stand upon the (certain) pathway[2], and in Thine Home-of-song shall I (by means of these my Yasnas offered here) there hear the praises of Thine offering saints who see Thy face[3].

5. And we[4] are in readiness as well (to fulfil Your praises and declare your words), O Ahura Mazda! through Your (grace, and) in accordance with Your Holy Order, since Ye advance with friendliness[5] to cheer the speaker of Your Mãthra-word with open acts of visible relief, as if with hand sent forth,

[1] The Pahlavi translation, as usual, not literally exact, still furnishes the correct clue, Zak î nazdistô (?) gêhânŏ min valman î darvand bakhshê*d* [aîga*s* zak dên dâri*s*n barâ yansegûnyên].

[2] Frô tâi*s* vîspâi*s* *K*invatô frâ peretûm.

[3] Âk*a*u (compare the Indian âkê); 'who approach, and are therefore evident (âshkârak) to God, and seeing Him.' Comp. âk*a*u in Y. LI, 13, which has been thought a loc.

[4] See n*a*u.

[5] To vra*g*.

whereby that Mãthra-speaker of Your truth may bring us on, and settle us, in weal and bliss[1].

6. (Therefore will I incite him to his task the more. Let him indeed proclaim the righteous way[2]) he who already lifts his voice in Mãthras, O Ahura Mazda! he, Zarathustra[3], the faithful friend in accordance with the Holy Order, and with self-abasing worship, giver of understanding for this land, voice-guider (of the way to glory[4]), let him indeed proclaim and teach my regulations, and in accordance with Thy Good Mind (as his law).

7. (And together with that chief speaker of your word I would engage yet others in the cause). Your well-incited[5] and swift[6] (servants), O Ahura! would I yoke[7] on (as steeds to take their holy course toward heaven), gaining[7] thereby (at last) the Bridges[8] where

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[1] See the previous verse, where the wisher stands on the path, seeking to reach Garô*d*man. It seems therefore probable that *hv*âthrê refers to demânê garô.

[2] Compare Y. LIII, 2, d*a*unghô erezûs pathô.

[3] As remarked, this entire piece recalls Y. XXVIII. Here the monarch is represented as speaking precisely as spokesmen are introduced in any other composition. We have no reason to suppose the piece to be the composition of some leading person other than Zarathustra, because of the words 'let Zarathustra speak forth my regulations.' (See page 169.)

[4] Îshô st*a*ungha*t* â paithî.

[5] Consider a suffix ish*t*i.

[6] Here the Pahlavi translator gives us both text and translation, aurvatô = arvand.

[7] Or, 'yoke Thou, may'st Thou gain.'

[8] The *K*înva*t* Bridge, either literally or figuratively. Compare 'the bridge of the earth' (Y. LI, 12). The crises of effort, or temptation, are meant, as the *K*inva*t* Bridge was the last crisis before salvation or perdition. The souls of the good and of the evil were met by their own consciences on the Bridge, and encouraged or reviled.

'When the soul of the pious passes over that Bridge, the width of

Your adoration (rules and is complete). Yea, I (?) yoke on your mighty ones, and with Thy Holy Order, and Thy Good Mind. And with these may Ye drive on; aye, be Ye for my help!

8. (And as I yoke on Your Mãthra-speakers for their course, then) would I (myself) approach You in the (highest) deed of worship[1], and with these sacred metric feet (of Zarathustra and his peers[2]), those which are heard and famed afar, as the metric feet of zealous worship, and with my hands stretched[3] out (in supplicating prayer). Yea, You (would I approach), O Mazda! in union with Your sacred ritual Truth, and with the homage of a freely-giving helper[4], and with the good virtue of (Your) Good Mind (in my soul).

9. Yea, with these Yasnas of Your sacrifice would I approach You, praising back to You (in answer to Your mercies), O Ahura! and Thou, O Righteousness! in (the holy) actions of Your Good Mind, (as he moves within us), so long indeed as I shall have the power, commanding at my will o'er this my sacred (privilege) and gift. (And doing as) the wise man (thus), may I (like him) become a supplicant who gains[5] his ends.

10. (Mine every wish and prayer is this), then therefore whatsoever I shall do, and whatsoever deeds

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that Bridge becomes about one league' (West, Mainyô-î Khard,* p. 134). Possibly the extension of the Bridge for the pious arose from the plural use here.

[1] Compare Y. XXVIII, 3.

[2] See Y. XXVIII, 9.

[3] See Y. XXVIII, 2.

[4] See Y. XLVI, 9.

[5] The Pahlavi translator accepts a sense of acquisition here as well as of desire: Aêtûnŏ zak î valman î avŏ hû-dânâk pavan khvahîsnŏ grîftâr hômanânî [mozd]. I accede to its indication, holding that gardh certainly has such an element in its meaning.

(of ritual and truth I shall yet further do) on account of, (and to make full[1]) these (prior deeds of worship), yea, whatsoever (holy works) shine bright[2] as having worth in (all) men's eyes through Thy Good Mind (whose character they share; these as) the stars, suns, and the Aurora which brings on the light[3] of days, are all, through their Righteous Order, (the speakers) of Thy[4] praise, O Thou Great Giver, Lord!

11. Your praiser then (by eminence) would I be named, and (more), would be it, so long as by (Thine inspiring) Righteousness I am thus able and may have the power. And may the maker of the world give help through (His implanted) Good Mind (in my fellow-servants). And may that (all) be done[5] (to further us) which through His veritable grace is most promotive (for the cause)!

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[1] I can here only follow the words as they are written; the meaning is clear enough although rather advanced. Reconstructions on a large scale are seldom of value.

[2] Judging from the context, we may render arga*t* thus.

[3] The Pahlavi translator here renders as if he read ushâ. In Y. XLVI, 3 he translates ukhshânô. Professor Wilhelm, preferring as above, still recalls the Homeric usage favouring 'increaser.' The Pahlavi has vakhshînî*d*âr in Y. XLVI, 3. Here hôsh zak î arûs dên bâm I. Ner. alone understood arûs.

[4] 'Your.'

[5] An imperative has long been recognised in var*s*tăm; or read: 'Let him cause that which is the most furthering of deeds to grow influential through veritable grace.' So perhaps better.

THE GÂTHA(Â) VOHÛ KHSHATHREM (VOHUKHSHATHRA(Â)).

This Gâtha consists of the single chapter Y. LI. It has lines of fourteen syllables with caesura in the middle.

YASNA LI.

Instructions and Appeals to an Assembly of the Faithful.

It is hardly possible that we have here a continuous whole. The thoughts, however, harmonise well enough, and the changes give little trouble. 1. As so often the Sovereign Authority of Ahura, His reign over the hearts and in the minds of His faithful worshippers, is the leading theme. That sovereign Power, when it is established, will produce every good thing with it, and repress every evil, and the composer prays that he may never pause at any moment in his efforts to bring that kingdom on. 2. Accordingly, as the foremost of objects, he beseeches for both its blessings and its protection, and names Âramaiti as the especial representative of Ahura in this case to grant the Kingdom as a Realm established in spiritual wealth, and whose first effect should be the glory of God through the agency of holy dispositions in men.

3. The spirit of the Daêna is public and prophetic rather than occult and mysterious. The people therefore gather to hear Gâthas recited, and religious harangues delivered as on political occasions, and all the more because the Mãthras are declared to be the results of direct inspiration from Ahura. 4. The present recitations are invocations calling for the four energising Immortals, the guiding Order, the active Piety, the inspiring Benevolence, and the Power-wielding Kingdom, and, in using these names, the multitude are also beseeching, by the voice of their spokesman, for the Ratu, the Saoshya*n*t cried for by the Kine, looked for by Asha himself, and promised by Ahura.

5. And the men who press this prayer are, each of them, for the moment (nûkît), as the Ratu himself. Wise in his homage, he seeks to gain the kine, like the ideal husbandman, both as property and as emblem, and he desires to establish the Ratu, understood as a person, or as the law, which may judge between the two sides (Y. XXXI, 2), and, by the expulsion of the evil, give quiet to the land (Y. XLVI, 4; Y. LIII, 9). 6. Declaring Ahura to be the awarder of the highest good and deepest evil, (7) he calls on Him to grant the 'eternal two,' the rewarding Immortals (not named in the former verse), but only by means of the inspired teachings. 8. And as these inculcations are effective for himself, he will declare forth their threats and promises to others, being repaid for his zealous fidelity in the very act. 9. Recalling the hopes of vengeance, he beseeches Ahura to give forth a sign, or instrument, from the holy Fire, which may settle the disputes by the forged blade of justice. 10. For he declares that the man who murderously assaults his adherents in the opposing interest (see Y. XXXII, 10, &c.) is inherently and originally perverted in his motives, a very son of the Lie, and of the seed of Akôman.

11. While in terms he addresses Ahura, he in reality challenges the devotion of the chieftains, as he calls aloud to the Deity.

12. Here a temptation of Zarathustra is narrated, as in the Vendîdâd, here dwelling on his youth, there on his maturer manhood. But the verse shows marked signs of later age.

13. And the soul of the righteous is encouraged by the recorded example; he shall come off the conqueror, as Zarathustra did.

14. But the Karpans (priestly chiefs?) of the opposing party, following the typical destroyer (as in Y. XXXII), would bring the world to ruin, and the creatures to Hell.

15. The true disciples will however infallibly receive the promised recompense.

16. And as for that *K*isti, conceived by Mazda to give the saving knowledge in the sacred verse, the King of the Realm had acquired it. It will be stored in the memory of faithful priests under his care and rule; and he will give his subjects a good worship (Y. XLIX, 7) in accordance with it. 17. A female saint, also illustrious in rank, is celebrated with honourable mention; she is, as it were, the *K*isti in her person, as she is named in this connection.

18. Another devoted friend arrests the speaker's eye, as he stands in the assembly; (19) and still another. 20. Then, as if taking in all with his view, and with an expression which shows

his identification with the people, he declares that the 'Archangels' are of one mind with Mazda in bestowing spiritual blessings, the chief of which are inspired words, the source of their discipline, and the guide of their hopes.

21. And with assurances as to the greatness of the spiritual blessings implied in all that he has said, he prays Ahura all the more earnestly to grant them to His elect. 22. And he declares that Ahura knows and observes the man who fulfils every command that he has uttered, as well as believes every doctrine which he has divulged, and that, knowing Him, He also marks Him as the object of His grace. And he ends by expressing once more his desire to approach the Bountiful Immortals, not as naming them alone, but naming them, as we may well suppose, with a full appreciation of all that is meant by the sacred words which belong to them as names.

Translation.

1. The good Government (of Ahura[1]) is to be chosen (among all wished-for things[2]) as that lot which most of all brings on (our happiness). Actions that oppress us it opposes[3], through the holy Order (which pervades it), and with the pious zeal (of its true servants). Therefore, O Great Creator! let me

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[1] It is far better to take Khshathra in its usual and often necessary sense. And it is especially desirable not to confound it with shôithra = kshétra.

[2] The choice one.

[3] One is somewhat inclined to regard vîdushemnâis as a monstrous form of vid, which has crept into the text under the influence of the two words vîdushê in verse 8, and owing to an attempt to fill out the metre, the original word having been vîdemnâis. The Pahlavi gives no indication except for a form of dû = to give. Leaving the MSS. intact, I compare dush + vi.

I render as above on the principle that the text in the MSS. should not be violated where it is possible to translate it at all. Reading vîdemnâis we might render, 'that kingdom's privileges are shared (it is entered and penetrated) by men who act (by actions) in a manner to further its security, (by actions gaining it).'

produce, and help bring on (that Sovereign Power) which is the best for us at every present hour.

2. And first I will ask for[1] these two blessings of Your own, O Thou Great Creator, and thou His Righteous Order! and I also ask of thee, Our Piety (personified, as well); and grant me this Your Sovereign Rule over our desired wealth (to give and to preserve it; and likewise) those spiritual blessings which are advantageous for our worship (of Ahura) through (the inspiration of His) Good Mind (within the soul).

3. (And it is not I alone who thus appeal to You; I speak for all) who are guarded in the (ceremonial and moral) actions of Your (law), and by those (inspired) words (which proceed) from the tongue of Thy Good Mind (as he speaks within Thy Mãthra). Yea, these are all assembling (each) to hear You, of whom Thou, O Ahura Mazda! art the foremost guide[2] and light.

4. (And they cry aloud to Thee, O Mazda! I speaking with them, and in their name): Where is the (promised[3]) lord of our thrift (the embodied law, saving us from the most dreaded dangers that we fear[4], the thrift-lord) of (our) ready zeal? Where

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[1] I have rather reluctantly read yêkâ with long ê. Having in mind Y. XXX, 1, where Sp.'s B. reads yaêkâ, and reading yaêkâ here, we might regain the lost dual neuter of the pronoun here as in Y. XXX, 1, and so render, 'and which two things belong to thee, the possession (rule) of wealth and the blessings.'

Roth, cited by Geldner, changes to ashayaêkâ here and in Y. XXX, 1; and it is certainly striking that ashâ yêkâ should occur twice. I render as above, first, as nearer our MSS., and as affording a good sense.

[2] See Y. XXXI, 17. [3] See verse 5.

[4] See Y. XXIX, 1; Y. XXXII.

does he stand to (show us) mercy? Whither are (Thy) Righteousness and the Bountiful Âramaiti (our Piety) approaching? From what direction comes Thy Best Mind (to inspire and to guide)? And whence (again), O Great Creator! Thy Sovereign Power (to be our ruler and defence[1])?

5. And it is the tiller of the earth who asks this of Thee, O Ahura! (Thy chosen saint himself); he has asked this all of Thee, striving to discover how he may gain to himself the sacred Kine (and with all wealth in herds beside. And he would seek this) moved by the motives which flow from Thy Righteous Order (and Thy cause), upright as he is in actions, and wise in his self-humbling worship (of that[2] One) who, as a righteous ruler, has appointed a just controlling guide for those whom He has made.

6. (And in partial answer to his question, and to solve his doubt, I now declare the truth): He who gives to this (good citizen) that which is better than the good[3]; yea, He who bestows on him in accordance with his religious choice is (our) Ahura Mazda (and not

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[1] It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that these abstracts are personified here, as in so many other places in the Gâthas. We may indeed doubt whether the idea of personification was ever wholly absent, the original meaning being likewise never lost. Professor Wilhelm prefers taking Ashem as an accusative, 'how does one (do they) come to Asha?' This is admirable; but I am, on the whole, inclined to regard Ashem as a nominative with fseratus, Âr(a)maitis, &c., taking the plurals yasô *hvyen* (hyen) as irregularly extending to the other subjects.

[2] So Wilhelm (by letter), taking a form of the pronoun as understood. It is difficult to suppose that the vâstrya could be referred to as appointing the Ratu through the influence of his devotion and pious supplications; as Wilhelm justly says, the third line must apply to Ahura.

[3] See Y. XLIII, 3; notice ahmâi as referring to hôi.

a false god of the Daêvas [1]). And this will He bestow through His divine Authority (established in preparation here), while on the withholder of the sacrifice, who offers nothing to His (cause), He will send worse than the evil (and that not here alone, but) in the last turning of the creation in its course!

7. (And as Thou wilt bestow thus graciously on him), so grant me also, O Thou most bountiful Spirit Mazda, Thou who hast made both the Kine and the waters and the plants [2] (for her support)! both Immortality and Welfare, those two eternal powers, and through Thy Good Mind in the doctrine (which is revealed through his inspired words [3]).

8. (Yea, grant me these two inseparable gifts, for having them in store) I will speak for Thee, O Mazda! because to the man of understanding [4] one should declare for Thee that which is woe to the wicked, but salvation to him who has maintained the holy Order (in Thy folk and in his soul). For he is (repaid in his deed, and) rejoiced by the Mãthra who declares it to the wise.

9. (And when I shall speak, I will declare for You that mental) keenness (which reaches the decision), and which Thou hast bestowed upon the two striving sides [5], (in Thy satisfying word). And this

[1] See Y. XXXI, 17 where the faith of the dregva*n*t is sufficiently recognised to form the basis for a question, rhetorical indeed, but still a question.

[2] From this and similar occurrences of the 'water and the plants' beside 'Immortality and Welfare' probably arose the later peculiar identification of those names with water and plants.

[3] Compare perhaps verse 20.

[4] Otherwise; 'I will speak for Thee, O Lord! for the (all)-wise one should speak.'

[5] Or, 'from the two ara*n*i;' see notes on Y. XXXI, 3 and Y. XLIII, 12.

I will announce by means of Thy flaming Fire; yea, I will declare it for the bestowal of that sword of justice which is forged from steel [1], and wrought for both the worlds [2]. And for the wounding of the wicked (with its blade) may'st Thou [3], O Ahura Mazda! bless and prosper Thine (avenging) saint [4]!

10. (Yea, let Thy believer wound the wicked to the quick), for he, who totally estranged from this (our holy rule [5]), O Mazda! seeks to destroy my life, is a son [6] of the Lie's creation, and belongs to the miscreants; (but as for me), I call on Asha (Thy Righteous Order to be my help); and may he come with Thy good blessing.

11. (And ye who throng the great assembly [7], it is of you I speak while, with my lips, I now address the Lord): Who, O Ahura! is a loyal friend to the Spitâma [8], to Zarathu*s*tra? Who has asked his question of the divine Righteousness, (as he approached [9])?

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[1] Compare Y. XXXII, 7, *hv*aênâ ayanghâ (lit. iron).

Others see the ordeal of fire here, and the bath of melted metal from which the righteous suffers nothing, but in which the sinner is consumed, but râshayanghê seems to point to injury produced otherwise than by dipping, and dakhshta certainly designates a metallic instrument elsewhere; 'sign' is, however, the original meaning.

[2] So several times; comp. Y. XXVIII, 3, where the depth is unmistakable; see also Y. XXXI, 18 with ahûbî*s* in the next verse.

[3] The Pahlavi while not strictly correct, affords the indication of a causative, sû*d*înê*d*.

[4] From this verse probably arose the later association of khshathra-vairya and metal founding and forging.

[5] As invoking Asha is in the antithesis, I regard ashâ*t* as understood here. Ga*t* seems a particle, but also not impossibly = gâ*t*. As it is twice followed by tê (tôi), the interesting change is suggested to gatê, infin.

[6] Or a proper name.

[7] See the third verse.

[8] See Y. XLVI, 9, 14.

[9] See the fourth verse.

By whom is the bounteous Piety (received and cherished)? Or who has been regarded as upright and fitted for the great cause of Thy Good Mind?

12. ('Who is worthy?' would I ask, for Zarathu*s*tra was ever such, and from earliest days. He was no polluted wretch.) Paederast never gained his ear, nor Kavi-follower on this (temptation-)bridge of earth, when his body was (maturely) grown, when they both hasten(ed) to him with the bosom's[1] impure power[2].

13. (And he will be likewise victorious on the veritable Judgment Bridge, for) the righteous man's conscience will truly[3] crush the wicked man's (spirit) while his soul rages[4] fiercely on the open *K*inva*t* Bridge[5], as he strives by his actions, and his tongue's

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[1] Some other portion of the human body, suggested by the context, may be meant by aodare*s*. The word looks like a verbal form, 3rd pl., but see the preceding dual.

[2] I render the Pahlavi of this most difficult verse as follows: Far from satisfying me is the Kik, the paederast, in regard to both of the two particulars [food and clothing] on the path of winter; (far from satisfying me) who am Zartûsht, the Spîtâman, with whom he is; that is, (or 'where') he incites me with his incitation in my bodily (?) (sensations; reading astak (?)); [that is, a person comes, and thus also they, or he, would do it to me]; and this one who (is doing) [that to us] is also leading us on, even in our progress in the cold [of a winter] of accustomed sin, (or in the cold iniquitous winter). This verse seems a very ancient interpolation.

[3] Haithîm is an adverb; its position also does not so much favour an accusative substantive.

[4] So our texts; but the Pahlavi translator saw khraozhdaitî (see Y. XLVI, 11) in his MSS., rendering khrûsi*s*nŏ yehabûnd=utter cries: 'while his soul cries fiercely.'

[5] The occurrence of peret*a*u(âo) in this verse sheds light upon the peretô in the previous one. Âk*a*u(âo) seems to be an attracted form for a loc. as elsewhere. Perhaps it is miswritten.

(cursing speech) to reach[1] (and to pollute) Asha's paths (where the faithful souls come).

14. (And as are those lost spirits, so are our foes.) No friends to the creatures[2] are the Karpans, (not granting) complete (harvests) from the fields with complete (pasture) for the Kine (chief objects for our prayer), bringing woe[3] by their deeds and their teachings. And they[4] will deliver these (beings[5] whom they lead) at the last (?) by their doctrine(s) in the Home of the Lie.

15. But this is the reward which Zarathu*s*tra declared before (to his friends who counsel with Asha), and are fitted for the cause[6]; Ahura Mazda will come the first[7] into His Song Home, Garô*d*man,

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[1] Nãsv*a*u(âo) would naturally mean 'reaching'; but the word is also elsewhere used in an evil sense, 'reaching to harm.' Y. LIII, 7. The Pahlavi, however, indicates the reading nasv*a*u by its nasînênd. Does the Avesta show an original evil sense to nas=to reach? May the two nas possibly have some original connection? That *hv*âis *s*kyaothnâis means here 'by means of' rather than 'because of' is the more probable from the same words in the next verse, and this notwithstanding Y. XXXI, 20.

[2] So general a term as 'creatures' should be avoided where possible; but see y*e* dâthaêibyô ere*s* ratûm khshayãs ashav*a*u *k*istâ (verse 5).

[3] As to the grammatical structure, all depends on s*en*dâ. Shall we bring down nôi*t* from the verse above; or shall we regard s*en*dâ as in an evil sense from sad as in sadrâ? The Pahlavi favours the former, as also in Y. XXXVIII, 5 (Sp. 15). The general result is not, however, affected. Read as alternative: No friends to the creatures are the Karpans as to perfect (harvests) from the fields, (not) blessing us in the matter of perfect (care and fodder) for the cattle, &c.; (sad in the sense of blessing with nôi*t*).

[4] Free. [5] Or, 'doctrines.' [6] See the eleventh verse.

[7] Alternatives would be, 'Ahura will meet these engagements (?) made when the reward was promised;' or, 'the reward which Zarathu*s*tra promised before Ahura came into Garô*d*man.' Ac-

and then these gifts will be given you by the Good Mind (within you), and with blessings for the cause of the Righteous Order (in His hosts).

16. (And one of you, the greatest, has indeed attained to that wisdom which is thus blessed with a promise), Kavi Vîštâspa has reached it in the Realm of our great cause (of devotion [1]), and moved in his toil by the chants of the Good Mind (who speaks in the Mãthra [2]); yea, he hath attained to that wisdom which the bountiful Ahura conceived in accordance with Asha, thus to teach us salvation.

17. (And not alone amidst our princes hath sanctity been marked), Frashaoštra, the Hvôgva, hath presented a blest and an endeared form (his child [3]); and may Ahura Mazda, who has the Sovereign Power, grant her (to us), who is so much to be beloved. And for the (progress of the) good Religion [4] do ye, O ye people! receive her with desire [5], and for the gaining of Asha; (she will help the great cause).

18. Yea, that (holy) wisdom, O *G*âmâspa the Hvôgva [6]! these (pious throngs) are choosing through

cording to the general form of the Gâthic sentence, *k*ôišt parâ go more naturally together than if the force of the parâ was extended to *g*asa*t*. The coming of Ahura is elsewhere mentioned; here He enters His audience-chamber before His approaching saints.

[1] Maga may have some such cast of meaning. I have, moreover, more than once suspected that the origin of 'magian' may, notwithstanding the môghu of the later Avesta, be simply this maga so often used in the Gâthas to designate 'the cause.'

[2] See verse 20.

[3] So also the Pahlavi translator in his gloss; aîgham bartman pavan nêšmanîh barâ yehabûnê*d*ŏ.

[4] So also of Zarathustra's daughter, Y. LIII, 4.

[5] Or, 'cry ye for the gaining of Asha,' as in Y. XXIX, 1.

[6] Or, reading a nominative, '*G*âmâspa is choosing,' which is itself

their Righteousness as the (true) splendours of riches (these pious men who are) gaining the kingdom where the Good Mind (doth govern). And grant me also, O Mazda! that which these with glad wishes[1] receive from Thy grace[2].

19. (And this prayer is already and beforehand heard.) This established Sovereign Power the heroic (Kavi Vîštâspa has given), O Maidhyô-mâh the Spitâma. He who is wise through the Religion, and who seeks (the true) life, he is granting it to us[3]; yea, he has pronounced the laws of Ahura our Maker, and declared that which is for (our) life's actions (beyond all other things) best.

20. And, that gift of blessedness for you, all (the Bountiful Immortals) with one consent in sympathy to help us (are disposed[4]) to grant; (and may they likewise make) the Holy Order (firm) for us through the Good Mind (in our folk); and may they reveal to us the words with which Piety likewise (speaks her truths). And receiving sacrifice with homage (from our praises), may they seek[5] for us Ahura Mazda's grace.

21. (Yea, this Kavi Vîštâspa) the man of Âramaiti is bounteous, and with understanding in his words and his actions. (And as a reward) may Ahura give

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well possible, as var is also conjugated with n; but rapen seems a plural, and vîdô likewise.

[1] I concede this shade of meaning to the indications of the Pahlavi.

[2] The Pahlavi gives us our first indication here.

[3] If Gâmâspô (nom.) is read in verse 18, ahmâi might here refer to him; 'to this one.'

[4] Or, 'let them grant;' infinitive as imperative.

[5] Seeking; a dual is here disapproved by the source from which the suggestion originated.

him that Righteousness which is blest, (but) with the Religion (alone), and that Sovereign Power which is established through the Good Mind (in His folk). And this same blessing would I pray from His grace[1].

22. For Ahura Mazda knoweth the man whose best gift for the sacrifice is given unto me, and from the motive of Righteousness; (and in thankfulness for all, and in prayer for yet still further grace), I will worship (the eternal ones); yea, I will worship those who have ever lived, and who still live, and by their own (holy) names, and to their (thrones[2]) will I draw near with my praise!

THE GÂTHA(Â) VAHISTÂ ÎSTIS (VAHISTÔISTI(Î)).

This Gâtha, named from its first words, consists of chapter LIII of the Yasna. While its matter is homogeneous with that of the other Gâthas, it bears some evidence of having been composed in the latter portion of Zarathustra's life. It is, as usual, separated from the other Gâthas by its metre, which shows four lines with two half lines. The first two have eleven or twelve syllables; the third seems to have fourteen plus a half line with five, so also the last. Irregularities seem frequent. The composition has for its substance a marriage song, but one of a politically religious character.

The piece â-airyemâ-ishyô, Y. LIV, 1, has been considered by some as susceptible of a similar metrical arrangement, and it certainly looks as if it originally belonged to Y. LIII. It is, however,

[1] I refer tem to Ahura, supposing it to stand; reading tãm, I would refer it to ashi.

[2] Compare Vend. XIX, 31.

otherwise divided by Bartholomae (see Arische Forschungen, 2ter heft, s. 23). From the past form of srâvî, some have thought that Zarathustra was no longer living when this hymn was composed, but the word may only mean '(his prayer) has been, or is heard.' If we must, however, render 'was heard,' this does not determine the certainty of Zarathustra's death. The expression Zarathustris Spitâmô also gives the impression that some heir to Zarathustra's office and prestige existed, but even this is not decisive, for a future successor may be for a time a contemporary, while, on the contrary, the nuptials of Zarathustra's daughter, with the mention of his name, and the reference to her 'father' as the one from whom her bridegroom obtained her, indicate that Zarathustra may well have been still living. The later forms Zarathustrahê and fedhrô remain as the indications of a later origin than the actual period of Zarathustra's lifetime; but these circumstances may be owing to accidental causes.

The style has freshness and vigour throughout, and would indicate Zarathustrian influence, if not authorship. That Zarathustra does not speak in the first person, has no importance whatever in the question. The piece is not of course a whole; but it may well be a whole out of which parts have fallen. That the subject passes on to the old polemical vehemence in the last verses, is far from unnatural. The marriage festival of Zarathustra's child must have been, if without intention, a semi-political occasion, and the bard would express himself, as naturally, with regard to the struggle which was still going on. This latter fact also shows an early date; the passages referring to the struggle are strongly kindred with some in Y. XLVI, and elsewhere.

Verses 1 and 2 form an admirable introduction; the transition to the marriage occasion was, however, contained in lost verses. Verses 3, 4, and 5 hang well together; and 6 and 7 are not at all remote from them; the warlike close, although far from surprising us, must have been introduced by one or more now missing stanzas.

1. As the object of the 'great cause,' next to the preservation of its adherents, was the extension of its influence, first over hesitating parties (Y. XLIV, 12), and then over all the living (Y. XXXI, 3), it is not surprising that the central prayer of Zarathustra should have culminated in a desire for the conversion of opponents. Even Turanians had been known to come over to the holy creed, and help prosper the settlements which their kith had so often plundered (Y. XLVI, 12); he had therefore prayed that those who

had heretofore injured the holy Daêna might become its disciples by a genuine conversion. 2. Having observed the fidelity of converts and original disciples, the king and his chief nobles would celebrate their devotion by hymns, ceremonies, and sacrifices, as the symbols of every moral virtue, laying down for the people the moral law of the Saviour. 3. As it would be pushing rather far to suppose the Saoshya*n*t to be referred to in t*e*m*k*â, and as moreover, according to Geldner's admirable suggestion, that title may here well refer to Zarathu*s*tra, it is better to accept a loss of verses, and to suppose a person alluded to as the bridegroom, who, if not one so eminent as to merit the imposing name of Saoshya*n*t, was still at least one of his more prominent satellites, for the ancient poet goes on to address a daughter of Zarathu*s*tra as a bride. She is the youngest, and her name is as pious as that of a maid of ancient Israel, for she is called 'full of the religious knowledge.' Her husband is to be a support in holiness, and she is to take counsel with piety. 4. Her response is appropriate; she will vie with her husband in every sacred affection, as well as in every domestic virtue. 5. The priestly thaliarch then addresses the bridesmaids and the pair with suitable admonitions to piety and affection. 6. Turning now to the assembly, possibly after the recital of some stanzas long since vanished, he proceeds with warnings and encouragements. He will exorcise the Demon who was especially the slave of the Daêvas; but he warns all men and women against the evil Vayu, the spirit of the air. 7. Charitably concluding that they would come forth as conquerors from the trials which still awaited them, he next warns them against all solicitations to vice. 8. Having named profane Demons, his polemical zeal becomes fully inflamed. Anticipating with fierce delight the sufferings of the wicked, he calls vehemently for the champion, who may, in alliance with neighbouring potentates, deliver up the murderous false-leader, giving peace to the masses; and he entreats that all haste may be used. 9. To arouse the great chiefs to their duty, he recalls (as in Y. XXXII) the successes of the foe; and he calls for the prince who may overthrow and expel him, but, as if well aware that the human arm could not alone bring salvation, he attributes to Ahura the Sovereign Power, which alone can guard helpless innocence against lawless plunder and oppression.

Translation.

1. That best prayer has been answered[1], the prayer of Zarathuštra Spitâma, that Ahura Mazda might[2] grant him those boons, (the most wished-for) which flow from the good Order, even a life that is prospered[3] for eternal duration, and also those who deceived[4] him (may He likewise thus grant him) as the good Faith's disciples in word and in deed[5].

2. And may Kavi Vîštâspa, and the Zarathuštrian Spitâma[6], and Frashaoštra too with them, offer propitiation to Mazda in thought, word, and deed, and

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[1] Some lay stress upon the literal form 'was heard,' and regard the expression as indicating the fact that Zarathuštra was no longer living (see the remarks in the summary).

[2] Free.

[3] I follow the Pahlavi with all; it has hû-âhûînâd.

[4] I follow the frîftâr of the Pahlavi, as the conversion of those formerly hostile is suggested by vaurayâ and Fryâna, not to speak of the primary rendering of duserethrîš ǩikhshnushâ. The Pahlavi also has, 'even he who is the deceiver is to be instructed in the word and deed of the good religion.' The MSS. should not hastily be abandoned.

[5] That more than a ritualistic sanctity is meant is certain (see Y. XXX, 3); but that no sanctity could be recognised apart from worship is equally undeniable.

[6] Who was the Zarathuštrian Spitâma? Some change the text after the Pahlavi translator, reading Zarathuštra Spitâma; but I would not follow this evil example in a first translation of a translatable text. Why should a Spitâma, who was not Zarathuštra, be called Zarathuštrian? Were some of the Spitâmas not in sympathy with their great kinsman, Spitâmas who were Mazdayasnians, but not 'of Zarathuštra's order?' One would however suppose that some one of Zarathuštra's family was meant who occupied the position of his especial representative and natural successor.

Yasna confessions[1] as they render Him praise, making straight paths[2] (for our going), even that Faith of the Saoshya*n*t which Ahura will found[3].

(The master of the feast.)

3[4]. And him will they give Thee, O Pouru*k*ista, Haê*k*a*t*-aspid and Spitâmi! young[5] (as thou art) of the daughters of Zarathu*s*tra, him will they[6] give thee as a help in the Good Mind's true service, of Asha's and Mazda's, as a chief and a guardian[7]. Counsel well then (together[8]), with the mind of Ârmaiti, most bounteous and pious; and act with just action.

(She answers.)

4. I will love[9] and vie with him, since from (my) father[10] he gained (me). For the master and toilers, and for the lord-kinsman (be) the Good Mind's bright

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[1] Free.

[2] Recall the 'path made for the Kine,' and 'the way' which 'Thou declarest to be that of the Good Mind.'

[3] That is, will permanently found, establish.

[4] Verses have here fallen out, as some allusion must have been made to the bridegroom.

[5] So more according to the hint of the Pahlavi and the statement of the Bundahi*s*; West, XXXII, 5. So Geldner, K. Z. 28, 195.

[6] Or, 'will he, the Saoshya*n*t, the bride's father.'

[7] A chieftain, a protecting head.

[8] It is, perhaps, safer to refer this 'questioning' to the pair; but forms of ham with pares are also used of consultations with the Deity (see Y. XXXIII, 6). Y. XLIV, 13 nearly necessitates the wider and less concrete view here.

[9] Varânî looks somewhat like a gloss, but the metre seems to demand it.

[10] Her father's sanction was a reason for devotion to the man to whom he had given her.

blessing[1], the pure for the pure ones, and to me (be[2]) the insight (which I gain from his counsel[3]). Mazda grant it, Ahura for good conscience for ever.

(The priestly master of the feast.)

5. Monitions for the marrying I speak to (you) maidens, to you, I who know them; and heed ye my (sayings): By these[4] laws of the Faith which I utter obtain ye the life of the Good Mind (on earth and in heaven). (And to you, bride and bridegroom[5]), let each one the other in Righteousness cherish; thus alone unto each shall the home-life be happy.

6. [Thus real are these things, ye men and ye women[6]!] from the Lie-demon protecting, I guard o'er my (faithful), and so (I) grant progress (in weal and in goodness). And the hate of the Lie (with the hate of her) bondsmen (?) I pray from the body, (and so would expel it[7]). For to those who bear Vayu[8], (and bring him to power), his shame[9] mars the glory. To these evil truth-harmers by these means he reaches. Ye thus slay the life mental (if ye follow his courses[10]).

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[1] The Pahlavi translator has sîrîh here.

[2] B*et*=bá*d* lies certainly nearer than b*eet*=bava*t*.

[3] See the previous verse. [4] Or, 'being zealous.'

[5] These words do not seem adapted to the bridesmaids.

[6] *G*aini is elsewhere used in an evil sense.

[7] I can only render thus literally: From the Drû*g* as a generous guide (I) who (compare *ye* in Y. XXVIII) (for) mine, (mê) a watching guardian (I guide as a râthema; nom. sing. with verbal force) increasing prosperity, i. e. progress, of the Drû*g* I pray (forth*; I exorcise) of the bond (?) (of the Drû*g*) the malicious injuries* from the body or person. * yêsê-parâ. * to 3rd pî.

[8] 'If ye bear, or promote, the interests of Vayu.'

[9] Or, 'evil food.'

[10] Some line here is gloss; the first thought would be to eliminate

7. But yours be the recompense, (O ye righteous women!) of this great cause. For while lustful desire heart-inflamed from the body[1] there beyond goeth down where the spirit of evil reaches (to ruin, still) ye bring forth the champion[2] to help on the cause, (and thus conquer temptation). So your last word is 'Vayu'; (ye cry it in triumph[3]).

8. And thus let the sinners by these means be foiled[4]; and consumed[5] be they likewise. Let them shriek in their anger. With good kings let (our champion[6]) deliver[7] the smiter[8] (as a captive in

the difficult second line; but the third line might be an effort (by the poet himself, or an associate, see the metrical form) to explain, or relieve, the awkward second line. Reading *y*emâ and râthemâ, and taking *g*enayô as in an evil sense, with spasuthâ as a second plural, we might render as a question: 'Do ye, O ye twain, ye helpers of the Drûg; do ye regard promotion (as thus to be gained)?' But in that case verses 6 and 7 should be regarded as separated by many lost verses from the fifth verse. But is not the first line the gloss? It is merely an address.

[1] Free. [2] Lit. 'the greatness.'

[3] The difficulty here lies in the first line which seems to declare a reward in a good sense. Mîzdem is hardly used of retribution. It must therefore be taken in a good sense. The following evil results must be supposed to have been avoided; and 'Vayu' to be uttered in triumph. Vayu is used in an evil sense in verse 6.

If mîzdem could be supposed to express retribution, then evil men and women would be threatened, and Vayu would be a cry uttered in woe. As to Vayu with his two natures, see part ii as per index.

[4] The foiling of the evil here recalls âdebaomâ.

[5] The Pahlavi translator seems to me too free in rendering za*hv*yâ*k*â (zahyâ*k*â), zani*s*n-hômand. It also makes a curious imitation of letters in *g*êh va mar for *g*enarãm. It is of course far from certain that he had our present text.

[6] See verse 9; also Y. XLVI, 4.

[7] Recall the delivering of the evil into the two hands of Asha (Y. XXX, 8, and Y. XLIV, 14).

[8] Khrûnerãm*k*â must be a gloss.

battle), giving peace to our dwellings, and peace to our hamlets. Let him charge[1] those deceivers, chaining death as the strongest[2]; and swift be (the issue).

9. Through false believers the tormentor makes Thy helpers[3] refusers[4]; (those who once helped our heroes shall no longer give succour). The estranged thus desires, and the reprobate[5] wills it, with the will that he harbours to conquer our honour[6]. Where is then the Lord righteous who will smite them from life[7], and (beguile) them of license? Mazda! Thine is that power, (which will banish and conquer). And Thine is the Kingdom[8]; and by it Thou bestowest the highest (of blessings) on the right-living poor[9]!

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[1] 'Let him "rout" or "stir" them.'

[2] Comp. mazista=the strongest in Y. XLIX, 1, 'the prevailer.' Lit. 'with the chaining of death the greatest.'

[3] For narpîs I can only suggest the suspiciously simple nar=hero (comp. the frequent nâ) and pî=nourish, support. The Pahlavi translator seems likewise to have had some such rendering in mind, for he translates dastôbar.

*[4] As to rigîs, the Pahlavi translation, which is here more than usually difficult, hints in the direction above followed, by a word which I would restore as rêgînênd.

[5] The Pahlavi translator erroneously sees 'bridge' in peshô, or is free with his tanâpûharkânŏ hômand. See Geldner, Stud. 3.

[6] See Geldner, Stud. 54. [7] See Y. XLVI, 4.

[8] Comp. the Ahuna-vairya which takes its last line from this place, and Y. XXXIV, 5. Vahyô is a variation for vanghêus vahyô.

[9] Here I have endeavoured to imitate the swing of the rhythm by breaking up the sentences, especially in the second line. Literally it would be, 'with the desire, with the virtue-conquering (desire) of the reprobate.' Such freedom as the above is often a critical necessity in the attempts to reproduce the warmth of the original.

THE YASNA.

It is now hardly necessary to say that the Yasna is the chief liturgy of the Zarathustrians, in which confession, invocation, prayer, exhortation, and praise are all combined as in other liturgies. Like other compositions of the kind, it is made up of more or less mutually adapted fragments of different ages, and modes of composition. The Gâthas are sung in the middle of it, and in the Vendîdâd Sâdah, the Visparad is interpolated within it for the most part at the ends of chapters.

We have no reason to suppose that the Yasna existed in its present form in the earlier periods of Zarathustrianism, but we have also no reason to doubt that its present arrangement is, as regards us, very ancient. The word Yasna means worship including sacrifice. Introductory excerpts occur in several MSS., and are now printed by Geldner. They are to be found in Y. I, 23; Y. III, 25; Y. XI, 17, 18; Y. XXII, 23–27; Y. XXVII, 13, 14; Ny. I, 2.

YASNA I.

The Sacrifice Commences.

1. I announce[1] and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the radiant and glorious, the greatest and the best, the most beautiful (?) (to our conceptions), the most firm, the wisest, and the one of all whose body[2] is the most perfect, who

[1] Or, 'I invite;' but the word seems equal to âvaêdhayêma; compare the Vedic vid + ni. Comp. also nî tê vaêdhayêmi and nî vô vaêdhayêmi in Y. I, 21, 22. The Pahlavi favours 'I invite.'

[2] Not that Ahura was conceived of as having a body proper. The stars are elsewhere poetically described as his body, as other

attains His ends the most infallibly, because of His Righteous Order, to Him who disposes our minds aright[1], who sends His joy-creating grace afar; who made us, and has fashioned us, and who has nourished and protected us[2], who is the most bounteous Spirit[3]!

2. I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Good Mind, and to Righteousness the Best, and to the Sovereignty which is to be desired, and to Piety the Bountiful, and to the two, the Universal Weal and Immortality, to the body of the Kine, and to the Kine's Soul, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, that one who more than[4] (all) the Bountiful Immortals has made most effort (for our succour)!

3. And I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Asnya, the day-lords of the ritual order, to Hâvani the holy, the lord[5] of the ritual order; and I celebrate, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to Sâvanghi and to Vîsya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order. And I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken[6] name, and to Râman *Hv*âstra.

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divinities are said to be tanu-mãthra, having the Mãthra as their body; that is, incarnate in the Mãthra.

[1] 'Disposing aright as to mind.'

[2] Pahlavi parvar*d*.

[3] Elsewhere the Spe*n*ta Mainyu is spoken of as His possession.

[4] The Fire seems almost spoken of as one of the Amesha Spe*n*ta.

[5] Lords of the ritual because ruling as chief at the time of their mention, and in this sense regarded as genii protecting all ritual seasons and times of their class. Vîsya presides over the Vîs; Sâvanghi, over cattle.

[6] Having an especial Ya*s*t.

4. I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Frâda*t*fshu, and to Za*n*tuma, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order; and I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to Righteousness[1] the Best, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire[1].

5. I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Uzayêirina the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Frâda*t*-vîra and to Da*hv*yuma[2], the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to that lofty Ahura Napâ*t*-apãm (the son of waters), and to the waters which Ahura Mazda[3] made.

6. I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Aiwisrûthrima (and) Aibigaya[4], the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to Zarathustrôtema, and to him who possesses and who gives that prosperity in life which furthers all. And I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to the Fravashis of the saints, and to those of the women who have many sons[5], and to a prosperous home-life which continues without reverse throughout the year, and to that Might which is well-shaped and stately[6], which strikes victoriously, Ahura-made, and to that Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

7. I announce and I complete (my Yasna) to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Beregya (and) Nmânya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to Sraosha (who is Obedience) the blessed, endowed with blessed recompense (as a thing com-

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[1] Constantly associated together in the later Avesta.

[2] *hv*=h before y.

[3] As opposed to those which might belong to Angra Mainyu.

[4] Or, 'who furthers life.'

[5] 'Men and herds?'

[6] 'Well-grown.'

pleted[1]), who smites with victory, and furthers the settlements, and to Rashnu[2], the most just, and to Arstât[3], who advances the settlements, and causes them to increase.

8. And I announce and I complete (my Yasna) to the Mâhya, the monthly festivals, lords of the ritual order, to the new and the later[4] moon, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the full moon which scatters night.

9. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Yâirya, yearly feasts, the holy lords of the ritual order. I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to Maidyô-zaremya[5], the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Maidyô-shema, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Paitishahya, and to Ayâthrima the advancer, and the spender of the strength of males[6], the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Maidhyâirya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Hamaspathmaêdhaya, the holy lord of the ritual order; yea, I celebrate and complete my Yasna to the seasons, lords of the ritual order.

10. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to all those who are the thirty and three[7] lords of the ritual order, which, coming the nearest, are around about Hâvani, and which (as in their festivals) were

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[1] I should say that the suffix has this force here as in close connection with ashyô.

[2] Genius of rectitude. [3] Rectitude in another form.

[4] Literally, 'to the moon within,' showing little light.

[5] See the Âfrînagân. [6] The rutting season.

[7] Haug first called attention to the striking coincidence with the Indian. In the Aitareya and *S*atapatha Brâhma*n*as, in the Atharvaveda, and in the Râmâya*n*a, the gods are brought up to the number thirty-three. The names differ somewhat however. (See Essays, ed. West, 2nd edition, p. 276; see also *R*v. 240, 9; 250, 2.)

inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and were promulgated by Zarathustra, as the lords of Asha Vahista, who is Righteousness the Best.

11. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the two, to Ahura[1] and to Mithra, the lofty, and the everlasting, and the holy, and to all the stars which are Spenta Mainyu's creatures, and to the star Tistrya, the resplendent and glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of the Kine, and to the resplendent Sun, him of the rapid steeds, the eye[2] of Ahura Mazda, and to Mithra the province-ruler. And I celebrate and complete my Yasna to Ahura Mazda (once again, and as to him who rules the month[3]), the radiant, the glorious, and to the Fravashis[4] of the saints.

12. And I announce and complete my Yasna to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! together with all the fires, and to the good waters, even to all the waters made by Mazda, and to all the plants which Mazda made.

13. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Bounteous Mãthra, the holy and effective, the revelation given against the Daêvas[5]; the Zarathus-

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[1] The star Jupiter has been called Ormuzd by the Persians and Armenians, and it may be intended here, as stars are next mentioned, but who can fail to be struck with the resemblance to the Mitra-Varuna of the *Rig*-veda. Possibly both ideas were present to the composer.

[2] Recall *K*akshur Mitrasya Varunasya Agne*h*.

[3] The first day of the month is called Ahura Mazda.

[4] The first month is called Fravashi. These are put for the particular day of celebration.

[5] This was the Vendîdâd, the name being a contraction of vîdaêvâ-dâta. It will not be forgotten that the Vendîdâd, although later put together, contains old Aryan myths which antedate

trian revelation, and to the long descent[1] of the good Mazdayasnian Faith.

14. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the mountain Ushi-darena[2], the Mazda-made, with its sacred brilliance, and to all the mountains glorious with sanctity[3], with their abundant Glory Mazda-made, and to that majestic Glory Mazda-made, the unconsumed[4] Glory which Mazda made. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Ashi the good, the blessedness (of the reward), and to *K*isti, the good religious Knowledge, to the good Ereth*e* (Rectitude[5]?), and to the good Rasãstâ*t* (persisting zeal[6]?), and to the Glory and the Benefit which are Mazda-made.

15. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the pious and good Blessing of the religious man[7], the holy, and to the curse of wisdom, the swift and redoubted Yazad of potency (to blight).

16. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to these places and these lands, and to these pastures, and these abodes with their springs of water (?)[8], and

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Zarathustra, although in its present greatly later form, Zarathustra is a demi-god in it, and his name is involved in myth.

[1] 'The long tradition;' so Spiegel.

[2] From this mountain the Iranian kings were later supposed to have descended; hence the mention of the 'glory.'

[3] Observe the impossibility of the meaning 'comfort,' or mere 'well-being' here.

[4] Or possibly 'the unseized,' the Pahlavi agrift (?); Ner. ag*r*îhîtâ*m*; *hv*ar, to eat, may have meant 'seize' originally.

[5] Ereth*e* (*r*iti?) seems without inflection.

[6] The state of activity (?).

[7] Shall we say, 'of the departed saint' here?

[8] The Pahlavi with its afkhvâr points here perhaps to a better text. Recall awzhdâtem*k*a, awzhd*a*unghô, awrem.

to the waters, land, and plants, and to this earth and to yon heaven, and to the holy wind, and to the stars, moon, and sun, and to the eternal stars without beginning[1], and self-disposing[2], and to all the holy creatures of Spe*n*ta-Mainyu, male and female, the regulators of the ritual order.

17. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to that lofty lord who is the ritual Righteousness[3] (itself), and to the lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, to the moons, the years, and the seasons which are lords of the ritual order at the time of Hâvani[4].

18. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Fravashis of the saints, the redoubted, which overwhelm (the evil), to those of the saints of the ancient lore, to those of the next of kin, and to the Fravashi of (mine) own[5] soul!

19. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to all the lords of the ritual order, and to all the Yazads, the beneficent, who dispose (of all) aright, to those both heavenly and earthly, who are (meet) for our sacrifice and homage because of Asha Vahi*s*ta, (of the ritual Order which is 'the best').

20. O (thou) Hâvani, holy lord of the ritual order, and Sâvanghi, Rapithwina, and Uzayêirina, and Aiwisrûthrima, (and) Aibigaya, (thou that aidest

[1] Meaning 'without beginning to their course,' and so 'fixed' (?).

[2] Self-determining, not satellites, having the laws of their own motion in themselves.

[3] The divine Order par eminence, expressed in the ritual and the faith.

[4] Not 'to the chief of Hâvani,' possibly 'in the lordship,' the time when it is especially the object of worship. Thus each object of worship becomes in its turn a 'lord or chief' of 'the ritual order.'

[5] The soul of the celebrant or his client is intended.

life !) if I have offended you, and thou, O Ushahina, holy lord of the ritual order !

21. If I have offended thee [1], whether by thought, or word, or deed, whether by act of will, or without intent or wish, I earnestly make up the deficiency of this in praise to thee. If I have caused decrease [2] in that which is Thy Yasna, and Thy homage, I announce (and celebrate [3]) to thee (the more for this) !

22. Yea, all ye lords, the greatest ones, holy lords of the ritual order, if I have offended you by thought, or word, or deed, whether with my will, or without intending error [4], I praise you (now the more) for this. I announce to you (the more) if I have caused decrease in this which is your Yasna, and your praise.

23. I would confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for Hâvani, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, for Sâvanghi, and for Vîsya, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise of the lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, for

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[1] Compare *R*v. VII, 86, 3–6.

[2] Practised, or induced neglect, or omitted portions of it.

[3] 'I invite for Thee' (?).

[4] That the thought, word, and deed here were more than the mere semi-mechanical use of faculties in reciting the liturgy, is clear. At the same time all morality was supposed to be represented in the liturgy. The evil man would offend in thought, word, and deed, if he recited it carelessly, or with bad conscience, and as guilty of any known and unrepented sins. The moral and ceremonial laws went hand in hand.

those of the monthly festivals, and for those of the yearly ones, and for those of the seasons!

YASNA II.

The Sacrifice continues.

1. I desire to approach[1] the Zaothras[2] with my worship. I desire to approach the Baresman with my worship. I desire to approach the Zaothra conjointly with the Baresman in my worship, and the Baresman conjointly with the Zaothra. Yea, I desire to approach this Zaothra (here), and with this (present) Baresman, and I desire to approach this Baresman conjoined with this Zaothra with my praise[3]; and I desire to approach this Baresman with praise provided with its Zaothra with its girdle, and spread with sanctity.

2. And in this Zaothra[3] and the Baresman I desire to approach Ahura Mazda with my praise, the holy

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[1] Referring yâs to its more original sense. Or read, 'I desire the approach of' the various objects of worship, which may be correct, as we understand the genius of each several object to be invoked. Aside from this, a desire 'to approach' seems quite necessary to fill out the sense here. Many of the objects referred to were already present, although some, like 'the mountains,' needed to be spiritually approached, or indeed invoked.

[2] Zaothra seems to me hardly a vocative here. If declined as other nouns, it would seem to be exceptionally a masculine; compare ahmya zaothrê below. I should feel constrained to regard it here as a masc. plural accusative (comp. haoma).

[3] If zaothrê is not a loc. masc. it may be used with the loc. masc. pronoun irregularly. It would then equal Zaothraya. The letter 𐬌 is often simply the Pahlavi 𐬌 a little lengthened and equivalent to ya (aya). 𐬌 does not merely stand for ya (aya), but it is sometimes the correct writing for those letters. (Useless repetitions are curtailed.)

lord of the ritual order, and the Bountiful Immortals, (all) those who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright, these also I desire to approach and with my praise.

3. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Asnya with my praise. I desire to approach the Hâvani with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Mithra with my praise, of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and Râman *Hv*âstra with him, the holy lord of the ritual order.

4. And in this Zaothra and with the Baresman I desire to approach Rapithwina with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order; and Frâda*t*-fshu and Za*n*tuma, the holy lords of the ritual order; and in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach toward Righteousness the Best with my praise, and with him the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son.

5. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Uzayêirina with my praise, and Frâda*t*-vîra and Da*hv*yuma[1], the holy lords of the ritual order; and with them that lofty lord, the kingly and brilliant Apãm-napâ*t*[2], of the fleet horses, and likewise the water Mazda-made and holy,

6. And Aiwisrûthrima, (and) Aibigaya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and Frâda*t*-vîspãm-hu*g*âiti, and Zarathu*s*trôtema, the holy lord, and the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the women who have many sons, and a peaceful and prosperous home-life that continues without reverse throughout the year, and Force well-shaped and

[1] *hv*=h before y.

[2] Sometimes Napâ*t*-apãm.

stately, and the Victorious-blow Ahura-given, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures), and (7) Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, Beregya and Nmânya, the holy lords of the ritual order, and Sraosha, Obedience, the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, furthering the settlements, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Rashnu, the most just, and Arstât, who furthers the settlements, and causes them to increase.

8. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Mâhya, the monthly festivals with my praise, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within), the holy lords of the ritual order, and the full moon which scatters night, (9) and the Yearly festivals, Maidhyô-zaremaya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Maidhyô-shema, and Paitishahya, and Ayâthrima, the promoter, who spends the strength of males, and Maidhyâirya and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the seasons, the holy lords of the ritual order.

10. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the lords of the ritual order with my praise, the three and thirty who come the nearest round about our Hâvanis, who are those lords (and seasons) of Righteousness the Best, which were inculcated by Mazda, and spoken forth by Zarathustra.

11. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra with my praise, the lofty, eternal, and the holy two; and I desire to approach the stars, moon, and sun with the Baresman plants, and with my praise, and with them Mithra the governor of all the provinces, and Ahura Mazda the radiant and glorious, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, (12) and thee, the Fire,

Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order, with all the fires! And I desire to approach the good waters in this Zaothra with this Baresman with my praise, all best waters, Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which are Mazda-made and holy.

13. And I desire to approach the bounteous Mãthra in this Zaothra with this Baresman, and with my praise, the most glorious as it is, and with it the law instituted against the Daêvas; yea, I desire to approach the Zarathustrian law with my praise, and (with it) its long descent, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion (as complete).

14. And I desire to approach Mount Ushi-darena in this Zaothra, with this Baresman with my praise, Mazda-made, and glorious with sanctity, the Yazad-(mount). And I desire to approach all the mountains with my praise, glorious with sanctity as they are, and with abundant glory, Mazda-made, and holy lords of the ritual order; and I desire to approach the mighty kingly Glory Mazda-made and unconsumed; yea, (even) the mighty unconsumed Glory Mazda-made. And I desire to approach Ashi Vanguhi (the good blessedness) in my praise, the brilliant, lofty, powerful, and stately, saving by inherent power. Yea, I desire to approach the Glory Mazda-made with my praise; and I desire to approach the Benefit conferred by Mazda.

15. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Blessing, pious and good, and the pious and holy man who utters it, and the mighty and redoubted Curse of the wise, the Yazad.

16. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach these waters with my praise, and these lands and plants, and these places, districts,

and pastures, and these dwellings with their springs of water [1], and this land-ruler, who is Ahura Mazda.

17. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the greatest lords with my praise, the day-lords, and the month-lords, those of the years, and of the seasons, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

18. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the holy Yazads with my praise; yea, even all the lords of the ritual order, Hâvani at his time, and Sâvanghi at his time, and all the greatest lords of the ritual at their proper times.

YASNA III.

The Yasna advances to the Naming of the Objects of Propitiation.

1. With a Baresman brought to its appointed place accompanied with the Zaothra at the time of Hâvani, I desire to approach the Myazda-offering with my praise, as it is consumed, and likewise Ameretatâ*t* [2] (as the guardian of plants and wood) and Haurvatâ*t* (who guards the water), with the (fresh) meat [3], for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, and of the Bountiful

[1] See note on Y. I, 16.

[2] Spiegel has observed with truth that Ameretatâ*t* and Haurvatâ*t* may represent severally all the fruits and the liquids offered.

[3] The modern Parsis, Haug following, render 'butter'; but Spiegel is inclined to discredit this later tradition, holding that 'flesh' was originally intended; but on its becoming disused in India, milk was substituted, hence the error.

Gau*s* hudha*o*u, in its primary sense, meant of course 'the Kine of blessed endowment.' (Repetitions are again curtailed.)

Immortals, and for the propitiation of Sraosha (who is Obedience) the blessed, who is endowed with sanctity, and who smites with the blow of victory, and causes the settlements to advance.

2. And I desire to approach Haoma and Parahaoma[1] with my praise for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Spitâma Zarathustra, the saint. And I desire to approach the (sacred) wood with my praise, with the perfume, for the propitiation of thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son!

3. And I desire to approach the Haomas with my praise for the propitiation of the good waters which Mazda created; and I desire to approach the Haoma-water, and the fresh milk[2] with my praise, and the plant Hadhânaêpata, offered with sanctity for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda-made.

4. And I desire to approach this Baresman with the Zaothra with my praise, with its binding[3] and spread with sanctity for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals. And I desire with (?) my voice the thoughts well thought, and the words well spoken, and the deeds well done, and the recital of the Gâthas as they are heard. And I desire to approach the well-said Mãthras with my praise, and this (higher) lordship with this sanctity, and this exact regulation[4] (of the Ratu), and the reverential prayer for blessings (spoken at the fitting hour); and I desire to approach them for the contentment and propitiation

[1] The Haoma-juice.

[2] So better than 'fresh meat.' Fluids are the chief objects of attention here.

[3] With its girdle.

[4] Anghuyãm—rathwãm stand related as ahû and ratu; so also the Pahlavi ahûŏîh and ra*d*îh, and Ner. svâmitâ*mk*a gurutâ*mk*a.

of the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and for the contentment of each man's soul.

5. And I desire to approach the Asnya with my praise, the lords of the ritual order, and the Hâvani and Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order. And I desire to approach with the Ya*s*t[1] of Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and with him Râman *Hv*âstra.

6. And I desire to approach Rapithwina with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Frâda*t*-fshu and Za*n*tuma, and Righteousness the Best, and Ahura Mazda's Fire.

7. And I desire to approach Uzayêirina, and Frâda*t*-vîra and Da*hv*yuma* with my praise, with that lofty Ahura Napâ*t*-apãm, and the waters Mazda-made,

8. And Aiwisrûthrima, and Aibigaya, and Frâda*t*-vîspãm-hu*g*aiti, and Zarathu*s*trôtema with the Ya*s*t of the Fravashis of the saints[2], and of the women who have many sons, and the year long unchanged prosperity, and of Might, the well-shaped and stately, smiting victoriously, Ahura-made and of the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

9. And I desire to approach Ushahina, Bere*g*ya, and Nmânya with the Ya*s*t of Sraosha (Obedience) the sacred, the holy, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, and with that of Rashnu, the most just, and Ar*s*tâ*t*

[1] Ye*s*tî seems used of an especial Ya*s*t here, and subsequently, as genitives intrude among datives, the form possibly taking the place of the words 'for the propitiation of'; here Ya*s*t X may be referred to.

[2] Ya*s*t XIII.

who furthers the settlements, and causes them to increase.

10. And I desire to approach the monthly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, and the new moon and the waning moon, and the full moon which scatters night,

11. And the yearly festivals, Maidhyô-zaremaya, Maidhyô-shema, Paitishahya, and Ayâthrima the breeder who spends the strength of males, and Maidhyâirya, and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the seasons, lords of the ritual order, (12) and all those lords who are the three and thirty, who approach the nearest at the time of Hâvani, who are the Lords of Asha called Vahishta (and whose services were) inculcated by Mazda, and pronounced by Zarathustra, as the feasts of Righteousness, the Best.

13. And I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra, the lofty and imperishable two, the holy, and with the Yast of those stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and with the Yast of the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the moon which contains the seed of cattle, and with that of the resplendent sun, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and of Mithra, province-lord of the provinces, and with that of Ahura Mazda (as He rules this day) the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the Fravashis of the saints, (who rule this month),

14. And with thy Yast, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires, and to the good waters with the Yast of all the waters which are Mazda-made, and with that of all the plants which Mazda made.

15. And I desire to approach with the Yast of the

Mãthra Spe*n*ta, the holy, the effective, the law composed against the Daêvas, the Zarathu*s*trian, and with that of the long descent of the Religion which Mazda gave.

16. And I desire to approach with the Ya*s*t of Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, and of all, glorious with sanctity, and abundant in brilliance, and with that of the Kingly Glory, Mazda-made; yea, with that of the unconsumed glory which Mazda made, and with that of Ashi Vanguhi, and *K*isti Vanguhi, and with that of the good Ereth*e*, and the good Rasãstâ*t*, and the good Glory, and of the Benefit which Mazda gave.

17. And I desire to approach with the Ya*s*t of the good and pious Blessing of the pious man and of the saint, and with that of the awful and swift Curse of the wise, the Yazad-curse, (18) and to these places, regions, pastures, and abodes, with their water-springs, and with that of the waters, and the lands, and the plants, and with that of this earth and yon heaven, and with that of the holy wind and of the stars, moon, and sun, and with that of the stars without beginning, self-determined and self-moved, and with that of all the holy creatures which are those of Spe*n*ta Mainyu, male and female, regulators of the ritual order, (19) and with that of the lofty lord who is Righteousness (himself, the essence of the ritual), and with that of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and with that of the monthly festivals, and the yearly festivals, and with those of the several seasons which are lords of the ritual at the time of Hâvani.

20. And I desire to approach the meat-offering with a Ya*s*t, and Haurvatâ*t* (who guards the water), and Ameretatâ*t* (who guards the plants and wood), with

the Yast of the sacred flesh for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the mighty, whose body is the Mãthra, of him of the daring spear, the lordly, the Yazad of the spoken name.

21. And I desire to approach both Haoma and the Haoma-juice with a Yast for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint, the Yazad of the spoken name. And I desire to approach the wood-billets with a Yast, with the perfume for the propitiation of thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! the Yazad of the spoken name.

22. And I desire to approach with a Yast for the mighty Fravashis of the saints, the overwhelming, the Fravashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and of those of the next of kin.

23. And I desire to approach toward all the lords of the ritual order with a Yast, toward all the good Yazads, heavenly and earthly, who are (set) for worship and for praise because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best).

24. I will confess myself a Mazdayasnian, of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord for Hâvani, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and for Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of the day-lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and for the month-regulators, and the year-regulators, and for those of the (several) seasons, for their sacrifice, and homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

(The Zaotar speaks [1]): As the Ahû to be

[1] So at least the rubric. One would think that the sentence was intended to be dictated to the Ratu to be repeated; that is, if the

(revered and) chosen, let the priest speak[1] forth to me.

(The Ratu responds): As the Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, let him who is the Zaotar speak[1] forth to me.

(The Zaotar again): So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA IV.

The Offering takes place.

1. These good thoughts, good words, and good deeds[2], these Haomas, meat-offerings, and Zaothras, this Baresman spread with sanctity, this flesh, and the two, Haurvatâ*t* (who guards the water) and Ameretatâ*t* (who guards the plants and wood), even the flesh, the Haoma and Haoma-juice, the wood-billets, and their perfume, this sacred lordship[3] and chieftainship[3], and the timely prayer with blessing, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-said Mãthras, these all we offer, and make known with celebrations (here).

2. Yea, these do we announce with celebrations, and we present them to Ahura Mazda, and to Sraosha

rubric is correct. The sentence as uttered by the priest seems difficult.

[1] Present, or infin. for imperative (?).

[2] The fact that somewhat of a more technical sumatí, sûktá, suk*r*tá adheres to these expressions in this place must not for a moment induce us to suppose that their deeper meaning was lost. All good thoughts, words, and deeds culminated in the ritual, as in an enlightened high ecclesiasticism. They were nourished by it, and not lost in it. (Expressions are here varied.)

[3] The prominence and supremacy of each deity, or genius, while he is especially the object of worship in the ritual order, the expressions being taken from the Ahuna-vairya.

(Obedience) the blessed, and to the Bountiful Immortals, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to their souls, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lofty lord of the entire creation of the holy, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise.

3. Yea, further, we present (them to the Bountiful Immortals with an especial gift) these thoughts well thought, these words well spoken, these deeds well done, these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and this Baresman spread with sanctity, the flesh, and Haurvatâ*t* (who guards the water), and Ameretatâ*t* (who guards the plants and wood), even the flesh, Haoma and Parahaoma, the wood-billets, the perfume, and this their lordship and their sanctity, and this chieftainship, this prayer for blessing, the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-said Mãthras.

4. We offer with our celebrations, and we announce them (of a verity) to the Bountiful Immortals, those who exercise their rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, the male divinities among their number who dwell with the Good Mind [1], [and the female [2] ones as well].

5. And we announce them in our celebrations as more propitious for this house [3], and for the furtherance of this house, of its herds, and of its men, of those now born, and of those yet to be born, the holy, yea, for the furtherance of that house of which these (men) are thus.

6. And we present these offerings to the good

[1] Vohu Manah, Asha, and Khshathra.

[2] Âramaiti, Haurvatâ*t*, and Ameretatâ*t*.

[3] It would seem that the Yasna must have been at the time celebrated in the houses of the worshippers. Hence perhaps some of the priests were pairigathans.

Fravashis of the saints who are mighty and overwhelming for the succour of the saints.

7. Yea, we present these hereby to the Creator Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the heavenly spirit, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of the Bountiful Immortals (all).

8. And we present these hereby to the Day-lords of the ritual order, to Hâvani, to Sâvanghi, and to Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and the thousand ears, and the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name,

9. And to Rapithwina, Frâda*t*-fshu, and Za*n*tuma, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to Righteousness the Best, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire,

10. And to Uzayêirina, Frâda*t*-vîra, and Da*hv*-yuma [1], the holy lords of the ritual order, and to that lofty lord Napâ*t*-apãm, and to the water Mazda-made,

11. And to Aiwisrûthrima, the life-furtherer [2], and to Frâda*t*-vîspãm-hu*g*yâiti and Zarathu*s*trôtema, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who bring forth many sons, and to the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and to Force, well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow of victory which Mazda gives, and to the Victorious Ascendency which it secures, for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation, and their praise,

12. And to Ushahina, with Bere*g*ya and Nmânya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, smiting with the blow of victory and furthering the settlements, and to Rashnu, the most just, and to Ar*s*tâ*t*, furthering the settlements, and causing them to increase.

[1] Dahyuma. [2] Aibigaya.

13. And these we announce and we present hereby to the Month-lords of the ritual order, to the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within), and to the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (their) sacrifice, homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

14. And these we announce hereby and we present to the Yearly festivals, to Maidhyô-zaremaya, Maidhyô-shema, Patishahya, and to Ayâthrima, to Maidhyâirya, Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and to the Seasons as holy lords of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise.

15. And these we announce and we present hereby to all those lords who are the three and thirty lords of the ritual order, who approach the nearest around about our Hâvani, and which are the festivals of Righteousness the Best, inculcated by Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathustra for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise.

16. And these we announce and we present to Ahura and to Mithra, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, to the stars, the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and to the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle, and to the resplendent Sun, of the swift horses, Ahura Mazda's eye, and to Mithra, the lord of provinces, for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise; yea, these we present hereby to Ahura Mazda (as he rules this day) and to the Fravashis of the saints (as they rule this month), for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise.

17. And these we announce hereby to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires for

thy sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to the good waters for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of all the waters Mazda-made, and to all the plants which Mazda made,

18. And to the Mathra Spenta, the holy, the effective, the law against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian statute, and to the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian religion.

19. And these we announce and we present hereby to Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, brilliant with sanctity, and to all the mountains shining with their holiness, abundantly luminous, and Mazda-made, and to the Kingly glory, the unconsumed[1] glory Mazda-made, and to the good Blessedness, and the good Religious-knowledge, and the good Rectitude, and to the good Rasastât, and to the Glory and the Benefit which Mazda created.

20. And these we offer and present to the pious and good Blessing of the pious, and to the swift and dreadful Yazad, the Curse of wisdom.

21. And to these places, pastures, and dwellings with their springs of water, their rivers, to the lands and to the plants, to this earth and yon heaven, to the holy wind, to the stars, moon, and sun, to the stars without beginning, self-disposed, and to all the holy creatures of the Spenta Mainyu, male and female (the rulers as they are of the ritual order).

22. And these we announce and we present hereby to that lofty lord who is Asha, the ritual righteousness itself, to the Day-lords, and the Month-lords, the Year-lords, and the Seasons who are the lords of the ritual at the time of Hâvani, and for

[1] Unseized (?).

their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise.

23. Yea, these we announce and we present to Sraosha, the blessed and mighty, whose body is the Mãthra, him of the daring spear, the lordly one, and to the holy Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint.

And these we announce and we present to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! for thy sacrifice, homage, thy propitiation, and thy praise.

24. And these we announce and we present to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming, of the saints of the ancient lore, and of the next of kin.

25. And these we announce and we present hereby to all the good Yazads, earthly and heavenly, who are (meet) for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, because of Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best).

We worship the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.

26. And that one of beings (do we worship) whose superior (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows, and from his righteousness (which he maintains, and those of all female beings do we worship) whose (higher service is thus likewise known; yea, all) male and female beings do we worship (who are such)[1]!

YASNA V.

This chapter is identical with Yasna XXXVII.

[1] Elsewhere with slight verbal change.

YASNA VI[1].

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES WITH FULLER EXPRESSION.

1. We worship the Creator Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.

2. And we worship the Asnya with our sacrifice, and Hâvani, Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order, and Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and we worship Râman *Hv*âstra.

3. And we worship Rapithwina with our sacrifice, and Frâda*t*-fshu, and the Za*n*tuma, and Righteousness the Best, and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, holy lords of the ritual order.

4. And we worship Uzayêirina, and Frâda*t*-vîra, and Da*hv*yuma*, the holy lord of the ritual order, and that kingly Ahura, the radiant Napâ*t*-apãm, of the fleet horses, and the water holy, and Mazda-made.

5. And we worship Aiwisrûthrima and Aibigaya in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Frâda*t*-vîspãm-hu*g*yâiti and the Zarathu*s*trôtema, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the women who bring forth many sons, and the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and Force which is well-shaped and stately, and the Blow which brings the victory, which is Ahura-given, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

6. And we worship Ushahina with our sacrifice, and

[1] This chapter differs from Y. II only in having yazamaidê instead of the formula ahmya zaothrê baresmanaê*k*a—âyêsê yê*s*ti. Expressions for the same Zend words are purposely varied.

Bere*g*ya, and Nmânya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately who smites with victory, and makes the settlements advance, and Rashnu, the most just, and Ar*s*tâ*t* who makes the settlements advance and causes them to increase, the holy lords of the ritual order.

7. And we worship the Mâhya in our sacrifice, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within) and the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order.

8. And we worship the Yearly festivals in our sacrifice, Maidhyô-zaremaya, Maidhyô-shema, Paiti*s*-hahya, and Ayâthrima, the furtherer (or breeder), the spender of virile strength, and Maidhyâirya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the Seasons (in which they are).

9. And we worship with our sacrifice all the lords of the ritual order, who are the thirty and three who approach the nearest around about us at Hâvani, who are the lords of Righteousness the Best, and whose observances were inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathu*s*tra.

10. And we worship Ahura and Mithra with our sacrifice, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, and the stars, moon, and sun, among the plants of the Baresman, and Mithra, the province-lord of all the provinces, even Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the good, valiant, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

11. And we worship thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, together with all the fires, and the good waters, the best and Mazda-made, and holy, even all the waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made.

12. And we worship the Mãthra Spe*n*ta with our sacrifice, the glorious and of a truth, the law revealed against the Daêvas, the Zarathu*s*trian law, and we worship with our sacrifice its long descent, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion.

13. And we worship Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, the glorious Yazad, shining with holiness, and all the mountains that shine with holiness, with abundant brilliance, Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order. And we worship the mighty Kingly glory Mazda-made, the mighty glory, unconsumed and Mazda-made, and the good Sanctity, the brilliant, the lofty, the powerful and the stately, delivering (men) with its inherent power. Yea, we worship the Glory, and the Benefit which are Mazda-made.

14. And we worship the pious and good Blessing with our sacrifice, and the pious man, the saint, and that Yazad, the mighty Curse of wisdom.

15. And we worship these waters, lands, and plants, these places, districts, pastures, and abodes with their springs of water, and we worship this lord of the district with our sacrifice, who is Ahura Mazda (Himself).

16. And we worship all the greatest lords, the Day-lords in the day's duration, and the Day-lords during daylight, and the Month-lords, and the Year-lords.

17. And we worship Haurvatâ*t* (who guards the water) and Ameretatâ*t* (who guards the plants and the wood), and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, the holy lord of the ritual order.

18. And we worship Haoma with our sacrifice

and the Haoma-juice. And we worship the sacred Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint.

And we worship the wood-billets, and the perfume and thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order.

19. And we worship the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

20. And we worship all the holy Yazads, and all the lords of the ritual order at the time of Hâvani, and Sâvanghi, and all the greatest lords at their (proper) time. (The Yênhê hâtãm follows.)

21. The Ratu. As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, the priest speaks forth to me.

The Zaotar. So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA VII.

Presentation of Offerings by the Priest with the Object of Propitiation named.

1. With a complete and sacred offering[1] I offer and I give this meat-offering, and (with it) Haurvatâṭ (who guards the water), and Ameretatâṭ (who guards the plants and the wood), and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, and of the Bountiful Immortals (all, and) for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, who smites with the blow of victory, and who causes the settlements to advance.

[1] With Ashi; possibly 'for a blessing,' as Ashi often has the sense of 'reward,' but scrupulous sanctity and completeness seem to be the sense here. (Expressions here are as usual varied.)

2. And I offer the Haoma and Haoma-juice with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint, and I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son!

3. And I offer the Haomas with a complete and sacred offering for propitiation [to the good waters] for the good waters Mazda-made. And I offer this Haoma-water with scrupulous exactness and with sanctity, and this fresh milk, and the plant Hadhânaêpata uplifted with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda-made.

4. And I offer this Baresman with its Zaothra (and with its binding) for a girdle spread with complete sanctity and order for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals, and I offer with my voice the thoughts well-thought, the words well-spoken, and the deeds well-done, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, the Mãthras well-composed and well-delivered, and this Lordship, and this Sanctity, and this ritual mastership, and the timely Prayer for blessings, with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and for the contentment of the individual soul!

5. And I offer to the Asnya with a complete and sacred offering, as lords of the ritual order, and to Hâvani, and to Sâvanghi and Vîsya, holy lords of the ritual order, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and to Râman *Hv*âstra.

6. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order; and I offer to Frâda*t*-fshu and to the Za*n*tuma, and to

Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and to Ahura Mazda's Fire.

7. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Uzayêirina, Frâda*t*-vîra, and to the Da*hv*yuma*, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to that lofty Ahura Napâ*t*-apãm, and to the waters which Mazda created.

8. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Aiwisrûthrima, the life-furtherer, and to Frâda*t*-vîspâm-hu*g*yâiti, and to the Zarathu*s*trôtema, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who have many sons, and to the Prosperous home-life which endures (without reverse) throughout the year, and to Force, the well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow which smites with victory Ahura-given, and to the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

9. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Bere*g*ya, and Nmânya, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, and to Rashnu the most just, and to Ar*s*tâ*t* who furthers the settlements and causes them to increase.

10. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mâhya, lords of the ritual order, to the new and the waning moon (the moon within), and to the full moon which scatters night, holy lords of the ritual order.

11. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Yearly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, to Maidhyô-zaremaya, and Maidhyô-shema, to Paiti*s*hahya, and to Ayâthrima the furtherer (the breeder), the spender of the strength of males, and

to Maidhyâirya and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, holy lords of the ritual order, and I offer with sanctity to the several seasons, the lords of the ritual order.

12. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all those lords who are the thirty and three, who approach the nearest round about our Hâvani, and who are the lords of Asha (the ritual by-eminence), of Righteousness who is (the Best), whose observances are inculcated as precepts by Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathustra.

13. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura and Mithra, the lofty and imperishable, and holy two, and to the stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and to the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle in its beams, and to the resplendent Sun of the fleet horses, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and to Mithra, the lord of the provinces. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, (who rules this day), and to the Fravashis of the saints (who name the month).

14. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! together with all the fires, and to the good waters, even to the waters which are Mazda-made, and to all the plants which Mazda made.

15. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mãthra Spenta, the holy, the effective, revealed against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian law, and to the long descent of the good Religion, of the Mazdayasnian faith.

16. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, brilliant

with holiness, and to all the mountains shining with holiness, of abundant brightness, and which Mazda made, and to the Royal glory unconsumed and Mazda-made. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ashi Vanguhi, and to *K*isti Vanguhi, and to Ereth*e*, and to Rasãstâ*t*, and to the Glory (and the) Benefit which Mazda made.

17. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the good and pious Prayer for blessings of the pious man, and to that Yazad, the swift and dreadful Curse of the wise.

18. And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to these places, districts, pastures, and abodes with their springs of water, and to the waters and the lands, and the plants, and to this earth and yon heaven, and to the holy wind, and to the stars, and the moon, even to the stars without beginning (to their course), the self-appointed, and to all the holy creatures of Spe*n*ta Mainyu, be they male or female, regulators (as they are) of the ritual order.

19. And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to that lofty lord who is Righteousness (the Best), and the Day-lords, the lords of the days during their duration, and to those of the days during daylight, and to the Month-lords, and the Year-lords, and to those of the seasons, the lords who are lords of the ritual, and at the time of Hâvani.

20. And I offer the Myazda meat-offering with a complete and sacred offering, and Haurvatâ*t* (who guards the water), and Ameretatâ*t* (who guards the wood), and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whose body is the Mãthra, him of the

daring spear, the lordly, the Yazad of the spoken name.

21. And I offer the Haoma and the Haoma-juice for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint, the Yazad of the spoken name.

And I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation, the Fire's, Ahura Mazda's son, the Yazad of the spoken name.

22. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming, to those of the saints of the ancient lore, and to those of the next of kin.

23. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all the lords of the ritual order, and to all the good Yazads heavenly and earthly who are (meet) for sacrifice and homage because of Asha who is Vahista (of Righteousness who is the Best).

24. May that approach to us, and with a sacred blessing (O Lord!) whose benefits the offerers are seeking for. Thy praisers and Mãthra-speakers, O Ahura Mazda! may we be named; we desire it, and such may we be. What reward, O Ahura Mazda! adapted to myself Thou hast appointed unto souls,

25. Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and for that of mind; (yea, do Thou bestow) so much of this as that we may attain to Thy ruling protection and to that of Righteousness for ever.

26. We sacrifice to the Ahuna-vairya, and to the veracious word correctly uttered, and to the good and pious prayer for blessings, and to the dreadful curse of the wise, the Yazad, and to Haurvatâ/ and Ameretatâ/, and to the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, and to the Haoma and Haoma-juice, and to the wood-billets, and the perfume, for the praise of the pious and good prayer for blessings.

The Yênhê hâtãm.

27. (To that one) of beings do we sacrifice whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows through his Righteousness (within him, yea, even to those female saints do we sacrifice) whose (superior sanctity is thus known. We sacrifice to all) both males and females whose (superiority is such). (The Ratu speaks.) As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, he who is the Zaotar speaks forth to me.

(The Zaotar.) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA VIII.

Offering of the Meat-offering in particular. The Faithful Partake.

1. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best.
It is weal; it is weal to this (man),
When toward Righteousness Best there is right.

I offer the Myazda (of the) meat-offering with a complete and sacred offering; and I offer Haurvatatâṭ (who guards the water), and Ameretatâṭ (who guards the plants and the wood), and the flesh of the blessed Kine; and I offer the Haoma and the Haoma-juice, the wood-billets and the perfume for the praise of Ahura Mazda, and of the Ahuna-vairya, the veracious word, and for that of the pious and beneficent Prayer for blessings, and for the redoubted Curse of the wise, and for the praise of the Haoma, and of the Mãthra of the holy Zarathustra; and may it come to us with sacred fulness (to accept and to recompense our gift).

2. (The Ratu speaks.) Eat, O ye men, of this Myazda, the meat-offering, ye who have deserved it by your righteousness and correctness!

3. O ye Bountiful Immortals, and thou, the Mazdayasnian law, ye just men and just women, and ye Zaothras, whoever among these Mazdayasnians would call himself a Mazdayasnian desiring to live in the practice of the liberality of Righteousness [for by sorcery the settlements of Righteousness are ruined], do ye cause (such an one) to be (still further) taught, (ye), who are the waters, the plants, and the Zaothras!

4. And whoever of these Mazdayasnians, adults, when he invokes with earnestness, does not adhere to these words, and (so) speaks, he approaches to that (word) of the magician; (but, as against that magician's word) 'a blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best.'

5. May'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda! reign at Thy will, and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures, and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters, and over plants, and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness. Strip ye the wicked of all power!

6. Absolute in power may the holy be, bereft of all free choice the wicked! Gone (may he be), met as foe, carried out from the creatures of Spe*n*ta Mainyu, hemmed in[1] without power over any wish!

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7. I will incite, even I who am Zarathustra[2], the

[1] Or 'shut out,' which would seem better adapted.

[2] This piece is a reproduction, or close imitation, of some earlier fragment. It sounds like an exhortation delivered while the Faith was still new.

heads of the houses, villages, Za*n*tus, and provinces, to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura, and according to Zarathu*s*tra, in their thoughts, their words, and their deeds.

8. I pray for the freedom and glory of the entire existence of the holy (man) while I bless it, and I pray for the repression and shame[1] of the entire existence[2] of the wicked.

9. Propitiation to Haoma who brings righteousness (to us) for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise. (The Zaotar ?) As the Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me. (The Ratu.) As an Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me. (The Zaotar.) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA IX.

The Hôm Ya*s*t.

The Haoma-ya*s*t has claims to antiquity (owing to its subject, but not to its dialect), next after the Srô*s*-ya*s*t. H(a)oma = Soma, as a deity, flourished not only before the Gâthas, but before the *Ri*ks of the Veda, in Aryan ages before Iranian and Indian became two peoples.

The astonishing circumstance has been elsewhere noted that a hymn, which is a reproduction of an Aryan original, should, notwithstanding its earlier characteristics, be necessarily assigned to

[1] The Pahlavi translator, as I think, had a text before him which read du*zhv*âthrem ; I so correct. Against the keen and most interesting suggestion of du*z* + âthrem, I am compelled to note a*hv*âthrê, showing a compositum a + *hv*âthra, which seems not probable if = a + hu + âthra. Du*z*âthra, not a*hv*âthrê, would have been written. Cp. *hv*eng = *hv*an for root.

[2] Possibly 'house.'

a date much later than the Gâthas in which H(a)oma worship is not mentioned.

Probably on account of bitter animosities prevailing between their more southern neighbours and themselves, and the use of Soma by the Indians as a stimulant before battle, the Iranians of the Gâthic period had become lukewarm in their own H(a)oma worship. But that it should have revived, as we see it in this Yast, after having nearly or quite disappeared, is most interesting and remarkable. Was it definitively and purposely repudiated by Zarathustra, afterwards reviving as by a relapse? I do not think that it is well to hold to such deliberate and conscious antagonisms, and to a definite policy and action based upon them. The Soma-worship, like the sacramental acts of other religions which have become less practised after exaggerated attention, had simply fallen into neglect, increased by an aversion to practices outwardly similar to those of 'Daêva-worshippers.' The Yast is, of course, made up of fragments, which I have endeavoured to separate by lines. In the translation I have given a rhythmical rendering, necessarily somewhat free. It was difficult to import sufficient vivacity to the piece, while using a uselessly awkward literalness. The freedom, as elsewhere, often consists in adding words to point the sense, or round the rhythm. (Expressions for identical Zend words have been here, as elsewhere, purposely varied.)

1. At the hour of Hâvani[1]. H(a)oma came to Zarathustra, as he served the (sacred) Fire, and sanctified (its flame), while he sang aloud the Gâthas.

And Zarathustra asked him: Who art thou, O man! who art of all the incarnate world the most beautiful in Thine own body[2] of those whom I have seen, (thou) glorious [immortal]?

2. Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer[3], the holy one who driveth death afar: I am, O Zarathustra

[1] In the morning from six to ten.

[2] Or, 'beautiful of life.'

[3] 'Me,' omitted as interrupting rhythm, seems to be merely dramatic; or did it indicate that there was an original Zarathustrian Haoma Gâtha from which this is an extension?

H(a)oma, the holy and driving death afar; pray to me, O Spitâma, prepare me for the taste. Praise toward me in (Thy) praises as the other [Saoshya*n*ts] praise.

3. Thereupon spake Zarathustra: Unto H(a)oma be the praise[1]. What man, O H(a)oma! first prepared thee for the corporeal world? What blessedness was offered him? what gain did he acquire?

4. Thereupon did H(a)oma answer me, he the holy one, and driving death afar: Vîvanghva*n*t[2] was the first of men who prepared me for the incarnate world. This blessedness was offered him; this gain did he acquire, that to him was born a son who was Yima, called the brilliant, (he of the many flocks, the most glorious of those yet born, the sunlike-one of men[3]), that he made from his authority both herds and people free from dying, both plants and waters free from drought, and men could eat imperishable food.

5. In the reign of Yima swift of motion was there neither cold nor heat, there was neither age nor death, nor envy[4] demon-made. Like fifteen-yearlings[5] walked the two forth, son and father, in their stature and their form, so long as Yima, son of Vîvanghva*n*t ruled, he of the many herds!

6. Who was the second man, O H(a)oma! who

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[1] Might not the entire sixteenth verse be placed here?

[2] The fifth from Gaya Maretan the Iranian Adam, but his counterpart, the Indian Vivasvat, appears not only as the father of Yama, but of Manu, and even of the gods, (as promoted mortals?).

[3] Compare svar-d*rí*sas pávamânâs.

[4] So the Pahlavi.

[5] Males, like females, seem to have been considered as developed at fifteen years of age.

prepared thee for the corporeal world? What sanctity was offered him? what gain did he acquire?

7. Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, he the holy one, and driving death afar: Âthwya[1] was the second who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that to him a son was born, Thraêtaona[2] of the heroic tribe,

8. Who smote the dragon Dahâka[3], three-jawed and triple-headed, six-eyed, with thousand powers, and of mighty strength, a lie-demon of[4] the Daêvas, evil for our settlements, and wicked, whom the evil spirit Angra Mainyu made as the most mighty Drug(k) [against the corporeal world], and for the murder of (our) settlements, and to slay the (homes) of Asha!

9. Who was the third man, O H(a)oma! who prepared thee for the corporeal world? What blessedness was given him? what gain did he acquire?

10. Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, the holy one, and driving death afar: Thrita[5], [the most helpful of the Sâmas[6]], was the third man who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given

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[1] Comp. Tritá âptiá.

[2] Comp. the Indian Traitaná connected with Tritá.

[3] Let it be remembered that Tritá smote the Ahi before Indra, Indra seeming only to re-enact the more original victory which the Avesta notices. Concerning Azhi Dahâka, see Windischmann's Zendstudien, s. 136.

[4] Free.

[5] In the *Rig*-veda âptyá seems only an epithet added to the name Tritá*; and the two serpents of the Avesta are suspicious. Two names seem to have become two persons, or has the Avesta the more correct representation?

[6] Have we the Semites here? They certainly penetrated as conquerors far into Media, and it seems uncritical to deny their leaving traces. The gloss may be very old.

* And to that of other gods.

him, this gain did he acquire, that to him two sons were born, Urvâkhshaya and Keresâspa, the one a judge confirming order, the other a youth of great ascendant, ringlet-headed[1], bludgeon-bearing.

11. He who smote the horny dragon swallowing men, and swallowing horses, poisonous, and green of colour, over which, as thick as thumbs are, greenish poison flowed aside, on whose back once Keresâspa cooked his meat in iron caldron at the noonday meal; and the deadly, scorched, upstarted[2], and springing off, dashed out the water as it boiled. Headlong fled affrighted manly-minded[3] Keresâspa.

12. Who was the fourth man who prepared thee,

[1] Comp. Kapardínam.

[2] I abandon reluctantly the admirable comparison of hvîs with the Indian svid (Geldner), also when explained as an inchoative (Barth.), but the resulting meaning is far from natural either here or in Vend. III, 32 (Sp. 105). That the dragon should begin to sweat (!) under the fire which was kindled upon his back, and which caused him to spring away, seems difficult. The process was not so deliberate. He was scorched, started, and then sprang. Also in Vend. III, 32 when the barley is produced the demons hardly 'sweat (with mental misery).' The idea is too advanced for the document. Burnouf's and Haug's 'hiss' was much better in both places. But I prefer the hint of the Pahlavi lâlâ vazlûn*d*. In Vend. III, 32 (Sp. 105), khîst-hômand. Ner. tapta*sk*a sa n*risam*-sa*h* *k*ukshubhe [dvipâdo * babhûva]. Whether *hv*îsa*tk*a = hîsa*tk*a (?) has anything to do with hiz or khiz = Pahlavi âkhîzîdanŏ †, N. P. 'hîzîdan, is a question. I follow tradition without etymological help; perhaps we might as well write the word like the better known form as a conjecture.

[3] The Pahlavi translator makes the attempt to account for the epithet 'manly-minded' as applied to Keresâspa while yet he fled affrighted; he says: Hôman*d* mar*d*mînis*n*îh hanâ yehevûn*d*, aîgha*s* libbemman pavan gâsdâ*st*; Ner. asya paurushamânasatvam * ida*m* babhûva yad asau *k*aitanya*m* sthâne dadhau, 'his manly-mindedness was this, that he kept his wits on the occasion.' See the same story treated somewhat differently in the Ya*s*ts by Darmesteter (p. 295, note 2).

† Or, âkhêzîdanŏ.

O H(a)oma! for the corporeal world? What blessedness was given him? what gain did he acquire?

13. Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, he the holy, and driving death afar: Pourushaspa[1] was the fourth man who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that thou, O Zarathustra! wast born to him, the just, in Pourushaspa's house, the D(a)êva's foe, the friend of Mazda's lore, (14) famed in Airyêna Vaêgah; and thou, O Zarathustra! didst recite the first the Ahuna-vairya[2], four times intoning it, and with verses kept apart [(Pâzand) each time with louder and still louder voice].

15. And thou didst cause, O Zarathustra! all the demon-gods to vanish in the ground who aforetime flew about this earth in human shape (and power. This hast thou done), thou who hast been the strongest, and the staunchest, the most active, and the swiftest, and (in every deed) the most victorious in the two spirits'[3] world.

16. Thereupon spake Zarathustra: Praise to H(a)oma. Good is H(a)oma, and the well-endowed, exact and righteous in its nature, and good inherently, and healing, beautiful of form, and good in deed, and most successful in its working[4], golden-hued, with bending sprouts. As it is the best for drinking, so (through its sacred stimulus) is it the most nutritious[5] for the soul.

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17. I make my claim on thee, O yellow one! for

[1] Son of Pâîtirasp or Spêtârasp; Bundahis XXXII, 1, 2, &c.

[2] The Ahuna-vairya is in the Gâthic dialect, and in the Ahuna-vaiti metre; it may have been composed by Z. It named the Gâtha.

[3] Comp. Y. XXX, 6? [4] Free.

[5] Comp. pathmeng gavôi.

inspiration[1]. I make my claim on thee for strength; I make my claim on thee for victory; I make my claim on thee for health and healing (when healing is my need); I make my claim on thee for progress and increased prosperity, and vigour of the entire frame, and for understanding[2], of each adorning kind, and for this, that I may have free course among our settlements, having power where I will, overwhelming angry malice, and a conqueror of lies.

18. Yea, I make my claim on thee that I may overwhelm the angry hate of haters, of the D(a)êvas and of mortals, of the sorcerers and sirens[3], of the tyrants[4], and the Kavis, of the Karpans, murderous bipeds, of the sanctity-destroyers, the profane apostate bipeds, of the wolves four-footed monsters, of the invading host, wide-fronted, which with stratagems[5] advance.

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19. This first blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! I beseech of thee for (heaven), the best life of the saints, the radiant, all-glorious[6].

This second blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! this body's health (before that blest life is attained).

This third blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! the long vitality of life.

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[1] Or, is madhem related to medhâ as well as mazdâ (fem.)?

[2] Pahl. farzânakîh.

[3] Hardly 'witches;' outwardly attractive, but evil female beings.

[4] Pahl. sâstârânŏ.

[5] Pahl. pavan frîftârîh; Ner. pratâra*n*atayâ.

[6] Vîspô-*hv*âthrem does not mean 'comfortable' here. *Hv*an is the root; comp. *hven*g=sun.

20. This fourth blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! that I may stand forth on this earth with desires gained[1], and powerful, receiving satisfaction, overwhelming the assaults of hate, and conquering the lie.

This fifth blessing, O H(a)oma, I beseech of thee, thou that drivest death afar! that I may stand victorious on earth, conquering in battles[2], overwhelming the assaults of hate, and conquering the lie.

21. This sixth blessing I ask of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! that we may get good warning of the thief, good warning of the murderer, see first the bludgeon-bearer, get first sight of the wolf. May no one whichsoever get first the sight of us. In the strife with each may we be they who get the first alarm!

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22. H(a)oma grants to racers[3] who would run a course with span both speed and bottom (in their horses). H(a)oma grants to women come to bed with child a brilliant offspring and a righteous line.

H(a)oma grants to those (how many!) who have long sat searching books, more knowledge and more wisdom.

23. H(a)oma grants to those long maidens, who sit at home unwed, good husbands, and that as soon as asked, he H(a)oma, the well-minded.

24. H(a)oma lowered Keresâni[4], dethroned him from his throne, for he grew so fond of power, that

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[1] Pahl. min *hv*âstâr. [2] Pahl. vânî*d*âr pavan kûshânŏ.

[3] Arva*n*tô=aurva*n*tô; so the Pahl. arvand.

[4] Comp. the Vedic K*ris*ânu, archer and demi-god who guarded the Soma. Ner. seems to notice that the name recalls that of the Christians.

he treacherously said: No priest behind [1] (and watching) shall walk the lands for me, as a counsellor to prosper them, he would rob everything of progress, he would crush the growth of all!

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25. Hail to thee, O H(a)oma, who hast power as thou wilt, and by thine inborn strength! Hail to thee, thou art well-versed in many sayings, and true and holy words. Hail to thee for thou dost ask no wily questions, but questionest direct.

26. Forth hath Mazda borne to thee, the star-bespangled girdle [2], the spirit-made, the ancient one, the Mazdayasnian Faith.

So with this thou art begirt on the summits of the mountains, for the spreading of the precepts, and the headings [3] of the Mãthra, (and to help the Mãthra's teacher),

27. O H(a)oma, thou house-lord, and thou clan-lord, thou tribe-lord, and chieftain of the land, and thou successful learned teacher, for aggressive strength I speak to thee, for that which smites with victory, and for my body's saving, and for manifold delight!

28. Bear off from us the torment and the malice of the hateful. Divert the angry foe's intent!

What man soever in this house is violent and wicked, what man soever in this village, or this tribe, or province, seize thou away the fleetness from

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[1] So the Pahlavi, before others, read apãs; comp. frãs.

[2] Haug's keen-sighted suggestion, pourvanîm = paurva = the Pleiades + nî = leading the P., looks doubtful, and seems refuted by Yast XXIV, 29, where Darmesteter renders a word probably akin, as 'the many.' I would here render 'the former.'

[3] The 'grasp,' the 'summary of them.'

his feet; throw thou a veil of darkness o'er his mind; make thou his intellect (at once) a wreck!

29. Let not the man who harms us, mind or body, have power to go forth on both his legs, or hold with both his hands, or see with both his eyes, not the land (beneath his feet), or the herd before his face.

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30. At the aroused and fearful[1] Dragon, green, and belching forth his poison, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace[2]!

At the (murderous) bludgeon-bearer, committing deeds unheard of[3], blood-thirsty, (drunk) with fury, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

31. Against the wicked human tyrant, hurling weapons at the head, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

Against the righteousness-disturber, the unholy life-destroyer, thoughts and words of our[4] religion well-delivering, yet in actions never reaching, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

32. Against the body of the harlot, with her magic minds o'erthrowing with (intoxicating) pleasures[5], to the lusts her person offering, whose[6] mind as vapour wavers as it flies before the wind, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

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[1] Pahl. sakhmakan; Ner. bhaya*m*kare.

[2] Or, 'strike thy club.'

[3] 'Deeds apart,' 'evil deeds.'

[4] Free.

[5] Or, 'holding.'

[6] YêNhê must be an error; otherwise 'offering the person to him whose mind as vapour wavers.'

YASNA X.

1. Let the Demon-gods and Goddesses fly far away[1] from hence, and let the good Sraosha make here his home! [And may the good Blessedness here likewise dwell], and may she here spread delight and peace within this house, Ahura's, which is sanctified by H(a)oma, bringing righteousness (to all).

2. At the first force of thy pressure, O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice, while I grasp at first thy shoots. At thy next pressure, O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice, when as with full force of a man I crush thee down.

3. I praise the cloud that waters thee, and the rains which make thee grow on the summits of the mountains; and I praise thy lofty mountains where the H(a)oma branches spread[2].

4. This wide earth do I praise, expanded far (with paths), the productive, the full bearing, thy mother, holy plant! Yea, I praise the lands where thou dost grow, sweet-scented, swiftly spreading, the good growth of the Lord. O H(a)oma, thou growest on the mountains, apart on many paths[3], and there still may'st thou flourish. The springs of Righteousness most verily thou art, (and the fountains of the ritual find their source in thee)!

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[1] The Pahlavi as corrected by the MS. of Dastur Hoshanggi Gâmâspgi has barâ akhar min latamman padênd barâ shêdâ-; Ner. *Ri*te pas*k*ât asmât prapatanti, *ri*te devâ*h* *ri*te devasahâyâ*h* devyâ*h*, uttama*h* *S*ro*s*o nivasati.

[2] Or, 'where, O Haoma! thou hast grown,' reading—isa with Barth. as 2nd sing. perf. pret. middle.

[3] Or, 'on the pathways of the birds.'

5. Grow (then) because I pray to thee on all thy stems and branches, in all thy shoots (and tendrils) increase thou through my word!

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6. H(a)oma grows while he is praised, and the man who praises him is therewith more victorious. The lightest pressure of thee, H(a)oma, thy feeblest praise, the slightest tasting of thy juice, avails to the thousand-smiting of the D(a)êvas.

7. Wasting doth vanish from that house, and with it foulness, whither in verity they bear thee, and where thy praise in truth is sung, the drink of H(a)oma, famed, health-bringing (as thou art). [(Pâzand) to his village and abode they bear him.]

8. All other toxicants go hand in hand with Rapine of the bloody spear, but H(a)oma's stirring power goes hand in hand with friendship. [Light is the drunkenness of H(a)oma (Pâzand).]

Who as a tender son caresses H(a)oma, forth to the bodies of such persons H(a)oma comes to heal.

9. Of all the healing virtues, H(a)oma, whereby thou art a healer, grant me some. Of all the victorious powers, whereby thou art a victor, grant me some. A faithful praiser will I be to thee, O H(a)oma, and a faithful praiser (is) a better (thing) than Righteousness the Best; so hath the Lord, declaring (it), decreed.

10. Swift[1] and wise hath the well-skilled[2] Deity created thee; swift and wise on high Haraiti did He, the well-skilled, plant thee.

11. And taught (by implanted instinct) on every

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[1] Having immediate effect, and giving wisdom.

[2] Comp. Y. XLIV, 5.

side, the bounteous[1] birds have carried thee to the Peaks-above-the-eagles[2], to the mount's extremest summit, to the gorges and abysses, to the heights of many pathways[3], to the snow-peaks ever whitened.

12. There, H(a)oma, on the ranges dost thou grow of many kinds. Now thou growest of milky whiteness, and now thou growest golden; and forth thine healing liquors flow for the inspiring of the pious. So terrify away from me the (death's) aim of the curser. So terrify and crush his thought who stands as my maligner.

13. Praise be to thee, O H(a)oma, (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as any of the richest whomsoever.) Praise be to H(a)oma, (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as when mind reacheth culmination.) With manifold retainers dost thou, O H(a)oma, endow the man who drinks thee mixed with milk; yea, more prosperous thou makest him, and more endowed with mind.

14. Do not vanish from me suddenly like milk-drops in the rain; let thine exhilarations go forth ever vigorous and fresh; and let them come to me with strong effect. Before thee, holy H(a)oma, thou bearer of the ritual truth, and around thee would I cast this body, a body which (as all) may see (is fit for gift and) grown[4].

15. I renounce with vehemence the murderous woman's[5] emptiness, the *G*aini's, hers, with intellect

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[1] Possibly 'the birds taught by the bounteous one;' the 'God-taught birds.'

[2] Elsewhere and here also possibly a proper name.

[3] Or the 'pathways of the birds;' so Haug, following Spiegel and Justi. Gugrati, as above.

[4] Which is seen as mine well-grown.

[5] *G*aini seems always used in an evil sense in the later Avesta.

dethroned[1]. She vainly thinks to foil us, and would beguile both Fire-priest and H(a)oma; but she herself, deceived therein, shall perish. And when she sits at home[2], and wrongly eats of H(a)oma's offering, priest's mother will that never make her, nor give her holy[3] sons!

16. [4] To five do I belong, to five others do I not; of the good thought am I, of the evil am I not; of the good word am I, of the evil am I not; of the good deed am I, and of the evil, not.

To Obedience am I given, and to deaf disobedience, not; to the saint do I belong, and to the wicked, not; and so from this on till the ending shall be the spirits' parting. (The two shall here divide.)

17. Thereupon spake Zarathustra: Praise to H(a)oma, Mazda-made. Good is H(a)oma, Mazda-made. All the plants of H(a)oma praise I, on the heights of lofty mountains, in the gorges of the valleys, in the clefts (of sundered hill-sides) cut for the bundles bound by women. From the silver cup I pour Thee to the golden chalice over[5]. Let me not thy (sacred) liquor spill to earth, of precious cost.

18. These are thy Gâthas[6], holy H(a)oma, these

[1] I would correct to a form of khratu.

[2] Compare the avoiding the service mentioned by the Pahlavi translator on Y. LIII, 5.

[3] Or, more safely, 'many sons.'

[4] Haoma speaks.

[5] Here the priest evidently manipulates the cups containing the Haoma-juice.

[6] The application of this term here seems to point to a high antiquity for the Haoma Yast; if not in the present piece, which is not so old as the Gâthas, then in previous hymns to Haoma of which this Yast is an improvement, or extension.

thy songs, and these thy teachings[1], and these thy truthful ritual words, health[2]-imparting, victory-giving, from harmful hatred healing giving.

19. These and thou art mine, and forth let thine exhilarations flow; bright and sparkling let them hold on their (steadfast) way; for light are thine exhilaration(s), and flying lightly come they here. Victory-giving smiteth H(a)oma, victory-giving is it worshipped; with this Gâthic word we praise it.

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20. Praise to the Kine; praise and victory (be) spoken to her! Food for the Kine, and pasture! 'For the Kine let thrift use toil; yield thou us food[3].'

21. We worship the yellow lofty one; we worship H(a)oma who causes progress, who makes the settlements advance; we worship H(a)oma who drives death afar; yea, we worship all the H(a)oma plants. And we worship (their) blessedness, and the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint[4].

YASNA XI.

Prelude to the H(a)oma-offering[5].

1. Three clean creatures (full of blessings) curse betimes while yet invoking, the cow, the horse, and then H(a)oma. The cow cries to her driver[6] thus:

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[1] Ner. possibly figuratively yâ*h* ka*s*kit asvâdanâ*h*.

[2] Ner. saundarya*m*.

[3] See Y. XLVIII, 5.

[4] The Yêṅhê hâtãm follows.

[5] This characteristic fragment is repeated and extended in the later literature of the Parsis. The curse of the cow, horse, and of Haoma (scilicet the priest) when they are stinted, was extended to all domestic animals. It has been difficult to avoid the full metrical rhythm of the original with its jingling cadence. A full freedom is also not avoided.

[6] Not 'to the priest;' Ner. g*ri*hîtâram.

Childless be thou, shorn of offspring, evil-famed, and slander-followed, who foddered[1] fairly dost not use me, but fattenest me for wife or children, and for thy niggard selfish meal.

2. The horse cries to his rider thus: Be not spanner[2] of the racers; stretch no coursers to full-speed; do not stride across the fleetest, thou, who dost not pray me swiftness in the meeting thick with numbers, in the circuit thronged with men.

3. H(a)oma speaks his drinker thus: Childless be thou, shorn of offspring, evil-famed, and slander-followed, who holdest me from full outpouring, as a robber, skulls in-crushing. No head-smiter[3] am I ever, holy H(a)oma, far from death[4].

4. Forth my father gave an offering, tongue and left eye chose Ahura, set apart for H(a)oma's meal.

5. Who this offering would deny me, eats himself, or prays it from me, this which Mazda gave to bless me, tongue with left eye (as my portion).

6. In his house is born no fire-priest, warrior ne'er in chariot standing, never more the thrifty tiller. In his home be born Dahâkas, Mûrakas of evil practice, doing deeds of double nature.

7. Quick, cut off then H(a)oma's portion, gift of flesh for doughty H(a)oma! Heed lest H(a)oma

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[1] 'Who dost not give me cooked (food)' seems improbable. If *hv*âstãm means fodder, why is it fem., especially here with a feminine correlative? I think that 'having good food' is the meaning of the word, as an adjective, and agreeing with gãm understood. Possibly, 'who dost not bestow upon me as the one well-foddered.'

[2] Dialectically used.

[3] 'Light is the intoxication of Haoma;' (other toxicants smite the head).

[4] 'Having death afar.'

bind thee fettered, as he bound the fell Turanian Frangrasyan[1] (the murderous robber) fast in iron close-surrounded in the mid-third[2] of this earth! 8. Thereupon spake Zarathustra[3]: Praise to H(a)oma made by Mazda, good is H(a)oma Mazda-made.

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9. [4]Who to us is one hereupon to thee (becomes) two, to be made to three, for the five[5]-making of the four, for the seven-making of the sixth, who are your nine in the decade (?), who serve you and with zeal[6].

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10. [7] To thee, O holy H(a)oma! bearer of the ritual sanctity, I offer this my person which is seen (by all to be) mature, (and fit for gift); to H(a)oma the effective do I offer it, and to the sacred exhilaration which he bestows; and do thou grant to me (for this), O holy H(a)oma! thou that drivest death afar, (Heaven) the best world of the saints, shining, all brilliant.

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[1] A Turanian king.

[2] Observe the threefold division of the earth; see it also in Vend. II.

[3] A poetical reproduction. Z. had been long among the ancient dead.

[4] The Raspi at present hands the Haoma-cup to the priest at this point; the efficacy of the liquor is supposed to be multiplied.

[5] Pe*n*daidyâi is to be read as of course; the letter ও, not unlike ৫ in a MS. when turned, was probably half inverted.

[6] This seems rendered by the Pahlavi as an interlude between the Ratu and the Zaotar; comp. Y. XXVIII, 11. Several broken sentences from other parts of the Avesta are here doubtfully recalled, perhaps as having especial sanctity.

[7] The Raspi brings the Haoma-vessel to the Baresman at this point; and touching its stand, the Mâh-rû, lays a cloth on the right hand of the Zaotar, who, looking at the vessel, proceeds to recite as follows in verse 10.

11. (The Ashem Vohû, &c.)

12–15. May'st Thou rule at Thy will, O Lord[1]!

16. I confess myself a Mazdayasnian of Zarathustra's order[2].

17. [3] I celebrate my praises for good thoughts, good words, and good deeds for my thoughts, my speeches, and (my) actions. With chanting praises I present all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and with rejection I repudiate all evil thoughts, and words, and deeds. 18. Here I give to you, O ye Bountiful Immortals! sacrifice and homage with the mind, with words, deeds, and my entire person; yea, (I offer) to you the flesh of my very body (as your own). And I praise Righteousness. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, &c.

YASNA XII (Sp. XIII).

The Mazdayasnian Confession[4].

1. I drive[5] the Daêvas hence; I confess as a Mazda-worshipper of the order of Zarathustra, estranged from the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of

[1] See Y. VIII, 5–8. [2] See Y. III, 24, 25.

[3] This piece is in the Gâthic dialect, and therefore an especially fitting prelude to the Confession of faith in Y. XII.

[4] This piece in the Gâthic dialect has claims to higher antiquity next after the Haptanghâiti. Its retrospective cast shows that it is later than the original period. Verse 7 savours of a later date with its reference to the plants and waters. That Zarathustra, Kavi Vîstâspa, Frashaostra, and Gâmâspa are named by no means proves that they were still living. Still, they are not mentioned with any fanciful or superstitious exaggeration; they are not yet demi-gods.

[5] As a partial explanation of nâismî * from nas, compare the aorist nesat. Possibly also from nad, 'I curse the demons.'

the Lord, a praiser[1] of the Bountiful Immortals; and to Ahura Mazda, the good and endowed with good possessions, I attribute all things good, to the holy One, the resplendent, to the glorious, whose are all things whatsoever which are good; whose is the Kine, whose is Asha (the righteous order pervading all things pure), whose are the stars, in whose lights the glorious beings and objects are clothed[2].

2. And I choose Piety, the bounteous and the good, mine may she be[3]. And therefore I loudly deprecate all robbery[4] and violence against the (sacred) Kine, and all drought[5] to the wasting of the Mazdayasnian villages.

3. Away from (?) their thoughts do I wish to lead (the thought of) wandering at will, (away the thought of) free nomadic pitching of the tent, for I wish to remove (?) all wandering from[6] (their) Kine which abide in steadfastness upon this land; and bowing down in worship to Righteousness I dedicate my offerings with praise so far as that. Never may I stand as a source of wasting, never as a source of withering to the Mazdayasnian villages, not for the love[7] of body or of life.

4. Away do I abjure the shelter and headship of the

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[1] And sacrificer.

[2] A genuine citation from the Gâthas (see Y. XXXI, 7).

[3] A genuine allusion to the Gâthas (Y. XXXII, 2).

[4] This preserves the proper reading of tâyus*k*a (so the Pahlavi) in Y. XXIX, 1.

[5] Viyâpa*t* as beyond a doubt; so viyâpem in verse 3.

[6] Frâ has the same force as in fra perenaoiti (?), to fill forth, to empty. Otherwise, 'forth to their thoughts I offer in my prayer free ranging at their choice, and a lodging where they will, together with their cattle which dwell upon this land.'

[7] Comp. nâiri-*k*inanghô, khratu-*k*inanghô, and shaêtô-*k*inanghô.

Daêvas, evil as they are; aye, utterly bereft of good, and void of virtue, deceitful in their wickedness, of (all) beings those most like the Demon-of-the-Lie, the most loathsome of existing things, and the ones the most of all bereft of good.

5. Off, off, do I abjure the Daêvas and all possessed by them, the sorcerers and all that hold to their devices, and every existing being of the sort; their thoughts do I abjure, their words and actions, and their seed (that propagate their sin); away do I abjure their shelter and their headship, and the iniquitous of every kind who act as Rakhshas act!

Thus and so in very deed might Ahura Mazda have indicated[1] to Zarathustra in every question which Zarathustra asked, and in all the consultations in the which they two conversed together. 6. Thus and so might Zarathustra have abjured the shelter and the headship of the Daêvas in all the questions, and in all the consultations with which they two conversed together, Zarathustra and the Lord.

And so I myself, in whatsoever circumstances I may be placed, as a worshipper of Mazda, and of Zarathustra's order, would so abjure the Daêvas and their shelter, as he who[2] was the holy Zarathustra abjured them (once of old).

7. To that religious sanctity[3] to which the waters appertain, do I belong, to that sanctity to which the plants, to that sanctity to which the Kine of blessed gift[4], to that religious sanctity to which Ahura Mazda, who made both Kine and holy men, belongs,

[1] Reading adakhshayaêtâ; otherwise khshayaêtâ, commanded.

[2] The Pahlavi structure 'he who' foreshadowed, as often.

[3] Not in the sense of recompense here.

[4] Observe this original meaning; 'butter' is here impossible.

to that sanctity do I. Of that creed which Zarathustra held, which Kavi Vîstâspa, and those two, Frashaostra and *G*âmâspa; yea, of that religious faith which every Saoshya*n*t who shall (yet come to) save (us), the holy ones who do the deeds of real significance, of that creed, and of that lore, am I.

8. A Mazda-worshipper I am, of Zarathustra's order; (so) do I confess, as a praiser and confessor, and I therefore praise aloud the well-thought thought, the word well spoken, and the deed well done;

9. Yea, I praise at once the Faith of Mazda, the Faith which has no faltering utterance [1], the Faith that wields the felling halbert [2], the Faith of kindred marriage, the holy (Creed), which is the most imposing, best, and most beautiful of all religions which exist, and of all that shall in future come to knowledge, Ahura's Faith, the Zarathustrian creed. Yea, to Ahura Mazda do I ascribe all good, and such shall be the worship of the Mazdayasnian belief!

YASNA XIII (Sp. XIV).

Invocations and Dedications.

1. I address (my invocation to) Ahura Mazda. And I invoke (among guardian beings) the chief [3] of

[1] Fraspâvaokhedhrãm; 'y' miswritten for 'v.' Fra seems to be prohibitive 'speech without falling, or hesitation;' better as adj.

[2] Comp. Y. XXXI, 18.

[3] This Ratu is the description and representation of the Nmânôpaiti as occupying the attention of the worshippers chiefly at the time of his mention in the course of the ritual. (I vary the expression 'chief' with that of 'lord' here for the sake of change.) Once established as a Ratu in the ritual, he became a guardian genius Nmânya; so of the others. (Y. XIII is in the Gâthic dialect.)

the house-lord, and the chief of the Vîs-lord[1], and the chief of the Za*n*tu-lord[2]. And I invoke the chief of the province-lord[3]. And the chief of women I invoke, the Mazdayasnian Faith, the blessed and good Pare*n*di[4], her who is the holy one of human-kind[5]. And I invoke this (holy) earth which bears us.

2. And I invoke the friendly and most helpful person's[6] lord, the Fire of Ahura Mazda, and also the most energetic lords of holy men, those who are most strenuous[7] in their care of cattle and the fields, and the chief of the thrifty tiller of the earth. And I invoke the steady settler[8] of sanctity, (and) the chief of the charioteer.

3. And I invoke the chief of the fire-priest by means of the most imposing sciences of the Mazdayasnian Faith. And I invoke the chief of the Âtharvan, and his pupils I invoke; yea, the lords of each of them. I invoke these lords, and I summon the Bountiful Immortals here, and the Prophets who shall serve us, the wisest as they are, the most scru-

[1] Vîsya. [2] Za*n*tuma. [3] Da*hv*yuma = Dahyuma.

[4] The goddess of riches.

[5] Lit. biped; see elsewhere where quadruped means merely beast.

[6] Or, 'households.'

[7] Ashethwôzgatemã (several manuscripts have ashe) finds its explanation from the Pahlavi of Dastur Hoshanggi *G*âmâspg*i*'s MS. It may be read kabed ran*g* rasi*s*ntûm instead of kabed yôm rasi*s*ntûm. The ancient error of yôm arose from the fact that the copyist had before him a form which might be read either rô*g* or ran*g*, the characters being identical for either word. He could not reconcile himself to ran*g* in the sense of effort, and so decided for rô*g*; but in order to guide his successors aright, he changed it for its synonym yôm, which, as Spiegel well remarks, affords but little sense. But the word is ran*g*, as I believe, and this is at once corroborated by Ner.'s bahukle*s*a. Read a*s* + thwakh*s*a + gatemã = kabed + ran*g* + rasi*s*ntûm, the most progressing with painful energy.

[8] Or, 'steadiest forces.'

pulous in their exactness (as) they utter words (of doctrine and of service), the most devoted (to their duties likewise), and the most glorious in their thoughts (?) [1]. And I invoke the most imposing forces of the Mazdayasnian Faith, and the fire-priests I invoke, and the charioteers, the warriors, and the thrifty tillers of the soil.

4. And to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, I offer the flesh of my very frame, and all the blessings of my life.

Thus [2] the two spirits [3] thought, thus they spoke, and thus they did;

5. And therefore as Thou, O Ahura Mazda! didst think, speak, dispose, and do all things good (for us), so to Thee would we give, so would we assign to Thee our homage; so would we worship Thee with our sacrifices. So would we bow before Thee with these gifts, and so direct our prayers to Thee with confessions of our debt.

6. By the kinship of the good kindred [4], by that of Righteousness the good (Thy righteous servant's nature) would we approach Thee, and by that of the good thrift-law, and of Piety the good.

7. And we would worship the Fravashi of the Kine of blessed gift [5], and that of the holy Gaya Maretan, and we would worship the holy Fravashi [6]

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[1] I should think that the reference was here to khratavŏ, Y. XLVI, 3. See Y. XXXII, 14, as alternatively rendered.

[2] A portion of the text has here fallen out.

[3] The recognition of a strong dualism here is imperative. Ahura alone is praised.

[4] Or, 'of the good kinsman, the lord (?).'

[5] Elsewhere meaning 'meat,' just as Ameretatâ/ and Haurvatâ/ mean wood and water.

[6] Or, 'sanctity and the Fravashi.'

of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. Yea, that one of beings do we worship whose better (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows; (even those women do we worship) whose[1] (better service thus is known). Yea, both (holy) men and women (do we worship whom Ahura Mazda knows[2]). As the Ahû is excelling, so is our Ratu, one who rules from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom is to Ahura which to the poor (may offer) nurture[2].

A blessing is the Right called the best, there is weal, there is weal to this (man), when toward Righteousness Best (he does) right[2].

8. We worship the Ahuna-vairya; and we worship Asha Vahista the best (?), the bountiful Immortal. And we sacrifice to the Hâ fraoreti, even to the confession and laudation of the Mazdayasnian Faith!

YASNA XIV (Sp. XV).

Dedications.

1. I will come to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as a praiser and a priest, and an invoker and sacrificer, as a memorising reciter and a chanter, for Your sacrifice and homage, which are to be offered to You, the Bountiful Immortals, and for our dedication and sanctification; (yea, for ours) who are the holy prophets (destined to benefit the saints).

2. And to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals[2]! would I dedicate the flesh of my very body[3], and all the blessings of a prospered life[4].

3. In this Zaothra with this Baresman, I desire to

[1] Feminine.
[2] Elsewhere with verbal difference.
[3] See Y. XXXIII, 14.
[4] Verses 1, 2 are Gâthic.

approach the holy Yazads with my praise[1], and all the holy lords of the ritual order at their times, Hâvani at his time, and Sâvanghi and Vîsya at their times. 4. I confess myself a Mazdayasnian, and of Zarathustra's order[2].

5. The Zaotar speaks: As an Ahû (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar (?) speaks forth to me (?).

The Ratu speaks: As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, the Zaotar speaks forth to me.

The Zaotar: So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA XV (Sp. XVI).

The Sacrifice continues.

1. With precept, praise, and with delight produced by grace[3], I call upon the Bountiful Immortals the good, and also therewith the beautiful by name[4]; and I sacrifice to them with the blessing of the good ritual, with the earnest blessings of the good Mazdayasnian Faith.

2. Whose best gift from his Righteousness is mine in the offering Ahura this knoweth; who have lived, and live ever, by their names these I worship, while I draw near with praises[5]. The Good Kingdom is to be chosen, that lot which most of all bears on (our blessings[6]).

3. Let Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for

[1] See Y. II, 18. [2] See Y. III, 24, 25.

[3] Root rap=rabh, a reception of grace, or being received by grace.

[4] Namãn may be meant for a locative; 'with the beautiful things in their name (?).'

[5] See Y. LI, 22. [6] See Y. LI, 1.

the sacrifice of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent, the holy, who is so dear to us as at the first, so at the last; yea, let him be present here [1].

4. As the Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, the Âtarevakhsha thus speaks forth to me.

(Response): So let the Ratu from his righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA XVI (Sp. XVII).

The Sacrifice continues with increased fulness of expression.

1. We worship Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, who disposes (all) aright, the greatest Yazad, who is also the most beneficent, and the one who causes the settlements to advance, the creator of good creatures; yea, we worship Him with these offered Zaothras, and with truthfully and scrupulously delivered words; and we worship every holy Yazad of the heaven (as well)!

2. And we worship Zarathustra Spitâma in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order with these Zaothras and with faithfully delivered words; and we worship every holy earthly Yazad as we worship him; and we worship also the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. And we worship the utterances of Zarathustra and his religion, his faith and his lore.

3. And we worship the former religions of the world [2] devoted to Righteousness which were insti-

[1] This fragment in the Gâthic dialect might more properly be placed before the Srôsh Yast.

[2] So the Pahlavi translator, probably reading angheus; otherwise

tuted at the creation, the holy religions of the Creator Ahura Mazda, the resplendent and glorious. And we worship Vohu Manah (the Good Mind), and Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and Khshathra-vairya, the Kingdom to be desired, and the good and bountiful Âramaiti (true piety in the believers), and Haurvatât and Ameretatât (our Weal and Immortality).

4. Yea, we worship the Creator Ahura Mazda and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and the good waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and the resplendent sun of the swift horses, and the moon with the seed of cattle (in his beams [1]); and we worship the star Tistrya, the lustrous and glorious; and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed endowment, (5) and its Creator Ahura Mazda; and we worship Mithra of the wide pastures, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and Rashnu the most just, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the Blow-of-victory Ahura-given (as it is). And we worship Râman *Hv*âstra, and the bounteous Wind of blessed gift, (6) and (its) Creator Ahura Mazda, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the good Blessedness and Arstât.

And we worship the heaven and the earth of blessed gift, and the bounteous Mãthra, and the stars without beginning (to their course), self-disposing as they are.

7. And we worship the glorious works of Righteousness in which the souls of the dead find satisfaction and delight [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis

'of the conscience that loves the right.' In Yast XIII, 118 the word is a proper name through an error.

[1] Possibly in allusion to the menses. The moon is masc.

of the saints], and we worship (Heaven) the best world of the saints, shining, all glorious.

8. And we worship the two, the milk-offering and the libation, the two which cause the waters to flow forth[1], and the plants to flourish, the two foes who meet the Dragon[1] demon-made; and who are set to meet, to defeat, and to put to flight, that cheat[2], the Pairika, and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the persecuting heretic) and that of the unholy tyrant full of death[3].

9. And we worship all waters and all plants, and all good men and all good women. And we worship all these Yazads, heavenly and earthly[4], who are beneficent and holy.

10. And we worship thee (our) dwelling-place who art the (earth, our) bounteous Âramaiti[5], and Thee, O Ahura Mazda, O holy Lord of this abode[6]! which is the home of healthy herds and healthy men, and of those who are both endowed with health and lover(s) of the ritual right.

(Response of the individual worshipper (?).) Wherefore whichever of persons, or whatever of bodily influences, is most helpful and preserving in that abode (thus owned by Mazda) let this meet me in mine abode, and there may it abide for summer and for winter. (Or[7] let that one meet me in all my house,

[1] We cannot mistake a connection here with yó áhi*m* *g*aghấna—avấs*rig*at sártave saptá síndhûn.

[2] Or is it possible that a plague of mice is meant, mûs being here indeclinable?

[3] Ordering the execution of many of his subjects.

[4] Gaêthyâ*k*a with J 3, K 11.

[5] Later association of Â. and the earth.

[6] Originally recited in private houses.

[7] Alternative.

in whom are what of influences are the most mighty power for the body and the person's life; yea, let that one meet me there, and there abide for summer and for winter (for my help)!)

YASNA XVII.

To the Fires, Waters, Plants, &c.

1–10[1], 11. We worship thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! We worship the fire Berezi-savangha (of the lofty use[2]), and the fire Vohu-fryâna (the good and friendly[3]), and the fire Urvâzista (the most beneficial and most helpful[4]), and the fire Vâzista (the most supporting[5]), and the fire Spenista (the most bountiful[6]), and Nairya-sangha the Yazad of the royal lineage[7], and that fire which is the house-lord of all houses and Mazda-made, even the son of Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, with all the fires.

12. And we worship the good and best waters Mazda-made, holy, all the waters Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made, and which are holy.

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[1] See chapter VI, which is nearly identical with XVII, 1–10.

[2] This fire is that before Ahura Mazda and the kings.

[3] This fire dwells in the bodies of men and beasts (animal heat).

[4] This is in trees and plants.

[5] This in the clouds (lightning).

[6] This is the fire which is applied in the world (Bundahis, West, page 61).

[7] That N. is here referred to as connected with the fire, seems certain; this fire corresponds with that of Vâhrâm in places of worship.

13. And we worship the Mãthra-spe*n*ta (the bounteous word-of-reason), the Zarathu*s*trian law against the Daêvas, and its long descent.

14. And we worship Mount Ushi-darena which is Mazda-made and shining with its holiness, and all the mountains shining with holiness, and of abundant glory, and which Mazda made —.

15. And we worship the good and pious prayer for blessings, (16) and these waters and (these lands), (17) and all the greatest chieftains, lords of the ritual order[1];

18. And I praise, invoke, and glorify the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, those of the house, the Vîs, the Za*n*tuma, the Da*hv*yuma[2], and the Zarathu*s*trôtema, and all the holy Yazads[3]!

YASNA XVIII[4].

1. Grant me, Thou who art maker of the Kine, plants and waters, Immortality, Mazda! Grant, too, Weal, Spirit bounteous —.

YASNA XIX.

Zand or Commentary on the Ahuna-vairya Formulas[5].

(As the Ahû is excellent, so (is) the Ratu (one who rules) from the righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda; and

[1] 1–17 occur also in MSS. as Y. LIX, 1–17.

[2] Dahyuma. [3] The Yêxhê hâtãm follows.

[4] See Y. LI, 7, and Y. XLVII.

[5] The obvious errors contained in this ancient comment cannot

the Kingdom (is) for Ahura which to the poor shall offer a nurturer.)

1. Zarathustra asked of Ahura Mazda: O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit! maker[1] of the corporeal worlds, the holy One! which was that word which Thou did'st declare to me, (2) which was before the sky, and before the water, before the earth, and before the cattle, before the plants, and before the fire, and before the holy man, and the Demon-gods (the Daêvas), before the Khrafstra-men[2], and before all the incarnate world; even before all the good creatures made by Mazda, and which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness?

3. Thereupon Ahura Mazda said: It was this piece[3], the Ahuna-vairya, O Spitama Zarathustra! which I pronounced as thine (4) before the sky, and before the waters, before the land, and before the cattle and the plants, and before the fire, Ahura Mazda's son, before the holy man[4], and before the Daêvas, and Khrafstra-men, and before the entire corporeal world, even before the good creatures made by Mazda, which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness.

5. It was these part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya, O Spi-

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destroy its great interest as a specimen of early exegesis. Where I hold it to be erroneous may be seen from my rendering of the Ahuna without further observations. The Ahuna-vairya is in the Gâthic dialect, and the Ahunavaiti metre. This Zand is in the Zend (sic). Ahû gives better sense as a nom.

[1] See *daunghôi* para below.

[2] May not khrafstra be a degeneration from kehrp-astar? While the term may be applied to wild beasts, one is strongly inclined to hold that foul insects are chiefly referred to.

[3] This part of the Ahuna (?), meaning its several parts.

[4] Tradition naturally specifies Gaya Maretan.

tama Zarathustra! which especially belongs to me, and when each is intoned aloud without the (needless) repetition [1] of verses and of words, and without their omission, it is worth a hundred of their other stanzas, even although they are prominent in the ritual, and likewise equally as well recited without additions or omissions; nay, further, when it is intoned imperfectly but added to, and with omissions, it is even then in effect equivalent (not to a hundred indeed, but) to ten other (stanzas) that are prominent.

6. And whoever in this world of mine which is corporeal shall mentally recall, O Spitâma* Zarathustra! a portion of the Ahuna-vairya, and having thus recalled it, shall undertone it, or beginning to recite it with the undertone, shall then utter it aloud, or chanting it with intoning voice, shall worship thus, then with even threefold (safety and with speed [2]) I will bring his soul over the Bridge of *K*inva*t*, I who am Ahura Mazda (I will help him to pass over it) to Heaven (the best life), and to Righteousness the Best, and to the lights of heaven [3].

7. And whoever, O Spitama Zarathustra! while undertoning the part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya (or this piece the Ahuna-vairya), takes ought therefrom, whether the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth, I who am Ahura Mazda will draw his soul off

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[1] I do not think that mispronunciation is here intended; the Pahlavi has abarâ shûtakîh; aîghas barâ lâ khelmûnê*d*; Ner. na *s*ete. I am strongly inclined to read anapashûta for anapishûta.

[2] Three times seems to me to lack meaning, but it may have given rise to a foolish belief that the soul went three times before death to heaven.

[3] Vahistaêibyô retaining this sense here.

from the better world; yea, so far off will I withdraw it as the earth is large and wide; [and this[1] earth is as long as it is broad[2]].

8. And I pronounced this saying which contains its Ahû and its Ratu[3] before the creation of this heaven, before the making of the waters, and the plants, and the four-footed kine, before the birth of the holy biped man, before this sun with its body made for the acquisition of the creation of the Bountiful Immortals[4].

9. [5]And the more bountiful[6] of the two Spirits (Ahura) declared to me[7] (Zarathustra) the entire creation of the pure, that which exists at present, that which is in the course of emerging into existence[8], and that which shall be, with reference to the performance and realisation 'of the actions of a life devoted to Mazda[9].'

10. And this word is the most emphatic of the words which have ever been pronounced, or which are[10] now spoken, or which shall be spoken in future; for (the eminence of) this utterance is a thing of such a nature, that if all the corporeal and living world

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[1] Îm here equals iyám. [2] Pâzand.

[3] So, referring to the wording of the Ahuna.

[4] Enabling us to receive the blessings which they bestow through the influence of the sun. 'The sun-shaped matter' would give us a materialism. The Pahlavi has 'levînŏ min zak khurkhshê*d*ŏ brînŏ (?) kerpŏ tanû î khûrkhshê*d* pavan barâ ayâpakîh î ameshô-spendânŏ yehabûn*d*.'

[5] I hold that Ahura speaks no further here.

[6] See Y. XLV, 1.

[7] Of course fictitious, as Z. had long been among the dead.

[8] Does bavai*n*ti*k*a mean 'past?'

[9] Through the state of action; *s*kyaothananãm angh*eus* Mazdâi.

[10] Can mruyê(-vê) be a third singular like ghnê, isê?

should learn it, and learning should hold fast by it, they would be redeemed from their mortality!

11. And this our word I have proclaimed as a symbol to be learned [1], and to be recited, as it were, to every one of the beings under the influence of and for the sake of Righteousness the Best.

12. And 'as' (the worshipper has) here spoken it forth, when he has thus 'appointed' the 'Lord and regulator [2],' so (by thus reciting these authoritative words), he acknowledges Ahura Mazda (as prior to, and supreme) over, those creatures who have 'the mind' [3] as their first. 'As' he acknowledges Him as the greatest of them all, 'so' he assigns the creatures to Him (as to their originator).

13. As he undertones the third sentence, he thereby announces that 'all the amenities of life appertain to the 'good' Mazda [4], (and come) from Him. As he recites 'dazda mananghô,' 'the creator of mind,' he acknowledges Him as superior and prior to mind; and as he makes Him the one who indicates (the truth) to mind, (saying) 'mananghô of mind,' which means that by this much he makes Him (its director), and then he makes Him 'the lord of actions [5].'

14. And when he acknowledges Him for the creatures thus, 'O Mazda [6]!' he acknowledges Him (as

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[1] Or, 'it has been declared to us, the learner, and the one in charge of the ritual.'

[2] In the words yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus.

[3] See dazda mananghô, coming 'before' skyaothananãm anghe*u*s, khshathrem, and vâstârem.

[4] Can the Ahuna have lost words, and is Mazd*a*u hugîtîs vanghe*u*s a citation? At all events, the Zandist errs in separating vanghe*u*s from mananghô. He attributes mystical meaning to every word.

[5] Comp. ahû-skyaothananãm.

[6] Reading Mazda (?).

their ruler) when he assigns the creatures to Him thus. He then assigns the Kingdom to Ahura[1], saying: 'Thine, O Mazda! is the Kingdom.' And he assigns a nourisher and protector to the poor, saying: Yim drigubyô dada*t* vâstârem; that is, as a friend to Spitama[2]. This is the fifth sentence, (and it concludes) the entire recital and word, (even) the whole of this word of Ahura Mazda[3].

15. He who is the best (of all) Ahura Mazda, pronounced the Ahuna-vairya, and as He pronounced it as the best, so He caused it to have its effect[4], (He, ever) the same, (as He is).

The evil one at once[5] arose (to oppose Him), but He (Ahura) repelled that wicked one with His interdict, and with this repelling renunciation: Neither our minds are in harmony, nor our precepts, nor our comprehensions, nor our beliefs, nor our words, nor our actions, nor our consciences, nor our souls[6]!

Catechetical Zand[7].

16. And this saying, uttered by Mazda, has three stages, or measures[8], and belongs to four classes (of men as its supporters), and to five chiefs (in the political world, without whom its efficiency is

[1] Khshathrem*k*â Ahurâi â.

[2] As having the interest of the poor at heart.

[3] Supposing Ahura (?) to be meant by Ahû and Ratu; see Mazdâi Ahurâi. The Zandist may have rendered: As Ahura is the (first) to be chosen, so He is our Ratu from His righteousness, the creator of Vohûman (including all good creatures), &c.

[4] 'Praised' (?).

[5] Reading haithwa*t*; Pahlavi tîz; possibly 'being present.'

[6] See Y. XLV, 2.

[7] This Zand differs, as to the application of Ahû and Ratu, from the former.

[8] Afsman elsewhere applies to metre.

marred), and it has a conclusion ending with a gift. (Question.) How are its measures (constituted)? (Answer.) The good thought, the good word, and the good deed. 17. (Question.) With what classes of men? (Answer.) The priest, the charioteer (as the chief of warriors), the systematic tiller[1] of the ground, and the artisan[2]. These classes therefore accompany the religious man throughout his entire duty[3] with the correct thought, the truthful word, and the righteous action. These are the classes and states in life which give attention to the rulers[4], and fulfil the (laws) of religion; (yea, they are the guides and companions of that religious man) through whose actions the settlements are furthered in righteousness.

18. (Question.) How are the chiefs (constituted)? (Answer.) They are the house-chief, the village-chief, and the tribe-chief, the chief of the province, and the Zarathustra[5] as the fifth. That is, so far as those provinces are concerned which are different from, and outside of the Zarathustrian regency, or domain. [Ragha[6] which has four chiefs (only) is the Zarathustrian (district)]. (Question.) How are the chiefs of this one constituted? (Answer.) They (are) the house-chief, the village-chief, the tribe-chief, and the Zarathustra as the fourth. 19. (Question.) What is the thought well thought? (Answer.) (It is that which the holy man thinks), the one who holds the holy thought to be before all other things[7]. (Question.)

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[1] These are 'the poor,' but not mendicants.

[2] A class not in the Gâthas; observe the rise of a caste system.

[3] Or, 'experience.'

[4] Or, 'the ritual.'

[5] The title of a governor.

[6] It did not need the fifth. It was a centre of rule.

[7] Ashavan manas paoiryô.

What is the word well spoken? (Answer.) It is the Mãthra Spe*n*ta[1], the bounteous word of reason. (Question.) What is the deed well done? (Answer.) It is that done with praises[2], and by the creatures who regard Righteousness as before all other things. 20. (Question.) Mazda made a proclamation, whom did He announce? (Answer.) Some one who was holy, and yet both heavenly and mundane[3]. (Question.) What was His character, He who made this sacred enunciation? (Answer.) He who is the best (of all), the ruling one. (Question.) Of what character (did He proclaim him the coming one)? (Answer.) As holy and the best, a ruler who exercises no wanton or despotic power[4].

21. We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya. We sacrifice to the memorised recital of the Ahuna-vairya, and its regular chanting and its use in the full Yasna.

YASNA XX.

Zand, or Commentary, on the Ashem Vohû.

1. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the best; there is weal, there is weal to this man when the Right (helps) the Righteousness best, (when the pious man serves it in truth[5]). Ahura Mazda spake forth: Ashem vohû vahistem astî. To this Asha, the holy ritual sanctity, one attributes the

[1] Probably the Gâthas with their lost portions, also the Vendîdâd.

[2] Ritual strictness based upon practical piety.

[3] The Saoshya*n*t.

[4] The latter part of this Zand shows that the Ratu was recognised as a human ruler in it.

[5] Elsewhere verbally different; 'when Asha is for A.V.'

qualities of 'good' and 'best,' as one attributes property to an owner; thus this sentence vohû vahistem astî is substantiated (at once [1]).

2. Ustâ astî ustâ ahmâi; by this attribution of blessedness (the praiser) assigns every person (or thing) of a sacred nature to every holy person, and as one usually (?) and regularly (?) [2] assigns every person or thing (?) [3] that is holy to every holy man.

3. Yyat ashâi vahistai [4]; by these words the worshipper ascribes the entire Mãthra (to Asha Vahista), and ascribes all to the Mãthra, as one ascribes the kingdom to Righteousness, and as one ascribes righteousness to the invoking saint; yea, as one ascribes righteousness to us who are the prophets (who shall help and bless the people). The three maxims of the sentences (are thus fulfilled). And every word (in its detail), and the entire utterance in its proclamation, is the word of Ahura Mazda.

Catechetical Addition [5].

4. Mazda has made a proclamation. (Question.) Whom did He announce? (Answer.) That holy one who is both heavenly and earthly. (Question.) Of what character is He who has thus announced Him? (Answer.) He is the best, and the one who is exercising sovereign power. (Question.) Of what character is the man whom He announced? (Answer.)

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[1] It is carried into effect; possibly 'rendered fit for praising' (?).

[2] The Pahlavi indicates nâ stâitya (?).

[3] Ashavanem here and in Y. XIX, 19 might be a neuter from a transition, or addition.

[4] 'Ashem.'

[5] This Catechetical addition is identical with that in Y. XIX. The wording alone is slightly altered in the translation to relieve the sameness.

The holy and the best, the one who rules with no capricious tyranny.

We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Asha Vahi*s*ta (prayer). We sacrifice to the heard-recital of the Asha Vahi*s*ta, to its memorising, its chanting, and its sacrificial use[1]!

YASNA XXI.

Catechetical Zand, or Commentary upon the Yênhê hâtãm[2].

(The Yênhê. (To that one) of beings do we offer, whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda recognises by reason of the sanctity (within him; yea, even to those female saints also do we sacrifice) whose (superior fidelity is thus likewise known; thus) we sacrifice to (all, to both) the males and females (of the saints)!)

[1] The Yênhê hâtãm follows.

[2] The expressions in this prayer were suggested by Y. LI, 22; but the Zand does not consistently follow the thoughts in the Gâtha. T*e*m understood should be supplied as an object for yazamaidê in connection with yênhê, as well as t*a*us*k*â for y*a*unghãm. In Y. LI, 22, it is, however, by no means certain that yazâi applies to a t*e*m yêhyâ. Holding the twenty-first verse in mind, I am obliged to refer yêhyâ to nâ spe*n*tô. Here, however, men and women are worshipped, as it is improbable that the 'Immortals' whose names are in the feminine are meant. The prayer is in the Gâthic dialect, and ancient metre would hardly contain so artificial a formation. It can only be defended from the t*e*ng yazâi *hv*âi*s* nâm*e*nî*s* of Y. LI, 22.

Or did the composer of the prayer correctly render Y. LI, 22, and boldly write his succinct words as being clear to his hearers from explanations which are now lost? Such explanations (oral or written) as a matter of course existed from the first. No composer fails to discuss his productions.

1. A word for the Yasna by Zarathustra, the saint. Yênhê, &c. Here the worshipper indicates and offers the Yasna (which is the sacrificial worship) of Mazda as by the command (or as the institution) of Ahura[1]. Hâtãm. Here the worshipper offers the sacrificial worship as if with the beings who are among those who are destined to live[2]. 2. Y*a*unghãm. Here he indicates and offers the sacrificial worship of those holy females who have Âramaiti at their head[3], as homage to the Immortals. These are the three sentences which comprehend all the Yasnian speech. (Question.) To whom is this Yasna addressed? (Answer.) To the Bountiful Immortals (in the course of the Yasna). 3. Thereupon spake Mazda: Salvation to this one, whosoever he may be! May the absolute ruler Ahura grant it. (Question.) 4. Whom did He answer with this answer? (Answer.) He answered: The state of salvation; and with this answer, 'the state of salvation,' he answered every saint who exists, every one who is coming into existence, and every one who shall exist in the future. (Question. Who answered thus? Answer.) The best One. (Question. What did He answer?) (Answer.) The best thing. (That is,) the best One, Mazda, answered the best and the holy (answer) for the better and the holy man. 5. We sacrifice to this piece, the Yênhê hâtãm, the prominent and holy Yas*t*.

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[1] Referring yênhê to Ahura (?).

[2] Fit to live, clean.

[3] The Ameshôspends whose names are in the feminine; so the Zandist erroneously.

YASNA XXII.

The Sacrifice continues.

1. With the Baresman brought hither together with the Zaothra, for the worship of the Creator Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and for that of the Bountiful Immortals, I desire to approach this Haoma with my praise, offered (as it is) with punctilious sanctity (or, for a blessing), and this fresh milk, and this plant Hadhânaêpata. 2. And, as an act of worship to the beneficent waters, I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise offered (as they are) with punctilious sanctity, having the Haoma with them, and the flesh, with the Hadhânaêpata. And I desire to approach the Haoma-water with my praise for the beneficent waters; and I desire to approach the stone mortar and the iron mortar with my praise. 3. And I desire to approach this plant for the Baresman with my praise, and the well-timed prayer for blessings, that which has approached (to accept our homage), and the memorised recital and the fulfilment of the good Mazda-yasnian Faith, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-timed and successful prayer for blessings, that of the holy lord of the ritual order. And I desire to approach these wood-billets and their perfume with my praise,—thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! Yea, I desire to approach all good things with my praise, those which Mazda made, and which have the seed of sanctity (within them), (4) for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda and of the Bountiful

Immortals, and of Sraosha the blessed, and of Ahura Mazda's Fire, the lofty ritual lord[1]!

20. And I desire to approach this Haoma with (my) praise, that which is thus lifted up with sanctity, and this milk (fresh as it is, and as if) living and lifted up with sanctity, and this plant the Hadhânaêpata lifted up with sanctity. 21. And I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise for the beneficial waters, these Zaothras which have the H(a)oma with them and the milk with them, and the Hadhânaêpata, and which are lifted up with sanctity. And I desire to approach the Haoma-water with (my) praise for the beneficial waters, and the two mortars, the stone one and the iron one, (22) and I desire to approach this branch for the Baresman with my praise, and the memorised recital and fulfilment of the Mazdayasnian law, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-timed and persistent prayer for blessings (uttered) by the holy lord[2] of the ritual order, and this wood and perfume, even thine, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and all good objects Mazda-made (23) for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and of the Bountiful Immortals, and of Mithra of the wide pastures, and of Râman *Hv*âstra[3], (24) and of the resplendent sun, immortal, radiant, of the fleet horses, and of Vayu, (of predominant influence and) working on high, set over the other beings in the creation [(Pâzand); that is for thee thus (O Vayu) when thine influence is that which apper-

[1] 5–19 = Y. III, 5–19; 20–23 = 1–4 from imem.

[2] The priest? (Repetitions are, as everywhere, curtailed and varied.)

[3] For closer rendering of details, see verses 2, 3, 4, which differ chiefly in the final dedication.

tains to Spe*n*ta Mainyu [1]], and for the propitiation of the most just knowledge Mazda-given, and of the holy and good Religion, the Mazdayasnian Faith; (25) for the propitiation of the Mãthra Spe*n*ta, (the bounteous) and holy, and the effective, instituted against the Daêvas, the Zarathu*s*trian law, and of the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian Faith [2] [the holding in mind and devotion to the Mãthra Spe*n*ta, and knowledge of the Mazdayasnian Religion] for the propitiation of the understanding which is innate and Mazda-made, and of that which is heard by the ear; (26) and for thy propitiation, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! [(Pâzand); (yea) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son] with all the fires, and for the propitiation of Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, radiant with sanctity; (27) and of all the holy Yazads, spiritual and earthly, and of the holy Fravashis, the redoubted and overwhelming, those of the ancient lore, and those of the next of kin and of the Yazad of the spoken name!

YASNA XXIII.

The Fravashis of the Saints; Prayers for their approach [3].

1. I desire to approach with my praise [4] those Fravashis which have existed from of old, the Fravashis of the houses, and of the villages, of the communities, and of the provinces, which hold the

[1] And not the evil Vayu, which appertains to Angra Mainyu.

[2] Insert, 'and of the good Zarathu*s*trian devotion.'

[3] This chapter is said to be reserved for funeral occasions.

[4] Or, 'I pray for the approach.' See Y. XXVI.

heaven in its place apart, and the water, land, and cattle, which hold the children in the wombs safely enclosed apart so that they do not miscarry. 2. And I desire to approach toward the Fravashi[1] of Ahura Mazda, and with my praise, and for those of the Bountiful Immortals, with all the holy Fravashis which are those of the heavenly Yazads. And I desire to approach the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan (the life-man) in my worship with my praise, and for that of Zarathustra Spitâma, and for those of Kavi Vîstâspa, and of Isat-vâstra[2], the Zarathustrian, with all the holy Fravashis of the other ancient counsellors as well. 3. And I desire in my worship to approach toward every holy Fravashi whosesoever it may be, and wheresoever dead upon this earth (its possessor may have lain), the pious woman, or the girl of tender years, the maiden diligent (among the cattle) in the field (who) may have dwelt (here; yea, all) which are now worshipped from this house[3], which are attentive to, and which attain to (our) good Yasnas and (our) homage. 4. Yea, I desire to approach the Fravashis of the saints with my praise, redoubted (as they are) and overwhelming, the Fravashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; and I desire to approach toward the Fravashi of mine own[4] soul in my worship with my praise; and I desire therewith to approach toward all the lords of the ritual, and with

[1] Fravashi seems a dative; comp. ûtî.

[2] Zarathustra's eldest son by his wife Padokhshah; he was the chief of priests according to tradition.

[3] This Yasna was recited from house to house.

[4] The 'own' soul; notice the seeming distinction between Fravashi and soul.

praise; and I desire to approach all the good Yazads with my praise, the heavenly and the earthly, who are meet for sacrifice and homage, because of Righteousness the Best!

YASNA XXIV.

Presentations.

1. (And having approached these Haomas with our worship), we present them to Ahura Mazda; (yea, we present) these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and the Baresman spread with punctilious sanctity, and the flesh, and the milk, fresh as if living, and lifted up with punctilious sanctity, and this branch the Hadhânaêpata likewise lifted up with sanctity.

2. (And having approached these Zaothras in our worship), we present them to the good waters having the Haoma with them, and the milk, and the Hadhânaêpata, and lifted up with scrupulous sanctity; and (with them) we present the Haoma-water to the good waters, and both the stone and the iron mortar.

3. And we present this plant of the Baresman, and the timely prayer for blessings, which has approached in the due course of the ritual, and the recollection and practice[1] of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the timely prayer for blessings which has approached as the prayer of the holy lord of the ritual order; and these wood-billets, and the perfume, (even) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all good objects Mazda-made, which have the seed of righteousness, we offer and present. 4. And these we present hereby to Ahura Mazda, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the

[1] Or the memorised recital and performance of its rites.

blessed (and Righteous), and to the Bountiful Immortals; and to the Fravashis of the saints, even to the souls of the saints, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lofty lord of entire holy creation, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise.

5. And these we present hereby to the Fravashi of Zarathu*s*tra Spitâma, the saint, for sacrifice, propitiation, and for praise, and to that of the people[1] who love Righteousness, with all the holy Fravashis of the saints who are dead and who are living, and to those of men who are as yet unborn, and to those of the prophets who will serve us, and will labour to complete the progress and renovation of the world[2].

6. And we present these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and the Baresman spread with sanctity, and the flesh, and the milk (fresh as if) living, and lifted up with sanctity, and the Hadhânaêpata branch.

7. And we present these Zaothras to the beneficial waters having the Haoma with them, and the flesh, and the Hadhânaêpata lifted up with sanctity, and the Haoma-water, to the good waters, with the stone and iron mortars, (8) and this plant of the Baresman, (and) the timely Prayer and the recollection and practice of the good Mazdayasnian Faith[3], and these wood-billets, and the perfume, thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all objects which are Mazda-made, and which have, and are, the seed of Righteousness, these we offer and present.

9. (Yea,) we present these hereby to the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all

[1] Elsewhere perhaps, erroneously, as a proper name: or read angh*e*u*s*.

[2] Pahlavi frashakar*d* kar*d*ârân.

[3] 'And the heard recital of the Gâthas.'

aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, who abide with the Good Mind (of the Lord and of His folk[1]) !

YASNA XXV.

1. And we worship the Bountiful Immortals with our sacrifice, who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright; and we worship this Haoma, this flesh and branch, (2) and these Zaothras for the good waters, having the Haoma with them, and the flesh with them, and Hadhânaêpata, and lifted up with sanctity, and we worship the Haoma-water for the beneficial waters; and we worship the two, the stone mortar and the iron mortar; (3) and we worship this plant for the Baresman and the well-timed prayer for blessings which has approached (in its proper place within the ritual course), and also both the remembrance and the practice[2] of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-timed prayer for blessings of the holy lord of the ritual order which has approached, and these wood-billets with the perfume, (even) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and we worship all good objects which are Mazda-made, and which contain (and are) the seed of Righteousness.

4. And we worship Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, the resplendent, the glorious, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, and Mithra of the wide pastures and Râman *Hv*âstra; and we worship the shining sun, the resplendent, the immortal, of the fleet horses.

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[1] See Y. IV, 4–25, which is repeated here. Expressions are curtailed.

[2] Or the memorised recital and fulfilment.

5. And we worship the holy wind which works on high, placed higher than the other creatures in the creation; and we worship this which is thine, O Vayu! and which appertains to the Spe*n*ta Mainyu within thee; and we worship the most true religious Knowledge, Mazda-made and holy, and the good Mazdayasnian law.

6. And we worship the Mãthra Spe*n*ta verily glorious (as it is), even the law pronounced against the Daêvas, the Zarathu*s*trian law, and its long descent [1]; yea, we worship the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the Mãthra which is heart-devoted and bounteous (imparting heart's devotion to the saint); yea, we worship the Mazdayasnian Religion maintained in the understanding [2] of the saint; and we honour that science which is the Mãthra Spe*n*ta, and the innate understanding Mazda-made, and the derived understanding, heard with ear, and Mazda-made.

7. Yea, we worship thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son! the holy lord of the ritual order; and we worship all the Fires, and Mount Ushi-darena (which holds the light [3]) Mazda-made and holy, the Yazad mount, brilliant with sanctity. 8. And we worship every holy spiritual [4] Yazad; and every holy earthly Yazad (who exists)!

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[1] Its long tradition.

[2] Or maintaining the understanding.

[3] A sunrise or sunset mountain; see the word applied intellectually just previously, also previous notes on it.

[4] That is, heavenly.

YASNA XXVI.

The Fravashis; Sacrifice and Praise to them.

1. I praise, invoke, and weave my hymn to the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints; (and having invoked these, then) we worship the Nmânyas, and the Vîsyas, and the Za*n*tumas, and the Da*hv*yumas[1], and the Zarathu*s*trôtemas.

2. And of all these prior Fravashis, we worship here the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, which is the greatest and the best, the most beautiful and the firmest, the most wise and the best in form, and the one that attains the most its ends because of Righteousness. 3. And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the holy ones, those of the Bountiful Immortals, the brilliant, of effective glance, the lofty, the devoted, the swift ones of the creatures of Ahura who are imperishable and holy.

4. And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the spirit and conscience, the intelligence and soul and Fravashi of those holy men and women who early heard the lore and commands (of God[2]), and loved and strove after Righteousness, the ritual truth; and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed gift. 5. And (having invoked it) hither, we worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan the holy, and the sanctity and Fravashi of Zarathu*s*tra Spitâma the saint; and we worship the Fravashi of Kavi Vîs*t*âspa the holy, and that of Isa*t*-vâstra the Zarathu*s*trian, the saint.

[1] Dahyumas. [2] 'Of the early religion.'

6. And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the life, conscience, intelligence, soul and Fravashi of the next of kin, of the saints male and female who have striven after the ritual truth, which are those of the dead and living saints, and which are those also of men as yet unborn, of the future prophets who will help on the renovation, and complete the human progress, with them all.

7. And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the souls of the dead [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis of the saints [1]]; and of all the next of kin who have passed away in this house, of the Aêthrapaitis (the teachers) and of the disciples; yea, of all holy men and women; (8) and we worship the Fravashis of all the holy teachers and disciples; and of all the saints both male and female.

9. (And having invoked them) hither we worship the Fravashis of all the holy children who fulfil the deeds of piety; and we worship the Fravashis of the saints within the province; and those of the saints without the province. 10. We worship the Fravashis of (those) holy men and holy women; we worship all the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints from Gaya Maretan (the first created) to the Saoshya*n*t, the victorious [2].

11. Yea, we worship all the Fravashis of the saints, and we worship the souls of the dead [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis of the saints]!

[1] Whether a real distinction existed in the minds of these early writers, between a Fravashi and a departed soul, is hard to say. That a Fravashi was worshipped as existing before the person to whom it appertained was born, may be owing to a poetical, and not a dogmatic, anticipation.

[2] From the Iranian Adam to the Christ of the resurrection; see Yast XIX, 89, 91.

YASNA XXVII.

Prelude to the Chief Recital of the Ahuna-vairya.

1. This is to render[1] Him who is of all the greatest, our lord[2] and master[3] (even) Ahura Mazda. And this to smite[4] the wicked Angra Mainyu, and to smite Aêshma of the bloody spear, and the Mazainya Daêvas, and to smite all the wicked Varenya Daêvas.

2. And this is to further Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, to further the Bountiful Immortals, and the influences of the star Tistrya, the resplendent, the glorious, (and) to the furtherance of the holy man, and of all the (bountiful and) holy creatures of the Bounteous Spirit.

3–5[5]. 6. The Haomas are crushed, O Mazda, Khshathra, and Asha, O ye Lords! Good is Sraosha who accompanies the sacrifice with the great glory[6], and may he be present affording strenuous help.

7. We are offering saving acts of wisdom and of worship with the sacred gift of the Ahuna-vairya intoned with sanctity, and of the two mortars here

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[1] Dazdyâi would be an infin. for an imperative; but it here refers to the Ahuna. We might say, 'Let this render,' &c.

[2] See Y. XXXIV, 5.

[3] Referring to the Ahû and Ratu of the Ahuna, but with erroneous application.

[4] Comp. Vend. XIX, 9 (Wg.).

[5] The Ahuna appears here in the MS. with Y. XXXIV, 5, the â airyemâ, and the Ashem Vohû.

[6] Mãzâ rayâ; otherwise mãzarayâ, with greatness (see Y. XLIII, 12).

brought forward[1] with holy act, and with that of the correctly uttered words likewise; and therefore may they be to us the more saving in their wise significance.

8–12[2]. 13. As the Ahû is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from (his) sanctity, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer a nurturer. 14. (What is Your Kingdom, Your riches; how may I be Your own in my actions, to nourish Your poor, O Mazda? Beyond; yea, beyond all we declare You, far from Daêvas and Khrafstra-accursed mortals[3]!)

15. We worship the Ahuna-vairya. We worship Asha Vahista, the most beautiful[4], the Bountiful Immortal[5].

YASNA XXXV.

Yasna Haptanghâiti.

With the Yasna of the 'Seven Chapters' which ranks next in antiquity after the Gâthas, we already pass into an atmosphere distinct from theirs. The dialect still lingers, but the spirit is changed. We have advanced personification of the Bountiful Immortals; that is, their personification seems more prominent, while the ideas of which they are the personification already, and to a proportionate degree, have grown dim. The name Amesha Spenta occurs: the Fravashis appear; the Fire is worshipped, the Earth, and the Grass.

To the waters, to the Soul of the Kine, and to all holy or clean

[1] Here the Parsi priests now manipulate the mortars.

[2] See Y. XXXIII, 11–14; and Y. I, 23, and Y. XII.

[3] See Y. XXXIV, 15. The Ashem follows.

[4] Or, 'the best.'

[5] The Yênhê hâtãm follows. For Y. XXVIII–XXXIV, see the Gâtha Ahunavaiti above, pp. 2–194.

beings, the very word yazamaidê is applied for the first time. On the other hand, many later objects of worship are totally absent, the six seasons of the creation, the five divisions of the day, the five Gâthas, Zarathustra, the Baresman, the Haoma, &c. A considerable period of time must have elapsed since the Gâthas had been composed, and a lengthy period must also be supposed to have passed before the Avesta of the later type began to be sung and recited. The chapter numbered XLII in the Vendîdâd Sâdah of Brockhaus (1850), and in the edition of Westergaard (1852), and numbered XLI, 18–35 in Spiegel's edition, seems a later addition; but it cannot be very much later, as it preserves the dialect and general features. An intentional imitation is not probable. Spiegel has included it with chapter XLI to preserve the number 'seven;' and if the entire section is to be called 'the Yasnas of the Seven Chapters,' it should most certainly not be numbered XLII! I so number merely to follow Westergaard, as do the first two parts of these translations from the Avesta. This portion should neither be incorporated with chapter XLI, nor numbered as a separate one; it should be noted as a supplement. The name 'Seven Chapters' was of course given to the pieces long after their composition.

Praise to Ahura and the Immortals; Prayer for the Practice and Diffusion of the Faith.

1. We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy Lord of the ritual order, and to the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, who dispose of all aright; and we sacrifice to the entire creation of the clean, the spiritual and the mundane, with the longing blessing of the beneficent ritual, with the longing blessing of the benignant Religion, the Mazdayasnian Faith.

2. We are praisers of good thoughts, of good words, and of good actions, of those now and those hereafter[1] [(Pâzand) of those being done, and of those

[1] The Pahlavi translator, as so often, first saw the proper explanation here.

completed]. We implant[1] (?) them (with our homage, and we do this) the more, and yet the more since we are (praisers) of the good (from whom they spring).

3. That, therefore, would we choose, O Ahura Mazda! and thou, O Righteousness the beauteous! that we should think, and speak, and do those thoughts, and words, and deeds, among actual good[2] thoughts, and words, and actions, which are the best for both the worlds; (4) and together with these gifts (?) and actions which are thus the best, we would pray for the Kine (which represents the pure creation), that she may have comfort and have fodder from the famed, and from the humble, from the potent and the weak.

5. To the best of good rulers (is) verily the Kingdom, because we render and ascribe it to Him, and make it thoroughly His own (?), to Mazda Ahura do we ascribe it, and to Righteousness the Best. 6. As thus both man or woman knows (the duty), both thoroughly and truly, so let him, or her, declare it and fulfil it, and inculcate it upon those who may perform it as it is. 7. We would be deeply mindful of Your sacrifice and homage, Yours, O Ahura Mazda! and the best, (and we would be mindful) of the nurture of the Kine. And that let us inculcate and perform for You according as we may, and (for) such (praisers as we are).

8. Under the shelter[3] of the ritual Order let us do so in the active fulfilment[3] of its (precepts) toward every one of the (clean) and better creatures which

[1] Or, we are 'purifiers,' or 'adorners.' Tradition 'spreading from man to man,' so thoroughly implanting themselves; comp. perhaps nîd.

[2] Hâtăm in this sense.

[3] Or, 'in the house and stall.'

are fit to live[1], with a gift for both the worlds. 9. Yea, those words and sayings, O Ahura Mazda! we would proclaim as Righteousness, and as of the better mind (?); and we would make Thee the one who both supports (us in our proclamation) of them, and who throws still further light upon them (as they are),

10. And by reason of Thy Righteous Order, Thy Good Mind, and Thy Sovereign Power, and through the instrumentality of our praises of Thee, O Ahura Mazda! and for the purpose of (still further) praises, by Thy spoken words, and for (still further) spoken words, through Thy Yasna, and for (still further) Yasnas (would we thus proclaim them, and make Thee the bestower of our light).

YASNA XXXVI.

To Ahura and the Fire.

1. We would approach You two, O (Ye) primeval ones in the house[2] of this Thy holy Fire, O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit! Who brings pollutions to this (Thy flame) him wilt Thou cover with pollutions (in his turn). 2. But as the most friendly do Thou give us zeal, O Fire of the Lord! and approach us[3], and with the loving blessing of the most friendly, with the praise of the

[1] Or, 'live-stock.'

[2] Or, 'in the service of the Fire;' so the Pahlavi: consider also the occurrence of forms of var(e)z in the other sense in the close proximity. Fire temples did not exist; some shelter, however, must have been afforded. Also the dual pouruyê(-ve) may refer to Ahura and the Fire. Comp. Y. XXX, 3. Or, is it 'at first?'

[3] Possibly, 'but most favoured is he whom (yem).'

most adored. Yea, may'st thou approach to aid us in this our greatest (undertaking) among the efforts of our zeal.

3. The Fire of Ahura Mazda art thou verily[1]; yea, the most bounteous one of His Spirit, wherefore Thine is the most potent of all names (for grace), O Fire of the Lord! 4. And therefore we would approach Thee, (O Ahura!) with the help of Thy Good Mind (which Thou dost implant within us), with Thy (good) Righteousness, and with the actions and the words inculcated by Thy good wisdom!

5. We therefore bow before Thee, and we direct our prayers to Thee with confessions of our guilt, O Ahura Mazda! with all the good thoughts (which Thou dost inspire), with all the words well said, and the deeds well done, with these would we approach Thee. 6. And to Thy most beauteous body[2] do we make our deep acknowledgments, O Ahura Mazda! to those stars (which are Thy body); and to that one, the highest of the high, [such as the sun was called]!

YASNA XXXVII.

To Ahura, the holy Creation, the Fravashis of the Just, and the Bountiful Immortals.

1. Thus therefore do we worship Ahura Mazda, who made the Kine (the living creation), and the (embodied) Righteousness (which is incarnate in the clean), and the waters, and the wholesome plants, the stars, and the earth, and all (existing) objects

[1] Vôi looks as if it represented vâí here.

[2] See Y. I, 1.

that are good. 2. Yea, we worship Him for His Sovereign Power and His greatness, beneficent (as they are), and with priority among the Yazads [1] who abide beside the Kine (and care for her protection and support).

3. And we worship Him under His name as Lord, to Mazda dear, the most beneficent (of names). We worship him with our bones, and with our flesh, (with our bodies and our life). And we worship the [2] Fravashis of the saints, of holy men, and holy women; (4) and Righteousness the Best do we worship, the most beauteous, the Bountiful Immortal and that which is endowed with light in all things good.

5. And we worship the Good Mind (of the Lord), and His Sovereign Power, and the Good Faith, the good law of our thrift, and Piety the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

YASNA XXXVIII.

To the Earth and the Sacred Waters.

1. And now we worship this earth which bears us, together with Thy wives [3], O Ahura Mazda! yea, those Thy wives do we worship which are so desired from their sanctity. 2. We sacrifice to their zealous wishes, and their capabilities, their inquiries (as to duty), and their wise acts of pious reverence,

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[1] Or, 'with the priority in the Yasnas, (we who are they) who abide.'

[2] Tem is interpolated; or shall we render: 'We worship Him' as in the F. with adverbial use as in the Greek, and often here?

[3] Compare the Indian gnâs. The waters are wives, as is the earth; below they are mothers.

and with these their blessedness, their full vigour and good portions, their good fame and ample wealth. 3. O ye waters! now we worship you, you that are showered down, and you that stand in pools and vats, and you that bear forth (our loaded vessels?) ye female Ahuras of Ahura, you that serve us (all) in helpful ways, well forded and full-flowing, and effective for the bathings, we will seek you and for both the worlds! 4. Therefore did Ahura Mazda give you names, O ye beneficent[1] ones! when He who made the good bestowed you. And by these names we worship you, and by them we would ingratiate ourselves with you, and with them would we bow before you, and direct our prayers to you with free confessions of our debt. O waters, ye who are productive[2], and ye maternal ones, ye with heat[3] that suckles the (frail and) needy (before birth), ye waters (that have once been) rulers of (us) all, we will now address you as the best, and the most beautiful; those (are) yours, those good (objects) of our offerings, ye long of arm to reach our sickness, or misfortune[4], ye mothers of our life!

YASNA XXXIX.

To the Soul of the Kine, &c.

1. And now we sacrifice to the Kine's soul, and to her created body, and we sacrifice to the souls

[1] Vanguhîs with K4, &c.

[2] Compare azi as applied to the Kine.

[3] Compare agnáyas, reading agnayô. Or is it agniv*a*u with a suffix va?

[4] Or, 'our sicknesses and welfare.'

of cattle who are fit to live[1] (for us), and whose (we ?) are, such as are the same to them.

2. And we worship the souls of those beasts which are tame and broken in, and of wild herds, and the souls of the saints wherever they were born, both of men and of women, whose good consciences are conquering in the strife against the Daêvas, or will conquer, or have conquered.

3. And now we worship the Bountiful Immortals (all) the good, and both those male[2], and those female[3] (by their names). The males among them do we worship, ever living, and ever helpful, who dwell beside the pious, and the females thus the same. 4. As Thou, O Ahura Mazda! hast thought and spoken, as thou hast determined, and hast done these things (effecting) what is good, therefore do we offer to Thee, therefore do we ascribe to Thee our praises, and worship Thee, and bow ourselves before Thee; and therefore would we direct our prayers to Thee, Ahura! with confessions of our sin.

5. And we thus draw near to Thee together with the good kinship of our kindred, with that of Righteousness the blessed, and the good law of thrift and energy and the good Piety, the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

YASNA XL.

Prayers for Helpers.

1. And now in these Thy dispensations, O Ahura Mazda! do Thou wisely[4] act for us, and with abun-

[1] Live-stock. [2] Yôi. [3] Y*au*s*k*â.
[4] A fem. noun mazdâ = medhâ.

dance with Thy bounty and Thy tenderness[1] as touching us; and grant that reward which Thou hast appointed to our souls, O Ahura Mazda! 2. Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and the spiritual; and now as part thereof (do Thou grant) that we may attain to fellowship with Thee, and Thy Righteousness for all duration.

3. And do Thou grant us, O Ahura! men who are righteous, and both lovers and producers of the Right as well. And give us trained beasts for the pastures, broken in for riding[2], and for bearing, (that they may be) in helpful[3] companionship with us, and as a source of long enduring vigour, and a means of rejoicing grace to us for this[4].

4. So let there be a kinsman lord for us, with the labourers of the village, and so likewise let there be the clients (or the peers[5]). And by the help of those may we arise.

So may we be to You, O Mazda Ahura! holy and true[6], and with free giving of our gifts.

YASNA XLI.

A Prayer to Ahura as the King, the Life, and the Rewarder.

1. Praises, and songs, and adorations do we offer to Ahura Mazda, and to Righteousness the Best; yea, we offer and we ascribe them, and proclaim them. 2. And to Thy good Kingdom, O Ahura Mazda!

[1] Otherwise, 'understanding which protects' (?).

[2] So the Pahlavi and Ner. [3] Bezvaitê. [4] May we be rejoicing (?).

[5] Hakhemã (=-a) replacing the airyaman of the Gâthas, and throwing light upon its meaning. The form is irregular.

[6] Or, 'holy *ri*shis' (ereshayô?).

may we attain for ever, and a good King be Thou over us; and let each man of us, and so each woman, thus abide, O Thou most beneficent of beings, and for both the worlds! 3. Thus do we render Thee, the helpful Yazad, endowed with good devices, the friend of them (who worship Thee) with (well-adjusted) ritual; so may'st Thou be to us our life, and our body's vigour, O Thou most beneficent of beings, and that for both the worlds!

4. Aye, let us win and conquer (?) long life, O Ahura Mazda! in Thy grace, and through Thy will may we be powerful. May'st Thou lay hold on us to help, and long, and with salvation, O Thou most beneficent of beings!

5. Thy praisers and Mãthra-speakers may we be called [1], O Ahura Mazda! so do we wish, and to this may we attain [2]. What reward most meet for our deserving Thou hast appointed for the souls, O Ahura Mazda! (6) of that do Thou bestow on us for this life, and for that of mind [3]. Of that reward (do Thou Thyself grant this advantage), that we may come under Thy protecting guardianship, and that of Righteousness for ever. We sacrifice to that brave Yasna, the Yasna Haptanghâiti [4], the holy, the ritual chief!

YASNA XLII.

A Supplement to the Haptanghâiti [5].

1. We worship You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! with the entire collection of this Yasna, Haptanghâiti

[1] See Y. L, 11. [2] Or, 'abide.' [3] See Y. XXVIII, 3.
[4] Here the Haptanghâiti once ended.
[5] Of not greatly later origin.

(as we sum up all). And we sacrifice to the fountains of the waters, and to the fordings of the rivers, to the forkings of the highways, and to the meetings of the roads.

2. And we sacrifice to the hills that run with torrents, and the lakes that brim with waters, and to the corn that fills the corn-fields; and we sacrifice to both the protector and the Creator, to both Zarathustra and the Lord.

3. And we sacrifice to both earth and heaven, and to the stormy wind that Mazda made, and to the peak of high Haraiti, and to the land, and all things good.

4. And we worship the Good Mind (in the living) and the spirits of the saints. And we sacrifice to the fish of fifty-fins [1], and to that sacred beast the Unicorn [2] (?) which stands in Vouru-kasha, and we sacrifice to that sea of Vouru-kasha where he stands, (5) and to the Haoma, golden-flowered, growing on the heights; yea, to the Haoma that restores us, and aids this world's advance. We sacrifice to Haoma that driveth death afar, (6) and to the flood-streams of the waters, and to the great flights of the birds, and to the approaches of the Fire-priests, as they approach us from afar [3], and seek to gain the provinces, and spread the ritual lore. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals all [4]!

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[1] See, however, Bundahiš (West), p. 66.

[2] See Bundahiš, chap. XIX, also Darmesteter, Ormuzd and Ahriman (pp. 148–150).

[3] Yôi yêyã dûrât points to a migration of Zaroastrianism, coming West (?).

[4] For Yasna XLIII–LI, see above, pp. 98–187.

YASNA LII (Sp. LI).

A Prayer for Sanctity and its Benefits.

1. I pray with benedictions for a benefit, and for the good, even for the entire creation of the holy (and the clean); I beseech for them for the (generation which is) now alive, for that which is just coming into life [1], and for that which shall be hereafter. And (I pray for that) sanctity which leads to prosperity, and which has long afforded shelter [2], which goes on hand in hand with it [3], which joins it in its walk, and of itself becoming its close companion as it delivers forth its precepts, (2) bearing every form of healing virtue which comes to us in waters [4], appertains to cattle, or is found in plants, and overwhelming all the harmful malice of the Daêvas, (and their servants) who might harm this dwelling [5] and its lord, (3) bringing good gifts, and better blessings, given very early, and later (gifts), leading to successes, and for a long time giving shelter [6]. And so the greatest, and the best, and most beautiful benefits of sanctity fall likewise to our lot (4) for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and the praise of the Bountiful Immortals, for the bringing prosperity to this abode, and for the prosperity of the entire creation of the holy,

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[1] Or, 'for that which is past?' bavãithyâiϰa.

[2] Dareghô-vârethmanem is treated as a feminine; see also dareghô-vârethmanô in verse 3.

[3] Have we hvô-aiwishâϰîm, as representing some more regular form?

[4] Medicinal springs.

[5] This Yasna was celebrated from house to house.

[6] Vârethmanô.

and the clean, (and as for this, so) for the opposition of the entire evil creation. (And I pray for this) as I praise through Righteousness, I who am beneficent, those who are (likewise of a better mind) [1]. 5–8. (See Y. VIII, 5–8.) (For Y. LIII, see Gâthas, pp. 190–194.)

YASNA LIV [2] (Sp. LIII).

The Airyæmâ-ishyô.

1. Let the Airyaman, the desired friend and peersman, draw near for grace to the men and to the women who are taught of Zarathustra, for the joyful grace of the Good Mind, whereby the conscience may attain its wished-for recompense. I pray for the sacred reward of the ritual order which is (likewise so much) to be desired; and may Ahura Mazda grant [3] it, (or cause it to increase).

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2. We sacrifice to the Airyæmâ-ishyô, the powerful, the victoriously smiting, the opponent of assaulting malice, the greatest of the sentences of the holy ritual order. And we sacrifice to the bounteous Gâthas that rule supreme in the ritual, the holy (and august). And we sacrifice to the Praises of the Yasna which were the productions of the world of old [4].

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[1] Citation from the Gâthas (Y. XLV, 6).

[2] This piece in the Gâthic dialect, and in a metre supposed by some to be identical with that of the Vahistôisti, is very old, and ranks with the Ahuna-vairya and Ashem Vohû in importance.

[3] Or, can masatâ (sic) equal 'with his liberality, or majesty,' leaving yantu to be understood with Ahurô?

[4] The later Avesta notes the antiquity of the older.

YASNA LV (Sp. LIV).

The Worship of the Gâthas as concluded, and that of the Staota Yêsnya[1] as beginning.

1. We present hereby and we make known, as our offering to the bountiful Gâthas which rule (as the leading chants) within (the appointed times and seasons of) the Ritual, all our landed riches, and our persons, together with our very bones and tissues, our forms and forces, our consciousness, our soul, and Fravashi.

2. That which Gâthas (may) be to us, which are our guardians and defenders, and our spiritual food, yea, which (may) be to our souls both food and clothing, such are these Gâthas to us, guardians, and defenders, and (spiritual) food, even such they are, both food and clothing to the soul.

And (may) they be to us (for this our offering) abundant givers of rewards, and just and righteous ones, for the world beyond the present, after the parting of our consciousness and body. 3. And may these (Praises of the Offering) come forth, and appear for us with power and victorious assault, with health and healing, with progress, and with growth, with preparation and protection, with beneficence and sanctity, and abounding with gifts[2] toward him who can understand; yea, let them appear (with free liberality to the enlightened), let them appear as

[1] Staota Yêsnya seems to designate that part of the Yasna which begins with the Srôsh Yast.

[2] Frârâiti; or possibly 'to the freely giving,' (the term. '-ti' as a dative).

Mazda, the most beneficent, has produced them, He the one who is victorious when He smites, and who helps the settlements advance, for the protection, and the guarding of the religious order of the settlements which are now being furthered, and of those which shall bring salvation to us, and for the protection of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

4. And may'st thou, (O Asha! who abidest within the Gâthas[1]), give to every holy man who comes with this prayer for a blessing, and endeavouring to help himself[2], according to his good thoughts, and words, and deeds.

5. We are therefore worshipping both the (divine) Righteousness and the Good Mind, and the bountiful Gâthas, that rule as the leading chants within (the times and the seasons of) the holy ritual order.

6. And we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the production of the ancient world, those which are (now) recollected and put in use[3], those which are now learned and taught, those which are being held (in mind, and so) repeated, those remembered and recited, and those worshipped, and thus the ones which further the world through grace in its advance.

And we worship the part(s)[4] of the Praises of the Yasna, and their recitation as it is heard, even their memorised recital, and their chanting, and their offering (as complete).

[1] Conjectural; see Ashem below. [2] Pahlavi avŏ nafsman.
[3] Recited from memory, and used in the ceremonial.
[4] The part, 'each part.'

YASNA LVI (Sp. LV).

Introduction to the Srôsh Yast.

1. Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent, and holy, of him) who is desired by us as at the first, so at the last; and so again may attentive Obedience be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent and the holy who (is so) desired by us.

2. (Yea), let Sraosha (the attentive Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters, and for the Fravashis of the saints which are so desired by us, [and for (their [1]) souls], as at the first, so at the last.

And thus again may Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters, and for the Fravashis of the saints, which are so desired by us, [(and) for (their) souls].

3. Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters; yea, let the good Obedience be here for the worship of the good and bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, the good, and for the worship of the good Sanctity, or Blessedness, who is closely knit with the Righteous Order, to perfect us, and to incite us. May Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for the worship of the good waters, he the good and the holy [2], as at the first, so at the last.

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[1] One might be inclined to render 'who are so desired by us for our souls.' But I think that the words are Pâzand to the preceding.

[2] Or, 'endowed with recompense.'

4. And so again may Sraosha, (Obedience) the good, be present here for the worship of the good waters, and of the good[1] and bountiful Immortals, and of Blessedness the good who is closely knit with the Righteous Order to perfect and to incite us[2]. Yea, we worship Sraosha the blessed and the stately, who smites with victory, and who furthers the settlements in their advance, the holy lord of the ritual order[3].

YASNA LVII (Sp. LVI).

The Srôsh Yast[4].

1. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, &c.

Propitiation be to Sraosha, Obedience the blessed, the mighty, the incarnate word of reason, whose body is the Mãthra, him of the daring spear, devoted to the Lord, for (his) sacrificial worship, homage, propitiation, and praise.

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[1] Of the female (feminine) names.

[2] Or, 'give to us.' The Ahuna and Ashem Vohû follow here.

[3] The Yênhê hâtãm, &c. follows.

[4] As Sraosha is the only divinity of the later groups mentioned in the first four Gâthas, this Yast would seem to have claims to antiquity next after the pieces in the Gâthic dialect. The name Sraosha does not appear to have lost its meaning as an abstract quality, notwithstanding the materialistic imagery. With Y. XXVIII, 6 in view, where Sraosha 'finds the way' to Ahura, or 'finds His throne,' we may understand that the worshippers, who first heard this Yast, praised listening obedience, or repentance, as they did nearly all the remaining abstract qualities, together with their principal prayers, and hymns themselves. The rhythm of the original has been somewhat imitated in the rendering given, as it is difficult to avoid doing so, and to avoid other objectionable features at the same time.

I.

2. We worship Sraosha, (Obedience) the blessed, the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, and who furthers the settlements, the holy, (ruling) as the ritual lord. Him do we worship, who in[1] the creation of Mazda the first adored Ahura, with the Baresman spread, who worshipped the Bountiful Immortals[2] (first), who worshipped both the protector and the Creator, who are[3] (both) creating all things in the creation.

3. For his splendour and his glory, for his might, and the blow which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters, and the good Blessedness, the lofty, and Nairya-sangha, the stately; and may he draw near to us to aid us, he who smites with victory, Obedience the blessed!

4. We worship Sraosha, Obedience the blessed, and that lofty Lord who is Ahura Mazda Himself, Him who has attained the most to this our ritual, Him who has approached the nearest to us in our celebrations. And we worship all the words of Zarathustra, and all the deeds well done (for him), both those that have been done (in times gone by),

[1] So 'tradition.'

[2] Sraosha was not reckoned as one of the Ameshôspends at the time of the composition of this verse.

[3] Comp. Y. XXX, 4; but Ahura and some one of the Immortals, or possibly Zarathustra (see Y. XLII, 2), must be meant here. Angra Mainyu could not have been worshipped as either protector or creator. Observe the present tense.

and those which are yet to be done (for him in times to come).

II.

5. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, who prospers the settlements, the holy ritual lord, (6) who first spread forth the Baresman, and the three bundles, and the five bundles, and the seven bundles, and the nine, till it was heaped for us knee-high, and to the middle of the thighs [1], for the Bountiful Immortals, for their worship, and their homage, and their propitiation, and their praise.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might, and the blow which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters.

III.

7. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief.

8. Who first chanted the Gâthas, the five [2] Gâthas of Zarathustra, the Spitâma, the holy (with the fashion) of their metres [3], and after the well-constructed order of their words, together with the Zand which they contain, and the questions [4] which they

[1] Le Barsom est de cinq branches dans les Darouns ordinaires. Il est de sept branches pour le Daroun No naber, pour le Freoueschi, et pour le Gâhânbâr. Il est de neuf branches pour le Daroun des Rois, et pour celui du Mobed des Mobeds (Anquetil).

[2] This proves that the Gâthas were greatly older than this Yast. That the Gâthas were originally five seems improbable; yet they had become reduced to that number at this time.

[3] Nom. sing.?

[4] Comp. tat thwâ peresâ, &c.; 'questions back and forth.'

utter, and the answers which they give, for the Bountiful Immortals, for their sacrifice and homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

IV.

9. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, and who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief, (10) who for the poor among (our) men and women built a mighty house [1], who after sunset, and with his levelled battle-axe, smites Aêshema bloody wounds, and having struck the head, casts him lightly (?) [2] (to the earth), as the stronger (smites) the weaker.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

V.

11. We worship Sraosha, Obedience the blessed and the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief, as the energetic, and the swift, the strong, the daring (and redoubted) hero, (12) who comes back from all his battles (and comes from them) a conqueror, who amid the Bountiful Immortals sits as companion at their meeting [3].

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

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[1] One of the earliest notices of the kind.

[2] Hu + angh, or can sas = to be inactive, indicate a change?

[3] This is possibly the origin of a later view which established Sraosha as one of the Immortals, to fill up the number seven without including Ahura. The original 'seven spirits' included Ahura.

VI.

13. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, who is the strongest and most persistent of the youths, the most energetic, and the swiftest, who of all the youths strikes most with terror [1] from afar (?). [Be ye desirous, O ye Mazdayasnians! of the Yasna of Obedience the blessed [2].]

14. Far from this house, this village, and this tribe, and from this country, the evil and destructive terrors (shall) depart. In the dwelling of that man in whose abode Obedience the blessed, who smites victoriously, is satisfied and welcomed, there is that holy man who thus contents him (most) forward in the thinking better thoughts, in the speaking truthful (ritual) words, and in the doing holy deeds [3].

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

VII.

15. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who is the conqueror of the Kayadha, and the Kâidhya, who was the smiter of the Liedemon of the Daêvas, the one veritably powerful, the destroyer of the world, who is the guardian and watchman over all the migrations (?) of the tribes.

16. Who sleeplessly and vigilant guards the creatures of Ahura, who sleeplessly and with vigilance

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[1] =kat-tarestemem, comp. for form katpayấm.

[2] Possibly an ancient interpolation. Repetitions are curtailed.

[3] This verse 14 may be an ancient extension of the Yast; it may of course be taken for granted that within a certain period at a very remote time, the Yast was altered and improved.

Verse 16 may have originally formed two sections; the formula 'we worship,' &c. having been omitted.

saves them, who with halberd raised on high guards all the corporeal world after setting of the sun, (17) who has never slept in quiet since the two Spirits made the worlds, [the bounteous and the evil one[1]], who guards the homes of Asha, who battles all (?) the days long and the nights with all the Daêvas [(Pâzand) the Mâzanian], (18) nor terror-stricken does he turn in affright before (their power); but before him all the Daêvas turn in affright against their will, and rush to darkness in their fear.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

VIII.

19. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whom Haoma worshipped on the highest height of high Haraiti, he Haoma, the reviver[2], and the healer, the beautiful, the kingly[3], of the golden eye, (20) of the gracious words[4], of the warning and the guarding words, who intones our hymns on every side[5], who possesses understanding and of every brilliant form, which abounds in many an explanation[6] and revelation of the word, who has the first place in the Mãthra.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

IX.

21. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed,

[1] This seems a gloss; its import is correct.

[2] The renovator, as completing the progress which makes things fresh, frashôkereti.

[3] Possibly compare soma rấgan; but see the following adjective, and read as alternative 'brilliant.'

[4] Possibly 'who excites to much speech.'

[5] Comp. pairî gaêthê, Y. XXXIV, 2.

[6] Having much Zand.

whose house stands with its thousand pillars, as victorious, on the highest height of high Haraiti, self-lighted from within, star-studded from without, (22) to whom the Ahuna-vairya has come, the axe of victory[1], and the Haptanghâiti, and the Fshûshô-mãthra which smites with victory, and all the Yasna sections.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

X.

23. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, by whose might and victorious power, and wise conduct, and (full) knowledge, the Bountiful Immortals[2] descend upon this earth of seven quarters.

24. Who as teacher of the law will stride forth upon this earth with its dwellers in the body, and ruling as he will.

And in this Religion, Ahura Mazda has been confessed[3] with faith, and the Good Mind likewise with Him, and Righteousness the Best, and Khshathra-vairya, and Piety the Bounteous, and the Universal Weal and Immortality; and the question to the Lord is asked, and Mazda's lore (is written).

25. O Sraosha (Obedience), thou blessed one, and stately! protect us for the lives; yea, for both, (for that) of this world which is corporeal, and for the world of mind, against unhappy[4] death, and the remorseless Wrath of rapine, against the hosts with ill-intent, who lift their bloody spears[5] against us;

[1] Comp. Vend. XIX, 10.

[2] They listen to Obedience, and so descend.

[3] The meaning 'doth confess,' if correct, would show a very great degeneration from the lore of the Gâthic period.

[4] Lit. 'evil.' [5] Bannered spears; spears with streamers.

yea, against their assaults whom[1] the Wrath-demon will set on, and Vîdhâtu, demon-made. 26. Therefore may'st thou, O Sraosha, the blessed and the stately! grant swiftness to our teams, soundness to our bodies, and abundant observation[2] of our foes, and their smiting (as we mark them), and their sudden death.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

XI.

27. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whom four racers draw in harness, white and shining, beautiful, and powerful[3], quick to learn, and fleet[4], obeying before speech, heeding orders from the mind, with their hoofs of horn gold-covered, (28) fleeter than (our) horses, swifter than the winds, more rapid than the rain(-drops as they fall); yea, fleeter than the clouds, or well-winged birds, or the well-shot arrow as it flies[5], (29) which overtake these swift ones all, as they fly after[6] them pursuing, but which are never overtaken when they flee, which plunge away from both the weapons (hurled on this side and on that) and draw Sraosha with them, the good Sraosha and the blessed; which from both the weapons (those on this side and on that) bear the good Obedience the blessed, plunging forward in their zeal, when he takes his course from India on the East, and when he lights down in the West.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

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[1] The hosts. [2] So the Pahlavi and Ner. See also Y. IX, 21.

[3] Spe*n*ta can hardly mean 'holy' here.

[4] Âsava for asaya (?); 'y' miswritten for 'v.' Comp. gâtava (form).

[5] Reading anghamanay*a*u for axhê manay*a*u; otherwise, 'swifter than one's thought' (?).

[6] Lit. 'not those after overtake.' Possibly 'these who all overtake those who fly with turned backs, who are not overtaken from behind.'

XII.

30. We worship Obedience the blessed and the stately, who though lofty and so high, yea, even to the girdle, yet stoops to Mazda's creatures, (31) who thrice within the day, and three times of a night, will drive on to that Karshvar *Hv*aniratha, called the luminous, as he holds in both the hands[1] and poizes his knife-like battle-axe, which flies as of itself, and to cleave the Daêvas' skulls, (32) to hew down Angra Mainyu, the wicked, and to hew down Rapine of the bloody spear, to hew down the Daêvas of Mazendran[2], and every Demon-god.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . . .

XIII.

33. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, him who smites with victory, both here and not here, and on this entire earth. And we worship all the (gifts) of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, the mighty, and the strong, whose body is the Mãthra.

Yea, we worship (all the martial gifts) of Sraosha (Obedience) the mighty, both armed with shielding armour, and a warrior strong of hand, skull-cleaver of the Daêvas, conquering the endowments[3] of the conqueror, the holy conqueror of the conqueror, and (his) victorious powers, and the Ascendency which it bestows, and we worship

[1] Snaithi*s* must designate a two-handed weapon.

[2] Observe how far West the word Daêva is applied; also, if Hindvô is not in a gloss in verse 29, the fact proves that a vast geographical extent was familiar to the writers of the Avesta.

[3] Vanaitî*s*, fem. as vîsp*a*u refers to attributes celebrated in the Ya*s*t.

this Ascendency of Sraosha's (the same which conquers theirs); and that of Arsti do we praise as well. 34. And every house by Sraosha guarded do we worship, wherein the blessed friendly Sraosha is befriended and made welcome, where the holy man is far advanced (?) in holy thoughts, and righteous words and deeds.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might, which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud-intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters, and the good Blessedness, the lofty, and Nairyasangha, the stately, and may he come to us to aid us, he who smites with victory, Obedience the blessed!

YASNA LVIII (Sp. LVII).

The Fshûshô-mãthra[1].

1. (Introduction.) (To the increase of our homage and praise of God) we offer this service[2] which, as our defence[3], may shield us, which is worship[4] with its beneficent results; and Blessedness is with it of a verity[5], and Piety as well. [(Pâzand) and of this worship the results here mentioned are the well-thought thought, the word well spoken, and the deed well done]; and let this our worship shelter us from the Daêva and from the evil-minded man. 2. And to this worship do we confide[6] our settle-

[1] This piece in the Gâthic dialect has claims to an antiquity as high as Y. XII. It recalls the Gâthas in many ways. The increaser of cattle is identical with the thrifty tiller, and is the typical saint.

[2] The Pahlavi has sûd a partial transcription, but the word is obscure.

[3] See nipâtû. [4] Neme with K11.

[5] Hâ + get; comp. Indian sa + ghat; or possibly from hak.

[6] 'Make mention of.'

ments and persons for protection and care, for guarding, and for oversight; (3) and in this worship will we abide, O Ahura Mazda! and with joy.

In this worship do we exercise our choices; and to it will we approach, and to it will we belong; yea, to revering worship will we confide our settlements and persons for protection, and for care, for guarding, and for oversight, to such worship as is the praise of such as You[1].

MĀTHRA.

4. The owner of herds is the righteous (one), and he is victorious when he strikes, and thus he is the best; [(Pâzand) we therefore offer (this) service (for herd-owners[2])] for the herd-owner is the father of the Kine by the help of him who follows the ritual order; and he is the father of the holy man as well, and of the sanctified creation[3]. He is in verity the bestower of blessings, and to him[4], O Ye Bountiful Immortals[5]! we render, (and his do we make) Your greatness, Your goodness, and Your (spiritual) beauty, and let this man, the cattle-owner, approach to guard over us; and may he be our watchman together with the Righteous Order, and with store for our nourishment and full generous liberality, together with sharing of the goods[6], with gentleness[7], and with Ahura Mazda's sacred Fire!

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[1] Khshmâvatô is often Gâthic for 'You.'

[2] Pâzand, as fshûsh*e* is a plural, and not Gâthic. Or, 'we make men cattle-owners (we invite them to be such).'

[3] The creation is mentioned in connection with the Kine. The typical saint stands at the head of the clean creation.

[4] Whose?

[5] See below.

[6] Root vi + dâ (dhishâ); so also the Pahl. 'barâ dahisnîh.'

[7] Akînîh va âtashi*k* î Aûharmazd-dâ*d*. The word is difficult.

5. O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as Ye have made us, so do Ye save us, holy men, and saintly women (as we are, and steadfast in the faith)[1]. Save us, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, for none other do I know, save You; then with Your Righteousness[2] do Ye save us.

6. And we offer hereby our thoughts, and words, and actions, our herds, and men, to the Bountiful Spirit. And may the creative stars of Ahura Mazda, the Creator, shine down on us, and round about us[3] with full herds and healthy settlements, with healthy herds and healthy men, and with all in vigour, and endowed with the blessing of the Lord. 7. Praise to Thee, O Fire of Ahura Mazda! may'st thou come to (us in) the greatest one of the engrossing interests[4] for the help of the great (effort), for the joy-producing grace of the great (interest of our cause); grant us both Weal and Deathlessness!

8. We sacrifice to the entire collection of the Praises of the Yasna, with the careful structure of their language which has reached the most its object. And we offer (our homage) in our celebrations to Thy body, O Ahura Mazda! the most beautiful of forms, these stars, and to that one, the highest of the high [(Pâzand) such as the sun was called]. Yea, we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the production of the world of old.

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[1] Or, 'male and female holy ones, (the Amesha).'

[2] Y. XXXIV, 7.

[3] Lit. 'may we be closely beheld by the creative lights,' &c.

[4] Allusion to maz*e*-y*a*unghô.

YASNA LIX (Sp. LVIII).

Mutual Blessings.

1–17. (See Y. XVII, 1–17.) 18–27. (See Y. XXVI, 1–10.) 28. We worship Verethraghna, the Ahura-made, the victorious blow; and we worship the Saoshya*n*t, who smites with victory; and we sacrifice to this Baresman with its Zaothra and its girdle (which is its band) and which is spread with sanctity. And we sacrifice to (our) own soul(s), and to (our) own Fravashi(s). 29. (See Y. XVII, 19.) 30. (The Ratu speaks): O thou good (servant of the Lord)! may that be thine which is better than the good; may'st thou acquire that which is (thine) own[1] in the Zaothra; may'st thou attain to that reward which the Zaotar has been obtaining[2], who is far advanced in his good thoughts, and words, and deeds.

31. (The Zaotar speaks): May that happen to you (likewise) which is better than the good, and may that not happen which is worse than the evil, and may that likewise not be my lot. 32. As (our) Ahû (is) excellent, so (is our) Ratu (one who rules) from his Righteousness, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda, and the Kingdom (is) to Ahura which to the poor will offer a nurturer. A blessing is Asha called the Best, &c. We sacrifice to the Ahuna-vairya; we sacrifice to Asha Vahi*s*ta[3] the most beautiful, the Bountiful

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[1] Avŏ nafsman.

[2] Hanayamnô *a*ungha, a periphrastic perfect.

[3] Asha Vahi*s*ta occurs as immediately suggested by the Ashem

Immortal. And we sacrifice to the Fshûshô-mãthra, the by-spoken[1]. And we sacrifice to the entire collection of the Praises of the Yasna; (yea), to the Yasna Praises which were instituted in the world of yore.

YASNA LX (Sp. LIX).

Prayers for the Dwelling of the Sacrificer[2].

1. Thus that better than the good may he approach, who shows to us straight paths of profit appertaining to this bodily life and to the mental likewise, in the eternal (?) realms where dwells Ahura; yea, may he approach it, who is Thy worthy servant, and good citizen, O Great giver Lord[3]!

2. May these blessings approach this house, which are the wise perceptions of the saints, the sacred blessings bestowed through the ritual, their guileless characteristics, together with their recognition of what is due; and may the Righteous Order appear for this village, and the Divine Sovereign Power, together with the benefit and glorious welfare (which ensues),

3. And with these the long enduring prominence of this Religion of Ahura's, the Zarathustrian Faith. And may the Kine[4] be now with greatest speed within (the farm-yard of) this house, most speedily

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Vohû formula, Asha Vahista seems therefore a proper name, both here and in the formula, if one place explains the other (?).

[1] The ever-spoken (?). The Yêṅhê and Ahuna follow.

[2] Said on the visitation of farm-houses by the travelling priest.

[3] See Y. XLIII, 3.

[4] Gaus seems feminine here, and used collectively, and haka has the Indian sense of saka.

may the rewarded sanctity and the strength of the holy man be here, most speedily as well Ahura's lore. 4. And may the good and heroic and bountiful Fravashis of the saints come here, and may they go hand in hand with us with the healing virtues of (their) blessed gifts as wide-spread as the earth, as far-spread as the rivers, as high-reaching[1] as the sun, for the furtherance[2] of the better men, for the hindrance of the hostile, and for the abundant growth of riches and of glory.

5. May Sraosha (Obedience) conquer disobedience[3] within this house, and may peace triumph over discord here, and generous giving over avarice, reverence[3] over contempt, speech with truthful words over lying utterance. May the Righteous Order gain the victory over the Demon of the Lie[4].

6. As in this (house) the Bountiful Immortals seek for good Yasnas and good praises from the blessed Sraosha (who governs here), and as they seek for (one) good sacrifice and act of homage (more especially their own) which is a good offering[5] (to them) for (our) salvation, and a good offering in praise, together with a long continued offering of the entire self[6], (7) let not then (their) brilliant glory[7] ever desert this house, nor the bright abundance, nor an illustrious[8] offspring legitimately[9] born, nor that long continued companionship which is the

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[1] Earth-wide, stream-long, sun-high. [2] Isti seems a dative.

[3] The name Sraosha had not lost its original meaning; so of Âr(a)maiti.

[4] Asha-Drugem? [5] Possibly, 'good support.'

[6] Pahl. benafsman.

[7] *Hv*âthrava*t* *hv*arenô determines the sense. [8] See '*hv*âthrava*t*.'

[9] The Pahl. does not necessarily render 'heavenly;' the word elsewhere means 'original.'

furtherance of that good blessedness which teaches concerning glory[1]. 8–10 (= Y. VIII, 5–7).

11. In order that our minds may be[2] delighted, and our souls the best, let our bodies be glorified as well, and let them, O Mazda! go likewise openly (unto Heaven) as the best world[3] of the saints as devoted to Ahura, (12) and accompanied by Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and the most beautiful! And may we see Thee, and may we, approaching, come around about Thee, and attain to entire companionship with Thee! And we sacrifice to the Righteous Order, the best, the most beautiful, the bounteous Immortal!

YASNA LXI (Sp. LX).

1. Let us peal[4] forth the Ahuna-vairya in our liturgy between the heaven and earth, and let us send forth the Asha Vahista in our prayer the same, and the Yêxhê hâtãm. And let us send forth in our liturgies between the heaven and earth the pious and good prayer of the pious man for blessings, (2) for the encounter with, and for the displacement of Angra Mainyu with his creatures which are likewise evil as he is, for he is filled with death (for those whom he has made). Aye, let us send that petition forth for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the Ka*hv*aredhas and of the individual Ka*hv*aredha[5] the male, and the female

[1] Or, 'welfare.' [2] *A*unghãn.

[3] The nom. is difficult. The Ashem Vohû and Ahuna follow.

[4] De Harlez, 'faisons retentir.'

[5] The Pahlavi perhaps 'diminishers;' Darmesteter, 'causing to pine.'

(to the last individual of each), (3) and for the encounter with, and the dislodgment of the Kayadhas, and of the individual Kayadhians, male and female[1], and of the thieves and robbers, of the Zandas[2], and the sorcerers, of the covenant breakers, and of those who tamper with the covenants. 4. Yea, we send it forth for the encounter with, and for the overthrow of the murderers of the saints, and of those who hate and torment us for our Faith, and of those who persecute the ritual, and the tyrant full of death. Yea, let us peal them forth for the encounter with, and the overthrow of the wicked, O Zarathustra Spitama! whoever they may be, whose thoughts, and words, and works are not congenial to the holy ritual laws.

5. And how shall we drive the Demon of the Lie from hence from us[3]? Aye, how shall we, the prophets who are yet to serve and save (thy people), drive the Drug from hence, so that we, having power over her as being utterly without power, may drive her hence with blow from the seven Karshvars, for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the entire evil world[4]?

YASNA LXII (Sp. LXI).

To the Fire.

1. I offer my sacrifice and homage to thee, the Fire, as a good offering, and an offering with our hail

[1] 'Cannibals' has been suggested as the meaning here.

[2] The later Zendiks are of course not meant, unless we have an interpolation.

[3] Citation from the Gâthas, Y. XLV, 6. [4] Citations follow.

of salvation, even as an offering of praise with benedictions, to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! Meet for sacrifice art thou, and worthy of (our) homage. And as meet for sacrifice, and thus worthy of our homage, may'st thou be in the houses of men (who worship Mazda). Salvation be to this man who worships thee in verity and truth, with wood in hand, and Baresman ready, with flesh in hand, and holding too the mortar. 2. And may'st thou be (ever) fed with wood as the prescription orders. Yea, may'st thou have thy perfume justly, and thy sacred butter without fail, and thine andirons regularly placed. Be of full-age as to thy nourishment, of the canon's age as to the measure of thy food, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son! 3. Be now aflame[1] within this house; be ever without fail in flame; be all ashine within this house; be on thy growth[2] within this house; for long time be thou thus to the furtherance of the heroic (renovation), to the completion of (all) progress, yea, even till the good heroic (millennial) time when that renovation shall have become complete. 4. Give me, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son! a speedy glory, speedy nourishment, and speedy booty, and abundant glory, abundant nourishment, abundant booty, an expanded mind, and nimbleness of tongue for soul and understanding, even an understanding continually growing in its largeness, and that never wanders[3], and long enduring virile power, (5) an offspring sure of foot, that never sleeps on watch [not for a third part of the day, or night], and that rises quick from bed[4], and

[1] Or, 'for giving light.'

[2] Or, 'to give light'? comp. ukhshânô and ukhshâ.

[3] Read apairyâthrem.

[4] Or, 'has the quickest place.'

likewise a wakeful offspring, helpful to nurture, or reclaim, legitimate, keeping order in men's meetings, (yea,) drawing men to assemblies through their influence and word, grown to power, skilful, redeeming others from oppression, served by many followers, which may advance my line (in prosperity and fame), and (my) Vîs, and my Za*n*tu, and (my) province, (yea, an offspring) which may deliver orders to the Province as (firm and righteous rulers). 6. And may'st thou grant me, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's Son! that whereby instructors may be (given) me, now and for evermore, (giving light to me of Heaven) the best life of the saints, brilliant, all glorious. And may I have experience [1] of the good reward, and the good renown, and of the long forecasting preparation of the soul. 7. The Fire of Ahura Mazda addresses this admonition to all for whom he cooks the night and morning (meal). From all these, O Spitama! he wishes [2] to secure good care, and healthful care (as guarding for salvation), the care of a true praiser. 8. At both the hands of all who come by me, I, the Fire, keenly look: What brings the mate to his mate (thus I say to him), the one who walks at large, to him who sits at home? [We worship the bounteous Fire, the swift-driving charioteer [3].]

9. And if this man who passes brings him wood brought (with good measure that is) with sacred care, or if he brings the Baresman spread with sanctity, or

[1] Bartholomae follows tradition boldly here, rendering 'aushalten, festhalten an; giriftar yehvûnâni(î).'

[2] Or, 'is worshipped for.'

[3] This curious gloss seems thrown in as a solace to the Fire for the expression preceding. It savours of the *Rik*.

the Hadhânaêpata plant, then afterwards Ahura Mazda's Fire will bless him, contented, not offended, and in (its) satisfaction (saying thus). 10. May a herd of kine be with thee, and a multitude of men, may an active mind go with thee, and an active soul as well. As a blest soul may'st thou live through thy life, the nights which thou shall live. This is the blessing of the Fire for him who brings it wood (well) dried, sought out for flaming, purified with the earnest blessing of the sacred ritual truth[1]. 11. We strive after the flowing on of the good waters, and their ebb[2] as well, and the sounding of their waves, desiring their propitiation; I desire to approach them with my praise[3]. 12 = Y. III, 24, 25.

YASNA LXIII[4] (Sp. LXII).

(See Y. XV, 2; Y. LXVI, 2; Y. XXXVIII, 3.)

YASNA LXIV (Sp. LXIII).

(See Y. XLVI, 3; Y. L, 6–11.)

YASNA LXV (Sp. LXIV).

To Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, and the Waters.

1. I will praise the water Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-flowing (as it is) and healing in its influence,

[1] The Ashem Vohû occurs here. [2] Or, 'falling.'

[3] See as alternative Darmesteter's masterly rendering of the Âtas Nyâyis, 7–18.

[4] This chapter is composed of short passages from other portions of the Yasna collected together possibly for the purpose of filling out the number of sections to some figure no longer known.

efficacious against the Daêvas, devoted to Ahura's lore, and to be worshipped with sacrifice within the corporeal world, furthering all living things[1] (?) and holy, helping on the increase and improvement of our herds and settlements, holy, and increasing our wealth, holy, and helping on the progress of the Province, holy (as she is)? 2. (Ardvi Sûra Anâhita) who purifies the seed of all male beings, who sanctifies the wombs of all women to the birth, who makes all women fortunate in labour, who brings all women a regular and timely flow of milk, (3) (Ardvi Sûra Anâhita) with a volume sounding from afar[2], which is alone equal in its bulk to all the waters which flow forth upon earth, which flows down with mighty volume from high Hukairya to the sea Vouru-kasha. 4. And all the gulfs[3] in Vouru-kasha are stirred (when it falls down), all the middle doth well up when Ardvi Sûra Anâhita rushes in, when she plunges foaming into them, she, whose are a thousand tributaries, and a thousand outlets, and each as it flows in, or rushes out, is a forty days' ride in length to a rider mounted well.

5. And the (chief) outlet to this one water (Ardvi Sûra Anâhita) goes apart, dividing to all the seven Karshvars. And this outlet to my river, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, bears off its waters always in summer and in winter. This my river purifies the seed of men, and wombs of women, and women's milk[4].

6. Let the saints' Fravashis now draw near, those of the saints who live, or have lived, of those born, or yet to be born; yea, let them come near which

[1] The Pahlavi has *gân*, or *gûy*, in which latter case the meaning 'springs' would be better.

[2] Or, 'famed from afar.'

[3] Lit. 'sides.'

[4] See Darmesteter's Âbân Yast, I–V.

have borne these waters up stream from the nearest ones (that lie below as the outlet pours away [1]).

7. Let not our waters be for the man of ill intent, of evil speech, or deeds, or conscience ; let them not be for the offender of a friend, not for an insulter of a Magian [2], nor for one who harms the workmen, nor for one who hates his kindred. And let not our good waters (which are not only good, but) best, and Mazda-made, help on the man who strives to mar our settlements which are not to be corrupted, nor him who would mar our bodies, (our) uncorrupted (selves), (8) nor the thief, or bludgeon-bearing ruffian who would slaughter the disciples, nor a sorcerer, nor a burier of dead bodies, nor the jealous, nor the niggard, nor the godless heretic who slays disciples, nor the evil tyrant among men. Against these may our waters come as torments. As destructive may these come (?), may they come to him who has done those first (foul evils), as to him who does the last [3].

9. O waters ! rest [4] still within your places while the invoking priest shall offer.

Shall not the invoker make offering to these good waters, and with the inculcated words ? (And how shall this be done ?) Shall he not be tongue-fettered, if he offers else than with the ritual ? Shall (not) the words be so delivered as the Aêthrapaiti teaches? Where shall the blessings be (inserted) ? Where the supplications with confessions ? Where the gifts of those that offer ? 10 [5]. (It shall be only thus) as Ahura Mazda showed before to Zarathustra, and as Zara-

[1] Or, 'drawn up in vapours for the supply of the waters by the rain.'

[2] So the indication of the Pahlavi.

[3] î-dî. [4] Or, 'rejoice ye.' [5] Response.

thustra taught the corporeal worlds (the men on earth)! Thou shalt pray the first petition to the waters, O Zarathustra, and after that thou shalt offer the Zaothras to the waters, sanctified, and sought out with pious care; and thou shalt pronounce these words (as follows, thus): (11) O ye waters, I beseech of you this favour; and grant ye me this great one in whose bestowal ye flow down to me for the bettering (of my state), with a never-failing truth. O ye waters, I beseech of you for wealth of many kinds (which gives) power (to its holder [1]), and for an offspring self-dependent whom multitudes will bless, and for whose wasting, or defeat, or death, or vengeful punishment, or overtaking, no one prays. 12. And this do I beseech of you, O waters, this, O ye lands, and this, ye plants! This wealth and offspring I beseech of You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright, O Ye good beings, male and female [2], givers of good things; and this I beseech of you, O ye beneficent, mighty, and overwhelming Fravashis of the saints, and this (of thee), O Mithra of the wide pastures, and this of thee, O blest and stately Sraosha; and of thee, O Rashnu the most just, and of thee, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son; and of thee, O lofty lord, the royal Apãm-napât, of the fleet horses; aye, of You all, ye Yazads, bestowers of the better gifts and holy. 13. And this do ye therefore grant me, O ye holy waters, and ye lands [3]!

14. And grant me likewise what is still greater than this all, and still better than this all, and more

[1] Powerful. [2] Some of the names are in the feminine.

[3] Here repeat as above from 'O ye plants' to 'givers of the better thing and holy.'

beautiful, and more exceeding precious (and that is, Immortality and Welfare [1]), O Ye Yazads, holy and ruling mightily, and powerful at once, and grant it speedily according to this Gâthic (?) word: (Yea), by veritable grace let that be done [2] (?) for us which is most promotive of our weal. 15. And according to this further word again: Grant me, Thou who art maker of the Kine, the plants, and the waters, Immortality and likewise Weal, O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit. And grant me these two eternal gifts through Thy Good Mind in the doctrine [3].

16–18. (See Y. XV, 2; Y. LVI, 3–4 [4].)

YASNA LXVI (Sp. LXV).

To the Ahurian One [5].

1. I am now offering this Zaothra here with sanctity [6], together with the Haoma and the flesh, and the Hadhânaêpata lifted up with sacred regularity as to thee, O Ahurian One, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, of the Bountiful Immortals, of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and of the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the ritual's lofty lord. 2. Y. VII, 5–19. 3. Y. XXII, XXVIII, 24–27.

YASNA LXVII (Sp. LXVI).

1–4. (See Y. XXIII, 1–4, replacing 'I desire to approach with sanctity' by 'I offer with sanctity;' see also Y. VII, 24.) 5–7. (See Y. XXXVIII, 3–5.)

[1] See below. [2] See Y. L, 11. [3] See Y. LI, 7.

[4] The Ahuna and Ashem Vohû follow.

[5] I should say Ardvi Sûra Anâhita; see Y. LXVIII, 10, where the good waters are addressed as Ahurian Ones of Ahura.

[6] Or, 'for a blessing.'

YASNA LXVIII (Sp. LXVII).

To the Ahurian One, and the Waters.

1. We offer this to thee, O Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura! as a help[1] (?) for life. If we have offended thee, let this Zaothra then attain to thee (for satisfaction), for it is thine with its Haoma, and its milk, and its Hadhânaêpata. 2. And may'st thou approach to me for milk and for libation, O Zaothra! as health, for healing, and for progress, for growth and in preparation for ceremonial merit, for good renown, for equanimity[2], and for that victory which makes the settlements advance.

3. Yea, we worship thee with sacrifice, O thou Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura with the Zaothras of the good thought; and we worship, O Ahura, one with the Zaothras of the good word and deed (4) for the enlightenment of the thoughts, and words, and actions, for preparation for the soul, for the settlement's advance, and to prepare the saints endowed with ritual merit.

5. And grant me, O thou Ahurian One! Heaven, and to have an offspring manly and legitimate, who may promote my house, my village, my tribe and province, and the authority thereof.

6. We sacrifice to thee, O thou Ahurian one! And we sacrifice to the sea Vouru-kasha, and to all waters upon earth, whether standing, or running, or waters of the well, or spring-waters which peren-

[1] The Pahlavi translator saw the root av in this sense here with K4, 11; P6, but the form is strange.

[2] So the Pahlavi indicates with no impossible suggestion.

nially flow, or the drippings of the rains, or the irrigations of canals. 7. With this hymn from the (spirit of) the Yasna do we worship thee, and with the homage which it offers as it is the most legitimate[1] Yasna, and homage of them (all) because of Righteousness the Best. We sacrifice to the good waters, and to the best, which Mazda created. 8. And we sacrifice to the two, to the milk and to the libation, which make the waters flow, and the plants sprout forth, opposing therein the Dragon Daêva-made, for the arrest of that cheat the Pairika, and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the disturber and destroyer of our Faith), and of the unholy tyrant full of death, and of the human Daêva (worshipper) of hateful malice (and intent).

9. And may'st thou hear our sacrificial chants, O thou Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura! Yea, be propitiated by our Yasna, O Ahurian one! and so may'st thou be present[2] at our Yasna; may'st thou come to us to help, as we chant our full-offered Yasṭ, with the full offering of Zaothras.

10. If any man shall sacrifice to you, O ye good waters, the Ahurian ones of Ahura! with the best and most fitting Zaothras offered piously, (11) to that man ye give both splendour and glory, with health and vigour of the body and prominence of form; yea, to him ye give possessions which entail abundant glory, and a legitimate scion, and a long enduring life, and (Heaven at the last), the best life of the saints, shining, all glorious. 12. And to me also do ye now give it, to me who am offering this Yasna as a priest[3].

[1] Or 'virtuous,' with Darmesteter.

[2] May'st thou sit.

[3] Zôtŏ î yaṣtar hômanam.

(Response[1].) And to us Mazdayasnians who are likewise offering sacrifice, do ye grant (both the desire and knowledge of the path that is correct[2]), to us colleagues, and disciples, Aêthrapaitis and Aêthryas, men and women as well as children, and maidens of the field, (13) who think good only, for the overwhelming of oppression and of malice in the raids of the invader, and in face of foes who hate. Grant to us both the desire[3] of, and the knowledge of that straightest path, the straightest because of Righteousness, and of (Heaven) the best life of the Saints, shining, all glorious. As the Ahû is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda. And the kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer nurture. 14. (The Zaotar speaks): I beseech with my benediction for a safe abode, for a joyful and a long abode for the dwellers in this village from whence these Zaothras (which I offer come). And I pray in my benediction for a safe abode, and a quiet and a joyful one, and a long abiding to every Mazdayasnian village, and for a succour even with my wants, for a succour with salutations of salvation, and for one with praises, O Fire[4]! and for thee, O Ahurian one of Ahura! do I ask the fullest Yast.

15. And I pray for (?) Râman *Hv*âstra for this Province, and for healthfulness and healing. And I pray for it with my blessing for you pious men, for all. And I pray for him who is saintly with (true) goodness, whosoever he may be, between heaven

[1] Or, 'the priest continues speaking for the people.' [2] See below.
[3] Or, 'this desire, the knowledge.' [4] Or, 'of the Fire.'

and the earth, for a thousand healing remedies, and for ten thousand of the same.

16–19. (See Y. VIII, 5-8.) 20. Thus may it happen as I pray. 21. And by this may I gain[1] (that) blessing, the good Blessedness (our sanctity rewarded). And we address, and we invoke religious zeal and capability, and the waters with our Yasna[2] thus: O ye good waters! since (they are) yours, do ye, as you are asked, grant splendour and grant glory, ye who are well able so to give; and do ye, O ye waters! grant (once more) that helpful blessing which was gained from you of old!

22. Praise (be) to Ahura Mazda, and to the Bountiful Immortals. Praise (be) to Mithra of the wide pastures. Praise to the fleet-horsed sun. Praise to (the star which so we name, and with this sun) Ahura Mazda's eyes. Praise to the Kine[3] (the herds of blessed gift). Praise to Gaya (Maretan) and to the Fravashi of Zarathustra (first of) saints; yea, praise to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean), to those now living, and to those just passing into life, and to those of days to come. 23. And do Thou then Ahura, as in answer to these our prayers and songs of praise, cause us to prosper to salvation through Thy Good Mind, the Sovereign Power, and Thy Righteous Order (in Thy ritual and law[4])!

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[1] Or, 'the good wisdom' from the second dâ (good adjustment).

[2] Passages follow from Y. XXXVIII, 2–5.

[3] The Gâthic Kine.

[4] See Y. XXXIII, 10. Citations follow from Y. XXXVI, 6; Y. XLIII, 6, also the Ashem and Y. III, 24, 25; then Y. XLVII, 1–7. Then the words 'we worship the chapter Speṇtâ-mainyu from the beginning,' then the Yêṇhê hâtãm.

YASNA LXIX (Sp. LXVIII).

This chapter is composed of fragments: see Y. XV, 2; and Y. LI, 1 and 22.

YASNA LXX (Sp. LXIX).

To the Bountiful Immortals, and the Institutions of Religion.

1. I would worship these (the Bountiful Immortals) with my sacrifice, those who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, and this one (especially) I would approach with my praise, (Ahura Mazda). He is thus hymned (in our praise-songs). Yea, we worship in our sacrifice that deity and lord, who is Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the gracious helper, the maker[1] of all good things; and we worship in our sacrifice Zarathustra Spitâma, that chieftain (of the rite).

2. And we would declare those institutions established for us, exact (and undeviating as they are). And I would declare forth those of Ahura Mazda, those of the Good Mind, and of Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and those of Khshatra-vairya (the Realm to be desired), and those of the Bountiful Âramaiti (the Piety within us), and those of Weal and Immortality, and those which appertain to the body[2] of the Kine, and to the Kine's soul, and those which appertain to Ahura Mazda's Fire, (3) and those of Sraosha (Obe-

[1] Reading tashvaunghem(?) (comp. dadhvaunghem), according to the indication of the Pahlavi.

[2] Tashan with change of accent. So the Pahlavi indicates.

dience) the blessed, and of Rashnu the most just, and those of Mithra of the wide pastures, and of (the good and) holy Wind, and of the good Mazda-yasnian Religion, and of the good and pious Prayer for blessings, and those of the good and pious Prayer which frees one from belying, and the good and pious Prayer for blessing against unbelieving words [1]. 4. (And these we would declare) in order that we may attain unto that speech which is uttered with (true) religious zeal, or that we may be as prophets of the provinces, that we may succour him [2] who lifts his voice (for Mazda [3]), that we may be as prophets who smite with victory, the befriended of Ahura Mazda, and persons the most useful to Him [4], holy men (indeed) who think good thoughts, and speak good words, and do good deeds. 5. That he may approach us with the Good Mind [5], and that (our souls) may advance in good, let it thus come; yea, 'how may my soul advance in good? let it thus advance [6].'

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6. We praise the flood and ebb of the good waters, and their roar, and that high Ahura, the royal Apãm-napâ*t*, the glittering one, of the fleet horses; and this for the sacrifice, and homage, and propitiation, and praise of the entire holy creation; and may Sraosha (Obedience) be here (to aid us). 7. (Yea), we sacrifice to Sraosha, Obedience the blessed [7].

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[1] Read the gloss to the Pahlavi in Visp. IX, 3, anêranîhâ.

[2] Or, bare*n*tû, 'let them lift.'

[3] Y. XXXI, 12. [4] See Y. XXXI, 22. [5] Y. XLIV, 1.

[6] Y. XLIV, 8. [7] The Yênhê hâtãm.

YASNA LXXI (Sp. LXX).

The Yasna Concluding.

1. Frashaostra, the holy, asked the saintly Zarathustra: Answer me, O thou most eminent Zarathustra, what is (in very truth) the memorised recital of the rites?

What is the completed delivery of the Gâthas[1]? 2. Upon this Zarathustra said: (It is as follows.) We worship Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice (as) the holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to Zarathustra likewise as to a holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice also to the Fravashi of Zarathustra, the saint. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals, (the guardians[2]) of the saints. 3. And we sacrifice to (all) the good heroic and bounteous Fravashis of the saints, of the bodily (world on earth), and of the mental (those in Heaven). And we worship that one of ritual lords who attains the most his ends; and we sacrifice to that one of the Yazads, lords of the ritual order, who is the most strenuous, who gains the most, who reaches most to what he seeks, even that well-timed Prayer which is the prayer of that holy ritual lord, and which has approached the nearest (to us for our help).

4. We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of

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[1] This, while very ancient as regards us, is of course not genuine in its present shape. It was doubtless composed long after Frashaostra and Zarathustra had ceased to live. It may be, however, an expansion of an earlier document.

[2] 'The Amesha Spenta of the holy ones.'

the ritual order, and we worship His entire body[1], and we worship the Bountiful Immortals all; and we worship all the ritual lords. And we sacrifice to the entire Mazdayasnian Faith. And we worship all the sacred metres.

5. And we worship the entire bounteous Mãthra, even the entire system of the Faith set up against the Daêvas; and we worship its complete and long descent. And we sacrifice to all the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly; and we worship all the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints. 6. And we worship all the holy creatures which Mazda created, and which possess the holy institutions[2], which were established holy in their nature[3], which possess the holy lore, and the holy sacrifice, which are holy, and for the holy, and to be worshipped by the holy. And we worship all the five[4] Gâthas, the holy ones, and the entire Yasna [its flow and its ebb[5], and the sounding (of its chants)]. 7. And we sacrifice to all the Praises of the Yasna, and to all the words which Mazda spake, which are the most fatal to evil thoughts, and words, and deeds; (8) and which designate[6] the evil thought, and word, and deed, and which then cut down and fell every evil thought, and word, and deed. [(Pâzand.) One would think of it as

[1] The heavenly bodies are thus termed elsewhere, and the sun is called his eye. ʒ written for ʒ.

[2] Possibly, 'were created pure.'

[3] 'Shaped holy.'

[4] Or, 'are worshipped as holy,' vahmyaka, or yêsnyâka.

[5] This figure is too advanced to be probable. The text has been disturbed. The words describe the waters elsewhere.

[6] So with the Pahlavi, referring the word to the third kar, the root of khratu, passive (?) form, with active sense. It also, however, not impossibly might mean 'cut around,' preparatory to felling.

when the fire cuts, sucks out, and consumes the dry wood which has been sanctified and carefully selected (for its flame).] And we sacrifice to the strength, the victory, the glory, and the speed of all these words (as they go forth for their work). 9. And we sacrifice to all the springs of water, and to the water-streams as well, and to growing plants, and forest-trees [1], and to the entire land and heaven, and to all the stars, and to the moon and sun, even to all the lights without beginning (to their course) [2]. And we sacrifice to all cattle, and to the aquatic beasts, and to the beasts that live on land, and to all that strike the wing, and to the beasts that roam the plains, and to those of cloven hoof. 10. And to all Thy good and holy female (creatures) in the creation do we sacrifice, (O Thou who art) Ahura Mazda [3] the skilful maker! on account of which Thou hast made many things and good things (in Thy world). And we sacrifice to those male creatures in the creation which are Thine and which are meet for sacrifice because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best). And we sacrifice to all the mountains brilliant with holiness, and to all the lakes which Mazda created, and to all fires. And we sacrifice to all the truthful and correctly spoken words, (11) even those which have both rewards and Piety within them. Yea, we worship (you) for protection and shielding, for guarding and watching; and may ye be to me for preparation.

I call upon the Gâthas here, the bountiful holy ones,

[1] Elsewhere rendered 'stems.'

[2] Not determined like the course of a planet.

[3] We should expect the vocative after 'Thy.'

ruling in the ritual order; yea, we sacrifice to you, (O ye Gâthas!) for protection and shielding, for guarding and watching. Mine may ye be as a preparation. For me, for (mine) own soul I call on (you)[1], and we would worship (you) for protection and for shielding, for guarding and for watching. 12. And we sacrifice to Weal, the complete welfare, holy and ruling in its course in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to Deathlessness (the immortal being of the good), holy, and ruling in the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the question of the Lord, and to His lore, the holy chiefs, and to the heroic Haptanghâiti, the holy lord of the ritual order. 13. (Frasha.) Let the holy Zarathustra himself seek out a friend and a protector. And I say[2] to thee (O Zarathustra!) to make to thee a friend holy beyond the holy, and truer than the true, for that is the better thing; for he is evil who is the best to the evil, and he is holy to whom the holy is a friend[3], (14) for these are the best of words, those which Ahura Mazda spoke to Zarathustra.

And[4] do thou, O Zarathustra! pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life. 15. For if, O Zarathustra! thou shalt pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life I, Ahura Mazda, will keep your soul away from Hell. Yea, so far away shall I hold it as is the breadth and extension of the earth [(Pâzand) and the earth is as wide as it is long].

16. As thou dost desire, O holy (one)! so shalt thou be, holy shalt thou cause (thy) soul to pass over

[1] Or, 'I would invoke (mine) own soul;' see verse 18.

[2] Possibly the rejoinder of Frashaostra, or these are 'the best words' referred to in verse 14; but the section is a dialogue.

[3] Y. XLVI, 6.

[4] Ahura speaks.

the *K*inva*t* Bridge; holy shalt thou come into Heaven. Thou shalt intone the Gâtha U*s*tavaiti, reciting the salvation hail[1].

17. We sacrifice to the active man, and to the man of good intent, for the hindrance of darkness, of wasting of the strength and life, and of distraction. And we sacrifice to health and healing, to progress and to growth, for the hindrance of impurity, and of the diseases of the skin[2].

18. And we sacrifice to the (Yasna's) ending words, to those which end the Gâthas. And we sacrifice to the bounteous Hymns themselves which rule in the ritual course, the holy ones.

And we sacrifice to the Praise-songs of the Yasna which were the products of the world of yore; yea, we sacrifice to all the Staota-Yêsnya hymns. And we sacrifice to (our) own soul and to (our) Fravashi. 19–21. (See Y. VI, 14–16.) 22. I praise, invoke, and I weave my song to the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, to those of the house, and of the village, the district and the province, and to those of the Zarathu*s*trôtemas. 23. And we sacrifice to the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy ritual chief.

And we sacrifice to this Baresman having the Zaothra with it, and its girdle with it, and spread with sanctity, the holy ritual chief. And we sacrifice to Apãm-napâ*t*, and to Nairya-sangha, and to that Yazad, the wise man's swift Curse.

And we sacrifice to the souls of the dead, [which are the Fravashis of the saints]. 24. And we sacrifice to that lofty Lord who is Ahura Mazda Himself.

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[1] Y. XLIII, 1 follows.

[2] Diseases arising from filth.

25. And we pray (again) for the Kine (once more) with these gifts and (ceremonial) actions which are the best[1]. 26–28. (See Y. VIII, 5–7.) 29–31. (See Y. LX, 11–13.)

YASNA LXXII. (See Y. LXI.)

[1] See Y. XXXV, 4; Y. XLVIII, 6.

VISPARAD.

VISPARAD I[1].

1. I announce[2], and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the lords[3] of the spiritual creatures, and to the lords of the earthly creatures, to the lords[3] of those which live under the waters, and to the lords of those which live upon land, to the lords of those which strike the wing, and to the lords of those which roam (wild) upon the plains, to the lords of those of (home-beasts) of the cloven hoof, holy lords of the ritual order.

2. I announce, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Yearly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, to Maidhyô-zaremaya, the milk-giver, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Maidhyô-shema, the pasture-giver, and to Paitishahya, the corn-giver, and to Ayâthrima, the furtherer or breeder, the spender of the seed of males, and to Maidhyâirya the cold[4], the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Hamaspathmaêdhaya, the especial time for ritual deeds[5], holy lords of the ritual order.

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[1] This Visparad consists of additions to various portions of the Yasna; and its several chapters generally follow the corresponding portions of the Yasna in the Vendîdâd Sâdah. The word Visparad means 'all the chiefs,' referring to the 'lords of the ritual.' Chapter I should be read immediately after Yasna I, 9.

[2] Or, 'I invite.'

[3] Lords because ruling as chief objects of attention during their mention in the course of the sacrifice, also, as in this case, genii guarding over all of their class.

[4] So De Harlez, admirably following the Pahl. sardîk (sic).

[5] Pavan yazisn kardarîh.

3. I announce, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the settlements of the future one, when the future [1] shall produce them as it were anew, and I celebrate and will complete (my Yasna) to the Praises of the Yasna [2] collected, completed, and much-offered, and to the Myazdas of the saints of the ritual, male and female.

4. And I announce, and will complete (my Yasna) to the Seasons, the lords of the ritual order, and to the heard recital of the Ahuna-vairya, and to Righteousness the Best, to him who has (?) our praise, and to the Yênhê hâtâm, the frequent chant of sacrifice [3], the holy, and ruling in the ritual order.

5. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, the holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to those women who bring forth many sons of many talents, Mazda-given, and holy lords of the ritual order, and to that (chant) which has its Ahû and its Ratu [4] (before it in the Yasna).

And I celebrate, and will complete (my sacrifice) to the Yasna Haptanghâiti [5], holy, and ruling in the ritual order, [and to the water Ardvi Anâhita [6]].

6. And I announce, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Ustavaiti, the holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to the mountains which shine

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[1] Aunghairyô, a collective, or zîzanen, a participle.

[2] Here is praise to a part of the Yasna itself, although not yet recited in the V. S.

[3] Its chief word is yazamaidê, it is 'the well-sacrificed,' the word often occurring.

[4] Or, 'to him who is devoted to the Ahuna, with its Ahû and Ratu (?).'

[5] Observe the priority of the Haptanghâiti; it should be read first.

[6] Interpolated.

with holiness, the abundantly brilliant[1] and Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order.

And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Spe*n*tâ-mainyu, the holy, ruling in the ritual order; and I celebrate and will complete (my Yasna) to Verethraghna (the blow of victory[2]) Ahura-given, the holy lord of the ritual order.

7. And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra, holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and to Râman *Hv*âstra, the holy lords of the ritual order. And I celebrate and will complete my Yasna to the Gâtha Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti, the holy, ruling in the ritual order. And I celebrate and will complete my Yasna to the good and pious Prayer for blessings, the benediction of the pious[3], and to that Yazad, the redoubted and swift Curse of the wise, the holy lord of the ritual order.

8. And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Airy*e*mâ-ishyô, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Fshûshô-mãthra, and to that lofty lord Hadhaokhdha[4], the holy lord of the ritual order.

9. And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the questions asked of Ahura, and to the lore of Ahura, to the Ahurian Da*hv*yuma (Dahyuma), and to the Ahurian Zarathu*s*trôtema, holy lords of the ritual order, and to the farm-house with its pastures

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[1] This sense is most obvious.

[2] The 'fiend-smiting' is the common meaning of v*ri*trahã́; but verethra is clearly 'victory' in Zend; v*ri*trá also equals defensive valour.

[3] Can dahmahê*k*a mean 'the departed saint' here?

[4] A lost part of the Avesta, two fragments of which only survive.

which give pasture to the Kine of blessed gift, and to the holy cattle-breeding man[1].

VISPARAD II[2].

1. In this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the lords of (the ritual) which are spiritual with my praise; and I desire to approach the earthly lords (as well). And I desire to approach the lords of the water with my praise, and the lords of the land; and I desire to approach with my praise those chiefs which strike the wing, and those which wander wild at large, and those of the cloven hoof, who are chiefs of the ritual (in their turn).

2. In this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the holy Yearly festivals with my praise, the lords of the ritual order, Maidhyô-zaremaya, the milk-giver, and Maidhyô-shema, the pasture-giver, and Paitishahya, the corn-giver, and Ayâthrima the breeder, the spender of the seed of males, Maidhyâirya, the cold, Hamaspathmaêdhaya, the especial time for ritual duties, the holy lords of the ritual order.

3. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the future one of the settlements with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, when the future one shall produce (them as it were anew).

And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all these chieftains of the ritual with my praise whom Ahura Mazda mentioned to Zarathustra

[1] Comp. Y. XXIX, 2. Y. I, 10–23 follows.

[2] Visparad II should be read after Yasna II, 8, of which it is an extension.

for sacrifice and homage because of Asha Vahi*s*ta (of Righteousness the Best).

4. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Thee[1], the lord, with my praise, Thou who art Ahura Mazda, the spiritual lord and regulator[2] of the spiritual creatures [the lord and regulator of the spiritual creation].

And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach thee, Zarathu*s*tra Spitâma, with my praise, the terrestrial (lord and regulator) of the terrestrial creation, [the lord and regulator of the terrestrial creation].

5. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the man who recites the ritual rites with my praise, who is maintaining thus the thought well thought, and the word well spoken, and the deed well done, and Piety the bountiful, even him[3] who maintains the Mãthra of the Saoshya*n*t, by whose actions the settlements are advanced in the righteous order.

6. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the (yearly) Seasons with my praise, the holy lords of the ritual order, and the Ahuna-vairya as it is recited, and Asha Vahi*s*ta when he is lauded[4], and the YêNhê hâtãm, the frequent chant of sacrifice.

7. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha Ahunavaiti with my praise.

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[1] It is certainly not impossible that the idea of 'invoking the approach of Ahura' was meant, but 'approaching him' is more natural.

[2] Ahûm*k*a ratûm*k*a, applied to the same person, the usage arising from an erroneous rendering of the Ahuna-vairya; see Y. XIX, 12.

[3] Yô, with K7[b], K11, daretem, passive form; or, 'who (has) the Mãthra held.' The text must, however, be in disorder.

[4] In the Ashem Vohû.

And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to worship those women with my praise who are well-portioned[1], and of good parentage, and who are stately in their growth; yea, I desire to approach that chant in my praise which has the Ahû and the Ratu, [for He is verily the one who has the Ahû and the Ratu, that is, Ahura Mazda[2]].

And I desire to approach the heroic Yasna Haptanghâiti in my praise, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order; and Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order.

8. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha U*s*tavaiti with my praise, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order; and I desire to approach those mountains[3] with my praise which shine with holiness, abundantly glorious, Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order, and the Gâtha Spe*n*tâ-mainyu, and Verethraghna, the blow of victory, Mazda-given, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it bestows).

9. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra with my praise, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order, and Mithra of the wide pastures, and Râman *Hv*âstra, and the Gâtha Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti, and the pious and good prayer for blessings, and the pious and holy man, and that Yazad, the redoubted and swift curse of the wise.

10. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Airy*e*mâ-ishyô with my

[1] So the Pahlavi. [2] Erroneous Pâzand.

[3] This sentence affords support to my rendering of âyêsê, as expressing a desire to approach, rather than one for the approach of (the Genius of) the Mountain; at the same time the latter idea may very possibly be the correct one. (Expressions are curtailed.)

praise, and the Fshûshô-mãthra, and that lofty lord, the Hadhaokhdha, holy lord(s) of the ritual order.

11. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the question asked of Ahura, and the lore of the Lord (which he reveals in answer), and the farm-house of the man possessed of pastures, and the pasture produced for the Kine of blessed gift, and the holy cattle-breeding man[1].

VISPARAD III.

Beginning of the Haoma Offering; Roll-call of the Priest[2].

1. (The Zaotar speaks.) (I call for) the Hâvanan[3], and would have him here.

(The Ratu answers.) I will come (and fulfil his duties).

(The Zaotar speaks.) I would have the Âtare-vakhsha[4] here.

(The Ratu answers.) I will come (and fulfil the services which fall to his charge).

(The Zaotar.) I would have the Frabaretar[5].

(The Ratu.) I will come (and fulfil the services which fall to his charge).

(The Zaotar.) I would have the Âberet[6] present.

(The Ratu.) I will come (for him).

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[1] Y. II, 10 follows Visparad II, 11.

[2] This chapter 1–5 follows Y. XI, 1–8 in the Vendîdâd Sâdah; so, appropriately.

[3] The Ratu answers for all according to the rubric printed by Westergaard, but of later origin than the text. It arose from the fact that the several offices were later united in that of the Ratu. Originally the corresponding official answered to his title. The Hâvanan was the Mobad who pounded the Haoma in the mortar.

[4] The Mobad who fed the Fire.

[5] The Mobad who aided the presentations. [6] The water carrier.

(The Zaotar.) I would have the Âsnatar[1].

(The Ratu.) I will come (and do the duties which he serves).

(The Zaotar.) I would have the Raêthwiskar[2] to be here.

(The Ratu.) I will come (for him).

(The Zaotar.) I would have the Sraoshâvareza[3] present, the wisest one, the most correct and veracious in his speech.

(The Ratu.) I will come. 2. (The Zaotar.) I would have the Fire-priest to be here, and the warrior, and the thrifty tiller[4] of the earth, and the house-lord, and the lords of the Vîs and the Za*n*tu.

3. And I summon the youth of holy thoughts, words and works, and of good conscience; (yea), the youth of good speech, given (in marriage) to his kin[5]. And I summon the province-ranger, and the itinerant of many arts, and the house-mistress.

4. And I summon the woman advanced in her holy thoughts, and words, and deeds, and well subordinated, whose ruler is her lord[6], the holy one, who is (as) the bounteous Âramaiti; (yea), I summon even Thy wives, O Ahura! And I summon likewise the holy man advanced in his good thoughts, and words, and deeds, who is learned in pious lore, and innocent of the Kayadha, and by whose deeds the settlements are furthered in the righteous order.

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[1] The washer.

[2] The mixer (?), or the Mobad who attended to disinfections.

[3] The Mobad who attended to penance.

[4] The typical layman.

[5] This important custom was fully treated in the lost Nask, No. 16 (or No. 18, by another reckoning).

[6] So the most, but ratukhshathra means elsewhere 'ruling in the ritual as supreme.'

5. Yea, we summon you, whoever you may be, if only chiefs of the Mazdayasnians; and we summon the Bounteous Immortals, and the pious Saoshya*n*ts (the prophets for our help), the most correct and truthful in their speech, the most zealous, the most glorious in their thoughts, the greatest ones, and the powerful; and we summon the Fire-priests, and the warriors, and the diligent husbandman of the Mazdayasnian Faith.

6[1]. (The Zaotar.) As an Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Âtarevakhsha (announcing) speaks forth[2] to me.

(The Ratu [?].) So let the Ratu from his righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth.

(The Ratu.) As an Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar (announcing) speaks forth[2] to me.

(The Zaotar.) So let the Ratu from (his) righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth.

(The Ratu.) Thou art the announcer for us, O Fire-priest! [(Pâzand.) It is the[3] Zaotar (who is meant).]

(The Zaotar.) I will come as this Zaotar, and recite the Staota Yêsnya with memorised intoning, chanting, and praise.

VISPARAD IV (Sp. V)[4].

1. (Yea,) we sacrifice to the thoughts of the mind, and to the good wisdom, and to the good and blessed

[1] This section follows Y. XI, 9–15 in the V. S., preceding a section described as Y. XI, 59, 60, in the B. V. S.

[2] Probably in an imperative sense, or, with some, an infinitive.

[3] Read Zaotasti which contains sandhi. It seems a gloss to explain the Âthraom (sic). It is zaotâ asti.

[4] This section, preceding Y. XI, closed in the B.V. S., seems to me

sanctity, and to the good religious knowledge, and to good health (of soul and body). [At their (several) seasons, and with the presence of seasonable circumstances, they are hymned[1].] 2. Confession is to be made for the Kine; we, Zarathustrian Mazdayasnians, celebrate at the sacrificial time for the Myazda-offering, at the time for the Ratufrîti, the prayer for blessings, for the sacrificial worship, homage, propitiation, and praise of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

VISPARAD V (Sp. VI)[2].

1. I come to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as a praiser priest, and invoker, as a memoriser, reciting (Your ritual), and as a chanter for Your sacrifice and homage, Your propitiation, and Your praise; (yea, for Yours) the Bountiful Immortals, and for our preparation, (O ye holy Saoshya*n*ts!) and for your well-timed prayer for blessings, and your sanctification, and for our victorious smiting of our foes, beneficial (as it is) for our souls, for ours, the Saoshya*n*ts, (with you), and holy. 2. And I make my offering to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright! (Yea), I offer You the flesh of my very body, and all the blessings of my life as well.

3. And I confess my belief in Thee, O Ahura

to belong properly after Yasna VIII, and the Myazda offering with the Ratufrîti.

[1] Pâzand.

[2] This piece should be read after Yasna XIV, with which it is nearly identical. The language of the translation is slightly varied to relieve the effect of sameness.

Mazda! and as a Mazdayasnian of the order of Zarathustra, and in accordance with his Faith.

VISPARAD VI (Sp. VII)[1].

In accordance with the precept, with praise, and with the joyful reception of grace, with Zaothras intelligently offered, with sacrificial words correctly spoken, I call the good Amesha Spenta by their names of beauty; yea, I worship the Bountiful Immortals by their beautiful names, with the blessing of the ritual Order, with the longing blessing of Righteousness the good.

VISPARAD VII (Sp. VIII)[2].

1. We worship the (sacrificial) words correctly uttered, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and the good Ashi, (the blest order of our rites), and Nairya-sangha. And we worship the victorious Peace as the unprostrated and unmoved. And we sacrifice to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the Kinvat Bridge, and to the Garô Nmâna of Ahura, even Heaven, the best world of the saints, the shining and all glorious!

2. And we sacrifice to that better path[3] that leads to that Best World (as well). And we worship Arstât (Justice) the good, which helps the settlements to advance and flourish, benefiting them thereby, that Arstât which is the Mazdayasnian Faith; and (with her) we worship Rashnu the most just, and

[1] Nearly identical with Yasna XV.

[2] This chapter should be read after Yasna XVII, which it appropriately follows in the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[3] Possibly 'the best (better) course of that best world.'

Mithra of the wide pastures. And we worship Pare*n*di the wealthy, wealthy with a wealth of thoughts, with a throng of words, and with a breadth of actions, [for she makes our persons agile (for good thoughts and words and actions)]. 3. And we worship that virile defensive[1] Heroism which possesses men who think beforehand, and heroic men, which is fleeter[2] than the fleet, stronger than the strong, which comes to him who is endowed by God, which, when especially made theirs by men, produces one who is a freer of the body. And we worship Sleep[3], the Mazda-made, the gladdener of the herd and men. 4. And we worship those things in the creation of the holy which are the ancient institutions, those formed before the sky, the water, the land, the plants, and the Kine of blessed gift. And we worship the sea Vouru-kasha, and the stormy wind which is made by Mazda, and the shining heaven, of old created, the first-made earthly object of (all) the earthly world.

5. And we worship thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! the holy lord of the ritual order, and this Baresman, having the Zaothra with it, and the girdle with it, spread out with sanctity, the holy ritual chief, and we worship Apãm-napâ*t* (the son of waters).

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[1] One might consider, 'virile power which has men and heroes in the mind beforehand;' but vareti=gûrdîh.

[2] Âsyay*a*u (sic) and takhmôtãsyay*a*u (sic) agree with feminines; possibly because of the male qualities referred to. They might be said to be in apposition rather than in agreement with the feminine.

[3] Sleep is elsewhere an evil; a Demon, Bûshyăsta, rules it; but this is untimely sleep; see, on the other hand, Y. XLIV, 5.

VISPARAD VIII (Sp. IX).

1. With this word be Thou approached[1], with the proper word be Thou present here, Thou who art Ahura Mazda, the holy, together with the good Yazads who are the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, together with fifty, and a hundred, and a thousand, and ten thousand, and millions, and yet more.

2. And to Him who rules the best let the Kingdom be[2]!

VISPARAD IX (Sp. X)[3].

1. (I desire to offer my homage and my praise[4]) to the offered Haomas and Zaothras, and to those also which shall yet be offered, which smite victoriously, and are foes of hatred, and following in company (as they do) with the healing virtues of sanctity, following also in company with those of *K*isti (religious knowledge), and with the remedies of Mazda, and with those of Zarathu*s*tra and the Zarathu*s*trôtema, (2) and to the offered Haomas and Zaothras which accompany those remedies which belong to the holy disciple well versed in good devices[5], and accompanying those of the itinerant also versed in good devices[5], and accompanying those likewise of the good Mazdayasnian Faith, and those of the pious and beneficent Prayer for blessings, and of the pious and good veracity, and

[1] 'Mediated' (?), or 'known,' madhayangha (-uha).

[2] See Y. XXXV, 5.

[3] This section should be read before Y. XXII.

[4] Supplied necessarily from Visp. X, 2; see its genitive.

[5] Or, 'sciences' (in some cases medical).

of the pious word against unbelief, (3) for information and explanation, for preparation (?) and devotion, for the libation and complete offering, for the complete recital of the liturgy memorised as well; and to those Haomas which are pungent, bounteous, holy, and offered with sanctity (and for a blessing), to those which are yet to be offered with sanctity, and which are now being celebrated, and which are likewise in the future to be celebrated, to those which are being pressed with sanctity, and to those which are yet to be pressed, (to these I desire to approach, and to express my homage and my praise). 4. And I desire to express my homage and my praise to the strength of the strong, and to the victorious blow of the mighty, to the powerful Rectitude and Blessedness, to *K*isti and the Priority for the powerful Ascendency, and to these powerful Yazads which are the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and dispose of all aright, ever-living, ever-helpful, who, male and female, dwell together with the Good Mind, (to these I desire in my homage and my praises to approach); (5) (yea, I desire to approach for homage and praises toward) our Universal Weal and Immortality, to the body of the Kine, and to the Kine's Soul. (And I desire to approach) the Fire of the spoken name [1], and toward that farm-house which is sanctified and which has fields and comfort [2], and mercy (for the poor); (6) as a praiser with praise for the sacrifice, homage, which is this praise of Ahura Mazda, of the Bountiful Immortals, and of the holy and lofty Lord, for the sacrifice, and homage of the Lord that most attains his ends, and which is this praise of that blessedness

[1] Having a Yast.

[2] Here is an instance where *hv*âthra may mean 'comfort.'

which has approached us, and of that well-timed prayer for blessings offered in the ritual, (7) which is likewise the praise of the Mãthra Spe*n*ta (the bounteous word of reason), and of the Mazdayasnian Religion, and the Praises of the Yasnas[1], which is also that of all the lords of the ritual, and of all the well-timed prayers for blessings, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and glorification of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

VISPARAD X (Sp. XI)[2].

1. I desire to approach the Arezahis with my praise, and the Savahis, and Fradadhafshu, and Vîdadhafshu, and Vouru-bare*s*ti, and Vouru-*g*are*s*ti, and this Karshvar which is *Hv*aniratha. 2. And I desire to approach the stone mortar with my praise, and the iron mortar, and the cup that holds the Zaothra, and the hair (which stays the spilling[3]), and Thy Baresman spread with sanctity. And I desire to approach the Ahuna-vairya with my praise, and the ritual prayers beside Ahuna, and the standing offices of the Mazdayasnian Faith.

VISPARAD XI (Sp. XII).

1. To Ahura Mazda would we present[4] our offered Haomas and that which is lifted up, as the most

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[1] Perhaps 'the Ya*s*ts in the Yasna,' otherwise the latter portion of the Yasna.

[2] This section follows Y. XXII.

[3] The varesa consists (as used at present) of three, five, or seven hairs from the tail of a white bull, which are tied to a gold, silver, copper, or brass ring. This can be used as long as the bull lives, but as often as it is used it must be reconsecrated. (Haug.)

[4] The wording is purposely varied in the renderings to avoid sameness.

beneficial to Verethraghna (the blow of victory) which furthers the settlements; and that which is offered to the good and holy king, and that which is offered to the holy ruler which rules according to, or in the ritual, and we make known our Haomas to the Bountiful Immortals, and to the good waters; and we present our Haomas each to (our) own soul[1]; and we announce our Haomas in our celebration to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

2. Yea, we present these Haomas and Haoma-implements, and these spread mats, and these Myazdas, these stones, the first in the creation, the stone mortar brought here with the yellow[2] Haoma in it, and the iron mortar brought here with the yellow Haoma in it, this Haoma-water, and this Baresman spread with sanctity, (3) these bodies, and (their) forces, these striving Zaothras (that seek to find Thy grace), this holy Haoma, and the flesh, and the holy man, and the saint's innate thoughts, even the Saoshya*n*ts' innate thoughts.

And we present this fresh milk as an offering, now lifted up with sanctity, and this Hadhânaêpata plant, lifted up with sanctity; (4) and we offer, and present these Zaothras with our celebration, having the Haoma with them, and the milk, and the Hadhânaêpata, to the good waters and offered up with piety. And we present the Haoma-water in our celebrations to the good waters, and both the stone and the iron mortar, (5) and this branch for the Baresman, and the prayer for blessings uttered at the fitting moment which has approached (for our help in its order with the prayers), and the recollec-

[1] To the soul of the person who may be reciting.

[2] Zâiri with K4.

tion and practice of the good Mazdayasnian law, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, the well-timed prayer for blessings as it comes uttered by the saint (and for our help), and ruling (while it is spoken) as a ritual lord, and these wood-billets, and the perfume even Thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all good objects (which are ours), and Mazda-made, and which have the seed of sanctity (or are that seed).

6. Yea, these we make known and we announce in this our celebration to Ahura Mazda (as our gift), and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and to Ashi (who is the recompense), and to Rashnu the most just, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and to the Bountiful Immortals, and the Fravashis of the saints, and to their souls, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lord, and to the lofty lord (the Apãm-napâ*t*?), and to the Myazda, the lord, and to the well-timed prayer for blessings as it rules in the order of our prayers, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and adoration of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean). 7. Yea, these we make known in this our celebration hereby for the Fravashi of Zarathu*s*tra Spitâma, the saint, for its sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to the (Fravashi) of Anghuyu (?)[1] who hath loved righteousness, together with all the holy Fravashis of the saints, of those now dead, and of those of the living, and of those of men unborn, of the prophets that shall serve us, bringing on the renovation of the completed world. 8–11, see verses 2–5.

12. Yea, we would make these known hereby in our celebrations to the Bountiful Immortals, who rule

[1] Here, erroneously, a proper name as in Ya*s*t XIII. Possibly of that Zarathu*s*trian world (period) which loved righteousness; the word occurs after the name of Z. I think that 'y' should be 'v.'

aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, who are good (?), and bestowers of the good, who dwell with the Good Mind [(Pâzand) for they who are the Bountiful Immortals abide with the Good Mind, they who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, for thence they are regulated, and thence they arose, (namely,) from the Good Mind[1]]. 13. And we make known these our celebrations as the more promotive for this[2] house, for the furtherance of this house, and as benefits for this house, because of the increase of this household, as overcoming the restrictions which impede this household, and as overcoming the harmful malice which may mar this house, to bless its herds, and its retainers, born, and yet to be born, for the saints of the house as it was aforetime, of it as it[3] stands here now, and to which we likewise now belong as the Saoshya*n*ts of the provinces, (14) [which (is that we are Saoshya*n*ts) for the saints who do good deeds, and of the female saints who do good deeds, and of the saints who do the deeds conspicuously good, and of the females likewise thus, of the saints who do good deeds upon good deeds, and of the females thus the same]. 15. And we make these known in our celebrations to the good Fravashis of the saints which are formidable and overwhelming in their aid. 16. And we make these known in our celebrations hereby to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and to the good

[1] Vohu Manah certainly appears the most prominent here. They arose from the 'good thought' of Ahura.

[2] This office was celebrated in private houses by itinerant priests.

[3] Yênhê aêm might be a citation from some lost prayer. The singular aêm may, however, be taken collectively, as families are spoken of.

Blessedness, and to Nairya-sangha, and to the victorious Peace, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire, and to the lofty lord, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, to the entire creation of the holy and the clean. 17, 18 = Visp. X, 1, 2.

19. (Sp. XIII.) Yea, we make that known which is lifted up in offering, and which is the Avesta[1] as the holy Ahura Mazda directed that it should be said, and as Zarathustra, the holy, directed, and as I, the priest, who am acquainted with their sacrifice and homage, am now letting it be known. I who understand the lawful and legitimate Avesta[2], and the ritual prescripts (20) for Your sacrifice, homage, and propitiation, O Ye who are the Bountiful Immortals, and for our preparation (?), and for the success of our well-uttered prayer for blessings, for victory, sanctification, and the well-being of our souls, (of ours), for (we are) the holy Saoshya*n*ts.

21. Yea, we make these known in our celebrations here, and we offer them to Him who is Ahura Mazda, of all the greatest, the master and the Lord.

VISPARAD XII (Sp. XIV)[3].

1. For the offered Haomas which have been offered in libation to that lofty Lord Ahura Mazda and to the holy Zarathustra Spitama (produce) abundance in cattle and in men; and this[4] abundance is (as) the good Sraosha, who accompanies (us) with the great

[1] Âvista probably = Avesta; compare Veda. The moral and ceremonial laws.

[2] Avestic.

[3] Follows Y. XXVII.

[4] Hâ seems to have a certain conjunctive force like sa in composition, 'And thereto the good Sraosha;' or is it an interjection?

splendour of sanctity, and may he[1] be here with energetic effort (to aid us in our worship).

2. We offer the wise offerings of the Ahuna-vairya intoned with sanctity and yet to be intoned, possessing their many teachings of religious wisdom (as they do), and those of the two mortars which pour the Haomas out, and which are pushed forward with precision[2], and are now in the course of being thus advanced once more[3]. 3. (And so we teach as well the many teachings of the religious wisdom) contained in the words correctly spoken, in the Zarathu*s*trian utterances[4], and in the ceremonies correctly practised, and the Baresmans spread exactly, and the Haomas pressed correctly, and the praise, Yasnas, and the doctrines of the Mazdayasnian Religion with their recitations, and their movements. 4. For thus they may become to us more full of devices and of wisdom, and so we offer these wise ritual deeds in the creation, so we impart them with their many points of meaning while we (ourselves) still ponder them as those which Ahura Mazda, the holy One, delivered, which have (as if) their nourishment from Vohu Manah[5] and their growth from the Righteous Order, which are the greatest of all beings, the best, and the most beautiful; for thus shall these be to us the more full of wisest meaning, and more full of incitation[6], and may we be among those (who are) of Spe*n*ta Mainyu's world in that we are imparting (to the chosen) these

[1] Recall he*k*â of Y. XLVI, 1.

[2] With punctilious sanctity.

[3] The Parsi priests at present make appropriate manipulations here.

[4] In the now ancient Gâthas, &c.

[5] Compare gaêth*a*u vîsp*a*u y*a*u vohû thrao*s*tâ mananghâ.

[6] Or, 'may we be more zealous than any who are in the creation of the bounteous spirit.'

precepts of the wisest meaning and these incitations which are contained therein. 5. And full of wisest meaning be ye two to us, O (thou) stone mortar, and (thou) the iron one, as ye are now turned, and as ye are now being advanced[1], ye two mortars of the house, [and of the village, of the tribe, and of the province, and ye who are in this house (itself), this village, tribe, and province]; yea, in those which are ours, Mazdayasnians, who are steadfast in our worship, who appear with our wood-billets and our perfumes, and with our supplicated blessings [(Pâzand) for so may they be to us, the more full of wisest teaching].

VISPARAD XIII (Sp. XV)[2].

1. According to the ritual we worship Ahura Mazda; according to the ritual we worship the Bountiful Immortals; and we sacrifice to the sacrificial word correctly spoken, and to every Mãthra (as to a sacred word of reason). And we sacrifice to Zarathustra, him who is especially the possessor of the Mãthra[3]; and we sacrifice to the 'blessings for the saints'[4]; and we worship the 'hail'[5] addressed to the Bountiful Immortals.

2. Also we worship the three principal (chapters) uttered (in the Yasna) without addition or omission[6];

[1] Referring to manipulations.

[2] This fragment follows Y. XXX in the Vendîdâd Sâdah, and was written in allusion to Y. XXVIII, Y. XXIX, and Y. XXX.

[3] Referring to mãthra srevaêmâ in Yasna XXVIII, 8.

[4] Referring to the words savakâ ashavabyô in Yasna XXX, 11.

[5] Referring to the word ustâ in Yasna XXX, 11.

[6] The three first chapters XXVIII–XXX; the text has bad grammar, or broken connection.

and we worship the three principal ones without addition or omission; we worship the three commencing ones entire without addition or omission[1]. And we worship the entirety[2] of the three principal ones without addition or omission; and their Hâs, their metrical lines, their words, and their word-structure [and their recital, memorising, chanting, and their steadfast offering].

VISPARAD XIV (Sp. XVI)[3].

1. (We worship Ahura Mazda, the holy Lord of the ritual order[4]; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti) with its measures, and word-structure, and its Zand, with its questions and counter-questions, with its words and its metric feet. And we sacrifice to these as well-recited, and now in the course of being recited, as well-worshipped, and now in the course of being used in worship[5]. 2. (Yea, we sacrifice to it) in

[1] It is difficult to see how anapishûtâ can mean 'without retrenchment,' but the context seems to require it, and the Pahlavi translation bears evidence to it. Perhaps read anapashûtâ.

[2] 'The whole three first.' Some suppose the three prayers to be intended (the Ahuna-vairya, the Ashem Vohû, and the Yêṅhê hâtăm). I think that the three chapters XXVIII–XXX are meant. As the piece follows those three chapters in the Vendîdâd Sâdah, so its expressions indicate a reference to them. This might tend to show that the Ahunavaiti was at one time, if not originally, divided at this place.

[3] This fragment was written in evident allusion to the entire Ahunavaiti, which it follows in the Vendîdâd Sâdah. It expresses the veneration acquired by the first Gâtha long after its composition.

[4] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[5] Frâyaze*n*tăm may be a metaplasm; otherwise 'of the sacrificers.'

its own 'wisdom'[1], in its own 'clearness'[2], in its own 'loving intention'[2], in its sovereignty, and its own ritual order, and its 'acquired boon'[2], which is also that given by Ahura Mazda for the promotion of piety, for that thought which originates from the 'heart-devoted self'[2].

3. (Sp. Chapter XVII.) Also we worship the Ahuna-vairya, the holy lord of the ritual order, the holy lord with its Ahû and its Ratu [(Pâzand); for He is the one with the title Ahû and Ratu, who is Ahura Mazda[3]]. 4. And we sacrifice to the constituent parts of the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, to its chapters, and its metrical lines, its words, and word-structure, [and to its heard-recital, and memorised recital, its continuous and its steadfast offering].

VISPARAD XV (Sp. XVIII)[4].

1. Hold your feet in readiness, and your two hands, and your understandings[5], O ye Zarathustrian Mazdayasnians! for the well-doing of lawful deeds in accordance with the sacred Order, and for the avoidance of the unlawful and evil deeds which are contrary to the ritual. Let the good deeds for the furtherance of husbandry be done[6] here. Render ye the needy rich[7]. 2. Let Sraosha (Obedience) be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda,

[1] Dămi with K4. Possibly in their own house (dămi=dani).

[2] These words probably allude severally, say, to dăm in Y. XXXI, 7, *k*ithrâ in Y. XXXI, 22, zaoshê in Y. XXXIII, 2, 10, âyaptâ in Y. XXVIII, 8, to zarzd*a*u in Y. XXXI, 1.

[3] Erroneous.

[4] This piece is a later composed prelude to the Haptanghâiti, which it precedes in the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[5] Sursum corda! [6] Comp. gavôi verezyâtăm, Y. XLVIII, 5.

[7] 'Place the needy with those without need.'

the most helpful, and the holy, who is so desired by us in the pronunciation, and for the service, and the pondering[1] of the Yasna Haptanghâiti, for the heart's devotion to it, for its memorisation, and its victorious and holy recital (or for the victorious saint), without addition or omission, (3) which has been intoned, and which shall yet be uttered as great, powerful, smiting with victory, separate from harmful malice, for the pronunciation of victorious words for Ahura Mazda's Fire. (4, 5 are identical with Visp. IX, 6, 7.)

VISPARAD XVI (Sp. XIX)[2].

1. And we worship the Fire here, Ahura Mazda's son, and the Yazads having the seed of fire in them, and the Rashnus having the seed of fire[3] in them; and we worship the Fravashis of the saints. And we worship Sraosha who smites with victory, and the holy man, and the entire creation of the holy (and the clean). 2. And we worship the Blessedness and the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. And we worship the saints and their blessed Fravashis (as of one). And we worship all their Fravashis (as considered each apart), and those of the saints within the Province, and those of the saints without the Province; yea, we worship the Fravashis of holy men and holy women (wherever they may be, those devoted to the Order of the Faith). And we sacrifice to those whose (service)

[1] Possibly mãzdâtaêka.

[2] This piece follows the Haptanghâiti in the Vendîdâd Sâdah; it was intended as a sequel to it.

[3] Having the power to propagate its worship, maintaining it unextinguished. De Harlez makes the admirable suggestion, 'bright as flame'; but the Pahlavi renders tokhmak.

for us in the Yasna Ahura Mazda, the holy, has known as the better [1], and of these Zarathustra is the living chief [2] and master. And we sacrifice to the fields and the waters, the lands and the plants, and to the constituent parts of the Yasna Haptanghâiti, its chapters, its metred lines, its words, and word-structure.

VISPARAD XVII (Sp. XX) [3].

And we strive after the good thoughts, words, and deeds inculcated in the Yasna Haptanghâiti. A blessing is the Right (called) the Best, (there is) weal; (there is) weal for this (man) when toward Righteousness Best (there is) right.

VISPARAD XVIII (Sp. XXI) [4].

1. We worship Ahura Mazda with the usta [5]. And we worship the Amesha Spenta with the usta, and the holy man, the saint. And we worship the prior world of the holy (and of the clean) with an usta, and the state of weal and salvation for the holy man (the saint). 2. And we worship that life-long state of blessedness (for the holy) which is the evil man's calamity [6]; yea, we worship his eternal [7] salvation, and with the salvation prayer. And we sacrifice to every saint who

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[1] Comp. Y. LI, 22.

[2] Anghuska ratuska here referred to the same person; comp. ahû.

[3] An addition to chapter XVI.

[4] This piece having reference to various expressions in the Gâtha Ustavaiti, follows it in the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[5] Referring to ustâ in Y. XLIII, 1. [6] See Y. XLV, 7.

[7] Akaranem = the eternal thing; otherwise an adjective of two terminations; or, finally, read -ãm.

exists, who is now coming into existence, and who shall exist in future.

VISPARAD XIX (Sp. XXII)[1].

1. We worship Ahura Mazda the bountiful; and we worship the Bountiful Immortals (saying the Spe*n*ta). And we sacrifice to the bountiful saint, and to the bountiful anticipative understanding[2]. Also we sacrifice to the good and bountiful Âramaiti (the ready mind). And we worship her together with[3] the bountiful creatures in the creation of the pure. And we sacrifice to the holy creatures who have intelligence as their first[4], (to those foremost in their mind). And we worship the omniscient understanding, and Him who is Ahura Mazda (Himself). 2. And we sacrifice to the shining sun, which is the highest of the high; yea, we worship the sun together with the Bountiful Immortals, and the Mãthras with their good ceremonies[5]. Also we sacrifice to the glorious achievements, and to this glory (which we have gained). And we sacrifice to the herds which have the Fire and its blessings[6]. Also we worship the holy benefit which is so widely

[1] The word spe*n*ta throughout alludes to the Gâtha Spe*n*tâmainyu, but it is of course not without grammatical application.

[2] In the Bundahi*s* especially referred to Ahura.

[3] Or, 'together with the bountiful creatures we worship the holy creatures.'

[4] This expression may have been accidentally determined by the position of the word manô in the Ahuna-vairya formula; see Y. XIX. 12.

[5] Or, 'the well-fulfilled.'

[6] 'Fire-made' is unintelligible; 'fire gifts-having' may refer to the flocks and herds, as expressing the source of that prosperity which is represented by the holy Fire.

diffused[1], and that wisdom which is the bounteous Âramaiti, whose are the laws[2] of the Righteous Order, and of those holy creatures who have Righteousness as their first.

VISPARAD XX (Sp. XXIII)[3].

1. (Homage to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra[4]! We sacrifice to the Vohu-khshathra), (the good kingdom) even the Khshathra-vairya, the kingdom to be desired; and we sacrifice to the iron-founding[5], and to the (sacrificial) words[6] correctly spoken which smite (the foe) with victory, and which hold the Daêvas subject.

And we worship that reward and that health, that healing and that progress, that growth and that victorious smiting[7] (2) which are between the Vohu-khshathra and the Vahistôisti[8], (and which are acquired by us) by the memorised recital of the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, for the withstanding of evil thoughts, and words, and deeds; yea, for the undoing of all treacherous thoughts (directed) against me, and of all false words, and unfair deeds. 3. [And we sacrifice to the later Yasna, the heroic Haptanghâiti[9], (and which as it recurs becomes) the holy ritual chief.]

[1] Pahl. fravaft sûd. [2] Dâthra with K4.

[3] This piece from the later Avesta follows Y. LI, in the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[4] From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

[5] Associated with this Gâtha from Y. LI, 9.

[6] Compare Y. LI, 3. [7] Y. LI, 9; also perhaps Y. LIII, 8, 9.

[8] Between; that is, described in the space between the Vohu-khshathra and the Vahistôisti, i.e. in Y. LII. See hamistêê in Y. LII, 4, and paitistâtêê in Visp. XX, 2.

[9] This would seem misplaced; perhaps Y. XLII is meant, which follows the Haptanghâiti.

VISPARAD XXI (Sp. XXIV).

1. We strive earnestly, and we take up our Yasna and our homage to the good waters, and to the fertile fruit-trees (which bear as of themselves), and to the Fravashis of the saints; yea, we take up our Yasna, and our homage earnestly to those beings which are (so) good, the waters, and the trees, and the Fravashis of the saints, (2) and to the Kine, and to Gaya (Maretan), and to the Mãthra Spe*n*ta (the bounteous word-of-reason), the holy, which works (within and for us with effect), to these we take up our Yasnas and our homage with earnest zeal, and to Thee, O Ahura Mazda! and to thee, O Zarathu*s*tra, we do the same; and to thee, O lofty lord (the Apãm-napâ*t*), and to the Bountiful Immortals. 3. And we sacrifice to the listening (that hears our prayers) and to that mercy, and to the hearing of (our spoken) homage, and to that mercy which is (shown in response to our offered) praise. And we sacrifice to the frârâiti vîdushê, which is contained in the piece *hv*âdaênâi*s* ashaonîs; and we sacrifice to 'the good praise which is without hypocrisy, and which has no malice (as its end)'; and we sacrifice to the later Yasna and to its offering; and we sacrifice to the chapters of the later Yasna, and to its metrical lines, its words, and word-structure.

VISPARAD XXII (Sp. XXV).

With this chant (fully) chanted, and which is for the Bountiful Immortals and the holy Saoshya*n*ts (who are the prophets who shall serve us), and by means of these (ceremonial) actions, which are (of all)

the best, we desire to utter our supplications for the Kine. It is that chant which the saint has recognised as good and fruitful of blessed gifts, and which the sinner does not know[1]. May we never reach that (ill-luck that the sinner) may outstrip us (in our chanting), not in the matter of a plan (thought out), or of words (delivered), or ceremonies (done[2]), nor yet in any offering whatever when he (?) approaches (us for harm).

VISPARAD XXIII (Sp. XXVI)[3].

1. We worship Ahura Mazda as the best[4] (worship to be offered in our gifts). We worship the Amesha Spe*n*ta (once more, and as) the best. We worship Asha Vahi*s*ta (who is Righteousness the Best). And we sacrifice to those (prayers) which are evident as the best; that is, the Praises of the Yasnas.

Also we sacrifice to that best wish, which is that of Asha Vahi*s*ta, and we worship Heaven, which is the best world of the saints, bright and all-glorious; and we sacrifice likewise to that best approach which leads to[5] it. 2. And we sacrifice to that reward,

[1] The parties are divided by knowledge and ignorance (compare the Gnosis). See Y. XXXI, 12

[2] Not in thought, word, or deed may we reach (his) priority in progress.

[3] This piece from the later Avesta follows Y. LIII, in the Vendîdâd Sâdah, and has reference to its expressions.

[4] It is an important suggestion which holds vahi*s*tem as equal to 'saying vahi*s*tem,' in allusion to the Vahi*s*tâ î*s*ti*s*; but as the word is inflected further on (see vahi*s*tahê), and as it moreover once applies to Asha, as Asha Vahi*s*ta, it is better to render it as having adjective application throughout, being none the less, of course, an intentional echo of the first word of Y. LIII, 1.

[5] Or, 'of it.'

health, healing, furtherance, and increase, and to that victory which is within[1] the two, the Ahuna-vairya and the Airyemâ-ishyô, through the memorised recital of the good thoughts, words, and deeds (which they enjoin).

[1] Possibly 'between them,' meaning the Gâthas which are so placed.

ÂFRÎNAGÂN.

ÂFRÎNAGÂN.

As to the present use of these blessings, says Haug (ed. West): 'Âfrînagân are blessings which are to be recited over a meal consisting of wine, milk, and fruits, to which an angel, or the spirit of a deceased person, is invited, and in whose honour the meal is prepared. After the consecration (which only a priest can perform) is over, the meal is eaten by those who are present. The performance of these Âfrînagân is required of every Parsi at certain fixed seasons of the year. These are the six Gahanbârs, each lasting five days (at the six original seasons of the year) for which the Âfrînagân Gahanbâr is intended, the five Gâtha-days (the five last days of the year), during which the Âfrînagân Gâtha must be used; and, lastly, the third day (Ardibahist) of the first month (Fravardin) in the year, at which the performance of Âfrînagân Rapithwin, devoted to the spirit presiding over the southern quarter (who is the guardian of the way to paradise), is enjoined to every Parsi whose soul wants to pass the *K*inva*d* after death.' (Essays, 2nd edition, page 224.)

I. ÂFRÎN[-AGÂN] GAHANBÂR[1].

1. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, and of Zarathustra's order, a foe of the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for the holy Hâvani[1], the regulator of the ritual order (and its lord in its turn), for its sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise; (and I confess myself) for Sâvanghi and for Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order, for their sacrifice, homage,

[1] The Âfrîn for the morning hours from 6 to 10.

propitiation, and praise, and for that of the Asnya, the day-lords of the days during daylight, and of the days in their length, for the Mâhya, month-lords, and the Yâirya, year-lords, and for those of the especial seasons, and for the worship, homage, propitiation, and praise of that lofty lord who is the Ritual Righteousness (itself); yea, for the worship, homage, propitiation, and praise of the lords of the days, months, years, and seasons—for those lords of the ritual order who are of all the greatest, who are the regulators of the ritual at the time of Hâvani.

2. To Maidhyô-zaremya [1], the lord [or to Maidhyô-shema [1], the lord, or to Paitishahya [1], the lord, or to Ayâthrima [1], Maidhyâirya [1], or Hamaspathmaêdhaya], be propitiation, homage, and praise.

3. O ye Mazdayasnians who are here present! offer ye [2] this ritual service, and present ye the Myazda which is that of the Maidhyô-zaremaya, taking a piece of sound flesh from a choice beast, with a full flow of milk.

4. If ye are able to do this, (well); if ye are unable to do it, ye may take then (a portion) of some liquor of equal value, it matters not which it is, and have it consumed as it is proper; and so be ye discreet from your obedience, most correctly faithful in your speech, most saintly from your sanctity, best ordered in your exercise of power, least straitened by oppressions, heart-easy with rejoicings, most merciful of givers, most helpful to the poor, fulfilling most the ritual, the blest and longed-for Asha, (coy ?) riches woman-minded (?) bringing (as reward). If ye can do this

[1] The name of the season at the time present, when the text is recited, is to be used.

[2] Bring ye, O these Mazdayasnians!

and with vigour, (well); (5) if not, bring wood to the Ratu's house. It matters not what kind, so it be well cut, and very dry, and in loads of fitting size. If that is possible, (well); if not, then let a man bring wood to the Ratu's dwelling, and heap it up as high as the ear, or to reach the fore-shoulder, or with the fore-arm measure, (or at least as high as the end of the hanging hand). If that is possible, (well); (6) but if it has not been possible, then let the worshipper (with the mind's offering) ascribe the power to him who rules the best, Ahura, (saying[1]): Wherefore for this cause verily we offer and ascribe the Sovereign Power to Ahura Mazda, who rules the best, and to Righteousness (the ritual and moral Order), and we complete our sacrifice to them. Thus is the Myazda offered with the well-timed prayer for blessings.

7. In case that a man does not give of the first Myazda which is that of the Maidhyô-zaremaya, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Ratu that has the right to that Myazda, and who has this person under his guidance, expels[2] that (false) disciple who has not his Myazda with him, as a man that does not worship, from the midst of the Mazda-worshippers. 8. In the case that a man does not give of the second Myazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! which is that of the Maidhyô-shema, then let[2] the Ratu to whom the Myazda should come, and who has the person under his guidance, expel that disciple, since he comes without his Myazda, as he would a man who refuses to recite his vows, from among the number of the Mazda-

[1] Or, 'because we offer.'

[2] Not 'renders him (detected) among the Mazdayasnians;' compare for form a*n*tarê-mrûyê; see also fra-dasti and fra-perenaoiti; also the present may be used for the imperative.

worshippers. 9. In the case that a man does not give of the third Myazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! which is that of Paitishahya, then let the Ratu who ought to receive that Myazda, and who has had the person under his guidance, expel that disciple which brings no Myazda, as a detected[1] reprobate, from among the number of the Mazdayasnians. 10. In case that a man does not offer of the fourth Myazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! which is that of the Ayâthrima, let the Ratu who ought to receive that Myazda, and who has the person under his guidance, expel that disciple, since he brings no Myazda, as a refuse[2] beast from among the number of the Mazdayasnians. 11. In the case that a man does not give of the fifth Myazda, which is that of the Maidhyâirya, then let the Ratu to whom that Myazda belongs as a perquisite, and who has that person under his guidance, expel him, since he brings no Myazda, as an alien[3], from among the number of the Mazdayasnians. 12. In case that a man does not give of the sixth Myazda, which is that of the Hamaspathmaêdhaya, O Spitama Zarathustra! let the Ratu to whom that Myazda belongs as a perquisite, and who has this person under his discipline to learn him the lore of Ahura, expel him, (as ignorant) since he brings no Myazda, from among the number of the Mazdayasnians. 13. And let him decry him afterwards without hesitation[4], and drive[5] him out; and let that Ratu lay upon him after-

[1] Possibly 'having a breast burnt by the ordeal,' and so 'detected;' or 'hot-breasted, vehement' (?); comp. úras.

[2] It may be '(his) excluded beast,' or 'his stray beast' (?).

[3] Or, possibly, 'he is rejected when offering himself as arrived from the settlements' (?).

[4] 'Without recoiling.'

[5] Syazdayôit.

wards the expiating deeds without reserve; and in accordance with these rules, let the disciple treat the Ratu. (Let him beware of failure to bring his Myazda, or if he fails let the disciple bear, as is befitting, what is due.) A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, it is weal, it is weal for this (man) when toward Righteousness Best there is right. 14. I bless with my prayer the royal Province-chiefs (who are faithful worshippers) of Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, (beseeching) for superior strength for them, and for more important victory, and more influential rule, and desiring for them further authoritative power, and helpful support, and long duration to their reign, and the prolonged vitality of their frames, and health. 15. And I pray in my benediction for strength well-shaped and stately of growth, and which smites victoriously, Ahura-made, and crushing, and for an ascendency abundantly subduing all who are filled with furious hate, assaulting the evil-minded enemies, and destroying, as if at once, the deadly, godless[1] foes.

16. And I pray in my blessing that he (the province-governor) may conquer in victorious battles every malicious foe, and each malignant, profane in thoughts, and words, and actions, (17) that he may indeed be constantly victorious in his own religious thoughts, and words, and deeds, and unvarying in the smiting of every foe, and of every Daêva-worshipper, and that he may, as he proceeds[2], be well rewarded, and of good repute, possessing a far-foreseeing preparation of the soul. 18. And I pray with blessings thus: Live thou long and blessed be

[1] Unfriendly and untrue; '* avratyá.'

[2] Recall yôi zaze*n*tê vanghâu sravahî.

thou, 'hail' to thee; live for the aid of holy men, and for the crushing of the evil; and I pray for Heaven (for thee) the best world of the saints, shining, all glorious. And thus may it happen as I pray— [1]. 19. And I bless in my prayer the sacrifice, and homage, and the strength, and swiftness of the day-lords during daylight, and of the lords of the days in their length, of the month-lords, and the year-lords, and of the lords of the seasons [2] (in their course), and for the worship, homage, propitiation, and praise of the lofty lord who is the Righteous Ritual itself, and of those lords of the ritual who are of all the greatest, and who are the lords of the ritual at the time of Hâvani, for Maidhyô-zaremaya the lord, [(or) for Maidhyô-shema the lord, (or) for Paitishahya [2] the lord, or for Ayâthrima, Maidhyâirya, or Hamaspathmaêdhaya [2+3]].

II. ÂFRÎN[-AGÂN] [4] GÂTHA [4].

1. As the Ahû is (revered and) to be chosen, so (is) the Ratu (one who rules) from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Ahura, and the Kingdom (is) to Mazda, which to the poor may offer a nurturer.

I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper—for the praise of Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and of the Bountiful Immortals, for the bountiful and

[1] See Y. XXXV, 2. The Ahuna follows.

[2] The name varies with the season in which the sacrifice is made.

[3] As in 18.

[4] Recited during the days called after the Gâthas, the last five of the year. A long period of time must have elapsed since the Gâthas were composed, as they probably were not originally 'five.' and yet seem to have been only remembered as such.

holy Gâthas which rule in the ritual order. (Propitiation and praise be) to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, and to the Gâtha U*s*tavaiti, to the Gâtha Spe*n*tâ-mainyu, and to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra, and to the Gâtha Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti. 2. Propitiation to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty, overwhelming, even to those of the saints of yore, who held the primeval faith (the Gâthic faith), and to those of the next of kin.

3. We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious; and we sacrifice to the Amesha Spe*n*ta who rule aright, and who dispose (of all aright). And we sacrifice to the bounteous and holy Gâthas, which rule (as the first) in the ritual order.

We sacrifice to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha U*s*tavaiti, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Spe*n*tâ-mainyu, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Vahi*s*tôi*s*ti, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order. 4 = Yt. XIII, 49–52[1].

III. ÂFRÎN[-AGÂN][2] RAPITHVIN[2].

1. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of Zarathu*s*tra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and for Frâda*t*-fshu[3] and Za*n*tuma[4],

[1] Verses 5, 6 = Â. I, 14–18; for verse 6, see verses 1, 2; also see Â. I, 19.

[2] To be recited on the third day (Ardibahi*s*t) of the first month (Fravardin).

[3] A genius who furthered cattle.

[4] The genius of the Za*n*tu, presiding over this Gâh Rapithvin.

the holy lord(s) of the ritual order. 2. And to Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and to the Bountiful Immortals, be propitiation, and to Asha Vahi*s*ta (who is Righteousness the Best), and to the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and to all the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming—.

3. For thus did Ahura Mazda speak to Spitama Zarathu*s*tra the word which was spoken for the ritual time of the Rapithwina, (saying): Ask us, O holy Zarathu*s*tra [1], what are Thy questions to be asked of us [2], for Thy question is as that mighty one when Thy ruler speaks his mighty wish [1]. 4. Then Zarathu*s*tra asked Ahura Mazda: O Ahura Mazda, most bountiful [3] creator of the material worlds and holy! what does that man acquire, what does he merit, what reward shall there be for that man (5) who shall recite the Rapithwina office with the Rapithwina prayer for blessing, and who shall sacrifice with [4] the Rapithwina office with hands (well) washed, and with (well) washed mortars, with the Baresman spread, and with Haoma high uplifted, and with fire brightly flaming, with Ahuna-vairya loud intoned, with Haoma-moistened tongue, and with a body Mãthra-bound? 6. And Ahura Mazda answered him: As the wind from the southern quarter, O Spitama! causes the entire material world to advance and to increase, and as it will bless it [5], rejoice it, and cause it to progress [6], such a like reward does such a man receive, (7) who

[1] Erroneous. [2] Ahmâi; see Y. XLIII, 10 with *e*hmâ.

[3] Insert 'spirit.' [4] Or, 'to.'

[5] Saoshyati*k*a; or can saoshya*n*ti be a locative absolute, preserving a fuller form?

[6] Or, 'causes it to enter into helpful joy' (?).

recites the Rapithwina-ratu with the Rapithwina blessing, and sacrifices with[1] it with (well) washed hands, and mortars, with Baresman spread, and Haoma lifted, with fire brightly flaming, and with Ahuna-vairya loud intoned, and with Haoma-moistened tongue, and a body Mãthra-bound! 8. Thus hath Ahura Mazda declared to Spitama Zarathustra the word which (should be) spoken at the Rapithwina time. 9, 10. (See Â. I, 14–19.)

[1] Or, 'to.'

THE GÂHS.

THE GÂHS.

THE Gâhs are the five divisions of the day. The Hâvani from 6 to 10 A.M., the Rapithwina from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M., the Uzayêirina from 3 to 6 P.M., the Aiwisrûthrima from 6 to 12 P.M., the Ushahina from 12 P.M. to 6 A.M. The Gâhs here following are prayers which must be recited at the Gâhs of the day; hence their name[1].

I. THE GÂH HÂVAN[2].

Unto Ahura Mazda be propitiation. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best—.

1. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for the holy Hâvani, regulator of the ritual order, for its sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and for Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the righteous regulator(s) of the ritual order, for their homage, sacrifice, propitiation, and praise, and for those of the Asnya, the day-lords during daylight, and the Ayara, lords of the days in their length, and for the Mâhya, the month-lords, and the Yâirya, year-lords, and for those of the especial seasons.

2. And to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name[3], be sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to Râman *Hv*âstra.

3, 4. And we sacrifice to Ahura Mazda the holy

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[1] The term Gâh, itself, may have arisen from the practice of chanting the Gâthas at different fixed times in the day.

[2] To be recited every day at the time of Hâvani.

[3] Having a special Yast.

lord of the ritual Order, and to Zarathustra, and to the Fravashi of Zarathustra, the saint. And we sacrifice to the Bounteous Immortals, (the guardians) of the saints, and to the good, heroic, and bounteous Fravashis of the saints (of the living and of the dead), of the bodily, and of those in heaven. And we sacrifice to the highest of the lords, the one that most attains its ends; and we sacrifice to the most strenuous of the Yazads, the most satisfying of the lords of the ritual order, the one who reaches (what he seeks), the most infallibly of those who have as yet approached the nearest in the ritual, even to the timely prayer of the saint who rules in the ritual order. 5. And we sacrifice to the Hâvani, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Universal Weal, the holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to Deathlessness, the holy, ruling in the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the question and lore of the holy lord of the ritual. And we sacrifice to that heroic mighty Yasna, the Haptanghâiti, the lord of the ritual order. 6. And we sacrifice to Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Airy*e*mâ-ishyô [1], the holy lord of the ritual order, the powerful, victoriously smiting, that which no hate can reach, which overwhelms all torments, and which passes over all torments with victory, which is the uppermost, and the middle, and the foremost, for the effective invocation of that surpassing Mãthra, the five Gâthas.

7, 8. And we sacrifice to Mithra of the wide pastures—, and to Râman *Hv*âstra, for the worship and exaltation of Vîsya, the chief. And we sacrifice to

[1] The personified prayer; see Y. LIV.

Vîsya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Mithra, and to Râman *Hv*âstra —.

9–11. And we sacrifice to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to this Baresman which has the Zaothra with it, and the girdle with it, and which is spread with exact sanctity, itself the holy lord. And we sacrifice to the Apãm-napâ*t*, and to Nairya-sangha, and to that Yazad, the swift curse of the wise. And we sacrifice to the souls of the dead, [which are the Fravashis of the saints]. And we worship that exalted Lord who is Ahura Mazda, the highest object of the ritual order, who is the one who has attained the most to homage in the ritual. And we sacrifice to all the words which Zarathu*s*tra spake, and to all the deeds well done, and to those which shall yet be done in days to come. (And) we sacrifice to that male one of beings whose (gift) in the offering Ahura doth know to be better, and of female saints, the same. As the Ahû is to be (revered and) chosen, so (is) the Ratu, one who rules from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda, and the Kingdom (is) to Ahura, which to the poor shall offer a nurturer—.

II. GÂH RAPITHVIN[1].

1. Propitiation to Ahura Mazda. A blessing is Asha Vahi*s*ta. I confess as a Mazda-worshipper, and of Zarathu*s*tra's order—for Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and for Frâda*t*-fshu and Za*n*tuma, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage,

[1] Recited every day at the hour of Rapithwina.

propitiation, and for praise. 2. And propitiation be to Asha Vahista, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise[1]. 3, 4. (See Y. LXXI, 2, 3.)

5. And we sacrifice to the Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order; and to the Gâtha Ustavaiti, and to the Gâtha Spe*n*tâ-mainyu, and to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra, and to the Gâtha Vahistôisti, holy, and ruling in the ritual order. 6. And we sacrifice to Frâda*t*-fshu, and to Za*n*tuma, and to the Fshûshô-mãthra, even to the word correctly spoken, and we sacrifice to the (many) words correctly spoken, even to the victorious ones which slay the Demon-gods (the Daêvas[2]). And we sacrifice to the waters and the lands, and to the plants, and to the heavenly Yazads who are givers of the holy and the good. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals, (the guardians) of the saints.

7. And we sacrifice to the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and to the heights of Asha (called) Vahista, and to the greatest Mãthras as moving us to action, the greatest as teaching faithfulness to holy vows, the greatest as referring to actions which are evidently just, and the greatest for the acquisition of the Mazdayasnian Faith. 8. And we sacrifice to that assembly and reunion which the Bountiful Immortals hold when they gather (?) on the heights of Heaven, for the sacrifice and homage of Za*n*tuma, the lord.

And we (therefore) sacrifice to Za*n*tuma (as) the holy lord of the ritual order. 9. And we sacrifice

[1] The Ahuna follows.

[2] Zarathustra conquered the Demon with the Ahuna-vairya.

to Asha Vahi*s*ta (who is Righteousness the Best), and to the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son—. 10. Yea, we sacrifice to Thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy ritual lord—.

I bless the sacrifice, homage, strength, and swiftness of Asha Vahi*s*ta, and of the Fire, of Ahura Mazda—. And to this one be the glory!

III. GÂH UZIREN[1].

1. Propitiation to Ahura Mazda! A blessing is Asha Vahi*s*ta—. I confess myself a Mazdayasnian of the order of Zarathu*s*tra, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for the Uzayêirina, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and for Frâda*t*-vîra and Da*hv*yuma, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise. 2. And to that lofty Ahura, Apãm-napâ*t*, and to the waters which Mazda created be sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise[2]! 3, 4. (G. I, 3, 4.) 5. We sacrifice to the Uzayêirina, the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the Zaotar, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Hâvanan, and to the Âtarevakhsha, and to the Frabaretar, and to the Âbere*t*, and to the Âsnatar, and the Raêthwi*s*kar, and to the Sraoshâvareza, holy lords of the ritual order. 6. And we sacrifice to Frâda*t*-vîra and Da*hv*yuma, the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the stars, the moon, and the sun, and to the constellations (?), and we sacrifice to the stars without beginning (to their course ?), and to the glory of the doctrinal proclama-

[1] Recited every day at the hour of Uzayêirina.

[2] The Ahuna follows.

tions which are the evil man's distress[1]. 7. And we sacrifice to the manifest performer of the truth (the correct maintainer of the rites), the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the later lore; yea, we sacrifice to the manifest fulfiller of the truth, and to the (entire) creation of the holy (and the clean) by day and by night with Zaothras together with offered prayers, for the sacrifice and homage of Da*hv*yuma, the lord. And we sacrifice to Da*hv*yuma, the holy lord of the ritual order. 8. And we sacrifice to that lofty and royal lord, the brilliant Apãm-napâ*t* of the fleet horses; and we sacrifice to the water which is Mazda-made and holy. 9, 10. And we sacrifice to thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son[2]. 11[3]. And I bless the sacrifice, homage, strength, and swiftness of that lofty Ahura Napâ*t*-apãm, and of the water which Mazda created[4].

IV. GÂH AIWISRÛTHRIMA[5].

1. Propitiation be to Ahura Mazda. A blessing is Asha Vahi*sta*—. I confess myself a Mazdayasnian, and of Zarathu*stra*'s order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for Aiwisrûthrima, and Aibigaya[6], the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and for Frâda*t*-vîspãm-hu*g*yâiti[7] and Zarathu*s*trôtema[8], the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise. 2. And to the

[1] See Y. XLV, 7.
[2] The Yênhê hâtãm here follows.
[3] The Ahuna follows.
[4] The Ashem follows.
[5] Recited every day at the hour of Aiwisrûthrima.
[6] Or, 'that furthers life.'
[7] The genius presiding over all that furthers happiness.
[8] The genius presiding over the highest office in a province.

Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who have many sons, and to that prosperity of home which lasts without reverse throughout the year, and to Strength, well-shaped and stately, and to the victorious Blow Ahura-given, and for the crushing Ascendency which it bestows, (to all) be propitiation—. 3, 4. (See Gâh I, 3, 4.) 5. And we sacrifice to Aiwisrûthrima (and) Aibigaya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to thee, O Ahura Mazda's Fire! And we sacrifice to the stone-mortar, and to the iron-mortar, and to this Baresman spread with sanctity, with the Zaothra, and with its girdle, holy lords of the ritual order. Also we sacrifice to the sacred two, to the waters and the plants, and to the sacred vows for the soul, (as) holy lord(s) of the ritual order. 6. Also we sacrifice to Frâda*t*-vîspãm-hu*g*yâiti (as) ruling in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to Zarathu*s*tra, the holy lord of the ritual; also we sacrifice to the Mãthra Spe*n*ta, (the bounteous word of reason[1]), and to the soul of the Kine, and to the Zarathu*s*trôtema[2]. 7. Also we sacrifice to the Fire-priest, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the charioteer (the warrior), the holy lord of the ritual order. Also we sacrifice to the thrifty tiller of the earth, the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the house-lord, and to the village-chief, and to the Za*n*tu-chief, and to the province-chief of the province, the holy lord of the ritual order. 8. And we sacrifice to the youth of the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, even to the youth of good conscience, the holy lord of the ritual order; yea, we

[1] The Gâthas and Vendîdâd; the first verse of the Gâthas mentions the Kine's soul.

[2] 'And to Zarathustra.'

sacrifice to the youth of the spoken word (who spoke the words which we hold so dear [1]), the holy lord of the ritual order. Yea, we sacrifice to the youth who is given to his kin (and married to his blood), the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to him who ranges through the province [2], and to the itinerant with his many arts [3], the holy ritual lords. And we sacrifice to the house-mistress, holy, and ruling in the ritual order. 9. And we sacrifice to the holy woman forward [4] in good thoughts, and words, and deeds, receiving her instructions well, having her husband as her lord, the holy, and such as Âramaiti, the bounteous, is, and such as are thy wives, O Mazda, Lord!

And we sacrifice to the holy man most forward in good thoughts, and words, and works, wise as to piety, simple as to sin, by whose deeds the settlements advance in the holy order, for the worship and homage of the Zarathustrôtema, the lord. And we sacrifice to the Zarathustrôtema, the holy lord of the ritual order. 10. And we sacrifice to the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who have many sons, and to that Prosperity which endures throughout the year, and to the well-shaped and stately Strength. And we sacrifice to the Blow of Victory, Ahura-given, and to the crushing Ascendency which it secures. 11, 12. (See Gâh I, 9, 10.) 13. (The Ahuna-vairya, &c.)

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[1] See Yast XXII.

[2] It is very probable that the Yasna was at that period celebrated from house to house.

[3] Medical?

[4] Is it possibly, 'favouring good thoughts,' &c.?

V. GÂH USHAHIN[1].

1. Propitiation to Ahura Mazda. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of the order of Zarathustra, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for the Ushahina, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to Beregya and Nmânya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order. 2. Propitiation be to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with recompense, smiting with the blow of victory, and causing the settlements to advance and to increase.

3, 4. (See Gâh I, 3, 4.) 5. We sacrifice to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the beautiful Aurora, and to the dawn of morning; yea, we sacrifice to the morning, the shining[2], of the glittering horses, having the men of forethought (as its servants), yea, having men of forethought and heroes (awake and at their work), to the morning which gives light within the house[3]. And we sacrifice to the lights of dawn which are radiant with their light and fleetest horses which sweep over (?) the seven-fold earth. And we sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Good Mind, and to Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and to Khshathra-vairya, and to Âramaiti, the bounteous and the good.

6. And we sacrifice to Beregya, even the holy lord of the ritual order, even to Nmânya with the longing desire for the good Asha, and with the longing desire for the good Mazdayasnian law, for the worship

[1] Recited every day at the hour of Ushahina.

[2] So, better than 'royal,' which is, however, possible.

[3] Or, 'while it abides.'

and homage of Nmânya, the lord. 7. And we sacrifice to Sraosha, and to Rashnu, the most just, and to Ar*s*tâ*t*, who causes the settlements to advance and to increase. 8, 9. (See Gâh I, 9, 10.) 10. And I bless the sacrifice, homage, strength, and swiftness of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, smiting with the blow of victory, and who causes the settlements to advance; and I bless the sacrifice of Rashnu, the most just, and that of Ar*s*tâ*t*, who causes the settlements to advance and to increase [1].

[1] The Ashem and the Ahmâi raê*sk*a.

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS.

I.

1. (An incitation to the priest or worshipper.) As thou keepest company with the Good Mind, and with Righteousness the Best, and with Khshathra-vairya (the Kingdom to be desired), speak to the male and female disciples of Zarathustra Spitama the saint, (and declare) the praise which is to be spoken, that of the Yasna, even the words against which no anger[1] shall prevail.

2. And do thou, O Zarathustra[2]! declare our words for sacrifice and worship, ours, the Bountiful Immortals', that the waters may (thus) be sacrificed to by thee, and the plants, the Fravashis of the saints, and the created Yazads, heavenly and earthly, which are holy and beneficent.

II.

1. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper—for the praise of Thraêtaona, the Âthwyan. Let them declare it—. Propitiation be to the Fravashi of Thraêtaona, the Âthwyan, the saint. 2. We sacrifice to Thraêtaona, the Âthwyan, the holy lord of the ritual order; and may we be free from the dog Kuro[3], and the Tarewani[3], and the Karpan, (we who are) of[4] those who sacrifice in order. 3. (The Ahuna

[1] Others 'the unrestricted words.'

[2] Perhaps 'Zarathustra' is here merely the equivalent of 'priest.'

[3] Obscure.

[4] Awkward formations.

follows.) Sacrifice, homage, strength, and swiftness be to the Fravashi of Thraêtaona, the saint. (The Ahem and Ahmâi raêska follow.)

III.

1. All good thoughts, and all good words, and all good deeds are thought, and spoken, and done with intelligence; and all evil thoughts, and words, and deeds are thought, and spoken, and done with folly. 2. And let (the men who think, and speak, and do) all good thoughts, and words, and deeds inhabit[1] Heaven (as their home). And let those who think, and speak, and do evil thoughts, and words, and deeds abide in Hell. For to all who think good thoughts, speak good words, and do good deeds, Heaven, the best world, belongs. And this is evident, and as of course (?) (or, 'and therewith their seed').

IV.

1. I proclaim the Airyemâ-ishyô as the greatest of all authoritative prayers, O Spitama! as the most influential and helpful for progress; and may the Saoshyants (who would further us) use it and revere it.

2. I am speaking in accordance with it, O Spitama! and therefore I shall rule as sovereign over creatures which are mine, I who am Ahura Mazda. Let no one rule as Angra Mainyu[2] over realms that are his own, O Zarathustra Spitama! 3. Let Angra Mainyu be hid beneath the earth[3]. Let the Daêvas likewise

[1] Ashaêta = â + shaêta used subjunctively.

[2] Insert 'of the evil faith.'

[3] In Y. IX, 14, 15, it is the Ahuna-vairya which drives the Daêvas beneath the earth.

disappear. Let the dead arise (unhindered by these foes), and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies.

V.

1. To Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, to the Bountiful Immortals, to Force well-shaped and stately, to the Blow of Victory, Ahura-given, to the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures), to the path of pleasantness, to the good Zarenuma*n*t[1], to the 'Glowing' Mountain made by Mazda, and to all the Yazads! 2. We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright, and to Force well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow of Victory, and to the Ascendency of Victory, and to the path of pleasantness, and to Zarenuma*n*t, the good, which Mazda created, and to the 'Glowing' Mount, and to every saint.

VI[2].

Propitiation be to the created body of the Kine of blessed endowment, and to the Kine's soul (so, if there is one cow presented[3]). Propitiation be to the body and soul of you two (so, if there are two[3]). —To your body and soul (if there are three, or the entire herd[3]). (The Ahuna follows.)

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[1] According to the Bundahi*s*, the name of a lake.

[2] This fragment was spoken when the milk was drawn from the cow, or cows, for the offering, and when the water was received with which the udder of the cow was to be washed. (Sp. transl. vol. iii, p. 254.)

[3] These words are in Persian introduced as rubric.

VII[1].

1. To the good waters, and to all the waters which Mazda created, and to that lofty lord, Apãm-napâṭ, and to thee, O Ahurian One of Ahura, that water which Mazda created! be sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise. (The Ahuna follows.) 2. We utter our praises forth to thee, O Ahurian One of Ahura! and we complete good sacrifices, and deeds of adoration, with good gifts of offering, and gifts with praise, which are appropriate to thee among the holy Yazads. I will seek to render thee content. I will pour thee out. [Let them now recite the lofty Gâthas which belong to the ritual.]

VIII[2].

1. The moons* of the season will wane. Let the Mazdayasnian (pray) for a smiter who may destroy quickly (the demon who causes their decrease). And quickly indeed may the malignant one die off—. For no one of her adherents can maintain this Drug(k) by prayers.

2. Smiting fiercely[3] with her weapon, she, the Drug(k), goes on, and most mighty she has been. And she wanders on, O Zarathustra! as mindful of her might, and strong[4] in proportion as she advances

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[1] This was to be spoken when the vessel containing the Zaothras was taken in hand (Sp.).

[2] This fragment is very much broken in its connections, and most corrupt in its grammatical forms. The translation is entirely conjectural. Section IX has also irregularities.

[3] Some form of dva may be conjectured.

[4] 'With her weapon.'

as the sinful Dru*g*(k). But may Khshathra[1] be with me—, so that . . . . the deadly one may die away, for thereupon the blow of destruction shall come upon the Dru*g*(k)[2].

IX.

1. The Ahuna-vairya is a prayer to be (revered and) chosen as the choice one of Mazda. The Khshathra-vairya is likewise such, and the Yâ daêna[3]. They (it) will gain the reward. Yathâ ahû vairyô. It is the word of Mazda. They are the words in season. It is the Mãthra-spe*n*ta word, the unsubdued, the undeceived, the victorious, the opponent of malice, the healing and victorious word of Mazda, which, as it is pronounced[4], gives most the victory to him who utters it. 2. I have declared the hymn which is most helpful and victorious against the words of Aêshma, which is health-giving and healing, and conducive to progress, the multiplier, and the furtherer of growth. And let the worshipper present it with a liberal offering . . . . with its pleasing words. Let that be done through veritable grace which helps us on the most[5]. The Kingdom (is) to Ahura, which to the poor may grant a nurturer[6].

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[1] Khshathra*k*a ?
[2] See Y. XXX, 10.
[3] So I conjecture as the commencing words of some piece.
[4] 'For healing.'
[5] Y. L, 11.
[6] Last line of the Ahuna.

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In addition to the occurrences cited above, the words aêshma, aka manah, ameretatâ*t*, amesha spe*n*ta, asha, ashi vanguhi, asnya, âramaiti, âtharvan, drû*g*, frashakar*d*, ganrâk mînavad, haurvatâ*t*, î*s*ti, khshathra, *k*inva*t*, *k*isti, mazdayasnian, mâhya, mâthra, ratu, spe*n*ta mainyu, sraosha, vahi*s*ta manah, verethraghna, vîsya, vohu manah, zaotar occur as translated.

With regard to the subject indexed as the originality of the Gâthas, it is not intended to deny that the original migrations of the entire Aryan race may have been from the North-west.

On page 198 read Maidhyô-shema, Maidhyô-zaremaya; p. 204, -*g*yâiti; p. 209, -*g*yâitê.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . . .	क	[illegible]	[illegible]	ك	ك	כ	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	. . .	. . . .	ख	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	כ	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . . .	ग	[illegible]	[illegible]	گ	. . .	ג	. . .
4 „ aspirata	gh	. . .	. . . .	घ	[illegible]	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	ג	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ق	ق	ק	. . .
6 Nasalis	ṅ (ng)	. . .	. . . .	ङ	(ng) (N)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . . .	ह	(hv)	[illegible]	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 „ lenis	'	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ا	ا	א	. . .
9 „ asper faucalis	'h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ح	ح	ח	. . .
10 „ lenis faucalis	'h	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ع	ع	ע	. . .
11 „ asper fricatus	. . .	*'h*	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	خ	خ	ח	. . .
12 „ lenis fricatus	. . .	*'h*	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	. . .	*k*	. . . .	च	[illegible]	[illegible]	چ	. . .	. . .	*k*
14 „ aspirata	. . .	*kh*	. . . .	छ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*kh*
15 Media	. . .	*g*	. . . .	ज	[illegible]	[illegible]	ج	ج	. . .	. . .
16 „ aspirata	. . .	*gh*	. . . .	झ	. . . .	. . .	غ	غ	. . .	. . .
17 „ Nasalis	ñ	. . .	. . . .	ञ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

CONSONANTS (*continued*).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . . .	य	𐬌 𐬍 𐬎 init.	و	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(ŷ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 „ lenis	. . .	(ŷ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 „ asper assibilatus . .	. . .	*s*	. . . .	श	𐬱	ش	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 „ lenis assibilatus . .	. . .	*z*	. . . .	. . .	𐬲	ژ	ژ	. . .	. . .	*z*
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . . .	त	𐬙	ت	ت	ت	ת	t
24 „ aspirata	th	. . .	. . . .	थ	𐬚	. . .	. . .	. . .	ת	th
25 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ث	ث	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . . .	द	𐬛	و	د	د	ד	. . .
27 „ aspirata	dh	. . .	. . . .	ध	𐬜	. . .	. . .	. . .	ד	. . .
28 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ذ	ذ	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . . .	न	𐬥	ا	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . . .	ल	. . . .	ل, ط, ا	ل	ل	ל	l
31 „ mollis 1	. . .	*l*	. . . .	ळ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 „ mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . . .	स	𐬰	س	س (ث)	س	ס	s
34 „ asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (*ʃ*)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ס	. . .
35 „ lenis	z	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬴	ک	ز (ذ)	ز	ז	z
36 „ asperrimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ص	ص	צ	ʒ, ʒh
37 „ asperrimus 2	. . .	. . .	ẓ (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ض	. . .	. . .	. . .

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)											
38 Tenuis	...	*t*	....	ट	....	...	ط	ط	ט	...
39 „ aspirata	...	*th*	....	ठ	....	...	ظ	ظ	...	...
40 Media	...	*d*	....	ड	ڈ	ڈ	...	...	...	...
41 „ aspirata	...	*dh*	....	ढ	....	...	...	ض	...	...
42 Nasalis	...	*n*	....	ण	ڼ	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	r	...	....	र	ڑ	ڑ.ڑ.ا	ر	ر	ר	...
44 „ fricata	...	*r*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	*r*
45 „ diacritica	...	...	R	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	sh	...	....	ष	ش	ش	...	...	...	sh
47 „ lenis	zh	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
Labiales.										
48 Tenuis	p	...	....	प	ڀ	ڀ	پ	...	פ	p
49 „ aspirata	ph	...	....	फ	....	...	...	...	פ	ph
50 Media	b	...	....	ब	ب	ب	ب	ب	ב	...
51 „ aspirata	bh	...	....	भ	....	...	...	...	ב	...
52 Tenuissima	...	*p*	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	m	...	....	म	م	م	م	م	מ	m
54 Semivocalis	w	...	....	...	ۏ	...	...	...	...	w
55 „ aspirata	hw	...	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	f	...	....	...	ڢ	ڢ	ف	ف	...	f
57 „ lenis	v	...	....	व	»	۷.ھ	و	و	ו	...
58 Anusvâra	...	*m*	....	अं	ں ã	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	...	*h*	....	अः	....	...	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
1 Neutralis	0	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ְ	ă
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ĕ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
3 „ labialis	ŏ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	ا fin.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	. . .	. . . .	अ	𐬀	𐬀 init.	َ	َ	ַ	a
5 „ longa	â	(*a*)	. . . .	आ	𐬁	𐬁	ا	ا	ָ	â
6 Palatalis brevis	i	. . .	. . . .	इ	𐬄	. . .	ِ	ِ	ִ	i
7 „ longa	î	(*i*)	. . . .	ई	𐬅	𐬅	ِي	ِي	ִי	î
8 Dentalis brevis	*lĭ*	. . .	. . . .	ऌ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
9 „ longa	*lī*	. . .	. . . .	ॡ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
10 Lingualis brevis	*ri*	. . .	. . . .	ऋ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
11 „ longa	*rî*	. . .	. . . .	ॠ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
12 Labialis brevis	u	. . .	. . . .	उ	𐬆	. . .	ُ	ُ	ֻ	u
13 „ longa	û	(*u*)	. . . .	ऊ	𐬇	ا	ُو	ُو	ו	û
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬈(e) 𐬉(*e*)	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֶ	e
15 „ longa	ê (ai)	(*e*)	. . . .	ए	𐬊, 𐬋	ی	. . .	. . .	ֵ	ê
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi	(*ai*)	. . . .	ऐ	. . . .	. . .	َیْ	َیْ	. . .	âi
17 „ „	ei (ĕi)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ei, êi
18 „ „	oi (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬌	. . .	. . .	. . .	ֹ	o
20 „ longa	ô (au)	(*o*)	. . . .	ओ	𐬌	ا	. . .	. . .	וֹ	. . .
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(*au*)	. . . .	औ	𐬍 (*au*)	. . .	َوْ	َوْ	. . .	âu
22 „ „	eu (ĕu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
23 „ „	ou (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
25 Palatalis fracta	ï	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
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27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

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Wellington. A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties, and other Papers relating to India of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington. K.G. Edited by S. J. Owen, M.A. 1880. 8vo. 24*s.*

A History of British India. By S. J. Owen, M.A., Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford. In preparation.

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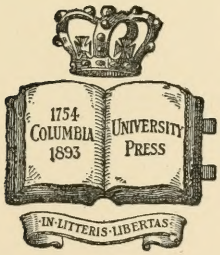

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To

DR. E. W. WEST

AS A MARK OF REGARD

PREFACE

THIS work deals with the life and legend of Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, the representative and type of the laws of the Medes and Persians, the Master whose teaching the Parsis to-day still faithfully follow. It is a biographical study based on tradition; tradition is a phase of history, and it is the purpose of the volume to present the picture of Zoroaster as far as possible in its historic light.

The suggestion which first inspired me to deal with this special theme came from my friend and teacher, Professor Geldner of Berlin, at the time when I was a student under him, ten years ago, at the University of Halle in Germany, and when he was lecturing for the term upon the life and teachings of Zoroaster. It was from him that I received my earliest vivid impression of the historic reality of the Ancient Sage. The special material for the work, however, has grown out of my own lectures, delivered several times in the regular university curriculum of Columbia. Students who may have attended the course will perhaps recognize some of the ideas as discussed with them in the class. As I have had the preparation of this volume in view for some time, I have naturally been constantly adding to my material or collecting new facts to throw light on the subject. It is the aim of the book to bring together all that is generally known at the present time, either from history or from tradition, about this religious teacher of the East.

Our knowledge of Zoroaster has been greatly augmented from the traditional side, during the past few years, especially through the translations made by Dr. West from the Pahlavi texts. This mass of Zoroastrian patristic literature tends

largely to substantiate much that was formerly regarded as somewhat legendary or uncertain. This has resulted in placing actual tradition on a much firmer basis and in making Zoroaster seem a more real and living personage. It is the object of the book to bring out into bolder relief historically the figure of this religious leader. In emphasizing more especially the reality of the great Master's life instead of elaborating the more mythical views of Zarathushtra which prevailed not so long ago, I may, in the judgment of some, have gone too far on the side of realism. But if I have done so, it seems to me that this is a fault at least in the right direction if we may forecast the future from the present. I can but feel that the old writers, like Anquetil du Perron, were nearer the truth in certain of their views of Zoroaster, than has sometimes been supposed. In taking a position so much in accord with tradition with regard to Zarathushtra I might adopt the plea which the old Armenian annalist, Moses of Khorene, employs in another connection: 'there may be much that is untrue in these stories, there may be much that is true; but to me, at least, they seem to contain truth.' I may only add that in general where there is so much smoke there must also be fire, and in the book I hope that others may discern some sparks of the true flame amid the cloud.

As to the arrangement of material and the form of the work, I have sought to make the first half of the volume more general; the second half I have allowed to be more technical. The story of the life and ministry of the Prophet is told in twelve chapters; the more critical discussion of mooted points is reserved for the Appendixes. The general reader may also omit all notes at the bottom of the pages.

In respect to the spelling of proper names the plan has generally been, in the case of Zoroaster, to employ Zarathushtra, Zaratūsht, or Zardusht, respectively, if it seemed necessary at any point to indicate the special sources from which I was drawing or to distinguish between Avestan, Pahlavi, and Modern

Persian. I have otherwise called the Prophet by his more familiar name of Zoroaster. The same holds true of his patron Vishtāspa, Vishtāsp, Gushtāsp, and of other ancient names. I have furthermore aimed at giving authority for all statements that I have made, as the abundant references to the original sources and the citations will show.

With regard to indebtedness, I have always tried to give credit to my predecessors and fellow-workers in the field; a glance at the footnotes, I think, will prove this. Each of those to whom I am under obligation will best recognize my indebtedness, and will best be aware of my appreciation. I should like to have referred also to Professor Tiele's latest book, which deals with the religion of Iran, because some twenty of its interesting pages are devoted to Zarathushtra; it arrived after my work was all printed, so I have been able only to add the title in my bibliographical list on p. xv, and to draw attention to the points which are of importance in connection with the present subject. Furthermore, in various parts of my volume I have made acknowledgment to several friends for kind aid which they have readily given on special points, and which I shall gratefully remember.

I now wish to express to the Trustees of the Columbia University Press my appreciation of their encouragement given to me to carry out the work; and I desire especially to thank President Seth Low for the personal interest he has taken in the book from the beginning, and to acknowledge the kind helpfulness of Dean Nicholas Murray Butler in all matters of detail. The Macmillan Company, likewise, have been constantly ready to meet my wishes in every regard; and I owe my thanks also to the printing firm of Messrs. Cushing and Company, to their compositors and their proof-readers, for their careful and prompt despatch of the work.

But beside these acknowledgments there remain two friends to mention, who come in for a large share of remembrance.

These are my two pupils, Mr. Louis H. Gray, Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, and Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., a member of the class of 1899 in the College, who has been studying Sanskrit and Avestan for the last two years. Since the first proof-sheets arrived, these two generous helpers have been unflagging in their zeal and willingness to contribute, in any way that they could, to giving accuracy to the book. Mr. Gray's indefatigable labor and scholarly acumen are especially to be seen in Appendix V., the completeness of which is due to his untiring readiness to pursue the search farther for texts that might hitherto have escaped notice; and to Mr. Schuyler's hand is owed many a happy suggestion that otherwise would have been lacking in the book, and more than one correction that without his aid might have been overlooked. To both of these scholars I wish to express my thanks; and I feel that they also will recall with pleasure the happy hours spent together in work as chapter after chapter came from the printer's hand. *Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.*

And now I send the book forth, hoping that in some measure it may contribute to a more general knowledge of this Sage of the Past, the Persian Prophet of old, the forerunner of those Wise Men of the East who came and bowed before the majesty of the new-born Light of the World.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
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LIST OF WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE SUBJECT OR MOST OFTEN CONSULTED

[The other books which have been referred to are given with their titles as occasion arises to quote from them or to refer to them. The present list is therefore very abridged.]

Anquetil du Perron. Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre. Tome I. 1, 2 et Tome II. Paris, 1771.

'Vie de Zoroastre' (i. Part 2, pp. 1–70); very important. German translation by Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Thl. 3, pp. 1–48; excerpts in English by K. E. Kanga. Bombay, 1876.

Avesta. The Sacred Books of the Parsis. Edited by Karl F. Geldner. Stuttgart, 1885–1896.

All Avestan references are made to this edition except in the case of Yashts 22–24, for which Westergaard's edition was used. The Fragments are found in Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. 1–166.

Ayuso, F. G. Los Pueblos Iranios y Zoroastro. Madrid, 1874.

This volume of studies shows sympathy for tradition. Z. born in the west (p. 7); his date is placed in the Vedic Period, B.C. 2000–1800 (p. 14, cf. pp. 147–149), but confused by tradition with another Z. who lived about B.C. 600 (p. 15).

Brisson, Barnabé. Barnabae Brissonii, De Regio Persarum Principatu Libri Tres. Argentorati, 1710 (orig. ed. 1590).

Consult especially the full indexes at the end of the edition.

Dabistān. The Dabistān, or School of Manners. Translated from the Original Persian. By Shea and Troyer. 3 vols. Paris, 1843.

Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. Geiger's Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times. Translated from the German. (Ostiranische Kultur.) 2 vols. London, 1885–1886.

Contains also a translation of Spiegel's Essay on Gushtāsp and Zoroaster (from Eranische Alterthumskunde).

—— Zarathushtra in the Gāthās and in the Greek and Roman classics. Translated from the German of Drs. Geiger and Windischmann, with Notes and an Appendix. Leipzig, 1897.

See also Windischmann and Geiger.

Darmesteter, James. The Zend Avesta. Translated. Sacred Books of the East, vols. iv., xxiii. Oxford, 1880, 1883, and vol. iv. in second ed., 1895.

Darmesteter, J. Le Zend Avesta, Traduction nouvelle avec Commentaire historique et philologique. 3 vols. Paris, 1892–1893. (Annales du Musée Guimet, xxi., xxii., xxiv.)

This valuable work has been constantly consulted on points relating to the Avesta.

Dasatīr. The Desatir, or Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets in the Original Tongue; together with the Ancient Persian Version and Commentary of the Fifth Sasan. Published by Mulla Firuz Bin Kaus. An English translation. 2 vols. Bombay, 1818.

Dosabhai Framji Karaka. History of the Parsis. 2 vols. London, 1884.

Especially vol. 2, chap. 2, pp. 146–164.

Duncker, M. History of Antiquity. English translation by E. Abbott. Vol. 5. London, 1881.

Firdausī. See Shāh Nāmah.

Geiger, Wilhelm. Das Yātkār-i Zarīrān und sein Verhältnis zum Šāh-nāme. Sitzb. der philos. philol. und histor. Cl. d. k. bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., 1890. Bd. ii. Heft 1, pp. 43–84. München, 1890.

—— Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum. Erlangen, 1882.

English transl. by Darab D. P. Sanjana. See above.

Geiger. Zarathushtra in den Gāthās. A Discourse. Translated by Darab D. P. Sanjana.

See above.

Geldner, K. F. Article 'Zoroaster.' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xxiv., 820–823 (9th ed.), 1888. Also forthcoming article, 'Persian Religion,' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ed. Cheyne and Black (read in manuscript).

Gottheil, R. J. H. References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature. In Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler, New York, 1894. pp. 24–51 (Columbia University Press).

Very useful and constantly referred to.

Grundriss der iranischen Philologie. Hrsg. von W. Geiger und E. Kuhn. Strassburg, 1896—.

Harlez, C. de. Avesta, Livre Sacré du Zoroastrisme. Traduit du Texte Zend. 2me éd. Paris, 1881.

Valuable Introduction; Chap. II., pp. xviii.–xxxii., 'Zoroastre.'

Haug, M. Essays on the Parsis. Third ed. Edited and enlarged by E. W. West. London, 1884.

Especially Essay IV.

Hölty, A. Zoroaster und sein Zeitalter. Lüneburg, 1836.

Horn, P. Die Reiche der Meder und Perser. (Geschichte und Kultur. Die Religion Zoroaster's.) Hellwalds Kulturgeschichte. 4 Auflage, Bd. i. 301–332. 1897.

Hovelacque, A. L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme. Paris, 1880.

Sketch of Zoroaster, pp. 134–149.

Hyde, T. Historia Religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum. Oxon. 1700.

A fund of information. Citations after this first edition.

Justi, Ferd. Die älteste iranische Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathustra. In *Preussische Jahrbücher*. Bd. 88, pp. 55–86, 231–262. Berlin, 1897.

—— Handbuch der Zendsprache. Leipzig, 1864.

—— Iranisches Namenbuch. Marburg, 1895.

Consulted on all proper names.

Kanga, Kavasji Edalji. Extracts from Anquetil du Perron's Life and Religion of Zoroaster. Translated from the French. Bombay, 1876. (Commercial Press.)

Kleuker, J. F. Zend-Avesta, Zoroasters Lebendiges Wort. 1 Bd., 3 Thle., und 2 Bde., 5 Thle. Riga, 1776–1783.

Translated from the French of Anquetil du Perron. The 'Anhänge' contain valuable material from the classics and other sources. Often consulted.

Ménant, Joachim. Zoroastre. Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse. 2me éd. Paris, 1857.

General in character.

Meyer, Ed. Geschichte des Alterthums. Erster Band. Stuttgart, 1884.

Mills, L. H. A Study of the Five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gāthās, with texts and translations. Oxford and Leipzig, 1892–1894.

Always consulted on points relating to the Pahlavi version of the Gāthās. See also *SBE*. xxxi.

Mirkhond. History of the Early Kings of Persia. Translated from the original Persian, by Shea. London, 1832.

Especially pp. 263–337.

Mohl. See Shāh Nāmah.

Müller, F. Max. Ed. Sacred Books of the East. Oxford.

Especially the translations by E. W. West, Darmesteter, Mills.

Nöldeke, Th. Persische Studien, II. Sitzb. d. k. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien, phil. hist. Cl. Bd. cxxvi. 1–46. Wien, 1892.

Oldenberg, Hermann. Zarathushtra. Deutsche Rundschau, xiv. Heft 12, pp. 402–437, September, 1898.

A sketch interestingly written. It arrived too late to be referred to in the body of the book. On p. 409 of his article, Professor Oldenberg gives expression to his view of Z.'s date, which he says, however, is 'merely a subjective estimate,' placing Zoroaster about B.C. 900–800, without discussing the question.

Pastoret, M. de. Zoroastre, Confucius, et Mahomet. Seconde éd. Paris, 1788.

Like Brisson, Hyde, and other old writers, this briefly notes some of the material accessible at the time. Seldom consulted.

Ragozin, Zénaïde A. The Story of Media, Babylon, and Persia. (Story of the Nations Series.) New York, 1888.

Rapp. Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen. *ZDMG.* xix. 1–89; xx. 49–204.

Translated into English by K. R. Cama. Bombay, 1876–1879.

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—— Le Livre des Rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdousi, traduit et commenté par Jules Mohl. 7 vols. Paris, 1876–1878.

Quotations are based on this translation.

—— The Shāh Nāmeh of the Persian Poet Firdausī. Transl. and abridged in prose and verse. By James Atkinson. London and New York, 1886. (Chandos Classics.)

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Spiegel, Fr. Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen. Uebersetzt. 3 Bde. Leipzig, 1852–1863.

—— Ueber das Leben Zarathustra's, in *Sitzb. der kgl. bayer. Akad. der Wiss. zu München*, 5, January, 1867, pp. 1–92. München, 1867.

Most of this monograph is incorporated into Spiegel's following book.

—— Eranische Alterthumskunde. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1871–1878.

The chapter entitled 'Die letzten Kaiānier und Zarathushtra' (Bd. i. 659–724), is important here, and is accessible in English by Darab D. P. Sanjana. See above.

Tiele, C. P. De Godsdienst van Zarathustra, van haar ontstaan in Baktrië tot den val van het Oud-Perzische Rijk. Haarlem, 1864.

—— Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst. Amsterdam, 1876.

—— Iets over de Oudheid van het Avesta. Mededeelingen der K. Ak. van Wetenschappen, xi., 3de R., pp. 364–383. Amsterdam, 1895.

Does not accept Darmesteter's view as to late origin of the Avesta; finds traces of Zoroastrianism in the first half of the seventh century B.C.

—— Geschichte der Religion im Altertum bis auf Alexander den Grossen. Deutsche autorisierte Ausgabe von G. Gehrich. 11 Band. Die Religion bei den iranischen Völkern. Erste Hälfte, pp. 1–187. Gotha, 1898.

This excellent volume dealing with the religion of Iran arrived too late to quote from or to mention except here in the Preface, because the rest of my book was already in the press. I should otherwise certainly have referred to such pages in the work as bear upon Zoroaster, for example the following: pp. 37–38, Gaotema is not identified with Buddha, but rather with the Vedic sage (cf. pp. 177–178 of the present volume); p. 49, age of the Avesta, the oldest passages of the Younger Avesta, according to Professor Tiele, are to be placed not much later than B.C. 800, although they were not necessarily at that time in their present form of redaction; p. 54, allusions to Phraortes and Kyaxares; p. 54, Atropatane; p. 58, Bactrian kingdom; p. 92, Zoroaster in the Gāthās; p. 98, allusions to Z.'s name and its meaning; pp. 99–107, question as to his historical, legendary, or mythical existence; p. 121, the cradle of the Zoroastrian reform is to be sought in the north and northwest of Iran, whence it spread probably first toward the east and southeast of Bactria, even as far as India; thence to the south into Media Proper and Persia.

Vullers, J. A. Fragmente über die Religion des Zoroaster, aus dem Persischen übersetzt. Bonn, 1831.

Notes useful.

West, E. W. Pahlavi Texts translated. Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Sacred Books of the East, ed. F. Max Müller, vols. v., xviii., xxiv., xxxvii., xlvii.

Constantly used. Pahlavi quotations in translation are from these volumes.

Wilson, John. The Pārsī Religion: as contained in the Zand-Avastā. Bombay, 1843.

The Appendix contains a translation of the Zartusht-Nāmah by E. B. Eastwick. Often quoted.

Windischmann, Fr. Zoroastrische Studien. Abhandlungen, hrsg. von Fr. Spiegel. Berlin, 1863.

Valuable material; excerpts accessible now also in English translation by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. Often consulted.

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ABBREVIATIONS

[Chiefly titles of Zoroastrian texts]

AJSL. = American Journal of Semitic Languages (formerly Hebraica).
Av. = Avesta, ed. Geldner.
BB. = Bezzenberger's Beiträge.
Bd. = Būndahishn (*SBE.* v. 1–151).
Byt. = Bahman Yasht (*SBE.* v. 189–235).
Dab. = Dabistan (tr. Shea and Troyer).
Dāṯ. = Dāṯistān-ī Dīnīk (*SBE.* xviii. 1–276).
Dk. = Dīnkarṯ (*SBE.* xxxvii. 1–397, 406–418; xlvii. 1–130).
JAOS. = Journal American Oriental Society.
JRAS. = Journal Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ. = Kuhn's Zeitschrift.
Mkh. = Maīnōg-ī Khiraṯ (*SBE.* xxiv. 1–113).
Ms., Mss. = Manuscript, manuscripts.
OIK. = Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur.
PAOS. = Proceedings American Oriental Society.
Pers. = Persian.
Phl. = Pahlavi.
SBE. = Sacred Books of the East. Ed. F. Max Müller.
Sd. = Sad-dar (*SBE.* xxiv. 253–361).
Shg. = Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār (*SBE.* xxiv. 115–251).
ShN. = Shāh Nāmah.
Sls. = Shāyast lā-shāyast (*SBE.* v. 237–406).
Skt. = Sanskrit.
Vd. = Vendīdād.
Vij. = Vijirkarṯ-ī Dīnīk.
Vsp. = Vīsperad.
Ys. = Yasna.
Yt. = Yasht.
YZ. = Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān (übersetzt von Geiger).
Z. = Zoroaster.
Zsp. = Selections of Zāṯ-sparam (*SBE.* v. 153–187 and xlvii. 131–170).
ZtN. = Zartusht Nāmah (in Wilson's Parsi Religion).

ant. = ancient.
cf. = confer, compare.
ed. = edited by, editor.
e.g. = exempli gratia, for example.
i.e. = id est, that is.
l. ll. = line, lines.
n. = note.
op. cit. = opus citatum, work quoted from.
orig. = original.
p. pp. = page, pages.
prob. = probably.
qu. = query, question.
seq. = sequens, and the following.
tom. = tomus, volume.
tr. transl. = translated, translation.
vol. = volume.

ZOROASTER

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, διὰ τί τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Ζάμολξιν οὐδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἴσασιν οἱ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέ τινες πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν.

— Iohannes Chrysostomos.

Zoroaster's Position among Early Religious Teachers — Zoroaster and Buddha — Plan and Scope of the Present Work — Zoroaster as a Historical Personage — Sources of Information — Zoroaster in the Classics — Conclusion

Zoroaster's Position among Early Religious Teachers. — Among the early religious teachers of the East, if we leave out the great founders of Judaism and of Christianity, the name of Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, the Persian sage and prophet of ancient Iran, is entitled to hold one of the most distinguished places. To Zoroaster is due the same rank, the same respect, the same reverential regard that is due to such seekers after light as Buddha, Confucius, Socrates. Even some of the great thoughts of Christianity may be found to have been voiced likewise by Zoroaster — a fact which cannot but be of interest — although it belongs elsewhere to discuss the possibility or impossibility of any closer or more distant bonds of connection between Judaism and Christianity and the faith of ancient Iran. Between India and Iran, however, a natural connection and kinship is acknowledged; and owing to the importance of Buddhism as a contrasted faith, a brief parallel between the teachings

of Zoroaster and the doctrines of Buddha may be drawn by way of introduction.

Both these prophets were filled with a spiritual zeal for relieving a people and ameliorating their condition; both of them were inspired with a righteous hope of bettering their peoples' lives and of redeeming them from misery and sin; and both men became founders of religious faiths. The end and aim in both cases was in general alike; but the nature of the two minds and of the creeds that were developed shows some marked and characteristic, if not radical, differences. The faith of Buddha is the more philosophical; the faith of Zoroaster, the more theological. Buddha's doctrine is a creed rather of renunciation, quietism, and repose; Zoroaster's creed is a law of struggle, action, and reform. India's so-called Prophet Prince is overwhelmed with the wretchedness of human existence, an existence from which the sole release is absorption into Nirvāna; Persia's Sage is equally cognizant of the existence of woe, but it is no world-woe without hope of triumphant domination. The misery which Zoroaster acknowledges to exist is due to an Evil Principle against whom man must struggle all his life and fight the good fight which will bring final victory and will win joys eternal at the resurrection. Nevertheless, as a faith in reality, Buddha's belief had in it more of the elements of a universal religion; Zoroaster's faith, as Geldner has said, possessed rather the elements of a national religion. Millions of human souls still take refuge in Buddha; the faithful followers that bear the name of Zoroaster to-day do not number a hundred thousand. In making such a comparison, however, with regard to the relative proportion between the two faiths in the matter of present adherents we must not forget that national events and external changes in the world's history have contributed as much to this apparent disproportion as any inherent and essential difference between the nature of the two creeds has done.

So much may be said by way of bringing Zoroaster into con-

trast with the founder of the Indian religion that came after his own; and as recent discoveries have thrown so much light upon Buddha's life, and archaeological finds have contributed so much to substantiating traditions that long have been familiar but were not always estimated at their true value, it seems worth while to take up the subject of Zoroaster's life anew and to ascertain all that we are in a position just now to find out regarding it. The purpose therefore of the following pages is to gather as much material as is accessible at present for illustrating the life and legend of the Prophet of Ancient Iran, and this will be done with special reference to tradition.

Zoroaster as a Historical Personage. — Before proceeding to details with regard to the prophetic teacher of Iran, one point must be emphasized at the outset, and an opinion must definitely be expressed; this is with reference to the question raised as to whether Zoroaster be a historical personage, a real figure whose individuality is indelibly stamped upon the religion of Persia of old. An affirmative answer must be given, for Zoroaster *is* a historical character. This point is emphasized because it is not so long ago that advanced scholarship for a time cast a cloud of doubt over the subject;[1] but happily the veil of myth is now dispelled. Scholars are generally agreed that although legend or fable may have gathered about the name of the prophet of ancient Iran, the figure of the great reformer, nevertheless, stands out clearly enough to be recognized in its general outlines; and sufficient data for his life can be col-

[1] Among other references noted by Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 708 n., mention may be made of Kern, *Over het Woord Zarathustra en den mythischen Persoon van dien Naam* (1867); observe also Spiegel's remark in *Die arische Periode*, § 43, p. 299 (Leipzig, 1887); and especially the late lamented Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Part i. Introd. pp. 76–79 (*SBE.* iv. Oxford, 1880). For the historical side of the question see Geldner, 'Zoroaster' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed. xxiv. 820, and consult Spiegel, *EA.* i. 707–708, and recently, with emphasis, in *ZDMG.* lii. 193. Darmesteter later expressed himself more cautiously, see *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 75 seq. (Paris, 1893), and *Zend-Avesta*, Introd. p. 63, § 10, 2d ed. (*SBE.* iv. Oxford, 1895).

lected to enable one to give a clear and correct idea of his personality and individuality.[1] There are parts, it is true, in every great man's life regarding which nothing is known (one has only to think of the Shakspere-Bacon controversy); and in the case of all early teachers' lives there are many lacunæ to be filled. The broken fragments of the statue are sometimes separated so far that we cannot find many of the missing chips, and we must be content to piece the parts imperfectly together. Caution must necessarily be used in such restorations. The existence of legend, fable, and even of myth, may be admitted in dealing with Zoroaster's life; some apocryphal literature is acknowledged to have grown up about the hallowed Messiah of Christianity;[2] but the shadowy substance gathered about the figure of Zoroaster must not be allowed to shroud and obscure his true personality. Cautious we must be, conservative we must be, yet not so far as to exclude a willingness to recognize characteristic traits and features, or to define more sharply objects and forms whose outlines are now and then somewhat dimly presented. In the present research an attempt will be made frankly to give warning where points are doubtful; and difficult as it is at this remote day, an endeavor will be made fairly and impartially to distinguish between fiction on the one hand and underlying facts on the other, so far as they may be looked upon as reasonably certain, presumable, or plausible. The achievement undoubtedly falls far short of the aim in the present monograph; and some will feel that too much weight is given to traditional statements; but in the absence of other authority we have at least these to turn to; and the purpose is to lay these down for reference and for judgment. After this prefatory note has been given, attention may now be directed to the sources of our knowledge in antiquity respecting the life and legend of Zoroaster as a historical personage.

[1] See especially Dr. E. W. West in *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. 29–30 (Oxford, 1897).

[2] See *Apocryphal New Testament*, London, 1820.

Sources of Information about Zoroaster's Life. — The data for reconstructing an outline of the life of the great reformer may be conveniently classified, first (1) as Iranian, second (2) as non-Iranian. Naturally the various sources are not all of equal importance; yet each has a certain intrinsic value.

Among (1) the Iranian sources of information the Avesta, of course, stands foremost in importance as the material with which to begin; and in the Avestan Gāthās, or Psalms, Zoroaster is personally presented as preaching reform or teaching a new faith. The entire Pahlavi literature serves directly to supplement the Avesta, somewhat as the patristic literature of the Church Fathers serves to supplement the New Testament. Especially valuable is the material in the Pahlavi Dīnkart and the Selections of Zāt-sparam, material which has been made accessible by Dr. E. W. West in his 'Marvels of Zoroastrianism' (*SBE.* xlvii. Pahlavi Texts, Part V.; Oxford, 1897). Without West's work many of the following pages could not have been written. Of similar character, as based chiefly upon these two sources, is the later Persian Zartusht Nāmah, which was composed in the thirteenth century of our era.[1] Firdausī's Shāh Nāmah, of the tenth century A.D., contains abundant old material bearing upon the reign of Zoroaster's patron, King Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa).[2] Some other Parsi works and traditional literature may be included in the list, but these will be mentioned as occasion arises in the course of the investigation.[3] Zoroaster is not mentioned in the Ancient Persian Inscriptions, but the silence may be accounted for.

[1] See Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, pp. 477–522, Bombay, 1843. Consult West in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 122; *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. 20–24.

[2] Firdausī expressly states that the portion of his chronicle which relates to Zoroaster (Zardusht) is derived from his own poetic predecessor, Daḳīḳī, who was cruelly murdered when he had sung but a thousand verses. These Firdausī says he has incorporated into the Shāh Nāmah. Scholars are generally inclined to accept the truth of the statement. See Nöldeke in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 147–150.

[3] West, *The Modern Persian Zoroastrian Literature*, Grundriss der iran. Philol. ii. 122–129, and Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen* (Wien, 1860).

(2) The non-Iranian sources are either (*a*) Classical or (*b*) Oriental. The latter include especially the allusions to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic literature,[1] as well as some Armenian references and other incidental mentions.[2] In point of antiquity the classical references, as a rule, rank next to the Avesta; and these allusions, even though they are foreign, are often of real importance, as they serve to check or to substantiate results which are based upon various authorities.[3] The Appendixes to the present volume will render most of this material easily accessible.

Zoroaster in the Classics.[4] — All classical antiquity is agreed on the point that Zoroaster was a historical personage, even though his figure was somewhat indistinct in the eyes of these ancient authors. To the writers of Greece and Rome he was the arch-representative of the Magi;[5] and he sometimes seems to be more famous for the magic arts which are ascribed to his power than for either the depth and breadth of his philosophy and legislation, or for his religious and moral teaching. None the less, he was regarded as a great sage and as a prophet whose name was synonymous with Persian wisdom, or as the founder of the Magian priesthood who are sometimes said to be his pupils and followers.[6]

[1] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler, pp. 24–51, New York, 1894 (Columbia Univ. Press).

[2] Chinese, for example; but these have not yet been made generally accessible. Consult Appendix VI.

[3] For instance, an allusion to Zoroaster which is found in the Preface to the Younger Edda is probably traceable to some classical or Semitic original. See Jackson in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, xvi. p. cxxvi. March, 1894. Appendix VI.

[4] For a collection of the material on this subject, see Appendix V. at the end of this volume.

[5] Consult also the Pahlavi Dīnkart, 9. 69, 58; 4. 21. 34 (*SBE.* xxxvii. pp. 397, 412, 417), and see Av. *moγu*, *moγuṯbiš*, Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 235.

[6] Platonic *Alcibiades* I, p. 122, A, *μαγείαν . . . τὴν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὡρομάζου· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Θεῶν θεραπεία.* Cf. also Apuleius, *de Magia*, xxiv. (Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. p. 21 n.). So Hermodorus as cited by Diogenes Laertius, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* 9, ed. Müller; Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 46; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 304; Pliny,

The Magi, as we know from Herodotus, were a tribe, not merely a priestly family, and the right of the classics to call Zoroaster a Magian is borne out in other ways. The Pahlavi Dīnkart̲ regards the 'Avesta and Zand' as the sacred writings of the Magian priests.[1] The learned Arab chronologist Albīrūnī adds that 'the ancient Magians existed already before the time of Zoroaster, but now there is no pure unmixed portion of them who do not practice the religion of Zoroaster.'[2] Several Syriac and Arabic writers speak of him as 'a Magian,' 'head of the Magians,' 'chief of the sect,' 'Magian prophet,' 'diviner.'[3] This direct association of his name with the Magi is perhaps to be understood with some limitations; but the Magi were the reputed masters of learning in ancient times, and Zoroaster stood for this learning in antiquity.[4]

Of the Magian teachings and doctrines it is difficult to form a clear picture, except so far as we may believe them to be reflected in Zoroaster, after we have made due allowance for changes or reforms that he may have instituted. The classical tradition that Pythagoras studied under these masters in Babylon may not be altogether without foundation.[5] Plato we know was anxious to visit the Orient and to study with the Magi, but the Persian wars with Greece prevented him.[6]

Hist. Nat. **30.** 2. 1; Agathias, **2**, 24; Plutarch, *Numa*, 4; Suidas, *s.v.* Pythagoras; cf. Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. p. 21 seq.; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 44. See Appendix V. at the end of this volume.

[1] Dk. **4.** 21; **4.** 34, West, *Phl. Texts Trans.* in *SBE.* xxxvii. pp. 412, 417.

[2] Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, transl. by Sachau, p. 314, London, 1879.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, pp. 24–51, in Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler, New York, 1894 (Columbia Univ. Press).

[4] For example, Cicero, *de Divinatione*, **1.** 23 et al.; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 277 n.

[5] See Appendix V. below, and cf. Lucian, *Dialog.* cited by Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Anh. ii. 3, p. 104; Cicero, *de Finibus*, **5.** 29; Valerius Maximus, **8.** 7; Pliny, *H. N.* **30.** 2. 1; Apuleius, *Florid.* p. 19; Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagoræ*, 41; Lactantius, *Institutiones*, **4.** 2; Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagoræ*, 19; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 357. Consult Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 260–264.

[6] Diogenes Laertius, *Philosoph. Vit.* **3.** 7; Apuleius, *de Doctrin. Plat. Phil.* p. 569. The *Anonym. Vit. Plat.* p. 7, ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862, adds

The followers of the Sophist Prodicus, a contemporary of Socrates, are reported to have boasted their possession of secret writings of Zoroaster ;[1] and even a Magian teacher, one Gobryas, is claimed as instructor of Socrates.[2] Aristotle, Deinon, Eudoxus of Cnidus, and especially Theopompus, were familiar with Zoroastrian tenets.[3] A work bearing the name of Zoroaster by Heraclides Ponticus, a pupil of Plato and of Aristotle, is mentioned in Plutarch.[4] The distinguished philosopher Hermippus (about B.C. 200) made careful studies of Magism and of Zoroastrian writers, according to Pliny (*H. N.* **30.** 2. 1). Zoroaster and Magian were names to conjure with, and there are numerous allusions to ideas drawn from these sources in Plutarch, Strabo, Suidas, and others.

Titles of a number of purported books of Zoroaster are also given in the classics, such as *περὶ φύσεως*, *περὶ λίθων τιμίων*, *βίβλιοι ἀπόκρυφοι Ζωροάστρου*, *ἀστεροσκοπικὰ Ζωροάστρου*.[5] Furthermore, some 'sayings' of Zoroaster, like those mentioned by Gemistus Pletho, *Μαγικὰ λόγια τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου Μάγων*, are both reported to have existed, and passages are occasionally claimed to be taken from them. Like other such productions, however, these are all probably apocryphal, although the encyclopædic character of the titles somewhat recalls the analysis and summaries that we have of the Zoroastrian Nasks.[6] At all events, these references and allusions show how great a reputation was enjoyed by Zoroaster in classical antiquity, even if his name does not occur in Herodotus[7] nor

that in Phœnicia Plato met with Persians who introduced him to Zoroastrian lore. Cf. Appendix V. § 1.

[1] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 357.

[2] Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 77.

[3] Diogenes Laertius, *Proœm.* 8; Pliny, *H. N.* **30.** 2. 1; Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 47; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 233 n., 279 n., and App. V. below.

[4] Plutarch, *Adv. Colot.* p. 1115 A; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 284. Thanks also to friend Lanman.

[5] See allusions in Suidas and in Pliny. Appendix V. below.

[6] West, *Pahlavi Texts*, *Translated* in *SBE.* xxxvii. 1–488.

[7] Cf. de Harlez, *Des Origines du Zoroastrisme*, p. 276, Journal Asiatique, 1878–79; Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 76.

in Xenophon, nor with certainty in the extant fragments of Ctesias. The earliest authenticated classical allusion to Zoroaster by name seems to be the reference in the Platonic Alcibiades ;[1] although, according to Diogenes Laertius (*Proœm.* 2), he was mentioned by the earlier Xanthus of Lydia.[2]

Conclusion. — As Zoroaster is one of the great religious teachers of the East, his life as well as his work is worthy of study from its historical importance. Our information regarding his life is to be gathered from the Zoroastrian scriptures, the Avesta and the Pahlavi writings, and other material must be used to supplement or to correct these sources. Due weight must be given to tradition. It must also be remembered that fiction as well as fact has doubtless gathered about the name of this religious reformer. This latter fact is all the more a proof of his great personality.

[1] See *Alcibiades* I, 122, p. 131, ed. Schanz.

[2] See Appendix V. below, and consult also my article 'Zoroaster' in Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, New York, 1897.

CHAPTER II

FAMILY HISTORY OF ZOROASTER

THE LINEAGE OF THE MASTER

Sa jāto yena jātena yāti vaṃs'aḥ samunnatim.
— HITOPADES'A.

INTRODUCTION — ZOROASTER AN IRANIAN — THE NAME ZOROASTER (ZARATHUSHTRA), ITS FORM AND ITS MEANING — THE DATE OF ZOROASTER — HIS NATIVE PLACE — ZOROASTER'S ANCESTRY AND HIS FAMILY; GENEALOGIES — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — When a man rises to lasting fame, all that is associated with his name and his times becomes of interest and of importance. Lustre is shed upon his family, and distinction is lent to the line that produced such a son. If great men are the children of their age, the age of a great religious teacher can but deserve attention. His own origin, the influences that may have been formative in his life, his environment and surroundings, alike become worthy of consideration. The nature and condition of the country which called him forth requires some remark, and with regard to Zoroaster it is to be regretted that we do not know more than we do of Iran in early antiquity, and that only a limited space can be devoted here to this special theme, although it receives more or less treatment in different places throughout the book. This prophet's teaching found fruitful soil in the land of Ancient Iran, because the seed was already in the hearts of the people, if we may adapt the phrase of a renowned author.

Zoroaster of Iran. — Zoroaster, it is believed, sprang up in the seventh century before the Christian era, somewhere in

the land between the Indus and the Tigris. Before our mind rises first a picture of the world outside of Iran, the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon, with their long line of dynasties reaching far back into history which antedates Iran;[1] to the southeast lies India, bound by the ties of Indo-Iranian unity; lastly, and to offset all, Turan, the rival and foe, the synonym of everything crude, uncouth, and barbarous, borders upon the Iranian territory to the north. But to return to the land of Iran itself during this period. There exists, or is claimed to have existed in early times, an eastern Iranian kingdom in Bactria. An uncertainty with regard to this point will be noted hereafter. Media, however, has already been known to fame in history long before this period; and in the eighth century B.C. its power was able to throw off the yoke of Assyria, and at the close of the seventh century (B.C. 606) to crush Nineveh and establish the Median dynasty of Ecbatana, which may be called the first of the great Iranian kingdoms.[2] But the decadence of Media swiftly follows, and its glory is dimmed before the splendor of the rising Persian sun. So much for the period and land in which Zoroaster appeared.

During the very lifetime of Zoroaster — if we accept the traditional dates — the Jews were carried into captivity in Babylon, and their return from exile to Jerusalem takes place less than a generation after his death. If the Persian wars with Greece stand for anything in the world's history, when Orient and Occident met at Marathon, Platæa, Salamis, when the East received its first shock and set-back from the West, certainly we must feel an interest in the life of that man who is commonly spoken of as the lawgiver of the Persians. His

[1] In the Avesta, Babylon is the seat of the semi-mythical tyrant and demon Azhi Dahāka, who destroyed the Iranian ideal king Yima (Jem-shēd) and ruled for a thousand years. On the religion of Babylon and Assyria, compare Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion*, i. 1. pp. 127–213.

[2] Cf. also the article 'Iranians' (*AVWJ.*) in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia*, iv. 670.

name, his date, and his native place, his family, his ancestry, and his associations, are all matters of some moment. These will be given in this chapter before turning to the more picturesque story of his life. The question of his religious beliefs, teaching, and philosophy, can be dealt with only incidentally, as this is reserved for treatment in another work.

The Name Zoroaster (Zarathushtra), its Form and its Meaning. — The form of the Prophet's name in the Avesta consistently appears as *Zaraθuštra*, or with the fuller patronymic as *Spitāma Zaraθuštra*.[1] The shapes or disguises which this appellative has assumed in other languages show as much variety as does the spelling of the name of the English reformer Wyclif (Wycliff, Wyclyffe, etc.). The familiar form (*a*) *Zoroaster* is adopted from *Zoroastres* of the Latin, which in turn is modelled after the Greek form. (*b*) In Greek the name commonly appears as Ζωροάστρης,[2] but sporadic variations are found, for example Ζωρόαδος, Ζαράδης beside Ζωροάστρης in Agathias **2**. 24, or the anomalous Ὠρώαστος (Georgius Hamartolus), see Appendix V.; or again, the forms Ζάρατος,[3] Ζάρης,[4] which are also quotable from the Greek, seem to be based upon the later Persian form. A græcized Armenian form (Arm. *Zaravĕšt*) is cited from Cephalion;[5] and Diodorus Siculus (**1**. 94) has Ζαθραύστης,[6] which recalls the Avestan form, Zarathushtra,

[1] Consult Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 380, Marburg, 1895; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 44, 45; de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. xxi. Cf. also Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 2, Paris, 1771, and Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 307 seq. Oxford, 1700. See also Appendix I.

[2] Diogenes Laertius, *de Vit. Philos.* Procœm. 2. p. 1 (recens. Cobet), Paris, 1850. Observe that Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 46, once has Ζωρόαστρις, once the usual Ζωροάστρης (*Numa*, 4), and once the curious Σώσαστρος (*Quæst. Conviv.* **4**. 1. 1). On *Zoroastes* (sic) in Isidorus, see Appendix V. § 38; and on Ζαραστρέως (gen.) cf. Lassen *ZKM.* vi. 541, n. 2.

[3] Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagoræ*, p. 18, ed. Nauck (Ὁ Πυθαγόρας) πρὸς Ζάρατον ἀφίκετο.

[4] Suidas, s.v. *Pythagoras*; see Appendix V., § 45.

[5] From Cephalion through Eusebius (*Armen. Versio*, p. 41, ed. Maï), according to de Harlez, *Av. tr.* Introd. p. xx. See Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 380*a*, on Zaravastes in Müller, *Fragm.* iii. 626, 627.

[6] Diodorus Siculus, **1**. 94. 2, Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριανοῖς Ζαθραύστην. See Appendix V. § 3 below.

of the Prophet's name.[1] (*c*) An Armenian rendering of the appellative is given as *Zradasht*.[2] (*d*) The Syriac and Arabic writings show the name under a variety of guises, but they generally agree with the Pahlavi or Modern Persian form.[3] (*e*) The Pahlavi version of the name is usually given *Zaratūšt*.[4] (*f*) Some of the Modern Persian varieties are *Zartušt*, *Zardušt*, *Zārdušt*, *Zarduhašt*, *Zarātušt*, *Zarādušt*, *Zarātuhašt*, *Zarāduhašt*, *Zārāhušt*.[5] All these are variations of Avestan *Zaraθuštra*.

The question as to the significance of the name of Iran's prophetic teacher is not without interest. India's princely reformer was the 'Enlightened' (*Buddha*) or the 'Sakya Sage' (*Sākya-muni*); Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, was the Wonderful, the Counsellor, the Anointed (*Christus*). In ancient Iran Zoroaster, the Righteous, was called *Zaraθuštra*, or *Zaraθuštra Spitǎma*, *Spitǎma Zaraθuštra*, or sometimes simply *Spitǎma*. The title *Spitǎma* is a family designation, and the name comes from an ancestor of the Prophet, a heros eponymus of the clan.[6] The Spitaman name is elsewhere found early in Media. The derivation of this patronymic *Spitǎma*, used as an appellative, is apparently from the Av. root *spit-* 'be white' = Skt. *s'vit-*, and the significance is probably 'descendant of White,' like the English *Whit-ing*. The origin of *Zaraθuštra* itself is less

[1] The Greek form Ζοροάστρης, or Ζωροάστρης, is apparently to be explained as derived from Av. Zarathushtra through a Western Iranian presumable form **Zaraʰuštra*, cf. Bartholomae in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, i. §§ 93, 264 (8).

[2] See also Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 204, Strassburg, 1895.

[3] See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Writers*, p. 25 seq.

[4] West, *Pahlavi Texts Translated*, Part 5, in *SBE.* xlvii. 180, Index.

[5] Cf. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, ii. p. 103, Bonn, 1865; West, *The Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard*, p. 223; Stuttgart, 1871.

[6] See the genealogy given below, p. 19, and consult Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, sub voce; also *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895. Zoroaster's daughter is *Pourucistā Spitāmī*, Ys. **53.** 3; his cousin is *Maidyōimāŋha Spitāma*, Ys. **51.** 19; the members of the family are spoken of as the Spitamas (Ys. **46.** 15) *Spitamāŋhō*. In Pahlavi, the Prophet is called *Zaratūšt ī Spītāmān*, 'Zoroaster of the Spītāmas'; the Mod. Pers. has *Isfīmān*, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 309; Σπιταμᾶς, Σπιθάμης are quotable as ordinary Iranian proper names.

clear than Spitāma and the derivation has been much discussed. Scholars, however, are now generally agreed upon one point; it is that the second member of the compound (for the form must be a composite) is the word *uštra-* 'camel,'[1] but the precise nature of the compound and the true meaning of its first element are uncertain. The most probable significations that have been proposed are: 'one whose camels are old' (*zar* 'be old')[2] or 'old camel' (cf. Skt. *jarad-gava*, *jarat-kāru-*); or again 'one whose camel is fierce' (*zar* 'be angry') or possibly 'tormenting the camel'; or 'robbing a camel' (cf. Skt. *bharadvāja*). Numerous other suggestions and explanations have been offered; and some of them show a good deal of fancy; but doubtless the name is an unromantic, unpoetic name, a title which the man retained as his birthright even after he became famed as a spiritual and religious teacher. The very fact of his retaining this somewhat prosaic appellative testifies to a strong personality; Zoroaster remains a man and he is not dubbed anew with a poetic title when later sanctification has thrown a halo of glory about his head. For an outline of the various discussions of Zoroaster's name, the reader is referred to the special Appendix.[3]

The Date of Zoroaster. — With reference to the date at which Zoroaster lived and taught, there has been a wide diversity of opinion, but now a more general agreement between the views of scholars on the subject is beginning to prevail. The consensus of opinion has of late been growing stronger in favor of accepting the traditional view, based on the chronology of the

[1] The esteem in which the Bactrian camel is held is well known (cf. Yt. **14**. 11–13). Other Iranian proper names contain *uštra*, e.g. *Frašaoštra* 'whose camels are fresh,' *Aravaoštra* 'whose camel does not bellow' (cf. *ravō-fraoθman*), *Vohuštra* 'having good camels' (Yt. **13**. 122, cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 673). There are many similar compound appellatives with *-aspa* 'horse,' *gao-* 'cow,' *-uxšan* 'ox,' which are probably totemistic family survivals; see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 486 seq., Marburg, 1895.

[2] Cf. Hübschmann, *KZ.* xxvi. p. 203; Geldner, *Zoroaster*, Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed. xxiv. p. 820; Bartholomae, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* i. pp. 149–150; *A.F.* i. p. 160; *I.F.* vi. Anz. p. 47.

[3] See Appendix I. below.

Būndahishn, which places the era of Zoroaster's activity between the latter half of the seventh century B.C. and the middle of the sixth century. A detailed discussion of the question with a general presentation of the material on the subject has been given by the present writer in a monograph on *The Date of Zoroaster*, *JAOS.* xvii. 1–22, 1896 (reprinted in Appendix II.). The results are rendered even more precise by a slight chronological correction by Dr. E. W. West,[1] who gives the years B.C. 660–583 as probably the exact date of Zoroaster so far as tradition is concerned. There is space here only to summarize; for details reference must be made to Appendix II., III.

The statements of antiquity on the subject may conveniently be divided into three groups.

First (1) to be considered are those references that assign to Zoroaster the extravagant age of B.C. 6000. These are confined simply to the classics, but they have a certain claim to attention because they are based upon information possessed by Aristotle, Eudoxus, and Hermippus.[2] These extraordinary figures are due to the Greeks' not having quite rightly understood the statements of the Persians who place Zoroaster's millennium amid a great world-period of 12,000 years, which they divided into cycles, and in accordance with this belief Zoroaster's *fravaši* had actually existed in company with the archangels for several thousands of years. Second (2) come those statements which connect the name of Zoroaster with that of the more or less legendary Ninus and the uncertain Semiramis.[3] Third (3) the direct Zoroastrian tradition

[1] Personal letter, dated April 30, 1897, and in a published view with chronological table, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. 27–42. See Appendix III.

[2] The passages are given in full in Appendix II.; they are from Pliny, *H.N.* **30.** 2. 1; Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 46; Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades* I, 122; Diogenes Laertius, *de Vit. Philos.* Procem. 2; Lactantius, *Inst.* 7. 15, and cf. Suidas, s.v. *Zoroastres.*

[3] Cf. Diodorus Siculus, **2.** 6; Fragments of Cephalion in Euseb. *Chron.* **1.** 43 and **4.** 35; Theon, *Progymnasmata*, 9; Justin, from Trogus Pompeius' *Hist. Philippic.* **1.** 1; Arnobius,

which is found in the Pahlavi book Būndahishn **34.** 1–9 and supported by Arṯā Vīrāf **1.** 2–5 and Zāṯ-sparam **23.** 12, as well as corroborated by abundant Arabic allusions (Albīrūnī, Masūdī, and others) unanimously places the opening of Zoroaster's ministry at 258 years before the era of Alexander, or 272 years before the close of the world-conqueror's life (B.C. 323). As Zoroaster was thirty years old, according to the tradition, when he entered upon his ministry; and as he was seventy-seven years old at the time of his death; and, furthermore, since we may assume an omission of thirty-five years in the Būndahishn chronological list, according to West, we have good reason, on the authority of the tradition, for making B.C. 660–583 as the era of Zoroaster.

Tradition also says that Zoroaster was forty-two years old when he converted King Vishtāspa, who became the patron of the faith. There is no good ground, however, for identifying this ruler with Hystaspes, the father of Darius. Such identification has indeed been made by Ammianus Marcellinus (**22.** 6. 32), and it has met with support from some; but the doubt on this point which was raised as early as Agathias (**2.** 24) is unquestionably well founded.[1]

Zoroaster's Native Place. — The question of Zoroaster's native place is a subject that has been much debated. The problem is more complicated because of the uncertainty which exists as to whether his birthplace and early home was necessarily also the chief scene of the teacher's activity. The whole matter may be brought under the heading of two inquiries: first (1), whether the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in the west of Iran, in Atropatene and Media; second (2), whether

Adv. Gentes, **1.** 5; Orosius, *Hist. contra Paganos* (Ninus); Suidas, s.v. *Zoroastres*. See Appendix II., V. Some incidental allusions connect Zoroaster's name with Abraham, Nimrod, Bel, Balaam. These also are quoted in Appendix II., V. below.

[1] Fuller discussion in West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. p. 38, and Jackson, *On the Date of Zoroaster*, *JAOS.* xvii. 17; Appendix II. below.

ancient Media was the scene also of his ministry, or are we to accept the claim of Bactria and eastern Iran? Possibly he may have taught in both lands. The subject is of interest, moreover, in the light of the recent important developments with regard to Buddha's birthplace, and the archæological finds which have lately contributed so much towards establishing the exact location where the gentle teacher of India was ushered into the world. Accordingly, the problem of Zoroaster's native place and then the possible scene of his ministry is discussed with considerable fulness in Appendix IV; it suffices merely to summarize here.

If we omit the question of his ministry for the moment and speak simply of his native place, we may say without much hesitation, that the consensus of scholarly opinion at this time is generally agreed in believing that Zoroaster arose in the west of Iran. Oriental tradition seems to be fairly correct in assigning, as his native land, the district of Atropatene or Ādarbaijān, to the west of Media, or even more precisely the neighborhood about Lake Urumiah. There is ground, furthermore, for believing in the tradition which says that his father was a native of Ādarbaijān, — a region of naphtha wells and oil fountains, — and that Zoroaster's mother was from the Median Raghā (Raī) — consult the map at the end of this volume. Explicit references for these statements will be found in Appendix IV. For the other problem, the one relating to the possible scene or scenes of Zoroaster's ministry, reference must be made to the extended discussion in the same appendix below. Here we need only bear in mind that there is every reason to believe that Zoroaster, for a time at least, wandered about in his missionary labors, and there is certainly a strong tradition to the effect that during the two opening years of his prophetic career he was for a while in the east, in Seistān, and also in Turan — see Map. One is reminded of the peregrinations of the Buddha.

Zoroaster's Ancestry and His Family. — The subject of gene-

alogy has not much interest for most readers, and a treatment of it is apt to recall the 'begat' chapters of the Biblical patriarchs. Nevertheless Zoroaster's line is not without importance, and it deserves to receive attention, as much as would the descent of Mohammed or of Buddha. If Indian legend and tradition in the case of the great Ganges teacher ascribes exalted origin from the princely family of the Sākyas, Iranian story is no less successful, for its part, in tracing Zoroaster's descent from a sort of royal Davidic line that ends in the house of Mānūshcīhar, sovereign of Iran,[1] or ascending still farther back through the forty-fifth generation to Gāyōmarṯ, the Iranian Adam, the father of all mankind.[2] The Prophet's more immediate ancestors are often referred to. Pourushaspa, the father, is mentioned several times in the Avesta and is frequently referred to in the Pahlavi texts and in the later Zoroastrian literature. The name of Zoroaster's mother is preserved in an Avestan fragment as Dughdhōvā (Phl. Dūghdāvō, Dūkdav or Dūkṯāūbō, Mod. Pers. Dughdū).[3] The name of Zoroaster's great-grandfather Haēcaṯ-aspa is mentioned in the Avesta (Ys. **46.** 15; **53.** 3), as is also the latter's sire Cikhshnush or Chākhshni (cf. Yt. **13.** 114); and Spitāma, the heros eponymus of the family, is referred to in the Gāthā allusions to the Prophet's kinsman Spitamāonhō (Ys. **46.** 15), whence his own appellative Zarathushtra Spitama, Zoroaster the Spitamid. The locus classicus for tracing Zoroaster's lineage is Būndahishn **32.** 1–2; it is supplemented by the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ **7.** 2, 70, the Selections of Zāṯsparam, **13**, 6, and by the Vijirkarṯ-ī Dīnīg; compare also the Nīrang-ī Bōīdāṯano va Yāṯkarṯano (*Grundriss* ii. 115).[4] The

[1] On Mānūshcīhar, cf. Peshotan Dastur, *Dīnkarṯ translated*, vol. vii. p. 429; cf. Yasht **13.** 131.

[2] Dk. **7.** 2. 70, Zsp. **13.** 5–6; cf. West, *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 34, 140, and *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* ii. 95.

[3] Hāṯokht Nask Frag. cited in Sad Dar **40.** 4 et passim; cf. West, *SBE.* xxiv. 302; xxxvii. 444, 469, 483; xlvii. (eight times); Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. 151; Zartusht Nāmah, p. 480 (in Wilson, *Parsi Relig.*) and Shahrastānī (see Appendix IV.).

[4] Consult West, *Pahlavi Texts translated*, *SBE.* v. 140–141; *Grundriss*, ii. 94, 95, and *SBE.* xlvii. 34,

same ancestral tree, but with the names disguised or misread, is found in Masūdī.[1] The line as far back as Manush-cithra may be worth recording from the accessible sources.

Dk., Būndahishn, and cf. Zsp.	Vijirkarṭ-ī Dīnīg.	Masūdī.
Mānūshcīhar[2]	Mānūshcīhar,	Manūshihar, (منوشهر)
Dūrāsrōbō	Dūrāsrōb . .	Dūrashrīn . (دورشرين)
Aīrīc or Rajan	Rajishn . .	Iraj . . . (ارج)
Nayāzem or Ayăzem[3] . . .	Nayāzem . .	Hāīzem . . (هايزم)
Vaēdisht or Vīdasht . . .	Vaēdisht . .	Vāndast. . (واندست)
Spītām or Spītāmān . . .	Spītāmānŏ .	Isbīmān. . (اسبيمان)
Hardhăr (Kharedhar) . . .	Haridār . .	Hardār . . (هردار)
Arejadharshn or Hardarshn.	Hardrshn . .	Arḥadas . (ارحدس)
Paētrasp or Pāītīrasp . . .	Paētirasp . .	Bātīr. . . (باتير)
Cīkhshnŭsh or Cakhshnūsh[4]	Cikhshnush .	Ḥakhīsh . (حخيش)
Haēcaṭăspō	Haēcaṭasp . .	Hajdasf . . (هجدسف)
Urugadhasp or Aurvadasp[5] .	Urvandasp .	Arīkdasf . (اريكدسف)
Paṭīragtarāspō or Paītirāsp[6].	Paītīrāsp . .	Faḍarasf . (فذرسف)
Pōrūshăspō	Pōrūshāspō .	Būrshasf . (بورشسف)
Zaratūsht	Zarātusht . .	Zarādusht . (زرادشت)

139. See likewise Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 160; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 687; de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. ccxxviii; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 393.

[1] *Les Prairies d'or*, ii. 123, tr. Barbier de Meynard; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 34.

[2] Avesta, Yt. **13**. 131, *Manuš-ciθra*.

[3] Cf. also Dīnkarṭ **9**. 33. 5.

[4] Cf. Avesta, Yt. **13**. 114, *Cāχsni*.

[5] Zsp. **13**. 6 has *Ahūrvaṭāspō*.

[6] Dīnkarṭ, Bk. **7**. 2. 3, 70; Bd. **32**. 1; West, *Grundriss*, ii. 95, *SBE*. xlvii. 34, v. 140; or *Purtarāspō*, Zsp. **13**. 6, *op. cit.* p. 139.

Zoroaster's grandfather on the maternal side, according to Dk. 7. 2. 3 and Bd. 32. 10, was Frāhīm-rvanā-zōish or Frahim-rava; his maternal grandmother may have been called Frēnŏ (Zsp. 13. 1), but the passage is not quite clear. There are several allusions to his paternal uncle Ārāsti and to the latter's son, Maidhyōi-māonha, who was Zoroaster's cousin and first disciple (Yt. 13. 95; Bd. 32. 2 et passim). According to the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, Zoroaster was one of five brothers. The passage states: 'Of the four brothers of Zaratūsht the names of the two before Zaratūsht were Ratūshtar and Rangūshtar, and of the two after him Nōṯarīgā and Nīvēṯish.'[1] But in each case the reading of the Pahlavi word is uncertain. A tabular statement of the Sage's family and kin may now be presented.[2]

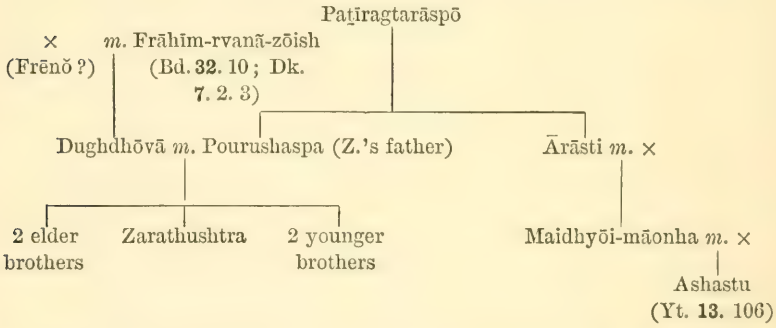

Tradition furthermore states that Zoroaster was thrice married and had several sons and daughters, and that the three wives survived him (Bd. 32. 5–7; Vjkṯ. pp. 21–22). The names of the first wife and of the second are not preserved,[3] but the latter is said to have been a widow. By the first, or privi-

[1] Zsp. 15. 5. West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 144; cf. also *SBE.* v. 187, note.

[2] Cf. also Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 393.

[3] See the information and corrections given by West, *Pahlavi Texts Translated*, *SBE.* v. 142–143, notes, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v. 'Urwarwija,' p. 334; Hölty, *Zoroaster und sein Zeitalter*, p. 93, Lüneburg, 1836. West (*SBE.* V. 143, n. 1) refers to the apparent misinterpretation which gives the names of Zoroaster's first two wives as *Urvij* and *Arnij-baredā;* consult his reference, especially as to the second wife.

leged wife, the Prophet had one son and three daughters. Their names are several times mentioned in the Avesta and in Pahlavi literature.[1] One of the daughters, Pourucistā (Ys. **53.** 3), was married to the wise Jāmāspa. The son Isaṯvāstra, by the second wife, became head of the priestly class and had a son, Ururvija, who is also mentioned by name (Bd. **32.** 7). Isaṯvāstra was likewise made guardian of the children of his father's second wife who had borne two sons, Urvataṯnara and Hvarecithra, to Zoroaster (Yt. **13.** 98). These two sons were respectively regarded as the head of the agricultural class and of the warrior caste. The third wife, Hvōvī, was the daughter of Frashaoshtra and niece to Jāmāspa, attachés to the court of Vishtāspa (Yt. **13.** 139; **16.** 15; Dk. **9.** 44. 16; **9.** 69. 58). By Hvōvī no earthly children were born, but she is the noble consort from whom ultimately are descended the future millennial prophets, Ukhshyaṯ-ereta, Ukhshyaṯ-nemah, and the Messiah, Saoshyant (Yt. **13.** 128). The marvels of this preternatural conception are narrated in detail in Bd. **32.** 8–9, cf. Yt. **13.** 62, 128, 141–2, and elsewhere. The later descent from Zoroaster's line may thus be tabulated: —

Children by first wife	Children by second wife	Children by Hvōvī
× *m.* Isaṯvāstra (son)	Hvarecithra (son)	(Not yet born)
Frēnī (daughter)	Urvataṯnara (son)	Ukhshyaṯ-ereta
Thritī (daughter)		Ukhshyaṯ-nemah
Pourucistā (daughter)		Saoshyant
Ururvija		

A genealogical tree of the Hvōvid family into which the Prophet married and into which family he gave a daughter in marriage will make clearer some of the connections and alliances that appear in the Avesta; it is therefore given on the following page: —

[1] Ys. **23.** 2, **26.** 5; Yt. **13.** 98, 139; Bd. **32.** 5 et passim; Zsp. **23.** 11.

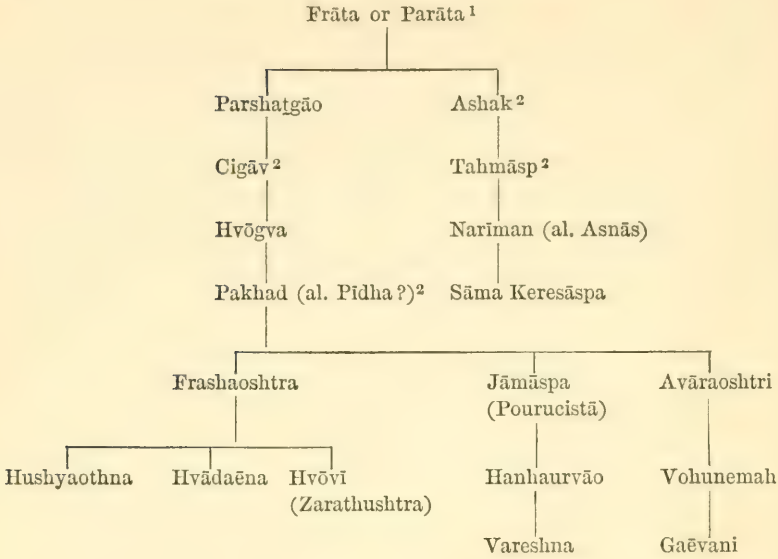

Summary. — After noticing in this chapter the fact that Zoroaster was an Iranian, we briefly followed in outline the position of Iran in ancient history. We next saw that the oldest form of Zoroaster's name is given as Zarathushtra. The statement was then made that we have reason for believing that he arose in western Iran (Atropatene and Media) about the middle of the seventh century B.C. The scene of his ministry is a question that was reserved for later discussion. As was shown, a long line of ancestry can be traced out for him, and we know something of his immediate family through tradition. But we bid adieu to these external matters to deal with his life itself.

[1] After Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 396.

[2] Not mentioned in the Avesta.

CHAPTER III

EARLY LIFE AND RELIGIOUS PREPARATION

THE LIFE OF THE PROPHET UNTIL THE AGE OF THIRTY

yehe zaθaēca vaxšaēca
uštatātəm nimravanta
vīspå spəntō-dātå dāmąn.
—AVESTA, Yt. **13.** 93.

INTRODUCTION—PROPHECIES OF THE COMING OF ZOROASTER, AND THE MIRACLES BEFORE HIS BIRTH—BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF ZOROASTER ACCORDING TO TRADITION—ZOROASTER'S YOUTH AND EDUCATION—PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS PREPARATION—CONCLUSION

Introduction, Prophecies of the Coming of Zoroaster.—The coming of a prophet or great teacher seems at times in the world's history to be looked for instinctively. We may see the truth of this statement exemplified in our own Gospels when the disciple asks of the Saviour, 'Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?' And when a blessed Master is at last recognized, the generations vie with each other in repeating how his advent was foretold. In the Zoroastrian scriptures, passages are adduced to show that the Sage's coming had been predicted ages before. In the Avestan Gāthās and in Pahlavi literature the soul of the mythical primeval bull, three thousand years before the revelation of the religion, beholds a vision in heaven of the *fravaši* or ideal image of the prophet Zarathushtra, Zaratūsht, that is to be.[1] Again, in the golden age of the world, King Yim (Jemshēd) forewarns the demons of their destined defeat and overthrow

[1] Ys. **29.** 8; Bd. **4.** 4–5; cf. Dk. **7.** 2. 67.

at the birth of the glorious manchild.[1] Lastly, in the reign of the patriarch ruler, Kaī Ūs, three centuries before the actual appearance of the hallowed saint, a splendid ox is gifted with the power of speech, so as to foretell the promised revelation which the future shall receive from the lips of Zaratūsht.[2]

Miracles before His Birth. — From the Avesta we also learn that the divine sacerdotal and kingly Glory (*hᵛarənah*) is handed onward from ruler to ruler, and from saint to saint, ever with a view to its illumining ultimately the soul of the inspired one.[3] It is ordained of heaven, moreover, that this Glory shall be combined with the Guardian Spirit (*fravaši*) and the Material Body, so as to produce from this threefold union the wonderful child.[4]

First, the Glory descends from the presence of Aūharmazd, where it abides in the eternal light; it passes through heaven down to earth; and it enters the house where the future Zaratūsht's mother herself is about to be born. Uniting itself with her presence it abides in her until she reaches the age of fifteen, when she brings forth her own first-born, the prophet of Iran. But before this event, as a girl she became so transcendent in splendor by reason of the miraculous nimbus of the Glory that resided in her, that, at the instigation of the demons, her father is convinced that she is bewitched, and he sends her away from his home to the country of the Spītāmas, in the district of Alāk or Arāk, to the village of Paṯīragtarāspō, whose son Pōrūshāspō (Av. Pourushaspa) she marries. The Glory is therefore upon earth, ready to appear in the form of man. Such at least is the scriptural account found in the Dīnkarṯ.[5]

Second, the archangels Vohūman and Ashavahisht, descending from heaven, convey to earth another of the three elements,

[1] Dk. 7. 2. 59–61; see West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 31.

[2] Dk. 7. 2. 62–69; Zsp. 12. 7–25.

[3] Yt. 19. 25–90; cf. also West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 30.

[4] Cf. Spend Nask Summary in Dk. 7. 14. 1 (*SBE.* xxxvii. p. 31); Dk. 7. 2. 2 seq.; Zsp. 13. 4 (*SBE.* xlvii. pp. 17, 139).

[5] Dk. 7. 2. 4–11; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 18–20.

the Guardian Spirit (Phl. *fravāhar*, Av. *fravaši*), bearing it in a stem of the Hōm-plant, the height of a man. For a time this precious stem is placed in the nest of two birds whose young have been devoured by serpents: it protects the brood and kills the reptiles. Thus it continues as a talisman in the keeping of the birds,[1] until required again by the archangels, and until Pōrūshāspō (Pourushaspa), who meanwhile had married Dūkṯāūb (Dughdhōvā), meets with the two presiding seraphim 'in the cattle-pasture of the Spītāmas' and receives from them the cherished rod, which he gives to his wife to preserve.[2] Much of all this, it is true, has a mythical ring or an allegorical note.

Third, the Substantial Nature (Phl. *gōhar*), or material essence, which completes the holy triad, is miraculously combined with the elements of milk, through the agency of water and the plants, or through the archangels Khūrdaṯ and Mūrdaṯ. The demons vainly seek to destroy this;[3] but the milk is mixed with Hōm and is drunk by the future prophet's parents. In this roundabout way the Pahlavi text accounts for the combination of the three elements, the glory, the spirit, and the body, and the child is conceived, despite the machinations of the demons.[4] Throughout the narrative the presence of an Oriental tendency to symbolism and ritualistic significance is manifest. The same story is repeated by the Arab writer Shahrastānī (A.D. 1086–1153), and it is narrated again in the Dabistān.[5]

The pregnancy of the mother whose womb is hallowed to bear such fruit, is attended by occurrences equally remarkable and by circumstances astounding in their nature. These miraculous occurrences are told and interpreted in the Dīnkarṯ, Zāṯ-

[1] Have we here a reflex of the ancient Sanskrit myth of Soma and the Eagle?

[2] Dk. 7. 2. 22–35.

[3] Dk. 7. 2. 44–45.

[4] Dk. 7. 2. 36–72; Zsp. 13. 4.

[5] Shahrastānī, *Uebersetzt*, Haarbrücker, i. 276 seq.; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48; Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 212 seq.

sparam, and Zartusht Nāmah, as well as recorded by Shahrastānī and repeated in the Dabistān.[1] We at once recall parallels in other nations.

Birth and Childhood of Zoroaster, according to Tradition. — The traditional source of information on the subject of the birth and early life of the Prophet, was originally the Spend Nask of the Avesta, which gave an account of the first ten years of Zoroaster's existence. Unfortunately this Nask has been lost; but its substance is worked into the Pahlavi literature, as is known from the summaries of the Nasks that we have in Pahlavi and in Persian;[2] and doubtless much of the actual material from it is preserved in the Dīnkarṯ, in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, and in the Modern Persian Zartusht Nāmah.[3] These works stand to Zoroastrianism somewhat as the Lalita Vistara to Buddhism. The general statements which are made in the following pages are based upon them, unless otherwise indicated, and the material they contain is supplemented by incidental allusions in such writers as Shahrastānī or in the Dabistān which draw from like sources.

These accounts of the birth and early life are largely legendary and they are colored by fancy. Some of them surpass in power of vivid imagination the stories that have gathered around Zoroaster's miraculous conception. But that need not awaken surprise. Legends have grown up about the birth and youthful years of Buddha,[4] and miraculous incidents are connected with the Mosaic Lawgiver. Persia is not behind in this.[5]

[1] Dk. **7.** 2. 53–55; Zsp. **14.** 1–5; ZtN. tr. Eastwick (Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 480–3).

[2] Dk. **8.** 14. 1–2; **9.** 24. 1–3; Pers. Riv. **2.** 13; Dīn-Vijirkarṯ, 13; see West, *Pahlavi Texts translated*, in *SBE.* xxxvii. pp. 31, 226–9, 425, 444, 469; also Shahrastānī, *Uebersetzt*, Haarbrücker, i. 276; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48; cf. next note.

[3] For translations, see West, *SBE.* vols. xxxvii. and xlvii. and Zartusht Nāmah, tr. by Eastwick in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 475–522. Constant use has been made of these translations.

[4] See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 82 seq. (Eng. translation); Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 38 seq.

[5] Some have even claimed that Mo-

In every religion the birth of its founder must be heralded by supernatural signs and omens and accompanied by wonders and prodigies. A star appears, a comet blazes forth, or the earth is shaken. In the Avesta all nature rejoices at Zoroaster's birth; the very trees and rivers share in the universal thrill of gladness that shoots through the world; while Ahriman and the terror-stricken demons take flight into the depths of earth.[1] His birth, moreover, is in answer to pious prayers addressed by his father to Haoma.[2] His fitness for the prophetic mission which he is to undertake is divinely recognized, and Ahura Mazda himself selects this inspired being as his own messenger to the world.[3] So much for the Avesta. The Pahlavi writings also do not tire of recounting how the fiends contended to prevent his birth; how a divine light shone round the house; and a shout of joy arose when life triumphed; and especially they recount the loud laughter which burst from the child as he came into the world.[4] The tradition that Zoroaster laughed instead of crying at his birth is as old at least as Pliny; it is current in Eastern writers and elsewhere.[5] Pliny at the same time adds that the child's brain throbbed so violently as

saic influences were at work in the Zoroastrian legends. See Kohut, *Zoroastrian Legends and their Biblical Sources* in the *Independent* (N.Y.), March 19, 1891.

[1] Yt. **13.** 93–94; Ys. **9.** 15; Yt. **17.** 19.

[2] Ys. **9.** 12–15; compare what was noted of the Hōm-branch above.

[3] Ys. **9.** 12–14; Yt. **17.** 18–20; Ys. **29.** 8; Yt. **5.** 17–18.

[4] Dk. **8.** 14. 2; **9.** 24. 1–10 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 31, 226–9, 469); and Dk. **7.** 2. 56–8; **5.** 2. 2; Zsp. **13.** 1–3 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 30, 122, 139); and Shahrastānī (Gottheil, *References*, p. 49). Other references below. The Apocryphal N. T. *Protoevang.* **14.** 11–12, and I. *Infancy*, **1.** 10, give a legend of our Lord's birth in a cave which is divinely illuminated. In the Sanskrit *Kathāsaritsāgara* (i. 325, transl. Tawney), the room in which a wonderful child is born is illuminated by a strange light.

[5] Dk. **7.** 3. 2 and 25; Dk. **5.** 2. 5; Zsp. **14.** 12 and 16; cf. West, *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 35, 41, 123, 142, 143; ZtN. p. 483; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker, i. 277, Gottheil, *References*, p. 49); Dabistān, i. p. 219, Mirkhond, tr. Shea, p. 286. Also Pliny, *H.N.* **7.** 16. 15; Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades;* Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, **21.** 14; all cited below in Appendix V., VI. See likewise preface to the Icelandic Snorra Edda (Jackson, *PAOS.* xvi. p. ccxxvi. March, 1894. See Appendix VI.).

to repel the hand laid upon his head — a presage of future wisdom!

Demons and wizards — for all the opponents of Zoroaster are conceived to be such — instinctively now foresee their destined defeat and ruin and Zoroaster's own glorious ascendency.[1] They seek accordingly to compass the young child's death. They fail in their efforts just as the powers of evil had already failed when they strove to prevent his coming into the world. The heretical Kavis and Karpans (Phl. Kīgs and Karaps), who are apparently idolatrous priests,[2] are his especial foes. The Turanian Karap Dūrāsrōbō (Dūrāsarūn, Dūrānsarūn) is the Herod of the day.[3] His wicked partner and villanous accomplice is one Brātrōk-rēsh, whose name is ultimately connected with Zoroaster's death when the Prophet was of advanced age.[4] Brāṯrōk-rēsh is one of five Karap brothers: the names of the quintette are given as Brāṯ-rūkhsh, Brāṯ-rōyishn, Brāṯ-rēsh the Tūr (or Tūr-ī Brāṯrōk-rēsh), Hazān, and Vadast.[5] The name of this Brāṯrōk-rēsh (or Brāṯar-vakhsh) occurs comparatively often in Pahlavi literature at least and it appears under a variety of forms.[6] The machinations of Dūrāsrōbō are particularly violent. It is only the intervention of a divine providence that saves the little Zaratūsht, while still an infant in the cradle, from having his head crushed in or twisted off by this fiendish man, or that wards off a pogniard stroke from the same hand which becomes withered as a punishment for its wicked attempt.[7] Some of the resemblances between this monstrous ruler and Pharaoh or Herod would not be uninteresting to trace if there were opportunity.

[1] Vd. **19.** 46, and elsewhere.

[2] See West's note in *SBE.* xlvii. 19.

[3] Dk. **7.** 3. 4–41, etc; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 87, ZtN. p. 484, and see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 175 (Index).

[4] This would assign to Brāṯrōk-rēsh an extraordinary longevity. See p. 128 (d). Perhaps a descendant of his is referred to.

[5] Zsp. **15.** 3; cf. Zsp. **17.** 1 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 143. 147). The reading of the names is not absolutely certain.

[6] See Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 71.

[7] Dk. **7.** 3. 5–6; **5.** 3, 2; Zsp. **15.** 2–3; ZtN. p. 484; Dabistān, i. p. 219.

The malicious Dūrāsrōbō, moreover, is even successful for a time in making Pōrūshāspō afraid of his own son,[1] so that he does not prevent the machinations of those who are plotting against the young child's life. No angel is sent from heaven to tell his parents to take the child into another land. Four separate attempts at least are made to destroy the babe in spite of the mother's watchful alertness. An attempt is made, and not without the father's connivance, to burn the infant in a huge fire; but its life is saved by a miracle.[2] An endeavor is made by the sorcerers to have the babe trampled to death by a herd of oxen; the leading ox stands over the tiny prodigy and prevents it from perishing beneath the feet of the herd.[3] The same experiment is repeated with horses; the babe is rescued in the same marvellous manner.[4] Even wolves whose young have been killed do not harm a hair of the divine child's head; in their very den and lair he is suckled by a sheep.[5] The lion shall lie down with the lamb! In all these accounts, idealization is evidently at work. But after all we may perhaps imagine that a rationalistic background of truth possibly lies at the basis of each of these hairbreadth escapes of childhood's days magnified by coming ages. The allusion to exposure to a wolf throws light at least upon the conditions in the time at which the accounts were written.

Zoroaster's Youth and Education. — Before the boy's seventh year, his father Pūrshasp (as the Zartusht Nāmah calls him), knowing that even the demons and wizards[6] had predicted a great future for the youth, places the lad under the care of a wise and learned man, as the Zartusht Nāmah narrates.[7] The

[1] Dk. **7.** 3. 7–8 seq.; Zsp. **16.** 3–4; Dabistān, i. p. 219.

[2] Dk. **7.** 3. 9–10; Zsp. **16.** 7; ZtN. p. 484.

[3] Dk. **7.** 3. 11–12; Zsp. **16.** 4–5; ZtN. p. 485; Dabistān, i. p. 220.

[4] Dk. **7.** 3. 13–14; Zsp. **16.** 6–7; ZtN. p. 485–6; Dab. i. p. 220.

[5] Dk. **7.** 3. 15–19; Dk. **5.** 2. 4; Zsp. **16.** 8–11; ZtN. pp. 486–7; Dab. i. pp. 220–221.

[6] We may conceive how the false teachers of the pre-Zoroastrian faith were looked upon as devils and necromancers.

[7] ZtN. p. 488. See also Dab. i. p. 224.

venerable teacher's name is then given as Burzīn-kurūs.[1] Pliny (*H. N.* 30. 2. 1) seems to have understood from Hermippus that the name of Zoroaster's teacher was Aganaces (Azonaces), but the passage is not quite clear. See below, Appendix V. § 5.

In connection with the subject of Zoroaster's youthful days, it is proper to make passing mention at least of some Syriac and Arabic reports which connect his name with Jeremiah (or even with Ezra) and which make Zoroaster a pupil of Jeremiah, or even go so far as to identify him with Baruch, the latter's scribe.[2] These biassed accounts assert that the pupil proved treacherous to his master and was cursed by God with the affliction of leprosy. These passages are quoted elsewhere[3] and the most important are given below in Appendix IV.; it is not necessary therefore to cite them here nor to repeat how the identification probably arose from an erroneous connection of the name *Armiah* (Jeremiah) with *Urmiah* (Urumiah), Zoroaster's presumed birthplace; nor is it necessary to add how the name of *Zaratūsht* might become associated with the Hebrew *ṣara'ath* (*Zaraath*) 'leprosy,'[4] especially if Moslem influence wished to detract as much as possible from Persia's Sage.

The narratives given above are about all that we can gather in the way of tradition regarding Zoroaster's early youth and training. It is to be regretted that we do not know more of the moulding forces that were instrumental in forming so creative a mind; nor are we clear in every detail as to the conditions of the society in which he was brought up or in which he afterwards labored and taught. The picture which is sometimes vaguely outlined by the Gāthās or dimly suggested in the 'Younger Avesta,' or which one gains from a perusal of the

[1] Does this name contain a disguised form of Skt. *guru*, 'exalted teacher'? On the form *burzīn*, cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 74, 490, and add pp. 168, 499 (*Kūru*, *Kurūs*).

[2] See Appendix II. pp. 165–166.

[3] See especially Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Arabic and Syriac Literature* (Drisler Classical Studies).

[4] Cf. Kohut, *Zoroastrian Legends*, the *Independent*, (N.Y.), March 19, 1891.

traditions in Pahlavi literature is not altogether a bright one, if we are to interpret, as one might interpret, the allusions to devil-worship and Daēvas (which recall the present Yezīdīs) and the references to the slaughter and maltreatment of the kine, a lack of morality, falsehood, oath-breaking, and personal impurity. These are among the many things to which Zoroaster turned his attention when his reformatory work began.

Tradition goes on to say that even when the lad had attained his seventh year,[1] the inimical Dūrāsrōbō and Brāṯrōk-rēsh still continue to connive against him, to harass and assail him. By magic practices they endeavor to daunt his spirit, and they even attempt to destroy his body by poison.[2] It is evident that the real opposition and struggle which was later to arise in the Prophet's life between his own faith and the existing religion which it supplanted or reformed, is projected into the past and conceived of as a case of personal enmity and hatred already developed between the two representatives of the creed and the youthful Zoroaster.

If we are to judge at least from the later literature of the Pahlavi, black art and magic practices, occult science and necromancy were the order of the time. We seem to have a sort of background of Doctor Faustus and the Europe of the Dark Ages. Even Pōrūshāspō (Pourushaspa) himself is not free from the influence of the two sorcerers Dūrāsrōbō and Brāṯrōk-rēsh, with whom he not infrequently associates.[3] All these misguided persons, especially Dūrāsrōbō, are openly rebuked by Zaratūsht for their heresy, and are put to confusion by the young reformer when they endeavor to argue with him, much as Christ at the age of twelve disputes with the doctors in the temple, refutes their doctrines and vanquishes his opponents.[4]

[1] B.C. 653, according to West's calculations; see his table below, Appendix III.

[2] Dk. 7. 3. 32–33; ZtN. pp. 488–9; Dab. i. pp. 226–7.

[3] Dk. 7. 3. 32–35.

[4] Dk. 7. 3. 34–43; Zsp. 17. 1–6; 18. 5–7; 19. 8; ZtN. pp. 489–90; Dab. i. pp. 228–9.

The plotting Dūrāsrōbō, as a punishment for his wickedness in endeavoring to thwart the righteous, comes to a violent end, as fearful as it is strange. The circumstances are described in the Dīnkarṯ and the Zāṯ-sparam Selections.[1] Zaratūsht is next confirmed in the true religious vows by assuming the 'Kustī,' or sacred thread, at the age of fifteen;[2] and when he attains this year of his life the wiles of the fiendish magicians are practically brought to naught.[3] The age of fifteen years, even as early as the Avesta,[4] is regarded as an ideal age or the age of majority. A passage in the Pahlavi texts tells that when Zaratūsht attained his fifteenth year[5] he and his brothers 'demanded a portion from their father, and their portions were allotted out by him.'[6] As a part of his share Zoroaster chooses a girdle; this signifies the sacred girdle of religion which he assumed.

Period of Religious Preparation; from his Fifteenth to his Thirtieth Year. — From his fifteenth year to the age of thirty the tradition is more meagre in its details. The period is a time not so much of action as it is a time of religious preparation. And yet the lapse of these fifteen years is not devoid of recorded incident. An occurrence to show Zaratūsht's compassionate nature and sympathy for the aged is quoted in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, and another is cited to illustrate his generous disposition by his dealing out fodder, from his father's supply, to the beasts of burden of others in a time of famine.[7] The Zartusht Nāmah substantiates this reputation given to him for tender-heartedness and for goodness.[8]

At the age of twenty the Zāṯ-sparam recounts that 'abandoning worldly desires and laying hold of righteousness' he departs from the house of his father and mother and wanders

[1] Dk. 7. 3. 44–45; Zsp. 19. 7–8; Dab. i. p. 229.

[2] The Brahmanical cord of India shows that this investiture was an ancient institution.

[3] Zsp. 20. 1–2; ZtN. p. 490.

[4] Ys. 9. 5.

[5] B.C. 645, according to West; see Appendix III. below.

[6] Zsp. 20. 1–4; West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 151.

[7] Zsp. 20. 4–6.

[8] ZtN. p. 490, ll. 11–25.

forth, openly inquiring thus: 'Who is most desirous of righteousness and most nourishing the poor?' And they spoke thus: 'He who is the youngest son of Aūrvaītŏ-dih, the Tūr.'[1] Zoróaster goes 'to that place' and lends his coöperation in serving the poor with food. A further example of his compassion, as the text says, 'not only upon mankind, but also upon other creatures,' is given in the same passage. A starving bitch who has five puppies is seen by him whose soul is stirred by every misery. Zoroaster hastens to bring some bread to her, but the creature is dead before he reaches her.[2]

Of a different nature, but none the less characteristic, is an incident narrated in the same connection in the chapter. The account declares that when he wished to marry, with the approval of his parents, and 'his father sought a wife for him,' he requested that the bride should show her face before being taken in marriage.[3] This incident seems to point to an idea of social progress and reform in customs that is equally characteristic of the modern Parsis.[4]

Zoroaster's readiness to learn, moreover, and to profit by what is good even in the teachings of the bad is illustrated by additional actions. On one occasion, upon inquiring in open assembly, what may be accounted as the most favorable for the soul, he is told, 'to nourish the poor, to give fodder to cattle, to bring firewood to the fire, to pour Hōm-juice into water, and to worship many demons.'[5] Zoroaster gives proof of his eclectic tendency by performing the first four of these injunctions as worthy of a righteous man to do; but demon-worship he absolutely denounces.

There are no other specific details in Pahlavi literature to fill up the period from this moment to the coming of the revelation

[1] Quotations from Zsp. 20. 8–9 (West's translation). It is to be noted that the father *Aūrvaītā-dang* himself, as well as his son ('progeny'), is alluded to in Dk. 7. 4. 7–8, after Zoroaster had received the revelation.

[2] Zsp. 20. 10–11, *SBE.* xlvii. 153.

[3] Zsp. 20. 12–13.

[4] One need only read Dosabhai Framji Karaka's *History of the Parsis.*

[5] Zsp. 20. 14–16.

when he was thirty years old. They were undoubtedly the years of meditation, reflection, and religious preparation that correspond to similar periods of divine communings and philosophic introspection in other religious teachers. Parallels might easily be cited. It is to this period of Zoroaster's life that the Scholiast of the Platonic Alcibiades apparently alludes when he relates that Zoroaster kept silent for seven years ;[1] and it is referred to by Pliny in the statement that for twenty years Zoroaster lived in desert places upon cheese.[2] According to Porphyrius and Dio Chrysostom, he passed his time upon a mountain in a natural cave which he had symbolically adorned in a manner to represent the world and the heavenly bodies.[3] The mountain is illuminated by a supernatural fire and splendor. Lightnings and thunders were about the summit of Sinai also, and clouds and thick smoke shrouded its sides, while the base of the mountain quaked violently, when the voice of the Lord spoke unto Moses.[4] The Avesta (Vd. 22. 19) mentions the 'Forest and the Mountain of the two Holy Communing Ones' — Ahura Mazda and Zarathushtra — where intercourse was held between the godhead and his prophetic representative upon earth. Ḳazwīnī calls this Iranian Sinai Mount Sabalān ;[5] Mirkhond similarly alludes to the mountains about the city of Ardabīl, and adds a quotation that is evidently drawn from the Avestan allusion to the adjoining river Darej.[6] A further

[1] Schol. ad Alcib. p. 122, διὰ τὸ τὸν Ζωροάστρην ζ' γεγενομένον ἐτῶν σιωπῆσαι ; see below, Appendix V. § 1.

[2] Pliny, 11. 42. 97. A 'desert with a temple for star-gazing' is also mentioned by Yāḳūt (vol. iii. p. 487), and this desert is called 'the desert of Zardusht, the head of the Magians' (Gottheil, *References*, p. 47 n.). For the milk diet of Zoroaster, compare also Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* 4. 1. 1. See Appendix V. §§ 5, 6, for the quotations.

[3] Dio Chrysostom, *Borysth. Orat.* xxxvi. and Porphyrius *de Antro Nymph.* 6. 7, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος. App. V. gives text in full. The passage is of special interest in regard to the Mithra cult, in which caves and mountains played a particular part. See Windischmann, *Mithra*, Abh. f. k. d. Morg. i. 62, Leipzig, 1857 ; also *Zor. Stud.* p. 312.

[4] Exodus xix. 3–18. Cf. also Spiegel, *EA.* i. 697 ; and Darab Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 205.

[5] Gottheil, *References*, p. 40.

[6] Mirkhond, *History of Persia*, tr.

suggestion on the localization is offered below. Magian worship on the high mountains is familiar from the time of Herodotus (1. 131 seq.) onward.[1]

This time of early retirement and seclusion must have been the period in which Zoroaster fought out the fight that raged in his own bosom and in which he began to solve the problem of life, the enigma of the world, and the question of belief, as his religion solved it. Here he doubtless began also to formulate the first general truths out of which his religious system was evolved. It is the stillness of the forest or of some lone retreat that lifts the soul into communion with nature and with God. The long retirement and separation from men, the hours of meditation, introspection and abstraction, had brought the material frame into complete subjection, no doubt, and had lifted the spiritual body into a realm of ecstatic rapture and transcendent exaltation which prepared it for prophetic vision. At this moment came the Revelation and the first of the seven hallowed manifestations which only a soul inspired by the fervor of religious ecstasy was entitled to behold.

Conclusion. — The first few years of the life of Zoroaster are represented by a series of miraculous events which tradition has fancifully colored. When he becomes of age he retires from the world for a number of years which were doubtless given to meditation and religious preparation. At thirty the Revelation comes, and he enters upon his ministry.

Shea, p. 286, Zoroaster says 'this volume (the Zend-Avesta) has descended to me from the roof of the house which is on that mountain (cf. Vd. 19. 4. 11; Bd. 20. 32; 24. 15; Zsp. 22. 12); see Appendix IV. pp. 194, 195, 201.

[1] One need only recall Behistān (*Baghastāna) 'place of the Godhead.'

CHAPTER IV

THE REVELATION

ZOROASTER'S SEVEN VISIONS AND THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE RELIGION

'You long to chase, uncaptured yet,
The young wild-fire of Shelley's mind,
And how your Zoroaster met
His shadow in the garden, find.'
—George E. Woodberry.

Introductory Survey — Sources of Information and what we gather from them — 'The Revelation' — First Vision, Conference with Ahura Mazda — Second Vision, Vohu Manah — Scenes and Circumstances of the Remaining Visions and Conferences with the Archangels — The Temptation of Zoroaster — Maidhyōi-māonha, his First Disciple — Conclusion

Introductory Survey. — The quickening spirit is now ready to bring forth the first fruit of its long labor. At the age of thirty comes the divine light of revelation, and Zoroaster enters upon the true pathway of the faith. It is in this year[1] that the archangel of Good Thought, Vohu Manah, appears unto Zarathushtra in a vision and leads his soul in holy trance into the presence of God, Ahura Mazda. The year of this first inspired revelation is known in the Pahlavi texts as 'the Year of the Religion,' and there are numerous allusions here and elsewhere to the fact that Zoroaster was thirty years of age at the time.[2] Parallels for the beginning of his ministry at this

[1] B.C. 630, according to tradition as calculated by West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and see Appendix III. below.

[2] Dk. 7. 3. 51; 8. 14. 3; Zsp. 21. 1; ZtN. p. 490; also Masūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. p. 153, tr. Barbier de Mey-

age are not far to seek. During the ten years that follow this apocalyptic vision, Zoroaster has seven different conferences with Ahura Mazda and the six Amesha Spentas.

Many events occurred during this time, and a number of marvellous incidents are recounted in connection with this opening period of his prophetic career, as narrated in the Dīnkarṯ, Zāṯ-sparam, Zartusht Nāmah, and elsewhere. His teaching does not seem at the outset to have met with favor. Reforms come slowly and the ground must be prepared. Ten years elapsed — years of wandering and struggle, of hope and dejection, of trial and temporary despair — before he won his first convert. This zealous adherent is his own cousin Maidhyōi-māonha (Phl. Mēṯyō-māh), who is often mentioned in the Avesta and other writings.[1] He is a very different character from Buddha's traitorous and schismatic cousin Devadatta, and he stands as the St. John of Zoroastrianism. Finally, in the twelfth year of the Religion,[2] Kavi Vishtāspa (Phl. Kaī Vishtāsp, Mod. Pers. Gushtāsp) is converted and becomes the Constantine of the Faith — the Rājā Bimbisāra, if not the Asoka, of Buddhism. After the king adopts the Creed, many conversions follow, and the Prophet's own family, relatives, and friends are frequently referred to in the Avesta and elsewhere as having become faithful adherents and believers.

All these events have so important a bearing that they must be discussed in detail. A sort of synoptic view may be gained by gathering together various pieces of the scattered material and by combining stray allusions into a connected narrative. A consecutive account of the occurrences is therefore here attempted, but it must frankly be stated that the exact

nard; cf. *JAOS.* xvii. p. 10; Schol. to Platonic *Alcibiades* I, p. 122 (Ζωροάστρην) μετὰ λ' χρόνους ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ· τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας; see Appendix V. § 1 (Plato) below.

[1] Cf. Yt. **13.** 95; Ys. **51.** 19; Bd. **32.** 2; Dk. **9.** 44. 19; Zsp. **21.** 3; **23.** 1, 8, 11; Syriac *Book of the Bee* (A.D. 1250), p. 81, ed. Budge, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Oxford, 1886.

[2] B.C. 618 of the tradition, West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

sequence of events is sometimes difficult to determine with precision. Caution may be used in accepting the results without qualification, as they cannot be freed from subjective tendencies. Nevertheless they represent in general outline the tradition. So much by way of introduction.

Sources of Information and what we gather from them. — The sources from which we obtain material to fill up the first period after the Revelation, the ten or twelve years that elapsed until the meeting between Zoroaster and King Vishtāspa, and the latter's conversion, are the same as have already been described. But now that we have reached the real period of Zarathushtra's prophetic career this material may be augmented in a special manner by the Gāthās or Zoroastrian Psalms. Like the Psalms of David these often indicate situations or conditions in a more or less direct manner, so that they help very much in drawing inferences.

From our various sources of information two facts may be gathered with certainty: one is, that after receiving the Revelation Zoroaster wandered about, as the dervishes of Iran still wander, going from place to place in search of a fruitful soil for his teaching; the other is, that during this period, like the prophets of old, he was inspired from time to time by supernatural visions and manifestations. The truth of both assertions is proved by the Avesta and the Pahlavi texts, and it is substantiated by Arabic and Syriac writers.[1]

The Arab writer Ṭabarī, who calls Zoroaster a disciple of Jeremiah and speaks of him as a native of Palestine, goes on to state in the course of his history that 'he wandered to Ādarbaijān and preached there the Magian religion; and from there he went to Bishtāsp (Vishtāspa), who was in Balkh.'[2] The chronicler Ibn al-Athīr (A.D. thirteenth century), who incor-

[1] Among Avestan passages compare Ys. **31**. 8; **43**. 5 seq.; **46**. 1 seq. and others to be noted below in connection with the Pahlavi and Arabic.

[2] For the full quotation, see Gotheil, *References*, p. 37, and compare also Appendix IV. p. 198 below, where comments are made.

porated much of Ṭabarī into his own work, is able to add that, preaching from his sacred book, the Avesta, '(Zardusht) went from Ādarbaijān to Fāris (Persia); but no one understood what was in it. Thence he wandered to India and offered it (the Avesta) to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Ferghānah, but its prince wished to slay him.[1] From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp, son of Lohrāsp (Aurvaṯ-aspa), who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time.'[2] This statement like the preceding is more fully discussed in Appendix IV. in its relation to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry. Such passages have the value at least of showing the existence of a tradition to the effect that Zoroaster wandered about as an itinerant teacher until fortune led him to Vishtāspa. Zoroaster was performing the part of one of those Āthravan priests to whom the Avesta alludes as 'coming from afar.'[3] Nor may his wanderings have been fruitless, for no doubt the seed that had been sown in these places did not prove barren but sprang up later when Zoroastrianism began to spread as the state religion over Iran.

But to return to Pahlavi literature and to Zoroastrian writings. The Zartusht Nāmah says: 'When Zoroaster attained his thirtieth year, he was relieved from danger and his works bare fruit. His heart was directed to Iran. He left his place in company with some others. Of those, some who were his relations accompanied him on this journey.'[4] On the way the party passes through a sea whose waters are lowered by a miracle so as to allow a free crossing.[5] They travel forward more

[1] Query. Have we here a reminiscence of Aūrvāitā-dang the Tūr, Dk. 7. 4. 7–14?

[2] Gottheil, *References*, p. 39.

[3] Cf. Eugen Wilhelm, *Priester und Ketzer im alten Eran*, in *ZDMG*. xliv. 143–144.

[4] ZtN. p. 490.

[5] ZtN. p. 490. This would be appropriate to Lake Urumiah, judging from the description given by Curzon, *Persia*, i. 533–5; Spiegel (*EA*. i. 694) suggests Lake Sevan.

than a month until they reach the confines of Iran. This day, according to the Pahlavi Zāṯ-sparam as well as the Zartusht Nāmah, was the last day 'Anērān of the month Spendarmaṯ (February 14–March 20)' — so precise is tradition.[1] Their destination, as the Zāṯ-sparam indicates, is the place 'where people went from many quarters out to the place of festival (*jašnŏcār*).'[2] The occasion is the celebration of the spring-tide festival. It seems to be a sort of annual religious convocation that they attend. We may remember in this connection that Gabriel revealed himself to Mohammed at the celebration of Ramaḍān. Thus Zoroaster, when halting in a plain of a river called Aēvatāk (one of the four branches of the Dāityā), receives the first premonition and manifestation of what is to come. It is a vision of the approach of a victorious army headed by his cousin Mēṯyōmāh coming northwards to join him.[3]

The Revelation — First Vision — Conference with Ahura Mazda. — The auspicious hour is at hand. The archangel Vohu Manah (Phl. Vohūman) is to reveal himself to Zoroaster. At dawn on the forty-fifth day of the Prophet's journey, or the 15th instant (Dadvō-pavan-Mitrō) of the month Arṯavahishtō (*i.e.* May 5) of the thirty-first year of the reign of Vishtāsp,[4] the Revelation comes.[5] Tradition takes delight in making exact statements. The scene where this event occurred is laid on the banks of the Dāitī (Av. Dāityā) — the Jordan of Zoroastrianism — a river in Aīrān-Vēj or Ādarbaijān.[6] The position

[1] Zsp. **21.** 1; ZtN. pp. 490–1. On the correspondence between the month Spendarmaṯ and our calendar, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33.

[2] Zsp. **21.** 1 (West's translation), *SBE.* xlvii. 155. So also ZtN. pp. 490–91, and Dabistān, i. p. 230.

[3] Zsp. **21.** 2, 3; cf. Dk. **7.** 3. 51. The Zartusht Nāmah (p. 491) is more elaborate in its details. Notice also the Dabistān, i. pp. 230–1.

[4] Arṯavahisht corresponds to April 20–May 19. The day, therefore, would be May 5. On the month, compare Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33–34. The year would be B.C. 630. See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 45, and Appendix III. below.

[5] Zsp. **21.** 4; **22.** 2; ZtN. p. 491.

[6] Dk. **7.** 3. 51; 8. 60; 9. 23; Zsp. **21.** 4, 'the Dāitīh, because it is the river of the conference, etc.'; Zsp. **21.**

of this river is discussed below in Appendix IV. p. 211; it is represented perhaps by the modern Ḳizel Ūzen and its tributaries, which merges into the Spēd River of Ādarbaijān. It is crossed by Zoroaster at four different depths, or more probably he fords four different streams. These crossings symbolically represent four different eras in the history of the religion.[1] At the dawn, therefore, of the day named, as he stands upon the bank of the third channel, Aēvatāk, of the river Dāītī, after bringing up the holy Hōm-water, Zaratūsht suddenly beholds a glorified image of the archangel Vohūman (Good Thought) coming toward him from the south, and bearing in his hand a glossy staff — 'the spiritual twig of the religion (*maīnōg tāk-ī dēnō*).'[2]

In a brief space of time, as he reaches the fourth affluent, Aūshān-rūṯ, of the good Dāītī, the image of Vohūman becomes a realization, and a transcendent figure of colossal proportions, 'nine times as large as a man,' rises before him, reminding us somewhat of the great image that arose before Daniel, by the side of the river which is Hiddekel.[3] Vohūman opens his lips and begins to question the enrapt seer, — this situation is alluded to in the Avestan Gāthās, — and after bidding him to lay aside his 'garment' (or the vesture of his material body), the seraphic messenger leads away his soul in ecstatic trance into the glorious and dazzling presence of Aūharmazd and the Amshaspands.[4]

No sooner does Zaratūsht enter this radiant assembly than he ceases to behold 'his own shadow upon the ground, on account of the great brilliancy of the archangels'; and, as the words of the text continue, 'the position of the assembly was in

13, 'the position of the assembly was in Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dāītīh' (West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 157). Again, ZtN. p. 491.

[1] Zsp. **21.** 6–7; ZtN. pp. 491–2; Dab. i. 231–2.

[2] Dk. **7.** 3. 51–53; Zsp. **21.** 2, 5, 6 (West); ZtN. p. 492; Dab. i. 232–3.

[3] Dk. **7.** 3. 54; Zsp. **21.** 8–9. Cf. Daniel x. 4–21. I am furthermore indebted to Dr. Thomas Davidson, through my friend Mr. William Ross Warren, of New York, for some interesting hints and suggestions as to Daniel parallels.

[4] Compare Ys. **43.** 5 seq. with Dk. **7.** 3. 55; Zsp. **21.** 9–10.

Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dāitīh.'[1] He offers homage to Aūharmazd and the Amshaspands, saying: 'Homage to Aūharmazd, and homage to the archangels'; and then, as the passage adds, 'he went forward and sat down in the seat of the enquirers.'[2] The door of heaven having thus been opened, and the favored of the godhead having been ushered in, the first and most important of all the conferences is begun. The Supreme Being himself presides; the Prophet is instructed in the great cardinal doctrines of the Faith, by the Omniscient Wisdom; and thrice in the same day the beatific vision is repeated.[3] Marvellous signs are shown unto Zoroaster, and he is initiated into sublime secrets by ordeals which symbolize future epochs and crises in the history of the Creed.[4] The circumstances of the first vision of God are at least hinted at in the Gāthās,[5] which makes us still more regret the loss of the original Nasks; but the details are elaborated in Pahlavi literature and in Persian Zoroastrian writings which are probably based upon the older material.[6]

The Next Two Years — Zoroaster begins Preaching. — On the completion of the first conference and Zoroaster's return to earth he proceeds to obey Aūharmazd's command by teaching and prophesying, for the next two years, to the ruling heretical priests, Kīgs and Karaps, or the Kavis and Karpans, so often mentioned in the Gāthās. These are the 'blind and deaf to the Law,' as the commentary describes them. They are the accursed band of unbelievers, or, to use the words of one of the Gāthās, —

> The Kavis and the Karpans have united themselves with power
> For destroying the life of man by their evil deeds;

[1] Zsp. **21.** 13 (West's translation); cf. also Dk. **7.** 3. 60–61.

[2] Quotations from Zsp. **21.** 14 (West's translation).

[3] Zsp. **21.** 21.

[4] Zsp. **21.** 15–27; ZtN. p. 494. Compare also Bahman Yasht **1.** 1 seq. (West, *SBE.* v. 191 seq.).

[5] *E.g.* Ys. **31.** 8; **45.** 8, and cf. **43.** 5 seq.

[6] Zsp. **21.** 15–27; ZtN. pp. 492–5; Dab. i. pp. 233–4.

But their own soul and their religion will make them howl
When they come where the Bridge of the Accountant hereafter is,
To be inmates for ever and ever in the House of Falsehood. (*i.e.* Hell) ![1]

To these Zoroaster preaches the Mazda-worshipping religion, and the necessity of anathematizing the Demons, of glorifying the Archangels, and practising the next-of-kin marriage (*xvētūkdas*).[2] But in vain.

Zoroaster seeks the Turanian sovereign Aūrvāītā-dang, whose son has been mentioned above. This potentate, whom the Pahlavi text calls 'scanty-giver,' protects the Missionary, but refuses to be converted to the Creed and to follow its tenets, while his nobles are 'clamorers for Zaratūsht's death.' Curses are heaped upon him as a consequence.[3]

Zaratūsht at the bidding of Aūharmazd next visits a Karap, one Vaēdvōisht by name, whom God has blessed with this world's goods. He demands from the Karap a hundred youths, maidens, and teams of four horses, as a gift for the Almighty. An arrogant rebuff greets the Prophet of the Lord, and he flees for refuge to Aūharmazd and receives from him the comforting assurance of the fearful punishment by death eternal which shall be summarily meted out upon the proud offender for his misdeed.[4] And so also Elijah pronounced the doom of King Ahaziah because he recognized not that there is a God in Israel!

The fate of this Karap offender recalls some of the anathema passages in the Gāthās and that visitation of wrath, both here and hereafter, which these Psalms call down upon powerful and stubborn unbelievers.[5] To the same crew as Vaēdvōisht doubtless belong that creature of Satan, Hunu, if the word is a proper name,[6] and the infidel Usij, who, like the Karap, is a

[1] Ys. **46.** 11; cf. also Ys. **32.** 12, 15; **44.** 20; **48.** 10; **51.** 14.

[2] Dk. **7.** 4. 1–5; cf. also West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 95.

[3] Dk. **7.** 4. 7–20.

[4] Dk. **7.** 4. 24–28.

[5] *E.g.* Ys. **44.** 19.

[6] Ys. **51.** 10; cf. Phl. version. So Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, p. 354–355; Justi, in *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, p. 247, 234. Differently, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 334; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 132, reads *Hunuštar.*

representative of heretical priestcraft,[1] or again such miscreants as the perverse Grēhma, Bēndva, and Vaēpya Kevīna, who are anathematized in the Zoroastrian Psalms.[2] It was unhappy incidents like these and encounters with stiff-necked unbelievers who stopped their ears and refused to receive the healing word of the great Revelation, which the Prophet knew he was offering, that led to the embittered outpourings which we find in lines of the Gāthās. Such rebuffs could not but produce times of despondency and distress, an echo of which we hear lingering in these Hymns. Zarathushtra more than once breaks forth with a cry against such rulers and powerful lords who use not their sovereignty for the protection of the righteous and for the advancement of virtue. If it were not so, he would not thus have found himself a wanderer knowing not whither to turn.[3] Yet hope is mingled with discouragement, and yet again despair with expectation. We next find Zoroaster a long way off to the south and southeast of Iran in the land of Seistān. Consult the Map.

After failing with Vaēdvōisht, Zaratūsht receives comfort and direction from Aūharmazd. He takes his pilgrim path and missionary road to one 'Parshaṭ,' a ruler whose title is given as 'Tōrā' (Bull), and who dwells 'at the end of Sagastān' (Seistān).[4] This territory borders upon Afghānistān and Balūchistān, and by the expression 'end of Sagastān' may be meant somewhere in the region of Ghaznī.[5] A curious story is

[1] Ys. **44**. 20; cf. Phl. version and Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, pp. 216–217; also Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 289 (3d ed.); Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 294.

[2] Ys. **32**. 12–14; **49**. 1–2; **51**. 12. It is not certain, however, that Grēhma and Bēndva really are proper names. Vaēpya Kevīna, of evil fame, is called 'the Kaī sodomite Akht, the heretic of dark existence,' in Dk. **9**. 44. 14; cf. Phl. Ys. **50** (**51**). 12, and compare also Akhtyō of Yt. **5**. 82, and consult the references given by Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 13*a*, and *Iranische Religion* in *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, pp. 245–247.

[3] Compare, for example, the *Kām nemōi ząm* Gāthā, Ys. **46**. 1 seq., and Geiger in Darab D. P. Sanjana's *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 171–175.

[4] Dk. **7**. 4. 31.

[5] So Dr. West (letter), and see his note on Dk. **7**. 4. 31. In this connection we may recall a statement of Am-

now told to show the virtue of Hōm-water from the Iranian Jordan, or river Dāitī (Av. Dāityā). With the name Parshaṯ-tōrā we may compare the Avestan Parshaṯ-gāu.[1] This Parshaṯ begs for some of the holy Dāityā water. From what follows it is evident that Zoroaster must have combined with the mission of gospel teaching some claims also to medical skill and practice in healing. He first bids Parshaṯ to praise righteousness, to curse the demons, and openly to profess the Faith. Parshaṯ carries out the former two injunctions, but he fails to comply with the third by adopting the Creed. Zaratūsht therefore does not fulfil his request, but passes on, and by means of the Hōm-water which had not been bestowed upon the weakling, he cures a four-year-old bull that had lost its virile power.[2] The name of Parshaṯ disappears from sight.

The entire allusion to Seistān is of interest in connection with the Prophet's wanderings to remote places and to lands far distant from his home. Two facts also are recalled by it: first, the territory of Seistān is the place of origin of the Kayanian dynasty to which King Vishtāspa belongs; second, the scene cannot have been far removed from that seat of stiff-necked unbelief, the home of Rustam. Certain it is, that one of Vishtāspa's earliest missionary efforts after his own conversion was in the direction of this very scene where Zoroaster's earlier endeavor had been unsuccessful with Parshaṯ, the Bull, who dwelt 'at the end of Sagastān.'[3] From what comes after, it appears that the Prophet now journeyed back, perhaps by a round-about way, towards his own home, for we next find him

mianus Marcellinus, **23.** 6. 33, which associates Zoroaster's name with the northern territory of India—*superioris Indiae;* see Appendix V. § 22, also p. 72, n. 3, p. 87, n. 1, and the remarks on 'White India' in Appendix IV. p. 207, n. 2.

[1] Yt. **13.** 96. 127, and see West's note in *SBE.* xlvii. 57; cf. also Parshaṯ-gāvō in Dk. **9.** 24. 17, *SBE.* xxxvii. 230.

[2] Dk. **7.** 4. 29–35 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 57–58).

[3] On the propaganda in Seistān, compare the Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of Sagastān,' referred to by West in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 118, and translated for me by Dr. West; also the Shāh Nāmah allusions; see below, Crusades (Chap. IX.).

in the northwest, in the region to the south of the Caspian Sea (cf. Map), proceeding apparently on his way to his native land of Ādarbaijān.

Second Vision — Conference with Vohu Manah. — In the seven or eight years that follow the first vision of the empyrean throne and the first communing with Ormazd, Zoroaster enjoys the divine favor of six more conferences individually with the six Archangels. We know of these from fragmentary accounts of the lost Avestan Nasks, or sacred books, and we have descriptions of them in Pahlavi literature, especially in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam.[1] They are attested also in Yasna 43 of the Gāthās and elsewhere in the Avesta. The interviews, questionings, or revelations occur in different places and at different times. The period of the ten years from thirty to forty in the Prophet's life was a time of great spiritual activity as well as of energetic labor. His soul lives partly in the world beyond the present; he sums up within himself the generation of those whose young men saw visions and whose old men dreamed dreams. As the veil is withdrawn from before his eyes the several Archangels appear at different times before his entranced sight. Each Amshaspand enjoins upon him special moral duties and practical obligations including particularly the guardian care of material or living things over which they preside in the physical world — the animals, fire, metals, earth, water, and plants.

The first of these seraphic manifestations, or the second revelation from heaven, is a conference with the archangel Vohūman, or Vohu Manah of the Avesta, who intrusts to the Lord's chosen minister the care and keeping of useful animals, for Vohu Manah's name, even in the Gāthās, is especially associated with the protection of the animal kingdom.[2] Accord-

[1] Zsp. 22. 1–13. Add also Dk. 8. 14. 2–9; ZtN. p. 495–8; Dab. i. 232–44.

[2] Zsp. 22. 3–6; ZtN. p. 495; Dab. i. p. 240. And for the association of Vohu Manah's name with the care of cattle in the Gāthās, see Geiger, *Eastern Iranians*, transl. Darab D. P. Sanjana, i. p. xxxv.

ing to the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, the scene of this special interview granted by Vohūman to Zaratūsht, and the giving of injunctions to the inspired Seer, is laid in the region of Iran to the south of the Caspian Sea or in the Alborz mountains, for the text designates it as 'the conference on Hūgar and Aūsind,' which are regarded as two peaks of that range.[1]

Third Vision — Conference with Asha Vahishta. — The third interview is 'a conference at the Tōjān water';[2] this is held with the archangel Arṯavahisht, who enjoins upon Zoroaster the care of the Fire and the guardianship of all fires, sacred and secular.[3] The place where this apparition comes to the Prophet is to the south of the Caspian Sea and somewhat to the east, if I am right in identifying 'the Tōjān water' with the river Tajan (lat. 36–37; long. 55–56) — see the key to the Map.[4] This identification would agree well with the region of the preceding vision and with the probable situation of the following.[5] The territory, I believe, is volcanic in its character, which would also answer to the kingdom of fire over which Asha Vahishta is the presiding genius.

Fourth Vision — Conference with Khshathra Vairya. — The fourth ecstatic trance which is vouchsafed to the Seer brings him into the presence of the archangel Shatvēr (Av. Khshathra Vairya), who assigns to him the care and keeping of metals. The scene of this manifestation is not absolutely identified. The Selections of Zāṯ-sparam call the interview the 'conference

[1] Zsp. 22. 3. From the Avesta we know that Mount Hukairya (Av. *Hukairya Barəzah*) is a peak of Hara Berezaiti (the Alborz chain); and Aūsind (Av. *Us Hindva*) stands in the Sea Vourukasha (Caspian Sea). Compare notes by West, *SBE.* v. 35, and Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 584.

[2] So Zsp. 22. 7 (West's translation).

[3] Zsp. 22. 7; ZtN. p. 496; Dab. i. p. 241.

[4] Consult also the maps in J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse, Cartes*, Paris, 1897. Cf. Curzon, *Persia*, i. 378, and his map.

[5] In a note on the passage, West (*SBE.* xlvii. 161, n. 2) doubtfully suggests the Tejend River; but if so, that would be the only instance of a vision being manifested in territory so far to the east. See also my next proposed identification.

at Sarāī (?), a settlement on the Mīvān (?).'[1] Dr. West draws attention to the fact that his reading of these names is uncertain and that he has not identified the places. I should venture to suggest that we are still in the South Caspian region, in the mountainous territory not far removed from the scene of the preceding interview. On the same river Tajan, that has just been alluded to, is the town of Sarī, to the east of Barfrush (see Map), which would correspond to the settlement Sarāī of the text, especially if there be mines in the neighborhood under Khshathra Vairya's dominion. The territory is Mazanderān, but we know that Zoroaster, dervish-like, wandered also in the country of fiends, demon-worshippers, and wicked unbelievers before he met with the one truly righteous king and protector.[2]

Fifth Vision — Conference with Spenta Ārmaiti. — For the fifth transcendent manifestation we must trace our way over various districts and provinces to the region of Lake Caēcista (mod. Urumiah), or back into Ādarbaijān.[3] From Zāt-sparam we know that this interview took place there, because the text states, that 'for the occurrence of the fifth questioning, which is Spendarmat's, the spirits of the regions, frontiers, stations, settlements, and districts, as many as were desirable, have come out with Zaratūsht to a conference where there is a spring which comes out from the Asnavad mountain, and goes into the Dāitīh.'[4] Mount Asnavad, which is found also in the Avesta and is famous likewise as having been the seat of the Gūshnasp fire, is unquestionably to be localized in Ādarbaijān.[5] It is not to be confused with the 'Mountain of the two Holy Communing Ones,' described above (p. 34). As a likely identifica-

[1] Zsp. 22. 8; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 161, note 4.

[2] In offering this conjecture I am not unmindful of Sarāī near Bakū (see Saint-Martin, *Nouveau Dict. de Géographie*, v. 668); and Sarāī near Bokhara; Sarāī in India; and Sarain in Ādarbaijān; also Sarī near Marand in De Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab*, vi. 91, 213.

[3] Zsp. 22. 9; ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 242.

[4] Zsp. 22. 9, West's translation.

[5] For references, see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 161, n. 5; and Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 152–154; ii. 299, 620; cf. also Justi, *Hdb. der Zendsprache*, s.v. *asnavat*, where an identification with Takht-i Suleimān is mentioned.

tion I should suggest that the Mountains of Sahend (lat. 37.50; long. 46.50—see Map, square Bb.) would answer the requirements of the text here and elsewhere. Waters from a 'spring' on the mountain side might well flow in the manner described by the text if the Dāītīh be associated with the Ḳizel Ūzen and Spēd (Sefīd), as already proposed (pp. 40–41).

Sixth Vision — Conference with Haurvatāt. — The scene of the next hallowed interview is laid at the same place, near Lake Urumiah, and it may best be described by using again the words of the Zāṯ-sparam itself: 'For the occurrence of the sixth questioning, which is Khūrdaṯ's (Av. Haurvatāt), the spirits of seas and rivers have come with Zaratūsht to a conference at the Asnavad mountain, and he was told about the care and propitiation of water.'[1] Like the preceding interview the location therefore is Ādarbaijān.

Seventh Vision — Conference with Ameretāt. — The seventh and last enraptured sight, which completed the Revelation, is a vision accompanied by a conference with the guardian divinity of the plants, Amūrdaṯ (Av. Ameretāt).[2] This is not confined to a single spot, but Ādarbaijān is the scene. To quote the words of tradition, it occurred 'on the precipitous bank of the Dareja, on the bank of the water of Dāītīh, and different places.'[3] The Dareja or Darej is the ancestral river of Zoroaster, and it is to be localized in Ādarbaijān, as discussed above and in Appendix IV. In the same appendix, reasons are given for localizing the Dāītīh (Av. Dāityā) in Ādarbaijān.[4] Consequently, Zoroaster must gradually have found his way back to his home, and the scene of the final interview must have been in this territory, although the expression 'different places,' applied to the interview with Amūrdaṯ would seem to show that the questionings with this archangel were not confined to these two sites alone.

[1] Zsp. 22. 11 (West's translation), and cf. ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 242.

[2] Zsp. 22. 12; ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 243.

[3] Zsp. 22. 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 162.

[4] See also above, pp. 40–41.

Other Spiritual Manifestations. — In these various visions of Paradise which are granted to Zoroaster, and which rival the seven heavens of Mohammed, the Prophet becomes quite well acquainted with the empyrean realms and with the celestial hierarchy of God, the angels, and archangels.[1] The tendency to visionary trance is further manifested by the apparition of Haoma, which rises before Zarathushtra at the altar, as described in the Avesta (Ys. 9. 1).[2] The Pahlavi commentary on this passage adds that Zoroaster at once recognized Hōm 'because he had had conferences with most of the angels (Izads) and he was acquainted with them.'[3] The same idea of heavenly visitations is implied elsewhere in the Avesta, for example, where Ashi Vanuhi is conceived of as conversing with Zarathushtra.[4]

To Summarize the Seven Visions. — At the age of thirty Zoroaster receives a revelation, and during the next ten years he beholds seven visions of Ormazd and the Archangels. In Zoroastrian literature there are several allusions to these manifestations. A chapter in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam describes the conferences with most detail. Its account implies that the visions occurred during the winters — a time when the Prophet perhaps chose to rest from his itinerant labors, like Buddha during the rainy season. The particular paragraph referring to this point is worth quoting. It runs: 'The seven questions are explained within the length of these winters, which are of five months, and within ten years.'[5] As to scene, the text says, at the outset, that 'the seven questions, with reference to religion, of the seven archangels, occurred in seven places.'[6] If

[1] In this connection, attention might, perhaps, be drawn to the chapter on the Yazatas (Izads) in the Great Iranian Būndahishn, translated by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 305–22; cf. West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 102 (par. 35).

[2] For a poet's view of Zoroaster's spiritual visions, we might recall the lines of Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*, 1. 1. 198–201.

[3] See Darmesteter, *ZA.* translated (2 ed.) in *SBE.* iv. 258, and also *Le ZA.* iii. 29.

[4] Yt. 17. 15–21.

[5] Zsp. 22. 13 (West's tr.).

[6] Zsp. 22. 1 (West's tr.).

we follow tradition, the scenes of five of the visions, namely, the first, second, fifth, sixth, and seventh, are certainly to be localized in the west of Iran, in Ādarbaijān and the southern Caspian territory. If the identification, suggested above, of Tōjān and of Sarāī be correct, the place of the third and of the fourth conferences likewise is directly to the south of the Caspian Sea. Media Atropatene and Media Rhagiana may therefore be regarded, on the basis of tradition at least, as the place of Zoroaster's apocalyptic visions of heaven.

The Temptation of Zoroaster. — The ten years of interviews and communings with the Divine Beings are now at an end. The Revelation is complete. Zoroaster receives from Ormazd some final admonitions, and he carries with him from heaven the supreme knowledge contained in the Avesta and also the sacred Ahuna Vairya formula — the paternoster of Zoroastrianism. At parting he is warned to guard against the temptations of the fiends who will beset his path as he returns among men. It is the instant when a weaker spirit might be prone to falter, and when a false step would mean ruin and damnation. It is the moment when Māra whispered to the newly Enlightened Buddha, tempting him to enter at once into Nirvāna and not to give forth to mankind the illumination which he himself by so hard a struggle had won. The Powers of Evil now gather their forces for a combined attack upon Zarathushtra. A description of the Temptation is given both in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi writings. The demon Būiti (Phl. Būṯ) is sent by Ahriman to deceive and to overthrow the holy messenger. But Zoroaster is armed with a breastplate of righteousness and with the spiritual weapons of the Law, as well as materially equipped; and he defeats his spiritual enemies and puts them to flight. The Avesta pictures the situation as follows: —

'From the region of the north, from the regions of the north, forth rushed Anra Mainyu, the deadly, the Demon of Demons. And thus howled the maleficent Anra Mainyu, the deadly: "O Fiend, rush

on and kill him," O righteous Zarathushtra! The Fiend rushed then along, the demon Būiti, the secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver.

'Zarathushtra recited the Ahuna Vairya, saying: "As the Lord, etc." He worshipped the good waters of the good Dāityā. He recited the creed of the Religion of Mazda-worshippers. And away rushed the Fiend confounded, the secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver.

'The Fiend then howled back to Anra Mainyu: "Thou tormentor, Anra Mainyu! I can find no destruction for him — for Spitama Zarathushtra. All-glorious is Zarathushtra." Now, Zarathushtra perceived in his heart, "The fiendish maleficent Demons are plotting my destruction."

'Up started Zarathushtra, forward stepped Zarathushtra, undaunted by Evil Thought, by the hardness of his malicious questions, and wielding stones in his hand, stones big as a house, having obtained them from Ahura Mazda, he the righteous Zarathushtra.

'"Whereat in this broad, round earth, whose boundaries are far distant (asked the Demon), dost thou wield (these stones), thou who standest upon the high bank of the river Drej (Dareja), at the abode of Pourushaspa?"

'And Zarathushtra responded to Anra Mainyu: "O maleficent Anra Mainyu! I shall smite the creation of the Demons, I shall smite the Nasu (demon of Death), who is created by the Demons. (Yea), I shall smite the Enchantress (Pairika Khnâthaiti), until the Saviour (Saoshyant), the Victorious shall be born from the waters of Kāsava, from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn."[1]

'Thereupon to him howled back Anra Mainyu, the Lord of Evil Creation: "Do not destroy my creatures, O righteous Zarathushtra! Thou art the son of Pourushaspa; I was worshipped (?) by thy mother. Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, so as to obtain a boon such as Vadhaghana obtained, the ruler of a nation."[2]

'But Spitama Zarathushtra answered him: "No! I shall not

[1] This is the Messiah that is to spring from the seed of Zarathushtra; he is to be born in the land of Seistān, the home of the Kayanian royal family.

[2] On the Vaṭakān tyrant Dahāk, see Mkh. **57**. 25; Dāṭ. **72**. 5; **78**. 2; Dk. **9**. 10. 3; **9**. 21. 4; **7**. 2. 64; Zsp. **12**. 13 (West, *SBE*. xxiv. 103; xviii. 217, 228; xxxvii. 185, 212; xlvii. 32, 136).

renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, not though life, and limb, and soul should part asunder."

'And again to him howled out Anra Mainyu, the Lord of Evil Creation: "By whose word wilt thou vanquish, by whose word wilt thou withstand, and by what weapon will the good creatures (withstand and vanquish)[1] my creation, who am Anra Mainyu?"

'Spitama Zarathushtra answered him: "With the sacred mortar, with the sacred cup, with the Word proclaimed by Mazda, with my own weapon, and it is the best one. With this word will I vanquish with this word will I withstand, with this weapon will the good creatures (withstand and vanquish thee), O malignant Anra Mainyu! The Good Spirit created these, he created them in the Boundless Time; the Amesha Spentas, the good and wise rulers presented them."

'And Zarathushtra recited aloud the Ahuna Vairya.'[2]

The Dīnkarṯ has a briefer account of the episode; and the Zartusht Nāmah and Dabistān also allude to the assault of the princes of darkness upon Zoroaster as he is returning, and to their specious, guileful, and tempting words.[3] This temptation, therefore, offers an indirect parallel to that in Buddhism and in Christianity. No likeness is familiar in Mohammedanism nor in the Mosaic system. But besides this, another seductive deception awaits the Prophet of Mazda, like the Knight of true Holiness encountering Foul Error and Hypocrisy in the Faerie Queene, a passage which might be compared. For Zoroaster, as forewarned by Aūharmazd, is again tempted, this time by a Karap who has assumed the feminine form of Spendarmaṯ; but he discovers the disguise and exorcises the fiend as described in the Dīnkarṯ.[4]

Maidhyōi-māonha, the First Convert to the Faith. — We may now imagine Zoroaster in this tenth year of the Religion as busily engaged in his mission among men. The bugle note of

[1] So, after Darmesteter's construction of *hukərətāəhō*.

[2] Vd. 19. 1–10; compare also Darmesteter's translation in *SBE.* iv. 208 seq. (2 ed.).

[3] Dk. 7. 4. 36–41; ZtN. p. 498; Dab. i. p. 244.

[4] Dk. 7. 4. 54–62; see West's translation.

success is sounded even though the full triumph and victory is still to be delayed for two years more. Yet only one convert has been made; but the conversion is important; it is Zarathushtra's own cousin Maidhyōi-māonha (Phl. Mēṯyō-māh) already mentioned (p. 20). The Zāṯ-sparam selection states the fact thus: 'On the completion of revelation, that is, at the end of the ten years, Mēṯyōmāh, son of Ārāstāī,[1] became faithful to Zaratūsht.'[2] The fact is definitely alluded to in the Gāthās and in the Younger Avesta (which contains lists also of later converts, in the Farvadīn Yasht),[3] and it is noticed in other Zoroastrian writings. Quotations are unnecessary. Maidhyōi-māonha's being drawn to the new faith and his acceptance of the creed is a fulfilment of the promise which Zaratūsht's first vision gave when he beheld the image of a victorious army under this leader coming to join him.[4] The Zāṯ-sparam rightly interprets the allegory: 'Mēṯyōmāh was the leader of all mankind who have gone out to the presence of Zaratūsht, and he became their guide, so that first Mēṯyōmāh and afterwards the whole material existence are attracted (to the faith).'[5] The scene of the conversion is laid by the Zāṯ-sparam 'in the forest of reedy hollows, which is the haunt of swine of the wild-boar species.'[6] It would be interesting if one could identify the situation. We may henceforth think of Maidhyōi-māonha as a sort of St. John the disciple.

Conclusion. — The first ten years of the Religion have now passed; seven visions have been seen; the Revelation is complete; Zoroaster has withstood the temptation and assaults of the Powers of Evil; he has also won his first disciple. And yet at this instant, after the exhilaration of success, there comes the moment of depression and despondency. We have

[1] See genealogical table in Chap. II.

[2] Zsp. **23.** 1. According to the traditional dating, the year would be B.C. 620. See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[3] Ys. **51.** 19; Yt. **13.** 95.

[4] Zsp. **21.** 2; ZtN. p. 491; Dab. i. p. 230–1. Cf. p. 40 above.

[5] Zsp. **21.** 3 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 155).

[6] Zsp. **23.** 8.

evidence of this; for, to quote the words of a Zāṯ-sparam selection, 'Afterwards, on having obtained his requests, he came back to the conference of Aūharmazd, and he spoke thus: "In ten years only one man has been attracted by me."'[1] Ormazd answers paradoxically, but the answer seems to have given an inspiration, for the efforts of the next two years are unceasing, — crucial years as they were, — success attends, the climax is reached, the achievement is won. This achievement is the conversion of Vishtāspa, the triumph of the Faith, as described in the next chapter.

[1] Zsp. 23. 2.

CHAPTER V

TRIUMPH

THE CONVERSION OF KING VISHTĀSPA IN THE TWELFTH YEAR OF THE FAITH

And hēt hine gān tō þām cynge and bōdian him rihtne gelēafan, and hē swā dyde, and se cing gecyrde tō rihtne gelēafan.

— ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

INTRODUCTION — ZOROASTER SEEKS VISHTĀSPA — MEETING BETWEEN ZARATŪSHT AND VISHTĀSP — ZARATŪSHT DISPUTES WITH THE WISE MEN — CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM; HIS IMPRISONMENT — THE EPISODE OF THE BLACK HORSE — COMPLETE CONVERSION OF VISHTĀSP — COMING OF THE ARCHANGELS — VISHTĀSP'S VISION — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — The eleventh and twelfth years of the Religion are stirring years in the Prophet's life;[1] they are years of struggle, bitter trial, temporary disappointment, but of final triumph; they are the two years devoted to the conversion of Vishtāspa; and when success finally crowns the effort, they form the great climax in Zoroaster's career. A firm and powerful hand is henceforth to uphold the Faith. The events, incidents, and occurrences, which are recorded by tradition in connection with this important era are presented here in detail; and the words of the texts themselves are employed, as far as possible in narrating them. In order truly to appreciate the spirit of the situation one should call to mind descriptions of similar conversions in the history of the world's great religions.

Zoroaster seeks Vishtāspa. — As already noted, an inspira-

[1] B.C. 619–618, according to the traditional chronology; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

tion seems to have come to Zoroaster that he should turn to the court of Vishtāspa. The Younger Avesta tells how he prayed to Ardvī Sūra, the goddess of waters, that he might win Vishtāspa to the Faith.[1] Vishtāspa is a king or princely ruler, but he and his court are represented as having been wrapt in the toils of evil religious influence and fettered by the false belief that was rife in the land. The picture which the Zoroastrian texts give is naturally a distorted one, colored by religious prejudice and animosity; but doubtless its darkness is not without reason. Everything is portrayed as bound by base superstition, or under the thrall of dread magic. There is the stifling atmosphere of the dark ages of the Atharva Veda that was still hanging like a pall over the cousin-land of India. Iran or the court of Vishtāsp is dominated by scheming and unscrupulous priests, the Kīgs and Karaps, or Kavis and Karpans of the Avesta. Especially powerful among these is one Zāk — a name that seems to occur only in the Dīnkarṯ, and his ill reputation has destined him otherwise for oblivion. The Dīnkarṯ gives a number of interesting particulars on the subject, which are translated by West, and are worth quoting in part. 'Zaratūsht became aware from revelation about the vileness and perverted religion of Zāk of the deadly Karaps of Vishtāsp and many other Kaīs and Karaps who were at the residence of Vishtāsp.'[2] Accordingly, 'after the continuance of the last questioning of the ten years of conference [he took] his departure alone, by the advice and command of Aūharmazd, to the residence of Vishtāsp and the precinct of that terrible conflict.'[3]

The Shikand-gūmānīk-Vijār, **10**. 64–66 also adds that 'Zaratūsht came alone on a true mission, to the lofty portal of Kaī Gushtāsp, and the religion was taught by him, with a powerful tongue, to Kaī Gushtāsp and the learned, through the speech of wisdom, through manual gestures, through definite words,

[1] Yt. 5. 105.
[2] Dk. 7. 4. 64.
[3] Dk. 7. 4. 65.

through explanation of many doubts, and through the presentation of the visible testimony of the archangels, together with many miracles.'[1]

The Dīnkart speaks several times of the 'residence,' 'lofty residence,' 'abode,' 'capital or metropolis' of Vishtāsp, but it does not make clear where this was located.[2] Neither does the Avesta nor any known Pahlavi text make a precise and definite statement. But the later tradition, Persian and Arabic, persistently maintains that the city of Balkh was the scene of the conversion. A full discussion of this question is given below in Appendix IV., so it is omitted here. It must be remembered therefore when 'Balkh' is mentioned hereafter it is used because the name stands in the particular connection or source from which the material in question is being drawn; a final judgment on the matter is avoided for the present.

It is at this juncture that a curious legend is narrated of a strange incident which happened as Zoroaster was on his way to Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp). The modern Persian Dabistān, basing its statement upon the authority of a priest who quoted from an old treatise, recounts how two infidel rulers were punished for refusing to adopt the Faith at the holy bidding of the Prophet as he was proceeding to interview the great king. The selection reads: 'The Mobed Surūsh, the Yazdānian, has

[1] West, *SBE.* xxiv. 170–1.

[2] Dk. **7.** 4. 64, 65, 75, 76, 77, 84; 5. 2 (= *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 64 *bis*, 67, 68 *bis*, 70, 74); **8.** 11. 3; in the Shik. Gūm. Vij. **10.** 64, transl. 'lofty portal' (West, *SBE.* xxiv. 170). Dr. West (Aug. 2, 1897) writes me: 'In Dk. **7.** 4. 64, 65, the word translated "capital" in the *Grundriss*, and "residence" in *SBE.* vol. xlvii. is *babā* (= *dar* Pers.). As a mint-mark on coins it is understood to mean "the capital, or metropolis." It also occurs Dk. **8.** 11. 3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24). The word *mān*, "abode," "house," is also used in **7.** 4. 75, 76, 77, etc. Whether the two words are used indifferently, or whether *babā* rather means "the city," and *mān*, "the palace," is uncertain. There is no hint in Dk. as to where this capital, or residence, was.' Furthermore (Jan. 7, 1898), 'Dk. **7.** 4. 76, "lofty residence" = *būland mānishnŏ*, where *būland* may mean "high" either in position or character; "tall, exalted, or eminent."' If 'lofty residence' or 'capital' should perhaps signify Balkh, we might compare Shelley's 'that high capital,' meaning Rome.

been heard to say, "It is recorded in the treatise of Mīhīn Farūsh that, according to the doctors of the pure faith, when Zardusht had thus obtained the victory over the demons, and was proceeding to an interview with the great King Gushtāsp, there happened to be two oppressive and infidel kings in his road; these Zardusht invited to adopt the pure faith and turn away from their evil practices; but they heeded not his words; he therefore prayed to God, and there began to blow a mighty wind, which lifted up these two kings on high and kept them suspended in the air; the people who came around were astonished on beholding this sight; the birds also from every quarter of the sky flocked around the two kings, and with beaks and talons tore off their flesh until the bones fell to the ground."'[1] The legend has a weird picturesqueness, to say the least!

Meeting between Zaratūsht and Vishtāsp. — If we understand the Dīnkart text aright, the moment of the first meeting between Zaratūsht and Vishtāsp must have been when the king was on the race-course (Phl. *aspānvar*);[2] the Dīnkart paragraph speaks of Zoroaster as 'uttering, on the horse-course of Vishtāsp, a reminder of the power and triumph of Aūharmazd over himself, as he invited Vishtāsp to the religion of Aūharmazd; and with great wisdom Vishtāsp heard the words of Zaratūsht, on account of his own complete mindfulness, and would have asked for an outpouring of prophecy. But thereupon — before the words of Zaratūsht (were fully) heard by him, and he could have understood the character of Zaratūsht — owing to the demonizing of the deadly Zāk and the rest of those Kīgs and Karaps, spoken out with slanderous knowledge and perverse

[1] Dabistān, tr. by Shea and Troyer, i. 244–245. A kindred idea perhaps is contained in Dk. 7. 4. 82 end.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 66. In answer to an inquiry if, possibly, a town might be intended, Dr. West says (Jan. 7, 1898), 'There is a town Asbānbur, or Asfānbur, but I have not been able to discover where it is. I am doubtful, however, if a town be meant by the words: *Madam Aspānvar-ī Vishtāspō.* I should be more inclined to read *aspakhvūr* for *aspākhvūr*, "a horse-stable."' In the latter case, one might think perhaps of the story of healing the black horse of Vishtāsp.

actions to Vishtāsp about Zaratūsht, there then (occurred) his consignment of Zaratūsht to confinement and punishment.'[1]

In the Zartusht Nāmah[2] the scene of the conversion is laid in Balkh, where Vishtāsp's father, the old king Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvat-aspa) is generally stated to have lived in retirement after his abdication. Masūdī (d. A.D. 957) also makes it Balkh, and his testimony is nearly three hundred years earlier than the Zartusht Nāmah.[3] The Shāh Nāmah (A.D. 1000) does not make the assertion explicitly in so many words, but it lays all the following scenes at Balkh, as discussed below (Appendix IV. p. 214).[4] The Cangranghācah Nāmah likewise lays the scene of the rival Brahman's conversion at Balkh.[5]

The later tradition adds details and embellishes the account. According to the Zartusht Nāmah, King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) was seated in royal estate in his palace when Ormazd's apostle appeared.[6] According to Mohammedan writers, Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Athīr, Zoroaster enters the assembly in no ordinary manner, but by a miracle: the roof parts asunder to give entrance to his hallowed person.[7] Ibn al-Athīr also adds, that 'in his hand was a cube of fire with which he played without its hurting him.' The scene might make a subject for a painting. We must remember, furthermore, that Zoroaster originally sprang from the country of naphtha wells; moreover, he may not have been wholly unacquainted with effects produced by chemical experiments if we may judge from accounts of the scientific knowledge attributed to him.[8] The Shāh Nāmah

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 66–67 (West's translation). Cf. also Dk. 7. 5. 6.

[2] ZtN. pp. 498–499.

[3] See Masūdī's statement in Appendix IV. p. 199.

[4] Compare Mohl, *Livre des Rois*, trad. iv. 290, 291, 298, 300.

[5] See summary by Anquetil du Perron, i. part. 2, p. 50.

[6] ZtN. pp. 498–499.

[7] Gottheil, *References*, p. 40. Both of these writers belong to the thirteenth century of our era. Mirkhond (*History*, tr. Shea, p. 287) repeats Ibn al-Athīr's story of the wonderful fire. Recall also classical allusions to the fire. The reference is evidently to the Būrhzīn Mitrō fire described below.

[8] *E.g.* in the Nasks, see Chap. VIII. below, pp. 95–96; cf. also Dk. 7. 5. 8–10, and also the classical statements on p. 8 and in Appendix V.

similarly alludes to the censer or basin of fire which he brought from Paradise to present to the King.[1] In these fire references there seems to linger a reminiscence of the Būrzhīn Mitrō fire, shortly to be referred to. Ḳazwīnī apparently draws from some traditional source or Pahlavi text when he describes an ordeal of molten metal to which Zoroaster has to submit his person to prove the divine truth of his mission.[2] This is at least in harmony with 'the achievement of ordeal' referred to in the Dīnkarṯ as instituted or sanctioned by Zaratūsht who is there cited as giving authority for thirty-three kinds of this judicial test.[3] This very achievement of Zoroaster forms the prototype of a fiery ordeal undergone by one of his future apostles in Sassanian times, and of the usage of the ordeal in the religion.

Zaratūsht disputes with the Wise Men. — There is evidence enough to show that the Prophet had to win his way step by step during these two years of struggle and probation; and there is no doubt that he at once encountered the antagonism and vigorous opposition of the wise men of the king's court. According to tradition at least, there were not wanting those to plot against him.

'The Kavīgs and Karaps,' says the Zāṯ-sparam, 'in the manner of opponents propounded thirty-three inquiries to him, so that by command of Vishtāsp he became the explainer of those thirty-three inquiries.'[4] This and the later debates are alluded to in the Dīnkarṯ and elsewhere as 'the terrible conflict,' 'the terrible combat,' 'the great session,' 'the controversy about the religion with the famous learned of the realm' who were Zoroaster's 'fellow-disputants.'[5] The Zartusht Nāmah, drawing upon some source not now accessible, or supplying material from imagination, graphically describes the scene with Eastern pomp

[1] I.e. *mijmar-i ātaš*, ShN. ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1498; Mohl tr. iv. 290. On the amulet chain given to Isfendiār, see p. 67, note 6.

[2] Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 267; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 41; Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 287.

[3] Dk. 7. 5. 4–5 (West, *SBE.*).

[4] Zsp. 23. 5.

[5] Dk. 7. 4. 65, 69, 70, 73; 5. 2. 10; Zsp. 23. 5.

and Oriental detail.[1] The sages of Vishtāsp are seated in grave council to dispute with the new-comer and stranger, with the herald of Ormazd. The debate and controversy lasts no less than three days.[2] The Priest of the Zend-Avesta comes off triumphant at every point.[3] He claims the office of Prophet and begins to recite the sacred texts to the king.[4]

Conspiracy against Zoroaster; his Imprisonment. — Vishtāsp's interest is aroused, and the divine Seer seems to have produced a marked effect by being able through his prescience, as the story goes, openly to disclose and tell the thoughts of the king and of others, with astonishing results.[5] A plot, however, is concocted by those whose light the brilliancy of the new luminary has dimmed. The priests who are supplanted in influence enter into a conspiracy, like those who sought to find occasion against Daniel, and they intrigue for Zoroaster's death.[6] By suborning the porter of his lodging, as the tale relates, these wicked schemers succeed in hiding vile material within the holy man's apartments so that it may be used as evidence against him. The hair, nails, heads, of cats and dogs, together with various other paraphernalia of witchcraft and sorcery, are thus slipped in. On this false evidence Zoroaster is accused of being a wizard and necromancer; he is thrown into prison and is left to starve. Such is the account of the Zartusht Nāmah, and the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ alludes to the circumstance as well.[7]

The Episode of the Black Horse. — A miracle releases Zardusht. It is the miracle which he wrought by restoring to health the king's Black Horse, as described with great elaboration in the Zartusht Nāmah and incidentally referred to in the Dīnkarṯ.[8] The king has a favorite black horse.[9] Upon the imprisonment

[1] ZtN. pp. 499–501; repeated also in the Dabistān, i. pp. 245–250.

[2] ZtN. p. 501.

[3] One is somewhat reminded of the questionings of the scribes and Pharisees, if not of Luther's disquisitions.

[4] ZtN. p. 501; Dab. i. pp. 249–250.

[5] Dk. 7. 4. 71; 5. 2. 8.

[6] ZtN. p. 503 seq. repeated in Dab. i. p. 251.

[7] Dk. 7. 4. 64, 67; 7. 5. 6.

[8] ZtN. pp. 504–509; Dk. 7. 4. 70.

[9] Apparently named Bahzād (well-

of Ormazd's minister the animal's four legs are suddenly drawn up into its belly and the creature is unable to move. This occurrence is plainly a manifestation of the divine displeasure. In his dungeon cell Zardusht hears of what has happened. He offers, if released, to restore the horse to its former soundness; but he will do this only upon the fulfilment of specific conditions. These the king must agree to beforehand. Vishtāsp is overjoyed and promises to grant the Priest a boon for each foot of the charger that is restored to its proper state. The details which follow seem ludicrous, but such descriptions of cunning practices are not unique. Hocus-pocus has been employed elsewhere, and the situation doubtless had its parallels in other courts of Eastern despots in ancient days. We must not forget that even when St. Augustine preached Christianity to Æthelbert of England, it was in the open air, owing to the king's dread of witchcraft which might exercise a spell upon him if he were within four walls!

The first condition which Zardusht makes, is that Vishtāsp shall accept the Faith if one foot of the horse be restored. Upon the king's agreeing to this stipulation, and in answer to the Prophet's earnest prayer, 'the right fore-leg of the horse came out, since the word of the Shāh was true.'[1] Before the 'man of God' will grant the second boon, however, the king must promise that his own warlike son Isfendīār (Av. Spentō-dāta, Phl. Spend-dāṯ) shall fight as a crusader in support of the true Faith. Thereupon, 'the right hind-leg of the steed comes out by the commandment of God.' The third condition results in the granting of a wished-for favor, the privilege of converting the queen to the Faith. Upon its fulfilment the descent of the third leg is accomplished. The last promise includes the revealing of the names of the culprits who had bribed the

bred) in the Shāh Nāmah (Mohl, tr. iv. pp. 320, 335), unless this name be a merely typical one like 'Black Beauty' in English. Such at least is the tradition. See also Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 360 (Wehzāt), for other horses called by this name.

[1] ZtN. p. 507 (Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, from which the quotations are made).

doorkeeper and had plotted against the Prophet of the Lord. When these are revealed and the offenders appropriately punished by death, the horse is fully restored to health and leaps up upon his four legs as sound as before.

This absurd story, which the Zartusht Nāmah, as just described, tells minutely with considerable imagination and poetic embellishment, receives only brief notice incidentally in the Dīnkart, when it refers to 'the wonder about the splendid horse of Vishtāsp,'[1] and when in another part of the work, it mentions 'the splendid horse of Vishtāsp' as the nonpareil of horses.[2] The episode is seriously recorded, earlier than the Zartusht Nāmah, by Shahrastānī (born A.D. 1086), who lived in Khorassān.[3] As the author of the Zartusht Nāmah (A.D. 1277) was a native of Raī in the West, it shows how current the story was. It is later repeated by Mirkhond.[4] How different from the narrative of Constantine and the Cross!

Complete Conversion of Vishtāsp. — The conversion of Vishtāsp is nearly complete, but he still seeks from Zardusht an additional proof, a vision, a manifestation, some sign or token, before he will be finally convinced. Inasmuch as he himself has freely granted four favors to Zoroaster in acknowledgment of his services, the king now himself makes four counter-requests, as the narrative tells before he fully adopts the Faith. The Zartusht Nāmah again relates these in detail, and we can infer from incidental allusions in Avestan and Pahlavi texts that the tradition was a recognized one.[5] The first of these four request by Vishtāsp is that he may know his final doom and see his place in Paradise; the second, that his body may become invul-

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 70.

[2] Dk. 9. 22. 2 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 220).

[3] Shahrastānī ed. Haarbrücker, i. 283; cf. Gottheil, *References*, p. 50. For references to Vishtāsp's horse Bahzād, see note on p. 62, above.

[4] Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, pp. 287–288.

[5] ZtN. pp. 509–11. Compare the fragmentary Avestan texts Vishtāsp Yasht, and Āfrīn Paighambar Zartūsht (Yt. 24 and Yt. 23). Cf. also Dk. 7. 4. 74–82; 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7 (*SBE.* xlvii. 67–70, 81, 164); Dk. 8. 11. 2–3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24).

nerable; the third favor is that he may have universal knowledge, knowing the past, present, and future; and fourth, that his soul may not leave his body until the resurrection. The Prophet of Ormazd gives assurance that all these requests may be granted; but he shows that such phenomenal privileges when granted could not be combined in the person of a single individual. The king must choose one boon out of the four. His selection is to have permission to behold the place which he shall occupy in heaven.

Coming of the Archangels. — This moment is the occasion of the coming of three Amshaspands, or Archangels, from heaven, to the palace of the king, as witnesses from Aūharmazd to the divinely inspired message of Zaratūsht. These three heaven-sent envoys are Vohūman, Ashavahisht, and the Propitious Fire (Būrzhīn-Mitrō, or Spēnisht, Av. Spénishta).[1] In its description the Dīnkarṯ quotes a passage from 'revelation' as follows: 'Then he who is the creator Aūharmazd spoke to them, to Vohūmanō, Ashavahishtō, and also the fire of Aūharmazd, the propitious, thus: "Proceed! you who are archangels, unto the abode of Vishtāsp, whose resources are cattle and who is far and widely famed, with a view to his reliance upon this religion (that is, till he shall stand up for this religion); and, as regards the answering words of the righteous Zaratūsht of the Spitāmas, to approve the nature of those words."'[2] And, as the paragraph continues, the archangels proceeded to the abode of Vishtāsp in such glorious effulgence that 'their radiance in that lofty residence seemed to him a heaven of complete light, owing to their great power and triumph; this was so that when he thus looked upon it, the exalted Kaī-Vishtāsp trembled, all his courtiers trembled, all his chieftains were con-

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 75, 78; 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7; Dk. 8. 11. 2–3; Bd. 17. 1, 8. See also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 155. It may be noticed that the Zartusht Nāmah makes the number of the messengers to be four, as it mentions two fires, Ādar Khūrdād and Ādar Gūshasp beside the two archangels.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 75–76 (West's translation).

fused, and he of the superior class was like the driver of a chariot-horse.'[1]

The Zartusht Nāmah colors this part of the account by graphically describing these messengers as majestic knights on horseback in cavalier style, bristling with armor and clad in green.[2] The Dīnkarṯ goes on to tell how the Fire speaks out and reassures the terrified king that they are come, not for alarming him as the two envoys of his mortal foe Arjāsp the Khyōn later would do, but that they are come with a bidding from heaven that he should receive the religion of Zaratūsht. In that event they promise him a long reign and a life of one hundred and fifty years(!), accompanied by many blessings and exalted by an immortal son Pēshyōtan (Av. Peshōtanu). On the contrary, if he will not accept the holy Faith, they threaten that his end will soon ensue. And the Archangels thereupon took up their abode with Vishtāsp.[3]

Vishtāsp's Vision. — It was after this stirring occurrence and after the obedient Vishtāsp had received the Creed, that a glimpse of Paradise and a spiritual revelation of his triumphant success in life is vouchsafed to him. In referring to this the Dīnkarṯ says: 'For the sake of daily[4] and visibly showing to Vishtāsp the certified victory over Arjāsp and the Khyōns, and his own superior position, unceasing rule, splendor, and glory, the creator Aūharmazd sends, at the same time, the angel Nēryōsang to the abode of Vishtāsp, as a reminder for the archangel Ashavahishtō to give to Vishtāsp to drink of that fountain of life, for looking into the existence of the spirits, the enlightening food by means of which great glory and beauty are seen by Vishtāsp.'[5] The king now quaffs an anodyne draft of 'the fountain of life'[6] from a fine saucer which

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 76 (West); cf. also Dk. 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7.

[2] ZtN. p. 510; repeated by Dab. i. p. 257.

[3] Dk. 7. 4. 77–82; and Dk. 8. 11. 3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24).

[4] Notice this word. It is also of interest in connection with an allusion in Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 12, and with the Holy Wars (Chap. IX.).

[5] Dk. 7. 4. 84 (West's transl.).

[6] Dk. 7. 4. 84–85.

is proffered to him by Ashavahishtō;[1] and at his instigation the queen also accepts the Faith.[2] The Zartusht Nāmah[3] completes the picture by describing how the king's son Peshōtan (Bashūtan) receives from the Prophet's hand a cup of milk which he drains and becomes undying until the resurrection.[4] The grand vizir, Jāmāsp, inhales some magic perfumes and becomes endowed with universal wisdom.[5] The valiant Isfendiār (Av. Spentō-dāta, Phl. Spend-dāṯ) partakes of a pomegranate, and his body is made invulnerable, so that he may fight the good fight of the Faith.[6] Thus are bestowed the four great boons which were asked by Vishtāsp.

Conclusion. — In reviewing the accounts of the conversion of Kavi Vishtāspa one can but feel convinced of the reality of the event. It is not easy, however, to decide how much may be actual fact and how much is fiction in the stories that are told. Nor is it easy to determine of how early or how late origin some of these stories are. Several of them appear to be hinted at in younger portions of the Avesta; they hardly would occur in the existing Gāthās, for the nature of those Psalms would rather preclude them. Some of them seem to be built up on the basis of old allusions which have been interpreted to suit a situation. Several of them strike us to-day as silly, but a number of them as picturesque and as tinged with Oriental fancy.

Nevertheless, amid all the dross, grains of gold are undoubtedly to be found; and beneath the blaze of tinsel and the glare

[1] So Dk., but by Zardusht, according to the Zartusht Nāmah, p. 511.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 86.

[3] ZtN. p. 511; repeated in Dab. i. pp. 259-260.

[4] In connection with this incident, compare also the paragraph on Pēshyōtan in Dk. 7. 5. 12 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 77). In the Avesta, and in Pahlavi writings, Peshōtanu is always spoken of as immortal.

[5] This is the character of 'the wise Jāmāsp' in the Avesta, the Pahlavi books, and the later writings. Compare also the Pahlavi treatise, Jāmāsp Nāmak, noted by West in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 110.

[6] In the Shāh Nāmah this quality is conferred by means of an amulet chain (kustī ?) which Zardusht is supposed to have brought from heaven, cf. p. 61, note 1, above. See Mohl, tr. iv. 407, and cf. Spiegel, in Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 211.

of gaudy coloring, a sober shade of truth may be recognized. Other nations and other generations have sought for a sign; the Zoroastrian writings are not the only texts that relate miracles. An Eastern ruler in ancient days may not have been insensible to influences which were of a cajoling character. And as for the intrigues against Zoroaster, his imprisonment and his release, we know that court jealousies and priestly conspiracies against a powerful rival have not been confined to Iran. Fanciful stories of a bewitched horse may likewise be found elsewhere. Banks and his horse, in Shakspere's day, would be an illustration. The conversion also of the queen of the realm opened many another door to influence, as did Emma to St. Augustine. Perhaps Hutaosa was early interested in Zoroaster's preaching. It suffices to say that even if the actual circumstances connected with the momentous event of Vishtāsp's conversion were not wholly as tradition later represents them, they might at least have been such or similar. *Voilà tout!* The triumph of the Prophet is supreme.

CHAPTER VI

THE COURT OF VISHTASPA AND ITS CONVERSION

THE GĀTHĀS OR ZOROASTRIAN PSALMS

Cœpere plures quotidie ad audiendum verbum confluere.
—BEDA, *Hist. Eccl.* 1. 26.

ZOROASTER'S PATRON VISHTĀSPA — ROMANTIC STORY OF HIS YOUTH — INFLUENCE OF VISHTĀSPA'S ADOPTING THE NEW FAITH — MEMBERS OF VISHTĀSPA'S COURT; IMMEDIATE CONVERSIONS; LIVING PERSONALITIES IN THE GĀTHĀS — OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COURT CIRCLE CONVERTED — CONCLUSION

Zoroaster's Patron Vishtāspa. — Kavi Vishtāspa, or King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp), the Constantine of Zoroastrianism and defender of the Faith, presents a figure so important in its bearing that some additional details may appropriately be given concerning this pious ruler's history. His name is ever recurring in Avestan and Pahlavi texts, in the Shāh Nāmah, and in Mohammedan writers who allude to Persia. A collection of the references to his name in the Avesta, supplemented by general allusions in other Zoroastrian writings, is given at the bottom of the page.[1] Special points of interest about him

[1] 1. The principal A-vestan references to Vishtāspa are: Gāthā, Ys. 28. 7 (a boon to be granted to Vishtāspa and Zarathushtra); Ys. 46. 14 (warrior V.); Ys. 51. 16 (V. an ideal ruler in wisdom); Ys. 53. 2 (a follower of Zarathushtra). — Yasna, Ys. 12. 7 (a Zoroastrian); Ys. 23. 2 and 26. 5 (his *fravaši*). — Yasht, Yt. 5. 98 (a Naotairyan); Yt. 5. 105 (Z. prays for his conversion); Yt. 5. 108–109 (V. prays for victory); Yt. 5. 132 (type of successful conqueror); Yt. 9. 29–32 (cf. Yt. 5. 108; 17. 49); Yt. 13. 99–100 (hero of the Faith); Yt. 17. 49–52 (cf. Yt. 9. 29–32); Yt. 17. 61 (prays to Ashi Vanuhi on the Dāityā); Yt. 19. 84–87 (Kingly Glory,

may be found also in Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 372, 395, together with an elaborate genealogical table which should be consulted. An abridged list of Vishtāspa's next-of-kin, based upon Justi's table, is appended on the opposite page.

From this genealogical list we see that the patron of Zarathushtra was the son of Aurvaṯ-aspa (Lohrāsp) and was sprung from the old Kayanian line of kings.[1] He belongs to the Naotairyan family (cf. Av. Naotairya, Naotairyāna),[2] that is, he was descended from an ancestor Naotara (Firdausī's Naudhar).[3] His wife Hutaosa (Phl. Hūtōs), the patroness of Zoroaster, is likewise of the Naotairyan family;[4] his brother Zairivairi (Zarēr or Zarīr), a romantic hero and zealous convert, wins lasting fame by his valiant death in battle in the first Holy War, as described below. King Vishtāspa is the father of many sons and daughters.[5] Two of these sons, Spentō-dāta

defender of the Faith, conqueror); Yt. **23.** 1 seq. (Z.'s blessing upon V.); Ys. **24.** 1 seq. (Vishtāsp Nask).

2. Pahlavi references. The Phl. Comment. to Ys. **43.** 12 (cf. Ys. **27.** 6), **44.** 16, and also Dk. **9.** 33. 5, take Vishtāsp as a type of religious obedience, as representative of Srōsh on earth (see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 200, n. 24, and p. 283, n. 40; also his Index, s.v. 'Sraosha' in iii. 226). In general, the more important Pahlavi references, and there are many, will be given as occasion arises. Consult also the Indexes in West, *SBE.* vols. v. xviii. xxiv. xxxvii. xlvii. under 'Vishtāsp,' 'Kaī Vishtāsp.'

3. Mohammedan references, given below as they occur. Consult also Gottheil, *References*, p. (29), 33 *bis*, 34 (35), 37 (unimportant), 39 *bis*, 40 *bis;* also Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 284 (Balkh); Albīrūnī *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, pp. 100 seq., 206.

4. Classical references. The more important are given in this chapter, but consult also Appendix V. Mention might here be made likewise of the so-called oracular sayings of Vishtāsp; cf. Kuhn, *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, p. 217.

[1] Yt. **5.** 105, *puθrəm yaṯ aurvaṯ-aspahe.* See also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 183. The question of a change of dynasty in the succession is referred to in the next note.

[2] For the connection between the Kavi dynasty and the Naotairyan clan by adoption, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 372, and West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80, n. 1.

[3] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, pp. 226–227. Moreover, on Phl. Nōṯar and Rāk, see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 29, 40, 44, 80, 147, and Appendix IV., below.

[4] Yt. **15.** 35; cf. Yt. **13.** 139; **9.** 26; **17.** 46. The Pahlavi narrative Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 48 (Geiger, p. 59), makes Hūtōs the sister as well as queen of Vishtāsp, according to Magian practice.

[5] No less than thirty are spoken of in

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF VISHTĀSPA.

After Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 395.

(Names printed with spacing are found in the Avesta.

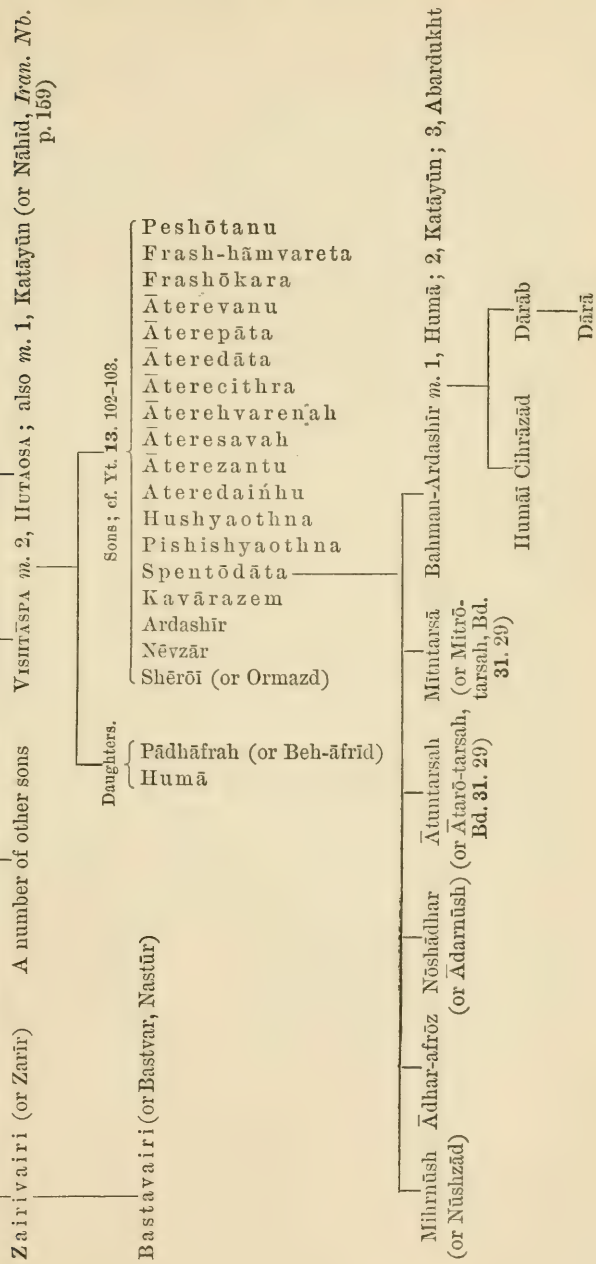

(Phl. Spend-dāṯ, Pers. Isfendīār) and Peshōtanu, have been alluded to already and they will appear again. A daughter Humā (Phl. Pers. Hŭmāī), renowned for her beauty, is carried away, along with her sister Beh-Afrīd, into captivity, by the king's mortal foe Arjāsp; but they both are gallantly rescued by their heroic brother Isfendīār, as told in the Shāh Nāmah.[1]

The principal facts which the Avesta emphasizes about Vishtāspa are, his conversion, his zealous support of the Creed, and his vigorous crusading in behalf of the Faith. It furthermore portrays this nonpareil of kings as the very incarnation of religious obedience and of priestly ideals; he is the representative of the priest-god Sraosha, whom he typifies on earth; and he will serve as an officiating pontiff at the final judgment of the world, among those who are to be selected for that office.[2] This accentuation of the priestly side of Vishtāsp's character, which is found in the sacerdotal writings, seems to accord with the tradition that, following historic precedent, he withdrew from active affairs in the latest part of his life, and gave himself up to pious pilgrimage or devotion.[3]

Romantic Story of Vishtāsp's Youth. — With respect to the youth of this ideal king we have only a romantic story told by Firdausī in the Shāh Nāmah and repeated by Mirkhond on authority of the Tārīkh Ma'jem.[4] According to the great

the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 48; compare also the partial list in Av. Yt. **13.** 102–103 (see genealogical table). Thirty sons are spoken of in the Shāh Nāmah as having been slain in different battles; it mentions two daughters by name, and one of these occurs in the Avesta. Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 395.

[1] Yt. **13.** 139 (Humā); Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 57 (Hūmāī), and compare Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 552, n.; Dk. **9.** 22. 2; ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. p. 364, and pp. 330, 341, 356, 364, 372, 390, 429, 435, 558. In YZ. § 57 (Geiger) and ShN. iv. p. 330, 341 (Mohl), Hūmāī becomes the wife of Isfendīār (or of Bastvar? YZ), according to Ancient Persian practice of next-of-kin marriage.

[2] See Pahlavi reference § **2** on p. 70.

[3] As an illustration, recall the classical accounts which record his retirement for a time to India (Sagastān, Cabul?), and connect with it also the religious wisdom implied in the oracular sayings attributed to his name. See also Chap. XI. and p. 87, n. 1.

[4] ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. 224 seq.,

poetic chronicler, Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) has some disagreement with his father King Lohrāsp, and quits the city of Balkh which his father has founded. He leaves Iran and wanders westward towards Rūm.[1] There, at the court of an emperor, he accomplishes deeds of unparalleled prowess, wins the hand of the princess, Katāyūn (Kitābūn, or Nāhīd), becomes reconciled to his father through the good offices of his brother Zarīr,[2] returns to Iran and receives the crown from Lohrāsp's hands. Such is the novelistic story of the Shāh Nāmah.[3]

A similar romantic episode is preserved in Athenæus (**19.** 275 a), as narrated by Chares of Mitylene, but it is told of the early years of Zariadres (presumably Zarīr), brother to Hystaspes of 'Media and the territory below.'[4] According to the account, Zariadres himself rules the territory from the Caspian Gates to the Tanais, in which region the scene is laid. The name of the princess, in this case, is Odatis. Whether this episode, like the preceding, be founded upon fiction or upon some basis of fact, it is of interest because it connects the name of Vishtāspa, for a time at least, with the country west of Asia.[5] When the Shāh Nāmah makes Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) return, and, like all the later tradition, it makes him succeed his father at the city of Balkh, we have a new point of contact between the West and the East, Media and Bactria, to add on the side of that theory which believes that the Religion, following Zoroaster himself, gradually changed from West to East.[6]

Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 263, 266; cf. also Nöldeke, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 133, 166.

[1] General designation for the Byzantine empire, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome.

[2] Mohl, iv. 278–281.

[3] ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. 288–289, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 159.

[4] Μηδίας καὶ τῆς ὑποκάτω χώρας; cf. Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 295; xlv. 197; lii. 193.

[5] Consult Rapp, *ZDMG.* xx. 66; Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 294 seq.; xlv. 197; lii. 193; Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxi. and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 382; Justi, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 403.

[6] On the question of change of dynasty in the succession of Vishtāsp, consult what is said by Justi, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, pp. 246, 252; *Grdr. iran. Ph.* ii. 410. See also Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 295; xlv. 197.

Far-reaching Influence of Vishtāspa's Conversion. — Viewed in its historic light the conversion of Vishtāspa is the main event of the Religion. The struggling creed now has a royal patron and protector. Zoroaster, therefore, at once proceeds to admonish his new convert concerning the path of holiness. A traditional reminiscence of these admonitions is found in the later Avestan Yasht Fragment, Vishtāsp Sāstō;[1] and the Zartusht Nāmah further exemplifies them from tradition by summarizing, in a general sort of way, the main outlines of the teachings of the Avestan Revelation.[2] The Pahlavi Dīnkart at this point adds a picturesque statement to the effect that 'When Zaratūsht chanted the revelation in the abode of Vishtāsp, it was manifest to the eye that it was danced to with joyfulness, both by the cattle and beasts of burden, and by the spirit of the fires which are in the abode.'[3] A new champion of the Faith, and protector of animal life as well, has been won, and joy reigns supreme. But the demons of Ahriman rush away to darkness.[4]

Members of Vishtāspa's Court — Immediate Conversions — Living Personalities in the Gāthās. — Two results followed as a natural sequel to the conversion of the king and his queen: one was, that the religion was at once generally adopted by the court; the other was, that it soon began to spread throughout the land. The former of these two results must first be discussed, and with it a brief description of the court personalities is necessary, as well as a few words upon the life and surroundings.

The best picture that we have of Zarathushtra's position at the court of Vishtāspa, and the most real and vivid glimpses that we can get so as to contrast the religious times before him with his present life, are to be found in the Gāthās themselves. Here we have the very words of the great Reformer or of his

[1] E.g. Yt. 24. 12; cf. also Dk. 8. 11. 1 seq.

[2] ZtN. p. 512 seq.

[3] Dk. 7. 5. 2 (West's translation).

[4] Byt. 2. 16; Dk. 7. 4. 87.

disciples; and the expressions heard in the Gāthās have as true and personal a ring as the cry of the Davidic Psalms. The tone of the Gāthās is varied. Hope, despair, exultation, discouragement, succeed each other with rapid change; for the moment, confidence and assurance, but then doubt and hesitancy; a period of zeal and activity must evidently have been followed by a time of repose and meditation; now admonition, exhortation, and promise; again philosophic speculation or veiled mystery, the spiritual sense of which could best be appreciated by the initiated; a shade of darkness, yet illuminated by a burst of light, by vision, by inspiration; then comes the final fiery outbreak of the prophetic soul in a clarion note of triumph and the transport of joyous victory. These are the tones that run in minor chords through the Gāthā Psalms. Well indeed would it be for the infidel and heretic if he would hearken unto wisdom and the Faith. The wicked man and the unbeliever, the Dregvant and the Daēva, are fiercely anathematized; the righteous Ashavan and the godly ruler are highly extolled.

The little band of the faithful forms a church militant. Of ritual there is little or none. The communicants at the new altar are few, but they move in procession distinctly before our eyes. The Gāthās mention some of them by name; certain of these are Zarathushtra's kinsfolk. The Haēcaṯaspas, descendants of Spitāma, who must have shared in Zarathushtra's success at the palace, are living personages. We recognize them when the Priest calls upon them in exhortation.[1] His favorite daughter Pourucista, whose marriage to Jāmāspa forms a theme in one of these Psalms, may be pictured as a type of filial piety and womanly devotion.[2] His cousin Maidyōi-mā-

[1] Cf. also Mills, *The Zend-Avesta*, in *SBE.* xxxi. Introd. p. xxvi; Geiger, in Darab D. P. Sanjana's *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 7–8, 163 seq.; and likewise the allusions to Vishtāspa's court in Geldner's forthcoming article, 'Persian Religion,' in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica.*

[2] Compare also what is said of Pōrūcāst and Jāmāsp in the Pahlavi, Dk. 9. 45. 4 (West's translation, *SBE.* xxxvii. 299–300).

onha is already known to us as the earliest convert and as a sort of beloved disciple. The noble Frashaoshtra, vizir and attendant upon Vishtāspa's throne, shows his faithful devotion to the Messenger of Ormazd by giving his daughter Hvōgvī (Hvōvi) to be a wife to him. And lastly Jāmāspa, the wise counsellor and chancellor of the king, and brother to Frashaoshtra, proves to be so sage an adviser, as time goes on, and so valued a supporter of the Creed, that Zoroaster's prophetic mantle descends upon his shoulders after the death of the great high priest, and King Vishtāsp ordains him as the holy successor in the pontifical office.[1] It was he, according to tradition, who originally wrote down the 'Avesta and Zand' from the teachings of Zoroaster.[2] With regard to these personages of the Gāthās, it is needless to add references to the Pahlavi literature.[3] Some other details respecting them have been given above in Chapter II. A single quotation from the Avestan Psalms may be added here. It is from the Gāthā Ushtavaitī (Yasna 46. 14 seq.). The Prophet with his own lips asks a question, and in rhetorical style he gives the answer himself.

'Who is it, O Zarathushtra, that is thy righteous friend; or who is it that wishes to be renowned for his great virtue? It is the warrior Vishtāspa, and, with the words of Vohu Manah (Good Thought) I invoke those in his abode whom he has converted by his praising (the Religion).

'Of you, ye children of Haēcaṯ-aspa, descendants of Spitāma, will I say this: that ye did distinguish the good from the evil, (and) ye have won for yourselves Asha (Righteousness)[4] by such acts as are the first laws of Ahura.

'Do thou, O Frashaoshtra, son of Hvōgva, go thither with the elect whom we wish to be in bliss; (go thither) where Ārmaiti (Har-

[1] See my note in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, pp. 138–139, Leyde, 1896.

[2] About B.C. 591; for the references, see Chap. VIII., pp. 97, 117, and Appendix III.

[3] E.g. Dk. 9. 28. 5, and scores of others, as a glance at the Indexes to West's 'Pahlavi Texts' in the Sacred Books of the East will show.

[4] Lit. 'have given Asha to yourselves.'

mony, genius of the Earth) is united with Asha (Righteousness), where Vohu Manah's Kingdom (Khshathra,) is established, according to desire, and where Ahura Mazda dwells amid abundance, and where, O Jāmāspa, son of Hvōgva, I shall proclaim the ordinances which are yours (ye Archangels) and nothing which is not in harmony with your ordinances.'[1]

Similar personal situations and allusions to the faithful are indicated in Ys. **51.** 16 seq., **53.** 1 seq., and elsewhere in these metrical hymns. But enough! The principal points regarding Zoroaster's own immediate family have been presented in Chapter II., which deals with that subject. The genealogical table of the Hvōgva family was presented in that chapter because it shows the connections which arose by the intermarriage of Pourucista and Jāmāspa, and of Hvōgvī and Zarathushtra himself.[2] It is easy to see how Zoroaster made his position at court still stronger by allying himself closely with those next to the throne. For almost all of the statements that have been made thus far the Avesta itself has been the principal source.

Other Members of the Court Circle converted. — Among other conversions of those belonging to the immediate circle of the court of Vishtāspa, two must at once be mentioned. These are the king's brother Zairivairi (Phl., Mod. Pers. Zarēr, Zarīr) and the king's gallant son Spentō-dāta (Phl. Spend-dāṯ, Mod. Pers. Isfendīār). Their names do not happen to occur in the Gāthās, but they are mentioned foremost among the faithful in the Avestan Yashts; and the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ and Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār commend them to praise among the earliest converts. These special Pahlavi passages also show that many of the nobility were early attracted to the Creed. The Dīnkarṯ states: 'At first Zarīr, Spend-dāṯ, Frashōshtar, and Jāmāsp,

[1] Ys. **46.** 17. I omit the latter part of this stanza, as unnecessary in this connection. For translations of this Gāthā, see also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 307–308; Geldner, *BB.* xiv. 23 seq.; Mills, *SBE.* xxx. 142 seq.; de Harlez, *Av. trad.* 2d ed. pp. 353–354; Spiegel, *Avesta*, übersetzt, ii. 155.

[2] See Chap. II., pp. 21-22, and compare also Dk. **9.** 44. 16–19; **9.** 45. 2–6, in *SBE.* xxxvii. 297–300.

several of the realm who were noble, conspicuous, and well-acting, the good and princes of mankind, beheld visibly the will and desirableness of Aūharmazd and the archangels, and the progressive religion of the creatures, fit for those completely victorious.'[1] The Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār adds its testimony, that 'Kaī Spend-dāṯ and Zarīr and other (royal) sons, instigating the many conflicts and shedding the blood of those of the realm, accepted the religion as a yoke, while they even wandered to Arūm and the Hindūs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.'[2] With regard to Spend-dāṯ (Spentō-dāta, Isfendīār) it is interesting to observe that the late Persian authority Mirkhond conveys the idea that this heroic youth was largely instrumental in inducing the king, his father, to adopt the Faith which he himself apparently had already accepted.

With the conversion of Zarīr to the Religion, later tradition associates also that of the old King Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvaṯ-aspa), who has abdicated and is supposed still to be alive, although the Avesta makes no special mention of his name in connection with the Creed.[3] The Shāh Nāmah is not altogether precise, but it includes Lohrāsp as 'the old king' among the number who, with Zarīr and other nobles, 'girded themselves with the sacred cord and became converted' to the faith which Vishtāsp had adopted.[4] The later Persian Dabistān, on the authority of the Behdīnians ('those of the good Faith') gives the specific occasion of the conversion of these two, somewhat picturesquely as follows: 'The doctors of the pure faith record that King Lohrāsp and Zarīr, brother to Gushtāsp, having fallen into so violent a malady that the physicians in despair desisted from all attendance upon them; but having been restored to health

[1] Dk. 5. 2. 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 125.

[2] SgV. 10. 67 (West's translation, *SBE.* xxiv. 171).

[3] Simply Yt. 5. 105, Aurvaṯ-aspa as father of Vishtāspa. Very doubtful are Yt. 24. 34, 46, as the word is there apparently an attribute.

[4] ShN. *bibastand kuštī bah dīn āmadand;* ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1498; cf. trad. Mohl, iv. 291.

through the prayers of Zardusht, they adopted the pure faith.'[1] Another instance of faith cure or healing by Zoroaster, aided, however, by herbs, will be recorded below. Zoroaster himself, however, speaks of his own office as 'the physician of the soul.'[2]

Conclusion.—The real success which Zoroaster won was first due to the influence of the king and the court. The Gāthās give us some idea of Zoroaster's preaching before the assembled community. His were new words and they were listened to by those who came from near and far (e.g. Ys. **45.** 1). With royal authority to back the Religion and noble power to support it, the advance and spread of the Faith must have been rapid, and accounts will next be given of other conversions and of the history of the religious propaganda.

[1] Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 255. Compare similarly Atkinson, *Firdausī Shāh Nāmah*, p. 258, ll. 4–10.

[2] Av. *ahūmbīš*, Ys. **31.** 19; **44** 2, 16.

CHAPTER VII

PROMULGATION OF THE GOSPEL

EARLY RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

yā jvantō vīspōng vāurayā. — AVESTA, Ys. 31. 3.

INTRODUCTION, THE CYPRESS OF KISHMAR — CONVERSIONS MORE NUMEROUS; SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL; EARLY RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA — SPREAD OF THE RELIGION IN IRAN — SOME CONVERSIONS IN TURAN — AVERRED CONVERSIONS OF HINDUS — STORY OF THE BRAHMAN 'CANGRANGHĀCAH' — THE HINDU SAGE 'BĪĀS' — FABLED GREEK CONVERSIONS — DID ZOROASTER VISIT BABYLON? — CONCLUSION

Introduction, the Cypress of Kishmar. — In telling the story of Zoroaster and of Vishtāspa's embracing the new Faith, the Shāh Nāmah narrates how Zardusht planted a cypress-tree before the door of the fire-temple at Kishmar, in the district of Tarshīz in Khorassān or Bactria, as a memento of Vistāspa's conversion, and had inscribed upon its trunk that 'Gushtāsp had accepted the Good Religion.'[1] Marvellous became the growth and age of this wonderful tree, the famous cypress of Kishmar (*sarv-i Kishmar*), as recounted by the Farhang-i Jahāngīrī, Dabistān, and other writings, as mentioned by Hyde and noticed more fully below in Appendix IV.[2] The allegory is rather fine; the tree typifies by its spreading branches the rapid advance of the Creed under the fostering care of the king and the court.

[1] *Kih paδiruft Gušṭāsp dīn-i bahī*, ShN. ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1499; trad. Mohl, iv. 291–293; Farhang-i Jahāngīrī and the Muj. cited by Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* (1 ed.) 317, 327; the Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 306–309; Vullers, *Fragmente*, pp. 71, 72, 114–115; Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 15; Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, 444; and Anquetil du Perron, as alluded to below in Appendix II. A, iii. f., n. 1, p. 164.

[2] See references in preceding note.

Other Conversions; Spread of the Gospel; Early Religious Propaganda. — Outside of the immediate circle of the king, conversions begin rapidly to follow. The way no doubt had already been paved among the people, and Vishtāspa's own example and his enthusiastic zeal could but exercise wide-spread influence. With all the spirit and fire of a new convert he is untiring in his efforts for the establishment of the Faith. The unknown author of the Farvadīn Yasht, when he comes to Vishtāspa's name (Yt. **13.** 99–100), breaks out into a eulogy: —

> 'It was this righteous and bold warrior,
> The hero of redoubtable weapon,
> The very incarnation of the Law
> And devoted to the Lord—
> It was he, who, with advancing weapon,
> Sought out a broad path of Righteousness,
> And, with advancing weapon,
> Found the broad path of Righteousness.
> He, it was, who became the arm
> And the support of the Religion
> Of Zarathushtra, of Ahura;
> He, who dragged from her chains the Religion
> That was bound in fetters and unable to stir;
> And made her take a place
> In the midst (of the nations),
> Exalted with power, advancing and hallowed.'

We can but regret the loss of the eleventh Avestan Nask, which dealt particularly with the promulgation of the Faith. The Pahlavi treatise Dīn-Vijirkarṯ tells us of its missing contents as follows: 'In this Nask is the topic of the sovereignty of Gushtāsp, and Zaratūsht the Spītāmān, having brought the religion from Aūharmazd, King Gushtāsp accepted it, and made it current in the world,'[1] and the Persian Rivāyat of Kāmah Bahrah gives the same testimony.[2] It is true that the Bahman Yasht reserves till a generation later the accomplishment of the task of making the religion current in the 'whole' world, which is finally brought about by the Kayanian

[1] Dvj. § **11**, tr. West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 442. [2] Riv. **11.** tr. West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 424.

'Arṯashīr (Kaī), whom they call Vohūman son of Spend-dāṯ.'[1] Later writers bear the same testimony to the tradition of Vishtāspa's religious energy. The Arab Ibn al-Athīr, for example, states that when Vishtāsp accepted the Faith 'he compelled his people to do the same and he killed a large number of them until they adopted it.'[2] This may be a later Mohammedan view, but there is no doubt that fire and the sword were not absent in the Avesta, and further evidences will be seen in the next chapter of propaganda by religious crusades at home and abroad. First we must notice the spread of the Creed in Iran itself.

Spread of the Religion in Iran. — It is tolerably certain that within Iran itself the fire of the Faith of Zoroaster rapidly spread, fanned, as it was, by the breath of sovereign power. Conversions were undoubtedly the order of the day; adherents continued to multiply and devoted volunteers began to crowd into the ranks which had been captained at the court. From the Avesta and from later literature we know the names of many of these. In the Yashts[3] we have a prose list of nearly a hundred sainted persons who are connected with the Vishtāspa circle. They are evidently the first disciples — the so-called Paoiryō-ṯkaēshas — of the Zoroastrian Creed.[4] How far and how fast the religion actually spread in the earliest period we do not know. We know, however, that the land of Seistān was one of the earliest scenes of the promulgation of the Faith, as will be seen by the sequel and proved by the Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of Sagastān,' elsewhere referred to. There were doubtless parts of Iran which were Zoroastrian only in name. The surmises on the question of Vishtāspa's exact rank and

[1] Byt. 2. 17; the passage should be looked at in West's translation, *SBE.* v. 198–199.

[2] Cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40.

[3] Yt. 13. 95–110.

[4] With such names in the Avestan list as Parshaṯ-gao, Saēna, Vohvasti, Isvant (Yt. 13. 96), we may compare the Pahlavi texts, Dk. 9. 24. 17; 9. 33. 5. The French translation of the Yashts by Darmesteter (*Le ZA.* ii. 530 seq.) gives numerous identifications.

sovereignty have also been more than one. The problem of the exact lands and territories concerned, and at how early a period Persia Proper is to be included, requires discussion elsewhere. One thing is certain, that Zoroastrianism was destined to become the national religion of Iran.

Some Conversions in Turan. — Nor is the Creed circumscribed by the borders of Iran alone. From the Avesta we know that other lands and climes came in for a share of the good tidings of the Faith. The 'fravashis,' or guardian spirits of those who are righteous 'outside of the country,' or abroad, are invoked as well as those within the land.[1] All of which implies some lapse of time. And among a dozen such lands and countries, Turan comes in for a share of the blessing. Turanians are mentioned by name in the canonical list of the faithful whose 'fravashis,' or idealized spirits, are glorified (Yt. 13. 111–129). In fact, among those catalogued for sainthood in the list is one Isvant, son of Varāza, whom the Dīnkarṯ counts as a Turanian when it includes his name as 'Isvant, son of Varāz, from the countries of Tūrān,' among those who will officiate on the last day at the general resurrection.[2] In the Gāthās themselves Zarathushtra devotes a stanza to the descendants of Fryāna of Turan, as he was one who had been attracted to the Prophet and is selected to receive a destined reward. Zoroaster speaks of him with favoring words (Ys. 46. 12): —

'When Asha (Righteousness)[3] came unto those that are to be named as the children, and children's children, of Fryāna, the Turanian who zealously doth further the possessions of Ārmaiti,[4] and when Vohu Manah (Good Thought) took up his

[1] Ys. 26. 9; Vsp. 16. 2, *ādaliyunąm-ca ašaonąm fravašayō yazamaide, uzdaliyunąmca,* an idea of universal brotherhood.

[2] Dk. 9. 33. 5, West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 262; compare also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 530, n. 179, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch,* p. 143.

[3] I.e. instr. sg. as subject; so also below and elsewhere.

[4] I.e. increasing Earth by agricultural activity.

abode with them, (then) the Lord Mazda is announced to them to their comfort.[1]

'This man who among men did propitiate Spitāma Zarathushtra by his generosity, he is exalted to be praised; and the Lord Mazda gave life unto him, and Vohu Manah furthered for him his worldly goods, and him we regard as your goodly ally in Righteousness (Asha).'

A descendant of this virtuous Turanian house,[2] Yōishtō yō Fryānām, is commemorated in a metrical passage of the Avesta, for his wisdom and for his victory over a malicious wizard Akhtya.[3] The episode is fully elaborated in the Pahlavi tale which bears the name Yōsht-ī Fryānō, and it need not be treated here.[4]

Averred Conversions of Hindus. — In the great Persian Chronicle Shāh Nāmah we have mention of the vigorous efforts that were made in the way of religious propaganda; Firdausī (or Daḳīḳī) speaks of Mobeds who were sent on this holy mission all over the world, assisted and aided by Isfendīār's conquering sword.[5] The land of 'Rūm,' or Asia Minor and the West, as well as Hindustān are included in the successful missionary fields. The earlier Pahlavi work, Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār (A.D. ninth century) narrates the same fact when it speaks of the valiant Spend-dāṯ and Zarīr, and of those other noble sons of Vishtāsp, who accepted the religion, of the con-

[1] Or 'for their protection.'

[2] The house of Fryāna has been aptly identified by Eugen Wilhelm with the family coming from Pīrān as ancestor, in the Shāh Nāmah. See his comment in *ZDMG.* xliv. 151, and compare also Justi, *Preuss. Jahrbücher,* Bd. 88, p. 251, and *Iran. Namenbuch,* p. 106.

[3] This wizard is killed in the eightieth year of the Religion according to Zsp. 23. 10, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 166. That date would answer to B.C. 551, see Appendix III.

[4] Cf. Yt. 5. 81–83, and the Pahlavi Yōsht-ī Fryānō, §§ 1–6, tr. by West and Haug in *Arda Vīrāf,* pp. 247–266, London, 1872; also tr. by A. Barthélemy, *Une légende iranienne,* Paris, 1889. See West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 108, § 58, and Peshotan Darab Behramjee Sanjana, *Dīnkarṯ,* vol. v. p. 305.

[5] Further references will be given in the next chapter; meanwhile notice Shāh Nāmah, iii. 1498 seq., ed. Vullers-Landauer, and the translation of Mohl, iv. pp. 344, 499, 513, 542, 558.

flicts and bloodshed, and says 'they even wandered to Arūm and the Hindūs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.'[1] The claim to Indian converts is quite persistent in the later writings, which is not so strange when we consider the Indo-Iranian kinship and the fact that the Parsis found in India an asylum from Mohammedan persecution.

Story of the Brahman 'Cangranghācah.' — The most interesting episode, perhaps, of the foreign conversions is the later Persian story which is told of Cangranghācah, a Brahman sage who comes from India to Vishtāsp's court in order to refute Zoroaster's doctrines, but the Hindu teacher himself is taught by the greater master and becomes a devoted convert of the Priest of Iran. This picturesque narrative is recounted, with other matters, in the Cangranghācah Nāmah, a modern Persian poetical work of the thirteenth century.[2] The author of this treatise is stated to be Zartusht Bahrām Pazhdū, of the ancient city of Raī, who also composed the Zartusht Nāmah; and like the latter work it is claimed to be drawn from Pahlavi sources, if we may agree with Anquetil du Perron, who is our chief source of information on the subject.[3] This story of the Brahman's conversion is briefly repeated in the Dabistān and it is alluded to incidentally in the text of the Dasātīr and described in its commentary.[4] All this implies some currency of the tale. A brief abstract of the narrative, so far as it relates to the main event, is worth giving, and it is here presented, being

[1] Sgv. **10.** 67-68, West, *SBE.* xxiv. 171.

[2] Ms. in Fonds d'Anquetil, 10. Supplément d'Anquetil, 13.

[3] Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 6, n., pp. 47-53, and p. xxxiii. ; also i. Pt. 1, p. dxxxvi. § 67 ; and again, ii. p. 790, Index. The value of this treatise is not very highly esteemed by Spiegel, *Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen,* ii. 182, nor by Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 445. But its reputation may grow like the Zartusht Nāmah. For other references, see farther on.

[4] Dabistān, tr. by Shea and Troyer, i. 276-277 ; Desatir, (Dasātīr) tr. by Mulla Firuz Bin Kaus, Bombay, 1818, ii. 125-126. See Appendix VI. On the character of the Dasātīr, see also Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411-412.

based on the fuller account of the Cangranghācah Nāmah found in Anquetil.[1]

Sketch of the Incident. — The aged Brahman sage, Cangranghācah, is a philosopher whose learning and wisdom were far-famed throughout India and known in Iran. He is reported even to have been the teacher of Jāmāsp, minister to King Vishtāsp, whose devotion to Zoroaster is regarded as a fall from grace. Accordingly the Brahman writes to Vishtāsp a letter remonstrating with the monarch for believing in the upstart Prophet. At the proposal of Vishtāsp he finally comes himself to 'Balkh' with a great following of devoted disciples, in order to debate with Zoroaster and to put the impostor to confusion. But he who came to scoff remains to pray. Zoroaster is prepared by premonition to answer all the seer's questions before he asks them; and amid a great assemblage of learned men who have gathered from many parts of the country to listen for days to the religious debate, the chosen Priest of Ormazd disarms his antagonist before the latter has time to lift his weapons in discussion and conflict. By reading a Nask or book of the Avesta, in which every difficult question prepared by the Hindu controversialist is already answered, he astonishes and utterly confounds the Brahman. So completely is the Hindu philosopher vanquished and convinced, that with remarkable candor he forthwith acknowledges his defeat, is converted, adopts the Faith, receives a copy of the Avesta from Zoroaster's own hands, becomes a zealous adherent, and joins in spreading the Prophet's teachings in Hindustān and the adjacent countries, so that eighty thousand souls in this way receive the enlightenment of the true Faith. A festival is instituted to commemorate this important event. Such in brief is the story, which remotely reminds us of the ecclesiastical convocations and the discussions and disputations of Luther.

This legend, as stated, seems rather to be of later origin, and

[1] Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, pp. 47–53.

it may have arisen after Zoroastrian believers found refuge in India in Mohammedan days; and where, as time went on, Brahmans and Dasturs perhaps came into debate and conflict. Nevertheless it is as old as the Zartusht Nāmah, which has been proved to contain old material, and it is by the same author, as already explained; and religious intercourse and connection between India and Iran at all periods in history is undoubted.[1] No great religion is confined to the bounds of its own country. And as for religious controversies and debates, nothing is more common. The Avesta alludes to a victorious debate with Nāidyāh Gaotema, whom some have tried, among several other suggestions, to identify with this same Brahman Cangranghācah.[2] The Pahlavi texts speak of Zaratūsht's discussions with learned men whose questions he is able to answer even before they ask them. The statements on this subject have been given above.[3] It is possible that in the Avesta we may discover the source of the story, which seems to be somewhat legendary, in a mistaken view that the Avestan adjective *caŋraŋhāc* (Vsp. **1. 1**, etc.) contains an allusion to a proper name. Anquetil du Perron himself understood that epithet in the Visperad as an allusion to the Hindu sage.[4] On the other hand some have seen in this tradition of an Indian wise man, who comes to Iran, a late story concocted as an allusion to the famous Vedāntist philosopher, S'añkara-Ācārya.[5] This view

[1] The references of the Pahlavi Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār and of the Shāh Nāmah to Zoroastrianism in India have been given above. Furthermore, on relations and intercourse between Persia and India in religious matters, see Shea and Troyer's note in *Dab.* i. 276 n.; also the story of Biās, next to be given; and p. 72, n. 3.

[2] Yt. **13.** 16, see Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 29, who suggests the possibility; but this is rejected by Justi, *Hdb. d. Zendsprache*, s.v. *gaotəma.* The other identifications that have been suggested for Gaotema are discussed in Appendix II., p. 177–178.

[3] See p. 61, and cf. Dk. **7.** 4. 73; **5.** 2. 10; Zsp. **23.** 5 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 67, 124, 164).

[4] *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 92, and p. 51.

[5] See Bréal, *Le Brahme Tchengrênghātchah*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 497. Compare also Shea and Troyer, *Dabistān*, i. 276, n. (Paris, 1843); and Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. p. 444, n.

is especially based on an identification of the great philosopher's name with the form of the Brahman's name which is found in the Dasātīr (vol. ii. 125) as Sankarākās (for which the Commentary understands Cangranghācah).[1] Such a view is to be maintained only by premising that we are to regard the story as a later invention, purposely made up to exalt the triumph of an Iranian over a Hindu philosopher.

The Hindu Sage 'Bīās.' — A sequel to the story of the conversion of Cangranghācah is found in the tale of 'Bīās' told in the Dasātīr and repeated from this source by the author of the Dabistān.[2] The account describes how, when the news of Cangranghācah's confession became noised abroad, another sage, Bīās (i.e. Vyāsa) by name, came from India to Iran in order to refute Zoroaster and to convert him. Like his predecessor, however, Bīās is soon impressed by Zardusht's superhuman knowledge and divine insight, which penetrates even into the inmost thoughts of his soul, so that he also accepts the religion, or (to quote the actual words of the Dasātīr commentary) 'he returned thanks to Yezdān and united himself to the Behdīn, after which he returned back to Hind.'[3] This story is merely a counterpart of the preceding — a combination of legend and myth that seeks to bring Vyāsa, the fabulous author of the Vedas, into connection with Zarathushtra.

Fabled Greek Conversions. — The statements of the Pahlavi Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār and of the Persian Shāh Nāmah have already been given as claiming traditionally that the West (Phl. Arūm, Pers. Rūm)[4] came under Zoroaster's influence. The tradition is late, but in one respect it might not be so far from the truth if we should choose to look at Zoroastrianism simply in the light of Mithra-worship which, as is well known,

[1] The Desatir (Dasātīr), Bombay, 1818, vol. ii. 125. See Appendix VI., where the passage is reprinted.

[2] Dasātīr ii. 126–143 (§§ 65–162) and Dabistān, i. 280–283.

[3] Dasātīr, ii. 144; Dabistān, i. 280–283. See Appendix VI.

[4] The comprehensive term to denote Asia Minor, Greece, and the Roman Empire.

pushed its way even far into Europe. It is not unnatural, moreover, for religious devotees to lay claims to extraordinary foreign missionary conquests. This third great debate or theological dispute into which Zoroaster is presumed to have entered and to have come off victorious, is with a Greek philosopher and master, as recorded in the Dasātīr and noticed by the Dabistān.[1] The account is doubtless apocryphal, but it deserves consideration with the other alleged conversions, and there is perhaps a far-off echo of it in Hamzah of Isfahān, in a passage which describes how the Greeks evaded attempts to convert them, and the passage is given below in Appendix IV.[2]

Briefly the Dasātīr story of this conversion incident is as follows: In a prophetic passage the text of the Dasātīr tells how a wise man, named Tiānūr (Pers. Tūtiānūsh) or Niyātūs, as the Dabistān calls him,[3] 'will come from Nūrākh (Pers. Yunān, i.e. Greece) in order to consult thee (O Zardusht) concerning the real nature of things. I will tell thee what he asketh and do thou answer his questions before he putteth them.'[4] The commentary upon this passage and also the Dabistān expressly state that the sages of Greece despatched this learned man after Isfendiār had promulgated the Faith in many lands. We may therefore infer that the event, if it occurred at all, took place some years after King Vishtāsp had accepted the Religion. The god Mazda, on this occasion likewise, instructs his prophet what he shall say and how he shall respond to the foreigner who is described as coming to 'Balkh.'[5] Ormazd assures Zardusht of success, and the commentary adds that 'when the Yunānī (i.e. Greek) sage heard all these words (of Zardusht), he entered into the Faith and

[1] Dasātīr, ii. 120–125 (§§ 42–62); Dabistān, i. 277–278.

[2] For the original, see Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 26; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33 and also p. 199 below.

[3] Dasātīr, ii. 120; Dabistān, i. 277, and Shea and Troyer's note to the passage. On the language of the Dasātīr, see what is said in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411–412.

[4] Dasātīr, ii. 120, §§ 42–43.

[5] See commentary upon Dasātīr, ii. 120, § 43; reprinted in Appendix VI.

studied knowledge under the beloved of God, Zardusht the Prophet. (As a reward, moreover), the king of kings, Gushtāsp, bestowed on him the office of Chief of the Hirbeds of Yunān, and of the Mobeds of that country. The accomplished man (accordingly), having returned back to Yunān, brought over the inhabitants to the religion of that blessed Prophet.'[1]

This story, whatever may be its worth or its worthlessness, is not uninteresting because it shows the existence of a tradition on the Oriental side regarding early connections between Iran and Greece in which religious matters came into play. There may, of course, lurk in such tradition some reminiscence of intercourse between the nations prior to the Graeco-Persian wars. The note of Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī on some attempt to spread Zardusht's Gospel among the Hellenes has been mentioned above, with a Pahlavi reference also and a tradition in Firdausī.[2] We must not forget that the Dīnkaṛt asserts that a Greek translation was made of the Avesta.[3] We may furthermore recall several allusions of the Greeks themselves to the effect that Plato, Hermodorus, Theopompus, and others came under the influence of Magian doctrines.[4] The name of this Grecian converted sage (Tiānūr, Tūtiānūsh, or Niyātūs) is very obscure and the reading is uncertain. But an identification with Pythagoras has been suggested on the basis of the point just presented.[5] Whether founded on fiction, as is likely, or based upon fact, as is unlikely, the account merits recording and is fully given in Appendix VI. below, while the classical passages on Pythagoras, who is said to have studied in Babylon under the Magi, and on Plato might be worth looking over again in Appendix V., and in Chapter I., p. 7, n. 5.

Did Zoroaster ever visit Babylon? — In this same connection, when speaking of Babylon, it may be appropriate perhaps to

[1] Dasātīr, ii. 125, § 62, commentary and text.

[2] See pp. 78, 84, 88.

[3] Dk. 3 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. p. xxxi.).

[4] For references, see Chap. I., pp. 7–8.

[5] See Troyer's note on Dabistān, i. 277. I should think 'Plato' might be as plausible a suggestion.

mention a statement made by the Pahlavi Dīnkart which ascribes to the religion of Zaratūsht the overthrow of error and evil in 'Bāpēl,' and it accounts this achievement as one of the marvels of the Faith.[1] The passage speaks of the existence of 'several matters of evil deceit which Dahāk had done in Bāpēl through witchcraft; and mankind had come to idol-worship through that seduction, and its increase was the destruction of the world; but through the triumphant words of the religion which Zaratūsht proclaimed opposing it, that witchcraft is all dissipated and disabled.'[2]

There is of course a distant possibility that after the Faith became fairly established Zoroaster himself actually did go on missionary journeys, teaching and preaching and exercising the influence of his own strong personality, We need only think of the three brief years of our Lord's ministry. At all events it is not wholly impossible to believe that several places were visited, perhaps including Persepolis also,[3] even if we are not prepared to accept so extravagant a view as that Babylon was among the number. It is true that some of the classical writers make Pythagoras a follower of Zoroaster or at least of the Magi, who were established at Babylon and into whose mysteries he was initiated.[4] The theory of personal travel need not be pressed too far; where the effect of the Religion came, there also the Master himself had gone in influence, if not in person. In

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 72, West's translation in *SBE.* xlvii. 66.

[2] The text does not indicate at what time in Zoroaster's career this event is supposed to have been brought about, or whether it did not come to pass later through the developments and spread of the Religion. The actual fall of Babylon occurred a generation after the Prophet. One might possibly conjecture from the passage that 'the Religion' perhaps joined hands with the conqueror Cyrus in destroying this city, which is spoken of with hatred in the Avesta as 'Bawri'; cf. Yt. 5. 29–31; cf. 15. 19–21. In Mkh. 27. 64–67, the old king, Lohrāsp, is regarded as having destroyed Jerusalem and dispersed the Jews, a statement which is found elsewhere; see West, *SBE.* xxiv. 64. Somewhat similar is Dk. 5. 1.5, cf. *SBE.* xlvii. 120. Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, p. 147, might be noticed.

[3] See references to Istakhr already given, and also below in Appendix IV.

[4] See references in Chap. I., pp. 7–8, and in Appendix V.

this we have only another phase of the footprints of Buddha. Regarding Babylon, moreover, everything which associates Zoroaster's name with this city can but be of interest to the student of the Exilic Period of the Bible.

Conclusion. — The story of the spread of the Faith, so far as we can gather it from tradition, implies that missionary efforts carried the Avesta to foreign lands as well as throughout the territory of Iran. Tales are told of Hindu conversions, and even Greeks are fabled to have accepted the Creed. Zoroaster himself may possibly have engaged personally in the general movement of the propaganda, but there is no proof that he visited Babylon. His time no doubt was constantly taken up in working for the Faith; some of the results which were achieved and some of the events which happened in the following years of the Religion are recorded in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGION

THE NEXT FEW YEARS OF ZOROASTER'S MINISTRY

Homo in sacerdotio diligentissimus.
— CICERO, *Oratio pro Rab. Perd.* 10. 27.

INTRODUCTION — RECORD OF A NOTEWORTHY CONVERSION — TRADITION OF ZOROASTER'S HEALING A BLIND MAN — QUESTION OF ZOROASTER'S SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE — OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST, INCIDENTS, AND EVENTS — THE SACRED FIRES — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — Zoroaster's life was a long one and his ministry covered a number of years; yet tradition does not give us all the details which we might wish so as to be able more definitely to mark off into periods or epochs the fifteen years or more that intervened between Vishtāspa's conversion and the beginning of the Holy Wars that were waged against Arejat̲aspa. In other words, we are not altogether clear in dividing up and distributing the events that seem to have happened, roughly speaking, between Zoroaster's forty-fifth year and the sixtieth year of his life. We certainly know they must have been active years, the years of a man of vigorous mind who has just passed his prime, and no doubt some of the events which have been described in the preceding chapter may belong to this time, or even possibly later. The foregoing chapter, in fact, perhaps leaves an impression of too great precision in the distribution of its incidents. We may therefore take it with some latitude in connection with the present. If an attempted distinction is to be drawn, as the latter chapter dealt mainly with promulgation and conversion, this one may deal

rather with the ministration and organization, with missionary labors and the exercise of priestly functions. It must be kept in mind, however, that trying to locate in it the events which may have occurred at this time is a task that is difficult to perform with much satisfaction, and the work may be regarded rather as tentative, and as an endeavor to use material which remains at hand.

Record of a Noteworthy Conversion. — One event, however, is definitely located for us by tradition as belonging to a specific year in this period. The circumstance must have been regarded as one of real importance, owing to its being so emphatically chronicled; we shall therefore notice it at once. It is the conversion of a heretic, a Kavīg or ungodly priest, who is won over to the true Faith. This is recorded in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, which say: 'In the twentieth year (of the Religion) the Kavīg who is son of Kūndah is attracted (to the Faith).'[1] Although the name is not definitely known, the incident is none the less sure; and if we accept the traditional date of 'the twentieth year' of the Religion, we may set down this event for B.C. 611,[2] at which time Zoroaster would have been in the fiftieth year of his age. All this makes the incident not without interest.

Tradition of Zoroaster's healing a Blind Man. — In connection with Zoroaster's ministry and possibly as a reminiscence of a missionary journey, or work in that field, unless we are to refer it to an earlier period of his career, we may make mention here of a legendary story of his healing a blind man. The story is told by Shahrastānī of Khorassān (A.D. 1086–1153) who locates the scene rather in Persia Proper.[3] The

[1] Zsp. 23. 8, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 165. The reading of the proper name from the Pahlavi is not certain. West's note on the passage offers 'Kūnīh' as a possibility.

[2] According to the Būndahishn chronology worked out by West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[3] My attention was first drawn to this story by a letter from Prof. G. F. Moore, Andover, Mass., dated June 23, 1892.

account runs as follows: 'As he (i.e. Zardusht) was passing a blind man in Dīnawar,[1] he told them to take a plant, which he described, and to drop the juice of it into the man's eyes, and he would be able to see; they did this and the blind man was restored to sight.'[2] Even if this incident should belong to an earlier period of Zoroaster's life, or to the time of his wandering, it nevertheless serves to show a tradition that miraculous healing power was believed to be exercised both by Zoroaster and by virtue of the Faith itself. The latter point might find sufficient exemplification in the Avestan Vendīdād.

Question of Zoroaster's Scientific Knowledge. — The tradition which has just been recounted of the healing of the blind man brings up another point which requires note. This is the question of Zoroaster's scientific knowledge, which is a side of his character that is distinctly recognized by tradition, and which must have come into play in his ministry. There is evidence that he showed a practical bent of mind in his work as well as the theoretical and speculative turn in his teaching. All accounts of the Religion indicate that the necessity of ministering to the wants of the body, as well as to the needs of the soul, was fully comprehended. Nor is medical knowledge to-day regarded as unessential or to be dispensed with in some branches of foreign missionary work. The records of antiquity imply that the Zoroastrian books, by their encyclopædiac character, stood for many sides of life. Some of the original Nasks of the Avesta are reported to have been wholly scientific in their contents, and the Greeks even speak of books purported to be by Zoroaster on physics, the stars, and precious stones.[3] It is true these need not have come from Zoroaster at

[1] This village is located by Yāḳūt, twenty farsangs from Hamadān; it lies between this and Kīrmānshāh. See Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 251, p. 367 (Shīz), 515 (Māh-Dīnār); and for a description of the place see de Morgan *Mission scientifique en Perse;* Paris, 1894–97, especially tome iv. p. 290.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 50.

[3] See p. 8 above, and Appendix V. below, under Suidas and Pliny.

all; but this represents a phase of life that Zoroaster or his apostles stood for. Tradition recognizes the presence of this practical element in the Religion which made it appeal to many who might not otherwise have been attracted, and which must have contributed in no small degree to its spread. The priests were the real conservators of knowledge and learning.

As an illustration of their practical knowledge, so serviceable to mankind, we may notice a passage in the Dīnkarṯ, which claims that the debt owed to Zoroaster in this respect is extensive. The text reads: 'One marvel is the disclosure by Zaratūsht, in complete beneficence, medical knowledge, acquaintance with character, and other professional retentiveness, secretly and completely, of what is necessary for legal knowledge and spiritual perception; also, the indication by revelation, of the rites for driving out pestilence, overpowering the demon and witch, and disabling sorcery and witchcraft. The curing of disease, the counteraction of wolves and noxious creatures, the liberation of rain.'[1] This and a number of ordinary practices, which have a bearing upon every-day life, are included in this list of what the Pahlavi text calls 'worldly wisdom' (*gehānŏ-xiraṯŏīh*), as contrasted with 'angelic wisdom' or 'divine knowledge' (*yazdānŏ-xiraṯŏīh*).[2] The brief résumé sums up what was expected to be found in the repertory of the wandering Āthravan, or descendant of the Prophet, at least in Sassanian times, and quite as likely it represents some of the sides of Zoroaster's own activity during the long period of his ministry.

Other Items of Interest, Incidents, and Events. — Tradition has preserved a few more items of interest, incidents, or occurrences and events which may belong to the period of these years. A suggestion has been made that Zoroaster may have visited his own home in his native land of Ādarbaijān. Anquetil even thought that Urumiah is mentioned in the Avesta in

[1] Dk. 7. 5. 8–9, translated by West. [2] See West's note in *SBE.* xlvii. 76. *SBE.* xlvii. 75–76.

an injunction given by Ahura Mazda bidding Zarathushtra, as he conceived it, to proceed to a certain place. But this is a mistaken interpretation of the passage.[1] Anquetil also understood that Zoroaster and Vishtāsp were together in Istakhr (Persepolis).[2] This view is apparently based upon the fact that Zoroaster induces Vishtāsp to transfer one of the sacred fires from Khorasmia to Dārābjard, in Persia, as stated by Masūdī,[3] and based upon Ṭabarī (and Bundarī after him) who describes how the Avesta was written down in golden letters upon the hides of twelve thousand oxen and 'Vishtāsp placed this at Istakhr in a place called Darbīsht (or Zarbīsht?).'[4] This may be noticed also in connection with the tradition of Jāmāsp's writing down the Avesta from Zoroaster's teachings (p. 76), and is also brought up in connection with the tradition that the archetype copy of the Avesta was deposited in the 'treasury of Shapīgān' (or however we are to read the name and its variants) as discussed below in Appendix IV.

During this period we can likewise imagine Zoroaster as otherwise much engaged in organizing the new religion, in founding fire-temples as described below, and in exercising in various ways his function as Chief Priest; not the least of these perhaps was in establishing the rite of ordeal as already noticed, or in celebrating the event of Vishtāsp's conversion by planting the cypress of Kishmar, before described. There were also times when prophetic visions were granted and hallowed enunciations were made. The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht (and after it the Zartusht Nāmah) records a favored vision which was allowed to Zoroaster, in which he foresees, during a seven days' trance, the whole future of the Religion.[5] Even the Apocryphal New Testament in one passage claims that Zoroaster prophesied the

[1] Anquetil du Perron, i. Pt. 2, p. 52, n. 1. The misinterpretation of the words *Airyama Ishya* is repeated by Kleuker, *ZA.* Theil 3, p. 35.

[2] Anquetil du Perron, op. cit. p. 53 = Kleuker, *ZA.* Theil 3, p. 35.

[3] Masūdī, trad. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 75.

[4] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37; Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* p. 315 (1 ed.).

[5] Bahman Yt. 2. 6–9, seq., tr. by West, *SBE.* v. pp. 191–235.

coming of Christ;[1] and a Syriac writer, Solomon of Ḥilāṭ (A.D. 1250) tells a tradition of a special fountain of water, called Glōshā of Ḥōrīn, where the royal bath was erected and by the side of this fountain Zoroaster predicted to his disciples the coming of the Messiah.[2]

The Sacred Fires. — There can be little doubt that much of Zoroaster's time was spent in the care of the sacred fire or in the furthering of the special cult throughout the land. Tradition counts that one of the most important features of Vishtāspa's conversion was his active agency in founding new places in which the holy flame might be worshipped or in reëstablishing old Ātash-gāhs. In a special (prose) chapter, the Avesta describes the various sacred fires recognized by the Faith, and the Būndahishn gives additional details on the subject;[3] Firdausī mentions several so-called Fire-Temples,[4] and Masūdī, among other Mohammedan writers, devotes a number of pages to the subject of the Magian pyraea, several of which he says existed before Zoroaster came.[5] Numerous Arabic writers refer to the question, and as their references are accessible, they need only be summarized here.[6]

Masūdī and Shahrastānī tell of some ten different Pyraea or places of fire-worship which existed in Iran before Zoroaster's time, and they give the name or location of each. Zoroaster himself causes a new temple to be built in Nīshāpūr, and another in Nisaea.[7] Furthermore, at his request King Vishtāsp

[1] Apocr. NT. I. *Infancy*, ch. iii. 1.

[2] See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 29; Kuhn, *Eine Zoroastrische Prophezeiung*, p. 219 in Festgruss an Roth, Stuttgart, 1893; and Wallis Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 81 seq. in Anec. Oxon., Oxford, 1886. Of course compare Yt. 19. 89–95; Dk. 7. 8. 55.

[3] Avesta, Ys. 17. 11; cf. also Vd. 8. 73–96; Pahl. Bd. 17. 1–9. See especially Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. i. 149–157.

[4] E.g. ShN. Mohl, iv. 291, 364, etc.

[5] Masūdī, *Les Prairies d'Or*. Texte et Trad. par C. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 72, 75 seq.; and see Shahrastānī, *Uebersetzt*, Haarbrücker, i. 275 seq.

[6] On the fires, see especially the material in Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 45–47; Hyde *Relig. Pers.* p. 353–362.

[7] Masūdī, *Prairies*, iv. 75; Shahrastānī, i. 276; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 45, 47.

seeks for the fire of Jemshēd, which is found in Khorasmia, and he has it transferred to Dārābjard in Persia. This latter fire is said to be especially venerated by the Magi. Other Pyraea are mentioned in Seistān, Rūm (Constantinople), Bagdād, Greece (without the fire), India, and in China. Not without interest is the mention of the fire-temple in Kūmīs (Comisene) which bore the name of 'Jarīr,' apparently after Vishtāsp's son Zarīr.[1]

Among all the fires there seem to be three which stand, in later times of the Sassanians, as the threefold representative of the sacred element, corresponding to the social division of the community into three classes, priests, warriors, and laboring men.[2] The names of the three great fires are given as follows: —

1. Ātūr Farnbag, the fire of the priests. This fire, whose name appears as Farnbag, Frōbā, Khurrād, Khordād, being a corruption of * Hvarenō-bagha or * Hvarenō-dāta, i.e. 'the fire of the Glory Divine, or the fire Glory-Given,' is one of the most ancient and most sacred of the holy fires in Iran.[3] Existing as early as Yima's reign, and having been established in the Khorasmian land or the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, it was removed by Kavi Vishtāspa to Cabul, if we are to accept the commonly received statements on the subject.[4]

[1] So Shasrastānī, i. 275, but seemingly a different reading or form of the name (i.e. Djerich) is found in Masūdī, iv. 74. See also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 45, 46.

[2] Bd. 17. 5–8, and Ys. 17. 11. Cf. Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 149 seq., and Masūdī, loc. cit.

[3] Cf. *Ardā Vīrāf*, tr. Haug and West, p. 146, note; and Bd. 17. 5–6.

[4] So Bd. 17. 5–6 if we read the Pahlavi name as 'Kābul' with West (*SBE.* v. 63); otherwise we may understand it was removed, not eastward, but to the west, if we follow Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 154, in doubting the reading 'Kāvul (Kābul)' which West, however, gives (*SBE.* v. 63). Darmesteter follows Masūdī, Shahrastānī, and Yāḳūt; similarly, Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (A.D. 910); Albīrūnī (p. 215, tr. Sachau) — all cited by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 43–47. The subject is also discussed below in connection with the scene of Zoroaster's ministry, Appendix IV., p. 217. It is evident that Shahrastānī's Āzarušā is for Ādarān shāh, 'king of fires,' Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 157, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 47.

2. Ātūr Gūshnasp (Gūshasp), the fire of the warriors. The name Gūshnasp is probably a corruption from * Varshan-aspa, 'male-horse,' cf. Skt. *vṛṣaṇ-aśvá*, an epithet of Agni, as noted by Darmesteter. This was a very ancient fire and it early played a part when Kaī Khūsrav exterminated idol-worship. It was situated in the neighborhood of Lake Urumiah, or on Mount Asnavand upon the shores of that lake.[1] According to the Zaratusht Nāmah, this was one of the fires which came with the Archangels to aid in Vishtāspa's conversion as described in Chap. V., p. 65, n. 1.

3. Ātūr Būrzhīn Mitrō, the representative of the laboring class. The name, also in Persian, Burzīn Mihr, corresponds to * Berezant Mithra.[2] This third fire, or the special fire of the laborer, played an important part in Vishtāspa's conversion. This is located on Mount Raēvant in Khorassān in the vicinity of Lake Sōvar (mentioned in the Būndahishn), in the region of Ṭūs, as noticed also below in Appendix IV., p. 216.[3] A similar situation is given to it by Firdausī.[4] Perhaps there is an echo of the name of this fire lingering in the name of the small town Mihr to the west of Nīshāpūr, although for a fuller statement of Houtum-Schindler's view, reference is made to p. 216. Several of the Mohammedan writers, as noticed above, state that the special fire of Zoroaster was in the neighborhood of Nīshāpūr. We recall that Khorassān was the land of the planting of the cypress of Kishmar, and the scene of the closing battles which ended the Holy War — all of which is of interest in connection with the field of Zoroaster's ministry.

Conclusion. — The aim of this chapter has been to present such material as we can gather for the events of Zoroaster's life during the years next preceding the outbreak of the Holy

[1] Bd. **17.** 7; Zsp. **6.** 22; West, *SBE.* v. 63, 173. See also p. 48 above.

[2] Cf. Av. *Miθrəm . . . bərəzantəm*, Yt. **10.** 7.

[3] Bd. **12.** 18. 32–35; Zsp. **6.** 22; cf. also Bd. **12.** 24; **22.** 3; West, *SBE.* v. 38, 41, 173. See likewise Anquetil du Perron, *ZA.* i. Pt. 2, p. 46, n. 2 (on Khorassān).

[4] Cf. ShN. iii. 1499, Vullers-Landauer = trad. Mohl, iv. 291.

Wars. In this way an impression has been gained of certain other sides of Zoroaster's character and activity, especially the practical side which his nature probably also had. The material from which to judge of these points, however, is found to be rather meagre. Finally, special attention has also been devoted to the subject of the spread of the fire-cult by Zoroaster and the work which was accomplished in founding new Ātash-gāhs or in reëstablishing the old Pyraea. But all these events did not come to pass without a struggle; nor were the actual results achieved without a hard fight. If the Faith which Vishtāspa has adopted is to become the state creed of the realm, this is not destined to come to pass without a struggle, especially with powers outside. Warfare is inseparable from crusading; and we see gathered in the horizon the clouds of the storm about to burst over Iran.

CHAPTER IX

THE HOLY WARS OF ZOROASTRIANISM

THE LAST TWENTY YEARS OF ZOROASTER'S LIFE

'Fight the good fight of faith.'
— TIMOTHY I. 6. 12.

INTRODUCTION — RELIGIOUS WARFARE IN THE AVESTA — AREJAṬ-ASPA, OR ARJĀSP AND THE HOLY WARS — OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES; CAUSES AND DATES — ARJĀSP'S ULTIMATUM — HIS FIRST INVASION; THE HOLY WAR BEGINS — ARJĀSP'S ARMY AND ITS LEADERS — VISHTĀSP'S ARMY AND ITS COMMANDERS — BATTLES OF THE FIRST WAR — ISFENDĪĀR AS CRUSADER, AND THE FOLLOWING EVENTS — ARJĀSP'S SECOND INVASION; THE LAST HOLY WAR — SUMMARY

Introduction. — Up to this point it might appear as if the progress of the Religion had been one only of success and smooth advance. Such, however, cannot have been the case in reality. We have to do with a church militant, and there is evidence, in its history, of more than one hard-fought battle before victory is achieved. Not all conversions were easily made. The sword rather than the olive-branch would be the more suitable emblem to deck the earlier pages of the history of the Faith.

Owing to circumstances the development of the idea of universal peace and of general good-will towards neighbors was not allowed to play so important a part as it might have played theoretically in the first stages of the new Religion. When crusading for the Faith began, bitter struggles and antipathies soon came into existence. The war-cry of creed *versus* unbelief begins to fill the air. Old political and

national feuds take on a new color — the tinge of religious antagonism. This latter statement is especially true of the ancient enmity between Iran and Turan. This breaks out afresh in the form of a war of creeds between the Hyaonian leader Arejaṯ-aspa, as he is called in the Avesta, or Arjāsp of Turan, as he is later generally styled, and the pious hero of Zoroastrianism, Kavi Vishtāspa (Vishtāsp, Gushtāsp). Victory ultimately attends upon the Creed of the Fire and the Sacred Girdle, but the stages of progress have to be fought step by step. Bloodshed and distress precede success and triumph.

Religious Wars in the Avesta. — Before turning to the great Holy Wars against Arejaṯ-aspa, we must first notice that the Avesta also records several other violent conflicts which are looked upon in the light of hallowed warfare against unbelief. The Avesta mentions some eight powerful foes over whom Vishtāspa, or his gallant brother Zairivairi (Zarīr) invoke divine aid in battle, and victory descends upon their banners in answer to their prayers. We know at least the names of these vanquished warriors, for they are given in the Yashts. We read of Tãthryavant and Peshana,[1] Ashta-aurvant, son of Vīspa-thaurvō-ashti,[2] Darshinika and Spinjaurusha[3] and of Peshō-cingha and Humayaka.[4] All are spoken of as infidels, heathen, heretics, or unbelievers. The details of the battles against them are unfortunately lost. In point of time some of these occurred in the period of conversions already described. From the claims of the sacred text we know that victory waited upon the faithful.

Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) and the Holy Wars. — The inveterate foe and mortal enemy of Vishtāspa, however, is Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp), or the infidel Turk, as later history would have styled him. He stands as the great opponent of the national Faith, and we are fortunate in having considerable traditional

[1] Yt. 5. 109; Yt. 19. 87; cf. Yt. 9. 31.
[2] So Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 439.
[3] Yt. 9. 30–31.
[4] Yt. 5. 113.

information preserved regarding these wars with him. They are of paramount importance in the history of Zoroaster and his Creed, and they require fuller discussion. Details of the campaigns may be gathered from the Avesta, the Pahlavi writings, the Shāh Nāmah, and from some allusions in Arab chroniclers. The account given in the Shāh Nāmah dates from the tenth century of our era, and it is partly by the hand of Firdausī's predecessor, Daḳīḳī, as Firdausī himself expressly states when he describes the thousand lines which he had received from Daḳīḳī in a dream — the thousand lines relating to Zoroaster and Gushtāsp and the founding of the Faith.[1] The principal references are here collected and presented for convenience.[2]

The warfare against Arejaṯ-aspa is known in the Pahlavi writings as 'the war of the religion.'[3] In the Avestan and Pahlavi texts Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) is the leader of the hostile folk known as Hyaonians (Av. H'yaona, Phl. Khyōn). This nation has rightly or wrongly been identified with the Chionitae of the classics. This subject is more fully discussed below in Appendix IV. In any event Arejaṯ-aspa stands for the head

[1] See p. 5, n. 2; also see Mohl, trad. iv. 286–357, and consult Nöldeke in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 148–150.

[2] References to Arejaṯ-aspa and the Holy Wars: Avesta, Yt. **5.** 109, 113–117; Yt. **19.** 87; Yt. **9.** 29–31 = Yt. **17.** 49–51. — Pahlavi, Dk. **7.** 4. 77, 83, 84, 87–89; **7.** 5. 7; **5.** 2. 12 (note by West); **5.** 3. 1 (West, p. 126); **8.** 11. 4; **9.** 61. 12; **4.** 21 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 412); Bd. **12.** 32–34; Byt. **3.** 9 (and **2.** 49, note by West); Zsp. **23.** 8 (all these references are cited according to West's translations in the *Sacred Books*); furthermore, the Pahlavi Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān (which is constantly cited from the very useful contribution of Geiger, *Das Yātkār-i Zarīrān und sein Verhältnis zum Šāh-Nāme*, in Sb. d. k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss. 1890, Bd. ii. pp. 43–84. — Firdausī, Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, vol. iii. p. 1495 seq.; citations also made after the French translation by Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, iv. 293 seq. (Paris, 1877); cf. likewise the paraphase by J. Atkinson, *Shāh Nāmah, translated and abridged*, London and New York, 1886; furthermore, Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831. Pizzi's translation was not accessible. — Arabic Writers, Ṭabarī, extract quoted by Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii. 6–7, and by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster;* finally, Mirkhond, *History of Persia*, tr. by Shea, pp. 288–295, 313–326.

[3] E.g. Bd. **12.** 33.

of the chief inimical power among the heathen ; the Shāh Nāmah regards him as the head of Turān, Turkestān, China.

We have evidence of two distinct invasions by Arjāsp's forces, although the Avesta does not make clear the fact that there were two wars. The Pahlavi texts are not so explicit on the subject as are the Shāh Nāmah and some works, but the traditional dates which cover a period of seventeen years, as given by the Pahlavi writings, allow the inference of the two wars or two invasions. Both these religious conflicts result in victory for Iran ; yet not without severest loss for a time. In the first war, Vishtāspa's brother Zairivairi (Zarēr, Zarīr) and the latter's son Bastavairi (Bastvār, so read for Nastūr)[1] are the heroes of the fight ; in the second war, Vishtāspa's son Isfendīār, by his deeds of marvellous prowess, eclipses even the glory of these two heroic combatants. It seems appropriate to give some description of these wars and some discussion of the subject because of its bearing upon the early history of Zoroastrianism. The sources have already been mentioned (pp. 5, 38) ; truly to appreciate the subject one ought to read the accounts of tradition, or of fiction as some may prefer to call it, in the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān and in the Shāh Nāmah, which have been oftenest drawn upon. Here there is space merely to give excerpts from their descriptions or to give an outline of their contents.

Outbreak of Hostilities ; Causes and Dates. — If we accept the date given by the Zoroastrian tradition, which belongs to the time of the Sassanidae, it was some seventeen years after Vishtāspa's conversion that the war against Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) broke out. The Pahlavi selections of Zāṯ-sparam state that 'in the thirtieth year (of the Religion) the Khyōns arrive, who make an incursion into the countries of Iran.'[2] On the basis of traditional chronology, as worked out by Dr. E. W. West,

[1] These names belong to the Avesta, the Pahlavi, and the Shāh Nāmah.

[2] Zsp. 23. 8, tr. West, *SBE.* xlvii. 165.

we may place this event in the year B.C. 601.[1] The Shāh Nāmah likewise shows that, after the conversion of the king, some time must have elapsed before the great war began.[2] The day of the final battle of this war, it may be added, is given by the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān as Farvadīn.[3]

As for causes, the ostensible ground for the original difficulty was found in Vishtāsp's refusal to continue the payment of tribute and revenue to Arjāsp and in the latter's consequent and persistent pressing of his demand. So much, at least, for the pretence. The actual ground for difficulty, however, seems to have been the religious difference; for Vishtāsp's adoption of the new Faith really lies at the basis of the trouble. The religious question is certainly mixed up with the tribute matter. Perhaps one could hardly expect the two to be separated. The affair of the tribute is recorded in the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ as well as in the Shāh Nāmah.[4] On the other hand, the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān makes the religious issue the main one.[5] In the Shāh Nāmah, when the question comes up, Zoroaster appears practically in the position of a cardinal vested with regal power and wielding a vigorous hand in matters of state. He urges Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa) absolutely to refuse payment of the tax. The great Priest's personal interest in the political situation and problem to be settled is evidently largely governed by religious motives; Arjāsp, it is known, had declined to accept the true Faith.[6] In the Prophet's eyes, therefore, Turan is destined to be damned. Accordingly it is the Powers of Hell itself that rise up to inflame Arjāsp's fury against Iran. The Dīnkarṯ

[1] See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[2] Cf. Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1500, *candī rōzgār*, and Mohl, iv. 293, 'quelque temps.' Note also that Zoroaster is now spoken of as 'old' (*pīr*); according to tradition he would have been sixty at the time. The Yāṯkār hardly implies the lapse of so long an interval, and it makes Zaratūsht play a lesser part than Jāmāsp who seems rather to be the religious adviser of the king.

[3] YZ. § 85 (Geiger).

[4] Dk. 7. 4. 77, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 68; ShN. tr. Mohl, iv. 293.

[5] YZ. § 1 seq.

[6] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 289, 294; YZ. § 1 seq.

believes that no less a personage than Aēshma, the Archdemon of Wrath, conveyed clandestinely to Arjāsp the tidings of Vishtāsp's fixed and unswerving refusal. The statement tells the whole story: 'When Vishtāsp, accepting the religion, praises righteousness, the demons in hell are disabled; and the demon Aēshm (Av. Aēshma) rushes to the country of the Khyōns and to Arjāsp, the deadly one of the Khyōns, because he was the mightiest of tyrants at that time; and the most hideous of all, of so many of them in the country of the Khyōns, are poured out by him for war.'[1]

Arjāsp's Ultimatum. — Arjāsp forthwith makes a formal demand in writing and states the conditions upon which alone he will remain at peace; and he adds an ultimatum to the effect that Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa) must abandon the new creed or be prepared to have the country of Iran invaded within two months.[2] The authority for these statements is to be found in the Yāṯkār and in the Shāh Nāmah; the details of the messages, whether fictitious or actual, are preserved in their purport and intention, at least, in these same works. The names of the two messengers whom Arjāsp despatches to convey this decisive letter have been preserved as Vīdrafsh and Nāmkhvāst of the Hazārs.[3] The problem of the location of Arejaṯ-aspa's kingdom and of the Hyaonians of the Avesta has already been alluded to and it is more fully discussed below in Appendix IV.[4] Here we shall only note that the Shāh Nāmah locates the Turanians on the other side of the Oxus and makes Arjāsp despatch his envoys from the city of Khallakh or Khallukh to Vishtāsp in Balkh. Although Zoroaster was the chief

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 87, tr. West, *SBE.* xlvii. 72, and see Dk. 8. 11. 4, 'the demon of wrath.' Compare also the mention of 'wrath' in Byt. 3. 9, West, *SBE.* v. 218. The Shāh Nāmah has *narrah Dīvī*, ShN. iii. 1500, ed. Vullers-Landauer; cf. Mohl, iv. 293.

[2] On the time 'two months' see Shāh Nāmah, Mohl, iv. 298, and Yāṯkār, § 12.

[3] YZ. § 2 (Geiger, p. 47), ShN. Mohl, iv. p. 300. See also Dk. 7. 4. 77, 'the deputed envoys of Arjāsp . . . who demand tribute and revenue'; *sāk va-bāžō* (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 68).

[4] See p. 123 seq.

instigator of the trouble between the two rulers,[1] it is not unnatural, perhaps, that we find Jāmāsp assuming the chief rôle as counsellor, for he was prime minister, chancellor, and grand vizir.[2] On the receipt of the arrogant message, Vishtāsp's warlike brother Zarīr (Av. Zairivairi, Phl., Mod. P. Zarēr, Zarīr) at once steps forward and boldly hurls defiance in the face of Arjāsp's messengers; he endites in response a stern letter, to which the king gives approval, and he hands it to the envoys to deliver on their return.[3] War is forthwith declared.

First Invasion of Arjāsp, and the Holy War.—The Dīnkarṯ states that the missing Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask of the Avesta contained an account of 'the outpouring of Arjāsp the Khyōn, by the demon of Wrath, for war with Vishtāsp and disturbance of Zaratūsht; the arrangements and movements of King Vishtāsp for that war, and whatever is on the same subject.'[4] This brief but clear outline makes us regret the more keenly the loss of so interesting a book of the Avesta. But doubtless considerable of the material has actually been preserved, as in other cases, in the Pahlavi and later Persian literature; and this fact lends more weight to the statements of the Pahlavi Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān and of the Shāh Nāmah as being actually based on old foundations and therefore worthy of real consideration. This should be kept in mind in the following pages and in the descriptions which they present.

The Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān and the Shāh Nāmah both give vivid pictures, with imaginative coloring, of the marshalling of the forces and the numbers of the opposing hosts. As is common even in modern historical records, the estimates of the number of men actually under arms differ considerably. For Arjāsp's

[1] Dk. 8. 11. 4, 'the outpouring of Arjāsp the Khyōn, by the demon of wrath, for war with Vishtāsp and disturbance of Zaratūsht.'

[2] YZ. § 3 (Geiger, p. 48); ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 300–317.

[3] YZ. §§ 10–13 (Geiger, pp. 49–50); ShN. Mohl, iv. 301–303.

[4] Dk. 8. 11. 4, West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 24.

army one section of the Yāṯkār gives the number as 131,000 men.[1] The Shāh Nāmah is not so explicit, but puts the forces of the two wings of Arjāsp's host, and of the reserve, at 300,000, without including the main body of the army.[2] On the other side Vishtāsp's army is actually estimated by the Yāṯkār at 144,000 men,[3] although it once speaks as if the number were innumerable;[4] whereas in the Shāh Nāmah the strength is merely stated in a vague way as 1000 × 1000.[5]

Arjāsp's Army and its Leaders. — The tradition upon which Firdausī, or rather Daḳīḳī, based his poetic chronicle is consistent throughout with respect to making the city of Khallakh the place from which Arjāsp set out upon his campaign. Again we miss the lost Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask of the Avesta alluded to above! The poet is even able to give the order in which Arjāsp arranged his troops for the invading march. This differs considerably from the actual plan of marshalling his forces and commanders when in battle array; but even a poet would recognize the likelihood of changes and alterations according to the exigencies of the campaign and situation. On the march the troops were disposed of in the order given in the diagram on page 110.[6]

The advance guard is entrusted to Khashāsh. The two wings are assigned respectively to Arjāsp's own brothers Kuhram and Andarīmān (cf. Av. Vandaremaini) with three hundred thousand picked men. The chief in command is given to Gurgsār, while the flag is entrusted to Bīdrafsh. Arjāsp himself occupies the centre for safety and convenience; and Hūshdīv brings up the rear.

As already noted, the above line of march, however, differs

[1] YZ. § 46, but a few lines farther on (§ 50) the number is mentioned as 12,000,000 (probably a mistake in a figure). The prose Shāh Nāmah Nasr mentions Arjāsp's conscription as '15,000 men'; cf. Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* p. 325 (1 ed.).

[2] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 306, 319.

[3] YZ. § 49.

[4] YZ. § 16.

[5] ShN. Mohl, iv. 308.

[6] See ShN. Mohl, iv. 306 (line of march), opposed to iv. 319 (order of battle).

ARJĀSP'S ORDER OF MARCH

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[1]

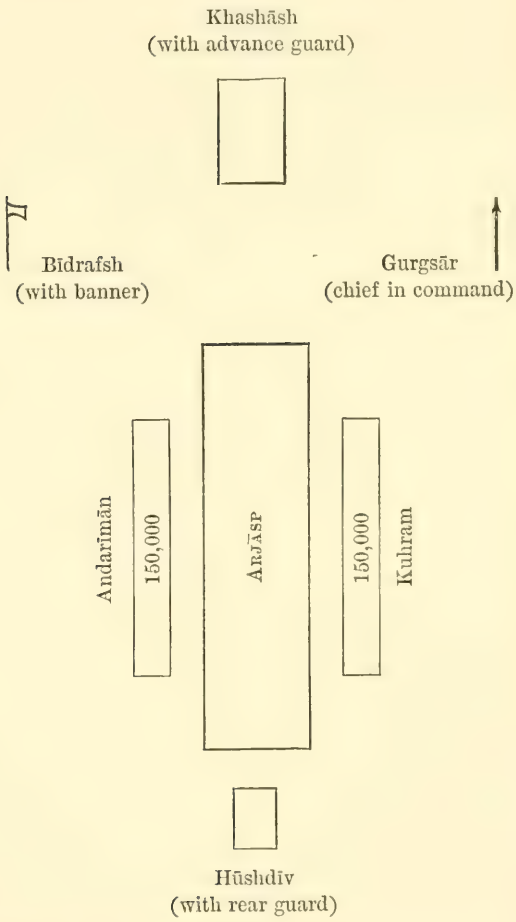

[1] See preceding note; and, on the proper names, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, as follows: *Xašāš*, p. 171; *Gurgsār*, p. 122; *Bīdrafš* (*Wīdrafš*), p. 368; *Andarīman* (*Wañdaremainiš*), p. 347; *Kuhram*, p. 166; *Hūsdīv* (*Hōšdēw*), p. 131; *Arjāsp*, p. 21.

from the arrangement of the forces in action on the field of battle. According to the picturesque account which is given in the Shāh Nāmah, we can imagine Arjāsp's forces drawn up in battle array in the manner indicated below. From the descriptions of the engagement it is evident that in Oriental fights, as often elsewhere, single deeds of great daring by brilliant leaders gain the day rather than combined efforts and the manœuvring of massed troops. We may conceive of the fortunes of the battle as guided by Ormazd and by Ahriman. The description in the Shāh Nāmah may indeed be poetic or journalistic, but it is worth reading, and the array of the enemy appeared as follows:[1]—

ARJĀSP'S ARRAY ON THE BATTLEFIELD

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[2]

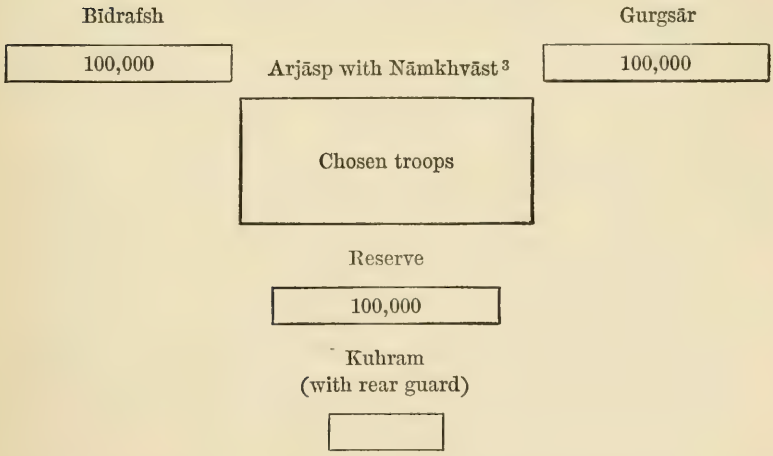

Bīdrafsh and Gurgsār are given charge of the two wings with 100,000 men each. Nāmkhvāst with picked troops has

[1] See Mohl, iv. p. 319 (and contrast with iv. p. 306).

[2] See preceding note; and, for the proper names, compare Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, as follows: *Gurgsār*, p. 122; *Bīdrafš* (*Wīdrafš*), p. 368; *Nāmxvāst*, p. 220; *Kuhram*, p. 166; *Arjāsp*, p. 21.

[3] Cf. ShN. Mohl, iv. 313, 319.

the centre where Arjāsp himself is stationed.[1] The reserve of 100,000 men is disposed in such a way as to support all the divisions. This time Kuhram[2] guards the rear, whereas Hūshdīv had held that position on the invading march. Among Arjāsp's leaders only two are really known to fame in the conflict: these are Nāmkhvāst and Bīdrafsh.[3]

Vishtāsp's Army and its Leaders. — The strength of Vishtāspa's forces has already been mentioned. The three principal heroes who win renown on the Iranian side are, first, Vishtāsp's intrepid brother, the valiant Zarīr (Av. Zairivairi, YZ. Zarēr, ShN. Zarīr);[4] second, the latter's son Bastvar (Av. Bastavairi, YZ. Bastvar, ShN. Nastūr);[5] and third, Vishtāspa's own glorious son Isfendīār (Av. Spentō-dāta, YZ. ShN. Isfendīār).[6] In the Yāṯkār, mention is likewise made of another of Vishtāspa's brothers, named Pāṯ-khusrav,[7] and also of a favorite son of Vishtāsp whose name apparently is Frashōkarṯ or Frashāvarṯ.[8] The Shāh Nāmah furthermore mentions Ardashīr, who is a son of Vishtāspa, Shērō or (according to Mohl)

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv, 313, 319. In YZ. § 50, Arjāsp, like Vishtāsp, has his place of observation upon a hill to direct the battle.

[2] The name of Arjāsp's brother, *Kuhram* or *Guhram*, appears as *Gōhormuz* in Ṭabarī; see Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii. 7, 8; Justi *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 112. If Kuhram accepted Shēdāsp's challenge (ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 321, 322), he must have come forward from the rear.

[3] YZ. §§ 29–30, and § 54 seq.; ShN. Mohl, iv. 319, 323, 327.

[4] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 382.

[5] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 65.

[6] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 308.

[7] YZ. §§ 29, 37; he is apparently not named in the Avesta; cf. Geiger, *Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān*, p. 77. For his name, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 532, suggested Av. Bujasravah, Yt. 13. 101, but this is doubtful.

[8] YZ. § 30 (text corrupt), 39, 44. As the MS. at § 30 is corrupt (cf. Geiger, p. 75), one might think of Av. Frashōkara (Yt. 13. 102), which is the reading of all good Avestan MSS. (*not Fraŝhō-karəta*, as Geiger, YZ. p. 75); but West (personal communication) thinks they are all the same name. As Frash . . . falls in this battle, we must not (as does Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 533) confuse him with Farshīdvard, of the Shāh Nāmah, who does not fall now, but is slain in the second battle. Possibly it might be Av. Frash-hāmvareta (Yt. 13. 102) if we set aside Darmesteter's connection with Pers. Farshīdvard. In any case Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 104 should be consulted.

Ormazd,[1] Shēdāsp,[2] Garāmī, the son of Jāmāsp,[3] Nēvzār, son of Vishtāsp,[4] Bashūtan (i.e. Peshōtanu), son of Vishtāsp,[5] and a son of Isfendīār called Nūsh-Ādar (i.e. Anōsh-Ādar) who is killed by Zavārah in the second war.[6] The valiant Isfendīār appears in all accounts of both wars. He is evidently com-

ARRANGEMENTS OF VISHTĀSP'S TROOPS FOR BATTLE

(According to the Shah Nāmah)[7]

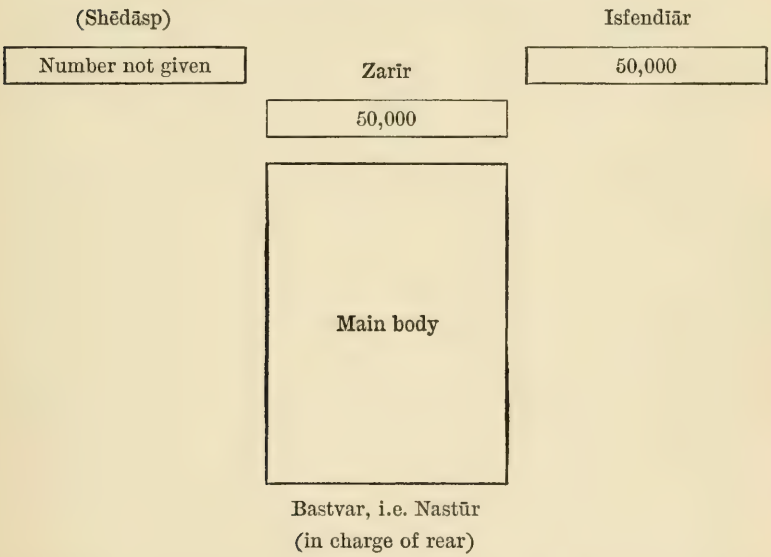

paratively young in the first war, and his renown as hero belongs rather to the second great action; but in both cam-

[1] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 297, Mohl, iv. 321.

[2] Son of Vishtāsp, Mohl, iv. 311, 318, 321; Justi, p. 294.

[3] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 311, 312, 323, and see next page.

[4] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 312, 324.

[5] ShN. Mohl, iv. 332, Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 251. Mentioned also by Ṭabarī in this connection (Tab. i. 676 f.; cf. Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.* ii. p. 7).

[6] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 338, 349; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 17*b*, 337 (*Uzwārak*).

[7] See preceding note; and, on the proper names, see Justi, *Iran Namenbuch*, as follows: *Zairivairi*, p. 382; *Isfendīār*, p. 308; *Shēdāsp*, p. 294; *Bastavairi*, p. 65.

paigns he is the same ideal hero, *sans peur et sans reproche.* Twenty-two other sons of the family of Vishtāspa are slain according to the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān (§ 29), but this treatise does not seem to take account of the second holy war against Arjāsp. The Shāh Nāmah makes the number of Vishtāsp's sons that were slain to have been thirty-eight,[1] but this number on the other hand seems to comprise both wars. On the field of battle Vishtāsp's troops, according to the Shāh Nāmah, were drawn up as presented in the preceding table.[2] We must regret once more that we have not the missing Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask which the Dīnkarṯ says described 'the arrangement and movements of King Vishtāsp for that war.'

Battles of the First War. — The location of the seat of war in the first great conflict is not wholly clear. The Shāh Nāmah speaks of the Jīhūn or Oxus — see Map; the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān seems to allude to Merv (also in the northeast) as the seat, but the text is not precise on the subject. The whole question is discussed below in Appendix IV., reference to which should be made.

It is evident, in this first war, that there were two principal battles, separated by a slight interval; some of the apparent differences and discrepancies between the Yāṯkār and the Shāh Nāmah are possibly to be accounted for in that way. As to the interval, the Shāh Nāmah recognizes a lapse of two weeks (*dū haftah*) between the first attack by Arjāsp and the combat which resulted in Zarīr's death.[3] As to the action, the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān naturally selects those situations and incidents which bring its hero Zarīr into the foreground. Both accounts tell how, on the eve of battle, the sage Jāmāsp in prophetic vision foresees all the gains and all the losses on each side; and he foretells to the king the joys and sorrows, the temporary defeat, but final, conclusive, and decisive victory of the following day.[4]

[1] Mohl, iv. 367, 376, 386, 445.

[2] See p. 113, and cf. Mohl, iv. 318.

[3] ShN. iii. 1527, *dū haftah;* cf. Mohl, iv. 325.

[4] YZ. §§ 28–30; ShN. iii. 1514–1521; cf. Mohl, iv. 309–317.

Vishtāsp beholds the fight from a neighboring elevation.[1] In the first action a number fall on the side of the Zoroastrian faith. Several of the names may be gathered; they are mostly sons of the king: Ardashīr, Ormazd (or Shērō), Shēdāsp, Nēvzār, Pāṯ-khusrav, and Frashāvarṯ (?).[2] Most of these are slain by the listful demon Nāmkhvāst. Of all the descriptions, one of the most picturesque, perhaps, is the account of the chivalrous deed of Jāmāsp's indomitable son Garāmī (YZ. Garāmīk-karṯ). In a moment of critical suspense he rescues the imperial banner by an act of heroism which is all-inspiring, and he saves the gonfalon, holding it between his teeth, and fights till he falls.[3]

The second and decisive battle follows this first sharp engagement after a brief interval. In this action there is no question that the hero is Zarīr (Zarēr, Zairivairi). He does not fall in open attack, but by an act of stealth at the hand of the sorcerer Bīdrafsh, whom he had challenged to mortal combat. Zarīr's unfortunate death is gloriously avenged by his young son Bastvar (Nastūr) and by the valiant Isfendīār. In the words of the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, as the battle opens, 'the dashing leader Zarīr began the fight as fiercely as when the god of Fire bursts into a hay-rick and is impelled onward by a blast of the storm. Each time as he struck his sword down, he killed ten Khyōns; and, as he drew it back, he slew eleven. When hungry and thirsty he needed only to look upon the blood of the Khyōns and he became refreshed.'[4] But treachery, as before stated, undoes the noble knight; he falls, pierced through the heart by a poisoned spear hurled from behind by the magician Vīdrafsh (Vēdrafsh, Bīdrafsh) who is promised the fair hand of Arjāsp's daughter Zarshtan as a reward.[5] The hero fallen, Vishtāsp now turns and offers his own lovely daughter Humāk (Hūmāī)

[1] YZ. § 49; ShN. Mohl, iv. 320.

[2] List made up from ShN. iii. 1523 seq.; cf. Mohl, iv. 311, 321; and YZ. §§ 29–30. Compare also Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 229 (*Nēwzār*), and the references given above, p. 113.

[3] YZ. § 79; ShN. iv. 323, 311–12; see also Geiger, *Yātkār*, p. 79.

[4] YZ. § 51 (Geiger, pp. 59–60).

[5] YZ. §§ 52–56 (after Geiger, pp. 60–61); cf. ShN. Mohl, iv. 327, 328. See also Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.* ii. 3.

to whosoever will avenge Zarīr's death.[1] The latter's youthful son Bastvar (Nastūr), a child in years but a giant in strength and courage, dashes forward and, accompanied by Isfendīār, slays the treacherous Vīdrafsh, routs the Turanian hosts, hews them down as he drives them before him, and with Isfendīār's aid sends Arjāsp defeated, humbled, mutilated, back to his own capital.[2]

The gallant Isfendīār now grants respite to the vanquished Turanians, which is in keeping with the nobility of his character, although his soldiers, as the poet describes, were inclined to butcher the entire army of refugees.[3] The Shāh Nāmah is able to give the numbers of those who fell in battle. Of Vishtāsp's forces the number of the slain is estimated at 30,000 including thirty-eight sons of the king.[4] On Arjāsp's side the list of those who were killed is reckoned to be more than 100,000. With the boldness of precision worthy of an epic writer who is giving details, the poet is able to add that 1163 of this number were men of rank, beside 3200 wounded.[5] Terms of peace with religious stipulations are entered into and the first great victory of Zoroastrianism is achieved.

The war over, Vishtāsp marches back through his own country of Iran to the city of Balkh, to celebrate the victory. In Persian fashion he is said to have given his daughter Humāī to the intrepid Isfendīār,[6] and he assigns to this young hero Bastvar (Nastūr) an army of 100,000 picked soldiers, bidding him to advance toward Arjāsp's capital, Khallakh, in order to complete the conquest. One other son, Farshīdvard,[7] is made suzerain over Khorassān, the territory which afterwards becomes famous as a seat of the second holy war against Arjāsp. Vishtāsp himself next founds a new fire-temple and makes Jāmāsp

[1] YZ. § 57; ShN. Mohl, iv. 330, 341.

[2] YZ. §§ 58–85 (Geiger, pp. 62–69); ShN. Mohl, 335–341.

[3] ShN. Mohl, iv. 339.

[4] But see the statement given above (p. 114) which explains this number as referring to both the wars.

[5] ShN. Mohl, iv. 341.

[6] YZ. § 57 seq. implies Bastvar; see above, p. 72, n. 1.

[7] ShN. Mohl, iv. 345.

high priest over it. His final and most important act for the Religion is to depute the dauntless Isfendīār upon a hallowed mission, a great crusade to foreign lands, enjoining upon him to convert all peoples and nations to the Faith of Zardusht. When this is accomplished he promises to recompense the valiant crusader and dutiful son by awarding him the crown and throne of Iran.

Isfendīār as Crusader, and the Following Events. — Tradition tells how fortune favors the gallant knight. So successful is his pious zeal, according to the Shāh Nāmah, that the countries even of 'Rūm and Hindūstān' are among those who despatched messengers to Vishtāsp, requesting to have 'the Zend-Avesta of Zardusht' sent to them. Vishtāsp eagerly complies with the request and sends a copy of the bible to every land.[1] An allusion to the Dīnkarṯ of crusading efforts in the direction of 'Arūm and the Hindūs' in connection with the name of Spenddāṯ (Isfendīār) has already been noticed above.

There must have been a considerable lapse of time for all this to transpire, and a number of the events narrated in the chapters on conversions and the spread of the Religion perhaps belong here.[2] The interval of peace at home was doubtless used to advantage; and possibly about this time the Avesta was written down by Jāmāsp from the teachings of Zoroaster as referred to in the Dīnkarṯ.[3] All goes well. Each effort of Isfendīār is divinely crowned, and at last he feels himself entitled by his successes to turn to his father with the expectation of receiving the crown according to the royal promise. But he receives it not. A mischievous brother, Kurazm (Av. Kavārazem, Yt. **13.** 103)[4] with lying lips calumniates the valiant hero to his father. Isfendīār is rewarded by being

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv. 344–345.

[2] The Shāh Nāmah implies an interval of 'some time'; see ShN. iii. 1543, Vullers-Landauer = Mohl, iv. 345, 'quelque temps.'

[3] Dk. **4.** 21; **5.** 3. 4; **7.** 5. 11; **3.** 7. 1. Cf. pp. 76, 97. West places this event about B.C. 591. See *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[4] ShN. Mohl, iv. 346; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 159; Darmesteter, *Études Iran.* ii. 230.

thrown into chains and imprisoned upon a mountain in the fortress citadel of Gumbadān in Khorassān or Mount Spentō-dāta of the Avesta and Būndahishn as described below in Appendix IV. The Shāh Nāmah goes on to tell how King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) leaves Balkh shortly after this incident and goes for 'two years' to Seistān and Zabūlistān to visit Rustam.

It is at this point in the Shāh Nāmah that the narrative of Firdausī's predecessor Daḳīḳī is stated to end, and the story is taken up by Firdausī himself. This fact may account for certain differences of view and manner of treatment which are noticeable.[1]

Arjāsp's Second Invasion; the Last Holy War. — The chronicle of the Shāh Nāmah, as poetic history, seems to allow some years to elapse between the invasions of Arjāsp as already mentioned, and the traditional Zoroastrian chronology bears out this fact if we combine the dates which may be gathered.[2] The state of affairs in Iran begins to assume a different aspect. The Turanian Arjāsp, taking advantage of Isfendīār's imprisoment, reunites his forces and prepares to strike a blow of retaliation upon his former conqueror. Once more he invades Iran and the second war begins. The tradition which Firdausī follows is claimed by him to be ancient. It is curious, however, in some of its details, and it presents an odd picture of the management of a kingdom. Vishtāsp's absence from his capital seems to have left Balkh weakened or unprotected. Arjāsp successfully storms the city; the aged Lohrāsp falls in the fight before the city walls;[3] the temple of Nūsh-Ādar is sacked and destroyed; the priests are slain in the very act of their pious worship; the sacred fire is quenched by their

[1] On the Daḳīḳī portion of the Shāh Nāmah, cf. p. 5, n. 2, and see Nöldeke in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 148–150.

[2] The date of Zoroaster's death is set at B.C. 583, and this is supposed to have occurred during the Turanian invasion, as discussed in the next chapter.

[3] Shāh Nāmah, Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1560; Mohl, iv. 364, 558.

hallowed blood; and, worst of all, the Prophet Zardusht falls a martyr at the hands of the murderous and fanatical invaders of Turan, as he stands in the presence of the altar's holy flame which the Faith so devoutly cherished. The details of these particular circumstances are given more fully in the next chapter, together with some additional traditions regarding Zoroaster's death. This sad event serves to place the date of the second war at about B.C. 583 on the basis of the Būndahishn chronology.[1]

Events now follow in rapid succession. Vishtāsp learns in Seistān of the death of Lohrāsp and of the martyrdom of Zoroaster. He hastens to join forces with his son, Farshīdvard of Khorassān. The Shāh Nāmah states that Vishtāsp took the route towards Balkh, but from its description and from a Pahlavi allusion to the 'White Forest,' as discussed hereafter, it appears that Vishtāsp joined Farshīdvard in Khorassān, of which the latter was suzerain. We may recall here that Firdausī himself was a native of Khorassān and he must have been familiar with the tradition. The question of the scene of this opening battle is entered into more fully below in Appendix IV. So it need not be discussed here. We need only follow Firdausī's brief description of the drawing up of the opposing lines, and if we glance at Khorassān on the Map we shall have an idea, at least traditionally, of the battlefields on which the final victory of Zoroastrianism was won.

Alas! the valiant Isfendiār is no longer in command of the host that is fighting for the Avesta and the Faith of Iran. The princely Farshīdvard receives a wound that shortly proves fatal. Vishtāsp is routed, and he finds refuge only in the region of Nīshāpūr or of the Jagatai chain, as discussed in detail below, Appendix IV. The Iranians are beleagured on a lonely height; the Faith of Zoroaster seems about to totter and fall before the hated Arjāsp and Turan. But Isfendiār is

[1] See note above, and compare West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

once more the saviour of the hour. In the dire emergency it is universally felt that the captive prince, chained within the fortress which even in the Avesta has given his name to the

OPENING BATTLE OF THE SECOND HOLY WAR

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[1]

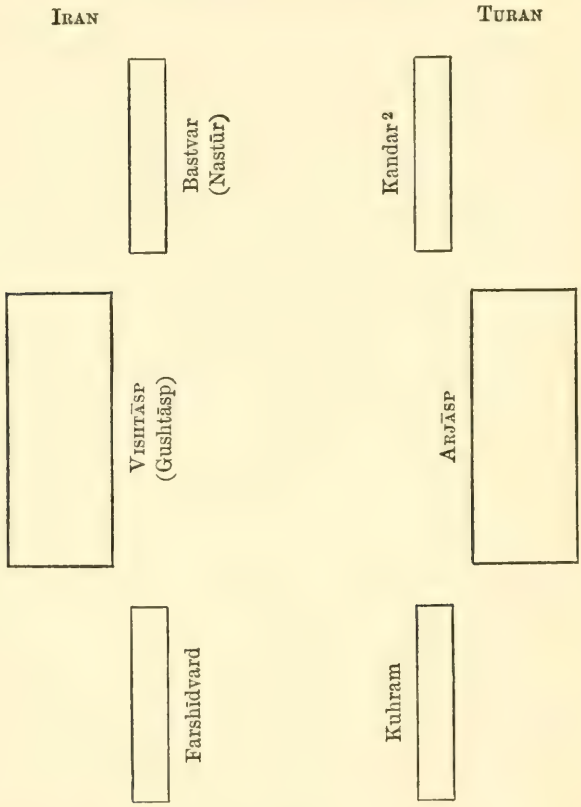

mountain, can save the State from its impending overthrow. According to the Chronicle, Jāmāsp secretly visits Isfendīār,

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv. 365, 366, 387. On the special proper names, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch* under *Frašhąm-varəta*, p. 104 (but recall discussion of the name above, p. 112, n. 8); *Bastvar*, Justi, p. 65.

[2] ShN. Mohl, iv. 366, 387.

and finally induces him to forget his cruel wrongs and to preserve his country from the certain ruin that hangs over it. Freed from the galling shackles, he hastens to the rescue and leads the hosts of Zoroastrianism once more to victory. Under the inspiration of his command a final battle is begun. Isfendīār receives full power and sway. The only change in the organization of Vishtāsp's forces, as noted in the Shāh Nāmah, is that Gurdōē (Kerdūī) succeeds to the place of Farshīdvard, who had died from the fatal wound received in the preceding fight, and Bastvar (Nastūr) consequently occupies the right wing.[1] Arjāsp's troops are marshalled in a manner differing but slightly from that before adopted. The disposition of the armies, as given by Firdausī, is shown in the diagram on page 122.

Isfendīār wins a complete and signal victory. Arjāsp flees back to Turan. But no quarter this time is granted. His country is mercilessly invaded by the invincible Isfendīār, his capital stormed and taken, and he himself is finally slain. The Dīnkart̲ likewise in one passage seems to contain an echo of the note of exultation over this event.[2] Victory rests everywhere upon the banners of Iran and upon the triumphant standards of Zoroaster's Faith.

Thus closed the second invasion of the great Holy War, which really served to establish the future of Zoroastrianism, for the Faith gained strength from the shock it withstood and the power it overcame. According to tradition, victory led to other attempts at universal conversion, but not all were unqualifiedly successful. The gallant Isfendīār, so zealous ever for the cause, is himself ultimately slain in single combat with Rustam, whom he sought to convert to the creed in accordance with King Vishtāsp's urgent desire and his own unflagging readiness for crusading. The story which Firdausī tells of

[1] On Gurdōē (Kerdūī), see ShN. Mohl, iv. 384; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, pp. 122, 161.

[2] See Dk. 7. 4. 88–90, in West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 72–73.

the details of Isfendīār's death may be apocryphal, but it contains some reminiscence of the missionary labors that are known to have been expended in the land of Seistān.

FINAL BATTLE OF THE SECOND HOLY WAR

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[1]

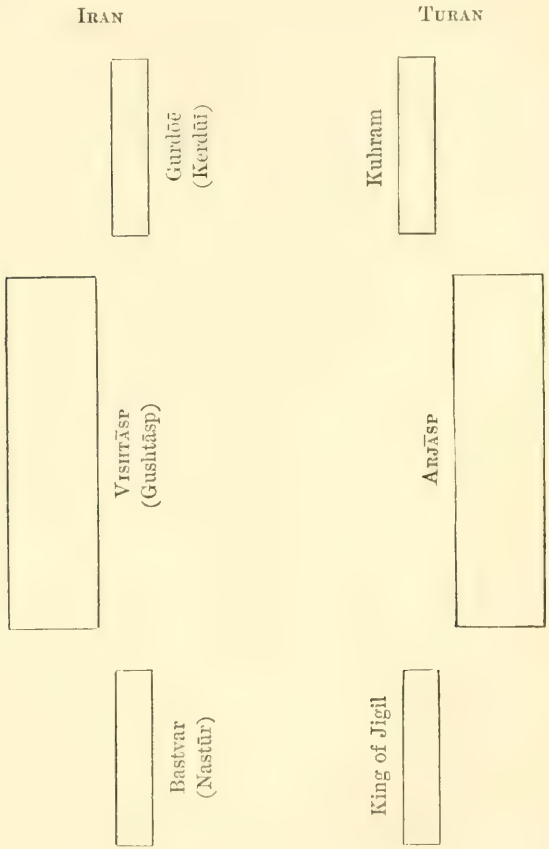

The Sacred Wars summarized. — Such is the story of the period of holy warfare against Areiaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) in behalf

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv. 384. For the proper names, see references above.

of Zoroaster's Faith, at least so far as we can gather history from sources which are chiefly chronicles. In the Avesta and in the Pahlavi writings Arejaṯ-aspa is a Hyaonian (Av. H'yaona, Phl. Khyōn); in the Shāh Nāmah and elsewhere he is understood to be a Turanian. Both designations apparently amount ultimately to the same thing. Furthermore, according to tradition, there were two separate wars or invasions by Arjāsp, although the earliest accounts do not make this point wholly clear. If we accept the Zoroastrian chronology based upon the Pahlavi Būndahishn, the defeat of Arjāsp in the first war must have occurred about B.C. 601. The principal battle of this war was the fight in which King Vishtāsp's brother Zarīr was slain. A considerable interval, nearly twenty years, is believed to have elapsed before Arjāsp began his second invasion. The date of this event is placed by the tradition as about B.C. 583, the year being given by the death of Zoroaster which seems to have occurred at this time. The amphitheatre in which the final engagements in this war took place appears to be Khorassān. Isfendīār, the great crusader, wins the final victory that establishes the Faith of Iran on a firm foundation, even though Zoroaster is no longer living to enjoy the fruits of triumph.

CHAPTER X

THE DEATH OF ZOROASTER

THE END OF A GREAT PROPHETIC CAREER

'Shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord?'
—LAMENTATIONS 2. 20.

INTRODUCTION—GREEK AND LATIN ACCOUNTS OF ZOROASTER'S DEATH BY LIGHTNING OR A FLAME FROM HEAVEN—THE IRANIAN TRADITION OF HIS DEATH AT THE HAND OF AN ENEMY—CONCLUSION

Introduction. — Those who have read Marion Crawford's novel 'Zoroaster' may perhaps recall the graphic scene describing the death of the Prophet of ancient Iran, with which the romance closes. Whatever may have been the novelist's source of information—if he had any source beyond his own vivid imagination—his picture is so well drawn that it seems real, and it may possibly not be so far, after all, from the truth. There is no authority, however, for believing that Zoroaster's death took place at Stakhar (Persepolis); but there is ground for believing that he may possibly have been slain while at worship in the sanctuary. Traditions on the subject differ; but it is the purpose of this chapter briefly to bring together the material that is accessible on the question of Zoroaster's death.

Greek and Latin Accounts of Zoroaster's Death. — From the fate of Empedocles we are not surprised to find a miraculous departure attributed to a great sage; and the Greek and Latin patristic writers give a fabulous account of the passing of Zoroaster. (His is no ordinary end; he perishes by lightning or a flame from heaven, which recalls the descent of the fiery chariot and the whirlwind in the apotheosis of Elijah. For

such a description our principal source is the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* and the spurious Clementine *Homilies*, whose statements are followed by later writers. All these passages are given in Appendix V., so they are simply summarized here.[1]

(a) A passage in the *Clementinae Recognitiones* (dating about A.D. second century, and existing in the Latin translation of Rufinus),[2] identifies Zoroaster with Ham or Mesraim of the family of Noah, and anathematizes him as a magician and astrologer. To deceive the people, it is said, he was wont to conjure the stars until finally the guardian spirit or presiding genius of a certain star became angry at his control and emitted a stream of fire in vengeance and slew the arch-magician. But the misguided Persians deified the ashes of his body consumed by the flame, and they gave adoration to the star which had thus charioted him into the presence of God. Hence after his death he received the name Zoroaster, that is, 'living star,'—an interpretation by those who understood the Greek form of his name to have this meaning![3]

(b) The statement in the spurious Clementine *Homilies*[4] differs but slightly. Zoroaster is identified with Nimrod, who, in the pride of his heart, seeks for universal power from the star, whereat the lightning falls from heaven and Nimrod is destroyed, and he accordingly receives the surname Zoroaster for the 'stream of the star': *Ζωροάστρης μετωνομάσθη, διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνελθῆναι ῥοήν.* But the Persians, it is added, built a temple over the remains of his body and cherished the sacred flame that came from the

[1] The best material on this subject, from the classical side, is to be found in Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 306–309 (accessible now in translation, Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 131–135).

[2] Clem. Roman. *Recogn.* 4. 27–29 (tom. i. col. 1326 seq. ed. Migne). See Appendix V., § 12.

[3] For the text, cf. Appendix V., § 12.

[4] Clem. *Homilies*, 9. 4 seq. (tom. ii. col. 244, ed. Migne); see Appendix V., § 12, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 306–307 = Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, p. 133, and Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. p. 34.

coals of the heaven-sent bolt; and so long as they did this they had sovereignty. Then the Babylonians stole away the embers and thereby gained empire over the world.[1]

(c) Gregory of Tours (A.D. 538–593)[2] repeats the identification of Zoroaster with Ham (Cham, or Chus) and records the etymology of his name as 'living star,' stating that the Persians worshipped him as a god because he was consumed by fire from heaven. See Appendix V., § 37.

(d) The *Chronicon Paschale* or *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (last date A.D. 629)[3] makes Zoroaster foretell his fiery death, and bid the Persians to preserve the ashes of his charred bones. As he is praying to Orion, he is slain by the descent of a heavenly shaft, and the Persians carefully keep his ashes down to the present time. See text in Appendix V., § 39.

The same story is found in almost the same words, or with no material addition (see Appendix V., § 39) in the works of

(e) Johan. Malalas (A.D. sixth century) col. 84, ed. Migne; p. 18 ed. Bonnenn.

(f) Suidas (A.D. tenth century), s.v. Ζωροάστρης, Ἀστρονόμος, briefly records the death by fire from heaven.

(g) Georgius Cedrenus (c. A.D. 1100), tells the same in his *Historiarum Compendium* (col. 57, ed. Migne; p. 29 seq. ed. Bonnenn.), and adds, *τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι ἕως τοῦτου καταφρονήσαντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσον.*

(h) Michael Glycas (flor. c. A.D. 1150), *Ann. Pars II.* (col. 253, ed. Migne; p. 244 ed. Bonnenn.), simply repeats the Clementine statement. See Appendix V., § 47.

(i) Georgius Hamartolus (d. about A.D. 1468) merely reiterates the same in his *Chronology* (col. 56, ed. Migne).

All these latter quotations go back to the Clementine source.

[1] For the full text, see Appendix V., § 12.

[2] *Hist. Francor.* 1. 5 (col. 164 seq. ed. Migne).

[3] *Chron. Pasch.* col. 148 seq. ed. Migne; or i. p. 67, ed. Bonnenn.; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 308 note = Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, p. 135.

They all look upon Zoroaster as an astrologer who perished by a shaft from heaven, and they usually interpret this as a mark of divine displeasure.

It might be added, simply by way of greater completeness, that Orosius (A.D. fifth century) *Hist.* i. 4 (col. 700, ed. Migne) follows the current later classical story about Ninus and Zoroaster, and adds that Ninus conquered and killed him in battle, which perhaps is an echo of the war against Arjāsp.[1]

The Iranian Tradition of Zoroaster's Death. — Passing from the realm of fanciful legend to the more solid ground of tradition we have a very persistent statement in the later Zoroastrian sacred writings regarding the death of the Prophet, even if, for reasons to be easily understood, that event is not mentioned in the Avesta itself.[2] This tradition with absolute uniformity makes his death to have occurred at the age of seventy-seven years, and ascribes it to a Turanian, one Brāṯrōkrēsh.[3] Whether this occurred at the storming of Balkh or under other circumstances, will be discussed below. For the latest accessible material on the subject we may refer especially to West, *SBE.* xlvii. According to the Pahlavi selections of Zāṯ-sparam, Zoroaster passed away at the age of seventy-seven years and forty days in the 47th–48th year of the religion, or B.C. 583, of the Iranian chronology.[4] The month and the day are specifically named, as will be recorded below. The statement of his age being seventy-seven years is repeated elsewhere,[5] and the name of his murderer occurs a number of times as the following passages will show.

(a) The Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, **23.** 9 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 165) contain the following entry: 'In the forty-seventh year

[1] For the text, see Appendix V., § 27.

[2] See also Geldner, 'Zoroaster' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xxiv. 821, col. *a*.

[3] Cf. also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 71.

[4] See West's calculations given in Appendix III., p. 181, and consult the next paragraph.

[5] E.g. Masūdī, as given in Appendix II., p. 163.

(of the Religion) Zaratūsht passes away, who attains seventy-seven years and forty days, in the month Arṯavahishtō, on the day Khūr; and for eight rectified months, till the month Dadvō and day Khūr, he should be brought forward as to be reverenced.' The day of his death, according to tradition, is the day Khūr in the month Arṯavahishtō, on the eleventh day of the second month of the Zoroastrian year.[1]

(b) In Dīnkarṯ, 7. 5. 1 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 73) we read, 'About the marvellousness which is manifested from the acceptance of the Religion by Vishtāsp onwards till the departure (*vīxēžŏ*) of Zaratūsht, whose guardian spirit is reverenced, to the best existence, when seventy-seven years had elapsed onwards from his birth, forty-seven onwards from his conference, and thirty-five years onwards from the acceptance of the Religion by Vishtāsp.'

(c) Dīnkarṯ, 7. 6. 1 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 77) speaks, among other miracles, 'About the marvellousness which is manifested after the departure (*vīxēžŏ*) of Zaratūsht, whose guardian spirit is reverenced, to the best existence (i.e. Heaven), and manifested also in the lifetime of Vishtāsp.'

(d) Dāṯistān-ī Dīnīk, 72. 8 (West, *SBE.* xviii. 218) states that among the most heinous sinners, 'one was Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh, the Karap and heterodox wizard, by whom the best of men [i.e. Zaratūsht] was put to death.' If this be the same Karap that plotted against Zoroaster as a youth, it would imply an extraordinary longevity (p. 28, n. 4).

(e) Dīnkarṯ 5. 3. 2 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 126) mentions among the events in the history of the Religion, 'the killing of Zaratūsht himself by Brāṯrō-rēsh.' See also the note by Darab D. P. Sanjana in Geiger's *Eastern Iranians*, ii. p. 216. Compare likewise Dīnkarṯ translated by Peshotan Dastur Behramjee

[1] Or May 1, B.C. 583, if I reckon correctly. On the Zoroastrian months, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33–36, and Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, i. 149, 150; ii. 154. On the year, see West's calculations in *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, given below in Appendix III.

Sanjana, vol. vii. p. 485: 'Among wicked priests the most wicked was Tur-e-Baratrut (i.e. Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh) of evil nature and desirous of destroying Zarthusht's faith.'

(f) The Great Iranian Būndahishn in a passage cited and translated by Darmesteter (*Le ZA.* ii. 19, cf. also iii. Introd. lxxix.) describes the demon and wizard Malkōs, who shall appear at the end of a thousand years to bring distress upon the earth, as a manifestation of ruin springing 'from the race of Tūr-ī Brāṯrōk-rēsh who brought about Zaratūsht's death.'[1]

(g) The Persian prose treatise Sad-dar, **9**. 5 (West, *SBE.* xxiv. 267) includes among the list of sinners who are on a par with Ahriman, the same 'Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh who slew Zaratūsht.' The metrical Sad-dar repeats it also (Hyde, *Historia Religionis*, p. 441).

(h) The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht, **2**. 3 (West, *SBE.* v. 195) alludes to the same tradition, for when Zaratūsht in a vision asks immortality of God, Aūharmazd declines it, responding thus: 'When (i.e. if) I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratūsht the Spītāmān! then Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh the Karap will become immortal, and when Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh the Karap shall become immortal, the resurrection and future existence are not possible.'

The Pahlavi-Parsi tradition is therefore unanimous that Zoroaster perished by the hand of Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh or Brātrōk-rēsh, but it gives no specific details. Firdausī must be following an Iranian tradition in keeping with this when he assigns this event to the time of the Turanian invasion of Iran, and ascribes Zoroaster's death to the storming of Balkh and the destruction of the temple Nūsh-Ādar. Other Persian writers seem to accept the same tradition. The extracts are given.

(i) Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1559 graphically describes the final scene. I give a version of it, following Mohl iv. 363 and Vullers, *Fragmente*, 103: 'The army (of Turan) there-

[1] *Malkōs sēj-cīharī min tōxmak-ī Tūr-ī Brāṯrōk-rēš, ī ōš-ī Zaratūšt yahvūnt;* see Darmesteter.

upon entered Balkh, and the world became darkened with rapine and murder. They advanced toward the Temple of Fire (*ātaškadah*) and to the palace and glorious hall of gold. They burned the Zend-Avesta entire and they set fire to the edifice and palace alike. There (in the sanctuary) were eighty priests whose tongues ceased not to repeat the name of God; all these they slew in the very presence of the Fire and put an end to their life of devotion. By the blood of these was extinguished the Fire of Zardusht. Who slew this priest I do not know.'[1] The story is told over again, a few lines farther on, where the messenger bears to the absent Vishtāsp the awful news of the sacking of the city, the death of Lohrāsp, 'the king of kings,' and the slaying of the Sage or Master (*rad*), by which none other than Zardusht is meant. The lines run (cf. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1560, and Mohl, trad. iv. 364): 'They have slain Lohrāsp, the king of kings, before the city of Balkh; and our days are darkened and full of trouble. For (the Turks) have entered the temple Nūsh-Ādar and they have crushed the head of the Master (Zardusht) and of all the priests; and the brilliant Fire has been extinguished by their blood.'

(j) The prose chronicle Shāh Nāmah Nasr, which Hyde terms an abstract of Firdausī made by some Magian,[2] states similarly with reference to this event: 'They say that when Arjāsp's army invaded Iran, Lohrāsp left the place of divine worship as soon as he learned of this, and took to the field of battle. He killed a great many, but he himself was slain, together with eighty priests (who were in the temple at Balkh Bāmī). The fire was quenched by their blood; and among the number of the eighty priests was Zardusht the prophet, who also perished in this war.'[3]

(k) The later Persian work Dabistān (beginning of 17th

[1] See variant in Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1559, and the translation by Vullers, *Fragmente*, p. 103, and by Mohl, iv. 363.

[2] Hyde, *Historia Religionis Vet. Pers.* pp. 319–325 (1 ed.).

[3] After the Latin translation of Hyde, op. cit. p. 325.

century A.D.), claims that its statement is based upon ancient Iranian authority and gives a picturesque description of the manner in which the martyred Zoroaster avenged himself upon his slayer Turbaraturhash (i.e. Tūr-ī Brāṭar-vakhsh) by hurling his rosary at his murderer and destroying him. Or as the passage reads: 'It is recorded in the books composed by Zardusht's followers, and also in the ancient histories of Iran, that at the period of Arjāsp's second[1] invasion, King Gushtāsp was partaking of the hospitality of Zāl, in Seistān, and Isfendīār was a prisoner in Dazh Gumbadān; and that Lohrāsp, notwithstanding the religious austerities he performed through divine favor, laid aside the robes of mortality in battle, after which the Turks took the city. A Turk named Turbaratur, or Turbaraturhash,[2] having entered Zardusht's oratory, the prophet received martyrdom by his sword. Zardusht, however, having thrown at him the rosary (*Shumar Afin* or *Yād Afrāz*) which he held in his hand, there proceeded from it such an effulgent splendor that its fire fell on Turbaratur and consumed him.'[3]

(l) Two other late Persian passages imply that Zoroaster's end was violent. Both of these are noticed by Hyde, from whom they are adopted here.[4] The first is from the Persian historian Majdī (A.D. sixteenth century), who, after mentioning the dreadful invasion of Arjāsp and the death of the priests in the temple of Balkh, goes on to say: 'He quenched the fire of Zardusht with the blood of the Magi; and some one from Shīrāz then slew Zardusht himself.'[5]

(m) The second of these two passages is an allusion found in the Farhang-i Jahāngīrī, which apparently refers to the day of Zoroaster's death as well as to the day on which he first undertook his mission to Vishtāsp, for the dates resemble those

[1] Notice the word 'second' in connection with the preceding chapter.

[2] I.e. Tūr-ī Brāṭar-vakhsh.

[3] Dabistān tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 371–372.

[4] Hyde, *Historia Religionis Vet. Pers.* pp. 319, 325. On Majdī, cf. Ethé in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 332.

[5] Hyde, op. cit. p. 319; de Harlez, *Avesta tr.* p. xxv. note 7.

in Pahlavi sources as already described. The sentence reads: 'On the thirtieth day, Anīrān, he entered Irān (or Persia), and on the fifteenth day, Deybamihr, he departed in sorrow from Iran.' Hyde, p. 325, seems rightly to have interpreted the allusion thus, and he should be consulted in connection with pp. 40, 128, above.

Conclusion. — The accounts of Zoroaster's death by lightning or a flame from heaven, as found in Greek and Latin patristic literature, seem to be legendary. According to Iranian tradition his death was violent, and it occurred at the hand of a Turanian whose name is preserved to ill-renown. Whether his martyrdom took place in the temple when Balkh was stormed, as later Iranian writers all state, cannot positively be asserted, although such may have been the case.

CHAPTER XI

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AFTER ZOROASTER'S DEATH

THE LATER FORTUNE OF THE FAITH

'Still did the mighty flame burn on,
Through chance and change, through good and ill,
Like its own God's eternal will
Deep, constant, bright, unquenchable!'

— MOORE'S *Lalla Rookh.*

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS; THE COURSE OF EVENTS — THE FIRST TEN YEARS AFTER ZOROASTER'S DEATH — EVIDENCE OF FURTHER SPREAD OF THE RELIGION — DEATH OF THE FIRST APOSTLES — LATER DISCIPLES AND SUCCESSORS — PROPHECIES AND FUTURE EVENTS — SUMMARY

Introductory Statements; the Course of Events. — With the great Prophet dead, with the holy flame of the sacred shrine quenched in the blood of the martyred priests, we might have supposed for a moment that the Religion must perish too. Happily, as we have seen, this was destined not to be the case. Fate, circumstances, and merit issued other decrees. We have watched the spark of the altar flame kindling anew; the story of the glorious victories won in hallowed battles for Ormazd has been told; the banner of the Creed waves once more aloft. Little more remains to be chronicled beyond briefly tracing the course which events took in the years that followed Zoroaster's death. In other words, we are presently to enter the realm where actual history goes hand in hand with tradition.

Tradition according to the Bahman Yasht asserts that 'Arṯashīr the Kayān, whom they call Vohūman son of Spenddāṯ,' and whom we know as Ardashīr Dirāzdast, or the 'long-handed,' is the one who 'made the Religion current in the

whole world.'[1] Actual history agrees with this in so far as it shows that Artaxerxes Longimanus, or the 'long-handed,' was an ardent Zoroastrian ruler.[2] From the pages of history, furthermore, we learn that by the time of the last Achaemenians, at least, Zoroastrianism is practically acknowledged to have become the national religion of Iran. History, alas, has also to chronicle in its memorial chapters the cruel blow which Alexander dealt to the whole Persian empire upon his triumphal march of world-conquest. Tradition again is in harmony in recording how the 'evil-destined' or 'accursed Iskander' brought ruin everywhere by his sword, and how he burned the sacred books of the Avesta, the archetype of the bible of Zoroaster, with the treasury of the ancient Persian kings. This last tragic event stands out as the darkest day in the history of Zoroastrianism until its final overthrow by Islam, when the Koran superseded the Avesta and Ormazd gave place to Allah.

But the two centuries or more between the death of Zoroaster and the coming of Alexander are filled by various religious events which the patristic literature of Sassanian times carefully records and which it is proper here to notice in connection with the history of Zoroaster's life. It certainly seems curious that we have no mention of Cyrus nor of the pious Mazda-worshipper Darius, unless we are to understand that the events of their reigns are merged in a general way into the achievements of Isfendīār. This is one of the problems which belong rather to the history of the Religion to discuss. For the years themselves that follow Zoroaster's death, the Pahlavi texts give enough general events or incidents to mark off the periods or epochs in a loose sort of way. The first few years at least are certainly worth recording on the lines of the tradition, and a glance should be taken at the

[1] Byt. 2. 17, West, *SBE.* v. 198–199.

[2] Yet see Justi's remark in *Iran. Namenbuch* p. 34, *Artaxšaθrā* 8.

chronological table in Appendix III., which gives some idea of the current of events.

The First Ten Years after Zoroaster's Death. — From tradition we know that King Vishtāspa outlived Zoroaster, and it is interesting to see from the assertions of tradition how the miraculous events which attended the Prophet's life do not cease with his death, but wonders and prodigies still continue to be witnessed during the reign of the patron king. The influence of the veil and glamour of the heavenly personage is not yet removed. The first decade after Zoroaster's death was certainly eventful for Vishtāsp, and we have a fanciful story told in Pahlavi of a wonder that came to pass and a sign that was manifested, which illustrates that the divine favor has descended upon the king and which symbolizes the progress of the Religion under the guise of a chariot in its onward course.

The Dīnkarṯ narrates how the soul of the old warrior Srītō, who had been dead several hundred years, appears again, visits the zealous monarch, and presents to him a wonderful chariot. The chariot instantly becomes twofold in form, the one being spiritual, the other material.[1] And, as the Dīnkarṯ passage continues, 'in the worldly chariot the exalted Kaī Vishtāsp travelled forth unto the village of the Nōṯars, in the joyfulness of good thoughts; and in the spiritual chariot the soul of Srītō of the Vīsraps travelled forth unto the best existence (i.e. returned again to heaven).'[2] This allegory of the chariot appears to smack somewhat of Buddhism and the Wheel of the Law; and we may also recall a classical tradition which implies Vishtāsp's acquaintance with the secret lore of the Brāhmans, and the legendary wisdom and prophetic vision which was ascribed to Vishtāspa down to mediæval times.[3]

Evidence of Further Spread of the Religion. — The Dīnkarṯ text declares that 'Vishtāsp the king, when he became relieved

[1] Dk. 7. 6. 1–11.

[2] Dk. 7. 6. 11, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80. Shall we compare ἅρμα in Appendix V., § 7?

[3] See Kuhn, *Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung*, in *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 217 seq.

from the war with Arjāsp, sent to the chief rulers about the acceptance of the religion, and the writings of the Mazda-worshipping religion, which are studded with all knowledge.' The text then goes on to affirm the rapid spread which the Faith saw by the end of the few years. The seed of the Religion was the blood of its martyrs slain. And so rapid does the progress seem to have been that the text claims as one of the marvels of history, the fact that at the end of fifty-seven years from the first revelation of the Religion, its advent is 'published in the seven regions' of the world, as was described in the lost Spend Nask of the Avesta.[1] All this is supposed to have occurred while Vishtāsp still lives. As a proof, moreover, of the general acceptance of the Creed, the same passage adduces the fact of 'the coming of some from other regions to Frashōshtar of the Hvōbas for enquiry about the religion.'[2] Two of the high priests who came on this holy quest from abroad are from the southeastern and the southwestern regions. Their names are given as Spiti and Erezrāspa — names which are found in the Avesta.[3] And, similarly, the Apostles went into many lands to preach the Gospel after the death of Christ.

Death of the First Apostles. — Frashaoshtra, Zoroaster's devoted friend, follower, and relative by marriage, lives for a number of years to exemplify the tenets and expound the doctrines of the Master who has 'passed away.' He himself is summoned, as the Zāṯ-sparam selections tell us,[4] some fifteen years after Zaratūsht, 'in the month Arṯavahishtō, in the sixty-third year of the Religion.'[5] His distinguished brother Jāmāsp, the wise Jāmāspa, grand vizir of the king, and successor of Zoroaster in the pontifical office of the realm, outlives Frashaoshtra but a year; or, as the selections of Zāṯ-sparam

[1] Dk. 7. 6. 12; cf. Dk. 8. 14. 10, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80; xxxvii. 33.

[2] Dk. 7. 6. 12. Recall also what has already been said in Chap. VII. about the promulgation of the Religion.

[3] Yt. 13. 121; Dk. 7. 6. 12. See West's note on Dk. 9. 21. 24, and Dk. 4. 22, in *SBE.* xxxvii. 218, 413.

[4] Zsp. 23. 10.

[5] B.C. 568, according to traditional chronology; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and below, Appendix III.

proceed to chronicle, 'in the sixty-fourth year of the Religion passed away Jāmāsp, the same as became the priest of priests after Zaratūsht.'[1] This sage was indeed a Mobed of Mobeds. Then in the seventy-third year he is followed by his son Hangāūrūsh, whose name appears also in the Avesta (Yt. **13.** 104).[2] Still another event is recorded in the eightieth year of the Faith; this is the death of the pious Asmōk-Khanvatō (Av. Asmō-hvanvat), as well as that of the wizard Akht, who is killed, and his name also appears in the Avesta as elsewhere.[3]

Later Disciples and Successors. — The same Pahlavi text from which the quotations have been made, furnishes also the names of 'six great upholders of the religion.'[4] These are Zoroaster's two daughters, 'Frēnŏ and Srītŏ, with Aharūbŏstōtō, son of Mēṯyōmah' — three names which appear in the Avesta and which have been given in Chapter II. Next is mentioned Vohūnēm (Av. Vohu-nemah, Yt. **13.** 104), whose birth occurred in the fortieth year of the Religion, or seven years before Zoroaster's death. But most important is Sēnō of Būst, in the land of Sagastān,[5] who is said to have flourished for a hundred years and to have left behind him, as the sixth prop and support of the Religion, a hundred pupils whose teaching fills the century until the coming of Alexander brought ruin and desolation upon the Faith.[6]

The Greeks likewise recognize a long line of apostles and dis-

[1] B.C. 567. See Appendix III. below.

[2] Compare Phl. Zsp. **23.** 10 with Yt. **13.** 104.

[3] Phl. Zsp. **23.** 10; Av. Yt. **13.** 96; **1.** 30 = **22.** 37; **5.** 82; cf. Yōsht-ī Fryānō **1.** 2, and West's note in *SBE.* xlvii, 166.

[4] Zsp. **23.** 11.

[5] Būst is described by the pseudo-Ibn-Ḥauḳal as being on the river Hērmend (Hilmend) between Ghōr and the lake (see Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 206). This information is from West in his letter translating for me the 'Wonders of Sagastān.'

[6] B.C. 331; see Appendix III. On the teacher Sēnō (Av. Saēna), cf. Yt. **13.** 97; Zsp. **23.** 11; Dk. **7.** 7. 6; and consult West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 118, § 99, Peshotan Dastur Behramjee Sanjana, Dīnkarṯ, vol. v. p. 308 (reading *Sēnō* for *Dāyūn;* cf. Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 530); especially also Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *The Antiquity of the Avesta*, p. 12 in *Bombay Branch, JRAS.* art. xvii. June, 1896.

ciples, or Magian priests, descending from Zoroaster. Diogenes Laertius (A.D. second and third century) *de Vit. Philos.* Proœm 2, seems to base his statement on the older authority of Hermodorus (B.C. 250) when he states that 'after Zoroaster there were many different Magians in unbroken succession, such as Ostanes, Astrampsychus, Gobryas, Pazates, until the overthrow of the Persians by Alexander.'[1] The Latin writer Pliny employs the name of a Magian, Apuscorus, and he designates as Osthanes the Magian priest who accompanied Xerxes on his great Hellenic expedition and introduced the Magic Art into Greece.[2] And so the chain runs on, link after link in unending sequence; and in spite of the changes and chances of transitory fortune, the line of apostolic succession remains unbroken to the present, down to its representatives to-day in the priesthood that cherishes the sacred flame in the fire-temple of Bombay!

Prophecies and Future Events. — As several times alluded to already, the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht describes an apocalyptic vision in which Zoroaster is supposed to have beheld, unfolded before him, the whole future history of the Religion. The four or seven branches of the tree which rises before his eyes, symbolize emblematically the gold, silver, steel, and iron, or other eras, of the Faith down to the final Millennium, all of which is foretokened. These prophecies are not ancient, however, but they date rather from the times that came after the Mohammedan Conquest, when Zoroastrianism sank before the rising power of Islam. Nevertheless, they sweep in rapid glance the whole history of the Religion and they summarize

[1] This subject has already been alluded to in Chap. I., and the text of the passage is given in Appendix V. and in Appendix II. The plurals indicate type or class. In connection with Astrampsychus, moreover, we may recall the later dream-book which bears his name, *Astrampsychi Oneirocriticon, sive Somniorum Interpretatio*, recogn. Scaliger, Paris, 1599.

[2] Cf. Appendix V., and also Kleuker, *Zend-Av. Anhang*, ii. Thl. 3, p. 91; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 285, n. 2, 286. Furthermore, on a mention of Osthanes, Hostanes, in Minucius Felix, compare Kleuker, tom. cit. p. 119.

the great eras which the Founder himself in his wise judgment and prophetic insight might in a general way have forecast as the history of nations and of faiths, even though he did not express it.

Summary. — Zoroastrianism does not die with its founder. National events have changed the course of its history, but it lives on. The occurrences of the years that intervened between the death of the Prophet and the coming of Alexander, so far as they are chronicled by tradition, are worth recording as the result, in a way, of Zoroaster's life, and they are interesting from the standpoint of comparison between tradition and actual history.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

'Read the conclusion, then.'
— SHAKSPERE, *Pericles*, 1. 1. 56.

(AND now the story of the life and legend of the Prophet of ancient Iran — the sage who was born to leave his mark upon the world, who entered upon his ministry at the age of thirty, and who died by violence at the age of seventy-seven — is at an end.) Hurriedly we may scan once more the pages of his career. Born in the fulness of time, he appears as a prophet in the latter half of the seventh century before the Christian era, and the period of his activity falls between the closing years of Median rule and the rising wave of Persian power. He himself stands as the oldest type and representative of what we may call, in the language of the Bible, the laws of the Medes and Persians. His teaching had already taken deep root in the soil of Iran when the Jews were carried up into captivity in Babylon and had learned of that law which altereth not, or before a Daniel came to interpret the ominous handwriting on the wall which the soothsayers failed to read. Zoroaster is the contemporary of Thales, of Solon, or of the Seven Sages of classical antiquity. He is the forerunner of Confucius, the philosopher who was to arise to expound to China the tenets of her people's faith. By him is sounded in Iran the trumpet-call that afterwards echoes with a varied note in India when the gentle Buddha comes forth to preach to thirsting souls the doctrine of redemption through renunciation. Zoroaster, finally, is the father, the holy prototype, of those

Wise Men from the East who came and bowed before the new-born Light of the World in the manger-cradle at Bethlehem.

Zoroaster was a Magian; the Magi, as Herodotus tells us, were a Median tribe. Although he was born in Atropatene in the west, it is not impossible that much of his prophetic career was spent in the east, in Bactria or in that region of country. We certainly have evidence that the seeds of his teaching found fruitful soil in eastern Iran. Crusading achieved the rest. The story of the Holy Wars between Iran and Turan, the storming of Balkh, the final victories in the great battles of Khorassān or Bactria, have all been told. The spread of the Creed continues. Media itself doubtless generally accepted the reform of the Prophet. The Median name Fravartish has been interpreted by Justi to mean 'Confessor' (i.e. of the Zoroastrian Faith), and has been instanced as a proof of its acceptance, although this appellation seems rather to be an old Magian name, agreeing with the concept *fravaši*, which apparently existed before the Zoroastrian reform. The Magians themselves were known long prior to the time of Zoroaster, as Albīrūnī (p. 314) expressly states; but, as he adds, in the course of time there remains 'no pure, unmixed portion of them who do not practise the religion of Zoroaster.' This tends to prove how universally the doctrines had found acceptance. The question as to the time when and the manner in which the Faith entered Persia Proper is reserved for discussion elsewhere.

As to the general deductions which have been drawn, we may say that time will doubtless prove or disprove the accuracy or inaccuracy of many of the statements upon which they are based. Some of these may be shown to rest upon a foundation of fact rather than fiction, especially if we may judge from the tendency of recent years in finding confirmation for tradition. Some, however, may be proved to be purely fanciful. We can but gain by the truth in either case. The historic import of

some, moreover, may be shown to be not without interest. In the light of such, perhaps, the current views with regard to the relationship between Zoroastrianism and Judaism may take on a new aspect, particularly if we emphasize the fact that Zoroaster arose in the west, in Atropatene and Media, about the time of the early Prophetic Period of Israel. From the Bible we know that captive Jews were early carried up from Samaria into certain cities of the Medes. (From the Avesta, on the other hand, we know that Zoroaster had rung out a trumpet note and clarion cry of reform, of prophecy, and of Messianic promise, before the days of Babylonian Exile.)

From our knowledge, too, of contemporaneous history we recall in the current of events that the reputed empire of Bactria, if it existed, had yielded the prestige to Media; and that the sovereignty of Media was swept away before the glorious power of Persia. In Persia, Greece recognized a culmination of the glory of Iran. Though the Greek vanquishes the Persian in battle, he still has stories to tell of Magian wisdom and of Eastern philosophy. Plato, Pythagoras, and other great thinkers are claimed to have emulated the teachings of the Magi; and later Moslem or Zoroastrian tradition asserts that the ancient sacred writings of Iran, the quintessence of all knowledge, were translated into Greek.

And as for imperial times, the Persian wars brought Rome into contact with Zoroastrians, as they had brought the Greeks. A phase of Zoroastrianism known as Mithraism penetrated into Rome and into Western Europe. The rise of the Neo-Platonic school was certainly not without influence from Zoroastrianism, nor without influence upon later Zoroastrianism. The tenets of Zoroastrian Manichæism even disturbed Christian thought for a time. In all such cases the relations doubtless are more or less reciprocal. Even the pages of the Koran and the doctrines of Mohammed are not free from the influence of the Faith which they vanquished by the sword. The spark of the sacred fire has never been quenched; the holy flame continues to

blaze; and the Religion of Zoroaster still lives on. Yes, and whatever may be the changing fates, it will live on, so long as there are successors worthy to bear the name of the Master, as are the Parsis to-day, those faithful followers of the Creed of the Prophet of Ancient Iran.

Khujastah paī va nām-i ū Zaradušt.

—FIRDAUSĪ, *Shāh Nāmah.*

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APPENDIX I

SUGGESTED EXPLANATIONS OF ZOROASTER'S NAME

THE number of etymologies or explanations for Zoroaster's name (cf. p. 14) is almost legion. In Greek classical antiquity, Deinon offered an interpretation or paraphrase, as he defined the Prophet's name as 'Star-worshipper' (ἀστροθύτης); see citation in Diogenes Laertius, *Proœm*, 1. 6: Δείνων . . . ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι. The Scholiast of the Platonic *Alcibiades* I. p. 122, evidently accepts this derivation when he says: Ζωροάστρης . . . οὗ δὲ εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν μεταφραζόμενον τοὔνομα τὸν ἀστροθύτην δηλοῖ. See Appendix V. below. In this explanation the first part of the name (Ζωρ-) seems to be associated in some way with the later Persian *zōr* = Av. *zaoθrā-*, 'libation'; the latter portion of the name is Græcized as ἀστήρ; cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 275, and see also Pott, *ZDMG.* xiii. 425–428.

Somewhat similar appears to be the attempt of the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions to interpret as ζῶσα ῥοὴ ἀστέρος, or as *vivum sidus*, as given below in Appendix V., *Clem. Homil.* 9. 3–6: διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν = *Recognitiones*, 4. 27–29: *quasi vivum astrum. . . . Hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoroaster, hoc est vivum sidus.* See Appendix V., § 12, and cf. Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. 34.

The next explanations, if we follow chronological sequence, are to be found in the Syro-Arabic Lexica of Bar 'Alī (c. A.D. 832) and of Bar Bahlūl (c. A.D. 936) as 'golden kingdom' or 'royal gold,' *zar*, 'gold' + *wašt*, 'kingship'; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 27–28.

Lapse of time has not caused conjectures to cease, and etymologies have still continued to be offered. Hovelacque (*L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme*, p. 135 seq., Paris, 1880) enumerates various suggestions that have been made, including the Clementine *vivum sidus* given above and recorded by Barnabé Brisson, *De Regio Persarum*

Principatu, p. 387, Argentorati, 1710 (orig. ed. Paris, 1590); or another interpretation as 'friend of fire' proposed by Henry Lord, *Religion of the Parsees*, p. 152, London, 1630 = p. 332 a, Churchill ed. London, 1732; cf. likewise d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, art. 'Zoroastre'; or, again (as stated on Parsi authority), a proposed significance, 'bathed in gold,' 'melted silver,' *Zaer-sios*, *Zaersioest*, found in C. Le Bruyn, *Voyages en Perse et aux Indes orientales*, ii. p. 388. Most of these attempts are futile, as they were made without an acquaintance with the actual Avestan form *Zaraθuštra*.

The discussion by Anquetil du Perron (*Zend-Avesta*, i. Part 2, p. 2 seq., Paris, 1771) is of interest because he knew Avestan, but his conjecture '*Taschter* (astre) *d'or*'—connecting the name with Tishtrya—had little to recommend it. Eugène Burnouf was the first who rightly saw *uštra*, 'camel,' in the name and he explained *Zaraθ-uštra* as 'fulvos camelos habens' (*Comm. sur le Yaçna*, pp. 12–14, Paris, 1833); but he afterwards gave '*astre d'or*' (*Notes*, p. 166), see Brockhaus, *Vendidad Sade*, p. 361, Leipzig, 1850, and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 46–47, or earlier in *Jen. Litt. Zt.*, 1834, nr. 138, pp. 138–139. In the year 1855, Sir Henry Rawlinson made a guess that the name might be Semitic, i.e. *Zara-thuštra* = *Ziru-ištar* 'seed of Ishtar, descendant of Venus,' *JRAS.*, *Gt. Brit. and Ireland*, xv. 227, 246 (cf. George Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 455). On the contrary Haug, *Die fünf Gāthās*, ii. p. 246, *Abh. f. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, Leipzig, 1860, suggested 'trefflicher Lobsänger' (cf. Skt. *jarat* 'praising' + *uttara* 'superior') but he afterwards abandoned such a view. It was criticised also by Weber, *Lit. C. Bl.*, nr. 28, p. 457 (1861), nr. 27, p. 647 (1863) = *Ind. Streif.* pp. 449, 466 (1869). Also discussed by Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, p. 426 seq. (1892–4). Another scholar (Lassen, I believe, if we may judge from Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 46–47; Pott, *ZDMG.* xiii. 426 seq.) offered 'gold-smith' (cf. Skt. *hari* + *tvaṣṭar*). Jules Oppert made Zoroaster 'splendeur d'or' in his *L'Honover, le Verbe Créateur de Zoroastre*, p. 4, *Extrait des Ann. de Philos. Chrétienne*, Jan., 1862.

In the same year as Oppert (1862), Fr. Müller summarized a number of views that were current at the time and he explained *zaraθ-uštra* as 'muthige Kamele besitzend' (*Zendstudien*, i. 635–639, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie*, Dez., 1862, Wien, 1862 = transl. by Darab Peshotan Sanjana *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 172 seq.). [But cf. *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1863, p. 614; and later Müller offers the bizarre interpretation as *zāθra-ušta* 'von der Geburt an Glück habend'

(*WZKM.* vi. 264, Wien, 1892).] Spiegel proposed 'Kamele peinigend' (*Sitzb. kgl. bayer. Akad. phil. cl.* p. 10, Jan. 5, 1867). In 1871, the Spanish scholar Ayuso accepted the more or less familiar identification of part of the name with 'star,' as shown by his 'estrella de oro' (*El Estudio de la Filología,* p. 180, Madrid, 1871); and he repeats the same view in his *Los Pueblos iranios y Zoroastro,* p. 7, Madrid, 1874.

Returning to France, it may next be noted that J. Darmesteter (*Ormazd et Ahriman,* p. 194, n., Paris, 1877) first proposed **zarat-vat-tra,* comparative degree of an adj. signifying 'rouge, couleur d'or'; but he later suggests 'aux chameaux jaunes' *zaraθu-uštra, Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 76, n., Paris, 1893; but on this see Bartholomae, *IF.* vi. Anz. p. 47. Ascoli once offered **zarat-vāstra* 'der bebauung des feldes zugewogen, zugethan' *Beiträge z. vgl. Spr.* v. 211, 1868. More recently Casartelli hinted at 'ploughing with camels' (cf. Skt. *hala-* 'plough'), *Academy,* vol. 31, p. 257, April 9, 1887. Other suggestions have been made such as Paulus Cassel, explaining as Hebraic 'Sternensohn' (*Zoroaster, sein Name und seine Zeit,* Berlin, 1886, cited from *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 40, n.). Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus,* p. 147, Leipzig, 1890. Kern's 'Goldglanz' (*Zara-thuštra*) and Brodbeck's 'Gold-stern' (evidently after Anquetil's etymology, cf. Brodbeck, *Zoroaster,* p. 30, Leipzig, 1893) are noted by Rindtorff, *Die Religion des Zarathuštra,* p. 13 (Weimar, 1897). E. Wilhelm has also incidentally dealt with the subject of Zoroaster's name in connection with the form Ζαθραύστης, which is found in Ctesias, in *Le Muséon,* x. 569–571, Louvain, 1891.

APPENDIX II

ON THE DATE OF ZOROASTER[1]

Presented to the American Oriental Society April 18th, 1895.

[Reprinted from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XVII., pp. 1–22, 1896. A few slight additions which have been made are indicated by enclosing them in square brackets. Some trivial changes made for the sake of uniformity, and several unimportant corrections require no notice.]

GREAT men are the children of their age. Heirs to the heritage of the past, they are charged with the stewardship of the possessions to be handed down to the future. Summing up within themselves the influences of the times that call them forth, stamped with the impress of their day, their spirit in turn shows its reflex upon the age that gives them birth. We read them in their age; we read their age in them. So it is of the prophets and sages, religious teachers and interpreters, which have been since the world began. The teaching of a prophet is the voice of the age in which he lives; his preaching is the echo of the heart of the people of his day. The era of a prophet is therefore not without its historic significance; it is an event that marks an epoch in the life of mankind. The age of most of the great religious teachers of antiquity is comparatively well known; but wide diversity prevails with regard to the date at which Iran's ancient prophet Zoroaster lived and taught; yet his appearance must have had its national significance in the land between the Indus and the Tigris; and the great religious movement which he set on foot must have wrought changes and helped to shape the course of events in the early history of Iran. The treatment of this question forms the subject of the present paper.[2]

[1] This paper forms a companion-piece to the present writer's discussion of 'Zoroaster's Native Place' in *JAOS.* xv. 221–232.

[2] [Since the appearance of the monograph on the 'Date of Zoroaster,' which is here reprinted, the general subject of Zoroastrian chronology has been ably treated by E. W. West (*SBE.* xlvii. Introd. p. xxvii. seq.). Dr. West's researches confirm the results here obtained; and he is in a position to define the date of Zoroaster still more precisely, at least on the basis of tradition, as B.C. 660–583. His entire discussion should be read. An extract from his chronological table is given in Appendix III.]

The Avesta itself gives us no direct information in answer to the inquiry as to the date of Zoroaster. It presents, indeed, a picture of the life and times; we read accounts of King Vishtāspa, the Constantine of the Faith; but the fragments that remain of the sacred texts present no absolutely clear allusions to contemporary events that might decisively fix the era. The existing diversity of opinion with reference to Zoroaster's date is largely due to this fact and to certain incongruities in other ancient statements on the subject. The allusions of antiquity to this subject may conveniently be divided into three groups:[3]—

[3] [The results of earlier investigators of the subject, Brisson, Stanley, Hyde, Buddeus, Prideaux, and others, as mentioned by Anquetil du Perron, are practically included in his examination of the problem of Zoroaster's date. Anquetil's treatise, together with Foucher's previous inquiries into the subject, are accessible in Kleuker, *Anhang zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1, pp. 325–374, and Thl. 2, pp. 55–81. They are of interest to the specialist. Cf. also Spiegel, *Avesta Uebersetzt*, i. 43, n. The later bibliography of the subject is given below in the course of the investigation.]

I. First, those references that assign to Zoroaster [= orig. p. 2] the extravagant date B.C. 6000.

II. Second, such allusions as connect his name with the more or less legendary Ninus and the uncertain Semiramis.

III. Third, the traditional date, placing the era of Zoroaster's teaching at some time during the sixth century B.C.

All the material will first be presented under the headings A. I., A. II., and A. III.; then a detailed discussion of the data, pages 16–19 = pp. 170–174, under the heading B; and, finally, a summary of results, under the heading C, pages 19–22 = pp. 174–177.

SYNOPSIS OF DIVISION A.

A. I. Classical passages placing Zoroaster at 6000 B.C.

a. Pliny the Elder.
b. Plutarch.
c. Scholion to Plato.
d. Diogenes Laertius.
e. Lactantius.
f. Suidas.
g. Georgius Syncellus.

A. II. Passages associating Zoroaster's name with Semiramis and Ninus.

a. Ctesias.
b. Cephalion (Moses of Khorene, Georgius Syncellus).
c. Theon.
d. Justin.
e. Arnobius.
f. Eusebius.
g. Orosius.
h. Suidas.
i. Snorra Edda.
j. Bar 'Alī.

A. III. The native tradition as to Zoroaster's date.

a. Arṯā Vīrāf.
b. Būndahishn.
c. Albīrūnī.
d. Masūdī.
e. Ṭabarī.
f. The Dabistān.
g. Firdausī.
h. The Mujmal al-Tawārīkh and the Ulamā-ī Islām.
i. The Chinese-Parsi era.
j. Reports connecting Zoroaster and Jeremiah.
k. Pahlavi Perso-Arabic allusions to Nebuchadnezzar.
l. Ammianus Marcellinus and Eutychius.
m. Nicolaus Damascenus, Porphyry, etc.

A. Data for the Age of Zoroaster.

A. I. Allusions placing Zoroaster at 6000 B.C.

The allusions of the first group comprehend those classical references that assign to Zoroaster the fabulous age of B.C. 6000 or thereabouts.[1] These references are confined chiefly to the classics, and their chief claim to any consideration is that they [= orig. p. 3] purport to be based upon information handed down from Eudoxus, Aristotle, and Hermippus. Such extraordinary figures, however, are presumably due to the Greeks' having misunderstood the statements of the Persians, who place Zoroaster's millennium amid a great world-period of 12,000 years, which they divided into cycles of 3000 years,[2] and in accordance with which belief Zoroaster's *fravashi* had in fact existed several thousands of years. The classical material on the subject is here presented.

[1] So the general classical statements of '5000 years before the Trojan war,' or the like, although some variant readings 500 (for 5000) are found. The number 5000 (6000) is, however, the correct one.

[2] According to the chronology of the Būndahishn 34. 7, Zoroaster appeared at the end of the ninth millennium: compare, West, *Bundahish transl. SBE.* v. 149–151 notes; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 500–508; Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, 147–165; also Plutarch *Is. et Os.* 47, Θεόπομπος δέ φησι κατὰ τοὺς μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν, τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τόν ἕτερον· τέλος δ' ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἅιδην.

(a) Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79), *N. H.* 30. 2. 1 [Wn. 279, 288], cites the authority of Eudoxus of Cnidus (B.C. 368), of Aristotle (B.C. 350), and of Hermippus (c. B.C. 250), for placing Zoroaster 6000 years before the death of Plato or 5000 years before the Trojan war: *Eudoxus, qui inter sapientiae sectas clarissimam utilissimamque eam (artem magicam) intellegi voluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex milibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit; sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit et viciens centum milia versuum a Zoroastre condita indicibus quoque voluminum eius positis explanavit, praeceptorem, a quo institutum diceret, credidit Agonacen, ipsum vero quinque milibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse.* For that reason apparently (*N. H.* 30. 2. 11) he speaks of Moses as living *multis milibus annorum post Zoroastrem.* But Pliny also expresses uncertainty as to whether there was one or two Zoroasters, and he mentions a later Proconnesian Zoroaster: *N. H.* 30. 2. 1 *sine dubio illic (ars Magica) orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat;* and after speaking of Osthanes, the Magian who accompanied Xerxes to Greece, he adds: (*N. H.* 30. 2. 8.) *diligentiores paulo ante hunc (Osthanem) ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.* Pliny's Proconnesian Zoroaster must have flourished about the seventh or sixth century. [See Appendix V. § 5, below.]

(b) Plutarch (A.D. 1st century), adopts likewise the same general statement that places the prophet Zoroaster about 5000 years before the Trojan war: *Is. et Os.* 46 (ed. Parthey, p. 81), Ζωρόαστρις (*sic*) ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. [See Appendix V. § 6, below.]

(c) The Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades* I. 122 (ed. Baiter, Orelli et Winckelmann, p. 918), makes a statement, in substance tantamount to the last one, as follows: Ζωροάστρης ἀρχαιότερος ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν εἶναι λέγεται Πλάτωνος. [See Appendix V. § 1.]

[= orig. p. 4] (d) Diogenes Laertius (A.D. 2d, 3d century), *de Vit. Philos.* Proœm. 2 (recens. Cobet, Paris, 1850, p. 1), similarly quotes Hermodorus (B.C. 250?), the follower of Plato, as authority for placing Zoroaster's date at 5000 years before the fall of Troy, or, as he adds on the authority of Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500–450), Zoroaster lived 6000 years (some MSS. 600) before Xerxes. The text runs: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶν εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια· Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλιά φησι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως. [See Appendix V. § 15.]

(e) Lactantius, *Inst.* 7. 15, must have entertained some similar opinion regarding Zoroaster; for he speaks of Hystaspes (famous as Zoroaster's patron) as being an ancient king of Media long before the founding of Rome: *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus . . . sublatum iri ex orbe imperium nomenque Romanum multo ante praefatus est, quam illa Troiana gens conderetur* (cf. Migne, *Patrolog.* tom. 6 and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 259, 293).

(f) Suidas (10th century A.D.), s. v. Ζωροάστρης, speaks of two Zoroasters, of whom one lived 500 (read 5000) years before the Trojan war, while the other was an astronomer of the time of Ninus — ἐγένετο δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσιν φ'.

(g) Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia*, i. p. 147, ed. Dindorf, alludes to a Zoroaster as one of the Median rulers over Babylon. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 302, and Haug, *A Lecture on Zoroaster*, p. 23, Bombay, 1865. On Syncellus' citation of Cephalion, see next page.

A. II. Allusions associating Zoroaster's Name with Semiramis and Ninus.

Second to be considered is a series of statements which connect the name of Zoroaster with that of the more or less uncertain Ninus and Semiramis.[1] These references also are confined almost exclusively to the classics, and the difficulty with them is that, in addition to their general character, which bears a legendary coloring, they are based apparently upon a misinterpretation of the name

Ὀξυάρτης or its variants in a fragment of Ctesias (discussed below), which has been understood as an allusion to Zoroaster.

[1] The date of Semiramis, however, is regarded by Lehmann (*Berliner Philolog. Wochenblatt*, Nr. 8, col. 239–240, 17 Febr. 1894, comparing Hdt. 1. 184) to be about B.C. 800.

(a) The authority of Ctesias (B.C. 400) is quoted by Diodorus Siculus (A.D. 1st century) 2. 6, for the statement that Ninus with a large army invaded Bactria and by the aid of Semiramis gained a victory over King Oxyartes. See Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias, ed. Gilmore, p. 29. Instead of the name Ὀξυάρτης, the manuscript variants show Ἐχαόρτης, Χαόρτης, Ζαόρτης. The last somewhat recalls the later Persian form of the name Zoroaster; and Cephalion, Justin, Eusebius, and Arnobius, drawing on Ctesias, make Zoroaster a Bactrian or the opponent [= orig. p. 5] of Ninus (see below); but Ὀξυάρτης may very well be an independent name, identical as far as form goes with Av. *uxšyaṯ-ərəta*, Yt. 13. 128, and it is doubtless the better Greek reading. The other statements are here given as they similarly come into consideration with respect to Zoroaster's native place. They are: —

(b) Fragments of Cephalion (A.D. 120), preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius, *Chron.* 1. 43, ed. Aucher: a passage describes the defeat of Zoroaster the Magian, king of the Bactrians, by Semiramis: "*Incipio scribere de quibus et alii commemorarunt atque imprimis Hellanicus Lesbius Ctesiasque Cnidius, deinde Herodotus Halicarnassus.*[1] *Primum Asiae imperarunt Assyrii, ex quibus erat Ninus Beli (filius), cuius regni aetate res quam plurimae celeberrimaeque virtutes gestae fuerunt.*" *Postea his adiciens profert etiam generationes Semiramidis atque (narrat) de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis certamine ac debellatione a Semiramide: nec non tempus Nini LII annos fuisse, atque de obitu eius. Post quem quum regnasset Semiramis, muro Babylonem circumdedit ad eandem formam, qua a plerisque dictum est: Ctesia nimirum et Zenone Herodotoque nec non aliis ipsorum posteris. Deinde etiam apparatum belli Semiramidis adversus Indos eiusdemque cladem et fugam narrat, etc.* This statement is recorded by Georgius Syncellus (c. A.D. 800), *Chron.*, ed. Dind. i. p. 315: "Ἄρχομαι γράφειν, ἀφ' ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἐμνημόνευσαν, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Κτησίης ὁ Κνίδιος, ἔπειτα Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεύς. τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου Νίνος." εἶτ' ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγου (MSS.

βάτου) ἔτει νβ' τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας. μεθ' ὃν Βαβυλῶνα, φησὶν, ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐτείχισε, τρόπον ὡς πολλοῖς λέλεκται, Κτησίᾳ, Ζήνωνι (Müller, Δείνωνι), Ἡροδότῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτούς· στρατείην τε αὐτῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἧτταν κ. τ. λ. Cf. also Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 303, Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* i. 676–677; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627. Furthermore, on the reputed work of the Armenian Moses of Khorene, i. 16, see Gilmore, *Ktesias Persika*, p. 30, n.; Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* i. 682; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 304–305; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627, v. 328; Langlois, *Historiens de l'Arménie*, ii. 45–175, Paris, 1867–1869. [The Armenian Thomas Arzrounī associates Zoroaster's name with Semiramis. See Appendix VI.]

[1] This mention of Herodotus might possibly be adduced as an argument that Herodotus was at least acquainted with the name of Zoroaster.

(c) Again, Theon (A.D. 130 ?), *Progymnasmata* 9, περὶ συγκρίσεως, ed. Spengel, *Rhet. Græc.* ii. p. 115, speaks of "Zoroaster the Bactrian" in connection with Semiramis: Οὐ γὰρ εἰ Τόμυρις κρείττων ἐστὶ Κύρου ἢ καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία Σεμίραμις Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου, ἤδη συγχωρητέον καὶ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος ἀνδρειότερον εἶναι. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 290, Spiegel *Eran. Alterthumsk.* i. 677. [See Appendix V. § 8.]

[= orig. p. 6] (d) Justin (A.D. 120), in his epitome of Trogus Pompeius' *Hist. Philippic.* 1. 1, distinctly makes Zoroaster the opponent of Ninus, and says that he was king of Bactria and a Magician: *postremum bellum illi fuit cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse.* [See Appendix V. § 10.]

(e) Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentes*, 1. 5, in like manner mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster: *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus.* See Gilmore, *Ktesias*, p. 36. [See Appendix V. § 16.]

(f) Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* 4. 35, ed. Aucher, has a like allusion: *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur adversum quem Ninus dimicavit;* and again (Windischmann, p. 290), *Praeparatio Evang.* 10. 9, 10, ed. Dind. I. p. 560, Νάος, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. [See Appendix V. § 18.]

(g) Paulus Orosius (5th century A.D.), the Spanish presbyter, of whose chronicle we have also King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version, states that Ninus conquered and slew Zoroaster of Bactria, the

Magician. See Orosius, *Old-English Text and Latin Original*, ed. by Henry Sweet (Early Eng. Text Soc. vol. 79), p. 30–31: *Novissime Zoroastrem Bactrianorum regem, eundemque magicae artis repertorem, pugna oppressum interfecit.* Or, in Anglo-Saxon, *and hē Ninus Soroastrem Bactriana cyning, se cūthe ǣrest manna drȳcræftas, hē hine oferwann and ofslōh.*

(h) Suidas in his Lexicon (s. v. *Zoroaster*) assumes the existence of two Zoroasters (cf. p. 4 = p. 154), the second an astrologer: Ἀστρονόμος ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. [Appendix V. § 45.]

(i) In the Snorra Edda Preface, Zoroaster is identified with Baal or Bel, cf. Jackson in *PAOS.*, March, 1894, vol. xvi. p. cxxvi. [See Appendix VI.]

(j) In some Syriac writers and elsewhere an identification of Zoroaster with Balaam is recorded, for example in the Lexicon of Bar ʿAlī (c. A.D. 832), s. v. *Balaam*, 'Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians.' See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Lit.* pp. 27, 30 n., 32 (Drisler Classical Studies, N. Y., 1894). Sometimes he is only compared with Balaam. [An association of his name with Ham, Seth, and Abraham, is also found.]

A. III. The Native Tradition as to Zoroaster's Date.

Third, the direct Persian tradition comes finally into consideration. This tradition is found in the chronological chapter of the Būndahishn, 34. 1–9, is supported by the Arṯā Vīrāf, 1. 2–5 [and Zāṯ-sparam, 23. 12], and is corroborated by abundant Arabic allusions (Albīrūnī, Masūdī, *et al.*). It unanimously places the opening of Zoroaster's ministry at 258 years before the era of Alexander, or 272 years before the close of the world-conqueror's dominion. According to these figures, the date of Zoroaster would fall between the latter half of the seventh century B.C. and the middle of the sixth century; his appearance in fact would be placed
in the period just preceding the rise of the Achae- [= orig. p. 7]
menian dynasty. This merits attention also in detail.

(a) The Arṯā Vīrāf 1. 1–5 in round numbers places Zoroaster three hundred years before Alexander's invasion. Compare Haug and West, *Arda Viraf*, p. 141. 'The pious Zaratusht made the religion which he had received, current in the world, and till the end of 300 years the religion was in purity and men were without doubts. But afterwards the accursed Evil Spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, instigated the accursed Alexan-

der, the Rūman, who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; he also slew the ruler of Iran, and destroyed the metropolis and empire.' [The Zāṯ-sparam 23. 12 likewise alludes to the fact that the religion remained undisturbed 'until the 300th year'].

(b) The Būndahishn chapter (ch. 34) 'on the reckoning of the years' (to which one MS. adds — 'of the Arabs') more exactly computes the various millenniums that made up the 12,000 years of the great world-cycle recognized by the worshippers of Mazda. In this period the era of Zoroaster falls at the close of the first 9000 years. He is placed in reality at the beginning of the historic period, if the long reigns attributed to Kaī-Vishtāsp and to Vohūman son of Spend-dāṯ (Av. Spentō-dāta, N. P. Isfendīār), may with reasonably fair justice be explained as that of a ruling house. There seems at least no distinct ground against such assumption. [West also explains the fabulous length of 120 years for Vishtāsp's reign, or B.C. 660–540, as representing a short dynasty — *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 70]. The Būndahishn passage, 34. 7–8, in West's translation (*SBE.* v. 150–151) reads, (7) 'Kaī-Vishtāsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years, altogether a hundred and twenty years. (8) Vohūman, *son* of Spend-dāṯ, a hundred and twelve years; Hūmāī, who *was* daughter of Vohūman, thirty years; Dārāī, son of Cīhar-āzā*d*, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohūman, twelve years; Dārāī, son of Dārāī, fourteen years; Alexander the Rūman, fourteen years.'

Vishtāsp, after coming of religion	90
Vohūman Spend-dāṯ	112
Hūmāī	30
Dārāī-ī Cīhar-āzāṯ	12
Dārāī-ī Dārāī	14
Alexander Rūman	14
	272

The result therefore gives 272 years from 'the coming of the religion' until the close of the dominion of Alexander the Great, or 258 years before the beginning of his power. A repeated tradition exists that Zoroaster was forty-two years old when he first converted King Vishtāspa, who became his patron. If we interpret 'the coming of the religion' to mean its acceptance by Vishtāspa, we must add 42 years to the number 258 before Alexander in order to obtain the traditional date of Zoroaster's birth. This would answer

to the 'three hundred years before Alexander' of the Arṭā Vīrāf. If, however, we take the phrase 'coming of the religion' to mean the date of Zoroaster's entry upon his ministry [= orig. p. 8] (as does West, *SBE.* v. 219), we must then add 30 years, which was Zoroaster's age when he beheld his first vision of Ormazd. [The latter view is the correct one as shown by West. It is worth remarking that as Zoroaster's revelation and the 'coming of the religion' are placed in the thirtieth year of Vishtāsp's reign as well as of the Prophet's life, both men accordingly would be represented as born in the same year if we adopt an Oriental custom in dating a king's accession to the throne from the day of his birth.]

A calculation based upon the figures of this tradition would place Zoroaster's birth 42 years + 258 years (= 300 years) before B.C. 330, the date of the fall of the Iranian kingdom through Alexander's conquest; in other words it would assign Zoroaster's birth to about B.C. 630. [But as West has shown (*SBE.* xlvii. §§ 53–54), there is an evident omission of 35 years in the reckoning; he accounts for this error and combines the items, 272 years of Bd. 34. 7–8 with this date of Alexander's death, B.C. 323, and with the 30th year of Zoroaster's life in which the Revelation came, and he finds B.C. 660 as the traditional date of the birth of Zoroaster and of Vishtāsp's accession. See below, Appendix III.] According to the same tradition the duration of the various reigns of the Kayanian dynasty would be about as follows [West's corrected chronology now included]: —

King.	Reigned years.	Fictitious date B.C.	[West's correction, including 35 years.]
Vishtāsp	120	618–498	660–540
Vohūman (Ardashīr Dirāzdast) .	112	498–386	540–428
Hūmāī	30	386–356	428–363
Dārāī	12	356–344	363–351
Dārāī-ī Dārāī	14	344–330	351–337
[Accession of Alexander to his invasion			337–331]

The results would be somewhat altered if the computation be made according to lunar years or if a different point of departure be taken. The excessive lengths of the reigns of Vishtāsp and Vohūman seem suspicious and suggest round numbers unless we are to interpret them as comprising successive rulers; for example, in historic times, beside Hystaspes, the father of Darius, we have the names of two other Hystaspes, later connected with the ruling house of Bactria.[1]

The historic reigns of the Achaemenians may be compared (cf. Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire*, p. 107).

Cyrus	B.C. 558–529
Cambyses	529–521
Darius I.	521–485
Xerxes	485–465
Artaxerxes Longimanus	465–425
Darius Nothos	425–405
Artaxerxes Mnemon	405–362
Artaxerxes Ochus	362–340
[Arses]	340–337
Darius Codomannus	337–330

Comparison may be made, as with West,[2] identifying the long reign of Vohūman who is called Ardashīr (Artaxerxes or Ardashīr Dirāzdast 'the long-handed') with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors. Historical grounds throughout seem to favor this. For Hūmāī, West suggests Parysatis as a possibility. The last two Dārāīs answer to Ochus and Codomannus, and the reign of Kaī-Vishtāsp 'seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes' (West).[3] There seems every reason to identify Vohūman Ardashīr Dirāzdast with Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to the Bahman Yasht (Byt. 2. 17), as this Kayanian king 'makes the religion current *in* the whole world.'[4] One might be possibly tempted to regard the Vishtāsp reign as representing the Bactrian rule until Artaxerxes, and assume that Zoroastrianism then became the faith of Persis.[5] This might account for the silence as to
[= orig. p. 9] the early Achaemenians and shed some light on the problem concerning the Achaemenians as Zoroastrians; but there seems to be no historic foundation for such assumption. Suffice here to have presented the tradition in regard to the reigns of the Kayanian kings as bearing on Zoroaster's date and the traditional 258 years before Alexander as the era of 'the coming of the religion.'

[1] See genealogical tables of the Achaemenidae in Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire, de Généalogie, et de Chronologie*, p. 108 (Leide, 1888); Pauly, *Real-Encyclopædie*, article 'Achaemenidae'; Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, p. 15; *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 398–399; and Smith, *Classical Dictionary*, article 'Hystaspes.'

[2] West, *Bundahish translated*, *SBE.* v. 150 n., 198 n.

[3] De Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, *Introduction* p. cexxviii, thinks that the early Achaemenians were intentionally sacrificed. Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 203,

identifies the first Dārāī with Darius I., and believes that he was misplaced in the kingly list. This I doubt.

[4] West, *Byt. transl.*, *SBE.* v. 199. [See also above, pp. 81–82. Consult J. H. Moulton in *The Thinker*, ii. 498–501.]

[5] Dubeux, *La Perse*, p. 57, sharply separates the Oriental account of the Persian kings from the historical account.

(c) The sum of 258 years is given also by so careful an investigator as Albīrūnī (A.D. 973–1048). His statements are based on the authority of 'the scholars of the Persians, the Hērbadhs and Maubadhs of the Zoroastrians.'[1] In his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 17, l. 17 (transl. Sachau), is found a statement of the Persian view in regard to Zoroaster's date: 'from his (*i.e.* Zoroaster's) appearance till the beginning of the Æra Alexandri,[2] they count 258 years.' Several times he gives the received tradition that Zoroaster appeared in the 30th year of the reign of Vishtāsp. In another place, *Chron.* p. 196 (transl. Sachau), he gives further information in regard to Zoroaster's time: 'On the 1st Ramaḍān A.H. 319 came forward Ibn 'Abī-Zakarriyā. . . . If, now, this be the time (*i.e.* A.H. 319 = A.D. 931) which Jāmāsp and Zarādusht meant, they are right as far as chronology is concerned. For this happened at the end of the Æra Alexandri 1242, *i.e.* 1500 years after Zarādusht.' From this statement we may compute back to the year B.C. 569 as a date when a prophecy is supposed to have been made by Zoroaster and Jāmāsp. Albīrūnī is not exhausted yet. In *Chron.* 121 (transl. Sachau), he says, 'we find the interval between Zoroaster and Yazdajird ben Shāpūr to be nearly 970 years.' This gives the date about B.C. 571 if we count Yazdajird's reign as A.D. 399–420. Furthermore the carefully constructed tables which Albīrūnī gives from various sources are interesting and instructive, owing to their exact agreement with the reigns of the Kayanian kings as recorded in the Būndahishn. Thus, *Chron.* p. 112, 107–114 (transl. Sachau): —

Kai Vishtāsp till the appearance of Zoroaster	30
The same after that event	90
Kai Ardashīr Bahman (Vohūman)	112
Khumānī (Hūmāī)	30
Dārā	12
Dārā ben Dārā	14

On p. 115 he contrasts these dates with those given by [= orig. p. 10]
early occidental authorities. Finally, *Chron.* p. 32
(transl. Sachau), the name of Thales is brought into connection with

Zoroaster, cf. p. 169, n. 3 below. So much for the information furnished by Albīrūnī.

[1] Albīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, transl. and ed. by Sachau, p. 109.

[2] According to Albīrūnī, p. 32 (transl. Sachau) the Æra Alexandri would date from the time when Alexander left Greece at the age of twenty-six years, preparing to fight with Darius.

(d) Of somewhat earlier date but identical in purport is the statement found in Masūdī's *Meadows of Gold*, written in A.D. 943–944 (Masūdī died A.D. 957). Like the Būndahishn and like Albīrūnī, Masūdī reports that 'the Magians count a period of two hundred and fifty-eight (258) years between their prophet Zoroaster and Alexander.'[1] He reiterates this assertion in *Indicatio et Admonitio*[2] by saying 'between Zoroaster and Alexander there are about three hundred years.' Nearly the same, but not exactly identical figures, are found as in the Būndahishn, regarding the length of the reigns of the various Kayanian kings; Zoroaster is stated, as elsewhere, to have appeared in the thirtieth (30) year of Vishtāsp's reign and he dies at the age of seventy-seven (77) after having taught for thirty-five (35) years.[3] The statement that Zoroaster lived to the age of 77 years is also found elsewhere.[4] What Masūdī has to say on the subject of Nebuchadnezzar's being a lieutenant of Lohrāsp (Aurvaṯ-aspa) and regarding Cyrus as contemporary with Bahman will be mentioned below, as a similar statement occurs in the Dīnkarṯ (Bk. 5). [West, *SBE.* xlvii. 120.]

[1] Masūdī (Maçoudī), *Les Prairies d'Or*, *Texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard*, iv. 107 'Les Mages comptent entre leur prophète Zoroastre, fils d'Espimān, et Alexandre, une période de deux cent cinquante-huit ans. Entre Alexandre, qu'ils font régner six ans, et l'avénement d'Ardéchir, cinq cent dix-sept ans; enfin entre Ardéchir et l'hégire cinq cent soixante-quatre ans . . . du règne d'Alexandre à la naissance du Messie, trois cent soixante-neuf ans; de la naissance du Messie à celle du Prophète cinq cent vingt et un ans.' Observe especially that Masūdī in *Indicatio et Admonitio*, (p. 327–328) accounts for the intentional shortening of the period between Alexander and Ardashīr. What he has to say on this subject is worth looking up in connection with *SBE.* v. 151 n.

[2] Masūdī, *Le Livre de l'Indication et de l'Admonition* (in *Prairies d'Or*, ix. p. 327), 'Zoroastre fils de Poroschasp fils d'Asinman, dans l'Avesta, qui est le livre qui lui a été révélé, annonce que, dans trois cents ans, l'empire des Perses éprouvera une grande révolution, sans que la religion soit détruite; mais qu'au bout de mille ans, l'empire et la religion périront en même temps. Or entre Zoroastre et Alexandre il y a environ trois cents ans; car

Zoroastre a paru du temps de Caïbistasp, fils de Caïlohrasp, comme nous l'avons dit ci-devant.' See Masūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p. 90 seq., ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1894. Compare also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 35 (in Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894); [and *Le Livre de l'Avertissement*, traduction par B. C. de Vaux (Société Asiatique), p. 140, Paris, 1896].

[3] Masūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. p. 123, ed. Barbier de Meynard. 'Youstasf (Gustasp) régna après son père (Lohrasp) et résida à Balkh. Il était sur le trône depuis trente ans, lorsque Zeradecht, fils d'Espimān se présenta devant lui . . . (p. 127). Youstasf régna cent [= orig. p. 11] vingt ans avant d'adopter la religion des Mages, puis il mourut. La prédication de Zeradecht dura trente-cinq ans, et il mourut âgé de soixante et dix-sept ans.' The detailed reigns (Masūdī, op. cit. ii. 126–129) are Vishtāsp 120 years, Bahman 112, Hūmāī 30 (or more), Dārā 12, Dārā son of Dārā 30, Alexander 6 (cf. vol. iv. p. 107 'Alexandre, qu'ils font régner six ans'). The latter would answer pretty nearly to the commonly received years of Alexander in Persia, B.C. 330–323. Observe that the years of the last three reigns vary somewhat from the Būndahishn. Deducting from Vishtāsp's reign the 30 years till Zoroaster appeared and counting simply to the coming of Alexander, the resulting 274 years would place Zoroaster's appearance at B.C. 604 or, if 42 years old at the time, his birth at B.C. 646. [See now West's correction which gives B.C. 660.] But notice that instead of 274 years as here, Masūdī elsewhere says (*Prairies d'Or*, iv. 106, quoted above) there were 258 years between Zoroaster and Alexander.

[4] E.g. Dīnkarṯ Bk. 7. 5. 1 (communication from West) and in the Rivāyats.

(e) The period at which the Arabic chronicler Ṭabarī (died A.D. 923)[1] places Zoroaster in his record of Persian reigns, is practically identical with the preceding in its results, although he occasionally differs in the length of the individual reigns, e.g. Bahman 80 years (although he mentions that others say 112 years), Hūmāī about 20 years, Dārā 23 years. He tells also of a tradition that makes of Zoroaster one of the disciples of Jeremiah. The latter, according to the generally accepted view, began to prophesy about B.C. 626. These points will be spoken of again below.

[1] See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabari, traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-Ali Mo'hammed Bel'ami*, tome i. 491–508, Paris, 1867.

(f) The Dabistān (translated by Shea and Troyer, i. 306–309) narrates that the holy cypress which Zoroaster had planted at Kishmar in Khorassān [I formerly wrongly read Kashmir] and which was cut down by the order of Mutawakkal, tenth khalif of the Abbassides (reigned A.D. 846–860), had stood 'fourteen hundred and fifty years (1450) from the time of its being planted, to the year 232 of

the Hejirah (A.D. 846).' If these years be reckoned as solar years, according to the custom of the ancient Persians, and counted from the beginning of Mutawakkal's reign, the date of the planting of the cypress would be B.C. 604; but if reckoned according to the lunar calendar of the Mohammedans (i.e. equivalent to 1408 solar years), the epoch would be B.C. 562.[1] The former date (B.C. 604) recalls the reckoning of Masūdī alluded to above, on p. 10 [= p. 162]. The event of the planting must have been an occasion of special moment; from a reference to the same in Firdausī (translation by Mohl, iv. 291–293, Paris, 1877), the conversion of Vishtāspa is perhaps alluded to. If the conversion of Vishtāspa really be alluded to, 42 years must be added to give the approximate date of Zoroaster's birth. Perhaps, however, some other event in the prophet's life is commemorated.[2] In any case the results lead us to the latter part of the seventh century B.C. and the first part of the sixth century. [See now above, p. 80.]

[1] See the calculation [of Anquetil du Perron, in Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1. pp. 346–347, and] of Shea and Troyer, *Dabistān,* [= orig. p. 12] *translated*, i. 308, n., Paris, 1843 and Mirkhond's *History of the Early Kings of Persia,* transl. Shea, p. 281–282, London, 1832. According to E. Röth, 'Zoroastrische Glaubenslehre' in *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, i. 350, the era of the cypress is B.C. 560. This is adopted by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 15, 18 (Leipzig, 1881). [On Kishmar consult also Vullers, *Fragmente*, p. 113].

[2] In case the 1450 years be reckoned back from the date of Mutawakkal's death (A.D. 860) instead of from the beginning of his power, the numbers would be respectively B.C. 590 (if solar), or B.C. 548 (if lunar).

(g) The figures of the chapter-headings in the *Shāh Nāmah* of Firdausī (A.D. 940–1020) likewise place the opening of Vishtāspa's reign at about three hundred years before Alexander's death.[1]

[1] Firdusii *Schahname*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1495 seq. See also Shea and Troyer's *Dabistān*, Introd. i. p. lxxxvi and p. 380. Consult the chapter-headings of the reigns in Mohl's translation of Firdausī, vols. iv.–v. Observe that Bahman is assigned only 99 years instead of the usual 112; the duration of Vishtāspa's reign is given in Mohl, vol. iv. 587, 'cent vingt ans' in harmony with the usual tradition.

(h) The Persian historical work, Mujmal al-Tawārīkh (A.H. 520 = A.D. 1126),[1] following the authority of the Chronicle of the Kings of Persia, brought from Farsistān by Bahram, son of Merdanshāh,

Mobed of Shapur, enumerates 258 years before Alexander.[2] The Ulamā-ī Islām counts three hundred.[3]

[1] See *Extraits du Modjmel al-Tewarikh, relatifs à l'histoire de la Perse, traduits du persan, par Jules Mohl* (Journal Asiatique, tome xi. pp. 136, 258, 320, Paris, 1841).

[2] Cf. op. cit. p. 230. The author acknowledges indebtedness also to Hamzah of Isfahān, Ṭabarī, and Firdausī. His chronology may be deduced from pp. 330–339 of the work cited; it runs, Lohrāsp 120 years, Gushtāsp 120 years, Bahman 112, Hūmāī 30, Dārāb 12 [or 14], Dārā son of Dārāb 14 [or 16], Alexander 14 [or 28]. Observe the alternative figures in the case of the last three numbers.

According to Röth, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, i. 351, the author of the Mujmal al-Tawārīkh places Zoroaster 1700 years before his own time; on this ground Röth places the death of Zoroaster at B.C. 522, and is followed by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18. Cf. Kleuker's *Zend-Avesta*, Anh. Bd. i. Theil 1, p. 347.

[3] See Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, p. 58.

(i) Interesting is the fact noticed by Anquetil du Perron,[1] that a certain religious sect that immigrated into China A.D. 600 is evidently of Zoroastrian origin and that these believers have an era which dates approximately from B.C. 559; this date Anquetil regards as referring to the time when Zoroaster left his home and entered upon his mission — a sort of Iranian Hejirah.

[1] See Anquetil du Perron quoted by Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, pp. 349–351; cited also by Shea, *Mirkhond's History*, p. 282, and by Röth in *Geschichte abendländ. Philosophie*, i. 353 and note 566, and followed by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18.

(j) Similar in effect as far as concerns the period at which they place the prophet, although of doubtful value or otherwise to be explained, are those Syriac and Arabic [= orig. p. 13] reports which connect the name of Zoroaster with Jeremiah and which make him the latter's pupil or even identify him with Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah.[1] Presumably this association is due to confusing the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah *Armiah* with Zoroaster's supposed native place *Urmiah* (Urumiyah).[2]

[1] (*a*) The Syro-Arabic Lexicon of Bar Bahlūl (about A.D. 963) s.v. Ḳāsōmā (divinator): 'Divinator, like Zardosht, who people say is Baruch the Scribe; and because the gift of prophecy was not accorded to him he went astray, journeyed to [other] nations and learned twelve tongues.' Cf. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 3704.

(β) Also Bishop 'Ishōdad of Ḥadatha (about A.D. 852), commentary on Matth. ii. 1, 'Some say that he (Zoroaster) is the same as Baruch the pupil of Eramya (Jeremiah), and that because the gift of prophecy was denied him as [had been] his wish, and because of that bitter exile and the sack of Jerusalem and the Temple, he became offended (or angry) and went away among other nations, learned twelve languages, and in them wrote that vomit of Satan, i.e. the book which is called Abhasta.' Cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 29.

(γ) Identically, Solomon of Ḥilāṭ (born about A.D. 1222), *Book of the Bee*, 'this Zārādosht is Baruch the scribe,' p. 81 seq., ed. Budge (Anecdota Oxoniensia), also E. Kuhn, *Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung in christlichem Gewande* (Festgruss an R. von Roth, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 219). Consult especially Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894).

(δ) Ṭabarī (died A.D. 923) likewise notices the association of Zoroaster with Jeremiah. According to him 'Zoroaster was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favorite. But he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore God cursed him, and he became leprous. He wandered to Ādarbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp (Vishtāspa), who was in Balkh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him, and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many people to death on its account. Then they followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve (112) years.' Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37. See also *Chronique de Tabari traduite* par H. Zotenberg, i. p. 499. [In the story of the leprosy can there be some reminiscence of Elisha's servant Gehazi, who was cursed with leprosy for falsehood after the cleansing of Naaman? See II. Kings, v. 1–27 and compare *sara'ath*, p. 30 above, and Hyde, p. 314.]

(ε) The same general statements of Ṭabarī are repeated by Ibn al-Athīr (13th century) in his *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-ta'arīkh*. See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 39.

(ζ) Once the Syrian Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā Abulfaraj (c. A.D. 1250) calls Zoroaster a disciple of Elijah (mistake for Jeremiah?), see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32.

(η) Similarly the Arab historian Abu Mohammed Mustapha calls Zoroaster a disciple of Ezīr (Ezra), see Hyde, *Hist. Relig. veterum Persarum*, p. 313.

[2] So suggested by de Sacy, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi*, ii. 319, see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (Drisler Classical Studies, p. 30 n.). [Anquetil du Perron's view was, that this is owing to an unwillingness to attribute to the Persians a prophet of their own, without Semitic influence; see his paragraph in Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1, p. 341. This is no doubt also true. See likewise p. 30 above.]

(k) Pointing to a similar era are the Pahlavi (Dīnkart Bk. 5. and Mkh.) and Perso-Arabic allusions to Nebuchadnezzar as lieutenant

of Vishtāsp's predecessor, Lohrāsp, and of Vishtāsp himself as well as of his successor Bahman (Vohūman). [See also above, p. 91, n. 2.] In the same connection Cyrus's name is joined with Vishtāsp and Bahman.[1]

[1] (α) According to Ṭabarī (10th century A.D.) and Masūdī, [= orig. p. 14] Nebuchadnezzar was lieutenant successively under Lohrāsp, Vishtāsp, and Bahman ; the tradition regarding Lohrāsp's taking of Jerusalem is found in the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ Bk. 5 and Maīnōg-ī Khiraṯ 27. 66–67, transl. West, *SBE.* xxiv. 65. Ṭabarī (or rather the Persian version of the latter by Bel'ami) gives two different versions of the story (see *Chronique de Tabarī, traduite sur la version persane de Bel'amī par H. Zotenberg*, vol. i. pp. 491–507, Paris, 1867), and (Ṭabarī op. cit. p. 503) the return of the Jews to Jerusalem is placed in the 70th year of Bahman. Signs of confusion are evident. So also in Mirkhond (15th century A.D.) who in his history repeats Ṭabarī's statement with reference to Nebuchadnezzar and Lohrāsp, and makes Cyrus a son of Lohrāsp although he is placed in the reign of Bahman. He regards Bahman (Vohūman) as a contemporary of Hippocrates (B.C. 460–357) and Zenocrates (B.C. 396–314) which would harmonize properly with the traditional dates above given (pp. 8–9 = pp. 159–160) for Bahman's reign. See Shea, *Mirkhond's History*, pp, 264, 291, 343).

(β) Masūdī is worth consulting on the same point, especially in respect to certain presumed relations between the Persians and the Jews. See Barbier de Meynard, *Maçoudi Les Prairies d' Or*, ii. 119–128.

(l) At this point may be mentioned two other allusions that place Zoroaster's activity in the sixth century before the Christian era, although the former of these rests upon the identification of the prophet's patron Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. The first of these allusions, that given by Ammianus Marcellinus (5th century A.D.),[1] directly calls Vishtāspa (Hystaspes) the father of Darius, although Agathias (6th century A.D.)[2] expresses uncertainty on this point. The second allusion is found in Eutychius, the Alexandrine Patriarch, who makes Zoroaster a contemporary of Cambyses and the Magian Smerdis,[3] a view which is shared by the Syrian Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā Abulfaraj (c. A.D. 1250)[4] [and by the Arab chronologist al-Makīn[5]].

[1] Ammian. Marcell. 23. 6. 32, *Magiam opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato, Machagistiam esse verbo mystico docet, divinorum incorruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darii pater.* The general opinion is that 'saeculis priscis' is allowable in consideration of the thousand years that separated Zoroaster and Ammianus,

and assuming that Ammianus understood Zoroaster and Hystaspes to be contemporaries, cf. Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, p. 334.

[2] Agathias 2. 24, Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὀρμάσδεως . . . οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωροάδος, ἤτοι Ζαράδης — διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία — ὁπηνίκα μὲν ἤκμασε τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔνεστι σαφῶς διαγνῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὑστάσπεω, οὕτω δή τι ἁπλῶς φασι γεγονέναι, ὡς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρείου πατὴρ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ὑστάσπης. [See Appendix V. § 35.]

[3] Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini *Annales*. Illustr. Selden, interpr. E. Pocock. Oxon. 1658, pp. 262–263, *Mortuo Cyro Dario Babelis rege, post ipsum imperavit filius ipsius Kambysus annos novem: post quem Samardius Magus annum unum. Hic, Magus cognominatus est quod ipsius tempore floruerit Persa quidam Zaradasht* (زرادشت), *qui Magorum religionem condidit aedibus igni dedicatus. Post ipsum regnavit Dara primus, annos viginti. Post illum Artachshast Longimanus cognominatus annos viginti quattuor.* On this authority Floigl, following Röth, wishes to assign the year of Zoroaster's death to B.C. 522, cf. *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18, and Röth, *Geschichte uns. abendländ. Philosophie* i. 353.

[4] Bar 'Ebhrāyā, *Arabic Chronicon*, p. 83, ed. Salḥani, Beirut, 1890 (cited by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32). 'In those days (of Cambyses) came Zaradosht chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Ādarbaijān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's (!) disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ.'

[5] See Hyde *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* pp. 528–529.]

(m) Finally two other allusions are here added for the sake of completeness, as they have been interpreted as pointing to the fact that Zoroaster lived about the sixth century B.C. There seems to be nothing in them, however, to compel us to believe that Zoroaster is regarded as living only a short time before the events to which they allude. The first is a passage in Nicolaus Damascenus (1st century B.C.), who represents that when Cyrus was about to burn the unfortunate Croesus, his attention was called to Ζωροάστρου λόγια, which forbade that fire should be defiled.[1] The second item of information is found in such references as represent Pythagoras as following Zoroaster's doctrines.[2] Lastly, the association of Zoroaster's name with that of Thales, by Albīrūnī, has been noted above.[3]

[1] Nicolaus Damascenus Fragm. 65, *Müller Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. 409 δείματα δαιμόνια ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ οἵ τε τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὶ τά τε Ζωροάστρου λόγια εἰσῄει. Κροῖσον μὲν οὖν ἐβόων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πάλαι σώζειν. . . . Τόν γε μὴν Ζωροάστρην Πέρσαι ἀπ' ἐκείνου διεῖπαν, μήτε νεκροὺς καίειν, μήτ' ἄλλως μιαίνειν πῦρ, καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο καθεστὼς τὸ νόμιμον τότε βεβαιωσάμενοι. (Latin version) *Persas . . . religio ac metus divûm incessit: Sibyllae quoque vaticinia ac Zoroastris oracula in mentem veniebant. Itaque clamitabant, multo, quam antea,*

contentius, ut Croesus servaretur. . . . At Persae exinde sanxerunt juxta praecepta Zoroastris, ne cadavera cremare neque ignem contaminare posthac liceret, quod quum apud eos ex veteri instituto obtinuisset, tum magis confirmaverunt. Cf. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. pp. xliv, lxvii.

[2] The principal references are to be found in Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 260–264, 274, from whose work they are taken. Several of these allusions mention Zoroaster's name directly; in others we may infer it, since Pythagoras is made a student of the Magi, whom classical antiquity regards as the exponents of Zoroaster's teaching. Such allusions are: (*α*) Cicero, *de Fin.* 5. 29, *ipse Pythagoras et Aegyptum lustravit et Persarum Magos adiit;* (*β*) Valerius Maximus 8. 7 extern. 2, *inde ad Persas profectus Magorum exactissimae prudentiae se formandum tradidit;* (*γ*) Pliny, *N. H.* 30. 2. 1, *Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Plato ad hanc (magicen) discendam navigavere;* (*δ*) Porphyrius, *Vita Pythag.* 41, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς παρὰ τῶν Μάγων ἐπυνθάνετο, ὃν Ὡρομάζην καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι; and *Vita Pythag.* 12, ἔν τε Βαβυλῶνι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις συνεγένετο καὶ πρὸς Ζάβρατον [Ζάρατον, Nauck] (Zoroaster?) ἀφίκετο; (*ε*) Plutarch, *de animae procr. in Timaeo* 2. 2, Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος; (*ζ*) Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 1, p. 357 (ed. Potter) Ζωροάστρην δὲ τὸν Μάγον τὸν Πέρσην ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐζήλωσεν (MS. ἐδήλωσεν), cf. Cyrillus, *adv. Jul.* 3, p. 87, where Pythagoras is called πανάριστος ζηλωτής of Zoroaster; (*η*) Suidas s.v. Pythagoras, Πυθαγόρας· οὗτος ἤκουσε — Ζάρητος τοῦ μάγου (is it Zoroaster?); (*θ*) Apuleius Florid. p. 19 (ed. Altib.) *sunt qui Pythagoram aiunt eo temporis inter captivos Cambysae regis Aegyptum cum adveheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum magos ac praecipue Zoroastrem omnis divini arcani antistitem;* (*ι*) in Lucian's *Dialogue Menippus*, § 6, p. 463, the Babylonian Magi are the pupils and successors of Zoroaster μοῖ . . . ἔδοξε ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐλθόντα δεηθῆναί τινος τῶν Μάγων τῶν Ζωροάστρου μαθητῶν καὶ διαδόχων. Also some others.

[[3] See p. 161 above. The particular passage is one in which Albīrūnī discusses the various possibilities as to the date of Thales. He adds that 'if he (i.e. Thales) lived at the time of Kaī Ḳubādh, he stands near to Zoroaster, who belonged to the sect of the Ḥarrānians' (*Chron.* p. 32, l. 15, transl. Sachau).]

B. Discussion of the Data.

The material above collected presents most of the [= orig. p. 16]
external evidence that we have in regard to the age at
which Zoroaster lived. We are now prepared for a more comprehensive view of the subject, for a discussion of the data in hand, for a presentation of certain internal evidences that need to be brought out, and for arguments and possible deductions. Several points immediately suggest themselves for comment.

First, in discussing the classical allusions above presented, one is justified from the connection in assuming that such allusions as are

made to the name of Zoroaster as a religious teacher or sage, all refer to the one great prophet of ancient Iran. No account, I think, need therefore be taken of such views as assume the existence of two or of several Zoroasters, belonging to different periods in the world's history. Such a view was held by Suidas (s.v. *Zoroastres*) and was evidently earlier shared by Pliny;[1] it met with acceptance also among some of the old-fashioned writers in more recent times;[2] but there is no real evidence in its favor, and it is due to an attempt to adjust the discrepancy existing in classical statements with regard to Zoroaster's date. History knows of but one Zoroaster.

[1] Pliny *N. H.* 30. 2. 1. *sine dubio illic orta (ars Magica) in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat.* He adds a little later (30. 2. 8) *diligentiores paulo ante hunc* (i.e. *Osthanem*) *Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.*

[2] E.g. Kleuker (quoting the Abbé Foucher), *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 2, p. 68–81.

Second, among the three dates which may be deduced from the material above collected and which are summarized on p. 2 [= p. 152], we are justified upon reasonable grounds, I think, in rejecting the excessively early date of B.C. 6000 or thereabouts. The explanation above offered to account for the extravagant figures seems satisfactory enough.

Third, such dates as might be arrived at from the sporadic allusions that associate the name of Zoroaster with Semiramis and Ninus, with Nimrod and Abraham, or with Baal, Bel, Balaam, as above discussed, have little if any real foundation. In each instance there seem to me to be reasonable grounds for discarding them.

There remains finally a comparatively large body of material that would point to the fact that Zoroaster flourished between the latter part of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century before the Christian era. The material when sifted reduces itself: first, to the direct tradition found in two Pahlavi books, Būndahishn and Arṭā Vīrāf, which places Zoroaster's era three hundred years, or more exactly 258 years, before Alexander's day; second, to the Arabic allusions which give the same date in their [= orig. p. 17] chronological computations and which in part lay claim to being founded upon the chronology of the Persians themselves;[1] third, to similar allusions elsewhere which place Zoroaster at about this period.

[1] Compare Albīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 109, 112 (transl. Sachau); and the *Modjmel al-Tewarikh*, p. 142, 320, 330 (traduit Mohl, Journal Asiatique, xi. 1841), stating that the account is based on the Chronicle of Mobed Bahram.

Certain objections may be raised to a view based upon this material last given.

First among these objections is a claim often urged, that the traditional date rests upon an erroneous identification of Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. I cannot see, from the allusions or elsewhere, that the Persians made any such identification; the impression gained from the material presented is rather in fact to the contrary; one may recall, for example, how widely different the ancestry of Vishtāspa is from the generally received descent of Hystaspes the father of Darius (a point which Floigl and Röth seem to have overlooked). It was only the classical writer Ammianus Marcellinus who, in antiquity, made any such identification. The point has already been sufficiently dealt with above, p. 14 [= p. 167, and West now also treats it in like manner—*SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 70].

A second objection may be brought on the plea that the traditional date (7th to middle of 6th century B.C.) would not allow of the lapse of sufficient time to account for the difference in language between the Gāthās and the Old Persian inscriptions and for certain apparent developments in the faith. Furthermore, that a longer period of time must be allowed to account for the difference between the fixed title *Auramazda*, Ὡρομάσδης, current in western Persia in Achaemenian times, and the divided form of the divine name *Ahura Mazda* (or *Ahura* alone and *Mazda* alone) as found in the Avesta, especially in the Zoroastrian Gāthās. This point has been noticed in the interesting and instructive paper of Professor Tiele, *Over de Oudheid van het Avesta*, p. 16,[1] who comes to the result that Zoroastrianism must have existed as early as the first half of the 7th century B.C.[2] If we accept, as I believe we should, the theses that Vishtāspa ruled in eastern Iran, and that, although Zoroaster was a native of Ādarbaijān, the chief scene of his religious activity was eastern Iran,[3] and that the faith spread from Bactria westwards,[4] I cannot see that these arguments militate against the traditional date under discussion. Dialectic differences between the Bactrian region and Persia Proper would sufficiently account for arguments based on language alone. This, added to national and

individual differences, might well account for the fixed form of the name *Auramazda* among the Achaemenians as contrasted with the Avestan form. Who can say how rapidly the creed spread from the east to the west and what changes consequently in a short time may have resulted? New converts in their zeal are often more radical in progressive changes than first reformers. Persis, with its original difference in dialect, may in short time have developed the single title *Auramazda* from *Ahura Mazda* as watchword of church and state. See also note, p. 20, top [= p. 174].

[= orig. p. 18]

[1] Reprinted from the *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde*, 3de Reeks, Deel xi. 364–385.

[2] Tiele's little work argues admirably for the antiquity of the Avesta as opposed to Darmesteter's views for the lateness of the Gāthās. I wish I could be convinced by Professor Tiele (p. 19) that the names of the Median kings, Phraortes (*fravaši*), Kyaxares (*uvaxšatara*), Deiokes (**dahyuka*) as well as Eparna, Sitiparna of the early Esarhaddon inscription (explained as containing *hvarənah*, 'glory'), are due to concepts originated by Zoroaster and are not merely marks of beliefs which Zoroastrianism inherited directly from existing Magism. The name of Darius's contemporary Khsathrita (Bh. 2. 15; 4. 19, Bh. e. 6) is not so important for the argument. I confess I should like to place Zoroaster as early as the beginning of the 7th century. The earlier, the better. [On Phraortes viewed as a Zoroastrian, compare more recently, Justi, in *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 258; *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. p. 411.]

[3] On eastern Iran, cf. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur* (Erlangen, 1882) and English translation of same, Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Eastern Iranians* (London, 1885–1886).

[4] See Jackson, *Zoroaster's Native Place*, *JAOS.* xv. 230 seq. So in spite of Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 198 seq.

A final objection may be raised as to the real historic worth and chronological value of the Persian tradition which places Zoroaster three centuries before Alexander. This it must frankly be said is the real point of the question. Is there a possibility of Arabic influence at work upon the statements of the Būndahishn and Arṭā Vīrāf [and Zāṯ-sparam]? Is the whole chronology of the Būndahishn and that of the Persians artificial?[1] And did the Zoroastrians intentionally tamper with history and bring Zoroaster down as late as possible in order that the millennial period might not be regarded as having elapsed without the appearance of a Saoshyant, or Messiah?

[1] Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 506, with Windischmann, regards the data of the Būndahishn as 'unzuverlässig,' but it must be remembered that his figures, '178' years for the period between Zoroaster and Alexander, now require correction to 258, which alters the condition of affairs. See West, *SBE.* v. 150–151, and Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 203. Compare especially de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. ccxxviii.

These questions require serious consideration in detail. The introduction to the chronological chapter of the Būndahishn (Bd. 34) does indeed read, according to one MS., 'on the reckoning of the years of the Arabs' (see Būndahishn translated by West, *SBE.* v. 149), but the word Tāzhīkān 'of the Arabs' is not found in the other manuscripts. Moreover, the scientific investigator Albīrūnī, and also the Mujmal al-Tawārīkh, whose data agree exactly with the Būndahishn, affirm that the dates given for the Kayanian kings are obtained from the records of the Persians themselves.[1]
There seems no reason, therefore, to doubt that the [= orig. p. 19]
Būndahishn really represents the Persian chronology.
But what the value of that chronology may be, is another matter. Personally I think it has real value so far as giving the approximate period of three centuries before Alexander as Zoroaster's era. Every student of the classics knows the part that chronology plays with reference to the Magi; every reader of the Avesta is familiar with 'the time of long duration;' every one who has looked into the scholarly work of Albīrūnī will have more respect for Persian chronology. Errors indeed there may be; attention has been called above to the lack of agreement between the years assigned by tradition to the reigns of the Zoroastrian Kayanian monarchs and the generally accepted dates of the reigns of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes[1]; to the dynasty of these three kings there corresponds only the long rule of Vishtāspa (120 years) and a part of that of Bahman Ardashīr Dirāzdast, some of whose reign answers to that of Artaxerxes Longimanus. As above said, it is difficult to identify the Kayanians of the tradition with the early Achaemenians of Greek history, but this need not nullify the real value of the traditional 'three centuries before Alexander.' What Masūdī (c. A.D. 943) in his *Indicatio et Admonitio* can add on this subject is full of interest. Little attention seems thus far to have been drawn to this important passage and to the explanation which it contains.[2] Masūdī is fully aware of the difference that exists between the Persian and the generally accepted chronology and he shows how it was brought about by

Ardashīr's purposely shortening the period between Alexander and himself by causing about half the number of years to be dropped from the chronological lists, but the 300 years of Zoroaster before Alexander were allowed to remain untouched, for the old prophecy regarding the time of Alexander's appearance had been fulfilled. The passage in Barbier de Meynard is well worth consulting.[3]

[1] See note above, p. 8 [= p. 160].

[2] Cf. Barbier de Meynard in *Le Livre de l'Indication et de l'Admonition* (Maçoudī, *Prairies d'Or*, ix. 327–328). [See also the translation by Vaux, *Maçoudi, Le Livre de l'Avertissement*, p. 136; Paris, 1896.]

[3] See preceding note. I have since found the passage given by Spiegel in *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, iii. 193; compare also Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 202.

C. Results.

To draw conclusions, — although open to certain objections, still, in the absence of any more reliable data or until the discovery of some new source of information to overthrow or to substantiate the view, there seems but one decision to make in the case before us. From the actual evidence presented and from the material accessible, one is fairly entitled, at least, upon the present merits of the case, to accept the period between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B.C. [perhaps still better, between the middle of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth century B.C.], or just before the rise of the Achaemenian power, as the approximate date of Zoroaster's life.[1]

[= orig. p. 20] [1] Since the above was written Dr. E. W. West writes me (under date December 19, 1895) the interesting piece of information that his investigations into the history of the Iranian calendar have led him to the date B.C. 505 as the year in which a reform in the Persian calendar must have been instituted. He suggests that Darius, upon the conclusion of his wars and during the organizing of his kingdom and putting in force new acts of legislation, may with the aid and counsel of his priestly advisers have introduced the Zoroastrian nâmes of the months which have supplanted the old Persian names which were given in the inscriptions. If this be so, the point may have a special bearing towards showing that the Achaemenians were Zoroastrians. From Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 17, 12; 55, 29; 205, 2; and 220, 19 (transl. Sachau), we know that Zoroaster himself must have occupied himself with the calendar. Benfey u. Stern, *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, p. 116, regarded the Indo-Persian year as having been introduced into Cappadocia probably

as early as B.C. 750. [Dr. West's paper on the Parsi calendar has just appeared in *The Academy* for April 23, 1896.] [Later postscript (1898), West gives his results in *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 79 seq.]

Similar results have been reached by others, or opinions to the same effect have been expressed; for example, Haug,[1] Justi (private letter),[2] Geldner (personal communication),[3] Casartelli,[4] and several names familiar to those acquainted with the field.[5] Some effort might be made perhaps if the premises will allow it, and some attempts have been made, to define the period more exactly by a precise interpretation of the various time-allusions with reference to cardinal events in Zoroaster's life — the beginning of his ministry at the age of 30, the conversion of Vishtāspa in the prophet's 42d year, the death of Zoroaster at the age of 77 years.[6] [See Appendix III.]

[1] Cf. Haug, *Essays on the Parsis* (West's Introduction, p. xlv.) ; although Haug had previously adopted various earlier eras for Zoroaster, e.g. B.C. 2300 (*Lecture on Zoroaster*, Bombay, 1865), not later than B.C. 1000 (*Essays*, p. 299, where the subject is discussed ; cf. also *Essays*, pp. 15, 136, 264).

[2] Personal letter from Professor Justi, dated June 14, 1892.

[3] Geldner formerly placed the date of Zoroaster as prior to B.C. 1000 (see article 'Zoroaster,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition).

[4] *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, transl. Firoz Jamaspji, p. ii, 'about 600.'

[5] The best collections of material on the subject are to be found in de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, 2d ed. Introduction, pp. xx–xxv, ccxiv. [See also de Harlez, *The Age of the Avesta*, in *JAOS.*, New Series, xvii. 349, London, 1885, who finds no reason to place the Avesta earlier than 600 or 700 B.C., or in broader terms fixes 'the epoch of Zoroastrianism and the Avesta between 700 and 100 B.C.'], Spiegel, *EA.* i. 673–676, and Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 147, 162, 305 ; the latter suggested (*Zor. Stud.* p. 164) about B.C. 1000 as Zoroaster's date. The present writer (*Avesta Grammar*, p. xi) once held the opinion that Zoroaster lived 'more than a thousand years before the Christian era.' The date assigned by the Parsi Orientalist K. R. Kama is about B.C. 1300.

[6] E.g. Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 6, 60–62, assigns B.C. 589–512 as the age of Zoroaster ; compare also Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, pp. 327–374 ; Thl. 2, pp. 51–81 (Foucher). [Anquetil's monograph should be consulted.] Floigl (*Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18), following Röth, gives B.C. 599–522 as Zoroaster's era and identifies Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. Neither Floigl nor Röth seem to take any account of the difference between the genealogy of Vishtāspa's ancestors as given in the Old Persian inscriptions and the lineage given in the Avesta, Pahlavi, and later Persian works. Floigl does not, moreover, sufficiently take into consideration (p. 17) that 42 years (or at least 30) must be

added in every instance to the 258 years before Alexander, as that was Zoroaster's age when Vishtāspa accepted the Faith. This would in any event place the date of Zoroaster's birth before B.C. 600.

[= orig. p. 21] The above results, if they be accepted in the light at least of our present information on the subject, seem to be not without importance for the history of early religious thought and of the development of ethical and moral teaching. If one carefully works through the material, it must be acknowledged that the most consistent and the most authoritative of all the actual statements upon the subject place the appearance of the prophet at a period between the closing century of Median rule and the rising wave of Persian power, that is, between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B.C.; [better between the middle of the seventh century and the former half of the sixth century B.C.]. It is the sowing of the fallow land that is to bring forth the rich fruits of the harvest. The teaching of Zoroaster must have taken deep root in the soil of Iran at the time when the Jews were carried up into captivity at Babylon (586–536), where they became acquainted with 'the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not'; the time was not far remote when the sage Confucius should expound to China the national tenets of its people, and the gentle Buddha on Ganges' bank should preach to longing souls the doctrine of redemption through renunciation. How interesting the picture, how full of instruction the contrast! And in this connection, the old question of a possible pre-historic Indo-Iranian religious schism[1] comes perhaps once again into consideration.[2] Certain theological and religious phenomena noticeable in Brahmanism are possibly not so early, after all, as has generally been believed. It may perchance be that Zoroastrianism in Iran was but the religious, social, and ethical culmination of the wave that had been gathering in strength as it moved along, and that was destined in India to spend its breaking force in a different way from its overwhelming course in the plateau land northwest of the mountains of Hindu Kush.

[1] The view strongly upheld by Haug.

[2] Deductions that might perhaps be made in the light of Hopkins, *Religions of India*, pp. 177, 186, 212, n. 3. Consult especially the suggestive hints of Geldner, article 'Zoroaster,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where the much-mooted question of *asura-ahura, daēva-deva*, 'god-demon,' is discussed.

The kingdom of Bactria was the scene of Zoroaster's zealous ministry, as I presume. [The question raised on this point is noticed in the present volume.] Born, as I believe, in Atropatene, to the west of Media, this prophet without honor in his own country met with a congenial soil for the seeds of his teaching in eastern Iran. His ringing voice of reform and of a nobler faith found an answering echo in the heart of the Bactrian king, Vishtāspa, whose strong arm gave necessary support to the crusade that spread the new faith west and east throughout the land of Iran. Allusions to this crusade are not uncommon in Zoroastrian literature. Its advance must have been rapid. A fierce religious war which in a way was fatal to Bactria seems to have ensued with Turan. This was that same savage race in history at whose door the death of victorious Cyrus is laid. Although tradition tells the sad story that the fire of the sacred altar was quenched [= orig. p. 22] in the blood of the priests when Turan stormed Balkh, this momentary defeat was but the gathering force of victory; triumph was at hand. The spiritual spark of regeneration lingered among the embers and was destined soon to burst into the flame of Persian power that swept over decaying Media and formed the beacon-torch that lighted up the land of Iran in early history. But the history of the newly established creed and certain problems in regard to the early Achaemenians as Zoroastrians belong elsewhere for discussion.

[Addendum 1. In an article on 'The Date of the Avesta,' *The Times of India*, March 11, 1898, now draws attention to the fact that Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana has again called up the proposed identification of Avestan Nāidhyāh Gaotema (in Yt. 13. 16) with the *rishi* Gāutama whose son is Nōdhās in the Veda. See this pamphlet *Observations on Darmesteter's Theory*, pp. 25–31, Leipzig, 1898. On his point and on the other suggested identifications of the Avestan Gaotema with Gotama the Buddha, or with the Brahman Cangranghācah (see pp. 85–88 above), we may refer to what has been said by Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 29, and to the references and discussion given by Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 99 (Leipzig, 1864), where good material will be found. Justi's statement in his *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 110 (Marburg, 1895) reads: 'Gaotema, vielleicht Name eines Gegners der Zarathustrischen Religion Yt. 13. 16; das Wort könnte auch appellativ sein; sanskrit gótama.'

In the passage I do not think that the words *nā vyāxanō* necessarily refer to Zoroaster at all, but that they allude to some later follower of the Faith who may have vanquished in debate some opponent of the Zoroastrian creed. Notice also Justi's 'eines Gegners der Zarathustrischen Religion.' I cannot therefore see that we shall lose anything if we accept the view which was first suggested

by Haug, and interpret this allusion to Gaotama as a thrust at Buddhism, and regard *nāiδyāh* as a derogatory attribute, or connected with the Vedic root *nādh.*

Color is given to such an interpretation because, farther on in the same Yasht (Yt. 13. 97), mention is made of the pious Saēna, a great religious teacher and successor of Zoroaster, who flourished between one hundred and two hundred years after the prophet himself, or B.C. 531–431, if we accept the traditional Zoroastrian chronology, and who might therefore have been a contemporary with Buddha. Upon the date of Saēna, see also Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *The Antiquity of the Avesta*, Bombay, June, 1896. Saēna belonged to the ancient territory of Saka-stāna (Seistān) and thus to the region of White India; cf. p. 45, n. 4, 72, n. 3, 87, n. 1, and Appendix IV.

Now if in the particular case of Saēna (and the lines are metrical and therefore probably original) the Yasht actually makes mention of a Zoroastrian apostle who lives a century or more after the great teacher, I do not think we are necessarily forced to place Gaotama back into the Vedic period. In other words, in the case of Gaotema as of Saēna, the Yasht may be alluding to one who is born after Zarathushtra, and may be hurling anathemas against an opposing and heretical religion (and that religion Buddhism) which began to flourish about the same time as the Yasht may have been written. Of the various identifications I should prefer that of Gotama the Buddha, rather than to call in the Vedas and Gāutama whose son is Nōdhās.]

[Addendum 2. My pupil, Mr. Schuyler, draws my attention to a reference in a work that was published in the middle of the last century, which is of interest because it deals with the Huns and places the date of Zoroaster about the year '683 avant Jesus-Christ.' The reference is Deguignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, i. Pt. 2, p. 376, Paris, 1756.]

APPENDIX III

DR. WEST'S TABLES OF ZOROASTRIAN CHRONOLOGY

AS BASED UPON THE MILLENNIAL SYSTEM OF THE BŪNDAHISHN

(From *Sacred Books of the East*, xlvii. Introd. § 55.)[1]

After investigating the traditional Zoroastrian chronology of the Būndahishn, and the statements of the other Pahlavi texts, which have been recorded in the preceding Appendix, Dr. E. W. West has compiled a series of chronological tables, synchronizing the Zoroastrian and European systems. The statement of Bd. **34**. 7, 8, places the death of Alexander 272 years after the coming of the religion, i.e. after the thirtieth year of Zoroaster's life and of Vishtāspa's reign. Combining these dates, and allowing for an apparent omission of thirty-five years (which is explained), the items 323 + 272 + 35 give as a result B.C. 660–583 as the date of Zoroaster, and B.C. 660–540 for Vishtāspa's reign,[2] which in Oriental manner is apparently conceived of as dating from the king's birth. West's tables are now presented (*SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. xxviii–xxx):—

'If we adopt the abbreviations A.R. for "*anno religionis*" and B.R. for "*before the religion*," we are prepared to compile the following synopsis of Zoroastrian Chronology according to the millennial system of the Būndahishn, extended to the end of time, but dealing only with traditional matters, combined with the European dates of the same events, deduced from the synchronism of A.R. 300 with B.C. 331, as stated above in § 54:'—

B.R. 9000, B.C. 9630. Beginning of the first millennium of Time; and formation of the Fravashis, or primary ideas of the good creations, which remain insensible and motionless for 3000 years (Bd. I, 8; XXXIV, 1).

[1] Through the courtesy of Dr. E. W. West and of Professor F. Max Müller, editor of the Sacred Books, I have been allowed to reproduce these pages; for which kindness I wish to express my appreciative thanks. —*A. V. W. J.*

[2] See *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 70.

B.R. 6000, B.C. 6630. Beginning of the fourth millennium, when the spiritual body of Zaratūsht is framed together, and remains 3000 years with the archangels (Dk. VII, ii, 15, 16), while the primeval man and ox exist undisturbed in the world, because the evil spirit is confounded and powerless (Bd. I, 20, 22 ; III, 1, 3, 5 ; XXXIV, 1).

B.R. 3000, B.C. 3630. Beginning of the seventh millennium, when the evil spirit rushes into the creation on new-year's day, destroys the primeval ox, and distresses Gāyōmarṯ, the primeval man (Bd. I, 20 ; III, 10-20, 24-27 ; XXXIV, 2). Z. appears to remain with the archangels for 2969 years longer.

B.R. 2970, B.C. 3600. Gāyōmarṯ passes away (Bd. III, 21-23 ; XXXIV, 2).

B.R. 2930, B.C. 3560. Masyē and Masyāōī had grown up (Bd. XV, 2 ; XXXIV, 3).

B.R. 2787, B.C. 3417. Accession of Hōshāng (Bd. XXXIV, 3).

B.R. 2747, B.C. 3377. Accession of Tākhmōrup (ibid. 4).

B.R. 2717, B.C. 3347. Accession of Yim (ibid.).

B.R. 2000, B.C. 2630. Beginning of the eighth millennium. Accession of Dahāk (ibid. 4, 5).

B.R. 1000, B.C. 1630. Beginning of the ninth millennium. Accession of Frēṯūn (ibid. 5, 6).

B.R. 500, B.C. 1130. Accession of Mānūshcīhar (ibid. 6).

B.R. 428, B.C. 1058. Spendarmaṯ comes to Mānūshcīhar at the time of Frāsīyāv's irrigation works (Zs. XII, 3-6). [West's brief remarks on correction of the MSS. here omitted.]

B.R. 380, B.C. 1010. Accession of Aūzōbō (Bd. XXXIV, 6).

B.R. 375, B.C. 1005. Accession of Kaī-Kobāṯ (ibid. 6, 7).

B.R. 360, B.C. 990. Accession of Kaī-Ūs (ibid. 7).

B.R. 300, B.C. 930. Zaratūsht first mentioned by the ox that Srītō killed (Zs. XII, 7-20).

B.R. 210, B.C. 840. Accession of Kaī-Khūsrōī (Bd. XXXIV, 7).

B.R. 150, B.C. 780. Accession of Kaī-Lohrāsp (ibid.).

B.R. 45, B.C. 675. The Glory descends from heaven at the birth of Dūkṯak (Zs. XIII, 1).

B.R. 30, B.C. 660. Accession of Kaī-Vishtāsp (Bd. XXXIV, 7). Vohūmanō and Ashavahishtō descend into the world with a stem of Hōm (Dk. VII, ii, 24). Zaratūsht is born (ibid. v, 1).

B.R. 23, B.C. 653. Z. is seven years old when two Karaps visit his father, and Dūrāsrōbō dies (Dk. VII, iii, 32, 34, 45).

B.R. 15, B.C. 645. Z. is fifteen years old when he and his four brothers ask for their shares of the family property (Zs. XX, 1).

B.R. 10, B.C. 640. Z. leaves home at the age of twenty (ibid. 7).

A.R. 1, B.C. 630. Beginning of the tenth millennium. Z. goes forth to his conference with the sacred beings on the 45th day of the 31st year of Vishtāsp's reign (Dk. VII, iii, 51-62 ; VIII, 51 ; Zs. XXI, 1-4).

A.R. 3, B.C. 628. Z. returns from his first conference in two years, and preaches to Aūrvāītā-dang and the Karaps without success (Dk. VII, iv, 2-20).

A.R. 11, B.C. 620. After his seventh conference, in the tenth year he goes to

Vishtāsp; Mēṯyōmāh is also converted (ibid. 1, 65; Zs. XXI, 3; XXIII, 1, 2, 8).

A.R. 13, B.C. 618. Twelve years after Z. went to conference, Vishtāsp accepts the religion, though hindered for two years by the Karaps (Dk. VII, v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 5, 7).

A.R. 20, B.C. 611. A Kavīg, son of Kūndah, is converted (Zs. XXIII, 8).

A.R. 30, B.C. 601. Defeat of Arjāsp and his Khyōns (ibid).

A.R. 40, B.C. 591. Vohūnēm is born (ibid.). About this time the Avesta is written by Jāmāsp from the teaching of Z. (Dk. IV, 21; V, iii, 4; VII, v. 11). [Compare also Dk. III. vii, 1, *SBE.* xxxvii. 406.]

A.R. 48, B.C. 583. Z. passes away, or is killed, aged seventy-seven years and forty days, on the 41st day of the year (Dk. V. iii, 2; VII. v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 9).

A.R. 58, B.C. 573. Arrival of the religion is known in all regions (Dk. VII, vi, 12). [Compare also Dk. IV, 21-22, *SBE.* xxxvii. 412–413.]

A.R. 63, B.C. 568. Frashōshtār passes away (Zs. XXIII, 10).

A.R. 64, B.C. 567. Jāmāsp passes away (ibid.)

A.R. 63, B.C. 558. Hangāūrūsh, son of Jāmāsp, passes away (ibid.).

A.R. 80, B.C. 551. Asmōk-khanvatō passes away, and Akht the wizard is killed (ibid.).

A.R. 91, B.C. 540. Accession of Vohūman, son of Spend-dāṯ (Bd. XXXIV, 7, 8).

A.R. 100, B.C. 531. Sēnō is born (Dk. VII, vii, 6).

A.R. 200, B.C. 431. Sēnō passes away (ibid.; Zs. XXIII, 11).

A.R. 203. B.C. 428. Accession of Hūmāī (Bd. XXXIV, 8).

[Some additional dates are given by Dr. West, which include the invasion of Alexander (A.R. 300 = B.C. 331) and his death (A.R. 308 = B.C. 323), and carry the chronology down to the final millennium of the world (A.R. 3028, A.D. 2398).]

APPENDIX IV

ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE AND THE SCENE OF HIS MINISTRY

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INTRODUCTION[1]

With regard to the native place of the founders of three of the great Oriental religions — Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism — the authorities are in agreement for the most part, and the recent discoveries with reference to Buddha's birthplace have rendered assurance doubly sure at least in his case. With respect to Zoroaster's native land, however, and with regard to the exact early home of Zoroastrianism, the case is different. In classic times

[1] [The question with regard to Zoroaster's native place has been examined by the present writer in *JAOS.* xv. 221–232. Some of the material which was briefly presented at that time is reproduced here, but it has been largely augmented and rewritten, and the subject is now treated entirely anew, especially with regard to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry.]

seven cities claimed a share in the honor of being the birthplace of the poet Homer; hardly less can be said of the prophet Zoroaster, if we take into account the various opinions which have been held on the subject of his origin. The question is one of interest, for with this problem there is also closely connected the question as to where we shall place the cradle of the religion of Mazda.

The natural uncertainty as to whether a religious teacher's birthplace or early home is necessarily identical with the scene of his religious activity complicates the problem considerably. Manifestly it is fallacious to assume that the scene of Zoroaster's ministry must likewise of necessity have been his place of origin. This fact must be kept in mind when we examine the arguments that have been brought forward by some to prove that the east of Iran, or Bactria, must assuredly have been the original home of Zoroaster as well as the scene of the reform work of the so-called 'Bactrian Sage.' The same fact, on the other hand, must be kept equally in view when the claim is made that Zoroaster came from western Iran, whether from Atropatene or from Media Proper, or from Persia. In the present memoir an endeavor will be made to keep the two sides of the question apart, and to discuss, (1) first, the question of Zoroaster's native place; (2) second, the scene of his ministry.

With regard to the disposition of the subject, authorities are agreed that we must look either to the east of Iran or to the west of Iran for a solution of the problem. The question of north or of south is excluded by the nature of the subject. Since this is the case, we may examine the general points of view, and resolve these into three classes: —

1. First, the view that the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in the east of Iran, in the Bactrian region, and that the scene of his religious reform belongs especially to that territory.

2. Second, the view that the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in western Iran, either in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana) or in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene), and that the scene of his ministry was confined to that region.

3. Third, a compromise view, which maintains that Zoroaster arose in western Iran, in Adarbaijān (Atropatene), or in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana), but that he taught and preached in Bactria as well.

In this threefold summary it will be noticed in the first place that Persis, or Persia in the restricted sense, is left out of considera-

tion — a justifiable omission because there is no especial ground for believing that Zoroaster originated in Persia itself. In the second place, it may be stated that there seem to be just reasons for coming to a definite conclusion that Zoroaster actually arose in the west of Iran. In the third place, it may be added that a definite conclusion as to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry need not for the moment be drawn, but that this problem must be discussed as a sequel to the question of his place of origin.

With these points to be kept in mind by way of introduction, and with this word of caution, we may proceed to examine the testimony of antiquity on the subject, which is the source from which we draw our information; after that we may go on to present arguments, or to draw deductions, which are based upon the material that is gathered. A division of the sources may be made into two classes: (*a*) Classical sources, Greek or Latin; (*b*) Oriental authorities, either Iranian or non-Iranian. The testimony of these witnesses will be taken first with reference to the light they may throw upon the native country of the Prophet.[1]

[1] Partial Bibliography. For general references, see Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place? JAOS.* xv. pp. 221–232. Consult also Appendix V. below. The principal classical passages have likewise already been given by Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 260 seq. (tr. by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās and in the Greek and Roman Classics*, p. 65b, Leipzig, 1897). This material is now to be supplemented considerably by references which have since become accessible in Pahlavi literature, and by abundant allusions found in Arabic and Syriac writers. For the latter, see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, Drisler Classical Studies (Columbia University Press), New York, 1894; for example, pp. 32, 33 (*bis*), 34, 37, 39, 40 (*bis*), 42 n., 44, 48 (*bis*). These latter 'References to Zoroaster' will be constantly referred to in the present article. Furthermore, the general question of Zoroaster's native place has often been discussed; it is sufficient to mention Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum*, p. 310 seq., Oxon. 1700; Barnabé Brisson, *De regio Persarum Principatu*, p. 385 seq., editio Argent. 1710 (orig. ed. Paris, 1590); Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, tome i. Pt. 2, p. 5 seq., Paris, 1771; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 676–684 (tr. by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 179–189, London, 1886); C. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. pp. 23–25, 2d ed. Paris, 1881; Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, tr. Introd. pp. 47–49, *SBE.* iv. 1st ed. Oxford, 1880.

Special notice is not taken here of works relating to the home of the Avesta itself as a sacred book, although this question is more or less directly connected with the present subject.

If references be desired, one may find the more important bibliographi-

I. ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE

A. Classical References to Zoroaster's Nationality

The classical references which allude to the country of Zoroaster seem very contradictory if they be viewed alone, and they are doubtless responsible for much of the uncertainty which has prevailed on the subject. It must also be remembered that a man is sometimes known to fame through his adopted country rather than through the land of his nativity. Although often conflicting, these classical references are of service in argument; it is well, therefore, briefly to present them, first giving those statements which connect Zoroaster's name with the west of Iran, with Media or Persia; second, giving those citations which imply that Zoroaster belonged to Bactria or eastern Iran. Most of the allusions date from the earlier centuries of the Christian era, or somewhat later, although claims may be made in one or two instances that the statements rest directly upon older authority.

1. Bactria — Classical References placing Zoroaster in Eastern Iran

Several allusions in the classical writers of Greece and Rome point to the fact that Zoroaster was thought of as a Bactrian, or, at least, as exercising his activity in the east of Iran. The writers seem to have somewhat of a hazy notion that Zoroaster was not a Magian only, but that he was a king and military leader, the opponent of Ninus and Semiramis. There appears to be a reminiscence of an early struggle between a presumable eastern Iranian monarchy and the Assyrian power of the west. Most of the classical allusions to Bactria seem to indicate a common source; this source may reasonably be traced back to a misunderstood allusion

cal material on the subject of the Avestan cradle noted by Geiger, *Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā und seiner Kultur*, Abhandlungen der kgl. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. philos.-philol. Cl. 1884, pp. 315–385. Geiger's list may be supplemented by de Harlez, *Der Avestische Kalender und die Heimath der Avesta-Religion*, Berliner Orientalische Congress, Abhdgn. ii. 237 seq., Berlin, 1882; Geiger's views are criticized also by de Harlez, *Das Alter und Heimath des Avesta*, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, xii. 109 seq., 1887; and by Spiegel, *Ueber das Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā, Zweiter Artikel*, in *ZDMG*. xli. 280 seq., 1887. Consult Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. Introd. pp. 89–90, Paris, 1893.

in Ctesias.[1] In his legendary accounts, Ctesias refers to wars carried on between Ninus and Semiramis and 'Οξυάρτης (variants, 'Εχαόρτης, Χαόρτης, Ζαόρτης); the allusion in Oxyartes (Av. *Uxšyaṯərəta*) is not to Zoroaster, although Cephalion, Justin, and Arnobius, who draw on Ctesias, make Zoroaster a Bactrian and the opponent of Ninus. The matter has been commented upon above (Appendix II. 154 seq.). The statements of these particular writers, however, are added for the sake of completeness, and they are supplemented by other classical citations. See also Appendix II.

(a) Fragments of Cephalion (A.D. 120) which are preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius, *Chron.* **1.** 43, ed. Aucher, describe the rebellion of the Magian Zoroaster, King of the Bactrians, against Semiramis: *de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis certamine ac debellatione a Semiramide.* Compare also, in this connection, Georgius Syncellus, Appendix V. § **41** below (cf. ed. Dind. 1. p. 315), and the reputed work of Moses of Khorene, **1.** 6, 'le mage Zoroastre, roi des Bactriens, c'est à-dire des Mèdes'; or, on the other hand, Moses of Khorene, **1.** 17, 'Zoroastre (Zeratašd), mage et chef religieux des Mèdes (Mar)'—see Langlois, *Collections des Historiens de l'Arménie,* ii. 59 and 69, also Appendix VI. § **1** below; here Zoroaster is a contemporary of Semiramis, and he seizes the government of Assyria and Nineveh; Semiramis flees before him, and she is killed in Armenia (Langlois, ii. 69). See also Gilmore, *Ktesias' Persika,* p. 30 n.; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde,* i. 682; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 302, 303; Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627, v. 328. For the statement of Thomas Arzrounī, see p. 217 below and Appendix VI.

(b) Theon (A.D. 130) *Progymnasmata,* **9,** περὶ συγκρίσεως, ed. Spengel, *Rhet. Græc.* ii. 115, speaks of 'Zoroaster the Bactrian'—Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου—in connection with Semiramis. See Appendix V. § **8** below, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 290; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde,* i. 677.

(c) Justin (c. A.D. 120), in his epitome of Pompeius Trogus' *Hist. Philippic.* **1.** 1. 9–10, makes Zoroaster a king of Bactria, a Magian, and the opponent of Ninus—*bellum cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum.* See Appendix V. § **10** below.

(d) Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentes,* **1.** 5, also mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians, under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster: *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus.* See Appendix V. § **16.**

[1] See also Justi in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* ii. 402.

(e) Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* **4**. 35, ed. Aucher, has a like allusion to Zoroaster, Bactria, and Ninus: *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur adversum quem Ninus dimicavit;* and again (Windischmann, p. 290), *Præparatio Evang.* 10. 9. 10, ed. Dind. p. 560, Νίνος, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. See Appendix V. § **18** below.

(f) Epiphanius of Constantia (A.D. 298–403) *Adv. Hæreses*, Lib. I. tom. i. 6 (tom. i. col. 185 seq., ed. Migne) associates Zoroaster's name with Nimrod, and states that Zoroaster came to the east and founded Bactria: Ζωροάστρης, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίγνεται Βάκτρων. See Appendix V. § **21** below. The same statement is later repeated by Procopius of Gaza, see Appendix V. § **33** below.

(g) Ammianus Marcellinus, **23**. 6. 32, in discussing magic rites, connects Zoroaster's name with Bactria, but identifies Hystaspes (Vishtāspa) with the father of Darius: *cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darei pater.* See Appendix V. § **22** below.

(h) Paulus Orosius (5th century A.D.) states that Ninus conquered and slew Zoroaster of Bactria, the Magician. For the citation and for the Anglo-Saxon version see p. 157 and Appendix V. § **27** below.

(i) Augustine (A.D. 354–430), *de Civ. Dei*, **21**. 14 (tom. vii. col. 728, ed. Migne) follows the same idea in making Zoroaster a Bactrian whose name is associated with Ninus: *a Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse (Zoroastres) Bactrianorum, bello superatus est.* See Appendix V. § **28** below.

(j) Isidorus (A.D. 570–636), *Etymol.* **8**. 9 (tom. iii. col. 310, ed. Migne): *Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum, quem Ninus rex Assyriorum proelio interfecit;* and he alludes to a statement of Aristotle regarding Zoroaster's writings. See Appendix V. § **38** below. Again Isidorus, *Chron.* (tom. v. col. 1024, ed. Migne): *hac aetate magica ars in Perside a Zoroaste Bactrianorum rege reperta. A Nino rege occiditur.*

(k) Hugo de Sancto Victore (died A.D. 1140), *Adnot. Elucid. in Pentateuchon — in Gen.* (tom. i. col. 49, ed. Migne): *rex Bactriae Nino vicinus et vocatus Zoroastes, inventor et auctor maleficiae mathematicae artis.*

2. Media or Persia — Classical References placing Zoroaster in Western Iran

There are nine or ten classical allusions, on the other hand, which connect Zoroaster's name with Media, or rather with Persia, the latter term often being used doubtless in a broader sense.

(a) Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79), *N. H.* **30**. 2. 1, for example, gives his opinion that the art of the Magi arose in Persia with Zoroaster, but he is in doubt as to whether there were two Zoroasters or only one, and he alludes to a Proconnesian Zoroaster. Thus, in his first statement, he writes, *N. H.* **30**. 2. 1, *sine dubio illic* (*ars Magica*) *orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea alius, non satis constat.* Again, in his second statement, when speaking of the Magian Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes to Greece, he says, *N. H.* **30**. 2. 8, *diligentiores paulo ante hunc* (*Osthanem*) *ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.* See Appendix V. § **5**.

Perhaps in this same connection may be mentioned the curious remark of the Scholiast to the Platonic Alcibiades (see Appendix V. § **1** below), to the effect that, according to some, Zoroaster was a 'Hellenian,' or that he had come from the mainland beyond the sea: *Ζωροάστρης . . . ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἠπείρου ὡρμημένων* [*παῖδά*] *φασι, κ. τ. λ.* See Appendix V. § **1**, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 275 n.

(b) Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 200) speaks of Zoroaster either as a Mede or as a Persian, with an allusion incidentally to Pamphylia: *Strom.* i. (tom. i. col. 773, ed. Migne), *Ζωροάστρην τὸν μάγον τὸν Πέρσην*; and *Strom.* i. (tom. i. col. 868, ed. Migne), *Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μῆδος.* Cf. again *Strom.* v. on *Πάμφυλος.* See Appendix V. § **13** below.

(c) Origenes (A.D. 185–254), *Contra Celsum* i. (tom. i. col. 689, ed. Migne), speaks of Zoroaster as a Persian — *τὸν Πέρσην Ζωροάστρην.* See Appendix V. § **14**.

(d) Diogenes Laertius (flor. c. A.D. 210), *de Vit. Philos. Proœm.* 2, writes of 'Zoroaster the Persian,' — *Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην,* — and apparently bases various statements which he makes about him on the authority of Hermodorus (B.C. 250?) and Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500–450). The text should be consulted; see Appendix V. § **15** below.

(e) Porphyrius (A.D. 233–304), *de Antro Nymph.* **6**. 7, refers, at

least, to Zoroaster's retirement into a cave 'in the mountains of Persia': Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος. The context shows that the region of Persia in a general sense is intended. See Appendix V. § **17**, and cf. Windischmann, *Mithra*, Abh. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. i. 62, Leipzig, 1857.

(f) Lactantius (about A.D. 300), *Inst.* **7**. 15, refers to Hystaspes (Zoroaster's patron) as an ancient king of Media, long antedating the founding of Rome: *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus* (cf. Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* tom. 6, and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 259, 293).

(g) Gregory of Tours (A.D. 538–593), *Hist. Francor.* **1**. 5 (col. 164 seq., ed. Migne), identifying Zoroaster with Chus (Cham or Ham), places him among the Persians, to whom he is said to have immigrated: *hic ad Persas transiit; hunc Persae vocitavere Zoroastrem.* See Appendix V. § **37**.

(h) Chronicon Paschale or Chron. Alexandrinum (A.D. 7th century, but with spurious additions A.D. 1042), col. 148 seq., ed Migne, has ὁ Ζωρόαστρος ὁ ἀστρονόμος Πέρσων ὁ περιβόητος. Again the allusion is very general in sense. See Appendix V. § **39**.

(i) It may be noted merely in passing that Georgius Syncellus (about A.D. 800), *Chron.* i. p. 147, alludes to a Zoroaster who was one of the Median rulers over Babylon more than a thousand years before the Christian era. No emphasis need be laid upon the passage, nor any stress upon identifying the name necessarily with the Prophet; the chief interest of the allusion consists in its showing that the name Zoroaster was found in Media. See Justi, *Grundriss der iran. Phil.* ii. 402; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 302; Haug, *A Lecture on Zoroaster*, p. 23, Bombay, 1865. Consult Appendix V. § **41** below.

(j) Suidas (about A.D. 970), s.v. Ζωροάστρης, assumes a second famous representative of the name, a Perso-Median sage (Περσομήδης, σοφός). This is evidently the Prophet. See Appendix V. § **45**.

(k) Michael Glycas (flourished about A.D. 1150), *Ann. Pars* ii. col. 253, ed. Migne, repeats the statements current about Ninus, Semiramis, and Zoroaster, whom he speaks of under the general term of Persian, — Ζωρόαστρος ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος, — and he adds several allusions to the magic art in Media and Persia: τὴν ἀστρονομίαν λέγονται πρῶτον εὑρηκέναι Βαβυλώνιοι διὰ Ζωροάστρου, δεύτερον δὲ ἐδέξαντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι; τὴν δὲ μαγείαν εὗρον Μῆδοι, εἶτα Πέρσαι. See Appendix V. § **47**.

Estimate of the Classical Allusions. — The classical allusions on the subject of Zoroaster's nationality are rather contradictory and conflicting. They refer to Bactria on the one hand and to Media and Persia on the other. The allusions to Persia are doubtless to be taken in a broad and general sense. It will be noticed, moreover, that the direct place of birth is not necessarily implied in these national appellatives. In point of time, few of the classical passages are much older than the more direct Oriental allusions; some of them are even later. They are of value chiefly for bringing out both sides of the question of eastern Iran and western Iran, and they are of importance when checked by tradition or when used for throwing additional light on tradition.

B. Oriental References to Zoroaster's Place of Origin — The Tradition

Laying the classical authorities aside, we may now have recourse to the more direct Oriental tradition. For the most part the Oriental material is either directly Iranian or it is Arabic matter drawn from Iranian sources. This gives it a special value. The statements on the subject may therefore be taken up in detail; the allusions found in the Pahlavi or patristic writings of Zoroastrianism will first be presented; these will then be elucidated further by references in Arabic and Syriac authors; and, finally, they will be judged in the light of the Avesta itself. If the Oriental citations be examined critically, they will be found generally to be quite consistent in their agreement on the place of Zoroaster's origin.

Western Iran — Atropatene, Media — the Scene of Zoroaster's Appearance according to Oriental Sources

There is a general uniformity among Oriental writings which touch on the subject in locating the scene of Zoroaster's appearance in western Iran, either in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene) or in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana). The city of Urmī (mod. Urumiah, Oroomiah), Shīz, or the district round about Lake Oroomiah (Av. Caēcasta or Caēcista), and Raī (Av. Raghā) are the rivals for the honor of being his home. The sea of Caēcista is the Galilee of Zoroastrianism; Shīz and Raghā, the Nazareth and the Bethlehem of Iran. Urmī and Shīz represent Atropatene; Raī (Raghā) stands for Media Proper.

The rivalry between the two regions mentioned, and the association of Zoroaster's name, first with Media Atropatene (Ādarbaijān), and then with the Median Raī (Media Rhagiana), happily finds an explanation in a remark made by Shahrastānī (A.D. 1086–1153).[1] This Arab writer gives us the key to the problem when he says of Zoroaster that 'his father was of the region of Ādarbaijān; his mother, whose name was Dughdū, came from the city of Raī.'[2]

This statement of Shahrastānī is apparently vouched for by the Dīnkarṯ (**7**. 2. 7–13), from which source we learn that Zoroaster's mother before her marriage with Pourushaspa (Pōrūshāspō) resided in a different district from the latter. As a girl she becomes filled with a divine splendor and glory; the phenomenon causes her to be suspected of witchcraft, and her father is induced by idolatrous priests to send her from his home. She goes to Paṯīragtarāspō, 'father of a family in the country of the Spītāmās, in the district of Alāk (or Arāk),'[3] where she marries Pourushaspa the son. This district is probably connected with the 'Arag province' (Zsp. **20**. 4), which latter is undoubtedly a part of Ādarbaijān.[4] Furthermore, by way of localization, we note that the village of Paṯirāgtarāspō is stated to have been situated in a valley (Dk. **7**. 2. 11–13); and the house of the son Pourushaspa, Zoroaster's father, is elsewhere spoken of as occupying the bank of the river Darej, which may have been the home of the Prophet's parents after they married.[5]

Lastly, by way of introduction, it must be noticed that there is an old proverb in Pahlavi literature which characterizes anything that is preposterous as something that could hardly happen 'even if Rāk (or Rāgh) and Nōṯar should come together' (Dk. **7**. 2. 51; **7**. 3. 19; Zsp. **16**. 11–13, and cf. Dk. **7**. 3. 39). In Zsp. **16**. 12–13, these proper names, Rāgh and Nōṯar, are explained as 'two provinces which are in Ātūr-pāṯakān (Ādarbaijān), such as are at sixty leagues (para-

[1] See my article in *JAOS*. xv. 228.

[2] See *JAOS*. xv. 228, and cf. Hyde, *Hist. Religionis vet. Pers.* p. 298; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48 (*bis*); Darmesteter, *SBE*. iv. (2d ed.), p. 261, *Le ZA*. iii. 35, n. and Introd. p. 89, n. 2. See also p. 17 above and p. 199.

[3] Quotation from Dk. **7**. 2. 9 (West's translation, *SBE*. xlvii. 20).

[4] On 'Arag,' consult West, *SBE*. xlvii. 151, n.; and, slightly differently, Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. iii. Introd. p. 89, n. 2. West writes me, Nov. 1, 1897, Rāgh = Rāk = Arāk = Alāk = Av. Raghā.

[5] Bd. **20**. 32; **24**. 15; Zsp. **22**. 12; Vd. **19**. 4; **19**. 11. Shahrastānī speaks of a mountain (*Ism*)*uwīz-xar* (reading ?), in Ādarbaijān, associated with Zoroaster's birth.

sang, i.e. 210 to 240 miles) from Cīst;[1] Zaratūsht arose from Rāgh, and Vishtāsp from Nōṯar. And of these two provinces, Rāgh was according to the name of Ēricŏ, son of Dūrēsrōbō, son of Mānūshcīhar, from whom arose the race of Zaratūsht; and Nōṯar was according to the name of Nōṯar, son of Mānūshcīhar, from whom arose the race of Vishtāsp.'[2]

So much by way of introduction. We may now proceed to discuss Ādarbaijān (Atropatene) and Media (Media Rhagiana) respectively.

1. Ādarbaijān (Atropatene)

The connection of Zoroaster with Lake Caēcista, Urumiah, Shīz, and the territory round about, may be further illustrated by quotations in Zoroastrian literature.

a. Allusions in Zoroastrian Literature

The allusions to Ādarbaijān will first be presented, and then an attempt will be made to localize, if possible, the region known in the Avesta as Airyana Vaējah (Phl. Aīrān-Vēj), and the river called Darej or Dāraja.

(a) The Būndahishn places the home of Zoroaster in Aīrān Vēj, by the river Dāraja. Bd. **20.** 32, *Dāraja rūṯ pavan Aīrān Vēj, mūnaš mān-ī Pōrūšaspō abītar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bār yehevūnṯ,* 'the Dāraja river is in Aīrān Vēj, on whose bank (*bār*) was the abode of Pōrūshasp, the father of Zaratūsht.'[3]

(b) The Būndahishn, in another passage, also states that Zoroaster was born near the Dāraja River. Bd. **24.** 15, *Dāraja rūṯ rūṯbārān raṯ, mamanaš mān-ī abīṯar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bālx;*[4] *Zaratūšt tamman zāṯ,* 'the Dāraja River is the chief of exalted rivers, for the abode of Zaratūsht's father was upon its banks; and Zaratūsht was born there.'

[1] If we assume that Cīst (Av. Caēcista) is Lake Urumiah, then '60 parasangs' (210–240 miles) would place Rāgh and Nōṯar considerably outside of the boundaries of the present Ādarbaijān. So noticed by West (personal letter, dated Nov. 1, 1897). This would favor the common identification of Rāgh, the home of Zoroaster's mother, with the ruins of Raī.

[2] Zsp. **16.** 11–12 (West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 146–147). In the Avesta, Vishtāspa is of the family of Naotairyans, and so also is Hutaosa his wife. Cf. Yt. **5.** 98; **15.** 35 and *SBE.* xlvii. 80, n. 1 and p. 70 above.

[3] See also West, *SBE.* v. 82, and p. 204 below.

[4] To be emended; see the remarks on the reading of the word by West, *SBE.* v. 89, n. 6.

(c) Zāṯ-sparam, **22.** 12, makes one of Zoroaster's conferences with the archangels to have taken place 'on the precipitous bank of the Dareja' (*pavan Darejīn zbār*). See West, *SBE.* xlvii. 162 n. There can be little doubt that this assertion, like the unequivocal statements of the Būndahishn, rests upon good old tradition; the three allusions accord perfectly with hints which are found in the Avesta itself.

(d) In the Avesta, Vd. **19.** 4; **19.** 11, we likewise learn that Zoroaster's temptations by Ahriman, as well as his visions of Ormazd and the archangels, took place, in part at least, upon the banks of the river Darej, where stood the house of his father Pourushaspa: Vd. **19.** 4, *Drəjya paiti zbarahi nmānahe Pourushaspahe*, 'by the Darej, upon its high bank, at the home (*loc. gen.*) of Pourushaspa.' Compare Phl. *pavan Darejīn zbār* in the preceding paragraph. A little farther on in the same chapter we read: Vd. **19.** 11, *pərəsaṯ Zaraθuštrō Ahurəm Mazdąm . . . Drəjya paiti zbarahe, Ahurāi Mazdāi vaŋhave, Vohu-Maite ā̊ŋhānō, Ašāi Vahištāi, Xšaθrāi Vairyāi, Spəntayāi Armatōe*, 'Zoroaster communed with Ahura Mazda on the high bank of the Darej, sitting (?) before the good Ahura Mazda, and before Good Thought, before Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Armaiti.'[1]

With regard to localizations, there is good ground for believing that Aīrān Vēj (Av. Airyana Vaējah) is to be identified in part at least with Ādarbaijān, and that the ancient Darej of the Avesta (Phl. Dāraja) is identical with the modern Daryai. The Daryai Rūd flows from Mt. Savalān (Sebīlān), in Ādarbaijān, northward into the Aras (Araxes).[2] If the identification be correct and the

[1] The reference to the elevation or the precipitous bank of the river, Av. *zbarah*, Phl. *zbār*, *bār* (cf. Skt. *hváras*), seems to be in accordance with the tradition that Zoroaster retired to a mountain for meditation; see Vd. **22.** 19, *gairīm avi spəntō-frasnā, varəšəm avi spəntō-frasnā*, 'to the mountain of the two who held holy converse; to the wood where the two (Ormazd and Zoroaster) had holy communings.' See similar ideas above, p. 34. If it were not for the Pahlavi passages, one might be inclined to render Av. *zbarahi*, 'at a bend' (of the river), or as adj. 'meandering'; cf. Skt. √ *hvar*, 'to be crooked, to wind'; or even the idea 'in a cave' might be gotten etymologically from the word; and the cave played a part in Zoroastrian and Mithraic mysteries. On the latter point compare Windischmann, *Mithra*, pp. 62–64, in *Abh. K. Morg.* i. No. 1, 1857.

[2] See also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* tr. *SBE.* iv. Introd. p. 49 (1st ed.). For the river Aras (Araxes), see de Harlez, *Avesta* traduit, p. viii. map; also the map of Persia by Philip

ancient Darej, Dāraja, was in Atropatene, it is wholly in keeping with what follows; for in this connection may be noticed a later non-Iranian tradition which associates Zoroaster's name with Shīz (cf. Av. Caēcista) and with Mt. Savalān. Consult the Map.

This tradition which supports the assumed identification Darej, Dāraja, Daryai, is found in the Arabic writer Ḳazwīnī (about A.D. 1263).[1] The passage in which Ḳazwīnī speaks of Shīz in Ādarbaijān is as follows: 'Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here (*i.e.* Ādarbaijān). It is said that he came from Shīz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian, which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Gushtāsp, the son of Lohrāsp, the son of Kai-Khusrau, king of Persia.'[2] Mount Sabalān (Savalān) may be the Avestan 'Mount of the Holy Communicants,' with a sacred tree perhaps (Vd. **22.** 19, *gairīm spəntō-frasnå, varəšəm spəntō-frasnå*), for Ḳazwīnī elsewhere says of Sabalān: 'It is related that the Prophet (*i.e.* Mohammed) said: Sabalān is a mountain between Armenia and Ādarbaijān. On it is one of the graves of the prophets. He said further: On the top of the mountain is a large spring, the water of which is frozen on account of the severe cold; and around the mountain are hot springs to which sick people come. At the foot of the mountain is a large tree, and under this there is a plant to which no animal will draw near. If it comes near it, the animal flees away; if it eat of it, it dies.'[3] The religious character of the place, the mountain, the tree, the springs, would answer well for the identification suggested for the modern Daryai Rūd in Ādarbaijān.

This much having been prefaced with reference to Ādarbaijān and with regard to the river near which the Prophet probably passed some of his early years, or in the neighborhood of which he

& Son (London), Rand & McNally (New York), and especially by Keith Johnson (Edinburgh and London) at the end of this volume.

[1] Ḳazwīnī, ii. p. 267, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848 (Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40); consult also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, tr. *SBE.* iv. Introd. p. 49 (1st ed.), where Rawlinson's identification of Shīz with Takht-i Suleimān is noticed.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 41–42. According to Gottheil, the tree appears also in connection with Zoroaster in Syriac legends.

may have been born (Bd. **24**. 15), if not at Urumiah, we are next prepared to take up the question of Aīrān Vēj.

Direct Iranian tradition explicitly connects the opening of Zoroaster's prophetic career with Airyana Vaējah of the Avesta, or Aīrān Vēj in Pahlavi. This land is sometimes regarded as mythical; but, like a number of other scholars, I do not agree with that view. I am inclined strongly to favor the opinion of those who think we have good reason for believing that Airyana Vaējah is to be localized in the west of Iran, as the Pahlavi locates it, and that this also points to the notion that Zoroaster originally came from that direction eastward. The Būndahishn expressly connects Aīrān Vēj with Atropatene : Bd. **29**. 12, *Aīrān Vēj pavan kūst-ī Ātūrpāṯakān.* The present opinion of scholars tends to uphold this localization.[1] The river Darej, near which stood the house of Zoroaster's father, was in Aīrān Vēj, as already stated, and an identification was accordingly suggested. In the Avesta, moreover, Zoroaster is familiarly spoken of as 'renowned in Airyana Vaējah' (Ys. **9**. 14, *srūtō airyene vaējahe*). The Prophet is also there represented as offering sacrifice in Airyana Vaējah by the river Dāityā (see below): Yt. **5**. 104; **9**. 25; **17**. 45, *airyene vaējahi vaŋhuyå dāityayå.* The Būndahishn likewise alludes to the fact that Zoroaster first offered worship in Aīrān Vēj and received Mēṯyōmāh (Av. *Maiδyōi-mąŋha*) as his first disciple. The passage reads, Bd. **32**. 3, 'Zaratūsht, when he brought the religion, first celebrated worship in Aīrān Vēj and Mēṯyōmāh received the religion from him.'[2] In the Dīnkarṯ also, as well as in the Avesta, the river Dāītī and its affluents in the land of Aīrān Vēj form the scene of Zoroaster's first revelation and of certainly one of his interviews with the archangels, the majority of which took place in Atropatene (Dk. **7**. 3. 51–54; 4. 29; 8. 60; 9. 23; Zsp. **21**. 5; **21**. 13; **22**. 2; **22**. 9).[3] In the later Persian Zartusht Namah, Zoroaster passes the Dāītī before he proceeds on his mission to King Vishtāsp.[4]

[1] Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 5–6; Geldner, *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 38; similarly Justi, Spiegel, and de Harlez make Media the home of the Avesta. The strongest opponent of this view, and warmest supporter of Bactria, is Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882; *Sitz. d. Kgl. bayr. Akad.*, Mai, 1884, and recently *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 389. Spiegel notices the question of Airyanem Vaējō in *ZDMG.* xli. 289.

[2] Cf. West, *SBE.* v. 141, and Justi, *Der Bundahesh*, p. 79.

[3] Cf. p. 40 seq., above.

[4] See Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 491.

The hallowed Dāityā[1]—a sort of Iranian Jordan—was perhaps a border stream between two territorial divisions; we recall that Vishtāspa sacrifices 'on the other side of it' (cf. *pasne*, Yt. **17**. 49) as discussed elsewhere, p. 211. The proposed identification of the Dāityā and its affluents, with the modern Ḳizel Ūzen, Spēd or Safēd Rūd and its tributaries in Ādarbaijān has already been mentioned as satisfying most of the conditions of the problem.[2]

β. Allusions in Mohammedan Writers

Having examined the direct Iranian sources in the light of possible allusions to Atropatene, we may now turn to other material on the subject. Mohammedan writers are almost unanimous in placing the first part of Zoroaster's prophetic career in Ādarbaijān (Āẓarbaijān) or in stating that he came originally from that region.[3] The traditions cluster about Urumiah (Urmī) and Shīz. The Arabic name Shīz is the counterpart of an Iranian Cīz (from Caēcista), or Lake Urumiah.[4] The Arab geographer Yāḳūt (A.D. 1250) describes 'Shīz, a district of Aẓarbaijān . . . which is believed to be the country of Zaradusht, the prophet of the fire-worshippers. The chief place of this district is Urmiah';[5] and under Urmiah he writes: 'It is believed that this is the city of Zaradusht and that it was founded by the fire-worshippers.'[6]

There are a dozen other such statements which will be given below, but before presenting them it will be well merely to note that two or three Arabic authors allude to Zoroaster as being of Palestinian origin, and they state that he came from that land to Ādarbaijān; and they proceed to identify him with Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah. This confusion is presumably due to their having confounded the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah, *Armiah* (أرميه)

[1] Lit. the 'river of the Law,' on which it was first promulgated.

[2] See pp. 41, 211. The same suggestion has been made tentatively by West, *SBE*. v. 79 n.; but Justi, *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 402, proposes either the Kur or the Aras. Similarly Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. ii. 6, n.

[3] The quotations in the following paragraphs are made from the monograph of my friend and colleague, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894 (Columbia University Press).

[4] See Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. iii. p. xxi, n. 2, and cf. Justi, *Handbuch*, s.v. *Caēcasta*.

[5] See Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse, extrait de Yaqout*, Paris, 1861, p. 367.

[6] Ibid. p. 26, 85.

with Zoroaster's supposed native place Urumiah, *Urmiah* (أرميه).[1] Having noticed this point we may present the Arabic and Syriac allusions to Zoroaster's native place, which are almost unanimous in mentioning Ādarbaijān (Āẓarbaijān).

(a) Ibn Khurdādhbah (about A.D. 816),[2] *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, p. 119 (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1889) writes of 'Urmiah, the city of Zarādusht, and Salamās and Shīz, in which last city there is the temple of Adharjushnas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians.'[3]

(b) Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (about A.D. 851) in his *Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān* (De Goeje, *Liber Expugnationis Regnorum*, p. 331. 1, Leyden, 1866), in mentioning the conquest of Ādarbaijān, adds the following note: 'Urmiah is an ancient city (of Adarbaijān); the Magians think that Zāradusht, their master, came from there.'[4]

(c) Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (about A.D. 910), in his geographical account (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1885, p. 286) mentions as cities of Ādarbaijān: 'Janzah, Jābrawān, and Urmiah, the city of Zarādusht, and Shīz, in which there is the fire-temple, Ādharjushnas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians.'[5]

(d) Ṭabarī (d. A.D. 923), in his history, gives considerable attention to Zoroaster; out of a number of allusions one passage may be selected. It will be noticed, as explained above, pp. 38, 166, that Ṭabarī mentions a belief that Zoroaster was a native of Palestine who came to Ādarbaijān. In his *Annales*, Part I. p. 648 (Brill, Leyden, 1881), the passage runs: 'During the reign of Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp) Zarādusht appeared, whom the Magians believe to be their prophet. According to some learned men among the people of the book (i.e. the Jews), he was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favorite; but he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore

[1] Cf. pp. 30, 166 above and Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 30, n. 2.

[2] His father is stated to have been a Magian, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

[4] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33. It is not necessary at this point to repeat also the allusion to 'Persia' in the Christian patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria (A.D. 876–939) when he mentions Zoroaster. This author wrote in Arabic; the passage is given above in a Latin version in Appendix II. p. 168, and it may be found rendered into Latin in Migne, *Patrolog. Gr.*, tom. 111.

[5] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

God cursed him, and he became leprous.[1] He wandered to Ādarbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp, who was in Balkh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many of his people to death on its account. They then followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve years.'[2]

(e) Masūdī (writing A.D. 943–944, died 951) states in his *Meadows of Gold:* 'Gushtāsp reigned after his father (Lohrāsp) and resided at Balkh. He had been on the throne thirty years when Zardusht, son of Espimān, presented himself before him . . . he (Zardusht) was originally from Ādarbaijān and he is ordinarily called Zardusht, son of Espimān.'[3]

(f) Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī (A.D. eleventh century) in his *Annals*, p. 22, 26 (Gottwaldt, *Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium*, Libri x, Lipsiae, 1848) states: 'While King Lohrāsp was still living, the sovereignty was handed over to his son Gushtāsp; and in the thirtieth year of Gushtāsp's reign, when he himself was fifty years old, Zardusht of Ādarbaijān came to him and expounded the religion to him. He not only embraced the religion himself, but he also sent messengers to the Greeks in behalf of this faith and invited them to adopt it. They, on the contrary, produced a book which had been given them by Ferīdūn, in which it was agreed that they should be allowed to keep whatsoever religion they had themselves chosen.'[4]

(g) Shahrastānī (born A.D. 1086) has the famous statement already noticed, pp. 17, 192: 'They (the Zarādushtīya) are the followers of Zarādusht ibn Būrshasb (Purshasp), who appeared in the time of King Kushtāsf (Gushtāsp) ibn Lohrāsp; his father was from Ādarbaijān, and his mother, whose name was Dughdū, was from Raī.'[5] According to Shahrastānī the Prophet's birth takes place in Ādarbaijān.

(h) Ibn al-Athīr (A.D. 13th century) incorporates the greater part of Ṭabarī's history into his *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-ta'arikh*, with slight

[1] Cf. p. 30 and Appendix II. p. 166.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 36–37.

[3] From Masūdī (Maçoudī), *Prairies d'Or, Texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard*, ii. p. 123. See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 34.

[4] After Gottwaldt's Latin translation. See also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33.

[5] From the German translation by Haarbrücker, i. p. 275 seq.; see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48.

additions from other sources, and with a more concise arrangement. His account of Zoroaster closely follows Ṭabarī's lines, including the statement regarding Zoroaster's relation to Jeremiah,[1] and his wandering to Ādarbaijān: 'It is said, he adds, that he was a foreigner,[2] and that he had composed a book with which he went around in the land. No one knew its meaning. He pretended that it was a heavenly tongue in which he was addressed. He called it *Ashta*.[3] He went from Ādarbaijān to Fāris (Persia). But no one understood what was in it, nor did they receive him. Then he went to India and offered it to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Ferghānah, but its prince wished to kill him. From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp), son of Lohrāsp, who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time.'[4] And Ibn al-Athīr farther on relates: 'Then Bishtāsp caused Zarādusht, who was in Balkh, to be brought to him. When he stood before the king he explained his religion to him. The king wondered at it, followed it, and compelled his people to do the same. He killed a large number of them until they accepted (the new religion). The Magians believe that he took his rise in Ādarbaijān and that he came down to the king through the roof of the chamber. In his hand was a cube of fire with which he played without its hurting him; nor did it burn any one who took it from his hands. He caused the king to follow him and to hold to his religion, and to build temples in his land for the fires. From this they lighted the fire in the fire-temples.'[5]

(i) Yāḳūt (about A.D. 1250) has already been cited, but the allusions from Gottheil's collection (p. 42) are added here for completeness. The *Kitāb Mu'jam al-buldān* (vol. iii. p. 354, ed. Wüstenfeld) remarks of Shīz: 'It is said that Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, comes from this place. Its chief city is Urmiah. . . . In it is a fire-temple which is held in great esteem. From it are lighted the fires of the Magians from the east unto the west.' Also, vol. i.

[1] See comment on pp. 197–198.

[2] *Min al-'ajam;* probably a Persian (Gottheil).

[3] Mistake for *Abasta*, *Avesta*.

[4] The notion of Zoroaster's wanderings is not inconsistent with what is implied in the Dīnkarṯ; the imprisonment is also familiar from the stories in the Dīnkarṯ and Zartusht Nāmah, p. 62 above.

[5] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 39–40.

p. 219, Yāḳūt has: 'Urmiah . . . people believe it to be the city of Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians.'[1]

(j) Ḳazwīnī (about A.D. 1263), *Cosmography*, ii. p. 267 (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848), speaking of Shīz in Ādarbaijān, recounts: 'Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here. It is said that he came from Shīz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Kushtāsp, the son of Lohrāsp, the son of Kai Khusrau, king of the Persians. He wished to get to Bishtāsp, but he did not succeed. Bishtāsp was sitting in the hall of state, when the roof of the hall parted in two, and Zarādusht came down from it.' And, after describing some of the details of Vishtāsp's conversion, Ḳazwīnī concludes: 'Zarādusht commanded that fire-temples should be built in all the kingdom of Bishtāsp. He made the fire a Kibla, not a god. This sect continued to exist until the prophet of God (Mohammed) was sent. They say that even to-day a remnant of it is to be found in the land of Sajistān.'[2]

(k) The Syriac writer, Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā (about A.D. 1250) in his *Arabic Chronicon*, p. 83 (ed. Salḥani, Beirut, 1890), following his Arab masters, says: 'In those days (of Cyrus and Cambyses) Zaradosht, chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Ādarbaijān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ, and that they should bring him gifts.'[3]

(l) Abulfeda (A.D. 1273–1331), *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 58, as cited by Hyde, states that Zoroaster arose in (ارمي) *Urmī* or (ارميه) *Urmiah*. See Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 311 (1st ed.). Hyde discusses other Arabic references, pp. 312–317. See below, Appendix VI. § 2.

Estimate of the Mohammedan Allusions. — According to the Arabic statements one would be justified in assuming that Zoroaster arose in Ādarbaijān; there seems also to be a preponderance of statements to the effect that Balkh was the scene of the Prophet's conversion of Vishtāsp.

[1] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 42.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 40–41.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32.

2. Raghā, Raī (Media Rhagiana)

All the above traditional Oriental allusions have been unanimous in placing Zoroaster's origin in Ādarbaijān, or Media Atropatene, whether in Urumiah, Shīz, or on the river Darej. There are yet two other passages, drawn from the Avesta, which connect Zoroaster's name with Raghā.

Raghā is generally identified with the city of Raī (Gk. Ῥάγαι) of Media, whose ancient ruins are still pointed out near modern Teheran. This was a famous city in antiquity, the 'Rages of Media' in the O. T. Apocrypha.[1] The Pahlavi texts seem to regard it as part of Ātūr-pāṯakān.[2] Perhaps the boundaries of Ādarbaijān were wider extended then than now, although Darmesteter suggests that possibly there may have been a Raghā in Ādarbaijān independent of Raī.[3] This seems hardly necessary from what follows. We must also remember that Ragā in the Ancient Persian inscriptions is a district or province, *dahyu*. The subject of Raghā requires further discussion, but it may be stated at the outset that these allusions, in any event, lend additional weight to the view of Zoroaster's belonging originally to western Iran.

But before taking up the detailed question of Av. *Raghā*, Phl. *Rāgh*, Mod. Pers. *Raī*, it will be well to cite an extract from the Dabistān, a work that is late in its present form (about A.D. 1650), but a book which contains old traditions. The passage runs: 'It is generally reported that Zardusht was of Ādarbaijān or Tabrīz; but those who are not *Beh-dīnians*, or "true believers," assert, and the writer of this work has also heard from the Mobed Torru of Busāwāri, in Gujarat, that the birthplace and distinguished ancestors of the prophet belong to the city of Raī.'[4] With this information we may turn to the Avesta itself.

(a) The first of the two Avesta texts which evidently associate Zoroaster's name in some way with Raghā is Vd. 1. 15, and the Pahlavi version of the passage is interesting. The Avesta passage reads: Vd. 1. 15, *dvadasəm asaṇhąmca šōiθranąmca vahištəm frāθ-*

[1] On 'Rhagæ,' see my article in Harper's *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*, pp. 1369–1370, New York, 1897.

[2] E.g. Zsp. 16. 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 147, et al.

[3] *Le ZA.* ii. 13, n., 33.

[4] *Dabistān*, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. p. 263, Paris, 1843. The translator adds a note that Raī is the most northern town of the province Jebal, or Irak Ajem, the country of the ancient Parthians.

wərəsəm azəm yō ahurō mazdå raγąm θrizantūm, 'as the twelfth most excellent of localities and places, I who am Ahura Mazda created Raghā of the three races.' The Pahlavi commentary renders, *rāk ī 3 tōxmak ātūr-pāṯakāno*, 'Rāk of three races, of Ātūr-pāṯakān,'[1] and he adds the gloss, *aētun mūn rēī yemalelūnēṯo*, 'some say it is Raī.' Notice the footnote.[2]

(b) The second of the Avestan passages which connects the name of Zoroaster with Raghā is in Ys. **19**. 18. Mention is there made of five regular rulers, 'the lord of the house, the village, the province, and the country, and Zarathushtra as the fifth.' This order, as the text continues, holds good for all countries 'except the Zarathushtrian Raji (or *Raghi;* is it Raī?).' 'The Zarathushtrian Raghā (*Raγa Zaraθuštriš*) has four lords, the lord of the house, the village, the province, and Zarathushtra as the fourth.' The text is appended.

Ys. **19**. 18, *Kaya ratavō? nmānyō vīsyō zantumō dāhyumō zaraθuštrō puxδō. åиhąm dahyunąm yå anyå rājōiṯ zaraθuštrōiṯ. caθru-ratuš raγa zaraθuštriš. kaya aiиhå ratavō? nmānyasca vīsyasca zantumasca zaraθuštrō tūiryō.* This construction evidently signifies that the *Dāhyuma*, or governor, is everywhere the supreme head, but there is acknowledged one who stands above him as representative of the church, as well as state, the chief pontiff Zoroaster (*Zarathushtra*), or 'the supreme Zoroaster' (*Zarathushtrō-tema*), as he is elsewhere termed (e.g. Ys. **26**. 1; Yt. **10**. 115, etc.). In the papal see of Raghā, however, the temporal power (Dāhyuma) and the spiritual lordship (Zarathushtra) are united in the one person.[3] For some reason Raghā is plainly the seat of the religious government. The Pahlavi version (ad loc.) speaks of it in connection with Zoroaster as being 'his own district' (*maṯā-ī nafšman*);[4] the Sanskrit of Nēryōsang glosses the allusion by asserting that

[1] Cf. Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Pahlavi Version of the Avesta Vendidad*, p. 8, Bombay, 1895.

[2] Allusion has been made above (p. 202) to the question of a Raghā in Ādarbaijān as possibly contrasted with the Ῥάγαι of the Greek, or possibly to a *Raγa Zaraθuštriš* different from Raī; cf. also the Anc. Pers. *Ragā* as a district or province, *dahyu;* but that is uncertain.

[3] See also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. p. 170.

[4] Notice the use of 'district,' and elsewhere Raghā is a region as well as a town of Media. On Greek allusions to Ῥάγαι, see also Haug, *Ahuna-Vairya-Formel*, pp. 133–134 (=45–46), München, 1872, and the article which is referred to on the preceding page (p. 202, n. 1).

Zoroaster was the fourth lord in this village, because it is his own —*tasmin grāme yat svīyam āsīt asāu gurus' caturtho 'bhūt.*[1] Raghā is plainly a centre of ecclesiastical power, as remarked above. This fact is further attested by Yāḳūt (i. p. 244), who says there was a celebrated fortress 'in the district of Dunbāwand, in the province of Raī' (notice the latter expression), which was the stronghold of the chief priest of the Magians.[2] If Raghā enjoyed such religious prominence there must have been ground for it, and we recall what was said above, in the Dabistān and Shahrastānī's statement, which connects Zoroaster's mother's family with Raī.

(c) As a sequel to this, comes an interesting comment in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam; this has already been noticed (p. 192), but it is worthy of being taken up again at this point, for it is a sort of Iranian adage like Macbeth's Birnam wood and Dunsinane. In Zsp. **16**. 11–12, an old proverbial affirmation is used to assert that something is impossible, and that it would not happen—'not though both the provinces of Rāgh and Nōṯar should arrive here together'; and the explanatory comment on these proper names is added, 'two provinces which are in Ātūr-pāṯakān, such as are sixty leagues (parasang, i.e. 210 to 240 miles) from Cīst.[3] Zaratūsht arose from Rāgh, and Vishtāsp from Nōṯar.' The rest of the passage and the Dīnkarṯ occurrences of the proverb have been given above (pp. 192–193), and should be consulted.

Rāgh (Av. Raghā) like Arabic Shīz is evidently a territorial designation as well as a town title, and certainly the Prophet's family on the maternal side came from there, if we are to place any reliance on tradition. Now, if the Prophet was born in a city of Ādarbaijān, whether in Urumiah, in the region of Shīz (Av. Caēcista, prob. Urumiah), or on the Darej River—and even Rāgh itself appears frequently in Pahlavi to have been regarded as a part of this land—it is by no means unlikely that a man with a mission like Zoroaster would have been drawn to so important a place as Raghā was in antiquity, especially if it was the home of his mother. All which would account for the association of the names together. An attempt has been made by the present writer, in *JAOS.* xv. p. 228–232, more fully to amplify this connection of Raghā with Zoroaster's teaching

[1] Cf. Spiegel, *Neriosengh's Skt. Uebersetz. des Yaçna*, Leipzig, 1861, p. 99.

[2] See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 46, n.; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 33; Darmesteter, *SBE.* iv. p. xlviii. (1st ed.).

[3] It is important to consult the footnote on p. 193.

and preaching, especially by an attempted explanation of the word *rajīš* in Ys. 53. 9.[1] But the passage and the commentary alike are difficult, and enough has been said already to show Zoroaster's connection with this region.

Conclusion as to Zoroaster's Native Place. — Zoroaster arose in western Iran. Apparently he was born somewhere in Ādarbaijān. The places specially mentioned are Urumiah, Shīz (Av. Caēcista, prob. anc. Urumiah) and the river Darej. His mother's family was connected with Raghā, which accounts for associating his name with that place; but it is not clear that this was the Median Raī (Ῥάγαι of the Greeks) although it was in the west. The latter seems to have been a district as well as town, and is sometimes regarded as a part of ancient Ātūr-pāṯakān. Zoroaster's youth was also certainly passed in western Iran.

II. SCENE OF ZOROASTER'S MINISTRY

General Remarks

The question regarding Zoroaster's native place may be looked upon as having been answered by placing it in western Iran, at least on the basis of present evidence and opinion. The question as to the scene or scenes of his religious activity, however, is a more unsettled problem. The uncertainty is doubtless due to the conditions of the case; missionary work by a reformer is not confined to a single field. Taking a general view, however, as stated on p. 186, scholars are divided between Media, in the broader sense, and Bactria, with a preponderance perhaps in favor of the former. The present writer has elsewhere maintained the ground that both sides of this question are possibly correct, in part, and that the conflicting views may be combined and reconciled on the theory that the reformer's native place was not necessarily the scene of his really successful prophetic mission.[2] In other words, the opinion was held that Zoroaster may have been a prophet without honor in his own country; that he arose, indeed, in western Iran, probably somewhere in Atropatene; that he presumably went at one time to

[1] First suggested by Geldner, *KZ.* xxviii. 202–203, and further discussed by the present writer in the article alluded to in the next note.

[2] Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place?* *JAOS.* vol. xv. pp. 221–232, New Haven, 1891.

Raghā (perhaps Media Rhagiana), but on finding this an unfruitful field he turned at last to Bactria. Under the patronage of Vishtāspa, his faith became an organized state religion; and then it spread, possibly through religious crusades, westward to Media and Persia. Progress was rapid; the fire of religious zeal was contagious; the district of Raghā, which was once a hot-bed of heresy (*uparō-vīmanōhīm*), became the head of the established faith of Media. Persia follows suit when she rises into power. That at least was suggested at the time — in other words that we have an earlier instance of the same story as Mohammed, or Mecca and Medina.

Such a view, however, is mere theory or speculation, at least so far as Bactria and the exact spreading of the Creed is concerned. Nevertheless it is not speculation built entirely upon baseless fabric. It has this in its favor, that it is based upon a combination of various statements in Zoroastrian literature which may be united with Arabic and Syriac material, and with Latin and Greek references, so as to make, in part at least, a fairly solid structure. The assumption of a double scene for Zoroaster's life, first for his birth and earlier years, and second for his later years and death, has also been inferred by others, naturally from the tradition.[1] It has an advantage in saving several points of tradition which would otherwise fall; but it is open to several serious objections which will be pointed out as the investigation proceeds. For the present, it will be a better plan simply to bring forward both sides of the question, the eastern and the western view, and to reserve final decision for later. The Bactrian side will first be presented; the arguments in favor of Media will then be arrayed to offset this.

Before proceeding to the discussion, it is proper to recall that we have no direct evidence to prove that Zoroaster spent the first thirty years of his life anywhere but in his native land, if we assume that to be Ādarbaijān. At the age of thirty came the Revelation, the opening of his ministry, and the first of the seven visions that filled the ten or twelve years which elapsed until Maidhyōi-māonha adopted the creed, and King Vishtāspa was converted. The whole of this question has been examined in Chapter IV. As it was there stated

[1] So Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, T. i. pt. 2, pp. 5, 29. (Anquetil's *Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Lett.* T. xxxi. p. 370 seq., as noted also by Kanga, *Extracts*, p. 55.) A similar view (but with modification), Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumsk.* i. 708, ii. 171. On the other hand, notice what is said by Geiger, *OIK.* pp. 488–492.

we have information from the Dīnkarṯ (see pp. 43–46 above), that Zoroaster went and preached before the Turanian Aūrvāītā-dang after the first conference with Ormazd; furthermore, that he expounded the tenets of his faith to Parshaṯ-gāu in Sagastān. From this it is manifest that during the first two years he must, at all events, have been in the east, apparently both northeast and southeast, even if one maintains the view that Vishtāspa lived nearer to the region of his own native land.

This tradition of wanderings to remote lands is in keeping with the Gāthā psalm of dejection, *Kām nəmōi ząm, kuθrā nəmōi ayenī*, 'to what land am I to turn, whither am I to turn,' Ys. **46**. 1 seq. An echo of it, moreover, as already stated (p. 200), is perhaps to be recognized in Ibn al-Athīr, who recounts how Zoroaster goes from Ādarbaijān to Persia, then to India,[1] China, Turkestan, Ferghānah, and that he finally converts Vishtāspa, who seems in this account to be in the east. Perhaps these statements regarding India are due to Zoroaster's having been in Sagastān or Seistān (see also footnote below) which forms part of the territory of White India.[2] It may be noticed that Ammianus Marcellinus also makes Hystaspes (or is it Zoroaster) pass some time studying in India (see Appendix II., p. 167). So much for the two years that followed the first ecstatic vision, and which correspond to different scenes in Zoroaster's missionary labors!

By the close of this period, Zoroaster appears to have wended his way gradually back again toward his native country, as may be inferred from the different localities in which the visions of the next eight years took place. Consult the Map. The second, third, and fourth visions took place on the homeward route to the south of the Caspian Sea, if the identifications in Chapter IV. be correct. The fifth and sixth visions were beheld in the region of the river Dāityā and Mount Asnavant (Mount Sahend and the Ḳizel Ūzen; cf. pp. 41, 48). Finally, the last interview with the archangels was manifested to him at his own home on the river Darej (pp. 34, 49, 194), which would agree with the Avesta (Vd. **19**. 4, 11), as this vision is also associated with the temptation by Ahriman. But now for the Bactrian question!

[1] Is it Sagastān (Parshat-gāu) and Turan (Aūrvāītā-dang)? Cf. p. 39, n. 1 above. See also next note and references.

[2] On 'White India,' the provinces of Iran which border upon India, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 4, 13, n., and cf. above, pp. 44, n. 4, 72, n. 3, 87, n. 1, 178, and p. 210.

1. Bactria and the East, or the View that Zoroaster's Ministry was in Eastern Iran

Irrespective of the question of the scene of Zoroaster's activity, the whole problem of the home of the Avesta itself, as a literary composition and religious work, has long been a common subject of discussion.[1] The assumption of a Bactrian kingdom which antedated the Median empire, or at least preceded the rise of the Achaemenian power, has generally been maintained by scholars, especially by the historian Duncker.[2] Criticisms of this view will be mentioned later; but it is important to notice that one of the strongest supporters of an eastern Iranian civilization, judging from geographical and ethnographical allusions in the Avesta, is the Iranist, Wilhelm Geiger.[3]

The Avesta itself does not give any definite statement with respect to the situation of Vishtāspa's capital, nor do the Pahlavi texts, to be discussed below, seem more explicit. Nevertheless, the Avestan geographical allusions tend to gravitate toward the east, rather than toward the west.[4] The heroic sagas of the royal line of kings in the Avestan Yashts are located for the most part in the east. According to the Zamyād Yasht (esp. Yt. **19**. 66–69), the home of the Kavi dynasty is in Seistān, and this is important to consider because of its bearing on the claim for the east and for Bactria. Firdausī, a native of Ṭūs, moreover, places the scene of the Vishtāspa-Gushtāsp cycle in eastern and northeastern Iran, as will be more fully explained below.[5] According to Firdausī (Daḳīḳī), Yāḳūt, Mirkhond, and others, Balkh was founded by Vishtāsp's father, Lohrāsp.[6] On the Græco-Bactrian coins is found an

[1] For some bibliographical references, see p. 186.

[2] *Geschichte des Alterthums*. iv. 15 seq.; Nöldeke, *Persia*, in Encyclopædia Britannica, xviii. 561 (9th ed.); Tomaschek, *Baktria, Baktriane, Baktrianoi*, in Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* ii. col. 2806 seq. (neue Bearb.).

[3] *Ostiranische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882; *Vaterland u. Zeitalter des Avesta* in *Sitzb. d. K. B. Acad.*, May, 1894; *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* ii. 389. This view is criticised by Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xxxv. 636, and rejected, *ZDMG.* xli. 292–296; cf. also in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschr.* N. F. 8. 1 seq. Again, it is opposed by de Harlez, *Das alter und Heimath des Avesta*, in *BB.* xii. 109 seq.; cf. also *Abh. d. Berliner Or. Congress*, ii. 270–277. The arguments in favor of Bactria from the classics are most strongly presented by Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. 27–33 (1865).

[4] Geldner, *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 38.

[5] See also Nöldeke in *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 131.

[6] Firdausī, *Livre des Rois*, tr. Mohl, iv. 224; Yāḳūt in Barbier de

APOOACΠO (i.e. Aurvaṯ-aspa, Lohrāsp), evidently as heros eponymos of the place.[1] Albīrūnī states that 'Balkh was the original residence of the Kayanians,' and Mirkhond speaks of Lohrāsp as 'the Bactrian.'[2] Ṭabarī similarly states that Lohrāsp 'established his residence at Balkh,' where he places the seat likewise of Lohrāsp's son and successor, Vishtāsp;[3] yet it must not be forgotten in this connection that Ṭabarī also considers Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus to have been generals under Lohrāsp and Vishtāsp.[4] Masūdī joins in regarding Balkh as the royal capital until the seat of government was transferred westward to Irāḳ in the time of Hūmāī.[5] Other Persian and Arabic chroniclers and geographers place the seat of the Kayanian empire, at the time of Lohrāsp and Vishtāsp, in Bactria, i.e. to the north of Seistān, and there is a tradition about a portrait of Zoroaster at Balkh, as will be noticed in Appendix VII. The author of the Zartusht Nāmah and the Cangranghācah Nāmah, who was himself a native of Raī, localizes the scene of the meeting between Zoroaster and Vishtāsp in Balkh, where he also represents the famous debate between Zoroaster and the Brahman Cangranghācah to have taken place (cf. p. 85 seq. above). This is interesting when we consider that the writer came from the west and from a city which was so closely associated with Zoroaster's name; he must have had some strong tradition to that effect; his work, moreover, is known to be based upon Pahlavi authorities.[6] In the Dīnkarṯ, the meeting took place first on a 'race-course' (*aspānvar*), but the locality is not indicated, cf. p. 59, n. 2 above. From the Pahlavi treatise 'Wonders of Sagastān' it appears that at one time (perhaps after his conversion) Vishtāspa had conferences with Zoroaster and his apostles in Seistān — see passage translated below, p. 212.

Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 112; Mirkhond, *Hist. of Pers. Kings*, tr. Shea, London, 1832.

[1] See Tomaschek's article, *Baktria*, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ii. col. 2812–2813. Consult Stein, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins* in *Babyl. and Or. Record*, i. 157 seq.; notice a dissenting view by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 432.

[2] Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, p. 100, London, 1879, and Mirkhond, tr. Shea, pp. 59, 264, 272.

[3] Ṭabarī, *Chronique de Tabarī, traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-Alī Mo'hammed Bel'amī*, par Zotenberg, i. p. 491 seq.; cf. similar allusions in Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 36–40.

[4] Furthermore, for the destruction of Jerusalem by Lohrāsp (!), see Maīōg-ī khiraṯ, 27. 64–67, tr. West, *SBE.* xxiv. 64–65, and Yāḳūt in Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 369. See also p. 91, n. 2 above.

[5] Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, tr. Barbier de Meynard, ii. p. 120.

[6] *Zartusht Nāmah*, tr. Eastwick, in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 498.

To return to Firdausī. As mentioned above, the Shāh Nāmah connects Lohrāsp with Balkh, and describes how the youthful Vishtāsp quits the realm and passes the first years of his life in the west, in Rūm (the Byzantine Empire).[1] He returns from thence to assume the sceptre of authority. It is not specifically stated that the years which directly followed were actually passed in Balkh, but it is certain that the last part of his reign is regarded as being passed there. Lohrāsp himself lives there in retirement after Vishtāsp had mounted the throne, and the lapse of time is shown also by the fact that Zoroaster is now spoken of as an old man (Pers. *pīr*).[2] Perhaps Vishtāsp formed a link between the east and the west, if the texts seem to imply a break in the regular succession as he came to the throne; see p. 223, n. 1 below.

At this point we may turn again to our earlier Iranian sources. As previously observed, neither the Avesta nor the Pahlavi writings are explicit in their statements as to the situation of Vishtāspa's capital. The Dīnkarṯ, it is true, speaks several times of the 'abode' (*mān*), 'residence' (*babā*), or 'lofty residence' (*buland mānišnō*) of Vishtāsp, but there is nothing precise as to the location.[3] The general allusions to Nōṯar, moreover, have already been noticed above, p. 192, and they will be referred to again, p. 222. The nearest approach in the Avesta to a definite statement regarding Vishtāspa's whereabouts is found in two references to places where he offers sacrifice for victory in battle over Arejaṯ-aspa in the holy war of the Religion, or when on a religious crusade. One of these sacrifices is offered 'on the farther side of the water of Frazdānava' (Yt. **5**. 108, *pasne āpəm frazdānaom*) for victory over three unbelievers one of whom is the inveterate foe, Arejaṯ-aspa (Yt. **5**. 109, *Ṭąθryavantəm duždaēnəm* | *Pəšanəmca daēvayasnəm* | *drvantəmca Arəjaṯ-aspəm*).[4] But in Yt. **9**. 29 = Yt. **17**. 49, the same sacrifice is offered again by Vishtāspa for victory over exactly the same three foes, but including also the names of a number of other enemies; and (important to keep in mind) the sacrifice of this latter passage is not celebrated

[1] See pp. 72–73.

[2] See also Mohl, tr. iv. 293.

[3] Compare note on p. 58.

[4] It might possibly be suggested that we have in the name Tāthryavant a distant allusion to the Tantra philosophy of India; the Shāh Nāmah includes India among the lands to which Vishtāsp spread the gospel of Iran (cf. Mohl, iv. pp. 343–344; and above, p. 84 seq.; observe likewise Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 90). But such a conjecture could add little in favor of the eastern view.

near the Frazdānava, but is offered up on the farther side of the river Dāityā. Still further, Vishtāspa's brother Zairivairi (Zarīr), who is mentioned directly after Vishtāspa's sacrifice by the Frazdānava in the earlier passage, likewise offers similar worship on the same spot (Dāityā), with an identical wish (Yt. **5.** 112–113, *pasne āpō Dāityayā*); and directly afterwards in the same Yasht (Yt. **5.** 116) Arejaṯ-aspa invokes the same divinity near Vourukasha (Caspian Sea) for victory over Vishtāspa. This latter point will be taken up hereafter, pp. 212–213.

It is necessary to comment anew on the suggested identification of these places. From the discussion above, pp. 41, 197, it is to be inferred that the Dāityā was a sort of border stream in the west, to be identified with the Ḳizel Ūzen or Safēd Rūd. The river Ḳizel Ūzen is the classic Ἄμαρδος of Ptolemaeus, in Atropatene, and Andreas describes it as a natural 'markscheide.'[1] The Avestan word *pasne* is apparently used with a river name like the Latin usage of *trans* in Trans-Rhenanus (opp. Cis-Alpinus), compare the modern Iranian designation of Bīä-Pīš, 'before the rivers,' as opposed to Bīä-Päs, 'back of the rivers,' used in the adjoining territory of Gīlān.[2] The various streams which flow into the river to-day would answer to the tributaries of the Dāityā that are mentioned in the Dīnkarṯ and Zāṯ-sparam.[3] This is the river of the 'Law,' and the river which Zoroaster apparently crosses on his way to convert Vishtāsp.[4]

The Frazdānava, on the other hand, is to be sought in Seistān, in the east, if we accept the statement of the Būndahishn (Bd. **22.** 5), and is probably to be identified with the Āb-istādah lake, south of Ghaznī.[5] Being a member of the Kayanian line, Kavi Vishtāspa

[1] Andreas, *Amardos*, in Pauly's *Real-Encyl.*, neue Bearb., Stuttgart, 1894, vol. i. col. 1735, l. 44.

[2] Refer to Andreas, loc. cit. ll. 60–61, whose transcription 'Bīä-Pīš' is here followed. Cf. also de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, i. 209.

[3] Dk. **7.** 3. 51–56; Zsp. **21.** 5, **22.** 9. I believe that in Dk. **7.** 20. 30, we are to read *mayā-ī šēṯ* (not *Dāit*), as noted by West, *SBE.* xlvii. 25, n. 2, and compare the Shēṯ river of Bd. **20.** 7, *SBE.* v. 77; although there would be no real inconsistency in Dāit, as contrasted with Pourushaspa's dwelling on the Darej, as that may have been the home to which he removed after his marriage; see suggestion on p. 192.

[4] Zartusht Nāmah, p. 491.

[5] This view is opposed to Lagarde's *Hṛazdān* in Armenia (*Beiträge zur baktr. Lex.* p. 28), but I agree with Geiger's estimate of Hṛazdān in *OIK.* p. 108. The identification of Frazdānava with *Āb-istādah* is mentioned by West (*SBE.* v. 86, n. 3) as being from Justi (see his *Handb. der Zendsprache*, p. 197 b), although Justi now seems

is naturally associated with Seistān and Lake Frazdān. The Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of the Land of Sagastān,' makes Seistān the place of Vishtāsp's first religious propaganda, and apparently also a place where Vishtāsp conferred with Zoroaster and other apostles of the Faith, on matters of religious importance.[1] I am indebted to Dr. West's kindness for a translation of the 'Wonders'; the passage (Wond. of Sag. § 6) reads: 'King Vishtāsp produced the progress of religion on Lake Frazdān, first in Sagastān, and afterwards in the other provinces; also King Vishtāsp, in conference with Zaratūsht, and Sēnō, son of Ahūmstūt of Būst,[2] because his disciples of Zaratūsht have been the first in his long discipleship, (made) the various Nasks proceed in a family of the good, for the purpose of keeping the religion of Sagastān progressive for being taught.' We remember also that Zoroaster went in his earlier years to Seistān to preach to Parshaṯ-gāu (pp. 44–45). According to Firdausī, King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) was engaged upon a religious crusade in Seistān and Zabūlistān,[3] and was at the abode of the old hero Rustam, who still held out against conversion to Zoroastrianism, when the Turanians under Arjāsp stormed Balkh, slew Lohrāsp in battle before the walls, and killed Zoroaster.[4] Vishtāsp returns from Seistān for the finally routing of Arjāsp.[5]

It must be acknowledged that the twofold sacrifice by Vishtāsp, once on the Frazdānava and once on the Dāityā, causes some difficulty in connection with the identification of scenes in the Holy Wars. As already observed, the Frazdānava sacrifice, when placed in Seistān, certainly refers to the second and final invasion. The

rather to incline toward the view of Hṛazdān in Armenia, judging from *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, pp. 256–257. Geiger, *OIK.* p. 108, notices the identification of Frazdānava with the Ābistādah, but he prefers to explain the matter differently.

[1] See West in *Gdr. d. îran. Phil.* ii. 118.

[2] Dr. West notes that this place is described by the pseudo Ibn-Ḥauḳal as on the river Hērmand, between Ghōr and the lake (see Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 206); it was therefore in Seistān.

[3] Cf. Mohl, tr. iv. pp. 355, 456; and also Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831, p. 97 and p. 125, n. 52.

[4] *Shāh Nāmah*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. pp. 1559–1560; but there is some uncertainty owing to a variation in the reading. Thus, *Kih īn hērbadrā kih kušt;* and again, *cirā hērbadrā bi-kušt;* but a few lines further on (p. 1560) the death is proved by *hērbadrā hamah sar zadand.*

[5] Mohl, iv. 354, 355, 365.

Dāityā sacrifice, we may presume, refers to the first invasion, if we make the twofold division mentioned on p. 105; but it is not easy to reconcile this with the assumption that the scenes of the first war belong rather to the territory of Merv (p. 114). Perhaps the Dāityā sacrifice is not to be pressed as referring to a special incident, and perhaps the prayer was general; or Vishtāsp was crusading in the west at the time; history offers examples of a Christian king of Europe offering up his prayers in the land of the Saracens. Darmesteter[1] does not seem to think it imperative to take the Dāityā sacrifice too seriously in the face of the Frazdānava passage which gives a scene located in Seistān; or, he thinks, the Dāityā allusion may be a reminiscence of the Median origin of Vishtāspa himself. Nevertheless, there is a certain discrepancy which must fairly be noticed, and having stated the difficulty we may turn to such arguments as can be brought up to show that Vishtāspa's foe, Arejaṯ-aspa, belongs rather to the east than to the west. This introduces the problem of the situation of Arejaṯ-aspa's kingdom, and the scene of the Holy Wars already alluded to.

In the Avesta, Arejaṯ-aspa is a Hyaonian (Av. *Hyaona*, Phl. *Xyōn*).[2] The name *h·yaona*, according to the ordinarily accepted view, is identical with the nation of the classic Chionitæ.[3] The identification, however, has been doubted by some. The subject is commented on by Darmesteter,[4] and especially by Geiger, and both of these scholars think (as well as Justi, see footnote) that there is authority also for the tradition which places the Hyaonians toward the east, even if they were located in the Gīlān territory in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus (**19**. 1. 2). The Shāh Nāmah tradition certainly looks upon Arjāsp as a Turanian, and places his kingdom on the other side of the Jīhūn (Oxus), and it makes him despatch envoys from the city of Khallakh to Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) in Balkh.[5] In the native lexicons, according to Vullers, Khallakh or Khallukh

[1] *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxiii.

[2] See Yt. **9**. 30–31, **17**. 50–51, **19**. 87, and the references on p. 104, n. 2.

[3] Spiegel in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, N. F. 8, p. 18; also other writers as noted below.

[4] Darmesteter does not seem certain of it in *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxiii seq.; cf. also Geiger in *Sitzb. d. K. B. Acad.*, 1884, p. 328 seq., and in his *Yātkār* in *Sitzb.*, Mai, 1890, p. 75. Justi allows also the possibility of placing the Hyaonians in the east on the authority of Joshua the Stylite; see *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, p. 256; but Justi favors the west.

[5] Firdausī, *Livre des Rois*, tr. Mohl, iv. pp. 302, 303, 319, 326 bis, 342, 360, 441, 459, 543, 558.

(خلّخ) is described as 'a great city in Turkestān in the district of Khaṭāī.'[1] In any case, it is evident that the kingdoms of Arjāsp and Vishtāsp cannot have been far separated from each other. The question of the invasion or invasions may now be taken up.

According to the sources which the Shāh Nāmah must have made use of (and we may infer the same from the Dīnkarṯ and Zāṯ-sparam)[2] there were, apparently, two separate invasions by Arjāsp, although the Avesta seems to speak of the war singly as 'the War of Religion.' The special chapter above on this subject (Chap. IX.) should be consulted. The Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān alludes only to what we may regard as the first of Arjāsp's wars, and lays the scene in the neighborhood of the plain of Merv.[3] Similarly, in this connection, the Shāh Nāmah speaks of the Jīhūn or Oxus, and the territory adjacent[4] (consult the Map). The scene of the battles of the second war was Khorassān, if we follow the Shāh Nāmah and notice an incidental allusion in the Būndahishn.[5] The circumstances of Arjāsp's second invasion need not be repeated; see Chapter IX. If we follow the Shāh Nāmah we may presume that Vishtāspa, after receiving news of the storming of Balkh, started from Seistān to join the forces of his son, Farshīdvard, whom he had appointed ruler of Khorassān. The first meeting between Vishtāsp and the invader Arjāsp may therefore have resulted in an engagement in Khorassān. From Firdausī, we may judge that this opening engagement of the second war, which is evidently counted as a part of the Balkh misfortune, was not successful for the Iranians.[6] An attempt may be made to locate the scene.

Now, the Bahman Yasht (**3.** 9), when speaking of three distinct times of crisis and trial in the history of the Religion, says: 'the second was when thou, O Zaratūsht the Spītāmān! receivedst the Religion, and hadst thy conference, and King Vishtāsp and Arjāsp, miscreated by Wrath, were, through the War of the Religion, in the combat of Spēṯ-razhūr ("the hoary forest");' and the text adds a

[1] Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, p. 121, where the Persian is quoted, and *Lexicon Persicum*, i. 706, 714. See also Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, pp. 467, 471.

[2] See chronological scheme by West, *SBE.* xlvii. p. xxx.; cf. Appendix III.

[3] YZ. § 12.

[4] Mohl, tr. iv. 309.

[5] Bd. **12.** 32–34, given in full on p. 216.

[6] Notice that the Būndahishn (Bd. **12.** 33) acknowledges an occasion where there was 'confusion among the Iranians,' but they were 'saved'; cf. p. 216 below.

comment: 'some have said it was in Pārs.'[1] The Avesta mentions the 'White Forest,' but not in connection with Arejaṯ-aspa's name. The *Spaēitita Razura* in the Avesta, is the amphitheatre of the great conflict between the earlier Iranian king, Haosrava, and his enemy, Aurvasāra.[2] According to Justi, the White Forest is in Kohistān, a part of Khorassān (lat. 33, long. 59; consult Map), between Ḳāīn and Birjand.[3] As a mere conjecture, in order to endeavor to reconcile difficulties, it might be suggested that we have here an allusion, perhaps, to the engagement that preceded the last in the war. In other words, as the White Forest seems to have been a designation covering a good deal of territory, it might be argued that Vishtāsp pushed onward, then northward to the mountains of Nīshāpūr and Mesh-hed, not far from the high citadel where his son Isfendīār was confined.

This citadel, as related by the Shāh Nāmah, was the mountain fortress of Gumbadān or Gunbedān (گنبدان).[4] Its location is in Khorassān,[5] for this fastness of Isfendīār is evidently Mount Spentō-dāta of the Avesta (Yt. **19**. 6), and Spend-yāṯ of the Pahlavi (Bd. **12**. 2, 23), situated on the 'Var of Rēvand,' which latter has been identified with the Bār mountains, northwest of Nīshāpūr, in an interesting article by Houtum-Schindler.[6] The Būndahishn adds details of the battle that enable us still further to locate the scene where Vishtāsp himself had to take refuge in a mountain in Khorassān, where he was beleaguered,[7] until the heroic Isfendīār is released from his chains and gains the victory. All this has been described above (p. 119 seq.), but the Būndahishn passage is important enough to repeat it again in full:—

[1] West, *SBE.* v. 218. As for the usage of 'Pārs,' it must be remembered that Sagastān itself is spoken of as a part of Pārs in Pahlavi literature (Bd. **12**. 9, **20**. 29; see *SBE.* v. pp. 37, 81).

[2] Yt. **15**. 31–32; cf. Yt. **5**. 49–50; Yt. **19**. 77.

[3] Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 42, 'Aurwasāra, König am Weissen Wald, d. i. Dascht-i Beyāṯ im Kōhistān von Qāīn und Birjand, Gegner des Kawa Husrawa (Kai Xusrau), Yt. **15**. 31. Syāwašnāmeh, 252.'

[4] *Shāh Nāmah*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1550, l. 156; cf. traduction de Mohl, iv. pp. 354, 370, 456.

[5] But Mirkhond (tr. Shea, p. 290) says he was 'imprisoned in the Fortress of Girdkūh, in the district of Rūdbār.' To which Shea adds, stating that Rūdbār is a district of the Jebal or Irak Ajemī.

[6] *The Identification of Some Persian Places*, in *The Academy*, No. 730, p. 312 seq., May 1, 1886; cf. also Justi, *Hdbch. d. Zendsprache*, p. 305.

[7] For allusions to the 'mountain,'

Bd. 12. 17–18: 'The Padashkhvārgar mountain is that which is in Taparīstān and the side of Gīlān. The Rēvand mountain is in Khūrāsān, on which the Būrzhīn fire was established. (32–34): From the same Padashkhvārgar mountain unto Mount Kūmīsh, which they call Mount Madōfryāṯ ("Come-to-help") — that in which Vishtāsp routed Arjāsp — is Mount Mīyān-i-dasht ("mid-plain"), and was broken off from that mountain there. They say, in the War of the Religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, and slid down into the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by it, and it was called "Come-to-help" by them. The Ganāvaṯ mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vishtāsp (*pūšt-i Vištāspān*) at the abode of the Būrzhīn-Mitrō fire, nine leagues to the west.'[1] Mount Madōfryāṯ (Come-to-help) has been identified by Houtum-Schindler with the mountain near the present town of Farīūmad, northward of the high road between Abbāsābād and Mazīnān, and it is thus evidently a part of the Jagatai range.[2] The Ridge of Vishtāsp may be identical with the mountains, Binalūd Kuh, running northwest from Nīshāpūr, a little to the west of the modern Gunābad (lat. 36. 40; long. 59. 5 — see Map). The region where the final battle took place, with the utter rout of Arjāsp and the triumph of Iran over Turan, may be regarded as occupying a territory to the east of Mīān-i-dasht in Khorassān (lat. 36. 30; long. 56. 10 — see Map, square Gb). The caravan road between Mīān-i-dasht and Zaidar is still famous to-day for marauding attacks of the Turkomans upon pilgrims and travellers.[3]

The location of the sacred fires may be taken up in this connection. Vishtāsp's special fire, Būrzhīn Mitrō, is in Khorassān as already discussed in the pages devoted to the subject of the Sacred Fires (Chap. VIII.). From the passage just quoted (Bd. 12. 17–18, 32–34) and from Bd. 17. 8 there seems to remain little doubt on that point. The Shāh Nāmah implies a similar location, and three Mohammedan writers state that the special fire of Zoroaster, which is the Būrhzīn Mitrō, was in the neighborhood of Nīshāpūr. For the references, see p. 100. But more important still in connection with

cf. Mohl, *Livre des Rois*, iv. 367, 370, 373, 384.

[1] West, *SBE.* v. 40–41.

[2] See *The Academy*, p. 313, May 1, 1886. The town is easily located (lat. 36–37; long. 56–57) on the map in Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question*, i. p. 245.

[3] Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, i. 276–277, 280–281.

the ancient pyraea of Zoroastrianism, is the tradition of the Būndahishn (Bd. **17.** 6) regarding the second famous fire, the fire Frōbak (Farnbag). This fire originally was located in Khorasmia or Chorasmia (Phl. *Khvārižem*) on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea — the region of igneous oil fountains, and it was removed by Vishtāsp to the east, to Cabul, or as the text reads: 'In the reign of King Vishtāsp, upon revelation from the religion, it was established out of Khvārizem, at the Rōshan ("shining") mountain in Kāvulistān, the country of Kāvul (Kābul), just as it remains there even now.'[1] This latter would make another distinct association of Vishtāsp with the east.[2]

In addition to the central or eastern location of two of the sacred fires which are directly connected with Vishtāsp's name, we may also recall the story of the cypress which Zoroaster planted to commemorate the event of Vishtāsp's conversion. This hallowed tree was planted at Kishmar in Khorassān, and it is spoken of in the Shāh Nāmah as 'the cypress of Kishmar.'[3] It must also be remembered that, according to the Shāh Namah, Khorassān was under the suzerainty of one of Vishtāsp's sons, as well as it was the amphitheatre of the final Holy War.

These latter points are of interest also in connection with Floigl's claim that Vishtāspa, of the Avesta, is identical with the historical Hystaspes, father of Darius; and that he belonged in the region of Hyrcania and ancient Parthia. Floigl's monograph should be consulted.[4]

It may incidentally be added that the Armenian historian, Thomas Arzrounī (A.D. tenth century) follows the tradition that Zoroaster was the opponent of Ninus and Semiramis and was defeated by them, but Semiramis made him commander of Babylon, Khoujīstān, and of all eastern Persia, and he adds, 'Zradasht, although possessing the countries to the east of Persia, did not cease to harass Assyria.'[5] This would associate him also with the east.

[1] Bd. **17.** 6, tr. West, *SBE.* v. 63.

[2] It must be stated, however, that the reading *Kāvul* (*Kābul*) is questioned by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 154; and see the discussion above in Chap. VIII. p. 99, n. 4.

[3] *Sarv-i Kišmar;* see Vullers-Landauer, *Shah Name*, iii. 1498–1499, and Mohl, iv. 292–293; cf. also Appendix II., pp. 163–164.

[4] Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, Leipzig, 1881, e.g. pp. 14, 15, 17, etc.

[5] See Brosset, *Collection d'Historiens arméniens*, i. 30, St. Pétersbourg, 1874. See Appendix VI. § 1 below.

Furthermore, it should be noticed that Mills upholds the eastern region, at least as the place of origin of the Gāthās.[1] He reviews some of the indications which point to the west, as presented by Darmesteter; but after examining into the character of the civilization, and noticing points of Indo-Iranian unity and likeness to the Veda, and judging also from the spirit of the Gāthās, whose antiquity he emphasizes, Mills is led to believe that 'the scene of the Gāthic and original Zoroastrianism was in the northeast of Iran, and that the later Avesta was composed during the hundreds of years during which the Zarathushtrian tribes were migrating westward into Media.'[2] A discussion of the Avestan calendar led the Sanskrit scholar Roth strongly to support Bactria.[3] The younger Iranist Horn favors eastern Iran as the first scene, at least, of Zoroastrianism.[4] On the views of Tiele, see note below.[5]

Résumé of the Eastern View.—Among various points that may be brought up in favor of placing Vishtāspa in eastern Iran, and of believing that Zoroaster's prophetic career, at least, was associated chiefly with that territory, is the predominance of geographical allusions in the Avesta rather to eastern Iran. The Avesta does not state where Kavi Vishtāspa's kingdom was located; but it recognizes that the Kavi dynasty came from Seistān (Yt. **19**. 66 seq.). The Iranian tradition which is found in Mohammedan writers is almost unanimous in placing Vishtāsp's kingdom in the east, in Bactria. Among arguments which may be drawn from Pahlavi literature is the fact that the Būndahishn clearly locates the scene of the routing of Arjāsp in the territory of Khorassān. One of the sacred

[1] *SBE.* xxxi. Introd. pp. xxvii–xxx.

[2] Op. cit. p. xxvii.

[3] Roth, *Der Kalender des Avesta*, u. s. w., in *ZDMG.* xxiv. 1–24; cf. especially pp. 16–19 (criticised by de Harlez; see p. 219 below).

[4] Horn, *Die Reiche der Meder und Perser*, in Hellwaldt's *Kulturgeschichte*, 4 Aufl. i. 322.

[5] Tiele, in his early work entitled *De Godsdienst van Zarathustra, van haar ontstaan in Baktrië tot den val van het Oud-Perzische Rijk* (Haarlem, 1864), maintained the Bactrian view that was common at the time. So also in the genealogical table in his article 'Religions,' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xx. p. 360 (9th ed.), and in his *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, p. 174 (Amsterdam, 1876). But now, if I understand his latest view aright, he believes in northwestern Iran as the cradle at least of the Zoroastrian Reform: 'Ook ik neig zeer tot de meening dat de zarathuštrische hervorming van noordwestelijk Irān is uitgegan' (*Iets over de oudheid van het Avesta, Aanteekening*, in *Mededeeling d. K. Ak.* 3 de Reeks, Deel XI. Amsterdam, 1895, pp. 384 and 375).

fires is connected with Khorassān; another was removed from Khorasmia to the east. And now that so much has been said in favor of eastern Iran, including Bactria, we may pass without comment to the west and consider the claims of Media.

2. Media and the West, or the View that Zoroaster's Ministry was in his Native Country, Western Iran

It has been indicated sufficiently that a number of specialists, de Harlez, Spiegel, Justi, and others, associate the earliest history of Zoroastrianism not with Bactria and the east, but alone with Media, in its broad sense, and the west.

C. de Harlez, for example, in treating of the origin and home of the Avesta, as noted above, leaves eastern Iran out of consideration.[1] His discussion of the subject should be read; there is space here only to outline the reasons which lead him to confine the Avesta and Zoroastrianism to Media. I summarize them from the last article mentioned in the footnote: (1) Zoroastrianism and the Avesta is the work of the Magi, a tribe of Media, and the Magi are the Atharvans (πύραιθοι) of the Avesta. (2) The chief seat of the religion was the southern and southeastern coast of the Caspian Sea, as shown by the peculiar manner in which the peoples of the Caspian region and Hyrcania dispose of their dead. (3) Raghā in Media was the chief seat of the priesthood, and Media, therefore, was the centre of the Avestan religion. (4) The legend which makes Bactria the cradle of Zoroaster's faith, and claims that Vishtāspa was king and ruler of Bactria, is late; it comes, in fact, from mediæval times. Eastern Iran, in general, remains in the background until the time of the Achaemenidae.[2] Finally (5), the Parsi books themselves regard Zoroaster as arising from Media; and, even though many mediæval sources connect Vishtāsp with Bactria, as mentioned, there is not entire consistency in this, for some of them place him in Persis. The epitomist Khvāndamīr, for example, in his life of Gushtāsp,[3] says that this king had the city of Istakhr

[1] See de Harlez's definite statements on *Das alter und heimath des Avesta* in *BB.* xii. 109–111, and *Der Avestische Kalender und die Heimath der Avesta-Religion*, in *Abh. d. Berl. Or. Congr.* ii. 270–277, Berlin, 1882 (criticising Roth).

[2] For the latter statement, cf. *BB.* xii. 110.

[3] See de Harlez, *Av. Kalender und Heimath*, p. 277; Spiegel, *EA.* i. 698; and Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 318 (1st ed.); Ethé in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 356.

(Persepolis) as a royal seat — *Istakhr-i Fārs rā dār al-mulk kardādīd.* Again, Beiḍāwī (*Life of Gushtāsp*) says that Zardūsht occupied a mountain, Naphaht, near Istakhr.[1] And Majdī (*Zīnat al-Majālis*), after assuming that Zoroaster came from Palestine, adds that he gave himself out as a prophet in Ādarbaijān.[2] For these various reasons de Harlez concludes: 'Alles erklärt sich, wenn man unterstellt, dass der Zoroastrismus aus Medien stammt; Alles wird dunkel, wenn man dessen Wiege in Baktrien sucht.'

Spiegel has two or three times specially treated the question of the home of the Avesta and its bearing upon the Zoroastrian problem.[3] In his historical article on Vishtāspa and the Bactrian kingdom, in Sybel's *Zeitschrift*, he brings up most of the points that may be argued in favor of the east, — and these are such as have been stated above; he then weighs the west over against them. He particularly emphasizes the identification of Arejaṯ-aspa's nation, the Hyaona, with the Chionitæ, who are to be placed, it is claimed, to the west of the Caspian Sea. Again, he approves rather of de Lagarde's identification of the name and locality, Frazdānava, with the Armenian river Hṛazdān; and he points out some other names that refer especially to the west. As a result of this, although 'Baktra' is mentioned in the title of his monograph, he inclines to favor Media or Arran, rather than Bactria, as the realm of Vishtāspa and also as the home of Zoroaster. In his latest article on the subject (*ZDMG.* xlv. 280 seq., 1887), Spiegel points out one or two more points to strengthen the western view. An allusion to Armenia, for example, is claimed to be found in the Avesta (Yt. 5. 72). He draws attention also to the association of Hystaspes' name with Media and the west, by Chares of Mitylene (cf. p. 73 above),[4] and by Lactantius, who makes Hystaspes a king of Media (p. 154 above); and he throws renewed doubts upon the existence of the Bactrian kingdom maintained by Duncker.[5]

Several other scholars are of like opinion regarding Media and

[1] See also Hyde, p. 313. Reference to Istakhr (Persepolis) has been made above, pp. 91, 97.

[2] See also Hyde, p. 315.

[3] Spiegel, *Vistaçpa oder Hystaspes und das Reich von Baktra*, in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, N. F. 8, Bd. 44, pp. 1–21 (1880). Also *Ueber das Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā*, in *Sitzb. der K. B. Acad.* 1884, p. 315 seq. (1884). Again, ibid. (Zweiter Artikel) in *ZDMG.* xlv. 187 seq. (1891).

[4] Cf. also his later remarks in *ZDMG.* xli. 295 (1887), xlv. 197 (1891), lii. 193 (1898).

[5] *ZDMG.* xli. 288, 289, 292 seq.

western Iran. Eugen Wilhelm upholds Spiegel's identification of the Hyaonians with the Chionitæ and locates them on the west side of the Caspian Sea. The associated Avestan word *varəδaka* (Yt. **9**. 31 = Yt. **17**. 51) is likewise a proper name, i.e. Varedhaka, cf. Vertae, of Ammianus Marcellinus; and Av. *hunu* (Yt. **5**. 54) designates the Huns.[1] Lehmann expresses his opinion very strongly that the ancient Vishtāspa was not a Bactrian prince, but that he ruled in western Iran, in Media; that Zoroaster had nothing whatsoever to do with Bactria, where the crude civilization of his time would have been unsuited for his teaching, but that Media furnished exactly the soil that was needed for it to bear fruit.[2] Darmesteter several times expressed himself in favor of the west for the entire scene of early Zoroastrianism, because he considered the Bactrian tradition rather to be late.[3]

Justi. The most recent authority to touch upon the question and to uphold the western view is Justi (*Die älteste iranische Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathushtra*).[4] A brief summary of the deductions on this point in his important treatise is given. The numbered divisions are my own: —

1. The Avesta itself does not place either the home of Zoroaster or the kingdom of Vishtāspa in Bactria, nor mention either name in alluding incidentally to the city of Bactria. The rise of the Bactrian kingdom was post-Achaemenian. The transferrence of Vishtāspa's capital to Bactria, as is done in later times, is purely artificial. Spiegel's arguments are sufficient to overthrow the whole theory of a Bactrian origin of the Iranian religion.

2. The allusions to the sacrifices by Vishtāspa and Zairivairi on the Frazdānava and Dāityā, and to Arejaṯ-aspa as a Hyaona, are examined in their eastern aspect and in the western light. In Justi's opinion the Dāityā may be the Araxes on the northern boundary of Ādarbaijān, and the Frazdānava is more likely, perhaps, to be the Armenian Hṛazdān. Acts of worship performed in the Ādarbaijān territory would be appropriate to Iranians.

[1] Wilhelm, *ZDMG*. xlii. 96–101.

[2] Edv. Lehmann, *Die Perser* in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religions-Geschichte* (neue Aufl.) ii. 159–160. See also his comment on Phraortes, p. 156.

[3] Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, i. 10–13; *Zend-Avesta*, tr. *SBE*. iv. Introd. xlvii–liii (1st ed.); and his later statement, p. lxvii (2d ed.), together with *Le ZA*. iii. p. lxxxiii, where numerous suggestions and hints are given.

[4] In *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 255 seq., 1897.

More weight also is laid on the likelihood of the Chionitæ being placed in the Caucasus region and Gīlān. Like the later Huns, the invasion of Arejaṯ-aspa may have been made through the mountainous country to the west of the Caspian Sea.

3. It is notable that of the three most sacred fires one (Ādhar Gushnasp) belongs originally to Ādarbaijān, one (Ādhar Xurrah, or Farnbag) to Persis (Istakhr), and one (Ādhar Būrzhīn Mithr) to Khorassān, but none to Bactria. Yet see note at foot of this page.[1]

4. Media was the native place of Zoroaster, and it was also the home and realm of Vishtāspa. But Kavi Vishtāspa was not a great king, not a 'king of kings' (Anc. Pers. *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*); he was rather a minor prince (*daiŝhupaiti*) of Median Raghā. The suggestion is conjecturally put forward that we might, perhaps, assume that some great king of Media later accepted the religion and made it current in the world. Such a monarch would have been the Median Fraoreta (Phraortes) 'Confessor,' who may have adopted the faith and have thus received a Zoroastrian name. The father of Phraortes also had a Zoroastrian name as he was called Kyaxares (i.e. Huvaxšatara), beside his ordinary title Dahyauka.

5. Finally, by way of illustration, Atropates and his successors in Atropatene were zealous adherents of Zoroastrianism from Achaemenian times, and the Gāthās themselves show a religious intolerance that still remains typical of the Magi in Sassanian times, and is characteristic of the fanaticism that marks the later Assassins who likewise had their origin in Atropatene.[2] I may also add that Justi wrote me that it was only after long and careful consideration that he came to these conclusions and abandoned the view that Bactria was the home of Zoroastrianism or that Zoroaster perished there.[3]

Additional Arguments. — Some other arguments might be added to these already given in support of the west. For example:—

1. Vishtāspa and Hutaosa in the Avesta both were Naotairyans. The comment in Zāṯ-sparam places Nōṯar in the west, sixty leagues from Cīst, as explained above (p. 193, n. 1). If Vishtāsp be asso-

[1] Justi, op. cit. p. 257; but with regard to the Farnbag fire he seems to have overlooked the statement in Bd. 17. 6; see p. 99, n. 4 and p. 217 above. The question whether Bactria has any volcanic or petroleum fires might account for their not generally being connected with that particular region.

[2] Cf. op. cit. pp. 259, 256.

[3] Letters dated Jan. 8, 1897, and June 12, 1897.

ciated with Balkh, one would then have to assume that only his family came from the west. It is true that this might be quite possible in royal lines, and there actually seems to have been some change of dynasty or break in the succession when Vishtāsp came to the throne, as noted by Justi,[1] so this argument would not necessarily militate finally against the east; it is only a matter of proportionate probability. On account of the Rāgh and Nōṯar allusion it would be convenient to accept Vishtāsp as also belonging to the west.

2. The two Avestan Yasht fragments (Yt. **23**. 4, **24**. 2) give among the blessings which Zoroaster wished might accrue to Vishtāspa the boon: 'Mayest thou be able to reach the Raŋha, whose shores lie afar, as Vafra Navaza was able.' According to Darmesteter the circumambient stream Raŋha in the Avesta is to be identified with the Tigris.[2] This might, therefore, be used as a ground for placing Vishtāspa's kingdom in the west, but not necessarily so; the wish of a wide-extended kingdom might hold equally good if the star of Vishtāsp's empire were moving from the east westward.

3. As the Avesta constantly speaks of idolaters, unbelievers, devil-worshippers (*daēva-yasna*) it might be suggested that Zoroaster's reform was especially directed against the Yezīdīs, or devil worshippers, of the region about the Caspian Sea.[3]

4. Arejaṯ-aspa as noted above, p. 211, is represented in the Avesta (Yt. **5**. 116) as offering sacrifice near the sea Vourukasha (the Caspian Sea) — *upa zraγō vouru-kašəm* — asking for victory over Vishtāspa and (later addition) Zairivairi.[4] It might be claimed that we have Vishtāspa's enemy not only on the Caspian Sea, but possibly on the west side of it, although the expression with *upa* might equally refer to the eastern side of the Caspian which is still occupied by Turkomans.

5. A somewhat fanciful conjecture might be made that we may

[1] Justi, op. cit., pp. 246, 252, on a possible change of dynasty, and Spiegel, *ZDMG*. xlv. 196–198. Cf. p. 70, n. 2 above.

[2] *Le ZA*. ii. 382, n. 73, 78; but Geiger, *OIK*. map, makes Raŋha the Yaxartes.

[3] On the Yezīdīs, see Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, p. 522, London, 1893; Bassett, *Persia, the Land of the Imams*, pp. 31–33, New York, 1886.

[4] The mention of Zairivairi would imply that the first invasion is intended if we follow the division into two wars, p. 105. Notice may here be taken of what is said of Zariadres and his realm on p. 73 above.

perhaps have an allusion to the west (possibly Persepolis?) in the Dīnkarṯ reference to the 'treasury of Shapīgan' (or Shaspīgān, Shapān, or Shīzigān — for such are the readings allowed by the MSS.), in which Vishtāsp deposited the original codex of the Avesta.[1] As further related in the Dīnkarṯ this fell into the hands of the Greeks and was translated into their tongue. The treasury of the archives is usually associated with Persepolis.[2]

6. Hamzah of Isfahān connects Vishtāsp with Persia, for he makes him build a city in the district of Dārābjard in the province of Persia.[3]

Résumé of the Western View. — The more general claim in favor of western Iran is, that the religion was probably developed in the country where Zoroaster himself arose; that in his day Bactria was still in the earliest stages of civilization and its name is not connected either with his or with Vishtāsp's in the older texts; that Media, on the other hand, would have been a suitable field for his teaching and that the allusions to the west give a more consistent theory for ancient times. It is claimed, moreover, that Vishtāspa's foe, Arejaṯ-aspa, belonged to western Iran, on the ground of identifying the Hyaona with the classic Chionitæ and of placing these in the Caspian region. Finally, Vishtāspa was a minor king, and it is possible that the Median ruler Fraortes ('Confessor') may have made Zoroastrianism the national religion of Media. The devil-worshippers of the Avesta would answer to the later Yezīdīs of the western territory.

General Summary

Although we may agree that Zoroaster by birth arose in western Iran, we cannot be equally sure that the chief seat of his activity was also there. Both sides of the latter question have been presented, as were the former. The classical references (as early as the second century A.D.) would imply the possibility of Bactria or the

[1] Dk. 3. § 3, 7. 7. 3, n., 5. 3. 4; *SBE.* xxxvii. p. xxxi; *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 82, 127.

[2] See also Ṭabarī (p. 675, Leyden ed.): 'Bishāsp sent this (archetype) to a place in Istakhr called Darbīsht' (vocalization uncertain), Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37. The same is repeated from Ṭabarī by Bundarī (with reading *Zarbīsht?*) in Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* pp. 314–315. See also above, Chap. VIII., p. 97.

[3] See Hamzah, ed. Gottwaldt, ii. 26, and cf. Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 212, note by Spiegel.

east, as a scene, as well as of Media (Persia) and the west. This fact might be interpreted that he taught in the east, though he arose in the west. The Avesta does not decide the case. An allusion to the scene of Vishtāspa's two sacrifices may equally refer to Seistān, and to Media and Atropatene. From evidence in Pahlavi literature, we know that Zoroaster himself was in Seistān for a while, during the early part of his prophetic career. From the same source we also know he was in Turan, and the Gāthās allude to a Turanian adherent. This would seem to speak, in part at least, for eastern Iran, even if his patron Vishtāspa ruled in western Iran. From the Pahlavi and later Zoroastrian literature, the scenes of the Holy Wars would appear to have been located rather toward the east, in Merv and Khorassān. On the other hand, the silence of the Avesta on some vital points in connection with the east, together with an inference that Vishtāspa belonged to the same country as Zoroaster, and spoke the same dialect, would argue rather in behalf of western Iran. This latter view would be strengthened if the existence of a Bactrian kingdom at an early period be doubted. The majority of Iranian specialists, perhaps, seem to have felt that a stronger case can be made for Media and the west as the scene alike of Zoroaster's activity and his birth. On the other hand, later tradition, which includes Mohammedan-Iranian sources, is almost unanimous in placing Vishtāsp's kingdom in Bactria, which is claimed to have been founded by Lohrāsp. Having now presented both sides of the question, we may refrain from drawing a conclusion between the two views, for the present, and content ourselves with recalling what was said at the outset, that Zoroaster was a reformer, and he had a mission; in modern times the field of a great missionary's work is not usually confined to a single part of a country, whatever it may have been in ancient times.

APPENDIX V

CLASSICAL PASSAGES MENTIONING ZOROASTER'S NAME

Collected with the help of my student and friend Louis H. Gray, Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, to whom I wish to express my thanks with sincerity for his constant readiness to give assistance, especially in collecting the so-called Zoroastrian Logia. His kind aid is much appreciated. — A. V. W. J.

The list is confined simply to such passages as mention Zoroaster by name. Its compass might have been greatly extended if allusions to Magi, Persians, Hystaspes, or the like, had been included.

Much material from the Classics had already been gathered by Barnabé Brisson, *De Regio Persarum Principatu*, Paris, 1590; Hyde, *Religio veterum Persarum*, Oxon. 1700. The first systematic and excellent collection, however, of classical references on Persian subjects in general was made by J. F. Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Anhang z. 2ten Bd. 3ter Theil, Leipzig und Riga, 1783. This is still one of the standards. A different arrangement of the material is found in Rapp, *Die Religion der Perser und der übrigen Iranier nach d. Griechischen und Römischen Quellen*, in *ZDMG.* xix. p. 4 seq., xx. p. 49 seq. (translated into English by K. R. Cama, *Religion and Customs of the Persians*, Bombay, 1876–1879); it should be consulted, as it includes also Persian and Magian subjects. Consult also Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 260–313, Berlin, 1863 (translated into English by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 65–141, Leipzig, 1897). On special classical references, see, likewise, Jackson in *JAOS.* xv. 221–232; xvii. 1–22.

ALPHABETIC LIST OF AUTHORS AND EDITIONS

1. Look for the author under his approximate date given in this list, or consult reference by section (§).
2. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are cited as authorities by other writers or are mentioned by them.

Abdias, in Fabricius, Codex apocryph. Novi Test. i. 402–742, Hamb. 1719. See § **50**.

Afer, C. Marius Victorinus (A.D. first half fourth century), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 8. See § **23**.

Agathias Scholiastikos (c. A.D. 536–582), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 88. See § **35**.

Ailios Theon, see Theon.

Ainaias of Gaza (fl. A.D. 487), ed. Barthius, Leipzig, 1655. See § **34**.

Alcuinus (A.D. 735–804), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 100–101. See § **40**.

Alexander Poluhistor (B.C. first century), see § **4**, also *cited under* Georgios Sunkellos, § **41**.

Ammianus Marcellinus (c. A.D. 330–400), ed. Gardthausen, Leipzig, 1874. See § **22**.

Anathemas against Manichæans, see § **42**.

Anonymi Vita Platonis, ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862 (same vol. as Diog. Laert.). *See under* Plato. § **1**.

Apuleius Madaurensis (temp. Antonini Pii), ed. Hildebrand, Leipzig, 1842. See § **11**.

*Aristotle (B.C. 384–322), *cited under* Pliny; Diog. Laert.

*Aristoxenos (fl. B.C. 318), *cited under* Origen, Contr. Hær. i.

Arnobius (c. A.D. 295), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 5. See § **16**.

*Athenokles (date unknown), *cited under* Agathias.

Augustinus (A.D. 354–430), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 32–47. See § **28**.

Aurelius Prudentius (A.D. 348–c. 410), ed. in usum Delphini, London, 1824. See § **26**.

Basilios (A.D. 329–379), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 29–32. See § **20**.

*Berosos (c. B.C. 250), *cited by* Agathias.

Cedrenus, see Georgios Kedrenos.

Chaldæan Oracles or Zoroastrian Logia, see § **51**.

Chronicon Paschale (A.D. 627, last date), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 92. See § **39**.

Claudianus Mamertus (A.D. fifth century, second half), ed. Engelbrecht, Vienna, 1885. See § **31**.

Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. first century, end), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 8–9. See § **13**.

Clemens Romanus (Bishop of Rome, c. A.D. 91, but probably the works ascribed to him to be assigned later), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 1–2. See § **12**.

Cornelius Alexander Poluhistor, see Poluhistor.

Cotelerius, ed. SS. Patrum, qui temp. apost. floruerunt Opera, Paris, 1672. See § **42**.

Cyrillus Alexandrinus (d. A.D. 444), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 68–77. See § **29**.

*Deinon (date unknown), *cited under* Diogenes Laertius.

Diodoros Sikelos (temp. Augusti), ed. Müller, Paris, 1857. See § **3**.

*Diodoros of Eretria (temp. Augusti), *cited by* Origen, Contr. Hær. i.

Diogenes Laertios (flr. c. A.D. 210), ed. Cobet, Paris, 1862. See § **15**.

Dion Chrusostomos (born c. A.D. 50), ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1857. See § **7**.

Epiphanios (A.D. 320–402), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 41–43. See § **21**.

*Euboulos (date unknown), *cited by* Porphurios, de Antr. nymph.

Euchologion, siue Rituale Græcorum, ed. Goarius, Paris, 1647. *See under* Anathemas, § **42**.
*Eudemos of Rhodes (B.C. fourth century), *cited by* Diog. Laert.
*Eudoxos (c. B.C. 366) *cited by* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
Eusebios (c. A.D. 264–340), Chronicon, ed. Aucher, Venice, 1818. See § **18**.

Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, rec. Müller, 5 vols. Paris, 1841–1874.

Geoponica siue Cassiani Bassi Scholastica de re rustica Eclogæ (A.D. sixth century), ed. Beckh, Leipzig, 1895. See § **36**.
Georgios Hamartolos (c. A.D. 850), Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 110. See § **43**. *See also under* Chron. Pasch.
*Georgios Kedrenos (c. A.D. 1100), *see under* Chron. Pasch., and also Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 121.
Georgios Sunkellos (A.D. eighth century, last half), ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1829. See § **41**.
*Gregorios (c. A.D. 329–389), *cited by* Mich. Glukas.
Goarius, ed. Εὐχολόγιον, Paris, 1647. See § **42**.
Gregorius Turensis (A.D. 538–593), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 71. See § **37**.

Hamartolos, *see* Georgios Hamartolos.
*Hekataios (d. c. B.C. 476), *cited by* Diog. Laert.
*Hellanikos of Lesbos (c. B.C. 496–411), *cited by* Georg. Sunkell.
*Herakleides of Pontos (c. B.C. 360), *cited by* Plutarch, Adv. Colot., cf. also Anathemas and Petros Sikelos.
Herennios or Philo of Byblos, *see under* Eusebios.
*Hermippos (c. B.C. 200), *cited by* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
*Hermodoros Platonikos (B.C. fourth century), *cited by* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
*Herodotos (c. B.C. 484–420), *cited by* Georg. Sunkell.
Hieronymus (A.D. 331–420), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 22–30. See § **24**.
Hugo de St. Victore (d. A.D. 1141), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 175–177. See § **46**.

Isidorus (c. A.D. 570–636), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 81–84. See § **38**.

S. Iohannes Chrusostomos (A.D. 354–407), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 47–64. See § **25**.
Iohannes Ludos (born c. A.D. 490), ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1827. See § **32**.
*Iohannes Malalas (A.D. sixth century, first part), *see under* Chron. Pasch. and also Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 97.
Iustinus (temp. Anton. ?), ed. in usum Delphini, London, 1822. See § **10**.
Iulius Solinus, *see* Solinus.

Kassianos Bassos, *see* Geoponica.
Kedrenos, *see* Georgios Kedrenos.
*Kelsos (A.D. second century), *cited by* Origen, Contr. Cels. i.
*Kephalion (A.D. second century), *cited by* Georg. Sunkell.

*Klearchos of Soli (B.C. fourth century), *cited by* Diog. Laert.
*Ktesias (fr. B.C. 398), *cited by* Diodoros Sikelos; Georg. Sunkell.
Kurillos Alexandrinos (d. A.D. 444), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 68–77. See § **29**.

Logia of Zoroaster, so-called, § **51**.
Lukianos (temp. Antoninorum), ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1858. See § **9**.

Magika Logia of Zoroaster, so-called, see § **51**.
Michael Glukas (A.D. twelfth century, first half), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 158. See § **47**.
Migne edition, Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, Series *Græca*, Paris, 1857–1866.

tomm.	1–2	Clemens Romanus (Bishop of Rome c. A.D. 91).
"	8–9	Clemens Alexandrinos (end of first century A.D.).
"	11–17	Origenes (A.D. 185–254).
"	29–32	Basilios (A.D. 329–379).
"	41–43	Epiphanios (A.D. 320–402).
"	47–64	S. Iohannes Chrusostomos (A.D. 354–407).
"	68–77	Kurillos Alexandrinos (d. A.D. 444).
"	80–84	Theodoretos Kuraios (d. A.D. 457).
"	87	Prokopios Gazaios (end of fifth century A.D.).
"	88	Agathias Scholastikos (c. A.D. 536–582).
"	92	Chronicon Paschale (last date A.D. 627).
"	97	Iohannes Malalas (early part of sixth century A.D.).
"	101–104	Photios (c. 820–c. 891 A.D.).
"	104	Petros Sikelos (forgery of twelfth century A.D.? *vide* Krumbacher, Gesch. der byzant. Lit.[2], München, 1897, p. 78).
"	110	Georgios Hamartolos Monachos (wrote c. A.D. 850).
"	121	Georgios Kedrenos (end of eleventh century A.D.).
"	158	Michael Glukas (A.D. twelfth century, first half).

Migne edition, Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, Series *Latina*, Paris, 1878–1879.

tom.	5	Arnobius (c. A.D. 295).
"	8	C. Marius Victorinus Afer (A.D. fourth century, first half).
"	22–30	Hieronymus (A.D. 331–420).
"	31	Orosius (A.D. fifth century, first half).
"	32–47	Augustinus (A.D. 354–430).
"	71	Gregorius Turensis (A.D. 538–593).
"	81–84	Isidorus (c. A.D. 570–636).
"	100–101	Alcuinus (A.D. 735–804).
"	175–177	Hugo de St. Victore (ob. A.D. 1141).
"	198	Petrus Comestor (d. A.D. 1178).

Nikolaos of Damascus (B.C. first century), *cites* Xanthus of Lydia. See § **2**.

Oracles of Zoroaster, see § **51**.
Origenes (A.D. 185–254), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 11–17. See § **14**.

Orosius (A.D. fifth century, first half), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 31. See § **27**.

* Ostanes, *cited under* Pliny ; Eusebios.

* Panodoros (fl. A.D. 400) *cited under* Georg. Sunkell.

Petros Sikelos (forgery of twelfth century A.D.? *vide* Krumbacher, Gesch. der byzant. Lit.[2], München, 1897, p. 78), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 104.

Petrus Comestor (d. A.D. 1178), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 198. See § **49**.

* Philon of Byblos (A.D. second century, first half), *cited by* Eusebios.

Photios (c. A.D. 820–891), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 101–104. See § **44**.

Platon (B.C. 427–348) and Scholia, ed. Baiter, Orelli, Winckelmann, Zürich, 1839. See § **1**.

Plinius Secundus (A.D. first century), ed. de Grandsagne, Paris, 1827–1832. See § **5**.

Ploutarchos (c. A.D. 46–120), Vitæ ed. Döhner, Paris 1857–1862. See § **6**.

Ploutarchos (c. A.D. 46–120), Scripta Moralia ed. Dübner, Paris, 1841–1865. See § **6**.

Poluhistor, see Alexander Poluhistor and Solinus Polyhistor.

Porphurios (A.D. 233–306), de Antro Nymph. ed. Herscher, Paris, 1858. See § **17**.

Porphurios (A.D. 233–306), Vita Protag. et Plotini, ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862. See § **17**.

Prokopios Gazaios (A.D. fifth century, end), ed. Migne Patrolog. Gr. tom. 87. See § **33**.

Prudentius, *see* Aurelius Prudentius.

Scholiasticus Bassus, see Geoponica.

Scholion to Plato, see § **1**.

* Simakos = Symmachos (A.D. fourth century ?), *see under* Agathias, ii. **24**.

Solinus Polyhistor, C. Iulius (A.D. third century), ed. Salmasius, Utrecht, 1689. See § **19**.

Suidas (believed to be A.D. tenth century, but date not known), ed. Kuster, Cambridge, 1705. See § **45**.

Sunkellos, *see* Georgios Sunkellos.

Theon Smernaios (temp. Hadriani), in Walz's Rhætores Græci, Stuttg. u. Tübingen, 1832–1836. See § **8**.

Theodoretos Kuraios (d. A.D. 457), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 80–84. See § **30**.

* Theodoros of Mopsuestia (A.D. sixth century), *cited by* Photios.

Theologoumena Arithmetika, ed. Ast, Leipzig, 1817. See § **48**.

* Theopompos (fl. B.C. 338), *cited by* Diog. Laert. ; Ainaios of Gaza.

Victorinus, see Afer.

Xanthos of Lydia (B.C. fifth century), *cited by* Nikolaos of Damascus ; Diog. Laer.

* Zoroaster, *cited under* Pliny ; Clemen. Strom. ; Origenes ; Eusebios, Præp. Ev. ; Ainaias of Gaza ; Geoponica.

Zoroastrian Logia, so-called, see § **51**.

§ 1. Platon

(B.C. 427–347)

Alkibiades Protos, 121 E–122 A (a spurious work, perhaps by Alexamenos of Teos, an elder contemporary of Plato and the first to compose Socratic dialogues. See Bergk, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1887, iv. 469): ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἑπτέτεις γένωνται οἱ παῖδες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τούτων διδασκάλους φοιτῶσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας ἄρχονται ἰέναι. δὶς ἑπτὰ δὲ γενόμενον ἐτῶν τὸν παῖδα παραλαμβάνουσιν οὓς ἐκεῖνοι βασιλείους παιδαγωγοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐξειλεγμένοι Περσῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δόξαντες ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τέτταρες, ὅ τε σοφώτατος καὶ ὁ δικαιότατος καί ὁ σωφρονέστατος καὶ ὁ ἀνδρειότατος. ὧν ὁ μὲν μαγείαν τε διδάσκει τὴν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὡρομάζου,[1] — ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῶν θεραπεία, — διδάσκει δὲ καὶ τὰ βασιλικά· ὁ δὲ δικαιότατος ἀληθεύειν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, κ.τ.λ.

Scholion on the First Alkibiades: ἑπτέτεις] ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν λόγον τότε ἄρχεσθαι τελειοῦσθαι, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν Ζωροάστρην ζ' γενόμενον ἐτῶν σιωπῆσαι, εἶτα μετὰ λ' χρόνους ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας, ἢ ὡς τῷ Μίθρᾳ οἰκεῖον τὸν ζ' ἀριθμόν, ὃν διαφερόντως οἱ Πέρσαι σέβουσιν.

Ζωροάστρης ἀρχαιότερος ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν εἶναι λέγεται Πλάτωνος· ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἠπείρου ὡρμημένων [παῖδά] φασι, πᾶσάν τε σοφίαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος ἐκμαθεῖν, τουτέστιν ἐπιτυχοῦς νοήματος· οὗ δὴ εἰς ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν μεταφραζόμενον τοὔνομα τὸν ἀστροθύτην δηλοῖ. τιμῆσαί τε αὐτὸν τὴν ἀνακεχωρηκυῖαν διαγωγὴν τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ δὴ τὴν τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχήν, συγγράμματά τε διάφορα καταλιπεῖν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ δείκνυσθαι τρία μέρη φιλοσοφίας εἶναι κατ' αὐτόν, φυσικόν, οἰκονομικόν, πολιτικόν.

Scholion to the Republic, X. p. 600 B: Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου δακτυλιογλύφου, Τυρρηνός. νεὸς δὲ ὢν ἦλθεν ἐκ Τυρρηνῶν εἰς Σάμον, καὶ διήκουσε Φερεκύδους τοῦ Συρίου, εἶτα Ἑρμοδάμαντος, ἐν Σάμῳ ἀμφοῖν, εἶτα Ἀβάριδος τοῦ Ὑπερβορέου καὶ Ζάρατος τοῦ Μάγου. μεθ' οὓς ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων ἐπαιδεύθη.

Anonymi Vita Platonis, ed. Westermann, p. 7 (Paris, 1862): μεμαθηκὼς δὲ [sc. ὁ Πλάτων] ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχον τῆς φιλοσοφίας οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου, ἦλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ κατορθώσας ἐκεῖσε τὴν γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἀνεχώρησεν. εἶτ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Φοινίκην περιέτυχεν ἐκεῖσε Περσαῖς καὶ ἔμαθε παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν Ζωροάστρου παιδείαν.

[1] Two Parisian MSS. (1811, 1812 — Becker's E, F) read ὡροζάμου.

§ 2. Xanthos (B.C. Fifth Century), quoted by Nikolaos of Damascus (B.C. First Century)

This entire passage is in Nikolaos of Damascus (B.C. first century) (Müller, *FGH.* iii. 409). Xanthos wrote B.C. 465–425 (cf. Christ, *Griech. Literaturgesch.*[2] 278; Bergk, op. cit. 240) (in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* i. pp. 36–44).

Fragm. 19 (Müller, p. 42): *Κροίσῳ μὲν οὖν ταχὺ στέγασμα πορφυροῦν ὑπερέτεινον· τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ ζόφου καὶ λαίλαπος ταραττομένοις, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστραπῶν, καταπατουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων τραχυνομένων πρὸς τὸν ψόφον τῶν βροντῶν, δείματα δαιμόνια ἐνέπιπτεν, καὶ οἵ τε τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὶ καὶ τὰ Ζωροάστρου λόγια εἰσῄει. Κροῖσον μὲν οὖν ἐβόων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πάλαι σώζειν· αὐτοὶ δὲ καταπίπτοντες εἰς γῆν προσεκύνουν, εὐμένειαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αἰτούμενοι. φασὶ δέ τινες Θαλῆν προειδόμενον ἔκ τινων σημείων ὄμβρον γενησόμενον καὶ ἀναμένειν τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην. τόν γε μὴν Ζωροάστρην Πέρσαι ἀπ' ἐκείνου διεῖπαν, μήτε νεκροὺς καίειν, μήτ' ἄλλως μιαίνειν πῦρ, καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο καθεστὼς τὸ νόμιμον τότε βεβαιωσάμενοι.*

See also Xanthos cited below under Diogenes Laertios, § **15**.

§ 3. Diodoros Sikelos

(Wrote in the Reign of Augustus)

Lib. I. 94. 2: *καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ πλείοσιν ἔθνεσι παραδέδοται τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς ἐπινοίας ὑπάρξαι καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον γενέσθαι τοῖς πεισθεῖσι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀριανοῖς Ζαθραύστην ἱστοροῦσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ διδόναι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις Γέταις τοῖς ἀπαθανατίζουσι Ζάλμοξιν ὡσαύτως τὴν κοινὴν Ἑστίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωυσῆν τὸν Ἰαὼ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν, κ.τ.λ.*

II. 6. 1–2: *ὁ δ' οὖν Νίνος μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἠναγκάζετο, δυσεισβόλων*[1] *τῶν τόπων καὶ στενῶν ὄντων, κατὰ μέρος ἄγειν τὴν δύναμιν. ἡ γὰρ Βακτριανὴ χώρα πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις οἰκουμένη πόλεσι, μίαν μὲν εἶχεν ἐπιφανεστάτην, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ βασίλεια· αὕτη δ' ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Βάκτρα, μεγέθει δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὀχυρότητι πολὺ πασῶν διέφερε. βασιλεύων δ' αὐτῆς Ὀξυάρτης*[2] *κατέγραψεν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατείας ὄντας, οἱ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἠθροίσθησαν εἰς τετταράκοντα μυριάδας. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις*

[1] Gilmore, *δυσκόλων*.

[2] Codd. A, B, D, *Ἐξαόρτης*; F, *ὁ Ξαόρτης*; G, M, *ὁ Ζαόρτης* (Gilmore).

ἀπαντήσας περὶ τὰς εἰσβολάς, εἴασε μέρος τῆς τοῦ Νίνου στρατιᾶς εἰσβαλεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔδοξεν ἱκανὸν ἀποβεβηκέναι τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐξέταξε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς οἱ Βακτριανοὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τρεψάμενοι καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν μέχρι τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ὁρῶν ποιησάμενοι, διέφθειραν τῶν πολεμίων εἰς δέκα μυριάδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰσβαλούσης κρατούμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσι, κατὰ πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἕκαστοι ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσι βοηθήσοντες. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας ὁ Νίνος ἐχειρώσατο ῥᾳδίως, τὰ δὲ Βάκτρα διά τε τὴν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ παρασκευὰς ἠδύνατει κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν. πολυχρόνου[1] δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γενομένης ὁ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος ἀνὴρ ἐρωτικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ συστρατευόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ, μετεπέμψατο τὴν ἄνθρωπον. ἡ δὲ συνέσει καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν συντείνουσι κεχορηγημένη, καιρὸν ἔλαβεν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετήν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μέλλουσα διαπορεύεσθαι στολὴν ἐπαγματεύσατο, δι' ἧς οὐκ ἦν διαγνῶναι τὸν περιβεβλημένον πότερον ἀνήρ ἐστιν ἢ γυνή. αὕτη δ' ἦν εὔχρηστος αὐτῇ πρός τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν ὁδοιπορίας, εἰς τὸ διατηρῆσαι τὸν τοῦ σώματος χρῶτα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πράττειν ὃ βούλοιτο χρείας, εὐκίνητος οὖσα καὶ νεανική. καὶ τὸ σύνολον τοσαύτη τις ἐπῆν αὐτῇ χάρις ὥσθ' ὕστερον Μήδους ἡγησαμένους τῆς Ασίας, φορεῖν τὴν Σεμιράμιδος στολήν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁμοίως Πέρσας. παραγενομένη δ' εἰς τὴν Βακτριανήν, καὶ κατασκεψαμένη τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἑώρα κατὰ μὲν τὰ πεδία καὶ τοὺς εὐεφόδους τῶν τόπων προσβολὰς γινομένας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐδένα προσιόντα, διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα· καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπολελοιπότας τὰς ἐνταυθοῖ[2] φυλακάς, καὶ παρεπιβοηθοῦντας τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κάτω τειχῶν κινδυνεύουσι. διόπερ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πετροβατεῖν εἰωθότας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων διά τινος χαλεπῆς φάραγγος προσαναβᾶσα, κατελάβετο μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, καὶ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τὸ κατὰ τὸ πεδίον τεῖχος ἐσήμηνεν. οἱ δ' ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῆς ἄκρας καταπλαγέντες, ἐξέλιπον τὰ τείχη, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπέγνωσαν.

§ 4. Kornelios Alexander Poluhistor, quoted by Other Writers

(B.C. First Century)

Fragmm. 138–139, apud Clem. Alex. Strom. I. 15 (tom. i. col. 776, ed. Migne) et Cyrill. adv. Iul. IV. p. 133 (tom. ix. col. 705, ed. Migne): Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων Ναζαράτῳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ μαθητεῦσαι ἱστορεῖ τὸν Πυθαγόραν (Ἰεζεκιὴλ τοῦτον ἡγοῦνταί τινες, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἔπειτα δηλωθήσεται), ἀκηκοέναι τε πρὸς τούτοις Γαλατῶν καὶ Βραχμάνων τὸν Πυθαγόραν βούλεται. ἱστορεῖ γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ

[1] Müller, πολυχρονίου. [2] Müller, ἐνταῦθα.

ἐπίκλην Πολυίστωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων Ἀσσυρίῳ τὸ γένος ὄντι τῷ Ζάρᾳ φοιτῆσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν.

See also under Georgios Sunkellos, § **41**.

§ 5. C. Plinius Secundus

(A.D. 23–79)

Nat. Hist. VII. 15: Risisse eodem die quo genitus esset unum hominem accepimus Zoroastrem. eidem cerebrum ita palpitasse, ut impositam repelleret manum futurae praesagio scientiae.

XI. 97: Tradunt Zoroastrem in desertis caseo uixisse, ita temperato ut uetustatem non sentiret.

XVIII. 55: Adiecit iis Accius in Praxidico ut sereretur, cum luna esset in Ariete, Geminis, Leone, Libra, Aquario. Zoroastres sole duodecim partes Scorpionis transgresso, cum luna esset in Tauro.

XXX. 2. 1: Sine dubio illic orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores conuenit. sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius non satis constat. Eudoxus, qui inter sapientiae sectas clarissimam utililissimamque eam intelligi uoluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex millibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit. sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit, et uicies centum millia uersuum a Zoroastre condita, indicibus quoque uoluminum eius positis explanauit, praeceptorem, a quo institutum diceret, tradidit Azonacem ipsum uero quinque millibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse. mirum hoc in primis durasse memoriam artemque tam longo aeuo, commentariis non intercedentibus, praeterea nec claris nec continuis successionibus custoditam. quotus enim quisque auditu saltem cognitos habet, qui soli cognominantur, Apuscorum et Zaratum Medos, Babyloniosque Marmarum et Arabantiphocum, aut Assyrium Tarmoendam, quorum nulla extant monumenta? . . . primus quod extet, ut equidem inuenio, commentatus de ea Osthanes, Xerxem regem Persarum bello, quod is Graeciae intulit, comitatus; ac uelut semina artis portentosae sparsisse, obiter infecto, quacumque commeauerat, mundo. diligentiores paulo ante hunc ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium. . . . est et alia Magices factio, a Mose et Iamne et Iotape Iudeis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem.

XXXVII. 49: Celebrant et astroitem, mirasque laudes eius in magicis artibus Zoroastrem cecinisse, qui circa eas diligentes sunt, produnt.

Ibid. 55: Zoroastres crinibus mulierum similiorem bostrychiten uocat.

Ibid. 57: Daphniam Zoroastres morbis comitialibus demonstrat.

Ibid. 58: Exebenum Zoroastres speciosam et candidam tradit, qua aurifices aurum poliunt.

§ 6. Ploutarchos

(About A.D. 46 to about A.D. 120)

Vit. Numae, IV.: ἆρα οὖν ἄξιόν ἐστι, ταῦτα συγχωροῦντας ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ Ζαλεύκῳ καὶ Μίνῳ καὶ Ζωροάστρῃ καὶ Νομᾷ καὶ Λυκούργῳ, βασιλείας κυβερνῶσι καὶ πολιτείας διακοσμοῦσιν, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐφοίτα τὸ δαιμόνιον;

De Isid. et Osir. XLVI.: καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις. νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο, καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους· τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα, θεόν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον, δαίμονα καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ Ζωρόαστρις ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο, τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δ' ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ, μέσον δ' ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι. διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσι· ἐδίδαξε τῷ μὲν εὐκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δ' ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά. πόαν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες Ὄμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλμῳ, τὸν ᾅδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος, εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ζῴων, ὥσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῦ δὲ φαύλου, τοὺς ἐνύδρους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσιν.

De defectu Oraculorum, X.: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσι πλείονας λῦσαι καὶ μείζονας ἀπορίας οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συνάγον εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ συνάπτον ἐξευρόντες· εἴτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην ὁ λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν, εἴτε Θρᾴκιος ἀπ' Ὀρφέως, εἴτ' Αἰγύπτιος, ἢ Φρύγιος, ὡς τεκμαιρόμεθα ταῖς ἑκατέρωθι τελεταῖς ἀναμεμιγμένα πολλὰ θνητὰ καὶ πένθιμα τῶν ὀργιαζομένων καὶ δρωμένων ἱερῶν ὁρῶντες.

Quaest. Conviv. IV. 1. 1: οὐ γὰρ ἐμεμνήμην, εἶπεν ὁ Φίλων ὅτι Σωσάστρον ἡμῖν ὑποτρέφει ὁ Φιλῖνος, ὅν φασι μήτε ποτῷ χρησάμενον ἄλλῳ μήτ' ἐδέσματι πλὴν ἢ γάλακτος διαβιῶσαι πάντα τὸν βίον.

Ibid. IV. 5. 2: καὶ τί ἄν τις Αἰγυπτίους αἰτιῷτο τῆς τοιαύτης ἀλογίας; ὅπου καὶ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνα λευκὸν σέβεσθαι, καὶ τῶν θαλαττίων μάλιστα τρίγλης καὶ ἀκαλήφης ἀπέχεσθαι· τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Ζωροάστρου μάγους τιμᾶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὸν χερσαῖον ἐχῖνον, ἐχθαίρειν δὲ τοὺς ἐνύδρους μῦς, καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα πλείστους θεοφιλῆ καὶ μακάριον νομίζειν;

De Animae Procreat in Timaeo, II. 2: καὶ Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος ταύτην [sc. δυάδα] μὲν ἐκάλει τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ μητέρα, τὸ δὲ ἓν πατέρα· διὸ καὶ βελτίονας εἶναι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὅσοι τῇ μονάδι προσεοίκασι.

Ibid. XXVII. 2: . . . ἀνάγκην ἣν εἱμαρμένην οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν· Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ φιλίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ νεῖκος· Ἡράκλειτος δὲ, παλίντροπον ἁρμονίην κόσμου, ὅκωσπερ λύρης καὶ τόξου· Παρμενίδης δὲ φῶς καὶ σκότος· Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ νοῦν καὶ ἀπειρίαν· Ζωροάστρης δὲ θεὸν καὶ δαίμονα, τὸν μὲν Ὠρομάσδην καλῶν, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον.

Advers. Coloten, XIV. 2: ποῦ γὰρ ὢν τῆς ἀοικήτου τὸ βιβλίον ἔγραφες; ἵνα ταῦτα συντιθεὶς τὰ ἐγκλήματα μὴ τοῖς ἐκείνων συντάγμασιν ἐντύχῃς, μηδ' ἀναλάβῃς εἰς χεῖρας Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς, Θεοφράστου δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς, Ἡρακλείδου[1] δὲ τὸν Ζωροάστρην, τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου, τὸ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς ἀπορουμένων, Δικαιάρχου δὲ τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς, ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν φυσικῶν ὑπεναντιούμενοι τῷ Πλάτωνι καὶ μαχόμενοι διατελοῦσι.

§ 7. Dion Chrusostomos

(Born about A.D. 50)

Borysthenica Orat. XXXVI. (vol. ii. p. 60 f., ed. Dindorf): τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τέλειον ἅρμα τοῦ Διὸς οὐδεὶς ἄρα ὕμνησεν ἀξίως τῶν τῇδε οὔτε Ὅμηρος οὔτε Ἡσίοδος, ἀλλὰ Ζωροάστρης καὶ μάγων παῖδες ᾄδουσι παρ' ἐκείνου μαθόντες· ὃν Πέρσαι λέγουσιν ἔρωτι σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀποχωρήσαντα τῶν ἄλλων καθ' αὑτὸν ἐν ὄρει τινὶ ζῆν· ἔπειτα ἁφθῆναι τὸ ὄρος πυρὸς ἄνωθεν πολλοῦ κατασκήψαντος συνεχῶς τε κάεσθαι. τὸν οὖν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς ἐλλογιμωτάτοις Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πλησίον, βουλόμενον εὔξασθαι τῷ θεῷ· καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαθῆ, φανέντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἵλεων θαρρεῖν κελεῦσαι καὶ θῦσαι θυσίας τινάς, ὡς ἥκοντος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ θεοῦ. συγγίγνεσθαί τε μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ἅπασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄριστα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πεφυκόσι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ συνιέναι δυναμένοις, οὓς Πέρσαι μάγους ἐκάλεσεν,

[1] On Herakleides of Pontos, cf. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. 197 ff.; Bähr, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, iii. 1142–1144.

ἐπισταμένους θεραπεύειν τὸ δαιμόνιον, οὐχ ὡς Ἕλληνες ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ὀνόματος οὕτως ὀνομάζουσιν ἀνθρώπους γόητας.

§ 8. Ailios Theon

(Flourished about A.D. 125 ?)

Progymnasmata, 9: οὐ γὰρ εἰ Τόμυρις ἡ Μασσαγέτις, ἢ Σπαρέδρα ἡ Ἀμώγου τοῦ Σάκων βασιλέως γυνὴ κρείττων ἐστὶ Κύρου, ἢ καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία Σεμίραμις Ζοροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου, ἤδη συγχωρητέον καὶ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος εἶναι ἀνδρειότερον, μιᾶς μὲν ἢ δύο γυναικῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων οὐσῶν, ἀρρένων δὲ παμπολλῶν.

§ 9. Lukianos

(Flourished about A.D. 160)

Nekuomanteia, 6: καί μοί ποτε διαγρυπνοῦντι τούτων ἕνεκεν ἔδοξεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐλθόντα δεηθῆναί τινος τῶν μάγων τῶν Ζωροάστρου μαθητῶν καὶ διαδόχων, ἤκουον δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπῳδαῖς τε καὶ τελεταῖς τισιν ἀνοίγειν τε τοῦ Ἅιδου τὰς πύλας καὶ κατάγειν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ὀπίσω αὖθις ἀναπέμπειν.

§ 10. M. Iunian(i)us Iustinus

(Period of the Antonines ?)

Hist. Philippicae, I. 1. 9–10: Postremum illi bellum cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum, fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas inuenisse, et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse. hoc occiso et ipse decessit, relicto impubere adhuc filio Ninya et uxore Semiramide.

§ 11. Apuleius Madaurensis

(Born about A.D. 125)

Florida, II. 15 (vol. ii. p. 59, ed. Hildebrand): Sunt qui Pythagoram aiant eo temporis inter captiuos Cambysae regis, Aegyptum cum adueheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum magos ac praecipue Zoroastren, omnis diuini arcanum antistitem, posteaque eum a quodam Gillo Crotoniensium principe reciperatum.

De Magia, XXVI. (vol. ii. p. 502 f., ed. Hild.): Auditisne magiam, qui eam temere accusatis, artem esse diis immortalibus acceptam, colendi eos ac uenerandi pergnaram, piam scilicet et

diuini scientem, iam inde a Zoroastre et Oromazo auctoribus suis nobilem, coelitum antistitem? quippe quia inter prima regalia docetur, nec ulli temere inter Persas concessum est magum esse, haud magis quam regnare. idem Plato in alia sermocinatione de Zalmoxi quodam Thraci generis sed eiusdem artis uiro ita scriptum reliquit: *θεραπεύεσθαι δὲ τὴν ψυχήν, ἔφη, ὦ μακάριε, ἐπῳδαῖς τισί. τὰς δὲ ἐπῳδὰς τοὺς λόγους εἶναι τοὺς καλούς.* quodsi ita est, cur mihi nosse non liceat uel Zalmoxis bona uerba uel Zoroastris sacerdotia?

Ibid. XXXI. (p. 514): Pythagoram plerique Zoroastris sectatorem similiter magiae peritum arbitrati.

Ibid. cap. XC. (p. 615 f.): Si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaueritis, ego ille sim Carinondas uel Damigeron, uel is Moses uel Iannes uel Apollonius uel ipse Dardanus uel quicumque alius post Zoroastren et Hostanen inter magos celebratus est.

§ 12. Clemens Romanus

(About A.D. 30–100, but probably written later)

Recognitiones, IV. 27–29 (tom. i. col. 1326 f., ed. Migne) (only in Latin transl. of Rufinus; dates about end of A.D. second century. Cf. Schoell, *Histoire Abrégée de la litt. grecque sacrée et ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1832, p. 220 f.; Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, 2d ed. p. 732). 27: Ex quibus unus Cham nomine, cuidam ex filiis suis qui Mesraim appellabatur, a quo Aegyptiorum et Babyloniorum et Persarum ducitur genus, male compertam magicae artis tradidit disciplinam; hunc gentes quae tunc erant Zoroastrem appelauerunt, admirantes primum magicae artis auctorem, cuius nomine etiam libri super hoc plurimi habentur. hic ergo astris multum ac frequenter intentus et uolens apud homines uideri deus, uelut scintillas quasdam ex stellis producere et hominibus ostentare coepit, quo rudes atque ignari in stuporem miraculi traherentur, cupiensque augere de se huiusmodi opinionem, saepius ista moliebatur usquequo ab ipso daemone, quem importunius frequentabat igni succensus concremaretur.

28: Sed stulti homines qui tunc erant, cum debuissent utique opinionem, quam de eo conceperant, abicere, quippe quam poenali morte eius uiderant confutatam, in maius eum extollunt. extructo enim sepulcro ad honorem eius, tanquam amicum dei ac fulminis ad caelum uehiculo subleuatum, adorare ausi sunt, et quasi uiuens

astrum colere. hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoroaster, hoc est uiuum sidus, appellatum est ab his, qui post unam generationem graecae linguae loquela fuerant repleti. hoc denique exemplo etiam nunc multi eos qui fulmine obierint, sepulcris honoratos tamquam amicos Dei colunt. hic ergo cum quartadecima generatione coepisset, quintadecima defunctus est, in qua turris aedificata est, et linguae hominum multipliciter diuisae sunt.

29: Inter quos primus, magica nihilominus arte, quasi corusco ad eum delato, rex appellatur quidam Nemrod, quem et ipsum Graeci Ninum uocauerunt; ex cuius nomine Niniue ciuitas uocabulum sumsit. sic ergo diuersae et erraticae superstitiones ab arte magica initium sumpsere.

Et eius, quem supra diximus indignatione daemonis, cui nimis molestus fuerat, conflagrasse, busti cineres tanquam fulminei ignis reliquias colligentes hi, qui erant primitus decepti, deferunt ad Persas, ut ab eis tanquam diuinus e caelo lapsus ignis perpetuis conseruaretur excubiis, atque ut caelestis deus coleretur.

Homilies (also spurious), IX. 4 f. (tom. ii. col. 244, ed. Migne): *ἐκ τοῦ γένους τούτου γίνεταί τις κατὰ διαδοχὴν μαγικὰ παρειληφώς, ὀνόματι Νεβρώδ, ὥσπερ γίγας ἐναντία τῷ θεῷ φρονεῖν ἑλόμενος, ὃν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ζωροάστρην προσηγόρευσαν. οὗτος μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν βασιλείας ὀρεχθεὶς καὶ μέγας ὢν μάγος τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ τὸν ὡροσκοποῦντα κόσμον ἀστέρα πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας δόσιν μαγικαῖς ἠνάγκαζε τέχναις. ὁ δὲ ἅτε δὴ ἄρχων ὢν καὶ τοῦ βιαζομένου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, μετ' ὀργῆς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προσέχεε πῦρ, ἵνα πρός τε τὸν ὅρκισμὸν εὐγνωμονήσῃ, καὶ τὸν πρώτως ἀναγκάσαντα τιμωρήσηται.*

ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ χαμαὶ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς ὁ μάγος ἀναιρεθεὶς Νεβρώδ, ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος πράγματος Ζωροάστρης μετωνομάσθη, διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν. οἱ δὲ ἀνόητοι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, ὡς διὰ τὴν εἰς θεὸν φιλίαν κεραυνῷ μεταπεμφθεῖσαν τὴν ψυχὴν νομίσαντες, τοῦ σώματος τὸ λείψανον κατορύξαντες, τὸν μὲν τάφον ναῷ ἐτίμησαν ἐν Πέρσαις, ἔνθα ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς καταφορὰ γέγονεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς θεὸν ἐθρήσκευσαν. τούτῳ τῷ ὑποδείγματι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐκεῖσε τοὺς κεραυνῷ θνήσκοντας ὡς θεοφιλεῖς θάπτοντες ναοῖς τιμῶσιν, καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἰδίων μορφῶν ἱστᾶσιν ἀγάλματα . . .

Πέρσαι πρῶτοι τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς λαβόντες ἄνθρακας τῇ οἰκείᾳ διεφύλαξαν τροφῇ καὶ ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον προτιμήσαντες τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πρῶτοι προσκυνήσαντες, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς πρώτῃ βασιλείᾳ τετίμηνται· μεθ' οὓς Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πυρὸς ἄνθρακας κλέψαντες καὶ διασώσαντες εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσκυνήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκολούθως ἐβασίλευσαν.

§ 13. Titus Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus

(Died between A.D. 211–218)

Stromata I. (tom. i. col. 773, ed. Migne): ἐπῆλθε γὰρ [*sc.* ὁ Δημόκριτος[1]] Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ Περσίδα καὶ Αἴγυπτον τοῖς τε μαγικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μαθητεύων. Ζωρωάστρην δὲ τὸν μάγον τὸν Πέρσην ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐδήλωσεν.[2] βίβλους ἀποκρύφους τἀνδρὸς τοῦδε οἱ τὴν Προδίκου μετιόντες αἵρεσιν αὐχοῦσι κεκτῆσθαι.

Ibid. (tom. i. col. 868, ed. Migne): προγνώσει δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ μέγας προσανεῖχεν ἀεί, Ἄβαρίς τε ὁ Ὑπερβόρεος, καὶ Ἀριστείας ὁ Προκοννήσιος, Ἐπιμενίδης τε ὁ Κρὴς ὅστις εἰς Σπάρτην ἀφίκετο, καὶ Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μῆδος, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος, καὶ Φορμίων ὁ Λάκων.

Ibid. Strom. V. (tom. ii. col. 156 f., ed. Migne): ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας Ἥρος τοῦ Ἀρμενίου,[3] τὸ γένος Παμφύλου, μέμνηται, ὅς ἐστι Ζοροάστρης.[4] αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Ζοροάστρης γράφει· Τάδε συνέγραψεν Ζοροάστρης ὁ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Πάμφυλος. ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας ἐν Ἅιδῃ γενόμενος ἐδάην παρὰ θεῶν. τὸν δὴ Ζοροάστρην τοῦτον ὁ Πλάτων δωδεκαταῖον ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενον ἀναβιῶναι λέγει. τάχα μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τάχα δὲ ἐκεῖνα αἰνίσσεται, ὡς διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ζωδίων ἡ ὁδὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίνεται εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν γένεσίν φησι τὴν αὐτὴν γίγνεσθαι κάθοδον.

§ 14. Origenes

(A.D. 185–254)

Contra Celsum I. (tom. i. col. 689, ed. Migne): ὅρα οὖν εἰ μὴ ἄντικρυς κακουργῶν ἐξέβαλε [*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος] τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν σοφῶν καὶ Μωυσέα, Λῖνον δὲ καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ τὸν Φερεκύδην καὶ τὸν Πέρσην Ζωροάστρην καὶ Πυθαγόραν φήσας περὶ τῶνδε διειληφέναι, καὶ ἐς βίβλους κατατεθεῖσθαι τὰ ἑαυτῶν δόγματα, καὶ πεφυλάχθαι αὐτὰ μέχρι δεῦρο.

Contra Haereses I. col. 3025: Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός φησι πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐληλυθέναι Πυθαγόραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὖσιν αἴτια, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν φῶς, μητέρα δὲ σκότος, τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμόν, ξηρόν,

[1] Cf. Eusebius.

[2] Quoted by Cyrill. *adv. Iul.* iii. (tom. i. col. 633, ed. Migne) where, however, ἐζήλωσεν is read (cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* 263).

[3] Vid. Plato, *Repub.* p. 614 B.

[4] Ζωρόαστρις in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* XIII. 13, 30.

κοῦφον, ταχύ· τοῦ δὲ σκότους ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, βαρύ, βραδύ. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντα τὸν κόσμον συνεστάναι, ἐκ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος· εἶναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον φύσιν κατὰ μουσικὴν ἁρμονίαν, διὸ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν περίοδον ἐναρμόνιον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ κόσμου γινομένων τάδε φασὶ λέγειν τὸν Ζαράταν· δύο δαίμονας εἶναι, τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸν δὲ χθόνιον· καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνιέναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ ὕδωρ· τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος, θερμὸν τοῦ ψυχροῦ. διὸ καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀναιρεῖν οὐδὲ μιαίνειν φησὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα οὐσία τῶν πάντων. κυάμους δὲ λέγεται παραγγέλλειν μὴ ἐσθίειν, αἰτίᾳ τοῦ τὸν Ζαράτην εἰρηκέναι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ σύγκρισιν τῶν πάντων συνισταμένης τῆς γῆς ἔτι καὶ συνσεσημμένης γενέσθαι τὸν κύαμον. τούτου δὲ τεκμήριόν φησιν, εἴ τις καταμασησάμενος λεῖον τὸν κύαμον καταθείη πρὸς ἥλιον χρόνον τινά — τοῦτο γὰρ εὐθέως ἀντιλήψεται — προσφέρειν ἀνθρωπίνου γόνου ὀδμήν. σαφέστερον δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἕτερον παράδειγμα λέγει, εἰ ἀνθοῦντος τοῦ κυάμου λαβόντες τὸν κύαμον καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταθέντες εἰς χύτραν ταύτην τε καταχρίσαντες εἰς γῆν κατορύξαιμεν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀνακαλύψαιμεν, ἴδοιμεν ⟨ἂν⟩ αὐτὸ εἶδος ἔχον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς αἰσχύνην γυναικός, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατανοούμενον παιδίου κεφαλὴν συμπεφυκυῖαν.

Ibid. V. (auct. inc.) Migne, vi. col. 3170: δύναμις δεξιὰ ἐξουσιάζει καρπῶν· τοῦτον ἡ ἀγνωσία ἐκάλησε Μῆνα, οὗ κατ' εἰκόνα ἐγένοντο Βουμέγας, Ὀστάνης, Ἑρμῆς τρισμέγιστος, Κουρίτης, Πετόσιρις, Ζωδάριον, Βηρωσός, Ἀστράμψουχος, Ζωρόαστρις.

Ibid. VI. (col. 3228, Migne): καὶ Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος ἐκάλει τὸ μὲν ἓν πατέρα, τὸ δὲ δύο μητέρα.

§ 15. Diogenes Laertios

(Flourished about A.D. 210)

Procem. 2 (ed. Cobet, Paris, 1862): ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶ εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια·[1] Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλιά φησι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως.

Ibid. 6: τὴν δὲ γοητικὴν μαγείαν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν [*sc.* οἱ Μάγοι], φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Δείνων ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν· ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι· φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πρεσ-

[1] Two MSS., ἑξακισχίλια.

βυτέρους εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα εἶναι Ζεὺς καὶ Ὠρομάσδης, τῷ δὲ Ἅιδης καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος. φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Μάγων καὶ Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ Περιόδῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, ὃς καὶ ἀναβιώσεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανάτους, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπικλήσεσι διαμένειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Εὔδημος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἱστορεῖ. Ἑκαταῖος δὲ καὶ γενητοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι κατ' αὐτούς. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ παιδείας καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς ἀπογόνους εἶναι τῶν Μάγων φησίν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκ τούτων εἶναι.

§ 16. Arnobius

(Wrote about A.D. 295)

Adv. Gentes I. 5 (col. 727 f., ed. Migne): ut inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus, non tantum ferro dimicaretur et uiribus, uerum etiam Magicis et Chaldaeorum ex reconditis disciplinis, inuidia nostra haec fuit?

Ibid. I. 52 (col. 788 ff.): Age nunc, ueniat quis super igneam zonam, magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur auctori. Bactrianus et ille conueniat, cuius Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo, Armenius Hosthanis[1] nepos, etc.

§ 17. Porphurios

(A.D. 233 to about A.D. 304)

Vit. Pythagorae 12: ἔν τε Ἀραβίᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνῆν [ὁ Πυθαγόρας] ἔν τε Βαβυλῶνι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις συνεγένετο καὶ πρὸς Ζάβρατον ἀφίκετο, παρ' οὗ καὶ ἀκαθάρθη τὰ τοῦ προτέρου βίου λύματα καὶ ἐδιδάχθη ἀφ' οὗ ἁγνεύειν προσήκει τοῖς σπουδαίοις, τόν τε περὶ φύσεως λόγον ἤκουσε καὶ τίνες αἱ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχαί. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη πλάνης ὁ Πυθαγόρας τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς σοφίας ἐνεπορεύσατο.

De antro nympharum 6: οὕτω καὶ Πέρσαι τὴν εἰς κάτω κάθοδον τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ πάλιν ἔξοδον μυσταγωγοῦντες τελοῦσι τὸν μύστην, ἐπονομάσαντες σπήλαιον τόπον· πρῶτα μὲν ὥς φησιν Εὔβουλος, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος ἀνθηρὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιερώσαντος εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου, εἰκόνα φέροντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου, ὃν ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημιούργησε, τῶν δὲ ἐντὸς κατὰ συμμέτρους ἀποστάσεις σύμβολα φερόντων τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων καὶ κλιμάτων· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ζωροάστρην κρατήσαντος καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις

[1] MSS. Zostriani, cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* 289.

δι' ἄντρων καὶ σπηλαίων εἴτ' οὖν αὐτοφυῶν εἴτε χειροποιήτων τὰς τελετὰς ἀποδιδόναι.[1]

De Vita Plotini § 16: γεγόνασι δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, αἱρετικοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φιλοσοφίας ἀνηγμένοι οἱ περὶ Ἀδέλφιον καὶ Ἀκυλῖνον, οἳ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Λίβυος καὶ Φιλοκώμου καὶ Δημοστράτου καὶ Λυδοῦ συγγράμματα πλεῖστα κεκτημένοι, ἀποκαλύψεις τε προφέροντες Ζωροάστρου καὶ Ζωστριανοῦ καὶ Νικοθέου καὶ Ἀλλογενοῦς καὶ Μέσου καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων πολλοὺς ἐξηπάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠπατημένοι, ὡς δὴ τοῦ Πλάτωνος εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς νοητῆς οὐσίας οὐ πελάσαντος. ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐλέγχους ποιούμενος ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις, γράψας δὲ καὶ βιβλίον, ὅπερ πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικοὺς ἐπεγράψαμεν, ἡμῖν τὰ λοιπὰ κρίνειν καταλέλοιπεν. Ἀμέλιος δὲ ἄχρι τεσσαράκοντα βιβλίων προκεχώρηκε πρὸς τὸ Ζωστριανοῦ βιβλίον ἀντιγράφων. Πορφύριος δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ Ζωροάστρου συχνοὺς πεποίημαι ἐλέγχους, ὅπως νόθον τε καὶ νέον τὸ βιβλίον παραδεικνύς, πεπλασμένον τε ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν συστησαμένων εἰς δόξαν τοῦ εἶναι τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ζωροάστρου τὰ δόγματα, ἃ αὐτοὶ εἵλοντο πρεσβεύειν.

§ 18. Eusebios

(About A.D. 264–340)

This passage is usually assigned to Philo Byblius (flor. circ. A.D. 125), Fragm. 9, apud Euseb. Praep. Evang. I. 10 (tom. iii. col. 88, ed. Migne): καὶ Ζωροάστρης δὲ ὁ μάγος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ συναγωγῇ τῶν Περσικῶν φησι κατὰ λέξιν· Ὁ δὲ θεός ἐστι κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἱέρακος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἄφθαρτος, ἀίδιος, ἀγέννητος, ἀμερής, ἀνομοιότατος, ἡνίοχος παντὸς καλοῦ, ἀδωροδόκητος, ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθώτατος, φρονίμων φρονιμώτατος· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πατὴρ εὐνομίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, αὐτοδίδακτος, φυσικός, καὶ τέλειος, καὶ σοφός, καὶ ἱεροῦ φυσικοῦ μόνος εὑρετής. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Ὀστάνης φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Ὀκτατεύχῳ.

Ibid. X. 9, 10 (col. 805 seq., ed. Migne): οὗ Νίνος ἐπώνυμος πόλις, ἣ Νινευὶ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὠνόμασται, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. Νίνου δὲ γυνὴ καὶ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας Σεμίραμις· ὥστ' εἶναι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ τούτους.

Eusebius Chron. II. 35, ed. Aucher (to year 9 of Abraham): Zoroastres magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur: aduersum quem Ninus dimicauit.

[1] Thus Nietzsche in his 'Also sprach Zarathustra' makes the Sage dwell in a cave, with a serpent and an eagle as his faithful companions.

§ 19. C. Iul. Solinus Polyhistor

(A.D. Third or Fourth Century)

I. Nascentium uox prima uagitus est: laetitiae enim sensus differtur in quadrigesimum diem. itaque unum nouimus eadem hora risisse, qua erat natus, scilicet Zoroastrem, mox optimarum artium peritissimum.

§ 20. Basilios Megas

(A.D. 329–379)

Epist. CCLVIII. (tom. iv. col. 953, ed. Migne): τὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γεναλογίας οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος τῶν μάγων ἐμυθολόγησεν· ἀλλὰ Ζαροῦάν τινα ἑαυτοῖς ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους ἐπιφημίζουσι.

§ 21. Epiphanios of Constantia

(A.D. 298–403)

Adv. Haereses, Lib. I. Tom. I. 6 (tom. i. col. 185 seq., ed. Migne): Νεβρὼθ γὰρ βασιλεύει υἱὸς τοῦ Χοῦς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐξ οὗ Ἀσσοῦρ γεγέννηται. τούτου ἡ βασιλεία ἐν Ὀρὲχ γεγέννηται, καὶ ἐν Ἀρφὰλ, καὶ Χαλάννη. κτίζει δὲ καὶ τὴν Θειρὰς καὶ τὴν Θόβελ καὶ Λόβον ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίων χώρᾳ. τοῦτόν φασι παῖδες Ἑλλήνων εἶναι τὸν Ζωροάστρην, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίνεται Βάκτρων.[1] ἐντεῦθεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν γῆν παράνομα διανενέμηται. ἐφευρέτης γὰρ οὗτος γεγένηται κακῆς διδαχῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ μαγείας, ὥς τινές φασι περὶ τούτου τοῦ Ζωροάστρου. πλὴν ὡς ἡ ἀκρίβεια περιέχει τοῦ Νεβρὼθ τοῦ γίγαντος οὗτος ἦν ὁ χρόνος. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀλλήλων τῷ χρόνῳ διεστήκασιν ἄμφω, ὅ τε Νεβρὼθ καὶ ὁ Ζωροάστρης.

§ 22. Ammianus Marcellinus

(About 330–400)

XXIII. 6, 32–34: magiam opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato machagistiam esse uerbo mystico docet, diuinorum incoruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus Darei pater. qui cum superioris Indiae secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam uenerat solitudinem,

[1] The same statement is later repeated by Prokopios of Gaza, see below, § 33.

cuius tranquillis silentiis praecelsa Bracmanorum ingenia potiuntur, eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus et siderum purosque sacrorum ritus quantum colligere potuit eruditus, ex his quae didicit, aliqua sensibus magorum infudit, quae illi cum disciplinis praesentiendi futura per suam quisque progeniem posteris aetatibus tradunt. ex eo per saecula multa ad praesens una eademque prosapia multitudo creata deorum cultibus dedicatur. feruntque, si iustum est credi, etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodiri, cuius portionem exiguam ut faustam praeisse quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt.

§ 23. Marius Victorinus Afer

(About A.D. 350)

Ad Iustinum Manichaeum (col. 1003, ed. Migne): Iam uidistine ergo quot Manis, Zoradis, aut Buddas haec docendo deceperint?

§ 24. Hieronymus

(A.D. 331–420)

Epist. 132 (tom. i. col. 1153, ed. Migne): In Hispania Agape Elpidium, mulier uirum, caecum caeca duxit in foueam, successoremque qui Priscillianum habuit, Zoroastris magi studiosissimum, et ex mago episcopum, cui iuncta Galla non gente sed nomine, germanam huc illucque currentem alterius et uicinae haereseos reliquit haeredem.

§ 25. Iohannes Chrustostomos

(A.D. 347–407)

Lib. de S. Babyla contra Iulianum et Gentiles (tom. ii. col. 536, ed. Migne): *εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, διὰ τί τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Ζάμολξιν οὐδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἴσασιν οἱ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέ τινες πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν; ἆρ' οὐχ ὅτι πλάσματα ἦν τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα ἅπαντα; καίτοι γε κἀκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκείνων συνθέντες δεινοὶ γενέσθαι λέγονται, οἱ μὲν γοητείαν εὑρεῖν καὶ ἐργάσασθαι, οἱ δὲ συσκιάσαι ψεῦδος τῇ τῶν λόγων πιθανότητι. ἀλλὰ πάντα μάτην γίνεται καὶ εἰκῇ, ὅταν ἡ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπόθεσις σαθρὰ καί ψευδὴς οὖσα τύχῃ, ὥσπερ οὖν, ὅταν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἀληθής, ἅπαντα πάλιν μάτην γίνεται καὶ εἰκῇ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν ἐπινοούμενα παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὐδεμίας γὰρ δεῖται βοηθείας ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ἴσχυς.*

§ 26. Aurelius Prudentius Clemens

(A.D. 348 to about A.D. 410[1])

Apotheosis, 492 ff.:

ecquis alumnus
Chrismatis inscripto signaret tempora ligno;
Qui Zoroastraeos turbasset fronte susurros.

§ 27. Paulus Orosius

(Wrote about A.D. 417)

Hist. I. 4 (col. 700, ed. Migne): Nouissime Zoroastrem Bactrianorum regem, eundemque magicae (ut ferunt) artis repertorem, pugna oppressum [*sc.* Ninus] interfecit.[2]

The passage contains some account also of Semiramis as well as of Ninus.

§ 28. Aurelius Augustinus

(A.D. 354–430)

De Civ. Dei, XXI. 14 (tom. vii. col. 728, ed. Migne): Solum quando natus est ferunt risisse Zoroastrem, nec ei boni aliquid monstrosus risus ille portendit. nam magicarum artium fuisse perhibetur inuentor; quae quidem illi nec ad praesentis uitae uanam felicitatem contra suos inimicos prodesse potuerunt. a Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse Bactrianorum, bello superatus est.

§ 29. Kurillos Alexandrinos

(About A.D. 376–444)

Contra Iulian. III. (tom. ix. col. 633, ed. Migne): *ὅτι μὲν οὖν οἱ Μάγοι Περσικόν εἰσι γένος, ἐροῦσί που πάντως. Ζωροάστρην γε μὴν οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλάξειε λόγος τοῦ ταῖς μαγικαῖς ἐνισχῆσθαι τέχναις, οὗ δὴ καὶ πανάριστον ζηλωτὴν Πυθαγόραν φασίν, ὡς καὶ βίβλους ἀπορρήτους παρ' αὐτοῦ συντεθειμένας αὐχῆσαί τινας.*

[1] Quoted also by Gregory of Tours, *Miraculor.* lib. i. cap. 41 (col. 743, ed. Migne).

[2] Praised by Ekkehard Urangiensis, col. 505, ed. Migne (vol. 154).

§ 30. Theodoretos of Cyrus

(About A.D. 387–457)

Graecarum Affectionum Curatio, IX. de legibus (tom. iv. col. 1045, ed. Migne): ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ζαράδου πάλαι Πέρσαι πολιτευόμενοι νόμους, καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς ἀδεῶς καὶ μέντοι καὶ θυγατράσι μιγνύμενοι, καὶ ἔννομον τὴν παρανομίαν νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ τῆς τῶν ἁλιέων νομοθεσίας ἐπήκουσαν, τοὺς μὲν Ζαράδου νόμους ὡς παρανομίαν ἐπάτησεν, τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην ἠγάπησαν. καὶ κυσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς προτιθέναι παρ᾽ ἐκείνου μεμαθηκότες, νῦν τοῦτο δρᾶν οἱ πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἀνέχονται, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ κατακρύπτουσι, καὶ τῶν τοῦτο δρᾶν ἀπαγορευόντων οὐ φροντίζουσι νόμων, οὔδε πεφρίκασι τὴν τῶν κολαζόντων ὠμότητα.

§ 31. Claudianus Mamertus

(Wrote about A.D. 470)

De statu animae, II. 8 (col. 750, ed. Migne): Quid ego nunc Zoroastri, quid Brachmanum ex India, quid Anacharsis e Scythia, quid uero Catonum, quid M. Ciceronis, quid Crysippi, qui ab ipso paene principio sui operis animo dominandi ius tribuit, corpori legem seruitutis imponit, in defensionem ueri sententias adferam?

§ 32. Iohannes Laurentios Ludos

(Born about A.D. 490)

De Mensibus, II. 3 (p. 14, ed. Bonnenn.): [ὅτι οἱ περὶ Ζωροάστρην καὶ Ὑστάσπην Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πλανήτων ἐν ἑβδομάδι τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβον, καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν μίαν, ὡς καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, καλοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς μονάδος, ὅτι μόνη καὶ ἀκοινώνητος ταῖς ἄλλαις.]

Ibid. II. 5 (p. 16, ed. Bonnenn.): τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς μιᾶς, ἣν ὡς ἔφην πρώτην τό πλῆθος καλεῖ, ἣν κατ᾽ αἴσθησιν ἡλίῳ ἀνέθεντο, ταμίᾳ μὲν τοῦ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ φωτός, δι᾽ οὗ θερμαίνει τε ἅμα καὶ ἠρέμα ξηραίνει τὰ σώματα, ἑνὶ τῶν πλανήτων καθ᾽ Ἕλληνας, κἂν εἰ Ζωροάστρης αὐτὸν πρὸ τῶν ἀπλανῶν τάττῃ.

Ibid. De Ostentis, 2 (p. 274, ed. Bonnenn.): ἁρμόδιον δὲ εἶναι νομίζω τῷ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων γράφειν ἐθέλοντι, πόθεν τε ἡ τῶν τοιούτων κατάληψις ἤρξατο λέγειν, καὶ ὅθεν ἔσχε τὰς ἀφορμάς, καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον

προῆλθεν ὡς καὶ αὐτούς, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, Αἰγυπτίους ὑπερβαλεῖν. τούτων γὰρ δή, μετὰ Ζωροάστρην τὸν πολὺν, Πετόσιρις τοῖς εἰδικοῖς τὰ ἐν γένει διαπλέξας πολλὰ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι βιάζεται, οὐ πᾶσι δὲ παραδίδωσι ταῦτα, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς καθ' αὐτόν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅσοι καὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς στοχασμοὺς ἐπιτηδειότεροι.

§ 33. Prokopios of Gaza

(Flourished about A.D. 500)

Comment. in Genesin [c. XI.] (tom. i. col. 312, ed. Migne): τὸν Ἀσσούρ φασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι τὸν Ζωροάστρην, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίνεται Βάκτρων.[1] οὗτός φασιν ἐξεῦρεν ἀστρολογίαν· πλὴν ὡς ἡ ἀκρίβεια τοῦ Νεβρὼδ τοῦ γίγαντος περιέχει, οὗτος ἦν ὁ Κρόνος· οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀλλήλων τῷ χρόνῳ διεστήκασι Νεβρώδ τε καὶ Ζωροάστρης· ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν Ἀρφαξάδ φασιν εὑρηκέναι τὴν ἀστρολογίαν.

§ 34. Ainaias of Gaza

(About A.D. 500)

Theophrastus, 77: καίτοι καὶ Πλάτων τῷ σώματι τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐξ Ἅιδου πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἀνάγει. ὁ δὲ Ζωροάστρης προλέγει ὡς ἔσται ποτὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ πάντων νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις ἔσται. οἶδεν ὁ Θεόπομπος ὅ λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸς ἐκδιδάσκει.

§ 35. Agathias Scholastikos

(About A.D. 536–582)

Hist. II. 24 (col. 1381 f., ed. Migne): Πέρσαις δὲ τοῖς νῦν τὰ μὲν πρότερα ἔθη σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα παρεῖται ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνατέτραπται, ἀλλοίοις δέ τισι καὶ οἷον νενοθευμένοις χρῶνται νομίμοις, ἐκ τῶν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὀρμάσδεως διδαγμάτων κατακληθέντες. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωρόαστρος[2] ἤτοι Ζαράδης — διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία — ὁπηνίκα μὲν ἤκμασεν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔνεστι σαφῶς διαγνῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὑστάσπεω, οὕτω δή τι ἁπλῶς φασι γεγονέναι, ὡς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρεῖου πατὴρ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ὑστάσπης. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δ' ἂν καὶ ἤνθησε χρόνῳ, ὑφηγετὴς αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος καὶ καθηγεμὼν τῆς μαγικῆς γέγονεν ἁγιστείας, καὶ αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς προτέρας ἱερουγίας ἀμείψας, παμμιγεῖς τινας καὶ ποικίλας ἐνέθηκε δόξας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὸν Δία τε καὶ

[1] For this statement, see Epiphanios of Constantia, above, § 21.

[2] Vulg. Ζωρόαδος; R. Ζορόαστρος.

Κρόνον καὶ τούτους δὴ ἅπαντας τοὺς παρ' Ἕλλησι θρυλλουμένους ἐτίμων θεοὺς πλήν γε ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς ἡ προσηγορία οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐσώζετο. ἀλλὰ Βῆλον μὲν τὸν Δία τυχόν, Σάνδην τε τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ Ἀναίτιδα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς ἀλλους ἐκάλουν, ὥς που Βηρωσσῷ τε τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ καὶ Ἀθηνοκλεῖ καὶ Σιμάκῳ, τοῖς τὰ ἀρχαιότατα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τε καὶ Μήδων ἀναγραψαμένοις, ἱστόρηται. νῦν δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς καλουμένοις Μανιχαίοις ξυμφέρονται, ἐσόσον δύο τὰς πρώτας ἡγεῖσθαι ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀγαθήν τε ἅμα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὄντων ἀποκυήσασαν, ἐναντίως δὲ κατ' ἄμφω ἔχουσαν τὴν ἑτέραν. ὀνόματά τε αὐταῖς ἐπάγουσι βαρβαρικὰ καὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώττῃ πεποιημένα. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθόν, εἴτε θεὸν εἴτε δημιουργόν, Ὀρμισδάτην[1] ἀποκαλοῦσιν, Ἀριμάνης δὲ ὄνομα τῷ κακίστῳ καὶ ὀλεθρίῳ. ἑορτήν τε πασῶν μείζονα τὴν τῶν κακῶν λεγομένην ἀναίρεσιν ἐκτελοῦσιν, ἐν ᾗ τῶν τε ἑρπετῶν πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὁπόσα ἄγρια καὶ ἐρημονόμα κατακτείνοντες, τοῖς μάγοις προσάγουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν εὐσεβείας. ταύτῃ γὰρ οἴονται τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ κεχαρισμένα διαπονεῖσθαι, ἀνιᾶν δὲ καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὸν Ἀριμάνην. γεραίρουσι δὲ ἐς τὸ μάλιστα τὸ ὕδωρ, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῷ ἐναπονίζεσθαι, μήτε ἄλλως ἐπιθιγγάνειν ὅτι μὴ ποτοῦ τε ἕκατι καὶ τῆς τῶν φυτῶν ἐπιμελείας.

§ 36. Scholastikos Kassianos Bassos

(A.D. Sixth Century)

Praef. in lib. I.: τὰ διαφόροις τῶν παλαιῶν περί τε γεωργίας καὶ ἐπιμελείας φυτῶν καὶ σπορίμων καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν χρησίμων εἰρημένα συλλέξας εἰς ἕν, τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίον συντέθεικα. συνείλεκται δὲ ἐκ τῶν Φλωρεντίνου καὶ Οὐινδανιωνίου καὶ Ἀνατολίου καὶ Βηρουτίου καὶ Διοφάνους καὶ Λεοντίνου καὶ Ταραντίνου καὶ Δημοκρίτου καὶ Ἀφρικανοῦ παραδόξων καὶ Παμφίλου καὶ Ἀπουληίου καὶ Βάρωνος καὶ Ζωροάστρου καὶ Φρόντωνος καὶ Παξάμου καὶ Δαμηγέροντος καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Σωτίονος καὶ τῶν Κυντιλίων.

Geoponica, 11. 18. 11: Ζωροάστρης δὲ λέγει, ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα μὴ ἀλγεῖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸν ἐν πρώτοις ἰδόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ μεμυκυίας κάλυκας, καὶ τρισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπομαξάμενον τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ τὰ ῥόδα καταλιπόντα.

Ibid. 13. 9. 10: Ζωροάστρης φησί, τῆς θρίδακος τὸ σπέρμα μετὰ οἴνου ποθὲν ἰᾶται τοὺς σκορπιοδήκτους.

Geoponica (continued): The following rubrics of "Zoroaster" will sufficiently indicate the character of the lore ascribed to him, without the necessity of presentation of the texts of the chapters under them.

[1] Vulg. Ὀρμισδάστην.

I. 7: ὅτι ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι, πότε ἡ σελήνη γίνεται ὑπὲρ γῆν, πότε δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν. Ζωροάστρου. (31 sections, pp. 11–15, ed. Beckh.)

I. 8: περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολῆς καὶ τῆς προγνώσεως τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμβαινόντων. τοῦ αὐτοῦ. (13 sections, pp. 15–17.)

I. 10: σημείωσις τῶν ἀποτελουμένων ἐκ τῆς πρώτης βροντῆς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν. Ζωροάστρου. (13 sections, pp. 19 seq.)

I. 12: δωδεκαετηρὶς τοῦ Διός, καὶ ὅσα ἀποτελεῖ περιπολεύων τοὺς δώδεκα οἴκους τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου. Ζωροάστρου. (40 sections, pp. 21–28.)

II. 15: προγνωστικόν, ὥστε εἰδέναι, ποῖα τῶν σπειρομένων γενήσονται εὐθαλῆ. Ζωροάστρου. (3 sections, p. 55.)

V. 46: ἐν ποίῳ οἴκῳ οὔσης τῆς σελήνης χρὴ τρυγᾶν, καὶ ὅτι ληγούσης αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπογείου οὔσης τὸν τρυγητὸν δεῖ ποιεῖν. Ζωροάστρου. (1 section, p. 164.)

VII. 5: περὶ ἀνοίξεως πίθων, καὶ τί χρὴ παραφυλάττεσθαι τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τούτων ἀνοίξεως. Ζωροάστρου. (3 sections, pp. 190 seq.)

VII. 6: περὶ μεταγγισμοῦ οἴνου, καὶ πότε χρὴ μεταντλεῖν τοὺς οἴνους, καὶ ὅτι διαφορὰν ἔχει ὁ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πίθῳ ἐμβεβλημένος οἶνος. τοῦ αὐτοῦ. (11 sections, pp. 191 seq.)

VII. 11: ὥστε ὑπὸ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν μὴ τρέπεσθαι τοὺς οἴνους. Ζωροάστρου. (1 section, p. 195.)

X. 83: δένδρον ἄκαρπον καρποφορεῖν. Ζωροάστρου. (3 sections, p. 319.)

XIII. 16: περὶ κανθαρίδων. Ζωροάστρου. (4 sections, p. 403.)

XV. 1: περὶ φυσικῶν συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν. Ζωροάστρου. (35 sections, pp. 432–436.)

§ 37. Gregorius Turonensis

(A.D. 538–593)

Hist. Francor. 1. 5 (col. 164 seq., ed. Migne): Primogenitus uero Cham, Chus. hic fuit totius artis magicae imbuente diabolo et primus idololatriae adinuentor. hic primus statuunculam adorandam diaboli instigatione constituit: qui et stellas et ignem de coelo cadere falsa uirtute hominibus ostentebat. hic ad Persas transiit. hunc Persae uocitauere Zoroastrem, id est uiuentem stellam. ab hoc etiam ignem adorare consueti, ipsum diuinitus igne consumptum ut deum colunt.

§ 38. Isidorus

(About A.D. 570–636)

Etymol. 5. 39 (tom. iii. col. 224, ed. Migne): Thara, an. LXX, genuit Abraham. Zoroastes magicam reperit.

Ibid. 8. 9 (col. 310), III. M. CLXXXIV.: Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum, quem Ninus rex Assyriorum praelio interfecit, de quo Aristoteles scribit quod uicies centum millia uersuum ab ipso condita indiciis uoluminum eius declarentur.

Chron. (tom. v. col. 1024, ed. Migne): Hac aetate magica ars in Perside a Zoroaste Bactrianorum rege reperta. a Nino rege occiditur.

§ 39. Chronicon Paschale or Chron. Alexandrinum

(Last Date A.D. 629[1])

Chron. Paschale (col. 148 seq., ed. Migne; I. p. 67, ed. Bonnenn.): *καὶ τελευτᾷ ὁ Κρόνος. ὁ δὲ Νίνος ἐπικρατὴς γενόμενος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κτίζει τὴν Νινευὴ πόλιν Ἀσσυρίοις, καὶ βασιλεύει πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχων τὴν Σεμίραμιν τὴν καὶ Ῥέαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ.*

ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὖν τοῦ γένους ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ Ζωρόαστρος[2] *ὁ ἀστρονόμος Περσῶν ὁ περιβόητος, ὅστις μέλλων τελευτᾶν ηὔχετο ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναλωθῆναι οὐρανίου, εἰπὼν τοῖς Πέρσαις ὅτι ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ πῦρ, ἐκ τῶν καιομένων μου ὀστέων ἐπάρατε καὶ φυλάξατε, καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει τὸ βασίλειον ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν χώρας ὅσον χρόνον φυλάττετε τὰ ἐμὰ ὀστέα. καὶ εὐξάμενος τὸν Ὠρίωνα ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀερίου ἀνηλώθη. καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ Πέρσαι καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔχουσι φυλάττοντες τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεφρωθὲν ἕως νῦν.*

The same story is found in almost the same words, or with no material addition, in the works of Iohan. Malalas (A.D. sixth century) (col. 84, ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 121; p. 18, ed. Bonnenn.); Georgios Hamartolos (d. circ. A.D. 1468), Chron. (col. 56, ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 110). See, also, Georgios Kedrenos (end of eleventh century A.D.), who also adds (Historiarum Compendium, col. 57, ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 121; p. 29 f., ed. Bonnenn.): *τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι ἕως τούτου καταφρονήσαντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσον.*

[1] But with a spurious addition to A.D. 1042; cf. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzant. Literatur*², pp. 337–339).

[2] P, *Ζοροάστρης.*

§ 40. Flaccus Albinus Alcuinus

(A.D. 735–804)

De diuin. offic. VI. (spurious) (tom. ii. col. 1178, ed. Migne): Istorum enim Magorum primus Zoroastres rex exstitit, a quo originem feruntur traxisse.

§ 41. Georgios Sunkellos

(Flourished about A.D. 775–800)

Vol. i. p. 147 f., ed. Bonnenn.: *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυίστωρ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ͵βυέ* [2405] *κοσμικοῦ ἔτους βούλεται πάλιν τὴν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείαν κατάρξασθαι μυθολογῶν διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσων βεβασιλευκέναι Χαλδαίων καὶ Μήδων βασιλεῖς πϛ΄* [86] *ἐν τρισμυρίοις ἔτεσι καὶ ͵δϟ΄* [49], *τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν σάροις θ΄* [9] *καὶ νήροις β΄* [2] *καὶ σώσσοις η΄* [8], *ἅπερ τινὲς τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡμῶν ἱστορικῶν οὐ καλῶς ἐξελάβοντο πάλιν εἰς ἔτη ἡλιακὰ ϟδ΄* [94] *καὶ μῆνας η΄* [8], *ἅπερ ὥς φασιν εἰς τὸ ͵βυϟθ΄* [2499] *ἔτος κοσμικὸν συντρέχει. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πϛ΄* [86] *δύο μὲν Χαλδαίων βασιλέων, Εὐηχίου καὶ Χωμασβήλου, πδ΄* [84] *δὲ τῶν Μήδων, Ζωροάστρην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ζ΄* [7] *Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς εἰσάγει, ἔτη κρατήσαντας ἡλιακὰ ρϟ΄* [190], *ὁ αὐτὸς Πολυίστωρ, οὐκέτι διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀλόγου μυθικῆς ἱστορίας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἡλιακῶν ἐτῶν. τοὺς γὰρ προγενεστέρους ὡς θεοὺς ἢ ἡμιθέους νομίζοντες καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοὺς τὴν πλάνην εἰσηγούμενοι τῷ ὄντι χρόνους ἀπείρους βεβασιλευκέναι συνέγραψαν, ἀίδιον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον δοξάζοντες ἐναντίως ταῖς θεοπνεύστοις γραφαῖς. τοὺς δὲ μεταγενεστέρους καὶ πᾶσι φανεροὺς δι' ἡλιακῶν ἐτῶν ὡς θνητούς, καὶ οὐχ ὡς τῷ Πανοδώρῳ δοκεῖ καὶ ἑτέροις τισί, διὰ τὸ ἐσχάτως ὑπὸ Ζωροάστρου τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἐνὼχ ἐγνωσμένων ἔκτοτε ἡλιακοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐπιμετρεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἔτη.*

Ibid. p. 315, ed. Bonnenn.: *ὅτι δὲ ἀσυμφώνως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱστορικοὶ γεγράφασι περὶ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων παρέστω Κεφαλίων ἐπίσημος εἷς, οὐχ ὁ τυχών, οὕτω φάσκων· Ἄρχομαι γράφειν ἀφ' ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἐμνημόνευσαν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Κτησίης ὁ Κνίδιος, ἔπειτα Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεύς. τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου Νίνος. εἶτ' ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγου ἔτει νβ΄* [52] *τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας.*

(Also cited in the *Chronicon*, pars i., of Eusebius, tom. i. 43 f., ed. Aucher. Cf. Jerome's translation of the *Chronicon*, tom. viii. col. 46, ed. Migne.)

§ 42. Anathemas against Manichæism

(About 835)

Cited by Cotelerius, SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt opera. Paris, 1672; notes coll. 368–376.[1] These 'Anathemas' were to be recited by converts from Manichæism to Christianity. In this long and valuable document, Zarades (probably Zoroaster) and his prayers (the Avesta?) are declared accursed as being connected with the Manichæan faith. Anathemas: *ἀναθεματίζω Ζαράδην ὃν ὁ Μάνης θεὸν ἔλεγε πρὸ αὐτοῦ φανέντα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Πέρσαις, καὶ ἥλιον ἀπεκάλει· σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ζαραδείους ὀνομαζομένας εὐχάς. . . . ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τὸν Ζαράδην καὶ Βουδᾶν καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν Μανιχαῖον καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγοντας. . . . ἀναθεματίζω τὸν πατέρα Μανέντος Πατέκιον οἷα ψεύστην καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους πατέρα, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα Κάροσσαν, καὶ Ἱέρακα καὶ Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀφθόνιον τοὺς ὑπομνηματιστὰς καὶ ἐξηγητὰς τῶν τούτων συγγραμμάτων, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς ἅπαντας, Σισίννιον τὸν διάδοχον τῆς τούτου μηνίας, Θωμᾶν τὸν συνταξάμενον τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν λεγόμενον εὐαγγέλιον, Βουδᾶν, Ἑρμᾶν, Ἄδαν, Ἀδείμαντον, Ζαρούαν,*[2] *Γαβριάβιον, Ἀγάπιον, Ἰλάριον, Ὀλύμπιον, Ἀριστόκριτον, Σαλμαῖον, Ἰνναῖον, Πάαπιν, Βαραίαν, κ.τ.λ.*

Similarly Goarius, Εὐχολόγιον siue Rituale Graecorum, Paris, 1647, p. 885: *ἀναθεματίζω καὶ καταθεματίζω Σαράδην καὶ Βοδδὰν καὶ Σκυθιανὸν τοὺς πρὸ Μανιχαίων γεγονότας. . . . πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναθεματίζω καὶ καταθεματίζω σὺν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις πᾶσιν Ἱέρακα καὶ Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀφθόνιον τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς καὶ ὑπομνηματιστὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ βεβήλου Μανέντος καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ζαρουὰν καὶ Γαβριάβιον.*[3]

[1] See Kessler, *Mani*. i. 358–365, Berlin, 1889.

[2] Ζακούας siue Ζαχούας, Kessler.

[3] An important passage which serves to throw light on these Anathemas is found in Petros Sikelos (about A.D. 1100, see Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzant. Literatur*², p. 78), *Historia Manichæorum*, xvi. (col. 1265 seq., ed. Migne): —

ἦν δὲ πρὸ τούτου [sc. Μάνεντος] καὶ ἕτερος τῆς κακίας διδάσκαλος ταύτης, Ζαράνης ὀνόματι, ὁμόφρων αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων· μαθεταὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου Μάνεντος γεγόνασι δώδεκα· Σισίννιος ὁ τούτου διάδοχος· καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν Μανιχαικὸν εὐαγγέλιον συντάξας· Βουδδᾶς τε καὶ Ἑρμᾶς, Ἄδαντος καὶ Ἀδήμαντος, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς διάφορα κλίματα κήρυκα τῆς πλάνης· ἐξηγηταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπομνηματισταὶ γεγόνασιν Ἱέραξ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ἀφθόνιος· ὑπῆρχον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτεροι μαθηταὶ τρεῖς, Ἀγάπιος ὁ τὴν Ἑπτάλογον συντάξας καὶ Ζαρούας καὶ Γαβριάβιος. . . . πᾶσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν βίβλον ὡς ἀσεβῆ διδάγματα κατέχουσαν καὶ βλασφημίας πάσης πεπληρωμένην καὶ πᾶσαν εὐχὴν λεγομένην παρ' αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ γοητείαν, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία ἀνεθεμάτισε.

§ 43. Georgios Hamartolos Monachos

(Wrote about A.D. 850)

Chronicon, I. (col. 117, ed. Migne): καὶ πρῶτον θύειν θεοῖς Χαλδαῖοι δὲ ἐξεῦρον ἤτοι Κύπριοι, διαφοροῦνται γὰρ ἔθνος Περσικὸν ὑπάρχοντες· τὴν δὲ ἀστρονομίαν ἐφευρηκέναι πρῶτοι Βαβυλώνιοι διὰ Ὠρωάστρου,[1] ἐξ ὧν δεύτεροι παρειλήφασιν Αἰγύπτιοι. τὴν γεωμετρίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπλέτου τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν χώρων προδιδαχθέντες· καὶ εἶθ' οὕτω γράψαντες, ἕτεροι μετέλαβον. τὴν δὲ μαγείαν καὶ γοητείαν καὶ φαρμακείαν Μῆδοι μὲν ἐφεῦρον καὶ Πέρσαι, διαφέρουσι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἡ μὲν γὰρ μαγεία ἐπίκλησίς ἐστι δαιμόνων, ἀγαθοποιῶν δῆθεν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ σύστησίν τινος, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως θεσπίσματα δι' ἀγαθῶν γεγόνασιν· ἡ δὲ γοητεία ἐπίκλησίς ἐστι δαιμόνων κακοποιῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους τελουμένη ἐπὶ κακοῦ τινος σύστασιν· ὅθεν καὶ γοητεία κέκληται ἀπὸ τῶν γοῶν καὶ τῶν θρήνων τῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους γινομένων.

See also under Chronicon Paschale, § 39.

§ 44. Photios

(Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 875–879)

Bibliotheca, Codd. LXXXI. (tom. iii.; col. 281, ed. Migne): ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Θεοδώρου Περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς καὶ τίς ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας διαφορά, ἐν λόγοις τρισί. προσφωνεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς Μαστούβιον ἐξ Ἀρμενίας ὁρμώμενον, χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ τυγχάνοντα. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ προστίθεται τὸ μιαρὸν Περσῶν δόγμα, ὃ Ζαράδης[2] εἰσηγήσατο, ἤτοι περὶ τοῦ Ζουρουάμ,[3] ὃν ἀρχηγὸν πάντων εἰσάγει, ὃν καὶ Τύχην καλεῖ· καὶ ὅτι σπένδων ἵνα τέκῃ τὸν Ὁρμίσδαν, ἔτεκεν ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Σατανᾶν· καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν αἱμομιξίας. καὶ ἁπλῶς τὸ δυσσεβὲς καὶ ὑπέραισχρον δόγμα κατὰ λέξιν ἐκθεὶς ἀνασκευάζει ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς δυσὶ λόγοις τὰ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διέρχεται πίστεως, ἀπὸ τῆς κοσμογονίας ἀρξάμενος, καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χάριτος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπιτροχάδην διελθών.

οὗτος ὁ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μοψουεστίας εἶναι δοκεῖ. τήν τε γὰρ Νεστορίου αἵρεσιν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ λόγῳ, κρατύνων προσαναφωνεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀποκατάστασιν τερατεύεται.

[1] Notice this contaminated form, a mixture of Zoroaster and Ormazd (?).

[2] Ζασράδης ς.

[3] Ζαρουάμ ς.

§ 45. Suidas

(Middle of Tenth Century A.D.)

Suidas (ed. Kuster, Cambr. 1705) sub voc.: Ἀντισθένης Ἀθηναῖος. . . . συνέγραψε τόμους δέκα, πρῶτον μαγικόν. ἀφηγεῖται δὲ περὶ Ζωροάστρου τινὸς μάγου εὑρέντος τὴν σοφίαν. τοῦτο δέ τινες Ἀριστοτέλει, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδωνι ἀνατιθέασιν.

Ἀστρονομία. ἡ τῶν ἄστρων διανομή. πρῶτοι Βαβυλώνιοι ταύτην ἐφεῦρον διὰ Ζωροάστρου· μεθ' ὃν καὶ Ὠστάνης· οἱ ἐπέστησαν τῇ οὐρανίᾳ κινήσει τὰ περὶ τοὺς τικτομένους συμβαίνειν.

Ζωροάστρης. Περσομήδης. σοφὸς παρὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀστρονομίᾳ. ὃς καὶ πρῶτος ἤρξατο τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς πολιτευομένου ὀνόματος τῶν Μάγων. ἐγένετο δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσιν φ' [500]. φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ φύσεως βιβλία δ'. περὶ λίθων τιμίων ἕν. ἀστεροσκοπικά. ἀποτελεσματικὰ βιβλία ε'.

Ζωροάστρης. Ἀστρονόμος. ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. ὅστις ηὔξατο ὑπὸ πυρὸς οὐρανίου τελευτῆσαι, παρεγγυήσας τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὴν τέφραν αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ βασιλεία οὐκ ἐκλείψει διὰ παντὸς, ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

Ζωρομάσδρης. Χαλδαῖος σοφός. ἔγραψε μαθηματικὰ καὶ φυσικά.

Μάγοι παρὰ Πέρσαις οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ φιλόθεοι, ὧν ἦρχε Ζωροάστρης, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον κατὰ διαδοχὴν Ὠστάναι καὶ Ἀστράμψυχοι.

Πυθαγόρας. εἶτα [sc. ἤκουσε Πυθαγόρας] Ἀβάριδος τοῦ Ὑπερβορέου καὶ Ζάρητος τοῦ Μάγου.

§ 46. Hugo de Sancto Victore

(Died A.D. 1141)

Adnot. Elucidat. in Pentateuchon—in Gen. (tom. i. col. 49, ed. Migne): Assur autem, recedens in terram quae postea ab ipso dicta est Assyria, multiplicatus est usque ad regem Ninum, qui ab eius progenie ortus est. hic condidit ciuitatem et uicit Cham in bello, qui usque ad illud tempus uixerat: factus rex Bactriae Nino uicinus, et uocatus Zoroastes inuentor et auctor maleficae mathematicae artis; qui etiam septem liberales artes quattuordecim columnis, septem aeneis et septem lateritiis, contra utrumque diluuium in utilitatem posterorum praeuidens scripsit. huius libros mathema-

ticae Ninus adeptus uictoriam combussit. post haec audacior factus inuasit Nemroth, id est Chaldaeos, et acquisiuit Babyloniam, transferens illuc caput imperii sui.

§ 47. Michael Glukas

(Flourished about A.D. 1150)

Ann. Pars II. (col. 253, ed. Migne; p. 244, ed. Bonnenn.): *μετὰ δὲ Κρόνον ἐβασίλευσε Νῖνος ἔτη νβ', ὅς γε τὴν οἰκείαν μητέρα Σεμίραμιν λαβὼν εἰς γυναῖκα, νόμος ἐγένετο Πέρσαις λαμβάνειν τὰς ἑαυτῶν μητέρας καὶ ἀδελφάς. ἐξ οὗ γένους ἐγένετο καὶ Ζωρόαστρος ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος, ὃς εἶπε τοῖς Πέρσαις, ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ — τοῦτο γὰρ ηὔχετο — λάβετε ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ φύλασσετε εἰς σύστασιν τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν. ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἱστορίαις αἷς ἐχρήσατο κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ ὁ θεολόγος μέγας Γρηγόριος καὶ τάδε φησί· τὴν ἀστρονομίαν λέγονται πρῶτον εὑρηκέναι Βαβυλώνιοι διὰ Ζωροάστρου, δεύτερον δὲ ἐδέξαντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· τὴν δὲ μαγείαν εὗρον Μῆδοι, εἶτα Πέρσαι. διαφέρει δὲ μαγεία γοητείας, καὶ ἡ μὲν μαγεία ἐπίκλησίς ἐστιν, ὥς φασι, δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινος σύστασιν. γοητεία δέ ἐστι δαιμόνων κακοποιῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους εἰλουμένων ἐπὶ κακοῦ τινος σύστασις. γοητεία δὲ ἤκουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν γοῶν καὶ θρήνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς τάφοις γινομένων· μαγεία δὲ ἀπὸ Μαγουσαίων, ἤτοι Περσῶν, ὅθεν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Μαγὼς ἐγχωρίως οἱ Πέρσαι λέγονται.*

§ 48. Anon.

Theologoumena Arithmetika, p. 42 f., ed. Ast (Lips. 1817): *ἢ μᾶλλον, ὃ καὶ Πυθαγορικώτερον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ Ὀστάνης καὶ Ζωροάστρης ἀγέλας κυρίως καλοῦσι τὰς ἀστρικὰς σφαίρας, ἤτοι παρ' ὅσον τελείως ἄγονται περὶ τὸ κέντρον μόναι παρὰ τὰ σωματικὰ μεγέθη· ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σύνδεσμοί πως καὶ συναγωγαὶ χρηματίζειν δογματίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν φυσικῶν λόγων, ἃς ἀγέλους κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καλοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις, κατὰ παρέμπτωσιν δὲ τοῦ γάμμα ἐφθαρμένως ἀγγέλους· διὸ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην τούτων τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐξάρχοντας ἀστέρας καὶ δαίμονας ὁμοίως ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους προσαγορεύεσθαι, οἵπερ εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὥστε ἀγγελία κατὰ τοῦτο ἐτυμότατα ἡ ἑβδομάς.*

§ 49. Petrus Comestor

(Died 1178)

Hist. Schol. Lib. Genesis XXXIX. (col. 1090, ed. Migne): Ninus uicit Cham, qui adhuc uiuebat, et regnabat in Bractia (*sic, al.*

Thracia), et dicebatur Zoroastres inuentor magicae artis, qui et septem liberales artes in quattuordecim columnis scripsit, septem aeneis, et septem lateritiis, contra utrumque iudicium [*al.* diluuium]. Ninus uero libros eius combussit. ab eisdem orta sunt idola sic.

§ 50. Abdiae Apostolica Historia

(Quotation of a Name Zaroës[1])

Abdiae Apostolica Historia, Lib. VI. 7. Passio SS. Simonis et Iudae: Atque haec de Iacobo. cuius fratres maiores natu, Simon cognominatus Chananaeus et Iudas, qui et Thaddaeus et Zelotes, et ipsi apostoli Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cum per reuelationem Spiritus Sancti per fidem fuissent religionem ingressi, inuenerunt statim inter initia suae praedicationis duos ibi magos, Zaroen et Arfaxat, qui a facie Sancti Matthaei Apostoli de Aethiopia fugerunt. erat autem doctrina eorum praua, ita ut Deum Abraham et Deum Isaac et Deum Iacob blasphemantes, Deum dicerent tenebrarum, et Moysen dicerent maleficum fuisse, denique omnes prophetas Dei a deo tenebrarum missos adsererent. praeterea animam hominis partem Dei habere dicerent, corporis vero figmentum a Deo malo factum esse, et ideo ex contrariis substantiis constare, in quibus laetatur caro, anima contristatur, et in quibus exultat anima, corpus affligitur. solem et lunam deorum numero applicantes, aquam simul deitatem habere docebant. Dei autem Filium, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, phantasiam fuisse, nec uerum hominem, nec ex uera uirgine natum, nec uere tentatum, nec uere passum, nec uere sepultum, nec uere tertia die resurrexisse a mortuis adfirmabant. hac praedicatione polluta Persida post Zaroen et Arfaxat, magnum meruit inuenire doctorem, per beatos apostolos Simonem et Iudam, id est Dominum Iesum Christum.

Ibid. 13: Haec et alia cum dux apud regem Xerxen disseruisset, excitati in zelum, qui cum rege fuerant Zaroes et Arfaxat magi, simul indignabundi rumores sparserunt: malignos eos homines esse, qui contra deos gentis contraque regnum tam astute molirentur. nam si uis scire rex — inquiunt — quod ea uera sunt quae dicimus, non prius permittemus hos loqui quam deos tuos adorauerint. tum

[1] This is cited because Zaroes (Ζαρόης) has been identified with Zoroaster by Nöldeke in p. 76 of *Ergänzungsheft zu Lipsius Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, Braunschweig, 1883-1890. But Gutschmid, *Rhein. Mus.* xix. 380 seq. identifies Zaroes with Zarvan.

dux: audetisne cum illis habere conflictum, ut si uiceritis eos, tum demum abiciantur? dixerunt magi: aequum est ut sicut nos adoramus deos nostros, ita adorent et illi. respondit dux: hoc scilicet conflictus uester ostendet. ad haec iterum magi: uis uidere — inquiunt — potentiam nostram ut probes quia non poterunt loqui nobis praesentibus: iube adstare hic qui sint eloquentes in linguis, acutissimi in argumentis, et clamosi in uocibus. et si tunc ausi fuerint nobis praesentibus loqui, probabis nos esse imperitissimos. tunc iussu regis et ducis omnes aduocati praesto facti, ita sunt a duce admoniti ut quanta possent constantia haberent cum his magis contentiones et eos a defensionum proposito, argumentorum suorum proposito excluderent. et cum in praesentia regis et ducis cunctorumque sublimium magi locuti essent, omnis illa aduocatio ita muta facta est, ut nec nutibus quod loqui non poterat indicaret. et cum unius fere horae transisset spatium, dixere magi ad regem: ut scias nos ex deorum esse numero, permittimus eos quidem loqui, sed ambulare non posse. quod cum fecissent, adiecerunt dicentes: ecce reddimus eis gressum, sed faciemus eos apertis oculis nihil uidere. cumque et hoc fecissent, expauit cor regis et ducis, dicentibus amicis eorum, non debere contemni hos magos, ne et regi et duci inferant debilitatem in membris. igitur hoc spectaculum a primo mane usque ad horam sextam dum spectatur, aduocati maerore confecti, ad suas reuersi sunt quique domos, nimio animi impulsu fatigati.

Ibid. 17: Haec cum dixissent apostoli, deportati sunt ad hospitalia magi, qui per triduum nec cibum capere nec bibere ullo modo poterant, sed in his sola uociferatio doloribus extorta incessabilis extitit. postea cum iam res in eo esset ut pariter expirarent magi Zaroes et Arfaxat, accesserunt eos apostoli dicentes: non dignatur Deus habere coacta seruitia. igitur surgite sani habentes liberam facultatem conuertandi a malo ad bonum et exeundi a tenebris ad lumen. at illi permanentes in perfidia sua, sicut a facie Matthaei apostoli fugerunt, sic et ab his duobus apostolis fugientes, ad simulacrorum cultores, per totam Persidis regionem, ut apostolis inimicitias excitarent, ubique dicebant: ecce ueniunt ad uos inimici deorum nostrorum, etc.

Ibid. 20: Quippe Zaroes et Arfaxat magi facientes scelera multa per ciuitates Persidis, et dicentes se esse ex genere deorum, semper a facie apostolorum fugientes, tamdiu erant in quacunque ciuitate, quamdiu cognoscerent apostolos aduenire.

Ibid. 23: Quo tempore et duo, de quibus diximus, magi Zaroes et Arfaxat ictu coruscationis adusti ad carbonem conuersi sunt.[1]

Lib. VII. 1 de S. Matthaeo: In quam [*sc.* Aethiopiam] profectus ipse, cum in ciuitate magna quae dicitur Naddauer moraretur, in qua rex Aeglippus sedebat, contigit ut duo magi Zaroes et Arfaxat simul essent, qui regem miris modis ludificabant, ut se deos esse remota ambiguitate crederet. et credebat eis rex omnia et omnis populus non solum memoratae urbis sed ex longinquis etiam regionibus Aethiopiae ueniebant quotidie ut adorarent eos. faciebant enim subito hominum gressus figi, et tamdiu immobiles stare quamdiu ipsi uoluissent. similiter et uisus hominum et auditus a suo officio refrenabant. imperitabant serpentibus ut percuterent, quod et Marsi facere solent et ipsi incantando multos curabant. et ut dici uulgo solet, malignis maior reuerentia exhibetur ex timore quam benignis ex amore, sic et illi uenerabiles apud Aethiopes, in magno diu pretio fuerunt.

Ibid. 4: Conabantur autem interea arte sua magica excitare eos [*sc.* suos duos dracones ante pedes Matthaei apostoli dormientes] Zaroes et Arphaxat, et non poterant neque oculos aperire neque penitus commouere quidquam.

§ 51. The So-called Zoroastrian Logia or Chaldæan Oracles

ΜΑΓΙΚΑ ΛΟΓΙΑ
ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΖΩΡΟΑΣΤΡΟΥ ΜΑΓΩΝ

Introductory Note by Louis H. Gray. — Amid the luxuriant growth of apocryphal and prophetic literature, which sprang up in the first centuries of our era, no small part is ascribed to the faith of Iran. The wonderful eschatology of the Persian religion made a deep impression on the Hellenic mind at an early date, and this was to bring forth fruit in the development of Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism. Apparently in this way arose the so-called Chaldæan Oracles, which bear the mark of Gnostic and Neo-Platonic mysticism and somewhat recall the Christian forgery of the Sibylline Oracles.

The pseudo-Zoroastrian compositions had but a short shrift. The great Porphyry ruthlessly attacked them and suppressed them, and they are lost to us forever. Doubtless they were no better and no worse than the great majority of similar writings which have survived; perhaps we may even say that the

[1] Is this a reminiscence of the legend of Zoroaster's death by lightning, p. 124 seq.?

Oneirokritikon of Astrampsuchos, a Christian forgery of about the fifth century, affords a type of some of these lost books.

But in the writings of the Neo-Platonic philosophers there lay hid a mass of citations, termed 'Chaldæan Logia,' or more usually, simply 'Logia,' or again, introduced by the formula: 'As saith one of the Gods,' or even appearing without any introductory phrase whatsoever.[1] These Logia date in general about the end of the second century A.D., and they present to us a heterogeneous mass, now obscure and again bombastic, of commingled Platonic, Pythagorean, Stoic, Gnostic, and Persian tenets.[2] I am inclined to doubt that the entire mass comes from a single source, although some have suggested that a certain Julian the Chaldæan or his son, who lived in the period of the Antonines, may perhaps have been the author.[3] However trivial the Logia justly appear to us, they received the serious attention of Iamblichos, Proklos, Simplikios, Damaskios, and Iohannes Ludos, while Hierokles and later Plethon wrote 'compends of the Zoroastrian and Platonic Systems.'[4]

In the fifteenth century Georgios Gemistos Plethon, led on, as I venture to suggest, by some such allusion to Ζωροάστρου λόγια as the reference contained in the citation from Xanthos, preserved by Nikolaos of Damascus, boldly foisted upon Zoroaster the Logia which had been hitherto only 'Chaldæan.' This we may term the first recension. It consists of sixty lines and was first published by Ludovicus Tiletanus, together with Plethon's commentary, at Paris in 1563.[5] This text was also commented upon by Psellos as early as the eleventh century. Possibly we may even regard Psellos as the compiler who gathered the scattered fragments which go to make up this collection.

The second recension, if we may employ so dignified a term, was made by Franciscus Patricius in 1591. A second edition of this appeared at Venice in 1593. This second edition forms the basis of Stanley in his *History of Philosophy*, 4 ed., London, 1743, Latin translation, Leipzig, 1711, and it was the only one accessible to me except Stanley. On this new collection of Patricius the present edition is based. The object of my work here has been to secure as good a text as possible. My chief aid, or rather my only aid, has been the masterly discussion by Kroll, "De Oraculis Chaldaicis," in the seventh volume

[1] See Kroll, *de Oraculis Chaldaicis*, pp. 6–9, Breslau, 1894.

[2] Kroll, pp. 66–72.

[3] Ibid. 71.

[4] Ibid. passim; *Kleuker Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, ii. Theil 1, pp. 8–9, 16–18. Plethon's *Compend.* is edited by Migne in his *Patrol. Græc.* tom. 160. 973–974.

[5] This has unfortunately been inaccessible to me. I have used instead the edition by Servatius Gallæus in his Σιβυλλιακοὶ Χρησμοί, Amstelod. 1639, and by Migne in his *Patrol. Græc.* tom. 122. 1115–1154, including also Psellos's comment. In addition to the books already cited, I should mention the valuable compendium of the tenets of the Oracles contained in the seventeenth letter of Michael Italikos (for this identification see Treu, *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, iv. 1–22) edited by Cramer in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, iii. 180–183 (Oxford, 1836), and for the entire subject the valuable discussion in Harles's edition of Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Græca*, I. 307–315 (Hamb. 1790).

of the *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* (Breslau, 1894). That his readings are given in the notes does not signify a rejection of them. They would generally appear in the text if I did not desire to preserve Patricius's text except where the latter is absolutely unintelligible. The motive for preserving this has been purely historical. The Breslau professor has practically collected the Logia anew, and he has learnedly discussed their sources and philosophical import. To him, moreover, the references to the Neo-Platonic authors cited in my footnotes are mainly due. Mine has been the humbler task to reprint an obsolescent collection, with only those emendations which are absolutely necessary. I have made a translation of the Oracles or Logia, which I hope later to publish with a version of the other Greek and Latin citations found in this Appendix.

The Oracles have never had many friends, and as a comment on them I may note that good old Thomas Hyde prayed that these 'pseudoracula pessime conficta carmine Graeco' might perish like others of their stamp (cf. *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.*, Pref. p. vi.). His prayer has been in great part fulfilled. In estimating, moreover, the general value of the Logia, we may say, in the words of Shakspere, that the good points in them, like Gratiano's reasons, 'are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff.'

ΜΟΝΑΣ, ΔΥΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΑΣ

Ψέλ. ὅπου πατρικὴ μονάς ἐστι.[1]

Δαμ. ταναή ἐστι μονὰς καὶ δύο γεννᾷ.[2]

Πρόκ. Δαμ. δυὰς γὰρ παρὰ τῷδε κάθηται, καὶ νοεραῖς ἀστράπτει τομαῖς,[3]
καὶ τὸ κυβερνᾶν τὰ πάντα, καὶ τάττειν ἕκαστον οὐ ταχθέν.

5 Δαμ. παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριὰς ἧς μονὰς ἄρχει.[4]
ἀρχὴ πάσης τμήσεως ἥδε ἡ τάξις.[5]

Πρόκ. εἷς τρία γὰρ νοῦς εἶπε πατρὸς τέμνεσθαι ἅπαντα,
οὗ τὸ θέλειν κατένευσε, καὶ ἤδη πάντ' ἐτέτμητο.[6]
εἷς τρία γὰρ εἶπε νοῦς πατρὸς ἀιδίου[7]

10 νῷ πάντα κυβερνῶν.

Δαμ. καὶ ἐφάνησαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἥ τ' ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ σοφία,
καὶ ἡ πολύφρων ἀτρέκεια.[8]
τῇ τῶνδε ῥέει τριάδος δέμας πρὸ τῆς οὔσης,
οὐ πρώτης, ἀλλ' οὗ τὰ μετρεῖται.[9]

[1] Proc. in Euclid. i. def. 2 (p. 98, ed. Friedlein); in Alcib. 356. 20.

[2] Proc. in Euclid. i. def. 2 (p. 98, ed. Friedlein); Dam. ii. 29. 16, ubi ἡ legitur et apud Patric.

[3] Om. γὰρ, Kroll. Proc. in Crat. 56. 6; in Remp. 376. 34; Dam. ii. 177. 20, etc.

[4] Dam. i. 87. 3; ii. 87. 14.

[5] Dam. ii. 58. 20.

[6] Proc. in Parm. 1091. 6; Dam. i. 253. 25; ii. 60. 28; 62. 28.

[7] Proc. in Timæ. 313 F. νοῦς εἶπε, Kroll.

[8] Dam. ii. 45. 10. τε pro τ', Kroll.

[9] ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δὴ τῶνδε ῥέει τριάδος δέμα πρώτης | οὔσης οὐ πρώτης, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ νοητὰ μετρεῖται, Dam. ii. 63. 21; Kroll.

15 ἀρχαῖς γὰρ τρισὶ ταῖσδε λάβοις δουλεύειν ἅπαντα.[1]
ἱερὸς πρῶτος δρόμος, ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσσῳ
ἠέριος, τρίτος ἄλλος, ὃς ἐν πυρὶ τὴν χθόνα θάλπει,[2]
καὶ πηγὴ πηγῶν, καὶ πηγῶν ἁπασῶν.
μήτρα συνέχουσα τὰ πάντα.[3]
20 ἔνθεν ἄρδην θρῴσκει γένεσις πολυποικίλου ὕλης.
Πρόκ. ἔνθεν συρόμενος πρηστὴρ ἀμυδροῖο[4] πυρὸς ἄνθος,
κόσμων ἐνθρῴσκων κοιλώμασι. πάντα γὰρ ἔνθεν
ἄρχεται εἰς τὸ κάτω τείνειν ἀκτῖνας ἀγητάς.[5]

ΠΑΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΥΣ

Ψέλ. ἑαυτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἥρπασεν οὐδ' ἐν ἑῇ
25 δυνάμει νοερᾷ κλείσας ἴδιον πῦρ.[6]
Ψέλ. οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς ἀτελές τι τροχάζει.[7]
πάντα γὰρ ἐξετέλεσσε πατὴρ
καὶ νῷ παρέδωκε δευτέρῳ,
ὅν πρῶτον κληίζεται πᾶν γένος[8] ἀνδρῶν.[9]
30 Πρόκ. πατρογενὲς φάος πολὺ γὰρ μόνος
ἐκ πατρὸς ἀλκῆς δρεψάμενος νόου ἄνθος.[10]
ἔργα νοήσας γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος αὐτογένεθλος,
πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρεν δεσμὸν πυριβριθῆ ἔρωτος,
ὄφρα τὰ πάντα μένῃ, χρόνον εἰς ἀπέραντον ἐρῶντα
35 μήτε πέσῃ τὰ πατρὸς νοερῷ ὑφασμένα φέγγει·[11]
ὡς ἐν ἔρωτι μένῃ κόσμου στοιχεῖα μένοντα.[12]
ἔχει τῷ νοεῖν πατρικὸν νοῦν ἐνδιδόναι
πασαῖς πηγαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς.
ἔστι γὰρ πέρας τοῦ πατρικοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ πηγῆ τῶν νοερῶν.
40 μήδε προῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ βυθῷ,[13]

[1] Dam. ii. 217. 5. λάβροις pro λάβοις, Kroll.

[2] Dam. ii. 217. 5. ἐν τούτοις, praeponit Kroll.

[3] Dam. i. 242. 18; 274. 7; ii. 67. 1, etc. πηγὴ τῶν πηγῶν, μήτρα συνέχουσα τὰ πάντα, Kroll.

[4] ἀμυδροῖ pro ἀμυδροῖο, Kroll.

[5] Proc. in Timæ. 118 C (v. 1); theol. Plat. 172. 6 (v. 2, 3 a); 171. 9 (v. 3 b, 4). ἀποθρῴσκει pro ἄρδην θρῴσκει, Kroll cum coniectura ἄδην.

[6] Psell. 58–59. ὁ πατὴρ ἑαυτὸν ἥρπασεν, comment.

[7] Psell. 9. ἀπαὶ, Kroll.

[8] Alii ἔθνεα pro πᾶν γένος, Psell. 53–54. κληίζετε, Kroll.

[9] Psell. 53–54.

[10] Proc. in Timæ. 242 D.

[11] μηδὲ pro μήτε, Kroll. πᾶσι, νοερῶς, Patric.

[12] ᾧ σὺν ἔρωτι μένει κόσμου στοιχεῖα θέοντα, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 155 E–F.

[13] Proc. in Timæ. 167 C.

καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ κατὰ τὴν θεοθρέμμονα σιγήν.
οὐ γὰρ εἰς ὕλην πῦρ ἐπέκεινα τὸ πρῶτον
ἐὴν δύναμιν κατακλείει ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ νόῳ.[1]
σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἔσπειρεν κατὰ κόσμον
ὃς τὰ νοητὰ νοεῖ καὶ ἄφραστα κάλλη νοεῖται.[2]
Δαμ. ὁλοφυὴς μερισμὸς καὶ ἀμέριστος.
νῷ μὲν κατέχει τὰ νοητά, αἴσθησιν δὲ ἐπάγει κόσμοις.[3]
νῷ μὲν κατέχει τὰ νοητά, ψυχὴν δ' ἐπάγει κόσμοις.

ΝΟΥΣ, ΝΟΗΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΝΟΕΡΑ

Δαμ. καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς νοῦ τοῦ νοητοῦ.
Πρόκ. οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ νόος ἐστὶ νοητοῦ· οὐ χωρὶς ὑπάρχει.[4]
τὰ μέν ἐστι νοερὰ καὶ νοητά, ὅσα νοοῦντα νοεῖται.[5]
τροφὴ δὲ τῷ νοοῦντι τὸ νοητόν.[6]
μάνθανε τὸ νοητόν, ἐπεὶ νόου ἔξω ὑπάρχει.[7]
καὶ τοῦ νοῦ, ὃς τὸν ἐμπύριον κόσμον ἄγει.
νοῦ γὰρ νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ κόσμου τεχνίτης πυρίου.[8]
οἳ τὸν ὑπέρκοσμον πατρικὸν βυθὸν ἴστε νοοῦντες.[9]
ἡ νοητὴ πάσης τμήσεως ἄγει.
ἔστι δὲ δή τι νοητόν, ὃ χρή σε νοεῖν νόου ἄνθει.[10]
Δαμ. ἢν γὰρ ἐπεγκλίνῃς, ὡς ἂν νοῦν, κἀκεῖνο νοήσῃς,[11]
ὥς τι νοῶν, οὐ κεῖνο νοήσεις.
ἔστι γὰρ ἀλκῆς ἀμφιφαοῦς δύναμις,
νοεραῖς στράπτουσα τομαῖσιν, οὐ δὴ χρὴ
σφοδρότητι νοεῖν τὸ νοητὸν ἐκεῖνο,
ἀλλὰ νόου ταναοῦ ταναῇ φλογὶ[12]
πάντα μετρούσῃ, πλὴν τὸ νοητὸν ἐκεῖνο.
χρεὼ δὴ τοῦτο νοῆσαι· ἢν γὰρ ἐπεγκλίνῃς
σὸν νοῦν, κἀκεῖνο νοήσεις οὐκ ἀτενῶς,

[1] Proc. in Timæ. 157 A; theol. Plat. 333. 29; Dam. ii. 136. 10. ἐς pro εἰς, Kroll.

[2] Proc. in Crat. 23. 23. Sic Kroll. Stanl. Lond.,[4] καλληίται, sec. Patric. pro καλληεῖται; Lips., καλλωπίζει.

[3] Proc. in Timæ. 68 F, 164 C; in Crat. 56. 5; Dam. ii. 177. 20, etc. κατέχειν et ἐπάγειν, Kroll. δ' pro δὲ, Patric.

[4] Proc. in Timæ. 267 D.

[5] Proc. in theol. Plat. 179. 7. νοητὰ καὶ νοερά, Kroll.

[6] Cf. Proc. in Timæ. 6 D.

[7] Psell. 50. μάθε . . . ἔξω νόου, comment.

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 157 A; theol. Plat. 333. 29; Dam. ii. 136. 10.

[9] Dam. ii. 16. 6; Proc. in Crat. 62. 9. Stan. ἔστε.

[10] Psell. 51. δὲ δή, omis. comment. γάρ pro δὲ δή, Kroll. ἄρχει pro ἄγει, Patric.

[11] σὸν pro ὡς ἂν, Kroll; ἐπεγκλίνῃ et νοήσῃ, Stan.

[12] οὐδὲ pro ἀλλὰ, Kroll.

ἀλλ' ἁγνὸν ἐπίστροφον ὄμμα,[1]
φέροντα σῆς ψυχῆς τεῖναι κενεὸν νόον
70 εἰς τὸ νοητόν, ὄφρα μάθῃς τὸ νοητόν,[2]
ἐπεὶ ἔξω νόου ὑπάρχει.[3]
τὸν δὲ νοεῖ πᾶς νοῦς θεὸν, οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ
νόος ἐστὶ νοητοῦ, καὶ τὸ νοητὸν οὐ νοῦ χωρὶς ὑπάρχει.[4]
τοῖς δὲ πυρὸς νοεροῦ νοεροῖς πρηστῆρσιν ἅπαντα
75 εἴκαθε δουλεύοντα πατρὸς πειθωνίδι βουλῇ.
καὶ τὸ νοεῖν, ἀεί τε μένειν ἀόκνῳ στροφάλιγγι.
πηγάς τε καὶ ἀρχὰς, δινεῖν, ἀεί τε μένειν ἀόκνῳ στροφάλιγγι.[5]
ἀλλὰ δι' οὔνομα σεμνὸν ἀκοιμήτῳ στροφάλιγγι
κόσμοις ἐνθρῷσκον, κραιπνὴν διὰ πατρὸς ἐνιπήν.[6]
80 ὑπὸ δύο νώων ἡ ζωογόνος πηγὴ περιέχεται ψυχῶν.
καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς, ὃς αὐτουργῶν τεκτῄνετο τὸν κόσμον,[7]
ὃς ἐκ νόου ἔκθορε πρῶτος,[8]
ἐσσαμένος πυρὶ πῦρ, συνδέσμων ὄφρα κεράσσῃ[9]
πηγαίους κρατῆρας, ἑοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἐπισχών.[10]
85 νοεραῖς ἀστράπτει τομαῖς, ἔρωτος δ' ἐνέπλησε πάντα.[11]
τὰ ἀτύπωτα τυποῦσθαι.[12]
σμήνεσσιν ἐοικυῖαι φέρονται, ῥηγνύμεναι
κόσμου περὶ σώμασι.[13]
ἃ νοῦς λέγει, τῷ νοεῖν δήπου λέγει.[14]
90 ἡ μὲν γὰρ δύναμις σὺν ἐκείνοις, νοῦς δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνου.[15]

ΙΥΝΤΕΣ, ΙΔΕΑΙ, ΑΡΧΑΙ

πολλαὶ μὲν αἵδε ἐπεμβαίνουσι φαεινοῖς κόσμοις,[16]
ἐνθρῴσκουσαι, καὶ ἐν αἷς ἀκρότητες ἔασιν τρεῖς.[17]

[1] ἀπόστροφον pro ἐπίστροφον, Kroll.

[2] ἐς pro εἰς, Kroll.

[3] νόου ἔξω, Kroll. Dam. i. 154. 16.

[4] Proc. in Timæ. 267 D; Dam. ii. 16. 20; 57. 26.

[5] Proc. in Timæ. 242 D. ἔχει τὸ νοεῖν πατρικὸν νοῦν ⟨καὶ νόον⟩ ἐνδιδόναι πάσαις πηγαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ δινεῖν αἰεί τε κ.τ.λ., sic recte Kroll.

[6] ἀλλ' ὄνομα σεμνὸν καὶ ἀκοιμήτῳ, Kroll. ἐνθρώσκων, Patric. Proc. in Crat. 23. 20.

[7] Leg. ὡς pro ὃς.

[8] δεσμῷ Ἔρωτος ἀγητοῦ ὃς ἐκ κ.τ.λ., Kroll.

[9] πέρι πῦρ συνδέσμιον, Kroll.

[10] Proc. in Parm. 769. 7.

[11] Proc. in Timæ. 219 B. τὰ πάντα, Patric.

[12] Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 143 (p. 613, ed. Diels).

[13] Proc. in Timæ. 267 F.

[14] Psell. 1145 B.

[15] ἐκείνῳ pro ἐκείνοις, Kroll. Proc. in theol. Platon. 365. 1; in Alcib. prim. 392. 7.

[16] μὲν δὴ αἵδε, Kroll.

[17] καὶ om. Kroll. Dam. ii. 88. 3.

ὑπόκειται αὐταῖς ἄρχιος αὐλών.[1]
ἀρχὰς, αἱ πατρὸς ἔργα νοήσασαι νοητά,[2]
95 αἰσθητοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ σώμασιν ἀπεκάλυψαν,[3]
διαπόρθμιοι ἑστῶτες φάναι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ,
καὶ τὰ ἐμφανῆ μιμήματα τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐργαζόμεναι.
καί τ' ἀφανῆ εἰς τὴν ἐμφανῆ κοσμοποιίαν ἐγγράφοντες.
νοῦς πατρὸς ἐρροίζησε, νοήσας ἀκμάδι βουλῇ
100 παμμόρφους ἰδέας. πηγῆς δ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀποπτᾶσαι
ἐξέθορον. πατρόθεν γὰρ ἔην βουλή τε τέλος τε.[4]
δι' ὧν συνάπτεται τῷ πατρί, ἄλλην κατ' ἄλλην
ζωήν, ἀπὸ μεριζομένων ὀχετῶν.[5]
ἀλλ' ἐμερίσθησαν, νοερῷ πυρὶ μοιρηθεῖσαι,
105 εἰς ἄλλας νοεράς· κόσμῳ γὰρ ἄναξ πολυμόρφῳ
προὔθηκεν νοερὸν τύπον ἄφθιτον, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον[6]
ἴκνος ἐπειγόμενος μορφῆς καθ' ἃ κόσμος ἐφάνθη.[7]
παντοίαις ἰδέαις κεχαρισμένος, ὧν μία πηγή,[8]
ἐξ ἧς ῥοιζοῦνται μεμερισμέναι ἄλλαι,
110 ἄπλατοι, ῥηγνύμεναι κόσμου περὶ σώμασιν,
αἱ περὶ κόλπους σμερδαλέους, σμήνεσσιν ἐοικυῖαι,
φορέονται τραποῦσαι· περὶ δ' ἀμφὶ ἄλλυδις ἄλλη,[9]
ἔννοιαι νοεραὶ πηγῆς πατρικῆς ἄπο
πολὺ δραττόμεναι πυρὸς ἄνθος[10]
115 ἀκοιμήτου χρόνου. ἀκμὴ ἀρχεγόνου ἰδέας[11]
πρώτη πατρὸς ἔβλυσε τάσδ' αὐτοθαλὴς πηγή.
νοούμεναι ἴυγγες πατρόθεν νοέουσι καὶ αὐταί,
βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοισι κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι.[12]

[1] Dam. ii. 88. 7. ὑποκέκλιται, Kroll. Alii ἀύλων (cf. Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 145, p. 623, ed. Diels).

[2] τὰ νοητά, Kroll. [Kroll.

[3] Dam. ii. 200. 23. ἀμφεκάλυψαν,

[4] δὲ μιᾶς, Kroll; μιᾶς ἄπο πᾶσαι, coniecit Schneck apud Kroll. Proc. in Parm. 800. 11.

[5] Om. has lineas duas Kroll.

[6] οὗ κατ' ἄκοσμον pro οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, Kroll. [7] μέτα pro καθ' ἃ, Kroll.

[8] κεχαρ.ημένος pro κεχαρισμένος, Kroll.

[9] στράπτουσαι pro τραποῦσαι, Kroll sec. Thilo. περί τ' ἀμφὶ παρασχεδὸν ἄλλυδις, Kroll.

[10] πουλύ | δρεπτόμεναι, Kroll sec. Thilo.

[11] ἀκμῇ | ἀρχεγόνους, Kroll.

[12] Psell. 55–56, in comment. αἱ ἴυγγες νοούμεναι πατρόθεν. ἀφθέγτοις, Kroll. βουλῶν ἀφθέγτων, comment. per has ἴυγγας (cf. Kroll, p. 41) a Laevio frag. 10 ed. Müller, Lips. 1892 inter 'omnia philtra' laudatas, conatur Pater animam humanam reducere. haud aliter apud Theocritum Idyl. ii. incantat pharmaceutria:

ἴυγξ, ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρον.

ΕΚΑΤΗ, ΣΥΝΟΧΕΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΤΑΡΧΑΙ

ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ πάντες ἐκθρῷσκουσι.[1]
ἀμείλικτοί τε κεραυνοὶ καὶ πρηστηροδόχοι κόλποι
παμφεγγέος ἀλκῆς πατρογενοῦς Ἑκάτης,[2]
καὶ ὑπεζωκὸς πυρὸς ἄνθος ἠδὲ κραταιὸν
πνεῦμα πόλων, πυρίων ἐπέκεινα.[3]
φρουρεῖν αὖ πρηστῆρσιν ἑοῖς ἀκρότητας ἔδωκεν,
ἐγκεράσας ἀλκῆς ἴδιον μένος ἐν συνοχεῦσιν.[4]
ὦ πῶς ἔχει κόσμος νοεροὺς ἀνοχῆας ἀκαμπεῖς.[5]
ὅτι ἐργάτις, ὅτι ἐκδότις ἐστὶ πυρὸς ζωηφόρου,
ὅτι καὶ τὸ ζῳογόνον πληροῖ τῆς Ἑκάτης κόλπον,
καὶ ἐπιρρεῖ τοῖς συνοχεῦσιν ἀλκὴν ζείδωρον πυρὸς
μέγα δυναμένοιο.[6]
ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουροὶ τῶν ἔργων εἰσὶ τοῦ πατρός.[7]
ἀφομοιοῖ γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτόν, ἐκεῖνος ἐπειγόμενος
τὸν τύπον περιβάλλεσθαι τῶν εἰδώλων.[8]
οἱ μὲν τελετάρχαι συνείληπται τοῖς συνοχεῦσι.[9]
τοῖς δὲ πυρὸς νοεροῦ νοεροῖς πρηστῆρσιν
ἅπαντα εἴκαθε δουλεύοντα.[10]
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑλαίοις ὅσα δουλεύει συνοχεῦσιν.[11]
ἐσσαμένου πάντευχον ἀλκὴν φωτὸς κελάδοντος[12]
ἀλκῇ τριγλίχῳ νόον ψυχήν θ' ὁπλίσαντα[13]
παντοίαδος σύνθημα βάλλειν φρενί,[14]
μηδ' ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐμπυρίοις σποράδην ὀχετοῖς,
ἀλλὰ στιβαρηδόν.
οἱ δὲ τὰ ἄτομα καὶ αἰσθητὰ δημιουργοῦσι,
καὶ σωματοειδῆ καὶ κατατεταγμένα εἰς ὕλην.

[1] τοῦδε δὲ ἐκθρῴσκουσιν ἀμείλικτοί τε κ.τ.λ., Kroll.

[2] αὐγῆς pro ἀλκῆς, Kroll. Hecaten, quae a Proclo Hymn. vi. 1 θεῶν μῆτερ appellatur, una cum Rhea a Platonicis confusam esse demonstrat Kroll, pp. 27–31 (cf. p. 69).

[3] Proc. in Crat. 63. 4; 85. 22; Dam. ii. 89. 31; 133. 3.

[4] Dam. ii. 125. 22.

[5] Psell. 57, πᾶς ⟨γὰρ⟩ pro ὦ πῶς, Kroll. ὦ, omis. comment.

[6] Proc. in Timæ. 128 B.

[7] Proc. in Theol. Plat. 205.

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 103 E–F.

[9] Dam. de princip. 234.

[10] Dam. ii. 87. 21.

[11] Dam. ii. 87. 21.

[12] Dam. i. 155. 11. ἐσσάμενον, ἀκμὴν, Kroll.

[13] Dam. i. 254. 1; ii. 62. 29; 95. 23. τριγλώχινι pro τριγλίχῳ, Kroll.

[14] πᾶν τριάδος pro παντοίαδος, Kroll.

ΨΥΧΗ, ΦΥΣΙΣ

145 ὅττι ψυχὴ πῦρ δυνάμει πατρὸς οὖσα φαινόν,[1]
ἀθάνατός τε μένει καὶ ζωῆς δεσπότις ἐστὶν
καὶ ἴσχει κόσμου πολλὰ πληρώματα κόλπων.[2]
νοῦ γὰρ μίμημα πέλει, τὸ δὲ τεχθὲν ἔχει τι σώματος.[3]
μιγνυμένων δ' ὀχετῶν, πυρὸς ἀφθίτου ἔργα τελοῦσα.[4]
150 μετὰ δὴ πατρικὰς διανοίας ψυχή, ἐγώ, ναίω·
θερμή, ψυχοῦσα τὰ πάντα.[5] κατέθετο γὰρ
νοῦν μὲν ἐνὶ ψυχῇ, ψυχὴν δ' ἐνὶ σώματι ἀργῷ
ἡμέων ἐγκατέθηκε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.[6]
ἄρδην ἐμψυχοῦσα φάος, πῦρ, αἰθέρα, κόσμους.[7]
155 συνυφίσταται γὰρ τὰ φυσικὰ ἔργα τῷ νοερῷ φέγγει
τοῦ πατρός.[8] ψυχὴ γὰρ ἡ κοσμήσασα τὸν μέγαν
οὐρανὸν καὶ κοσμοῦσα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.
κέρατα δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐστήρικται ἄνω.[9]
νώτοις δ' ἀμφὶ θεᾶς φύσις ἄπλετος ἠώρηται.[10]
160 ἄρχει δ' αὖ φύσις ἀκαμάτη κόσμων τε καὶ ἔργων,
οὐρανὸς ὄφρα θέῃ δρόμον ἀίδιον κατασύρων·
καὶ ταχὺς ἠέλιος περὶ κέντρον, ὅπως ἐθὰς ἔλθῃ.[11]
μὴ φύσεως ἐμβλέψῃς εἱμαρμένον οὔνομα τῆσδε.[12]

ΚΟΣΜΟΣ

ὁ ποιητὴς ὃς αὐτουργῶν τεκταίνεσθαι τὸν κόσμον.[13]
165 καὶ γάρ τις πυρὸς ὄγκος ἔην ἕτερος· τὰ δὲ πάντα[14]
αὐτουργῶν, ἵνα σῶμα τὸ κοσμικὸν ἐκτολυπευθῇ,
κόσμος ἵν' ἔκδηλος, καὶ μὴ φαίνηθ' ὑμενώδης.
τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς[15]
καὶ παντοτρόφου αἴθρης.[16]

[1] Psell. 22–24. ὅτι ψυχὴ πῦρ οὖσα φαεινὸν δυνάμει πατρός, comment.

[2] ἔχει pro ἴσχει, comment.

[3] Proc. in Timæ. 87 E. νοῦ μὲν γὰρ, Kroll.

[4] Proc. in Remp. 399. 33.

[5] Proc. in Timæ. 124 D. θερμῇ, Kroll.

[6] δήσας pro ἡμέων, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 124 D.

[7] Simplic. 143 (p. 613, ed. Diels).

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 106 A, C.

[9] Alii legunt κράτη.

[10] Proc. in Timæ. 4 D; in Parm. 821. 5; in Remp. 22. 17.

[11] Proc. in Timæ. 4 D, cf. 323 B; Dam. ii. 157. 15. γὰρ pro δ' αὖ, Kroll.

[12] Proc. theol. Plat. 317. 29; de prov. 155. 26; 164. 7; in Timæ. 322 D.

[13] leg. ὡς pro ὃς τεκτήνατο, Stan.

[14] τάδε pro τὰ δὲ, Kroll. om. γὰρ, Patric.

[15] ἐξ ὕδατος, Kroll.

[16] Proc. in Timæ. 154 E.

170 τ' ἄρρητα καὶ τὰ ῥητὰ συνθήματα τοῦ κόσμου.
ἄλλην κατ' ἄλλην ζωὴν ἀπὸ μεριζομένων ὀχετῶν.
ἄνωθεν διήκοντος ἐπὶ τὸ κατ' ἄντικρυ
διὰ τοῦ κέντρου τῆς γῆς καὶ πέμπτον μέσον, ἄλλον
πυρήοχον, ἔνθα κάτεισι μέχρι ὑλαίων ὀχετῶν,
175 ζωηφόριον πῦρ.[1]
κέντρῳ ἐπισπέρχων σαυτὸν φωτὸς κελάδοντος.[2]
πηγαῖον ἄλλον, ὃς τὸν ἐμπύριον κόσμον ἄγει.[3]
κέντρον ἀφ' οὗ πᾶσαι μέχρις ἄντυγος ἶσαι ἔασιν.[4]
σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἔσπειρε κατὰ κόσμον.
180 μέσον τῶν πατέρων ἑκάστης κέντρον φορεῖται.[5]
νοῦ γὰρ μίμημα πέλει· τὸ δὲ τεχθὲν ἔχει τι σώματος.

ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ

ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἐξώγκωσε πατὴρ στερεώματα κόσμων.[6]
τὸν οὐρανὸν κυρτῷ σχήματι περικλείσας,
πῆξε δὲ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν,[7]
185 ζώων δὲ πλανομένων ὑφέστηκεν ἑπτάδα.[8]
γῆν δ' ἐν μέσῳ τιθεὶς, ὕδωρ δ' ἐν γαίας κόλποις,
ἠέρα δ' ἄνωθεν τούτων.
πῆξε δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν,[9]
μὴ τάσι ἐπιπόνῳ πονηρᾷ.
190 πήξει δὲ πλάνην οὐκ ἐχούσῃ φέρεσθαι,
ἔπηξε δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν
τὸ πῦρ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐναγκάσας,
πήξει πλάνην οὐκ ἐχούσῃ φέρεσθαι.
ἓξ αὐτοὺς ὑπέστησεν, ἕβδομον ἠελίου[10]
195 μεσεμβολήσας πῦρ,
τὸ ἄτακτον αὐτῶν εὐτάκτοις ἀνακρεμάσας ζώναις.
τίκτει γὰρ ἡ θεὰ ἠέλιόν τε μέγαν καὶ λαμπρὰν σελήνην.
αἰθήρ, ἥλιε, πνεῦμα σελήνης, ἠέρος ἀγοί,
ἡλιακῶν τε κύκλων, καὶ μηναίων καναχισμῶν

[1] Proc. in Timæ. 172 C. ζωήφορον, Patric.

[2] Proc. in Timæ. 236 D. ἑαυτὸν, Stan.

[3] Proc. in Timæ.

[4] Proc. in Euclid. i. def. 15–16 (p. 155, ed. Friedlein). (Patric. ἂν τυχόν.)

[5] Dam. ii. 164. 18. μέσσον, Ἑκάτης, πεφορῆσθαι, Kroll.

[6] Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 144 (p. 616, ed. Diels).

[7] πηγνύναι, Kroll.

[8] ζώνων . . . ὑφιστάνειν, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 97 A.

[9] Proc. in Timæ. 280 B, ubi tamen χρωμένων pro φέρεσθαι legitur.

[10] Proc. in Timæ. 280 B.

200 κόλπων τε ἠερίων.
αἴθρης μέλος, ἠελίου τε καὶ μήνης ὀχετῶν, ἤ τε ἠέρος[1]
καὶ πλατὺς ἀήρ, μηναῖός τε δρόμος, καὶ ἀεὶ πόλος ἠελίοιο.[2]
συλλέγει αὐτὸ λαμβάνουσα αἴθρης μέλος,[3]
ἠελίου τε σελήνης τε καὶ ὅσα ἠέρι συνέχονται.
205 πῦρ πυρὸς ἐξοχέτευμα καὶ πυρὸς ταμίας.[4]
χαῖται γὰρ ἐς ὀξὺ πεφυκότι φωτὶ βλέπονται.[5]
ἔνθα Κρόνος,
ἠέλιος πάρεδρος ἐπισκοπέων πόλον ἁγνόν.[6]
αἰθέριός τε δρόμος καὶ μήνης ἄπλετος ὁρμὴ
210 ἠέριοί τε ῥοαί.[7]
ἠέλιόν τε μέγαν καὶ λαμπρὰν σελήνην.

ΧΡΟΝΟΣ

θεὸν ἐγκόσμιον, αἰώνιον, ἀπέραντον,
νέον καὶ πρεσβύτην, ἑλικοειδῆ.
καὶ πηγαῖον ἄλλον, ὃς τὸν ἐμπύριον κόσμον ἄγει.

ΨΥΧΗ, ΣΩΜΑ, ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ

215 χρή σε σπεύδειν πρὸς τὸ φάος καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐγὰς
ἔνθεν ἐπέμφθη σοι ψυχὴ πολὺν ἐσσαμένη νοῦν.[8]
ταῦτα πατὴρ ἐνόησε, βροτὸς δ' οἷ ἐψύχωτο.[9]
σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἐνέσπειρε ταῖς ψυχαῖς,[10]
ἔρωτι βαθεῖ ἀναπλήσας τὴν ψυχήν.
220 κατέθετο γὰρ νοῦν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἐν σώματι δὲ
ὑμέας ἐγκατέθηκε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.
ἀσώματα μέν ἐστι τὰ θεῖα πάντα,
σώματα δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμῶν ἕνεκεν ἐνδέδεται[11]
μὴ δυναμένων κατασχεῖν ἀσωμάτους τῶν σωμάτων,[12]

[1] μέρος ἠελίου τε (an μένος?), Kroll. ἠδ' pro ἤ τε, Kroll.

[2] ἀείπολος pro ἀεὶ πόλος, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 257 E.

[3] Proc. in Timæ. 311 A. συλλέγειν, λαμβάνουσαν, μέρος, Kroll.

[4] Proc. in Timæ. 141 F.

[5] Proc. in Remp. 387. 43. μὲν post χαῖται, inserit Kroll et legit πεφρικότι.

[6] Proc. in Timæ. 279 F. ἠελίοιο, Kroll.

[7] Proc. ap. Simpl. 614. 2.

[8] Psell. 13–14.

[9] Proc. in Timæ. 336 A. δέ οἱ, Kroll.

[10] Psell. 49 comment. omis. γὰρ et ταῖς, et legit ἔσπειρε.

[11] δὲ pro δ' ἐν, Kroll.

[12] μετασχεῖν, ἀσωμάτως τῶν ἀσωμάτων, Kroll.

225 διὰ τὴν σωματικὴν εἰς ἣν ἐνεκεντρίσθητε φύσιν.[1]
ἐν δὲ θεῷ κεῖνται πυρσοὺς ἕλκουσαι ἀκμαίους
ἐκ πατρόθεν κατιόντες, ἀφ' ὧν ψυχὴ κατιόντων[2]
ἐμπυρίων δρέπεται καρπῶν, ψυχοτρόφον ἄνθος.
διὸ καὶ νοήσασαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς
230 μοίρης εἱμαρμένης τὸ πτερὸν φεύγουσιν ἀναιδές.[3]
κἂν γὰρ τήνδε ψυχὴν ἴδῃς ἀποκαταστᾶσαν,
ἀλλ' ἄλλην ἐνίησι πατὴρ ἐναρίθμιον εἶναι.
ἦ μάλα δὴ κεῖναί γε μακάρταται ἔξοχα πασέων[4]
ψυχάων, ποτὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προχέονται.
235 κεῖναι ὄλβιαί τε καὶ οὐ φατὰ νήματα ἔχουσαι.[5]
ὅσσαι ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος, ἄναξ, σέθεν, ἦ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐκ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο μίτου κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.[6]
ἡγείσθω ψυχῆς βάθος ἄμβροτον, ὄμματα δ' ἄρδην
πάντα ἐκπέτατον ἄνω.[7]
240 μήτε κάτω νεύσῃς εἰς τὸν μελαναυγέα κόσμον,[8]
ᾧ βυθὸς αἰὲν ἄπιστος ὑπέστρωταί τε καὶ Ἅιδης[9]
ἀμφικνεφής, ῥυπόων, εἰδωλοχαρής, ἀνόητος,
κρημνώδης, σκολιός, πωρὸν βάθος αἰὲν ἑλίσσων,[10]
ἀεὶ νυμφεύων ἀφανὲς δέμας, ἀργόν, ἄπνευμον.[11]
245 καὶ ὁ μισοφανὴς κόσμος καὶ τὰ σκολιὰ ῥεῖθρα
ὑφ' ὧν πολλοὶ κατασύρονται.[12]
ζήτησον παράδεισον.[13]
δίζεο σὺ ψυχῆς ὀχετόν, ὅθεν ἢ τίνι τάξει[14]
σώματι θητεύσας, ἐπὶ τάξιν ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρύης[15]
250 αὖθις ἀναστήσεις, ἱερῷ λόγῳ ἔργον ἑνώσας.[16]
μήτε κάτω νεύσῃς, κρημνὸς κατὰ γῆς ὑπόκειται,[17]
ἑπταπόρου σύρων κατὰ βαθμίδος· ἣν ὕπο[18]

[1] Proc. in Remp. 359. 23 B.
[2] κατιόντας, Kroll.
[3] Proc. in Timæ. 321 A.
[4] πασῶν, Kroll.
[5] ὄλβισταί, νήματ', Kroll.
[6] Synes. de insomn. 151 C.
[7] Psell. 37–38. οἰγνύσθω, Kroll. ὄμματα δὲ πάντα | ἄρδην, comment.
[8] μηδὲ pro μήτε, Kroll.
[9] Sic Dam. Synes., ἄμορφος ὑπέστρωται καὶ ἀειδής.
[10] πηρὸν, Kroll.
[11] Dam. ii. 317 (Synes. de insomn. 138 C).
[12] Proc. in Timæ. 339 B. μισοφαὴς, οἱ πολλοὶ, Kroll.
[13] Psell. 25.
[14] [καὶ] pro σὺ, comment. δίζηαι ψυχῆς, Kroll.
[15] ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρύης, om. comment. et Kroll, qui legit θητεύσασ' et coni. ὑπέβη καὶ πῶς.
[16] ἰθὺς pro αὖθις, comment. Psell. 1–6.
[17] μὴ [δὲ] pro μήτε, comment. μὴ ⟨δὲ⟩, Kroll.
[18] ὑφ' ἣν ὁ τῆς | ἀνάγκης, comment. et Kroll. Psell. 4–6.

δεινῆς ἀνάγκης θρόνος ἐστίν.
μὴ σὺ γ' αὔξανε τὴν εἱμαρμένην.[1]
255 ψυχὴ ἡ μερόπων θεὸν ἄγξει πῶς εἰς ἑαυτήν.[2]
οὐδὲν θνητὸν ἔχουσα, ὅλη θεόθεν μεμέθυσται.[3]
ἁρμονίαν αὐχεῖ γὰρ ὑφ' ᾗ πέλε σῶμα βρότειον.[4]
ἐκτείνας πύριον νοῦν ἔργον ἐπ' εὐσεβίης,
ῥευστὸν καὶ σῶμα σαώσεις.[5]
260 ἔστι καὶ εἰδώλῳ μερὶς εἰς τόπον ἀμφιφάοντα.[6]
πάντοθεν ἀπλάστῳ ψυχῇ πυρὸς ἡνία τεῖνον.[7]
ὁ πυριθαλπὴς ἔννοια πρωτίστην ἔχει τάξιν.
τῷ πυρὶ γὰρ βροτὸς ἐμπελάσας θεόθεν φάος ἕξει.[8]
δηθύνοντι γὰρ βροτῷ κραιπνοὶ μάκαρες τελέθουσιν.[9]
265 αἱ ποῖναι μερόπων ἄγκτειραι[10]
καὶ τὰ κακῆς ὕλης βλαστήματα χρηστὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.
ἐλπὶς τρεφέτω σε πυρήοχος ἀγγελικῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ.[11]
ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσδέχεται κείνης τὸ θέλειν πατρικὸς νοῦς,
μέχρις ἂν ἐξέλθῃ λήθης καὶ ῥῆμα λαλήσῃ.
270 μνήμην ἐνθεμένη πατρικοῦ συνθήματος ἁγνοῦ.[12]
τοῖς δὲ διδακτὸν φάους ἔδωκε γνώρισμα λαβέσθαι.
τοὺς δὲ ὑπνώοντας ἑῆς ἐνεκάρπισεν ἀλκῆς.[13]
μὴ πνεῦμα μολύνῃς, μηδὲ βαθύνῃς τὸ ἐπίπεδον.[14]
μηδὲ τὸ τῆς ὕλης σκύβαλον κρημνῷ καταλείψῃς.[15]
275 μὴ ἐξάξῃς, ἵνα μὴ ἐξιοῦσα ἔχῃ τι.[16]
βίῃ ὅτι σῶμα λιπόντων ψυχαὶ καθαρώταται.[17]
ψυχῆς ἐξωστῆρες, ἀνάπνοοι, εὔλυτοί εἰσιν.[18]
λαιῆσ' ἐν λαγόσιν Ἑκάτης ἀρετῆς πέλε πηγὴ[19]

[1] Psell. 8. συναυξήσῃς, comment.

[2] Comment. omis. ἡ et πῶς. αὐτήν, Kroll.

[3] θεόθεν, om. comment.

[4] Psell. 19–21.

[5] Psell. 30–31. εὐσεβίας, Kroll; πύρινον, Stanl.

[6] Psell. 27.

[7] Psell. 45.

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 65 B (ubi legitur τὴν πυριθαλπῆ ἔννοιαν πρωτίστην ἔχειν τάξιν).

[9] Proc. in Timæ. 65 D. Omis. γὰρ, Kroll.

[10] Psell. 36.

[11] Olymp. in Phæd. 31. 21; 34. 3.

[12] Psell. 10–12. Omis. comment. τὸ θέλειν.

[13] Synes. de insomn. 135 A. διδακτὸν ἔδωκε φάους, Kroll. καὶ post δὲ, inser. Kroll.

[14] Psell. 26. τοὐπίπεδον, Kroll.

[15] Psell. 28. οὐδὲ καταλείψεις, Kroll.

[16] Psell. 29; cf. Plotinus Enneades, i. 9. In comment. ἐξίῃ ἔχουσά τι.

[17] Psell. 1141 B. κατάρατοι, coniec. Kroll.

[18] Psell. 16. ἀνάπνοες, comment. et Kroll.

[19] λαιῆς ἐν λαγόσιν κοίτης, Psell.

ἔνδον ὅλη μίμνουσα, τὸ πάρθενον οὐ προιεῖσα.[1]
280 ὦ τολμηροτάτης φύσεως ἄνθρωπε τέχνασμα,[2]
μὴ τὰ πελώρια μέτρα γαίης ὑπὸ σὴν φρένα βάλλου,
οὐ γὰρ ἀληθείης φυτὸν ἐνὶ χθονί.[3]
μήτε μέτρει μέτρα ἠελίου κανόνας συναθροίσας,[4]
ἀιδίῳ βουλῇ φέρεται οὐχ ἕνεκα σεῖο.[5]
285 μηναῖόν τε δρόμημα καὶ ἀστέριον προπόρθευμα.[6]
μήνης ῥοῖζον ἔασον, ἀεὶ τρέχει ἔργῳ ἀνάγκης
ἀστέριον προπόρθευμα, σέθεν χάριν οὐκ ἐλοχεύθη.[7]
αἰθέριος ὀρνίθων ταρσὸς πλατὺς οὔποτ᾽ ἀληθής.
οὐ θυσιῶν σπλάγχνων τε τομαί· τάδ᾽ ἀθύρματα πάντα,[8]
290 ἐμπορικῆς ἀπάτης στηρίγματα· φεῦγε σὺ ταῦτα
μέλλων εὐσεβίης ἱερὸν παράδεισον ἀνοίγειν,
ἔνθ᾽ ἀρετὴ σοφία τε καὶ εὐνομία συνάγονται.[9]
σὸν γὰρ ἀγγεῖον θῆρες χθονὸς οἰκήκουσιν.[10]
αὐτοὺς δὲ χθὼν κατοδύρεται ἐς τέκνα μέχρις.[11]

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ, ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙ

295 ἡ φύσις πείθει εἶναι τοὺς δαίμονας ἁγνούς,
καὶ τὰ κακῆς ὕλης βλαστήματα χρηστὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.[12]
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἀβάτοις σήκοις διανοίας ἀνελίττω.
πῦρ ἴκελον σκιρτηδὸν ἐπ᾽ ἠέρος οἶδμα τιταῖνον,[13]
ἢ καὶ πῦρ ἀτύπωτον ὅθεν φωνὴν προθέουσαν,
300 ἢ φῶς πλούσιον ἀμφιγειήν, ῥοιζαῖον, ἐλιχθέν·[14]
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππον ἰδεῖν φωτὸς πλέον ἀστράπτοντα,
ἢ καὶ παῖδα τεοῖς νώτοις ἐποχούμενον ἵππου,[15]
ἔμπυρον ἢ χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένον ἢ παλίγυμνον[16]

[1] μένουσα et παρθένιον, comment. Psell. 17–18.
[2] Psell. 39. τολμηρᾶς ἐκ, comment.
[3] ἐν pro ἐνὶ, Kroll.
[4] μηδὲ pro μήτε, Psell. et Kroll; μέτρον, Kroll.
[5] πατρὸς post φέρεται, Psell. et Kroll. σοῦ, Kroll. Psell. 1128 B, C.
[6] Proc. in Timæ. 277 D. προπόρευμα, Kroll et Psell.
[7] Proc. in Timæ. 277 D, et Psell. 1128 B, C. προπόρευμα, Kroll et Psell.
[8] ὕτομαι, Patric.; ὕθομαι, Stanleius.
[9] Psell. 1128 B. C.
[10] Psell. 7. Comment. omis. γὰρ.
[11] Psell. 15. ἀεὶ τούσδε . . . ἃ ἃ τούσδε, Kroll. κατωρύεται, comment. κατώρικται, Patric.
[12] Psell. 34–35. In comment. inserit πιστεύειν post πείθει.
[13] Proc. in Remp. 380. 5.
[14] ἀμφιφαὲς, Stan. Lips. ἀμφὶ γυὴν, Kroll.
[15] Melius Kroll, θοοῖς pro τεοῖς.
[16] πάλι γυμνόν, Kroll.

ἢ καὶ τοξεύοντα καὶ ἑστῶτα ἐπὶ νώτοις.[1]
305 πολλάκις ἢν λέξῃς μοι, ἀθρήσεις πάντ' ἀχλύοντα·[2]
οὔτε γὰρ οὐράνιος κυδρὸς τότε φαίνεται ὄγκος.[3]
ἀστέρες οὐ λάμπουσι, τὸ μήνης φῶς κεκάλυπτει,
χθὼν οὐχ ἕστηκεν, βλέπεταί τε πάντα κεραυνοῖς.[4]
μὴ φύσεως καλέσῃς αὔτοπτον ἄγαλμα,[5]
310 οὐ γὰρ χρὴ κείνους σε βλέπειν πρὶν σῶμα τελεσθῇ.
ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς θέλγοντες ἀεὶ τῶν τελετῶν ἀπάγουσιν.[6]
ἐκ δ' ἄρα κόλπων γαίης θρῴσκουσι χθόνιοι κύνες,
οὔποτ' ἀληθὲς σῶμα βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ δεικνύντες.[7]
ἐνέργει περὶ τὸν Ἑκατικὸν στρόφαλον.[8]
315 ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μήποτ' ἀλλάξῃς,[9]
εἰσὶ γὰρ ὀνόματα παρ' ἑκάστοις θεόσδοτα
δύναμιν ἐν τελεταῖς ἄρρητον ἔχοντα.
ἡνίκα βλέψῃς μορφῆς ἄτερ εὐίερον πῦρ[10]
λαμπόμενον σκιρτηδὸν ὅλου κατὰ βένθεα κόσμου,
320 κλῦθι πυρὸς φωνήν.
ἡνίκα δαίμονα δ' ἐρχόμενον πρόσγειον ἀθρήσῃς,
θύε λίθον μνίζουριν ἐπαυδῶν.[11]
εἰσὶ πάντα πυρὸς ἑνὸς ἐκγεγαῶτα.[12]
πατὴρ οὐ φόβον ἐνθρῴσκει, πειθὼ δ' ἐπιχεύει.[13]

[1] ἑστηῶτ', Kroll.

[2] πάντα λέοντα pro πάντη λεκτόν, comment. πάντη λεκτόν, Psell. Nos sec. Kroll.

[3] κυρτὸς pro κυδρὸς, comment. et Kroll.

[4] Psell. 40–44. φλέγεται, melius Kroll.

[5] Psell. 1136 C.

[6] Proc. in Alc. 340. 6. τελεσθῇς, Kroll.

[7] Psell. 32–33. οὔτ', comment. Om. ἀνδρὶ in comment. Alii, ἐκ δ' ἄρα κόλπων γαίης θρώσκουσ', οὔποτ' ἀληθὲς | σῆμα βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ χθόνιοι κύνες δεικνύντες.

[8] Psell. 1133 A.

[9] Psell. 1132 C.

[10] ⟨δὲ⟩, Kroll. Psell. 46–48.

[11] Psell. 1148 B. μνούζιριν ἐπᾴδων, Kroll. sub voce μνίζουριν suspicor forsan corruptionem part. pass. arab. منظور (*manẓūr*) de verbo نظر (*naẓar*) 'videre' sublatere. si hoc recte se habet, de sententia confer Geoponica xv. 1. 8: ὁ λύκος προορῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀσθενέστερον αὐτὸν καὶ ἄφωνον ποιεῖ . . . ὀφθεὶς δὲ πρότερος ὁ λύκος αὐτὸς ἀσθενέστερος γίνεται. verba ex linguis orientalibus in incantamentis huiusmodi frequentissime usurpari docet Heim in Annal. Philol. Suppl. xix. (1892) p. 528, qui etiam exempla multa Ἐφεσίων γραμμάτων profert pp. 529–542.

[12] Psell. 52.

[13] Psell. 60.

APPENDIX VI

ALLUSIONS TO ZOROASTER IN VARIOUS OTHER OLDER LITERATURES

1. Armenian Allusions.
2. Chinese Allusions.
3. Syriac, Arabic, and other Mohammedan or Persian References.
4. Icelandic Allusion.

I

Allusions to Zoroaster in Armenian Literature

The references to Zoroaster in Armenian literature, so far as I know, are few, but other scholars may be able to add to the list. Those allusions easiest to be found are in Langlois, *Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1867–1869; see tome i. pp. 28, 29; ii. pp. 59, 69, 189, 191, n., 230 (377), 381. These references are used here in part.

(a) The So-called Armenian History of Khorene. — The chapters of the so-called Armenian history of Moses of Khorene which refer to Zoroaster give the same or a similar record as Cephalion and others[1] in associating his name with Semiramis. Zoroaster is a Magian and religious chief of the Medes. Semiramis gives into his charge the government of Assyria and Nineveh, and entrusts to him the greatest power, while she withdraws to her favorite city in Armenia. Zoroaster raises a rebellion against Semiramis, and the issue of the war is told.

Several translations of Moses or of this passage are accessible: Whiston, *Moses Chorenens.*, London, 1736, 1. ch. 16 (quoted in Müller's *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. p. 627, and in Gilmore, *Persika of Ktesias*, London, 1888, p. 30, n.); Langlois, *Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1867–1869, tome ii. 59, 69; cf. *ibid.* i.

[1] E.g. Agathias; cf. Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 412.

p. 28 (Mar Apas Catina, ch. **10**); Lauer, *Moses von Chorene, Geschichte Gross-Armeniens übersetzt,* Regensburg 1869, p. 13 seq. The sources are discussed by Carrière, *Nouvelles sources de Moïse de Khoren,* Vienna, 1893; cf. also Vetter in *Festgruss an Roth,* p. 81 seq.

For a rendering of the passages, in which Zoroaster is alluded to in Moses of Khorene, I am indebted to the kind help of my colleague, Mr. Abraham Yohannan, of Columbia University, whose version is here given for convenience.

Mos. Khor. 1. 6 [in speaking of Zrvan and basing the narrative on the legendary Berosian Sibyl, Moses of Khorene alludes to three princes of the earth, 'Zrvan, Titan, and Japhet' (Zrvan, Didan, Habedost). In his opinion these are identical with 'Shem, Ham, and Japhet' (Sem, Kam, Habet). He then goes on to state, upon the authority of the Berosian Sibyl], 'These divided the whole world between them. Over the other two, Zrvan gained the mastery,—he, of whom Zoroaster (Zradasht) king of the Bactrians, that is the Medes, states that he is the source and father of the gods.'

Mos. Khor. 1. 17 (16) 'About Semiramis—The reason why she slew her sons—How she fled from Zoroaster (Zradasht) the Magian into Armenia—And how she was put to death by her son Ninyas (Ninouas):—This queen was always accustomed, for her recreation, to pass the summer in the northern region, in the fortified city which she had built in Armenia. She left Assyria and Nineveh in charge of the governor Zoroaster, a Magian and patriarch of the Medes. And having repeatedly done this, she (finally) entrusted the sovereignty entirely to him.'

'Being herself often rebuked by her sons because of her wanton and meretricious character, she put them all to death; only Ninyas (Ninouas) escaped. She chose to bestow upon her paramours all the power and treasures, without any regard to her sons. Her husband Ninus was not dead, nor buried by her in the palace of Nineveh, as is reported; but he abandoned the realm and fled to Crete, because he was aware of her vice and shameless behavior.'

'It was then that her grown-up sons reminded her of all this in hopes of restraining her from her devilish and warlike desires and of having the power and treasures entrusted to them. Becoming excessively enraged thereat, she killed them all, and only Ninyas remained as we have described above.'

'But when some misunderstanding occurred on the part of Zoroaster with reference to the queen, and enmity arose between the two, Semiramis made war against him because he was designing to rule by force over all. In the midst of the war Semiramis fled before Zoroaster into Armenia.'

'At this juncture, Ninyas (her son), taking advantage of the opportunity for revenge, killed his mother and reigned over Assyria and Nineveh.'

(b) Elisæus, who is presumably a contemporary of Vartan (A.D. fifth century), in his history of the latter, and of the wars which the Armenians waged against the Persians, alludes incidentally to the

'Magians,' and the 'religion of Zoroaster'; see Langlois, op. cit. ii. 189, 230.

(c) The Armenian Eznik (A.D. fifth century,) in his refutation of the sects and of heretical opinions, devotes an entire division (ii.) of his work to the false tenets of the Persians who maintain the doctrine of Ormazd, Ahriman, and Zrvan, and, in this connection, he incidentally mentions 'Zradasht' (Zoroaster) as responsible for the heretical views as to the origin of the sun and moon, cf. Langlois, op. cit. ii. 381. Most of this passage is translated in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 542–551, but not the paragraph relating to Zoroaster; cf. also Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 13.

(d) Thomas Arzrounī, the learned Armenian annalist (A.D. ninth–tenth century),[1] gives a series of statements regarding Zoroaster and the Persian belief in Ormazd. Some of his allusions are identical with the common accounts which associate Zoroaster's name with Ninus and Semiramis. One passage is also of importance in connection with the prescriptions of the Vendīdād. It gives a legendary explanation of the origin of the injunction which Zoroaster gave for killing noxious animals. The passage is to be found translated in the valuable publication of Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens; Th. Ardzrouni*, etc., tome i, S. Pétersbourg, 1874. As this work is not easily accessible and as the passage does not seem to be generally familiar to Zoroastrian students, it is worth while to reproduce Brosset's translation (op. cit., livre 1, § 3, pp. 19–22, 25; § 4, p. 27).

1. 3, 'De l'empire des Assyriens; que Zradacht et Manithop furent chefs des contrées orientales; leurs dogmes absurdes.

'Des temps écoulés entre Bel et Ninos, il ne reste dans les livres anciens, ainsi que nous l'avons dit précédemment, aucune trace considérable et éclatante, et cela, sans doute, par plusieurs raisons. D'abord, par suite de la confusion des langues, il régnait une fâcheuse mésintelligence, puis les annalistes chaldéens ne retraçaient pas les faiblesses des hommes de haut rang. Et encore, si même les exploits et actes de bravoure de Ninos ont été racontés, comme Bel et pis encore, il en vint à un tel degré d'orgueil, qu'il se regardait comme le premier des héros, comme le premier des rois, et ayant fait rassembler en un tas, en grande hâte, tous les écrits anciens, il les livra aux flammes, afin que par la suite il ne restât plus de souvenir d'autre personne illustre que la sienne.[2] Il passe donc pour avoir régné sur toute l'Asie, l'Inde exceptée et sur la Libye. Il fit aussi réparer, pour l'honneur de son nom, la ville de Ninive, autrefois construite par Assour, pour être la résidence royale, et qu'avait ravagée Nébroth. Il détrôna ensuite le mage Zradacht, roi des Bactriens et des Mèdes, et le chassa

[1] Cf. Neumann, *Geschichte der armen. Lit.*, pp. 123–125, Leipzig, 1836.

[2] Mr. Gray notes a similar act by Tsin-Chi-hoang-ti.

jusqu'aux frontières des Héphtalites, devint le maître puissant de tout le Khoujastan, des contrées de l'orient et de la Perse, jusque par-delà Balkh et Dépouhan ; de Comaïd, de Gauzpan, de Chéribamamacan, de Khodjihrastan, et pour vrai dire, il soumit durant 52 ans, avec une incroyable valeur, tout le pays jusqu'à la mer des Indes. Lorsqu'il mourut, ne laissant que de très jeunes enfants, il remit l'autorité à sa femme Chamiram, qui l'exerça elle-même avec plus de vigueur que Ninos ; car elle enceignit Babylone de murailles, dompta la rébellion de Zradacht et le reduisit en servitude. Mais l'ivresse des voluptés lui faisant oublier ses fils, elle prodigua ses trésors à ses amants favoris et établit Zradacht commandant de Babylone, du Khoujastan et de toute la Perse orientale. Pour elle, elle passa en Arménie, ou l'attirait la renommée d'un descendant d' Haïc. Quant à son arrivée en ce pays, aux détails de la bataille, à la construction de superbes édifices, veritablement admirables, à la revolte de Zradacht, à la mort de Chamiram, aux récits des magiciens, à ce sujet, tout cela a été raconté par d'autres. Elle avait régné 42 ans. L'autorité passa à son fils Zarmia, qui fut appelé Ninovas, du nom de son père. Celui-ci fut maître de l'Assyrie et, durant un temps, de l'Arménie. Peu soucieux d'agrandissements, doué d'un caractère paisible et non belliqueux, il passa tranquillement ses jours.'

'Cependant Zradacht, possédant les contrées à l'orient de la Perse, cessa depuis lors d'inquiéter l'Assyrie. Dédaignant comme vieilleries et choses par trop obscures, les récits sur Bel et sur les autres descendants des génies, il débita sur son propre compte de nouvelles fables, afin de séparer du même coup les Perses et les Mars des Babyloniens, et, par ses doctrines et par des noms, de se mettre en communication avec les Assyriens. Il se mit donc à appeler [de ?][1] nouveau Zrovan et souche des dieux Sem, fils de Noé. "Celui-ci, dit-il, voulant devenir père d'Ormizd, dit : "Qu'ainsi soit, j'aurai pour fils Ormizd, qui fera le ciel et la terre." Zrovan conçut donc deux jumeaux, dont l'un fut assez rusé pour se hâter de paraître le premier, "Qui es-tu ? lui dit Zrovan. — Ton fils Ormizd. — Mon fils Ormizd est lumineux et de bonne odeur, et toi tu es obscur et mauvaise langue." Celui-ci ayant beaucoup insisté, il lui donna le pouvoir pour mille ans. Ormizd, étant né au bout de ce terme, dit à son frère : "Je t'ai cédé pendant mille ans ; cède-moi présentement." Connaissant son infériorité, Ahrman résista et se révolta, et devint un dieu opposé à Ormizd. Quand Ormizd créa la lumière, Ahrman fit les ténèbres ; quand Ormizd créa la vie, Ahrman fit la mort ; quand Ormizd créa le feu, le bien, Ahrman fit l'eau et le mal. Pour ne point dire tout, l'un après l'autre, tout ce qui est bon et les gens vertueux proviennent d'Ormizd ; d'Ahrman, tout ce qui est mauvais et les démons. Maintenant à celui qui pensera que ces doctrines ne méritent qu'une explosion de rire, et qui traite de fou le roi Zradacht, réponds que ce dieu impuissant, Ormizd, ne travaille pas en vain, et que les deux frères, bien qu'ennemies mutuels, se courrouceront à la fois pour l'exterminer.'

'Le même insensé Zradacht raconte encore qu'une guerre s'étant élevée entre Ormizd et Ahrman, le premier éprouva une faim enragée et courut les champs, pour trouver de la nourriture. Il rencontra un bœuf, qu'il déroba.

[1] Added by Mr. Schuyler, who also notes from Brosset that Arzrounī always writes *Ormzd*, *Ahrmn*.

L'ayant tué et caché sous un tas de pierres, il attendit le crépuscule, pour enlever chez lui le produit de son larcin et rassasier sa faim. Le soir venu, il était tout joyeux et allait se gorger de nourriture, mais il trouva le bœuf gâté, devoré par les lézards, par les araignées, les stellions et les mouches, qui avaient fait leur proie de son gibier. Maintenant donc la légion des cloportes et des jjacs vinrent, et comme ils firent beaucoup de mal au dieu, Zradacht prescrivit une quantité de règlements puerils. Ce n'est point à la légère que nous sommes décidé à écrire ces choses, mais parce que cette doctrine satanique a causé bien des catastrophes sanglantes à notre Arménie, qu'elle a ruinée entièrement, ainsi que le fait voir l'histoire des saints Vardanians, écrite par le vénérable prêtre Eghiché. Les fils des pyrolâtres sont là, pour l'affirmer encore.'

'Cependant Manithop, roi des Hephtals, ajoute et affirme encore ceci : le feu, suivant lui, n'est pas la créature d'Ormizd, mais sa substance. Héphestos et Promithos, *i.e.* le soleil et la lune, ayant dérobé le feu d'Ormizd, en donnèrent une partie aux hommes. La terre est l'asyle du dieu Spandaramet — Bacchus ; — elle n'a été créée par personne, mais elle existait, telle qu'elle existe ; elle continue d'être, et l'homme est né de lui-même.'

Three pages farther on (p. 25) is found another allusion to Zoroaster : 'Quant aux autres assertions des mythologues, et à leurs dires sans fondements, j'en prendrai, pour le réfuter, ce qu'il y à de plus raisonnable dans les traditions confuses, transmises à leurs sectateurs par les orientaux Zradacht et Manithop.'

[In the next chapter Thomas Arzrounī summarizes the reigns of the successive Assyrian rulers down to the rise of the kingdom of Persia under Cyrus, and Zoroaster's death is incidentally mentioned. From the allusions to Ninus and Semiramis and Abraham, it is evident that he places Zoroaster at an early period. The text runs] : 'Nous avons suivi méthodiquement la série des générations et rangé avec soin les ancêtres de l'empire d'Assyrie, dont le premier héritier fut Zamésos [*i.e.* Zarmia, plus haut], le même que Ninovas, fils de Ninus et de Chamiram, en la 53e année de la vie du patriarche Abraham, qui régna sur toute l'Asie et l'Arménie. Zradacht étant mort, il fut de nouveau, 38 ans durant, monarque pacifique de tout ce qui est à l'O. de la Perse, qui lui obéit et lui paya tribut. Après lui, son fils Arias, le 4e depuis Ninus, durant 30 ans. Après lui les rois d'Assyrie, se succédant au pouvoir, de père en fils, ne firent rien de remarquable, et pas un seul d'entre eux ne régna moins de 20 ans.'

II

Allusions to Zoroaster in Chinese Literature

For my first direct information on this subject, a year ago, I am personally indebted to the Sinologist, Dr. F. Hirth, of Munich, whose kindness I cordially appreciate, and whose suggestions I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. Hirth recently wrote me that some of the material of which he spoke to me is easily accessible in the monographs of Messieurs Chavannes and Devéria, from which I give

selections, as they can but be of special interest to students of Zoroastrianism. Dr. Frederick W. Williams, of Yale University, New Haven, furthermore draws my attention to the existence of a number of references in Chinese literature to the religion of Zoroaster as *Po-sz king kian*, 'religion of Persia,' or Po-sz. I am sincerely indebted to these gentlemen, and I hope that, joined perhaps by Mgr. C. de Harlez and others, they may pursue their researches farther in this particular line, and add to our knowledge of the Prophet of Ancient Iran, and his influence in the Far East.

In a letter which Dr. Hirth wrote to me, he says: 'What I consider to be the Chinese transcription of the name *Zoroaster* occurs in a work called *Si-ki-tsung-yü* (chap. 1, p. 20). Speaking of the deity, Mahēsvara (in Chinese *Ma-yi-schou-lo*), the author, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century (cf. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 128) says: "It [the deity] originally came from the great country of Persia, and is [there] called *Su-lu-tschë*. The god had a disciple by the name of *Yüan-tchēn*, who studied the doctrine of his master, etc., in Persia, and afterwards travelled to China to spread it there."'[1]

M. Éd. Chavannes, *Le Nestorianisme et l'Inscription de Kara-Balgassoun* in *Journ. Asiatique*, Janv. Fév. 1897, p. 61 seq., gives some very interesting allusions to the Persian religion and its spread in China, onward from the seventh century of our era. I select two extracts which mention Zoroaster. The monograph itself should be consulted.

Chavannes, op. cit. p. 61, notes, by way of introduction: 'A la date de la 5e année *tcheng-koan* (631),[2] le *Fo-tsou t'ong ki* dit (Chapter xxxix. p. 71 V°, 9e cahier de la lettre[3] dans l'édition japonaise du Tripiṭaka de la Société Asiatique):—

"Autrefois *Sou-li-tche* (Zarathushtra, Zoroastre), du royaume de Perse, avait institué la religion *mo-ni*-enne du dieu céleste du feu; un édit impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de *Ta-ts'in*."[4]

'Dans le même ouvrage (chap. liv. p. 151 r°), on lit:—

[1] On seeing Devéria's citation of the same passage (given above), Dr. Hirth supplements his note by adding that it is perhaps the intention of the passage to indicate that the doctrine rather than Yüan-tchēn travelled to China. See Devéria's quotation.

[2] I.e. A.D. 631.

[3] Here follows a Chinese character.

[4] I.e. Chaldea; see Devéria, op. cit. p. 456. Similarly De Rosny, *Le Culte de Zoroastre chez les Chinois* in *Congrès int. des Orient.*, 1me Sess. ii. 323–326.

"Pour ce qui est de la religion *mo-ni*-enne du dieu céleste du feu,[1] autrefois, dans le royaume de Perse il y eut Zoroastre ; il mit en vigueur la religion du dieu céleste du feu ; ses disciples vinrent faire des conversions en Chine ; sous les *T'ang*, la 5e année *tcheng-koan* (631), un de ses sectateurs, le mage *Ho-lou* vint au palais apporter la religion du dieu céleste ; un décret impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de *Ta-ts'in*." '

M. G. Devéria, *Musulmans et Manichéens Chinois* in *Journ. Asiatique*, Nov. Déc. 1897, p. 445 seq., especially discusses certain Chinese material on the subject of Manichæism; he cites and translates (on p. 456) the last passage given by Chavannes, and notes also the one to which Hirth had already called attention.

Devéria, op. cit. p. 462 : 'Yao-Koan des Song dit : les caractères [. . .][2] désignent l'Esprit étranger du ciel ; [. . .] se prononce *hien ;* son culte est celui que les livres sacrés bouddhiques appellent le culte de Mahesvara ; c'est dans la grande Perse qu'il prit naissance ; on l'y nomme (culte de) Zoroastre ; celui-ci eut un disciple appelé Hiuan-tchen (Céleste vérité ou Véridique céleste), qui étudia la religion du maître ; il descendait de Jouhouo-chan (Joukhshan ou Soukhshan ou Djoukhshan ?), grand gouverneur général de la Perse ; sa propagande s'exerça en Chine.'[3]

III

References to some Syriac, Arabic, and other Mohammedan or Persian Allusions to Zoroaster

The most convenient collection of material on Syriac and Arabic allusions to Zoroaster is by Gottheil in the book so often quoted above and easily accessible. I merely repeat the title below. To supplement this, see brief remark in *AJSL.* xiii. 225 and I note also (by pages) such references as I have observed in Hyde, Barbier de Meynard, Vullers, or elsewhere, as the works can be consulted.

1. Gottheil, R., *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, collected in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, New York, 1894 (Columbia University Press), pp. 24–51. This monograph gives abundant bibliographical material.

[1] Devéria, op. cit. p. 456, renders 'de la religion de *Mo-ni* de l'Esprit céleste du feu,' and notes that *Mo-ni* refers to the Manichæans (p. 464).

[2] Here are Chinese characters.

[3] Cf. also Fergusson, *Chinese Researches*, Part I., pp. 15 seq., Shanghai, 1880, on the Chinese knowledge of Bactria and Persia. Specialists can doubtless add much on this subject. Professor Bang reminds me of *ZDMG.* xliv. 151 ; xlv. 627 ; *WZKM.* xii. 51.

2. Hyde, T., *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum*, Oxon. 1700, the following pages: —

Shahrastānī, p. 153 (fires), 294–296 (Magian doctrines and Z.), 298–300 (cf. Gottheil, p. 46 seq.), 382 (Messianic prophecy by Z.).
Ibn Shahna, p. 162 seq. (Z. and dualism).
Shāh Kholgī, p. 164 (Z. and the Gāhānbār).
Bar Bahlūl (Syriac), p. 310 (etymology of Z.'s name; Messianic prophecies; cf. Gottheil, p. 28).
Abūlfeda, p. 311 (Z. born at Urumiah).
Beiḍāwī, p. 313 (Z. and religion; Z.'s mountain at Istakhr).
Abū Mohammed Muṣtafā, p. 313 (Z. and Ezra; doctrines).
Bundārī, p. 314 seq. (after Ṭabarī).
Majdī, pp. 315–317, 319, 385 (Z. Palestine and Ādarbaijān; conversion of V.; molten brass ordeal; cypress of Kishmar; Jāmāsp).
Khvāndamīrī, p. 317 seq. (Z. and fire-worship; V. at Istakhr).
Shāh Nāmah Nasr, pp. 319–325 (abridged prose account from ShN. of Z.'s conversion of V., and his history).
Abūl-Faraj, p. 384 (Messianic).
Khalīl Sūfī, pp. 385, 421 (Jāmāsp = Daniel; the Persian language).
Sad-dar, p. 433 seq. (gives a Latin translation).
Al-Makīn, p. 529 (Z. contemporary with Smerdis; Z. institutes a communion).
Eutychius, see Appendix II., p. 168 above.

3. The *Mujmal al-Tawārīkh* (A.D. 1126, author unknown). *Extraits du Modjmal al-Tewarikh, relatifs à l'histoire de la Perse*, traduits par Jules Mohl (*Journal Asiatique*, tome xi. pp. 136, 258, 320, Paris, 1841). This work is later than Ṭabarī, Hamzah, and Firdausī. The author makes use of Hamzah. The special pages which are of interest in connection with Zoroaster are the following: p. 147 (chronology), 160 (Lohrāsp), 161 (Gushtāsp), 162–163 (Bahman, Hūmāī, Dārāb, Dārā, Sikander), 333 (the reign of Gushtāsp, war with Arjāsp).

4. Barbier de Meynard *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des Contrées adjacentes, extrait du Módjem el-Bouldan de Yaqout*, Paris, 1861. Zoroaster is especially mentioned in the following articles, which should be consulted, and quotations have already been made from them: pp. 26, 85 *Ourmiah*, p. 33 *Oustounawend*, p. 367 *Schiz*, p. 514–515 *Mah-Dinar* (orig. *Din-Zeraduscht*).

Important information further illustrating the subject may be found under the following heads in the same translation from Yāḳūt (the list, however, not complete): p. 27 *Erwend*, *Elvend*, 63 *Irān*, 75 *Badeghis*, 80 *Bamiān*, *Bamīn*, 86 *Bakhdjermiān*, 100, *Bost*

(in Seistān), 106 *Bosht* (mentions Vishtāsp), 107 *Boschtenfarousch* (for Vishtāsp), 112 *Balkh* (for Lohrāsp), 124 *Behistoun*, 167 *Djounbond*, *Gounbed* (for Isfendīār), 183 *Djeihoun* (Jīhūn, Oxus), 197 *Khoraçān* (anc. Pers. kings), 224, 236 *Debawend*, *Demawend*, 251 *Dinewer*, 268 *Rouiān*, 272 *Riwend*, 273 *Rey*, *Raī* (but Z. is not mentioned), 280 *Zaboulistān* (Rūstam), 284 *Zerd* (mt.), 300 *Sebelān* (mt., but Z. is not mentioned), 300–305 *Sedjestān*, *Seistān*, 367 *Schiz*, 413 *Farmed*, 464 *Qoumè* (Kūmish), 467 *Qohendez* (qu. Av. Kanha Daēza?), 469 *Kaboul*, 471 *Kariān* (Magian pyraea), 477 *Kourr* (no mention of Vishtāsp), 489 *Kouschtaṣfi* (mentions Vishtāsp), 489 *Keschmer* (no mention of Z. or V.), 569 *Noubehar* (temple at Balkh).

5. Iskandar Nāmah. Sketch of the Codex of Iskandar Nāmah, Nizāmī, in *Catalogo della Biblioteca Naniana*, Assemani, vol. i. pp. 112–122, esp. 119 seq. Division xv. (Lohrāsp, contemporary of Jeremiah and Daniel; at his time lived Zardusht, but Abūlfaraj makes him flourish under Cambyses; Lohrasp reigned 120 years). Division xvi. Vishtāsp and Zoroaster (doctrines of Zoroaster; Vishtāsp reigned about 120 years; in his time lived Socrates of Greece, and Jāmāsp the Persian Philosopher). Divisions xvii.–xx. (sketch of following reigns down to Iskandar).

6. 'Ulamā-ī Islām, a Persian work in prose. This treatise of the twelfth century A.D. deals rather with a vision of Zardusht and with eschatology. It is accessible in English and in German: Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 560–563, I'lmā-i-Islām translated; Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, pp. 43–67, Ulemaï Islam übersetzt. See also comment by Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 135, and Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, ii. p. 339, West, in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 123.

7. Dasātīr. This curious collection, with its commentary, professes to be old; but it is criticised adversely by Wilson. *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411–412. It is quoted by the Dabistān. Some selections, with commentary, from the chapter on Zardusht's philosophy are added here from the only edition with translation that is accessible. The spelling of the edition is preserved practically unchanged, but with a few corrections of accents. The title of the edition reads: *The Desatir or Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets;* in the Original Tongue; together with the Ancient Persian Version of the Fifth Sasan; carefully published by Mulla Bin Firuz Kaus. With English translation. 2 vols. Bombay, 1818.

Dasātīr, p. 120, § 42. 'Now a Wise Man, named Tiânûr,[1] will

[1] Tûtiânûsh, *Pers.*

come from Nûrâkh[1] in order to consult thee concerning the real nature of things.'

§ 43. 'I will tell thee what he asketh, and do thou answer (*his questions*) before he putteth them.'

Commentary. — 'It is said that when the fame of the excellence of the nature of Zertusht had spread all over the world, and when Isfendiâr went round the world, erected fire-temples, and raised domes over the fires; the wise men of Yunân selected a sage named Tûtiânûsh, who at that time had the superiority in acquirements over them all, to go to Irân and to enquire of Zertusht concerning the real nature of things. If he was puzzled and unable to answer, he could be no real prophet; but if he returned an answer, he was a speaker of truth. When the Yunânî Sage arrived at Balkh, Gushtâsp appointed a proper day, on which the Mobeds of every country should assemble; and a golden chair was placed for the Yunânî Sage. Then the beloved of Yezdân, the prophet Zertusht advanced into the midst of the assembly. The Yunânî Sage on seeing that chief said, "This form and this gait cannot lie, and nought but truth can proceed from them." He then asked the day of the prophet's nativity. The prophet of God told it. He said, "On such a day and under such a fortunate star a deceiver cannot be born." He next enquired into his diet and mode of life. The prophet of God explained the whole. The Sage said, "This mode of life cannot suit an impostor." The prophet of Yezdân then said to him: "I have answered you the questions which you have put to me; now, retain in your mind what the famed Yunânî Sages directed you to enquire of Zertusht and disclose it not; but listen and hear what they ask; for God hath informed me of it, and hath sent his word unto me to unfold it." The Sage said, "Speak." Thereupon the prophet Zertusht ordered the scholar to repeat the following texts:'

Dasāt. p. 121, § 44. 'The friend of acuteness will say unto thee, The Nûrâkh[2] Sages ask, What use is there for a prophet in this world?'

[Here follow a number of the supposed questions that will be asked, and then a prophecy is made of Vishtāsp and an account given of how the Avesta came into the hands of Alexander the Great.]

Dasāt. p. 123, §§ 58–59. [The sacred book of the Iranians is referred to in the text and the commentary says, among other things]:

Commentary. — 'That book is the inspired volume which the prophet of God, Zertusht, asked of God that he should send down as his book for the purpose of advice; that when the time of Sekander should arrive, the Destûrs might exhibit it, and he being gratified with it, become more attached to the faith of the Pure. Yezdân, approving of the request of his prophet, sent down a part of

[1] Yunân, *Pers.*; that is, Greece. [2] Yunân, *Pers.*

his word in the form of an Advice to Sekander; and the King (*i.e.* Gushtâsp) placed it, sealed with the seals of the Destûrs, in the Treasury. When Sekander gained the ascendency in Irân, Peridukht Roushenek and the Destûrs delivered that volume into his hands. He read it, applauded the religion of Abâd (on which be blessings), praised the greatness of Zertusht and the truth of that Religion, and commanded the Mobeds that they should make that book a portion of the Desâtîr. That sacred volume is known under the name of Sekander, as it is for his instruction that it was revealed to Zertusht; and the beginning of it is, "In the name of the Giver of Knowledge Mezdâm."'

Dasāt. p. 125, § 64. 'O prophet and friend! Hertûsh son of Heresfetmâd! When Senkerâkâs[1] arrived, he was turned into the right road by one fershem of the Navîsshâ,[2] and returned back into Azend.'[3]

Commentary.—'Chengerengâcheh was a sage renowned for his acuteness and wisdom, and the Mobeds (wise-men) of the earth gloried in being his scholars. When he heard of the greatness of the prophet of Yezdân, Zertusht the son of Isfentemân, he came to Irân with the intention of overturning the Good Religion. When he reached Balkh, before he had dropped a single word from his tongue, and before he had asked a single question, the prophet of Yezdân, Zertusht, said into him, "Commit not to your tongue what you have in your heart, but keep it secret." He then addressed a Sage who was his disciple, saying, "Read to him one section (Nisk) of the Awesta." In this blessed section of the Awesta were found the questions of Chengerengâcheh with the answers, which He (God) himself had communicated to the prophet; forewarning him, that such a person, of such a name would come; that his first question would be *this*, and that the answer was to be *so*. When Chengerengâcheh saw this miracle, he was converted to the Good Faith, and returning to the land of Hind remained steady in this blessed religion. May Yezdân the Bountiful grant to us and our friends this best of Faiths!'

Dasāt. p. 126, § 65. 'Now a Brahman named Birâs[4] will come from Azend very wise, insomuch that there are few such persons on earth!'

§ 66. 'He, in his heart, intendeth to ask of thee, first, Why is not Mezdâm the immediate maker of all things having being?'

§ 67. 'Say thou unto him; Mezdâm is the Maker of all things; and used the medium of no instrument in bestowing existence on the Chief of Angels; but in regard to all other existence he made use of an instrument.'

[1] Chengerengâcheh, *Pers.*

[2] By one Nisk (i.e. Nask or section) of the Awesta, *Pers.*

[3] Hind, *Pers.*

[4] Biâs, *Pers.* Undoubtedly the celebrated Vîâs or Vyâsa.

Commentary. — 'The First Intelligence received being from the Bestower of Being without the intervention of any instrument; while all other beings received existence by the intervention of instruments and media.'

[Here a long series of questions and answers are given to Zoroaster so as to prepare him. The text then continues as follows.]

Page 143, § 162. 'When you have expounded this matter to him, he will become of the true faith, and be converted to your religion.'

Commentary. — 'It is said that when Bîâs, the Hindî, came to Balkh, Gushtâsp sent for Zertusht, and informed the prophet of Yezdân of that wise man's coming. The prophet said, "May Yezdân turn it to good!" The Emperor then commanded that the Sages and Mobeds should be summoned from all countries. When they were all assembled, Zertusht came from his place of Worship; and Bîâs, also having joined the assembly, said to the prophet of Yezdân; "O Zertusht, the inhabitants of the world, moved by the answers and expounding of Secrets given to Chengerengâcheh, are desirous to adopt thy religion. I have heard, moreover, of many of thy miracles. I am a Hindî man, and, in my own country, of unequalled knowledge. I have in my mind several secrets, which I have never entrusted to my tongue, because some say that the Ahermans (devils) might give information of them to the idolaters of the Aherman faith: so no ear hath heard them, except that of my heart. If, in the presence of this assembly, you tell me, one after another, what those secrets are that remain on my mind, I will be converted to your faith. Shet Zertusht said, O Bîâs, Yezdân communicated to me your secrets, before your arrival. He then mentioned the whole in detail from beginning to end. When Bîâs heard, and asked the meaning of the *words*, and had them explained[1] to him, he returned thanks to Yezdân and united himself to the Behdîn, after which he returned back to Hind.'

§ 163. 'In the name of Mezdâm! O Zertusht! my prophet! After thee shall Simkendesh[2] appear, and afterwards the *First* Sâsân, the prophet, shall come and make thy Book known by a translation.'

§ 164. 'And no one but he shall know the meaning of my words.'

Commentary. — 'Hence it was that Shet Sâsân made an *interpretation* of the Book of Shet Zertusht agreeably to its sense.'

8. Dabistān (Persian) gives an account of the Persian religion, and of Zoroaster, and it has often been quoted above. This is accessible in Shea and Troyer's translation: *The Dabistān or School of Manners*, translated from the original Persian, by D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843, vol. i. pp. 211–253.

9. Sources like the Shāh Nāmah, Zartusht Nāmah, Cangranghācah

[1] Since they were spoken in a Persian language which he did not understand.
[2] Sekander.

Nāmah and Mirkhond, have been sufficiently discussed above. For titles and editions of other Persian works on Zoroastrianism, reference may be made to West's Appendix, *The Modern-Persian Zoroastrian Literature of the Parsis* in the *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 122–129.

IV

Allusion to Zoroaster in the Snorra Edda Preface

[Reprinted, with unimportant omissions, from my *Notes on Zoroaster and the Avesta*, in *Proceedings AOS.*, March, 1894, vol. xvi. pp. cxxvi.–viii.]

In the preface to the Younger Edda there is a passage relating to Zoroaster which is perhaps worth recording among the allusions to his name found in non-Oriental literature. The preface to the Snorra Edda, after giving a brief sketch of the history of the world down to the time of Noah and the Flood, proceeds to an account of the Tower of Babel and the dispersion of the races through the confusion of tongues. Foremost among the builders of the tower was Zoroaster; the text adds that he became king of the Assyrians, and that he was the first idolater. In consequence of the confusion of tongues he was known by many names, but chief among these was Baal or Bel.

The text *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, formāli* 2, ed. Jónsson, p. 5, is here given for convenience of future reference: *Ok sā, er fremstr var, hēt Zōrōastres; hann hlō, fyrr enn hann grēt, er hann kom ī veröldina; enn forsmithir voru* II *ok* LXX, *ok svā margar tungur hafa sīthan dreifst um veröldina, eptir thvī sem risarnir skiptust sīthan til landa, ok thjōthirnar fjölguthust. Ī thesum sama stath var gjör ein hin āgætasta borg ok dregit af nafni stöpulsins, ok köllut Babīlon. Ok sem tungnaskiptit var orthit, thā fjölguthust svā nöfnin mannanna ok annara hluta, ok sjā sami Zōrōastres hafthi mörg nöfn; ok thō at hann undirstœthi, at hans ofsi væri lægthr of sagthri smīth, thā færthi hann sik thō fram til veraldligs metnathar, ok lēt taka sik til konungs yfir mörgum thjōthum Assirīōrum. Af honum hōfst skurthgotha villa; ok sem hann var blōtathr, var hann kallathr Baal; thann köllum vēr Bel; hann hafthi ok mörg önnur nöfn. Enn sem nöfnin fjölguthust, thā tyndist meth thī sannleikrinn.*

5 (p. 7). *Ok af thessu hōfst önnur villa millum Krītarmanna ok Macedoniōrum, svā sem hin fyrri methal Assirīōrum ok Kaldeis af Zōrōastre.*

This may be rendered: 'He who was the foremost (builder of the tower) was called Zoroaster; he laughed before he cried when he came into the world. But there were (in all) seventy-two master-builders; and so many tongues have since spread throughout the world, according as the giants afterwards were scattered over the land and the nations multiplied. In this same place was

built a most renowned town, and it derived its name from the tower, and was called Babylon. And when the confusion of tongues had come to pass, then multiplied also the names of men and of other things; and this same Zoroaster had many names. And although he well understood that his pride was humbled by the said work, nevertheless he pushed his way on to worldly distinction, and got himself chosen king over many peoples of the Assyrians. From him arose the error of graven images (i.e. idolatry); and when he was sacrificed unto, he was called Baal; we call him Bel; he had also many other names. But, as the names multiplied, so was the truth lost withal.'

5. '(From Saturn) there arose another heresy among the Cretans and Macedonians, just as the above mentioned error among the Assyrians and Chaldæans arose from Zoroaster.'

This passage is interesting for several reasons.

First, it preserves the tradition elsewhere recorded regarding Zoroaster's having laughed instead of having cried when he was born into the world. [This has already been discussed above, p. 27.]

Second, the two allusions here connecting Zoroaster with Assyria, Chaldæa, and Babylon are to be added to those references which associate his name also with these places (e.g. consult Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 303 seq.); or again they are to be placed beside the statement of the Armenian Moses of Khorene, Thomas Arzrounī and others who make Zoroaster a contemporary of Semiramis, and appointed by her to be ruler of Nineveh and Assyria. (See Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, 1. 682 [and the quotation of the passage in this Appendix].)

Third, in connection with the reputed multiplicity of names of Zoroaster, and the association of his name with *Baal*, *Bel*, attention might be called to the citation in the Syro-Arabic Lexicon of Bar 'Alī (c. A.D. 832) s.v. *Balaam*, 'Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians' (cf. Gottheil, *References*, in the *Drisler Classical Studies*).

APPENDIX VII

NOTES ON SCULPTURES SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT ZOROASTER

THERE is a supposition that we are not wholly without some representation of the personal appearance of Zoroaster, at least according to the conception which prevailed in Sassanian times. One sculptured image, in particular, has been supposed to represent in effigy an ideal of the great Master. It is also stated that there is a picture of Zoroaster in a fire-temple at Yezd, which is said to be taken from an old sculpture that exists at Balkh. This tradition, together with other facts and material on the subject of portraiture of Zoroaster, is given in the following pages. The modern Zoroastrians themselves can doubtless add much more valuable information on this interesting subject. It is hoped that they will do so.

(a) In the first place we may refer to a very old tradition on the subject of an effigy of Zoroaster; this is found in the Syriac work called the 'Oration of Meliton the Philosopher; who was in the presence of Antoninus Cæsar, and bade the same Cæsar know God,' etc. This interesting allusion is quoted by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (p. 27), from the translation of Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855, p. 44, cf. p. 91, n. 36; it mentions an 'image of Orpheus, a Thracian Magus; and Hadran is the image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus.' The special point of importance is that it shows the existence of a tradition as to a representation of Zoroaster.

(b) E. G. Browne, in his valuable work, *A Year amongst the Persians*, London, 1893, p. 374, describes a visit which he paid to three Zoroastrian fire-temples at Yezd. The third temple which he mentions, serves as a theological college for training youths for the priesthood, and it contains a relic of interest. On the walls of one of the rooms of this building, Dr. Browne saw a picture which attracted his notice, or to use the words of his own description (p. 374): 'A picture of Zoroaster (taken, as Ardashīr [the host and guide] told me, from an old sculpture at Balkh), and several inscriptions on the walls

Figure I

Idealized Portrait from a Sculpture supposed to represent Zoroaster

of the large central room, were the only other points of interest presented by the building.' It would be highly interesting if we could secure a copy of this portrait or of its reputed original at Balkh, because this would best represent the modern Zoroastrian traditional idea of the appearance of the great High Priest. Possibly we may obtain it. The mention of Balkh, moreover, is interesting if this be a different representation from the supposed effigy at Takht-i Bostān. Should this be the case, and the location of the sculptured figure be found to be at the old temple Nūbahār, we should have a new proof of the traditional association of Zoroaster's name with Balkh.

(c) The modern Parsi historian Dosabhai Framji Karaka, whose work, *History of the Parsis*, London, 1884, is indispensable to students of Zoroastrianism in our day, presents in his second volume (ii. 146) an idealized colored portrait of the founder of the Faith, which is here reproduced (see Figure I.), without the coloring, however. The portrait is evidently based upon the sculptures next to be described, and it has the value of giving the Parsi conception directly.

(d) The Takht-i Bostān Sculpture. Not far distant from Behistān, and near the city of Kermānshāh (see Map,—square Bc), in the valley of Takht-i Bostān or Tek-i Bostān, on a hillside, is to be found a series of six historic bas-reliefs. The sixth or last of these bas-reliefs comprises a group of four sculptured figures, reproductions of which are presented below, being based upon the copies found in Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia*, etc., London, 1822, vol. ii. 191; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, i. Planche 14, texte p. 6; George Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, London, 1876, p. 64; K. D. Kiash, *Ancient Persian Sculptures*, Bombay, 1889, p. 211; and especially the photographic copy of de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, Paris, 1894, vol. ii. plate xxxiv. p. 104–5; vol. iv. plate xxxv. p. 310–11. The photograph of the sculpture taken by M. de Morgan is so interesting that it seems appropriate to make it accessible to those who cannot consult the valuable original work. A brief description of the possible subject of this four-fold group, which, unfortunately, bears no inscription, is not out of place here.

Sir R. K. Porter (p. 191) records that this rock-sculptured group is called by the natives 'The Four Calendars,' but he does not explain why the name is given (see Figures II. and III.). He regards

the figure on the extreme left (or to the right as we face the picture) as the god Ormazd presenting the ring or emblem of sovereignty to Ardashīr Bābagān, who stands in the centre of the group, 'and both are trampling upon a similar royally-habited figure symbolical of the fallen Arsacidæ.' Of the fourth or remaining figure, the one in which we are particularly interested, Sir Ker Porter says (p. 192): 'The personage to the right of the centre figure [or to the left as we face the group] is of rather a singular appearance. His head is protected by a similar kind of cap, but without the ball, and with the extraordinary addition of a circle of rays blazing round his head and down to below his shoulders. He holds in both hands a fluted staff, or sceptre, of great length. The rest of his vesture nearly resembles that of the murally crowned figure. He stands upon a plant, not unlike a sunflower, the stalk of which is short and thick, and curved down into a lower part of the rock. The prostrate person is greatly mutilated; but his pearl-wreath, collar, and sword show that his consequence was not inferior to the two who trample on him. . . . The radiated personage [the one under discussion] may either be a personification of the Mithratic religion restored by him [i.e. by Ardashīr, the central figure]; which the sunbeams round the head and the full-blown flower rising under their influence at his feet, seem to typify; or the figure may be meant for the glorified Zoroaster himself; some Persian writers ascribing to him the reflected honor of that god-like attribute. The altar-platform near this bas-relief, and also the source of the river (two sacred Mithratic appendages), support the idea that this sculpture contains more than human images.'

Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, new edition, London, 1829, vol. i. p. 545 (cf. earlier edition i. 258), speaks of the two figures with the circle or ring as 'two sovereigns upon a prostrate Roman soldier;' and he adds: 'A figure supposed to be the prophet Zoroaster stands by their side; his feet rest upon a star, and his head is covered with a glory or crown of rays.' And he adds in a foot-note: 'I am informed by the Parsees, or Guebres, that in almost all the paintings or sculptures that represent Zoroaster he is always distinguished by a crown of rays, or glory, as I have described.' This shows, at least, the prevalence of a tradition that representations of Zoroaster were thought to be not uncommon, whatever we may think on the subject. Flandin also believed the radiated figure to be Zoroaster (*Voyage en Perse* de MM. Flandin et Coste, i. 442, Rélation de Voyage, Paris, 1851).

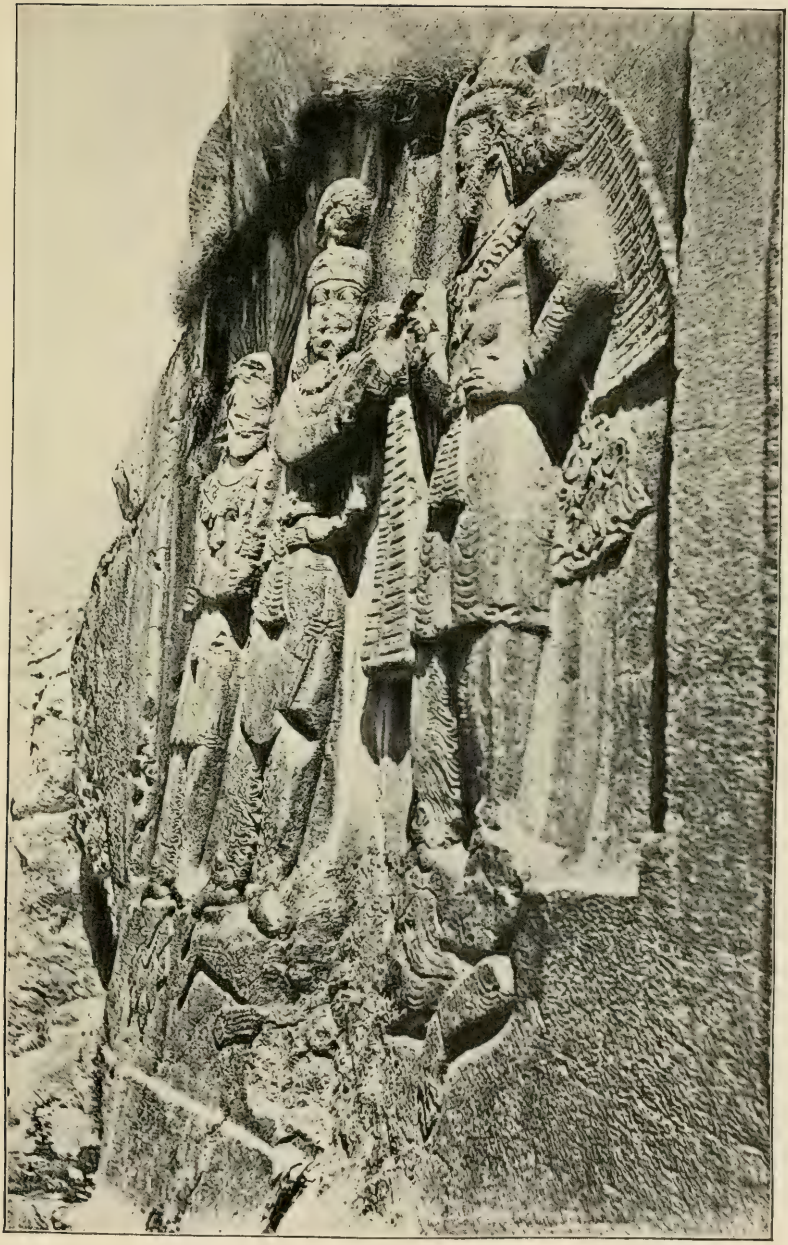

FIGURE II
A SCULPTURE AT TAKHT-I BOSTĀN

Edward Thomas, *Sassanian Inscriptions*, in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society of Gt. Brit. and Ireland*, new series, vol. iii. p. 267, n. 3, London, 1868 (= *Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins*, p. 27, London, Trübner, 1868), argues that the figure with the rays and staff represents the god Ormazd, and he bases his identification upon an acknowledged representation of Ormazd in a Naḳsh-i Rustam bas-relief (op. cit. p. 269).[1] As for the rays, he adds in a note that a similar form is given to Ormazd's headgear in a coin of Hormisdas II. The other two figures in our group he regards, as do others, to be the representation of Ardashīr presenting the crown of Iran to his son Shāpūr.[2]

Canon George Rawlinson (op. cit. p. 64) agrees with Thomas that the radiated figure is Ormazd, not Zoroaster; that the other two are Ardashīr and Shāpūr, and that the prostrate figure represents 'either Artabanus or the extinct Parthian monarchy, probably the former; while the sunflower upon which Ormazd stands, together with the rays that stream from his head, denote an intention to present him under a Mithraic aspect, suggestive to the beholder of a real latent identity between the two great objects of Persian worship.' Professor Rawlinson, therefore, like Thomas, is not of the same opinion as those who presume that the figure represents Zoroaster. Similarly also, M. Dieulafoy, *Suse*, iv. 409, and Curzon, *Persia*, i. 563.

The Parsi scholar, Kawasjee Dinshah Kiash, who visited Takht-i Bostān in 1878 and sketched the group, gives, in his serviceable book (*The Ancient Persian Sculptures*, p. 212), an interesting tradition regarding this bas-relief which seems not to be recorded by other writers on the subject. But first we may notice the details that he gives concerning the special figure, which, like the other effigies, stands about seven feet in height. 'The head of the first figure [the one we are discussing] is covered up with a piece of cloth, and a *serpach* flows down the back. He is clad in a short, plain coat, and wears a belt. He holds in both hands a club three feet long and three inches thick. The rays of the sun shine direct upon his head, and a star glitters beneath him.' Kiash next notes that some scholars call this a 'sunflower' rather than a star, and he further describes the other three figures of the group. Then follows the interesting tradition: —

[1] Some notes on sculptured images of Ormazd will appear in my article on *Ormazd* in *The Monist*, Chicago, Dec., 1898.

[2] On the subject of Ardashīr and his history, see Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Kārnāmē ī Artakhshīr ī Pāpakān*, new ed., Bombay, 1896.

'Owing to the deficiency in the inscription, tradition says: "The first figure with the club is that of Prophet Zoroaster, the second is that of Gustasp, the fifth king of the Kayanian dynasty, the third is that of his son, the mighty Asphandiar [Isfendīār], who had established the Zoroastrian religion through the whole of Persia, and the last is that of Arjasp, the grandson of Afrasiab of Tooran, or Tartary. The circlet shows that the whole world is in their possession."'

He then adds: 'The above tradition, I believe, is taken from the Shah Nameh. The Persians take great pride in speaking of their by-gone kings. Ancient and modern writers contradict these statements, and doubtless the figures were not sculptured by the Kayanian kings, but by Ardeshir Babighan, the first ruler of the last dynasty of the Zoroastrians.' Mr. Kiash goes on to say he agrees with the view that the sculpture is of Sassanian origin, that the second and third figures apparently represent Ardashīr and Shāpūr I., and the dead figure is emblematical of the downfall of the Parthian dynasty. As to the first only is he in doubt, 'as it is of peculiar construction and differs from others I have seen in different parts of Persia. On comparing it with the two figures holding clubs at Nacksh-i-Rajab (op. cit. p. 112) and Nacksh-i-Roostum (p. 121), both the dress and crown differ. I am unable to give the name of any religious personage or celestial being, but simply state that it must be a sign of the Mithraic religion. According to the opinion of my co-travellers, it is believed to be a form of the Prophet Zoroaster.'

Whatever may be the origin and worth of the 'tradition' which Mr. Kiash quotes as connecting the figures with Vishtāspa and his contemporaries, it certainly is very interesting in connection with Chapter X. and the characters who act in the drama of the Holy War, especially Arjāsp, the foeman of the Faith, with whom we have become sufficiently acquainted. The statement which the Parsi writer records of the opinion of his co-travellers to the effect that the figure is that of the Prophet Zoroaster, shows, like kindred statements, a preponderance of traditional authority on the side of the Zoroastrians, at least, in identifying this figure with their Prophet. Everything of that kind has its weight and importance when we enter upon the question of such identifications or endeavor to interpret sculptured remains.

The evidence on the subject of this particular sculpture, as we look it over, seems to be about evenly balanced. Tradition apparently favors the identification of the effigy with Zoroaster; the

Figure III

A Drawing of the Takht-i Bostān Sculpture

more technical scholarly opinion of recent times, on the other hand, seems rather to regard the figure as a representation of Ormazd. The claim to Mithraic characteristics is not so easy to recognize. This much may be said in favor of tradition, that the figure would answer well to the glorified image, with 'dazzling wand' and 'lustrous glory' around the head, which is the guise under which the Zoroastrian writer of the Zartusht Nāmah, in the thirteenth century, describes the vision of the Prophet's appearance (see Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 481). It is to be regretted that M. de Morgan (iv. 310; observe his note) does not especially discuss the figure. For the sake of sentiment we should, perhaps, best like to imagine that the whole group really represents a Sassanian conception of a scene from the Holy War of Zoroastrianism, in which the great High Priest figured so prominently, and to which Kiash alludes in his 'tradition'; but, after all, we should have to acknowledge that this is due, perhaps, to our sentiment and fancy.[1]

The whole subject of the portraiture of Zoroaster requires further investigation.[2] Much will doubtless be added on this question from time to time.[3] Let us hope especially that additional information

[1] Murray's *Handbook of Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia*, etc., London, 1895, p. 327, merely gives the common statement that this is a 'Sassanian panel, which is supposed to represent the investiture of Shapūr I. with part of the kingdom, by his father, Ardeshīr.'

[2] A figure has been published as a portrait of Zoroaster in Dr. Wallace Wood's *Hundred Greatest Men*, p. 125, London, 1885, but I have not been able to find authority for attributing the likeness to Zoroaster. It represents the head of a grave-faced priest and counsellor, with the familiar mitre-shaped pontifical head-covering of Sassanian times. On p. 496 of the volume, a note is added that the figure is copied from a bas-relief at Persepolis. Mention is made of Thomas, *Early Sassanian Inscriptions*. The portrait is reproduced as a frontispiece to an article on *Mazdaism* in the *Open Court*, xi. 129, Chicago, 1897. In a following number of *The Open Court*, xi. 378, a Parsi, N. F. Bilimoria, writes that the portrait was new to him and to his co-religionists. As an ideal it is good; but it seems to lack traditional authority. I may learn more about it.

[3] At the moment when I am sending the final proof-sheets to the press, there arrives from my friend Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Harvard University, a prospectus of an important work just issued by Mr. Quaritch of London, and the Harvard Library kindly forwards to me the magnificent facsimile. It is entitled *A Florentine Picture-Chronicle by Maso Finiguerra*, and it is a reproduction of a fifteenth century folio of Italian drawings now in the British Museum. Among these drawings are '14. Zoroaster,' '49. Oromasdes raising the Dead,' and '50. Hostanes.' The 'Zoroaster' is a typical magician with books of black art and imps rather than an antique sage.

or suggestion on this special theme may be obtained particularly from the Zoroastrians themselves. Any material that can be found to throw more light on the problem will be welcomed. The subject is one that is worthy of earnest consideration because it stands, in a certain manner, for an ideal. I shall be glad if these notes have contributed anything by drawing attention to this interesting theme for research. And with these words I close the book, adding only a line which the Pahlavi scribes of old liked to add in the colophon:

Frajaft pavan drūṯ va šāṯīh va rāmišn.

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KEY TO THE MAP

KEY TO THE MAP

1. On Iranian geography, see especially Geiger in *Grundriss der Iran. Philol.* ii. 371–394, where a Bibliography is given.
2. Avestan, Pahlavi, or Ancient Persian names in the list are designated by *italics*.
3. Conjectural identifications are indicated by (?) or by 'prob.' (probably).

Abbasabad Gb
Adarbaijan (Azerbijan) ABCabc
Airyana Vaejah = Adarbaijan? ABCabc
Alburz Mts. CDEFb
Alvand Mt. Cc
Amu Daria (see Oxus)
Aras (Araxes) Ba
Ardabil Ca
Asnavant Mt. = Sahend?
Atropatene = see Adarbaijan
Bactria KLMbc
Badghis IKc
Balkh Mb
Barfrush Eb
Behistan (Besitun) Bc
Binalud Kuh Hb
Birjand Hd
Bokhara La
Caecista (*Caecasta*) Ab
Caspian Sea = prob. Vourukasha CDEab
Cha-kansur IKe
Chorasmia (see Kh.)
Chorassan (see Kh.)
Daitya river = Kizel Uzen? BCb
Darej river = Daryai Ba
Demavand Mt. DEc
Dinaver (Dinewer) (not on Map) Bc
Dranjiana IKe
Ecbatana (Hamadan) Cc
Elburz (see Alburz)
Elvend = Alvand Cc
Farah Rud IKde
Fars (Persis) DEFefg
Ferghanah (in Turkestan, NE)
Ganzaca Bb
Ghazni Nd
Ghilan Cb
Ghor Ld
Ghuznee (see Ghazni)
Gunabad Hb
Hamadan (Ecbatana) Cc
Hamun swamp Ie
Hara Berezaiti (see Alburz)
Hassar (see Hissar)
Herat Kc
Hilmend River KLMe
Hissar MNa
Hyrcania EFGb
Ispahan (Isfahan) Dd
Istakhr = Persepolis (NE of Shiraz) Ef
Jagatai Mts. Gb
Jihun (Oxus) River IKab
Kabul Nc
Kaian (Kain) Hd
Kansava = prob. Cha-kansur IKe
Karman (see Kerman)
Kashaf River Hb
Kerman Fe
Kermanshah Bc
Khorasmia EFbc
Khorassan FGHIcd
Kirmanshah Bc
Kizel Uzen (Sefid, Safed) River BCb
Kuh-i Mish GHc
Kumish GHc
Kunduz Nb
Kurdistan ABbc
Lake Urumiah Ab
Madan Hb
Maragha Bb
Mash-had Hb
Mazanderan DEb
Media CDEbc
Merv IKb
Meshed (see Mash-had)
Miandasht Gb
Mihr Gb
Murghab River Kbc
Nihavand Cc
Nishabur (Nishapur) Hb
Oxus (Jihun River) IKab
Parthia FGbc
Pasargadæ Ee
Persepolis (NE of Shiraz) Ef
Persis (Fars) DEFefg
Radkan Hb
Ragha (Rai) Dc
Rai Dc
Safed, Sefid River (Kizel Uzen) BCb
Sagastan (Seistan) IKLde
Sahend, Mt. Bb
Samarkand Ma
Sari Eb
Savalan Mt. Ba
Sehna Bc
Seistan IKLde
Shiraz Ef
Shiz (cf. Takht-i Suleiman) Bb
Sogdiana LMNa
Spet Razhur Hd
Susa Cd
Taberistan Ec
Tajan River (Thejend) Eb
Takht-i Bostan Bc
Takht-i Suleiman Bb
Teheran Dc
Tojan = ? see Tajan
Turan = Turkestan
Turkestan FMab
Tus Hb
Urumiah (Urmia) Ab
Vourukasha = prob. Caspian Sea
Yazd (Yezd) Fe
Zenjan Cb

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Preface

Zoroastrianism is the most difficult of living faiths to study, because of its antiquity, the vicissitudes which it has undergone, and the loss, through them, of many of its holy texts. Originating over 3500 years ago in a Bronze Age culture on the Asian steppes, it became the state religion of three mighty Iranian empires in succession, and so was endowed for many centuries with temporal power and wealth. Its lofty original doctrines came accordingly to exert their influence throughout the Middle East – an area where Judaism developed, and Christianity and Islam were born. To the east Iranian rule extended into Northern India, and there Zoroastrianism made a contribution to the development of Mahayana Buddhism. Some knowledge of the teachings of Zoroaster and of the history of his faith is therefore needed by every serious student of world religions; and the recent expansion of religious studies in universities has created a demand for an introductory book on this theme. The present work is an attempt to meet that demand. In it it has been sought to treat Zoroastrianism not merely as a mighty seminal influence, but also as a noble faith in its own right, which has held the loyalty of its followers over millennia and through harsh persecutions. Instead, therefore, of stopping, as is usual, with the worldly eclipse of Zoroastrianism by Islam, the book traces the continual history of the community through the subsequent years of oppression, down into the prosperity of modern times.

In the interests of clarity and conciseness only basic references are given, and this has occasionally entailed embodying the results of recent work by other scholars without due acknowledgment. A fuller treatment of the subject-matter of the earlier chapters already exists in the author's *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. I (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden 1975); and it is intended in the remaining volumes of that work to cover in detail the whole field of the present book, when detailed references and acknowledgments will be possible.

In compliance with the usage of the present series, words are supplied with diacritics only in the index. Zoroastrian technical terms are set between apostrophes at their first occurrence, and thereafter appear undifferentiated; but those which recur regularly are to be found in the glossary at the beginning of the book. Since Zoroastrianism covers not only a great span of time, but also vast physical distances, the two maps are designed primarily to give a clear picture of its spheres of influence and of survival, and not every town or archaeological site referred to in the text is to be found on them; but it should always be possible to locate each place fairly closely by region.

The photograph on the jacket shows Dastur Firoze M. Kotwal, high priest of the Wadia Atash Bahram, Bombay, tending a ritual fire. I am indebted to him for his generous permission to use it.

It remains for me to express my gratitude to my friend, Mr J. R. Hinnells, the general editor of the series, both for inviting me to undertake this work, and for helping, with patience, labour and wise counsel, to bring it to fruition. I am also indebted to the editorial staff of Messrs Routledge & Kegan Paul for their courtesy and helpful advice.

Glossary

Note: A word sometimes occurs in more than one form, according to different periods of history. In such cases the older form is given first.

agiary	Parsi term for a Zoroastrian place of worship, a fire temple
Ahuna Vairya, Ahunvar	the holiest Zoroastrian prayer, equivalent to the Lord's Prayer in Christianity
akabir	Arabic plural, 'great ones', used for elders or leading men
Amesha Spenta	'Holy Immortal', a term for one of the divine beings of Zoroastrianism, evoked by God; often used especially of the six greatest among them
anjoman	'assembly', a gathering or council of local Zoroastrians
asha	'order, truth, justice', a principle which governs the world
ashavan	'righteous, true, just'
atakhsh, atash	'fire'
Atakhsh i Aduran, Ataš Aduran	'fire of fires', a sacred fire of the second grade
Atakhsh i Varahram, Atash Bahram	'fire of (the divine being) Varahram/Bahram', a sacred fire of the highest grade

atash-zohr	'offering to fire'
Avesta	the sacred books of the Zoroastrians
Avestan	the Iranian language spoken by Zoroaster, in which the Avesta is composed
barashnom	ritual ablution, part of a prolonged rite of purification
baresman, barsom	bundle of twigs held by the officiating priest at acts of worship
behdin	'the good religion' i.e. Zoroastrianism; also 'of the good religion' i.e. a Zoroastrian
Dadgah	a sacred fire of the third grade
daeva, dev	an evil god, abjured by Zoroaster; later, a demon
dakhma	'grave'; later a place of exposure for the dead, a 'tower of silence'
dastur	one in authority, a high priest
dhimmi	'people of the covenant', a category of peoples subject to Islamic rule
drug	'disorder, falsehood', a principle opposed to asha
frasho-kereti, frashegird	end of the present state of the world, the Last Day
fravashi, fravahr, fravard	a spirit which has pre-existed this life and will survive after death; often a synonym for the soul
gabr, gaur, gor	a Muslim term, probably meaning 'infidel', applied in Iran especially to a Zoroastrian
gahambar	one of six holy days of obligation enjoined on his community by Zoroaster
Gathas	the hymns composed by Zoroaster
getig	'physical, tangible, corporeal' (opposed to menog)
haoma, hom	the sacred plant crushed for its juice at the main Zoroastrian act of worship
herbad, ervad	name for a Zoroastrian priest; in modern usage one less highly qualified than a mobad
Hudinan peshobay	'Leader of those of the good religion', title of the head of the Zoroastrian community under early Islam
jizya	poll-tax paid by non-Muslims
kavi, kay	title of Vishtaspa, Zoroaster's royal patron, and of others of his dynasty

khrafstra	'noxious creature', held to belong to the world of evil
khvarenah	'divine grace'; also the divine being who personifies this
khvaetvadatha, khvedodah	'next-of-kin marriage'
kusti	'sacred cord', worn as girdle by Zoroastrians
magus (plural, magi)	Greek form of Old Persian magu, 'priest'
menog	'spiritual, intangible' (opposed to getig)
mobad	leading priest; in modern usage one more highly qualified than a herbad
No Ruz	'New Day', the first day of the Zoroastrian devotional year, and the seventh feast of obligation
Pahlavi	the language of the later Zoroastrian books
Saoshyant	the coming World Saviour
spenta	'holy, furthering, increasing', an adjective which characterizes the good creation
Staota Yesnya	the central and oldest part of the yasna
urvan	'soul'
Vahram fire	see Atakhsh i Varahram
Vendidad	'Code against demons', a book of the Avesta, read during a night office
Visperad	'(Service of) All the Masters', solemnized especially at the gahambars and No Ruz
yasht	a hymn to an individual divinity
yasna	'act of worship', the main Zoroastrian religious service
Yasna Haptanhaiti	'Yasna of Seven Chapters', part of the Staota Yesnya
yazata, yazad	'worthy of worship', one of the Zoroastrian terms for a divine being evoked by God
Yenhe hatąm	a short, ancient prayer
zand	translation of the Avesta, with commentary, in a vernacular

Signs and abbreviations

*	before a name indicates a restored form
AVN	Arda Viraz Namag
Dk	Dinkard
DkM	*Dinkard*, text edition, ed. D. M. Madan, 2 vols, Bombay 1911
Ep Man	Epistles of Manushchihr
GBd	Greater Bundahishn
MHD	Madigan i Hazar Dadestan
Pahl. Riv. Dd.	*The Pahlavi Rivayat accompanying the Dadestan i dinig*, ed. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1911
RV	Rigveda
Saddar Bd	Saddar Bundahesh
SBE	Sacred Books of the East, ed. Max Müller
SM	Sar-Mashhad
Vd	Vendidad
Y	Yasna
Yt	Yasht
Zadspram	Wizidagiha i Zadspram
ZZZ	R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, a Zoroastrian Dilemma*

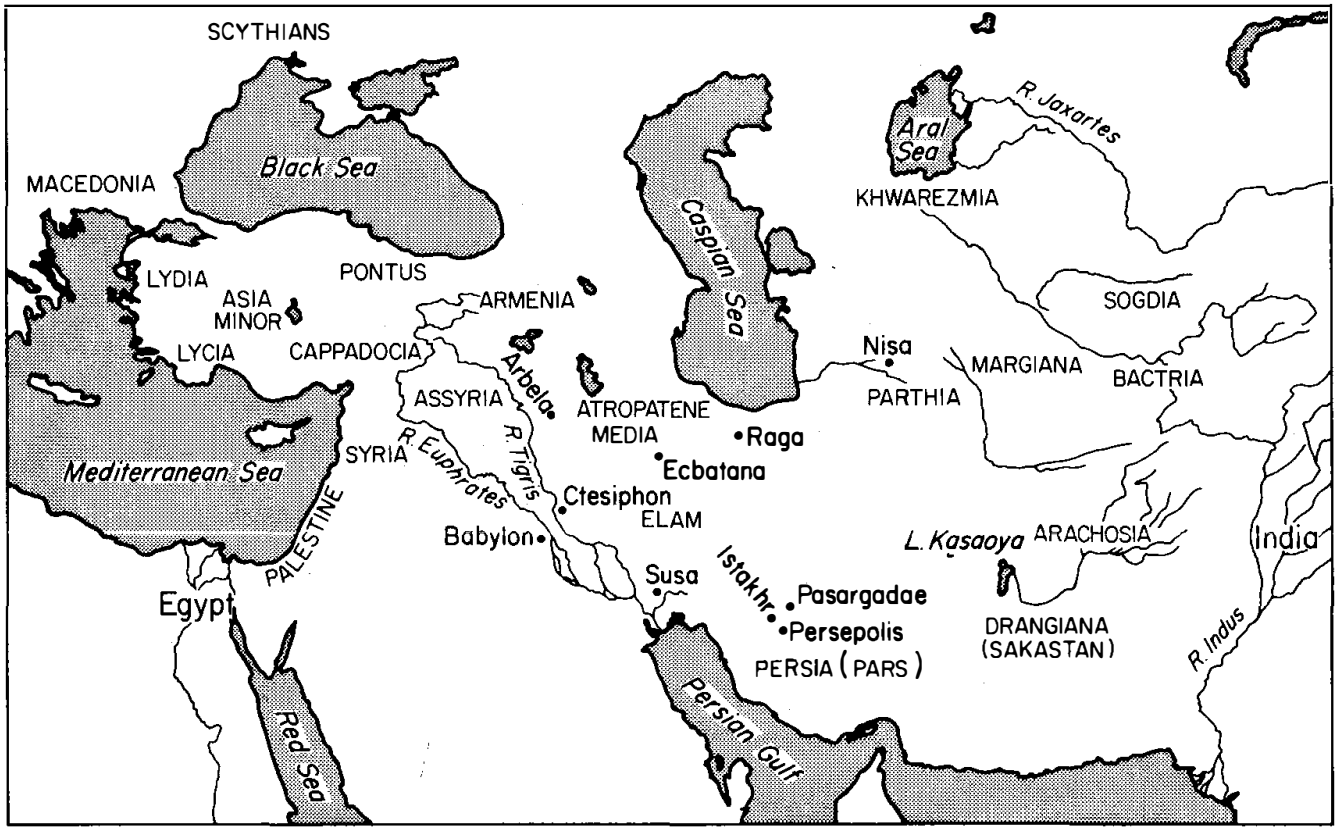

MAP I *Imperial Iran*

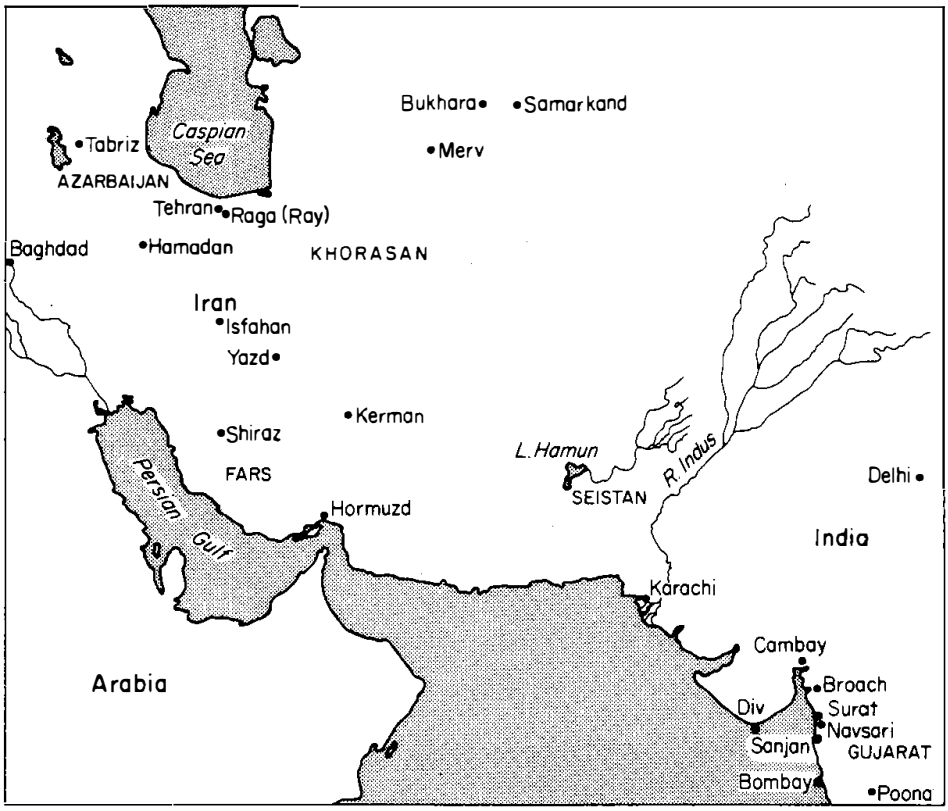

MAP II *After the Arab conquest*

CHAPTER ONE

The background

Introduction

Zoroastrianism is the oldest of the revealed world-religions, and it has probably had more influence on mankind, directly and indirectly, than any other single faith. In its own right it was the state religion of three great Iranian empires, which flourished almost continually from the sixth century B.C. to the seventh century A.C., and dominated much of the Near and Middle East. Iran's power and wealth lent it immense prestige, and some of its leading doctrines were adopted by Judaism, Christianity and Islam, as well as by a host of Gnostic faiths, while in the East it had some influence on the development of northern Buddhism. Today external forces have reduced the Zoroastrians themselves to tiny scattered minorities, living mostly in Iran and India; but beliefs first taught by their prophet are still subscribed to by other peoples throughout the world.

Zoroastrianism was already old when it first enters recorded history; and it has its roots in a very distant past. Indeed, so tenacious are the Iranians of tradition that there are elements in living Zoroastrianism which go back, it seems, to Indo-European times. These elements, blended with later revealed doctrines, make it a richly complex faith, knowledge of which increases understanding of man's spiritual progress over millennia. It is also a noble one, with some

unique and remarkable doctrines, which has been able to give its adherents purposeful and satisfying lives, awaking in them deep devotion. It is thus fully deserving of study for its own sake, as well as for its place in man's religious history.

Zoroastrianism has been so named in the West because its prophet, Zarathushtra, was known to the ancient Greeks as Zoroaster. He was an Iranian, and lived in what for his people were prehistoric times. It is impossible, therefore, to establish fixed dates for his life; but there is evidence to suggest that he flourished when the Stone Age was giving way for the Iranians to the Bronze Age, possibly, that is, between about 1700 and 1500 B.C.

The Indo-Iranians

In still remoter times the ancestors of both the Iranians and the Indians had formed one people, identified as the proto-Indo-Iranians. They were a branch of the Indo-European family of nations, and they lived, it is thought, as pastoralists on the south Russian steppes, to the east of the Volga. They were, it seems, semi-migratory, herding their cattle, sheep and goats over limited areas on foot with the help of dogs (for the horse had not yet been tamed). Their society was divided into three main groups: priests, warriors (who would also have been hunters), and herdsmen. The demands of life on the steppes allowed little room for development or change; and during centuries of this slow, stable way of existence – perhaps from the fourth to the third millennium B.C. – the proto-Indo-Iranians forged a religious tradition of immense strength, so that to this day elements from it are preserved by their descendants, the Brahmans of India and the Zoroastrians of Iran.

Eventually – it is thought early in the third millennium – the proto-Indo-Iranians drifted apart, to become identifiable by speech as two distinct peoples, the Indians and Iranians. They were still pastoralists; and they had contact, presumably through trade, with the settled peoples to the south of them. From Mesopotamia they learnt the use first of wooden carts pulled by oxen, and then of the war-chariot. To draw these chariots they lassoed and tamed the wild horses of the steppes; and at about the same time bronze came into use. The mountains flanking the Inner Asian steppes – notably the Altai – contained rich deposits of copper and tin; and so the steppe-dwellers were able to equip themselves formidably as fighting-men.

The old Iranian word for 'warrior' was 'nar', which also means simply 'man'; but as the use of the war-chariot spread, this was replaced by a new word, 'rathaeshtar', literally 'one who stands in a chariot'. With the horse-drawn chariot the old way of life seems to have given place to a more restless, dangerous one, a typical 'heroic age', in which chieftains and their followers set out in quest of gain and glory, and were as ready to raid a neighbouring tribe as to pillage alien settlements. In an ancient verse in the Zoroastrian scriptures supernatural spirits are said to contend 'even as a mighty chariot-warrior should fight, having girt on his sword-belt, for his well-gotten treasure' (Yt 13.67). Sometimes the warrior's booty consisted of herds of cattle, carried off by force; and the fame of a great champion had to be paid for with the blood of the slain, and the sufferings of the weak and unprotected. It was during this turbulent and restless age, it seems, when might ruled rather than law, that Zoroaster lived, and sought a revelation of the purpose of man's troubled days on earth.

Zoroaster himself was a priest; and to understand the nature of his revelation it is necessary to learn what one can of the old religion which nurtured him. Fortunately much can be discovered through a comparison of the most ancient elements in the Zoroastrian scriptures and cult with the oldest religious works of India (notably the Rigveda) and the Brahmanic rituals. The Zoroastrian scriptures are known collectively as the 'Avesta' (a title which probably means something like 'Authoritative Utterance'); and the language in which they are composed is called simply 'Avestan', since it is known only from this source. By comparing these diverse materials one can reconstruct the essentials of the proto-Indo-Iranian faith, and trace some of the subsequent developments among the Iranians before Zoroaster himself was born.

The old religion

THE CULT

Cult, it is generally admitted, is more enduring than theology, and the basic objects of the Zoroastrian cult are still those of the ancient Stone Age pastoralists, namely water and fire. Water made life on the steppes possible (they had been barren desert, it is held, down to the fifth millennium B.C., through lack of rain); and the proto-Indo-Iranians personified the waters as goddesses, the Apas, praying to

them and offering them libations (called in Avestan 'zaothra', a word which came to mean 'offering' in general). In Zoroastrianism the libation to the waters consists essentially of three ingredients, namely milk and the sap or leaves of two plants. The number three was a sacred one for the proto-Indo-Iranians, and still regulates many Zoroastrian and Brahmanic observances. In the libation the three ingredients represent the vegetable and animal kingdoms, which are nourished by water; and so, consecrated by prayer, the zaothra was believed to return to that element the vital force which it had given out, and thus keep it itself pure and abundant. As in traditional Zoroastrianism, the libation was probably made regularly of old by each household to the nearest pool or spring, as well as forming part of the priestly rites.

The other chief cult object, fire, was also essential for the steppe-dwellers, the source of warmth in the bitter winters, and the means of cooking the meat which (whether from wild or domestic animals) was the staple of their diet. In ancient times, when it was a labour to light a fire, it was prudent to keep a hearth fire always burning (the live embers could be carried in a pot on migration); and a cult of ever-burning fire seems to have been widespread among the Indo-Europeans, who saw a divinity in its flames. The Brahmans knew him by the old name of Agni (cognate with Latin 'ignis'), but the Zoroastrians called him Atar. They made a threefold offering also to fire, consisting of clean dry fuel, incense (such as the dried leaves of herbs), and a small portion of animal fat. (It was this third offering which in particular was called the zaothra to fire.) Thus fire, like water, was strengthened by two offerings from the plant world, and one from the animal one. Fuel and incense were probably given thrice daily, at the times ordained for prayer (sunrise, noon and sunset), while the zaothra of fat was presumably offered whenever the family had meat to cook, of which the fire thus received its share. By this it was visibly strengthened, as the melting fat made its flames blaze up.

The offerings to fire and water formed the basis also of the daily priestly act of worship, called by the Iranians the 'yasna', by Indians the 'yajña' (from the verbal root yaz- 'sacrifice, worship'). At this service the zaothra to fire was obtained from the blood sacrifice, which was evidently regularly made. The Indo-Iranians felt a sense of awe and danger at taking life, and never did so without consecrating the act by prayer, whereby, they believed, the creature's spirit was enabled to live on. There was a strong sense of kinship between man

and beast, which is expressed in an ancient part of the yasna liturgy: 'We reverence our (own) souls, and (those) of the domestic animals which nourish us . . . and the souls of useful wild animals' (Y 39.1–2). Among the Iranians the belief grew up that the spirits of animals which died a consecrated death became absorbed in a divine being whom they venerated as Geush Urvan, the 'Soul of the Bull'; and they believed that the blood sacrifice strengthened this divinity, who cared for all useful animals on earth, and helped them to flourish.

At the solemnization of the yasna/yajña, grasses were scattered under the feet of the sacrificial beast, and over the ritual precinct. The reason given for this in a Sanskrit text is that it was done 'because the victim has grass as its body; verily thus he (the priest) makes the victim have its full body' (Aitareya Brahmana II.2.11). The officiating priest also held a bunch of this grass (called by the Iranians 'baresman') in his left hand while solemnizing the service, perhaps in further acknowledgment that 'all flesh is grass', and that man and beast are kin. Later in both Iran and India twigs were substituted for the bunch of grass.

The ritual offering to the waters made at the end of the yasna was prepared from milk, the leaves of one plant and the juice obtained from pounding the stems of another. The pounded plant was called in Sanskrit 'soma', in Avestan 'haoma', a name which means simply 'that which is pressed'. The identity of the original plant used by the proto-Indo-Iranians is uncertain, but it may well have been a species of ephedra (as is the 'hom' used by the Zoroastrians today). They ascribed great qualities to this plant, whose juice, they held, could exhilarate men and heighten their powers. Warriors drinking it would quickly be filled with battle-fury, poets be inspired, and priests become more open to divine promptings. The pounding of the plant in a stone mortar, and the preparation from it of the offering to the waters, forms a major part of the yasna ritual; and a concept developed from this ritual of the 'green-eyed' god Haoma, the divine priest, who was invoked also as a healer, and one who could protect cattle, give strength to fighting men, and ward off drought and famine. As the divine priest, Haoma received a ritual share of each sacrifice, namely the tongue and left jaw-bone, which were consecrated to him and set apart. Otherwise the Iranians believed that the gods were content with the odour of the sacrifice, and the intention of the gift to them. The consecrated meat was shared therefore after the service between the celebrating priests and the worshippers; and it is

probable that, as in historic times, domestic animals were never killed except thus in offering to the gods. (The hunter was required to say a brief prayer of consecration at the moment when he took a creature's life.)

The sacred precinct in which the high rituals were performed (later called by the Zoroastrians the 'pavi' or 'pure place') was very simply made. (This was necessary for a semi-wandering people, who could not establish fixed places of worship.) It consisted merely of a small level piece of ground, rectangular in Iranian usage, and marked off by a furrow ritually drawn with prayers, to exclude all evil influences. The enclosed area was then sprinkled with pure water to cleanse it, and consecrated by more prayers. The priest sat cross-legged on the ground, with fire in a small container before him. All vessels used in the service were first cleansed, then consecrated; but they had no inherent sanctity, and after it was over they might be freely handled by anyone, and so could readily be packed up for a move to another place. This remains essentially the character of the Zoroastrian ritual precinct and vessels to this day, with parallels in Brahmanic usage.

The importance of purity in the service of the gods, and as a guard against evil, was very great for the Indo-Iranians – hence the need to purify the ground and to wash all vessels with the utmost care before they were blessed. As a disinfectant after what they felt to be actual contamination (such as touching a dead body), they used what was available, namely cattle-urine with its ammonia content. It is probable that the elaborate purification rites administered later by both Zoroastrians and Brahmans have their origin in simpler rituals already practised by their Stone Age ancestors.

THE GODS

As for the gods to whom the Indo-Iranians offered their worship (for the yasna/yajña is always dedicated by name to a particular divinity), these were many. As well as the cult-gods (Fire, the Waters, Haoma and Geush Urvan) there were 'nature' gods, who personified some physical phenomenon: Sky and Earth, whom the Iranians called Asman and Zam; Sun and Moon, for them Hvar and Mah; and two gods of the Wind, Vata and Vayu. Vata was simply god of the wind that blows, and he was venerated as the being who brought the rain-clouds. Vayu is a more mysterious being, called in the Rigveda the 'soul of the gods', and regarded by the Iranians, it seems, as god of

the breath of life itself – beneficent while he sustains it, but terrible in the moment when he makes it depart.

With Vata the rain-bringer was associated *Harahvati Aredvi Sura, the Sanskrit Sarasvati, whose name means 'Possessing waters'. She personified a mythical river, held to pour down from a huge mountain at earth's centre into a great sea, called in Avestan Vourukasha, 'Of many bays'. From this sea other rivers flow out and carry water to every land. The clouds too should take up rain each year from the waters of Vourukasha, and to ensure that they do so is the task of Tishtrya, god of the Dog Star. Every year, the myth tells, Tishtrya goes to the shores of Vourukasha in the shape of a splendid white stallion; but there he is met by Apaosha, demon of Dearth, in the shape of another stallion, hairless, black and ugly, and they fight. If through the year men have failed in their prayers and offerings to Tishtrya, Apaosha will be stronger and will drive the god back; but if he has been truly venerated, Tishtrya is the mightier and conquers the demon. Then he rushes into the sea. In this myth its waves are conceived of as mares, which through their encounter with Tishtrya produce water in abundance; and Vata snatches it up into the clouds and scatters it over the 'seven karshvars'. Mixed with the water are the seeds of plants, which sprout as the rain falls. These seeds came, it was held, from the 'Tree of All Seeds', which grew in the sea Vourukasha, and which was also called the 'Tree of All-Healing'. Belief in it was probably linked with actual tree-cults, that is, veneration of great trees growing beside streams and springs, whose fruits or bark were thought to be curative.

As for the expression 'the seven karshvars', the Indo-Iranians believed that the world was divided into seven regions. These the Iranians thought of as solid circles, the biggest, Khvaniratha, being the one which man inhabits. It, they held, was in the middle, with the other six in a ring around it, separated by water or thick forests (not an unreasonable picture of the world for dwellers on the south Russian steppes). The peak of Hara (the high mountain from which *Harahvati descends) rose in the very centre of Khvaniratha, and the sun, they believed, revolved around it, so that half the world was always in darkness, the other half in light.

The Indo-Iranians held that there was a natural law which ensured that the sun would thus maintain its regular movement, the seasons change, and existence continue in an orderly way. This law was known to the Indians as 'rta', to the Avestan people by the corre-

sponding word 'asha'. The offering of worship and sacrifice by men was felt to be a part of this natural process, and in itself it helped to maintain 'asha', by strengthening both the beneficent gods themselves and the natural world in which man lived.

The concept of 'asha' had ethical implications also, in that it was thought that it should likewise govern human conduct. Truth, honesty, loyalty, and courage were felt to be proper for mankind. Virtue, that is, belonged to the natural order, and vice was its betrayal. So asha is a difficult word to translate, and different English terms are needed to render it in different contexts: order where the concept refers to the physical world, truth or righteousness in connection with the moral one.

The principle of falsehood or distortion which was opposed to asha the Avestan people called 'drug' (Sanskrit 'druh'); and their moralists divided mankind accordingly into the 'ashavan', the righteous who upheld asha, and the wicked, the 'drugvant'. Much of their pondering, plainly, was concerned with social relations, as vital to Stone Age steppe-dwellers as to an urban society – for one tribe must agree with its neighbours as to the extent of their pasture-grounds, one man with his fellow about herding their cattle, and all were concerned with common human matters such as betrothal and marriage, the barter of goods and the rules of hospitality. One matter which evidently meant much to lawmakers and priests was the sacredness of a man's given word, and the importance of enforcing respect for this as a vital aspect of asha. Two sorts of pledges were evidently recognized: the solemn oath, called, it seems, '*varuna' (probably from the IE verbal root *ver, 'bind, tie'), by which a man bound himself to do or not to do some specified act; and the compact or covenant, called 'mithra' (probably from IE *mei, 'exchange'), whereby two parties agreed together over something. In both cases a power was felt to be latent in the spoken pledge, and this power came to be recognized as a divinity who would support and further the upright man who kept his word, but smite down with terrible vengeance the liar who betrayed it.

This vengeance was made visible through the ordeal. Cases inevitably arose when a man was accused of breaking his word and denied it; and then he might be obliged to submit to an ordeal by water (if it were an oath that was in question) or fire (if a covenant) to test his veracity. One type of ordeal by water is described in the Sanskrit Yajñavalkya, 2.108 f.: The accused man had to submerge himself, holding the thighs of a man standing upright. As he went

under, he should utter the words 'Through truth protect me, Varuna.' At that instant an archer shot an arrow, and a swift runner darted away to retrieve it. If when he returned the accused were still alive beneath the water, then Varuna, lord of the oath, was held to have spared him as an ashavan. If he were dead this was because he was guilty, and the matter was ended. One of the ordeals by fire consisted of making the accused man run along a narrow gap between two blazing piles of wood. Again, if he lived, Mithra, lord of the covenant, was held to have declared his innocence. Molten copper was evidently also used in fiery ordeals, being poured on the bared breast of the accused.

As a result of such judicial procedures, Mithra and Varuna became closely linked with the elements by which they slew or spared. Varuna received the by-name 'Son of the Waters', Apąm Napat, by which alone he is known in the Avesta; and he was thought of as having his dwelling in the waters of Vourukasha. Mithra correspondingly became lord of fire, and was believed to accompany the sun, the greatest of all fires, in its daily course across the sky, gazing down as he did so to see who upheld the covenant, who broke it. Both he and Varuna were deeply venerated, and grew to be great gods, with many beliefs attached to them; and their concepts broadened out, so that they may be regarded as personifications of Loyalty and Truth respectively. Both received the title 'asura', in Avestan 'ahura', which means simply 'lord'.

The ordeals at which these two mighty beings were invoked were plainly highly dangerous, and in historic times the decision to require one lay with the king or leader of a local community. This figure of the wise ruler, in ultimate control of the law, seems to have been the origin of the concept of the third and greatest of the 'lords', in Avestan Ahura Mazda, the Lord Wisdom. He is a lofty being, exalted far above the fraternal pair, Mithra and Apąm Napat, whose actions he directs and rules. Nor is he connected with any physical phenomenon, but hypostatizes the power of wisdom, which should control all actions of gods and men alike. In the Rigveda he is known simply, it seems, as the Asura, 'the Lord'; and in one passage the two lesser 'lords' are addressed in these words; 'You two make the sky rain through the supernatural power of the Asura; . . . you two protect your ordinances through the supernatural power of the Asura. Through ṛta you rule the universe' (RV 5.63.7). The three 'lords' are all highly ethical beings, who uphold asha/ṛta, and themselves submit

to it. These lofty concepts must have been evolved by the proto-Indo-Iranians early in the Stone Age, for they are deeply interwoven in the religions of both the descendant peoples.

The proto-Indo-Iranians venerated a number of other 'abstract' gods, for they evidently had the capacity to personify what would now be termed abstractions, and to apprehend them as strong, ever-present divinities. Instead, that is, of defining a divine personality by saying, for instance, 'God is Love', the Indo-Iranians would begin by believing that 'Love is a god', and would gradually create a divine personality from this concept. How far the process went of enriching the 'abstract' divinity with character and myths seems to have depended on how closely he was associated with human needs or religious observances, and how popular he therefore became. Mithra, for instance, hypostatizing loyalty to the covenant, became worshipped in time as a war-god, fighting on behalf of the ashavan and smiting the treaty-breaker with ruthless power; as a great judge, impartially assessing the deeds of men; and as a solar deity, as splendid as the sun whom he accompanies on high. After the Iranian princes and warriors acquired the war-chariot, they came to think of their gods too as chariot-riders; and Mithra is said to be drawn across the sky by white horses, shod with silver and gold, which cast no shadow. In his chariot he carries weapons of both the Stone and Bronze Ages: he is armed, that is, with a mace 'cast in the yellow metal' (Yt 10.96), and has also spear, bow and arrows, knife and slingstones (Yt 10.102, 129–31).

Around Mithra were grouped other lesser 'abstract' divinities: Airyaman (Sanskrit Aryaman), personifying the power of friendship – which, ritually established, was a form of covenant; Arshtat, 'Justice'; Ham-vareti, 'Courage'; and Sraosha, 'Obedience', who is also the guardian of prayer. Another divine being associated with both Mithra and Apąm Napat is Khvarenah, who personifies 'divine grace' or 'glory' – a quality that dwells with kings and heroes and prophets, but departs if they are false to asha. Khvarenah in his turn is sometimes linked with Ashi, goddess of Fortune, who should bestow her prizes only on the righteous, the ashavan. The same is true of Verethraghna, god of Victory, who has the standing epithet of 'created by the Ahuras'. Most of the Indo-Iranian gods were conceived anthropomorphically, but Verethraghna's characteristic manifestation is the wild boar, proverbial among the Iranians for its fierce courage; and it is thus that he is pictured in the Avestan hymn to

Mithra (Yt 10), rushing along in front of the Ahura, sharp-tusked and powerful, ready to crush the faithless, the treaty-breakers.

Verethraghna was not worshipped by the Vedic Indians, for their ancestors, it seems, had allowed the ancient god of Victory to be displaced by Indra, a divinity who was the prototype of the Indo-Iranian warrior of the heroic age – bountiful to his followers, valiant in combat, reckless, drinking deep of soma. He is amoral, and demands of his worshippers only lavish offerings, for which he will reward them amply with material gains. The contrast between him and the ethical Ahuras is strikingly expressed in a Rigvedic hymn (RV 4.42), in which he and Varuna in turn state their different claims to greatness. Varuna declares: 'Lordship belongs indeed to me, the perpetual sovereign, as all the Immortals (acknowledge) to us . . . I let the dripping waters rise up, through ṛta I uphold the sky. Through ṛta I am the lord who rules through ṛta.' Indra responds by declaring: 'Men who drive swiftly, having good horses, call on me when surrounded in battle. I provoke strife, I the bountiful Indra. I whirl up the dust, my strength is overwhelming. All things have I done. No godlike power can check me, the unassailable. When draughts of soma, when songs have made me drunk, then both the unbounded regions grow afraid.' The two gods are thus conceived as utterly different beings, who have their prototypes on earth in the ethical ruler, concerned to maintain the law from which he derives his own authority, and the bold warrior-chief, caring for little beyond his personal prowess and fame.

In the lines just quoted Varuna speaks of 'the Immortals'. The title 'Immortal' (in Vedic 'Amṛta', in Avestan 'Amesha') was one of those used by the Indo-Iranians for their gods. Another was 'Shining One', in Vedic 'Deva', in Avestan 'Daeva'. Both words are Indo-European in origin. Yet another term used by the Iranians was Baga, 'He who distributes (good things)'. For some reason Zoroaster himself restricted the use of the ancient title Daeva to Indra and other martial gods whom he saw as destructive forces, opposed to the ethical Ahuras.

Although each act of worship performed by the Iranian priests was dedicated to one of the gods, the rites themselves (with the regular offerings to fire and water) seem to have been always the same. Some priests came to ponder, evidently, on the details of the rituals, and the nature of the physical world which they were designed to sustain; and they evolved thereby a lucid picture of the cosmogony. This can be

reconstructed from Zoroastrian writings as follows: the gods created the world in seven stages. First they made the sky of stone, solid like a huge round shell. In the bottom half of this shell they put water. Next they created earth, resting on the water like a great flat dish; and then at the centre of the earth they fashioned the three animate creations in the form of a single plant, a single animal (the 'Uniquely-created Bull') and a single man (Gayo-maretan, 'Mortal Life'). Seventh, they created fire, both visibly as itself and also as an unseen, vital force pervading the animate creations. The sun, part of the creation of fire, stood still overhead as if it were always noon, for the world was brought into being motionless and unchanging. Then the gods offered a triple sacrifice: they crushed the plant, and slew the bull and man. From this beneficent sacrifice more plants, animals and men came into existence. The cycle of being was thus set in motion, with death followed by new life; and the sun began to move across the sky and to regulate the seasons in accordance with asha.

These natural processes, to judge from Indian sources, were regarded as unending. Having been started by the gods, they would go on forever, if men also did their part. So the priests saw themselves as re-enacting every day, with plants and animals, the original sacrifice, to ensure that the world continued in its proper course; and by this daily rite they consciously purified, blessed and strengthened every one of the seven creations, which were all represented there: earth in the ritual precinct itself, and water and fire in vessels before the priest; the stone of the sky in the flint knife and the stone pestle and mortar; plants in the baresman and haoma; and animals in the sacrificial beast (or in animal products, milk and butter). Finally, man was there in the person of the celebrating priest, who was thus a partner with the gods in the task of maintaining the world in a state of strength and purity.

DEATH AND THE HEREAFTER

No end being foreseen for the world as long as this partnership continued, no end was foreseen either for the generations of men, which were thought to follow one another ceaselessly. There was belief in life after death for the individual, and according to its earliest form the disembodied spirit, the 'urvan', lingered on earth for three days before departing downward to a subterranean kingdom of the dead, ruled over by Yima (Sanskrit Yama) who had been the first king

to rule on earth and the first man to die. (Gayo-maretan is the prototype of humanity rather than an actual man.) In Yima's realm the spirits lived a shadowy existence, and were dependent on their descendants still living on earth to satisfy their hunger and to clothe them. Offerings for this purpose had to be ritually made, at specified times, so that they could pass through the barrier of matter; and they were given most frequently during the first year, when the newly departed spirit was thought of as lonely, and not yet fully accepted into the brotherhood of the dead. The responsibility for making the offerings fell upon the dead man's heir, usually his eldest son; and it was his duty to perform them for thirty years – three decades, or roughly the span of a generation.

The rituals of the first three days were held to be vitally important, both to protect the soul from evil powers while it waited to depart, and to give it strength to reach the underworld. There seems to have been an old concept of some dangerous place, perhaps a ford or ferry over a dark river, which the soul must cross in order to arrive there. This was called in Avestan the 'Chinvato Peretu', thought to mean the 'Crossing of the Separator'. To give the departed all possible help, the family would mourn during the three days, fast, and have their priest say many prayers. Then a blood sacrifice would be made, with the ritual offering to fire; and meat from it, and clothing, would be blessed during the third night, so that the soul could depart fed and clad on its lonely journey at dawn the next day. Thereafter (to judge from later Zoroastrian usage) food offerings would be consecrated daily on its behalf for thirty days, ending with a second blood sacrifice on the thirtieth day; and then once every thirtieth day, or month by month, till the end of the first year, when there would be the third and last blood sacrifice. After that the soul's need of material cherishing was felt to be less, and there would simply be annual offerings for thirty years on the anniversary of death. Then the soul was believed to be fully one of the great company of the dead, so that it could be sustained simply by sharing in the general offerings made by each family for their ancestors at the feast of All Souls, called by the Avestan people Hamaspathmaedaya. This feast was celebrated on the last night of the year, the souls returning to their old homes, it was believed, at sunset, and departing again as the sun rose on New Year's day.

The funeral rite connected with the belief in an underworld home of the dead was burial. The Zoroastrian word 'dakhma' (coming

through '*dafma' from an IE verbal root dhṃbh 'bury') meant originally, it seems, a grave. The proto-Indo-Iranians are held to have been one group among the 'pit-grave' peoples of the steppes, who buried members of their leading families at the bottom of deep shafts covered by earthen barrows. The ordinary people were presumably laid in simple graves in the earth, of which no trace remains.

It seems probable that it was just before the Indians and Iranians separated that they conceived a new hope concerning the hereafter. This was that some at least among them – princes and warriors and the priests who served the gods – might escape the dreaded fate of an eternally joyless existence, and that their souls might mount upward at death to join the gods in sunlit Paradise, where they would know all imaginable delights. With this hope the 'Crossing of the Separator' became thought of as a bridge, with one end resting on the mountain peak of Hara, the other on the road up to heaven. Only those who were worthy – perhaps through having offered many sacrifices – could cross this bridge. Other souls, attempting it, would fall off, down to the subterranean kingdom of the dead. Among those held to be thus doomed were probably all lowly persons – herdsmen, and women and children. The souls who attained Paradise would naturally have no need of offerings to be made for them by their descendants; but because of tradition, and also no doubt because of uncertainty about each individual fate, these offerings were still made piously for all the departed.

With the hope of attaining Paradise there developed a belief in the resurrection of the body. It was evidently impossible to conceive of experiencing the joys of heaven in spirit only; and (to judge from Indian evidence) it came to be held that within the first year after death the bones of the physical body would be raised up and, clothed in immortal flesh, be reunited with the soul in heaven. It was probably in connection with this belief that the Indians gradually changed their funerary rite to cremation, whereby the mortal flesh was swiftly destroyed. The bones were then carefully gathered up and buried to await resurrection. The Iranians, however, seem to have had too great a respect for fire to use it to consume polluting matter; and it may be that already in pagan times some among them adopted instead the rite of exposure known later from Zoroastrianism. This consisted of laying the corpse down in some barren place where vultures and scavenging beasts would quickly devour it. The sun's rays made a path to draw the spirit skyward, and the corrupting flesh

was swiftly disposed of. Thereafter, the bones were collected and buried, as in the Indian rite.

What complicates the study of pagan Iranian beliefs about the hereafter is the use of another term besides urvan for the departed spirit, namely '*fravarti', Avestan 'fravashi'. The etymology of this word (like that of urvan) is doubtful; but it seems possible that it may derive from the same verbal root as Ham-vareti 'Courage', and that the fravashi was originally the departed soul of a hero, one particularly potent to help and protect his descendants. If this is so, there must once have existed a hero-cult among the ancient Iranians, as among the Greeks. The fravashis were conceived, something like the Valkyries, as female beings, winged and inhabiting the air, through which, if satisfied by offerings, they would fly swiftly to men's aid. They strove each year to bring rain to their own families, and to see that children were born to them, and in time of war they fought, invisibly, beside their descendants.

Probably there were similarities from the earliest period between the specialized fravashi-cult and the general cult of the urvan which must have helped beliefs about the two to blur and mingle. The growth of hope for some of an after-life in Paradise may well have added confusion. One might expect that it would be the powerful fravashi who would be first thought of as dwelling on high with the gods, but it is in fact the urvan who is chiefly spoken of in this connection. Possibly an age-old belief in the fravashis as ever-present helpers and guardians prevented their being readily conceived of as dwelling afar; and it may also have been difficult to associate these winged spirits with the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Nevertheless, it seems that already in pagan times the concepts of mighty fravashi and helpless urvan had to a large extent become fused. In the Avestan hymn to the fravashis (Yt 13), which contains ancient elements, it is they who are represented as returning to their homes at Hamaspathmaedaya, seeking offerings of meat and clothing; but in other verses of the same hymn they are invoked as godlike in their powers. In the liturgy of the Zoroastrian yasna the identification of fravashi and urvan is at times complete, and is expressed by the recurrent words: 'We worship the souls (urvan-) of the dead, which are the fravashis of the just.' Yet a broad distinction between the two persists to this day (without, it seems, the support of clearly formulated doctrine) which is that in general one prays to the fravashi, but for the urvan.

Conclusion

In sum, it seems that the religion of the pagan Iranians centred on rituals and observance, but that the beliefs concerning the gods contained noble elements, which were linked with the concepts of asha and the Ahuras. These elements were part of an aristocratic faith, which restricted hope of happiness hereafter to the warrior and priest. They were mixed, moreover, with amoral concepts, so that those who chiefly worshipped Indra and the warlike divinities associated with him could nurture the hope of buying prosperity in this life and salvation in the next with abundant offerings. Both moral and amoral elements go back, evidently, to the proto-Indo-Iranian period, that is, to a pastoral Stone Age; but the latter were almost certainly strengthened with the coming of the Bronze Age, and all the opportunities which developed then for the ruthless acquisition of wealth and power.

CHAPTER TWO

Zoroaster and his teachings

Introduction

The prophet Zarathushtra, son of Pourushaspa, of the Spitaman family, is known to us primarily from the Gathas, seventeen great hymns which he composed and which have been faithfully preserved by his community. These are not works of instruction, but inspired, passionate utterances, many of them addressed directly to God; and their poetic form is a very ancient one, which has been traced back (through Norse parallels) to Indo-European times. It seems to have been linked with a mantic tradition, that is, to have been cultivated by priestly seers who sought to express in lofty words their personal apprehension of the divine; and it is marked by subtleties of allusion, and great richness and complexity of style. Such poetry can only have been fully understood by the learned; and since Zoroaster believed that he had been entrusted by God with a message for all mankind, he must also have preached again and again in plain words to ordinary people. His teachings were handed down orally in his community from generation to generation, and were at last committed to writing under the Sasanians, rulers of the third Iranian empire. The language then spoken was Middle Persian, also called Pahlavi; and the Pahlavi books provide invaluable keys for interpreting the magnificent obscurities of the Gathas themselves.

Much valuable matter is preserved also in the 'Younger Avesta'.

The dialect which Zoroaster himself spoke is known only from the Gathas and a few other ancient texts. (This linguistic isolation increases the difficulties of interpreting his hymns, since these are full of otherwise unknown words.) The rest of the surviving Avesta consists of liturgical texts preserved in various later stages of the same language (but not in exactly the same dialect). To his followers all these works embodied different aspects of Zoroaster's revelation, and were to be reverenced accordingly. Although Western scholars distinguish the post-Gathic texts collectively as the 'Younger Avesta', some of them contain matter which is very old. This is particularly true of certain of the yashts, hymns addressed to individual divinities.

Zoroaster and his mission

Zoroaster's date cannot be established with any precision, since he lived in what for his people were prehistoric times. The language of the Gathas is archaic, and close to that of the Rigveda (whose composition has been assigned to about 1700 B.C. onwards); and the picture of the world to be gained from them is correspondingly ancient, that of a Stone Age society. Some allowance may have to be made for literary conservatism; and it is also possible that the 'Avestan' people (as Zoroaster's own tribe is called for want of a better name) were poor or isolated, and so not rapidly influenced by the developments of the Bronze Age. It is only possible therefore to hazard a reasoned conjecture that Zoroaster lived some time between 1700 and 1500 B.C.

In the Gathas he refers to himself as a 'zaotar', that is, a fully qualified priest; and he is the only founder of a world religion who was both priest and prophet. (In the Younger Avesta he is spoken of by the general word for priest, 'athaurvan'.) He also calls himself a 'manthran', that is, one able to compose 'manthra' (Sanskrit 'mantra'), inspired utterances of power. Training for the priesthood began early among the Indo-Iranians, probably at about the age of seven, and was carried out orally, for they had no knowledge of writing. It must have consisted, basically, of learning both rituals and doctrines, as well as acquiring skill in extemporizing verses in invocation and praise of the gods, and learning by heart great manthras composed by earlier sages. The Iranians held that maturity was reached at fifteen, and it was presumably at that age that Zoroaster was made priest. His own Gathas suggest that he must thereafter have

sought all the higher knowledge which he could gain from various teachers; and he further describes himself there as a 'vaedemna' or 'one who knows', an initiate possessed of divinely inspired wisdom. According to Zoroastrian tradition (preserved in the Pahlavi books), he spent years in a wandering quest for truth; and his hymns suggest that he must then have witnessed acts of violence, with war-bands, worshippers of the Daevas, descending on peaceful communities to pillage, slaughter and carry off cattle. Conscious himself of being powerless physically, he became filled with a deep longing for justice, for the moral law of the Ahuras to be established for strong and weak alike, so that order and tranquillity could prevail, and all be able to pursue the good life in peace.

According to tradition Zoroaster was thirty, the time of ripe wisdom, when revelation finally came to him. This great happening is alluded to in one of the Gathas (Y 43), and is tersely described in a Pahlavi work (Zadspram XX–XXI). Here it is said that Zoroaster, being at a gathering met to celebrate a spring festival, went at dawn to a river to fetch water for the haoma-ceremony. He waded in to draw it from midstream; and when he returned to the bank – himself in a state of ritual purity, emerging from the pure element, water, in the freshness of a spring dawn – he had a vision. He saw on the bank a shining Being, who revealed himself as Vohu Manah 'Good Purpose'; and this Being led Zoroaster into the presence of Ahura Mazda and five other radiant figures, before whom 'he did not see his own shadow upon the earth, owing to their great light'. And it was then, from this great heptad, that he received his revelation.

Ahura Mazda and his Adversary

This was the first of a number of times that Zoroaster saw Ahura Mazda in vision, or felt conscious of his presence, or heard his words calling him to his service, a summons which he whole-heartedly obeyed. 'For this' (he declares) 'I was set apart as yours from the beginning' (Y 44.11). 'While I have power and strength, I shall teach men to seek the right (asha)' (Y 28.4). It was as the master of asha (order, righteousness and justice) that he venerated Ahura Mazda. This was in accordance with tradition, since Mazda had been worshipped of old as the greatest of the three Ahuras, the guardians of asha; but Zoroaster went much further, and in a startling departure from accepted beliefs proclaimed Ahura Mazda to be the one

uncreated God, existing eternally, and Creator of all else that is good, including all other beneficent divinities.

One cannot hope to retrace with any certainty the processes of thought which led Zoroaster to this exalted belief; but it seems probable that he came to it through meditating on the daily act of worship which he as priest performed, and on the cosmogonic theories connected with this. Scholar-priests, as we have seen, had evolved a doctrine of the genesis of the world in seven stages, with the seven creations all being represented at the yasna; and they had postulated primal unity in the physical sphere, with all life stemming from one original plant, animal and man. From this, it would seem, Zoroaster was inspired to apprehend a similar original uniqueness in the divine sphere also, with, in the beginning, only one beneficent Being existing in the universe, Ahura Mazda, the all-wise, and also the wholly just and good, from whom all other divine beings emanated.

Harsh experience had evidently convinced the prophet that wisdom, justice and goodness were utterly separate by nature from wickedness and cruelty; and in vision he beheld, co-existing with Ahura Mazda, an Adversary, the 'Hostile Spirit', Angra Mainyu, equally uncreated, but ignorant and wholly malign. These two great Beings Zoroaster beheld with prophetic eye at their original, far-off encountering: 'Truly there are two primal Spirits, twins, renowned to be in conflict. In thought and word and act they are two, the good and the bad. . . . And when these two Spirits first encountered, they created life and not-life, and that at the end the worst existence shall be for the followers of falsehood (drug), but the best dwelling for those who possess righteousness (asha). Of the two Spirits, the one who follows falsehood chose doing the worst things, the Holiest Spirit, who is clad in the hardest stone [i.e. the sky] chose righteousness, and (so shall they all) who will satisfy Ahura Mazda continually with just actions' (Y 30.3–5).

An essential element in this revelation is that the two primal Beings each made a deliberate choice (although each, it seems, according to his own proper nature) between good and evil, an act which prefigures the identical choice which every man must make for himself in this life. The exercise of choice changed the inherent antagonism between the two Spirits into an active one, which expressed itself, at a decision taken by Ahura Mazda, in creation and counter-creation, or, as the prophet put it, in the making of 'life' and 'not-life' (that is,

death); for Ahura Mazda knew in his wisdom that if he became Creator and fashioned this world, then the Hostile Spirit would attack it, because it was good, and it would become a battleground for their two forces, and in the end he, God, would win the great struggle there and be able to destroy evil, and so achieve a universe which would be wholly good forever.

The heptad and the seven creations

These teachings were fundamentally new; but it was the old cosmogony which provided the basis for Zoroaster's thought. So the first act which he conceived Ahura Mazda as performing was the evocation, through his Holy Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, of six lesser divinities, the radiant Beings of Zoroaster's earliest vision. These divinities formed a heptad with Ahura Mazda himself, and they proceeded with him to fashion the seven creations which make up the world. The evocation of the six is variously described in Zoroastrian works, but always in ways which suggest the essential unity of beneficent divinity. Thus Ahura Mazda is said either to be their 'father', or to have 'mingled' himself with them, and in one Pahlavi text his creation of them is compared with the lighting of torches from a torch.

The six great Beings then in their turn, Zoroaster taught, evoked other beneficent divinities, who are in fact the beneficent gods of the pagan Iranian pantheon. (He himself invokes a number of them in the Gathas, notably the 'other Ahuras', that is, Mithra and Apąm Napat; Sraosha, Ashi and Geush Urvan.) All these divine beings, who are, according to his doctrines, either directly or indirectly the emanations of Ahura Mazda, strive under him, according to their various appointed tasks, to further good and to defeat evil. Collectively they are known in Zoroastrianism as Yazatas, 'Beings worthy of worship', or Amesha Spentas, 'Holy Immortals'. Although the latter term does not occur in the Gathas, it was most probably coined by Zoroaster himself to distinguish those beings revealed to him as beneficent from the generality of pagan gods, who are invoked as 'All the Immortals' in the Vedas; for Zoroaster rejected with the utmost courage and firmness the worship of the warlike, amoral Daevas – that is, Indra and his companions – whom he regarded as being 'of the race of evil purpose' (Y 32.3). 'The Daevas chose not rightly, because the Deceiver came upon them as they consulted, so that they chose the

worst purpose. Then together they betook themselves to Wrath, through whom they afflicted the life of man' (Y 30.6). To Zoroaster the Daevas were thus both wicked by nature and wicked by choice, like Angra Mainyu himself – false gods who were not to be worshipped because they stood for conflict among men, luring them through their greed for offerings to bloodshed and destructive strife.

The crucial word 'spenta', used by Zoroaster of Ahura Mazda and all his creation, is one of the most important terms in his revelation. Basically, it seems, it meant 'possessing power', and when used of beneficent divinities, 'possessing power to aid', hence 'furthering, supporting, benefiting'. Through constant religious use spenta acquired overtones of meaning, like the word 'holy', which similarly meant originally 'mighty, strong'. 'Holy' is therefore a close rendering for it; but to avoid suggesting concepts alien to Zoroastrianism, some scholars have preferred 'bounteous' as a standard translation. This, however, has the weakness that it has no religious associations in English, and so does not convey the sense of reverence implicit in Zoroastrian spenta. The rendering 'holy' has therefore been generally preferred in this book.

Although the title Amesha Spenta may be used of any of the divinities of Ahura Mazda's creation, it is applied especially to the great six of the prophet's own vision, the other lesser divinities being referred to as the Yazatas. The doctrine of the six Holy Immortals is fundamental to Zoroaster's teachings, and has far-reaching spiritual and ethical consequences, since these Beings hypostatize qualities or attributes of Ahura Mazda himself, and can in their turn (if rightly sought and venerated) bestow these upon men. For every individual, as for the prophet himself, the Immortal who leads the way to all the rest is Vohu Manah, 'Good Purpose'; and his closest confederate is Asha Vahishta, 'Best Righteousness' – the divinity personifying the mighty principle of asha, whom Zoroaster names in the Gathas more often than any other of the six. Then there is Spenta Armaiti, 'Holy Devotion', embodying the dedication to what is good and just; and Khshathra Vairya, 'Desirable Dominion', who represents both the power which each person should properly exert for righteousness in this life, and also the power and the kingdom of God. The final pair are Haurvatat and Ameretat, 'Health' and 'Long Life', who not only enhance this mortal existence but confer that eternal well-being and life, which may be obtained by the righteous in the presence of Ahura Mazda.

That divine attributes should be isolated, and then invoked and worshipped as independent beings, was a characteristic of the pagan Iranian religion, as we have seen in the case of Mithra, surrounded as he is by Friendship, Obedience, Justice, Courage and Divine Grace. So the mould was already old in which Zoroaster cast his new doctrines. He saw the great six as remaining similarly close to the supreme Lord; and it is said of them in the Younger Avesta (Yt 19.16–18) that they are 'of one mind, one voice, one act. . . . Of them one beholds the soul of the other, thinking upon good thoughts, good words, good deeds . . . they who are the creators and fashioners and makers and observers and guardians of the creations of Ahura Mazda.' The tendency also existed in the old Iranian religion to link 'abstract' divinities with physical phenomena, so closely that (as in the case of Mithra and Apąm Napat) the phenomena could be regarded as representing the divinities themselves; and already in the Gathas the association of the seven Amesha Spentas with the seven creations was of this kind. The nature of the link in each case appears to have been understood by the prophet through his meditations upon the yasna, the daily act of worship by which the seven creations were sustained and blessed. In pondering on its rituals he came, it seems, to apprehend that within each of the things which he as priest saw or handled was an immaterial presence, a hidden divinity, so that through these rites, performed primarily for the sake of the physical world, priest and worshippers could at the same time seek a moral and spiritual good, honouring and striving to unite themselves with the great invisible Amesha Spentas. A new dimension was thus added to the age-old observance.

The link of each divinity with his creation is a reasonable one, for Zoroastrianism, once its intuitively held – or divinely revealed – premises are granted, is essentially a rational faith. So Khshathra Vairya, Desirable Dominion, is lord of the hard sky of stone, which arches protectively over the earth. Lowly earth itself belongs to Spenta Armaiti, Holy Devotion. Water is the creation of Haurvatat, Health, and plants belong to Ameretat, Long Life or Immortality. Vohu Manah, Good Purpose, is lord of the mild beneficent cow, who for the nomad Iranians was a powerful symbol of creative goodness, of that which sustains and nourishes. Fire, which pervades the other creations, and, through the sun, controls the seasons, is under the protection of Asha Vahishta, the Order which should pervade and regulate the world. Finally man himself, with his intelligence and

power of choice, belongs especially to Ahura Mazda, the Lord Wisdom, who made the first choice of all. These associations, subtly alluded to in the Gathas, are plainly set out in the later literature.

The order of the great heptad of divinities often does not correspond with the chronological sequence of the seven creations. This was because it was natural to name them usually according to spiritual dignity and worth, with Ahura Mazda in his rightful place at their head. Any of the great seven may be entreated by any individual worshipper – indeed he should invoke them all, if he is to become a perfect man; but two among them had particular links with two groups of society. Armaiti, as guardian of the humble earth, was the protector of the herdsmen who depended so closely on her bounty, and who, as the lowliest members of society, had especial need of the virtue of submission; while her great partner, Khshathra, lord of the lofty, protective sky, and so of stone everywhere, was as fittingly the guardian of warriors, who had the duty to use their weapons – their flint-tipped arrows and spears, their slingstones and heavy maces – to protect the poor and weak, and not to despoil or harm them. The third group in society, the priests, who were the learned class, evidently felt themselves especially under the protection of Ahura Mazda, the Lord Wisdom, whose creation, mankind, they represented at the yasna; but the supreme Lord's power is so all-encompassing that this link is not made so much of in the tradition.

Being the creation of Ahura Mazda, every man has the duty not only to cherish the six lesser creations, but also to watch over his own physical and moral well-being, and to care for his fellow-men, since each of them is likewise the special creature of God. The particular ethical code which Zoroaster gave his followers to live by demanded of them good thoughts, good words and good deeds – an admirable moral law which seems a generalization of the threefold demand made of the Iranian priest, who to perform an act of worship effectively needed good intention, right words and correct rituals.

The doctrine of the seven Amesha Spentas and the seven creations thus inspired a comprehensive morality, and inculcated in man a deep sense of responsibility for the world around him. He is the chief of the creations, but he is bound to the other six by the link of a shared purpose, for all spenta creation is striving for a common goal, man consciously, the rest by instinct or nature, for all were brought into existence for this one end, namely the utter defeat of evil.

Creation and the Three Times

Another aspect of the relationship between tangible and intangible was embodied in Zoroaster's teaching (best known to us from the Pahlavi books) that Ahura Mazda accomplished the act of creation in two stages. First he brought all things into being in a disembodied state, called in Pahlavi 'menog', that is, 'spiritual, immaterial'. Then he gave it 'material' or 'getig', existence. The getig existence is better than the previous menog one, for in it Ahura Mazda's perfect creation received the added good of solid and sentient form. Together, the fashioning of these two states constituted the act of Creation, called in Pahlavi 'Bundahishn'. The achievement of the getig state set the field for the battle with evil, for unlike the menog one it was vulnerable to assault; and Angra Mainyu straightway attacked. According to the myth as set out in the Pahlavi books, he broke in violently through the lower bowl of the stone sky, thus marring its perfection. Then he plunged upwards through the water, turning much of it salt, and attacked the earth, creating deserts. Next he withered the plant, and slew the Uniquely-created Bull and the First Man. Finally he fell upon the seventh creation, fire, and sullied it with smoke, so that he had physically blighted all the good creation.

The divine beings then rallied their forces. Ameretat took the plant, pounded it up (as haoma is pounded in the yasna-ritual), and scattered its essence over the world by cloud and rain, to grow up as more plants everywhere. The seed of the Bull and Man were purified in the moon and sun, and more cattle and men sprang from them. So in the Zoroastrian version of the ancient myth the beneficent sacrifice attributed originally to the pagan gods was assigned as an evil act to Angra Mainyu, for it was he who brought decay and death into the perfect, static world of Ahura Mazda. The Amesha Spentas were able, however, through their holy power to turn his malicious acts to benefit; and such must be the constant endeavour of all the good creation.

'Creation' was the first of the three times into which the drama of cosmic history is divided. Angra Mainyu's attack inaugurated the second time, that of 'Mixture' (Pahlavi 'Gumezisn'), during which this world is no longer wholly good, but is a blend of good and evil; for the cycle of being having been set in motion, Angra Mainyu continues to attack with the Daevas and all the other legions of darkness which he had brought into existence to oppose the Yazatas,

and together they inflict not only physical ills but every moral and spiritual evil from which man suffers. To withstand their assaults man needs to venerate Ahura Mazda and the six Amesha Spentas, and to bring them so fully into his own heart and being that there is no room there for vice or weakness. He should also worship all the beneficent Yazatas, some of whom, like the two lesser Ahuras (twice invoked by Zoroaster himself in the Gathas) will also help him in his moral struggles, while others, such as Sun and Moon, will play their part in keeping the physical world strong and in accordance with asha.

According to Zoroaster's new revelation, mankind thus shared with the spenta divinities the great common purpose of gradually overcoming evil and restoring the world to its original perfect state. The glorious moment when this will be achieved is called 'Frashokereti' (Pahlavi 'Frashegird'), a term which probably means 'Healing' or 'Renovation'. Therewith history will cease, for the third time, that of 'Separation' (Pahlavi 'Wizarishn') will be ushered in. This is the time when good will be separated again from evil; and since evil will then be utterly destroyed, the period of Separation is eternal, and in it Ahura Mazda and all the Yazatas and men and women will live together for ever in perfect, untroubled goodness and peace.

In thus postulating not only a beginning but also an end to human history, Zoroaster made a profound break with earlier ideas, according to which the process of life, once started, was expected to continue forever, if men and gods both bore their part. The old concept of co-operation between divinity and worshipper, as necessary in order to maintain the world according to asha, persists in his teachings; but he gave this co-operation new significance by seeing it, not as directed simply to preserving the world as it is, but to reaching an ultimate goal of restored perfection. Moreover, his revelation lent man new dignity, for according to it he was created to be God's ally, working with him to achieve the victory over evil which is longed for by both.

The doctrine of the Three Times – Creation, Mixture, Separation – makes history in a sense cyclical, with the getig world restored in the third time to the perfection it possessed in the first one. Meanwhile all the sorrows and strivings of the present time of Mixture are part of the battle against Angra Mainyu. Zoroaster thus not only saw a noble purpose for humanity, but also offered men a reasoned explanation for what they have to endure in this life, seeing this as affliction brought on them by the Hostile Spirit, and not

imputing to the will of an all-powerful Creator the sufferings of his creatures here below.

Death and the hereafter

The most general human affliction is death; and death forces individual souls, throughout the time of Mixture, to leave the getig world and return for a while to the deficient menog state. As each spirit departs, according to Zoroaster, it is judged on what it has done in this life to aid the cause of goodness. He taught that women as well as men, servants as well as masters, may hope to attain Paradise, for the physical barrier of pagan days, the 'Bridge of the Separator', becomes in his revelation a place of moral judgment, where each soul must depend, not on power or wealth of offerings in the life it has left behind, but on its own ethical achievements. Here Mithra presides over the tribunal, flanked by Sraosha and by Rashnu, who holds the scales of justice. In these are weighed the soul's thoughts, words and deeds, the good on one side, the bad on the other. If the good are heavier, the soul is judged worthy of Paradise; and it is led by a beautiful maiden, the personification of its own conscience ('daena') across the broad bridge and up on high. If the scales sink on the bad side, the bridge contracts to the width of a blade-edge, and a horrid hag, meeting the soul as it tries to cross, seizes it in her arms and plunges with it down to hell, 'the dwelling-place of Worst Purpose' (Y 32.13), where the wicked endure a 'long age of misery, of darkness, ill food and the crying of woe' (Y 31.20). The concept of hell, a place of torment presided over by Angra Mainyu, seems to be Zoroaster's own, shaped by his deep sense of the need for justice. Those few souls 'whose false (things) and what are just balance' (Y 33.1) go to the 'Place of the Mixed Ones', Misvan Gatu, where, as in the old underworld kingdom of the dead, they lead a grey existence, lacking both joy and sorrow.

Even for souls in Paradise bliss is not perfect during this time of Mixture, for complete happiness can come again only at Frashegird. The pagan Iranians had presumably held, like the Vedic Indians, that soon after each blessed soul reached Paradise it was reunited with its resurrected body, to live again a happy life of full sensation; but Zoroaster taught that the blessed must wait for this culmination till Frashegird and the 'future body' (Pahlavi 'tan i pasen'), when the earth will give up the bones of the dead (Y 30.7). This general

resurrection will be followed by the Last Judgment, which will divide all the righteous from the wicked, both those who have lived until that time and those who have been judged already. Then Airyaman, Yazata of friendship and healing, together with Atar, Fire, will melt all the metal in the mountains, and this will flow in a glowing river over the earth. All mankind must pass through this river, and, as it is said in a Pahlavi text, 'for him who is righteous it will seem like warm milk, and for him who is wicked, it will seem as if he is walking in the flesh through molten metal' (GBd XXXIV.18–19). In this great apocalyptic vision Zoroaster perhaps fused, unconsciously, tales of volcanic eruptions and streams of burning lava with his own experience of Iranian ordeals by molten metal; and according to his stern original teaching, strict justice will prevail then, as at each individual judgment on earth by a fiery ordeal. So at this last ordeal of all the wicked will suffer a second death, and will perish off the face of the earth. The Daevas and legions of darkness will already have been annihilated in a last great battle with the Yazatas; and the river of metal will flow down into hell, slaying Angra Mainyu and burning up the last vestige of wickedness in the universe.

Ahura Mazda and the six Amesha Spentas will then solemnize a last, spiritual yasna, offering up the last sacrifice (after which death will be no more), and making a preparation of the mystical 'white haoma', which will confer immortality on the resurrected bodies of all the blessed, who will partake of it. Thereafter men will become like the Immortals themselves, of one thought, word and deed, unaging, free from sickness, without corruption, forever joyful in the kingdom of God upon earth. For it is in this familiar and beloved world, restored to its original perfection, that, according to Zoroaster, eternity will be passed in bliss, and not in a remote insubstantial Paradise. So the time of Separation is a renewal of the time of Creation, except that no return is prophesied to the original uniqueness of living things. Mountain and valley will give place once more to level plain; but whereas in the beginning there was one plant, one animal, one man, the rich variety and number that have since issued from these will remain forever. Similarly the many divinities who were brought into being by Ahura Mazda will continue to have their separate existences. There is no prophecy of their re-absorption into the Godhead. As a Pahlavi text puts it, after Frashegird 'Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands and all Yazads and men will be together. . . ; every place will resemble a garden in spring, in which

there are all kinds of trees and flowers . . . and it will be entirely the creation of Ohrmazd' (Pahl.Riv.Dd. XLVIII, 99, 100, 107).

Zoroaster was thus the first to teach the doctrines of an individual judgment, Heaven and Hell, the future resurrection of the body, the general Last Judgment, and life everlasting for the reunited soul and body. These doctrines were to become familiar articles of faith to much of mankind, through borrowings by Judaism, Christianity and Islam; yet it is in Zoroastrianism itself that they have their fullest logical coherence, since Zoroaster insisted both on the goodness of the material creation, and hence of the physical body, and on the unwavering impartiality of divine justice. According to him, salvation for the individual depended on the sum of his thoughts, words and deeds, and there could be no intervention, whether compassionate or capricious, by any divine Being to alter this. With such a doctrine, belief in the Day of Judgment had its full awful significance, with each man having to bear the responsibility for the fate of his own soul, as well as sharing in responsibility for the fate of the world. Zoroaster's gospel was thus a noble and strenuous one, which called for both courage and resolution on the part of those willing to receive it.

CHAPTER THREE

The establishing of Mazda worship

Introduction

Noble though they were, and a development of the old Ahuric religion, Zoroaster's teachings contained much to anger and trouble his people. In offering the hope of heaven to everyone who would follow him and seek righteousness, he was breaking, it seems, with an aristocratic and priestly tradition which consigned all lesser mortals to a subterranean life after death. Moreover, he not only extended the hope of salvation on high to the humble, but threatened the mighty with hell and ultimate extinction if they acted unjustly. His doctrines concerning the hereafter were thus doubly calculated to outrage the privileged; and to rich and poor alike his rejection of the Daevas must have seemed rash and dangerous, being calculated to draw down the wrath of those divine beings on the whole community. Further, the grand concepts of the one Creator, dualism and the great cosmic struggle, with the demand for continual moral endeavours, may well have been difficult to grasp, and, once grasped, too challenging for the ordinary easy-going polytheist.

In addition to all this, Zoroaster's own people evidently felt the usual scepticism towards a familiar person who claims a divine and unique revelation; and so the years he spent preaching among them were almost fruitless, bringing him only one convert, his cousin Maidhyoimanha. So he departed and went to another tribe, where,

coming as a stranger, he gained a hearing from the queen, Hutaosa, and her husband, Vishtaspa, who 'came forward as the arm and help of this religion, the Ahuric, Zoroastrian' (Yt 13.100). Vishtaspa's conversion angered the neighbouring princes, who demanded his return to the old faith. On his refusal there was fighting, in which Vishtaspa was victorious; and so Zoroaster's teachings became established in his territory.

According to the tradition Zoroaster lived for many years after Vishtaspa's conversion, but little is known of his life either before or after this crucial event. Marriage was demanded of an Iranian priest, to fit him fully for his vocation, and the prophet was married three times. His first two wives, whose names are not recorded, bore him three sons and three daughters. The marriage of the youngest daughter, Pouruchista, is celebrated in one of the Gathas (Y 53). Her husband was Jamaspa, Vishtaspa's chief counsellor, who is proverbial among Zoroastrians for wisdom. He figures in the Gathas with his kinsman Frashaostra; and Zoroaster himself took Frashaostra's daughter Hvovi as his third wife. This marriage was childless.

The Zoroastrian badge

In the Gathas Zoroaster appears as prophet rather than lawgiver; but during the years which he spent at Vishtaspa's court he must have organized his community, and established its devotional forms and practices. It had been, it seems, an Indo-Iranian custom for men on initiation to put on a woven cord as a sign of their membership of the religious community. The Brahmans of India wear the cord over one shoulder. It is knotted for them by a priest, and they never untie it, but simply slip it aside when ritually necessary. This may well have been the general old usage, which Zoroaster adapted to give his followers a distinctive badge. All Zoroastrians, men and women alike, wear the cord as a girdle, passed three times round the waist and knotted at back and front. Initiation took place at the age of fifteen; and thereafter, every day for the rest of his life, the believer must himself untie and retie the cord repeatedly when praying. The symbolism of the girdle (called in Persian the 'kusti') was elaborated down the centuries; but it is likely that from the beginning the three coils were intended to symbolize the threefold ethic of Zoroastrianism, and so to concentrate the wearer's thoughts on the practice of his faith. Further, the kusti is tied over an inner shirt of pure white,

the 'sudra', which has a little purse sewn into the throat; and this is to remind the believer that he should be continually filling its emptiness with the merit of good thoughts, words and deeds, and so be laying up treasure for himself in heaven.

The times and manner of praying

For the pagan Iranians three times of day – sunrise, noon and sunset – had been significant for prayer and worship, and these divided the daylight hours into two periods, with the morning one, Havani, under the protection of Mithra, and the afternoon one, Uzayara, under that of his brother Ahura, Apam Napat. The night, it seems, constituted a third period, called Aiwisruthra, and this was assigned to the fravashis, the spirits of the dead. Zoroaster, it seems, made two new divisions of the twenty-four hours, and required of his followers accordingly five times of daily prayer. One of the new divisions, named Rapithwa, began at noon (the ideal moment at which time stood still at Creation, as it will again at Frasho-kereti), and extended into the first part of the afternoon, being thus taken from Uzayara. During summer, when the spenta powers are in the ascendant, this new period was dedicated to the spirit of noon, Rapithwina, and was set under the protection of Asha Vahishta, lord of fire and so of noontime heat; but during the Daeva-dominated winter Rapithwina was held to retreat beneath the earth, to cherish with his warmth the roots of plants and springs of water; and his division of the day was then assigned, like the morning one, to Mithra, and became the Second Havani. So all through summer the prayers said at noon helped the devout to think of asha and of the present and future triumph of goodness, while Rapithwina's withdrawal during winter was an annual reminder of the menacing power of evil, and the need to resist it. So Zoroaster used both the times of day and seasons of the year to imprint essential doctrines firmly in the minds of his followers.

The other new division of the twenty-four hours began at the opposite moment, midnight. Zoroaster thus divided the night into two, leaving the first half to the fravashis, but devoting the second half, called Ushah (from midnight till sunrise) to Sraosha, lord of prayer; and during that time, when the powers of darkness are at their strongest and prowl about, his followers were to rise, put fuel and incense on the hearth fire, and strengthen the world of goodness by their prayers.

The five daily prayers were a binding duty on every Zoroastrian, part of his necessary service to God, and a weapon in the fight against evil. The ritual of prayer, as known from living practice, is as follows: first the believer prepares himself by washing the dust from face, hands and feet; then, untying the sacred cord, he stands with it held in both hands before him, upright in the presence of his Maker, his eyes on the symbol of righteousness, fire. Then he prays to Ahura Mazda, execrates Angra Mainyu (flicking the ends of the cord contemptuously as he does so), and reties the cord while still praying. The whole observance takes only a few minutes, but its regular repetition is a religious exercise of the highest value, constituting both a steady discipline and a regular avowal of the fundamental tenets of the faith.

The seven festivals

The other strict obligation which Zoroaster laid on his followers was to celebrate annually seven high feasts, dedicated to Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas, and to their seven creations. Six of these feasts, known later as the 'gahambars', made a uniform chain, and the tradition duly ascribes their foundation to the prophet himself; but in origin they appear to have been pastoral and farming festivals which he rededicated to his own faith, and as such they are scattered irregularly through the year. Their names (preserved in Younger Avestan forms) are as follows: Maidhyoi-zaremaya, 'Mid-spring'; Maidhyoi-shema, 'Mid-summer'; Paitishahya, '(Feast of) bringing in the corn'; Ayathrima, '(Feast of) the home-coming', that is, of the herds from pasture; Maidhyairya, 'Mid-winter'; and Hamaspathmaedaya, a name of uncertain meaning, given to the feast of the fravashis, which was celebrated on the last night of the year, before the spring equinox.

Each Zoroastrian congregation celebrated these festivals by attending religious services early in the day, devoted always to Ahura Mazda, and then by gathering in joyful assemblies, with feasts at which food was eaten communally which had been blessed at the services. Rich and poor met together on these occasions, which were times of general goodwill, when quarrels were made up and friendships renewed and strengthened. The first festival, Maidhyoi-zaremaya, was held in honour of Khshathra Vairya and the creation of sky, and the last, Hamaspathmaedaya, was devoted to Ahura Mazda himself and his creation, man, with an especial honouring of

the fravashis of the just, who had 'conquered for righteousness'.

The seventh creation, fire, remains always apart from the others, being their pervasive life-force; and the seventh feast likewise is separated a little from the rest. It is called in Persian No Ruz, 'New Day' (the Avestan form of the name does not survive); and it appears that Zoroaster established it at the spring equinox, re-dedicating what was probably an ancient celebration of spring to Asha Vahishta and fire. As the last of the seven feasts it looks forward to the Last Day, with the ultimate triumph of righteousness, which will also be the New Day of eternal life. Since the festival ushers in the Ahuric season of summer, it marks a yearly defeat for the Hostile Spirit, and in Zoroastrian usage (attested from early medieval times) Rapithwina is welcomed back above ground at noon on the 'New Day', to bring in the season of warmth and light. Thereafter he is honoured daily in the prayers of his own noontime watch, which is now called Rapithwa again, instead of Second Havani, and Asha Vahishta is then invoked throughout the summer months.

In imposing on his followers these two obligations – the individual one of praying five times daily, and the communal one of celebrating the seven feasts – Zoroaster created a devotional system which gave his religion enormous strength and ensured its survival over millennia; for these religious exercises reminded Zoroastrians constantly of the essential doctrines of their faith, fixing them in the minds of simple as well as learned; and they made the community moreover disciplined and self-reliant, while developing in it a strong corporate sense.

The oldest prayers

Zoroaster also composed for his followers a short prayer, which is for the Zoroastrian what the Lord's Prayer is for the Christian. This is the 'Ahuna Vairya' (later called the 'Ahunvar'). It is the first prayer taught to every Zoroastrian child, and it may be uttered, at need, in place of all other forms of worship or supplication. It is, naturally, in the ancient Gathic dialect spoken by the prophet, and there has been much discussion among scholars about the exact meaning of its venerable lines. The following version represents a conflation of recent renderings: 'He (Ahura Mazda) is as much the desired Master as the Judge according to asha. (He is) the doer of the acts of good purpose, of life. To Mazda Ahura (is) the kingdom, whom they have

established as pastor for the poor.' The word translated as 'poor', 'drigu', a forerunner of Persian 'darvish', had a special sense, that of a devout and humble person, a true adherent of the faith.

There is one other short Gathic prayer, which was perhaps composed by one of the prophet's earliest disciples, since (unlike the Ahunvar) it is not attributed traditionally to him himself. This is called the 'Airyema ishyo', and it invokes Airyaman, who, with Fire, will cleanse the world at Frasho-kereti. It runs: 'May longed-for Airyaman come to the help of the men and women of Zoroaster, to the help of their good intention. The conscience which deserves the desirable recompense, for it I ask the longed-for reward for righteousness, which Ahura Mazda will measure out.' This prayer is still uttered daily in Zoroastrian acts of worship, and at every funeral ceremony.

The creed

Zoroaster created a community which was united by clearly defined doctrines, shared moral endeavour, and common observances. This unity, and the conviction of his followers that all who would not accept his revelation were likely to be damned, must have been a provocation to the unconverted; and according to the tradition Zoroaster himself met a violent end in old age from the dagger of a pagan priest. Some disaster also overwhelmed Vishtaspa's kingdom, and it seems that for a time the young faith had to struggle to survive. It evidently found the strength not only to do so, but gradually to spread among the Iranian peoples. The Zoroastrian creed, the 'Fravarane', uttered daily, appears to have taken form during those early, difficult times, and represents, it has been suggested, the declaration of faith required then of each new convert. The ancient text begins (Y 12.1): 'I profess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zoroaster, rejecting the Daevas, accepting the Ahuric doctrine; one who praises the Amesha Spentas, who worships the Amesha Spentas. To Ahura Mazda, the good, rich in treasures, I ascribe all things good.' It is noteworthy that the word chosen before all others to define a believer is 'Mazdayasna', a worshipper of Mazda. This occurs eight times in the longer version of the creed (preserved as Y 12), and only four times is it further qualified by 'Zarathushtri', that is, a follower of Zoroaster. Plainly it was by exalting Ahura Mazda as God, and devoting to him, ultimately, all

worship, that the Zoroastrian distinguished himself essentially from adherents of the pagan faith.

Dualism is also avowed in the opening lines of the Fravarane, with rejection of the Daevas. (Angra Mainyu himself appears to belong solely to Zoroaster's own revelation, and so no denial of him was needed explicitly from a convert.) Only what is good is ascribed to Ahura Mazda. The text continues (after Gathic citations): 'Holy Armaiti, the good, I choose for myself. Let her be mine! I renounce the theft and carrying off of cattle, and harm and destruction for Mazda-worshipping homes' – words which suggest the sufferings and harassment of the early community. Thereafter comes a more detailed, emphatic rejection of the evil powers: 'I forswear . . . the company of Daevas and of the followers of Daevas, of demons, and the followers of demons, of those who do harm to any being by thoughts, words, deeds or outward signs. Truly I forswear the company of all this as belonging to the Drug, as defiant (of the good). . . . Even as Zoroaster forswore the company of Daevas. . . at all encounterings at which Mazda and Zoroaster spoke together, so I forswear, as Mazda-worshipper and Zoroastrian, the company of Daevas. . . . As was the choice of the Waters, the choice of the Plants, the choice of the beneficent Cow, the choice of Ahura Mazda, who created the cow, who (created) the just Man, as (was) the choice of Zoroaster, the choice of Kavi Vishtaspa, the choice of Frashaostra and Jamaspa . . . by that choice and by that doctrine am I a Mazda-worshipper . . .'. These last lines emphasize the characteristic Zoroastrian doctrine that by choosing the good each individual is allying himself as a humble fellow-worker with God and the whole spenta cosmos. Ahura Mazda is honoured here as the Creator. There is no reason to suppose that he was thus regarded by the pagan Iranians, for in so far as they assigned creative activity to any one divinity it seems rather to have been to the lesser Ahura, Varuna (perhaps as carrying out the behests of the remote Lord Wisdom). So this was probably another distinctively Zoroastrian doctrine.

The Fravarane ends with the believer engaging himself to uphold the threefold Zoroastrian ethic, and the faith in general: 'I pledge myself to the well-thought thought, I pledge myself to the well-spoken word, I pledge myself to the well-performed act. I pledge myself to the Mazda-worshipping religion, which . . . is righteous, which of all (faiths) which are and shall be is the greatest, the best, the most beautiful, which is Ahuric, Zoroastrian.'

The liturgy and Yenhe hatąm

Apart from verses from his Gathas, which are the supreme Zoroastrian manthras, and the Ahuna Vairya for daily use, Zoroaster does not seem to have established any fixed devotional utterances for his disciples, being content, presumably, that otherwise they should worship and pray with words of their own choice. But at some stage his followers must have decided to create a fixed liturgy to accompany the daily act of worship, the yasna. This seems to have been done at a time when the Gathic dialect was fading away – a development which may, indeed, have prompted their action, with the desire that for this service, which embodied so much that was central to the prophet's thought, his community should continue to use words as close as possible to those with which he himself had prayed. The result was the putting together of the 'worship of the seven chapters', Yasna Haptanhaiti (Y 35–41). This is a liturgy in seven short sections (one in verse), which perhaps represents a collection of what old priests still remembered then of ancient manthras in the Gathic dialect, such as were used at the daily offerings to fire and water. These manthras even contain what appear to be pre-Zoroastrian elements; but in its existing form the liturgy is devoted naturally to Ahura Mazda, and it is here (Y 39.3) that the term Amesha Spenta first appears. Another little text in Younger Avestan was appended to the seven chapters, as Y 42; and then this and the Yasna Haptanhaiti were enclosed by the Gathas themselves, arranged according to metre in five groups. Zoroaster's own words, mighty in spiritual power, were thus set like protective walls on either side of the rituals and the liturgy which accompanied them, so that they could shield the whole act of worship from malign influences.

One group of the Gathas, known as 'Gatha Ahunavaiti', is by far the longest, and it was placed before the seven chapters, as Y 28–34; and the four other groups follow them, as Y 43–53. The Gatha Ahunavaiti was accompanied by the Ahuna Vairya (from which it takes its name), together with two other short and very sacred prayers. One of these, the Yenhe hatąm, consists of a remodelling of the Gathic verse Y 51.22, which runs as follows: 'At whose sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows the best for me according to righteousness. Those who were and are, those I shall worship by their names and shall approach with praise.' Zoroaster's first words here presumably referred to a particular divinity to whom an act of worship had just

been offered; but the whole verse was altered rather awkwardly to create a prayer of general application, which may be rendered thus: 'Those of the Beings, male and female, whom Ahura Mazda knows to be best for worship according to righteousness, those we shall worship.' The intention was evidently to offer veneration with these words to all divinities of the spenta creation, omitting none through inadvertence, and so this prayer forms a regular part of the litanies of the faith.

The Ashem vohu

The other very sacred prayer is the Ashem vohu, with which most Zoroastrian devotions end. This seems to be a brief manthra designed to concentrate the mind upon asha, and to invoke the aid of Asha Vahishta, the word or name occurring thrice within the twelve words of the prayer. The following translation is perhaps the least forced: 'Asha (is) good, it is best. According to wish it is, according to wish it shall be for us. Asha belongs to Asha Vahishta.' This prayer, together with the Ahuna Vairya and Yenhe hatąm, precedes the Gatha Ahunavaiti, while the second great Gathic prayer, the Airyema ishyo, is set protectively after the last Gatha, as Y 54. The whole liturgy, from the Ahuna Vairya to the Airyema ishyo, was called the Staota Yesnya, '(Words) of praise and worship', and once it had been accepted as the standard form of words to accompany the yasna, it must have become obligatory for every practising priest to know it by heart. The safe-keeping of the Gathas themselves was thus assured, the prophet's great hymns being reverently transmitted in this way, by word of mouth, from generation to generation.

The hymns

The other religious texts, notably the yashts, the hymns to individual yazatas, continued much longer in fluid oral transmission, partly learnt by heart, partly extemporized. Some of the oldest portions, coming down from pagan times, were recast in the light of Zoroaster's teachings, with Ahura Mazda exalted, and all revelation put in the mouth of his prophet; but many of the verses, being concerned with beneficent divinities, needed no particular revision; and others of a strikingly pagan cast survived unaltered, and are as incongruous to Zoroaster's message as are parts of the Old Testament to Christianity.

CHAPTER FOUR

The unrecorded centuries

The early days

It is thought to have been around 1500 B.C. – in the Bronze Age, that is, and the time of chariot-warfare – that the Indian peoples moved south off the steppes and across Central Asia, shattering (as archaeologists have shown) a fairly advanced civilization there. Then, turning south-east, they pressed on through mountain-passes to conquer the land now called after them. The Iranians, following in their wake, branched instead south-westerly on to the plateau of Iran. The Avestan people appear to have been in the rear of this second great migration, for they seem to have settled in Central Asia itself – possibly in the region later known as Khwarezm. There is no means of tracing their movements precisely, however, for this whole area remained prehistoric – lacking, that is, any dateable records – for many more centuries.

There is, however, some material to be found in the Avesta itself about the early days of the faith, though this cannot be dated or given a precise location. Most of it is in the hymn to the fravashis, Yasht 13, which contains a great list of names of men and women of old whose fravashis are worthy of veneration. This list begins with 'The first teachers and first hearers of the doctrine' (Yt 13.17, 149), among whom are Maidhyoimanha, Kavi Vishtaspa and his queen Hutaosa, Jamaspa and a few others familiar from the Gathas or the tradition;

but these are followed by many unfamiliar names, all Iranian, but belonging to far-off, forgotten times. There are the names too of tribes who accepted the Zoroastrian religion – the Airyas (who included the 'Avestan' people), Tuiryas, Sairimas, Sainus and Dahis; and also of some lands, whose names are unknown to history.

The first piece of evidence to associate Zoroastrianism with familiar places comes from another of the old yashts, Yasht 19, in honour of Khvarenah (Divine Grace). Here it is said (v. 66) that the royal Khvarenah accompanies him 'who rules there where is the Lake Kąsaoya, which receives the Haetumant. . .'. The Haetumant is the modern Helmand, and Lake Kąsaoya must be the Hamun Lake in Drangiana (modern Seistan) in the south-east of Iran. It follows therefore that the Iranians of that area had adopted Zoroastrianism before the canon of Avestan scripture was closed – that is, at least by the sixth century B.C. There is further evidence for this in a prose Avestan text which forms the first chapter of a late compilation, the Videvdad (later corrupted into Vendidad), the 'Code against demons'. In this chapter are enumerated seventeen lands, headed by Airyanem Vaejah, the by then mythical homeland of the Iranians. Each land (it is said) was created excellent by Ahura Mazda, but suffers its own affliction from the Hostile Spirit. Some of these lands again are otherwise unknown, but some bear familiar names, notably Sughda (Sogdia), Mouru (Margiana), Bakhdhi (Bactria), Harakhvaiti (Arachosia) and Haetumant (Drangiana). All these belong to the north-east and east of Iran. Various suggestions have been made as to why the list was drawn up, but the most reasonable (in the light of its preservation as a religious work) seems to be that these were all lands which accepted Zoroastrianism relatively early. It is a puzzling fact, however, that Khwarezm is not included in the list, while Airyanem Vaejah appears to be a late addition.

Doctrinal developments

There is no information about the ecclesiastical organization of Zoroastrianism in the prehistoric period – whether, for instance, there was a single recognized head of the whole community, or whether there were autonomous local churches in each tribal area or kingdom. A scrap of evidence is, however, vouchsafed in the Avesta about the pursuit of religious learning, for in Yasht 13 (v. 97) Saena,

son of Ahum-stut, is honoured as the first among the faithful to have had a hundred pupils; and clearly, through all the migrations and conquests and new settlements, the Zoroastrian priests upheld the faith, and steadily developed its theology and liturgical practices.

One doctrinal problem which must early have confronted them, because of material progress, concerned Khshathra and his guardianship both of the sky of stone and of the warrior-estate; for the general spread of the use of bronze, followed (from about the ninth century B.C.) by that of iron, meant that weapons could no longer be thought of as being of stone. Anything concerning one of the six Amesha Spentas was of the greatest doctrinal and ethical importance, and scholar-priests must have wrestled hard with this problem before they found an ingenious solution: they identified the stone of the sky as rock-crystal, and this substance they felt able to classify as a metal, presumably because it is found in veins in rock, like metallic ores. So Khshathra, lord of the crystal sky, could now be venerated as lord of metals, and hence as the protector still of fighting men. A metal knife must already have replaced the flint one in the yasna ritual, and gradually pestles and mortars of metal came to be used as well as stone ones (both are mentioned in the Avesta); so as lord of metals Khshathra continued to be represented at the daily act of worship.

A further development with regard to the six Amesha Spentas was that the pantheon of yazatas became organized around them. Thus Khshathra, as lord of the sky, had for his associates and helpers Hvar, the sun-yazata, Asman, spirit of the sky, and Mithra, while Spenta Armaiti, as guardian of the earth, received aid from the Waters and the divinities of water, Aredvi Sura and Apąm Napat. The earth-yazata herself, Zam, gave her support to Ameretat, lord of plants. Since, as these instances show, some of the yazatas personify what one or other of the Amesha Spentas protects, the Zoroastrian pantheon is a complex one, full of criss-crossing webs of alliance and interdependence; but this would have been no stumbling-block for Iranian converts, who were familiar with such relationships in the pagan faith. (Thus, to take one example, Mithra had long been venerated as lord of fire and the sun, although both fire and sun were themselves personified as gods.) Since all the spenta divinities of Zoroastrianism strive together for a common end, which they were evoked by Ahura Mazda to help achieve, there is no rivalry among them, no sense that one is too exalted to aid or be aided by another. So the divine pantheon itself creates a pattern for human society, in

which every man should help his fellows, according to his own abilities.

Belief in a world Saviour

An important theological development during the dark ages of the faith concerned the growth of beliefs about the Saoshyant or coming Saviour. Passages in the Gathas suggest that Zoroaster was filled with a sense that the end of the world was imminent, and that Ahura Mazda had entrusted him with revealed truth in order to rouse mankind for their vital part in the final struggle. Yet he must have realized that he would not himself live to see Frasho-kereti; and he seems to have taught that after him there would come 'the man who is better than a good man' (Y 43.3), the Saoshyant. The literal meaning of Saoshyant is 'one who will bring benefit'; and it is he who will lead humanity in the last battle against evil. Zoroaster's followers, holding ardently to this expectation, came to believe that the Saoshyant will be born of the prophet's own seed, miraculously preserved in the depths of a lake (identified as Lake Kąsaoya). When the end of time approaches, it is said, a virgin will bathe in this lake and become with child by the prophet; and she will in due course bear a son, named Astvat-ereta, 'He who embodies righteousness' (after Zoroaster's own words: 'May righteousness be embodied' Y 43.16). Despite his miraculous conception, the coming World Saviour will thus be a man, born of human parents, and so there is no betrayal, in this development of belief in the Saoshyant, of Zoroaster's own teachings about the part which mankind has to play in the great cosmic struggle. The Saoshyant is thought of as being accompanied, like kings and heroes, by Khvarenah, and it is in Yasht 19 that the extant Avesta has most to tell of him. Khvarenah, it is said there (vv. 89, 92, 93), 'will accompany the victorious Saoshyant . . . so that he may restore existence. . . . When Astvat-ereta comes out from the Lake Kąsaoya, messenger of Mazda Ahura . . . then he will drive the Drug out from the world of Asha.' This glorious moment was longed for by the faithful, and the hope of it was to be their strength and comfort in times of adversity.

Just as belief in the coming Saviour developed its element of the miraculous, so, naturally, the person of the prophet himself came to be magnified as the centuries passed. Thus in the Younger Avesta, although never divinized, Zoroaster is exalted as 'the first priest, the

first warrior, the first herdsman . . . master and judge of the world' (Yt 13. 89, 91), one at whose birth 'the waters and plants . . . and all the creatures of the Good Creation rejoiced' (Yt 13.99). Angra Mainyu, it is said, fled at that moment from the earth (Yt 17.19); but he returned to tempt the prophet in vain, with a promise of earthly power, to abjure the faith of Ahura Mazda (Vd 19.6).

The extension of purity laws

There must have been developments in the early period in practice as well as belief; and one area where there was probably steady extension of the usages of the primitive community was the code of purity laws. These, which are characteristic of Zoroastrianism, are rooted in the prophet's dualistic teachings, and also in his linking of spiritual and material, which means that, even as service of Ahura Mazda and the six Amesha Spentas furthers spiritual salvation, so caring for their seven creations helps to achieve Frasho-kereti physically. The seven had been made perfect, and all that blemishes them – dirt and disease, rust, tarnish, mould, stench, blight, decay – is the work of Angra Mainyu and his legions. So to prevent or reduce any of these things contributes to the defence of the good creation, and the weakening of its attackers. This doctrine is one of the strengths of Zoroastrianism, because it involves every member of the community in fighting cosmic evil through the ordinary tasks of daily life, so that no one need feel useless, or merely self-regarding in his endeavours.

Some of the individual purity laws go back evidently to Indo-Iranian times, being observed more or less similarly by Zoroastrians and Brahmans. So also does the use of cattle urine as a cleansing agent. These ancient laws gained fresh force from association with Zoroaster's new doctrines. So it is as the chief of the seven creations that man should keep himself scrupulously clean, in person and clothing. Having powers of reason and action, he should moreover be vigilant in his care for the other six creations. Some of the basic injunctions of Zoroastrianism – to keep earth fertile and unsullied, to encourage plants and trees to healthy growth, to have regard for the welfare of animals – are now being generally commended to humanity. Food should be carefully prepared, with strict cleanliness, and eaten almost reverently, since everything consumed belongs to one or other of the creations; and there were special rules concerning water and fire which are particular to the faith. Most people use water

heedlessly for washing; but for a Zoroastrian the cleanliness of water itself was to be protected, since it is the 'spenta' creation of Haurvatat. So nothing impure should be allowed in direct contact with a natural source of water, such as lake, stream or well. If anything ritually unclean was to be washed, water should be drawn off for this purpose, and even then, this was not to be used directly, but the impure object should first be cleaned with cattle-urine, and then dried with sand or in sunlight before water was allowed to touch it for the final washing.

Similarly with regard to fire, the general practice of using it to burn rubbish was unthinkable for the Zoroastrian, who laid only clean, dry wood and pure offerings on it, and set cooking pots over it with special care. Rubbish had therefore to be disposed of in other ways. Dry and clean waste-matter, such as broken pots, or sun-bleached bones, might be buried, since this would not harm the good earth; and as for the rest, orthodox custom came to be to cast it into a small building with only a chimney-like roof-opening, and to destroy it periodically with acid. Night-soil might be put on fields, and otherwise ancient communities produced little of the waste characteristic of modern times.

As for what constituted impurity, broadly speaking this included everything daevic, or under daevic influence. All creatures which were harmful or repulsive to man, from beasts of prey down to scorpion, wasp or ugly toad, were regarded as part of Angra Mainyu's counter-creation, and therefore unclean. They were grouped under the general term 'khrafstra'; and to kill them was meritorious, for it diminished the world of evil. Yet though there was no sin in bringing death on the creatures of him who created it, still death itself was daevic and a great uncleanness. So a dead khrafstra was even more polluting than a live one, and no orthodox Zoroastrian would willingly touch one with bare hands. The greatest pollution in death, however, the priests maintained, was from the bodies of righteous people, for a concentration of evil forces was necessary to overwhelm the good, and these continued to hover round the corpse. So from the moment of death the body was treated as if highly infectious, and only professional undertakers and corpse-bearers approached it, who were trained to take ritual precautions. If possible the funerary service was performed the same day, and the body was carried at once to a place of exposure. From medieval times this has been a funerary tower; but in ancient days (it would seem from the Avesta), it was

simply a bare mountain side or stretch of stony desert – it being essential that the polluting body, laid down naked for birds and beasts to devour, should not come into contact with the good earth, or with water or plants. After the bones had lain for a while to bleach in sun and wind, they were gathered together and buried, to await Judgment Day. The primary purpose of this funerary rite seems to have been, as we have seen, to secure the swift destruction of the polluting flesh, and to set the spirit free to mount up to heaven. (The old belief survived that the soul lingered on earth for three days after death, and it was held to be at daybreak on the fourth day that it went up, drawn by the rays of the rising sun, to face Mithra at the Chinvat Bridge. Probably Zoroaster, with his insistence on the responsibility of each man for his own fate hereafter, reduced the number of traditional rites and observances performed on behalf of the newly departed spirit; but if so, long usage and family piety led to their revival, and intercession for the dead, with many prayers and offerings, became the general practice among his followers.)

Another great source of uncleanness was any flow of blood, this being a breach in the ideal physical state. This purity law pressed hard on women, for it meant that during her monthly courses every woman was ritually unclean, and was segregated and forbidden to engage in normal activities. This was undoubtedly ancient practice, widespread among the peoples of the world; but it seems that the Zoroastrian priests gradually elaborated the restrictions, which became in the end severe. Yet though the rules were harsh, women in general seem to have accepted them stoically, as their inescapable part in the cosmic struggle against evil.

It was thus impossible for a woman, and difficult for a man, to avoid all ritual uncleanness; and purity being part of morality for Zoroastrians, various rites existed for restoring it. All involved actual washing from head to foot, and the simplest could be performed by lay people in their own homes. More elaborate ones, for heavier contaminations, were administered by priests, with recitation of holy words. The greatest of these consisted of successive triple cleansings with cattle-urine, sand and finally water, undergone by the polluted person as he moved through nine pits. Later the Zoroastrians substituted stones for the pits, probably to reduce the danger of contaminating the earth; and for them there followed nine days and nights spent in retreat, with further ablutions and prayers, in order that the cleansing should penetrate body and soul. They called this

form of purification accordingly the 'ablution of the nine nights', the 'barashnom-i no shaba'. The method by which it should be administered is set out in detail in the Vendidad (Vd 9).

Priests and worship

This elaborate purification was not only administered by priests, but often undergone by them; for in order to be fitted to invoke and worship the divine beings they had to be the purest of the pure. They were also equipped for this task by strict professional training, as their pagan forbears had been. The laity depended on priests to perform services for them at initiation, marriage and death, and on special family and public occasions, as well as relying on them to solemnize the daily yasna. The priests in their turn depended directly on the laity for subsistence, since they lived from what they received for each particular ceremony performed . There was thus a close and usually hereditary bond between individual lay and priestly families, among both rich and poor. That these families sometimes intermarried is shown by the fact that Zoroaster himself took Hvovi, Jamaspa's daughter, to be his wife; but it is probable that the priestly vocation descended only through the male line, as is still the case today.

Presumably, as in the pagan period, ceremonies were usually performed either at the priest's house or that of the man who asked for them. Early Zoroastrianism thus had no need of sacred buildings or fixed altars, and has left no traces for the archaeologist. The seven great feasts were probably celebrated either in the open, or at the house of a leading member of the local community, according to the season. Another form of corporate worship, inherited almost certainly from the pagan period, was performed by the people gathering together at certain times of the year and going up into the mountains to offer sacrifice there to the divine beings. This practice accorded perfectly with the spirit of Zoroastrianism, with worship being offered thus to the Amesha Spentas in the natural temple of their own creation; and it has been maintained by the Irani Zoroastrians down to the present day.

Conclusion

It is not possible to trace the spread of Zoroastrianism through eastern Iran, but Avestan was evidently regarded everywhere as the sacred

language of the faith, and to this day both private prayers and public services are said in this ancient tongue. How, or exactly when, the religion then reached western Iran, where it first enters recorded history, remains unknown. It seems, however, that by the time it did so, Zoroaster's great vision of a world faith had been largely lost, and his religion had come to be regarded as specifically that of the Iranian peoples. There must have been a number of reasons for this. Nothing is recorded of the fate of the earlier inhabitants of eastern Iran at the time of the great migrations, but those who were not overwhelmed were evidently absorbed by their conquerors. In any case, Zoroastrian missionaries would plainly have found it easiest to work among fellow-Iranians, both because of the absence of a serious language barrier, and because the common religious heritage provided a basis for acceptance of the new faith. These considerations must have been reinforced by inherent pride of race, which was naturally strengthened in the case of a conquering people. To Iranians in general the non-Iranian, the 'anarya' (Pahlavi 'aner') was as much a creature to be despised and disregarded as was the 'barbarian' to the Greeks; and so he might be left to follow what religion he pleased, provided only that it was peaceable. As the numerous Iranian peoples were brought gradually to accept Zoroaster's teachings, they came accordingly to regard these as part of their own racial heritage, to be treasured accordingly, rather than as a universal message of salvation for all mankind.

CHAPTER FIVE

Under the Achaemenians

The Medes, the Persians and Zoroaster

In ancient times mountain, desert and forest made formidable barriers between eastern and western Iran; and it seems probable that the Iranian peoples who settled in the West, the Medes and the Persians, invaded the land in a separate movement through the mountain passes to the west of the Caspian Sea. They are the first Iranians to enter recorded history, for from the ninth century B.C their names occur repeatedly in Assyrian records of military expeditions on to the Iranian plateau. According to Herodotus (I.101), the Medes, who settled in the north-west, were divided into six tribes, one of which comprised the 'magoi' (better known by the Latin plural 'magi', singular 'magus', from Iranian 'magu'). This tribe was, it seems, a learned, sacerdotal one, which provided priests not only for the other Medes but also for the Persians. The magi appear to have been a close-knit fraternity, and they may well have formed a stiff obstacle to the western spread of Zoroastrianism. Moreover, in their new homelands the Medes and Persians, having established themselves along the eastern side of the Zagros mountains, had sustained contact over several hundred years, partly as neighbours, partly as subjects, with ancient urban civilizations – Assyria and Urartu to the north, Elam and Babylon to the south – from which they learnt much. They may therefore have looked down on their fellow-

Iranians in the east, when communications were established between them, and have been slow to accept a religious revelation from that source.

The pride of the Medes had cause to swell when, in alliance with Babylon, they overthrew the Assyrian Empire in the years 614–612. Thereafter they annexed the northern Assyrian possessions, including part of Asia Minor, and went on to subject the Persians, who at about this time had finally made themselves masters of the kingdom of Anshan, in the south-west of Iran. (This region came thereafter to be known as Pars, or Persis to the Greeks.) The Medes also extended their sway over some of the Iranian peoples to the east, among whom Zoroastrianism was by then evidently generally established. The Median Empire flourished for about sixty years; and it is very probable that it was during its last decades that Zoroastrianism reached the western Iranians. The efforts then of missionary priests may well have been reinforced by the words and example of eastern princes, living as hostages at the Median court, and of eastern princesses, taken in political marriages; and in due course Raga, the most easterly of the Median cities, came to be regarded as a holy place by Zoroastrians.

In 549 the Persians, led by Cyrus the Great, of the Achaemenian family, a son-in-law of the reigning Median king, rebelled, defeated the Medes, and founded the first Persian Empire (in which the Medes still had a worthy part). Cyrus pressed on to conquer Asia Minor, and Babylonia (whose subject territories, up to the Mediterranean coast, then submitted to him), and brought all the Eastern Iranians under his rule. Notices by classical writers suggest that at this time of their first encounter with the Greeks, in Asia Minor, the Persians were already Zoroastrians; and learning about Zoroaster from them, the Greeks naturally considered him to be a Persian prophet, and 'master of the magi'. They learnt of him, moreover, as a figure of immense antiquity. Thus Hermodorus and Hermippus of Smyrna assigned him to 5000 years before the Trojan War, Xanthos of Lydia to 6000 years before Xerxes' invasion of Greece, and Eudoxus and Aristotle to 6000 years before the death of Plato. From this it is plain that the Persians told the Greeks that their prophet had lived in the remote past – information which Greek scholars then wove into their own schematic calculations.

This tradition of the venerable age of Zoroastrianism accords with the fact that the Medes and the Persians evidently received it as a

long-established faith, with its doctrines and observances already defined, and a canon of works in the Avestan tongue into which virtually no Western Iranian material was ever allowed to intrude. This last fact is the more remarkable because the Avesta continued in oral transmission throughout the Achaemenian period, and indeed long afterwards, and interpolation is naturally easier in unwritten texts. Such interpolation can indeed be shown, exceptionally, to have taken place; but its rarity is a sign of the respect in which the Medes and the Persians held what they believed to be the revealed word of God.

The reasons why the Avesta was not written down at this time are complex; but one was that, though the Medes and the Persians met several systems of writing in Western Iran, they plainly regarded the alien art with suspicion (in the Persian epic its discovery is attributed to the devil). So though in due course they adopted it for practical purposes, the priests, who were the scholars of ancient Iran, rejected it as unfit for recording holy words. Under the Achaemenians the chief means of written communication was Aramaic, a Semitic language with its own alphabet, which (because the Aramaeans were great traders) was already a lingua franca in the Middle East. The early Achaemenians ordered their own Persian language to be used, however, for royal inscriptions. For this, the earliest known setting down of any Iranian language, a special form of cuneiform script was evolved.

The early kings

CYRUS

Cyrus himself left only brief inscriptions, carved on the stones of his splendid new capital of Pasargadae, in the north of Pars. These inscriptions contain no declaration of his religious beliefs; but beside the palace ruins there is a sacred precinct with two massive stone plinths, it seems for public worship in the open, in traditional Iranian fashion. The fragments of three 'fire-holders' have also been recovered. These cannot be called altars in the strict sense – that is, 'raised structures, with a plane surface, on which to place or sacrifice offerings to a deity' for in Zoroastrian usage such an object is designed simply to hold the fire in whose presence believers pray. The offerings which they make to the fire while doing so are for its own sustenance,

and are practical in origin. Throughout Zoroastrian history personal and family prayers have been said in the presence of the hearth fire; but in the sixth century B.C., it seems, acquaintance with the stately religious rituals of the Middle East, and new imperial splendour, inspired the Persian priests to elevate the fire before which the king prayed. The object on which it was placed seems to be a modification of the type of a genuine altar excavated at the Median site of Nush-i Jan Tepe, near Ecbatana (Hamadan). This, attributed to the eighth century B.C., and serving an unknown cult, consists of a massive mud-brick pedestal, finely plastered, supporting a four-stepped top. In the top there is a shallow depression with marks of charring, perhaps from a sacrificial fire. The stone 'altars' of Pasargadae were more elegant, though still massive. They had a three-stepped base to balance a three-stepped top (the number three is prominent throughout Zoroastrian observance); and this top, instead of being almost flat, like that at Nush-i Jan, was deeply hollowed, so that the stand was capable of holding the thick bed of hot ashes needed to sustain an ever-burning fire. There is no evidence as to where these fire-holders originally stood; but since there is no structure at Pasargadae which can be identified as a temple, it is probable that they were set within the successive palaces, and bore what was as it were the 'hearth fire' or personal fire of the Great King, elevated in this way as a sign of his own majesty, and for the dignified performance of the Zoroastrian daily prayers.

In addition to this tangible testimony to Cyrus' religious beliefs, Greek writers record that he called one of his daughters 'Atossa', which appears to be their rendering of Iranian 'Hutaosa', the name of the queen of Vishtaspa, Zoroaster's royal patron. Cyrus' actions were, moreover, those of a loyal Mazda-worshipper, in that he sought to govern his vast new empire justly and well, in accordance with asha. He made no attempt, however, to impose the Iranian religion on his alien subjects – indeed it would have been wholly impractical to attempt it, in view of their numbers, and the antiquity of their own faiths – but rather encouraged them to live orderly and devout lives according to their own tenets. Among the many anarya who experienced his statesmanlike kindness were the Jews, whom he permitted to return from exile in Babylon and to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem. This was only one of many liberal acts recorded of Cyrus, but it was of particular moment for the religious history of mankind; for the Jews entertained warm feelings thereafter for the Persians, and

this made them the more receptive to Zoroastrian influences. Cyrus himself is hailed by 'Second Isaiah' (a nameless prophet of the Exilic period) as a messiah, that is, one who acted in Yahweh's name and with his authority. 'Behold my servant whom I uphold' (Yahweh himself is represented as saying). '(Cyrus) will bring forth justice to the nations. . . . He will not fail . . . till he has established justice in the earth' (Isaiah 42.1, 4). The same prophet celebrates Yahweh for the first time in Jewish literature as Creator, as Ahura Mazda had been celebrated by Zoroaster: 'I, Yahweh, who created all things . . . I made the earth, and created man on it. . . . Let the skies rain down justice . . . I, Yahweh, have created it' (Isaiah 44.24, 45. 8, 12). The parallels with Zoroastrian doctrine and scripture are so striking that these verses have been taken to represent the first imprint of that influence which Zoroastrianism was to exert so powerfully on post-Exilic Judaism.

Cyrus died fighting against fellow-Iranians – the Massagetes – who, still semi-nomads, threatened the frontier of his empire in the north-east; and his body was embalmed, brought back to Pasargadae, and laid in a tomb which still stands there on the plain. The fact that his corpse was not exposed according to the orthodox rite might seem at first sight to disprove his Zoroastrianism, but not only the Achaemenians, but also their successors, the Arsacids and the Sasanians, maintained a distinctive rite of embalming the bodies of kings and placing them in sepulchres of living rock or stone. There is no sanction for such a practice in the Avesta or in Pahlavi literature, indeed tombs for the dead are always referred to there with unqualified condemnation; so one can only suppose that a refusal by the Achaemenians to adopt the rite of exposure set a precedent for kings, who continued thereafter to regard themselves as above this particular religious law. The preservation of royal bodies was probably linked with the concept of the king's royal khvarenah, thought of as abiding at his tomb to the benefit of his successors and the people at large. There is scattered evidence for a special cult of the royal dead; and the practice of embalming their bodies, learnt presumably by the western Iranians from the peoples among whom they had settled, spread to their pagan kinsmen on the steppes, where it is well attested in the barrow burials of Scythian chiefs.

The tomb of Cyrus shows, however, with what care Zoroastrian kings prepared their sepulchres so that there should be no contact between the embalmed body – unclean in death, even though there

was no decay – and the living creations. The tomb-chamber is set high on a six-stepped stone plinth, which raises it far above the good earth, and it is itself all of stone. It consists of a single small chamber, thick-walled, windowless, with formerly a double stone roof and a narrow, low doorway. Over this doorway was set a carving of the sun, symbol of immortality in luminous Paradise; and Cyrus' successor, Cambyses, endowed, as well as a daily sacrifice of sheep, a monthly sacrifice of a horse, the especial creature of the sun, to be made at the tomb for his father's soul (Arrian, VI. 29. 7). These rites were maintained there for two hundred years, until Alexander conquered Persia, and the tomb was broken into and despoiled. One of those who entered it reported that it contained 'a golden couch, a table with cups, a golden coffin, and numerous garments and ornaments set with precious stones' (Strabo, XV. 3. 7).

CAMBYSES

Cambyses continued his father's expansion of the Persian Empire, adding Lower Egypt to its already vast possessions. Little good is recorded of him by the Greeks (our chief source for Achaemenian history), and as far as Zoroastrianism is concerned his main claim to notice is that he is the first person known to have practised 'khvaetvadatha', that is, next-of-kin marriage. According to the Pahlavi books, this form of marriage was highly meritorious, and never more so than when it took place within the close family circle – father with daughter, brother with sister, even mother with son. The term itself occurs in the Zoroastrian creed, the Fravarane; but it is oddly placed there, appearing towards the end in a section otherwise concerned with noble generalities, and so may well be interpolated. The passage in question (Y 12.9) runs: 'I pledge myself to the Mazda-worshipping religion, which throws off attacks, which causes weapons to be laid down, which upholds khvaetvadatha, which is righteous.' As for the earliest attestation of the custom, it has been suggested that since both Vishtaspa and his wife Hutaosa belonged to the Naotara clan, theirs may have been a khvaetvadatha-union; but there is no indication in the Avesta that they were closely related by blood. The same is true of the marriage of Cyrus to 'Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achaemenian' (Herodotus II .1, III .2). So the first certain marriages of this kind were those of Cambyses, their son, who wedded two of his full sisters. According to

Herodotus (III. 31) he fell in love with one sister, and, wishing to marry her, 'summoned the royal judges, since the thing he was planning was contrary to all custom, and enquired of them whether there was any law which gave the right to cohabit with his sister to any man who desired it. The judges gave a reply that was at once safe and in accordance with justice, saying that while they could not discover any law that gave to a brother the right to cohabit with a sister, they had nevertheless discovered another law which gave to the King of the Persians the right to do whatsoever he willed.' Accordingly Cambyses married first this and then a second sister (Atossa). If Herodotus' report could be trusted in all its details, it would show that khvaetvadatha was unknown to the western Iranians before Cambyses' day. Yet it would be strange if a practice originating in the caprice of a single monarch should have come to be regarded as a religious duty, generally incumbent on the faithful. Moreover, Xanthos of Lydia, a contemporary of Herodotus, is cited as saying: 'The Magian men co-habit with their mothers. They may also have like association with daughters and sisters.' The practice of consanguineous marriages was known among the Elamites, and also in parts of Asia Minor, and it has been held that it was linked with matriarchy. It seems possible, therefore, that it was adopted by the western Iranians with the alien worship of a powerful mother-goddess (on which see further below), and so was introduced gradually throughout the Zoroastrian community. Thereafter khvaetvadatha is not only lauded in the Pahlavi books, but is actually attested, in literature, documents and historical records, as having taken place among princes, priests and commoners from the sixth century B.C. down to the tenth century A.C. (after which it survived only as the marriage of first cousins, still the favoured form of union in Iran).

DARIUS THE GREAT

Cambyses died in 522, and after a brief period was succeeded by Darius the Great, from a collateral branch of the family. Darius, who took as his queen Atossa/Hutaosa, the sister-widow of Cambyses, was himself the son of a Hystaspes (a Greek rendering of Vishtaspa), which suggests that his grandparents were, like Cyrus, pious Zoroastrians. Darius had to fight hard to establish his rule over the empire, and he left many cuneiform inscriptions to record his

achievements, then and thereafter. In these he shows himself a devout believer, convinced, it seems, that he had a divine mandate to rule the world, with an authority parallel in the temporal sphere to Zoroaster's in the religious one, since it too had been conferred directly by Ahuramazda. (In Persia by the sixth century the name and title of the Lord Wisdom had been fused thus into a single word.) So he declares: 'A great God is Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness for man, who made Darius king, one king over many, one lord over many. . . . Ahuramazda when he saw this earth in commotion, thereafter he bestowed it upon me, he made me king. I am king. By the grace of Ahuramazda I set it in its place. . . . This which has been done, all that by the will of Ahuramazda I did. Ahuramazda bore me aid, until I did the work' (Naqsh-i Rustam A, 1–8, 31–36, 48–51). He was naturally a convinced dualist, and saw behind each individual rebellion against his rule the workings of Drauga 'Deceit'. (Drauga is Old Persian for the Drug, enemy of Asha, so repeatedly denounced in the Gathas and Fravarane). 'Thou who shalt be king hereafter', he exhorts his successor, 'protect thyself vigorously from Drauga' (Behistun IV. 37–8). All the troubles in his own time had begun, he is certain, when 'Drauga flourished in the land' (ibid. I. 34); and he prays: 'May Ahuramazda protect this country from a (hostile) army, from famine, from Drauga!' (Persepolis D, 15–18). He does not speak of Anra Mainyu (the Younger Avestan form of Angra Mainyu) preferring in this and other respects, it seems, familiar Persian terms to Avestan ones.

Having defeated these manifestations of Drauga Darius strove, so he declares, to live according to asha (Old Persian 'arta') and to dispense justice on earth: 'For this reason', he says, 'Ahuramazda bore me aid, and the other gods who are, because I was not hostile, I was not deceitful, I did not act falsely, neither I nor my family. I conducted myself according to justice. Neither to the weak nor to the powerful did I do wrong' (Behistun IV. 62–5). 'The man who was excellent, him I rewarded well; (him) who was evil, him I punished well' (ibid. I. 21–2). 'By the grace of Ahuramazda I am of such a sort that I am a friend to right, I am not a friend to wrong. It is not my desire that the weak man should have wrong done to him by the mighty; nor is that my desire, that the mighty man should have wrong done to him by the weak. What is right, that is my desire. . . . It is not my desire that a man should do harm; nor indeed

is that my desire, if he should do harm, he should not be punished' (Naqsh-i Rustam B, 6–12, 19–21). Here is sought the strict equity which is at the heart of Zoroastrianism.

Although Darius invoked only Ahuramazda by name, he called generally upon 'the other gods who are' and upon 'all the gods', using in these doubtless ancient formulas the old word 'baga' rather than the 'yazata' preferred in the Avesta. (This usage persisted in Persia, prevailing also in Sasanian times.) These 'other gods' he plainly regarded, orthodoxly, as lesser divinities, subordinate to the Creator, Ahuramazda. His utterances further show that for him within Iran 'Mazda-worship' was the only true faith, all others leading to trouble and disorder. Thus he declares of the Elamites: 'Those Elamites were faithless and by them Ahuramazda was not worshipped. I worshipped Ahuramazda; by the favour of Ahuramazda, as was my desire, thus I did unto them. . . . Whoso shall worship Ahuramazda as long as (his) strength shall be, for him both living and dead (there is) happiness' (Behistun V. 15–20). Yet tablets inscribed in the Elamite language have been found at Persepolis which show that Darius in fact permitted these non-Iranian subjects of his, once subdued, to continue worshipping their own ancestral gods as well as Ahuramazda, even making them grants from his treasury for this purpose. He thereby displayed the same broad tolerance towards the beliefs and practices of the anarya as his predecessor, Cyrus, had done.

XERXES

It was certainly, therefore, action against fellow-Iranians which is recorded by Darius' son Xerxes (486–465), who relates in one of his inscriptions: 'When I became king . . . there was (a place) where previously the Daivas were worshipped. Afterwards, by the grace of Ahuramazda I destroyed that sanctuary of the Daivas, and I proclaimed: "The Daivas shall not be worshipped!" Where previously the Daivas were worshipped, there I worshipped Ahuramazda with proper rites, in accordance with asha' (Xerxes, Persepolis H, 35–41). Old Persian 'daiva' corresponds to Avestan 'daeva', and these lines show the religious struggle initiated by the prophet in eastern Iran being carried on centuries later by his followers in the west. Oddly enough, however, despite all the evidence for their orthodoxy, Zoroaster's own name does not appear in any of the Achaemenians'

inscriptions. (The same curious omission is found in the royal inscriptions of the later Sasanians, and even in those of their great high priest, Kirder.)

Achaemenian palaces and tombs

The Achaemenians, lords of a great empire, had several royal residences. They maintained one at the old Median city of Ecbatana (Hamadan), and Darius built an imposing new palace at Susa, an ancient Elamite capital. He also created another new palace of great magnificence at Persepolis in Pars, to the south of Pasargadae, which became, it seems, the symbolic home of his branch of the dynasty. This palace, raised on a stone platform overlooking a broad plain, was extended and enriched through successive reigns; and among its many splendours are superb carvings, up its wide stairways, showing processions of soldiers, courtiers, and the peoples of the empire, from the Persians and Medes themselves, and other Iranians, to far-dwelling Indians and Egyptians, Babylonians and Greeks. The representatives of these peoples come bearing offerings, and it is widely held that the processions represent the annual bringing of gifts to the King of kings at the New Day (No Ruz) feast. Some scholars have even sought a religious significance in the orientation of the palace in relation to sunrise at the spring equinox; and there are other fine carvings on its walls (notably those representing a lion and its prey) whose symbolism has been much discussed.

The royal tombs were near Persepolis. Darius had his own sepulchre cut high in the side of the mountain known as Naqsh-i Rustam, a few miles away, and three of his successors made theirs beside it, while three later kings of the dynasty were laid in similar graves in the mountain behind Persepolis itself. An impressive sculpture was carved above the entrance to Darius' tomb, and this was faithfully reproduced over all the others. In it the king is depicted standing upon a three-stepped dais, his right hand raised, apparently in prayer. He faces a fire burning brightly upon a raised stand, and this too has a three-stepped base and an inverted three-stepped top (like the fire-holders of Pasargadae), while its shaft is decorated with three recessed panels. King and fire are shown upon a broad platform supported by thirty bearers who, their inscribed names tell us, represent the thirty peoples who made up the Persian Empire. The scene is framed by narrow panels, in which six figures are set one

above the other, three to each side. These represent the six noble Persians who helped Darius to gain the throne, who thus stand on either side of the Great King as the six Amesha Spentas stand, according to the Pahlavi books, on either side of Ahuramazda. Darius thus declared visually, it is suggested, his conviction that he ruled as Ahuramazda's representative on earth, being likewise the chief personage of a great heptad. The three nobles who face the king in the right-hand panel are all shown raising their left hands, covered by the sleeve, towards their mouths in a ritual gesture of mourning (a gesture which Zoroastrian priests still make today when reciting confessional texts for the dead).

Above the king's head, in the right-hand corner of the main panel, a moon symbol is carved, which shows the round disc of the full moon with a crescent moon within it, along the lower rim. This symbol is Egyptian in origin, and had earlier been adopted by the Assyrians for their moon-god. Its significance on Darius' funerary monument is still debated. A little below it, hovering between king and fire, is carved what has come to be regarded (through its revival in modern times) as the characteristic Zoroastrian symbol. This again is of Egyptian origin, the symbol of the god Horus. It is a circle with a wing on either side. Often there is a bird-tail beneath it, and two undulating appendages, deriving from the sacred snakes of the prototype. The Assyrians had adopted this symbol also, and they set within the circle the upper part of a male figure; and the Persians followed them in this, although they still made use also of the simple winged circle. Usually in Achaemenian art the symbol is placed above a person; and when that person is royal, then a male figure is regularly set within the circle, himself robed and crowned like a king, his right hand raised in benediction, the left holding a ring. The earliest known occurrence of the symbol in this form is on Darius' inscription at Behistun, made early in his reign; and thereafter it recurs repeatedly on the stone walls of the great Achaemenian palaces. There is no specific link, therefore, between it and death; and one interpretation of it is that is represents Khvarenah or Divine Grace, either as a general concept (conveyed by the simple winged circle) or, specifically, the Royal Khvarenah, symbolized by the addition of the kingly figures within the circle. But the symbol has been more widely interpreted as representing Ahuramazda himself.

The main themes of Darius' tomb sculpture are thus strikingly Zoroastrian: the king, Ahuramazda's royal representative, is shown

flanked by his six noble helpers, the mortal counterparts of the Amesha Spentas, and praying, as the prophet had taught his followers to do, in the presence of fire. The sacred number three occurs in the three steps of dais and fire-holder, and in the triple panelling of the stand's shaft. The iconography is thus orthodox, although the kings kept to the unZoroastrian practice of preserving their bodies – even while regarding a corpse as unclean, and therefore to be scrupulously isolated. (Herodotus, I. 187, relates that it vexed Darius that he could not use one of the gates of Babylon, because the embalmed body of a former queen lay in a tomb-chamber above it.)

Even Persians of lesser rank seem to have adopted the rite of exposure only slowly, for Herodotus states that, although it was common knowledge in his day that the magi let a corpse be 'torn by bird or dog' before it was buried, the Persians were more reticent about this matter, their regular custom (he says) being 'to cover the corpse with wax and bury it in the earth'. The oldest archaeological evidence for the distinctive Zoroastrian rite comes from about 400 B.C., with a rock-cut sepulchre in a mountain cemetery in Lycia, in western Asia Minor. The other tombs there appear to be those of Lycian aristocrats, but this one is distinguished by inscriptions both in Greek and Aramaic. The latter declares that 'Artim son of Arzifiy made this ossuary (astodana)'. 'Artim' has been identified as being probably the Artimas who was appointed Persian governor of Lydia in 401 B.C.; and the ossuary, which (as the Greek inscription shows) he had made to receive the bones of himself and his descendants, consists of two small chambers, each with a rectangular cavity cut in the rock floor, that was once covered by a stone lid, for further security. Each cavity evidently held the bones of several persons, gathered up after the rite of exposure. Artimas was probably of royal blood; and the ossuary shows that the rite of exposure had found acceptance among even high-ranking nobles by the end of the fifth century.

There exist at Pasargadae and Naqsh-i Rustam two impressive free-standing structures, which some have thought to be connected in some way with funerary observances. They were evidently very much alike; but the one at Pasargadae, called in later times the Zindan-i Suleyman, 'Solomon's Prison', is in ruins, whereas the one at Naqsh-i Rustam, now termed the Ka'ba-yi Zardusht or 'Zoroaster's Box', is well preserved. This is a tower-like building set on a three-stepped stone base, and consists of massive blocks of masonry which

enclose a solitary windowless chamber, raised high above the ground. Its one aperture, a narrow doorway, is reached by a steep flight of thirty stone steps. Details of the stonework show that the Zindan belongs to the time of Cyrus, and that the Ka'ba, evidently modelled on it, was not built until the reign of Darius I. The two structures are unique, and their purpose remains, for a variety of reasons, a matter of much perplexity. The effort and outlay involved in thus raising and isolating two narrow chambers is a testimony, however, to the vast wealth of the new Achaemenian Empire.

Fires and fire altars

Achaemenian tombs and funerary sculptures show a mixture of Zoroastrian orthopraxy (with scrupulous care for the purity of the creations) with alien usages and newly adopted symbols; and this mixture demonstrates the fact that, though the Persians received Zoroastrianism as an authoritative revelation come to them from the east, yet, as a great imperial people, they set their own imprint on it in a number of lasting ways. Their earliest known innovation in cult was that of setting fire upon a raised stand. Yet still at Persepolis it must be presumed that under the early Achaemenians such fire-holders existed only within their palaces, for there is still no evidence for separate sacred buildings at that period. Indeed, the Greeks stated positively that the Persians despised temples, considering it wrong, in Cicero's later words, 'to keep shut up within walls the gods whose dwelling place was this whole world'. The two great plinths which survive at Pasargadea testify to the persistence of the tradition of worship under the open sky; and Strabo records (XI. 8.4) that a temple founded by Cyrus at Zela, in Asia Minor, consisted originally simply of a great artificial mound encircled by a wall – a man-made hill rather than a building, which people could ascend to pray. It may have been sacred precincts such as these to which Darius referred when he spoke in the Behistun inscription (I. 63) of 'ayadana', that is, 'places of worship' (though the word is rendered, perhaps conventionally, in the Elamite and Babylonian versions as 'temples'). Still in the fifth century B.C. Herodotus could write of the Persians that they erected no statues or temples or altars. Nevertheless, fire exalted upon an altar-like stand was, it is clear, very important for the early Achaemenians, perhaps as a double declaration both of their Zoroastrian faith and of their sovereign rule (the king's hearth fire,

exalted thus, becoming a symbol of his own majesty). The priests must also, in those settled times, have had their established precincts for performing the yashn and other high rituals, and these (to judge from an Aramaic inscription of 458 B.C.) were called 'brazmadana' or 'place of rites'.

The divine beings

Other developments in Zoroastrianism which can be identified as Persian innovations affected the pantheon. One was the assimilation of an alien goddess, presumably Assyro-Babylonian Ishtar, the Lady of the planet Venus, and of love and war, whose cult had absorbed that of various mother-goddesses. According to Herodotus (I. 131) the Persians had learnt to sacrifice to this 'Heavenly Goddess', whom later Greek writers named 'Aphrodite Anaitis' or simply 'Anaitis'. Plainly the royal family, however sincere in their conversion to Zoroastrianism, clung to the worship of this alien divinity, but equally plainly the Zoroastrian priests could not countenance her direct acceptance among the spenta beings declared worthy of worship by their prophet. The influence of the imperial house being very great, a compromise seems to have been reached, the first evidence for which comes from the reign of Artaxerxes II (404–359). This king broke with the tradition of his predecessors by invoking, not Ahuramazda alone, but 'Ahuramazda, Anahita and Mithra'. The explanation for this innovation has to be sought from the combined testimony of the Avesta and the Pahlavi books, Zoroastrian observance and Greek sources; and together these suggest that Ishtar came to be venerated by the western Iranians as 'the Immaculate One', *Anahitish, this being their own name for the planet Venus; and that *Anahitish was then assimilated by use of the Avestan adjective anahita, 'immaculate', to the yazata *Harahvati Aredvi Sura, who was always invoked thereafter in the Avestan liturgies by the triple epithets 'Aredvi Sura Anahita', her own proper name falling into oblivion. Evidently *Harahvati was chosen for the identification because as a river-goddess she too was worshipped for fertility. The assimilation meant the uniting of two powerful cults, and Artaxerxes' invocations show how dominant the resulting veneration of Aredvi Sura Anahita became; for if one compares his words with Zoroaster's own invocations in the Gathas of 'Mazda and the (other) Ahuras', it appears likely that 'Anahita', by assimilation a river-goddess, came to

be accorded, in Achaemenian worship, the place of the third Ahura, the 'Son of the Waters', *Varuna Apąm Napat. Thereafter *Varuna faded into the background in popular devotion, although he retains his place to this day in Zoroastrian priestly rituals and prayers. The pattern set by Artaxerxes was followed by his successors, and the kings of the later Iranian empires continued to invoke the divine triad of Ahuramazda, Anahita and Mithra. These three beings, together with Verethraghna, yazata of Victory, became the chief objects of popular devotion also.

Another assimilation was of a god, probably the Babylonian Nabu, lord of scribes and of the planet Mercury, who, called in Persian Tiri (perhaps meaning 'the Swift One'), was identified with the Avestan Tishtrya. His cult is attested by the number of proper names, from the Achaemenian period onwards, which were formed with the element 'Tiri'. The choice of Tishtrya as the Avestan counterpart of Tiri was presumably due to the slight similarity between the names of these two stellar divinities. Thereafter Tiri's feast, the annual celebration called Tirikana, was kept as a great Zoroastrian festival, but the divinity invoked at all its services and prayers was Tishtrya, and it was celebrated as a rain festival, as befits a feast for this yazata.

Icons and temples

Tiri's assimilation to Tishtrya appears to have enhanced the popularity of the Avestan yazata, but it did not have any such far-reaching effects as the absorption of 'Anahita's' worship was to have on Zoroastrianism. The custom all over the Near East was to venerate the mother-goddess with statues; and Berossus, a Babylonian priest of the early third century B.C., recorded that Artaxerxes was the first Persian to introduce an image cult, in that he set up statues of 'Aphrodite Anaitis' in the chief cities of the empire, and enjoined their worship upon the people. Zoroastrians were evidently asked to venerate these statues as representing Aredvi Sura Anahita; and there are verses in the Avestan hymn to this yazata which seem directly inspired by such images, for whereas she is first pictured there as the personification of a rushing river, hastening in a chariot drawn by the steeds of wind, cloud, rain and sleet, in these later verses (Yt 5, vv. 126–8) she is invoked as a magnificently static figure, richly arrayed in a jewel-encrusted mantle, with golden shoes and earrings, necklace

and radiate crown. Statues so adorned could only be set within the shelter of buildings, and there is no doubt that temples arose with the introduction of this image cult. Recent excavations have shown that a large complex of buildings to the north of the terrace of Persepolis, known as the 'Fratadara' Temple, belong to the time of Artaxerxes II, and in all probability this was one of that king's foundations in honour of 'Anahita'. (In its main columned hall a stone block was found which may well have been the pedestal for her statue.)

Such striking innovations must have demanded co-operation from the priesthood, and the composition of verses inspired by the 'Anahita' statues suggests willing promotion of the cult by some of their order. So much could be ensured by imperial power and influence. But other priests as well as laymen must have been shocked by the setting up of man-made icons as objects of veneration, and it seems probable that it was as a counter-measure to this image cult that the temple worship of fire was introduced. The orthodox, that is, yielded to the new fashion of erecting consecrated buildings as centres for worship, but in place of a statue with an altar before it, they set a fire in the sanctuary, so that those coming there to pray could still do so in the presence of the only icon of which their prophet had approved. The new temple fires were elevated upon altar-like stands, like the fires shown in the sculptures of the Achaemenian kings. The development must have needed royal assent, so presumably its sponsors gained the ear of the reigning monarch, perhaps Artaxerxes II himself, perhaps his successor, Artaxerxes III (359–338), for it seems that it was one or other of these kings who was the 'Artaxerxes' or 'Ardashir' so much honoured in Zoroastrian tradition. Whatever the exact date of its establishment, there is no doubt that by the end of the Achaemenian period the fire temple, like the image sanctuary, had a recognized place in Zoroastrian worship.

A ritual had presumably been already evolved for establishing the dynastic fire of each new king, and this may well have been adapted for the 'enthronement' (as it is called in Zoroastrian usage) of each new temple fire. Essentially, however, the temple fire, like the dynastic one, was still the traditional hearth fire, elevated and set apart. It remained always a wood fire, kept continually burning. It was venerated with the Atash Niyayesh, the traditional prayer to fire, some of whose verses refer to the cooking of the morning and evening meals; and it received the same offerings as the hearth fire, namely dry wood and incense at the five daily times of prayer, and regular

oblations of fat from the animal sacrifice. Moreover, the terms used in connection with its cult (as recorded from Parthian and Sasanian times) were plain and ordinary ones. The building was called simply the 'place of fire', or 'house of fire', and the pedestal upon which the fire burnt the 'fire-stand', or 'fire-holder', or 'fire-place'. These prosaic usages may well represent deliberate efforts by those who instituted the temple cult (presumably highly conservative and orthodox men) to avoid any tincture of idolatry, and to keep the new 'houses of fire' simply as places of congregational worship, where prayers could be said in the presence of the enthroned fire as naturally as they were said before the hearth fire in the home.

Yet it was inevitable that the temple fires should become imbued with a special holiness, and awaken a new and deep devotion among worshippers. Their purity, set apart as they were in their sanctuaries, could be guarded with a strictness not possible with a hearth fire; and they were not only specially consecrated at their installation, but were kept continually sanctified by the many prayers said before them. Fire, moreover, so bright and living an icon, attracts veneration even more readily than idols of wood and stone; and later usage shows that each temple fire came to be endued by the congregation with its own personality and protective power (as happens with statues and images in other faiths). Fire came, therefore, to have an enhanced part in the devotional lives of Zoroastrians after the establishment of the temple cult. Herodotus (III. 16) speaks of the veneration of fire by the Persians, but he does not single this out as the distinctive feature of their religion, and it is only after the founding of temple fires that those of other faiths came to label Zoroastrians as 'fire-worshippers'. Nor does fire figure in Herodotus' accounts of Persian military rites, whereas Curtius Rufus states that Darius III, the last of the Achaemenians, had embers from 'the fire which the Persians called sacred and eternal' carried before his army when he marched out to battle.

Nothing is known directly of categories of Achaemenian temple fires; but it seems likely that by the end of the period two kinds of sacred fires were already in existence which are familiar from later times. The great fires, the 'cathedral fires', as it were, of Zoroastrianism, were all dedicated to Verethraghna, yazata of Victory, and called therefore 'Fire of Verethraghna' (in later epochs Atakhsh i Varahram, Atash Bahram). These were created from the embers of many kinds of ordinary fires, purified and consecrated through

prolonged rites. The lesser fires were known simply as 'Fire of Fires' (in later parlance Atakhsh i Aduran, Atash Aduran). These were formed from embers from the hearth fires of representatives of each social class, and their temples were roughly equivalent to the parish churches of Christendom. Just why the great fires were dedicated to Verethraghna remains a matter for speculation; but later Pahlavi texts show that all fires were regarded as warriors fighting for the spenta creation – not only on the physical plane, against darkness and cold, but also on the spiritual one, against the forces of vice and ignorance. It would seem natural, therefore, to devote the greatest of them to Victory, in a spirit of courage and hope; and hence the custom can readily be understood of carrying embers from such a 'Victory' fire before a Zoroastrian army when it advanced to combat the infidel.

The establishing of temple cults had many consequences. Early Zoroastrianism was rich in doctrine and observance, but made, it seems, few material demands on its followers. Offerings to the hearth fire served a practical purpose also, in that they helped to support something which was necessary in every home; and congregational worship, whether in high places or at the seasonal feasts, required no special buildings or separate order of priests. By contrast the new sacred fires had no worldly use; and for them, as for the 'Anahita' images, buildings had to be constructed and maintained, and priests employed to serve them. This gave new scope for the wealth of imperial Persia to be lavished on the faith, and magnificent temples were built which were embellished with gold and silver, and endowed with great estates. (Records of such temples come only from after the downfall of the Achaemenians, for the latter part of their epoch is poorly documented.)

The priesthood

All the great temples must have had many priests. Sacred fires in particular need constant attendance, and the high priest of a fire temple (to judge from later evidence) was called '*magupati', 'lord of priests', having serving priests under his authority. These priests would have been supported both by income from endowments and by offerings from the faithful; and so a new branch of the ecclesiastical hierarchy came into being, less directly involved than the family priests with the laity in their daily lives, but partly dependent on them nevertheless, and so creating a new charge on the community.

Colleges of scholar-priests must also have existed, either independently or perhaps in conjunction with the great religious foundations. Another form of pious endowment (older, evidently, than the founding of temples) is also attested in the Achaemenian period. This was the establishing of religious services and offerings on behalf of the souls of the eminent departed, to be maintained as far as possible in perpetuity. The offerings instituted by Cambyses at his father's tomb exemplify this usage, and the rites which he established were maintained by the same family of priests, living by the tomb, for over two hundred years. Such chantry priests formed yet another group within the ecclesiastical body.

The growth of Zoroastrianism as a great imperial faith, possessed of temples, shrines and broad estates, and served by an ever increasing number of priests, can thus be traced through the Achaemenian period. Nothing is known from this time, however, about the organization of the religious community – whether the priests of east and west, the 'athaurvan' and 'magu', were joined in a single body with a united hierarchy, or whether the local priesthoods enjoyed a measure of autonomy under the general leadership of Persia. The latter state of affairs appears more probable, and would reflect secular conditions in the Achaemenian Empire, in which each province or satrapy retained its own customs and language, and a degree of independence. Even the Iranian satrapies (which in general corresponded to old tribal divisions) kept their own tongues (Parthian, Sogdian and the like) instead of adopting Persian. This was evidently largely because the language of written communication throughout the empire continued to be Aramaic, and so Persian, though the speech of the ruling Iranian people, gained little general currency.

At the beginning of the Achaemenian period the use of this foreign language, Aramaic, and the foreign art of writing which went with it, were practised by alien scribes; but long before the era ended both skills must have been acquired by members of the Iranian learned class, namely the priests, who (as in medieval Europe) came in due course to provide the judges, administrators and 'clerks' needed in an increasingly complex society. Such men presumably underwent the basic training for their own hereditary calling, up to the age of fifteen or so, and then studied the special art of scribesmanship, acquiring a practical knowledge of written Aramaic. The scribe was called by a half-foreign name, 'dipivara', Middle Persian 'dibir', from an old Akkadian word 'dipi', meaning 'writing, record'; and he received his

training at an institution called in Middle Persian 'dibirestan' that is, 'place of scribes'. Each Iranian satrapy must have had its own institutions of this kind; and there was a natural tendency for the calling to become in its turn hereditary, so that by Sasanian times the scribes were recognized as a special group within society.

A few representations of priests survive from the Achaemenian period, which show them wearing a long-sleeved, belted tunic reaching to the knees, loose trousers and a sleeved mantle. For headgear there was a hood-like cap with side-pieces which could be brought forward to cover the mouth. Tradition suggests that cap and garments would all have been white, the priestly colour; but in these representations, where colour cannot be shown, the priest is distinguished by carrying a tall bundle of baresman-rods, for he would otherwise have resembled many of the Iranian laity. This style of dressing was, it seems, evolved by the Scythians of the steppes when they became horse-riders instead of charioteers, and was adopted from them by the Medes and other settled Iranian peoples in the north. Even the Persians wore similar garments in the field, but when at leisure dressed in flowing robes. That priests should have chosen the garb of horsemen may seem at first sight strange, but this clothing was practical for them also. Close-fitting garments were more suitable than loose robes for wear while solemnizing rituals, when there must be no danger of a fold of cloth touching consecrated objects; and although the original purpose of the hood-like cap with its mouth-pieces was evidently to give protection against cold, heat and dust, this headgear also served admirably to cover the hair of head and beard, for purity's sake, and to prevent the breath reaching what was consecrated. The Zoroastrian priests continued accordingly to wear this style of dress for many centuries, the fashion presumably spreading during the Achaemenian period throughout the community.

The Zurvanite heresy

As for unity in more important matters, the lucid and comprehensive doctrines taught by Zoroaster left little scope for heresy or schism. Yet they must have given the western magi much new matter to ponder upon. One of the most striking elements in the prophet's teachings was the wholly original concept of history having an end. This concept, embodied in the doctrine of the Three times – Creation, Mixture and Separation – accustomed his followers to the

idea of events taking place within a fixed chronological framework. The magi had also evidently become familiar with very different Babylonian speculations about history being divided into great recurrent cycles of time, within each of which all events repeated themselves; and contrasting such theories with Zoroaster's teachings may well have led them to reflect much upon time and its nature. The result of their thinking was the Zurvanite heresy, a development, it seems, of the late Achaemenian period, which was to have a long history and wide influence. The Avestan word 'zurvan' means 'time'; and in a few late passages of the Younger Avesta (e.g. Y 72.10, Vd 19.13), it is used as the name of a minor divinity, hypostatizing time. This usage appears to be a very limited concession to the Zurvanites, who had come to believe that Time, Zurvan, did not merely provide the framework for events but was actually in control of them, hence a sentient being. They found their main scriptural justification for this in the great Gathic verse, Y 30.3: 'Truly there are two primal spirits, twins, renowned to be in conflict. . . .' Meditating upon this they postulated, with scholastic ingenuity, that for twins there must be a father; and this being so, they declared, the only possible father for Ahuramazda and Anra Mainyu was Zurvan, Time. Originally this was perhaps no more than intellectual speculation, but it grew into a full-blown heresy, with Zurvan being invested with power, and myths evolving around him – although all accounts of Zurvanite mythology belong to the Sasanian and post-Sasanian epochs, and only the bare existence of the heresy can be established for the Achaemenian period itself. According to one of these relatively late sources, Zurvan alone 'has always been and shall be for evermore. . . . Yet for all the grandeur that surrounded him, there was none to call him Creator, for he had not brought forth creation' (Second Ulema-i Islam 8, ZZZ 410). So he was moved, it was said, to generate Ahuramazda and Anra Mainyu, although there were many different explanations, it was admitted, as to why he brought the latter into being. The best attested is that before Ahuramazda was born Zurvan began to doubt his own powers to beget a worthy son, and from this doubt Anra Mainyu was engendered and came first into the world, a black and hideous creature who horrified his sire. Naturally this myth gave scope for further elaboration (in whose womb, for instance, had the twins been conceived?). The heresy also opened the way for philosophical reflections on the power of time and hence on predestination. Zurvan was seen, moreover, as lord of the

Three Times, and was invoked with three cult-epithets (preserved only in a Syriac source). Then these epithets, meaning, it seems, Lord of growth, maturity and decay, became in characteristic Iranian fashion hypostatized as independent divinities, and Zurvan was accordingly invoked as a quaternity, and the number four was prominent in his cult.

This cult seems, however, to have had few, if any, observances; for Zurvan was held to be a remote first cause, who, having begotten Ahuramazda, entrusted to him as soon as he could the power over this world. He does not himself intervene in the present struggle between his 'sons', and belief in his existence produced no change, therefore, in the objects or manner of Zoroastrian worship, or in moral or spiritual goals. Moreover, the fundamental doctrine having been adopted that Zurvan created both Ahuramazda and Anra Mainyu, the Zurvanites then ascribed all subsequent acts of creation to Ahuramazda, and so could venerate him by his due title of Dadvah, 'Creator'. They were able therefore to call themselves 'Mazda-worshippers', and so could live in general harmony with the orthodox. Indeed there can be little doubt that they felt themselves to be the most truly orthodox followers of Zoroaster, who had divined the correct meaning of the prophet's words in the crucial Gathic passage.

There is even less doubt that theirs was in fact a deep and grievous heresy, which was greatly to weaken Zoroastrianism in its later struggles with Christianity and Islam; for by declaring (in the words of a later polemicist) that 'Ohrmazd and Ahriman are brothers', the Zurvanites betrayed Zoroaster's fundamental doctrine that good and evil are utterly separate and distinct by origin and nature. They also diminished the grandeur of Ahuramazda, who had been proclaimed by Zoroaster as uncreated God, the only divine Being worthy of worship who exists eternally; and they confused the clear teachings of the faith with tedious speculations and ignoble myths. Moreover, the Zurvanite preoccupation with fate, and the inexorable decrees of Time, obscured the basic Zoroastrian doctrine of the existence of free-will, and the power of each individual to shape his own destiny through the exercise of choice. Indeed, so deep is the doctrinal gulf which separates Zurvanism from Zoroastrian orthodoxy that it only seems possible to account for the tolerance shown it by assuming that it early gained influential adherents. The Sasanian royal family are known to have been Zurvanites, and they consciously maintained

Achaemenian traditions in a number of ways; so it is very possible that it was the later Achaemenians who set them an example in this, and who, won over by certain of the magi, established the heresy in western Iran. This would help to account for the enormous influence it came to exert on many Gnostic faiths (for which the concepts of the Three Times, the remote First Cause, and the lesser Creator of this world, were fundamental doctrines). Once it had been established, continuing royal favour, and devout orthopraxy, evidently ensured its survival for many centuries. Nevertheless, equally persistent rejection of the heresy by other members of the community finds expression in a passage in one of the Pahlavi books (Dk IX. 30.4), and it finally disappeared some centuries after the coming of Islam.

The Zoroastrian calendar

Since Zurvan had no place in daily worship, it is not surprising that he received no dedications in the 'Zoroastrian' calendar, which was evidently evolved during the later Achaemenian period. The early Zoroastrians had presumably continued to use variants of the traditional 360-day Old Iranian calendar, in which the twelve months were named for various festivals, or activities of the pastoral year, and the days of each month were simply numbered from one to thirty. Evidence for the existence of such calendars is provided by Old Persian inscriptions and tablets (for there are no calendar references in the Gathas or older parts of the Younger Avesta). These show that the scribes of the early Achaemenians used the Babylonian calendar, but modified it by 'translating' its month-names by their Old Persian equivalents. The Babylonian calendar was also of 360 days, and Herodotus (III. 90) states that Darius exacted annual tribute from the Cilicians of '360 white horses, one for each day of the year'. But Zoroastrian priests would hardly have been prepared to use a semi-foreign system for reckoning their own holy days, and they presumably continued to calculate these according to the local Iranian calendars – all essentially the same, but with variations in the month-names, and perhaps also in the times of intercalation (for it was necessary to intercalate a thirteenth month every six years or so to keep the 360-day calendar in harmony with the seasons). Variations in calendar usage were plainly undesirable, however, in a unified empire, and at some stage, it seems, the Persians took the lead in creating a distinctive Zoroastrian calendar, to be used everywhere

throughout the religious community. Eminent men were probably summoned from all the Iranian provinces to confer over this important step, for there are features in the calendar which suggest a measure of debate and compromise.

Persian initiative appears in the fact that not only the twelve months but also the thirty days of the new calendar were each piously dedicated to a yazata. The inspiration for this seems to have come from Egypt, whose practices were well known to the Persians since the days of Cambyses. Further, although traditionally the Iranians divided the month into two or three parts according to the phases of the moon, the new calendar had four divisions, which suggests the influence (to which western Iran was susceptible) of the Semitic week. This may have been reinforced by that of Zurvanite theology, with Zurvan being venerated under four aspects. If so, Zurvanite influence was held in check at that point, for the division was achieved with full orthodoxy by devoting four days in the month to Ahuramazda. The first was dedicated to him by name ('Ahuramazda day'), and three others by his title of Creator ('Dadvah day'). The second to the seventh days were devoted to the six Amesha Spentas, making up the first 'week'. The eighth was the first 'Dadvah day', and the six following days were named for Fire, the Waters, Sun, Moon, Tiri and Geush Urvan. That the thirteenth day was devoted to Tiri, not Tishtrya, suggests the powerful influence of the western magi. Yet Tiri was evidently given this particular place because Tishtrya, with whom he is identified, is a star-yazata, and as such has associations with both the moon and Geush Urvan.

The fifteenth day, introducing the third 'week', was the third 'Dadvah day', and the sixteenth was dedicated to Mithra, who thus heads the dedications of the second half of the month. The next two days were devoted to yazatas especially connected with him, Sraosha and Rashnu. Then came dedications to the Fravashis, Verethraghna, Raman (who was associated with Vayu and so with both death and the wind) and finally to the other wind-yazata, Vata. The twenty-third was the fourth 'Dadvah day' and ushered in the last 'week', made up of days dedicated to three female yazatas, Daena, Ashi and Arshtat, the pair Asman and Zam (Heaven and Earth), and finally Manthra Spenta (the Bounteous Sacred Word) and Anaghra Raocha (the 'Endless Light' of paradise).

It is noteworthy that, although the western priests gained a place for Tiri, neither Aredvi Sura Anahita, nor great Varuna whom she had

eclipsed, received a dedication. Possibly this represents a stalemate between the wishes of the eastern and western communities. Each, however, seems to have won a secondary victory, for on the one hand the tenth day, devoted to the female Waters, came to be regarded as Aredvi's and on the other there are three yazatas, displaced probably by the decision to name three days for the Creator, who are regularly invoked with the 'calendar' divinities at all services devoted to the pantheon, and *Varuna Apąm Napat is among them. The other two are Haoma and Dahman Afrin (who hypostatizes the prayers of the faithful). The Zoroastrian priests thus acknowledge thirty major beings as 'worthy of worship'. Neither the three 'displaced' yazatas, nor Aredvi Sura Anahita, are invoked in Yasna 16, a short section of the extended yasna which sets out, in liturgical form, the dedications of the thirty days, which coincide with the day-names except in the case of Tiri-Tishtrya.

The dedications of the months coincide with twelve of the day-dedications; but there is no passage in the Avesta which sets them out or shows how they corresponded to the natural seasons in Achaemenian times. However, the theological symbolism of the Zoroastrian holy year demands that the 'New Day' should be celebrated at the spring equinox; and since the Babylonians also had a spring new year, it appears safe to assume that the Achaemenians held their 'New day' festival then, with the month in which it fell corresponding with March/April in the Gregorian calendar. There were other traditional festivals to be taken into account in naming the months in what was evidently a carefully pondered scheme. Thus the mid-winter month, equivalent to December/January, when the powers of evil were held to be at their strongest, was devoted to the Creator, so that he, with his mighty spenta powers, should be constantly invoked then. The next month was dedicated to Vohu Manah, who is always close to the supreme Lord; and five other months were duly given to the other great Amesha Spentas, though in an unusual order. Their arrangement was probably to allow the fourth month (counting from the 'New Day'), in which the feast of Tirikana took place, to be dedicated to Tiri, and the autumnal seventh month, when *Mithrakana was celebrated, to be named for Mithra, who thus dominates the second half of the year, as he does the second half of each month. The remaining three months were devoted to Fire and the Waters, and to the Fravashis. The month of the Waters corresponded to October/November, when rains may be looked for

in Persia, and that of Fire to November/December, when the ancient fire-festival of Sada took place, celebrated one hundred days before 'New Day'. The month of 'New Day' itself, March/April, was assigned to the Fravashis, presumably because of the link between these immortal beings and the coming of Frasho-kereti, foreshadowed at that feast. Spenta Armaiti, guardian of earth, has the preceding month, when the corn is beginning to grow, while her partner, Khshathra Vairya, was given the one immediately before that of Mithra, his 'hamkar' or coadjutor. Their two months are thus exactly half a year apart, as are those of Ahuramazda and Mithra. The ancient feast of the Fravashis fell on the last night of Spenta Armaiti's month, which suggests the enduring nature of the link between earth and the dead. Asha Vahishta, lord of fire, had the month of April/May, when summer heat begins to make itself felt on the Persian plateau; and Haurvatat and Ameretat received the months on each side of Tiri's, perhaps because of Tishtrya's traditional connection with rain, which nourishes their creations.

The religious importance of the calendar dedications was great, for they not only fixed the pantheon of major yazatas, but ensured that their names were continually uttered, since at every Zoroastrian act of worship the yazatas of both day and month are invoked. Further, the fact that Mithra's great feast was now celebrated on Mithra day of Mithra month, and Tiri's on Tiri day of Tiri month, set a pattern for 'name-day' feasts, so that whenever a day and month name coincided, a feast was celebrated in honour of the divinity concerned. So in the winter month devoted to the Creator (when people were mostly at home, weather-bound, and with leisure for extra observances), four new feasts were held in honour of Ahuramazda. The yazata Atar acquired a festival close to the ancient feast of Sada (but, unlike it, celebrated not in the open but mainly at the new fire temples), and the Waters and Fravashis also gained name-day feasts, as did each of the six Amesha Spentas. This increase in the number of holy days, although piously inspired, carried a threat to the effectiveness of the simple devotional year created by Zoroaster, with its chain of seven feasts in honour of the seven Amesha Spentas and their creations; for since each of the Amesha Spentas, and two of the creations, now had separate feast-days as well, there was a danger that the doctrinal significance of the holy days of obligation would become obscured, so that they would no longer remind the faithful so clearly of fundamental beliefs.

Another drawback to the increase in festivals was that, though it brought more leisure and gaiety into people's lives, it also created more work for the priests, since every holy day was celebrated with religious services; and more work for the priests meant more charges on the laity. The enormous importance gained by Sraosha, yazata of prayer, in the Zoroastrian cult may owe something to such increases in observances, although it probably largely predates the western spread of Zoroastrianism, for Sraosha was plainly beloved by Zoroaster himself. The prophet names him several times in the Gathas, and once (Y 33.5) calls him 'greatest of all', presumably as guardian of the means – prayer – through which man can approach God. It was apparently because of these words that his followers came to regard Sraosha as virtually the eighth Amesha Spenta, and Ahuramazda's vice-regent on earth, with an especial duty, therefore, to care for his creation, man. So at some stage a new hymn (preserved as Y 57) was composed in his honour. This was modelled on the Mihr Yasht, for, like Mithra, the yazata of prayer is a mighty warrior, able to defeat invisible foes.

The three world Saviours

Another development which can be assigned to the Achaemenian period concerned the belief in the world Saviour, the Saoshyant. This belief became elaborated into an expectation of three Saviours, each to be born of the prophet's seed by a virgin mother – an elaboration which appears to have been connected with a newly evolved scheme of world history, according to which 'limited time' (that is, the three periods of Creation, Mixture and Separation) was regarded as a vast 'world year', divided into segments of 1000 years each. This scheme, it is generally held, derived from Babylonian speculations about the recurrent 'great years', those spans of time which perpetually repeated themselves with all the events that had taken place in them. The texts vary as to how many millennia made up the Zoroastrian world year. Some give the figure as nine (three times three being a favoured number), others as twelve (corresponding to the months of the natural year). There are, however, grounds for thinking that the original figure was 6000 years, which was increased as priestly scholars developed the scheme. Of these 6000 years, the first 3000, it appears, were assigned to creation, the process of mixture, and the early history of mankind. Zoroaster himself was held to have been

born towards the end of the third millennium, and to have received his revelation in the year 3000. A time of goodness follows, and of progress towards the ultimate goal of creation, but thereafter men will begin to forget his teachings. In the year 4000 the first Saviour, named Ukhshyat-ereta, 'He who makes righteousness grow', will renew the prophet's gospel. History will then repeat itself, with his brother, Ukhshyat-nemah, 'He who makes reverence grow', appearing towards the year 5000; and finally, towards the end of the last millennium, the greatest of the Saoshyants, Astvàt-ereta himself, will appear and usher in Frasho-kereti. This doctrine of the three Saviours further allowed priestly scholastics to fuse Zoroaster's message of hope with ancient Iranian traditions of humanity's descent from a gold age – that of Yima – to the sorry present (assigned to the period of degeneracy before the coming of the first Saoshyant); and it gave them scope for elaborating patterns of recurring events. The whole scheme, of world chronology and the three Saoshyants, seems to have remained, however, a matter for the learned, while the people in general (to judge from later times) continued to look and long simply for the coming of the one Saviour foretold by Zoroaster.

Practices of the faith

As for details of the practice of the faith during Achaemenian times, little direct evidence survives. The portion of the yasna concerned with the new calendar dedications suggests a steady development of devotional usages, with the composition of new liturgies to accompany them consisting, essentially, of adaptations from older parts of the Avesta, with simple linking formulas. Herodotus, our chief informant about Iranian religion at this epoch, had presumably no access, being an infidel, to the inner ceremonies of the faith, to which he makes no reference; but he describes (I. 132) a sacrifice made to one of the divine beings by a layman in an open place: 'To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather he prays that it may be well with the king and all the Persians, for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having seethed the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed of it a magus comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a magus. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away

the flesh and uses it as he pleases.' There is a mixture here of what Zoroastrian usage suggests is accuracy (prayers for the whole community, the manner of disposal of the flesh, the presence of the priest), and inaccuracy (the sacrifice being made by a layman without previous consecration, the content of the priest's utterances); and this probably arises from Herodotus depending even for this 'outer' ceremony on a description, not fully understood, rather than his own observation. He also writes more generally (I. 131) of the sacrifices offered by Persians to 'Zeus', i.e. Ahuramazda, on the peaks of mountains, and adds that they sacrificed there also 'to the sun and moon and earth and fire and water and winds'.

With regard to the magi, Herodotus commented with surprise (I. 130) on their killing with their own hands 'every creature, save only dogs and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take much pride therein'. This was natural, since they felt themselves, in destroying such khrafstras, to be reducing the forces of Anra Mainyu. In general Herodotus observes of the Persians (I. 138) that 'they chiefly reverence rivers; they will neither make water nor spit nor wash their hands therein, nor suffer anyone to do so', while fire, he says (III. 16) they 'regard as a god'. Of social behaviour he remarks (I. 138) that 'they hold lying to be foulest of all, and next to that debt, for which they have many other reasons, but this in especial, that the debtor must needs (so they say) speak some falsehood'. 'Truth-telling' he says (I. 136) was one of the things in which the Persian nobles trained their sons.

The spread of Zoroaster's teaching

Zoroaster's doctrines thus shaped the conduct of his own followers. They also exerted a profound influence at this time throughout the Near East. There is no evidence for any proselytizing among non-Iranians under the Achaemenians, but Persian officials, with their households, were to be found in dominant positions in every province of the empire, together (in non-Iranian regions) with colonies of merchants and other settlers; and when there were Persians there were Zoroastrian priests to minister to their needs and serve at their place of worship. (The clearest evidence for this, because of Greek notices, comes from the provinces of Asia Minor.) Presumably both priests and the laity were prepared to discuss matters of religion with inquirers; and gradually many of Zoroaster's

fundamental doctrines became disseminated throughout the region, from Egypt to the Black Sea: namely that there is a supreme God who is the Creator; that an evil power exists which is opposed to him, and not under his control; that he has emanated many lesser divinities to help combat this power; that he has created this world for a purpose, and that in its present state it will have an end; that this end will be heralded by the coming of a cosmic Saviour, who will help to bring it about; that meantime heaven and hell exist, with an individual judgment to decide the fate of each soul at death; that at the end of time there will be a resurrection of the dead and a Last Judgment, with annihilation of the wicked; and that thereafter the kingdom of God will come upon earth, and the righteous will enter into it as into a garden (a Persian word for which is 'paradise'), and be happy there in the presence of God for ever, immortal themselves in body as well as soul.

These doctrines all came to be adopted by various Jewish schools in the post-Exilic period, for the Jews were one of the peoples, it seems, most open to Zoroastrian influences – a tiny minority, holding staunchly to their own beliefs, but evidently admiring their Persian benefactors, and finding congenial elements in their faith. Worship of the one supreme God, and belief in the coming of a Messiah or Saviour, together with adherence to a way of life which combined moral and spiritual aspirations with a strict code of behaviour (including purity laws) were all matters in which Judaism and Zoroastrianism were in harmony; and it was this harmony, it seems, reinforced by the respect of a subject people for a great protective power, which allowed Zoroastrian doctrines to exert their influence. The extent of this influence is best attested, however, by Jewish writings of the Parthian period, when Christianity and the Gnostic faiths, as well as northern Buddhism, all likewise bore witness to the profound effect which Zoroaster's teachings had had throughout the lands of the Achaemenian empire.

CHAPTER SIX

Under the Seleucids and Arsacids

Alexander and Iran

By the fourth century B.C. Zoroastrianism, firmly established as the Iranian religion, had thus acquired great spiritual authority as well as temporal power. Then a heavy blow fell: Alexander the Great, of Macedon, invaded Asia Minor, met and defeated Darius III in battle in 331 B.C., and in five years of campaigning conquered almost all the territories of the Achaemenian Empire. His invasion was made in pursuit of gain and glory, and had no religious impulse; and the Zoroastrian community evidently suffered more during the actual fighting than in the period of foreign domination which followed. Hence it is Alexander himself, and not his Seleucid successors, who is execrated in Zoroastrian tradition, in which he is remembered as the 'accursed' (guzastag), an epithet which he shares with Ahriman alone. In a Sogdian fragment he is set among the worst sinners of history, his wickedness being that he 'killed magi', and in one Pahlavi text (AVN I. 9) it is said that he slew 'many teachers, lawyers, herbads and mobads', in another (GBd XXXIII. 14) that he 'quenched many fires'. These crimes were presumably committed when his soldiers plundered temples and sanctuaries, whose priests may well have perished in vain attempts to defend their holy places. Little is recorded (and that only by Greek historians) of particular ravages, but the 'Fratadara' temple at Persepolis must have suffered when

Alexander sacked the capital, and another Anahita temple at Ecbatana (Hamadan) is said to have been pillaged repeatedly by the Macedonians, who stripped away even its silver roof-tiles and the gold plating from its columns. Such material damage could be made good in time; but the Zoroastrians sustained irreparable loss through the death of so many of their priests. In those days, when all religious works were handed down orally, the priests were the living books of the faith, and with mass slaughters many ancient works (the tradition holds) were lost, or only haltingly preserved. Much survived, however, and Zoroaster's own Gathas were transmitted intact, being known by heart, with the rest of the Staota Yesnya, by every working priest.

The Seleucids and Iran

Alexander ruled for seven years; and on his death his generals fought over the succession, bringing more suffering to the lands he had conquered. It was not until 312/311 that one of them, Seleucus, managed to establish his rule over a large part of the former Achaemenian Empire, including all Iran. This he governed from Babylonia, making a new capital there for himself, named Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Alexander had founded cities across Iran, peopled by Greek soldiers and settlers, to help hold and administer the land, and the Seleucids continued this policy. Outside these foundations the Macedonians maintained much of the Achaemenian administrative system intact, with satrapies renamed as provinces, but each still with its own governor, who retained considerable powers. In the new order of things Pars or Persia proper was no longer pre-eminent, but only one among the Iranian provinces, all alike subjected to the foreigner; and this had a marked effect on the Zoroastrian community. The Macedonians had appropriated Persia's former authority in the political sphere, but they could not do so in the religious one. So when the priests of each province rallied from the carnage and destruction of the conquest, they pursued, it seems, independent courses, maintaining only fraternal links with one another. The legacy of the period of closer unity under the Achaemenians had provided them, however, with a wide range of shared observances, including the veneration of 'Anahit' and 'Tir', which continued in the east as in the west of Iran, as did the temple cults of fire and images.

One of the regions which resisted Alexander most fiercely was Bactria in the far north-east, and in consequence this satrapy, which was strategically important, was placed under a Greek governor, and several Greek cities were founded there. It was a province with old Zoroastrian traditions, and there is a suggestion that it was here that Alexander first noticed the distinctive Zoroastrian rite of exposure of the dead. After the conquest of this last area of resistance, Alexander and his generals took Iranian noblewomen in marriage (partly for political reasons); and Seleucus chose Apama, a Bactrian captive of war, who bore him a son and successor, Antiochus I. The Seleucids thus themselves had Iranian blood in their veins; and it is known that many other marriages took place between Greek soldiers and Iranian girls. Nevertheless, the two peoples, conquerors and conquered, seem to have held apart to a large extent throughout the period of Seleucid rule, with the culture of the new cities being predominantly Greek, and that of the old towns and villages remaining almost purely Iranian.

The clearest evidence for this state of affairs, and also for the regional character of Iranian life at the time, is provided by scripts. The Macedonians introduced into Iran the beautifully clear Greek alphabet, developed to represent adequately an Indo-European tongue; and the Iranian scribes had necessarily to master this, as well as at least a modicum of the Greek language, in order to communicate with the new rulers, and conform with their regulations and tax-demands. Yet for all domestic purposes they kept to the Aramaic language and script, which by this time had become the traditional means of written communication among Iranians; and because of the increased regionalism of Iranian life under the Seleucids, the Aramaic letters began slowly to develop local forms, so that in time distinctive scripts were evolved in all the main provinces. Those known from surviving documents and inscriptions are Parthian, Middle Persian, Median, Sogdian and Khwarezmian; and their existence testifies to the independence which the scribal schools of each area, and hence also their priestly colleges, enjoyed after the downfall of the Achaemenians.

The rise of the Parthians

Although the Seleucids laid claim to all lands east of Mesopotamia which had been under Achaemenian rule (that is, up to the Indus and

Jaxartes), their authority was relatively weak over areas remote from their Babylonian capital; and during either the reign of Seleucus himself (c. 312–281), or that of his son Antiochus I (c. 280–262), a tribe of nomad Iranians invaded the old Achaemenian satrapy of Parthava (Parthia), in the north-east of Iran. These presumably pagan nomads were, according to Strabo (XI. 515), the Parni, whom he identifies as kinsmen of the Scythians who lived to the north of the Black Sea. The Parni settled down and adopted the language of the Parthians, as well, evidently, as their Zoroastrian faith and the customs of their civilization, which included that of employing priestly scribes who wrote in Aramaic.

In 305 B.C. the Seleucids relinquished their Indian territories, but they maintained their authority in eastern Iran, and it was not until 246 that the Greek governor of Bactria declared his independence. At about the same time the Parthians rose in revolt, possibly also under their Greek governor; but if so, he was soon thrust aside by a Parni chieftain, one Arshak, known to the Greeks as Arsaces, founder of the Arsacid dynasty. Arshak had probably himself been born and brought up in Parthava, speaking the Parthian language; and the Arsacids are regarded as a Parthian dynasty.

Even before this the province of Pars, in the south-east, had regained a measure of independence, and local rulers were striking coins there from about 280 B.C.; but the Seleucids kept control over Media, and in about 209 brought Parthia back briefly under their rule. The Arsacids, however, maintained their dominant position there, and a few decades later Mithridates I (c. 171–138) marched westward, and in 141 entered Seleucia-on-the-Tigris as a conqueror. Under his namesake, Mithridates II (c. 123–87), the Arsacids established their rule from the frontiers of India to the western borders of Mesopotamia, and Zoroastrianism became once more the faith of a great Iranian empire. This empire was to last much longer than that of the Achaemenians, but it was never as centralized as theirs had been. The Arsacids ruled as high kings over vassal kings and great nobles, allowing the regionalism of the Seleucid period to continue to a great extent, and the Parthian priests appear to have dominated the religious community in much the same way: they exercised leadership, that is, but did not seek to impose conformity in all matters, or to practise any strict control over the affairs of the various regional priesthoods.

The Greek cities in Iran continued to thrive under the rule of early

Arsacids. From the reign of Mithradates I the Parthian kings regularly struck their own coins, which they usually had minted by Greek craftsmen; and these coins testify to a radical change in Zoroastrian iconography at this time, with the Egyptian and Mesopotamian symbols adopted by the Achaemenians yielding place to anthropomorphic representations of Hellenic type. Excavation has shown that the Greeks in Iran used to set up fine, naturalistic images of their gods in the market-places of their cities, where they would have been visible to all who came and went; and they themselves, in Iran as in Syria, Mesopotamia and wherever else they settled, identified these gods with the local divinities (being thus able prudently to propitiate both together). In this way they created a new iconography for Zoroastrianism, which the Arsacids' coinage must have helped to make generally familiar; for on the reverse of a number of their issues these kings piously placed divine figures, which (in the light of all the evidence now available) can be confidently interpreted as representing, to their Iranian subjects, yazatas in the guise of Greek gods. Among those depicted were Zeus and Apollo (representing Ahuramazda and Mithra), Herakles Kallinikos, the 'Victorious' (Verethraghna, yazata of victory), Nike and Demeter (Ashi and Spenta Armaiti).

On some later issues the Parthian kings followed Seleucid example in claiming divinity for themselves, in that they had the titles *theos*, 'god', or *theopator*, of divine descent', set in Greek letters under the royal portrait on the obverse. This practice was formerly regarded as a sign of heterodoxy; but though the claim appears indeed a startling one for Zoroastrians to make, one finds their successors, the Sasanians, likewise asserting that they were 'of the race of the gods', so that it was apparently felt (so flexible is the human mind) to be compatible with true belief. The likelihood is, moreover, that in Arsacid times it was princes and nobles, rather than priests (who would have been more concerned with doctrinal matters) who led the way in adopting Greek iconography and Greek titles; for it was necessarily they, as men of affairs, who had the most dealings with the Hellenes, and so enjoyed the greatest opportunities to see and be attracted by their art and way of life. Zoroastrian priests (apart from the scribes) probably kept as aloof as possible from the unclean infidels who had brought such harm to the faith; and many peasant farmers, working in their fields, may never have encountered the foreigners at all.

Eastern Iranian borders: the Kushans

Towards the end of the second century B.C. another group of nomads, predominantly at least Iranians, conquered the Greco-Iranian kingdom of Bactria, where they settled and (like the Parni before them) adopted much of the local culture. This included the Bactrian language, which, however, they learnt to write in Greek instead of Aramaic script. This fusion of an Iranian tongue with a Hellenic alphabet appears unique to this region, and must presumably be ascribed to the exceptionally strong Greek element there. Later – probably in the first century A.C. – the Kushans, a family of chieftains among these invaders, began (as the Arsacids had done) a campaign of conquest, and carved out a considerable realm, with territories taken from both the Parthian Empire and India, and with other lands stretching northwards into Central Asia. The Kushans traded by sea with distant Rome (by then the enemy of Parthia), and issued coins bearing the images of Zoroastrian, Buddhist and Greco-Roman divinities, most with their names written beneath in Greek script. The names of the Zoroastrian yazatas have been identified (despite problems of phonetics and orthography) as Bactrian forms of familiar Avestan ones. There are fourteen or fifteen of them, and they form by far the largest group within this early Kushan pantheon. They include Ashaeikhsho (Asha Vahishta) and Shaoreoro (Khshathra Vairya) – the two Amesha Spentas most likely to be publicly invoked by a king; Miiro (Mithra) and Orlango (Verethraghna), fit yazatas for the coins of a conquering dynasty; Pharro (Khvarenah), to prosper their ventures, and Lrooaspo (Druvaspa), patron divinity of the horses on which their armies depended. How the faith professed by the Kushans themselves should be defined remains uncertain, but their coinage shows that even in Greek-dominated Bactria they had found Zoroastrianism still flourishing.

A great sanctuary of the early Kushans has been excavated on a hill called Surkh Kotal, in eastern Bactria. This seems to have included a fire temple, for a building was found which contained a stone bench-altar, adorned by two great birds, and large quantities of wood-ash. Later the Kushans, growing more Indianized, abandoned both the Bactrian language and the Zoroastrian elements in their faith, and became speakers of Prakrit and noted patrons of Mahayana Buddhism. Buddhism was thus helped to spread into the Iranian borderlands and Inner Asia, where it flourished as a vigorous rival to Zoroastrianism

until the coming of Islam. (Although the two faiths are utterly different in doctrine and outlook, it is held that the northern Buddhist belief in the Maitreya or future Buddha must owe something to Zoroastrian teaching about the Saoshyant.)

Western Iranian borders: Armenia

Little archaeological or literary material survives from within Iran from the Parthian period; but further evidence for the Zoroastrianism of that time comes from Armenia, on the western borders of the empire. Armenia had been subject to the Achaemenians, and as a satrapy had experienced Persian influences, including, naturally, those of Zoroastrianism. During the Seleucid period the land was divided into several virtually independent kingdoms under rulers with Persian names, who paid tribute to the Seleucids. The victory of the Roman Republic's army over Seleucid forces in 190 B.C. extended Roman influence across Asia Minor; and subsequently Armenia became a buffer state between Parthia and Rome, allied now to one, and now to the other. In 62 A.C. the Parthian king Vologeses (Valakhsh) put his younger brother Tiridates on the Armenian throne, and this cadet branch of the Arsacids ruled there into the Sasanian period. Tiridates was himself a strictly observant Zoroastrian – Roman sources even call him a magus – and there is no doubt that during the latter part of the Parthian period Armenia was a predominantly Zoroastrian land. Thereafter it embraced Christianity (partly, it seems, in defiance of the Sasanians), and it is mostly from Christian chronicles and saints' lives that information comes, through hostile allusions, about the older religion there.

These sources show that the Armenians worshipped 'Aramazd' (the Parthian form of Ahuramazda) as 'Creator of sky and earth', and 'Father of all the gods', hailing him often by the title 'Bringer of all good things'. 'Spendaramet' was honoured as protector of the earth, and the veneration of Haurvatat and Ameretat is indirectly attested through plant-names. There were temples to 'Mihr, son of Aramazd', and 'valiant Vahagn . . . bestower of courage'. 'Anahit' was much beloved, and revered as the 'noble Lady . . . Mother of all knowledge . . . daughter of the great and mighty Aramazd'. The use of the terms 'father', 'son' and 'daughter' was evidently figurative, and some of the Christian fathers in the fourth century were prepared to concede that the older faith constituted a remarkable approxima-

tion to their own monotheism. However, the Armenian Zoroastrians were orthodox dualists, and the name 'Haraman' (Anra Mainyu) occurs, as well as references to 'devs' and 'pariks' (evil female beings).

Christian chroniclers further indicate that in the temples of Zoroastrian yazatas there were statues made by Greeks, 'for no one in Armenia knew how to make images'. These were almost all destroyed when the country adopted Christianity; but a fine bronze head of a goddess has been found (indistinguishable from that of a Greek Aphrodite), which is thought to be from an image of Anahit, and a famous statue to this divinity existed at Erez, made out of solid gold, which was carried off in 36 B.C. by one of Mark Antony's soldiers.

Fire temples and image shrines

The shrines of yazatas, called, it seems, by the Parthians 'bagin' or 'place of the gods', appear to have roused the Christians' ire even more than fire temples, which are less frequently mentioned in their writings. Yet it is through Armenian that the Parthian word for a fire temple survives, namely 'aturoshan' (Armenian 'atrusham'), which is held to mean 'place of burning fire'. In the kingdom of Cappadocia in Asia Minor (also a former Achaemenian possession) Persian colonists, cut off by the Macedonian conquest from their co-religionists in Iran, continued to practise the faith of their forefathers; and there Strabo, observing them in the first century B.C., records (XV. 3.15) that these 'fire-kindlers' possessed many 'holy places of the Persian gods', as well as fire temples. The latter, he relates, were 'noteworthy enclosures; and in their midst there is an altar, on which there is a large quantity of ashes and where the magi keep the fire ever burning. And there, entering daily, they make incantations for about an hour, holding before the fire their bundle of rods, and wearing upon their heads high turbans of felt which reach down over their cheeks far enough to cover their lips.' This last detail accords both with Achaemenian representations of magi, and with the few others which survive, carved in stone, from the Seleucid and Arsacid periods.

Another account of a fire temple during the Parthian epoch is given by a Greek traveller, Pausanias (V. 27.3), who wrote of groups of Persians in Lydia, to the west of Cappadocia. They, he said, had 'sanctuaries in the cities of Hierocaesarea and Hypaepa, and in each of the sanctuaries is a chapel, and in the chapel there are ashes on an altar,

but the colour of the ashes is not that of ordinary ashes. A magus, after entering the chapel and piling dry wood on the altar . . . chants an invocation of some god in a barbarous and, to a Greek, utterly unintelligible tongue. . . . Then without the application of fire the wood must needs kindle, and a bright blaze shoot up from it.' Both this account and that of Strabo are probably based on descriptions furnished to the two men by Zoroastrians, and that of Pausanias contains what appear to be simple misunderstandings (thus he says, for instance, that the priest read his invocation from a book). Nevertheless the ceremony which they describe is very close to that which still takes place daily at every minor sacred fire throughout the Zoroastrian community. Lay devotion to sacred fires in the Parthian period appears in incidents in 'Vis u Ramin', a Parthian courtly poem which survives in a later Persian rendering. Here on one occasion the King of kings lavishes lands, herbs, jewels and money on a fire temple. On another, his queen visits a sacred fire in order, she says, to give thanks for her brother's restoration to health. She makes offerings to the fire itself, and liberal benefactions, and sacrifices many animals, whose flesh she distributes to the poor.

The Parthian period provides not only the oldest descriptions of tending sacred fires, but also the oldest identified remains of an actual fire temple. These are on the Kuh-i Khwaja, 'Hill of the Master', in Seistan (ancient Drangiana) in south-eastern Iran. This hill, an isolated table-mountain, rises out of a shallow depression which in winter is flooded to become a wide stretch of water; and it may well have been a holy place for the local Zoroastrians long before temples and altars were introduced to them from the west – for the hill is close to the Hamum lake (Lake Kasaoya) where the Saoshyants will one day be conceived. The fire temple there was rebuilt several times, but the oldest structure has been attributed either to the Seleucid or the early Parthian period. The ground-plan, as far as it can be traced, suggests that it consisted of a rectangular hall leading to a small square room with four central pillars, which communicated in its turn with a still smaller room which may have been the fire-sanctuary. A second temple was built on the site between, it seems, the third and second centuries B.C., and this had the same basic plan, with, however, a corridor enclosing both the small square room and the sanctuary beyond it. A stone fire altar (with pillar shaft and three-stepped top and base) has been found on the hill, which stood evidently in a third, Sasanian temple there; but the type is known from Achaemenian

times, and it is very possible that it was already in use in the older edifices of the Parthian period.

As for sacred fires within Parthia proper (ancient Parthava), Isidore of Charax (who lived sometime between 66 B.C. and 77 A.C.) recorded (Parthian Stations 11) that an ever-burning fire was maintained in the town of Asaak, 'where Arsaces was first proclaimed King'. It seems probable that this was the dynastic fire of the Arsacids, established by them on the Achaemenian model, perhaps to emphasize the fact that they were heirs to the Persian Great Kings. They also (in the time, it seems, of Mithridates II) had a genealogy fashioned for themselves, which traced their descent from 'Artakhshathra, king of the Persians' (probably, that is, Artaxerxes II, who had founded the Anahita temples throughout the land, in which his name would have been daily remembered). Artaxerxes, or Artakhshathra, means 'of just dominion'; and even in Sasanian times the Arsacids were described, by a paraphrase of this name, as those 'who are known for just lordship' (GBd XXXVI. 9). Parthian priests further reshaped the story of Arsaces' rise to power to make it appear that he, like Darius the Great, had had six noble helpers; and the Arsacids, in fact, like the Achaemenians, recognized six great families in their realm, so that again the king of the Iranians had six supporters on earth, as Ahuramazda has the six Amesha Spentas in heaven. The Arsacids also revived the Achaemenian title of 'King of kings' (not used by the Seleucids); and both this, and their claim to Achaemenian descent, were probably bitterly resented in Pars, where Achaemenian tradition was kept alive, as the names of some of the local kings ('Darius' and 'Artaxerxes') show. Yet so far were the Arsacids from exercising autocratic rule that they allowed their vassal kings to establish dynastic fires of their own, which must have increased considerably the number of sacred fires in their domains.

The three greatest sacred fires of Zoroastrianism, namely Adur Burzen-Mihr, Adur Farnbag and Adur Gushnasp, if not already enthroned under the Achaemenians, must have been installed early in the Parthian period, for by Sasanian times their origins had become wrapped in mystery and legend. All three, it was said, had been brought into existence by Ahuramazda himself 'for the protection of the world' (GBd XVIII. 8); and at first they moved about freely, giving help where it was needed. Thus in the reign of the legendary king Takhmorup, it is told, people were passing one stormy night from one clime to another, riding on the mythical bull Srisok, when

the brazier in which they were carrying fire was blown into the sea. Thereupon the three great fires took its place on the bull's back, and burned brightly so that there was light for the crossing. They also helped Jamshed (Yima Khshaeta) to achieve his many heroic feats (GBd XVIII. 10).

Under the Parthians Adur Burzen-Mihr was evidently especially exalted, for it was their particular fire, established on Mount Revand (probably a spur of the Nishapur mountains in Khorasan, that is, in Parthia proper). It had been placed in a temple there, the legend went, by Vishtaspa himself, after it had 'revealed many things visibly, in order to propagate the faith and to establish certainty, and to bring Vishtasp and his descendants to the faith of God' (GBd XVIII. 14). The Parthians, that is, claimed that their beloved fire had fulfilled the part earlier assigned simply to the yazata Atar in the story of Vishtaspa's conversion (Dk VII. 4.75–8). This pious legend, duly fostered no doubt by its priests, must have brought countless pilgrims to Adur Burzen-Mihr throughout the Parthian era; and the devotion of the Arsacids themselves to this sacred fire is indicated in the poem 'Vis u Ramin', where it is said that one of the kings abdicated and spent his last days in seclusion at its temple. More is known of the other two great fires from the Sasanian period (when it was their turn to enjoy imperial favour). Another exalted fire known from that later time was that of Karkoy, in Seistan, which was also probably established in the Parthian epoch.

It was in Parthian times that this region of south-eastern Iran, once known as Drangiana, acquired the name of 'Sakastan' (later Sagestan, Seistan); for in the late second century B.C. a group of nomad Sakas (an Iranian people) who had given powerful help, it seems, to Mithridates I in his campaigns, was allowed to settle – or chose to settle – there. They evidently in their turn adopted the local culture and religion, and paid reverence to the sacred fires; and in time stories of their great warrior-hero Rustam came to mingle with legends of the Kayanians, Vishtaspa's ancestors, and so entered Zoroastrian tradition.

As well as the ruins of fire temples, those of 'bagin' or image-shrines are known from the Parthian period. The 'Fratadara' temple at Persepolis appears to have been restored and used as a place of worship in Seleucid times, for a votive tablet found there is inscribed in Greek to Zeus Megistos, Apollo and Helios, Artemis and Athena. Veneration of these alien divinities probably merged into and then

gave way once more, under Parthian suzerainty, to the orthodox worship of yazatas; and there is a carving on one of the temple walls which shows a Zoroastrian priest in the attitude of prayer, both hands uplifted, one holding the barsom rods. It is suggested that the temple may have become the place of worship of the Fratarakas, a dynasty of vassal-rulers of part of Persia (Pars) under the Arsacids; and it is through a misreading of their name that it is now known as the 'Fratadara' temple.

A more modest testimony to the mingling of Hellenic and Zoroastrian devotions is provided by a little wayside shrine to Herakles Kallinikos cut in the rock of the Behistun mountain, near the great inscription of Darius. The shrine has an inscription in Greek, which indicates that it was made about 147 B.C.; but it also bears an unfinished one in Aramaic. Its position too suggests that it was designed for both Greek and Iranian devotees, for Herakles the Victorious (depicted reclining, bowl in hand) was identified with Verethraghna, yazata of Victory, who for Zoroastrians is the divinity who cares for travellers. So Iranians passing by on the great highway that runs beside the rock could make their offerings there and pray for his protection, while Greeks invoked the kindly strength of their own god.

A blending of cultures is also suggested by the ruins of a great temple at Kangavar in Upper Media (Kurdistan). These have Hellenic features and, according to Isidore of Charax, 'Artemis' was worshipped there. This, however, is one of the identifications of Anahita, and probably in post-Seleucid times the Kangavar temple became wholly hers. The ruins of yet another temple have been found at Susa, one of the Achaemenian capitals. It appears to have been built either in the Achaemenian period, during the reign of Artaxerxes II, or later, with stones taken from his palace there; but there is nothing to show whether this fairly modest sanctuary was a fire temple or an image shrine.

There appear to have been two Parthian words which could be used for either type of sacred building. One, again attested only from Armenian, is '*mihriyan' (Armenian 'mehean') or 'place of Mithra'. This word may well, like Old Persian 'brazmadana' have meant originally simply a place for high rituals (which, being all performed between sunrise and noon, are under the special protection of Mithra). The other word is 'ayazan' or 'place of worship', a cognate of Old Persian 'ayadana'. This occurs on ostraca from royal Nisa, the

earliest capital of the Arsacids, in Parthia proper. This city, with its castles and shrines, was near the modern town of Ashkabad, in Soviet Turkmenistan; and among the objects yielded by its ruins to Russian archaelogists have been quantities of potsherds, dull records in themselves of deliveries of wine and other commodities, but containing gems of incidental information. These include two references to ayazan. One is to the 'Ayazan of the place of Nanai', which was probably an image shrine, for Nanai was an alien goddess whose veneration, known from Elam and Mesopotamia, seems to have become absorbed into the Anahita cult, and so to have spread throughout the Zoroastrian world. The other is to the 'Ayazan of Frahat'; and since Frahat (Greek Phraates) is a name borne by Parthian kings, it is thought that this temple may have held a fire consecrated for the soul of a dead ruler. This is a usage well-attested from Sasanian times. Such 'soul-fires' or 'named fires' (as they were called in Middle Persian) were regularly endowed; and the Nisa ostraca show that many of the estates round about that city were named after Arsacid kings, most probably because their produce went to support their 'soul-fires'. Thus there was the estate 'Friyapatakan', called, it seems, for Priapatius (who reigned c. 191–176 B.C.); a 'Mihradatakan', probably for Mithradates I (c. 171–138), and an 'Artabanukan' for Artabanus I (c. 211–191) or Artabanus II (c. 128–124) – for it is assumed that the endowments at Nisa were for the soul-fires of early kings of the dynasty. The tombs of the Arsacids, it is said, were near Nisa; and it is perhaps mere romantic legend that has Vis and Ramin (in the poem of that name), who are presented as a Parthian queen and king, laid in a royal sepulchre in the mountains above Adur Burzen-Mihr.

Funerary practices

Although the Arsacids maintained the Achaemenian tradition of entombing the royal dead, their subjects continued the orthodox rite of exposure. A number of rock-hewn chambers have been discovered in the mountains of western Iran, which were evidently aristocratic or priestly 'astodans' of the kind made earlier by Artimas at Limyra, that is, places to which the bones of whole families were brought after the rite of exposure. Details in the carvings at their entrances show Hellenic influence, suggesting that they should be assigned to the Seleucid or Parthian period. Only the rich could have afforded such

elaborate ossuaries at any epoch; and Pompeios Trogus, writing of the Parthians in the first century A.C., recorded that 'their general mode of sepulture is rending to pieces by birds or dogs; the bare bones they at last bury in the ground'. Evidence from Central Asia in the Sasanian period suggests, however, that this 'burial in the ground' often took place in a casket or urn.

Some of the caskets recovered from later times are inscribed, for, despite the anonymity associated with the rite of exposure, many Zoroastrians evidently shared the general human desire to make some memorial to the dead. Here again the conquering Hellenes provided the Iranians with new inspiration, for it was their custom to erect commemorative statues of distinguished men, and this custom seems to have been generally adopted by the Zoroastrians as an enrichment of the fravashi cult. Two impressive buildings have been excavated at royal Nisa which, it is thought, were both devoted to this cult. One, the many-columned 'Square Hall', is held to have been built in the second century B.C., and restored again later; and it had niches all round its walls which held statues. Several small marble images have been found among its ruins, but there were the remains of many more painted figures of clay, of men and women wearing Parthian dress, some more than life-size, others quite small. These naturalistic images are thought to represent the royal and noble dead, and it is supposed that offerings for the departed were laid before them. The second building, the 'Round Hall', contained similar statues.

The use of statues in the fravashi cult spread right across Iran, and remains similar to those at Nisa have been discovered at the shrine of Shami, a village in Khuzistan, in the south-west. Here in the 1930s there came to light a splendid bronze statue, over life-size, of a nobleman wearing Parthian dress, and excavation of the mound where it had lain revealed the charred remains of an unusual shrine. This consisted of a brick platform partly roofed over, it seems, to protect a group of images – for on and near it were found fragments of other bronze and marble statues, some huge, some small, as at Nisa. Before one image-base there stood an elegant little altar, of Hellenic design, and the statues themselves appear to have been of Greek workmanship. Clearly only royal or noble families could have employed craftsmen to make individual and costly statues such as these; but ordinary people may have made use of small, stylized terracotta figurines, such as have been found in numbers at Central Asian sites. Certainly evidence from Armenia suggests that a wide

variety of images was used in the fravashi cult. Agathangelos speaks of statues of the dead made there of 'gold, silver, wood, stone or bronze'; and he calls the Armenian Zoroastrians 'soul-worshippers', while St Gregory alludes to their practice of bowing down before images of the dead. A standard Middle Iranian word for image was 'uzdes', which, like Greek 'icon', meant simply a showing forth, a representation; and doubtless the orthodox and instructed regarded the statues used both in divine worship and in the fravashi cult as no more than this; but the setting up of statues always holds the danger of the icon becoming an idol, and doubtless in every generation there were some Zoroastrians who were alert to this, and who opposed the practice, wholly alien as it was to the early faith.

Developments in calendar and chronology

One innovation made by the Seleucids was the practice of dating by an era. Before their day peoples in general had dated events by the reigns of individual kings, and any sustained chronological calculations were therefore very difficult; but they took the bold and practical step of dating continuously from the year of the foundation of their dynasty (in 312/311 B.C.); and since they claimed to be the heirs of Alexander, this era became widely known as that of Alexander. In due course the Arsacids followed suit, dating their own era from 248/247 B.C. (presumably the year in which Arsaces attained power); and, as the Nisa ostraca show, they combined this, in dating events, with the Zoroastrian calendar. Their names for the months and days are Parthian equivalents of the Avestan ones used liturgically; and they differ in one or two small respects from the Middle Persian ones used by their Sasanian successors, which is another sign of the independence of the provincial priestly schools. Thus Avestan Dadvah 'Creator', a nominative, yields Middle Persian Dadv/Dai; but the Parthians called the month Datush, a form derived from the Avestan genitive Dathusho, 'Of the Creator'.

The priests of Pars or Persia proper, who under the Achaemenians had presumably taken the initiative in creating the Zoroastrian calendar, had no longer a leading part to play in the Zoroastrian community at large, and so, it may be supposed, had the greater leisure for purely scholastic pursuits; and one of the fruits of their studies was, it seems, the establishing of a 'historical' date for their prophet. Their search for this may well have been stimulated by the

creation of the Seleucid era, which offered new possibilities for fixing events in time; but they were hampered by having no Zoroastrian sources on which to base any calculations. So they turned, it seems, to their Babylonian neighbours, who were long accustomed to keeping written records. From them they appear to have learnt that a great event in Persian history had taken place 228 years before the 'era of Alexander', that is, before 311 B.C. This event was the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 539, an occurrence of great magnitude for the Babylonians; but the Persian priests apparently re-interpreted this momentous happening as being the revelation sent to their prophet, which for them had transformed the world. Zoroaster was held to have received this revelation in his thirtieth year, and so they reached the calculation that he had been born 258 years 'before Alexander', that is, in 569 B.C. This must have seemed a very remote time to them, but in fact it falls in far too recent an epoch to be reconcilable with other data. Nevertheless the newly 'discovered' date, satisfying the contemporary interest in chronological exactitude, became accepted in learned circles in Persia and the neighbouring lands to the west; but there is no evidence that it ever gained currency among the older Zoroastrian communities of the east, where the Khwarezmians, for example, continued to assign the prophet to a much remoter epoch, in keeping with the recorded traditions of Achaemenian times.

The Avesta

Another development which, like the artificial date for Zoroaster, was to cause much perplexity to later scholars, was the appropriation by the magi of the whole Avestan tradition for their own homeland of Northern Media (the province of Atropatene, modern Azarbaijan), so that persons, places and events of north-eastern Iran were given new associations with the north-west. Such an annexation must have been relatively easy to effect at a time when geographical studies were hardly more firmly based than historical ones; and indeed partial annexations of Zoroastrian traditions had earlier been made in Drangiana (Seistan), where the Avestan 'kavis', Vishtaspa's ancestors, were associated with Lake Kąsaoya, and in Bactria, which claimed to have been the scene of Zoroaster's life and death; but the Median magi were thorough in their proceedings, placing both the kavis and the prophet in their native land, and even identifying this with Airyanem Vaejah, the legendary home of the Iranian peoples.

It may be that the magi had already evolved such traditions in Achaemenian times in order to sustain their religious authority among the Medes and Persians; or they may have felt the spur to do so in the Parthian period, as a means of re-asserting this authority then within Median borders. The tolerant Arsacids seem unlikely to have resented such developments as long as they remained unobtrusively local; but this tolerance did not arise from any indifference to the faith, as is shown by the following account of the activities of a king Valakhsh or Vologeses (a name borne by several rulers in the first and second centuries A.C.): 'Valakhsh the Arsacid commanded that a memorandum be sent to the provinces (instructing them) to preserve, in the state in which it had come down in (each) province, whatever had survived in purity of the Avesta and (its) Zand, and also every teaching deriving from it which, scattered by the havoc and disruption of Alexander, and by the pillage and looting of the Macedonians, had survived, whether written or in authoritative oral transmission' (DkM, 412. 5–11, ZZZ 8). These lines come from a general account, brought down to the sixth century A.C., of the transmission of the Zoroastrian holy texts; and one interesting point is the reference in them to writing in connection with 'teachings' derived from the Avesta, although the implication seems to be that the Avesta itself, with its commentary (Zand), was still wholly in oral transmission at that time.

One Avestan text which may possibly have been compiled from scattered traditions as a result of Valakhsh' decree is the Vendidad or 'Law against demons'. The main part of this prose work is devoted to rules about the maintenance of purity and its restoration after pollution, this being a powerful defence against the forces of evil. These rules are set out in the form of question and answer (between Zarathustra and Ahuramazda), a common way of conveying instruction in oral literature. The Vendidad contains other miscellaneous matter, however, such as might well have been added to the nucleus of purity texts as part of a deliberate effort to preserve 'whatever had survived of the Avesta'. Thus in the first chapter there is the list of the best countries in the world (all in eastern Iran), and in the second a version of the legend of Yima, while the nineteenth contains a story of the temptation of Zoroaster by the Hostile Spirit. The language is late Avestan, with the inflectional system much broken down; and a further reason for assigning the compilation to the Parthian period is that two systems of measurement are represented in it, one Iranian,

the other Greco-Roman. The Vendidad also contains what appears to be the only mention in the whole Avesta of temple fires, referred to allusively as fire set 'in an appointed place' (daitya gatu, Vd VIII. 81 ff.). Further, the legend of Yima shows what seem to be Mesopotamian influences (with the story of the flood and the ark adapted to fit with the tradition of the Iranian first king); and so it seems likely that the compilation was made by magi in western Iran. There was evidently no question, though, as they piously gathered these texts together, of any deliberate additions to the Avestan originals, for the extraneous matter shows all the signs of having been unconsciously absorbed during the course of long oral transmission.

It must have been well before this time (to judge from the relative correctness of the language) that the ancient Staota Yesnya was expanded through additions such as veneration of the 'calendar' divinities, homilies on the three great prayers, and adaptations of yasht verses. This material was set evenly before and after the Staota Yesnya, so that this remained at the heart of the liturgy. Such extensions were probably begun in Achaemenian times, and continued over generations. Where or when these developments took place can never be known; but even with the regionalism tolerated by the Arsacids, it would seem probable that vital matters such as additions to the yasna liturgy must first have been discussed and agreed upon by a synod representing the religious community as a whole.

Developments in the scribal tradition

The separatism of the post-Achaemenian period was accentuated during the latter part of the Parthian epoch by the gradual abandonment of Aramaic as the common language of written communication. Very slowly this yielded place, in each of the main provinces, to the local language, written in the local variation of the Aramaic script. The beginnings of this process can be traced on the Nisa ostraca, from the end of the second century B.C.; for the brief records which these bear have a scattering of Parthian words among the Aramaic ones, and there is just enough evidence to show that the Aramaic words themselves were being used as ideograms, that is, they were no longer pronounced or thought of as Semitic words, but had become familiar shapes only, written to convey Iranian equivalents. By that stage, therefore, the earlier proceeding of translating from spoken Iranian into written Aramaic, and back into spoken Iranian, had ceased, and

the thought-process was wholly Iranian. Naturally it was those Aramaic words which were most commonly used in official or business documents, or in letters, which survived as ideograms. Moreover, these words became fixed in the way in which they most frequently occurred, so that Aramaic forms meaning specifically 'the king', 'my father', 'his son', became generalized as ideograms for 'king', 'father' and 'son'. Verbal ideograms were often in origin Aramaic imperative singulars, or third plural pasts, and very slowly the system developed of adding letters to these ideograms as a 'phonetic complement' to represent the actual pronunciation of the ending of the Iranian word, and so make it possible to establish person and tense. It also became customary to mark the plural of nouns and pronouns by writing the Iranian plural ending after the ideogram. A system thus gradually developed which, though cumbersome, was fairly adequate, when used by trained scribes, for conveying a living language, but which (because it was only partly phonetic) was singularly ill adapted for recording a dead one such as Avestan, for the proper pronunciation of the holy texts would have been lost had they been set down according to this manner of writing.

The Nisa ostraca show this system just beginning to evolve for Parthian; and exactly the same system, with Middle Persian words, and in the Middle Persian development of the Aramaic script, can be traced on coins struck by the Frataraka princes of Pars at about the same time, that is, from the end of the second century B.C. It is attested also for Sogdia, Khwarezmia and Media; but in each region the forms of words used as ideograms, and sometimes the actual words themselves, tended to differ; and this, together with the distinctive scripts, meant that written communication between the Iranian regions was no longer the simple matter that it had been. Naturally Parthian, as the language of the imperial people, was the most widely used, together (for a time) with Greek. This is illustrated by the Avroman parchments – legal documents which were found in 1909 in a sealed jar in a cave near Avroman, in Persian Kurdistan. This is ancient Median territory; yet the first two documents (dated to 88 and 22/21 B.C.) are in Greek, and the third (of 58 A.C.) is in Parthian, written with ideograms in Parthian script.

Human affairs

NEXT-OF-KIN MARRIAGES

In the two Greek documents the dating formulas contain the throne-name (Arsaces) of the reigning Parthian King of kings, and the names of his chief wives. In the older one these run: 'In the reign of the King of kings, Arsaces . . . and of the Queens, Siace, his compaternal sister and wife, and Aryazate surnamed Automa, daughter of the Great King Tigranes and his wife, and of Azate, his compaternal sister and wife'. These formulas provide clear contemporary evidence that the Arsacids followed the Achaemenians in practising 'khvaetva-datha', this particular king having, like Cambyses, married two of his sisters. Other brother–sister marriages are recorded among their vassals and Zoroastrian neighbours – for example Helena and Monobazus of Adiabene, and Erato and Tigranes IV of the Artaxiad dynasty of Armenia. Tiridates I of Armenia (a notably pious ruler) describes himself as the brother of his queen on his inscription at Garni; and that the custom was not confined to princes is shown by the observation of Bardesanes, writing in the second century A.C., who cited the practice of next-of-kin marriages among the Persians of Asia Minor as an example of how people cling to ancestral customs even when dwelling in foreign parts.

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

The documents from Avroman further show that, even though the Parthians did not seek close control over all the Iranian regions, yet their position as the ruling power made their influence pervasive. According to Strabo (XI. 515) the Arsacid kings were advised by two councils, one consisting of men of their own royal house, the other of the lords spiritual and temporal of the realm. Probably all the prelates who took their places in this second council were Parthians; and Parthian priests must have been found all over the empire, as judges, administrators and scribes, and as the family priests of Parthian kings and nobles. It seems probable that a characteristic title of their higher ecclesiastics was 'erbad' or 'herbad' (deriving from Avestan 'aethrapati'), for under the Sasanians one finds two groups of leading clerics with virtually indistinguishable functions, namely the 'herbad' and the 'mobad' (the latter title deriving from Old Persian 'magupati'). In the Arsacid period the title 'magpat' or 'magbad' (as it

appears in Parthian) may have been used mainly for the chief priest of a fire temple; and another title, 'bagnapat' or master of a 'bagin', is attested for the priest in charge of an image-shrine. All such niceties of nomenclature were lost, however, on the Greeks and Romans, to whom every Zoroastrian priest remained a magus, whatever his local origins or ecclesiastical dignity. So Pseudo-Lucian, writing towards the end of the Parthian period, describes the magi as 'an order of seers who are dedicated to the service of the gods, and who are found among the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Chorasmians, the Areians, the Saka and the Medes'. 'They have' (he adds) 'strong constitutions and live to a great age, for their profession as magi makes it incumbent on them to observe strict rules of life.' Other classical writers of the period indicate that the concern of the magi as a body was with study and worship, with ethics, divination and prophecy, and with learning holy utterances and observing the rules of purity.

UNBELIEVERS

The Arsacids not only tolerated the existence of different ecclesiastic traditions among the Zoroastrians whom they ruled, but also showed forbearance (in the Achaemenian tradition) to unbelievers within and beyond their borders. Their empire did not reach to the full extent of that of their predecessors, yet Iranian influences continued to be felt throughout the Middle East, perhaps even more strongly than in the earlier period. One reason for this was that after the Macedonian conquest Greek became the lingua franca throughout the region, and provided a medium for the ready exchange of ideas. Another, political factor which strengthened the influence of the Parthians (and hence of their Zoroastrian faith) was their armed resistance to the remorseless and generally resented encroachments of Rome. One piece of evidence for this influence is the pervasiveness at this period of the Zoroastrian prophetic tradition. Longing for the coming of the Saoshyant must have intensified among Iranians in the dark period after Alexander's conquest, and a rich apocalyptic and prophetic literature appears to have developed then, which was widely imitated and which made the names of 'Zoroastres' and 'Hystaspes' familiar in the Greco-Roman world.

Iran continued to exert influence in other ways also on Jewish and Gnostic thought. The Arsacids had good relations with the Jews,

whether as overlords (of the Babylonian community) or neighbours; and a number of Jewish works composed at this time reflect Zoroastrian ideas. So it was out of a Judaism enriched by five centuries of contact with Zoroastrianism that Christianity arose in the Parthian period, a new religion with roots thus in two ancient faiths, one Semitic, the other Iranian. Doctrines taught perhaps a millennium and a half earlier by Zoroaster began in this way to reach fresh hearers; but again, as in Judaism, they lost some of their logic and coherence by their adoption into another creed; for the teachings of the Iranian prophet about creation, Heaven and Hell, and the Day of Judgment, were less intellectually coherent when part of a religion which proclaimed the existence of one omnipotent God, whose unrestricted rule was based not on justice but on love. They continued nevertheless, even in this new setting, to exert their powerful influence on men's strivings to be good.

Iranian beliefs also had a part, still ill-defined, in the formation of Mithraism. This strenuous faith appears to have evolved in Asia Minor during the Parthian period, and it was then adopted by the Roman legions, who carried it throughout the Roman Empire. A dearth of written records makes it difficult to trace the history or doctrines of Mithraism, which is known almost entirely from its monuments and places of worship; but the faith clearly took its name from the Iranian Mithra, who, since the eclipse of *Varuna Apąm Napat in Achaemenian times, had reigned virtually alone as the lesser Ahura, active, powerful and compassionate, though just. Personal names (notably Mithradata, 'Given by Mithra') show that his worship was popular among the Iranians of Asia Minor; but the religion called after him was evidently an eclectic one, with many non-Iranian elements in it. Its chief debt to Zoroastrianism was probably a sense of linear time, and an emphasis on personal and cosmic salvation. (The central element in Mithraic iconography is a representation of Mithra slaying a bull, apparently an act of redemptive sacrifice.) Mithraism proselytized energetically to the west, and for a time presented a formidable challenge to Christianity; but it is not yet known how far, or how effectively, it penetrated eastward. A Mithraeum has been uncovered at the Parthian fortress-town of Dura-Europos, on the Euphrates; but Zoroastrianism itself may well have been a barrier to its spread into Iran proper.

Zoroastrianism itself is the oldest of the dogmatic, proselytizing world religions; but in its case various forces had worked to limit its

missionary activities and turn it into what was virtually an ethnic faith. This had enabled it to exist peaceably side by side with Hellenic polytheism, neither seeking to affect the other. But during the later centuries of Parthian rule this pattern of tolerance and self-sufficiency was threatened from two sides: in the east there was Buddhism, expanding vigorously in the Indo-Iranian border-lands, and in the west there was Christianity, ardently seeking converts. So for the first time in its long history Zoroastrianism was confronted by other faiths whose adherents attacked its tenets and sought to persuade its followers to apostatize. Even the Jews proselytized, at this period, with some success. Their activity was on a relatively small scale, however, as was the pressure from the early Christians; and it was not until the Sasanian era, when Christianity gained the support of a great temporal power, that its missionary activities became a serious vexation to the Zoroastrians. The Arsacids were able, therefore, to preserve in the main the tradition of tolerance until the end of their period of rule.

Conclusion

As for the effects of Zoroastrianism on the Parthians themselves, this has to be traced mostly through the hostile testimony of Roman historians; but even from such grudging sources it emerges that the Arsacids were in the main loyal to the leading moral precepts of their faith, with its emphasis on responsibility towards one's fellow-man and on honour and truthfulness. Thus it is acknowledged that they behaved well to captives and fugitives, treating them with kindness and respect; and that they were scrupulous in observing their given word, and remaining faithful to treaty obligations. In these regards they showed themselves loyal adherents of the Ahuric religion, and markedly superior to their inveterate enemies, the Romans. By the middle of the third century A.C. they had been champions of the Zoroastrian faith for generations, defending it against pagan armies to east and west; and the overthrow of their dynasty, even by fellow-Iranians, was an event which profoundly shook the whole religious community.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Under the early Sasanians

The rise of the Sasanians

Some obscurity surrounds the rise of the Sasanian dynasty, but according to the most likely accounts the family were hereditary guardians of a great temple to Anahid (possibly one of the Achaemenian Anahita foundations) at the city of Istakhr in Pars. At about the beginning of the third century A.C. one of its members, Papak, seized power from the local prince-governor, vassal of the Parthian King of kings, and his younger son Ardashir succeeded to his usurped position. The Arsacid Ardaban V refused to confirm Ardashir's authority, and he accordingly set out to establish himself in Pars by force of arms. So successful was he in this that Ardaban himself took the field to crush this dangerous rebel, only to be defeated by him and killed in battle, probably in 224 A.C.

This overthrow of the long-established Arsacid dynasty by an unknown adventurer caused shock and perturbation throughout Iran; but Ardashir, boundlessly ambitious, continued his victorious way. Within two years he subdued the western provinces of the empire, and had himself crowned King of kings; and later expeditions, and bitter fighting, made him master also of eastern Iran. Ardashir was not only a military genius, but a man of great shrewdness and administrative talents, who was prepared to use bloodless means as well as warlike ones to establish his rule and create a new

Persian Empire; and one of the tools which he chose for this was religious propaganda. There can be little doubt that the priests of Persia, whose forefathers had led the Zoroastrian community under the Achaemenians, felt themselves well fitted to do so again; and they plainly undertook with zeal the task of persuading their fellow-Iranians that they, together with the new dynasty to which they lent their support, were more devout and orthodox, and would be truer upholders of the faith, than their Parthian predecessors had been.

Tansar, a religious propagandist

Ardashir was fortunate in having as his chief priest a man whose abilities and energies seem to have matched his own. His name was Tansar or Tosar (the Pahlavi script is ambiguous), and he bore the title of 'herbad', which under the Parthians had presumably been that of leading ecclesiastical dignitaries. (Ordinary priests are referred to throughout Sasanian times simply as 'mog', derived from ancient 'magu'.) The task which faced Tansar as Ardashir's propagandist was a hard one; for whereas the Arsacids, at their rise to power, had had the role of champions of the faith against the pagan Seleucids, the Sasanians had to justify the overthrow of co-religionists. Fortunately we can trace how they sought to do this from a letter which survives (through various redactions and translations) written by Tansar himself to one Gushnasp, a former vassal of the Arsacids, who ruled the mountainous kingdom of Tabaristan in northern Iran. This was a difficult region to subdue by force, and Tansar wrote on Ardashir's behalf to try to persuade Gushnasp to yield voluntarily to the new régime. The existing letter is in response to one from Gushnasp, and in it Tansar answers one by one the many doubts and criticisms which the northern king had expressed. In the religious sphere, it seems, he had accused Ardashir 'of forsaking tradition; and right though this may be for the world, it is not good for the faith' (Tansar Name 36). To this Tansar replies with a double defence. First, he writes, not all the old ways were good, and Ardashir being 'more richly endowed with virtues than the ancients . . . his custom is better than the customs of old'. Second, he asserts that the faith had decayed so greatly as a result of the destruction wrought by Alexander that there had been no certain knowledge, under the Arsacids, of its ancient 'laws and ordinances', and so it 'must needs be restored by a man of

true and upright judgment . . . for till religion is interpreted by understanding it has no firm foundation'. Full licence was thus claimed for Ardashir to make what changes he pleased, these being equally approved by Tansar whether he regarded them as innovations or restorations by the Persian king.

That this licence was courageously opposed by some of his co-religionists is shown by Gushnasp's further protests against 'the excessive bloodshed which he orders among those acting against his judgment and decree' (ibid. 39). To this Tansar replies that the people had become wicked, and that they were therefore to blame for the frequency of punishment and slaughter, and not the new King of kings. 'Bloodshed among people of this kind, even if of a prodigality that seems to have no bound, is recognized by us as life and health, like the rain which quickens the earth . . . for in days to come the foundations of State and Religion will be in every way strengthened through this' (ibid. 40).

The question remains, what were the religious measures which, on Tansar's admission, Ardashir waded through blood to enforce? There are a number of sources for early Sasanian history, and so it is possible to discern various ways in which Ardashir and the Persian priests must have distressed and angered their fellow-Zoroastrians. First, in place of the former fraternity of regional communities, a single Zoroastrian church was created under the direct and authoritarian control of Persia; and together with this went the establishment of a single canon of Avestan texts, approved and authorized by Tansar himself. This action is described in a Pahlavi book, the 'Dinkard', in the following words: 'His Majesty the King of kings, Ardashir son of Papak, following Tansar as his religious authority, commanded all those scattered teachings [i.e. those whose preservation had been ordered by the Arsacid Valakhsh] to be brought to court. Tansar set about his business and selected one (?) tradition and left the rest out of the canon. And he issued this decree: The interpretation of all the teachings of the Mazda-worshipping religion is our responsibility, for now there is no lack of certain knowledge concerning them' (DKM 412. 11–17, ZZZ 8). In another passage of the same work it is prophesied that no peace will come to the lands of Iran 'until they give acceptance to him, Tansar the herbad, the spiritual leader, eloquent, truthful, just. And when they give acceptance to Tansar . . . those lands, if they wish, will find healing, instead of divergence from Zoroaster's faith' (DKM 652. 9–17).

Calendar changes

Another step which affected every member of the community, and indeed still troubles its harmony today, was a reform of the Zoroastrian calendar. Calendar changes, it is agreed, are among the most difficult measures to bring about in any society; and it is a mark of Ardashir's enormous force and energy that he managed to carry one through in the first reign of a new dynasty – although even he failed to establish it exactly as had been planned. Well before the downfall of the Arsacids the learned priests of Pars (with their interest in chronology) must have been pondering the accurate measurement of time. Since the days of the early Achaemenians the Persians had known of the Egyptian calendar, and this had 365 days, divided into twelve months of thirty days each (like those of the Iranians and their other neighbours), but with five extra days at the end of the twelfth month. During the Parthian period, in 46 A.C., the Romans under the Emperor Julian adopted a 365-day calendar; and this may have prompted the Persian priests to devise a reform of the Zoroastrian one, which they were able to put into force under Ardashir. They kept exactly to the Egyptian model, merely adding, that is, five extra days to the familiar 360-day year; and these days they named the 'Gatha' or 'Gah' days, after the five groups of Zoroaster's hymns. This was a practical as well as a pious measure, since it meant that they could use the Avestan names of the five Gathas for liturgical invocations on these new days, where ordinarily the yazad of the day would have been invoked. It was evidently intended that the 'Gatha' days should remain outside the religious year, and not disturb the pattern of its long-hallowed observances; but one great difficulty attended their introduction. Traditionally the fravashis were welcomed back to their old homes throughout the land at the feast of Hamaspathmaedaya, on the last night of the old year (in calendar terms, the night of 30 Spendarmad); and having spent the hours of darkness there, receiving the gifts and veneration of their descendants, they were bidden a ritual farewell at the following dawn, withdrawing before the sun rose to bring in the new year. Now this ancient custom was suddenly challenged by the insertion of five extra days between 30 Spendarmad and 1 Fravardin, and profound bewilderment and distress resulted. The new days were roundly termed the 'stolen' ones, because it was felt that they had been thieved somehow from the familiar year; and when they were first introduced they appear to

have been, as far as possible, ignored. The observance of the official No Ruz, and all the other feast days, must have been enforced, quite possibly on pain of death, according to the new calendar; but the people at large evidently still kept in private what they believed to be the true holy days, six days earlier in every case. Reckoning in this fashion, they reached 30 Spendarmad that first year when by the reformed calendar it was still only 25 Spendarmad; and so a whole ten days had to elapse for them between the night when they welcomed the fravashis and the dawn of the official No Ruz, when they were publicly permitted to bid them farewell. Even the reformers had to observe prolonged rites for the fravashis during the five 'Gatha' days, which came therefore to be called also 'rozan fravardigan' or 'days of the fravashis'. ('Fravard' is the Persian form of Avestan 'fravashi'.) Thereafter the duplication of observances continued, with the bulk of the population observing every festival twice, once on its official day by the reformed calendar, once on what they reckoned to be its real one. Evidently this practice was too widespread and general to be suppressed, even by the most ruthless of kings; and eventually under Ardashir's grandson, Hormizd I, the Persian reformists compromised, and instituted an acceptable measure by which the new and old holy days were linked together to form continual six-day feasts. Only No Ruz, essentially the festival of a single day, did not lend itself to this, and the debate as to which was the true No Ruz, 1 or 6 Farvardin, continued throughout the Sasanian period, being recorded in the Pahlavi books. Both feasts are still celebrated, separately and under different names, by Zoroastrians to this day.

Another intractable problem was created by the 'fravashi days', with the reformists insisting that these were five in number, i.e. the Gatha days themselves, and the traditionalists maintaining (in the light of the confusions of the first year) that they had to be ten (that is, from 25 Spendarmad to 1 Farvardin). A Muslim writer, Biruni, who relied on Zoroastrian sources, observed (*Chronology*, 224) that the people were much troubled over the matter, 'as this is one of the chief institutions of their religion . . . and they wished to be careful, since they were unable to ascertain the real facts of the case'. By observing the longer festival they could avoid any danger of failing in their duty to the fravashis; and so convinced were traditionalist priests of the propriety of this that a tiny alteration was made in one verse (v. 49) of the Farvardin Yasht, which now runs: 'We worship the good, mighty, holy fravashis of the just, who hasten to their homes at the time of

Hamaspathmaedaya. Then they wander here for ten nights', whereas the ancient version presumably had 'for the whole night', or something similar.

Another remarkable feature of the early Sasanian calendar is that No Ruz was then celebrated, on 1 Farvardin, in autumn instead of spring. This appears to have been an inheritance from the Parthian period, and the theological implications are perplexing. The motive for the first Sasanian calendar reform seems, however, to have been practical rather than religious. Yet in the end this reform resulted, ironically, in a great extension of religious observances, while doing lasting damage, theologically, to the faith. The effectiveness of the old devotional year, with its seven holy days of obligation, had already been threatened in Achaemenian times by the founding of additional 'name-day' feasts in honour of individual Amesha Spentas; and now it became so elaborate that its dogmatic purpose was overwhelmed. From six days, the gahambars had been extended to thirty-six, and the seventh feast, No Ruz, was duplicated, and was celebrated after the new ten-day feast of the fravashis. All this gradually obscured the significance of the great obligatory feasts, and in later times the vital connection between No Ruz and the gahambars was largely lost to view.

Iconoclasm and sacred fires

As if the calendar reform alone were not enough, another hugely controversial measure was enacted by the Sasanians, apparently also from the beginning of their era: they forbade the use of images in worship, and during their epoch statues were removed from consecrated buildings, and, whenever possible, sacred fires were installed in their place. It seems that the Sasanians had been committed iconoclasts before their rise to power, for the Muslim historian Masᶜudi (Les Prairies d'Or, 1403) states that although their temple in Istakhr had once contained 'idols', these had been removed in the remote past, and fire installed in their place. This fire, undoubtedly a Verethraghna one, appears to have been consecrated in the name of Anahid herself, and is referred to in a third-century Sasanian inscription as 'the fire of Anahid the Lady'. Ardashir's son and successor, Shabuhr I (who had been old enough to fight beside his father against Ardaban), named one of his daughters Adur-Anahid, in honour presumably of this fire; and this suggests that it must have been

established at least under Ardashir. So the cult of images, introduced to Zoroastrianism by the Achaemenian Artakhshathra or Artaxerxes II, was finally brought to an end by measures initiated, it seems, by the Sasanian Artakhshathra or Ardashir I (the names are in origin the same); and it may have been in allusion to this that Tansar declared to Gushnasp (Tansar Name 66) that: 'In my eyes this latter Ardashir is of far greater worth than the Ardashir of old.' (This statement had all the greater propaganda value in that it was from the Achaemenian Artakhshathra that the Arsacids had spuriously claimed descent.)

Ardashir appears to have begun a campaign of active iconoclasm during his wars of conquest, for in Armenia he is said to have shattered the statues of the dead, and to have set a sacred fire (presumably in place of a statue) in the temple of Ohrmazd at Pakaran. Yet the campaign was to be long drawn out (cases involving the removal of statues still occur in the sixth-century law-book, the 'Madigan i Hazar Dadestan'), for it, like the calendar reform, must have caused great distress, and stirred up stubborn resistance. It was, however, only the use of cult-statues which the Sasanians attacked, and they themselves continued to represent the yazatas of Zoroastrianism, including Ohrmazd, in anthropomorphic fashion, according to the tradition established in the Seleucid era. One of the most striking pieces of visual propaganda on behalf of Ardashir is a great rock-carving at Naqsh-i Rustam, near the Achaemenian tombs, and not far from Istakhr. This shows the conquerer on horseback, confronting Ohrmazd himself, also mounted, with turreted crown and barsom-rods in hand, who reaches him the diadem of sovereignty. God and king are identified by inscriptions cut on their horses' flanks in three languages, Middle Persian, Parthian and Greek (Ohrmazd being duly named in the Greek version Zeus); and whereas Ohrmazd's horse treads down a snake-haired creature (probably Ahriman) beneath its hooves, Ardashir's tramples over a prostrate figure who is undoubtedly Ardaban V, equated thus in his defeat with the powers of evil. There are many other representations of divine beings in Sasanian carvings in high relief, among them Mihr with radiate crown, Ardvisur Anahid, richly-garbed, and Vahram still as a Greek Herakles, naked with lion-skin and club. There was thus no break with the iconography of the Parthian period, only a determined campaign to end the use of cult images. As one result of this campaign the Middle Persian words 'bashn' and 'bashnbad' (equivalent to Parthian 'bagin' and 'bagnapat'), meaning an image-shrine and its

priest, although attested in non-Zoroastrian sources, are not to be found anywhere in the Pahlavi books.

The campaign against images went with an equally vigorous one to establish more sacred fires. This hardly seems at first sight to accord with a specific accusation made by Gushnasp that Ardashir had 'taken away fires from the fire-temples, extinguished them and blotted them out, and that no one has ever before presumed so far against religion' (Tansar Name 47). Tansar admits this grievous charge, but explains that the fires in question had been those of vassal-kings of the Arsacids, who had no ancient entitlement to them. It was, he claims, 'pure innovation, introduced by them without the authority of kings of old', and accordingly Ardashir 'razed the temples and confiscated the endowments'. The tolerant days of Arsacid rule were past, and under the Sasanians only one regnal fire might burn in Iran. This quenching of local dynastic fires must have deeply offended the pride and piety of many Zoroastrians.

The Sasanians (who in as many ways as possible, it seems, imitated their great predecessors, the Achaemenians) set great store by their own regnal fires. Ardashir placed a representation of his fire, raised on a massive pedestal, on the reverse of his coins, and this became the general practice of the dynasty. Apart from this, Ardashir is reputed to have founded many Atakhsh i Vahram (Verethraghna fires) in the province of Pars. He himself left only a few brief inscriptions behind him, made, as we have seen, in three languages, as those of Darius the Great had been; but his son, Shabuhr I, had a great inscription carved for posterity in the same three languages – Middle Persian, Parthian and Greek, with their three separate scripts – on the smooth stone walls of the Kaᶜba-yi Zardusht at Naqsh-i Rustam. The first half of this inscription described Shabuhr's achievements and triumphs in campaigns against Rome (for the Persians had inherited the war with this western neighbour). The second part deals with the endowment of sacred fires and lesser benefactions in honour of members of the royal family and of others who had helped establish and strengthen Sasanian rule. The sacred fires in question are 'pad-nam adur' or 'named fires', such as the early Arsacid kings are thought to have founded at Nisa; and Shabuhr, enriched by the spoils of conquest, established five of them, one for the sake of his own soul, one for that of his Queen of queens, Adur-Anahid, and one for each of three sons who had fought with him in the Roman wars. Shabuhr further endowed a number of daily offerings to be made for the souls of other

members of the royal family and the nobility. These consisted of a sacrificial sheep, bread and wine – the same offerings that Cambyses had endowed to be made daily at the tomb of Cyrus.

The rise of Kirder, the second great prelate

The founding of sacred fires is mentioned repeatedly in the inscriptions of Kirder, who was the second great prelate of the Sasanian period, and very long-lived and powerful. His eminence is shown by the fact that he alone among commoners was allowed to have inscriptions carved in royal fashion – excepting that his were in Middle Persian only. One of these was actually set – in a later reign – beneath Shabuhr's on the Kaʿba. Another was placed on the rock-face of Naqsh-i Rustam; and a third was at Naqsh-i Rajab, a rocky recess not far away across the plain. (Beside this one Kirder had his own portrait carved.) The fourth and longest is at Sar-Mashhad, now a remote and desolate place in Pars. The area was well-watered and fruitful in Sasanian times, however, and it has been surmised that he owned land there, and made this great inscription (now sadly weather-worn) as his memorial beside the resting-place of his bones, for higher up the steep rock-face where it is carved there is an ossuary niche.

The first mention of Kirder is in Shabuhr's inscription, where he, like Tansar before him, bears the title of 'herbad' (Parthian l.28, M Persian l.34). Although he was then only young, the King of kings (as Kirder's own inscriptions show) had already made him 'absolute and in authority over the order of priests at court and in every province and place throughout the empire'. (SM 3–4). Through his actions, Kirder himself says (ibid. ll. 4–6), 'religious activities were increased, many Vahram fires were founded, and many priests became happy and prosperous . . . and much benefit accrued to Ohrmazd and the yazads, and there was much harm to Ahriman and the devs.' Further, he declares (ll. 30–31) 'images were destroyed and the lurking places of devs demolished, and places and abodes of the yazads were established'. This is a way of saying that sacred fires (visited, it was held, thrice daily by the 'spenta' divine beings) were founded to replace cult statues, which the iconoclasts held were inhabited by devs, who entered the images thus impiously erected by men and misappropriated the offering laid before them. So by their destruction, and the increase in due religious observances, 'great satisfaction

came in the land to the yazads and to Water and Fire and Cattle' (l. 28).

Kirder speaks of only two categories of sacred fires, 'Vahram' ones, and 'fires' without any qualifications – presumably, that is, Atakhsh i Aduran, as the ordinary local fire, equivalent to a parish church, was called; but the Sasanian law-book shows that at that epoch there was a third kind of fire which might burn in a holy place. A fire, with its constant need for fuel and attendance, costs far more to maintain than a statue; and so when an image was removed from a humble place of worship (such as a private chapel or village shrine) it might be replaced, possibly only temporarily, by a 'Little Fire', an Adurog, set there to purify the place from the evil powers attracted by image worship. Such a fire could be kindled on the spot, or formed from the embers of a hearth fire; and, like a hearth fire, it could be tended by a layman, provided he were in a state of purity. Sometimes (as a sixth-century law-suit shows) the 'Little Fire' would become as beloved as the statue it had replaced and would be maintained in perpetuity. The full name of such a fire is Adurog i pad dadgah, that is, 'Little Fire in an appointed place' (Avestan 'daitya gatu'), abbreviated in modern times to Dadgah.

Kirder won his place, it seems, in Shabuhr's inscription because he accompanied the King of kings on his Roman campaigns; and he records (SM 37 ff.) that throughout the foreign parts where these took him – Syria and Cilicia, Cappadocia and Pontus, Armenia, Georgia and Albania – he found sacred fires and priests tending them. These fires (some of which must have been those reported on by Strabo) were evidently foundations of Achaemenian times, faithfully maintained by descendants of former Persian colonists. Kirder claims to have protected the temples and their congregations from pillage, and to have established order among them. In the following century, when most of these scattered believers were back under Byzantine rule, a Christian, St Basil, seeking to proselytize among them, recorded (Collected Letters CCLVIII) that they 'practised their own peculiar customs, not mingling with other peoples; and it is altogether impossible to employ reasoning with them, inasmuch as they have been preyed upon by the devil according to his wish. For there are neither books amongst them, nor teachers of doctrine, but they are brought up in an unreasoning manner, receiving their impiety by transmission from father to son. . . . They rave after unlawful marriages, and they believe in fire as God, and other such things.'

This account, although couched in hostile terms, gives a vivid impression of the rock-like quality of these small Zoroastrian communities, and the strength of their dependence upon a living tradition, unsupported by the written word.

Kirder himself claims among his many pious achievements the encouragement of what Basil termed 'unlawful', that is 'khvaet-vadatha' marriages, in Middle Persian called 'khvedodah' (SM 45); and there were practised by the royal family, evidently even before their rise to power. Thus Ardashir, son of Papak, married Denak, daughter of Papak; and Shabuhr I made his own daughter, Adur-Anahid, his Queen of queens. Kirder not only regarded this practice, which outraged Basil, as good; but he was quite as convinced as that saint that those of other faiths had been 'preyed upon by the devil', and under later kings he took vigorous steps to reduce their ranks within Iran. 'Great blows and damage' (he says) 'came upon Ahriman and the devs, and the doctrine of Ahriman and the devs departed the land and was no more believed. And Jews and Buddhists and Brahmans and Mandaeans and Christians . . . and Manichaeans are being smitten in the land' (SM 29–30).

The prophet Mani

Of these alien religions Manichaeism had arisen with the rise of the Sasanians, and had brought its iniquity to the Persian court itself, in the person of the prophet Mani. He was an Iranian, of noble Parthian blood; but his father had joined an ascetic community (probably of Elchaisites) in Babylonia, and Mani had grown up there speaking a Semitic tongue. On reaching manhood he felt impelled to preach his own religion, which was an eclectic one, and contained a number of Zoroastrian elements; for though he had probably had no direct contact with Zoroastrianism in his youth, Mani had imbibed some of its fundamental tenets through Judaeo-Christian and Gnostic traditions. Thus he believed in God and the Devil, Heaven and Hell, the Three Times, the individual judgment at death, the final defeat of evil, the Last Judgment, and life everlasting for the blessed in the presence of the hosts of heaven. With regard to this world, however, his teachings were profoundly pessimistic; for he saw it as almost wholly evil, and held that the best course for the individual was to renounce it as fully as possible, and to lead a gentle, ascetic life, dying celibate, so that his own soul might go to heaven, and he would have

had no part in perpetuating the misery of human existence on earth. Mani's doctrines were thus fundamentally opposed to the positive, practical ones of Zoroastrianism. He had nevertheless a respect for the older faith – the religion of the Arsacid Great Kings, under whose rule he had been born, and which the Sasanians were in their turn upholding; and he thought that it, and Christianity, and Buddhism, were all in origin the one true faith, distorted by human misunderstandings, which he had been sent to restore. Preaching in Persia he was very ready, therefore, to present his own religion in a Zoroastrian guise, even 'translating' the names of the many divine beings of his own pantheon by those of Zoroastrian yazatas. This approach roused deep ire among Zoroastrian priests, who labelled the Manichaeans 'zandiks' or heretics (that is, those who put their own perverse interpretations upon holy texts).

Mani was, however, kindly received by Shabuhr I, and spent many years at his court, protected during the whole of his long reign (c. 240–72) from the wrath of Kirder. He early wrote a compendium of his teachings, duly translated into Middle Persian, for the king, and fragments of this book, called the 'Shabuhragan', and other Iranian Manichaean writings, have been recovered this century from the sand-buried ruins of Manichaean monasteries in Chinese Turkestan.

Zurvanism in the early Sasanian period

These writings show that the Manichaeans rendered the name of Mani's supreme God, in Middle Persian, as Zurvan, and called his 'son', the Manichaean First Man, Ohrmazd. This is the first of many pieces of contemporary evidence which show that the Sasanians were Zurvanites (perhaps following in this also the example of the later Achaemenians). Subsequently Mani sent missionaries to Parthia, in the north-east. They duly translated his scriptures into Parthian, and rendered the names of the Manichaean gods by ones acceptable to the Zoroastrians of that region; and it is noteworthy that they made no use of that of Zurvan, but simply translated the name of Mani's supreme God literally, as 'Father of Greatness'. Zurvanism can be traced, through Buddhist sources, among the Sogdians of the far north-east – possibly carried there by Persian garrison troops in Achaemenian times – but the Parthians appear to have resisted the heresy. This was very probably the main point of difference between Parthian and Persian theology, a difference which evidently

persisted, despite the efforts of the Sasanian clergy; for an Armenian writer of the fifth century A. C. refers to a Zoroastrian priest who was master of both the Persian and Parthian schools of religious thought. Kirder himself, leader of the religious community under at least four kings, must also have been a Zurvanite, as other notable Persian clerics are known to have been after him – for otherwise there could not have been that harmony which so strikingly prevailed in Sasanian times between Persian rulers and priests; but he remained undeceived by Mani's adaptations of his own doctrines to Zurvanism.

Learning and writing

How far Shabuhr himself was beguiled by Manichaeism, in its guise of a reformed Zoroastrianism, cannot be known; but the Dinkard indicates a far-ranging curiosity on the king's part in matters of intellect and faith, combined with a steady adherence to the 'Mazda-worshipping' religion. The passage in question runs as follows: 'The King of kings, Shabuhr son of Ardashir, further collected those writings from the Religion which had been dispersed [that is, theoretically, by Alexander] throughout India, the Byzantine Empire, and other lands, and which treated of medicine, astronomy, movement, time, space, substance, creation, becoming, passing away, change in quality, growth (?), and other processes and organs. These he added to (?) the Avesta and commanded that a fair copy of all of them be deposited in the royal treasury; and he examined the possibility of bringing all systems (?) into line with the Mazda-worshipping religion' (DKM 412.17–413.2, ZZZ 8). The 'Avesta' to which these foreign writings were 'added' (the precise meaning of the verb used is obscure) was plainly the Zand, that is, the Middle Persian translation with its glosses and commentaries; and the evidence of Pahlavi compilations and Arabo-Persian books shows that foreign learning did indeed penetrate the religious tradition in this way, so that, for instance, the ancient doctrine of the seven creations was sometimes contaminated by the Empedoclean theory of the four elements (of earth, air, fire and water), and Hippocratic and Indian teachings became associated with traditional Iranian medical theory. Such assimilations depended on books; and so the Zoroastrian priests became steadily more accustomed to associating writing with religious and scholastic purposes, and not merely with practical ends.

Whether any of the Zand itself was written down in the Parthian

period is unknown; but it seems likely that proselytizing, first by Christians and then by the Manichaeans (who laid immense stress on the value of the written word for preserving truth) spurred the Zoroastrian priests to serious efforts to commit their own holy texts to writing. The problem of how to do this adequately for the Avesta was not solved, however, until later in the period.

The summit of Kirder's power

Shabuhr was succeeded by his son Hormizd I (272–3), one of those for whom a 'named fire' had been endowed; and he, Kirder relates (SM 9–11), increased that prelate's authority and conferred on him the new title of 'mobad of Ohrmazd'. This seems to be a reassertion of the superior dignity of western ecclesiastical titles over eastern ones, and after this the 'herbad' appears to be considered of slightly lower standing than the 'mobad', although the evidence is far from clear-cut. It was during Hormizd's brief reign that Kirder, it seems, arranged the compromise of uniting the 'old' and 'new' holy days into single prolonged feasts – a measure which must have done much, for the laity at least, to allay the bitterness and confusion following the calendar-reform. Hormizd was succeeded by his brother, Vahram I (273–6); and it was in his reign that Kirder compassed the death of Mani, prevailing on Vahram to have him tried and executed. A Parthian Manichaean fragment which relates Kirder's part in this duly refers to him as 'Kirder the magbed'.

Vahram I was followed by a young son of the same name, Vahram II (276–93), who, some think, was helped to the throne by Kirder; and it was in his reign that Kirder himself reached the summit of his dignity and power. He was given the additional honorary title of 'Kirder by whom Vahram's soul is saved' (Kirder i bokhtruwan Wahram), and was made 'mobad and judge of the whole empire'. He was also placed in authority over the sacred fires of Anahid-Ardashir and Anahid the Lady at Istakhr – that is to say, over the temple which had been in the hereditary charge of the Sasanians themselves. (The history of the fire named 'Anahid-Ardashir' is obscure.) It was under Vahram that Kirder records his own smiting of infidels. He tells also (SM 42–3) that he punished and rebuked those Zoroastrian priests whose behaviour required it, but 'made the Mazda-worshipping religion and the good priests exalted and honoured in the land'. 'And many people who were unbelievers' (he claims) 'became believers;

and many a one there was who held the doctrine of the devs, and through me gave up that doctrine' (l. 45). Dev-worship appears in fact to have persisted in certain remote regions (notably mountainous parts of Sogdia) down to the time of the Islamic conquest, so that one is not entitled to infer from these claims that the Arsacids had been unduly tolerant of unbelief, or that the early Sasanians succeeded all at once in sweeping an Augean stable clean. Iran was too vast a country, and open to too many currents of belief, for the state religion ever to obliterate all other creeds.

By this stage in his long career Kirder was naturally a man of wealth, and he states that he founded many Vahram fires at his own expense, and yearly had great numbers of rites and 'services of the yazads' performed (SM 47–8). It was also, it seems, at this point in his life that he had his inscriptions carved. By the one at Sar-Mashhad he had placed an impressive sculpture which shows Vahram II in heroic pose, thrusting a sword at a leaping lion. Behind him, tendering the empty scabbard, is a female figure who, it has been surmised, may be Anahid herself, the tutelary divinity of the Sasanian house, whose temple Vahram had put under Kirder's special care; and in the background stand two men, one perhaps the crown prince, the other Kirder himself.

In his inscriptions Kirder has little to say of doctrinal matters, being concerned rather with observances, church discipline, conversions, and the discouragement of infidels. He proclaims, however, the existence of heaven and hell, and the latter part of the inscription at Sar-Mashhad (l. 57 ff.) is taken up with an account, only partly legible, of a vision of the hereafter seem by him himself. In his spirit-journey he was met, he says, by his own double, his 'hangirb', and a woman – apparently the Daena (Middle Persian Den) who greets the departed soul at the Chinvat Bridge. In their company, it appears, he saw the golden thrones of heaven, and hell full of 'owls and other khrafstras', and became assured that his own place would one day be on high, as became a true servant of the Mazda-worshipping religion. – Neither Kirder himself, nor any Sasanian king, ever refers in an inscription to Zoroaster. They are content to proclaim themselves adherents of the faith which he taught, that is, Mazda-worship, in Middle Persian 'mazdesn'. This is in marked contrast to the Pahlavi literature, which is full of the prophet's name.

Although Kirder seems to have had his inscriptions carved, and his ossuary prepared, in the reign of Vahram II, he in fact outlived that

ruler also. After reigning for seventeen years Vahram was succeeded by his son Vahram III, but he was soon deposed by his great-uncle Narseh, youngest brother of Shabuhr I. (His name is the Middle Persian form of Avestan 'Nairyosanha', the messenger-yazad being very popular at this epoch.) Narseh, who ruled from 293 to 302, raised a great monument in the pass of Paikuli (in modern Iraq), at a place where he was met by the Persian nobles who proclaimed him king. On its huge blocks of stone was carved a long inscription, this time in two languages only, Middle Persian and Parthian, which describes the circumstances of his attaining power; and here (Parthian l. 15) Kirder figures for the last time, appearing among the highest dignitaries with his title of 'Ohrmazd mobad'. There is little religious matter in the inscription, but Narseh proclaims himself, with formulas established by his predecessors, as the 'Mazda-worshipping King of kings', who is 'of the race of the yazads' (Middle Persian l. 1); and he piously attributes his elevation to the will of 'Ohrmazd and all the yazads, and Anahid who is called the Lady' (ibid. l. 10). He also had an investiture scene carved at Naqsh-i Rustam, where again he proclaimed his devotion to Anahid, showing himself as receiving the diadem from her, a crowned and amply robed figure.

Persian made the official language of all Iran

In his inscription Narseh names Parthian as well as Persian nobles among his supporters, thus illustrating the drawing together of the two imperial peoples, begun under his father, Shabuhr I. Nevertheless, his is the last royal inscription to have a Parthian version. A few short private inscriptions in Parthian language and script have been found on rock-faces in southern Khorasan, that is, within the territory of Parthia proper; but it is thought that none is later than the fourth century A.C. The likelihood is, therefore, that soon after the raising of the monument at Paikuli the Sasanians took the decisive step of imposing Persian as the sole official language throughout Iran, and forbade altogether the use of written Parthian. This was a step which the Achaemenians had not needed to take, because of the common use of Aramaic; and a similar imposition of Parthian would have been out of character with Arsacid rule.

This measure was one of great importance for Zoroastrianism, because it meant that all the secondary religious literature of the faith, including the Zand, was written down in Middle Persian, thereafter

the only recognized living language for the state religion. In the course of its general imposition over the whole country Middle Persian came to absorb a large number of Parthian words; and so the language of the Zoroastrian books – the so-called Pahlavi literature – is a mixed koine, as can be seen by comparing it with the pure Middle Persian and Parthian of the early Sasanian inscriptions. But though Parthian thus survives as a major element in the living Persian language, the fact that the Zoroastrian secondary literature is known only in Middle Persian versions has helped to strengthen the misconception (so sedulously fostered by the Sasanians) that Parthian Zoroastrianism had been virtually non-existent, and that the faith had only truly lived through the guardianship of the southern kingdom.

Conclusion

Since the diffusion of her language marks a cultural triumph for Persia, the last-recorded royal use of Parthian under Narseh makes a fitting end to a consideration of the early Sasanian period. This was a time of conquest and innovation, which saw the vigorous imposition of a new authority in the religious, no less than in the secular, sphere. None of the religious measures of the time – iconoclasm, the promotion of the cult of temple fires, the calendar reform, the establishment of a single authorized canon of scripture – affected doctrine; and indeed (ironically, for a dynasty regularly presented as the first creators and defenders of Zoroastrian orthodoxy) the Sasanians actually weakened the faith through giving prominence to their own Zurvanite beliefs. In practical ways, however, the Zoroastrian church was evidently strengthened, becoming unified, enriched and served by an every-growing body of disciplined priests; and it also received intellectual stimulus, through encounters with foreign learning.

CHAPTER EIGHT

During the mid Sasanian period

Upholding a Zurvanite orthodoxy

Much of the fourth century was occupied by the long reign of Shabuhr II, Narseh's grandson, who succeeded as an infant in 309, and was king for seventy years. He left no inscriptions, for the later Sasanians, like the later Achaemenians, abandoned this practice; and he is known in the history of Zoroastrianism mainly from two sources. One is the Dinkard's account of the transmission of the faith, which has the following statement about him: 'The King of kings, Shabuhr son of Hormizd, summoned men from all regions to an unprejudiced (?) disputation to examine and investigate all utterances. After the triumph of Adurbad, through his tested utterance, over all those of different groups, schools (?) and sects, he made this declaration: "Now that we have seen the faith as it truly is, we shall not tolerate anyone of false religion, and we shall be exceedingly zealous". And he did even so' (DkM 413. 2–8, ZZZ 8).

Elsewhere it is told that Adurbad i Mahraspand, a Persian high priest, vindicated his interpretation of the faith by undergoing – and surviving – the ancient ordeal of having molten metal poured on his breast. Unfortunately it is nowhere said what were the doctrines which he thus valiantly upheld; but it may safely be assumed that he was a Zurvanite, like the Sasanian kings and other Persian high priests of their era – especially since clear evidence exists for the Zurvanite

beliefs of Shabuhr II (who called one of his daughters Zurvandukht 'Daughter of Zurvan'). Most of this evidence comes from the other main source for his religious activities, namely Christian records, and in particular the acts of Syrian martyrs. In his reign political considerations began to intensify religious animus, for it was then that Constantine freed Christianity from oppression, and it became virtually the state religion of the Roman Empire, Iran's most constant foe. Shabuhr accordingly imposed double taxation and tribute on his Christian subjects because they could not now serve in his armies, sharing as they did 'the sentiments of Caesar our enemy'; and the Zoroastrians living under what was now Christian rule in Asia Minor also suffered. Shabuhr launched an active persecution of Christians in 322, instigated, they claimed, by the Zoroastrian chief priests, who are said to have complained to the king in these terms: 'We cannot serve the sun, nor purify the air, nor make the water clear, nor cleanse the earth, because of the Nazarenes, who scorn the sun, despise fire and do not honour water' (Braun, 1). This indictment lists the four inanimate creations of Zoroastrianism, with the sun representing, as often, fire, but with air substituted, in Greek fashion, for the sky. On hearing the complaint Shabuhr (the writer says) was filled with anger, and had two Christian bishops brought before him, and addressed them thus: 'Know you not that I am of the race of the yazads? And I pray to the sun and honour fire. . . . Who is the God who is better than Ohrmazd, or whose anger is harsher than Ahriman's? What man is wise and does not pray to the sun?' And when the bishops proved obdurate, he had them put to death. On another occasion when a Persian Christian refused to reverence sun and fire. Shabuhr is reported to have said to him (ibid. 30): 'I swear by the sun, the Judge of the whole earth [that is, Mihr], that if you force me to it, who am your friend, then I shall slay you and spare none who bears this name (of Christian).' Often persecutor and persecuted were equally resolute, and much blood flowed. Mobads or magi are frequently mentioned as haling Christians before the King, and the office of chief mobad is often referred to. Since only Christian accounts of the interrogations survive, the martyrs are always credited with the best of the exchanges; and Pusai, one of those put to death by Shabuhr, is shown (ibid. 67) making a shrewd thrust at the King's Zurvanite beliefs: 'If your Majesty says "Sun, moon and stars are the children of Ohrmazd", why, we Christians do not believe in the brother of Satan. According to what the magi say, Ohrmazd is the brother of

Satan. If we do not pray to the brother of Satan, how should we then acknowledge this brother's children?' These words illustrate how radically the Zurvanites had betrayed Zoroaster's teachings by linking together, fraternally, the good and evil which he had so clearly set apart.

Such persecutions continued intermittently through the rest of the Sasanian period, and were sometimes provoked by the intransigence of the Christians themselves. The confrontation of the two faiths brings out their striking differences in outlook and practice. Zoroaster's teachings about the 'spenta' nature of physical creation, and his vision of God's kingdom to come upon earth, kept Zoroastrianism almost as much a religion of this world as was ancient Judaism, which had no hopes for the hereafter; but the Persian Christians were ascetic, with their thoughts fixed almost exclusively upon the life to come, and they shocked the Zoroastrians by their neglect of this world and its duties as well as its joys. Celibacy, exaltation of the contemplative life, the rejection of innocent pleasures, and the embracing not only of holy poverty but also of holy dirt, were forms of religious expression wholly alien to the Zoroastrians. There were gulfs too between them and the Jews, who were also at times the victims of Sasanian persecution. One field of theological difference is illustrated by a question by a magus to a rabbi, as to why one should suppose God to have created 'vermin and creeping things'; and the rabbi's answer, that 'God created vermin and creeping things in the world as a healing for men on earth', can hardly have led to a better understanding. No record survives of any debates between Zoroastrians and Buddhists, and except in Kirder's inscriptions there are no references to persecutions of Buddhist communities, for almost all sources for Sasanian history deal with western Iran.

The long reign of Shabuhr II was followed by three brief ones; and in 399 Yazdegird I succeeded to the throne. The early part of his reign was distinguished by marked clemency towards the Christians, who hailed him as good and blessed; but in Zoroastrian tradition he is known as 'the Sinner' – perhaps, it is suggested, because of his kindness to the infidel. One of his known acts of magnanimity was to allow Christians to bury their dead – that is (in Zoroastrian eyes) to pollute the good earth. Practice in funerary matters among the Zoroastrians themselves seems to have been exactly the same as during the two earlier empires: the rite of exposure, that is, was

generally practised except by the royal family, who continued to place their dead, embalmed, in mausoleums. As with the Arsacids, however, this is attested only from literary sources (Zoroastrian and Arabo-Persian), for no tomb of any Sasanian king has yet been found. (The dynasty, it is recorded, had no common funerary place for its members.)

During the latter part of Yazdegird's reign the king's forbearance towards Christians became tried by their own rash acts, and he in his turn took stern measures against them. Thus it is told how a Christian priest destroyed a fire temple that stood close to his church, and refused to rebuild it, even at the king's command; and how another boldly extinguished a sacred fire and celebrated mass in its place (Hoffmann, 34–8). It is noteworthy that even in the face of such provocation the Persians proceeded deliberately, with due processes of investigation and trial, before in the end sentence of death was pronounced. Religious zeal continued to characterize the reign of Yazdegird's son, Vahram V (421–39), of whom it is recorded (*ibid.* 39) that 'he listened to the command of the accursed Mihr-Shabuhr, chief of the magi, and dragged forth the dead who had been buried in the days of his father, and scattered them about in the sun; and he maintained this command for five years.' Theodoretus, who wrote during his reign, records, however (Sermo 9.35), that, though Persians had learnt from Zoroaster 'to expose their dead to dogs and birds', nevertheless Persian converts to Christianity 'do not now tolerate this practice, but bury their dead in the earth, disregarding the cruel laws that forbid interment, and show no fear of the cruelty of those who punish them.'

Vahram's chief minister was Mihr-Narseh, an account of whose life is given by the Arabo-Persian historian, Tabari (who relied evidently on a Sasanian source). From this it is known that he was a successful commander in the field, was appointed chief minister by Yazdegird I, and continued to hold this office under Vahram and also under his son, Yazdegird II (439–57). He is represented as enlightened, cultured, and a devout Zoroastrian; and his private life appears full of piety and charitable works. Near his birthplace, at Firuzabad in Pars, a stone bridge still stands, which bears this weather-worn inscription: 'This bridge was built by the order of Mihr-Narseh, the chief minister, for the benefit of his soul, at his own cost. Whoever has come by this road, let him invoke a blessing on Mihr-Narseh and his sons, for that he has thus bridged this crossing.' Mihr-Narseh's three

sons, associated with him here, each held high office as titular head of one of the traditional estates of the realm. Thus Kardar was 'Chief of warriors'; Zurvandad, destined, Tabari says, for the church and law (a fact which raises problems about the relationship of the priesthood and nobility) held the title of 'Herbad of herbads' (Herbadan herbad); and Mah-Gushnasp was 'Chief of herdsmen'. All these archaic-sounding titles, together with that of Mobadan mobad 'High priest of high priests' for the head of the whole Zoroastrian community, appear to be creations of this epoch. Mihr-Narseh further developed four villages, with fine fields and orchards, near Firuzabad; and in one he established a sacred fire for his own soul, and in the other three 'named fires' for each of these three sons. These fires were intended, evidently, to be the centres of village worship, with the responsibility for maintaining them and appointing their priests resting with Mihr-Narseh, his sons and their heirs.

The fact that Mihr-Narseh called one of his sons Zurvandad, 'Given by Zurvan', shows that he too was a Zurvanite; and it is from his days that the only detailed documents survive about the tenets of that heresy. Yazdegird II made a determined effort to win Armenia back from Christianity, and issued a proclamation summoning its inhabitants to return to the old faith. Another document was addressed to them by Mihr-Narseh, and it is the gist of this, it seems, which has been preserved by two Armenian writers, Elishe Vartabad and Lazarus of Pharb. In it the great god Zurvan is declared to have existed before heaven and earth; and the myth is told of his twin sons, Ohrmazd and Ahriman. Thereafter Mihr-Narseh's exposition proceeds on orthodox lines. Ohrmazd, he affirms, has created heaven and earth and all that is good within them, whereas Ahriman has brought into existence miseries, sicknesses and death. 'Happiness, power, glory, honours, health of body, beauty of countenance, eloquence of tongue and length of life are the work of the Creator of good. . . . Men who say that he is the author of death, and that good and evil alike come from him, are in error.' In their answer the Armenians ignored the problem of attributing the origin of evil to God, and, like prudent polemicists, moved to the attack instead: 'We do not worship, like you, the elements, the sun, the moon, the winds and the fire. We do not make offerings to all these gods whom you name on earth and in heaven. . . . We worship . . . a single . . . God.' The Syrian Christians similarly characterized the religion of 'the followers of the wicked Zradusht' as being the 'ancient service of

false gods and of the elements'; but Vahram V himself answered them by saying (Hoffman, 42) that 'he acknowledged only one God. The rest were but as courtiers of the King.'

The three great sacred fires

These contests with other, proselytizing religions, although hardly known to Zoroastrianism before the Sasanian period, can have been little more than peripheral harassments to that solidly based, immensely powerful faith, whose spiritual forces were supported by all the temporal might of the Sasanian Empire. Ecclesiastically, Zoroastrianism continued to expand and flourish, and it appears to be during this time that two great sacred fires in Pars and Media were brought into prominence to rival the glory of Adur Burzen-Mihr. The Parthian fire was itself far too holy (linked as it was in legend with the prophet and Vishtaspa) for the western priests to withold veneration from it; but they set it now in dignity below their own fires, stating that Adur Farnbag (which burned in Pars) was the especial fire of priests, and Adur Gushnasp (in Media) that of warriors, whereas Adur Burzen-Mihr belonged to the lowliest estate, that of herdsmen and farmers. This was mere scholastic schematization; but it seems to have provided a basis for the vigorous promotion of the two western fires.

The Persian fire was presumably in origin, like the other two, a 'named fire', that of an unknown Farnbag, whose name meant 'Having a share/prospering through Farnah'. Farnah is a dialect form of Avestan Khvarenah (Middle Persian Khwarrah, Persian Khara); and in promoting the fire's fame its priests made much of this element in its name, going so far indeed as to identify their fire at times fully with divine Khvarenah itself. In the Shahname version of the story of Ardashir I (Warner, VI, 226) the founder of the Sasanian dynasty is said to have visited its temple, but this is evidently anachronistic. What appear to be reliable references to the fire all belong to the mid and later Sasanian periods. Thus Yazdegird I is represented as taking an oath by both Farnbag and Burzen-Mihr (ibid., 391); and Biruni (p. 215) records that this king's great-grandson, Peroz, prayed at the shrine of 'Adar Khara' for an end to a devastating drought. In the opening chapter of the Pahlavi work, Arda Viraz Namag, whose final redaction was made in Pars, a great assembly of priests gathers at the temple of 'the victorious Adur Farnbag' to deliberate together.

Still more is said in contemporary sources about the Median fire, Adur Gushnasp, partly because this was the nearest of the three great fires to the western boundaries of Iran, and so came to the notice of foreign observers, partly because kings belonged to the warrior-estate, and so its priests were able to promote this fire as the royal one. There is no mention of it in the early Sasanian inscriptions; and excavation suggests that it was not until the late fourth or early fifth century that it was taken to an unusually beautiful site in Azarbaijan. This, known in Muslim times as Takht-i Suleyman, 'The Throne of Solomon', is a hill whose flat top holds a lake high above the level of the surrounding countryside, making it a perfect place for Zoroastrians to venerate God and his creations of fire and water. The whole hill-top was enclosed by a massive mud-brick wall, with gateways to north and south; and from the northern one a processional way led to the temple precinct itself, surrounded on three sides by another wall, but open on the south to the lake. Here Adur Gushnasp was enthroned in an inner sanctuary, to be reached through a series of ante-chambers and pillared halls. The royal connection of this 'fire of warriors' was so successfully fostered that it became the acknowledged custom for each king, after his coronation, to make a pilgrimage there on foot (probably walking, that is, from the base of the holy hill). Royal gifts were lavished on this shrine, as by the Arsacids on Adur Burzen-Mihr, the first monarch who is mentioned in this connection being Vahram V. Tha^calibi (pp. 559–60) tells how, on his return from a triumphant campaign against the 'Turks', that is, the Chionites (yet another nomad people of the steppes), Vahram bestowed the crown of their conquered leader upon the temple, together with his queen and her slaves to be servitors there. On another occasion, according to the Shahname (Warner, VII, 138–9), this king entrusted an Indian princess, his bride, to the high priest, to undergo purification and be converted to the faith. There are also references in the epic to Vahram's visiting the shrine for the feasts of Sada and No Ruz (ibid., p. 94); and it was probably he, a devout and zealous king, who first fully acknowledged the royal link with this sacred fire, although the earliest dateable objects found in its ruins come from the reign of his grandson, Peroz (459–84). The commonalty naturally followed royal example in visiting the shrine; and in one Zoroastrian text (Saddar Bd 44.18, 21) it is enjoined that anyone praying for restoration of sight should vow to make 'an eye of gold' and send it to Adur Gushnasp; and that anyone wishing his son

to be wise should send a present there. The evidence points to the great Zoroastrian sanctuaries being centres of general devotion and pilgrimage in the same way as the great shrines of Christendom, with their priests vying with one another to promote the legends and hence the sanctity of their particular fires; and ancient Iran doubtless saw in spring and summer countless caravans of pilgrims as varied and colourful as those of medieval Europe.

Liturgical reform

Many acts of worship must have been performed at the great sanctuaries by their numerous priests; and it was possibly at this epoch that the yasna service was lengthened to increase its impressiveness. This seems to have been done by joining the Gathic Staota Yesnya (already greatly extended by the addition of Younger Avestan texts) to another liturgy with its own ritual, namely a haoma-ceremony which (though evidently old, probably pre-Zoroastrian, in origin) had a liturgy (essentially Y IX–XI) that had evolved into the Younger Avestan dialect. The present yasna service thus has two separate preparations of haoma, which differ only slightly in their rituals. By a yet further development a still longer service, called that of 'All the Masters', Visperad (Av. Vispe Ratavo) was evolved from this extended yasna, for the celebration primarily of the seven holy days of obligation. The Visperad is dedicated to Ohrmazd, as Master of all; and it consists of the rituals of the yasna, virtually unchanged, but with a liturgy extended by twenty-four short supplementary sections. These are made up in the main of formal, repetitive invocations. The extended yasna and Visperad are still reverently solemnized by Zoroastrian priests today, and there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the piety which led to the creation of these services. Yet all such developments meant more work for priests and more expense for the laity – easily borne, no doubt, by the wealthy nobles and merchants of those imperial days, but gradually creating ever heavier pressures on the devout poor, who would have struggled, then as later, to pay for the longer ceremonies which they were taught were of greater merit and hence of more benefit to the soul.

Religious literature and royal propaganda

Another pious activity, which must have continued throughout the period, was the writing down of the Middle Persian Zand, together with much secondary Zoroastrian literature. Some of the Pahlavi texts which survive are original compositions of the Sasanian and post-Sasanian periods, but others have clearly come down from remote antiquity, and must once have existed in parallel versions in various Iranian languages. Two such works, the Drakht Asurig, 'Assyrian Tree', and Ayadgar i Zareran, 'Exploits of Zarer', bear traces in fact of having been translated from Parthian originals. Middle Persian renderings are thus often merely the final forms, fossilized in writing, of works with an immensely long oral history.

Persian priests also worked at filling out the scanty historical records of the faith; and they evolved in this connection a pseudo-genealogy for the Sasanian royal house to rival the pseudo-genealogy of the Arsacids. The Persian one was based on the fact that the father of Darius the Great was called Vishtaspa. Him they identified (quite possibly in good faith) with his Kayanian namesake. They then created a wholly fictitious blood-tie between the Sasanians themselves and their Achaemenian predecessors, and so were able to trace the ancestry of the reigning dynasty all the way back to the first royal patron of the faith. This had a political advantage, since a claim to Kayanian blood gave these kings of the south-west an ancient title to rule also over the north-east. In this respect it exactly counterbalanced the faked genealogy whereby the Arsacids of the north-east traced their descent from the Persian Artaxerxes. The new Sasanian one had, however, the added value that, by linking these Persian kings with Kavi Vishtaspa, it made them appear as natural heirs to the khvarenah or divine grace which had accompanied him, and hence as the rightful rulers of Zoroastrians everywhere. The era of the Arsacids could thus be presented as no more than a regrettable interlude, a break in the series of legitimate sovereigns of Iran. These Iranian, Zoroastrian kings were now made indeed to seem hardly less alien and usurping than Alexander himself; and so effective has this Persian propaganda proved that it has shaped later attitudes to the Parthian epoch both within the Zoroastrian community and among modern scholars, so that the Arsacid period is regularly described as a semi-pagan one, and the true faith is presented as abiding precariously then in hiding with the Sasanians in their Persian fastness. By this

means a whole glorious epoch, lasting half a millennium, was effectively blotted out of Zoroastrian history.

The faked Sasanian genealogy evidently existed in the fourth century; and it is associated with the creation of a long prose chronicle called the Khwaday Namag, 'Book of Kings'. This was essentially an account of the history of the world, narrowing to that of Iran itself, seen as the history of a series of related dynasties. The earliest the priests termed the Peshdadian (translating Avestan Paradata 'first created'). This was formed of mythical 'first men' and culture heroes, with Gayomard at their head. They were followed by the Kayanians (to whom they were linked through the hoary device of an abandoned royal infant, brought up unknown). The Achaemenians (represented by only two monarchs) were treated as part virtually of the Kayanian dynasty, which accordingly met its end through Alexander's conquest. Thereafter (it is said) there was no King of kings in Iran, but only scores of petty local rulers. A few of these are named from among the Arsacids, and include Arshak himself, and 'Ardaban the Great', prince of Shiraz and Isfahan, who (the chronicle relates) appointed Papak as governor in Istakhr. Papak, enlightened by dreams, gave his daughter in marriage to a mountain shepherd, the last of a long line of Sasans who had been in hiding since the death of their ancestor Dara, the last Achaemenian king; and from this union sprang Ardashir, who restored the faith, re-established the high kingship, and led Iran back to power and glory.

How far this distortion of history gained credence during the Sasanians' own period of rule is doubtful; but clearly for it to have any effect it had to be made widely known; and there are signs of its being proclaimed and exploited from the time of Peroz, son of Yazdegird II (459–84). As prince, Peroz had been governor of Seistan; and during his father's reign the Hephthalites, a mixed nomadic horde, had begun to menace Iran on its north-eastern frontier, thus making the Sasanians keenly aware of their need to foster loyalty among their own subjects there. Yazdegird himself moved his court for seven years into Parthian territory, the better to counter the Hephthalites; and Peroz, who had to continue the fighting against them, showed his desire to court eastern Iranian popularity by reviving the ancient title of 'Kavi', in its Middle Persian form of 'Kay', on some of his coins. (Previously this had been used only by prince-governors of north-eastern Iran.) He also called one of his sons Kavad after Kavi Kavata (the first Kayanian king), and another Zamasp after Jamaspa

(Vishtaspa's wise counsellor). This is the first time that such Avestan names appear in the Sasanian family. Peroz' son Kavad also used the title 'Kay' on his coins; and he in his turn named one son Khosrow, after Kavi Haosravah, and another Kaus, after Kavi Usan. Thereafter there was another Khosrow, grandson of the first, and a second Kavad, his son. Throughout the later Sasanian period the dynasty thus strongly affirmed, through given names, the validity of their claim to Kayanian descent.

Peroz himself was a devout Zoroastrian, and his zeal for the faith, like his father's, showed itself in the persecution of unbelievers. His harassment of Christians had an element in it of reprisal, for he complained that the Byzantines tormented the Zoroastrians under their rule, forbade them free observance of their faith and laws, and would not permit them to maintain sacred fires. Towards the end of his reign, however, he relaxed his severity towards the Christians in Persia when, as Nestorians, they were rejected by Byzantium.

Calendar reform

A matter which must have been engaging leading Zoroastrians with ever-increasing urgency during his reign was the religious calendar. Ever since this had been changed under Ardashir from a 360- to a 365-day one there had been no intercalation, and, with a quarter-day being lost annually, the holy year had slipped steadily backward until now No Ruz was being celebrated in July, remote from either equinox. The need to act led (at some uncertain date) to a great council being held of the learned men of the realm; and they evidently decided on the radical step of restoring the celebration of the 'New Day' to its traditional time, in the spring. How to do this was plainly a difficult matter; and the solution found was, not to attempt to shift the calendar-months, but instead to shift No Ruz itself from the first of Farvardin to the first of whichever month was then appropriate. The actual change appears to have been made under Peroz' son Kavad I, between 507 and 511 A.C., in which years the spring equinox coincided with the first of the ninth month, Adur; and from then onwards the religious No Ruz was celebrated on 1 Adur. The six gahambars also moved their places, so as to form exactly the same chain of feasts as before in relation to No Ruz; and the fravashi days, coinciding in part with the sixth gahambar, shifted with it to the end of the eighth month, Aban. Sada too had to move with No Ruz, and

so did the anniversary day of the prophet's death, calculated in relation to the first gahambar. These feasts now made up what was termed the 'moving' year – so called either because of this dramatic shift in the sixth century, or because it was intended to keep moving it by intercalating a whole month every 120 years, so that 1 Adur could never again recede more than thirty days from the spring equinox. The remaining festivals, being of far less religious importance than the seven founded by Zoroaster, were left in their former places in the calendar, to go on slipping back with it almost imperceptibly through the seasons.

The second Sasanian calendar-reform was thus devoutly intended, but in the long run its effects may well have been almost as damaging as those of the first purely practical one, for they added to the complications which it had created. Thus though the people dutifully learnt to keep the religious 'New Day' – which they called the 'No Ruz of the priests' – on 1 Adur, they could not bring themselves to abandon the traditional celebration of No Ruz on 1 Farvardin, and this remained the beginning of the secular year and the coronation day of kings. There thus came to be four celebrations of No Ruz, with the lesser and greater feasts being celebrated on 1 and 6 Adur, and on 1 and 6 Farvardin; and this must have clouded still more the general awareness of the link between that festival and the gahambars, and the doctrinal significance of seven high feasts. The celebration of all seven is repeatedly enjoined in the later Zoroastrian literature as being among the essential duties of every believer; but the festivals are named separately as 'Rapithwin' and 'the gahambars', and their observance constitutes two separate obligations.

In Pahlavi texts composed – or revised – after the second calendar reform there is much emphasis on the significance of spring in connection with thoughts of resurrection and Frashegird. So a priest writing in the ninth century declared: 'The making of Frashegird is like the year, in which at springtime the trees are made to blossom. . . . Like the resurrection of the dead, new leaves are made to shoot from dry plants and trees, and springtime is made to blossom' (Zadspram XXXIV. 0.27). A sense of renewal was now characteristic of the No Ruz celebrations and new clothes were then worn, and food was of the new season. 'Among other things which it was thought propitious to begin this day with was a mouthful of pure fresh milk and fresh cheese; all the kings of Persia took it as a blessing.' The kings also ate on that morning 'white sugar with fresh

Indian nuts pared'; and it was the custom to sow for this seventh feast seven kinds of seeds, to come up fresh and green on the holy day itself. 'For the king the sight of growing barley was particularly deemed a blessing. . . . And the harvest (of these green shoots) was never gathered but with songs and music and mirth' (Ehrlich, 99–101). Music is much spoken of in connection with No Ruz, and it is said that 'Though the king's banquet was splendid, others were no less so. . . . Everyone had gone from his house to the country. . . . From every garden, field and river a different variety of music charmed the ear' (Vis u Ramin, 20).

The Mazdakite movement

Details of other Sasanian festivals show that the Zoroastrians were then as merry and devout as medieval Christians. Yet for them too the ever increasing religious observances must have had their oppressive side, with growing numbers of clergy and mounting demands for gifts and dues. Moreover, by this period the church had become a landowner on a large scale, with slaves as well as peasants to work its broad acres, and in the eyes of the lowly there may well have seemed little to choose at times between grasping prelate and greedy baron. It is against this background that one must judge the success which attended the Mazdakite movement towards the end of the fifth century. Its leader, Mazdak i Bamdad, adopted, it seems, the doctrines of an early religious teacher who had preached a faith which appears to owe much to Manichaeism. Certainly the doctrines promulgated by Mazdak had the pessimism and ascetic character of Mani's, and were similarly gentle and moral. Man should not kill, nor eat flesh, but should encourage the increase of light over darkness in this world by kindliness, tolerance and fraternal love. To further brotherliness, and reduce the causes of greed and envy, Mazdak sought to have property held in common, and in this, his detractors say, he included women. Despite Zoroastrian teachings about spiritual equality, in Sasanian law women were indeed held to belong to their nearest male relatives – father, husband, brother or son; and the Mazdakite claim to their being common property may have sprung originally from a desire among poor people to free daughters or sisters who had been taken (probably often enough by force) into the huge households of women maintained by kings and nobles. A general longing by peasants and artisans for justice and some

lightening of their financial burdens (for they were the chief payers of taxes, priests and nobles being exempt) would account for much of the popular support for Mazdak; and among the well-to-do there seems to have been a current at this time drifting some towards asceticism in place of the robuster Zoroastrian ethic. Moreover, Mazdak himself was evidently a persuasive preacher, and just as Mani had gained a hearing from Shabuhr I, so he won the ear of Peroz's son, Kavad I.

Peroz himself lost his life in 484, fighting against the Hephthalites; and in 488 Kavad succeeded to the throne. He had earlier spent two years as a hostage among the Hephthalites, and it has been suggested that this experience of a semi-nomadic society, with the relative independence and equality of its members, may have inclined him to look favourably on Mazdak's proposals for social reform within Iran, as perhaps lending the empire strength to resist its formidable foes. Most nobles and leading clerics inevitably opposed the new movement fiercely, and Mazdak figures as the arch-heretic in the Pahlavi books. His teachings nevertheless gained sufficient support to convulse the whole land, with the seizure of property and abduction (or freeing) of women; but the forces of established power rallied, the movement was largely put down, and Kavad was himself deposed in 494 in favour of his brother Zamasp. He fled to the Hephthalites, who helped him to regain the throne; but he then abandoned his support for Mazdak, and named as his heir not his eldest son Kaus, who had adhered to the new faith, but his third son, Khosrow, who was to earn himself the title Anoshirvan, 'of immortal soul', through his rigorous upholding of orthodox Zoroastrianism. Towards the end of his reign, in 528, Kavad allowed Khosrow to arrange what purported to be a banquet in honour of Mazdak, which ended in the slaughter of that prophet and many of his followers. The movement was thus virtually extinguished, though influences from it lived on to nourish various strange sects at the coming of Islam.

CHAPTER NINE

Under the later Sasanians

Khosrow 'the Just'

Khosrow Anoshirvan, who succeeded to the throne in 531 and occupied it for nearly half a century, is the best known of the Sasanian kings. There are a number of reasons for this. He was a strong ruler, and his reign, coming late in the period, is relatively well documented; and because of the Mazdakite movement and its upheavals, he found it necessary to enact an unusual number of measures, for which he is remembered. Moreover, it was while he was king that Muhammad was born – a dire event for Zoroastrianism, but one that gave him a special interest for Muslim historians. Among the Arabic writings concerning him there survives a translation of a little work called the 'Karnamag i Anoshiravan', which purports to be a record of his thoughts and acts; and this shows how he came to earn his second by-name of 'the Just', for it contains a declaration of the principles on which he acted: 'I give thanks unto God . . . for all the favours which he has shown me. . . . Many benefits require in return a deep sense of obligation. . . . And since I hold that gratitude should express itself in both word and deed, I have sought the course of action most pleasing to God, and have found that it consists in that whereby sky and earth continue to exist, the mountains remain immovable, the rivers flow, and the earth is kept pure: that is to say, in equity and justice' (Karnamag, transl. Grignaschi, 26). If for the

last two Arabic words one substitutes Avestan 'asha', it becomes plain how truly Zoroastrian this utterance is, with its affirmation of man's duty to uphold that great cosmic and moral principle, and thereby to help sustain all the good creations of Ahura Mazda. In spirit the words are, indeed, Gathic; and in their dignity and scope they match those of Darius the Great, engraved a thousand years earlier.

Justice, however, for a Sasanian king had nothing to do with social equality, and Khosrow restored the old rigid structure of society, thrusting rebels and malcontents firmly back into what he believed were their divinely appointed places. But he tried thereafter to protect the peasants and artisans from illegal exactions, entrusting the oversight of this (according to his Karnamag) to the Mobadan mobad, the head of the Zoroastrian community. Throughout his reign Khosrow worked closely with the clergy; and his religious convictions, and energetic support of established ways, assured him an honoured place in the Dinkard's history of the faith. The long passage devoted to him there, which derives from a contemporary source, runs in part as follows: 'His present Majesty, the King of kings, Khosrow son of Kavad, after he had put down heresy and irreligion with the fullest opposition, according to the revelation of the religion in the matter of all heresy, greatly strengthened recognition of the four estates. . . . And at an assembly of the provinces he issued the following declaration: "The truth of the Mazda-worshipping religion has been recognized. Wise men can with confidence establish its reality through discussion. But effective and progressive propaganda should be, essentially, not through discussion, but through good thoughts, words and acts, and the inspiration of the best spirit, and worship of the yazads, paid purely in conformity to the holy word. What the chief priests of Ohrmazd have proclaimed, do we proclaim, for among us they have been shown to possess spiritual insight. . . . The realm of Iran has gone forward relying on the doctrine of the Mazda-worshipping religion, which is the synthesis of the accumulated knowledge of those who have gone before us, (intended) for the whole world. We have no dispute with those who have other convictions, for we possess so much (truth) in the Avestan language by pure oral tradition, and by written records, by books and memoranda, and also in the common tongue by way of exegesis – in short the whole original wisdom of the Mazda-worshipping religion" ' (DkM 413.9–414.6, ZZZ 8–9).

The tolerant spirit of these words suggests that they were uttered

late in Khosrow's reign, when re-established security for the state religion had allowed him to abandon earlier harshness, as shown to the Mazdakites. Relative leniency is also displayed in the following passage from his Karnamag: 'The Mobadan mobad submitted to our attention [the case] of several persons whom he named and who belonged to the nobility. . . . The religion of these persons was contrary to that which we inherited from our Prophet and the learned men of our faith. [The Mobadan mobad warned us] that those persons were proselytizing in secret for their religion and inviting people to adopt it. . . . I gave orders to have these heretics brought into my presence, and to dispute with them. . . . Thereafter I commanded that they should be banished from my capital, my country and my empire, and that all those who shared their beliefs should follow them' (Grignaschi, 18–19).

In another episode described in the Karnamag (Grignaschi, 19–20), Khosrow tells how, when campaigning against Khazars in the Caucasian region (for it was Turks who now constituted the nomad threat from the north), he received the voluntary submission of a number of the invaders. These he settled within his own borders, entrusting them with the defence of the area. And then, he says: 'I gave orders for the building of a temple by our priests. I gave them the mission of instructing the Turks who had put themselves under our authority in the immediate advantages which obedience to kings brings in this world, and the reward which follows in the life hereafter. I ordered them to inculcate in the Turks the duty to love us, to be just and faithful, and to combat our enemies; and [I bade them] teach the young people our beliefs and rituals.' Though this order was primarily political in motive, there was plainly no reluctance to accept these non-Iranians into the Zoroastrian fold, provided they were instructed and willing converts.

The written Avesta

In the Dinkard passage there is reference to the Avesta in both oral and written transmission, for by this time an unknown genius among the Zoroastrian priests had solved the problem of how to set down the holy texts by inventing the 'Avestan' alphabet. This, an elegant one of great distinction, is based on the Pahlavi alphabet as it was written in the mid-Sasanian period; but instead of fewer than twenty letters it has forty-six, the new ones having been created through modifica-

tions of Pahlavi characters. The Avestan alphabet permitted the rendering of every vowel and consonant, in fact it has been compared for accuracy with the modern 'international phonetic alphabet'. The great practical objection to writing down the Avesta, that it was impossible to render its sacred sounds adequately, had thus at last been overcome.

With this splendid new tool, the Persian priests set about recording every surviving Avestan text, doing this, evidently, at the dictation of other Persian priests, for since the time of Tansar it was they who were the appointed guardians of the scriptural canon. They used, naturally, the ecclesiastical pronunciation of Avestan accepted in Pars in their day, which must have differed slightly from that of other regions; but considering the immense expanse of time and place which separated Middle Persian itself not only from the Gathas, but even from the Younger Avesta, it is a matter for admiration how faithfully on the whole the sacred language had been preserved.

It is of course impossible to know if any Avestan texts existed anywhere in the sixth century which were left out of the Sasanian canon; but this seems unlikely, since Zoroastrian scholars were more inclined to collect and conflate than to exclude. How long it took to write everything down is not known; but in a ninth-century book it is said that 'at the council of Khosrow Anoshiravan, King of kings, son of Kavad' the Mobadan mobad, one Veh-Shabuhr, 'published the twenty-one divisions, so that it was agreed to, as it had been decreed' (Bailey, 173). The great Sasanian Avesta was compiled in twenty-one 'nasks' or divisions to correspond with the twenty-one words of the Ahunvar prayer; and the nasks were then sub-divided into three groups of seven. The first group contained the Gathas and all the texts associated with them, the second, works of scholastic learning, and the third, treatises of instruction for priests (such as the Vendidad), law-books, and various miscellanea, including the yashts, which, though they had been quarried for material to extend the yasna, had no place themselves in the daily priestly services. (The longest and best preserved of them are the Farvardin Yasht, recited at every death and funerary observance, and those of Mihr and Anahid. Not surprisingly the hymn to 'Ardvisur Anahid', the beloved yazad of the Sasanian dynasty, shows signs of having been extended as much as possible, through the use of 'floating' verses, found in more than one yasht, and through borrowings from hymns to other yazads, notably Ashi.)

The passage which alludes to the publishing in council of the 'Great Avesta' of the twenty-one nasks seems to imply that copies of this massive work were sent to leading priests in the provinces, so that possibly there were at one time at least four in existence, in Pars and Media, Parthia and Seistan. Each would have been placed, presumably, in the library of some great fire temple, to be studied there by scholar-priests; but clearly the written Avesta had little immediate impact on the ordinary family priest, let alone the laity; and as a community the Zoroastrians continued to worship and pray with words which they learnt by heart, passed down from father to son, without need or knowledge of a written text.

The Pahlavi literature

Scholar-priests seem to have availed themselves eagerly, however, of the rich new possibilities offered by the possession of written texts. The Great Avesta was accompanied by its Middle Persian Zand, now likewise wholly written down (though still in the defective Pahlavi script, with its ideograms); and among other activities they made extracts and compilations from this Zand on specific themes, for the enlightment of their fellows, and probably also of noble laymen. The most important of such works is the Bundahishn, 'Creation', also called Zand-Agahih, 'Knowledge from the Zand', which was added to and re-edited for generations, so that in the end it was a lengthy work with three main themes: creation, the nature of earthly creatures, and the Kayanians – those putative ancestors of the Sasanian dynasty.

The spread of literacy meant that many other slighter works of religious (and secular) instruction were composed in the late Sasanian period, most now known by their titles only. Collections of gnomic utterances were popular, attributed to famous sages from the remote past, or from the Sasanian period itself. Some of the gnomes contain worldly wisdom, others moral instruction; and their Middle Persian name was 'andarz' or 'precept'. An important work, probably composed in the sixth century, which seems to have evolved from this ancient type of literature, is the Dadistan i Menog i Khrad, the 'Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom'. Here an inquirer seeks to establish the truth of Zoroastrianism, and receives instruction from the Spirit of Wisdom himself, who declares (LVII. 4–5): 'From the first I, who am innate Wisdom, was with Ohrmazd. And the Creator

Ohrmazd created, and preserves and guides, the yazads of the creations of heaven and earth, and all other created things, through the strength . . . of innate Wisdom.' The Spirit then enlightens the seeker about the basic doctrines of the faith, indicates the moral principles which should direct his life, and provides brief summaries of traditional knowledge in certain fields, drawn from the Avesta. Throughout there is firm emphasis on dualism. 'The yazads give nothing but good to mankind, Ahriman and the devs nothing but evil' (LII.15). Among the essential duties of the faithful it is enjoined that they should pray thrice daily 'facing the Sun and Mihr as they proceed together', celebrate the gahambars, practise 'khvedodah', and worship the yazads, while abstaining from the veneration of images (LIII. 3, IV. 5, II. 93). These things they should do from means created by their own diligent labours, from which they should also shelter the wanderer, help the poor, and show benevolence to all good people (IV. 6–8, II. 42–4).

This book, written in plain and simple language, is addressed explicitly to the laity; and there is evidence from other sources of the existence of an educated laity in the late Sasanian period, and of their well-grounded interest in religious matters. In a little text called Khosrow ud Redag, 'Khosrow and the Page', Khosrow is represented as questioning a youth of good family (his father a noble, his mother a high priest's daughter) about his attainments, in order to test his fitness to be his page. The boy's answers, which show him to be a judge of food and wines, music and poetry, scents, flowers, women and horses, vividly evoke a world of refined luxury and delights; but he also claims the fruits of a sound religious education. 'At the due time I was sent to school (frahangestan) and was very diligent in my studies. I learnt the Yasna and Hadokht, the Yashts and Vendidad by heart like a priest, and passage by passage I listened to the Zand. And my scribesmanship is such that I am a good writer and a swift writer, with a fine knowledge of the art' (Bailey, 160). The 'frahangestan' was presumably a general school ('frahang' means simply 'education'), as distinct from the specialized 'herbadestan' and 'dibirestan' of priest and scribe; and a parallel to these claims by the fictitious page comes from the actual life of Mihram-Gushnasp, a Persian noble who apostatized to Christianity and, as St Giwargis, was martyred in 614 under Khosrow II. On his father's side Mihram-Gushnasp was related to the Sasanian royal family, and his mother, again, was the daughter of a high priest. Orphaned young, he was brought up by his

paternal grandfather, who, though a layman, had him trained from early years (so his Christian biographer relates) 'in Persian literature and the religion of the magi, so that already as a seven-year-old boy he could recite the yasna and hold the barsom . . . in such a manner that report of his ability prompted the King of kings Hormazd [son of Khosrow I] to invite him to court and to command him to recite something from the religion of the magi. He straightway did so.' The king was pleased, and appointed him as page; and later he piously contracted a 'khwedodah' marriage, taking his sister to wife (Hoffmann, 93–5).

Religious observances

It is unlikely that Mihram-Gushnasp's sister would have had nearly so good an education as he, or that women were allowed access to the prized art of writing; but probably well-to-do ladies listened not only to minstrel-poetry and amusing tales, but also to edifying works read aloud by the family priest. In general the sources suggest that the nobles and leading clergy had much in common in religious matters, the former having the leisure to learn holy texts and to practise observances which were part also of the professional equipment and obligations of the latter. Almost nothing is known of the middle classes – merchants and tradesmen and petty squires; but the poor figure occasionally in literature; and it is plain that their religious lives, though devout and instructed up to a point, were lived more simply. They, for instance, never apparently used the barsom, which kings and nobles held to be essential for some of the private acts of worship which they performed. It was emphasized, however, that the merit of their devotional acts might nevertheless be as great, if not greater. Thus the story is told (Rivayats, Dhabhar, 325) of how Khosrow Anoshiravan celebrated the sixth gahambar one year most magnificently, inviting all his subjects, high and low, to his feast; but it was shown him in a dream that even more merit had accrued to a poor man who, unable to attend his banquet, had sold a leaf of his house-door to acquire the means, and had then 'celebrated the gahambar as best he could', depriving himself (as the king had not needed to do) in order to honour God.

One religious observance which was practised by all, with varying degrees of elaboration, was the distinctive one of 'taking the vaj'. 'Vaj' (Persian 'baj') simply means 'word' or 'utterance', and the practice

involved saying Avestan manthras before engaging in a variety of daily activities, such as eating, sleeping and bathing, as well as before various religious rites. The vaj would then be 'held' by performing the action in silence, after which it would be 'given up' with the recital of another manthra. The purpose was to surround the action with a secure shield of holy words, whose efficacy would have been broken by the interruption of ordinary speech. The action concerned might be almost sacramental (like eating and drinking), or one which put the doer at risk from the evil powers. The self-discipline required for 'holding the vaj' was severe, but there is abundant evidence that the observance was rigorously carried out by kings as well as commoners, and even in the direst circumstances – in flight for life, or with assassins lurking. As a Zoroastrian explained to a Byzantine emperor, unless one of the faithful had 'taken the vaj', he would not be willing to drink a drop of water, even if tormented by thirst (Shahname, Warner, IX, 34), and when a Byzantine prince once tried to trick Khosrow II into compromising his religion, that king is represented as crying out: 'God forbid that I should abandon the faith of my fathers, chosen and pure lords of the earth, and go over to the faith of Christ – not take the vaj while eating, and become a Christian!' (ibid. VIII, 310).

The purity laws were also generally observed, it is evident, by high and low, although only scraps of evidence (outside the Pahlavi literature itself) come down to us. We have seen how Vahram V entrusted his Indian bride to the high priest of Adur Gushnasp, so that she might undergo purification (including undoubtedly the barashnom) before entering his household. The Sasanians had many foreign women among their queens and concubines, including Jews, Christians and pagan Turks; and though there seems to have been no objection to these women practising their own faiths, they must all have had, like the Hindu princess, to accept and keep the Zoroastrian purity laws, to avoid diminishing the King's own purity. The Christians commented that in the 'religion of the magi' the greatest weight was laid on this, that during their periods women should keep apart, and not even look on fire or candle; and when the sister-wife of Mihram-Gushnasp embraced Christianity in her turn, she signalized her rejection of her ancestral faith by picking up a brazier of fire while in her monthly courses, flinging it to the ground, and trampling the embers underfoot – a double and deadly sin for a Zoroastrian (Braun, 99).

The reasons for this lady's conversion were neither intellectual nor spiritual. She happened to fall ill, offered libations and prayers in vain to the yazads, decided to fast like a Christian, and was both cured and converted. Mihram-Gushnasp himself was a Christian by conviction, however, and proved an energetic and hard-hitting opponent of his old faith. The following purports to be a record of a discussion between him and a magus (Braun, 109). The magus declared: 'We in no way hold fire to be God, but only pray to God through fire, as you do through the cross.' Mihram-Gushnasp: 'But we do not say, as you do to the fire, "We pray to you, Cross, God." ' Magus: 'That is not so.' The well-trained Mihram-Gushnasp then cited texts, saying 'So you have it in your Avesta that it is a god.' The magus, driven into a corner, abandoned his first position and said: 'We reverence fire because it is of the same nature as Ohrmazd.' M.-G. 'Does Ohrmazd have everything which fire has?' M. 'Yes.' M.-G. 'Fire consumes dung and horse-droppings and in brief whatever comes to it. Since Ohrmazd is of the same nature, does he also consume everything like it?' And he asked further: 'Why do you not worship the fire while it remains hidden in stones, wood and other things? First you bring it out and then you pray to it. Meanwhile you have first made it worthy to be worshipped, and without you it is not so. Yet all that makes no difference; for it cannot distinguish between the magus who makes it offerings, and a man who does not venerate it, but burns for both alike indifferently.' The magus is represented as silenced by this attack; but temporal power was on his side, and in the end Mihram-Gushnasp was put to death by order of the king.

For the faithful themselves the Zoroastrian church, supported by the crown, governed almost all aspects of their lives; and the fact that the clergy both interpreted and administered the law gave them enormous influence. Some cases are recorded in the law-book, the Madigan i Hazar Dadestan, which suggest an unscrupulous use of their powers at the expense of the laity. In one (MHD, ed. Modi, 31) a man had left all his property to his wife and children, but subsequently – persuaded, perhaps, on his death-bed by a zealous priest – made another will, leaving everything instead to endowing a sacred fire, so that his family would only enjoy, as its trustees, the residual income. He died, however, before he could sign this second will, and the wife and children inherited. Some person or body, possibly the Divan i Kirdagan (the Sasanian ministry concerned with pious foundations) took the matter to court, however, and the judgment

was given that 'Since the maintenance of the sacred fire is essential, the property should be taken back from the wife and children, and given to the sacred fire. . . . (Although the will) is not sealed, the judgment is not in fact against it.' Although there is no reason to suppose that the priest-lawyers of Sasanian Persia did not strive to be just and fair, a case like this illustrates the difficulty which the laity must sometimes have felt of getting an objective hearing in an ecclesiastical court, where instinct would be to give preference to the sacred over the profane.

The sacred fire in this lawsuit was an Adurog, a 'Little Fire', which could be maintained with comparatively small expense; But major fires, the Atash i Vahram, not only needed much attendance, but were great devourers of fuel, for they were kept blazing brightly throughout the twenty-fours hours. In a Jewish text of the period a rabbi is reproached by a co-religionist for having sold a forest which he owned to a fire temple; and there is no doubt that by the end of the Sasanian period the ancient state religion, with its many major shrines, its elaborate rites and observances, its chantry-endowments and demands for sacrifices and offerings, had become in this and other ways a mighty consumer of the wealth of the land.

The last years of Zoroastrian Iran

Sasanian Persia was still enormously rich, however, despite exhausting wars. Khosrow Anoshiravan himself spent many years under arms, and though he achieved peace on other frontiers, making an end at last of the Hephthalite troubles, he died in the field against the Byzantines. His son Hormizd IV (579–90) is said to have been an even juster ruler than his father, and he showed a broad tolerance to his infidel subjects. The following is from a letter said to have been written by him to the Zoroastrian priests, when they urged him to persecute the Christians: 'Even as our royal throne cannot stand upon its two front legs without the back ones, so also our government cannot stand and be secure, if we incense the Christians and the adherents of other religions, who are not of our faith. Cease therefore to harass the Christians, but exert yourselves diligently in doing good works, so that the Christians and the adherents of other religions, seeing that, may praise you for it and feel themselves drawn to our religion' (Nöldeke, 268). For all his equity, however, Hormizd angered one of his most powerful generals, Vahram Choben, of the

great Parthian family of Mihran. Vahram rebelled successfully, and Hormizd was put to death. Another faction set Hormizd's son Khosrow II on the throne; but the house of Mihran claimed Arsacid descent, and on this score Vahram asserted his own hereditary right to rule. (This development, in the last half-century of Sasanian power, shows how sturdy a resistance Iran had put up to Persian propaganda about the 'illegitimacy' of the Arsacids.) Vahram received considerable support, and a year's fighting ensued before Khosrow, with the support of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice, was able to defeat him and secure the throne. His reign, from 621 to 628, was the last long, stable one of the dynasty, and was distinguished by great splendour and luxury, with lavish benefactions to the faith. The means for these were partly secured by a long succession of successful wars against Byzantium (engaged on by Khosrow after the assassination of his friend Maurice in 602), which also earned the king his by-name of Parvez, the 'Victorious'.

In a grotto at Taq-i Bustan, near Hamadan, Khosrow II had made the last Sasanian carving of an investiture scene. He is again shown receiving the diadem of sovereignty from Ohrmazd, and behind him stands Anahid, to the end the patron yazad of the dynasty, symbolically pouring the waters of the world out from a little jug. Khosrow was famed for his piety and his zeal in founding sacred fires, and he also (it was later said) appointed 12,000 priests to pray at fire temples throughout his realm. A number of his other acts of piety are recorded in the Shahname; and he is known to have been devoted to Adur Gushnasp, carrying (it seems) embers from that sacred fire as a palladium before his victorious army. In the year 623 he spent many days in prayer at its shrine; but even while he did so, fortune turned against him. The Emperor Heraclius invaded Iran and in the course of a devasting campaign seized and sacked the temple of Adur Gushnasp itself. The priests had evidently managed to carry off the sacred fire to safety, but the invaders gutted its sanctuary, and filled the lake there with the corpses of all that moved and breathed upon the hill – men, women, children and animals.

Iran rallied, and the shrine of Adur Gushnasp was restored; and it was probably then that a massive stone wall was built round the very rim of its hill, fifty feet high and ten feet thick, with thirty-eight towers along it, strung out within bowshot of one another, for the better protection of the re-enthroned fire. The cost must have been enormous; and the crumbling remains still testify today to the wealth

and power of the Zoroastrian church in the seventh century, and the devotion to it of the last great Sasanian king.

Khosrow died in 628, the victim of a revolt by his own generals; and the Shahname (Warner, IX, 34) tells how the King, divining that the hour of his assassination was at hand, bathed, put on fresh garments, 'took the vaj', and uttered a formal confession, so that he met his death clean in body and in a state of spiritual grace. His favourite wife, Shirin, a Christian, is said to have disposed of all her wealth for his soul's sake, with rich donations to the fire temples (ibid. 40). Khosrow was succeeded by his son Kavad II, who ruled a bare six months; and thereafter one short reign followed another with claimant and counter-claimant, murders, assassinations and internal strife. Two princesses were among those who briefly occupied the throne; and in 632 the crown was set on the head of a young prince, Yazdegird III. His reign began promisingly, but was to see the greatest of all disasters for Zoroastrianism, the Arab conquest of Iran.

Conclusion

Much has been written by Western scholars about the supposed aridity of Zoroastrianism at this time, and the impression is often given that by the seventh century this ancient faith had become so mummified by ritual and formality that it needed only the thrust of a conquering sword to crumble into nothingness. Such interpretations owe much, however, to preconceptions engendered by the ultimate victory of Islam; and similar analyses of medieval Christianity would undoubtedly have been offered if Saracen and Turk had succeeded in subduing Europe. In general the testimony of native and foreign sources shows Zoroastrianism at this epoch to have been the strong religion of a mighty state, able to command the allegiance of both rich and poor, and providing its adherents, in direct and vivid terms, with a purpose in life and clear prescriptions for achieving it. Its teachings gave hope and strength; and it offered not only rules for conduct, but also a full devotional life, which included many joyous observances to temper the strictness of its demands for discipline. It was a life-enhancing, not a world-denying faith. True, it suffered under the burden of its immense age, which meant a heritage of archaic doctrine and usages that set its scholars and theologians grave intellectual problems; but these would hardly have affected the mass of the faithful, who are more likely to have been troubled, if at all, by

priestly exactions. Undoubtedly by the end of the Sasanian epoch Iran was priest-ridden, like Europe before the reformation; and every man, whether rich or poor, could be subjected to pressures to pay for religious services, purification rites and penitentiary observances, all designed to help save his soul. The subsequent history of the faith shows that many of the laity accepted such dues and obligations as a part of their share in fighting the good fight; but there must have been others who, encountering greedy or unscrupulous priests, longed, like numbers of medieval Christians, to get the clergy off their backs. After the many ecclesiastical and ritual developments of the period Zoroastrianism was ripe for reform, and a return to the simpler usages of earlier days, when each man's hope of salvation lay more measurably within his own grasp; but what in fact sprang up for the faith was not the reviving breeze of reformation, to give new life and strength, but instead the withering tempest of militant Islam.

CHAPTER TEN

Under the Caliphs

The Arab conquest of Iran

Even before Yazdegird III was set upon the throne, the Muslim Arabs, driven by poverty and religious fervour, had begun to attack the rich lands bordering their deserts. In 636 they overran the Byzantine province of Syria, and soon afterwards crossed into Mesopotamia and met the Iranian imperial army at Qadisiya. A bitter battle was fought with wavering fortunes for several days, but in the end the Arabs were the victors, and could seize the fabled Sasanian capital at Ctesiphon. Two more hard-fought battles opened the way for them up onto the Iranian plateau, and shattered imperial resistance. Yazdegird fled from place to place before the slow advance, over years, of the Arab forces, while meantime individual provinces and cities fought, were conquered, rose again, were once more savagely subdued, and finally capitulated. By the time Yazdegird met his death in Merv, in the far north-east, in 652, the Arabs were masters of most of Iran, though there was fighting in remoter areas until the beginning of the eighth century.

This conquest, utterly different from that of Alexander, was carried out in the spirit of Surah 9.29 of the Quran: 'Fight those who believe not in God and the Last Day and do not forbid what Allah and his Messenger have forbidden – such men as practise not the religion of truth, being people of the book – until they pay tribute out of hand and have been humbled.' It was not, that is, undertaken so much to

convert the unbeliever as to subject him, and so extend the sphere of Islam's might. By 'people of the book' also called 'people of the covenant' or 'dhimmis', Muhammad is thought to have meant Jews, Christians and Sabians, who had adherents among the Arabs. To them the Muslim armies presented three choices – death, Islam, or the payment of tribute. To other infidels, in theory, only two were offered – death or Islam; but because of sheer numbers, the conquered Zoroastrians had to be treated as dhimmis (despite doubts that persisted down the centuries). So in the main, once the conquest was over, with its slaughter, enslavement, looting and destruction, local terms were agreed on, as in the following treaty: '500,000 dirhams were given [the Arab commander] on account of the people of Ray and Qumis on condition that he should not kill nor enslave any of them, nor raze any of their fire temples, and that they should be the same in regard to their tax as the people of Nihavand' (Baladhuri, II. 4). The Arabs took over the Sasanian tax-system, with its land-tax and poll-tax (called by them 'jizya'); and it was the latter which was made the special tax on unbelievers, and the means of duly humbling them. 'In a guide to the duties of a civil servant, the following instructions for the collection of poll-tax are given. . . . The dhimmi . . . has to stand while paying and the officer who receives it sits. The dhimmi has to be made to feel that he is an inferior person when he pays. . . . He goes on a fixed day in person to the emir appointed to receive the poll-tax. He sits on a high throne. The dhimmi appears before him, offering the poll-tax on his open palm. The emir takes it so that his hand is on top and the dhimmi's below. Then the emir gives him a blow on the neck, and one who stands before the emir drives him roughly away . . . The public is admitted to see this show' (Tritton, 227).

A number of laws and restrictions governing the lives of dhimmis were gradually evolved to emphasize their wholly inferior status; but under the early orthodox caliphs, if they paid their taxes and conformed to these laws, they were sometimes left very largely to themselves. Thus Abu Bakr enjoined: 'if a province or people receive you, make an agreement with them and keep your promise. Let them be governed by their laws and established customs, and take tribute from them as is agreed between you. Leave them in their religion and their land' (Tritton, op. cit. 137). The jurists said further that since only a Muslim could be perfectly moral, unbelievers might as well be left to their iniquities, so long as these did not vex their overlords.

Each subject community was required to choose its own representatives, with whom Muslim officials could deal; and in a huge country like Iran there must have been many such local leaders. As far as the Zoroastrians as a whole were concerned, however, it seems that the Sasanians had done their work well, and that the system of one supreme head residing in Pars survived the conquest. Thus under later caliphs the title is attested of Hudinan peshobay 'Leader of those of the Good Religion' – to the Arabs presumably simply the 'Leader of the majusi' or (more contemptuously) 'the gabragan'. ('Gabr', meaning probably 'infidel', was a word which in Iran came to be applied especially to Zoroastrians.)

Inducements and barriers to conversion

Many Zoroastrians, though subjected and harassed, were thus able, once the horrors of conquest were over, to continue in their former ways; but events had already weighted the odds in the encounter of their ancient religion with Islam. Power and worldly advantage lay now with the victorious worshippers of Allah, and there was evidently a steady stream of converts, some willing, some enforced, to the new faith – for though the official policy was one of aloof contempt, there were individual Muslims eager to proselytize, and ready to use all sorts of means to do so. Thus after the conquest of Bukhara, it is recorded, the Arab commander, Qutaiba, thrice converted its citizens to Islam 'but they (repeatedly) apostatized and became infidels. The fourth time he made war he seized the city and established Islam there after much difficulty. He instilled Islam in their hearts and made (their religion) difficult for them in every way. . . . Qutaiba thought it proper to order the people of Bukhara to give one-half of their homes to the Arabs so that the Arabs might be with them and informed of their sentiments. Then they would be obliged to be Muslims. . . . He built mosques and eradicated traces of unbelief and the precepts of the fire-worshippers. He built a grand mosque, and ordered the people to perform the Friday prayer there. . . . That place had been a temple. . . . He had it proclaimed: "Whosoever is present at the Friday prayer, I shall give him two dirhams" ' (Narshakhi, 10–11). The cities, where Arab governors took up their quarters, were especially vulnerable to such pressures, and one by one the great urban fire temples were turned into mosques, and the citizens were forced to conform or flee.

One common inducement to convert was to give his freedom to a slave who became Muslim (and many Persians had been enslaved by the Arabs). The humiliations of the poll-tax drove others to renounce the old faith – to the indignation sometimes of tax-gatherers. 'I have learned' (one Arab governor wrote to a local official) 'that the people of Sogdia . . . have not become Muslims sincerely. They have accepted Islam only to escape the poll-tax. Investigate this matter and discover who is circumcised, performs the required acts of devotion, is sincere in his conversion to Islam, and can read a verse of the Quran. Relieve that man of his tax.' As a result of this inquiry, it is said, 7000 Sogdians abandoned their superficial profession of Islam (Dennett, 120–1). Once a man was nominally a Muslim to recant could be dangerous, however, for the lawyers were agreed that death was the penalty for apostasy from Islam. A case put to a Hudinan peshobay in the ninth century begins: 'A man who has put off the kusti repents within a year. But he cannot tie the kusti again for fear of his life. . .'. (Rivayat of Adurfarnbag, LII). The kusti was the obvious outward sign of adherence to the old faith; and Tabari records that Arab tax-collectors in the eighth century would mistreat Zoroastrians, tearing off the sacred girdle and hanging it round their necks in derision.

Though many conversions were reluctant, or dictated by self-interest, yet the children of such converts grew up within Islam, trained from infancy to say Arabic instead of Avestan prayers; and each generation saw an increase in the number of Iranians who knew no other faith. Among the converts there were moreover some who became in their turn ardent proselytizers, either to obtain the comfortable support of greater numbers, or out of true missionary zeal; for not all who adopted Islam did so for worldly motives, or under coercion. A number were convinced that the success of Muslim arms proved the truth of Muslim doctrine; and yet others must have been persuaded by the preaching of religiously-minded Arabs. The doctrines of early Islam were attractively simple; and some of the most important – such as belief in Heaven and Hell, the end of the world and the Day of Judgment – derived ultimately from Zoroastrianism, and so were disarmingly familiar, as were certain Muslim practices: the five times of daily prayer (also adopted from Zoroastrianism), the rejection of images, and the injunction to give alms. And all this went with a devotional life of striking simplicity, which needed no priests. By accepting Islam a Zoroastrian freed himself at a

stroke from the many rites and obligations which bound him to his own priests from cradle to grave; and for a thinking man there was the further attraction that as a new religion Islam had yet to create its own hard shell of scholastic dogmatism, and so laid few constraints on independent thought. Women too, though in the long run losers under Islam, experienced an immediate benefit on conversion through freedom from those laws of purity which pressed so heavily on them in their daily lives.

Yet there was much too to hold the Iranians back from the Semitic faith. At the simplest level there was usage, familiarity, loyalty to the religion of their ancestors, which in essential doctrines and their moral consequences yielded nothing in nobility to the new creed. Islam was alien, imposed by harsh conquerors, with scriptures in a foreign tongue; and it brought customs strange to the Iranians: circumcision, arbitrary rules about clean and unclean meats, abstention from wine, veneration of a distant sacred stone, the Ka'ba. At a deeper level conversion meant change from a dualistic faith, with veneration of a wise Being whose actions were held to be wholly just and accessible to reason, to one which demanded submission to an inscrutable, all-powerful God, whose decrees and purposes were regarded as beyond man's understanding. This radical difference in theology is expressed by the different ways of praying, with the Zoroastrian standing erect in the presence of his beneficent Lord, the Muslim kneeling before the Omnipotent, his forehead in the dust. Doctrinally Zoroastrianism, with its explanation for the woes of the world, and its solid basis for belief in the individual and last judgments, had its great strengths, and its learned priests were able to confront Muslims with the same firmness with which they had earlier met proselytizing Christians; but now it was Islam which was supported by the secular power, and which could end argument with sudden death.

Even for the humblest Zoroastrian, to whom familiar rituals would have meant more than theology, there was much to lose in relinquishing the ancient faith. The many kindly yazads to whom he had turned for help had to be renounced and their shrines neglected; and instead of the celebration of their holy days, with many joyful observances, there were Friday prayers and sermons at the mosque, confronting a stone 'qibla' instead of a bright leaping flame. It is not surprising, therefore, that Iran remained predominantly Zoroastrian under the four orthodox caliphs (632–61). Thereafter rule of the Muslim world

was seized by the Umayyads (661–750), who made their capital in Syria. Their epoch has been called one of Arab imperialism, and there was little serious pressure then on the subject peoples to adopt Islam, except in the brief reign of the devout ʿUmar II (717–20). However, one striking instance of oppression is recorded during their epoch by an Arab governor of Iraq, who appointed a commissioner to supervise the destruction of fire temples throughout Iran, regardless of treaty obligations. The commissioner, acting on instructions, left unharmed all those sacred fires whose congregations could buy him off with a sufficient sum: and thus he is said to have extorted forty million dirhams, a testimony to the number of fire temples still standing, and the devotion of those who worshipped in them.

Islam takes root in Iran

An unpremeditated blow to the old faith was struck under the Umayyads when in the government ministries the use of Middle Persian, written in Pahlavi script, was abandoned for Arabic in Arabic script. The change, imposed about 700, emphasized the permanence of the Arab presence in the land, and enforced a widespread knowledge of Arabic, the holy tongue of Islam; and as its use spread, this created a further barrier between Iranian Muslims, who learned their sacred language willingly, and Zoroastrians, who abhorred all things Islamic. Soon Arabic became the language of polite letters also, and a number of Middle Persian works were rendered into it. The most famous labourer in this field was Rozbeh son of Dadoy, nicknamed the 'Mutilated' (al-Muqaffaʿ), an unenthusiastic convert to Islam, who worked in the government tax-office at Basra. One of the books which he translated into elegant Arabic was the great Sasanian chronicle, the 'Khwaday Namag', which Muslim historians then used, selectively, as a basis for constructing their own accounts of world history. The ancient myths and heroic traditions preserved by Zoroastrian priests were thereby divested of their religious associations, so that noble Iranian families, turned Muslim, could still claim descent from figures in their country's annals without making their attachment to the new faith suspect. Thus another defence of Zoroastrianism – the uniqueness of its links with Iran's glorious past – was undermined.

A further blow came when Iranian Muslims succeeded in shaping a tradition which made Islam appear as a partly Iranian religion (which

indeed by remote origin it is), so that national pride was disarmed. One element in this was the historical figure of Salman al-Farisi, the Persian who, having abandoned Zoroastrianism for Christianity, eventually attached himself to Muhammad and became a member of his household. The extent of his influence could be made much of by Iranian Muslims. The other main element was the legend that Husayn, son of ᶜAli (the fourth orthodox caliph, and grandson of Muhammad by his daughter Fatima) had married a captive Sasanian princess called Shahrbanu, the 'Lady of the Land'. This wholly fictitious figure, whose name appears to derive from a cult-epithet of Ardvisur Anahid, was held to have borne Husayn a son, the historical fourth Shiᶜa Imam; for the Shiᶜa or 'Party' of ᶜAli claimed that the caliphate belonged rightly to him and his descendants, and had been unlawfully wrested from them by the Umayyads. Many Iranian converts espoused the Shiᶜite cause, which enabled them to oppose the Umayyads with their harsh exactions and narrow Arab nationalism, and to uphold the claims of the heirs, through the princess Shahrbanu, of the Sasanian royal house; and so it was no longer the Zoroastrians alone who stood for patriotism and loyalty to the past.

The Shiᶜite movement grew steadily through the eighth century, fostered by propagandists for the house of ᶜAbbas, rivals of the Umayyads; and in the end there was open rebellion, which led to an ᶜAbbasid victory in 750. The new caliphs, having relied largely on Iranian supporters, showed marked favour to Iranians in their regime; and at their capital in Baghdad they revived the traditions of the Sasanian court and reigned in royal splendour, their dynasty lasting, nominally at least, until 1258. Persians occupied many posts in the new government; and with the gates of worldly advancement now opened wide to Iranian Muslims, the disadvantages of remaining a Zoroastrian became ever more apparent. Moreover, as antagonism between Arab and non-Arab disappeared, so that between Muslim and non-Muslim grew sharper. (Nevertheless the early idiom persists for centuries in the Zoroastrian books, that to adopt Islam was 'to become a non-Iranian(anēr)', a damning indictment.)

The ᶜAbbasids not only revived the magnificence of the Sasanian court, but imitated Sasanian authoritarianism in religious matters. (In this and associated developments one can only guess at the part played by Zoroastrian priests turned Muslim.) They began their rule by persecuting heretics; and though their zeal was naturally directed

against Muslim sectarians rather than the despised dhimmis, a harsher climate was created for the unbeliever also. Yet the Zoroastrians were still numerous enough for the Hudinan peshobay to be a figure of dignity and some consequence; and later in the epoch we find one holder of this office taking part in a religious debate at the Caliph's court. This was during the reign of the latitudinarian al-Ma^cmun, who earned himself the ironic title of 'Commander of the Unfaithful'. Yet even he actively encouraged the general spread of Islam, ordering his commanders in Khorasan, for instance, to make raids beyond their borders on those people who had not yet accepted the faith. Because of their harshness towards unbelievers, and their lavish patronage of Persian Muslims, the ᶜAbbasids proved deadly foes of Zoroastrianism, and it was during their epoch that Islam took root and came to flourish everywhere in Iranian soil. In the process it grew steadily more Zoroastrianized, with adaptations of funerary rites and purity laws, and a cult of saints springing up in place of the veneration of yazads. The Shiᶜi also found a figure to replace, in their hopes and longings, that of the Saoshyant. Bitterly disillusioned by the failure of the ᶜAbbasids to restore the caliphate to the descendants of ᶜAli, they continued to regard the latter as the true imams or leaders, attributing to them by virtue of their lineage an especial divine grace, like the royal Khvarenah. Of the nine imams descended from Husayn (supposedly through Shahrbanu), eight died violent deaths; but the last was held to have disappeared miraculously, in 878. He is the 'hidden', or 'expected' imam, who will, like the Saoshyant, appear at the end of time, restore the faith, and fill the earth with justice. All such developments and adaptations built bridges for apostasy, making it easier for Iranians to embrace the Semitic faith.

Zoroastrians in ninth-century Iran

Yet in the ninth century – some seven generations after the conquest – Zoroastrians still formed a substantial minority of the population, and a certain amount was written about them then by Muslims, chiefly ᶜAbbasid officials. So Abu Zaid al-Balkhi recorded of the province of Fars (ancient Pars): 'The Zoroastrians have preserved the books, the fire temples and the customs of the era of their kings, thanks to an uninterrupted succession; they retain their ancient usages and conform to them in their religion. There is no country where the Zoroastrians are more numerous than in Fars,

because that country is the centre of their power, rites and religious books' (Nyberg, 9). Neighbouring Kermàn, to the east, first became predominantly Muslim under the Saffarids (869–903), and in the late tenth century there were still many Zoroastrians in the province of Jibal. Further north in the mountains of Tabaristan (where Gushnasp had once held out against Ardashir) a local dynasty upheld the old faith down to the mid ninth century, when the prince Mazyar led a rebellion in a last desperate attempt to restore it and the ancient ways. This was crushed, and in 854 another prince of Tabaristan finally yielded to the Caliph's summons to 'break his Zoroastrian girdle and embrace Islam' (Ibn Isfandiyar, 157).

At that time there were still imposing fire temples to be seen, in which the sacred fires continued to burn. In the north-west Adur Gushnasp was tended in its hill-top sanctuary down to at least the middle of the tenth century; and in the south-east, the sacred fire of Karkoy was maintained until the thirteenth century. The geographer Qazwini has left a description of its temple then with its twin domes, bearing horns like those of a great bull; and he wrote of the many servitors of the ever-burning fire, which was fed reverently with dry tamarisk wood by its priests, who used silver tongs for the purpose, their mouths being covered.

There are also Zoroastrian sources for the history of the community in the ninth century, for much of the surviving Pahlavi literature consists of works which were composed or re-edited at that time – the last century under Islamic rule when the Zoroastrians still had the means and energy to engage in creative work on any scale. The Hudinan peshobays were themselves leaders in this activity, so that it is possible to identify from their writings the members of a family who held this office for over a hundred and fifty years. The first one known is Adurfarnbag Farrokhzadan, a pious and distinguished man who lived at the time of Ma'mun (813–33), and ably defended the Zoroastrian faith in debate at his court. He was succeeded by his second son Zardusht, who is suspected of having brought sorrow to the community by apostatizing in the reign of Mutawakkil (847–61), and becoming one of the intimates of that caliph. If this is so, his son Vahramshad remained unshaken, for he is twice cited as an authority in matters of Zoroastrian law; and the office of Hudinan peshobay passed to his son Goshnjam. Goshnjam himself had four distinquished sons, one of whom, Manushchihr (fl. c. 881) succeeded him in office.

Three letters survive written by Manushchihr (unfortunately in a difficult, involved style), and also a book, the 'Dadestan i dinig', or 'Religious Judgments', which deals with questions put to him by laymen on points of faith and practice. This sheds some light on the difficulties and struggles of the community in his time. Thus Manushchihr is asked why so much evil should have come upon the faithful, so that it is the good who suffer; how grievous is the sin of those who desert the Mazda-worshipping religion for 'foreignness and evil religion'; and whether it is permissible to buy and sell with 'non-Iranian' infidels. The increasing poverty of the community is evident, and the difficulties of finding enough fully-trained priests, and recompensing them adequately. Manushchihr instructs, adjudicates, and exhorts the faithful to hold firmly by the laws of the religion as expounded by the authorities of old. He felt deeply that Zoroastrianism could only survive and fulfil its mission as the bearer of God's revelation if it strictly maintained its traditions and avoided any changes or accommodations; and this appears very clearly in his letters, which were occasioned by his younger brother Zadspram seeking to shorten the barashnom purification. Manushchihr's basic and uncompromising objection to this innovation was that it lacked authority and that the cleansing thus administered was therefore invalid. He was also shocked by Zadspram's presumption in introducing such a change on his own initiative. Nothing, he insisted, could be altered in the rituals of the faith without the approval not only of himself but also of other leading Zoroastrians of the time. There must be consultation and agreement between 'the priests who are the leaders and heads of the community . . . members of the assemblies of the different provinces' (Ep Man I. iv. 12, 14) – a striking indication of how the Zoroastrians still held together. The different regional communities clearly looked, however, for leadership to the Persian high priest; and Manushchihr exerted himself courageously for them, striving to ward off 'penalties and disasters', and to prevent the unlawful seizure of fire temples for conversion into mosques – a process which was evidently continuing remorselessly.

Zadspram's deviation from tradition appears limited to this single act. He was a diligent scholar, and his one work to survive shows him in the main thoroughly conservative. This is his 'Selections' (Wizidagiha), culled mostly from the Zand, and dealing with four subjects: cosmogony and cosmology; the life of Zoroaster; the physiology and psychology of men; and eschatology. In making his

excerpts he tended to draw on those parts of his sources where Greek science had been adduced, and attempts made to reconcile this with Zoroastrian scholastic tradition. This distinguishes his cosmographic section from the corresponding part of the Bundahishn, the lengthy compilation from the Zand which was re-edited and enlarged by Zadspram's nephew, Farnbag Ashavahisht. Comparison of both these works with ninth-century writings by Muslim geographers shows how the heritage of ancient myth and learning trammelled Zoroastrian scholarship.

Most other surviving books of the ninth century are mainly practical (concerned with ritual, the purity code, law or daily observances), or attempt some response to the troubles and problems of the time. So there are a number of short, popular works for the laity which embody simple statements of belief, or deal with such things as the symbolism of the kusti, or the efficacy and importance of various religious services; and again and again in these the priests admonish the faithful to say: 'I must be without doubt regarding . . .', trying to stiffen them against proselytizers. All these works were in Middle Persian (free from Arabic words), and in the difficult Pahlavi script; but if read aloud, they would have been easily understood by the laity.

Some of the laity themselves still wrote and read Pahlavi; and one of them, Mardanfarrokh, produced in the ninth century a carefully reasoned book in defence of the faith. In this, the 'Doubt-dispelling Exposition' (Shkand-gumanig Vizar) he explains that he set out to compare the teachings of Zoroastrianism with those of other faiths, and became convinced of the fundamental truth of Zoroaster's revelation, since this summons man to worship a Creator who cherishes all the seven creations he has brought into being. It is not he who enfeebles or inflicts suffering on them, a part which, it seemed to Mardanfarrokh, Jews, Christians and Muslims must ascribe to an omnipotent God. He rejected also the pessimistic dualism of Manichaeism, concluding that the tenets of Zoroastrianism were the only ones acceptable to just and rational men. Doctrinal arguments are also presented in the Dinkard or 'Acts of the Religion', the longest extant Pahlavi work. This great compilation (written unfortunately for the most part in a style as difficult as Manushchihr's) was begun by the first known Hudinan peshobay, Adurfarnbag Farrokhzadan, and was re-edited and enlarged by his descendant Adurbad Emedan, who probably held the same office at the end of the ninth century. It

contains a great variety of matter, and includes at the end a summary of the contents of nineteen books of the Great Avesta, and a detailed analysis of three of them.

The Sasanian Avesta contained twenty-one books; but Adurbad states that by his day one of these had been wholly lost – that is, the Avesta and its Zand – while of another only the Avesta survived, of which he offers no summary. One can only speculate as to how such a loss came about; but the Persian copy of the Great Avesta was presumably kept in the library of some great religious foundation in Pars, most probably that of Adur-Anahid in royal Istakhr; and Istakhr had suffered dreadfully at the conquest, succumbing to the Arabs only after 'fierce fighting, casting with siege engines and killing therewith 40,000 of the Persians and wiping out most of the noble families together with the chiefs of chivalry who had taken refuge there' (Baladhuri, II, 389). The city thereafter was laid waste and deserted, and Mas'udi (Prairies d'Or, 1403), visiting it in the ninth century, described the ruins of its magnificent fire temple, with its great pillars, walls, and carvings. The sacred fire (he says) had been carried away by the Zoroastrians; and if they had also had to rescue their holy books, there is small wonder if these then suffered damage.

Among the twenty surviving books of the Avesta was the Vendidad; and a curious development now took place with regard to this work, which was that the reading of it in its entirety was made part of a night celebration of the yasna. This service was solemnized (notably after a death) in order to exorcize the powers of darkness; and adding to it the Avestan 'Law against demons' was presumably felt to be a strengthening of its efficacy. This is the only occasion when the use of a written text is permitted to a priest – all parts of every other service must be known by heart; and it seems possible that the practice was introduced to help substantiate the Zoroastrians' claim to be a 'people of the book', and so to be less mercilessly harried. This long night-office came to be known simply as a 'service of the Vendidad', or more briefly, a 'Vendidad'.

Zoroastrians in tenth-century Iran

What shows that this development was a late one, and initiated in Pars, is that when the founding fathers of the Parsi community (who came from Khorasan, that is, ancient Parthia) left Iran early in the tenth century, they do not seem to have taken a manuscript of the

Vendidad with them, and it was only later that they were supplied with copies from Iran. Our knowledge of the events which drove this small group of Zoroastrians to quit their native land, and seek freedom of worship elsewhere, is slight; but they seem to have made their resolve during the times, additionally hard for Zoroastrians, when local Iranian dynasties, all vigorously Muslim, were emerging as largely independent vassals of the Caliphs. Among them were the Samanids of Khorasan (874–999), who claimed descent from Vahram Choben. (Saman himself is said to have abandoned Zoroastrianism for Islam towards the end of the eighth century, at the persuasion of the ʿAbbasid governor of Khorasan.) It seems to have been under their rule that a band of Zoroastrians, originally from the little town of Sanjan in south-western Khorasan, despaired of finding peace or justice, and made their way south to the port of Hormuzd on the Persian Gulf, where eventually they secured a ship to take them overseas. According to Parsi tradition, the migrants – men, women and children – spent nineteen years on the island of Div before making their final landfall on the coast of Gujarat in 936 A.C.

There was to be sporadic contact down the centuries between these migrant 'Parsis' or Persians (as the Gujaratis, from long tradition, called anyone from Iran), and the Zoroastrians who held out in the mother country. Yet clearly most of what the two communities have in common stems from what was general usage for all Zoroastrians in Iran at the time when the Parsis left. Thus the religious vocabulary of both (with regard to ritual vessels, sacred precincts, etc.) shows an admixture of Arabic words, witness to the pervasive influence of Arabic on spoken Persian after two and a half centuries of domination. In both communities the word 'fereshte' or 'angel' is commonly substituted for 'yazad', the result no doubt of trying to counter Muslim accusations of polytheism. Both communities too have abandoned the simple term 'mog' for a priest, and call any priest in minor orders – qualified, that is, to perform the basic religious ceremonies – a 'herbad' (Parsi 'ervad'). The title 'mobad' is used for one who has proceeded to higher qualifications, while a high priest is called a 'dastur', that is, one with authority.

Both communities also erect stone-surfaced towers on which to expose their dead, which they call by the old word 'dakhma'. The first allusion to a structure of this kind comes in a letter written in about 830 by the Hudinan peshobay, Adurfarnbag Farrokhzadan, to the Zoroastrians of Samarkand, who had asked how they should act while a

new dakhma was being built, the old one having been damaged. He answered 'Until a new dakhma has been completed, when a person dies, small stones should be arranged on the surface of the old dakhma, in a corner, and the body laid on them with (proper) rites' (Dhabhar, 104–5). The practice of erecting funerary towers was thus clearly widespread by that time, but was probably not older than the Islamic period, since there seems to have been no established tradition governing their use. Erecting a tower prevented corpses being seen and so avoided a possible vexation to Muslims (which had always to be an object for dhimmis); and at the same time a high building shielded the dead from risk of violation. The early towers in Iran and India were simple, solid structures, round, with a high parapet to screen the stone platform from view. There was no stairway, ladders being used for each funeral, to limit ease of access. In Iran some communities who lived near mountains simply enclosed a ridge of hill with a high, blank, mud-brick wall.

In the tenth century a wealthy Zoroastrian of Ray built a dakhma on a hill-top with much trouble and expense; but the day it was finished a Muslim official contrived to get up into it and cry the call to prayer from its walls, and this was made a pretext to annex the building (Siyasat Name, 172). The Muslims had no use for it, but 'gabr-baiting' was a popular sport, which was to go on down the centuries, and was indulged in by Caliphs and high officials as well as by the uneducated. Thus there was a noted Zoroastrian sanctuary in Khorasan where a huge cypress grew, planted, according to Parthian tradition, by Zoroaster himself; and this deeply venerated tree the Caliph Mutawakkil had felled in 861, despite desperate appeals by Zoroastrians, in order to obtain timber for a new palace he was building. But by the time the camel-caravans had wound their slow way with it to Iraq, Mutawakkil was dead, murdered by his own son – a fitting retribution in Zoroastrian eyes.

Another means of distressing Zoroastrians was to torment dogs. Primitive Islam knew nothing of the now pervasive Muslim hostility to the dog as an unclean animal, and this, it seems, was deliberately fostered in Iran because of the remarkable Zoroastrian respect for dogs. Probably maltreating a dog (like discarding the kusti, or spitting in a fire) was a distinctive outward sign of true conversion; and the amount of suffering since inflicted on these animals by Muslims down the centuries is a sad instance of the cruelty that religious rivalry can bring about.

By the tenth century the composing of Middle Persian works, written in the Pahlavi script, had virtually ceased; and after that date the Zoroastrians wrote in the contemporary vernacular, that is New Persian, with its admixture of Arabic, and used the Arabic script. These later works are in the main derivative (consisting of restatements of instructive or devotional matter), for with the remorseless erosion of its numbers the community was losing resources of both wealth and intellect. (The harsh decree had by then been enacted that if one member of a Zoroastrian family turned Muslim, he inherited all its property, to the exclusion of his brethren.) Yet the Zoroastrians enjoyed a last brief period of relative tranquillity when the Buyids established control over much of Iran. This Iranian dynasty claimed descent from the Sasanian Vahram V, and had some kindness for the old religion. The Buyid ᶜAdad ad-Dawla is said at one time to have had a magus as his secretary, and an Arabic inscription, cut in the stones of Persepolis, tells how in 955 this ruler visited the ruins there and caused Marasfand, mobad of Kazerun in Fars, to read him the Pahlavi inscriptions. Kazerun was then still strongly Zoroastrian, and in the early eleventh century it even had a Zoroastrian governor, named Khorshed. There was never any abiding security for Zoroastrians under Islam, however, and in 979 there was fighting in Shiraz between Muslims and the magians, 'in which many of the latter were killed and their houses burnt' (Tritton, 131).

It was in the tenth century that an Iranian noble in Khorasan (probably, from the names in his genealogy, the great-grandson of a Zoroastrian) brought together four learned Zoroastrian priests to transcribe a version of the 'Khwaday Namag' out of Pahlavi into Arabic script, a task which they completed in 957. This transcribed text was to become the basis for Firdausi's 'Shahname', which gained enormous popularity and made the old heroic traditions live for Zoroastrian and Muslim alike. As a result, Sasanian propaganda finally gained currency throughout the Zoroastrian community, so that the Parsis (whose ancestors came from what had been ancient Parthia) learnt to think like the Iranis (who are mainly of Persian stock) that the Arsacids had usurped the kingship and neglected the faith, which owed its survival to the 'legitimate' and 'orthodox' Sasanians.

It was during the time of respite under the Buyids that the community found energy to deal with calendar matters again. The

religious No Ruz was still being celebrated on the first of Adur; but the intercalation of a month to keep that date at the spring equinox, which should have been carried out under Khosrow Parvez, had been neglected during the wars and upheavals of his reign, and Adur had accordingly receded steadily, to become by the tenth century a winter month. This recession meant that in 1006 the first day of Farvardin actually coincided once more with the spring equinox; and so in that year the religious No Ruz was celebrated again on that date, with the five 'Gatha' days being shifted back to stand at the end of Spendarmad month, and all the gahambars moving accordingly. The Parsis made the same change, having, it seems, contact at the time by land with the Zoroastrians in Seistan. For the Irani community, this was the last calendar change to be made until the twentieth century.

A little earlier, a formidable Muslim scholar of the tenth century, the Persian ᶜAbd al-Jabbar (chief judge at the Buyid capital of Ray) had thought it desirable to devote a part of his energies to attacking the old faith; and though in doing so he alluded briefly to orthodox Zoroastrian thought, he directed his main polemic against the Zurvanites, who with their weak theology presented the easier target – for if, as he says (Monnot, 267) it is admissible to say that God (i.e. Zurvan) created him who is the principle of all evil (i.e. Ahriman), why is it not admissible to say that God, as the omnipotent author of all, created evil directly? – this being his own stand as a Muslim. The position of Zurvanism in the post-conquest years is in general perplexing. There is not a trace of this heresy in the writings of Manushchihr or his brother Zadspram, and indeed it needs special pleading to identify it in the works of any of their family; and this suggests that the leadership of the community was taken over by Persian prelates who rejected the heresy upheld by the Sasanian kings and high priests. The layman Mardanfarrokh also wholly ignores Zurvanism. Yet Zurvanite theology is vigorously propounded in the 'Kitab-i Ulama-i Islam', the 'Book of the Muslim scholars'. This treatise, written in New Persian, was composed, it seems, early in the twelfth century; and it represents an exposition, in fairy abstruse and speculative terms, of Zoroastrian doctrine for the benefit of certain learned Muslims by the Mobadan mobad of the day. There are two versions of the work, and in both Time, called Zaman, is represented as the original principle by which 'both Ormazd and Ahriman have been produced' (Dhabhar, 452). Yet the Mobadan mobad admits that there were many different opinions among Zoroastrians themselves

on this matter; and presumably in the harsh centuries that lay ahead such speculative theology was abandoned, and the community clung again, in unity, to the fundamental, orthodox doctrine of the utter separation of good and evil. Zurvanism seems to have been unknown among the Parsis (as one might expect from their origins in the Parthian north-east); and it is barely alluded to in later Irani writings, though one Persian priest attempted to end the matter for good with the following definition: 'Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd: "When the world was created, what (already) existed?" Ohrmazd said: "At that time, I existed and the Ahunvar". The Ahunvar has been called Zurvan' (Dhabhar, 438).

Turkish and Mongol invasions of Iran

The Ulama-i Islam was composed at a time of dire new trouble, and before the breaking of an even worse storm. The ninth and tenth centuries have been called the Persian intermezzo, 'between the Arabs and the Turks'. Early in the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks swept into Khorasan from Central Asia, and swarmed over the whole of Iran, exterminating every local dynasty; and once established there, they embraced Islam with fervour. Little is known directly of the Zoroastrians under their rule (1037–1157), but many must have died in the wars of conquest, or have been forcibly converted during those harsh times when 'all paths were closed save the path of Muhammad'. Thereafter came the even more dreadful Mongol invasions, which made an end both of the Seljuks and of the ʿAbbasid caliphate, propped up by them in Baghdad. The Mongol hordes rolled relentlessly over everything which came in their way, and the slaughter of Muslim, Zoroastrian, Jew and Christian was impartial and in places almost complete, a catastrophe 'whereof the sparks flew far and wide, and the hurt was universal'. Of the Mongol devastation a modern scholar has written: 'The loss suffered by Muslim learning, which never again reached its former level, defies description and almost surpasses imagination: not only were thousands of priceless books utterly annihilated, but, owing to the number of men of learning who perished or barely escaped with their lives, the very tradition of accurate scholarship . . . was almost destroyed' (Browne, II, 463). The Zoroastrians suffered no less grievously, and it must have been then that the last great collections of their holy books – including every copy of the Sasanian Avesta – were destroyed. Every major fire

temple which still survived, such as Karkoy in Seistan, must also have been demolished at that time.

Within half a century of the conquest Ghazan Khan (1295–1304) had become a Muslim, and Mongol converts were again swelling the ranks of Islam, which their grandfathers had so cruelly reduced. For the Zoroastrians, already a dwindling minority when the tempest struck, no such increase came to repair their losses, but only fresh sufferings from the zeal of the newly converted. Most fortunately Fars, by timely submission to the Mongols, had escaped the worst of the actual slaughter; and it was around the oasis cities to the north of this province, namely Yazd and Kerman, that the Zoroastrians now grouped themselves, finding here the last bastions where they could hold out, in poverty and protective obscurity.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Under Il-Khans, Rajahs and Sultans

Zoroastrian survival

Under the Mongol Il-Khans the best hope of survival for the unbeliever was to be inconspicuous; and it was probably in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century that the Mobadan mobad sought refuge with his priests in as remote a place as possible – a tiny village known as Turkabad in the north-west corner of the plain of Yazd. This was the furthest point in that inhospitable, mountain-locked region from the city of Yazd itself, with its Muslim governor; and in the hills nearby there was a shrine to the 'Lady of Pars' – Ardvisur Anahid – which may have helped determine the choice of this particular place. Further, two Atash Bahrams were brought to the neighbouring village of Sharifabad, where they were installed in small mud-brick houses indistinguishable from ordinary village homes. (From that time all sacred fires, however exalted, were necessarily kept in this unobtrusive way; lofty domes, from then on, belonged only to the mosques of Islam.) One of these two fires is known to this day as Adur Khara, a New Persian form of Adur Farnbag; and there is no reason to doubt that this is indeed one of the three great fires of ancient Iran. The other, called simply 'the' Atash Bahram, was even more beloved and reverenced, and so this is probably Adur-Anahid, rescued (as Mas^{c}udi states) from its temple at Istakhr, and brought finally to this obscure haven. In the third

century this fire had been put into the care of Kirder, and it may well have remained thereafter in the hereditary charge of the Sasanian high priests, so that it would have been natural to bring it near the chosen refuge of the Mobadan mobad (now known to the faithful, as his worldly dignity declined, by the still more respectful title of Dasturan dastur). These two fires (now conjoined) are the oldest surviving Zoroastrian sacred fires, and have probably been burning continually for well over 2000 years.

Thereafter the villages of Turkabad and Sharifabad together formed the ecclesiastical centre of the Zoroastrians in Iran; and it is evidently of them that the French merchant Chardin wrote in the seventeenth century (II, 183): 'Their chief temple is near Yazd. . . . This is their great fire-temple . . . and also their oracle and academy. It is there that they communicate their religion, their maxims and their hopes. Their high pontiff lives there always, and without quitting it. He is called the Dastur dasturan. This pontiff has with him several priests and several students who form a kind of seminary. The Mahometans allow it because it is inconspicuous, and generous presents are given to them.' These 'presents' were evidently made possible by the devotion of the Zoroastrian community as a whole; and it was recorded later that 'pilgrimage to Yazd is a strict obligation, and none among them can dispense with making it at least once in his life. They then bring presents to the high priest' (Drouville, II, 210). Partly, no doubt, to meet the needs of pilgrims two great shrines to yazads (great in the sense of their sanctity) were also established in Sharifabad. One, in the vicinity of the sacred fires, was devoted to Mihr, lord of fire and protector of the cult; and the other, out in the fields, was dedicated to Teshtar (Tishtrya), yazad of the rain so sorely needed in most years. These were empty shrines, Sasanian iconoclasm having won its battle before the coming of the Arabs. An annual pilgrimage was also made, at a fixed time, to the shrine of the 'Lady of Pars' (Banu-Pars). This consisted of a sacred rock by the bed of a mountain torrent, with a perpetual spring close by. Here sacrifices and prayers were offered in the ancient tradition of worship in high places, as described by Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. There were four other holy places in the mountains around Yazd, each the goal of annual pilgrimage.

The villages of the region must still have been predominantly Zoroastrian when the Dasturan dastur took up his residence there. There was a strong concentration of Zoroastrians too in and around

the oasis city of Kerman, some 150 miles to the east, in a region only a little less isolated by mountain and desert than that of Yazd. The Kermani community had its own Dasturan dastur, who acknowledged the supremacy of the high priest of Yazd. Beyond Kerman again there were Zoroastrians in Seistan, but the subsequent extinction of the community there means that none of its records survive. Even more remarkably, there were also still Zoroastrians in Khorasan, that gateway of invasion and slaughter; but no more is heard after the tenth century of any of the old faith in Azarbaijan, in the north-west, and the community there may well have met its end under Ghazan Khan, who made his capital at Tabriz.

Manuscript copying and preservation

All such historical details are necessarily a matter of deduction for this period, for from this time on Muslim historians ignore the Zoroastrians, their numbers having been reduced to a point where they no longer had any political or social importance; and their own records are largely blank for the Mongol period, the chief source of information being the colophons of manuscripts. The priests who retreated to Turkabad and Sharifabad evidently took with them all the books which they could save, and once there they kept diligently copying them, while their brethren in Kerman did the like. Of the Avesta itself they had managed to preserve little more than the liturgical parts – in constant use in the religious services – together with (in almost every instance) the Pahlavi translation and commentary. These liturgical texts now included the whole Vendidad; and the oldest surviving Avestan manuscript is in fact a copy of this work written at the Parsi stronghold of Cambay in Gujarat, in 1324; and this was made from a copy written in Seistan in 1205 – before the Mongol onslaught, that is – especially for a visiting Parsi priest. One of the oldest and most important groups of yasna manuscripts with Pahlavi translation derives from a copy made by Hoshang Siyavakhsh of Sharifabad in 1495, who (if the colophon is rightly interpreted) copied it from a manuscript written in 1280; and the Avestan text of this manuscript can be traced back (again through the obscurities of Pahlavi colophons) to a manuscript written by one Dadag Mahyar Farrokhzadan – probably, it is thought, a nephew of the ninth-century Hudinan peshobay. Such manuscripts were evidently handed down within families, and so escaped the general destruction that

must have befallen temple libraries. Pahlavi texts were similarly preserved. Thus one Rustam Mihraban copied the Arda Viraz Namag in 1269, and this and others of his manuscripts were re-copied by his great-great-nephew Mihraban Kay Khosrow in the fourteenth century. Both these priests visited the Parsis in India, so that mention of their names gives good occasion to turn from the Iranis, surviving as best they could in harsh times, to consider the happier fortunes of their migrant brethren.

The Parsi founding fathers

Parsi tradition is that the founding fathers of their community landed on the coast of Gujarat in western India on Bahman day of Tir month, Vikram Samvat 992, which is 936 A.C. (Hodivala, 70–84). In the local script of the tenth and eleventh centuries the number 'nine' could be written with a sign very much like the modern one for 'seven'; and so this date came to be read as V.S. 772 = 716 A.C., with resulting confusion for Parsi chronology. (The wrong date is still very generally reproduced.) The Parsis had already spent nearly two decades on the island of Div, where Gujarati was spoken, and so were able to present their case to the local rajah, one of the Silhara dynasty, who were famed for their tolerance and encouragement to foreigners to trade and settle. He allowed them to make a home by the seashore where they had landed; and there they founded a settlement which they called Sanjan after their home-town in Khorasan. The main source for the history of the little community is the 'Qissa-i Sanjan', a narrative poem composed largely from oral traditions by a Parsi priest, Bahman, in 1600 A.C. (transl. by Hodivala, 94–117). This tells how, some time after the landing, they were able to establish an Atash Bahram. They sent back messengers by land to Khorasan to fetch the necessary ritual objects for the ceremonies of consecration – notably consecrated 'nirang', and ash from an existing Atash Bahram – and these gave their new fire a link with the sacred fires of the mother country. The Qissa states that the priests who had been among the original settlers were the better able to perform their task because 'several parties of priests and laymen of righteous life had also arrived at that spot' (Hodivala, 106); and there is no doubt that the Sanjan settlement attracted other Zoroastrians, probably both from Iran and from those who had already as individuals sought refuge in India. The Sanjana Atash Bahram remained the only sacred fire among

sacred v. hearth fire

the Parsis for the next eight hundred years or so, and in the main priests and laity said their prayers and performed their rites before their own hearth fires, as their forefathers had done in earlier days before the temple cult of fire was introduced. This may be attributed partly to poverty, and partly perhaps to a Khorasani tradition, in which local sacred fires may have had little or no part, in contrast to the usage of western Iran.

'Three hundred years, more or less' then passed, according to the brisk treatment of the Qissa. During this time the Parsis learned to speak Gujarati as their mother-tongue, and adopted Indian dress, though with small differences. (Their priests still dressed all in white, and had white turbans, and laymen too wore white for religious occasions. The women took to the coloured sari, but kept their hair covered by a kerchief worn beneath it, indoors as well as out.) Gradually, as the Sanjan settlement prospered, groups of laymen left it to make new homes for themselves at ports and small towns elsewhere, mainly along the coast. The tradition names Vankaner, Broach, Variav, Anklesar, Cambay and Navsari as their main centres. When they prospered, they sent back to Sanjan asking for a priest to come to minister to them. When the priests who followed them throve and grew numerous in their turn, they divided the work among themselves, each priest taking a group of lay families to minister to. This group was called his 'panthak', he their 'panthaki', and the association tended to become hereditary. The Gujarati terms were new, but the system, with its individual bond between priests and the laity, was essentially the traditional one. Then as the priests consolidated their local associations, they agreed, some time in the thirteenth century, to divide Gujarat ecclesiastically into five groups or 'panths'. From south to north there were the Sanjanas, in the original area of settlement; the Bhagarias or 'sharers', based on the little port of Navsari (first settled in by Parsis, it seems, in 1142 A.C.); the Godavras, who served a large rural area, including the small town of Anklesar; the Bharuchas of the more famous port of Broach; and the Khambattas of Khambat or Cambay, which like Broach was an ancient and wealthy port. Each priestly 'panth' had its own council and administered its own affairs; but all were linked to the mother-settlement at Sanjan through the presence there of the Atash Bahram, whose ashes were needed for rites of purification, and which must itself have been, from the earliest days, a goal of regular pilgrimage.

The unity of the Parsis during these obscure centuries is shown by

the fact that at some stage, very probably during the years 1129–31, when the spring equinox had come (through recession) to correspond to the first day of the second calendar month, they intercalated a thirteenth month in order to restore the first day of Farvardin to this position. They called this thirteenth month simply Second Spendarmad. This reform would have been made just over 120 years after the one initiated by the Iranis under Buyid rule, in 1006 A.C.; and it is the only attested instance of the actual intercalation of an extra month after the first, disastrous Sasanian calendar reform under Ardashir (although both Zoroastrian and Arabo-Persian learned works exist which give calculations based on the theory of such intercalation having taken place). That it could be carried out in twelfth-century Gujarat is a testimony to both the intelligence and authority of the Parsi priesthood then, and to the cohesion of the community. The measure was never repeated, so thereafter the Parsi and Irani calendars both receded against the natural year, but with the Parsi one now a month behind the other.

Parsis in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries

That there were learned Parsi priests in the twelfth century is borne out by the writings of Neryosang Dhaval, a Sanjana priest who is thought to have flourished at the end of the eleventh or early in the twelfth century. With the community speaking Gujarati, Sanskrit was fairly readily accessible to its scholars; and Hindu kindliness meant that the Parsis felt none of the aversion for this language which the Iranis felt for Arabic. Accordingly Neryosang addressed himself to the task of translating Zoroastrian religious texts into Sanskrit, working from the Middle Persian versions. For the yasna he used a manuscript which descended from the same original as that written by Hoshang Siyavakhsh in the fifteenth century (Geldner, xxxiii–iv); but how he acquired his copy of this rare work is unknown. (The Parsis on their migration seem to have taken with them only the 'sade' or simple Avestan texts (without Zand) of the yasna, Visperad and Khorda Avesta – those works which were essential for worship and private prayer; and all other scriptures were preserved by the Iranis, and gradually transmitted by them to their brethren in India.) Neryosang's Sanskrit rendering of the yasna is incomplete; but he also translated some of the Khorda Avesta as well as the Pahlavi Menog i Khrad, and Mardanfarrokh's Shkand Gumanig Vizar. He

further transcribed the original Middle Persian into the clear Avestan alphabet, for the ambiguous Phlavi script had become additionally difficult for Parsis to read, because the Middle Persian language which it enshrined, though still readily comprehensible to speakers of New Persian, was a dead church language now for them. Since this re-writing in Avestan characters was a form of interpretation, it came to be referred to as 'pa-zand' that is, 'by interpretation', and then simply as Pazand.

Neryosang's Sanskrit was naturally provincial; and working as a priest rather than a man of letters he kept his renderings literal (retaining also a number of special Zoroastrian terms). Nevertheless, his work shows him to have had an admirably extensive knowledge of both Sanskrit and Middle Persian, and it marks one of the peaks in Parsi scholarship. Thereafter there came a decline in Sanskrit studies, which seems to have coincided with the arrival of Muslim forces. In 1206 a Muslim sultanate had been established in Delhi, and in 1297 an army was despatched from there to conquer Gujarat. The region was ravaged and Cambay, its wealthiest port, suffered greatly. 'The citizens were taken unawares and there was a terrible panic. The Muslims began to kill and slaughter on the right and left unmercifully, and blood flowed in torrents' (Commissariat, I, 3). The little Parsi community there, too small to be mentioned, must have suffered with the rest.

Thereafter Gujarat was ruled by governors appointed from Delhi; and a period of religious intolerance began, with the jizya being imposed, and used by the more zealous sultans as an instrument for conversion. The Parsis themselves were nevertheless better off than their co-religionists in Iran, in that they formed only a tiny group in a huge population of 'infidels', who were able to put up considerable resistance to their rulers through sheer numbers. A complicating factor was that the conquerors brought with them an Arabo-Persian culture, and the Parsis, although now thoroughly acclimatized in their chosen land, were still intensely proud of their Persian lineage and traditions, and regarded the Persian language as part of their own inheritance. Its spread through Gujarat as a learned tongue at this time probably contributed therefore to a decline in Sanskrit studies among the Parsi priests. Moreover, they began at this period to make Gujarati versions of Avestan and Pahlavi texts, basing these on the existing Sanskrit renderings; and these readily comprehensible texts in the vernacular gradually replaced all others for general study, as

earlier in Iran the Middle Persian translations had come to be relied upon in place of the more difficult Avestan originals.

Parsi concern for the writings of their faith continued through the troubles of this time. Just before the Muslim conquest of Gujarat the Irani priest, Rustam Mihraban, who in 1269 had copied the Arda Viraz Namag in his native land, visited India; and a manuscript of the Visperad still exists written by him in 1278 'at Ankalesar in the land of the Indians'. Rustam returned, evidently, to Iran; and other manuscripts which he had copied for his own use descended in his family, coming finally into the possession of his great-great-nephew, Mihraban Kay Khosrow, the most famous of all priestly copyists. Mihraban was, it seems, invited in his turn to go to India (taking with him precious manuscripts) by a layman called Chahil, a pious merchant of Cambay. The first codex which Mihraban copied there is unique, a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi texts popularly known as the 'Pahlavi Shahname', because it includes the heroic poem, Ayadgar i Zareran, and the prose romance, the Karnamag i Ardashir. This manuscript, the colophons state, Mihraban wrote in 1321 at the port of Thana, 'the Parsi merchant Chahil having given much respect, an honorarium for copying, and paper'. Thence he travelled north to Navsari, and then on to Cambay, where his scribal activity can be traced over the next thirty years.

It was while Mihraban was still at work, in about 1350, that a Christian traveller, the Dominican friar Jordanus, halted in Gujarat on his way to the Malabar coast, and there noticed the Parsis, of whom he wrote (p. 21): 'There be also other pagan-folk in this India who worship fire; they bury not their dead, neither do they burn them, but cast them into the midst of a certain roofless tower, and there expose them totally uncovered to the fowls of heaven. These believe in two First Principles, to wit, of Evil and Good, of Darkness and Light, matters which at present I do not purpose to discuss.'

Not long after this the Delhi sultanate began to break up, and received its death blow from the Tatar Timur Leng (Tamburlaine). Timur, a professed Muslim, had invaded Iran in 1381, conquering first Khorasan, and thereafter ravaging the whole land. Of Seistan, which he devastated in 1383, it was said; 'Whatever was in that country, from potsherds to royal pearls, and from the finest fabrics to the very nails in the doors and walls, was swept away by the winds of spoliation' (Browne, III, 187). Among the sufferers must have been the Zoroastrians who were still holding out there, and Timur's

campaigns, tradition holds, drove more of them overseas as fugitives to Gujarat. This region fortunately lay too far south to suffer directly when in 1398 Timur turned his attention to India. He occupied Delhi, devastated the land, and withdrew laden with booty. Thereafter, in 1401, the Muslim governor of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah, declared his independence, and there was a period of local strife while he and his successors fought to establish their authority. It was perhaps at this time (the date is uncertain) that the Parsis of Variav, a village in the Godavra district, were slaughtered by the local Hindu rajah, according to one account because they refused to pay exorbitant taxes. A ceremony for the souls of the slain – men, women and children – is still solemnized annually.

During the troubled early Muzzafarid period two well-known Parsi scribes, Ram Kamdin and his son Peshotan, managed to pursue their quiet labours. The latter wrote a famous codex at Broach in 1397; and in 1410 his father copied a manuscript which contains the Pazand and Sanskrit versions of the Arda Viraz Namag. Five years later he transcribed a codex of miscellaneous Pazand texts, some accompanied by Sanskrit and Old Gujarati renderings. Ram does not show much grasp of Middle Persian, and these works suggest a steady erosion of knowledge of this now foreign tongue through the use of the local vernacular.

Parsis in the fifteenth century

Hindu resistance to the Muzzafarids continued sporadically into the mid fifteenth century, when Sultan Mahmud Begada (1458–1511) came to the throne. In 1465 he sent an army to reduce some stubborn areas of resistance, and it is thought to be during this campaign that Sanjan was sacked and destroyed. The story of the Parsis' valiant part in the battle, fighting side by side with their Hindu benefactors, is told in epic fashion in the Qissa-i Sanjan (Hodivala, 108–13). Many lost their lives; but the priests managed to rescue the Atash Bahram, and carried it safely to a cave on 'a hill named Bahrot', an isolated peak some fourteen miles away. Here, protected by jungle and sea, they are said to have guarded it for the next twelve years; and then, when conditions were quieter, they took it to Bansda, a little town some fifty miles inland, still within the Sanjana 'panth', where the small Parsi community welcomed it with reverence and joy. Here it remained for two years, with Zoroastrians coming on pilgrimage

'from every district in which there were people of that pure creed. Just as before men used to go . . . to far-famed Sanjan, so now the Parsis came to Bansda . . . with numerous offerings' (Hodivala, 113).

Among the pilgrims was one of the great men of Parsi history, Changa Asa, a wealthy layman of Navsari. The author of the Qissa gives him the ancient Iranian title of 'dahyuvad' or 'lord of the land', thus translating evidently the Gujarati term 'desai' (as it were 'squire'). He also calls him 'davar', that is, 'magistrate' or 'judge'. He states that 'he would not suffer the faith to fall into neglect. . . . He gave money from his own wealth to those who had no sudra or kusti.' Changa Asa made the pilgrimage to Bansda in the rainy season, when the ways there through the jungle were difficult; and soon after he called a meeting of the Navsari Anjoman (the local assembly of all adult Zoroastrian men) and proposed that they should invite the Sanjana priests to bring the sacred fire to Navsari, on the coast. (Communications then by sea were easier than by land.) The Sanjanas accepted, the Bhagaria priests of Navsari prepared a 'fine house' for the fire, and it was safely installed there; and with this event Bahman (himself the great-great-great-great-grandson of one of the Sanjana priests who had guarded the sacred fire) concludes the Qissa-i Sanjan.

The Atash Bahram had thus been some fourteen years or more without a fixed abode; and it seems to have been kept during this time in a metal vessel, one of the 'afrinagans' used ordinarily to hold glowing embers during acts of worship. The tradition of enthroning a sacred fire on a stone pillar-altar was thus broken, and instead a huge metal container, shaped like the little 'afrinagan', was made to hold the Atash Bahram in its new temple in Navsari. This created a precedent, which was followed for all the sacred fires which the Parsis established subsequently.

Navsari now became the centre of Parsi religious life, with the community's one sacred fire established there, and the leading priests of the two oldest 'panths' living together in the town, while the affairs of the community prospered under the guidance of Changa Asa. He was a man who cared greatly, it is clear, about the proper maintenance of tradition; and he persuaded his co-religionists to send a messenger to Iran to consult the priests there about certain details of ritual and observance, over which there was uncertainty. This brave envoy, Nariman Hoshang, sailed from Broach to the Persian Gulf, and thence made his way inland to Yazd, from where he was taken to the Dasturan dastur in Turkabad. He was warmly welcomed; but

because of the language barrier (he spoke very little Persian), he had to live for a year in Yazd, supporting himself by petty trade, before he knew enough to receive instruction (Dhabhar, 593). In 1478 he returned, bearing two Pazand manuscripts copied especially for 'the priests, leaders and chief men of Hindustan' by two Sharifabadi priests, and a long letter for the Parsis. His was the first of a number of such missions down the years, and fortunately the Parsis of Navsari not only preserved the manuscripts, received then and thereafter, but also collected the letters and all the treatises or Rivayats of instruction which the Persian priests wrote out for them. The signatures to the letters, as well as their contents, shed light on the conditions of the two communities from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, while the Rivayats themselves show that both Parsis and Iranis remained thoroughly orthodox, and deeply concerned to maintain with the utmost fidelity the religion which both had suffered so much to preserve.

No differences in doctrine existed between the two communities, and the advice asked for and given is on matters of observance, such as the exact rituals for solemnizing the elaborate ceremony of Nirangdin, consecrating a dakhma, or administering the barashnom. Much attention too is devoted to details of the purity laws. Probably the Parsi priests studied these writings partly in order to find confirmation there for their own practices, and added authority for their exhortations to the laity. Yet they clearly also derived benefit from the description of details of observances which had become neglected in the hard circumstances of their forefathers' migration; and they continued to send messengers with inquiries, despite the perilous conditions – all laymen, for the priests were not prepared themselves to undergo the loss of purity entailed in travelling by sea in infidel ships. (The Iranis administered the barashnom to the messengers on their arrival.)

In one or two respects the Parsis' residence in India had forced changes on them in observance. Thus they had no access to the 'hom'-plant – the ephedra which grew so thickly on the Persian mountains – and what they had been using as substitute we are not told. (The Iranis now began to send them supplies of 'hom' whenever they could.) Then, while the Irani Zoroastrians had naturally maintained all the old rites of sacrifice (since blood sacrifice is a part of Muslim observance also, this was one point where there was no clash with their conquerors), the Parsis, while continuing the sacrifice of

goats, had had to give up that of cows and bulls on settling among Hindus, and now, several centuries later, must have been shocked to be urged by their Irani brethren to offer this on occasion. It was presumably the influence of Hindu reverence for the cow which led them to evolve the custom of keeping a sacred bull to provide the tail-hairs which, when consecrated, are used in the 'varas' or sieve for straining the 'hom'-juice. The bull, called the 'varasya', had to be pure white, unblemished, with pink muzzle and tongue. He was also used for procuring 'nirang'. The custom was unknown in Iran, where of old the tail-hairs were obtained, it seems, from a sacrificial bull, and 'nirang' was taken from any healthy animal, who would be fed on pure food beforehand, and thereafter returned to the fields.

The coining of the name 'varasya' was part of a steady divergence in terminology between Parsis and Iranis. The former kept a number of Persian and Arabo-Persian words, and understood even more, through literary sources; but in ordinary life they naturally adopted more and more Gujarati words, and also applied a few old terms differently from the Iranis. Thus the latter call the initiation of a priest 'nozud', whereas the Parsis term this 'navar', and use 'nozud' ('naojot' in their pronunciation) for the initiation of a child, which the Iranis call 'sedra-pushun' or 'putting on the sacred shirt'. Nevertheless, the two communities continued to understand each other very well, on the basis of common beliefs and practices.

Yet cow-sacrifice was not the only point of difference now in outlook. Another was the question of making converts. The Parsis had come to be regarded more or less as a caste within Hindu society, and this, together with their pride in their Iranian lineage, led them to regard religion as a hereditary matter. To be a Zoroastrian one must be born of Iranian blood. This way of thinking was, as we have seen, a tendency in the whole Zoroastrian community from early times, but it had never been made a rigid principle; and when the Parsis consulted the Iranis as to whether, for example, they should allow their Hindu servants who wished it to enter the religion, they received the answer that 'if servant boys and girls have faith in the Good Religion, then it is proper that they should tie the kusti, and when they become instructed, attentive to religion, and steadfast, the barashnom should be administered to them' (Dhabhar, 276).

Another matter which troubled the Parsis was that of 'khvedodah' marriages, for the Hindus disapproved of unions even between cousins; and so Nariman informed the Iranis that the Parsis 'do not

contract marriages among relatives but put many questions concerning it' (Dhabhar, op. cit. 294). The Iranis replied that 'the marriage of a Mazdayasnian . . . among his relatives is a meritorious deed and let this be known, that it is approved by Ormazd.' A case of a brother-sister betrothal (broken off before marriage) is recorded in a Pahlavi text of the eleventh century (Rivayat of Adurfarnbag CXLIII); but all that the fourteenth-century priests urged was that 'efforts should be made that the son of one brother should be given in marriage to the daughter of a brother'. This, they pointed out, should be easier now that the Parsis were under Muslim rule (for this was a favoured form of marriage among Arabs); and certainly from the time that records of Parsi marriages exist (that is, from the eighteenth century) this was the most popular form of union for them also.

Irani Zoroastrians in the sixteenth century

In their first letter the priests of Yazd had lamented to the Parsis that from the time of Gayomard – that is, from the beginning of human history – no period, not even that of Alexander, had been more grievous or troublesome for the faithful than this 'millennium of the demon of Wrath' (Dhabhar, 598). They were then living under the rule of Turkmans, who had wrested power from Timur's son; but in 1499 Shah Isma'il, the first of the Safavids, defeated them, and was crowned king of Iran. He and his descendants, who were to rule until 1722, were Shi'i, and by remorseless pressure they brought almost all the Muslims of Iran to adhere to this branch of their faith. The Shi'i were more Zoroastrianized, in their purity laws and other ways, than the Sunni; but this merely made them more conscious of the uncleanness of the infidel, and life under Safavid rule was hard for those of the old religion.

Parsis in the sixteenth century

Meanwhile a new trouble had come upon the Gujaratis in the shape of the Portuguese who, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, were searching for trading bases in the east. Mahmud Begada died in 1511, and no Muzzafarid ruler of like ability followed him to confront this menace. Nevertheless for a quarter of a century the Sultans held off the hovering Portuguese, who, partly to instil terror, partly for loot, raided up and down the coast. Then in 1534 the Mughal emperor

Humayun, now ruling Delhi, invaded Gujarat, and in despair its Sultan made a treaty with the Portuguese, conceding them, in return for help, the port of Bassein and its islands (including the tiny, insignificant one of Bombay), and agreeing that all vessels leaving Gujarati ports should pay dues to them. The Portuguese gave the Sultan little actual aid in return for this munificent concession, and the troubles of Gujarat continued. Humayun overran the north of the land, and Broach and Surat, with their Parsi colonies, were among the places which he sacked. In 1547 the Portuguese attacked Broach again, putting its inhabitants to the sword. They also won from the Sultan more territorial concessions, including the 'district of Sanjan'; and wherever they established themselves they made vigorous efforts to convert the inhabitants to Roman Catholicism. A Portuguese doctor, named Garcia d'Orta, noticed Parsis in Cambay and Bassein, and described them as merchants and shopkeepers, who came originally from Persia.

In 1572 the emperor Akbar, Humayun's son, invaded Gujarat and within a year made himself master of the land, putting an end to its independence. During the siege of Surat (then developing into its chief port) he met some Parsis and dealt with them graciously. The rule of the Mughals began therefore auspiciously for their community, and was indeed to mark the beginning of their rise to prosperity, while that of the Safavids was to see their Irani brethren thrust down into ever greater poverty and deprivation.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Under the Safavids and Mughals

Irani Zoroastrians under Shah ʿAbbas: their beliefs and practices

From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries there survive increasingly abundant records by Zoroastrians themselves, and notices by foreign observers. In Iran Shah ʿAbbas the Great, the most famous of the Safavids, came to the throne in 1587, to rule until 1628; and his brilliant court at Isfahan attracted European ambassadors, merchants and even Christian missionaries, some of whom became interested in the Zoroastrian community nearby. This was there because in 1608 Shah ʿAbbas had 'a very great number of Gaurs' (the then current form of the insulting term 'gabr') brought from Yazd and Kerman to work as labourers in and around his capital. They were settled in a suburb containing some 3000 houses, all 'low, single-storeyed, without any adornment, suited to the poverty of those who inhabit them' (Pietro della Valle, II, 104); and there they toiled as fullers, weavers and carpet-makers, or went into the city (being careful not to jostle Muslims) to work as grooms or gardeners, or hired themselves out on the farms and vineyards round about. 'They regard agriculture', wrote Chardin (II, 180), 'not only as a good and innocent calling, but also as meritorious and noble, and they believe that it is the first of all vocations, that which the "Sovereign God" and the "lesser gods", as they say, approve of most and which they reward most generously.'

'These ancient Persians' (he continues) 'have gentle and simple ways, and live very peaceably under the guidance of their elders, from

among whom they elect their magistrates, who are confirmed in their office by the Persian government. They drink wine, and eat all kinds of flesh . . . but otherwise they are very particular, and hardly mix at all with other people, especially not with Mahometans.' 'Their women', another traveller commented, 'far from avoiding us as other Persian women did, were very pleased to see and talk with us' (Daulier-Deslandes, 28). They were distinguished from their Muslim sisters by being unveiled; but their dress was very modest – long full trousers reaching to the ankle, a long, full-sleeved tunic, and a series of head-cloths, the inner one covering the hair entirely, like a nun's coif. Their garments were gaily coloured, mostly in greens and reds. The men dressed like other labourers in trousers and tunic, but had to leave the cloth (of homespun wool or cotton) undyed, and this marked them out wherever they went.

Although friendly, the Zoroastrians were reticent about religious matters, and one inquirer observed: 'There are no men in the world so scrupulous of discovering the mysteries of their religion as the Gaurs' (Tavernier, 163). This was plainly because they set as blank a wall as they could between themselves and the Muslims (who used mockery as a sharp weapon), and the foreigners might betray confidences to their Muslim hosts. Some Europeans were misled therefore into thinking that the Zoroastrians were actually ignorant, 'a simple people, who had lived for so many centuries in servitude, they had forgotten all their other ceremonies, keeping only veneration of the sun at its rising, care for the fire, which they call eternal, and their former fashion of disposing of the dead' (Figueroa, 177). This was said, however, at the time when the priests of Yazd and Kerman were writing the Rivayats for their Parsi brethren, full of minute instructions concerning a whole variety of ancient observances and rituals. One especial barrier which the Zoroastrians had raised in self-protection, and upon which Western observers commented, was linguistic. In their rural fastnesses they had adopted a local dialect, incomprehensible to speakers of standard Persian, which they called 'Dari', the Muslims 'Gabri'; and this was spoken (though almost never written) by all Zoroastrians among themselves.

Chardin, however, a man of immense intellectual curiosity, managed by sheer persistence to penetrate some way into the 'mysteries' of the Zoroastrians' faith. Of their doctrines he wrote (II, 182): 'They suppose that there are two principles of things, it not being possible that there should be only one, because all things are of

two kinds, or of two natures, that is, good or bad. . . . These two principles are of Light, which they call Ormous . . . and Darkness, which they call Ariman. . . . They hold that there are angels, whom they call lesser gods ('dieux subalternes'), assigned to protect the inanimate creatures, each according to his own province.' He further records that they held feasts in honour of the 'elements', a clear reference to the gahambars. He does not speak of the kusti, so he could never have seen Zoroastrians at prayer; but he learned (II, 183) that each family prayed five times a day in the presence of their own hearth fire, which was kept always alight and pure. Tavernier, who visited the Zoroastrians of Kerman, tried in vain to see their temple fire. They justified their refusal by telling him how the Muslim governor had forced them to let him into its presence. 'He, it seems, expected some extraordinary brightness; but when he saw no more than what he might have seen in a kitchen or a chamber fire, fell a-swearing and spitting upon it as if he had been mad' (p. 167). The Rivayats contain instructions for purifying a sacred fire, should it become necessary through incidents such as this; and by the seventeenth century the Iranians were adopting the practice of concealing each sacred fire in a tiny, hidden chamber within its mud-brick temple, windowless, with a little cupboard-like door, to be entered only by the attendant priests. Elsewhere, in a bigger room, there would be an empty pillar-altar on which embers could be placed for private prayers or public festivities. The laity thus denied themselves the joy of seeing their beloved sacred fires in the hope of better protecting them.

In the open, the Europeans (like Herodotus before them) noticed Zoroastrians waging war on 'khrafstras'. 'Above all', wrote della Valle (p. 107), 'they have a horror of frogs, tortoises, crayfish, and other creatures which they think trouble and pollute the water; so much so, that they kill as many of them as they find.' Tavernier (p. 166) noted that 'there is one day in the year when all the women of every city and village meet together to kill all the frogs they can find in the fields', and he further observed (p. 168): 'There are some beasts that the Gaurs do mightily respect, and to which they give a great deal of honour. There are others which they as much abhor, and which they endeavour to destroy as much as in them lies, believing that they were not created by God, but that they came out of the body of the Devil, whose ill nature they retain'.

The Europeans were also interested, like all others who came into

contact with Zoroastrians, by their method of disposing of their dead. Poor though they were, the Isfahani 'Gaurs' built an impressive round tower in a lonely place outside the town 'from large dressed stones . . . about 35 feet high and 90 feet in diameter, with no door or entrance', lest any seek 'to profane a place for which they have much more respect than either the Mahometans or the Christians show for the tombs of their dead' (Chardin, II, 186). They laid their dead fully clad in this tower instead of naked in the traditional way, doubtless because of Muslim intrusions. About fifty feet away, Chardin relates, there was a little mud-brick building, where fire would have been kept burning to comfort the souls of the departed. This custom was common to the Iranis and Parsis.

Another practice which caught Tavernier's eye concerned the purity laws. He wrote (p. 166): 'So soon as women or maids perceive the custom of nature upon them, they presently leave their houses, and stay alone in the fields in little huts made of hurdles or wattlings, with a cloth at the entering in, which serves as a door. While they are in that condition, they have food and drink brought them every day; and when they are free, they send, according to their quality, a goat, or a hen, or a pigeon, for an offering; after which they go to the bath, and then invite some few of their kindred to some small collation.' This cramped and solitary confinement, in summer heat and winter cold, must have been very hard on the women; and in time it evidently also became dangerous, for by the nineteenth century places for their withdrawal were made in the greater safety of house-yards or stables. Ending the ordeal with friends and a 'small collation' displays, however, the Zoroastrian instinct to seize on every possible occasion for merry-making; and Tavernier records (p. 167) of the 'Gaurs' in general that 'they love to feast, and to eat and drink well'. He also mentions (p. 166) that 'the day of the birth of their Prophet is celebrated with an extraordinary pomp, besides that they then bestow large alms'. This day was the Greater No Ruz, on 6 Farvardin (which has as much true claim to be Zoroaster's birthday as 25 December has to be that of Christ). In Kerman there were evidently still some Zoroastrians of substance able to give generously in charity; and an elegantly carved marble stone survives there which records the building of a 'House of Mihr' (Khane-i Mihr) in the reign of Shah 'Abbas by one Rustam Bundar. (A 'House of Mihr', usually Dar-i Mihr or Bar-i Mihr, is the regular term at this late period for a place of worship or fire temple.)

It was probably men of some means, like Rustam Bundar, who were the 'magistrates' or 'davars' of the local community (like Changa Asa in Navsari). Ordinarily they probably had little difficulty in guiding its affairs; but if two of its members were in dispute, and the elders could not decide the merits of the case, then it is laid down in the Rivayats (Dhabhar, 39 ff.) that they might require the accused man to take a solemn oath at the fire temple, with ritual drinking of sulphur (a form of the ancient ordeal by fire). After recitation of the Khorshed-Mihr Niyayesh, whereby the sun and Mihr were called upon as witnesses, the man testifying was to invoke the seven Amahraspands and their creations, and then make a formal asseveration, concluding with these words: 'If I perjure myself, then every good deed I have done I confer on you (the accuser), and for every crime done by you, I draw upon myself the penalty of it on the Chinvat Bridge. Mihr, Srosh and the just Rashn know that I speak the truth. . . .' The Zoroastrians were convinced that anyone who perjured himself would soon be smitten by God; but the community were urged to see that things seldom reached this point, but that honesty prevailed, since he who breaks an agreement has already come into 'the jurisdiction of Ahriman and the demons' (Dhabhar, 41).

Honest, peaceable, hard-working, living as much as possible to themselves, the Zoroastrians still could not escape tyranny. Shah ᶜAbbas, Chardin relates (II, 179), had heard tell of the marvellous contents of the books of the 'Gaurs', and in particular of one rumoured to have been written by Abraham, containing prophecies of all events to come until the end of time. This he sought persistently, forcing the Zoroastrians to bring him their manuscripts. Chardin heard of twenty-six volumes lodged in the royal library at Isfahan; but naturally the imaginary book of Abraham could not be produced, and in the end the king in his frustration had the Dasturan dastur put to death with several others. In a letter to the Parsis dated 1635 the Irani priests speak sorrowfully of these events. Their sadness at this time was intensified by disappointment. They had come to believe that the tenth millennium of the 'world year' had begun with the reign of Yazdegird III; and so they expected its glorious end, with the coming of the Saoshyant, a thousand years later, that is, in 1630 A.C. Four years previously they wrote to the Parsis: 'The millennium of Ahriman is ended, and the millennium of Ormazd is at hand, and we look to see the face of the glorious King of Victory, and Hushedar and

Peshotan will come without doubt' (Dhabhar, 593–4). The uneventful passing of that longed-for year was a cruel blow, and though they never ceased to hope for the Saoshyant's coming, their expectations thereafter were more vague. Chardin noted, however (II, 184), that 'one of their most constant traditions is that their religion will again be paramount . . . and that empire will once more be theirs. They sustain themselves and their children with this hope.'

After Shah ᶜAbbas matters grew only worse for them. ᶜAbbas II (1642–67) moved the Isfahani 'Gaurs' to a new suburb (wanting the old one for a pleasure resort); and here under the last Safavid king, Sultan Husayn (1694–1722), they suffered terribly, for soon after his accession he signed a decree for their forcible conversion. A Christian archbishop witnessed the violent measures taken to enforce this; the Zoroastrian temple was demolished, large numbers of the 'Gaurs' were compelled at sword-point to accept Islam, and the bodies of those who refused stained the river with their blood. A few escaped, and there are still families in the Yazdi region who trace descent from such fugitives.

Parsis in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The story of the Parsis meantime is a happier one, for they were making a modest rise in wealth and consequence. The emperor Akbar was interested in religions, and when he questioned the Parsis of Surat in 1573, they fetched a learned Bhagaria priest, Meherji Rana, from Navsari to expound their beliefs to him. Five years later Meherji was summoned to a discussion at the Mughal court between the adherents of various religions, an event recorded by a Muslim historian in the following words: 'Fire-worshippers also have come from Navsari in Gujarat and proved to his Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines: they called fire-worship the great worship, and impressed the Emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the Parsis, and ordered . . . that the sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings' (Commissariat, II, 222). In his tolerance and eclecticism Akbar abolished the jizya and granted freedom of worship to all; and the Parsis of Navsari, sharing in the general rejoicing, conferred on Meherji Rana and his descendants the office of their high priest or Great Dastur in perpetuity. (To this day the Bhagarias are led by a Dastur Meherji Rana.)

Later – probably on Parsi advice – Akbar asked Shah ʿAbbas to send him a learned Zoroastrian to help in compiling a Persian dictionary; and Dastur Ardashir Noshiravan of Kerman spent 1597 at his court. Two other Parsi priests were accorded the title of 'mulla' by the emperor for their religious learning, and they, like Dastur Meherji Rana, received grants of land, the deeds of which survive. From this time on, Parsi written records become steadily more extensive, and include legal documents, registers of religious ceremonies and dues, lists of priestly ordinations, agreements between priests and the laity, and lists of benefactions. All such documents, together with inscriptions on dakhmas and fire temples, were drawn on by a nineteenth-century Parsi scholar, Bamanji Byramji Patel, for a work in Gujarati called 'Parsi Prakash' ('Parsi Lustre'), which is an invaluable source for the history of the community.

There are a number of notices about the Parsis in the seventeenth century from Europeans, rivals in trade of the Portuguese, some of whom already knew the 'Gaurs' from visits to Isfahan. Most Parsis at this time, they record, were, like the Iranis, 'rather husbandmen than merchants, not caring to stir abroad' (Fryer, II, 295); and though most of them lived along the coast, ancient respect for the creations made them reluctant to sail the waters. 'And if at any time they go a voyage, will not exonerate in the sea, or on the water, but have jars on purpose; if their houses be on fire, they quench them not with water, rather choosing to load them with dust or sand' (Streynsham Master, II, cccxv). These houses were humble dwellings, single-storeyed, small and dark, like those of the 'Gaurs' of Isfahan; and they were kept as fortresses of the faith, no unbelievers being invited in. Their inhabitants were 'very industrious, and diligent, and careful to train up their children to arts and labour. They are the principal men at the loom in all the country, and most of the silks and stuffs at Surat are made by their hands' (Ovington, 219). Yet they had not lost their Zoroastrian zest for enjoyment, and had become great 'toddy' drinkers, substituting this fomented palm-juice for the wine of their mother country.

When the Europeans (by leave of the Mughals) established trading factories in Gujarat, Hindus and Parsis readily entered their employment; and in 1620 a Parsi clerk at the English factory in Surat interpreted between a priest of his faith and an inquiring English chaplain there, one Henry Lord, who wrote down what he thus learnt

(pp. 29 ff.). The Parsi priest, describing the community, said that the layman, 'being by secular occasions drawn from the services of religion, had therefore a less difficult injunction laid upon him', but should always fear lest he lose heaven, and 'whensoever they are to do anything, to think whether the thing be good or bad that they go about'. The ordinary priest 'called their herbood' must know 'in what manner to pray to God, observing the rites prescribed in the "Zundavastaw", for God is best pleased with that form of prayer, that he hath given in his own book.' He is to be strict in self-discipline, truthful, and 'known only in his own business, and not to enquire after the things of the world, it belongeth only to him to teach others what God would have them do. Therefore the behdin . . . shall see that he want nothing needful, but shall afford it him, and he shall seek nothing superfluous.' Lastly he is 'to keep himself pure and undefiled . . . for God is pure, whose servant he is, and it is expected he should be such.' As for the high priest, 'as he is above the rest in dignity, so he is enjoined to be above the rest in sanctity. . . . He must never touch any of a strange caste or sect . . . nor any layman of his own religion, but he must wash himself. . . . He must do everything that belongeth to himself with his own hand . . . the better to preserve his purity. . . . He must use no pomp or superfluity, so of that great revenue that cometh yearly to him he must leave nothing over-plus at the year's end, that must not be bestowed in good uses, either in charitable contributions to the poor, or in building of the temples of God. . . . That his house be near adjoining to the church, where he must keep and make his abiding. . . . That the Dastur be acquainted with all the learning contained in the "Zundavastaw". . . . That he stand in fear of nobody but God, nor fear anything but sin . . . that . . . when any man sinneth, he may tell him of it, be he never so great.'

With regard to observances, Lord learnt (pp. 46–7) that some time after birth the parents would take a child to the temple where the priest would give it some 'hom'-juice, 'uttering this prayer, that God would cleanse it from the uncleanness of his father and the menstruous pollutions of his mother'. At the age of about seven (thus reduced from the traditional fifteen, doubtless under Brahman influence) the priest teaches the child 'to say some prayers and instructs it in religion'. Then he is given a ritual bath, and the priest puts on him the sacred shirt and girdle, 'which he ever weareth about him, and is woven . . . by the preacher's own hand'. As for festivals,

Lord learnt (pp. 41–2) only of the gahambars, 'celebrated for five days together, each of them according to the six works of creation'. (All the gahambars had been reduced to five days each, on the pattern of the five 'Gatha' days, early in the Islamic period). A successor of Lord's, John Ovington, observed, in 1689, that 'at their solemn festivals, whither a hundred or two sometimes resort, each man according to his fancy and ability, brings with him his victuals, which is equally distributed, and eat in common by all those present' (p. 218). Lord further says (p. 40) that 'their law alloweth them great liberty in meats and drinks. . . . Whensoever they eat of any fowl or flesh, they carry some part of it to the "agiary" or temple, as an offering to appease God, that for the sustenance of man they are forced to take away the life of his creatures.' This is clearly a reference to the 'atash-zohr'.

A young German nobleman, de Mandelslo, visiting Surat in 1638, succeeded in learning a fair amount from the Parsis about their doctrines. He records (pp. 59–60) that they believed in 'but one God, Preserver of the Universe', but had also a 'great veneration' for the 'seven servants of God', who have 'only an inferior administration'. Besides these 'subalternate spirits . . . whose dignity is very great, God hath twenty-six other servants, who have all their particular functions'; and he lists the calendar Yazads by name. The Parsis believed, he says, that these beings 'have an absolute power over things whereof God hath entrusted them with the administration, whence it comes, that they make no difficulty to worship them.' It is thus clear, on the testimony of independent witnesses, that the beliefs of Parsis and Iranis at this time were identical and orthodox.

Lord describes two dakhmas built near Surat on land granted to the Parsis by Akbar, 'of a round form, a pretty height from the ground, sufficiently capacious and large; within they are paved with stone'. A number of old towers have been examined by Parsi scholars, who have been able to trace gradual refinements such as a stone outside staircase, and the dividing of the stone platform within into three concentric circles with separate partitions. It was difficult in fertile Gujarat to find barren places for the towers, but the Parsis did their best by using rising ground remote from houses or roads.

Early in the seventeenth century the Parsi colony at Cambay was extinguished, possibly in 1606, when the last Muzaffarid sultan made a stand there. Surat had already taken over the trade and prosperity of the older port, and during the next century and a half it became the largest centre of Zoroastrian population in the world. In 1774 a Dutch

sea-captain, Stavorinus, estimated the number of Parsis there at about 100,000 souls (one-fifth of the population) and (he said) 'they increase in numbers from day to day, and have built and inhabit many entire wards in the suburbs' (II, 494). They were in general on excellent terms with the Hindus; but Akbar's policy of tolerance had not outlasted his own reign. His successor re-imposed the jizya, and thereafter Muslims were 'allowed a precedence to all the rest, because of their religion' (Ovington, 139). This led at times to violence, and one famous instance for the Parsis is that of a weaver of Broach, one Kama Homa, whom a Muslim called a 'kafir' or unbeliever. Kama retorted with spirit that it was he who was the 'kafir'. The Muslim carried this insult to the local magistrate, who ruled that no infidel could so insult a worshipper of Allah, and therefore Kama must himself become a Muslim or die. He chose death, and was beheaded in 1702.

Despite such evidence of inner fire and courage, the travellers' accounts in general give the same sort of picture of the Parsis as of the Iranis, showing them to be a gentle, quiet, industrious race. They lived, it was said, 'in great harmony among themselves, make common contribution for the aid of their poor, and suffer none of their number to ask alms from people of a different religion' (Niebuhr, II, 429). 'Their universal kindness, either in employing such as are needy and able to work, or bestowing a seasonable bounteous charity to such as are infirm and miserable, leave no man destitute of relief' (Ovington, 218). Such communal care required some organization, and the Parsis, like the Iranis, were governed by their own elders or magistrates, the position being generally hereditary. These 'great ones' or 'akabir' might be laymen, or men of priestly stock pursuing secular callings. Priests did not concern themselves directly with worldly matters (as the 'herbood' explained to Lord), but had their own associations to control their separate affairs. (This was so also in Iran.) They co-operated, however, with the elders in supervising morals. The usual means by which the latter enforced their authority was that 'when a Parsi behaves ill, he is expelled from their community' (Niebuhr, II, 428), that is, he was cut off from all religious rites and communal benefits. The priests would not minister to him, and he could not enter a fire temple, nor would his body be carried to a dakhma when he died. He was in fact made 'out caste'. Occasionally more direct penalties were imposed. Stavorinus notes (II, 496) that 'adultery and fornication they punish among themselves, and even by death; but they must, however, give

cognizance of any capital punishment to the Moorish [i.e. Muslim] government; the execution is performed in secret, either by lapidation, drowning in the river, or beating to death and sometimes poison'. 'Such heavy crimes' (he adds) 'I was told, are very seldom heard of among them.' This sternness in punishing may seem at variance with the gentle nature attributed to the Parsis in most reports; but it is clear that the Zoroastrians of Iran and India could not have maintained their religion and way of life against all odds without having a granite streak in their characters.

Parsi spirit was shown also in daily life, and the Qissa-i Rustam Manek celebrates the bravery as well as goodness of an 'elder' of Surat. Rustam Manek, a prosperous factor and merchant, fought valiantly in the troubles which broke out in the late seventeenth century when the Hindu Marathas of the Deccan began a series of campaigns against the Mughals, during which Gujarat was repeatedly ravaged. The Qissa also celebrates his benevolent activities: building roads and bridges, making public wells, and paying the jizya on behalf of poor Hindus as well as Parsis, to save them from the tax-gatherers' harsh treatment.

The growing prosperity of such prominent Parsis meant that they mingled more with people of other communities, and employed more Hindu servants. Their houses were thus less secure strongholds of Zoroastrian purity; and perhaps because of this, perhaps also because of the urgings of their co-religionists in Iran, they began to found lesser sacred fires locally. The first of these was probably established in Surat, but (because Surat was so often destroyed by fire and flood) the fullest records come from what was to be the rival port of Bombay. This had become a British possession in 1661, and was entrusted to the East India Company to administer from Surat. The Company set out to make it 'the flourishingest port in India', and as one means of achieving this proclaimed complete religious freedom there. This brought a steady flow to the island of Hindu and Parsi settlers, eager to escape harassment by Mughal and Portuguese. In 1671 Hirji Vaccha built a Dar-i Mihr there, and soon afterwards a dakhma; and in 1709 an Atash-i Adaran was consecrated. From this time on, records usually distinguish between three types of Parsi sacred foundations: the Dar-i Mihr without an ever-burning fire (into which fire was brought, usually from a priest's house, for rituals); the Dar-i Mihr with a Dadgah fire; and the Dar-i Mihr with an Adaran. In common parlance, however, all three might be referred to by the

Gujarati term 'agiary' or 'place of fire'. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries more and more sacred fires were thus founded by individuals, both in new places of Parsi settlement, and in the old centres in Gujarat. The oldest village Adaran appears to be that of Siganpur, not far from Surat; this was the birthplace of Lowji Nassarwanji, the 'Wadia' or shipbuilder, who moved to Bombay in 1735, and there played a leading part in developing its great dockyards. He thus became wealthy, and not only endowed this sacred fire, but also established a annual gahambar-celebration for his soul's sake. The new fire temples of the Parsis, like those of the Iranis, were indistinguishable from ordinary houses in the streets where they stood, for outside Bombay the times were still dangerous. Thus Streynasham Master (p. ccxv) records that the Parsis had a fire temple in Surat, but that in 1672 'the tumultuous rabble of the zealot Moors destroyed and took it from them.'

Eighteenth-century Parsi religious disputes

There was during all this while still only one Parsi Atash Bahram, the Sanjana fire in Navsari. For several generations the Sanjana priests had lived harmoniously among the Bhagarias there, supporting themselves from the offerings made to their fire; but as their numbers grew, they began to encroach on the Bhagarias' rights to perform all other religious work in the town. Friction increased during the seventeenth century, and led to a law-suit before a Hindu court, and a decree that the Sanjanas must keep to their original agreement to serve the fire only. They decided that they would rather leave Navsari, and in 1741 did so, taking the Atash Bahram with them. A year later they installed it in a new temple at the village of Udwada, on the coast a little to the south of Sanjan, where it burns to this day.

The removal of the sacred fire distressed the Bhagarias, and they resolved to consecrate an Atash Bahram of their own. Leading priests consulted 'Pazand, Pahlavi and Persian manuscripts' to discover the appropriate rituals for so great an undertaking, and other Parsi communities gave help, in particular Surat. A hundred priests who 'knew well the Avesta', purified and consecrated the many lesser fires which were needed, and in 1765 the new 'King of fires' was enthroned. The Sanjanas were naturally a little jealous of this rival to their own 800-year-old fire, and must have feared that fewer pilgrims would now come to remote Udwada; and they evolved a legend to

enhance its dignity. Previously, in its uniqueness, it had been referred to in documents simply as 'the' Atash Bahram, or 'Shri Atash Saheb'; but now the name 'Iranshah' was created for it, and the story was put about that the first Parsi settlers had brought it with them from Iran, and that it was somehow linked to the khvarenah of the Persian kings of old. This legend is widely believed among the Parsis, who continue loyally to make the pilgrimage to its shrine.

Other causes of friction between different groups of priests arose in Bombay, which was outside the old territorial divisions into 'panths'. Surat was in Bhagaria territory; but when the Parsi community there prospered so greatly, its priests, becoming numerous, had broken away from Navsari to form an independent self-governing group, the Suratyas. But Bombay, whose growth was being artificially fostered, attracted Parsis from every part of Gujarat, so priests from all the different 'panths' followed the lay settlers there, to minister to them and to serve in the fire temples which they founded. There was therefore no one ecclesiastical authority at the southern port.

It was in Surat, however, that a serious element of discord first arose in the now thriving community. Controversies developed there about whether the 'padan' or mouth-veil should be tied over the faces of the dead, and whether the dead should be laid out with legs extended, or crossed; and in 1720 the Suratyas invited a learned priest from Kerman, Dastur Jamasp 'Vilayati' ('of the mother land') to pronounce on these matters. He gave his opinion that 'padan' should be used, and the legs crossed, in the Irani manner; and he then turned to other matters. He had brought with him some manuscripts, including a Vendidad, and he invited three young priests (Darab Kumana from Surat, Jamasp Asa from Navsari, and a third from Broach) to study the Avesta with him through the Pahlavi translation (then neglected by the Parsis, in favour of the Gujarati rendering). After a little while Dastur Jamasp returned home, leaving the Parsis still fiercely debating, not only over funerary practices, but also about the calendar. The letters between India and Iran had long since made the priests of the two communities aware of the month's difference between their reckonings, but, not being able to explain this, they had simply accepted it; but in 1746 a group of priests and laymen in Surat decided to adopt the Irani calendar, regarding it as the 'qadimi' or 'ancient' one. Thus the Kadmi movement was born, which in general gave preference to Irani over Parsi usages, on the assumption that these represented an older (rather than a slightly different) tradition.

Most Parsis, however, held stoutly to the calendar and ways of their forefathers, calling themselves Rasimis ('traditionalists') or, more popularly, Sharshais or Shenshais (a word of disputed origin, sometimes mistakenly rendered later as Shahanshahis, 'royalists').

The controversy between these groups became very bitter, and remained so for at least a century. Some wealthy laymen adhered to the small Kadmi party, and one of them enabled the leading Kadmi priest of Broach, 'Mulla' Kaus, to visit Iran in search of decisive evidence in its support. He was away for twelve years, and returned in 1780 laden with Arabo-Persian manuscripts and papers. The Shenshais meantime had been searching through works available to them in India, so the dispute stimulated a concern with the writings of the faith among laymen as well as priests – for the laity, through their involvement with commerce, were beginning to share in the literacy which till then had been a priestly prerogative.

Demand grew therefore in the eighteenth century for Gujarati translations of the daily Avestan prayers, and of such popular works as the Menog i Khrad and Arda Viraz Namag; and copies of these were provided by priests, who also continued their traditional labour of transcribing Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts. Most surviving Zoroastrian manuscripts date from this time. About thirty copies of the Vendidad are known to have been made in the eighteenth century by one Bhagaria priest alone; and the yashts were also transcribed from a unique codex written in Navsari in 1591, presumably from a lost Iranian manuscript.

At its height the dispute between Shenshais and Kadmis produced so deep a schism that it necessitated the founding of separate places of worship. In 1783 a wealthy philanthropist, Dady Seth, had a Kadmi Atash Bahram consecrated in Bombay, with Mulla Kaus as its first high priest, and also founded an Adaran there, to be served by visiting Irani priests; and in 1823 two rival Atash Bahrams, one Shenshai and one Kadmi, were installed in Surat. One consequence of the schism was that some of the angry feelings of the Shenshais were directed against the Iranis, whose usages the Kadmis championed; and after this time the majority of Parsis ceased to look to the Iranis for counsel in matters of the faith.

Irani Zoroastrians in the eighteenth century

This change in attitude (of which the Iranis, in their own deep

troubles, were probably unaware) was encouraged by the changing circumstances of the two communities, with the Parsis thriving while the Iranis struggled to survive. In 1719 their country was invaded by Afghans, who marched through Seistan and fell unexpectedly on Kerman. The Zoroastrian quarter, the Gabr-Mahalle, was outside the city walls, and its inhabitants – men, women and children – were almost all slaughtered. The Dasturan dastur and other leading men lived near the Atash Bahram within the town, under the eye of the Muslim authorities, and so they survived; but so few were the living that they could do no more for the dead than bring the bodies together on the plain and surround them with an earthen wall. This makeshift dakhma can still be seen some way from the ruins of the Gabr-Mahalle, which was never rebuilt.

The Afghans overthrew the Safavids, but were driven out after seven years by the Qajars (a Turkish tribe of northern Iran, who claimed descent from Timur Leng), and a mercenary leader, Nadir Kuli, who in 1736 was proclaimed Shah. Two years later Nadir invaded India, defeated the Mughal army, and sacked Delhi, but victories seemed only to make him more cruel and covetous, and under him Iran itself was a ravaged land. He was assassinated in 1747, and power passed to one of his captains, Karim Khan Zand, who reigned from 1750 to 1779, with Shiraz as his capital. It was during his kindly and just rule that Mulla Kaus visited Iran. He found the Dasturan dastur removed from Turkabad to Yazd (leaving the two ancient Atash Bahrams still in Sharifabad) – doubtless so that he too could be under closer Muslim surveillance. A general assembly of Zoroastrians was called to meet Kaus in Yazd, and he put to them seventy-eight questions. Their answers constitute the Ittoter ('Seventy-eight') Rivayat, which is the last of the Rivayats from Iran. It was treasured by the Kadmis, but naturally regarded with suspicion by the Shenshais. Kaus then went on to study astronomy and other matters in Kerman, where he found the Zoroastrians struggling under a crushing burden of tax, because the same amount of jizya was being wrung from the survivors as had been exacted before the Afghan massacre. Kaus was able to help bring their plight to the notice of Karim Khan, who granted them instant relief.

The Zand dynasty was not long lived, and in 1796 its last representative was besieged in Kerman by the Qajar Agha Muhammad, who took the city and exacted a terrible vengeance on its inhabitants for sheltering his enemy. Agha Muhammad was crowned in that year

as Shah, and from then until 1925 the Qajars ruled Iran from their northern capital, Tehran; and the early part of their epoch saw the fortunes of the Irani Zoroastrians sink to their lowest ebb.

The Parsi Panchayat of Bombay

Meantime in India, Nadir Shah having dealt its death blow to the Mughal Empire, Gujarat was being fought over by Muslim nobles, Maratha princes and European merchants. In 1759 the East India Company emerged as master of Surat, but, the countryside being still in turmoil, it continued to encourage the shift of trade and population to its safer island-possession of Bombay. As a mercantile venture the Company was glad to devote as little time as possible to governing, and so encouraged the different 'nations' there to choose their own representatives to manage their internal affairs. The Hindus being hugely in the majority, the English called such representatives by their term, 'panchayat'. A 'Parsi Panchayat' seems to have been constituted in 1728, which despite its new name was essentially the traditional Zoroastrian council of elders, and so had no working priests among its first nine members; but since in Bombay there was no corresponding priestly body to manage the ecclesiastical affairs of the community, matters which in Navsari, for instance, would come under the jurisdiction of the Bhagarsath Anjoman (such as upkeep of the dakhmas) were dealt with in Bombay by this lay Panchayat. Even the fire temples there, endowed by wealthy laymen, were in the control of lay trustees, mostly of the founder's family, who appointed the priests, whereas the older Sanjana and Bhagaria fires were in the charge of the priests themselves. Priestly responsibility, and therefore authority, was thus weaker in Bombay than anywhere else.

Much of the work of the Bombay Panchayat was the same as that of the elders of earlier days, though theirs was a harder task, trying to maintain the strict morality of former times in a jostling, expanding, cosmopolitan city, where the Parsis no longer lived in separate wards, as in Surat, and where the growing diversity of their employment and interests eroded the old sense of communal solidarity. It was on this solidarity that the ultimate sanction of the Panchayat rested, that of making an offender 'out caste'; and without it (and being forbidden by the English to inflict physical punishment) they could do little more than admonish and fine, and hope that the fines would be paid. In these circumstances, it is a tribute to the calibre of its members that

the Panchayat exerted a considerable authority not only in the eighteenth but throughout the nineteenth century, and indeed even today its approval is still sought for any major Parsi undertaking.

In social matters, the eighteenth-century Panchayat tried to uphold the stability of marriage and to regulate divorce (which they permitted, though reluctantly, in a fairly wide range of circumstances). Bigamy they only countenanced, on stringent conditions, if a first marriage were barren. In the religious sphere, they sought to discourage any visiting of Hindu shrines, and to support the institutions of their own faith, notably the celebration of the gahambars; but they tried to curb extravagance in their observance, and in the ceremonies for the dead, lest new wealth should lead people to vie with one another in lavishness. (This was a largely unavailing struggle.) They also maintained the purity laws; and as late as 1857 a man and his daughter were forbidden to enter any place of worship until they had undergone barashnom, because they had eaten a meal cooked by a Muslim. In seeking to keep the community separate and untainted, the Panchayat set itself resolutely against proselytizing or accepting 'juddins' (those of another religion) into the faith, taking their stand on a statement attributed to the first settlers at Sanjan, that they were those 'in whose caste men of different religion are never accepted'. They also opposed investing with the kusti the children of Parsi fathers and Hindu mothers.

Another side of the Panchayat's work was administrative and charitable (which again was in the tradition of the former 'akabir'). They had considerable funds at their disposal (from fees for weddings and funerals, fines and charitable bequests), and in 1823 they appointed four of their members as Trustees to administer these. With them they maintained the dakhmas, organized gahambar feasts, (still attended by rich and poor alike), and provided for the sick, destitute, widowed and orphaned. They also established a special fund to pay for the funerals and soul-ceremonies of the needy.

For nearly forty years Bombay had only the one Kadmi Atash Bahram; but soon after the two Atash Bahrams were established at Surat, three brothers of the Wadia family installed a Shenshai fire in Bombay. The consecration was performed in 1830 by Bhagarias, and the first high priest was Dastur Edalji Sanjana (despite his surname, a Bhagaria priest). The high priest of the Kadmi Atash Bahram was then Mulla Firoze, son of Mulla Kaus; and both men were to play active parts in the controversies which lay ahead in the days of British India.

Eighteenth-century European studies of Zoroastrian beliefs

An external factor which aggravated these controversies was Western contribution to the interpreting of Zoroastrian doctrine. The travellers' reports had awoken scholarly interest in Europe in the religion of Zoroaster, and in 1700 the first fruits appeared in Thomas Hyde's 'Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia'. An Oxford Orientalist, Hyde not only ransacked Greek and Latin authors for data about Iranian religion, but made use of Arabic writings, and such Persian Zoroastrian texts as he could lay hands on. His great respect for Zoroastrianism led him, as a seventeenth-century divine, to seek in it resemblances to his own Christian faith. He was misled, moreover, by the undue prominence given in his sources to Zurvan, and also by a misapprehension on the part of Chardin (whose reports from Isfahan he had read) that the God worshipped by the 'Gaurs' was distinct from 'Ormous', the principle of light. So he concluded that Zoroaster had been a strict monotheist, sent by God to repeat the work of Abraham among the ancient Iranians; and he supposed that his teachings had been misinterpreted by the polytheistic Greeks, and later by those who, acquainted with the dualistic heresies of Manichaeism and Mazdakism, had wrongly attributed these to the older Iranian religion. Hyde's pioneer work was in many ways admirable, and it held the field for three-quarters of a century, during which time his Judaeo-Christian interpretation of Zoroastrianism established itself so firmly in the academic world that it was with difficulty shaken by the subsequent discovery of the actual doctrines of the faith.

In the mid eighteenth century a young French scholar, Anquetil du Perron, travelled to India with the hope of acquiring Zoroastrian manuscripts and learning more about the religion. He spent the years 1759 to 1761 in Surat, where he persuaded Darab Kumana (the former pupil of Jamasp Vilayati, by then a leading Kadmi priest) to translate the Avesta to him. Darab must have based his exposition largely on Gujarati and Pahlavi renderings, but he succeeded in giving Anquetil a very fair idea of the contents of the whole work (although defective, inevitably, for the Gathas). This action of his was censured as a betrayal by the rest of the community. Anquetil also acquired Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts from Darab; and on his return with these to Europe he published a complete French translation of the surviving Avestan texts, with ritual instructions, and many valuable

personal observations on the customs and usages of the Parsis, as well as a translation of the Pahlavi Bundahishn.

The Avesta translation shocked Europe, for it presented an apparently polytheistic, ritualistic faith utterly at variance with Hyde's reconstruction. Anquetil sought, however, to disarm hostile criticism by maintaining that Zoroaster's own teaching had indeed been 'a pure theism', but 'even in the time of Abraham debased by heterodox opinions'. This was necessarily unsubstantiated conjecture, since at that stage the Gathas had not been isolated as the prophet's own words, and there was therefore no basis whatsoever for thus hazarding what he might himself have taught. However, the science of comparative philology was then being developed, and this enabled scholars to study the newly available Avestan language in conjunction with Sanskrit; and with this key to help them, they soon discovered that Darab's translation was inexact, and showed a lack of grasp of Avestan grammar. Most of those concerned were Protestant Christians, used to regarding the Bible, rather than a continuing tradition, as the source of their own religious beliefs; and so the discovery that the Parsis' understanding of their ancient scriptures was imperfect, together with travellers' tales about the apparent ignorance of the 'Gaurs', led them to conclude that the contemporary Zoroastrians no longer had a true knowledge of the tenets of their own faith. This misapprehension made it easier to accept Anquetil's theory that this had already been the state of affairs in the remote past. So Europe kept Hyde's interpretation of original Zoroastrianism as the Iranian form of an idealized Judaism, but added of necessity the rider that it had long been corrupted by its own adherents. So the seed was sown of much trouble for Western scholars (who were going to have to spend the next hundred years or so trying to maintain this theory in defiance of remorselessly accumulating facts), and also, more seriously, for the Zoroastrians themselves.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Under the Qajars and British

Christian missionaries and Parsi beliefs

The nineteenth century saw great changes for urban Parsis, the main factors being the growth of commerce and industry, and the impact of Western education and Protestant Christianity. The East India Company had banned missionaries, but pressure from revivalist societies in Britain was strong, and in 1813 its charter was renewed only on condition that this ban was lifted. The first missionaries arrived in Bombay (which by then had replaced Surat as the main centre of Parsi population) in the 1820s. In the same decade a movement began to establish there schools in which instruction would be given in English as well as Gujarati; and in 1827 Elphinstone College was founded to teach 'the languages, literatures, sciences and moral philosophy of Europe'. In 1840 this was combined with a school to form the Elphinstone Institute, and Parsis supplied most of the pupils there throughout the nineteenth century; and thus there was formed a Western-educated Parsi middle class, numbering doctors and lawyers, teachers, journalists and the like in its ranks.

In 1834 the British Government took over the East India Company's possessions, and became ruler of most of India. (Of the old Parsi centres only Navsari was not included, remaining contentedly part of the Hindu State of Baroda.) In matters of religion, official policy continued impartial, and no religious instruction was given in any government schools. Yet the teaching of English litera-

ture inevitably brought pupils into contact with Christian ideas, while Western science collided with many traditional Hindu and Zoroastrian beliefs. Parsi boys were at first insulated from shock in this respect by ignorance of their own scriptures. They knew the fundamental doctrines of the faith and were trained in its observances, but the Avesta itself, with its store of ancient learning and legend, was a matter for the dasturs, as much a mystery to the laity as the Latin Bible then to Roman Catholics. It caused therefore a great stir in the community when this element in their holy books was suddenly thrust on their attention by John Wilson, a Scottish missionary.

Wilson, arriving in Bombay in 1829, was impressed by the devout and upright character of the Parsis, whom he found to be a 'very influential portion' of the city's population, and he carefully prepared a campaign to bring them into the Christian fold. He studied Anquetil's translations of the Avesta and Bundahishn, together with other European writings, and then moved to the attack with sermons, pamphlets and articles in the new medium of daily newspapers. He assailed Zoroastrian dualism, and poured scorn on the ancient cosmogonic and mythical material in the Bundahishn, as well as the prescriptions in the Vendidad about the purity laws, contrasting these, unfairly, with the Christian Gospels rather than with Leviticus. (The Gathas themselves he could naturally make little of in Anquetil's translation.) Most Parsis had never heard of the Bundahishn, and were as startled by Wilson's summaries of its contents as a twentieth-century Christian would be if introduced for the first time to some of the more primitive parts of the Old Testament. A layman hastened accordingly to repudiate the whole book as 'entirely false', and probably composed by 'some enemy of our religion' (Wilson, p. 37) – a defence which proved embarrassing when Wilson triumphantly showed that much of its material was derived from the Avesta itself, which the community regarded as being in its entirety the word of God revealed to his prophet, Zoroaster.

In their perplexity the Parsis persuaded three priests to enter the lists, but they added to confusion by producing basically different defences. Two of them betrayed orthodoxy by turning for help to the Desatir ('Ordinances'), a work now generally regarded as a literary forgery, produced probably within a Persian Sufi sect, and having only the most tenuous connections with Zoroastrianism. A manuscript of it had been brought back from Iran by Mulla Kaus, and it was published in Bombay in 1818 by his son, Mulla Firoze, arousing great

interest there. It consists of a text in an artificial language (with elements taken from Indian and Iranian dialects, and a largely Persian grammar), and a Persian 'translation' of this, studiously free from Arabic words; and it purports to contain the sayings of fourteen successive prophets, from 'Mahabad' (who flourished in remote prehistory) to the 'Fifth Sasan' (living just before the Arab conquest). These prophets, it was claimed, had not died, but had withdrawn from the world as the hidden 'Masters'; and the religion taught by them had prevailed, it was asserted, in Iran down the ages, differing from that commonly ascribed to Zoroaster only because in the Avesta he had clothed his teachings in allegoric words.

This claim, when accepted by Zoroastrians, gave them licence to re-interpret the Avesta freely in the light of 'Mahabadian' doctrines, which according to the Desatir included belief in a remote, impersonal God, almighty and incomprehensible; in a series of intermediate 'Intelligences'; and in re-incarnation, with progress through the chain of being to be achieved by self-denial, fasting and solitary meditation. There were some elaborate prescriptions for prayer postures, suggestive of Hindu ascetic practices, and the spirit of the work was wholly remote from the rational, practical one of orthodox Zoroastrianism. Yet it gave 'parabolic sanctuary', as Wilson put it, to those suddenly called on, without preparation or training, to defend their ancient faith; and so two of the priests concerned took refuge with it, declaring that 'what is written in the Vendidad about Hormazd and Ahriman . . . is a parable of our prophet Zartusht. He has declared a matter in secret science' (Wilson, p. 150). So the gates were opened to occultism, which strongly influences many Parsis to the present day.

The third priest, the now venerable Dastur Edal Sanjana of the Wadia Atash Bahram, presented what was essentially traditional orthodoxy, unshaken by taunts of either dualism or polytheism. Ahriman, he insisted, was an independent malign being; and a Yazad had indeed been appointed by God to preside 'over every object in earth or in the heavenly worlds' (ibid. 198–9). He put forward, however, the long-established contamination of the Gathic doctrine of the seven creations with ancient Greek theory of the four elements; and Wilson was swift to attack this on scientific grounds, remarking mockingly (ibid. 9) that Dastur Edal had lived 'for many years almost in a state of seclusion at the principle fire temple; and he seems, to a considerable extent, to have escaped the untoward march of intellect'.

This was entirely proper conduct for a high priest; and naturally Dastur Edal, like all other Zoroastrian priests then, had received only the traditional training of his calling, so that it was unreasonable to expect him to be able to counter attacks which drew on a world of knowledge wholly unfamiliar to him.

Wilson in fact gained few converts among the Parsis, but his campaign hastened the disintegrating effects which Western influences were having on the community. The educated laity felt that their priests had failed them, and the seed was sown of that contempt which, as the nineteenth century advanced, came to replace the age-old regard for the priesthood as the learned class. In Bombay especially a sense of lay superiority was fostered both by the lack of a corporate priestly body to exercise authority there, and by the fact that individual laymen made huge fortunes while their family priests continued to enjoy only the modest incomes derived from the rituals which they performed. So working priests, simply by remaining faithful to the ways of their forefathers, came to appear backward, ignorant and poor, while the laity rushed ahead to embrace progress, science and material prosperity.

Parsi religious reforms

It was not the wealthy Parsis, however, who deliberately introduced religious reforms. They were concerned with making money and spending it, often philanthropically; and in the early nineteenth century they usually still apprenticed their sons young to their own mercantile way of life, rather than putting them to unprofitable book-learning. The changes which they brought about were therefore mostly incidental, as when they broke one after another of the purity laws in pursuit of trade, or through sheer impatience and lack of time. Thus they undertook long ocean voyages, lived and ate among juddins, introduced the first steam-boats and encouraged the use of steam-trains, in both of which fire was put to rough work, and people of different creeds travelled in close proximity. Where the rich and enterprising led, the rest of the community generally followed, so that today it is only a small number of priests (mostly those serving in the Atash Bahrams), and a few devout and highly conservative lay people, who keep the old purity laws, and even they cannot do so with the former strictness, since they no longer live in separate, almost enclosed communities.

Deliberate reforms were initiated by those of more moderate means, sent to school by their parents in the hope that a Western education would enable them to get on in the world. Opportunities for such education increased steadily through the work of Parsi philanthropists, notably Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai (the first Parsi baronet, honoured for his vast and general charities), who endowed schools for his community in both Bombay and Gujarat. Most of the early reformers emerged, however, from the Elphinstone Institute, which had some inspiring teachers. Prominent among them was Naoroji Feerdoonji, who came to Bombay as a boy from Broach. He founded the 'Young Bombay Party' and, in 1851, the Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha, known in English as the 'Zoroastrian Reform Society'. Its purpose, as formulated by Naoroji, was 'to fight orthodoxy, yet with no rancour or malice . . . to break through the thousand and one religious prejudices that tend to retard the progress and civilization of the community'. This society was largely concerned with social matters; and it has been said of its founder that 'to him is chiefly due the establishment of the first girls' school, the first native library, the first literary society, the first debating club, the first political association, the first body for improving the condition of women; . . . the first law association, and the first education periodicals. The result of these organizations became apparent as years rolled on in the religious, social and domestic relations of Parsi life.' The list suggests a modern urban existence utterly remote from that of the Parsi wards of Surat a hundred years earlier; but Naoroji's energy and care for his fellowmen were entirely in the old tradition.

The reform movement aroused strong opposition from the conservative and orthodox, and, despite Naoroji's good intentions, many harsh words came to be uttered on both sides. The reformists differed among themselves as to the degree by which they wanted to modernize the faith; but the most extreme, taking their stand on the works of Hyde and Anquetil (which had been publicized by Wilson), declared that Zoroaster had preached a simple monotheism with virtually no rituals, and that to this the Parsis should return. A spokesman for this group was Dosabhoy Framjee, a journalist and writer, who too had studied at the Elphinstone Institute, and who had a boundless admiration for Western culture. In 1858 he published a book called 'The Parsees', designed to acquaint Europe with the 'history, beliefs and manners' of his community, in which he dealt confidently on this basis with matters of faith and observance.

Writings such as his convinced Western scholars that Hyde's interpretation of Zoroaster's teachings had been a just one. The accounts by travellers of Parsi and Irani beliefs before Western impact were forgotten, and European philologists proceeded in harmonious agreement with 'enlightened' Parsis, while disregarding living orthodoxy and the entire content of the putatively erroneous Zoroastrian scriptures. Comparatively few Parsis were, however, 'enlightened', and most of the community, putting their chief energies into earning their livings, 'most diligently continued' (as Wilson lamented) to believe and worship as of old, while reformists and traditionalists met in fiery argument over their heads, and Europeans pontificated remotely.

The need for more knowledge was keenly felt by orthodox and reformist alike; and in 1854 the Bombay Kadmis founded the Mulla Firoze Madressa for the instruction of young priests. The teaching given there was, however, at first only traditional, with knowledge of such works as the Persian Rivayats being added to the basic learning of Avestan by rote. The union of such traditional learning with Western scholarship was brought about by a Kadmi layman, Kharshedji Cama. No practising priest could yet consider losing his ritual purity by making an ocean voyage; but Kharshedji, having distinguished himself in his turn at the Elphinstone Institute, joined his family's firm, and travelled to China and then Europe. There he abandoned commerce, and spent the year of 1859 visiting leading scholars in the Iranian field. With his penetrating intellect and retentive memory he garnered enough in that short time to be able on returning to Bombay to pursue Avestan and Pahlavi studies by himself on Western lines; and he gathered round him a small class of remarkably gifted young priests, which met regularly over the next twelve years. One of them, Sheriarji Bharucha, wrote later that they 'felt as if the scales of ignorance were every day falling away from their mental eyes. . . . Not content with teaching Avestan and Pahlavi books only, Mr. Cama also introduced the study of comparative grammar. . . . Of course it was not an easy task . . . to examine . . . the old Parsi notions, opinions, doctrines and views of history. . . . Both the teacher and the pupils had to unlearn every day many things previously learnt.' Here again the influence of Europe streamed in, with Western linguistic discoveries giving spurious authority to Western pronouncements about Zoroastrian theology.

The fame of Kharshedji's classes spread and led to the foundation

by the Shenshais of the Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai Zartushti Madressa 'for the purpose of teaching Avestan, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, English and other languages to the sons of Parsi priests . . . with a view to enable them to understand thoroughly the Zoroastrian religion'. Most of Cama's pupils managed to live from grants and teaching posts at this and the Mulla Firoze Madressa, for none of them, having had an education in critical scholarship, wished to continue as a practising priest. This was a problem which was to loom ever larger as the century progressed. The community clamoured for an educated priesthood; but the fact that all Zoroastrian acts of worship are performed without book means that every working priest must spend hours of boyhood learning long liturgies by heart, and must constantly refresh his memory of these throughout adult life. A compromise was gradually reached by which priests' sons attended a traditional priestly school in the early morning (rising with the sun), and then went on to share a secular education with their lay fellows for the rest of the day; but fewer and fewer of them wanted subsequently to take up the priest's calling, with its repetitive work, its relatively meagre material rewards, and its steadily diminishing standing in the community. So instead of the most intelligent of a priest's sons following his profession, it began to be the dullards, and so the prestige of the priesthood sank still further.

Haug and West on Zoroastrian beliefs

Meantime a brilliant young German philologist, Martin Haug, had made the crucial discovery that the Gathas were in a more ancient dialect than the rest of the Avesta, and alone could be regarded as the authentic utterance of Zoroaster. In the light of this, he translated these supremely difficult texts afresh, seeking in them support for the established academic dogma of the prophet's rigid monotheism; and this he found in the repeated Gathic denunciations of the 'daevas', which he interpreted as a rejection of all divine beings other than Ahura Mazda. (This was a natural mistake for a scholar familiar with the Vedas, in which the cognate term 'deva' is a general one for 'divinity'.) As for the dualism so evident in the Gathas, Haug dealt with that by drawing a fine distinction between Zoroaster's theology 'according to which he acknowledged only one God', and his 'merely philosophical doctrine' of the existence of two primeval causes; while the Amesha Spentas, he declared, were 'nothing but abstract nouns

and ideas'. (These interpretations he set out again in English in his 'Essays', pp. 300 ff.) As for rituals, the silence (as he thought) of the Gathas in this respect meant that Zoroaster 'neither believed in them, nor thought them to be an essential part of religion'.

The 1860s found Haug in India, teaching Sanskrit at Poona University, and while there he lectured energetically to the Parsis about his discovery, startling them profoundly. That of all their scriptures only the Gathas represented the actual words of Zoroaster came as a great shock, and to this day some of the orthodox find it impossible to accept; but the reformists, once they had taken it in, rejoiced mightily, for Haug had provided them with exactly what they had been seeking, namely scholarly justification for rejecting everything in the faith which did not accord with nineteenth-century enlightenment. Now only the Gathas needed to be defended out of all the texts attacked by Wilson; and Haug had shown that these venerable works could themselves be interpreted as teaching just that type of simple theism which they, led by Europe, had already attributed to their prophet. As Kharshedji Cama observed: 'Since that day, there has been no more Christian polemic against the Parsis, and the Parsis say "Haug has done us a service", and they esteem him a great Zoroastrian scholar.'

While in India Haug collaborated with a remarkable Englishman, E. W. West, who was chief engineer on one of the Indian railways. There were plenty of Parsis by then working on the railways, and West took up the study of their Pahlavi literature, and by his careful editions and translations made this branch of Zoroastrian writings known to Europe. Every Pahlavi work contradicted the theories of Zoroastrian monotheism and lack of ritual; but this was all dismissed, together with the testimony of the Younger Avesta, as a corruption of the primitive faith. West himself, however, becoming steeped in the Pahlavi books, argued wisely and calmly for their importance for an understanding of Zoroastrianism. In annotating and expounding them, he was inevitably led to reflect on what were then the current controversies, and of one of these he wrote as follows: 'The Parsi religion has long been represented by its opponents as a dualism; and this accusation . . . has been advanced so strenuously that it has often been admitted by the Parsis themselves, as regards the medieval form of their faith. But neither party seems to have fairly considered how any religion which admits the personality of an evil spirit . . . can fail to become a dualism to a certain extent. If, therefore, the term is to be

used in controversy, it behoves those who use it to define the limits of objectionable dualism with great precision, so as not to include most of the religions of the world, their own among the number. If it be necessary for a dualism that the evil spirit be omnipresent, omniscient, almighty, or eternal, then is the Parsi religion no dualism' (SBE, V, lxix).

Theosophy and the Parsis

In 1885 there arrived in Bombay Henry S. Olcott, who ten years earlier had helped found the Theosophical Society in New York. He had a high regard for Zoroastrianism, which he, like Haug (whose writings he knew) held to be 'one of the noblest, simplest, most sublime religions of the world'. He, however, held the Desatir to be of equal authority with the Gathas, and when it was his turn to lecture to the Parsis, he told them that their faith rested upon 'the living rock of Occult Science', because their prophet had 'by a certain course of mystical study penetrated all the hidden mysteries of man's nature and the world around him' (pp. 303, 305). These mysteries he and his followers, the magi of old, had transmitted 'under the safe cover of an external ritual'. Therefore the Parsis, far from abandoning their rituals, must preserve them with meticulous exactitude, while seeking the lost key to their true meaning. As Olcott eloquently put it (p. 311), 'the cloud gathers over the fire altar, the once fragrant wood of Truth is wet with the deadly dews of doubt'; and he urged the community to ignore the barren findings of European philologists, who sought verity 'among the dry bones of words', and who denied that dualism which was at the heart of the faith. 'The law of the Universe is a distinct Dualism . . . and the personification of (its) opposing powers by Zaratusht was but the perfectly scientific and philosophical statement of a profound truth' (ibid. 314–15). Hence his teachings (said Olcott) were 'in agreement with the most recent discoveries of modern science . . . and the freshest graduate from Elphinstone College (had) no cause to blush for the "ignorance" of Zaratusht' (ibid. 303).

Olcott's words gave the same sort of support and satisfaction to occultists as Haug's interpretations had to reforming theists; and a number of the orthodox too were pleased to hear a Westerner speak in praise of rituals. Theosophy held even more attraction for Hindus, since its attempted reconciliation of all creeds was based on Vedantic

Hinduism; and soon there was a thriving branch of the Theosophical Society in Bombay, with Hindu and Parsi members. The latter poured out a flood of books and pamphlets to spread their ideas, arguing that theosophy had been taught, esoterically, by Zoroaster himself, whom they claimed was a divine being, an Amashaspand incarnate, and so even greater than the other hidden 'Masters'. The rituals of the faith they followed Olcott in interpreting in pseudo-scientific terms, explaining those of the fire-cult, for instance, as designed to create 'pyro-electricity'. Despite their regard for the significance of their own ancient rituals, Parsi theosophists tended to adulterate Zoroastrian observances by creating new rites, heavy with symbolism, in their own homes.

Ilm-i Khshnum: Zoroastrian occultism

For this they were censured by adherents of the Ilm-i Khshnum, an exclusively Zoroastrian occult movement. This took its name, intended to mean 'Science of (Spiritual) Satisfaction', from a word 'khshnum' that occurs once in the Gathas; and it was founded by Behramshah Shroff, who was born in Bombay of priestly stock in 1858. His parents were very poor, and he was not made priest himself, or indeed given much education of any sort. When he was seventeen he wandered off to join an uncle in Peshawar; and there, the story goes, he was taken up by a caravan of outward-seeming Muslims, who secretly wore the kusti. He travelled with them to Iran, and was led to a miraculous place on Mount Demavand where he was enlightened by the 'Masters', who explained to him the esoteric meaning of the Avesta. He returned to live in Surat, where he kept silence for thirty years. Then in 1902 he began to preach, interpreting the Avesta on an 'elevated' plane. His doctrines have been characterized as a thorough-going adaptation of theosophy, with belief in one impersonal God, planes of being, and reincarnation, much planetary lore, and a complete disregard for textual or historical accuracy. With cloudy occultism went strict orthopraxy and observance of the purity laws. Behramshah gradually gained a small following in Surat and Bombay, and, more surprisingly, won over a number of Sanjana priests at Udwada. Two Ilm-i Khshnum agiarys exist in Bombay and one in Udwada, and there is a mass of Ilm-i Khshnum literature, much of it advocating vegetarianism and an ascetic way of life.

One observance maintained by Ilm-i Khshnum is that laymen as well as priests may undergo the barashnom. This was the case for the whole Parsi community down to the eighteenth century, when (for some reason) priests in Bombay began withholding the purification from the laity. By the end of the nineteenth century it was general practice for the Parsi laity to undergo it only vicariously, paying priests to be their proxies, whereas among the Iranis it was still being administered locally to lay men and women in the 1970s.

With their regard for orthopraxy, Ilm-i Khshnum have a clear position in controversies over forms of prayer, which first arose in the nineteenth century. The reformists, influenced by Protestant Christian usage, urged that Avestan prayers should be translated into the vernacular, so that worshippers could understand what they were saying. The orthodox position was that Avestan was the sacred language, and that to pray in it was part of the age-old devotional tradition of the community, and not to be given up; and the occultists supported them, on the grounds that the ancient words produced beneficial vibrations on the ethereal plane. The reformists produced a Gujarati prayer-book, but failed to bring it into general use. The community has remained therefore united in its forms of worship.

Parsis and the printed word

Until the nineteenth century the learning of Avestan prayers was a matter of patient repetition by teacher and taught; but in the 1820s Mobad Furdoonji Marzbanji, the 'Caxton of Bombay', began printing the Khorda Avesta in Gujarati script, and soon copies of this were generally and cheaply available. This step, taken by a mobad was another blow to the status of priests. Till then they had been the guardians of the holy words, both through knowing them by heart and through being able to read them in the mysterious Avestan and Pahlavi characters; but now, transcribed into the adequate and familiar Gujarati script, they could be read by any school-child, and what had been a professional mystery was open to the many. Later one of the most gifted of Kharshedji Cama's pupils, Tehmuras Anklesaria, a Godavra priest, set up another press to print Avestan and Pahlavi works in the original scripts. In 1888 he printed the complete Yasna and Visperad with ritual instructions, and also a huge Vendidad with especially large characters, so that priests could read it easily by lamplight during the night office. The actual understanding

of Avestan texts was meantime furthered by one of his fellow-students, Kavasji Kanga, who published over the years a revised Gujarati translation of the whole Avesta, as well as an Avestan grammar (in 1891) and a detailed Avestan dictionary (in 1900). In the preparation of these he made full use of the work of European philologists.

The Parsi practice of the faith

In 1898 there appeared a study of the Parsis of Gujarat, commissioned by the British Government from two orthodox Parsis, Kharshedji Seervai and Bamanji Patel (the editor of 'Parsi Prakash'). This admirably succinct work describes the beliefs, customs and daily life of 'provincial' Parsis at the end of the nineteenth century, and shows how little these had changed from earlier days. In Bombay too the Parsi community continued to hold together, not only as an ethnic body but as one united by the practice of the faith. The controversies which troubled it were largely doctrinal, and even reformists usually turned to the priests to perform the customary rites at marriage, to initiate their children, and to solemnize the soul-ceremonies of their parents; and however strongly they rejected dualism intellectually, their moral attitudes continued to be those which a long tradition of dualism had engendered, so that evil was felt to be something aggressive, to be fought and subdued. So too with the occultists: despite their intellectual acceptance of a remote, impersonal God, reality remained for them the worship of Ohrmazd and defiance of his Adversary. Effective religious beliefs (those, that is, which influence behaviour) thus remained broadly the same for Parsis of every persuasion, and it is striking how often the biographies of distinguished Parsis of the late nineteenth century present a man of the same stamp: kindly, generous and in the main forbearing; simple in his own life, disciplined, and strict in the upbringing of his much-loved children; tirelessly active, optimistic, and filled with a great desire to serve his fellow-men, to advance the cause of goodness, and to diminish evils, whether of ignorance, poverty, sickness or social injustice.

Women in the early nineteenth century still kept their traditional place in the home, where they had a major part in maintaining the domestic rites of the faith: tending the hearth fire, censing the house with brazier and incense each evening at sunset, doing the ritual

cooking, in strict purity, for family observances, and training the children in their religious duties. In the latter half of the century, after the reformists had started girls' schools, women gradually began to take part also in the public life of the community, and to attend what had previously been wholly male functions, such as the gahambar feasts. By then, however, these feasts, which for so many centuries had been a means of bringing rich and poor together, were no longer, in Bombay, an occasion for all Parsis of one locality to forgather. Their houses there were too scattered, and the rich had adopted foreign ways, and were no longer ready to sit at one cloth with the poor. So the ancient custom, though still observed, had degenerated there more or less into club or social dinners, though still with a religious element.

Earlier, maintaining the gahambars had been one of the tasks of the Parsi Panchayat; but by the end of the nineteenth century this body had given up many of its former functions, relinquishing them variously to British courts of justice or to individual philanthropists. In other ways, however, its power and prestige had grown. In 1834 the Panchayat possessed relatively modest assets and no quarters of its own. In 1875 it entered into imposing premises, with its trustees administering funds amounting to 44,000,000 rupees, and acting as bankers for many smaller Parsi bodies. As the community had spread out and founded new colonies, first along the shipping routes of the British Empire, and then across India, following the railways, there came into being many new Panchayats or Anjomans (the Hindu or Persian terms were by now used interchangeably). Of them a Parsi has written: 'Wherever in India or abroad there lived five to ten Parsis or more, a Panchayat or Anjoman soon grew up and collected funds for common religious and charitable purposes. Their activities soon expanded to meeting other needs as of relief of poverty, assistance for education, providing medical care, housing and other social needs. The apex of these local Anjomans has been the Parsi Panchayat of Bombay, the custodian of the funds of most of the Panchayats in India and a few from abroad. This great co-operative pyramid of the Parsis has been the bulwark of strength, representing a modest structure of a unique Social Security system. . . . Although all the wants of the needy members may not be met adequately, one can say that no deserving Parsi need starve or grow hungry, no Parsi child need grow up without minimum education, and no sick Parsi need suffer for want of medical care' (Bulsara, p. 9).

In the late nineteenth century, it is estimated, there were about 120 such local Anjomans, about the same number of dakhmas or 'towers of silence' (this expressive term had been coined by a British journalist), and 134 lesser fire temples. (Older centres often had more than one agiary and dakhma, and some new ones lacked either, and had of necessity to bury their dead.) In Bombay two more Atash Bahrams had been consecrated, a Kadmi one, enthroned by the Cowasji brothers in 1844, and a Shenshai one installed by the Bhagaria Anjoman in 1898 – this being the eighth and last Parsi Atash Bahram. Its high priest was Jamasp M. Jamasp-Asana, a descendant of the Jamasp Asa who, with Darab Kummana, had studied under Dastur Jamasp Vilayati. Another branch of this family provided the priest-in-charge of one of the fire temples in Poona, on whom eventually was conferred the impressive title of 'Dastur of the Shenshai Parsis of the Deccan, Calcutta and Madras', while in 1909 the Parsis of Karachi named their chief priest 'Dastur of the Parsis of North-West India'. These titles (probably inspired by those of Christian bishoprics) had little reality, for outside the old 'panths' a dastur's authority was limited to his own temple (to which he was elected by the trustees), and any wider influence which he might exert depended on his personal qualities.

Irani Zoroastrians in the nineteenth century

While the Parsis thus prospered and spread out, their Irani brethren, pitifully reduced in numbers, were suffering greatly. Life for them was continually hard, but the most dangerous time was always that between the death of one king and the crowning of the next, when there was no recognized local authority. Then in Yazd and Kerman fanatics and ruffians alike 'fell upon the poor Zoroastrians, mishandled them, even killed some of them, robbed them, and especially took from them . . . their books, to burn them' (Petermann, 204). Travel was now officially forbidden them; but in 1796 a Kermani managed to flee secretly to Bombay with his beautiful daughter Golestan, who was threatened with abduction. There she became the wife of Framji Panday, a merchant, who for her sake aided 'with body, mind and money' other Irani fugitives. In 1834 their eldest son started a fund to help Irani refugees in India; and twenty years later another son helped found the 'Society for the Amelioration of the Conditions of the Zoroastrians in Persia'. One of the first actions of

this Society was to send an agent to Iran, and fortunately its choice fell on the valiant Manekji Limji Hataria.

Manekji, a small trader who had travelled widely in India, was devoted to his faith and community; he was also self-reliant, resourceful, and had the tact and patience needed to negotiate on behalf of his oppressed co-religionists. He was dismayed at first to find them so reduced in numbers, the precise figures, as he reported them to the Society in 1854, being 6658 in Yazd and its villages, only 450 in and around Kerman, 50 in the capital, Tehran, and a few in Shiraz. In that same decade the number of Parsis in Bombay was estimated at 110,544 (or 20 per cent of the population), with some 20,000 in Surat, and perhaps 15,000 in the rest of Gujarat and scattered about India. Yet the Iranis, despite everything, had kept the same spirit and enterprise as the Parsis; and as soon as Manekji managed to have the pressures on them a little reduced, their 'akabir' or elders set to work with him to rebuild dilapidated fire temples and dakhmas (they had been prevented from keeping these in repair), and to do what could be done for the most destitute among them. A bold innovation (much disapproved of by the local Muslims) was the founding of schools to give Zoroastrians a basic, Western-type, education. Manekji began this activity within a year of his arrival, and soon, with the help of Parsi funds, primary schools had been established in Yazd, Kerman and many of the Zoroastrian villages; and in 1865 a small boarding school was opened in Tehran. Manekji encouraged the growth of the little colony in the capital, since Zoroastrians suffered less there than in the old centres, where prejudice against them ran deep.

Manekji struggled against oppression of every sort, striving, for instance, to bring murderers of Zoroastrians to justice. (The punishment, when he was successful, was usually a small fine, for the death of an unbeliever was of little consequence.) But his main aim, pursued over years, was the abolition of the jizya, and in 1882 his efforts were at last crowned with success, to the boundless joy and gratitude of the Iranis. Many inequalities remained, and plenty of local harassment; but from this point on they began the same ascent to wealth, through commerce, as the Parsis before them, helped like them by their talents and industry, and by their reputation for scrupulous honesty.

Irani priests had for many decades before this been making their way unobtrusively to Bombay to serve for a while at the Dadyseth

Agiary; and in the 1860s Tehmuras Anklesaria began to frequent their company there in order to learn Persian and 'Dari' from them. Later, when editing a Pahlavi text, the Dadestan i dinig, he asked an Irani friend, Mobad Khodabakhsh Farud, to make inquiries, on his return to Persia, for manuscripts of this work. To his astonishment Khodabakhsh returned a few years later bearing manuscripts not only of it, but of the Epistles of Manushchihr, the Wizidagiha of Zadspram, a Pahlavi Rivayat, a part of the Madigan i Hazar Dadestan, a longer recension of the Bundahishn, and the Nirangestan. Some of these manuscripts were unique, and the works they contained might otherwise well have perished, even at that late date, for Khodabakhsh explained that their owners had parted with them only because they knew that they would be safer with the Parsis. Tehmuras edited and printed some of the texts himself, while others were edited in the twentieth century by his son Behramgore, and by another priest, one of the finest Parsi scholars, Bomanji N. Dhabhar. Tehmuras, in part return, worked with an Irani priest to make a Persian translation of the Khorda Avesta for his community. This, and service books in Persian and Avestan script, were printed in Bombay and taken in small consignments to Iran.

The Iranis, enclosed within a society which was itself still quite untouched by progress, were naturally far more conservative than the Bombay Parsis; but not so much divided them in outlook and way of life from co-religionists in Gujarat, and Manekji, who himself came from a village near Surat, seems to have found only one practice to trouble him, that of sacrificing cows, the ancient ritual offering to Anahid, at the shrine of Banu-Pars; and such was the gratitude that the Iranis felt to him that they abandoned this at his persuasion. He made no objection to their substituting sheep and goats, which were still sacrificed by the Parsis, even in Bombay, down to the mid nineteenth century. Then gradually, under the pressure of reformists, the rite was abandoned there, and Gujarat slowly followed suit; and there are many Parsis today who sincerely deny that it ever formed part of their religious practices.

Influences from Bombay filtered back to Iran too from the late nineteenth century, but had little general effect there in the Qajar period. The half century after the abolition of the jizya was in many ways a golden age for the Irani Zoroastrians. Education and new ideas had not begun seriously to challenge old orthodoxy, and increasing wealth was largely put at the service of the faith. Yet during this time

the seeds of change were sown there also. As had happened in India, the sons of priests followed the laymen's sons into the new schools, did well there, and in ever-increasing numbers abandoned their fathers' calling for secular careers. The Tehrani community grew apace, as the Bombay one had done, and since individuals were making great fortunes the communal solidarity of the years of oppression was weakened, while modern ways began to undermine age-old orthopraxy.

One more great sorrow came, moreover, to the Iranis at this time, which was that, just as life was becoming safer and more prosperous for them, a relatively large number of their community were attracted by the preaching of the Baha'is. For centuries the Zoroastrians had had to grieve for those of their fellows who were lost to Islam, but at least these had achieved by their apostasy a better worldly lot; now they had to mourn for relatives and friends who on embracing this new religion met persecutions as harsh as any that the Zoroastrians themselves had known during the worst years of oppression. Why there should have been so many converts is not simply explained, but a number of reasons suggest themselves. The founder of Babism (the fore-runner of Baha'ism) was regarded by some as the Saoshyant, his being a purely Iranian movement, and necessarily opposed to Islam. Thereafter Baha'ism developed a claim to be a world-faith, and offered the Irani Zoroastrians, as theosophy did the Parsis, membership of a wider community, in which they would have an honoured place. But since Muslims regarded Baha'ism as a pernicious heresy, adopting it sometimes led to horrible deaths.

Parsi calendar and religious reforms in the early twentieth century

In Bombay meanwhile a development took place which was designed to end the rift between Shenshais and Kadmis. Kharshedji Cama was troubled by the calendar problems which divided his community; and became convinced that, since the original Zoroastrian calendar must have remained in harmony with the seasons, this could only have been, in essence, the Gregorian one. The intercalation of an extra day every four years had simply been neglected, he supposed, in the confusions of past history. Accordingly there was founded, in 1906, the Zartoshti Fasli Sal Mandal, or 'Zoroastrian Seasonal-Year Society', whose aim was to persuade the whole community to adopt such a calendar, with a fixed spring No Ruz and a leap-day every

fourth year; but its members, who called themselves Faslis, increased their numbers only slowly.

The Parsis had by that time made fine scholarly contributions to knowledge of their religion, notably through editing and publishing Pahlavi texts; but they felt the lack of progress in theological studies. So a group of reformists, again led by Cama, sent a young Bhagaria priest, Maneckji Dhalla, to New York to study under the American Iranist, Williams Jackson. Dhalla left India profoundly orthodox, as he explains in his autobiography, but during three and a half years abroad learnt to blend his traditional beliefs with Western academic dogma, and to contemn ritual. On his return he was elected their high priest by the Parsis of Karachi, a progressive, mercantile community, and thereafter he wrote several books on Zoroastrian theology and history. These contain much valuable material, but never deal rigorously with the contradictions which arose from the mixture of traditional orthodoxy with alien ideas. Thus he once wrote: 'It seems to me that we tread a very delicate path when we set aside as non-Zoroastrian all that does not appear in the Gathas' (*Zoroastrian Theology*, 77–8), and he in fact continued to venerate the yazatas as his forefathers had done, seeking their help in this life and looking to be judged at death by Mihr, Rashn and Srosh. Nevertheless on paper he was ready to describe these beings as 'pre-Zoroastrian divinities', belief in whom had been 'engrafted' on the pure monotheism which Zoroaster had taught. Dhalla was able to live with such contradictions, it seems, partly because of a lack of strong concern for logical consistency, partly because the life of the spirit was for him more important than that of the intellect, the practice of the faith than its theology. It was natural, therefore, that among his writings there should be a purely devotional work, called 'Homage unto Ahura Mazda', which has been widely read and used by Parsis. In it Dhalla explicitly accepted a modern Western version of the old Zurvanite heresy, according to which Ahura Mazda himself was the hypothetical 'father' of the twin Spirits of Y 30.3, who were now identified as Spenta Mainyu (regarded as wholly distinct from Ahura Mazda) and Angra Mainyu. Yet though Dhalla thus, under foreign influences, abandoned the fundamental doctrine of the absolute separation of good and evil, his book still breathes the sturdy, unflinching spirit of orthodox Zoroastrian dualism. 'As a soldier takes the oath of fealty to the king, so is every Zoroastrian arrayed on the side of the King of kings to fight a stubborn fight, a courageous

fight . . . against . . . falsehood, inequity, vice and wickedness . . . I will fight Angra Mainyu, hand to hand and foot to foot and hurl him headlong' (op. cit. 135). 'Let me not' (he prayed) 'be a visionary, or a dreamer' (ibid. 246); rather he sought to be one who was tirelessly active in the cause of righteousnes, of Asha. Zoroastrianism, he declared, is 'the most . . . buoyant, optimistic, hopeful, youthful religion' (ibid. 241), 'for thou, Ahura Mazda, art hope itself . . . Zarathushtra gives us thy message of Hope – hope in the ultimate triumph of good over evil, and hope in the destruction of the Kingdom of wickedness and the coming of thy Kingdom of Righteousness!' (ibid. 117).

Despite doctrinal innovations and uncertainties, Dhalla's work remained thus orthodox in spirit. Nevertheless he clashed with traditionalists by attacking what he regarded as outworn rituals, the saying of prayers by rote, and the exclusion of non-Zoroastrians from religious observances; and he expressed himself in such matters with characteristic Parsi vigour. 'May the breath of Vohu Manah' (he prayed) 'blow the mists of superstition and credulity, that generate orthodoxy, from my mind and illumine it with the gleams of the sunshine of needful reform. . . . Let me discern the signs of the age I live in. Let me be in harmony with it' (ibid. 276, 277).

In accordance with such aspirations, Dhalla was a prime mover in establishing an annual Zoroastrian Conference to continue the work of the nineteenth-century reformists. Its first meeting, in 1910, was stormy; but thereafter the organizers concentrated their main efforts on practical, uncontroversial matters, such as technical and educational projects for the welfare of the community. (Industrialism had by then reached Bombay, and the Parsis were adapting themselves to owning and to working in factories, both of which activities disrupted old patterns of life.) Relative peace, therefore, reigned at its proceedings; and in 1913 its President felt able to address the opening meeting with satisfaction in the following words: 'Our religion . . . is singularly free from dogmas, and is so simple in its tenets that it differs but little from Unitarianism or Rationalism', thus contrasting, he claimed, most favourably with other creeds. As an observer commented (Moulton, 175), the danger of such an attitude was its negative emphasis. 'Reforming Parsis are so busy denying and denouncing that they have difficulty in assertion.' Yet at this very time visitors to Bombay were recording the impression made upon them by the evening gathering of Parsis at the sea's edge to say their

kusti-prayers, 'Going and coming all silent and quite informal, worshipping together and yet each alone. On feast days there are thousands lining the shore, and every day the number mounts up into the hundreds. Some stay but five or ten minutes, some half an hour or more . . . either reading additional prayers from a prayer-book . . . or making spontaneous prayers of their own. . . . The dome of the eternal heavens is the cathedral, the setting sun acts as altar, and the . . . evening sky, bending over the endless reaches of the Indian ocean, lends a framework' (Pratt, 335–6). Despite all the forces of change, the devotional life of the community thus continued, even in industrialized Bombay, to flow placidly along old channels, with prayer being offered at the appointed times to the Creator in the setting of his own creations; and this was something of which reformist and traditionalist could alike approve.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

In the twentieth century

Urban Parsis

For both communities the chief strongholds of simple, untroubled orthodoxy had been the villages and country towns; but the twentieth century has seen the erosion of this rural life, and by its latter half most Zoroastrians have become city dwellers. For the Parsis this process, already well advanced by 1900, was hastened by the movement for India's independence. This was patriotically supported by individual Parsis, among whom had been founder-members of the Congress Party; but in time it unleashed some Hindu hostility against the community, which was thought to have prospered unduly under British rule. In the 1930s there was a boycott of Parsi farms in Gujarat, which forced their owners to sell. Others suffered through prohibition (introduced in Gujarat in 1937), for some Parsi villages were given over to growing the toddy-palm. There was an exodus therefore of country people to Bombay. There too the golden age of prosperity for the Parsis was over, with Hindus and Muslims now competing strongly where they had once led; but the Parsi Panchayat still disposed of large funds, and the trustees strove to keep the 'devil of unemployment' away from their co-religionists by creating training schemes, and they provided also subsidized communal housing. Some of the more conservative among them were uneasy at engaging in such new activities, but they were only an extension of those by

which down the centuries the 'akabir' had sought to care for the poorer members of the community.

Parsi philanthropists in general shared the trustees' instinct for keeping to familiar ways; but one who had broken earlier away from tradition was the pioneer industrialist, Jamshedji Tata (himself a Bhagaria priest in minor orders), who established scholarships for able boys of any creed to study science and technology. No one arose to make similar endowments for the humanities, and outside the two Madressas little provision was made for the scholarly study of Zoroastrian history and religion, and those who were drawn to these subjects had to pursue them in their spare time. With Parsi energy and devotion several did so, among them two fine historians, Shapurshah H. Hodivala and Dara Meherji-Rana. The best known to the world at large was Jivanji J. Modi, who was hereditary priest-in-charge of a Bombay fire temple, a graduate of both Elphinstone Institute and the Sir J. J. Madressa, and for fifty years full-time secretary of the Parsi Panchayat. He wrote many books and articles on Parsi rituals and customs, history, beliefs and folk-lore, and received much recognition from foreign learned societies. His major work in English, published in 1922, was 'The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees', written partly to record observances which were then being abandoned in the rush of industrialized life.

The founding of new fire temples continued, however. These included a Fasli one, called the 'Atesh-kade', established in 1937, whose first priest-in-charge, markedly a reformist, became drawn into association with the 'Mazdaznans'. They were yet another eclectic, occultist American group, whose founder, one Otoman Hanish, claimed visionary enlightenment. He had come across the English translation of the Avesta (in the Sacred Books of the East), and blended elements from what he apprehended of Zoroastrianism from it with others from Hinduism and Christianity, used fire as a cult-symbol and added breathing exercises, song and dance. In the 1930s a wealthy follower of his, calling herself 'Mother Gloria', arrived with a few others in Bombay, intending to restore to the Parsis the true message of Zoroaster, lost to them through the error of ages. The wrath of the orthodox was deep, and probably startled the well-meaning lady by the vigour of its expression. She nevertheless remained in Bombay for a number of years before returning to the USA, where the movement still has a small following.

Zoroastrians in modern Iran

Meantime the Irani Zoroastrians were pursuing a course which was to turn them also, in a mere half-century, into a mainly urban community, with Tehran having the same dominant role in their society as Bombay in that of the Parsis. In 1900 it was still Yazd and its villages which had the largest Zoroastrian population, of some 10,000 souls; and there was much traditionally pious activity there, with the repairing of old fire temples and shrines, and the building of new ones, and the making too of water-tanks, and other useful public works. Money was also spent by individuals in endowing gahambar observances, and the Gahambar Khane, where communal religious services and feasts were held, was rebuilt on an impressive scale. The new schools were a progressive element, and they included the first Iranian school for girls, founded early in the century by Sohrab Kayanian, head of the Zoroastrian Anjoman of Yazd. In the 1850s both Yazd and Kerman, under guidance from the Parsi agent, Manekji, had turned their traditional councils of elders into elected Anjomans, each with a secretary and written minutes; but with these, as with the Parsi Panchayat, the hereditary principle persisted. In Yazd the priests had their own separate assembly, under the Dasturan dastur, which exerted considerable authority in religious matters.

Although individual merchants had attained wealth, and through it influence, the Zoroastrians of Yazd and Kerman were still despised, bullied, and sometimes brutally mistreated. Matters were easier in Tehran; but in 1900 the ways there were rough and dangerous, and the Zoroastrians of southern Persia found it easier and more profitable to maintain their links with Bombay. The Tehrani community numbered then only about 325 souls, and had only one communal place of worship, a little shrine to Bahram Ized, divinity of the way. (This had been built about 1830, when Zoroastrian villagers used to travel up on foot from the south, in groups of 200 or so, to seek summer work in the gardens of the capital.) They founded their Anjoman in 1898, and ten years later established an Adaran fire, tended by priests from Yazd. The temple in which it was installed was built on the Parsi plan, with the sacred fire set in a metal container in a central sanctuary, visible to all who entered; and this testifies both to the safety of life in Tehran, and to the changed relations between the two Zoroastrian communities, with the Iranis, grateful for help and impressed by the Parsis' achievements, conceding to them the sort of

authority which the Parsis had earlier looked for from those in the mother-country.

Before the Anjomani fire was installed, a Dadgah fire had been maintained at his own house by the great merchant-banker, Jamshid Bahman Jamshidian, who by his own exertions had made himself one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Iran. He had a Zoroastrian love of justice, and sought it not only for his own community, but for all the oppressed of the land; and this led him to support the movement for constitutional reform. After many difficulties a parliament, the Majles, was established in 1906, and he was among the first members to be elected. So after over 1000 years a Zoroastrian voice was heard again in the councils of Iran. In 1909 it was agreed that each of Iran's minorities should return one representative to the Majles, and the first official Zoroastrian deputy was Kay Khosrow Shahrokh. This remarkable man, of a traditionally learned Kermani family, had been sent by Manekji as a boy to study in Bombay, where he was profoundly impressed both by the Parsis' own progress, and by what he learned among them of the glories of ancient Iran. (This was something which teachers at the Elphinstone Institute, reared in classical studies, could tell their pupils about; and it was in the nineteenth century that the name 'Cyrus' became current among the Parsis, and the symbol of the winged disc from Persepolis was adopted by them as the Zoroastrian symbol, to appear proudly over the gates of fire temples and schools.) So Kay Khosrow returned with two ambitions; to help his own community to advance, and Iran to regain her dignity among the nations. He did much to further both aims, for he was Zoroastrian deputy for thirteen sessions of the Majles, and was one of Iran's most tireless and devoted public servants for over thirty years.

In 1925 the Majles deposed the last Qajar, and enthroned Reza Khan, his prime minister, in his stead. He, as Reza Shah Pahlavi, sought to increase Iran's wealth by modernization, and at the same time to deepen the nation's sense of pride and identity by evoking the unique splendours of its imperial past. These aims led to accord between the king and the Zoroastrian deputy; and it is held to be a result of this that when Reza Shah introduced a Gregorian-type solar calendar, he chose Zoroastrian names for its months.

Some feeling for the pre-Islamic era had always been kept alive in Iran by Firdausi's Shahname, but the religious element in the epic was deliberately slight. Now, linked with the new patriotism, there began

an awakening of interest not only in the old days but in the old faith. One of the foremost workers in this field was Ibrahim Pur-Davud, who, like Shahrokh, was an ardent patriot and idealist. Though of Muslim parentage, he became convinced that Persia would best achieve greatness again if her inhabitants abandoned a philosophy of submission to fate, and 'like our valiant and truthful ancestors' learnt to regard life as a perennial struggle between good and evil, in accordance with the religion of Zoroaster. He set himself therefore the arduous task of making the Avesta known to his fellow-countrymen in Persian translation. He based his versions on the work of European scholars, and principally on that of the great German lexicographer, Christian Bartholomae; and in presenting Zoroastrianism to Muslim Iran he was naturally happy to stress the theory of Zoroaster's rigid monotheism, without any taint even of theological dualism. 'The contest is only between the spirits of goodness and evil within us in the world. . . . Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, stand as the fundamental principles of the religion of Zarathustra. And this is a perennial source of glory and pride to Iran and the Iranians, that once in that land one of its sons gave this grand message to humanity, to keep themselves aloof even from bad thoughts' (pp. 48, 50–1).

The Zoroastrians warmly welcomed Pur-Davud's efforts to win recognition for the nobility of their faith among those who had so long despised it as polytheism and fire-worship. His translation of the Gathas was printed in Bombay under Parsi auspices, and his work in general was hailed by them as a harbinger of coming goodwill and understanding among all the inhabitants of Iran. Unquestionably it contributed greatly to the increased respect felt for the old religion by educated, liberal Iranians, some of whom were led to read other works written by Irani Zoroastrians for the enlightenment of their own community. Among these were two by Kay Khosrow Shahrokh, the 'Ayin-i Mazdesnan' and 'Furugh-i Mazdesnan', through which he sought to present to the Iranis the Parsi reformists' ideas about their ancient faith (as possessing originally a simple theology, a high ethical code and virtually no observances).

Since the reformists' ideas derived originally from Europe, there was harmony between Shahrokh's expositions and those of Pur-Davud; but these ideas had less immediate impact on the orthodox in Iran than had been the case earlier in India, because most of them still lived in the provinces, where they quietly pursued old ways, and felt

little need to read or to trouble themselves with novel expositions of the faith. In the 1930s, however, one proposed innovation was forced on the attention of the whole community. While in India Kay Khosrow had been impressed by arguments in favour of the 'fasli' calendar, and he saw its adoption as both desirable in itself, and a means of bringing the Zoroastrian reckoning into close accord with the new national one. He convinced Sohrab Kayanian in Yazd, and Sorush Sorushian, head of the Zoroastrian Anjoman in Kerman; and in 1939, after years of reasoning and exhorting, the reformers persuaded the whole Irani community to adopt the fasli calendar, named by them the 'bastani' or 'ancient' one (since this they truly believed it to be). The greatest difficulty had been in winning over Yazd; and many people there continued to be troubled by the thought that they were doing wrong in using an alien, secular form of reckoning for calculating their holy days. So after a short time, led by their priests, they reverted to the 'qadimi' or 'old' calendar. Since 1940, therefore, the small Irani community has observed two calendars, so that in the 1970s Tehranis and Kermanis celebrated the religious No Ruz (on 1 Farvardin) in March, and most Yazdis in late July. The Parsis continued to have three calendars, that is the two observed in Iran and their own Shenshai reckoning (with No Ruz then in August).

An ancient usage which the Tehrani reformists were prepared to abandon under pressure from the Shah, as not in harmony with modernization, was the rite of exposure of the dead. So in 1937 they established an 'aramgah' or cemetery (literally 'place of rest'), and abandoned the hillside dakhma built by Manekji. Against scriptural precept (that the dead should be laid in barren places) the 'aramgah' had running water, trees and greenness; but care was taken to isolate the corpses from the good earth by the use of coffins placed in cement-lined graves (a more expensive process, inevitably, than exposure in a communal tower). Two years later Sorush Sorushian established an 'aramgah' in Kerman also, but the dakhma there continued in use, as a matter of personal choice, until the 1960s, and it was not until 1965 that the Yazdis began using a cemetery. A decade later it was only Sharifabad, with its long priestly tradition of orthodoxy, which still maintained and used its dakhma. Since the beginning of the century there had been Parsis too who gave preference to burial over exposure, and in crowded Bombay a movement had grown up for using crematoria. This had greatly

distressed traditionalists, and most priests refused to perform rites for the dead in such circumstances. The towers of silence remain in use there in beautiful gardens on Malabar Hill; but this once lonely place is now ringed by tall apartment buildings, and many criticisms of the custom are voiced from within and without the community.

Southern Persia changed comparatively little during Reza Shah's reign, but with new security the Zoroastrians of Yazd increased their numbers to about 12,000. The 1940s brought occupation of Iran by British and Russian troops, with some intensive road-making, and the introduction of motor transport on a large scale. When the foreigners withdrew, they sold a number of their vehicles locally, and soon buses and cars were hastening to and fro between the provinces and Tehran, for the capital had begun to exert a strong pull in many ways. It had the only university in the country, industry was thriving, and rapid Westernization was making life there more varied and attractive. For Zoroastrians it had the added advantage that there was virtually no discrimination against them there. There was a falling off moreover of trade with independent India, and years of drought were reducing the yields of farms. There was therefore a steady movement northward, and between 1945 and 1965 the Zoroastrian population of Yazd is reckoned to have halved, while that of Tehran swelled correspondingly. The number of working priests shrank even more drastically, so that from over 200 in the 1930s they were reduced to no more than ten, and there was no longer an acknowledged high priest among them, a Dasturan dastur. They thus lost most of their old authority in Yazd, and gained no new voice to compensate in Tehran, for most of the priests and priests' sons who left for the capital took up secular callings there. Kerman too lost a high proportion of its Zoroastrian population to the northern city. The last village family of Zoroastrians left the district in 1962, and there were by then only three or four working priests in the town of Kerman itself.

The laity thus gained authority in the Irani community even more rapidly and thoroughly than among the Parsis; and with wealth and enterprise becoming concentrated in Tehran, the Anjoman there acquired the same role of leadership as the Bombay Panchayat. It too was a lay body, largely concerned with furthering social and philanthropic work, and its elected members included both orthodox and reformist – for the flight from the south had brought numbers of traditionally orthodox Zoroastrians to the capital, many of whom tried to maintain their old observances as best they could in the new

conditions of city life. The reformists were anxious, however, to persuade the whole community to achieve a 'rational devoutness', and to abandon many rituals and practices. They founded societies for discussion and inquiry, published books and journals, sent down lecturers to Yazd and Kerman to urge the need for progress, and in the 1970s began to bring children up from there to summer camps, to introduce them to modern ways.

Parsis in independent India and Pakistan

Meantime the end of British rule in India in 1947 had brought great changes for the Parsis, threatening the ties which bound their community together. The 5000 or so Parsis of Karachi, Lahore and Quetta found themselves living in the Muslim state of Pakistan, and obliged to learn Urdu in preference to Gujarati. A number emigrated from there and from India, mostly to England, Canada and the USA; but the majority remained, whether as Indians or Pakistanis, and played a valuable part in the life of the two states, contributing (in proportion to the size of the community) a striking number of public figures – soldiers, airmen, scientists, industrialists, newspaper editors. (Public service had long been regarded by Parsis as a religious obligation, a part of their duty, each according to his ability, to care for their fellow-men.) India being a secular state, there was no planned discrimination there against Parsis, and that they suffered at all as a religious community was incidental. Thus measures begun for economy during the 1939–45 war, and continued after independence, included a ban on all public banquets, and so virtually put an end to the age-old observance of communal gahambars. It also became difficult to import wool for weaving kustis (by now the task of priests' wives in India, and laywomen in Iran), and the Parsi Panchayat had to make urgent representations to obtain a special quota. Religious schools were obliged to open their doors to all comers, and so it was no longer possible to maintain a truly Zoroastrian atmosphere in the Parsi ones. Apart from such government actions, material progress continued its remorseless erosion, and as the hearth fires went out in Zoroastrian homes in Bombay as in Tehran (replaced by electricity, oil or gas) a centre for family devotions vanished with them, while the enticements of new interests and diversions encouraged increasing neglect of religion, an indifference more deadly than all the clash of controversy.

Recent interpretations of Zoroastrian belief

For those Parsis in India who remained actively devout, and still sought ways of interpreting their ancient faith, there was naturally an inclination now to turn away from a Christian approach, and seek affinities in Indian religion. Some, accustomed by theosophy to linking different creeds, grafted on to their Zoroastrianism veneration for modern 'gurus' such as Meher Baba, who offered a variety of paths to spiritual salvation; and pictures of such sages came to adorn many Parsi homes, beside idealized portraits of their own prophet. Others sought to interpret the Avesta in the light of the Vedas, and the Parsi Association of Calcutta went so far as to publish, in 1967, a translation of the Gathas by a Hindu scholar who identified the Avesta as the missing 'fifth Veda', and saw Zoroaster's own Gathas as forming the earliest scripture of the Chishti cult. A more solid work was that of Irach Taraporewala, 'The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra' published in 1951. In this the author (a lawyer) first gave a literal translation of each Gatha, which essentially, like that of Pur-Davud, followed Bartholomae's rendering, and then, after an interpretive commentary, provided a second, free translation, designed to render the 'thought' behind the actual words, and to show (as he said, p. xi) 'how all the great ideas I had so highly admired in Sanskrit Scriptures were also discoverable in the Avesta'. Although in general Taraporewala rejected European translations as too literal, he adopted unquestioningly the European assumption that 'it would, of course, be utterly wrong to read the ideas of Later Zoroastrian Theology into the Gathas' (p. xii); and this assumption allowed his second rendering to be almost as free and subjective as those of the occultists. Since then, other translations of the Gathas have been made by Parsi and Irani laymen, who have all proceeded in this same way, of taking an existing translation and re-interpreting it in the light of their own inspired thoughts. The high priests of the Anjoman and Wadia Atash Bahrams of Bombay (Dastur Kaikhosroo Jamasp Asa and Dastur Firoze Kotwal) have continued the exacting task of editing and publishing Pahlavi texts – an activity which has been welcomed by the international academic community; but Avestan studies have been neglected of late by trained Parsi scholars, probably because of the daunting philological requirements for their pursuit.

The problem of interpreting the Gathas lies at the heart of the theological difficulties which confront modern Zoroastrians. Clearly

whatever the doctrines were which their prophet taught over 3000 years ago, these need to be re-interpreted for his contemporary followers, as do the teachings of all other prophets for their own communities. What is unusual in the case of Zoroastrianism is the wide diversity of opinion as to what their prophet originally taught, let alone how this should be understood today; and the blame for this confusion lies largely with the West, and the ruthless self-confidence of nineteenth-century scholars and missionaries. The doctrines of the faith, adumbrated only in the Gathas, are made clear in the tradition, preserved in the surviving Avestan and Pahlavi books; but down to the nineteenth century their testimony, inaccessible to most of the community, was supplemented by the magisterium of the living Zoroastrian church. It was the abrupt impact of Western culture which shattered the confidence of many Parsis in this, making them, like juddins, concentrate on the Gathas, seeking Zoroaster's own message there; but without the key provided by the tradition these ancient devotional texts remained bafflingly enigmatic, and so the versions of them, whether produced by Parsis, Iranis, or Western scholars, varied so much from one another that they caused bewilderment. Matters have now been further complicated with the reversal by Western scholars of nineteenth-century assumptions, because of slow recognition of the subtle allusions in the Gathas to the links between the Amahraspands and their creations, to the lesser yazatas and to the essential rituals of the faith. So the West has now destroyed the basis which it originally provided for Parsi reformists, although this has yet to be realized within the community itself. A few of the orthodox continue serenely untroubled by all this; but many Zoroastrians, in a literate age, long for a simple, noble, lucid scripture on which to base a unified faith, and this is a longing which seems doomed to remain unfulfilled, because of the immense antiquity of their tradition.

Western attacks on this tradition were damaging not only to doctrinal unity but also to communal pride; for once the reformists had accepted the theory that their prophet's teachings were early corrupted, then they had to think that their ancestors had lived by, and in many cases suffered and died for, beliefs which were false. Far from honouring them for faithfulness, they found themselves reproaching them for error. Moreover, by this theory, Zoroaster's own doctrines could have had no influence on religious history, having been almost at once lost to sight. The reformists have thus had

to abandon a great heritage. The orthodox were not deprived in this way; but under attack they tended to entrench themselves behind orthopraxy, and to conduct the battle over observances rather than doctrine. So they too gave no thought to the influence which their religion has had upon other faiths – indeed such considerations are basically irrelevant for those who believe that they are themselves engaged in preserving God's true revelation to mankind. Yet awareness of the historical facts might well be a source of strength and proper pride to others in a small community, struggling not to be engulfed in the general sea of humanity.

International dispersion

The reasons why Zoroastrians should feel their identity especially menaced in the twentieth century are various. There is the dispersal of the Parsis, with less close ties than formerly between those overseas and Bombay and Gujarat; and partly in consequence there is more marrying out of the community, and this, with a sharply falling birthrate, is whittling away its numbers. These latter problems are shared by the Iranis, and both groups face the increase of secularism among their members. Population statistics do not show, therefore, how many believing Zoroastrians there are in the world; but the round figures for the community in 1976 were a total of 129,000 souls, with 82,000 in India, 5000 in Pakistan, and 500 in Ceylon; 25,000 in Iran (of whom about 19,000 then lived in Tehran); 3000 apiece in Britain, Canada and the USA, and 200 in Australia. There were also small groups still in Hongkong and Singapore, but old colonies in Aden, Shanghai, Canton and elsewhere had had to be abandoned, sometimes with an almost total loss of individual and communal assets. Iran has, however, encouraged Parsis of late to settle there and become citizens, and a number of them have done so.

Scattered across the world in this way, the Zoroastrians have kept their energy and resourcefulness, and every local community has produced its 'akabir', who organized the means of achieving social, charitable and religious goals. The older colonies in places like London and Hongkong have had Zoroastrian Associations for many decades, and the new ones have swiftly created them. In the 1970s the Parsis created a Federation of Zoroastrian Anjomans of India; and in 1975 the first North American Zoroastrian Symposium was held in Toronto. Air-travel made it possible to hold a first World Zoroastrian

Congress in Tehran in 1960, with subsequent ones in Bombay in 1964 and 1978. These had the broad aims of establishing contact between the various Zoroastrian groups, and creating a forum where matters of common concern could be discussed. The second North American Zoroastrian Symposium took place in Chicago in 1977. The main questions considered at such gatherings are these: how to arrest the decline in numbers of the priesthood (now reaching a desperately low level even in Bombay); what part ritual and ceremony should have in religious life; how to study and learn about the faith; how to bring up children in the religion; whether the spouses and offspring of mixed marriages (with a juddin partner) may be received into the faith; whether conversion of juddins is permissible; and how to conduct funerary rites. There is ample matter here for debate, and nearly always a wide variety of opinions, from extreme reformist to strict orthodox, even in the newest colonies. One thing which helps sustain Zoroastrians is the knowledge that their community is no longer alone in its troubles (as seemed the case in the nineteenth century), but that the rising tide of secularism threatens to overwhelm other faiths also, however numerically strong, who likewise must battle against it, and strive to reinterpret doctrine and re-examine ritual. They also have justifiable confidence in themselves, and can still draw on those qualities of courage, hope and readiness to defy adversity which Zoroaster's teachings have so remarkably instilled in his followers down the centuries.

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This brief bibliography has two aims: to expand the short references given in the text, and to provide a guide to the chief primary sources and some of the abundant secondary literature. With rare exceptions, articles in journals are not cited; and the references to books are confined in the main to a selection of works in the English language. The primary sources are also cited wherever possible in English translations. (The distinction made for Chapters 5–10 between primary sources and secondary literature is dropped for the later chapters.)

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Note: because of the length of Zoroastrian history, religious terms regularly have more than one form. Where the oldest form is in frequent use it is given first, and the later form is put after it in brackets, e.g. yazata (yazad). If the later form is the familiar one, the position is reversed, but then the chronological relationship is indicated, e.g. Ātash Bahrām (older Ātakhsh ī Varahrān). Cross-references are given where the forms are not closely alike, e.g. Ahura Mazdā *see* Ohrmazd.

Long vowels are marked for religious terms and historical names, but not for personal names of modern times, or for well-known place-names.

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by

Prods Oktor Skjærvø

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Note on pronunciation

A circumflex means long vowel, e.g., Gâthâ approximately "ga*r*tha*r*" (as in Bostonian *car*) without pronuncing the *r*.

zh like the *s* in lei*s*ure, trea*s*ure, etc.

kh like Persian and Arabic خ, German *ch* in *ach* (not like *ch* in *ich*!) and Spanish Spanish *j* in *bajo* (not like Hispanic Spanish *j* = *h*). Also not like Indic *kh* = *k-h*.

In other publications:

Long vowel is indicated by a "macron," e.g., *ā* = long *a*.

A haček is used as follows: *č* = *ch*, *ǰ* = *j*, *š* = *sh*, *ž* = *zh* (as above).

x is usually *kh* (as above).

Greek β = *v*, γ = Arabic and غ Spanish *g* in *haga*, δ = *th* (in *the*), θ = *th* (in think).

ZOROASTRIANISM. A BRIEF OVEVIEW

From an inscription by King Darius

Ahuramazdâ is the great god
who set in place this earth,
who set in place yonder sky,
who set in place man,
who set in place peace for man,
who made Darius king,
one king over many, one commander of many.

The Avestan Ashem Vohu prayer

Order is the best good reward there is.
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one
when one's Order is for the best Order.

From another inscription by King Darius

King Darius announces:
When Ahuramazdâ saw this earth being in turmoil, he gave it to me.
He made me king. I am king.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
I set it down in its place.
They did whatever was told them by me,
as was my wish.

Zoroastrianism is one of the oldest religions in the world, going back to the 2nd millennium B.C.E. and the Iranian tribes still living in Central Asia, before they moved south onto the Iranian Plateau.

The ancient Iranians imagined a world in which **Order** and **Chaos** constantly vied for supremacy. The partisans of Order were heavenly powers with **Ahura Mazdâ**, the All-knowing Ruler,[1] at their head, who combated Chaos in the form of Darkness, Decay, and Death to reestablish Order in the form of Light, Growth, and Life.

Both Order and Chaos had their followers among living beings. In fact, all living beings had to make a choice of which side they wanted to support. The good would declare for Ahura Mazdâ, imitating and following the example of the first living being to worship him, **Zarathustra**, chosen for that purpose at the beginning of time.

With the help of His human followers, especially, the priests who perform sacrifices for Him, Ahura Mazdâ becomes the ruler of the universe and reinstalls His cosmic Order by making the sun rise and the rains fall. The sun brings light and warmth to the earth, His daughter, and the rains fertilize her, making her produce all good things for living beings.

In the Achaemenid period, the king similarly acted as Ahura Mazdâ's chosen, who by his sacrifices supported the deity, who in turn supported the king, bestowing upon him the power to reestablish Order on earth.

[1] Av. *ahura* = OInd. *asura*. Av. *mazdâ* is an adjective meaning literally "one who puts everything in his mind." The precise meaning of OInd. *asura*, Iran. *ahura*, is not known; "(ruling) lord" seems to be the implication in Avestan, but it may originally have meant "engenderer," hence "master (of the family), *pater familias*." Traditionally, the name is rendered as the Wise Lord. See Skjærvø, 2002, "Ahura Mazdā and Ârmaiti."

There were other deities beside Ahura Mazdâ, both good and bad. The bad ones were the ***daêwa*s**, the "old gods," who had chosen to side with evil. Their ruler was the **Evil Spirit**, whose main agent was the **Lie**, the female principle of cosmic deception. The Lie would tell living beings that Ahura Mazdâ was not the true ruler of the universe and that Order was not good.

While Ahura Mazdâ and his helpers had made and arranged the Ordered universe, it was the Evil Spirit and his agents that had made all bad things and inserted them into Ahura Mazdâ's world.

It was this aspect of Zoroastrianism that the West found so interesting. While Christian theologians strove to explain why God's perfect world seemed imperfect, the Zoroastrians had a simple answer: it had always been that way, but would not always remain so.

In the *Avesta*, Zarathustra is presented as a mythical poet and priest, to whom Ahura Mazdâ confided the sacred ritual texts and the other ingredients of the sacrifice for him to take them down to proclaim and use among mortals. For the later Zoroastrians, he was the one who received Ahura Mazdâ's word and transmitted it to mankind. This would qualify him as a "prophet" in the Classical Greek, Biblical, Muslim, and modern senses.

Zarathustra is not a "historical" person in the sense that he belongs in a known historical context or that there are recognizable historical details associated with him. He is also not represented as a "real" person in the texts, much less so than, for instance, Jesus in the Gospels. There is therefore no advantage in assuming that he was a historical person who lived in such and such a place at such and such a time. The futility of such assumptions is indicated by the disagreements among Western scholars on these points.

The Greeks called Zarathustra Zoroaster, hence the name of the religion. The followers of this religion are also called Mazdeans (or Mazdayasnians) after the Old Iranian term *mazda-yasna*, which literally means "he who sacrifices (performs a ritual of offerings) to Ahura Mazdâ." Correspondingly, the religion is also called Mazdaism or Mazdayasnianism.

In the Avestan pantheon, there were several great gods, who also deserved sacrifices, though Ahura Mazdâ was **the greatest** of them. Among them were Mithra and Anâhitâ, to whom Ahura Mazdâ himself sacrificed.

Mithra battles the powers of Darkness so that the sun can rise and travel across the sky; in late Zoroastrianism, he is identified with the sun.

Anâhitâ is the heavenly river, presumably the Milky Way, the greatest female deity, who is in charge of fertility.

Beside these two and several other great deities, Ahura Mazdâ was closely related to six divine beings that he had sired himself and whose father he was. These are the Amesha Spentas, or **Life-giving Immortals**. The Life-giving Immortals originated from Ahura Mazdâ's first cosmic sacrifice, by which the world of the gods came into being. They have correspondences in the world of living beings, however, for instance, Spentâ Ârmaiti, of **Life-giving Humility**, is Ahura Mazdâ's daughter and wife, but also the Earth.

The role of humans in the cosmic scheme is to support Ahura Mazdâ and His world, which they do by "thinking good thoughts, speaking good speech, and doing good deeds."

Those who "think bad thoughts, speak bad speech, and do bad deeds" support the Evil Spirit.

At the end of their lives, everything a person has thought, spoken, and done is added up on a balance. If the good thoughts, etc. weigh the most, the person goes to paradise, but if the bad thoughts, etc., weigh the most, the person goes to hell.

At the end of the world, however, all humans will be cleansed of evil and be in paradise forever.

The oldest stage of the Iranian religion is known from the *Avesta*, the holy book of the Zoroastrians, which is a collection of texts of different dates and various contents that were ***orally*** transmitted for centuries and even millennia before they were finally written down about 500 C.E.

The texts are in two forms of the language, one older and one younger; accordingly, we divide the *Avesta* into the *Old Avesta* and the *Young (Younger) Avesta*. The language of the *Old Avesta* may have been spoken in Central Asia in the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. and that of the *Young Avesta* in the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. The oldest manuscripts were written in the 13th century, but most of them are much younger.

From 520 B.C.E. on we have the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings, who worshipped Ahura Mazdâ and followed the religion of the *Avesta*. From then until the Arab invasion in the 7th century C.E., Zoroastrianism was the religion of the Iranian kings. It survived the foreign invasion, but, in the tenth century, a number of Zoroastrians traveled to India to escape oppression in Iran and became the ancestors of the modern-day Parsees, the Indian Zoroastrians.

From the ninth century on, Zoroastrian theologians began writing down their knowledge and discussions about the religion in the language of the time, Pahlavi. These texts, often referred to as the Pahlavi Books, constitute the largest corpus of Zoroastrian writings. The manuscripts are the same age as those of the *Avesta*.

1. THE INDO- IRANIANS

Stepping back in time, the scattered evidence indicates that, sometime in the third millennium B.C.E., the Iranians had separated from their cousins, the Indo-Aryans,[1] with whom they originally shared a common religion and oral literary traditions reaching back into Indo-European times,[2] although, in the oldest texts, there are great differences between the two religions, clearly the result of diverging developments over many hundreds of years.

These were problably nomadic, later in part settled, peoples occupying the steppes of southern Russia and the Central Asian republics at a remote prehistoric period (before 3000 BCE?).

1.2. The Indo-Aryans

Some time about 2000 B.C.E., the Indo-Aryans migrated southeastward into what is today's Pakistan and western India, while the descendants of the second-millennium Iranians migrated onto the Iranian plateau.

This simple picture is complicated, however, by linguistic evidence from Mesopotamia, Palestine, and even anatolia of Indo-Iranian, even Indo-Aryan, presence in those areas.

In the El-Amarna tablets from Palestine dating from the middle of the 15th century B.C.E. contain the Indo-Iranian-looking royal names: Arta-manya ("he who thinks Order") and Suwar-dāta ("given by the sun").[3]

In the early 14th century B.C.E. a treaty was concluded between the Hittite king Shupiluliuma and the Hurrite king of the Mitanni, Matiwaza, in which the Mitanni gods are listed, among them: Mitra-Varuna, Indara, and the two Nasatyas, which are some of the principal gods of the Old Indo-Aryan pantheon.[4]

Finally, a text by a Mitanni named Kikkuli about horses and horse races written in Hittite contains Indo-Iranian technical terms, but their lingustic form is typically Indic, for instance, *aika-wartana* "one round" contains the numeral *aika*, Old Indic *eka*, different from Avestan *aewa*, Old Persian *aiva*.

1.3. The Iranians

Seeking for the origin of the Iranians, that is, the peoples who spoke Iranian languages, there are two two mutually supporting approaches. One is the archeological approach, which consists in trying to identify Iranian-speaking peoples

[1] These are called Indo-Aryans, to distinguish them from other population groups in the Subcontinent speaking non-Indo-European languages and *not* related to the Iranian languages, such as the Dravidic and Tibeto-Burmese peoples. — On the question of the Indo-Aryans, their dates, and migrations, see the summary and discussion in Lamberg-Karlovsky, 2002.

[2] See, e.g., Mallory, 1989, for a survey of the Indo-Europeans. On their myths and literature, see, e.g., Puhvel, 1987; Watkins, 1995, and the entire work of Georges Dumézil.

[3] http://www.specialtyinterests.net/eae.html

[4] http://www.geocities.com/indoeurop/tree/indo/mitanni.html, http://idcs0100.lib.iup.edu/WestCivI/Hurranian/mitanni.htm

with archeological sites and remains, a second is the linguistic approach, by which the point of origin of the oldest Iranian literature and language is sought, and the third is the literary approach.

Since the Iranians did not have writing, it has not been possible to identify them securely in the archeological record of Central Asia and Iran, although there have been speculations.[1] As for the *Avesta*, it never refers to historical events, but it does contain series of geographical names.[2]

1.3.1. Geographical names in the Avesta

The Avesta contains two lists of geographical names in two texts: the hymn to Mithra and the first chapter of the Videvdad, in which lands made by Ahura Mazdâ are listed. The principal names in these two lists are the following:

1. Haraivian Margu (Margiane), Sogdian Gava, and Khwârazm (Chorasmia).
2. Gava inhabited by Sogdians, strong Margu, Bâkhdhri (Bactria) the beautiful with uplifted banners, Nisâya, which is between Margu and Bâkhdhri, Haraiva, Xnanta, inhabited by Verkânas (Hyrcanians), Harakhvati (Arachosia) the beautiful, and Haetumant (Helmand), rich and glorious.

Several of these place names are well known from historical documents, and several of them have, indeed, survived till today. Looking at the map, which is made after the information of Greek historians and Iranian texts, we see that the western-most of the names mentioned in the Avesta, is Hyrcania, which in historical times was an area and an Achaemenid province to the southeast of the Caspian Sea. All the other identifiable names are to the east of this area:

Haraiva, the Greek Areia and modern Herat in southwestern Afghanistan;
Harakhvati, the Greek Arachosia in the area of modern Qandahar in southeastern Afghanistan;
Haetumant, the river Helmand in southern Afghanistan;
Bâkhdhri, the Greek Bactria, modern Balkh, in northern Afghanistan;
Nisāya in southwestern Turkmenistan;
Margu, the Greek Margiane, modern Merv, in southern Turkmenistan;
Sogdiana, in southern Uzbekistan, with the cities of Samarqand and Bukhara;
Khwârazmi, the Greek Chorasmia, modeern Khwarazm, south of the Aral Sea.

We see that the horizon of the Avestan texts is Central Asia between the Caspian and Aral Seas and the Helmand basis in southern Afghanistan.

From the historical and linguistic evidence, as well as the geographical horizon of the *Young Avesta*, we can therefore tentatively conclude that the oldet Avestan texts originated among the ancient Iranians who inhabited the area between the Aral Sea and modern Afghanistan in the second millennium B.C.E., that is, in the area of the modern Central Asian republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. The younger texts, however, were probably composed in the area of modern southern Afghanistan and eastern Iran.

1.3.2. The evidence of the Achaemenid inscriptions

The empire of the Achaemenid kings, as described in their inscriptions, as well as by the Greek historian Herodotus, contained many of the same lands that are listed in the Avesta. The inscriptions differ from the *Avesta* mainly in listing lands and peoples inhabiting the western part of the empire, as well, among them the Persians, Medes, and Parthians, well known from the Greek and Latin literature. In addition, the inscriptions list several types of Sakas, whom the Greeks called Scythians, who inhabit the areas from north of the Black Sea to the east of the Aral Sea as far as the Issyk Köl.

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[1] They have tentatively been correlated with various pottery found on the Iranian Plateau and, most recently, with the "Bactria-Margiana Complex" ca. 2100-1750, characterized by cities with massive fortifications with a fortified central building complex surrounded by artisans' quarters, etc..

[2] http://members.aol.com/ahreemanx/page16.html

These various Iranian tribes were the remote ancestors of the modern Persians, Tajiks, Kurds, Afghans, Baloch, etc.

1.3.3. Persians and Medes

The earliest evidence for Persian and Median presence on the Plateau comes from the Assyrian annals, records of the campaigns by Assyrian kings, in which peoples they came into contact with or subdued are mentioned. The annals give us a good chronology, but the geography is poor. Often, the peoples can be located only within a very general area, and personal names are rare.

Here, Parsuwash and Mâtai are first mentioned in the 9th century in the area of Lake Urmia in the records of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.E.), who, in 835 B.C.E., is said to have received tributes from 27 kings of Parsuwash. Subsequent kings, Shamsi-Adad V (823-811 B.C.E.) and Adad-Narari III (810-783 B.C.E.) also campaigned against them; in the annals of Shamsi-Adad for the year 821 B.C.E., a civil war is mentioned in a land stretching from Bīt Bunaki to Parsamas.

Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 B.C.E.), who campaigned as far as Mount Bikni = Mount Alvand (q.v.), refers to the Medes as the "mighty Medes" or the "distant Medes."

From Sargon II's reign (721-705 B.C.E.) we have the mention of a nephew of King Dalta of the Ellipi by the name Aspabara, which can hardly be other than Iranian *aspabâra* "rider, knight," but his uncle's name is un-Iranian.

At the battle of Halule on the Tigris in 691 B.C.E. Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.E.) faced an army of troops from Elam, Parshumash, Anzan (Anshan, q.v.), and others.

Also in the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (680-69 B.C.E.) and elsewhere "kings" of the Medes are mentioned (for the sources, see Waters, 1999).

2. IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND PEOPLES

The oldest known Iranian languages are Old and Young Avestan and Old Persian. These languages permit us to reconstruct proto-Iranian as a branch of Indo-Iranian, an eastern branch of the Indo-European group of languages. Proto-Indo-Iranian (the parent language of Iranian and Indic or Indo-Aryan) may have been spoken in the area south and southeast of the Aral sea in the 3rd millennium B.C.E.. It split into Iranian and Indo-Aryan some time before 2000 B.C.E.

2.1. Avestan

Avestan is the language in which the most ancient Iranian religious texts are written, the Avesta. The Avesta is collection of miscellaneous texts first compiled and committed to writing in the mid-first millennium of our era. Before this time it had been transmitted orally by specially trained priests. This text corpus was subsequently, after the Muslim conquest, considerably reduced in volume.

The extant texts of each part of the collection go back to a set of single manuscripts dating from the 11th-12th centuries. Our earliest extant manuscripts date only from the latter half of the 13th century, although most of them are of much later date. This situation always has to be kept in mind when we discuss the Avesta and the Avestan language.

While both history and linguistics indicate that Old Persian was the language spoken in modern Fârs in southern Iran (hence Farsi = Persian), the language of the Avesta must have belonged to tribes from northeastern Iran. The Avesta contains a few geographical names, all belonging to northeastern Iran, that is, roughly the area covered by modern Afghanistan plus the areas to the north and south of Afghanistan. We are therefore entitled to conclude that Avestan was spoken primarily by tribes from that area. Only once is a possibly westerly name mentioned, namely Raghâ, if this is modern Rey south of Tehran, which in antiquity was regarded as the center of the Median Magi, but this

identification is not compelling.[1]

We distinguish between texts in "Old Avestan" (OAv.) and texts in "Young(er) Avestan" (YAv.).

The Old Avestan texts comprise the *Gâthâ*s and the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, both of which are contained in the section of the Avesta called the *Yasna*, as well as various fragments scattered throughout the Yasna.

The Young Avestan texts are the other texts. Among these we must distinguish between genuine, old Young Avestan texts, that is, texts written in a consistent, correct language, and texts in late Young Avestan, compiled at a stage when Young Avestan was no longer a living language and the authors and compilers only had an incomplete knowledge of it.

The texts contain no historical allusions, so they cannot be dated exactly, but Old Avestan is a language closely akin to the oldest Indic language, found in the oldest parts of the Rigveda, and should therefore probably be dated to about the same time. This date has been much debated, but it seems probable—on archeological, as well as linguistic grounds—that the oldest poems were composed in the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.E.

Compared with Old Avestan, Young Avestan represents a changed form of the language, linguistically close to Old Persian, and we may assume that it too was spoken in the first half of the 1st millennium, perhaps through the Median period, i.e, roughly the 10th-6th centuries. Such a dating, on one hand, accounts for the absence of references to western Iran in the texts (with the possible exception of Median Raghâ); on the other hand, it provides the necessary time span for Avestan to go through an "intermediate" period after the Old Avestan period before it developed into Young Avestan.

2.2. Median and Scythian

Beside Old Persian and Avestan other Iranian languages must have existed in the 1st millennium before our era. Of these Median, spoken in western Iran and presumably "official" language during the Median period (ca. 700-559), is known from numerous loan-words in Old Persian. Old northwestern languages, probably spoken by the Scythian Alan tribes are known from early inscriptions and personal and place names. In addition the Scythian tribes in central Asia must have spoken variants of Iranian that differed from Old Persian and Avestan. A few names of Scythian gods are mentioned in Herodotus's *Histories*, as well as the Median word for "dog," *spaka*.

2.3. Old Persian

Iranian tribes calling themselves Parswa (i.e. Persian) are found in (north)western Iran from the 9th cent. B.C.E. onward,[2] but the extant Old Persian texts, written in a cuneiform script, are from the Achaemenid period (ca. 558-330; the texts date from between 522 and ca. 350 B.C.E.) and represent a language spoken in southwestern Iran (Persia). The cuneiform script was probably invented under Darius for the purpose of recording his deeds. It was the first cuneiform script to be deciphered and provided the clue to all the other cuneiform scripts. The Old Persian language as we know it from the inscriptions (5th-4th cents.) was already about to change to Middle Persian. It is therefore probable that Old Persian had already been spoken for a few centuries before this time, that is, throughout most of the first half of the first millennium B.C.

2.4. Middle Iranian Languages

Middle Iranian is the common name for numerous Iranian languages, now extinct, that were spoken throughout Iran and central Asia from about the 4th century b.c.e. up to after the Islamic conquest. They can be grouped together with Old Persian, on one hand, into a southwestern group, and with Median and Avestan, on the other, into a northern and northeastern group.

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[1] See Skjærvø, 1995, "The Avesta as Source."
[2] See Waters, 1999.

Among the Middle Iranian languages is Parthian, spoken in Parthia, east of the Caspian Sea, which became an official language under the Parthian (Arsacid) rulers of Iran (ca. 247 B.C.E.-224 C.E.). It is known mainly from a few royal Parthian inscriptions dating from the last couple of centuries of Parthian rule and from the Manichean texts.

2.5. Middle Persian, Pahlavi

The Middle Iranian language most closely related to Old Persian is Middle Persian, which is known from a variety of sources: inscriptions and Manichean texts, the earliest of which date from the 3rd cent. c.e., and from the Zoroastrian scriptures, most of which were written down in the 8th-9th century, although transmitted orally for a long time. The Middle Persian inscriptions, most of them located in southern Iran, are written in a script derived from Aramaic, and the Zoroastrian texts in a still more developed form of this script. The language of the Zoroastrian texts is commonly referred to as Pahlavi.

The Pahlavi manuscripts all come from either India or Iran.

A few pages from a Middle Persian translation of the Psalter (the Psalms of Salomon) were also found there. It is written in a script situated between the script of the inscriptions and the Pahlavi script, though closer to the former.

The Avestan script is based upon the Pahlavi script with elements from the Psalter script.

3. SOURCE TEXTS

The Old Iranian religion is known from a variety of sources, the oldest of which is the *Avesta*, which contain texts composed in two different, but closely related, Old Iranian languages. One is grammatically quite similar to the language of the oldest Indic texts, the *Rigveda*, which dates from the second millennium B.C.E., the other is grammatically more similar to the language of the Achaemenid inscriptions, Old Persian, which dates from the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. There is also a translation of most parts of the *Avesta* into Middle Persian (Pahlavi), the official language of the Sasanian empire (224-637 C.E.).[1] The importance of these facts for the dating of the texts will be discussed later on.

3.1. The Avesta

The *Old Avesta* contains the five *Gâthâ*s (literally, "songs") and the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* (literally, "the sacrifice in seven sections").[2] In the present state of the text, it is embedded in the middle of a long Young Avestan text called the *Yasna* (Y.), which is the text recited during the daily morning sacrifice, also called *yasna* (= Old Indic *yajña*) The text of the *Yasna* is divided into seventy-two sections (*hâitis*) in the manuscripts and, in Western editions, further subdivided into smaller sections (often referred to as strophes or stanzas).

The five *Gâthâ*s, named after their opening words, are the *Ahunawaitî Gâthâ* "the song containing the *Ahuna Vairiya* (prayer)" (Y.27.13 + Y.28-34), the *Ushtawaitî Gâthâ* "the song containing Wishes" (Y.43-46), the *Spentâmanyû Gâthâ* "the song of the Life-giving Inspiration" (Y.47-50), the *Vohukhshathrâ Gâthâ* "the song of the Good Command" (Y.51), and the *Vahishtôishtî Gâthâ* "the song of the Best Ritual" (Y.53 + Y.54.1).[3] In the regular *yasna* ceremony, the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* (Y.35-41) is placed between the first and second *Gâthâ*s.[4]

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[1] Old Persian and Middle Persian are the "grand-parent" and "parent" of modern Persian (Farsi). See Skjærvø, 1994, pp. 203-4, 1999, pp. 8-9, on the question of the origin of this translation.

[2] Not "Worship *of* the Seven chapters," as Boyce, 1996, p. XIII.

[3] The fact that the *Vahishtôishtî Gâthâ* (Y.53) differs some from the other *Gâthâ*s in meter and contents, has sometimes led scholars to suggest it was not composed by Zarathustra himself. In my opinion, its form and contents agree perfectly with the fact that it is the conclusion of the Old Avesta.

[4] Below, the *Gâthâ*s are referred by prefixing their number before the *Yasna* number, e.g., **2.**46.3 = second *Gâthâ*, Y.46, strophe 3. Similarly, **YH**.37 = *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, Y.37.

Western scholars from about the turn of the century on began using the term *gâthâ* for each of the sections (*hâiti*) into which the *Gâthâ*s are subdivided (the fourth and fifth consist of only one *hâiti* each), altogether seventeen (7 + 4 + 4 + 1 + 1) *hâiti*s. This practice provided the basis for various attempts to put the "*Gâthâ*s" (= *hâiti*s) in chronological order.

The *Young Avesta* contains a miscellany of texts, among them the *Yasna* (Y.), which is the text recited during the *yasna* ritual;[1] the *Yasht*s, hymns to individual deities; the *Videvdad* (also spelled *Widêwdâd*, *Vendidad*, etc.), which contains ritual prescriptions for dealing with pollution by dead matter, such as blood and corpses; and various other texts. The *Young Avesta* also contains evidence that allows us to locate the peoples among whom it was composed. Two Young Avestan texts contain lists of countries known to their authors, *Yasht* 10 and *Videvdad* chap. 1. Among these countries are Khorasmia, Marv, Sogdiana, Haraiva (area of modern Herat), Arachosia (area of modern Qandahar), and the Helmand river, that is, countries in the area stretching from the Aral Sea through modern northeastern Iran and Afghanistan.[2]

The name of Zarathustra (Avestan Zarathushtra) is mentioned several times in all five *Gâthâ*s, but is absent from the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*. It is omnipresent in the *Young Avesta*, where Zarathustra is a mythological figure fighting evil and to whom Ahura Mazdâ communicates all the knowledge needed by mankind. By the end of the nineteenth - beginning of the twentieth centuries, Western scholars had decided – on minimal evidence – that Zarathustra was an historical prophet, who reformed the inherited religion of the Iranians, thus providing Zoroastrianism with a counterpart to other historical (and some non-historical) founders of religions. The *Gâthâ*s, it was decided, were his work and contained his teachings; the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* was the work of his more or less immediate followers; and the *Young Avesta* represented, on one hand, pre-Zoroastrian, "pagan," beliefs and, on the other, a relapsed and corrupt form of Zarathustra's teachings.

The Avestan texts were first written down about the fifth century C.E. and the Pahlavi texts in the ninth-tenth centuries C.E., but both are now only known from manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries.

3.1.1. Contents of the Avesta

According to the tradition, under Khosrow (531-79 C.E.), the Avesta was divided into 21 books, or *nask*s, the contents of which are given in the *Dênkard*, a Pahlavi text compiled in the ninth century. From this it appears that only one of the books have been preserved virtually complete: the *Videvdad*; of most of the others only smaller or larger parts are now extant. The loss of so much of the Sasanian Avesta since the ninth century must be ascribed to the effect of the difficulties that beset the Zoroastrian communities after the Muslim conquest of Iran.

The *Avesta* is traditionally divided into several parts (details see $$):

The *Yasna* (Y.) A miscellany of texts recited during the *yasna* ritual, among which are.
The *Yashts* (Yt.): collection of hymns to individual deities.
The *Khorda Avesta* (KhA.) "little *Avesta*": a miscellany of hymns and other ritual texts for commom use.
The *Niyâyishn*s (Ny.) "prayers" to the sun, Mithra, the moon, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ (the waters), Âtash Bahrâm (the fire).
The *Videvdad* (V.) (also *Vendidad*) literally "the law(s) or regulations (serving to keep) the demons away." mainly a collection of texts concerned with purification rituals. It also contains some mythological material.
The *Hâdôkht nask* (HN.): a text about the fate of the soul after death.
The *Êhrbedestân* and the *Nîrangestân* (N.): religious legal texts.

[1] In the extended *Videvdad sadeh* ritual, some parts of the *Yasna* are substituted by a set of texts called *Vispered* (Vr.) here the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* is inserted also between the fourth and fifth *Gâthâ*s.
[2] For a recent interpretation of these lists, see Witzel, 2000.

3.2. Non-Avestan texts

Sources for Zoroastrianism other than the Avesta comprise the following.

Achaemenid period (550-330 B.C.E.):
- the cuneiform inscriptions in Old Persian of the Achaemenid kings;
- various economical records in Elamite[1] and Aramaic found at Persepolis, capital of the Achaemenids;
- letters to and from a Jewish community at Elephantine (an island in the Nile) during the Achaemenid hegemony;
- references to Iranian religions by Greek authors;
- artistic and architectural remains.

Seleucid (305-247? B.C.E.) and Arsacid/Parthian (247? B.C.E. - 224 C.E.) periods:
- a few inscriptions, including on coins;
- references to Iranian religions by Greek, Roman, and Jewish authors;
- artistic and architectural remains.

Sasanian period (224-636 C.E.):
- royal and private inscriptions from the 3rd-4th centuries:
- other, especially funerary, inscriptions;
- coins and seals;
- texts in Middle Persian, the "Pahlavi books."
- artistic and architectural remains.

3.2.1 The Achaemenid period

The Achaemenid kings describe in their inscriptions how they sacrificed to Ahura Mazdâ and fought against the Lie and altogether endeavored to be good Zoroastrians.

The official records in Elamite from the palaces at Persepolis contain religious terminology in connection with provisions for sacrifices.

The Aramaic texts from Persepolis contain inventories of implements used in the haoma sacrifices: pestles and mortars

The letters from Egypt, written in the fifth century B.C.E., contain theophoric names, that are clearly Zoroastrian.

The writings of Greek (later also Roman) historians and philosophers sometimes describe Iranian religious practices or make various references to them.

3.2.2. The Seleucid and Arsacid/Parthian periods

The most important sources are the writings of Greek and Roman historians who write about the wars between the Romans and Iranians.

Among archeological remains, those at Nimrud Dagh stand out. This was built by Antioch (Antiochos) King of Commagene (69-34 B.C.E.), a kingdom north of Antioch, modern Antakya in eastern Turkey.

3.2.3. The Sasanian period: inscriptions

Several inscriptions from the 3rd cent. C.E. have survived, in which religious matters are touched upon or described in great detail and are our main sources for Iranian religion from this period.

In the inscription of Shâpûr I (242-72), engraved on a tower-like building at Naqsh-e Rostam in front of the tombs of Darius and other Achaemenid kings, we are told at length how Shâpûr successfully fought off three attacks by Roman

[1] A language written in cuneiform script, used by the pre-Iranian rulers of southwestern Iran. It is unrelated to other known languages from the area.

emperors, expanding his own empire considerably in the process. We are then told in great detail how he arranged for religious ceremonies to be performed for his royal relatives.

The most remarkable inscriptions from this period are those of the high priest Kerdîr (also written Kirdêr, Kartîr, etc.), who probably served under six Sasanian kings: Shâpûr, Ohrmazd I (272-73), Wahrâm I (273-76), II (276-93), III (293), and perhaps Narseh (293-302). In his inscriptions, Kerdîr describes, on the one hand, his career, and, on the other hand, how his double traveled into the beyond during a kind of seance to see with his own eyes that their religious teachings were indeed true.

Finally, in the inscription of Narseh, we catch a glimpse of the royal ideology toward the end of the 3rd century.

There are hundreds of seals inscribed in Middle Persian, providing titles of religious officials and other religious information. Magical seals and bowl inscriptions are also found. The main problem: absence of dating.

3.3. The Pahlavi texts

Most of the extant Pahlavi texts were probably compiled in the 9th century, although parts of them must have been composed much earlier, even as early as the 3rd century. The corpus can roughly be divided into three categories:

- translations of Avestan texts;
- texts with religious contents, sometimes incorporating translations from the extant or lost Avesta;
- secular texts.

Translations have been preserved of most of the Avestan texts (referred to as the Pahlavi *yasna*, Pahlavi *Videvdad*, etc.), with the important exception of some of the *yasht*s. All the translations contain glosses and commentaries, especially the Pahlavi *Videvdad*, which incorporates lengthy legalistic discussions.

Among the religious texts, the *Dênkard* and the *Bundahishn* stand out as veritable encyclopedias of Zoroastrian religion, but there are numerous other important texts, as well.

A special category are the collections of letters exchanged between the Zoroastrians in Iran and those in India (Parsis).[1] Two collections exist, one in Pahlavi and one in Persian.

Secular texts include a text on how to write letters, a poem of a verbal competition between a date palm and a goat, and various other texts.

3.4. The Manichean literature

Another source for early Sasanian religion is the Manichean literature, which contains numerous elements taken over from Zoroastrianism. Also, the Manichean church history overlaps with the 3rd- and 4t-century Sasanian history and provides some details.

These texts can be used, but with caution, as the teachings adopted from other religions were adapted by Mani and his followers to their own concept of the world.

4. ORIGINS OF IRANIAN RELIGION

The Indo-Europeans: their language and religion

The second approach to the origin of the Iranians is through their languages. To understand this approach, some historical background is required.

In the 17th century, European scholars had begun to notice that foreign languages, recorded primarily by missionaries, exhibited some curious similarities, and, in the first half of the 18th century, these similarities became the object of systematic research to discover their reasons. At this time, the Tower of Babel scenario was being

[1] In the face of pressure from the Muslim conquerors of Iran, a group of Zaoroastrians emigrated to the west coast of India in the tenth century, founding what later became known as the Parsi (Parsee) community there; see Boyce, 1979, pp. 166-68.

increasingly abandoned, according to which all languages are descended from Hebrew, which was the language of Adam, etc., and so a diffferent reason had to be sought. What scholars came up with, was an origin in the languages of the three sons of Noah, who had survived the flood and settled in different parts of the world. It was from their languages that the languages of the modern world had developed into three different language families: the Semitic from Shem, the Hamitic from Ham, and the Japhetic from Japhet. the Semitic languages comprised Hebrew and Arabic and various others; among the Hamitic languages were Egyptian and Coptic; and the Japhetic languages were the rest, among them the European languages, but also the languages of Asia.

This large group of Japhetic languages was further identified with the Scythian and Sarmatian languages, which according to the Greek historians were spoken north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus (not far from where the Ark landed on Mt. Ararat), and it was thought that both the European and the Asian languages were descended from them.

During the 18th century, however, it became increasingly clear that it was possible to compare languages and determine their precise genetic relationships to each other. This was developed into a science, which was called comparative linguistics, and, in particular, comparative Indo-European[1] linguistics, because it comprised most of the languages between India and the western edge of Europe.

One important impetus for the new science was the discoveries of the ancient Indic and Iranian languages and literatures in the 17-18th centuries. The result, as presented in several comprehensive, multi-volume descriptions in the mid- and late 18th century, was that the Indo-Germanic language family comprised most of the European languages, as well as several Asian ones, notably, Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Italic, Greek, Armenian, Iranian, and Indic. The oldest of these were the Indic and the Iranian with their *Vedas* and *Avesta*, with Greek with its Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as a runner-up.

Scholars in the twentieth century compared the Old Iranian religion with that of the Indo-Aryans in an attempt to recover common Indo-Iranian beliefs. Attempts were also made to isolate comparable data throughout the Indo-European literatures to identify elements that might be ascribed to the remote ancestors of all the Indo-European peoples, the proto-Indo-Europeans. By this research, it was established that the proto-Indo-Europeans sacrificed[2] to heavenly gods, denoted by the word **deiwo*, known in a variety of Indo-European languages: Old Indic *deva*, Avestan *daêwa* and Old Persian *daiva*, Latin *deus*, Old Norse *Tyr*, contained in the day name (Norwegian) *tys-dag* "Tues-day," plural *tivar*. This word was in turn related to another word, **dyew*, denoting the bright sky, which was probably worshipped as a high god by several Indo-European peoples: Old Indic *dyau* "heaven" and *dyâus pitâ* "father heaven," Avestan *dyao* "heaven," Latin *Juppiter* from the vocative **dyeu-pater* "O father heaven," Greek *Zeus* from **dyêus*.

Most divine names differ in the various languages, however, and comparative religion and mythology has concentrated on the *functions* of gods and mythical characters to establish deeper relationships. This tendency for names to differ in the various traditions can be seen even in closely related, notably the Indo-Iranian, ones.

The Indians and their religion

As the corpus of Old Indic texts, the *Rigveda* and the other *Veda*s and the somewhat later *Brahmanas*, is much more voluminous than the *Old* and *Young Avesta*, the Old Indic religion is also much better known. The Rigvedic religion is a polytheistic religion, populated by a variety of gods – *deva*s and *asura*s – to whom worship and sacrifices are offered. There are, on the one hand, the two high *asura*s, Varuṇa and Mitra, both of whom watch over the cosmic Order (Old Indic *rta*); on the other hand, there are a number of *deva*s, including Indra, the warrior god who, together with his companions, the Maruts, gods of winds and rains, releases the heavenly waters, allowing them to fertilize the world;

[1] It was actually called Indo-Germanic at the time, when most studies were in German.

[2] The term *sacrifice* is used throughout this introduction without necessarily impliying *immolation* of a sacrificial victim; rather it is used to denote ritual offerings to gods and other entitites in the divine world. See, e.g., Henninger, 1987, esp. pp. 544-45. The Avestan verb implies worship of the gods, consecration of the elements of the ritual, and the offering up the elements of the ritual to the gods as gifts.

Agni, the fire god, materialized in the sacrificial and heavenly fires; Vâyu, the god of the intermediate space between heaven and earth; Apâm napât, Scion of the Waters, the fire in the heavenly waters; and Soma, the divine plant and drink prepared in the sacrifice and offered to the gods to replenish their cosmic creative powers. Beside these, a multitude of other divine beings are made the target of worship and sacrifices, among them the heavenly waters, the couple heaven and earth, dawn and the sun, and others, among them a number of deified "abstract" concepts. They all contribute to the rejuvenation of the world, the ordered cosmos, maintaining it full of light, life, and fertility and protecting it from darkness and death.

The principle of the ordered cosmos is again Order, characterized by light and life, but which is regularly replaced by darkness and chaos. The cover of darkness is sometimes said to be that of the lie (*druh*, e.g., Rigveda 7, 75, 1). The sacrifices offered to the deities, serve to aid the gods in re-establishing Order after periods of chaos.

5. FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF ZOROASTRIANISM

The religious thought of the ancient Iranians is based on the opposition between order and chaos, good and bad, truth and falsehood, as manifested in the thought, speech, and activity of gods and men.

Many aspects of the earliest beliefs of the Iranians can be retrieved from the *Avesta* and the Old Persian inscriptions, supplemented by information provided by the Greek authors, while later beliefs are spelled out in greater detail in the Pahlavi texts (for instance, in the *Bundahishn*, the "establishment in the beginning"). The following is an overview based primarily on the Avestan texts.

5.1. The poet-sacrificer's thought

The large number of words derived from the verb *man-* "think, remember," etc., and other terms denoting some kind of mental activity is one of the most striking features of the Old Avestan poems.

The term (*vohu*) *manah* "(good) thought" is one of the most frequent in all the *Gâthâ*s (in third place after *Ahura Mazdâ* and *asha*, according to Kellens-Pirart) and is clearly at the center of the poet's world, being, as we shall see, the guiding principle of words and actions and, therefore, that of the poet-sacrificer, for which he is rewarded.

To understand the profound significance and meaning of this term, we need only consider what takes place in the thought of the poet: it is where all of the oral poet's knowledge about the cosmos and the ritual is stored. Thus the poet-sacrificer's "good thought" is the prerequisite for a good ritual, including good songs of praise, as in **1.**30.1 "the praises and sacrificial (actions/utterances) of (my) good thought." Most importantly, his thought/mind is necessarily where and that by which the oral poet composes his poems.

Thus, to the Avestan poet his thought must have been his most treasured asset. It was therefore quite appropriate that Ahura Mazdâ's abode, the House of Song, should also be called the House of Good Thought (**1.**32.15), that is, the house of the being with the best thought of all, namely Ahura Mazdâ, but also the house of those who have the good thought = poetic competence required to compose the songs of praise that fill it! This role of the poet's thought was seen clearly by Paul Thieme:

> ... fundamentally every song is artistic poetry and pretends to be valued as such. It is the result of a long education (about which the *ṛsi*s reaveal as little as the Homeric singers) and supreme concentration of the thoughts, which the poets achieve with ascetic exercises and a certain exuberance which they often help out with the use of stimulants (*soma*), if we are to believe their words. One should try to imagine oneself in the situation of illiterate people and imagine how they must have struggled to force their thoughts into the metrical forms of spoken language, while following the unwritten rules of a standard language lacking the support of a written language, and finally to

maintain it all in one's mind. Need we wonder that they call their formulations god-given and that they glorify the action of forming itself as a divine, god-performed.[1]

According to the Avestan texts, at the beginning of time, Ahura Mazdâ formed his thought into the words of the *Ahuna Vairiya* prayer, which he recited and thereby stunned and incapacitated the Evil Spirit (Pahlavi Ahrimen or the Foul Spirit). He then "created," that is, thought forth, engendered, and/or expertly fashioned (as a master artisan) and then ordered the world so that it contained no evil elements: no darkness, disease, death, or deception, but instead was full of light, life, and fertility.

The *manyu* "inspiration, spirit"

The Old Avestan *manyu* plays a crucial role in the Zoroastrian myths. It is a violent and dominating mental force, good or bad, that grasps and carries along gods and humans by its own will. It may be translated as "mental impulse" or "mental force," but the intrinsic meaning, on the whole, I think is close to "(poetic/religious) inspiration."

In the later texts, the term refers to the two original creative forces of the universe: the Life-giving Spirit (*spenta manyu*) and the Evil (Destructive) Spirit (*angra manyu*).

Performance and audience.

Another point that needs to be kept in mind is that, as oral poetry, our text was by necessity performed to an audience. That is, they are poems spoken to be heard. While the poets expression of the poems was purely oral, the audience's perception of them was exclusively aural, hence the insistence on "speaking," "hearing," and "making heard" in the poems. An especially important function is that assumed by the root *srao-*, which in its various forms, in addition to conveying the notion of "hearing." The performer makes the poems heard (*srâwaya-*), and the audience (human or divine) hears them (or not). Similarly, the performer himself "is heard," as are the poems and, also, everything in the poetic tradition, such as the myths told by the singers, which have been heard, that is, through the performances of poets and story-tellers only.

5.2. The world

Order (*asha*)

Ahura Mazdâ's world was ordered according to the principle of (micro/macro)cosmic Order (Avestan *asha*),[2] which is manifested in the light of day, the diurnal sky, and the sun. Along with the poet-sacrificer's thought, this is the single most important concept in the old Indo-Iranian poetry and its mythical world of reference. In this introduction, the term is render as "Order" and its derivatives accordingly: *ashawan* "sustainer of Order" ("detainer *or* upholder of Order" is also possible). The "Order" probably originated by a "thought" of Ahura Mazdâ's and was imposed on the cosmos by him when it was first established. It was also Ahura Mazdâ who, by his thought, made the luminous spaces of Order, which are the bright diurnal sky. In fact, Order *contains* the sun (**1.**32.2), and in the Young Avesta, the sun is said to be Ahura Mazdâ's eye. Ahura Mazdâ is said to be the father of Order, and he *upholds* it.

The term *asha* thus has three fundamental references in the Old Avestan texts:

1. The cosmic Order, including the Order of nature and mankind.

2. The visible aspect of Order, that is the diurnal sky, heaven, and the lights of heaven, the most significant feature of which is the sun; any communication between the divine and human spheres must necessarily travel through this space.

3. The Order is also that of the ritual, that is of the ritual actions and words, as well as of the thoughts of the poet-sacrificer, which are materialized in his poems.

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[1] P. Thieme, "*Bráhman*," *ZDMG* 102, 1952, pp. 91-129 (= *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden, I, 1984, pp. 113-14).

[2] This word is rendered as "truth" by some authors, but Iranists tend to use "order." I discuss the arguments for one or the other in Skjærvø, 2003, "Truth and Deception."

It has been common practice to translate *asha* (*rta*) as "truth," but in the *Avesta* and later texts *asha* (and later forms) is never used in expressions such as "speak the truth."

The (new) world/existence (*ahu*)

To the Old Iranian poet-sacrificer existence is divided into different types of "states" of existence. In time there are three: the first; the current (with its past, present, and future); and the last states. In space there are two: that "with bones" or that "of living beings," which is that of man, the world in which we live, and that "of the thought," which is that in which the gods and the dead dwell. All these states of can be "good" or "bad."

The first good existence is the state of the Ordered cosmos, while the first bad existence corresponds to the first Attack, as described in **1.**29.

The last existence, as related in the Old Avesta, refers to the dead, who will go to a good (the best) or a bad (the worst) existence, in accordance with their behavior in the world. Both the first and the last existences are unique (*aêwa-* **1.**29.6), as opposed to the past, present and future ones of (mankind), which are recurring phenomena.

The poet-sacrificer and his people are in charge of these recurring existences, their "job" being to make each and every one of them be like the good first existence. Their rivals and adversaries, on the other hand, are responsible for the decline—the sickening and destruction—of each of the present existences, thus making the regeneration and revitalization of the existence necessary.

The two worlds

The ordered world is divided into two spheres: *the world (existence) of thought* and *the world with bones* or *the world (existence) of living beings*. The world of thought contains what humans can only apprehend by thought, while that of living beings contains what can be apprehended by means of the senses (seeing, hearing, feeling).

Zoroastrianism is therefore characterized by a double duality: between the original good and evil principles and between the "created" worlds of thought and living beings.

The principle of Order applies to both the world of thought and that of living beings. In the former it applies to the cosmic processes, established and upheld by Ahura Mazdâ; in the latter it applies to the behavior of men, both in daily life and in the ritual. All entities in the universe, including mankind, that conform to this principle are said to be "sustainers of Order" or "Orderly" for short (*ashawan*).[1]

Note: the two worlds are sometimes called the "spiritual and material" worlds, but these terms are relatively modern, have many different and partly very misleading implications, and should be avoided.

The struggle

The primordial chaos regularly (at night, in winter) re-enters Ahura Mazdâ's ordered cosmos, however, and the ordering process has to be repeated. It is the duty of humans to assist Ahura Mazdâ in this process, especially the "poet-sacrificers," who compose the hymns and perform the rituals. Thus, the texts present us with a world view organized about the eternal battle between the forces of order (championing light, life, fertility), represented by the high god Ahura Mazdâ, "the all-knowing ruler," and his fellow deities, and the forces of chaos (producing darkness, death, and barrenness), represented by the cosmic Deception, or Lie (see below), and its various agents.

Ahura Mazdâ's companions include the six "Life-giving Immortals" and great gods, such as Mithra, the sun god, and others (see below).

The forces of evil comprise, notably, Angra Manyu, the Evil Spirit, the bad, old, gods (*daêwas*), and Wrath (*aêshma*), which probably embodies the dark night sky itself.

[1] In (Zoroastrian) Persian this became *ashô*, which is the form commonly used by Parsis (ashô Zardosht). The Old Persian form is *artâwan*, which became (Zoroastrian) Persian *ardâ*.

Zoroastrianism is therefore a dualistic and polytheistic religion, but with one supreme god,[1] who is the father of the ordered cosmos.

Truth and reality (*haithya*)

In a universe in which the two opposing powers of good and evil, truth and lies, constantly vie for supremacy, the average human being is constantly prone to being misled as to what is right behavior, and the poet-sacrificer, even, is not exempt of this weakness. His concept of reality, that is, what "really, truly is" (Av. *haithya*, OInd. *satya*) as formed by observing the sensory data of nature and the inherited knowledge of his trade can still be wrong, and although he knows—he thinks—what is real, the danger of delusions caused by the powers of the Lie is ever-present. Therefore, he must always take precautions when conducting the ritual, to prevent any potential damage caused by a misunderstanding or error in his knowledge. The precautions can only be of a verbal nature and consist either in set "safety clauses" inserted in the verbal part of the ritual or in questions about what is "real."[2]

The Lie (*druj*).

The adversary of the Ordered cosmos is the cosmic Deception, or Lie (Avestan *drug*, Old Persian *drauga*). Descriptions of various aspects or manifestations of the Lie found in the texts help define it. The origin of the Lie is not stated explicitly, but it must have come into "existence" the first time somebody thought or uttered the proposition that Ahura Mazdâ's Order is not the true Order. It must therefore "logically" have happened after the establishment of the first Ordered cosmos, that is, during the first state, causing its "sickening" and "destruction." It is tempting to identify this first Lie with the choice of the *daêwa*s described in **1.**30.6.

The domain of the Evil Spirit was ruled by the principle of Deception (*druj*), by which one may be confused as to the true nature of the world and fail to make the right choices about whom to ally oneself with: the forces of good or those of evil. According to the *Old Avesta*, this is what happened to the old gods, the *daêwa*s, who were confused and made the wrong choices (**1.**30.6), and, according to Darius's inscriptions, this was also what happened to his political adversaries (e.g., DB 4.33-36). Zoroastrianism shares with the Old Indic religion this concept of cosmic Order, which regularly has to be re-established with the help of sacrifices performed by humans.

The "models" (*ratu*s)

A link is provided between beings in the worlds of thought and living beings in that all objects in the latter have a model or prototype (Avestan *ratu*) in the world of thought, a category of entities reminiscent of the Platonic *ideas*. Thus, the divisions of the year, which recur ever anew, all have their unchanging Models in the world of thought, and Ahura Mazdâ (or other gods) fashioned a prototypical man, cow/bull, year, and so on, to be the blueprints, as it were, for men, animals and the divisions of time in the world of living beings.[3] Altogether there are thirty-three Models connected with the *haoma* ritual (see the litanies in Yasna 1 and 6).

The concept expressed by the word *ratu* is closely connected with Order and is perhaps linguistically related to *asha* (OInd. *rta*).[4] "Artistically," I think we may imagine Order as a vast network or web of harmonious relationships, in which the "nodes" are the *ratu*s, the divine models or prototypes "dominating" all phenomena in the world of the living, or, "scientifically," as a 4-dimensional space where the *ratu*s are the coordinates of objects in time and space. Combining this with etymology, we may note that Latin *artus* is a "joint," a "node, nexus" about which a system is *arti*culated.

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[1] Such systems are also called *henotheistic*.
[2] To say "speak the truth" the Old Iranians used words meaning "straight" versus "crooked," originally the characteristics of paths.
[3] The Avestan *ratu*s are therefore in some ways related to later philosophical concepts such as Plato's ideas.
[4] Etymologically it is presumably related to Old Indic *rtu*, whose meaning became specialized as "right moment."

5.3. The Gods

Ahura Mazdâ.

Ahura Mazdâ, by his thought (and words and actions) first ordered the cosmos and still upholds the true/real cosmic Order, the visible image of which is the day-lit sky with the sun as its center piece. Ahura Mazdâ is also the one who engendered many of the elements in the cosmos, and he is its ruler. His two epithets, *ahura* and *mazdâ*, which also make up his name, refer to these functions.

In the *Gâthâ*s, these epithets are still independent of one another, although either of them is likely to be followed by the other in the same strophe. In the *Young Avesta*, Ahura Mazdâ is clearly the name of the divinity, and whether there still was a feeling for what the words originally meant is uncertain. By the Achaemenid period the univerbation process was complete, and the name appeared as Ahuramazdâ, which in turn became Parthian and Middle Persian Ôhrmazd, Ôhrmezd, and, still later, Hormazd.[1]

Ahura Mazdâ is closely associated with the six "Life-giving Immortals." These were originally parts of Ahura Mazdâ's sacrifice, but then became deities in their own right. They are still more complex entities, however, as they also represent parts of the cosmos and serve as "guardians" of things in this world.

The Life-giving Immortals

No gods other than Ahura Mazdâ are mentioned by name in the *Gâthâ*s and the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, but Airyaman is invoked in the *Â Airyamâ ishiyô* prayer (**5**.54.1), which concludes the *Gâthâ* collection,[2] and several physical entities are invoked as divinities in the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, among them the heavenly fire and the heavenly waters. Instead, in the *Old Avesta*, we find a number of concepts with divine status that we would term "abstract" (human senses, emotions, etc.).[3] Sometimes referred to as "entities," these include:

vohu/vahishta manah "good/best thought"
asha (vahishta) "(best) order"
khshathra (vairiya) "(choice/well-deserved) command"
(spentâ) ârmaiti "(life-giving) humility"
haurwatât "wholeness"
amertatât "non-dyingness" (not dying before one's time)
âtar, the fire
sraosha "readiness to listen" (men to gods, gods to men)
airyaman, god of harmonic unions and healing
ashi "(heavenly) reward"

In the *Young Avesta*, the first six constitute a fixed series: Vohu Manah, Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairiya, Spentâ Ârmaiti, Haurwatât and Amertatât; Sraosha is a warrior god whose assigned task is to protect Ahura Mazdâ's creation against the forces of darkness, especially Wrath (*Yasna* 57), and presides over the punishment of sin in the hereafter; and Ashi a goddess who protects Zarathustra in his battle with the Evil Spirit (*Yasht* 17).

Prefixed by Ahura Mazdâ, this group of "entities" constituted the seven *amesha spentas*, the seven "Life-giving Immortals," one of the corner-stones of post-Gathic Zoroastrianism. Of these, Ârmaiti, daughter and wife of Ahura

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[1] In eastern Iran, the name continued to be associated with the sun and even came to mean "sun" after foreign religions had dethroned the Zoroastrian supreme deity: in Buddhist Khotan *urmaysde* means "sun," and so does Choresmian *rêmazd* and modern Sanglechi *remozd* in the Muslim period.

[2] For this reason scholars have been reluctant to assign it to the Old Avesta and ascribe it to Zarathustra. Boyce, for instance, does not join them, however, and assumes that both the *Ahuna Vairiya*, which introduces the Gâthâ collection, and the *Â Airyamâ ishiyô* were composed by Zarathustra.

[3] EIn India we find similar deities, e.g., Aryaman, god of harmonic unions; Bhaga, the distributor, that is, of appropriate shares of rewards; Purandhi, goddess of plenty = *pârendi* in the **YH**.

Mazdâ, is also the genius of the Earth, a connection that is Indo-Iranian.

Good Thought (*vohu manah*, Pahlavi Wahman)

The most frequent of all the derivatives of the verb *man-* is *manah* "mind, thought," and especially *vohu manah* "good mind, good thought." One of the functions of the thought is, apparently, as "receptacle" of the inspiration (*manyu*, see above). Thus, once he has obtained the inspiration, the poet will question or converse with his good thought to find the knowledge now contained therein about how to perform his ritual and will then no doubt interpret it, that is, decide what it means and how to use it. During this questioning and consultation, by virtue of his "readiness to listen," the poet will then hear the "announcements" of Ahura Mazdâ:

In the Old Avestan creation myth, Good Thought also appears to represent the covering of the day sky, which is stretched out by the poet-sacrificers. In the Young Avestan texts, Good Thought can also be used to refer to a living being, and in the Pahlavi texts Wahman is said to be the protector of animals.

Best Order (*asha vahishta*, Pahlavi Ardwahisht, Ashwahisht)

Thought (forth) and engendered by Ahura Mazdâ, this is the cosmic Order imposed on the universe by Ahura Mazdâ through his primordial sacrifice and constantly renewed by him with the help of human sacrifices. One of the most sacred prayers in Zoroastrianism is the following:

Order is the best good (reward/possession) there is.
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one
when one's Order is for the best Order.

What this prayer says, is that the sacrificer's (and every human's) duty is to support Ahura Mazdâ's Order. When the order of the sacrifice (and the correct behavior of humans) regenerates Ahura Mazdâ's Order, chasing evil, this will be their best reward.

In the Old Avestan cosmological myth, Order also refers to the sun and the heavenly spaces illuminated by the sun. In the Pahlavi texts Ardwahisht is said to be the protector of humans.

The Choice/Well-deserved Command (*khshathra vairiya*, Pahlavi Shahrewar)

The Command is, more precisely, the ruling power, the power of command possessed by a general who leads his forces against an adversary. It was by his original command that Ahura Mazdâ first defeated Evil, and the sacrificer, having obtained the command by a successful sacrifice, is able to overcome his competitors and transfers the command to Ahura Mazdâ, who thereby again overcomes death and darkness and produces life and light and fertility for the earth/Ârmaiti and a good reward for his followers.

In the Old Avesta, the Command is also closely associated with Ârmaiti, in which case it may refer specifically to human rulers who keep enemies and other scourges away from the land, maintaining a state of peace and prosperity.

The bad poet-sacrificers use their twisted command to make the evil state return and to maintain lack of peace and prosperity.

In the Young Avestan texts, Well-deserved Command can also be used to refer to metal tools, and in the Pahlavi texts Shahrewar is said to be the protector of metals.

Life-giving Humility (*spentâ ârmaiti*, Pahlavi Spandârmad)

Ârmaiti, Humility, is the daughter of Ahura Mazdâ. Already in the Old Avestan texts, she is clearly the deity of the Earth, as she is in the later Avestan texts and in several other Old Iranian mythologies (Persian, Sogdian, Khotanese). She is therefore the counterpart of the celestial Order, with which she is frequently associated, and this couple therefore corresponds loosely to the Old Indic couple Heaven and Earth.

If *ârmaiti* is, as always assumed, derived from the verb *aram man-*, it must literally mean "thinking in correct measure, balanced thinking," as opposed to "too much" or "too little," as implied by its opposite "thinking beyond its measure," especially "think (too) little (about), scorn."[1] More probably, its meaning is "humility" and refers to the earth's "humble" role as the daughter and spouse of Ahura Mazdâ.[2] Note that *humble* is from Latin *humilis*, which is derived from *humus* "earth." Hence the ritual action of "homage" (*nemah*), that is, bending down to the earth, is regularly associated with Ârmaiti.

Wholeness and Non-dyingness (*haurwatât* and *amertatât*, Pahlavi Hordad and Amurdad)

These two refer to the fact of not having defects and blemishes and not dying before one's time. They represent the desired state of the world and are generated by the sacrifice.

In both the Old and Young Avestan texts, they can be used to refer to water and plants, whose protectors they are said to be in the Pahlavi texts.

Fire (*âtar*, Pahlavi *âdur* and *âtash*)

The sacrificial fire, belongs to Ahura Mazdâ (in the Young Avesta it is the son of Ahura Mazdâ), the messenger who goes between the worlds of thought and of living beings, bringing the offerings of the worshiper to the gods and the gifts of the gods to the worshiper (see on the Ritual).

Other gods

In the *Young Avesta*, sacrifices and worship are offered to a number of deities, among them Mithra, the sun god; Anâhitâ, the heavenly river; Vayu, the god of the intermediate space between the spherical heaven and the earth suspended in its center; Tishtriya, the Dog Star, who fights the demon of Drought to release the rains; etc. On these see below.

Evil gods and demons

Ahura Mazdâ's opponents are the cosmic Deception, or the Lie (*drug*, *druj*), and her principal agent, the Evil Spirit (*Angra Manyu*, literally, "the dark, black spirit/inspiration"?), whose creations and followers tell lies about Ahura Mazdâ and his Ordered universe. They are therefore said to be "filled with/possessed by the Lie, Lieful," (*drug-want*). When Ahura Mazdâ established the Ordered universe, sunny and healthy, the Evil Spirit in turn polluted it with all kinds of evil things, darkness, death, sickness, etc.

The agents of the Evil Spirit are the old (Indo-Iranian) gods, the *daêwa*s, or demons (OPers. *daiva*, OInd. *deva*). These are the old Indo-Iranian (and Indo-European) celestial gods, who were demoted in Iran, where they were assigned to the world governed by the Lie. In the myth, their demotion was caused by their making the wrong choices.[3]

This feature in particular distinguishes Zoroastrianism from Indic (and Indo-European) beliefs, and the fact that the Avestan *daêwa*s and Old Persian *daiva*s are no longer beneficent heavenly beings, but rather the agents of chaos, deception, and evil, has been explained by scholars variously. Most commonly, it has simply been assumed that the reversal of the fortunes of the *daêwa*s was the work of a single man and due to a conscious and planned departure from earlier beliefs. That man, they decided, must have been Zarathustra, and the "new" beliefs must have been part of his "reform" of the traditional religion. See below on Zarathustra.

Others are:

Aêshma "Wrath," the principal opponent of Sraosha; he probably personifies nocturnal darkness and the night sky,

[1] According to Louis Renou, Rigvedic *aramati* is literally "thought put in correct form, thought ready (for the poetic games)" but also a deity. Its "abstract" meaning is therefore closely connected with poems and poetry.
[2] See Skjærvø, 2002, "Ahura Mazdā and Ārmaiti."
[3] In the Rigveda *deva* is a term applied to most gods, including those who are also called *asura*.

and his "bloody club" may refer to the sunset, in which the sun seems to be sinking into blood.

Nasu, the Carrion demoness, the greatest polluter of Ahura Mazdâ's world.

Bushyanstâ, the demoness of sloth, with long fingers, who keeps telling men "there will be another (day)" and not to bother to get up in the morning to do Ahura Mazdâ's work.

In the Pahlavi texts, the *dêw*s (from *daêwa*) and *druz*es (from *druj*) are male and female demons.

5.4. Mankind

Both Ahura Mazdâ and the Evil Spirit have their agents among the humans. Ahura Mazdâ's principal agent, the first human to "praise Order," to "discard the *daêwa*s" as not worthy of sacrifice, and to "sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ" was Zarathustra, the first human poet-sacrificer. Later poet-sacrificers imitate Zarathustra in order to perform a successful sacrifice. Zarathustra's primary adversaries in the *Gâthâ*s are the *kawi*s and *karpan*s (Pahlavi *kayg*s and *karb*s) "poetasters and mumblers(?)."

Duality and choices

The cosmic duality as reflected in mankind manifests itself through man's choices as regards his thoughts, words, and acts. The sustainer of Order will think good thoughts, speak good words, and do good deeds, the one possessed by the Lie will think evil thoughts, speak evil words, and do evil deeds.

Here we have to be cautious not to identify these terms with those of modern religions, such as Christianity, with which the Old Avestan concepts only partly overlap. In the Old Avestan religion "good thought," etc., means exactly "thought which is in conformity with Order," and "evil thought," etc., means "thought which is opposed to good thought, which is in conformity with the Lie."

The "established rules/laws" (*dâta*) and the "deals" (*urwata*)

Once he has chosen his sides, the poet-sacrificer expects Ahura Mazdâ and the other divine beings to be on his side as well. This mutual dependency is well expressed by Darius, in his statement "I am Ahura Mazdâ's, Ahura Mazdâ is mine." The relationship between the poet-sacrificer and the divine world is regulated by the rules that obtain for the Ordered cosmos in general and which also regulate the natural cycles and social relationships. In this bipolar structure, which is valid for relations between the divine and human worlds, as well as among humans in society, both participants have their assigned job to do, and until the job is done they remain in debt to the other part. Thus the job is part of the elaborate system of gift exchange found in ancient and "primitive" societies and which has been identified and well studied for instance in the Greek and Old Indic literatures, but also in the wider Indo-European context.

The reciprocity of divine and human contributions to the maintenance and re-establishment of Order is governed by two sets of rules: the *dâta*s, the rules or laws (apparently) established by Ahura Mazdâ in his function as king for everybody to follow, and the *urwatas*, the deals between gods and gods, gods and men, or men and men, corresponding, respectively, to Rigvedic *dharman-* "upholding, (cosmic) rule" and *vrata-*.

While the *dâta*s are eternal established rules for behavior established by Ahura Mazdâ, the deals are eternal (OInd. *prathama-* "first, primeval") conventions that regulate divine and human interaction to which both the divine and the human parts must conform. The *mithra* "contract," on the other hand, seems to be a deal concluded between humans.

Rivalry and the social conflict.

In the society of our poet-sacrificer, the cosmic conflict translates into a number of oppositions, which we may characterize as those between rich and poor, strong and weak, patron and dependent, the poet-sacrificer and his rivals. In the Ordered cosmos, these two groups were created equal, as it were, in the mixed state, however, the rich and strong are often found to be possessed by the Lie, as are many of our poet-sacrificer's colleagues. The paradox is that, by

everything he has been told, the poet-sacrificer knows that in the Order of things the cow and the pastures were made and assigned to the sustainers of Order (**3.**47.3), but in actual fact the poet and his people are—allegedly—constantly faced with the problem of the maldistribution of the means of production and wealth. Again and again he stresses that the sustainers of Order lack the means of subsistence, while the others have plenty.

This "social" aspect of the conflict, which pervades the Old Avestan texts, was emphasized by Antoine Meillet, who maintained that Zarathustra preached for the poor, the oppressed cattle-tenders.

The sustainers of Order are the men here and now who accept Ahura Mazdâ and abide by his Order, as well as men of the past, among them heroes and poets, and men of the future, among them the future "revitalizers." Their principal function is to uphold and maintain Order in the worlds of men and gods. The Lie, on the other hand, is served by the *daêwa*s and men who are possessed by the Lie.

The poet-sacrificer and his people will repeatedly pray to Ahura Mazdâ to be considered as belonging to the former group.

The criterion for classifying men and gods into one of these two groups is whether they are or act in conformity with the two sets of rules laid down by Ahura Mazdâ, his established laws and the "deals."

The opposition between Order and the Lie and sustainers of Order and those possessed by the Lie and the struggle to overcome the Lie and those possessed by it are the all-pervasive themes in the *Gâthâ*s, which is likely to be introduced at any point in the poem, with varying functions within the structure. Thus, the poet may first announce what he already knows about this matter, about the origin, present status, and end of the conflict and the participants; then he inquire about the same; and, finally, announce the fate of the competitors in the ritual competition.

There are three sub-themes of this general theme, namely the origin of the cosmic conflict, the origin and nature of the social conflict (including the ritual conflict), and the eschatological theme, which is closely connected with the themes of the *competition* and *chariot race* (see below).

In the larger social context, the enemies of the good are the rich and mighty who possess the things needed be the weak and poor, among whom our poet-sacrificer counts himself. More specifically, his direct enemies are his rival poet-sacrificers, as well as the patrons who do not pay him the salary they owe him. Both groups are criticized in the strongest terms in the *Gâthâ*s. The existence of numerous poet-sacrificers other than ours is made clear by plural references to "poets." It follows logically that in a society where the poet-sacrificers vie for the attention, approval, and gifts of the gods, any other poet-sacrificer is bound to be a rival. That is not to say that they are all considered as bad, as well, but the absence of any mention of friendly poet-sacrificers leaves this point in darkness. The existence of other poets is well documented also from the Rigveda, in which it is commonly recognized that there are many, all of whom vie for the gods' attention and favors.

In the Gâthâs, as well, the rival poets "falsely" call themselves "poets" (*kawi*s), and their patrons become possessed by the Lie and thereby ruin both the livelihood and the reputation of the real poets. The exigencies of the belly play an important role in the *Gâthâ*s, as we see from the emphasis on the kinds of food that are in store for the sustainers of Order and the Lie, respectively. See more on this issue below on the Poet's Complaint and under Rewards.

There are several terms used for the rival or bad poet-sacrificers. Two of these have exact equivalents in Old Indic: *kawi* and *usij* ~ Old Indic *kavi* and *ushij*, while the others are only Old Avestan: *karpan* "*mumbler," *grêhma* "*glutton," *vaêpiya* "*trembler," *kewîna* "*poetaster," *bêndwa-* "*binder, tier (of knots?)."

The Old Indic term *kavi* is one of the commonest words for "poet," and even in Old Avestan times it must have been a term of repute, as it is born by the famous *kawi Vishtâspa*. In fact, our text implies that it is the bad-poet-sacrificers who have given this term, as well as that of *karpan*, a bad name.

<u>The cow</u>

The cow plays an extremely important role in the world of the Old Avestan poet, as she represents his subsistence, providing many of the things necessary for his and his family's survival, as well as for the ritual. Having many cows is a guarantee of well-being and a symbol of being favored by the gods. Hence, the object of revitalizing Ârmaiti, the

earth, is to ensure peace and pasture, without which no stable human community is possible.

The cow was created by Ahura Mazdâ, but, as we are told in **1.**29, no special *ratu* was provided for her within the original scheme of Order established during the first existence, hence she has no human protector and provider of forage, only the heavenly Ahura Mazdâ himself. For this reason Zarathustra, Ahura Mazdâ's favorite poet-sacrificer, is sent down among humans and is instituted as her master and protector and provider of forage.

According to the poet, the cow was thus created and intended for the sustainers of Order. Social disorder and conflict is therefore to a large extent apparently based upon the fact that those whom the poet considers to be possessed by the Lie are frequently those who actually own the most cows and controls the pastures. By these the cow is obviously mistreated, fettered, and even killed, as reflected in **1.**29, 32.14 and in various YAv. text passages (Y.12.2, Yt.10.38, 86, V.3.11, 5.37, 18.12).

5.5. Man – body and soul

Man consists of a tangible body and various intangible parts, foremost among them the mind or thought. In the Old Avesta, two principal constituents of the body are "bones" and "life breath" or "vitality" (*ushtâna*).

Man also has three "souls":

- the *frawashi* or "pre-soul," which is made in the world of thought and preexists the person, being sent down to the world of the living when a person is conceived;
- the *urwan* or "(breath-)soul," which leaves the body at death and wanders into the beyond to be judged;
- the *daênâ* or "vision-soul," the mental constituent of man that allows him to "see" into the world of thought.

The *daênâ* also represents the totality of a persons thoughts, words, and deeds in life, for which he is judged in the beyond.

Avestan *daênâ*, Pahlavi *dên*, is often translated as "religion," but we must keep in mind that "religion" can not have had the same implications in the early periods as it has in modern times.

The "Ford of the Accountant."

According to the Old Avesta, "at the final turn of the existence," each person is required to pass over the "Ford of the Accountant," imagined as a passage across a river or a chasm, before which the register of one's thoughts, words, and deeds is made. The soul (*urwan*) comes to this ford accompanied by the *daênâ*, which takes on an appearance congruent with the thoughts, words, and deeds it represents. In the later tradition, the thoughts, etc., are weighed on a scales by the heavenly judge, Rashnu, and according as the balance tips, the ford or bridge becomes wide or narrow, and the soul will pass safely on to heaven or fall into hell.

5.6. The (re)vitalization of the world

Healing of the cosmos

The Old Iranians viewed the natural processes of time—the change between day and night and summer and winter—as the result of a cosmic battle, fought between Ahura Mazdâ and the Lie with the assistance of their divine and human followers. The battle was renewed every night and every winter, and its purpose was to reestablish the first state of the cosmos, that is, the way it was when Ahura Mazdâ first ordered it. Since the daily and yearly changes cause nature to sicken (**1.**30.6) or be destroyed, what is clearly needed to remake the first existence is a good portion of healing and revitalizing/regenerating/reinvigorating strength.

The healing of the cosmos is also the purpose of the *videvdâd sâde* ritual.

The healing power of Ahura Mazdâ and the poet is referred to by the term "healer of (this) existence."[1] The revitalizing strength, on the other hand, is the underlying theme of the entire Old Avestan text corpus and religion.

Swelling of the cosmos

When Ahura Mazdâ and the other immortal gods rule the world according to Order, it is full of life and fecundity. The terms for this state are derived from the root *span*, which literally implies "swelling with vital juices." This may imply the conception of the world as "dried out, deflated," like trees and plants and the ground itself during periods of non-growth, as opposed to periods of growth, when nature is reborn and swells with life-giving juices. Similarly, the female breast, deflated during periods of non-fecundity, is inflated with milk before and after birth and the male penis inflated before releasing its fertilizing semen.

The most important of these words are *spenta*, which is the epithet of everything that has (at least potentially) the power to "revitalize" the cosmos in this manner; *sawa(h)*, the "strength" by which the powers of darkness and death can be overcome and the revitalizing take place; and *saoshyant* "(he) who shall make (the existence) *spenta*, i.e., swell (with the Juices of Life)," that is, the competent and successful poet-sacrificer here and now, and (according to the *Young Avesta*) the various future mythical poet-sacrificers, notably the three sons of Zarathustra, who shall each of them sacrifice at the beginning of the last three millennia in order to reestablish the first state of existence permanently. In practice this refers to remaking the world in its pristine, unsullied form, as established and made in the beginning by Ahura Mazdâ.

The good deities in the world of thought, first of all Ahura Mazdâ, are all "life-giving, vitalizing" (*spenta*), that is, they are responsible for maintaining the universe in its pristine state, as originally established by Ahura Mazdâ himself. The term is frequently rendered in Western literature as "beneficial" or "holy," but the latter is a very imprecise term and should be avoided. Humans contribute to this maintenance of the Ordered universe through their behavior and their rituals.

At the end of the final battle the final "life-givers" or "revitalizers" (*saoshyant*s) will stand forth and by their victory over the forces of Evil render the world "juicy" (*frasha*), that is, full of fertile, juices, like it was in the beginning. In the *Gâthâ*s, this adjective characterizes the supreme exchange gift produced by Ahura Mazdâ for a successful sacrifice, namely the remaking of the pristine state of the world. The event is also referred to as the "Juicy-making" (*frashô.kerti*), a term which later becomes reserved for the final event, at the end of the world, when Ahura Mazdâ performs the final sacrifice, producing the permanent "Juicy-making," a state which is explained in Yt.19.11 as "incorruptible, indestructible, undecaying, unrotting, ever-living, ever-swelling." The term is commonly rendered as "Renovation." Here it is rendered as "Perfectioning."

6. THE YOUNG AVESTAN GODS

While the Old Avestan texts mention few divine beings by names, the pantheon of the Young Avesta and the later texts is quite crowded with deities. All the beings of the world of thought are referred to as "deserving of sacrifices," *yazata*, which becomes the regular term for "god." The principal deities in the Young Avestan pantheon, other than Ahura Mazdâ are the following.

Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ (Pahlavi Ardwîsûr, Anâhîd)

This is a female deity identified with the Heavenly River, that is, probably the Milky Way.

The goddess has her source on (the mythical) Mount Hukairya ("the mountain of good deeds"), whence she came down when Ahura Mazdâ asked her to. She is a fertility goddess and purifies the semen of the males and the wombs of the females so that they can conceive. Much of her *yasht* (Yt. 5) is devoted to the enumeration of her worshipers,

[1] It is, of course, this aspect of holiness that underlies the Germanic terms for "holy" (cf. *hale*, *whole*).

which will be discussed below. The rest is devoted to descriptions of the goddess. She is partly described as a river and partly as a richly dressed woman.

Mithra (OInd. Mitra, OPers. Mithra, Mitra; Pahlavi Mihr)

A feature common to the Rigvedic Mitra and Avestan Mithra is that they are both concerned with the relationships between men. Thus Rigvedic Mitra is called "he who makes people take up their proper place." The original function of Mitra may thus have been that of overseeing the agreements and treaties regulating the social and political relationships between groups of men. This function is not particularly prominent in the Rigvedic hymns but all the more so in the Avestan one. Here we find Mithra as the guardian of all kinds of agreements, concluded by all kinds of groups of people, social (homes, families) and political (tribes, countries). Mithra is the friend of the truthful and the sworn enemy of the untruthful who break the agreement. The sanctity of the contract even transcends the good-bad duality: in Yt. 10.2 a contract is said to be respected whether concluded with a sustainer of Order or someone possessed by the Lie!

To perform the function of overseer, Mithra never sleeps, has an inordinately large number of eyes and ears, and is able to survey vast areas.

On the other hand both Rigvedic Mitra and Avestan Mithra are associated with the sun. In the Rigveda, the sun is the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, by which they keep an eye on the affairs of men. In the Avesta, Mithra precedes the Sun at dawn, flying over the golden mountain peaks to survey the land of the Iranians.

Mithra is the god invoked by warriors before the battles to make him strike fear into the hearts of the enemies, who are those who broke the peace treaty.

In the world of thought Mithra is the sworn enemy of the *daêwa*s and others possessed by the Lie, and even the Evil Spirit himself fears him.

In the beginning, Ahura Mazdâ assigned to Mithra a position as exalted as his own (Yt. 10.1). Mithra dwells on the top of Mount Harâ in a house fashioned by Ahura Mazdâ and the Life-giving Immortals, the mountain in the middle of the earth (around which the heaven rotates) and which is unsullied by evil (Yt. 10.59-51). When the sun rises, Mithra goes forth over Harâ in front of the sun, surveying the Aryan lands and the Seven Continents (Yt. 10.12-16).
He drives in a chariot drawn by four white horses and is accompanied variously by Rashnu, Cistâ, and the Likeness of the Mazdayasnian Daênâ (124-126). When he drives into battle he is accompanied by Rashnu, Sraosha, and Ashi, who acts as his charioteer (41), or Sraosha, Ashi, and Nairyô.sangha (52). Before him drives Verthraghna, the god who smashes the resistance/valor of the enemy, in the shape of a ferocious wild boar (his fifth incarnation) who wreaks havoc among the enemies who stand in his way.

Mithra supervises the contracts and the consequences of their breaking and keeping (2-3). He watches over the social order (17-21), as well as the political order (35-40). In general, he battles the powers of the Lie (95-98).

Ashi, goddess of the rewards, also Ashish Wanghwî "good Ashi" (Pahlavi Ahrishwang)

As the goddess of the personified "reward" she acts as charioteer of Zarathustra, a notion probably derived from the Gathic "poetic race for reward." From there she also became the charioteer of the gods, notably Mithra. She wants excluded from her worship women not yet nubile, and like Anâhitâ she is connected with the legends of the Naotairyas. The *yasht* to her (Yt. 17) contains an enumeration of her worshipers. The rest of the hymns contains descriptions of the goddess, an episode with Zarathustra and his fight with the Evil Spirit, and allusions to a myth involving the Naotairyas.

Haoma (Pahlavi Hôm)

The Rigvedic hymns to Soma primarily deal with the soma ritual and the effects upon the participants of the ritual who have drunk the soma juice. They feel uplifted, extremely strong, and immortal. The effect upon Indra himself is particularly potent: in one hymn (10.119) the god imagines himself larger than the sky and the earth, and deliberates with himself where he wants to set the earth down.

The Avestan hymn to Haoma is different. It is placed in the *Yasna* collection (Y. 9-11), as the pressing of the *haoma*-plant is an important part of the ceremony. Parts of the hymn itself are, in fact, reminiscent of the Rigvedic hymns to Soma. Thus, in Y. 9.17-21, the powers induced by the intoxicating drink are described, among which are victory in battles, bodily strength, and longevity.

Other parts, however, are linked with the mythological and legendary history of Iran. This is quite typical of Avestan hymns to deities. Thus, in Y. 9.1-13, the mythical sacrificers are listed, starting with Yima and ending with Zarathustra's father!

Other similarities between the Rigvedic Soma and the Avestan Haoma concern the description of the plant. The attempts at identifying the plant have created a lot of controversy, and no agreement has so far been reached. The problems connected with identifying the plant are indeed numerous. We must keep in mind that we are dealing with a mythical plant described by two different peoples living in two different places and probably changing habitats throughout the period during which the poems were composed. The identity of the plant may in fact have changed throughout the prehistoric period, as it has in historical times.

Haoma (Pers. Hûm) also entered the epic tradition (Yt. 9.16-19 = Yt. 17.36-39) as a hero who was granted the privilege of capturing Frangrasyân (Pers. Afrâsiyâb), the arch-enemy of the Iranians, and bringing him Kawi Haosrawah (Pers. Key Khosrow). In the *Hôm yasht* there is a brief reference to this episode toward the end (Y. 11.7).

Tishtriya (Pahlavi Tishtar)

Tishtriya is the Iranian name of the star Sirius, the Dog Star, which brings drought, personified as the demon Apaosha. The hymn to Tishtriya (Yt. 8) is quite unique in the *yasht* collection, having little material in common with any of the other hymns.

The battle with Apaosha is described in two parts: 1. the rising of the Dog Star; battle between Tishtriya and Apaosha in the form of a black stallion, with Apaosha gaining the upper hand; 2. the sinking of the Dog Star and Tishtriya gaining the upper hand.

Among other mythological elements in the hymn a the feat of the archer Erkhsha, Tishtriya's fight with the witches who fall from heaven, and his fight with the Witch of Bad Seasons.

Verthraghna (Pahlavi Wahrâm)

The victorious warrior god of the Avesta. The god who smashes the resistance/valor of his opponents is not an individual god in the Rigveda, where the word is most commonly used as an epithet of Indra. In the Avesta, the name is used as an epithet of several divinities and heroes, notably Thraêtaona, who, like Indra, was a great dragon-slayer.

Vayu (Pahlavi Wây)

This is the god of the wind that blows through the intermediate space and the intermediate space itself, through which the breath soul (*urwan*) and vision-soul (*daênâ*) of the dead must travel to get to the Bridge of the Accountant. Vayu is therefore associated with inflexible destiny and has both a good and a bad side. The stern side of Vayu is expressed in some verses of the *Aogemadaêca*.

Sraosha (Pahlavi Srôsh)

Sraosha, originally the readiness of the worshipper and the god to listen to one another, is in the Young Avesta the god presiding over the rewards, as his standard epithet *Ashiya* (< *Ashi* "reward") seems to imply.

In the Young Avesta he is a warlike god, whose main function is to destroy *daêwa*s and other harmful beings in the camp of Evil. In particular his special opponent is "Wrath with the bloody club."

In addition Sraosha is said to have been the first sacrificer and the first to recite the *Gâthâ*s in the world of thought.

Like Haoma, the hymn to Sraosha is included in the *Yasna* (Y. 57), where it plays a crucial role in combating the powers of darkness.

Rashnu (Pahlavi Rashn)

This is the god of straight and correct behavior and, in the beyond, the judge who weighs the deeds of the dead on a balance.

Druwâspâ

This goddess is a pale figure in the Young Avesta. Her *yasht* is called *Gôsh yasht*, and she plays no important role in the Avestan pantheon. She may originate from eastern Iran, where Bactrian coins with her name, Lrouaspo, have been found.

Apâm Napât (Old Indic the same), "scion of the waters"

This may be the deity of the fire in the clouds.

Airyaman (Old Indic Aryaman) (Pahlavi Êrman)

This is the god of harmonious unions, being invoked at weddings, and of peace and healing (see *Videvdad* 22).

Nairya Sangha, Nairyô.sangha "the heroic announcement" (Pahlavi Nêryôsang)

The divine messenger (see *Videvdad* 22)

The khwarnah *(OPers.* farnah*, Pahlavi* xwarrah *and* xwarr*)*

This is not a deity, but a substance(?) that is somehow crucial for maintaining the Command. It has been translated in various ways. (Divine) Fortune or (divine) Munificence (plural: the divine gifts of fortune) cover some of the implications of this concept, but perhaps not all. Traditionally, the term is often translated as Glory, referring in part to "fame and glory" and in part to a luminous nimbus surrounding the heads of heroes, especially kings. It is an indispensable qualification for kingship to possess this Fortune (see Yasht 19).

Numerous beings in the world of thought are enumerated in the *Yasna*, many of whom are difficult to identify and who belong to the category of "genius" rather than "god," such as the genius of the home, of the year, etc.

Rigvedic gods = Iranian demons

When the *deva*s were assigned in Iran *en masse*—as *daêwa*s—to the camp of Evil, some of the Rigvedic gods went with them, Indra, Sharva, and the twin Nâsatyas (Ashvins), who are explicitly mentioned in Vd. 10.9 and 19.43 in an enumeration of *daêwa*s. In the Pahlavi books, this series of demons is assigned as opponents of the forces of Good as follows:

Demons		Deities	
Angra Manyu	Akôman	Vohu Manah	Wahman
Indra + Saurwa	Indar + Sâwul	Asha Vahishta	Ardwahisht
Nânghaithya	Nânghait	Khshathra Vairiya	Shahrewar
[Ârmaiti]	Tarômat	Spentâ Ârmaiti	Spandarmad
Taurwi	Tarich	Haurwatât	Hordad
Zairi	Zêrich	Amertatât	Amurdad
Aêshma	Êshm	Sraosha	Srôsh

7. ZOROASTRIANISM UNDER THE ACHAEMENIDS

The question most commonly asked by historians of Iranian religion throughout this century, and one of those most hotly debated, has been whether the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians or not. The answer to this question has commonly been sought in terms of similarities and differences between Zoroastrianism and the Achaemenid religion as expressed in their inscriptions. The differences have often been defined in terms of "omissions and discrepancies" in the inscriptions as compared with Zoroastrianism: it is argued that, since many key terms and notions of Zoroastrianism are absent from the Old Persian inscriptions, the Achaemenid religion was at least not "pure" Zoroastrianism. Such points of view, however, do not take sufficiently into account the fact that the Avesta, our principal source for the oldest Iranian religion, and the Old Persian inscriptions are two fundamentally different kinds of texts: royal proclamations versus ritual texts, as well as in different languages. There is therefore no particular reason to expect the mention of Zarathustra, for instance, who, we may note, is also not mentioned in the Sasanian inscriptions, which are clearly "Zoroastrian."

To answer such a question one must, of course, carefully describe and define both "Achaemenid religion" and "Zoroastrianism." For our purpose, we shall loosely define the former as the religion expressed in the various primary and secondary sources at our disposal and the latter as the religion expressed in the Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians. We shall see that there are so many similarities between Achaemenid religion and Zoroastrianism defined in this manner that it is hard to conclude that the latter was not the religion of the Achaemenid kings, at least from Darius on.

The original question then has two possible answers. Either the Achaemenids had always been Zoroastrians, or there was a religious reform by which the early Achaemenids became Zoroastrians. Mary Boyce argues for the first solution by simply pointing out that there are no indications in our sources that there was any kind of religious reform at that time; and so it would be a plausible conclusion that by the 6th century the Avesta was known in western Iran and that from Darius on, at least, the Avesta was bodily in Persis. On the whole, this seems to be the better solution, although other scenarios are thinkable. If, for instance, the religion was brought by Persian conquerors, there would be no reform, just the superimposition of their religion upon that of the conquered, and there are indications (in the genealogy) that this may be the case.

7.1. Sources

Our sources for the Achaemenid religion are:

1. Primary sources:
   The Old Persian inscriptions.
   Akkadian and Elamite inscriptions.
   The Elamite and Aramaic inscriptions from Persepolis (ca. 509-458 b.c.e.).
   Aramaic letters (late 5th cent.).
   Achaemenid art and archeology.
2. Secondary sources: Greek sources: Herodotus and others.

Since the Old Persian inscriptions only start with Darius I,[1] information about history and religion before this period—including, of course everything about the Medes and other early Iranian tribes, such as the Scythians—has to be sought in other sources .

[1] The Old Persian inscriptions ascribed to his predecessors: Cyrus, Ariaramnes, and Arsames all date from after Darius; the Old Persian version of Cyrus's inscriptions at Pasargadae may have been added under the later Achaemenids, and those of Ariaramnes and Arsames may be modern fabrications.

7.2. The Cyrus cylinder

The only extensive text from an Iranian king before Darius is the Cyrus cylinder written in Akkadian, in which Cyrus describes his religious policy. This cylinder, which was found in Babylon in 1879 and is now in the British Museum, as well as a fragment formerly at Yale, but now reunited with the main piece, describes Cyrus's religious activities. Unfortunately this text does not tell us much about Cyrus's own religion or his religious policies at home, and there are no other direct sources. The question of Cyrus's religion has therefore been hotly debated, though there are no conclusive arguments for any of the current opinions.

7.3. The Elamite texts from Persepolis

The Elamite texts found by the Oriental Institute at Persepolis during excavations in 1333-34 led by Ernst Herzfeld and published as the Fortifications tablets (dating from the years 509-494 of the reign of Darius I) and the Treasury tablets (dating from the years 492-458 of the reigns of Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I) provide a wide range of information about the religion, not all of which is yet clearly understood. Numerous gods are mentioned in the texts, as well as several kinds of religious services, several types of priests, and they describe the amount of produce bought for religious services. Most of the gods are clearly Iranian, but there are also some Elamite and Babylonian ones.

<u>Gods</u>

Persian gods and divinities:
- Ahuramazdâ
- Visai Bagâ "All Gods"
- Ispandâramaiti "Life-giving Humility"
- Naryasanga, Av. Nairya Sangha
- Ertâna Fraverti "pre-souls of the Orderly"
- *Druvâ, either the god of Time (Av. Zruwâ "time") or a god or goddess of Health (cf. OPers. *duruva* "healthy, unharmed," Av. Druwâspâ "she who keeps the horses healthy")
- Mizhdushi, apparently a female deity "the reward-granting one" (Av. *mizhda* "reward"
- Bertakâmiya, deity referred to as "he/she through whom one's wish is obtained"?
- Huwarîra, deity of sunrise?
- divinities of rivers, mountains, places, and cities.

Elamite gods (Koch, 1977, pp. 101-9):
- Humban: chief Elamite god
- Napir irshara "the Great God";
- etc.

Babylonian gods (Koch, 1977, pp. 109-12):
- Adad: weather god
- KI: "Earth."

<u>Rituals</u>

The principal service was the *lan* service (Elamite *d.lan*; Koch, 1977, pp. 129-40). This is the only service that seems to have been celebrated on a grand scale, judging from the large quantity of provisions recorded for it.

In the tablets the term *d.lan* is often listed together with names of deities, e.g., PF 1956, where it is listed together with *Druva, *Huwarira, the Earth, and *Visai Bagâ.

As Ahura Mazdâ himself is only rarely mentioned in these tablets, it is usually assumed that the *lan* service was the service for the supreme deity, who therefore was not mentioned by name himself (Koch, 1977, p. 138).

Among the other types of services were the *daussa* "libation service" (Av. *zaothra*) or *daussiya* and *baga-daussiya* "libation service for the god(s)" (Koch, 1977, pp. 125-29).

Religious officials

Among officials in charge of or participating in the services the following may be mentioned (Koch, 1977, pp. 154-70):

shaten "priest" (Elamite), the most commonly mentioned term.
magush (OPers. *magush*), chiefly involved with the *lan* service, exceptionally services for Visai Bagâ, Druvâ, a river, and a mountain
yashtâ (Av. yashta), "sacrificer"
âterwakhsha (Av. *âtrewakhsha*), originally in charge of the fire. This official is also only mentioned in connection with *lan* services.

7.4. The Aramaic texts from Persepolis

The Aramaic texts found by the Oriental Institute's excavations at Persepolis in 1936-38 are limited to inscriptions on utensils for preparing the haoma, such as the *hâwan* "mortar" (Av. *hâwana*) and *abishâwan* "pestle."

7.5. The Aramaic letters from Elephantine

These letters from the military colony at Elephantine in the Nile mostly date from the 5th century. The most important evidence in these letters is that of the personal names, some of which clearly reflect the Avestan religion, e.g.,

Artaxwant "*possessing Order"
Âterfarna "enjoying the munificence of the fire"
Ârma(n)tidâta "given by (Life-giving) Ârmaiti"
Bagafarna "enjoying the munificence of the gods"
Bagazushta "in whom (in whose sacrifice) the gods take pleasure, approved by the gods"
Hômdâta "(child) given by Haoma"
Mazdayazna "who sacrifices to/worships (Ahura) Mazdâ"
Mithradâta "(child) given by Mithra"
Mithrayazna "who sacrifices to/worships Mithra"
Spentadâta "(child) given by Life-giving (Ârmaiti?)"
Tîripâta "protected by Tîri."
Zhâmâspa, epic name

7.6. The Achaemenid inscriptions

In the Achaemenid inscriptions, the kings are portrayed as worshipping, i.e., sacrificing to, the great god (*baga*) Ahuramazdâ, who produced and maintains the ordered cosmos and who bestowed the royal command upon them, so that they might (re)establish and maintain order on earth. The purpose of the established order is to provide *happiness* for man and guide his life so that he may be among Ahuramazdâ's chosen after death.

The Old Avesta itself is fundamentally the poet-sacrificer's oral announcement of his knowledge, praise of Ahura Mazdâ and his work, and blame, that is, denunciation of those on the side of (possessed by) the Lie. Among the technical terms for the god's announcements, the most common is the simple word "speak," but there is also "command, instruct, ordain" (*sâh-*) and "announce" (*sangh-*) which is used about both the sacrificer and Ahura Mazdâ.

His announcements are, in fact, by themselves capable of combating the Lie and its evil and protect all living beings (**2.**44.14), And it is by his announcements that the sacrificer will bring back dawn once again (**2.**46.3).

The equivalent of Avestan *sangh-* in Old Persian is *thangh-*, the standard term for the king's statement or announcement: King Darius announces (*thâti*) ... These statements of the Achaemenid kings announce their knowledge, praise of Ahuramazdâ and his work, blame of the followers of the Lie, and his purpose, and thus serve to uphold the Order of the land.

By his announcement, the king states his identity and his side in the battle against evil. Thus, in the Bisotun inscription, we have, put simply:

- the king's self-presentation by stating his name and his ancestry (cf. DNa 8-15).
- a statement about the king's appurtenance to Ahura Mazdâ, who bestowed the royal command upon him.
- a statement about the king's activities: supporting the work of Ahuramazdâ and combating the forces of the Lie.[1]

While Darius's statement about his identity (I am Darius, the great king, etc.), Darius's opponents all present themselves falsely, as in DB 1.77-78: And a certain Babylonian, Nidintu-Bêl, son of Ainaira, rose up in Babylon. He lied to the people: "I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus."

Darius states his appurtenance to Ahuramazdâ in no dubious terms in DSk: King Darius announces: Ahuramazdâ is mine, I am Ahuramazdâ's. I sacrificed to Ahuramazdâ. May Ahuramazdâ bear me aid!

Here the relationship between Ahuramazdâ and the kings is portrayed as one of *possession* between god and his worshipper/sacrificer, in which Ahuramazdâ in return for worship/sacrifice assists the king in maintaining his land. It is difficult to state more explicitly the function of the sacrifice and the mutual indebtedness of the two participants: the sacrificer and the divinity (see below on the Ritual).

Throughout his inscriptions, Darius assures us that he was an active participant in the battle against the Lie (cf. DB 1.34-35, DB 4.33-40), and he regards his opponents as having been bewildered and deceived by the Lie and so become its minions.

Being on the side of the Lie also manifests itself in the worship of the wrong gods, the *daivas*. Darius and Xerxes both used the proscription of the worship of wrong gods (*daiva*) as a means of subduing and punishing local rebellions, and Darius explicitly prescribes punishment for the evil-doer (e.g., DB 4.67-69).

The king represents himself as a just king, however, treating everybody equally and justly (DB1.20-22, DNb 16-24), and he rewards those who behave according to the Law (*dâta*) he has laid down (DB 1.23, cf. OAv. **1.**28.10), but punishes those who do not.

Thus, the kings fulfill their duties to Ahura Mazdâ by upholding his law and pursuing and punishing those who do not, who are liers and rebels or foreigners who worship the wrong gods, and his advice to other kings is to behave in the same manner (DB 4.61-65).

The basic acceptable behavior consists in speaking only what was real, true (*hashiya*), behaving with rectitude (*ershtâ*), and doing what is straight (*râsta*), as opposed to lying (*durujiya-*), doing wrong or erring (*vinâthaya-*), behaving crookedly (*zûra kar-*), deviously or erratically (*mitha*),. In addition, the king is to protect the land from foulness, the evil stench of the Lie (*gasta*). Abiding by the Law, that is, by what has been established as true and correct behavior, also means not leaving the straight path in rebellion against the authorities (DNa 58-60).

The man who behaves well, that is, according to the established law of Ahuramazdâ, will receive a reward both in life and in afterlife. The goal of man is to act in such a way that he becomes happy (*shiyâta*) while alive (which is what Ahuramazdâ intended for him) and at one with Order (*artâvan*) when dead (DB 5.18-20, XPh, and cf. Y.71.13-16).

The king obviously performs god's will on earth, and his achievements in the world of the living parallel and match those of Ahura Mazdâ in the world of thought. There is no explicit statement to this effect in the inscriptions nor in the

[1] The similarity with **2.**43.7-8, in which the Old Avestan poet-sacrificer identifies himself and states his side is remarkable.

artistic representations, but it is implicitly clear.[1]

Thus, the king's principal function is to overcome chaos and evil and reestablish and consolidate political order, peace, and fertility in his realm. The prerequisites are the knowledge of the mysteries or, rather, the basic truths of existence, as well as the command (*khshassa*), which the sacrificer must work hard for, but the king is endowed with by god himself.

Foremost of this esoteric knowledge is the knowledge of the importance of Ahuramazdâ, of his supremacy among the gods, his ordering of the cosmos, including establishing happiness for man, and his bestowal of the royal command on Darius (and his successors).

Like Ahuramazdâ, then, the king's function is to maintain Order in his land, and, indeed, whenever Darius saw chaos reign in the land, he would put it back in order (DNa 31-36, XPh 30-35). Thus it is up to the *king* to maintain the peace established for mankind by Ahuramazdâ, as it is the job of the sacrificer to maintain (**YH.**35.4, **3.**47.3).

We see that the simple term *shiyâti* in Darius's inscriptions corresponds—structurally—closely to the Old Avestan concept of peace and pasture. The *Gâthâ*s span the history of the world and the sacrifice: from (1) the ordering act of Ahuramazdâ: the establishment of Order as seen in the diurnal sky with the sun, of the earth, of man, and of good things for man: the pleasure-giving cow, to (2) the replication of this act in the sacrifice: the establishment of the ritual Order, the weaving and spreading out of the sacrificer's good thought (corresponding to the heaven), the establishment of the sacrificer's humility and the sacred ground (Ārmaiti = the earth), the Life-giving Man (the qualified and successful poet-sacrificer) and the Goal: good things for man: "peace and pasture." Similarly, but much more briefly, Darius's inscriptions: (3) establishment of heaven, earth, man, and good things for man: happiness (*shiyâti*).

history of the world	sacrifice	inscriptions
the sun	Order	
diurnal sky	good thought	earth
earth	Ârmaiti	heaven
man	Life-Giving Man	man
pleasure-giving cow	peace and pasture	happiness

Finally, the king has an "esthetic" function. Just as the ultimate purpose of the Old Avestan sacrifice is to make this existence "Juicy" (*frasha*) in anticipation of the final "Juicy-making" or "Perfectioning" at the end of the world, so also does Darius endeavor to produce "perfect" (*frasha*) work on earth (DSf 55-57).

In conclusion, that the Achaemenid king performs his Zoroastrian duties faithfully should be perfectly clear:

- He praises Ahuramazdâ and his ordered cosmos,
- he worships Ahuramazdâ and the other gods, those, that is, that are worthy of worship,
- he discards the wrong gods, the *daivas*,
- he repeats time and again that Ahuramazdâ is the greatest of the gods,
- and he represents himself as having all the good qualities of a follower of Order and Ahuramazdâ.

He is truly in the tradition of Zarathustra, indeed, in his function as mediator between the gods and men, as supreme sacrificer, he, like the Old Avestan sacrificer, becomes Zarathustra permanently.[2]

Moreover, unlike the Old Avestan sacrificer, he need not worry about proving himself competent before obtaining the ritual command, since, like Zarathustra, he is Ahuramazdâ's chosen and was endowed with the royal command by the god himself:

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[1] Only in the Sasanian period do we find the idea expressed in the royal reliefs, where the victory of the king's enemy is equal to Ahura Mazdâ's victory over the Evil Spirit.

[2] Similarly, in the Young Avesta, it is said that for the sacrificer to succeed he should sacrifice like Zarathustra, model or prototype of sacrificers (Yt.13.41).

Darius in fact reunites in one and the same person the functions of supreme king—prototype Yima—and supreme sacrificer—prototype Zarathustra. In the later, Sasanian literature, this constellation, is said to introduce the end of time, when the world will again be made *frasha* (the Renovation), which, as we have seen, Darius has already done. Thus, Darius fits into a long line of Iranian kings who expect the end of the world and the Renovation to be, as it were, around the corner.

7.7. Religion of the Persians according to Herodotus (ca. 425 B.C.E.)

Among the details furnished by Herodotus about the Persian religion, note the following, most of which are known from either the Avesta or the later Zoroastrian tradition:

Sacrifices must only take place in the presence of a Magus. After the victim had been cut in pieces and the flesh had been boiled it was laid out upon soft grass. A Magus chanted a hymn, which was said to recount the origin of the gods (1.132).

The Persians considered it the most disgracing thing in the world to tell lies, the next to owe a debt. They revered the rivers and never polluted them with dirt from their own bodies, including by washing themselves in a river (1.139). The bodies of the dead male were buried only after they had been torn by dogs or birds of prey. The Magi covered the bodies with wax before burying them (1.140). The Magi would kill animals other than dogs and men of all kinds, especially ants and snakes and other flying or creeping things, with their own hands (1.140).

7.8. Other Classical authors on the Old Persian religion

Another Classical source is Xanthus of Lydia, who lived slightly before Herodotus and who gives us two important pieces of information:

1. the Persians claimed that it was Zoroaster who had made the rule against burning dead bodies or otherwise defiling the fire;
2. the Magians cohabit with their close female relatives.

It is also Xanthus to whom the earliest testimony about the date of Zarathustra is credited. The late writer Diogenes Laertius in his Life of the Philosophers quotes Xanthus as saying that there were 6,000 years between Zoroaster and Xerxes's Greek expedition, and Hermodorus, of the Platonic school, as stating that Zoroaster the Persian ruled five (or six) thousand years after the capture of Troy.

8. ZOROASTRIANISM UNDER THE SELEUCIDS AND ARSACIDS (PARTHIANS)

Sources for the Seleucid period: coins, inscriptions (in Greek and Aramaic), and the Classical authors.

Alexander and his soldiers are credited with great harm done to the Iranian religion: by killing the priests *(the magi), by destroying and dispersing the holy scriptures, and by damaging and destroying holy places and temples. The indigenous literary tradition, which has preserved most of these stories, can of course not be trusted to have preserved actual records of what happened, as all historical events recorded in this tradition were recast in traditional literary forms. The Greek historians, on the other hand, were probably not particularly interested in transmitting horror stories about Alexander and his troops, even if they had committed crimes against the clergy, etc., so they cannot be trusted either. Finally, the archeological record provides little information about what actually happened.

As a matter of fact, considering the growing chaos in the imperial succession and administration, similar conditions may be conjectured for the clergy, too, and the church may well have been as much its own enemy as Alexander.

At the death of Alexander the empire quickly disintegrated. Alexander's generals, who became governors of the various parts of the Achaemenid empire, had taken Iranian wives, and their offspring was therefore partly Iranian. Thus Seleucus's son and successor was Antiochus I (ca. 280-262).

One thing to note about the Seleucid kings is that they begin calling themselves *theos* "god," as well as *sôtêr* "savior." The potential importance of this titulature should not be underestimated. There is a long tradition in Iran of new kings inaugurating new dynasties who considered themselves as having conquered the Evil Spirit himself and thus considered themselves as saviors and inaugurators of the era of the Perfectioning (Renovation), predicted in the Avesta.

The Parthian dynasty established its control over Iran with Mitridates I's (ca. 171-138) conquest of Seleucia on the Tigris in 141, and this control was expanded and consolidated under Mitridates II (ca. 123-87). Both kings were no doubt Zoroastrians and regarded Mithra as their protective deity.

The Arsacids were the first to introduce Hellenistic anthropomorphic iconography in public and on their coins, although he deities were represented by their Greek names.

It is in the Arsacid period that Zoroastrianism gains a foothold in Armenia, and Armenian sources have preserved valuable evidence about the religion of those times.

From the first century of the new era, we have the important testimony of Strabo, the Herodotus of his day, who tells us (15.3.15) that the Iranians had both temples to their gods [Parth. *bagin*] and fire temples [Parth. *âtrôshan* < **âtrwaxshana* > Arm. *atrushan*]. And we also have the description by Pausanias, a Greek traveler who saw Zoroastrian communities in Lydia.

The most interesting of the kings from this period is vassal of the Parthians, Antiochus of Commagene, who called himself *theos dikaios epiphanes philoromaios philhellen*. His grave, located at a site called Nimrud Dağ, is fronted by a row of seated deities, whose names are inscribed in Greek letters. In the inscription accompanying the statues Antiochus says:

> I chose to consecrate this place as a sacred seat for all the gods to share, so that there may be not only this heroic band of my ancestors which you see established by my care, but also the divine semblance of manifest deities sanctified on a holy summit, and so that this spot may be a witness that shall not fail to tell of my piety. Wherefore, as you see, I have set up these divine images (*agalmata*) of Zeus Oromasdes and of Apollo Mithra Helio Hermes and of Artagnes Heracles Ares and also of my all-nourishing homeland Commagene. And from the same stone, throned likewise among the gracious daemons, I have consecrated the features aof my own form, and thus admitted a new Tyche to share in the ancient honours of the great gods."

Antiochus's advice to future kings goes as follows:

> It is commanded to the generations of all men whom boundless time (*chronos apeiros*) shall, through its destiny for the life of each, set in later possession of the land, that they keep it inviolate.

It is from the Parthian period that we have for the first time an extensive description of the Iranian cosmology. This is found in the work *On Isis and Osiris* by Plutarch (ca. 46-120).

Among the archeological remains from the Parthian period the remains of several fire temples dating from several successive centuries into the Sasanian period on the Kûh-e Khwâja in the Hâmûn lake in Sistan.

At Bisotun in western Iran there is a relief of Hercules, who corresponded to Parthian Warthragn, the epithet of Avestan Thraetaona (Thraêtaona), which had taken on a life of its own. The Greek inscription is dated to 147 B.C.E.

The same identification between Hercules and Warthragn is seen in a Parthian-Greek inscription from the mid-2nd cent. C.E., by the king Arsakes Vologeses, son of Mitridates, who seized the province of Mesene from Mitridates son of Pakores. The inscriptions are placed on the thigh of a statue, which the Greek identifies as Hercules and the Parthian as Warthragn. As the inscriptions make clear, the statue was part of the booty acquired by a Parthian king and brought back from Mesene to be put in the temple (*bagin*) of the god Tîrî.

It is also to the Arsacid or earlier periods that the establishment of the three major sacred fires may be dated: Âdur Burzênmihr, Âdur Farrôbag (or Farnbag), Âdur Gushnasp. Most of our information about these fires comes from the

later Zoroastrian books and is therefore to some extent legendary.

Âdur Burzênmihr was placed on Mt. Rêwand, known already from the Avesta. M. Boyce suggests that the mountain was identified with some mountain in Parthia in eastern Iran. Whether there was actually a nationally known fire temple to this fire in Parthia, we do not know. We should note that the literary tradition locates the fire in various places, and in the *Book of Kings* it is also said to have been founded at Balkh by Wishtâsp's father Lohrâsp.

The second great fire, Âdur Farrôbag, according to the late tradition was brought from Khorasmia to Fârs during Wishtâsp's reign.

The third great fire, Âdur Gushnasp, was associated with Lake Chêchasht (Urmia) in western Iran (Azarbaijan) in the tradition, but a temple was built for it at Takht-e Soleymân. This temple plays an important role in the stories of the Sasanian kings.

The most important written corpus from the Parthian period is that discovered at ancient Nisa, east of the Caspian Sea. Hundreds and hundreds of labels on wine jars, bear evidence to toponymy, calendar, onomastics, etc. Among other things, the word *âyazan* is mentioned, which must mean a sacred place for worship. In the pantheon we must note the presence of the old Mesopotamian goddess Nanai, who is mentioned in the Nisa documents and became extremely popular in central Asia, including Bactria, where she is the principal protective deity of Kanishka. She probably replaced Anâhitâ, and the phonetic (acoustic) similarity of the two names probably played some part in this identification.

9. ZOROASTRIANISM UNDER THE SASANIANS

The founder of the Sasanian dynasty was the last in a line of local kings in southern Iran, the so-called Frataraka dynasty. Nothing much is known about these kings, but they struck coins. From their names – Dârâyân, Manuchihr, Wâdfradâd, Ardashahr – we can gather that they basically continued the Achaemenid religious traditions.

The Sasanian kings entitle themselves *bay* from the old *baga* "lord, god" and state they are "descended from the gods." This probably continues the practice of the Seleucid kings, who imitated Alexander and called themselves "god" (Greek *theos*)

From the Parthian period we have the ruins of a temple at Persepolis belonging to the Fratarakas, where a votive tablet was found bearing the names of the highest Greek deities, probably covering those of Iranian Ahura Mazdâ, Mithra, Anâhitâ, and Ashish Vanghwi. On one of the walls there is a carving showing a priest holding the barsom in one hand.

An interesting fact about these coins is also that the script form changes under the last predecessors of Ardashahr I, from a typically Aramaic script form, to the Middle Persian form seen in the Sasanian inscriptions. It is tempting to see in this change the trace of a—perhaps nationalist—reform, out of which the usurper/liberator emerged.

From the inscriptions of Ardashahr (Ardashîr) I, it is clear that he, like his remote ancestor Darius, represents himself as the true carrier and protector of the Mazdayasnian religion. His titulature includes: "the Mazdayasnian Lord," where the word for "Lord" is *bay* < OPers. *baga*, the common epithet of Ahuramazdâ; "who is of the race of gods," a title which clearly confirms their belief in a divine connection. In his reliefs the King is represented as receiving the royal diadem directly from Ohrmazd. Finally, in his victory relief, where he depicts his victory over his predecessor Ardawân, he sits on his horse opposite Ohrmazd, under the hooves of whose horse lies the vanquished Evil Spirit himself. It is clear that here again the king considered himself as God's representative and as having ousted the Lie from the realm and established God's will on earth. In this way he represents himself as God's principal ally in the divine scheme of overcoming and abolishing the primordial evil.

Most of the extant Zoroastrian literature aside from the Avesta is from the Sasanian period.

10. THE AVESTA

10.1. The writing down of the Avesta

The Avestan texts known to us today represent only a small part of the oral traditions that were committed to writing in the Sasanian period (224-651 C.E.): as little as one-fourth has been conjectured. Sometime during this period a phonetic alphabet was invented, which was used to write down in minute detail the known texts.

At this time, all the available Iranian alphabets were consonant alphabets descended from Aramaic (except the Bactrian alphabet, which was Greek), which were quite unsuitable for recording a largely unfamiliar language. A new alphabet was therefore invented based, apparently, on the cursive Pahlavi script of the Zoroastrian literature, but with the addition of earlier forms of some letters, taken from the script found in the *Pahlavi Psalter*, a Middle Persian translation of the *Psalms of David* found in Chinese Turkestan.

It must be kept in mind that our earliest mss. are all, probably, over 500 years younger than the "proto-manuscript" of the Avesta, what Karl Hoffmann called the "Sasanian archetype." Thus, we do not know exactly what forms the letters had.

According to the indigenous tradition contained in the Pahlavi texts (especially the *Dênkard*) about the Avesta, after Alexander had destroyed or dispersed the text written in gold on bulls' hides, it was then reassembled, presumably on the basis of oral traditions and, perhaps, surviving manuscripts, under Walâsh, one of the Arsacid kings, again under Shâpûr I (240-272 C.E.), and finally under Shâpûr II (309-79 C.E.).[1]

10.2. The zand*s*

It is important to realize that already by the Young Avestan period the *Old Avesta* can no longer have been well understood and was in need of translation and commentary, and we actually do find in the extant Avesta commentaries in Young Avestan on Old Avestan texts. Only the commentaries on the three holy prayers have been preserved (Yasna 19-21), but there also existed commentaries on the remaining Old Avestan texts, some of which have been preserved in Pahlavi translation in the ninth book of the Dênkard, which contains Pahlavi versions of Avestan commentaries on the *Gâthâ*s.

Similarly, as the Avestan texts were adopted by other Iranian population groups than those who had originally composed them, commentaries and translations into local languages became a necessity. Thus we can safely assume that there were at one time early Bactrian, Parthian, Median, etc. versions of the texts. If, by the Achaemenid period, the Avesta was in Persis, such a tradition of local versions and exegesis in local languages must have been established there too.[2]

Whether any of these "local versions" were ever written down we do not know—though it is possible—but the transmission of the holy texts, like that of the secular literature that has not survived, must have been fundamentally oral. We can easily imagine that instructors taught the texts to the students by reciting the original text in small portions and adding the translation and the commentary as they went along. This is what we see in our extant manuscripts of the Avesta.

By the Sasanian period the Avestan text itself was largely incomprehensible to the reciters, but translations into the spoken languages had already been made, which must have been current as early as the 3rd century C.E., when one of the *nask*s of the Avesta was quoted by the high priest Kerdîr in one of his inscriptions. The *nask*s of the Avesta are also referred to in a Manichean text, dating from the 3rd-4th century. In another Manichean text the five *Gâthâ*s are mentioned by name.

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[1] M. Shaki, "The Dēnkard Account of the History of the Zoroastrian Scriptures," *Archív Orientální* 49, 1981, pp. 114-25. – Note that the authors of the Pahlavi books had little idea of historical chronology.

[2] On possible Avestan "citations" in Old Persian, see Skjærvø, 1999, "Avestan Quotations?"

It is quite probable that the Middle Persian translation of the Avesta with commentaries and additional material (the *Avesta* and its *zand* > the Zand-Avesta) had already been written down by this time, but probably not the Avestan texts themselves.

10.3. "Corruption" of the Avestan text

The manuscripts of the *Avesta* all go back to single manuscripts for each part (*Yasna*, *Yasht*s, etc.), which the colophons permit us to date to around 1000 C.E. For some parts of the text, we have manuscripts from the 13th-14th centuries, for others the tradition does not go beyond the 16th-18th centuries.

We should also remember that the proto-text of our *Avesta* is based on "final performances." The question of *how* the Avestan texts were committed to writing once the alphabet had been invented around 500 C.E. has not been raised, but is of paramount importance for understanding the state of the text. There are, in fact, only two possibilities (or a combination of them): either a person who knew the text was taught the alphabet and wrote down what he knew, or a person who knew the text dictated it to someone who knew the script. Either procedure would obviously influence the recorded text adversely, as with both procedures the fluency of the recitation would be interrupted. On the other hand, dictation would give the reciter time to remember more text than he might otherwise include during a recitation.

The text is an "edited" text and does not in every detail reflect a genuine linguistic system. During its 1000 to 1500 years of oral transmission, the text was standardized, and, once written down, it was modified by scribes who spoke dialects with phonological systems fundamentally different from that of the originals. Thus, the Old Avestan texts contain many YAv. elements and the YAv. texts contain both Old Avestan ("pseudo-OAv.") elements and phonetic features introduced from the scribes' languages (incl. Gujerati). This makes it almost impossible to determine which of the sound changes we observe in our extant texts already belonged already to the original language.

Many of the Young Avestan texts are in ungrammatical (or incorrect) language, but it must be kept in mind that it must have ceased being a spoken language probably some time in the (pre-)Median period, when the texts were "crystallized," that is, no longer linguistically updated from generation to generation.[1] Thus, they were orally transmitted for at least a thousand years before they were written down, which, obviously, gave ample opportunity for them to be changed, especially by the less well trained reciters. In fact, we see that the most corrupt texts are those that were presumably recited most often.

The history of the text is approximately as follows:

- Composition of texts that were to lead to the Old Avestan texts, constantly linguistically updated (recomposed) in performance (mid-2nd mill. B.C.E.).
- Composition of the Young Avestan texts, constantly linguistically updated, etc. (end of 2nd/early 1st mill.).
- Crystallization of the Old Avestan text as unchangeable with introduction of editorial changes (early YAv. period?).
- Crystallization of the Young Avestan text as unchangeable (1st half of 1st mill.?).
- Canonization of select texts (under the Achaemenids?).
- Transmission of the entire immutable text with introduction of linguistic novelties and changes made by the (oral) transmitters (up to ca. 500 C.E.), with several attempts at "reassembling the scattered scriptures" (?).
- Creation of an unambiguous alphabet in which the entire known corpus was written down to the extent it was deemed worthy.
- Written transmission of the text influenced(?) by the oral tradition; copying of manuscripts contributes to deterioration of the text.
- The Arab conquest causes deterioration of the religion and its texts; ca. 1000 C.E. there is only one single manuscript in existence of each part of the extant *Avesta*, from which all our extant manuscripts are descended.

[1] This is the phenomenon by which an orally composed text, from being constantly *recomposed in performance*, at some stage, for some reason, is no longer *recomposed* but *fixed in (re)performance*.

10.4. The Transmission of the Avestan texts and Languages

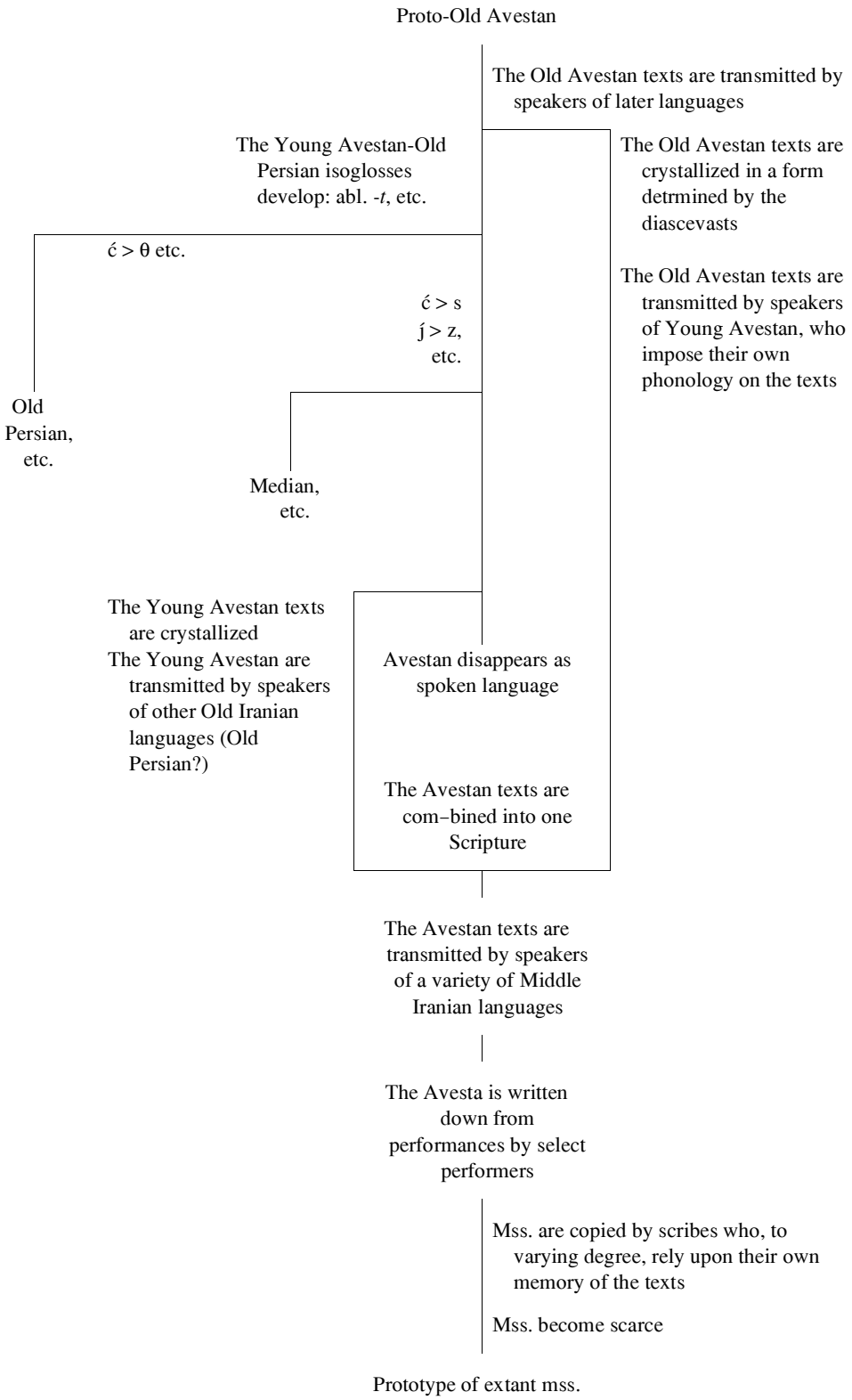

11. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY

The Avestan texts frequently refer to the cosmogonic myth, the story of how the world came into being, but the story itself is never told. The earliest narrative is that of Plutarch, who, in his *About Isis and Osiris*, recounted a story told by the Magi about the origin of our world. After that, we must wait for the Pahlavi literature for the (more or less) complete story, which is told in the *Bundahishn* and various other texts.

Nevertheless, it is possible on the basis of the allusions in the Avesta and the later traditions to fill in much of the greater picture that the Old Iranians had of the origin of the world.

11.1. Ordering of the cosmos

In both the Old and Young Avesta, as well as the Achaemenid inscriptions, the making – or creation – of the world is depicted as an ordering of elements that are themselves "created" or made in some way or other (by thinking, engendering, or fashioning). The verb designating the divine action of creating order is *dâ-* (Old Indic *dhâ-*), which literally means "place, set down, establish." The objects that were put in order by Ahura Mazdâ, had been engendered by him or fashioned by various artisans, such as the divine Carpenter (*thwarshtar*) and the more specific Fashioner (*tashan*) of the Cow. These are the ones who actually formed the objects which Ahura Mazdâ then put/set in their proper place. Ahura Mazdâ himself is also said to have fashioned the cow, the waters, and the plants.

The same concepts are found in the Rigveda, where the world is depicted as having been measured out and established by the gods, like a building, but many of its elements also as having been engendered or generated by the gods.

<u>In the Old Avesta.</u>

References to the cosmogonic ordering process are found in all the Old Avestan poems, except the fifth Gatha, which is concerned with the victory over Evil. The reference in the fourth Gatha, which is concerned with the success of the sacrifice and the rewards, is also brief. The Gathic poet, however, is, as always, reluctant to state anything simply and clearly, while the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* presents the process in a relatively orderly fashion in YH.37.1-2.

The Achaemenid king Darius echoes this description in his inscriptions, in DNa 1-8, and it continues into the Pahlavi books, e.g., *Bdh*.3.20-21.

In the *Gâthâ*s the most explicit cosmogony is in **2.**44.3-7:

Ahura Mazdâ	
engendered Order	
established the road of the sun and of the stars	
started the phases of the moon	
held the earth down below and the heavens above	Heaven and Earth
established the waters and the plants	
harnessed the two quick coursers to the wind and the clouds	
is the Web-master of good thought	Heaven
established lights and darkness, sleep and wakefulness, etc.	Day and night
established	
dawn, noon, and evening	
Ârmaiti by her actions *thickens (the web of) Order	Earth
Ahura Mazdâ	
fashioned the milk-giving cow, which makes happiness	Cow for man

Elsewhere, we have the following references to the cosmogony:

1.31.7-9:

Ahura Mazdâ	
thought the lights of the free spaces, thought Order	
Web-master of good thought	Heaven
Ârmaiti (the earth) was Ahura Mazdâ's	Earth
Ahura Mazdâ(?) fashioned for man	Man
the cow, etc.	Cow

2.44.3-7

3.48.3

Order	
Good thought: good and bad	Heaven
Ârmaiti	Earth
Cow for man	Cow for man
Ârmaiti	Earth
gives youth, *thickens (the web of) Order, produces plants	

4.51.7

you who fashioned
the cow
the waters
the plants

<u>In the Young Avesta.</u>

Ahura Mazdâ's creation is described or alluded to in many passages in the Young Avesta, among them Y.19.2, Y.19.8, and Yt.13.86.

The ordering process is referred to in a variety of other contexts, as well, for instance, at the beginning of the *yasna* ritual in Y.1.1.

Occasionally, the ordering activity is ascribed to other deities, for instance, in Yt.19.52, the Scion of the Waters (Apâm Napât) is said to have fashioned and set in place men.

11.2. Birth of the cosmos

The creation act is also described as an engendering and birth process, as in **2.**43.5, **2.**44.3, **2.**45.4, **3.**48.6. In these texts, we see that the objects engendered by Ahura Mazdâ are, on the one hand, the Life-giving Immortals, on the other hand the *ahu*. Producing the *ahu* is in fact the goal of the sacrifice, and the production of the *first ahu* was presumably the result of Ahura Mazdâ's first sacrifice.

The birth scenario is particularly prominent in *Yasht* 13, the hymn to the pre-souls (fravashis), which begins with a description of how Ahura Mazdâ with the help of the Pre-souls made the world of the living from the sky down to the fetuses in the wombs. The description is presented by a repeated formula plus the respective basic elements of the "creation."

The birth scenario plays a prominent role also in later accounts of the Old Iranian cosmogony. Thus, the *Pahlavi Rivayat* (*PR*.46) describes the creation of the world of thought, and in the *Bundahishn* (*Bdh*.1.58-59) we are told the story of the gestation of the world of the living in the world of thought and its subsequent birth into the world of living beings.

11.3. The two spirits

According to the Avesta, Ahura Mazdâ was not the only one to "set things in place." Already in the Young Avesta we find the notion of a dual "creation" by the Life-giving Spirit and the Evil Spirit, notably in the hymns to the pre-souls, to Vayu, and to Sraosha:

Yt.13.76 (to the pre-souls) = Y.57.17 (hymn to Sraosha)
when the two spirits established the "creations," the Life-giving Spirit and the Evil one.

Yt. 15.43 (to Vayu)
both "creations," both the one that the Life-giving Spirit established and the one the Evil Spirit established.

This creation scenario obviously intrigued the neighbors of the Iranians, notably the Greeks, who assigned it to the teachings of the Magi, as seen from the version told by Plutarch.

The dual creation is also the "standard" version in the Pahlavi texts, and can therefore be assigned to Zoroastrianism throughout most of its history. The question is then how old it actually is. More about this below.

11.4. Creation in the Pahlavi texts.

The dual creation is the "standard" version in the Pahlavi texts, where the act of creation is described in great detail. In the *Bundahishn*, for instance, we find the completely developed Mazdean dualist creation myth, according to which two principles existed from time immemorial, one good, Ohrmazd, in the heights, which are the endless lights, and one evil, Ahrimen, in the depths, which are endless darkness. For some reason or other, the Foul Spirit in the depths came to notice and subsequently desire the good up above and attack it in order to mix with it and thereby destroy its purity. Together with Ohrmazd were eternal time (without beginning or end) and the Endless Lights.

Ohrmazd realized that only through battle could Ahrimen be overcome and planned how to proceed and fashioned the "creation" (*dâm-dahishnîh*) he needed for his purpose. To start the process, he cut out a piece of eternal time, the Time of Long Rule, during which the battle between good and evil would be fought.

At this point Ohrmazd gave Ahrimen a chance to withdraw from his destructive scheme by sacrificing to his "creation," which Ahrimen of course rejected. Ohrmazd then knew that a time schedule for the remaining course of the world was needed in order to prevent evil from reigning forever, and offered the evil one a pact whereby the time of the final battle would be after 9000 years, a pact which Ahrimen accepted, being to slow-witted to see its purpose. According to the pact, 3000 years would pass according to the will of Ohrmazd; for 3000 years the world would be in a state of mixture, according to the will of both Ohrmazd and Ahrimen, and in the last battle the evil spirit would be rendered powerless.

Ohrmazd then recited the *Ahunwar* prayer, by which Ahrimen was stunned and fell back into the darkness.

The complete creation of the world took 6000 years. During the first 3000 years, a "creation" in/of thought – without thought, without movement, and without touch – was established in the "world of thought."

During the next 3000 years, another "creation," this one "with bones" or "containing living beings" was established, but also in the "world of thought." At the end of the second 3000 years, this second "creation" was transferred to the "world of living beings."

During this period, the Foul Spirit for his part fashioned forth a destructive "creation" to use for the battle, and, as soon as the "creation of living beings" was transferred to the "world of living beings," he attacked and introduced his evil "creation" into Ohrmazd's creation, so that the two were mixed. Hence the next 3000 years are called the Mixture.

THE "CREATION" IN/OF THOUGHT IN THE WORLD OF THOUGHT

This is a "creation" that by necessity is performed in and with thought. Thus, the "creation of thought" was made by Ahura Mazdâ by his *thought*, especially the principle of Order itself, already in the Old Avesta:

1.31.7
He who was the first to think those thoughts: "**The free spaces** are **blending with the lights**"—

1.31.19
He **who** first **thought Order has** now **listened** to my words(?), namely, you, **the knowing one**, **the healer of** this **state**, **O Ahura** ...

Compare:

Bdh.1.35 [19]
And his first "creation" was "*self-established well-being, that spirit by which he made his body better when he *thought* the "creation," for his being "ruler" is from establishing the "creation" (*dâm-dahishnîh*).

In the various narratives, the creation always proceeds in a more or less fixed order, as in *Bundahishn* chap. 1:

Ohrmazd's "creation"	Ahrimen's "creation"
essence of the gods	
time of the long dominion	
permanence	
from his own essence the form of the creatures	
from it the good Vây	
from material light true speech	from material darkness lying speech
from endless light endless form	in the form of black *coal
from endless form the Ahunwar	Waran
from the Ahunwar the spirit of the year	by which the creatures were set in motion
the six Amesha Spentas	the essence of the demons
the three judges	

"CREATION" OF THE LIVING IN THE WORLD OF THOUGHT

the six Life-giving Immortals	"creations" in the world of the living	opponents
Wahman	the sky	Akôman
Ardwahisht	the water	Indar and Sâwul
Shahrewar	earth	Nânghait
Spandarmad	plants	Tarômat
Hordad	cow	Tarich
Amurdad	man	Zêrich
true speech		dispute
Srôsh, etc.		

"CREATION" OF THE LIVING IN THE WORLD OF THE LIVING

endless lights	>	fire
fire	>	wind
wind	>	water
water	>	the earth

1 sky as defense	1 in the form of an egg, aided by joy
2 water to smite down the demon of thirst	2 an arm-length deep, aided by wind, etc.
3 plants for the kine	4 smooth, aided by water and fire
4 earth	3 totally smooth, containing minerals and metals
5 kine for the blessed man	5 the bull in Êrânwêz, aided by water and plants
6 the blessed man to strike down the Foul Spirit	6 Gayômard, aided by sleep
7 fire from endless lights	
8 wind	

11.5. The ritual "recreation" of the world

With this scenario as background, it is easily seen that the creation is also implied by the *Yasna*, the text that accompanies the *yasna* ritual, that is, the morning sacrifice, since the *yasna* is a replica of Ahura Mazdâ's primordial sacrifice. After various introductory texts and actions the first main part of the *yasna* consists of a relatively immutable list of entities which are acted upon in various ways, as indicated by set formulas:

- I make known/introduce (*niwaêdhayemi*), I assemble/count X, a Model (*ratu*) of Order.
- In this libation and barsom (sacred plant twigs), by my sacrificing I harness (*âyese*) ...
- By my sacrificing I harness ... for winning the favor of ...
- Thus we make them known to (*âwaêdhayemi*) ...
- We sacrifice (*yazamaide*) ...
- I place in Orderly fashion (*ashaya dadâmi*) ... for winning the favor of ...

With various additions and variants, the objects of these formulas are the following:

- Ahura Mazdâ and the six Life-giving Immortals
- The models for the units of time. These are accompanied by their own assigned geniuses of social divisions and deities in charge of cosmic phenomena:

time	genius of	genius of	deities
of haoma pressing	Increase (*Sâwanghi*)	the town (*vis*)	Mithra, Peace with Good Pasture
noon	Cattle-furthering	the tribe (*zantu*)	Best Order, AM's fire (= the sun)
afternoon	Man-furthering	the land (*dahyu*)	Scion of the Waters, the Water
evening	Furthering-all-good-living	the one most like Zar.	the Pre-souls of the Orderly, the women to be won by men, the yearly good settlement, the well-fashioned Force, the Obstruction-smasher, Victorious Superiority
late night	Berjiya	the house	Sraosha, the obstruction-smasher furtherer of living beings, straightest Rashnu Rectitude, furtherer of living beings increaser of living beings

the months and their divisions: new moon, full moon, the moon of the 23rd day.
the seasons: spring, mid-summer, harvest, fall, mid-winter, New Year.
the years

3. Ahura (Mazdâ) and Mithra
the stars, Tishtriya, the moon, the sun, Mithra, Ahura Mazdâ, the Pre-souls of the Orderly
the fire of ahura Mazdâ with all the fires, the good waters with all the waters, all the plants
the life-giving poetic thought (*manthra*), the Law discarding the *daêwa*s, the long *Tradition,
the good Daênâ of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
Mt. Crack of Dawn and all the mountains, the Fortune of the Poets, the Unseizable Fortune
Good Ashi (Reward), etc.
Places, settlements, grazing grounds, dwellings
waters, grounds, plants, this earth, yonder sky
the Orderly wind, stars, moon, sun, the Endless Lights

We see that the list begins by establishing the models for the divisions of time, that is of Time of Long Rule, and then goes on to the various "creations" of thought, which are the basic components of the Ordered cosmos.

11.6. The twin spirits

The scenario from Plutarch with the wily Evil Spirit shows up in the so-called "Zurvanite" myth known from the early Muslim period, told by Armenian historians and some others, which in its main elements, goes as follows:

> Before the world existed there was Zurvan. He sacrificed for 1000 years to have a son who would create heaven and earth. Seeing his sacrifice had no effect he doubted its value, and from his doubt Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were conceived. Seeing he would bear two sons he decided that the first-born would be king. Ohrmazd knew what his father was thinking and told his brother, who tore open his progenitor's womb and emerged. Ahrimen, insisting upon his rights, was grudgingly accorded 9000 years of rule, after which Ohrmazd would rule. They both then began creating.

What is remarkable here is the fact that the good and the evil creators are twin brothers. The myth of the twin brothers is also quite old, however; it can at least be followed back to the Sasanians, when it was cited as "heretical" by Zoroastrian scholars, notably in an exegesis of **1.**30.4:

Dk.9.30.4
And from the saying of Zardusht about the demon Arsh, how he howled to people:
Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were brothers from one womb!

The same statement is cited in a Manichean polemical hymn in Middle Persian, probably from the 3rd-4th cents.:

M28IRii1-4
And they say that Ohrmezd and Ahrimen are brothers.
And on account of this speech they will come to destruction.

The myth of the two spirits (*manyu*) is already in the *Gâthâ*s, however, where we find the two *manyu*s conversing (**2.**45.2ab). This reminds us of the Zurvanite myth, in which Ohrmazd and Ahrimen are speaking in the womb. The conversation between the two also seems to be preserved in another Manichean fragment, which appears to contain a version of the Zoroastrian creation myth close to that of Plutarch. This fragment is also in Middle Persian, which indicates a relatively early date:

BT 4, no. 23 (Sundermann, *Berliner Turfantexte* 4, pp. 79-80)
... the mixture.
And in this manner they consider that they were from one egg and from one seed.
And he shows in his book concerning all the gods and *mârâspand*s (the Life-giving Immortals) that the gods ... with gods and ...
[*long gap in the text*]
[... when] we came out from ...
Then that egg was divided into two parts. From the one part of that egg that was upward, which was split and divided, heaven [was spread out? ...]
[*long gap in the text*]
And all creatures that move about on it (= the earth) came from that.
In this manner, by (their) ..., they mix together good and evil, light and darkness.

Here we note the statement in direct speech "we came out," which strongly recalls the conversation between the two *manyu*s in **2.**45.2 and which must "logically" refer to the two spirits discussing how to assign the parts of the cosmos between them.

One of the most discussed passages in these poems is the following:

1.30.3a
Thus, those two inspirations in the beginning, which have been renowned (as) "the twin sleeps" ...

Long ago I proposed that "sleep" here is used metonymically for sleeping fetuses, comparing the following Indic text:

Manu-smrti 1.5
This (thing) *was*, risen from darkness, unknown, with no distinguishing marks,
inconceivable, incomprehensible, like asleep all over.

Thus, the myth of the two spirits would seem to be part of the cosmic birth scenario.

Another strophe referring to the two spirits and which has caused a lot of speculation in Iranist circles is **1.**30.4:[1]

Thus, **also: when**ever **the two inspirations come together** in competition **one determines/receives** (*dazdai*) **for the first** time
both life (*gaya*) (for the good) **and lack of living** (ajyâti) (for the bad) **and how** the(ir) ***ahu* shall be at last**:
The worst *ahu* will be that **of those possessed by the Lie**, but **for the sustainer of Order** there will be **best thought**.

Remarkably, the Pahlavi version of this strophe interpreted *gaêm* as referring to Gayômard (see below on the Creation of living creatures):

1.30.4ab Pahl.
And thus those two spirits came together to the first establishment, i.e., the two spirits came to Gayômard.

This interpretation is not to be rejected off-hand, because, also in the *Young Avesta*, Gaya Martân is referred to simply as Gaya, and, since "lack of living" is nearly synonymous with *martân* "what contains what is dead, mortal," the Old Avestan text may contain the same reference.

Gaya Martân, however, has Indo-Iranian forebears, having been compared with Old Indic Mârtânda, whose birth from Aditi is described as follows in the *Shatapatha-brâhmana*:

ŚB III.1.3.3-4 (after Jamison)
She bore an eighth, unshaped: Mârtânda. He was a lump, as broad as he was tall.
(The Âdityas said,) "Come on, let us shape him!" They shaped him as man here (on earth).

This description of Mârtânda's size is identical with that of Gayômard in *Bdh*.1.A.13: "his width was equal to his height." Mârtânda is variously represented as an aborted fetus or the *afterbirth* of the birth of the Âdityas from Aditi

The name of Gaya Martân, which, to my knowledge, has not been closely analyzed, in fact, seems to mean "life with a dead thing," which perfectly describes the products of the birth process: the living new human followed by the dead afterbirth, the placenta.

Applying this scenario to the two primordial twin spirits is then completely unproblematic, and it is, indeed, strengthened by the fact that in modern Iran the afterbirth is called *joft* "twin."

Yet another element potentially linking the Indic and Iranian myths is a passage from the *Kâthaka-samhitâ*, in which the embryo speaks, provoking the rivalry of its brothers:

KS XI.6 (after Jamison)
She (Aditi) became pregnant (*garbham adhatta*).
The embryo, (still) within (her), spoke.
The Âdityas [= his brothers] thought, "If this one will be born, he will thrive here."

[1] In Old Avestan texts **bold** type is used for words actually in the text, while regular type are words added by the translator.

they smashed him out [= aborted him].
Expelled/aborted he lay there.

A second remarkable correspondence between the Old Avestan and Old Indic texts here is the use of *dhâ* "place" in the middle to express "become pregnant," which we can perhaps compare with Old Avestan *dazdê* in the Old Avestan myth. If we apply this meaning to our passage, we obtain the remarkable sense: **1.**30.4ab´ "and when those to inspirations come together, then one first becomes pregnant with life and non life." Note also the expression "expelled," literally "thrown out" (*nirasta*) and the fact that a notorious complication of birth is that of "retained" afterbirth, which then needs to be "thrown out," as, for instance, the Babylonian terminology has it.

Without arguing further, I would therefore simply suggest that the Iranian creation myth is a complete birth myth and that the "radical dualistic" element originated in the observation of the dual birth: of the new living being and of the lifeless afterbirth.

11.7. The creation of living creatures.

The beginning of mankind is not described in the extant Young Avesta, but, according to the later tradition, among living creatures Ahura Mazdâ created first (Pahl.) Gayômard and the Uniquely-created Bull (Pahl. *Gâw î êkdâd*).

Gayômard is Avestan Gaya Martân, who often heads lists of created beings in the Young Avesta. In the later tradition Gayômard is killed by the Evil Spirit during the primeval attack upon the creation of Ohrmazd, but his semen is emitted into the earth and eventually gives rise to mankind. Note also Yt.13.87, where Ahura Mazdâ is said to have "fashioned forth the umbilical cords of the Aryan lands, the descent of the Aryan lands" from Gaya Martân.

The Pahl. Uniquely-created Bull has a pendant in the Young Avesta as well, where the Uniquely-created Bull is mentioned together with the Bull of Many Species. In the later tradition the Uniquely-created Bull is killed by the Evil Spirit during the primeval attack upon the creation of Ohrmazd, but his semen is emitted into the earth and eventually gives rise to all the animal species.

In the Young Avesta Gaya Martan is also mentioned together with the Cow/Bull of Good Gifts, or simply the Cow/Bull, e.g., in

Y.13.7
We sacrifice (to) the Pre-soul of both the Cow of Good Gifts and the Orderly Gaya Martân.

and

Vr.21.2
We sacrifice the sacrifice and the hymn of the Bull and Gaya.

11.8. Cosmic structures and weaving

There is finally some evidence that the cosmos itself seems to be have been conceived of in terms of a pair of huts, an upper one and a lower upside-down one. The cosmos was therefore quite probably imagined as a sphere.

Inside the upper hut, Ahura Mazdâ has placed the celestial lights: the sun, the moon, and the stars, all of which measure out time, as well as mankind, the cow, and other objects of the world of the living, and assigned to them all their proper duties according to the Models.

The covers of these "huts" are said to be woven, and the ancient Iranian creation myth seems to be one of weaving, with Ahura Mazdâ weaving the luminous covers of the day sky every morning as the birth tissues of the new life (*ahu*).

11.9. The World according to the Young Avesta

The world is clearly conceived as a great sphere, in the middle of which lies the earth surrounded by the great world ocean, the Vourukasha Sea. In the middle of the earth stands Mount Haraitî, around which the vault of heaven with the sun, moon, and stars revolves.

The earth is divided into seven "climes" (*karshwar*), six of which are arranged around the central clime of Khwaniratha. The seven-fold division is mentioned in the *Gâthâ*s, in **1.**32.3, where a seventh of the earth seems to be referred to as the dwelling place of the *daêwa*s.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Vourubarshti</td><td colspan="2">Vourujarshti</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sawahi</td><td colspan="2">Khwaniratha</td><td>Arzahi</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Vidadhafshu</td><td colspan="2">Fradadhafshu</td></tr>
</table>

Yasht 12 to Rashnu contains a list of the important things the world contains, described as Rashnu flies over them:

9 the continent of Arzahi
10 the continent of Sawahi (of Life-giving strength?)
11 the continent of Fradadhafshu (the cattle-furthering one)
12 the continent of Vidadhafshu (the cattle-finding one)
13 the continent of Vourubarshti (of
14 the continent of Vourujarshti
15 this continent of shining Khwaniratha
16 the Vourukasha Sea
17 that tree of the Falcon, which stands in the middle of the Vourukasha Sea, which is called All-Healer, on which he placed the seeds of all the plants,
18 the *waters of the (river) Ranghâ
19 the rise of the (river) Ranghâ
20 the borders of this earth
21 the middle of this earth
22 wherever of this earth
23 Harâ the tall, with many *turns, bright, rising above the clouds
24 Mount Hukairya, from which Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ falls down to me a thousand men in height,
25 the ridge of high Haraitî, around which my stars, moon, and sun turn,
26 the star Vanant (Vega?) created by (Ahura) Mazdâ
27 the star Tishtriya (Sirius), wealthy and glorious
28 the stars Haptôiringa (Big Dipper)
29 the stars containing the seed of the waters
30 the stars containing the seed of the earth
31 the stars containing the seed of the plants
32 the stars belonging to the Life-giving Spirit
33 yonder moon containing the seed of the cow/bull
34 the sun with fleet horses
35 the endless lights which have their own law
36 the best Existence of the Orderly ones, light and all good breathing space
37 the luminous House of Song

In the later, Pahlavi, texts, the continents are described in greater detail. For instance, in the *Mênôy xrad* 8.6, it is said that it is not possible to go from continent to continent without the guidance of the gods or the *dêw*s.

See, also, for instance, *Pahlavi Rivayat* 46.9.

12. THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF IRAN

In the Young Avesta, especially the *Yasht*s, a number of legendary characters are listed, always in the same order. In the later tradition these figures are depicted as rulers of the land of Iran. The last of these rulers is Kawi Vishtâspa, who in the later tradition is depicted as having been converted by Zarathustra and becoming his royal patron. In the still(?) later times, the Avestan Vishtâspa was sometimes identified with Darius's father Vishtâspa (Hystaspes), which provided a link between the legendary Avestan period and historical times.

12.1. The mythical age

This first period stretches to the end of the rule of Yima:

Haoshiyangha paradhâta (Hôshang Pêshdâd)

He was the first ruler of the seven-fold earth.[1] Judging from his epithet *paradhâta* Haoshiyangha may be the primordial sacrificer. Old Indic *purohita* in the Rigveda Agni the Fire is frequently referred to as the sacrificer of the gods. The epithet may later have been re-interpreted as meaning "created before (all others)" or "created in the beginning." He is described in Yasht 9.3-4, 19.25-26.

Taxma Urupi (Tahmûraf)

He mounted the Evil Spirit as his steed and rode on him to the ends of the world. According to the later tradition he saved mankind from extinction. He is described in the Young Avesta in Yt.15.11-12, 19.27-29.

Yima, Pers. Jamshîd.

Yima is one of the figures of common Indo-Iranian mythology to have survived into both Indian and Iranian literature (OInd. Yama). The Indian Yama is the son of the solar figure Vivasvant, while Yima is the son of Viwanghwan(t) (slightly different form: Viwanghwah, in the *Gâthâ*s) < *Vivasvan.

Yima is a primordial hero, who was associated with a variety of myths in India and Iran. In the Avesta his main characteristics are the following:

1. He makes men and animals immortal, including his father and himself.
2. He expands the earth three times to prevent overpopulation.
3. Yima saves the earth's population of living beings, as well as plants and fires, from complete annihilation by building an enclosure, in which select specimens are housed during the winter.
4. Yima teaches mankind how to use clay form making things.
5. In an act of eugenics Yima is told by Ahura Mazdâ not to let any defective human beings into the enclosure.

In the second chapter of the *Videvdad*, Yima is depicted as the first ruler of living beings: Ahura Mazdâ offers him the function of protector of the Religion, which Yima refuses. Ahura Mazdâ then offers him the function of protector of his creatures, which Yima accepts.

Under Yima's rule the world prospers and the number of people and cattle increases, and as a consequence of the immortality of living beings, the earth becomes too crowded, and so Yima receives two implements from Ahura Mazdâ by which he expands the earth three times: once every 300 years.

After this—any further expansions being apparently impossible—Ahura Mazdâ decides to decimate the population of the earth by a severe winter. Ahura Mazdâ warns Yima of a coming, very severe, winter and describes to him how to make a fortress in which to keep all creatures of Ahura Mazdâ alive during the winter.

[1] According to the later tradition he had two brothers: Wêgerd (Av. Vaêkerta, a land) and Tâz (father of the *tâzîgs* = Arabs).

Among other mythological details contained in the story are the following:

1. Yima makes lights that shine of themselves in the enclosure.
2. In the enclosure the *daênâ* was disseminated by the Karshipta bird.
3. Urwatatnara and Zarathustra were the Life and Model for the inhabitants of the enclosure.

A detail from the beginning of this story is found in the *Hôm yasht* (Y.9.3-5), where we are told that both father and son remained 15 years old.

As ruler of the world Yima is endowed with the Fortune (*khwarnah*). According to the tradition the Fortune left him, however, allegedly on account of a particular sin.

A slightly different version of the story is found in the *Zamyâd yasht* (Yt. 19.30-34), in which the wanderings of the Royal Glory are described, and in particular how it left Yima when he turned his thoughts to uttering a lie:

12.2. The heroic age

After Yima we have the following succession:

Azhi Dahâka (Pers. Zahhâk, Zohhâk): the Giant Dragon (king), who was killed by:

Thraêtaona son of Âthvi (Pahl. Frêdôn): slayer of Azhi Dahâka. According to the later tradition Frêdôn divided the world between his three sons: Salm, Tûz, and Êrij, named after the peoples listed in the *Avesta* in *Yasht* 13.143 as Aryas, Tûiriyas, and Sairimas.

Thrita of the Sâmas: the first healer.

Kersâspa of the Sâmas (Pers. Garshâsp): dragon slayer; exacts revenge upon Hitâspa for the slaying of his brother Urwâkhshaya.

12.3. The Kayanids

With the beginning of the succession of the Kawis (cf. Yt. 19.71), which now follows, we enter the time of the great war between the Iranian Kawis and the Turanian leader Frangrasyân, which culminates in the final battle during the reign of Vishtâspa.

In the *yasht*s, Frangrasyân's constant intent is said to be the defeat of the Aryan countries. He is, however, never granted any support by the deities whom he implores for help and is finally captured by Haoma during the reign of Kawi Haosrawah. The evidence is obviously to tenuous to allow any conclusions as to who the Turas were or at what time the conflict took place.

This kind of universal battle is commonplace in Indo-European literatures, and the story does not permit us to draw any conclusions about the prehistory of the Iranians and their neighbors. On the contrary, the stories of all the wars the Iranians fought during their early history were probably amalgamated with the traditional story of the Great Battle.

Frangrasyân (Pers. Afrâsiyâb): the Turanian, constant enemy of the Aryan lands in the Kayanid period.

Kawi Kawâta (Pers. Key Qobâd): first Kawi-king.

Kawi Aipivohu.

Kawi Usan (Pers. (Key) Kâ'ûs, Qâbûs).

Kawi Arshan.

Kawi Pisina.

Kawi Biyarshan.

Kawi Siyâwarshan (Pers. Siyâvosh).[1]

Kawi Haosrawah (Pers. Key Xosrow): takes revenge for his father Siyâwarshan.

[1] According to Ferdousi Siâvosh was the son of Kay Kâus and a woman descended from Feridun; this son was desired by Kay Kâ'us's first wife Sudâbe—the wife of Potiphar motif—and later allied with Afrâsiâb but killed by a Turanian. After Kay Khosrow became king he swore a mighty oath to revenge Siâvosh.

It has been a matter of some speculation whether any of these rulers were actually historical figures. If they were, then the Avesta would have preserved valuable historical information about the prehistory of the Iranian tribes in Central Asia after their separation from the Indians. The most exhaustive study on this subject was done by Arthur Christensen in his book on the Kayanian dynasty of Iran, *Les Kayanides*. In it he argued that the rulers who are styled Kawi in the Avesta (Kawi Kawâta, etc.) were most probably historical figures, in contrast to those preceding them, who did not carry this title and were probably just mythological figures (Yima, Thraêtaona, etc.).

That the latter group is comprised of mythological figures is easily proved by the fact that they are common to both the old Indians and the old Iranians and therefore must have belonged to the pre-Iranian traditions of the Indo-Iranians. They can therefore clearly not belong to the early history of the Iranians after they separated from the Indians.

But the list of Kawis, as well, contains at least one figure that is also found in Indian tradition, as shown by Lommel and Dumézil, namely Kawi Usan, who both by name and by the legends associated with him corresponds to Kavi or Kâvya Ushanas in the Indian tradition. There is therefore good reason to conclude that the list of Kawis, as well, contains only mythological figures.

As for the title *kawi* itself, although in the later Zoroastrian tradition and, especially, in the Persian epic tradition, it designates political rulers, there is no evidence in the Avesta that it is used other than as a designation of a special kind of priest. In the *Gâthâ*s it is closely related to terms such as *karpan* and *usij*, which both designate special kinds of priests, and its Indian relative *kavi* has nothing to do with political power, but designates the poet priest. The *kawi*s listed in the *yasht*s are also not described as rulers, for which Avestan has a series of very specific terms consisting of a word for territory plus *paiti* "lord," e.g., *dahyupaiti* "lord of the land." When *kawi* is not used as a title it is commonly found in lists of opponents of the Zoroastrian religion, a notion inherited from the *Gâthâ*s, where the *kawi*s—other than Kawi Vishtâspa—are portrayed as opponents of Zarathustra.

It seems likely that the Avestan *kawi*s were what the term implies, namely poets, that is, the legendary poets of old, frequently referred to in the *Rigveda*.

After Kawi Haosrawah, we reach the time of Zarathustra himself. The principal characters in this part of the legendary history are the following:

Kawi Vishtâspa (Pahl. Kay Wishtâsp, Pers. Goshtâsb)
Zairiwairi (Pahl. Zarêr): brother of Wishtâsp
Jâmâspa: counselor of Wishtâsp
Arjataspa (Pahl. Arzâsp): enemy of Vishtâspa
Spentôdhâta (Pahl. Spandyâd, Pers. Esfandiyâr): son of Vishtâspa.
Humâyâ (Pers. Homâ): daughter of Wishtâsp or daughter and wife of Wahman, mother of Dârâ

In the later tradition Wishtâsp is a king who, together with his minister Jâmâsp, goes to battle against the Khiyonian Arzâsp in the defense of the new faith. Western scholarly literature commonly project this tradition back into Old Avestan times, as well, but there is no evidence in the *Gâthâ*s for it.

The Young Avesta, however, contains numerous references to the great battle against the Khiyonians. Thus, in Yt. 5.68, Jâmâspa is said to have sacrificed to Anâhitâ as he confronted an army of followers of the Lie and *daêwa* worshipers, and in Yt. 19 Kawi Vishtâspa is said to have fought for the good Religion. The Avestan passages provide no basis for any interpretation of Kawi Vishtâspa's position other than as a supporter of the *daênâ* of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra, however.

13. ZARATHUSTRA

The name of Zarathustra (Av. Zarathushtra) is mentioned several times in all five *Gâthâ*s, but is absent from the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*. It is omnipresent in the *Young Avesta*, where Zarathustra is a mythological figure fighting evil and to whom God communicates all the knowledge needed by mankind. By the end of the nineteenth - beginning of the twentieth centuries, Western scholars had decided — on minimal evidence — that Zarathustra was an historical prophet, who reformed the inherited religion of the Iranians, thus providing Zoroastrianism with a counterpart to other historical (and some non-historical) founders of religions. The *Gâthâ*s, it was decided, were his work and contained his teachings; the *Yasna Haptanghâiti* was the work of his more or less immediate followers; and the *Young Avesta* represented, on one hand, pre-Zoroastrian beliefs and, on the other, a relapsed and corrupt form of Zarathustra's teachings.

One of the features that particularly distinguishes Zoroastrianism from Indic (and Indo-European) beliefs is the fact that the Avestan *daêwa*s and Old Persian *daiva*s are no longer beneficent heavenly beings, but rather the agents of chaos, deception, and evil. To explain this divergence, scholars simply assumed that the reversal of the fortunes of the *daêwa*s was the work of a single man and due to a conscious and planned departure from earlier beliefs. That man, they decided, must have been Zarathustra and the new beliefs part of his reform of the traditional religion.

Other features of the beliefs expressed in the Old Avesta diverging from Indian beliefs were classified in the same manner. Thus, the absence from the *Old Avesta* of the names of deities such as Mithra and of the *haoma*, as well as passages apparently implying criticism of the killing of animals, led Western scholars in the first half of the twentieth century to conclude that both the *haoma* sacrifice and the bloody sacrifice were condemned by Zarathustra and that he abolished the worship of gods other than Ahura Mazdâ. Rather, Zarathustra taught monotheism and replaced the ancient ritual practices and "superstitions" by modern-type "meditation" on abstract qualities, "good thought," etc., interpreted as *ethical* qualities. The presence in later time of the ancient deities, as well as the *haoma* and bloody sacrifices was explained as a *return* to "pagan" practices.

The possibility of historic development and organic evolution on both the Iranian and Indic sides was never seriously discussed.

13.1. History of the world and the Life of Zarathustra in the Zoroastrian tradition

To understand the position of Zarathustra in the ancient Iranian world view, we need to take a look at the way the Iranians imagined the history of the world.

The *Avesta* contains no systematic cosmology or eschatology. For this we have to turn to the Pahlavi texts. These are considerably later and, although conservative, obviously present a more developed and "modern" version of the religion. Nevertheless, in the light of the Pahlavi texts, the isolated references in the *Avesta* can be fitted into larger contexts, as well.

According to the Pahlavi texts, in the beginning, there was a good first principle (Pahlavi *bun*), an upper area, characterized by light and life and inhabited by Ohrmazd. The nether area was characterized by darkness and death and inhabited by Ahrimen, the Foul Spirit (*ganâg mênôy*). At one point in the history of the world, Ahrimen became aware of the world of light and wished to possess it. Ohrmazd devised a plan by which evil would be, in the end, permanently incapacitated.

The plan involved establishing our world: its components were made and put in their proper places, and functions were assigned to them. This "creation" proceeded in several stages, each lasting three thousand years (see Table 1). At the beginning of a first trimillennium, Ohrmazd incapacitated Ahrimen by reciting the *Ahunavairiya* prayer; then, by performing a sacrifice, he established the *world of thought* (*mênôy*), which contained all the heavenly beings.

During a second trimillennium, the *world of living beings* (*gêtîy*) was established, first in the world of thought, like a fetus; then, at the beginning of the third trimillennium period, it was established in the world of living beings itself, like

a thing born. The transition between the two stages coincided with the attack (*êbgat*) of Ahrimen upon Ohrmazd's creation, which introduced the tri-millennia of "mixture" (*gumêzishn*) of good and evil in the world of living beings.

For another trimillennium, mythical heroes battled human and non-human villains to maintain the creation of Ahura Mazdâ, while it slowly assumed its present shape. One of them was Yima (Old Indic Yama; in Young Avestan also called *Yima khshaêta* "*radiant Yima," Pahlavi Jamshêd, Persian Jamshid), during whose reign living beings were immortal, which caused a population explosion that had to be halted by a series of natural catastrophes (harsh winters, floods). Yima's rule was followed by the millennial rule of the Giant Dragon (Avestan *azhi dahâka*, Pahlavi Azhdahâg, Persian Zohâq), who was finally killed by the dragon-slaying hero Thraêtaona (Pahlavi Frêdôn, Persian Feridun); and so on.

The last millennium of this age witnessed the battle between a succession of *kawi*s, poet-sacrificers, against the arch-villain Frangrasyân (Pahlavi Frâsiyâb, Persian Afrâsiyâb). The death of Frangrasyân and the end of the rule of the last of the great *kawi*s fighting him (Avestan Haosrawangha, Pahlavi Husrôy, Persian Khosrow) close this trimillennium and prepares for the next, characterized by the "coming of the *dên*."[1] The two periods are bridged by Kawi Vishtâspa (Pahlavi Kay Wishtâsp, Persian Key Goshtâsp), during whose reign Zarathustra is born.

In the Pahlavi texts, Kay Wishtâsp is followed by two rulers: Wahman, son of Spandyâd (Persian Esfandiyâr), and a queen, Humây. In the modern Persian epic, Ferdousî's *Shâh-nâme*, Book of Kings (ca. 1000 C.E.), which, for the pre-Achaemenid period, is to a large extent based upon the Zoroastrian tradition, Key Goshtâsp, last of the Kayanid dynasty, comes just before the Achaemenids. His daughter Homâ is said to be the mother of Dârâ (Darius).

The linking of the dynasties of the legendary Kayanids and the historical Achaemenids may, in fact, have taken place when Darius's father Vishtâspa was identified with Kawi Vishtâspa in the post-Achaemenid tradition.

13.2. The Life of Zarathustra in the Zoroastrian tradition.

The *Avesta* contains few details about Zarathustra. In the *Young Avesta*, Zarathustra is presented as a mythical figure, a first human poet-sacrificer, a founder of society, and law-giver, as well as an epic hero, who aids Ahura Mazdâ and the good deities in protecting the world of living beings from evil by banning the evil spirit and the "old gods" (*daêwa*s) from this earth. On the "Zarathustra image" in the *Old Avesta*, see below.

In the Pahlavi books, especially in book seven of the *Dênkard* (discussed in detail by Molé [posthumously 1963] and edited and translated with detailed commentary by him [posthumously 1967]), Zarathustra (Pahlavi Zardusht or Zardukhsht) is presented as a mythical figure made by Ohrmazd and sent down into the world of living beings at the end of the three millennia of "mixture" to combat evil in the world and initiate the return of the cosmos to its original state. According to the Pahlavi books, this process will occupy the last trimillennium of the world.

The making of Zarathustra is told in the *Dênkard* in some detail: Ohrmazd first transmitted Zarathustra's "fortune" (*xwarrah*) via the fire to his birth mother (*burdâr*) (*Dk*. 7.2.2-3); then his "pre-soul" (*frawahr*, which had been fashioned at the time of the attack by the Evil Spirit) came via the *hôm* (= *haoma*) to his parents (*Dk*. 7.2.14); and finally his "body substance" (*tan gôhr*) via the rain (= water) to the plants (*Dk*. 7.2.37-38) and from the plants into the milk of a cow (*Dk*. 7.2.40). Zarathustra's mother mixed the milk with the *hôm*, and this mixture was then drunk by his parents (*Dk*. 7.2.46-47). When his mother conceived, the "fortune," "pre-soul," and "substance" all came together (*Dk*. 7.2.52). We see that the birth of Zarathustra is parallel to the Zoroastrian sacrifice. The *Dênkard* also reports that he laughed at birth (*Dk*. 5.2.5, 7.3.2), a story also found in non-Zoroastrian sources.

According to the Pahlavi texts, the living Zarathustra was brought by Wahman to his first meeting with Ohrmazd at the age of thirty, at the turn of the millennium.

The last trimillennium, thus introduced by the appearance of Zarathustra, will be punctuated by the birth of his three

[1] Although often translated as "religion," we must keep in mind that "religion" can not have had the same implications at this time as it has in modern times.

sons, by whose sacrifices the world will gradually return to its pristine, perfect, state, that of the original world of thought, the Perfectioning (Avestan *frashô.kerti-*, Pahlavi *frashkerd*).

In the still later tradition, as reflected in the Muslim-period *Shâh-nâme*, the entire cast of Avestan mythical and legendary characters are presented as historical rulers and heroes. Here we also find Zarathustra (Zardusht) in the role of prophet (*payghambar*).

13.3. The life of Zarathustra in the Classical Sources

In the Greek and Latin literature, Zoroaster's time is variously given as some time in the Achaemenid period or 6000/5000 years before the war of Troy, Xerxes' crossing of the Hellespont, or Plato.[1] Other details about Zoroaster are scarce. The authors often mention him as the source of various religious practices; for instance, Xanthus, who wrote in the fifth century B.C.E. even before Herodotus, has the following note, quoted in the first century B.C.E. by Nicolaus of Damascus (Jackson, 1899, p. 232; Fox and Pemberton, p. 1):

> As for Zoroaster, the Persians claim that it was from him they derived the rule against burning dead bodies or defiling fire in any other way, and that after this rule had been followed for a long time they finally established it as a custom.

Herodotus himself, who actively sought information about Iranian religions, mentions Zoroaster nowhere, either in his description of the history of the Achaemenid kings or in those of the Median, Persian, and Scythian religions; nor does Ctesias of Cnidus, who was a hostage and physician at the court of Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.E.) and whose *History of the Persians* was probably written in the second half of the fourth century; and nor does Xenophon (ca. 430-354 B.C.E.), who wrote about his journey through Iranian Mesopotamia as a mercenary in the defeated army of Cyrus the Younger in 400 B.C.E. and the upbringing of Cyrus the younger and his religious customs.

Plato (428/7-349/8), in the tenth book of the *Republic* according to Clement of Alexandria (Jackson, 1899, p. 240; Fox and Pemberton, pp. 73-74), reports that Zoroaster himself had written that he was the son of Armenius of Pamphylia and had written an account of what he learned from the gods on a trip to Hades. According to Plato, Zoroaster was supposed to have lain on the pyre for twelve days before he came back to life.

Aristotle (384/3-322) in various places cites the date of Zoroaster as 6000 years before Plato and also that of the Magi, whom he "juxtaposed ... to Pherecydes as well as to Empedocles and Anaxagoras, therefore to Greek philosophers of the 6th and 5th centuries" and "stated in book I of *On Philosophy* that the Magi were older than the Egyptians, as Diogenes Laertius attests in his Proem (I, 8)" (Gnoli, 2000, p. 95).

In the pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades*, reference is made to the teaching of "the magic doctrine of Zoroaster, (son) of Horomazdas."[2] "The doctrines of Zoroaster, the son of Ormazdeus" are also mentioned by Agathias (ca. 536-82), who adds that the modern Persians say he lived at the time of Hystaspes, but that it is impossible to tell whether this was Hystaspes the father of Darius or another of the same name (Jackson, 1899, p. 248; Fox and Pemberton, p. 115).

Pliny the Elder's (23-79 C.E.) *Natural History* contains the story about Zarathustra's laughter on the day he was born, also known from the Zoroastrian tradition (see below), and that he lived in the desert on cheese so carefully cured for twenty years that he did not perceive its age, as well as his date as 6000 years before the death of Plato. He also cites Hermippus to the effect that "Zoroaster composed two million lines of verse in the indices to his books" and that his teacher was a certain Azonaces (Jackson, 1899, p. 234; Fox and Pemberton, pp. 44-46). Zoroaster's laughter at birth is later mentioned by Augustine (354-430) in the *City of God* (Jackson, 1899, p. 246; Fox and Pemberton, p. 99). Augustine points out that his laughter portended nothing good, since he was then defeated by the Assyrian king Ninus

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[1] See Jackson, 1899, *Zoroaster*; Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* III, 1991, "Excursus"; Gnoli, 2000, *Zoroaster in History*; Kellens, 2001, "Zoroastre dans l'histoire ou dans le mythe?".

[2] Fox and Pemberton, 1929, p. 22, have "the prophet of Horomazus," but the Greek text has only the genitive of the god's name, which usually means "son of."

(see below).

Another miracle story was told by Dio Chrysostom (b. ca. 50 C.E.) in connection with his discussion of the chariots of the sun and Zeus (Jackson, 1899, p. 236; Fox and Pemberton, p. 48). In search for wisdom, Zoroaster withdrew to a mountain (perhaps related to Pliny the Elder's story just cited), after which a fire fell down upon it from the sky and set it on fire. When the king and his followers came there to pray, Zoroaster emerged unharmed and told them to offer certain sacrifices.[1] Subsequently he joined the Magians.

From around 100 C.E. and onward, Zoroaster is depicted as a Bactrian king and a contemporary of Queen Semiramis of Babylon and the adversary of Ninus (see Jackson, 1899, pp. 154-57). The same tradition is mentioned by Justin in the *Epitome* of Trogus Pompeius's *Histories* (Fox and Pemberton, p. 69) and by Aelius Theo in his list of women who were stronger than their male adversaries (Jackson, 1899, p. 237; Fox and Pemberton, pp. 59-60). This story was reported earlier by Diodorus Siculus on the authority of Ctesias (ca. 400 B.C.E.), according to whom, however, Semiramis's adversary was called Oxyartes (Fox and Pemberton, p. 30).[2] It eventually made its way into King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon chronicle by Paulus Orosius (5th cent. C.E.) and the preface of Snorri's *Younger Edda*.

Zoroaster's connection with the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia is reported from Alexander Polyhistor (1st cent. B.C.E.) by Georgius Syncellus (d. after 810 C.E.): "Zoroastres and the seven kings of the Chaldeans who succeeded him ... reigned in all for one hundred and ninety sun-years" (Jackson, 1899, p. 252; Fox and Pemberton, p. 121).

The popular etymology of Zoroaster's name as "someone who sacrifices to the stars" (*astrophútês*) is found for the first time in Diogenes Laertius (fl. ca. 210 C.E.; Jackson, 1899, p. 241; Fox and Pemberton, pp. 80-81); it is interpreted as "living star" in Gregory of Tours (ca. 538-93; Jackson, 1899, p. 250; Fox and Pemberton, p. 117). The Classical sources also give his name as Zaratas or Zaradas.

We see that the oldest Greek sources are barely cognizant of Zarathustra and that historical connections are of two kinds: connections or synchronisms with Greek thinkers and with an otherwise unknown Bactrian-Babylonian conflict. The Classical sources, therefore, are as inconclusive on this subject as the Zoroastrian tradition itself.

13.4. Historicity of Zarathustra

By the turn of the century, the view had taken firmly root that the Old Avestan Zarathustra was historical: a prophet, reformer, thinker, etc., while the Young Avestan and later Zarathustra was a myth or legend, but with several surviving historical details.

It was also about this time that the argument from the vivid and personal description of Zarathustra in the *Gâthâ*s became common. Thus, Karl Friedrich Geldner, author of the chapter on the Avestan literature in the *Grundriss*, put it as follows:

> In the *Gāthā*s, [the personality of Zarathustra] appears far less legendary and comes closer to us as human ... The relationship to his patrons, especially King Vishtāspa and his advisors, stands out in more lifelike fashion and more clearly. The subjective and personal emphasis prevails. ...[3]

As we shall see, this argument remained for the whole of the twentieth century and was gradually coupled with the opinion that the poems show such an advanced level of abstraction and ethical contents that Zarathustra *must* have been an historical person.

The problem of the historical Zarathustra is not a simple one, however, but a complex of questions: Does the *Old*

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[1] Both stories are related to the story of Zarathustra's conversion of Wishtâsp in *Dk*. 7.4.63-86 (see Molé, 1967, *La légende de Zoroastre*).

[2] This was also the name of a noble Bactrian, the father of Roxana, whom Alexander married. The occurrence of the name in Ctesias may therefore be an indication that the text was adjusted after Alexander (Ctesias of Cnidus, *Histoires de l'Orient*, ed. J. Auberger, Paris, 1991, p. 145 n. 16; see also Gnoli, 2000, pp. 43-44). Ctesias does not mention the name of Zoroaster.

[3] Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss*, vol. II, p. 29.

Avesta present Zarathustra as its author?[1] Does the text itself contain indications that Zarathustra was an historical person? If so, does it present a reformed religion? If so, what does the reform consist in, and is there evidence that the reform was that of a single historical individual or the result of a gradual development? If Zarathustra was a historical reformer and the author of the *Old Avesta*, is there any evidence that this text contains his entire teaching?[2] Notably, was what is not in the *Gâthâ*s deliberately excluded by Zarathustra — for instance, deities such as Haoma, Mithra, Anâhitâ, Vayu, etc.? And so on.

Since the world view of the *Young Avesta*, which post-dates the *Old Avesta* probably by a few hundred years, perhaps as much as half a millennium, is commonly agreed to contain elements that were *not* part of Zarathustra's reform, yet continues Indo-Iranian traditions, one has assumed that the Young Avestan religion to a large extent reflects *post*-Zarathustrian developments or even a return to *pre*-Zarathustrian – sometimes referred to as "pagan" – beliefs kept intact outside of the community of the followers of the prophet. Most importantly, the mythical image of Zarathustra – the only one found in the Young Avesta – is regarded as a post-Zarathustrian development. This view was already in place about the turn of the century and remained common throughout the first half of the century. It was expressed by Lommel as follows:

> In the *Gatha*s, [the personality of Zarathustra] appears far less legendary and comes closer to us as human ... The relationship to his patrons, especially King Vishtāspa and his advisors, stands out in more lifelike fashion and more clearly. The subjective and personal emphasis prevails. ...[3]

In more recent times, scholars have rarely discussed Zarathustra's historicity, but the above arguments are occasionally quoted, cf. Boyce (1992, p. 113):

> Yet he is also drawn into the divine and mythic worlds, and thereby piously transformed from the recognizably real figure of the *Gathas* into a revered, semi-legendary one.

We must not forget, however, that these opinions were based upon interpretations of the *Gâthâ*s as understood at the time, especially a few "pillar passages"; but, like the rest of the *Gâthâ*s, these passages contain their fair share of, if not more than usual, words of uncertain or unknown meaning and unclear syntax and so permit various interpretations.

Few scholars in the second half of the twentieth century tried to replace or add to the old argument with other arguments (only Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, see below), and the historicity of Zarathustra was not usually questioned or discussed among Western scholars. Thus, a typical introduction to the study of Zarathustra is that of Lommel (1930, p. 3): "When and where Zarathustra lived, no one knows." The absence of a third question (which ought to be the first): *whether* Zarathustra lived, leaps to the eye. Similarly, for instance, Gnoli (1987, p. 557): "Other than the names of his father ... and of his mother ... we know almost nothing of Zarathustra's life." The implication of these statements is obviously that there is no historical or archeological evidence for his existence, which must therefore be deduced in other ways.

Recently, an argument has also been put forward based on the form and structure of the poems to the effect that the high degree of sophistication of the poetic techniques involved point to Zarathustra as their author.

The poet's complaint.

The *Gâthâ*s contain the topos of an (apparent) "self-dramatization" of the poet as poor, persecuted, etc., which

[1] Obviously, the *Gâthâ*s had an author, but the notion of "author" in oral traditions is very vague.
[2] Bartholomae, in fact, suggested they might be "*excerpts* from sermons" rather than complete sermons.
[3] Lommel, 1930, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, p. 4: "Nevertheless, the teacher who, in the *Gāθā*s, speaks to us as a living real person, is, in the Young Avesta—also in what are presumably its older parts—a completely legendary and mythical personality."

belonged to the center piece of the proof of Zarathustra's historicity to Bartholomae, Lommel, Boyce, etc.

A Poet's Complaint is found in *Gâthâ*s **1-4.** It is missing in the fifth *Gâthâ*, the structure of which differs from that of the others, and in the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, which is a "collective" hymn.

In the second *Gâthâ*, the Poet's complaint comes in Yasna 46, which contains the themes of the Social Conflict, the Contest, and the Conclusion. The Complaint itself is brief (**2.**46.1-2), serving as an introduction to the larger theme of the Social Conflict. The poet-sacrificer complains about his weakness and poverty, caused by his lack of earth, men, and animals, as well as lack of approval, apparently, by his own people. In the first line of **2.**46.1 traditional scholarship has seen an indication of Zarathustra's intent to leave his home land and go to preach his message in another "land"; however, *zam* never means "land" in the sense of a political unit and "foreign land," but only "earth, ground," especially in connection with "working the earth." The connection of *zam-* with *nem-* "bend, bow" is also typically used together with Ârmaiti, genius of the earth or the earth itself. In the second strophe (**2.**46.2), the poet-sacrificer complains about his "weakness," recalling the Soul of the Cow's complaint about Zarathustra's "weakness." This then serves as a pretext for asking for support and a munificent reward.

All these passages have serious problems of interpretation and can obviously not be used to reconstruct Zarathustra's life.

13.5. Non-historicity of Zarathustra

Not all nineteenth-century Iranists endorsed the historicity of Zarathustra – Spiegel was an exception, but in the twentieth century the assumption was only challenged in the late nineteen-fifties early nineteen-sixties by Marijan Molé (Molé, 1963). Molé concluded that it was impossible to make inferences about history from the Zoroastrian texts (p. 524), but he died young, and his work was later not often referred to.

More recently, however, a few scholars have continued this approach and tried to show that it is possible to discuss and describe the Avesta and the ancient Iranian religion without the assumption of an historical Zarathustra. In this way the problem has been transformed into one of determining *which description is the more likely to represent a real religion in the time and place in question*.

One cannot, of course, to produce rigorous arguments and proofs. The texts simply do not permit that. In our case, however, not only the fact that scholars in, say, the second half of the twentieth century have not re-examined the original arguments, which were obviously representative of their times, in order to make a new case using modern methodologies (in history, the history of religions, comparative mythology, oral literature, etc.) for Zarathustra's being an historical person, that his religion broke with that of his parents, etc., but also the fact that the assumption of Zarathustra's historicity has not led to a relative consensus among scholars about the basic data of his life or teaching – all of this leaves the doors open for *other* possible interpretations of the sources at our disposal.

The main question is also not whether the Zarathustra of the *Gâthâ*s was a historical person, however, but, once we assume he was, what then? Assuming his historicity, whether we place him in the second millennium B.C.E. or in the Median-Achaemenid periods, there is no supporting historical or archeological evidence for his existence in time and place and hence for the society in which he grew up or what influences he was exposed to during childhood and adolescence. As we shall see, the textual evidence is minimal, and, in the past, all this has been supplied by those who reconstruct his life and thought, and the results have depended on each scholar's personal opinions. The alternative is obviously to approach the texts without the presumption about Zarathustra and read them on their own premises as a specimen of ancient Indo-Iranian literature. If such an "objective" reading of the texts leads one to assume an historical Zarathustra, then all is well; if not, one may as well leave him out of the equation.

13.6. Approaches to the Old Avesta

The debate in the West over Zarathustra's reform and teaching has also made the texts assumed to have been composed by him, the Old Avestan *Gâthâ*s, recently with promotion of the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, one of the most controversial of ancient Indo-European texts, and there is less general agreement about what they mean grammatically than about what they refer to. This state of affairs is usually – and often justifiably, of course – ascribed to the obscurity of the language and the esoteric contents. Thus M. Boyce (1975, p. 20) characterized "the teachings of Zoroaster himself" as "enveloped in the sublime obscurities of his great *zaotar* verses" and the *Gâthâ*s (1978, p. 603) as "magnificently obscure hymns."

The obscurity, however, is, in my view, also caused in part, at least, by the effort to interpret them according to what is *thought* to be the teaching of their author, Zarathustra. In fact, while pointing out the obscurity of the texts, scholars have yet proceeded to determine in great detail what their author felt, thought, and taught.

Far into the second half of the century, the interpretation of these texts was basically that from around the turn of the nineteenth century, when major publications on Zarathustra and the Avesta cemented the already existing opinion that the *Gâthâ*s represented a break with tradition, a new and reformed religion that was the work of a single man, a prophet, philosopher, and reformer. This image of the prophet and his life and Bartholomae's translation of the *Gâthâ*s, Zarathustra's "sermons in verse," were widely accepted, and subsequent scholarship mainly occupied itself with refining them.[1]

On the other hand, it was recognized early on that, on the whole, the style of the *Gâthâ*s was that of Indo-Iranian and even Indo-European poetics. The fact, however, that the Old Avestan poet used the same terminology of the sacrifice and poetic formulas as the Rigvedic poet was interpreted by some as a conscious choice on the part of Zarathustra (see Lommel, below), an opinion that also endured.[2]

More recently, Thieme (1975, p. 35 = *Kleine Schriften*, p. 1127) described the pre-Zoroastrian elements in the *Gâthâ*s as "new wine in old bags,"[3] and Puhvel (1987, pp. 38-39) suggested that Iran is less directly useful for the reconstruction of Indo-European myth "owing to the dislocation and overlays of the Zoroastrian reform," but "[s]craping off the barnacles of the Zoroastrian sea change, we reach a readily inferrable Proto-Iranian level."

Though Bartholomae's grammatical analysis of the Old Avestan texts was seriously criticized and modified in the early nineteen-fifties, especially by the work of Helmut Humbach, who considered many of Bartholomae's text emendations arbitrary and syntactical analyses wayward, yet his ideas about the contents of the texts are still very much in vogue. Humbach, like others before him, in his German edition of the *Gâthâ*s (1959), emphasized the importance of comparing the *Gâthâ*s with the Vedic hymns, but also the fact that the poems were not priestly sermons, but hymns of praise addressed to God, for which the poet was entitled to a reward, and he stressed their ritual character.

Scholars still differed significantly about such details of Zarathustra's life as his date (ranging from ca. 1500 B.C.E. – the "early date", via ca. 1000 B.C.E., to ca. 500 B.C.E. – the "late date"), as well as details of his teaching, and, in his contribution to a colloquium on the Achaemenid religion in 1987, Kellens suggested that the fact that it has not been possible for scholars, on the basis of Bartholomae's premises, to agree on the details of Zarathustra's life and teaching shows this approach to be inadequate (Kellens, 2000, *Essays*, p. 29):

> The fact that the research, by postulating a founder, has not been able to articulate the various manifestations of

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[1] For a survey of modern attitudes, see J. Kellens and C. Herrenschmidt, "La question du rituel dans le mazdéisme ancien et achéménide," *Archives de Sciences sociales des Religions* 85, 1994, pp. 45-48; Skjærvø, 1997, p. 106.

[2] The same scenario has been suggested in Christian studies, cf. Schweitzer in the introduction to the English 3rd ed.: "Critical study cannot remain blind to the Jewish eschatological material found in the utterances of Jesus according to the two oldest Gospels ... It was originally thought possible to reconcile this with the conviction that he wanted to be a purely spiritual Messiah and set himself to found a purely spiritual Kingdom of God, by supposing that he used the traditional terminology in order to make himself understood."

[3] Thieme, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 1127: "Who will reject the thought that we are dealing with old wine filled into new bags?"

Mazdaism in a coherent picture that might receive a relative consensus ought to make us extremely skeptical toward the premises.

It has been said that Zoroastrian studies have been through even more revolutions and reforms than Zoroastrianism. This is not quite true, however, since Zoroastrian studies have remained remarkably stable for almost a century in scholars' approaches to Zoroastrianism and the results obtained – however they may have translated the *Gâthâ*s.

14. ESCHATOLOGY

In the *Gâthâ*s "last things" are frequently mentioned. Put most simply, the Gathic concept is that the good will go to the house of Ahura Mazdâ and live on in bliss, while the bad will go to the house of the Lie (hell), where they will live in misery until the end of the world.

Life is frequently conceived of in terms of a giant (horse) race, the winners of which are declared at the "final turn." This image is also used of the poet and his poems, which vie with those of the competitors for first place in the race toward the gods. It is therefore not always cleat which of the two big "races" are being alluded to, but probably the last one is reflected or foreshadowed by the first.

At the Ford of the Accountant (the Chinwadpuhl of the later tradition), a questioning takes place, at which the "tallies" for good thoughts, etc., are counted up. As a result of the accounting, the rewards are distributed: good or bad.

The story of what happens to the soul after death is told in several Avestan (*Videvdad* chap. 19, *Hâdôkht nask*) and Pahlavi texts (e.g., *Bundahishn* chap. 30, *Mênôy Khrad* chap. 2).

According to the Pahlavi texts, the damned suffer unspeakable punishments in hell. The *Book of Ardâ Wirâz*, in particular, contains a catalogue of such punishments that closely resembles Dante's *Divina Commedia*. In this text, the Righteous (*ardâ*) Wirâz is sent into the beyond to verify the credibility of the religion as practiced at his time (3rd cent. C.E.?). He visits heaven and hell, as well as the intermediate area reserved for those whose food thoughts, etc., equaled their bad thoughts, etc.

In the later tradition, the course of the world passes through four periods of 3,000 years, but it is not clear from the Young Avesta to what extent this scheme had been developed already at that time. According to the later tradition human history takes place in the third millennium, and during the last millennium three sons of Zarathustra,[1] whose semen has been preserved in Lake Kiyânsê, are born from three virgins who come down to the lake to bathe. These three sons are the *saoshyant*s, "Life-givers" or "Revitalizers" become the leaders in the final battle against Evil

Av.	Pahl.
Ukhshyat-erta "he who makes Order grow"	Ushêdar
Ukhshyat-nemah "he who makes reverence (the earth) grow"	Ushêdarmâh
Astwat-erta "he through whom Order receives bones"	Sôshâns

Most of the known details of the Young Avestan *saoshyant* Astwaterta are from the *Zamyâd yasht* (Yt. 19), in which the story of the "(divine) Fortune" (*khwarnah*) is told, while the Pahlavi books, notably the *Bundahishn*, contain details about all three.

By the sacrifices of each of the three, the world will start returning to its original state, and the third and last of the three sons, the *saoshyant* par excellence, Pahlavi Sôshâns, will bring about the return to the origins, bringing about the "Perfectioning" (*frashkerd*).

The world experiences several setbacks, however.

During the millennium of Ushêdar, there will be a terrible rain followed by a harsh winter lasting three years, during

[1] Other sons of Zarathustra include Urwrcontinent V.2.43, Yt.13.98) and Isaṯ.vâstra (Yt.13.98, Bdh.34.10).

which almost all of mankind is killed. The world is then filled up from Yima's (Jamshêd's) enclosure.

Toward the end of Ushêdarmâh's millennium, the Giant Dragon, Azhdahâg, breaks his chains and causes much devastation in the world. Several heroes who have been lying sleeping in various places are awakened to combat each their opponents. The dragon-slayer Kersâspa is awakened to slay Azhdahâg.

Toward the end of human existence, the Fortune will come to the *saoshyant* Astwaterta, son of Vîspa.taurwairî (she who will overcome all (evils)," and he will lead the battle against Evil. He will raise the dead, and Zarathustra's son Isadwâstar gathers all mankind, whose good and bad deeds are revealed. For three days and nights the evil will be tortured in hell. Then the heavenly dragon Gôchihr falls down from heaven and sets the earth on fire. The metal in the mountains is smelted and pours into a giant river, through which humanity must pass. The good pass through without discomfort, while the evil have the rest of their evil burnt out of them.

The final sacrifices in the world of the living will be performed by Zarathustra and Wishtâsp and in the world of thought by Ohrmazd and Srôsh. Thereby, the Final Body will be produced, and the world will be Perfect. The Lie will be overcome and banished to its original abode, and the Evil Spirit shall no longer have any power. Death will be overcome and banished, and mankind will return to the state it lived in under the rule of Yima, being again indestructible.

15. THE SACRIFICE (YASNA)

The Old Avestan texts are ritual texts in the sense that they are recited during the *yasna* ritual, the Zoroastrian *haoma* sacrifice. The vocabulary is to a large extent ritual, that is, it contains specific terms for addressing the gods and for ritual actions and objects.

The ritual is the means of communicating with the other world and the sacrificial ground the place where this happens. The communication is vital, because it keeps the world going, upholding the values of good existence and withstanding the pressures from evil existence. For this purpose the gods must be supported, as they are the guardians of the cosmic order and the principal opponents of the forces of evil. The sacrifice is therefore directed at the gods, and they are the ones that receive its "first fruits." The all-important immortality of the gods is conferred upon them and maintained by the sacrifice, and they in turn bestow well-being: freedom from illnesses and long life on the commissioner and performer of the sacrifice and peace and fertility on their community. There is thus complete interdependence between the two spheres: that of men and that of gods.

The sacrifice is not a binary system, however, but a trinary one. This is not seen very clearly in Iran, but in India, the this-worldly participants in the sacrifice are two: the *yajamâna* "sacrificer," or "patron," as we would call him, and the poet-sacrificer who performs the ritual, the "libator." The patron is the one who has commissioned the ritual, who will reap the benefits from it, and who will have to pay the performer of the sacrifice—here referred to as the poet-sacrificer—his fee. In Iran, the role of the patron is never emphasized either in the texts or in studies of Iranian religion. The latter omission is commonly explained by assuming that Zarathustra's (alleged) message or teachings are too lofty to be distracted by such material concerns as jobs and salaries. In the Old Avestan texts, however, the patron is clearly present as the one in charge of the material fee (*mizhda*), only obscured by the mythico-ritual identifications among the actors in the tripartite drama that is being played out.

The poet-sacrificer's job is to perform a successful ritual, a performance of "sympathetic magic" in a religious setting, whereby the desired cosmic events are reenacted and so made happen. There always exists, however, the possibility that his ritual may not be successful and so produce the opposite result, cf. S. Lévi's summing up of the Old Indic sacrifice as described in the late Vedic texts, the Brahmanas:

> ... the sacrifice, which regulates the relations between man and the gods, is a mechanical operation that acts by its own internal energy. It is hidden deep inside the nature, and only comes out by the magical action of the priest. The worried and evil gods find themselves forced to capitulate, overcome and subjected by the very force that gave them their greatness. In spite of them, the sacrificer rises all the way up to the heavenly world and secures for

> himself a definitive place: man becomes superhuman. But, although the gain is considerable, it is a tricky role to play. Once the force of the sacrifice is released, it acts blindly. He who does not know how to tame it is broken by it, and the jealousy of the gods who are awaiting their chance willingly takes upon itself to complete the work. Being experts in rituals they hasten to turn the errors to their profit in order to defend their threatened positions.

The poet-sacrificer has several means of preventing the sacrifice from backfiring: he can ask the gods for a sign by which he can be confident that his ritual is correct; he can insert in the text of his hymns a "safety clause," inserted at various places in the hymns to obviate the possibility that his performance might 1. not be adequate or flawed, 2. arouse the gods' anger, 3. omit important names. The poet-sacrificer states that his performance is according to his means and powers, and he asks for the gods' leniency and mercy and forgiveness for "sins," i.e., (ritual) errors.

The purpose of the sacrifice.

The ritual reproduces Ahura Mazdâ's primeval sacrifice, by which he established the Ordered cosmos, and its purpose is the revitalization of this cosmos, now constantly under attack by the forces of darkness and destruction. During the ritual the poet-sacrificer, on behalf of his patron and community, returns to Ahura Mazdâ what he, during his first ordering action, gave to the world to use, but which still belongs to him. These sacred objects—sacred because of divine origin—by their circulation between the divine and human spheres as gifts and counter-gifts, confer upon these two spheres all the profits of the gift exchange.[1]

There are three kinds of sacred objects: 1. the ritual thoughts, words, and actions; 2. the objects manipulated during the actions, among them the ritual refreshments intended for the gods; 3. the constituent substance of the world/macrocosmos and men/microcosmos: its vital spirit and bones. All three types are explicitly said to have originated with Ahura Mazdâ and to be returned to him during the ritual. Once made by Ahura Mazdâ these sacred objects were brought down to earth by Zarathustra, and the worshippers consecrate them and offer them in return to Ahura Mazdâ for his enjoyment.

Bad poets and inefficient rituals.

How could evil have gotten into the Ordered cosmos of Ahura Mazdâ? By a wrong ritual, a ritual inviting the wrong gods, informed by the bad *manyu*, based on the wrong choice. *Our* poet exhorts the sustainers of Order not to listen to them, as in **1.**31.18, where "But let no one among you keep listening to the formulas and the teachings of the one possessed by the Lie!," which echoes **1.**29.8 "who ... listens to our ordinances, Zarathustra Spitâma." In **2.**44.20 the *karpan* and the *usij* are said to "give the cow to Wrath," and in **3.**48.10 our poet expresses his disgust at them for working ineffective rituals, unable to bring back the sun and make the earth prosper (see below), for this they are condemned to failure because (**4.**51.14) "the mumblers (do) not abide by the deals" and to failure and ridicule in **5.**53.8.

The performance of the bad poet-sacrificer is characterized by mediocrity and wrong performances, expressed in part in the vocabulary of the Old Avestan texts by a special set of words or forms reserved for them.

The Contest, chariot race

The poet-sacrificer, getting ready to assist Ahura Mazdâ in his fight against the Lie and to improve his own circumstances, prepares his sacrifice and sends his sacrifice and praises up to the other world. The praises take the shape of chariots with his tongue as charioteer. But the rival poet-sacrificers prepare their own sacrifices and send their own praise songs. The competing praises therefore take the form of a contest or competition, more specifically, a horse and chariot race, in which the quality of the poems and the poets determine who will be the winner.

The same holds true of the Rigvedic poet according to Louis Renou: "in order to restore the ambiance in which the hymns moved, we must recover, beneath the description of the actions of the cult or the mythical facts, the poet's major

[1] See M. Godelier, *L'énigme du don*, Paris, 1996; Eng. transl. N. Scott, *The Enigma of the Gift*, Chicago, 1999.

concern, upon which his future and that of his community depended, namely, success in the literary contest." And, finally, "the poet thinks about his work, about the demands of the rhetoric contest (*lutte oratoire*), he fears failure, he hopes for success ... The composition, the poetic technique, in this sense, becomes a purpose in itself."

Mutual dependence

To reestablish and maintain cosmos and Order, Ahura Mazdâ needs the assistance of his creatures, specifically humans, among whom this function is assigned to the poet-sacrificer, who performs the function as Ahura Mazdâ's assistant through his ritual: the hymns and the sacrifices, but only after he has been approved, declared competent, by winning a(n imaginary) poetic competition.

The gift-giving principle of "gifts and counter-gifts" presupposes a situation of mutual dependence between the divine and the ritual spheres, and it is the poet-sacrificer who is in charge of seeing to it that the relationship functions. Thus, Ahura Mazdâ and the poet-sacrificer constitute the two poles of the ritual-mythical universe, between which everything else is arranged and, like in a battery, is energized through them. The poet-sacrificer who is approved by Ahura Mazdâ is the one who knows what was, is, and will be, knowledge imparted to him by Ahura Mazdâ, something that defines him as a "seer" or "prophet" in Western terminology.

In this perspective, then, the poet-sacrificer is the communicator, without whom the society would be cut off from divine favor and support, on one hand, and without whom the Order of nature could not be reestablished, at least not properly. The communication between the two spheres is maintained by means of "speaking/hearing" and "seeing," on both sides: both the poet-sacrificer and the gods who are the targets of his ritual, with its acts and words, must be able to "see" and, especially, "hear." The existence of a hearing and seeing performers and audience, is therefore a key concept.

If the poet-sacrificer is approved by Ahura Mazdâ it means that he has the necessary knowledge about the origin and nature of the world. Thus, he knows that in the beginning there were two twin, but antagonistic, mental forces/inspirations, asleep or in *statu nascendi*, and that Ahura Mazdâ by the agency of the life-giving inspiration is the god who originally established or by engendering brought forth Order in the universe, making it into an Ordered cosmos, by assigning their proper place and time (*ratu*) to all objects in it. It was Ahura Mazdâ who determined what would be good life and behavior for human beings. The poet-sacrificer also knows that Chaos, that is, the denial of Order, or the Lie, by the agency of the evil, or destructive mental force, periodically takes over, as it was not removed from the world through Ahura Mazdâ's cosmogonic/cosmetic activities and is reactivated by the rituals of the poet-sacrificers who are the partisans of the Lie, being themselves possessed by it, as it were. The cosmos must therefore also be periodically reestablished.

But he also knows that his ritual space—with its hallowed ground, its ordered arrangement, its fire, its officiating priests, and its sacrifices—is an exact counterpart of the original Ordered cosmos, he is himself filled with life-giving strength, and he becomes the *Life-giving Man* (see below), whereby he also obtains the same command that allowed Ahura Mazdâ to overcome Chaos the first time. Endowed with this command he joins, through his perfect ritual, Ahura Mazdâ in the fight against the forces of evil and darkness, strengthening Ahura Mazdâ and his cosmos sufficiently to bring back its pristine condition. Once this has happened, he asks for his reward: for himself good livelihood and absence of illness and untimely death, as well as his professional fee and, for his patron and his community, peace and fertility.

The ritual is thus the poet-sacrificer's contribution to the cosmic struggle between good and evil, for either of which he has to take sides. The partisans of Order will take side for Ahura Mazdâ and everything he stands for: truth, peace, and fertility, etc., while the partisans of the Lie, by advocating and supporting the other side, contribute to everything that is bad: lies, strife and war, sickness and death, both among humans and beasts and in the universe itself.

The Life-giving Man

When the poet-sacrificer has all the knowledge needed, has proved himself to abide by Ahura Mazdâ's deals, and has won the competition, he becomes, on account of his good thought, the life-giving man and revitalizer, capable of assisting Ahura Mazdâ.

In the *Gâthâ*s, the poet-sacrificer/Zarathustra obtains this status so by offering Ahura Mazdâ his own life breath and bones to serve as material for the regeneration of the cosmos. The idea seems to be that the worshiper contributes to the rejuvenation of the cosmos by returning to Ahura Mazdâ as a gift the substance of his own body, namely his life breath—through his poems—and his bones—through the sacrificial food—to use as substance for his recreated cosmos, originally given to him by Ahura Mazdâ and expected to be (re)given after the revitalization. Thus, the reward is expected to be the same for the worshippers and other sustainers of Order.

By his action the cosmos returns to its original Ordered state: When Order ~ the diurnal sky is revitalized, becomes "full of vitality," dawn can pull out through the luminous spaces, Ârmaiti ~ the earth, when again in view of the sun, resumes her mother-earth functions, and Ahura Mazdâ is again in command and is encouraged to produce in exchange a new, true existence which is "juicy" in exchange value (**1.**34.15; **2.**46.19; **3.**50.11).

Corresponding to the revitalization of the cosmos by the revitalizers' remaking it full of vitality, the process also provides for the humans who have been involved in the process, either directly or as associated with Zarathustra, "vitalizing strength," occasionally also, it seems, the gods receive it.

Thoughts, Words, Actions.

The external aspect of a sacrifice consists of its words and actions, what can be heard and what can be seen. Thus the sacrifice is often defined as consisting of these two elements, that is, both the actions consisting of movement and gestures and the verbal actions, consisting, notably, of songs.

Words and actions do not spring from nothing, however. A sacrifice is something that has to be performed precisely and according to set rules, and in preliterate societies it is therefore obvious that knowledge and memory are crucial. Both knowledge and memory are contained in one's mind or thought, which therefore serves the purpose of a "store of information" or "memory bank" (S. Tanbiah) for everything the professional poet-sacrificer needs. Consequently words and actions both presuppose thought, which directs and arranges, and so underlies, the other two.

Basically the terms thought, word, and action imply thinking true thoughts and speaking true words about reality as the Ordered cosmos established by Ahura Mazdâ and performing the actions required to maintain this ordered cosmos. "Sin" basically consists in thinking and saying things that disagree with this reality, and so are untrue. Those who do this "lie" and thereby become partisans of the Lie.

In the microcosmos of the ritual, these terms, which pervade the entire corpus, clearly refer to ritual activities. The poet-sacrificer's "good speech" is that of uttering his utterances correctly, and his "good actions" are those of performing the ritual actions correctly—both crucial for his success in contributing to the revitalizing the world, and both are dependent upon his "good thought" (singular).

Thus, during the ritual performance the poet-sacrificer produces ritual actions and utterances through the effort and talent of his "(good) thought," and it is for this production he will be judged worthy or unworthy by Ahura Mazdâ and his other critics.

There is some uncertainty as to the meaning of the word *yasna*, which is commonly translated as "sacrifice" or simply "worship." Some of this uncertainty is inherent in the semantics of "sacrifice" itself. Some authors use this word to refer to animal (human) sacrifices, while others equate it with "religious ritual" in a general way. L. Renou specifically defines Old Indic *yajña* as the "oral part" of the sacrifice, as opposed to the "material part." From the Old Avesta, however, it is relatively clear that the ritual performance consists of *yasna* and utterances, which indicates that *yasna*, in fact, refers to the material part of the sacrifice, that is, the various "acts." More probably, perhaps, *yasna* refers to the entire sacrifice (hence my translation), including, especially, the utterances. Such a meaning is in

harmony with the all-purpose use of the verb *yaza-* in both Old and Young Avestan.

Ethics in the *Gâthâ*s

There is thus clearly a double system of references in the *Gâthâ*s: to the ritual and the divine sphere, and most concepts are represented in both. Whether there are also references to human society in general, is much more difficult to determine. There are, however, numerous references to "mortals" and "mortal men (and women)," represented as being in the service of the forces of good or evil. Among the more revealing passages is **2.**46.11, which tells how bad poet-sacrificers use mortals as their coursers in the race for victory. It is therefore likely that the notion seen in the much later Zoroastrian books that humans participate in the cosmic struggle by performing in the world the same actions that the gods perform in heaven and the priest in the ritual. Hence we are allowed to apply the Old Avestan concepts—for instance, the two triads good/bad thoughts/words/actions—in a much wider context, even if this context only rarely appears explicitly in the poems.

The "homage" (*nemah*).

One of the most important actions is that of bending down in homage. This action has a two-fold symbolism. It aims at reproducing the bending of the fire and the movement of the earth bulging and bending, thereby expanding to provide more living space. Exactly what kind of motion the term refers to is not clear, whether a bending of the body forward and downward or a bending of the whole body, including the knees—which would both be a better imitation of the fire and produce contact with the earth—is not clear. The gesture of bent knees, however, is probably of Indo-European date.

The homage is closely related to the earth, Humility, who bends and undulates, as well as the fire, who does the same.

The sacrificial refreshments.

The foodstuffs offered during the ritual to the goods consist mainly of milk products, which are libated into the fire for transporting into the beyond. The libation par excellence is the fat dripping, and the action of libating devolves on the chief performer of the ritual, the libator. The other libated substance is the milk libation, which travels to heaven leaving its footprints along the way.

The sacrificer is offering the gods hymns and sacrificial food, as well as his own body and soul, and in return expects a reward from the gods. The distribution of the sacrificer's gifts and those of the gods takes place at the Gift Exchange.[1]

Gifts and counter-gifts.

The sacrifice is conceived as a great offering of gifts to Ahura Mazdâ and the other gods together with their creations. Its purpose and function is to support the gods and especially Ahura Mazdâ in sustaining and maintaining the ordered cosmos. Since the entire universe was originally ordered by Ahura Mazdâ and all human knowledge, including that of the mysteries of the sacrifice and the cosmos, was originally given to men by him, whatever gifts they give to the gods in the sacrifice originated with them. The gifts are material and/or "symbolic," although the latter are of course no less real than the former. Both belong to the poet-sacrificer's imaginaire, that is, his conception of total reality, their discrete elements together with their interactions.

The outcome of the ritual and the (imaginary) competition determines the rewards for gods and men, good and bad, also determined by Ahura Mazdâ at the beginning of the world (**2.**43.5). They are a part of the deal agreed upon

[1] Note especially: **1.**282-7, 30.4, 34.12-13, **2.**43.1, 4-8, 12, 16, 44.18-19, 46.10, 19, **3.**48.4, 9, 49.9, **4.**51.6, 14-15, 21, **5.**53.7, 54.1.

between Ahura Mazdâ and his followers, a *quid pro quo* or *do ut des*,[1] according to which the worshipper will supply Ahura Mazdâ with fame, provided by the hymns of praise, and the sustenance needed to invigorate the divine sphere and its inhabitants, the sacrificial food (concrete or symbolic), including the substance and spirit of his own body. In return Ahura Mazdâ is to bring about the revitalization and stabilization of Order and Ârmaiti, that is, the return of the sun as symbol of cosmic Order and the fecundity of the earth. This return of Order and life will supply the world of the living and its inhabitants with well-being, provided by the fecundity of the earth and men and animals, as well as absence of illness and untimely death and freedom from war and destruction, but also, because of an abundance of livestock, guarantees that he will be paid a handsome fee. Thus, the theme of mutual gifts and rewards constitutes the pragmatic axis, not only of the Old Avestan poems, but of the poet-sacrificer's conceptual universe, as they do in the Rigveda

> where the sacrificer is promised wealth both temporal and in the world to come in return for his sacrifice, and his gifts to the priests, and where the gods are invoked to delight themselves with the offering and to reward their votaries.
> ... this theory of the sacrifice and its result as an exchange of gifts, of strength for strength, is the fundamental fact of the whole Vedic religion.[2]

Thus, the ritual, with its acts and words, represents the poet-sacrificer's—and through him— his entire community's—supreme gift to Ahura Mazdâ and the other gods. By the rules and deals for "gift and counter-gift," poet-sacrificer and Ahura Mazdâ are friends and Ahura Mazdâ, the friend, is therefore obliged to provide a counter-gift that matches in exchange value the gift of his friends, the poet-sacrificer and his community.

The principle of gifts and counter-gifts permeates the Avesta in general, and, in particular, constitutes the ideological fundament of the Old Avestan poet-sacrificer's world:

In the conclusion of the poem the theme of the reward becomes the theme of the poet's fee, which may consist in cows, horses, and camels. Non-payment of the fee when the poet has fulfilled his part of the "bargain" is considered breach of contract or of the deals and is a punishable offense.

The rewards, or, at least, the promises of gifts, are given according to this arrangement at the *maga* (OInd. *magha*), the ceremony of exchange, which takes place at the end of the competition and the audition. In charge of the *maga* is the Master of the Exchange (gifts).

The gift given in return for another gift should match—or, preferably, surpass—it in exchange value (*vasnâ*).[3]

15.1. The yasna *sacrifice*

The Zoroastrian daily morning sacrifice is centered around the *haoma*, the Iranian counterpart of the Old Indic *soma*.[4] In the *Rigveda*, this is a plant which, when pounded, filtered, and mixed with milk, is offered as a drink to the gods, who obtain enormous strength through it. It is what enables Indra to smash the obstructions that prevent the heavenly waters to come down and fertilize and rejuvenate the world. The function of the Zoroastrian *haoma* is similar, and it is similarly prepared during the sacrifice (*yasna*), the central act of which is the mixing of the *hôm* with milk and water into a drink (*parahaoma*) subsequently drunk by the priest. Although the *haoma* plays a crucial part in the Young

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[1] It is not simply a matter of *do ut des* (Latin: "I give so that you shall give"), however, that is, since *I* give, *you* should also give, but the maintenance of a enduring cycle of *quid pro quo* of mutual indebtedness between god and his creation, starting and ending with Ahura Mazdâ's sacrifices.

[2] A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1925; repr. 1989, Delhi, vol. I, chap. 18 §1: "The sacrifice as a gift," p. 259 (with refs.).

[3] This seems to be the original meaning of the Indo-European concept of **wesno-/*wosno-*, seen in Latin *venum dare* (French *vendre*)

[4] The identity of this plant has been much discussed. In historical times, the Iranians have used twigs of ephedra. In fact, the ephedra can be a powerful hallucinogenic (see the recent and current discussion surrounding the use of ephedra as "nature drug"; check "ephedra" in Google). On the *haoma*, see also Boyce, 1970.

Avestan ritual, the word is absent from the *Old Avesta*, but its common epithet *dûraosha* (Old Indic *durosha*) of uncertain meaning is found once (**1.**32.14).[1]

The purpose of the Avestan sacrifice, as reflected in the *Yasna*, is to regenerate the *ahu*, the living existence, after periods of darkness, sterility, and death (night, winter). During the ritual, the sacrificer constructs a microcosmic model of the cosmos as it was ordered by Ahura Mazdâ the first time: the first *ahu*. For this, all the models, or prototypes (*ratu*), of all the ingredients of the first *ahu* are invoked, invited, and ordered. The *haoma* sacrifice is performed, apparently in order to regenerate Zarathustra in the personality of the current sacrificer.[2] Once that is done, the sacrificer recites the *Gâthâ*s, as they were first recited in the world of the living by Zarathustra, in order to smash and remove evil from the cosmos. The divine "readiness to listen," Sraosha, who recited the *Gâthâ*s for the first time in the world of thought, is praised in order to strengthen him in his battle against the forces of darkness, embodied in Wrath. The heavenly waters are invoked, as the birth waters of the new existence about to be born, and the sun, which is about to be born out of the world ocean as the symbol of Ahura Mazdâ's Order.

In the *Yasht*s, sacrifices of horses, cattle, and sheep are regularly offered to the deity worshipped, and, in historical times, bloody sacrifices were commonly practiced, although it is not clear whether the *yasna* also involved the actual immolation of a sacrificial animal or just a "symbolic" offering.

15.2. The Young Avestan Ritual

The Young Avestan ritual is known only from the texts that accompany it, the Vispered and the Yasna, both of which contain numerous indications of the ritual actions themselves.

The rituals known from modern times (from the time of Anquetil Duperron onward) may not be identical with those of the Median and Achaemenid periods, let alone of the Young Avestan period in eastern Iran, where the texts were presumably first composed, but they do follow the Yasna very closely.

According to the Vispered eight priests (ideally) participated in the ritual:

Hâwanan	Pressing priest
Âterwakhsh	Fire-lighting priest
Frabertar	Presenting priest
Âbert	Tending priest
Âsnatar	Washing priest
Raêthvishkara	Mingling priest
Sraoshâwarza	Auditing priest "most talented and of most correct words"
Zaotar	the Libating priest, says forth the *Yathâ ahû vairiyô* (the *Ahunavairiya* prayer)

Ritual invocations.

Just as in the Yasna Haptanghâiti, the Young Avestan texts (Yasna and Vispered) contain invocations listing large numbers of divine entities who are invited to come down and enjoy the benefits of the ritual. The formulas used are the following (cf. Cosmogony):

Yasna.

1. I announce to, I assemble for ... Model(s) of Order.
2. In this libation and barsom, by my sacrificing I harness ...
3. By my sacrificing I harness ... for winning the favor of ...
4. Thus we make them known ...

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[1] Various meanings have been proposed for Av. *duraosha*, Old Indic *durosha*, among them "death-averter," which is how the word is interpreted in the Pahlavi translations, apparently referring to the *haoma*'s (*soma*'s) ability to make the consumer feel immortal; "pungent," referring to its taste; etc., but there are serious problems with all.

[2] This interpretation of the haoma sacrifice is suggested by the description of Zarathustra's birth in *Dênkard* book 7.

6. We sacrifice ...
7. I place in Orderly fashion ... for winning the favor of ...

15.3. The modern yasna ceremony

The Parsi ritual described by Darmesteter basically consists of the offering of haoma before the fire but takes place in a room separate from that in which the fire is usually placed. The ceremony is basically the recitation of "the yasna in 72 chapters," accompanied by occasional ritual actions.

Two priests are required, the *zôt* (Av. *zaotar*), and the *raspî*. The *zôt* is the primary reciter, while the *raspî* sometimes provides answers. The main function of the *raspî* is to feed the fire.

The ceremony has the following structure:

I. Preparations for the sacrifice (Paragra).

1. Preparation of blessed water.
2. Preparation of barsom: These were originally twigs from a special tree (ca. 40 cm ~ 15″ long, judging from representations in art), but in India metal twigs are used. — The barsom may originally have symbolized the vegetal nature, complementary to the water.
3. Preparation of the string (*aiviyângham*, modern *evanghin*) used to tie the barsom. It is made from a date palm leaf cut into six strands, which are braided and tied together and deposited in a vase with sacred water.
4. Preparation of the plant (*urwarâm*): A shoot from a pomegranate is cut off an put into the vase.
5. Preparation of the milk (*jîwiyâm*): A goat facing east (direction of the rising sun) is milked by a priest (mowbed) facing south (turning his back on the evil forces).
6. Preparation of the ghee (*gôshudô*, from Av. *gâush hudaw* "the cow giving good gifts").
7. The bread (*darûn*, Av. *draonah*, OInd. *droṇas*, the solid offering), round cakes.
8. Preparation of the *hôm* (*parahôm*). Branches of ephedra are washed in sacred water. A mortar is prepared by striking the walls, especially the northern side (direction of the evil forces), with the pestle. The *hôm* is placed in the mortar with the pomegranate twigs and pounded, and water is added. The juice is then filtered through a net made of hairs from a sacred bull (now a metal ring with 3, 5, or 7 hairs).

II. The sacrifice.

Y.1-2: Invitation of the deities.

Y.3-8: Offering of the *darûn*, at the end of which the chief priest, the "libator" (Av. *zaotar*, Pahl. *zôt*) consumes the *darûn* and the *gôshudô* (ghee).

Y..9-11: Offering of the *haoma*, at the end of which the *zôt* consumes the *parahôm*.

Y.12: Libation of the waters, profession of faith.
Praise of the three holy prayers.

Y.22-24: Beginning of the offering of the *hôm* (*homâst*).

Y.25-27: Preparation of the *hôm*.

Y.27: Recitation of the *Ahunwar* (the *Ahunavairiya* prayer).

Y.28-53: Recitation of the *Gâthâ*s, etc.

Y.54: Recitation of the fourth holy prayer, the *Airiyâma ishiyô* prayer.

Y.54--55: Praise of the *Gâthâ*s and the *Staota yesniya* texts.

Y.56-57: Praise of Srôsh (Av. Sraosha), greatest fighter of the powers of darkness.

Y.58-61: Various prayers.

Y.62: Praise of the fire and offering of *hôm* to the fire, in anticipation of the rebirth of the sun.

Y.63-69: Consecration of the waters: Water is mixed with the *hôm* and milk, is poured over the barsom, etc. – The sun is about to be born out of the heavenly (birth) waters.

Y.70-72: Conclusion: Untying of the barsom. Some of the sacred water (*parahôm*) is returned to the well.

The rest of the *parahôm* is drunk by the one who ordered the sacrifice or by one of the assistants.

15.4. Other rituals

The longest ritual is the *videvdad sade*, which is performed from midnight on and whose purpose is to heal the ailing world of Ahura Mazdâ, indeed, the ailing Ahura Mazdâ himself, and the *yasna*, the morning ritual, which regenerates the world and re-engenders to heavenly fire. During the *videvdad sade*, a modified *Yasna* with the substitutions of the *Vispered* is recited, and the *Old Avesta* is embedded in the *Videvdad*.

Other ritual performances include the five *niyâyishn*s "songs" and the five *gâh*s "times (of the day)." The *niyâyishn*s are hymns to the sun, Mithra, the moon, the waters, and the fire. The *Song to the sun*, is recited three times a day, at daybreak, noon, and sunset; *the Song to Mithra* at daybreak following the *Song to the sun*; the *Song to the moon* three times every month, at new moon, the full moon, and the last quarter; the *Song to the waters* is performed during the day, near water (rivers and wells) and when one sees running water; and the *Song to the Fire*, which is performed five times at day and night by the priest who oversees the fire. The *gâh*s are hymns in honor of the five divisions of the day (see below).

The individual deities also have special rituals devoted to them. According to the hymn to Mithra, the libations to this deity should be consumed only after two days of washing the entire body and undergoing rigorous austerities including twenty whiplashes daily.

Animal sacrifices were probably common, but not often mentioned. In the hymn to Haoma, the deity complains about the sacrificers who do not give him the portion of the victim that his father Ahura Mazdâ had assigned to him, namely, a cheek with the tongue and the left eye.

According to the *yasht*s, the mythical sacrificers sacrificed to their deities hundreds of stallions, thousands of bulls, and ten thousand sheep.

There are numerous private rituals that have to do with human life. Among them are the ritual of tying the sacred girdle, the *kusti* ritual, and the great purification ritual, the *barshnûm* ceremony (see below).

Zoroastrians wear a white shirt (*vastra* "garment") made out of one large piece of woven fabric and a girdle (*aiviyânghana*, modern *kusti*), a long string, woven on a hand-loom in a particularly complex manner. In the later tradition, the shirt is said to symbolize Good Thought and the girdle the *daênâ mâzadayasni*. The *kusti* is tied several times a day (after washing the hands) in an elaborate ritual. It is tied for the first time at the age of fifteen (today earlier) in a coming-of-age ceremony, and omission to wear it after that is a grave sin.

15.5. Prayers

Several short texts are frequently recited during official or personal ceremonies. The most important are the *Yatâ ahû vairyô* (*Ahuna vairiya*) and the *Â Airyamâ ishiyô* (*Airyaman ishiya*) which are the first and last strophes of the first and fifth *Gâthâ*, respectively, and the *Ashem vohû* and *Yenghyê hâtâm*, which are short versions of the first and last strophes of the second and fourth *Gâthâ*, respectively. The *Yatâ ahû vairyô* is about generating the royal command for Ahura Mazdâ, the renewing of the ordered world after the model (*ratu*) of Ahura Mazdâ's first ordered world (*ahu*), and making him the protector of the poor; the *Ashem vohû* is about the benefit of contributing to the renewal of Ahura Mazdâ's order and the *Yenghyê hâtâm* about the rewards for the sacrifice; and the *Â Airyamâ ishiyô* expresses the result of the Old Avestan ritual of healing and reordering the world.

By Young Avestan times, the exact meaning of much of the *Gâthâ*s had been forgotten, however, and, especially, that of the elliptic *Yathâ ahû vairyô*, and the terms *ahu* and *ratu*, in particular, which in the later tradition were understood to mean spiritual and secular master.

These prayers are very potent weapons against the powers of evil. Ahura Mazdâ recited the *Yatâ ahû vairyô* against the Evil Spirit in the beginning, before the creation of the world of the living (Y.19.1-4), and Zarathustra recited the *Ahuna vairiya* to drive the *daêwa*s underground (Y.9.14-15) and to heal the world of the living (V.19.10), and he recited the *Ahuna vairiya* and the *Ashem vohû* against the Evil Spirit to chase him from the earth.

In the *Avesta*, one of more *Ashem vohû*s are said before and after most texts, and the *Yathâ ahû vairyô* is frequently recited in tandem by the two priests (see below); the *Yenghyê hâtâm* is frequently recited at the end of text sections, notably in the *yasht*s; and the *Airyaman ishiya* is recited in particular against illnesses.

Another commonly recited text is the *Frawarânê* and the related *Jasa mê awanghyê Mazda* "Come to my aid, O (Ahura) Mazdâ," in which the good Mazdayasnian forswears evil and allies him/herself with Ahura Mazdâ.

Gathic citations are also commonly used as prayers.

Pollution and purification rituals

Pollution results from contact with "dead matter," of which there are many kinds. The most obvious are carcasses of humans and animals, but all excretions from the body, as soon as they have left the body, are also considered to become infected by the corpse demon. Among these are blood, hair, nails, spilled semen (V.18.46), urine, and feces.

According to V.17, when one combs and cuts one's hair and cuts one's nails, one should dispose of the hair and nail pairings properly. If disposed of properly, they will become weapons against the *daêwa*s; if not, evil things will grow from them.

A special case is that of the person who disposes of corpses for a living. On the one hand, he is completely polluted by death, but, on the other, he is doing the community an enormous service. When he is judged after death, what counts is the total of other activities beyond serving as an undertaker.

The female demon of pollution (*nasush*) attacks the body through its openings, beginning with nose and eyes and ending with the penis and anus.

Pollution does not occur if a person has no way of knowing that he/she has come in contact with dead matter; in particular, dead matter transmitted by wind, dogs, birds, wolves, or flies does not pollute (V. 5.1-7).

Menstruation

The menstrual period is divided into three stages characterized by the nature of the menstrual flow, when the woman is "having the signs [having clear flow?], having the marks [?], and having blood" (*chithrawaitî daxshtawaitî vohunawaitî*). When she is in a state of impurity, she presents a danger to the good creations (water, fire, the "orderly" man) and must be isolated from them in a "quiet place" (V.16). The nature of her place (*gâtu*) is not specified in the Avesta other than its distance from the good creations. Her period normally lasts eight nights. More than that means that the *daêwa*s are at work, and a purification/exorcism ritual is performed.

Purification

The principal purification agents are water and urine. The urine is usually from a cow/bull (*gêush maêsman*, mod. *gômêz*), but urine from people is sometimes used. Both people and objects, for instance, garments (V. 7.11-15) and ritual implements are washed in this manner (V. 7.73-75). Occasionally, urine is specified to be from a bull (V. 19.21) or water rather than urine is specified (V. 8.39).

Washing people means exorcising the *nasush*, and the procedure follows the order with which she pollutes the body. Thus, when the top of the head is washed, the *nasush* runs to the space between the eyebrows, via the right eye and the left eye, etc., and, in the end it hides under the sole of the foot in the shape of a fly's wing. Pouring water on the toes finally disposes of her. This ritual is called *barshnûm* from the word for "top of the head," described in chap. 9 of the *Videvdad*. This ritual takes place in a space demarcated by a complex pattern of furrows, dividing it into three areas, in each of which three holes (*magha*) are dug and stepping stones of the hardest kind, permitting the person to be purified to move to the holes without stepping on the ground.

Some purification rituals also involves killing harmful animals, for instance, in the case of protracted menstruation, when one should kill a "grain-pulling ant" in summer, but 200 harmful animals in winter.

16. THE PARTS OF THE AVESTA

According to the tradition, under Khosrow (531-579), the Avesta was divided into 21 books, or *nask*s, the contents of which are given in the *Dênkard*, a Pahlavi text compiled in the 9th century. From this it appears that only one of the books have been preserved virtually complete: the *Videvdad*; of most of the others only smaller or larger parts are now extant. The loss of so much of the Sasanian Avesta since the 9th century must be ascribed to the effect of the difficulties that beset the Zoroastrian communities after the Muslim conquest of Iran.

The *Avesta* is traditionally divided into several parts (details see $$):

16.1. The Yasna

A miscellany of texts recited during the *yasna* ritual, among which are:

Hôm-yasht (Y.9-11), prayer or hymn in praise of Haoma;
Frawarâne, the Zoroastrian profession of faith (Y.12);
Baghân yasht, a commentary on the sacred prayers (Y.22-26);
three sacred prayers (Y.27): *Yenghyê hâtâm*, *Ashem vohû*, *Yathâ ahû vairiyô* (*Ahunwar*);
the *Gâthâ*s "songs" (Y.28-34, 43-51, 53): poetry ascribed to Zarathustra in Old Avestan;
Yasna Haptanghâiti "the sacrifice in seven sections" (Y.35-41): Old Avestan composed in an archaic kind of metrical prose;
Srôsh-yasht (Y.57), hymn addressed to Sraosha, god of obedience and judge in the hereafter;
Âb zôhr (Y.63-72)

Vispered (Vr.): a miscellany of ritual texts, mostly invocations;

16.2. The yashts

Yashts (Yt.): collection of hymns to individual deities:

Yashts 1-4 to Ahura Mazdâ and the Amesha Spentas;
Yasht 5 to Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, the heavenly river and goddess of the waters;
Yasht 6 to the sun;
Yasht 7 to the moon;
Yasht 8 to Tishtriya, the star Sirius, who controls the weather and the rain;
Yasht 9, *Gôsh yasht*, to Druwâspâ;
Yasht 10 to Mithra (Mithra), god of contracts and agreements, of dawn, etc.;
Yasht 11 to Sraosha;
Yasht 12 to Rashnu, judge in the beyond
Yasht 13 to the Frawashis (fravashis), the pre-souls (cf. *frawarâne*);
Yasht 14 to Verthraghna (Verthraghna), god of victory who manifests himself in 10 different incarnations;
Yasht 15, according to its title dedicated to Râm, but actually about Vayu, the personification of the space between heaven and earth, who has two sides, one good and one evil;
Yasht 16, *Dên yasht*, to Cistâ;
Yasht 17 to Ashi, the goddess of good fortune and protectress of the family;
Yasht 18: *Ashtâd yasht*;
Yasht 19, according to its title dedicated to the genius of the earth but actually about the Kavian Fortune (*khwarnah*);
Yasht 20 to Haoma;
Yasht 21 to the star *Vanant*.

16.3. The Khorda Avesta

Khorda Avesta (KhA.) "little *Avesta*": a miscellany of hymns and other ritual texts, among which are:

The *Niyâyishn*s (Ny.) "prayers" to the sun, Mithra, the moon, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ (the waters), Âtash î Bahrâm (the fire);

The *Sîrôza*s (S.), invocations of the deities in charge of the 30 days of the months.

The *Âfrînagân* (Âfr.), various invocations.

16.4. The Videvdad

Videvdad (V.) (also *Vendidad*) literally "the law(s) or regulations (serving to keep) the demons away": mainly a collection of texts concerned with purification rituals. It also contains some mythological material:

chap. 1: contains a description of how Ahura Mazdâ created the various provinces of Iran and how the Evil Spirit, as his counter-creation, made a scourge for each province;

chap. 2 contains the myth of Yima, the first king, who built a fortress to house mankind during a coming winter;

chap. 19 contains a description of the struggle between Zarathustra and the Evil Spirit;

16.5. Smaller texts

Hâdôkht nask (HN.):a text about the fate of the soul after death;

Aogemadaêca (Aog.): an eschatological text;

Êhrbedestân and *Nîrangestân* (N.): religious legal texts;

Pursishnîhâ (P.): a collection of questions and answers regarding religious matters.

16.7. Modern Avestan texts

The following three are late (modern) compilations but contain some fragments not found elsewhere:

Âfrîn-e Payghambar Zardosht: Zarathustra's advice to Vishtâspa;

Vishtâsp yasht: Vishtâspa's words to Zarathustra;

Vaêthâ nask.

16.8. Fragments

There are numerous *Fragments* from extant and lost Avestan texts quoted in the Pahlavi translation of the other Avestan texts and in Pahlavi texts. Of special interest is the so-called *Frahang î ôim êk* (FO.), which is a vocabulary of Avestan words and phrases with their Pahlavi translation. The first entry is Avestan *ôim* = Pahlavi *êk*, whence the name.

HISTORY OF THE IRANIANS

ca. 2100	Oxus civilization	
ca. 2100-1750	The Bactria-Margiana Archeological Complex (BMAC)	Population of Margiana and Bactria; massive fortifications with outer and inner walls.
ca. 2000	Splitting up of Indian and Iranian tribes??	
1900	End of Indus civilization	Arrival of the Aryan Indic tribes in the Indus valley??
ca. 1500-	Nomadic Iranians in southern central Asia-northern Afghanistan	Elevation of Ahura Mazdâ to supreme deity and composition of earliest Indian and Iranian, Old Avestan, texts 1. The Yasna Haptanghâiti (the sacrifice in 7 chapters) 2. The 5 Gâthâs ascribed to Zarathustra
9th cent. 800 -	The Persians (Parauwa) and Medes (Amâdai, Mâdai) are attested for the first time in (north)western Iran	The Gathic religion moves southward into Sistan(??), where it influences the Iranian heroic literature, which becomes encapsulated in a Zoroastrian framework. Composition of oldest Young Avestan texts in the area of Sistan.
700	The Medes under Deioces form first Iranian empire, center in NW Iran (capital at Ecbatana). His son Fraortes/Fravarti	Religion and literature starts spreading west. Continuing composition/compilation of Young Avestan texts.
614 612	Capture of Assur by Cyaxares Capture of Niniveh by Cyaxares	
550	The Persian Cyrus overthrows the Medes under Astyages, son of Cyaxares. He establishes the Achaemenid empire with center in southern and southwestern Iran, Persis.	Cyrus pursues policy of religious tolerance. Religion and literature starts spreading south into Fârs. Continuing composition and compilation of Young Avestan texts.
547	He defeats the Lydian king Croesus.	
539 530	Capture of Babylon. Falls in a battle against the Massagetae (Her.)	
530-522	Cambyses; conquers Egypt.	
522-486	Darius, whose family possibly originated outside Persis, usurps the power.	Restoration of the Gathic, monotheistic, teachings? Invention of the cuneiform script and composition of the Old Persian inscriptions.
490	Battle at Marathon	
486-465	Rule of Xerxes	Strictly imposes the worship of Ahuramazdâ on the conquered lands
479	Defeat at Salamis and Platea	
ca. 425	Herodotus's *Histories*	
404-358	Artaxerxes II: Rebellion of Cyrus the Younger. Xenophon's *Anabasis*	Restoration of the "Sistanian" pantheon and renewed interest in the Young Avestan texts?? Composition and compilation of the last Young Avestan texts??
331-330	Alexander topples the Achaemenid empire, burns Persepolis	The Avesta is allegedly burnt!
305	Alexander's general Seleucus becomes king of Iran (the Seleucid dynasty)	
247?	Arsaces (Arshak) founds the Arsacid (Parthian) empire.	
54-78 CE	Vologeses (Walakhsh) I	First effort to assemble the scattered religious texts led by the kings brother Tiridates a magus and high priest, invested by Nero as king of Armenia ?
224	Ardashahr (Ardashîr) founds the Sasanian empire.	Second effort to assemble the scattered religious texts supervised by the high priest Tôsar/Tansar.

242	Shâpûr succeeds Ardashîr.	Mani takes his religion to the king. Kerdîr initiates the restoration of Mazdaism.
273	Wahrân I is succeeded by Wahrân II	Mani is executed at the instigation of the Mazdayasnian clergy, among them Kerdîr.
293	Narseh accepts the crown from the dignitaries of the realm, who express the wish he may rule "**to the time of the Perfectioning**."	The religion is still in confusion.
309	Shâpûr II	The high priest Ãdurbâd î Mahraspandân undergoes the ordeal to prove the soundness of the Mazdayasnian religion. The Avesta is (allegedly) expanded by the **inclusion of Western and Eastern scientific literature** and codified.
350-359	Attacks by Chionites	
531-579	Khosrow Kawâdân	Invention of the Avestan alphabet and the Avesta committed to writing?
636	Battle of Qâdisîya, Muslim conquest of Iran.	Mazdayasnians go underground, emigrate to India.
9th cent.	Caliph al-Mu÷min	Final redaction of the great Pahlavi books.
ca. 1020		The earliest known Avestan manuscript, that of Mâhwindâd.
1258/78, 1323		Date of the earliest extant manuscripts.

COSMIC TIME

I. The Initial Creation: 3000 Years

Videvdad: creation in world of thought *Bundahishn*: creation in world of thought

Duration of the Pact: 3 x 3000 Years:

II. The creation of the world of the living

Videvdad: in world of living beings without the Adversary *Bundahishn*: creation of the world of living beings in world of thought, unthinking, unmoving, intangible; with Opposition but according to the will of Ohrmazd

III. Mythical and legendary eras

Videvdad: from the coming of the Adversary to the coming of the Religion *Bundahishn*: with opposition, according to the will of both	1000 years: Entry of the Adversary to end of Jam (Yima)
	1000 years: Reign of Dahâg
	1000 years: Reigns of Frêdôn and the Kayanids until the appearance of Zardusht.

IV. Millennia of Zarathustra and the Revitalizers

Videvdad: from the coming of the Religion to the Final Body *Bundahishn*: during which Ahrimen would be undone	1000 years: From the appearance of Zardusht to the coming of Pishôtan.
	millennium of Ushêdar
	millennium of Ushêdarmâh

MYTHICAL TIME

First and Second millennium of the Mixture: The mythical period

3001	The Assault	
3030	Death of Gayômard, First Man. Birth of first two humans, Mashî and Mashyânî.	
3030-3070	40 years M and M grew up	
3030-3080	50 years M and M did not have intercourse	
3120-3213.5	93.5 years M and M had intercourse, until Hôshang came of age	
3213.5-3253.5	40 years rule of Hôshang	For 70 years Hôshang and Tahmûraf both killed demons.
3253.5-3283.5	30 years rule of Tahmûraf	
3283.5-3900	616.5 years rule of Jam (= Yima), until the khwarrah left him	
3900-4000	100 years flight of Jam	ending with the demons sawing Jam in two.
40001-5000	1000 years: rule of Dahâg (Azhi Dahâka)	Ending with Frêdôn seizing and chaining him.

THIRD MILLENNIUM OF THE MIXTURE: THE LEGENDARY PERIOD

5001-5501	500 years: rule of Frêdôn	Frêdôn divided his realm between Salm and Tûs.
5501-5520	12 years: rule of Êrij + 8 years ?	They were killed by Êrij, who destroyed their descendants and families.
5520-5640	120 years: rule of Manushchihr 12 years: Frâsiyâw 5 years: Uzaw 15 years: Kay Kawâd	Manushchihr took revenge for Êrij. Then Afrâsiyâb came and overcame Manushchihr and the Iranians at Padishkhwârgar. After Afrâsiyâb killed Manushchihr Iran was thrown into confusion and misfortune, keeping rain away from Iran. Uzaw son of Tahmâsp overcame Afrâsiyâb and made rain. Afrâsiyâb caused much misfortune until Kawâd became king.
5640-5790	150 years: rule of Kay Us (Kay Kâwûs) 75 years: before he went to the sky 75 years: after that	The demons became oppressive and came to kill Ôshnar. Kay Us's mind was deranged, and he went to battle the sky, but fell down, and the khwarrah left him. A Tâzîg named Zêngâw became ruler over Iran. Frâsiyâb came back, killed Zêngâw, and again became ruler. Many people were resettled from Iran to Turkestan. Rôstahm came from Sagestân, released Kay Us, etc. Afrâsiyâb came back, and Kay Siyâwakhsh battled Frâsiyâb. Because of Sûdâbî, wife of Kay Us, he did not return to Iran, but went to Turkestan, where he married a daughter of Frâsiyâb. Their son was Kay Husrôy. They also killed Siyâwakhsh.
5790-5850	60 years: Kay Husrôy	Kay Husrôy killed Frâsiyâb, went to the Kangdiz (castle of Frâsiyâb), and passed on the rule to Kay Luhrâsp.
5850-5970	120 years: Kay Luhrâsp	
5970-6000	30 years: Kay Wishtâsp to the coming of the Dên	When Kay Wishtâsp had ruled for 30 years the millennium ended.

THE DATES OF ZARATHUSTRA ACCORDING TO THE PAHLAVI TEXTS

3000 years	The establishment of the world of thought (*mênôy*).
0-3000	The establishment of the world of living beings in the world of thought.
3-6000	The establishment of the world of living beings in the world of living beings (*gêtîy*). Entry of the Assault. Ohrmazd fashions Zardusht's pre-soul. 1000 years: From the entry of the Assault to end of the reign of Jam (Av. Yima) 1000 years: Reign of Dahâg (Av. azhi dahâka) 1000 years: Reigns of Frêdôn (Thraêtaona) and the Kayanids (kawis) until the appearance of Zardusht.
5955	45 years before Zardusht's conversation with Ohrmazd: Frênî bears Dughdôw.
5940	Dughdôw age 15 shines with Zardusht's khwarrah.
5970-6000	30 years: rule of Kay Wishtâsp until the coming of the Dên.
5970	Zardusht is born.
6-9000	Millennia of Zarathustra and his three sons.
6-7000	1000 years: From the appearance of Zardusht to the coming of Pishyôtan (son of Wishtâsp).
6000	Zardusht age 30: Wahman reveals himself to Zardusht on the shore of the river Dâitî and brings him to the assembly of the Seven Life-giving Immortals.
6000-90 6047	90 years: rule of Kay Wishtâsp after the coming of the Dên. Violent death of Zardusht at the age of 77 years and 4 days.
6090-6232	112+30 years: rules of Wahman, son of Spandyâd, and Queen Humây.
6232-6258 6258	Achaemenids: 12 +14 years: rule of Dârâ son of Chihrâzâd and Dârâ son of Dârâ Arrival of Alexander (258 years after Zarathustra's revelation.

7-8000	1000 years: millennium of Ushêdar (Ukhshyaterta).
8-9000	1000 years: millennium of Ushêdarmâh (Ukhshyatnemah).
9000	Arrival of the Saoshyant (Sôshâns) and the Perfectioning.

FOURTH MILLENNIUM OF THE MIXTURE: ZARDUSHT'S PROPHECY

6001-6091	90 years: rule of Kay Wishtâsp	Zardusht received and brought the Religion from Ohrmazd. Kay Wishtâsp received and propagated it and fought a war with Arzâsp.
6091-6203	112 years: rule Wahman son of Spandâd	Much infighting in Iran.
6203-6233	30 years: rule of Humây, daughter of Wahman	
6233-6245	12 years: rule of Dârâ son of Chihrâzâd	
6245-6259	14 years: rule of Dârâ son of Dârâ	Arrival of Alexander, who killed King Dârâ, destroyed the families of rulers and magi, extinguished a great number of fires, seized the books of the Mazdayasnians, which came to Rome, burned the Avesta, and divided Iran into 90 parts.
6259-6273	14 years: rule of Alexander the Roman	
6273-6557	284 years: rule of the Arsacids	
6557-7017	460 years: rule of Ardashêr and the Sasanians to the Muslim conquest	Arrival of Ardashêr, son of Bâbag, who killed the petty rulers, organized the sovereignty, propagated the Mazdayasnian religion.
		During the reign of Shâpûr (II), son of Ohrmazd, the Tâzîgs came, but they were overcome by Shâpûr.
		During the reign of Pêrôz, son of Yazdegerd, there was no rain for 6 years. Khoshnawâz, king of the Hephthalites came and killed Pêrôz. Kawâd and his sister gave the Hephthalites a fire alter as security.
		During the reign of Kawâd Mazdak, son of Bâmdâd established the Mazdakian law. He deceived Kawâd and promoted communal ownership of wives and children.
		Husraw, son of Kawâd, Anôsharuwân killed Mazdak and reinstated the Mazdayasnian religion.
		20 years: rule of Yazdegerd until the invasion of the Tâzîgs.
	yr. 447 PE (= 636 C.E.) Muslim conquest	Introduction of a the religion of sorcerers, weakening of the Mazdayasnian one. From the beginning of the creation to this day no greater calamity has befallen Iran, for on account of their misdeeds, and evil religion only Iran has been at the prey of nothing but disasters.
7097 ??	yr. 527 PE = NOW	

FIFTH MILLENNIUM: THE MILLENNIUM OF USHÊDAR

7000-8000	Ushêdar (Ukhshyaterta), son of Zardusht, will come from Ohrmazd bringing the Religion. Hard times and drought will disappear. The river Vâtaêni will flow the depth of a horse, and springs, and oceans, and the Kayânsê will flow again. For 10 days and nights the sun will stand still at the zenith of the sky, and the wolf species will perish.
	At the end of the millennium Malkûs, of the race of Tûr î Brâtrôrêsh, who killed Zardusht, will reappear and will produce the terrible Malkûsân winter lasting three years, and most men will perish. Men and animals will then be reorganized from the Jam's War (the Vara of Yima), which was built for this purpose.
	The curative power of the 1000 species of plants opposing 1000 kinds of illnesses will be assigned to two, and no one will die from sickness, but still from old age and if killed.

SIXTH MILLENNIUM: THE MILLENNIUM OF USHÊDARMÂH AND THE COMING OF SÔSHÂNS

8000-9000	Ushêdarmâh, son of Zardusht, will come from Ohrmazd bringing the Religion. For 20 days and nights the sun will stand still at the zenith of the sky. The trees will stay green for 6 years. The descendants of the Druz (snakes and noxious creatures) will perish.
	Toward the end of the millennium Dahâg Bêwarasp will run free of his chains, causing much damage.
	Then Sôshâns will appear guided by Êrmân. For 30 days and nights the sun will stand still at the zenith of the sky.
	The Resurrection will begin: First the body of Karsâsp, son of Sâm, who will smash Bêwarasp (Dahâg) with his mace and kill him. Sôshâns will converse with the Spiritual beings for 30 years, and the action of Renovation will spread throughout the Seven Continents in 57 years.

THE ACHAEMENID CALENDAR

The Achaemenid calendar as attested in the Old Persian and Elamite inscriptions was a farmer's calendar, with names of months referring to climate and seasonal activities. The order of the months is guaranteed by their Babylonian equivalents:

	Old Persian	Elamite	Meaning
1	Ãdukanaisha	Hadukannash	[month of] sowing?
2	Thûravâhara	Turmar	rejuvenating spring?
3	Thâigerchî	Sâkurrizish	[month of] garlic (harvesting)?
4	Garmapada	Karmabatash	station of heat
5	*Dernabâji	Turnabazish	[month of] harvesting
6	*Kârapâssiya	Karbashiyash	[month of] army review(?)
7	Bâgayâdi	Bakeyatish	[month of] worship of the (other?) gods/the god (Mithra)
8	*Varkashâna	Markashanash	[month of] the scattering leaves(?)
9	Ãssiyâdiya	Hashiyatish	[month of] the sacrifice by fire
10	Ãnâmaka	Hanamakash	[month of] him who is/those who are to be worshiped by name(?)
11	*Thâviyauva	Samiyamash	[month of] warming up(?)
12	Viyakhana	Miyakannash	[month of] cleaning the canals(?)

THE AVESTAN CALENDAR

The Avestan calendar is first attested within the Achaemenid empire as the calendar of Cappadocia, which was cited by the Greek astronomers:

	Cappadocian	*Avestan* (genitives)	*Middle Persian*	*Mod. Persian*
1	Artana	Ashâ(u)nâm frawashinâm "[month] of the fravashis of the Orderly"	(Ardâw) Frawardîn	Farvardîn (March-April)
2	Artêuetê	Ashahe vahishtahe "[month] of Best Order"	Ardwahisht	Ordîbehesht
3	Aroatata	Haurwatâtô "[month] of Wholeness"	Hordâd	Khordâd
4	Teiri	Tishtriyehe "[month] of Sirius"	Tîr	=
5	Amartata	Amertâtô "[month] of Non-dying"	Amurdâd	Mordâd
6	Ksathriorê	Khshathrahe vairyehe "[month] of the Choice Command"	Shahrêwar	Shahrîvar
7	Mithrê	Mithrahe "[month] of Mithra"	Mihr	Mehr
8	Apomenapa	Apâm *Napâtô "[month] of the Scion of the Waters"	Ãbân	=
9	Athra	Ãthrô "[month] of the Fire"	Âdur	Âdhar
10	Dathusa	Dathushô "[month] of the Orderer"	Day	Dey
11	Osmana	Vanghêush Mananghô "[month] of Good Thought (Heaven)"	Wahman	Bahman
12	Sondara	Spentayå Ârmatôish "[month] of Life-giving Humility (Earth)"	Spandârmad	Esfand[ârmod˚]

THE LITURGICAL-COSMOGONIC YEAR

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Frawardîn	Ardwahisht	Hordad	Tîr	Amurdad	Shahrewar
1 Ohrmazd	SKY 3/21	4/20	5/20	6/19	7/19	8/18
2 Wahman	22	21	21	20	20	19
3 Ardwahisht	23	22	22	21	21	20
4 Shahrewar	24	23	23	22	22	21
5 Spandarmad	25	24	24	23	23	22
6 Hordad	26	25	25	24	24	23
7 Amurdad	27	26	26	25	25	24
8 Day	28	27	27	26	26	25
9 Ādur	29	28	28	27	27	26
10 Ābân	30	29	29	28	28	27
11 Khwar	31	Mêdyô- 30	30	Mêdyô- 29	29	28
12 Mâh	1-Apr	May 1	31	30	30	29
13 Tîr	2	2	1-Jun	July 1	31	30
14 Gôsh	3	zarm 3	2	sham 2	8/1	31
15 Day	4	4	3	3	2	9/1
16 Mihr	5	WATER 5	4	EARTH 4	3	2
17 Sôsh	6	6	5	5	4	3
18 Rashn	7	7	6	6	5	4
19 Frawardîn	8	8	7	7	6	5
20 Warahrân	9	9	8	8	7	6
21 Râm	10	10	9	9	8	7
22 Wâd	11	11	10	10	9	8
23 Day	12	12	11	11	10	9
24 Dên	13	13	12	12	11	10
25 Ard	14	14	13	13	12	11
26 Ashtâd	15	15	14	14	13	Pati- 12
27 Āsmân	16	16	15	15	14	shah 13
28 Zamyâd	17	17	16	16	15	14
29 Mahrspand	18	18	17	17	16	15
30 Anagrân	19	19	18	18	17	16

	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	Mihr	Ābân	Ādur	Day	Wahman	Spandarmad	5 epagomena
1 Ohrmazd	PLANT 10/17	CATTLE 11/17	11/16	12/16	1/15	2/14	3/16
2 Wahman	18	18	17	17	16	15	Hamaspah- 17
3 Ardwahisht	19	19	18	18	17	16	18
4 Shahrewar	20	20	19	19	18	17	maydim 19
5 Spandarmad	21	21	20	20	19	18	20
6 Hordad	22	22	21	21	20	19	
7 Amurdad	23	23	22	22	21	20	
8 Day	24	24	23	23	22	21	
9 Ādur	25	25	24	24	23	22	
10 Ābân	26	26	25	25	24	23	
11 Khwar	27	27	26	26	25	24	
12 Mâh	28	28	27	27	26	25	
13 Tîr	29	29	28	28	27	26	
14 Gôsh	30	30	29	29	28	27	
15 Day	10/1	31	30	30	29	28	
16 Mihr	2	11/1	12/1	Mêd- 31	30	3/1	
17 Sôsh	3	2	2	Jan 1	31	2	
18 Rashn	4	3	3	yâr 2	2/1	3	
19 Frawardîn	5	4	4	3	2	4	
20 Warahrân	6	5	5	4	3	5	
21 Râm	7	6	6	MAN 5	4	6	
22 Wâd	8	7	7	6	5	7	
23 Day	9	8	8	7	6	8	
24 Dên	10	9	9	8	7	9	
25 Ard	11	10	10	9	8	10	
26 Ashtâd	Ayâsrim 12	11	11	10	9	11	
27 Āsmân	13	12	12	11	10	12	
28 Zamyâd	14	13	13	12	11	13	
29 Mahrspand	15	14	14	13	12	14	
30 Anagrân	16	15	15	14	13	15	

Zoroastrian Texts

translated with notes by

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YASNA 0: INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTORY PREPARATIONS

Y.0.0 = the *Ashem vohu*
Order[1] is **the best good** reward/possession[2] **there is**.[3]
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one when one's **Order** is **for the best Order**.[4]
(3 times)

Y.0.1 (the *Fravarânê*)
I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ (= a Mazdayasnian) like Zarathustra did.[5]
I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.

For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction[6] and glorification.[7]
For the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the House, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification,—

Y.0.2
(and for that) of the fire, (you,) O son of Ahura Mazdâ,[8] —
by the satisfaction of you, O fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
for (your) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification,—
by the satisfaction of you, O fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
for (your) sacrifice ... glorification.

Y.0.3
The chief priest[9] says forth to me:
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ...
He who is the chief priest says forth to me:
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ...
Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:
thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...[10]

I SAY FORTH WITH MY PRAISE

Y.0.4
I say (it) forth with my praise
with (thoughts) well thought, (words) well spoken, (acts) well done,
and (thoughts) to be well thought, (words) to be well spoken, and (acts) to be well done.
I regard as worthy of songs of praise
all (thoughts) well thought, (words) well spoken, (acts) well done.
I regard as worthy of being left out
all (thoughts) badly thought, (words) badly spoken, (acts) badly done.

Y.0.5
I have given to you, O Life-giving Immortals,
(my) sacrifice and hymn
(together) with (my) thought, with (my) word, and with (my) act,
(together) with (my) *essence (life thread?),
and (together) with
the life breath of nothing less than (my) **own body**.
(**1.**33.14)

Y.0.6
I praise Order.
Order is **the best good** ...

Y.0.7 = Y.0.1

Y.0.8
(By the satisfaction) of Ahura Mazdâ,
wealthy and munificent,
of the Life-giving Immortals,
of Mithra, who provides wide grazing grounds,
and of Peace with good pasture,—

---

[1] Order (Av. *asha*): see Introduction.
[2] The best good thing: that which can be achieved by humans and their reward for their efforts.
[3] Passages in **bold** type face are citations from the Old Avesta. "..." here means "etc."
[4] When humans behave so that Ahura Mazdâ's Order is upheld, then they will obtain their heart's desire.
[5] Literally: "a Zarathustra-son."
[6] Satisfying the gods makes them favorable to the sacrificer.
[7] Spreading the fame of the gods makes them stronger.
[8] The heavenly Fire = the sun.
[9] Av. *zaotar*, Pahl. *zôt*, the priest who pours the libations of water and milk.
[10] The *Ahuna vairiya* prayer, see before **1**.28.1.

Y.0.9
(by the satisfaction) of the radiant, immortal sun,
brilliant, with fleet horses,—
of Vayu, whose work is above,[1]
set beyond the other Creations,
this (side) of you, O Vayu,
which (is) what you have (that is) of the Life-giving Spirit,—
of straightest Cistâ, sustainer of Order, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
of the good *daênâ*[2] of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,—

Y.0.10
(by the satisfaction) of the Orderly life-giving poetic thought with invigorating *essence(?),[3]
of the law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
of the long *tradition, (and)
of the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
of the confidence in the life-giving poetic thought,
*the holding in (one's inner) hearing[4] of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
*of the *finding ability of the Life-giving poetic thought,
of the inborn guiding thought set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
of the ear-heard[5] guiding thought set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,—

Y.0.11
(by the satisfaction) of the fire, (you,) O son of Ahura Mazdâ,—
of you, O fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
of Mount Crack of Dawn set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
(which reaches up) into the good breathingspace of Order,[6]
Y.0.12
by the satisfaction of all the sustainers of Order worthy of sacrifice
in the world of thought, in the world of living beings,
of the pre-souls of the sustainers of Order,
strong (and) unshakable,
of the pre-souls of the first guides,[7]
of the pre-souls of (our) closest relatives,
for (their) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

Y.0.13
The chief priest says forth to me:
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ... ...
He who is the chief priest says forth to me:
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ... ...
Let a sustainer of Order who knows (it) say forth:
thus its **Model** is **just in accordance with Order** ...

Y.0.14
Order is **the best good** ...
By (my) satisfaction of Ahura Mazdâ,
by (my) disdain of the Evil Spirit,
on account of my **true** action/utterance **may what is most perfect in exchange value be produced!**
Order is **the best good** ...

Y.0.15 = the *Ahuna vairya* prayer
(see Y.27.13)

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[1] Vayu is the space intermediate between the earth and the sky. Since the sky envelopes the earth like the shell of an egg, Vayu lies inside the sky but also envelopes the earth. This makes Vayu double: the good Vayu, up above, through which the souls travel to Paradise, and the bad Vayu, below, through which they travel to Hell.

[2] The "vision-soul," see The introduction. Among other things, the *daênâ* represents the totality of a person's thoughts, words, acts.

[3] The "vigorant" may refer to the heavenly waters, in which things are "recharged," as it were. The word "essence" means bow-string in its only clear attestation. Perhaps it means "string of life."

[4] The (inner) hearing (*ushi*) may be what permits one to hear thoughts and words in the world of thought. Later it comes to mean "consciousness" or similar. – Note that *ushi.darthra* "holding in one's (inner) hearing" is also the explanation of the name *Ushidarna* "Mount Crack of Dawn," understood as "holding of the *ushi*."

[5] There are two types of "guiding thoughts": one with which one is born and one that one acquires.

[6] I.e., where there is no constriction, no *anxiety*, see Y.8.8.

[7] The Avestan word is sometimes translated as "first believers, first teachers," but the exact meaning is not known.

YASNA 1: I ANNOUNCE

Y.1.1
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to/of Ahura Mazdâ,[1] who has set (everything in its proper place),
the wealthy and munificent one,
the greatest, the best, the most beautiful,
the firmest, the one with the best guiding thought,[2] the best shaped,
the one who gets closest to Order (?),
the one of good Creations,[3] of wide support,
who has set us in (our) place, who has fashioned us,
who has *structured us,[4]
who is the most "Life-giving" Spirit.

Y.1.2
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for (regenerating) Good Thought,
for Best Order,
for Well-deserved Command,
for Life-giving Humility,
for Wholeness and Immortality,[5]
for the Fashioner of the Cow, the Soul of the Cow,
for the fire of Ahura Mazdâ,
the one of the Life-giving Immortals
who most often takes up his (ritual) position.

Y.1.3
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for (or: by?) the daily models of Order:[6]
(firstly) for the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour (Hâvani),[7] a model of Order.[8]
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly Morning Hour (Sâvanghi)[9] and the (Protector) of the House, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Mithra[10] who provides wide grazing grounds, with 1000 ears, 10,000 eyes,
the one worthy of a sacrifice in which his name is uttered,[11]
(and) peace with good pastures.[12]

Y.1.4
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Noon-time (Rapithvina), a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly Cattle-furthering One and the (Protector) of the Tribe, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to Best Order and the fire, (son) of Ahura Mazdâ.[13]

Y.1.5
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly Evening Hour (Uzayeirina), a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly man-furthering one and the (Protector) of the Land, a model of Order,
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the exalted lord, the Scion of the Waters[14]
and the water set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.[15]

Y.1.6
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly *oncoming Midnight (Aiwisruthrima Aibigaya),[16] a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly one who furthers all good living and the one most like Zarathustra, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the pre-souls of the Orderly[17]
and the women to be *won by men[18]

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[1] The exact meaning of the genitive is not clear. It could refer to the fact that the sacrificer is assembling his sacrifice like Ahura Mazdâ's primordial sacrifice (see Bdh.3.23).

[2] Acc. to **2.**46.3, the guiding thoughts of the Revitalizers help pull the sun across the sky.

[3] Literally "webs," the covers from within which all the creatures are born?

[4] See Yt.13.28.

[5] These are the six Life-giving Immortals, the seventh of whom is Ahura Mazdâ himself, hence the "Seven Life-giving Immortals." In addition there are innumerable (lower-case) "life-giving immortals."

[6] That is, in order to "satisfy" the divine models for the first, heavenly, sacrifice of Ahura Mazdâ.

[7] Time of the morning sacrifice, beginning before sunrise, and Peace with good pastures is his beneficent companion, representing the reward to humans for assisting Ahura Mazdâ.

[8] Here the sacrificer is repeating the ordering sacrifice by which the world was ordered, beginning with the fashioning of "limited time," see Bdh.1.21-22.

[9] Literally "the one providing life-giving strength."

[10] Mithra guides the sun as it rises out of the waters under the earth.

[11] It is important that the sacrifice has an address, since otherwise it might go to someone for whom it is not intended.

[12] Armies, among other things, plunder and ravage the pastures.

[13] At noon, the heavenly fire, the sun, is at the zenith.

[14] The fire in the clouds and heavenly waters, Apâm Napât.

[15] The sun is getting ready for its journey through the waters.

[16] Also possible: Time for listening and singing?

[17] Depicted as female warriors who fight in the battle against the Evil Spirit, but also act as birth assistants and conductors of the heavenly waters. See Y. 23, 26, Yt.13.

[18] That is, as prizes for victory in the battle against the powers of darkness? Or: "the women to be desired by men"?

and the seasonly good dwelling[1]
and the well-fashioned, well-shaped force
and the obstruction-smashing[2] strength, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
and the victorious superiority.[3]

Y.1.7
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly Hour of Dawn (Ushahina),[4] a model of Order.

I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the Orderly *Admirable[5] one and the (Protector) of the Home, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to obstruction-smashing Sraosha[6] with the rewards,
possessing rewards, furtherer of living beings,
Rashnu[7] the straightest[8]
and Rectitude, furtherer of living beings, increaser of living beings.

Y.1.8
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
by the monthly models of Order:
for the Orderly new moon, a model of Order,
the Orderly full moon and the seventh day,[9] a model of Order.

Y.1.9
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
by the seasonly models of Order:
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Mid-green, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Midsummer, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Harvest time, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Autumn equinox, *marking the turning (of days), time for releasing the males,[10] a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Mid-season (midwinter), a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for Orderly Spring equinox, a model of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for (all) the yearly models of Order.[11]

Y.1.10
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for all these models
which are the models of Order,
thirty-three, the nearest, those *surrounding the hour of the haoma pressing,
which are those of Best Ode Urwatat.nara (Vd. 2)claimed by Zarathustra.

Y.1.11
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the two exalted ones, Ahura (Mazdâ) and Mithra,
*unthreatening and Orderly,
and to the stars, the Creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
and to the star Tishtriya (Sirius), wealthy and munificent,
and to the moon containing the seed of the cow[12]
and to the radiant sun with fleet horses,
the eye of Ahura Mazdâ,
(and) to Mithra the land-lord of lands.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to Ahura Mazdâ, the wealthy and munificent.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the pre-souls of the Orderly.

Y.1.12
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to you, the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
together with all fires.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for the good waters,
(the sacrifice) to all the waters, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
and all the plants, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.1.13
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the Orderly life-giving poetic thought with invigorating *essence(?),[13]
the law for discarding the old gods, the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
the long *tradition, (and)

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[1] Perhaps a reference to transhumance?

[2] This epithet refers to the obstructions set in place by the powers of darkness to prevent the birth of the new light and day, but which are "smashed" and destroyed by the victorious good deities.

[3] These are the principal fighters of darkness and evil.

[4] The time period preceding dawn.

[5] We do not know what this word means.

[6] The deified Listening, principal fighter of the powers of darkness, arch enemy of Wrath, the embodiment of the night sky.

[7] The deified Straightness, judge in the beyond who judges the souls, weighing their thoughts, etc., on his scales, and sends them to heaven or hell.

[8] Making straight paths for the sun?

[9] 8th and 23rd days of the month.

[10] That is, to fertilize the females, ensuring spring young.

[11] I.e., those of the days, months, and seasons.

[12] Cf. Bdh.3.14, 6e.2.

[13] See Y.0.10.

the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.1.14
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to Mount Crack of Dawn, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
providing good breathing space through(out) Order,[1]
and all the mountains
providing good breathing space through(out) Order,
providing much good breathing space,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
and the Fortune of the poets, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
and the *unseizable Fortune, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to good Ashi (reward),
good Cisti (illumination?),
good Erethe (generosity?),
good *Arrival of munificence(?)[2]
(and) life-giving strength, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.1.15
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the good Qualified Invitation,[3]
and (that) of the qualified Orderly man,[4]
the strong, rigid one worthy of sacrifice in the image of the Web-holder.[5]

Y.1.16
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to these places and settlements
and grazing grounds and dwellings and *stables
and the waters and the earths and the plants
and this earth and yonder sky
and the Orderly wind,
the stars, the moon, the sun,
the Endless Lights set in place by themselves,
and all the Orderly Creations of the Life-giving Spirit, male (or) female, models of Order.[6]

Y.1.17
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the exalted model, that of Order,
by hourly, daily,
monthly, seasonly, and yearly models,
which are the models of Order,
to the model of the Haoma-pressing Hour.

Y.1.18
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
to the strong, unshakable pre-souls of the Orderly,[7]
the pre-souls of the first *guides,
the pre-souls of our closest relatives,
for the pre-soul of (my) own breath-soul.

Y.1.19
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
by all the models of Order.
I announce (them to you)! I am assembling (the sacrifice)
for all the ones worthy of sacrifice whose gifts are good,
both those in the world of thought and those in the world of the living,
who are worthy of sacrifice and hymns[8]
according to the best Order.

Y.1.20
O Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, model of Order!
O Orderly Morning Hour, model of Order!
O Orderly Noon-time, model of Order!
O Orderly Evening Hour, model of Order!
O Orderly Midnight Hour, model of Order!
O Orderly Hour of Dawn, model of Order!

Y.1.21[9]
If I have ever offended you,
through thought, speech, (or) act,
whether because it pleased me or whether it did not,
I say it forth in (my) praise to you (to atone) for it,
I make it known to you,
if I have ever omitted (anything) from this of yours,
the sacrifice and the hymn.

Y.1.22
O all greatest models! O Orderly model of Order!
If I have offended you (all)
either through thought, speech, (or) act,
whether because it pleased me or whether it did not,
I say it forth in (my) praise to you all (to atone) for it,
I make it known to you,

---

[1] As opposed to narrowness and constriction, see Y.8.8. "Order" represents the vast heavenly spaces, with the sun as their center-piece.

[2] Several of these entities are mentioned only in this list and are otherwise not known.

[3] "Invitation," that is, as a guest friend, who receives gifts and gives gifts in return.

[4] See Y.61.1 and PR.46.4.

[5] The function of this deity is unknown. It is probably also a constellation. The "web" is no doubt the cosmic web (tissue) woven by Ahura Mazdâ, in which his creations are born.

[6] The sacrificer is repeating the ordering sacrifice by which the spatial components of the world were ordered.

[7] On the role of the pre-souls in the creation, see Yt.13.

[8] They deserve to receive the strengthening sacrifices and to be woven into the poet's poetic webs. Thereby they obtain strength and fame and are again placed in command. The woven hymn is also the microcosmic counterpart of Ahura Mazdâ's great poetic web, which is his ordered cosmos.

[9] In the following section the sacrificer makes sure that he has no imperfections or flaws that might invalidate the sacrifice or, worse, make it backfire and put the forces of darkness back in command.

if I have barred you from this,
the sacrifice and the hymn.

Y.1.23
I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ like Zarathustra did.
I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.
For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.
For the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the House, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.
For the sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification
of the models of the hours and the days
and the months and the seasons and the years.

YASNA 6: WE SACRIFICE

Y.6.1
We sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ, who has set (everything in its proper place).
We sacrifice to the Life-giving Immortals, who bestow good command and give good gifts.

Y.6.2
We sacrifice to the Orderly daily models of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the House, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds, with 1000 ears, 10,000 eyes, the one worthy of a sacrifice in which his name is uttered.
We sacrifice to peace with good pastures.

Y.6.3
We sacrifice to the Orderly Noon-time, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly Cattle-furthering One and the (Protector) of the Tribe, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to Best Order and the fire of Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.6.4
We sacrifice to the Orderly Evening hour, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly Man-furthering One and the (Protector) of the Land, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the exalted lord, the powerful, radiant Scion of the Waters, with fleet horses.
And we sacrifice to the Orderly water set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.[1]

Y.6.5
We sacrifice to the Orderly *oncoming Midnight hour, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly One who Furthers all Good Life and the One most like Zarathustra, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength.
We sacrifice also to also the women to be desired by men.
We sacrifice also to the seasonly good dwelling.
We sacrifice also to the well-fashioned, well-shaped Strength.
We sacrifice also to the obstruction-smashing strength, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice also to the victorious superiority.

Y.6.6
We sacrifice to the Orderly hour of Dawn, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly *Admirable one and the (Protector) of the Home, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the well-shaped Orderly, obstruction-smashing Sraosha with the rewards,
furtherer of living beings, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to Rashnu the straightest.
We sacrifice also to Rectitude,
furtherer of living beings, increaser of living beings.

Y.6.7
We sacrifice to the Orderly monthly models of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly new moon, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly full moon, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly seventh day, a model of Order.

Y.6.8
We sacrifice to the Orderly seasonly models of Order.
We sacrifice to Orderly Mid-green, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to Orderly Midsummer, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to Orderly Harvest time, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to Orderly Autumnal equinox, *marking the turning, time of releasing the males, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to Orderly Midseason, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to Orderly Spring equinox, a model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly yearly models of Order.

[1] The heavenly waters, the Vourukasha Sea, and the heavenly river, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ (see Yt.5).

Y.6.9
We sacrifice to all the models of Order,
which are the first thirty-three models of Order,
*surrounding the hour of the haoma pressing,
which are those of Best Order,
taught by Ahura Mazdâ, uttered by Zarathustra.

Y.6.10
We sacrifice to the two exalted ones,
Ahura (Mazdâ) and Mithra, *unthreatening and Orderly,
and the stars, and the moon, and the sun
(standing) by(?) the plants providing barsom.[1]
We sacrifice to Mithra, the land-lord of lands.
We sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ, wealthy and munificent.
We sacrifice to the good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength.

Y.6.11
We sacrifice to you, the Orderly fire, the son of Ahura Mazdâ, model of Order,
together with all fires.
We sacrifice to the Orderly good, best waters, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to all the Orderly waters, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to all the Orderly plants, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.6.12
We sacrifice to the life-giving poetic thought of great munificence.
We sacrifice to the law for discarding the old gods, the law transmitted by Zarathustra.
We sacrifice to the long *tradition.
We sacrifice to the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.6.13
We sacrifice to Mount Ushidarena, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ, providing good breathing space through Order.
We sacrifice to all the mountains providing good breathing space through Order, providing much breathing space, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the poets, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to the *unseizable Fortune, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to good Ashi, radiant, exalted, strong, well-shaped, *bounteous.
We sacrifice to the Fortune set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to the life-giving strength, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.6.14
We sacrifice to the good Qualified Invitation
We sacrifice also to the qualified Orderly man.
We sacrifice to the strong, rigid one worthy of sacrifice in the image of the Web-holder.

Y.6.15
We sacrifice to these waters and earths and plants.
We sacrifice to these places and settlements and grazing grounds and dwellings and *stables.
And we sacrifice to this lord of the settlement: Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.6.16
We sacrifice to all the greatest models,
the hourly, daily, monthly, seasonly, and yearly ones.

Y.6.17
We sacrifice to Wholeness and Immortality.
We sacrifice to the cow who gives good gifts.
We sacrifice to Orderly, obstruction-smashing Sraosha with the rewards, well-shaped
furtherer of living beings, a model of Order.

Y.6.18
We sacrifice to the haoma and the pre-haoma.
We sacrifice here to the Reward and pre-soul of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra.
We sacrifice to the firewood and the incense.
We sacrifice to you, the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ!

Y.6.19
We sacrifice to the good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength.

Y.6.20
We sacrifice to all the Orderly ones worthy of sacrifice.
We sacrifice to all the models of Order:
the model *for the Haoma-pressing Hour,
the model *for the Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the house,
the model *for all the greatest models.

Y.6.21
The chief priest says forth to me:
As it is **the well-deserved Life** ...
He who is the chief priest says forth to me:
As it is **the well-deserved Life** ...
Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:
thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...

[1] Sacrificial branches spread out before the fire altar.

YASNA 8: I PLACE IN ORDERLY FASHION

Y.8.1
I place in Orderly fashion
the *myazda*[1] to be eaten:
Wholeness and Immortality,
the cow who gives good gifts,
the haoma and the pre-haoma
the firewood and the incense
with the glorification of Ahura Mazdâ,
of the *Ahuna vairya*, the correctly spoken word,
of the good Qualified Invitation
of the strong one in the image of the Web-holder,
of the haoma and the poetic thought
and of Orderly Zarathustra.
May he/it(?) in return come to us in Orderly fashion.

Y.8.2
Eat, men (= gods?), this *myazda*,
whoever (among you) has deserved it
by Order and by *coming forth(?).

Y.8.3
O Life-giving Immortals! O *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ!
O Good men/gods and women/goddesses! O libations!
Whoever declares he too sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ among these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
(but actually) while *seeking victory(?)
with a *composition of Order
destroys by sorcery the living beings of Order,
point him out, you, O waters, plants, and libations.[2]

Y.8.4
And whoever among these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
being adult (and) *having participated in the invocation(?),
is not willing to say forth these words,
he comes to these *in a mind of sorcery.
Order is **the best good** ...
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ...

Y.8.5[3]
May you, Ahura Mazdâ, (now) rule at will
and according to your wish over your own Creations,
You, O waters, you, O plants,
you, O all good (things) whose seed is of/from Order,
place the Orderly one in command,
the one possessed by the Lie out of command![4]

Y.8.6
May the Orderly one have command at will!
May the one possessed by the Lie not have command at will!
(May he be) gone, discomfited, removed
from the Creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
restrained, with no power at will.

Y.8.7
May I, too, who (am another) Zarathustra,
*lead the foremost (people) of the homes, houses, tribes, and lands
to help the *daênâ* along
with their thoughts, words, and acts,
the one of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra.

Y.8.8
I invite expanse and good breathing space
for the entire being of the Orderly one.
I invite constriction and bad breathing space
for the entire existence possessed by the Lie.[5]

Y.8.9
Order is the best good ...
for the satisfaction and glorification
of the haoma, which brings Order.
(etc.)

[1] A kind of cake.

[2] Again, precautions against a flawed sacrifice.

[3] The following passage obviously expresses the basic purpose of the *yasna* sacrifice.

[4] Cf. Yt.19.96.

[5] The time stretch when the existence is under the rule of the powers of darkness.

YASNAS 9-10: THE PRAISE OF HAOMA

Y.9.1
At the proper time, at the Haoma-pressing Hour,
Haoma[1] went up to Zarathustra,
who was purifying[2] the fire and chanting the *Gatha*s.
Zarathustra asked him:
Who are you,
the most beautiful I have ever seen
in the entire bony existence,
with your sunny immortal life?

Y.9.2
Thus he answered me,
the Orderly death-averting[3] Haoma:
I am, O Zarathustra,
the Orderly death-averting Haoma.
Ask me hither, Spitamid,
press me forth to drink.
Praise me for strength,[4]
like the future Revitalizers too will praise me.

<u>The first sacrificers</u>

Y.9.3
Then Zarathustra said:
Homage to Haoma!
Who was the first man, O Haoma,
to press you for the bony world of the living?
What reward was sent to him?
What prize came to him?

Y.9.4
Thus he answered me,
Orderly death-averting Haoma:
Vîwanghwant was the first man
to press me for the bony world of the living.
That reward was sent to him,
that prize came to him
that a son was born to him:
radiant Yima with good herds,[5]
the most Fortunate among those born,
like the sun to look at among men.
Under his command he made
cattle and men indestructible,
waters and plants indesiccable,
(and) savory food imperishable.

Y.9.5
Under Yima the *brave's command
there was never cold, never heat,
there was never old age, never death,
never envy set in place by the old gods.
Fifteen (years) in shape the two went forth,
father and son each,
for as long as he ruled,
Yima with good herds, Vîwanghwant's son.

Y.9.6
Who was the second man, O Haoma,
to press you for the bony world of the living?
What reward was sent to him?
What prize came to him?"

Y.9.7
Thus he answered me,
Orderly death-averting Haoma:
Âthviya was the second man
to press me for the bony world of the living.
That reward was sent to him,
that prize came to him
that a son was born to him:
Thraêtaona of the house rich in life-giving strength.

Y.9.8
He smashed the giant dragon
with three mouths, three heads,
six eyes, a thousand tricks,
the mighty strong, deceiving Lie,
that evil (affecting) the living beings, possessed by the Lie:
the mighty strong Lie
that the Evil Spirit whittled forth,
against the bony world of the living,
for the destruction of the living beings of Order.

Y.9.9
Who was the third man, O Haoma,
to press you for the bony world of the living?
What reward was sent to him?
What prize came to him?

Y.9.10
Thus he answered me,
Orderly death-averting Haoma:

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[1] It is hardly possible in this text to distinguish between the god Haoma and the *haoma* plant used in the sacrifice.

[2] I.e., preparing it for the sacrifice.

[3] The meaning of *dûraosha-*, OInd. *durosha-* has not been established; "death-averting" is just a stop-gap translation. The word could perhaps mean "he who opens the doors of dawn"?

[4] Note the effect of the praise.

[5] See Videvdad 2.

Thrita of the Sâmas, most rich in life-giving strength,[1]
was the third man to press me
for the bony world of the living.
That reward was sent to him,
that prize came to him
that two sons were born to him:
Urwâkhshaya and Kersâspa,
one a *guide regulating the law,
but the other had his work *above,[2]
the curly-headed, mace-bearing youth.

Y.9.11
He smashed the horned dragon,
the horse-devouring, man-devouring one,
the venomous, yellow one,
over whom the yellow venom rose up
to the height of a spear;
on whom Kersâspa cooked his meal
in an iron pot at noon time.
The villain started to get hot and to sweat.
He shot out from under the pot
and scattered the boiling water.
Frightened he ran off and away,
Kersâspa, whose thoughts were those of heroes.

Y.9.12
Who was the fourth man, O Haoma,
to press you for the bony world of the living?
What reward was sent to him?
What prize came to him?

Y.9.13
Thus he answered me,
Orderly death-averting Haoma:
Pourushâspa was the third man
to press me for the bony world of the living.
That reward was sent to him,
that prize came to him
that you were born to him,
you, O upright Zarathustra,
of the house of Pourushâspa,
who said no to the old gods
and took Ahura Mazdâ as your *guide.

Y.9.14
Renowned in the Aryan Expanse[3]
you were the first, O Zarathustra,
to chant the *Ahuna vairya*[4]
with *pauses and repeated four times,
the last time with stronger enunciation.

Y.9.15
You made hide in the ground
all the old gods, O Zarathustra,
who before that went about on this earth
in the shape of men,
(you) the strongest, the firmest,
the most active, the fastest,
who were the greatest obstruction-smasher
of the *two Creations of the two spirits.

Praise of Haoma

Y.9.16
Thus said Zarathustra:
Homage to Haoma! Good (is) Haoma,
well set up (is) Haoma, set up straight,
good, healing according to the established rules,
of good shape, giving good invigoration,
an obstruction-smasher,
golden-colored with pliable twigs,
the best when they drink (him)
and the best flight-maker for the breath-soul.[5]

Y.9.17
I call down, O golden one, your intoxication
and your might and your obstruction-smashing power,
your talent, your healing,
your furthering, your increasing,
your strength in the whole body,
your all-adorned wisdom.
(I call) down (all) that so that I may go forth
among the living beings commanding at will,
overcoming hostilities, conquering the Lie![6]

Y.9.18
(I call) down (all) that so that I may overcome
the hostilities of all hostile ones,
old gods and men,
sorcerers and witches, false teachers,
*poetasters, and *mumblers,[7]
villains on two feet,
obscurantists[1] on two feet,

---

[1] Cf. V.20.2.

[2] That is, in the world of thought? See Bdh.33.35, Dk.7.1.32.

[3] Av. *airyanem vaêjô*, the mythical homeland of the Iranians, where Zarathustra was born. The exact meaning is not known.

[4] See Videvdad 19.10.

[5] It makes the breath-soul fly up to heaven.

[6] Note the effects of drinking haoma. Cf. Y.10.6.

[7] *Poetasters, and *mumblers, *kawi*s and *karapan*s: originally *kawi* was "poet," then "competing > bad poet"; *karapan* presumably a "mumbler" or a kind of "sacrificer," then "competing > bad poet-sacrificer." According to the later tradition they tried to destroy the infant Zarathustra. See Denkard 7.4.64-67.

wolves on four feet,
and (their) army with wide front,
deceiving and falling (all over).[2]

Five requests

Y.9.19
This I ask you as my first request,
O death-averting haoma:
the Best Existence (Paradise) of the Orderly ones,
luminous and all good breathing space.
This I ask you as my second request,
O death-averting haoma:
health of this body.
This I ask you as my third request,
O death-averting haoma:
long life for (my) life breath.

Y.9.20
This I ask you as my fourth request,
O death-averting haoma:
that I may stand forth upon the earth
strong, mighty, satisfied,
overcoming hostilities, conquering the Lie!
This I ask you as my fifth request,
O death-averting haoma:
that I may stand forth upon the earth
smashing obstructions, conquering in battles,
overcoming hostilities, conquering the Lie!

Y.9.21
This I ask you as my sixth request,
O death-averting haoma:
May we be the first to notice the thief and the robber,
the first to notice the wolf![3]
May no one notice us first!
May we notice all first!

Generosity of Haoma

Y.9.22
Haoma bestows endurance and strength
on those fleet coursers who run
in pairs along the race course.
To those in labor Haoma
gives radiant sons
as well as Orderly (sons as) offspring.
On those who in their homes
sit asking about the holy texts, Haoma
bestows insight and wisdom.

Y.9.23
On the young women
who go long without becoming pregnant,
Haoma bestows a master and lord,
(being) quickly well-*disposed when implored.

Y.9.24
Haoma also set down Kersâni
away from his command,
him who complained in his desire for command,
who lied:
No shall a priest again go about
in my land for increasing studies(?)!
He shall conquer all of the increases.
He shall strike down all of the increases.[4]

Y.9.25
Lucky you, who by your own strength,
O haoma, are in command at will!
Lucky you, the one informed about
the correct utterances containing many words!
Lucky you! You do not ask with a *tortuous question
about something spoken straight(?).

Y.9.26
Mazdâ brought you the belt with knots,
star-adorned, fashioned in the world of thought:
the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
And with that you are girded[5]
on the heights of the mountains
(enabling you) to hold the reins
and handles of the poetic thought.[6]

Y.9.27
O Haoma, O house-lord, O town-lord,
O tribe-lord, O land-lord,
O *possessor of life-giving wisdom, O master of knowledge,
for the sake of obtaining force and obstruction-smashing strength
I address you: for me, for (my) body,
and the prosperity that gives much *enjoyment.

Curses

Y.9.28
Take away from us the hostilities of the hostile ones!

---

[1] I.e., who obscures, darkens Order; traditionally translated as "heretic."

[2] Typical mode of locomotion of the followers of the Lie.

[3] "Wolves" could be "on two feet" or "on four feet." Human "wolves" were criminals such as murderers.

[4] We do not know what this story is about.

[5] Cf. Bdh.6j.1.

[6] The poetic thought appears to act as the chariot(?) of the sun.

Take away the thought of the irate ones!
In this house or in this town
or in this tribe or in this land—
whatever sinful mortal there is,
take endurance away from his feet!
Cover his ears!
Shatter his thought!

Y.9.29
May you not be able (to walk) forth with the legs,
may you not at all be able (to grasp) with the hands!
May he not see the earth with his eyes!
May he not see the cow with his eyes,
he who makes our thought sinful,
he who makes our body sinful!

Y.9.30
Against the yellow dragon, spurting venom,
for the benefit of Orderly one who wishes to maintain (his) body(?),
strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!
Against the robber seeking to bloat (his possessions),
bloody, raging,
for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his) body,
strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!

Y.9.31
Against the man possessed by the Lie,
the false teacher who (arrogantly) tosses his head,
for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his) body,
strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!
Against the unorderly one who darkens Order, who destroys (this) existence,
who heeds in speech this *daênâ*,
(but) does not *follow up in acts,
for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his) body,
strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!

Y.9.32
Against the evil woman possessed by sorcerers
whose deeds are for pleasure, who offers her lap,
whose thought flutters forth
like a cloud traveling with the wind,
for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his) body,
strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!
When (it is) for him,
for the benefit of the Orderly one who wishes to keep (his) body,
strike (your) weapon, O golden Haoma!

Praise of Haoma

Y.10.1
Let them go away from here,
old gods and deceptive females!
Let good Sraosha make his dwelling,
let good Ashi dwell here!
Good Ashi *rested
here in this home, in which Ahura Mazdâ is sacrificed to,
which (is that) of Haoma, conveyor of/through Order.

Y.10.2
Also, the foremost (part of) your mortar
I approach praising with speech,
O you of good guiding thought,[1]
(that) which receives (your) twigs.
Also, the uppermost (part of) your mortar
I approach praising with speech,
O you of good guiding thought,
(that) in which (the haoma) is pounded
with the strength of a man/hero.

Y.10.3
I praise the fog and the rain,
who make your body grow
on the tops of the mountains.
I praise the high mountains,
where, O Haoma, you have grown up.

Y.10.4
I praise the earth, broad and wide,
with invigorating *essence, *bountiful,
the carrier/womb[2] of you, O Orderly Haoma.
I praise the earths, where, O Haoma, you grow,
fragrant, *fleetly-moving.
By the good growth of Mazdâ
you have grown on the mountain,
and so may you also prosper along the path of the bird.[3]
And truly you are the wellspring of Order!

Y.10.5
Increase by my word in all (your) *roots
in all (your) buds, and in all (your) protuberances!

Y.10.6
Haoma grows when he is praised.
Thus the man who praises him
becomes a greater obstruction-smasher.

---

[1] The reference of this epithet here is not clear. Compare "flight-maker" in Y.9.16?

[2] The earth carries all that is on her, but she is also the womb from which Haoma is born.

[3] Compare "flight-maker" in Y.9.16?

The very least pressing of you, O Haoma,
the very least praise of you, O Haoma,
the very least consumption of you, O Haoma,
is for the smashing of a thousand old gods.[1]

Benefits of the haoma

Y.10.7
As soon as it is produced
a(ny) blemish disappears from this house,
where he repeatedly brings in,
where he repeatedly praises
the *offspring, the *talent,
the healing of healing Haoma,
in his house and dwelling.

Y.10.8
For all other intoxications
are accompanied by Wrath with the bloody club,[2]
but the intoxication of Haoma
is accompanied by Order (and) bliss.
The intoxication of Haoma quickens
the man who would honor
Haoma like a young son.
Haoma enters these bodies to heal them.

Y.10.9
O Haoma, give me (those) of the remedies
by which you are the best (disease-)smasher through remedies!
O Haoma, give me (those) of the obstruction-smashing (remedies?),
by which you are the greatest obstruction-smasher.
I shall be ready to keep your deals (and) to praise you
(so that) you can make me better keep your deals (and) praise you.
(Thus) spoke Ahura Mazdâ:
as (is) the Order that is best.

Y.10.10
The artisan god had fashioned you
as the fleet one set in place by the Web-master.
The artisan god had set you down
as the fleet one set in place by the Web-master
on high Haraitî.[3]

Y.10.11
Thus the life-giving birds launched there
carried you out in various directions:
to Ishkata Upairi.saêna,
to Staêra Starô.sâra,
to Kusrâdha Kusrô.patâdha,
to Pavrâna along the path of the birds,
to the two *White-color Mountains.[4]

Y.10.12
And on those mountains
you grow in many varieties,
as the milky, golden-colored haoma.
Your remedies have been *mixed
by the *creative magic* of Good Thought.
So fling thought away from the one
who announces bad things about me!
And *depress the thought of the one
who stands up to announce bad things about me!

Y.10.13
Homage to Haoma! For he makes
the thought of a poor man as large
as that of even the most wealthy.
Homage to Haoma! because he makes
the thought of a poor man as large
as this (entire) knowledge of the ... (?).
You give plenty of men/heroes
to the one who has more life-giving knowledge,
who has more insight,
who, O golden Haoma, ever and again
gives shares of you mixed with milk.

Y.10.14.
Do not, like the bull banner ...
Let your juicy intoxications go forth!
Let them go with invigorating *essence!
I place all around, O Orderly Haoma,
this body of yours, invigorator of Order,
which appears to me well-shaped.

Y.10.15
I relinquish the aperture of the woman,
the villainess, whose dirt has not been removed,[5]
who thinks she is deceiving
the priest and Haoma,[6]
she who (herself, however,) deceived goes to perdition,
she who sits down devouring
the *draonah*[1] which belongs to Haoma.

---

[1] Cf. Y.9.2.

[2] The bloodiness may refer to the color of sunset. It is possible Wrath, the evil force of the dark night sky is responsible for killing the day and the sunset is its death blood.

[3] These are references to myths we do not know. We may also be dealing with constellations.

[4] Mountains in Central Asia and modern Afghanistan.

[5] Perhaps a reference to a menstruating woman.

[6] Cf. V.18.62.

(Haoma) does not *give her priests as sons,
nor indeed any good sons.

"Profession of faith"

Y.10.16
I belong to five, to five I do not belong:
I belong to (thought) well thought,
I do not belong to (thought) not well thought.
I belong to (speech) well spoken,
I do not belong to (speech) not well spoken.
I belong to (action) well done,
I do not belong to (action) not well done.
I belong to readiness to listen,
I do not belong to lack of readiness to listen.
I belong to the Orderly one,
I do not belong to the one possessed by the Lie.
and that (will be so) until when in the end
the victory between the two spirits comes about.

Zarathustra praises Haoma

Y.10.17
Then Zarathustra said:
Homage to Haoma, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
Good is Haoma, who was set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
Homage to Haoma!
I praise all the haomas,
even when on the heights of the mountains,
even when in the depths of the streams,
even those in the narrow passes of ravines,
in the *clutches of women.
From a silver bowl
into a golden one I pour (you).
Let me not send you into the earth.
In this way you are worthy of a *wealthy one.

Y.10.18
These are your songs, O Haoma.
These are (your) praises.
...
These are the words correctly spoken,
*fulfilling our obligations,[2]
rich in obstruction-smashing strength,
countering hostilities, healing.

Y.10.19
And you too, (give) me these (songs, etc.?)!
Let your juicy intoxications go forth!
Let your luminous intoxications go forth!
The intoxications fly more fleetly, smashers of obstructions,
(when) he praises the one who is, at the same time as this
word from the *Gatha*s(?).

Y.10.20
Homage to the cow! Homage to the cow!
For the cow an utterance!
For the cow a *stable!
For the cow food!
For the cow *pasture
may be produced, for the cow! You keep tending *her* for food for *us*! (< 3.48.5)

Y.10.21
We sacrifice to tall, golden Haoma.
We sacrifice to ruddy[3] Haoma, furtherer of living beings.
We sacrifice to *death-averting Haoma.
We sacrifice to all the haomas.
We sacrifice here to the reward and pre-soul
of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra.
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...[4]

Three curses

Y.11.1
Three who are truly Orderly, whose words are not inviting,
are (here) cursing:
the cow and the horse and Haoma.
The cow curses the priest:
May you have no offspring and be followed by bad fame,
who do not share me (when) well cooked.
Thus you fatten me
(as if) belonging to (your) wife or son or his own *belly.

Y.11.2
The horse curses the rider:
May you not be able to harness the fleet (coursers),
nor mount the fleet (coursers),
nor rein in the fleet (coursers),
who do not ask me for strength
in the plentiful assembly of a ... with many men.

Y.11.3
Haoma curses the eater:
May you have no offspring and be followed by bad fame,
who keep me for yourself when pressed,
as (if I were) a thief whose head is forfeit.
For my head is not forfeit,
mine, the Orderly death-averting Haoma.

[1] Some kind of ritual food.
[2] That is, to the gods.
[3] The color of the sunset.
[4] The *Yenghye hâtâm* prayer, see Y.27.15.

Y.11.4
My father sent forth to me, Haoma, as my share of the sacrifice
—(he) Orderly Ahura Mazdâ—
the cheeks together with the tongue,
as well as the left eye.

Y.11.5
He who robs me of or steals or grabs it away that share
which Orderly Ahura Mazdâ gave me,—
the cheeks together with the tongue,
as well as the left eye,—

Y.11.6
in that home will not be known
either a priest or a warrior or a husbandman.
Thus in his home will be born
*stinging and crawling (things)
of many kinds, as well as ....

Y.11.7
In the firmament you fashioned forth
for firmest Haoma the share of the cow.[1]
May not Haoma bind you like he bound the villain,
the Turian Frangrasyân, in the middle third of this earth,
fettered in iron.[2]

Zarathustra praises Haoma

Y.11.8
Thus spoke Zarathustra:
Homage to Haoma set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
Good is Haoma set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to Haoma!
...

Y.11.10
I place all around, O Orderly Haoma,
this body of yours, O you vigorous through Order,
which appears to me well-shaped.
for energy, for Haoma, for intoxication,
for well-being, for Orderliness.
May you too assign to me,
O Orderly death-averting Haoma,
the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
light and all good breathing space!

Y.11.11
Order is **the best good** ...

Y.11.12
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ... ...
May you, Ahura Mazdâ, (now) rule at will (etc., = Y.8.5)

Y.11.13
May the Orderly one have power at will! (etc., = Y.8.6)

Y.11.14
May I, too, who (am another) Zarathustra (etc., = Y.8.7)

Y.11.15
I pray for spaciousness (etc., = Y.8.8)

Y.11.16
I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices (etc., = Y.1.23)

The chief priest says forth to me:
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ... ...
He who is the chief priest says forth to me:
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ... ...
Let a sustainer of Order who knows (it) say forth:
thus its **Model** is **just in accordance with Order** ...

I say forth with my praise

Y.11.17 = Y.0.4
I say (it) forth with my praise
with (thoughts) well thought, (words) well spoken, (acts) well done,
and (thoughts) to be well thought, (words) to be well spoken, and (acts) to be well done.
I regard as worthy of songs of praise
all (thoughts) well thought, (words) well spoken, (acts) well done.
I regard as worthy of being left out
all (thoughts) badly thought, (words) badly spoken, (acts) badly done.

Y.11.18 = Y.0.5
I have given to you, O Life-giving Immortals,
(my) sacrifice and hymn
(together) with (my) thought, with (my) word, and with (my) act,
(together) with (my) *essence (life thread?),
and (together) with
the life breath of nothing less than (my) **own body**.
(**1.**33.14)

Y.11.19 = Y.0.6
I praise Order.
Order is **the best good** ...

[1] "Cow" = "meat"?
[2] See Yt.9.17-19.

YASNA 12: PROFESSION OF FAITH (*FRAWARÂNÊ*)

Y.12.1
I scorn the old gods.
I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ like Zarathustra did.
I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.
(I am) a praiser of the Life-giving Immortals, a sacrificer to the Life-giving Immortals.
To Ahura Mazdâ, (himself) good and possessor of good (things),
I assign **all good things**, (to him,) the Orderly one, wealthy, (and) munificent,
which ever are the best, (< **YH.**37.1)
to whom belongs the cow, to whom Order,
to whom the lights,[1] to whom
The free spaces are ***blending with the lights**. (< **YH.**37.1)

Y.12.2
I (now) choose **Life-giving Humility**,[2] **the good one**. ***She shall belong to*** me! (< **1.**32.2)
By my praise of the cow I (herewith) remove (her)
from theft and violence,
(by my praise) of the towns of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ (I remove them)
from damage and devastation.

Y.12.3
You are giving to the *homes
ability to go where they wish, to settle where they wish,
the ones by which they **dwell** on this earth **together with** (their) **cows** (< **YH.**37.2)
set up in reverence for Order.
In return I praise (all) that.
I shall not (leave) that (profession of faith and) enter upon (the path to) damage or devastation
against the towns of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
not (even) for love of (my) bones or life breath.

Y.12.4
I (herewith) say no to the company with the evil old gods,
who have no good (things to give),
whose (sacrifice) has/produces no Order,
who give evil gifts,
the most lying of all beings,
the foulest of all beings,
who of all beings have the least good (things to give).
I (herewith) say no the company with old gods,
with those possessed by old gods,
with sorcerers, with those possessed by sorcerers,
with the *opposite (qualities) of each and every one of all beings:
in thoughts, in words,
in acts, in (their) brilliant (gifts?).
Indeed, I say no to the company with him
*steadfastly[3] just like with (any) *offensive one possessed by the Lie.

Y.12.5
And thus again and again
Ahura Mazdâ would *imprint on Zarathustra
in all the questionings, in all the meetings,
in which they discussed,
Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra.

Y.12.6
And thus again and again Zarathustra
would say no to the company with the old gods,
in all the conversations, in all the meetings,
in which they discussed,
Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra.
And thus do I too, as someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ in the tradition of Zarathustra,
(herewith) say no to the company with the old gods,
like he would say no to them,
the Orderly Zarathustra.

Y.12.7
The choice by which the waters,
the choice by which the plants,
the choice by which the cow who gives good gifts,
the choice by which Ahura Mazdâ,
who set in place the cow,
who (set in (his) place) the Orderly man,
the choice by which Zarathustra was (someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ),
the choice by which Kawi Vishtâspa,[4]
the choice by which the (brothers) Frashaoshtra and Jâmâspa,[5]
the choice by which each of the Revitalizers,
who produce what is truly real, Orderly,
by that choice and *guidance
I am someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ.

---

[1] The first creations.

[2] Daughter and wife of Ahura Mazdâ, is the genius of the earth. Her humility is that of a daughter and wife, but also the patience of the earth who carries all life upon herself.

[3] Lit., "by (my) firm stance" (on the chariot)?

[4] See Yt.13.99-100.

[5] According to the tradition two brothers. Jâmâspa married Zarathustra's daughter after she was married to her father.

Y.12.8
I shall choose to sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ in the tradition of Zarathustra.
Having presented myself (to him) as a praiser(?)
and having made my choice,
I present my well-thought thought in praise,
I present my well-said word in praise,
I present my well-performed act in praise.

Y.12.9
I present my *daênâ* in praise
as that of someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ,
throwing off (her) harness, laying down (her) weapons,
(and) as my Orderly wedded daughter/wife,
who, of those that are and those that shall be,
(is) the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
which (is) worthy of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra.
I assign all good things to Ahura Mazdâ.
This is how I present my *daênâ* in praise
as that of someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ.

THE SECTION ON THE *AHUNWAR*

Y.19.1
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, O most Life-giving Spirit,
O Orderly establisher of living beings with bones!
Which was yon word, Ahura Mazdâ,
that you said forth to me—

Y.19.2
(as being) before the sky, before the water,
before the earth, before the cow, before the plant,
before the fire, the son of Ahura Mazdâ,
before the Orderly Man,[1]
before old gods, creeps, and men,
before every Life with bones,
before all the good things established by Ahura Mazdâ, whose seed is from/according to Order?

Y.19.3
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
That was this Section (consisting) of the *Ahuna vairiia*,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
that I said forth to you—

Y.19.4
(as being) before the sky, before the water,
etc.

Y.19.6
And whoever in this Life with bones, O Spitama Zarathustra,
recites my Section (consisting) of the *Ahuna vairiia*,
or reciting it remembers it,
or remembering it makes it heard,
or making it heard sacrifices it—
even three times across the bridge
to the Best Life I shall convey his soul,
I, Ahura Mazdâ,
up to the Best Life, up to Best Order, up to the best lights.

Y.19.7
And whoever in this Life with bones, O Spitama Zarathustra,
while memorizing my Section (consisting) of the *Ahuna vairiia* leaves out
either a half or a third or a fourth or a fifth,
I, shall stretch around him,
I, Ahura Mazdâ,
his soul away from the Best Life.
To such an extent in thickness and breadth I would stretch (it) as this earth.
For this earth is as much in thickness as in breadth.

Y.19.8
And this word which contains "Life" and "model"
has (always) been said forth
before the foundation band[2] of yonder sky,
before (that of) the water,
before (that of) the earth,
before (that of) the plant,
before the foundation band of the cow with four legs,
before the birth of the two-legged Orderly Man,
before (the foundation band of) yonder sun in fashioned form,
after the foundation band of the Life-giving Immortals.
...

Y.19.17
Which (are) the occupations?
The Priest, the Warrior, the Husbandman, the Artisan,
which are the daily (tasks? to be) pursued
by the Orderly Man, thinking straight thoughts,
speaking straight words, performing straight actions,
remembered according to the models,

[1] I.e., Gayômard.

[2] A weaving term: the beginning of the new fabric (birth tissue), which is woven more tightly than the rest of the weave.

*promoting the Daênâ,
(he) **by whose actions the herds are being furthered through Order**.

Y.19.18
Which (are) the models?
The one of the house, the one of the town,
the one of the tribe, the one of the land,
(and) the fifth: Zarathustra,
(are the models) of these lands—other than (in) Zarathustrian Raghae:
Zarathustrian Raghae has four models.
Which (are) *its* models?
The one of the house, the one of the town,
the one of the tribe, (and) the fourth: Zarathustra.

Y.19.19
What (was) the Well-thought (thought)?
The Orderly (man?), the first (creation of Ahura Mazdâ's) thought.
What (was) the Well-spoken (word)?
The Life-giving poetic thought.
What (was) the Well-performed (action)?
The praises according to Order and the first creations.

Y.19.20
Mazdâ said forth (the *Ahuna vairiia*?).
Whom did he say forth?
The Orderly (man?), both in the world of thought and in the world of the living.
How great (was he to) say forth the word to be said forth?
(As) the best with the command (to do so).
How great (did he say forth) the Orderly (man?)?
As the best, but without command at will.

Y.19.21
We offer up in sacrifice the section of the *Ahuna vairiia*.
Of the *Ahuna vairiia* we offer up in sacrifice
(its) proclamation and recitation
and incantation and (its) sending forth in sacrifice.
Thus, he **among those that are**, **in return for whose sacrifice** ...

YASNA 23: HARNESSING THE PRE-SOULS

Y.23.1
By (my) sacrifice I harness:[1]
the pre-souls of *those who were the first,
those of the houses, of the towns,
of the tribes, and of the lands,
who held out[2] the sky,
who held out the water,
who held out the earth,
who held out the cow,
who held out the sons in the wombs,
enclosed and not dying beforehand.

Y.23.2
By (my) sacrifice I harness:
the pre-souls of the following:
of Ahura Mazdâ,
of the Life-giving Immortals
together with all the Orderly pre-souls
of those worthy of sacrifice in the world of thought.
By (my) sacrifice I harness the pre-souls of the following:
of Gaya Martân,
of Spitama Zarathustra,
of Kawi Vishtâspa,
of Isat.vâstra, the Zarathustra-son,[3]
together with all the Orderly pre-souls,
those of the first *guides.

Y.23.3
By (my) sacrifice I harness:
all the Orderly pre-souls
of whosoever is anywhere on this here earth before departed:[4]
qualified (men) and women,
boys and girls,
farmers and settlers
going away from this here home,—
(those) who commemorate (them),
who *make (them) obtain(?)
good sacrifices and hymns.

[1] That is, to the chariot that is going to convey the sacrifice up to the gods? – The pre-souls are indispensable in the making of new life, from conception to birth. We are now preparing the rebirth of Zarathustra through the haoma, and the pre-souls are of crucial importance in the process.

[2] The verb refers to the creative act, see Yt.13.

[3] See Bdh.34.10.

[4] This passage is in a strange form (corrupt, colloquial?) of Avestan.

Y.23.4
By (my) sacrifice I harness:
the pre-souls of the Orderly,
strong (and) unshakable,
the pre-souls of the first *guides,
the pre-souls of our closest relatives,
for the pre-soul of (my) own breath-soul.
By (my) sacrifice I harness (the sacrifice):
for all the models of Order,
for all those worthy of sacrifice whose gifts are good,
both those in the world of thought
and those in the world of the living,
who are worthy of sacrifice and hymns
according to the best Order.

Y.23.5
I shall choose to sacrifice (etc., = Y.11.16)

YASNA 24-25: PRESENTATION OF THE HAOMAS

Y.24.1
We make known the haomas to Ahura Mazdâ,
these haomas, *myazda*s, libations
and barsom spread out in Orderly fashion
and the cow who gives good gifts
and this milch cow set up in Orderly fashion,
and this plant, the pomegranate, set up in Orderly fashion.

Y.24.2
(We make known) to the good waters
these libations containing haoma and milk and pomegranate, set up in Orderly fashion.
(We make known) to the good waters
both the haoma water
and the stone mortar
and the iron pestle—

Y.24.3
and this barsom plant
and the pleasing of the models which has now come[1]
and the recitation and *invigoration
of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
and the listening to the *Gathas*
and the pleasing of the models of the Orderly model of the Order which has now come
and these firewoods and incense
yours, the fire's, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
and all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ with/from the seed of Order
we place all around and make them known.
Then we make them known

Y.24.4
to Ahura Mazdâ,
to Sraosha with the rewards,
to the Life-giving Immortals,
to the pre-souls of the Orderly ones
and to the breath-souls of the Orderly ones
and to the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
and to the lofty model
and to altogether the entire time span of the Orderly one,
for (their) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

Y.24.5
Thus I make them known
to the pre-soul of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra,[2]
seeker of the (first) existence, lover of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification,
together with all the Orderly pre-souls,
the ones of the departed Orderly ones
and those of the living Orderly ones
and those of the unborn men,
the Revitalizers who will make (the existence) Perfect.[3]

Y.24.6
These haomas, *myazda*s, libations
and barsom spread out in Orderly fashion
and the cow who gives good gifts
and this milch cow set up in Orderly fashion,
and this plant, the pomegranate, set up in Orderly fashion,—

Y.24.7
for the good waters[4]
these libations containing haoma and milk and pomegranate, set up in Orderly fashion
to the good waters and the haoma water,
to the stone mortar and the iron pestle—

[1] That is, the divine models of the elements of the sacrifice have all been satisfied.

[2] See Dk.7.2.14-21, 46.

[3] *frasha*, literally "juicy," that is, with the juices of life and fertility.

[4] The insistence on the waters here may also be as the birth waters for the birth of Zarathustra.

Y.24.8
and this barsom plant
and the pleasing of the models which has now come
and the recitation and *invigoration
of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
and the listening to the *Gathas*
and the pleasing of the models of the Orderly model of the Order which has now come
and these firewoods and incense
yours, the fire's, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
and all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ with/from the seed of Order
we place all around and make them known.

Y.24.9
Then we make them known
to the Life-giving Immortals, who bestow good command and give good gifts
as ever-living, ever-life-giving,
those of the male followers of Order who dwell on the side of good thought
and those **of the female followers of Order who do so**. (< **YH.**39.3)

Y.24.10
Then we make them known
as the more numerous ones of this house,
for the furthering of this house,
(those) of cattle and men,
both those Orderly ones who have been born and those yet to be born:
to whomever/whichever (house) this one (belongs) they belong.

Y.24.11
Then we make them known
to the pre-souls of the Orderly,
who are both strong and unshakable,
for the help of the Orderly.

Y.24.12
Then we make them known
for the sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification
of Ahura Mazdâ, who has set (everything in place),
wealthy and munificent,
the (greatest?) spirit in the world of thought,
(and for that) of the Life-giving Immortals.

Y.24.13
Then we make them known
to the daily models of Order:
to the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.
Then we make them known
to the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the House, a model of Order.
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.
Then we make them known
for the sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds, with a thousand ears, with ten thousand eyes,
the one worthy of sacrifice whose name is uttered,
(and) of peace with good pastures.

...

Y.24.34
Then we make them known to
all the models of Order,
all the ones giving good gifts, worthy of sacrifice,
both those in the world of thought
and those in the world of the living,
who are worthy of sacrifice and hymns
according to the best Order.

Y.25.1
We sacrifice to the Life-giving Immortals
bestowing good command and giving good gifts.
We offer up in sacrifice this haoma
set up in Orderly fashion.
We offer up in sacrifice also this milch cow
set up in Orderly fashion.
We offer up in sacrifice also this pomegranate plant
set up in Orderly fashion.

Y.25.2
For the good waters:
we offer up in sacrifice these libations
containing haoma and milk and pomegranate,
set up in Orderly fashion.
For the good waters:
we offer up in sacrifice the haoma water,
and we offer up in sacrifice the stone mortar,
and we offer up in sacrifice the iron pestle.

Y.25.3
We offer up in sacrifice this barsom plant
and the pleasing of the models which has now come
and the recitation and *invigoration
of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
and the listening to the *Gathas*
and the pleasing of the models of the Orderly model of the Order which has now come

and these firewoods and incense,
yours, the fire's, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,—
and all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
whose seed are from/according to Order.

Y.25.4
We sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ, wealthy and munificent.
We sacrifice to the Life-giving Immortals,
who bestow good command and give good gifts.
We sacrifice to Mithra, who provides wide grazing grounds.
We sacrifice to peace with good pastures.
We sacrifice to the radiant immortal, bright sun with fleet horses.

Y.25.8
And we sacrifice to every (other) Orderly one
in the world of thought worthy of sacrifice,
and we sacrifice to every (other) Orderly one
in the world of the living worthy of sacrifice.

YASNA 26: SACRIFICE OF THE PRE-SOULS

Y.26.1
The good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength,
I praise, I invoke, I weave (into my hymn).[1]
We offer (them) up in sacrifice,
those of the house, the town, the tribe, the land,
those most like that of Zarathustra.

Y.26.2
And here we offer up in sacrifice,
of all these first pre-souls:[2]
yonder pre-soul, that of Ahura Mazdâ,
the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
the hardest, the one with the best guiding thought, the best shaped,
the one by which one most often reaches Order.

Y.26.3
We offer up in sacrifice the good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength,
those of the Life-giving Immortals,
radiant, with invigorating eyes,
lofty, overpowering,
firm, following Ahura Mazdâ,
posing no threats and Orderly.

Y.26.4
Here we offer up in sacrifice
the (first) life,[3] the *daênâ*, the consciousness, the breath-soul, and the pre-soul
of the Orderly males and Orderly females
(who were) the first *guides,
the first to hear the commandments,
who have (always) won for Order.
We offer up in sacrifice the breath-soul of the cow who gives good gifts.

Y.26.5
(We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of those) who have won for Order.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-soul of the Orderly Gaya Martân.
Here we offer up in sacrifice the reward and pre-soul of Spitama Zarathustra.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-soul of Kawi Vishtâspa.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-soul of Isat.vâstra the Zarathustra-son.[4]

Y.26.6
Here we offer up in sacrifice—of (our) Orderly closest relatives, male and female—
the (first) life, the *daênâ*, the consciousness, the breath-soul, and the pre-soul
(of those) who have (always) won for Order,
together with all the Orderly pre-souls,
the ones of the departed Orderly ones
and those of the living Orderly ones
and those of the unborn men,
the Revitalizers who will make (the existence) Perfect.[5]

Y.26.7
Here we offer up in sacrifice the breath-souls of the departed,
which are the pre-souls of the Orderly,
of all the ones in this house,
of the previously departed ones of the closest family,
of the teaching-masters, of the students,

[1] The web of the poet's hymns probably matches the birth-tissue of the fetus of Zarathustra.

[2] Every being in both worlds has a pre-soul. Each successive new being apparently combines all the pre-souls of earlier beings. Hence, they are all invoked again and again.

[3] Perhaps embryo or fetus, but in any case, that which receives the life breath and bones to make it into a living being, cf. **1.**34.14, **YH.**37.3, etc.

[4] See Bdh.34.10.

[5] Av. *frasha*, literally "juicy," that is, filled with the juices of life, or "fluffy," like a thick weave.

of men (and) women.
Here we offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly men (and) Orderly women.

Y.26.8
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the Orderly teaching-masters.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the Orderly students.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the Orderly men.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the Orderly women.

Y.26.9
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of all the children made by the qualified.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly ones in the land.
We offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly ones out of the land.

Y.26.10
And we offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly men.
And we offer up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the Orderly women.
We offer up in sacrifice all the good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength,
those from Gaya Martân
to the obstruction-smashing Revitalizer.

Y.26.11
We offer up in sacrifice all the good, life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength.
We offer up in sacrifice the breath-souls of the departed,
which are the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.
Thus, **we sacrifice** to the male and female deities ...

The chief priest says forth to me:
As it is **the well-deserved Life** ...
He who is the chief priest says forth to me:
As it is **the well-deserved Life** ...
Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:
thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...

YASNA 27: SACRIFICE OF THE HAOMA

Y.27.1
This (we do?), for him to be set in place as the greatest
first life of all and (its) model:
Ahura Mazdâ,
for the striking of the Evil Spirit possessed by the Lie,
for the striking of Wrath with the bloody club,
for the striking of the giant old gods,
for the striking of all the old gods
and the greedy ones possessed by the Lie,[1] —

Y.27.2
for the furthering of Ahura Mazdâ,
wealthy and munificent,
for the furthering of the Life-giving Immortals,
for the furthering of the star Tishtriya,[2]
wealthy and munificent,
for the furthering of the Orderly Man,
for the furthering of all the Orderly creations of the Life-giving Spirit.

Y.27.3
As it is **the well-deserved Life**, just **like that** is **the Model** an example to follow—**just in accordance with Order**.

Y.27.4 = **1.**34.15
O Mazdâ, **thus say *my* poems conferring fame** and my **actions** are **the best**!
Say, **you**, that my **repayment** in the form **of praises** is best on account of **that good thought** of mine **and the Order** of my ritual.
You now **make by the command of you** all, **O Ahura**, this **existence Perfect in exchange value**, **the *real* one**.

Y.27.5= **5.**54.1
Let speedy Airyaman come here for support
for men/heroes and women/heroines, **for the support of Zarathustra's**
good thought, **by which** his **vision-soul may gain a worthy fee**.
I am now asking for the reward of/for Order, **which Ahura Mazdâ shall *deem worthy of being sped** hither.

Y.27.6
The haomas are about to be filtered,
containing the command of Ahura Mazdâ,
containing the models of Order.[3]
Good Sraosha, who is followed by *Ashi who bestows riches—

[1] A group of evil beings about whom nothing else is known. They are often mentioned together with the giant old gods.

[2] Tishtriya conducts the heavenly (birth) waters and make them rain down to fertilize the earth and produce a new existence. See Yt.8.

[3] Note the importance of the haoma pressing: it puts Ahura Mazdâ back in command and provides the models for the reordering of the cosmos.

let him too have taken up his position here.[1]

Y.27.7
We select the ... of good creative magic of change of the *Ahuna vairya*,
proclaimed in Orderly fashion
and of the mortar and the pestle, moved in Orderly fashion,
and of the words correctly spoken.
For in that way they shall have even greater creative magic of change for us.
As it is **the well-deserved Life**, just **like that** is **the Model** an example to follow—**just in accordance with Order**.

Y.27.8-11 = **1.**33.11-14

Y.27.12
I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ like Zarathustra did.
I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.
For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.
For the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the House, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.
For the sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification
of the models of the hours and the days
and the months and the seasons and the years.

[1] Sraosha is the greatest enemy of the forces of darkness.

Y.27.13
In as much as a new existence is a worthy one by the example of the first **existence**, **thus** its **Model** is **just in accordance with Order**.
The Model **of good thought** and **of the actions of the** first **existence is** always **established for** him who is **Mazdâ** "Memorizer,"
and the royal **command** is always assigned **to** him who is **Ahura** "reigning Lord," **whom one shall** thereby **establish** as **pastor for the poor**.[2]

Y.27.14
Order is **the best good** reward/possession **there is**.
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one when one's **Order** is **for the best Order**.

Y.27.15
We offer up in sacrifice the *Ahuna vairya*.
We offer up the *Ashem vohu*, the most beautiful Life-giving Immortal.

Thus, **we sacrifice to the male and female** deities—
and **to him among them** whom **Ahura Mazdâ knows** to be **according to Order**—
in return for whose sacrifice we will obtain **the better** reward.

[2] The sacrificer (and other humans) must strive to uphold the world created by Ahura Mazdâ. The model (heavenly prototype and divine protector against chaos/evil) for their thoughts and actions should be the thought of Ahura Mazdâ, who established the world in the beginning = the *first* state (of existence), in which by her actions Ârmaiti, the earth and daughter and consort of Ahura Mazdâ, supported by the actions of the successful sacrificer will produce ideal conditions for good life on earth. – The new world = *this* state (of existence) will be the well-deserved reward [cf. **5.**54.1]—in the sacrificial sphere—for their sacrifice successfully performed and—in the social sphere—for behavior befitting the creatures of Ahura Mazdâ. – When they believe in Ahura Mazdâ and live according to his laws and rules, Ahura Mazdâ will—like a great general—lead the fight against evil in the world, but at the same time take care of his worshippers, like a shepherd tends his flocks [this theme is elaborated in **1.**29 and occurs for the last time in **5.**53.9].

THE AHUNAWAITÎ GÂTHÂ

Introduction and presentation

Y.28.0
The Life-giving Immortals accepted the *Gatha*s
as the boon-producing thought, boon-producing word, boon-producing action
of Orderly Zarathustra.
Homage to you, O Orderly *Gatha*s!

Ahuna vairya[†]

1.28.1[1]
With hands upstretched in homage to *him*, my **support**, **I ask**
you **all for the first** state **of the inspiration**, **O Mazdâ**, **life-giving through** my/your **Order**, **by** my **action**,
on account of which you may listen favorably to both the guiding thought of my **good thought and the cow's breath-soul**,—

1.28.2[2]
I **who want to circumambulate you all**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**, **with** my **good thought**
for you **to give *to me* the spoils of both existences**, **both that which has bones and** that **which** is **of thought**,
in accordance with Order, spoils **by which one may place** one's **supporters in comfort**.

1.28.3[3]
I who want to weave with Order you all **and the good thought that had none before it**,
as well as Mazdâ Ahura, into my poetic web, all of you **for whom Humility shall** then **increase** (both Order?)
and their royal **command** so as to make it ***undiminishing,—come to my calls for support for me**!

1.28.4[4]
I, **who am** now **paying attention to** my **breath-soul for** my **song, with** my **good thought in one and the same place,**
and to the rewards for my **actions**, am **the knowing one of Ahura Mazdâ**.
As much as I shall be able and capable, **so much I want to look sharply in search for Order**.

1.28.5[5]
Shall I see you through Order, **I wonder**(?), **finding both good thought for myself**
and, as **the route for the Ahura with greatest life-giving strength**, my **readiness to listen** offered **to Mazdâ**,
which is **greatest by that poetic thought** of yours(?): "**May we *classify evil beings by** their **tongue**!"

1.28.6[6]
Come now **on account of** my/**with** your **good thought**! **Give** me now **on account of** my/**by** your **Order the gift of a long life span**!

[†] All five Gathas begin with a general statement presented in a particularly elaborate (and difficult) style. The *Ahuna vairiya* prayer introduces and sums up the themes of the *Ahunauuaitî Gâthâ*, but it also introduces the entire Old Avestan corpus; indeed, together with **5.**53.9 and **5.**54.1, it frames the collection.

[1] The priest performing the *yasna* sacrifice prays to Ahura Mazdâ and the other divine beings who are with him. He asks him for divine inspiration comparable to the first inspiration, that of Ahura Mazdâ, when he performed the first *yasna* sacrifice in order to make the Cosmos out of Chaos. May the inspiration guide his thoughts and actions in order for his sacrifice, performed according to the rules of Ahura Mazdâ, to be successful and re-energize the world, so that it may be favorably noted and rewarded by Ahura Mazdâ.

The cow symbolizes the animals created by Ahura Mazdâ to serve and help humans. Her breath soul is comparable to the ritual songs of the priest.

The strophe recalls the introduction to a play, where the favor of the audience is requested.

[2] The priest expresses the wish that his performance, as staged by his good thought, will reach the gods and that they will deem it worthy of rewards, both in this life and in the beyond. He promises that he will in turn use the rewards to bring comfort (i.e., freedom from distress, etc.) to his supporters, that is (probably), to the gods, presumably by an even better sacrifice, and to his patron, the one who shoulders the expenses for the sacrifice.

[3] He further hopes that his newly-composed, and so impressive, song of praise in the form of a tapestry depicting Ahura Mazdâ and his work will persuade them to support and aid him, with the result that Ârmaiti, deity of the earth and daughter and consort of Ahura Mazdâ, will again produce all good things coming from the earth.

[4] He keeps trying to convince Ahura Mazdâ of the excellence of his performance: his breath, which will allow his songs to reach the gods; his thought, which is concentrated on this one thing: that the performance be in accordance with Ahura Mazdâ's laws and rules; and keeping in mind what will be the rewards.

[5] The priest wonders whether he will find the good thought that will inspire him to a successful performance, allowing him to see Ahura Mazdâ through his work, especially the heavenly spaces illuminated by the sun. He hopes that his willingness to listen to Ahura Mazdâ will open up a path along which the most life-giving heavenly Fire may cross the heavens, all the while listening for dissonant words and songs produced by the opponents of good. — **1.**28.5-6 are echoed in **1.**33.5

[6] Prayer for the reward of long life. Prayer that Ahura Mazdâ may give the priest and the other worshippers the kind of support he once gave to Zarathustra, whereby they may keep the evil forces at bay. [First mention of Zarathustra and his role, preparing for the whole myth in **1.**29.]

On account of his **capacious utterances**, you gave, **O Mazdâ**, **support with strength to Zarathustra**.
Give **to us**, **too**, **O Ahura**, support **by which we shall overcome the hostilities of the one hostile** to us.

1.28.7[7]
Now **give on account of** my **Order *that* reward**: **the spoils of** my **good thought**!
Give, **you**, **O Humility**, **the invigorant to Vishtâspa**! **To *me***, **too**,
***you* have** now **given** it, **O Mazdâ**. **Command**, **too**, O Mazdâ, **for us** your **generous gifts**, **which we wish to hear about through your poetic thought**, yours, O Mazdâ, and that of those with you.

1.28.8[8]
You, **the best** one, **who have the same pleasure as the best Order**, I ask **for the best** things, you **whom**,
as **the Ahura**, **I** as **the *winner am** here and now **asking**, **for** them **to be given to the hero Frashaoshtra and to me**
and to those **from whom you shall *receive it for the whole life span of** their **good thought**.

1.28.9[9]
May we not, **O Mazdâ**, **with those requests to you**, **anger you** all, **as well as Order**
and *your* **thought**, **the best**, we **who have taken our places *to fulfill** our **obligations** in the form **of praises**.
***You* all** are **the fastest invigorants**, **and** yours is **the command over the life-giving strengths**.

1.28.10[10]
Thus those **whom you know** to be, **from the point of view of Order and good thought**, **following the established rules**,
and so **according to the models—I shall fill for them**, **O Mazdâ**, **O Ahura**, **with attainments** their **wish**.
Thus, **I know for *you* all songs bringing fame *full of life-giving power for *you* all**, **having their own chariot horses** and **victorious**.

1.28.11[11]
You, **who with** the help of **these** songs/men **are guarding Order and good thought for the duration of a life span**,
teach *you me*, **O Mazdâ**, **O Ahura**, **to speak in accordance with *your***
inspiration, **by your mouth**, the words **by which the first existence will be here** every time.

Installation of Zarathustra as first human sacrificer

1.29.1[1]
To you gods **the breath-soul of the cow complains**: "**For whom have you carved *me*? Who has fashioned *me*?**
Wrath and violence, **obstruction keep me bound**, **as well as fetter and oppression**.
I have no pastor other than *you* gods, **so appear to *me* with a good forager**!"

1.29.2[2]
Then the fashioner of the cow asks Order: "**How** was **your model for the cow**,
when you gods **who are in command established her together with** her **pasture** as "**cow-nourishing activity**"?
Whom do you all **wish** to be **an Ahura for her**, someone **who may push back**, **together with those possessed by the Lie**, **Wrath**?"

1.29.3[3]
Him one **who** is **not a smasher of union(s) with**(?) **Order and not hostile to the cow shall answer**:
"**Among yonder things nothing** is **to be found that might move those who have much toward the needy**.
He is **strongest of** all **beings for whom I shall come to** his

---

[7] Further passionate outbursts: Request for reward for his good thought, which has ensured the successful sacrifice. Mentioning the rewards his *yasna* sacrifice has provided for the great priest-heroes of the past, Vishtâspa, etc., he imagines that his reward has already been assigned to him, and the worshippers are waiting for Ahura Mazdâ to tell them that the rewards are already on their way.

[8] Further prayers for rewards to be assigned to the worshippers, like to the priest-heroes of old, Frashaoshtra, etc. In return the worshippers will do their best to support Ahura Mazdâ and his work.

[9] At the end of these ardent prayers, the priest expresses the concern that he may have overdone it.

[10] The songs are compared to horses pulling chariots in a race through the heavenly spaces, in which they compete against those of other sacrificers.

[11] At the end of these introductory prayers, the priest asks Ahura Mazdâ for instructions for how to perform the *yasna* so that it may succeed in making the powers of light and goodness victorious over those of evil and darkness, and so remake the original state of the world, as created by Ahura Mazdâ in the beginning.

[1] The cow complains to the gods that she is being tortured by the powers of evil. Having no protectors other than the gods, she asks for an earthly protector.

[2] The Fashioner of the cow passes the question on to his superior, Order: what was the model, the heavenly prototype, for the cow when she and her pasture were assigned their place in the newly-Ordered cosmos, the heavenly opponent of the powers of evil that, after the first attack, target her and her pasture?

[3] Order(?) answers that in the world of the cow there is currently nothing that might make those with power and means support those without. Instead, the poor, however, weak, should put his trust in Order.

calls even if they are **weak**."

1.29.4[4]

"**Mazdâ**" is **he who remembers best the *verses. For** those **that have been performed whenever till now**

by old gods and men, **as well as** those **that will be performed whenever hereafter**,

he, **the** "**Ahura**," is **the one who discriminates between them** (= passes judgment on them). **It shall be for us in the way that *he* shall wish**!

1.29.5[5]

Thus, **with hands upstretched *toward you** all, **we two were there presenting ourselves as friends to the Ahura**,

***my* breath-soul and that of the milch-cow**, **when we submitted Mazdâ to** our **questions**:

"Is there **no way for the one of straight living to *improve** his **life or for the cattle-tender among those possessed by the Lie**?"

1.29.6[6]

Thus he has said, **Ahura Mazdâ**, **who knows the webs by** their ***texture**:

"**Neither** has **a model** been **found through** this **one period of existence nor** one **just in accordance with Order**.

For the carpenter fashioned you for the cattle-tender and the forager."

1.29.7[7]

The Ahura, **who has the same pleasure as Order**, **fashioned *that* poetic thought** to be that **of the fat dripping**

for the cow, **as well as the milk**, **he**, **Mazdâ**. ***He*** is **vitalizing for the meager ones by his ordinance**.

"**Whom do you have**, (O fashioner of the cow?) **who by his good thought shall bring them down to the mortals**?"

1.29.8[8]

"**This one** is the one **found by me who alone listens to our ordinances**,

Zarathustra Spitama. **He wishes, O Mazdâ, to make heard**

for us and for Order poems of praise, if only(?) **I am *tied** (as) **the good breath/control of his speech organ**."

1.29.9[9]

And, **thus** promised, **the breath-soul of the cow lamented**: "Am I one **who** would ***direct a forceless** voice **at the *pleasing** (of the arbiters?),

the voice of a man without life-giving power. He **whom I wish** here and now **to have command through** this **invigorant**—

when shall *he* ever be there who shall give *him* help with his hands?'

1.29.10[10]

You all, **O Ahura**, **shall** now **establish for *these*** men, **by** your **Order**, **strength**, **as well as** for yourself(?) ***yonder***

command by your/**on account of** my **good thought**, **by which** command **one shall establish good dwellings and peace**.

I* for my part** now **consider *you, **O Mazdâ**, to be **the first finder of *this*** good thought/existence.

1.29.11[11]

Where are **Order** and **good thought** and **command**? ***Remember me**, O gods!

In foreknowledge acknowledge, **O Mazdâ**, ***me***, O gods, **for**

---

[4] The narrator(?) reflects upon Ahura Mazdâ: He is, as his name Mazdâ "the one who keeps everything in mind" indicates, the one who remembers all that humans have ever spoken, and since he is the one with supreme command and judgment, as his name Ahura indicates, he will make the final decision.

[5] The priest and the cow, representatives of all living beings, ask Ahura Mazdâ how to improve their life among all the adversities facing them [cf. **5.**53.9].

[6] Ahura Mazdâ, who knows all the macro- and microcosmic arrangements answers the questions of the fashioner of the cow in str. 2, slightly out of synch: There was no heavenly prototype for the cow in the first ordering of the universe. On the contrary, the idea was that the cow would be taken care of by her human owners.

[7] Ahura Mazdâ (or the heavenly—sacrificial—fire?) has already prepared the constituents of the sacrifice, however, including speech, which when used correctly will ensure good things in the human world. So, they must be brought down to earth, and Ahura Mazdâ asks who can do that.

[8] Someone answers that Zarathustra Spitama is ready to take the sacred objects—libations and hymns of praise—down to earth and offer them up in sacrifice to the gods (cf. Dk.7.2.15-21), provided somebody helps him with the oral performance [cf. Moses and Aaron].

[9] The cow is not satisfied, complaining that Zarathustra is too weak and needs help [cf. **1.**29.1-2].

[10] The priest is back: The ceremony is now about to be performed, and, once that has been done successfully, Ahura Mazdâ will reward his worshippers with well-being.

[11] Rhetorical question: Where is a *yasna* possessing sufficient Order and a poet possessing sufficient good thought to provide the command for Ahura Mazdâ? — Answer: None other than this one that is being performed. – Being omniscient, you, Ahura Mazdâ, know the outcome, so acknowledge me without further ado for the exchange of gifts: sacrificial offerings—libations and hymns of praise—for the gods, well-being for the worshippers. – So may the gods now come down to the sacrifice to bring and receive the gifts.

the great gift exchange,
O Ahura! **Come now hither to us** in foreknowledge **of the gift worthy of ones such as you all** presented **by us**!

The two inspirations

1.30.1[1]
Thus, **I shall speak**, **O** you **who wish to come**, those words **which even a knowing** man **should pay attention to**:
the praises and ritual performances of my **good thought** performed **for the Ahura**,
O well-attentive ones, **and for Order**, **on account of which**, **through the lights**, **gladdening** things **can** now **be seen**.

1.30.2[2]
Listen, all of you, **with your ears to the best utterances**! **Observe**, all of you, **through** this **flame by** your **thought**
the *preferences of discrimination (= judgment) made **man-by-man for his own body**,
before the great audition, **for** their discrimination **to be announced to *us* in return when** you **perceive** ours.

1.30.3[3]
Thus, **those two inspirations in the beginning**, **which have been renowned** as "**the twin sleeps**,"
the twin **thoughts and speeches—they** are twin **actions**: **a good one and a bad one**.
And between those two those who give good gifts (or: **establish good** things) **have discriminated rightly**, **not those who give bad gifts**.

1.30.4[4]
Thus, **also: when**ever **the two inspirations come together one receives for the first** time
both life for the good **and lack of survival** for the bad **and how** their **existence shall be at last**:
The worst existence will be that **of those possessed by the Lie**, but **for the sustainer of Order** there will be **best thought**.

1.30.5[5]
At the choosing between these two inspirations you, **who** are **possessed by the Lie**, **would produce the worst** words/actions.
The most life-giving inspiration, **which is clad in the hardest stones**, chose to produce **Order**,
and so do **who**ever **shall favor the Ahura by** their ***true* actions**, him, **Mazdâ**, ***again and again**.

1.30.6[6]
Especially the old gods did not discriminate straight between these two, **because deception**
would come over them as they were asking one another, **so they would choose the worst thought**.
Thus, **they would scramble together to Wrath**, **with which mortals sicken this existence**.

Poet-sacrificer's participation in revitalizing the Cosmos

1.30.7[7]
But for this one he comes with command and **Order on account of** his **good thought**.
Thus, ***tissue-connectedness gives** him **form**, **Humility breathing** (saying):
"**Of these** rewards **there shall be for you there according as you shall request** them, if **first** in line, **on account of** your ***assignments**(?)."

1.30.8[8]
And also, **when the retribution comes for these sins**:
then, **O Mazdâ**, **he shall constantly present the command to you by** his **good thought**
for you **to announce** it **to these**, **O Ahura**, **who shall be**

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[1] And, while you are on the way, I shall now tell you what I know of the secrets of the universe and thus show you I am indeed worthy of your rewards, which I can in fact already glimpse: the return of dawn and the light of day.

[2] Just listen to our words and watch our actions through the mounting fire of our sacrifice, and you will see that we have made the right **choices**, making us worthy to participate in the gift exchange.

[3] The priest explains to Ahura Mazdâ the importance and significance of the "choice," by retelling the myth of the two "inspirations," conceived of as "sleeping" potentials of good or evil thought, speech, and action that each person must face and choose between.

[4] By choosing between these two potentials, one determines how the existence will be. The followers of the Lie will produce darkness, death, and destruction by their sacrifice, and that will be their lot in the beyond, too. The follower of Order, deploying his good thought, will perform a successful sacrifice and thereby obtain the best thought, that of Ahura Mazdâ, and be admitted to his presence.

[5] The right choice is to choose the good inspiration, which means declaring oneself a follower of Ahura Mazdâ. According to the myth, the good inspiration originally had to be smashed out of the rock (every poet knows how hard it is to obtain).

[6] At the original choosing, the old gods chose wrong, and the humans who follow them only make existence sick (and in need of a physician, cf. **1.**31.19).

[7] But the worshipper of Ahura Mazdâ by the perfection of his sacrifice obtains the command needed to overcome evil. When Ahura Mazdâ judges the performances of all the worshippers, our worshipper will be the winner.

[8] Our worshipper will also leave it to Ahura Mazdâ to pass judgment on those who sin by pretending theirs is the best sacrifice, and Ahura Mazdâ will put his worshippers in charge of overcoming evil.

placing the Lie in the hands of Order.

1.30.9[9]
And also: may *we* be the men (of those?) **who shall make it Juicy**, this **existence**,
O Mazdâ and you(?), **the Ahuras**, **here through the bringing of** ...(?) **and through** our **Order**,
when one's **thoughts shall be in one and the same place where** one's **understanding shall at first be one way**, **then another**.

The chariot race

1.30.10[10]
For at that time will come down upon you, O evil ones, **the deflation of the *tumescence of the Lie**.
But the fastest coursers **shall** then **be harnessed up to the good dwelling of good thought**,
that **of Mazdâ and of Order**, **who shall be leaving** the others **behind in** the race for **good renown**.

Winners and losers: Rewards

1.30.11[11]
Because you now ***master the deals that Mazdâ establishes** with you, **O mortals**:
(namely regarding) **both good going and non-going and what** is **long-lasting harm for those possessed by the Lie**
and what are **the life-giving strengths for the sustainers of Order—therefore**, **henceforth by those** deals **wished-for things shall be** for you.
Reward for knowledge about the cosmic secrets
...

1.31.6[6]
For *him* there shall be the best who, **knowing** it **shall speak to me the true**
poetic thought, the one **which** he said is **of wholeness of Order and immortality**.
For Mazdâ there shall be **yonder command** (= over yonder things), **which shall grow for *him* by** my **good thought**.

1.31.7[7]
He who was the first to think those thoughts: "**The free spaces** are **blending with the lights**"—
it was **by** his **guiding thought** that **he**, **the Web-master**, thought **Order**, **by which he upholds best thought**.
By that inspiration you grow, **O Mazdâ**, **who still here and now** are **the same**, **O Ahura**.

1.31.8[8]
Thus, **I** now **think with** my **thought of *you*** as being **the first**, **O Mazdâ**, yet **youthful**,
father of good thought—since I have grasped *you* in my **eye**
as **the true Web-master of Order** and seen you **in the actions of this state** as **the Ahura**.

1.31.9[9]
Ârmaiti was with you. ***Yours*** was **the inspiration of great guiding thought there**
in the form of(?) **the fashioner of the cow**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**, **when you were giving her** the choice **of paths**:
to come to the forager or to him **who shall not be a forager** for her.
...

1.31.16[16]
I ask you **about yonder** thing: **how *he*** will be, **the generous one who strives for furtherance of the command**
of the home or the settlement or the land through Order,
when *he* shall be there, **one like you**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**, **and with what actions** will he come?

---

[9] So may we be your worshippers, you who shall fill the world with life-giving juices, once we have realized the changing aspects of this world are just appearance and that truth is only one.

[10] And when the world is filled with life-giving juices, the pretended swelling of the Lie will subside.

Then, our *yasna*, with its offerings and hymns of praise, will race up to Ahura Mazdâ, passing all others also on their way, and we will be the ones to be honored for having helped Ahura Mazdâ in his battle against evil, against darkness and sickness.

[11] The priest talks to the other worshippers: You are Ahura Mazdâ's true people, those who behave according to the covenant (mutual agreement) with him—the one regulating good things for the faithful, but bad things for the unbelievers—, so you shall be granted what you wish for. [Cf. **4.**51.8-9.]

[6] Once informed, in return we, your worshippers, shall give Ahura Mazdâ the very best we can, so that he can combat darkness and death on the cosmic scale and produce light and life.

[7] It was Ahura Mazdâ who in the beginning by a mental act produced the heavenly spaces full of light. He laid the world out in a harmonic network of physical and mental relations, good thought functioning as the sky. Even though he was there in the beginning, Ahura Mazdâ is still the same: eternally youthful, and it is the same mental act (now performed by us) that makes him and his work grow.

[8] And this is how I too think of you, Ahura Mazd˝: "Mazd˝" because you are the model of good thought and "Ahura" because you are in command of good *actions* in the world.

[9] Armaiti, through whose *actions* the earth produces everything life-giving, belonged to you, and it was through you that the cow was given the possibility to choose someone who would feed her.

[16] When will an earthly patron(?) come, somebody as generous and as beneficial as Ahura Mazdâ himself?

1.31.17[17]

Whether the sustainer of Order or the one possessed by the Lie will be allowed to **retain for himself the greater** part of the reward,—

let him who knows say to the one who already **knows**! **May no one who does not know keep deceiving** us [calling us deceivers?] **hereafter**!

Be, **O Mazdâ Ahura**, **the launcher of *our* good thought**!

1.31.18[18]

But let no one among you keep listening to the un**poetic thoughts and the ordinances of the one possessed by the Lie**!

For he has placed the home or house or settlement or land in bad settling and destruction. **Teach them**, you all, a lesson **thus**: **with a blow**!

1.31.19[19]

He **who** first **thought Order has** now **listened** to my words(?), namely, you, **the knowing one**, **the healer of** this **existence**, **O Ahura**,

being **in command of** your **tongue at will for the correct uttering of the words**,

you **who**, **through *your* glowing fire**, **O Mazdâ**, **provide a the firm stance to** my **legs in** the race for **good** renown.

1.31.20[20]

Whoever **shall *come** to the **sustainer of Order**, ***brilliant fame** will be **his in the future**. **Lamentation**,

a long life span of darkness, **bad food**, your only **word the word** "**woe**!"—

to that existence your **vision-soul will lead *you*** all, **O you possessed by the Lie**, **on account of** your **own actions**.

1.31.21[21]

Ahura Mazdâ gives—out of his **plenty of wholeness and immortality**

***and* Order** and **out of his union with command**, **which produces good posterity**—

***fattiness of** his **good thought** to him **who abides by *his* deals by** his **inspiration and actions**.

1.31.22[22]

They are **brilliant for the giver of good gifts who finds by** his ***effort**, **by** his **thought**

good things. **He there is** here and now, **by** his **command**, ***strengthening Order**, **by** his **speech and action**.

He there, **O Mazdâ Ahura**, **will be your most invigorating guest**.

...

<u>The race and the judgment</u>

1.33.5[5]

I, **who shall be invoking** your **readiness to listen**, **the greatest of all**, **at the unharnessing**,

having obtained long life, **having** obtained **the command of/over good thought**,

and **the straight paths up to Order** to those **among whom Mazdâ**, **the Ahura**, **dwells**,—

1.33.6[6]

There is **he**, your **libator who** is **straight by the Order** of his ritual, who performs, **out of *this* best**

inspiration, yonder *desirable actions **which** Ahura Mazdâ(?) **by** his **thought** first **thought** forth as those **to be performed by the forager**.

Those are the things **to be expected**(?), **O Ahura Mazdâ**, **from seeing you and conversing** with you.

---

[17] Let Ahura Mazdâ tell his follower—although he already knows—what the rewards will be for the good and the bad, respectively. Don't let the unbelievers try to tell us otherwise!

Ahura Mazdâ, inspire our good thought, i.e., how we should perform the *yasna* and altogether behave to please you.

[18] May Ahura Mazdâ and his companions not pay attention to the hymns and the *yasna* of the unbelievers, since they aim only at destroying Peace and Pasture. On the contrary: teach them a lesson!

[19] Ahura Mazdâ, who was the first to produce Order by a sacrifice in the world of thought, has now scrutinized my performance and has decided that it is a perfect repetition of the original one and that it will, indeed, serve to heal and rejuvenate this state of existence, specifically bring back the day and the sun. In the ritual race to obtain Ahura Mazdâ's approval—and so good fame as an expert sacrificer—his tongue = the charioteer is in full command, and his stance on the chariot is perfectly steady (he will not lose balance and fall off).

[20] Whoever becomes a follower of Ahura Mazdâ will be rewarded with brilliant fame and fortune. The unbelievers will be led down to dark sorrow and suffering by their own thoughts, words, and actions.

[21] Ahura Mazdâ rewards his follower with absence of illness and untimely death, as well as offspring and all kinds of success.

[22] In return for the gifts Ahura Mazdâ bestows on his followers, the sacrificer has given Ahura Mazdâ his best gifts (libations, etc., and hymns). By his perfect *yasna* the sacrificer is now assisting Ahura Mazdâ in reestablishing Order in the world, so let him come and see you. He will be a guest giving you as much as you give to your guest.

[5] I follow your model, Ahura Mazdâ, and my *yasna* will therefore go directly up to you. When the race is run and I am in your presence I shall listen to you.

[6] By following Ahura Mazdâ's instructions, I shall be able to reproduce the actions which will reestablish the first state of existence, as originally established by him.

1.33.7[7]

Ask *me* for my **best** utterances, **O Mazdâ** and you others, ask me for utterances **both *having their own** command(?) **and** uttered **strongly**

through the Order of my sacrifice and **by** my **good thought**, **by which I am** at this very moment **being heard before the master of the gift exchange**.

Let there appear among us brilliant gifts with homage!

1.33.8[8]

Inform me, you all, about **those** things **to be gained toward which I shall be moved by** my **good thought**,

about **the sacrifice**, **O Mazdâ**, **of one like you** all **or else**, **by** my **Order**, **words of praise**.

All these things are **laid out for you**, **as well as immortality** and **wholeness with *tissue-connectedness**: **the sacrificial cake**.

1.33.9[9]

Thus, **let** it(?) **bring *you***, **O Mazdâ**, **that inspiration** for the rejuvenation **of the two *masses that *make Order grow**,

let **the creative change** bring **the *ever-changing comforts through** your **best thought**.

The *sequence of these two has been set in motion whose *guidance(?) **the breath-souls are following** at this very moment.

1.33.10[10]

All good *gains of yours—namely, **both those that have been and those that are**,

and those, **O Mazdâ**, **that are** in the process of **becoming—make them** now **your share**, make them be **to *your* pleasure**!

Keep growing in body at wish through my **good thought**, **through** my/your **command and Order**!

1.33.11[11]

You, **who have the greatest life-giving strength**, who are **Ahura and Mazdâ**, **and** you who are **Humility**

and you who are **Order**, **which furthers the herds**, **listen** all of you

to my good thought and command! **Be merciful in return for my every presentation**!

1.33.12[12]

Rise up before **me** now, **O Ahura**! **Through** my/your **Humility receive strength**!

By my/your **most Life-giving inspiration**, **O Mazdâ**, **receive quickness through** my **good presentation**,

forceful violent power through the Order of my ritual, ***creative power through** my **good thought**.

1.33.13[13]

You shall show me now **for support for the far-seeing** sun the ford **by which I shall *cross over to you**.

Along that path(?) **of** my/your **command**, **O Ahura**, **along which the reward of** (= for) my **good thought** shall arrive,

launch, **O Humility**, our **vision-souls through Life-giving Order**!

1.33.14[14]

Thus, **Zarathustra is giving as gift the life breath of** nothing less than **his own body**

as the foremost share of his sacrifice **and** the gift **of** his **good thought to Mazdâ**,

as well as what is the foremost share **of** his **action through Order**

and that **of** his **utterance**: his **readiness to listen and the command** generated by his sacrifice.

---

[7] I am ready for my command performance. In fact I am already performing, so let the rewards appear: the sun with its light and fertility and abundance for the earth.

[8] Keep telling me what you want, and I shall provide what you need to renew the existence!

[9] Let my *yasna* provide you with the inspiration you need to recreate the original Ordered state of the cosmos: heaven and earth and the cosmic wheel of the divisions of time(??), which our souls are following on their way up to you.

[10] Now reap the benefits of my sacrifice, O Ahura Mazdâ!

[11] Listen all you divine beings: Ahura Mazdâ—both Ahura/Lord-ruler and Mazdâ/remember of all things past, Ârmaiti, genius of the earth, and Order, whose visible aspect is the sun and the bright sky, listen to my perfect hymns and look at the total command generated for you by my *yasna*. In return, judge my performance with mercy.

[12] Rise up now, Fire/heavenly fire = sun! Receive life and strength through the fertility of the earth! By my inspiration and *yasna*, you, Ahura Mazdâ, can now have all it takes to rejuvenate the world.

[13] Now open up the path for the sun. Along that path my breath-soul shall bring you my *yasna*, guided by my *daênâ*, and along that path may the rewards for my *yasna* come down to us.

[14] The *yasna* is being completed: "Zarathustra" is sacrificing himself to provide Ahura Mazdâ with the building material of the new world at the new dawn.

Victory and pay time

1.34.1[1]

This **action**, **the speech**, **and the sacrifice through which you** now **receive immortality**
as well as Order for yourself, **O Mazdâ**, **and the command of wholeness**,—
the foremost share **of these is being given to *you***, **O Ahura**, **by us** gathered here **in greatest numbers**.

1.34.2[2]

And, **thus**, **through** our(?) **thought**, **they have been given to *you***, **all these** things/utterances **and the good inspiration**,
as well as the actions of the life-giving man, **whose breath-soul is** at this very moment **with Order**
in a hymn that goes around the world of **living beings to one like you** all **with songs** consisting **of praises**, **O Mazdâ**.

1.34.3[3]

Thus, **we have** now **placed in homage as food offering for you**, **O Ahura**, **and for Order**—
there in your **command**—**all** our **herds**, **which *he assembled** for us **by** his **good thought**.
For life-giving strength has been sent on its way, **O** you **who give good gifts**, **with all** good things soon to arrive **among those like you** all, **O Mazdâ**.

1.34.4[4]

Thus, **we wish your fire to be powerful**, **O Ahura**, **through the Order** of our ritual,
***instructing and forceful and of brilliant help for** him **who supports** you/us,
but for the one hostile to you/us, **O Mazdâ**, we wish his **sins to be clearly seen through the** bad **things set in motion by** his **hands**.

1.34.5[5]

What is **your command**, all of you? **What** is your **wish for action** to be performed, **O Mazdâ**, **or** for **how I sleep**?
Tell me for **your** (=all the gods') **poor one to be protected by the Order** of my ritual and **by** my **good thought**.
We have always **declared you** all to be **over and above all** the **creepy old gods as well as** their(?) **men**.

1.34.6[6]

For if you are all **truly in that way**, **O Mazdâ**, **with respect to**(?) **Order and good thought**,
then make that a permanent(?) **mark for me**—for **all things of** this **existence** are **one way or another**—
so that I shall come before you even **more confident**, **praising and also sacrificing to** you all.
...

1.34.12[12]

What is **a *straight utterance for you**? **What do you want**: **What of praise or what of sacrifice**?
Say forth to us that word **for** it **to be heard**, **O Mazdâ**, **on account of which he may distribute the rewards for** my ***straight utterances**.
Teach us the paths through Order, the ones **easy to go** (for one) **of good thought**.

1.34.13[13]

Teach us **that road which you**, **O Ahura**, **told me** is that **of good thought**,
the **well-made** one **along which the vision-souls of the life-givers** first(?) **strode**, **precisely** the one **through Order**,
toward **the fee which was** first **assigned to those of good gifts** and **whose depository you** are, **O Mazdâ**.

---

[1] The *yasna* performed by all the believers is providing Ahura Mazdâ with the elements needed for the rejuvenation of the world.

[2] The priest has won the competition and has been acknowledged by Ahura Mazdâ, whereby he has now become life-giving like Ahura Mazdâ. His breath soul, having successfully made the trip, is performing the hymns in the very presence of Ahura Mazdâ.

[3] As food offering we have given you all our livestock—which you gave us in the first place—for you to dispose of at will, for it to invigorate you.

[4] The offerings are brought to you by the sacrificial fire as our contribution to the rejuvenation of the world by the heavenly fire. But the light of day will also reveal the failed performances of our competitors.

[5] What is your wish for how I act at day or at night? Our opinion is that we should protect the poor and set Ahura Mazdâ and those with him above the divine beings who do not follow him, as well as their followers.

[6] And if I am right in my assumptions about you and how to perform the *yasna* for you, then please give me a sign so that I may be more confident in my praise and worship (cf. the Inscription of Kerdîr at Naqsh-e Rajab).

[12] Once again: how should the *yasna* be performed? What actions and what words do you want? Tell us all that so that the master of the exchange (?) [cf. **1.**33.7] may present the rewards appropriately. Again, let us know how to reach you.

[13] Let us know which is the path along which we should send our perfectly performed *yasna* to you, to assist you in the rejuvenation of the cosmos and receive the reward for it.

1.34.14[14]

For, **O Mazdâ**, **you** all **shall give for** my **life breath and bones that well-deserved fee**
on account of the action of my **good thought**. **For** to those **who** are **in the household of the milch-cow**
you all give ***your*** **good understanding of** my **guiding thought**, **O Ahura**. **Through** your **Order you further the households**.

1.34.15[15]

O Mazdâ, **thus say *my* poems conferring fame** and my **actions** are **the best**!
Say, **you**, that my **repayment** in the form **of praises** is best **on account of that good thought** of mine **and the Order** of my ritual.
You now **establish by the command of you** all, **O Ahura**, this **existence** as **Juicy in exchange value**, **the *true* one**.

[14] Indeed, in return for my supreme sacrifice, of my entire being, I am sure you will present me with a fitting fee. Of course, you are the special protector of those who have a milch-cow (hint, hint!) to care for.

[15] Let me know, then, Ahura Mazdâ, at last, that my *yasna* was successful and that I have richly repaid you for the blessing you have bestowed on me and mine—let me know it by making the world again full of life and growth according to your standards, a more than matching value for the exchange of services we have performed.

THE *YASNA HAPTANGHÂITI*

Introduction and presentation

YH.35.2[2]
Of the (thoughts, words, and acts) **that have been thought**, **spoken**, or **performed**
both here and elsewhere,
both those that are being thought, spoken, or **performed**
and those that have been thought, spoken, or **performed**,
we are the singers of songs of welcome
—**we are not blamers**—**in** our **effort to** obtain **good things**.

YH.35.3[3]
Thus, **we** now **prefer that**, **O Ahura Mazdâ**, **O** you **beautiful through** your **Order**:
that we may now **think**, **speak**, **and perform them**,
the ones **which**—**among** all **the actions of** all **those who are**—
we wish to be the best ones for both existences.

YH.35.4[4]
For the sake of **the cow**, **by** our **presentations** (?), **by/with these actions**,
our **best ones**, **by which we are** here and now **sending** them **forth**
in order **for peace and pasture to be established** for her,
both toward those who listen and those who do not listen,
toward those who command and those who do not command.

YH.35.5[5]
Indeed, it is **for one with best command** that—**to the extent we can**—
we are herewith **establishing**, **assigning**, **and generating command**,
when we establish (etc.) it **for Mazdâ Ahura and best Order**.

YH.35.6[6]
Thus, **in the same way that a man or a woman knows a** thought/word to be **true**,
in that way he or she knows it as **being good**.
Let him or her **therefore both produce it for him**/herself
and make it known to these,
who can then produce it as indeed is.

YH.35.7[7]
For it belongs **to the Ahura**! **But for *you* we have thought the sacrifice and hymn to Mazdâ**
as **the best** thing **and pasture** as the best thing **for the cow**.
Thus, **we are** now **producing that for you and making** it **known** (to you/these?)
to the extent we are capable.

YH.35.8[8]
Thus, **he has** (or: **I have**) ever **said** that **the best for both existences**,
for whoever of all **those who are** is **the desire to be winners**
in the race for **the union of Order**, and to be **in the household of Order**.

YH.35.9[9]
Thus, **these words to be uttered**, **O Ahura Mazdâ**,
we will now **proclaim with better imagination** (?) as **Order**—
thus, **we are** now **adopting *you*** as **both** (constant) **returner and** (original) **launcher of these** words—

YH.35.10[10]
in accordance with Order and good thought and good command—
be it through praises, **O Ahura**, **for** our/your **praises**,

---

[2] This hymn is for the praise and exaltation of Ahura Mazdâ's work in ordering the cosmos. We will not here be concerned with scorning our competitors. We hope the hymn is good enough to contribute to the rejuvenation of the cosmos and so deserve a reward.

[3] We hope that our performance will benefit both gods and men.

[4] We are singing this song in the hope that it may contribute to furthering peace for our community, fertility of our lands, and plenty of food for our live-stocks, especially the all-important cow [cf. **1.**29.10, **3.**47.3]. We are aiming our song at all divine beings in Ahura Mazdâ's sphere, whether they listen or not, whether they have command (= rule) or not.

[5] In fact, we hope that by our song we may reinforce the command of Ahura Mazdâ and the supremacy of *his* cosmic Order.

[6] A true word is a "good" word, so let us send our true words (= our song) to Ahura Mazdâ and those with him, so that they can make it "come true."

[7] As far as we have been told the *yasna* is the best gift we can give Ahura Mazdâ and those with him and the best counter gift is fertility for our lands. So that is what we are no doing: sending you our *yasna*, our sacrifice and our songs.

[8] All followers of Ahura Mazdâ are intent upon winning the competition in order to contribute to the rejuvenating of the worlds of both gods and men.

[9] We will try to think (= compose) our song as concretely as we can as a representative of the cosmic Order for you to make it come true in return—

[10] after the model of the Order you made in the beginning by your good thought and your command—and then reward us with praise, words, or a cosmic sacrifice by which the world is rejuvenated.

be it through an utterance for our/your **utterances**,
be it through a sacrifice for our/your **sacrifices**.

YH.36.1[1]
With the household of this fire, standing **in front**, **we are** now **circumambulating *you***, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
***you* with *your* most life-giving inspiration**,
which is **pain for him whom you shall receive for pain**.

YH.36.2[2]
You there, **who invigorate us the most**, **may you in return come to *us* for what** you have **received as** your **share**,
O fire of Mazdâ Ahura.
On account of our **invigorating of** you, **the most invigorating one**,
on account of our **reverence to** you, **the most bending/bendable one**,
may you in return come to *us* for the greatest of auditions.

YH.36.3[3]
You are definitely "**the fire of Mazdâ Ahura**."
You are definitely "***his* most life-giving inspiration**,"
or whichever of your names is **the most invigorating**,
O fire of Mazdâ Ahura,
with that we are now **circumambulating *you***!

YH.36.4[4]
You with our good thought,
you with our good Order,
you with the actions and words of our good understanding we are now **circumambulating**.

YH.36.5[5]
We are bending to you,
we are now **repaying you**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
you with all thoughts well thought by us,
with all words well spoken,
with all actions well done we are now **circumambulating** you.

YH.36.6[6]
Thus, as ***your* form**, **the most beautiful of forms**,
we are making known, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
these lights as the same as **yonder highest of heights**,
as high as yonder **sun has been said** to be.

YH.37.1[1]
Thus, **in this manner we are sacrificing to Ahura Mazdâ,**
who put in their places **both the cow and the Order**,
who **put** in their places **both the good waters and the plants**,
who **put** in their places **both the lights and the earth**
and all good things in between,—

YH.37.2[2]
by his command and greatness and artistries.
Thus, **to him we are sacrificing with the foremost** share **of the sacrifices**
of these **who dwell** here **on the side of the cow**.

YH.37.3[3]
Thus, **up to *him* we offer up in sacrifice** (his) **Ahurian names**:
O "**Mazdâ**," **O** "***bridegroom**," **O most** "**life-giving one**"!
To *him* we are sacrificing with nothing less than ***our* bones and life breath**.
Up to *him* we are offering up in sacrifice the pre-souls of the sustainers of Order, **men and women**.

YH.37.4[4]
Thus, **we are sacrificing to best Order**,
which is **most beautiful**,
which is **life-giving**, **immortal**,
which is **full of light**,
which is **all good** things.

YH.37.5[5]
And we are offering up in sacrifice to you our **good**

---

[1] All the members of this household are worshipping you with fire of the household, through which Ahura Mazdâ's inspiration is transmitted to the believers, but his punishment to the non-believers.

[2] May the fire, Ahura Mazdâ's greatest creation (as the sun), who gives us good things, come back to us to receive his share of the sacrifice in return. When we make you happy, O fire, who make us happy, when we bend in homage to you, who bend the most of all, may you in return come to assist us when we present our *yasna* to Ahura Mazdâ to be judged.

[3] We know you well by your various names, O fire, which we are announcing as we walk around you.

[4] We present to you our best *yasna*.

[5] Through our *yasna* we are repaying Ahura Mazdâ for all the good things he has given us.

[6] The fire is in fact the same as the fire in the sky, the sun, and both are Ahura Mazdâ's most beautiful form.

[1] We praise Ahura Mazdâ for his work—

[2] and thank him with the best parts of the *yasna*,—

[3] among them his names, which they pronounce and send up to him… their own very beings; and the pre-souls of all the faithful.

[4] We worship the best Order of the *yasna* and the cosmos, both of which are provide light and life.

[5] We present you in our *yasna* with all these inner things of ours, notably our humility (which brings us to the Earth):

thought
and our **good command**
and our **good vision-soul**
and our **good creative power**
and our **good Humility/humility**.

YH.38.1[1]
Thus, **we are offering up in sacrifice together with** its divine **women this earth**
which is carrying us,
and the women who are yours, **O Ahura Mazdâ**,
his **choice** rewards **in accordance with Order**,
those we are sacrificing to.

YH.38.2[2]
O milk offerings, **O purifications**, **O juicifications**, **O Humilities—**
the good reward on account of these divine women,
the good invigoration,
the good fat oblation,
the good fame,
the good fecundity we are offering up in sacrifice.

YH.38.3[3]
Thus, **we are sacrificing to the waters**,
***glittering and *nectar-pouring**,
which flow forth, **consorts of** their divine **lord**, whose **art works** they are,—
with good fords, **good *flooding**, **and good washing places**,
we offer you all as gifts/support **to both existences**,—

YH.38.4[4]
"**unquote**"—**those names**, **whichever Ahura Mazdâ establishes for you** all, **O good ones**,
whenever he establishes you all **as givers of good things**,
with those we are sacrificing to you all,
with those we are making you **friendly**,
with those we are revering you,
with those we are repaying you.

[1] We present you in our *yasna* with the earth and all the other female things you placed upon it for our benefit and which we will receive as well-deserved prizes once the race is run and won.

[2] We present you in our *yasna* with all our special offerings, including the reward you give us.

[3] Especially the waters,

[4] We present you in our *yasna* with all these good things by pronouncing their exact names.

YH.38.5[5]
You also as waters
and you as milk-giving cows
and you as mother cows,
not to be harmed nourishers of the poor,
giving everybody to drink, **we call hither**,
O best ones, **O most beautiful ones**!
I, **with long arms**, **shall offer you my help**,
O good ones, **in return for the attainments of the gift**,
O you **whose presentations reach far and wide**(?), **O** you **who show** your **pleasure in return**,
O mothers, **O winnings**.

The race and the judgment

YH.39.1[1]
Thus, **we are offering up in sacrifice in this way**
both the breath-soul of the cow and its **fashioner**,
thus also, ***our* breath-souls and** those **of the domestic animals**,
of those **who wish to win us**,
of those **for whom they shall be there**
and of those **who shall be there for them**.

YH.39.2[2]
We are also **offering up in sacrifice the breath-souls of the undomesticated animals**, **when harmless**.
Thus, **we are offering up in sacrifice the breath-souls of the sustainers of Order**, **men or women**, **wherever born**,
whose vision-souls, **better** than those of the rivals **are** at this very moment **winning**, **shall win**, **or have won**.

YH.39.3[3]
Thus, **in this way we are offering** them **up in sacrifice**
as ***both* the good** breath-souls(?) ***and* the good** *daênâ*s(?),
as **life-giving and immortal**,
as **ever-living**, **ever-life-giving**,
those **of the male sustainers of Order who dwell on the side of good thought**

[5] We call upon the life-giving waters (= the rain) to come here like cows suckling their calves. In return for their precious gift of life-giving water I shall be generous in my gifts to them. [Many unknown words in the last lines.]

[1] We offer up in sacrifice/sacrifice to the breath-soul of the cow and the fashioner of the cow, known from the myth [**1.**29], and the breath-soul of the other useful animals who seek our protection,—

[2] as well as the breath-soul of animals who do no harm… finally, also the breath-souls of the believers, which are now conveying our hymns of praise to Ahura Mazdâ, guided by their good *daênâ*s, who always overcome all adversities and obstacles on their way up.

[3] We offer up our breath-souls and *daênâ*s to you as contributions to the rejuvenation of the cosmos.

and of the female sustainers of Order who do so, "**unquote**."

YH.39.4[4]
In the same way that you, **O Ahura Mazdâ**,
have thought them and spoken them,
established and performed what are **good** thoughts, etc.,
in that way we are giving them **to you**,
in that way we are assigning them to you,
in that way we are sacrificing to you with them,
in that way we are bending down to you with them,
in that way we are *repaying you with them,
O Mazdâ Ahura.

YH.39.5[5]
With the word "**own**" **of** our **good family**,
with that **of** our **good Order we are circumambulating you**,
of our **good *creative power**,
of our **good Humility/humility**.

Victory and pay time

YH.40.1[1]
Thus, **in return for these** our **presentations**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
make it something **to keep in your mind and** producing **abundant** good things **for you**
by a gift *befitting you,
to the extent we deserve it(?),
when you all **shall provide a fee worthy of me**
to our **vision-souls**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**.

YH.40.2[2]
You there, **give us** now some **of this**—
both for this existence and for the one of thought—
that of this one, **by which we may come to that**,
namely **your company and that of Order**
for a whole life span.

YH.40.3[3]
Thus, do **make** now, **O Mazdâ Ahura**, our **men**
sustainers of Order, **loving Order**, **harmless foragers**,—
for long, ***numerous company *worthy of hymns**
of support for us through us,—

[4] With our *yasna* we are now repaying you with the things you have given us.

[5] We offer up in sacrifice to you our family as its owner, as well as the land from which we live.

[1] We hope our *yasna* is good enough for you to record in your memory and to deserve a worthy reward.

[2] As reward, may we be with you for as long as we live.

[3] So make our men believe in you, Ahura Mazdâ!

YH.40.4[4]
in that way make the families,
in that way the households.
In that way may the companies be which we keep.
In that way may we be for you, **as well**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
sustainers of Order by our ***desire to obtain** what is **desired by** our **gift** to you.

YH.41.1[1]
Our **praises**, **songs**, and **hymns**
we are placing, **we are assigning**, **and we are making known**
to Ahura Mazdâ and to best Order.

YH.41.2[2]
May we now **attain** your **good command**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
for a whole life span.
May a man or a woman of good command command us
in both existences,
O you **give the best gifts among those who are**.

YH.41.3[3]
We regard you as having good creative change, as ***worthy of hymns**, **worthy of sacrifice**, **in the company of Order**.
And so may you be our life and boniness
in both existences,
O you **who give the best gifts among those who are**.

YH.41.4[4]
May we win the prize **and leave** the others **behind**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
in the race for ***your*** **support**, **which ensures a long life span**,
and may we *through you* **become both strong and forceful**,
and may you support us long and as much as it is in your wish,
O you **the most generous of those who are**.

[4] May we all believe in you, and may you in return for our faith reward us with our hearts' desire.

[1] We are offering Ahura Mazdâ our *yasna*.

[2] May we thereby become *your* subjects, Ahura Mazdâ! And may those divinities that are with you also rule over us, both in this world and in the beyond.

[3] Since you, Ahura Mazdâ, are the one who make days and life-making new seasons return, you are the one we offer our *yasna* to. May you in return allow us to be what we are both here in life and in the hereafter.

[4] May our *yasna*—our sacrifice and our hymns of praise—win the race up to you for your rewards.

YH.41.5[5]
Your praisers and your masters of poetic thoughts, **O Ahura Mazdâ**,
we are declaring ourselves and wanting and ready to be,
when you all **shall provide a fee worthy of me**
to our **vision-souls**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**.

YH.41.6[6]
You there, **give us** now some **of this**—
both for this existence and for the one of thought—
that of this one, **by which we may come to that**,
namely **your company and that of Order**
for a whole life span.

[5] We are your chosen worshippers, so please give us worthy rewards.

[6] Cf. **YH.**40.2.

Introduction and presentation

2.43.1[1]
Wished-for things are **in the wish for him**, **to whomever**
Mazdâ Ahura, **commanding at will**, **shall give** them.
I am wishing for strength to come with youthfulness
for Order to be upheld. **You** now **give me that**, **O Ârmaiti**,
the rewards consisting **of wealth**, **the material life of** (someone of?) **good thought**.

2.43.2[2]
And so may a man/hero receive for himself
the best of all things: **well-being** even if already **in well-being**,
once **knowledgeable through your most life-giving inspiration**, **O Mazdâ**,
of the creative changes/pleasures of good thought which you established by your Order,
in *confidence of long living for all his **days**.

2.43.3[3]
Thus, **may *that* man/hero come to** what is **better than good**
who would teach us the straight paths of life-giving strength
both **of this state containing bones and of** that of **thought**
true paths and **drivable**, up to those **with whom dwells the Ahura**,
a heavenly arbiter, **one like you**, **of good lineage**, **life-giving**, **O Mazdâ**.

2.43.4[4]
Thus, **I shall consider *you*** as such, **as well as the firm one**, you, **the life-giving one**, **O Mazdâ**,
when those helps that you hold firmly in your hand shall come:
the rewards which you first **established for the one possessed by the Lie and for the sustainer of Order**,
through the heat of *your* fire, **strong through the Order** of my ritual,
when the violent force of good thought comes to me.

2.43.5[5]
Thus, **I** now **think of *you* as life-giving**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
when I now **see you at the engendering of the** new **existence**, **when you established**,
for the first time, **actions as fee-earning**, **as well as** the words **that are to be uttered**,
and established **a bad** fee/existence?) **for the bad** and **a good reward for the good**—
by your artistry—at the final turn of = about(?) **the Web-master**.

2.43.6[6]
The turn at which you come with *your* life-giving inspiration,
O Mazdâ, **and** your **command**, **at that** turn *he* is **on account of** his **good thought**,
he **by whose actions the herds are being furthered through Order**.
For *these* actions **Ârmaiti is announcing the models**
of *your* guiding thought, **whom/which no one can cause to lie**.

2.43.7[7]
Thus, **I** now **think of *you* as life-giving**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**.
When one *surrounds *me* with good thought
and asks *me* "**Who are you**? **Whose are you**?
How would you *submit your dayly-*mark-earnings for questioning
***regarding *your* herds and persons**?"—

2.43.8[8]
then I declare myself to him first as Zarathustra,
the real one; second, that **I wish to command hostilities for the one possessed by the Lie**,
but for the sustainer of Order I wish to be support and strength,
because I would like to receive the *adornments of one who commands at will;
and, third, that **to the extent that** I can **I am praising you**, **O**

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[1] Ahura Mazdâ is the supreme ruler and in charge of the rewards. I now wish for the reward of Order (= the sun and the new day) and for the boons of Ârmaiti (= earth), due to me for my perfect *yasna*.

[2] Once a man is inspired by Ahura Mazdâ and becomes aware of the secrets of the universe he will be confident about Ahura Mazdâ's plan for him, notably that he will be rewarded both here and in the hereafter.

[3] Whoever in heaven teaches us how to get there will be well rewarded as well.

[4] When thoroughly inspired, may the ritual fire of the convey Ahura Mazdâ's rewards along the paths opened by the *yasna*.

[5] Rewards for actions were determined in the beginning and will be awarded in the end [**3.**48.6].

[6] The recipient of the best rewards is he who supports Ahura Mazdâ's plan for the world.

[7] I realize that Ahura Mazdâ questions his followers as to their qualifications and sincerity.

[8] My answers: I am the real Zarathustra, the one who helped Ahura Mazdâ once; I am on Ahura Mazdâ's party against the Lie; my business is to praise Ahura Mazdâ [**YH.**41.5, **3.**50.11].

Mazdâ, **and weaving** you into hymns.

2.43.9[9]
Thus, **I** now **think of *you* as life-giving**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**.
Whenever he *surrounds *me* with good thought
I then **ask about this**: "**To whom do you wish** right now gifts **to be made known**?
Thus, **here**, **to *your* fire** I wish to give as **a gift of reverence**
and to Order: *me*, **to the extent I am capable and can think** it(?)."

2.43.10[10]
Thus, ***you have*** now **shown *me* Order**, **which I call hither to** *me* **again and again**:
together with Ârmaiti I now **set *it* in motion hither**.
Also, **ask *us*** again **about those things which** are **the questions** already **asked *us* by *you***!
For that which has been asked *you* *energetically, **that** is something that **belongs to the forceful ones**,
so that the one who commands might make *you* powerful and forceful.

2.43.11[11]
Thus, **I** now **think of *you* as life-giving**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
when he *surrounds me with good thought
for me **to learn what** was ***at first on account of the words uttered by *you*** all:
"**Faith** in us **among men appears to me a disaster**!"—
in order for *that* to be produced which you all tell *me* is **the best**.

2.43.12[12]
And when **you come in *foreknowledge** of **that which you tell *me*** is the **best** reward: **Order**,
then, **you keep declaring words to me** that were received ***not* in a state of *lack* of readiness to listen**
for my words **to rise up even before there comes to me**
your **readiness to listen/Sraoπa accompanied by wealth-bestowing Reward**,
who shall distribute the rewards to the legs in the race for **life-giving strength**.

2.43.13[13]
Thus, **I** now **think of *you* as life-giving**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
when he *surrounds me with good thought.
in order for the things to be gained of my **wish to be found**, **lay** down **for me** now **that** path
of long lifespan which no one has actually ***seen you** gods **go**,
the path **of choice existence**—past, present, future—**that has been said** to be **in *your* command**.

2.43.14[14]
That which a man/hero who finds it is **in charge of**, **may he give** it **to a friend**.
So give **to *me***, **O Mazdâ**, ***your* support and foreknowledge** of the rewards,
which you have all **attained through *your* command** O Ahura Mazdâ **in accordance with Order**,
and whereby **you *drive away the *rivals of** my **announcement for** it **to rise up**
together with those of all those **who are reciting** "**poetic thoughts**" **for you**.

2.43.15[15]
Thus, **I** now **think of *you* as life-giving**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
when he *surrounds me with good thought,
***silent thinking *benefits** my ***hearing** as **the best**:
May no man/hero be someone who wishes to please the many possessed by the Lie.
For *they* claim that **all the evil ones** are **sustainers of Order**.

2.43.16[16]
Thus, **he there**, **Zarathustra**, **O Ahura**, **prefers** your **inspiration**
whichever, **O Mazdâ**, is **most life-giving for you**.
May Order have bones through my/his **life breath** and be **strong**!
May Humility be in command and **in** full **sight of the sun**!

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[9] In turn I ask: Whom should I give my gifts to? Here I am ready to offer my perfect *yasna* and even my own being to you.

[10] In the past my *yasna* has always brought back light and life, so this time, too, I shall succeed. May Ahura Mazdâ keep testing my competence, to make sure I am the one who can successfully reestablish him in command of the world.

[11] By your inspiration I now know that the gods are worried about men's involvement, and I shall therefore do my best to reestablish their trust by performing according to their rule for a successful *yasna*.

[12] You know you can rely on me. I have always listened to your instructions in the past, so this time I know exactly what to do to achieve the desired results: my hymns will win the prize!

[13] Prepare the hidden path up to you for my performance so it may fetch the rewards—so that I my find the things I wish to gain: long life and the good life that it is in your power to give.

[14] By the rules of friendship, reward me, your friend. Help me win the prize for my performance by discarding my rivals and their pitiful performances.

[15] But when your inspiration reaches me, even I remain silent to listen to your words regarding your (and my) adversaries [**1.** 32.10].

[16] Only Ahura Mazdâ's inspiration can make the world full of light and life. It is by his inspiration that I perform the *yasna* that makes the sun and its life-giving light reappear and make the earth fertile and productive, so she can reward us by her actions.

May she by her **actions give** me my **reward for** my **good thought**!

Question time

2.44.1[1]
I am asking you this: **tell me straight**, **O Ahura**!
O Mazdâ, **may one like *you* announce to a friend like *me***,
from the example of your(?) **reverence how reverence** is to be done **to one like you all**!
Thus, **for friendly guides**(?) **to be placed for us through Order**—
tell me **how** your reverence(?) **shall come to us on account of** my/our **good thought**.

2.44.2[2]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
How is **the first** thought? **of the best existence**
to be revitalized *as desired for? him **who wishes to come to *them*** (= my life-giving strengths?) **in return**?
For that one, **life-giving through** his **Order**, is **the one who *inspects for all**
the ... they have ***achieved**. **By** your/his **inspiration** he is **the healer of this existence**, the one **who abides by** (your) **deals**, **O Mazdâ**.

2.44.3[3]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
What hero is, **by** his **engendering**, **the first father of Order**?
What hero first put in its place **the road of the sun and of the stars**?
Who is he **through whom the moon is** now **first waxing then waning**?
Just those things I wish to know, **O Mazdâ**, **as well as** these **others**:—

2.44.4[4]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
What hero first **held the earth down below and the clouds** above
keeping them **from falling**? **Who** fashioned **the waters and the plants**?
Who yoked the two fleet coursers **to the wind and the clouds**?
What hero, **O Mazdâ**, is **the *dâmi* of good thought**?

2.44.5[5]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
Which artisan first **put** in their places **both lights and darknesses**?
Which artisan put in their places **sleep and wakefulness** in/for man?
Who is he **through whom** there is **dawn**, **noon**, **and night**,
moments **that remind the one with *desires of something to be gained**?

2.44.6[6]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**,
the words **which I am about to pronounce**! —**For if they** are **true in this manner**,
then, clearly, it is **on account of** our/**by** her **actions** that **Humility is** currently **thickening Order**
and **on account of**/**through** our **good thought** that **she**(?) **assigns the command to *you***.—
For whom did you first **fashion the milk-giving cow**, **which makes happiness** for us?

2.44.7[7]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
Who fashions Humility, **the *esteemed one**, together **with command**?
Who first **made in the covering** of the womb **a *vigorous son for the father**?
Knowing beforehand the answers to the questions, **O Mazdâ**, ***I* am** here **offering *you*** my **help with these** things,
who **through the life-giving inspiration** are **the establisher of** them **all**.
...

2.44.13[13]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**,
how we shall dispel (?) **here from us the Lie**

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[1] The sacrificer reminds Ahura Mazdâ of their long-standing friendship (which obliges) and asks him how to perform correctly the ritual reverence strengthening the earth, so that the *yasna* shall pass easily from earth to heaven.

[2] Further questions about the *yasna*: How to bring back light and life? It is the sun (Mi*f*ra), Ahura Mazdâ's eye, who sees all and goes according to the rules of the ordered cosmos, who will bring back light and life to this existence [**1.**31.13].

[3] Further questions about the origins: From whom was Order born? Who arranged the world according to the Order?

[4] Further questions about the arrangement of the world.

[5] Further questions about the arrangement of the world.

[6] Further questions: If it is true that our *yasna* has the desired effects for you, then (hint, hint!) for whom did you intend the cows?

[7] Further questions: Who remakes the earth every year? Who made for the first time a son? — But he already knows the answers and so is able to perform a perfect *yasna*, assisting Ahura Mazdâ in the rejuvenation of the world.

[13] Another question: How shall we turn the Lie away from us and upon those who strengthen it: those who do not listen to Ahura Mazdâ, do not follow his rules, and do not look in their thoughts for his commandments.

and bring it's evil **down upon those who full of refusal to listen**
are not obtaining heavenly fame (?) **through company with Order**
and **take no pleasure in the questioning of** their **good thought**?

2.44.14[14]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
How might I deliver the Lie into the hands of Order
for it **to be wiped out by the poetic thoughts of *your* announcement**,
in order **to make a rupture** (?) **with force among those possessed by the Lie**
and **to bring them to torments**, **O Mazdâ**, **and miseries**?

2.44.15[15]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
For if you together with Order are now **in command of this** existence **in order to protect** it
when two armies have come together in mutual dislike,
by yonder deals which you, **O Mazdâ**, **wish to keep firmly**,
to which side of these two do you go and **to whom** among them **do you give victory**?

2.44.16[16]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
Who is **the smasher of obstructions** fit **to protect** all **who are by *your* announcement**?
Let brilliant assistances/gifts(?) **be given to *me***! **Assign**, **O healer of** this **existence**, me as(?) **a model** winner(?)!
Thus, **let readiness to listen/Sraosha come to *him* on account of** my/his **good thought**,
O Mazdâ, **to *him***, **to whomever you wish**!
...

2.44.18[18]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
How shall I earn that fee by the Order of my ritual:
ten mares with a stallion, **as well as a camel**,
a reward **which has been *inspired to me**, **O Mazdâ**, as **wholeness**
and immortality in the way you now **receive them for yourself**.

2.44.19[19]
I am asking you this: tell me straight, **O Ahura**!
He **who shall not give *that* fee to him who earns it**,
the man/hero who obtains it for himself by a correct utterance—
which shall be the first requital to reach(?) **him for this**?—
this I ask, while **knowing yonder** requital **that shall be the last** to reach(?) him.

Story time

2.45.1[1]
And so I shall proclaim! **Now hear**! **Now listen**,
both you who are approaching from near and you **who from afar**!
Now, **all**, **pay attention to it**, **for it** is **brilliant**!
May the one of bad announcing not destroy a second time this **existence**
by his **bad preference**, **the one possessed by the Lie**, ***impeded by** the utterances of his **tongue**.

Myth of the *manyu*s

2.45.2[2]
Thus, I shall proclaim the two inspirations at the beginning of this(?) **existence**
of which two the life-giving one shall tell him **whom** you know to be(?) **the Evil one**:
"**Neither our thoughts**, **nor announcements**, **nor guiding thoughts**,
nor preferences, **nor utterances**, **nor actions**,
nor vision-souls, **nor breath-souls go together**."

2.45.3[3]
Thus, **I shall proclaim the *first*** announcement(?) of (= about?) **this existence**,
the ordinance(?) **which the knowing one**, **Mazdâ Ahura**, **has** now **spoken to me**:

---

[14] Another question: How can I bring the Lie as a vanquished enemy to Order the king, so that he may pronounce its sentence: "destruction," and so get them what they deserve?

[15] Another question: Since you, Ahura Mazdâ, are in command of your Ordered universe, in the battle we are fighting, whom do you favor and to whom do you award victory? (We hope to us!)

[16] Another question: Who is qualified to be your warrior, though not to fight with arms, but with your words? I hope it is I, but whomever you choose, let him be well instructed with your commands!

[18] Another question: How shall I earn my fee for the benefits you are now reaping from my sacrifice? [**2.**46.19]

[19] The payment of fees for services rendered is part of the rules in Ahura Mazdâ's ordered universe, so what is the punishment—both here and now and at the end of the world—for not paying the fee to someone who has earned it?

[1] The poet-sacrificer begins proclaiming his knowledge. Let not the incompetent poet-sacrificers ruin this good state, as they did—at least—once before.

[2] The myth of the two manyus, the two inspirations, among which men must choose.

[3] The first thing to know about the existence is what the rewards will be for each and everyone at the end of their existence. [**1.**31.20]

those **of you who shall *not* produce** it **in this way**, **the poetic thought**,
the way this ordinance(?) is **and I shall think and speak** it,
for those the last word **of** this **existence will be** "***woe**!"

2.45.4[4]
Thus, **I shall proclaim the *best*** announcement **of** (= about?) **this existence**
in accordance with Order: He is "**Mazdâ"** because he **knows** him **who established it**
to be **the father of the good thought which invigorates** you,
while his daughter is **Humility of good actions**.
He is "**Ahura**" because he ***keeps an eye on all** things **for** them **not to be deceived**.

2.45.5[5]
Thus, **I shall proclaim the word that the most "life-giving" one tells *me***,
which is **the best for mortals** for it **to be heard**:
Whosoever shall give readiness to listen to this one of mine,
shall come to wholeness and **immortality**.
By the actions of his **good inspiration the Ahura** is **Mazdâ**.

2.45.6[6]
Thus, **I shall proclaim the greatest one of all**,
praising *him* **with Order who** is **generous** to all those **who are**
through his **life-giving inspiration**. **Let Ahura Mazdâ listen**,
in whose hymn I discuss with my **good thought**.
Let him teach me the best thoughts/utterances/actions **by *his* guiding thought**,—

2.45.7[7]
to **whose life-giving strengths of generosity they shall wish to come**,
namely, those **who** are **living**, **as well as those** who **have been and those** who **shall become**,
and **the breath-soul of a sustainer of Order**, **strong in** the race for **immortality**
and **in** the race for **youthfulness**, **which** (strengths), however, come down as "**disaster**!" **upon the men of the one possessed by the Lie**.

<u>The poet's complaint</u>

2.46.1[1]
To what earth/ground am I bending? **Where shall I go to** find(?) **a *grazing land**?
They are setting me **apart from the family and** it **community**.
The household which I want to pursue (= devote myself to?) **has not favored me** with its generosity
nor the rulers of the land, **who** are **possessed by the Lie**.
How shall I win your favor, **O Mazdâ Ahura**?

2.46.2[2]
I know the reason why I am weak, **O Mazdâ**:
it is **because of my lack of cattle and because I have few men**.
I am complaining to you: **look hither at it**, **O Ahura**,
at the kind of **support that a friend**, **having offered** it, **may give to** his **friend**!
You now **look hither** down **through Order/because of** its **Order at the ritual of** my **good thought**.

---

[4] The best thing to know about the existence is the meaning of the name Ahura Mazdâ and who Ârmaiti is. Mazdâ "the memorizer" refers to him who knows that the maker of the universe is the father of the life-giving Good Thought = Heaven, whose daughter (and wife) is Ârmaiti = the Earth, by whose produce we live. Ahura "the Lord" refers to the celestial fire = the sun, his eye, which sees everything. [**1.**31.13]

[5] And here is the best thing for mortals according to what Ahura Mazdâ told me: Listen to my poet-sacrificer, and you shall be rewarded with the best rewards. For Ahura Mazdâ being "Mazdâ," has put his inspiration to good use and produced light and life in the universe, of which he is therefore the Lord and Master "Ahura." [**1.**28.11]

[6] The greatest one of all is Ahura Mazdâ, who gives generously to all beings for which I praise him with a hymn inspired by his utterances, which I find in my thought.

[7] Ahura Mazdâ puts his enormous powers to good use in producing all kinds of well-being, which is the reward all living beings have always desired. The follower of Order is a good contender in the competition for these rewards. [**2.**45.10] But Ahura Mazdâ puts these strengths to terrible use against the followers of the Lie. [**1.**34.7] By his command over these powers Ahura Mazdâ rules the universe. [**1.**28.9] He holds from above the ropes to which are attached the created universe. [**1.**31.8]

[1] In preparation for the conclusion of the hymn, the poet-sacrificer explains to Ahura Mazdâ that he has hardly anything, so he would like a handsome fee for his services. He has no land to till and no pastures. He has not been well remunerated in the past by those who should have done so, and certainly not by the followers of the Lie.

[2] More of the same, but recalling the guest-friend relationship between him and Ahura Mazdâ, which obliges both of them to give gifts.

2.46.3[3]
When, **O Mazdâ**, **will** those **who** are **the bulls of the days move forth for the** up**holding of the existence of Order**
by our **announcements** now **grown** more powerful, namely, **the guiding thoughts of the revitalizers**?
To whom will he come for support **for *what is to be aided/woven with good thought**?
I, **O Ahura**, **am** herewith **choosing *you*** to come **to *me* for the announcing** of the announcement.

2.46.4[4]
But the one possessed by the Lie will keep those **whom** I know to be **the conveyors of Order**,
the bulls, **from** their **moving forth**, **being the bad invoker of the settlement or the land and *repugnant by** his **own actions**.
Whoever ***removes him from** his **command**, **O Mazdâ**, **or** his **livelihood**,
***he* will *put those bulls before the flight of** his **good understanding**.
...

2.46.11[11]
The "mumblers" and "poets" have harnessed by their bad **commands**
mortal man to evil actions in order for the present **existence to keep being destroyed**,
they **whom** their ***own* breath-soul and** their ***own* vision-soul will make shudder in anger**
when they have come to where the Ford of the Accountant is
and become, **for** their **entire life span**, **guests *in the house of the Lie**.

2.46.12[12]
But when the winner **has come up through Order among the *great-grandchildren and grandchildren**
***to be declared** as those **of Tura *son of Friya**,
you, O Ahura Mazdâ, **further** his **herds with the energy of Humility**.
Thus, **Mazdâ Ahura has *harnessed them on account of** their **good thought**
for these our men **for** their **support in order** for them **to announce** it to others.

2.46.13[13]
He **who** once(?) **favored Zarathustra Spitama with** his **generosity**
among mortals, **that man/hero** is **according to the models** and ready **to be renowned by** my/his **song**.
Thus, **for *him* Mazdâ Ahura establishes the** present **existence**,
for *him* he furthers his **herds on account of** his **good thought**.
We now **think of him as a good companion of Order**.

2.46.14[14]
O Zarathustra, **which sustainer of Order abiding by the deals** is **for you**
for the great gift exchange? **Or**, **who wishes to be renowned by** my/your **song**?
Well, **he there** is **Kawi Vishtâspa at the audition**.
In fact, all of those **whom you**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**, ***sustain in *one and the same house** as yourself,
those I want to invoke with the utterances of my **good thought**.
...

2.46.18[18]
He **who** assigns **to *me*** the best things **of a** full **life span**, **to *him***, as **the best** parts
of *my* ritual, **I have** now **assigned by** my **good thought even** (= nothing less than) my **bones**,
but **miseries to *him* who would receive us** in order to give us over **to misery**,
O Mazdâ and you others, **seeking to win the favor by the Order** of my ritual of ***your* approval**.
That is **the discrimination** (= judgment) **of *my* guiding thought and thought**.

---

[3] When will the thoughts of the sacrificers, in the form of the heavenly bulls that pull the light of day across the sky, bring back light and life? [**3.**50.10]

[4] The *yasna* of the followers of the Lie will have the opposite effect: it will prevent light and life from reappearing, so whoever is able to take away their resources and thwart their efforts [**5.**53.9], will by his own thought, in the form of the heavenly bulls, bring back light and life.

[11] The bad poets use their command to make humans do bad things, so that the cycle of good and evil is maintained. Their reward will be to spend the rest of their lives (after death) in hell.

[12] When the winner has taken his place among his illustrious predecessors, then Ahura Mazdâ will see to it that the earth rewards him well, and also his community.

[13] That was and still is the reward of Zarathustra Spitama's human patron (Vishtâspa?), so him I will praise in my song as he sits among the other long departed heroes.

[14] Among them: Zarathustra, Vishtâspa, and all the others whom Ahura Mazdâ has accepted into his home. All those whose names are worthy to be praised in my song.

[18] As proper exchange gifts I give Ahura Mazdâ my own self to serve as material for the reconstruction of a new state of existence in return for a full life span. The competitor shall suffer defeat.

Victory and pay time

2.46.19[19]

He **who shall** now **produce for me the *true*** existence **in accordance with Order**
for Zarathustra, the one **which** is **the most Juicy in exchange value**,
shall produce **for this one** (= me), **who** thereby **earns** it as his **fee**, **a higher existence**:
a bull and a cow together with all things to be **found in/by** one's **thought**.
You, **O Mazdâ**, **appear to me** as **the one who finds** for me **most often just those** things.

[19] On account of my performance here and Zarathustra's original performance (repeated in heaven before Ahura Mazdâ at this moment?) the new day will appear and I will be rewarded handsomely, since Ahura Mazdâ is the one who is truly in charge of the best rewards.

THE *SPENTÂMANYÛ GÂTHÂ*

Introduction and presentation

3.47.1[1]
On account of the life-giving inspiration and best thought
in accordance with Order, **on account of the action and speech**
they shall give to this one wholeness and immortality.
By his/my **command Mazdâ** together(?) **with Humility** (or: throughout the earth?) is **the Ahura**.

3.47.2[2]
He produces the best of this most life-giving inspiration
by the utterances of his **good thought** to be sped **along by** his **tongue**,
and **the actions of Humility by** his **hands**,
through *this* understanding: **He there** is **the father of Order**: **Mazdâ**.

3.47.3
You* belong to *this* inspiration. Through *it you are **the life-giving one**
who fashioned together the pleasure-giving cow for this one.
Thus, **for him you establish Humility** as **peace for** his **pasture**
when he has consulted, **O Mazdâ**, his **good thought**.

3.47.4[4]
Those possessed by the Lie are *moving away from *this* inspiration,
the life-giving one, **O Mazdâ—not so** <the man?> **of a sustainer of Order**.
A man, **even** if **possessing little**, **shall be *desirable for the sustainer of Order**;
a mighty man, **even if possessing much**, but **bad**, shall only be *desirable **for the one possessed by the Lie**.

3.47.5[5]
And through that life-giving inspiration, **O Mazdâ Ahura**,
you assign rewards **to the sustainer of Order**: **namely whatever** things are **best**.
The one possessed by the Lie too **shall give out** gifts, but **without** obtaining ***your* pleasure**,
because of **dwelling—on account of *his*** own **actions—on the side of bad thought**.

3.47.6[6]
Through that your **life-giving inspiration**, **O Mazdâ Ahura**, **you** now **make**
through your **fire a firm stance for the two legs in** the race for **good** renown,
through Humility's thickening and that **of Order**,
for *she* shall classify the many who wish to come.

3.48.1[1]
For when he has overcome the Lie with his ***presentations**, **by the Order** of his ritual,
when at the sending forth of the premiums of victory, **which** are the prizes(?) **proclaimed** as **those *of old**
by old gods and men in the race for **immortality**,
then he will magnify his **hymn with life-giving strengths for you**, **O Ahura**.
...

3.48.5[5]
Let now **those of good command be in command! Let not those of bad command** now **command *us***!
By the actions of my/your(?) **good understanding**, **O Humility**,
you make mortal women ritually pure after birth. **May the best** things
be produced for the cow! You keep tending *her* for food for *us*!

---

[1] Through Ahura Mazdâ's inspiration I hope to perform a perfect *yasna*, which will earn me rewards and put Ahura Mazdâ in command, bringing light and warmth back in the universe and making the earth produce her gifts. [**2.**45.5]

[2] By knowing that Ahura Mazdâ was the original Orderer of the cosmos I shall perform the correct *yasna*, including the actions that will reproduce Ahura Mazdâ's first *yasna* and have the same effect.

[4] Not accepting the good inspiration is typical of the bad poets, accepting it is typical of the good poets. The classification by Orderliness takes precedence over that by wealth.

[5] To those who accept the good inspiration and perform their *yasna* accordingly you assign good rewards, but the bad poet-sacrificer will get nowhere with his ritual offerings.

[6] The good poet-sacrificers will be prepared for the race by Ahura Mazdâ through his fire [**1.**31.19].

[1] When I have successfully and safely made the trip up to you and have received the prize of immortality, then I shall sing for you a song that will enable you, Ahura Mazdâ, to recreate the first state of existence.

[5] I wish those will rule the world who can produce light and life and so growth and fertility on earth.

3.48.6[6]
For *she* (= Humility) has given ***us*** ***happiness**, ***she*** has given ***us* youthfulness**.
She has given us **the strength of good thought**, you, **O esteemed** Humility!
Thus, **for *her* Mazdâ through Order shall** now **make plants grow**,
he, **the Ahura**, **at the** re**birth of the first existence**.

3.48.7[7]
Let Wrath be tied down! Cut back obstruction
you **who wish to** stretch out **hither** and **hold firmly the *covering of good thought**
through Order, **whose Cord-master** is **the life-giving man**,
while its warp is **there in *your* dwelling**, **O Ahura**.
...

3.50.6[6]
The holder of the poetic thoughts who is lifting his **voice**, **O Mazdâ,**
he who abides by your **deals by the Order** of his ritual, **in homage**, is I/he **Zarathustra.**
May the maker of the guiding thought instruct it **through** his **good thought** how **to be the chariot-horse of** this **tongue of *mine*** (and its) **guide string**.

3.50.7[7]
Thus, **I shall** now **harness for you the fleetest coursers—**
broad-chested **by the victories of** my **hymn to you**,
O Mazdâ, **strong by the Order** of my ritual, **by** my **good thought**,
through which victories/hymns **you** all **shall take away the** spoils. **May you** all **be for *my* help!**

[6] For Ârmaiti/the earth gives us prosperity and happiness, and it is Ahura Mazdâ who can make it happen.

[7] But in order to raise the good tent (= bring back the sun-lit sky) between the poet-sacrificer, who supports it from below, and Ahura Mazdâ, who holds it from above, the evil tent of darkness must be dismantled.

[6] In fact, he whose vice you hear right now is none other than Zarathustra. Once more: teach me, O Ahura Mazdâ, how to perform an effective *yasna*!

[7] For then my hymns of praise and glorification will bring your fame everywhere and you and your heavenly companions will be enriched by the spoils of victory resulting from my victory over the evil forces and at the audition.

Victory and pay time

3.50.8[8]
With the steps that are **renowned as** those **of the milk libation**
I shall now **circumambulate you all**, **O Mazdâ**, **with upstretched hands.**
Thus, I shall circumambulate **you all with the Order** of my ritual **and in reverence for the heavenly arbiter.**
Thus, I shall circumambulate **you all with the talent of** my **good thought.**

3.50.9[9]
With those sacrifices I shall come before you **praising you all,**
O Mazdâ, **with the Order** of my ritual(?), **with the actions of** my **good thought,**
when (= as soon as) **I shall command *my*** own **reward at will**,
Thus, **growing in vigor may I be in the longing of a generous one.**

3.50.10[10]
Thus, **the actions that I shall** now **perform**, **both** those **that you have wished for**
and those **that** our **eyes on account of** our **good thought deserve** to see, are
the bringing back of **the lights of the sun**. **The bull of the days** is **the *driver**
for the hymn to you all **through Order**, **O Mazdâ Ahura.**

3.50.11[11]
Thus, **I shall declare myself *your* praiser**, **O Mazdâ** and you others, **and I shall be—**
to the extent I by the Order of my ritual **can and am able—**
the establisher of the first **existence *successfully by** my **good thought!**
On account of my **true** action/utterance **may what is most Juicy in exchange value be produced**!

[8] I am ready to perform.

[9] As soon as I know I am the winner and know I will be handsomely rewarded, you will be praised more than ever.

[10] And the supreme reward is the making of the new state of existence.

[11] And it is I who shall perform the *yasna* that enables you to make the new state of existence, so produce it now in return for my efforts!

THE *VOHUKHSHATHRÂ GÂTHÂ*

Introduction and presentation

4.51.1[1]
The good command is what is **the best bringer** of **the worthy share**
to him who wishes to distinguish it clearly(?). **The milk libation itself is** at this very moment **walking between** heaven and earth **through Order**
by our **actions**, **O Mazdâ**. ***That* best** action/command **of ours I am just now about to produce**.

4.51.2[2]
Thereby I shall produce **for you** all **the first** existence, **O Mazdâ Ahura**, **both for Order**
and for you, **O Humility**. **I shall show** you **the command of my ritual/wish**!
Give, O Ahura Mazdâ/Humility, now **to** our **hymn**, **on account of** our **good thought**, ***your***, O Ahura Mazdâ and you others, **command over life-giving strength**!

4.51.3[3]
Let the Ahura (= the fire) **steer up to your ears** the words **which are uniting themselves with our actions**,
up **through Order/by the Order** of my ritual, **by the utterances of** my **good thought** steered **by** my **tongue**,
the thoughts and utterances **whose first launcher *you* are**, **O Mazdâ**.

Question time

4.51.4[4]
Where is ***creative power in right quantity**? **Where will one stand by for mercy**?
Where is **Order which brings Fortune**? **Where** is **life-giving Humility**?
Where is **best thought**? **Where** will you come(?) **with your command**, **O Mazdâ**?

4.51.5[5]
I am **asking about *all* those** things: **how does he *find** (= been able to find?) **a cow in accordance with Order**,
the forager, **being of capacious resources by** his **actions and of good guiding thought by** his **homage**
to him **who**, **being in command correctly** and so **holds the rewards**, **has marked** me **for himself** as **model for those who abide by the rules**?

4.51.6[6]
He **who is now receiving what is better than good and** he **who *directs** it **to *his* approval**,
by his **command Mazdâ** is the **Ahura**(?). **But**, **for him** there will be **worse than bad**
who shall not distribute to him (= Ahura Mazdâ) his share of command(?) **at the last turn of** this **existence**.

4.51.7[7]
Give me now, **you who fashioned the cow**, **the waters**, **and the plants**,
immortality and wholeness through your **most life-giving inspiration**, **O Mazdâ**,
strength and youthfulness for me **to announce** them **with** my **good thought**.

---

[1] If one wishes to see the world rejuvenated, a *yasna* is needed that reestablishes the worshippers' and Ahura Mazdâ's good rule. The *yasna* is already in course, the sacrifice already on its way to heaven, so the desired result is soon to be obtained.

[2] By his *yasna* the world will surely be rejuvenated: the sun and the day will reappear, and the earth will again be fertile and produce her gifts [**3.**50.10]. Therefore, may the gods give to his songs of praise the command by which this can be achieved.

[3] Let the fire be the charioteer who steers his *yasna*, his songs of praise, sped along by his tongue up through the heavenly spaces [or: by virtue of the perfection of the *yasna*]. These are modeled after Ahura Mazdâ's initial thought and utterances during the primeval *yasna*, when he made Order out of chaos [**1.**31.17, **YH.**35.9].

[4] Will my performance win the favor of the gods? Will it bring me fame? Will it make the earth again fertile? Is my thought sufficient to perform a perfect *yasna*? Will it reestablish the good rule of Ahura Mazdâ? [**1.**30.7].

[5] And a final question: A believer whose principal resource is his ability to perform a good *yasna*, how can he also obtain material goods, especially the indispensable cow? Hopefully, Ahura Mazdâ has noticed him and approved of him!

[6] The recipient of the *yasna* being celebrated at this instance is Ahura Mazdâ. If he also approves of it, it will reestablish his good rule. If it is less than perfect, it will not have the desired effect: rejuvenating this world of light and life when it comes to an end and faces the period of darkness and lifelessness.

[7] May Ahura Mazdâ, who established nature's life-giving elements in the beginning, inspire the worshipper to compose his best song in praise of Ahura Mazdâ's gifts.

Story time

4.51.8[8]
For thus I shall tell you, **O Mazdâ**,—**for a man/hero may tell the one who** already **knows**—
what there will be for the one possessed by the Lie at his **evil** turn, but there will be **wished-for things** for him **who has grasped and upholds Order**.
For that one is the holder of the poetic thoughts, **who**—**when prosperous**—**shall tell the one who** already **knows**.

4.51.9[9]
By the *sharpening **which you give to** his **legs by your blazing fire**, **O Mazdâ**,
in order for a brand(?) **to be placed with molten metal upon** their ***beings**
in order to mark the one possessed by the Lie for harm, **you keep providing life-giving strength for the sustainer of Order**.

4.51.10[10]
Thus, **the "man/hero" who**, **differently from this**, **shall try to destroy *me***, **O Mazdâ**,
***he* is the brood of the warp-holder of the Lie**, **thereby** also **who gives evil gifts among/to those who are**.
For *me* I shall invoke Order to come with good reward.

4.51.11[11]
Which man/hero abiding by the deals is ***for* Spitama Zarathustra**, **O Mazdâ**?
Or who has consulted Order? With whom has life-giving Humility consulted?
Or who—**someone with capacious resources**—**has marked** me **for himself for the exchange of gifts for good thought**?

The poet's complaint

4.51.12[12]
The "shaker," the poetaster, did in spite of(?) **that** good thought(?) **not favor him with** his **generosity at the passage in winter**,
Zarathustra Spitama, **when**(?) his **messenger *obstructed** him **at it**,
when his two draught animals exhausted **from both the *walking and the *cold** were ***angry with him**(?).

4.51.13[13]
Thereby the vision-soul of the one possessed by the Lie shall divert the true poetic thought **from the straight** path to the detriment of him,
whose breath-soul will therefore **make him shudder in fury** when **in view of the Ford of the Accountant**,
having because of its own actions and the words **of** his **tongue** for ever **gone astray from the path of Order**.

4.51.14[14]
The "mumblers" do not abide by the deals and are not(?) ***in agreement with he established rules** and **pasture**
***in right quantity for the cow**, yet being ***boastfully pleased with their own actions and announcements**—
the announcement **that shall at last place them in the house of the Lie**.

The race and the judgment

4.51.15[15]
The fee which Zarathustra assigned before to the masters of the gift exchange,
in the House of Song Ahura Mazdâ comes forward for/with it as the **first** in line.
On account of that fee **I have assigned *myself* through** my **good thought with life-giving strengths to you** all **and to Order**.

4.51.16[16]
Kawi Vishtâspa first ***reached that** understanding **by the command of the gift exchange**
along the paths of his **good thought**,—**the understanding which he** first(?) **thought through Order**:
"**Mazdâ Ahura** is **life-giving**!" **in order for the wished-for** things **to appear to us** too **in that manner**.

---

[8] The worshipper proceeds to show Ahura Mazdâ that he knows the secrets: what will be the rewards of the winners and the losers.

[9] By rejecting the unbelievers—removing the strength from their legs in the race [**5.**53.8]—and branding them for final punishment, Ahura Mazdâ confirms the success of the believer.

[10] The worshipper's opponents and rivals is of evil lineage (like the daêwas), and their gifts are as evil as themselves. *He*, however, being a believer, will receive *good* rewards.

[11] The worshipper asks Ahura Mazdâ whether Zarathustra has supporters in heaven, who would reward him for his performance.

[12] Which leads us to the story of Zarathustra's trials and tribulations, which is as true today as it was then!

[13] When you come to the place of accounting, however, you will be rewarded according to your actions. there is no getting away!

[14] So, opponents and rivals, beware!

[15] The fee which became standard through Zarathustra's experience is presented by Ahura Mazdâ himself, leading the procession of congratulants. To obtain this fee the worshipper makes the supreme sacrifice of his own self to rejuvenate Order.

[16] The great poet-sacrificer Vishtâspa performed a *yasna* with the desired result—opening a path for it up to heaven with his good thought—after realizing that it is Ahura Mazdâ who maintains light and life in the world.

4.51.17[17]

Frashaoshtra the Hwogwid again and again shows me the form of his *daênâ*(?), **esteemed** for her merits.

Let Ahura Mazdâ now **give to** *my* **good vision-soul** a yearning (= the yearned-for reward?) **which** is **speedy for her**,—

Mazdâ Ahura, **who commands**,—**for** our **yearning for Order to be attained**.

4.51.18[18]

Djâmâspa the Hwogwid is now **choosing that understanding** as **the *good gains**(?) **of** his **ritual**

by the Order of his ritual: "***That* command of thought you shall** now **find** as your(?) **good** rewards!"

Assign to *me* now that command, **O Ahura Mazdâ**, **which** is **supportive of *you***!

4.51.19[19][20]

That hero, **O Maidhyôi.mångha(s)**, **is** now **determining *that* command** to be **for *this* Spitâma**,

finding it **for himself by** his **vision-soul**, (he) **who**, **wishing to reach by prayer the** first **existence**,

that of Mazdâ, **tells** me: "**Through actions he shall receive/you shall establish the better** thing **of** material **life**."

4.51.20[20]

In order for that life-giving strength of *yours*, O all you **who have the same pleasure**, **to be given to *us***,

we are **sacrificing** to **Order with** our **good thought and with** our **utterance**, **by** all of **which Humility** will be here,

we are offering them **up in sacrifice by** our **homage** to obtain the gifts(?) **of Mazdâ**, **who offers support** as his **gifts**.

Victory and pay time

4.51.21[21]

This one is now **a vitalizing man by the understanding**: "**By** my **utterances** are produced **the actions of Humility**;

by my **vision-soul**, **Order** is again **full of vitality**; **by** my **good thought Mazdâ**

Ahura establishes his **command**."— So now **I am asking *him* for a good reward**.

4.51.22[22]

He **who in return for** my **sacrifice to him knows the best** thing that is in store **for me in accordance with Order**,

(is) **Mazdâ Ahura**. All those **who have been and** those **who are**,

those I shall now sacrifice to with their own names and circumambulate in *victory (or: as the winner).

---

[17] Similarly, the successful daênâ of Frashaoshtra Hwôgwa provides another example. May Ahura Mazdâ reward the worshipper's daênâ and so also the worshippers themselves.

[18] Similarly, Djâmâspa Hwôgwa realized that good thought was the instrument by which the good rule could be reestablished and the rewards for it would be presented. May Ahura Mazdâ similarly give me that command so I can give it to him in turn.

[19] And so he *is* giving the worshipper the command, like he did to Zarathustra, and he will get it when his daênâ has arrived in heaven, as did that of Zarathustra, who reminds the worshipper that it is through his actions that he will obtain the rewards of a good life.

[20] By their *yasna* both the worshippers and Ahura Mazdâ will receive the strength to rejuvenate Order and the earth, making them worthy of a good reward.

[20] By their *yasna* both the worshippers and Ahura Mazdâ will receive the strength to rejuvenate Order and the earth, making them worthy of a good reward.

[21] The worshipper now knows all the secrets and is invested with the sacred function of reenacting Ahura Mazdâ's primordial *yasna*.

[22] Ahura Mazdâ knows the appropriate reward for my *yasna*. I shall now praise all living and dead (deities, poet-sacrificers, heroes, believers). — This strophe is followed by Y.52, which is not part of the Old Avesta, but contains the promised worship of named entities.

THE *VAHISHTÔISHTÎ GÂTHÂ*

Introduction and presentation

5.53.1[1]
The best ritual is thus **renowned** as that **of Zarathustra Spitama**. **For when Ahura Mazdâ shall give to him** as **prizes**
in accordance with (its?) **Order the possession of a good existence for an entire life span**,
but **also** that of those **who *imitate and *master the utterances and actions of *his* good vision-soul**.

5.53.2[2]
And so let *them* all **pursue** (= devote themselves to) **by** their **thought**, **utterances**, **and actions *his***
favor, that **of Mazdâ—opting for** his **hymn—and the sacrifices** to him,
as both Kawi Vishtâspa, **a Zarathustrid and a Spitamid**, **and Frashaoshtra** pursued
the straight paths of the gift awaiting **the vision-soul which Ahura establishes** as that **of the revitalizer**.

5.53.3[3]
Let Pouru.cistâ, **a Haêca†.aspid**,
—she **a Spitamid** and **the youngest of the daughters of Zarathustra— *draw firmly** the bow for
the return-shot of his **good thought and** that **of Mazdâ**. **She has** now **given *you*** her **union with Order**.
In that way consult *your* guiding thought, .the most life-giving one!
Produce for yourself the actions **of Humility as generous good things**(?).

5.53.4[4]
For it is **that one among you**, **O rivals**, whom **I shall *reserve** for her **who shall** therefore **distribute** rewards **to** her **father**
and her **master**, **to the foragers**, **thus also to the family**:
a woman sustaining Order to the sustainers of Order. **Seeking to gain the sun-filled *mind-bliss of** my **good thought**,
Mazdâ Ahura gives it as reward **to** my **good vision-soul for all** my **life span**.

Story time

5.53.5[5]
I am speaking to you, **the young women who are about to be carried off**, **two instructions**,
—**and to you** young men(?)—those **of the *singer**. **And pay attention to them**!
The first: **Keep finding for yourself by** your **vision-souls and for these** our women **the state which** is that **of good thought**!
The second: When going **through Order let each** of you ***illuminate the other**! **For that shall be a good gain for him**!

5.53.6[6]
In this way mark **them well as true**, **O heroes/men**! **In that way** mark them well as true, **O women**!
The "***composition**" **in accordance with the Lie—which you**, who are possessed by the Lie, now ***regard** as ***worthy of furthering**,
but on which(?) **in the *harness of the Lie you *monstrously fattened your bodies *of old**—is **foul food for you driving through the intermediate space**. **Comfort has been lost**
for you, **possessed by the Lie** and **with crippled Order**.
Through those actions/utterances **of yours you are destroying** here and now **the state of thought**.

The race and the judgement

5.53.7[7]
And thus for *you* O sustainers of Order **shall be the reward of this gift exchange as long as** your, O young man(?) ***axle**, **most faithful**,
shall be going back and forth at the bottom of your **loins**, O young woman(?),
where the "**inspiration" of the one possessed by the Lie has already been spent**.
You, who are possessed by the Lie, **shall *miss that gift exchange/hole**. **Thus**, ***your* last word shall be** "**woe**!" not "woven."

---

[1] Because of the effectiveness of Zarathustra's *yasna*

[2] all his successors should follow his lead.

[3] In his original *yasna* Zarathustra presented his youngest daughter (and spouse?), "remarked by many," to be wedded to Ahura Mazdâ as the ritual representative of Ârmaiti, Ahura Mazdâ's daughter and spouse and the source of all goodness on earth. The successors of Zarathustra should act the same way.

[4] She will bring rewards for her father and spouse (= Zarathustra).

[5] At the outset of the first race, which presumably was a real one, involving real persons, rather than just the ritual representatives, Zarathustra addresses the participants, the young men and women of his family and community.

[6] On the dangers of being deceived by the Lie.

[7] On the importance of keeping the yoke-axle straight between the wheels of the chariot and managing their energy(!). The incompetent competitors will fare badly.

5.53.8[8]

On account of those utterances/performances **of theirs let them be there** at the judgment, as men **of bad virility**, ***dupes**,
and ridiculed all of them! **Let *them* be *howled upon**!
By those who have good commands let *them* now **be *smashed and *bled**!
—**And let** *this one*(?) **give peace by these** actions of ours **to the settled towns**!—
Let *torment huddle *them* off as their greatest share(?), **the one with the fetter of death**, **and let it be soon**!

5.53.9[9]

The *foul one together with the ones of bad preferences/wool(?) **is *composing for you the *frayed *ropes**
of one having forfeited his body with a *puny *invocation with crippled Order.
Where is **an Ahura who follows Order**, **who might deprive them of their livelihood and freedom to roam**?
That, **O Mazdâ**, is ***your* command**, **by which you shall give the better** of this existence **to the poor living a straight life**.

Victory and pay time

5.54.1[10]

Let speedy Airyaman come here for support
for men/heroes and women/heroines, **for the support of Zarathustra's**
good thought, **by which** his **vision-soul may gain a worthy fee**.
I am now asking for the reward of/for Order, **which Ahura Mazdâ shall *deem worthy of being sped** hither.

[8] They will be unmanned, booed, and hazed. The winner will bring peace and pasture to the settlements, while the losers will suffer eternal punishment.

[9] These incompetent competitors, having made the wrong original choice, will be unable to produce finely-woven hymns and ordered sacrifices. Let them be confined and prevented from doing harm! Give your poor poet and his community the wherewithall to live a good life.

[10] Let the genius of peace and harmony support our people and the talent of Zarathustra and his successors. If my poem has won, then please send me quickly my reward! — Note: according to V.22.6-26 (the conclusion of the Videvdad), Airyaman was also the primordial healer, healing, at Ahura Mazdâ's request the 99,999 diseases that the Evil Spirit had loose upon the world. this may be his function here, as well: as the primordial and supreme "healer of the this state" (cf. **1.**31.19, **2.**44.2, 16)

YASNA 54: PRAISE OF THE HOLY TEXTS

Y.54.2
We sacrifice (to) the *Â Airyema Ishyo*
strong, smasher of obstructions,
discarding hostilities,
the greatest famous word of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly life-giving *Gatha*s,
whose command is according to the models.
We sacrifice to the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*,
which you all **established** as (**the models**)
of the first existence (< **1.**33.1)

Y.55.1
All (our) herds and bodies
and bones and vital energies
and forms and *tissue strengths
and (our) consciousness and breath-soul and pre-soul
we place all around and make them known.
Then we make them known
to the Orderly life-giving *Gatha*s,
whose command is according to the models.

Y.55.2
The songs which are our guardians and protectors and food in the world of thought,
which are for our breath-soul both food and clothing,
those songs are for us the guardians and protectors and food in the world of thought,
those are for our breath-soul both food and clothing.
May they bring us good rewards, great rewards, the reward of Order,
for tomorrow's new existence,
after the wrenching apart of bone and conscience!

Y.55.3
For us, by that force and obstruction-smashing strength,
by that mastery and remedy,
by that furthering and growth,
by that good existence and *rejuvenation,
by that good gift-giving and Orderliness,
by that generosity and distribution.
May they come up, the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*,
as Mazdâ brought them forth,[1]
he the richest in life-giving strength,
obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
for the protection of the living beings of Order,
for the guarding of the living beings of Order,
of both those to be Revitalized and of those who shall Revitalize
and of the entire time span of the Orderly one.

Y.55.4
On account of this pleasing of the models, every Orderly one
who comes with good *strength of youth, (him) you (Ahura Mazdâ?) endorse
for (his) well-thought (thoughts), well-spoken (words), and well-performed (acts).[2]

Y.55.5
And we offer up in sacrifice (our) Order and good thought.
We offer up in sacrifice the Orderly life-giving *Gatha*s,
whose command is according to the models,

Y.55.6
We offer up in sacrifice the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*,
which is established (as the model) **of the** first **existence**
as they are remembered, performed,
mastered, taught, held, *practiced,
commemorated, recited, sent forth in sacrifice,
*receiving (in return?) **a perfect new life in exchange value**.

Y.55.7
We offer up in sacrifice the section (consisting) of the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*.
Of the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise* we offer up in sacrifice
(their) proclamation and recitation
and incantation and (their) sending forth in sacrifice.
Thus, **we sacrifice** to the male and female deities—

[1] May they reach him, coming from us, in the same form that he first sent them to us.

[2] These are also the three stages on the way up to Paradise (cf. H.2.15).

YASNA 57: HYMN TO SRAOSHA

Y.57.2
We sacrifice to Orderly, obstruction-smashing Sraosha with the rewards,
furtherer of living beings, a model of Order,
who the first of Mazdâ's creation
(standing) by the barsom spread out
sacrificed to Ahura Mazdâ,
sacrificed to the Life-giving Immortals,
sacrificed to the *protector and the fashioner
who fashion all the creations.[1]

Y.57.3
On account of his wealth and munificence,
on account of his force and obstruction-smashing strength,
on account of his sacrifice to those worthy of sacrifice
I shall sacrifice to him with audible sacrifice,
Sraosha with the rewards, with libations,
and good exalted Ashi,
and the well-shaped Nairya Sangha (Heroic Announcement).
May he come to our help,
obstruction-smashing Sraosha with the rewards.

Y.57.4
We sacrifice to Sraosha with the rewards.
We sacrifice to the lofty model—Ahura Mazdâ—
who, in the world of Order, is most often obtained(?),
who, in the world of Order, has come the most often(?).
We offer up in sacrifice all the words spoken by(?) Zarathustra.
We offer up in sacrifice also all the well-performed acts,
both those performed and those that will be performed.

Y.57.5
We sacrifice to the well-shaped Orderly,
obstruction-smashing Sraosha with the rewards,
furtherer of living beings, a model of Order,

Y.57.6
who was the first to spread his barsom
with three twigs, with five twigs,
with seven twigs, with nine twigs,
knee-length and mid-leg-length,
for the sacrifice .... of the Life-giving Immortals. (cf. Y.1.23)
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Y.57.7
We sacrifice to ... Sraosha ...

Y.57.8
Who was the first to proclaim the *Gatha*s,
the five of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra,
with *measures and *formulas,
with *examples and counter-questions,
For the sacrifice .... of the Life-giving Immortals.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Y.57.9
We sacrifice to ... Sraosha ...

Y.57.10
who timbers the strong home
of the poor man and woman,
who, after the sun has set,
with (his) paralyzing weapon strikes Wrath[2]
(inflicting it) a bloody wound.
So long he thrashes his head
having struck it repeatedly
like **the one of great strength the one weaker** than him (< **1.**34.8)
On account of his wealth and munificence ...

Y.57.11
We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
a model of Order,
the firm, fast, strong, daring one,
rich in life-giving strength, who *sees* on high,

Y.57.12
who returns from all battles
after having won
to the *gathering of the Life-giving Immortals.
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.13
We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
a model of Order,
the strongest of youths, the firmest of youths,
the quickest of youths, the fastest of youths,
the one of youths most feared by the *other side.
*Approach, O you who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
the sacrifice to Sraosha with the rewards!

Y.57.14
Far from this house,

[1] Sraosha was the first to sacrifice in the world of thought after Ahura Mazdâ.

[2] Wrath is probably the dark cover of night, which Sraosha battles to allow the bright cover of day to take its place.

far from this town,
far from this tribe,
far from this land
evil, fearful scourges go,
in whose house obstruction-smashing Sraosha with the rewards
is satisfied (and) recognized
and the Orderly man
thinks more good (thoughts), speaks more good (words), and does more good (acts).
On account of his wealth ... ... **those** men **and those** women **we sacrifice to**.

Y.57.15
We sacrifice to ...
who is the one who *overcomes the magician,
who is the one who *overcomes the female magician,
who is the striker of the deceiving Lie,
of great strength, destroyer of (this) existence,
who is the guardian and overseer
of the entire *mobile(?) world of the living.

Y.57.16
Unsleeping in wakefulness
he protects the Creations of Mazdâ,
who unsleeping in wakefulness
guards the Creations of Mazdâ,
who protects with raised weapon
the entire bony existence
after the sun has set.

Y.57.17
He has never slept since
the two spirits set in place their Creations:
the Life-giving Spirit and the Evil one,
(instead) watching over the living beings of Order,—
who all days and nights
battles with the giant old gods.

Y.57.18
He does not, frightened, yield
before the hostility (coming) from the old gods.
Before him all the old gods,
loosing their will (to fight), yield frightened.
Frightened they run (down) to (their) darkness.
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.19
We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
a model of Order,
to whom he sacrificed,
ruddy, healing Haoma,
beautiful, in command, with golden eyes,
on the highest peak,
on high Haraitî.

Y.57.20
His words are good, his words are always *protective,
his words sing all around,
*mastering the all-adorned learning
that (uses?) numerous *examples
and the foremost part of the poetic thought.
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.21
We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
a model of Order,
whose house, rich in obstruction-smashing strength,
is set up with a thousand columns,
on the highest peak,
on high Haraitî,
having its own light inside,
star-adorned underneath.

Y.57.22
For him the *Ahuna vairya*
was ready to be his weapon,
as well as the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*
and the *Fshûsô manthra* rich in obstruction-smashing strength,
and all the performances of sacrifices.
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.23
We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
a model of Order,
on account of whose force and obstruction-smashing strength,
good lineage and knowledge,
the Life-giving Immortals came down
to the earth with its seven continents,
who are the guides for the *daênâ*.

Y.57.24
With command according to his own will he goes forth
to the bony world of the living.
Orderly Ahura Mazdâ
made his choice by this vison-soul,
as did Good Thought
and Best Order
and the Well-deserved Command
and Life-giving Humility
and Wholeness
and Immortality
and the questioning of Ahura Mazdâ,

and the *guidance of Ahura Mazdâ.

Y.57.25
(He) chose (it) then for both existences.
May you protect us through both existences,
both this existence **which has bones**
and that **which** is **of thought**,
O well-shaped Sraosha with the rewards,
from Destruction possessed by the Lie,
from Wrath possessed by the Lie,
from the *armies possessed by the Lie
who raise the bloody banner
before the *deceptions of Wrath,
which Wrath, giver of evil gifts, *produced
together with the Dismemberer set in place by the old gods!

Y.57.26
May you give us then, you, O well-shaped Sraosha with the rewards,
endurance for (our) teams,
health for (our) bodies,
ability to espy many hostile ones,
the ability to strike back at (our) enemies,
the ability to lay low at once (our) opponents,
the hostile ones who do not abide by the deals.
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.27
We sacrifice to Orderly Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smashing furtherer of living beings,
a model of Order,
whom four coursers convey,
white, bright, and brilliant,
life-giving, knowing, shadowless,
whose place is in the world of thought.
Benailed are their hooves,
golden, *finely carved—

Y.57.28
faster than horses
faster than winds,
faster than rains
faster than clouds,
faster than birds on wings,
faster than a well-shot (arrow) when shot,—

Y.57.29
who overtake all those
whom they fly after from behind.
Not are they overtaken from behind
who, flying with both weapons,
convey forth to take up his position
good Sraosha with the rewards,
both the (weapon) he raises at eastern River
and the one that is struck down in the western one.[1]
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.30
We sacrifice to ...
who, tall, girded high
ever sits down *in the establishment of Mazdâ,—

Y.57.31
who thrice in one day or one night
flies hither to this continent, the brilliant Khwaniratha,
holding a weapon in the hand
with sharpness of the blade, which can be well brought down
upon the head of the old gods,—

Y.57.32
for the striking of the Evil Spirit possessed by the Lie,
for the striking of Wrath with the bloody club,
for the striking of the giant old gods,
for the striking of all the old gods,—
On account of his wealth ...

Y.57.33
We sacrifice to ...
here and elsewhere,
here and on this entire earth,
we offer up in sacrifice(?) all (the ...) of Sraosha with the rewards,
the firm one, who stretches the poetic thought (vetween earth and heaven?),
the firm one, the courageous one,
the strong-armed charioteer,
the head-smasher of the old gods,
(as well as) the victorious men and women,
the Orderly victorious ones,
the victorious men and women,
and the victorious superiority,
both that of Sraosha with the rewards
and that of the Spear (of the one?) worthy of sacrifice.

Y.57.34
We offer up in sacrifice all the houses protected by Sraosha,
throughout (each of) which(?) Sraosha with the rewards
is a friend to be befriended, (and) recognized,
and (where) the Orderly man
thinks more good (thoughts), speaks more good (words), and does more good (acts).
On account of his wealth ...
Thus, **we sacrifice** to the male and female deities ...
As it is **the choice Life**, **thus the model—just in accordance with Order** ...

[1] Apparently the rivers at the end of or surrounding the world, see Bdh.6.22.

YASNA 61: THE POWER OF THE SACRED TEXTS

Y.61.1
We send forth the *Ahuna vairya*
between heaven and earth,
and we send forth the *Ashem Vohu*
between heaven and earth,
and we send forth the *Yenghye hâtâm* well sacrificed
between heaven and earth,
and we send forth also the *Qualified Good Invitation*[1]
of the qualified Orderly man
between heaven and earth,

Y.61.2
for the discomfiture and removal
of the Evil Spirit, with (his) Creations,
he of bad Creations, full of destruction,
for the discomfiture and removal
of male and female *ghosts.

Y.61.3
for the discomfiture and removal
of the male and female *wizards,
for the discomfiture and removal
of the male and female *wizard,
for the discomfiture and removal
of thieves and violators,
for the discomfiture and removal
of the *zand*s and those *possessed by sorcerers,
for the discomfiture and removal
of those who destroy the contract and the one whose contract is deception,

Y.61.4
for the discomfiture and removal
of those who smash the Orderly ones and those who are hostile to the Orderly ones,
for the discomfiture and removal
of the unorderly one who darkens Order
and the commander who causes much destruction,
for the discomfiture and removal
of each and everyone of the one possessed by the Lies,
whose thoughts are not according to the models,
whose words are not according to the models,
whose acts are not according to the models,
O Spitama Zarathustra.

Y.61.5
How we shall dispel (?) **here from us the Lie**
We shall *dispel (it, we,) the Revitalizers.
How shall we dispel the Lie
so that we can smash it,
as he who commands (dispels her) who does not command
from all the seven continents,
for the discomfiture and removal
of the entire existence possessed by the Lie?[2]
Praising *him* **with Order who** is **generous** to all those **who are**.

[1] The *Âfrînagân ^ Dahmân* (Y.60).

[2] I.e., past, present, and future.

YASNA 62: PRAYERS TO THE FIRE AND THE WATERS

Y.62.1
I invite as guest friends
the sacrifice and hymn,
the good offering, offering of wished-for things,
offering of *things won,
of you, the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ.
You are worthy of sacrifice and hymns.
May you be worthy of sacrifice and hymns
in the houses of men!
May there be wished-for things for this man
who ever and again sends the sacrifice forth to you
with firewood in the hands, with barsom in the hands,
with milk in the hand, with the mortar and pestle in the hand!

Y.62.2
May you have the prescribed firewood!
May you have the prescribed incense!
May you have the prescribed food!
May you have the prescribed reclining place!
May you have care by adults!
May you have care by those old enough to be qualified,
(you,) the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,—

Y.62.3
for being burning in this house,
for being with burning in this house,
for being alight in this house,
for being growing/blazing in this house
for a long time after indeed,
until the Perfectioning rich in life-giving strength,
together with the good Perfectioning (of the existence) rich in life-giving strength.

Y.62.4
May you give me,
(you,) the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
fast good breathing space, fast protection, fast gain,
much good breathing space, much protection, much gain,
learning, life-giving wisdom, (and) a quick tongue,
(and) after that, for (my) breath-soul, guiding thought in my inner ear(?),
large, great, (and) *non-erring,—

Y.62.5
(and), after that, manly courage,
with upright legs, sleepless,
wakeful, never lying in a bed,
(and) progeny of one's own
eager to *nurture (theirs in turn?),
drawing straight furrows, *capacious,
making grow, possessing good water,
delivering out of constrictions, consisting of good men
which will make prosper for me
(my) house, town, and tribe,
(my) land and the *renown of (my) land!

Y.62.6
May you give me,
(you,) the fire, O son of Ahura Mazdâ,
(that), by which shall be permanent for me
both now and for eternity
the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space.
for being a winner
in (the race for) a good fee and (for) good fame
and (for) long well-being for (my) breath-soul!

Y.62.7
The fire of Ahura Mazdâ
brings acclaim to all those
for whom this one cooks
the evening and morning meal.
From all of them he desires
good offering, offering of wished-for things,
offering of *adoration,
O Spitama.

Y.62.8
The fire has always looked into
the hands of all those who walk by:
What does the friend carry to the friend,
the one walking to the one sitting still?[1]
We sacrifice to the life-giving fire,
firm when acting as (our) charioteer.[2]

Y.62.9
Thus if this one carries to him
either firewood carried in Orderly fashion
or barsom spread out in Orderly fashion
or the pomegranate plant,
afterwards the fire of Mazdâ Ahura
invites him as a friend,
(he himself) satisfied (and) unantagonized (inviting his) *meal-mate(?).

Y.62.10
May you be accompanied by a herd of cattle,
by a multitude of men!

---

[1] The fire sits (enthroned) on its altar, expecting firewood and incense from passers-by.

[2] The fire conveys the gifts of the sacrifice up to the gods.

May you be accompanied by both invigorating thought
and invigorating vitality!
May you live enjoying vitality of life
for (as many) nights as you shall live!
This is the befriending of the fire
(of him) who carries firewood to him,
dry, gleaned by the lights (of day),
purified by (my) *exaltation of good Order.

Libation of the Waters

Y.62.11
Order is **the best good** ...
We long for
the going forth and meeting and welcoming
of the good waters.
I shall choose to sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ in the tradition of Zarathustra.
I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.
For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification,—
for the Orderly Morning Hour and the (Protector) of the House, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification,—
for the sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification
of the models of the hours and the days
and the months and the seasons and the years.

YASNA 68: PRAYER TO THE WATERS

Y.68.1
This, O lady of the Lord,
we place for you to deflect (the requital) for this
in which we have offended you.
May this libation of yours come in return,
O lady of the Lord,
with haoma and milk and pomegranate.

Y.68.2
May it in return come for milk and for ghee
for me, as well, The chief priest,
for fitness and for healing,
for furthering and for growth,
for good life and for Orderliness,
for good fame and the possession of a good breath-soul,
obstruction-smashing and world-furthering.

Y.68.3
We offer you up in sacrifice, O lady of the Lord,
with the libations of (our) good thought.
We offer you up in sacrifice, O lady of the Lord,
with the libations of (our) good speech.
We offer you up in sacrifice, O lady of the Lord,
with the libations of (our) good action,

Y.68.4
for clear sight for (our) thought,
for clear sight for (our) speech,
for clear sight for (our) action,
for good *vitality for (our) breath-soul,
for furthering of living beings,
for good vitality of things according to Order.

Y.68.5
May you give me, O lady of the Lord,
the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space,
May you give me, lady of the Lord,
manly progeny of my own,
which will make prosper for me
(my) house, town, and tribe,
(my) land and the *renown of (my) land.

Y.68.6
We sacrifice to you, the lady.[1]
We sacrifice to the Vourukasha Sea.[2]
And we offer up in sacrifice all the waters,
the ones that stand still and those that flow forth,
those in wells and those that flow in *rivers,
those in *canals and those in bays.

Y.68.7
*By this sacrifice and hymn
as is most according to their prescribed
sacrifice and hymn
according to best Order.
we sacrifice to the Orderly, good, best waters set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
We offer up in sacrifice the "of the good waters."

Y.68.8
We offer up in sacrifice the milk and the fat libation,
which make the waters flow and the plants grow
through the discomfiture of the *contest set by the old gods,
of that Mûsh,
of that Witch,
to stand against and mount defenses against (them),

[1] The heavenly river.
[2] The sea of heavenly waters.

to overcome (them) in turn and to answer the hostilities
of both the unorderly one who darkens Order
and the commander who causes much destruction,
for the resistance of the hostile old gods and men.

Y.68.9
May you hear our sacrifice,
O lady of the Lord!
May you approve of our sacrifice,
O lady of the Lord!
May you take a seat at our sacrifice!
May you come to our help
on account of (our) abundant sacrificing, (our) good sacrificing,
and (our) good offering of libations.

Y.68.10
He who shall offer up in sacrifice you, the good waters,
the ladies of the Lord,
with the best libations,
with the most beautiful libations,
with libations filtered by a qualified person,—

Y.68.11
(give) to him riches and the gifts of Fortune,
to him health of body,
to him *fattiness of body,
to him valor of his body,
to him (his) wish for much good breathing space,
to him nothing but progeny of his own,
to him long longevity,
to him the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space—

Y.68.12
give, O good waters, (these things to him)
and to me, The chief priest, who is sacrificing (to you),
and to us who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
who send forth the sacrifice
and (our) companions and disciples,
and the teaching-masters and the students,
and the men and women,
and the boys and girls,
and those who cultivate the pastures,—

Y.68.13
(and those) who *stay *settled—
for the dispersal of constriction,
for the dispersal of hostility (against them),
and against the scourges of the army
and against the hostile ones who do not abide by the deals:
(make me) strong and knowledgeable of the straightest path,
which is the straightest there is up to Order
and the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space.
As it is **the choice Life** ...

Y.68.14
With good dwelling, peaceful dwelling, long dwelling
I announce (it to you) as friends to come into the town
from which these libations (go to you).
With good dwelling, peaceful dwelling, long dwelling,
I announce (it to you) as friends into every town of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
with (my) good offering, offering of wished-for things, offering of *adoration
with (my) good sacrificing to you, O Lady, I announce (it to you).

Y.68.15
I invite as my guest friend peace with good pastures in this land.
I invite as friends fitness and healing.
I invite as friends all (those things?) of yours, the qualified Orderly men,
which are the good Orderly (things)
between heaven and earth:
a thousand healings, ten thousand healings.
...

Y.68.21
Here we thus call hither and down
the good recompense, the good reward.
The milk offerings, the *purifications ...
Thus, we are sacrificing to the waters ...
"unquote"—those (names), **whichever** (Ahura Mazdâ establishes for you), **O good ones** ...
You also as waters ...

Give us when you are requested (to do so), having the command (to do so):
riches and Fortune.
O waters, grant us that request
which was obtained from you *before.

Y.68.22
Homage to Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to the Life-giving Immortals!
Homage to Mithra who provides broad grazing grounds!
Homage to the brilliant sun with fleet horses!
Homage to these eyes that are those of Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to the cow!
Homage to Gaya (Martân)!
Homage to the pre-soul of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra!
I do *homage to the entire Orderly existence,
the one which is, which is becoming, and which shall become.

YASNA 71-72: CONCLUDING PRAYERS

Y.71.13
May he there, Orderly Zarathustra,
wish for someone abiding by the deals to be a protector.
I say to you: an Orderly one is to be obtained from an Orderly one,
someone abiding by the deals from someone abiding by the deals.
For that is the better (alternative):
For that one was defined as **follower of the Lie who** is **best to the follower of the Lie**,
and **that one** as **a follower of Order for whom a follower of Order** is **a friend**.

Y.71.14
For these (were) the words (that) Ahura Mazdâ pronounced as the best to Zarathustra,
Therefore, O Zarathustra, pronounce these (words) at the last turn of (your) life.

Y.71.15
For if, O Zarathustra, *you pronounce these best words at the last turn of (your) life,
I, Ahura Mazdâ,
shall stretch
your soul away from the worst existence.
To such an extent in thickness and breadth
may I stretch (it) as this earth.
For this earth is as much in thickness as in breadth.

Y.71.16
As you desire, O Orderly one,
here you shall be Orderly.
You shall convey your soul
across the Ford of the Accountant to the Best Existence,
arriving Orderly,
proclaiming the *Ushtawaitî Gâthâ*,
calling down possession of all things wished for.
The wished-for things are **in the wish for him**, **to whomever**
Mazdâ Ahura, **commanding at will**, **shall give** them.

Y.71.17
We offer up in sacrifice the invigorant and the possession of good thought.
We offer up in sacrifice the possession of good thought and the invigorant,
for withstanding darkness,
for withstanding weeping and *illness.
We offer up in sacrifice the invigorant ... and *illness.
And we offer up in sacrifice *fitness and healing,
and we offer up in sacrifice furthering and growth
for withstanding agues and *paralyses.

Y.71.18
We offer up in sacrifice the (two?) words to be assembled.
We offer up in sacrifice the (words) of the *Gâthâ*s that (may have been accidentally) omitted.
We offer up in sacrifice the Orderly life-giving *Gâthâ*s, whose command is according to the models.
We offer up in sacrifice the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*, **which you** all **established as the models of the first existence**.
We offer up in sacrifice the whole structure of the Sacrificial Texts of Praise
We offer up in sacrifice (our) own breath-soul.
We offer up in sacrifice (our) own pre-soul.
...

Y.71.23
We offer up in sacrifice (you), the Orderly fire, the son of Ahura Mazdâ, model of Order.
We offer up in sacrifice the barsom spread out in Orderly fashion, Orderly model of Order,
with the libation, with the girdle.
We offer up in sacrifice the Scion of the Waters.
We offer up in sacrifice Nairya Sangha.
We offer up in sacrifice the firm one in the image of the Web-holder.
We offer up in sacrifice the breath-souls of the departed,
the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.
...

Y.72.9
To him riches and munificent gifts,
to him health of body,
to him *fattiness of body,
to him valor of his body,
to him (his) wish for much good breathing space,
to him nothing but progeny of his own,
to him long longevity,
to him the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space,
Order is **the best good** ...
a thousand healings, ten thousand healings.
Order is **the best good** ...
Come to my help, O Mazdâ,
(for the help of?) the well-fashioned, well-shaped force,
the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
the victorious superiority,—

Y.72.10
of peace with good pastures,
of Vayu, whose work is above, set beyond the other
Creations,—
this of yours, O Vayu,
which you have of the Life-giving Spirit,—
of the Firmament, which has its own law,
of boundless Time,
of Time, which long has its own law.
Order is **the best good** ...

Y.72.11
One is the path of Order.
All (those) of the others are *non-paths.
*The *daênâ* of the Evil Spirit leads the most astray.
Destruction of those who sacrifice to the old gods!
Fame for (our) men!

YASHT 1 TO AHURA MAZDÂ

Yt.1.0
In the name of the gods.[1]
May the Lord Hôrmezd, the increaser
increase his miraculous power and munificence.
May Hôrmezd the creator come, the wealthy and munificent,
the supreme Spirit among Spirits.
I repent and regret all my sins,
all bad thoughts, words, deeds,
that I have thought, spoken, or performed in this world
or have fallen unto or that have accrued to me.
I repent and regret the three kinds—forgive!—
all those sins of thinking, speaking, and acting,
those of body or soul, in this world or in the other.

Through (my) satisfaction of Ahura Mazdâ,
through (my) disdain of the Evil Spirit.
On account of my **true** action/utterance **may what is most Perfect in exchange value be produced!**

<u>I say forth with my praise</u>
= Y.11.17

I shall choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ like Zarathustra did.
I say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as my guide.

According to the time of the day:
For the Orderly Haoma-pressing Hour, a model of Order,
for (its) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

For the sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification
of Ahura Mazdâ, the wealthy and munificent.
The chief priest says forth to me:
As it is **the choice Life** ...
Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:
thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...

Yt.1.1
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
(you) who have put in their places all things in the bony world of the living, O Orderly one!
What (is) the most forceful (aspect) of the life-giving poetic thought?
What (is) the most valorous?
What (is) the most munificent?
What (is) the most effective at the heavenly audition?

Yt.1.2
What (is) richest in obstruction-smashing strength?
What (is) richest in healing power?
What overcomes the most the hostilities
of old gods and men?
What of *thine[2] has gone farthest and widest
of the entire bony existence?
What *stretches farthest the *thread of life
of the entire bony existence?

Yt.1.3
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Our name, Spitama Zarathustra,
that of the Life-giving Immortals.
That (is) the most forceful of the life-giving poetic thought.
That (is) the most valorous.
That (is) the most munificent.
That (is) the most effective at the heavenly audition.

Yt.1.4
That (is) richest in obstruction-smashing strength.
That (is) richest in healing.
That overcomes the most the hostilities
of old gods and men.
That of mine has gone farthest and widest
of the entire bony existence.
That is it (that) *stretches farthest the *thread of life
of the entire bony existence.

Yt.1.5
Then Zarathustra said:
Do tell me that name of yours,
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
which is your
greatest, best, and most beautiful,
the most effective at the heavenly audition,
the richest in obstruction-smashing strength,
the richest in healing,
the one that overcomes the most the hostilities
of old gods and men,

Yt.1.6
so that I shall overcome
all old gods and men,
so that I shall overcome
all sorcerers and witches,
so that no one shall overcome me,
neither an old god nor a man,
neither sorcerers nor witches.

[1] The passages in *italics* are in modern Persian.

[2] The text has "mine."

Yt.1.7
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
I am called: the one who stands first/forth, O Orderly Zarathustra,
second: herder,
third: down-stretcher(?),
fourth: through Good Order,
fifth: all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ whose seed is from/according to Order,
sixth: that I am the guiding thought,
seventh: having guiding thought,
eighth: that I am insight,
ninth: insightful,

Yt.1.8
tenth: that I am life-giving knowledge,
eleventh: having life-giving knowledge,
twelfth: lord,
thirteenth: richest in life-giving strength,
fourteenth: most discarding this hostility,
fifteenth: unconquerable,
sixteenth: reciter of the things won,
seventeenth: who keeps an eye on all things,
eighteenth: rich in healing,
nineteenth: that I am set in place,
twentieth: I am that I am called Mazdâ.

Yt.1.9
Sacrifice to me, O Zarathustra,
by day and by night,
with libations bringing renown.
I shall come to help and support for you,
I, Ahura Mazdâ.
He shall come to help and support for you,
good Sraosha with the rewards.
They shall come to help and support for you,
both the waters and the plants
and the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.

Yt.1.10
If you wish, O Zarathustra,
to overcome yonder hostilities
of old gods and men,
of sorcerers and witches,
of false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,
villains on two feet
and those who darken Order on two feet,
wolves on four feet,—

Yt.1.11
and (their) army with wide front,
with wide banners, with upright banners, with raised banners,
carrying a bloody banner,
then say forth these names, reciting (them)
all days and nights.

Yt.1.12
I am also protector and establisher/giver.
I am also defender and knower.
I am also the most Life-giving Spirit.
I am called rich in healing.
I am called richest in healing.
I am called Priest.
I am called Highest Priest.
I am called Lord.
I am called Wise.
I am called Orderly.
I am called most Orderly.
I am called munificent.
I am called most munificent.
I am called seer of much.
I am called seer of most.
I am called seer (of things) far in the distance.
I am called seer of (things) farthest in the distance.

Yt.1.13
I am called espier.
I am called pursuer.
I am called establisher/giver.
I am called protector.
I am called defender.
I am called knower.
I am called most knower.
I am called rich in cattle.
I am called the *Fshûshô.manthra*.
I am called having command as I desire.
I am called having most command as I desire.
I am called having command by (my) name.
I am called having most command by (my) name.

Yt.1.14
I am called non-deceiving.
I am called dispeller of deceit.
I am called watchman.
I am called overcomer of hostilities.
I am called conqueror here and now.
I am called conqueror of all.
I am called fashioner of all.
I am called provider of all good breathing space.
I am called provider of much good breathing space.
I am called rich in good breathing space.

Yt.1.15
I am called he whose glow is invigorating.
I am called he whose life-giving strength is invigorating.
I am called rich(est) in life-giving strength.
I am called the ones rich in vitalizing strength.

I am called richest in life-giving strength.
I am called (the one who is) with Order.
I am called (the one who is) with the lofty one.
I am called (the one who is) with the one in command.
I am called (the one who is) with the one most in command.
I am called bountiful.
I am called most bountiful.
I am called he whose eyesight reaches into the distance.
And those are these names.

Yt.1.16
And whoever in this bony existence,
Spitama Zarathustra,
*utters these names of mine, reciting (them)
by day or by night,—

Yt.1.17
*utters (them)
standing up or lying down,
lying down or standing up,
girded or with loosened girdle,
or going forth from the place,
or going forth from the tribe,
or going forth from the land,
coming down to (another) land,—

Yt.1.18
(then) in this day, in this night,
may not, O man,
the hooks or *daggers
of someone driven by rage, with lies in his thought, cut him down,
nor may (his) arrows, knives, or cudgels,
nor stones cut (him) down as he comes in.

Yt.1.19
And these twenty(?) names
serve as both backing and bulwark
against the Lie in the world of thought
and the demoness of Greed possessed by the Lie
and the magician who has (always) harmed (us?)
and against the one possessed by the Lie who is all destruction:
the Evil Spirit,
just like a thousand men
would watch over one man.

Yt.1.20 = **2.**44.16
Who is **the obstruction-smasher** fit **to protect** all **who are by *your* announcement**?
Let brilliant assistances/gifts(?) **be given to *me***! **Assign, O world healer**, me as(?) **the model** winner(?)!
Thus, let readiness to listen come to *him* on account of my/his **good thought**,
O Mazdâ, to *him*, to whomever you wish!

Yt.1.21
I do homage to the Fortune of the poets.
I do homage in the Aryan Expanse.
Homage (to you), O glow set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to the water of the (Good) Dâityâ!
Homage to that of the unattached water on high![1]
I do homage to the entire temporal being of the Orderly one.
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ...
Order is **the best good** ...

Yt.1.22
We sacrifice (to) the *Ahuna vairya*.
We sacrifice (to) the *Ashem Vohû*, the most beautiful Life-giving Immortal.
We sacrifice (to) force and prosperity
and (to) strength and obstruction-smashing strength and fortune and might.
We sacrifice (them) to Ahura Mazdâ, wealthy and munificent.
Thus, **we sacrifice** to the male and female deities ...

May Hôrmezd the Lord, the increaser
of men, the species of men, of all species,
let the company of the good,
knowledge, faith, and goodness
of the Good Mazdayasnian Dîn come to me!
So be it!

Yt.1.23
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ...
I pray for the sacrifice and hymn and strength and force
of Ahura Mazdâ, the wealthy and munificent,
Order is **the best good** ...

Yt.1.24
May you defend the man who abides by the deals
for ever, O Zarathustra,
against the enemy who does not abide by the deals.
Do not expose him, the one who abides by the deals, to the blow of weapons,
not to bad treatment (making him incur) damage!
Do not ask yonder lawful man in order to take away from (him)
who may sacrifice (with) the greatest sacrifice,
(but) the smallest (part) of (whose) sacrifice shall reach
us, the Life-giving Immortals!

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[1] The heavenly waters, which do not fall down although they have nothing to hold them up (like the sky). The word here translated as "unattached" also, apparently, means "unsullied," cf. Yt.10.88.

Yt.1.25
Here is Good Thought
in my house, O Zarathustra.
Here is Best Order
in my house, O Zarathustra.
Here is Well-deserved Command
in my house, O Zarathustra.
Here is Life-giving Humility
in my house, O Zarathustra.
Here (are) Wholeness and Immortality,
who are the recompense of the Orderly ones
who come before (me?) as *guests
in my house, O Zarathustra.

Yt.1.26
I know and have taken notice (of them),
O Orderly Zarathustra
by my guiding thought and insight
(**the words**) **by which the first existence will be here** every time
and how their **existence shall be at last**.

Yt.1.27
A thousand healings, ten thousand healings!
Come to my help, O Mazdâ,
(to the help?) of the well-fashioned, well-shaped Force,
of the Obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
of the Victorious superiority,
and of Life-giving Humility.
And with Life-giving Humility
do you all break the hostility of these!
Block (their) inner hearing!
Tie down (their) hands!
Grind together (their) jaws!
Tie fetters(?) onto them!

Yt.1.28
Shall, I wonder, O Mazdâ, the follower of Order overcome the follower of the Lie?
The Orderly one conquers the Lie.
The Orderly one conquers the one possessed by the Lie.
We sacrifice to the (inner) hearing of Ahura Mazdâ
for holding the life-giving poetic thought.
We sacrifice to the guiding thought of Ahura Mazdâ
for the memorizing of the life-giving poetic thought.
We sacrifice to the tongue of Ahura Mazdâ
for the saying forth of the life-giving poetic thought.
We sacrifice to yonder mountain:
the ridge Crack of Dawn,
by day and by night,
with libations bringing renown.

Yt.1.29
Then Zarathustra said:
Thereby to *put you back into the earth!
By the eyes of Life-giving Humility
the villain was laid low.

Yt.1.30
As a thousand remedies,
ten thousand remedies
we sacrifice to the pre-soul of this Orderly Man
whose name is Sunny-sky.
I shall sacrifice the (questions)
asked(?) by the other Orderly ones
having chosen(?) (the plant) Gaokarna,
rich in life-giving strength,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
We sacrifice to (the plant) Gaokarna,
rich in life-giving strength,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.[1]

Yt.1.31 = Yt.1.28
We sacrifice ... with libations bringing renown.

Order is **the best good** ...

We sacrifice to the pre-soul of this Orderly Man ... with libations bringing renown. (= Yt.1.30-31)
(3 times)

Order is **the best good** ...

Yt.1.32
We sacrifice to the Web-holder
(and?) Life-giving Humility,
in whom are the two(?) containers of both Order and the Orderly ones,
(all) the Creations, with Order as the first.

This (we do?), for him to be set in place as the greatest (etc., = Y.27.1)

for the furthering of Ahura Mazdâ (etc., = Y.27.2)

Yt.1.33
Order is **the best good** ...

To him riches and the gifts of Fortune ... and all good breathing space (= Y.68.11)

May it come as I invite (it).

[1] Cf. V.20.4.

A thousand healings, ten thousand healings!
Order is **the best good** ...
Come to my help, O Mazdâ!

[1]*I do good deeds for reward,*
for my sins to pass away,
out of love for my soul to be blessed.
And may also the good deeds of all the good people
in the earth with its the seven continents,
as wide as the earth, as long as a river, as high as the sun,
come in all perfection!
Be blessed! Live long!

(Come for the help of?) the well-fashioned, well-shaped force
and the obstruction-smashing strength, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
and the victorious superiority.—
of peace with good pastures,
of Vayu, whose work is above, set beyond the other Creations,—
this of yours, O Vayu,
which you have of the Life-giving Spirit,—
of the Firmament, which has its own law,
of boundless Time,
of Time, which long has its own law.
Order is **the best good** ...

[1] This passage is in Pazend.

YASHT 3: TO BEST ORDER

Yt.3.0
In the name of the gods ... munificence.
May Ardîbehesht, the Life-giving Immortal, come!

I repent and regret all my sins ...

Through (my) satisfaction of Ahura Mazdâ ... I praise Order.
Order is **the best good** ...

I shall choose to sacrifice ... and the glorification.
Through the satisfaction of the most beautiful Best Order,
of *Airyaman Ishya*,
rich in life-giving strength, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
of the good Glow with far(-ranging) eyes,
the Orderly one set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
for (their) sacrifice and hymn
and satisfaction and glorification.

The chief priest says forth to me:
As it is **the choice Life** ...
Let the Orderly one who knows (it) say forth:
thus the model—just in accordance with Order ...

Yt.3.1
Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
Then, as you would bring (them) forth through Best Order,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
O praiser, O libator, O invoker,
O holder of the poetic thought, O sacrificer, O inviter, O glorifier,
the radiant lights will *shine
and the invigorants containing the sun,
for the sacrifice and hymn to us,
the Life-giving Immortals.

Yt.3.2
Then Zarathustra said.
So, say the word, you whose words are straight,
O Ahura Mazdâ,
how they will be as *I would bring (them) forth through Best Order,
*I Spitama Zarathustra,
*as praiser, libator, invoker,
as holder of the poetic thought, sacrificer, inviter, and glorifier,
(so that) the brilliant lights and the sunny invigorants will *shine,
for sacrifice and hymn to you,
the Life-giving Immortals'.

Yt.3.3
Then I (herewith) say it forth, Best order,
(For) if I say forth Best Order
then the good route of the other Life-giving Immortals,—
the one that Mazdâ protects with (thoughts) well-thought,
the one that Mazdâ protects with (words) well-spoken,
the one that Mazdâ protects with (acts) well-performed,[1]
the good route (leading) to the House of Song of Ahura Mazdâ.

Yt.3.4
The House of Song is what there is for the Orderly Men,
and there is no going there for the one possessed by the Lies
to the House of Song,
the brilliant route *for Order
through the free spaces (up) to Ahura Mazdâ.

Yt.3.5
*He shall smash (the hostilities?) of all (hostile ones?), of the Evil Spirit,
of sorcerers and witches,
the *Â Airyama Ishyô*, greatest of poetic thoughts,
best of poetic thoughts,
most beautiful of poetic thoughts,
most 'most beautiful' of poetic thoughts,
the strong (one) among poetic thoughts,
the strongest of poetic thoughts,
the steadfast (one) among poetic thoughts,
the most steadfast of poetic thoughts.
The one of obstruction-smashing strength among poetic thoughts,
the one of greatest obstruction-smashing strength among poetic thoughts.
the healing (one) among poetic thoughts,
the most healing among poetic thoughts.

Yt.3.6
Among poetic thoughts
the one that heals with Order,
the one that heals with the Law,
the one that heals with knives,
the one that heals with plants,
the one that heals with a poetic thought,[2]
the most healing of healing remedies:
the healing life-giving poetic thought,
which heals from the innards of the Orderly Man.
For this is the most healing of healing remedies.

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[1] The three stages up to Paradise.

[2] Very archaic medicine, see C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon. Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*, New York and Oxford, 1995, chap. 7.59.

Yt.3.7
Diseases, run away!
Destructions, run away!
Demons, run away!
Adversaries, run away!
Unorderly ones who darken Order, run away!
You) men (who are) false teachers, run away!

Yt.3.8
Brood of snakes, run away!
Brood of wolves, run away!
Brood of two-footed (villains), run away!
Despised ones, run away!
Distraught ones, run away!
Fever, run away!
Slanderer, run away!
Sowers of discord, run away!
You with the evil eye, run away!

Yt.3.9
You most lying with lying speech, run away!
Evil woman possessed by sorcerers, run away!
Evil woman, female magician, run away!
Southerly (and) northerly wind, run away!
Southerly (and) northerly wind, get lost!
And any of these broods of snakes, (get away from) me!

Yt.3.10
He who smashed of these old gods
a thousand for a thousand,
ten thousand for ten thousand,
he smashes diseases,
he smashes destructions,
he smashes old gods,
he smashes adversaries,
he smashes the unorderly one who darkens Order,
he smashes the man (who is) a tyrant.

Yt.3.11
He smashes the brood of snakes.
He smashes the brood of wolves.
He smashes the brood of two-footed (villains).
He smashes the despised.
He smashes the distraught.
He smashes the fevers.
He smashes the slanderers.
He smashes the sowers of discord.
He smashes the ones with the evil eye.

Yt.3.12
He smashes the most lying, the one with lying speech.
He smashes the evil woman consorting with sorcerers.
He smashes the evil woman, the female magician.
He smashes the southerly (and) northerly wind.
Southerly (and) northerly wind get lost!
And any of these broods of two-footed (wolves), (get away from) me!

Yt.3.13
He who smashed of these old gods
a thousand for a thousand,
ten thousand for ten thousand.
He fell headlong from heaven[1]
the most lying of old gods,
the Evil Spirit full of destruction.

Yt.3.14
He lied,
the Evil Spirit full of destruction:
Woe to me! Blast you Best Order!
He will smash the most disease-inflicting of diseases.
He will be the enemy of the most disease-inflicting of diseases.
He will smash the most destructive of destructions.
He will be the enemy of most destructive of destructions.
He will smash the worst one among the old gods.[2]
He will be the enemy of the worst one among the old gods.
He will smash the most adverse of adversaries.
He will be the enemy of the most adverse of adversaries.
He will smash the unorderly one who darkens Order.
He will be the enemy of the unorderly one who darkens Order.
He will smash the greatest of false teachers of men.
He will be the enemy of the greatest of false teachers of men.

Yt.3.15
He will smash the worst brood of snakes among the broods of snakes.
He will be the enemy of the worst brood of snakes among the broods of snakes.
He will smash the worst brood of wolves among the broods of wolves.
He will be the enemy of the worst brood of wolves among the broods of wolves.
He will smash the worst brood of two-footed (wolves) among the broods of two-footed (wolves).
He will be the enemy of the worst brood of wolves among the broods of wolves.

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[1] This is the only place where the archaic word for heaven, *dyau*, is used in the Avesta.

[2] Literally, the most *daêwa* among *daêwas*.

He will smash the despisers.
He will be the enemy of the despisers.
He will smash those of distraught minds.
He will be the enemy of those of distraught minds.
He will smash the one most feverish among those with fever.
He will be the enemy of the one most feverish among those with fever.
He will smash the worst slanderer among those who slander.
He will be the enemy of the worst slanderer among those who slander.
He will smash the worst sower of discord among those who sow discord.
He will be the enemy of the worst sower of discord among those who sow discord.
He will smash the one with the worst evil eye among those with evil eyes.
He will be the enemy of the one with the worst evil eye among those with evil eyes.

Yt.3.16
He will smash the most lying, the one with lying speech.
He will be the enemy of the most lying, the one with lying speech.
He will smash the evil woman possessed by sorcerers.
He will be the enemy of the evil woman possessed by sorcerers.
He will smash the evil woman magician.
He will be the enemy of the evil woman magician.
He will smash the southerly (and) northerly wind.
He will be the enemy of the southerly (and) northerly wind.

Yt.3.17
The Lie will get lost, the Lie will be lost,
the Lie will run (away), it will lose itself in the north.
You get lost!
Do not destroy the material living beings of Order!

YASHT 5: TO THE HEAVENLY RIVER

Ahura Mazdâ describes the goddess to Zarathustra.

Yt.5.1
Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
May you sacrifice to her for me,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
her, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,[1]
with broad *front, healing,
who said no to the old gods
and took Ahura Mazdâ as her guide,
worthy of being sacrificed to by the bony existence,
worthy of being hymned by the bony existence,
the Orderly one furthering the grains,
the Orderly one furthering the flocks,
the Orderly one furthering the herds,
the Orderly one furthering the settlements,
the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.2
She makes ritually pure the semen
of all the males, of all females.
She makes ritually pure the wombs for giving birth.
She gives easy delivery to all females,
and brings down milk to all females
in conformity with the established rules and the models.

Yt.5.3
She, the large one audible from afar,
is as much in extent as all these waters
that flow forth upon the earth,
who, forceful, flows forth
from Mount Hukairya to the Vourukasha Sea.

Yt.5.4
All the shores of the Vourukasha Sea
are in commotion,
the entire interior rises up in commotion,
when she flows forth into them,
when she rushes into them,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
who has a thousand bays,
who has a thousand outlets,
and each of these bays
and each of these outlets (is) a forty days' ride
for a man riding a good horse.

Yt.5.5
And (now) the flow of this single water of mine
shall go out to all the seven continents,
and (the flow) of this single water of mine
comes down in one and the same way
both in summer and in winter.
She purifies my waters,
the semen of the males,
the wombs of the females,
and the milk of the females.

Yt.5.6
I, Ahura Mazdâ, carried her up by the impetus of my tongue(?),
for the furthering of the house, the town, the tribe, and the land,
for (their) protection, guard, and overseeing,
to protect and guard (them).

The goddess asks who will sacrifice to her and says who should.

Yt.5.7
Then, O Zarathustra, she went forth,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
from Mazdâ, who had set (her) in (her) place.
Beautiful, indeed, were (her) arms,
white (and) thicker than (the thighs) of a horse.
Two beautiful *armlets she wore,
thicker than (her) *delicate arms.
She thinks in her thought(s):

Yt.5.8
Who will praise me? Who will sacrifice to (me)
with libations full of haoma and milk,
purified and filtered?
Whom shall I follow close behind
for *composure and *attention
and *bestowal and for possession of good thought?[2]

Yt.5.9
On account of her wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to her with audible sacrifice.
I will sacrifice to her with well-performed sacrifice,
Orderly Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, with libations.
May you thereby rule when invoked!
May you thereby partake of a better sacrifice,
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
(one performed) with haoma (mixed) with milk (and) with barsom,
with the skill of the tongue and with poetic thought,

[1] Lit.: the Orderly unattached (water) on high. — Pahl. gloss: "I.e., "unattached" means that she is in a state of unattached-ness in that place, on the star-level."

[2] That is, as help for the poet? The terms used are found only here.

with speech and action and libations
and with correctly spoken words.
Thus, **we sacrifice** to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.10
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands!

Yt.5.11
She recalls man who drives in front on his wagon
(and) holds the reins of the wagon,
driving on *his* wagon
she thinks in her thought(s):
Who will praise me ...
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.12 = Yt.5.1
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands!

Yt.5.13
She has four draught-horses,
white, all of the same color, of the same breed, and tall.
They overcome the hostilities
of all hostile old gods and men,
sorcerers and witches,
false teachers, poetasters, and mumblers.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.14
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.15
She is forceful, radiant, lofty, well-shaped,
whose *falling waters rain down
in as great quantity
by day and night
as all these waters that flow forth over the earth,
(to her) who forceful flows forth.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.16
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.17
Ahura Mazdâ, who has set all in its place,
sacrificed to her
in the Aryan Expanse of the Good Lawful (river),
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)

Yt.5.18
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I shall induce the son of Pourushâspa,
Orderly Zarathustra,
to help my *daênâ* along
with his thoughts, words, and acts!

Yt.5.19
She gave him then that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
the giver of a prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

<u>The poet-sacrificers of the past:</u>

Yt.5.20
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.21
Haoshyangha Paradhâta
sacrificed to her
on the foothill of Mount Harâ
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.22
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving
strength,
that I may become possessed of the highest command
over all the lands
over old gods and men,
over sorcerers and witches,
over false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,
that I may smash down two-thirds
of the giant old gods
and the greedy ones possessed by the Lie.

Yt.5.23
She gave him then that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).

On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.24
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.25
Radiant Yima with good herds
sacrificed to her
from tall Mount Hukairya
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.26
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may become possessed of the highest command
over all lands
over old gods and men,
over sorcerers and witches,
over false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,
that I may take away
from the old gods
both (their) *wishes and (their) *burning desires,
both *flocks of sheep and herds (of cows?),
both satisfaction and glorifications.

Yt.5.27
She gave him then that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.28
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.29
The three-headed Giant Dragon
sacrificed to her
in the land of the *Beaver
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.30
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may make (everything) devoid of men
all over the seven continents!

Yt.5.31
She gave him not that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.32
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.33
Thraêtaona of the house rich in life-giving strength
sacrificed to her,
the son of the house of Âthviya,
by four-cornered Varna
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.34
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome
the giant dragon
with three mouths, three heads,
six eyes, a thousand tricks,
the mighty strong, deceiving Lie,
the evil possessed by the Lie (affecting) the living beings:
the mighty strong Lie
which the Evil Spirit whittled forth
upon the bony world of the living
for the destruction of the living beings of Order,
and also that I may carry off his two beloved women:
Sanghawâcî and Arenawâcî,[1]
the two most beautiful of the same shape
to be won for the world of the living,
those two, who are (also) the most wonderful!

Yt.5.35
She gave him then that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).

[1] She whose words are praise and She whose words are faults/blame.

On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.36
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.37
Kersâspa, whose thoughts were those of heroes,
sacrificed to her
on the *shore of Lake Pishinah
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.38
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome
the yellow-legged Gandarva,[1]
(that) I may run up to the billowing shores
of the Vourukasha Sea,
the ... (?) house of the one possessed by the Lie,
of this wide (earth),
round (and) with distant borders.

Yt.5.39
She gave him then that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.40
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.41
The Turian villain, Frangrasyân, in (his) pit,
sacrificed to her,
*inside this wide earth,
round, (and) with distant borders,
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.42
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I (may) obtain that Fortune,
which is swimming in the middle
of the Vourukasha Sea,
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and the unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.

Yt.5.43
She gave him not that boon,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.44
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.45
The fleet Kawi Usan of great magic
sacrificed to her
on the Eagle mountain
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.46
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may become possessed of the highest power
over all lands
over old gods and men ... and mumblers.

Yt.5.47
She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.48
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.49
The virile hero of the Aryan lands,
sacrificed to her,
Haosrawa, *pretender to the command,

[1] A malevolent water spirit. Cf. Yt.19.41.

on the *shore of Lake Chaêchasta,
the deep, with surging waters,
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.50
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may become possessed of the highest command
over all the lands
over old gods and men ... and mumblers (= Yt.5.22)
(and) that of all chariots pulled by two horses
I may be the one to drive the foremost one
(along that) race course, the long one,
but may we not cut through(?) the forest
of the villain who now fought
against my thought near by the horses.

Yt.5.51
She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.52
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.53
The steady Tusa, the charioteer
sacrificed to her,
by the manes of the horses,
asking for strength for the coursers,
health for the bodies,
much ability to espy the hostile ones,
ability to strike back at the enemies,
the ability to lay low at once the opponents,
the hostile ones who do not abide by the deals.

Yt.5.54
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome
the fleet sons of *Visaka,
at the power-shining gate,
the most accessible(?) in Kanghâ,
tall (and) Orderly,
(and) that I may smash down
of the Turian lands
for the striking of fifty, and by striking a hundred
for the striking of a hundred, and by striking a thousand
for the striking of a thousand, and by striking ten thousand
for the striking of ten thousand, and by striking countless ones.[1]

Yt.5.55
She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.56
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.57
The fleet sons of *Visaka
sacrificed to her,
at the power-shining gate,
the most accessible(?) in Kanghâ,
tall (and) Orderly,
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.58
Thus they asked her:
Give us that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that we may overcome
the firm Tusa, the charioteer
(and) that we may smash down
of the Aryan lands
for the striking of fifty ... by striking countless ones.

Yt.5.59
Them she gave then not that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.60
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one

[1] The syntax of this recurring passage is not well understood, but its meaning is clear.

furthering the lands.

Yt.5.61
Pârwa the clever skipper,
sacrificed to her,
when firm Thraêtaona, obstruction-smasher,
tossed him up in the air
in the shape of a vulture.

Yt.5.62
He flew in that manner
for three days and three nights
without being able to turn downward
toward his own home.
At the dawning of the third night
he came to Dawn, rich in life-giving strength,[1] as it shone out.
At dawn he invoked
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:

Yt.5.63
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
come quickly to my help!
Bring me assistance now!
I shall bring you a thousand libations
rich in haoma and milk
purified and filtered,
to the water: to Ranghâ,
if only I reach alive
the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
(and) my own home!

Yt.5.64
She came running,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
in the shape of a beautiful young woman,
mighty strong, well-shaped,
girded high, standing tall,
of splendid seed, high-born,
shod with sandals reaching up her legs
with golden laces, radiant.

Yt.5.65
She seized his arms.
Quickly that was (done. It was) not long
before she delivered him in haste
upon the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
to his own home
healthy, unharmed, unhurt,
in one and the same way as before.

[1] Third part of the night: from midnight to the first light (Bartholomae).

Yt.5.66
She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.67
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.68
Jâmâspa sacrificed to her
when he espied the army
of the one possessed by the Lies who sacrifice to the old gods,
coming from afar in battle lines
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.69
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may be equipped with as much valor
as (all) the other Aryans (together)!

Yt.5.70
She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.71
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.72
Ashawazdah son of Pourudhâkhshti
sacrificed to her,
and Ashawazda and Thrita,
sons of Sâyuzhdri,
*approaching the lofty lord,
the one in command, the radiant
Scion of the Waters with fleet horses,
a hundred stallions, a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.73
Thus they asked her:
Give us that boon,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that we may overcome
the *eloquent Dânu Tûras:
Kara Asabana
and Vara Asabana
and Dûraêkaêta, the firmest
in battles in this world of the living!

Yt.5.74
She gave them then that boon,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.75
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.76
Vistauru son of Naotairya
sacrificed to her
by the water Vîtanghwaitî
with speech correctly spoken,
speaking thus with words:

Yt.5.77
By that Order, indeed, by that correctly spoken (word),
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
that I have smashed down as many who sacrifice to the old gods
as I carry hairs on the head,
so do you,
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
convey me across a dry ford
over the good Vîtanghwaitî!

Yt.5.78
She came running,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
in the shape of a beautiful young woman,
mightily strong, well-shaped,
girded high, standing tall,
of splendid seed, high-born,
shod with sandals reaching up her legs
with golden laces, radiant.
Some of the waters she made stand still,
others she made flow forward.
She conveyed him across a dry ford
over the good Vîtanghwaitî.

Yt.5.79
She gave them then that boon,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.80
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.81
Yôishta, the one of the Friyanas,
sacrificed to her
... of the Ranghâ
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.82
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ, you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome
Akhtiya, giver of evil gifts, wrapped in darkness
and also (that) I may answer his questions,
(all) ninety-nine
of the hard hostile questions
that he asked me,
Axtiya, giver of evil gifts, wrapped in darkness.

Y.5.83
She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

<u>Ahura Mazdâ addresses the goddess</u>

Yt.5.84
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.85
Come to where Ahura Mazdâ, the artisan invited you,
come down, O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
from yonder stars
to the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ!
The fleet lords will sacrifice to you,
landlords (and) sons of landlords.

Yt.5.86
Even the firm men
will ask you for fleetness for their horses
(and) superiorities of Fortune.
The priests memorizing,
the priests *who guard the roads
will ask you for *learning and life-giving *wisdom,
for the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
and for victorious superiority.

Yt.5.87
The nubile young women
and the ripe females shall ask you good works
and a firm houselord.
The women in labor
shall ask you for easy birth.
You shall confer those things on them, having the power (to do so),
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.

Yt.5.88
Thus she went forth, O Zarathustra,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
from yonder stars
to the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
Thus she spoke,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:

Yt.5.89
O upright, Orderly Spitama-son!
Ahura Mazdâ set you in (your) place
as the *ratu* of the bony world of the living.
Ahura Mazdâ set me in (my) place
as the protectress of the entire time span of the Orderly one.
By my wealth and munificence
sheep and cattle
roam over the earth
as well as two-footed men.
And so shall I protect
all those good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ whose seed is from/according to Order
like a shepherd (his) sheep.

Zarathustra and the goddess

Yt.5.90
Zarathustra asked her in turn,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ!
With what sacrifice shall I sacrifice to you,
with what sacrifice shall I send you forth in sacrifice?
The course which Ahura Mazdâ made yours
(is) in the space between
over the radiant sun
so that they shall not belie you
with snakes, *spiders, and wasps,
and *spinners and poisons from *spinners.

Yt.5.91
Thus she spoke,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:
O upright, Orderly Spitama-son!
With this sacrifice you may sacrifice to me,
with this sacrifice you may send me forth in sacrifice,
from sun-rise till sunset.
Then you may drink of this my libation,
with speech (as) asked by a priest,
with words asked in return, attentive,
possessed of talent, stretching the poetic thought.

Yt.5.92
Let not drink of this my libation a ...,
someone with fever, a *fat person,
..., someone with pimples,
or a woman or a qualified (man) who does not perform the *Gâthâ*s,
or a leper whose body has been secluded.

Yt.5.93
I do not accept those libations
of which (females) drink for my sake
who are blind, deaf,
..., ..., ..., epileptic,
carrying the mark (made) with *that* mark ...

Yt.5.94
Zarathustra asked her in turn,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ!
*How do the libations of yours become here
which they offer as yours,
the one possessed by the Lies who sacrifice to the old gods,
after the sun has set?

Yt.5.95
Thus she spoke,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ:

O upright, Orderly Spitama [Zarathustra]!
as to be "woe"d down, to be (ground) under the heels,
as to be *laughed back, to be howled back,
are they accepted,
these (libations) that fly after me
by six-hundreds and a thousand,
which are not accepted
at the sacrifice of the old gods.

Sacrifice to Mount Hukairya

I will sacrifice to Mount Hukairya,
*containing all hymns, golden,
from which she flows down to me,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
a thousand men in depth.
She commands large Fortune,
as (much as) all these waters
that flow forth over the earth,
who, forceful, flows forth.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Sacrifice by the Hwôwas and the Naotairyas

Yt.5.97
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.98
All around her the those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
stood with barsom in their hands.
The Hwôwas sacrificed to her.
The Naotairyas sacrificed to her.
The Hwôwas asked (her to grant) a wish for them,
the Naotairyas (asked) for fleetness for their horses.
Soon afterward the Hwôwas
became the most rich in life-giving strength with respect to
(their) wish.
Soon afterward the Naotairyas.
In (all) these lands, Vîshtâspa
became the one possessing the fleetest horses .

Yt.5.99
She gave them then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together
with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Description of the goddess

Yt.5.100
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.101
She has a thousand bays
and a thousand off-flows,
and each of these bays
and each of these off-flows
are a forty-days ride
for a man riding a good horse.
In each and every outlet
stands a well-made home
radiant with a hundred windows,
well made with a thousand columns,
with ten thousand supporting beams, rich in life-giving
strength.

Yt.5.102
Also, in each and every home,
one lies on a couch spread out,
well-scented, equipped with pillows.
She flows hither, O Zarathustra,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
a thousand men in depth.
(So) much she commands munificence,
as all these waters
that flow forth over the earth,
who, forceful, flows forth.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Zarathustra sacrificed to her

Yt.5.103
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.104
Zarathustra, the Orderly one,
sacrificed to her
in the Aryan Expanse of the Good Lawful (river),
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)

Yt.5.105
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I shall induce
the son of Aurwat.aspa,
the firm Kawi Vîshtâspa,

to help my *daênâ* along
with his thoughts, words, and acts!

Yt.5.106
She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Vishtâspa and others sacrificed to her

Yt.5.107
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.108
Kawi Vîshtâspa who *saw* on high
sacrificed to her
at the heel of the river Frazdânu
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.109
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome in battles
Man of Darkness of bad *daênâ*
and Fighter, who sacrificed to the old gods,
and Arjat.aspa possessed by the Lie
in battles in this world of the living!

Yt.5.110
She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.111
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.112
Zairiwairi, the horse fighter,
sacrificed to her
at the heel of the river Daîtyâ
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.113
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome in battles
*Battle-Lover with eight ...,
*Good Magician, who sacrificed to the old gods,
and Arjat.aspa possessed by the Lie
in battles in this world of the living!

Yt.5.114
She gave him then that prize,
the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.115
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one furthering the lands.

Yt.5.116
Arjat.aspa Vandremainish
sacrificed to her
by the Vourukasha Sea
a hundred stallions,
a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams.

Yt.5.117
Thus he asked her:
Give me that prize,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
you most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome
the strong Kawi Vîshtâspa
(and) that I may smash down of the Aryan lands
for the striking of fifty ... by striking countless ones. (= str. 54)

Yt.5.118
She gave him then not that prize,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Ahura Mazdâ fashioned four males for her

Yt.5.119
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.120
Ahura Mazdâ fashioned together four males for her:
the wind, the rain, the fog, and the hail.
For by (their) *care,[1] O Spitama Zarathustra,
they rain, snow, drip, and hail on her for me,
who has as many armies as nine hundred and a thousand.

Sacrifice to Mount Hukairya

Yt.5.121
I will sacrifice to Mount Hukairya,
*containing all hymns, golden,
from which she flows down to me,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
a thousand men in depth.
(So) much she commands munificence,
as all these waters
that flow forth over the earth,
who, forceful, flows forth.
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Description of the goddess

Yt.5.122
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.123
She, the good one, stands holding
a golden mouth-cloth,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
recalling the word (in answer) to The chief priest:
thus thinking in her thought(s):

Yt.5.124
Who will praise me? Who will sacrifice to (me)
with libations full of haoma and milk,
purified and filtered?
Whom shall I follow close behind
for both *composure and *attention,
and *bestowal and for possession of good thought?
On account of her wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.5.125
May you sacrifice to her for me ... the Orderly one
furthering the lands.

Yt.5.126
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
who stands exhibited
in the shape of a beautiful young woman,
mightily strong, well-shaped,
girded high, standing tall(?),
of splendid seed, high-born,
*wearing a coat with long sleeves,
with rich *designs, (embroidered) with gold.

Yt.5.127
Ever and again, when she (sacrificed to?) me with barsom in
her hands,
wearing four-sided ear-hangings,
she wore a golden broach,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ of noble birth,
upon that beautiful neck.
She would pull tight her waist(band),
both so that her breasts should (appear) well-formed
and that they should be *pendulous.

Yt.5.127
On (here head) she bound a crown,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
with a hundred *stars, golden,
with eight *crenelations, with rings like wheels(?),
with *droplets,[2] beautiful,
*virginal, well-made.

Yt.5.129
Garments of beaver fur she wore,
Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
of three hundred beavers
about to give birth for the fourth time,
because the female beaver is most beautiful
when she is *adorned most colorful.
The female beaver lives in water
normally for a determined period of time.
(Then her) furs shine (in the eyes) of the beholder
on account *of the wealth of silver and gold.

The poet asks the goddess for his reward

Yt.5.130
Then here I ask for that prize,
O you most rich in life-giving strength,
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,

[1] Release of semen?

[2] or "little banners."

that, well-invited as (your) friend,
with large command, I may win for myself
*well-cooked, copious shares,
snorting horses, singing wheels, swishing whips,
with much to chew, with stored meat, fragrant.
In (my) pantries I lay away at will
plentiful (...) providing everything needed for good living.
(For) when one dies the command leaves.

Yt.5.131
Thus here I ask for two coursers,
O you (most rich in life-giving strength)
O good, Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
one with two legs
and one with four legs:
that two-legged courser,
which shall be fast when mounted,
well turning the wagons in the battles;
that four-legged one,
which shall make both sides
of the army with broad front turn,
both the left and the right,
both the right and the left.

Yt.5.132
On account of this sacrifice, of this hymn,
come down in return for this,
O Ardwî Sûrâ Anâhitâ,
from yonder stars
to this earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
to The chief priest who is performing the sacrifice,
to (his) full (and) overflowing (hand?), for (his) help,
you, the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying (barsom) together with libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors),
in order that all your coursers
may come back having won,
as (did those) of Kawi Vîshtâspa.

On account of her wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to her with audible sacrifice.
...

YASHT 6 TO THE SUN

Yt.6.1
We sacrifice to the radiant Sun, immortal, resplendent, with fleet horses.
Then, when *he makes the sun shine in the light,
then, when *he makes the sun illuminate the light,
(then) those worthy of sacrifice in the world of thought stand
a hundred and a thousand.
They bring together that Fortune.
They convey down that Fortune.
They apportion that Fortune
over the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
And it furthers the living beings of Order.
And it furthers (them) for the body of Order.[1]

Yt.6.2
Thus, when the sun rises,
there is purification of the earth set in place by Aura (Mazdâ),
there is purification of the flowing water,
there is purification of the water of the wells,
there is purification of the water of the seas,
there is purification of the standing water,
there is purification of the Orderly living beings
that are those of the Life-giving Spirit.

Yt.6.3
For if the sun does not rise,
then all the old gods destroy (all the living beings)
that are in the seven continents,
and not one (of) those worthy of sacrifice in the world of thought
(or) in the bony existence
will find any retreat, any refuge.[2]

Yt.6.4
He who sacrifices to the immortal sun,
brilliant, with fleet horses,
for the resistance of the darknesses,
for the resistance of the old gods spawned by darkness,
for the resistance of thieves and robbers,
for the resistance of sorcerers and witches,
for the resistance of ... danger
he sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ,
he sacrifices to the Life-giving Immortals,
he sacrifices to (his) own soul,
he satisfies all ones worthy of sacrifice, both those in the world of thought and those in the world of the living,
he who sacrifices to the sun,
the immortal, brilliant, with fleet horses.

Yt.6.5
I will sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
with a thousand ears, with ten thousand eyes.
I will sacrifice to (his) cudgel well swung down
upon the head(s) of the old gods.
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds.
I will sacrifice to the companionship, as well,
which is the best of all companionships:
that between the moon and the sun.

Yt.6.6
On account of his wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to him with audible sacrifice,
to the immortal sun,
brilliant, with fleet horses,
with libations.

We sacrifice to the sun, the immortal, brilliant, with fleet horses
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

[1] Perhaps the ordered world.
[2] Note the importance of the sun!

YASHT 7 TO THE MOON

Yt.7.1
Homage to Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to the Life-giving Immortals!
Homage to the moon containing the seed of the bovine!
Homage to (him when) seen face to face!
Homage (to him) with (our) seeing (him) face to face!

Yt.7.2
When does the moon wax?
When does the moon wane?
Fifteen days the moon waxes.
Fifteen days the moon wanes.
Whatever its waxings, those (are its) wanings.
Those (are its) wanings, which (are) also its waxings.
Who is he **through whom the moon is now first waxing then waning**?

Yt.7.3
We sacrifice to the Orderly moon containing the seed of the bovine, Model of Order.
Then I see the moon face to face.
Then I *wish to see the moon face to face.
I look at the luminous moon.
I wish to look at the luminous moon.
The Life-giving Immortals (go and) stand (there).
They hold the Fortune.
The Life-giving Immortals (go and) stand (there).
They apportion the Fortune
over the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

Yt.7.4
Then when *he makes the moon shine in the light—
by (its) *care[1] the greenery of green plants
grows up all over the earth,
at every new moon, full moon, and seventh day,—
We sacrifice to the Orderly new moon, Model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly full moon, Model of Order.
We sacrifice to the Orderly seventh day in the middle, Model of Order.

Yt.7.5
I will sacrifice to
the distributor god, wealthy and munificent,
rich in possessions, rich in good burning,
rich in miraculous power, rich in ...,
with (power to grant) wishes, with many skills,
rich in glow, rich in *verdure,
shining hither good things, the healing distributor god.

[1] Cf. Yt.5.120.

YASHT 8 TO TISHTRIYA

Yt.8.1
Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
You shall take into your protection *ahu*-ship and *ratu*-ship.
We sacrifice to the moon, the dwelling, and the solid offering,
in order that the munificent stars may follow me
(and) also may distribute Fortune to men.[1]
I will sacrifice to the distributor god of (good gifts to) the settlement,
the star Tishtriya, with libations.

Yt.8.2
We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
who provides peaceful dwellings (and) good dwellings,
(who is) white, bright, and brilliant,
radiating, healing,
*floating through space,[2] lofty,
radiant from afar with (his) rays,
with unattached/unsullied(?) lights,
as well as to the water, (filling) broad seas
and the Good (Water?) famed from afar,
as well as to the name of the cow, set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
the mighty Fortune of the poets,
and the pre-soul of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra.

Yt.8.3
On account of his wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to him with audible sacrifice,
to the star Tishtriya with libations.
We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.4
We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
containing the seed of water, rich in life-giving strength, lofty,
forceful, whose eyesight reaches into the distance,
lofty, whose work is above,
the tall one from whom (comes) good fame.
From the Scion of the Waters (is its?) seed.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.5
We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
whom sheep and cattle recall
(when) faced with violent men,
(when) faced with lying magicians:
When will he rise for us
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent?
When will new springs of water flow
deeper than (the length of) a horse's (legs)?
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.6
We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
who yonder flies as speedily
to the Vourukasha Sea
as the arrow whose place is in the world of thought
which Erekhsha[3] of speedy arrows shot
—the one among the Aryans with the speediest arrows—
from Mount Airyô.khshutha
to Mount Sunny.

Yt.8.7
Then Ahura Mazdâ ... (?)
and the waters and the plants.
Around it Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
laid out the path.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.8
We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
who overcomes the witches,
who sends the witches (back) through (to where they came from)
who fall like *falling stars
between heaven and earth.
Ever and again he comes to a bay
of the Vourukasha Sea,
forceful, well-shaped,
deep, with surging waters,
in the form of a horse, Orderly.
And he makes those waters swell,
and the winds blow over (it) like (chariots) with yoked horses.

Yt.8.9
Thus Satawaêsa pushes those waters forward
over the <earth> with its seven continents,
when he comes among the coverings, beautiful,
he stands *attaching peace
to the lands with (= giving them) good seasons.

---

[1] Cf. Yt.7.3.

[2] Or: with quick snorts (like a horse)?

[3] A mythical archer.

When shall the Aryan lands
have good seasons?
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.10
We sacrifice to the star Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
who said to Ahura Mazdâ,
saying:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!

Yt.8.11
For if people were to sacrifice to me
with a sacrifice in which my name is spoken,
like the other ones worthy of sacrifice
are sacrificed to with a sacrifice in which their names are spoken,
then I would have gone forth to the Orderly men
for a time span of fashioned time
(as long as?) my own sunny, immortal life.
I would have come
for one night or two or fifty or a hundred
(nights) of fashioned time.

Yt.8.12
We sacrifice to Tishtriya,
and we sacrifice to the Tishtriyaênî stars.
We sacrifice to the star Upa.paoirya,
and we sacrifice to the Paoiryaênîs stars.
We sacrifice to the Seven *Markers/Big Dipper
for the resistance of sorcerers and witches.
We sacrifice to the star Vanant set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
and for the well-fashioned force
and the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
and for the victorious superiority
for the dispersal of constriction,
for the dispersal of hostility.
We sacrifice to Tishtriya with healthy eyes.[1]

<u>The battle between Tishtriya and Apaosha.</u>

Yt.8.13
The first ten nights,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
takes on a (new) form—
flying through the lights
in the form of a man of fifteen,
radiant (and) shiny-eyed,
tall, overpowering,
forceful, of heroic talent,—

Yt.8.14
at that time of life when first
a man receives the girdle,—
at that time of life when first
a man becomes forceful,—
at that time of life when first
a man comes of age.

Yt.8.15
Here he deliberates.
Here he wonders:
Who will now sacrifice to me
with libations full of haoma and milk?
Whom should I grant
his desire for men, a herd of men,
and purification for his own soul?
Now I am worthy of being sacrificed to
and hymned by the bony existence
according to best Order.

Yt.8.16
The second ten days,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
takes on a (new) form—
flying through the lights
in the form of a bull with golden hooves.

Yt.8.17
Here he deliberates.
Here he wonders:
Who will now sacrifice to me
with libations full of haoma and milk?
Whom should I grant
his desire for cows, a herd of cows,
and purification for his own soul?
Now I am worthy of being sacrificed to
and hymned by the bony existence
according to best Order.

Yt.8.18
The third ten days,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
takes on (yet another) form
flying through the lights
in the form of a white horse,
beautiful, with golden ears,
with golden bridle.

[1] Whose eyes bring health?

Yt.8.17
Here he deliberates.
Here he wonders:
Who will now sacrifice to me
with libations full of haoma and milk?
Whom should I grant
his desire for horses, a herd of horses,
and purification for his own soul?
Now I am worthy of being sacrificed to
and hymned by the bony existence
according to best Order.
...

Yt.8.20
Then in response he comes down,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
to the Vourukasha Sea
in the form of a white horse,
beautiful, with golden ears,
with golden bridle.

Yt.8.21
Then there rushes down to meet him
the old god Apaosha,
in the form of a black horse,
mangy with mangy ears.
mangy with mangy mane,
mangy with mangy tail,
bald, reined with fright.

Yt.8.22
They start fighting man to man,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
and the old god Apaosha.
The two of them struggle,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
for three days and three nights.
Then he gains the upper hand,
the old god Apaosha,
then he overcomes
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent.

Yt.8.23
He chases him away from there,
from the Vourukasha Sea,
the distance of a league.
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent
calls down woe and misfortune:
Woe to me, O Ahura Mazdâ,
(what) misfortune, O waters and plants,
(what evil) fate, O *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ!
People are not now sacrificing to me
with a sacrifice in which my name is spoken,
like the other ones worthy of sacrifice are sacrificed to
with a sacrifice in which their names are spoken.

Yt.8.24
For if people were to sacrifice to me
with a sacrifice in which my name is spoken,
like the other ones worthy of sacrifice are sacrificed to
with a sacrifice in which their names are spoken,
(then) they would have conferred upon me
the strength of ten horses,
the strength of ten camels,
the strength of ten bulls,
the strength of ten mountains,
the strength of ten rivers in spate.

Yt.8.25
I, Ahura Mazdâ,
shall sacrifice to Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
with a sacrifice in which his name is spoken.
I shall bring him
the strength of ten horses,
the strength of ten camels,
the strength of ten bulls,
the strength of ten mountains,
the strength of ten rivers in spate.

Yt.8.26
Then in response there comes down,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
to the Vourukasha Sea
in the form of a white horse,
beautiful, with golden ears,
with golden bridle.

Yt.8.27
Then there rushes down to meet him
the old god Apaosha,
in the form of a black horse,
mangy with mangy ears.
mangy with mangy mane,
mangy with mangy tail,
bald, reined with fright.

Yt.8.28
They start fighting man to man, Spitama Zarathustra,
at noon time.
Then he gains the upper hand,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
then he overcomes
the old god Apaosha.

Yt.8.29
He chases him away from there,
from the Vourukasha Sea
the distance of a league.
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent
calls down Success:
Success for me, O Ahura Mazdâ,
Success (for you), O waters and plants,
Success (for you), O *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ!
Success there shall be (for you), O lands!
From now on your grains
shall come up unimpeded
both (those) of the barley with big seeds
and of the grass with small seeds
and of the bony world of the living.

Release of the waters.

Yt.8.30
Then in response he comes down,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
to the Vourukasha Sea
in the form of a white horse,
beautiful, with golden ears,
with golden bridle.

Yt.8.31
He makes the sea swell hither.
He makes the sea swell to the sides.
He makes the sea surge hither.
He makes the sea surge to the sides.
He makes the sea rush hither.
He makes the sea rush to the sides.
All the shores of the Vourukasha Sea
are in commotion,
the entire interior rises up in commotion.

Yt.8.32
Then in response he stands up from there,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent,
from the Vourukasha Sea.
Satawaêsa too stands up from there,
wealthy (and) munificent,
from the Vourukasha Sea.
Then clouds assemble there
on Mount Us.hendawa,
which stands in the middle
of the Vourukasha Sea.

Yt.8.33
Then there he pushes the Orderly,
fog-making clouds,
He in front conveys forth the wind
along the paths along which ruddy Haoma comes,
furtherer of living beings.
There, behind him, blows
the impetuous wind set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
(bringing) rain, fog, and hail
to the places, to the settlements,
to the seven continents.

Yt.8.34
Those waters the Scion of the Waters,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
distributes to the bony existence,
distributed by settlements,[1]
as (does) the impetuous wind
and the Fortune placed in the water
and the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.35
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
who flies forth from there,
from the radiant dawn,
upon a road winding into the distance,
along the route assigned by the distributor god,
along the course cut out (for him)
for the pleasure of Ahura Mazdâ,
for the pleasure of the Life-giving Immortals.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.36
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
whom the *men sowing according to the seasons
and the lords who (wish to) increase (their) guiding thought
and the wild animals following (trails) in the mountains
and the *shy ones that roam in the wide spaces
watch as he rises,
coming up (as he does) with both good seasons
for the land and with bad seasons:
When shall the Aryan lands
have good seasons?
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.37
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
with fast speed, with speedy flight,
who yonder flies as speedily

[1] Cf. Yt.13.65.

to the Vourukasha Sea
as the arrow whose place is in the world of thought
which Erekhsha of speedy arrows shot
—the one among the Aryans with the speediest arrows—
from Mount Airyô.khshutha
to Mount Sunny.

Yt.8.38
Then Ahura Mazdâ *helped (it),
the Life-giving Immortals *helped (it).
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
*instructed it in plenty of roads.
And just behind it flew
Good Ashi the tall
and Abundance with fast chariots
until this (arrow)
reached in its flight
Mount Sunny.
It came down on (Mount) Sunny.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.39
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
who overcomes the witches,
who sends the witches (back) through (to where they came from),[1]
whom the Evil Spirit, tossed up,
*having thought (them?),
to oppose all
the stars, which contain the seed of water.

Yt.8.40
Tishtriya overcomes those.
He blows them away
from the Vourukasha Sea.
Then the mists will float up
carrying waters for good seasons,
in which clouds releasing fine rain(?)
going far and wide,
*rain down upon(?) the seven continents.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.41
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
whom the waters recall
the ones that stand still and those that flow forth,
those in wells and those that flow in *rivers,
those in *canals and those in bays:

Yt.8.42
When will he rise for us
Tishtriya, wealthy (and) munificent?
When will springs of water come rushing, rushing
deeper than the (size of) a horse's (legs)
toward the beautiful places, settlements
and come flowing toward the grazing grounds?
toward the roots of plants?
They will grow with growth rich in life-giving strength.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.43
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
who washes away all *fears.
In the water he grows ... (?).
He, the one most rich in life-giving strength, heals
all those living beings
if he is sacrificed to,
satisfied, befriended, (and) recognized.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.44
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
whom Ahura Mazdâ brought forth
as model and overseer
of all stars,
—like (he did) Zarathustra (as model and overseer) of men—
whom the Evil Spirit does not destroy,
nor sorcerers and witches,
nor the sorcerers among men,
nor all the old gods altogether
dare target for destruction.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.45
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
for whom Ahura Mazdâ
brought forth a thousand crafts,
for the one most rich in life-giving strength (among the stars) which contain the seed of water,
who comes to the (stars) which contain the seed of water
flying among the lights.

Yt.8.46
He comes to all the bays
of the Vourukasha Sea,
forceful, well-shaped,
deep, with surging waters,
and all the beautiful inlets
and all the beautiful outlets

[1] Cf. Yt.19.12.

in the form of a white horse,
beautiful, with golden ears,
with golden bridle.

Yt.8.47
Then the waters rain down,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
from the Vourukasha Sea,
*falling, delicate, healing.
He distributes them there
to these lands, he the most rich in life-giving strength,
if he is sacrificed to,
satisfied, befriended, (and) recognized.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.48
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
whom they all recall,
the Creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
both those under ground and those above ground,
both those in water and those on earth
both those flying on wings and those running in the wild,
and what is called the boundless, endless being of the Orderly,
which is above those (others).
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.8.49
We sacrifice to Tishtriya ...
*careful, skillful, and crafty,
in command of, in charge of
a thousand prizes,
who gives to the one who endeavors to satisfy him many prizes,
both to the man who asks (him) and (to him) who does not ask (him for himself).

Tishtriya and the Witch of Bad Seasons.

Yt.8.50
I made,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
yonder star, Tishtriya,
as great and deserving of sacrifices,
as great and deserving of hymns,
as great and deserving of satisfaction,
as great and deserving of glorification
as myself, Ahura Mazdâ,—

Yt.8.51
for him to stand against and mount defenses against (them),
to overcome (them) in turn and to answer the hostilities
of that witch, the one of bad seasons,
whom people of evil speech
call by name the one "of good seasons."

Yt.8.52
For if I had not made,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
yonder star, Tishtriya,
as great and deserving of sacrifices,
as great and deserving of hymns,
as great and deserving of satisfaction,
as great and deserving of glorification
as myself, Ahura Mazdâ,—

Yt.8.53
for him to stand against and mount defenses against (them),
to overcome (them) in turn and to answer the hostilities
of that witch, the one of bad seasons,
whom people of evil speech
call by name the one "of good seasons."

Yt.8.54
(then) indeed here in one and the same day
or in one and the same night,
that witch, the one of bad seasons,
would have cut off the *thread of life
of the entire bony existence
before it had run its course(?).
(But now), back and forth she runs.

Yt.8.55
For Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent,
chains that witch
with invincible (chains strong enough to hold)
for two feet, for four feet, and for all feet,
just as if he were to chain the one man among the thousand men
who were the strongest in bone-strength.

Benefits of sacrificing to Tishtriya.

Yt.8.56
For if, O Spitama Zarathustra,
the Aryan lands had prepared for Tishtriya,
wealthy and munificent,
a sacrifice and a hymn according to the established rules,
as is the sacrifice and hymn to him
most according to the established rules,
according to best Order,
here no army or scourge
would reach the Aryan lands,
neither *swooning nor *falling sickness
nor an army chariot
or one with an uplifted banner.

Yt.8.57
Zarathustra asked in turn:
What is indeed, Ahura Mazdâ,
the sacrifice and hymn of him
most according to the established rules,
for Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent
according to best Order?

Yt.8.58
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
The Aryan lands
should bring him libations.
The Aryan lands
should spread out barsom for him.
The Aryan lands
should cook a sheep for him,
white or of good color
or whichever color it resembles.

Yt.8.59
May not a villain seize it
nor a witch or a ... (?)
who has not performed the *Gâthâ*s,
who destroys (this) existence, who opposes
this *daênâ*, that of Ahura Mazdâ, that of Zarathustra.

Yt.8.60
For if a villain should seize it
or a witch or a ...
who has not performed the *Gâthâ*s,
who destroys (this) existence, who opposes
this *daênâ*, that of Ahura Mazdâ, that of Zarathustra,
(then) Tishtriya, wealthy and munificent
will go away taking the healing with him.

Yt.8.61
Straightway scourges will come
upon the Aryan lands.
Straightway armies will fall
upon the Aryan lands.
Straightway the Aryan lands will be smashed
for the striking of fifty, and by striking a hundred
for the striking of a hundred, and by striking a thousand
for the striking of a thousand, and by striking ten thousand
for the striking of ten thousand, and by striking countless ones.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

YASHT 9 TO DRUWÂSPÂ

Yt.9.1
We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength,
set in place by (Ahura) Mazdâ.
She gives us healthy sheep and healthy cattle,
healthy partners, healthy children.
She enables us to espy (enemies) from afar.
She gives us good breathing space
and long companionship.

Yt.9.2
She gives us yoked horses and *enclosed chariots
with singing wheels.
She *herds our *flocks,
forceful and well-shaped,
self-glowing and healing.
She gives us a steady *stance on our *enclosed chariots—
(all this) for the help of the Orderly men.

Yt.9.3
Haoshyangha Paradhâta sacrificed to her
on the foothill of high Mount Harâ the beautiful,
set in place by (Ahura) Mazdâ,
a hundred horses, a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams,
and also bringing a libation.

Yt.9.4
Give me that prize, good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome all the giant old gods,
so that I may not yield frightened
before the hostility of the old gods.
Before *me may all the old gods,
loose their will (to fight) and yield frightened.
Frightened they shall run (down) to (their) darkness.

Yt.9.5
She gave him then that prize,
Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength,
set in place by (Ahura) Mazdâ.
the protectress, the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).

Yt.9.6
On account of her wealth and munificence
I will sacrifice to her with audible sacrifice.
Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength (etc.).
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.7
We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the Orderly men.

Yt.9.8
Radiant Yima with good herds sacrificed to her
from high Mount Hukairya
a hundred stallions ... a libation.

Yt.9.9
Give me that prize, good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
so that I may bring both flocks of sheep and herds (of cows?) down
to the Creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ,
so that I may bring non-destruction down
to the Creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ,—

Yt.9.10
and also (that) I make take away
both hunger and thirst
from the creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ,
and also (that) I make take away
both old age and death
from the creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ,
and also (that) I make take away
both heat and cold
from the creations of (Ahura) Mazdâ
for a thousand years.

Yt.9.11
She gave him then that prize ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.12
We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the Orderly men.

Yt.9.13
Thraêtaona (etc., = Yt.5.33)
a hundred stallions ... a libation.

Yt.9.14
Give me that prize, O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may overcome (etc., = Yt.5.34)

Yt.9.15
She gave him ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.16
We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the Orderly men.

Yt.9.17
To her ruddy, healing Haoma sacrificed,
he the beautiful, commanding, golden-eyed one,
on the highest peak, on high Haraitî,
Thus he asked her:

Yt.9.18
Give me that prize,
O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may bind the Turian villain Frangrasyân
and (that) I may lead him bound
and I may bring him bound (before) Kawi Haosrawangha
(and that) Kawi Haosrawangha may kill him
on the *shore of Lake Caêcasta
the deep, with wide waters,
as revenge for (his) son, Siyâwarshan,
the hero killed through deceit,
as well as Aghraêratha, *son of Naru.

Yt.9.19
She gave him ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.20
We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the Orderly men.

Yt.9.21
The virile Haosrawa sacrificed to her,
*pretender to the power over the Aryan lands,
on the *shore of Lake Caêcasta,
the deep, with surging waters,
a hundred stallions ... a libation.

Yt.9.22
O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength, give me that prize,
so that I may smash down
the Turian villain Frangrasyân
on the *shore of Lake Caêcasta,
the deep, with surging waters,
as revenge for (my) son, Siyâvarshan,
the hero killed through deceit,
as well as Aghraêratha, *son of Naru.

Yt.9.23
She gave him ...
Thus, he **among those that are** ...

Yt.9.24
We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the Orderly men.

Yt.9.25
Zarathustra, the Orderly one, sacrificed to her
in the Aryan Expanse of the Good Lawful (river),
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)
Thus he asked her:

Yt.9.26
Give me that prize, O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
that I shall induce the good, noble Hutaosâ
to help the *daênâ* along
with her thoughts, words, and acts,
(she) who has believed in and is informed about(>)
my *daênâ*, the one of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
who has given good fame to my *household.

Yt.9.27
She gave him ...
Thus, he **among those that are** ...

Yt.9.28
We sacrifice to Orderly Druwâspâ ... for the help of the Orderly men.

Yt.9.29
Kawi Vishtâspa who *saw* on high sacrificed to her
on the shore of the Good Lawful (river),
a hundred stallions ... a libation.

Yt.9.30
Give me that prize, O good Druwâspâ, most rich in life-giving strength,
that I may conduct battles
with Ashta.urwanta, son of Vîspa.thaurwô.ashti,
the *subduer of all, with wide helmet,
with wide breast-plate, with sturdy *collar,
who has seven hundred camels ...!
So that I may conduct battles
with the Khiyonian villain Arja†.aspa,
so that I may conduct battles
with *Daredevil, who sacrifices to the old gods.

Yt.9.31
May I smash down Man of Darkness of evil *daênâ*!
May I smash down
the Spinjaurushka, who sacrifices to the old gods!
May I bring back home Humâyâ and Vardhkanâ
from the Xiyonian lands!
And may I smash down of the Xiyonian lands
for the striking of fifty ... by striking countless ones.

Yt.9.32
She gave him then that prize,
Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength, established
by (Ahura) Mazdâ,
the protectress, the giver of prizes
to the expert (poet-sacrificer) carrying libations
who sacrifices to (her and) asks (her favors).
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.9.32
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ... ...
I invite as friends the sacrifice and hymn and the strength
and power
of Orderly Druwâspâ, rich in life-giving strength,
established by (Ahura) Mazdâ.
Order is **the best good** ...

(Give) to (the sacrificer) riches and the gifts of Fortune,
to him health of body,
to him *fattiness of body,
to him valor of his body,
to him (his) wish for much good breathing space,
to him nothing but progeny of his own,
to him long longevity,
to him the Best Existence of the Orderly ones,
full of light and all good breathing space.

YASHT 10 TO MITHRA

Yt.10.1
Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
When, O Spitama, I brought forth
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
then I made him
as great and deserving of sacrifices,
as great and deserving of hymns,
as myself, Ahura Mazdâ.

The contract and the consequences of breaking or keeping contracts

Yt.10.2
He destroys the entire land,
the contract-belying villain, O Spitama,
like a hundred magicians,
just so much does he smash the Orderly.
Do not smash the contract, O Spitama,
neither the one you ask from one possessed by the Lie,
nor the one (you ask) from an Orderly one (who follows) your own *daênâ*.
For the contract applies to both:
the one possessed by the Lie and the Orderly one.

Yt.10.3
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
gives fleetness to the horses (of those) who do not belie the contract.
The fire of Ahura Mazdâ
gives the straightest path
(to those) who do not belie the contract.
The good strong life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly ones
give progeny of their own
(to those) who do not belie the contract.

Mithra surveying the Aryan lands and the Seven Climes.

Yt.10.12
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
with straight speech, *eloquent,
with a thousand ears, well-fashioned,
with ten thousand eyes, the lofty one
who surveys far and wide, rich in life-giving strength,
sleepless (and) wakeful.

Yt.10.13
He is first of beings in the world of thought worthy of sacrifice,
to rise beyond Mount Harâ
in front of the immortal sun with fleet horses.
He is the first to seize the gold-adorned, beautiful heights.
From there he looks upon the entire area inhabited by the Aryans,
he, the most rich in life-giving strength.

Yt.10.14
Here the brave rulers lay out in straight lines (their) many *palisades.
Here tall mountains with plenty of grass and water
would further the ... (?) for the cow.
Here deep bays stand with surging waters.
Here flooding waters hurry, broad, with a swell
to Ishkata and Pouruta, to Marghu, Haraêwa, and Gawa,
to Sughdha and Khwârizm,—

Yt.10.15
toward Arezahi and Sawahi,
toward Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu,
toward Vourubareshti and Vourujareshti,
toward this continent:
radiant Khwaniratha,
the area where Gawas dwell, the healing settlement of the Gawas,
(that) Mithra rich in life-giving strength looks upon.

Yt.10.16
He, the one in the world of thought worthy of sacrifice,
flies through all the continents,
giving the gifts of Fortune.
He, the one in the world of thought worthy of sacrifice,
flies through all the continents
bestowing command.
He increases the obstruction-smashing strength of these who, qualified (and) knowing Order,
sacrifice to him with libations.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Watches over the social order.

Yt.10.17
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds ... wakeful.
He is not to be deceived by anybody:
not by the houselord of the house,
not by the town-lord of the town,
not by the tribe-lord of the tribe,
not by the land-lord of the land.

Yt.10.18
But if someone deceives him:
a house-lord of the house,

a town-lord of the town,
a tribe-lord of the tribe,
a land-lord of the land—,
(then) Mithra angered and enraged
(comes) forth (and) breaks up
both the house and the town
both the tribe and the land
both the house-lords of the houses
and the town-lords of the towns
and the tribe-lords of the tribes
and the land-lords of the land
and those of the lands called "first."

Yt.10.19
Mithra angered and enraged
will come up (upon him) to that side
where the contract-belier
is not at all watching in his mind.

Yt.10.20
The horses that belong to the contract-beliers
become *rebellious:
running they do not reach (their goal),
carrying (a rider) they do not move ahead,
carrying (a load) they do not keep moving ahead.
Backward flies the arrow
which the anti-Mithra shoots
on account of the wealth of bad unpoetic thoughts
which the anti-Mithra performs.

Yt.10.21
Even when he shoots it well,
even when it reaches the body,
even then it does not harm him
on account of the wealth of bad unpoetic thoughts
which the anti-Mithra performs.
The wind carries away the arrow
which the anti-Mithra shoots
on account of the wealth of bad poetic thoughts
which the anti-Mithra performs.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

<u>Watches over the political order.</u>

Yt.10.35
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
... wakeful,
who ... (?), who finds the army,
who has a thousand crafts, who rules,
who is in command, who knows all,—

Yt.10.36
who pushes the battle forth,
who (goes and) stands in the battle,
who standing in the battle
breaks up the battle lines.
All the edges of the battle line
are in commotion, buffeted by the battle.
He causes the entire interior
of the bloody army to *pull apart.

Yt.10.37
Having the power (to do so), he shall
bring upon them terror and fear.
He throws away the heads
of the contract-belying men.
Off fly the heads
of the contract-belying men.

Yt.10.38
The earthen dwellings are destroyed,
(thus made) uninhabitable and not to be lived in,
in which the contract-beliers live,
the one possessed by the Lies who smash the truly Orderly
ones.
The cow who should be grazing in the pastures
is led captive along an earthen path,
who, in the *clutches of the contract-belying men,
(is) pulled alongside (their) chariot.
As *she is being driven along (her) tears stand
along (her) dripping jaw.

Yt.10.39
Even their arrows with eagle feathers
flying from a well-drawn bow propelled by the string
have no points with which to pierce(?),
when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.
Even their well-sharpened spears,
sharp, long-shafted flying from (their) arms
have no points with which to pierce(?),
when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.
Even their sling stones, flying from their arms,
have no points with which to pierce(?),
when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.

Yt.10.40
Even their well-*wielded axes,
which are smashed down upon the heads of men,
have no points with which to smash(?),
when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.
Even their well-brandished cudgels,
which are smashed down upon the heads of men,
have no points with which to smash(?),

when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.

Mithra's companions I.

Yt.10.41
Mithra frightens (them) one way.
Rashnu frightens (them) back.
Sraosha with the rewards blows them together from all sides.
The guardian (gods) worthy of sacrifice leave the battle lines,
when Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
angered and enraged, dwells unacknowledged.

Yt.10.42
(Thus they speak) saying to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds:
O Mithra who provide wide grazing grounds,
These our fleet horses are led away from(?) Mithra!
These knives, O Mithra, break our strong arms!

Mithra's dwelling

Yt.10.49
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds ... wakeful,—

Yt.10.50
Ahura Mazdâ, who has set everything in place,
fashioned forth for him a habitation on Harâ the tall,
where the many (heavenly bodies) turn, radiant,
where neither night nor darkness keeps falling,
(where there is) neither cold wind nor warm,
neither much-destructive pain
nor defilement set in place by the old gods.
Nor do rain-clouds go up
on high Haraitî.

Yt.10.51
The Life-giving Immortals,
all having the same pleasure as the sun,
turned to foreknowing thought (of what the reward will be),
with faith (and) desire for (a new) existence,
made (this house for him)
who surveys the entire bony existence
from atop High Haraitî.

Yt.10.52
When the one of evil gifts rushes forth,
the one of evil works, in rapid walk,
(then) Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
yokes (his) rapid wagon,
as well as Sraosha with the rewards, rich in life-giving strength,
and Nairya.sangha, rich in creative magic.
He smashes (the evil one) in the battle line,
or else in the attack.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Mithra's companions II.

Yt.10.64
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds ... wakeful.
In his *lineage mighty *greatness has been laid down,
for the *daênâ*, beautiful, of broad outlook.
In him a brilliant (face) is set up (to shine)
upon all the seven continents.

Yt.10.65
He is the quick one among quick ones,
who is the expert (poet-sacrificer) among expert (poet-sacrificers),
the firm one among firm ones,
the *eloquent one among *eloquent ones.
He gives *juiciness and fat libations.
He gives flocks and bestows command.
He gives sons and life.
He gives good life and Orderliness.

Yt.10.66
He is accompanied by good Ashi and Abundance with the fast chariot,
the strong Manly *Courage and the strong Fortune of the poets,
the strong Speedy One who has his own law[1]
and the strong one in the image of the Web-holder,
the strong pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
and the one who *gathers(?)
the many who sacrifice to (Ahura) Mazdâ.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.10.67
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds ... wakeful.
He flies in a high-wheeled wagon
fashioned in the world of thought,
from the continent of Arezahi
to (this) continent, Khwaniratha the radiant,[2]
accompanied by ... (?) according to the models
by Fortune set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,

[1] Or: who has set himself in place = the firmament.

[2] I.e., all the climes in the standard order, cf. Yt.12.9-15, not necessarily the logical order.

and by the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

Yt.10.68
Ashi the tall takes hold of his wagon
for which the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
lays out the paths (for it) to go easily.
Coursers from the world of thought,
white, bright, and brilliant,
life-giving, knowing, shadowless,
whose place is in the world of thought, convey it,
when the One in the image of the Web-holder
now and again lets it go!
This they fear, all the old gods in the world of thought.
as well as the *Greedy ones possessed by the Lie.

Yt.10.69
May we not here come up against
the thrust of the lord when angered,
whose one thousand thrusts
go against the opponent,
who has ten thousand watchers, he the one rich in life-giving strength,
all-knowing, undeceivable.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.10.70
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds ... wakeful.
In front of him flies
the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
in the form of a boar, aggressive, with sharp fangs,
male, with sharp tusks,
a boar who (only needs) to strike once,
unapproachable (when) angered,
with *speckled forehead, firm,
with hind legs and forelegs of iron,
with sinews of iron, with tail of iron,
with jaws of iron.

Yt.10.71
When he runs forward *to face the opponent
accompanied by *single-mindedness,
together with Manly *Courage,
with one *blow he strikes down the opponents.
And he does not think he has struck
(anything) or even seems to be striking
until he crushes
both the marrow (that is) the column of life,
and the marrow (that is) the source of the life breath.

Yt.10.72
With one blow he cuts them all out together,
and at once mingles together all over the ground
the bones and the hair, the brains and the blood
of the men who break the contract.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Battles the powers of the Lie.

Yt.10.95
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds ... wakeful.
He goes *out the width of the earth after the sun has set.
He touches both sides of this wide earth,
round (and) with distant borders.
He surveys all this which is between heaven and earth.

Yt.10.96
He holds a cudgel in the hand
with a hundred bosses, with a hundred sharp edges,
felling a man in its forward thrust,
cast in golden bronze, forceful, made of gold,
the most forceful of weapons,
the strongest obstruction-smasher among weapons.

Yt.10.97
The Evil Spirit full of destruction fears it.
Wrath, giver of evil gifts, whose body is forfeit, fears it.
Sloth with long hands fears it.
All the old gods in the world of thought fear it,
as well as the *Greedy ones possessed by the Lie.

Yt.10.98
May we not here come up against his thrust when angered,
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds!
May you not when angered reject us,
O Mithra who provide wide grazing grounds,
who (as) the strongest among those worthy of sacrifice,
the firmest among those worthy of sacrifice,
the most *active among those worthy of sacrifice,
the fastest among those worthy of sacrifice,
the greatest obstruction-smasher among those worthy of sacrifice
stands forth upon this earth,
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

How to sacrifice to Mithra

Yt.10.119
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds ... wakeful.
May you sacrifice to Mithra, O Spitama!

May you tell the students!
May those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ sacrifice to you
with sheep and cattle,
with small birds and big birds,
(all those) who fly forward with wings!

Yt.10.120
Mithra ... -s (?) all those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
the sustainers of Order,
both upright and ... (?)
The haoma (has been) made known (and) *allocated as The chief priest.
Let them allocate (him) and send (him) forth in sacrifice.
Let the orderly man consume the purified libation.
May he who makes him whom he sacrifices to (satisfied and unantagonized):
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,—
(himself) be satisfied and unantagonized.

Yt.10.121
In turn Zarathustra asked:
How, O Ahura Mazdâ,
shall the orderly man consume the purified libation?
(How) may he who makes him whom he sacrifices to (satisfied and unantagonized):
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,—
(himself) be satisfied and unantagonized?

Yt.10.122
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
For three days and nights they should wash (their) body,
they should undergo austerities amounting to thirty whiplashes
for the sacrifice and hymn to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds.
(Then) for two days and nights they should wash (their) body,
they should undergo austerities amounting to twenty whiplashes
for the sacrifice and hymn to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds.
Let no one consume these libations of mine
who is not well-versed
in all the models of the *Sacrificial Texts of Praise*.
On account of his wealth and munificence ...
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Mithra's chariot and weapons.

Yt.10.123
We sacrifice to Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds ... wakeful,
to whom Ahura Mazdâ sacrificed
at the luminous House of Song.

Yt.10.124
Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
flies forth with raised arms against non-destruction
from the luminous House of Song,
having mounted a beautiful wagon,
altogether steady, all-adorned, made of gold.

Yt.10.125
By this wagon fly four coursers,
white, all of the same color,
whose food is from the world of thought, immortal.
They have front hooves with golden shoes,
but hind (hooves) with silver (shoes).
And they are all yoked
with yoke and yoke pin and yoke strap,
bound to the *saddle blanket with a fastened,
well-made hook made of Well-deserved Command (= metal).

Yt.10.126
On his right side flies straightest Rashnu,
the most rich in life-giving strength, the most defensive,
but on his left side flies straightest Cistâ,
the Orderly one, bearing libations.
White (herself) she wears white garments,
the likeness of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

Yt.10.127
The rigid one in the image of the Web-holder came flying,
in the form of a boar, aggressive, with sharp fangs,
male, with sharp tusks,
a boar who (only needs) to strike once,
unapproachable (when) angered,
with *speckled forehead, firm,
..., running about.
Hot on his heals flew the fire that had been lit
(and) the strong Fortune of the poets.

Yt.10.128
There stand in that wagon of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand *bows, well-made,
some of which have strings made of sinews of gazelles.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

Yt.10.129
There stand in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand arrows, well-made, with vulture feather,
some of which have stems made of bone.

They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

Yt.10.130
There stand in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand spears, well-made, with cutting edges.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.
There stand in that wagon of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand axes made of steel, double-edged, well-made.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

Yt.10.131
There stand in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand double-edged knives, well-made.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.
There stand in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a thousand clubs made of bronze, well-made.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

Yt.10.132
There stands in that wagon
of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds
a beautiful cudgel well thrust down,
with a hundred bosses, with a hundred sharp edges,
felling a man in its forward thrust,
inlaid with golden bronze, forceful, made of gold,
the most forceful of weapons,
the greatest obstruction-smasher among weapons.
They fly through the spaces of the world of thought,
they fall through the spaces of the world of thought
down upon the head(s) of the old gods.

YASHT 13 TO THE FRAVASHIS (PRE-SOULS)

Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra

Yt.13.1
Ahura Mazdâ said
to Spitama Zarathustra:
So I shall proclaim to you, O upright Zarathustra,
the endurance and strength,
the munificence, the help and support
of the pre-souls of the orderly,
strong, unshakeable,
how they came to my help,
how they brought me assistance,
the strong pre-souls of the Orderly.

Description, cosmological function

Yt.13.2
By their wealth and munificence
I held out, O Zarathustra,
yonder sky (which is)
above, luminous and visible afar,
which covers and surrounds this earth
like a bird (its) egg;
which stands stood in the world of thought,
firmly held together, with distant borders,
in the form of shining bronze,
shining over the three (spheres?).[1]

Yt.13.3
Ahura Mazdâ dons it as his robe—
star-adorned, fashioned in the world of thought—
accompanied by Mithra and Rashnu
and Life-giving Humility.
Its two surrounding borders are visible to nobody.

Yt.13.4-8 = Yt.5.1-5
By their wealth and munificence
I held out,[2] O Zarathustra,
Ardwî Sûra Anâhitâ
with broad *front (etc.).

Yt.13.9
By their wealth and munificence
I held out, O Zarathustra,
the wide earth, placed (here) by Ahura Mazdâ,
both large and broad,
the carrier/womb of much that is beautiful,[3]
which carries the whole bony existence,
both living and dead,
(and) the high mountains
(and their) *waterways providing much pastures.

Yt.13.10
Upon it, flowing with (powerful) *thrust,
the waters flow in spate.
The many kinds of plants grow up all over the earth,
for the protection of cattle and men,
for the protection of the Aryan lands,
for the protection of the cow/bull of five kinds.
for the help of Orderly men.

Yt.13.11
By their wealth and munificence
I held out, O Zarathustra,
the sons in the wombs,
enclosed and not dying beforehand,
(and,) until the destined delivery,
I *assembled in the coverings *in right order
the bones and the hairs,
the *muscles and the intestines,
the sinews and the limbs.

Yt.13.12
For if the strong pre-souls of the Orderly
*had not given me assistance,
then beasts and men here would not have been mine,
who are the best of species.[4]
The strength would have belonged to the Lie,
the command would have belonged to the Lie,
the bony existence would have belonged to the Lie.

Yt.13.13
Of the two spirits the lying one would have been sitting
between heaven and earth;
of the two spirits the lying one would have won
between heaven and earth:
Thereafter, as conqueror, he would no longer be surrendered
with the conquered,
the Evil Spirit to the Life-giving Spirit!

Yt.13.14
By their wealth and munificence
the waters flow forth in their *courses
from inexhaustible sources.

---

[1] Cf. *Bdh*.1.46.

[2] Cf. *Bdh*.4.10 "the water, which I said was held up below this earth."

[3] Cf. Yt.19.10 and V.2.11 "O (Life-giving Ârmaiti) carrier of small and large domestic animals and of men."

[4] Cf. V.2.27.

By their wealth and munificence
the plants grow up all over the earth
from inexhaustible sources.
By their wealth and munificence
the winds blow floating with the clouds
from inexhaustible sources.

Yt.13.15
By their wealth and munificence
the females enfold the sons;
by their wealth and munificence
they give birth in easy births—
by their wealth and munificence—
when they are blessed with many sons.

Yt.13.16
By their wealth and munificence
the *eloquent man is born
who makes (people) listen to what is spoken in the assemblies,
who is *appreciated for his guiding thought,
who *at the audition comes out of the questioning
ahead of the inferior Gaotema.[1]
By their wealth and munificence
the sun goes along yonder path.
By their wealth and munificence
the moon goes along yonder path.
By their wealth and munificence
the stars go along yonder path.
...

Function in creation

Yt.13.28
Ahura Mazdâ invoked them for the help
of yonder sky—(when) he (stretched and) held (it) out—
of the water and the earth and of the plant,
when the Life-giving Spirit held out the sky,
and the water and the earth,
and the cow and the plant,
when he held out the sons in the wombs,
enclosed and not dying beforehand
(and,) until the destined delivery,
he *assembled in the coverings *in right order
the bones and the hairs,
the *muscles and the intestines,
the sinews and the limbs.

Yt.13.29
The Life-giving Spirit held (them) out
the strong (pre-souls), sitting silent,
with good eyes, with invigorating eyes,
listening, long *appeasing,
the lofty ones, girded high,
who with good roads, wide roads,
who, *floating fleetly,
*fulfilling their obligations (to the sacrificer),
(and) widely famed held up the sky.
...

Role in rain-making

Yt.13.43
They release Satawaêsa between heaven and earth,
who *fills the waters when hearing the invocation,
who makes the waters fall, who makes the plants grow,
for the protection of beasts and men,
for the protection of the Aryan lands,
for the protection of the cow/bull of five kinds,
for the help of orderly men.

Yt.13.44
Far and wide between heaven and earth
Satawaêsa will go about,
who *fills up the water when hearing the invocation,
who makes the waters fall, who makes the plants grow,
beautiful, rich in rays and light,
for the protection of cattle and men,
for the protection of the Aryan lands,
for the protection of the bovine of five kinds,
for the help of orderly men.

Yt.13.45
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
with bronze helmets, with bronze weapons, with bronze breastplates,
who fight in victorious (battles)
on (horses) with shining saddle-gear,
carrying drawn *lead-(pointed arrows?)
for the striking of a thousand old gods.
...

Request for sacrifice

Yt.13.49
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who fly hither throughout the town
at the temporal node of the vernal equinox.
Thus they move about here for ten nights
wishing to know that they will receive that aid (to which they are accustomed?):

Yt.13.50
Who will praise us? Who will sacrifice to us? Who will weave us (into hymns)?

[1]Unknown.

Who will befriend us? Who will recognize us
with milk in the hands and with garments,
with homage by which one reaches Order?
Whose name among us will be offered in song here?
Whose soul will be sent forth to you by (our) sacrifice (to you)?
To whom among us will that donation be given
which will be for him imperishable savory (food)
for ever and ever?

Yt.13.51
But the man who does send them forth by a sacrifice
with milk in the hands and with garments,
with homage through which one reaches Order?
him they befriend
(when) favored, *unoffended, unantagonized,
the strong pre-souls of the Orderly.

Yt.13.52
May there be in this house herds of cattle and men!
May there be a fleet horse and a solid wagon!
May there be a man, *stalwart (and) *eloquent,
who will ever and again sacrifice to us
with milk in the hands and with garments,
with homage through which one reaches Order!

Cosmic function

Yt.13.53
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who show (their) beautiful paths
to the waters established by Ahura Mazdâ,
which before this stood
brought forth, (but) not (yet) flowing forth,
in one and the same place for a very long time.

Yt.13.54
But now those flow forth
along the path established by Ahura Mazdâ,
along the way assigned by the distributor,
along the (water?) course cut out (for them)
for the pleasure of Ahura Mazdâ,
for the pleasure of the Life-giving Immortals.

Yt.13.55
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who, to the plants of *good cutting,
show (their) beautiful growths,
(to them,) which before this stood
brought forth, (but) not yet growing forth,
in one and the same place for a very long time.

Yt.13.56
But now those grow forth
along the path established by Ahura Mazdâ,
along the way assigned by the assigner,
along the time cut out (for them)
for the pleasure of Ahura Mazdâ,
for the pleasure of the Life-giving Immortals.

Yt.13.57
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who, Orderly, showed (their) paths to the moon, the sun,
(and) the Endless Lights with their own law,[1]
which before this stood without forward motion
in one and the same place for a long time,
before the hostility of the old gods,
before the *deceptions of the old gods.

Yt.13.58
But those now fly forth
reaching the turn of the road that turns in the distance,
which (is that) of the good Perfectioning.

Yt.13.59
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who watch over yonder sea, radiant Vourukasha,
nine and ninety and nine hundred and nine thousand
and nine times ten thousand.[2]

Yt.13.60
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who watch over yonder stars,
the Seven *Markers (the Big Dipper),
nine and ninety ... ten thousand.

Yt.13.61
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who watch over yonder body,
that of Kersâspa son of Sâma, the curly-haired club-bearer,
nine and ninety ... ten thousand.

Yt.13.62
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who watch over yonder semen,
that of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra,[3]
nine and ninety
and nine hundred ... ten thousand.

Yt.13.63
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who fight to the right of the lord in command[4]

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[1] Or: "set in place by themselves."

[2] The highest known number (see [1.3] n. 36Ñ)?

[3] See *Bdh*.33.36. Cf. V.19.5 "against which the Revitalizer, obstruction-smasher, will be born from Lake Kansaoya."

[4] I.e., of victory and so also of the rewards; cf. **2.**43.1.

if he favors the Orderly one(s),
if they are unangered and satisfied by him,
*unoffended, unantagonized,
the strong life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly.

Yt.13.64
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
who are bigger, stronger, and firmer,
more forceful and obstruction-smashing,
more healing and better at the audition
than they can be said (to be) with (word(s),
when come flying by ten thousands
right into the middle of the food offerings.

Yt.13.65
Then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
when the waters are carried up,
from the Vourukasha Sea,[1]
as well as the Fortune placed there by Ahura Mazdâ,
then the strong life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly move forth,
numerous—many hundreds,
numerous—many thousands,
numerous—many ten thousands,—

Yt.13.66
seeking water, each for her own family,
for her own town, tribe, and land,
saying: Is our own land to be needy and to dry out?

Yt.13.67
They fight in battles over their own place and settlement,
according as (each has seized and) holds
a place or habitation for settling,
just like a firm man standing in a chariot
girded with his quiver-belt would smash back (the enemy attack)
from a well-assembled treasure.

Yt.13.68
Then those of these who are victorious,
they lead away the water, each for her own family,
for her own town, tribe, and land,
saying: Our own land shall prosper and grow!

Yt.13.69
Thus when he is *targeted
—the ruler of a land with single command—
by hostile (enemies) not abiding by the deals,
(then) he is the one to call upon them,
the strong pre-souls of the Orderly.

[1] Cf. Yt.8.34.

Yt.13.70
They will come to his help if they are unangered by him,
favored, *unoffended, unantagonized,
the strong pre-souls of the Orderly.
They *float down to him, just like a bird with good wings.

Yt.13.71
They serve him as weapon and shield,
as backing and bulwark
against the Lie in the world of thought
and the demoness of Greed possessed by the Lie
and the magician who has (always) harmed (us?)
and against the one possessed by the Lie who is all destruction:
the Evil Spirit,
just as if one were to have smashed down
a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand ears of grain.

Yt.13.72
In return (?) neither a knife well jabbed,
a cudgel well brandished,
an arrow well drawn,
a spear well thrown,
nor stones thrust by the arm may cut (him) down.

Yt.13.73
They are ready for that and are also ready,
(when) sitting in peace and quiet just *biding their time(?),
the strong life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength,
wishing to know that *help:
Who will praise us? Who will sacrifice to us? ... for ever and ever? (= Yt.13.50)
...

Yt.13.76
For they are the best at the audition
in the *creation of (each of) the two spirits,
the good life-giving pre-souls of the Orderly ones, rich in life-giving strength,
who then stood tall (and straight)
when the two spirits set in place the creations:
the Life-giving Spirit and the Evil one.

Yt.13.77
When the Evil Spirit was about to pass
the *foundation of good Order,
(then) Good Thought and the fire
came down between (and held him) at bay.

Yt.13.78
They overcame his hostilities,
those of the Evil Spirit, possessed by the Lie,

so that he did not stem the waters from (their) flowing,
nor the plants from (their) growing.
At once the waters flowed forth, rich in life-giving strength,
those of him who had established them, the one rich in life-giving strength,
Ahura Mazdâ, the ruler,
and the plants grew up.
...

Sacrifice to the pre-souls of the Orderly

Yt.13.85
We sacrifice to the ... pre-souls of the Orderly ones,
and the one of the most *invigorating fire,
life-giving and *eloquent,
and the one of Sraosha with the rewards,
the firm one, who stretches the poetic thought,
the one with the defiant mace, he the Ahurian one,
and the one of Nairya Saºha,—

Yt.13.86
and the one of straightest Rashnu,
and the one of Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds,
and the one of the life-giving poetic thought,
and the one of the sky, the one of the water,
and the one of the earth, the one of the plant,
and the one of the cow, the one of Gaya (Martân),[1]
and the one *of the Orderly ones *full of life-giving power.

Zarathustra

Yt.13.87
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of Orderly Gaya Martân,
who was the first to listen
to the thought and commandments *of Ahura Mazdâ,
from whom (Ahura Mazdâ) fashioned forth
the *umbilical cords of the Aryan lands,
the seed of the Aryan lands.
We sacrifice to the Reward and pre-soul of Orderly Spitama Zarathustra,—

Yt.13.88
who was the first to have thought good (thoughts),
who was the first to have spoken good (speech),
who was the first to have performed good (acts),
the first priest,
the first charioteer,
the first husbandman,
the first to make known (to others),
the first to make known to himself,
the first to have gained for himself,
the first to have gained for others
the cow, the Order, the word to be spoken,
as well as his **readiness to listen to** your(?) **utterance and the command** (= **1.**33.14)
all good things established by Ahura Mazdâ whose seed is from Order.

Yt.13.89
He was the first priest, the first charioteer,
the first husbandman.
He was the first to turn his seed
away from old gods and men and (their) *brood.
He was the first in the bony existence
to praise Order and blame the old gods,
to choose to be someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ like Zarathustra did,
and to say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as his guide.

Yt.13.90
He was the first in the (temporal) bony existence
to say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as his guide.
He was the first in the bony existence
to say no to the old gods and take Ahura Mazdâ as his guide.
He was the first in the bony existence
to have (for ever) declared the old gods as a whole
to be unworthy of sacrifices or hymns,
(he) the one rich in life-giving strength, providing all good life,
the first *guide among the lands.

Yt.13.91
In him every poetic thought
containing the word/fame of Order was made known,
(he) the Lord and Model of living beings,
praiser of Order
the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
and the one who "stood up"(?) for the *daênâ*
that (was) the best of those that are,—

Yt.13.92
whom the Life-giving Immortals wished (to have)—
all of the same pleasure as the sun,
turned to foreknowing thought (of what the rewards will be),
with faith (and) desire for (new) Life—
(as) Lord and Model of living beings,
(as) praiser of Order
the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
and (as) the one who would "stand up"(?) for the *daênâ*,
the best of those that are,—

Yt.13.93
at whose birth and growth
the waters and plants felt great(?),

[1] Cf. Y.13.7 "We sacrifice to the Pre-soul of the cow giving good gifts and the Orderly Gaya Martan."

at whose birth and growth
the waters and plants grew,
at whose birth and growth
all the creations established by the life-giving (Spirit)
called down "lucky for us:"

Yt.13.94
Lucky for us! A priest is born:
Spitama Zarathustra.
He will send forth our sacrifice with libations,
Zarathustra, having spread out the barsom.
Here, henceforth, will go far and wide
the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
to all the seven continents.

Yt.13.95
Here, *henceforth, Mithra who provides wide grazing grounds will further
all that is called foremost of the lands,
and he will pacify those that are in commotion.
Here the Scion of the Waters, rich in life-giving strength, will further
all that is called foremost of the lands,
and he will keep a firm hold on those that are in commotion.
...

Sacrifice

Yt.13.97
We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Saêna, son of Ahum.stut,
who was the first to stand forth
upon this earth with a hundred students.
...

Yt.13.98
We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Isa†.vâstra, son of Zarathustra.
We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Urwatad.nara, son of Zarathustra.
We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Hwarchithra,[1] son of Zarathustra.
...

Yt.13.99
We sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly Kawi Vishtâspa,
the firm one, who stretched the poetic thought,
the one with the defiant mace, the Ahurian one,
he who sought free space for Order in tree and stone,
who found free space for Order in tree and stone,
who served as arm and support of this *daênâ*,
that of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra,—

Yt.13.100
he who, when she was exhausted and bound,
extracted her from (her) *bonds.
He set her down sitting in the middle,
making straight lines on high,
without running forth (ahead of her companions?), Orderly,
to be satisfied with cattle and grass,
to be made friendly with cattle and grass.
...

Yt.13.128
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Raocascashman (Light-eyes).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Hwarecashman (Sun-Eyes).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Frâdat.khwarenah (Furthers Fortune).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Vîdhat.khwarenah (Finds Fortune).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Vouru.nemah (Whose reverence is wide).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Vouru.sawah (whose life-giving strength is wide).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Ukhshyat.ereta (Makes Order grow).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Ukhshyat.nemah (Makes Reverence grow).
We sacrifice to the pre-soul of the Orderly Astwat.ereta (who gives Order bones),

Yt.13.129
who shall be called the obstruction-smashing Revitalizer and Astwat-erta:
thus "Revitalizer" because he will revitalize the existence (and make it?) bony;
thus "Astwaderta" because, when possessing bones and life breath,
he will seek again bony freedom from danger
for withstanding the Lie that is the offspring of two-footed beings,
for withstanding the hostility dragged *against the Orderly ones.
...

Yt.13.145
We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly men of all the lands.
We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly women of all the lands.
We sacrifice (to) all the good life-giving the pre-souls of the Orderly, rich in life-giving strength,

[1] "He through whom the sun is brilliant," "he who contains (guards?) the seed of the sun," or "he whose seed is in the sun."

those from Gaya Martân
to the obstruction-smashing Revitalizer.

Yt.13.146
But let now the pre-souls of those
who are Orderly quickly seek us out,
let them come to our aid.
They protect us even when we are in constriction
with aids that are clearly to be seen,
being aided by Ahura Mazdâ
and Sraosha of the Rewards, rich in life-giving strength,
and the life-giving, knowledgeable poetic thought,
who is the messenger who dispels the old gods
of Ahura Mazdâ who (himself) dispels the old gods,
(the messenger) whom Zarathustra sent forth
as a *good helper for the bony existence.

Yt.13.147
Come here, dwell with (us), O good ones,
(you) the waters and the plants,
as well as (you) the pre-souls of the Orderly ones.
Here in this home may you be befriended and recognized.
Here the priests think about the good Order of the lands.
Lift up (your) hands to help (us),
O you rich in life-giving strength,
*in (our) sacrifice to you, O you most rich in life-giving strength!

Yt.13.148
And among all these (pre-souls) of Orderly women and Orderly men,
here we sacrifice (to) the pre-soul (of the Orderly ones)
whose breath-souls are worthy of being sacrificed (to)
and (whose) pre-souls are worthy of being invoked.
And among all these orderly women and men,
here we sacrifice (to) the pre-soul of the Orderly ones,
at our sacrifice of/to whom
Orderly Ahura Mazdâ knows which (reward) is best,
and of all these (that) we have (always) heard
Zarathustra (was) the first
(and) best to have Ahura Mazdâ as his *guide.

Yt.13.149
Of the Orderly males and Orderly females
(who were) the first *guides,
here we sacrifice (to) the *ahu*, the *daênâ*, the consciousness, the breath-soul, and the pre-soul
the first to hear the commandments,
who have (always) won for Order.
Here we sacrifice (to) the *ahu*, the *daênâ*, the consciousness, the breath-soul, and the pre-soul
of (our) Orderly closest relatives, male and female,
who have (always) won for Order.
Yt.13.150
We sacrifice to the first *guides
in (our) homes, houses, tribes, and lands
who were (before).
We sacrifice to the first *guides
in (our) homes, houses, tribes, and lands
who have (just) become.
We sacrifice to the first *guides
in (our) homes, houses, tribes, and lands
who are (now).

Yt.13.151
We sacrifice to the first *guides
in (our) homes, houses, tribes, and lands,
who gained for (their) house, who gained for (their) town,
who gained for (their) tribe, who gained for (their) land,
who gained for Order, who gained for the life-giving poetic thought, who gained for (their) souls,
who gained good things through all good things.

Yt.13.152
We sacrifice to Zarathustra, the *ahu* and *ratu*
of the entire bony existence,
as the first *guide,
who gave the best gifts among (all) beings,
who had/produced the best command among (all) beings,
who was the wealthiest among (all) beings,
who was the most fortunate among (all) beings,
who was most worthy of sacrifice among (all) beings,
who was most worthy of being hymned among (all) beings,
who was most worthy of being favored among (all) beings,
who was most glorified among (all) beings,
the hero who, when sacrificed to,
has (always) been said to be worthy of sacrifice and hymns,
just as one (does) to whoever of those who are:
"according to Best Order."

Yt.13.153
And we sacrifice (to) this earth,
and we sacrifice (to) yonder sky,
and we sacrifice (to) the good things that are in between,
(which are) worthy of sacrifice and hymns,
and should be sacrificed (to) by the Orderly man.

Yt.13.154
We sacrifice (to) the souls of the undomesticated animals, if harmless,
thus we sacrifice (to) the souls of the Orderly ones,
wherever they were born, men and women,
whose good *daênâ*s
are winning, shall win, or have won.

Yt.13.155
We sacrifice (to) the *ahu*, *daênâ*, consciousness, breath-soul, and pre-soul

of the Orderly males and Orderly females who *promote the *daênâ*,
who are winning, have just won, or have (always) won,
who have (always) won for Order.
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ...

Yt.13.156
Of the pre-souls of the Orderly,
strong (and) unshakable,
strong, rich in obstruction-smashing strength,
the pre-souls of the first *guides,
the pre-souls of (our) closest relatives,
may the pre-souls, satisfied, come to this home!
May they satisfied move about in this home!

Yt.13.157
Satisfied may they invite good, *bountiful Ashi
hither to this house as a friend.
Satisfied may they leave this house.
May they carry (with them our) praises and straight utterance
for Ahura Mazdâ, who has established (everything)
(and) for the Life-giving Immortals.
May they not leave complaining this house
of ours, we who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
...

YASHT 17 TO ASHI

Ashi's family

Yt.17.1
We sacrifice to good Ashi,
radiant, tall, well-shaped,
well worthy of being sacrificed to, with singing wheels,
forceful, in whom *glow has been placed(?),
healing, of broad *understanding,
rich in vitalizing strength.

Yt.17.2
The daughter of Ahura Mazdâ,
the sister of the Life-giving Immortals,
she conducts (her coursers) forth
by the perfect guiding thought of all the revitalizers.
And she bestows inborn guiding thought at will upon him
—and she comes to his help
both when he invokes (her) from near
and when he invokes (her) from afar.
He who sacrifices to Ashi with libations,
he sacrifices to Mithra with libations (as well).

Yt.17.3
By *her wealth and munificence
I shall sacrifice to her with audible sacrifice,
I shall sacrifice to her with well-performed sacrifice,
good Ashi, with libations.
We sacrifice to good Ashi
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)

Yt.17.4
We sacrifice to good Ashi, radiant ... of broad
understanding, strong.

Yt.17.5
Homage to the haoma
and to the Holy Thought and to Orderly Zarathustra!
So far then: homage to Haoma!
Wrath with his bloody club accompanies all other
intoxicants,
but the intoxicant of Haoma is accompanied by its own
Order.

Description of Ashi's favorites.

Yt.17.6
O good Ashi, beautiful Ashi,
rich in rays, peaceful, radiant with (your) rays,
O Ashi, giver of good Fortune to these men whom you
follow.
That home smells with good scent where good Ashi
sets down (her) strong feet, ... (?) for long succession.

Yt.17.7
Those men are in command with the command
which provides much to chew, stored meat, fragrant,
in which (there are) spread-out seats
and other admirable spoils,
whom you follow, good Ashi.
Well, lucky he whom you follow!
And you follow close behind me, too,
with broad ... (?) and forceful.
...

Yt.17.9
Their seats stand with good spreads, well scented,
well made, with pillows, with gilded legs,
whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.10
Their wives lie on seats (like those) in the world of thought,
beautiful, with pillows, *tightly woven(?),
adorned with clasps,
wearing four-sided ear-hangings,
and a golden broach (wondering:)
'When will our house-lord come to us?
When shall we in joy *find pleasure
in (his?) dear body'
(they) whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.11
Their girls sit with laced feet, slim waists,
*sinuous bodies, long fingers,
with bodies of such beauty
that (they are) the pleasure of (whoever) sees (them),
(they) whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.12
Their horses are fearsome—
quick, with fast snorting,
they make roll the fast wagon,
they tug the soft leather,
they carry the firm praiser with (his) quick horse team, and
solid chariot,
with pointed spear, with long spear-shaft,
with vibrating arrows which find their aim,
pursuing from behind the opponent,
striking from in front the enemy—
(they) whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.13
Their camels are fearsome,
with towering humps, of fearful temperament,
*irresistible, fighting along the ground, when in heat,
(they) whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.14
She brings silver (and) gold as gifts to be ... to those
from the neighboring countries,
and resplendent garments (and) coats,
whom you follow ... forceful.

Yt.17.15
Look to me, turn hither to me (your) mercy!
Exalted Ashi, you are well-made, good-looking.
At will you command what is according to the law
for body and for munificence.

Ashi's divine family

Yt.17.16
He is your father: Ahura Mazdâ,
the greatest of gods, the best of those worthy of sacrifice.
(Your) mother (is) Life-giving Humility.
He is your brother: good Sraosha with the rewards,
as well as tall, forceful Rashnu
and Mithra who provides good grazing grounds,
who has ten thousand spies, a thousand ears.
(Your) sister is the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

Ashi and Zarathustra

Yt.17.17
Praised among those worthy of sacrifice,
not to be moved away from the straightest (paths),
she stood on (her/his) chariot,
good Ashi the tall, thus speaking with words:
Who are you who invoke me,
whose voice among those who invoke (me) the most
resounds in my ear as the most beautiful?

Yt.17.18
Then he *drove forth from there (speaking) thus,
Spitama Zarathustra,
he, the first person to praise Order, the Best,
sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
sacrifice to the Life-giving Immortals,
at whose birth and growth the waters and plants rejoiced,
at whose birth and growth the waters and plants grew.

Yt.17.19
At his birth and growth the Evil Spirit ran away
from the earth, wide, round, with distant borders.
Thus he spoke, the giver of evil gifts,
the Evil Spirit full of destruction:
All those worthy of sacrifice could not *catch up with me against my will,
but Zarathustra, all alone, reaches me against my will.

Yt.17.20
He smashes me with the *Ahuna vairya*,
(as) with as great a weapon
as a stone the size of a house.
He heats me with the Asha Vahishta
just like metal.
He makes me flee from this good earth,
who alone *comes against me:
Spitama Zarathustra.

Yt.17.21
Then she *drove forth from there (speaking) thus,
good Ashi, the tall:
Stand closer to me,
O upright Orderly Spitama,
lean against my wagon!
He stood closer to her,
Spitama Zarathustra,
he leaned against her wagon.

Yt.17.22
(Standing) above she stroked him all around
with (her) left hand and (her) right,
with (her) right hand and (her) left,
speaking thus with words:
You are beautiful, O Zarathustra,
you are well-made, O Spitama.
You have good calves, long arms.
Fortune has been laid down in your body
and long well-being to (your) soul,
just like I foretold you.
By his munificence ...
...

Excluded from the sacrifice to Ashi

Yt.17.53
We sacrifice to good Ashi ... of broad understanding, strong.

Yt.17.54
Thus said good Ashi, the tall:
May no one partake in these libations of mine
which they *repay me (for my favors):
neither a man with blocked semen,
nor a bad woman beyond her period,
nor a tender child,
nor girls not yet approached by men.

Yt.17.55
(For), when the Turanians *pursued me
and the Naotaras with swift horses,
then I hid myself beneath the foot of a ... (?) bull,
but the tender children revealed my hiding place
and the girls not yet approached by men.

Yt.17.56
Once again when the Turanians *pursued me
and the Naotaras with swift horses,
then once again I hid myself
beneath the *throat of ram with a hundred *horns,
but once again the tender children
revealed my hiding place
and the girls not yet approached by men.

Ashi's complaints

Yt.17.57
The first complaint good Ashi, the tall, complained,
about the bad woman without children:
Don't direct (your) foot in her direction!
Don't lie down on her bed! What shall I do about these!
Shall I go forth to heaven? Shall I burrow into the earth?

Yt.17.58
The second complaint good Ashi, the tall, complained,
about that bad woman who bears the son
made for another
(and then) presents it to (her) husband.
What shall I do about these!
Shall I go forth to heaven?
Shall I burrow into the earth?

Yt.17.59
The third complaint good Ashi, the tall, complained, was:
This is the grossest act that men perform ... (?),
(namely) that they lead girls (from their homes)
(and then) for a long time approach them without making
them pregnant.
What shall I do about these!
Shall I go forth to heaven? Shall I burrow into the earth?

Yt.17.60
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ:
O beautiful Ashi, set in place by the Web-holder,
don't go forth to heaven, don't burrow into the earth.
Stay here with me inside (my) house,
beautiful and made by (my) command.

Yt.17.61
With such a sacrifice I shall sacrifice to you,
with such sacrifice I shall send my sacrifice forth to you,
as Vishtâspa sacrificed to you with
on the shore of the water Dâtyâ.
Let The chief priest raise his loud voice
standing behind the barsom.
With such a sacrifice I shall sacrifice to you,
with such sacrifice I shall send my sacrifice forth to you,
O beautiful Ashi, set in place by the Web-holder,
On account of her munificence ...

YASHT 19 TO THE EARTH AND THE DIVINE FORTUNE

Invocation and praise

Yt.19.9
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
worthy of great *honor, whose work is superior,
*careful, skillful, and crafty,
set beyond other living beings,

Yt.19.10
which belongs to Ahura Mazdâ,
(who used it) when he set in place the creations, Ahura Mazdâ,
many and good, many and beautiful,
many and wonderful, many and perfect,
many and radiant.

Yt.19.11
With it they would make the existence perfect,
incorruptible, indestructible, undecaying, unrotting,
ever-living, ever-life-giving,
having command at will,
so that when the dead arise again he will come,
vivifying and free from destruction,
(and) the existence will be made perfect in exchange value.

Yt.19.12
Living beings who hold the *announcements of Order
will be indestructible.
The Lie will be destroyed and dispelled
to the very place it had come from
for the destruction (of) the Orderly,
as well as yonder seed and being.
and the villainess will *cower in fear,
and the villain will be destroyed:
thus is the model.

Yt.19.13
For its wealth and munificence
I shall sacrifice to it with audible sacrifice,
the strong Fortune of the Kawis set in place by Ahura Mazdâ, with libations,
the strong Fortune of the Kawis set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
with haoma ... with words (correctly spoken). (= Yt.5.9)

Yt.19.14
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
worthy of great *honor, whose work is above,
*careful, skillful, and crafty,
set beyond other living beings,

Yt.19.15
which belongs to the Life-giving Immortals,
radiant, bright-eyed,
exalted, mighty strong,
firm, children of Ahura Mazdâ,
who are *unthreatening and Orderly,—

Yt.19.16
the seven with the same thoughts,
the seven with the same speech,
the seven with the same deeds,
who have the same thought, same speech, same deed,
the same father and commander,
namely Ahura Mazdâ, who has set (everything in its proper place).

Yt.19.17
They look at one another's soul
as it *proceeds through (thoughts) well thought,
(words) well spoken and (deeds) well performed,
as it *proceeds to the House of Song.
Their paths (are) bright
as they come flying down to the libations.

Yt.19.18
They are the ones who shaped and set in place
these living beings of Ahura Mazdâ's,
who oversee, protect and guard them.

Yt.19.19-20
precisely those who will make the existence perfect in exchange value,
incorruptible, indestructible, undecaying, and unrotting.
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Yt.19.21
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.22
It belongs to the deities in the world of thought
and those in the world of the living,
to the born and the (as yet) unborn
Revitalizers, who will make (the existence) perfect.

Yt.19.23-24
Those are the ones who will make the existence perfect in exchange value,
incorruptible, indestructible, undecaying, and unrotting.

Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

Myth of the Fortune

Yt.19.25
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.26
It followed Haoshyangha Paradhâta
for a long time indeed,
while he ruled on the sevenfold earth
over old gods and men, sorcerers and witches,
false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,
he who smashed two-thirds of the giant old gods
as well as the greedy ones possessed by the Lie.
On account of its wealth ... (= Yt.19.13)

Yt.19.27
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.28
It followed Takhma Urupi with the fox-hide,
while he ruled on the sevenfold earth
over old gods and men, sorcerers and witches,
false teachers, *poetasters, and *mumblers,

Yt.19.29
so that he was able to subdue
all old gods and men, all sorcerers and witches,
so that he rode the Evil Spirit
changed into the form of a horse
for three hundred years around both borders of the earth.
On account his wealth ...

Myth of Yima

Yt.19.30
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.31
It followed radiant Yima with good herds
for a long time indeed,
so that he ruled on the sevenfold earth
over old gods ... and *mumblers.

Yt.19.32
He carried away from the old gods
both (their) wishes and *burning desires,
both sheep and herds,
both satisfaction and glorification,
under whose command both savory foods
were imperishable;
cattle and men (were) indestructible,
waters and plants indesiccable.

Yt.19.33
Under his command
there was no cold, no heat,
no old age, no death,
no envy set in place by the old gods,
before (that is), when he had not yet lied,
before this one (insidiously) brought him the word
Deception,
for him to understand (the world) as it was not really.

Yt.19.34
But when this one (insidiously) brought him the word
Deception,
for him to understand (the world) as it was not really,
(making itself) visible the Fortune ran away from him
in the form of a bird.
No longer seeing the Fortune ... (?),
radiant Yima with good herds.
Yima roamed unhappy in despondency.
Senseless he ... (?) on the earth.

Yt.19.35
The first time the Fortune turned away,
the Fortune went away from radiant Yima.
The Fortune (went away) from Yima, son of Vîwanghwan,
in the form of a Vâreghna bird.
Then Mithra of broad grazing grounds
seized that Fortune,
he whose ear hears (everything), of a thousand crafts.
We sacrifice to Mithra, the land-lord of all lands,
whom Ahura Mazdâ brought forth
as the most munificent of the deities in the world of thought.

Yt.19.36
The second time the Fortune turned away,
the Fortune went away from radiant Yima.
The Fortune (went away) from Yima, son of Vîwanghwan,
in the form of a Vâreghna bird.
Then the son of the House of Âthviya,
Thraêtaona, of the house rich in vitalizing strength,
seized that Fortune,
he who was among valorous men
the greatest obstruction-smasher other than Zarathustra.

Myth of Kersâspa

Yt.19.37
He smashed the giant dragon ...
for the destruction of the living beings of Order. (= Y.9.8)

Yt.19.38
The third time the Fortune turned away,
the Fortune went away from radiant Yima.
The Fortune (went away) from Yima, son of Vîwanghwan,
in the form of a Vâreghna bird.
Then manly Kersâspa
seized that Fortune,
he who was among strong men
the strongest other than Zarathustra,
before (even) Manly *courage.

Yt.19.39
because strong Manly *courage followed him.
We sacrifice to Manly *courage
with tall legs, unsleeping,
wakeful, never lying in a bed,
who followed Kersâspa.

Yt.19.40
He smashed the horned dragon ...
Kersâspa, whose thoughts were those of heroes. (= Y.9.11)
Yt.19.41
He smashed the Gandarva,[1]
the yellow-heeled one
who ran with open jaws
wishing to destroy the bony world of the living of Order.
...

Yt.19.43
He smashed Snâwidhka,
the one with bony cheeks and stony hands,
who argued thus:
I am a child, not an adult.
If I become an adult
I will make the earth (my) wheel,
I will make the sky (my) chariot.

Yt.19.44
I will lead down the Life-giving Spirit
from the luminous House of Song,
I will make the Evil Spirit fly up
from the horrible Hell.
They shall pull my wagon,
the Life-giving and the Evil Spirit.
If he does not smash me, manly Kersâspa!
Him manly Kersâspa did smash,
to the last of his life,
to the ... of his life breath.[2]
On account his wealth ...

[1] A malevolent water spirit. Cf. Yt.5.38.
[2] Cf. Yt.10.71.

Myth of the two spirits and the Fire[3]

Yt.19.45
We sacrifice to the strong *unseizable Fortune set in place
by Ahura Mazdâ,
worthy of great *honor, whose work is above,
*careful, skillful, and crafty,
set beyond the other establishments,

Yt.19.46
over which they fought, the Life-giving and the Evil Spirit,
over this, the *unseizable one.
Thence they sent forth (their) messengers,
each of them (their) fastest.
The Life-giving Spirit sent forth as (his) messenger(s)
Good Thought and Best Order
and the fire, son of Ahura Mazdâ.
The Evil Spirit sent forth as (his) messenger(s)
Bad Thought and Wrath with the bloody club[4]
and the giant snake (Azhi Dahâka)
and Spitiyura, the Yima-cutter.[5]

Yt.19.47
Thence the fire, son of Ahura Mazdâ,
stretched himself forward,
(suddenly) thinking as follows:
I want to take for myself this *unseizable Fortune!
Then the dragon with three mouths, with evil *daênâ*,
ran forth after him speaking in his lying manner:

Yt.19.48
Ho! Think about this, O fire of Ahura Mazdâ:
If you take this, the *unseizable,
(then) I shall *fall over you.
Henceforth you shall not light up
on the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
for the protection of the world of Order.
Then the fire in response withdrew his hands
in foreknowledge through love of his life breath,
(seeing) how fearful the dragon *was.

Yt.19.49
Thence the dragon with three mouths, with evil *daênâ*,
ran forth thinking as follows by himself:
I want to take for myself this *unseizable Fortune!
Then the fire, son of Ahura Mazdâ,
stretched himself forward after him
speaking the following words:

[3] Note how the preceding comic relief passage leads into this myth.
[4] Cf. Bdh.5.1.
[5] At the end of his exile Yima is supposed to have been cut in half. Note that his name means "twin" and that in India and in some Iranian texts he has a twin sister.

Yt.19.50
Ho there! Think about this,
O giant dragon with three mouths!
If you take this, the *unseizable one,
(then) I shall burn you up to your hind cheeks.
I shall light up your mouth.
Not again shall you fall forth
upon the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
for the destruction of the world of Order.
Then the dragon in response withdrew his hands
in foreknowledge through love for his life breath
(seeing) how fearful the fire *was.

Yt.19.51
This Fortune swelled forth to the Vourukasha Sea.
Then there and then the Scion of the Waters with fleet horses seized it.
And the Scion of the Waters with fleet horses
desired it (thinking):
I want to take for myself this *unseizable Fortune
(and bring it) to the bottom of the profound sea
at the bottom of the deep lakes.

Yt.19.52
We sacrifice to the tall lord, commanding,
radiant, Scion of the Waters with fleet horses,
male, life-giving when invoked,
who set in place men,
who fashioned men,
the deity whose place is in the waters,
who listens the most when he is sacrificed to.

Myth of the Unseizable Fortune

Yt.19.53
Therefore may each of you men
—thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Orderly Zarathustra,
seek the *unseizable Fortune.
Thus may he among gifts seek to obtain
bright satisfaction of (his) soul.
Thus may he among gifts seek to obtain
much satisfaction of (his) soul.

Yt.19.54
Ashi full of good breathing space shall follow it,
... (?), rich in vitalizing strength,
for cow and pasture.
Valor shall follow it all of his days,
smashing down (the enemy) in its force throughout the seasons.
Thus followed by that valor
he shall conquer the bloody armies.
Thus followed by that valor
he shall conquer all (his) enemies.
On account of his wealth ...

Myth of Frangrasyân the Turanian

Yt.19.55
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.56
The Turian villain Frangrasyân sought it
*from the Vourukasha Sea.
He threw off (his) clothes and naked
sought that Fortune which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn, and to Orderly Zarathustra.
Then that Fortune rushed forth,
that Fortune ran away,
that Fortune *evaded (him).
Then that stream came into being,
flowing out
of the Vourukasha Sea,
the lake called Haosrawah (Famed).

Yt.19.57
Then Frangrasyân flew up,
the greatly skilled Turanian,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
from the Vourukasha Sea,
speaking evil deception:
Pish and tish[1] to him!
I did not obtain that Fortune
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.

Yt.19.58
I shall mingle together all (things) *dry and wet
in greatness and goodness and beauty.
Ahura Mazdâ will be *upset
(when) set in place the corresponding Creations(?).
Then Frangrasyân flew down,
the greatly skilled Turanian,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
to the Vourukasha Sea.

Yt.19.59
For the second he threw off (his) clothes and naked
sought that Fortune which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.
Then that Fortune rushed forth,

[1] Imitating the Avestan inja tinja, the meaning of which is unknown.

that Fortune ran away,
that Fortune *evaded (him).
Then did that stream come into being,
flowing out of the Vourukasha Sea
the lake called Vanghyazdâ (Giver of what is better).

Yt.19.60
Then Frangrasyân flew up,
the greatly skilled Turanian,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
from the Vourukasha Sea,
speaking bad deception:
Pish and tish to him!
Wish and tish to him!
I did not obtain that Fortune
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.

Yt.19.61
I shall mingle together all *dry and liquid
in greatness and goodness and beauty.
Ahura Mazdâ will be *upset
(when) set in place the corresponding Creations(?).
Then Frangrasyân flew down,
the greatly skilled Turanian,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
to the Vourukasha Sea.

Yt.19.62
For the second he threw off (his) clothes and naked
sought that Fortune which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.
Then that Fortune rushed forth,
that Fortune ran away,
that Fortune *evaded (him).
Then did that stream come into being,
flowing out of the Vourukasha Sea
the water called Avzhdânwâ (Water flow).

Yt.19.63
Then Frangrasyân flew up, the greatly skilled Turanian,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
from the Vourukasha Sea,
speaking bad deception:
Pish and tish to him!
Wish and tish to him!
Woe and tish to him!
I did not obtain that Fortune
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.

Yt.19.64
He did not obtain that Fortune
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.
On account of his wealth ...

<u>The Haêtumant river basin</u>

Yt.19.65
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.66
It follows him who stands forth from
the Kansaoya Sea with (many) *fords,
where the mountain is: the Ushadhâ,
around which plentiful waters
come together *pouring down from the mountains.

Yt.19.67
Toward it there flow together,
toward it there run together
Khwâstrâ (Giving Good Pasture) and Hwaspâ Fradathâ (the
Furthering with Good Horses)
and Khwarenanghwaitî (the Fortunate) the beautiful
and Ushtawaitî (Full of wished-for things) rich in vitalizing
strength
and Urwadhâ with plentiful pasture
and Erezî (the Silvery) and Zarenumaitî (the Golden)
Toward it flow together,
toward it run together
the wealthy, munificent *Haêtumant,
swelling into white surfs,
throwing down copious floods.

Yt.19.68
The strength of a horse follows him,
the strength of a camel follows (him),
the strength of a man follows (him),
the Fortune of the poets follows (him).
And there is in there, O Orderly Zarathustra,
so much Fortune of the poets
that he could at once make the non-Aryan lands
get carried away (by the flood).

Yt.19.69
(If not, then) here afterwards they would have *floated,
experiencing hunger and thirst,
experiencing cold and heat.
That (then) is the Fortune of the poets:
protection of the Aryan lands
and the cow/bull of five kinds
for help to the Orderly men

and the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
On account of his wealth ...

The Kayanids

Yt.19.70
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set beyond other living beings,

Yt.19.71
Which followed Kawi Kawâta
and Kawi Aipi.vohu,
and Kawi Usadhan
and Kawi Arshna,
and Kawi Pisina
and Kawi Biyarshan,
and Kawi Siyâwarshan,

Yt.19.72
so that they all became brave, all firm,
all possessing wondrous powers, skillful,
all performing daring deeds, *of the lineage of kawis.
On account of his wealth ...

Yt.19.73
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set beyond other living beings,

Yt.19.74
which followed Kawi Haosrawah
with the well-fashioned force
and the obstruction-smashing strength set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
and the victorious superiority
and the well-commanded command
and the irremovable command
and the invincible command
and the ability to conquer the opponents then and there

Yt.19.75
and the strength of the healthy
and the munificence set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
and the health of the body
and the good progeny of one's own,
clever (and) *expansive,
radiant (and) shiny-eyed,
delivering out of straits (and) rich in men (understanding?)
... (?),

Yt.19.76
and with the radiant power
and with long longevity
and with all the boons
and with all the healings,

Yt.19.77
... (?).
As the lord Kawi Haosrawah
overcame them all,
he fettered Kersawazda
and the Turian villain Frangrasyân,
a son as revenge for (his father) Siyâwarshan
(and) the hero Aghraêratha, son of Naru,
killed through betrayal.
On account of his wealth ...

Yt.19.78
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.79
It followed Orderly Zarathustra
(causing him) to help the *daênâ* along
with his thoughts, words, and acts,
so that he was in the entire bony existence
in Order the most Orderly,
in Command the one with best Command.
in wealth the wealthiest,
in Fortune the most Fortunate,
in valor the most obstruction-smashing.

Yt.19.80
Before that the old gods would run about in full view.
(Their) pleasures would *take place in full view.
In full view they would drag off
the women from the humans.
Then the old gods would by force debase
them weeping and complaining.

Yt.19.81
Then a single *Ahuna vairya* of yours,
which Orderly Zarathustra chanted,
with partitions (spoken) for times,
the last with stronger enunciation,
drove all the old gods under ground
depriving them of sacrifice and hymn.

Yt.19.82
His was the Fortune
that the Turian villain Frangrasyân sought
in all the seven continents,
in the seven continents in which
the villain Frangrasyân ran about
seeking the Fortune of Zarathustra.
Then he rushed upon that Fortune
pursuing it to the *wide water,
(calling:) Ho, get back here!
...
howsoever was your pleasure

—(namely) of me, Ahura Mazdâ,
and the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
On account of his wealth ...

Yt.19.83
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.84
It followed Kawi Vishtâspa
(causing him) to think according to the *daênâ*,
to speak according to the *daênâ*,
to act according to the *daênâ*,
so that he elected to praise this *daênâ*,
chasing the enemy, sending the old gods on their way,

Yt.19.85 = Yt.13.99
he who sought free space for Order in tree and stone,
who found free space for Order in tree and stone,
who served as arm and support of this *daênâ*,
that of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra,—

Yt.19.86 = Yt.13.100
he who, when she was exhausted and bound,
extracted her from (her) *bonds.
He set her down sitting in the middle,
making straight lines on high,
without running forth (ahead of her companions?), Orderly,
to be satisfied with cattle and grass,
to be made friendly with cattle and grass.

Yt.19.87
He, the firm Kawi Vishtâspa, overcame
Man of Darkness of bad *daênâ*
and Fighter, who sacrificed to the old gods,
and Arjat.aspa possessed by the Lie
and the other bad guys as well,
the Xiyaonas of evil praise.
On account of his wealth ...

<u>On the Saoshyant/Revitalizer</u>

Yt.19.88
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.89
It followed the obstruction-smashing Revitalizer,
as well the other companions,
so that he would make the existence perfect,
incorruptible, indestructible,
undecaying, unrotting,
ever-living, ever-life-giving
having command at will,
so that when the dead arise again
he will come, making life and free from destruction,
(and) the existence will be made perfect in exchange value.

Yt.19.90 = Yt.19.12
Living beings who hold the *announcements of Order
will be indestructible.
The Lie will be destroyed and dispelled
to the very place it had come from
to destroy the Orderly,
as well as yonder seed and being.
and the villainess will *cower in fear,
and the villain will be destroyed:
thus is the model.
On account of his wealth ...

Yt.19.91
We sacrifice to the strong Fortune of the Kawis ... set
beyond other living beings.

Yt.19.92
When Astwaterta shall stand forth
from the Kansaoya Sea,
the messenger of Ahura Mazdâ,
the son of Vîspa.taurwairî,
brandishing (his) obstruction-smashing weapon,
which the firm Thraêtaona carried
when the giant Dragon was smashed,

Yt.19.93
which Tura Frangrasyân bore
when Zainigao, possessed by the Lie, was smashed,
which Kawi Haosrawah bore
when Tura Frangrasyân was smashed,
which Kawi Vishtâspa bore
as he was about to gather the armies of Order,—
(then) with it he will remove there the Lie
from the living beings of Order.

Yt.19.94
He will see with the eyes of the guiding thought.
He will look out for all the living beings,
*chasing her, the one of evil seed.
He will see the entire bony existence
with the eyes of the Milk Libation.
He will make firmly indestructible
the entire bony world of the living.

Yt.19.95
The companions of obstruction-smashing Astwat.erta
will come forth,
(those) of good thought, good speech,
good deeds, good *daênâ*,
who none of them have ever once spoken something wrong

with their own tongue.
Before them Wrath with the bloody club,
he of evil Fortune, will retreat.
By Order he shall overcome the evil Lie,
the one of darkness, of evil seed.

Yt.19.96
He overcomes even evil thought.
(His) good Thought overcomes it.
He overcomes the wrongly spoken speech.
(His) correctly spoken word overcomes it.
Wholeness and Immortality shall overcome
both hunger and thirst.
Wholeness and Immortality shall overcome
the evil hunger and thirst.
The Evil Spirit commanding nothing,[1]
performing evil deeds shall retreat.
On account of his wealth ...

[1] Cf. Y.8.8.

VIDEVDAD 1: CREATION OF THE LANDS

V.1.1
Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
I have made, O Spitama Zarathustra,
a place obeying laws and not *lacking happiness.
For if I had not made, O Spitama Zarathustra,
a place obeying laws and not *lacking happiness,
(then) the entire bony existence
would have gone forth to the Aryan Expanse.

V.1.2
As the best of places and settlements I first fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, the Aryan Expanse of the Good Lawful (river).
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
a dragon, the red, and the winter made by the old gods.

V.1.3
There ten months are winter, two summer;
then all the water is frozen,
and all the earth and all the plants.
Thus it is in the middle of winter,
in the heart of winter,
then, indeed, the winter falls all around,
then there is most floods.

V.1.4
As the best of places and settlements I second fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Gâwa settled by Sogdians.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
*thistles and ... (?) full of destruction.

V.1.5
As the best of places and settlements I third fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, strong Orderly Marghu.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist ....

V.1.6
As the best of places and settlements I fourth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, beautiful Bâxdhî with upraised banners.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist ...

V.1.7
As the best of places and settlements I fifth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Nisâya which is between Marghu and Bâxdhî.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
bad *agnosticism.

V.1.8
As the best of places and settlements I sixth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Haraêwa, ...
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
spittle and phlegm.

V.1.9
As the best of places and settlements I seventh fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Vaêkerta the lair of hedgehogs.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
the witch Xnanthaite, who followed Kersâspa.

V.1.10
As the best of places and settlements I eighth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Urwâ with abundant pasture.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
bad *supervisors.

V.1.11
As the best of places and settlements I ninth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Xnenta settled by Vehrkânas.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
bad inexpiable acts: male intercourse.

V.1.12
As the best of places and settlements I tenth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, beautiful Harakhwaitî.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
bad inexpiable acts: irregular exposure of corpses.

V.1.13
As the best of places and settlements I eleventh fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, wealthy munificent Haêtumant.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
bad sorcerers.
...

V.1.15
As the best of places and settlements I twelfth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Raghâ of three tribes.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
the bad ...

V.1.16
As the best of places and settlements I thirteenth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, strong Orderly Caxra.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
the bad inexpiable acts: burning of corpses.

V.1.17
As the best of places and settlements I fourteenth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Varena with four corners,
in which Thraêtaona was born, the smasher of the giant Dragon
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
untimely menses and the un-Aryan ... of the land.

V.1.18
As the best of places and settlements I fifteenth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, the Seven Rivers.
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
untimely menses and untimely heat.

V.1.19
As the best of places and settlements I sixteenth fashioned forth,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, Ranghâ on the ...,
which protectionless ...
Then the Evil Spirit full of destruction whittled forth as its antagonist
the winter made by old gods and the ... of the lands.

V.1.20
There are also other places, beautiful,
profound, *admirable, precious, and brilliant.
...

VIDEVDAD 2: YIMA AND THE FLOOD

Yima becomes the first ruler on earth

V.2.1
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living,
with whom among men did you first converse, you, Ahura Mazdâ,
other than me, Zarathustra?
To whom did you exhibit the *daênâ*, the one of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra?

V.2.2
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
With beautiful Yima with good herds, O Orderly Zarathustra.
He was the first among men with whom I conversed, I, Ahura Mazdâ,
other than you, Zarathustra.
To him I exhibited the *daênâ*, the one of Ahura Mazdâ and Zarathustra.

V.2.3
Then I said to him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazdâ:
Be prepared, O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanghwan,
to be the reciter and upholder of the *daênâ*.
Then he answered me, O Zarathustra, beautiful Yima:
I am not set in place, not assigned
to be recite and uphold the *daênâ*.

V.2.4
Then I said to him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazdâ:
If you are not prepared, O Yima, to be the reciter and upholder of the *daênâ*,
then further my herds, then make my herds grow,
then be prepared to be the protector, guardian, and overseer of my herds!

V.2.5
Then he answered me, O Zarathustra, beautiful Yima:
I shall be prepared to be the protector, guardian, and overseer of your herds.
Under my command there shall be no cold not heat,
nor illness, nor destruction.

V.2.6
Then I gave him two tools, I, Ahura Mazdâ:
a golden pick and a goad adorned with gold.

V.2.7
Yima is in possession of the two commands.

Overpopulation and expansion of the earth

V.2.8
When Yima had ruled for three hundred winters,
then this earth became full
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
They found no place to be(?),
animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.9
Then I informed Yima:
O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanghwan,
This earth is full because of the gathering
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
They found no place to be(?),
animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.10
Then Yima went forth
toward the lights, at noon, on the path of the sun.
He pushed this earth with the golden pick.
He goaded it with the goad, saying:
O lovable Life-giving Humility,
go forth and bow far and wide,
O carrier/womb of animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.11
Thus Yima made this earth expand by one-third
in size from what it had been before.
Here went forth
animals, small and large, and men,
each according to his own wish,
howsoever his pleasure.

V.2.12
When Yima had ruled for six hundred winters,
then this earth became full
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
They found no place to be(?),
animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.13
Then I informed Yima:
O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanghwan,
This earth is full because of the gathering
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
They found no place to be(?),

animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.14
Then Yima went forth
toward the southern lights, on the path of the sun.
He pushed this earth with the golden pick.
He goaded it with the goad, saying:
O lovable Life-giving Humility, go forth and spread wide, O carrier
of animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.15
Thus Yima made this earth expand by two-thirds
in size from what it had been before.
Here went forth
animals, small and large, and men,
each according to his own wish,
howsoever his pleasure.

V.2.16
When Yima had ruled for nine hundred winters,
then this earth became full
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
They found no place to be(?),
animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.17
Then I informed Yima:
O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanghwan,
This earth is full because of the gathering
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
They found no place to be(?),
animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.18
Then Yima went forth
toward the southern lights, on the path of the sun.
He pushed this earth with the golden pick.
He goaded it with the goad, saying:
O lovable Life-giving Humility, go forth and spread wide, O carrier
of animals, small and large, and men.

V.2.19
Thus Yima made this earth expand by three-thirds
in size from what it had been before.
Here went forth
animals, small and large, and men,
each according to his own wish,
howsoever his pleasure.

Gods and men take counsel

V.2.20
Ahura Mazdâ, who has set everything in place,
convoked a gathering
together with those worthy of sacrifice in the world of thought,
famed in the Aryan Expanse
of the Good Lawful (river).
Radiant Yima with good herds
convoked a gathering
together with the best humans,
famed in the Aryan Expanse
of the Good Lawful (river).

V.2.21
To that gathering Ahura Mazdâ came.
he who has set everything in place,
together with those worthy of sacrifice in the world of thought,
famed in the Aryan Expanse
of the Good Lawful (river).
To that gathering radiant Yima
with good herds came
together with the best humans,
famed in the Aryan Expanse
of the Good Lawful (river).

V.2.22
Thus Ahura Mazdâ said to Yima:
O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanghwan,
Bad winters will come over the bony world of the living,
together with which (one) harsh, horrible winter.
Bad winters will come over the bony world of the living,
together with which snow will accumulate
on the tallest mountains, in the deepest of the *valley.

V.2.23
And threefold cattle will perish here, O Yima:
that which is in the most *fearful places,
that which is on the heights of the mountains,
and that which is in the depths of the rivers (and) in the most solid homes.

V.2.24
Before this winter the land will have rich pasture
(and) plenty water to flow (over) it after the snow melt,
and wondrous it will seem here to the bony existence, O Yima,
that the trace of a sheep should be seen here.

Yima makes the bunker

V.2.25
So make that enclosure:
the length of a race course on each of its four sides.
Bring together there the seeds
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
Then make that enclosure:
the length of a race course on each of its four sides
as a dwelling for men,
the length of a race course on each of its four sides
as a keep for cattle.

V.2.26
Make water flow forth there the length of a league.[1]
Place meadows there,
with green ... (?),
with inexhaustible savory foods.
Place homes there, with roof and *awning,
*porch and *fence.

V.2.27
Bring together there in the same place the seeds
of all the men and women
who are the greatest, and best,
and most beautiful on this earth.
Bring together there in the same place the seeds
of all the cattle species
that are the greatest, and best,
and most beautiful on this earth.

V.2.28
Bring together there the seeds of all the plants
that are the tallest and most sweet-smelling on this earth.
Bring together there the seeds of all foods
that are the most tasty and most sweet-smelling on this earth.
Make those into pairs—imperishable
as long as these men are in the *enclosures.

V.2.29
May no one with humps, in front or in the back,
nor an impotent or a ...,
nor a driveling one, deceitful one,
one with pustules, or a crooked one,
nor one with irregular teeth, or one with blotches
whose body has been excluded,
nor any of the other marks
that are the mark of the Evil Spirit put on man.

V.2.30
In the first section of the land make nine passages,
in the middle six, and in the last three.
In the first passage bring
a thousand seeds of men and women,
the middle six hundred, the last four hundred.
And goad them with the golden pick
and stroke the enclosure from behind
(to make) a door admitting light,
self-shining from within.

V.2.31
Then Yima reflected:
How I shall make those into an enclosure,
the way Ahura Mazdâ told me?
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ to Yima:
O beautiful Yima son of Vîwanghwan,
tread apart this earth with (your) heels,
kneed it apart with (your) hands,
just like also now people *step about in wet earth.

V.2.32
Then Yima did exactly
the way Ahura Mazdâ wished him to.
He trod apart this earth with (his) heels,
he kneeded it apart with (his) hands,
just like also now people *step about in wet earth.

V.2.33
So Yima made that enclosure:
the length of a race course on each of its four sides.
He brought together there the seeds
of animals, small and large, and men,
of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
So Yima made that enclosure:
the length of a race course on each of its four sides
as a dwelling for men,
the length of a race course on each of its four sides
as a keep for cattle.

V.2.34
He made water flow forth there the length of a league.
He placed meadows there,
with green ... (?),
with inexhaustible savory foods.
He placed homes there, with roof and *awning,
*porch and *fence.

V.2.35
He brought together there the seeds
of all the men and women
who are the greatest, and best,
and most beautiful on this earth.
He brought together there the seeds

[1] The actual length of Avestan *hâthra* is unknown.

of all the cattle species
that are the greatest, and best,
and most beautiful on this earth.

V.2.36
He brought together there the seeds of all the plants
that are the tallest and most sweet-smelling on this earth.
He brought together there the seeds of all foods
that are the most tasty and most sweet-smelling on this earth.
He made those into pairs—imperishable
as long as these men are in the *enclosures.

V.2.37
No one with humps, in front or in the back,
nor a castrated one or a ...,
nor a driveling one, deceitful one,
one with pustules, or a crooked one,
nor one wit irregular teeth, or one with blotches
whose body has been excluded,
nor any of the other marks
that are the mark of the Evil Spirit put on man.

V.2.38
In the first section of the land he made nine passages,
in the middle six, and in the last four.
In the first passage he brought
a thousand seeds of men and women,
the middle six hundred, the last four hundred.
And he goaded them with the golden pick
and stroked the enclosure from behind
(to make) a door admitting light,
self-shining from within.

V.2.39
O Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
But which *were these lights,
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
which shine hither in that way
in these *enclosures that Yima made?

V.2.40
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
there are lights established by themselves
and those made in time.
For once it (?) has gone down,
the stars, the moon, and the sun seem to come up(?).

V.2.41
And they think it is a day what is a season.
In forty years from two humans two humans are born,
pairs: a man and a woman.
And the same holds for these cattle species.
And those humans live the most beautiful life
in these *enclosures that Yima made.

V.2.42
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who thus brought the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ wide and far
in these *enclosures that Yima made.
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
The Karshipta bird, O Orderly Zarathustra.

V.2.43
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who is their first life and model?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Urwatat.nara, O Zarathustra, and you, Zarathustra.

VIDEVDAD 3: THE PLEASURES AND DISPLEASURES OF THE EARTH

Places where the Earth is happy

V.3.1
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where firstly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra, an Orderly man goes forth
with firewood in his hands, with barsom in his hands,
with milk in his hands,
with the haoma mortar (and pestle) in his hands,
pronouncing in peace words according to the *daênâ*
and beseeching Mithra with wide grazing grounds
and Peace with good pastures.

V.3.2
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where secondly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever an Orderly man raises a home
with fire, with cattle, with wife, with sons, with good herds.

V.3.3
Then afterwards that home (has)
cattle in abundance, Order/flour in abundance,
pasture in abundance, dogs in abundance,
women in abundance, children in abundance,
fire in abundance, and all other things for good living.

V.3.4
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where thirdly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra, one sows
the most barley and grass and food-bearing plants,
or where one irrigates dry land
or drains waterlogged land.

V.3.5
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where fourthly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever animals, small and large, defecate the most.

V.3.6
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where fifthly on this earth is there most happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever animals, small and large, urinate the most.

Places where the Earth is unhappy

V.3.7
Where firstly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
On the ridge of (Mount) Arezûra, O Spitama Zarathustra,
because on it the old gods run together from the den of the Lie.

V.3.8
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where secondly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever the most dead dogs and dead men lie interred.

V.3.9
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where thirdly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever tombs are built
in which the most dead men are laid down.

V.3.10
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where fourthly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever there are most dens
housing the creatures belonging to the Evil Spirit.

V.3.11
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Where fifthly on this earth is there least happiness?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra, the Orderly man
and (his) woman and child
are dragged as captives along the road
raising plaintive voices with dry mouths full of dust.

What satisfies the Earth the most

V.3.12
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who firstly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever they dig up the most (places)
where dead dogs and dead men lie interred.

V.3.13
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who secondly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Wherever the most tombs are destroyed

in which dead men are laid down.

Digression on corpse-carriers

V.3.14
Let no one carry alone what is dead.
But if he carries alone something that is dead, for certain the corpse will contaminate (him)
from the nose, from the eye,
from the tongue, from the jaw,
from the penis, from the anus.
This lie-demon, the corpse, will then rush upon their nails.
Afterward they become impure
for ever and eternity.

V.3.15
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Were shall the place of this man be, the *corpse-cutter?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever this earth is most devoid of water,
most devoid of plants,
where the earth is most purified,
where the earth is driest,
and wherever most rarely
animals, small and large,
and the Orderly man go forth on these paths
with the fire of Ahura Mazdâ,
and with barsom spread out in Orderly fashion.

V.3.16
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
How far from the fire, how far from the water,
how far from the barsom to be spread out,
how far from the Orderly men?

V.3.17
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Thirty steps from the fire,
thirty steps from the water,
thirty steps from the barsom to be spread out,
three steps from the Orderly men.

V.3.18
Here on this earth these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
should build enclosures for him.
Afterward these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should approach with foods.
Afterward these sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should approach with garments.

V.3.19
Among the poorest, among the most emaciated
let him eat these foods, let him don these garments
ever until he becomes old, or senile,
or his semen is dried out.

V.3.20
Then, when he becomes old, or senile,
or his semen is dried out,
afterward those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ, as strongly and as quickly
and as expertly (as possible), on the *top of the heights,
should *cut off his head as the width of ... (?),
exposing the body to the most ravenous
of the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
the scavengers, the vultures, saying:
every bad thought, word, or act (is paid for).

V.3.21
And if he has committed other bad deeds,
he must pay the penalty.
But if he has committed no other bad deeds,
then that man has paid for ever and eternity.

V.3.22
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who thirdly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Wherever one destroys the most the dens of the living beings of the Evil Spirit.

V.3.23
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who fourthly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra, one sows
barley and grass and food-bearing plants the most,
or where one irrigates dry land
(or drains waterlogged land).

Digression on agriculture

V.3.24
For this earth is not happy
which lies long unplowed,
which should be plowed by the plower,
wishing for that boon: to be dwelled upon.
(Like) a good-looking (woman) who goes about,
bearing no sons,
wishing for that boon: males.

V.3.25
One who cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathustra,
with the left hand and with the right,
with the right hand and the left.
He brings gain to it,
just like a loving man a loving wife,
lying on a spread-out bed.
He brings her a son or (some other) benefit

V.3.26
He who cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathustra,
with the left hand and with the right,
with the right hand and the left,—
then this earth says:
O man, who cultivate me,
with the left hand and with the right,
with the right hand and the left,—

V.3.27
at times I shall take counsel (?) with the lands here,
at times I shall come carrying all foods.
Let them bring the harvest before the barley.

V.3.28
He who cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathustra,
with the left hand and with the right, with the right hand and the left,—
then this earth says:
O man, who cultivate me,
with the left hand and with the right, with the right hand and the left,

V.3.29
at times you stand here leaning against the door of another among those begging for food.
At times succulent dishes are carried past your mouth:
they are brought to those who (already) have plenty of good things!

V.3.30
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
What is the "heart" of the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Strong sowing of barley, O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.3.31
He who sows barley, he sows Order,
he furthers the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ with furtherance,
he makes this *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ swell forth (to?)
a hundred refuges, a thousand retreats(?),
in return for(?) ten thousand performances of the sacrifice.

V.3.32
When the barley is *laid down the old gods sweat.
When the *sprout is made the old gods become empty.
When the *stalk is made the old gods howl.
When the *ear is made the old gods fart.
Here it shall dwell in this house to smite back the old gods(?).
They shall burn their mouths on the loaf(?).
They seem to be compacted into the ground(?),
when the barley is full.

V.3.33
Then he should recite the following poetic thought:
You (shall) have nothing that does not provide nourishment:
either strong Orderliness, strong pasture,
or strong desire for sons.
For the entire bony existence lives by nourishment,
it dies from lack of nourishment.

V.3.34
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who fifthly satisfies this earth with greatest satisfaction?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra,
one cultivates this earth for the Orderly man
(and) puts (it) in Order.

V.3.35
Wherever, O Spitama Zarathustra,
one cultivates this earth for the Orderly man
(but) does not put (it) in good Order,
he throws Life-giving Humility into darkness,
into rot and the worst existence,
and also into all kinds of sharp *reeds.[1]

V.3.36
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Wen dead dogs and dead men are interred in this earth
for half a year without being dug up,
what is the penalty for it?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
One should give him five hundred strokes with the horse whip, five hundred with the bastinado.[2]

V.3.37
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Wen dead dogs and dead men are interred in this earth
for a year without being dug up,
what is the penalty for it?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
One should strike a thousand strokes with the horse whip, a thousand with the bastinado.

V.3.38
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Wen dead dogs and dead men are interred in this earth
for two years without being dug up,
what is the penalty for it?

---

[1] Cf. V.1.4.
[2] Hitting someone under the feet.

What is the payment for it?
What is the purification for it?

V.3.39
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
There is neither penalty for it,
nor is there expiation for it.
There is no purification for it.
In accordance with "non-atonable deed"
for ever and ever.

V.3.40
Where exactly (does that leave us) if it be somebody who professes or listens attentively to the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ?
This applies to somebody who does not praise or listen attentively to the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
For these (sins?) are thrown away for those who do praise the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ (and) thenceforth do not practice undue deeds.

V.3.41
For the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
throws away the bond of the man who praises (it),
throws away the ... (?),
throws away the crime of murder,
throws away the crime of killing a sorcerer,
throws away the crime of killing an Orderly (man),
throws away the crime of throwing out a corpse,
throws away the crime of committing an inexpiable deed,
throws away the crime of a debt to be absolved in chains,
throws away all those criminal deeds, whichever are being performed.

V.3.42
Just like that, O Spitama Zarathustra, does the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ wipe off the Orderly man's every bad thought, every bad word, every bad deed, like the strongly speeding wind would wipe clear from the right the firmament.
(When) here, O Zarathustra, a good deed well performed (is) being performed, the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ cuts off the penalty of an adult.

VIDEVDAD 5: ON POLLUTION

V.5.1
A man dies *there,
in the depths of rivers.
A bird flies up there, from the tops of the mountains
to the depths of rivers.
It nibbles at that body, that of the dead man.
A bird flies up there, from the depths of rivers
to the tops of the mountains.
It flies up on that tree,
a hard tree or a soft tree.
It vomits on it, it urinates on it, it defecates on it.

V.5.2
A man goes forth there,
from the depths of rivers
to the tops of the mountains.
He goes to that tree, which that bird (flew up on).
He seeks firewood for the fire.
He strikes it, he cuts into it, he cuts it down.
With it he lights the fire, the son of Ahura Mazdâ.
What is the penalty for it?

V.5.3
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Neither dog-borne, nor bird-borne, nor wolf-borne,
nor wind-borne, nor fly-borne
dead matter makes a man guilty.

V.5.4
For if these corpses,
namely, dog-borne, bird-borne, wolf-borne,
wind-borne, and fly-borne,
were to make a man guilty,
right away my entire bony existence—
*at once his Order would be crippled,
every soul would be shuddering (in anger and fear),
every body would be forfeit,
by the large amount of these corpses
which lie dead upon this earth.
...

<u>About dead bodies</u>

V.5.8
O Orderly creator ...
Does water kill a man?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Water does not kill a man.
The Dismemberer binds him.
Vayu leads him bound.
The water carries him up,
the water carries him down.
The water leaves him.
Then the birds nibble at him.
There then he goes forth,
distributed then he goes down.

V.5.9
O Orderly creator ...
Does fire kill a man?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Fire does not kill a man.
Astô-vidhôtu binds him.
Vayu leads him bound.
The fire burns up the bones and the life breath.
there then he goes forth ...

V.5.10
O Orderly creator ...
Two summers pass, thus two years.
How should these ones behave,
who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
In every house, in every village, let them set up three huts
for this one that is dead.

V.5.11
O Orderly creator ...
How large should these huts be?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
So that when one sits up it does not strike against the his head,
nor should the feet protrude, nor the hands stick out on the sides.
For this is the lawful hut
for this one that is dead.

V.5.12
Here they should insert the body whose consciousness has left it
for two nights or three nights or a whole month,
until birds fly away from it and plants grow up from it,
the waters flow down, and the wind raises the dust.

V.5.13
Then, when birds fly from it and plants grow up from it,
the waters flow down, and the wind raises the dust,
here these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
should expose this his body to the sun.

V.5.14
If these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ do not

expose this body to the sun for a whole *season,
you will exhibit a penalty for so much harming of the Orderly
until the corpses have been *plowed (into the ground?),
and the tombs and the filth,
and the birds have eaten it all.

V.5.15
O Orderly creator ...
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, release the water
from the Vourukasha Sea[1]
together with the wind and the cloud?

V.5.16
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the corpse?
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the tomb?
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the filth?
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, ... it upon the ... (?)?
Will you, Ahura Mazdâ, make what must not be float away?
Will you make all those things float away together toward the Pûitikâ Sea?[2]

V.5.17
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Yes, in that way, O Zarathustra,
like you *say, O upright one,
I release the water, I, Ahura Mazdâ,
from the Vourukasha Sea
together with the wind and the cloud.

V.5.18
I, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the corpse.
I, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it over the dakhma.
I, Ahura Mazdâ, bring it upon the pollution.
I, Ahura Mazdâ, ... it upon the ... (?).
I, Ahura Mazdâ, make float away what must not be.
I make all those things float away together toward the Pûitikâ Sea.

V.5.19
They stand churning within the Vourukasha Sea.
Purifying flow the waters
from the Pûitikâ Sea into the Vourukasha Sea,
to the tree Of Good Waters.
There all my plants grow in all species,
in hundreds, thousands, and then thousand times ten thousands.

V.5.20
(All) those together I, Ahura Mazdâ, make rain far and wide,
both as food for the Orderly man
and fodder for the cow of good gifts.
The mortal man shall eat my barley,
the cow who gives good gifts (shall eat) the fodder.
...

About the Law

V.5.22
O Orderly creator ...
How much greater, better, and more beautiful is
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

V.5.23
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Well, Spitama Zarathustra,
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
is far above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty,
just like the Vourukasha Sea is above and beyond other waters.

V.5.24
Yes, Spitama Zarathustra,
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
is far above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty,
just like a greater water sweeps away a smaller water.
Yes, Spitama Zarathustra,
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
is far above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty,
just like a greater tree covers a smaller tree.

V.5.25
Yes, Spitama Zarathustra,
this law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra,
is far above and beyond other words
in greatness, goodness, and beauty,
just like (yonder sky) covers and surrounds this earth
like a bird (its) egg.[3]

V.5.26
The Model has been spoken,
the exaction of punishment has been spoken

[1] The heavenly waters, which come down as rain.
[2] The sea of "rotten" (waters).
[3] Cf. Yt.13.2.

at the *drôn*[1] lifted up or not lifted up,
at the *drôn* placed or not placed,
at the *drôn* set up or not set up.
Is this Model afterwards capable
of forgive one-third of the penalty for it?
And if he has committed other bad deeds,
he must pay the penalty.
But if he has committed no other bad deeds,
then that man has paid for ever and eternity.

About pollution by contact

V.5.27
O Orderly creator ...
Men who lie on the same bed,
or the same bedspread, or the same pillow,
and in addition there are two more men,
or five or fifty or a hundred having the same wife,
and then one of these men dies,
among (these) men how much does this lie-demon of dead matter
achieve in terms of pain, ... (?), and pollution?

V.5.28
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
If it is a priest,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the eleventh, she contaminates the tenth.
And if it is a charioteer,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the tenth, she contaminates the ninth.
And if it is a husbandman,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the ninth, she contaminates the eighth.

V.5.29
And if it is a sheep-guarding dog,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the eighth, she contaminates the seventh.
And if it is a village-guarding dog,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the seventh, she contaminates the sixth.

V.5.30
And if it is a Vohunazga (= ?) dog,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the sixth, she contaminates the fifth.
And if it is a young dog,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the fifth, she contaminates the fourth.

V.5.31
And if it is a Sukerna (= ?) dog,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the fourth, she contaminates the third.
And if it is a Jazhu (= ?) dog,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the third, she contaminates the second.

V.5.32
And if it is a Aibhizu (= ?) dog,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the second, she contaminates the first.
And if it is a Vîzu (= ?) dog,
then, O Spitama Zarathustra,
this lie-demon of dead matter rushes forth.
If she reaches the first, she contaminates the first.

V.5.33
O Orderly creator ...
And if it is a Urupi dog (the fox?),
How much does this dog, the Urupi, contaminate
of the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
how much does it pollute?

V.5.34
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Not does this dog, the Urupi, contaminate (any)
of the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
nor does it pollute them,
other than him who strikes it and kills it.
Then it attaches itself to him for ever and ever.

V.5.35
O Orderly creator ...
And if it is a two-legged villain possessed by the Lie,
and so an unorderly one who darkens Order,
How much does he contaminate
of the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
how much does he pollute?

V.5.36
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Just as much as the frog, (which lies) dried out (and) dead for a year (at a time).

[1] A round sacrificial cake.

For alive, O Spitama Zarathustra,
a two-legged villain possessed by the Lie,
and so an unorderly one who darkens Order,
contaminates the creations of the Life-giving Spirit,
alive he pollutes them,

V.5.37
alive he strikes the water,
alive he blows out the fire,
alive he drives the cow in captivity,
alive he strikes the Orderly a blow
that leaves him unconscious and bereft of life breath.
Not so if dead.

V.5.38
For alive, O Spitama Zarathustra,
a two-legged villain possessed by the Lie,
and so an unorderly one who darkens Order,
carries off from the Orderly man
what he has gained(?) in food, clothing,
wood, *felt, and iron.
Not so if dead.
V.5.39
O Orderly creator ...
These houses that we assemble,
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
in this bony existence,
and (this) fire and barsom,
cups, haomas, and mortars and pestles,—
and then a dog or a man in this house dies,
how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ behave?

V.5.40
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Let them carry out of these houses, O Spitama Zarathustra,
the fire and barsom,
cups, haomas, and mortars and pestles.
Let them carry out from it the dead,
like when a lawful man carries and eats
according to the law.

V.5.41
O Orderly creator ...
How should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
carry this fire back into this house,
where this man dies?

V.5.42
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Let these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ wait for nine nights in winter.
but for one month in summer.
Then let these Ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
carry this fire back into this house,
where this man died.

V.5.43
O Orderly creator ...
And if these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
carry this fire back into this house,
where this man dies,
within nine nights, within the length of a month,
what is the penalty for it?

V.5.44
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
In return for this, upon him who is guilty of this capital crime
one should apply two hundred strokes with the horse whip, two hundred with the bastinado.

<u>About pregnant women</u>

V.5.45
O Orderly creator ...
If in this house belonging to one who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ
a woman comes to be pregnant
for one month or two,
for three months or four,
for five months or six,
for seven months or eight,
for nine months or ten,
then here this woman turns out to have no child,
and no life breath,[1]
how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ behave?

V.5.46
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
If (this comes to happen)
in this house belonging to one who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdâ
(then she should be brought to)
where the earth is most purified ...
barsom spread out in Orderly fashion. (= V.3.15)

V.5.47
O Orderly creator ...
How far from the fire and water,
from the barsom to be spread out,
and from the Orderly men?

V.5.48
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:

[1] Presumably the child is still-born.

Thirty steps from the fire and water,
thirty steps from the barsom to be spread out,
and three steps from the Orderly men.

V.5.49
Here these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should build enclosures of this earth for her.
Afterward they should approach with foods, these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
Afterward they should approach with garments, these who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

V.5.50
O Orderly creator ...
What kind of food should this woman eat first?

V.5.51
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Cow's urine that is not polluted with ... (?)
or three ..., or six or nine.
She shall then release these tombs from within
into the wombs, into the intestines. (??)

V.5.52
And afterward (she shall eat) *boiling
and mare's milk and cow's milk,
and ewe's milk and goat's milk,
... (?)
and cooked dehydrated meat
and dehydrated barley flour and dehydrated honey.

V.5.53
O Orderly creator ...
How long should they wait
How long should she sit *waiting,
eating meat, barley, and honey?

V.5.54
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They shall wait for three nights.
She shall sit *waiting for three nights,
eating meat, barley, and honey.
Then, after three nights,
she shall wash her body,
she shall wash her *clothes with cow's urine and water,
at nine ritual holes.
Thus they make her ritually clean.

V.5.55
O Orderly creator ...
How long should they wait
How long should she sit *waiting
after these three nights.
with separate bed, food, and clothes,
separate from the other ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.

V.5.56
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They should wait for nine nights,
she should sit *waiting for nine nights,
after these three nights.
with separate bed, food, and clothes,
separate from the other ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
Then, after nine nights,
she shall wash her body,
she shall wash her *clothes with cow's urine and water,
at nine ritual holes.
Thus they make her ritually clean.

V.5.57
O Orderly creator ...
After the purification, can she wash the clothes
for the Libating priest, the Pressing priest,
the Fire-lighting priest, the Presenting priest,
the Tending priest, the Washing priest,
the Mingling priest, the Auditing priest,[1]
or for the man who is a High priest, a Warrior,
or a Husbandman.[2]

V.5.58
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
After the purification, she can not wash the clothes
for the Libating priest, the Pressing priest,
the Fire-lighting priest, the Presenting priest,
the Tending priest, the Washing priest,
the Mingling priest, the Auditing priest,
nor for the man who is a High priest, a Warrior,
or a Husbandman.
...

[1] These are the different priests who participated in the original *yasna*.

[2] These are the representatives of the three main social classes. There was also a fourth class: the artisans.

VIDEVDAD 6: ON DEAD BODIES

V.6.1
How long there should this earth be *untouched
when dogs and men die on it?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
This earth should be *untouched
for one season,[1] O Orderly Zarathustra,
when dogs and men die on it.

V.6.2
Afterward the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should not plow that earth
nor release water (upon it),
when dogs and men die on it,
within one season.
Afterward the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ should plow that earth at will,
they should release water (upon it) at will.

V.6.3
If the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ plow that earth at will,
if they release water (upon it),
when dogs and men die on it,
within one season,
then these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ sin
against the water, the earth, and the plant(s)
and incur the sin of irregular exposure of corpses.

V.6.4
O Orderly creator ...
If the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ plow at will that earth,
if they release water (upon it),
within one season,
when dogs and men die on it,
what is the penalty for that?

V.6.5
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
In return for this, he who is guilty of this capital crime
shall receive two hundred strokes with the horse whip,
two hundred with the bastinado.

V.6.6
O Orderly creator ...
If the ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ wish to irrigate, plow, and dig out
earth for growing,
how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ behave?

V.6.7
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Here these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
should search the earth for bones and hairs,
excrements, urine, and bloodiness.

V.6.8
O Orderly creator ...
if they do not search for bones and hairs,
excrements, urine, and bloodiness.
what is the penalty for that?

V.6.9
In return for this, he who is guilty of this capital crime
shall receive two hundred strokes with the horse whip,
two hundred with the bastinado.
...

V.6.26
O Orderly creator ...
if these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
while walking or running or riding or driving
come upon a body in running water,
how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ behave?

V.6.27
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They shall take off their shoes,
lay down their clothes
and then *attend to the task, O Zarathustra.
One shall go forth and take up the dead from the water, O Zarathustra,
from water reaching him to the calves,
from water reaching him to the knees,
from water reaching him to the waist,
from water the height of a man,
until he reaches the dead body.

V.6.28
O Orderly creator ...
and if this corpse is *decomposing and rotting,
how should these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ behave?

V.6.29
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
they shall take out of the water as much of it t

[1] It is not clear how long this is. The term seems to denote a period of time between month and year, see Y.1.17.

as hey can grasp with their hands
and deposit it on dry earth.
Then they will not incur sins against the waters
by throwing the bones or hairs about,
or throwing excrements, urine or bloodiness about.

...

V.6.42
O Orderly creator ...
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
how will those haomas be purified,
which have touched carrion of a dead dog or man?

V.6.43
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They will be purified, O Orderly Zarathustra.
A haoma that has been pressed
causes no pain nor destruction,
nor does carrion brought onto unpressed ones,
if only they deposit four fingers of these in the earth
inside the house
until a whole season has passed.
Then after a whole season
they can be consumed at will by Orderly men
just like before.

V.6.44
O Orderly creator ...
Where shall we bring the body of dead men, O Ahura Mazdâ?
Where shall we deposit them?

V.6.45
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
On the highest places, O Spitama Zarathustra,
so that flesh-eating dogs or flesh-eating birds
will notice him as often as possible.

V.6.46
Here then these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
should tie down this corpse
by its own two feet by its own hair
with a metal (fetter) or a wooden one
or one made from twigs,
if no flesh-eating dogs or flesh-eating birds
come upon someone carrying these bones
unto the waters or the plants.

V.6.47
O Orderly creator ...
if they do not tie down this corpse,
then, if these flesh-eating dogs or flesh-eating birds
come upon someone carrying these bones unto the waters or the plants,
what is the penalty for that?

V.6.48
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
In return for this, he who is guilty of this capital crime
shall receive two hundred strokes with the horse whip,
two hundred with the bastinado.

V.6.49
O Orderly creator ...
where shall we carry the bones of dead men, O Ahura Mazdâ?
Where shall we deposit them?

V.6.50
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
One should make a tumulus
over a dog, a ... (?), or a wolf,
so that no rain water may rain on top of it.

V.6.51
If these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ are capable,
if in stony (...), ... (?)
if these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ are not capable,
they should deposit them (them)
with their own bed-spreads, their own pillows, (?)
on the earth with the lights (of heaven)
as their (only) covering, in full view of the sun.

VIDEVDAD 7: ON THE CARRION DEMON

V.7.1
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, O most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
How does the demon Carrion rush upon dead men?

V.7.2
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Immediately after death, O Spitama Zarathustra,
the consciousness will go out
(and) this Carrion demon rushes in from the north
in the form of a disgusting fly, knobly-kneed,
flat-assed, ... (?), driveling,
like the most repulsive evil creeps,—

V.7.2a
until a dog looks at (them) or nibbles (at them)
or a flesh-eating bird flies up (and lands) on him.
Then, when a dog looks at them or nibbles (at them)
or a flesh-eating bird flies up (and lands) on him,
this demon Carrion rushes back to the north
in the form of a disgusting fly, knobly-kneed,
flat-assed, ... (?), driveling,
like the most repulsive evil creeps.

V.7.3
As for these who are killed by dogs or by wolves,
by sorcerers or by enemies,
by stones or by men, by wrongs or by straits,
how long a time afterward
does this demon Carrion rush upon them?

V.7.4
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
for a period of a another day afterward
this demon Carrion rushes upon them.
...

V.7.11
O Orderly creator ...
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
how will those clothes be purified,
which have been brought onto carrion
of a dead dog or man?

V.7.12
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They will be purified, O Orderly Zarathustra.
But how?
If there are spots of sperm or urine,
of feces or vomit,
then these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
shall cut up these clothes and bury them.

V.7.13
But if there are no spots of sperm or urine,
of feces or vomit,
then these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
shall wash these garments with cow's urine.

V.7.14
If they are made of leather,
then they shall wash them three times with cow's urine,
cover them with earth three times,
and wash them three times with water.
For three months they shall air them
at the window of the house.

V.7.16
But if they are woven,
then they shall wash them six times with cow's urine,
cover them with earth six times,
and wash them six times with water.
For six months they shall air them
at the window of the house.

...

V.7.23
O Orderly creator ...
How will those men be purified,
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
who have eaten from carrion
of a dead dog or man?

V.7.24
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They will not be purified, O Orderly Zarathustra.
Those men shall be cut to the *grist and to the heart! (?)
One should remove the eyeball from their eyes.
This lie-demon, the corpse, will then rush upon their nails.
Afterward they become impure
for ever and eternity.
...

V.7.36
O Orderly creator ...
When these ones who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ drive forth to perform healing,
which should they first experiment on:
on those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ or on those who sacrifice to evil gods?

V.7.37
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
They should experiment on those who sacrifice to the old gods
prior to those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
If one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods
a first time and he dies,
if one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods
a second time and he dies,
if one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods
a third time and he dies,
then this one will be considered to be inexperienced
for ever and eternity.

V.7.38
May they not thereafter
... (?) those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ even when ...(?)!
Nor let them cut those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ!
Nor let them, while cutting, wound them!
If thereafter
... (?) those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ even when ...(?),
if they cut those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
and if, cutting them, they harm them,
then they shall pay for the wound of the wounded man
with the penalty for a premeditated crime.

V.7.39
If one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods
a first time and he survives,
if one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods
a second time and he survives,
if one cuts one who sacrifices to the old gods
a third time and he survives,
then this one will be considered to be experienced
for ever and eternity.

V.7.40
Thereafter they should at will
... (?) those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ even when ...(?),
Let them cut those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ at will!
Let him heal by cutting at will!

V.7.41
He shall heal a priest for a *Dahmân Âfrîn* (prayer)
He shall heal a house-master
for the price of a small ox.
He shall heal a town-master
for the price of a medium ox.
He shall heal a tribe-master
for the price of a premier ox.
He shall heal a land-master
for the price of a wagon with four draft animals.

V.7.42
He shall heal the wife of a *premier house-master
for the price of an ass and his female.
He shall heal (that of) a town-master
for the price of a bull and his female.
He shall heal (that of) a tribe-master
for the price of a stallion and his female.
He shall heal (that of) a land-master
for the price of a camel and his female.

V.7.43
He shall heal a the son of a town(-master)
for the price of a premier ox.
He shall heal a premier ox for the price of a medium ox.
He shall heal a medium ox for the price of a small ox.
He shall heal a small ox for the price of a sheep.
He shall heal a sheep for the price of a meal of meat.

V.7.44
When many remedies are considered(?),
O Spitama Zarathustra,
healing with knives, plants, or with the poetic thought,
then the life-giving poetic thought is considered to be healing.
For this is the most healing of remedies:
the healing life-giving poetic thought,
which heals from the innards of the Orderly Man.

V.7.45
Orderly creator ...
How long do dead men lie deposited upon the earth,
with the lights (of heaven) as their (only) covering,
in full view of the sun,
(before) they become (part?) of the earth?

V.7.46
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
For one season, O Orderly Zarathustra.
Then dead men deposited upon the earth,
with the lights (of heaven) as their (only) covering,
in full view of the sun,
become (part?) of the earth.

V.7.47
Orderly creator ...
For how long do dead men lie buried in the earth,
(before) they become equal with the earth?

V.7.48
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
After fifty years, O Orderly Zarathustra.
Then dead men buried in the earth
become equal with the earth.

V.7.49
Orderly creator ...
For how long do dead men lie deposited on a tomb,
(before) they become equal with the earth?

V.7.50
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Not until, O Orderly Zarathustra,
this (corpse?) mingles with the dust,
O Orderly Zarathustra,
should you incite anybody of the bony existence
to dig up these tombs.

V.7.51
And if someone digs up a tomb
as large as his own body,
his thought shall be forgiven,
as well as his words and deeds.
His thought shall be made up for,
as well as his words and deeds.

V.7.52
For the two spirits shall not take up a firm stance
(of competition) over this man.
*He shall go forth to the Best Existence,
O Zarathustra.
The stars, the moon, and the sun
shall *strengthen him.
And I too shall *strengthen him,
I, Ahura Mazdâ, who have set all in place.
Lucky man who have passed
from the perilous existence
to the existence free from peril!

V.7.53
Orderly creator ...
Where is an evil god,
where is one who sacrifices to the evil gods,
where do evil gods run together,
where do the evil gods come together,
where do the evil gods run together,
those of the Turian lands ...
by striking countless ones. (= Yt.5.54)

V.7.54
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
In these tombs, O Spitama Zarathustra,
these structures that are built up all over this earth
in which dead men are deposited,
that is where the old god is.
That is where one who sacrifices to the old gods is.
That is where the old gods run together,
that is where they come together.
There the old gods run together,
those of the Turian lands ...
by striking countless ones. (= Yt.5.54)

...

V.7.76
Orderly creator ...
How will that cow be purified
who has eaten from carrion?

V.7.77
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
It will be purified, O Orderly Zarathustra.
Her milk or cheese (shall not be used) for a libation.
Her meat (shall not) be brought to a libation or to the barsom
until a whole season has passed.
Then, after a whole season,
they can be eaten at will by Orderly men
just like before.

V.7.78
Who would he be, O Ahura Mazdâ,
who, thinking Order, seeking Order, loses Order,
and thinking Order finds the Lie?

V.7.79
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
O Spitama Zarathustra,
he who, thinking Order, seeking Order, loses Order,
and thinking Order finds the Lie,
that would be he who offers water containing carrion
(and so) inappropriate for libations,
he who in dark nights
offers water inappropriate for libations.
Order is the best good.

VIDEVDAD 17: ABOUT NAILS AND HAIR

V.17.1
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
Ahura Mazdâ, Orderly ...
*Which mortal's sacrifice to the evil gods
brings the strongest destruction (and) death?

V.17.2
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
O Orderly Zarathustra,
that is he who in this bony existence
combs his hair and cuts his hair
and cuts his nails and then empties them out
in holes and *crevices.

V.17.3
Then in these *dark places of the earth evil gods arise.
Then in these *dark places of the earth creeps arise,
which mortals call by the name louse,
which gobble up the barley in the barley bins for mortals
and the clothes in the wardrobes.

V.17.4
But when you, Zarathustra,
in this bony existence,
comb your hair and cut your nails
and then carry them away
ten steps from the Orderly men,
twenty steps from the fire,
thirty steps from the water,
fifty steps from the barsom to be spread out,—

V.17.5
then you should dig a hole there,
ten finger-widths in hard earth,
a span (= 12 fingers) in soft earth.
Thither you should carry it.
Then you should say forth
these obstruction-smashing words, Zarathustra,
Thus, for *her* Mazdâ through Order shall now **make plants grow**. (**3**.48.6)

V.17.6
With Well-deserved Command (= metal)
you should make a furrow all around,
four or six or nine,
and you should recite the *Ahuna vairya*,
four or six or nine.

V.17.7
With two nails you should dig a hole
outside the house
as much even as the first joint of the smallest finger.
Thither you should carry it.
Then you should say forth these obstruction-smashing words, Zarathustra,
through the Order of my sacrifice and my **good thought**, **by which I am** at this very moment **being heard before the master of the exchange**.[1] (**1**.33.7)

V.17.8
With Well-deserved Command (= metal) you should make a furrow all around,
four or six or nine,
and you should recite the *Ahuna vairya*,
four or six or nine (and then say:)

V.17.9
To you, O bird, favored by Order,[2]
I exhibit these nails, I make known these nails.
May these nails be for you, O bird, favored by Order,
spears and knives,
bows and arrows with eagle feathers,
and sling stones against the giant evil gods.

V.17.10
If they do not exhibit (them),
then those nails will afterward be
spears and knives,
bows and arrows with eagle feathers,
and sling stones for the giant evil gods.

V.17.11
All those who are possessed by the Lie,
with the Lie in their bodies,
do not follow the guidance (of Ahura Mazdâ).
All those who do not follow his guidance
have no readiness to listen.
All those who have no readiness to listen
are unorderly.
All those who are unorderly
have forfeited their bodies.

---

[1] There is a word play: *sruyê* = "I am being heard" and "nails."
[2] Traditionally thought to be the owl.

VIDEVDAD 18: SRAOSHA AND THE EVIL SPIRIT

Who is a priest?

V.18.1
For many men
—thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra,
wear another mouth-covering.
Though not girded with the *daênâ*[1]
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.18.2
Someone carries another fly-whisk.
Though not girded with the *daênâ*
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.18.3
Someone carries another plant.
Though not girded with the *daênâ*
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.18.4
Someone *wields a ... whip.
Though not girded with the *daênâ*
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

V.18.5
He who lies (sleeping) throughout an entire night
without sacrificing, without chanting,
without reciting, without performing,
without learning, without teaching,
*gathering his life breath for victory(?),
he calls himself priest out of a desire to deceive.
You shall not call him priest.
Thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra.

[1] Cf. Y.9.26.

V.18.6
Him you shall call a priest,
—thus said Ahura Mazdâ—
O Spitama Zarathustra,
who throughout an entire night
shall ask the Orderly guiding thought,
which delivers out of straits, places one in expanse,[2]
(about) the Bridge of the Accountant,
which places one in the good life,
where one reaches (the new) Life,
where one reaches Order,
where one reaches the best things
of the Best Existence.

V.18.7
Consult me in turn, O upright (Zarathustra),
me, the creator, the most life-giving,
the most knowledgeable
and the one who has the best answers when asked.
Thus you shall have the better (reward),
thus *I shall be more life-giving,
if you consult me in turn.
...

The rooster

V.18.14
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Who is the Auditing priest of firm Sraosha with the rewards,
the firm one, who stretches the poetic thought,
the one with the defiant mace, the Ahurian one?

V.18.15
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
The bird called Fore-seer,[3] O Spitama Zarathustra,
whom people of evil speech call "chicken."
And that bird lifts its voice
toward dawn full of life-giving strength.

V.18.16
Get up, men!
Praise best Order! Scorn the old gods!
This (lie-demon) Sloth with long hands is running upon you.
She puts the entire bony existence
to sleep as soon as the lights have awakened (saying):
Sleep long man! You have time.

[2] Cf. Y.8.8.
[3] The rooster.

V.18.17
Don't be concerned with the three best things:
well-thought thought, well-spoken speech, well-performed action!
Be concerned with the three worst things:
badly thought thought, badly spoken speech, badly performed action!

V.18.18
Then, during the first third of the night,
the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
asks the master of the house:

V.18.19
Get up, master of the house, to assist (me)!
Put on your clothes!
Wash your hands!
Go seek firewood!
Bring it to me! Kindle me
with purified firewood,
with clean hands!
The *competition set in place by the old gods
seems to cut off my life
even before it has run its course.

V.18.20
Then, during the second third of the night,
the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
asks the husbandman:

V.18.21
Get up, husbandman, to assist (me)!
Put on your clothes!
Wash your hands!
Go seek firewood!
Bring it to me! Kindle me
with purified firewood,
with clean hands!
The *competition set in place by the old gods
seems to cut off my life
even before it has run its course.

V.18.22
Then, during the third third of the night,
the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
asks Sraosha with the rewards to assist (him).
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards!
Then he brings me of the bony existence
whatever firewood is purified,
with clean hands.
The *competition set in place by the old gods
seems to cut off my life
even before it has run its course.

V.18.23
Then Sraosha with the rewards wakens that bird
called Fore-seer, O Spitama Zarathustra,
whom people of evil speech call "chicken."
And that bird lifts its voice
toward dawn full of life-giving strength.

V.18.24
Get up, men!
Praise Order, the best! Blame the old gods!
This (lie-demon) Sloth with long hands is running upon you.
She puts the entire bony existence
to sleep as soon as the lights have awakened (saying):
Sleep long man! You have time.

V.18.25
Don't be concerned with the three best things:
well-thought thought, well-spoken speech, well-performed action!
Be concerned with the three worst things:
badly thought thought, badly spoken speech, badly performed action!

V.18.26
Then the companion *says to the companion,
lying together on the pillows:
Get up! He rouses me.
Whichever of the two gets up first
goes beyond to the Best Existence.
Whichever of the two first brings to the fire of Ahura Mazdâ
whatever firewood is purified,
with clean hands,
him the fire will bless,
satisfied and unantagonized ...

V.18.27
May you be accompanied by a herd of cattle, a multitude of men!
May you be accompanied by both invigorating thought and invigorating vitality!
May you live enjoying vitality for (as many) nights as you shall live!
This is what makes the fire friend
(of him) who carries firewood to him, dry, *inspected in the light,
purified with *strengthening of Order.

V.18.28
And he who, O Spitama Zarathustra, gives a pair of these birds of mine,
one female and one male to an Orderly man
in good Orderly fashion,
may think (of himself) as having given a house
with a hundred columns, a thousand beams,

ten thousand ..., ten thousand windows.

V.18.29
And he who gives meat the size of the body
of this bird of mine,
never will I, Ahura Mazdâ,
be asking him a second word in return,
You shall go forth to the Best Existence.

Sraosha and the Lie

V.18.30
Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
O lie of bad breathing space, producing nothing (good),
indeed you alone
of the entire bony existence
make your brood without being approached (by a male).

V.18.31
Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
But I do not (alone)
of the entire bony existence
make my brood without being approached.
Even I have regularly four males.

V.18.32
They cover me in the manner
that males do other females as well:
they *pour their semen into the females.

V.18.33
Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
O lie of bad breathing space, producing nothing (good),
who is the first of these males of yours?

V.18.34
Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
he is the first of these males of mine:
a man who does not give in good Orderly fashion
even the small(est share of the) prizes won at the audition
to the man who follows Order those (he has) asked for.

V.18.35
He covers me in the manner
that males do other females as well:
they *pour their semen into the females.

V.18.36
Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
How can this be undone?

V.18.37
Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
That is the way to undo it:
when a man gives even of the small (shares of the) prizes won at the audition
in good Orderly fashion to the follower of Order those (he has) asked for,—

V.18.38
(then) he strikes wounds into me in the manner
that a four-legged wolf
tears a child out of the womb.

V.18.39
Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
Who is the second of these males of yours?

V.18.40
Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
he is the second of these males of mine:
a man who urinates along the front side of his leg
the length of one foot forward(?).[1]

V.18.41
He covers me in the manner
that males do other females as well.

V.18.42
Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
How can this be undone?

V.18.43
Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
it can be undone in that manner:
when a man, after getting up, takes three steps
and praises Order three times,
recites twice "**Of** the things **that have been thought**" (**YH.**35.2)
and three times "**Indeed**, it is **for one with best command**" (**YH.**35.5),
then recites an *Ahuna vairya*,
(and) offers up in sacrifice
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

[1] That is, standing up.

V.18.44
He strikes wounds into me in the manner
that a four-legged wolf
tears a child out of the womb.

V.18.45
Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
Who is the third of these males of yours?

V.18.46
Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
he is the third of these males of mine:
a man who lets flow forth his semen when asleep.[1]

V.18.47
He covers me in the manner
that males do other females as well.

V.18.48
Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
How can this be undone?

V.18.49
Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
it can be undone in that manner:
when a man after awaking from his sleep
praises Order three times,
recites twice "**Of** the things **that have been thought**"
and three times "**Indeed**, it is **for one with best command**,"
then recites an *Ahuna vairya*,
(and) offers up in sacrifice
Thus, we sacrifice to the male and female deities ...

V.18.50
He strikes wounds into me in the manner
that a four-legged wolf
tears a child out of the womb.

V.18.51
Then he *says to Life-giving Humility: O Life-giving Humility,
I leave this man to your care.
May you take care of this man of mine
up to the Perfectioning rich in life-giving strength,
knowing the *Gatha*s, knowing the *yasna*,
with words asked in return, attentive,
possessed of talent, stretching the poetic thought.

V.18.52
And may you make him the name
Fire-given or Fire-seed
or Fire-tribe or Fire-land
or any other name (like) Fire-given.

V.18.53
Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
O lie of bad breathing space, producing nothing (good),
who is the fourth of these males of yours?

V.18.54
Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
he is the fourth of these males of mine:
the bad woman who, after her fifteenth year,
goes about without tying the girdle
and without *donning the shirt(?).

V.18.55
After she has taken the fourth step,
immediately afterward, we the old gods,
at once we ... tongue and fat.
Thenceforth in command she destroys
the bony living beings of Order,
like a *zand* and someone possessed by sorcerers
destroy the living beings of Order.

V.18.56
Sraosha with the rewards asked the Lie,
his cudgel tied in the back:
O lie of bad breathing space, producing nothing (good),
How can this be undone?

V.18.57
Then the deceiving Lie said to him in turn:
O beautiful Sraosha with the rewards,
it can not be undone.

V.18.58
When a whore after her fifteenth year goes about
without tying the girdle and without ...

V.18.59
after she has taken the fourth step,
immediately afterward, we the old gods,
at once we ... tongue and fat.
Thenceforth in command she destroys
the material living beings of Order,
like a *zand* and a performer of sorcery
destroy the living beings of Order.

[1] Intentionally or unintentionally?

V.18.60
Consult me in turn, O upright (Zarathustra),
me, the creator and the most life-giving,
the most knowledgeable and the one who has the best answers when asked.
Thus you shall have the better (reward),
thus *I shall be more life-giving,
if you consult with me in turn.
Other bad women

V.18.61
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit, Orderly,
who *upsets you with the greatest *upset,
who harms you with the greatest harm?

V.18.62
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Well, the whore, O Orderly Zarathustra,
who mingles the semen
of the (religiously) qualified and unqualified,
of those who sacrifice to the old gods and those who do not,
of those who have forfeited their body and those who have not.

V.18.63
She causes to stand still one-third
of the rushing waters flowing in *riverbeds
by her looking at them, O Zarathustra.
She takes away the growth of one-third
of the plants growing up, beautiful, green,
by her looking at them, O Zarathustra.

V.18.64
She takes away one third
of the *wool of Life-giving Humility[1]
by her looking at them, O Zarathustra.
She takes away one-third
of the good thoughts that the Orderly man
has thought more (than others),
the good speech he has spoken more,
the good deeds he has performed more,
of his bodily strength and obstruction-smashing strength,
and of his Orderliness
when she falls upon him, O Zarathustra.

V.18.65
And those (females) I say to you,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
are more worthy of smiting
than the winding snakes
or than the wolves with *sharp claws(?),
or than the female wolf ... who falls upon the flock
or than the frog with a thousand spawns
which falls upon the water.

V.18.66
Consult me in turn, O upright (Zarathustra),
me, the creator and the most life-giving,
the most knowledgeable and the one who has the best answers when asked.
Thus you shall have the better (reward),
thus *I shall be more life-giving,
if you consult with me in turn.

V.18.67
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit, Orderly,
He who releases his semen
in a woman having the marks(?), in menses, bleeding,
(a man) consciously knowing it, having noticed it, and cognizant about it,
(in a woman) knowing it and being well aware of it,

V.18.68
how can he repent it
how can he atone for it,
how might one drive away the deeds this one has performed?

V.18.69
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
He who releases his semen
in a woman having the marks(?), in menses, bleeding,
(a man) consciously knowing it, having noticed it, and cognizant about it,
(in a woman) knowing it and being well aware of it,

...

V.18.73
He should kill a thousand snakes crawling on their bellies,
two thousand other ones.
He should kill a thousand frogs puffing themselves up,
two thousand of them living in the water.
He should kill a thousand ants pulling grains,
two thousand other ones.

V.18.74
He should set up thirty beams across the deep water.
One should give him a thousand strokes with the horse whip, two thousand with the bastinado.

V.18.75
Thus he can repent it, thus he can atone for it,
thus he one might drive away the deeds this one has

[1] The Earth is like a good mother and wife, who spins and weaves what her children need.

performed?

V.18.76
If he does drive them away,
he will *master the existence
that is that of the Orderly ones.
If he does drive them away,
he will *master the existence
that is that of the one possessed by the Lies,
darkness full of darkness, spawned by darkness.

VIDEVDAD 19: ZARATHUSTRA AND THE EVIL SPIRIT

V.19.1
From the northern region, from the northern regions
the Evil Spirit, full of destruction, ran forth,
the greatest among the old gods.
Thus he spoke, he, the Evil Spirit, giver of evil gifts, full of destruction:
Come, O Lie, run and destroy the Orderly Zarathustra!
The lie ran around him,
the old god Bûitî,[1] dangerous, destructive, deceitful.

V.19.2
Zarathustra performed the *Ahuna vairya*:
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ... ...
He sacrificed to the good waters of the Good Lawful (river).
He chose as his the *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ.
Stricken the lie ran away from him,
the old god Bûitî, dangerous, destructive, deceitful.

V.19.3
The Lie spoke to him in turn:
O ... (?) Evil Spirit,
I see no death for him, the Orderly Zarathustra.
Orderly Zarathustra is full of Fortune.
Zarathustra looked around in his mind:
the old gods possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts, are plotting my death!

V.19.4
Up rose Zarathustra, forth went Zarathustra,
undaunted by the vicious spirit (and) the vileness of (his) hateful plots,
carrying stones with (his) hand—they are the size of a house—
Orderly Zarathustra, (which) he obtained from Ahura Mazdâ the creator
Where are you carrying them
of this earth, wide, round, (and) with distant borders,
on the shore of the Drejya
of the home of Pourushâspa?

V.19.5
Zarathustra made the Evil Spirit a promise:
O Evil Spirit, giver of evil gifts, I shall smash the creation made by the old gods,
I shall smash the corpse made by the old gods, I shall smash the witch Xnanthaitî
against which the Revitalizer, obstruction-smasher, will be born from Lake Kansaoya,
from the southern region, from the southern regions.

V.19.6
The Evil Spirit of the bad creation spoke to him in turn:
Do not destroy my creation, O Orderly Zarathustra!
You are the son of Pourushâspa,
*conscious from (the time of) the womb.
Un-praise[2] the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
(and) you shall obtain a boon such as the one the land-lord Vadhaghana obtained.

V.19.7
He, Spitama Zarathustra, spoke to him in turn:
I shall not un-praise the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
not if (my) bones, my life breath, and my conscience were to be wrenched apart!

V.19.8
The Evil Spirit of the bad creation spoke to him in turn:
With which word will you overcome, with which word will you take away—
with which weapon with well-made ...—the creation belonging to me, the Evil Spirit?

V.19.9
He, Spitama Zarathustra, bobbed[3] forth to him in turn:
With the mortar, with the bowl, with the haoma,
with the word spoken by Ahura Mazdâ.[4]
(That) is my weapon, the best.
With that word I shall overcome,
with that word I shall take away,
with that well-made weapon!
The Life-giving Spirit made (it).
He made it for endless time.[5]
The Life-giving Immortals brought (it) forth,
who bestow good command and give good gifts.

V.19.10
Zarathustra performed the *Ahuna vairya*:
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ... ...
Orderly Zarathustra pronounced
I am asking you this: **tell me straight**, **O Ahura**! (**2.**44.1)

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[1] In the past it was supposed that this referred to the Buddha, but that is impossible for various reasons, linguistic and historical.

[2] Remember the effects of praise (see Y.9.2, etc.).

[3] Image of man on chariot, bobbing up and down as he drives forth.

[4] That is, with a haoma sacrifice.

[5] That is, it existed before the creation of the world and will remain at the end of the world.

V.19.11
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ
on the shore of the Drejya,
for good Ahura Mazdâ,
sitting in the middle of good (things),
for Best Order, for Well-deserved Command,
for Life-giving Humility:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of the bony world of the living,—

V.19.12
how can I make them (safe) from yonder Lie,
from the Evil Spirit, giver of evil gifts?
How can I do (away with) contamination and pollution?
How can the demon Carrion be turned away
from the village of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ?
How can I purify the Orderly man?
How can I bring the Orderly woman purification?

V.19.13
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Call hither you, O Zarathustra, the good *daênâ*
of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ!
Call hither you, O Zarathustra—
may the Life-giving Immortals come down
upon the earth with its seven continents!
Call hither you, O Zarathustra, the Firmament
set in place by itself,
unlimited Time, (and) Vayu whose work is above.
Call hither you, O Zarathustra, the brave wind
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
(and) the Life-giving beautiful daughter of Ahura Mazdâ![1]

V.19.14
Call hither you, O Zarathustra,
yonder pre-soul, that of Ahura Mazdâ,
the greatest, best, and most beautiful,
the hardest, the one with the best guiding thought, the best shaped,
the one by which one most often reaches Order,[2]
whose breath-soul is the life-giving poetic thought itself.
You yourself, O Zarathustra, call hither this creation,
that of Ahura Mazdâ!

V.19.15
Zarathustra ... my growth.
I call down Orderly Ahura Mazdâ, set in place by the Web-master.
I call down Mithra with wide grazing grounds,
who has good weapons,
the most munificent among weapons,
the greatest obstruction-smasher among weapons.
I call down well-shaped Sraosha with the rewards,
who holds a weapon in the hand
(to be brought down) upon the head of the old gods.

V.19.16
I call down the Firmament, set in place by itself,
unlimited Time, (and) Vayu whose work is above.
I call down the brave wind set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
(and) the Life-giving beautiful daughter of Ahura Mazdâ.
I call down the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ
(and) the law for discarding the old gods,
the law transmitted by Zarathustra.

V.19.17
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
..., O Ahura Mazdâ,
with which sacrifice shall I sacrifice,
with which sacrifice shall I send my sacrifice forth (to?)
this creation, that of Ahura Mazdâ?

V.19.18
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
You will come down, O Spitama Zarathustra,
to beautiful, grown, strong growths of plants,
pronouncing this word to be uttered:
Homage to you, O good, Orderly plant set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
Order is **the best good** reward/possession **there is**.
There are wished-for things in the wish for this one when one's **Order** is **for the best Order**.
(3 times)
V.19.19
He should have (them) carry up barsom
the length of a plow, the width of a yoke.
You should not cut cuts in (?) the barsom.
The Orderly men should be taking (it) with (their) left hand(s),
sacrificing to Ahura Mazdâ, sacrificing to the Life-giving Immortals,
as well as the golden, tall haoma
and beautiful Good Thought
and the good Gift of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ,
Orderly, the best.

V.19.20
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O all-knowing Ahura Mazdâ,
you are sleepless, you are ...-less, you, Ahura Mazdâ.

[1] That is Life-giving Humility, the Earth.
[2] Cf. Y.26.2.

(If someone) contaminates Good Thought,[1]
pollutes Good Thought with body stricken by old gods,
if the old god contaminates it,
can Good Thought become purified?

V.19.21
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
You should take a bull's urine, O Zarathustra.
You should carry a *spade
made according to the law, purified,
out upon the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
This man who is to be purified
should dig an encircling furrow all around.

V.19.22
You should pronounce in praise a hundred praises of Order.
You should perform the *Ahuna vairya* twofold.
He should wash with four washes in a bull's urine,
twice in water set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

V.19.23
Then Good Thought becomes purified,
the man becomes purified.
*You should take up Good Thought
with the left arm and the right,
with the right arm and the left.
Then you should set down Good Thought
in the lights fashioned so as to be life-giving[2]
so that the stars made by the Distributor
may shine upon him
until nine nights shall pass for him.

V.19.24
Then, after nine nights,
you should bring libations to the fire.
You should bring hard firewoods to the fire.
You should bring well-scented incense to the fire.
It should make Good Thought all fragrant.

V.19.25
Then Good Thought becomes purified,
the man becomes purified.
He should take up Good Thought
with the left arm and the right,
with the right arm and the left.
Good Thought pronounced:
Homage to Ahura Mazdâ!
Homage to the Life-giving Immortals!
Homage to the other Orderly ones!

V.19.26
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O all-knowing Ahura Mazdâ,
shall I urge the Orderly man,
shall I urge the Orderly woman,
shall I urge (even) the one possessed by the Lie,
who sacrifices to the old gods,
(and) the short-lived humans,
(so that) they may cause to expand over the earth
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
running water (and) the growth of grains
and cause other *property to expand (as well)?
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
You should urge (them), O Orderly Zarathustra.

V.19.27
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Were will those gifts be,
where will they pay those remunerations,
where will they obtain those gifts,
where will those gifts be *totaled,
(so that) a man (already) during the bony existence
may set them aside for his own soul?

V.19.28
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
After a man is departed, after a man has passed away,
after (that) the old gods possessed by the Lie,
givers of evil gifts, tear at the departed.
As it becomes light after the third night,
the brilliant dawn lights up.
It ascends the mountains whose good breathing space
is in (the luminous spaces of) Order,
it makes Mithra with good weapons, the sun, come up.

V.19.29
The old god Drag-off, O Spitama Zarathustra,
leads the soul bound,
(even that) of the one possessed by the Lie
who sacrifices to the old gods,
(and that) of the short-lived humans.
It comes along the paths set in place in/by Time,
to the one possessed by the Lie or to the Orderly one,
to the Ford of the Accountant set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
They in return ask for(?) the conscience and breath-soul
(as?) the share of living beings
set in place in the bony existence.

V.19.30
She, beautifully made, brave, well-shaped, will come,
with (her) dogs, brilliance, diadem, arts, (and) talents.
She drags the vile souls of the one possessed by the Lie
into the darknesses.
She rises *with the souls of the Orderly ones

[1] Good Thought here represents domestic animals and humans.
[2] Or: fashioned by life-giving one.

above tall Harâ,
she supports (them) across the Ford of the Accountant,
*at the passage of the deities in the world of thought.

V.19.31
Up rose Good Thought from (his) golden throne.
Good Thought pronounced:
When did you come hither to us, O Orderly one,
from the perilous existence to the existence without peril?

V.19.32
Thus welcomed the souls of the Orderly ones go forth
to the golden thrones of Ahura Mazdâ,
of the Life-giving Immortals, to the House of Song,
the abode of Ahura Mazdâ,
the abode of the Life-giving Immortals,
the abode of the other Orderly ones.

V.19.33
The Orderly one who is to be purified—
after (his) passing away the old gods possessed by the Lie,
givers of evil gifts, fear (his) smell just
like a ewe frightened by the wolf fears the wolf.

V.19.34
The Orderly men gather together,
Nairya.sangha joins them,
the messenger of Ahura Mazdâ.
Say Nairya.sangha!
You yourself, O Zarathustra, call hither this creation,
that of Ahura Mazdâ!

V.19.35
Zarathustra *announced growth for me.
O Orderly Ahura Mazdâ,
I call down (the ...) set in place by the Web-master.[1]
I call down the earth set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
the water set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
the plant set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
I call down the Vourukasha Sea.
I call down the sky with the sun.
I call down the Endless Lights set in place by themselves.

V.19.36
I call down the best existence of the Orderly ones, full of light and all good breathing space.
I call down the House of Song, the dwelling of Ahura Mazdâ, the dwelling of the Life-giving Immortals, the dwelling of the other Orderly ones.
I call down the Place of ... set in place by itself,
the Bridge of the Accountant set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

[1] Or: I call upon Orderly Ahura Mazdâ set in place by the Web-master?

V.19.37
I call down the good Glow with broad eyes.
I call down the strong pre-souls of the Orderly ones, all the living beings possessing vitalizing strength.
I call down the Resistance-smasher set in place by Ahura Mazdâ, the Fortune-bearer set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
I call down the star Tishtriya, wealthy, munificent, in the shape of a bull with golden hooves.

V.19.38
I call down the Orderly life-giving *Gâthâ*s, whose power is according to the models.
I call down the *Ahunawaitî Gâthâ*.
I call down the *Ushtawaitî Gâthâ*.
I call down the *Spentâ.mainyû Gâthâ*.
I call down the *Vohukhshathrâ Gâthâ*.
I call down the *Vahishtôishti Gâthâ*.

V.19.39
I call down the continents Arezahi and Sawahi.
I call down the continents Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu.
I call down the continents Vouru.barshti and Vouru.jarshti.
I call down the continent brilliant Khwaniratha.
I call down the Haêtumant (river), wealthy and munificent.
I call down the Good Ashi.
I call down the straightest Cistâ.
I call down the Fortune of the Aryan lands.
I call down the Fortune of radiant Yima with good herds.

V.19.40
(May) Sraosha with the rewards,
well-shaped, Sraosha with the rewards,
the obstruction-smasher, (be) sacrificed to,
satisfied, recognized!
You should bring libations to the fire.
You should bring hard firewoods to the fire.
You should bring well-scented incense to the fire.
You should sacrifice to the Most Conveying[2] fire,
the smasher of the old god Spenjaghriya.[3]
You should bring tender food,
to the full (and) overflowing (...).

...

V.19.42
I call down the Kara fish, living in the waters
at the bottom of the deep bays.
I call down the Peg (in the middle of the sky),
first to be set in place by itself,

[2] Or; most invigorating.
[3] An atmospheric god (of lightning?).

the strongest in the fight of the two creations
in the world of thought.
I call down the brilliant Seven Horns (Little Dipper),
its shining sons—they are (its) crowns/*tails.

V.19.43
He exhorted, he dissuaded,
he took courage, he lost courage,
the Evil Spirit full of destruction,
the greatest among the old gods.
(There were) the old god Indra, the old god Sâurwa,
the old god Nânghaithya,
the old gods Taurwi and Zairi,
Wrath with the bloody club,
the old god Evil-fashioner,
the Winter set in place by the old gods,
dangerous, destructive Senility—it makes for bad deceit,
the old god Bûiti, the old god Drivel,
the old god Deceit, the old god Pustule,
the old god Cutter, the worst old god of them all.

V.19.44
Thus spoke the old god, deceivingly,
he, the Evil Spirit full of destruction:
Let us *gather, O old gods, possessed by the Lie,
you who give evil gifts,
on the top of Arezûra.

V.19.45
They ran thither all a-chatter,
the old gods, possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts,
howling all a-chatter,
the old gods, possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts,
They chattered evil deception,
the old gods, possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts,
Let us gather on the top of Arezûra.

V.19.46
Orderly Zarathustra is born,
of the house of Pourushâspa.
How shall we find death for him?
He is the smiter of old gods,
he is the opponent of old gods,
he is the one who destroys the old gods.
Down (tumbled) the ones who sacrifice to the old gods,
the Corpse set in place by the old gods,
the falsely spoken Untruth.

V.19.47
They ran thither all a-chatter,
the old gods, possessed by the Lie, givers of evil gifts,
to the bottom of the fearful existence of Hell.

VIDEVDAD 20-22: MYTH OF ORIGIN AND HEALING OF DISEASES

Thrita, the first healer

V.20.1
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of the bony world of the living,
who was the first among men
rich in *care, skills, crafts,
rich in sorcery, wealthy, brave, made before,
to keep disease for disease,
to keep destruction for destruction,
to keep the flying spear and the heat of fire
away from the body of man.

V.20.2
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
O Spitama Zarathustra,
Thrita was the first among men[1]
rich in *care, skills, crafts,
rich in sorcery, wealthy, brave, made before,
(who) held disease away from disease,
held destruction away from destruction,
held the flying spear away,
held the heat of fire away
from the body of man.

V.20.3
He took as his rewards Well-deserved Command
from the seed of the bird (of heaven?)
for resisting disease,
for resisting destruction,
for resisting burning,
for resisting fever (etc.: long list)
for resisting the evil eye,
(all the diseases) that the Evil Spirit whittled forth
against this body, that of mortals.

V.20.4
Then I, Ahura Mazdâ, brought up healing plants,
hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands,
but only the one Gaokarna.[2]

V.20.5
All that we make friendly (to us).
All that we send (up to you in our sacrifice).
All that we bend down to,
for the sake of this body, that of mortal men,

V.20.6
for resisting disease,
etc.

V.20.7
Disease, I tell you to go back!
Destruction, I tell you to go back!
Burning, I tell you to go back!
Fever, I tell you to go back!
etc.
Evil eye, I tell you to go back!

V.20.8
... **by the increase of which we may overcome the Lie**,
May we overcome the Lie with growth,
command with strength for *me*, O Ahura.

V.20.9
May I conquer and chase (various diseases)!
May I conquer and chase destruction!
etc.
May I conquer and chase the evil eye, (which is) rot and filth,
(the diseases) which the Evil Spirit whittled forth
against this body, that of mortal men.

V.20.10
May I conquer and chase every disease and destruction,
all sorcerers and witches,
all women possessed by the Lie!

V.20.11 = Y.54.1.
Let speedy Airyaman come here for support
for men/heroes and women/heroines, **for the support of Zarathustra's**
good thought, **by which** his **vision-soul may gain a well-deserved fee**.
I am now asking for the reward of Order, **which Ahura Mazdâ shall *deem worthy of being sped** hither.

V.20.12
Let the *Â Aryemâ ishyô* (prayer) smash
every disease and destruction,
all sorcerers and witches,
all women possessed by the Lie!

V.20.13-14
In as much as a new life is **a worthy one** ... ...
May you not destroy the bony living beings of Order!
Order is **the best good** ...

---

[1] Cf. Y.9.10.
[2] Cf. Yt.1.30.

Spells against diseases

V.21.1
Homage to you, O life-giving Cow!
Homage to you, O Cow giving good gifts!
Homage to you, O furthering one!
Homage to you, O increasing one!
Homage to you, O giver of his befitting share
to the best Orderly one,
to the Orderly one without progeny(?),
You who destroy the evil woman,
the unorderly one who darkens Order,
the mortal possessed by the Lie,
and the false teacher.

V.21.2
*Bring (waters), O clouds,
bring them forward, down, upon (the earth?),
in a thousand streams, in ten thousand streams!
May you, O Orderly Zarathustra, tell
disease to get lost,
destruction to get lost,
the disease of women to get lost,
the destruction of women to get lost,
the ... (?) and the ... (?) to get lost!

V.21.3
If he is destroyed in the morning,
it will heal (him) by day.
If he is destroyed by day,
it will heal (him) by night.
If he is destroyed by night,
it will heal (him) before dawn.
May they rain in rains far and wide,
new water, new earth, new plants,
new remedies, and new *healings.

V.21.4
As (?) the Vourukasha Sea
is an assembly place of the waters (?),
rise and take up your position(?)—
in (your) course above the earth,
above the earth in (your) course!
Rise and go about,
(you) at whose birth and growth,
Ahura Mazdâ laid down (your) course.

V.21.5
Rise with your rising, O sun with fleet horses!
Over tall Harâ you shall make light among the living beings.
Rise, even if you are held fast in the mountain,
along the path set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
along the route assigned by the assigner,
along the course cut out (for you).

V.21.6
And before him ... (?),
and before him the life-giving poetic thought.[1]
Here I shall wash your birth and growth,
I purify your body and (tissue-)strength,
I make you pregnant, (I fill your breasts?) with milk.[2]

V.21.7
Full of *butter, full of milk,
full of milk, full of butter-oil,
full of marrow, full of offspring,
I shall wash you here with a thousand springs,
flowing into your breasts,
which is the nourishment for your son.

V.21.8
As (?) the Vourukasha Sea ...
(you) at whose birth and growth,
Ahura Mazdâ set in place the earth.

V.21.9
Rise with your rising, O moon with the seed of cattle,
Over tall Harâ you shall make light among the living beings.
Rise, even if you are held fast in the mountain ...
along a course cut out (for you).

V.21.10
And before him ...
I make you pregnant, (I fill your breasts?) with milk.
V.21.11
Full of *butter, full of milk ...
which is the nourishment for your son.

V.21.12
As (?) the Vourukasha Sea ...
(you) at whose birth and growth,
Ahura Mazdâ set in place the rising (of the sun, etc.).

V.21.13
Rise at your rising, O stars, deep, containing the seed of the waters!
Over tall Harâ you shall make light among the living beings.
Rise, even if you are held fast in the mountain ...
along a course cut out (for you)

V.21.14
And before *them ...
I make you pregnant, (I fill your breasts?) with milk.

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[1] Cf. Y.9.26.

[2] Addressed to Dawn, who is pregnant with the sun and whose udders (image of the mother cow) are frequently mentioned in the Rigveda.

V.21.15
Full of *butter, full of milk ...
which is the nourishment for your son.

V.21.16
As (?) the Vourukasha Sea ...
(you) at whose birth and growth,
Ahura Mazdâ set in place the rising (of the sun, etc.).

V.21.17
Rise with your rising!
You are called away, O ...,
you are called away, O ...,
you are called away, O evil woman full of sorcery.

V.21.18-33
May I conquer and chase ... (long list)
May you not destroy the bony living beings of Order!
Order is **the best good** ...

The Evil Spirit makes diseases, Airyaman heals them

V.22.1
Ahura Mazdâ said to Spitama Zarathustra:
I, Ahura Mazdâ, the giver/maker of good things,
when I made that house, beautiful, luminous, visible
going up, going away (into the distance?),—

V.22.2
then the villain looked at me,
then the villain, the Evil Spirit full of destruction,
made against me 99,000 diseases.
So may you heal me, O life-giving poetic thought,
you of great munificence!

V.22.3
For this I shall give you at one and the same time
a thousand fleet, *firmly-running horses.
I shall sacrifice (to you), O Orderly Good Glow (= Dawn?),
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
For this I shall give you at once
a thousand ... camels, with ... humps.
I shall sacrifice (to you), O Orderly good Glow,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

V.22.4
For this I shall give you at once
a thousand black bulls whose bodies are not forfeit.
I shall sacrifice (to you), O Orderly Good Glow,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.
For this I shall give you at once
a thousand sheep ... of all colors.
I shall sacrifice (to you), O Orderly good Glow,
set in place by Ahura Mazdâ.

V.22.5
And I invite you
with the beautiful qualified Invitation,[1]
with the friendly qualified Invitation,
which makes what is empty full,
and what is full overflowing,
(and) which binds that which is not sick,
and makes healthy that which is sick.

V.22.6
The life-giving poetic thought of great munificence
answered him:
How shall I heal you?
How shall I ward off from you 99,000 diseases?

V.22.7
Ahura Mazdâ, the creator, *called Nairya Sangha:
O eloquent Nairya Sangha, go away!
Drive up to the house of Airyaman!
Tell Airyaman this:

V.22.8
Orderly Ahura Mazdâ tells you this:
I, Ahura Mazdâ, the giver/maker of good things,
when I made that house, beautiful, luminous, visible
going up, going away (into the distance?),—

V.22.9
then the villain looked at me,
then the villain, the Evil Spirit full of destruction,
made against me 99,000 diseases.
So may you heal me, O life-giving poetic thought,
you of great munificence!

V.22.10-12
For this I shall give you at once ...
and makes healthy that which is sick.

V.22.13
In obedience to his word
eloquent Nairya Sangha went away.
He drove up to the house of Airyaman.
He told Airyaman this:

V.22.14-18
Orderly Ahura Mazdâ tells you this:
I, Ahura Mazdâ ...

[1] Cf. Y.1.15.

and makes healthy that which is sick.

V.22.19
Quickly that was (done. It was) not long
before speedy Airyama, hurrying,
reached Mount Spenta.frasnah,
to the forest Spenta.frasnah.

V.22.20
He brought the *benefit[1] of nine male horses,
he, speedy Airyaman.
He brought the *benefit of nine male camels,
he, speedy Airyaman.
He brought the *benefit of nine male bulls,
he, speedy Airyaman.
He brought the *benefit of nine male sheep,
he, speedy Airyaman.
He brought nine channels.
He brought nine *furrows.

V.22.21-26
May I conquer and chase ... (long list)
May you not destroy the bony living beings of Order!
Order is **the best good** ...
I scorn the old gods.

One is the path of Order.
All (those) of the others are *non-paths.
*The *daênâ* of the Evil Spirit leads the most astray.
Destruction of those who sacrifice to the old gods!
Fame for (our) men!

[1] Cf. V.3.25, which shows that the word has to do with fertilization.

HÂDÔKHT NASK 1. PRAISE OF ORDER

H.1.1
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
Which is that speech of yours in which there is
the utterance of all good things,
of all good things from the seed of Order?

H.1.2
Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
The praises of Order, Zarathustra.

H.1.3
He who praises Order
turned to foreknowing thought (of what the rewards will be),
with faith (and) desire for (new) Life—
he praises me, Ahura Mazdâ,
he praises the water and the earth,
he praises the cow and the plants,
he praises all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ
from the seed of Order.

H.1.4
For when the *Ahuna Vairya* is uttered,
then this word of power and obstruction-smashing strength
revitalizes breath-soul and *daênâ*.

H.1.5
For this single praise of Order,
O Spitama Zarathustra,
or one satisfaction of an Orderly one
is worth the hundred (nights) of sleep,
the thousand meals of meat, ten thousand of mutton
of any single one of these bodies
that comes before (me) as guest (in my house?).

H.1.6
Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth ten other praises of Order
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.7
Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) when eating:
with Wholeness and Immortality he praises Order,
saying forth in praise (thoughts) well thought,
(words) well spoken, and (acts) well done,
while discarding (thoughts) badly thought,
(words) badly spoken, and (acts) badly done.

H.1.8
Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth a hundred other praises of Order
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.9
Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) after eating:
he praises the Order of the pressed haoma,
saying forth in praise (thoughts) well thought ...
(words) badly spoken, and (acts) badly done.

H.1.10
Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth a thousand other praises of Order
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.11
Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) stretching himself before sleep:
going to sleep he praises Order
saying forth in praise (thoughts) well thought ...
(words) badly spoken, and (acts) badly done.

H.1.12
Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth ten thousand other praises of Order
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.13
Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) waking from sleep
waking up he praises Order
saying forth in praise (thoughts) well thought ...
(words) badly spoken, and (acts) badly done.

H.1.14
Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth this entire continent of Khwaniratha
with its cattle, its chariots, *full of (heroic/virile) men,
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.15
Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) the one a man (utters) at the last turn of (his) life:
he praises Order
saying (it) forth in praise (thoughts) well thought, (words)

well spoken, (acts) well done,
discarding (thoughts) badly thought, (words) badly spoken,
(acts) badly done.

H.1.16
Which is the one praise of Order
that is worth all this which is between heaven and earth,
as well as this earth and those lights,
and all good things set in place by Ahura Mazdâ,
whose seed is from Order,
with cattle, chariots, *full of (heroic/virile) men,
in greatness, goodness, and beauty?

H.1.17
Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
Well, O Orderly Zarathustra,
(it is) that one (a man utters)
when he turns away from (thoughts) badly thought,
(words) badly spoken, (acts) badly done.

HÂDÔKHT NASK 2. MYTH OF THE BREATH-SOUL AND THE VISION-SOUL AFTER DEATH

H.2.1
Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ:
O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit,
Orderly creator of all things in the bony world of the living!
When an Orderly one dies,
where does his soul dwell that night?

H.2.2
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
It sits near the head,
proclaiming the *Ushtawaitî Gâthâ*,
calling down the prayer with **Wished-for things**:
Wished-for things are **in the wish for him**, **to whomever Mazdâ Ahura**, **commanding at will**, **shall give** them.
(**2**.43.1)
During this night the soul *enjoys as much joy
as in this entire existence of being alive.

H.2.3
Where does his soul dwell this second night?

H.2.4
Then Ahura Mazdâ said: ...
During that night the soul *enjoys as much joy ...

H.2.5
Where does his soul dwell this third night?

H.2.6
Then Ahura Mazdâ said: ...
During that night the soul *enjoys as much joy ...

H.2.7
At dawn of the third night
it seems to the breath-soul of the Orderly man that it gets light.
It seems (to him) he is passing through plants and perfumes.
A wind seems to blow toward him
from the southern direction,
from the southern directions,
fragrant—more fragrant than (all) other winds.

H.2.8
Then it seems to the breath-soul of the Orderly man
that he *breathes that wind through his nose (thinking):
Wherefrom does that wind blow,
the most fragrant wind I have ever smelled?

H.2.9
Through that wind there seems to him
to be coming forth his own *daênâ*
in the form of a beautiful, *radiant, young woman,
with white arms, powerful, well-shaped,
*slender, tall, with high breasts,
with *sinuous body, high-born, of wealthy stock,
fifteen-year-old in looks, in form so much more beautiful
than the most beautiful living beings.

H.2.10
Then the breath-soul of the Orderly man asks her saying:
What woman are you, the most beautiful of women
I have ever seen?

H.2.11
She, his own *daênâ*, says to him in turn:
Well, I am, O youth, your good thought,
good speech, good action, good *daênâ*,
your own *daênâ* of your own body.
(The breath-soul:)
And who loved you with such greatness,
goodness, and beauty,
such fragrance, victory, obstruction-smashing strength,
as you appear to me?

H.2.12
(The *daênâ*:)
You loved me with such greatness ...
as I appear to you.

H.2.13
When you saw another making burnt offerings
and offerings of incense and ...
and spreading out plants (flowers?)
then you sat down performing the *Gâthâ*s,
sacrificing to the good waters,
(nurturing) the fire of Ahura Mazdâ,
and seeking to please the Orderly man (coming) from near
(and far).

H.2.14
Then (you made) me,
(already) befriended (even) more befriended,
(already) beautiful (even) more beautiful,
(already) *praiseworthy (even) more *praiseworthy.
You seated me (already) sitting on a superior seat
on an (even) more superior seat,
by this (thought) well thought, (speech) well spoken,
and (deed) well done.
Then afterward (other) men (too) sacrifice to me,
Ahura Mazdâ, with long sacrifices and consultations.

H.2.15
The breath-soul of the Orderly man took a first step,
set it down in Good Thought.
The breath-soul of the Orderly man took a second step,
set it down in Good Speech.
The breath-soul of the Orderly man took a third step,
set it down in Good Deeds.
The breath-soul of the Orderly man took a fourth step,
set it down in the Endless Lights.

H.2.16
Then an Orderly one who had died before asks him:
How, O Orderly one, did you pass on?
How, O Orderly one, did you go away
from the settlements full of milk
and from the ... full of pleasures,
from the bony existence to the existence of thought,
from the perilous existence to the existence free from peril?
How was your long (journey) in wished-for (space?)?

H.2.17
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Don't ask him whom you are asking,
for he has come along the tortuous, fearsome, bloody road
which is the wrenching apart of bone and consciousness.

H.2.18
Let some of (the best) foods be brought him,
some spring ghee.
That is the food after death for the youth
of good thought, good speech, and good action.
That is the food after death for the woman
who thinks more good (thoughts),
speaks more good (words), does more good (deeds),
the Orderly (woman) who is easy to *instruct,
whose command is according to the model.

H.2.19
Zarathustra asked ... Orderly one!
When one possessed by the Lie dies,
where does his breath-soul dwell that night?

H.2.20
Then Ahura Mazdâ said:
Well, it runs about near the head of the bed,
O Orderly Zarathustra,
proclaiming words of *Kamnamaêza* from the *Gâthâ*s,
To what ground am I bending?
O Ahura Mazdâ,
Where shall I go to find(?) **a *grazing land**? (**2.**46.1)
During that night the breath-soul *enjoys as much unjoy
as this entire living existence.

H.2.21
Zarathustra asked ... Orderly one!
When one possessed by the Lie dies,
where does his breath-soul dwell that second night?

H.2.22
Then Ahura Mazdâ said: ...
During that night the breath-soul *enjoys as much unjoy ...

H.2.23
Zarathustra asked ... Orderly one!
When one possessed by the Lie dies,
where does his breath-soul dwell that third night?

H.2.24
Then Ahura Mazdâ said: ...
During that night the breath-soul *enjoys as much unjoy ...

H.2.25
At dawn of the third night,
O Orderly Zarathustra,
it seems to the breath-soul of the man possessed by the Lie
that it gets light.
It seems (to him) he is being stretched out
through *impassable places and stenches.
A wind seems to blow toward him
from the northern direction,
from the northern directions,
stinking—more stinking than (all) other winds.

H.2.26
Then it seems to the breath-soul of the man possessed by the Lie
that he *breathes that wind through his nose (thinking):
Wherefrom does that wind blow,
the most stinking wind I have ever smelled?

H.2.27-33
...
The breath-soul of the man possessed by the Lie took a fourth step,
set it down in the Endless Darknesses.

H.2.34
Then one possessed by the Lie who had died before asked him:
How, O you possessed by the Lie, did you die?
How, O you possessed by the Lie, did you go away
from the settlements full of milk ...
from the perilous existence to the existence free from peril?
How was your long (journey) in woe?

H.2.35
Then the Evil Spirit howled:
Don't ask him whom you are asking,
for he has come along the tortuous, painful, bloody road
which is the wrenching apart of bone and consciousness.

H.2.36
Let foods be brought him of poison
and with the stench of poison.
That is the food after dying for the youth
of bad thought, bad speech, bad action.
That is the food after dying for the evil woman
who thinks more bad (thoughts),
speaks more bad (words), does more bad (deeds),
who is difficult to *instruct,
whose command is not according to the Models,
the one possessed by the Lie.

H.2.37 = Yt.1.30
H.2.38 = Yt.1.28, 31

H.2.39
Orderly creator ...
*Wherefrom are the pre-souls of the dead,
which are the pre-souls of the Orderly?

H.2.40
Ahura Mazdâ said to him in turn:
From the Life-giving Spirit, O Zarathustra,
is their seed and from best thought.

H.2.41
Then, before the rising of the dawns,
this bird the Fore-seer,
this bird with *fangs like knives(?),
hears the voice of the fire.

H.2.42
Then the villainess Sloth with long hands rushes forth
from the northern direction
from the northern directions,
speaking thus, lying thus:
Sleep O men!
Sleep, O you short-living ones!
Sleep, O you short-lived ones!

THE CYRUS CYLINDER

[...] a weakling was established as ruler over his land and [...] a similar one he appointed over them, like Esagila he made [...] to Ur and the rest of the cities, like Esagila he made [...] to Ur and the rest of the cities, a command dishonoring them [...] he planned daily and in enmity, he caused the daily offering to cease; he appointed [...] he established within the city.

The worship of Marduk, king of the gods [...] he showed hostility toward his city daily [...] his people; he brought all of them to ruin through servitude without rest.

On account of their complaints, the lords of the gods became furiously angry and left their land; the gods, who dwelt among them, left their homes, in anger over his bringing into Babylon. Marduk [...] to all the dwelling places, which had become ruins, and the people of Sumer and Akkad, who were like corpses [...] he turned and granted mercy.

In all lands everywhere he searched; he looked through them and sought a righteous prince after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. He called Cyrus, king of Anshan, by name; he appointed him to lordship over the whole world. The land of Qutu, all the Umman-manda, he cast down at his feet. The black-headed people, whom he gave his hands to conquer, he took them in justice and righteousness.

Marduk, the great lord, looked joyously on the caring for his people, on his pious works and his righteous heart. To his city, Babylon, he caused him to go; he made him take the road to Babylon, going as a friend and companion at his side. His numerous troops, in unknown numbers, like the waters of a river, marched armed at his side. Without battle and conflict, he permitted him to enter Babylon. He spared his city, Babylon, a calamity. Nabonidus, the king, who did not fear him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, Sumer, and Akkad, princes and governors, fell down before him and kissed his feet. They rejoiced in his sovereignty; their faces shone. The lord, who by his power brings the dead to life, who amid destruction and injury had protected them, they joyously blessed him, honoring his name.

I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world, son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anshan; great-grandson of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of Anshan; eternal seed of royalty whose rule Bêl and Nabû love, in whose administration they rejoice in their heart. When I made my triumphal entrance into Babylon, I took up my lordly residence in the royal palace with joy and rejoicing; Marduk, the great lord, moved the noble heart of the residents of Babylon to me, while I gave daily attention to his worship. My numerous troops marched peacefully into Babylon. In all Sumer and Akkad I permitted no enemy to enter.

The needs of Babylon and of all its cities I gladly attended to. The people of Babylon [and ...], and the shameful yoke was removed from them. Their dwellings, which had fallen, I restored. I cleared out their ruins.

Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced in my pious deeds, and graciously blessed me, Cyrus, the king who worships him, and Cambyses, my own son, and all my troops, while we, before him, joyously praised his exalted godhead.

All the kings dwelling in palaces, of all the quarters of the earth, from the Upper to the Lower sea dwelling [...] all the kings of the Westland dwelling in tents brought me their heavy tribute, and in Babylon kissed my feet.

From [...] to Asshur and Susa, Agade, Eshnunak, Zamban, Meturnu, Deri, with the territory of the land of Qutu, the cities on the other side of the Tigris, whose sites were of ancient foundation—the gods, who resided in them, I brought back to their places, and caused them to dwell in a residence for all time.

And the gods of Sumer and Akkad—whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the lord of the gods, had brought into Babylon—by the command of Marduk, the great lord, I caused them to take up their dwelling in residences that gladdened the heart.

May all the gods, whom I brought into their cities, pray daily before Bêl and Nabû for long life for me, and may they speak a gracious word for me and say to Marduk, my lord: May Cyrus, the king who worships you, and Cambyses, his son, their [...] I permitted all to dwell in peace [...]

From http://www.kchanson.com/ANCDOCS/meso/cyrus.html

FROM THE ACHAEMENID INSCRIPTIONS (6TH-4TH CENTURIES B.C.E.)

FROM DARIUS'S BEHISTUN/BISOTUN INSCRIPTION

DB 1.1-3
I am Darius, the great king, king of kings,
king in Persia, king over the lands,
the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames,
an Achaemenid.

DB 1.3-7
King Darius announces:
My father is Hystaspes, Hystaspes' father was Arsames,
Arsames' father was Ariaramnes, Ariaramnes' father was Teispes,
Teispes' father was Achaemenes.

DB 1.7-8
King Darius announces:
For that reason are we called Achaemenids.
From old we have been distinguished,
from old *our* family have been kings.

DB 1.8-11
King Darius announces:
Eight of my family were kings before. I am the ninth
From then till now, nine of us have been kings.

DB 1.11-12
King Darius announces:
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I am king.
Ahuramazdâ conferred the royal command upon me.

DB 1.12-17
King Darius announces:
These are the lands that came to me.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I was their king.
Persia, Elam, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, and Egypt,—
those by the sea: Sardis, Ionia,—
Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Areia, Chorasmia,
Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandhara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, the Makranians.
All in all 23 lands.

DB 1.17-20
King Darius announces:
These are the lands that came to me,
by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
they were my bondsmen.
They brought me tribute.
Whatever was announced to them from me, that they would do.

DB 1.20-24
King Darius announces:
In these lands, any man who was *praiseworthy,
him I treated well.
Whoever was evil,[1] him I punished well.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
these lands behaved according to *my* law.
As was announced to them from me,
thus they would do.

DB 1.24-26
King Darius announces:
Ahuramazdâ conferred the royal command upon me.
Ahuramazdâ brought me support until I held this royal command together.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I (now) hold this royal command.

DB 1.26-35
King Darius announces:
This is what I have done after I became king.
Before, Cambyses, son of Cyrus, of our family, was king here.
That Cambyses had a brother called Smerdis,
with the same mother and father as Cambyses.
Then Cambyses killed that Smerdis.
When Cambyses killed Smerdis, the people/army did not realize that Smerdis had been killed.
Then Cambyses went to Egypt.
When Cambyses had gone to Egypt, then the people became impious,
and Deception became rampant in the lands,
both in Persia and Media and in the other lands.

DB 1.35-40
King Darius announces:
Then there was a man called Gaumâta.
He rose up from Mount Arakadri in Paishiyâuvâda.
It was on the 14th of the month of Viyaxana when he rose up.
He lied to the people as follows:
"I am Smerdis, son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses."

DB 1.40-43
Then the people in its entirety conspired against Cambyses.

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[1] Possibly: siding with the Evil Spirit.

They went over to that (other) one,
both Persia and Media and the other lands.
He seized the royal command.
It was on the 9th of the month of Garmapada that he seized the royal command.
Then Cambyses died from natural causes.

DB 1.43-48
King Darius announces:
This royal command that Gaumâta the Magian took from Cambyses,
this royal command belonged to our family from old.
Gaumâta the Magian took it from Cambyses.
He appropriated Persia, Media and other lands.
He made (them) his own. He became king.

DB 1.48-54
King Darius announces:
There was not a (single) man,
either Persian, Median, or anyone of our family,
who could have taken the royal command from that Gaumâta the Magian.
The army feared him strongly.
He would kill in large numbers the people who had known Smerdis in the past.
For the following reason he would kill the people (thinking):
"May it (they) not learn that I am not Smerdis son of Cyrus!"
Nobody dared say anything about Gaumâta the Magian until I arrived.

DB 1.54-61
Then I called upon Ahuramazdâ for help.
Ahuramazdâ brought me support.
It was on the 10th of the month of Bâgayâdi,
then I killed that Gaumâta the Magian with just a few men,
as well as the men who were his foremost followers.
I killed him in the fortress of Sikayauvati in the land of Nisâya in Media.
I took the royal command from him.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I became king.
Ahuramazdâ conferred the royal command upon me.

DB 1.61-71
King Darius announces:
I put back in its place the royal command that had been taken away from our family.
I set it in its proper place, just like before.
I did the same for the sacrifices that Gaumâta the Magian had destroyed.
I restored to the people the pastures, the cattle, the household (slaves),
and together with the homelands that Gaumâta the Magian had taken from them.
I put back in its place the people,
both Persia and Media, and the other lands,
just like before.
I brought back whatever had been taken away.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ I did this.
I exerted myself until I had put back in its place our home, just like before.
In that manner I exerted myself by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ
so that Gaumâta the Magian did not take away our homeland.

DB 1.71-73
King Darius announces:
This is what I did after I became king.
...

DB 4.31-32
King Darius announces:
These are the nine kings I seized in these battles.

DB 4.33-36
King Darius announces:
These lands which conspired, the Lie made them conspire, so that these (men) deceived the people.
Then Ahuramazdâ put them in my hands.
As was my wish, thus I [did to] them.

DB 4.36-40
King Darius announces:
You who will be king in the future, guard strongly against the Lie.
The man who is a possessed by the Lie, punish him well if you think:
"May my country be healthy!"

DB 4.45-50
King Darius announces:
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ and by my (greatness) much other has been done.
That has not been written in this inscription.
It has not been written in order that what I have done may seem (too) much
to him who reads this inscription in the future,
and he may not believe it and think it is said to deceive.

DB 4.50-52
King Darius announces:
Those who were kings in the past, did not do as much while they were (kings)
as I have done in one and the same year,
by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ.

DB 4.52-57
King Darius announces:
Believe now what I have done!

Likewise, do not hide it from the people/army!
If you do not hide this testimony and tell the people/army,
(then) may Ahuramazdâ favor you, and may you have much family, and may you live long!

DB 4.57-59
King Darius announces:
If you hide this testimony and do not tell the people/army,
(then) may Ahuramazdâ smite you,
and may you have no family!

DB 4.59-61
King Darius announces:
this which I did in one and the same year,
that I did by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ.
Ahuramazdâ bore me aid,
as well as the other gods who are.

DB 4.61-67
King Darius announces:
For this reason Ahuramazdâ bore me aid,
as well as the other gods who are,
because I was not *evil.
I was not possessed by the Lie,
I did nothing crooked, neither I nor my family.
I wandered in rectitude.
I did wrong to neither the poor nor the mighty.
The man who exerted himself in my homeland, him I treated well.
Whoever did evil, him I punished well.

DB 4.67-69
King Darius announces:
You who are king in the future, shall not favor the man who is a lier
or him who does crooked deeds,
(but) punish him well.

DB 4.69-72
King Darius announces:
You who in the future see this inscription
which I have written or these reliefs,
do not destroy them,
(but) preserve them as long as you can!

DB 4.72-76
King Darius announces:
If you see this inscription or these reliefs
and do not destroy them
and preserve them as long as you can,
may Ahuramazdâ favor you!
And may you have much family,
and may you live long!

DB 4.76-80
King Darius announces:
If you see this inscription or these reliefs
and destroy them
and do not preserve them for as long as you have a family,
may Ahuramazdâ strike you!
And may you have no family!
And may Ahuramazdâ destroy whatever you do!
...

DB 5.14-18
King Darius announces:
Those Elamites were *evil
and did not sacrifice to Ahuramazdâ.
I sacrificed to Ahuramazdâ.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
I did with them as I wished.

DB 5.18-20
King Darius announces:
He who sacrifices to Ahuramazdâ,
he shall get his wish,
both (while still) alive and (when) dead. ...

INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS AT ELVAND

DE 1-11
Ahuramazdâ is the great god
who set in place this earth,
who set in place yonder sky,
who set in place man,
who set in place peace for man,
who made Darius king,
one king over many, one commander of many.

DE 11-19
I am Darius, the great king, king of kings,
king over lands of many kinds, king over this earth,
the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS AT HAMADAN

DH 1-3
Darius, the great king, king of kings,
king over lands,
the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

DH 3-7
King Darius announces:
This is the royal command that I hold—
from the Scythians who are beyond the Sogdians,
from there all the way to Kush,
from Hindu, from there all the way to Sardis—

which Ahuramazdâ gave me, he the greatest among the gods.
Let Ahuramazdâ protect me and my homeland.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TOMB OF DARIUS AT NAQSH-E ROSTAM

DNa 30-38
King Darius announces:
When Ahuramazdâ saw this earth was in turmoil,
then he gave it to me.
He made me king. I am king.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
I set it down in its place.
They did whatever was told them by me,
as was my wish.

DNa 38-47
And if you think:
"How were those countries which Darius the king held?"
—then look at the figures that carry the throne.
Then you will know, then you will realize how far the Persian man's spear has gone.
Then you will realize how far the Persian man has fought battles back from Persia.

DNa 47-55
King Darius announces:
This that has been done, I did it all by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ.
Ahuramazdâ bore me aid until I was able to do it.
Let Ahuramazdâ protect me from the evil stench,
as well as my house and this land.
This I ask of Ahuramazdâ.
Let Ahuramazdâ give it to me!

DNa 55-60
O man, may not Ahura Mazdâ's intent seem evil to you!
Do not leave the straight path!
Do not be obstinate!

DNb1-5
The great god is Ahuramazdâ,
who set in place this perfection that can be seen,
who set in place peace for man,
who bestowed upon Darius guiding thought and fleetness.

DNb 5-13
King Darius announces:
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ I am of such a sort that I favor what is straight,
I do not favor what is devious.
It is not my wish that a poor man should be wronged
on account of the mighty,
nor is it my wish that the mighty should be wronged
on account of the poor.
What is straight, that is my wish.
I am not a friend of the one who lies.

DNb 13-15
I do not anger easily.
I control firmly by my thought whatever conflict arises in me .
I am firmly in command of myself.

DNb 16-24
I treat the man who exerts himself according to his achievement.
I punish according to his evil deed him who does evil.
It is neither my wish that a man should do evil,
nor is it my wish that a man who does evil should not be punished.
I do not believe what a man says against (another) man
until I hear the *testimony of both (of them).

DNb 24-27
I am satisfied with whatever a man does or brings about according to his powers.
That is what I really wish and what makes me pleased.
(...)

DNb 27-32
And my understanding and intent are of such a sort as you see or hear from what I have done,
both at home and abroad.
This is my agility in thought and understanding.

DNb 32-40
And this, in addition, is the fleetness of which my body is capable.
As a battle-fighter I am a good battle-fighter.
Once it is clearly established in my understanding whether what I see is something conspiratorial,
with my understanding and intent,
at that time I consider myself less fearful
—when I *see* something conspiratorial—than if I do not.

DNb 40-45
I am in control of my hands and feet.
As a horseman I am a good horseman.
As an archer I am a good archer,
both on foot and on horseback.
As a spear-man I am a good spear-man,
both on foot and on horseback.

DNb 45-50

And I was able to carry these manly qualities
which Ahuramazdâ bestowed upon me.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
what I have done, I did with these manly qualities
which Ahuramazdâ bestowed upon me.

DNb 50-55
Young man, make it perfectly clear to yourself of what sort I am!
Do not let it seem [...] to you of what sort your manly qualities are and of what sort your behavior is.
Listen to whatever someone says in your ear!
...

DNb 55-57
Young man, do not let that which [...] does seem [..] to you!
Also look at what the poor man does!

INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS AT PERSEPOLIS

DPd 1-5
The great Ahuramazdâ,
the greatest among the gods,
set Darius in place as king.
He gave him the royal command.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, Darius is king.

DPd 5-12
King Darius announces:
This land of Persia, which Ahuramazdâ gave to me,
which is beautiful, which has good horses and men,
by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ and me, King Darius, fears no one else.

DPd 12-20
King Darius announces:
Let Ahuramazdâ together with all the other gods bring me aid!
And let Ahuramazdâ protect this land from armies, famine, and the Lie.
May neither armies, famine, or the Lie come to this land!

DPd 20-24
For this I ask Ahuramazdâ together with all the other gods.
Let Ahuramazdâ together with all the other gods grant me this wish.

INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS AT SUSA

DSf 55-58
King Darius announces:
In Susa much perfect work was ordered done,
(and) much perfect work was done.
Let Ahuramazdâ protect me, my father Hystaspes, and my land!

DSk
I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king over lands,
the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

King Darius announces:
Ahuramazdâ is mine.
I am Ahuramazdâ's.
I sacrificed to Ahuramazdâ.
Let Ahuramazdâ bring me aid.[1]

INSCRIPTIONS OF XERXES AT PERSEPOLIS

XPh 28-35
King Xerxes announces:
When I had become king, there was among the lands that are written above one that was in turmoil.
Then Ahuramazdâ brought me aid.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ,
I smashed that land and set it down in its place.

XPh 35-41
And among these lands there was a place where previously foreign gods[2] were sacrificed to.
Then, by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I destroyed that den of foreign gods and proclaimed:
"The foreign gods are not receive sacrifices!"
Where previously the foreign gods had received sacrifices, there I sacrificed to Ahuramazdâ according to the Order up on high.

XPh 41-46
And there was much other evil that had been done,
which I made good.
All this that I did, I did by the greatness of Ahuramazdâ.

XPh 46-56
If you who come hereafter should think:
"May I be happy while alive and one with Order when dead!"—
(then) behave according to the law which Ahuramazdâ set down.
You should sacrifice to Ahuramazdâ according to the Order up on high.
The man who behaves according to the law which Ahuramazdâ set down.
and sacrifices to Ahuramazdâ according to the Order up on

[1] The principles of mutual dependency and gift exchange.
[2] That is, non-Zoroastrian. He uses the term *daivas*, the Avestan old gods.

high,
he will both be happy while alive and one with Order when dead.

XPh 56-60
King Xerxes announces:
Let Ahuramazdâ protect me from the evil stench,
as well as my house and this land!

INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES II AT SUSA

A^2Sa 1-3
Artaxerxes announces,
(he) the great king, king of kings,
king over lands, king over this earth,
the son of King Darius,
of Darius, the son of King Artaxerxes,
of Artaxerxes, the son of King Xerxes,
of Xerxes, the son of King Darius,
of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

A^2Sa 3-4
Darius, my great-grandfather made this colonnade.
Later on, under Artaxerxes, my grandfather, it burnt down.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, Anâhitâ, and Mithra, I ordered this colonnade to be made.

A^2Sa 4-5
Let Ahuramazdâ, Anâhitâ, and Mithra protect me from all evil stench!
And let not a sorcerer or magician destroy this that I have made!

LETTER FROM DARIUS I TO HIS SATRAP GADATAS

This inscription is in the Louvre, Paris.
(transl. after Crawford-Whitehead 1983, 95B)

The King of Kings, Dareios son of Hystaspes, says this to his slave (*doulos*) Gadatas:

I find that you are not obeying my commands in all respects.

Insofar as you are cultivating my land and planting the furthest parts of Asia with the fruit-trees from across the Euphrates, I praise your design and as a result great favor will lie in store for you in the house (*oikos*) of the King.

But insofar as you are flouting my arrangement (*diathesis*) with respect to the gods, I shall make you experience the wrath of my spirit unless you change your course.

For you are exacting tribute from the sacred gardeners of Apollo and ordering them to cultivate profane land, ignorant of my ancestors' attitude to their god, who enjoined strict uprightness (*atrekeia*) on the Persians and ...

ELAMITE AND ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM PERSEPOLIS

PF 336

40 *bar* barley at the disposal of Bakumira was obtained by Baqabana. He made a divine libation for the goddess Mishdushi. Afterward the *workers consumed it. Year 19.

PF 337

80 *bar* barley at the disposal of Bakumira (*Bagawîra) was obtained by Baqabana (*Bagapâna). He made a divine libation: 40 *bar* for Ahuramazdâ, 40 *bar* for the goddess Mishdushi. Afterward the *workers consumed it. Year 22.

PF 338

16 jugs of wine at the disposal of Shá-ru-uk-ba were obtained by the priest Ap-pír-qa. He made it for Ahuramazdâ and the Visai-bagâ and Simut. Year 21.

PF 339

5 jugs and 7 *qa* of wine at the disposal of U-shá-ya were obtained by the priest Tur-*qa-ma: 7 *qa* for Ahuramazdâ, 2 jugs for Humban, 1 jug for the River Hu-pu-ti-ish, 1 jug for the River Shá-u-shá-nu-ish. He made it for (these) gods.

PF 757

12 jugs of wine at the disposal of Bar-ni-iz-za (*Farnaicha) were obtained by the magush Kur-qa, the performer of the *lan* (*lan lirira*) in Mar-sa-ish-kash, as libation (*daussa*) for the lan from the 6th to the 5th month, altogether 12 months. Year 17.

PF 760

1.5 jugs of wine at the disposal of Ma-ra-za were obtained by the *yashta* (*ya-ish-da*) as libation for the *lan* in Ma-te-iz-zí-ish for the 11th month. Year 23.

PF 761

4 *bar* of flour at the disposal of Ú-pír-ra-da (*Hufrâda) were obtained by the *yashta*, the *âterwaxsha* in Ma-te-iz-zí-ish, as libation for the *lan*—year 23—for the 4th month.

PF 774

50 *bar* of barley at the disposal of Hi-ki-ud-da were obtained by the priest Ir-tam$_5$-man-nu-ú-ish (Artamaniyush) in Bat-ra-qa-tash (Pâthrakata, Pasargadae) as *akrish* for the gods. Month 6, year 23.

PF 1942

50 (*bar* of barley) were obtained by the priest Artamaniyush in Pâthrakata as *akrish* for the gods...

In total 2326 *bar* one *qa* of barley were consumed. Year 19. At the control of Ha-da-rásh Mas-da-ya-ásh-na (Mazdayasna). At the disposal of Me-sa-ak-qa (*Vaisaka).

NN-2200

10 *irtiba* (of grain) Irdaupirriya (Ertâwa-friya) the magus, the *âterwaxsha* received, 3 rations for (the place) of Kurpabattishu, ... for Ahuramazda, 1 for the water (river?), 1 for ..., 1 for Ispandâramaiti, 1 for..., ... Irdanapirrurutish (Erdâna-frawertish), 1 for ..., for a whole year

NN-2362

4 (*marrish* of wine) Kambatish the magus daily received as ration of gods 1 for Narîsanga 1 for Irdanapirrurutish (Erdâna-frawertish), 1 for the mountain Battinasha one for Vise-baga, in total, it was for a whole year.

THE ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM PERSEPOLIS

No. 10

In the administration of the Fortress (= Persepolis), under the authority of Mithrapâta, the segan (official) Vahufarna made this large pestle of stone together with a large mortar under the authority of Dâtamithra, the treasurer.

Delivery of year 13.

THE IRANIAN CREATION MYTH ACCORDING TO PLUTARCH (1ST-2ND CENTS. C.E.)

This is the opinion of the majority and the wisest of men. Some believe there are two gods, rival craftsmen (*antitekhnoi)*, as it were, the one the creator (*dêmiourgos*) of good things, the other of evil things. Others call the better divinity god (*theos*) and the other demon (*daimôn*), as does Zoroaster the Magian, who they say lived five thousand years before the Trojan war. Zoroaster called the former Horomasdes and the latter Areimanios. Furthermore, he showed that one was more like light than anything else apprehended by the senses, the other more like darkness and ignorance, and Mithrês midway between the two; hence Mithrês is known to the Persians as the Mediator (*mesitês*).

Zoroaster taught them to make to the one vows and thank offerings, to the other sacrifices for averting evil and things of depressing appearance. For example, while pounding in a mortar, a certain herb called Omômi, they appeal to Hades and to darkness; then they mix it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, take it to a place where the sun never shines, and throw it away. The reason for this is because they regard some plants as belonging to the beneficent god and others to the evil demon; some animals, such as dogs, birds, and hedgehogs, pertain, they hold, to the former, but water animals to the latter, and for this reason they account him fortunate who has killed most.

None the less, they too tell many mythological tales about the gods, such as the following. Horomasdes and Areimanios, the one begotten of the purest light, the other of darkness, are at war with each other. The first created six gods, the first of good will (*eunoia*), the second of truth (*alêtheia*), the third of good laws (*eunomia*), and, of the rest, one as creator (*dêmiourgos*) of wisdom (*sophia*), one of wealth (*plouton*), and one of pleasure in fine things.

And Areimanios created a similar number to be, as it were, the rivals of these. Then Horomasdes, having increased himself threefold, moved as far away from the sun as the sun is away from the earth and decorated the heaven with stars. He set up among them one star, Sirius, before the rest, to be, as it were, sentinel and scout. He also created twenty-four other gods and placed them in an egg (*ôón*). But the gods who were created by Areimanios, who were equal in number, bored a hole in the egg ... whence evil has become mingled with good.

But the destined time will come, when Areimanios will bring a plague and famine and inevitably perish by them utterly and disappear. Then the earth will become level and flat, and all men will be happy and speak one tongue and live one life under one form of government. Theopompos says that, according to the Magians, for three thousand years, each of the two gods is alternately supreme and in subjection and that, during another period of three thousand years, they fight and are at war, each upsetting the work of the other. But, in the end, Hades is left behind, and mankind will be happy, neither needing food nor casting shadows, and the god who brought this to pass (*mêkhanêsamenos*) is quiet and at rest for a time, on the whole not a long one for a god, but a reasonably long one for a man asleep. Of this kind then, is the mythology of the Magians.

THE MYTH OF ZURWÂN

From a Manichean hymn (M28IRii1-4)

And they say that Ohrmezd and Ahrimen are brothers.
And on account of this speech they will come to destruction.

From the *Denkard* (*Dk*.9.30.4)

And from the saying of Zardusht about the evil god Arsh, how he howled to people:
Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were brothers from one womb!

The myth of Zurvân in Armenian literature

Before the world existed there was Zurvân. He sacrificed for 1000 years to have a son who would create heaven and earth. Seeing his sacrifice had no effect he doubted its value, and from his doubt Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were conceived. Seeing he would bear two sons he decided that the first born would be king. Ohrmazd knew what his father was thinking and told his brother, who tore open his progenitor's womb and emerged. Ahrimen, insisting upon his rights was grudgingly accorded 9000 years of rule, after which Ohrmazd would rule. They both then began creating.

FROM THE MIDDLE PERSIAN (SASANIAN) ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTION OF SHABUHR (SHAPUR; 242-72 C.E.) I ON THE KA'BA-YE ZARDOSHT AT NAQSH-E ROSTAM

Conclusion

Now, in the same manner that We exerted Ourselves in the matters and services of the gods and are the property of the gods, so that, with the help of the gods, We sought and held all these lands and obtained great fame, in the same manner let he who comes after us and is fortunate also exert himself in the matters and services of the gods, so that the gods may help him too and make him their property!

FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF KERDÎR (CA. 276 C.E.)

INSCRIPTION OF KERDÎR ON THE KA'BA-YE ZARDOSHT AT NAQSH-E ROSTAM

Career under Shabuhr I (242-72)[1]

And I, Kerdîr, the high priest (*mowbed*), served the gods and Shabuhr, king of kings, well and received their good favor. And in return for the service I had performed for the gods and Shabuhr, king of kings, Shabuhr, king of kings, gave me full control and authority among the other priests over the services to the gods, both at the court, and throughout the realm.

And at the order of Shabuhr, king of kings, and with the help of the gods and the king of kings, the number of services for the gods was increased, many Victorious fires were established, many priests were rendered prosperous, many fires and priests received official letters of recognition, and, altogether, there was great profit for Ohrmazd and the other gods, while Ahrimen and the foreign gods[2] suffered great distress.

And, for all these fires and services that are listed in this inscription, Shabuhr, king of kings, appointed me in particular, stating: "Let this be your basis! Keep doing that which you know is best for the gods and Us!"

And on the various documents that were issued at that time under Shabuhr, king of kings, at the court and throughout the realm, it was written "Kerdîr, the religious teacher (*êhrbed*)."

Under Ohrmazd I (272-73)

And then, when Shabuhr, king of kings, went to the place of the gods and his son Ohrmazd, king of kings, ascended the throne, then Ohrmazd, king of kings, gave me my hat and my belt, and he made my rank and importance higher. And he gave me still greater control and authority over the services to the gods, both at the court, and throughout the realm. And he gave me the title "Kerdîr, High Priest of Ohrmazd," after the name of Ohrmazd the god.

And then, at that time, too, throughout the realm, the number of services for the gods was increased, many Victorious fires were established, many priests were rendered prosperous, and many fires and priests received official letters of recognition.

And on the various documents that were issued at that time under Ohrmazd, king of kings, at the court and throughout the realm, it was written "Kerdîr, High Priest of Ohrmazd."

Under Warahrân I (273-76)

And then, when Ohrmazd, king of kings, went to the place of the gods and his son Warahrân, king of kings, ascended the throne, then Warahrân, king of kings, too, held me in esteem and honor. And he likewise gave me control and authority over the services to the gods, both at the court, and throughout the realm.

And then, at that time, too, throughout the realm, the number of services for the gods was increased, many Victorious fires

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[1] This follows just below the end of Shabuhr's inscription.

[2] The *dêws*.

were established, many priests were rendered prosperous, and many fires and priests received official letters of recognition.

And on the various documents that were issued at that time under Warahrân, son of Ohrmazd, king of kings, at the court and throughout the realm, it was written "Kerdîr, High Priest of Ohrmazd."

Under Warahrân II (276-93)

And then, when Warahrân, king of kings, son of Shabuhr, went to the place of the gods and his son Warahrân, king of kings, son of Warahrân, ascended the throne and was generous, truthful, friendly, beneficent, and a well-doer in the land, then, out of love for Ohrmazd and the gods and his own soul, he elevated my position and honor in the land. And he gave me the rank of a Grandee.[1] And he gave me still greater control and authority over the services to the gods, both at the court, and throughout the entire realm than I had at first. And he made me high priest and judge of the whole realm and made me master of ceremonies and put me in charge of the fire of Anâhîd-Ardakhshahr at Stakhr.

And he gave me the title "Kerdîr, high priest of Ohrmazd, whose soul was saved by Warahrân."

And throughout the entire realm, the services to Ohrmazd and the gods were heightened; the Mazdayasnian *dên* and the clergy were greatly honored in the realm; and in the realm great blessing came to the gods, the water, the fire, and the cattle.

And in the realm Jews, Buddhists (*shaman*), Hindus (*braman*), Nazorean Christians and other Christians, baptists (*magdag*), and Manicheans (*zandîg*) were struck down, idol temples were destroyed, and the dens of the foreign gods were ruined and turned into thrones and seats for the gods. And throughout the realm, services to the gods were greatly increased. Many Victorious fires were established, many priests were rendered prosperous, and many fires and priests received official letters of recognition.

And on the various documents that were issued at that time under Warahrân, son of Warahrân, king of kings, at the court and throughout the realm, it was written "Kerdîr, high priest of Ohrmazd, whose soul was saved by Warahrân."

Kerdîr's achievements

From the beginning, I, Kerdîr, have labored hard for the sake of the gods, rulers, and my own soul. And I have made many fires and priests prosperous in the realm. And also in the neighboring lands, wherever the horses and men of the king of kings went to pillage, burn, and lay waste the land, by the order of the king of kings, I organized the fires and priests who were there in that land. I did not allow any of them to come to harm or be taken away as captives, and whoever had already been made captive, those I sent back to their own lands.

And I furthered the Mazdayasnian *dên* and the good priests in the land and honored them. But the heretics and unbelievers among the clergy who did not live correctly by the Mazdayasnian *dên* and the services to the gods, those I punished. And I "reprimanded" them until I had made them better.

And I issued official documents for many fires and priests, and with the help of the gods I managed to have many Victorious fires established in the realm. Many marriages between close relatives were celebrated, and many who did not have the faith[2] received it. There were many who believed in the foreign gods, but I managed to have them give up the faith in the foreign gods and take the faith in the gods. And many sacrifices were celebrated, and the *dên* was recalled in various ways.

And many other services to the gods have been increased and heightened as well, which are not mentioned here, because if it had been written down, it would have been too much.

And from my own funds I established many Victorious fires in various places, and, at all those fires that I had established from my own funds, I sacrificed at each *gâh*[3] 1133 *ratu*s, and in one year it was 6798 *ratu*s. And I performed many other various other services to the gods, too, from my own funds, which it would have been too much to mention in this inscription.

But I wrote this inscription in order that, whoever may see any of these documents in the future, he should know that I am that Kerdîr whom Shabuhr, king of kings, named "Kerdîr, the religious teacher," whom Ohrmazd, king of kings, and

[1] One of the highest social ranks.

[2] The same word that is translated as "guidance" in Avestan.

[3] Ritual moments of the days and years.

Warahrân, king of kings, named "Kerdîr, High Priest of Ohrmazd," and under Warahrân, son of Warahrân, king of kings, was named "Kerdîr, high priest of Ohrmazd, whose soul was saved by Warahrân."

And whoever sees and reads this inscription, let him be generous and truthful with respect to the gods and the rulers and his own soul, in the same way that I have been, so that fame and prosperity may befall this his material body and blessedness may befall that his material soul.

KERDÎR'S JOURNEY INTO THE BEYOND

Request for a vision

And when I asked the gods for help, I pointed out:

"If it is possible for you gods, then show me the nature of heaven and hell. And in the way it says in the holy scripture, namely, that, *When people pass on, then [...],*[1] *and he who is good, his own* dên *will come toward him in the form [of a young woman]. And he who is good,*[2] *his own* dên *will lead him to heaven, but he who is evil,*[3] *his own* dên *will lead him to hell*, let it be revealed to me in the same way here in life. In this way, when I pass on, then my own *dên* may come toward me in that same way. And if I prove to be good, then may my own *dên* appear like the one who leads to paradise. And if I prove to be bad, then may my own *dên* appear like the one who leads to hell."

And when I had inquired from those in the beyond regarding the sacrifices and religious services and the Mazdayasnian *dên* as it is performed here in life [...], then I performed strong[4] services. And in Pârs and Sagestân and various other places, and many priests were rendered happy and prosperous.

Preparations for the vision

After I had asked the gods for help in the manner it is written in this inscription, then, [at the time(?)] of Shabuhr, king of kings, I made a *seance[5] for the sake of the gods and my own soul: "May I prove to be good! But if I do prove to be bad, then may I took this faith in you, gods!"

And I also *insisted that: "If I prove to be good, then, do you gods show me now how it is in the beyond with those who are good, and so I will hold on to this faith in you, gods! And if I prove to be bad, then, do you gods show me now how it is in the beyond with those who are bad, and so I will hold firmly on to this faith which I received from you, gods, for all time!"

The vision

Then those *mediums that I had *put in a trance in that seance*, spoke as follows:

"We see a shining, princely horseman seated on an excellent horse, and he holds a banner in the hand.[6] And now a man has appeared, sitting on a throne with golden *ornaments, who looks exactly like Kerdîr. And a *servant boy stands [beside him]. And now a woman has appeared, coming from the east, and we have seen no woman more beautiful than her. And the road she is walking on is [very] luminous. And now she comes forth, and she and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr touch heads [and ...]. And that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr hold hands and proceed toward the east on that luminous road where the woman came. And that road is very luminous, indeed.

"And on that road, where that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr and that woman are walking, now a princely man appears, sitting on a throne with golden *ornaments. And a balance stands before him, just like [a man who] *weighs [...].[7] And now that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr stand before that princely man [...]."

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[1] [...] means that the text is erased or broken out of the stone.

[2] Originally: sustainer of Order.

[3] Originally: possessed by the Lie.

[4] The Pahl. term *abzâr* renders Av. *sûra* "life-giving."

[5] The exact words with * are not well understood; they are translated here from the context.

[6] This may be a fravashi (pre-soul), see Yt.13.37.

[7] This is the god Rashnu.

And (the mediums) said:

"That woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr are now passing that princely man [...] and keep walking on that [very luminous] road.

"Now another shining, princely man has appeared, [...] and on a throne with golden *ornaments. And he has a ladle[1] in the hand. And he is more excellent than the ones we saw first."

And when they [had ...], they said:

"The ladle has become *extended downward like a bottomless well. And it is full of serpents, scorpions, lizards, and other evil animals."

And those *mediums that had been *put in a trance in that seance*, when they saw that [..] structure of hell, then they became very alarmed, but [... said] to them: "[Do not be afraid, but] there is no other way for you than [across that bridge that lies] over that well! But you just keep telling what you see!"

And they said:

"A wooden beam goes over that well like a bridge. And now that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr are [coming] forth [to the bridge]. And there a [..] is standing. And that bridge is [now] becoming wider. And now it is greater in width than in length. And that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr [have now come to the bridge]."

And they said:

"Another shining, princely man has appeared, who is more excellent than the ones we saw first. And he is coming from the other side forth to the bridge. And now he has arrived at the bridge. And now [he has crossed] the bridge to this side. And he has taken the hands of that woman and the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr. And that princely man [...] goes forth to the bridge. And that princely man goes before the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr, and the woman goes behind. And now they have crossed the bridge over to the other side and are proceeding toward the east. [And the ....] is excellent and beautiful.

"And now a palace has appeared, [and a ladder] has appeared in the sky.[2] And that princely man is going before the man who looks exactly like Kerdîr, and the woman goes behind that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr. [And now] they have arrived [at that palace] and [all three] together enter that palace."

And they said:

"We have seen nothing more excellent and more luminous than this! [... And now ... has appeared ...]. And that princely man goes forth. And a throne with golden *ornaments stands before that palace. [...] back [to ... And now the man who looks exactly like] Kerdîr and with the woman in front are going upward to the heights.

"And far up [... another palace has appeared. And] a throne with golden [*ornaments stands before that palace. ... And the man who] looks [exactly like Kerdîr ...] and the woman has entered and sat down in the window of Warahrân.

"And now that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr has taken meat and wine. [And now] a great [throng] is coming forth, and that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr is making portions and giving to them.

"And that [woman?] and that princely man [...], and he keeps pointing toward that man who looks exactly like Kerdîr and smiles. [...] paid [homage to ?...]."

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[1] Used for putting firewood on the fire.

[2] Cf. Bdh.30.26.

INSCRIPTION OF KERDÎR AT NAQSH-E RAJAB

I Kerdîr have lived in truthfulness in the realm and I have served the gods well and obtained their favor.

And I prayed to the gods as follows: If you gods once made me, Kerdîr, outstanding in this life, then do show me, too, in afterlife, the nature of heaven and hell! And show me, too, how it will be in afterlife with respect to these services as they are performed in the land, so that I may be more confident about them!

And as I had prayed to the gods and had indicated, so they did show me heaven and hell and the nature of good and evil of these services.

But, then, since the gods did show me in this manner how it is in afterlife, I also served the gods even better and obtained greater favor from them, and I was even more generous and truthful for the sake of my own soul. And I became much more confident about these sacrifices and other services that are performed in the land.

And whoever sees and reads this inscription, let him be generous and truthful with respect to the gods and the rulers and his own soul, and let him be confident about these sacrifices and other services and the Mazdayasnian *dên* that are performed in the land. And let him not be agnostic about afterlife, but let him know well that heaven and hell exist. And he who is good, will go to heaven, but he who is evil, will be thrown down to hell. And he who is good and behaves well, fame and prosperity will befall this his bony body, and oneness with Order will befall that his bony soul, like it did me, Kerdîr.

...

FROM THE *PAHLAVI RIVAYAT*

CHAPTER 7: MERITS OF THE GOOD RELIGION

7.1 Also this:

When someone of the Good Religion is confronted with something and he is unsure whether doing it may cause merit or sin, if it is something he can push away if he does not do it and he can push it away, then he should not do it, but push it away. If it is something he cannot push away, if a dastur has been sought and asked about it (and has been deemed) to cause no sin if he goes ahead and does it, then it does not accrue to his account. If it is deemed to cause sin, then it would accrue to him, but when it is solved(?), it is removed from the account in the usual way. (?)

7.2 He who goes from the law in which he stands to another law, is *margarzân* for the reason that he abandons this law of being a Weh-dên and because he takes a bad law. One becomes *margarzân* because of having taken a bad law.

7.3 For one does not oneself become a sinner by the law which has come to one through inheritance. And this *means that*, if takes one that belongs to another, one becomes a sinner by it.

7.4 And if someone who is *margarzân* comes to the law of the Good Religion, he becomes righteous right away.

7.5 The greatest merit of belonging to the Good Religion is that, when one takes it and then performs an offering, then that offering wipes away all his sins and removes them from his account and sweeps them out like the swift impetuous wind when it goes over a plain and sweeps things up and carry them away.[1] That is how clean an offering makes the soul of (even) a *rogue.

7.6 It is well known that, on the day one makes one ...(?) offering, the (Seven) Immortals come down from Garôdmân and carry his soul three times in that one day to its own place in Garôdmân. And they show him goodness and give him his fee and counter-gifts.

CHAPTER 8: ON NEXT-OF-KIN MARRIAGE

8a.1 And the greatest good deed of one of evil Religion is to come from the law of the evil Religion too the Good Religion. And after someone of the Good Religion has made an offering, the greatest good deed he can do is to perform *xwêdôdah*. For on account of that *xwêdôdah*, which is so valuable and seemly, the *dêw*s are smitten greatly.

8a.2 And the following is well known about Ohrmazd and performing *xwêdôdah*. Once Zarathustra sat before Ohrmazd and Wahman, Ardwahisht, Shahrewar, Hordad and Amurdad, and Spandarmad were sitting around Ohrmazd, then Spandarmad sat beside him and his hand was placed on her neck. Then Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd:

"Who is this one who is sitting beside you and loves you so much and you her?

8a.3 Neither do you, Ohrmazd, turn your eyes away from her nor does she turn hers away from you. Neither do you, Ohrmazd, let her out of your arms, nor does she you."

8a.4 Ohrmazd said:

"This is Spandarmad, my daughter, my lady of the house of Garôdmân, and the mother of the creatures."

8a.5 Zarathustra said:

"Among living beings, this one thing is said to be more horrifying than anything else, so what do you say if you are asked?"

8a.6 Ohrmazd said:

"Zarathustra, this would have been the best thing ... for mankind—

[1] Cf. V.3.42.

8a.7 "if, from when the world was first established, when Mahlî and Mahlîyânî did this thing, you humans, too, had done this thing. For then, when mankind changed that thing around, they would not have changed it around.

8a.8 "Mankind would have performed *xwêdôdah* the way Mahlî and Mahlîyânî did. All mankind would have known their own lineage and descent, and never would a brother have left a brother or a sister a sister out of their love.

8a.9 "For all destitution, hate of parents, and lack of love came to mankind from that rogue, when men came from other lands, districts, and towns and 'did' their women. and when they carried off the women, the parents wept over their daughters, who were carried off in servitude."

8b.1 There is also this: *xwêdôdah* is so wonderful it is the escape from hell for the most grievous sins, such as the *margarzân* sin of sorcery.

8b.2 And, at the time (of performing *xwêdôdah*), one will no longer have any share of hell or of Ahrimen and the dêws, even if one committed the evil *margarzân* sin of sorcery.

8b.3 When they perform *xwêdôdah*, they escape from hell, the prison of Ahrimen and the dêws, and will have no share in it. Such a wonder is *xwêdôdah*.

8c.1 It says in a place that Ohrmazd said to Zarathustra:

"The four best thengs are the following: sacrificing to Ohrmazd, the lord (of the world); giving firewood, incense, libations to the fire; propitiating the righteous man; and he who performs *xwêdôdah* with one's birth mother, daughter, or sister.

8c.2 "And the greatest, best, and foremost of those four is he who performs *xwêdôdah*."

8c.3 So wonderful is *xwêdôdah*.

In order to make evil among mankind and to *harm Ohrmazd, the lord, and all the (other) gods, Ahrimen and the *dêw*s practice anal intercourse with all the (other) *dêw*s all the time.

Hunger, peril, (thirst, old age, sickness, diseases, desolation, the oppression coming from harmful animals, and all the other evil in the world— anal intercourse is more (harmful).

8c.4 It is well known that, if all the harmful animals in the world were to die and (be piled up) to the height of a mountain and all the poison, rot, and filth were to come to one place, the stench would not reach Ohrmazd and paradise.

8c.5 But when people practice anal intercourse, the stench from the anal intercourse goes all the way to the realm of the Adversary.

8c.6 Today most evil comes from the anal intercourse, but, in the same way, when Sôshâns comes, all mankind will practice *xwêdôdah*, and all the lie-demons will be destroyed by the wonder and power of *xwêdôdah*.

8d.1 It is also well known that, when one man (performs) a *xwêdôdah* (with) his birth mother and another with his female child, then he who does it with his birth mother takes precedence over the other, because the one from whose body he came is closer (to him).

8d.2 For it is well known that, when the accursed Ahrimen performed anal intercourse with himself, it was a heavier (sin) than when he did it with the *dêw*s.

8d.3 That (*xwêdôdah*) which he performs with his daughter takes precedence over that which he performs with his sister, *unless she is also his daughter.

8d.4 As for a daughter, it is clear that when a father does it with a daughter born from his mother, when he himself has engendered her, as long as he is with her not as a brother(?).

8d.5 When a sister and a brother have the same father, but different mother, then the same holds for them. And when they have the same mother, but different father, then the same holds for them.

8d6. When a man has a daughter born from another man's wife, when it was not his duty to do so, if the brother is her *dastur* when he marries her, then the merit for *xwêdôdah* (accrues to) the brother. And the (sin) of *mihrôdruz* (= contract-breaking) is the responsibility of(?) the *parent, as is the (merit for?) *xwêdôdah*.

8d.7 The soul of a child who dies before reaching the age of seven is on the sun level. If its father is righteous, then it goes with the father to paradise. If the father is with the Lie, but the mother is righteous, then it goes with the mother to paradise. If both the father and the mother are with the Lie, then it goes with them to hell.

8d.8 One *dastur* said that, if they assemble a fire in (the child's) name and kills an evil animal for its soul, then the soul is separated from the parents and does not go to hell.

8d.9 One *dastur* said that, that will be on account of its own good deeds. For it is known from the *Avesta* that Ohrmazd made the love a father has for a child which he raises so that until the age of seven the soul is with the parents, but the soul of a child not yet an adult is the responsibility of(?) the *parent.

8e.1 So wonderful is *xwêdôdah*.

It is known about Jam (= Yima) that, when the fortune of lordship had left him, he fled together with his sister Jamag from the assemblies of Dahâg, mankind, dêws and witches and went to a bay[1] of the ocean.

8e.2 And the sought him in hell, but did not see him. They sought him among men, in water and earth, among beasts, plants, mountains, and rivers, but did not see him.

8e.3 Then Ahrimen howled: "I think Jam is goin in a bay of the ocean!"

8e.4 And a dêw and a witch volunteered to go and seek Jam.

8e.5 And they rushed away. When they came to that bay where Jam was, the water was *dark. Jam said: "Who are you?"

8e.6 They said: "We, like you, have escaped from the dêws. We are one another."

8e.7 (The *dêw* said:) "Give me this sister of yours as wife, and I shall give you mine."

8e.8 And, because Jam did not know *dêw*s from men, he made the witch his wife, and gave his sister to the *dêw* as his wife.

8e.9 And from Jam and the witch a bear, a monkey, a *gandarv*, and a ... were born, and from Jamag and the *dêw* a turtle, a cat, a cheetah, a frog, and a leech were born.

8e.10 One day, when Jam and the *dêw* were drinking wine, (Jamag) switched places and clothes with the witch. When jam came, he was drunk, and, unaware, slept with Jamag, who was his sister. The merit of *xwêdôdah* came into play, many *dêw*s were broken and died, and those (two) rushed away on, one carrying the other(?), and fell back into hell.

8f.1 This too is known from the *Avesta*: Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd:

"You, Ohrmazd, have said that one should think much good thought, speak much good speech, and do much good work. Of all thought, speech, and work, which is it best to think, speak, and do?"

8f.2 Ohrmazd said:

"As for the much good thought, much good speech, and much good work I told you one should think, speak, and do, the best and most excellent is to practice *xwêdôdah*.

8f.3 "For it is well known that, the first time he approaches her, a thousand *dêw*s will die and two thousand sorcerers and witches. When he approaches her twice, two thousand *dêw*s will die and four thousand sorcerers and witches. If he approaches her three times, three thousand *dêw*s will die and six thousand sorcerers and witches. If he approaches her four times, it is clear that both the man and the woman become righteous.

8g.1 He, the son, says to his birth mother:

"Give yourself to me to mingle our bodies, so that we shall have no fear of hell and whatever sins we have committed is stricken from our account, so that we become ... (?) and obtain a nice and good place (in paradise), and so that we please Ohrmazd and annoy Ahrimen!"

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[1] *war* ~ Av. *vara*, Yima's bunker; *vouru.kasha* the Vourukasha (Pahl. War-kash) sea; and *vairi* "bay."

The birth mother says to her son: "You speak in righteousness! I will give (myself) to you to mingle our bodies," like the son said.

She, the daughter, says it to her father. He, the brother, says it to his sister. She, the sister, says it to her brother, like I have written.

8g.2 By the "action" of that, the *dêw*s are struck and harmed so much that, if, afterward, either the man or the woman or both become sorcerers and kill one thousand sheep and horses at the same time and give *zôhr* to the *dêw*s, it is still not enough to give them complete relief from the blows and harm they received from the *xwêdôdah*, and they have no hope that the souls of those (two people) will come to them.

8h.1 Whover practices *xwêdôdah* with his wife for one year will be like one who had given a third of the entire world with its water, plants, and grain as alms to a righteous man.

If he practices *xwêdôdah* with his wife for two years, he will be like one who had given two-thirds of the entire world with its water, plants, and grain to a righteous man.

8h.2 If he practices *xwêdôdah* with his wife for three years,he will be like one who had given this entire world with its water, plants, and grain as alms to a righteous man.

8h.3 If he practices it with his wife for four years and he has performed *yasna*s, then it is clear that his soul will go to Garôdmân. If he has not (*yasna*s?), then it will go to paradise.

8i.1 Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd:

"A man who practices *xwêdôdah* and has performed a *yasna* and has offered a sacrifice, will the merit for it be the same as if he had offered it without practicing *xwêdôdah*? How is it?"

8i.2 Ohrmazd said:

"As if a hundred men who do not practice *xwêdôdah* had offered it."

8i.3 Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd this, too:

"How is it if a man who practices *xwêdôdah* performs an *âfrîn*?

8i.4 Ohrmazd said:

"The merit for it will be as if a hundred men who do not practice *xwêdôdah* had offered it."

8j.1 He asked Ohrmazd this, too:

"What is the merit of those who assist and who encourage and induce others to perform *xwêdôdah* with the result that someone performs *xwêdôdah*?"

8j.2 Ohrmazd said:

"The merit for it will be as if he had kept a hundred hêrbads, each with a hundred students, with food and clothes for a whole winter."

8k.1 Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd this, too:

"What is the sin incurred by those who prevent a man from performing *xwêdôdah* with the result that he does not do it?"

8k.2 "Then his place will be hell!"

8l.1 It is known from some place that the *dêw*s have less power over a man who practices *xwêdôdah* and has performed a *yasht* than over the wisest among the wise and the most virtuous among the virtuous who render them powerless with thought, speech, and deeds.

8m.1 From the Religion it is clear that when Zarathustra came from where he was before Ohrmazd, lord (of the world) and into this world, then, everywhere he went, he said: "Praise the Religion! Practice *xwêdôdah*!"

8m.2 And I speak of the good ... (?)
The evil ones who did not perform their duties said in consternation: "This is soemthing so terrible and heavy (with sin) in our law, not to practice *xwêdôdah*!"
8m.3 This too ... (?) one says about this most excellent of all things, that one should practice it in the usual way.
8m.4 This is clear to me too: When one professes the entire law and belief of the Religion, then that it is said to be their heaviest sin which is said to be the most excellent good deed in this law and belief of good (people), the Mazdayasnian.

8n.1 This too is clear from the Religion:
Ohrmazd said to Zarathustra: "Do good deeds!"
And Zarathustra said: "Which good deed shall I do first?"
8n.2 Ohrmazd said: "*xwêdôdah*, for of all those good deeds it is to be practiced as the first. For the last events come through *xwêdôdah*, when they induce all in the world to (come to) the Religion."

8o.1 Zarathustra said to Ohrmazd: "It looks to me like it's going to be an arduous, difficult, and hard job to propagate *xwêdôdah* among mankind!"
8o.2 Ohrmazd said: "That's how it looks to me, too! But because it is the most excellent of all things, don't let it seem difficult and hard to you!
8o.3 Be diligent in performing *xwêdôdah*, and people will be doing it diligently, too!"

CHAPTER 46: ON THE CREATION

46.1 About this matter: how and from what was the sky made?
46.2 The tool was something like a cinder of fire of pure light, which was fashioned from the Endless Light.
46.3 And he made all the creations and creatures from it. And when he had made it, then he brought it into (his) body. And he kept it for 3000 years in the body, making it grow and making it better. And then he kept fashioning (things) from his own body.

46.4 And first he fashioned the sky from (his) head. And its substance is of white *crystal. And it is as wide as it is high. And the depth to its foundation is as much as the depth of the emptiness. And it is held up and out by the Orderly Man and the Qualified Invitation;[1] and it has no support in the world of the living. Ohrmazd sits inside it with his creations and creatures.

46.5 Then he fashioned the earth from (his) feet. It is held up and out by the mountains. And he filled it with Fortune, and from that filling the mountains grew for 18 years both upward and downward. Then they stopped growing downward and only grew upward for another 800 years, until they reached the sky. The sky lies around the whole earth, like an egg with a chick in it.[2] The earth has no support in the world of the living, either.
...

46.9 After Ahrimen attacked the world of the living, only Zarathustra had seen seven continents.
There are seven continents. Inside the sky is Mount Hariburz (which lies around the earth). It consists of 2244 mountains.
46.10 The Vourukasha Sea lies in the middle of the earth and makes up one-third of it.

[1] Cf. Y.1.15, 61.1.
[2] Cf. Yt.13.2.

46.11 Then he fashioned the water from the tears and placed some of it inside the earth, some on the earth, and some up in the air. And all of it moved.

46.12 The water that contains more libations than polluted water, goes back to the Vourukasha Sea in three years; that which has as much of the one as the other, goes back in six years; and that which contains more polluted water than libations, goes back in nine years.

46.13 Then he fashioned the plants from the hair. The first one was tall as the width of a hand and two fingers, and it contained all plants except one. This plant he placed in the Aryan Expanse. Then birds, water, and men carried the plants from place to place.

...

46.15 Then he fashioned the bull from the right hand and placed it in the Aryan Expanse. It was one ell high and wide. When Ahrimen attacked it, it died right away, but its semen fell on the ground, and Ohrmazd fashioned all the animal species from it. First he fashioned a male and female of every species, and they multiplied. And they rejoice when they get water and fodder both summer and winter, but suffer when men kill them without law and order and give them no water and fodder and do not protect them from enemies, thieves, and wolves (killers).

...

46.36 Then he fashioned a man from the clay from which Gayômard had been fashioned. This clay had been deposited in Spandarmad (the earth) in the form of semen, and Gayômard was then fashioned and born from Spandarmad. He remained immobile for 3000 years, and when Ahrimen rushed in, it took thirty years before he died. He was killed on the first day of the year. His semen fell on the earth and lay in the earth for forty years.

46.37 Then Mahlî and Mahliyânî grew up from the earth in the form of a rhubarb, straight up with their hands in the back. Then they were turned into human shape and bore six sons and six daughters. Some of them lived, and some died, and from them humanity is descended.

FROM THE *BUNDAHISHN*

CHAPTER 1: ON THE CREATION

Introduction

1.0 That knowledge from the *zand* (religious tradition) is first about the first establishment of Ohrmazd and the Opposition of Ahrimen. Then about the nature of the establishment of the world of the living from the primeval establishment (≈ creation) until the end, as it is revealed in the Mazdayasnian *dên*. Then about the objects that the world of the living contains and an explanation of what and how they are.

About Ohrmazd and the Foul Spirit

1.1 It is so revealed by the good *dên*: Ohrmazd was above in omniscience and goodness for an unlimited time in the light.

1.2 That light is the throne and place of Ohrmazd. Some say "the endless lights." That omniscience and goodness was (there) for an unlimited time, that is, there were Ohrmazd, his goodness, the *dên*, and the time of Ohrmazd.[1]

1.3-4 Ahrimen was in darkness with backward knowledge[2] and desire to kill in the depths. And his desire to kill is his *nature and that darkness his place. Some say "endless darkness."

1.5-6 And between them there was emptiness—some (say) "Wây"[3]—in which they both—what is limited and what is unlimited—mingle.

1.7 When it says "highest" it means the "endless lights," that is, they have no "head" (= end). And the depth is the "endless darkness," and that is what has no limit.

1.8 And at the border they are both limited, for between them is emptiness, (so) they are not connected with one another.

1.9 Next, any *other being in the world of thought is limited in its body.

1.10 Next, as for the "omniscience" of Ohrmazd: everything that is in the knowledge of Ohrmazd is limited, because he knows the measure of *both the spirits. (?)

1.11 Next, the total rule of the creation of Ohrmazd at the Final Body (is) for ever and ever, and that is something unlimited.

1.12 At that time, he will annihilate the creation of Ahrimen until the coming into being of the Final Body.[4] And that too is something limited.

1.13 Ohrmazd in his omniscience knew: "The Foul[5] Spirit exists. He is plotting in his envy how to mingle (with my creation) from the beginning to the end (and) with what and how many tools."
And he brought forth that creation that he needed as a tool for that.

1.14 For 3000 years the creation remained in the world of thought—which are over—unthinking, unmoving, untouchable.

1.15 The Foul Spirit, because of his backward knowledge, was unaware of the existence of Ohrmazd. Then he rose up

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[1] *The Indian Bundahishn has*: That omniscience and goodness is all of Ohrmazd. Some call it "the *dên*," which means the same thing. All that was (there) for an unlimited time, for Ohrmazd and the *dên* and the time of Ohrmazd were, are, and shall (always) be.

[2] knowledge after the fact?

[3] Av. Vaiiu, god of the intermediate space between heaven and earth.

[4] Since each new period of existence is like a living thing, a body, this is the last such "body."

[5] Literally, "stinking."

from those depths and came to the border where he could see the lights.

1.16 When he saw that light of Ohrmazd's, untouchable and *blazing forth, because of his desire to kill and his constitutional envy, he attacked it in order to destroy it.

1.17 But when he *saw valor and victory greater than his own, he rushed down to the darkness, whittled forth many evil gods and lie-demons, that destructive creation that was suited for the battle.

1.18 Ohrmazd saw the establishment of the Foul Spirit, and he did not like it: a terrifying, rotten creation of evil desire, (and) he did not honor it.

1.19 And then the Foul Spirit saw the creation of Ohrmazd, and he liked it: a great creation, profound, *victorious, all-informed, and he honored Ohrmazd's creation.

1.20 Then Ohrmazd, although he knew how the creation would be at the end of everything, offered the Foul Spirit peace, saying: "Bring my creation aid, and praise it, and you shall have as reward that you will not die or grow old, you will not deteriorate or be impaired."[1]

1.21 The meaning of this is that if he were not to provoke the battle, then he would not himself become undone, and profit would accrue to both spirits from it.

1.22 The Foul Spirit howled: "I shall not bring your creation aid, I shall not praise it, rather, I shall destroy you *and* your creation for ever and ever. I shall incite all your creations to unfriendliness to you (but) friendliness to me.

1.23 And the explanation for it is this: he thought that Ohrmazd could do nothing against him, therefore he was offering peace, (so) he refused and even made a threat.

1.24 And Ohrmazd said: "You are not omnipotent, Foul Spirit, so you cannot destroy my creation. And *you can also not cause my creation *not* to come back to my possession."

1.25 Then Ohrmazd in his omniscience knew: "If I do not set a time for the battle with him, then he can do to my creation as he threatened, and there will be struggle and mixture forever from it. He can sit down in the mixture of the creation (and) make it his own,[2] in the way that there are many people now in the mixture who do more evil than good things, so that they always do the will of the Foul Spirit.

1.26 And Ohrmazd said to the Foul Spirit: "Pick a date for the battle. By this pact we will delay it to 9000 years from now!" For he knew that by setting the date thus he would undo the Foul Spirit.

1.27 Then the Foul Spirit, who could not see what the end would be, agreed to that deal, the same way that two men set the time for a duel: "Let us do battle on such and such a day until night-fall!"

1.28 Ohrmazd knew this too in his omniscience that, during these 9000 years, for 3000 years it would all go (according to) the will of Ohrmazd, for the 3000 years of the mixture it would go (according to) the will of both Ohrmazd and Ahrimen, and in the final battle it would be possible to undo the Foul Spirit and remove adversity from the creation.

1.29 Then Ohrmazd recited the *Ahunwar*, i.e., he said forth the 21 words of the "**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ... ," and he showed the Foul Spirit his own final victory, the undoing of the Foul Spirit, the annihilation of the evil gods,[3] the resurrection of the Final Body, and the freedom of Opposition for the creation for ever and ever.

1.30 When the Foul Spirit saw his own undoing together with the annihilation of the evil gods, he was stunned and lost consciousness. He fell back to the darkness.

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[1] Cf. Y.9.4-5.

[2] Cf. Yt.13.12-13.

[3] The old gods, Av. *daêwa*, OPers. *daiva*, Pahl. *dêw*, Pers. *dîv*.

1.31 As it is said in the *dên*: "When one-third was spoken, the Foul Spirit blanked out(?) for fear; when two-thirds were spoken the Foul Spirit fell to his knees; when it was all spoken, the Foul Spirit become undone."

1.32 From his inability to do harm to the creation of Ohrmazd the Foul Spirit lay in a stupor for 3000 years.

The creation of the world of thought

1.33 First I shall discuss the creation of the creatures in the world of thought, then in the world of the living.

1.34 Before the creation of his creatures Ohrmazd was not Lord, but after the establishment of the creation he became Lord, profit-seeker,[1] wise, harm-discarding, apparent,[2] all-arranging, increasing,[3] and all-observing.

1.35 And his first creation was "*self-established well-being," that being in the world of thought by which he made his body better when he *thought* the creation,[4] for his being lord is from establishing the creation.

1.36 And, by his clear-sight, he saw that the Foul Spirit would never turn away from bringing Opposition; that that Opposition would not be undone other than by establishing the creation; that the creation would not come into motion other than through time; and that when he fashioned time, then the creation of Ahrimen would also come into motion.

1.37 And having no other way out, he fashioned forth time in order to undo the Opposition.

1.38 And the meaning of this is: the Foul Spirit can only be undone through battle. The meaning of "battle" (*kâr-châr*) is this: an action (*kâr*) must be performed by a means (*châr*) and according to one's means (*châragômandîhâ*).

1.39 After unlimited time, he established "time of long rule." Some call it limited time. From time of long-rule he established "non-passing-away," so that nothing made by Ohrmazd would pass away.

From non-passing-away "the state of lack of comfort" appeared, so that the evil gods should have no comfort.

From the state of lack of comfort "non-turning away" appeared in the world of thought, that is the being in the world of thought (by which) the things of Ohrmazd do not turn away from what he established at the primeval establishment.

From non-turning away in the world of thought "the perfect desire of the creation of the living creatures" appeared, that is, the establishment of the good creation and concord.

1.40 Ahrimen was in his evil establishment of creation, in lack of knowledge and lawlessness.

1.41 And its meaning and explanation is: when Ahrimen fights with Ohrmazd, the lordly wisdom, reputation, excellence, and non-passing-away of Ohrmazd and the undoing, self-loving, un-excellence, and backward knowledge of the Foul Spirit appeared when he established the creation.

1.42 For (Ohrmazd) fashioned forth time of long rule too as his first creation. For (time) was unlimited before the contamination of Ohrmazd's eternity. He (now) fashioned limited (time) from the unlimited (time).

That is, from the primeval establishment when he established the creation to the end when the Foul Spirit becomes undone, there is a measure of 12,000 years, which is limited. Then it returns to the state of unlimitedness, that is, the creation of Ohrmazd will then be with Ohrmazd forever in a state of purity.

1.43 As it says in the *dên*: Time is stronger than both creations, the creation of Ohrmazd and that of Ahrimen. Time allows you to plan work and law. Time is the more informed. Time is more achieving than those who achieve, better informed than those who are informed, that is, one can make a decision in time. Time brings down houses.

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[1] Av. *sewishta* "richest in life-giving strength."

[2] Av. *haithya* "true, real."

[3] Av. *spenta* "life-giving."

[4] Note that Ahura Mazdâ *thinks* the creation, while Yahweh *speaks* it.

In time a nut is cracked. No one among mortal men escapes from it, not if he were to fly up, nor if he were to dig a well down into the ground and sit in it, nor if he were to huddle beneath a spring of cold waters.

1.44 From his own selfdom, from living light, Ohrmazd fashioned forth the form of his own creatures, in the form of fire, white, round, visible from afar.

1.45 From the living form of the being in the world of thought that is capable of removing the Opposition in both creations, that is Time—he fashioned forth the form of Good Wây, since Wây was needed.

1.46 Some say it was Wây of long rule and (that) he fashioned forth the creation with the help of Wây of long rule. For when he established the creation, Wây too was one of the tools he needed.

1.47 The Foul Spirit whittled forth from living darkness, his own body, his creation in that black form the color of ashes, worthy of darkness, lying, like the most sinful evil creature.

1.48 And from living self-love he whittled forth Greed (Waran) in the form of the worst *daênâ*;[1] for Greed was needed.

1.49 And as the first selfness of the evil gods he established evil-doing, the being in the world of thought from which Foulness came to the creatures of Ohrmazd. For he established the creation by which he made his body worse, *so that he will become undone*.

From living darkness, the endless darkness, he fashioned forth lying speech; it appeared from the evilness of that Foul Spirit. From endless darkness he whittled forth that form, and he established his creation inside that form, *he will be undone from the creation he established himself.*

1.50 From living light Ohrmazd <brought forth> straight speech. And from straight speech the creator's ability to increase appeared, which he fashioned forth from the endless light. And the creation too was established inside an endless (headless?) form.[2] The endless form (was) separate *from the passing of time.

From the endless form the *Ahunwar* appeared, the "**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ..." in the world of thought, from which the establishment and the end of the creation appeared. That is the *dên*, as the *dên* was established together with the establishment of the creation.

From the *Ahunwar* the year in the world of thought came forth, which now in the Mixture is half light and half dark, 365 days-and-nights, which is the division of the time of long rule.

1.51 And in the struggle both creations were set in motion by it.

1.52 As it is said: the creation of Ohrmazd has a ruler and a teacher, it has a law, it is in the height in comfort. The creation of the Foul Spirit was in *obstinacy and violence and sinfulness in a deep place in discomfort.

1.53 Through the Amahraspands,[3] Ohrmazd obtained parts, when he had established three Models,[4] whom he needed to forward to the world of the living. More recently, at the Final Body, they shall make disappear and remove evil from it.

And he maintained the world of thought. in the world of thought.

And he established the world of the living in the world of thought, and then he passed it on to the world of the living.

And (of the creation in the world of thought), first he established the Amahraspands, first six, then the others. The seventh was Ohrmazd himself.

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[1] Cf. *Hâdôkht nask*, etc.

[2] Cf. the *Pahlavi Rivayat*.

[3] The Av. Life-giving Immortals.

[4] It is not clear which ones these are.

Of the creation of the world of the living in the world of thought, first six, the seventh was he himself. For Ohrmazd belongs to both creations in the world of thought.
First, the world of the living *comes from the Amahraspands, then from time of long rule.

First (of them) he fashioned forth Wahman, from whom the creatures of Ohrmazd came into motion.
The Foul Spirit first (whittled forth) Akôman by uttering a false statement.
Of the creation of the world of the living, first there was the sky.

And first he fashioned forth Wahman from the goodness of the living light, together with whom was the good Mazdayasnian *dên*. This implies that he knew what was going to befall the creation until the Perfectioning of the world.
Next Ardwahisht (Av. Best Order), next Shahrewar (Av. Well-deserved Command), next Spandarmad (Av. Life-giving Humility), next Hordad (Av. Wholeness), next Amurdad (Av. Undyingness), the seventh Ohrmazd himself;
the eighth straight speech, the ninth Srôsh-ahlaw (Av. Sraosha with the rewards), the tenth the Holy Word (Av. the life-giving poetic thought), the eleventh Nêryôsang, the twelfth the Exalted Model, (Av.) Rathvô Barzayt, the thirteenth Rashn the straight, the fourteenth Mihr Frâygôyôd (Av. Mithra with wide grazing grounds), the fifteenth good Arshishwang (Av. good Ashi/Reward), the sixteenth Pârand (Av. Plenty), the seventeenth sleep, the eighteenth the wind, the nineteenth lawfulness, the twentieth debate, prosecution and defense, peace, and ability to grow.

The creation of the world of the living in the world of thought

1.54 Of the world of the living first the sky, second the water, third the earth, fourth the plants, fifth the cattle, sixth mankind, seventh Ohrmazd himself.
And he fashioned forth the creation with the help of Wây of long rule, for when he fashioned forth Wây of long rule, he too was a tool, and he was needed for the establishment of the creation.
1.55 As counter-creations to it, the Foul Spirit whittled forth first Akôman (Av. bad thought), next Endar (Av. Indra), next Sâwul, next Nânghaith, next Tarômad (Av. disrespect), next Tôrij and Zêrij,[1] next the other evil gods, the seventh the Foul Spirit himself.

1.56 Never does he think, say, or do anything good. And he has no use for the goodness of Ohrmazd's creation, and Ohrmazd has no use for the "goodness" of the Foul Spirit's creation.
1.57 Ohrmazd does not think something that he cannot do. The Foul Spirit thinks what he cannot do and even threatens to do it.

Gestation of the world of the living in the world of thought

1.58 Ohrmazd nurtured his creation in the world of thought in such a way that it was in *moisture, unthinking, *unseizable, unmoving, like semen. After the state of moisture, there was a mixture like semen and blood; after the mixture there was a *rolled-up lump, like a fetus. After the *rolled-up lump there were *protrusions, like hands and feet. After the *protrusions there were cavities, like eyes and mouth. After the cavities there was motion, when it came into the light. Still, in the world of the living, they are formed in the womb of the mother and born and nurtured in that way.

[1] Cf. V.19.43, Bdh.5.1.

1.59 And by the establishment of the creation Ohrmazd is father and mother of the creation, for when he nurtured the creation in the world of thought, that was being its mother, when he put it into the world of the living, that was being its father.

The world of the living is established in the world of the living

1a.0 How the creation was set in place in the world of the living.

1a.1 When the Foul Spirit was undone and lying unconscious, as I wrote above, he lay stunned for 3000 years.

1a.2 During that inactivity of the Foul Spirit, Ohrmazd fashioned the creation into the world of the living.

From the endless light he fashioned forth fire, from fire wind, from wind water, and from water the earth with all things having bones.

1a.3 As it says in the *dên*: the first creation was a drop of all waters, that is, everything was from water, except the semen of men and animals, for that semen is from fire.

1a.4 And first he established the sky to keep back. Some say "first."

Second he established water, to strike the *druz* of thirst.

Third he established the earth with all things having bones.

Fourth the plants, to help the beneficent cow.

Fifth the cow, to help the Orderly Man (i.e., the perfect sacrificer).

Sixth he established the Orderly Man, to strike and undo the Foul Spirit together with the evil gods.

And next he established the fire as living cinder, and he attached to it the shine of the endless light. Thus it has a good form, as is the fire's wish.

And next he established the wind in the form of a fifteen-year-old youth, to carry and uphold this water and plants and the cow and the Orderly Man and everything else.

1a.5 And I shall say how they are.

1a.6 First he established the sky,[1] light, visible, very far and *in the shape of an egg*,[2] made of shining metal, that is steel, male. And he connected its top (head) to the endless lights. And he established the entire creation inside the sky, like a fortified *camp, in which have been placed all the tools needed for the battle, or like a house in which everything is stored.

The foundation, bottom, of the sky is of the same thickness as its length, the same length as its height, the same height as its depth; with uniform measure, with a good covering like a mace-bearing (soldier?); thinking, speaking, doing, aware, causing increase, flying (or: discriminating) (is) the sky in the world of thought.

And it received a firm bulwark against the Foul Spirit, so that it would not allow him to run back. Like a heroic soldier dressed in armor, so that he is saved from the battle without fear, in this way the sky in the world of thought upholds the sky (in the world of the living?).

And to help the sky he established heavenly *bliss, for by means of it he established heavenly *bliss, for even now in the Mixture the creation is in heavenly *bliss.

1a.7 Second, from the substance of the sky he fashioned water, as much as when a man puts his hands on the earth and walks on hands and feet, then the amount of water reaches him to the stomach. At that height the water flowed. And to help it he established the wind, the rain, *fog, *mist, and snow.

1a.8 Third, from the water he established the earth, round, with its passages reaching far into the distance, without

[1] Cf. Yt.13.2.

[2] The manuscripts are not clear, but the reading is fairly certain

depressions, without elevations, even, its length equal to its width, its width equal to its depth. He set it up in the middle of the sky.

1a.9 At is said: First he fashioned forth one-third of this earth, hard like *stone wood (= ebony); second he fashioned forth one-third of this earth and filled in *dust; third he fashioned forth one-third of this earth soft like clay.

1a.10 And he placed as substance in the earth the mountains, which afterward expanded and grew out of the earth. And to help the earth he established iron, copper, sulfur, borax, and all the hard essence of the earth, except ...(?), for they are of opposite essence. That hard. The earth was fashioned like a man whose various garments are placed close to all parts of his body. Beneath this earth there stands water everywhere.

1a.11 Fourth he established the plants. First one grew up above the earth as high as a stride without branches, without bark, without thorns, moist and sweet. And it contained the power of all the plant species in its seed. And to help the plant he established water and fire, for every single species of plants has a drop of water at the end and a fire four fingers long(?) before it. By that power it kept growing.

1a.12 Fifth he fashioned the uniquely-established Bull in the Aryan Expanse (Êrânwêz)[1] in the middle of the world on the shore of the Weh Dâitîy river, where the middle of the world is: white, luminous, like a moon that measures three spears in height. And to help it he established the water and the plant, for during the mixture it receives strength and growth from them.

1a.13 Sixth he fashioned Gayômard, luminous like the sun, and he measured 4 spears in height; his width was equal to his height: on the shore of the Weh Dâitîy river, where the middle of the world is, Gayômard on the left side, the Bull on the right side. And the distance between them and the distance from the Weh Dâitîy river was as much as their respective heights. He possessed eyes, ears, a tongue, and a mark. The "mark" of Gayômard is the following: mankind is born from his lineage in that manner.

And to help him he established sleep, the relaxation of the creator. For Ohrmazd fashioned forth that sleep in the shape of a luminous tall young man of fifteen. And Gayômard together with the Bull he fashioned from the earth. And from the light and turquoise color of the sky he fashioned forth the semen of humans and cattle, as these two seeds are from fire, not from water. He put them in the bodies of Gayômard and the Bull, in order that it produce plenitude of people and cattle.[2]

1a.14 And these six creations he established in the six *gâh*s of the *gâhânbâr* festival. In one year are counted 365 days, twelve months, each month 30 days and one month 35 days. To each day he assigned the name of an Amahraspand.

1a.15 And I shall say how that is.

1a.16 First he fashioned the sky in 40 days, that is, from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Frawardîn to this day of Âbân in the month of Urdwahisht. Five days remained till the day of Day pad Mihr. Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called Mêdyôzarm. And the meaning is: men's dwellings (*mêd*) and greenery (*zarm*) appeared in it.

1a.17 Second he established the water in 55 days, that is, from the day of Mihr in the month of Urdwahisht to the day of Âbân in the month of Tîr. Five days remained till the day of Day in Mihr. Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called Mêdyôsham, whose meaning is: he made the water luminous, because at first it was dark.

1a.18 Third he established the earth in 70 days, that is, from the day of Mihr in the month of Tîr to the day of Ard in the month of Shahrewar. Five days remained till the day of Anagrân. Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called

[1] Av. *airyanem vaêjô*, the mythical homeland of the Iranians, where Zarathustra was born. Cf. Yt.5.17.

[2] Cf. Y.62.10 May you be accompanied by a herd of cattle, by a multitude of men!.

Patishah. And the meaning is: the creatures' walking on foot on the earth appeared in it.

1a.19 Fourth he established the plant in 25 days <that is, from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Âbân to the day of Ard in the month of Âbân>. Five days remained till the day of Anagrân. Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called Ayâsrim, whose meaning is: its leaves, smell, and green color appeared (in it).

1a.20 Fifth he established the cattle in 75 days, that is, from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Âbân to the day of Day in Mihr in the month of Day. Five days remained <till the day of Wahrâm.> Those five days are *gâhânbâr* and are called Mêdyâr, whose meaning is: the storing of goods for the winter for the sake of one's creatures appeared in it.

1a.21 Sixth he established mankind, that is, Gayômard, in 70 days, that is, from the day of Râm in the month of Day to the of Anagrân in the month of Spandarmad. Five days remained <till the day of Spandarmad.> Those five days are *gâhânbâr*. Some say: "the five purloined days," others "stolen." And they are called Hamaspahmaydim, whose meaning is this: going about in the same army appeared in the world, for the pre-souls (*frawahr*) of men went about in the world of the living in the same army.

1a.22 The names of those "five purloined days" some say are the five *gâh*s of the *Gatha*s others the good pentad. In the *dên* these are: *Ahunwayt gâh*, *Ushtawayt gâh*, *Spandomên gâh*, *Wahushahr gâh*, *Wahishtôysht gâh*.

1a.23 Those 30 days that are set down in the months are called as follows: Ohrmazd, Wahman, Ardwahisht, Shahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordad, Amurdad, Day, Âdur, Âbân, Khwar, Mâh, Tîr, Gôsh, Day, Mihr, Srôsh, Rashn, Frawardîn, Warahrân, Râm, Wâd, Day, Dên, Ard, Ashtâd, Âsmân, Zamyâd, Mahrspand, Anagrân.

1a.24 The names of those 12 months are from the same Amahraspands: the month of Frawardîn, the month of Ardwahisht, the month of Hordad, the month of Tîr, the month of Amurdad, the month of Shahrewar, the month of Mihr, the month of Âbân, the month of Âdur, the month of Day, the month of Wahman, the month of Spandarmad.

1a.25 And I shall say how they are further on.

CHAPTER 3: ON THE REASON FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CREATION FOR THE FIGHTING

3.1 Ohrmazd gave the names of 30 Amahraspands to the 30 days:
The first is Ohrmazd, then six Amahraspands, altogether seven.
The eight is Day, that is, the Creator.[1] And then six Amahraspands, altogether seven.
The eight is Day, that is, the Creator. And then seven Amahraspands, altogether eight.
The ninth is Day, that is, the Creator. And then seven Amahraspands, altogether eight.
That is, Ohrmazd had fitted his own name into the months in four places.
And those three Day's have one name, one is place, one *dên*, and one time, which have always been.

3.2 When the Foul Spirit came against Ohrmazd, he fashioned time of long rule in the form of a 15 year-old man, luminous, white-eyed, tall, strong, whose strength is from skill, not from theft and violence.

3.3 And he himself donned a white garment and held the *office of High Priest.[2] For all knowledge is with the high priests, who then teach people, and everybody learns from them. And Ohrmazd's proper function was to establish the creation. The creation can be established with knowledge. Therefore he donned the office of knowledgeable men, that is, that of High Priest.

3.4 Good Wây donned a gold and silver, diamond-studded garment, variegated, multicolored. <He held> the office of warriorhood, for he was to go after the enemies to smash the Opposition and protect the creation.

3.5 As it is said: Wây's proper function is that he removes the Opposition that is in both creations, both the one the Life-giving Spirit and the one the Foul Spirit established, so that when they start the battle, then Ohrmazd's creation will be increasing, while that of the Foul Spirit will be destroyed.

3.6 From time, he fashioned the firmament, Zurwân of long rule, of good body, the assignment of fates. And he donned a dark blue garment. He held the office of Husbandry, for his proper function is like that of husbandmen to cultivate herds(?) and to deliver(?) appropriately.

3.7 As Ohrmazd had fitted his creatures into each group of six Amahraspands, he established the world of thought and world of the living in the same manner. That is, Ohrmazd and those six Amahraspands—Wahman Ardwahisht, Shahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordad, Amurdad—are in the world of thought.
Thus also the sky (was established) with six levels, the first of which is the cloud-level, the second the firmament of the stars, the third the unmingled stars; the fourth Paradise, the moon is on that level; the fifth Garôdmân, which is called the endless light, the sun is on that level; the sixth the thrones/place of the Amahraspands; the seventh the endless light, the throne/place of Ohrmazd.
Thus, too, he fashioned seven creations in the world of the living: first the sky, second the water, third the earth, fourth the plant, fifth the cattle, sixth man, seventh the fire, whose shine is from the endless light, the throne of Ohrmazd.

3.8 And he filled fire into each creature he fashioned forth, like a house-master who goes into the house and puts his clothes down neatly in the house.

3.9 And he ordered the fire, during the Assault, to serve men, to make food, and strike away pain. When one gathers it from various things it comes out. When one puts firewood on it, it seizes it.

3.10 And he appointed and positioned all the Amahraspands to take part in the battle of the creatures, so that when the Assault <comes>, each takes on his own opponent to fight, that is, no new command is needed.

3.11 And I shall say how they are further on.

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[1] Literally, he who has set all things in place.

[2] Pahl. *âsrôn*, Av. *âthrawan*, the principal priest, who leads the performance of the sacrifice.

Creation of the seven Life-giving Immortals and their corresponding helpers and their charges in the world of the living

3.12 The first of beings in the world of thought is Ohrmazd, and of the beings in the world of the living he in the beginning took mankind as his own.

And his collaborators are the 3 *Days*: one is place, one is *dên*, one is time; every *Day* has a name. He who is in the world of thought, every creation is from him.

3.13 He brought forth mankind in 5 parts: body, breath-soul (*gyân*), soul (*ruwân*), frame (*êwênag*), and pre-soul (*frawash*, *frawahr*). That is, the body is what is living. The breath-soul is what <is connected> with the wind, *inhaling and exhaling. The soul is that which in the body together with consciousness hears, sees, talks, and knows. The frame is what is on the sun level. The pre-soul is what is before the Lord Ohrmazd; it was fashioned for this reason: so that, when men die during the period of the Assault, the body is connected with the earth, the breath-soul with the wind, the frame to the sun, and the soul to the pre-soul, so that it will not be possible for the *evil gods to destroy the soul.

3.14 Second of beings in the world of thought is Wahman, and of beings in the world of the living he took the cow species as his own. And to help him he gave him Mâh (the moon), and Gôsh, the Lord Firmament, limitless Time, and Time of long rule.

He brought forth the cow in 5 parts: body, breath-soul, soul, the frame, and the "spirit" (*mênôy*), so that during the period of the Assault, Gôshurûn,[1] would receive the seed of cattle from the moon level and with the help of good Râm (= Wây) would propagate it in the world of the living.

When they die, the body is attached to Gôshurûn, the soul to Râm, the frame to the moon, the "spirit" to Wahman, so that it will not be possible for the evil gods to destroy them.

3.15 Third of beings in the world of thought is Urdwahisht (Ardwahisht), and of beings in the world of the living he received the fire as his own. And to help him he gave him Âdur (Fire) and Srôsh and Warahrân and Nêryôsang, for the reason that, during the period of the Assault, Warahrân would provide a stronghold for the fire that is established and arrayed in the house, and Srôsh would protect it. When it goes out, it goes from Warahrân to Srôsh, from Srôsh to Âdur, and from Âdur it is again attached to Ardwahisht, so that it will not be possible for the evil gods to destroy it.

3.16 Fourth of beings in the world of thought is Shahrewar, and of beings in the world of the living he took the metals as his own. And to help him he gave him Khwar (the sun), Mihr, the Sky, the Endless (lights), the good Glow, Ardwîsûr, Hôm-yazd (the god Haoma), Burz-yazd (the exalted god), and Dahmân Âfrîn.[2]

For the solidity of metals is from the sky. The primeval substance of the sky is ... (?) metal. And it is set up from the Endless (lights). In the Endless (lights) there is a luminous house of gold, studded with precious stones, and it is connected upward to the place/throne of the Amahraspands, so that it will not be possible for the evil gods in the period of the Assault to destroy it.

3.17 Fifth of beings in the world of thought is Spandarmad, and of beings in the world of the living she took the earth as her own. And to help her he gave her Âbân (the Waters), the Dên, Ard (Av. Ashi), Mahrspand (Av. the life-giving poetic thought), Arshishwang (Av. good Ashi), and Ardwîsûr Anâhîd.

As for Arshishwang, she is the being in the world of thought that purifies the earth (and) the seed of the waters(?). And before her is Mahrspand or Mânsarspand,[3] the speech of Ohrmazd.

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[1] The mythical soul of the cow, see Bdh.4.29-34.

[2] Av. "the Qualified Invitation" (*dahmâm âfritîm*).

[3] The life-giving poetic thought, Av. *manthra spenta*.

And Ard and Dên are in the Fortune of the house. From Arshishwang one says (comes) the Fortune of Paradise, one-ness with Order (*ahlâyîh*).[1]

Ardwîsûr Anâhîd is father and mother of the waters.

With these assistants (Spandarmad) she is set up. And these (her) helpers in the world of thought safeguard the Fortune.

3.18 Sixth of beings in the world of thought is Hordad, and of beings in the world of the living he took the water as his own. And to help him, he gave him Tîr, Wâd (the wind), and Frawardîn (the pre-souls)— for Tîr is Tishtar (Av. Tishtriya)—so that in the period of the Assault, with the help of Frawardîn, some (say) the pre-souls of the Orderly (*ahlaw*), he may take that water and deliver it in the world of thought to the wind. The wind drives those waters *quickly to the various regions and makes them pass (from one to the next), and by means of the clouds with their helpers they rain it down.

3.19 Seventh of beings in the world of thought is Amurdad, and of beings in the world of the living he took the plant as his own. And to help him he gave him Rashn, Ashtâd (Av. Rectitude), and Zamyâd (the genius of the earth), the 3 Fortunes who are there at the Chinwad bridge, who in the period of the Assault bring the souls of men to account for their good and bad deeds.

3.20 Then there are innumerable beings in the world of thought with whose assistance the creations are set up, as written above with regard to the stars in the firmament.

3.21 And each of the days in the months he divided into five times, and over each time he appointed one in the world of thought, that is, Dawn, which Hâwan in the world of thought holds as his own; Noon, which Rabihwin in the world of thought; Evening, which Uzêrin in the world of thought; Before midnight, which Aybisrûsrim in the world of thought; and After midnight, which Ushahin in the world of thought holds as his own.

3.22 And those, too, he assigned to help (some others): for he set up Hâwan to help Mihr, Rabihwin to help Ardwahisht, Uzêrin to help Burz-yazd, Aybisrûsrim to help the pre-souls of the Orderly and Warahrân, and Ushahin to help Srôsh and Rashn.[2]

For he knew that when the Assault came, the day would be divided into these five times: until the Assault came it was always Midday (*nêmrôz*). Some (say) Rabihwin.

Ohrmazd's sacrifice and the pre-souls

3.23 At Midday Ohrmazd with the immortal gods prepared the sacrifice in the world of thought. During the performance of the sacrifice the entire creation was established.

With (him) were pre-souls of men, with *considered wisdom (*khrad*), omniscient, brought down to men(?).

He said: Which seems more profitable to you, that I fashion you forth to the world of the living so you will fight in bodily form with the Lie (until) the Lie is annihilated and I will redress you immortal in the end and again give you to the world of the living (where) you will forever be deathless, ageless, without opponents, or should I make you the eternal protection against the Assault.

3.24 And the pre-souls of men saw by the omniscient wisdom the evil from the Lie and Ahrimen that would befall (them) in the world of the living, (but) because finally the opposition from the Adversary would disappear and they would again become sound and immortal in the Final Body for ever and ever, they <agreed> to go <to the world

[1] Cf. XPh 46-56.

[2] Cf. Y.1.

of the living>.

CHAPTER 4: ABOUT THE RUSH OF THE ASSAULT AT THE CREATION

The Evil Spirit is roused

4.1 It is said in the *dên* that when the Foul Spirit saw his own undoing together with the evil gods from the Orderly Man, he had been stunned. For 3000 years he lay stunned.

4.2 During that stupor, the (animal-?)headed evil gods one by one lied: "Rise up, our father, for we will do that battle, from which there will be straits and evil for Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands!"

4.3 One by one they enumerated their evil deeds.

4.4 The Foul Spirit was not pacified by it, and he did not rise from that stupor for fear of the Orderly Man until the Whore, possessed by the Lie, came at the completion of the 3000 years. She lied:

"Rise up, our father, for in that battle I shall let loose so much harm upon the Orderly Man and the toiling Bull that by my doing their lives will not be worth living. And I shall steal their Fortune, I shall harm the water, I shall harm the earth, I shall harm the fire, I shall harm the plant, I shall harm the entire creation established by Ohrmazd."

4.5 And she enumerated her evil-doings in such detail that the Foul Spirit was pacified. He jumped out of his stupor and placed a kiss on the Whore's head. This filth they call "menses" then appeared on the Whore.

4.6 The Foul Spirit lied to the Whore: "Ask for whatever you want, and I will give it to you!"

4.7 Then Ohrmazd knew in his omniscience that at that time the Foul Spirit was able to give the Whore what she wanted and she would acquire much profit thereby.

The body of the Foul Spirit was in the form of a frog to look at(?). And he showed a man like a 15-year-old youth to the Whore and bound the Whore's mind to him.

4.8 And the Whore lied to the Foul Spirit: "Give me the desire of man, so that I can sit down as mistress in his house!"

4.9 And the Foul Spirit lied to her: "I shall not tell you what to ask for, for you only know how to ask for profitless, bad things." But the time had passed, and if she had asked for it, he would not have been able to give it to her.

The Assault upon the sky

4.10 Then the Foul Spirit rose up together with numerous evil gods to oppose the lights. And he saw that sky which they had shown him when in the world of thought at a time when it had not yet been established with bones (in the world of the living). In his envious wish he attacked it.

The sky stood on the star level; he dragged it down into the empty space—which, as I wrote at the start, was in between the foundation of the lights and the things of darkness, so that one-third of it stood above the star level (?).

And in the likeness of a snake, the sky having jumped below this earth, he threshed it and it broke(?).

In the month of Frawardîn on the day of Ohrmazd he rushed in at Midday. And the sky feared him like a sheep fears the wolf.[1]

Next he fell upon the water, which I said was set up below this earth.

Next he pierced the center of the earth and came inside.

Next he fell upon the plant.

Next he fell upon the Bull and Gayômard.

Next he fell upon the fire in the likeness of a fly.

[1] Cf. V.19.33.

Thus he rushed upon the entire creation.

4.11 And he made the world of the living, (even) at Midday, as hard to find(?) as in a dark night.
And he made the sky beneath and above the earth dark.

4.12 And the sky in the world of thought said to the Foul Spirit: "For the utmost length of time I must stand guard so that I do not let you get out."

The Assault upon the water

4.13 He made the water devoid of taste.

4.14 And the water in the world of thought said: "*Where is it to be given, Wahman, Ardwahisht, and Shahrewar, that is, make it come to me!* Now that the Opposition has come, *where is that taste*?"[1]

The Assault upon the earth

4.15 And he let loose evil creeps upon the earth. In that manner the bony (creations) were *filled with them, biting and venomous evil creeps, such as dragons and snakes, scorpions and lizards, tortoises and frogs, so that the earth was not free from evil creeps even (the amount of) a needle-point.

4.16 And the earth said: "For this creation they established my malice/revenge will come upon this malicious ones!"

The Assault upon the plant

4.17 And he brought poison upon the plant in such a manner (that) it dried out immediately.

4.18 And the plant in the world of thought said: "It was by that respect of his that Ohrmazd made the plant grow."[2]

The Assault upon the Bull

4.19 And he let loose upon the Bull and Gayômard greed and need, danger, pain and disease, lust and sloth.

4.20 Before he came to the Bull, Ohrmazd gave the it healing bang (hashish?) to eat, which some call **banj*, and he smeared it before its eyes so that the evil, damage, and discomfort from the striking might be less. It immediately became weak and sick, and its milk came out, and it passed away.

4.21 And the Bull said: "Cattle should be established, excellent work and labor should be ordered for them!"[3]

The Assault upon Gayômard

4.22 Before he came to Gayômard, Ohrmazd brought sleep upon Gayômard for as long as it takes to say one Gathic strophe. For Ohrmazd fashioned that sleep in the form of a luminous, tall 15-year-old man.

4.23 When Gayômard came out of the sleep, he saw that the entire world of the living was dark like night. The earth was like scorched. It was no longer free from the running around of evil creeps. The firmament was turning, the sun and the moon were moving, the world of the living was resounding with the thundering of the giant evil gods fighting with the stars.

4.24 And the Foul Spirit thought: "I have undone all the creations of Ohrmazd, except Gayômard."

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[1] This is the Pahl. rendering of the first line of Y.29.11, but with substitution of *mizzag* "taste" for *mizd* "reward," which are written the same way.

[2] Cf. **3.**48.6.

[3] Apparently another citation.

And he let loose upon Gayômard the Dismemberer with 1000 death-making evil gods, but because of his appointed time(?) they found no means to kill him.

4.25 As it says: At the first establishment, when the Foul Spirit came to Oppose it, the time for Gayômard to live and rule was fashioned to be 30 years. That is, after the coming of the Opposition he lived for 30 years.

4.26 And Gayômard said: "Now that the Assault has come, mankind will be from my seed/lineage. One good thing will come from it when they perform the appropriate good deeds."

The Assault upon the fire

4.27 Next he came to the fire, and he mixed smoke and *darkness into it.

First victory of the gods

The seven planets with numerous collaborators were mixed into the firmament (for) the battle with the stars.

And he sullied the entire creation as when from a fire smoke rises everywhere, and he fought to (reach) the place of those whose actions are above in order to mix with them too.

For 90 days and nights the gods in the world of thought were fighting with the Foul Spirit and the evil gods, until they overcame them and threw them back into hell.

He made the sky into a stockade, so that the Opposition was unable to mix with them.

4.28 Hell is the center of the earth, there where the Foul Spirit pierced the earth and ran through.

For everything in the world would now be by twos: opposition and fighting, up and down, and mixture (of those).

The complaint of the Soul of the Bull/Cow

4a.1 It also says: When the uniquely-established Bull passed away, *he* fell on the right.

After Gayômard passed away, *he* fell on the left.

4a.2 Gôshurûn, that is, the soul of the uniquely-established Bull, came out of the body of the Bull, stood before the Bull, and with a voice as when 1000 men cry together complained to Ohrmazd: "To whom have you entrusted the *ratu*-ship of the creation, since the earth is lying trembling, the plant is dry, the water fouled? Where is that man of yours whom you said you would give so that he would utter care?"

4a.3 And Ohrmazd said: "You are sick, Gôshurûn, with the Foul Spirit's sickness and the malice the evil gods have brought upon you. If it had been possible to bring forth that man at that time, then the Foul Spirit would not have possessed this power to do violence."

4a.4 And Gôshurûn went forth to the star level and complained in the same manner. It went forth to the moon level and complained in the same manner. It went forth to the sun level and complained in the same manner.

4a.5 And then they showed it the pre-soul of Zarathustra, saying: I (we) shall establish in the world of the living (this one), who shall utter care."

4a.6 Gôshurûn was contented and accepted (the following): "I shall nurture the creation"—that is, it agreed to establish cattle in the world of the living.

CHAPTER 5: ABOUT THE COMPETITION BETWEEN THE TWO SPIRITS

That is, in what way did the (animal-?)headed evil gods come to compete with the gods in the world of thought?

The competition in the world of thought

5.1 That is, Ahrimen with Ohrmazd,
Akôman/Evil thought with Wahman/Good thought,
Endar [1] with Urdwahisht/Best Order,
Sâwul with Shahrewar/Worthy command,
Nânghaith, whom they also call Tarômad/Scorn, with Spandarmad/Life-giving Humility,
Tôrij with Hordad/Wholeness and Zêrij with Amurdad/Immortality,
Wrath with readiness to listen/Srôsh,
lies and false statements with truth,
spells of sorcery with the pure poetic thought,
excess and lack with moderation, which is the good *dên*,
evil thoughts, words, and deeds with good thoughts, words, and deeds,
the Dismemberer, whom they call the bad Wây, with Râm, that is, the good Wây,
Waran/Greed of no roads with inborn wisdom (*khrad*),
casting the evil eye, that is lack of regard, with the regard in the world of thought
laziness with zealous activity, sloth with sleep,
revenge with peace, harm with peacefulness,
stench with good scent,
darkness with light,
poison with nectar,
bitterness with sweetness,
stinginess with generosity,
waste with judicious giving,
winter with summer,
cold with warm,
dryness with wetness,
being in hell with being in paradise,
Liefulness with Orderliness (*ardâyîh*),
obscurantism/heresy with being Orderly (*ahlâyîh*)
old age with youth,
night with day,
mercilessness with forgiveness,
stinkiness, that is destruction, with ability to make increase,
filth with cleanness,
impurity with purity,
discontentedness with contentedness,

5.2 and the other terms of evil gods with the other terms of gods: evil gods, lie-demons, and giants with gods (*yazdân*), deities (*bayân*), and Amahraspands.

[1] Cf. Bdh.1.55.

The competition in the world of the living

5.3 In the world of the living (there compete):
darkness with the sky,
thirst with water,
offal, evil creeps, and frogs with the earth,
scorching with the plant,
hunger and thirst with the cattle,
death and danger, need and miscellaneous pains with people,
cooling and ...? with the fires, that which is when people and cattle kindle it with dry (wood).

Among creatures with bones (there compete):
the lion and wolf species and the thieves with dogs and cattle,
frogs with fishes,
owls and the other winged evil creeps with the birds,
the "satanity" (*ahrimenîgânîh*) of those possessed by the Lie with Orderly men,
whores with women,
immoral living with moral living,
the destruction by the Lie with having offspring,
and all the other Lies in the world of the living came upon the deities of the world of the living.

The competition among the heavenly bodies

5.4 In the Firmament, too, the dark Mihr came upon the sun and the dark moon upon the moon with the seed of cattle, and they tied them to their chariots by a mutual contract.[1]
The generals of the other sorcerers and witches[2] together with 30 destroyers (came upon) the stars.
And the generals of the seven planets upon the stars, that is:
Tîr/Mercury upon Tishtar/Sirius,
Ohrmazd/Jupiter upon Haftôring/Ursa Major (the Big Dipper),
Warahrân/Mars upon Wanand/Vega,
Anâhîd/Venus upon Sadwês/Fomalhaut(?),
Kêwân/Saturn, who is the general of the planets, upon the Peg in the middle of the sky,
Gôchihr and Mûshparîg with the tail came upon the sun, the moon, and the stars.
5.5 The sun tied Mûshparîg to his chariot by a deal, so that it could do only little harm. When she gets loose, she will distribute much evil before being captured again.
5.6 And also on the star level (there competed):
Aspanjarûsh (the demon of thunder and lightning, came) upon the Wâzisht fire,
Apaosh the demon (of drought) came upon Tishtar/Sirius (and his) collaborators.
5.7 Other evil gods with countless eyes(?) came upon the deities in charge of winds and rain.
5.8 (It would be) long (to enumerate) their (doings) in detail, and their behavior and fight with ...? is also explained in astrology.

[1] This, of course, explains eclipses.
[2] Cf. Yt.8.8: falling stars and comets.

CHAPTER 6: ON THE BATTLE OF THE CREATIONS

The battle of the sky

6a.1 It says in the *dên*: As the Foul Spirit rushed in and saw the logical establishment of the creation, the supremacy of the deities, and his own impotence, he wished to rush back.

6a.2 The sky in the world of thought, that is, that brave warrior who wears the steel armor that is the very sky that was set up against the Foul Spirit, presented a threat (to him?) until Ohrmazd had made a fortification harder than the sky around the sky.

6a.3 And he appointed the warrior pre-souls of the Orderly, with valiant horses and spears in the hands around that stockade (numerous) as hairs on the head of(?) those who mount the guard of the fortification. And the stockade which the Orderly are in they call the Knowledge of the Orderly.

6a.4 And the Foul Spirit did not find a passage to rush back through. He saw the destruction of the evil gods and his own undoing as clearly as Ohrmazd did his future victory and the Perfectioning of the world for ever and ever.

6a.5 This was the first battle, (the one) which the sky in the world of thought fought with the Foul Spirit.

The second battle the water fought.

6b.1 Because the star Tishtar was in the watery Cancer in the (9th) lunar mansion they call .Azarag, (in) that of the Souls (the 1st l..m.), on the same day that the Assault rushed in, in the evening, it rose again in the west.

6b.2 There one constellation belongs to each month.

The month of Tîr is the fourth month of the year. Cancer is the fourth constellation from Aries, that is, the property of Cancer, in which Tishtar happened to be, came as the mark of rain-making, and he drove the water up to the clouds by the strength of the wind.

6b.3 The assistants who stood with Tishtar: Wahman and Hôm-yazd for guidance, Burz-yazd for assistance, the pre-souls of the Orderly to set up the right measure.

6b.4 Tishtar changed into three bodies: that of a man, a horse, and a bull. For 30 days and nights he flew in the light and produced rain for 10 nights and days in each form. As the astrologers say: each star has three forms.

6b.5 That rain poured down water, each drop as large as a large ... (?) cup, and on the entire earth there stood water the height of a man.

6b.6 Those evil creeps of the earth were all killed by that rain, aside from some small winged ones, who went into the holes of the earth.

6b.7 Next the Wind in the world of thought, as it had not been mixed ...?, like the wind-soul that moves in the body, the wind in the intermediate space moved forth. And its wind-soul swept that entire water and carried it to the borders of the earth, and from it there was the Vourukasha Sea.

6b.8 Those dead evil creeps that remained on the earth and whose poison and stench mingled on the earth, in order to remove that poison from the earth, Tishtar went down into the sea in the shape of a white, long-tailed horse.

And the demon Apaosh in the likeness of a black horse with stunted tail hastened against him, and he violently pushed Tishtar back three miles.

6b.9 Tishtar asked Ohrmazd for strength. Ohrmazd bestowed strength upon him.

6b.10 As it says: Immediately Tishtar received the strength of ten young horses, ten young camels, ten young bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers.

6b.11 And he violently drove the demon Apaosh three miles away.

6b.12 And this is the reason why they say that the power of an arrow is equal to Tishtar.

6b.13 And by using the clouds as a barrel for measuring—a tool for that work, so they say—he takes up the water and makes it rain as hard as possible by drops the size of a bull's head or a ram's head, the depth of a ...? and the

depth of a ...? both big and small.

6b.14 During that rain-making Aspanjarûsh and Apaosh fought, the fire Wâzisht brought up his mace and heated the water in the clouds. From the smashing with that mace, Aspanjarûsh thundered and shouted, as even today that battle over the rain-making thunder and lightening appear.

6b.15 And he made rain in that manner for 10 days and nights. That poison of the evil creeps that was in the earth was all of it mixed into that water and that made it greater (than) what remained in the earth. From that seed all evil creeps are spawned.

6b.16 Next the wind in the same manner, within three days, made that water settle down in all places of the earth. Three great seas and 20/30 small seas came from it, and two springs of the sea appeared from it. One was Chêchast, one Sawr, whose springs are connected with the springs of the sea.

6b.17 And he made two rivers flow from the north, one went toward the east and one toward the west, namely, the river Arwand and the river Weh.

6b.18 As it says: two sources of two water-courses were born the depth of one of Ohrmazd's fingers.

6b.19 And both those rivers encircle both ends of the earth and mingle back into the Vourukasha Sea.

6b.20 And when those two rivers had flowed forth, thereafter 18 deep rivers flowed forth from the same source as those two. Next the other waters flowed forth from those deep ones. And all those too pour back into the Arwand and Weh rivers, from which came the beneficence of the world of the living and the long life of the creatures.

6b.21 This was the first battle the water fought with the Foul Spirit.

<u>The third battle was the one the earth fought.</u>

6c.1 When the Foul Spirit rushed in, the earth shook, and that substance of the mountains that had been established in the earth began to shake, and immediately the mountains started to move about.

6c.2 First Hariburz the God-given, then the other mountains in the middle of the earth, for, when Hariburz grew forth, all the mountains started to move, for all grew forth from the root of Hariburz.

At that time they came up from the earth, like trees which run their branches down to the roots(?), and their roots have passed into one another (that) they are arranged by being tied together.

6c.3 After that the earth was no longer able to shake in place, as it says in the *dên*: The mountains are a great band (around) the earth.

6c.4 Passages for the waters in the mountains were made beneath and above the roots of the mountains, so that they could flow through them, in the same way that the roots of trees pass through the earth, like the blood in the veins, which gives strength to the entire body.

6c.5 Aside from Hariburz, in 18 years, all the mountains came up from the earth from which there is help and profit for mankind.

6c.6 As it says: They have been brought forth as a banquet(?) for the priests and husbandmen.

6c.7 This was the first battle that the earth fought with the Evil Spirit.

<u>The fourth battle the plant fought, the one that had been dried out.</u>

6d.1 The Amahraspand Amurdad—since the plant belongs to him—pounded that plant finely, mixed it with the water from Tishtar, and Tishtar rained that water down on the entire earth.

6d.2 On the entire earth plants grew up like the hair on men's heads.

6d.3 And there were 10,000 from it. One special species grew forth to withstand the 10,000 illnesses that the Foul Spirit whittled forth against the creatures.

6d.4 From those 10,000, plants grew forth in 130 species among the species.

6d.5 From all that seed of the plants, the tree of many-seeds was brought forth. It grew forth in the Vourukasha Sea, and

the seeds of all plants grow from on that tree.

6d.6 Near that tree, the Gôkarn tree was brought forth to withstand ...? old age. And the complete furthering of the world of the living came from it.

6d.7 This was the first battle the plant fought with the Foul Spirit.

The fifth battle the uniquely-established Bull fought.

6e.1 When it passed away, because it contained the semen of the plants, from the limbs of the Bull there grew out of the earth 55 species of grain and 12 species of healing plants.

6e.2 And their light and the strength that was in the seed of the Bull was transferred to the moon.

6e.3 That seed was purified by the light of the moon, was set up in various kinds/colors, and a soul (*gyân*) was inserted in it.

6e.4 From there one pair of kine, one male one female, appeared on the earth, and then from each species 2, that is 282, in the same way that 2 miles are said in the *dên* to be 18 *hâsar*.

6e.5 The cattle (took) their abodes on the earth, the birds in the atmosphere, and the fish swam in the water, from which there was (enough) for abundant nourishing of the creatures.

6e.6 This was the first battle the Bull fought with the Foul Spirit.

The sixth battle Gayômard fought.

6f.1 It was revealed in the firmament about(?) Gayômard that he lived *30 years in the period of the Assault, during the struggle between the stars and the planets.

6f.2 As it has been said (about?) the time before the coming of the Assault: "To brave Gayômard 30 winters' life and rule had been allotted."

6f.3 At the coming of the Assault the planet Ohrmazd/Jupiter happened to be in watery Cancer in its own exaltation; owing to his superiority over his opponent he allotted life to Gayômard.

6f.4 And the planet Kêwân/Saturn was in Libra, in the fourth house, where the Peg below the earth is in its own exaltation. Because of its superiority over its adversary, it fashioned (decreed) death (for Gayômard).

6f.5 Because Ohrmazd/Jupiter was in his own exaltation, at the *tip of (the lunar mansion) of the Souls, and because of his superiority over Kêwân/Saturn, he pushed the death of Gayômard forward to 30 years.

6f.6 Then Kêwân/Saturn came back to Libra, which is its exaltation, at that time Ohrmazd/Jupiter happened to be in the Lamb, where his declination is. Because of the superiority of Kêwân/Saturn over Ohrmazd/Jupiter, mortality came upon Gayômard, and he fell on the left side.

6f.7 As he passed away, his seed went into the earth, as now, too, all men pour out their seed at their passing away.

6f.8 Because the body of Gayômard was made of metal, 6 metals appeared from the body of Gayômard.

6f.9 And the seed that went into the earth, after 40 years, Mashî and Mashyânî (= mortal man and woman) grew up (from it), from whom came the filling up of the world of the living, the destruction of the evil gods, and the undoing of the Foul Spirit.

6f.10 This was the first battle Gayômard fought with the Foul Spirit.

The seventh battle the fire fought was the one against Aspanjarûsh.

6g.1 The fire Wâzisht (is) for making rain, the fires Farrôbay, Gushnasp, and Burzênmihr to protect the world of the living and guard the creation, and the other fires, like the one in plants, men, and animals, to keep them alive and make them grow, and the setting up of the establishment of the world of the living is from them.

6g.2 This was the first battle the fire fought with the Foul Spirit.

The eighth battle the stars fought against the deceiving planets.

6h.1 Each of them was in battle with its own opponent. They were set up against their adversary until the Perfectioning of the world, as I wrote in the horoscope of the world.

6h.2 This was the first battle the stars fought with the Foul Spirit.

The ninth battle the gods in the world of thought fought with the Foul Spirit

6i.0 The ninth battle the gods in the world of thought fought with the Foul Spirit, when they smote him, overcame him, and threw him into hell.

6i.1 As it says: For 90 days and nights the gods in the world of thought were sleepless and *untiring in fighting that battle.

The tenth battle the unmingled stars fought

6j.0 The tenth battle the unmingled stars fought when they did not allow darkness and sinfulness to be mixed into the *upper action sphere(?).

6j.1 As it says: The Fortune of the good *daênâ* of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdâ[1] was held like a girdle, that is a *kusti*, star-adorned, fashioned in the world of thought, with three lengths, and *four knots, around the sky.

6j.2 Those stars were in battle with (him) until the end, as already written.

6j.3 There (you have) the principal components of the battle, which is called the pure elements in the mixture.

CHAPTER 14: ON THE NATURE OF MANKIND

14.1 It says in the *dên*: I fashioned forth mankind in ten species, first that luminous, white-eyed one, Gayômard, and so forth till the tenth, that is, Gayômard was one, nine remained from Gayômard. The tenth was the monkey, whom one calls the lowest of mankind.

What came from Gayômard

14.2 When illness befell Gayômard, he fell on the left side.

14.3 There appeared from his head lead, from his blood tin, from his brain silver, from his feet iron, from his bones copper, from his fat crystal, from his arms steel, and from the soul as it went forth gold, which even now people give to accompany their souls because of its high value.

14.4 Through his left side mortality entered Gayômard's body. Mortality thus came upon all creatures (to last) until the Perfectioning.

14.5 When Gayômard gave up his seed, they cleansed it with the light of the sun. And one half was preserved by Nêryôsang, and Spandarmad received the other one. It was placed in the earth for 40 years.

[1] Cf. Y.9.26.

Mashî and Mashyânî, the first two humans

14.6 At the completion of 40 years, Mahlî and Mahliyânî (= Mashî and Mashyânî) grew up from the earth as a plant in the shape of a rhubarb with one stem and 15 leaves, in such a way that their hands were in the back and they were attached to one another. They were of the same height and same appearance.

14.7 Between them Fortune came up, and they were of the same *stature, so that it was not apparent which was the male and which was the female and which was that Ohrmazd-given Fortune that was with them, there is one who says: the Fortune of mankind which was placed in them.

14.8 As it says: Which was made first: the Fortune or the body? And Ohrmazd said: The Fortune was made first, then the body was made for it, placed in the body,[1] that is, once one's duties had been fashioned, the body was made for performing one's duties.

14.9 And the explanation of it is as follows: the soul (*ruwân*) was made first, then the body. The soul inside the body guides its duties.

14.10 Then they both changed from rhubarb-form to people-form. And that Fortune that is the soul (*ruwân*) went into them from the world of thought. Even now a tree has grown up, whose fruits are the ten kinds of humans(?).

14.11 Ohrmazd said to Mashî and Mashyânî: You are humans. You are the parents of the world of the living. You must perform work and law with perfect thought! Think good thought, speak good speech, perform good action, do not sacrifice to the evil gods!

14.12 The two of them first thought as follows, when they thought about one another: He is human.

14.13 And the first deed they did was as follows: When they walked they urinated.[2]

The first humans learn to lie

14.14 And the first speech they spoke was as follows: Ohrmazd gave (us) the water, the earth, the plants, the cattle, the stars, the moon, the sun, and all prosperity whose appearance is from Orderliness. —He mentions origin and fruit (cause and effect).

14.15 Then the Adversary rushed into their thoughts, and he made their thought sinful,[3] and they howled: The Foul Spirit gave (us) the water, the earth, the plants, and the other things.

14.16 As it is said: that was the first lying speech of theirs that went astray. It was said at the instigation of the evil gods. This was the first bliss the Foul Spirit took from them. By that lying speech they both became possessed by the Lie, and their soul will be in Hell until the Final Body.

14.17 And for 30 days they had to winnow(?) their food, and they wore grass as garments.

14.18 After 30 days, in the wilderness they came upon a white-haired goat. And with their mouths they sucked the milk of here udder.

14.19 When they had drunk the milk, Mashyânî said: My peace of mind at the time when I had not yet drunk that seed milk was greater than it is now when I have drunk it and my body feels bad.

14.20 And that was the second lying speech, from which the evil gods received strength.[4] And they stole the taste of the food so that only 1% remained.

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[1] Cf. Yt.17.22.

[2] Cf. V.3.6.

[3] Cf. Y.9.29.

[4] Note the effect of lying.

The first humans perform their first sacrifices, one good, one bad

14.21 Then, after another 30 days and nights, they came upon a young sheep with white cheeks, and they killed it. And with firewood from lote(?) and box tree by the guidance of the (gods) in the world of thought, they built a fire, for those two trees are the best givers of fire. And again they kindled the fire with their mouths (blowing on it) and as the first firewood they burnt (wood from various trees).

And they roasted that sheep. And they left a three-fist-sized piece of meat in the fire. They said: It is the fire's share. And of that one piece was shot up to heaven. They said: This is the gods' share.

14.22 A vulture dove for it and carried it of from them, that is, this was the first meat the dogs ate(?).

14.23 And the first garments they wore were from skins. Then, in the wilderness, they wove cotton cloth(?). The woven cloth they made into clothes and put them on.

14.24 And they dug a *kiln in the ground, smelted iron, struck the iron with stones, made a blade out of it, cut trees with it, and prepared wooden bowls from it.

14.25 From these pious actions the evil gods experienced much misery.

14.26 And by themselves they brought evil envy upon one another. They set upon one another, striking and tearing and pulling out hairs.

14.27 Then the evil gods bellowed from the darkness: You are humans, sacrifice to the evil gods, so that envy may find a seat in you!

14.28 Mashyânî hurried forth, milked a cow, and poured the milk in the northern direction.[1]

14.29 By that sacrifice to the evil gods, the evil gods became strong. And they made both of them so dry-assed (= impotent) that for 50 years they had no desire to get mingle together. And even when they did mingle together, no children were born from.

After 50 years, they thought about getting children, first Mashî, then Mashyânî. Mashî said to Mashyânî: When I look at your belly this thing of mine grows and rises up. Then Mashyânî said: Brother, when I see your that dick of yours, my belly flutters(?).

14.30 Then they got their desire together, and as they were performing their desire they thought: we should have been doing this for 50 years already!

14.31 After nine months a pair of twins were born, a girl and a boy, but because they were so sweet, the mother devoured one, the father the other.

then Ohrmazd removed the sweetness of the children from their thoughts and left only enough for the parents to raise them.

14.32 Six pair of twins were then born from them, males and females, and all the brothers married their sisters.

14.33 Each couple bore a child after fifty years, and they themselves died at the age a hundred.

14.34 Of those six pair of twins, one was Siyâmag, the boy, and Washâg, the girl.

14.35 From them 15 pair of twins were born, each of which was one species. And their descendants filled the world.

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CHAPTER 30: ON THE CHINWAD BRIDGE AND THE SOULS OF THE DEPARTED

30.1 It says in the *dên*: There is a ridge a hundred men high in the middle of the world of the living that they call the Ridge of the Law (Chagâd î Dâytîy), which is the yoke of the scales set in place by Rashn. One edge is at the bottom of Mount Hariburz on the northern side, and one edge at the top of Mount Hariburz on the southern side. In the middle of that is the Ridge of the Law.

30.2 In the middle of it there is a place like the edge of a sword, which is nine spears long and wide.

[1] Cf. V.19.1.

30.3 And there stand the gods in the world of thought who purify the souls of the Orderly by means from the world of thought. And a dog from the world of thought is at the end of that bridge, and Hell is below that bridge.

30.4 When people pass on, for three nights the soul sits near the body, where the head used to be. In that night it experiences much *torment from the demon Drag-off (Drag-off) and his collaborators. It keeps turning its back to the fire that is lit there.

30.5 Therefore, for three nights until day (comes) they keep a fire burning there where his head used to be. And when there is not that fire, he turns his back to the Warahrâm fire or the *ever-burning fires.

30.6 In those three nights, when cutting and destruction comes upon the body, it seems so hard to him as to a man whose house they demolish.

30.7 Those three nights the soul sits at the top of the bed with the body with the hope: If it comes to pass that the blood flows and the wind enters the body, then maybe it will be possible to go back!

30.8 And then on the third night at dawn, if the soul is Orderly, it says: Lucky he from whom any goodness (comes)! That is, I am good, from my goodness everyone is good. And Ohrmazd has made me absolute king.

30.9 And if that soul is possessed by the Lie it says: This is that body, breath-soul (*gyân*), and form in which I used to run about, so from here where shall I run?

30.10 And if he is Orderly, then quickly upon those words a wind comes to meet him which is better and nicer and more sweet-smelling and victorious than all winds in the world of the living, which gladdens the soul.

30.11 And if he is possessed by the Lie, a wind comes to meet him which is fouler and more rotten and non-victorious than all winds in the world of the living, which makes the soul unhappy and frightened.

30.12 Then they carry off all those souls, whether Orderly or possessed by the Lie.

30.13 If that soul is Orderly, then on the way a cow-shape comes to meet him, fat and full of milk, from which the soul gets prosperity and fattiness.

30.14 Next a woman-shape comes to meet him, well-shaped, with white garments, 15 years old, and who is beautiful from all sides, at which the soul is gladdened.

30.15 Next a garden-shape comes, full of fruits, full of water, full of fruits from trees, full of prosperity, from which the soul receives gladness and prosperous thoughts. Some say: the land of Paradise. He sees this in the world of the living, before the accounting, as signs. Some say: that soul asks them one by one. When they come to meet him he asks: Who are you who seem to me to contain all happiness and comfort?

30.16 In this way they answer him one by one: I am your Orderly *dên*, the deeds you performed when you did that goodness. It is because of you that I am here.

30.17 If that soul is possessed by the Lie, then a cow-shape comes to meet him, dry, scrawny, and terrible, from which the soul gets dryness and un-fattiness.

30.18 Next a woman-shape comes to meet him, terrible, ill-shaped, covered in reproach, and who is terrible from all sides, from which the soul is frightened and terrified.

30.19 Next a garden-shape comes, devoid of water, trees, and comfort, from which the soul receives bad thoughts. Some say: the land of Hell. He sees this before the accounting as signs. Some say: It asks them one by one. When they come to meet him he asks: Who are you, the most evil I have ever seen in the world of the living?

30.20 It answers him: O you possessed by the Lie, I am your *dên*, who am your deeds, when you performed bad ones. It is because of you that I am here.

30.21 So it is clear that everybody's deeds come to meet him.

30.22 Then they convey that soul to the foot of Mount Hariburz, above which there goes the edge of a yoke, up to the top of the ridge, where that sharp edge is.

30.23 Then, if he is Orderly, that sharp edge remains as wide as it is. The Farrôbay fire strikes the darkness and in the form of fire conveys that soul over that ridge, and the gods in the world of thought purify it. It conveys it over another yoke up to the top of Hariburz, and good Wây takes it by the hand and brings it to his own place, that is,

he who receives the soul, delivers it there.

30.24 Also when they purify a body in the world of the living, (they do it) in like manner in the world of thought.

30.25 If that soul is possessed by the Lie, when it comes over that yoke up to the ridge, that sharp edge becomes a sharp blade and does not give passage. And unwillingly he must go over that sharp blade. After taking three steps forward, that is, evil thought, evil speech, and the evil deeds he has performed, it cuts him down and he falls head first down to Hell and experiences every evil.

30.26 It says this too: he who has been Orderly in generosity, when that wind comes to meet him, in that wind he sees a woman-shape, and he asks her. And the woman shows the way and brings him to a ladder, which has three levels. And by that ladder he goes to Paradise in three steps, that is, good thought, good speech, and good action. The first step takes him to the star-level, the second to the moon-level, and the third to the sun-level, where Paradise is.

30.27 If he has been possessed by the Lie and niggardly, when that wind comes to meet him, in that wind he sees a woman-shape, and he asks her.

There are some who say: That action becomes like a sharp edge, which is all sharp edge(?). It says to that soul: O you possessed by the Lie, whether you wish or not, you must step on this edge.

30.28 Then the soul says: Were you to cut me with a very sharp knife, it would seem better to me than to step on this edge.

30.29 A second time it says the same. He answers: If you were to shoot me with an arrow, it would seem better to me than to step on this edge.

30.30 A third time it says the same. He answers: If you were to strike my soul out of my body, it would seem better to me than to step on this edge.

30.31 But his actions (in the world) become like a wild untamed beast and stands before the soul. That soul becomes so afraid that it steps on that edge, and it cuts him down and he falls to Hell.

30.32 Those whose sins and good deeds are equal they consign to the Intermediary place.

30.33 About the Intermediary place it says that it is a place like the world of the living.

30.34 They assign to everyone a place in it that is on the level of their good deeds.

CHAPTER 33: ON THE HARM THAT BEFELL IRAN IN EACH MILLENNIUM

The first millennium of the Mixture

33.1 When the Foul Spirit rushed in, at the beginning of the first millennium in the mixture, there were the Bull and Gayômard.

When Mashî and Mashyânî performed that good sacrifice/service for 50 years, then they had no children.

In the same millennium, for 70 years, Hôshang and Tahmûraf both killed evil gods.

It was at the end of the millennium that the evil gods cut Jam in half.

The second millennium of the Mixture

33.2 It was at the beginning of the second millennium that Azhidahâg ruled his evil rule. He did so for a hundred years. When the end of the millennium came, Frêdôn seized and bound him.

The third millennium of the Mixture

33.3 It was at the beginning of the third millennium that Salm and Tûz shared Frêdôn's land. Then they killed Êrij and destroyed his children and family.

33.4 In the same millennium, Mânushchihr was born and sought vengeance for Êrij.

33.5 Than Frâsyâb came and pushed Mânushchihr and the Iranians back to Padishkhwârgar and destroyed them with much harm, damage, and destruction. He killed Mânushchihr's sons Frîy and Nôdar, until Iran was taken from Frâsyâb by another lineage.

33.6 When Mânushchihr had departed, Frâsyâb once more came and caused much disturbance and devastation in Iran. He kept rain back from Iran until Uzaw, son of Tahmâsp came and pushed Frâsyâb back and made the rain which they called new-rain.

33.7 And after Uzaw, Frâsyâb once more caused heavy sin to Iran, until Kawâd sat upon (the throne of) kingship.

33.8 During the kingship of Kâyus in the same millennium, the evil gods were very violent, and Ôshnar came to smash them. And (Kâyus's) thought was deranged to the extent that he went to do battle with the sky. He fell down, and the Fortune was robbed from him.

Then he devastated the world of the living with horses and men, and they (seized and) bound him by deceit in the land of Shambarân together with the ...?

33.9 There was one whom they call Zênîgâw, who had poison in his eyes. He had come from the Tâzîgs (Arabs) to be king over Iran. Whomever he looked at with his evil eye was killed. The Iranians went to seek out Frâsyâb, and Dashtan killed that Zênîgâw and ruled over Iran. He carried many people off from Iran. He settled them in Turkestân and laid Iran waste and brought confusion until Rostam raised (an army?) from Sagestân and seized the Shambarânians. He released Kâyus and the other Iranians from their imprisonment.

By the river *Hurîy, which they (also) called Spâhân, he fought a battle with Frâsyâb. He was defeated from there, and he fought many other battles with him until he pushed him back and threw him back to Turkestân.

Iran was again made prosperous.

33.10 Frâsyâb made another attempt. Kay Siyâwakhsh came to do battle.

By the sin(ful accusations) of Kay Kâyus's wife, Sûdâbîy, Siyâwakhsh did not go back to Iran. He remained with Frâsyâb, because he had granted him protection, and did not come back to Kay Kâyus, but went to Turkestan himself.

He married one of Frâsyâb's daughters, from whom Kay Husrôy (Khusraw) was born.

Siyâwakhsh was killed there.

33.11 In the same millennium, Kay Husrôy killed Frâsyâb. He himself went to the Kangdiz, passing the kingship on to

Luhrâsp. And when (Luhrâsp's son) King Wishtâsp had ruled for 30 years, the millennium came to an end.

The fourth millennium of the Mixture: the current millennium

33.12 Then it was the beginning of the fourth millennium. In that millennium, Zarathustra received the *dên* from Ohrmazd, brought it, and King Wishtâsp received it and propagated it.

He fought a fierce battle with Arzâsp. Iranians and Non-Iranians were greatly *decimated.

33.13 In the same millennium, the kingship came to Wahman, son of Spandyâd. There was (internal) *struggle(?). The Iranians *decimated one another.

And there was no (man) left of the royal lineage who could become king. And they made Wahman's daughter Humâ queen.

33.14 Then during the rule of Dârâ son of Dârâ, Alexander rushed in from Rome and came to Iran. He killed king Dârâ. He annihilated the entire royal family, the Magians, and the *nobles of Iran.

He extinguished numerous fires, took the Mazdayasnian *dên* and its *zand* (commentary), and so it came to Rome. The Avesta was burned. Iran was divided among 90 petty kings.

33.15 Then in the same millennium Ardakhshahr son of Pâbag appeared. He killed the petty kings, set up the kingdom, propagated the Mazdayasnian *dên*, and instituted many customs. It continued in his lineage.

33.16 During the rule of Shabuhr (II), son of Ohrmazd, the Tâzîgs came and they took the river *Hurîy. They had spent many years marauding and plundering, before Shabuhr became king. He pushed those Tâzîgs back, took their cities, destroyed many a Tâzîg king, and ... them in large numbers(?).

33.17 During the rule of Pêrôz, son of Yazdegerd, for six years there was no rain. People experienced severe evil and hardship.

33.18 Then *Hashnawâz, king of the Hephthalites came, killed Pêrôz, and carried off Kawâd and his sister and a fire as hostages to the Hephthalites.

33.19 During the reign of Kawâd, Mazdak, son of Bâmdâd, appeared and laid down the laws of Mazdakism. Kawâd was deceived and led astray. He ordered that wife, children, and property should be held in common and be shared. He abolished the Mazdayasnian *dên* until the blessed Husrôy, son of Kawâd, came of age, killed Mazdak, reestablished the Mazdayasnian *dên*, and pushed back the Chionites, who were always making incursions into Iran, closed the passes, and made Iran free from fear.

33.20 And when Yazdegerd became king, he ruled for 20 years. Then the Tâzîgs rushed upon Iran in large numbers. Yazdegerd did not *challenge(?) them in battle, but went to Khorâsân and Turkestân, where he called horses and men to help, and was killed there.

33.21 Yazdegerd's son brought a large army to India, but before he reached Khorâsân he passed away, the large army was thrown into confusion, and Iran remained in the hands of the Tâzîgs. And they propagated their own law and evil *dên*, and threw into confusion many customs of old. The Mazdayasnian *dên* was weakened, and it became customary to wash, bury, and eat corpses.

33.22 From when the world was first established till today, no heavier evil had ever occurred, for through their evil-doings, because of need, devastation, oppression, evil laws, and evil *dên*, danger and destitution and other evils made their home (among us).

33.23 It says in the *dên*: Their evil rule will end!

33.24 A group will come with red signs, red banners, and will seize Pârs and the other provinces of Iran all the way to Babylon. They will weaken the Tâzîgs.

33.25 Then one will come from the area of Khorâsân, an evil man. He will push back the inhabitants of Padishkhwârgar. He will exercise his evil rule for some years. Under his leadership people will be destroyed in Pârs. No one will be left except a few on the shores of the Kâzerûn sea.

33.26 Then the Chionites and Turks will rush into Iran in large numbers with numerous banners and lay waste this prosperous, sweet-smelling Iran. And they will ruin many houses of noblemen, will perpetrate much evil and oppression upon the people of Iran, will destroy many houses, and seize (property) until God has mercy.

33.27 When the Romans arrive, they will exercise kingship for one year. At that time one will come from the area of Kâwarestân, in whom the Fortune lodges, of the same lineage as the gods. They will call him Kay Wahrâm. And all the people will rally to him, and he will also rule everywhere in India, Rome, and Turkestân. He will eradicate the ones of evil beliefs, restore the Mazdayasnian *dên*, and no one will be able to come forth with a (new) belief.

33.28 In the same period Pishôtan son of Wishtâsp will come from the fortress of Kang with 150 Orderly men. He will destroy that idol temple of mysteries of theirs. He will seat the Wahrân fire in its pristinity, he will pronounce the entire *dên* correctly, and restore it.

The fifth millennium of the Mixture: that of Ushêdar

33.29 Then the fifth millennium begins, that of Ushêdar. Ushêdar, son of Zarathustra, will come from Ohrmazd to show the *dên* and bring the right message. Like Zarathustra brought it, he will bring it. Destitution and dryness will decrease, and generosity, peace, and absence of hate will grow in the whole world of the living. He will give plants three years of greenery, and the river Vâtaêni will flow deep as a horse, and the springs will flow back to the Kayânsîy sea.

For ten days and nights the sun will stand still in the sky, and all the wolf species will be destroyed.

33.30 Then when the millennium of Ushêdar ends, Malkûs will arrive, the brood of destruction, of the lineage of Brâtrôrêsh, who was the murderer of Zarathustra. By his *dên*, which is that of sorcerers, by his desire, which is that of witches, he will produce that terrible rain which they call "that of Malkûs." (It will rain) for three years, both in winter, when it is cold, and in summer, when it is warm, with innumerable amounts of snow and hail to destroy the creation, so that all people except a few will be destroyed.

And then people and animals will be repopulated from Jam's bunker, which is in hiding for this very purpose.

33.31 This too: At that time the healing power that had been laid down in a thousand kinds of plants to fight the 1000 kinds of illnesses will come into two kinds of plants and one kind of land, and no one will die from illness, but from old age or when killed.

The sixth millennium of the Mixture: that of Ushêdarmâh

33.32 And then the sixth millennium begins, that of Ushêdarmâh. It is called the millennium of Ushêdarmâh.

And in that millennium, Ushêdarmâh, son of Zarathustra, will come from Ohrmazd to bring the right message. Like Zarathustra brought the *dên*, he will propagate it in the world of the living.

For twenty days and nights the sun will stand still in the sky. He will give greenery to the plants for six years. The Lie, brood of Desire, will be destroyed, that is, snakes together with (other) evil creeps will be destroyed.

33.33 Then close to the end of the millennium of Ushêdarmâh, Dahâg[1] will come loose from its chains, and Bêwarâsp (= Dahâg) will cause much damage to the creation by his demonic desire.

33.34 And at that time Sôshâns, son of Zarathustra, will appear.

For thirty days and nights the sun will stand still in the sky.

33.35 As the first of dead living beings, Garsâsp (Av. Kersâspa), son of Sâm, will be resurrected. He will smash Bêwarâsp with his mace and kill him and (thus) keep (him) away from the creatures.

[1] Azhidahâg, Av. Azhi Dahâka, the Giant dragon.

The millennium of Sôshâns will begin when the millennium of the maker of the (Final) body is 55 years(?).

Origin of the Zarathustra's three sons

33.36 About those three sons of Zarathustra, that is, Ushêdar, Ushêdarmâh, and Sôshâns, they say: Formerly, when Zarathustra was speaking, then they deposited the Fortune of Zarathustra in the Kayânsîy sea for safe-keeping, entrusting it to the Fortune of the waters, that is the divine Anâhîd.

33.37 Now, too, they say that they keep seeing at night three lights that blaze at the bottom of the sea.

33.38 And one by one, when their time comes, it will happen that a young woman will go to the water of the Kayânsîy to wash her head, and the Fortune is mixed into her body, she becomes pregnant, and those three will be born from her one by one in due course.

CHAPTER 34: ON THE RESURRECTION AND THE FINAL BODY

Mankind and food before the end of the world

34.1 It says in the *dên*: As for Mashî and Mashyânî, when they had grown up from the earth, first they drank water, then they ate plants, then milk, and then meat. And people, too, when they are to die, first stop eating meat and milk, then bread, and then, until they die, they drink only water.

34.2 And in this manner, in the millennium of Ushêdarmâh, the strength of the needs of the body will decrease, so that people will be satisfied with eating one meal every three days.

34.3 After that they will stop eating meat and eat plants and drink the milk of domestic animals. And after that they will stop drinking milk, too. Then they will stop eating plants, and drink only water. Ten years before Sôshâns comes, they will stop eating altogether and not die. Then Sôshâns will raise the dead.

Zarathustra asks Ohrmazd about the resurrection

34.4 As it says: Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd: The body which the wind winnows, the water carries off, from where will they raise it and how will the resurrection come about?

34.5 And (Ohrmazd) answered:[1]

The sky (is erected) without pillars, standing in the world of thought, with its borders in the distance, and from the substance of shining metal.[2] Similarly, when I established the earth, which carries the entire bony existence, it had no support in the world of the living.

When I led the sun and the moon and the stars into the intermediate space in the form of light,

and when I gave (men) grain for them to cast into the ground and it grows up again and becomes manifold,

and also when I gave the plants colors of many kinds,

and also when I gave the plants and other things fire so that it does not burn,

and also when I established sons in the wombs of their mothers and protected them, and gave them individually hair, skin, nails, blood, sinews, eyes, ears, and the other limbs,

and also when I gave the water fattiness so that it flows,

and also when I established clouds in the world of thought to carry the water of the world of the living and to rain wherever it pleases,

[1] Cf. Book of Job chap. 38.

[2] Cf. Yt.13.1.

and also when I established the wind, which blows up and down as it pleases plain to see by the power of the wind, and it is impossible to seize it with one's hands,

every single one of these it was more difficult to establish than performing the resurrection, for in the resurrection I have the assistance of those who were not when I did those other things.

Have a look! Since I made that which was not, why should it not be possible to do that which was? For at that time I shall call the bones from the earth in the world of thought, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, the soul from the wind, as they received them at the first establishment.

The resurrection

34.6 The first bones he will raise are those of Gayômard, and then those of Mashî and Mashyânî, and then he will raise those of other persons.

34.7 And for 57 years, Sôshâns will raise the dead; and they will raise all people, whether good or bad, everybody will be raised from wherever their soul departed or they first fell to the ground.

34.8 And then, when they have restored the entire bony existence with a body, then they give them a frame. And (of) the light which is with the sun, they give one half to Gayômard and one half to the other people.

34.9 Then people will recognize other people: souls will recognize other souls, bodies other bodies, (thinking:) this is my father, this is my brother, this is my wife, this is one of my closest relatives.

34.10 Then the assembly of Isadwâstar (son of Zarathustra) will take place, that is, people will stand up on this earth.

34.11 In that assembly everybody will see their own good and evil deeds. The good will be apparent among the bad like a white sheep among the black.

34.12 In that assembly, a good person who befriended a bad person in the world, that bad person complains to the good one: Why did you not tell me about the good deeds which you yourself performed in the world? If the good one informs him accordingly, then he has to experience shame in the assembly.

34.13 Then the good are separated from the bad, and the good are led to paradise, and the bad are thrown into hell. And for three days and nights, they experience in hell in their bodies and souls the punishments of hell. And for three days and nights, the good will experience in paradise bliss in their bodies.

3.14 As it says: On that day, when the good and bad are separated, everybody's tears will reach as far as their calves, when sons are separated from company with their fathers, brothers from brothers, and friends from friends.

34.15 Everybody will experience their own deeds. The good will weep for the bad. The bad will weep for themselves. There are cases where the father is good and the son bad or one brother is good and one bad.

Those who committed ...?, like Dahâg, Frâsyâb, and *Wâman, and other high criminals of their ilk, undergo ten-fold punishment of the kind no man undergoes, which they call "the punishment of four nights."

The final ordeal

34.16 During that Perfectioning of the world, those good men, about whom it is written that "they are alive," 15 men and 15 women, will come to the help of Sôshâns.

34.17 And the snake Gôchihr, that is, the one in the firmament, will fall down to earth from the sharp edge of the moon. The earth will feel such pain as a sheep does when a wolf tears off its fleece.

34.18 The Fire and the divine Êrman (Av. Airyaman) will melt the metal in the hills and mountains, which will stand on the earth like a river.

34.19 And then all people pass through that molten metal and become pure. Whoever is good, to him it will seem like he walks through warm milk. And if it is a bad person, then it will seem to him just like he walks through molten metal.

34.20 Then all people come together in great love for one another. Fathers, sons, brothers, all men who were friends, ask

other men: Where were you all those years, and what judgment did your soul receive? Were you good or bad?

34.21 First the soul will see the body and will ask it. When it answers, they will all shout loudly together and bring praise to Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands.

The final sacrifices

34.22 At that time Ohrmazd's creation will be completed, that is, there is no need for further action in that restoring of the dead.

34.23 Sôshâns and his helpers will perform the sacrifice to raise the dead. In that sacrifice they kill the bull Hadayansh, and from the fat of that bull they prepare an immortality drink, the white *hôm*, which they give to all people. People become immortal for ever and ever.

34.24 This too it says: If they have reached the age of "man," then they will be restored as 40 year-old. And the small children, who were not yet of age, them they will put back as 15 year-old. They give everybody a wife and children, and they enjoy their wives as they do now in the world, but there will be no children born.

34.25 Then Sôshâns, according to the command of the creator, will give rewards and prizes befitting their actions. There are some that are so good that they say: Lead him to Ohrmazd's paradise! — and he takes on a form as befits him and stays with that for ever and ever.

34.26 This too it says: He who has performed no sacrifices, has ordered no masses for his soul, has given no garment of goodness to the deserving, will be naked there. And having sacrificed to Ohrmazd, the *Gatha*s in the world of thought will serve him as clothes.

34.27 Then Ohrmazd will seize the Foul Spirit, Wahman will seize Akôman, Urdwahisht Endar, Shahrewar Sâwul, Spandarmad Tarômad (whom some call Nânghaith), Hordad and Amurdad Tôrij and Zêrij, true speech false speech, and Srôsh with the rewards will seize Wrath with the bloody club.[1]

34.28 Then two evil beings will remain in the world of thought: Ahrimen and Âz.

34.29 Ohrmazd goes down into the world, himself as officiating priest (*zôt*) and with Srôsh with the rewards as assistant priest (*râspîy*), bringing the girdle in his hands.

34.30 The Foul Spirit and Âz will be greatly and exceedingly smashed by the magic power of the *Gatha*s, and <they fall> back to the darkness and gloom through the passage through the sky through which they first rushed in.[2]

34.31 And the snake Gôchihr will be burnt by that molten metal. The metal will flow into hell, and that stench and filth in the earth where hell was will be burnt by that metal and become pure.

That *hole through which the Foul Spirit rushed in will be closed by that metal.

34.32 That earth in which hell was located will be brought back to the expanse of the world of the living. The Perfectioning of the world (will be) in the two existences as the living beings wish for ever and ever.

34.33 This too it says: This earth will have no high or low spots and will become flat. And there will be no mountain ridges or deep valleys, nothing above to support and nothing below to hold up.

[1] Cf. Bdh.1.36, 5.1.

[2] Cf. Yt.19.12.

CHAPTER 36: ON THE DESCENT AND LINEAGE OF THE KAYS

36.1 Hôshang, son of Frawâg, son of Siyâmag, son of Mashî, son of Gayômard.

35.2 Tahmôraf, son of †Wîwanghân, son of *Ayanghat, son of Hôshang.

35.3 Jam, Tahmôraf, Spitûr, and Narseh—whom they also call *Rashn-chîn—were all brothers.

35.4 From Jam and his sister Jamag one couple was born, man and woman. And they were husband and wife together. And the male spouse's name was Âspiyân, and the female spouse's was *Zrêshom. Their lineage started.

35.5 Spitûr was the one who with Dahâg cut Jam in half.

35.6 Narseh, too, lived then. And the call him Narseh the errant. It says that the Fortune had been established in him that he would pass through the markets daily and make all food clean and pure.

35.7 Dahâg, son of Arwadâsp (Khrudâsp?), son of Zaênîgâb, son of ...? son of Tâz, son of Frawâg, son of Siyâmag on the mother's side.

Dahâg, son of Ôdag, daughter of Bayak, daughter of Tambayak, daughter of Ovôikh, daughter of Pairiurvaêsm, daughter of Gadvithv, daughter of Drujaskân,[1] daughter of the Foul Spirit.

35.8 Frêdôn, son of Âspiyân with many cows, son of Âspiyân with *shining cows, son of Âspiyân with brown cows, son of Âspiyân with black cows, son of Âspiyân with white cows, son of Âspiyân with *grey cows, Âspiyân with cows in herds, son of Âspiyân ...?, son of Âspiyân, son of Jam, son of Wîwanghân.

35.9 That is, leaving aside Âspiyân with many cows, they were 10 generations. Each one lived 100 years, to a total of 1000 years. Those 1000 years were the evil rule of Dahâg.

35.10 From Âspiyân with many cows Frêdôn was born, who sought revenge for Jam. Other siblings were Barmâyôn and Kadâyôn. Frêdôn possessed Fortune in greater measure than they.

35.11 From Frêdôn 3 sons were born: Salm, Tûz, and Êrij. And from Êrij 2 sons and one daughter were born.

35.12 The twin sons were called Wânîdâr and ...?. The daughter was called *Gûzag.

35.13 Salm and Tûz killed all the relatives and descendants of Êrij. Frêdôn kept the daughter hidden, and she had one daughter. They were told of it and killed the mother of that girl. And Frêdôn kept hiding them for ten generations, when Mânush with the sun in his nose was born from his mother. For when he was born, the light of the sun fell upon his nose.

35.14 From Mânush and his sister Mânushkhwarnar and from Mânushkhwarnar and his sister Mânushchihr was born, who killed Salm and Tûz and (thus) sought vengeance for Êrij.

35.15 From Mânushchihr were born Frîy, Nôdar, and Dûrâsraw.

35.16 That is: Mânushchihr, son of *Mânushkhwarnar, son of Mânushkhwarnâg, whose mother was Gûzag, daughter of Êrag, daughter of Thridag, daughter of Bidag, daughter of Frazushag, daughter of Zushag, daughter of Frên.[2]

35.17 Frâsyâw, son of Pashang, son of Zaêshin, son of Tûrag, son of Spaêniyasp, son of *Durwishab, son of Tûz, son of Frêdôn. That is: (Frâsyâw and) Karswaz,[3] whom they call son of Kêd, and Agrêrad were all three brothers.

35.18 Pashang and Wêsag[4] were brothers.

35.56 From Zarathustra (were born) three sons and three daughters: Isadwâstar, Urwatadnar, and Khwarshêdchihr. Isadwâstar was chief of priests and high priest of high priests; he died a hundred years after the (coming of the) *dên*. Urwatadnar was chief of the husbandmen in the enclosure that Jam (Yima) made in the earth. Khwarshêdchihr was a warrior and a general. Pishôtan, son of Wishtâsp, lives in the (castle of) Kangdiz.

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[1] Cf. V.3.7 *drujas kana* "den of the Lie."

[2] Yt.13.139 Hwôwî, Frênî, Thritî.

[3] Kersawazda Yt. 19.77.

[4] Yt. 5.57-58 Vaêsakaya.

35.60 As it is said: Three times Zarathustra approached Hwôw. Each time the semen went onto the ground. The god Nêryôsang kept receiving the luminous strength of that semen and entrusted it to the god Anâhîd for safekeeping. In due time he will mingle it with the mother. 99,999 pre-souls of the Orderly are appointed to guard it so that the evil gods do not spoil it.

DENKARD BOOK 7: THE LIFE OF ZARATHUSTRA

CHAPTER 1. THE COMING OF THE *DÊN*

7.1.2 Seventh (book): about the marvels of the greatest messenger of the Mazdayasnian *dên*, Spitama Zarathustra: that which befell that miraculous one as the messenger of Ohrmazd and the acceptance of his *dên* as being according to the saying of Ohrmazd among the landsmen of King Wishtâsp. From the teaching of the Good *dên*.

7.1.3 But before that it is sensible to write about the nature, establishment, and propagation of the good *dên*, the first who accepted it in the world of thought and in the world of the living, and, after that, about those who brought the Word, messengers and those who brought (it) in time until Zarathustra whose Frawahr we Sacrifice (to). And one section about their speech and miraculous works through which they were accepted among men as those who brought the Word.

The *dên* comes to Gayômard

7.1.4 Now, according to the teaching of the good *dên*, the nature of the *dên* is the temperament of Ohrmazd, and its establishment by the *collaboration of the first creation, Wahman the amahrspand. And (its) propagation was first in the world of thought among the Amahraspands and the other gods, the gods in the world of thought.

In the world of the living, (it came) to Gayômard, the first man, who received it completely and totally from Ohrmazd the Creator and explained it properly in his own time, who thought it and used it to conquer the Lie of that time and the Adversary. And his (first) thinking (and) education (received) from the Creator (was) the first utterance of the entire *dên* of Ohrmazd.

7.1.5 It is revealed in the good *dên* how the praise came into existence of him who made things be and set them in place: the Life-giving Spirit;[1] what is the first proper thing for man to do: "It is good for us that we are the creation of Ohrmazd"—and the last one, concerning the foremost means of salvation: "Performing *gaya…n* 'life' is foremost, now that he has sickened the lineage of the life of mankind, now that the Assault has come upon the creations."

7.1.6 For men—of the lineage of Gayômard—the best thing is to do one's worldly and religious duties. And what one must do is to conquer the Lie that is one's own opponent to the extent it is *enjoined upon those of (his) lineage(?): "It is the duty of each of you to conquer the Lie that is your own opponent, whereby the creation will be free from the Adversary and pure from the Assault." And that is the work for which the Creator created the creation.

7.1.7 This too is shown in the good *dên* that, by that correctly spoken utterance, Gayômard attained to the good existence of the Amahraspands, namely that of Garôdmân (Paradise).

7.1.8 And after Gayômard, in each age until Zarathustra, whose pre-soul we sacrifice (to), a few parts (were revealed) of the knowledge and science and action that was needed for the salvation of the people who appeared in that period, be it through conversation with the Creator, be it through the *prophecy from on high, from the gods, at the order of the Creator. In the good *dên* the names of the successive bringers of the Word who received and organized (the *dên*) are enumerated:

[1] Spenâg Mênôy, Av. Spenta Manyu.

The *dên* comes to Mashî and Mashyânî

7.1.9 When Gayômard passed away, the second time the speech of Ohrmazd was revealed to the creatures of the world of the living (it was) to Mashî and Mashyânî, the first offspring of Gayômard, as saying to them when he had created them: "You are men. I created you as parents of the entire bony existence, and thus, you men, do not sacrifice to the evil gods! For I created for you as the best thing to keep my Rightmindedness,[1] so that with rightmindedness you may look after your work and justice."

7.1.10 And they praised Ohrmazd's work of creation and went about their duties. And they did the will of the Creator (and) laid the foundation of much activity that was to benefit the world: marriage to one's closest relatives, which is the best of people's pious deeds, as regards giving birth, establishing lineages, and fullness among the creatures of the world.

7.1.11 The Creator showed them how to sow barley, as it is revealed by the speech of Ohrmazd: "This, Mashî, is your ox, and this is your barley, and these are your other tools, which from now on you should know well!"

7.1.12 And this too is revealed in the good *dên* that Ohrmazd said to Hadish (genius of the homestead) Worthy in Orderliness—one of the gods—: "Hadish Worthy in Orderliness, go up to Mashî and Mashyânî, and ask from Mashî and Mashyânî that bread made of barley. Bless that (bread) of theirs: 'May this barley go out from you! As it came to you from Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands, (so) may this barley go out from you to (your) descendants, to keep off the Adversity coming from the evil gods. In order for evil gods and the Lie to stay away two *Ahunwar*s should be recited!'"

7.1.13 Hadish Worthy in Orderliness went forth to Mashî and Mashyânî and asked from Mashî and Mashyânî that bread made of barley. He blessed that (bread) of theirs: "May this barley go out from you! As it came to you from Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands, (so) may this barley go out from you to (your) descendants, to keep off the Adversity coming from the evil gods." In order for evil gods and the Lie to stay away he recited two *Ahunwar*s.

7.1.14 And, from the teaching of the gods, Mashî and Mashyânî came as far as making clothes, animal husbandry, iron smithing, and carpentry, which together with agriculture and husbandry constitutes the foremost activities of their specialties and craft. And from them it went on to be known by transmission throughout the generations and be spread throughout the world to reach its completion as the (most important) class among the classes.

The *dên* comes to Siyâmag, son of Mashî and Mashyânî

7.1.15 And, after that, the transmission of the Word came to Siyâmag, their son, and those of the same lineage, for (them) to move to the various continents and districts, to the extent that the Creator had chosen for that continent and district. People went to each continent and district, spread out there and filled them.

The *dên* comes to Hôshang and Tahmûraf

7.1.16 And in that era it came to Wêgird (and) Hôshang Pêshdâd (for them) to organize in the world the justice of land holding (for) the cultivating of the world and landlordship (for) the protection of the world.

7.1.17 And, through their collaboration, the justice of (their) religion, and power of (their) hymns (*wahm*) landlordship (for) the cultivating of the world was organized for the lineages of creatures of Ohrmazd to propagate and organize the *dên* and justice of Ohrmazd.

7.1.18 And, by that Fortune (of his), Hôshang smashed two-thirds of the giant evil gods (and) the seven *minions of Wrath.

7.1.19 After that it came to Tahmûraf with the Weapon. And through that Fortune he conquered evil gods and evil men, sorcerers and witches. He tore down again the sacrifice to idols and propagated among the creations praying (*niyâyishn*) and sacrificing to the Creator.

[1] Rendering of Av. Ârmaiti "(Life-giving) Humility."

And the Evil Spirit turned himself into the form of a horse and carried him for thirty winters.

The *dên* comes to Jamshêd

7.1.20 And it came in that period to Jamshêd (Yima) son of Wiwanghân for him to converse with Ohrmazd. And of the four classes of the *dên*—priests, warriors, husbandmen, and artisans—he received all four, being priest, warrior, husbandman, and artisan. And therewith he expanded, increased, and made grow the world and organized by the power of moderation the creatures to be deathless and ageless, undeteriorating and unrotting ...

7.1.21 And in the Good *dên* it is revealed according to the Creator Ohrmazd's speech to Jam as follows:[1] "Further my world (i.e., make it more numerous), and then make my world prosper (i.e., make it more prosperous), and then accept from me to protect and nurture and superintend my world and conserve it so that nobody will be able to harm or damage another!"

7.1.22 And he agreed. And Jam did as Ohrmazd had commanded him. And by the same Fortune he expanded the earth twice as large as it had been before.

7.1.23 And during his kingship he made animals and men immortal, water and plants indesiccable, and eating of foods uninterrupted.

7.1.24 And this too is revealed in the Religion that he made the world as beautiful as Paradise. And he (received) from the Creator, who issues all orders, to protect the creatures from the destruction of the winter of Malkûsân (and so) constructed the fortress called Jamkerd. And many other wonders are revealed in the Good *dên*.

The *dên* comes to Frêdôn

7.1.25 And in that era there came by order of Ohrmazd the Creator to Frêdôn of the Âspiyâns—when he was in the womb of his mother—(his) share from Husbandry, a class of the *dên*, when Jam's Fortune was divided. And through it he was made victorious.

7.1.26 And, by thus being made victorious, Frêdôn was able to respond to Dahâg from within the womb of his mother. And he afflicted him with pain and stunned him, that Lie of great might. When he was nine years old he went forth to smash him, and by that victoriousness of his he conquered Dahâg and delivered the creatures from him and made them breathe easily. In particular, he conquered the Mâzandarânians and pushed back their harm and damage from the continent of Khwanirah. He divided Khwanirah between his three sons.

7.1.27 And from Husbandry, the third class of the *dên*, he hid disease and sickness that plague the body. He showed people the art of healing. And he made many other wonders and acts benefiting the world.

7.1.28 And during Frêdôn's lifetime the transmission of the same Word came to his son Êrij from the Creator. And by it he spread and cultivated the Aryan justice. He chose that best boon by asking it from his father Frêdôn. And that boon came from the Creator by the blessing of Frêdôn.

7.1.29 And in the same period it came to Waêz (daughter?) of Êrij, and then too it went with the god Nêryôsang to Manushêr, from whom came the fullness of the family of Êrij.

7.1.30 And it came to Manushchihr Landlord of the Iranians, who by it performed many miraculous deeds. He conquered Salm and Tûz as revenge for Êrij. He responded to the Friyânas, a non-Iranian land. He organized the rule over the Iranians and extended and cultivated Iran. He made the land of Iran victorious over the non-Iranian lands.

The *dên* comes to Uzaw

[1] Cf. Videvdad, chap. 2.

7.1.31 At that time it came to Uzaw son of Tûmâsp of the family of Mânushchihr, land-lord of Iranians. By that word and Fortune, as soon as he was born he performed the work of adults and the measure of men. While not yet of age, by agriculture he opened the mother(?) of rain for the Iranian lands. He went off to subdue the non-Iranians and *chase them from Iran. And he killed the Dahian sorcerer who caused *famine in Iran (and) two of whose sibling brood had frightened Frâsiyâb, the Turian. And he made Iran grow and prosper and increased many rivers and streams in Iran.

The *dên* comes to Karsâsp

7.1.32 At that period it came to Karsâsp the Samid, from the share of warriordom, the second class of the *dên* by the division of the Fortune of Jam. By it he smashed the horn-bearing, horse-swallowing, man-swallowing dragon, as well as the demon Gandarva, son of Zâiripâshn and many other counter-creations of the evil gods and the Lie that were destroying the creation.

The *dên* comes to the Kays (kawis)

7.1.33 At that period it came to Kay Kawâd, the ancestor of the Kays, who with it organized the kingship of Iran. He attached the kingship to his own lineage, through the descent of the Kays. By it he performed many wondrous deeds that benefited the creations.

7.1.34 And it came to Pâdsraw ... Tâz, king of the Tâzîgs, by the messengership of the Amahraspand Ardwahisht. And by it he chased from his flock the evil god Âz, who with his family members had overrun that flock of his in order to destroy it. It is revealed how the share went up on high to the Exalted Model from the Amahraspand Ardwahisht (and) how it is told how that share in the form of a fish fell into a river and came to be the food of Zarathustra.

7.1.35 At that period it came to Kay Arsh and his brothers, who were of the family of Kawâd. By it every one of them was a fleet, brave, watchful Kay, who performed marvelous deeds.[1] The oldest of those brothers, Kâyus, seized the kingship over the seven continents and, being full of Fortune, performed many marvels.

7.1.36 And at that period it came to Ôshnar, who became full of wisdom from the Fortune of Jam while he was in his mother's womb. By his teaching from his mother's womb, he taught his mother many wonders. And at his birth he smashed the Evil Spirit by responding to the questions of the deceiving villain, who sacrificed to evil gods.

7.1.37 And it (he?) came to the commandership of Kâyus. During his kingship he became the ruler of the seven continents. He discovered and taught the art of telling boundaries,[2] which for mankind was a very useful art. And the non-Iranians were overcome by his responses. The Iranian land was instructed by those most well-informed instructions of his.

7.1.38 And it came to Kay Siyâwakhsh the splendid, who with it built the miraculously built Kangdiz, in order to keep within it for protection much marvel, Fortune, and mysteries of the *dên*, from which —it is revealed—the generation was established, and the kingdom of Iran was again arranged, and strength and victoriousness was again united with the *dên* of Ohrmazd.

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[1] Cf. V. 20.1, Yt. 19.72.

[2] See Dk.7.2.62-66.

7.1.39 It came to Kay Husrôy (Husraw), son of Siyâwakhsh, who with it conquered Frangrasyâ (= Frasyâ, Frasyâb), the Turanian sorcerer, and his evil sibling Wigêragân Kerswazd and many others who destroyed the world of the living. He *attacked the idol-temple on the shore of Lake *Chêchast.[1] He broke and smashed that harsh Liedom.

7.1.40 Because it was needed as a tool for the Perfectioning of the world, by the ... of that Word, he was *secluded to a secret place for his body to be kept there immortal until the Perfectioning of the world, as willed by the Creator.

Zarathustra receives the *dên* from Ohrmazd

7.1.41 And after that Spitama Zarathustra came to the Interview with Ohrmazd, the Creator, and he received from Ohrmazd, the omniscient Creator—altogether complete as well as in detail—awareness about the knowledge and practice of priesthood, warriordom, husbandry, and artisanship, all the parts of the *dên*. At the command of the Creator he brought (it) to King Kay Wishtâsp. He illuminated by that great illumination the wise men in the country of that supreme ruler of the *world. He propagated (it) in the seven continents so that it could no more be separated from its union with the creation until the Perfectioning of the world.

7.1.42 And the performance of the Perfectioning of the world among the (two) existences of the creatures of Ohrmazd (and making them) immortal by it through his sons Ushêdar, Ushêdarmâh, and Sôshyâns. And in greater detail about their marvels, Fortune, and miracles a chapter is written below in which they are praised.

7.1.43 And there were also others who brought the Word before Zarathustra, whose names have not been spoken in the Mazdayasnian *dên*, for it is revealed that at times a number of beings in the world of thought came to assume leadership. People were just as eager to learn those things as they are now to learn the *dên*. At that time it was necessary. Now it is not necessary because everybody has been informed about the *dên* and the hymns (*niyâyishn*) of Spitama Zarathustra whose pre-soul is one with Order.

7.1.44 And now it is being written about the wonders and Fortune and miracles of Spitama Zarathustra whose soul is sacrificed to, the most excellent of creatures, who brought the Word of the *dên* of those who sacrifice to Ohrmazd, that were revealed in the world. It is revealed here in ten chapters according to the knowledge found in the Avesta, the true *dên* of Ohrmazd.

7.1.45 What was before his birth here (in the world), that Fortunate one.

7.1.46 What was from his birth, that wondrous one, until he went to the Interview with Ohrmazd.

7.1.47 What was from his Interview until he was acknowledged in the world as one who brought the Word and the exalted Kay Wishtâsp received the *dên*.

7.1.48 And what happened to him from then on until his pure soul dwelt in the most excellent of existences.

7.1.49 And what happened afterward, also afterward during the rule of the King of Peace Kay Wishtâsp.

7.1.50 And what happened afterward until the rule of the Iranians *came to an end.

7.1.51 And what will happen afterward until the end of the millennium of Zarathustra and the coming of Ushêdar.

7.1.52 And what will happen afterward until the end of the millennium of Ushêdar and the coming of Ushêdarmâh.

7.1.53 And what will happen afterward until the end of the millennium of Ushêdarmâh and the coming of Sôshyâns.

7.1.54 And the wonders that will happen after the arrival of the victorious beneficent one,[2] the Perfectioning of the world, the Final Body: individual chapters about them.

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[1] In the tradition, this is identified with a sea in western Iran.

[2] This renders Av. "obstruction-smashing Revitalizer."

CHAPTER 2. THE BIRTH OF ZARATHUSTRA

7.2.1 About the miracles that were revealed about him from the birth from the mother of that most Fortunate of those born.

7.2.2 One thing that was revealed: The Creator transferred the Fortune of Zarathustra through the side of the *womb (*mâdisht*) to Zarathustra when the order came from Ohrmazd that that Fortune should go from the world of thought to the world of the living and to the *womb (containing?) Zarathustra.

7.2.3 Many great miracles were revealed to many, as the *dên* says: Then, when Ohrmazd had fashioned forth the creature (*dahishn*) of Zarathustra, the Fortune was then before Ohrmazd. The creature of Zarathustra fell down upon the Endless Lights; from the Endless Lights it fell down upon the sun; from the sun it fell down upon the moon; from the moon it fell down upon the stars; from the stars it fell down upon the fire in the house of Zôish; and from that fire it fell down upon the wife of Frahîm-ruwânân(?) Zôish, when that girl was born who became Zarathustra's birth mother.

7.2.4 From that light the space between earth and heaven came together. It revealed a ... without any holes(?), so that they said: "In the house of Frahakht-ruwânân(?) Zôish fire blazes of itself (i.e., no fire-wood is needed)."

7.2.5 Then they went to that soothsayer, and he interpreted it for them (i.e., he said to them): "The fullness of Fortune of the bony existence (comes) from the Fortune of the body (i.e., every duty is propagated from this)."

7.2.6 It is revealed: On account of the beating the evil gods took from that Fortune, they brought three plagues down upon that village to make adversity for that girl: a winter, all kinds of dangers, and oppressive *disrespect. And they threw into the thoughts of the villagers: "This harm has come upon the village from the sorcery of this girl," so that the villagers accused the girl of sorcery, and the parents came under sharp attack to expel her from that village.

7.2.7 The father of the girl—among many things he said about the accusation of sorcery being completely without justice—also told the villagers the following about the girl: "When this girl was born in my (house) that all-blazing one (i.e., the fire) appeared, which produced light after it, so that it brought light upon everything in the dark night.

7.2.8 "When this girl sits in the most interior room of the house, in which there is no fire and one lights a tall fire in the great hall, (then) there where this girl sits it is brighter than there where they light the tall fire from the light that shines from this body. One so Fortunate has never been a sorcerer."

Zarathustra's mother-to-be goes to the village of her husband-to-be

7.2.9 And even then, on account of the incitement by the evil gods, the *kay*s and the *karb*s[1] in the land were not satisfied. The father ordered the girl to go to Padêrêdarâsp, the *chief of a family in the Spitamid village in the county of Arâg. And the girl obeyed her father's order.

7.2.10 That confusion, which the evil gods had caused *out of spite for the purpose of exiling that girl, the gods by their miraculous power made the cause for that girl's coming to be the wife of Pôrushâsp, the father of Zarathustra, (namely) by the father's sending the girl to the house of Padêrêdarâsp, father of Pôrushâsp.

7.2.11 This is revealed: When that girl, was on her way to that family, she stood on the highest place in the land of the Spitamas, and she looked, and a great wonder was revealed to that girl. As the *dên* says: The gods called to her: "Go to that village which is *higher in height and wider in width, for in that most living creatures and cattle are assembled. That village a munificent god (*bay*) fashioned to help you."

7.2.12 Then that woman stood and looked: "I have to remember clearly the revelation of this speech (i.e., I have to do also as my father ordered me to do)."

[1] The Avestan poetasters and mumblers.

7.2.13 Then that woman washed her hands and went from those (of her own village) to yonder village, which was that of Padêrêdarâsp. And that Fortune came to Pôrushâsp, son of Padêrêdarâsp.

7.2.14 Then this is revealed: Ohrmazd the Creator sent Zarathustra's pre-soul through the haoma to the parents of Zarathustra by a wonder-working miracle.

Zarathustra's pre-soul is fashioned by the Amahraspands

7.2.15 Another thing the *dên* says: It was the conclusion of the third millennium, at the end of the 3000 years of (the creation's) being in the world of thought without the Assault—after the creation's being in the world of thought (but) before the Lie came upon it—, then the Amahraspands fashioned together the pre-soul of Zarathustra. It sat down among them with mouth and tongue, speaking and ...

7.2.16 Then Zarathustra for three millennia appeared frequently to (their) eyes and *hearing in the identical shape of the Amahraspands (i.e., he was like an amahrspand).

7.2.17 And when it was the conclusion of the third millennium after the fashioning together of Zarathustra and before Zarathustra was brought down to the world of the living, at the end of the 3000 years of the world of the living being *without the Assault,[1] then Ohrmazd discussed with Wahman (and) Ardwahisht: "Have you seen a mother for Zarathustra so that I/we can place/give Zarathustra (in/to her)?"

7.2.18 And Ardwahisht answered: "You also know that, O Beneficial one. Let us make Zarathustra. You made us too, Ohrmazd, you know who the other Amahraspands are. You reveal the place, for you know its revelation, O Ohrmazd, Life-giving Spirit!"

7.2.19 Then Ohrmazd argued to Wahman, the best, Ardwahisht, Shahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordad, and Amurdad: "It is not seemly that we should send Zarathustra down to the living creatures, equipped with a mouth, tongue, and speaking.

7.2.20 "If we send Zarathustra down to the living creatures, equipped with a mouth, tongue, and speaking in a man's body, (then) his origin will be apparent (as being) from me. They will say about him: 'It is the Orderly Man!' Therefore we shall fashion him together in water, earth, plants, and animals.

7.2.21 "And we shall bring him to Pôrushâsp's village, so that they shall say Zarathustra has two good origins, one from the Amahraspands, (namely) Nêrôsang, and one from men, (namely) Jam."

The Amahraspands place the pre-soul of Zarathustra in a haoma plant

7.2.22 Then the Amahraspands fashioned together a stalk of haoma, the height of a man, good, of superior color—it was moist—and they brought the pre-soul of Zarathustra into that stalk. Then the Amahraspands made it move from the Endless Light and placed it there on Mount Asnwend.

7.2.23 And they brought an enclosure around it. And they set up a wall around it (saying): "Rise up!" Ever the *haoma had a mouth (?) (i.e., it was seemly). Ever water poured from the haoma (i.e., it was moist).

7.2.24 And when 330 years were left of the 3000 years of (the creation's) being in the living state without the Assault, then Wahman and Ashwahisht arranged *what was to be. They went down to the existence of those with bones and came to where two birds were sitting, seeking to obtain children. Seven years earlier, snakes had devoured their child.

7.2.25 And Wahman and Ashwahisht went to their abode. The birds discussed: "We must go out. We must seek that haoma!"

7.2.26 And their method (for doing this was) by the (planned) arrangement. And they sought the haoma, and the haoma

[1] That is, it was still in the world of thought.

fell two ells. One of them seized it with its two legs, the other with one, and they brought the haoma and placed it there on that tree in the nest.

7.2.27 And snakes climbed up (i.e., they went for the child of the bird). Then Zarathustra's pre-soul went forth, and whatever snakes were on that tree ran out on the branches. The pre-soul of Zarathustra smote them in their mouths. The snakes fell down and died. And those of them who were in holes were necessary for the semen of that one species (?).

7.2.28 That haoma took root in that tree and kept growing on the top of the tree, where the nest of the birds was, ever moist and green.

Zarathustra's father gets the haoma

7.2.29 After Zarathustra's birth mother came to marry Pôrushâsp, Wahman and Ashwahisht made the following arrangement: They went forth to where Pôrushâsp was in the grazing grounds of the Spitamas, and they brought *him to the haoma and thus bound his thoughts (to it?).

7.2.30 Then Pôrushâsp went forth according to the will of those in the world of thought—for it behooves those in the world of thought to walk in the world of thought, where there is always profit for those in the world of thought—to the water of the Dâitîy (river). And he caught sight of that haoma which was growing on that tree in the nest.

7.2.31 Then Pôrushâsp thought: "I have to get to it, and, since I cannot reach up to that haoma, I have to cut down that tree, for you seem moister than (the other creatures) of Ohrmazd, for the goodness of something from you is better (than everything else)."

7.2.32 Then Pôrushâsp went forth and he washed those garments ... And here a great wonder was revealed to Pôrushâsp.

7.2.33 About this it is said that by the time Pôrushâsp had washed those garments the haoma had gone forth from the top third to the middle of the tree, which means it wished to be picked up by Pôrushâsp.

7.2.34 Then Pôrushâsp went forth to it with clean garments, and then he shore all of it and then brought all of it with him, like someone who might hold a two-year-old or a three-year-old in ... And he seemed to experience pleasure from it.

7.2.35 And Pôrushâsp carried those haomas to his oldest wife and said: "*Dugdôw, you take care of the haomas until those haomas are ready for action and law!"

Other parts of Zarathustra are transmitted to his parents

7.2.36 Another thing that has been revealed: The Creator transmitted the body substance (*gôhr*) of Zarathustra via water and plants <into his parents. When the order was issued that the body substance of Zarathustra should enter> into his parents' body a great miracle was revealed to many.

7.2.37 As the *dên* says: Then when Ohrmazd had fashioned forth the creature of Zarathustra, the his body substance, then the creature of Zarathustra fell <from> before Ohrmazd[1] upon Hordad and Amurdad, upon a cloud.

7.2.38 Then the cloud brought (its) water down, again and again, drop by drop and in equal measure and warmth. By this there was joy for beasts and men. (The rain produced?), as much semen as 2 plowing oxen. Thereupon all the plants grew up, of all species, at a time when other plants are wilted and even upon dry (ground). And the substance of Zarathustra came from that water to those plants.

7.2.39 Another revelation: In order that the substance of Zarathustra should come to his parents, by the instigation of the Amahraspands, Pôrushâsp was induced to drive six white, yellow-eared cows to those plants.

7.2.40 And here a great wonder was revealed, as the *dên* says: Among those cows (there were) two heifers (which) began to lactate, and the substance of Zarathustra came from the plant into that cow and was mingled with the milk of

[1] Cf. Yt.3.13.

the cow.

7.2.41 And Pôrushâsp drove the cows back and said to Dugdôw: "Dugdôw, Those two heifers began to lactate, so milk those two cows, from whichever (of them there is) Fortune for the world of the living!"

7.2.42 And Dugdôw got up and took a pot ... and milked the milk in those two and gave it to them. And they gave (milk) to her(?). She added water. And the substance of Zarathustra was in that milk.

7.2.43 Another thing: During the struggle of the Adversary to make that milk disappear and ineffective it was revealed as the *dên* says: Then at that time he assembled the evil gods and said, that greatest one among evil gods: "You will be annihilated, O evil gods, through the setting up of that food (i.e., it was made and placed), so that a man would come into existence in it, the Orderly Zarathustra. Who among you accepts to destroy him as long as he is ... (i.e., easier to render ineffective)?"

7.2.44 The ignorant Chishmag said: "I accept to destroy him."

7.2.45 That ignorant one ran with 150 evil gods looking like Chishmag, and they both destroyed and captured that town and broke its wood and walls, but he could not break that great opponent who was in it (i.e., he was warded off by him).

7.2.46 It is revealed: Afterward, Pôrushâsp asked that haoma back from Dugdôw, and he pounded it and poured it into that cow's milk into which the body substance of Zarathustra had come. Here the pre-soul and the body substance of Zarathustra came together.

7.2.47 This is revealed: When that haoma and milk were mixed and it had been announced[1] to Ohrmazd, (then) Pôrushâsp and Dugdôw drank it. And here the complete assembly (*hangerdîgîh*) of the Fortune, pre-soul, and body substance of Zarathustra, (was) in his parents.

Zarathustra's parents try to make a child

7.2.48 And a great wonder was revealed to both of them, according to what it says in the *dên*: The two of them lay down for the first time trying to obtain a son. The evil gods *howled at them with their voices of villains (i.e., in order to harm them): "O Pôrushâsp, what are you doing and why?" Thereupon they became contrite, like people who are ashamed.

7.2.49 And they lay down a second time. The evil gods howled at them with their voices of villains Thereupon they became contrite, like people who are ashamed.

7.2.50 And they lay down a third time trying to obtain a son. The evil gods howled at them with their voices of villains Thereupon they became contrite, like people who are ashamed.

7.2.51 And they spoke to one another and got to work. And they ... (i.e., they embraced) (saying): "We shall not do this kind of thing (again), not if Râg and Nôdar (East and West) were to come together here!"

7.2.52 Then that man was conceived, namely Orderly Zarathustra. And here, in the womb of (his) mother, the body substance, the pre-soul, and the Fortune of Zarathustra came together.

7.2.53 This too is revealed: After the conception of Zarathustra in the mother's womb the evil gods again strove hard to destroy Zarathustra in the belly of the mother, and they made her womb sick with the sharpest and most painful pain, so much so that she consulted the witch doctors about how to seek healing.

7.2.54 And here a great wonder was revealed, as the *dên* says: Then they spoke loudly to her from there, the highest direction, from Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands: "Young woman, don't go where you are going! There is no healing from this their illness by the witch doctor's medicine. Wash your hand, take firewood in that hand, and bring meat to that child and cow's fat, and bring fire and heat him with the fire and ... on the bed, and you shall be

[1] Cf. Yasna, chap. 1.

well!"

7.2.55 Then that young woman washed her hand, and she did as she had heard, and she became well.

7.2.56 Another thing was revealed to many: When three days remained before his birth—in the manner of the sun, when it is rising and coming close to when its first light is being spread out then its body appears—as the *dên* says: Then in those last three nights when Zarathustra was in the womb, when three days remained, after which he would be born, that house of Pôurushâsp's was all alight.

7.2.57 Then they said as they were running away, the horse- and sheep-master Spitamas: The house of Pôrushâsp is bound to be destroyed; there are flames licking out of its every nook and cranny!

7.2.58 Then they said as they were running back together: The house of Pôrushâsp has not been destroyed; flames are not licking out of its every nook and cranny! In that house a wealthy man has been born!

7.2.59 And this too was one of the wonders when the renown of the wondrous birth of that man of great Fortune had gone out from the speech of Jam and other miracle-workers as they brought the Word from the gods:

7.2.60 Jam said to the evil gods: "Here the pure, Orderly Zarathustra shall be born, who shall give to you, O evil gods, that which is not your desire[1] (i.e., he shall render you incapable), who shall give to you inability to act (i.e., you cannot seek it for yourselves, nobody will seek it for you)."

7.2.61 It is revealed: The renown about the birth of Zarathustra and his bringing of the Word was made known not only by Jam and Frêdôn and many learned men, but the gods too proclaimed it through the language of animals and propagated it in the world so that it too might be witness to his bringing the Word.

Kâyus and his bull

7.2.62 As it is revealed: When Kâyus was king, there was a bull, which had received in its body a talent from the gods. And whenever there was a dispute between the Iranians and the Turanians about the border line, they brought that bull, and it showed correctly the border between the Iranians and the Turanians.

7.2.63 And from the way the Iranians sought (and received) justice over the Turanians in the dispute, they became liers. The Turanians were constantly defeated in the border-showing of the bull and were beaten by the Iranians. In addition, there was also their envy of Kâyus and, on account of his owning such a wondrous thing, the Turanians set out to strike and harm that bull. And, by sorcery and witchcraft, they perverted Kâyus's mind about that bull, and he sent a warrior by the name of Srid and commanded him to kill the bull. And that man came to kill the bull.

7.2.64 And here a great wonder was revealed, as the *dên* says: The bull spoke to him with a mighty voice: "Do not kill me, Srid (i.e., i.e., the Third), as he will exact revenge for the flocks, he who—among the living—his greatest wish is Orderliness. And he will speak your evil-doing in the *dên*, and such misery will befall your soul as is revealed in that passage: 'As it becomes for Wadagan,[2] such destruction will there be for him.'"

7.2.65 It is revealed: When he saw that miracle of the bull, he did not kill it, but returned to Kâyus and told him what he had seen.

7.2.66 Even after that, on account of the perverted deceit of the evil gods and sorcerers, Kâyus commanded the same man to kill the bull. And again that man went to the bull. When it again began to talk a lot, he did not pay attention and killed it.

7.2.67 And about the uniquely-established bull it is revealed: It spoke against the Evil Spirit's striking: "Even if you think, O Evil Spirit, that you can overcome everything by this killing, even so you cannot overcome us by this killing

[1] Cf. Yt.5.26.

[2] Cf. V.19.6.

(i.e., you are not be able to destroy (me)) so that I do not come back to life. I shall proclaim even now: At the last turn,[1] that man shall come, Zarathustra Spitama, who shall give affliction to the evil gods, to the helpers of the evil gods, and also to two-footed ones possessed by the Lie."

7.2.68 And about the wonder of Zarathustra's striking the evil gods through his Fortune and the consciousness he had obtained before being born into the world: When the sorcerer Frâsyâb struggled fiercely in his demonic desire to obtain that Fortune, as it says in the *dên*, then Frâsyâb the Turanian of many talents, O Spitama Zarathustra, flew to the Vourukasha Sea, once, twice, three times, and sought to obtain that Fortune, both that which belonged to the Iranian lands, born and unborn, and that which belonged to the Orderly one, but he did not obtain it.[2]

7.2.69 And this too: The villain Frangrasyâb flew to all seven continents, seeking the Fortune of Zarathustra.

7.2.70 Thus it is appropriate to enumerate the family of Zarathustra.

Strange events at the birth of Zarathustra

7.3.1 On the wonders that were revealed after the birth of that one most Fortunate of those born from a mother until he came to converse with Ohrmazd.

7.3.2 This is one revelation: He laughed at birth. The seven *nurses (?) who were sitting around him were frightened and said in fear: "What was this? Was it on account of greatness or disrespect that, like a valuable man who gets pleasure from his duties, that this young child laughed at his birth?"

7.3.3 And Pôrushâsp said: "Take this man to a bed with soft wool. (It is) on account of something of yours—on account of your goodness— O Dugdôw, that this man saw Fortune and well-being coming when he laughed at birth."

The sorcerer Dûrasraw

7.3.4 This is revealed: Afterward Pôrushâsp went to a *karb* named Dûrasraw, who was the most famous for his sorcery in that village. He informed him about the wonders that had been revealed about Zarathustra after his birth, and he brought him home to see Zarathustra.

7.3.5 The sorcerer was harmed by the Fortune in Zarathustra, and he plotted evil. Ingloriously he wished to squeeze with his own evil hand the tender head of that Fortunate child and kill him.

7.3.6 And here a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: Then that villain turned his hands backward, that is, they withered, and never after was that villain again (to take) meat with his evil hand (and) chew it with his evil mouth.

7.3.7 That *karb* in addition evilly declared the signs upon Zarathustra to be marks of evil. He frightened Pôrushâsp sorely by the destruction that might come from Zarathustra and incited him to annihilate Zarathustra.

7.3.8 This is revealed: By his sorcery, the *karb* Dûrasraw so filled the mind of Pôrushâsp with fear of Zarathustra and so perverted Pôrushâsp's mind that on account of that fear he sought the death of Zarathustra from that very *karb*.

7.3.9 Pôrushâsp consulted Dûrasraw about how to destroy (him) in such a manner that he himself would not be affected by the destruction that might arise from the deed. The *karb* evilly said to carry together much firewood and to place Zarathustra in the middle of that firewood, to light the fire, and to burn him with the firewood. That would help. Pôrushâsp did as told.

7.3.10 And here a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: The fire did not fall upon the plant (i.e., it does not come out), and the plant did not catch fire. At dawn that son-loving mother came running and approached him *cautiously and took him and placed him on her right arm on her *sleeve. (?)

7.3.11 And this too is revealed: After this Pôrushâsp told the *karb* Dûrasraw about the fact that the fire had not burned him

[1] Cf. **4.**51.6.

[2] Cf. Yt.19.55-64.

and again asked him about destroying Zarathustra. That *karb* said lyingly that it would help Pôrushâsp to put Zarathustra in a narrow passage and drive many cows through that passage so that he would be trampled under their feet. And Pôrushâsp did so.

7.3.12 And here too a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: That cow went up to him which had concern (for him) (i.e., its concern was greater than that of the other cows) and ... And it went in front of him (i.e., before the leader cow). It ran before him (i.e., it stood before Zarathustra). It spared him all day (i.e., it kept the cows away from him). It was the first to go there, the last to leave. At dawn that son-loving mother came running and approached him *cautiously and took him and placed him on her right arm on her *sleeve. (?)

7.3.13 And this is revealed: And there, again, Pôrushâsp came to the *karb* Dûrasraw also about the fact that the cows had not trampled Zarathustra and again asked him about a way of destroying Zarathustra. That *karb* said lyingly that it would help Pôrushâsp to put Zarathustra in a watering place among the herds and drive many horses to that watering place so that he would be trampled under the horses' hooves. And Pôrushâsp did so.

7.3.14 And here too a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: The horse with hooves (i.e., its hooves were harder) and with golden ears went up to him. And it goes in front of him (i.e., before the leader horse). And it runs before him (i.e., it stood *guard before Zarathustra). It was the first to go there, the last to leave. At dawn that son-loving mother came running and approached him *cautiously and took him and placed him on her right arm on her *sleeve. (?)

7.3.15 And this is revealed: And again Pôrushâsp told the *karb* Dûrasraw also about the fact that the horses had not trampled Zarathustra either and again asked him about a way of destroying Zarathustra. That *karb* said lyingly that it would help Pôrushâsp to *throw Zarathustra into a den with slaughtered wolflings so that when the wolf came and saw the slaughtered wolflings, as revenge for her young, in her rage, she would tear apart and eat Zarathustra. And Pôrushâsp did so.

7.3.16 And here too a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: When the wolf had come *within a few meters, then Zarathustra with the help of the gods smashed the jaws of the wolf (i.e., its jaws hung slack and dry(?)).

7.3.17 And this is revealed: Srôsh with the rewards and Wahman came to him, and they brought him a ewe. And she suckled him all through the night.

7.3.18 At dawn that son-loving mother came running. And the ewe came out of the *passage. And Zôishân said: "You have eaten, (and) you run away satiated!" For she thought it was the wolf. "Thus it is well for that son (i.e., you are good for me) when they place you in sight, bones or blood(?)."

7.3.19 She approached him *cautiously and took him and placed him on her right arm on her *sleeve. And Zôishân said: "From now on I shall not let them take you from me, not if both Râg and Nôdar come together."

<u>The sorcerer Brâdrôrêsh</u>

7.3.20 And it is revealed: Next the *karb* Dûrasraw together with the other sorcerers came to the same village, and he pondered how to manage Zarathustra. And the only means they had for ruining and destroying someone so full of strength and so wonderful was the following, as it is revealed: The *karb* Brâdrôrêsh howled:

7.3.21 "I am of the people in our village on account of my sorcery the one who sees the farthest. I see in their village good command (i.e., someone who knows well how to command), prosperity (i.e., from whom there is greater prosperity: whoever has come or shall come), possessing good cattle (i.e., he knows well how to keep cattle), possessing good herds (i.e., he knows well how to keep the cattle of others), possessing good ability to learn (i.e., he knows well how to perform the work of others), being good soldier (i.e., he knows well how to do battle), and munificent (i.e., he knows well how to perform generosity): the brood of Pôrushâsp, to whom upon three nights after he is born from his parents—

7.3.22 to him Wahman shall come, into the world of the living (i.e., Wahman comes to Zarathustra), and he leads him to the Interview. His Good *dên* will reach out over the seven continents of the earth. And I cannot with my mind

conceive of (i.e., he does not know) how I shall destroy him. And the token of this (i.e., that he speaks the truth) is this which I am saying to you. Quickly after the hearing of this saying (i.e., when you have heard this saying) (he) comes forth."

7.3.23 Pôrushâsp was driving in (his) four-horse chariot. No sooner did they hear this saying (i.e., when they had heard this saying) than Pôrushâsp went forth driving in (his) four-horse chariot.

7.3.24 And Pôrushâsp said to Brâdrôrêsh the *karb*: "What do men see when they weep at birth?" And he (?): "The placement of the body in (eternal) rest at death is what they see when they weep at birth." — "And what did my son see when he laughed at birth?" —

7.3.25 "And that which your son saw when he laughed at birth was—

7.3.26 when Wahman will come to him in the world of the living."— He had spoken. Pôrushâsp responded: "You have thus seen it completely, O *karb*, about my son (i.e., you have seen it in knowledgeable fashion)."

7.3.27 And Tûr Brâdrôrêsh, when Pôrushâsp asked him: "What happened to you when you looked at my son and you looked far away from him upward, and you looked far away from him downward, and you looked far away from him in various (directions)?"

7.3.28 He answered: "When I brought my eye to bear upon the boy and I looked away from him far upward, then I saw extending from him wealth and Fortune all the way to yonder sun. On every side of him I followed (with my eyes) wealth and Fortune (i.e., I saw this): that peoples' soul by his word will arrive to the sun level, but I did not see this: what justice there will be in Garôdmân.

7.3.29 "When I brought my eye to bear upon your son and I brought it away from him (and) looked far downward, then I saw extending from him wealth and Fortune all the way to the heaven (sky) that is below this earth. On every side (there was) wealth and Fortune for him. I did not see this: what justice there will be in that heaven.

7.3.30 "When I brought my eye to bear upon your son and I brought it away from him (and) looked far in various directions, then I saw extending from him wealth and Fortune (enough) to adorn this earth. On every side of him I followed (with my eyes) wealth and Fortune (i.e., I saw this): that by the actions of this one the Final Body will come about, but I did not see what justice of the Final Body would be.

7.3.31 "This son of yours is thinking: 'I shall do greater things than the rest of the world of the living,' and so he shall do. Think about this wherever you go! This son of yours will stay with Wishtâsp, the great protector, not with you."

Zarathustra at seven

7.3.32 This was revealed: When Zarathustra was seven years old, Dûrasraw together with Brâdrôrêsh the *karb* came to the village of Pôrushâsp to see Zarathustra. And they saw Zarathustra nearby playing with the children. And they sat down in their evil Fortune thinking about how to harm Zarathustra with sorcery. And on account of that they scared and frightened the children.

7.3.33 Here a great wonder was revealed to them showing the powerful intelligence, prudence, and miraculous power of Zarathustra, as the *dên* says: When the other children were frightened away to their own ..., Zarathustra did not close his eye in the world of thought to them.

7.3.34 Here this is revealed: When these two *karb*s came to the house of Pôrushâsp he ordered food to be prepared for them to eat. And he made the meal and poured a bowl full of mare's milk.

7.3.35 And he said to Dûrasraw: "In our village you are the most learned in how to sacrifice to the evil gods. Sacrifice this of mine!"

7.3.36 A great wonder showing the knowledge of Zarathustra in that tender age (was revealed), as the *dên* says: Zarathustra said: "I shall sacrifice this, O father. Not shall this one sacrifice that which I ought to sacrifice."

7.3.37 And Pôrushâsp said: "You shall not sacrifice mine. Let him sacrifice mine!"

7.3.38 Three times those men exchanged these words. Zarathustra stood up and said to them, breaking (the jar) with his right foot: "I sacrifice for the Orderly men and women, I sacrifice for the poor men and women. If Pôrushâsp

shall engage anybody among men and women possessed by the Lie to perform the sacrifice, the sacrifice will *pollute the sacrificers (i.e., he should sacrifice who ought to sacrifice)!"

7.3.39 This is revealed: Then Dûrasraw the *karb* howled to Zarathustra: "Your death was evil (?), who first in the world of the living between Râg and Nôdar made me *un-worthy of winning a share ... (i.e., you took that share from me). Now ... and this shall be (i.e., I look with my evil eye at that sin of yours which you do not have)."

7.3.40 And here a great wonder was revealed showing how Zarathustra was able at that tender age to give a knowledgeable answer to that villain, as the *dên* says: Zarathustra said: "I look at ... from the villain with beneficence and equanimity (i.e., I look at that sin of yours which you have)."

7.3.41 This is revealed to Dûrasraw the *karb* after this reply of Zarathustra's, as the *dên* says: The villain was undone and stunned for as long a time as it takes one milker to milk the milk of 10 mares.

7.3.42 This is revealed: When the sorcerer emerged from the stupor, then he howled at Zarathustra once more in the same fashion. Zarathustra gave the same answer. Again the villain was undone and stunned for as long a time as it takes one milker to milk 20 mares full of milk.

7.3.43 This is revealed: Once more, when the sorcerer again emerged from the stupor, then he howled at Zarathustra in the same fashion. Zarathustra gave the same answer. Again the villain was undone and stunned for as long a time as it takes one milker to milk 30 mares full of milk.

7.3.44 This is revealed: When the sorcerer emerged from the stupor, then he stammered: "Bring us that horse and turn it to the chariot (i.e., tie it to it), for this deceiver destroys me with his reciting of (evil) poetic thoughts and his (evil) justice!" And they brought that horse and bound it to the chariot.

7.3.45 And here a great wonder was revealed to many, as the *dên* says: When he had gone a few yards from them, he felt a pain to be frightened of. This I shall now relate. His semen burst forth (i.e., his semen came up through his skin) and broke, and thereby his side split open from the thigh up. Then he fell dead, and so did his brood, and so did the brood of his brood.

7.3.46 Another thing was revealed: Even before he came to the Interview there was revealed in him thought broader than all the world, more superior than anything in the world, together with strength that would *embrace everything and a power (*nêrôg*) and intelligence (*wîr*) that would reach everything, and a patient wisdom (*khrad*) that would sort out everything and the extensive Fortune of the *kawi*s which knows all defense and the Fortune of the religious teachers (*êhrbed*): the complete desire for Orderliness.

7.3.47 And mighty effort, and lordship, and superiority in fleetness and speed, and beauty of body and perfection of strength in the form of these four classes: priesthood, warriordom, husbandry, and artisanship. Foremost friendship with the good gods, fearful opposition of the evil gods.

7.3.48 That was the quality by which was established his lawfulness among two-footed men, the excellence and perfection of the gods according to Ohrmazd's instruction, and his being a messenger,—

7.3.49 so that the gods were able to propagate throughout the world by the tongues of many kinds of knowledgeable good men of their time the fame of his superiority to all those who are, have been, and shall be, his becoming the messenger of Ohrmazd, his being the *ahu* and *ratu* of living beings,[1] and his being the one who would save the creatures from the Assault and render them free from danger.

7.3.50 And as the evil gods associated with themselves many *kayg*s and *karb*s in order to harm and hurt him, still the good people kept the agreement (with Ohrmazd) and practiced friendship (with him).

Wahman brings Zarathustra at thirty to his first Interview

7.3.51 And when Zarathustra was thirty years old, then Wahman the Amahraspand was sent by Ohrmazd and came to him

[1] Cf. Yt.8.1.

as he was carrying water with haoma from the Êwtâg river, as the *dên* says: When he came to the third affluent of the Weh Dâitîy, he went into it. When Zarathustra came out of it, he saw a man who was walking from the southern direction.

7.3.52 That was Wahman. And Wahman seemed to him of outstanding body (i.e., more pleasing to the eye in body), outstandingly beautiful (i.e., he was outstanding in every thing). Wahman seemed to him as tall as three men as tall as spears. Wahman seemed to him to be carrying a branch of ..., which he had removed from that plant without harming the plant. That was the branch of the *dên* in the world of thought. By it he indicated that one should behave according to the *dên* thus, without harming anything.

7.3.53 Some say: It was the messenger-ship in the world of thought. By it he indicated that one should behave in the world thus, without harming anything, so that there would be peace upon everybody.

7.3.54 When Zarathustra came to the fourth affluent, to the Good Dâitîy (river), the *Hôshân river, then Zarathustra took water with haoma from the middle of it. And lifted his right foot up from that *Hôshân river he and put his garment over it, and at that moment, in front of him, Wahman came to meet and join him.

7.3.55 And that man asked him: "Who are you, from whom are you (descended)?" — "I am Zarathustra of the Spitamas."

7.3.56 The word of Wahman: "O Zarathustra of the Spitamas, what are you laboring for? (i.e., what do you need to labor about?), what are you striving for, and what do you make your desire?"

7.3.57 Zarathustra's answer: "I labor for Orderliness, I strive for Orderliness, I make Orderliness my desire (i.e., I ought to (labor and strive) for that thing), and Orderliness I am thinking about as much as I seek it."[1]

7.3.58 The speech of Wahman: "O Zarathustra of the Spitamas: "What is and he who has Orderliness (i.e., he who has something and he who has Orderliness (i.e., something which is, like he who has Orderliness), how much more he who has Orderliness (i.e., who possesses it)!"

7.3.59 Zarathustra said: "There is someone who has Orderliness. I am perfectly clear and aware of that (i.e., like of that which comes through Wahman)."

7.3.60 Wahman said to him: "O Zarathustra of the Spitamas, give away this garment which you are carrying, as we shall consult him who made you, who made me, who is the most beneficent of the beings in the world of thought, who is the most munificent of beings, whose speaker I, Wahman, am (i.e., I am his emissary)."

7.3.61 Then Zarathustra thought: "Good is he, the creator who is better than this emissary."

7.3.62 Then they went together Wahman and Zarathustra; Wahman, Zarathustra, in front and behind (respectively).

Various doings of Zarathustra's at the time of the Interviews

7.4.1 About the wonders that were revealed from the first Interview to the end of the last Interview, which lasted ten years: his acceptance as one who brought the Word among the living; the exalted Kay Wishtâsp's reception of the *dên*; how (it was) after the ten years in Interviews.

7.4.2 In two years, this is revealed: When he was back from the first Interview, then—according to the first command of Ohrmazd's, the lord and creator—then, alone in the flock of *kayg*s and *karb*s, he proclaimed that he was one who brought the Word of the Mazdayasnian *dên* and the messenger of Ohrmazd. As he announced with loud voice, he called people to Ohrmazd's *dên*,—

7.4.3 as the *dên* says: Then Zarathustra made preparations to see to it that the living existence, with settlements and cattle, was induced to follow (the *dên*).

7.4.4 And when their homes came to listen to (his) speech, then Zarathustra proclaimed loudly to the world of the living Orderliness, praising Orderliness, blaming the evil gods,—

7.4.5 professing the Mazdayasnian *dên* of Zarathustra, sacrificing to the Amahraspands and not sacrificing to the evil gods, and marriage to one's closest relatives, which is to be recognized as the very best (i.e., of the knowledge

[1] Cf. **1**.28.4, **2**.43.9.

you have been given) good deed of the faithful (and) the greatest and most ... of which are: father and daughter, son and his birth mother, and brother and sister.

7.4.6 It is revealed: Paying no attention to that speech, the *kayg*s and *karb*s, who sacrificed to the evil gods, were incited against Zarathustra and sought his death, as the *dên* says: Then the villains *plotted (i.e., they sat down near (him)), Tûr's brood and *wife and the brother of Tûr, like people who are ashamed (i.e., they were ashamed to perform family marriage as they were told to).

7.4.7 This Tûr was Tûr Urwâitâsang son of Usikhsh. As he was a great king in that territory, he had a great army and war-force. And the villain said — taking a ... which was *diminished (?) —

7.4.8 the brood of Tûr Urwâitâsang Usikhsh: "I shall strike this ... down upon him who mixes our beneficial speech so that a thing about which we are so certain that it should not be done, such as family marriage — so that we become uncertain about how we should act."

7.4.9 And Tûr Urwâitâsang son of Usikhsh said: "You shall not strike that man, who has the most desired eyes I have seen in the entire world. And he is coming(?). For it did not seem to me on account of this that if you strike him wisdom will endure for very long, so that on this earth there will be no knower of sins who is as eloquent as this one (i.e., when they strike an eloquent man, wisdom will not endure for very long)."

7.4.10 And the *brood of Tûr Urwâitâsang son of Usikhsh said: "To me it is *unclear who would be eloquent."

7.4.11 And Zarathustra said: "I shall never not proclaim that which he said to me: the most beneficial inducement to follow (the *dên*), the exclusion (of undesired individuals), the adornment of character, family marriage, teaching, and sacrificing."

7.4.12 And here (about) the good nature, Fortune, and power of Zarathustra fitting for a messenger of the supreme lord and creator Ohrmazd was revealed a great wonder to many. Was made visible his great priority over (other) *speaking creatures, who must be governed with ... person, secrecy and deceiving *manner good ... hidden.

7.4.13 Then, like ..., induced to follow (the *dên*) one by one innumerable people with fearful and heretical practices. And when he came to have a large group, little by little, they too began to exhibit (the truth) and strive and seek to become greater. — It is revealed: By that courage and superior mentality and by (his) Fortune, he called to the *dên* of Ohrmazd that ruler of strong armies, massed up wealth, and many sons—

7.4.14 Tûr Urwâitâsang among the *furious throng of *kayg*s and *karb*s that were incited to kill him. As the *dên* says: And Zarathustra said: "Praise Orderliness, Tûr Urwâitâsang son of Usikhsh, scorn the evil gods, profess yourself Mazdayasnian Zarathustrian!"

7.4.15 And Tûr Urwâitâsang son of Usikhsh said: "Zarathustra of the Spitamas, do not induce me to follow this evil that is also in you!"

7.4.16 Zarathustra said: "Ohrmazd asked me: 'Zarathustra, when you came to us in the world, then whom did you see in the world of the living among people with great might and among military people (to be) most seeking profit, most seeking cattle, most famed, possessing most cattle (i.e., gives most), and possessing most gates (i.e., entrance and exit gates)?' — I answered him: 'Tûr Urwâitâsang son of Usikhsh.'

7.4.17 "And he answered me thus: 'Him, Zarathustra, you should induce as the first among warriors to follow the superior thinking, speaking, and acting of this *dên* of Ohrmazd and Zarathustra.

7.4.18 'If he, Zarathustra, follows it and believes in it and gives this of yours freedom to spread and sits down before (you) (i.e., as (your) student, that is, he speaks and acts as your student), and listens to the *dên*, and propagates it, then he shall be (forever) after the first among warriors (to be) most seeking profit, most seeking cattle, most famed, and possessing most gates, both among those who have been born till now and those who shall be born from now on.

7.4.19 'And if he does not follow it and does not believe in it and does not give your *dên* freedom to spread and does not sit down before you (i.e., that he does not sit down before (you) means he is one to be known by me as someone who will not be induced to follow), upon him say, Zarathustra: 'You are he through whom Orderliness is stricken and a

giver to (your) soul of the torture of the punishment of someone having committed the worst of capital crimes. For thus it is, and therefore he will be found guilty, for he knew the existence of the *dên*.

7.4.20 "'For I say to you, Tûr Urwâitâsang son of Usikhsh, that you are he through whom Orderliness is stricken and a giver to (your) soul of the torture of the punishment of someone having committed the worst of capital crimes.'"

7.4.21 A horrible sign appeared, a *karb* called Vaêdwôisht (Wêdwôisht), an enemy of everything of the gods and not following (the *dên* of) Ohrmazd.

7.4.22 Ohrmazd said: "That man is so shameless, Zarathustra, who has made a name after me, who proclaims: 'I am Ohrmazd, for I am he who by Orderliness keeps harm away (i.e., by my good behavior I keep harm away from the creatures), an amahrspand *keeping harm away.'

7.4.23 "So go, Zarathustra, ask from him for me (i.e., hold as my property) a hundred young men and women and a chariot with four horses. Say to him thus: 'Wêdwôisht, Ohrmazd asks from you a hundred young men and women and a chariot with four horses. If you give (them) to him, you shall have wealth and Fortune for that giving. But if you do not give (them) to him, (then) you shall have evil Fortune for not giving.'"

7.4.24 Then Zarathustra went to that Wêdwôisht ... and said to him: "'Wêdwôisht ..., Ohrmazd asks from you a hundred young men and women and a chariot with four horses. If you give (them) to him, you shall have wealth and Fortune for that giving. But if you do not give (them) to him, (then) you shall have evil Fortune for not giving.'"

7.4.25 And in reply that *karb* howled at Zarathustra: "My hostility is not from you (i.e., the might I possess is not of your doing), nor from Ohrmazd. I am more god (i.e., I am superior in might) than Ohrmazd even, and I have obtained a great herd of a thousand pigs."

7.4.26 Zarathustra went to Ohrmazd, to the Amahraspands, and said: "Ohrmazd, beneficial spirit, creator of the world of the living with bones, Orderly, thus he answered me: "My hostility is not from you, nor that from Ohrmazd. I am more god than Ohrmazd even, and I have obtained a great herd of a thousand pigs."

7.4.27 Ohrmazd said: "Zarathustra, that man has obtained a superiority complex with regard to our wealth and Fortune (i.e., we made cattle, he fancies himself possessing much cattle).

7.4.28 "And then this is his reward for that. If not, (then) on the third night, when life comes to an and, on that third night, those souls were placed *aside (i.e., they were deprived of having helpers). The seven bright, white-eyed ones, they made him run upward. There, up above, ... he was devoured(?)."

7.4.29 One thing that was revealed is the great healing power of the water mixed with haoma that Zarathustra took from the river Dâitîy on the day when Wahman brought him to the Interview.

7.4.30 As it is revealed in Ohrmazd's words to Zarathustra: "Those waters mixed with haoma that you are carrying, Zarathustra, let not those who sacrifice to the evil gods perform sacrifice to the evil gods with them or sprinkle them upon (their) space of sacrifice. (Instead) bring it to a four-year-old cow with broken ..., black hair, ..., and (by) drinking the water that cow will be healed of that sickness."

7.4.31 Afterward Zarathustra went, as the first in the world of the living, to this (cow) called Parshêdgâw, which dwelt on the top of *Siyâstân.

7.4.32 And Parshêdgâw said to him: "Spitama Zarathustra, give me the water mixed with haoma which you carry."

7.4.33 And Zarathustra said to her: "Praise Orderliness, Parshêdgâw, and scorn the evil gods, profess the Mazdayasnian *dên* of Zarathustra, say you keep the evil ones apart (from you)!"

7.4.34 Parshêdgâw praised <Orderliness>, scorned the evil gods, did not accept the Mazdayasnian *dên* of Zarathustra, (but) said she would keep the evil ones apart.

7.4.35 Zarathustra brought that water mixed with haoma that he was carrying not to those who sacrifice to the evil gods who sacrificed to evil gods, but to that four-year-old cow with broken .., black hair, and ..., and (by) *drinking the water that cow was healed of that sickness.

7.4.36 One thing that is revealed is about the running forth of the Foul Spirit to kill Zarathustra, as the *dên* says: From the northern direction ran forth the Foul Spirit full of destruction, and he spoke thus, the Foul Spirit of evil knowledge full of destruction: 'Demons, run and destroy the Orderly Zarathustra!'"[1]

7.4.37 The evil gods ran upon him, the *dêw* But and the secretive, deceptive Harmfulness.

7.4.38 But Zarathustra recited the *Ahunwar*, at which the evil gods were stunned. They ran back, the *dêw* But and the secretive, deceptive Harmfulness.

7.4.39 And the evil gods spoke thus: "You don't see straight, the Foul Spirit (i.e., you do not see things the way they are), and you order that done which cannot be done. We could not find a way to kill Spitama Zarathustra."

7.4.40 Being filled with Fortune, Orderly Zarathustra saw in his mind that the evil gods, possessed by the Lie, of evil knowledge were plotting his death. Up rose Zarathustra, forth went Zarathustra.

7.4.41 Here a great wonder was revealed to many, according to what it says: Orderly Zarathustra took a stone in his hand—it was the size of a house—which he had gotten from Ohrmazd the creator (i.e., the "**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ..." in the world of thought).

7.4.42 This thing is revealed, not only in Iran, but in the entire earth and to every species: the breaking of the bodily frames of the evil gods (at) Zarathustra's reciting the *Ahunwar*.

<u>Zarathustra chases the old (evil) gods from the earth, but people still sacrifice to them</u>

7.4.43[2] As it says: I sacrifice to the ... of the Kayanian Fortune, which followed him, Orderly Zarathustra in his superior thinking, speaking, and acting of the *dên*, who was in the entire living world the most Orderly in Orderliness, the most commanding in command, the wealthiest in wealth, and the most Fortunate in Fortune.

7.4.44 And before that the evil gods moved about visibly, and their pleasures took place visibly. And they dragged from people the *women, who were lamenting and complaining, but the evil gods *chained them even more brutally.

7.4.45 The *Ahunwar* which Zarathustra recited against them drove all the evil gods into the hollows of the earth (i.e., he broke their bodily frames).[3]

7.4.46 It is revealed: After the breaking of their bodily frames they were no longer able to able to appear in the world in the shape of evil gods in order to cause harm, (so) they appeared to people in the figures of gods. (But) these knew that they were not gods but evil gods.

7.4.47 Zarathustra unveiled it to people according to the words of Ohrmazd, and it says in the *dên* in the words to Zarathustra: "How is it in the world of the living that people turn to the evil gods for advice (i.e., for guidance)? How are they who say that one should hold them to be counselors?"

7.4.48 And Ohrmazd said to Zarathustra: "How is it, Zarathustra, that those people turn to the evil gods for advice? How are they who say that the evil gods say: 'You have done,"—what the evil gods say: 'It will come to you.'?"

7.4.49 Zarathustra said: "Ohrmazd, men run thither to that uninhabited place and ... (i.e., where nobody lives) from the appearance of light until the sun starts appearing (i.e., when 2 *hâsar*s remain of the night) or from the twilight until it disappears completely (i.e., when 2 *hâsar*s of the night have passed), where they hear the sound of neither *cattle, men, or dogs.

7.4.50 "Then they say when they return: 'We have consulted with the evil gods there. When we ask them for rule (i.e., leadership), they give it to us. When we ask them for possession of ... and might, they give that to us.''

7.4.51 "How does this thing get done by them, Zarathustra, that it is given (and) given? How does it come to them that they say 'It came to us'?"

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[1] Cf. Videvdad, chapter 19.

[2] From Yt. 19.78-81.

[3] Cf. Y.9.15.

7.4.52 Zarathustra said: "They say differently about that well-being, O Ohrmazd. Some say: 'I have had more herds ever since I consulted the evil gods.' Others say: 'I have been more miserable and had worse Fortune ever since I consulted with the evil gods.'" — "How do they consider being separated from the evil gods (i.e., when they become separated from the evil gods, what do they say)?"

7.4.53 Zarathustra said: "Ohrmazd, thus they say about that: 'Look over there, where one of us is returning. Either he is ... (i.e., he holds his head down to one side), or he is ... (i.e., he looks to one side), or he falls happy.' And in that they distinguish the evil gods from the company of men."

Zarathustra and the devil impersonating Spandarmad

7.4.54 Ohrmazd said: "As you wish, Zarathustra, look upward from your head, downward from your feet, and to your side, in different directions, in depth, before and aft, and in every direction. For we will not be distinguished from you by becoming invisible, like the evil gods from men. But (they distinguish) the evil gods by (their) *appearing when they run, but by (their) not seeing (them) they distinguish (them).

7.4.55 "And the demon will run upon you too, Zarathustra, in the form of a female, with golden crown (i.e., wearing a bra), and she asks you for commerce. And she runs in the form of a female, with golden crown, and she asks you for an interview, and she asks you for "action" with her.

7.4.56 "And do not grant her any commerce, no interview, and no "action"! Command her to turn around, reciting those victorious words: '**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ...'!"

7.4.57 Zarathustra went to the world of habitations and friends (?) to see to the inducement of the world of the living to follow (the *dên*). Then he came to the demon, who sat near the cup (i.e., that cup which he had put down when Wahman brought him to the Interview), in the form of a female, with golden crown, and she asked him for commerce and action with her and said: "I am Spandarmad (Av. Life-giving Humility)."

7.4.58 Zarathustra said: "I have looked at Spandarmad in broad day light with no clouds, and that Spandarmad seemed to me good on this side, good on that side, good all through (i.e., she was beautiful everywhere). Turn around so that I can verify whether you are Spandarmad!"

7.4.59 The demon said to him: "Spitama Zarathustra, we are of those whose females are beautiful in front but very ugly in the back. Do not command me to turn my back to you!"

7.4.60 After he insisted a third time the demon turned around, and Zarathustra saw her from the back, between the thighs, that she was crawling with (i.e., full of) serpents, snakes, lizards, weevils, and frogs.

7.4.61 And Zarathustra recited those victorious words: "**In as much as** a new life is **a worthy one** ..." Then the demon was *reduced and ran away in the shape of an eyelet.

7.4.62 And she said as she disappeared: "Miserable he who gets what I got here! For about you (I) thought: '(It will be) more lamentable for you than the fighters who go to hell through slaying.' I go more *lamentably upon body and soul (i.e., I shall deceive you in body and soul, and I did not deceive you)."

7.4.63 And Zarathustra revealed this secret to people and trained them, and (they) recognized the evil gods thereby. There was revealed about it (in) the same chapter a great wonder to people: the running about in full view of the evil gods before Zarathustra in the world. The breaking of their bodily frames thereafter by Zarathustra's recitation of the *dên*. From the Avesta is revealed the acceptance *of the truth by the land-lord Wishtâsp and the people of that time. For if it were not thus, Wishtâsp and his contemporaries would have considered the Avesta, from which these circumstances are revealed, to be untruth and would not have accepted it, (and) it would not have been transmitted to us.

Wishtâsp is tricked into throwing Zarathustra in jail

7.4.64 This thing too in addition: Zarathustra was aware that the *karb* of Wishtâsp—that brood full of destruction who had turned from the *dên* to evil—as well as the other *kayg*s and *karb*s at Wishtâsp's court, all of them were plotting Zarathustra's death, upon which heavy damage (would befall) Wishtâsp, and their inciting Wishtâsp to cause his death, (so that) by the command of Wishtâsp he would come to horrible incarceration and punishment.

7.4.65 Then also, on account of his awareness that he would be delivered from it, his revelation of wonders, and his testimony to how he came to become one who brought the Word, after that last question and when 10 years of Interviews had passed, upon the advice and command of Ohrmazd he proceeded alone to Wishtâsp's court and the *ordeal of that cup (?) and battle.

7.4.66 At Aspânwar, Wishtâsp's (residence) he spoke forcefully and victoriously about himself being the one who brought the Word of Ohrmazd, and he called Wishtâsp to the *dên*. But in spite of Wishtâsp's great intelligence, his perfect thinking, and belief in the world of thought, he would have listened to Zarathustra's words (and) would have called him to prepare for bringing the Word,—

7.4.67 but then, before he heard Zarathustra's words (and) learned the nature of Zarathustra, by the machinations of that brood full of destruction and the other *kayg*s and *karb*s through slandering and perversions, Wishtâsp <turned> against Zarathustra and then delivered him to that prison and punishment as it says in the words of Zarathustra: "They spoke thirty-three evil-doings upon me, and they bound me with thirty-three chains, those possessed by the Lie, villains who sacrifice to the evil gods."

7.4.68 That fast weakened me and cut off the strength of my feet. It cut off the power of my arms, the hearing of my ears, and the seeing of my eyes. And my *ribcage joined my back (i.e., it touched my back), by the persistence of that weakening fast full of destruction.

7.4.69 And here it was revealed about the stamina of Zarathustra, who all alone went to ... cup and battle(?) that his life endured (even) in such punishment of hunger, thirst, heavy chains, and other sufferings, the endurance of which is not laid down in the natural strength of men. A great wonder was revealed to King Wishtâsp and his courtiers, when they found (his) body full of Fortune in horror and imprisonment and alive (because of) his courageous withstanding of long fasting.

7.4.70 Another thing: As a pretext for his deliverance from that horror the gods had prepared a body with breath-soul (*gyân*) (i.e., a part of it). Then, in the great seating of Wishtâsp and the assembly of all the world, Zarathustra restored this body anew by the might and acceptance of the true word. Compare also the wonder about the chestnut-colored horse of Wishtâsp in ...

7.4.71 Another thing: His ability to tell and reveal, by his *seeing* in the world of thought, the thoughts of King Wishtâsp and the courtiers and many other hidden things.

Evil things in Babylon

7.4.72 Another thing: Various marvelous things that Dahâg had made by sorcery in Babylon caused the people to stray and adore idols to the extent that the world was being destroyed thereby. By the victorious proclamation of the *dên* that Zarathustra said forth against that sorcery, it was all destroyed and undone.

7.4.73 One thing is this which was revealed about Zarathustra with a wonder: In the contest over the *dên* with famous scholars of the land, among whom the Babylonians were famous throughout the world for their scholarship and among whom by far the strongest contestants were those who told the 12 stars, who were named after the 12 stars, he saved the *dên* and revealed himself as possessing the knowledge of truth.

Wahman, Ashwahisht, and the Beneficial Fire visit Wishtâsp

7.4.74 And in order to save the *dên*, to reveal its truth and wisdom and to convince King Wishtâsp together with those scholars about the truth of the *dên*, Ohrmazd the creator sent some: Wahman, Ashwahisht, and the Beneficial Fire as messengers to Wishtâsp concerning Zarathustra's being the one true bringer of the Word and Ohrmazd's wish that Wishtâsp should receive the Mazdayasnian *dên* and propagate it in the world.

7.4.75 A miracle was revealed to the countrymen of Wishtâsp when the Amahraspands flew down from heaven to earth and into the house of Wishtâsp, as it is said in the *dên*: And then he said to them, Ohrmazd the creator to Wahman, Ashwahisht, and the Fire of Ohrmazd: "Go forth, O Amahraspands, to the house of Wishtâsp, strong in cattle, famed afar, in order to make him steadfast in the *dên*, so that he abides by this *dên* and gives (the right) answer to Zarathustra follower of Order, the Spitamid, who has accepted their word."

7.4.76 The Amahraspands went to the house of Wishtâsp, strong in cattle, famed afar. Their *chariot seemed to Wishtâsp in that tall dwelling to be all light. On account of their great might and victoriousness this (happened) that, when he saw them thus, the exalted Kay Wishtâsp trembled. All his members trembled. His entire ... from the upper part, like a horse pulling a chariot.

7.4.77 And the Fire of Ohrmazd spoke with the speech of men: "Do not fear, exalted Kay Wishtâsp, for there is nothing to fear. It is not the superior messenger, the herald of Arzâsp,[1] who has come by your house, and it is not two men *like Arzâsp to collect tax and tribute, and it is not the all-conquering, thrashing thief, the bandit and highway-robber.

7.4.78 "We are three who have come through your house: Wahman, Ashwahisht, and the fire of the beneficial lord. Be aware of this most clearly, most knowledgeably! (?)

7.4.79 "If you follow seerdom (?) (i.e., you have the knowledge needed), then *praise the Mazdayasnian *dên*, which spreads in pure fashion by memorization, which (is that of) Spitama Zarathustra.

7.4.80 "Recite the *Ahunwar*, praise best Orderliness, say the evil gods should not be sacrificed to! For it is Ohrmazd's wish, as well as that of the Amahraspands and the other gods who are beneficent and Orderly with regard to you that you stay in this *dên*.

7.4.81 "And as a favor, as reward if you praise the pure good *dên* of the Orderly Spitama Zarathustra, (then) we shall give you long reign for (your) kingdom and long life for your soul (i.e., 150 years). We shall give you Ahrishwang and warriordom to last as long as you wish to be with you forever and good accompaniment to be with you forever and it will never pass away. We shall give you a son, Pishôtan by name, immortal is he and unaging, undeteriorating is he and unrotting, in both existences alive and king, both in the world of thought and in the world of the living.

7.4.82 "And as a favor, as reward if you do not praise the pure good *dên* of the Orderly Spitama Zarathustra, (then) we shall make you fly up in the air, and we shall send after you vultures thinking of old age. They shall eat your bones, and your blood shall reach the earth, but water shall not reach your body(?)."

Wishtâsp's vision

7.4.83 Another thing: Together with the acknowledging in Wishtâsp of the *dên* also by the coming of the speech of the Amahraspands, also afterwards, because of his concern for the ... through the bloodshed caused by the ... of Arzâsp the Khiyôn throughout ..., he was *doubtful about accepting the *dên*.

7.4.84 And in order to exhibit visibly to Wishtâsp that knowledge about his victory over Arzâsp and the Khiyôns and himself attaining to a higher station and his imperishable kingdom and wealth and Fortune Ohrmazd the creator sent in the same epoch the divine Nêryôsang (messenger of the gods) to the house of Wishtâsp as messenger to

[1] King of the Turanians and arch enemy of the Iranians and Wishtâsp.

Ashwahisht the amahrspand for him to make Wishtâsp drink the drink which would illuminate his eye to see into the world of thought, on account of which Wishtâsp saw a great Fortune and mystery.

7.4.85 As the *dên* says: And Ohrmazd the creator said to the divine Nêrôsang: "Go, fly, eloquent Nêrôsang to the house of Wishtâsp, strong in cattle, famed afar, and say this to Ashwahisht: 'King Ashwahisht, take the pretty cup, which is prettier than (any) other cups that have been made (?) (i.e., it is seemly to make such pretty cups for royalty), bring us haoma and hemp for Wishtâsp, and make Wishtâsp the land-lord drink from it!'" And his speech was accepted.

7.4.86 Ashwahisht took the pretty cup from him and made Wishtâsp the land-lord drink from it, and he lay down, the exalted land-lord Wishtâsp. When he got up from the bed, he said to (his wife) Hudôs: "Let Spitama Zarathustra come to me quickly! Let Spitama Zarathustra by his diligence quickly teach me the *dên* of Ohrmazd and Zarathustra!"

7.4.87 Another thing is revealed: When Wishtâsp accepted the *dên*, praised Orderliness, the evil gods were tormented by his speech, and the demon Wrath ran to the Khiyonian lands to the Khiyonian villain Arzâsp, as he was the greatest among the tyrants of that epoch. And in the Khiyonian lands he called with the ugliest voice and incited them to do battle.

7.4.88 And here too a great wonder was revealed to the people of Êrân who were there, coming to the court of Arzâsp the Khiyon, as the *dên* says: In the ... assembly the idiot Wrath, son of Him Whose Body is Forfeited, howled. He complained like ..., and he ...: "Woe upon you, O Khiyonians! You will fight without victory henceforth.

7.4.89 "From now on there will be no *other victory than that of the Iranians over the evil-doers. Zarathustra the most brave and his following has come to us (in the world)." — When the Khiyonian villain Arzâsp of ugly rule heard this, he struck his hand against the villain (i.e., he struck one against the other), and they went at each other *kick for kick and blow for blow.

7.4.90 And the bitter ... of the Khiyonian seethed (i.e., he was tortured more, that villain). He struck his hands against his thighs and howled in his ugly royalty: "Come quickly together to me, O Khiyonian lands! Come quickly together to me! The Iranian has come!"

<u>After Wishtâsp accepted the *dên*</u>

7.5.1 On the wonders that were revealed from the time Wishtâsp accepted the *dên* until Zarathustra's pre-soul went back to the best existence. When it left, it was 77 years from his birth, 47 from the Interview, and 35 from when Wishtâsp accepted the *dên*.

7.5.2 Another thing is revealed: When Zarathustra recited the *dên* in the house of Wishtâsp it was revealed to the eye that bliss was also disclosed to small and large animals, to the fires, and also to the being in the world of thought protecting the dwelling and the house.

7.5.3 In addition (?) a great wonder was revealed, as the *dên* says: All the small and large animals and the burning fire—it seemed to them great bliss (that) there *grew up a well constructed house in the world of thought, it seemed to them to be something powerful (i.e., from then on the house was made powerful by the *dên*), when they heard that speech that the Orderly Spitama Zarathustra spoke.

<u>On the ordeal</u>

7.5.4 Another thing: That among arbitrators and judges Zarathustra submitted to the ordeal to show who was acquitted and who was condemned in the case of things that were legally hidden, 33 kinds according to the *dên*.

7.5.5 Another thing: That the pupils of Zarathustra practiced it, even after that, until the kingdom of Iran came to an end. One method is to poor molten brass on the chest, as in the case of Âdurbâd î Mahraspandân of blessed pre-soul who submitted to the ordeal to prove the *dên* and was acquitted, as is widely known in the world. And it was also

revealed by that great wonder concerning the *dên*, as it says in the same chapter, that those many Lie-followers who see it, the rite of the ordeal makes them believe.

7.5.6 Another thing: That afterward, after it was predicted that Zarathustra would proclaim the *dên* to Wishtâsp and his countrymen, it was revealed how Wishtâsp accepted the *dên*, that of Zarathustra, *from the bottom of his heart and said from the revelation of the *dên* to the land-lord: "Kay Wishtâsp, you should assemble (i.e., accept) this essential character, this *dên*, which is the treasury of the caller(?). You should maintain (i.e., propagate), O land-lord, this essential character, this *dên*, which is what is the learning of (all) learnings, you who hold up this essential character, like the new pillar by its support holds up the mill-stone. The supporting pillar of this *dên* are you!"

7.5.7 And Wishtâsp's victory over Arzâsp the Khiyôn and the other non-Iranians in that hard battle, as Zarathustra taught Wishtâsp from the *dên* and much (other) that is revealed in the *dên*.

What Zarathustra taught his followers

7.5.8 One thing: That Zarathustra disclosed to be seen completely both medicine and natural science and the other branches of the crafts, both secretly and completely, which it is possible to exhibit by knowing the law and seeing the world of thought, which are from the rites in the *dên* concerning how to repel plagues, overcome evil gods and witches, and undo sorcery and witchcraft.

7.5.9 (He revealed) how to heal illness, fight wolves and reptiles, open rains, obstruct hail, *tûn*s, locusts, and other scourges that attack the grain, plants, and animals; a wondrous rite which also concerned Hordad and Amurdad (waters and plants), as well as many other rites, which were practiced until the Iranian kingdom came to an end. There are some that have been preserved till now even, together with a few of the wonders of the fires.

7.5.10 He revealed and made known to men many good waters, wondrous amulets, and remedies for illnesses, which was free from the *speculations of physicians, many world-benefiting secrets of the world of thought, the firmament, the intermediary space, the earth, and others, which one may get to by the wisdom of the gods.

7.5.11 One wonder is the Avesta itself, which by its most excellent uniqueness is the supreme utterance of every knowledge of the entire world.

7.5.12 One thing: That there came to Wishtâsp also this which the Amahraspands had indicated to him would be his reward for accepting the *dên*: how he saw (his) son Pishôtan, the fortunate land-lord, the undying, unaging one, having no need for food, of great body and complete strength, full of Fortune, powerful, victorious and the equal of gods. The ... of Pishôtan to the fortress of Kang as ruler there, as Ohrmazd had allotted to him. And the revealing thereby of many other wonders to many.

About Srid and his chariot

7.6.1 About the wonders that were revealed after the departure of Zarathustra, whose pre-soul is sacrificed (to), to the Best Existence during the lifetime of Wishtâsp.

7.6.2 One thing that is revealed: About how Srid son of Wisrab equipped this chariot by the well-known wonder, how the fame of the wonder of that chariot came to Wishtâsp, how Wishtâsp asked Srid for that chariot, and how Srid answered Wishtâsp that he had *promised that chariot to a Orderly Man whose body during the lifetime of that body would come together visibly in the world of the living with the soul of Srid during the lifetime of Srid,—

7.6.3 and how the soul of Srid would become in order to donate the chariot of Srid to that man, in whom Orderliness was visible to the naked eye, and otherwise it could not be done!

7.6.4 When the exalted Kay Wishtâsp became aware that this wonder from the *dên* would happen in that epoch—in order that also this wonder might be more widely revealed to the people of the whole world, the Mazdayasnian *dên*

might be accepted, and he might proclaim it more widely—he asked that it might be seen from his countrymen.

7.6.5[1] Right away a great wonder was revealed to Wishtâsp and the people of the world, as it says: Then the Amahraspands sent forth his soul from Light Garôdmân down to the earth created by Ohrmazd. From the light, the soul of Wishtâsp went forth. And in the light Wishtâsp went to meet it, in the direction of beneficial Noon (south),

7.6.6 which is more *seemly than everything *seemly, which is more curious than everything curious.[2] Everything they saw they told, and as they told they listened. When they saw the view of each other they stopped, the soul and body of Wishtâsp, and they exchanged homage.

7.6.7 Subsequently, not long after, the soul of Srid, son of Wisrab, came running from the northern direction, horrible, killing horribly (i.e., it was black, and its action too was black), the most horrible of evil gods.

7.6.8 And it *ruled thus, and it howled thus, the soul of Srid: "Give this chariot for driving, which will be for you, O Wishtâsp, for good company and society, and for it in Orderliness the pure is proper, not for something worthy (i.e., not for the reward of the world of the living), for love of Orderliness, which is the best of those that are."

7.6.9 When Srid, son of Wisrab, heard this speech, he stood before the chariot, and he spoke thus: "I shall give you in Orderliness, O valorous Kay Wishtâsp, this chariot for driving, only for the sake of Orderliness, which is the best of those that are.

7.6.10 And thus for Orderliness as it is best in Orderliness, and for the soul of those that are, as it is best for souls." Also, he announced a gift (i.e., he revealed its acceptance) three times.

7.6.11 Then that chariot became two, one in the world of thought, the other in the world of the living, and the exalted Kay Wishtâsp drove forth in the world of the living to the town of (his clan) the Nôdars in bliss and good thought. And in the world of thought the soul of Srid, son of Wisrab, drove forth to the Best Existence.

7.6.12 Another thing that is revealed: Fifty-seven years after Zarathustra received the *dên*, the coming forth of the *dên* in the seven continents was revealed during the lifetime of Wishtâsp. Thus it is revealed that (they) came from the (various) continents in search of the *dên* to Frashôshtar of the Hwôws, as the *dên* says: Two (men), called Spitôish and Arzarâsp hurried in search of wisdom to Frashôshtar of the Hwôws.

7.6.13 And this one about the coming of the Amahraspands from heaven to earth to bear witness before Wishtâsp about Zarathustra's being the true bringer of the Word. And also the things seen about Pishôtan and the chariot of Srid and other chapters written above that are revealed in the Avesta, who also received Zarathustra and accepted his sayings as those of Ohrmazd.

7.6.14 And if these miracles, and Fortune, and wonders that are written above had not been revealed by the Avesta for the learned men of the land to see and had not been seen by Wishtâsp and those learned men of the continents who have the Avesta, in which all these miracles and wonders were revealed to them, they might have held it to be unacceptable and abandoned it, and it would not have come down to us.

...

<u>The evils that are befalling and will befall Iran</u>

7.8.1 About the wonders that were revealed and will be revealed after the coming to an end of the kingdom of Iran (and its departure from) the land of Iran, at the end of the century of Zarathustra and the coming of Ushêdar son of Zarathustra.

7.8.2 That is, this wonder is also the acknowledgment of the knowledge acquired through prediction about the ninth and tenth centuries revealed in the Avesta, the nature of which is now visibly exposed, such as the coming to an end of

[1] Cf. the vision journey of Kerdîr.

[2] Literally, "worth asking about"; the word renders Av. *frasha* "juicy, perfect."

the kingdom of Iran (and its departure) from the land of Iran, the destruction of law, practice, and custom, and the rule of the long-limbed Christians with disheveled hair.

7.8.3 And the mixing and connecting together of all four (classes). And the elevation to more elevated rank of the unknown of their time together with their small and dark underlings, and the destruction and degradation of ... and known people in their own time.

7.8.4 And the non-Iranians' removal of intellect and moral fiber from the Iranian lands, that is, the truth of the *dên*, morals, affection, gratitude, peace, and generosity and other good things which should be established as intimate parts of wisdom (*khrad*) and personality (*khêm*).

7.8.5 And the enormity and superiority of heresy, liefulness, idolatry, calumny, pride, lying, ingratitude, discord, and avariciousness and the other evil things which are connected with wisdom and personality. And they relinquish the care of fire and water, the Amahraspands of the world of the living.

7.8.6 And there is preponderance of tyranny, evil *dên*, idolatry, and little *culture. Desire rules the body of men. There is much abundance of contrary judgments on sorcery, much evil talk about the oppression of the gods and the *dên*.

7.8.7 People will destroy each other's kingdoms, and places and territories are devastated by the violence of the victors. And evil kings capture one another. And there is severe harm and destruction of cattle, and peacefulness in the world of thought abandons the Iranian lands. Weeping, crying, lamentation, and complaining are commonplace in the land. People *obtain no profit from their work, their strength is destroyed, their Fortune is struck down, and their life short.

7.8.8 And there are many various enemy armies. And the heretics are accepted among the rulers, while those of good moral fiber and wise are not. In quick succession there is distress and plagues and other adversity and oppression and slavery even in the lands and places of the Iranian lands through the victor.

7.8.9 And the *dên* of the gods will be considered a "non-way,"[1] and those of good *dên* will suffer and be pained, the propagators of the *dên* will be ridiculed and *denigrated. There will be much liefulness and destruction of good works in the Iranian lands.

7.8.10 And also much other evil has been recalled in the Avesta, some of it passed, some of it still visible, and some of it revealed as (still) to come.

7.8.11 And there is this chapter from it as the *dên* says: That epoch which is mixed with iron (i.e., wherever one looks it is of iron), in which those heretics who seek coarseness are born.

7.8.12 That is, their "coarseness" consists in their making no difference between that which pleases them and that which is blameworthy to them. And their "seeking" consists in doing evil to people whenever they can, when ... of youths an old man appears, on account of the bad times, in which men are born, who are unfriendly toward the learned (i.e., they are not friends of the school teachers).

7.8.13 And they are full of courteous speech (i.e., they speak politely), yet they are followers of the Lie. And they are full of ... speech (i.e., they undo the speech of professors and teachers, and they pay no attention(?) to having an *ahu* and a *ratu*.[2] And they treat being the teacher of lords badly. And they construe as bad ...

7.8.14 anything anybody may say at any time. And the land that did have judges—they throw them down to hell into that putrid pool. That is, they also perform evil upon them so that they come to become followers of the Lie. In their religious recollection they support that heretic of evil offspring, himself conceived in sodomy, that bad wolf full of calamity and badness.

7.8.15 Here friends strike down their friend, and they take from him what he has made himself (i.e., whenever they can they take his possessions and give them to whoever they make prosper with it, when they do not seek ...). And they rob the poor of (his) ... (i.e., they take his possessions), and they ... him when he complains:

7.8.16 "It remains (?), and we shall not give it to you!" — Here neither will a friend counsel his friend, nor a brother his

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[1] Cf. Y.72.11!

[2] See Dk.7.3.49.

brother, nor a son his father, nor a father his son: "Make me believe!" (?) — Places are dwelt in according to wish (i.e., every single place it pleases them to dwell they behave in every manner they please). And ... on the road of acknowledgment (of the *dên*), and they say beneficial learning is (just) ... knowledge:

7.8.17 "We know these three to be among our beneficial learning: that the inferior (should be held) in superiority, the superior in inferiority, and that the inferior should be taught by the inferior (i.e., in every matter he follows in the footsteps of the ruler)."

7.8.18 They think all kinds of thoughts (?), like a ruler. A young woman has the nature of a bride, and the bride has the nature of a young woman who herself goes after the males (?).

7.8.19 Then when nature and sense go downhill and disappear from the Iranian lands (i.e., it goes away) then, on account of the proximity of the *vôighn* (scourge), then they run together, destitution, the demon-made winter full of snow (i.e., also rain becomes less), and the secretive and deceptive plague (i.e., there is greater incidence of deaths). Thus, also those possessed by the Lie ... and the heretic possessed by the Lie run together in company.

7.8.20 They mutter the same that he mutters (?): "Strike and smite, O land-lord, for you must strike and smite. Also strike the fire, and strike a blow to those whose only protection are the judges, and they lead them forth, the poor whose law is Orderly—

7.8.21 (i.e., they make him oppressed), and they strike him and unjustly carry of his possessions (i.e., that is, when they carry of his possessions, then it is carried off unjustly by them).

7.8.22 And into that epoch you will not wish to come, O pure Orderly Spitama, nor should that ... of the *word go (about) (i.e., one should not bring and carry off the ... of those who have made it). The heretics bring this your fame to perdition (i.e., Avesta and the Zand; they belittle those who have made it). The heretics torture their own soul for love of the possessions they have made.

7.8.23 And about the ninth and tenth centuries it says this too: That time will come (i.e., that is it will arrive), O Spitama Zarathustra, that many will say it is a fact of following Orderliness that the heretics are masters and teachers, and few (that it is) a fact of following the Lie. And they foul up the waters, dry out the plants, and destroy all prosperity (i.e., which is revealed (as being) from Orderliness).

...

FROM SELECT ADMONITIONS OF THE TEACHERS OF OLD

or

THE BOOK OF ADVICE OF ZARATHUSTRA

1. The teachers of old,[1] who have the foremost knowledge about the revelation in the *dên*, have said that each human being, when he/she reaches the age of fifteen, should know the following matters:

Who am I, and to whom do I belong?[2]
Where did I come from, and to where will I go back?
And of what lineage and family am I?
And what are my duties in the world of the living, and what is my reward in the world of thought"?
And did I come from heaven, or have I (always) been on earth?
Do I belong to Ohrmazd, or do I belong to Ahrimen?
Do I belong to the gods, or do I belong to the evil gods?
Do I belong to the good, or do I belong to the bad?
Am I a human or a *dêw*?
How many are the paths?
And which is my *dên*?
And what is good for me, and what is bad for me?
And who is my friend, and who is my enemy?
Are the Principles one or two?
And from whom is goodness and from whom badness?
And from whom is light and from whom darkness?
And from whom is fragrance and from whom stench?
And from whom is right and from whom wrong?
And from whom is forgiveness and from whom mercilessness?

2. Now, he who can explain the meanings has taken this in hand, and this is his conviction, as it has been transmitted to him by the path of wisdom (*khrad*):
Indeed, one should know without any doubt the following:
I have come from heaven, I have not (always) been on earth.
I am something created, not something that has (always) been.
I belong to Ohrmazd, not to Ahrimen.
I belong to the gods, not to the *dêw*s.
I belong to the good, not to the bad.
I am a human, not a *dêw*.
I am the creature of Ohrmazd, not the creature of Ahrimen.
And my lineage and family is from Gayômard.
And my mother is Spandarmad, and my father is Ohrmazd.
And my humanity is from Mahlî and Mahliyânî, who were the first (of) the lineage and family (descended) from Gayômard.

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[1] See footnote to Y.0.12.
[2] Cf. Y.10.16.

3. And what I have to do, my duties and obligations are to think about Ohrmazd as being, having always been, always to be, that he is the immortal ruler, limitless, and pure, (while) Ahrimen is not and shall be destroyed.
I have to consider myself as the property of Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands.
I have to separate myself from the evil gods and consideration of the evil gods.

4. And on earth, firstly, I have to be ally myself by my praise to the *dên*, to perform and sacrifice according to it and not to turn away from it, to believe in my mind in the Good *dên* of the Mazdayasnians; to distinguish what is good for one from what is bad for one, evil-doing from well-doing, and goodness from badness, and light from darkness, and being someone who sacrifices to Ohrmazd from one who sacrifices to the evil gods.
5. Secondly, I have to take a wife and see to one's lineage on earth diligently and constantly.
6. Thirdly, I have to plow the earth and cultivate it.
7. Fourthly, I have to tend cattle according to the rules.
8. Fifthly, I have to go to school (*hêrbedestân*) one-third of the day and one-third of the night in order to question the wisdom of the Orderly; to cultivate the land one-third of the day and one-third of the night; and to eat, have a good time, and rest one-third of the day and one-third of the night.

9. And I have to have no doubt that good deeds are good for me, and bad deeds are bad for me; that my friend is Ohrmazd, but my enemy is Ahrimen; and that the path of the *dên* is one:
10. One is the path of good thought, good speech, and good action; Paradise is the light and purity and limitlessness of Ohrmazd the Creator, who has always been and shall always be.
11. One is the path of evil thought, evil speech, and evil action; (this) is the darkness and limitedness and complete evil and destruction and badness of the one possessed by the Lie, the Foul Spirit, who once upon a time was not in this creation and who once in the future shall not be in the creation of Ohrmazd, and in the end he will be annihilated.

12. And I have to have no doubt about this too, that the Principles are two: one the Creator and one the Destroyer.
13. The Creator is Ohrmazd, from whom all goodness, all light (emanates).
14. The Destroyer is the Foul Spirit, possessed by the Lie, who is all badness and full of death and possessed by the Lie and deceiving.

15. And I have to have no doubt about these things, that, other than Sôshâns and the seven Kays, every person is mortal;
16. and about the extermination of the soul and destruction of the body and the accounting that (takes place) at the third dawn; and that the Resurrection and the Final Body will come; and about the passing of the Chinwad Bridge; and the coming of the Sôshâns and the making of the Resurrection and the Final Body.

17. And (about) the Law of the Iranians, and the *dên* of the teachers of old, and thinking of rectitude, and keeping my tongue in truth and my hand at doing good.
18. And (about) abiding by the Law of the Iranians together with all good people.
19. (About) peace and harmony in all daily and religious activities (*kâr ud kerbag*).
20. (About) abiding by the law together with all good people in a way that makes everybody content.
21. To follow the example of whoever has been, whoever shall be, whoever is in good deeds and lawfulness.
22. And the good deed performed according to the Law reaches much higher than the one they perform themselves; they become more Orderly thereby. [?]

23. And he said: He received the Good *dên* of the Mazdayasnians. I have no doubt about that. I shall not leave the Good *dên* of the Mazdayasnians either for love of body and soul or for good living or for long living or when my consciousness departs from the body. I have no doubt about that. And I will not praise or exalt teachings

different (from this), and I will not believe in them.

24. For it is revealed that: Of thoughts, words, and actions, count the action (as the most important),

25. for the unattached thought[1] is intangible, while the action is tangible. For it is by action that men act.

26. And this too: Three paths are laid down in the body of men.

27. These three paths are the places of three beings in the world of thought, and three evil gods bar the paths. In thought there is the place of Wahman, and Wrath bars the path. In speech there is the place of wisdom (*khrad*), and Greed bars the path. In action there is the place of the Life-giving Spirit, and the Foul Spirit bars the path.[2]

28. People must remain firmly on these three paths; they must not relinquish the reward in Heaven for possessions, wealth, and desire in the world.

29. For the man who has these three *paths which I have explained, he protects in his own body thought from bad thought, speech from bad speech, action from bad action.

30. Next I have to be grateful. It is by gratitude that one is able to cause the soul not to go to hell.

31. For people ... when he goes from the father's loins to the mother's womb, then the Dismemberer throws a rope around his neck in the world of thought; for the duration of his life he cannot remove that rope from his neck, neither by a good spirit, nor by the Foul Spirit.

32. But after his passing away that rope falls off the neck of the Orderly on account of his own good actions. And those possessed by the Lie they lead to hell by that same rope.

33. For one should know how much each and everyone in the world has sacrificed and (how much) sin he has in hands and feet, except for those who are deaf or dumb (in which case) it is right (to do so) only when they are caught (in the act?).

Also, I have to go to school and know the *zand*.

34. A father and mother should teach all these daily and religious actions to their own child before it reaches fifteen. And when they have taught all this to the child, (then) every daily and religious action that the child performs reflects on the parents. And if they do not teach it to him, when the child becomes an adult and commits a sin, (then) it accrues to the parents.

35. Go for good deeds and against sin; be grateful when life is good, and be content in adversity; be patient in misfortune and diligent in the obligatory duties!

36. Confess all sins, and do not let a mortal sin within a mile of you!

37. And strike down with wisdom evil greed and desire!

38. Strike down Lust with contentment, Wrath with readiness to listen (*Srôsh*), envy with benevolence, need with resignation, strife with peace, and lying with truthfulness!

39. Know that the place of the Best (Existence) is best, the world of thought most pleasant, the city of the sky lightest, the house of light is Paradise, the performing of good deeds is greatest, and (your) hope is the Final Body, which shall not pass away.

40. To the extent of your ability and capability do not exalt evil people. For from the exalting of evil, badness will come unto your body, and you will drive away goodness.

41. Be diligent in the acquisition of learning. For learning is the seed of knowledge, and its fruit is wisdom. And by wisdom things belonging to both worlds should be governed.

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[1] That is, it is not supported on anything in the world of the living, cf. PR.46.4-5.

[2] Cf. Bdh.5.1.

42. It is said that learning is an adornment in times of plenty and a protection in times of hardship, and in misfortune a helping hand, and in times of dearth an occupation.

43. One person should not scorn another person. For those who scorn will be scorned, unfortunate, cursed, and they will have few children (who become) worthy warriors.

44. Every day you should go to the assembly of good people to converse with them. For to him who goes most frequently to the assembly of good people they give most good deeds and Orderliness.

45. And every day you should go to the house of the Fires and recite the hymn to the Fire. For he who goes most frequently to the house of the Fires and most frequently recites the hymn to the Fire, to him they give most wealth and Orderliness.

46. Beware strongly of hurting your parents and guardian, so that your body shall not be infamous and your soul not belong to the Lie.

47. Know that, of the innumerable adversities that the Foul Spirit brought forth, the following three are the most serious: blindness, deafness, and, third, the demon Lie of strife.

48. For it is revealed that for this reason the sun orders people in the world three times daily.

49. At dawn he says: "Ohrmazd says to all of you who are men: 'Be diligent in your performance of secular and religious work so that I can produce life in the world among you!'"

50. At noon he says: "Be diligent in the acquisition of a wife, the making of children, and your other duties, for until the Final Body the Foul Spirit and his brood will not leave this creation."

51. At the evening *gâh* (fifth of the day) he says: "Confess the sins that you have committed, so that I may forgive you!" For it is revealed that: "In the same way that the light of the sun arrives upon earth, (so) also his speech comes to earth."

52. In the existence with bones, do not in thought, speech, or action think, speak, or do anything wrong.

53. And by the strength of the gods and the path of wisdom be carefully diligent in the teaching of the *dên*, and be aware that after this too, when the value of (your) good actions is so great and limitless, (then) the Foul Spirit is the one who incites to perform evil deeds in secret, and Ohrmazd is the one who strives thus (for all to be done) in all openness. Whoever knows the *dên*, then, being diligent in secular and religious deeds, he will be irremovable from it.

FROM THE *MÊNÔY KHRAD*

CHAPTER 1

1.1 The wise man asked the wisdom (*khrad*) in the world of thought:

1.2 " How can one seek the maintenance and prosperity of the body without injury to the soul and salvation of the soul without injury to the body?"

1.3 The wisdom in the world of thought answered:

1.4 The one who is smaller than you, consider him as an equal and the one equal to you as superior;

1.5 the one superior to you as your chief and your chief as your ruler!

1.6 And toward rulers, be loyal and obedient and speak the truth!

1.7 Toward opponents, be humble, gentle, and benevolent!

1.8 Do not commit slander, so that dishonor and sin may not come upon you![1]

1.10 For it is said that slander is more grievous than witchcraft.

1.11 And, in Hell, every demon Lie moves forward, (but) the demon Lie of slander, because it is such a grievous sin, moves backward.

1.13 Do not harbor lusty desire, so that the demon Lust (Âz) may not deceive you and the things of the world of the living may not become tasteless to you and those of the world of thought are destroyed for you!

1.16 Do not harbor wrath, for a man who gets wroth forgets to do work and good deeds (*kâr ud kerbag*) and homage and service to the gods, and every kind of sin and crime comes to his mind until his wrath subsides.

1.19 (Wrath) is said to be the equal of Ahrimen!

1.20 Do not harbor hostility, for peace in both the world of the living and that of thought is destroyed for the one who harbors hostility, and his body and soul are diminished!

1.23 Do not harbor greed, so that harm and regret may not reach you from your own actions!

1.25 Do not harbor evil envy, so that your life may not become tasteless to you!

1.27 Do not be sinful on account of shame, for goodness, adornment, wealth, sovereignty, honor, and worthiness are not by people's will and doing, but by the destiny of the firmament and the will of the gods!

1.29 Do not practice sloth, so that the work and good deeds that you have to do may not remain undone!

1.31 Choose a wife of (good) lineage, for, in the end, that one is the better who has the better reputation!

1.33 Do not talk while eating, so that you may not incur a serious transgression against the Amahraspands Hordad and Amurdad!

1.35 Do not walk about with your *kusti* untied, so that harm may not befall your men and animals and injury your children!

1.37 Do not walk with one shoe, so that your soul may not incur a serious transgression!

1.39 Do not urinate standing, so that you may not become captive of the law of the evil gods and, because of this sin, the evil gods drag you off to Hell!

1.42 Be diligent and moderate, eat by your own effort to do good, and give (their) share to the good gods! And such behavior is the best good deed you can do within your proper function.[2]

1.46 Do not steal from people's property, so that your own effort to do good may not be destroyed for you! For it is said: "He who does not eat by his own effort to do good, but by that of another, is like one who holds a human head in his hand and eats human brains."

1.50 Stay away from other people's wives, for it possible for these three to be destroyed for you: wealth, body, and soul!

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[1] In Anklesaria's edition this sentence counts 1.8-9, etc.

[2] That is, in agreement with your station in life.

1.52 With enemies fight according to the law, with friends act to what pleases them!
1.54 Do not fight with a vengeful man, and do not in any way anger him!
1.56 Do not be partners with a covetous man, and do not appoint him to leadership!
1.58 Do not go to the court of kings with a slandering man!
1.59 Do not bond with men of bad reputation!
1.60 Do not become partner and associate with a negligent man!
1.61 Make no dispute with a fool!
1.62 Do not walk on the road with a drunken man!
1.63 Do not take a loan from a man of bad nature!

1.64 Be diligent and devoted in giving thanks to the gods, in sacrifice and singing hymns, in sacrificing and invocation, and in the learning culture.
1.65 For it is said:
1.66 When it comes to giving help to people, wisdom is best.
1.67 When it comes to seeking fame and saving one's soul, generosity is best.
1.68 When it comes to organizing work and justice, right-mindedness is best.
1.69 When it comes to accusing and defending at law, truth is best.
1.70 When it comes to going about one's work, diligence is best.
1.71 When it comes to trusting people, confidence is best.
1.72 When something good comes to one, gratitude is best.
1.73 When it comes to keeping oneself blameless, moderate speaking in the path of truth is best.
1.74 When it comes to keeping back the opposition of the Assault from oneself, performing one's proper function is best.
1.75 Before lords and kings moderate speech is best and in assemblies speaking well.
1.76 When it comes to friends, friendship that thinks of peacefulness is best.
1.77 When it comes to attracting comrades to oneself, giving *profit is best.
1.78 When it comes to superiors, gentleness and humility are best.
1.79 When it comes to inferiors, *accomodation and affability are best.
1.80 When it comes to the mighty, giving praise and congratulations are best.
1.81 When it comes to one's relatives, benevolence is best.
1.82 When it comes to physical health, moderate eating and keeping the body fit are best.
1.83 When it comes to those who recognize praise, action is best.
1.84 When it comes to chiefs, obedience and seeking advantage (for them) are best.
1.85 When it comes to those obedient to one and to servants, keeping (them) well and instilling fear are best.
1.86 When it comes to oneself, having less aggravation and being content are best.
1.87 When it comes to leadership, knowing the good by (their) goodness and the bad by their badness and rewarding the good and reproaching the bad are best.
1.88 In every place and at all times, refraining from sin and being diligent in doing good deeds are best.
1.89 Every day thinking about and remembering Ohrmazd as the creator and Ahrimen as the destroyer is best.
1.90 In order not to be dishonored, knowing oneself is best.

1.91 All this is well and true and all the same.
1.92 But one's proper function and watching one's tongue is above all else.

1.93 Stay away from the worship of idols and evil gods!
1.94 For it is revealed:
1.95 If Kay-Husrôy had not destroyed the idol temple at lake Chêchast, in these three millennia of Ushêdar, Ushêdarmâh

and Sôshâns, one of whom comes at the beginning of each millennium to reorganize the world of the living and will strike down the contract-breakers and idol-worshippers in the land, then the Opposition would have been so much more powerful that the Resurrection and the Final Body would not have been possible.

1.96 Be diligent in storing good deeds, so that they may help you in the world of thought.

1.98 Do not rely on any goodness in the world of the living, because the goodness of the world of the living is like a cloud that comes on a spring day and does not remain on any mountain.

1.100 Do not be too preoccupied with the world of the living, because a man who is too preoccupied with the world of the living ruins the world of thought.

1.102 Do not rely on much property and wealth, because in the end you have to leave it all.

1.104 Do not rely on kingship, because in the end you have to be without king.

1.106 Do not rely on respect and love, for in the world of thought respectfulness is of no help.

1.108 And do not rely on a large family and much offspring, for in the end you must lean on your own deeds.

Fate after death

1.110 Do not rely on life, for death will finally come upon you, dogs and birds will tear your corpse, and your bones will fall to the ground.

1.114 And for three days and nights, the soul sits at the head-rest of the body.

1.115 But on the fourth day at dawn, (the soul) goes accompanied by Srôsh with the rewards, good Wây, and mighty Wahrâm, but opposed by the Dismemberer, bad Wây, the demons Drag-off and Drag-down and exposed to the malevolence of evil-doing Wrath with the bloody club, up to the terrifying high Chinwad bridge, which every good and evil person will come to and where many opponents bide.

1.117 (The soul) goes exposed to the malevolence of Wrath with the bloody club and the Dismemberer, who swallows all creation and knows no satisfaction, but with the mediation of Mihr, Srôsh, and Rashn.

1.119 (Then there comes) the weighing by Rashn the straight on a balance in the world of thought that does not dip to any side, neither for the good nor for the bad, neither for lords nor for rulers. And it does not diverge as much as a single hair's breadth and has no respect (for anybody), but holds a lord and a ruler equal by the law to the least of men.

1.123 And when the soul of the Orderly cross that bridge, the bridge becomes as wide as one mile, and the soul of the Orderly one crosses accompanied by Srôsh with the rewards.

The *dên*

1.125 Then his own good deeds come to meet him in the form of a young woman, who is more beautiful and better than any young woman in the world of the living.

1.127 And the soul of the good says:

1.128 "Who are you, the most beautiful and best young woman I have ever seen in the world of the living?"

1.129 In reply, that person in the form of a young woman answers:

1.130 "I am not a young woman, I am your good deeds, O youth of good thoughts, good speech, good deeds, good *dên*!

1.131 For when you saw someone perform sacrifices for evil gods in the world of the living, then you sat down and performed sacrifices for the gods.

1.132 And when you saw someone oppressing, robbing, harming, or despising good people and acquiring wealth from evil-doing, then you refrained from oppressing or robbing the creations.

1.133 And you thought of good people and provided lodging, entertainment, and gave gifts to whoever came from near or also from afar.

1.134 And you accumulated wealth by goodness.
1.135 And when you saw someone practicing false justice, taking bribes, and giving false testimony, then you sat down and uttered speech of truth and goodness.
1.136 I am these good thoughts, speech, and deeds of yours, which you thought, spoke, and performed.
1.137 For, when I was *praiseworthy, then you made me more *praiseworthy, and, when I was dear, then you made me even dearer, and when I was Fortunate, then you made me even more Fortunate."

1.140 And when he continues from there, a fragrant wind comes to meet him, which is more better smelling than all good smells.
1.141 The soul of the Orderly asks Srôsh:
1.142 "What is this wind, which is more fragrant than any other wind I have ever smelled in the world of the living?"
1.143 Then Srôsh with the rewards answers the soul of the Orderly:
1.144 "This wind that smells so good is from the Best (Existence)."

1.145 Then he takes a first step up to good thought, a second to good speech, and a third to good deeds. And, at the fourth step, he arrives in the Endless Light which is all comfort.
1.147 And all the gods and Amahraspands come to meet him and question him:
1.149 "How did you come from that perilous, fearsome, evil-filled existence to this existence, free from peril and Opposition, O youth of good thoughts, good speech, good deeds, good *dên*?"
1.150 Then the lord Ohrmazd says:
1.151 "Do not question him, for he has been separated from that dear body and has come by that fearsome road. Bring him the most delicious of foods, spring butter, so that his soul may rest after the fear of that bridge in those three nights, which was brought upon him by The Dismemberer and the other evil gods. And seat him upon an all-adorned throne."

1.155 As it is revealed:
1.156 After the consciousness has been wrenched from the body, they will bring the Orderly man and woman the most delicious of the foods of the gods of the world of thought, mead, that is spring butter, and they will seat him upon an all-adorned throne.
1.157 And he will remain forever in complete comfort together with the gods of the world of thought for ever.

1.158 And when a person possessed by the Lie dies, his soul runs around near the head-rest of that person possessed by the Lie and cries: "Where should I go? With whom do I take refuge now?"[1]
1.160 And, in those three nights and days, he sees with his own eyes every kind of sin and crime that he committed in the world of the living.
1.161 On the fourth day, the demon Drag-off comes and binds the soul of the evil person with a *noose, and, opposed by Srôsh with the rewards, he leads (the soul) to the Chinwad bridge.
1.163 Then Rashn the straight reveals that soul of the one for what it is.
1.164 Afterward, the demon Drag-off takes the soul of the person possessed by the Lie in an unfriendly and wrathful manner and beats and soils it.
1.155 And the soul of the person possessed by the Lie cries loudly, weeps, pleads, and struggles greatly for (his) life (*gyân*) to no avail.
1.166 When struggling and pleading do not help, and no one from the gods (*bay*) or even the evil gods comes to his aid, the demon Drag-off drags him full of evil down to Hell.

[1] Cf. 2.46.1.

1.167 And then a young woman unlike other young women comes to meet him.
1.168 The soul of the evil person says:
1.169 "Who are you, the most evil and ugly young woman I have ever seen in the world of the living?"
1.170 And she answers him:
1.171 "I am not a young woman, I am your deeds, O you ugly one of evil thoughts, evil speech, evil deeds, evil *dên*.
1.172 For when you saw someone perform sacrifices for the gods, then you sat down and performed sacrifices for the evil gods and served the evil gods and demon Lies.
1.174 And when you saw someone who provided lodging for good people and received them well and who gave gifts to whoever came from near or also from afar, then you despised and treated with disrespect the good people, gave no gifts, and even shut your door.
1.176 And when you saw someone practicing justice and not taking bribes, giving truthful testimonies, and uttering good speech, then you sat down and practiced false justice, gave false testimony, and uttered evil speech.
1.178 I am this evil thought, speech, and deed of yours, which you thought, said, and performed.
1.179 For when I was unpraiseworthy, then you made me even more unpraiseworthy.
1.180 And when I was disrespected, you then made me even more disrespected.
And when I sat on the seat of the notorious, then you made me even more notorious."

1.182 Then he takes one first step down to evil thought, a second to evil speech, a third to evil deeds, and with the fourth step he runs down to the Foul Spirit possessed by the Lie and the other evil gods.
1.184 And the evil gods ridicule and mock him, saying:
1.185 "What did you have to complain and lament about Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands and the fragrant, peaceful Best (Existence), that you longed to see Ahrimen and the evil gods and the dark Hell, since we will harm and not forgive you, and you will experience evil for a long time?"
1.187 And the Foul Spirit howls to the evil gods:
"Do not question him, for he has been separated from that dear body and has come along that very worst of passages!
1.190 Bring him the filthiest and worst of foods, the food that is served in Hell!"
1.191 And they bring poison and snake venom, scorpions and other evil creeps of hell and give him to eat.
1.193 And he must be in Hell in much evil and various punishments until the Resurrection and the Final Body.
1.194 And god forbid that one should eat the food there, since it resembles putrid blood!

The spirit of inborn wisdom told the wise man:
"This that you asked, as to the maintenance of the body and salvation of the soul, and about which I have told and advised you well, accomplish it well and practice it, for it is the greatest way for maintaining the body and saving the soul."

CHAPTER 2

2.1 The wise man asked the wisdom in the world of thought :
2.2 "What is best: generosity, truth, gratitude, wisdom, rightmindedness, or contentment?

2.5 The wisdom in the world of thought answered:
2.6 For the soul generosity is best. For all living beings truth is best. Toward the gods gratitude is best. For a man's body wisdom is best. For all deeds rightmindedness is best. For the comfort of the body and for striking down Ahrimen and the evil gods contentment is best.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 The wise man asked the wisdom in the world of thought :
3.2 Which single good deed is greatest and best?

3.3 The wisdom in the world of thought answered:
3.4 The greatest good deed is generosity, and the second is truth and marriage with ones closest family.
3.5 The third is observing the *gâhânbâr* festival, and the fourth is the entire *dên*.
3.6 The fifth is sacrificing to the gods and providing lodging for travelers.
3.7 The sixth is that everybody deserves happiness.
3.8 And the seventh is benevolence toward good people.

CHAPTER 6

6.1 The wise man asked the wisdom in the world of thought :
6.2 How is Paradise, and how large? How is the intermediate stage, and how large? How is Hell and how large?
6.5 What is the judgment of the Orderly in Paradise, and from what is their happiness?
6.6 What is the misery and Opposition of those possessed by the Lie in Hell?
6.7 And what and how much is the judgment of the ones in the intermediate stage?

6.8 The wisdom in the world of thought answered:
6.9 Paradise is, firstly, from the star station to the moon station; secondly, from the moon station to the sun station; and thirdly, from the sun station to Garôdmân (House of Song), where Ohrmazd resides.
6.12 Paradise is, firstly, good thoughts; secondly, good speech; and, thirdly, good deeds.
6.13 The Orderly ones in Paradise know of no old age, death, fear, hostility, or Opposition.
6.14 And all places are full of Fortune, fragrant, blissful, peaceful, and all goodness.
6.15 At all times, a fragrant wind and a scent like that of flowers meets them which is more delicious than every other delight and smells better than every other good smell.
6.16 They do not get enough of being in the Best (Existence).
6.17 They sit, walk, see, and take pleasure together with the gods and the Amahraspands and the Orderly ones for ever and ever.

6.18 Regarding the intermediate stage, it is revealed that it is from the earth to the star station, and their only Opposition is cold and heat.

6.20 And Hell is, firstly, bad thoughts; secondly, bad speech; and, thirdly, bad deeds.
6.21 At the fourth step, the one possessed by the Lie arrives in the darkest Hell.
6.22 And they lead him to Ahrimen, possessed by the Lie.
6.23 And Ahrimen and the evil gods ridicule and mock him, saying:
6.24 "What did you have to complain and lament about Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands and the fragrant, peaceful Best (Existence), that you longed to see Ahrimen and the evil gods and the dark Hell, since we will harm and not forgive you, and you will experience evil for a long time?"
6.26 And then they punish and do evil to him in various ways.

6.27 There is a place which in coldness is like the coldest ice and snow, and there is a place where its heat is like the hottest and most burning fire.

6.29 There is a place where an evil creep tears at them as a dog tears at a bone, and there is a place where the stench is such that they tremble and fall.

6.31 And darkness always seems so thick to them, as if it were possible to grasp it with the hand.

SOME SAYINGS OF ÂDURBÂD SON OF MAHRASPAND

1 These are some sayings that Âdurbâd son of Mahraspand of immortal soul uttered and taught to those in the world of the living as he passed away. Remember this, and learn something from it!

Do not hoard things, so that you may not feel need! For hoarding things does not lead to less need.

2 Strive only to store more Orderliness, that is, in deeds and good works, for the only good thing you should store up is Orderliness.

3 Do not think of vengeance, so that enemies may not reach *you*. And keep in mind what kind of hurt and harm and destruction may come upon you through slaying an enemy as vengeance. Keep vengeance for yourselves, and do not strike an enemy as vengeance, for it is revealed that he who forgets the smallest vengeance will be saved at the Ford of Lamentations.[1]

5 Speak the truth in accusing and defending in court, so that you may be more often saved by the law! For, by giving truthful testimony, a man becomes Orderly. For he who has information he does not give becomes possessed by the Lie.

7 Eat in moderation, so that you may be long-lasting! For eating in moderation is best for the body and speaking in moderation best for the soul. And the man who has least wealth is mighty if he is moderate of disposition. Think more about your souls than your bellies! For the man who accumulates for the stomach, does most to ruin the spirit.

11 Take a wife from your own family, so that your family may not be *dissipated.[2] For the most ruin and vengeance and harm came upon the creation of Ohrmazd when they gave their daughters (to other people's sons) and they asked for other people's daughters in marriage for their sons, so that the family was completely spoiled.

13 Guard yourselves strictly against eating the fat of cattle and sheep, for it will lead to strict reckoning for you both here (in the world of the living) and there (in the world of thought). For he who has eaten meat of cattle and sheep has his hand in sin and sin is whatever he thinks, speaks, or does. And when someone has eaten ... and has his hand in sin, then, compared to someone in another place kills a camel, he becomes like a man who has killed a king with his own hand.

16 Receive traveling people well, so that you may be well received both here and there. For he who gives, receives, and he will grow thereby. At receptions, sit wherever they seat you. And the most important position is where a good man sits.

18 Do not fight for position, for a man who fights for position, does most to ruin the world of thought.

19 Agree with what is good deeds, disagree with what is sinful action, be grateful for goodness, and be content in adversity, stay away from enemies, do not harm good deeds, and do not befriend someone bad!

20 When the most terrible things happen, do not have doubts about the gods and the *dên*. Do not be too happy and content when goodness befalls you, and do not be too offended when evil befalls you!

23 Be content in adversity, patient in misfortune, and do not trust life, but good actions! For a person's good actions are his defenders, while a person's bad actions are his accusers. For of thoughts, words, and actions, actions are best.

...

48 Do not trust women, because you may come to shame and regret. Tell no secrets to women, because you may have no profit from your toil.

...

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[1] This name for the Chinwad bridge (For of the Accountant) is based on a folk etymology of one of the possible readings of the Pahlavi word.

[2] Lit. "so that your family may go far." (?)

60 Do not be too happy when something good happens to you, and do not be too upset when something bad happens to you, for both good and bad things are bound to happen to people. Thank the gods for whatever good has happened to you and give the gods and good people a share of it. Leave it to the gods, for gifts come by themselves wherever they come from.

63 Cultivate the earth, and do good, for all men live and are nourished by cultivating Spandarmad, the Earth.

64 Do not sin against water, fire, cattle, sheep, or dogs, and do not harm animals of the dog family, so that the road the Best (Existence) and to Paradise may not be closed to you.

65 When it comes to doing good deeds, keep your door open to whoever comes from near or from afar. For he who, when doing good deeds, does not keep his door open, will find the door to the Best (Existence) and to Paradise closed to him.

66 Be diligent in seeking culture, for in times of comfort education is an adornment, in times of difficulties it is a refuge, in misfortune it lends a helping hand, and in hard times it is a craft Act as you know is best. But knowing more and believing less makes for greater sins. Wisdom with much knowledge unaccompanied by goodness will turn good sense (*wîr*) to heresy and wisdom to false teachings.

69 Do not despise anybody, for he who despises shall be despised. His fortune will be struck down, and he will be cursed and have fewer offspring destined to be king or warrior.

70 Every day you should go to the assembly to discuss with good people, for, he who most often goes to the assembly to discuss with good people, will receive the most of good deeds and Orderliness.

72 Every day you should go three times to the house of the fires and pray to the fire. For he who most often goes to the house of the fires and most often prays to the fire, will receive the most good deeds and wealth.

74 Be very careful to keep your bodies away from deceitful evil actions, from menstruating women, and prostitutes, so that your bodies may not be polluted or, even worse, evil may befall your souls.

75 Do not neglect any sin for which penance is demanded, even for a moment, so that the pure *dên* of those who sacrifice to Ohrmazd may not be your competitor (*hamêmâl*).

76 The body is mortal. Look after your souls, and perform good deeds. For the soul *is*, not the body. The spirit world *is*, not the world of the living. Do not relinquish or forget your souls for love of the body. Do not set your hearts on something for the love of people or things, for it will bring your body to the Bridge and your soul to punishment. Do not relinquish your love of your souls for the love of a person, so that you may not have to suffer cruel punishments.

THE RIDDLE CONTEST OF JÔISHT Î FRIYÂN AND AKHT THE SORCERER

CHAPTER 1

1.1 May this book of Jôisht î Friyân (the youngest of the Friyânas) be fortunate by the help of the gods.

1.2 So they say that, at the time when Akht, the sorcerer, went to the city of the Riddle-solvers with an army of seventy thousand, [3]he howled:

"I will let the city of Riddle-solvers be trampled by elephants!"

1.4 When he arrived, he asked for persons who were not older than fifteen years of age, [5]and he asked them riddles. [6]Everyone who was not able to solve it, he seized and killed.

1.7 Then, there was a man in that city of the Riddle-solvers called Mâraspend. [8]He said to Akht, the sorcerer:

"Do not let the city of Riddle-solvers be trampled by elephants, and do not kill these innocent people. [9]For in this city of Riddle-solvers, there is a man called Jôisht î Friyân, who is not more than fifteen years of age. [10]He will explain any riddle you ask him."

1.11 Then Akht, the sorcerer, sent a message to Jôisht î Friyân:

[12]"Come to my court, so that I may ask you thirty-three riddles! [13]And if you give no answer or say you do not know, then I will kill you right away."

1.14 And Jôisht î Friyân came to the residence of Akht, the sorcerer, [15]but, because Akht, the sorcerer, kept a human corpse under the carpet, he did not go inside.

1.16 Instead, he sent the following message to Akht, the sorcerer:

[17]"You keep a human corpse under the carpet; [15]but, when I go inside, the (six) Immortals are before me, and when I go inside where the human corpse is, [19]then the Immortals will no longer protect me. [20]After that I shall not be able to solve the riddles that you ask me."

1.21 Then Akht, the sorcerer, gave orders to have the carpet and the mat taken away and a new carpet to be brought and spread out. [22]And he asked Jôisht î Friyân to come in and said:

[23]"Come! Here is a mat and cushion for you to sit on. Then explain correctly the riddles I ask you!"

1.24 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"Lying rogue and tyrant! I will not sit on this cushion, for in this cushion is a human corpse. [25]With me are the gods and the Immortals, who are my protection. [26]If I sit down on this cushion, then the heavenly beings will no longer protect me. [27]After that I shall not be able to solve the riddles that you ask me." After that I shall not be able to solve the riddles that you ask me."

1.28 Then Akht, the sorcerer, gave orders to have the cushion taken away and a new one to be brought. [29]Jôisht î Friyân sat down up that new cushion.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 <u>The first riddle</u> Akht, the sorcerer, asked Jôisht î Friyân, was this:

[2]"Which is the better: paradise in the world of the living or in the world of thought?"

2.3 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [4]For paradise in the world of the living is better than that in the world of thought. [5]And the proof is that, if one performs no good deeds in this world, (then no good deeds) will help one in the other world. [6]And another proof for you is that, if you have done something not good in this world, then you will not get to the good paradise."

2.7 When Akht, the sorcerer, heard those words, he was stunned, [8-9]and he said:

"Woe has come upon me, Akht, the sorcerer, from you, Jôisht î Friyân. You have beaten me! [10]As a brave man the bravest man, and a good horse the best horse, and a good bull the best bull, and as the sky (rules over) the earth, you rule!

[11]"For with this riddle I killed nine hundred Magians, [12]who had performed so many *yasna*s for the gods that their bodies had become yellow from all the *parâhôm* they had drunk.

[13]"I also killed nine daughters of the Spitâma family, who wore golden tiaras inlaid with pearls, which the lords of the land had given them in appreciation of their praise of the *dên*. [14]When I asked them, they all said that paradise in the other world is the better one, [15]and so I said: 'If that is the way you feel, then you might as well go to that paradise!' [16]And so I seized them and killed them."

2.17 <u>The second riddle</u> he asked, was this:

"Which creature of Ohrmazd's is taller when it sits on its butt when than it stands on its feet?"

2.18 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [19]That is the dog!"

2.20 <u>The third riddle</u> he asked, was this:

"Which creature of Ohrmazd's walks without steps?"

2.21 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [22]That is a sparrow, which walks without steps."

2.23 The fourth riddle he asked, was this:
"Which creature of Ohrmazd's has teeth of horn and a horn of flesh?"

2.24 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [25]That is what they call that a rooster, the bird of Srôsh the righteous. [26]When he crows, he keeps the Adversary away from Ohrmazd's creatures."

2.27 The fifth riddle he asked, was this:
"Which is better: a small knife or little food?"

2.28 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [29]A small knife is better than little food. [30]For one can cut and collect the *barsom* with a small knife, [31]but little food does not get to the belly, and if it does, it only produces wind."

2.32 The sixth riddle he asked, was this:
"What is it that is full, and what is it that is half full, and what is it that never becomes full?"

2.33 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [34]That which is full is the powerful rich man whose soul becomes one with Order when he passes away. [35]That which is half full is the moneyless poor man who leads a bad life, but whose soul becomes one with Order when he dies. [36]And that which is empty, which never becomes full, is that moneyless man, who leads a bad life and whose soul will belong to the Lie when he dies."

2.37 The seventh riddle he asked, was this:
"What is that thing which men wish to conceal, but is not possible for them to conceal?"

2.38 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [39]That is old age, which no one can to conceal, [40]for old age reveals itself for all to see."

2.41 The eighth riddle he asked, was this:
"Which is that living man who, when he sees Astwihâd[1] and dies, wishes that he may go back to the living, [42]but, when he sees Astwihâd again and dies, then it appears to him easy?"

2.43 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [44]That is the man who has performed no *yasna* and has drunk no *parâhôm*. [45]Another is that man who has come to a woman's bed, but has not done any woman. [46]And a third is that man who has celebrated no *zîndag-ruwân*[2] ceremony, has given no alms, and has performed no *yasna* to the gods. And, giving alms to good people, he would promise to give, but gave none. [47]When he dies, he wishes he might go back to the living. [48]And when he dies again and sees Astwihâd, it appears to him easy."

2.49 The ninth riddle he asked, was this:
"After how many months do elephants, mares, camels, asses, cows, ewes, women, bitches, sows, and cats give birth?"

2.50 Jôisht î Friyân said:

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[1] The "bone-untier," demon who "unties" the bones of the dead.

[2] Expensive ceremony performed for somebody's soul while still alive.

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [51]The elephant gives birth after three years; horses, camels, and asses give birth after twelve months; cows and women give birth after nine months; ewes give birth after five months; bitches and sows give birth after four months; and cats give birth after forty days.

2.52 The tenth riddle he asked, was this:
"Which man lives in greater comfort and greater ease?"

2.53 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [54]That man lives in greater comfort and greater ease who is less worried and more content with what he has."

2.55 The eleventh riddle he asked, was this:
"What is that thing in this world that is like Ohrmazd and the Immortals?"

2.56 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [57]In this world, the lord of the land is like Ohrmazd and the Immortals. [58]And the abode of the lords of the land is like Garôdmân, full of light; [59]their ministers are like the Immortals, [60]and their *court is like the constellation they call Parwêz (Pleiades). [61]Other men, when they perform their duties and are steadfast, are like the other small stars in the sky."

2.62 The twelfth riddle he asked, was this:
"Which is the more tasty and savory of foods?"

2.63 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [64]That is the more tasty and savory of foods which is accumulated by honest exertion and which one eats and keeps with good deeds."

2.65 The thirteenth [to twenty-second] riddles he asked, was this:
"Which is one? Which is two? Which is three? Which is four? Which is five? Which is six? Which is seven? Which is eight? Which is nine? And which is ten?

2.66 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [67]One is the good sun, which keeps the whole world light. [68]Two is breathing in and out. [69]Three are good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. [70]Four are water, earth, plants, and beasts. [71]Five are the five epagomena.[1] [72]Six are the six times of the Gâhâmbârs.[2] [73]Seven are the Seven Immortals. [74]Eight are the eight ... [75]Nine are the nine openings in men's bodies. [76]And ten are the ten fingers on men's hands.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 The twenty-third riddle he asked, was this:
"What is colder?"

3.2 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [3]It is not the way you think, but the way I know. [4]You think the snow is colder which lies on the mountain where the sun never shines on it. [5]But it is not the way you think, for the mind of a man of the Lie is colder. [6]And the proof

[1] The five intercalary days at the end of the year before New Year's day.
[2] The seasonal festivals.

is that you, Akht the sorcerer, have a brother who is with the Lie. [7]And there is as much as a handful of poison in his heart, which you cannot melt, either with the sun or with fire, [8]but when I take it in my fist, it will melt."

3.9 Then Akht, the sorcerer, gave orders that his own brother should be brought and killed and the poison be taken from the heart, [10]but he was not able to melt it, either with the sun or with fire. [11]But Jôisht î Friyân took it in his fist and melted it.

3.12 The twenty-fourth riddle he asked, was this:

"What is warmer?"

3.13 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [14]The palm of the hand of a righteous man is warmer. [15]And the proof is that it was not possible to melt your brother's poison, either with the sun or with fire, [16]but when I took it in my hand, it melted."

3.17 The twenty-fifth riddle he asked, was this:

"What is better when it goes down? What is better when it is frozen? And what is better when it dies?"

3.18 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [19]Water is better when it goes down. Fire is better when it is frozen. And a lying rogue and tyrant like you, is better when he dies. [20]Because, if water did not go down, and fire did not freeze, and a lying rogue and tyrant like you, did not die, [21]then the whole world would be full of water and fire and full of lying rogues and tyrants like you, and it would not be possible to maintain the world."

3.22 The twenty-sixth riddle he asked, was this:

"What is heavier than a mountain? [23]What is sharper than a steel knife? [24]What is sweeter than honey? [25]What is fatter than a sheep's tail? [26]What is more generous than the generous? [27]And what is straighter than the straight?

3.28 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [29]Crookedness and falsehood are heavier (sins) than a mountain. [30]The tongues of men are sharper than a steel knife. [31]A blessed child is sweeter than honey to its father and mother. [32]Spandarmad, the earth, and rain have more fat than a sheep's tail. [33]The divine Tishtar is more generous than the generous. [34]Good Rashn is straighter than the straight, he who favors no one, takes no bribes, and holds a lord and a slave to be equal to one another.

3.35 The twenty-seventh riddle he asked, was this:

"Which foot is the nicer and prettier? [36]For, of the many feet that I have seen, the nicest and prettiest feet that I have seen are those of Hufrî, your sister and my wife.

3.37 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [38]Water's feet are nicer and prettier. [39]And the proof is that wherever Water places her foot, moist plants will grow, [40]but where Hufrî places her foot, it will be dry."

3.41 The twenty-eighth riddle he asked, was this:

"What gives women great pleasure?"

3.42 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [43]It is not the way you think, but the way I know. [44]You think that women take great pleasure in various kinds of dress and appropriate housework, when they have them. [45]But it is not so. Women take great pleasure from being with their own husbands."

3.46 Akht, the sorcerer, said:

"You lie! And by this riddle I will kill you. [47]Come along now, and let us go to Hufrî, your sister and my wife. [48]She has never lied and never will, so let us go by what she says!"

3.49 Jôisht î Friyân agreed, and Akht the sorcerer went with Jôisht î Friyân to Hufrî [50]and said: "Sit down, and explain this riddle as straight as you can." [51]Jôisht î Friyân said:

"Is the great pleasure of women in various kinds of dress and appropriate housework, when they have them, [52]or is their great pleasure from being with their own husbands?"

3.53 Then Hufrî thought:

"This is terrible! This lying rogue and tyrant, the sorcerer, will not let me go until he kills me. [54]And if I lie, then he will kill my brother, and I will have made a lier of myself! But it is better that I speak the truth, [55]rather than make a lier of myself and have him destroy the law, the religion, and the custom. and if he kills me because I speak the truth, I shall be more righteous."

3.56 And she covered her head with a veil, and said:

[57]"The great pleasure of women is in various kinds of dress and appropriate housework. [58]But when these things come without intercourse, women are in pain and unhappiness, and there is no pleasure in those things, only pain and unhappiness. [59]But when these things come with intercourse, then they take greater pleasure."

3.60 When, Akht, the sorcerer, heard those words, he became angry, and killed Hufrî on the spot.

3.61 But Hufrî's soul at once went to Garôdmân, [62]and it cried:

"I am good! Until now, I have been righteous, and now I am still more righteous. [63]Woe on you, Akht, the sorcerer! Until now, you have been with the Lie, and now you are even more so!"

3.64 <u>The twenty-ninth riddle</u> he asked, was this:

"What is it that has ten feet, three heads, six eyes, six ears, two tails, three pair of testicles, two hands, three noses, four horns, three backs, and from which the life and preservation of the whole world comes?"

3.65 Jôisht î Friyân said:

"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [66]It says clearly in the religion that when one needs to relieve oneself and they ask a riddle, it is not the custom to explain it."

3.67 And Akht, the sorcerer, said thus:

"Go and sit down somewhere close, relieve yourself, and come back quickly. Then explain the riddle as straight as you can! [68]If you lie or say you do not know, I will kill you at once."

3.69 And Jôisht î Friyân went and sat over a hole, [70]and he thought in his mind: "This is terrible! This lying rogue and tyrant, the sorcerer, will not let me go until he kills me. [71]Even if those who are dead come alive again, this riddle can not be solved."

3.72 Then the lord Ohrmazd sent the divine Nêryôsang with a message to Jôisht î Friyân [73]and he said to him:

"Give the answer of the riddle as a team of oxen with a man plowing."

3.74 When Jôisht î Friyân heard the voice, but saw no one, he became doubtful [75]and he thought in his mind:

"What if it is Ahrimen and the demons, whose only duty and wish is to kill me? [76]If I answer this riddle as I was told, then that lying rogue and tyrant will kill me."

3.77 Then the divine Nêryosang approached Jôisht î Friyân [78]and said:

"Do not be afraid! I am the divine Nêryôsang who have come to you. [79]He who is the lord Ohrmazd said: 'Give the answer of the riddle as a team of oxen with a man plowing.'"

3.80 When Jôisht î Friyân heard those words, he was very pleased. [81]Straightaway, he approached Akht, the sorcerer, and said:

[82]"Hey, you lying rogue and tyrant, the answer of this riddle is a team of oxen with a man plowing."

3.83 As soon as Akht, the sorcerer, heard those words, he lost consciousness and remained unconscious for three days and nights. [84]After three days and nights, he regained consciousness, and said to Jôisht î Friyân:
[85]Congratulations, Jôisht î Friyân, who placed your hope in the lord Ohrmazd, whose support and help is instantaneous!

3.86 The thirtieth riddle he asked, was this:
"Which horse is better?"
3.87 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [88]A trained male horse with a good pedigree, is good, which they can to keep together with the horses of the king."

3.89 The thirty-first riddle he asked, was this:
What is it that is dry, but does not burn, and what is it that is damp, but burns?
3.90 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [91]Dust is dry, but does not burn, and grease is damp, but burns."

3.92 The thirty-second riddle he asked, was this:
"Which king is better?"
3.93 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [94]That king is better who shows more mercy, has good wisdom and knowledge, and brings aid to his creatures."

3.95 The thirty-third riddle he asked, was this:
"How much wealth do you have, Jôisht î Friyân?"
3.96 Jôisht î Friyân said:
"May you be poor while among the living, you lying rogue and tyrant, and fall to hell when among the dead! — [97]I have three: one is what I eat, one what I wear, and one what I give to the poor and worthy."

CHAPTER 4.
4.1 Then Jôisht î Friyân said:
"The thirty-three riddles you asked me are all truthfully solved. [2]Now I ask you three riddles. If you do not answer, I will kill you on the spot.
4.3 And Akht, the sorcerer, said:
"Ask, so that I may solve them!"

4.4 And Jôisht î Friyân said:
"What is the value of the land (sown with) one handful of seed?
[5]The second question was: "What is the value of one ox for plowing?"
[6]And the third question was: "What is the value of the good deeds (accruing) from one next-of-kin marriage?"

4.7 Akht, the sorcerer, did not knew (the answers) and said:
"When one needs to relieve oneself it is not the custom to explain riddles they may ask."
[8]Jôisht î Friyân said:
"Go and sit down somewhere close, relieve yourself, and come back quickly. Then explain the riddle as straight as you can! [9]If you lie or say you do not know, I will kill you at once."
4.10 By sorcery, Akht, the sorcerer, rushed into hell, [11]and he howled to Ahrimen:

"O accursed one! What is the value of the land (sown with) one handful of seed?" [12]Second: "What is the value of one ox for plowing?" [13]And third: "What is the value of the good deeds (accruing) from one next-of-kin marriage?"

4.14 The accursed Ahrimen howled to Akht, the sorcerer:

"I cannot answer these riddles of yours. [15]For, if I tell (you the answers), my creatures will all depart with the male and female demons and the witches. [16]And I do not love you more than my own creatures. [17]Should I give you the answer to these riddles that you have asked me, [18]all my creatures will have nothing more to do, and there will be no more adversity. [19]Ohrmazd's creatures will gain the upper hand(?), and the resurrection and the Last Body will occur right away. [20]Go and take the breach of promise on your own neck, as is the custom. [21]When time has come, one cannot reverse it. [22]Your place is hell, and your punishment is more severe than that of all those with the Lie."

4.23 Akht, the sorcerer, rushed up from hell, without hope, and was brought, for his destruction, into the presence of Jôisht î Friyân.

[24]And Akht, the sorcerer, said to Jôisht î Friyân: [25]Congratulations, O Jôisht î Friyân! Ohrmazd and the Immortals were with you. What you did not know, they told you. [26]But I, who placed my hope in Ahrimen and the *daêwa*s, asked three riddles of Ahrimen and the demons, and they gave me no answer."

4.27 Then, on the spot, Jôisht î Friyân incapacitated Akht, the sorcerer, with the knife for gathering *barsom* and a spell from the religion, and also incapacitated the Lie in his body.

5.1 Whoever connects this story and reads all of it and says one *Yatâ-ahû-wêryô* at the end, his soul will have gained as much good work as if he were to kill a snake with a spell from the Avesta. [3]His soul will have gained as much *ahu* as when he performs *yasna*s and recites *Gâthâs* for three years.

[4]There was a Dastur who said: (As much) *ahu* (as for) one year, (and) no sin for not having performed *yasna*s accrues to him.

5.5 Completed in health, pleasure, and joy.

5.6 May Akht, the sorcerer, be smitten with all the male and female demons, sorcerers, and witches!

6.1 Completed and brought to completion is this book of Jôisht î Friyân together with this *Ardâ Wirâz*, on the day of Amurdad, month of Shahrewar, in the Parsi year 618 [= 18 July 1249 C.E.].

6.2 I, the servant of the religion, Rustom son of Mihrbân, son of Marzbân, son of Dahishnayâr, the hêrbad, wrote it from the manuscript of Hêrbad Mihrpanâh, son of Srôshyâr, hêrbad of Nîshâpûr. [3]May it please the gods!

6.4 Completed and brought to completion is this *Ardâ Wirâz* and this book of Jôisht î Friyân, on the day of Frawardîn, the month Vohuman, in the year 766 of Yazdegird [= 20 November 1397 C.E.], king of kings, son of Ohrmazd.

6.5 I, the servant of the religion, the hêrbad's son, the teacher Pishyôtan, son of Râm, son of Kâmdîn, son of Shahriyâr, son of Nêryôsang, son of Shâhmard son of Shahriyâr, son of Bahrâm, son of the Môbad Ohrmazdyâr, son of the Hêrbad Râmyâr, wrote it from the manuscript of Hêrbad Rustam, son of Mihrbân. [6]May it please the gods!

From the city of Bhroch.